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HISTORY OF THE POPES.

VOL. I.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.-VI., by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.-XIV., by FRANCIS RALPH KERR of the London Oratory. In 14 Volumes.

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THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	PAGE
Brief of H.H. Pope Leo XIII. to Professor Pastor ...	ii
Notice by His Eminence, Cardinal Manning	iii
Editor's Preface	vi
Author's Preface	vii
List of complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. I. and II.	xi
Table of Contents	xlvi
List of Documents in Appendix...	lvi
Introduction	1–56
The Popes at Avignon (1305–1376)	57–116
The Schism and the Great Heretical Movements (1378–1406)	117–174
The Synods of Pisa and Constance (1409–1417) ...	174–207
Martin V. (1417–1431)	208–282
Eugenius IV. (1431–1447)	282–361
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	362–408
Index of Names	409–419

BRIEF OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO PROFESSOR PASTOR.

"Dilecto filio Ludovico Pastor Doctori historiæ tradendæ Ænipontem.

"Leo P.P. XIII.

"Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex historia Pontificum Romanorum, quam habes institutam, adlatum Nobis primum volumen est una cum litteris tuis. Quod rerum monumenta veterum, utique ex Tabulario Vaticano deprompta, usui tibi scribis fuisse, gratum est: nec fieri profecto potest, ut tanta supellex non magnum afferat ad investigandam antiquitatem lumen. Tu vero opus habes in manibus sane laboriosum idemque magna casuum varietate notabile cum ab exitu medii ævi exorsus, pergere ad hanc nostram ætatem contendas. Sed ab ista lucubrationum tuarum priore parte, cui quidem suffragium idoneorum virorum videmus non defuisse, conjecturam facere de reliquarum bonitate licet. Reddere cum alacritate, quæ restant, hortaremur, nisi Nobis esset cognitum tua te voluntate alacrem hortatione plane non indigere. Nec sane facultatem ingenii tui usquam poteras utilius sanctiusque collocare, quam in illustrandis diligenter ac sincere rebus gestis Pontificum maximorum, quorum laudibus tam sæpe invidere vel temporum iniuria consuevit vel hominum obtrectatio malevola. Cælestium munerum auspicem ac benevolentiæ Nostræ paternæ testem tibi Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die XX. Januarii Anno 1887, Pontificatus Nostri nono.

"LEO P.P. XIII."

NOTICE.

PROFESSOR PASTOR'S "History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages," comes to us with a singular and exceptional weight of authority.

First, because of the ample encouragement conveyed by the brief of Leo XIII. when the first volume of the history was completed. Such letters of His Holiness do not, indeed, convey a critical approval of the work, but an abundant testimony to the fitness and learning of Dr Pastor for the accomplishment of his undertaking.

Secondly, because this history may be regarded as the first-fruits of the action of the Holy Father, which, a little time ago, so surprised the writers of anti-Catholic history. Leo XIII., as it will be remembered, addressed a letter to the five Cardinals whom he had appointed as a commission to oversee the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives. The Holy Father charged them to see that the history of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in Holy Writ, where the sins, even of Saints, are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners.

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103
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Thirdly, because no author as yet has written the history of the Popes with such copious evidence, drawn, not only from the Vatican Archives since they were thrown open by Leo XIII., but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined, as, for instance, the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran, of the Inquisition, of the Propaganda, of the Sistine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. As to the Vatican Library, even Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of the manuscripts. Beyond these, Professor Pastor has examined the Libraries and private Archives of Rome, the public and semi-public Libraries as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, the Vallicellana, the Altieri, the Borghese, the Buoncompagni, the Anima, the Campo Santo and Santo Spirito, the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci. To all these may be added the Archives of Milan, Paris, Florence, Vienna and Mantua, Lucca, Modena and Naples, Aix in Provence and Treves.

If anyone will examine the notes and references at the foot of the pages in this work he will see at once that this list of authorities is not a mere catalogue of names, but of sources from which a copious and truthful history has been industriously drawn. If any further evidence were needed to show how minutely this history has been written, it will be sufficient to add that these two volumes contain, besides the Introduction, only the history of four Pontiffs, from 1417 to 1458. Nevertheless, in that brief period is to be found one of the most decisive events of history, the effect of which is in full action upon the Church and upon the world at this day.

All histories of this period, from Ranke to Creighton, will need extensive correction, and, in a large measure, to be rewritten. In the time of Nicholas V., the so-called "Renaissance" was at its height, and parted itself off into two distinct schools—the heathen Humanists, and the Christian Humanists. The heathen Humanists

plunged themselves, with all their intellectual culture, into the atheism and foulness of a revived paganism. They were the forerunners of the intellectual apostasy from the Church, which, some seventy years after, broke out in Germany under the pretence of reformation. This revolt in religion of individual judgment against Divine authority was translated in the last century into the domain of politics by the first French Revolution, which has been truly described by Carlyle as the last act in the drama of Lutheranism. The Christian Humanists elaborated all intellectual culture in perfect fidelity to the revelation of the Christian faith. Nicolas V. became their patron and protector, and thereby placed himself at the head of the intellectual culture which has pervaded the Catholic Church, expanding itself from the time of his Pontificate to the Pontificate of Leo XIII.

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal Archbishop.

October 27th, 1891.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE great success which has attended the publication of Professor Pastor's History of the Popes in the literary circles of Germany, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, has led to the hope that the work might be acceptable in an English translation.

The many Histories of the Popes and of the Papacy already existing exhibit a tendency to treat the matter too exclusively—some from a political, others from an ecclesiastical point of view. It is for the reader to decide whether in the present work this defect has been avoided.

The vast literature on the history, and on the artistic and social life of the Renaissance which has been published in the last few years, and the liberality with which the present Pontiff has opened the Archives of the Vatican to students of history, place present writers at a great advantage as compared with their predecessors.

The Editor's portion of the work has been confined to the supervision of the translation. He has endeavoured to follow the text as closely as is consistent with an idiomatic translation. The notes, which contain most valuable matter, have been given in full.

The bulk of the first volume has necessitated dividing the English version. Should the present volumes meet with a favourable reception, the publication of the remainder will be carried out without delay.

The Editor begs to express his best thanks to the friends who have co-operated with him in preparing the translation.

F. I. A.

The Oratory,
South Kensington, S.W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE publication of a new "History of the Popes from the Conclusion of the Middle Ages," drawn from original sources, cannot be considered a superfluous task. Apart from the special interest attaching to the annals of this the most ancient and still most vigorous of dynasties, from a purely scientific point of view, a new work embodying the substance of the numerous monographs of the last ten years, with additions and corrections from fresh original documents, seems urgently called for.

Ranke, the first in importance of all Protestant German Historians, owes his fame to his "Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," which appeared in 1834-1836, and which, even in the most recent editions, essentially represents the state of historical research at that period. The alterations made by the aged author are, with the exception of its continuation to the year 1870, confined to a small number of points. He gives but a summary notice of the Renaissance age, our knowledge of which has been immensely increased during the last few decades by the labours of learned men in Italy, as well as in Germany and France; in the latter country especially, by those of the indefatigable Eugène Müntz. A thorough acquaintance with that period is an essential preliminary to the comprehension of the sixteenth century.

When His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. generously opened the secret Archives of the Vatican to students, it became evident that the History of the Popes during the last four centuries would have to be re-written. Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton all wrote on the Renaissance Age before these Archives were accessible, and even Reumont, whose trustworthy and exhaustive "History of the City of Rome" has been of the greatest use to me, gives but a few specimens of the rich treasures they contain. Accordingly my first task, during a somewhat prolonged residence on two occasions in the Eternal City, was to make myself thoroughly acquainted with them. My studies were greatly facilitated by the kind assistance afforded me by their custodians, and I soon became convinced that Pertz's

observation, "the keys of St. Peter are still the keys of the Middle Ages," is also applicable to our own times.

In addition to the secret Archives of the Vatican, I found, while in Rome, partly by my own exertions, and partly by the aid of friends, historical materials of great value in a number of other Archives, which had hitherto been almost inaccessible. Among these are the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran (which unfortunately have not been classified), of the Inquisition, of Propaganda, of the Sixtine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. Nor must the treasures of the Vatican Library be passed over, especially as Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of these manuscripts.

My researches in the inexhaustible mine of the Papal collections were supplemented by those which I made in the Libraries and Private Archives of Rome. I visited the public or semi-public Libraries, which are celebrated throughout the literary world, as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, and the Vallicellana Libraries, and also the less known Altieri, Borghese, and Boncompagni Libraries, the Archives of the Anima, of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, and of the Santo Spirito, as well as those of the Roman Princes, which, in many cases, are not easy of access. Among these the Archives of the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci families yielded an unexpected amount of treasure, while others, as, for example, those of the Odescalchi and Orsini, were comparatively barren.

The overwhelming mass of documents before me decided me only to begin my systematic investigation of the Roman Archives at the middle of the fifteenth century, which we may consider as the period closing the Middle Ages, and forming the transition between two great epochs.

Ample as are the historical materials to be found in Rome, I could not limit myself exclusively to these sources without incurring the danger of being one-sided.

I therefore extended my investigations to the other Archives in Italy, especially those of the more or less important Italian powers, which were in constant communication with the Holy See, and which sent Ambassadors to Rome at an earlier date, and more frequently than is generally supposed. The diplomatic correspondence of the Sforzas in the State Archives at Milan long detained me, and I was able to fill up the gaps existing in it from the

Ambrosian Library, and afterwards from the National Library of Paris. Florence, Vienna, and Mantua furnished an unlooked-for amount of documents, most of which are still unknown. Lucca is not so rich, but from Modena and Naples I have gathered much that is of value for my work.

I need hardly say that in my various journeys I did not neglect the numerous rich Libraries and the important Municipal Archives which are scattered through Italy. I also investigated the collections of manuscripts in France and Germany, and at several places, as, for example, at Aix in Provence and at Trèves, I made interesting and valuable discoveries.

Extracts from manuscripts which I believe to be unpublished are marked in this work by an asterisk (*). It was impossible in the Appendix to find place for all the matter before me, but I intend at a later period to publish a large collection of manuscripts connected with the History of the Popes; the documents which are to form part of the proposed volume are designated by two asterisks (**).

I owe a debt of gratitude, in the first place to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., who has most graciously been pleased to take an interest in my work, and to encourage me in its prosecution; then to their Eminences Cardinals Jacobini, Hergenröther, and Mertel, His Excellency Count Paar, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, Monsignori de Montel and Meszczynski, and Herr Wilhelm Hüffer in Rome; also to Fr. Ehrle, S.J., and Dr. Gottlob, the latter of whom placed at my disposal a number of documents relating to the war against the Turks.

I am also greatly indebted to the Minister of Public Worship and Education in Vienna for his kindness in regard to the transmission of manuscripts, and to the custodians and officials of the Archives and Libraries I have visited, for the assistance they have so obligingly afforded me in my investigations. I beg them all to accept my sincere thanks.

The second volume of this work will conclude the History of the Renaissance Age, and will appear as soon as possible. The subject matter of the four other volumes, which will probably complete my undertaking, will be the three great events of History since the Renaissance: the great disruption in the Western Church, the Catholic Restoration, and the Modern Revolution.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

15th August, 1885.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

The Literary Renaissance in Italy 1
Petrarch and Boccacio, its founders 1
How the writers of antiquity should be studied . . . 2
Their influence upon Petrarch and Dante 3
Contrast between Petrarch and Boccacio 4
Their attitude towards the Church 5
Both befriended by the Popes 6
How the Church viewed the literary Renaissance . . . 7
Peril of a one-sided interest in heathen literature . . . 8
How that literature may serve the interests of truth . . 9
Views of some early Fathers regarding it 9
A perverted use of it condemned 10
Combination of classical culture and Christian education . 11
Effect on the Church of the reaction towards antiquity . 12
Opposition between the heathen and Christian Renaissance . 13
Lorenzo Valla, the exponent of the heathenizing party . . 13
He ridicules the moral teaching of the Church . . . 15
Gross impurity of his writings 16
His attack upon religious vows 17
And on the temporal power of the Papacy 18
Justifies revolt against the Pope 19
Contends that Constantine's concession was a forgery . . 20
And that the Pope had forfeited his right to govern . . 21
Renounces his opinions and seeks to enter the Papal service 22
Antonio Beccadelli and his writings 23
Immorality of his works, efforts to suppress them. . . 24
The false Humanism represented by Valla and others . . 26
Its adherents indifferent or hostile to religion . . . 28
Poggio Bracciolino and the profligate Renaissance . . 29
Shameless immorality of his writings 30
His censure of the morals of the clergy 31
His description of the monks, a caricature 32
Far-reaching influence of the mendicant friars . . . 33
Religious and moral condition of the Renaissance period . 34
Revival of religion in Florence 35
The Italian saints of the 15th century 36
Effect of the false Renaissance on the clergy and upper classes 38
The medley of Christian and heathen ideas 39
Attempt to reconcile the Renaissance with Christianity . 40
Cultivation of Greek and Latin literature at Florence . . 41
The love of Traversari and Leonardi Bruni for ancient literature 42

PAGE

Other representatives of the Christian Renaissance . . 43
Vittorino da Feltre and his system of education . . . 44
His religious and moral qualities the secret of his influence 46
Heathen literature must be judged by a Christian standard . 48
Contrast between the Pagan and Christian ideal of humanity 48
All genuine advance of knowledge advantageous to religion . 48
Dangerous tendencies of the Renaissance seen by the Church 49
Opposition to the Humanists in some cases carried too far . 51
The abuse of classical learning alone to be condemned . 51
The Church the protectress of intellectual progress . . 52
The opponents of the Renaissance do not represent the Church 52
The Popes as patrons of ancient learning 53
Nicholas V. becomes the head of the Renaissance movement 54
Admiration for antiquity consistent with claims of the Church 55
The promotion of the Renaissance not a reproach, but an honour 55
Under the guidance of the Church the intellectual movement not dangerous 56

BOOK I.

THE POPES AT AVIGNON, 1305-1376 . . 57

A.D.
1305 Clement V. begins the separation from Rome . . 58
1316 John XXII. establishes a permanent abode at Avignon 58
Evils which resulted from this cause 59
The Popes dependent on the Government of France . 60
Yet assiduous in promoting the spread of Christianity . 61
Disastrous effects of the Avignon period . . . 62
Its effect upon rival parties in Italy 63
1314 Death of Clement V. 63
Dante and Petrarch condemn the residence in France . 64
Petrarch's condemnation of the Avignon Popes exaggerated 66
Effect on Avignon of the great influx of strangers . 67
1314 Rome in a state of desolation and anarchy . . . 69
In art Avignon became the rival of the Eternal City . 70
Rome brought to the brink of ruin 71
Financial difficulties at Avignon 72
Dante's indignation at the cupidity of the Popes . . 72
Conflict between the Empire and the Church . . 73
Between the Friars Minor and John XXII. . . . 74
Subversive doctrines of Occam, Marsiglio, and Jean de Jandun 76
New principles of civil and ecclesiastical government . 77
The Pope and the Council subject to the civil power . 78
The goods of the Church the property of the State . 79
Exaggerated theories on behalf of the Church . . 80
Marsiglio the "precursor" of the Revolution . . 81

A.D.		PAGE
1328	Deposition of the Pope and election of an Anti-Pope	82
	Schism in the Church	82
	Envenomed struggle between Church and State	83
1334	Death of John XXII. and election of Benedict XII.	83
1339	Erection of the Papal palace at Avignon	84
	The Pope represses corruption and reforms the Religious Orders	85
1342	His death, and election of Clement VI.	86
	Death of Louis of Bavaria and triumph of the Pope	86
	Revolt of Cola di Rienzo and its suppression	87
	Character of Clement VI.	88
1348	He issued Bulls for the protection of the Jews	89
	Extravagance during his pontificate	90
	Resistance to the payment of taxes levied by the Pope	91
	Duke Stephen of Bavaria forbids their collection	92
1352	Election of Innocent VI.	93
	His thorough reform of Church government	93
	Cardinal Albornoz restores the Papal authority in Italy	94
1362	Death of Innocent VI. and election of Urban V.	95
1367	Urban V. returns to Rome—rejoicings of the people	95
	Charles IV.'s pilgrimage to Rome—alliance between the Empire and the Church	95
	The Pope returns to Avignon	97
1370	His death and character	97
	Is succeeded by Gregory XI.	100
1375	Florence joins the revolt against the Holy See	100
	The States of the Church in insurrection	101
	Consternation of Gregory XI.	102
1376	He declares war against Florence	103
	St. Catherine of Siena endeavours to make peace	104
	Sent by the Florentines to negotiate at Avignon	107
	Tries to bring about the return of the Pope to Rome	108
	Insurrectionary movement in the Eternal City	109
1376	The Pope quits Avignon for Rome	110
1377	After numerous delays he arrives there	111
	The Florentines foment fresh troubles in Rome	111
	The Pope fails to suppress them	112
	Wins over to his side the chief general of the Florentines	113
	Florentine proposals of peace rejected by the Pope	114
	Renewed negotiations—Congress of Sarzana	115
1378	Death of Gregory XI., the last of the French Popes	116

II.

THE SCHISM AND THE GREAT HERETICAL MOVEMENTS, 1378-1406 (1409)

Meeting of the Conclave—division among the Cardinals	117
The populace demand the election of a Roman	118

A.D.		PAGE
1378	(April 8th) The Cardinals unite and elect Urban VI.	118
	They publicly recognize the election—its canonical validity	120
	The Pope inspires the highest anticipations	121
	His character and the measures adopted by him	122
	His action violent and impolitic	123
	St. Catherine of Siena pleads for moderation	124
	The Pope alienates the Cardinals and his political friends	125
	The French Cardinals openly revolt and quit Rome	126
1378	(August 9th) They assemble at Anagni and declare the election invalid	127
	They elect the Anti-Pope Clement VII.	127
	Commencement of the great Papal Schism.	127
	Conduct of the Cardinals inexcusable	129
	St. Catherine of Siena's condemnation of them	130
	Dependence of Clement VII. on the French Court	131
	He gives away the greater part of the States of the Church	132
	The support of Clement VII. mainly political	133
	Efforts of the French King in his favour	134
	England espouses the cause of Urban VI.	134
	The northern kingdoms remain loyal to him	135
	Extreme and imprudent measures of the Pope	136
1381	He excommunicates the Queen of Naples	136
1383	He goes to Naples to assert his authority and is besieged	136
	The Cardinals determine to seize his person	137
	He discovers their intention and puts them to death	137
1389	Death of Urban VI.—deplorable consequences of his reign	137
	Perplexity of the faithful	138
	The whole of Christendom affected by the Schism	141
	Reform in ecclesiastical affairs necessarily interrupted	141
	The Schism prepared the way for the so-called Reformation	142
	The disunion affects even public worship	143
	The unity and concord of Christendom broken	145
	Cause and origin of the Church's condition	146
	Efforts to remedy the evils of the time	147
	Labours of Gerhard Groot and his community	148
	Thomas à Kempis describes the "Brothers of the Common Life"	149
	Their work in the amelioration of Catholic life in Germany	150
	Growth of Sectarian Conventicles and false prophesies	151
	The politico-religious prophecy of Telesphorus	153
	Pernicious principles contained in it	154
	The widespread credence given to the prophesies	155
	Grave crisis in the Church—rise of heretical movements	156

A.D. PAGE

Spread of the Waldensian doctrines in Germany and Austria 157
Subversive principles of the Sect of Free Thought . 158
Appearance of John Wyclif in England—his teaching . 159
His influence on John Huss, the Bohemian heresiarch. 161
Political consequences of these doctrines . . . 162
Tend to produce anarchy in Church and State . . 163
1389 The Roman Cardinals elect a new Pope . . . 164
Boniface IX. succeeds Urban VI. 164
1394 Death of Clement VII., and election of the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. 165
All attempts to heal the Schism are frustrated . . 165
1404 Death of Boniface IX., and election of Innocent VII. . 165
Projects of Innocent VII. for the revival of science and arts 166
1406 Arrested by his death 166
Adherents of the false Renaissance enter the Pope's service 168
The Humanists become the leaders of public opinion . 168
The great influence which they exercised . . . 169
Classical proficiency leads to ecclesiastical preferment . 171
Means suggested to terminate the Schism . . . 172
Decision of the University of Paris on the subject . 173

III.

THE SYNODS OF PISA AND CONSTANCE, 1409-1417 (1418).

Communications between the rival Popes . . . 175
The hopes of union prove delusive 176
1408 Seven of Gregory XII.'s Cardinals appeal against him. 176
France and other Powers disown Benedict XIII. . 177
Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals join those who deserted Gregory XII. 177
They convene a Council at Pisa. 178
1409 The Council assembles—its want of Canonical authority 178
True doctrine of the primacy of St. Peter . . . 179
General Councils must be convened by the Pope . 180
The primacy of the Pope and unity of the Church disputed 181
Erroneous views on the jurisdiction of the Pope and the Episcopate 182
Mistaken views on Infallibility 184
Belief in the Divine right of the primacy seriously shaken 185
Zabarella holds that a General Council is superior to the Pope 187
King Rupert's Ambassadors at the Council of Pisa . 188

A.D. PAGE
The Council condemns and deposes both Popes . . 189
Election of another Anti-Pope, Alexander V. . . 190
Increased confusion—a second Schism created . . 191
1410 Death of Alexander V., and election of John XXIII. . 191
Intervention of the King of the Romans hoped for . 192
False doctrines as to the jurisdiction of a General Council 193
Sigismund summons the Council of Constance—its composition 194
John XXIII.'s object in consenting to its convocation 195
The Council's hostility to him 196
1415 His proposals of surrender and flight from the Council 196
The Council decrees its supremacy over the Pope . 197
Its subversive and irregular proceedings . . . 198
1415 (May 20th) John XXIII. is tried by the Council and deposed 199
1415 (July 4th) Gregory XII. in the interests of the Church decides to abdicate 200
He convenes the Council and thereby renders it legitimate 200
Flight of Benedict XIII.—the Holy See declared vacant 201
1417 Gratitude of the Council to Gregory XII.—his death . 202
Hostile feeling in the Council towards the Cardinals . 203
Conflicting interests and division in the Council . . 204
Its failure due to its composition and mode of procedure 205
Division in regard to reform, and the election of a new Pope. 206
The Bishop of Winchester effects a compromise . . 206
1417 The great Schism ended by the election of Martin V. 207

BOOK II.

I.

MARTIN V., 1417-1431.

Triumph of the Church, general rejoicings . . . 208
Character of Martin V.—difficulties which confronted him 209
Cause of the postponement of ecclesiastical reform . 210
The Pope determines to take up his residence in Rome 211
His meeting with the Anti-Pope John XXIII. . . 212
1417 (March 6th) His agreement with Queen Joanna of Naples 213
The Neapolitan troops evacuate Rome . . . 213
1420 Martin V. enters Rome—deplorable condition of the city 214
Ruin of its churches and artistic monuments . . 215
The Pope devotes himself to the work of restoration . 216

A.D.		PAGE
	And to the re-establishment of public security	217
	He restores St. Peter's and St. John Lateran	218
	Enlists the services of the most celebrated painters	219
	Lends encouragement to art	220
	Labours to promote prosperity and order	222
	Brigandage banished from the States of the Church	223
	Their transformation into a united monarchy	224
	Consolidation and growth of the Papal power	224
	Submission of various cities to the Pope	225
	Reasons which led him to favour the Colonna	226
	His excessive partiality towards them causes jealousy	228
	His zeal against heretics, and for the reform of the clergy	229
	He causes the body of St. Monica to be brought to Rome	230
	Contrasts St. Augustine with the Heathen philosophers	231
	Promotes devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament	231
1424	St. Bernardine of Siena visits Rome	232
	The marvellous effect of his preaching	233
	St. Frances of Rome and her companions	235
	Congregation of the "Oblates of St. Mary" founded	236
1425	The King of France restores the rights of the Pope	237
	Abolition of anti-papal legislation in England	237
	Martin V. zealously maintains the rights of the Church	238
1428	He summons a General Council to meet at Pavia	239
	The Council proving hostile, he dissolves it	239
	Reform of religious affairs indefinitely postponed	240
	Exactions in Rome under pretext of ecclesiastical fees	241
	International character of the Papal Court	242
	Immense number of foreigners in the service of the Pope	243
	The Germans greatly favoured by the Popes	245
	The influence of the German nation on the Papacy	247
	The intercourse between Rome and foreign nations	248
	Pilgrims to Rome—national foundations for their reception	248
	Origin of the Hostelry of Our Lady at Campo Santo	249
	The founders of the Hospice of Sta. Maria Dell'Anima	250
	Some other German foundations in the Eternal City	252
	Charitable institutions of other nations in Rome	253
	Erection of a house for Irish priests and a hospice for English Pilgrims	254
	Foundation of National Churches connected with the Hospices	255
	Rome thus becomes the home of all nations	255
	Adherents of the Renaissance in the Papal Service	256
	Effect of the Councils of Constance and Basle on the movement	256
	Poggio discovers MSS. copies of the classics	257
	Becomes Papal Secretary—his ridicule of the clergy	258

A.D. PAGE

Ribaldry of Poggio and his literary companions . . 259
Their varied talents cause them to be employed . . 259
Composition and number of the College of Cardinals . 260
Limit imposed by the Council of Constance . . 260
Small number of creations made by Martin V. . . 261
He issues regulations for the reform of the Sacred College 262
Displays excessive rigour towards the Cardinals . . 263
Honoured by his selection of those created by him . 265
Great learning and austerity of Cardinal Cesarini . 266
His relations to the revival of classical learning . . 268
Cardinal Albergati's connection with the Humanists . 268
How Cardinal Correr disposed of the revenues of his benefices 270
The influence of such men in the Councils of the Pope 271
Cardinal Giordano Orsini promotes literature and art . 272
Bequeaths his literary treasures to the public use . . 273
Martin V.'s efforts to restore Catholic Unity in Spain . 274
Open hostility displayed by the King of Aragon . . 275
King Alfonso summoned to Rome 276
His submission to the Pope—and end of the Schism . 276
Martin V. endeavours to extirpate the Bohemian heresy 277
Failure of the crusade against the Hussites . . . 278
The Kings of England and France demand a Council . 279
Martin V.'s dread of the Council—defers summoning it 279
He yields to the pressure—summons the Council of Basle 280
1431 Dies before it assembles—survey of his character . 281

II.

EUGENIUS IV., 1431-1447.

Election of Eugenius IV.—the Cardinals impose terms 282
The Pope submits to the curtailment of his authority . 284
Eugenius IV.'s majestic presence and austere habits . 285
The sanctity of his life—veneration in which he was held 286
Violence of his measures against the House of Colonna 286
1431 The Council of Basle assembles and is dissolved . . 287
It ignores the Bull of dissolution 288
Reasserts the Council's supremacy over the Pope . 289
1432 The Pope and his Cardinals summoned before the Council 289
The extreme action of the Council inexcusable . . 290
Consequences, if its decrees had prevailed . . 291
1433 The Pope recalls the decree dissolving the Council . 292
Conspiracies against him—invasion of the Papal States 293
Flight of the Pope—he yields to the demands of the Council 293
1434 Revolution in Rome, proclamation of a republic . . 294

A.D.		PAGE
	The Pope's palace and the Vatican plundered by the populace	295
	End of the republic—the Papal authority restored	296
	Vitelleschi's relentless action against the rebels	296
	And against the Houses of Savelli and Colonna	297
	His military enterprises in Naples and in the Papal States	298
1440	Is entrapped on the Bridge of St. Angelo and put to death	299
	The circumstances of that event are uncertain	300
	Cardinal Scarampo appointed to succeed him	302
	Relations of Eugenius IV. to the Renaissance	303
	Flavio Biondo's description of the city of Rome	304
	His testimony to the Pope's zeal for restoration	304
	Great number of Humanists in the Papal Service	305
	The Pope declines Valla's services	306
	Relations between the Christian and heathen Humanists	307
	The Council of Basle attacks the Church's constitution	308
	The Pope appeals to the European Powers against it	309
	Negotiations for union with the Greek schismatics	311
	Conflict at Basle as to meeting place of the Union Council	312
	The Greeks join the Papal party and Ferrara is selected	312
1437	The Basle Synod summons the Pope to appear before it	312
	(July 18th) He issues a Bull suspending its deliberations	313
	Its most distinguished members withdraw	314
1438	The Council of Ferrara. End of the Greek Schism	315
	General rejoicings throughout Christendom	316
	Importance of its bearing on the Pope's Jurisdiction	317
	He is decreed to be the Father and Teacher of all Christians	317
	Influence on literature of the intercourse with the Greeks	318
	Some distinguished representatives of Eastern culture	318
	Bessarion as an ecclesiastic and a scholar	319
	He brings together the learned men of Greece and Italy	321
	His invaluable collection of classical manuscripts	322
	The Armenian and other Churches reconciled to Rome	323
	Untiring efforts of Eugenius IV. in the cause of union	324
	The Turks persecute the Christians in the East	325
	The Pope appeals to the Western Powers against the Infidels	325
1443	Response to the appeal—defeat of the Turks	326
	A ten years' truce concluded with them	327
1444	The truce is broken—defeat of Christian army at Varna	328
1439	The Council of Basle deposes Eugenius IV.—election of Felix V.	328
	Reaction produced by the violent measures of the Council	329
	Treaty between Alfonso of Aragon and the Pope	331
1443	The Pope's ten years' exile ended—his return to Rome	332
	Dilapidated condition of the Eternal City	332

A.D. PAGE

Scotland acknowledges the authority of Eugenius IV. . 333
Francesco Sforza again makes war on the Papal States 334
The Pope triumphs over the Council of Basle . . 334
Attitude of France and Germany towards the Council. 335
The Diet of Mayence and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 336
Germany divided between the Pope and the Council . 337
The Pope secures the adhesion of Frederick III.—deposition of two Archbishops 338
The German Electors demand Papal recognition of the Basle decrees 339
1446 Assembly and composition of the Diet of Frankfort . 339
Æneas Sylvius procures a reaction favourable to the Pope 340
His career—he becomes Secretary to Cardinal Capranica 341
His employment and companions at the Synod of Basle 342
He breaks with the Council—enters the service of Frederick III. 343
Determines to reform his life—and becomes a Priest . 344
His interview with the Pope begging his forgiveness . 345
Breaks up the league of German Electors and gains allies for the Pope 347
Speaks for the German envoys to Eugenius IV. . . 348
Conditions of agreement between Germany and the Pope 349
1447 The cause of the Synod of Basle lost—death of Eugenius IV. 350
His character—results of his pontificate . . . 351
His successful defence of the Monarchical Constitution of the Church 352
His care of the poor, and interest in benevolent undertakings 353
The "Visita Graziosa" originated in his reign . . 354
Unjustly censured in regard to the Church's reform . 355
Reform to be enduring must be systematic and gradual 356
Eugenius IV. steadily pursued the reform of the clergy 357
His relation to art and the Renaissance . . . 358
His restoration of churches and public buildings . . 359
Heathenism reflected in Renaissance Art and literature 360
Employment of Fra Angelico in the decoration of the Vatican 361

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

		PAGE
I.	Pope Gregory XI. to Giovanni Fieschi	362
II.	„ to Bernardo Cariti	363
III.	„ to Lucca	364
IV.	The Republic of Florence to the Romans... ...	365
V.	Pope Gregory XI. to Osimo	367
VI.	„ to Florence	369
VII.	„ to Abbot Bertrando	374
VIII.	„ to the Nuncio Pietro Raffini ...	375
IX.	„ to Cardinal de Lagrange ...	377
X.	Cristoforo di Piacenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga	378
XI.	„ „	379
XII.	„ „	380
XIII.	Giovanni di Lignano to Pope Urban VI.	383
XIV.	Roman Documents regarding the Papal Schism of the year 1378	384
XV.	Langenstein's Invectiva	386
XVI.	Acta Consistorialia	387
XVII.	The Jubilee of the year 1423	393
XVIII.	Pope Martin V. to Charles of Bourbon	394
XIX.	Cardinal Antonio Correr to Florence	396
XX.	Antonio de Rido to Florence	398
XXI.	Pope Eugenius IV. to Corneto	399
XXII.	„ to Bologna	400
XXIII.	Abbot of San Galgano to Siena	402
XXIV.	„	403
XXV.	„ „	404
XXVI.	„ „	404
XXVII.	„ „	405
XXVIII.	„ „	406
XXIX.	„ „	407
XXX.	„ „	407

INTRODUCTION.

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE IN ITALY AND THE CHURCH.

WITH the exception of the period which witnessed the transformation of the Pagan into the Christian world, the history of mankind hardly offers one more striking than that of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. One of the most powerful elements in this epoch of marked contrasts was the exhaustive appreciation and extension of the study of the ancient world, commonly known as the Renaissance, or the new birth of classical antiquity. This movement naturally began in Italy, where the memory of the classic past had never been wholly effaced, and with it opens a new epoch.

The object of this work is not to demonstrate the origin and development of this revolution, effected in science, poetry, art, and life. The historian of the Popes is only concerned with the Renaissance, in so far as it comes in contact with the Church and the Holy See.

To thoroughly and correctly appreciate this relation, we must bear in mind that in this movement, which began in the realm of literature, there were from the first two conflicting currents, discernible, more or less, in its gifted founders, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Like the author of the "Divine Comedy," Petrarch took his stand upon the Church, and succeeded in combining enthusiastic admiration for classical antiquity with devout reverence for Christianity. His passionate love for the antique did not make him forget the sublimity of the Christian mysteries. On the contrary, the poet repeatedly and energetically declared that he looked on the Gospel as higher than all the wisdom of the ancients. "We may," he writes to his friend Giovanni Colonna, "love the schools of the philosophers, and agree with them only when they are in accordance with the truth, and when they do not lead us astray from our chief end. Should anyone attempt

to do this, were he even Plato or Aristotle, Varro or Cicero we must firmly and constantly despise and reject him. Let no subtlety of arguments, no grace of speech, no renown, ensnare us; they were but men, learned, so far as mere human erudition can go, brilliant in eloquence, endowed with the gifts of nature, but deserving of pity inasmuch as they lacked the highest and ineffable gift. As they trusted only in their own strength and did not strive after the true light, they often fell like blind men. Let us admire their intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men, while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without merit of our own, we have been favoured above our forefathers by Him, who has hidden His secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. Let us study philosophy so as to love wisdom. The real wisdom of God is Christ. In order to attain true philosophy, we must love and reverence Him above all things. We must first be Christians—then we may be what we will. We must read philosophical, poetical, and historical works in such manner that the Gospel of Christ shall ever find an echo in our hearts. Through it alone can we become wise and happy; without it, the more we have learned, the more ignorant and unhappy shall we be. On the Gospel alone as upon the one immoveable foundation, can human diligence build all true learning."*

In justification of his love for the philosophers and poets of antiquity, Petrarch repeatedly appeals to St. Augustine, whose "tearful Confessions" were among his favourite books. "So great a Doctor of the Church," he says, "was not ashamed to let himself be guided by Cicero, although Cicero pursued a different end. Why, indeed, should he be ashamed? No leader is to be despised, who points out the way of salvation. I do not mean to deny that in the classical writers there is much to be avoided, but in Christian writers also there are many things that may mislead the unwary reader. St. Augustine himself, in a laborious work, with his own hand rooted the weeds out of the rich harvestfield of his writings. In short, the books are rare that can be read without danger,

* Ep. rer. famil vi. 2 ed. Fracasetti [Firenze, 1864], ii. 112-119.

unless the light of Divine Truth illuminates us, and teaches us what is to be chosen and what to be avoided. If we follow that Light, we may go on our way with security." Petrarch never flinched from expressing his devout sentiments; he repeatedly showed himself the apologist of Christianity, and on the occasion of his solemn crowning at the Capitol, went to the Basilica of St. Peter to lay his wreath of laurels on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles.*

Yet Petrarch did not escape the leaven of his age or the influence of the dangerous elements of antiquity. He often succumbed to the sensual passion so faithfully depicted in his work, "On Contempt of the World;" his inordinate love of preferment is another blot upon his stormy life, and we discover in him not a few traits at variance with his devout Christian intuitions. Among these are his scornful attitude towards scholastic theology, which had, indeed, much degenerated, and his craving for fame. On this point we shall judge him the more leniently, if we reflect that even the heart of a Dante, whose immortal poem upholds the Christian view of the nothingness of human glory, was not impervious to this weakness. Still it is sad to see a man so eminent in intellectual gifts as Petrarch, yearning after crowns of laurel, royal favours, and popular ovations, and pursuing the phantom of glory in the courts of profligate princes.† Undoubtedly this ardent passion for renown, to which the

* See Körting, i., 174, 178, 205, 407 *et seq.*, 495 *et seq.*; iii., 430, 431. Haffner, Renaissance, 227 *et seq.* Piper, Mon. Theol., 653, 654. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 80, 86 *et seq.*, 95 *et seq.* Blanc in Ersch-Gruber, 3, Section xix., 250, 251. Geiger, Petrarca (Leipzig, 1874), 92, 93. Gaspary, i., 457. Bartoli, 61 *et seq.* The assertion lately repeated by Körting, i., 75, Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 86, Frenzel, Renaissance (Berlin, 1876), 5, Geiger, Renaissance, 29, and Paulsen, 29, to the effect that Petrarch was a priest, is erroneous. He had only received minor orders. The passage quoted by Körting from the work De otio religios. Opp. (Basil, 1554), 363, proves nothing, for "divinas laudes atque officium quotidianum celebrare," does not mean to say mass, but refers to the breviary and office in choir.

† Körting, i., 36 *et seq.*, 157 *et seq.*, 521; iii., 420, 423. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 71 *et seq.*, 85, 126 *et seq.*, 136 *et seq.*, 148. Haffner, Renaissance, 228 *et seq.* Bartoli, 10 *et seq.* With regard to Dante, in relation to glory, see Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 171 *et seq.*, and Schnaase, vii., 2nd ed., 36 *et seq.*

Christian conscience of the poet opposed such an inefficacious resistance, must be considered as a taint of heathenism. In the old classical authors, especially in Cicero, this ideal of human fame was so vividly presented to the mind of Petrarch, that at times it entirely eclipsed the Christian ideal.*

But he has one uncontested excellence: never does a wanton or sensual thought mar the pure silver ring of his sonnets. In this respect, the most marked contrast exists between him and his friend and contemporary Boccaccio, whose writings breathe an atmosphere of heathen corruption. The way in which this great master of style and delineation of character sets at naught all Christian notions of honour and decency, is simply appalling. His idyll, "Ameto," reeks with the profligacy of the ancient world, and preaches pretty plainly the "Gospel of free love;" and his satire, "Corbaccio," or "The Labyrinth of Love," displays the most revolting cynicism. A critic of no severe stamp declares that even the modern naturalistic writers can hardly outbid the defilement of this lampoon.† And the most celebrated of all Boccaccio's works, the "Decameron," is a presentation of purely heathen principles, in the unrestrained gratification of the passions. A modern literary historian says, that the provocative, sensuous style of the stories may find its explanation—without the possibility of excuse—in the prevalent immorality of the times, and the unchaining of all evil passions, caused by the plague; their effect is all the more dangerous, from the genuine wit, with which the writer describes the triumph of cunning, whether over honest simplicity or narrow-minded selfishness.‡

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 126, 127.

† Scartazzini in the Allgemein Zeitung, 1882, No. 336, Suppl. In regard to "Ameto," see E. Feuerlein, in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr. N.F. ii., 238. Petrarch as a poet: Norrenberg, i., 319. Gaspary, i., 460 *et seq.*

‡ Hettner, Studien, 47, 49. See Körting, ii., 447 *et seq.*, 657. Wegele, 595. Janitschek, 8. Feuerlein, *loc. cit.*, 242 *et seq.* F. de Sanctis, Storia della, Lett. Ital. (3rd ed., Napoli, 1879), i., 287 *et seq.* M. Landau, G. Boccaccio, Sein Leben und Seine Werke (Stuttgart, 1877), endeavours as much as possible to excuse Boccaccio, but admits (134) that he "cannot be washed quite clean." G. de Leva also judges him severely, Sull'opera Il primo Rinascimento del prof. G. Guerzoni (Padova, 1878), 10.

In his stories Boccaccio takes especial delight in heaping ridicule and contempt on ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, and with polished irony, represents them as the quintessence of all immorality and hypocrisy.*

And yet Boccaccio was no unbeliever or enemy of the Church. His insolent language regarding ecclesiastical personages is by no means the outcome of a mind essentially hostile to the Church, and none of his contemporaries considered it as such. A preacher of penance, who visited Boccaccio in the year 1361, reproached him bitterly with the immorality of his writings, but not with their disloyalty. The compiler of the "Decameron" was never, even in his most careless days, an unbeliever, and in later life, after his conversion, the childlike piety of his nature reasserted itself. He eagerly embraced every opportunity of manifesting his faith, and of warning others against the perusal of the impure writings, which caused him such deep regret. The dalliance of former days with the old classic gods was quite at an end, and we have his assurance that he did not look upon learning as antagonistic to faith, but at the same time, he would rather renounce the former than the latter.† His will also bears witness to his piety. Boccaccio hereby leaves the most precious of his possessions, his library, to the Augustinian Friar and Professor of Theology, Martino da Signa, on condition that he should pray for his soul; and after Martino's death he desires that the books

* This wanton tone found but too ready imitators, who did not shrink from the most horrible language. See Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 231 *et seq.* E. Ruth, Gesch. der. ital. Poesie (Leipzig, 1847), 7, 52 *et seq.*, 60 *et seq.* Geiger, Renaissance, 81, 262 *et seq.*, and M. Landau, Beiträge zur Gesch. der. ital. Novelle (Wien, 1875), 22 *et seq.*, 27 *et seq.*, 39. With regard to Masuccio Guardato, of Salerno, Landau observes: "However much one may hate priests, it must be confessed that the manner in which Masuccio attacks them, goes beyond the measure of fair war. His heavy club falls on monks and priests, the Pope himself is not spared, and he often indulges in the most obscene mockery of Catholic customs." Even worse perhaps are the novels of Giovanni Ser Cambi, in *Cod. 193 of the Trivulzio Library at Milan, published only in part, out of regard to decency (see Landau, 39).

† See Körting, ii., 189 *et seq.*, 267 *et seq.*, 366 *et seq.*, 659 *et seq.* G. Guerzoni, Il primo Rinascimento (Verona, 1878), 80, 81. A. Hortis, Studi sulle opere lat. del Boccaccio (Trieste, 1879), 475 *et seq.*

should become the property of the monastery of Santo Spirito, and be always accessible to the monks. He wishes that his last resting place should be in the Augustinian Church of Santo Spirito, at Florence, or if death should overtake him at Certaldo, in the Augustinian Church of Saints Philip and James in that town.*

The position taken up by these two founders and pioneers of the Renaissance in regard to the Church was, therefore, not by any means a hostile one, and accordingly the attitude of the Popes towards them was throughout friendly. Boccaccio went three times as Ambassador from the Florentines to the Papal Court, and was always well received there.† All the Popes from Benedict XII. to Gregory XI. showed Petrarch the greatest favour, and Clement VI. delivered the great poet from pecuniary embarrassments and procured for him the independence needed for his intellectual labours.‡ It is, therefore, not correct to look on the movement, known as the Renaissance, the literary manifestation of which is Humanism,§ as, in its origin and its whole scope, directed against the Church. On the contrary, the true Renaissance, the study of the past in a thoroughly Christian spirit, was in itself a legitimate intellectual movement, fruitful in fresh results, alike for secular and spiritual science.||

* Testamento di Giov. Boccaccio secondo la pergamena originale dell' Archivio Bichi-Borghesi di Siena (Siena, 1853).

† M. Landau, Boccaccio, 223 *et seq.* Körting, ii., 197 *et seq.*, 304 *et seq.*, 307. A. Hortis, Giov. Boccaccio, ambasciatore in Avignone (Trieste, 1875).

‡ Körting, i., 224, 440, 441.

§ Paulsen, 5.

|| See Daniel, Des études classiques, 222. Möhler, Schriften, published by Döllinger (Regensburg, 1840), ii., 17, 32, 25. Norrenberg, ii., 8, 10, and the following passages of Hergenröther, ii., 1, 172. With regard to the art of the Renaissance, to which a special chapter will be devoted in a future volume of this work, the Dominican Fr. A. M. Weiss (iii., 902) very justly observes: "An absolute and indiscriminate condemnation of the Renaissance, as a whole, and of everything connected with its art, cannot possibly be just." And 903: "To condemn the Renaissance in general with the severity exercised by some of our best brothers-in-arms, no doubt speaking from full conviction, is a thing that cannot be justified." See also F. Schneider in the Lit. Rundschau, 1881, 239 *et seq.* J. Graus' Kirchenschmuck, 1885, No. 2 *et seq.*, and

The many-sided and methodical study of the intellectual works of former days, with its tendency to deliver men's minds from the formalism of the degenerate scholastic philosophy, and to make them capable of a fresher and more direct culture of all sciences, especially of philosophy and theology, could not but be approved from a strictly ecclesiastical point of view. In the eyes of the Church, everything depended on the method and the aim of the humanistic studies; for the movement could only be hostile to her, if the old ecclesiastical methods were forsaken, if classical studies, instead of being used as means of culture, became their own end, and were employed not to develop Christian knowledge, but rather to obscure and destroy it.*

So long, then, as the absolute truth of Christianity was the standing ground from which heathen antiquity was apprehended, the Renaissance of classical literature could only be of service to the Church. For, just as the ancient world in all its bearings could only be fully manifested to the spiritual eye, when viewed from the heights of Christianity, so Christian faith, worship, and life, could not fail to be more amply comprehended, esteemed, and admired from a clear perception of the analogies and contrasts furnished by classic heathenism.† The conditions imposed by the Popes and other ecclesiastical dignitaries upon the revived study of antiquity could but serve, as long as this study was pursued in a right spirit, to promote the interests of the Church, and these conditions corresponded with the old ecclesiastical traditions.

Proceeding from the principle that knowledge is in itself a great good, and that its abuse can never justify its suppression, the Church, ever holding the just mean, from the first resisted heathen superstition and heathen immorality, but not the Græco-Roman intellectual culture. Following the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who had read the Greek poets and philosophers, most of the men who carried on his work esteemed and commended classical studies. When the Emperor Julian endeavoured to deprive

Hettinger, Welt und Kirche (Freiburg, 1885), ii., 359 *et seq.* These articles by J. Graus have since been published separately in a work entitled: "Die Katholische Kirche, und die Renaissance," Gratz, 1885.

* Bippert, in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, xii., 594-605.

† See the excellent treatise on the Relation of Classical Antiquity to Christendom, in the Histor. polit. Blätter., xxx., 102 *et seq.*

Christians of this important means of culture, the most sagacious representatives of the Church perceived the measure to be inimical and most dangerous to Christendom. Under the pressure of necessity, books on science were hastily composed for teaching purposes by Christian authors, but after the death of Julian the old classics resumed their place.*

The danger of a one-sided and exaggerated interest in heathen literature, regardless of its dark side, was never ignored by Christians. "For many," writes even Origen, "it is an evil thing, after they have professed obedience to the law of God, to hold converse with the Egyptians, that is to say with heathen knowledge."† And those very Fathers of the Church, who judged the ancient writers most favourably, were careful from time to time to point out the errors into which the young may fall in the study of the ancients, and the perils which may prove their destruction. Efforts were made by a strict adherence to the approved principles of Christian teaching, and by a careful choice of teachers, to meet the danger which lurked in classical literature. Thus, history tells us, did the Church succeed in obviating the perils to moral and religious life attendant on its perusal. Zealots, indeed, often enough arose declaring, "In Christ we have the truth, we need no other learning," and there were not wanting Christians who abhorred classical learning, as dangerous and obnoxious to Christian doctrine. But the severity, with which Saint Gregory Nazianzen blames these men, proves this party to have been neither enlightened nor wholly disinterested. In espousing the cause of ignorance, they were mainly seeking their own advancement, regardless of the great interests of science and intellectual culture in Christian society, which they would have left to perish, if they had got the

* Daniel, *loc. cit.*, 20-27. Histor. polit. Blätter., xxxiv., 631, and H. Kellner, Hellenismus und Christenthum (Köln, 1866), 266 *et seq.* Timoteo Maffei, Prior of the Canons Regular of Fiesole, and friend of Cosmo de'Medici, pointed out this law of Julian's to the opponents of classical studies. See his treatise dedicated to Nicholas V.: *In sanctam rusticitatem litteras impugnantem. Cod. Vatic., 5076, f. 8. Vatic. Library.

† Origenes, Ep. ad Greg., 2 (Migne, Patr. Gr. xi., 90), and other passages in B. Braunmüller, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Bildung in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten des Christenthums (Mettener Progr., 1854, 1855), 31 *et seq.*

upper hand. The most clear-sighted of those who watched over the destinies of the Church, were always intent on the protection of these interests,* as were also the great majority of the eastern and western Fathers.

"The heathen philosophy," writes Clement of Alexandria, "is not deleterious to Christian life, and those who represent it as a school of error and immorality, calumniate it, for it is light, the image of truth, and a gift which God has bestowed upon the Greeks; far from harming the truth by empty delusions, it but gives us another bulwark for the Truth, and, as a sister science, helps to establish Faith. Philosophy educated the Greeks, as the law educated the Jews, in order that both might be led to Christ."† "He, therefore, who neglects the heathen philosophy," says Clement in another passage, "is like the fool who would gather grapes without cultivating the vineyard. But as the heathen mingle truth with falsehood we must borrow wisdom from their philosophers as we pluck roses from thorns."‡

In like manner spoke St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other celebrities of the early Church. They all manifested a clear perception of, and a warm susceptibility for, the beauties of classical literature. Without closing their eyes to the disadvantages and dark shadows of heathenism, they also saw the sunshine, the rays of the eternal light, which beamed forth from these glorious achievements of the human intellect; they heard the prophetic voices which rose from their midst, and sought to bring them into unison with the language of Christendom. They discriminated between the common human element contained in classical literature, and the heathen element which enfolds it; the latter was to be rejected, and the former to take its place within the circle of Christian ideas.§ They constantly repeated, that everything depends on the manner in which the heathen classics are read and employed

* Daniel, 37.

† "Επαιδαγώγει γάρ καὶ αὑτὴ (φιλοσωφία) τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς χριστόν," Stromata, i., 5.

‡ Stromata, i., 17; ii., 1. For Clement's judgment respecting the heathen philosophers, see Haffner, Grundlinien, 297 *et seq.*, and Knittel, Pistis und Gnosis in the Tübinger Quartalschrift, Jahrg., 55 (1873), 199 *et seq.*

§ H. Jacoby, Die classische Bildung und die alte Kirche, in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1880, Suppl. 354 and 355.

in education. These expressions of disapprobation are not directed against the classics in themselves, but against a wrong spirit and a perverted method in their use; they agree in this respect with St. Amphilochius, who gave the following advice with regard to the perusal of these works: "Be circumspect in dealing with them, collect the good that is in them, shun whatever is dangerous; imitate the wise bee, which rests upon all flowers and sucks only sweet juices from them."* In the same sense, and with true Attic elegance, St. Basil the Great wrote his celebrated "Discourse to Christian youths, on the right use of the heathen authors."† In opposition to the unjust attacks which treated heathen books without exception as vain lies of the Devil, this great Doctor of the Church, whose fame is still fresh in the Basilian Order, dwells with manifest affection on the value and excellence of classic studies as a preparation for Christian science. The writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen furnish proof of even greater esteem, love, and enthusiasm for the literature of the ancients. "It has cost me little," he says in one of his discourses, "to give up all the rest: riches, high position, influence, in short all earthly glory, all the false joys of the world. I cleave to but one thing, eloquence, and I do not regret having undergone such toils by land and sea to acquire it."‡

* See Daniel, 26 *et seq.*, 38 *et seq.*, Histor. Polit. Blätter, xxxiv., 632 *et seq.*, and Stephinsky, Die heidnischen Classiker als Bildungsmittel (Trier, 1886), xvi. *et seq.*

† Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφέλοιντο λόγων. See Alzog, Patrologie, 3rd ed. (1876), 262 *et seq.* This discourse of St. Basil's was translated into Latin by Lionardo Bruni in 1405 or 1406. Numerous printed publications bear witness to the wide dissemination of this translation, (Panzer, Annales Typographici [Norimbergæ, 1799 *et seq.*], v., 78; x., 141) and the MS. are yet more numerous; the Vatican Library alone possesses 24. See Codd. Vatic., 409, f. 129a-134a; 1494, f. 115a-122a; 1495, f. 162a-173a; 1792, f. 39a-49a; 1807, f. 50a-61a; 2726, f. 100a-109a; 3003, f. 154b-156b (incpl.); 3386, f. 1a-21b; 3407, f. 21b-30b; 5061, f. 51a-62b; 5109, f. 87a-95b. Ottob., 1184, f. 98a-115a; 1267, f, 148a-155a; 1341, f. 1a-26a; 1800, f. 29a-39b. Regin., 1151, f. 30b-38a; 1321, f. 82a-91a; 1464, f. 9a-16b; 1555, f. 129a-141a; 1778, f. 57b-73a; 1784, f. 87a-100a. Urbin., 1164, f. 1a-16a; 1173, f. 1a-15a; 1194, f. 86a-107a.

‡ See Daniel, 25 *et seq.*, and R. Riepl, Des hl. Gregor v. Nazianz Urtheil über die classischen Studien und seine Berechtigung dazu (Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Linz, 1859).

The necessity of combining classical culture with Christian education, henceforth became a tradition in the Church, especially as the scientific development of the period to which most of the above-mentioned Fathers belong, has had an enduring influence on the ages which have followed.*

Amidst the storms of later times, the Church preserved these glorious blossoms of ancient culture, and endeavoured to turn them to account in the interest of Christendom. Monasteries, founded and protected by the Popes, while the genuine spirit of the Church yet lived within them, rendered valuable service in guarding the intellectual treasures of antiquity. With all their enthusiasm for classical literature, the true representatives of the Church were, nevertheless, firmly convinced, that the greatest and most beautiful things antiquity could show came far short of the glory, the loftiness and the purity of Christianity. No exaggerated deification of the heathen writers, but their prudent use in a Christian spirit; no infatuated idolatry of their form, but the employment of their substance in the interest of morality and religion, the combination, in short, of classical learning with Christian life—this was the aim of the Church.

This utilization for Christian ends of the ancient writers was eminently fruitful. "The direct use, which the Fathers made of these writings in their warfare against idolatry and vain philosophy, is obvious. 'But,' Stolberg adds, 'who can estimate all that Origen, the Sts. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom and others gained indirectly in the way of culture and grace, and—more important still—in intellectual energy from the ancients?'"†

The discourses and treatises of those Fathers of the Church who had studied the classics, furnish ample proof that the simplicity of the Faith is far from being impaired by the ornaments of rhetoric. Their poems, as amongst

* Evidence of the traditional practice of 400 years is brought forward by Daniel in his beautiful work (15 *et seq.*), translated into German by J. M. Gaisser (Freiburg, 1855). With regard to ancient times, see Stephinsky in Kraus, Real-Encyclopädie der Christl. Altherthümer (Freiburg, 1881), 29 *et seq.* See also J. Alzog, Commentatio de Litterarum Græcarum atque Romanarum studiis cum Theologia christiana conjungendis (Frib. Brisg., 1857). Also Pohle's excellent article in the Freib. Kirchenlexicon iii., 2nd ed., 421 *et seq.*

† J. Janssen, Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg (Freiburg, 1882), 233.

others, St. Gregory Nazianzen's tragedy, "The Suffering Saviour," render the conceptions of the Patristic, as clearly as Dante's immortal poem does those of the scholastic theology. The efforts of Julian the Apostate to dissolve this Alliance between Christian faith and Græco-Roman culture are a clear indication of the increase of strength which Christianity was then deriving from this source.*

In regard to the reaction towards antiquity, which was the almost necessary consequence of a period of decay of classical learning, the attitude to be adopted by the representatives of the Church was clearly defined. Their promotion of the newly-revived studies certainly in some sense denoted a breach with the later Middle Ages, which had unduly repressed the ancient literature, and, in consequence, fallen into a most complete and deplorable indifference as to elegancies of form, but it involved no breach with the Middle Ages as a whole, far less with Christian antiquity in general.†

But this reaction in the Renaissance took a special colouring and shape from the circumstances of the time in which it occurred. It was a melancholy period of almost universal corruption and torpor in the life of the Church, which from the beginning of the fourteenth century had been manifesting itself in the weakening of the authority of the Pope, the worldliness of the clergy, the decline of the scholastic philosophy and theology, and the terrible disorders in political and civil life.‡ The dangerous elements, which no doubt the ancient literature contained, were presented to a generation intellectually and physically over-wrought, and in many ways unhealthy. It is no wonder, therefore, that some of the votaries of the new tendency turned aside into perilous paths. The beginnings of these defections can already be traced in Petrarch and

* Haffner, Die Renaissance, 116-117.

† Daniel, 184 *et seq.* See Histor. Polit. Blätter xxxiv., 637 *et seq.* With regard to the neglect of form in the later part of the Middle Ages, Paulsen very justly observes, 28-29, that Humanism furnished its complementary contrast; it displays an exclusive attention to form, often combined with an absolute indifference to matter. The matter is frequently a mere lay figure set up to exhibit the elegance of the garment.

‡ Haffner, Grundlinien, 625. Daniel, 199, 207, 222. See Book i., Chapter I.

Boccaccio, the founders of the Renaissance literature, though they never themselves forsook the Church.

The contrasts here apparent became more and more marked as time went on.*

On the one side the banner of pure heathenism was raised by the fanatics of the classical ideal. Its followers wished to bring about a radical return to paganism both in thought and manners. The other side strove to bring the new element of culture into harmony with the Christian ideal, and the political and social civilization of the day.† These two parties represented the false and the true, the heathen and the Christian Renaissance.

The latter party, whose judgment was sufficiently free from fanatical bias to perceive that a reconciliation between existing tendencies would be more profitable than a breach with the approved principles of Christianity and the development of more than a thousand years, could alone produce real intellectual progress. To its adherents the world owes it, that the Renaissance was saved from bringing about its own destruction.

Not a few Humanists wavered between the two streams. Some sought to find a happy mean, while others were in youth carried away by the one current, and in mature age by the other.

No one has better expressed the programme of the radical heathenizing party than Lorenzo Valla in his book on Pleasure, published in 1431.‡

* The presence of these two opposing tendencies in the Humanism of the fourteenth century has been pointed out by A. Wesselofsky in the introduction to his edition of the "Paradiso degli Alberti." H. Janitschek also followed the same line, and thus succeeded in disentangling and bringing some order into the chaos of the literary life of the fifteenth century. See also Hettner, 168 *et seq.*

† Janitschek, 8, 9.

‡ L. Vallæ de voluptate ac vero bono libri III. (Basileæ, 1519); Vallæ, Opp. 896-999. Janitschek, who was the first rightly to estimate the importance of this work, believes it to have been written "between 1430 and 1435" (10). He has overlooked the fact that Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., 44, had previously, in 1869, determined this to be the time of its publication. A second work, composed about 1433, in which the Epicurean doctrines are professed in all their fulness, is mentioned by Voigt, Wiederbelebung, I., 2nd edition, 470. Vahlen's (*loc. cit.* 46) opinion that these two works were never printed, is erroneous. Besides the Louvain edition of 1483 quoted by Voigt, I saw one printed at Cologne "in domo Quentell," in 1509.

This treatise, in some ways a very remarkable one, is divided into three dialogues, in which Lionardo Bruni represents the teaching of the Stoics, and Antonio Beccadelli that of the Epicureans, while Niccolò Niccoli maintains the cause of "the true good." These personages are well chosen. The grave majestic Bruni had really, as one of his unprinted works* proves, endeavoured to effect a union between Christian Ethics and the Stoic philosophy. Antonio Beccadelli, surnamed Panormita from his native city, Palermo, was his direct Antipodes. He was the author of "Hermaphroditus," a collection of epigrams far surpassing in obscenity the worst productions of ancient

* Isagogicon moralis philosophiæ. This treatise, like Bruni's other writings (see Mai, Spic. I., 548), enjoyed an uncommonly wide circulation. I have noted the following MSS.:—Arras, Town Library: Cod. 973 (from the Cathedral Library). Basle, Libr.: Cod. f. ii., 13. Dresden, Royal Library: Cod. C. 374, f. 35, 36 (imperfect). Escurial, Libr.: see Haenel, Catal. 951. Florence, Laurent. Libr.: Cod. Castellina, 92, f. 41-62; National Libr.: Cod. Magliabech, cl. vii., Cod. 180, n. 4; cl. xxiii., Cod. 148, n. 2; Cod. l. i., 31 (from S. Mark's). MS. Strozz, cl. xxiii., Cod. 149, n. 2. Riccardian Libr.: Cod. m.-i.-xvi. and n.-ii.-xii. Milan, Trivulzio Libr.: Cod. 761, n. 3. Naples, National Libr.: Cod. viii., g. 12. Rome: Buoncompagni Libr.: (see Narducci's Catalogue, 130). Chigi Libr.: Cod. i., iv., 118. Vatic. Libr.: Cod. Vatic., 372 (unpaged towards the end, Isag. without title), 5116, f. 43-63. Regin., 777, f. 61b. *et seq.*, 786, f. 91-103b., 1555. Ottob., 1239, f. 1-13. Urbin., 1164, f. 98b. *et seq.*, 1173, f. 129 *et seq.*, 1339, f. 1 *et seq.*, 1439, f. 1 *et seq.* Turin, University Libr.: Cod. g. v., 34, f. 12 *et seq.* Vienna, Court Lib.: Cod. lat. 960 and 3420 (the extracts from this MS. in Janitschek, 101. a, 15, are not quite correct). Zeitz, Canons' Libr.: Cod. lxxviii. (F. Bech's Reckoning), f. 77-91. Following Janitschek, (101), and Voigt (ii. 2nd ed., 458), I had believed Bruni's Isagocicon moralis disciplinæ to be unprinted. This is not the case. On the contrary, I can mention two examples of this remarkable little book. The first of them, without a title-page, I found in a miscellaneous volume in the Library of the University at Innsbruck (Sig. ii. 6, f. 1051-2). Here it fills forty small unpaged quarto sheets. Another example, in a private library, gives a partially better text; and, like the one in the library at Innsbruck, must have been printed in Italy (Rome?) in the last third of the fifteenth century. This copy has the title-page: "Hysagoga Leonardi Aretini||. de philosophia morale ad Gale|| otum incipit fœliciter||" The closing words are: "Finitur introductio philosophiæ moralis|| Leonardi Aretini ad Galeotum suum||" It fills thirty small quarto sheets.

times. Niccolò Niccoli, "the reviver of Greek and Latin literature in Florence," was, in a certain sense, a type of the Christian Humanist; his fundamental principle was, that scientific investigation and Christian sentiment must go hand in hand. Even from friends such as Poggio and Marsuppini he would not tolerate words of disrespect for his faith; he detested all materialists and unbelievers. The errors of his life were atoned for by a most edifying death.*

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the conclusion of the Dialogues; their purpose is simply to cast ridicule upon the Stoic morality, as used by the party of conciliation as a bond of union between heathen and Christian views, and that with the ulterior aim of casting ridicule on the moral teaching of the Church.†

Cautiously, but yet clearly enough and with seductive skill, the Epicurean doctrine was put forward as defending a natural right against the exactions of Christianity. The gist of this doctrine is summed up by Beccadelli, the exponent of Valla's own views, in the following sentences: "What has been produced and formed by nature cannot be otherwise than praiseworthy and holy;" "Nature is the same, or almost the same as God."

It has been remarked by a judge,‡ who is far from severe, that the last of these propositions, placing the creature on a footing of equality with the Creator, strikes at the very foundations of Christianity; the first demolishes those of morality, substituting for virtue pleasure, for the "will or love for what is good and the hatred of evil," pleasure, "whose good consists in gratifications of mind or body, from whatever source derived."

Beccadelli, the mouthpiece of Valla, further teaches, with perfect consistency, that the business of man is to enjoy the good things of nature, and this to their fullest extent. The "gospel of pleasure" demands the gratification of every sense; it completely ignores the barriers of chastity

* When this great scholar felt the approach of death, he had an altar erected in his sick room on which his friend Ambrogio Traversari said mass daily. The dying man received the Holy Viaticum with such devotion that all present were moved to tears. See the striking picture given by Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 627 *et seq.*

† Janitschek, xi.

‡ Geiger, Renaissance, 132

and honour, and would have them abolished, where they still exist, as an injustice.* No sense is to be denied its appropriate satisfaction. The individual, says Valla plainly, may lawfully indulge all his appetites. Adultery is in the natural order. Indeed, all women ought to be in common. Plato's community of women is in accordance with nature. Adultery and unchastity are to be eschewed only when danger attends them: otherwise all sensual pleasure is good.†

Pleasure, pleasure, and nothing but pleasure! Sensual pleasure is, in Valla's eyes, the highest good, and therefore he esteems those nations of heathen antiquity happy, who raised voluptuousness to the rank of worship.‡ Vice becomes virtue, and virtue vice. All his indignation is called forth by the voluntary virginity ever so highly esteemed in Christendom. Continence is a crime against "kind" nature. "Whoever invented consecrated Virgins," he said, "introduced into the State a horrible custom, which ought to be banished to the furthest ends of the earth."

* The following passage will give a notion of the mad ideas which Beccadelli (Valla) puts forth (lib i., cap. 22): "Ausim medius fidius affirmare, nisi fœdæ simul et emeritæ mulieres reclamarent ac velut facto agmine impetum facerent, utpote quæ numero vincunt formosas vel nudas vel seminudas, per urbem utique in æstate incessuras, quod utinam, ut pro me dicam, hoc a viris fieri permitteretur et plus bellas corpore quam deformes, teneras quam exsiccatas andiremus. Nam si his fœminis, quæ pulchrum capillum, pulchram faciem, pulchrum pectus habent, has partes denudatas ferre patimur, cur in eas iniuriosi sumus quæ non iis partibus, sed aliis pulchræ sunt?"

† Lib. i., cap. 38: "De fornicatione et adulterio non improbando;" "Omnino nihil interest utrum cum marito coëat mulier an cum amatore." Cap. 40: "Quod formula Platonica de communione fœminarum est secundum naturam." Cap. 41: "Utile fore si fœminæ non essent singulorum." Cap. 42: "Vitanda interdum stupra et adulteria propter metum et periculum." Cap. 43: "Quod aliqui mœchi plectantur, non propterea mœchos esse damnandos." "Si quis in adulterio deprehensus, morte aut alia pœna plectatur, is, si recte indicemus, imprudentiæ non incestus pœnas luit." "Omnis voluptas bona est."

‡ The passage on this subject in the 46th chapter of the first book is as follows: "Felices illæ fœminæ Siccenses (quæ est in Africa civitas), quæ vetere instituto, si rem non habebant, non in Vestæ templo ad perpetiendam continentiam retrudebantur, sed in fano Veneris dotem sibi comparabunt."

This institution has nothing to do with religion; "it is sheer superstition." "Of all human things, none is more insufferable than Virginity. If we were born after the law of nature, it is also a law of nature that we should in turn beget. If you must have women consecrating their whole lives to the service of religion, choose married women and, indeed, those whose husbands are priests. Observe, however, that all the Divinities, with the sole exception of Minerva, were married, and that Jupiter, so far as in him lay, could not endure virgins. Those who profess themselves to be consecrated virgins are either mad, or poor, or avaricious."*

The new Gospel of a life of pleasure, in opposition to the Scriptural law, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," is indeed put forward only by way of argument, but this is done in a manner which gives the reader easily to understand that Valla himself agreed with it.

An able modern historian observes: "It is not surprising that these discussions earned for Valla the reputation of maintaining pleasure to be the chief good; that the form of disputation was looked upon as a simple precaution, and the triumph of Christian Ethics as a mere show of justice. The poisonous theory of life had been promulgated, it mattered little whether it was defended or not. Moreover, that which was known of the author's life said but little for his morality."†

Valla was not alarmed by the attacks of theologians on his daring opinions, for King Alfonso of Naples was his firm protector. On the contrary, he now betook himself to the realm of theology, and eagerly sought opportunities of encountering his ecclesiastical opponents.‡ His dialogue on religious vows, the first of his works to become known in recent times, here comes under our notice.§ It is of

* The passages quoted are in lib. i., cap. 44: "Non esse nefas se virginibus sanctimonialibus immiscere;" and in cap. 46: "Accusatio virginitatis." In the first section occurs the following sentence, which cannot well be translated: "Melius merentur scorta et prostibula de genere humano, quam sanctimoniales virgines ac continentes."

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 470. See Monrad-Michelsen, 44, 45.

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*, i., 2nd ed., 474.

§ De professione religiosorum, published by Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., lxii., 99-135.

special interest, as in its pages Valla goes far beyond the previous attacks of the Humanists on the monastic life. His predecessors in this field had assailed the externals of the religious state; they had, under the guise of stories, held up the excesses of individuals to scorn. Valla, in this work, treats the subject quite differently. His attack is of a more radical character; he assails the monastic life in itself, combating the proposition, which has always been upheld by the Church, that by the same course of moral life, a man bound by religious vows attains higher merit and gains a greater reward than does one who belongs to no religious order.* The acrimonious remarks in regard to the clerical and monastic states, with which this book abounds, are of trifling importance in comparison with this, its main intent and purpose, which strikes at the very root of the religious life in general.

With equal audacity and venom, Valla turned his arms against the temporal power of the Papacy, in his pamphlet, "On the falsely credited and invented Donation of Constantine."† Considerations affecting the genuineness of this document had been put forward some years previously by the learned Nicholas of Cusa, in his "Catholic Concordance;" and, independently of Valla and Cusa, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, in the middle of the fifteenth century, showed by a careful sifting of the historical evidence the untenable character of this long-credited document.‡ But Valla, in his work, went a great deal further than these writers. In his hands the proof that the document was a recent forgery became a violent attack on the Temporal Power of the Popes. If Constan-

* The idea attacked by Valla is very beautifully expressed in a sermon by St. Bernardine of Siena, which has not yet been printed: *Sermo fratris Bernardini de Senis de sacra religione, et quod melius est bonum facere ex voto quam ex libera voluntate. Cod. A.D., xiii., 41, n. 7. Libr. of Brera at Milan.

† De falsa credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio, first printed by Hutten, 1517, with an insolent preface, addressed to Leo X. (see D. F. Strauss, Hutten, i., 280-285, and Janssen, Deutsche Gesch., ii., 62, 63), and often subsequently printed.

‡ Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 103, 104. In the year 1443, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini urged Frederick III. to bring the question of Constantine's Donation under the consideration of a Council. Mühlbacher, in the Mittheilungen, ii., 115 *et seq.*, shows how, later on, the Imperial Chancery took cognizance of the results of contemporary criticisms of this document.

tine's Donation be a forgery of later times, he concluded, then the Temporal Principality of the Popes falls to ruin, and the Pope has nothing more urgent to do than to divest himself of the usurped power.* The Pope is all the more bound to do this, because, according to Valla's view, all the corruption in the church and all the wars and misfortunes of Italy are the consequence of this usurpation.

The virulence of Valla's denunciations against the "overbearing, barbarous, tyrannical Priestly domination" has scarcely been surpassed in later times. "The Popes," he says, "were always filching away the liberties of the people, and therefore when opportunity offers the people rise. If at times they willingly consent to the Papal rule, which may happen when a danger threatens from some other side, it must not be understood that they have agreed to continue slaves, never again to free their necks from the yoke, and that their posterity has no right of settling their own affairs. That would be in the highest degree unjust. We came of our own free will to you, O Pope, and asked you to govern us; of our own free will we go away from you again, that you may no longer govern us. If we owe you anything, then make out the debit and credit account. But you wish to rule over us against our will, as if we were orphans, although we might perhaps be capable of governing you with greater wisdom. Moreover, reckon up the injustices, which have so often been inflicted on this State by you or the magistrates you have appointed. We call God to witness that your injustice constrains us to rise against you, as Israel of old rose against Jeroboam. And the injustices of those days, the exaction of heavy tributes, how trifling were they in comparison with our disasters! Have you enervated our State? You have. Have you plundered our churches? You have. Have you outraged matrons and virgins? You have. Have you shed the blood of citizens in our towns? You have. Shall we bear this? Or shall we, perhaps, because you choose to take the place of a father, forget that we are children? As a father, O Pope, or, if the title suits you better, as a lord, we have called you hither, and not as an enemy or an executioner. Although the injuries we have suffered might justify us, we will not imitate your cruelty or your impiety, for we are Christians. We will not raise the avenging

* Vahlen, Valla, 202, 203. See Invernizzi, 123 *et seq.*

sword against your head, but after we have dismissed and removed you, we will appoint another father and lord. Sons are permitted to flee from evil parents who have brought them up, and shall we not be allowed to flee from you, who are not our real father, but only a foster-father who has treated us extremely ill? Attend to your priestly office, and do not set up a throne in the regions of night, thence to thunder forth and hurl the hissing lightnings against this and other nations. The forgery of Constantine's gift has become a reason for the devastation of all Italy. The time has come to stop the evil at its source. Therefore I say and declare—for if I put my trust in God I will not be afraid of men—that during the years of my life, not one true and prudent steward has occupied the Papal Chair. Far from giving food and bread to the family of God, the Pope declares war against peaceful nations, and sows discord between States and Princes. The Pope thirsts after foreign possessions, and exhausts his own. He is what Achilles called Agamemnon, 'a king who devours the people.'"*

It will be seen that it is Valla, not Machiavelli, who started the often-repeated assertion that the Popes are to blame for all Italy's misfortunes. Like the Florentine historian, Valla knows not, or else forgets, that the Church and her rulers preserved the most valuable elements of the ancient culture for humanity, civilized the barbarians, and created mediæval international law—that the Primate as head of the one Church founded by Christ must necessarily have fixed his seat in the capital of ancient power and civilization, and in order perfectly to fulfil his high office, must be a monarch and not a subject.†

As to the important question, in what light the more recent gifts of territory to the Holy See were to be re-

* Vallæ Opp., 793, 794. Monrad-Michelsen, 32-34.

† Hipler, Geschichts-Auffassung, 73. Phillips, v., 705. With regard to Machiavelli, and also Valla, Wegele, (Dante, 5,) justly observes that it is impossible to make the Popes alone responsible for the political disruption of Italy. "Certainly, as they claimed a political and territorial position, the (centralized) unity of Italy, whether under a native or a foreign prince, could never enter into their desires and plans; and yet it is none the less certain that the sympathies of the Italians themselves were almost always with them in this matter, and accordingly they, too, must be held in some measure responsible for the disunion of Italy."

garded, Valla proceeds very simply. He maintains that, being renewals of Constantine's ancient gift, they could not constitute a new right! The objection that, failing Constantine's document, the temporal possessions of the Popes rested on the right of prescription, he meets with the assertion that, in the case of unauthorized dominion over men, the right of prescription has no existence, and that, even if it had, it would long since have been forfeited by the tyranny of the Popes. This tyranny was all the more crying because the exercise of temporal power was quite inconsistent with the duties of a spiritual Head.*

In the above-mentioned pamphlet, which is a caricature of the government of the Popes, and openly calls the Vicars of Christ "tyrants, thieves, and robbers,"† the author of the "Dialogue on Pleasure" frequently assumes the air of a pious Christian. He endeavours to speak in an edifying manner of "the loftiness and grandeur" of the spiritual office of the Popes, and brings forward a number of quotations from Holy Scripture. In strange contrast with these passages in his work are the oft-repeated passionate appeals to the Romans, urging them to revolt against the temporal power of the Holy See. Valla also addresses the Princes; paints in the darkest colours the grasping ambition of Rome, and pronounces them to be justified in depriving the Pope of the States of the Church.‡ He concludes this menacing libel with a formal declaration of war against the Papacy. "If the Pope refuses," he says, "to quit the dwelling, which does not belong to him, and return to his own, and to take refuge from the angry waves in the haven of his own vocation, I will set about a second discourse, which will be much more violent than the present one."§

In order to form a correct estimate of Valla's anti-papal pamphlet, the circumstances under which it appeared must be taken into consideration. According to his own account, he wrote it six years after the insurrection of the Romans against Eugenius IV. This Pope, who, as feudal Lord of Naples, favoured the claims of the House of Anjou, was at

* Vahlen, Valla, 203.

† Vallæ Opp. 791.

‡ Vallæ Opp. 762.

§ *Loc. cit.*, 795. The very title, "Successor of Peter," seems to Valla unsuitable, (Opp. 776); some of his expressions sound actually Protestant. See Monrad-Michelsen, 10.

the time in open conflict with King Alfonso, who, on his side, supported the schismatics of Basle. This state of affairs explains how Valla, living under the protection of the King, could venture thus to declare war against the head of the Church and the spiritual power.* The sincerity of his convictions as to the unrighteousness of the temporal power of the Holy See soon became apparent. After the reconciliation of the Neapolitan Monarch with Eugenius IV., he made every possible effort to enter the Papal service. In a humble letter addressed to the Pope, whom he had so lately abused as a tyrant, he retracted his former writings, and expressed his willingness in future to devote himself to the service of the Apostolic See.†

"The treatise regarding Constantine's grant," says an author who occupies almost the same position as Valla, "was the boldest attack on the temporal power ever ventured on by any reformer; was it then strange that a new popular tribune—a Stefano Porcaro—should arise?"‡ In zealously prosecuting the pamphlet the Papacy merely acted in self-defence. Any other Government would have done the same, for Valla called on the Romans to drive the Pope from Rome, and even intimated that it would be lawful to kill him.§ That the ideas, expressed with such unexampled

* See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 473 *et seq.*, and Monrad-Michelsen, 10-26 (Clausen, L. Valla, Kjöbenhavn, 1861).

† Hettner, 172, justly calls Valla unprincipled. That those who shared Valla's opinions "showed no excess of stubbornness, or heretical obstinacy," (Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 478), and had no principle, has been often and justly repeated in recent times (see Villari, i., 120, 129, and Comba, 428). If Valla wrote to the once reviled Eugenius IV., "Ut si quid retractione opus est, et quasi ablutione, en tibi me nudum offero," Pomponius Lætus confessed to Paul II.: "Fateor et me errasse et ideo pœnas mereri. . . . Rursus peto veniam." Platina even offered to become an informer: "Tibi polliceor, etiam si prætervolantibus avibus aliquid quod contra nomen salutemque tuam sit, audiero, id statim literis aut nunciis Sanctitati tuæ me indicaturum."

‡ Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 535.

§ Opp. 792. Monrad-Michelsen, 35. Cochläus, writing at a later date, points out with great justice, that Valla's book was not condemned for calling in question the genuineness of Constantine's Donation, but for its abuse of the Apostolic See; if he had modestly defended the truth his work would have been as little objected to as the writings of the other opponents of the Document. C. Otto, Cochläus der Humanist (Breslau, 1874), 74, 75.

audacity, fell on a fruitful soil is evidenced by the attempt of Stefano Porcaro on the life of Nicholas V., and also by the fact that later on, in the time of Pius II., the Papal Secretary, Antonio Cortese, brought out an "Anti-Valla." Unfortunately, only a fragment* of this unprinted work is preserved in the Library of the Chapter at Lucca, which also contains another work against Valla and in defence of the temporal power of the Holy See.†

Valla's audacious attack on Christian morals in his dialogue "On Pleasure" was far surpassed by Antonio Beccadelli Panormita († 1471).‡ Repulsive though the subject be, we must speak of his "Hermaphroditus" or collection of epigrams, because the spirit of the false Renaissance is here manifested in all its hideousness. "The Book," says the Historian of Humanism, "opens a view into an abyss of iniquity, but wreathes it with the most beautiful flowers of poetry." The most horrible crimes of heathen antiquity, crimes whose very name a Christian cannot utter without reluctance, were here openly glorified. The poet, in his facile verses, toyed with the worst forms of sensuality, as if they were the most natural and familiar themes for wit and merriment. "And moreover, he complacently confessed himself the author of this obscene book, justified it by the examples of the old Roman poets, and looked down upon the strict guardians of morality as narrow-minded dullards, incapable of appreciating the voluptuous graces of the ancients."§ Cosmo de' Medici accepted the dedication of this loath-

* Con. 582, f. 491-499, viii., folia Antivallæ Cortesii, made use of by Fabricus-Mansi, vi., 574, and Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 347. See also under the section on Stef. Pocaro's Conspiracy, where the necessary observations are made regarding Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini's paper on the subject.

† Quod papa præsit temporalibus contra L. Vallam in ea oratione, quam fecit de ementita donatione Constantini; (this is addressed to the Pope—strongly against Valla;) Valdensis potius quam Vallensis appellandus est, f. 270-274 of Cod. 582, of the Chapter Library at Lucca.

‡ Regarding Beccadelli, see besides the works cited by Voigt, Wiederbel. i, 2nd ed., 484, the new work of F. Ramorino, Contributi alla storia biogr. e critica di A. B. (Palermo, 1883).

§ Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 481. See Reumont's judgment, Gesch., iii., i., 320, 508, 509, and Invernizzi, 166.

some book, which is proved by the countless copies in the Italian libraries to have had but too wide a circulation.*

Beccadelli's disgraceful work did not, unfortunately, stand alone, for Poggio, Filelfo and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini have much to answer for in the way of highly-seasoned anecdotes and adventures. No writing of the so-called Humanists, however, equals Beccadelli's collection of epigrams in impurity. The false heathen Renaissance culminates in this repulsive "Emancipation of the Flesh," sagaciously characterized by a modern historian as the forerunner of the great Revolution, which in the following centuries shook Europe to its centre.†

The representatives of the Church, who in later times were often too indulgent towards the manifold excesses of the Humanists, happily did their duty on this occasion, and met this "appalling fruit of faith in the infallibility of the ancients" with decision. Pope Eugenius IV. forbad the reading of this work under pain of excommunication. Cardinal Cesarini, a zealous friend of Humanism, destroyed it, wherever he could get possession of it. The most celebrated preachers of the day, St. Bernardine of Siena and Roberto da Lecce, earnestly warned their hearers against such vile literature, and burned Beccadelli's Epigrams in the open squares at Milan and Bologna. Counter publications were also circulated by the ecclesiastical party. The manuscript of a long indictment against Beccadelli, composed by the Franciscan, Antonio da Rho, is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Carthusian, Mariano de Volterra, composed a poem against him, and the learned Minorite, Alberto da Sarteano, wrote a letter of warning to the young men of Ferrara, and also a larger

* Janitschek, 101, Guarino of Verona and A. Loschi praised the "Hermaphroditus" (Schio, 118), and even a Bishop (he belongs to the days of John XXIII.) expressed a wish to read the book. See Ant. Beccadelli ep., lib. iv. (Neapoli, 1746), ep. ii., 23.

† Gregorovius, vii., 2nd ed., 499, without indeed distinguishing between the heathen and the Christian Renaissance, writes, "The revival of learning was the first great act of that immense moral transformation in which Europe was involved, and whose marked epochs are: the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation, and the French Revolution." In reference to Luther's connection with the Libertine Humanism, see the Protestant Paulsen, 128 *et seq.*

work, with a view of counteracting the influence of this impure poet.*

The sensation caused by this vile book was so great that even Poggio, who was certainly by no means over-particular in such matters, advised Beccadelli in future to choose graver subjects, inasmuch as "Christian poets are not allowed the license enjoyed by the heathen." Beccadelli had the insolence to defend himself against this slight reproof, which was not very seriously meant, by an appeal to the authority of the ancients. A great many "learned, worthy, holy Greeks and Romans had," he said, "sung of such things; and yet the works of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenal, Martial, Virgil, and Ovid were universally read; the very Prince of Philosophers, Plato himself, had written wanton verses." Beccadelli then gives a list of Greek philosophers and statesmen, who had indulged in writings of this description, and yet been virtuous. Similarly in his epigrams he had been careful to declare, that although his writings were immodest his life was spotless.† If Beccadelli really believed what he said, daily experience should have taught him another lesson. The horrible crimes which had been the curse of the ancient world, and which were the theme of his elegant verses, raged like a moral pestilence in his time in the larger towns of Italy, especially among the higher classes of society. Florence, Siena, and Naples were described as the chief seats of these excesses;‡ in Siena, indeed, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had been found necessary, as in ancient Rome, to legislate against the prevailing celibacy of men.§ Lucca and Venice also bore

* See Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 91, and Voigt, *loc. cit.* 482 *et. seq.* The burning of the book in Ferrara in presence of Eugenius IV., mentioned by Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 324, as well as by Voigt and Invernizzi, 166, is not proved.

† Ant. Panormitæ Hermaphroditus, ed. F. C. Forberg (Coburgi, 1824), 40, 113. The letter to Poggio is printed in this work (5-13).

‡ *Loc. cit.*, 54. See Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 471 *et seq.* Güdemann, Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des M. A. (Wien, 1884), 217 *et seq.*, and Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 199 *et seq.*, who very justly remarks: "The more clearly the evidence seems to speak in this sense, the more must we be on our guard against its unconditional acceptance or generalization."

§ L. Fumi, Bando di prender moglie in Siena (Siena, 1878).

an evil name in regard to the prevalence of those vices, which had no small share in bringing about the downfall of Greece.*

The corrupting effects of the false, profligate Humanism represented by Valla and Beccadelli made themselves felt to an alarming extent in the province of religion, as well as in that of ethics. The enthusiasm for everything connected with the ancient world was carried to such an excess, that the forms of antiquity alone were held to be beautiful, and its ideas alone to be true. The ancient literature came to be looked upon as capable of satisfying every spiritual need, and as sufficing for the perfection of humanity. Accordingly its admirers sought to resuscitate ancient life as a whole, and that, the life of the period of the decadence with which alone they were acquainted. Grave deviations from Christian modes of thought and conduct were the necessary consequences of such opinions.†

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Cino da Rinuccini brought forward a list of serious charges against the adherents of the false Renaissance. "They praise Cicero's work De Officiis," he says, "but they ignore the duty of controlling their passions and regulating their life accord-

* With regard to Lucca, see S. Bongi, Inventario del archivio di stato in Lucca (1872), i., 213 *et seq.* In the Council of Constance, the Italians in general were reproached with this crime; see Reber, Hemmerlin, 59. On the 2nd May, 1455, the Council of Ten in Venice passed the following resolution* : "Cum clarissime intelligatur quantum multiplicet in hac civitate abhominabile et detestandum vicium sodomitii, unde ad obviendum huic pessimo morbo et ne provocemus super nos iram domini nostri Dei, est totis sensibus et ingeniis providendum: vadit pars quod eligi debeant per capita huius consilii duo nobiles nostri mature etatis pro qualibet contrata, qui tales electi sint per unum annum, etc." The names are given of the men elected for each Quarter (Sexterium, sestiere) who were to put down this crime. See Misti dei Dieci T. XV, *f.* 49b-50 : State Archives of Venice. *Cf.* also P. G. Molmenti, La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata, 2 ediz. (Torino, 1880, 287, 288, and Graziani, 568.)

† The position of these Humanists in regard to the Church was naturally very different from that which the two founders and pioneers of the Renaissance had occupied. The steady growth of this false tendency during the latter part of the fifteenth century, will be described in a future volume of this work. The false Renaissance is not to be considered as responsible for all the immorality of the age ; it aggravated it, but was not the sole cause.

ing to the rules of true Christian chastity. They are devoid of all family affection, they despise the holy institution of marriage, and live without rule. They avoid all labour for the State—either by word or action—saying that he who serves the community serves nobody. As to theology, they give undue praise to Varro's works, and secretly prefer them to the Fathers of the Church. They even presume to assert that the heathen gods had a more real existence than the God of the Christian religion, and they will not remember the wonders wrought by the saints."*

There may be, perhaps, some exaggeration † in these charges, but it cannot be denied, that enthusiastic admiration for the ancients exercised a most deleterious influence on the Christian conscience and life of the representatives of the false Renaissance. Even Petrarch lamented the fact, that to confess the Christian faith and esteem it higher than the heathen philosophy was called stupidity and ignorance, and that people went so far as even to deem literary culture incompatible with faith.‡

It is recorded of the celebrated Florentine Statesman, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, that he held a disputation with a physician versed in philosophy, on the question whether science is in opposition to Christian faith. Like Pietro Pomponazzo, a century later, Albizzi maintained the affirmative, supporting his opinion by quotations from Aristotle.§ Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo, the State Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, openly manifested a great contempt for Christianity and an unbounded admiration for the heathen religion. He adhered to these sentiments to the end, and a contemporary says, "He died without confession or Communion, and not as a good Christian."||

* The "Invettiva" of Rinuccini is printed in the Paradiso degli Alberti, ed. A. Wesselofsky, i., 2, 303-317. See Janitschek, 10.

† Geiger in the Göttinger Gel. Anz., 1880, p. 694, points out, in reference to Janitschek, that in order to give an appearance of justice to his charges, the assailant is too ready to draw a caricature of the other party, and this remark applies also to Rinuccini. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 479, however, unhesitatingly adopts Rinuccini's view.

‡ See Körting, i., 426, 427.

§ Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, iii., 601-618. Reumont, Lorenzo de Medici, i., 2nd ed., 394.

|| Mazzuchelli, Scritt. d'Italia, i., 2, 1004. See Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 375, and Villari, i., 106. "Luigi Marsigli and Colluccio Salutato," says Hettner, 167, "adopted the religious ideas of Cicero,

Few, however, went to such lengths; most of these men, when the reality of death drew near, abandoned their empty speculations, and a penitent return to the dogmas of the faith took the place of their former vagaries. Even such men as Codro Urceo and Machiavelli, before their end, sought the aid of the Church, from which their lives and opinions had estranged them, and whose graces and blessings their writings had contemned; they died after making their confession, fortified with the consolations of religion.*

The adherents of the false Renaissance, with scarcely an exception, were, during life, indifferent to religion. They looked on their classical studies, their ancient philosophy, and the faith of the Church as two distinct worlds, which had no point of contact. From considerations of worldly prudence or convenience they still professed themselves Catholics, while in their hearts they were more or less alienated from the Church. In many cases, indeed, the very foundations of faith and morals were undermined by the triumph of false Humanism.† The literary men and artists of this school lived in their ideal world of classic dreams; theirs was a proud and isolated existence. The real world of social and, yet more, that of moral and religious life, with its needs, its struggles, and its sacrifices,

Virgil, and Seneca. The ancient notions of destiny and fortune were spoken of more than God." To enable us to understand the opinions of these men, the publication of Salutato's didactic poem,* De fato et fortuna, would be most desirable. Only a portion of it is printed. See Voigt, 2nd ed., 207, note 5. MS. copies are numerous. In the Laurentian Library at Florence I saw two copies of the MS., Plut., liii., Cod. 18, and Sma. Annunziata, 86.

* Frantz., Sixtus IV., 187. Müntz, La Renaissance, 14 *et seq.*, and Hipler, 74. As to Machiavelli, see particularly Villari, iii., 324 *et seq.*; and as to Codro Urceo, see Burckhardt, ii., 3rd ed., 274, and a monograph by C. Malagola, Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro (Bologna, 1878), 191.

† Lechler, ii., 500, 501. Körting, i., 193, 194; iii., 245. Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 274, says: "Most of them must inwardly have wavered between scepticism and fragments of the Catholic faith, in which they had been brought up, and externally from motives of prudence adhered to the Church." Hettner, 57, very aptly remarks: It is not in the nature of the Latin race to grub and delve like Faust; dogmatic questions were discussed, but not solved. They were either rank sceptics or careless hypocrites."

was far too common and too burdensome for their notice; and they only condescended to take part in it, in so far as was necessary in order to bring themselves into view and to share in its advantages."*

Overweening self-esteem was a characteristic of all these men; they never thought themselves sufficiently appreciated. Some of them, as for example, Filelfo, cherished a fixed idea that they were the geniuses of their age, and that the whole world must give way to them because they spoke Greek and wrote Latin with elegance. † Notwithstanding all the Stoical phrases, which adorned their discourses and writings, these Humanists were fond of money and good cheer, desirous of honour and admiration, eager to find favour with the rich and noble, quarrelsome amongst themselves, ready for any intrigue, calumny, or baseness, that would serve to ruin a rival. ‡

Poggio Bracciolini may be taken as a genuine representative of this false Humanism. This gifted writer, "the most fortunate discoverer the world has ever known in the field of literature," is, as a man, one of the most repulsive figures of the period. Almost all the vices of the profligate Renaissance are to be found combined in his person, and it would be hard to say whether his slanderous disposition or the gross immorality of his life is most worthy of condemnation.

Notwithstanding occasional expressions of another kind in his writings, there can be no doubt that Poggio's point of view was more heathen than Christian. Christianity and the Church were entirely outside his sphere. To quote the words of the biographer of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "he

* Weiss, Apologie, iii. Elsewhere he very ably discusses the influence of this tendency on art. See on this subject, Cantù, i., 188.

† See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 355, 516; ii., 2nd ed., 367. Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 339, note 1, p. 246. The audacity and pretentiousness of Humanists of this type were often amazing. As, for example, when Poggio in his *Invectiva in Nic. Perottum says: "Senectutem ego meam ita ad hanc diem produxi, ut omni pudore honestetur, omni careat dedecore, ut nulli sit in ea locus impudentiæ," etc. Cod. 17, f. 42, Plut. xlvii. of the Laurentian Library in Florence.

‡ Körting, iii., 157. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 329. Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 311 *et seq.* Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 536.

was such a worshipper of heathen antiquity, that he would certainly have given away all the treasures of dogmatic theology for a new discourse of Cicero."* A remarkable example of his heathen, or rather indifferent, state of mind is furnished by his well-known letter to the Council of Constance on the occasion of the burning of Jerome of Prague. Poggio speaks with the greatest enthusiasm of Jerome, from which, however, it is not to be inferred that he approved of his opinions. On the contrary, the conception of a martyr to any faith was as foreign to the mind of this follower of the false Renaissance as to that of a heretic. The thing which he admired in Jerome was of a very different kind. The courage with which this man met death reminded him of Cato, and of Mutius Scevola, and he considered the eloquence of his address to the Council as approaching that of the ancients. The decision of the ecclesiastical authority is scarcely noticed by Poggio; he only regrets that so noble an intellect should have turned to heresy; "If," he adds, "the accusations brought against him are true." This doubt is, however, disposed of by the cool observation, "it is not my business to judge of the matter; I contented myself with the opinion of those who are considered wiser than I am." †

Almost all the writings of Poggio are offensively obscene and coarse. The worst in this respect, after his "Facetiæ," are his shameless and immoral letter on the license which prevailed at the baths of Zurich, ‡ and his libels on Filelfo and

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 197. See also Villari, i., 96 *et seq.* Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 381. With regard to Poggio's Life, see also Shepherd's Life of Poggio, translated into Italian with additions by T. Tonelli, 2 vols. (Florence, 1825). A new edition of Poggio's letters, based upon the study of MSS. relating to them, is being prepared by Prof. A. Wilmanns, at Göttingen. I have to thank the kindness of this scholar for access to the 2nd and 3rd volume of Tonelli's collection of the Epist. Poggii, which are extremely rare. (Even Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 381, is not acquainted with the 3rd vol.)

† This remarkable document has often been printed. Tonelli, i., 11-20. Regarding the opinion, see Voigt, Enea Silvio, *loc. cit.* Villari, i., 97, and Hettner, 170. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini also speaks in a strange manner of the burning of Jerome, Hist. Boh., c. xxxvi.

‡ De balneis prope Thuregum sitis descriptio. Opp. 297-301, published in French and in Latin by A. Méray, Les bains de Bade

Valla.* "Like the lowest boy out of the streets," says the historian of Humanism, "Poggio assails his adversary with the coarsest abuse and the basest calumny." He accuses these two Humanists of every kind of turpitude, and the greater part of the work is unfit for translation.†

The impression produced is a strange one, when a writer, whose own life was so far from respectable,‡ sets himself up as a censor of the depraved morals of the monks and clergy. Poggio cannot find words sufficiently stinging with which to brand the hypocrisy, cupidity, ignorance, arrogance, and immorality of the clergy. The monks, however, are everywhere the especial object of his sarcasm, often, indeed, in discourses, letters, and treatises, where such sentiments might least have been looked for.§ Violent attacks upon them are to be found, as in his dialogues on Avarice and on Human misery, and in his book against hypocrites. "There are monks," he says, "who call themselves mendicant friars, but it seems rather that they bring others to beggary, being themselves idle and living by the sweat of other men. Some of these assume the name of Observantines. I do not know what good all these can

(Paris, 1876). See D. Hess, Die Badenfahrt (Zürich, 1818), Archiv. für österr. Gesch., xxi., 143, 149. Regarding the "Facetiæ," see Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 15 *et seq.*, and Landau, Ital. Novelle, 68 *et seq.*

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 338.

† Such is the opinion of Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 40. Poggio's works alone, says Burckhardt (i., 3rd ed., 312) contain impurity enough to bring the whole band into disrepute. Villari (i., 102), after mentioning the invectives which Valla and Poggio flung at each other, concludes "Let us escape from this filthy region." See further Ch. Nisard, Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres, etc., 2 vol. (Paris, 1860).

‡ In his 55th year Poggio left the woman with whom he had hitherto lived, and who had borne him fourteen children, to marry a young girl of good family. He justified this proceeding in the Dialogue: An seni sit uxor ducenda. "An essay in elegant Latin," says Villari (i., 101), "sufficed to solve the most difficult problems of life, and to set the conscience at rest." We may here take the opportunity of rectifying a very strange mistake of Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 237. Poggio is represented as an ecclesiastic, although Vespasiano da Bisticci expressly says: "Non volle attendere a farsi prete." Mai, Spicil., i., 547.

§ Geiger, Renaissance, 104. Invernizzi, 91 *et seq.*

be said to do; I only know that most who call themselves Minorites and Observantines are rude peasants and idle mercenaries, who aim not at holiness of life, but at escaping from work."* Even in their preaching, according to Poggio, the object of the monks is not the healing of sick souls, but the applause of the simple folk whom they entertain with buffooneries. They indulge their boorish loquacity without restraint, and are often more like apes than preachers.†

In order to understand how unjustifiable is this caricature of the monks, we must remember that the Religious Orders gave to Italy in the fifteenth century a line of preachers whose devotion to their calling and whose power and earnestness have, even after the lapse of ages, commanded the esteem of those who differ from them. The limits of this work do not permit us to enter into a detailed account of all the brilliant and truly popular orators who produced the remarkable and copious pulpit literature of the age of the Renaissance. The most celebrated preachers of the Franciscan Order were—St. Bernardine of Siena († 1444), Alberto da Sarteano († 1450), St. Jacopo della Marca († 1476), St. John Capistran († 1456), Antonio di Rimini (about 1450), Silvestro di Siena (about 1450), Giovanni di Prato (about 1455), Antonio di Bitonto († 1459), Roberto da Lecce († 1483), Antonio di Vercelli († 1483).‡

* Opp., 102.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 220 (see p. 16). Geiger, Renaissance, 104 *et seq.*, gives other similar passages. Norrenberg, in opposition to Voigt, justly shows in Hülskamps Lit. Handweiser, 1882 (p. 16), and in his Literaturgeschichte (ii., 10), that too much importance is not to be attached to the feud between the Humanists and the Religious Orders. Indeed, as Poggio wished to be buried in the Franciscans' Church of Santa Croce at Florence, and allowed both of his sons to enter the ecclesiastical state, his attacks on the monks do not prove that antagonism against them, which modern writers suppose. His eldest son became a Dominican; the father's objection was merely because he would rather have led him to Humanistic studies, and did not arise from any aversion to the state of life in itself.

‡ Information regarding the above will be found in Wadding, Script. Ord. Min. (Romæ, 1650), and Sbaralea, Suppl. Script. Francisc. (1806); see also Chevalier, Répert., under the foregoing names. In the Dominican Order, besides G. Dominici, Giovanni di Napoli († 1460), Gabriele Barletta († 1470) [see Echard I.,

In his celebrated work on the Renaissance, Burckhardt admirably describes the meaning of these Italian preachers of penance. "There was," he says, "no prejudice stronger than that which existed against the mendicant friars; the preachers overcame it. The supercilious Humanists criticized and mocked; when the preachers raised their voices they were entirely forgotten." With his usual sagacity, this scholar remarks that the men, who bore within them this mighty fervour and this religious vocation, were, in the north, of a mystical and contemplative stamp, and in the south, expansive, practical, and imbued with the national taste for eloquence.* And here we may mention that St. Bernardine of Siena is said to have studied oratory from the ancient models, and that Alberto da Sarteano, one of his most distinguished disciples and followers, certainly did so.†

Too little attention has as yet been bestowed on the action of these preachers of penance, who were highly esteemed and sought after by the people, and even by worldly-minded princes,‡ and zealously supported by the Popes, especially by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. When the History of Preaching in Italy at the period of the Renaissance is written, it will be seen that the free and fervent exercise of this office is one of the most cheering signs, in an age clouded with many dark shadows. It became evident that a new spirit had begun to stir in ecclesiastical life. Many proofs are before us that in Italy and in the other countries of Christendom the words of

820, 844], M. Carrieri, and finally Savonarola, were distinguished as preachers. As we are now dealing with the Early Renaissance, I must refer to a later Volume for a notice of the last-named eloquent preacher.

* Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 238-240. The close connection of the establishment of the Monti di Pietà with the action of the preachers is shown by Ciampi, Niccola della Tuccia, xxiv.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 231; see 233. We shall speak of St. Bernardine later on. Reumont (iii., i., 69) says he is one of the men, who, like St. Francis of Assisi and St Antony of Padua, work on the masses by the fire of love, enkindling them from the glow of their own hearts.

‡ See the * Letter of Fr. Sforza, Duke of Milan, to the Observantines in Bologna, dated 1455, April 28 (regarding Antonio de Bitonto), and his letter to Roberto da Lecce, dated 1458, Dec. 5, in MS. 1613 of the Fonds Ital : National Library, Paris.

censure and warning were not spoken in vain. No age, perhaps, offers such striking scenes in the conversion of all classes of the people, of whole towns and provinces, as does that, whose wounds were so fearlessly laid bare by Saints Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and by Savonarola.*

"An age," as a modern historian observes, "which thus perceives and acknowledges its faults, is certainly not among the worst of ages. If in the individual the recognition of a fault is the first step to amendment, it cannot be otherwise in regard to whole classes of men, to nations, and to the Church itself. No one who bestows even a superficial glance on the literature of the period, can deny that this recognition existed in the Church in the time of the Renaissance. The first and most essential step towards amendment had been taken, and there was well grounded hope that further energetic measures would follow."†

From this point of view, the general unfavourable judgment of the religious and moral condition of the Renaissance period may be essentially modified. At all events, as the first German authority on Italian history has lately observed, it is a mistake to suppose from the numerous testimonies of Pagan tendencies furnished by the Italian Humanists, that these were absolutely general.‡ This gifted nation—and this is especially true of Florence, the intellectual home of the Renaissance—still retained its warm religious feeling in the midst of all party struggles, excommunications, and external conflicts. The numerous confraternities of laymen, to which high and low belonged, kept all classes in constant and salutary contact with the Church which had never ceased to be national, as did also the mystery-plays, in which, until the end of the fifteenth century, distinguished poets and poetesses took part.§ Thus the religious dispositions of

* See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 383 *et seq.*, and Müntz, La Renaissance, 20.

† Opinion of Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, *op. cit.*, 379.

‡ Reumont, Briefe xxii. See Frantz, Sixtus IV., 55, note. F. Torraca, Roberto da Lecce, Arch. Stor. Napolit. 7th year, fasc. 1. Müntz, La Renaissance, 13, 23, 103.

§ Reumont, Briefe xxiii. Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 432. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 128, 237, 238, 243. J. Ciampi, Le rappresent. sacre del medio evo in Italia (Roma, 1865). D'Ancona, Sacre Rappresent.

the people held many things together, which threatened to fall to pieces, and explains much that would otherwise be difficult of solution; it was often very touchingly manifested.* When Gregory XI., the last of the Avignon Popes, laid an interdict upon Florence, crowds of citizens used to assemble in the evenings before the images of the Madonna, at the corners of the streets, and endeavour by their prayers and hymns to make up for the cessation of public worship. Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Eugenius IV., relates that when the Pope, during his sojourn in Florence, blessed the people from a balcony erected in front of the church of Sta. Maria Novella, the whole of the wide square and the adjoining streets resounded with sighs and prayers; it seemed as if our Lord Himself, rather than His Vicar, was speaking. In 1450, when Nicholas V. celebrated the restoration of peace to the Church by the publication of a Jubilee, a general migration to the Eternal city took place; eye-witnesses compared the bands of pilgrims to the flight of starlings, or the march of myriads of ants. In the year 1483 the Sienese consecrated their city to the Mother of God, and in 1495, at the instigation of Savonarola, the Florentines proclaimed Christ their King.†

The magnificent gifts, by which the pomp and dignity of religious worship were maintained, the countless works of Christian art, and the innumerable and admirably organized charitable foundations,‡ also bear testimony to the continuance of "heartfelt piety and ardent faith" in the Italy of the fifteenth century.

Side by side with these evidences of religious feeling in the Italian people, the age of the Renaissance certainly exhibits alarming tokens of moral decay; sensuality and license reigned, especially among the higher classes.§

dei sec., xiv., xv., e xvi. (Firenze, 1872). *Cf.* K. Hillebrand, Etud. Ital. (Paris, 1868), and A Lumini, Le Sacre Rappresent. Ital. dei sec. xiv., xv. e xvi. (Palermo, 1877).

* Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 427. *Cf.* Capecelatro-Conrad, 166.

† Hettner, 165. See F. Torraca, Jacopo Sannazaro (Napoli, 1879), 129, and Müntz, La Renaissance, 10, 14, 15, 20. For the Jubilee of 1450, see Chapter III. of the 3rd book of our present work.

‡ See Woltmann, ii., 136. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 237 *et seq.*, and especially Müntz, La Renaissance, 8 *et seq.*, and 74 *et seq.*

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 25

Statistics on this subject, however, are so incomplete, that a certain estimate of the actual moral condition of the age or a trustworthy comparison with later times is impossible.

But if those days were full of failings and sins of every kind, the Church was not wanting in glorious manifestations, through which the source of her higher life revealed itself. Striking contrasts—deep shadows on the one hand, and most consoling gleams of sunshine on the other—are the special characteristics of this period. If the historian of the Church of the fifteenth century meets with many unworthy prelates and bishops, he also meets, in every part of Christendom, with an immense number of men distinguished for their virtue, piety, and learning,* not a few of whom have been by the solemn voice of the Church raised to her altars. Limiting ourselves to the most remarkable individuals, and to the period of which we are about to treat, we will mention only the saints and holy men and women given by Italy to the Church.

The first of this glorious company† is St. Bernardine of Siena, of the Order of Minorites, whose eloquence won for him the titles of trumpet of Heaven and fountain of knowledge, and whom Nicholas V. canonized about the middle of the century. Around him are grouped his holy brothers in religion: Saints John Capistran, Jacopo della Marca, and Catherine of Bologna, a Sister of the same Order († 1463). Among the Blessed of the Franciscan Order are Tommaso Bellaci († 1447), Gabriele Ferretti († 1456), Arcangelo di Calatafimi († 1460), Antonio di Stronconio († 1471), Pacifico di Ceredano († 1482), Pietro di Moliano († 1490), Angelo di Chivasso in Piedmont († 1496), Angelina di Marsciano († 1435), Angela Caterina († 1448), Angela Felice († 1457), Serafina di Pesaro († 1478), Eustochia Calafata († 1491), etc.

The Dominican Order was yet richer in saints and holy

* Delightful pictures of many great Italian Bishops of this period are given by Vespasiano da Bisticci in the third part of his Vite di uomini illustri (Mai, Spicil, i., 224 *et seq.*) The mere enumeration of the names would fill up too much of our space.

† Information concerning almost all the above named may be found in Chevalier, Répertoire. See also Moroni, Dizionario Eccl. Stadler-Heim, Heiligen Lexicon, i.-v. (Augsburg, 1858-1882). A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 20 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 365 *et seq.*

persons. Blessed Lorenzo da Ripafratta († 1457) laboured in Tuscany, and under his direction the apostolic St. Antoninus († 1459) grew up to be a pattern of self-sacrificing charity, and the glorious talent of Fra Angelico da Fiesole († 1455) soared heavenward, leading men's hearts to the Eternal by the language of art, as the mystics had done by their writings.* St. Antoninus, whose unexampled zeal was displayed in Florence, the very centre of the Renaissance, had for his disciples Blessed Antonio Neyrot of Ripoli († 1460) and Costanzio di Fabriano († 1481). Blessed Giovanni Dominici († 1420) and Pietro Geremia da Palermo († 1452) were celebrated preachers and reformers. Then follow Blessed Antonio ab Ecclesia († 1458), Bartolomeo de Cerveriis († 1466), Matteo Carrieri († 1471), Andrea da Peschiera († 1480), the Apostle of the Valteline, the recently beatified Cristoforo da Milano († 1484), Bernardo Scammaca († 1486), Sebastiano Maggi da Brescia († 1494), and Giovanni Licci, who died in 1511, at the extraordinary age of one hundred and fifteen. The Dominicaness, Chiara Gambacorti († 1420), had held communication with the greatest saint of the later mediæval period, St. Catherine of Siena; and, together with Princess Margaret of Savoy († 1407), also a Dominicaness, was subsequently beatified.† In the Order of St. Augustine we have to mention the following who have been beatified:—Andrea, who died at Montereale in 1479, Antonio Turriani († 1494), Rita of Cascia († 1456), Cristina Visconti († 1458), Elena Valentino du Udine († 1458), and Caterina da Pallanza († 1478). Blessed Angelo Mazzinghi de Agostino († 1438) belonged to the Carmelite Order; that of the Gesuati had Giovanni Travelli da Tossignano († 1446), the Celestines, Giovanni Bassand († 1455); and the Regular Canons the Holy Patriarch of Venice, St. Lorenzo Giustiniani († 1456). Blessed Angelo Masaccio († 1458) was of the Camaldolese Order, and finally the great Cardinal Bishop of Bologna, Albergati († 1443), was a Carthusian. St. Frances († 1440), the foundress of the Oblates, was working in Rome. The

* Frantz, Sixtus IV., 54. See Marchese, Scritti, ii., 233-261, on Lorenzo da Ripafratta.

† See Reumont, Briefe, 77 *et seq.*, who observes that another member of the Gambacorti family was beatified, viz., Pietro († 1435), founder of the Congregation of Hieronymites, which founded Sant Onofrio in Rome.

labours of another founder, St. Francis of Paula (born 1416, † 1507), belong in part to the period before us. These names, to which many more might easily be added, furnish the most striking proof of the vitality of religion in Italy at the time of the Renaissance. Such fruits do not ripen on trees which are decayed and rotten to the core.*

Though it is an error to consider all ranks of Italian society in the fifteenth century as tainted with the spirit of Paganism, we must admit that the baneful element in the Renaissance took fearful hold on the upper classes. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The seductive doctrines of Epicurus, and the frivolous, worldly wisdom of the Rome of Augustus, were far more attractive than Christian morality. To a pleasure-loving and corrupt generation, the vain mythology of heathenism was infinitely more congenial than the Gospel of a crucified Saviour, and the religion of self-denial and continence. Many ecclesiastical dignitaries also unhappily show undue favour to the false Humanism. Startling as this may at first sight appear, it is by no means difficult to account for it.

In the first place we must consider the wide-spread worldliness among the clergy, which was a result of the Avignon period of the Papacy, and the subsequent confusion of the schism. Secondly, Humanism soon became such a power that a struggle with it under existing circumstances would have been very hazardous. The chief reason, however, that the Church and the false Renaissance did not come into open conflict, was the extreme care taken by almost all the adherents of this school to avoid any collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. The race of dilettanti and free-thinkers looked upon the doctrinal teaching of the Church as a thing quite apart from their sphere. If in their writings they invoked the heathen gods, and advocated the principles of the ancient philosophers, they also took pains from time to time to profess their submission to the Creeds, and were skilful in throwing a veil over the antagonism between the two.† However vigilant the rulers of the Church might be, it was often very hard to determine when this toying with heathenism became really reprehensible.

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 367. Many Saints belonging exclusively to the second half of the century are mentioned by him and by A. Weiss, *op. cit.*

† Grenzboten, 1884, No. 21, p. 369. See Gieseler, ii., 4, 504. Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 533. Müntz, La Renaissance, 15, 16.

The strange medley of heathen and Christian words, ideas, and thoughts, that prevailed in the age of the Renaissance is notorious. The Church authorities were not severe on transgressions of this kind; and as far as literature was concerned, there can be no doubt that their leniency was thoroughly justified. If the Humanists, in their horror of sinning against Ciceronian Latinity, endeavoured to express Christian ideas in antique phrases, the fashion was certainly an absurd, rather than a dangerous, one. "What need," says Voigt, with reason, "to cry out, if a lively orator should introduce a Roman asseveration into his discourse. Who would charge him with polytheism, if, instead of calling on the one God, he should on some occasion say: 'Ye Gods!' Or if a poet, instead of imploring Divine grace, should beg the favour of Apollo and the Muses, who would accuse him of idolatry?"* Accordingly, when Ciriaco of Ancona chose Mercury for his patron saint, and on his departure from Delos addressed a written prayer to him, his contemporaries were not the least scandalized, but contented themselves with laughing at his enthusiasm, and singing of him as "the new Mercury," and "immortal as his Mercury."† The indulgence, which the ecclesiastical authorities showed towards the false Renaissance, is intelligible enough, if we remember that its obviously dangerous tendencies had much to counterbalance them.

From the beginning, the true Christian Renaissance existed side by side with the false.

Its followers were equally enthusiastic in their admiration for the treasures of antiquity, and they recognized in

* Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 479. See Paulsen, 7, 33, and Müntz, La Renaissance, 12. Similar examples are to be found not only in Dante (see Wegele, pp. 498, 501, 522), but also at an earlier date. See F. Piper, Mythologie der Christl. Kunst, 2 vols. Here is also mentioned the exaggeration of this fashion in the time of Leo. X., of which we shall speak later on (i., 1, 285 *et seq.*). See also Cantu, i., 189. Burckhardt also points out that the Pedants who latinized everything, are not to be judged too severely. Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 292.

† Voigt, *op. cit*, 2nd ed., 287. Ciriaco's prayer begins: Artium mentis ingenii facundiæque pater alme Mercuri, viarum itinerumque optime dux, etc. O. Jahn publishes it in the Bull dell Inst. di corr. Arch., 1861, p. 183. We may here remark that Ghiberti's enthusiasm for the Greeks went so far that he counted time not from the Christian era, but from the Olympiad. Rio, i., 315.

the classics a most perfect means of intellectual culture, but they also clearly perceived the danger attendant on the revival of the old literature, especially under the circumstances of the time. Far from relentlessly sacrificing to heathenism that Christianity, which had permeated the very life of the people, they deemed that safety lay in the conciliation of the new element of culture with its eternal truths; and in this opinion they had the support of Dante, and were in accord with Petrarch's highest aspirations. They were justly alarmed at the radical tendency, which aimed at doing away with all existing sanctions and influences. They saw with dismay that all national and religious traditions were threatened, and that therefore a salutary result from the movement was very doubtful. The programme of these men, the most clear-sighted and sober-minded of the Humanists, was the maintenance of religious and national traditions, the study of the ancients in a Christian and national spirit, the reconciliation of the Renaissance with Christianity.*

The chief representatives of the Christian Renaissance were Giannozzo Manetti, Ambrogio Traversari, Lionardo Bruni, Gregorio Carraro, Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vegio, Vittorino da Feltre, and Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards known as Pope Nicholas V.

Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), the friend of Pope Eugenius IV. and Pope Nicholas V., was most deeply convinced of the truth of the Christian Religion. This noble-minded and distinguished scholar† used to say that the Christian Faith is no mere opinion, but an absolute certainty, that the teaching of the Church is as true as an axiom in mathematics. However much occupied Manetti might be, he never went to work without first having heard Mass. He placed all his learning at the service of the Church, and although a layman, was well versed in theology and literature, and translated the New Testament and the Psalms. He had studied three books so indefatigably, that he may be almost said to have known them by heart; these were the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Augustine's City of God, and the Ethics of Aristotle. Manetti was the

* See Janitschek, 14-15. Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 271. Norrenberg, ii., 13. Villari, i., 109 *et seq.*, and Müntz, La Renaissance, 16, 17, 91.

† Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 261.

first, and, for a long time, the only Humanist in Italy, who turned his attention to the Oriental languages. To defend the cause of Christian truth, he learned Hebrew and began to write a work against the Jews, whom he meant to combat with their own weapons. This great scholar was a man of exemplary life; his friend and biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, affirms that, during an intercourse of forty years, he had never heard an untruth, an oath, nor a curse, from his lips.*

Manetti's teacher was the pious Ambrogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese Order from 1431, a man whom the Protestant historian, Meiners,† declares to have been a model of purity and holiness; a superior, admirable for his strictness and prudent gentleness; an author of great industry and learning, and an ambassador whose talents, courage, and statesmanship won for him a high position amongst the most distinguished of his contemporaries. This eminent scholar was the first to introduce Humanist influences into the ecclesiastical sphere. A mixed assembly of clerics and laymen, the *élite* of the Florentine literary world, used to meet in his convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, to hear him lecture on the Greek and Latin languages and literature, and explain philosophical and theological questions. The biographer of Lorenzo de' Medici speaks enthusiastically of those days when a brilliant intellectual radiance shone forth from this convent, enlightening the dwellings of the Florentine patricians and, through them, the whole world. "Never," he says, "was there seen among clerics and laymen so much real and solid learning devoted to the Church and State, while also ministering to the charm of daily life and the promotion of good morals." Tommaso Parentucelli, who had witnessed this Florentine literary life, which, although not faultless, was on the whole so rich and noble, was unable, even when he had attained the highest dignity in Christendom,‡ to create in Rome anything that could compare with it.

* Naldo Naldi wrote a very full Latin biography of Manetti; see Muratori, Script. xx., 520-608. See Galletti, 129-138, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Commentario della vita di G.M., ed., Fanfani (Turin, 1862).

† Meiners, ii., 279-280.

‡ Reumont, Briefe heiliger Italiener, 109, 110, and Lorenzo de' Medici, i., 2nd ed., 388.

Traversari's unceasing labours in the reform of his Order, and all the harassing toils attendant on his office as Papal Envoy, never interfered with his interest in Greek and Roman literature. Notwithstanding the heavy pressure of necessary business, he contrived to find time to ransack libraries for rare manuscripts and copy them, to visit literary celebrities, to investigate ecclesiastical and heathen antiquities, and by various letters to promote the study of science. His learned works relate chiefly to the Greek writers of the Church, and he was undoubtedly the first authority on the subject and the possessor of the richest collection of books.* In his scrupulous conscientiousness, Traversari thought the translation of profane authors unsuitable to his office. Nevertheless, at the request of his friend, Cosmo de' Medici, he consented to translate Diogenes Laertes on the Lives of the Philosophers, consoling himself with the thought that this work might serve the interests of the Christian religion, "inasmuch as when the doctrines of the heathen philosophy are better known, the superiority of Christianity will be the more clearly understood."

The celebrated Lionardo Bruni (1369-1444), Apostolic Secretary under Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII., and afterwards Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, was also sincerely attached to the Church. His love for the classical did not hinder him from recommending "sacred studies," which, from their very nature, must be the sweetest of "sweet toils." What a contrast there is between Valla and this good man, who, though not himself a monk, esteemed the religious life, and refused to support a monk who wished to leave his convent.† Bruni was greatly looked up to, and people came from all parts to see him; a Spaniard even went so far as to fall on his knees before him. When this noble scholar departed this life on the 9th March, 1444, the Priors deter-

* This is the opinion of Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 321, who cannot be accused of any special preference for Traversari. See Piper, Monument. Theolog., 663, Note 3. With reference to Traversari as an archæologist, see also Müntz, Précurseurs, 113 *et seq.*, and as a jurist, Savigny, vi., 422 *et seq.*

† Geiger, Renaissance, 101. See Monsani in Arch. Stor. Ital. Serie ii., v., i., 29-59; 2, 3-35, and Gherardi, *ibid.* Serie iv., xv., 416-421.

mined to pay him extraordinary honour; his corpse was clad in dark silk, and on his breast lay the History of Florence, as the richest gift of the Chancellor to the Republic. Manetti pronounced the funeral oration, and crowned the dead with the laurel of the poet and the scholar, "as an immortal testimony to his wonderful wisdom and his surpassing eloquence." He was then buried in Santa Croce, where an epitaph composed by Marsuppini, and a monument sculptured by Bernardo Rossellino, mark his resting place.*

Among the Christian Humanists we must reckon Gregorio Corraro, the highly cultured kinsman of Pope Gregory XII., and Francesco Barbaro, who, like him, belonged to a patrician family of Venice.† Barbaro enjoyed the friendship of almost all the learned Italians of his day, and was, by family tradition and personal feeling, devoted to the cause of the Church. In the negotiations with the Councils of Basle and of Florence he sought, with equal zeal, to promote the interests of the Papal power, and to provide for the spiritual wants of his clients. He furnishes a remarkable example of the union of the Humanist and ecclesiastical tendencies in an age when the latter had begun to lose its power.‡

Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458), the worthy explorer of the ancient Christian monuments of Rome, must not be passed

* Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 314 *et seq.* Bruni's monument is the most important of Rossellino's works. The lower part and the figure are of rare grandeur and beauty. Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 365, 366. See Müntz, Précurseurs, 75-90. Vegio and Guarino also composed epitaphs for Bruni. Vegio's* "Epitaphion" is as follows:—

Hoc Aretini Leonardi tecta sepulchro
Quo nemo eloquio clarior, ossa cubant.
Heu quantum damni tali tibi lumine rapto
Et græca et pariter lingua latina facis.
At vivit cuius æternum scripta legentur
Æternum cuius fama superstes erit:
Quam terris longe celebratam extenderat usque
Ad summos quos nunc incolit ipse polos.

—Cod. 5552, f. 39b, the Court Library in Vienna.

† Respecting Barbaro, see Agostini, Scritt. Venez., ii., 37 *et seq.* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 423 *et seq.* With regard to Barbaro's letters, published by Sabbadini, see Willmans' learned criticism in the Gött. Gel. Anz., 1884, 849-885. Reumont, Beiträge, iv., 229-356, has a beautiful essay on Gregorio Corraro.

‡ Willmans, *loc. cit.*, 850.

over. That "tender and eloquent book," the Confessions of St. Augustine, made a deep impression on his mind, as also on that of Petrarch. It brought about Vegio's complete conversion, and induced him to devote himself entirely to ecclesiastical literature. Without transcribing the splendid list of his works, we must mention his widely-read book on Education, inasmuch as it represents an endeavour to combine the wisdom of the Classics with the Bible and the teaching of the Church. He strongly recommends the work of Virgil, Sallust, and Quintilian, as means of culture, but objects to the Elegiacs on account of their indecency, and would have the comic authors reserved for the perusal of grown-up men.* In the time of Eugenius IV., Vegio came to Rome, where he filled the offices of Datary, Abbreviator, and Canon of St. Peter's, and finally became an Augustinian Canon. He died in 1458, and was buried in Sant Agostino, in the very chapel where, thanks to his efforts, the bones of St. Monica had found a fitting place of rest, when brought from Ostia in 1430. Vegio's pure life and piety were honoured beyond the limits of his own order. An enthusiastic notice of him is to be found among the writings of the Florentine Vespasiano da Bisticci.†

The most attractive and amiable of the representatives of the Christian Renaissance is Vittorino da Feltre, the greatest Italian Pedagogue of his age. "He was one of those men who devote their whole being to the end for which their capacities and knowledge specially fit them."‡

* Voigt. Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed,, 466-467. Kämmel, in Schmid's Encyklopädie des Erziehungs und Unterrichtswesens (Gotha, 1873), ix., 656 *et seq.*

† Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 42, Mai, Spicil. i., 653-655. See Schweminski, P. P. Vergerius and M. Vegius (Posen, 1858, Programm). We shall speak of Vegio's work on St. Peter's, which marks the beginning of Christian Archæological literature, when we come to the time of Nicholas V. See Geiger, Vierteljahrschr. für Cultur und Literatur der Renaissance (1885), i., 199-201.

‡ So says Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 255, who, in a few strokes of the pen, has drawn an excellent picture of this admirable man. See Geiger, Renaissance, 171. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 537 *et seq.* Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 33 *et seq.* Kämmel in Schmid's *loc. cit.*, ix., 722 *et seq.* The valuable monograph of Rosmini, Idea dell' ottimo precettore ecc. Le Nottzie stor. int. a. studio pubbl. ed ai maestri dei s. xv. e xvi. che tennero scuola in

The honour of having introduced this excellent man "to his proper sphere of work" belongs to the Marquess Gian Francesco Gonzaga, who summoned him to Mantua in 1425, to take charge of the education of his children and direct the court school. Vittorino began his labours by a thorough cleansing of the Casa Giocosa, the new educational Institution, which was pleasantly situated on the borders of the lake of Mantua.* At his command the gold and silver plate, the superfluous servants, vanished, and order and noble simplicity took the place of pomp and show. The hours of study were punctually observed, but they were constantly varied by bodily exercise and recreation in the open air. Vittorino encouraged his pupils to expose themselves to cold and heat, to wind and rain, for he believed that a soft and idle life was the origin of many maladies; but there was nothing of Spartan harshness in the education, and individual idiosyncrasies were sufficiently respected.† In the fine season he used to take his pupils on long excursions to Verona, to the Lake of Garda, and into the Alps. In regard to decency and good manners, Vittorino was rigid; swearing and blasphemy were always punished, even if the offender were one of the Princes. Corporal punishments were reserved for the worst cases; in general the penalties inflicted were of the nature of disgrace. The moral and religious conduct of the scholars was most carefully watched over, for Vittorino held that true learning is inseparable from religion and virtue. A bad man, he used to say, can never be a perfect scholar, far less a good orator.

His method of teaching was simple and concise; he guarded carefully against the evil subtleties of the day. "I want to teach them to think," he said, "not to split hairs." The classics naturally formed the groundwork of higher education, but with a careful selection fitted for the young.‡ Mathematical Science, Logic, and Metaphysics,

Mantova, tratte dall' archivio stor. Gonzaga di M. per St. Davari (Mantova, 1876), and A. Morlet, Vict. de Feltre et la Maison Joyeuse, ou un lycée modèle au xv. siècle en Italie (Le Havre, 1880).

* Regarding the Casa Giocosa, see Rosmini, *loc. cit.*, 72. Davari, *loc. cit.*, 20, and Paglia's essay in Arch. stor. Lomb., 1883, xi., fasc. i.

† Kämmel, 725. See Rosmini, 81 *et seq.*, 144 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 545, says that Vittorino's judgment and prudent selection must meet with approval even in the present day.

were not neglected; special attention was devoted to composition, and every encouragement given to originality. Vittorino was always ready to help those, who were backward in their studies. Early in the morning he was among his scholars, and when all around had betaken themselves to rest, he worked on with individual boys. "Probably," to use the words of a modern author, "the world had never before seen such a schoolmaster, who was content to be a schoolmaster and nothing else, because in this calling he recognized a lofty mission; one who, just because he sought nothing great for himself, found all the richer reward in the results of his labour."* When a monk asked permission from Pope Eugenius IV. to enter Vittorino's Institution, the Pontiff answered, "Go, my son. We willingly give you up to the most holy of living men."†

Vittorino's fame was widely spread; eager disciples flocked around him from far and near, even from France, Germany, and the Netherlands.‡ Many of these youths were poor, and such were received by the good man with particular affection; they were not only freely instructed, but also fed, lodged, clothed, and provided with books at his expense, and his generosity often extended even to their families. For these scholars, whom he received for the love of God (per l'amore di Dio), he founded a special institution in association with the Princes' School. Here he lived like a father in his family, giving to it all he possessed, for his own wants were very easily satisfied.§ It is no wonder that the scholars looked up to such a master with love and respect. Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, one of the noblest among them, a man distinguished by his courage, cultivation, and large-mindedness, placed Vittorino's portrait in his palace with the inscription: "In honour of his saintly master, Vittorino da Feltre, who by word and example instructed him in all human excellence, Federigo places this here."‖

The secret of this great schoolmaster's immense influence is to be found principally in his religious and

* Kämmel, *loc. cit.*, 725.

† Rosmini, 200. Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 34.

‡ For the story of a Carthusian from the Netherlands, who went to Mantua to study the science of music under Vittorino, see Ambros, Gesch. der Musik, ii., 2nd ed., 486.

§ Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 540.

‖ Rosmini, 362.

moral qualities, his disinterestedness, his humility and simplicity, and the charm of his virginal purity.* All his contemporaries speak with respect of his piety. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that "he daily recited the Divine Office like a priest; he strictly observed the Fasts of the Church, and insisted on his scholars doing the same. He said grace before and after meals like a priest, constantly approached the sacraments, and accustomed his scholars to go monthly to confession to the Observantine Fathers. He also wished them to hear Holy Mass every day; his house was a very sanctuary of good morals."† Vittorino's example shows that a good man may be immersed in classical studies, without making shipwreck of his faith. His liberality equalled his piety; no monk or beggar, who sought his aid, was sent empty away. Notwithstanding his unremitting labours as a teacher and educator, he always found time to visit widows and orphans, the poor, the sick, and even prisoners, and wherever he went, he bore with him comfort, instruction, and help. It was said of him, that the only people who received nothing from him were those, whose needs were unknown to him. Almsgiving on so large a scale would not have been possible, but for the generous support of the Marquess of Mantua and some of his wealthy scholars. All that he received from them was given away to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow men. When he died on the 2nd February, 1446, at the age of sixty-nine, his property was so deeply in debt, that his heirs declined the inheritance, and the corpse had to be buried at the Prince's expense. He left instructions that no monument should be raised to his memory.‡

The position occupied by the representatives of the Christian Renaissance in relation to the ancient world was the only true one, and they have in some degree solved the problem how justly to appreciate antiquity.

* Era di lui opinione, oltre alla continenza che noi abbiamo detto, che fusse vergine. Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 641.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, *loc. cit.*

‡ Rosmini, 164 *et seq.*, 236 *et seq.* A medal by Pisanello was struck in memory of Vittorino, with the inscription: "Victorinus Feltren-summus mathematicus et omnis humanitatis pater." See Friedländer, Schaumünzen in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kuntsamml., i., 101. A monument to Vittorino was erected at Feltre, in 1868, with the inscription: "To Vittorino, the Prince of Educators."

Their enthusiasm for the intellectual treasures of the past never went so far as to endanger their devotion to the Christian religion. Unlike the extreme Humanists, they held fast the principle, that the works of the heathens are to be judged by a Christian standard. They saw the danger of so idealizing the moral and religious teaching of Heathenism, as to make it appear that by its means alone the highest end of life could be attained, thus ignoring the necessity of Christian doctrines and morality, of remission of sin and grace from on high.*

In the light of Christianity alone can the ancient world be fully and justly estimated, for the pagan ideal of humanity, as exhibited in its heroes and divinities, is not, as a modern philosopher† justly observes, a full or complete one. It is but a shadowy outline, wanting the colour and life which something higher must supply—a fragmentary form, which has yet to find its complement in a more perfect whole. This higher Image of human perfection is the Incarnate Son of God, the Prototype of all creatures; no creation of fancy or product of human reason, but the Truth and the Life Itself. The ideals of Greece grow pale before this Form, and only vanity and folly could ever turn from It to them. This folly was perpetrated by the adherents of the false Renaissance, by those Humanists who, instead of ascending from the Greek Poets and Philosophers to Christ, turned their backs on the glory of Christianity to borrow their ideal from the genius of Greece.

The twofold character of the Italian Renaissance renders it extremely difficult justly to weigh its good and evil in relation to the Church and to religion. A sweeping judgment in such cases would generally be a rash one, even were the notices of the individuals concerned less scanty than those which are before us; here, as elsewhere, human penetration is baffled in the endeavour to appreciate all its bearings.‡

A modern Historian has forcibly remarked that every genuine advance of knowledge must in itself be of advantage to religion and to the Church, inasmuch as Truth, Science, and Art are alike daughters of heaven.§ From

* See Katholik, 1855, p. 193-211, 252-259.

† Haffner, Renaissance, 18.

‡ Burckhardt has written in strong language regarding the moral condition of this period (ii., 3rd ed., 199).

§ Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 323.

this point of view we must contemplate the encouragement given by ecclesiastics to the revival of classical literature. A distinction should evidently here be drawn between the two schools of the Renaissance, and judgment pronounced accordingly. Those members of the Church, who promoted the heathen view, acted wrongly, and were, if we look at their conduct with a view to the interests of the Church, blameworthy. Impartial inquiry will, however, lead us to temper this blame by a consideration of all the attendant circumstances, and to bear in mind the difficulty of avoiding the abuse, to which the ancient literature, like all other good things of the intellect, is liable.

The common impression that the dangerous tendencies of the Renaissance were not recognized by the Church is very erroneous. On the contrary, from the beginning, men were never wanting, who raised their voices against the deadly poison of the false Humanism. One of the first in Italy to indicate its pernicious influence on education was the Dominican Giovanni Dominici. This preacher, who laboured ardently for the reformation of his Order, enjoyed the favour of Pope Innocent VII., and was raised to the purple by Gregory XII.* In his celebrated Treatise on the order and discipline of Family Life, written very early in the 15th century, he denounces, with all the energy of his ardent nature, the system "which lets youth and even childhood become heathen rather than Christian; which teaches the names of Jupiter and Saturn, of Venus and Cybele rather than those of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which poisons minds that are still tender and powerless by sacrifice to the false Gods, and brings up wayward nature in the lap of unbelief." †

In yet stronger terms does Giovanni Dominici express

* For a further account of this zealous man, who died at Buda, June 10th, 1419, aged 64, on a diplomatic mission, see Act Sanct. Junius, ii., 396 *et seq.* Echard, i., 768 *et seq.* Fabricius-Mansi, ii., 468, 469; iii., 358. Marchese, Scritti, i., 2nd ed., 34 *et seq.* Salvi, vi.-lvi., and Rattinger in the Hist. Jahrbuch v., 168. * I have seen Sermones de sanctis et de tempore, by G. Dominici, in Cod xi.-68 of the Barberini Library in Rome. The date of 1420, which has been repeatedly given as his death, is erroneous; see the authentic testimony of * the Acta Consistor., in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix, Nr. 16.

† Salvi, 135, 136. See Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 16 *et seq.*

himself in a writing* which has but recently been brought to light, and which is dedicated in courteous language to the celebrated Chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutato. Its primary object was to warn him against being seduced by the charms of the false Renaissance; but at the same time, it aimed at protecting youth in general from the questionable elements contained in the classic literature, and at counteracting its perversion and misuse. The Dominican condemns those, who give themselves up with blind and deluded zeal to heathen learning, and are thus led to depreciate the Christian Religion. Looking at the subject from an ascetic point of view, he is at times blind to the ancient literature. In his horror at the new heathenism, which was rising before his eyes, he is even betrayed into the utterance of such paradoxes as, that it is more useful to a Christian to plough the ground than to study the heathen authors!† Exaggerations of this kind provoked exaggerations from the opposite party, and in this way it became more and more difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to arrive at a clear understanding in regard to the proper use of the ancient classics.

The Franciscans, as well as the Dominicans, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Humanists, or Poets, to use the name by which they were commonly called.‡ It

* Lucula noctis Di. Jo. Dominici cardinal S. Sixti, now in the Laurentian Library in Florence, with the Signature: 174 sop. la porta. Conv. sopp. 549 [Sta Maria Novella, 338] *et seq.* 17-128b. This MS. was long supposed to be lost; see Salvi, lxi., and Wesselofsky, i., 2, 11. Anziani found it again, Janitschek (105) made use of it; see also Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 207, Note 5. Another MS. of the Lucula, 141 pages, with coloured Initials, was sold by the Florentine Antiquarian Franchi (see his Catalogo, No. 47, p. 57) for £130 to Signor Andrea Nizzi.

† Utilius est christianis terram arare quam gentilium intendere libris. Strangely enough Dominici appeals to the authority of the heathen Cicero, in his praise of Husbandry, to support this proposition and others of a similar kind (p. 79 of the above noted MSS. of the Laurentian Library).

‡ Hettner (99 *et seq.*), in his treatise "Ueber die Kunst der Dominicaner im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert," has shown that the Dominicans were the constant and watchful guardians of the strictest ecclesiastical feeling, in opposition to the secularization of the Renaissance art; see what is said under the head of Fra Angelico da Fiesole Other instances will be brought forward when we come to write of Savonarola. Much interesting information is

cannot be denied that most of these men were full of holy zeal for the interests of Christianity, and that their courageous efforts were of real advantage to the Church, at a time when many other dignitaries, from a spirit of worldliness, favoured the false Humanist tendencies. Still, it is much to be regretted that the majority of the opponents of the Poets went a great deal too far. Correctly to understand the position, we must bear in mind the furious attacks on the Religious Orders and their scholastic teaching by Poggio, Filelfo, and other elegant and well-known Humanist authors. The new movement had gained strength so fast, that the monks were left almost defenceless against the ribaldry of these men. Further, the alarming errors and excesses of the extreme admirers of antiquity justified the worst apprehensions for the future. Consequently, most of those, who withstood the false Renaissance, lost sight of the fact that these errors had their origin, not in the revival of classical studies, but in their abuse, and in the deplorable social, political, and ecclesiastical conditions of the times. Corrupt intellectual elements, struggling for complete emancipation, had gathered round the banner of the Renaissance, and they often led the great Humanist movement into crooked paths. Thus it came to pass, that the larger number of the monks, in their zeal, overlooked the distinction between the true and the false Renaissance, and made Humanism in general responsible for the excesses of the most extreme of its votaries. Against such attacks the Humanists could most justly appeal to the works of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church, which are full of quotations from the Poets and of classical reminiscences. The monks often waged war in a very unskilful manner, as, for instance, when they treated Valla's attacks on Priscianus and the mediæval grammarians as heretical.*

given in the Memorie of P. Marchese; many erroneous conclusions of Hettner's are corrected in the Essay: Renaissance und die Dominicanerkunst. Histor-polit. Blätter xciii., 879 *et seq.*; xciv., 26 *et seq.*

* See Vahlen, Valla, 213 *et seq.*, and Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 476 *et seq.* If we may believe Salutato, there were, in his time, foolish Theologians, who despised St. Augustine's work on the City of God, because in it he had quoted Virgil and other Poets! Mehus, Vita Trav. 293. The struggles of the Italian Humanists

The partial and short-sighted view, which condemned the whole Renaissance movement as dangerous to faith and morals, cannot be considered as that of the Church. At this time, as throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, she showed herself to be the Patroness of all wholesome intellectual progress, the Protectress of all true culture and civilization. She accorded the greatest possible liberty to the adherents of the Renaissance, a liberty which can hardly be comprehended by an age, which has lost the unity of the Faith.* Once only in the period of which we are about to treat, did the Head of the Church directly attack the false Renaissance, and this censure was called forth by a shameless eulogy of heathen vices, which the Pope, as the chief guardian of morals, could not pass over in silence.†

Otherwise the Church gave liberal encouragement to Humanist studies, fully endorsing the beautiful words of Clement of Alexandria, that the learning of the heathens, as far as it contains good, is not to be considered heathen, but a gift of God.‡ And, indeed, the speedy degeneracy of the Renaissance in Italy was not the fault of the ancient literature, but rather of its abuse.§ That the many irreconcilable enemies of the Renaissance, who are to be found in the Religious Orders, are not the true representatives of the Church, is evident from the fact that the greater number of the Popes adopted a very different attitude towards the new movement.‖

with the Religious Orders have yet to be thoroughly treated; Burckhardt and Voigt have here done comparatively little. Voigt lays much stress on the irritation which the Humanists provoked in the Theologians; see i., 2nd ed., 521.

* See Körting, ii., 366, 660. Nowhere was greater intellectual liberty enjoyed than in the Eternal City. "Et quod maximi omnium faciendum videtur mihi, *incredibilis quædam hic libertas est*," wrote Filelfo from Rome in 1475. Rosmini, Vita di Filelfo (Milan, 1808), ii., 388. As to the reproofs to which the Popes, *e.g.*, Sixtus IV., submitted in their own Chapel, see Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 244.

† See *supra*, p 24. Regarding the measures taken by Paul II. against the Roman Academy we shall treat further on.

‡ Clemens Alex., Stromata, i., 4; πάντων γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν ὁ θεός.

§ F. von Schlegel, Sämmtl. Werke, 2nd ed., Vienna, 1846, ii., 15, has pointed this out.

‖ St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, also eschewed the violence of the antagonists of the Poets. "From the high

The friendly relations which existed between the Popes and the two founders of the Renaissance literature, Petrarch and Boccaccio, have already been mentioned; these relations were not impaired by the passionate language, used by these two great writers in denouncing the corruptions which had made their way into ecclesiastical affairs during the Avignon period. No less than five times was Petrarch invited to fill the office of Apostolic Secretary, but the poet could not make up his mind to undertake the charge, fearing that it would compel him to give up literature, his special vocation.* But he gladly employed himself, at the desire of the learned Pope Clement VI., in the collection of early manuscripts of Cicero's works for the Papal Library.† When the tidings of the death of Petrarch, whom he had once invited to Avignon by an autograph letter, reached Pope Gregory XI., he commissioned Guillaume de Noellet, Cardinal Vicar of the Church in Italy, to make diligent inquiries after his writings and to have good copies made for him, especially of the Africa, the Eclogues, Epistles, Invectives, and the beautiful work, On the Solitary Life.‡

Gregory XI., whom a modern writer has justly characterized as the best of the Avignon Popes,§ showed a notable interest in the half-forgotten heritage from the ancient world. When he heard that a copy of Pompeius Trogus had been discovered at Vercelli, he at once sent a letter to the Bishop of that city, desiring him immediately to look after this book and to have it conveyed to the Papal Court by a trusty messenger. A few days later the same Pope charged a Canon of Paris to make researches

watch-tower of the Faith," says Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 382 *et seq.*, "he looks mildly down on the heathen, on whom the light had not yet arisen. He is by no means unacquainted with the classical literature, he has no horror of its heathen nature, indeed, he occasionally inserts an appropriate verse from Ovid in a letter." His opposition to the heathenish tendencies of Humanism was so moderate that all Humanists spoke of him with respect.

* Hörting, i., 200.

† Mehus, Vita Trav., 216.

‡ The remarkable Brief of Gregory XI., dated 1374, Aug. 11, is printed by Meneghelli, Opere (Padova, 1831), vi., 198, and Theiner Cod., ii., 559-560. See Marini, Archiatri, ii., 21, n. 2.

§ Höfler, in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad-Histor-phil, Cl. lxv., 813.

in the Sorbonne Library regarding several works of Cicero's, to have them transcribed as soon as possible by competent persons and to send the copies to him at Avignon.* It might, at first sight, have seemed likely that the storms which burst over the Papacy after the death of Gregory XI. would have deterred the Popes from showing favour to the Renaissance, which was now asserting its power in the realm of literature, and yet it was actually at this very period that a great number of the Humanists found admission into the Roman Court.†

A closer study of this time, in connection with which the previous years of the residence of the Popes at Avignon must also be considered, will bring to light the causes of the gradual and, in some respects, hazardous influx of Humanism into the Papal Court. A review of the History of the Popes from the beginning of the Exile to Avignon until the end of the great Schism seems all the more necessary, as without an intimate acquaintance with this period of peril to the Papacy, the latter course of events cannot be understood.

In the progress of the following work we shall show that the Renaissance gradually took root in Rome under Martin V. and Eugenius IV.; that Albergati, Cesarini, and Capranica, the most distinguished among the wearers of the purple in the fifteenth century, encouraged Humanism in its best tendencies; that the sojourn of Eugenius IV. in Florence, and the General Council held there, produced marked effects in the same direction; until at last, in the person of Nicholas V., a man mounted the Throne of St. Peter, who, full of confidence in the power of Christian Science,‡ ventured to put himself at the head of this great

* For both these letters, which I found in the Papal private Archives, see Nos. 1 and 2 in the Appendix.

† During the Avignon period we meet with but few Tuscan Humanists in the Papal service. The first of these is Petrarch's friend, Zanobi da Strada, whom Pope Innocent VI. appointed Protonotary and Secretary of Briefs about the end of 1358 or beginning of 1359. Urban V. summoned Francesco Bruni, another friend of Petrarch's, to Avignon about the year 1365. His companion in office was Coluccio Salutato, afterwards distinguished as Chancellor of Florence and an opponent of the French Papacy. See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 195; ii., 2nd ed., 5-7.

‡ Hübner (i., 47) has drawn particular attention to this point.

intellectual movement. This circumstance was the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Papacy, as well as in that of science and art—an epoch which reached its climax in the reigns of Julius II. and Leo X.

It has often been said that the Renaissance itself ascended the Papal Throne with Nicholas V., yet it must not be forgotten that this great Pontiff was throughout on the side of the genuine and Christian Renaissance. The founder of the Vatican Library, like Fra Angelico whom he employed to paint his study in that Palace, knew how to reconcile his admiration for the intellectual treasures of the past with the claims of the Christian religion: he could honour both Cicero and St. Augustine, and could appreciate the grandeur and beauty of heathen antiquity without being thereby led to forget Christianity.*

The leading idea of Nicholas V. was to make the Capital of Christendom the Capital also of classical literature and the centre of science and art. The realization of this noble project was, however, attended with many difficulties and great dangers. If Nicholas V. overlooked or underestimated the perils which threatened ecclesiastical interests from the side of the heathen and revolutionary Renaissance, this is the only error that can be laid to his charge. His aim was essentially lofty and noble and worthy of the Papacy. The fearlessness of this large-hearted man, in face of the dangers of the movement—"a fearlessness which has in it something imposing"†—strikes us all the more forcibly, when we consider the power and influence which the Renaissance had at this time attained in Italy. The attempt to assume its guidance was a great deed, and one worthy of the successor of the Gregories and Innocents.

To make the promotion of the Renaissance by the Holy See a matter of indiscriminate reproach, betrays total ignorance of the subject. For, deep and widespread as was the intellectual movement, excited by the resuscitation of the antique, it involved no serious danger to Christian civilization, but rather was an occasion of new activity and energy, as long as the unity and purity of the Christian

* Müntz, Précurseurs, 101; *cf.* p. 145. Hübner, *loc cit.*

† Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 265; he adds: "Nicholas V. was at ease regarding the fate of the Church, because thousands of learned men stood by her side ready to help her."

faith were maintained unimpaired under the authority of the Church and her head.* If in later days, in consequence of the undue influence obtained by the heathen Renaissance, a very different development ensued; if the intellectual wealth, won by the revived study of the past, was turned to evil purposes, Nicholas V., whose motives were of the highest and purest, cannot be held responsible. On the contrary, it is to the glory of the Papacy that, even in regard to the great Renaissance movement, it manifested that magnanimous and all-embracing comprehensiveness which is a portion of its inheritance.† As long as dogma was untouched, Nicholas V. and his like-minded successors allowed the movement the most ample scope; the founder of the Vatican Library had no foreboding of the mischief which the satire of the Humanists was preparing. The whole tenor of his pure life testifies that his words proceeded from an upright heart, when he earnestly exhorted the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed to follow the path he had chosen in labouring for the welfare of the Church—the Bark of Peter, which, by the wonderful guidance of God, has ever been delivered out of all storms.‡

* Haffner, Grundlinien, 691. Hergenröther speaks in similar terms: "The new tendency was in itself by no means prejudicial, but rather favourable to the Church." See further Beissel, in the Laacher Stimmen, xviii., 471 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 323.

† This was the case also in the sixteenth century; see Reumont V. Colonna (Freiburg, 1881), 125.

‡ Mai, Spicil., i., 60. Hettner, 169.

BOOK I.

Retrospective view of the History of the Popes from the beginning of the Exile at Avignon to the end of the great Schism, 1305-1417.

I. THE POPES AT AVIGNON. 1305-1376.

The disastrous struggle between the highest powers of Christendom, which began in the eleventh century and reached its climax in the thirteenth, was decided, apparently to the advantage of the Papacy, by the tragical downfall of the house of Hohenstaufen. But the overthrow of the Empire also shook the temporal position of the Popes, who were now more and more compelled to ally themselves closely with France. In the warfare with the Emperors, the Papacy had already sought protection and had found refuge in that kingdom in critical times. The sojourn of the Popes in France had, however, been only transitory. The most sacred traditions, and a history going back for more than a thousand years, seemed to have bound the highest ecclesiastical dignity so closely to Italy and to Rome that, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the idea that a Pope could be crowned anywhere but in the Eternal City, or could fix his residence for the whole duration of his Pontificate out of Italy, would have been looked upon as an impossibility.*

* See E. Renan, La papauté hors de l'Italie in the Revue des Deux Mondes (1880), xxxviii., 109.

A change came over this state of things in the time of Clement V. (1305-1314), a native of Gascony. Fearing for the independence of the Ecclesiastical power amid the party struggles by which Italy was torn, and yielding to the influence of Philip the Fair, the strong-handed oppressor of Boniface VIII., he remained in France and never set foot in Rome. His successor, John XXII., also a Gascon, was elected, after prolonged and stormy discussions, in 1316, when the Holy See had been for two years vacant. He took up his permanent abode at Avignon, where he was only separated by the Rhone from the territory of the French King. Clement V. had lived as a guest in the Dominican Monastery at Avignon, but John XXII. set up a magnificent establishment there.* The essential character of that new epoch in the history of the Papacy, which begins with Clement V. and John XXII., consists in the lasting separation from the traditional home of the Holy See and from the Italian soil, which brought the Popes into such pernicious dependence on France and seriously endangered the universal nature of their position.

"O good beginning!
To what a vile conclusion must Thou stoop."†

The words of the great Italian poet are not exaggerated, for the Avignon Popes, without exception, were all more or less dependent on France. Frenchmen themselves, and surrounded by a College of Cardinals in which the French element predominated, they gave a French character to the government of the Church. This character was at variance with the principle of universality inherent in it and in the Papacy. The Church had always been the representative

* Details on this subject from the Papal exchequer accounts are given by Faucon, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist. (ii., 43 *et seq.*).

† Dante, Parad., xxvii., 59, 60.

of this principle in contradistinction to that of isolated nationalities, and it was the high office of the Pope, as her Supreme Head, to be the common Father of all nations. This universality was in a great degree the secret of the power and influence of the Mediæval Popes.

The migration to France, the creation of a preponderance of French Cardinals, and the consequent election of seven French Popes in succession, necessarily compromised the position of the Papacy in the eyes of the world, creating a suspicion that the highest spiritual power had become the tool of France. This suspicion, though in many cases unfounded, weakened the general confidence in the Head of the Church, and awakened in the other nations a feeling of antagonism to the ecclesiastical authority which had become French. The bonds which united the States of the Church to the Apostolic See were gradually loosened, and the arbitrary proceedings of the Court at Avignon, which was too often swayed by personal and family interests, accelerated the process of dissolution. The worst apprehensions for the future were entertained.*

The dark points of the Avignon period have certainly been greatly exaggerated. The assertion that the Government of the Avignon Popes was wholly ruled by the "will and pleasure of the Kings of France,"† is, in this general sense, unjust. The Popes of those days were not all so weak as Clement V., who submitted the

* Schwab, Gerson, 7. Alvaro Pelayo draws a gloomy picture of the decay in the life of the Church in his work: "De planctu ecclesiæ," concluded in 1332. See especially lib. ii., art. 8, 28, 48, and 49 (see Gierke, 55).

† Martens, 130. Similarly Hase, Kirchengeschichte (10 ed., 1877), 293, who calls Clement V. and his immediate successors "French Court Bishops." Höfler, who altogether denies the French servitude, goes into the other extreme (Avignones. Päpste. 246).

draft of the Bull, by which he called on the Princes of Europe to imprison the Templars, to the French King.* Moreover, even this Pope, the least independent of the fourteenth century Pontiffs, for many years offered a passive resistance to the wishes of France, and a writer, who has thoroughly studied the period, emphatically asserts that only for a few years of the Pontificate of Clement V. was the idea so long associated with the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Popes fully realized.† The extension of this epithet to the whole of the Avignon sojourn is an unfair exaggeration. The eager censors of the dependence into which the Avignon Popes sank, draw attention to the political action of the Holy See during this period so exclusively, that hardly any place is left for its labours in the cause of religion. A very partial picture is thus drawn, wherein the noble efforts of these much-abused Pontiffs for the conversion of heathen nations become almost imperceptible in the dim background. Their labours for the propagation of Christianity in India, China, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Barbary, and Morocco have been very imperfectly appreciated.‡ The earliest of the

* Baluze, Vitæ, ii., iii. See Boutaric, La France sous Philippe le Bel (Paris, 1861), 124 *et seq.* Wenck, 74, 80.

† Wenck, 9. See Boutaric in the Revue des quest. hist. xxi., 21.

‡ See on this subject the valuable essays of F. Kunstmann in the Histor. polit. Blättern, xxxvi., 865-872; xxxvii., 25-39, 135-153, 225-252; xxxviii., 507-537, 701-719. 793-813; xxxix., 489-507; xlii., 185-206; xliii., 676-681; xlv., 81-111, 177-200. See Zeitschr. für histor. Theol., 1858, p. 288 *et seq.* Tüb. Quartalschr., 1877, p. 330. Külb, Gesch. der Missionsreisen nach der Mongolei, 3 vol. (Regensburg, 1860). Heyd, Levantehandel, ii., 146 *et seq.*, 149, 174, 197, 220, and S. Ruge, Gesch. des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen (Berlin, 1881), 71 *et seq.* P. Marcellino da Civezza, in his Storia delle Missioni Francesc. (Roma e Prato, 1856-1883), 7 vols., has treated of the Franciscan Missions down to the sixteenth

Avignon Popes, Clement V. and John XXII., gave the greatest attention to Eastern affairs, and were the originators of a series of grand creations, from which the best results were to be expected. Their successors were chiefly occupied in the maintenance and preservation of the works established by the wisdom of their predecessors, yet in the time of Clement VI. an effort was made to extend the sphere of the Church even to the furthest limits of Eastern Asia.* The unwearied assiduity of the Avignon Popes in taking advantage of every favourable event in the East, from the Crimea to China, to promote the spread of Christianity by sending out missions and founding Bishoprics, is all the more admirable because of the great difficulties with which the Papacy was at that time beset.†

A complete estimate of their large-minded labours for the conversion of the heathen, and a thoroughly impartial appreciation of this period, will not be possible until the Regesta of these Popes, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, have been made accessible to investigation.‡

century. Regarding the solicitude of the Avignon Popes for the Slavs in Servia and Bosnia, see Balan, Relazioni, 136 *et seq.*

* See Kunstmann, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi., 870.

† Reumont expresses this opinion in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1879, p. 3676.

‡ The publication of the records of the Avignon Popes is one of the great works which Leo XIII. has set on foot. A portion of it has been placed in the hands of the Benedictines of Moravia and Monte-Cassino. The beginning of this important contribution to history has appeared: Regestum, Clementis papæ V., ex vaticanis archetypis, S.D.N. Leonis XIII. P.M. jussu et munificentia editum (Romæ, 1885). The Records of Benedict XII. and Clement VI. have recently been investigated by a commission from the Bavarian Government. The French Government has ordered the collection of materials in Rome, relating to the time of Clement VI. Prof. Werunskyhas published "Excerpta ex registris Clementis VI. et

We shall then obtain an insight into that inner life of Church affairs which held its clear and sure course amidst all external tumults; which, while the Papacy was apparently on the brink of ruin, "did not forget the lonely Christians among the heathens of Morocco and in the camps of the wandering Tartars, and took thought for the eternal salvation of nations still unconverted, as faithfully as for the deliverance of the imperilled Church."*

With the most ample recognition of the worldwide activity of the French Popes, it cannot be denied that the effects of the transfer of the Holy See from its natural and historical home were disastrous. Torn from its proper abode, the Papacy, notwithstanding the individual greatness of some of the Avignon Pontiffs, could not maintain its former dignity. The freedom and independence of the highest tribunal in Christendom, which, according to Innocent III., was bound to protect all rights, was endangered, now that the supreme direction of the Church was so much under the influence of a nation so deeply imbued with its own spirit, and possessing so little of the universal. That France should obtain exclusive possession of the highest spiritual authority was a thing contrary both to the office of the Papacy and the very being of the Church.

This dependence on the power of a Prince, who in former times had often been rebuked by Rome, was in strange contradiction with the supremacy claimed by the Popes. By this subjection and by its worldliness, the Avignon Papacy aroused an opposition which, though it might for a moment be overborne while it leant on the

Innocentie VI., historiam S.R., Imperii sub. regimina Cardii IV., illust.," Innsbruck, 1885.

* Pertz, Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschictskunde, v., 29.

crumbling power of the Empire, yet moved men's minds so deeply that its effects were not effaced for several centuries. Its downfall is most closely connected with this opposition, which was manifested, not only in the bitter accusations of its political and clerical enemies, but even also in the letters of its devoted friend St. Catherine, which are full of entreaties, complaints, and denunciations. The Papal Government, founded as it was on the principle of authority, built up in independence of the Empire, and gaining strength in proportion to the decay of that power, was unable to offer any adequate resistance to this twofold stream of political and religious antagonism. The catastrophe of the great Schism was the immediate consequence of the false position now occupied by the Papacy.*

The disastrous effects produced by the residence of the Popes at Avignon were at first chiefly felt in Italy. Hardly ever has a country fallen into such anarchy as did the Italian peninsula, when bereft of her principle of unity by the unfortunate decision of Clement V. to fix his abode in France. Torn to pieces by irreconcilable parties, the land, which had been fitly termed the garden of Europe, was now a scene of desolation.† It will easily be understood that all Italian hearts were filled with bitter longings, a regret which found voice in continual protests against the Gallicized Papacy. The author of the Divine Comedy sharply reproved the "Supreme Pastor of the West"‡ for this alliance between the Papacy and the French monarchy. On the death of Clement V., when the Cardinals assembled in conclave at Carpentras, Dante came forward as the exponent of the public feeling which demanded the return of the Papal Throne to Rome. In a severe

* This is Reumont's view: Theolog. Literaturblatt, vi., 663.

† Phillips, iii, 279.

‡ Dante, Inferno, xix., 82.

letter addressed to the Italian Cardinals he says: "You, the chiefs of the Church militant, have neglected to guide the chariot of the Bride of the Crucified One along the path so clearly marked out for her. Like that false charioteer Phaeton, you have left the right track, and though it was your office to lead the hosts safely through the wilderness, you have dragged them after you into the abyss. But one remedy now remains: you, who have been the authors of all this confusion, must go forth manfully with one heart and one soul into the fray in defence of the Bride of Christ whose seat is in Rome, of Italy, in short of the whole band of pilgrims on earth. This you must do, and then returning in triumph from the battle-field, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, you shall hear the song 'Glory to God in the Highest;' and the disgrace of the covetous Gascons, striving to rob the Latins of their renown, shall serve as a warning to all future ages."*

Petrarch judges the French Popes with the greatest severity. In theory he condemns every one, worthy or unworthy, who lived at Avignon. No expression is too strong when he speaks of this city, which he compares to the Babylon of the Apocalypse. In one of his poems he calls it "the fountain of anguish, the dwelling-place of wrath, the school of errors, the temple of heresy, once Rome, now the false guilt-laden Babylon, the forge of lies, the horrible prison, the hell upon earth." In a whole series

* Opp. min. di Dante ed. P. Fraticelli (Florence, 1862), iii., 486-494. Wegele, 262-265. The "Vasconum opprobrium," as Wegele justly remarks, applies firstly to the party of French Cardinals created by Clement V., and in the second place to France and the French policy. Janus (245) applies the expression also to John XXII., who, at the time when Dante wrote this letter, had not yet been elected!

of letters, which, however, he took care to keep to himself, he pours forth the vials of his wrath on the city, which had drawn the Popes away from sacred Rome. He even uses the peaceful sonnet, in which he had formerly been wont to express only the bliss and the pain of love, to fulminate, like a prophet of the Old Testament, against the doings of the unholy city.* It would be, however, a great mistake to consider his picture of the wickedness of Avignon and the corruption of the Church, painted with true Italian fervour, as strictly trustworthy and accurate. Petrarch here speaks as a poet and as a fiery, enthusiastic, Roman patriot. His judgments are often intemperate and unjust. His own life was not such as to give him the right to come forward as a preacher of morals. Passing over his other failings, we need here only allude to his excessive greed for benefices. This passion has much to do with his bitterness against Avignon and the Papal Court. We are led to suspect that there were many unsuccessful suits.† Petrarch did nothing towards the amendment of this evil world; the work of reformation was in his own case begun very late. He was a dreamer, who contented himself with theories, and in practice eschewed all improvements which demanded any greater effort than that of declamation.‡

* See Geiger, Petrarca, 168-169. Gaspary i., 457 *et seq.*, Bartoli 85 *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.*, and Die Reime des F. Petrarca, translated and elucidated by K. Kekulé and L. v. Biegeleben (Stuttgart, 1844), i., 220; ii., 181-183.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 104; see 85 *et seq.*, 99 *et seq.* See also Körting, i., 25 *et seq.*, 200, who justly observes (i., 308) that the very man who, towards the Court at Avignon, assumes the attitude of a moralist, found no word of blame for the horrible deeds of the Visconti, but rather flattered them in the basest manner, and even in later days, when he could have spoken without any fear of consequences, uttered no word of disapprobation.

‡ Körting, i., 227. Bartoli, 97 *et seq.*. See *supra*, p. 3.

The unmitigated condemnation of the Avignon Popes must have been based in great measure on Petrarch's unjust representations, to which, in later times and without examination, an undue historical importance has been attached. He is often supposed to be a determined adversary of the Papacy; but this is a complete mistake. He never for a moment questioned its divine institution.* We have already said that he was outwardly on the best terms with almost all the Popes of his time, and received from them many favours. They took his frequent and earnest exhortations to leave Avignon and return to desolate Rome as mere poetical rhapsodies, and in fact they were nothing more. If Petrarch himself, though a Roman citizen, kept aloof from Rome; if, though nominally an Italian patriot, he fixed his abode for many years, from motives of convenience, or in quest of preferment, in that very Avignon which he had bitterly reproached the Popes for choosing, and which he had called the most loathsome place in the world, must not the Babylonish poison have eaten deeply into his heart? How much easier it would have been for Petrarch to have returned to Rome than it was for the Popes, fettered as they were by so many political considerations! †

But however much we may question Petrarch's right to find fault with the moral delinquencies of the Court at Avignon; however much we may, in many respects, modify the picture he paints of it, no impartial inquirer can deny that it was pervaded by a deplorable worldliness. For this

* Körting, i., 407-441; ii., 201.

† This is Voigt's opinion, i., 2nd ed., 65. H. Jacoby, "Die Weltanschauung Petrarca's" (Preuss. Jahrb., 1882, xlix, 570), says: "In the matter of politics Petrarch was a dreamer." Balbo, de l'Epinois (281, 282), Gaspary (i, 421 *et seq.*, 450), and Bartoli, 161, speak in similar terms.

melancholy fact we have testimony more trustworthy than the rhetorical descriptions of the Italian poet.* Yet it must in justice be borne in mind that the influx of thousands of strangers into the little French provincial town, so suddenly raised to the position of capital of the world, had produced all the evils which appertain to densely populated places.† Moreover, even if we are to believe all the angry assertions of contemporaries as to the corruption prevailing in Avignon,‡ evidence is not wanting, on the other hand, of ardent yearnings for a life conformable to the precepts of the Gospel.

Side by side with the profligacy which was the characteristic of the age, and, therefore, prominent in its history, there were still to be found scattered in various places many homes of quiet and devout contemplation. Thence went forth an influence, winning noble souls to a higher ideal of existence, and gently, but perseveringly, striving by means of self-denial and persuasion, to allay the passionate feuds of parties and disentangle their intrigues. As this higher life only manifested itself here and there, history passes it by; it is dealt with in commonplace phrases, judged, or rather misjudged, by the measure of the later movements of the sixteenth century, as if they formed a canon for the historical investigation of all

* See especially the accounts given by Alvaro Pelayo, who was intimately acquainted with the state of affairs at Avignon. In one place (ii., 48) this writer, who was thoroughly attached to the cause of the Papacy, says: "Lupi sunt dominantes in ecclesia; pascuntur sanguine; anima uniuscuiusque eorum in sanguine est." See Dante, Parad., xxvii, 56-59.

† Körting, i., 129.

‡ There can be no doubt, that it is in vain to look for a fair judgment of the Avignon period from most of the Italian Chroniclers. See Hist. Litt., Tom. xxiv., 10, 14, 18, 20, 21.

religious phenomena. At no time were there wanting good and earnest men, who were doing their utmost in their own circle to stem the tide of corruption, and exerting a salutary influence on their age and surroundings. It would be most unjust to the champions of the Papal rights to suppose that, because they maintained the monarchy of the Pope and his right to both swords, they were ready to sanction that which was evil at Avignon, or condone tyrannous abuses. In the highest circles there were men of the ancient stamp with the strictest views of life. Alvaro Pelayo praised the Cardinal Legate Martin, who went to Denmark poor and returned poor, and the Legate Gaufridus who, when sent to Aquitaine, bought his own fish and would not accept even wooden platters. He wished Bishops and Popes not to have smart pages about them, and not to promote undeserving relations. He prayed that all simoniacal practices should be abolished, that the Roman Church should be a mother, not a sovereign, and that the Pope should consider himself not a lord, but a servant, a steward, a labourer. These men, who looked on Louis of Bavaria as a tyrant, were not on that account disposed to give the Pope a free pass. While energetically asserting his rights, and those of the Church and the Bishops, they also insisted on the accompanying duties with a plainness of speech, which we miss in later ages, together with the magnanimity shown by those who suffered it.*

The removal of the Holy See to Avignon was most disastrous to the Eternal City, which thereby lost, not only her historic position as the Capital of Christendom, but also the material benefits which the presence of the Popes con-

* The above is taken literally from Höfler, Roman. Welt, 131-133. See Kraus, 481, 487 *et seq.* Schubinger, 298, 374, and Hergenröther, ii., 1, 149 *et seq.*, 185 *et seq.*

ferred on the community at large, and on many of the individual inhabitants. While the Popes resided in Rome and its neighbourhood, they were able, for longer or shorter periods, to maintain order and peace between Barons and Burghers. Their Court and the influx of strangers which it attracted, brought great wealth into the City, and when the Pontiff was in their midst, the Romans could easily attain to lucrative ecclesiastical positions. This state of things was now completely changed. Rome, thrown upon herself, was in her interior resources inferior to all the considerable cities of central Italy. She became a prey to increasing isolation and anarchy.* The longer the absence of the Popes continued, the greater was the desolation. The Churches were so dilapidated and neglected that in St. Peter's and the Lateran cattle were grazing even to the foot of the altar. Many sacred edifices were roofless, and others almost in ruins.† The monuments of heathen antiquity fared even worse than those of Christian Rome, and were mercilessly destroyed. A Legate sold the marble blocks of the Colosseum to be burned for lime. The materials of the ancient edifices were even carried out of the City. In the archives regarding the construction of the Cathedral of Orvieto are a number of documents, which show that the overseers of the work brought a great deal of the marble employed from Rome, that they sent agents there almost more frequently than to Carrara, and that they repeatedly received presents of great blocks of marble,

* Sugenheim, 240 *et seq.* Papencordt, Rienzo, 37 *et seq.*

† In August, 1375, the Augustinian Luigi Marsigli wrote to Guido del Palagio: "Riguardi chi vuole le chiese di Roma, non dico se sono coperti gli altari, che della polvere sono più sovvenuti che di altro ricoprimento da quegli, che i titoli tengono di esse; non dico se sono ufficiate o cantonvisi l'ore, ma se hanno tetti, usci o serrami." Lettera del v. L. Marsigli, x., xi.

especially from the families of the Orsini and Savelli.* The only public work executed in Rome during the Avignon period was the construction of the marble steps leading up to the Church of St. Maria Ara Coeli. The remarkable development of art which had been going on during the latter half of the thirteenth century was suddenly arrested. The school of the Cosmati came to an end; the influence of Giotto had vanished.† Avignon became in this respect a dangerous rival to the Eternal City, for even in their exile the Popes did not forget the fine arts. Death alone hindered Giotto from accepting the flattering invitation of Benedict XII., and in 1338-39 the Pope summoned in his stead the celebrated painter, Simone Martini of Siena, to adorn his Cathedral and his Palace; the interesting but long-neglected frescoes of this artist are now, alas! in a melancholy condition.‡ The bereaved City fared almost as ill in regard to literature as to art. The consequences of this state of things, which then passed unperceived, made themselves felt at a later period. The triumph of the Renaissance in Rome would have been neither so rapid nor so complete, but for the state of barbarism into which the City had fallen when deprived of the Pope.

* Papencordt, Rienzo, 42. See della Valle, Storia del duomo di Orvieto, (Roma, 1791), 103, 105, 266, 268, 286, 289-290.

† Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 657. See Reumont, ii., 1000 *et seq*, and Schnaase, vii., 2nd ed., 477.

‡ For Giotto's summons to Avignon, see Schnaase, vii., 1st ed., 356, note 2; regarding Simone Martini's paintings in Avignon, see Crowe-Cavalcaselle, ii., 261-269. John XXII. similarly encouraged art and artists; see Faucon in the Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist., published by the Ecole Francaise de Rome, ii. (1882), 43-83. On Simone Martini's paintings in Avignon, see Müntz in the 45th vol. of the Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de la France.

It is hard to form an adequate idea of the utter desolation and degradation of Rome at this time. The view on which Petrarch looked down from the Baths of Diocletian, with its hills crowned by solitary churches, its uncultivated fields, its masses of ancient and modern ruins, its scattered rows of houses, had nothing to distinguish it from the open country but the circuit of the old walls of Aurelian. The ruins of two epochs—heathen antiquity and the Christian middle ages—made up the Rome of those days.*

It was no mere figure of speech when Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, after the death of Clement V. (1314), assured the King of France that the transfer of the Papal residence to Avignon had brought Rome to the brink of ruin, or when at a later date (1347), Cola di Rienzo declared that the Eternal City was more like a den of robbers than the abode of civilized men.†

Rome learnt by bitter experience that she was historically important only as the seat of the Papacy, and the Popes had also much to suffer on account of their separation from their natural prescriptive home. Parted from Italy, the States of the Church, and Rome, the very ground had been cut away from under their feet. In one respect in particular this very soon made itself felt.

The financial difficulties from which the Popes had suffered even in the thirteenth century became much more serious after they had taken up their abode on French soil. On the one hand, the income they had drawn from Italy failed; and on the other, the tributary powers became much more irregular in the fulfilment of their obligations,

* Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 689. See 177 *et seq.*, 310 *et seq.*, 418 *et seq.*

† Cardinal N. Orsini's letter is printed in Baluze, Vitæ, ii., 289-292, that of Cola di Rienzo in an old Italian translation in Sansovino, Casa Orsini, 52-53*b*, and in Bussi, 195-196.

because they feared that the greater part of the subsidies they paid would fall into the hands of France. The Papal financiers adopted most questionable means of covering deficits. From the time of John XXII. especially, the hurtful system of Annates, Reservations, and Expectancies, came into play,* and a multitude of abuses were its consequence. Alvaro Pelayo, the most devoted, perhaps even over-zealous, defender of the Papal power in the fourteenth century, justly considers the employment of a measure, liable to excite the cupidity of the clergy, as one of the wounds which then afflicted the Church. His testimony is all the more worthy of consideration, because, as an official of many years' standing in the Court, he describes the state of things at Avignon from his own most intimate knowledge. In his celebrated book, "On the Lamentation of the Church," he says: "Whenever I entered the chambers of the ecclesiastics of the Papal Court, I found brokers and clergy, engaged in weighing and reckoning the money which lay in heaps before them."†

This system of taxation and its consequent abuses soon aroused passionate resentment. Dante, "consumed with zeal for the House of God," expressed, in burning words, his deep indignation against the cupidity and nepotism of the Popes, always, however, carefully distinguishing between Pope and Papacy, person and office.‡ It was not

* See Cristophe, ii., 8-16, and Phillips, v., 564 *et seq.* The manner in which Benedict XI. (1303-1304) sought to remedy financial pressure is described by Ch. Grandjean in the Mélanges d'Arch., et d'Hist., iii., 1 and 2.

† A. Pelagius, ii., art. 7.

‡ Hettinger, Dante, 122 and 460. See also Reumont, ii., 816, who shows that the author of this financial system was a grave, simple, and moderate man. In support of my own judgment of the Avignon finance, which may perhaps be by many considered too severe, I would refer to the strong expressions used by J. von

long, however, before an opposition arose which made no such distinctions, and attacked not only the abuses which had crept in, but the Ecclesiastical authority itself. The Avignon system of finance, which contributed more than has been generally supposed to the undermining of the Papal authority, greatly facilitated the attacks of this party.

From what has been said it will be clearly seen that the long-continued sojourn of the Popes in France, occasioned as it was by the confusion of Italian affairs,* was an important turning-point in the history of the Papacy and of the Church. The course of development which had been going on for many centuries, was thereby almost abruptly interrupted, and a completely new state of things substituted for it. No one who has any idea of the nature and the necessity of historical continuity, can fail to perceive the danger of this transference of the centre of ecclesiastical unity to southern France.† The Papal power and the general interests of the Church, which at that time required quiet progress and in many ways thorough reform, must inevitably in the long run be severely shaken.

To make matters worse, the conflict between the Empire and the Church now broke out with unexpected violence. The most prominent antagonists of the Papacy, both ecclesiastical and political, gathered around Louis of

Görres, in the Histor-polit. Bl. xxviii., 703 *et seq.*; see xvi., 328 *et seq.*, and in the introduction to H. Suso's Leben und Schriften, published by Diepenbrock (2nd ed., Regensburg, 1837), xxix. The feeling called forth in Germany by the manner in which the Avignon Popes amassed money, is reflected in many of the City Records (see Chroniken der deutschen Städte, iv., 306; vii., 189; ix., 583), and about the end of this period, led in Germany, as well as in England, to open resistance. See *infra*, p. 91.

* See Renan in the Revue des Deux Mondes (1880), xxxviii., 112.

† Theiner-Fessler, vii. See Phillips, iii., 331, 334.

Bavaria, offering him their assistance against John XXII. At the head of the ecclesiastical opposition appeared the popular and influential order of the Friars Minor, who at this very moment were at daggers drawn with the Pope.* The special occasion of this quarrel was a difference between them and him, regarding the meaning of evangelical poverty; and the great popularity of the Order made their hostility all the more formidable.† The Minorites, who were irritated to the utmost against the Pope, succeeded in gaining great influence over Louis of Bavaria, an influence which is clearly traceable in the appeal published by him in 1324, at Sachenhausen, near Frankfort. In this remarkable document, amongst the many serious charges brought against "John XXII., who calls himself Pope," is that of heresy, and it is asserted that he exalts himself against the evangelical doctrines of perfect poverty, and thus against Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the company of the Apostles, who all approved it by their lives.‡ After a passionate dogmatic exposition of the poverty of Christ and a shower of reproaches, comes the appeal to the Council, to a future legitimate Pope, to Holy Mother Church, to the Apostolic See, and to every one in general to whom an appeal could be made.§

This document, in which political and religious questions

* See Marcour, 1-20. Müller, i., 83 *et seq.* For the connection between this conflict and the Franciscan agitation which disturbed ecclesiastical affairs more than a century previously, see M. Ritter in the Theol. Literaturblatt, 1877, p. 121 *et seq.*

† Höfler, Avignonesische Päpste, 255, 256.

‡ Baluze, Vitæ, ii., 496 and 502.

§ *Loc cit.*, 511. For the Minorites' share in Louis' Appeal and his attitude towards them, see Marcour, 29 *et seq.*, 71-75. Müller, i., 75 *et seq.*, 86 *et seq.*, and Riezler, Gesch. Bayerns, ii., 352 *et seq.*

were mingled together, was sedulously disseminated in Germany and Italy. It must have greatly embittered the whole contest. A religious conflict was now added to the political one. Louis, a simple soldier, was unable to measure its consequences and powerless to control its progress. It grew more and more passionate and violent. The Minorites no longer confined themselves to the province of theology, in which the conflict between them and the Pope had at first arisen, but also took part in the political question. Led on by their theological antagonism, they proceeded to build up a political system resting on theories which threatened to disturb all existing ideas of law, and to shake the position of the Papacy to its very foundations. The special importance of the action of the Minorites* consists in the assertion and maintenance of these principles, which indeed did not at once come prominently forward, for the writings of the Englishman, William Occam, in which they are chiefly propounded, collectively date from a period subsequent to the Diet of Rhense. There can, however, be no doubt that the views which Occam afterwards expressed in his principal work, the "Dialogus,"† had already at an earlier period exercised great influence.

* Special stress is laid on this by Marcour, 29.

† Besides this book, his work, Super potestate summi pontificis octo quæstionum decisiones, is worthy of consideration. See, regarding both works, Marcour, 30 *et seq.* Riezler, Literar. Widerfacher, 249-275, and Gierke, 54 *et seq.*, 213 *et seq.* For Occam's philosophical system, see Schwab, 274 *et seq.*, cf. 31 *et seq.*, Prantl, Gesch. der Logik, iii, 327-420, and Haffner, 634 *et seq.* The relation between Occam's doctrine regarding the Lord's Supper and that of Luther is treated in Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1839, p. 69-136; 1873, p. 471 *et seq.* On Occam's view of the relations between Church and State, see Dorner's Essay in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1885, Vol. iv.

According to the theory of Occam, who was deeply imbued with the political ideas of the ancients, the Emperor has a right to depose the Pope should he fall into heresy. Both General Councils and Popes may err, Holy Scripture and the beliefs held by the Church at all times and in all places, can alone be taken as the unalterable rule of Faith and Morals. The Primacy and Hierarchical Institutions in general are not necessary or essential to the subsistence of the Church; and the forms of the ecclesiastical, as of the political, constitution ought to vary with the varying needs of the time.

With the Minorites two other men soon came to the front, who may be considered as the spokesmen of the definite political opposition to the Papacy. It was probably in the summer of the year 1326 that the Professors of the University of Paris, Marsiglio of Padua and Jean de Jandun, made their appearance at the Royal Court of Nuremberg.* The "Defender of Peace" (Defensor Pacis †), the celebrated joint work of these two most important literary antagonists of the Popes of their day, is of so remarkable a character that we must not omit to give a further account of its subversive propositions. This work, which is full of violent invectives against John XXII., "the great dragon and the old serpent," asserts the un-

* See Riezler, Literar. Widersacher, 29 *et seq.*, who in opposition to Döllinger and others shows that neither Jean de Jandun nor Marsiglio belonged to the Order of Minorites (34 *et seq.*, 56). For the date of the arrival of these two learned men in Nuremberg, see Müller, i., 162.

† Riezler is not entirely correct regarding the editions and MSS., Literar. Widersacher, 193 *et seq.* The work was completed, according to Müller (i., 368), probably in June, 1324. Another, but not sufficiently considered conjecture as to the origin of this remarkable document is put forward by M. Ritter in the Theol. Lit. Blatt. (1874, p. 560).

conditional sovereignty of the people. The legislative power which is exercised through their elected representatives, belongs to them, also the appointment of the executive through their delegates. The ruler is merely the instrument of the legislature. He is subject to the law, from which no individual is exempt. If the ruler exceeds his authority, the people are justified in depriving him of his power, and deposing him. The jurisdiction of the civil power extends even to the determination of the number of men to be employed in every trade or profession. Individual liberty has no more place in Marsiglio's state than it had in Sparta.

Still more radical, if possible, are the views regarding the doctrine and government of the Church put forth in this work. The sole foundation of faith and of the Church is Holy Scripture, which does not derive its authority from her, but, on the contrary, confers on her that which she possesses. The only true interpretation of Scripture is, not that of the Church, but that of the most intelligent people, so that the University of Paris may very well be superior to the Court of Rome. Questions concerning faith are to be decided, not by the Pope, but by a General Council.

This General Council is supreme over the whole Church, and is to be summoned by the State. It is to be composed not only of the clergy, but also of laymen elected by the people. As regards their office, all priests are equal; according to Divine right, no one of them is higher than another. The whole question of Church government is one of expediency, not of the faith necessary to salvation. The Primacy of the Pope is not founded on Scripture, nor on Divine right. His authority therefore can only, according to Marsiglio, be derived from a General Council and from the legislature of the State; and for the election of a

Pope the authority of the Council requires confirmation from the State. The office of the Pope is, with the College appointed for him by the Council or by the State, to signify to the State authority the necessity of summoning a Council, to preside at the Council, to draw up its decisions, to impart them to the different Churches, and to provide for their execution. The Pope represents the executive power, while the legislative power in its widest extent appertains to the Council. But a far higher and more influential position belongs to the Emperor in Marsiglio's Church; the convocation and direction of the Council is his affair; he can punish priests and bishops, and even the Pope. Ecclesiastics are subject to the temporal tribunals for transgressions of the law, the Pope himself is not exempt from penal justice, far less can he be permitted to judge his ecclesiastics, for this is the concern of the State. The property of the Church enjoys no immunity from taxation; the number of ecclesiastics in a country is to be limited by the pleasure of the State; the patronage of all benefices belongs to the State, and may be exercised either by Princes, or by the majority of the members of the parish to which an ecclesiastic is to be appointed. The parish has not only the right of election and appointment, but also the control of the official duties of the priest, and the ultimate power of dismissal. Exclusion from the Christian community, in so far as temporal and worldly interests are connected with it, requires its consent. Like Calvin * in later days, Marsiglio regards all the judicial and legislative power of the Church

* See Kampschulte, Joh. Calvin (Leipzig, 1869), i., 268 *et seq.* The relation of Marsiglio's system with that of Calvin has not been remarked by any modern historian but Döllinger (Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 259). It seems to me probable that the "Defensor Pacis" exercised a direct influence on the "Reformer" of Geneva.

as inherent in the people, and delegated by them to the clergy. The community and the State are everything; the Church is put completely in the back-ground; she has no legislature, no judicial power, and no property.

The goods of the Church belong to the individuals who have devoted them to ecclesiastical uses, and then to the State. The State is to decide regarding sale and purchase, and to consider whether these goods are sufficient to provide for the needs of the clergy and of the poor. The State has also power, should it be necessary for the public good, to deprive the Church of her superfluities and limit her to what is necessary, and the State has the right to effect this secularization, notwithstanding the opposition of the Priests. But never, Marsiglio teaches, is power over temporal goods to be conceded to the Roman Bishop, because experience has shown that he uses it in a manner dangerous to the public peace.* Like Valla and Macchiavelli, in later times, Marsiglio assumes the air of an Italian patriot, when he attributes all the troubles of Italy to the Popes. This is a palpable sophistry, for that reproach was in no way applicable to Marsiglio's days. Italy was then under the sway of her most distinguished monarch, King Robert of Anjou, whom the Popes had protected to the best of their power, and Louis of Bavaria's expedition to Rome was certainly neither their wish nor their work. On the contrary, at a later period, Pope John XXII. issued a Bull

* Friedberg in Dove-Friedberg, Zeitschr. für Kirchenrecht, viii., 121-137. See also Friedberg, Mittelalterliche Lehren, ii., 32-48. Riezler, Wiedersacher, 198 *et seq.*, 225-226. Maassen, 217-220. Gierke, 52-54, 125, 128, 228. Martens, 397-399. Schockel, Marsilius von Padua (Strasburg, 1877). B. Labanca, Marsiglio di P. (Padova, 1882). See Gött. Gel. Anz., 1883, No. 29. Ischackert, 2, 5, 45, has some good remarks regarding Marsiglio's theories of Church and State.

with the object of separating Italy from Germany, and thereby destroying the influence of the "Ultramontanes," or non-Italians in Italy.*

In face of these outrageous attacks and this blank denial of the Divine institution of the Primacy and the Hierarchy, there were never wanting brave champions of the Apostolic See and of the doctrine of the Church. Most of them, unfortunately, were led by excess of zeal to formulate absurd and preposterous propositions. Agostino Trionfo, an Italian, and Alvaro Pelayo, a Spaniard, have, in this matter, gained a melancholy renown. As one extreme leads to another, in their opposition to the Cæsaro-papacy of Marsiglio, they exalted the Pope into a kind of demi-god, with absolute authority over the whole world. Evidently, exaggerations of this kind were not calculated to counteract the attacks of political scepticism in regard to the authority of the Holy See.†

The theory put forward in the "Defensor Pacis," regarding the omnipotence of the State and the consequent annihilation of all individual and ecclesiastical liberty, far

* Höfler, Kaiserthum, 153. The famous Bull of John XXII., by which Italy was severed from the Empire, neither exists in the Vatican, in the original, nor in the Regesta. This fact has been established by F. Denifle (Archiv. von Denifle und Ehrle., i., 626), and the question of the authenticity of the Bull has entered into a new phase. Scheffer-Boichorst (Mittheilungen, vi., 78) and W. Felten (Die Bulle: "Ne pretereat.," Trier., 1885) have pronounced against it. In the last mentioned, a most conscientious work, the author endeavours to show that the Bull is a forgery, composed in the Chancellery of the House of Anjou, published and used against the Pope by the Minorites.

† See Hergenröther, Kirchengeschichte, ii., 1, 18. Staat und Kirche, 415 *et seq.* Lederer, 193. Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 130, and Alzog, ii., 10th ed., 14. Regarding the Bull of John XXII. against the "Defensor Pacis," see Werner, iii., 547 *et seq.*

surpassed all preceding attacks on the position and constitution of the Church in audacity, novelty, and acrimony. Practically this doctrine, which was copied from the ancients, meant the overthrow of all existing institutions and the separation of Church and State. Many passages of the work go far beyond the subsequent utterances of Wyclif and Huss, or even those of Luther and Calvin, whose forerunner Marsiglio may be considered. The great French Revolution was a partial realization of his schemes, and, in these days, a powerful party is working for the accomplishment of the rest.* Huss has been styled "the Precursor" of the Revolution,† but the author of the "Defensor Pacis" might yet more justly claim the title.

Louis of Bavaria accepted the dedication of the book which brought these doctrines before the world and promulgated political principles of so questionable a character, but a still greater triumph was in store for Marsiglio. In union with the anti-papal Minorites and the Italian Ghibellines, he succeeded in inducing Louis to go to Rome and to engage in the Revolutionary proceedings of the year 1328.‡ The collation of the Imperial Crown by the Roman people, their deposition of the Pope and

* Riezler, Widersacher, 227. See Friedberg, Mittelalterl. Lehren, 48, 49. Schwab, 30, 31. G. B. Lechler, Der Kirchenstaat und die Opposition gegen den päpstlichen Absolutismus im Anfang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1870), 20 *et seq.* Preger, 6 *et seq.* Köhler (Die Staatslehre der Vorreformatoren) in den Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie (1874), xix., 356 *et seq.*

† L. Blanc, Hist. de la Révol. Francaise (1847), i., 19.

‡ The well-informed Mussato mentions Marsiglio and Ubertino di Casale as the advisers who had most influence with Louis on his expedition to Italy. Böhmer, Fontes, i., 175. See Riezler, 43 *et seq.*, 49-50. Müller, i., 163 *et seq.* For the part taken by the Minorites, see Marcour, 43 *et seq.*

election of an anti-Pope in the person of the Minorite, Pietro da Corvara, were the practical results of the teaching of the "Defensor Pacis."*

Some of the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen had been men of stronger characters than Louis was, yet none had ever gone to such extremes. He appealed to doctrines whose application to ecclesiastical matters was equivalent to revolution, and whose re-action on the sphere of politics after their triumph over the Church would have been rapid and incalculable. For a century and a half the Church had been free from schism; by his action he let loose this terrible evil upon her. His culpable rashness gave a revolutionary and democratic turn to the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. He repudiated all the canonical decisions regarding the Supremacy of the Pope which the Emperors of the House of Hapsburg had accepted, degraded the Empire to a mere Investiture from the Capitol, and despoiled the Crown of Charles the Great, in the eyes of all who believed in the ancient imperial hierarchy, of the last ray of its majesty. It is strange that under Louis the Roman Empire should actually have been thus desecrated and degraded, so soon after Dante's idealization had crowned it with a halo of glory.†

It is impossible in the present retrospect to describe all

* Höfler, Concilia Pragensia (Prag., 1862), p. xxi.

† These are the words of Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 153-155. The passage here given from a manuscript in the Vatican Library, (Cod. Vat. 4008. Nicolai Minor. ord. collectio gestorum tempore Joannis XXII. super quæstione de paupertate Christi, fol. 27, not 25) has also been published from a copy by Ficker von Huber in the 4th volume of the Böhmerschen Fontes (p. 590), at full length. The beginning of this remarkable passage had already been printed from a Parisian MS., in the year 1693, by Baluze (i., 706).

the vicissitudes of Church and State during the struggle which was so disastrous to both. Envenomed by the dependence of the Popes on France, the exasperation on both sides was intense. The ecclesiastical power was implacable, lost to all sense of moderation, dignity, or charity. The secular power, cowardly but defiant, shrank from no extreme, sought the aid of the lowest demagogues, and by its vacillations frustrated each favourable chance that arose. The long and obstinate warfare, so little honourable to either party, could have no result save the equal humiliation of both and the complete ruin of social order in Church and State.* John XXII., restless and active to the last,† died at a great age on the 4th December, 1334.

His successor, Benedict XII. (1334-1342), a man of austere morals, was unable, notwithstanding his gentle and pacific disposition, to compose the strife with Louis of Bavaria and the Friars. King Philip VI. of France and the Cardinals in the French interest laboured to prevent peace between the Pope and Louis, and Benedict had not sufficient strength of will to carry out his purpose in face of their opposition.‡

John XXII., in his latter years, had thought of returning to Rome, and Pope Benedict XII. wished to do so, but the

* Such is the opinion of Görres (in the Preface to H. Suso's Leben und Schriften, published by M. Diepenbrock [Regensburg, 1829], xxix.-xxx.) and Böhmer (Regesten Ludwigs des Bayern, [Frankfurt, 1839], xiii. Note: See Janssen, Böhmers Leben, i., 284).

† The volumes of Regesta preserved in the Secret Papal Archives, containing sixty thousand, (according to other computations nearer eighty thousand), documents, bear witness to the world-wide labours of John XXII. Dudik, Iter Rom., ii., 4 (see Civ. Catt. Ottob., 1884, p. 39).

‡ See Müller, ii., 3 *et seq*.

Eternal City was at this time an arena of passionate discord and constant bloodshed. A Pope could not have remained there, even if the predominance of French influence and the irksome protection of the House of Anjou had allowed him to make the attempt.* King Philip VI. and the French Cardinals, who formed the large majority of the Sacred College, accordingly found no difficulty in detaining the Pope on the banks of the Rhone. In face of the hopeless and yearly increasing confusion in Italy, the wish to return to the Tombs of the Apostles gradually died away in his noble soul. In 1339 he began to build at Avignon a suitable dwelling-place, half palace and half fortress; it was enlarged by his successors and so gradually grew into the celebrated Palace of the Popes. This gigantic pile stands† on the rock of the Doms, and with its huge, heavy square towers, its naked yellowish-brown colossal walls, five yards in thickness and broken irregularly by a few pointed windows, is one of the most imposing creations of mediæval architecture. In its strange combination of castle and cloister, prison and palace, this temporary residence of the Popes reflects both the deterioration and the fate of the Papacy in France. It was the Popes' prison, and at the same time their Baronial Castle, in that feudal epoch when the Heads of Christendom were vassals of the French Crown, and were not ashamed to bear the title of Counts of Venaissin and Avignon. The

* Kraus, 467.

† According to Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionn. de l'Architecture (Paris, 1864), vii., 27, it occupies an area of 8000 mètres and was used as a barrack until 1883. It may be said that the French nation is in honour bound to restore this ancient edifice, whose neglected condition strikes every visitor; this work is now in contemplation. E. Müntz is preparing an exhaustive work on the Palace of the Popes at Avignon.

Palace of the Popes, in comparison with which the neighbouring Cathedral has an insignificant appearance, also manifests the decline of the ecclesiastical, and the predominance of the worldly, warlike, and princely element, which marked the Avignon period.*

The labours of Benedict XII. as a reformer, in the best sense of the word, are worthy of the highest praise. In this respect he forms a striking contrast with his predecessor; he also most carefully avoided anything approaching to nepotism. "A Pope," he said, "should be like Melchisedech, without father, without mother, without genealogy."† During his whole Pontificate he manifested the most earnest desire to do away with the abuses which had prevailed in the preceding reign, severely repressing bribery and corruption in all the branches of ecclesiastical administration. He sent the prelates who lingered about the Court back to their dioceses, and revoked all In-Commendams and Expectancies, with the exception of those appertaining to the Cardinals and Patriarchs. He made the reform of the relaxed Religious Orders of men his special care,‡ and, as one of his biographers observes, he caused the Church, which had become Agar, to be again Sara, and brought her out of bondage into freedom.§

Benedict XII.'s successor, Pierre Roger de Beaufort, was

* See Boiserée (Stuttgart, 1862), i., 664, and Gregorovius, Wanderjahre, ii., 2nd ed., 330, 331. See A. Stolz, Spanisches (Freiburg, 1854), 55, and L. de Laincel, Avignon (Paris, 1872), 329 *et seq.*

† This is related by Cardinal Ægidius, of Viterbo, who lived much later; see Pagi, Breviarium, iv., 117.

‡ See Schwab, 12 *et seq.*, and Müller, ii., 3, who gives the authentic proofs. See also Schmieder, Zur Gesch. der Durchführung der Benedictina in Deutschland, in the "Studien aus dem Benedictiner-Orden," iv., Jahrg. 4 and 5.

§ Quinta Vita Benedicti XII., in Baluze i., 232.

also a native of the South of France; he was born at the Castle of Maumont in the Diocese of Limoges, and, on his accession, took the name of Clement VI.* (1342-1352). Unlike the pacific Benedict, this strong-minded Pontiff proceeded to resume against Louis of Bavaria the traditions of John XXII., and with success. He skilfully turned the enmity of the Houses of Lützelburg and Wittelsbach to account against the Emperor. A deadly struggle between these two families was imminent, when Louis suddenly died. The triumph of the Papacy seemed assured, for Charles IV. undertook to satisfy all the demands of the Papal Court,† and even the portion of the German nation which had followed the Emperor in his opposition to the Popes, gradually reverted to its former path.

But the whole nature of the conflict between the two divinely appointed powers, and the new ideas which had come to light during its continuance, had worked a great change in the spirit of the age. The old Pagan idea of the State, so destructive of every other human or divine right, had been revived by Marsiglio and Occam, and its delusive sophistry had beguiled many. The disastrous struggle had shaken the allegiance of thousands to the authority of the Pope, many spiritual bonds which had hitherto attached them to the Church were loosened, the general feeling was no longer what it had formerly been,‡ and, moreover, the corruption of morals during these years had made frightful progress.

* For his earlier life and his relations with Charles IV., see Werunsky, Gesch. Kaiser Karls IV. (Innsbruck, 1880), 19 *et seq.*. 257 *et seq.*, and Gottlob, 39 *et seq.*, 44 *et seq.*

† Huber, Regesten Karls IV. (Innsbruck, 1877), xv.-xvi., 21, No. 228.

‡ Preger, 61. See Müller, ii., 266, and Lorenz, Papstwahl, 194.

The Pontificate of Clement VI. was marked by the revolt of Cola di Rienzo, and the magic power attached to the name of the Eternal City was again manifested, but the fantastic extravagance of the Tribune, the instability of the Roman people, and, finally, the measures taken against it by the Pope, soon made an end of the new Republic and its head. The whole revolt seemed like some meteor that beams forth for a moment and is immediately lost in the darkness. Yet in some respects it was an important sign of the times. The programme of Italian unity under an Italian Emperor, put forth by the "Tragic Actor in the tattered purple of antiquity,"* clearly showed the progress already achieved by the modern idea of nationality. The ruin of the great political unity of the Middle Ages brought forth the selfish spirit of modern times. This unchristian nationalism was first developed in France, the very nation into whose power the Head of the Church had fallen. Thence it spread to Italy, where it found an ally in the heathen Renaissance. This was only natural, for nationalism in its narrowest sense was the spirit of the ancient world. Sooner or later a conflict between the Church and this degenerate principle was inevitable, for the Universal Church cannot be national. According to the will of her Divine Founder, she must accommodate herself to every race: there must be One Fold and One Shepherd. At one and the same time the most stable and the most pliable of all institutions, the Church can be all things to all men, and can educate every nation without doing violence to her nature. She persecutes no tongue nor people, but she shows no special preferences. She is simply Catholic, that is, Universal. Were it possible for her to become the tool of any one

* This name is well bestowed on him by Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 358.

nation, she would cease to be the Universal Church,* embracing the whole world.

Clement VI. was in many respects a distinguished man.† He was celebrated for immense theological knowledge, for a marvellous memory, and, above all, for rare eloquence. Some of his sermons, preached in the Papal Chapel before his elevation to the Pontificate, are preserved in manuscript in German Libraries. When Pope, he used to preach publicly on occasions of special importance to the Church, such, for example, as the appointment of Louis of Spain to be Prince and Lord of the Canary Islands (1344).‡

* "Cola di Rienzo und die modernen Nationalitäten:" Historpolit., Bl. xx., 470 *et seq.*, and Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 20, 21.

† Höfler, Avignonesische Päpste, 271, considers him the most important amongst the Popes of his time. See Aus Avignon, 19. Christophe goes further (ii., 167), for in his opinion few Popes have ever ruled the Church with greater ability.

‡ Collatio facta per dominum Clementem papam quando constituit Ludovicum de Hispania principem Insularum Fortunatarum. Cod. xi., 343, f. 185a-189b of the Library of the Canons Regular at St. Florian; also in Cod. 4195, f. 105-154 of the Court Library at Vienna (see Höfler, Roman. Welt, 123, 124). The sermons of Clement VI. were very widely circulated. Copies of them are found in Brussels: Bibl. de Bourg., Cod. 3480; Eichstädt Library (see Höfler, Aus Avignon, 10, 18, 20); St. Florian Library, Cod. xi., 126, f. 196b *et seq.*, and xi-343; Frankfurt on the Main, Town Library (Cod. 71 of the former Cathedral Library, identical with the contemporary MS., from which Schumk took his copy, Beiträge zur Mainzer Gesch. [Frankfurt, 1788]); St. Gall Monastery Library, Cod. 1023; Gnesen Cathedral Chapter Library, Cod. 53 (saec xiv.); Innsbruck: University Library, Cod. 25, f. 119 *et seq.*, 234, f. 204b *et seq.*, 769, f. 82 *et seq.*; Kremsmünster Library, Cod. 4 (see Schmid, Cat. Cod. Cremif. f. 76); Leipzig: Paul.-Bibl. (Montfaucon Bibl. 595); Metz: Library Cod. 97; Munich: Court Library, Cod. Lat. 8826 (see Müller, i., 144), and Cod. Lat. 903, 18205, 18660, 21247—see the Catalogue of MSS.

The gentleness and benevolence of this Pontiff were even more remarkable than his erudition and eloquence.* He was ever the helper of the poor and needy, and the brave defender of the unfortunate and oppressed. When a sanguinary persecution broke out against the Jews, who were detested as the representatives of capital, and slain by thousands by the excited populace in France and Germany, the Pope alone espoused their cause. He felt that his exalted position imposed on him the duty of curbing the wild fanaticism of the turbulent masses. In July and September, 1348, he issued Bulls for the protection of the abhorred race. If in the frantic excitement of the time, these measures were almost fruitless, Clement VI. at least did all that was in his power, by affording refuge to the homeless wanderers in his little State.†

But notwithstanding the admirable qualities of this Pontiff, there is a dark side, which we must not conceal. Through the acquisition, by purchase, of Avignon and the

Olmütz Library (see Archiv, x., 676); Oxford and Cambridge (see Oudin, iii., 931); Paris Library (see Müller, i., 166; ii., 361, 363); Rheims: Archiepiscopal Library, according to Ziegelbauer, Hist. rei. litt. ord. S. Bened., iii., 181 (if still extant?); Treves: Seminary Library, Cod. iii., 10 (olim monast. S. Mathiæ); Venice: Library of St. Mark's, cl., vi., Cod. 9; Vienna: Court Library (see above and Tabulæ i., 328; ii., 487). Sermones Mag., Petri Rogerii memb. s. 15, according to a note of Heine inserted in the Serapeum (1847), T. viii., p. 87. These sermons were found in a MS. in the Library of the Monastery of Ripoli, whence they have been transferred to the Archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona.

* Clementissimus ille Clemens, clementiæ speculum. Tertia Vita Clementis VI., Baluze, i., 300; compare 263.

† See L. Bardinet, Condition des Juifs du comtat Venaissin pendant le séjour des Papes à Avignon, in the Revue Hist., xii., 18-22; Haeser, iii. 155, and K. Müller's Literaturangaben in the Zeitschr. für Kirchen-Gesch., vii., 114.

creation of many French Cardinals, he made the Roman Church still more dependent on France.* Her true interests suffered much from the manner in which he heaped riches and favours on his relations, and from the luxury of his Court. Extravagance and good cheer were carried to a frightful pitch in Avignon during his reign. There was a certain magnanimity in the prodigality of Clement, who said that he was Pope only to promote the happiness of his subjects;† but the treasure left by his two immediate predecessors was soon exhausted, and fresh resources were needed to enable him to continue his liberal mode of life. He was only able to procure these at the cost of the interests of the Church, for his financial measures were even more injurious than those of Clement V. and John XXII. As in former times, so now, the frequent and excessive exercise of the undoubted‡ right of

* See Christophe, ii., 107 *et seq.*, 352 *et seq.*, and de Beaumefort, Cession de la ville et de l'Etat d'Avignon au Pape Clément VI., par Jeanne I., reine de Naples (Apt., 1874). A characteristic sign of the increase of French influence (see the extract from Faucon, 82, *supra*, p. 58) at the Papal Court, after the time of John XXII., is found in the fact that Clement VI., instead of, like his predecessor, employing an Italian artist in the decoration of the Papal Palace at Avignon, selected a French one. In a contract in the Town Archives at Avignon, of the year 1349, this Simonettus Lugdunensis, pictor curiam Romanam sequens is appointed. The monogram of this painter (M.L.) is also to be seen in the Chapel of Innocent VI. at Villeneuve; see Canron, Le Palais des Papes à Avignon (2nd ed., Avignon, 1875), 21. According to Müntz (Bullet. Monument., 1884), the Italian element was still in a majority among the artists employed by Clement VI. *Cf.* what this writer says about Simonet of Lyons. *Cf.* Janitscheck, Répert, T. viii., p. 390. On the Library of the Popes at Avignon, see Faucon, La Librairie des Papes, 1316-1420 (Paris, 1886), Vol. i. and ii.

† Baluze, i., 282.

‡ See Phillips, ii., 585 *et seq.*; v., 540 *et seq.*

the Popes to levy taxes led, in many countries, to violent resistance. Among the Teutonic nations especially, the discontent was extreme.* England endeavoured to protect herself by strict legislative enactments,† and her example was afterwards followed by Germany. Owing, however, to political distractions, the opposition was not unanimous, although the measures adopted were, in some cases, sufficiently stringent. In October, 1372, the monasteries and abbeys in Cologne entered into a compact to resist Pope Gregory XI. in his proposed levy of a tithe on their revenues. The wording of their document manifests the depth of the feeling which prevailed in Germany against the Court of Avignon. "In consequence," it says, "of the exactions with which the Papal Court burdens the clergy, the Apostolic See has fallen into such contempt, that the Catholic Faith in these parts seems to be seriously imperilled. The laity speak slightingly of the Church, because, departing from the custom of former days, she hardly ever sends forth preachers or reformers, but rather ostentatious men, cunning, selfish, and greedy. Things have come to such a pass, that few are Christians more than in name."‡ The example of Cologne was soon followed. Similar protests were issued in the same month by the Chapters of Bonn, Xanten, and Soest, and in the month of

* Among the Latin races also, complaints of the enormous exactions of the Avignon Court were heard. The Augustinian, Luigi Marsigli, wrote to a friend from Paris on the 20th August, 1375: Alle disordinate spese di Avignone non basta le offerende di San Pietro e Paulo, e non basterebbe quello che Creso in Lidia raunò; che Cesare donò in Roma, o cio che in quella distrusse Nerone. Lettera del b. L. Marsigli, p. xi.

† See Lingard, iv., 178 *et seq.* Schwab, 530. Pauli, iv., 481 *et seq.* Stubbs, Const. hist. of England (Oxford, 1878), iii., 314.

‡ The document is printed in Lacomblet, Urkundenbuch für Gesch. des Nieder-rheins (Düsseldorf, 1853), iii., 627-629.

November by the ecclesiastics of Mayence.* Such was the feeling in Western Germany towards the end of the Avignon period, and in Southern Germany the same sentiments prevailed. Duke Stephen the elder of Bavaria and his sons addressed a letter to the ecclesiastics of their country in 1367, informing them "that the Pope lays a heavy tax on the income of the clergy, and has thus brought ruin on the monasteries; they are therefore strictly enjoined, under severe penalties, to pay no tax or tribute, for their country is a free country, and the princes will not permit the introduction of such customs, for the Pope has no orders to give in their country."†

Clement VI., unfortunately, did not recognize the injury inflicted on the interests of the Church by his extravagant demands for money. On the contrary, when the abuses which had ensued were brought to his notice, and he was reminded that none of his predecessors had allowed things to go to such lengths, he replied, "My predecessors did not know how to be Popes,"‡ a saying which is characteristic of this Pontiff, in whose person the period of the Avignon exile is most characteristically portrayed.§

* Gudenus, Cod. dipl. Mog. (Francof., 1751), iii., 507-514.

† Printed by Freyberg, Gesch. der bayerischen Landstände (Sulzbach, 1828), i., 265; see also, although it belongs to the period of the Schism (1407), the letter of Duke Frederick of Austria to the religious communities of the Tyrol, in Brandis, Tirol unter Friedrich von Oesterreich (Wien, 1821), 291, 292.

‡ Baluze, i., 311. See Schwab, 14 *et seq.*, 37, 39.

§ Hefele, vi., 579, 588; Höfler, Aus Avignon, 19; Hammerich, 163; Müller, ii., 165; Villani and others also accuse Clement VI. of immorality. How close his relations were with France is clearly shown by the account of the sums of money, which he and his brother Guillaume Roger lent to Philip VI., John II., and the French barons during the long war. Between 1345 and 1350 Philip VI. received 592,000 golden florins and 5,000 scudi, and John II. the enormous sum of 3,517,000 florins. See Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, xl., 570-578.

Happily for the Church, Clement's successor, Innocent VI.* (1352-1362), was of a very different stamp. This "austere and righteous" man seems to have taken Benedict XII. as his model. Immediately after his coronation he revoked the Constitution of Clement VI., granting benefices in certain cathedral and collegiate churches to ecclesiastical dignitaries, suspended a number of Reservations and In-Commendams, expressed his disapproval of pluralities, and bound every beneficed priest to personal residence, under pain of excommunication. In this way he emptied the Papal Palace of a crowd of useless courtiers, whose only occupation was intrigue and money-making. Naturally frugal in his own expenses, and convinced that it was his duty to be very careful in regard to the possessions of the Church, he banished all splendour from his Court, put a stop to superfluous outlay, and dismissed needless servants. He required the Cardinals, many of whom were given up to luxury and had amassed immense wealth,† to follow his example, and often rebuked the passions and failings of individual members of the Sacred College. Preferment in his days was the reward of merit. "Ecclesiastical dignities," he used to say, "should follow virtue, not birth."‡ Innocent VI., who contemplated a thorough reform of Church government in general, earnestly strove to stem the corruption of the age, even beyond his own immediate sphere. Accordingly, in 1357, he sent Bishop Philippe de Labassole to Germany to labour at the reform of

* This energetic Pope was not born at Maumont, as has often been stated, but at the village of Mont near Beyssac, close to the Castle of Pompadour. See Christophe, ii., 170, and Werunsky, 61, note 5. Gregorovius repeats the old error in his latest edition (vi., 3rd ed., 322).

† See André, Monarch. pontif., 243 *et seq.*, 319.

‡ See Christophe, ii., 173, for particular details. See also Schwab, 17, and Werunsky, 63.

the clergy.* Almost all historians regard Innocent VI. as an austere, earnest, and capable ruler, who,—although not wholly free from the taint of nepotism,—worked unceasingly for the welfare of the Church and of his people. Some even consider him the best of the Avignon Popes.†

This remarkable Pontiff also lent a helping hand to the final restoration of the Empire, but this new Empire was too weak to have sufficed for itself even in ordinary times. From the fear of a return to the days of Frederick II. and Louis of Bavaria, it was considered prudent, if possible, to deprive the Empire of all power of injuring the Church, and everything else was sacrificed to this idea.‡ The mistake proved a serious one. With all his admirable qualities, Innocent VI. was no politician.

The brightest spot in his Pontificate is the restoration of the papal authority in Italy, by means of the gifted Cardinal Albornoz.§ The return of the Pope to his original and proper capital was now a possibility. It was, moreover, becoming a matter of urgent necessity, as the residence of the Papal Court on the banks of the Rhone had been rendered most insecure by the increasing power of mercenary bands and the growing confusion of French

* See Schubiger, 16 *et seq.*; and Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, xix., 341.

† Thus Sugenheim, 257; Papencordt, Rienzo, 277, and Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 390. See Hammerich, 163, 164, and Zöpffel in Herzogs Real-Encyklopädie, vii., 2nd ed., 338. Regarding the appointment of the first Humanist in the Papal Court by Innocent VI., see *supra* p. 54, note †; and for the refutation of the idea that Innocent VI. was an enemy of learning, see Hist. litt., t. xxiv., 21, 22.

‡ Höfler, Roman. We, 127. See Avignonesische Päpste, 282, 283.

§ See Reumont, ii., 900 *et seq.*; Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 323 *et seq.*, and Werunsky, 65 *et seq.*

affairs. Innocent VI. had indeed meant to visit Rome,* but old age and sickness frustrated his purpose. His successor, the learned and saintly Urban V. (1362-1370), was more fortunate. Two great events mark his Pontificate as one of the most important of the century.

His return to Rome, which the Emperor Charles IV. promoted with all his power, was effected in 1367. It was the only means by which the papal authority could be re-instated, the Papacy delivered from the entanglement of the war between France and England, and the necessary reform of ecclesiastical discipline carried out.

The second great event, which occurred in the following year, was the Emperor Charles IV.'s pilgrimage to Rome and the friendly alliance between the Empire and the Church.† The return of Urban V. to the tombs of the Apostles was an occasion of immense rejoicing to all earnest and devout Italians. Giovanni Colombini, the founder of the Gesuati, and his religious came as far as Corneto to meet the Pope, singing hymns of praise. They bore palm branches in their hands, and accompanied the Holy Father on his way with rejoicings. Shortly afterwards he confirmed their statutes which were based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Petrarch welcomed the Pope on his entry into Rome in the words of the psalmist: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people, then was our mouth filled with gladness and our tongue with joy."

Rome had seen no Pope within her walls for more than

* See his letter of April 28, 1361, to Charles IV., in Martène, Thesaur, ii., 946, 947. For the manner in which the Popes were threatened at Avignon, see Herquet, 49 *et seq.*; André, 402 *et seq.*; and Gottlob, 87 *et seq.*, 93.

† Höfler, Roman. Welt, 129. "When this was written in 1367 the two swords were reconciled," Limburg Chronik, 55.

sixty years; the city was a very picture of utter decay: the principal churches, the Lateran Basilica, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, and the Papal Palaces were almost in ruins. The experience of two generations had proved, that while the Popes might possibly do without Rome, Rome could not do without the Popes. Urban V. at once gave orders for the restoration of the dilapidated buildings and churches.* Royal guests soon arrived at her gates, and the city gradually began to recover.† The Romans came to meet their Sovereign with all due respect and submission‡; peace and quietness seemed at last to have returned. But Urban V. was not endowed with strength and perseverance to unravel the tangled skein of Italian affairs, and resist his own longing and that of most of the Cardinals for their beautiful French home.§ In vain did the Franciscan, Pedro of Aragon, point out the probability of a schism if the Pope should forsake the seat of the Apostles. The supplications of the Romans, the warnings

* Before he left Avignon, Urban V. had sent directions that the neglected gardens of the Vatican should be put in order, Theiner, Cod. dipl., ii., 430. For an account of the work of restoration, undertaken in the Vatican and the Lateran, see Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité, 22 Mai, 1880, and Archivio della Soc. Rom., vi., 13, 14. The walls of the Leonine city were also at this time repaired, Adinolfi, i., 130.

† In the years 1368 and 1369 Urban V. received in Rome the Emperor Charles IV., Queen Joanna of Naples, the King of Cyprus, and the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus. Stephen of Bosnia was also expected in the Eternal City. See Theiner, Mon. Hung., ii., 91, 92.

‡ See the testimony of the Pope himself in his letter to the Roman people, in Raynaldus, ad an., 1370 n., 19. Also Froissart, ix., 49-51.

§ Reumont, Briefe, 19. See Gesch. Roms., ii., 950 *et seq.*, 956 *et seq.* Regarding the really useful work accomplished by Urban during his sojourn in Italy, see l'Epinois, 327-337.

of Petrarch, and St. Bridget's prediction that he would die when he left Italy, were unavailing to turn Urban V. from his purpose. To the great sorrow of all true friends of the Papacy and the Church, he went to Avignon, where he shortly died (December 19, 1370). When Petrarch heard the tidings he wrote: "Urban would have been reckoned amongst the most glorious of men, if he had caused his dying bed to be laid before the Altar of St. Peter and had there fallen asleep with a good conscience, calling God and the world to witness that if ever the Pope had left this spot it was not his fault, but that of the originators of so shameful a flight."* With the exception of this weakness, Urban V. was one of the best of the Popes, and his resistance to the moral corruption of the day is worthy of all honour, even though he was unable completely to efface the traces of the former disorders.†

The period was in many ways a most melancholy one. The prevailing immorality exceeded anything that had been witnessed since the tenth century. Upon a closer inquiry into the causes of this state of things, we shall find that the evil was in great measure due to the altered conditions of civilized life. Commercial progress, facilities of intercourse, the general well-being and prosperity of all classes of society in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries, had greatly increased during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Habits of life changed rapidly, and became more luxurious and pleasure-seeking. The

* Geiger, Petrarca, 179.

† Gieseler, ii., 3,114. Froissart (vi., 504; see viii., 55) speaks very highly of Urban V. German chroniclers praise this Pope in the warmest terms. One of the Chronicles of Mayence (Deutsche Städtechroniken, xviii., 172) says of him: "Fuit lux mundi, et via veritatis, amator justitiæ, recedens a malo et timens Deum." See Limburg. Chronik, 51 and 59.

clergy of all degrees, with some honourable exceptions, went with the current.* Fresh wants necessitated additional resources, and some of the Popes (as, for example, John XXII. and Clement VI.) adopted those financial measures of which we have already spoken. Gold became the ruling power everywhere. Alvaro Pelayo, speaking as an eye-witness, says that the officials of the Papal Court omitted no means of enriching themselves. No audience was to be obtained, no business transacted without money, and even permission to receive Holy Orders had to be purchased by presents.† The same evils, on a smaller scale, prevailed in most of the episcopal palaces. The promotion of unworthy and incompetent men, and the complete neglect of the obligation of residence, were the results of this system. The synods, indeed, often urged this obligation, but the example of those in high places counteracted their efforts. The consequent want of supervision is in itself enough to explain the decay of discipline in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy, though the unbridled immorality, which kept pace with the increasing luxury of the age, had here also led many astray.‡

Urban V., himself a saintly man, attacked these abuses with energy and skill; he clearly saw that the reformation of the clergy was the first thing to be attended to, and took vigorous measures, not only against heretical teachers§, but also against immoral and simoniacal ecclesiastics and idle monks. He enforced the rule regarding the holding of

* Schwab, 38, 39. See Magnan, 139 *et seq.*, and Cipolla, 157.

† Alvar. Pelag., lib. ii., art. 15.

‡ Schwab, 39, 40, 53. See also Hammerich, 129 *et seq.*, 133 *et seq.*, 164, and Fr. H. S. Denifle, Taulers Bekehrung (Strassburg, 1879), 131-133.

§ See Raynaldus, ad an., 1363, n. 27; 1365, n. 17; 1368, n. 16-18; 1369, n. 12, 13; 1370, n. 16.

Provincial Councils, which had long been neglected, put a stop to the disgraceful malpractices of the Advocates and Procurators of the Roman Court, and conferred benefices only on the deserving.* He wished his Court to be a pattern of Christian conduct, and, therefore, watched carefully over the morals of his surroundings. He was fearless wherever he believed the interests of God to be concerned, and, although of a yielding disposition, showed an amount of decision in maintaining the rights and liberties of the Church, which astonished all who knew him. The luxurious life at Avignon was distasteful to him, and furnished one strong reason for his journey to Rome. He was free from any taint of nepotism, and induced his father to give up a pension which the King of France had granted him ; justice was his aim in all things; he was punctual in holding Consistories; all business, especially such as concerned the affairs of the poor, was promptly despatched, he kept strict order in his Court, and put down all fraud and oppression.† During his sojourn in Italy, Urban also occupied himself with ecclesiastical reforms, one of which was that of the celebrated Abbey of Monte Casino.‡

The weakness of Urban V. in so speedily abandoning

* Christophe, ii., 266-269. Magnan, 147.

† Schwab, 18.

‡ Baluze, i., 389, 390. L. Tosti, Storia della badia di Monte Casino (Naples, 1843), iii., 54-61. In reference to such Popes as Benedict XII. and Urban V., the austere Ægidius of Viterbo wrote: * "Si urbis et Romanarum ecclesiarum ruinas inspicias, hoc exilii tempus noctem dixeris, si mores sanctitatemque pontificum diem appellandum existimabis." Hist. viginti sæculor., Cod. C., 8, 19f, 261 of the Bibl. Angelica at Rome. The Avignon Popes, who were so active in the cause of missions, also did much for the promotion of learning, especially for the Universities. On this subject the reader may refer to the work of Fr. H. Denifle, Die Universitäten des Mittel Alters bis 1400, Band i. (Berlin, 1885).

Rome was visited on Gregory XI. (1370-1378), a Pontiff distinguished for learning, piety, modesty, and purity of life. In his time, the spirit of Italian nationality rose up against the French Papacy. The great mistake which had been made in entrusting the government of the States of the Church almost exclusively to Provençals, strangers to the country and to its people, was sternly avenged. A national movement ensued, the effects of which still survive in Italy, and which produced a general uprising of the Italians against the French.

The Republic of Florence, once the staunchest ally of the Holy See, now took the lead in opposition "to the evil Pastors of the Church," and in July, 1375, associated itself with Bernabo Visconti, the old enemy of the Apostolic See. Unfurling a red banner, on which shone the word, "Liberty," in golden letters, the Florentines called upon all who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Papal Legates to arise. The preponderance of Frenchmen amongst the governors in the States of the Church was, no doubt, in some degree the cause of the ready response made to this appeal. Still, the most loyal adherent of Gregory XI., St. Catherine of Siena, denounces the conduct of the "evil Pastors," and urges the Pope to proceed vigorously against those "who poison and devastate the garden* of the Church." It would, however, be unfair to adopt the tone of the majority of Italian chroniclers and historians, and lay all the blame on the Papal Legates. "The policy of most of the Italian states," to quote the words of one thoroughly conversant with this period,† "was infected with that same disease of self-

* See Tommaseo, iii., 114, 159 *et seq.* St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, passes a similar severe judgment in his Chronicon, t. xxii., c. i., § 1.

† Reumont, ii., 967; see iii., 1, 26, 482, and Christophe, ii., 313.

seeking and duplicity, of which the Legates were accused, while the mode of government in the princely Castles and in the Republics was incomparably more oppressive than in the Papal dominions. Some of these Legates were among the most distinguished servants of the Church of that age, but they all shared in the Original Sin of foreign nationality, and did not understand the Italians, who, on the other hand, found it convenient to attribute to others their own faults."

The behaviour of the Florentines towards Gregory XI. was closely connected with the internal affairs of the Republic. A numerous party in Florence, to whom the increased authority of the dominant Guelph section of the nobles was obnoxious, extremely disliked the strengthening of the territorial power of the Pope. Dreading a diminution of Florentine influence in Central Italy, they adroitly made use of the errors of the Papal governors to stir up the States of the Church.* Their efforts were successful beyond all expectation. In the November and December of 1375, Montefiascone, Viterbo, Citta di Castello, Narni, and Perugia rose in revolt, soon to be followed by Assisi, Spoleto, Ascoli, Civita Vecchia, Forlì, and Ravenna, and before two months had passed, the March of Ancona, the Romagna, the Duchy of Spoleto, in short, the whole of the States of the Church were in open insurrection. The power of the revolutionary torrent is strikingly shown by the defection of Barons like Bertrando d'Alidosio, the Vicar Apostolic of Imola, and Rodolfo da Varano, who had been numbered

* Reumont, Briefe, 27, 28. Reumont's view is supported by many documents in the Florentine Archives, which A. Gherardi has published as an appendix to his treatise: La guerra dei Fiorentini con P. Gregorio XI. detta la guerra degli Otto Santi, (Arch. St. Ital., Serie iii., Vol. 5, 6, 7, and 8).

among the most devoted adherents of the Pope.* The Florentines, not yet content, made constant efforts to gain the few cities which still resisted the Revolution, and, where letters and emissaries failed to accomplish this object, proceeded to more forcible measures.†

Consternation reigned in Avignon; Gregory XI., timid by nature, was deeply shocked and alarmed by the evil tidings from Italy. Fearing that the cities which still remained true to him would also join the standard of revolt, he endeavoured to make terms with his opponents, but in vain; the Florentines had no desire for peace, especially when they had succeeded in inducing the powerful city of Bologna, the "pearl of the Romagna," to turn against the Pope.‡

* Sugenheim, 302, 303. See A. Sansi, Storia del comune di Spoleto (Foligno, 1879), i., 154. In August, 1375, Gregory XI. feared that the City of Lucca would also join the enemies of the Church; see his * Letter to Lucca in Appendix No. 3, from the Original in the Archives at Lucca.

† Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 58. See Appendix No. 5. * Gregory XI. at Osimo, 1377, Febr. 12; Archives at Osimo.

‡ The * Invectiva contra Bononienses, qui rebellarunt se ecclesiæ (19 March, 1376) refers to Bologna's revolt. Cod. 3121, f. 187a-188b, of the Court Library at Vienna. It says: "Recordare Bononia quid acciderit tibi, intuere et respice opprobrium tuum magnum. O quantum facinus commisisti et in quanto tuam gloriam super omnes totius seculi nationes magnificam vituperio posuisti;" and in another place: "Tu nosti, si bene consideras, quam suave sit jugum ecclesiæ et levissimum onus ejus." The author of this Invective, in his devotion to the Papacy, says of the Florentines: "Ipsi vero servitutis arborem plantaverunt, de qua fingunt alios fructus debere colligere libertatis." In the same Vienna MS. we find, f. 151a, a fragment of a letter from Ricardus de Saliceto, legum doctor de Bononia, d.d. Bononiæ, vii. Junii, 1376, to Gregory XI., endeavouring to persuade the Pope to show

In face of the reckless proceedings of his enemies, Gregory XI. believed the time had come when even a pacific Pontiff must seriously think of war. A sentence accordingly went forth, which, as time proved, was terrible in its effects and in many respects doubtless too severe. The citizens of Florence were excommunicated, an interdict was laid upon the city, Florence, with its inhabitants and possessions, was declared to be outlawed.* Gregory XI. came to the unfortunate decision of opposing force by force, and sending the wild Breton mercenaries, who were then at Avignon with their captain, Jean de Malestroit, to Italy, under the command of the fierce Cardinal Legate, Robert of Geneva.† War was declared between the last French Head of the Church and the Republic of Florence.

No one more deeply bewailed these sad events than St. Catherine of Siena, a young and lowly nun, who exercised a wonderful influence over the hearts of her contemporaries, as the ministering angel of the poor in their corporal and spiritual necessities, the heroic nurse of the plague-stricken, and the mighty preacher of penance. This simple maiden, who is one of the most marvellous figures in the history of the world, clearly perceived the faults on both sides in this terrible strife, and "in heartstirring and heartwinning

mercy, and seeking to excuse the Bolognese: "Nunquam a sancta ecclesia nec sanctitate vestra recesserunt, recedere etiam non intendunt, sed a diabolicis ministris et adversariis."

* Raynaldus, ad an, 1376, n. 1-6. Capecelatro, 108. Lünig, Cod. dipl. i., 1087-1093. Charles IV. on the 5th April also placed the Florentines under the ban of the Empire. See Deutsche Reichtagsacten, i., note 92.

† See Ricotti, Storia delle Compag. di ventura, ii., 160; l'Epinois 351, and *Tabula gentium armorum in servitio papæ et Roberti cardinalis Gebennensis legati apostolici in Italia. Cod. lat 4190, f. 26b-33 of the National Library in Paris.

words" spoke out her convictions to all, even to the most powerful. As the true Bride of Him who came to bring peace to the world, she constantly urged peace and reconciliation upon the opposing parties. "What is sweeter than peace?" she wrote to Niccolo Soderini, one of the most influential citizens of Florence; "it was the last will and testament which Jesus Christ left to His disciples, when He said, 'You shall not be known as My disciples by working miracles, nor by foretelling the future, nor by great holiness shown forth in all your actions, but only if you shall live together in charity and peace and love.' So great is my grief at this war which will destroy so many among you, body and soul, that I would readily, if it were possible, give my life a thousand times to stop it." *

The letters addressed by St. Catherine to Pope Gregory XI. are unique in their kind. She looks at everything from the highest point of view, and does not scruple to tell the Pope the most unwelcome truths, without, however, for a moment forgetting the reverence due to the Vicar of Christ. "You are indeed bound," she says in one of these letters, "to win back the territory which has been lost to the Church; but you are even more bound to win back all the lambs which are the Church's real treasure, and whose loss will truly impoverish her, not indeed in herself, for the Blood of Christ cannot be diminished, but the Church loses a great adornment of glory which she receives from her virtuous and obedient children. It is far better to part with a temporal treasure than with one which is eternal. Do what you can; when all that is possible has been done,

* Tommaseo, iii., 13, 14. B. Veratti, in the Opuscoli relig. lett. e morali (Serie ii., t. viii., 185-204 [Modena, 1866]) draws attention to a MS of the letters of St. Catherine belonging to the Confraternità Modenese della SS.ma Annunziata, which is very superior to that used by Tommaseo.

you are excused in the sight of God and of men. You must strike them with the weapons of goodness, of love, and of peace, and you will gain more than by the weapons of war. And when I inquire of God what is the best for your salvation, for the restoration of the Church, and for the whole world, there is no other answer but the word, Peace, Peace! For the love of the crucified Saviour, Peace." * "Be valiant and not fearful," St. Catherine entreats after the revolt of Bologna; "answer God who calls you to come and to fill and defend the place of the glorious Pastor St. Peter, whose successor you are. Raise the standard of the Holy Cross, for as, according to the saying of the Apostle St. Paul, we are made free by the Cross, so by the exaltation of this standard which appears before me as the consolation of Christendom, shall we be delivered from discord, war and wickedness, and those who have gone astray shall return to their allegiance. Thus doing you shall obtain the conversion of the Pastors of the Church. Implant again in her heart the burning love that she has lost. She is pale through loss of blood which has been drained by insatiable devourers.† But take courage and come, O Father; let not the servants of God, whose hearts are heavy with longing, have still to wait for you. And I, poor and miserable that I am, cannot wait longer; life seems death to me while I see and hear that God is so dishonoured. Do not let yourself be kept from peace by what has come to pass in Bologna, but come. I tell you that ravening wolves will lay their heads in your lap like gentle lambs, and beseech you to have pity on them, O Father." ‡

* Tommaseo, iii., 173-4. Capecelatro-Conrad, 100.

† Awful words, which recall the expressions of Dante and Alvaro Pelayo, quoted *supra*, p. 72.

‡ Tommaseo, iii., 165. Reumont, Briefe, 25, 26.

With like freedom did Catherine point out to the rulers of Florence that they owed obedience to the Church, even if her pastors failed in the performance of their duties. "You know well that Christ left us His Vicar for the salvation of our souls, for we cannot find salvation anywhere save in the mystical body of the Church, whose Head is Christ and whose members we are. He who is disobedient to the Christ on earth has no share in the inheritance of the Blood of the Son of God, for God has ordained that by his hand we should be partakers of this Blood and of all the Sacraments of the Church which receive life from this Blood. There is no other way, we can enter by no other door, for He who is Very Truth says, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' He who walks in this way is in the truth and not in falsehood. This is the way of hatred of sin, not the way of self-love which is the source of all evil. You see then, my dear sons, that he who like a corrupt member resists the Holy Church and our Father, the Christ upon earth, lies under sentence of death. For as we demean ourselves towards him, whether honouring him or disobeying him, so do we demean ourselves towards Christ in Heaven. I say it to you with the deepest sorrow, by your disobedience and persecution you have deserved death and the wrath of God. There can nothing worse happen to you than the loss of His grace; human power is of little avail where divine power is wanting, and he watcheth in vain that keepeth the city, unless the Lord keep it. Many indeed think that they are not offending God but serving Him, when they persecute the Church and her Pastors, and say they are bad and do nothing but harm; yet I tell you that even if the Pastors were incarnate devils and the Pope the same, instead of a good and kind Father, we must be obedient and submissive to him, not for his

own sake, but as the Vicar of the Lord in obedience to God." *

The words, alas! fell on a barren soil, St. Catherine soon perceived to her great sorrow that the Florentines, who had sent her to negotiate their terms of peace at Avignon (June, 1376), had no real desire to come to an understanding with the Pope.† For those who now held sway in Florence intended to bring the Church to such straits that her temporal power would disappear, and this not from any lofty ideal as to the higher interests of the Church, but in order that the Pope should be without the means of punishing them.‡ The peace, with which the Saint of Siena saw that the fulfilment of the dearest wish of her heart—the Pope's return to Rome—was closely connected, seemed more distant than ever. But St. Catherine did not lose courage. During her sojourn at Avignon she unceasingly implored the Pope to yield and to let mercy prevail over justice; not content with this, she desired to lay the axe to the root, in order to remove the evil thoroughly. She now urged him by word of mouth, as she had already done in her letters, to undertake the reformation of the clergy. The worldly-minded Cardinals were amazed at the plain speaking of this nun. She told the Pope of his failings, especially his inordinate regard for his relations. All Avignon was in a state of excitement; many would have been glad to crush her, but they feared the Pope who had taken her under his protection.§ She loudly complained that at the Papal Court, which ought to have been a Paradise of virtue, her nostrils were assailed

* Tommaseo, iii., 165, 166. Reumont, Briefe, 29,30. Hase, Cat. von Siena, 190.

† Capecelatro, 109 *et seq.*, 114.

‡ Hase, Cat. von Siena, 135.

§ Capecelatro, 118.

by the odours of hell.* It is greatly to the honour of Gregory that St. Catherine could venture to speak thus plainly, and equally to her honour that she did so speak.

St. Catherine's zeal for reform was even surpassed by that with which she endeavoured to bring about the return of the Pope to Rome. She laboured with the greatest ardour for the realization of this project, which lay very near her heart, in the first place on account of the relations then existing between Rome and Italy, and the longing desire of all Italians. But her strongest motive was her solemn conviction that the Chief Pastoral Office in the Church ought to be closely associated with the City, which the blood of the Apostles and of countless martyrs had hallowed. She by no means overlooked the other advantages of the ancient abode of the Cæsars, but her devout enthusiasm—herein widely differing from that of Petrarch—was kindled by the vision of Rome, as the Holy City born again and ennobled in Christ. She writes of Rome, as a "garden watered with the blood of martyrs, which still flows there and calls on others to follow them," † and it was her desire to make her great by restoring to her her choicest ornament, the Throne of the Apostles. Equally earnest was her desire to restore the fallen power of the Vicar of Christ; and, fully persuaded that in no other city on earth could the Papacy flourish as in Rome, ‡ she gave herself no rest, until she had undone the work of Philip the Fair.

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy had become more and more threatening to the Papacy. Besides Rome, only Cesena, Orvieto, Ancona, Osimo, and Jesi, had remained true to the Pope, and the rebels had left no means untried

* Acta Sanctorum, April iii., 891.

† Tommaseo, iv., 252, 253.

‡ Capecelatro, 129 *et seq.*, 155, 214, 215.

to shake the allegiance of these places.* Rightly judging that the attitude of the Eternal City must have a decisive influence, they laboured especially to induce the Romans to rebel. But happily for Gregory, the violent letters of the Florentine Chancellor, Coluccio Salutato, urging them to rise against "the barbarians, the French robbers, and the flattering priests,"† were unheeded. It was, however, impossible for Rome to continue absolutely uninfluenced by the general insurrectionary movement, and a party arose there which threatened that if Gregory put off his return to Italy, an antipope should be elected. The great excitement which reigned throughout the States of the Church, is proved by the fact that many of the inferior clergy in the revolted Provinces joined the insurrection, and incited the members of their flocks to expel the Papal officials.‡

Since the days of Frederick II. the Papacy had never been in such imminent peril, for it now seemed on the point of losing its historical position in Italy, and even of being permanently banished by the Italians themselves to Avignon.§ St. Bridget had, many years before, expressed her fear that, unless Gregory XI. soon returned to Italy, he would forfeit not only his temporal, but also his spiritual || authority, and this fear seemed on the point of realization.

* See Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 72 and 79. Ciavarini, i., 88.

† See in Appendix No. 4* the letter from the Florentine archives addressed by the Florentines to the Romans on the 4th January, 1376.

‡ Fanciulli, Osservaz. critiche sopra le antichità cristiane di Cingoli, i., 447 *et seq.* Sugenheim, 303, 305.

§ Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 449. Kraus, 469.

|| Revelat. S. Brigittæ, cap. 143. See Hammerich, 171 *et seq.*, 189.

The restoration of the Papal residence to Rome was the only possible remedy.

Gregory XI. had long entertained the idea of going to Rome, but the influences which detained him in France had as yet been too strong; his venerated father, Count de Beaufort, his mother, his four sisters, his King, his Cardinals, and his own repugnance towards a country whose language was unknown to him,* were all so many hindrances in the way. If the sickly and timid Pontiff at last overcame the pressure put upon him by those around him, and by the French King, who sent his own brother, the Duke of Anjou, to Avignon,† this result is due to the burning words of St. Catherine of Siena. On the 13th September, 1376, Gregory XI. left Avignon for Genoa, travelling by way of Marseilles. At Genoa, St. Catherine succeeded in counteracting all the attempts made to induce him to turn back. Fearful storms delayed the voyage to Italy, and in consequence he only reached Corneto on the 5th December. The inhabitants of this ancient Etruscan City went forth to meet the Pope when he landed, carrying olive branches in their hands, and singing the Te Deum.‡

Gregory XI. remained here five weeks, principally on

* Hase, Cat. von Siena, 140.

† "Omnes cardinales de lingua ista," wrote Cristoforo di Placenza from Avignon on the 17th July, 1376, "sunt repugnantes, patres et fratres illud idem, et audio quod dux Andegavensis venit ad impediendum motum si poterit," Osio, i., 183.

‡ Petrus Amelius narrates the journey of the Pope in a very bad poem, which has often been printed (Muratori, iii., 2, 690, 704. Ciaconius, ii., 576, 585. Duchesne, Card. Franc., t. ii., p. 437 *et seq.* Bzovius ad an, 1376, n. 31 *et seq.*). See A. Perruzzi, Storia d'Ancona (Pesaro, 1835), ii., 102; Herquet, 63 *et seq.*, and the *Report of Cristoforo di Piacenza of 13 Dec., 1376 (Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.). Another unpublished account of this journey, written by Bertrandus Boyssetus, is, according to Baluze (i., 1196), preserved in the Paris Library.

account of inconclusive negotiations with the inhabitants of the Eternal City, whom the Florentines were ceaselessly inciting to revolt.* The practical Romans, however, came to terms with the Pope's plenipotentiaries, and on the 21st December, 1376, an agreement was concluded which enabled him to continue his journey. He left Corneto on the 13th January, 1377, and on the 14th landed at Ostia and went up the Tiber to St. Paul's, whence on the 17th, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, he made his entry into the City of St. Peter.†

The conclusion of the unnatural exile of the Papacy in France was a turning point in the history of the Church, as well as in that of Rome. The spell with which Philip the Fair had bound the ecclesiastical power was broken; a French Pope had set himself free. The gratitude of the world was assured to him, and that of Rome could not be wanting. Yet Gregory XI. found no rest in the Eternal City, where anarchy had taken such deep root that the Florentines found no difficulty in stirring up fresh troubles. Hardly had he established himself in the Vatican, when the conflict regarding the limits of his authority in the City broke out anew, and the treaty concluded between the Pope and the Romans proved but a false peace.‡ Yet more melancholy were the experiences of the well-meaning Pontiff in regard to general affairs. He had, as he himself wrote to the Florentines,§ left his beautiful native land, a

* As again on the 25th December, 1376; see Salutatus, Epist. i., 58, 59.

† The Pope chose to go by water, because the way by land was not safe. Cronichette antiche, 210.

‡ Reumont, ii., 1005 *et seq.*

§ * * Letter of July 15th, 1377 (Appendix No. 6), in the Archives at Florence. Gregory XI. expresses himself in similar terms in a letter to the Bishop of Urbino, dated Jan. 21, 1378, Rome. Copy in the Cod. 915, f. 391, 394 of the Méjanes Library at Aix.

grateful and devout people, and many other delights, and, notwithstanding the opposition or the prayers of Kings, Princes and many Cardinals, had hastened to Italy amid great dangers, with great fatigue, and at great cost, fully determined to remedy whatever his servants might have done amiss, ready, for love of peace, to accept conditions little honourable to himself, if only by this means tranquillity might be restored to Italy. To his deep sorrow, all the hopes which he had built on his personal presence in Italy, were disappointed. The improvement expected, not only by the Pope, but also by many discerning contemporaries,* failed to appear. The rebellion had assumed such formidable dimensions, hatred against the rule of the Church seemed to be so interwoven with the sentiment of patriotism, that the evil might be deemed incurable. And the anti-papal feeling was fearfully intensified by the tragical massacre perpetrated at Cesena (February, 1377), by order of the Cardinal of Geneva. This deed of blood was welcome to the Florentines, who now appealed, not only to their allies and to the hesitating Romans, but to many Kings and Princes of Christendom.† While they por-

* *E.g.*, the Mantuan Ambassador Cristoforo di Piacenza; see his *Letter of 13th Dec., 1376, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, etc.

† Gherardi, v., 2, 105, 106; viii., 1, 280-283. I have seen, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, a copy of the letter to the Romans and of their answer, dated 1377, April 17. The bloodshed at Cesena was more or less correctly described and severely blamed by all contemporary historians. The Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenzenstein, in his * "Liber de consideratione," expatiates in the strongest terms on the "atrocious crime" which the Cardinal of Geneva had perpetrated at Cesena: "Sed quod horrendum est auditu et lamentabile dictu, universos civitatis hujus habitatores et incolas feritate sua crudeliter interemit," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 45b. Vatican Library.

trayed the horrors that had taken place in Cesena in the darkest colours, they sought to justify their own attitude and to increase the hatred felt for the Papal cause. In Italy their efforts were very successful, as we learn from a passage in the Chronicle of Bologna, which declares that the people would believe neither in the Pope nor in the Cardinals, because such things had nothing in common with the Faith.*

Gregory XI., whose health had suffered much from the climate, to which he was unaccustomed, and the troubles of the few months he had spent in Rome, left the unquiet city in the end of May for Anagni, where he remained until November. Amid the increasing confusion of affairs and exhaustion of financial† resources, he never lost courage. He well knew that the fortune of war is subject to many vicissitudes, and he had firm confidence in the justice of his cause.‡ The wise policy, with which he had liberally rewarded the loyal, severely punished the irreconcilable, and readily forgiven the repentant, gradually worked a change in his favour.§ He succeeded in reconciling the wealthy City of Bologna to the Church, and winning to his side Rodolfo da Varano, the chief General of the Florentines. The Prefect of Vico, to whom Viterbo was subject,

* Cronica di Bologna, 510.

† See Gregory's ** Appeal to the Queen of Naples, dated [1377] October 12, Anagni, and the * Letter to Pietro Raffini, in Appendix No. 8, both in the MS. of the Méjanes Library at Aix.

‡ *Gregory XI. to Rodolfo da Varano, 1377, July 26. Méjanes Library at Aix and elsewhere.

§ Regarding the reward of the loyal, see l'Epinois, 354. Gherardi, v., 2, 107. Fumi, Orvieto, 561 *et seq.* G. Cecconi, Carte dipl. Osimane (Ancona, 1878), 28 *et seq.* In the * Liber croceus magnus bullar. et privilegior. of the Archives of Ancona I found, f. iii-vb., four Bulls of Gregory XI. of the year 1377, with privileges for this city.

also gave up the Florentine League, which seemed threatened with dissolution. But the people of Florence were not to be influenced by these events, and instead of adopting moderate measures, proceeded to extremities. The conditions proposed to the Pope were such as he could not accept.* Not only did the Republic refuse to restore the confiscated property of the Church and to repeal the Edict against the Inquisition, but it also demanded that all rebels against the Church should remain for six years unpunished in *statu quo*, and should be free to make treaties, even against the Pope and the Church. Such proposals could not really be called conditions of peace; they were, as Gregory XI. justly observed, merely an effort to strengthen revolutionary tyranny and to prepare the way for fresh war.† And yet, in a letter addressed soon afterwards to the Romans, the Florentines had the audacity to complain most bitterly of the Pope as preaching peace with his lips only !‡

It is no wonder that, instead of listening to the mild counsels of St. Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI. vigorously carried on the war with his inexorable opponents, who ended by disregarding even the Interdict.§ He took every means to ensure the publication of his terrible sentence against the Florentines, by which their trade was

* This is the opinion of Gregorovius, the partisan of the Florentines, vi., 3rd ed., 467. The impossibility of acceding to their exorbitant demands is pointed out by Gregory XI. in his * Letter to Cardinal Pierre d'Estaing of Sept. 1, 1377. Anagni. Cod., 915, f. 260, 261, of the Méjanes Library at Aix.

† * Gregory XI. to Florence, 15 July, 1377. State Archives, Florence (Appendix No. 6).

‡ C. Salutatus, Epist., ed. Rigacc., i., 141-143. Vitale, 330, 331.

§ See Cronichette antiche, 212, 213.

most seriously affected, in places such as Venice and Bologna, where it had not yet been promulgated.* If tidings reached him, from countries where this had been done, of a lenient execution of the decree, he at once protested in the strongest terms.† The injury thus inflicted on the national prosperity of the Republic was quite incalculable.‡

The prosecution of the war demanded an immense outlay. The increasing tyranny in the internal government of the Republic, and the insufferable burden laid by the Interdict on the consciences of a religious population, produced a growing desire for peace, which endangered the success of the warlike party. § Signs of discord became apparent among the confederates.|| Accordingly, when the Bishop of Urbino, as envoy from the Pope, proposed their own ally Bernabo Visconti to the Florentines as umpire, the chiefs of their party did not venture to refuse to appear at the Peace Congress to be held at Sarzana. Early in the year 1378 Bernabo arrived in the city, where ambassadors from most of the Italian powers soon assembled. Gregory XI. had at first been averse to sending a Cardinal to the Congress, but for the sake of peace he finally resolved on this concession,¶ and the Cardinal of Amiens, accompanied by the Archbishops of Pampeluna and Narbonne, accord-

* * Gregory XI. to the Abbot of S. Niccolò at Venice, from the MS. at Aix, given in Appendix No. 7. Regarding Bologna, see Muratori, xviii, 515.

† * Gregory XI. to Pietro Raffini, 26 Dec., 1377. Appendix No. 8.

‡ Stefani, Istoria, 145 and 163.

§ See p. 34 of the Introduction.

|| Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 106.

¶ * Gregory XI. to the Bishop of Urbino, 21st January, 1378, Cod. 915 in the Méjanes Library at Aix.

ingly appeared on his behalf. On the 12th of March the negotiations began, to be almost immediately interrupted by the death of the Pope.*

Gregory XI. had returned to Rome from Anagni on the 7th November; the Romans who during his absence had become reconciled to the Papal rule, received him joyfully and delivered to him the contract of peace with Francesco di Vico, prefect of the City.† A little before his death the Pope was able to assure the Romans that the condition of their City had hardly ever been so peaceful as during the preceding winter.‡ The tranquillity of Rome could not, however, deceive Gregory as to the dangers which threatened the Papacy; he knew too well how much was still wanting to a durable settlement of Italian affairs, and he could not but acknowledge that he had failed to carry out the ecclesiastical reform so strongly and so justly urged upon him by St. Catherine. Dark visions hovered round his sick-bed. He seems to have had a foreboding of the schism that was imminent, for, on the 19th of March, 1378, he made arrangements to ensure the speedy and unanimous election of a successor. His health had always been delicate, and on the 27th March he succumbed to the continual agitation he had undergone and to the unfavourable effects of the Italian climate. Gregory XI. was the last Pontiff given by France to the Church.

* The troubles of Urban VI.'s time enabled the Florentines to conclude peace with the Church under more favourable circumstances (28 July, 1378). See Salutatus, Epist., ii., 179 *et seq.*, 199 *et seq.* Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., ii., 123.

† See ** Despatch of Cristoforo di Piacenza of 15th Nov., 1377. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

‡ * Gregory XI. to Cardinal de Lagrange and the Archbishop of Narbonne, 1378, March 2. Appendix No. 9 from the Aix MS.

II.—The Schism and the Great Heretical Movements, 1378-1406 (1409).

After an interval of seventy-five years a Conclave again met in Rome, and on its decision depended the question whether or not the injurious predominance of France in the management of the affairs of the Church should continue.* Severe struggles were to be expected, for no slight disunion existed in the Sacred College.

Of the sixteen Cardinals then present in Rome, four only were of Italian nationality. Francesco Tibaldeschi and Giacomo Orsini were Romans, Simone da Borsano and Pietro Corsini, natives respectively of Milan and Florence. These Princes of the Church were naturally desirous that an Italian should occupy the Chair of St. Peter. The twelve foreign or "Ultramontane" Cardinals, of whom one was a Spaniard and the others French, were sub-divided into two parties. The Limousin Cardinals strove for the elevation of a native of their province, the birthplace of the last four Popes. Of the six remaining members of the Sacred College, two were undecided, and the four others, of whom the Cardinal of Geneva was the leader, formed what was called the Gallican faction.

No party accordingly had the preponderance, and a protracted Conclave was to be anticipated. External circumstances, however, led to a different result. Before the Cardinals entered on their deliberations, the Municipal authorities of Rome had besought them to elect a Roman, or at any rate an Italian, and while the Conclave was pro-

* The foregoing history exhibits the ample fulfilment of the prophecy, which declared that the power of France would prove a sharp reed to the Roman Church, piercing the hand of him who leaned upon it (see Bulæus, v., 576; *cf.* Harting, i., note 44).

ceeding, the governors of the districts appeared, and presented the same petition. The populace gathered round the Vatican in the greatest excitement, demanding, with shouts and uproar, the election of a Roman. The Cardinals were compelled to make haste, and as no one of the three parties was sufficiently powerful to carry the day, all united in favour of Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, a candidate who belonged to no party and seemed in many respects the individual best fitted to rule the Church in this period of peculiar difficulty. He was the worthiest and most capable among the Italian prelates. As a native of Naples, he was the subject of Queen Joanna, whose protection at this crisis was of the greatest importance. A long residence in Avignon had given him the opportunity of acquiring French manners, and ties of equal strength bound him to Italy and to France. On the 8th April, 1378, he was elevated to the supreme dignity, taking the name of Urban VI.*

Great confusion was occasioned by a misunderstanding which occurred after the election. The crowd forcibly broke into the Conclave to see the new Pope, and the Cardinals, dreading to inform them of the election of

* The different accounts of the election of 1378 are very well put together by Hefele, vi., 628-659. Among other more modern works, see the excellent essay of Lindner in the Histor. Zeitschrift., xxviii., 101-127, on which the above description is based, also the same scholar's Gesch. des deutschen Reichs, i., 72-81, and Schwab, 97-111. Several of the French Cardinals plainly told Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo that their disunion was one of the principal reasons for Prignano's election. Bishop Nicholas says: "Ego tunc ivi ad dom. card. S. Angeli, qui breviter respondit mihi, quod Barensis erat electus propter eorum et Lemovicensium miseriam et discordiam." Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille expressed himself in similar terms. * Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo of 1 Nov., 1379. Arm., liv., n. 17, f, 74b-75b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Prignano, who was not a Roman, persuaded the aged Cardinal Tibaldeschi to put on the Papal Insignia and allow the populace to greet him. Hardly had this been done, when, apprehensive of what might happen when the deception was discovered, most of the Cardinals sought safety in flight. Finally, confidence was restored by the assurance of the City authorities that Prignano's election would find favour with the people. It is plain then that the election itself was not the result of compulsion on the part of the Roman populace. If, however, the least suspicion of constraint could be attached to it, the subsequent bearing of the Cardinals was sufficient to completely counteract it.* As soon as tranquillity was restored Prignano's election was announced to the people and was followed by his Coronation. All the Cardinals then present in Rome took part in the ceremony,† and thereby publicly acknowledged Urban VI. as the rightful Pope. They assisted him in his ecclesiastical functions and asked him for spiritual favours. They announced his election and Coronation to the Emperor and to Christendom in general by

* Hefele, vi., 658, 659. Bartolomeo di Saliceto in his * Consilium super facto schismatis (see Appendix No. 14) says very justly: "Etsi prima electio potest aliquo modo impugnari, quod non video, secunda valet indubitanter et sine scrupulo." The subsequent and perfectly voluntary actions of the Cardinals weigh very heavily in the balance, and for this very reason Cardinal Pietro Corsini afterwards endeavoured to represent them as irrelevant; see his * Tractatus juris et facti super schisma et initium schismatis in ecclesia Romana tempore Urbani VI., anno 1378, Cod. 40, D. 4 of the Corsini Library in Rome. I saw a second copy in Cod. 264, NB 3, T. 11, p. 96 *et seq.*, of the Library at Ferrara.

† * "Postea vidi ipsum coronari cum processione solemni et ire ad S. Joannem et redire cum toto populo indifficienter cum omnibus cardinalibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, *etc.*" * Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

letters signed with their own hands, and homage was universally rendered to the new Head of the Church. No member of the Sacred College thought of calling the election in question; on the contrary, in official documents, as well as in private conversations, they all maintained its undoubted validity.*

It cannot, indeed,† be denied that the election of Urban VI. was canonically valid. The most distinguished lawyers of the day gave their deliberate decisions to this effect;‡ but it had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was extremely easy to obscure or distort the facts. It was canonical, but it had been brought about only by the dissensions between the different parties, and was agreeable to none. The Cardinals respectively hoped to find a pliable instrument for their wishes and plans in the person of Urban VI. In the event, however, of this hope being disappointed, or of their discords being appeased, it was to be expected that the elected Pontiff would fall a victim to their reconciliation. Without a single genuine adherent in

* See Hefele, vi., 659 *et seq.* Regarding the private utterances of the Cardinals, see Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 13-15, and the passage from the ** Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, given in the Appendix No. 14.

† Such is the opinion of Lindner, *loc. cit.*, 126. Similarly the most esteemed Catholic writers (Hefele, vi., 653 *et seq.*, Hergenröther, ii., 1, 18; Heinrich, Dogm., Theil, ii., 418, etc.), and many Protestant authors (as Leo, ii., 647; Hinschius, i., 271; and Siebeking, 14, note 3) assert the undoubted validity of Urban VI.'s election. It therefore follows that Urban's successors, Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII., were the only lawful Popes.

‡ Giovanni di Lignano, Baldo di Perugia and Bartolomeo di Saliceto. See Hefele, vi., 645, 652, and Savigny, vi., 232, 268. I may observe in addition to the statement of Savigny, that the Consilium pro Urbano VI. by Bartolomeo di Saliceto is also to be found in *Cod. Vatic., 5608, f. 119-131. In the Appendix No. 14 are some notices regarding the numerous documents in the Roman Archives and Libraries bearing on the Schism.

the College of Cardinals, he might soon see his supporters changed into opponents.*

The new Pope was adorned by great and rare qualities; almost all his contemporaries are unanimous in praise of his purity of life, his simplicity and temperance. He was also esteemed for his learning, and yet more for the conscientious zeal with which he discharged his ecclesiastical duties.† It was said that he lay down to rest at night with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, that he wore a hair-shirt, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church. He was, moreover, experienced in business. When Gregory XI. had appointed him to supply the place of the absent Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, he had fulfilled the duties of the office in an exemplary manner, and had acquired an unusual knowledge of affairs. Austere and grave by nature, nothing was more hateful to him than simony, worldliness, and immorality in any grade of the clergy.‡

It was but natural that the elevation of such a man should call forth the brightest anticipations for the welfare of the Church. Cristoforo di Piacenza, writing to his Sovereign, Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, soon after the election of Urban, says: "I am sure that he will rule God's Holy Church well, and I venture to say that she has had no such Pastor for a century and more, for he has no kindred, he is on very friendly terms with the Queen of Naples, he is conversant with the affairs of the world, and is moreover very clear-sighted and prudent."§

* Lindner, *loc. cit.*, 1.

† Theod. de Niem, i., 1.

‡ *Loc. cit.* See Stefani, 197, ed. App., 330, 331. Lindner, Urban VI., 411 *et seq.* Capecelatro, 203. Siebeking, ii., note 1.

§ See in Appendix No. 11 the text of this remarkable* letter, which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. Cristoforo di Piacenza had at first the most favourable opinion of Urban VI., as his despatch of the 9th April, 1378, testifies (see Appendix No. 10). He was quickly and thoroughly undeceived!

But Urban VI. had one great fault, a fault fraught with evil consequences to himself, and yet more to the Church; he lacked Christian gentleness and charity. He was naturally arbitrary and extremely violent and imprudent,* and when he came to deal with the burning ecclesiastical question of the day, that of reform, the consequences were disastrous.

The melancholy condition of the affairs of the Church at this period is clear from the letters of St. Catherine of Siena. The suggestions of reform which she had made repeatedly and with unexampled courage had unfortunately not been carried out.† Gregory XI. was far too irresolute to adopt energetic measures, and he also attached undue weight to the opinions of his relations, and of the French Cardinals, by whom he was surrounded; moreover, he was fully occupied by the war with Florence, and this was perhaps the chief cause of his inaction. Whether, if longer life had been granted to him, he would really have undertaken the amendment of the clergy, it is impossible to say. One thing is certain, that at the date of the new Pope's accession the work had still to be done.

It is to Urban's honour that he at once took the matter in hand, beginning in the highest‡ circles, where, in the

* Dietrich of Nieheim, an eye-witness of the events we have related above, and a believer in the validity of Urban's election, says (i., 7) that the Cardinals came to the conclusion that the sudden elevation to the supreme dignity had completely turned his head. See the opinions of Froissart, Lionardo Aretino, Tommaso de Acerno, and St. Antoninus ot Florence, brought together by Reumont (ii., 1024).

† Capecelatro, 174.

‡ St. Catherine of Siena in her letters constantly reverts to the worldliness of the higher clergy, and her charges are confirmed by all her contemporaries. The Augustinian, Luigi Marsigli, speaks of the Cardinals as the "avari, dissoluti, importuni e sfacciati

opinion of all prudent men, the need was the most urgent. But instead of proceeding with the prudence and moderation demanded by a task of such peculiar difficulty, he suffered himself from the first to be carried away by the passionate impetuosity of his temper. Thus his already unstable position was soon rendered most precarious. The very next day after his coronation he gave offence to many Bishops and Prelates, who were sojourning in Rome, some of them for business, and some without any such reason. When, after Vespers, they paid him their respects in the great Chapel of the Vatican he called them perjurers, because they had left their churches. A fortnight later, preaching in open consistory, he condemned the morals of the Cardinals and Prelates in such harsh and unmeasured terms, that all were deeply wounded. Nor did the Pope rest satisfied with words. His great desire was to eradicate simony, and that all business brought to Rome should be despatched gratuitously, and without presents. This he more especially required from the Cardinals, who were bound to be models to the rest of the clergy. He publicly declared that he would not suffer anything savouring of simony, nor would he grant audience to anyone suspected of this sin. He particularly forbade the Cardinals to accept pensions, considering this practice to be a great hindrance to the peace

Limogini." Lettera del V., L. Marsigli, p. x. Most of the Cardinals, according to the Cronica di Rimini, 919, had ten or twelve Bishoprics and Abbeys apiece: "e anco tenevano scelerata vita si de la lussuria e di simili modi di mal vivere." Johann von Jenzenstein, Archbishop of Prague, in his "Liber de consideratione," sharply condemns the greed and luxury of the Cardinals of his day: "Ecce quam avaris crudelibus nefariis sancta mater ecclesia illis temporibus fuit stipata cardinalibus! Affluebant deliciis quodque desiderabat anima eorum non negabant sibi," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 45, 46, Vatican Library.

of the Church. He expressed his intention of living as much as possible in Rome, and, as far as in him lay, of dying there.* Urban also issued ordinances against the luxury of the Cardinals, and these measures were no doubt most excellent. Would only that the Pope had proceeded in a less violent and uncompromising manner! He certainly did not take the best way of reforming the worldly-minded Cardinals, when, in the Consistory, he sharply bade one of them be silent, and called out to the others "Cease your foolish chattering!" nor again, when he told Cardinal Orsini that he was a blockhead. † On the contrary, these brutal manners embittered men's minds, and did much to frustrate his well-meant plans and actions.

St. Catherine of Siena was aware of the severity, with which Urban VI. was endeavouring to carry out his reforms, and immediately exhorted and warned him. "Justice without mercy," she wrote to the Pope, "will be injustice rather than justice." "Do what you have to do with moderation," she said in another letter, "and with good-will and a peaceful heart, for excess destroys rather than builds up. For the sake of your Crucified Lord, keep these hasty movements of your nature a little in check." ‡ But instead of giving heed to these admonitions, Urban VI. pursued his disastrous course, breaking rather than bending

* Report of Giovanni di Lignano, translated by Papencordt-Höfler, 443, 444. The important passage in the Appendix No. 13 is from Cod. n. 269 of the Library at Eichstätt. For the Pope's efforts in the way of reform see also Rattinger in the Histor. Jahrb., v., 165; F. Grotanelli, Leggenda min. di St. Cat. da Siena e lettere de' suoi discepoli (Bologna, 1868), 260, and the "Liber de consideratione," by Johann von Jenzenstein, Cod. Vatic. 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

† See Hefele, vi., 663, for the authentic proof. Also Siebeking, ii., note 3.

‡ Tommaseo, iv., 64, 466 *et seq.* Hase, 253.

everything that opposed him. Relations between him and the Cardinals became more and more strained, for not one among these luxurious prelates had sufficient humility and patience to endure his domineering proceedings. Scenes of the most painful description frequently occurred, and, considering the incredible imprudence of Urban's conduct, we cannot wonder at his insuccess. Almost immediately after his election, St. Catherine had advised him to counteract the influence of the worldly-minded Frenchmen who formed the majority in the Sacred College, by the nomination of a number of virtuous and conscientious Cardinals, who might assist him with counsel and active support in the arduous duties of his office.* But Urban let precious time go by without adding to their number. Instead of acting, he confined himself to saying, in presence of several of the French Cardinals, that it was his purpose to create a preponderating number of Romans and Italians. An eye-witness relates that at these words the Cardinal of Geneva grew pale and left the Papal presence.†

A revolution in the Sacred College was evidently imminent, when Urban VI. fell out with his political friends, the Queen of Naples and her husband, Duke Otto of Brunswick. He also quarrelled with Count Onorato Gaetani of Fondi.‡ The exasperated Cardinals now knew where to find a staunch supporter. Hardly had the oppressive and unhealthy heats of summer set in at Rome, when the French, one after another, sought leave of absence "for reasons of health." Their place of meeting

* Tommaseo, iv, 67, 68. Capecelatro, 207.

† Thomas de Acerno in Muratori, iii., 2,725. Regarding the immense mistakes made by Urban, see also Cancellieri, Notizie, 12.

‡ See Carinci, Lettere di O. Gaetani, p. 119. See Documenti scelti dell' Archivio Gaetani, Carinci, p. 35 *et seq.*

was Anagni, and it was an open secret in Rome that they were resolved to revolt against a Pope, who had shown them so little regard, and who absolutely refused to transfer once more the Papal residence to France.* If hopes were entertained of an amicable arrangement of differences,† such hopes soon proved delusive. The Schism which had been impending ever since Clement V. had fixed his seat in France, and which had almost broken out in the time of Urban V., and again in that of Gregory XI., ‡ now became a reality.

In vain did the Italian Cardinals, by order of the Pope, propose that the contest should be settled by a General Council; in vain did the most eminent lawyers and statesmen of the day, such as Baldo di Perugia and Coluccio Salutato, maintain the validity of Urban's election;§ in vain did St. Catherine of Siena conjure the rebellious Cardinals, by the Saviour's Precious Blood, not to sever themselves from their Head and from the truth.

The plans of reform entertained by Urban VI. filled the French King, Charles V., with wrath. The free and independent position, which the new Pope had from the first assumed was a thorn in the side of the King, who wished to bring back the Avignon days. Were Urban now to succeed in creating an Italian majority in the Sacred College, the return of the Holy See to its dependence on

* This demand of the Cardinals is expressly mentioned by Urban VI. as cause of the rupture. Raynaldus ad an. 1378, n. 25. See Cronica di Rimini, 920.

† See * Despatch of Cristoforo di Piacenza of the 24th June, 1378. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, Appendix 12.

‡ See Flathe, ii., 41, 42, 44, and *supra* p. 109. How nearly a Schism occurred under Urban V. is shown by the * Report of Francesco de Aguzzonis, Cod. Vatic. 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library.

§ See Savigny, vi., 208-228. Schulte, 257 *et seq.*, 275 *et seq.*

France would be greatly deferred, if not indeed altogether prevented. Charles V therefore secretly encouraged the Cardinals,* promising them armed assistance, even at the cost of a cessation of hostilities with England, if they would take the final step, before which they still hesitated. Confident in his powerful support, the thirteen Cardinals assembled at Anagni, on the 9th August, 1378, published a manifesto, declaring Urban's election to have been invalid, as resulting from the constraint exercised by the Roman populace, who had risen in insurrection, and proclaiming as a consequence the vacancy of the Holy See.

On the 20th September they informed the astonished world that the true Pope had been chosen in the person of Robert of Geneva, now Clement VII.† The great Papal Schism (1378-1417), the most terrible of all imaginable calamities, thus burst upon Christendom, and the very centre of its unity became the occasion of the division of the Church.

It is not easy to form a correct judgment as to the proportion of blame due respectively to the Pope and the Cardinals. It would be at once unjust and historically incorrect to make Urban VI. alone responsible; indeed, the principal share of guilt does not fall upon him.‡ Reform

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 46. Hefele, vi., 666. Gottlob, 129, Hartwig, i., 44. I will hereafter publish the important * Report of Francesco de Aguzzonis, (Cod. Vatic. 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library).

† In the Cathedral of Fondi there is still to be seen the half-shattered marble chair, on which the anti-pope (il papa di Fondi, Cronica di Bologna, 519; Cronica di Pisa, Muratori, xv., 1075; Istoria Napolit., *ibid.*, xxiii., 223) seated himself after his election. In the little town of Atella in Southern Italy is a mural painting relating to the Schism. See Stanislao d' Aloe, La Madonna di Atella nello Scisma d' Italia (Napoli, 1853).

‡ See the observation of Victor le Clerc, Hist. Litt., T xxiv., 30.

was a matter of the most urgent necessity, and Urban VI. was performing a sacred duty when he boldly attacked existing corruptions. * If he overstepped the bounds of prudence, the fault, though a serious one, can readily be accounted for by the amount of the evil. Urban made this error worse by deferring the creation of new and worthy Cardinals until too late.

It must also be observed that the measure of reform undertaken by the Pope involved a complete breach with the fatal Avignon period, and this not only in an ecclesiastical, but also in a political sense.

If Urban sternly dismissed a certain number of the Cardinals and sent them back to their Bishoprics, his aim in this was not merely the removal of great and mischievous abuses, but also the diminution of French influence in the Papal Court, and of the pressure in favour of a return to Avignon. With the same objects in view the Pope purposed to choose Cardinals from all the different nations of Christendom. He wished to re-assert that universal character of the Roman Church which had been so seriously impaired during the Avignon period; hence his friendly attitude towards England. With a clearsightedness surpassing that of any of his contemporaries, this energetic Pontiff perceived that if it would again fulfil its proper destiny, the Papacy must not belong to any one nation, and must pass beyond the narrow circle of French interests. Urban's

* Johann von Jenzenstein, in his * "Liber de consideratione," expresses this opinion, but blames Urban's imprudence. "Certe, imo juste fecisti," he says, addressing the Pope, "condemnabas simoniacos, avaritiam enervabas, superbos quantum in te fuit contundebas, cenas turpes et convivia submovebas, voluisti ut ambularent cum Deo tuo. Bene fecisti, juste egisti, non est qui dicat tibi secus, tamen pace tua dicam non satis caute factum est.," Cod. Vatic. 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

programme consisted in its liberation from the excessive influence of France.* Resistance was inevitable, and its very violence shows the progress the evil had already made.

The guilt of the worldly-minded Cardinals far outweighed that of the Pope. By his want of charity and violence of temper, Urban doubtless gave them just cause for complaint. But instead of bearing with patience the weaknesses of the Pontiff they had chosen, instead of temperately opposing his unjust, or apparently unjust, measures, goaded on by the French King, who felt that his influence in ecclesiastical affairs was seriously threatened, they proceeded at once to extremities. They were bound to pay honour and obedience to the lawful Head of the Church, whose position they had for months fully recognized, and yet they took occasion from his personal failings to declare his election invalid, and, by the appointment of an Antipope, to cause a Schism in the Church.† The conduct of the Cardinals is absolutely inexcusable.‡ They constituted themselves at once accusers, witnesses, and judges; they sought to remove a less evil by the infinitely worse remedy of a double election and a Schism. St. Catherine of Siena's scathing words were fully justified. "I have learned," she wrote to Urban, "that those devils in human form § have

* This is the well-founded opinion of Lindner (Urban VI., 417). See Höfler's note to Papencordt, 441, and Teipel's article in the Tub. theol. Quartalschrift, 1859, p. 157-160.

† See Lederer, Torquemada, 4-7, and Höfler in the Sitzungsbericht. d. böhm. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft, 1866, p. 42.

‡ See Raumer, 18, and André, Mon. pontif., 491.

§ So the revolted Cardinals are often called in contemporary documents and chronicles, and the expression also occurs at a later date; see, for example, Broglio's * Chronik. (Tonini, v., 2), in Cod. D., iii., 48, f. 31b, in the Gambalunga Library at Rimini.

made an election. They have not chosen a Vicar of Christ, but an Anti-Christ; never will I cease to acknowledge you, my dear Father, as the Representative of Christ upon earth. Now forward, Holy Father! go without fear into this battle, go with the armour of divine love to cover you, for that is a strong defence."

No less pointed are the words addressed by the Saint to the recreant Princes of the Church. "Alas! to what have you come, since you did not act up to your high dignity! You were called to nourish yourselves at the breast of the Church; to be as flowers in her garden, to shed forth sweet perfume; as pillars to support the Vicar of Christ and his Bark; as lamps to serve for the enlightening of the world and the diffusion of the Faith. You yourselves know if you have accomplished that, to which you were called, and which it was your bounden duty to do. Where is your gratitude to the Bride who has nourished you? Instead of being her shield you have persecuted her. You are convinced of the fact that Urban VI. is the true Pope, the Sovereign Pontiff, elected lawfully, not through fear, but by divine inspiration far more than through your human co-operation. So you informed us, and your words were true. Now you have turned your backs on him, as craven and miserable knights, afraid of your own shadow. What is the cause? The poison of selfishness which destroys the world! You, who were angels upon earth, have turned to the work of devils. You would lead us away to the evil which is in you, and seduce us into obedience to Anti-Christ. Unhappy men! You made truth known to us, and now you offer us lies. You would have us believe that you elected Pope Urban through fear; he who says this, lies. You may say, why do you not believe us? We, the electors, know the truth better than you do. But I answer, that you yourselves have shown me how you deal with truth. If I look at your lives,

I look in vain for the virtue and holiness, which might deter you, for conscience sake, from falsehood. What is it that proves to me the validity of the election of Messer Bartolomeo, Archbishop of Bari, and now in truth Pope Urban VI.? The evidence was furnished by the solemn function of his Coronation, by the homage which you have rendered him, and by the favours which you have asked and received from him. You have nothing but lies to oppose to these truths. O ye fools! a thousand times worthy of death! In your blindness you perceive not your own shame. If what you say were as true as it is false, must you not have lied, when you announced that Urban VI. was the lawful Pope? Must you not have been guilty of simony, in asking and receiving favours from one, whose position you now deny?"*

* This admirable letter, given by Tommaseo, iv., 150-161; *cf.* p. 167, Reumont's Translation, ii. (1034, 1035), is addressed in the first instance to the Italian Cardinals, but St. Catherine's inspired words equally apply to the others. In connection with this letter, it is interesting to read that of Coluccio Salutato to the "Ultramontane" Cardinals. "Quis not videt," says the celebrated Chancellor, "vos non verum Papam quærere, sed solum Pontificem natione Gallicum exoptare." After exposing the contradictory statements made by the Cardinals, and refuting their assertion that the election had taken place under the influence of fear, he puts himself for a moment in their position, and continues: "Malum fuit per metum electionem Summi Pontificis celebrare; pejus confirmare jam factum; pessimum autem exhibere reverentiam confirmato. Turpe fuit non verum Pontificem in Christi Vicarium fidelibus exhibere; annuntiare litteris turpius; turpissimum autem rei veritatem cum taciturnitate tanti temporis occultare. Periculosum fuit in sede intrudere qui per ostium non intravit; tolerare tam diu periculosius fuit intrusum, sed omnium periculorum periculosissimum est Pontifici Pontificem inculcare," Salutatus, Epist., ed. Rigacc., i, 18-39. See also Lignano's warning in Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 30, and the opinion of the Carthusians regarding the extinction of the Schism, in Tromby, vii., cxi.

Such was indeed the case. The outbreak of the schism was chiefly due to the worldly Cardinals, stirred up by France, and longing to return thither.* This condition of things was a result of the disastrous Avignon epoch, which accordingly is ultimately responsible for the terrible calamity which fell upon Christendom.† "From France," as a modern ecclesiastical historian‡ well observes, "the evil proceeded, and France was the chief, and, in fact, essentially the only support of the schism, for other nations were involved in it merely by their connection with her. But the Gallican Church had to bear the weight of the yoke, which, in her folly, she had taken upon her shoulders. Her Bishoprics and Prebends became the prey of the needy phantom-Pope, and of his thirty-six Cardinals. He was himself the servant of the French Court, he had to put up with every indignity offered him by the arrogance of the courtiers, and to purchase their favour at the cost of the Church in France, thus subjected to the extortions of both Paris and Avignon."§ How completely Clement VII. looked on himself as a Frenchman, and how thoroughly all feeling for the liberty and independence of the Papacy had died within him, is clearly evidenced by the fact that, reserving for the Holy See only Rome, the Campagna, the

* See Siebeking, 14, note 3.

† Even the French writers, Christophe (iii., v.) and l'Epinois, admit the schism to have been produced by national antipathies and sympathies, the immediate and logical consequence of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon. See also Döllinger, The Church and the Churches, Eng. Transl., p. 125 ; Werner, iii., 680 ; Höfler, Ruprecht, 134, and Anna of Luxemburg, 119; Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 483-485, and Capecelatro, 173.

‡ Döllinger, Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 281.

§ *Loc. cit.* See Clémangis, De corrupto ecclesiæ statu, Opp. (ed. Lydius, Lugd. Bat., 1613), 26, and Chronique du religieux de St. Denys, ii., 2.

Patrimony of St. Peter, and Sabina, he granted the greater part of the States of the Church to Duke Louis of Anjou to form the new kingdom of Adria, on condition that he should expel Urban VI.* No former Pope had ventured thus to tamper with the possessions of the Church. Such an action was only possible to the "executioner of Cesena," the man "of broad conscience," † as the historian of the Schism calls him.

The rival claims to the lawful possession of the Tiara were now a matter of general discussion, and unfortunately, judgment too often depended on political considerations, rather than on an impartial examination of facts.‡ It became evident that the question really underlying the whole contest was, whether French influence, which had become dominant in Europe since the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, should still control the Papacy, or whether

* See the Bull of Clement VII., Leibnitz, Cod. jur. gent., i., 239-250, and Lünig, Cod. Ital. dipl., ii., 1167-1182, and P. Durrieu's interesting article, Le royaume d'Adria, in the Revue des quest. hist. (1880), lv., 43-78, and A. d'Ancona in the Rass. settim. (1881), viii., 102 *et seq.*

† Niem., ii., 1. Stefani, 204, explains in a few words how it came to pass that the bloodthirsty ("homo sanguinis," Baluze, ii., 914, and Salutatus, Epist., i., 31) Cardinal of Geneva was elected. "Costui elessero," he writes, "perocchè era di grande aiuto, pensando, che essi ne sarebbono aiutati dal Re di Francia sì per lo parentado e sì per la lingua e *per averlo in Provenza*, ove di poi andò."

‡ The great misfortune was that politics took possession of ecclesiastical questions. In a memorial laid before the Council of Constance we find the following remarkable passage: "Occasio et fomentum schismatis erat discordia inter regna: inter se prius divisa partibus de papatu contendentibus se pariformiter conjunxerunt. Quæ quidem discordia si inter regna non processisset, schisma non tam diu stetisset nec tam leviter inchoatum fuisset," v.d. Hardt, i., 24, 1170.

the Papacy should resume its normal universal position.* The French King, Charles V., perfectly understood the real gist of the matter. "I am now Pope!" he exclaimed,† when the election of Clement VII. was announced to him. The Anti-pope was not generally acknowledged, however, so rapidly as the French monarch could have desired. The University of Paris was at first neutral, and only espoused the cause of Clement VII. under compulsion. The Spanish Kingdoms also began by endeavouring to maintain neutrality, so that his cause would probably have perished in its infancy, had it not been for the powerful support of Charles V.,‡ who spared no pains to win over all nations in any way subject to French influence Within the next few years all the Latin nations, with the exception of Northern and Central Italy and Portugal, took the part of Clement VII., and Scotland, the ally of France, naturally also adhered to the French Pope.

The attitude of England was determined by the enmity existing between that country and France. When the French King declared for Clement VII., England energetically espoused the cause of Urban VI. Guido di Malesicco, the Legate of the Anti-pope, was not allowed to set foot on English soil, and King Richard even went so far as to confiscate the property of the Clementine Cardinals. England in general identified the struggle against Clement with the war against France; the split in the Church and the conflict between the two nations became blended together.§

* Lindner, Urban VI., 417.

† See Theol. Studien u. Krit., 1873, p. 151-161.

‡ Such is also the opinion of Hefele, vi., 673. Regarding the attitude of Spain, see V. de la Fuente Historia eccles. de España, 418 *et seq.*

§ Höfler, Anna of Luxemburg, 119. Subsequently, England alone responded to Urban's summons to a crusade against the Anti-pope. See Lindner, i., 90. Höfler, *loc. cit.*, 118, 158, 170 *et seq.* Lingard, History of England, iii., 343.

The Emperor, Charles IV., who had already looked with an unfavourable eye on the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, was also a firm adherent of the Roman Pope. He was well aware that France aspired to dominion, not merely over the Papacy or the Empire, but over the whole world.* Charles' example was followed by the greater portion of the Empire and by Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland, who was connected by marriage with the Princes of the House of Luxemburg, and was the inveterate enemy of Joanna of Naples. Ever since Charles had aided him against the Turks, and the Queen had become estranged from the Pope, he had forgotten that French blood ran in his veins.† The northern kingdoms and most of the Italian States, with the exception of Naples, continued loyal to the Roman Pope.‡

It was much to the advantage of Urban VI., who in the meantime had created a new College of Cardinals, that his opponent was not able to maintain a position in Italy, where, nevertheless, the battle had to be decided.§ But now, as if struck by blindness, the Pope began to commit a series of errors. In the pursuit of his own personal ends he completely lost sight of the wider views,‖ which ought to have directed his policy. The conflict with his powerful neighbour, Queen Joanna of Naples, became his leading

* See Urban VI.'s letter to King Wenceslaus, dated Rome, September 6th, 1382. Peltzel, i., Urkundenb, 53, No. 33.

† Puckert, ii. Among the reasons which influenced Germany in preferring the Roman to the Avignon Papacy may be the fact that several of the German Universities derived their legal existence from Urban VI. See Phillips, Gesch. der Universität Ingoldstadt (Munich, 1846), 7.

‡ It is worthy of notice that the authority of the Roman Popes was always acknowledged over a much larger extent of territory than that of their opponents. Guericke, i., 5th ed., 719.

§ In the end of May, 1379, Clement VII. went to Avignon.

‖ Lindner, Urban VI., 421 *et seq.*, 542.

idea. He excommunicated her as an obstinate partisan of the French Pope, declared her to have forfeited her throne, and allowed a Crusade to be preached against her. He entrusted the execution of his sentence to the crafty and ambitious Charles of Durazzo, invested him with the Kingdom of Naples on the 1st June, 1381, and crowned him on the following day. In return for these favours, Charles had to promise to hand over Capua, Caserta, Aversa, Nocera, Amalfi, and other places to the Pope's nephew, a thoroughly worthless and immoral man. While thus providing for the aggrandizement of his family, Urban did not scruple to despoil churches and altars of their treasures, in order to obtain the resources necessary for the expedition against Naples.* But punishment soon overtook him. Charles at once took possession of the Kingdom of Naples, but seemed to have quite forgotten his promise. Urban was beside himself, and resolved to go in person to Naples and assert his authority. Notwithstanding the opposition of his Cardinals, he carried this unfortunate project into execution in the autumn of 1383. The result, as might have been expected, was only to add fresh bitterness to the conflict, and to bring about Urban's complete discomfiture. The monarch, who owed his crown to the Pope, treated him from the first as his prisoner. A brief reconciliation was followed by still more violent discord, and the Pope was besieged at Nocera. Here he exposed his high dignity to ridicule, by proceeding four times a day to the window, and with bell, book, and candle solemnly excommunicating the besiegers.† And as if to fill up the

Niem, i., 22. Rattinger (Literar Rundschau, i., 251) is wrong in doubting this fact; see Urban's brief to the Archbishops of Naples and Capua, Lünig, Cod. Ital. Dipl., iv., 534.

† Giornali Napolit, 1052. The besiegers, on their part, offered a reward of 10,000 golden dollars for the person of the Pope, living or dead! Baluze, ii., 982.

measure of the abjection and misery of the Holy See, he, at this very time, fell out with his own Cardinals. Embittered by the irksome insecurity of their sojourn at Nocera, and by the violence and obstinacy of the Pope, who, deaf to their advice, continued to involve himself and the Church in fresh perplexities, several of them got an opinion drawn up by a Canonist, Bartolino di Piacenza, to the effect that a Pope, who by his incapacity or blind obstinacy should endanger the Church, might be placed under the guardianship of some Cardinals and made dependent on their approval in all matters of importance. They accordingly determined to take forcible possession of his person, but Urban, being forewarned, caused the conspirators to be seized, imprisoned, tortured, and ultimately put to death.* The cruel harshness of the aged Pope greatly injured his reputation. Two of his Cardinals went over to the French Pope, by whom they were gladly welcomed. It was a terrible calamity for the Church, that just at a time when Princes and people were bent on their own political interest, the severe and obstinate character of Urban prepared so much evil for himself and his adherents, and that no power was able to turn him from his course.† He held with unbending determination to his unfortunate Neapolitan project, and died unlamented at Rome on 15th October, 1389.

Christendom had never yet witnessed such a Schism; all

* So Döllinger describes this conspiracy (ii., 1, 282, 283), the history of which is extremely obscure (see Reumont, ii., 1058; Cipolla, 189, 191). The accounts given by Gobelin and Dietrich von Nieheim leave a very different impression; see Sauerland, 15 *et seq.*, and Bayer, Gob. Persona (Leipzig, 1875), 29. The execution of the Cardinals by order of Urban VI. is characterized by Ægidius of Viterbo in his Historia viginti sæculor: as "scelus nullo antea sæculo auditum," Cod. C. 8, 19 of the Angelica Library at Rome.

† Hergenröther (ii., 1, 41) Balan (iv., 423), and Creighton (i., 92 *et seq.*) all express this opinion.

timid souls were cast into a sea of doubt, and even courageous men like Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, its historian, bewailed it day and night.*

Anti-popes, indeed, had already arisen on several occasions, but in most cases they had very soon passed away, for, owing their elevation to the secular power, it bore more or less clearly on its very face the stamp of violence and injustice. But in the present instance all was different; unlike the Schisms caused by the Hohenstaufens or Louis of Bavaria, that of 1378 was the work of the Cardinals, the highest of the clergy. And, moreover, the election of Urban VI. had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was easy to call it in question. It was impossible for those not on the spot to investigate it in all its details, and the fact, that all who had taken part in it subsequently renounced their allegiance, was well calculated to inspire doubt and perplexity.† It is extremely difficult for those who study the question in the present day with countless documents before them, and the power of contemplating the further development of the Schism, to estimate the difficulties of contemporaries who sought to know which of the two Popes had a right to their obedience. The extreme confusion is evidenced by the fact that canonized Saints are found amongst the adherents of each of the rivals. St. Catherine of Siena, and her namesake of Sweden, stand opposed to St. Vincent Ferrer and the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, who acknowledged the French Pope.‡ All

* Laserth, Beiträge, 361, 368, 375, 404, 456, 457, 553. "Fu di tutti gli altri (scismi) il pessimo," says the Istoria di Chiusi, 961.

† See the ** Report of Francisco de Aguzzonis, Cod. Vatic., 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library.

‡ See Papebroch, 431 *et seq.* The relations of St. Vincent Ferrer with Benedict XIII. are dealt with in an article: L'anti-pape Benoît XIII. en Roüsillon, Revue du monde cath, 10 Avril, 1866.

the writings of the period give more or less evidence of the conflicting opinions which prevailed; and upright men afterwards confessed, that they had been unable to find out which was the true Pope. *

To add to the complications, the obedience of Germany to Urban VI. and that of France to Clement VII. was far from complete, for individuals in both countries attached themselves to the Pope, from whom they expected to gain most.† The allegiance of the Holy Roman Empire to Urban was evidently of an unstable character, since ecclesiastics in Augsburg fearlessly, and without hindrance, accepted charges and benefices from the hands of the Antipope and his partisans, and itinerant preachers publicly asserted the validity of his claim.‡ Peter Suchenwirt, in a poem written at this period, describes the distress, which the growing anarchy within the Church§ was causing in men's minds, and earnestly beseeches God to end it. "There are two Popes," he says; "which is the right one?

* As, for example, the Carthusian Werner Rolewinck (1425-1502) in Pistorius, ii., 567 (*cf.* iii., 350). See St. Antoninus, Chronic. tit., xxii., c. 11 (non videtur saluti necessarium credere istum esse vel illum, sed alterum eorum), and Ludolf of Sagan in Loserth, 456. The *Limburger Chronik*, on the other hand, says (73): "Also waren zwene babeste, einer zu Rome, der was mit rechte ein babest, der ander zu Abigon mit unrechte."

† See Coluccio Salutato's remarkable letter in Martène, Thesaur., ii., 1158 (also in the edition of Rigaccius, i., 116).

‡ See Ch. Meyer, Das Schisma unter König Wenzel und die deutschen Städte in the Forschungen, xvi., 355, 356.

§ In 1386 a false Bishop went about in the Dioceses of Treves and Mayence. Limburger Chronik. 18. Other instances are given in Haupt's interesting article on Joh. Malkaw, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch, vi., 324 *et seq.*

"In Rome itself we have a Pope,
In Avignon another;
And each one claims to be alone
The true and lawful ruler.
The world is troubled and perplext,
'Twere better we had none,
Than two to rule o'er Christendom,
Where God would have but one.
He chose St. Peter, who his fault
With bitter tears bewail'd;
As you may read the story told
Upon the sacred page.
Christ gave St. Peter pow'r to bind,
And also pow'r to loose;
Now men are binding here and there,
Lord, loose our bonds we pray."

"Our sins, indeed, had deserved this punishment; the world is full of injustice and falsehood:

"Never have hatred, pride, and greed,
Had pow'r so great as now."

"Men are sunk in vices and crimes; it is in vain to look for peace and justice. The disastrous year of 1378 took an Emperor and a Pope from the world; we have now a Pope too many and an Emperor too few. God alone can put an end to this misery;" and the poet concludes with the prayer—

"To Christendom its chiefs restore,
Both its Pope and its Emperor,
Thus throughout the world shall be,
End made of wrong and misery." *

It has been well observed † that we can scarcely form an

* P. Suchenwirt's Werke, published by A. Primisser (Wien, 1827), 107-109, Zimmerman, 2.

† By F. H. Geffcken, Staat und Kirche (Berlin, 1875), 185. See Guerike, i., 5th ed., 718, and Hagenbach, 463.

idea of the deplorable condition to which Europe was reduced by the schism. Uncertainty as to the title of its ruler is ruinous to a nation; this schism affected the whole of Christendom, and called the very existence of the Church in question. The discord touching its Head necessarily permeated the whole body of the Church; in many Dioceses two Bishops were in arms for the possession of the Episcopal throne, two Abbots in conflict for an abbey. The consequent confusion was indescribable.* We cannot wonder that the Christian religion became the derision of Jews and Mahometans.†

The amount of evil wrought by the schism of 1378, the longest known in the history of the Papacy,‡ can only be estimated, when we reflect that it occurred at a moment, when thorough reform in ecclesiastical affairs was a most urgent need. This was now utterly out of the question, and, indeed, all evils which had crept into ecclesiastical life were infinitely increased.§ Respect for the Holy See was also greatly impaired, and the Popes became more than ever dependent on the temporal power, for the schism

* "Surrexit regnum contra regnum, provincia contra provinciam, clerus contra clerum, doctores contra doctores, parentes in filios et filii in parentes," writes Abbot Ludolf of Sagan in his Tractatus de longaevo schismate, c. 2 (Loserth, 404).

† Gerson, Opp., ii., 115; Martène, Thesaur., ii., 1159, and Langenstein's Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis, v., 243 *et seq.* in Cod. 320, f. 92 *et seq.* of the University Library at Breslau. See Appendix No. 15.

‡ Muratori, xix., 646, and Pistorius, ii., 567.

§ See especially Schwab, 492 *et seq.*, 675 *et seq.*, who justly observes, that the work of Nicolas de Clémangis, "De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu," is by no means absolutely reliable. See also on this subject Voigt, Enea, i., 193-195. As to the condition of the German Church see the detailed account of Höfler, Ruprecht, 112 *et seq.*, and also Wegele, ii., 411.

allowed each Prince to choose which Pope he would acknowledge.* In the eyes of the people, the simple fact of a double Papacy must have shaken the authority of the Holy See to its very foundations. It may truly be said that these fifty years of schism prepared the way for the great Apostacy of the sixteenth century.

It is not within the scope of the present work to recount all the vicissitudes of the warfare between the claimants of the Papal throne—for Urban VI. received immediately a successor. Neither side would yield, and the confusion of Christendom daily increased and pervaded all classes of society. The Cardinals of the rival Popes were at open variance, and in many dioceses there were two Bishops. This was the case in Breslau, Mayence, Liege, Basle, Metz Constance, Coire, Lubeck, Dorpat, and other places, and even the Religious and Military Orders were drawn into the schism. †

The conflict was carried on with unexampled violence.

* Flathe, ii., 65 ; Guerike, i., 5th ed., 718. The Schism compelled the Popes to make great concessions to the temporal Princes (see the Decree of Boniface IX. against the extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, found in the Düsseldorf Archives, and published by Varrentrapp [Hermann von Wied, Leipzig, 1878. Appendix 5-6]), and it seems to have been the origin of the so-called Placet or Exequatur ; see Martens, 142 ; Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 819.

† For particulars regarding the distracted Dioceses, see Lindner, i., 92, 93. Haupt, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, vi., 340, speaks of the disunion among the mendicant Orders ; regarding that among the Carthusians see Tromby, vii., 45 *et seq.*, 48 *et seq.*, 60 *et seq.*, 98, 104 ; app. lvi. *et seq.*, clxiii *et seq.* See also J. Delaville Le Roulx, Un anti-grand-maître de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, etc. Bibl. de l' Ecole des Chartes, xl., 525. The contest of two Abbots for the celebrated Abbey of Corbie at the end of the fourteenth century is related by Evelt, 125, 126.

While the adherents of the Roman Pope reprobated the Mass offered by the "Clementines," the "Clementines" in their turn looked on that of the "Urbanists" as a blasphemy; in many cases public worship was altogether discontinued.* "The depths of calamity," as St. Catherine of Siena said, "overwhelmed the Church." "Mutual hatred," writes a biographer of the Saint, "lust of power, the worst intrigues flourished amidst clergy and laity alike, and who could suppress these crimes? God alone could help, and He led the Church through great and long-continued tribulation back to unity, and made it plain to all that men may indeed in their wickedness wound her, but they cannot destroy her, for she bears within a divine principle of life." Therefore, even amid the direst storm of discord, St. Catherine could write, "I saw how the Bride of Christ was giving forth life, for she contains such living power that no one can kill her; I saw that she was dispensing strength and light, and that no one can take them from her, and I saw that her fruit never diminishes, but always increases."†

But this did not lessen the Saint's distress. "Every age," she wrote to a nun, "has its afflictions, but you have not seen, and no one has seen a time so troubled as the present. Look, my daughter, and your soul must be filled with grief and bitterness, look at the darkness which has come upon the Church; human help is unavailing. You and all the servants of God must take Heaven by storm; it is a time for watching, and not for sleeping; the foe must be

* Niem, i., 19. Christophe, iii., 35, 36.

† Capecelatro-Conrad, 242, 243. Johann von Jenzenstein, in his* "Liber de consideratione," addressed to Urban VI, also asserts his firm confidence in the indestructibility of the Church: "Quoties destruitur, toties iterum construitur," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 43, Vatican Library.

vanquished by vigils, by tears, by groans and sighs, and by humble, persevering prayer."*

But St. Catherine did not content herself with merely praying for the Pope. After the failure of her efforts to nip the fearful evil of the Schism in the bud, she put forth all her powers to secure the victory of justice—the cause of the Roman Pope. Letters full of warning, supplication, and menace were addressed by her to various individuals; she wrote to the Pope and the Cardinals as well as to the most illustrious Princes. Her influence aided Urban to maintain his position in Italy and contributed to the defeat of the French Anti-pope in that country.† But she was not permitted to witness the restoration of unity to the Church, for on the 29th April, 1380, she died, full of grief for the disorders due to the Schism, but with an unshaken confidence in the "eternal future of the Church."

The literature of this period, a field as yet but little explored, testifies to the general distress caused by the Schism. Touching lamentations in both prose and verse portray the desolation and confusion of the time, and this

* *Loc. cit.*, 214 (Tommaseo, iv., 143). "Io, per me," writes St. Catherine to a Carthusian monk, "muoio e non posso morire di vedere offendere tanto il nostro Creatore nel corpo mistico della santa Chiesa e contaminare la fede nostra da quegli che sono posti per alluminarla."

† *Loc. cit.*, 221 *et seq.*, 228 *et seq.*, 240 *et seq.*, 243 *et seq.*, 252 *et seq.*, 254 *et seq.*, 258. Chavin de Malan (Vie de St. Catherine de Sienne, Paris, 1846) justly observes that St. Catherine was to the Papacy what Joan of Arc was to the French monarchy. "A heart more loyal to the Church and to the Papacy perhaps never beat in any human breast," says Hase, 197. See also the beautiful words of Janitschek, Die Gesellschaft, &c., p. 21. In reference to St. Catherine's part in the promotion of the unity of the Church, see also the letter of Stefano Macone, the celebrated General of the Carthusians, Tromby., vii., App. clxv.

was aggravated by epidemics. "Whose heart," cries Heinrich von Langenstein, "is so hardened as not to be moved by the unspeakable sufferings of his Mother, the Church?" In order to give yet more force to his complaint that the spirit of unity and concord has forsaken Christendom, he brings the Church herself forward and puts into her mouth the words of Jeremias, associated by the Liturgy with the Dolours of our Lady: "See if there be sorrow like my sorrow."* The celebrated Canonist, Giovanni di Lignano, in a treatise in support of the legitimacy of Urban VI., echoes Langenstein's words.† The chronicler of St. Denis mentions a comet which appeared at this time with its tail turned to the west, as portending war, insurrection, and treason. He foretold that a Pope was to be besieged in Avignon, and a Pope driven from Rome. The pious Giovanni dalle Celle, in despair at the contest which deprived the very centre of the Church of its universality, writes: "They say that the world must be renewed; I say, it must be destroyed."‡ Amongst writings of a similar nature we must not omit the frequently quoted treatise addressed to Urban VI. by the celebrated Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenzenstein, who depicts the abjection of the Church in striking terms.§

* I found Langenstein's * Exclamatio contra schisma ecclesiæ in Cod. 129, f. 82a, 83 of the University Library at Innsbruck, and in MS. also in the Court Library at Vienna. See Denis, ii., 847.

† Tractatus de fletu ecclesiæ. Arm., liv., t. 18 (n. 5), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Compendio di dottrina etc. (Bologna, 1861), 351. Kraus, 494. Jean Petit in 1392 composed a poem: La Complainte de l'Eglise (see Froissart, xv., 375), which also belongs to this class of works. Bitter complaints are also to be found in * Nic. de Bitonto, Consilium super schismate, Cod. Vatic., 4192, Vatican Library.

§ "Liber de consideratione scriptus ad Urbanum papam sextum," divided into the following sections: "(1) De planctu

From these complaints it is evident how keenly the need of a supreme Judge, Guardian, and Guide in ecclesiastical affairs was felt.

Naturally, men did not stop at mere expressions of sorrow, but went on to inquire into the origin of the evil which was bringing such dishonour on the Church. The most clear-sighted contemporary writers point to the corruption of the clergy, to their inordinate desire for money and possessions—in short, to their selfishness—as the root of all the misery. This is the key note of Nicolas de Clémangis' celebrated book, "On the Ruin of the Church" (written in 1401); and in a sermon delivered before the Council of Constance, the preacher insisted that "money was the origin of the Schism, and the root of all the confusion."*

It cannot, however, be too often repeated that the ecclesiastical corruption was in great measure a consequence of the Avignon period, and of the influence which State politics had acquired in matters of Church government. The rupture, produced by the recreant French Cardinals, was, in reality, nothing but the conflict of two nations for the possession of the Papacy; the Italians wished to recover it, and the French would not let it be wrested from them.†

ecclesiæ; (2) De origine schismatis; (3) De ecclesiæ humiliatione; (4) De ecclesiæ destitutione; (5) De civitate Dei; (6) De civitate diaboli," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 43, 63, Vatican Library. In Appendix No. 14 see a passage from Giovanni di Spoleto's, "Dialogus de tollendo Schismate," copied from a MS. in the Library of St. Peter's, Rome.

* Zimmermann, 2-3, gives proofs. See also the words of the Abbot Ludolph of Sagan, a man devotedly attached to the Church, Loserth, 392, and Johann von Jenzenstein's *"Liber de consideratione," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

† Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 9. Janus, 315. K. Hase is also of this opinion. "If the proximate cause of the Schism," he

Those who raised their voices to complain of the corruption and confusion of Christendom were not always men of real piety or moral worth. In many cases they might with advantage have begun by reforming their own lives. Some of them went so far as to charge all the evils of the day upon the ecclesiastical authorities, and stirred up laity and clergy against each other; such persons only destroyed that which was still standing. Others, again, clamoured for reform, while themselves doing nothing to promote it. But at this time, as at all periods in the history of the Church, men were found who, without making much noise or lamentation, laboured in the right way—that is, within the limits laid down by the Church—for the thorough amendment of all that was amiss.

Of this stamp was Gerhard Groot of Deventer (born 1340, died 1384).* This excellent man, whom John Busch and Thomas à Kempis rightly name a light of the Church, endeavoured to spread abroad a true idea of the high vocation of the clergy, to point out to Christian people the way of salvation, and to propagate genuine piety in the hearts of his fellow men. Having received deacon's orders, he went through Holland, preaching missions in the towns of Zwolle, Deventer, and Kempen. He usually preached

says (Cat. von Siena, 249), "was the violent conduct of Urban, its deeper origin is to be found in the attempt of the French Papacy to maintain itself as such. That which has lasted for seventy years, and which men remember as existing from their childhood, is easily believed to have a right to endure, and this opinion gains strength if national feeling is enlisted on its side."

* See the remarkable Monograph of Karl Grube (Köln, 1883). In a letter, which has not yet been published, regarding the Schism, G. Groot expresses the desire "quod ambo pontifices cum omnibus cardinalibus cantarent in coelo empyreo gloria in excelsis, et alius verus Elyachim poneret pacem et unitatem in terris," Cod. 4923, f. 196, Court Library at Vienna.

three times a day; people came from miles to hear his inspired discourses. The Churches were for the most part too small to contain the congregations, and he frequently preached in the churchyards. His language was not that of the schools, but of the heart, and therefore it reached the hearts of his hearers. Moreover, his life was the practical exemplification of his doctrine. His whole work may be briefly summed up as the "promotion of the imitation of Jesus Christ."

Much was gained when by degrees a circle of disciples gathered round this Apostolic man; they lived under his direction and that of his friend, Florentius Radewins, earning their bread by transcribing pious books, and employing themselves also in the religious instruction of the people. By the advice of Florentius, they put their earnings together and lived in common under a head elected by themselves. With Gerhard's assistance, Florentius drew up a rule of life and ordinances for the Community. All promised to obey him as their Superior and to remain for life. Vows, in the proper sense of the word, were not taken, for the new Community was not as yet recognized as a religious Congregation by the Holy See. Each member had also to promise that he would contribute to the general support by manual labour, especially by writing. Their object was to lead the life of the early Christians—"the life of Perfection and of Imitation of Christ." The principle of self-support, on which this community was founded, distinguished it from the existing religious houses, which made the Divine worship, prayer, and religious instruction their practical aim, and derived their support from endowments or the gifts of the faithful.*

* Gerhard abhorred begging, and set before his disciples the example of St. Paul who also worked with his own hands. Grube, *loc. cit.*, 67.

Such was the origin of the celebrated community of the "Brothers of the Common life" (Fraterherren).* The fervent words of Thomas à Kempis describe their further progress. "Humility, the first of all virtues, was here practised from the least to the greatest. This makes the earthly house a Paradise, and transforms mortal men into heavenly pearls, living stones in the Temple of God. There, under holy discipline, flourished obedience, the mother of virtues, and the lamp of spiritual knowledge. The highest wisdom consisted in obeying without delay, and it was a grave fault to disregard the counsel or even the slightest word of the Superior. The love of God and of men burned within and without, so that the hard hearts of sinners melted into tears when they heard their holy words; those who came cold, went away inflamed by the fire of the discourse and full of joy, and resolved for the future to sin no more. There was a shining store of armour for the spiritual warfare against each separate vice; old and young alike learned to fight bravely against Satan, the flesh, and the deceits of the world. The memory of the ancient Fathers and the fervour of the Egyptian solitaries, which had long lain half buried, was brought to life again, and the religious state rose, in conformity with the traditions of the primitive Church, to the highest perfection! There were heard pious exhortations to the practice of virtue, and the most holy and sorrowful passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ was the subject of frequent and devout meditation. We know that from the attentive remembrance of His Passion comes healing for our souls; it has power to kill the poisonous bite of the serpent, to moderate the passions of the heart, and

* See the article contributed by K. Hirsche to Herzog's Realencyklopädie, ii., 2nd ed., 678-760, where a list of the numerous works regarding them will be found.

to raise the dull soul from earth to Heaven by the imitation of the Crucified."*

Gerhard Groot and his foundation had soon to encounter much opposition, especially from the Mendicant Friars. Accordingly, a very short time before his early death, he urgently recommended his friend Florentius to adopt the rule of a religious order. His wish was carried out in the year 1386-1387, when a house, following the rule of St. Augustine, was established at Windesheim, three hours' journey to the south of Zwolle, and six members of Florentius' Brotherhood took possession of it. This foundation deserves to be particularly mentioned, even in a History of the Popes, for monastic reform and the revival of faith flowed thence like a mighty stream, first through Holland and then through the whole of Northern Germany, the Rhine country, and Franconia. It was established as a Congregation in 1395, and its Statutes were immediately confirmed by Pope Boniface IX.† The disciples of Groot did much to promote the real reform of the clergy, and the amelioration of Catholic life in Germany and the Netherlands. The services rendered by the Congregation of Windesheim and the Fraterherren in raising the standard of popular instruction, and promoting the spread of religious literature in the vernacular, have been recognized by the best judges. It is acknowledged that they were not behind their age in regard to scientific attainments, and that their method in classical studies was excellent.‡ The rapid increase of this con-

* Somalius, Opp. Thomæ à Kempis (Antwerpiæ, 1615), 951, cap. xxi., N. 2. Grube, G. Groot, 71-72.

† Grube, J. Busch, 13. G. Groot, 82-84.

‡ Raumer, Gesch. der Pädagogik, i., 27 *et seq.*, 2nd ed. Bursian, 89. See also F. Jostes' Introduction to the Sermons of Joh. Veghe (Halle, 1883). Dr. Grube, who has thrown much light on the whole subject, gives a complete account of the literary work of the Windesheim Congregation in the Katholik, 1881 (1, 42 *et seq.*).

gregation, from the year 1386, when the first six brothers took possession of mud huts at Windesheim,* and the wonderful renovation of monastic life which it initiated, form one of the brightest spots in an age so full of sorrow.

Among the darker shades of the picture of this period, we must count the formation of sectarian Conventicles by laymen and the increase of false prophecies. In regard to the first of these evils, it has been well observed that times like that of the great Schism are fraught, for earnest natures, with a special danger, in proportion to their dissatisfaction with the provision for their spiritual needs, made by those who represent the Church.† The false prophecies, on account of their wide diffusion, demand a more detailed examination. The difficulty of ascertaining which Pope was the true one, and the anxiety and perplexity of conscience which afflicted all thoughtful souls, in consequence of the chaotic state of the Church, led to a notable multiplication of visionaries and prophets.‡ There was a widespread expectation of the coming of Anti-Christ, and the approaching end of the world; an Englishman, writing probably in the year 1390, even maintained that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse.§ By means of another most dangerous class

* Grube, Groot, 84 *et seq.*

† Grisar in the Hist. Jahrb., i., 628. In 1437 and 1438 the Synods of Salzburg and Brixen were obliged to take measures against Conventicles of this kind. See Bickell, 64.

‡ See Johann von Jenzensteins * "Liber de consideratione scriptus ad Urbanum papam sextam." Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 46, 48. Vatican Library.

§ See Niem, iii., 41, 43. Höfler, Concilia Pragensia, 1353-1413 (Prag. 1862), xli. Hartwig, i., 21, 49, note; ii., 8. Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 270. Hipler, 62. Even the Blessed Giovanni dalle Celle gave credit to the prophecy which foretold the end of the world; see Lettere del b. Giovanni dalle

of prophecies, political and heretical agitators, the latter of whom were at this time peculiarly audacious, endeavoured to turn the sad condition of the Church to profit for their own purposes.* A host of these predictions, which aggravated the general confusion, are inspired by the false ascetical principle that the clergy and the Church ought to return to Apostolic poverty.

Views of this kind are forcibly enunciated in the celebrated work of the so-called hermit, Telesphorus, who, born, by his own account, near Cosenza, gave out that he lived in the neighbourhood of Thebes. His prophecy claims our attention, because, as countless manuscripts bear witness, it enjoyed a wider circulation than any other writing of the kind.†

Celle, ed. B. Sorio (Roma, 1845), 188 *et seq.* The anticipation of the advent of Anti-Christ and of a false Pope again prevailed in Northern Italy in 1420, 1433, 1443, and 1457; see Wadding, x., 33 *et seq.*; Annal. Placent. in Muratori, Script. xx., 878, 905, and Steinchneider in the Zeitschr. der Deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft (1875), xxix., 165.

* Hartwig, i., 71. Even in the Avignon days the opponents of the Papacy had enlisted prophecies in their service; see Gaspary, i., 356 *et seq.*, 530. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Froissart, vi., 262 *et seq.*

† According to Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 369, the work of Telesphorus was printed in Venice in 1515, but this edition (which I have been unable to find) is so rare that modern writers only know the work from MSS. I give a list of those whose existence I have been able to ascertain:—Berlin: Royal Museum, Hamilton MS., 628 (sæc. xv.). Bologna: University Library, Cod. 1577, f. 1 *et seq.* Florence: National Library, MSS. Strozz, cl. xxii., Cod. 22, f. 128 *et seq.* London: British Museum, Arundel MSS., 117 (see Index to the A. MSS., London, 1840). Lyons: City Library, Cod. 654, (with pictures; presented by Franc. de Chevriers, 1624, to the Library of the Jesuits' College in Lyons). Milan: Trivulzio Library, Cod. 199 (sæc. xv.). Mayence: City

Telesphorus starts from the idea that the Schism is a punishment for the sins and crimes of the Roman Church and the clergy in general. Its conclusion, he says, is to be expected in the year 1393, when the Anti-Pope (the Italian Pope) will be slain in Perugia. This event will be followed by a complete renovation of the Church and the return of the clergy to Apostolic poverty, but the persecution of the clergy will continue. A new Emperor and a new Pope will then appear, and the latter, the "Pastor Angelicus," will deprive the Germans of the Imperial Crown and bestow it on the French King Charles; he will recover possession of Jerusalem, and the union with the Greek Church will be accomplished. The burden of the prophecy of Telesphorus is the transfer of the Imperial dignity to the Royal House of France; it is nothing but a programme of French hopes and political aspirations, set forth in the prophetical form so popular at the period.*

Library, Cod. 247. Munich: Palace Library, Cod. lat. 313, f. 10 *et seq.*; 4143 (sæc xvii.), f. 5 *et seq.*; 5106, f. 233 *et seq.* (see Cat. Cod., etc.). Pommersfelden: Library of Count Schönborn; see Archiv, ix., 538 *et seq.* Rome: Chigi Library, Cod. A. vii., 220; Vatic. Library, Cod. Vatic., 3816, f. 331 *et seq.*; 3817, f. 16b. *et seq*; Cod. Regin. 580 (sæc. xv., with pictures); Ottob. 1106 (ex cod. Jo. Angeli ducis ab Altaemps). Turin: Library; see Fabricius, vi., 514. Venice: St. Mark's Library; see Valentinelli, ii., 128, 215. Vienna: Court Library, Cod. 3313, f. 1 *et seq.* Wolfenbüttel Library; see Hartwig, i., 71, note 2. The Telesphorus MS. of the Trivulzio Library is described by Porro, Cat. dei Codici MSS. della Trivulzio (Torino, 1884), 433. The Prophecies of Telesphorus (with pictures) in Cod. A. 5 (sæc. xv.) of the Seminary Library, Padua.

* Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 351. Regarding the efforts of France to obtain the Empire, see Janssen, Rheingelüste, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1883), and for the Papa Angelico, see Döllinger, *loc. cit.*, 317, 339 *et seq.*, 345 *et seq.*, 347. Kraus, 401, and Marchese, ii., 35 *et seq.*

The wide diffusion of this prediction and its anti-German character, induced the "most eminent German theologian of the day," Heinrich von Langenstein (Henricus de Hassia), to write a controversial work in reply.* The worthy Hessian scholar begins by disapproving the existing rage for prophecies, and specially condemns the predictions of Joachim and Cyrillus, from which Telesphorus had borrowed. His position throughout is that of the celebrated Theological School of Paris, which made no account of these predictions, and looked upon those of the Abbot Joachim as mere guesses which had nothing supernatural about them, while his treatment of many dogmatic questions was far from orthodox.

Langenstein strongly opposes the principle laid down by Telesphorus, that the clergy ought to be deprived of all their wealth and possessions. He justly observes that it would be most dangerous to teach the powerful laity, already unfavourably disposed towards ecclesiastics, that they had a right, under pretext of reform, to take possession of Church property, and that the abuse of riches by the clergy does not furnish a ground for deprivation. If this

* Published in Pez, Thesaurus anecdot. noviss. (Aug. Vindel., 1721), 1, 2, 505, 568; ex MS. Cod. Carthusiæ Gemnicensis. Hartwig (ii., 34) knows of but two MSS. copies of Langenstein's work (Vienna and Wolfenbüttel). I am able to indicate three others, which vary in some degree from the published version; this is especially the case in regard to the MS. in the University Library at Basle, Cod. A. iv., 24 (Liber ecclesiæ S. Leonardi ord. canonic. regul., written in 1440), N. 6; and its division of chapters is different: Cap. 6 = cap 9 in Pez; cap. 10 = cap. 13 in P.; cap. 11 = cap. 17 in P. The name of the hermit is here given in three different forms: Theolophilus, Theolophorus, Theoloferus. The other MSS. are in the University Library at Innsbruck, Cod. 620, f. 101a, 133b, and in the Town Library at Frankfort-on-Main, Cod. 783, N. 3 of the old Dominican Library in that city.

were so, the property of laymen must also be taken from them, since most of them make a worse use of it. If, however, the Religious Orders were to be suppressed and despoiled, as Telesphorus predicts, the consequence, Langenstein maintains, would be, not the reformation, but the complete ruin of the Church.*

The so-called Telesphorus was not the only instance of a false prophet. Langenstein's work clearly proves their number to have been very considerable. He devotes a whole chapter to those, who were induced by the Schism to come forward and to foretell, by the course of the stars or their own conjectures, the triumph of one or other of the Popes and the end of the contest.† While Telesphorus supported France, Gamaleon predicted the renovation of the Church after the conquest of Rome by the German Emperor and the transfer of the Papacy to Germany.‡ In the excited state of public feeling, these pretentious prophets, in an uncritical age, found ready credence.§ The

* Pez, *loc. cit.*, 529, 534. The spoliation of the clergy had already been predicted by the sects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; similar socialistic doctrines were afterwards put forward by Hans Böhm of Niklashausen; see Haupt, 58. In almost all the prophecies of the period, the cry of "Woe! Woe! to the clergy" is repeated. See *e.g.*, the * Prophecy of the year 1396 in Cod. 269 of the Library at Eichstätt.

† Langenstein also mentions the appearance of false prophets in the Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis. Cod. 320 (v. 487) of the Royal University Library at Breslau. See also Johann von Jenzenstein's * "Liber de consideratione," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 49, Vatican Library.

‡ Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 351. Kraus, 494.

§ A * prophecy of 1395 (An Astrological Prognostication) concludes with an exhortation to spread the prediction abroad, so that everyone may be prepared and, before these storms break, seek a safe dwelling-place in caves of the highest mountains, and take provisions for thirty days. Cod. 269 of the Eichstätt Library.

predictions were copied out and illuminated as if they had been revelations of the Holy Spirit. In short, there was a very deluge of prophecies regarding the termination of the Schism, and all of them ended in nought.*

The crisis which the Church passed through at this juncture, is the most grievous recorded in her history. Just when the desperate struggle between the rival Popes had thrown everything into utter confusion, when ecclesiastical revenues and favours served almost exclusively as the reward of partisans, and when worldliness had reached its climax, heretical movements arose in England, France, Italy, Germany, and, above all, in Bohemia, and threatened the very constitution of the Church.† This was most

* Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube 348-349. The above-mentioned MSS. of the prophecy of Telesphorus in Berlin, Lyons, Venice, and especially the beautiful Codex a. vii., 22 of the Chigi Library, Rome, are illuminated. Lippman considers the illuminations in the Berlin MS. to be of some artistic merit.

† The widely-scattered notices regarding the heretical movement of this age have unfortunately never been gathered together; the work would be a most profitable and valuable one. See, besides Mosheim's book, De Beghardis et Beguinabus (Lips. 1790), especially Gieseler, ii., 3, 267 *et seq.*, 276 *et seq.*; Hahn, Gesch der Ketzer im Mittelalter (Stuttgart, 1847), ii., 518 *et seq.*, 533 546 *et seq.;* R. Wilmanns, Zur Gesch. der Römischen Inquisition in Deutschland während des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrh, in Sybels Histor. Zeitschr. N.F. v., 193 *et seq.;* J. W. Röhrig, Mittheilungen aus der Gesch. der Evangel. Kirche des Elsasses (Paris-Strasburg, 1855), i., 1-77; Hartwig, i., 13-25; Ochsenbein, aus dem Schweizerischen Volksleben des fünfzehnten Jahrh. (Bern, 1881); Grube, G. Groot, 22 *et seq.;* Limburger Chronik, 81; Kolde, 59 *et seq.;* Friedjung, Karl, iv. (Wien, 1876), 199, 328-329, and especially the remarkable work of Dr. H. Haupt, Ueber die religiösen Secten in Franken, 1882. With regard to Italy, see Flathe, ii., 3 *et seq.;* Cantù, i., 132 *et seq.;* Arch. Stor. Ital., serie iii., vol. i., 2 p., 3 *et seq.;* ii., 1 p. 8 *et seq.;* Wesselofsky, i., 145 *et seq.*, 335 *et seq.;* Comba, i., 329 *et seq.;* Miscell. di Storia Ital., xx., 196 *et seq.*, and Storia di fra Michele Minorita come fu arso in Firenze nel

natural; the smaller the chance of reform being effected by the Church, the more popular and active became the reform movement not directed by her; the higher the region that needed, but resisted reform, the more popular did this movement become.*

Germany was disturbed by the Beghards, and also more especially by the Waldenses, whose doctrines had taken root in Bavaria and Austria during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and, notwithstanding constant repression, had become widely diffused. The movement reached its height in Germany in the last thirty years of the fourteenth century—the disastrous time of the Great Schism. It was not only in Southern Germany and the Rhine country, the two centres of Mediæval heresy, that a great proportion of the population had embraced the Waldensian doctrine, it had also made its way into the north and the furthest east of the empire. Waldensian congregations were to be found in Thuringia, the March of Brandenburg, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, and Poland.† That the Waldenses were very numerous in the Austrian dominions at the beginning of the last decade of the fourteenth century is proved by the fact that they had no less than twelve superintendents.‡ In

1389, con documenti risguardanti i fraticelli della povera vita, ed. Fr. Zambrini (Bologna, 1864).

* The close relationship between the Schism and the general rise of heretical teaching is forcibly insisted on by Heinrich von Langenstein in the Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis (Breslau University Library, Cod. 320), v., 253 and 797; Ecce novæ surgunt hæreses, quia schismata durant (see Appendix, No. 15), and Zacharias Trevisanus in his *Oratio habita ad Gregorium xii, (1407), in Cod. lat. xiv.-ccxciii and xi.-lxiii., Library of St. Mark at Venice.

† H. Haupt, 17 *et seq.*, 21-22.

‡ See G. K. Friess, Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters, in the Oesterr. Vierteljahrschrift für Kathol. Theologie (1872), xi., 242-257 *et seq.*

Southern Germany things had by this time come to such a pass that the Celestine Monk, Peter of Munich, appointed Inquisitor for the Diocese of Passau in 1390, felt that his life was in danger, and urgently implored the aid of the secular power against the heretics, who threatened him with fire and sword. The condition of the neighbouring Diocese of Ratisbon was similar to that of Passau.*

Too little attention has hitherto been bestowed on the revolutionary spirit of hatred of the Church and the clergy, (many of whom were, alas, unworthy of their high calling,) which had taken hold of the masses in different parts of Germany. Together with the revolt against the Church, a social revolution was openly advocated. A chronicler, writing at Mayence in the year 1401, declares that the cry of "Death to the Priests," which had long been whispered in secret, was now the watchword of the day.†

The reappearance in many parts of Germany of the Pantheistic Sect of Free Thought furnishes an example of the aberrations to which heresy leads. The recently-discovered report of proceedings, taken against an adherent of this sect at Eichstätt in 1381, shows us the awful danger which threatened all ecclesiastical and social order from this quarter.‡ The Eichstätt heretic maintained that, by devout worship and contemplation of the Godhead, he had come to be one with God, absolutely perfect and incapable of sinning. The practical consequences which the accused had drawn from his imagined perfection were of a most suspicious nature, and are calculated to substantiate many of the charges, hitherto deemed unjust and incredible,

* Haupt, Ein Beghardenprocess in Eichstätt vom Jahre, 1381, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, v., 488.

† Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, xviii., 240. Haupt, 52-54.

‡ By H. Haupt, Ein Beghardenprocess, etc., *loc. cit.*, from which the above is taken almost verbatim.

which Mediæval writers have brought against the sectaries of their day;* for, in the opinion of the accused, neither the precepts of the Church nor the laws of common morality, are binding on one who is endowed with the spirit of freedom and perfection; even the gravest breaches of the sixth commandment are, in his case, no sin, so far as he merely follows the impulse of nature; and so firmly is he persuaded of his right to do "what gives him pleasure," that he declares he is permitted to put to death those who oppose him, even if they were a thousand in number.

The appearance of John Wyclif in England was a matter of far greater moment than heresies of this kind, which were forcibly repressed by the Inquisition. The errors of the Apocalyptics and the Waldenses, of Marsiglio, Occam, and others, were all concentrated in his sect, which prepared the transition to a new heretical system of a universal character, namely, Protestantism. His teaching is gross pantheistic realism, involving a Predestinarianism which annihilates moral freedom.† Everything is God. An

* Such is the opinion of the above-mentioned Protestant scholar (p. 491). Regarding a pantheistic sect widely spread in Suabia in the first years of the fourteenth century, see Nider, Formicarius (ed. 1517), f. 44 R.

† Hergenröther, ii., 1, 210 *et seq.*; iii., 393-395. See also regarding Wyclif and his system, Hefele, vi., 810-831; Werner, iii., 571 *et seq.*; Höfler, Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung, iii., 33, 140 *et seq.*; the Monograph of R. Vaughan (London, 1853); F. Böhringer (1856), and more particularly Lechler's great work. The development of this heresy in connection with the peculiar position of English affairs is well brought out by Höfler, Anna von Luxemburg, 106 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.* R. Buddensieg's publication of J. Wyclif's Lateinische Zeitschriften aus den Handschriften herausgeg (Leipzig, 1883), is very valuable. In connection with the fifth centenary of Wyclif there were published two important works: 1. R. Buddensieg, J. Wyclif and Seine Zeit, Gotha, 1885. 2. J. Stevenson, The Truth about J. Wyclif,

absolute necessity governs all, even the action of God Himself. Evil happens by necessity; God constrains every creature that acts, to the performance of each action. Some are predestined to glory, others to damnation. The prayer of the reprobate is of no avail, and the predestined are none the worse for the sins which God compels them to commit. Wyclif builds his church on this theory of predestination. It is, in his view, the society of the elect. As an external institution, accordingly, it disappears, to become merely an inward association of souls, and no one can know who does or does not belong to it. The only thing certain is that it always exists on earth, although it may be sometimes only composed of a few poor laymen, scattered in different countries.* Wyclif began by a conditional recognition of the Pope, but afterwards came to regard him, not as the Vicar of Christ, but as Anti-Christ. He taught that honour paid to the Pope was idolatry, of a character all the more hideous and blasphemous, inasmuch as divine honour was given to a member of Lucifer, an idol, worse than a painted log of wood, because of the great wickedness he contains.† Wyclif further teaches that the Church ought to be without property, and to return to the simplicity of Apostolic times. The Bible alone, without tradition, is the sole source of faith. No temporal or ecclesiastical superior has authority, when he is in a state of mortal sin. Indulgences, confession, extreme unction and orders, are all rejected by Wyclif, who even attacks the

London, 1885. The latter work contains inedited matter. Wyclif's tractatus de civili dominio liber i. (London, 1885), has been published by the Wyclif Society.

* Lechler, i., 567; Köhler in the Jahrb. für Deutsche Theol. (1875), xx., 118.

† See Lechler, i., 582-584, 601, note 3, and K. Müller in the Histor. Zeitschr., N.F., xi., 76.

very centre of all Christian worship, the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

These doctrines, which involved a revolution, not only in the Church, but also in politics and society, made their way rapidly in England. Countless disciples,—poor clergy whom Wyclif sent forth in opposition to the "rich Church which had fallen away to the devil,"—propagated them through the length and breadth of the land. These itinerant preachers, in a comparatively short time, aroused a most formidable movement against the property of the Church, the Pope, and the Bishops. But a change suddenly took place. King Richard the Second's marriage with Anne, the daughter of the King of Bohemia, was a great blow to the cause of Wyclif in England. The Courts of Westminster and of Prague were of one mind in regard to the affairs of the Church and other important political questions, and would have done anything rather than show favour to Wyclif and his companions, or to France and her anti-Pope, Clement VII. *

On the other hand, as this marriage led to an increase of intercourse between England and Bohemia, Wyclif's ideas found entrance into the latter country. English students frequented the University of Prague, and Bohemians that of Oxford; and Wyclif's treatises were widely spread in Bohemia. John Huss, the leader of the Bohemian movement, was not merely much influenced, but absolutely dominated by these ideas. Recent investigations have furnished incontestable evidence that, in the matter of doctrine, Huss owed everything to Wyclif, whose works he often plagiarized with astonishing simplicity.†

* Höfler, Anna, 158 *et seq.* The bloody persecution of the Wyclifites began after the accession of the House of Lancaster; see Lechler, ii., 59 *et seq.*

† See Loserth, Hus und Wyclif (Prag, 1884), who finally

The opinions of the Bohemian leader, like those of Wyclif, must necessarily have led in practice to a social revolution, and one of which the end could not be foreseen, since the right to possess property was made dependent on religious opinion. Only "Believers," that is to say, the followers of Huss, could hold it, and this right lasted as long as their convictions accorded with those that prevailed in the country. Argument is needless to show that such a theory destroys all private rights, and the attempt to make these principles —so plausibly deduced from the doctrines of the Christian religion—serve as the rule for the foundation of a new social order, must lead to the most terrible consequences. The subsequent wars of the Hussites evidently owed their peculiarly sanguinary character in great part to these

settles the question as to the relations between these two men. Regarding Huss, see Palacky (Gesch. Böhmens, Bd. iii., and Documenta Mag. Jo. Hus (Prag, 1869); the useful and exhaustive study of J. A. Helfert, Hus und Hieronymus (Prag, 1853), and the works of C. von Höfler, who may in this line be called a pioneer. The most important are Die Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen, three parts (Wien, 1856 *et seq.*), and the Monograph, Joh. Hus und der Auszug der Deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag. Palacky, in his treatise, Die Gesch. des Husitenthums und Prof. Höfler (1866, 2nd ed., 1867), has shown that Höfler's sources of information were defective; this discovery, however, in no way affects his general view of the subject. The Protestant Pastor, L. Krummel's (Gesch. der Böhmisch. Reform. [Gotha, 1866]), attempted vindication of the Hussite movement is, as Schwab in the Theol. Literatur-Bl. (1866, p. 665 *et seq.*) has shown, unsuccessful. The work of W. Berger, Joh. Hus und König Sigismund (Augsburg, 1871), is, however, deserving of the highest praise. On the side of Catholic theology, we have J. Friedrich (Die Lehre des Joh. Hus und ihre Bedentung für die Gegenwart [Regensburg, 1862], and Joh. Hus, ein Lebensbild [Frankfurt, 1864]); Schwab, 549-609, and Hefele, vii., 28 *et seq.*, 142 *et seq.*, 184 *et seq.*, 211 *et seq.*

views.* If Huss declared war against social order, he also called in question all civil authority, when he espoused Wyclif's principle, that no man who had committed a mortal sin could be a temporal ruler, a bishop, or a prelate, "because his temporal or spiritual authority, his office and his dignity would not be approved by God."

Whether Huss realized the consequences of such doctrines, or merely followed his master, may remain an open question; one thing, however, the most enthusiastic admirer of the Czech reformer cannot dispute—namely, that doctrines which must have rendered anarchy permanent in Church and State imperatively required to be met by some action on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.† The results of the opinions promulgated by Huss soon became apparent in the Bohemian Revolution in which the idea of a democratic Republic and of a social system based on communistic principles took practical form.

The international danger of Czech radicalism, which also soon made itself "terribly apparent"‡ in Germany was exposed in clear and forcible terms on New Year's Day, 1424, by an envoy of the Cardinal Legate in his

* Zöllner, Zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges (Programm des Vitzthum'schen Gymnasiums in Dresden, 1872), 34-35.

† Zöllner, *loc. cit.*, Helfert, Hus, 259 *et seq.* To the expression of L. Blanc already quoted (p. 81), I will here add the words of the latest Apologist of the Hussite doctrine. Ernest Denis, in his work, Huss et la guerre des Hussites (Paris, 1878), p. 1, observes: "With Huss really begins the Revolution which is to end in the destruction of Catholic unity."

‡ See Bezold, 113 *et seq.*, and in Sybel's Histor. Zeitschrift, N.F. v., 16 *et seq.*; Janssen, Gesch., ii., 396 *et seq.* Regarding Hussite Missionaries in the Diocese of Bamberg from 1418-1421, see Haupt, 31 *et seq.*; and *ibid.* (36 *et seq.*), for the sympathy of Southern Germany with the Hussites.

address to the Polish King. "The object of my mission," he said, "is the glory of God, the cause of the Faith and of the Church, and the salvation of human society. A large proportion of the heretics maintain that all things ought to be in common, and that no tribute, tax, or obedience should be rendered to superiors; a doctrine by which civilization would be annihilated and all government abolished. They aim at the forcible destruction of all Divine and human rights, and it will come to pass that neither kings and princes in their kingdoms and dominions, citizens in their cities, nor even people in their own houses, will be secure from their insolence. This abominable heresy not only attacks the Faith and the Church, but, impelled by the devil, makes war upon humanity at large, whose rights it assails and destroys."*

On the death of Urban VI. (October 15, 1389), the fourteen Cardinals of his obedience assembled in Rome for the election of a new Pope. This was the first vacancy of the Holy See which had occurred since the outbreak of the Schism. The French Court endeavoured to prevent an election, but the Roman Cardinals, perceiving that Clement VII., with whom the Schism began, had no intention of retiring, did not consider it consistent with their duty to deliver the Church completely over to the Avignon Anti-Pope. Accordingly, on the 22nd November, 1389, a new Roman Pope, Boniface IX. (1389-1404) was chosen, who, in order to defend himself against the oppressive exactions by which Clement VII. was exhausting the countries subject to his obedience, was compelled to resort to new financial expedients.† Under him, Rome lost her last relics of municipal independence. The opposition of the University

* Palacky, Urkundl. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Husitenkrieges (Prag, 1873), i., 309-314; Bezold, 52-53.

† Phillips, v., 573 *et seq.*

of Paris was unable to hinder a fresh election on the death of Clement VII., in 1394, and the astute Pedro de Luna took the name of Benedict XIII. The numerous endeavours for unity made during this period form one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Church.* Neither Pope had sufficient magnanimity to put an end to the terrible state of affairs, and all efforts to arrange matters were, without exception, frustrated, till it seemed as if Christendom would have to get accustomed to two Popes and two Courts. On the death of Boniface IX. the Roman Cardinals elected Cosimo dei Migliorati, a Neapolitan, aged sixty-five, henceforth known as Innocent VII.

The short Pontificate (1404-1406) of this ardent lover of science and the arts of peace is, however, deserving of notice as exemplifying the interest taken by the Papacy in intellectual culture, even under the most adverse circumstances.† In order duly to appreciate the merits of the pacific Innocent VII. in this matter, we must realize the troubled state of Rome, and the perplexities in which he was involved by the policy of King Ladislaus of Naples and the machinations of the crafty Anti-Pope. Amidst difficulties so immense, Innocent VII. formed the project of rescuing the Roman University, founded by Boniface VIII., from the decay into which it had fallen during recent years of confusion. On the 1st of September, 1406, he

* Regarding the attempts at union, see especially Hefele, vi., 703 *et seq.*, who, however, gives rather a set of extracts from documents than a critical history. Schwab's Monograph on Gerson (especially 118 *et seq.*), and that of Tschackert on Pierre d'Ailly (91 *et seq.*), are also worthy of attention. These works, however, throw little light on many important points. It is much to be wished that someone would undertake a thorough investigation of this much-neglected period.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 294.

issued a Bull,* declaring his intention of bringing back to Rome the study of the Sciences and liberal Arts which, even apart from their utility, are the greatest ornament of a city. He therefore summoned to the Roman University the most competent Professors of every Science. Not merely Canon and Civil Law, but also Medicine, Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric were to be studied in this school. "Finally," says Innocent VII., "that nothing may be wanting to our Institution, there will be a Professor who will give the most perfect instruction in the Greek language and literature."

The terms of the Bull, and the enthusiastic praise of the Eternal City with which it concludes, reflect the increasing influence of the Humanistic tendency† in the Roman Court. "There is not on earth," it says, "a more eminent and illustrious city than Rome, nor one in which the studies we desire to restore have longer flourished, for here was Latin literature founded; here Civil Law was committed to writing and delivered to the nations; here also is the seat of Canon Law. Every kind of wisdom and learning took birth in Rome, or was received in Rome from the Greeks. While other cities teach foreign sciences, Rome teaches only that which is her own."

But a few months after the publication of this Bull Innocent VII. died, and accordingly everything was brought to a standstill.‡

The times were certainly little favourable to the Muses,

* On Innocent VII.'s plan for the restoration of general studies in Rome, see Denifle, Universitäten, i., 312.

† See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 649, who attributes the composition of this remarkable document to Poggio. It is given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 2, and in Renazzi, i., 273-274.

‡ Niem., ii., 39. Innocent VII.'s endeavours to reform the Court are mentioned by Gobelin Person, vi., 88 ; Niem., ii., 41.

and yet Humanism continued to advance and make its way into the Papal Court. From the beginning of the fifteenth century we find Humanists in the Papal service no longer isolated individuals, as during the Avignon period, but in great and ever-increasing numbers, and among them, some whose appointment throws a melancholy light on the circumstances of the time. The most striking instance of this kind is that of the well-known Poggio, who became one of the Apostolic Secretaries during the Pontificate of Boniface IX. Poggio held this very lucrative post under eight different Popes, and at the same time filled other offices. For half a century he was employed, with sundry interruptions; but his frivolous nature was incapable of any real affection for the Church or for any one of the Popes whom he served.* He certainly wrote a violent invective against Felix V., the Pope of the Council of Basle, but it would be a mistake to suppose that his pen was guided by zeal for the Church. This may, indeed, be measured by the manner in which he wrote of the death of Jerome of Prague.† His animosity to Felix V. was simply and solely because the Roman Court, by which he lived, was threatened; he was doubtless as indifferent to the contest between the two Popes as to the heresy of the Hussites.

That such a man should have been able to retain his position in the Papal service is to be explained by the sad confusion consequent on the Schism. From the moment when the Parisian Doctors, with their ready pens, and the learned men of many other Universities had taken part in the conflict which was distracting Christendom, the Popes were compelled to look about them for new literary champions, and the frequent negotiations for the restoration

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 7 *et. seq.*

† See *supra*, p. 30.

of unity made it absolutely necessary that they should have men of talent and education at their disposal. The Humanists offered themselves to meet the need, and many of them eagerly sought lucrative places in the Papal Chancery. This, however, cannot excuse the imprudence with which some of the Popes gave appointments to adherents of the false Renaissance. But in this case, as in many others, circumstances must be taken into account, if we would form a correct judgment. Humanism had already attained great political importance. The time had come when political discourses and state papers, clothed in the grand periods of Ciceronian Latin, exercised an irresistible influence over readers and hearers, producing their effect rather by the beauty of the form than by the substance, or, at any rate, by means of the form obtaining an easier access for the meaning.* When, even in the smaller Courts, the style of the new school was adopted, how could the Papal Chancery have remained behind?† The Humanists had raised themselves to the position of leaders of public opinion; they were well aware of it, and often assumed Imperial airs.‡ The Papacy

* Körting, i., 293, see 449; Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 346; Woltmann, ii., 132; Ottenthal 63; and Müntz, La Renaissance, 82 *et seq.*

† The care which the Popes, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, bestowed on the Latinity of their Briefs is pointed out by Delisle in the Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, sér. iv., t. iv. (Paris, 1858), p. 30.

‡ The estimate entertained by the Humanists of their own powers is shown in the haughty answer given by the banished Filelfo to Cosmo de' Medici: "Cosmo uses dagger and poison against me; I use my mind and my pen against him. I do not want Cosmo's friendship, and I despise his enmity." It is curious also to observe the trouble which Cosmo took to destroy Filelfo's work "On Banishment," which condemned him and his family to the contempt of posterity. Voigt (i., 2nd ed., 367) remarks that "the notion

surrounded on all sides by enemies, was obliged, like the other powers of Italy, to take these facts into account. The terror which the Humanists could inspire even in the most powerful tyrants, is evidenced by an expression of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan: "A letter of Coluccio Salutato's," he said, "can do more injury than a thousand Florentine knights." The effects of the letters written by this most bitter enemy of the Popes must have been deeply felt by Gregory XI., and were doubtless long remembered by his successors.* Another circumstance is also to be taken into account. Elaborate discourses were so much the fashion that they seemed indispensable on such occasions as the conclusion of a peace, the reception of an Embassy, or any public or private solemnity. Courts and Governments and, in some cases, even wealthy families had their official orators. In the present day music is almost always the accompaniment of a feast; at that time a Latin discourse was the best entertainment that could be provided for a company of cultured men.† It will easily be understood that the Popes deemed it impossible to do without a literary man like Poggio, whose pen was readier than that of any of his contemporaries.

In the time of Innocent VII., Lionardo Bruni, whose

that his pen could dispense disgrace or immortality was no mere phantom of Filelfo's conceited brain, but was held by many other highly-educated men." Another appropriate example is given by Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 528 *et seq.*, see 451. In regard to Poggio, Vespasiano da Bisticci (Mai, i., 550) declares that his pen was universally dreaded.

* See the words of Eugenius IV., which we shall give later on. In proof of Salutato's animosity against the Papacy, we may refer to his Epist. Ed. Rigacci, i., 100, 177-181; ii., 29; ed. Mehus (Florence, 1741), 131.

† Villari, i., 103; see Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 528, and Paulsen 31.

name has been repeatedly mentioned in these pages, entered the Papal service. Unlike Poggio, he was an adherent of the Christian Renaissance. The circumstances of his appointment are characteristic* of the time. Bruni was recommended to the Pope by Poggio and Coluccio Salutato, and Innocent VII. wished at once to nominate him as Papal Secretary. But an adverse party at the Roman Court objected to Bruni's appointment on the ground of his too great youth, and supported another candidate. It so happened that, at this very time, important Papal briefs had to be prepared with the greatest possible haste, and the Pope offered the post as a reward to the candidate who should best acquit himself of the task. The drafts of the briefs were read in a Consistory before the Pope and the Cardinals, and Bruni gained a decided victory over his rival. From the first year of the Pontificate of Innocent VII., whose example was afterwards followed by Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and other Popes,† we find the well-known Pietro Paolo Vergerio installed as Secretary in the Roman Court.‡ The marvellously rapid growth of the influence of this school in Rome appears in the fact that this Humanist was appointed to deliver a discourse on the Union of the Church before the Cardinals assembled in Consistory previous to the election of Gregory XII., and that he was not afraid to say very hard things.§ Subsequently, it became

* Papencordt, 495, gives authorities.

† Papencordt, *loc. cit.*, brings this particularly forward.

‡ See C. A. Combi, Memorie sul Epistolario di P. P. Vergerio (Venezia, 1880).

§ "Mihi quidem videtur, si nunc voluntate Dei Petrus et Paulus resurgerent a mortuis, huc intra venientes Ecclesiam hanc non recognoscerent: opinor ne magis eam pro sua reciperent quam ipsi reciperentur a nobis. Nam nisi bullas haberent (in quibus ipsi nihil habent nisi effigiem), non haberetur eis fides; vix autem habere fidem possent, si quidem eis neque argentum esset neque

more and more the custom to employ the Humanists, on account of their superior cultivation, in the service of the Popes, both in the Chancery and in Diplomatic situations, and the time was not distant when classical proficiency was the surest road to ecclesiastical preferment. Under Innocent VII.'s successor, Gregory XII. (1406-1415), fresh Humanists, amongst whom was Antonio Loschi of Vicenza, were won to the service of the Papal Court. He composed a new formula for the official correspondence, with the object of introducing a Ciceronian style of Latin. Although he was not able completely to overcome the difficulties involved in the legal nature of the formulas, yet it is the opinion of competent judges that a marked improvement in the Latinity of the Court, especially in those documents less fettered by legal phraseology, is to be dated from his time. Flavio Biondo, one of the most laborious and virtuous of the younger generation of secretaries, expressly said that Loschi had been his instructor in the duties of his office.*

But it is now time to return to the troubles of the Schism. The crisis was drawing near. It came in the Pontificate of Gregory XII.†

aurum," etc. "Cavete, patres conscripti," says Vergerio in another passage, "ne dum urbem custoditis, orbem amittatis et pro exiguo temporali dominio universa spiritualis obedentia depereat;" and again, "Si præsentem occasionem negligitis spe unionis omnino sublata nova statuentur decreta, insoliti excogitabuntur articuli, inveterabitur res ista quemadmodum schisma Græcorum." The discourse has been published by C. A. Combi in the Archivio Storico per Trieste, l'Istria ed. il Trentino (Roma, 1882), i., 360-374.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 20. See Giov. da Schio, Sulla vita e sugli scritti di A. Loschi Vicentino (Padova, 1856), 106.

† H. V. Sauerland, Gregor XII. von seiner Wahl bis zum Vertrage von Marseille in the Hist. Zeitschr., xxxiv., 75. As to the validity of the election of Gregory XII., see Heinrich, Dogm.

During the earlier years of the Schism, efforts had been made to establish the legality of the one, and the illegality of the other Pope, by means of arguments founded on history and on Canon Law, but in consequence of French intrigues the question had only become more and more obscured. As time went on, conscientious men, who anxiously strove to understand the rights of the case, were unable to decide between claims which seemed to be so equally balanced, while in other cases passion took no account of proofs, and power trampled them under foot.* Despair took possession of many upright minds. The Schism seemed an evil from which there was no escape, a labyrinth from which no outlet could be found.† The path of investigation which, by the lapse of time‡ and in consequence of the prevailing excitement, had necessarily become more and more difficult, seemed to lead no further. The University of Paris, which suffered much from the discord of Christendom, now sought to assume the leadership of the great movement towards unity. In 1394 her members were invited to send in written opinions as to the means of putting an end to the Schism. In order that all might express their opinions with perfect freedom, it was decided that the documents should be placed in a locked

Theol., ii., 419. Raynaldus (ad an. 1406, n. 13) is wrong in giving the 2nd December as the day of election; the correct date (30th November) is known from the *Letter of the Cardinals to Louis of Savoy, d.d. Romæ in palatio apost. die xi. assumptionis præfati domini nostri, x vero decemb. Orig. Mat. eccl. cat. 45. Mazzo, 9, n. 11, in the State Archives at Turin.

* Raumer Kirchenvers, 17-18.

† Gerson, Opp. ii., 22. See Flathe, ii., 62.

‡ "Jam desunt morte plures qui facta viderunt,
Deficient omnes,"

cf. infra, p. 173. Note ‡, the above-mentioned poem by Langenstein, v., 622-623. Cod. 320 of the University Library at Breslau.

chest in the Church of St. Mathurin. The general feeling on the subject is manifested by their number, which amounted to ten thousand.* Their examination was to be the work of a Commission formed of members from all the Faculties of the University. Three propositions emerged from this mass of documents. The first was the voluntary retirement of the two Popes (Cessio). The second the decision of the point of law by a commission selected by the two Popes (Compromissio). The third, an appeal to a General Council.† The University recommended the voluntary retirement of both Popes as the simplest and safest course, and as rendering a fresh election of one whom both parties would acknowledge, possible.‡ The endeavours to restore unity

* Schwab, 128. As to the power and authority of the University of Paris, see Budinsky, 18 *et seq.* Good advice was not wanting. An immense number of learned writings treated, sometimes at great length, of the means of suppressing the Schism. For a notice of some which I found in Rome see the Appendix (No. 14).

† This proposal had been made before (see p. 126), but at first the Anti-Pope and his party, and afterwards Urban VI., would not hear of it. See Hefele, vi., 668 *et seq.*

‡ Langenstein, in his Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis, 1393 (University Library, Breslau, Cod. 320), had already urgently recommended the resignation of both Popes, v. 822 *et seq.*

. . . . . sponte renunciet unus
Intuitu Christi spernens insignia papæ
Jam potius quam talia tantaque scandala fiant.
Qui prius hoc faceret Christo gratissimus esset:
Promptus ad hoc placitum sit quilibet ergo duorum.

Coluccio Salutato also, in a letter written in 1398 (in Martène Thesaur., ii., 1155-1165), expresses himself strongly against Compromise and Council, and in favour of the resignation of both Popes: "Hunc modum, hanc viam non humanam sed divinam, sanctissimam, optimam, tutam, certam sine scrupulo et sine murmuratione commendo." The *"Dialogus de tollendo schismate," by Giovanni di Spoleto, given in the Appendix (No. 14) also advocates the Resignation. Cod. 44, G. Library of St. Peter's at Rome.

by this means were carried to their further point under Gregory XII., after the failure of the French scheme of forcibly * imposing peace on the Church by the common action of all the western powers. They seemed at first in Gregory's case to promise success, but all hopes of the kind soon proved delusive.†

III.—The Synods of Pisa and Constance, 1409-1417 (1418).

The election of Gregory XII. was due in great measure to the belief that he was earnestly bent on the restoration of unity to the Church, and, in the earlier days of his Pontificate, he certainly seemed full of enthusiasm for this great cause. He assured those around him that, notwithstanding his age, he was ready, for the sake of unity, to meet Benedict,‡ even if he had to take the journey on foot with a staff in his hand, or to cross the sea in an open boat. In his Encyclical, as well as in other Briefs, he expressed himself in a manner which seemed to leave no doubt § that the Schism would soon be at an end. He wrote to the Anti-Pope to the effect that the strife for their respective rights

* See on this subject Theodor Müller's treatise: Frankreichs Unionsversuch, 1393-1398 (Gütersloh, 1881).

† Sauerland, *loc cit.*

‡ See the treatise of Sauerland, 90, note 1, cited *supra*, p. 171.

§ The Encyclical is to be found in Martène, vii., 730-733. See Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 16. The Brief which he gives, addressed to the Duke of Cleves, is dated "X. die ab assumptione nostra," which is to be read "XII. die;" the same mode of expression is to be found in the similar Brief of Gregory XII. to Louis of Savoy and Francis Gonzaga, the originals of which I saw in the State Archives at Turin (Mat. eccl. cat. 45, Mazzo 9, N. 12) and in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

ought to cease, and that they should imitate the woman mentioned in Old Testament history, who preferred to give up her real claim to the child rather than consent to have it divided.* Accordingly, when in his answer to this epistle Benedict XIII. offered to abdicate † on the same conditions as Gregory, the restoration of unity to the Church appeared to be certain. But the appearance was deceptive. The embassy which France sent to both Popes to inquire more closely into their intentions, soon made it plain that Gregory XII., who was greatly under the influence of his relations, was as little in earnest in his expressions as was Benedict. The rejoicing of Gerson ‡ was premature. The meeting-place of the Popes was a subject of much dispute, and various proposals were made, but the meeting never took place, although Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. came within a few miles of each other.

Contemporary writers and modern historians are agreed in laying on Gregory XII.'s nephews and the Archbishop Giovanni Dominici of Ragusa the chief blame for his conduct in not resigning.§ The hatred with which they consequently were regarded by the promoters of union is

* The Epistle to Benedict (Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 14. 15) was from the pen of Lionardo Bruni.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1407, N. 1, 2.

‡ See Schwab, 194-195. For the causes of Gregory's change see Hefele, vi., 761-767 *et seq.* Bauer attempts to justify Gregory. Gregor XII. und das Pisaner Concil in the Laacher Stimmen (1871), i., 479-498; see also Höfler, Ruprecht 433, and Magister Hus und der Abzug der Deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag. (Prag., 1864) 205.

§ Siebeking, 16. Siebeking (3) is mistaken in placing the death of Dietrich von Nieheim in 1417 during the Council. The real date (as Rattinger in the Literar. Rundschau, 1875, p. 214 shows) is March 22, 1418.

manifested in a satire preserved by Dietrich von Nieheim. It purposes to be a letter from Satan to Giovanni of Ragusa, and is full of ironical allusions to personal peculiarities, to various occurrences, and some revolting practices and manners. It is interesting also as an example of that medley of ecclesiastical, scriptural, and heathen ideas which was so popular at this period. This letter must have been written in March, 1408. It concludes by exhorting Giovanni Dominici to continue his opposition to Gregory's resignation, and tells him what he is to expect in another world. Satan, he is informed, has had the hottest place made ready for him in the lowest depths of eternal Chaos, between Arius and Mahomet, where other supporters of the Schism are most anxiously awaiting him. "Farewell, and be as happy as was our dear son Simon Magus,"* are the last words of this curious document.

Gregory's altered attitude in regard to the question of union naturally awakened the greatest uneasiness among his Cardinals, and a party adverse to him was formed in the Sacred College. In order to counterbalance their influence, Gregory, forgetful of the promise he had made in the Conclave, decided to create new Cardinals. There were stormy discussions at Lucca, but they did not deter the Pope from actually nominating four Cardinals. Seven of those belonging to his Court then withdrew to Pisa, and issued two proclamations, by which the breach with Gregory was rendered final. In the first an appeal was made from an ill-informed to a better-informed Pope, to Jesus Christ, to a General Council and to a future Pope.

* See Siebeking, 15-20. For an account of the MSS. copies of the Satire see Rattinger in the Hist. Jahrb., v., 166 *et seq.* Other missives from the Devil are mentioned by Hartwig, ii., 9, note 1.

The second called on the Princes of Christendom to give their support to the movement in favour of union.*

The relations of Benedict XIII. with France also underwent a considerable change at this time. The conviction that this Pope, who before his election had professed the greatest zeal for union,† had no real desire for the termination of the Schism was gaining ground, and on the 12th January, 1408, the King informed him that France would make a declaration of neutrality, if unity were not restored by the Feast of the Ascension. Benedict replied by a simple reference to the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by disobedience to the Pope.‡ In the end of May, France solemnly disowned the authority of Benedict, an example which was soon followed by Navarre, and also by Wenceslaus and Sigismund, the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary. A great national Synod was then held in France, and the principles, in accordance with which the affairs of the Church were to be administered during the period of neutrality, were determined. It was also decided that the benefices of those who should still acknowledge Benedict were to be forfeited.§

These violent measures broke the power of Benedict, whose Cardinals came to an understanding with those who had deserted Gregory XII. As if the Holy See had really been vacant, they at once began to assume the

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1408, N. 9 and 8. See Hefele, vi., 777, 778, note.

† See p. 10 of Th. Müller's treatise, to which we have already referred, *supra*, p. 174. Note *

‡ The letter is given in Martène Collect., vii., 770, and Bulaeus, v., 152-154. The negotiations regarding the renunciation of obedience in the French National Councils of 1398 and 1406 are described in detail in Erler's Treatise, 4-20.

§ See Pückert, 30-31. Regarding the revolutionary character of the French measure, see Laacher Stimmen, i., 344.

position of lawful rulers of the Church, and formally sent out proclamations convening a Council, which was to be assembled at Pisa* on the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, March 25, 1409. Both Popes now endeavoured, by summoning Councils of their own, to counteract the rebellion of the Cardinals, but the Council of the latter, although its convocation was, according to the canonical decisions of the time, absolutely illegal, took place and became extremely important.

The increasing desire for the restoration of unity will not alone suffice to explain this astonishing fact. The Synod of Pisa (1409), according to Catholic principles, was, from the outset, an act of open revolt against the Pope.† That such an essentially revolutionary assembly should decree itself competent to re-establish order, and was able to command so much consideration, was only rendered possible by the eclipse of the Catholic doctrine regarding the primacy of St. Peter and the monarchical constitution of the Church, occasioned by the Schism.‡ The utter confusion in theological ideas and the dangerous nature of the anti-papal tendency, partly due to the teaching of Occam and Marsiglio, which prevailed in the principal countries of Christendom at this time, can only be fairly estimated by a

* See Sauerland, 44. Strictly speaking, the Cardinals of each obedience summoned a separate Council, yet from the beginning those who assembled met as a single body, without regard to their divers obediences. See Hinschius, iii., 363 and 365.

† See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd edit., 577-578, who observes that the theory asserted at Pisa of the superiority of the Council over the Pope "was the first great practical step towards liberating the world from the rule of the Pope, and was actually the Reformation." The Pisan Synod is condemned by other Protestants, *e.g.*, by Flathe, ii., 95, and by Lenz, Drei Tractate, 2.

‡ See Schwane, Dogmengesch. der mittl. Zeit" (1882), 557 *et seq.*

comparison of the theories set forth with the doctrine of the Church.

It was the will of Christ that the whole Church should have a single, visible head, so that, by the mutual connection of all the members among themselves, and by the subjection of all these members under one head, the most perfect unity should subsist.* Therefore, a short time before His Ascension, our Saviour, according to His promise (St. Matt. xvi., 17-19), appointed the Apostle Peter, after his threefold profession of love, to be His Vicar on earth, the foundation and centre of the Church, the shepherd of "the lambs and the sheep," that is to say, of the whole company of the redeemed on earth, as related by St. John (xxi., 15 *et seq.*).

The primacy conferred on St. Peter, according to the teaching of the Church,† is not merely a primacy of precedence and honour, but one of supreme jurisdiction, of complete spiritual power and authority. Inasmuch as Christ committed this power immediately and directly to St. Peter, he holds it for the Church, but not *from* her; he is not her representative and delegate, but her divinely-appointed head.

Neither the Primacy nor the Church is a transitory institution. St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, there he died a martyr's death under Nero. It is an article of the Catholic Faith, that all his prerogatives and powers are by Divine appointment transmitted to his lawful successors in the See

* Ecclesiæ unitas in duobus attenditur, scilicet in connexione membrorum Ecclesiæ ad invicem seu communicatione, et iterum in ordine membrorum ad unum caput. . . . Hoc autem caput est ipse Christus, cujus vicem in Ecclesia gerit Summus Pontifex. S. Thom. Aqu., Summa theol., ii., 2, q. 39, a. 1.

† See Hettinger, Fundamental-Theologie, ii., 156 *et seq.;* also Phillips, v., 6 *et seq.*

of Rome. This plenitude of power was from the first contained in the Papacy, but was, of course, manifested only in such measure as the needs of the Church and the circumstances of the time required.* "Like every living thing, like the Church herself," says a modern ecclesiastical historian, "the unique and incomparable institution of the Papacy has its historical development. But this takes place according to that law which underlies the very life of the Church herself, the law of evolution, of growth from within. The Papacy must share all the destinies of the Church, and take part in each phase of her progress."†

The Bishops of Rome, as direct successors of the Prince of the Apostles, according to Catholic teaching, possess by Divine appointment the plenitude of episcopal power over the Universal Church. Supreme, full, and lawful spiritual authority over all the faithful is theirs. In virtue of this supreme authority, all her members, including Bishops, are subject to the Pope; subject, whether we view them as isolated individuals, or as assembled in Council. Far from subjecting the Pope to a Council, the early Church held it as a principle that the supreme authority could be judged by no one. A General Council cannot exist without the Pope or in opposition to him, for, as head of the Church, he is the necessary and essential head of the General Council, whose decrees receive their œcumenical validity solely from his confirmation. As supreme legislator, the Pope can, in matters of discipline, revise and change the decrees of a General Council, as well as those of his predecessors. Former ecclesiastical legislation forms a precedent for his action, in so far as he, being the superior, is by his own example to show respect to the law. The power of the Primacy also contains, comprehended within itself, the

* See Heinrich, ii., 236 *et seq.*

† Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 31-32.

supreme judicial power. Appeal may accordingly be made to him in all ecclesiastical matters; there is no appeal from his judgment to another tribunal; the plenitude of power over the Universal Church, conferred on the Holy See, is limited by nothing but Divine and natural law.*

The Schism, attacking as it did the very centre of unity, brought discussion as to the position of the Pope in the Church into the foreground. In a period of such agitation, the discussion inevitably assumed a revolutionary character most dangerous to the Church. A multitude of theories, more or less openly opposed to her teaching, were brought forward, intensifying the confusion by their abandonment of the solid legal foundations. Many men, who were otherwise strongly attached to the Church, were carried away by these anti-papal tendencies.†

Things had come to such a point that besides the new theory of the superiority of the Council over the Pope, views were asserted and maintained which completely denied the unity of the Church and the divine institution of the Primacy. It was said that it mattered little how many Popes there were, that there might be two or three or ten or twelve; or that each country might have its own independent Pope. Again, it was suggested that it might be the will of God that the Papacy should be for a time, or even permanently, divided, as the Kingdom of David had been,

* Hettinger, Fundamental-Theologie, ii., 151, 183-191.

† For instance, Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, the brave champion of the ancient teaching of the Church against the Hussites, zealously defends the clearly unlawful Synod of Pisa against various attacks. Loserth, Beiträge, 369, 392, 439 *et seq.* The pre-eminence of the Council over the Pope appeared to him undoubted (see Cap. xlvi. of his Tractatus de longævo schismate, *loc. cit.*, 445). A similar confusion of ideas appears in a letter written in 1408 by the General of the Carthusians, Stefano Macone, whom we have already mentioned (see Tromby, vii.; app. clxxxi-clxxxiii.).

and after the example of human governments which are subject to change. Certainty regarding the will of God was deemed unattainable, but it was thought possible that the efforts to restore unity might really be in opposition to it.*

This last opinion, which may be considered as a consequence of Occam's teaching, was strongly controverted by Heinrich von Langenstein in his "Proposition of Peace† for the Union and Reformation of the Church by a General Council," written in 1381. He looks on the Schism as a thing permitted by God, who, in His wisdom, which constantly brings good out of evil, had not prevented this great misfortune, but would have it bring about the right and necessary reform of the Church. For the accomplishment of this great work he considers that a General Council must be held.

The new and extravagant system which Langenstein put forth in this "Peace Proposal," in order to furnish a theoretical justification for the Convocation of a General Council, is important from its bearing on future events. It is briefly as follows: No especial weight is to be attached to our Lord's institution of the Papacy. The Church would have had a right to appoint a Pope if He had not done so. If the Cardinals should have chosen a Pope who does not suit the Church, she had the right to revise the work of her agents, and even to deprive them of her commission. For the power to elect the Pope rests originally in the Episcopate, and reverts to it if the Cardinals cannot, or will not elect; or if they abuse their right of election. The criterion, by which all acts of Church and State are to be judged, is whether they do, or do not promote the general

* Authorities are to be found in Schwab, 122-133, and Tschackert 5. See Hübler 371, note 19.

† Maurenbrecher, Studien, 307. See Creighton, i., 41.

good. A prince who, instead of preserving the State, would ruin and betray it, is to be resisted as an enemy; the same course should be pursued in the Church. Necessity breaks the law; indeed, even renders its breach a duty. In the present instance of the Schism, however, Langenstein goes on to say, it is by no means necessary to resort to this expedient. Laws are given that human actions may be ordered and measured thereby, but as these actions are innumerable, they cannot be completely comprehended by any law, and therefore, if we would not run counter to the will of the lawgiver, we must look to the spirit rather than to the letter. In the interpretation of every law we must be mindful of the Aristotelian principle of equity (ἐπιείκεια). To apply these general notions to the present case, it is not of the essence of a General Council that it should be summoned by the Pope; in extraordinary cases this may be done by temporal princes. The authority of the Council stands higher than that of the Pope and the Sacred College, for of the Church alone is it said that the gates of hell should not prevail against her.*

‡ Consilium pacis de unione ac reformatione Ecclesiæ in Concilio generali quærenda, v.d. Hardt, ii., 3 *et seq.* See Schwab, 121-124. Erler., 22. Hartwig, i., 50-55; ii., 28-31. To the MSS. here cited we have to add Cod. 72, Folio of the Town Library at Cologne. See Hübler, 363-365, who distinguishes three phases in the literature prior to the Council of Constance: The theories of necessity, the doctrine of subtraction, and the Pisan Council. The opinion that nothing but a General Council could terminate the Schism was also maintained by Langenstein in his *Epistola pacis. See Hartwig, i., 42; ii., 27-28. I have seen the following copies of this MS.: 1. Innsbruck, University Library, Cod. 129, f. 149a-159b (breaks off in the middle). 2. Mayence, Town Library, Cod. 241. 3. Paris, National Library, Cod. lat., 1462 (= Colbert, 811), f. 74-85b (only fragments); Cod. lat., 14644 (= St. Victor, 277), f. 142-161b. Cod. St. Victor, 343, cited by Oudin, iii., 1263, I have been unable to find.

These theories, by which Langenstein broke with the whole existing system, soon became widely diffused. Henceforward this most dangerous* doctrine of the natural right of necessity was the instrument used in all efforts to put an end to the Schism.† Not very long after the appearance of the "Peace Proposal," we find Langenstein's view maintained by another German theologian, Conrad von Gelnhausen. His argument is chiefly directed against those "who are never weary of repeating that, even if all the Prelates of the Church came all together, without the authority of the Pope they would form no Council, but merely a Conventicle." The Papacy, according to this writer, is an official position whose authority is derived from the unanimous will of the faithful. Infallibility resides in the whole Church. The individual Pope is fallible, whence it evidently follows that a Council may be lawfully assembled without his authority.‡

Langenstein's principles had the greatest influence on the mind of Jean Gerson. This is shown in the remarkable New Year's Sermon which he preached at Tarascon, in 1404, before Pope Benedict XIII. The constitution of the Church, like every ecclesiastical law, has, he maintained, peace for its object. If a law no longer fulfils this purpose

* "No law, no State would be secure," writes Zimmermann, 8, "if this doctrine were generally received."

† Lenz, Drei Tractate, 93. The further development of this idea in the fugitive literature of the day is treated of by Hübler, 364 *et seq.*

‡ Schwab, 124-126. Hartwig i., 60. Lorenz ii., 2nd ed., 313. Budinsky, 123. The language of Matthäus de Cracovia, Bishop of Worms, in his book De squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ (printed by Walch, Mon. medii ævi i., 3-100) is yet more radical than that of Conrad von Gelnhausen. See Budinsky, 151, and the Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Alterthumsvereine, 1873, n. 7. See also Zimmerman, 9-10. Hübler, 364 *et seq.*

it is *ipso facto* repealed. Every means of putting an end to the Schism would be lawful, and the best means would be a General Council.*

It is easy to understand that Benedict XIII. was greatly offended by this discourse. An opposition to its principles also arose among the French theologians and was expressed in the Assembly held in Paris in 1406,† where Guillaume Filastre, the future Cardinal, absolutely denied the right of a General Council to judge or condemn the Pope. Pierre d'Ailly lamented the manner in which certain members of the University of Paris spoke of the Pope, and declared it unlawful to renounce allegiance to Benedict, inasmuch as obedience is not to be refused even to a Pope suspected of heresy. It cannot, in fact, be denied that the theory which permitted such a course, made revolution permanent, for the Pope would be subject, not merely to the judgment of the Church, but to the subjective estimate of the individual.‡

In the meantime, objections to the new theories of Church government were little heeded; faith in the Divine right of the Primacy had been shaken to its foundations; the distress of the Church became more and more intolerable, and the general confusion greater. The attempt to decide between the claims of the different Popes was abandoned, and, as the proposals of abdication and of compromise had proved impracticable, the idea of an appeal to force gained ground; the great object was to find some way of getting rid of the Schism. Dignitaries of the Church, as, for example, Pierre Leroy, the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, openly proclaimed it lawful to disobey a Pope who misused his power. The Parisian Professor Plaoul declared both Popes to be obstinate schismatics, and consequently

* Schwab, 171-178. Zimmermann, 15.

† See Schwab, 186 *et seq.*, and Erler, 24-40.

‡ Hübler, 371, and Zimmermann, 13.

heretics, adding that all their adherents were to be looked upon as promoters of heresy and schism. The extreme urgency of the case, in his opinion, justified the King in summoning a Council, and even made it his duty to do so, and to use all possible means for the removal of the Schism; for, as Plaoul further explained, the obligation of peace, being based on divine and natural law, takes precedence of all constitutions, and annuls all contrary obligations, even oaths. If the Pope hinders peace it becomes necessary to separate from him.*

Theories of this revolutionary description were not confined to France. In Italy, the Republic of Florence, which, especially since the election of Gregory XII., had been most zealous in its endeavours to promote the "holy cause of peace,"† decided, in 1408, that, under existing circumstances, neutrality or indifference in regard to both Popes was the best expedient.‡ In Prague, a German Dominican Friar, Johann von Falkenberg, called Pope Gregory a heretic. He ascribed to the Cardinals the right of deposing their Lord, without admitting that the Pope might deprive them of their dignities.§ In like manner the celebrated Canonist,

* Schwab, 186-188. Tschackert, 124-128. Erler, 19, 22-23. Regarding Plaoul, see Kervyn de Lettenhove in Froissart, xvi., 278 *et seq.*

† Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, i., 153. Salvi, xx., and Reumont, ii., 1213.

‡ Archives des Missions Scientifiques (Paris, 1865), Sér. ii., t. ii., 440; Commissioni, i., 156, and Desjardins, i., 52-53.

§ *Tractatus magistri Johannis Walkemberg (see Schulte, Quellen ii., 382) ord. prædicat. prof. s. theol. de renunciacione pape, Cod. x., c. 25, f. 267-270. University Library, Prague (see Höfler, Ruprecht, 411), and in Cod. n. 269, f. 338-344, of the Eichstätt Library. In the Prague MS. the treatise concludes as follows:— "*Et Gregorius data eius pertinacia hereticus est censendus, omne quod ab eo data eius pertinacia actum est vel fuerit, debet omnino

Zabarella, who afterwards became a Cardinal, sought to raise the Sacred College to the position of a standing governing committee in the Church, and thereby to secure for it the lion's share in the contemplated changes. The treatise * in which he put forward this idea is most important, as it gives us for the first time the Council theory in all its fulness. Zabarella ascribes the plenitude of power to the Church, and consequently to the General Council as her representative. The Pope, in his view, is only the highest servant of the Church, to whom the executive power is entrusted. Should he err, the Church must set him right; should he fall into heresy, or be an obstinate schismatic, or commit a notorious crime, the Council may depose him. The Church, or the General Council, cannot sit permanently, and therefore the Pope commonly wields the supreme power. He can, however, issue no decree binding on the whole Church without the consent of the Cardinals, and, if he should differ from them, the Council must decide the matter. It is to be summoned by the Pope, or, in the event of a schism, or of his refusal to summon it, notwithstanding urgent necessity, by the College of Cardinals. If this body is unable or unwilling to act, the duty devolves on the Emperor.† The scope of

cassari. Nec potuit cardinales novos creare nec eciam antiquos privare, et ergo trepidare timore non debent cardinales, ubi timor nullus est, sed confiso in eo, cuius res agitur, . . . inceptum debent perficere et exstirpare schisma antiquatum per electionem unici et indubitati pastoris, successoris Petri et vicarii veri Dei et veri hominis Jesu Christi, qui semper benedictus est et gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen."

* Published by Schardius, De jurisdictione imperiali (Basileæ. 1566), 688-711, composed in the summer of 1408. See Lenz, Drei Tractate, 71, note 2.

† Zimmermann, 15-16, thus sums up the tenor of this remarkable treatise, whose extreme importance had already been noticed by Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 318.

the General Council was also widely extended. Learned Canonists, like Abbot Pierre Leroy, of Mont St. Michel, taught that the Pope can never alter its decisions, and is bound to acknowledge them, even if they should concern the faith or the general welfare of the Church.*

Revolutionary views of this kind predominated in the Council of seditious Cardinals assembled at Pisa, but they were not allowed to pass uncontroverted. Among their most zealous opponents was the noble King Rupert. He saw that the path in which the Cardinals were engaged, could never lead to unity, but rather to a "threefold division, and to still greater discord and humiliation for the Church and Christendom."† To avert this fresh disaster, he sent a special embassy to Pisa to state his serious objections to the proceedings of the Cardinals. The Ambassadors argued that obedience might not be renounced for the sake of obtaining union, inasmuch as it is not lawful to do evil that good may come; that the Cardinals could not themselves depart from unity in order to unite others; that it belonged to the Pope alone to summon a General Council; that Pope Gregory had been acknowledged and presented to Christendom by the Cardinals as duly elected, but that if his election had been unlawful, their own position must be doubtful.‡ They further contested the legality of a union of the two colleges, inasmuch as the Cardinals of one party could alone be recognized as lawful.§

These and other considerations were, however, unheeded by the Assembly at Pisa. Delusive hopes of union held

* Hübler, 378, 380. Zimmermann, 16. Erler, 33

† Janssen, Reichs-correspondenz, i., 142; compare 145.

‡ "Si dubitant de Papatu Gregorii, quare simili ratione non dubitant de suo Cardinalatu?"

§ Raynaldus, ad an. 1409, n. 13-18. Mansi, xxvi., 1188-1256. See Höfler, Ruprecht, 436 *et seq.*, and Hefele, vi., 858 *et seq.*

the better sort captive, and blinded them to the intrigues of Baldassare Cossa, who was leading the Council according to his own interests, and turned a deaf ear to all representations regarding the injustice of these proceedings towards both Popes.* Since many Universities† and learned men expressed their agreement with the new theories, the Synod of Pisa disregarded all canonical scruples, and boldly assumed authority over the two Popes, of whom one must necessarily have been the lawful head of the Church. In vain did Carlo Malatesta, the loyal adherent of Gregory XII., endeavour, even at the last moment, to bring about an understanding between him and the Synod. In vain did this Prince, who was distinguished for his Humanistic culture, and was the noblest of his race,‡ represent to the Cardinals, that their new way might indeed speedily lead to an end, but that the end would be a threefold division instead of unity.§ The Synod of Pisa having in its first session declared itself to be canonically summoned and œcumenical, representing the whole Catholic Church, then proceeded to the trial and deposition of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. No one seriously believed the assertion by which the Council supported its action. It was declared to be a matter of public notoriety that Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were not merely promoters of the Schism, but actually heretics in the fullest sense of the word, because by their conduct they had attacked and overturned

* Höfler, Ruprecht, 448.

† The opinion of the University of Bologna, which, however, does not in any way touch the principal objections taken from the Corpus juris canonici, is published by Martène-Durand, Coll. vii. 894-897. See Tschackert, 153 *et seq.*, where are also particulars as to the views of Gerson and d'Ailly.

‡ Yriarte, 46; see 54-62.

§ Hefele, vi., 863.

the article of faith regarding the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Having thus invented a basis of operations, the Synod of Pisa proceeded with feverish haste to the most extreme measures, from which they might reasonably have been deterred by their knowledge that Gregory and Benedict had each an important body of followers, and that the forcible repression of both parties could not be deemed possible.* Without further negotiations with the two Popes, neither of whom had appeared at Pisa, their deposition was decreed, and a new election ordered. The elevation on the 26th June, 1409, of the aged Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Petros Filargis, a Greek, who took the name of Alexander V., † was the result.

* Such is the opinion of Hefele, vi., 902.

† This Pope has lately found a Greek biographer: Μάρκου Ρενιέρη Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται. ὁ Ἕλλην Πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος Ε; Τὸ Βυζάντιον καί ἡ ἐν Βασιλείᾳ Σύνοδος. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1881. Alexander V. was no more a lawful Pope than the Council of Pisa was a lawful Council. For as Hergenröther (ii., 1, 65) observes, the Council of Pisa was not summoned by the whole Church, nor by a legitimate Pope, nor was it generally acknowledged; it was too much under the influence of France, whose Government, in March, 1409, had promised the Cardinals its support for the Pope to be elected "who will receive his confirmation from the Princes and Bishops." The Cardinals had no right to summon a General Council, especially during the life-time of the lawful Pope, and Gregory XII. had hitherto been such. "Either," proceeds Hergenröther, "Gregory was, or was not legitimate before the Council took place. If he were legitimate, he did not cease to be so by the decision of a headless assembly; if he were not, neither were the Cardinals who elected Alexander V., and their new election was invalid and unlawful. In the first nineteen sittings the Council had no Pope—without a Pope there is no Œcumenical Council. No right existed by which the Pope (if really legitimate, see p. 120, note †, *supra*) could be deposed; if Gregory broke his word, he sinned, but he did not forfeit his Pontificate. If there was no right to depose the Pope there

Instead of two Popes there were now three, for the sentence of the Synod of Pisa had in no way affected the allegiance of the States which recognized Gregory XII. or Benedict XIII. The Assembly which was to have restored unity, had only increased the confusion. Such was the deplorable result of the removal of the established basis of unity. As Pierre d'Ailly had sadly foreseen,* the Council of Cardinals added another and a far more dangerous evil to those which already existed; it created a second Schism, and showed itself absolutely incapable of accomplishing the much longed for reform of ecclesiastical affairs. Reform and union alike came to nothing at Pisa.†

Alexander V. died on the 3rd May, 1410.‡ The Cardinals immediately elected as his successor Baldassare Cossa, who assumed the name of John XXIII (1410-1415). Of all the miserable consequences of the disastrous Synod of Pisa, this election was the worst.§ John XXIII. was not, indeed, the moral monster his enemies afterwards endeavoured to represent him, but he was utterly worldly-minded and completely engrossed by the temporal interests, an astute politician and courtier, not scrupulously conscientious, and more of a soldier than a Churchman.||

was no right to appoint a new one." I do not speak of the literature regarding this question, as Hergenröther has given a full account of it (iii., 351 *et seq.*)

* Tschackert, 152.

† Zimmermann, 18-22.

‡ See *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican (see Appendix n. 16). The description of the embalming of the Pope's body by the celebrated physician Pietro di Argelata has been handed down to us. See Medici, Compendio storico della scuola anatomica di Bologna (Bologna, 1857), p. 40.

§ Döllinger, ii., 1, 296.

|| Hergenröther's opinions, ii., 67. Similarly Reumont (ii., 1150-1151): "Whatever this man may have been, he was not the moral

No help for the distracted Church was to be hoped for from him. All eyes, therefore, turned to the powerful and right-minded Sigismund, the King of the Romans, who was necessarily most deeply interested in the termination of the Schism, inasmuch as his Coronation as Emperor in Rome could not take place until Western Christendom was again united under one spiritual head.* He did not disappoint the hopes which were fixed upon him, for the termination of the Schism and the restoration of unity to the Church in the West were in great measure his work.

The mischief wrought by the Synod of Pisa could not, however, check the ever-increasing belief that peace could only be restored by a General Council. Its very fruitlessness drove the more ardent to extreme measures for the deliverance of the Church from the three-headed Papacy. A scandal so terrible made men long for union at any price. The belief that the Emperor, or the King of the Romans was bound, as Protector of the Church, to summon a General Council, came more and more prominently forward. It was forcibly expressed by Dietrich von Nieheim, the author of a work "On the ways of uniting and reforming

monster the Council of Constance endeavoured to represent him. There is no need to heap guilt upon him invidiously and gratuitously, as many of his contemporaries have done, while smarting under the suffering he had caused them. John XXIII. was the incarnation of the spirit of worldliness which, long before his time, had led the Papacy terribly astray, and it is like a sign of an overruling Providence that the Master of anti-ecclesiastical tendencies and of purely political ends should attain the summit of power, at the moment when the conscience of Christendom rose against the lowering of the highest office, and the degradation of the most exalted institution on earth." See also Hefele, vii., 9 *et seq.*, 130-131, note 1, and Reumont in the Theolog-Literaturblatt, 1870, p. 748.

* Aschbach, i., 372.

the Church by means of a General Council" (1410), long falsely attributed to Gerson.* Dietrich here distinguishes two Churches; the particular and private Apostolic Church, and the Universal Church which, as the Society of all the faithful, has received immediately from God the power of the keys. Her representative, the General Council, is therefore above the Pope, who is bound to obey her; she may limit his power, annul his rights, and depose him. If the existence of the Church is in danger, she is, according to Dietrich, dispensed from the moral law. The end of unity sanctifies all means: craft, deception, violence, bribery, imprisonment, and death. For all law is for the sake of the whole body, and the individual must give way to the general good.† Dietrich founds his chief hopes on a powerful Roman Emperor or King. "Until there is," he says, "a just, mighty, universal Roman Emperor or King, the Schism will not only continue, but will, we must fear, constantly grow worse." And as, in his opinion, the removal of the Schism and the holding of a General Council cannot

* The authorship of this work is established by Lenz, Drei Tractate aus dem Schriftencyclus des Konstanzer Concils (Marburg, 1876). It was first published by von der Hardt from a Helmstadt MS., and by him pronounced, without any proof, to be from Gerson's pen (i., Pars v., 68-143). Döllinger (Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 298, note 1) was the first to express a doubt as to the accuracy of this idea, and the researches of Schwab (482 *et seq.*) showed the doubt to be well-founded. Schwab, however, attributed it to the Italian Benedictine, Andrea da Randulfo, and this view was adopted by Hübler (383, note 40), Lorenz (ii., 2nd ed., 319 *et seq.*) and others. Ritter (Bonner Theolog. Liter. Bl., 1877, 396) sees in the daring sentences of the treatise "De modis" the intellectual characteristics of A. da Randulfo, while Zimmermann (25) is inclined to agree with Lenz.

† Hübler, 383-385, who observes that in these maxims ecclesiastical "Salut public" culminates, and calls to mind Machiavelli's "Principe."

be expected without the King of the Romans, he is bound, under pain of grievous sin, to bring about its meeting.

Sigismund understood how to turn to account the temper of the time, which found expression in the remarkable work of Dietrich von Nieheim. He also knew how to overcome the great obstacles which stood in the way of the Council. Fortune favoured him in a remarkable manner. The conquest of Rome by King Ladislaus (June, 1413) had compelled John XXIII. to escape to Florence, where so dangerous a visitor had not been very cordially welcomed. As the Pope was in urgent need of protection and aid against his enemy, he gave his Cardinal-Legates, Challant and Zabarella, ample powers to come to an understanding with the King of the Romans, who was then at Como, as to the time and place of the Council. After lengthened resistance on their part, Sigismund succeeded in obtaining their consent to the selection of Constance, a German City, as the place of its assembly. This point settled, he hastened to complete the matter, and on the 30th October, 1413, informed all Christendom that, in agreement with Pope John, a General Council would be opened at Constance on the 1st November in the following year, and solemnly invited all Prelates, Princes, Lords, and Doctors of Christendom to attend.* John XXIII., who was completely powerless, had no choice but to submit to Sigismund's will; on the 9th December he signed the Bull which convened a General Council at Constance, and promised

* Bzovius, ad an. 1413, n. 7, von der Hardt, vi., 1, 5-6. See Lenz, 49. While these pages were being printed, Kagelmacher's Filippo Maria Visconti und König Sigismund appeared (Berlin, 1885). In contradiction to the views which have hitherto prevailed, this author endeavours to prove that the position of Sigismund in relation to the Council was not accidental, but the result of strenuous and conscious effort on his part (p. 4).

himself to be present. As soon as this decisive step had been taken by the Pisan Pope, Sigismund wrote to Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., inviting them to come to the Council, and also to the Kings of France and Aragon, calling upon them to do everything in their power to ensure the accomplishment of the important object it had in view.*

When John XXIII., in his extremity, made up his mind to consent to the convocation of the Council at Constance, he hoped by this act to establish a certain right to direct it, with the assistance of his numerous Italian prelates, more or less in accordance with his own views. Any such hopes, however, proved utterly fallacious, and, if we may believe the Chronicler Ulrich von Richental, who tells us that at the sight of the Lake of Constance John exclaimed "This is how foxes are caught!" even before he set foot in the city, where the Council† was to be held, he had become fully aware of the danger which threatened him. There was, indeed, ample ground for his apprehensions; a feeling most unfavourable to him had become general, and the complete failure of the Council of Pisa had at the same time driven the leaders of the party of union to the adoption of revolutionary opinions. The important treatise of Dietrich von Nieheim "On the ways of uniting and reforming the Church by means of a General Council," which we have mentioned, had already given expression to the prevailing sentiment. The author attacks the worldly-minded

* Aschbach, i., 376.

† U. v. Richental, 25. The words spoken by John XXIII. to Bartolomeo Valori are also remarkable. When the latter warned the Anti-Pope of the dangers attendant on a Council held in a foreign country, he replied: "I am aware that the Council is not in my favour; but how can I contend against my fate?" Vita di B. Valori in Arch. stor. Ital., iv., 1, 262.

Popes and their Courts in the most ruthless manner. Their sins are painted in the darkest colours, while he hardly alludes to those of the rest of the clergy. If his work does not contain the full and perfect truth, it nevertheless bears important testimony to the predominant tone of mind at the period. Few contemporary writings as clearly show how low the first dignity of Christendom had fallen in the eyes of the friends of reform, and how its bearers had come to be despised.* The hostility of the party adverse to John XXIII. soon manifested itself at Constance in the most unmistakable manner. It gained new strength from the arrival of Sigismund, and its first great result was the new mode of voting by nations,† carried through in opposition to the Italians by the Germans, English, and French. Events unfolded themselves with marvellous rapidity after the arrival of the King of the Romans, and John's prospects became more and more gloomy. An anonymous memorial, addressed to the Fathers of the Council and containing most serious charges against the Pisan Pope, produced great effects. His bearing from the beginning of the Council had been irresolute, and now he lost heart altogether. In dread of judicial proceedings, he solemnly promised to give peace to the Church by an absolute surrender of the papal power, if Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. would likewise abdicate. But this step was not taken freely or in good faith. Meanwhile the language of the party of reform became more and more decided. John, who was kept well informed of all that passed by his

* Schwab, 492. Lenz, Drei Tractate, 91, also points out that Nieheim's pictures and opinions are exaggerated. Zimmerman, 29; Siebeking, 14, and Hist. Jahrb., v., 166, mention other bitter satires and witticisms of the period.

† There does not seem to have been any formal decree of the Council on this matter. See Schmitz, 13, and Tschackert, 206.

spies,* at last came to the conclusion that nothing but bold and sudden action could save him, and on March 19th, 1415, with the connivance of Duke Frederick of Austria, he fled "on a little horse" to Schaffhausen,† disguised as a messenger.

The deed was one of desperation, and occasioned the greatest confusion and alarm amongst those assembled at Constance. The Italians and Austrians left the city and gathered round their Princes; merchants, fearing a riot, packed up their wares, and the Burghermaster called the citizens to arms.

During this stormy episode, the party which looked on a definite limitation of Papal rights as the only means of suppressing the Schism and reforming the Church discipline, gained the upper hand. The General Council was to effect this limitation, and accordingly it was held that the Pope must be subject to its jurisdiction; many, indeed, would have rendered this subjection permanent.‡ With characteristic precipitation it was decided in the third, fourth, and fifth Sessions that a General Council could not be dissolved

* Niem, Vita Johannis XXIII., in von der Hardt., ii., 389.

† See U. v. Richental, 62. For the date of March 19, see Guasti, Gli avanzi dell' Archivio di un Pratese vescovo di Volterra, in the Arch. Stor. Ital., 4 Serie (1844), xiii., 206. In the City Archives of Strasburg (AA 138), I found in a *letter of Count Palatine Louis to Strasburg (Geben zu felde vordem heiligen crutz nach Cristi geporte in dem vierizehenhundersten u. funffzehenden jare off den samsstag nach des heiligen cruces tag invencion = May 4) the following description of the Anti-Pope: They are "schen nach einem der ein walche und nit dutsche und auch ein feisster man sy, er habe an pfaffen oder leyen cleidere."

‡ Werner, iii., 706. He shows (703 *et seq.*) that the theory of the superiority of the Council to the Pope had been opposed by the supporters of the Papal power in the earliest stage of the negotiations for the removal of the Schism.

nor prorogued by the Pope without its own consent; that the present Council continued in full force after the flight of the Pope; that everyone, even the Pope, must obey the Council in matters concerning the faith and the extirpation of the Schism, and that it had authority over the Pope as well as over all Christians.*

By these decrees a power which had not been instituted by Christ† was constituted supreme over the Church, and this was done in order to provide the Assembly of Constance with a theoretical basis on which to act independently of the Pope. But, although defended by d'Ailly and Gerson, they never received the force of law. They proceeded from a headless Assembly, which could not be an Œcumenical Council since it was not acknowledged by any Pope, while one of the three must certainly have been the lawful head of the Church. Moreover, the method of procedure, by a majority of votes, had no precedent in the ancient Councils, and these decrees were carried against the Cardinals by a majority composed in large part of unauthorized persons. It was evident, then, that they could only be regarded as an act of violence, an expedient to put an end to the existing confusion. It was possible, indeed, to interpret the words, asserting the supremacy of the Council over the Pope, in a sense which limited their application to the Schism of the day, and they were thus understood by many, both at the time and afterwards. But, in the intention of their authors, their signification was general and dogmatic, and amounted to the introduction of a new system, subversive of the old Catholic doctrine. No dogmatic importance, however, can possibly be attached to

* For the authentic text of the Decree see J. Friedrich in the Sitzungsber. der Münch. Akad. Phil.-histor. Kl. 1871, p. 243-251.

† Phillips, i., 250-251.

them. The Assembly of Constance was no General, or representative, Council of the Church, and they never received Papal confirmation.* The great mistake of those assembled at Constance was to take that which may have seemed a matter of necessity under extraordinary circumstances, as a general rule for all times, and to consider it possible that a General Council could be held without the Pope, and in opposition to him, an idea as extravagant as would be the supposition that a body without a head† could be a living organism. The necessary consequence of this attempt to carry out reforms by means of the Episcopate alone was, as a modern Canonist‡ well observes, that in the next century many denied the authority of both Pope and Bishops.

The firmness and prudence of Sigismund had been the chief means of frustrating the attempt made by John XXIII. to disperse the Assembly at Constance, and the fate of this Pope was soon decided. He had already been arrested and confined in Radolfzell, and, after a trial, was, on the 29th May, solemnly and formally deposed; utterly broken in spirit, he submitted without remonstrance to the sentence of the Synod.§

* The opinion given in the text is shared by Hergenröther; see his Anti-Janus, 129-130, and Kirchengesch. ii., 1-78. See also Döllinger, Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 303-307. Phillips, i., 250 *et seq.*; iv., 435 *et seq.* Düx, i., 165 *et seq.* Schulte, System, 183. Hettinger, Fundamentaltheologie, ii., 188. Regarding the attitude of Martin V. towards the decree of the Supremacy of Councils, see Zimmerman, 66-68.

† Hefele, i., 2nd ed., 54-55; vii., 104, 372-373. Alzog, ii., 10th ed., 33 *et seq.* See also Chmel., Friedrich, iv., 1, 450, and Düx i., 251 *et seq.*

‡ Phillips, iii., 324.

§ In order to restrain John XXIII. from further intrigues, King Sigismund handed him over to the Count Palatine Louis, to

The deposition of John XXIII. nullified the work of the Synod of Pisa, and brought things back to the position they had occupied, before it had decreed the deposition of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. The election of a new Pope ought logically, therefore, to have taken place, but such a measure would not have advanced matters a step, and accordingly the Synod was in an untenable position * when Gregory XII. solved its difficulties by his magnanimous resolution to abdicate. The way in which this was done is of the highest significance, and must by no means be viewed as a concession in non-essentials to the assembled Bishops. Gregory XII., the one legitimate Pope, sent his plenipotentiary, Malatesta, to Constance, where the prelates of his obedience had already arrived, and now summoned the Bishops to a Council. His Cardinal-Legate, who had made his entry into the city as such, read Gregory's Bull of Convention to the assembled Bishops, who solemnly acknowledged it. Malatesta then informed this Synod, which Gregory XII. had constituted, of his abdication (4th July, 1415). His summons had given the Synod a legal basis; the Bishops of the third obedience gradually joined it, while Benedict XIII., with but three Cardinals, fled to the fortress of Peñiscola, thus proclaiming

whom, as Judge of the Empire, his custody naturally belonged, and whose aversion to John removed all apprehension of his liberation. Louis had him brought to the Palace, and there the unfortunate man was surrounded by German keepers, with whom he could only communicate by signs. He employed himself in writing verses on the transitory nature of all earthly things. In 1418, when Louis had fallen out with Sigismund, he set the deposed Pope free for a ransom of 38,000 florins. See Häusser, i., 277-278, and Arch. Stor. Ital., iv., 429 *et seq.* In the year 1418 there were many who did not consider the forcible deposition of John XXIII. to have been lawful. Leon. Aretinus, Comment. 930-931.

* Phillips, i., 256.

himself a schismatic before the whole Church. The Holy See was, therefore, now acknowledged and declared to be vacant, and it became possible to proceed to the election of a successor to Gregory XII.*

"If even we admit the proposition," observes the Canonist † from whom we have taken the above account, "that Gregory XII.'s fresh convocation and authorization of the Council were a mere matter of form, this form was the price to which he attached his abdication; and it meant nothing less than that the Assembly should formally acknowledge him as the lawful Pope, and accordingly confess that its own authority dated only from that moment, and that all its previous acts—in particular those of the fourth and fifth Sessions—were devoid of all œcumenical character. The recognition of Gregory XII.'s legitimacy necessarily included a similar recognition of Innocent VII., Boniface IX., and Urban VI., and the rejection of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII."‡

* *Loc. cit.*, 256-257. "The favourable result obtained at Constance," observes R. Bauer (Laacher Stimmen, 1872, ii., 187), "was not the consequence of a course of action like that which had been pursued at Pisa. When the same line was pursued at Constance, there was every reason to fear that a fourth Pope might be added to the three who already existed, and that the vicious circle of events might repeat itself indefinitely. The magnanimous conduct of Gregory XII., and the upright, unwearied, if not in all respects prudent, zeal of Sigismund, did far more under God to avert this terrible misfortune than any of the efforts of the Council."

† Phillips, iv., 437-438. See also Creighton, i., 224, and Abert, 47.

‡ The formal deposition of Benedict XIII. by the Council took place on the 26th July, 1417. For the previous fruitless negotiations for union see Aschbach, ii., 141 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 244 *et seq.* See Döllinger, Materialen, ii., 377 *et seq.* Schmitz, 27 *et seq.*, shows that Benedict XIII. was supported in his obstinacy by French influence. Maimbourg (Hist. du schisme d'Occident, ii., 297)

In gratitude for the concession which he had made, the Council conferred upon Gregory XII. the Cardinal Bishopric of Porto, with the permanent Legation of the March of Ancona, and rank second only to that of the Pope; he did not, however, long enjoy these dignities, as he died on the 18th October, 1417. His last words were, "I have not understood the world, and the world has not understood me."*

From the resignation of Gregory XII. till the election of Martin V. the Apostolic See was vacant, and the Church was ruled by the Council to which the Cardinals belonged. The Council, during this period, undertook the administration and temporal government of the States of the Church, —a remarkable fact, which clearly proves them to be the property of the whole Church.†

After the burning of John Huss (July 6th, 1415) matters regarding the third point of the great programme of the Council—the reform of the Church in her head and members —principally occupied its attention. The great majority of the Assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform. "The whole world, the clergy, all Christian people, know

speaks of Benedict XIII. as "un des plus grands hommes de son siècle"!!

* Capelletti, Storia di Venezia, v., 334. The speedy death of Gregory was regarded as a sign that he had been the true Pope, God not having permitted that another Pontiff should be elected during his lifetime. See Salvi, cxliii. For an account of Gregory's grave, see F. Raffaelli, Il monumento di P. Gregorio XII. ed i suoi donativi alla Cattedrale Basilica di Recanati (Fermo, 1877).

† See Mathieu, 415. Theiner-Fessler, 30 *et seq.*; see also 32 *et seq.*, evidence of the reasons which prevented the right of exercise of the temporal power in the States of the Church, at that time devolving on the Cardinals. The Council confirmed Cardinal Isolani as temporal and ecclesiastical Vicar of Rome. See Arch. della Soc. Rom., iii., 403.

that a reform of the Church militant is both necessary and expedient," exclaims a theologian of the day. "Heaven and the elements demand it; it is called for by the Sacrifice of the Precious Blood mounting up to heaven. The very stones* will soon be constrained to join in the cry." But while this necessity was generally recognized, the members of the Council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform. Various measures were proposed, especially for the amendment of the Papal Court, but few of them were practicable.† When the details came to be considered the countless difficulties which ultimately rendered the labours of the Council in this matter so ineffectual became more and more apparent.

Contemporary writings clearly show the existence of a widespread dislike of the higher clergy, not only amongst the laity, but also amongst the inferior ecclesiastics. An immense number of absolutely revolutionary discourses preached at Constance by monks and clergy of the lower ranks, bear witness to this feeling.‡ The Cardinals were detested by the majority of those who formed the Assembly at Constance, and they had repeatedly to complain of grievous slights put upon them. The treatment which they had to expect may be gathered from the singular fact that on the 17th April, 1415, a Prelate brought forward a proposal for their exclusion from all deliberations regarding Union and Reform.§ It was not indeed carried, but it showed the Cardinals the greatness of the danger which threatened them. They dexterously met it by an effort to get the matter into their own hands, and in the end of

* Matth. Roeder in Watch, ii., 34-35.

† Zimmermann is also of this opinion, 44.

‡ Zimmermann, 29.

§ See W. Bernhardt, Der Einfluss des Cardinal-Collegs auf die Verhandlungen des Constanzer Concils, Leipziger Diss., 15.

July moved that a Committee should be appointed to deliberate on the reform of the Church. The opposition aroused by this step was overcome by the eloquence of d'Ailly. The Cardinals' motion was passed, and the first Committee was appointed, between the 26th July and the 1st of August. It consisted of eight deputies from each nation, and three Cardinals.* The conflict of various interests made it impossible to come to any agreement on the most important questions. In the autumn of 1416 negotiations came to a complete standstill. Some powerful impulse was wanted to keep up the interest in the Council, which flagged more and more, wearied out by the monotony of interminable discussions.†

In regard to the smallness of the results achieved by it, a Protestant‡ writer has justly observed: "Few perhaps lacked goodwill, but all lacked courage to begin the conflict against the network of interests which covered all the ground. If the work were once seriously undertaken, it was hard to see where it might end."

The resistance naturally offered by the Conservative element to any change in the constitution of the Church, exercised a great influence on the cause of reform. This struggle absorbed all energies, and divided the Council into two camps at a time when united action alone could have led to success. Another circumstance also came into play.

The Constitution of the Church is an organic body, and a reform of one part must necessarily react on the whole. The chief aim of by far the greater number at Constance was the removal of special pressing abuses, and the

* *Ibid.*, 20.

† Hübler, 16. See Schwab, 648, 671.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 42. The measures taken by the Council for the reform of the Benedictines are mentioned by Evelt, 129.

protection of special concerns. Considerations of the general good were postponed to those regarding particular interests.* No party would begin by reforming itself; each wished for reform in the first place at the cost of another. Unanimous action was out of the question in this conflict of parties.

We must also give due weight to the influence of national and political interests. Church and State, in the views of that time, were by no means unconcerned with each other. Civil and ecclesiastical life were most closely bound together, and, as a necessary consequence, every effort to reform the Church awakened national and political opposition. The removal of abuses by reverting to a simple principle, was, under these circumstances, impossible; † relations were so entangled that every change was like a Revolution. "Church Reform," to quote the words of a modern historian, "was the Tower of Babel; every imaginable language was spoken in the Assembly, and opinions were as numerous and as conflicting as the nationalities gathered together at Constance."‡

The conflict of interests was intensified by the system of division into nations adopted in the Council, which opened the door to party spirit and national jealousy. This new organization of the Assembly, though framed with the sole purpose of counteracting the preponderance of the Italian

* Schwab, 670, see 647.

† Lenz, 156. In Germany especially it had already been proved that the Empire could not be reformed without a reform of the Church, while a reform of the Church could not be accomplished without that of the Empire. See Höfler, Ruprecht, 56 and 408. How the cry for the reform of the Church was joined with that for the reform of the Empire we learn from the Informationes Pilei archiepiscopi Januensis in Döllinger, Materialen, ii., 301 *et seq.*, and other sources.

‡ Caro, 5.

prelates, was in great measure responsible for the failure of the work of reform. Even those, who looked with sympathy on the introduction of new modes of deliberation and voting, acknowledge this fact.* "The reform which one nation desires, another rejects," wrote Peter von Pulka,† the Envoy of the University of Vienna. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to foresee how long the Church would remain without a head, if, according to the wishes of Sigismund and the German nation, the election of a new Pope was to be deferred until the reform had been accomplished. Discussions of a most violent nature soon arose on this question. The struggle was at last concluded by a compromise, which the aged Bishop of Winchester, the uncle of the King of England, brought about.‡ According to its terms, a Synodal Decree was to give assurance that, after the election, the reform of the Church should really be taken in hand; those Decrees of reform, to which all the different nations had already given their consent, were to be published before the election, and the mode of the election was to be determined by deputies.

Accordingly, on the 9th of October, 1417, in the thirty-ninth General Session, five Decrees of reform, on which the nations had agreed, were published. The first concerned the holding of General Councils, which were henceforth to be of more frequent occurrence; the next was to be held in five years; the following one, ten years later; and after that, one every ten years. The second Decree enacted precautionary measures against the outbreak of a

* O. Richter in his treatise cited in the History of Eugenius IV., p. 5.

† See Archiv für Œsterreichische Geschichte, xv., 57.

‡ Further information regarding the Bishop of Winchester's mission may be found in Lenz, 172 *et seq.*, and Caro, 94 *et seq.*

fresh Schism; the third required every newly-elected Pope, before the proclamation of his election, to lay before his electors a profession of his faith. The remaining Decrees limited the translation of Bishops and Prelates, and abolished the Papal rights of *spolia* and procuration. Regarding the election of a new Pope, it was agreed on the 28th of October that, for this time, thirty other Prelates and Doctors, six from each nation, should be associated with the Cardinals present at Constance. This decision, as well as the Decree for securing reform, was immediately published in the fortieth General Session, on the 30th October. The Decree was to the effect that, before the dissolution of the Council, the new Pope was, with its co-operation, or with that of deputies of the nations, to take measures for ecclesiastical reform, especially in reference to the Supreme head of the Church and the Roman Court.*

The Conclave began on the evening of the 8th November, 1417, in the Merchants' Hall at Constance, which is still visited by every traveller, and on St. Martin's Day the Cardinal Deacon Oddone Colonna came forth as Pope Martin V.†

* See Hübler, 33 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 321 *et seq.*

† The first account of this Conclave from original sources is given by Lenz, 181-195. See Caro, 95, note 2. C. Scheu's work, Conclave in Konstanz (Radolfzell, 1878) is of little value. On the 23rd December, 1417, Martin V. informed his brother Lorenzo of his election as Pope, which had taken place on the 11th November "hora quasi decima." * The original of this letter: "Dil. filio nob. viro Rentio de Columna germano nostro," is in the Colonna Archives at Rome (iii. B. B. xvi., n. 5). See Theiner, Cod. ii., 219 *et seq.*, where a similar letter to Viterbo and Corneto is given.

BOOK II.

THE RESTORATION OF THE PAPAL POWER AND ITS STRUGGLE WITH THE COUNCIL—THE ORIGIN OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME, 1417-1447.

I. MARTIN V. (1417-1431).

THERE was indeed cause for the unbounded rejoicings over the restored unity of the Church, which re-echo through the pages of the ancient chronicles of this period.* "Men could scarcely speak for joy," says one of these writers. The Church had again a head—the great Western Schism was at an end. These nine and thirty years of division were the most terrible crisis the Roman Church had passed through during the long centuries of her existence. An uncompromising opponent of the Papacy has acknowledged that any secular kingdom would have perished; yet so marvellous was the organization of this spiritual dynasty, and so indestructible the idea of the Papacy, that the Schism only served to demonstrate its indivisibility.†

The new Pope, a man in the full vigour of life, belonged to one of the highest and most powerful families of Rome; he was distinguished by his simplicity, temperance, purity,

* Von der Hardt, iv., 1483. See Ægidius of Viterbo's* *"Historia viginti sæculorum," Cod. C. 8. 19, f. 277 of the Angelica Library in Rome. A copy of the * "Historia" is to be found in a MS. in the library at Dresden. See Schnorr v. Karolsfeld, Handschriften der Dresd. Bibl., i., 364.

† Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 620.

knowledge of Canon Law, and many other virtues, and had kept comparatively aloof from party questions. Without in any way sacrificing his dignity, he had been on friendly terms with all those assembled at Constance. The despatches of Ambassadors present at the Council speak with the highest praise of the gracious bearing of the Pope. This noble Roman, in fact, seemed to combine all the qualities that could enable him worthily to fill his high position.*

The election of Martin V. might have been a source of unalloyed happiness to Christendom, if he had at once taken the crucial question of Church Reform vigorously in hand; but the Regulations of the Chancery issued soon after his accession showed that little was to be expected from him in this respect. They perpetuated most of the practices in the Roman Court which the Synod had designated as abuses. Neither the isolated measures afterwards substituted for the universal reform so urgently required, nor the Concordats made with Germany, the three Latin nations, and England, sufficed to meet the exigencies of the case, although they produced a certain amount of good.† The Pope was indeed placed in a most difficult position, in the face of the various and opposite demands made upon him, and the tenacious resistance offered by

* See Aschbach, ii., 300. Finke in the Strassburger Studien (1884), ii., 424. Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 622. For an account of the family of Colonna, see Litta, f. 55; A. Coppi, Memorie ecc.; Reumont, Beiträge, v., 3 *et seq.*, 399 *et seq.*, and Th. Wüstenfeld in the Gött. Gel-Anz., 1858, N. 102 *et seq.* In a *letter to the Secretary of the city of Strasburg, dated Constance (1417), November 17, Heinrich Kilbt says of Martin V.: "Post ejus assumptionem non bibit nisi de vino meo quod est Elsaticum." The original is in the City Archives at Strasburg AA. 166.

† See Schwab, 662-670, and Hübler, 42 *et seq.* V. de la Fuente, 434 *et seq.*

interests now long established to any attempt to bring things back to their former state.* The situation was complicated to such a degree that any change might have brought about a revolution. It must also be borne in mind that all the proposed reforms involved a diminution of the Papal revenues; the regular income of the Pope was small and the expenditure very great. For centuries, complaints of Papal exactions had been made, but no one had thought of securing to the Popes the regular income they required. The States of the Church could only be defended by mercenary troops; the Court and the Cardinals were a cause of great expense; a large outlay was needed for the Legations, and all these things were bound up with the centralized organization of the Church, which no one wished to attack. A Pope could not preside in Apostolic simplicity over Bishops who kept up a princely state.† It must also be added that Italian affairs urgently demanded the speedy return of the Pope to Rome.

The delay of the reform, which was dreaded by both clergy and laity,‡ may be explained, though not justified, by the circumstances we have described. It was an unspeakable calamity that ecclesiastical affairs still retained the worldly aspect caused by the Schism, and that the much-needed amendment was again deferred.

Sigismund made every effort to induce Pope Martin V. to take up his abode in Germany; Basle, Mayence, and Strasburg were proposed to him as places of residence, and the French begged him to live in Avignon, as so many of his predecessors had done. But Martin would not on any account become dependent on a foreign power, and firmly

* Such is the opinion of Döllinger, ii., 1., 313.

† W. Wattenbach, Geschichte des Römischen Papstthums.

‡ See p. 30 of the above mentioned treatise of W. Bernhardt (p. 203, *supra*).

declined all these proposals. In the absence of its chief Pastor, the inheritance of the Church was, he said, rent and despoiled by tyrants; the City of Rome, the head of Christendom, was devastated by pestilence, famine, sword, and revolt; the Basilicas and the shrines of the Martyrs were, some of them, already in ruins, and others about to fall into that state. In order to prevent complete destruction, he must go; he begged them to let him depart. The Roman Church being the head and mother of all churches, in Rome alone is the Pope at his post, like the pilot at the helm of the vessel. *

The condition of the States of the Church undoubtedly demanded the return of the Pope, and Martin V. acted prudently in resolving to make his way back to Italy and to his native city. Amidst the rejoicings of the people, he journeyed through Berne to Geneva. Here he heard of the disturbances which had broken out in Bohemia in consequence of the burning of Huss, and received the oath of allegiance of the Avignon Ambassadors. On the 7th September, 1418, it was determined to transfer the Papal Court to Mantua.† On his way, Martin V. tarried in

* Platina, Vita Martini V., 653. See * "Historia viginti sæculorum," by Ægidius of Viterbo, Cod. C. 8. 19, f. 278 of the Angelica Library in Rome. The French desired not only that the Pope should reside in France but also that the next Council should be held there. See Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, i., 292. The Epistola di Alberto degli Albizzi a Martino V. (Bologna, 1863), 18 *et seq.*, 23, urged his speedy return to Rome: "Voi siete aspettato a Roma," it says, "non solamente dagli Italiani, ma da tutti quegli che hanno reverenzia al venerabile nome di Cristo."

† The Pope's departure from Constance took place on the 16th May, 1418, the Council having been closed on the 22nd April. For an account of the journey of the Pope see Contelorius, 12 *et seq.*; Raynaldus, ad an. 1418, n. 36 with Mansi's note, and the * Acta consistorialia of the Consistorial Archives in the Vatican (Appendix No. 16).

Milan and consecrated the High Altar of the Cathedral. An inscription in the interior over the great portal, and a medallion of the Pope in the gallery of the choir, commemorate this circumstance.*

The Pope remained in Mantua from the end of October, 1418, until the following February. The critical position of affairs in the States of the Church then compelled him to spend nearly two years in Florence. He lived in the Dominican Monastery of Santa Maria Novella, where the apartment prepared for him long bore the name of the Pope's Hall† (Sala del Papa). Here Baldassare Cossa (John XXIII.), having been at length released from his captivity, came humbly to throw himself at the feet of the Pope, showing more dignity in adversity than he had done in prosperity. Martin received him kindly, and appointed him Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (June 23, 1419), but on the 22nd December, 1419, he died, so poor that there was hardly enough to pay the legacies he left!‡ The costly monument erected to this unhappy man by Cosmo de' Medici is still to be seen in the Baptistery at Florence. His

* Beneath the monument is an inscription from the pen of the Humanist Giuseppe Brippi in praise of the Pope. There are several mistakes in Kinkel's (2929) otherwise admirable essay on this monument; he gives Briccius as the name of the composer of the epitaph, and considers the memorial to have been erected a short time after the death of Martin V. From the Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, ii., 73-74 (Milano, 1877), however, it appears that the date is 1437; the inscription is printed in the Annali, and also given by Palatius, 486, and Ciaconius, ii., 824.

† Reumont, Beiträge, iv., 304. L. Landucci, Diario Fiorentino, ed. J. del Badia (Firenze, 1883), 2, 357.

‡ See L. Aretinus, 930 *et seq.* Ciaconius, ii., 831. Fabronius, Cosmus, ii., 10. Ajazzi, Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini dal 1282 al 1460 (Firenze, 1840), lviii. Arch. stor. Ital., iv., 429 *et seq.* Reumont, Lorenzo de' Medici, i., 2nd edit., 14.

recumbent statue rests on a sarcophagus beneath a canopy, and the short but pregnant inscription declares that "The body of Baldassare Cossa, John XXIII., once Pope, is buried here." "This tomb," a modern historian observes, "is the boundary mark of an important epoch in the life of nations, the monument of the great Schism and also the last grave of a Pope out of Rome."*

The better Martin V. became acquainted with the condition of affairs in his native land, the more clearly did he perceive that nothing was to be accomplished by violence. Rome and Benevento were now in the hands of Queen Joanna of Naples. Bologna was an independent Republic, and other portions of the States of the Church had been usurped by individuals. The Pope had to deal with this hopeless situation by diplomatic measures. In the first place he succeeded in coming to an understanding with the Queen, to whom he promised the recognition of her rights and his consent to her coronation, which was performed by the Cardinal-Legate Morosini, on the 28th October, 1419; Joanna, on her part, bound herself to support the Pope in the recovery of the States of the Church, and to grant considerable fiefs in her kingdom to his brothers.† In consequence of this agreement, Joanna, on the 6th March, 1419, ordered her General, Sforza Attendolo, to evacuate Rome.‡ By the mediation of the Florentines, Martin V. succeeded, in February, 1420, in coming to terms with the daring Condottiere, Braccio di Montone, who controlled half central Italy, and passed for one of the ablest military leaders of his day. Braccio, as Vicar of the Church,

* Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 84.

† A. Coppi, 168. Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 64-65; see p. 227, *infra et seq.* Morosini's journey from Mantua to Naples took place according to the *Acta consistorialia, on the 1st December, 1418.

‡ Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 58-59.

retained Perugia, Assisi, Todi, and Jesi, in consideration for which he gave up his other conquests, and in July, 1420, constrained the Bolognese to submit to the Pope. It was at length possible for Martin V. to proceed to his capital; he left the city of Florence on the 9th September, 1420, reached Rome on the 28th, and made his solemn entrance into the Eternal City on the 30th. The people enthusiastically welcomed him as their deliverer.*

Martin V. found Rome at peace, but in such a state of misery that, as one of his biographers observers, "it hardly bore the semblance of a city."† The world's capital was completely in ruins, its aspect was deplorable, decay and poverty met the eye on every side. Famine and sickness had decimated its inhabitants and reduced the survivors to the direst need. The towers of the nobles looked down upon foul streets, encumbered with rubbish and infested with robbers both by night and by day. The general penury was so extreme that, in 1414, even on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, no lamp could be lighted before the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles !‡ A chronicler

* Infessura (Eccard, Corp. hist., ii., 1, 1873) gives the 29th September as the day of entry. I think, however, that the statement of the *Acta consistorialia is to be preferred. Regarding the derisive verses on the Pope sung in Florence, see Cipolla, 380; they were not the special ground of his departure (*ibid.*, 384, N. 2). Mathieu, 417 *et seq.*, shows that the Pope was occupied about the restoration of the States of the Church even before his arrival.

† Vita Martini V., in Muratori, iii., 2, 864.

‡ Muratori, xxiv., 1043. Fresh light is thrown on the fearful state of Rome at this period by the Biography of St. Frances of Rome, lately published by Armellini; see xiii.-xiv., 2, 4-5, 8, etc., and Adinolfi, Portica di S. Pietro, 89, 184 *et seq.*, 188 *et seq.* In 1402 the Servite Fathers of San Marcello were obliged to sell their Convent Library in order to procure the absolute necessaries of life; see Serapeum, ii., 320. The poverty into which St. Peter's fell in

relates that many of the clergy had neither food nor raiment, from which the sad condition of the rest of the people may be imagined.

The city in which these poor creatures lived consisted of a few miserable dwellings scattered through a great field of ruins. Many monuments which had survived the calamities of the Avignon period, had been destroyed during the terrible years of the Schism. Amongst these was the Castle of St. Angelo, which, in the spring of 1379, was demolished, all but the central keep, containing the room where was the grave of Hadrian.* The other relics of antiquity had met with the same barbarous treatment. Manuel Chrysoloras, who was in Rome towards the end of the fourteenth century, wrote word to his Emperor at Constantinople, that scarcely any ancient sculpture remained standing; it had been used for steps, for door-sills, for building and for mangers for beasts; the colossal figures of the Dioscuri were the only specimens of the work of Phidias and Praxiteles to which he could still point. If any statues were found, they were mutilated or completely destroyed as heathen; moreover, the ancient edifices were used as quarries for building materials, and for burning into lime.† The other structures in the City had also suffered dreadfully during the vicissitudes of the Schism; most of the houses had fallen, many churches were roofless, and

the early days of the Schism appears from the *Martyrologium benefactorum Basilicæ Vaticanæ, Cod. 57 H. of the Library of St. Peter's.

* Boniface IX. caused St. Angelo to be rebuilt in the form of a tower by Niccolo d'Arezzo; and this remarkable memorial, "whose history is a picture of Rome in the camera obscura" (Gsell-Fels, Rom., ii., 468), preserved this form until the explosion of a powder magazine in 1497. See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 493 *et seq.*, 661.

† Papencordt, 493. See Reumont, iii., 1, 3 *et seq.* (Rom. nach dem Schisma.)

others had been turned into stables for horses.* The Leonine City was laid waste; the streets leading to St. Peter's, the portico of the church itself, were in ruins, and the walls of the City were, in this quarter, broken down, so that by night the wolves came out of the desolate Campagna, invaded the Vatican Gardens, and with their paws dug up the dead in the neighbouring Campo Santo.†

Such was the condition of Rome at the time when Martin V. returned; everything, so to speak, had to be restored. The Pope devoted himself to the work before him with a zeal and resolution which revealed the born Roman. Even while at Florence, he had appointed a Commission to superintend the restoration of the Roman churches and basilicas, and had furnished considerable sums for the purpose.‡ The work was commenced in good earnest, after he had taken up his residence in Rome; he began with those things which were most necessary. The public parts of the Vatican, as, for instance, the Consistorial Hall and the Chapel, as well as the Corridor connecting the latter with the Loggia of Benediction, were repaired, and windows were put in everywhere. The first thing to be done in the city was to clear away the filth and rubbish, which filled the streets and poisoned the air. Martin V. accordingly revived the ancient office of Overseer of the Public Thoroughfares (Magistri viarum) by appointing two Roman citizens, whose duty it was to make the streets again passable. At the same time he gave them

* Diarium Antonii Petri (an eye-witness), in Muratori, xxiv., 977, 979, 985, 1003 *et seq.*, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1014, 1031, 1035, 1050.

† See the evidence of a *document from the Archives of the Campo Santo at the Vatican, of which we shall say more in the History of Eugenius IV.

‡ Müntz, La Renaissance, i., 8-9.

absolute powers of expropriation and demolition, available against all previous appropriation of public spaces and buildings, and all grants of exemption, even when they were protected by the threat of excommunication. Strong measures were taken against the brigandage which had become a real plague* in the City and its neighbourhood. We find documents in which mention is made of the regulation of prisons; and a Papal Minister of Police, under the name of "Soldanus," appears on the scene.† For the sake of example, some of the robbers' nests in the neighbourhood of Rome were razed to the ground. The frugal Pope did not care to keep up a large standing army; even the Body-Guard for the defence of the Palace was very modest. It consisted chiefly of subjects‡ of the Pope, and was the predecessor of the Swiss Guard. A strong tower was built at Ostia to prevent smuggling, and to serve as a watch tower against pirates and enemies by sea.§

Of all the buildings in Rome, the Pope made the neglected churches the object of his special care. Perceiving the impossibility of himself providing for them all, he turned to the Cardinals and urged them to restore their titular churches; the appeal was not made in vain.|| The Pope himself undertook the parochial churches and the

* "Roma stava molto scoretta e piena di ladri," writes Infessura, 1122, adding that the bandits did not spare even the poor pilgrims who came to Rome.

† Kinkel, 2929-2930. Müntz, i., 12-14, 16-17, N. 6. Theiner, Cod. dipl. iii., 290-291. Bull, iv., 716-718.

‡ "Pedites de Interamne," Müntz, i., 14. See Theiner, Cod. dipl. iii., 269-270. Martin V.'s frugality in the matter of soldiers was held up to Calixtus III. in a * Poem which I found in Cod. 361 (f. 4) of the Riccardi Library at Florence.

§ Kinkel, *loc. cit.* Guglielmotti, ii., 134 *et seq.*

|| Details are given by Müntz, i., 2, N. 3.

chief basilicas, and did everything on a magnificent scale.* He contributed the enormous sum of 50,000 golden florins for a new roof to St. Peter's; the portico was also completely restored, and, according to some accounts, decorated with paintings representing the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul.†

Martin V.'s restorations in St. John Lateran, the cathedral church of the Popes, were even more important. This noble basilica, which had been terribly injured by fire, was newly roofed with wood and floored with a beautiful inlaid pavement, the ruinous churches of the more distant parts of the City and neighbourhood being, for this purpose, despoiled of their porphyry, granite, and serpentine. For the painting of the walls of the nave he summoned the famous Gentile da Fabriano, who was employed here from the year 1427. Vittore Pisanello was afterwards associated with him. Gentile was munificently paid by the Pope; he received a yearly salary of three hundred golden florins, while Bevilacqua, of San Severino, the cannon-founder and engineer, had only a hundred and twenty; and, at a subsequent period, the justly-celebrated Fra Angelico da Fiesole received but two hundred. The mural paintings in the Lateran, which were completed under Eugenius IV., were unfortunately destroyed by damp during Pisanello's lifetime. They were, however, seen by the eminent painter Roger van der Weyden, when he made a pilgrimage to

* Regarding the means by which the resources were obtained, see v. Ottenthal in the Mittheilungen, v., 440-441. * A Brief, addressed by Martin V. to the Archbishop of Tarantaise, and the Bishop of Maurienne and Bellay, dated Rome, 1429, April 24th, desires that a third part of the funds derived from fines imposed upon ecclesiastics should be applied to the restoration of the Roman churches. I found this document in the State Archives at Turin, Mat. eccl., 42. Mazzo, 1, N. 17.

† Müntz, i., 9-12. See Contelorius, 17 *et seq.*, and Mazio, 19 See also Müntz in the 5th Vol. of the Mém. d'Archéol. et d'Hist.

Rome and visited the Lateran basilica in the jubilee year of 1450; on which occasion he pronounced Gentile to be the first among Italian painters.*

Masaccio, the great Master of the Tuscan School, in the first half of the century, and teacher of the later painters, was also attracted to Rome by Martin V. In Vasari's time, two of his works, a Madonna and a painting of Pope Liberius with the features of Martin V., were still to be seen in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.†

Afterwards, during the peace with which Martin's prudence blessed the States of the Church, the financial position of Rome improved and the walls of the capital were restored, the Palace of the Conservators was rebuilt, and many gates and bridges over the Tiber were placed in a proper condition. Martin V. erected for himself a modest Palace on the western slope of the Quirinal, near the Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Philip and James, and this was his favourite residence from the fourth year after his arrival in Rome. He also built a strong and stately castle in the picturesque village of Genazzano, which is situated on a tufa rock at the beginning of the Æqui and Hernici hills, at no great distance from Palestrina, the ancient stronghold of the Colonna family, and there the Pope and his nephews often spent the summer.‡ But, with these two exceptions, the works which he accomplished were rather works of restoration, imperatively demanded by the circumstances of his time, than original creations.§

* Müntz, i., 14-16, 31. Kinkel, 2930. Reumont, iii., 1, 374, 515. Crowe-Cavalcaselle, iv., 115. Rasponus, 31, 38, 52, 87-88. Müntz, La Renaissance, 58. For a just estimate of Gentile see Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 210.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 375. Vasari-Lemonnier, iii., 158.

‡ Müntz, i., 16-18. Kinkel, *loc. cit.* See Contelorius, 35.

§ Kinkel, *loc. cit.* For an account of medals with the inscription "Dirutas ac labantes urbis restaur. eccles.," see Bonanni,

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Martin V. was devoid of the taste for splendour. On the contrary, while his frugal mode of living laid him open to the imputation of parsimony,* he made a great point of appearing with the utmost magnificence in religious ceremonies.† While at Florence, he ordered a richly embroidered cope and a golden tiara, whose beauty was spoken of after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. For the tiara eight delicately wrought little golden figures between leaves of the same metal were supplied by Lorenzo Ghiberti, and a costly clasp for the cope, representing our Saviour giving His blessing. But the regular commissions which the Pope gave for certain constantly-recurring occasions did even more for the encouragement of artists than those of so exceptional a nature. Caps and swords of honour were presented each New Year to Princes or other distinguished personages; every Cardinal received a ring on his creation, and golden roses were bestowed each year on Laetare Sunday, hence called Rose Sunday, on Princes or eminent men, and ladies of high rank, churches, or municipalities whose loyalty the Pope desired to secure. These roses had golden stems, and were set with precious stones. We must also mention the many richly-embroidered banners, bearing the arms of the Pope and the Church, and sometimes the figures of Saints, which were generally given to ensign-

20-21, and Venuti, 4. Martin restored the churches of Velletri (Borgia, 351-352), and encouraged the restoration of other churches. See his * Bull of May 14th, 1421, in regard to the Church of St. Dominic at Venice (its site is now occupied by the Public Gardens). The original is in the State Archives at Venice, Bolle pontif.

* Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, ii., 249, 303. St. Antoninus, xxii., c. 7, §3. See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 24, and Palacky, iii., 2, 519 note.

† Vita Martini V., in Muratori, iii., 2, 860.

bearers and Captains of the Church. Martin V. was obliged to go to Florence for almost all these things. Art could not flourish in a city so impoverished as Rome had become, and there was no demand for it. But the impulse given by his munificence could not fail in time to tell on the Eternal City.* The Papal mint at this time attained a

* Müntz, i., 18-30; ii., 309-312. Kinkel, *loc. cit.* Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 255. Arch. stor. Lomb. (1878), v., 800. Further particulars about the Golden Roses are to be found in Moroni, lix., 111 *et seq.*; Gatticus, 19, 20, 82; Cancellieri, De secret., 534, 1792; Delicati, Diario di Leone X. (Roma, 1884), 108 *et seq.*, and the Monographs of A. Baldassarri (Venezia, 1709), and C. Cartari (Roma, 1681), which are founded on the rich ancient literature. See also Cod. Vatic., 8326: *Memorie sopra la rosa d'oro e sua instituzione e benedizione, Vatican Library. Golden Roses are preserved in the Clugny Museum in Paris, and in the rich Chapel at Munich. I have to thank the kindness of Prebendary Dr. Friedrich Schneider, of the Cathedral of Mayence, for the following additional authorities and notices in regard to the Golden Roses: Durandus, Rationale divin. Officior., lib. vi., c. 53, n. 8 *et seq.* (ed. Lugd., 1568, p. 311 *et seq.*). Catalani in the Pontificale Rom. (ed. Paris. 1851), ii., 563. Card. Poli. Exegesis de . . . rosa. Otte, Kunstarchäologie, i., 4th ed., 250, N. 6. Guéranger, L'Année Liturg. Carême, p. 373. The "Hallische Heilthum" of Albert of Brandenburg, which was afterwards transferred to Mayence, possessed one of these Roses. Illustrations of its contents are given in a splendid Codex in the Castle Library at Aschaffenburg. In the little book of wood-cuts—"Das Hallische Heilthum"—there is a picture of it (copied in Otte, *loc. cit.*). In the Cod. Aschaff., No. 1, there is a coloured picture of it, natural size, with the following legend:—"Zum erstenn wird ewer lieben und andacht. getzeigt eyne Rosse, gemacht vonn Golde, Byesem, Balsam unnd Eedelnen gesteynnen, dye hat gesegnet unnd gebenedeyett gotseliger gedechtnus der allerheyligste in got vater unnd Herr, unsser Herr Leo aufs gotticher vorsichtigkeit der zehende Babst dess nahmens zur mitfastenn und dormitt begabet unsernn gnedigstenn Herrn den Cardinal zu eyner besundern ehre dyesser Stifftkirchenn der Heyligen Sanct Moritz und Marien Magdalenenn allhyer zu Halle.

degree of excellence which it never lost, even during the subsequent decay of taste.*

Notwithstanding the solicitude with which Martin V. watched over every branch of the administration, the recovery of the Eternal City was extremely slow. The work of destruction had been so terrible, that, even in the days of his successor, a historian described Rome as a city of cowherds.† Yet it cannot be denied that a general change for the better set in from the time that the Papacy was again permanently established there. Martin V. devoted his whole attention to the restoration of prosperity and order, and it was no flattery which bestowed on him the name of the Father of his country.‡ The political independence of the city of Rome was indeed at an end, but it retained ample liberty of action in all internal affairs.§ Martin V. left the municipal constitution of his native city absolutely untouched; by his desire, the rights and privileges of Rome were recorded by the Secretary of the Senate, Niccolò Signorili, in a book, of which copies are preserved

Neyget ewer Hertz und Heppt unnd entufahet. dormit dye Benedeyunge." This Rose is also lost.

* Reumont, iii., 1, 426. See Cinagli, 42-44. The volumes of Registers belonging to the reign of Martin V. bear witness to the stability and quiet which had replaced the previous confusion ; they become more numerous, and are divided into regular series, which become more connected. Sickel in the Mittheilungen, vi., 311. See v. Ottenthal, Bullenregister, p. 41.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Eugenio, iv. (Mai. Spicil., i., 21). See Fabronius, Cosmus, ii., 86.

‡ Regarding the Pope's unwearied care for Rome, see also l'Epinois, 402 *et seq.*, and Morichini, 232.

§ Papencordt, 469. Mathieu, 419. The *extracts "ex regesto dominorum conservatorum tempore Martini V., S.P." in Cod. iv., 60 of the Borghese Library in Rome, are of great value in relation to the internal history of the City at this period.

in several of the Roman Archives and Libraries.* The Romans easily forgot their loss of political independence, beneath the sway of a Pope whose one object was to heal the wounds inflicted on their unhappy city during the prolonged absence of his predecessors. He showed how much could be accomplished by an energetic Prince: even the plague of brigandage, which has always been so prevalent among the races of Latin origin, seemed to have been completely banished from the States of the Church by his vigorous measures. "In the time of Martin V.," to quote the words of a Roman chronicler, "a man might travel by day or by night through the country, miles away from Rome, with gold in his open hand."† "So great were the quiet and peace all through the States of the Church," says a biographer of the Pope, "that one might have imagined the age of Octavianus Augustus to have returned."‡

But Martin V. not only laid the foundations of the restoration of the Eternal City, but also those of the Papal

* The most ancient copy of Niccolò Signorili's ("Pop. Rom. secretarius") work, "De juribus et excellentiis urbis Romæ" is in the Colonna Archives, but is not Signorili's autograph. See de Rossi in the Studi e documenti (1881), ii., 2, 84, N. 1 (see also de Rossi, "Le prime raccolte di antiche inscriz, 7, and Bullet. 1871, p. 4). Later copies are in the Borghese and Corsini Libraries in Rome (see Lämmer, Zur Kirchengesch., 132), and also in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vatic., 3536; see Cancellieri, De Secret., 782-783; in Cod. Vatic., 7190 there is only a fragment), and Cod., I.C., N. 35, of the Brancacciana Library at Naples.

† Memoriale di Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro dello Rione de Ponte, Cronache Rom., i. See Infessura, 1122.

‡ Muratori, iii., 2, 866. The author of the other Biography of Martin, also given by Muratori, although very unfriendly towards the Pope, is constrained to admit: "Item suo tempore tenuit stratas et vias publicas securas, quod non fuit auditum a ducentis annis et circa," *loc. cit.*, 858.

monarchy, and his action in this respect is of the highest importance. The Schism had utterly disorganized the States of the Church; they existed only in name, a motley mixture of governments, constitutions, rights, privileges, and usurpations. The task which devolved on the new Pope was little short of superhuman, but he undertook it with a courage and energy which were equalled by his skill and prudence. He has the great merit of having been the first to prepare the way for transforming this conglomeration of communities and provinces, with their particular rights, heterogeneous constitutions and indefinite pretensions, into a united monarchy. He limited and curbed the power of the independent princes who ruled the cities, a hundred years before they were completely done away with. It has been justly observed that his labours would have been still more effectual, if a consistent course had been pursued in the States of the Church, and if the unquiet and troubled rule of his successor had not in great measure destroyed what he had accomplished.*

Circumstances favoured the Pope to a remarkable degree. The man from whom he might have apprehended the ruin of all his projects, Braccio di Montone, who had threatened to compel the Pope to say mass for a bajocco, died in the June of 1424. In consequence of his death, which was a cause of great rejoicing in Rome, Perugia, Assisi, Jesi, and Todi again submitted to the direct authority of the Holy See. From this moment may be dated the steady growth of Papal power, which was also favoured by the family feud that divided the great house of Malatesta, and by the fact that many cities were weary of the galling

* Reumont, Beiträge, v., 53. The manner in which Martin V. entered into the details of the government of the States of the Church, is shown by Reumont, iii., 1, 68.

yoke of their tyrants.* Martin's course for the next few years was a series of successes. Imola, Forlì, Fermo, Ascoli, San Severino, Osimo, Cervia, Berinoro, Citta di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro and many other cities gradually submitted to him.† Bologna, which had been brought into subjection by Braccio di Montone, again revolted in 1428. The gates of the Palace were burst open, the Palace itself was plundered, and the Papal Legate constrained to fly. By the mediation of the Venetians and Florentines, terms were made in the following year between the Pope and the revolted Bolognese. Both Martin and his Ambassador, Domenico Capranica, evinced great moderation and forbearance in the negotiations, for even after the second insurrection they allowed the city to retain its own constitution.‡

Martin V. also strengthened his temporal power by family alliances. By the union of his niece Caterina with Guido da Montefeltre, he won that powerful house com-

* L. Aretinus, 932.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 63-64. Sugenheim, 317 *et seq.* Balan, v., 88 *et seq.*

‡ See Cronica di Bologna, 623, and Ghirardacci, Istoria di Bologna, T. iii., lib. 30. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. See Quirini, Diatriba, ccxvi. Ruggerius, xxiii., and 113-114. Catalanus, 17. Cronica di Ronzano e Memorie di Loderingo d'Andalò (Bologna, 1851), 58, 109-110. For some account of the mediation of the Florentines, see *Nota ed informatione a voi Maestro Agostino Romano, generale de' frati Heremitani, ambasciadore del commune di Firenze al Santo Padre ecc. Marzo, 1438 [st. Flor.], Cl. x., dist. i., n. 23, f. 74-75, State Archives at Florence. Fresh disturbances broke out in Bologna in July, 1430. See Eroli, Erasmo Gattamelata da Narni (Roma, 1876), 21 *et seq.* Fermo also rebelled in 1428. See Fracasetti, Mem di Fermo, 38.

pletely to his interests.* His sister Paola was married to Gherardo Appiani, Lord of Piombino, and endowed with lands.† The Pope provided for his relations in the most munificent manner.

It has been the custom to condemn the "excessive nepotism" of Martin V. with great severity, but the circumstances of the time diminish the blame that may be due to him in this respect. These circumstances cast the Pope upon his nephews for aid, for when he came to Italy, a landless ruler whom the urchins in the streets of Florence derided in their songs, where could he look for support except to his relations? Little was to be expected from the other Roman nobles, whose strongholds were like nests of robbers, and whose life was one of wild warfare; from the leaders of mercenary bands, who were wont to leave their troops in the lurch, if their own safety required it or the hope of richer gain attracted them; or, again, from Queen Joanna of Naples, the most inconstant of women. It cannot be denied that the affection of Martin for his family was inordinate, but self-preservation, even more than family affection, was the motive which impelled him to seek the exaltation of the Colonnas.‡ In the midst of a powerful and quarrelsome aristocracy, at the head of a hopelessly distracted State, in an unquiet city always ready for revolt and riot, it was but too natural that Martin V., if he wished to keep a firm footing, should lean on his kindred and increase their power.§

* Ugolini, i., 223. Other projects of marriage for Caterina are mentioned by Osio, ii., 105 *et seq.*

† Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, ii., 160.

‡ Gregorovius agrees in this opinion (vii., 3rd ed., ii.). See A. Coppi, 167 *et seq.*, and the Riflessioni sopra il nepotismo in the Civ. catt. 1868, ii., 395 *et seq.*

§ See Villari, i., 54.

The aggrandizement of the Colonna family began when Queen Joanna, in return for her recognition and coronation, invested the two brothers of the Pope with important Neapolitan fiefs. On the 12th May, 1418, Giordano Colonna was created Duke of Amalfi and Venosa, and on the 3rd of August, 1419, Prince of Salerno; the other brother, Lorenzo, became Count of Alba, in the Abruzzi.* At a later date, we find him also in possession of Genazzano in the Æqui Hills, which is full of reminiscences of the Colonnas. Death soon carried away both Giordano and Lorenzo from their riches and honours; the latter was miserably burned in the tower of one of his castles in 1423, and Giordano died of the plague in the following year, leaving no heir.† By his marriage with Sveva Gaetani, Lorenzo left three sons, Antonio, Odoardo, and Prospero. Antonio became Prince of Salerno and head of the family, Prospero was a cardinal, and Celano and Marsi fell to Odoardo.‡

The Neapolitan fiefs were but a portion of the landed possessions which the Colonna family acquired by means of Martin V. Great additions were made to the considerable estates they already enjoyed in the near and remote neighbourhood of Rome; the stronghold of Ardea, the ancient capital of the Rutuli, Marino, which commanded the shortest route to the south, Nettuno, beautifully situated on

* A. Coppi, 168. Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 64-65. *Queen Joanna's command to Marc Antonio di S. Angelo, Count of Salerno, to put Giordano Colonna in possession of the Principality, is dated 1420, March 11, Colonna Archives, iii. BB., xxxv., No. 9.

† See Poggii Epist. ed. Tonelli, i., 116. Platina (688) commends the resignation with which Martin V. bore the loss of his brother.

‡ Litta, *loc. cit.* See Carinci, Lettere 124 *et seq.*, regarding Sveva Gaetani.

the shores of the Mediterranean, Astura, which formerly belonged to the Frangipani, Bassanello in the Sabine valley of the Tiber, Soriano in the territory of Viterbo, Paliano in the valley of the Sacco, afterwards the most important of their strongholds, Frascati, Petra Porzia and Rocca di Papa were all conferred by the Pope on his kindred, and most of these castles were exempted from the salt tax, the hearth tax, and all other taxes whatever.*

The list we have given, although not a complete one, shows that Martin went beyond the bounds of justice and the necessity of circumstances, in favouring his relations. The honours and riches heaped upon the Colonnas excited the jealousy of the other ambitious nobles of the States of the Church, and more especially that of their hereditary foes, the Orsini. Martin V. was prudent enough to treat this powerful family with the utmost consideration. Even before his arrival he had invested them with the vicariate of Bracciano for three years,† and he afterwards endeavoured to secure their goodwill by the marriage of his niece Anna with Gianantonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento.‡

* Reumont, Beiträge, v. , 54 *et seq.* See Contelorius, 55. Ratti, 29. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., ii. The castle of Frascati and the fourth part of the ruined stronghold of Petra Porzia, were sold to the Prince of Salerno by the Lateran Chapter on the 30th December, 1423. Lateran Archives, FF. i., 47.

† *Bull of Martin V., d.d. Florentiæ Cal. Sept. A° II° (1419, Sept. 1): "Dil. filiis nob. viris Francisco, Carolo et Ursino de Ursinis domicellis Romanis, etc." There is a copy in the Liber bullarum (ii., A. T. xxxix.) of the Orsini Archives in Rome. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 12) seems to think that it has never been published, but this is a mistake, as it is given by Theiner (Cod. ii., 242 *et seq.*).

‡ Litta, *loc cit.* The extraordinary power of the Princes of Tarento is mentioned by Antonius præpositus Forosempronii in a *letter to Paola Gonzaga, dated 1428 Dec. 10, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv., N. 3.

The life of Martin V. was simple and regular; the only recreation he cared for was to retire to the delicious solitude of his family property, when the heat of summer or some pestilential epidemic made Rome insupportable. Sometimes he visited other spots in the neighbourhood of the Eternal City, on several occasions making a lengthened sojourn at Tivoli. In his later years, he showed a marked preference for the Castle of Genazzano. He repeatedly varied his place of abode in Rome; in the earlier years of his Pontificate spending the winter months at the Vatican, and the summer and autumn at Sta. Maria Maggiore. In May, 1424, he removed to the newly-erected Palace of the Holy Apostles, which henceforth became his favourite residence. In the autumn of 1427 Martin V. went for a short time to the Lateran, which shows that at least some rooms there must have been restored.*

His energy as a reformer was displayed in the sphere of religion, no less than in that of politics. Very soon after his return to Rome he took measures against the heretical Fraticelli,† who were at work chiefly in the Marches; he endeavoured to reform the clergy of St. Peter's, and to do away with the worst abuses at the Court.‡ In the early

* Valuable information regarding the Pope's various places of residence is given by Poggio's letters (ed. Tonelli, i.), and especially by the *Acta consistorialia, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. The above particulars are derived from these sources. See also Pagi, iv., 513 *et seq.*

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1418, N. 11; 1424, N. 7; 1426, N. 18; 1428, N. 7-8. Wadding, x., 101 *et seq.* Bull., iv., 690 *et seq.* Bernino, iv., 72-73. Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 170. Baldassini, 132-135. Moroni, lxxvii., 79. With regard to the Pope's solicitude for the integrity of the Faith, see the numerous documents in Wadding (vol. x.) and the remarkable **Brief to the Chapter of Tournay. Regest, 359, f. 17. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Raynaldus, ad an. 1421, N. 22. Zimmermann, 78.

part of his Pontificate, he made constant efforts not only to protect the clergy from the aggressions of the temporal power, but also to amend their lives. As time went on, other interests unfortunately became predominant, and withdrew him more and more from the work of reform. The remarkable energy which he manifested in this cause during the first half of his reign* has, however, been little appreciated.

Martin V. also sought to increase devotion to the relics existing in the Eternal City, and carefully provided for their fitting custody.† A new and precious relic, the body of St. Monica, the mother of the great St. Augustine, was brought to Rome, from Ostia, by his desire. He caused its arrival to be celebrated by a special solemn function, at which he himself offered the Holy Sacrifice. Afterwards he addressed a striking discourse to the Augustinian Hermits whom he appointed guardians of the sacred remains, and to the assembled crowd. A passage in this discourse has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it proves

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 3 *et seq.*; 1425, N. 19. Zimmermann, *loc. cit.* Hefele, vii., 409 *et seq.* Schieler, 251. Regarding Martin's efforts for the reform of the religious orders, see also Pirro, Sicilia sancta, ii., 984. Bullarium, iv., 678-679, 689-690, 697 *et seq.*, 702 *et seq.*, 732-747. For an account of monastic reform in Bavaria (1426), see the document cited by Geiss, Gesch. der Pfarrei St. Peter (München, 1868), p. 37. On the 23rd June, 1420, Martin V. issued from Florence an *Ordinance for the restoration of discipline in the monasteries of men and women in the dominion of the Pfalzgraf Ludwig of the Rhine. State Archives of Lucerne (Section, Archives of the Franciscans). On the 29th April, 1421, he entrusted the Cardinal of St. Mark (Guillaume Filastre) with the visitation of the Abbey of Springiersbach and the restoration of regular observance in the Augustinian Order: see *Cod. D., xv., d., l. f. 17 *et seq.*, of the Town Library at Trèves.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 13.

Martin V. to have been completely uninfluenced by the Humanistic tendencies of his day. After describing the virtues of St. Monica, her sweetness, her patience, her maternal solicitude, which found its reward in the holiness of such a son, he exclaims, "then, while we possess Augustine, what care we for the sagacity of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the prudence of Varro, the dignified gravity of Socrates, the authority of Pythagoras, or the skill of Empedocles? We do not need these men; Augustine is enough for us. He explains to us the utterances of the prophets, the teaching of the Apostles, and the holy obscurity of Scripture. The excellences and the doctrine of all the Fathers of the Church and all wise men, are united in him. If we look for truth, for learning, and for piety, whom shall we find more learned, wiser, and holier than Augustine?" After this discourse, which may be considered as St. Monica's Bull of Canonization, Martin V. proceeded to place the precious remains in a sculptured sarcophagus of white marble. This had been provided, at great cost, by Maffeo Veggio, a pious Humanist, and two noble Roman ladies also gave three silver-gilt lamps, which were lighted before the sacred relic and kept burning night and day.*

We must not omit to mention that the Pope took great

* See Bougaud, Hist. de Ste. Monique (Paris, 1883), p. 500-506. For the Pope's Sermon, see Bibl. pontif., 161, and Fabricius-Mansi, v., 35. This latter (p. 16-17), also notices Veggio's writings in honour of St. Monica; see Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 42. Many MSS. copies of these are to be found in Rome. I observed: (1) *Cod. Urbin., 59, f. 307-314b: M. Vegii de vita et officio beatæ Monicæ liber; f. 314b-331b: M. Vegii de vita et obitu beatæ Monicæ ex verbis S. Augustini. (2) S. Monicæ translationis ordo per M. Vegium Eugenii papæ datarium descriptus. Item de S. Monicæ vita et eius officium proprium. Cod S., 5-35, of the Angelica Library in Rome.

pains to promote Devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. His Brief on this subject is a beautiful example of his piety.*

The great Jubilee, which he proclaimed for the year 1423, must also have done much to encourage religious feeling. Unfortunately but scanty notices of this important event have been handed down to us, and it has therefore been supposed that few pilgrims came to Rome to gain the proffered Indulgence. This, however, is a mistake. The Humanist Poggio, in one of his letters, complains that Rome was "inundated by Barbarians," that is to say, by non-Italians, who had thronged there for the Jubilee, and had "filled the whole City with dirt and confusion." The Chronicle of Viterbo also speaks of the great number of "Ultramontanes" who had hastened to Rome to gain the Jubilee Indulgence.†

The following year brought St. Bernardine of Siena, one of the greatest saints and preachers of his age, to Rome. This hero of unworldliness and self-sacrificing charity had devoted himself to the care of the sick during the great plague of 1400, when he was but twenty. He afterwards preached penance to the Roman populace, who had grown wild and lawless during the absence of the Popes. A pure and saintly life gave double power to his words, and the success of his preaching was immense. Bloody feuds which had lasted for years, were brought to an end, atonement was made for great crimes, and hardened sinners were converted. "On the 21st June, 1424," writes the Secretary of the Senate, Infessura, "a great funeral pile of playing-cards, lottery tickets, musical instruments, false hair, and other feminine adornments, was erected on the

* The text of this Bull is given by Raynaldus ad an. 1429, N. 20.

† Epist. Poggii, ed. Tonelli, i., 86. Niccola della Tuccia, 52. See Appendix, No. 17.

Capitol, and all these things were burned." A few days later a witch was also unhappily burned, and all Rome crowded to the sight.*

In 1427, St. Bernardine came again to Rome to clear himself of the charge of heresy, of which he had been accused to the Pope. The occasion was as follows: when the Saint entered a city, he had a banner carried before him on which the Holy Name of Jesus was painted, surrounded by rays. It was set up near the pulpit when he preached; sometimes also, when speaking of the Holy Name, he held in his hand a tablet, on which it was written in large letters visible to all. By his earnest persuasion many priests were induced to place the Name of Jesus over their altars, or to have it painted on the inner or outer walls of their Churches; and it was inscribed in colossal letters outside the Town Hall in many Italian Cities, as, for example, in Siena, where it is to be seen to this day. St. Bernardine's enemies had accused him to the Pope on account of this veneration paid to the Holy Name, misrepresenting the facts. As might have been expected, the investigation which Martin V. instituted, resulted in his triumphant justification; the Pope permitted him to preach and display his banner wherever he chose. Moreover, in order to manifest his innocence the more clearly in Rome, where he had been slandered,

* Infessura, 1123 (in Eccard, ii., p. 1874). The Cronache Romane (10) give a similar account of St. Bernardine's labours in Rome, assigning 1442 as the date. Probably this is a mistake for 1424, the year fixed by Raynaldus, ad an. 1424; N. 18, Wadding, x., 80, and Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 9. The year 1421 in Reumont (iii., 1, 69) is evidently a misprint. Regarding the witch, see also Armellini, Fr. Romana, 2, and Le Streghe in Roma. Storiella di S. Bernardino da Siena non mai fin qui stampata (Imola, 1876). Roman sorcery in the fourteenth century is described in Bertolotti's article in the Rivista europ., 1883, Agosto 16.

the Pope himself, with his assembled clergy, made a solemn procession in honour of the Name of Jesus amidst universal rejoicings.* He also commanded the Saint to preach in St. Peter's, and then in other Churches in the Eternal City. For eighty days St. Bernardine devoted himself to these Apostolic labours, which were crowned with the greatest success. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., writes: "All Rome flocked to his discourses. He frequently had Cardinals, and sometimes even the Pope himself, amongst his audience, and all with one voice, bore witness to his marvellous power and success."†

* See Wadding, x., 113 *et seq.;* Bull., iv., 730-731; J. P. Toussaint, Leben des hl. Bernardin von Siena, quellenmässig dargestellt (Regensburg, 1873), 63 *et seq.*, 88, 97 *et seq.*, and Allies, 127 *et seq.* In some places, for example in Camajore, St. Bernardine promised the people that they should be defended from the plague as long as they honoured the Name of Jesus, and as a fact Camajore was untouched by the epidemic even during the terrible year of 1449; see *Cronache di Camaiore, copiate dall' originale, lib. 4, c. 3. MSS. S. Laurent. in Lucina, No. 57; now in the Victor Emanuel Library at Rome.

† See J. P. Toussaint, *loc. cit.*, 100. In 1427, Martin V. wished to make St. Bernardine Bishop of Siena (Pecci, 316), but the Saint steadfastly declined the honour. There are many editions of his numerous and valuable writings (see Jeiler in the Freib. Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed., 442), but in regard to completeness and critical accuracy, they leave much to be desired. Recently, greater attention has happily been bestowed on these works in Italy. In 1853, Milanesi published Prediche volgari di S. B. d. S. (Siena, 1853). L. Banchi's Prediche volgari di S. B. dette nella Piazza del Campo, l'anno 1427 (Siena, 1880), Vol. i., is also well worthy of notice. Among other publications on the subject are (1) Novellette, Esempi Morali e Apologhi di S. B. d. S. (Bologna, 1868); (2) Del modo di recitare degnamente l'ufficio divino. Lettera inedita di S. B. d. S., published by L. Maini (1872) (very rare; written on occasion of a Priest's first Mass); (3) Novelle inedite di S. B. d. S. (Livorno, 1877). Let me here observe that

St. Bernardine can only be regarded as a passing guest in Rome, but St. Frances of Rome belonged completely to the Eternal City.* Even before the days of Martin V., the charity of this noble Roman lady had been actively engaged in alleviating the miseries of her native City. The congregation which owes its origin to her zeal, and which still flourishes under the name of "Oblate di Tor de' Specchi," was founded in the year 1425, during the Pontificate of Martin V.

From her childhood, St. Frances had been in the habit of frequenting the old Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, at the Forum, which was served by the Benedictines of the Mount of Olives (Olivetans). In prosperity and adversity she had always kept up this pious custom, and was daily to be found there in company with other Roman ladies of rank, her friends and imitators. Here one day she proposed to her companions that they should adopt a common rule of

in the Chigi Library in Rome there is a precious coffer (Cod. C. vi., 163), lined with red velvet, containing an autograph MS. of forty-four of the Saint's sermons; these have already been published, but the MS. gives a number of variations, which are noted (by Kircher) on an accompanying sheet. The sermon which I have mentioned, p. 18 *supra*, as found in the Library of the Brera at Milan, is not published. I saw unpublished letters of the Saint's in the Library at Siena: note especially Cod. T. iii., 3.

* The life of St. Frances of Rome was written by her second Confessor, Giovanni Mattiotti, parish priest of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, and by Maria Maddalena of Anguillara, Superioress of the Oblates; see Acta Sanct., ix., Martii, ii. The first-mentioned Italian work, which was probably intended for the private use of the early Oblates, was published by Armellini in 1882. Of later Biographies, I may mention those by Lady G. Fullerton (London, 1855). Ponzileoni (Torino, 1874), and J. Rabory (Paris, 1884). The last author has drawn his information from the Acts of the process of Canonization, and Ponzileoni takes the Archives of Tor de' Specchi as his authority.

life, such as could be observed by people living in the world, and thus share in the merits of the Olivetans. The ladies welcomed the idea, and the General of the Order soon consented that, under the name of "Oblates of St. Mary," they should be affiliated to the monastery of Sta. Maria Nuova, and participate in the prayers and merits of the Monks. The deep veneration entertained for St. Frances by all her companions, the works of mercy which they performed in common, and their regular visits to the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, where they received Holy Communion on all feasts of Our Lady, at first constituted their only bond of union.

Such was the origin of the congregation of the Oblate di Tor de' Specchi, which was afterwards confirmed and solidly established by Eugenius IV. The name of Oblate has reference to the simple vow made by those who enter; the offering of themselves for works of piety; while the surname is derived from an extensive building at the foot of the hill of the Capitol, once the home of the Specchi family. St. Frances bought this house, and established the Community in it, and after the death of her husband, Lorenzo Ponziani, she humbly sought admission as an ordinary postulant into her own foundation. Notwithstanding her opposition, she was elected Superior. The Community lived in great poverty; the means which the first Oblates had brought with them were expended in the purchase of the house and the erection of a little chapel. St. Frances had indeed made over to the congregation two vineyards which she possessed outside the city, but the small return which they brought in bore little proportion to the needs of the Sisters, who went through the streets of the city and the hospitals like ministering angels, dispensing consolation and alms. Death overtook the Saint, not amidst her Oblates, but in her former palace

in the Trastevere, where she had gone to take care of her son in his serious illness. Here, surrounded by a multitude of devout persons, she died, on the 9th March, 1440, at the age of fifty-six, after a life spent in prayer, contemplation, and works of mercy. The mortal remains of the "poor woman of Trastevere," as St. Frances loved to be called, were laid in Sta. Maria Nuova. In 1608, when she was canonized by Paul V., the Church took the name of Sta. Francesca Romana. Anyone who has been in Rome on the 9th March, and has visited her tomb, round which eighteen bronze lamps are burning, or gone to the venerable Convent of Tor de' Specchi, and seen the chamber with pointed windows which she inhabited for four years, and which is now a chapel, will be able to bear witness that the memory of this noble Roman lady and model Christian matron,* is still deeply revered.

As soon as Martin V. felt that his position in Italy was more firmly established, he turned his attention to the restoration of Papal supremacy abroad. The abolition in France and England of the Anti-Papal legislation, consequent on the confusion of the time, was one of his special objects, and in France his efforts were crowned with success. In February, 1425, the young King Charles VII. published an Edict by which the rights of the Pope were completely restored.† Martin V. also zealously defended the liberties of the Church against the Governments of Portugal, Poland, and Scotland, and against the Republics of Venice and Florence.‡ His energetic resistance to any

* See Lady G. Fullerton, *loc. cit.* Reumont, iii., i., 68 *et seq.*, 484. For some notice of Roman memorials of St. Frances see also "Katholik," 1884, ii., 523 *et seq.*, 531 *et seq.* The dress of the Oblates is very simple, and is probably that worn by widows in the fifteenth century.

† See Creighton, ii., 24 *et seq.*

‡ See Raynaldus, ad an. 1427, N. 19; 1429, N. 15 etc. Zim-

interference with her rights was manifested when Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, ventured to imprison Martin Gouge de Charpaigne, his Bishop. Almost as soon as the tidings reached the Pope he made the greatest efforts to procure the Prelate's liberation, and after a time* he was successful. His resistance to the Conciliar movement was equally resolute.

According to the decisions of the Synod of Constance, Councils were henceforth to be held at appointed periods. The extraordinary remedy which had hitherto been employed only in desperate crises or at rare intervals, and which could prove beneficial only under such circumstances, was to be brought into constant use. Instead of once in a century, or, at most, once in fifty years, it was now to be resorted to every five or ten! † The aim of this innovation was to substitute constitutional for monarchical government in the Church.

Martin V. was absolutely opposed to any attempt of the kind, and from his point of view he was no doubt perfectly right. Erroneous ideas regarding the constitution and position of a Council were at this time widely diffused, threatening the very foundations of the Papal power, and it was his duty to consider how they might be set right. The endless disputes as to whether the Pope or the Council was to have the first place in the Church, and the pretensions of the Synods of Pisa and Constance to dictate to the Pope, had not only filled him with distrust, but

mermann, 75 *et seq.* Bellesheim, i., 282 *et seq.* I found in Cod. i., 75 and 76, f. 86-87 of the Borghese Library, ** Briefs addressed by Martin to the clergy of Florence and to the Rulers of the Republic, dated Rome, 1427, Jan. 2 and 4.

* Gallia Christiana (Paris. 1720), ii., 291 *et seq.*, App. 98-99. See in Appendix, N. 18 * Charles of Bourbon's Letter taken from the above-named Codex in the Borghese Library.

† Höfler, Roman.-Welt, 157.

inspired a real horror of the very name of a Council.* He could not, however, venture openly to oppose the movement, and accordingly summoned a Council to meet in the year 1423 at Pavia. Circumstances were most unfavourable for such an assembly. England and France were engaged in a bloody conflict, Germany was laid waste by the Hussites, and war with the Moors was raging in Spain.† It was evident that the Council, which opened at Pavia in April, 1423, could not be numerously attended. In June it had to be transferred to Siena, on account of an outbreak of the plague, and here it soon became plain that its purpose in regard to the Pope was identical with that of the Council of Constance, and that those principles and ideas which had so seriously imperilled the monarchical character of the government of the Church and the authority of the Pope, and had occasioned the deposition of John XXIII., were again asserting themselves. Matters were made yet worse by the hostile attitude of King Alfonso of Aragon, who endeavoured to incite the Council against the Pope. Martin V. accordingly made the small attendance of Prelates and their divisions a pretext for suddenly dissolving it. On the 7th March, 1424, in the evening, his Legates secretly posted up a Decree, to the effect that by virtue of the Pope's authority it had been dissolved on the 26th of February, and that all Archbishops, Bishops, and others were strictly forbidden to attempt its continuance; and, having done this, they hastily

* "In immensum nomen concilii abhorrebat," writes Giovanni di Ragusa (Mon. Concil., i., 66). The Duke of Milan (Osio, ii., 267) and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini speak in similar terms; see Hefele, vii., 405. How, in the face of such witnesses, l'Epinois (404) can say that Martin V. wished for the Council is incomprehensible.

† Zimmermann, 70-71. Creighton, ii., 16.

left the city.* Before the publication of the Decree, Basle had been selected as the place of meeting for a fresh Synod, and the Pope had confirmed the choice.†

The Council of Basle was not to meet for seven years; a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs might in this interval have been undertaken, but Martin allowed the precious time to pass by almost in vain, as far as that important work was concerned. The reformatory Provisions of the Bull which he published ‡ on the 16th May, 1425, were certainly admirable, but they were far from being sufficient, and we do not hear that they were really carried into effect. In the Pope's justification it must indeed be alleged, that the restoration of the States of the Church fully occupied him, and that this restoration was a matter of urgent importance. The events of the preceding century, the consequences of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, had proved beyond all doubt the necessity that the Holy See should possess temporal sovereignty, and be established on its own territory.§ Yet in Rome itself at least, Martin V. ought to have remedied the most crying abuses, and his negligence on this point can neither be excused nor denied.

* Mon. Concil., i., 56. See Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 5, and Pecci, 310 *et seq.*

† It is not to be wondered at that Martin V. consented to the selection of a German city for the next Council, considering that he was threatened with a French one. The experience of the last ten years had shown the French to be much more Anti-Papal than the Germans. Hefele, vii., 406.

‡ This document, from which Contelorius (20-22) and after him Raynaldus, only give an extract, is printed in full in Döllinger's Beiträge, ii., 335-344.

§ That the territorial policy of Rome has become a necessity since the time of Martin V. is asserted even by Dr. M. Lenz (Histor. Zeitschr. N. F. xiv., 267), who certainly cannot be charged with any partiality for the Papacy.

The picture which confidential letters, especially the reports of Envoys of the Teutonic Order to their Superiors, the Grand Masters in Prussia, give of the state of things in Rome at this period, is a very gloomy one. In the year 1420, one of these Envoys wrote to Prussia: "Dear Grand Master, you must send money, for here at the Court all friendship ends with the last penny." In another letter, the writer says that it is impossible to describe all the devices used in Rome to get money; that gold is the only friend and the only means for getting any business done. In a report of the year 1430 we read: "Greed reigns supreme in the Roman Court, and day by day finds new devices and artifices for extorting money from Germany, under pretext of ecclesiastical fees. Hence much outcry, complaining, and heart-burnings among scholars and courtiers; also many questions in regard to the Papacy will arise, or else obedience will ultimately be entirely renounced, to escape from these outrageous exactions of the Italians; and the latter course would be, as I perceive, acceptable to many countries."*

It is possible that certain statements in these reports are to be rejected,† or considered as exaggerated, yet on the whole, the picture they present must be a true one, for Swiss, Poles, and even Italians of that day have all borne similar testimony.‡

* Voigt, Stimmen, 94 *et seq.*, 98-103; see 108 *et seq.*, 113 *et seq.*, 120 *et seq.*, 126 *et seq.*, 144 *et seq.*, 156, 170, 173.

† In regard to the noble Westphalian, Hermann Dwerg (Protonotary under Martin V.), we give an original document which shows the justice of this observation; see *infra*, pp. 243-244.

‡ See Reber, F. Hemmerlin, 72, 214 *et seq.*, 331. Caro, Gesch. Polens, iii., 524. Gesch. Blätt. f. Magdeburg (1883), xviii., 70. In the year 1429, Giacobino da Iseo wrote to the King of the Romans: "E como saviti, in corte de Roma, cum el denaro se obtene quello se vole intieramente." Osio, ii., 418.

It has repeatedly been asserted that the Roman Court has assumed a more and more Italian character ever since the time of Martin V.* This, however, is quite a mistake, for at the very period in question the composition of the Papal Court was eminently international, and may be said to have in this respect reflected the image of the Universal Church. Spain, France, England, Germany, and Holland are all represented. Even during the Avignon exile the international character of the Papal Court had not been completely lost. In one of the volumes containing the registers of Gregory XI. we have a list, drawn up by his command, of the Court officials at Avignon at the time of the departure of the Court (September, 1376). The immense number of German names in this list is very remarkable.† We are also indebted to two Germans in the Papal service, Dietrich von Nieheim and Gobelinus Persona, for the best descriptions of the changeful times of the Schism.

The number of foreigners in Rome in the time of Martin V. was very large, and among them were a great many Germans, who held positions at the Papal Court and in various administrative and legal offices in the Chancery, Datary, Penitentiary, Apostolic Chamber and Rota.‡

* *e.g.*, Droysen, ii., 1, 152.

† *Regesta Gregorii xi. Annus, viii., pars unica, tom. 32 et ultimus, f. 429-506 : Liber cortesianorum et civium existentium in civitate Aven. post recessum Rom. Curiæ factus de mandato. Smi. N. D. Gregorii P. xi. Secret Archives of the Vatican. I have to thank my friend, Dr. A. Pieper, for pointing out this interesting notice to me. See also Denifle-Ehrle, Archiv., i., 627-630.

‡ Bangen, Die Römische Curie (Münster 1855), and Phillips in the fifth volume of his Kirchenrecht treat at length of these Courts. Martin V. gave a more settled form to the Chancery and Datary. See also Reumont, iii., 1, 271 *et seq.*, 505 *et seq.*, and Ottenthal, Bullenregister, etc., 44 *et seq.*, 84 *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.* It was all the easier for foreigners in those days to obtain positions in the Papal

During the whole of the fifteenth century, foreigners—Netherlanders, Frenchmen, and afterwards Spaniards—formed the majority in the Papal Chapel.*

Some of the foreigners filled most influential positions; the important post of Master of the Sacred Palace (Counsellor of the Pope in all theological and legal questions), for example, was, from the time of Martin V. to that of Calixtus III., held three times by a Spaniard, once by a German, Heinrich Kalteisen from the Rhenish provinces, and once by an Italian.†

Hermann Dwerg (in Latin, Nanus), like Nieheim and Persona, of Westphalian origin, was Protonotary in the time of Martin V., and much esteemed at his Court. He enjoyed the special favour and confidence of the Pope, and, as Envoy of the Teutonic Order, was freely admitted to his presence during his illness, when even a Cardinal rarely ventured to appear. At the time of his death, on the 14th December, 1430, Dwerg had the reputation of being one of the richest, most influential, and most highly respected men in the Eternal City.‡ But amidst all his riches he retained a

Court, inasmuch as the proceedings were then carried on in Latin, a custom which continued until the year 1480; see Voigt, Stimmen, 154.

* See E. Schelle, Die Päpstliche Sängerschule in Rom genannt die Sixtinische Kapelle (Wien, 1872), 214, 258. Ambros, ii, 455. Müntz, La Renaissance, 471. *Cf.* the valuable work of F. X. Haberl, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte. I. Wilhelm du Fay (Leipzig, 1885), especially p. 55. The erudite author gives a list of very interesting notices of the Papal Singers from 1389 to 1442.

† See Catalanus, De Magistro s. palatii, 83 *et seq.* With regard to the great importance of the position, see Phillips, v., 545.

‡ Voigt, Stimmen, 78. For a further account of Dwerg, see Evelt's Essay: Gelehrte Westfalen am Päpstl. Hofe in der erstenhälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrh. Zeitschrift für Wesphälische Geschichte, third series, i., 284, 298, and the Articles in the Histor. polit. Bl. and in the Pick' schen Monatschrift cited *infra*, p. 244, note*

spirit of evangelical poverty and was a most devout priest. His will, which is still preserved in his native town of Herford, bears witness to his piety, his pure love of God and of the Church, and his generous unselfishness. It also shows that all the splendour of his position beyond the Alps never alienated his heart from his German home. Beginning with a prayer, he desired that his funeral should be simple, and that no monument should mark his resting-place; then he disposes of his property principally for the benefit of his native town and of the University of Cologne, in which he founds two scholarships, leaving a house in Herford and the sum of 10,000 florins to defray the expense. Another house which he possessed in Herford he appoints to be an asylum for the poor. He bequeaths 400 Rhenish dollars to each of the principal churches of his native town, as an endowment for a mass to be said in each, and "to that of Saints John and Denis, in which," he says, "the bodies of my parents repose, 200 more." Two hundred dollars are to be employed in the completion of the tower of this church. His books are left to the church at Pusinna. His truly Catholic will concludes with these words, "Whatever is left over of my goods and possessions, my executors are to distribute secretly amongst the poor, remembering the account they will have to render to God."*

* H. Dwerg aus Westfalen (Histor. polit. Bl.), 1850, xxv., 803-807. See Evelt, Rheinländer und Westfalen in Rom., 421 *et seq.*; Reber, 365, and Bianco, Die Universität und das Gymnasium zu Köln (Köln 1850), ii., 148 *et seq.* Dwerg also gave to the Church of Sta. Maria dell. Anima a vineyard, etc.; see Liber benef., 219. Conrad von Soest was honoured by the special confidence of Martin V., and summoned to Rome. See Zeitschr. für Westfäl. Gesch., third series, i., 257 and 287 *et seq.*, for some account of the Westphalian Johannes von Marsberg, who had great influence with Eugenius IV. Meinardus, in the Archives N.F. x., 40 *et seq.*, speaks of Albert Kock and Joh. Rode of Bremen, both of whom

The Germans were greatly favoured by Nicholas V. as well as by Martin V. Nicholas V. indeed deemed it impossible to do without them, and in 1451, when the plague had carried off almost all the German Abbreviators, he desired the Envoy of the Teutonic Order to bring before him the names of a number of his countrymen,* whose virtues and abilities might fit them to fill the vacant posts.

The number of German tradesmen, artizans, and craftsmen, settled in Rome in the fifteenth century, strikes us as even more surprising than that of the officials employed in the Court. In the nineteenth century thousands of Germans yearly leave their homes for America; at that period, Italy, with its great and wealthy cities and, above all, Rome, exercised a similar attraction. We find Germans occupying all manner of positions in Rome; they were merchants, innkeepers, money changers, weavers, gold and silver-smiths, book copiers and illuminators, blacksmiths, bakers, millers, shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, furriers, and barbers.† While German prelates occupied the highest positions at the Roman Court, German bankers and merchants, especially those from Bavaria and the Netherlands, became prominent in the commercial life of the city. The earliest printers in Rome were Germans.‡

filled distinguished positions in the Papal administration. Respecting Germans in Rome consult also Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed., 331., and Dacheux, Geiler de Kayserberg (Paris, 1876), p. 113.

* Voigt, Stimmen, 81.

† According to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in 1446 almost all the innkeepers in Rome were Germans. See Muratori, iii., 2, 880. Some idea of the number of inns may be formed from the fact that in the time of Eugenius IV., in the Borgo alone, there were sixty inns and taverns. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 677.

‡ Kerschbaumer, 66. A. de Waal, Priestercollegium, 2. Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, xvi., 75 *et seq.* Evelt, Rheinländer und Westfalen in Rom., 417 *et seq.*, 425. A future volume of this

That the German colony during the fifteenth century was extremely numerous and important is evidenced by the fact that the shoemakers of that nation formed a special guild, whose statutes were confirmed by Eugenius IV. in 1439, and that even its journeymen bakers had a guild of their own. The Statute Book of the shoemakers, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, is still preserved. The ancient list of members up to the end of that century contains, according to Monsignor de Waal, one thousand one hundred and twenty names, to which, by the year 1531, one thousand two hundred and ninety more were added, so that within a century, more than two thousand four hundred shoemakers had entered the brotherhood. They had their special guildhall, with a chapel dedicated to Saints Crispin and Crispinianus, and to this day the stonework over the door bears the inscription "House of the true German Shoemakers."* There were many more German than Italian master bakers settled in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They formed a joint guild, presided over by two Consuls, one of whom was German, and the other Italian. The journeymen, or "Peckenknechte," had also their confraternity with its special chapel in the Church of the Anima, and a chaplain of its own. In the

work will speak of the German printers. Meanwhile, see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 513 *et seq*,, and Janssen, i., 11. A German "architector," Wilhelm Queckels, is mentioned by Müntz (i., 31), who also gives a notice of a German painter who worked for Nicholas V. See Vol. ii., Book I., Chapter V., of the present work.

* A. de Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 13. The *Statute Book of the shoemakers, which is beautifully written on parchment, names "Hansfoltz von heilpronnen, Marx von chommyn, Küntze mülfranke von der nüoven stad, Henrich grümholzeln von wilheym," as the founders, "anfengener" of the brotherhood. It is in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

year 1425 an agreement was drawn up between masters and journeymen, in regard to work and wages. At a later period they combined to found a "School," or guildhall, near the little Church of St. Elizabeth, where they henceforth assembled for the worship of God, and for consultation on matters affecting their common interests; they also erected a hospital there.*

The Germans who sojourned for a while in Rome were far more numerous than those who actually made their home there. An historian, who has the merit of being the first to investigate the subject thoroughly, says that "No nation has in all times kept up such an intercourse with Rome as the German; no other has in peace and in war exercised such influence on the fate of the city and of the Papacy; an influence sometimes evil, but more often salutary and happy; no other has enjoyed so large a share of the paternal care and affection of the successors of St. Peter."† Countless German pilgrims have left no trace behind them in Rome, but the authenticated number of those who visited the city of the seven hills in the fourteenth and fifteenth century is very considerable. In the Confraternity books of the Anima and of the Hospital of Sto. Spirito there are long lists of German names, some of them belonging to the highest ranks of society, and similarly, in the ancient Martyrology of St. Peter's, among the benefactors for whom anniversary services are to be held on appointed days, Germans are mentioned on almost every page, and also Bavarians and many Hungarians.‡

* A. de Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 13.

† A. de Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 1.

‡ A. de Waal, Priestercollegium, 2-3. Dudik, i., 79 *et seq.* Regarding the Martyrologium benefactorum, etc., see *supra*, p. 215, and Dudik, *loc. cit.*, 78 *et seq.* Monsignor de Waal, who has kindly allowed me access to his extracts, is about to bring out a history of

Considering the difficulties of the journey, the number of pilgrims who went to Rome in the fifteenth century is surprising. Many made the pilgrimage of their own free will, but in many cases it was imposed as a penance, or undertaken as such. Others, again, who had been at the Italian Universities and had there become acquainted with Romans of high position, afterwards followed them to the capital of Christendom. Then, if we also take into account Papal confirmations, nominations, dispensations, appeals, reserved cases, and absolutions, we may form some idea of the immense number of persons whom business attracted to Rome.* Flavio Biondo, the Humanist, estimates the ordinary number of pilgrims to Rome during Lent or Eastertide at forty to fifty thousand, and at the time of a Jubilee they were much more numerous.†

The immense intercourse of other nations with Rome was the origin of the many national foundations in the Eternal City for the reception and care of weary and sick pilgrims.‡ The Popes bestowed many privileges and favours upon all these institutions. In Rome, the common home of all Christians, everyone was to feel welcome, and to find among his own fellow countrymen provision for all his temporal and spiritual necessities.

the Campo Santo al Vaticano, which will throw great light on these subjects.

* Kerschbaumer, 3-4. See also Evelt, Rheinländer, 432.

† Blondus, Rom. Inst., iii., at the end. Gregorovius (vii., 3, 3rd Ed., 618) hardly credits this number. According to Kerschbaumer's estimate (20), the Anima yearly received from three to five thousand pilgrims; the exact date unfortunately is not given. Regarding the Jubilees, see *supra*, p. 35, and Chapter III. of the First Book of Vol. ii.

‡ All the national foundations in Rome considered it their duty also to assist according to their abilities their poor fellow countrymen who were settled there. See de Waal, Böhm. Pilgerhaus, 55.

A survey of these various foundations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows the German nation again in the foremost place. The still flourishing Institutions of the Anima and the Campo Santo date from the fourteenth century.

The origin of the Pilgrim's Hostelry of Our Lady at the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity. Most probably it is the continuation of the ancient school of the Franks, which was founded by Charles the Great and Pope Leo III., on the southern side of St. Peter's, and whose church and buildings had gradually passed into the possession of its Chapter. Notwithstanding the change of ownership, which must have taken place during the Avignon period, the Canons of St. Peter's by no means denied the historical claim of the German nation to their ancient foundation, and made no difficulties when some Germans undertook the erection of a new hospice and church within the domain of the School of the Franks, but nearer the Basilica. They seem, indeed, to have made over to them the remains of some former buildings. The hospice was placed under the patronage of Our Lady. The end of the choir of its little church is still standing. More exact details regarding this hospice are not as yet forthcoming; the only information we possess is derived from a brief of Pope Calixtus III., in the year 1455, which says that Germans had founded it a long time before, in their solicitude for their fellow countrymen.* Its origin has been assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and even to the Jublilee year of 1300, but this is uncertain. There is no doubt, however, regarding the founda-

* A. de Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 6. The latter development of the hospice of the Campo Santo will be spoken of under the reign of Nicholas V. The *Brief of Calixtus III., dated Rome, 1455, iv., Non. Sept. (= Sep. 2), A° primo, is in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

tion of a second German hospital in the interior of the City, in the Jubilee year, 1350.* The Church of Sta Maria dell' Anima† is familiar to all German visitors to Rome. Johann Peters, of Dortrecht, and the celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim were its real founders. The former, whose long residence in Rome in the service of Pope Boniface IX. had given him every opportunity of knowing the needy and forlorn position of pilgrims, in the year 1386 made a vow that he would found a hospice for the Germans. To this object he devoted three houses which he possessed in the Rione Parione; the middle one was to be a chapel, and the other two for the separate lodging of men and women. The hospice owes its organization and the Papal approbation of the Brotherhood connected with it to Dietrich von Nieheim. He himself drew up its first statutes, and besides bestowing on it during his lifetime many gifts, left to it in his will seven houses, a vineyard, and other property.‡

* See Liber benefact, ii., 16.

† This foundation was placed under the Patronage of Our Lady, Advocate of the Poor Souls in Purgatory, and was called B. Mariæ animarum. Later on the title was shortened into "de anima" (Italice dell' anima), hence its common name of "Anima." Kerschbaumer, ii. The idea underlying the name is visibly expressed in the coat of arms adopted by the hospice in 1569. On the breast of the imperial eagle the Blessed Virgin sits between two naked figures, who represent the Souls in Purgatory and turn supplicatingly to her. The two-headed eagle, which spreads its wings about the Madonna, symbolizes the protection extended by the Emperor to the German National Hospice. A reproduction of the seal adorns the cover of Kerschbaumer's book.

‡ See Kerschbaumer, 7-8, 10 (Bull of Boniface IX., dated 1399, Nov. 9); Sauerland, 34 *et seq.*, 51, 58; Liber benefact., 218, 263; de Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 8 *et seq.*, and H. Houben's treatise, which I shall presently cite. The will of Dietrich von Nieheim is published by Sauerland (70-72). When Kerschbaumer wrote his excellent work, the valuable records collected by A. Flix,

Pope Boniface IX. had granted an Indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines to all who should contribute to this benevolent work. The conditions were thus furnished for the erection of a Brotherhood, according to the common practice of the Middle Ages when a work of great general utility, especially if it had also a religious character, was to be accomplished. By the erection of the Confraternity which took place either at this time, or it may be previously, the supporters of the Anima entered into a bond of spiritual union, those who enjoyed the benefits of the hospice being bound to pray, or, if priests, to say Mass for its Founders and Benefactors. The Book of this Confraternity, a small folio of 291 pages, written on parchment, and bound in red leather, with a clasp, is still preserved in the Archives of the Anima. It begins in the year 1463 with names taken from older lists, and is continued until 1653. The number of members inscribed exceeds three thousand, more than a third part of whom were ecclesiastics, and about half belong to the fifteenth century.*

The German Hospice of the Anima enjoyed the peculiar favour of Popes Innocent VII. and Gregory XII.; they

in great measure from the Archives of the Anima, were not accessible; by the kindness of Dr. C. Jänig, the present Rector, I was permitted in 1876 to examine these papers, which are now preserved at the Anima, and I intend some day to publish some documents on the subject, which may serve to supplement the information given by Houben in his "Studie über Th. v. Nieheim" (Katholik, 1880, i., 57 *et seq.*).

* See Kerschbaumer, 59 *et seq.*; Dudik, Iter, i., 73-76; Evelt, Rheinländer, 415 *et seq.*, 427 *et seq.*, and Kellner in the Histor.-polit. Bl. lxxvii., 211 *et seq.* The Confraternity book was discovered in 1851, and printed in 1875 at the Propaganda, at the expense of the Anima. Liber confraternitatis B. Mariæ de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe (Romæ, 1875).

confirmed its foundation, placed it under the protection of the Papal Vicar, and granted to it the parochial right of free burial and a special cemetery. On account of its increasing importance, its church was, during the reigns of Martin V. and Eugenius IV., enlarged by the addition of the two houses which had hitherto served for the male and female pilgrims, and thus two aisles were added to the nave. It is evident that by this time further space must have been acquired so as to allow of this extension of the church, without prejudice to the accommodation for pilgrims; its property continued to increase, for in the year 1484 it owned twenty-two houses.*

Other German foundations were also made in the fifteenth century. By a deed dated August 2nd, 1410, Nicolaus Herici, priest of the Diocese of Kulm and Chaplain of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna, gave two houses in the Rione Regola for the use of poor Germans. This hospice at first bore the name of St. Nicholas, and afterwards that of St. Andrew. In 1431 its administration was united with that of the Anima. In the middle of the century a Convent of German nuns of the Order of S. Francis was also founded in Rome, and rapidly became very flourishing. We must not close the list of German foundations without mention of the hospital near the Church of San. Giuliano de' Fiaminghi,† destined for the

* Kerschbaumer, 12 *et seq.* 22. Sauerland, 36 *et seq.* De Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 9. H. Houben, *loc. cit.*, 59 *et seq.* By a * Bull, dated 1444, Dec. 8, (there is a Copy in the Archives of the Anima) Eugenius IV. granted the right of administering the Holy Sacraments. In a future volume of this work we shall speak of the erection of the present church, and of the favour shown to the Institution by Julius II. and Leo. X.

† Further details are given by De Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 12, 14, and Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 518 *et seq.*

benefit of Flemings and Walloons, and dating from the days of the Crusades.

The other nations of Christendom also possessed charitable institutions for their own pilgrims in the Eternal City. The little Church of St. Bridget, on the Piazza Farnese, preserves the memory of the House for Swedish Students and Pilgrims which the Saint established (†1373). The Bohemian Pilgrims' House, with St. Wenceslaus for its Patron, is about equally ancient, and it seems probable that Charles IV., when in Rome for his coronation, first conceived the idea of its foundation; an old tradition indeed says that the hospice originally occupied the very house where, disguised as a pilgrim, he spent the last days of the Holy Week in 1355.* The Document, however, which records its actual opening, bears date March, 1378, and informs us that in the year 1368, during his second sojourn in Rome, Charles IV. had bought a spacious house, not far from the Campo di Fiore,† and devoted it to the reception of all poor, needy, and sick pilgrims from Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Silesia.‡ The Papal Confirmation was not given till the 1st August, 1379,§ the delay being probably due to the troubled state of the times, which, together with the disturbances in Bohemia,

* A. Belli, Delle case abitate in Roma da parecchi uomini illustri (Roma, 1850), 63. De Waal, Böhm. Pilgerhaus, 20. The Coronation of Charles IV. as Emperor took place on Easter Day in the year 1355. An original document concerning this hospice, dated 1439, is to be found in Frind, 461-462.

† Now Via de' Banchi Vecchi, 132.

‡ De Waal, Böhm. Pilgerhaus, 25 *et seq.*, 28 *et seq.* (p. 33, 1371 is a misprint for 1378).

§ De Waal, *loc. cit.*, 36 *et seq.*, 38 *et seq.* Martin V. confirmed the disposition of his predecessor; see Pangerl, Zur Geschichte des Böhm. Hospitals in Rom., in the Mittheilungen für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen (1874), xii., 207.

brought about the ruin of this house. From an inscription which still exists, we learn that its restoration was undertaken by Heinrich Roraw in 1457.*

The celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim built a house for poor priests from Ireland, and a national hospice for English pilgrims was founded in 1398, in the Via de Sta. Maria di Monserrato. This was changed into a college † for the education of priests of that nation by Gregory XIII., as but few pilgrims came to Rome from England in his time. A noble Portuguese lady, Juana Guismar, who came to visit the holy places in Rome about the year 1417, established an institution for female pilgrims of her own nation. Twenty years later this hospice was enlarged by Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chiaves, of Lisbon, and a church was built adjoining it under the title of St. Antonio de' Portoghesi. The restoration of the Hungarian Pilgrims' House from a state of complete ruin had already been undertaken in the time of Martin V.‡ In the Jubilee year of 1450, Alfonso Paradinas, Bishop of Rodrigo, erected a Spanish Hospital, which, with its Church, was dedicated to St. James the Apostle and St. Ildephonsus (San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli). In the neighbourhood of Chiesa Nuova was a hospital for pilgrims and sick persons from the Kingdom of Aragon, to which at this period Sicily belonged; it had been founded in 1330 by two pious ladies from Barcelona, § and was subsequently united with the Hospital of San

* A facsimile of this inscription, which has hitherto been given incorrectly (even by Reumont, ii., 1211), is to be found in de Waal, *loc cit.*, 71.

† Beschreibung von Rom., iii., 3, 428. Regarding the house built by Nieheim, see Sauerland, 51.

‡ Bull. Vatic., ii., 81. Müntz, i., 2 *et seq.*

§ See Beschreibung von Rom., iii., 3, 302 and 380. After the union of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, the well-known Spanish Church of Sta. Maria di Monserrato (with the hospital) was built.

Giacomo. The little Church of San Pantaleone, near the Tiber, whose site is now occupied by the magnificent Church of St. John* (San Giovanni de' Fiorentini), was bestowed by the Chapter of San Celso on the Brotherhood of the "Pietà della nazione Fiorentina," a confraternity which had its origin during the terrible outbreak of the plague in 1448.

The generosity of Nicholas V. provided for the erection of a church and hospital for the Dalmatians and Illyrians in 1453; this foundation (San Girolamo degli Schiavoni) was enlarged in the time of Sixtus IV. and is still extant. At the prayer of Cardinal Alain, Calixtus III., in the year 1456, assigned a Church, Sant. Ivone de' Brettoni, to the Bretons, and a hospital for the sick and for pilgrims of that nation was afterwards built near it (1511). It may here be observed that a number of new foundations, similar to these which we have mentioned, came into being in the time of Sixtus IV. Churches, attached to national hospices, were, during his Pontificate, granted to the Lombards, Genoese, French, and others.† "There is," says one acquainted with the Eternal City, "something beautiful in these National Churches. Far from his fatherland, the wanderer, in meeting with so many familiar names, feels that he is at home. In San Giovanni de' Fiorentini we are entirely surrounded by Florentines, in San Carlo al Corso

* Reumont, iii., 1, 437. Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 432 and 410.

† See Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 267, 268, 269, 371. Reumont, iii., 1, 437 *et seq.* The deed of foundation of the Illyrian Hospital, dated 1453, is given by Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 523. The Venetians had San Marco, which Cardinal Barbo built; the Lucchesi, Sta Croce e Bonaventura; the Genoese and Bergamaschi, San Bartolomeo. Hospitals were attached to almost all of these churches. Before the "Reformation" there was a Scottish hospice in Rome, not far from the Church of Sant. Andrea delle Fratte. Bellesheim, ii., 221.

by Lombards, in San Marco by Venetians, and in Santa Maria dell' Anima by Germans, and the subjects of the Low Countries. This peculiarity forms no small part of the charm of Rome."*

The Humanists who, during the time of the Schism, had made their way into the Papal Court, formed a distinct, and in many ways incongruous, element in a body composed of ecclesiastics.

Personally, Pope Martin V. kept completely aloof from the movement. In order to understand the position which the representatives of the literary Renaissance nevertheless attained at his Court, we must remember that the Council of Constance had given an immense impulse to Humanism. The world had never before beheld an assembly at once so numerous and intellectually so brilliant, and this latter fact gave it a weight far beyond that derived merely from numbers. The opportunities of intercourse between learned and cultivated men, afforded by these Councils, exercised an important influence on general civilization, and especially on the Renaissance in literature.† "The Council of Constance," as the Historian of Humanism observes, "inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the search throughout Europe for Manuscripts, while the impetus given to the interchange of thoughts between different nations by the two great Synods of Constance and Basle cannot be exaggerated. The dawn of Humanism, north of the Alps, dates from this period."‡

* Neue Römische Briefe von einem Florentiner, i., 128. At that period, and even later, Rome was not a merely Italian, but in some sense a cosmopolitan, City, in which all peoples met in the communion of the One Church, and preserved their national peculiarities under the protection of the Pope.

† See Leo, Gesch. des Mittelalters (Halle, 1830), ii., 706.

‡ Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 236-237; ii., 2nd ed., 246.

Among the Papal Secretaries present at the Council of Constance were many Humanists. The most remarkable of them were the learned Greek, Manuel Chrysoloras, who, however, died (15 April, 1415) soon after his arrival; the well-known Lionardo Bruni, who also was but a short time at the Council, and Poggio. Among the non-official Humanists who came to Constance, we may mention the Poet Benedetto da Piglio, Agapito Cenci, and the jurists, Pier Paolo Vergerio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano. With the assistance of the two latter, Poggio, much wearied by the endless theological discussions, began to search the libraries of Reichenau, Weingarten, St. Gall, and other monasteries in the neighbourhood, for manuscript copies of the Latin classics. It is to the honour of Germany that these precious memorials of antiquity were preserved in some of her cloisters.* The recommendations with which, as Papal Secretary, Poggio was furnished, enabled him to gain access to the most jealously-guarded collections, and to bring to light a number of classical masterpieces.† The delight occasioned among his fellow-countrymen by these discoveries cannot be described, and the self-esteem in which the Humanists had never been deficient, was notably increased. This was manifested on the occasion of the Enthronement of Martin V., when they claimed precedence for the Secretaries over the Consistorial Advocates, and were, it appears, successful.‡

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 506.

† See Voigt, Wiederbel., i., 2nd ed., 237 *et seq.*, and Bursian, 91 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 2nd ed., 25. At the Council of Basle, where Humanism certainly played a more important part than it had done at Constance (see Bursian, 93), the Protonotaries wished to take precedence even of the Bishops! This was not accorded to them, but the question was not finally settled till the Congress at

Evidently this action of the Humanistic Secretaries displeased the Pope, and it may have been one of the reasons why he never, in any way, favoured them. He certainly saw that they were necessary to him, and employed many of them in his service, which Poggio entered in the year 1423. The critical state of affairs at the opening of Martin's Pontificate had induced this remarkable man to seek his fortunes in England. His hopes were sadly disappointed, and, turning his back on the "land of Barbarians," he again repaired to Rome. Within a short time after his arrival there, he was able to inform his friends that he had found little difficulty in obtaining the position of Papal Secretary.* It is hard to understand how Martin V., who was so exceedingly strict in regard to the moral conduct of his dependents, could admit a man of Poggio's character into his service. For the new Papal Secretary was what he had ever been. He himself tells us how, when the dull day's work at the Chancery was over, he and his friends amused themselves by telling disedifying stories. They called their meeting-place "the forge of lies," and we may form a fair estimate of Poggio from the fact that, at the age of fifty-eight, he published a selection of these anecdotes. The frivolous, absolutely heathen spirit of this partisan of the false Renaissance is but too plainly manifested in this work. With the exception of a few jests which are harmless, it is entirely made up of coarse innuendoes and scandalous and blasphemous stories. All ecclesiastical things and persons are turned into ridicule; priests, monks, abbots, hermits, bishops, and cardinals appear in motley procession, and Poggio has a tale to tell

Mantua. Further details on this matter will be given in a future volume of this work.

* Poggii Epist. ed., Tonelli., i., 87.

of each. Naturally, the monks come off worst. Jokes and ribaldry of this description formed the evening amusement of the men whose pens were employed in the composition of the Papal Bulls and Briefs.* When Valla produced his "Dialogue on Pleasure" in this circle, he knew his audience. These doings were carefully concealed from the Pope, whose name was by no means † respected in their conversations. The reproach, however, remains, that such men were his servants and were retained in his employment. The improvement in the Latinity of the Papal documents was too dearly purchased at the cost of such scandal.

At the time of the re-organization of the Court, and even before Poggio had entered his service, Martin V. had nominated Antonio Loschi, Secretary. The selection of this man, who was repeatedly sent on embassies, was disastrous, for he, too, belonged to the false Renaissance.‡

The versatility of the Humanists made their position at Court more and more secure. They were of use on every occasion; in the composition of Bulls and Briefs as well as in that of purely political documents, at the receptions of Princes and Ambassadors, and when appropriate discourses were required, either for festival or funeral. It was thought well to treat men who rendered such varied services with extreme consideration.§

* Voigt, *loc cit.*, ii., 15; see 416 *et seq.* Regarding the Facetiæ, see also Landau, Novellen, 68, and Villari, i., 98 *et seq.*

† Poggius in conclusione Libri Facetiarum. Opp. 491.

‡ See, besides, Schio's Monograph cited above, *supra*, p. 171, note*. Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 2nd ed., 19, 21, and Ottenthal, 75.

§ See Schnaase, viii., 534, and Müntz, La Renaissance, 82. Voigt, *loc. cit.*, i., 2nd ed., 256 *et seq.*, tells us that Poggio obtained from the cloister of Hersfeld a newly-discovered MS. of Tacitus, by promising, in return, to bring to a happy conclusion an interminable lawsuit in which it was engaged at Rome.

By nominating a number of distinguished men to the Sacred College, and by effacing the last traces of the Schism, Martin V. conferred great benefits on Christendom. These two subjects demand a more detailed investigation.

The number of the Cardinals had greatly increased during the time of the Schism, for each one of the opposing Popes had formed a College of his own, and Popes and Anti-Popes alike had endeavoured to strengthen their positions by a liberal use of the hat. Urban VI., created sixty-three Cardinals, the Anti-Pope Clement VII., thirty-eight. The three successors of Urban VI. appointed thirty-three; Benedict XIII., twenty-three; Alexander V. and John XXIII., forty-four.* Of all these there were but twenty-eight living at the time of the election of Martin V. This number, however, was in the opinion of the majority of the assembly at Constance, excessive; and with the view of increasing the power of the Sacred College so as to counterbalance that of the Pope, the Synod decided that for the future it should consist of twenty-four members. This measure was a decided attack on Papal rights, and was all the less justified, inasmuch as naturally the Cardinals, who had survived the stormy period of the Schism while the holder of the Papacy had been changed, had, unlike the Pope, become more powerful than ever. The regulations of the Council regarding the qualifications of Cardinals and the representation of the different nations in the highest senate of Christendom, were, however, beneficial.†

Martin V., on whom devolved the difficult task of doing justice to the Cardinals of both obediences, and who also received into the Sacred College five former adherents of

* Phillips, vi., 223.

† Reformacte Martins V., art. 1; see Hübler 128; Hinschius i., 337.

Benedict XIII., was so moderate in making appointments that at the time of his death there were but nineteen Cardinals. Although fully resolved to do away with their undue ascendancy, he from the first proceeded in this matter, as in all others, with the greatest prudence. Almost six years elapsed before any creation took place (July 23rd, 1423), and the names of the two then chosen for the dignity, Domingo Ram and Domenico Capranica, were only made known in a secret Consistory to the Cardinals: the publication was reserved till a later period, and accordingly in the open Consistory no mention was made of the creation.* Three years later, on the 24th May, 1426, Martin V. for the second time created Cardinals. On this occasion the nomination of Ram and Capranica was confirmed, and Prospero Colonna and Giuliano Cesarini were created. The Consistorial decree concerning this secret nomination is extant,† and is signed by all the Cardinals; it expressly provides that in case the Pope should die before the publication of these four Cardinals, this is to be considered as equivalent to publication, and they are to be admitted to take part in the election of his successor. The Pope personally informed Capranica of his nomination, but strictly forbade him in any way to let his elevation be known. In order, however, to set him completely at ease on the subject, he admitted him to the ceremony of kissing the feet, followed by the customary embrace from the older Cardinals.‡ Of the ten new Cardinals actually published

* These two Cardinals were creati, sed non publicati. Phillips (vi., 273) and Hinschins (i., 341) are mistaken in considering this act of nomination as identical with the reservation in petto, for in the latter case the names of those selected were kept absolutely secret. See Moroni, ix., 303 *et seq.*, and the learned treatise of Catalanus (265 *et seq.*) : De cardinalibus creatis nec promulgatis.

† Catalanus, 167-168.

‡ Catalanus, 12, 194.

on the 24th May, 1426, three were French (Jean de la Rochetaillée,* Louis Allemand, and Raymond Mairose, Bishop of Castres), and three Italian (Antonio Cassini, Ardicino della Porta, and Niccolo Albergati). The others were an Englishman (Henry Beaufort), a German (Johann von Bucca, Bishop of Olmütz), a Spaniard (Juan Cervantes), and a Greek (Hugo of Cyprus).†

Even before his creation of Cardinals in 1426, Martin V. had published admirable regulations for the reform of the Sacred College, which at that time was composed of Prelates who had belonged to three different obediences. In order that their light may again shine before the world, and that they may be fit for the management of the affairs of the Church, this Constitution exhorts the Cardinals to be distinguished above all other men by moral purity; to live simple, upright, holy lives, avoiding not only evil, but even the appearance of evil; to walk humbly, and not to be haughty in their bearing towards other Prelates or priests. They are to govern their households with due care, and to see that their retainers are chaste and honourable in their conduct. They are not to seek after Court favour, or the patronage of Princes, but, undistracted by

* This Prince of the Church was especially distinguished by his legal knowledge, and had great influence with Martin V. See Voigt., Stimmen, 122, and Reumont in Janitschek's Repertor. viii., 158.

† See Ciaconius, ii., 841 *et seq.*; Cardella, 37 *et seq.*; Eggs, 33 *et seq.*; Suppl., 172 *et seq.*; Frizon, 474 *et seq* Regarding H. Beaufort, see Folkestone-Williams, Lives of the English Cardinals (London, 1868), ii., 70-110. The 23rd of June has been often given as the day of creation, but this date is wrong, for the one we have mentioned in the text, with the further fact that the publication was on the 25th and the assignment of the titles on the 27th of May, is to be found in the *Acta consistorialia in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

worldly interests, to consecrate themselves with their whole souls to the service of God.*

That such admonitions should be needed implied the existence of deplorable abuses in the highest Senate of the Church. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? The Schism had disorganized the Sacred College, and produced a baneful spirit of independence. Martin V.'s projected restoration of the Papal power naturally involved a change in this state of things, but, if we are to rely on the account given by an Envoy of the Teutonic Order, it would seem that the Pope went too far in his endeavours to repress the autonomy of the Cardinals. In a letter written in 1429, this Envoy gives the following particulars regarding his audience of the Pope:—"When the Lord Bishop of Courland presented me to the Pope and to the Cardinals, they received me kindly and gave me good words; but little or nothing followed, for when the opponents of the Order came to them, they give them the same. Five Cardinals—de Ursinis, Arelatensis, de Comitibus, who was Protector of the Order and is now Legate at Bologna, Rhotomagensis, and Novariensis—are well inclined towards it and towards myself personally. But they dare not speak before the Pope, save what he likes to hear, for the Pope has so crushed all the Cardinals that they say nothing in his presence except as he desires, and they turn red and pale when they speak in his hearing."† This treatment was resented by the Cardinals, and its evil consequences became manifest immediately after the death of Martin V.

* See Döllinger, Beiträge, ii., 334 *et seq.*

† Voigt, Stimmen, 73-74, and Ænea Silvio, iii., 520, note 1. The names of these Cardinals were Orsini, Louis Allemand, Archbishop of Arles, Lucio Conti, Jean de la Rochetaillée, Archbishop of Rouen, Ardicino della Porta, Bishop of Novara.

Early in November, 1430, Martin's last creation of Cardinals took place. A Spaniard (Juan Casanova) and a Frenchman (Guillame de Montfort) were nominated, and Ram, Prospero Colonna, Cesarini, and Capranica were published. The titular Churches of the last four were San. Giovanni e Paolo, San. Giorgio in Velabro, St. Angelo in Pescaria, and Sta. Maria in Via Lata.* As it was the custom to send the red hat only to Cardinals occupying important legations, Capranica, who was at this time Legate in Perugia, did not receive it. Authentic evidence regarding these proceedings is preserved; nevertheless, more recent historians have involved them in the greatest perplexity.† To this circumstance was due the difficulty experienced by Capranica in inducing Eugenius IV., after the death of Martin V., to recognize his position as Cardinal. This Pope, influenced by his enemies and falsely advised, denied him his dignity, and he was forced to repair in haste to the Council of Basle to assert his rights.‡

The action of Eugenius was unjust,§ and all the more

* Ciaconius, ii., 864 *et seq.* Frizon, 482 *et seq.*

† See Catalanus, 20 *et seq.* The authentic testimonies here adduced are—(*a*) Martinus V., "Dil. fil. Dominico S.M. in Via lata diacono cardin." (jubet Capranicam esse administratorem ecclesiæ Firmanæ), 169-270. (*b*) Congratulatory letters from Cardinals Albergati, Colonna, and Cesarini, dated Rome, 1430, November 11th, 19th, and 31st, to Cardinal Capranica, 172-175. (*c*) Testimony of Cardinals Branda, Carillius, and Cesarini, 193-197.

‡ See Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 20-21, and the extremely rare monograph of Catalanus, 28 *et seq.* Voigt had not access to this, of which, as far as I know, there are but two copies in Rome.

§ The Constitution "In eminenti," issued by Eugenius IV. in his dispute with Capranica, and deciding that the name and dignity of Cardinal are acquired when the Insignia are conferred, and that

unfortunate, inasmuch as notwithstanding his youth, Capranica was one in every respect worthy to be a member of the Sacred College. All his contemporaries are unanimous in their praise of this noble Roman, who combined deep piety with great learning.* In the course of this history we shall often have to refer to his valuable services. He died at the very moment when his elevation to the Papacy was a certainty. Had Martin V. created no Cardinal but Capranica, the highest praise would still be due to him, but all the others whom he raised to the purple were worthy of the dignity. "Martin V.," says a writer who is generally little ready to speak in favour of a Pope, "has the real merit of having placed in the Sacred College men whose virtue or culture soon won high esteem in the Church."†

Among the Cardinals appointed by Martin V., Giuliano Cesarini undoubtedly stands next to Capranica in regard to talent and capacity. Cesarini (born 1389, †1444), like many a great man, raised himself from poverty by his own industry. His biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, tells us that, when a student at Perugia, he lived on alms and collected candle-ends in order to be able to study by night.

one who has been nominated cannot, before the ceremony of the opening of his lips, take part in the election of a Pope, was revoked by Pius V., and justly, for it is in contradiction to the origin and principle of the Cardinalate. See Phillips, vi., 272 *et seq.*, and especially Catalanus, 31 *et seq.*, 304-319.

* See Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 185 *et seq.*; Voigt, Stimmen, 89-90, and the *Oratio funebris prima die exequiarum domini card. Firmani, "edita per Nicolaum præsulem Ortanum," etc. (Cod. Vatic., 5815, Vatican Library), of which we shall afterwards have to speak.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 22. Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote of Martin V.: "I cardinali, che fece nel suo pontificato, tutti furono uomini singulari." Mai, Spicil, i., 221. See also St. Antoninus, Chronic., xx., 2, c. 7 § 3.

After taking his Doctor's degree, he became Professor of Canon Law at Padua; Capranica, only his junior by two years, and Nicholas of Cusa were amongst his pupils. Cardinal Branda, in whose house he lived, brought him to Rome, where he soon won the favour of Martin V. The Pope proved his high esteem by entrusting to him two tasks of exceptional difficulty: that of inducing the German Princes to undertake a Crusade against the Hussites, and that of presiding as Legate at the Council of Basle. "In Cesarini," to quote the biographer of Pius II., "were united all the natural gifts and all the talents which mark the born ruler. Admiration was his, although he sought it not. A lasting impression was made on everyone who approached him, and there was an irresistible charm in his intellectual and beautiful features. He was grave and dignified in the presence of Princes, affable and genial with men of low degree. In social intercourse, the Cardinal seemed to give place to the man, and in the discharge of the high duties of his office, the man of the world, to the Prelate. His zeal for the Faith and for the Church, and his courteous manners, his deep and solid learning and his humanistic culture, his impassioned eloquence and the easy flow of his conversation, seemed each in turn to be a part of his nature."* Vespasiano da Bisticci cannot say enough in praise of his piety and purity of life. From him we learn that the Cardinal always slept in a hair shirt, fasted every Friday on bread and water, spent part of every night with his chaplain in the church, and every morning went to confession and said Mass.†

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 50. See Abert, 89 *et seq.* Bezold (Husitenkriege, iii., 101 *et seq.*) counts Cesarini among the most illustrious ornaments of the later mediæval Church.

† Cesarini's chaplain was a German; see Mai, Spicil, i., 171-172. The German Secretary of another Cardinal is named in the Liber benef., 227.

Cesarini's generosity was boundless; he gave all he had for the love of God, and no one went away from him unheard. The remembrance of his own early hardships made him take a special interest in poor and gifted youths. He sent them at his expense to study at Perugia, Bologna, or Siena, and provided in the most ample manner for all their needs. As Cesarini would not accept any benefice besides his Bishopric of Grosseto, the exercise of such liberality would have been impossible but for the simplicity of his own mode of life. More than one dish never appeared on his table; the wine which he drank was but coloured water. His care for his household was most touching. On one occasion when all its members at once were taken ill, he went to see them all every morning and evening, to make sure that no one wanted for anything. Even the stable-boy was daily honoured by the Cardinal's visit. He was full of the most ardent zeal for all the interests of the Church, especially for reform, for the conversion of Jews and heretics, and for the union of the Greeks. Cardinal Branda used to say that if the whole Church were to become corrupt, Cesarini by himself would be able to reform it. "I have known a great many holy men," says the worthy Vespasiano da Bisticci, "but among them none who was like Cardinal Cesarini; for five hundred years the Church has not seen such a man!"*

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, G. Cesarini, in Mai, Spicil, i., 171. In connection with this sketch, which is evidently the work of a loving hand, see the writers cited by Ciaconius (ii., 861 *et seq.*) and Eggs (83 *et seq.*), to whom may be added Joh. Nider; see Weiss, Vor der Reform., 99. Regarding Cesarini's action at Basle, Reumont, iii., 1, 309, says: "Prudent and just men of later days have characterized his conduct in most critical moments, when he had to stand between Pope and Council, as independent and honourable. He had to guard against demands from both sides, whose dangers no one could better estimate, for he was well acquainted with Rome and Germany alike."

An essential feature in the description of Cesarini would be wanting if we omitted all mention of his relation to Humanism. Like Capranica,* he was a warm friend of classical studies. "To them," it has been said, "he owed those graces of mind and speech which so enhanced his physical advantages." Cicero, Lactantius, and St. Augustine were his models.† Cesarini was overwhelmed with business, and he was poor—even after he had been promoted to the purple. Vespasiano da Bisticci saw him sell duplicates from his library in order to give alms; consequently it was impossible for him to come forward as the generous patron of Humanism, but his interest in these studies was so great that even on his journeys as Legate he found time to search diligently for old manuscripts. This we learn from Cardinal Albergati, who shared his tastes.

Niccolò Albergati, though less cultivated than Cesarini, held constant intercourse with the partisans of the new studies, and did what he could to further them. Filelfo, Poggio, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and especially Tommaso Parentucelli, enjoyed his favour.‡ Albergati, who had entered the austere Carthusian Order and afterwards become Bishop of his native city, Bologna, was a model of all priestly and episcopal virtues. When created a Cardinal, in his humility he assumed no armorial bearings, but simply a cross, an example which was followed by his old companion, Parentucelli, on his elevation to the Papacy.§ The high dignity to which Albergati had been promoted did not interfere with his observance of his Rule. He slept upon

* In reference to Capranica's Humanistic studies, see the *funeral discourse, cited *supra*, p. 265, note*, Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 15, Vatican Library.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 216.

‡ See Ruggerius, xxxiv., and Nicholas V., chapter I. of Vol. ii.

§ See Frediani Niccolò V., 226, 287.

straw, never ate meat, wore a hair shirt, and rose at midnight to pray. "Entrusted with numerous and arduous Embassies, this Cardinal furnished an example of the combination of the greatest prudence in difficult matters of worldly policy with a perfect uprightness and integrity of character."*

Antonio Correr, Cardinal of Bologna, was also a man of great worth. To quote the words of Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Messer Antonio, of the House of Correr, a nobleman, and nephew of Pope Gregory XII., led a holy life, and, like Pope Eugenius, in his youth entered a religious Order in an island of Venice called San Giorgio in Alga. He was led to take this step by the boundless zeal for the Christian Faith and for his own salvation, which filled his soul. After he had spent many years in the Order, it came to pass that his uncle was elected Pope (1406) and determined to make him a Cardinal, although he would not leave his monastery for anything in the world. At last, being constrained by the Pope, he consented on one condition: this was that Messer Gabriel (Condulmaro), who afterwards became Pope Eugenius, should also receive the purple, and the Pope agreed that it should be so for his sake.† After both had

* Denina, Staatsveränderungen von Italien (translated by Volkmann [Leipzig, 1772], ii., 636). Albergati went as Ambassador three times to France (1422, 1431, and 1435), three times to Lombardy (1426, 1427, and 1430), and also three times to Basle (1432, 1434, and 1436); see Freib. Kirchenlexikon, i., 2nd ed., 408. Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 84) enumerates the older and more recent Biographies of Albergati; to which may be added: Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bol., i., 99-133, and Const. Ruggerius, Testimonia de b. Nic. Albergato (Romæ, 1744); the last work is important on account of the documents from the secret Archives of the Vatican which it contains.

† Vespasiano's description is at variance with contemporary accounts; see Raynaldus, ad an. 1408, n. 9 *et seq.*; L. Bruni epist., ii., 21; Niem, Nem, vi., 33; Mansi, xxvii., 95, 96.

become Cardinals, Messer Antonio and all who belonged to his household lived most virtuously and were a pattern to others. The Cardinal held, as benefices, two abbeys, one in Padua and the other in Verona. In both of these he introduced the Observance of the rule and gave a part of the revenues to the monks, reserving to himself only what was needed for his support. He also provided that, after his death, both should belong to the religious, free from all charges. He lived in piety and holiness to the age of eighty, and when Pope Eugenius returned from Florence to Rome, resolved to leave the Court and retire to his Abbey at Padua. After he had dwelt there for some time, he undertook to set his affairs in order. Year by year he had kept an account of the sums which he drew from his benefices. One day he summoned to his dwelling the Procurators of the two monasteries and caused all his property to be gathered together in a great hall; he had an inventory taken of his plate, books, household furniture, and even of his clothes, and every separate article valued. After this had been done he sent for his account books, in which the revenues received from his benefices were entered, and, by his command, a list of the objects before him, with their valuation, was written at the opposite side of the page. He then told one of the Procurators that he might take the books and half of the silver plate and of the other objects, as he had arranged them. He addressed the like request to the other Procurator, with the words: 'Take and carry away what belongs to you.' In this manner, before leaving the apartment, he disposed of all his goods, and kept nothing but a chalice, a vestment, and four silver vessels. After all this was finished, he said to the Fathers of the two monasteries: 'I have had various goods delivered to you whose value amounts to so much; so much have I drawn from the benefices bestowed upon

me. If I had more, I would give it to you; have patience with me and pray to God for me.' The monks were above measure astonished at the Cardinal's action, and thanked him most warmly. But he rose from his seat and said: 'Thanks be to God for that which He has ordered.' Lords and Prelates may learn from this Cardinal that it is better for a man himself to do what is to be done than to entrust it to his heirs. He lived four months after this distribution of his property. He paid his servants their wages every month and gave them clothing twice a year. He would not be a burden to anyone, and left bequests to his servants and for pious purposes as his conscience suggested. He ended his days like a Saint. I learned all this from his nephew, Messer Gregorio, who was present at the division of his property and deserves all credit. Such Prelates of God's Church are worthy of everlasting remembrance."*

"It was of inestimable importance to the Church to have again men of such piety, learning, and activity, employed in the Supreme Council of the Pope—men who were convinced that they were bound by their own example to quash the accusations made against the clergy, and to meet the ever-increasing pressure of the new intellectual culture, by themselves taking part in the restoration of classical literature and of the sciences."†

Besides those of whom we have spoken, Humanism had other patrons in the Sacred College. Honourable mention is due to Branda Castiglione, Cardinal of Piacenza, a man

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Card. Antonio de' Coreri, in Mai, Spicil., i., 158-161. See Reumont, Beiträge, iv., 314 *et seq.* The collection of MSS., which he had made at considerable cost, was presented by Cardinal Correr to the monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga; see M. Foscarini, Dei Veneziani raccoglitori di codici, in the Arch. Stor. Ital., v., 265.

† Reumont, *loc. cit.*, iv., 318.

noted for his simplicity, and to the nephew of Martin V., Cardinal Prospero Colonna. The latter possessed a library of some importance, and to him Poggio dedicated his table-talk regarding avarice, a sure sign that among men of letters he was not notorious for this vice.*

But the most zealous promoter of literature and art in the Rome of that day was the rich Cardinal Giordano Orsini. He had pictures of the Sibyls painted on the walls of his reception-room, with inscriptions containing their prophecies of Christ.† He spared no trouble or cost in forming a valuable collection of manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics. Amongst other treasures which it included were the Cosmography of Ptolemy, acquired by the Cardinal in France, and a precious Codex, with twelve hitherto unknown Comedies of Plautus, purchased from Nicholas of Treves, a German dealer in manuscripts. The Cardinal himself endeavoured to restore the corrupt text of these Comedies, and intended to publish them, with some verses composed by Antonio Loschi. Poggio, who on this account was denied access to the manuscript, revenged himself by describing the Cardinal as a selfish hoarder of treasures which he could not appreciate. Time,

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 29; see i., 2nd ed., 237, 261. In regard to Cardinal Branda, see also Keiblinger, i, 1120 *et seq.* Before the arrival of Martin V. in Rome, Branda had the Crucifixion and scenes from the life of St. Catherine painted by Masolino, the master of Masaccio, in a chapel at the left hand entrance of the nave of San Clemente; see Reumont in d. Jahrb. f. Kunstwissensch, iii., and Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 139 *et seq.* See also Müntz, La Renaiss., i., 33. Regarding the libraries founded by Branda in Pavia (1489) and Castiglione, see Magenta, i., 346-347; and for Pavia, see also F. Denifle, Universitäten, i., 814.

† See Epist. Poggii, lib. xi., ep. 41, ed. Tonelli, iii., 118. The Cardinal's Palace stood in the Via papale at the corner of Via di Monterone. See Adinolfi, Via papale, 90 *et seq.*

however, proved that the judgment of the irritable philologist was unfounded. Before his death (1438), Cardinal Orsini devoted his literary treasures to the general good, by making them over to the library of St. Peter's. There were in all 254 Codices, most of them extremely valuable.* Considering the unwearied labour and the large amount of money expended in the formation of this collection, the high praise bestowed on the Cardinal by Lapo da Castiglionchio, in the dedication of his translation of a Biography of Plutarch, is not unfounded. "In the irreparable loss," he says, "which we have suffered by the destruction of so many works of antiquity, my only comfort is that Providence has bestowed you upon our age. You are the first for many centuries, who has endeavoured to revive the Latin tongue and in great measure succeeded. In your declining years, you have undertaken most costly and dangerous journeys to far distant places, in order to find the buried treasures of antiquity. You alone have rescued many great men of former days from oblivion, and have brought to light not only unknown works of known authors, but also works by writers whose names we had never yet heard or read. By your exertions such a multitude of useful writings have been brought together as are enough to give occupation to the learned men of more than one city."†

* See Reumont, iii., 1, 306-307. In reference to Cardinal Orsini's Library, see Pistolesi, Il Vaticano, ii., 185 *et seq.* Mignanti, Istoria della Basilica Vatic., i., 104-105; Dudik, i., 82; and Cancellieri, De secret., 906-914: Inventarium librorum domini Jordani Card. Ursin., etc.

† Mehus, Epist. Trav., 397. See Meiners, 300-301. Cardinal Orsini, who had already taken a prominent position in the Council of Constance (Aschbach, ii., 310), was sent to Germany by the Pope in 1426 to combat the Hussite heresy. On the 11th May he came to the Reichstag at Nuremberg; see Deutsche Reichstags-

The crowning point of Martin V.'s work of restoration was the removal of the last traces of the unhappy Schism, and his labours for this object were unwearied and widespread. The Spanish peninsula necessarily claimed his chief attention: Benedict XIII. had died at Peñiscola in the November of 1424, clinging to the very end to his usurped dignity. One of the last acts of this obstinate man had been the appointment of four new Cardinals; in 1425 three of these, probably instigated by King Alfonso, elected Ægidius Muñoz, a Canon of Barcelona, who called himself Clement VIII. To complete the Comedy of the Schism, Jean Carrer, a Frenchman and one of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals, on his own independent authority, elected a new Pope, who took the name of Benedict XIV.* Both of these elections were ridiculous rather than dangerous, and Clement VIII. would, like Benedict XIV., have vanished from the page of history, leaving no trace behind, had not political circumstances given him an importance which by no means belonged to him as an individual. Alfonso V. of Aragon was a bitter enemy of Martin V., because the Pope did not support his pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, but acknowledged his rival Louis of Anjou.† Clement VIII. was a useful tool in Alfonso's hands for the purpose of causing constant annoyance to the Pope. Reconciliation with this monarch was an indispensable preliminary to the extirpation of the Anti-Papal succession, but the prospect in this direction was at first very discouraging.

-acten (Gotha, 1883), viii., 482. His nomination and his departure from Rome took place respectively on the 17th February and 19th March; see * Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* See Cardinal Carrer's letter to the Count of Armagnac in Martène, Thes. nov., ii., 1714 *et seq.*

† See V. de la Fuente, 441, 470 *et seq.*

As early as January, 1425,* before the election of Clement VIII., Martin V. had entrusted Cardinal Pierre de Foix, a very skilful diplomatist, and a relation of Alfonso's, with an Embassy to Spain.† But the King of Aragon had assumed an attitude which at once rendered all negotiations impossible. He forbade his subjects to hold any intercourse with Rome, prohibited the publication of Papal Bulls, and let the Cardinal-Legate know that in the event of his presuming to enter his Kingdom, he would have his head cut off.‡ The Anti-Pope was, by the command of Alfonso, solemnly crowned.

The rupture with Rome was thus made definite. It was then expected that the Governments of France and England, who were much irritated against Martin V. regarding the question of the Council, would join the new Schism. The Pope and his court were in consternation.§ Happily this

* The Cardinal's appointment to this Embassy took place on the 8th January, 1425, and he left Rome on the 2nd March; see *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† The principal sources of information regarding Cardinal de Foix's Embassy are his *Acta legationis cited by Raynaldus, (ad an. 1425 N. 1, ad an. 1427 N. 21, ad an. 1429 N. 2-6), Bzovius (ad an. 1426 N. 5, ad an. 1427 N. 13 *et seq.*, ad an. 1430 N. 1), and Contelorius (4, 24, 32 *et seq.*), without mention of the place where they are to be found. According to Wadding (x., 86), this important collection of Documents is preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. I found, in the Borghese Library in Rome, Cod. i., 552, another copy brought from the Library of Paul V.: "*Acta legationis Petri tit. S. Stephani in Coelimonte presbyt. Cardinalis de Fuxo nuncupati, qui per Martinum V. P. M. missus est ad Alphonsum Arag. regem pro estirpando Panischolen. schismate, A° D^ni 1425.

‡ See the *Letter of the Florentines to Marcello Strozzi, dated 1426, July 4th, in which letters from Valencia of the 10th, 12th, 22nd, 25th, and 26th June are quoted. Cl. x., dist. 3, N. 4, f. 91b. State Archives at Florence.

§ "*In Roma il Papa colla corte di tal novella è molto sbigot-

danger was averted, and Count Jean d'Armagnac alone took part in the revival of the deplorable Schism of Peñiscola.

On the 15th July, 1426, Martin V. summoned King Alfonso to Rome to answer for his support of the Anti-Pope and his other attacks on the liberty of the Church.* This measure did not fail to produce an effect. Alfonso perceived that many, even among his own subjects, disapproved of his schismatical position and dreaded excommunication and interdict. The wary King may also have seen that he could only be a loser by his isolation from the rest of Europe, and that, in the end, more was to be gained from Martin V. than from the powerless Clement VIII. He accordingly sent an Embassy to Rome and promised to admit the Legate into his kingdom. Cardinal de Foix hereupon undertook his second mission to Spain, and was received with all honour. His ability and wise moderation, seconded by the efforts of King Alfonso's Secretary, Alfonso (Alonso) de Borja, succeeded in the year 1427 in laying the foundations of an agreement between him and Martin V. The Cardinal then returned to Rome† to give an account of his proceedings, bringing the Pope letters from the King, in which he declared himself ready to render obedience and to forsake the Schism. The outbreak of the plague in Rome, in 1428, caused some delay in the negotiations, but early in the year 1429 Cardinal de Foix went a third time to Aragon and brought the whole affair to a happy conclusion. The King made complete submis-

tito, perchè vede che in processo potrebbe seguire la sua distructione," wrote Francesco Viviani to Lodovicho di Ser Viviano hon. podesta del ponte di Sacho on the 15th July, 1426. Carte Strozz., 241, f. 46. State Archives at Florence.

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1426, N. 1-7.

† See Wadding, x., 132; see 138 for the Cardinal's third journey.

sion, and called on Clement VIII. to resign, which he readily did (26th July, 1429).* The pseudo-Cardinals solemnly went into conclave at Peñiscola, and elected Martin V. Pope,† and so this attempt at a Schism ended as absurdly as it had begun. Count Jean d'Armagnac, whom Pope Martin V. had excommunicated in 1429, made his submission and was absolved in the following year.‡ And thus Martin V. succeeded in completely restoring the unity of the Church after it had been for two and fifty years rent by Schism.

His Pontificate, although marked by this happy event, was in other respects by no means unclouded. The affairs of Bohemia, where the Hussite heresy had widely spread, caused him grave anxiety.§ Before the dissolution of the

* See Pagi, iv., 498, 502. Hefele, vii., 417-419. Alonso de Borja was rewarded for his services by the Bishopric of Valencia. Ægidius Muñoz became Bishop of Majorca (†1446, Dec. 28). See Villanueva, xxi., 61. V. de la Fuente, 442. For Carrer's fate see Martène, Thesaurus, ii., 1748 *et seq.*

† See Aguirre, Collectio concilior. Hispaniæ (Romæ, 1694), iii., 649 *et seq.* Villanueva, v., 365 *et seq.*

‡ The sentence against the Count d'Armagnac is given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1429, N. 11. The citation of the Count in Cod. T., 7, 13 of the Angelica Library, which Erdmannsdörffer seems to suppose unpublished, is to be found in Baluze, Miscell., ed. Mansi (Lucæ, 1762), iii., 419-423. The said Count was absolved (see v. Ottenthal) at the intercession of Count Amadeus of Savoy, "(præsertim dil. filii nobilis viri Amadei ducis Sabaudie pro ipso comite intercedente)". See Martin's *Bull "Quoniam illius," dated Romæ, 1430, Apr. 7. The original is in the State Archives at Turin. Mazzo, 10, No. 16.

§ The apostasy of Conrad, Archbishop of Prague, had taken place in 1421, and was the most grievous wound ever inflicted on the Catholic Church in Bohemia. Palacky, iii., 2, 218. Conrad was suspended on the 13th August, 1421—see *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican—but was not solemnly excommunicated and deposed until 1426.

Council of Constance he called alike upon the dignitaries of the Church and upon the Secular Authorities to enforce the legal penalties against this heresy. On the 1st March, 1420, he published a Bull in Florence, calling all Christendom to arms for the "extirpation of the Wycklifites, Hussites, and other heretics."* Martin V. held to his purpose of overcoming the Bohemians by force with all the tenacity and persistency of his nature, and would not hear of negotiations with these heretics, who constituted a danger not only to the Church, but to the very foundations of civil society.†

The complete failure of the Crusade against the Hussites, and its result in stimulating the demand for the Council which was so greatly dreaded by the Pope is a matter of history.‡ The pressure began towards the end of the year 1425,§ when Ambassadors from the King of England ap-

* Palacky, iii., 1, 405; 2, 90. Urkundl., Beiträge, i., 17-20. The historian of Bohemia remarks in reference to the above passage: "The ever-prudent Court of Rome no doubt wished by this reserve to prevent the religious question becoming also a national one; but the effort was in vain."

† The thoroughly revolutionary tendency of the Hussite movement was most plainly recognized in Rome (see *supra*, p. 163). According to v. Bezold (p. 53 *et seq.*), "the idea of a general flood of revolution, imperilling the monarchical principle, goes far beyond the usual limited meaning of 'heresy,' and shows us that the Hussite movement was already considered as no merely ecclesiastical or national matter, but as one world-wide in its aim, and as affecting society and the state no less directly than it affected the Church."

‡ Besides Palacky, see in regard to the war with the Hussites, C. Grünhagen, Die Hussitenkämpfe der Schlesier 1420-1435 (Breslau, 1872); v. Bezold, König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Husiten, in three parts (München, 1872-1877), and Huber, Gesch. Oesterreichs, ii., 445 *et seq.*

§ The exact date (27th November, 1425) is learned from Brown, Fascicul, i., 17. Giovanni di Ragusa (Mon. concil. i., 65) says in

peared before Martin V., praying and requiring that, within a year at furthest, he would open the Council at Basle, undertake the reform of the Church, and appear in person with all his Cardinals. At this audience, an English Prelate said bluntly to the Pope : If the abuses of the Church are not removed by Your Holiness, the necessary reforms will be taken in hand by the secular powers.* On the 17th December, the Pope answered the Ambassadors in a Consistory, defended the course of action which he had hitherto pursued, and declared that it was not now opportune to shorten the period decided upon at Siena.† In July, 1426, it was reported that an Embassy from the French King had gone to Rome to demand the holding of the Council.‡ Subsequently the Dominican, Giovanni di Ragusa, came to Rome for the same object.§

In face of this pressure, which was not always sincere, Martin V.'s attitude was one of the greatest reserve. Long consultations were daily held by the Cardinals in the latter part of the year 1429, but he uttered not a word on the subject.|| The party which looked on the Council as the universal remedy for all evils became more and more uneasy. The Council became almost a mania, especially

more general terms, "Post dictam vero Senensis concilii dissolutionem non completo biennio."

* Propositio M. Willielmi Sulbury Abbatis Belli-loci ad P. Martinum V. pro. acceleratione futuri concilii, in Brown, i., 19-21.

† Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, ii., 515.

‡ *Letter of the Florentines to Marcello Strozzi, Ambassador in Venice, dated 1426, July 4th, Cl. x., dist. 3, N. 4, f. 92, State Archives at Florence.

§ Mon. concil., i., 65.

|| See the *Despatches of Francesco de Cattavensis to Giovanni Francesco de Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1429, Dec. 15th. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

among the learned men of the universities.* With many of them, indeed, the object was, not the return of the Bohemians to the Faith or the reform of the Church, but a transformation of her constitution to the prejudice of the Papacy, and this it was that alarmed Martin V.

The most unscrupulous measures were employed by this party. On the morning of the 8th of November, 1430, placards were posted up on the Papal Palace and on many other public places in Rome, asserting the necessity of the Council, and threatening the Pope, that if he did not shortly summon it, obedience would be withdrawn and he would be deposed.† The sensation caused was immense; no one knew who were the authors of the placards, although mention was made in them of two princes, by whose desire they were put up.‡ According to Giovanni di Ragusa, from this time forth the friends of the Council in Rome became more confident, and urged the matter on the Pope himself. On the 1st January, 1431, he appointed Cardinal Cesarini Legate of the Apostolic See for the forthcoming crusade against the Hussites.§ A month later he also decided that this Cardinal, who was on the side of reform, should preside over the Council at Basle, from the moment of its meeting, and should undertake its guidance. Two Bulls were prepared for Cesarini, the first of which authorized him to open the Council and preside over it; and the second, in case of necessity, to dissolve it or transfer it to

* Hergenröther, ii., 1, 93.

† Mon. concil., i., 65-66.

‡ In Rome suspicion fell on Prince Frederick of Brandenburg and his son-in-law Prince Louis of Brieg; other people, certainly unfairly, suspected Albert of Austria. Bezold (111, 85) does not decide the question as to the origin of the placards, but considers the deed of the 8th November to be in perfect accordance with the character and the bold and secret policy of Frederick.

§ Theiner, Mon. Hung., i., 206 *et seq.*

another city. The latter Bull, which has come down to us through Giovanni di Ragusa,* clearly indicates the attitude which Martin V. intended to assume towards the Council. He justly apprehended further encroachments on the Papal authority, which had already been seriously impaired by the Schism, but before the necessity for extreme measures had arisen, he died of apoplexy on the 29th February, 1431.†

Martin V., "the second founder of the Papal Monarchy, and the Restorer of Rome," was buried in the Lateran, where his monument, erected in the time of Eugenius IV., is still to be seen, with his effigy in bronze and an inscription from the pen of the Humanist, Antonio Loschi, who describes him as "the happiness of his age" (temporum suorum felicitas).‡

This praise is not unmerited, for whatever Martin may have had to answer for in the way of inordinate love for his relations and of evasion of the demands for reform, it is certain that during the period of his Pontificate, Rome and the States of the Church enjoyed an amount of prosperity which had not been their lot for more than a century before his accession, and which contrasted favourably with their condition in the troubled reign of his successor.§ This Colonna, who was highly endowed with a peculiar capacity for ruling, a keen understanding, political sagacity and determination, has the unquestioned merit of inaugurating the restoration of the spiritual and temporal power of the

* Mon. Concil., i., 67. See Abert, 80.

† See *Cardinal Antonio Correr's letter to the Florentines, written on the day of the Pope's death. Appendix, N. 19, from Cod. E., vi., 187 of the Chigi Library in Rome.

‡ Rasponus, 77. See Papebroch, 440; Reumont, iii., 1, 484-485, and Müntz, La Renaiss, i., 15. Palatius, 483; Ciaconius, ii., 828; Tosi, tav., 66; Litta, f. 55, and Rohault de Fleury, Le Latran au moyen-âge (Par., 1877), pl. 18.

§ Such is also the opinion of Reumont, Beiträge, iv., 328; v., 56.

Papacy after years of confusion; of giving back to the Eternal City her ancient splendour, and to the States of the Church their importance, and of procuring for them a golden age of peace. This is undoubted, even though we may agree with Cardinal Ægidius of Viterbo, in lamenting that from henceforth virtue was too often sacrificed to the acquisition of power and wealth.*

II.—Eugenius IV., 1431-1447.

The failings of Martin V. entailed much suffering on his successor, the virtuous and austere Eugenius IV. A reaction against the mode of government of the departed Pope, whose rigour towards his Cardinals and whose favour towards his kindred had been alike excessive, began in the Conclave. The Cardinals sought once for all to protect themselves from the possibility of treatment such as they had experienced, by drawing up a kind of Capitulation, in which rules for the conduct of the future Pope were laid down. It was not the first time that such an attempt had been made, for a document is still preserved in which the Cardinals assembled in Conclave in 1352 imposed conditions on the Pope about to be elected.† After making a

* See the opinion of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Comment. de reb. Basil. gest.), in Fea, Pius, ii., 38, and Billii Hist. rer. Mediol., in Muratori, xix., 141-142. The passage from the *"Historia viginti sæculorum" of Ægidius of Viterbo is as follows:—"Atque hic quidem schismatum et calamitatum finis idemque concordiæ et gloriæ initium fuit, quæ res etsi externis opibus ornamentisque ecclesiam auxit, internis minuit ac prope exspoliavit; auctis enim gazis ac potentia honesti virtutisque interiit auctoritas, luxus sumptusque adaucti sunt, omnium vitiorum genera excrevere," etc. Cod. C. 8, 19 of the Angelica Library in Rome.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1352, N. 25-27. Hinschius' (i., 270) remark, that the Capitulation of 1352 is the first of its kind, must be set aside, if the statements made in a document of the sixteenth

certain provision for the maintenance of his dignity, they assigned to themselves all emoluments, and to him all charges.* Innocent VI., the able Pontiff who came forth from this Conclave, and who had himself, as Cardinal, subscribed the Capitulation, annulled it as uncanonical, because the Cardinals in Conclave had gone beyond their powers in drawing it up, and as rash, because it ventured to limit by human statutes and definitions that plenitude of power which God Himself had committed to the Holy See, independently of all foreign will or consent.† The attempts of the College of Cardinals to provide themselves with a kind of Golden Bull were thus frustrated, three years before Charles IV. bestowed one on the German Electors.‡

century, recently published by Döllinger (Beiträge, iii., 343), be confirmed. It gives a short retrospect of the history of Election-Capitulations, and asserts that the custom dates from the Conclave in which Boniface VIII. was chosen, and had been handed on since from Conclave to Conclave. In any case Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 520) is incorrect in assigning the origin of the limitation of the papal monarch by Election-Capitulations to the Epoch of the Councils.

* J. Görres, in the Histor-polit. Bl., xvi., 331.

† Bullarium, iv., 506-508. Görres, *loc. cit.* Canonists hold that the observance of such Capitulations, which have been only forbidden since the time of Innocent XII., Const. " Romanum decet " (1692), must necessarily rest with the conscience of the Pope. See Hergenröther, iii., 348. See also the interesting *Treatise of Clemens Tosius, addressed to Alexander VII. Cod. J., ii., 31, f. 425 *et seq.* of the Chigi Library in Rome.

‡ Höfler, Zur Kritik und Quellenkunde der ersten Regierungsjahre Karls, v. (Wien, 1878), part 2, 58, where a special section treats of the Capitulations of the Popes. It is strange that the Capitulation of 1431 is not here mentioned. Regarding the Election-Capitulations at the time of the Schism, see Bauer in the Laacher Stimmen (1871), i., 480 *et seq.* Hübler (69) and Tschackert (258) treat of the project, originated at the Council of Constance, of binding the Pope by a formal compact of an absolutely legal character.

The Capitulation of 1431 went, in some respects, even further than that which had been framed before the election of Innocent VI. The Pope, according to its terms, was to reform the Roman Court "in its Head and its members," and not to transfer it to another place without the consent of the majority of the Sacred College; he was to hold a General Council, and by its means to reform the whole Church; in the appointment of Cardinals, he was to observe the prescriptions laid down at Constance; he was not to proceed against the person or property of any one of the Cardinals without the consent of the majority of the body, nor to diminish their power of testamentary disposition. Moreover, all vassals and officials of the States of the Church were to swear fealty to the Sacred College, which was to possess the half of all the revenues of the Roman Church, and the Pope was not to undertake any important measure in regard to the States of the Church without its assent.*

These articles, which Eugenius IV. immediately published in a Bull, gave a new government to the States of the Church and materially limited the temporal power of the Pope. But the altered state of things was of short duration.†

According to the description given by Vespasiano da

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1431, N. 5-7.

† Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 519. In regard to that condition of the Capitulation, by which the Pope gave the Cardinals possession of half of the income of the Roman Church, Aschbach (iv., 15) most justly observes that it rendered the reformation of the Holy See increasingly difficult; and yet these very Cardinals made Eugenius swear that he would follow the course on which Martin V. had entered in the Convocation of the Council of Basle, and would proceed with the work of Church reform, while, at the same time, they required that he should make no concession which could be prejudicial to the Papal dignity or to the Roman Court.

Bisticci, Pope Eugenius was tall, of a handsome and imposing presence, thin, grave, and dignified in his bearing. He made such an impression on those around him, that they hardly ventured to look at him. During his sojourn at Florence he seldom went out, but when he appeared in public, his aspect inspired such reverence that most of those who beheld him shed tears. "I remember," continues this writer, "that once, at Florence, during the time of his exile, Pope Eugenius stood on a tribune erected near the entrance to the monastery of Sta. Maria Novella, while the people, who filled the Piazza and the neighbouring streets, gazed on him in silence. When the Pope began the 'Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini,' nothing was heard but loud sobbing, so overwhelming was the impression made by the majesty and the piety of the Vicar of Christ, who, in truth, seemed to be He whom he represented."

Vespasiano further informs us that Eugenius' manner of life was most simple; he drank no wine, but only water with sugar and a little cinnamon. His repast consisted of one dish of meat, with vegetables and fruit, both of which he liked; he had no fixed hour for meals, so his servants always kept something ready for him. He willingly granted audiences when his business was done; was very generous, and gave alms most bountifully; accordingly, he was always in debt, for he did not value money and kept nothing for himself. One day a poor Florentine citizen, Felice Brancacci, appealed to the Pope for assistance. Eugenius sent for a purse filled with florins and bid him take as many as he liked. As the man timidly took but a few, the Pope laughed and said: "Take plenty; I give you the money gladly." He parted with money as soon as he received it.

Four monks and a secular priest, all of them excellent

men, were constantly with the Pope. Two of the monks were Benedictines, and two belonged to his own Order, that of the Augustinian Hermits. He recited the Divine Office with them daily, rising regularly for matins. When he awoke from his sleep, he had one of the books which lay near his bed given to him, and read for an hour or two, sitting up, with the book lying on a cushion before him between two candles. The sanctity of his life won universal veneration. Some of his relations came to him, but they received no part of the temporal goods of the Church, for he held that he could not give away that which did not belong to him.*

Nevertheless, the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. was not a happy one. His hasty and over-violent measures against the relations of his predecessor at once involved him in a serious contest with the powerful house of Colonna, during which a conspiracy to surprise the Castle of St. Angelo by

* Vespasiano da Bisticci (identical with the anonymous author cited by Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 13), Eugenius IV., in Mai, Spicil., i., 18-21. The generosity of the Pope is mentioned by Müntz, i., 54 *et seq.* 1383 is given as the date of Gabriel Condulmaro's birth; (Condulmaro, not Condelmieri or Condelmero, was his patronymic; see Cicogna, Iscriz. Venez., iv., 259). He belonged to a noble Venetian family, but early resolved to renounce the riches of this world and devote his life entirely to God and to the Church. After the death of his father, he entered the Augustinian Monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga, near Venice, a religious house, whose name holds an honourable place in the history of that city for the valuable work done by its inmates during the later years of the Schism (Reumont iii., 1, 73). His maternal uncle, Pope Gregory XII., conferred on him many ecclesiastical dignities, the Bishopric of Siena, and finally the purple (1408). See Abert, Eugen IV., 20-66. The election of Eugenius took place in the monastery of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva; see Cancellieri, Notiz, 14.

a nocturnal attack was discovered and suppressed in Rome.*

Almost as soon as this sanguinary struggle had been concluded and the pride of the Colonnas humbled, fresh disturbances of a far more dangerous character broke out.

The attendance at the Council which had been opened at Basle on the 23rd of July, 1431, was very scanty, and on the 18th of December in the same year, Eugenius IV. issued a Bull dissolving it, and transferring it to Bologna, where it was again to meet after the lapse of a year and a half. Incorrect information and fear of the growing power of Councils induced the Pope to take this momentous step, which was a grievous mistake, prematurely revealing his extreme distrust of the Council, before any act or decision of that body had occurred to justify it.† Those who were

* For a further account of this dangerous conspiracy, see Vita Eugenii, in Muratori, iii., 2, 869. Infessura, 1124. Blondus, Dec. iii., lib. iv., 458 *et seq.* Platina, 672. Two **Despatches of Francesco de' Cattabeni and Matteo de' Conradi, dated respectively Rieti, 1431, July 7, and Urbino, 1431, July 12 (both in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua), are also interesting. I shall give them later on, in connection with a *Discourse by Bartolomeo Zabarella, of which I have obtained a copy through the kindness of Father H. Schmid. The Discourse (**Sermo contra fratrem Thomam priorem, qui fuit degradatus Rome et suspensus ad furcas et tandem divisus in iv. partes, factus per Barth. de Zabarellis, Archiepiscop. Spalatan. qui sentenciavit et degradavit eundem.) is in Cod. 4 (saec. xv.), f. 184ab of the Library of Kremsmünster.

† Ashbach, iv., 29. Even John of Palomar, although attached to the Papal cause, in his Quæstio cui parendum est an S.D.N.P. Eugenio IV. an concilio Basil. tamquam superiori (Döllinger, Beiträge, ii., 420), admits that the Bull dissolving the Council proceeded "ex falsis informationibus," and that the dissolution tended "in perniciem ecclesiæ," and that accordingly opposition might be offered to the Bull until the Pope, being better informed, withdrew it; but he adds: "Sed ex causa rationabili et manifesta potest concilium a Papa dissolvi nec aliqua lege contrarium statui posset."

assembled at Basle evaded the public reading of the Bull of Dissolution on the 13th of January by absenting themselves from the place of meeting, and, on the 21st of the month, published an Encyclical Letter, addressed to all the faithful, announcing their determination "to continue in the Council, and, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to labour at the task committed to it."* The secular powers at once came forward and promised the little Assembly their aid and protection, the menaces of Eugenius were unheeded, and the partisans of the Synod became more numerous. At this epoch the idea of a General Council exercised a strange fascination on men's minds. It was looked upon as the cure for all the ills of the Church. If the disastrous Schism had been happily healed by this means, would it not be equally efficacious in the matter of reform?†

The great victory gained by the Hussites at Taus, in which the cross of the Legate Cesarini and the Papal Bull proclaiming the Crusade fell into the hands of the heretics, had the effect of giving fresh weight and power to the Council. The humiliating defeat of the Crusading army produced a general and most painful impression, and contributed more than anything had yet done to strengthen and extend a conviction of the futility of the line of action hitherto pursued against the Bohemians, and of the necessity, not merely of ecclesiastical reform, but of amicable negotiation with the Hussites.‡ These two measures seemed practicable only by means of the Council, and therefore the gifted Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini urged the Pope to recall the Bull which dissolved it§—unfortunately his efforts were

* Mansi, xxix., 237-239.

† Birck, 14.

‡ See Palacky, iii., 3, 4 *et seq.*, and v. Bezold, iii., 158 *et seq.*

§ The candid, ardent, and powerful words addressed by Cesarini to the Pope on January 13th, 1432, are given without a date in the

in vain, for Eugenius would not yield. In order to defend themselves from the Pope, the members of the Synod of Basle, who were sure of King Sigismund's protection, proceeded to re-assert the revolutionary resolutions by which the Council of Constance had been declared superior to the Pope (February 15, 1432). Measures of a yet more hostile character soon followed. On the 29th of April the Pope and his Cardinals were formally summoned to Basle, and threatened with proceedings for contumacy, in the event of their failure to appear within a period of three months. This was a decided step towards the revolution, for which Nicholas of Cusa sought to furnish a scientific justification in his treatise "On Catholic Unity."* An order published

Fascil. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. (Coloniæ, 1537), f. 27-32, and in Brown, Fasc., i., 54. John of Segovia inserts the letter in full in his Historical work: Mon. Concil., ii., 95-107 (the date is given, but the text does not exactly agree with that of the Fasciculus): "Si concilium dissolvitur, quid dicent hæretici? Nonne insultabunt in nostros et sicut proterviores? Nonne ecclesia fatebitur se esse victam, cum non ausa fuerit exspectare illos, qui vocaverat? . . . Quid dicet universus orbis, cum hoc sentiet? nonne iudicabit clerum esse incorrigibilem et velle semper in suis deformitatibus sordescere? Celebrata sunt diebus nostris tot concilia, ex quibus nulla secuta est reformatio. Expectabant gentes, ut ex hoc sequeretur aliquis fructus; sed si sic dissolvatur, dicetur quod irridemus Deum et homines et quod, cum iam nulla spes supererit de nostra correctione, irruent merito laici in nos more Husitarum. . . . Nunquam fuisset celebratum aliquod concilium, si huiusmodi timor invassisset corda patrum nostrorum, sicut invadit vestra."

* Kraus, 447. Scharpff (Nic. von Cusa, i., 32-112, and Nic. von Cusa als Reformator, 69 *et seq.*) is far too lenient in his judgment of the treatise, "De concordantia catholica." See on the other side, Gieseler, ii., 4, 62, and Brockhaus, 15. The former observes with some reason, that the work in question contains propositions "which threatened the Papacy in its fundamental principles." For the rest, the investigations as to the meaning of the whole work are inconclusive. See Schwab, in the Theol. Lit. Bl., 1867, p. 628-629.

on the 26th of September, 1432, facilitated its accomplishment, by admitting representatives of the lower ranks of the clergy to the Council in such overwhelming numbers, that the higher ecclesiastics were completely deprived of that moderating influence in such assemblies which undoubtedly belonged to them.*

It is impossible to justify the course taken by the Synod of Basle, which soon overstepped all bounds in its opposition to Eugenius IV. At Constance, doubts regarding the legitimacy of one or other of the Popes may in some degree have excused adherence to the false theories by which a way of escape from an intolerable position was sought. The Basle Assembly now extended the Decrees to the case of an undoubted Pope, whose position was universally acknowledged. In its resistance to him, it assumed the proud title of an Œcumenical Council, assembled and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and endeavoured to make the extraordinary power, which the Synod of Constance had exercised under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, a precedent of general application. The pretension of a handful of prelates and doctors to represent the whole Catholic Church, would at other times have been ridiculed; now, they might count on success, partly because of the confusion of opinion on such matters due to the Schism, and partly because of the credit which Court favour and effectual negotiations with the Hussites had won for their Assembly.† The danger which threatened the

* O. Richter, Die Organisation und Geschäftsordnung des Basler Concils. Inaugural-Dissertation (Leipzig, 1877), 35. See also Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 102 *et seq.*, who portrays the action of the clerical Democrats extremely well.

† This is Hergenröther's opinion, ii., 1, 97. Phillips speaks in similar terms (iv., 450 *et seq.*). See also Döllinger's satirical picture of the proceedings at Basle (Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 320 *et seq.*).

Papacy and the Church was of incalculable magnitude, for if the Basle resolutions were carried into effect, the overthrow of the divinely-established constitution of the Church was inevitable; the Vicar of Christ became merely the first official of a Constitutional Assembly. If priests dealt in a similar manner with their Bishops and the faithful with their priests, the dissolution of the whole Church would be the necessary consequence.*

The Synod had entered on a course which was leading to a new Schism, and this was clearly perceived in Rome.

The gravity of the whole position, the continued excitement in the States of the Church, combined with the opposition to the Pope's line of conduct which had arisen †

"Instead of displaying practical energy," says Hefele (Tüb. Quartalschr., 1847, p. 73), "the members of the Council of Basle, as if possessed by some spirit of mischief, kept constantly returning to questions of principle, and speculations as to the relation between Pope and General Council."

* So says Weiss, iii., 2nd ed., 1404. See Düx, i., 250. Not content with overthrowing the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, in June, 1432, the Assembly of Basle also made an attempt to deprive him of the exercise of his temporal sovereignty by appointing a new Legate and Governor for Avignon and Venaissin (Mansi, xxix., 34-36.)

† See Aschbach, iv., 84. Voigt, Stimmen, 75, and A. Kluckhohn, Herzog Wilhelm III., der Protector des Basler Concils (in the Forschungen, ii., 559). St. Frances of Rome had also through her confessor besought the Pope to come to terms with the Council. His account of the matter (dated 1432, April 3) is interesting. "E stando anche in extasi la beata me disse da parte dello apostolo San. Thomao assai parole le quale non scrivo per la prolixità. Ma in substantia disse che io andassi ad Papa Eugenio da parte dello Signore, che li dicessi che se unissi collo consiglio da basileà perchè era pericolo della scisma, et che de ciò se consigliassi con servi de Dio insiemi colli cardinali, et quella determinatione che se faceva colli servi di Dio se facessi. Advenga che più altre fiate in extasi la beata me disse da parte dello Signore che io andassi allo dicto

in the Sacred College, at last induced Eugenius IV. to yield, and to enter into negotiations with the Council. Its overweening pretensions would have frustrated all attempts to arrange matters, had it not been for the exertions of Sigismund, who was crowned Emperor at Rome on the 31st May, 1433. The Pope recalled the Decree dissolving the Council, and, reserving his own rights and those of the Apostolic See, acknowledged it as Œcumenical in its origin and proceedings (15th December, 1433), in a Bull which, although it went to the utmost possible limit of concession, did not expressly confirm the Anti-Papal resolutions previously adopted by the Synod.* This Bull was, so to speak, extorted from the Pope by the extreme dangers which at the time threatened his position in Italy.†

The very soul of all the Anti-Papal conspiracies was Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, of Milan. The Venetian Pope had incurred the hatred of this tyrant from the very beginning of his reign, by showing favour to his enemies the Republics of Venice and Florence.‡ Eugenius' con-

Pontefice Papa Eugenio, che lo ammonissi de certe cose o vero li recordassi. Onde andando io ad fare la ambasciata, et esso non apprezzando lo dicto fui ammonito che non ce andassi più, et che lo lassassi nello suo volere. Disse anche che se pregassi molto il Signore perchè lanime non periscano per lo male lo quale se apparecchiava." Armellini, Vita, 85-86.

* See Phillips, ii., 267; iv., 453. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 103 *et seq.* Balan, v., 114.

† Turrecremata, De ecclesia, i., ii., c. 100, p. 238.

‡ See Cipolla, 394 *et seq.*, and L. Banchi, Istruzioni ad ambasciatori Senesi e relazioni di essi alla republica 25 *et seq.* The Florentines expressed their joy immediately after the Election of Eugenius IV. Their * letter of congratulation to the newly-elected Pontiff, dated 1430 (st. Flor.) March 5, contains the following words, "Gratulamur etiam nobis et civitati nostre, quod ea persona subli-

test with the Council furnished the Duke of Milan with a welcome opportunity of avenging himself on the Pope, by inducing his Condottieri Niccolò Fortebraccio and Francesco Sforza to invade the unquiet States of the Church. Both of these leaders professed to be acting by the command of the Council of Basle.* Fortebraccio, supported by the Colonna family,† made a rapid advance to the very gates of Rome; Eugenius fled to St. Angelo, then to San. Lorenzo in Damaso, and lastly to the Trastevere.‡ Some of the Cardinals thought the Pope's cause quite desperate, and left the Eternal City. The Savelli openly joined the Pope's enemies; among the great Roman families, he had only some of the Orsini and Conti on his side. His contemporary Flavio Biondo says, "it is shorter to reckon those who remained true than those who fell away."§

In this extremity, being without any steadfast allies, and surrounded by enemies, Eugenius IV. resolved to yield to the demands of the Assembly at Basle.

mata est, que nos et civitatem nostram unice semper dilexit," etc. Cl. x., dist. i., No. 31, f. 31. State Archives at Florence.

* In the Proclamation to the inhabitants of Macerata, Sforza says: "Io son venuto per commandamento del Santo Concilio, el quale essendo pienamente informato de la cattiva vita di Eugenio PP., ut ipse dicit, e de li mali modi per lui continuamente tenuti ecc." Compagnoni, 324. Regarding the letters in which Fortebraccio styles himself s. synodi et s. matris ecclesiæ capitaneus generalis, see Arch. stor. Ital., xvi., i., 366-367.

† Eugenius IV. published a Bull on the 9th October, 1433, excommunicating the Colonnas; see Theiner, Cod. iii., 322. The Council then commended them to Gentile Orsini's protection; see the ** letter addressed to him by the Basle Synod, d.d. Basileæ, xv., Cal. Jan. A° a nat. dom., 1434. The original is in the Orsini Archives in Rome, ii., A. xiv., No. 61a.

‡ Cronache Romane, 4.

§ See Papencordt, 473.

After his reconciliation with the Council the Pope endeavoured to free himself from foes nearer home. In March, 1434, a treaty was concluded with Sforza, in virtue of which this brave leader, the most distinguished General Italy had known since the days of Julius Cæsar, and the greatest statesman of his time,* was appointed Vicar in the March of Ancona and Standard Bearer of the Church. Eugenius IV. also sought to come to an understanding with Fortebraccio, but his advances were contemptuously repelled, and, in conjunction with Niccolò Piccinino, Visconti's General, the Condottiere laid waste the neighbourhood of the Eternal City. Meanwhile emissaries from Milan, Piccinino, the Colonna family, and, it may be, also from the Council, were busily at work stirring up the Romans against the Pope. Their success was greatly facilitated by the conduct of Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro, who met the Roman deputies when they came to complain of the miseries of constant warfare and of the ruin of their property, with the scorn of a Venetian noble.†

On the 29th May, 1434, the Revolution broke out in Rome; the Capitol was stormed, the Pope's nephew imprisoned, and finally a Republic proclaimed. Eugenius IV. now resolved to fly.‡ On the 4th June he rode, in the garb of a Benedictine monk, to the banks of the Tiber, where a boat received him ; he was recognized as he was sailing away, and a shower of stones was thrown at him. Lying in the bottom of the boat and covered with a shield

* Sugenheim, 320.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 43. Papencordt, 474.

‡ Blondus gives a graphic picture of these events, Dec. III., vi. (Opp. ii., 481-484) ; see Masius, 45. The Florentines had already offered their City to the Pope, in December, 1433 ; see *Nota ed informatione a te Felice Brancacci ambasciadore . . . al santo padre, d.d. xiii. di Decembre, 1433. Cl x., dist. 1, N. 33, f. 88, *seq.* State Archives at Florence.

he escaped uninjured to Ostia; a galley thence conveyed him to Pisa and Florence, and, like his predecessor, he took up his abode there in the Dominican Monastery of Sta. Maria Novella.*

The Roman Republic was of short duration; after the flight of the Pope the Eternal City became a prey to complete anarchy. The palace in the Trastevere where Eugenius IV. had been living and the Vatican were plundered by the populace, who also robbed the Papal Courtiers.† Baldassare d'Offida, the Papal Castellan, held the Castle of St. Angelo, and with his artillery overawed the adjacent parts of the City. The new Government at the Capitol was bad and thoroughly incompetent; the rulers only despoiled the City,‡ and many who had hoped that the overthrow of the Papal power would inaugurate a golden age, were grievously disappointed. The Romans soon perceived that nothing could be worse than the rule of their own people, and that the "freedom" of the city, which had been forsaken by most of its foreign inhabitants, brought with it nothing but evil.§ A great desire for the

* Eugenius IV. arrived in Florence on the 23rd June, 1434. The instructions for the Deputation sent to welcome him (*Nota ed informatione a voi Mess. Francesco Castellani, Mess. Carlo Federighi, Agnolo di Filipo Pandolfini, Ridolfo Peruzi, Bartholomeo Ridolfi, Andrea di Rinaldo Rondinelli, Agnoli di Neri di Mess. Andrea Vettori e Piero Bruneleschi) is dated June 16th. Cl. X. dist. 1, n. 33, f. 119, b. *seq*. State Archives at Florence.

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 142; Theiner, iii., 325, and *a Brief addressed by Eugenius IV. to "Petro Nardi capell. ac. s. palatii causar. audit. et Rudolfo ord. heremit. min. poenitentiario necnon Thomæ canonico S. Mariæ Transtib. de Urbe," d.d. Pisis anno inc. dom. 1434, quinto-decimo Cal. Julii Pontif. anno iv. Copy from the Chartul. S. Mariæ Transtib. in Cod. Vatic. 805, 1, f. 104-105.

‡ See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 48.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 146-147.

Pope's return filled men's minds, but Eugenius thought himself safer in his exile at Florence than in his capital, and sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, to the States of the Church as his representative. In October, 1434, when he entered Rome, the people rose up with the cry: "The Church! the Church!" and the Papal authority was soon re-established.

Vitelleschi is one of the most remarkable figures of his time. He belonged to a family of note in Corneto, bore arms in his youth under Tartaglia, but entered the ecclesiastical career after the accession of Martin V. He had, however, no vocation to the priesthood, and his elevation to the See of Recanati can only be accounted for by the existing confusion of spiritual and temporal affairs. He was a brave knight, but no pastor of souls, and, even under the mitre, he retained the character and manners of a Condottiere. In the field, his courage and military skill were unsurpassed by any leader of the day. Had he not been bound to the service of the Church, he would have won both glory and power, as did Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, and others. He was ambitious, crafty, avaricious, and cruel, yet there was something magnificent about him, and he was determined and brave.* This man, who, according to Infessura, struck all who saw him with fear, now went forth with dauntless energy, not merely to humble the foes of the Pope in the States of the Church, but to destroy them with fire and sword. The first to feel the weight of his iron hand was the ancient race of Vico, who had always been at variance with the Pope. The City Prefect, Giacomo da Vico, the last of the family, was compelled to surrender his

* I have borrowed the sketch of Vitelleschi's character from Papencordt's remarkable work (477). See also Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 49 *et seq.*, and Reumont, iii., 1, 93 *et seq.*, 485 *et seq.*

Castle of Vetralla, brought to trial, and then beheaded. Eugenius IV. then raised Francesco Orsini to the rank of Prefect of the City, at the same time greatly restricting the jurisdiction of the office by appointing the Vicecamerlengo Governor of the City and its territory, with authority in matters of police and criminal cases.*

Vitelleschi's first successes were rewarded by his elevation to the dignities of Patriarch of Alexandria and Archbishop of Florence. During his absence a fresh insurrection, in which the Conti, Colonna, Gaetani, and Savelli took part, broke out in Rome. The Patriarch, as Vitelleschi now called himself, at once hastened back to execute bloody vengeance on the offenders. The Castles of the Savelli and Colonna were forcibly taken and destroyed; and Palestrina, the principal fortress of the latter family, was also compelled to surrender on the 18th August, 1436.† On his return to Rome he was received with honours such as hitherto had been rendered to none but Popes and Emperors. Senate and people determined to erect an equestrian statue of him in marble on the Capitol, with the inscription, "To Giovanni Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, the third Father of the City of Rome, after Romulus." Winter brought him back to his native City of Corneto, where he built himself a palace which, notwithstanding its present fallen condition, is one of the most imposing examples still remaining in Italy of the transition

* See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 51-52. Papencordt, 476-477. Ciampi on N. della Tuccia, 407 *et seq.* The decree in favour of Fr. Orsini is in Contelorius, De præf., 559. I have seen in the Carte Strozz., 111, f. 153, in the State Archives at Florence, an *original letter from "Jacobus de Vico almæ urbis præfectus" to the City of Siena, dated Civitavecchia, 1426, May 26.

† See Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 175 *et seq.*, 448. Coppi, Mem. Col., 200.

from the Gothic to the Renaissance period of architecture.*

With the spring of the following year (1437) the work of vengeance against the tyrants of the Campagna began anew. In the end of March workmen were sent to Palestrina with orders to raze the city to the ground. The terrible work went on for forty days, and even the churches were not spared.† In the struggle for the throne of Naples, Vitelleschi, by the command of Eugenius, espoused the cause of Anjou, against Alfonso of Aragon, who harassed the States of the Church from the South and kept up open relations with the Pope's enemies. The Patriarch took Antonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento, the most powerful of Alfonso's partisans, prisoner, and the Pope acknowledged this service by creating him Cardinal (August 9th, 1437).‡ His other military enterprises in the Kingdom of Naples were unsuccessful, and he returned to the States of the Church to resume his merciless warfare against their tyrants. Lorenzo Colonna had taken Zagarolo by surprise in 1439. On the 2nd of April the Cardinal stormed the place, and had it levelled to the ground; fresh struggles with Niccolò Savelli and the Trinci in Foligno followed. Vitelleschi was again victorious; the whole territory from Civitavecchia to the Neapolitan frontier was in his power;

* Papencordt, 479. See Petrini, 448-452. Coppi in Atti dell' Accad. Rom. di Archeol., xv., 328. N. della Tuccia, 55, N. 161, 168, 171; see also Atti dei Lincel., Serie iii., i., 324-325. A good engraving of the Vitelleschi Palace at Corneto is given in Müntz, La Renaissance, 165.

† The doorposts of the Cathedral of Palestrina are still to be seen at the entrance of the Vitelleschi Palace. The destruction of the City probably took place without the knowledge of the Pope. See Petrini, 177, 455-456.

‡ Cardinal Capranica protested against his elevation. See Catalanus, 68, 218-225.

four thousand horsemen and two thousand foot soldiers were constantly in readiness to quell any resistance.

In Rome the Cardinal ruled with a despotism hitherto unknown; the Romans, weary of endless disquiet, forgave everything because he maintained order; even his deeds of cruelty were excused. "Never, up to the present day," says the simple-minded Paolo di Liello Petrone, "has anyone done so much for the welfare of our City of Rome; if only he had not been so cruel; although he was almost compelled thereto on account of the corruption which prevailed in Rome and its neighbourhood to such a degree, that murders and robberies were committed by the citizens and peasants by night and by day."* In order to restore the Leonine City, Vitelleschi, following the example of Romulus, sought to re-people this devastated quarter by granting to it the privileges of asylum for criminals and freedom from taxes, and civil autonomy.† The power of the Cardinal was at its height when he suddenly fell.

This event is veiled in the deepest obscurity; it is more than probable that the Florentines had a hand in it. His enemies allied themselves with Antonio Rido, the Castellan of St. Angelo, whose relations with Vitelleschi were strained to the utmost. On the 19th March, 1440, Rido had an interview with Vitelleschi, who had everything in readiness for a fresh expedition to Umbria, on the Bridge of St. Angelo. Rido kept the Cardinal in conversation until his troops had passed over. Then, at a given signal, the narrow door leading to the Borgo was shut, a chain,

* Muratori, xxiv., 1122. See P. G. P. Sacchi jr. in N. della Tuccia, 171.

† See Bull. Vatic., ii., 92. Adinolfi, Portica, 54. Vitelleschi also provided for the Hospital of Santo Spirito, *" 1440, April 2nd, † J. Vitelleschi, qui plurima et gratissima servitia hospitali et ordini S. Spiritus fecit." Cod. Vatic., 7871, f. 48, Vatican Library.

which had secretly been placed in readiness, was drawn across the bridge, and Rido's soldiers pressed forward to seize Vitelleschi. In vain did the Cardinal with his followers endeavour to fight his way through. He was wounded, dragged from his horse, and shut up in St. Angelo; his soldiers, on hearing the tidings, would have stormed the castle, but Rido managed to appease them by the publication of a Papal warrant for his arrest, the genuineness of which they were unable to test. A fortnight later (2nd April) the Cardinal was a corpse.*

Such are the actual facts of the case, and everything else is more or less uncertain. The words written by a contemporary chronicler are still essentially true; no one knew on what grounds Vitelleschi had been taken prisoner, or who had given orders for his arrest, or if the real cause of his death had been violence or poison.†

The question whether Eugenius IV. consented to the imprisonment of his favourite is one which cannot be answered with certainty; yet many historians have affirmed that he did, and it is most probable that Rido's action was not altogether spontaneous and independent. Yet, if we may believe his own letter to the Florentines, written immediately after the arrest—which is doubtful—this opinion cannot be maintained. Rido here declares that Vitelleschi repeatedly endeavoured to wrest the fortress

* See Papencordt, 480-481, where the original sources of information are very well put together. To these must now be added the narrative of P. G. P. Sacchi jr, published by Ciampi (N. della Tuccia, 172), and the important *letter of Rido to the Florentines (see Appendix No. 20), which I discovered in the State Archives of Florence.

† Cronaca Riminese, 937. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 73 *et seq.*) says, "it is probable, although not proved, that Vitelleschi himself was a traitor." Reumont (iii., 1, 97 f.), l'Epinois (417), and Cipolla (405 *et seq.*), speak more cautiously.

from him, to the great detriment of the Church and of the Pope, that he knew the Cardinal to be an open enemy of the Pope, and that, therefore, he had on that very day taken him prisoner, but without the permission of Eugenius, whom he could not inform beforehand for want of time. This remarkable letter concludes by saying "I have done to him what he undoubtedly desired to do to me."*

This single document, taken by itself, is not sufficient to decide the question positively, yet it is calculated to shake our confidence in the often-repeated assertion that "Eugenius consented to the imprisonment of his favourite."† A complete explanation of the complicated events of this period can only be furnished by further researches in the Archives.

The Pope was too much in the power of the Florentines to condemn Vitelleschi's imprisonment, and Rido was at once promoted to high dignity. It would seem that proofs of the treasonable designs attributed to the Cardinal were not forthcoming, for in subsequent Briefs the Pope repeatedly speaks of him as his "beloved son." In a Brief to the inhabitants of Corneto, his imprisonment is represented as the accidental consequence of dissensions between him and Rido, and then Scarampo's nomination as Legate is announced without comment. This document contains no word of complaint against Rido, who, like Vitelleschi, is styled by the Pope "beloved son," but there is a passage which seems directly to contradict the supposition that the latter had wished to found a State for himself.‡ Scarampo, like his predecessor, was a worldly-minded Prelate; he had

* See the text in Appendix No. 20, from the original in the State Archives in Florence.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 74.

‡ See in Appendix No. 21, the text of the Brief which bears date 3rd April, 1440, and is preserved in the Archives of Corneto.

formerly been a physician, and it is said that Eugenius owed his recovery from an illness to his care. Under Vitelleschi, he followed the career of arms, later on he took orders, was made Archbishop of Florence, and soon after his appointment as Vitelleschi's successor, was raised to the purple (July 1, 1440).*

Pietro Barbo, son of Nicholas Barbo and Polyxena Condulmaro, sister to Eugenius IV., was at the same time created Cardinal. Barbo was extremely fond of splendour, very generous, learned in Canon law, and an enthusiastic collector of ancient coins and gems; in a later portion of this work we shall speak of his collections and of his palace. A bitter and lasting feud existed between him and Scarampo.

Scarampo's government of Rome was as severe as that of Vitelleschi, but he did far more for the restoration of the afflicted city, and has justly been praised for his efforts to raise the Romans from the sloth into which they had fallen, and to make of them civilized beings.†

The flight of Eugenius IV. to Florence—the last event of the kind until the flight of Pius IX.—had, especially in one respect, consequences of a far-reaching nature.‡

The whole intellectual training of Eugenius, who, even while he occupied the Papal throne, never ceased to be the

* See Ciaconius, ii., 919 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii.-iv., 129 *et seq.*; Reumont, iii., 1, 488 *et seq.*; Chroniche Anconit., ed. Ciaverini, 1, 166; Marini, Archiatri, i., 143, and Cancellieri, Notizie di alcune celebre promozioni e specialmente di quella del card. L. Scarampo in the Effem. lett. di Roma (Roma, 1822), viii., 29 *et seq.*

† See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 616. Müntz, i., 36. The wealthy Scarampo also collected antiques; see Müntz, Précurseurs, 40 *et seq.*, 108, 128.

‡ Eugenius IV. was the twenty-sixth Pope who had been compelled to flee from Rome. See the enumeration in Cod. 36, D. 2, f. 394 of the Corsini Library in Rome

austere monk, tended to keep him untouched by the Renaissance movement, but he was by no means indifferent to the progress of science, and had given proof of his zeal in this matter by his re-establishment (1431) of the Roman University, which "had been completely ruined by the misfortunes of the time, and the disunion of the Church."* He also encouraged artists, and was well disposed to carry on the work of Martin V., but the Roman Revolution of 1434 suddenly interrupted every effort of the kind.

Pope Eugenius IV.'s choice of Florence, the home of revived art and the intellectual centre of Humanism in Italy, as his abode, was a matter of the greatest importance. The Pope and his Court, by their lengthened sojourn there† and by the negotiations with the Greeks, were brought into the closest contact with the Renaissance; and the vehement discussions which soon afterwards broke out in regard to the Councils, compelled him to secure the services of skilful pens, so as to fight his opponents with their own weapons. The years spent in Florence, however, were of more weight than all besides. It was impossible to live in the very home of the Renaissance and remain insensible to its influence. This was, however, a time of probation for the Humanistic Secretaries of the Pope. The sources of

* See Savigny, iii., 319, 321. Renazzi, i., 116 *et seq.* F. Denifle (Universitäten, T. 1, p. 213) says with reason: "It is an ineffable glory for the name of Eugenius IV. to have assisted in the work of restoration of the Roman University."

† Eugenius IV. arrived at Florence on the 23rd June, 1434, and remained there until April, 1436, when he went to Bologna. Shortly before his departure he consecrated the Cathedral, whose cupola had been completed by Brunelleschi two years before. See C. Guasti, La Cupola di St. Maria del Fiore (Firenze, 1857), 9, 37, 89. On the 27th January, 1439, Eugenius returned to Florence for the Council and stayed there until the 7th March, 1443 (not the end of 1442, as von Ottenthal, 29, states). See Graziani, 526 n.

remuneration failed, and in consequence many members of the Court left their Master. Among the few who remained faithful was Flavio Biondo,* who had been appointed Apostolic Secretary early in the year 1434. In his simplicity, modesty, and purity of life this hard-working man, who was a representative of the Christian Renaissance, forms a consoling contrast to the unprincipled Poggio and his fellows.† The Pope had a great regard for him, and Biondo, on his side, manifested his gratitude by dedicating to Eugenius IV. his historical description of the City of Rome ("Roma Instaurata"). This is in some respects a very remarkable work, being the first topographical account of the Eternal City founded on a systematic use of documentary sources of information. It is also full of original, though often mistaken, ideas. Biondo is, in fact, the founder of a special branch of science—that of topography.‡ His book abounds in information regarding Christian Rome. Unlike Poggio, from whose "Wanderings through Rome" all allusion to this aspect of the Eternal City is carefully excluded, Biondo, the Christian Humanist, brings it prominently forward. With Petrarch, he believes that the majesty and glory of Rome stand on another and surer foundation than the vanished pomp of Capitol and Palatine, the renown of her Consuls and Legions. At the end of the third book he gives a complete list of the principal churches, chapels, and holy places. He justly prizes the sanctuaries and relics of Our Lord, the handkerchief of

* Regarding his appointment see Wilmann's account, derived from the Archives in Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, p. 1495-1497.

† Masius, 21, tells us how Biondo kept aloof from Poggio. Biondo's epitaph, which has often been given incorrectly, is to be found in Casimiro, 265 *et seq.*, as well as in the places named by Masius (5).

‡ See Masius, 49 *et seq.* Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum (Berlin, 1878), i., 1, 77.

St. Veronica, and the shrine, *Domine quo vadis*, and those of the Apostles and Martyrs, as the peculiar and inalienable treasure of Rome. The thought of the glorious remains preserved in the Eternal City consoles him for the ruin which meets him on every side. An intelligent interest in Christian antiquity pervades the whole work, which, at its commencement, undertakes to point out the sanctuaries of the martyrs, and especially to inform its readers where and by whom the churches were built. Accordingly, throughout the whole of the first volume, which follows the topographical order, the churches are introduced together with the edifices of ancient Rome. The restoration of ecclesiastical buildings, accomplished by the zeal of Eugenius IV., is repeatedly mentioned in terms of the highest praise; and other works are not unnoticed, as, for example, the magnificent completion of the Palace of San Lorenzo in Lucina, whose foundations had been laid in 1300, and whose construction had been carried on by many successive Cardinals; also the rebuilding of the bridges connecting the Island of the Tiber with the rest of Rome, by order of Eugenius IV. It will be seen that Biondo may fairly claim the title of founder of Christian and mediæval topography.*

To give an account of all the Humanists who entered the Papal service during the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. does not fall within the scope of the present work.† We need only remark that their number was surprisingly great and that, notwithstanding the Pope's austerity, little or no regard was paid in their selection to Christian conduct or to religious sentiments. At this time, indeed, the antagonism which afterwards appeared was still latent, and the partisans of the Christian and Heathen Renaissance

* Piper, Einleitung, 668-669. See also Reumont, iii., 1, 312, and Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 226-227.

† See Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 32-44.

associated freely with one another. The literary gatherings which took place every morning and evening at Florence, in the vicinity of the Papal residence, with Manetti, Traversari and Parentucelli included also Poggio and Carlo Marsuppini, who on his death-bed scorned the consolations of Religion.*

The decision with which Eugenius forbade Valla's return to Rome, when he sought forgiveness and offered his services and his measures against Beccadelli's disgraceful book, prove, nevertheless, that he did not practically ignore the dangers of the heathen Renaissance. It is probable that he would have opposed it in a far more energetic manner, had not the contest with the Council of Basle taxed all his powers to the utmost, and made the greatest consideration towards the Humanists with their ready pens a necessity. The Pope feared them, because, as he once observed, they were not wont to pass over an injury, and because they could avenge themselves with weapons which were hard to parry.† Humanistic studies were warmly encouraged in this Pontificate, as they had been in the preceding one, by Cardinals Giordano Orsini (†1438), Albergati (†1443), Giuliano Cesarini (†1444), Prospero Colonna, and Domenico Capranica. The last-named Cardinal had a choice library of two thousand volumes, which he generously

* See *supra* p. 27. According to Voigt, the dignity of Papal Secretary was in the case of Marsuppini purely honorary, and he may never have drawn up a document for the Chancery.

† Ægidius of Viterbo has preserved this saying of the Pope's. *Historia viginti sæculorum: "Amavit hic viros doctos permultisque liberalis admodum fuit dictitans doctorum virorum non modo amandam eruditionem, sed etiam indignationem formidandam quippe qui impune lædi non soleant: telis illos armatos esse quæ vitari non possint." Cod. C. 8, 9, f. 286 of the Angelica Library in Rome.

opened to all students.* Gerardo Landriani (†1445) another patron of the Humanists, was raised to the purple by Eugenius IV. at the Council of Florence. He had a valuable library of classical works, many of which were rare His learning was justly esteemed, and the discourses which he made before the Council of Basle and as Ambassador to the King of England, were transcribed, and regarded as elegant compositions.† This Cardinal was on friendly terms with Marsuppini, Poggio, and even Beccadelli, a circumstance which gave no offence to their contemporaries. It became more and more the custom to flatter the Humanists on account of their literary services. Those were the days when the ascetic Albergati held constant intercourse with half-heathen wits, and the pious Capranica welcomed Poggio's letters and addressed him as his "very dear comrade."‡

Besides these Cardinals we must mention Bessarion as a diligent collector of books, a laborious author, and a friend and patron of scholars. He was the protector of all the learned Greeks who had any reason to apply to the Papal Court.§

It is not easy to pronounce a general judgment as to the circumstances which prepared the way for the Pontificate of the first Humanist who ever mounted the Papal Throne, yet we may safely say that the contact of Pope and Court with the vigorous literary life of Florence had in some respects a very beneficial effect. On the other hand, however, it was undoubtedly one of the contributing causes of that predominance of Humanists in the Roman Court which, in

* Catalanus, 129.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 31.

‡ See Catalanus, 262.

§ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 29-31. Vast, Bessarion, 165 *et seq.* See *infra* p. 319, *et seq.*

itself, and still more on account of their heathen tendencies, awakened grave apprehensions.*

The Italian troubles consequent on the exile of Eugenius were small compared with those provoked by the Assembly at Basle. Neither the fact of his compliance nor his defenceless position† availed to soften the hearts of the bitter enemies of the Papacy in that City. The reconciliation had been only apparent, and the feelings of the majority were unchanged, so that the fanatical partizans of the Council soon gained the upper hand. Their leader was Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, and their object was to make the Council permanent and endow it with all the attributes of sovereignty, judicial, administrative, legislative, and executive, with the Pope as its more or less necessary appendage.‡ Instead of the reform of the ecclesiastical abuses, which in many countries had reached a fearful pitch, the diminution of the Papal authority and the destruction of the monarchical character of the Church became the chief business of the Synod.§

A decree abolishing at one blow all annates, pallium-fees, taxes, and other charges was issued by this Assembly, and was well calculated to provoke a desperate struggle between the Pope and the Council. A Protestant historian remarks that this "decree, even if in itself just and necessary, was, with such extensive provisions, at this moment, a party measure of extreme violence. The Pope, with a portion of his Court, was in exile at Florence, and

* Reumont, iii., 1, 314.

† "Stava in Firenze," writes Nic. della Tuccia, 144, "senza corte e senza cardinali."

‡ Hergenröther, ii., 1, 106-107. Hefele, vii., 583 *et seq.*, gives a full account of the intrigues of this party.

§ For the decrees of reform published by the Council, see Hefele, vii., 593 *et seq.*

dependent on the alms of his allies. He was more than ever in need of money for subsidies to the troops, by whose help alone he could recover for himself, and for the Church, the territories which had been wrested from her or had revolted against her. And, at this very time, his last source of revenue was cut off. In vain did the Papal Legates ask how the officials of the Court were to be paid, embassies kept up, exiled prelates supported, and heretics and enemies of the Church overcome. It seemed as if the Council counted on the Pope's disobeying its decree and thus giving fresh occasion for judicial proceedings. There was a tone of irony in the discourses which were constantly made in praise of Apostolic poverty, and in the suggestion that the Pope, undisturbed by temporal cares, could live entirely for the service of God. At Constance, the abolition of the annates had been demanded, but in view of the Pope's defenceless position, deferred. This consideration was at that time an act of forbearance, now it was a duty."*

Further decrees against the Pope soon followed. They were so prejudicial to the undoubted rights of the Holy See that Eugenius IV. was constrained to address a memorial to all the European Powers, making bitter complaints of the unheard of presumption of the Synod. It had, he says, degraded his Legates by arbitrarily limiting their authority; made their presidency merely nominal by resolving that its decisions should be published by others and without their consent; transformed itself into a headless body; subjected the Pope, by a false interpretation of

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 76-77. See also Raumer, 129-130 Aschbach, iv., 356-357; Birck, 7, and Zhishman, 93 *et seq.* The Protestant C. A. Menzel says (vii., 127) that the proceedings of the Council were calculated to reduce the sole Ruler of the Church to the position of a mere servant of the Council.

the Constance decrees, to the censorship of the Synod, in a manner unknown to former times; undertaken an immense amount of business, and involved itself in discussions altogether foreign to its proper object; given away many benefices; erected commenda; granted Papal dispensations; demanded for itself the annates refused to the Pope; assumed the right of dealing with cases reserved to the Holy See; and suppressed the Prayer for the Pope in the Liturgy. The undue extension to private persons of the right of suffrage, in direct opposition to the ancient custom of Councils, is justly viewed by the Pope as the chief source of all this confusion. Measures adopted at Constance with a view to the unanimous decision of the great question of the Schism,—a matter of universal consequence—were made applicable to all cases and extended in their scope. With a fallacious appeal to this isolated example, an assembly, the majority of whose members were men of no real weight, proceeded to deal with affairs of the utmost importance, gave forth as the decisions of a General Council decrees which had been drawn up in an unlawful and precipitate manner, and endeavoured to overturn the constitution of the Church. For these reasons the Pope deemed that it was time for princes to recall their Bishops and Ambassadors from Basle, and so render possible the assembling of another and better-disposed Council.*

The complaints of Eugenius, who was unwilling to let his high dignity become a mere shadow, were fully justified, for the conduct of the clerical democracy at Basle went beyond all bounds. The majority of the Assembly consisted of Frenchmen, and offered no opposition to any measure directed against the exiled Pope; the most

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1436, n. 2, 16. See Döllinger, ii., 1, 331. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 108. Creighton, ii., 127.

fanatical party seized every opportunity of making him feel their power and ill-will.* Their real object was declared with admirable candour by the Bishop of Tours in one of the Sessions in the following words: "We must either wrest the Apostolic See from the hands of the Italians, or else despoil it to such a degree that it will not matter where it abides." † The Council would have proceeded yet further in this direction but for a crisis occasioned by the negotiations for union with the Greeks.

The history of these negotiations shows that the Pope alone sincerely sought for union. The Greek Emperor used the idea as a talisman to procure aid against the Turks; the members of the Council of Basle hoped by its means to gain a fresh victory over the Pope, and, by a great success, to recover their hold on public opinion, which was threatening to turn against them.‡ The choice of the place where the Union Council should meet led to fresh discord between the Pope and the Assembly at Basle. In its Session of the 7th May, 1437, an important decision was arrived at. The Anti-Papal party, led by Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, had, shortly before this Session, so strengthened itself by the admission of a number of ecclesiastics from the neighbourhood of Basle, that it could command a majority. Amidst violent opposition it decided that Basle should be the place of meeting, or, if this city were not convenient for the Greeks,

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 109. Döllinger, ii., 1, 330. See Düx, i., 288 *et seq.*, and Lederer, 61.

† Æneas Sylvius, Commentarius, ed. Fea, 62. For an account of the French efforts to re-establish the Avignon Papacy, see Hefele, vii., 603-604.

‡ This is Pichler's view, i., 389. See Zimmermann, 89 *et seq.*, and Zhishman's unfortunately uncompleted work on the negotiations for Union, 18 *et seq.*, 125 *et seq.*

Avignon, or some city in Savoy, and also that a general tithe should be levied on Church property to meet the necessary expenses. A minority of the Assembly, including Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini and the most esteemed among the Prelates, voted for the selection of Florence or Udine, which had been proposed by the Pope.*

The Pope approved of the decision of the minority, and did everything in his power to hinder the execution of the Decree of the majority. He saw plainly the object of the contemplated transfer of the Council from Basle to Avignon to be the establishment of the Roman Court under French protection in the latter city, after his death or deposition. This purpose explains the obstinacy with which Cardinal Louis Allemand and his followers held to Avignon in spite of the objections of the Pope, ever mindful of the disastrous results of the sojourn of his predecessors in that city, and of the Greeks, which were founded on its great distance from their country. The objections of the Greeks frustrated all negotiations between them and the Cardinal's party, while the superior skill of the Papal diplomatists completely won them over to the side of their master.†

The Pope's success provoked his adversaries at Basle to the utmost, and on the 3rd July, 1437, they issued a monitum, in which, after pouring forth a torrent of accusations against him and even laying all the political miseries of the States of the Church to his charge, they summoned him to appear before their tribunal. A Bull, published on the 18th

* Aschbach, iv., 369. Zhishman, 168 *et seq.*, Hefele, vii., 645 *et seq.* The two decrees were read at the same time, the two parties standing opposite each other in the Cathedral in an attitude so hostile that a bloody encounter was to be apprehended at any moment!

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 129. Hefele, vii., 648 *et seq.*, 654 *et seq.*

September, was the Pope's reply to this summons; it declared that the six years' duration of the Council of Basle had produced a surprisingly small result. He made known to all Christendom its evil doings, and should it undertake any measures against him and the Cardinals, or persist in its adherence to the monitum, he required its immediate removal to Ferrara, a city which had been named by the Greeks and which he approved. On the publication of the Bull, the Synod was at once to discontinue its labours, except in regard to Bohemian affairs, which might proceed for thirty-one days more. In any case, however, on the arrival of the Greeks and their ratification of the selection of Ferrara, the Pope transfers the Council to that city, and there, in presence of the new Synod and before the whole world, he will justify his conduct and clear himself from the accusations made against him at Basle. At the same time he annulled the transfer of the Council to Avignon, summoned all who had a right to be present to meet at Ferrara, and formally made the removal to that city known to all the citizens of Basle and to all the illustrious Universities.*

The Synod declared this Bull invalid, and threatened the

* Hefele vii., 650-651. The sterility of the Basle Council, complained of by Eugenius IV., is thus described by Æneas Sylvius in his Commentarius, ed. Fea, 62: "Ceterum in communi de moribus, de pietate, de iustitia, de modestia cleri ac populi nihil agebatur. Pluralitas beneficiorum, quia multos tangebat, prohiberi nunquam potuit. Habitus episcopales, qui apud Alemannos leniusculi (leviusculi?) sunt, reformari non valuerunt nec arma prohibita sacerdotibus nec venationes aut aucupationes non fastus nimius sublatus; quamvis Julianus aurea mulis fræna subtraxerit lege manuali, quæ paucibus mensibus duravit. Non prohibita sumptuosa prandia, non famulatus laicalis, non pecuniaria iudicia, non multitudo ignorantium sacerdotum. Sola reformatio sancta videbatur, si sedes apostolica nuda relinqueretur."

Pope with suspension and deposition. In vain did Cardinal Cesarini once more endeavour to make peace. In a long and fervent discourse, he earnestly entreated the members of the Synod to lay aside all hatred and strife and meet the Greeks,* and send ambassadors to them. Should the Greeks refuse to come to Basle, Avignon, or Savoy, he urged concession to their wishes, inasmuch as union was the principal matter and the place but a secondary consideration. He also insisted on reconciliation with the Pope, lest they should become a laughing-stock to the Greeks. But his words fell upon deaf ears, and with his numerous friends he left Basle.†

The learned Nicholas of Cusa and other distinguished theologians also at this time separated themselves from the Council, and espoused the cause of the Pope. They have been severely blamed for the step and accused of want of principle. But, as the historian of these events very justly observes, "is it impossible that a man should enthusiastically cling to a party as long as he is fully persuaded of the goodness, justice, and usefulness of its aims and proceedings, and when he sees it enter on an evil course and persist in it in spite of all warnings, should sever himself from it and oppose it? Is not this the duty of every honourable and truth-loving man? The estimable Cardinal Cesarini and the great Nicholas of Cusa were warm partisans of the Council of Basle as long as they believed it to be animated by zeal for the improvement of the condition of the Church, for the conversion of those in error and for the restoration of peace and unity. When, however, it became more and more evident that no true regard for the welfare of the Church, but paltry obstinacy and party feeling, ruled its

* The Greeks had embarked in November, 1437, in ships furnished by the Pope. See Zhishman, 215-218 *et seq.*

† Hefele, vii., 653-657.

decisions; when the hatred of the majority of its members for the Pope had made Schism with all its terrible consequences imminent, these men considered themselves bound to abandon the cause of the Synod, and thereby, as far as in them lay, avert the threatened calamity."*

While the Synod of Basle thus lost its best adherents, the Council, which had been opened at Ferrara on the 8th January, 1438, by Cardinal Albergati, at once attained the greatest importance. On the 4th March the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, appeared with a numerous train of Greek dignitaries and theologians, amongst whom were Mark of Ephesus, Bessarion of Nicæa, and Gemistos Plethon; four days later the Greek patriarch Joseph followed. Eugenius IV. had been there ever since the end of January, and immediately after his arrival had convened the members of the Assembly to a solemn Congregation in his private chapel, laid before them the state of his relations with the Synod of Basle, and exhorted them to begin the work of reformation by their own amendment.†

The negotiations with the Greeks dragged on for more than a year, and often it seemed as if the Assembly would disperse without accomplishing its end. Political neces-

* Hefele in Aschbach's Kirchenlexikon, 1, 498. See Histor. polit. Bl. xii., 599 *et seq.*; Höfler in d. Münch. Gel. Anz. 1848, p. 478 *et seq.*, 482; and Düx, i., 166-168; *ibid.*, 227 *et seq.*, 233 *et seq.* concerning the subsequent labours of Cusa in the cause of Eugenius and for the cardinal point of ecclesiastical organization. The celebrated J. Nieder also left Basle at the beginning of the year 1436; see Schieler, 368.

† Cecconi, St. del Conc. di Firenze (1869), i., 208. Hefele, vii., 663. The latter justly observes: "The advice was excellent, for while many talked more than enough about improvement, no results were to be seen; Eugenius had already written to the Basle Synod that good examples and deeds were needed, not words."

sities at last induced the Greeks to give way, and in July, 1439, the union, which proved but a temporary one, was effected at Florence, the Council having been in the meanwhile transferred to that city.* A document in which the conditions of union were laid down, was signed on the 5th July, 1439, by all the ecclesiastical dignitaries present in Florence, with the exception of some bitter opponents among the Greeks, and on the 6th July it was solemnly read in the Cathedral. It is still preserved as one of the most precious treasures of the Laurentian Library.

The Pope hastened to make the good tidings known throughout Christendom, and to appoint public prayers and processions, in order to thank God for the happy event, and implore Him to perfect His work, and bring the proud barbarian nations also beneath the yoke of the Christian Faith. †

The success obtained by Eugenius was indeed immense, for, even if the hatred of the Greek to the Latin nations made the union continue to be rather one on paper than a living reality, yet it was the accomplishment of that which had long been deemed impossible; a Schism, before whose extent and danger even the Papal Schism seemed small, had been dogmatically healed, and the great boon of a reconciliation, which it was hoped would be world-wide,

* The plague only furnished a pretext for the removal of the Union Council to Florence. Frommann (25 *et seq.*) shows that Eugenius IV. desired the migration purely on financial grounds, Florence having most liberally provided the necessary resources, not, however, without some prospect of advantage and guarantee for repayment.

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1439, N. 9, and Chmel., Mat., i., 2, 51-52. (Letter of the 7th July to Duke Frederick of Austria, beginning with the words: "Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.") The Latin and Greek text of the Decree of Union, after the copy in the Laurentian Library, has been pub-

was due to the persecuted Pope.* It was difficult at that period to form an opinion as to the duration of the union, but there was a more or less general impression that the submission of the Greeks would tend to the exaltation of that Papal authority which the Council of Basle had set at naught.†

The dogmatical decision regarding the extent of the Papal power, embodied in the Union Decree of the Council of Florence, was of extreme importance to western Christendom, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the great Schism. An Œcumenical Council ‡ now pronounced the Pope to be the head, not merely of individual Churches, but of the Church Universal, to derive his power, not from the will of the faithful, but immediately from Christ, whose Vicar he is; and to be not only the Father, but also the Teacher, to whom all Christians owe submission.§ The publication of this decision, which has become the essential foundation of the theological development of the doctrine of the Primacy, was a mortal blow to the very root of the Schism.||

Apart from their dogmatic aspect, these negotiations with

lished with explanations by C. Milanesi in the Giornale storico degli Archivi toscani (Firenze, 1857), i., 196 *et seq.*

* Höfler, Roman-Welt, 208.

† Creighton, ii., 192-193.

‡ See Heinrich, ii., 413 *et seq.*

§ Hergenröther, ii., 1, 201; 111, 390 *et seq.* See *ibid.*, Staat und Kirche, 968 *et seq.*, and Hefele, vii., 741-761. The literature treating of the pretended falsification of some copies of the Union decree in the passage concerning the Primacy, is here brought forward and examined.

|| Lederer, Torquemada, 13. The Constitution "Moyses," published in September, 1439, by Eugenius IV., breathes a consciousness of increased power, and condemns the revolutionary proceedings of the Council of Basle in the strongest terms.

the Greeks hold an important place in the history of literature and civilization. The results of the new intellectual intercourse between East and West, between Greek and Latin culture, were immense, especially in the promotion of the study of the Greek language and the introduction of the Greek philosophy, both of which had hitherto been almost unknown to Western Christendom.

On the Roman Court the influence exercised was an abiding one, and tended to give the Humanist element a power even greater than that which it had already attained. Eugenius IV. required men who were able to translate Greek, and to hold personal interviews and disputations with the representatives of the Greek Church, and accordingly, although himself untouched by the spirit of the Renaissance, he was constrained to take a number of eminent Greek scholars, who were Humanists, into his service. These men were fully employed, to judge from Guarino's declaration that from the time of the arrival of the Greeks he had not enjoyed a quiet hour. The official interpreter in the disputations was Niccolò Sagundino of Negroponte, a man of business rather than a scholar.* It was during the progress of these long-drawn negotiations with the Greeks that Tommaso Parentucelli, one of the noblest representatives of the Christian Renaissance, gave those brilliant proofs of his knowledge of theological literature, which attracted the attention of the Pope and thus paved the way for his own subsequent elevation to the supreme dignity.†

The Greek Bessarion, and the Camaldolese monk, Ambrogio Traversari, the special favourite of Eugenius, whom we

* See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 118.

† Parentucelli likewise distinguished himself in the negotiations for union with the Armenians, Jacobites, and Ethiopians. See Mai, Spicil., i., 30.

have already mentioned, took a yet more important part in these proceedings. To the latter belongs the honour of having drawn up the Act of Union in both languages; it is plain, however, from careful investigation that Bessarion's share in the composition of this document was considerable.*

Bessarion, a great man and a great scholar, has been justly regarded as the last Greek of note before the complete downfall of his nation.† He was born at Trebizond early in the fifteenth century, and was of humble origin. After studying for some time at Constantinople he entered the Basilian Order in 1423, and in the same year went to the Peloponesus and zealously applied himself to philosophy and mathematics under the guidance of Gemistos Plethon. His natural aversion to anything extreme and exclusive, either in conduct or in science, made the office of mediator and peacemaker peculiarly congenial, and gave him a special fitness for the management of the difficult negotiations regarding union. He passed rapidly through the different grades of ecclesiastical promotion until he became Archbishop of Nicæa, and as such accompanied the Greek Emperor to

* See Studien und Forschungen über das Leben und die Zeit des Cardinals Bessarion, 1395-1472. Abhandhungen, Regesten und Collectaneen von Wolfgang von Goethe, i. Die Zeit des Concils von Florenz, 1. Printed as MS. (Jena, 1871).

† Von Hase in Ersch-Gruber, Encykl., Section 1, Vol. IX., p. 295. Materials for a Biography of Bessarion have been well put together by Voigt (11, 2nd ed., 124, note). Raggi's Commentario sulla vita del card. B. (Roma, 1844), dedicated to Cardinal Mario Mattei, is, in my opinion, of no value. Vast's work (Paris, 1878) is far from satisfactory. I have not been able to get a sight of Sadov's Monograph, published in St. Petersburgh, 1883 (see Revue des quest. hist., 1884, Janv, p. 271). Regarding Bessarion's relations to Grottaferrata, see Rocchi, La Badia di S. Maria di Grottaferrata (Roma, 1884).

Italy. His moral worth and persuasive eloquence made a deep impression on all who saw him in Ferrara and Florence. After the happy conclusion of the union, Bessarion went for a short time to Greece, but soon returned to Italy, where he joined the Latin obedience, and on the 18th December, 1439, was raised to the purple, together with Archbishop Isidore.* He was now commonly known by the name of Nicenus, while Isidore was called Ruthenus. Bessarion's proceeding has been the subject of severe and most unjust censure. But this step seems amply accounted for both on personal and external grounds, if we regard it as a consequence of the Union of the Churches and the attendant negotiations, nor does it involve any change either of opinion or belief. Bessarion's subsequent bearing towards his former associates was uniformly noble and generous.† With a heart full of the ideal of that union which unfortunately was to prove so short-lived, he strove in his new country to promote the study and appreciation of Greek learning, and became its able Humanistic exponent.‡ He also studied Latin, and was zealous in his labours for the Church, for the cause of

* On this occasion no less than seventeen new Cardinals were created. Besides the two Greeks whom we have mentioned, there were five Italians (Joannes ex comitibus Taleacottii, Nicolaus de Acciapacio, Georgius Fliscus, Gerardus Landrianus, and Albertus de Albertis), four Frenchmen (Reginaldus de Chartres, Ludovicus de Lucemburgo, Joannes Juvenis and Guillelmus de Estouteville), a Spaniard (Joannes de Turrecremata), an Englishman (Joannes Kemp), a German (Petrus a Schaumberg), a Portuguese (Antonius Martini de Clavibus), a Pole (Sbigneus Olesnicius), and a Hungariun (Dionysius Zechus). See Ciaconius, ii., 900-919. Frizon, 483 *et seq.*

† Düx, in Aschbach's Kirchenlexikon, i., 698-699. See Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 101.

‡ Düx, *loc. cit*

learning and for his own unhappy nation. We shall have hereafter to speak of the many difficult missions which the Pope entrusted to Bessarion, as well as of his self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of his countrymen. As Reformer of the Basilian Order and Protector of the two great Mendicant Orders, the Greek Cardinal rendered the most valuable service to the Church. His ample income was nobly employed in the furtherance of learning, the acquisition of manuscripts and the maintenance of needy scholars. His Palace was a place of meeting for all the most distinguished Greek and Italian literary men, and the circle of Humanists whom he drew around him took the form of an academy, in which the philosophy of Plato and all other branches of learning and science were discussed in familiar conversation.* The Cardinal gave further practical proof of his hearty interest in the Renaissance by his translation into Latin of many Greek authors, by his splendid defence of Plato against the Aristotelian, George of Trebizond,† and by the establishment of a library unequalled in Italy for the number and value of its manuscripts; especially after the fall of Constantinople, the zeal of the collector was guided and

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 543. See Vast, 165 *et seq.*, 298 *et seq.* Hase (297) says: "Bessarion's power of gathering around him such men as Flavio Biondo, Filelfo, Poggio, L. Valla, Campano, Perotto, Dom. Calderino, Platina, etc., who accompanied him, after the classic manner, when he walked abroad, and spoke of him in their writings with peculiar esteem, although the opinions held by some amongst them differed widely from his own, is a proof of his social talent and of an amount of true culture beyond that which mere learning can bestow." Adinolfi, ii., 24, gives an account of Bessarion's house in Rome.

† "In calumniatorem Platonis" is the title of the Latin translation in four books (see Vast, 347). The Greek original, in three books, is preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome. See v. Hertling in der Literar. Rundschau, 1875, p. 91, N. 1.

stimulated by his patriotism. If his country was to be desolated by barbarians, he wished at least to rescue the intellectual works of the ancient Greeks from destruction, and accordingly made it his business to search diligently after rare books.* His appointment by the Pope in 1446 as Visitor of the Basilian Monasteries in Italy† was extremely favourable to the accomplishment of his purpose. By degrees he got together about nine hundred manuscripts, whose value he estimated at fifteen hundred ducats. Four years before his death he presented this library to the Republic of Venice, the ancient link between East and West. His motive for this magnanimous action was the consideration that, notwithstanding all his liberality, the library, while in his possession, could benefit but a limited number of readers, whereas in Venice its treasures would be open to all scholars.‡ The Philosopher Gemistos Plethon, Bessarion's master, ranks next after him among the Greeks who took part in the Union Council. The energies of this gifted but passionate man were, however, directed rather to the spread of the Platonic Philosophy than to the cause of union, and he left behind him abiding traces of his work in Italy. His burning words inflamed the soul of Cosmo de' Medici, and gave birth to his plan for

* Voigt, ii., 2nd. ed., 131.

† Bessarion also turned his new position to account by founding schools of learning.

‡ Geiger, Renaissance, 112, whose statement that Bessarion had spent 30,000 ducats on his library requires correction. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 543 makes the same mistake. Works treating of the fate of Bessarion's Library (now included in the Marciana) are mentioned in Reumont, iii., 1, 511. See also Vast, 373 *et seq.* Gregorovius, however, was not acquainted with E. G. Vogel's essay: "Bessarion's Stiftung oder die Anfänge der St. Marcusbibliothek in Venedig," published in the Serapeum (1841), ii., 90 *et seq.*, 97 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.*

the revival of this philosophy in Italy. Marsiglio Ficino, the man selected by Cosmo for the execution of his purpose, says in his translation of the works of Plotinos: "The great Cosmo, at the time when the Council assembled by Pope Eugenius IV. was sitting in Florence, was never weary of listening to the discourses of Plethon, who, like a second Plato, held disputations on the Platonic Philosophy. The eloquence of this man took such hold upon him and animated him with such enthusiasm, that he firmly resolved to found an Academy at the first favourable moment."*

Soon after the conclusion of the Council, Plethon returned to his home, happily without having imparted his heathen opinions to the Italians, whom he regarded as uncultivated barbarians.†

The union with the Greeks was soon followed by others, but unfortunately in most cases these were only caused by the pressure of necessity, and accordingly had no real stability. On the 22nd November, 1439, Eugenius IV. had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty with the Armenian Ambassadors for the union of their Church with that of Rome.‡ In 1443 union with a portion of the Jacobites followed.§ The movement among the Eastern Christians

* See Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 402.

† "Plethon," Hertzberg informs us (ii., 493), "had in his heart completely abandoned Christianity. His ideal was a 'heathen form of worship tinged by neo-platonic theosophy,' his system was a 'precipitate' of neo-platonic theories, with a mystical and theurgical colouring." To the literature mentioned by Hertzberg may be added Fr. Schultze's monograph, G. G. Pletho und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen (Jena, 1874), which shows 1450, not 1452, to have been the date of Plethon's death. See also Geiger, 109 *et seq.* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 119 *et seq.* Norrenberg, ii., 22. Haffner, 680. Hettner, 173 *et seq.* Yriarte, 261 (regarding the grave in Rimini).

‡ See Bullar, v., 44-51, and Theiner, Mon. Slavor., i., 381.

§ See Hefele, vii., 796 *et seq.* Pichler, ii., 493.

continued for the next few years. In the spring of 1442 the Council was removed from Florence to Rome, where it held two Sessions (30th September, 1444, and 7th August, 1445), principally occupied with the union of the Orientals. On the 7th August, 1445, Eugenius published a Bull giving thanks to God that, after the return of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites, the Nestorians and Maronites had now also given ear to his admonitions, and had solemnly professed the immaculate Faith of the Roman Church. He declared that the Maronites and Chaldeans were no longer to be styled heretics, nor was the name of Nestorian to be applied to the latter body.* A year before the date of this Bull, King Stephen of Bosnia had entered the Catholic Church, and his example had been followed by his relations and by the most distinguished of the Bosnian magnates.† Before the end of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. the East appeared to be almost entirely united to Rome. Unfortunately the union was more apparent than real, and was but partial; nevertheless the general success of these negotiations gave fresh support to the Papal power amid the enemies which beset it on every side.‡

Few Popes have done so much as Eugenius IV. did for the East, and although it soon became evident that most of the Greeks had no real desire for union, he persevered in

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1445, n. 21-22. Pichler, ii., 544-545. Regarding the Maronites see Kuntsmann, Tüb. theol. Quartalschr., 1845, p. 45 *et seq.*

† See Klaic, 370-372. Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 388-389, and Balan, Chiesa Catt. e gli Slavi, 184, 237-239.

‡ Frommann, 22. A. Dillmann (Ueber die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Z. J. (Berlin, 1884), 69-70), and Pichler (ii., 505) show that King Zara Jacob of Ethiopia took no part in the attempts to bring about the union of his Church with that of Rome.

his efforts to stem the tide of Turkish encroachment, and to secure the duration of the Byzantine Empire.*

Lower Hungary as far as the Theiss, Sclavonia, and the whole of the district between the Save and the Drave, were devastated with fire and sword by the Turks in the spring of 1441. The Hungarian hero, John Hunyadi, who, in acknowledgment of his faithful services, had been created Duke of Transylvania and Count of Temesvar, happily for Christendom undertook the command in the southern frontier cities of the kingdom, and by his skill and energy successfully repelled repeated attacks of the Turks. The Pope meanwhile did all in his power to promote the war against the Infidels. He wrote touching letters to the western Princes, describing the sad position of the Christians in the East and promising many favours to those who should take part in the crusade. At the beginning of the year 1442 he published an Encyclical letter, in which, after mentioning his own poverty, he exhorted and required all archbishops, bishops, and abbots to pay a tithe from all their churches, monasteries, and benefices for the prosecution of the war against the Turks; he himself, he added, would give a good example to all Christendom in this matter, which concerned the welfare of the Church, and would devote the fifth part of the whole revenues of the Apostolic treasury to the equipment of the army and fleet.† He sent Cardinal Cesarini as legate to Hungary, to restore peace in that kingdom as speedily as possible; and also

* See Frommann, 189 *et seq.*, 204 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, from *Cod. xvi., 85 of the Barberini Library in Rome. From 1441 to 1445 Eugenius IV. also laboured for the deliverance of Rhodes; see Raynaldus ad an. 1445 N. 18-19; Wadding, xi., 210 *et seq.*; Frommann, 208 *et seq.*, 211, and Delaville Le Roulx, Les Archives, &c., de l'ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem à Malte (Paris, 1883), 29.

† See Zinkeisen, i., 598 *et seq.*, 607.

desired Bishop Christopher of Corona to urge all the Princes, Lords, and Cities in the adjacent Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, Lithuania and Albania to be united amongst themselves and to do battle with their common enemy. The preparation of a fleet was begun at Venice at a great cost.*

The effects of Cesarini's eloquence were soon visible in the pacification of Hungary and the preparations which were made for a great campaign against the Turks; unfortunately, however, the majority of the western Princes remained indifferent to the Pope's appeal. Poland and Wallachia alone responded by providing two auxiliary corps, composed of infantry and cavalry, and undertaking to pay them for half a year. The lower orders manifested the utmost enthusiasm for the defence of Christendom and hastened in great numbers to Hungary, and the Pope endeavoured to forward the enterprise by subsidies.†

In June, 1443, the crusading army went forth, headed by King Wladislaw and Hunyadi and accompanied by Cardinal Cesarini and George Brankowitsch, the fugitive King of Servia. The expedition began most prosperously; the army passed unopposed through Servia, defeated the Turks in a great battle at Nisch (3rd November), reached Sofia, crossed the mountain pass between the Balkan and the Ichtimaner Srêdna Gora at Mirkovo, and proceeded to Zlatica. Here its progress was arrested by the Janissaries and, as winter had set in, it was decided that it should then retreat, and resume the campaign in the following year.‡ The terrible defeat they had experienced in the year 1443,

* Guglielmotti, i., 163 *et seq.* Zinkeisen 1, 608. Regarding Cesarini's Mission, see Palacky, iv., 1, 126, and Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 382-383.

† Zinkeisen, i., 610 *et seq.*, 657, note.

‡ Hertzberg, ii., 511. Zinkeisen, i., 611-621.

and the consequent insurrection of the Albanians under George Kastriota (Skanderbeg), combined perhaps with the tidings that a very warlike spirit was manifesting itself in the west, induced Sultan Murad III. to make proposals of peace to the Hungarians, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Cardinal Legate Cesarini, a ten years' truce was concluded at Szegedin, in virtue of which Wallachia continued in the possession of Hungary and Bulgaria in that of the Porte, while Servia reverted to Brankowitsch. Neither of the contending powers were henceforth to cross the Danube.*

Before the conclusion of this peace, which politically was a great mistake, the crusading fleet had sailed for the Levant. This fleet had been brought together chiefly by the exertions of the Pope; the Venetian galleys were led by Luigi Loredano, while the command of the whole squadron was entrusted to the Apostolic Legate and Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro. The Turkish Ambassadors had hardly left Sofia when letters from the fleet arrived, urging the immediate advance of the army, inasmuch as Sultan Murad, with all his forces, had retired into Asia, and Europe was completely free from Turkish troops. The fleet expected to be able to hinder the return of the enemy from Asia, and it seemed as if the moment had come when the whole country might be subjugated by a small body of troops, and the infidels driven back to their own land. The King of Hungary was reminded of his promises to the Princes of Christendom, and the efforts which they on their side had made to fulfil their engagements.†

The eloquence of Cesarini induced the Hungarians to

* Zinkeisen, i., 626.

† Guglielmotti, ii., 163. Zinkeisen, i., 658 671.

break the truce which had just been concluded.* The consequences were most disastrous, for the Sultan set out for Europe with a great army, and the Christian fleet was unable to hinder him from crossing the Hellespont.† The assistance which the Hungarians had expected from several quarters, especially from Albania, failed to arrive, and their consternation was extreme. With a force of only thirty thousand men they nevertheless advanced, and in the beginning of November reached the shores of the Black Sea. Here the Sultan with his army met them, and on the 10th of November the battle of Varna resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Christians. King Wladislaw fell on the battle-field, and Cardinal Cesarini was murdered in his flight.

While these bloody wars were going on in the east of Europe, the struggle between the Pope and the Council continued in the west. The success obtained by Eugenius IV. at Florence had exasperated the Assembly at Basle, which now proceeded to desperate measures. The suspension of Pope Eugenius IV., pronounced on the 24th January, 1438, was, at the instigation of the Cardinal of Arles, followed, on the 25th June, 1439, by a formal sentence of deposition, and he was declared to be a heretic, on account of his persistent disobedience to the Council. The ambitious Duke Amadeus of Savoy was elected Anti-

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1444, N. 5. Zinkeisen, i., 671 *et seq.* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 338. According to Palacky (iv., 1, 126), "not only Cesarini, but also Eugenius IV., and almost all the neighbouring nations of Christendom, considered the moment favourable for the complete expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and opposed the peace." Regarding Varna, see Köhler, die Schlachten bei Nikopolis und Varna (Breslau, 1882).

† Genoese vessels were supposed to have assisted the Turks in their passage. See Guglielmotti, ii., 165. Zinkeisen, ii., 685-686. Cipolla, 516.

Pope on the 5th November, 1439, by one Cardinal and eleven Bishops,* and took the name of Felix V.

Instead then of promoting reform the Synod of Basle had brought about a new Schism. This was the necessary consequence of the attempt to change the monarchical constitution of the Church. This Anti-Pope, the last whose name appears in the History of the Papacy, failed to attain any considerable importance, although the Basle Assembly gave him a power of levying annates, such as the Roman Court had never claimed.

The guilt of the new Schism was visited on its authors. The sympathy of both princes and people was transferred from the schismatics at Basle to Eugenius. Many even who had little in common with the Pope now espoused his cause from a horror of Radicalism and disunion.† From this moment the spiritual power of the Synod steadily declined. Felix V. did immense injury to its adherents. Personally no one trusted him, and his rapacity alienated men's minds from him and from his party.‡

The attitude now assumed by the Germans and French was a very peculiar one; they recognized the Synod in

* Hefele, vii., 662 *et seq.*, 779, 785. As to the previous life of Felix V., see Sickel in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad., hist. Kl., xx., 186 *et seq.* Revue des quest. hist. (1866), i., 192 203. Only seven Bishops were present at the "deposition" of Eugenius IV. "So shameless a perversion and abuse of natural order and positive justice had never yet been known in the Church," says Döllinger (ii., 1, 339). I found an original copy of the Bull of deposition (on parchment with a leaden seal) in Cod. K., ii., f. 427 of the Vallicellana Library in Rome.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 102.

‡ Brockhaus, 33 *et seq.*, 39 *et seq.*, 79. See Hagen, iii., 453. The *Bullarium of Felix V. is preserved in the Archives of Genoa. There is a copy in eight volumes in the State Archives at Turin; see Nachrichten d. hist. Commiss., ii., 105; and Christophe, i., 350.

its decrees of reform, which fell in with their wishes, but at the same time they acknowledged the authority of the "deposed" Pope. Both nations shrank from a Schism, but neither was disposed to give up the apparent advantages gained by the Council.

Very few princes really acknowledged Felix V. Duke Albert of Bavaria-Munich, one of the first to take this step, was influenced by his brother Dr. Johann Grünwalder, a natural son of Duke John. He was made a Cardinal by Felix V., and endeavoured to manifest his gratitude by writing in favour of the Anti-Pope and against neutrality.*

Duke Albert of Austria, and Stephen, Count Palatine of Simmern and Zweibrücken, with the Dukes of Savoy and Milan also espoused the cause of Felix.†

For a long time the Basle Schismatics counted on the support of King Alfonso of Aragon. This prince had quarrelled with Eugenius, because he favoured the claim of his rival, René, Count of Anjou, to the crown of Naples. Alfonso, however, did not formally acknowledge the Anti-Pope, and, while his ambassadors treated simultaneously with Eugenius IV. and Felix V., watched the course of events, ready to declare himself for whichever of the two might offer him the largest concessions.‡ In 1442 he at

* For further details regarding Grünwalder, who died Bishop of Freising on the 2nd December, 1452, see Allg. Deutsche Biographie, x., 60; Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 310 *et seq.*, and E. Geiss, Gesch. der Stadtpfarrei St. Peter in München (1868), 30-50. I found the *Tractatus contra neutralitatem, editus per dominum Jo. Grimwalt card. tit. S. Martini in montibus, in Cod. 224, f. 100a-108b in the Library of the Monastery at Einsiedeln. Neither Geiss nor Voigt was acquainted with this Treatise.

† Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 71) is mistaken in supposing that Visconti held aloof from Felix V.; see Magenta, i., 331 *et seq.*, and Osio, iii., N. 226.

‡ Regarding the relations of Eugenius IV. to Alfonso, see K. Haebler in d. Zeitschr. für allg. Gesch. (1884), i., 831 *et seq*

length gained a complete victory over René, and took possession of Naples (June 12, 1442).

This decided success compelled Eugenius IV., whose own dominions were harassed by the warlike and insatiable Condottiere, Francesco Sforza,* to accede to all the conditions proposed by Alonso de Borja, Bishop of Valencia, on behalf of the crafty Alfonso, who constantly threatened to acknowledge the Anti-Pope. Accordingly a treaty was concluded by Cardinal Scarampo with Alfonso, on the 14th of June, 1443, at Terracina, and confirmed by the Pope on the 6th of July. The King hereby engaged to recognize Eugenius IV. as the lawful Pope, to abstain from any interference with the liberties of the Church, to provide ships for the war with the Turks, and to furnish five thousand men for the expulsion of Francesco Sforza from the March of Ancona. The Pope, on his side, confirmed the King's adoption by Joanna II. of Naples, granted him investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and the possession for life, in return for an insignificant tribute, of the cities of Benevento

Alfonso desired his subjects to render no obedience either to the Papal Bulls or the Decrees of the Council; he wished to maintain a strict neutrality. See his Decree of 1442, in V. de la Fuente, 577-578.

* Regarding the position of the Pope at this time, see Borgia, Benevento, iii., 363 *et seq.* The *Instructio præclari militis domini Thomæ de Reate ituri ad præsentiam summi pontificis pape Felicis quinti, etc., shows that Francesco Sforza endeavoured to sell his services to the Anti-Pope. The document bears date 1443, April 1. There is a copy in the State Archives at Turin (Milanese, Mazzo, ii., N. 9). On the 3rd of August, 1442, Sforza had been declared a rebel; see Raynaldus, ad an. 1442, N. 11. On the 2nd of September, 1443, an order was sent to Ancona, forbidding the city to receive Sforza or give him provisions, and requiring it to return to its obedience to the Church. I found the document relating to this matter, d.d. Senis sub anulo nostro secreto die ii. Septemb. 1443, in the City Archives at Ancona (Lib. croc. parv. f. 2).

and Terracina, in the Papal territory. Other considerable privileges were also bestowed on the King, and subsequently (July 15, 1444) the Pope recognized the right of succession of his natural son, Ferrante. The skilful diplomacy of Alonso de Borja was rewarded by his elevation to the purple (May 2, 1444).*

The Pope's position was completely altered by this treaty, which secured to him predominance in Italian affairs and superiority over the Council of Basle.† Alfonso at once recalled his subjects from that Assembly, which hereby lost some of its most important members, and amongst them the learned and influential Archbishop Tudeschi of Palermo, whom Felix V. had made a Cardinal.‡ The Duke of Milan, whose prelates had already been required to leave Basle, now espoused the cause of Eugenius.

There was now no obstacle in the way of the Pope's return to his true capital. The time of trial was over, and, after an exile of nearly ten years, on the 28th September, 1443, Eugenius victoriously re-entered Rome.

He was joyfully welcomed by the people, who had long since perceived what a wilderness Rome without the Pope must become.§ It had indeed fallen into a state of ruin and decay almost equal to that in which Martin V. had found it in 1420. Its inhabitants, wearing cloaks and heavy boots, appeared to strangers like the cowherds of the

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1443, N. 1-10; 1444, N. 21. Borgia, Benevento, iii., 368 *et seq.* Osio, iii., 288-289. Sentis, "Monarchia Sicula" (Freiburg, 1869), 95. The Codex in the Corsini Library in Rome here cited, containing f. 417 *et seq.*, *"De regno Siciliæ . . . documenta varia ex autographis regestis," now bears the number: 34, C. 14.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 84.

‡ Hefele, vii., 808. See Fiala, 378.

§ See Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58.

Campagna.* The ancient monuments were being burned for lime, and the marble and precious stones stolen from the churches. Cows, sheep, and goats wandered about the narrow, unpaved streets. In the Vatican quarter the wolves ventured by night into the cemetery near St. Peter's and dragged the corpses from their graves.† The Church of San Stefano was roofless, and those of San Pancrazio and Sta. Maria in Dominica were ready to fall.‡

Even during his absence, the Pope had taken part in the government of the City, and on his return he at once began the work of restoration, in which he was ably seconded by Cardinal Scarampo.§

About this time Eugenius had the satisfaction of seeing Scotland abandon the Synod of Basle. On the 4th November, 1443, the Parliament assented to the decree of the Provincial Council, rejecting Felix V. and unconditionally acknowledging the authority of Eugenius IV.‖ The partisans of the Schism were severely punished, and thus the dissensions which the new Schism had aroused in that

* See the evidence given by Reumont, iii., 1, 23.

† *"Cum olim ipso campo clauso non existente corpora fidelium, quæ humabantur in cimiterio dicti campi, sæpenumero reperta fuissent a lupis exhumata nec essent qui taliter exhumata iterum sepelirent aut dicti campi custodiam haberent, tempore fel. reg. Eugenii papæ IV. præd. nostri quondam Fredericus Alamanus . . . quandam domunculam in ipso campo propriis sumptibus construxit et omnia bona sua in usum et fabricam dicti campi dedicavit." *Brief of Paul II., addressed to "Dominic. Ep. Brixien. nostro in spiritualibus in urbe vicario et dil. fil. Georgio de Cesarinis canon. basil. princ. Apostolor. de urbe," d.d. Romæ ap. S. Marcum, 1466, August. 24, in *Liber primus scripturar. Archiconfraternit. b. Mariæ Campi Sancti. Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

‡ See Piper, Einleitung, 668.

§ Müntz, i., 36.

‖ Acts of Parliam. of Scotl., ii., 33. Bellesheim, i., 292-293.

country, and of which Walter Bower has left us a striking picture, were healed.* The Florentines and Venetians, formerly the political friends and supporters of Eugenius, were greatly irritated by his unlooked-for change in regard to the Neapolitan question, and now became his opponents. From vindictive motives they took part with Francesco Sforzâ, who, after a brief period of reconciliation, was again in open conflict with the Pope. The struggle with the crafty Condottiere continued throughout the rest of Eugenius' pontificate, but at last he was victorious, and a few days before his death, had the satisfaction of knowing that all the March of Ancona, with the exception of the town of Jesi, had been wrested from his enemy.†

The Pope also gained a complete victory over the Schismatics in Basle; the defection of the powerful Alfonso had inflicted a serious blow on the Assembly, and a death-like torpor soon crept over it. No more public sittings were held, and it only dealt with matters of secondary importance, such as disputes about benefices.‡

It had long been evident that the Synod could by no

* Scotichronic, l., xvi., c. 6: "Per quos in ecclesia Dei maxima scandala, et in diversis, maxime in Scotia, augerunt dissidia, dum alter ab altero dissidet, dum regnum et sacerdotium dissentit, dum alter alterum excommunicat, alter alterius excommunicationem, aut ex causa, aut e tempore, præiudicio contemnit, dum alter in alterum excommunicandi auctoritate magis forte ex suo libito quam ex iustitiæ respectu, potitur, auctoritas illius, qui dedit potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, omnino despicitur."

† Sugenheim, 328 *et seq.*

‡ Hefele, vii., 809. Palacky, iv., 1, 129. The forty-fifth and last solemn Session took place at Basle on the 16th May, 1443, and it was then decided, that after the lapse of three years a new Council should be held at Lyons. The idea of transferring the Synod to the latter City had already been broached in the spring of 1436; see the information gathered from the Lyons Archives by J. Vaesens in the Revue des quest. hist., xxx., 561-568.

means reckon on the unconditional support of the two principal powers of Western Christendom, France and Germany. We have already mentioned the peculiar position which these nations had occupied since the year 1438. After the Basle Synod had, on the 24th January, 1438, pronounced a sentence of suspension against Eugenius IV., neither Germans nor French had shown the slightest inclination to take part in a proceeding which must necessarily have thrown Christendom back into a deplorable state of confusion. But, on the other hand, they were not disposed completely to give up the Council, or its so-called decrees of reform. Accordingly, while adhering to Eugenius IV. as the lawful Head of the Church, they adopted a portion of these decrees. In France this was done by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (7th July, 1438), which almost entirely deprived the Pope of any influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and reasserted the supremacy of the Council over the Papacy.*

From March, 1438, Germany also had taken up a similar semi-schismatical position, which threatened serious danger to the Papacy. In the interval between the death of Sigismund and the election of Albert II., the German Electors, assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, had declared their neutrality, that is to say, their determination for the time being, to hold aloof from the contest, and neither to take part with the Pope nor the Council. They had further agreed, that, within the ensuing six months, they would, together with the future king, deliberate on the means of terminating the strife, and that, in the meantime,

* Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisiéme race par M. de Vilevault (Paris, 1782), xiii., 267-291. See Hefele, vii., 764; Guettée, Hist. de l'Eglise de France (Lyon, 1851), vii., 405-435; R. Bauer in the Laacher Stimmen (1872), iii., 110 *et seq.*, and H. Jervis, Hist. of the Church of France (London, 1872,) i., 97.

they would maintain the regular jurisdiction in their dioceses and territories.*

This so-called neutrality of the Holy Roman Empire, which was by no means free from an anti-papal bias,† was, a year later, asserted at the Diet of Mayence. It, however, accepted, with certain restrictions and additions agreeable to the German princes, a number of decrees depriving the Pope of his essential rights (26th March, 1439).‡

The Mayence declaration differed widely from the step which had been taken in France, and fundamentally from the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges.§ At Mayence a mere declaration had been made, the acceptance of the Basle Decrees, but in France, an administrative ordinance had been issued. The Ambassadors of King Charles had indeed entered into negotiations at Basle, in order to obtain the approval of the Council for the Pragmatic sanction, but even before that had been granted, Decrees with additions were everywhere promulgated, and courts and officials were instructed to see to their execution, to decide any controversies which might arise regarding them, to protect ecclesiastics and laymen in the enjoyment of the benefits

* Müller, Reichstagstheatrum unter K. Friedrich v. (Jena, 1713), 31. Binterim, vii., 166. Pückert, 55 *et seq.*, 64 *et seq.*, 73 *et seq.*, 86 *et seq.* The history of the Schism shows that the idea of neutrality was not, as Voigt (i., 154) seems to suppose, a novelty. See also Birck, 13 *et seq.*

† Hagen, Deutsch. Gesch., iii., 457.

‡ See Gieseler, ii., 4, 83; Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 161, and Birck, 17; the last author observes: "The principal aim of these Basle Decrees was the gratification of the ambition of the Bishops, the bestowal of greater privileges upon them and the diminution of the rights of the Pope. Resistance to Papal authority was at this time a mere cover for selfish aims, a time-serving shield, behind which self-interest, lawlessness, and the craving for yet greater independence, sought and found convenient shelter."

§ Pückert's work (97 *et seq.*) has the great merit of putting this matter in a clear light.

they conferred, and to inflict exemplary punishments on those who should oppose them. Such executive and penal provisions, although essential to the existence of a law, have no place in the Mayence Document, and it is a great inaccuracy to apply to it the name of a "Pragmatic Sanction." The Germans also deferred making any effort to obtain the approval of the Council, which had already been asked by and granted to the French.

In the latter half of the year 1439, German neutrality took a more definite form, but it never proved to be in any way a basis for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. This was primarily the fault of the electors, who, instead of enforcing the observance of the policy they had adopted, both violated it themselves and suffered their subjects and the members of their families to do the same.* Accordingly the proclamation which had been made with a view of preserving the Holy Roman Empire from division and confusion was thoroughly ineffectual. Factions were formed even among the Germans. In many cases, near neighbours, and even the Bishop and Chapter of the same Diocese, took different sides in the conflict between the Pope and his opponents. Several sees were claimed by two rival Bishops, and from the same pulpit discourses were frequently heard at one time against Eugenius, and at another against the partisans of the Council.†

* Pückert, 140.

† Hefele, vii., 777. Pückert, 119 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.* The words of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini regarding neutrality are well known. "It will," he wrote to Cardinal Cesarini, "be difficult to do away with it because it is profitable to many. This new bait of neutrality is attractive, because anyone who has rightly or wrongly assumed possession of anything cannot be deprived of it, and because the Ordinaries can bestow benefices according to their pleasure. Believe me, it is not easy to snatch the prey out of the jaws of the wolf."

Repeated efforts were naturally made by each of the contending powers to put an end to the neutrality. The diplomatic struggles which ensued, ultimately resulted in the victory of Eugenius, who succeeded in winning over Caspar Schlick, the powerful Chancellor of King Frederick III., and finally the King himself.*

Having secured the adhesion of the head of the Empire, the Pope, who had a powerful supporter in Philip of Burgundy, thought that the time had come to strike a decisive blow in Germany, and so to put an end to all further hesitations. He accordingly issued a Bull, deposing the Archbishop-Electors of Cologne and Treves, who were the principal partisans of the Synod in the Empire, and bestowed their dignities on relations of the Duke of Burgundy.† But this proceeding, which was hasty, and, from a political point of view, imprudent,‡ was violently opposed by the German Electors. In March, 1446, they assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine and decided to call upon Eugenius to acknowledge the Decrees of Constance and Basle regarding the Supremacy of Councils, to summon one to meet in

* Frederick III.'s recognition of Eugenius was rewarded by: 1. The right to the first prayers, to a tithe from all ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, and to the patronage of a hundred benefices in the hereditary estates of Austria. 2. The right for life to make presentations, in case of vacancy, to the Bishoprics of Trent, Brixen, Coire, Gurk, Trieste, and Pedena. 3. The right for himself and his successors to propose to the Holy See fitting persons for the visitation of the monasteries in his hereditary States, and also a certain sum of money. See Chmel, Materialen, i., 2, 191 *et seq.*, and Gesch. Friedrich IV., ii., 38 *et seq.* Voigt., Enea Silvio, i., 346 *et seq.*, 355 *et seq.* Pückert, 247 *et seq.*

† Pückert, 241 *et seq.*

‡ The great mistake of Eugenius was to suppose the power of a German Monarch to be like that of the French King, sufficient to impose his will on all the Princes of his realm. Chmel, Friedrich IV., ii., 388. See also Düx, i., 264

a German City within the next thirteen months, to revoke all recent measures incompatible with neutrality, and unconditionally to ratify the decisions of the Council of Basle, accepted by the Germans in 1439. In case of the failure of Eugenius to comply with their demands, the Electors threatened to recognize the authority of the Synod.* A deputation, whose leading spirit was Gregory Heimburg, Syndic of Nuremberg, was despatched to Rome to make the desires of the Electors known to the Pope. This man, affecting what he wished to pass off as German honesty and plain spokenness, was unbearably insolent and rude. In a work, written about this time, he stirred up his countrymen to join the Schism and shake off the Papal yoke.†

The answer returned by Pope Eugenius to the Electors was of an evasive character. He referred the decision of the matter to the Diet of the Empire, and adhered to his resolution regarding the deposition of the two Archbishops. The Diet had been summoned to meet at Frankfort on the 1st September, 1446, and the Bishops Tommaso Parentucelli of Bologna, and Jean of Liège, together with Juan de Carvajal and Nicholas of Cusa appeared there as Ambassadors from Rome, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini having in the meantime convinced the Pope of the necessity of concession. The Cardinal of Arles attended on behalf of the Basle party.

* Pückert, 256 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 816 *et seq.* The alternative of joining the party of the Synod was, however, to be provisionally kept from the knowledge of the Pope. Pückert, 259.

† Döllinger (Lehrbuck, ii., 1, 334). See also the weak Monograph of Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1861), Ullmann, Reformatoren, i., 212 *et seq.;* K. Hagen, Zur politischen Gesch. Deutschlands (Stuttgart, 1842); Scharpff, 142 *et seq.*, and Backmann in d. Allg. Deutsch. Biographie, xi., 327-330.

The violent anti-papal feeling which had already widely gained ground in Germany found open expression in the Imperial Diet. The position of Eugenius and even the authority of the head of the Empire seemed at the outset to be seriously endangered, for the Electors intended, in the event of the Pope's non-compliance with their demands, to declare themselves in favour of the Council of Basle, independently of the King, or even in antagonism to him.* The Cardinal of Arles deemed the victory of his party almost a certainty, when suddenly a surprising change took place to the great advantage of Eugenius. The principal author of this change was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Secretary in the Chancery of King Frederick III., the very man who, but a year before, had, in conjunction with Schlick and Carvajal, won his royal master to the side of the Pope.

Among the notable figures of the Renaissance age, Æneas Sylvius is certainly one of the most brilliant and one of those best known to us.† A most prolific author and indefatigable letter-writer, he has left to posterity the means of closely following every phase of his life.‡

He was born on the 18th October, 1405, at Corsigniano, near Siena. His family belonged to the ancient nobility

* Hefele, vii., 821 *et seq.* For an account of the Frankfort Diet see Chmel, Friedrich IV., 11, 392-398; Pückert, 276-296; Rossmann, Betrachtungen, 387-393, and Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 90-95.

† Reumont, from the Gesch. Aachens im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, in the Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch.-Vereins (1882), iv., 170.

‡ The learned work of Voigt is founded on these materials and on almost all others that have come under our notice, but is unfortunately disfigured by the "extreme harshness" of his judgment; see Reumont, iii., 1, 491; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 215; Vahlen in d. Sitzungsberichten, der Wiener Akad., hist. Kl., lxi., 371, and Müntz, Précurseurs, 104.

of that city, but had fallen into poverty, and accordingly his youth was passed amid privations. At an early age he went to the University of Siena to study law, for which, however, he had but little taste, while the classical literature fascinated him. Cicero, Livy, and Virgil were his favourite authors. He scarcely allowed himself time for food or sleep, but pored day and night over these books which he had borrowed from friends. To avoid putting them to inconvenience, he copied out the most celebrated works, and made extracts from others.* After a time, he went to Florence to prosecute his studies and became the disciple of Filelfo.

When he had spent two years in Florence, he was induced by his relations to return to Siena and attend lectures on jurisprudence, the only result of which, however, was an increased aversion for lawyers. In his twenty-seventh year his talents attracted the attention of Cardinal Capranica, who was passing through Siena on his way to Basle, and he became his secretary. The circle into which he was introduced at Basle, in the spring of 1432, was one most unfriendly to Pope Eugenius IV., and this circumstance had much influence on his after-life. Capranica, who was destitute of fortune, was soon reconciled to Pope Eugenius IV.,† and Æneas Sylvius passed

* Voigt, i., 12.

† The reconciliation between Eugenius IV. and Capranica took place on the 30th of April, 1434. The conditions were most favourable to Capranica, whose dignity was confirmed; see the Document in Catalanus, 202 *et seq.*; also p. 212 *et seq.*: Transsumptum privilegii D. N. Eugenii restituentis et reintegrantis Rev. D. Card. Firmanum ad omnes dignitates. The relations between them were again disturbed by Capranica's courageous protest against the elevation of Vitelleschi, but this was a passing cloud. Eugenius IV. knew how to value the grand qualities of Capranica, and repeatedly took him into his counsels.

from his service into that of Bishop Nicodemus of Freising Bishop Bartolomeo of Novara, and finally of Cardinal Albergati. The period of his connection with the latter, although comparatively short, was one which tended greatly to polish and to direct his brilliant intellect,* and also brought him into contact with the noble Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. He accompanied Albergati on several journeys, and was sent by him, in 1438, on a secret mission to Scotland. On his return from this dangerous expedition, he no longer found his patron at Basle, and, instead of rejoining him, determined to remain there, and was soon drawn into the violent agitation against Eugenius IV.

His happy nature, his talents, and his Humanistic culture soon won for him many friends among the members of the Council, and his eloquence attracted general attention. He was employed by the Council as Scriptor, Abbreviator, and Chief Abbreviator, was a member of the commission of dogma, and took part in several embassies. He viewed the conflict between the Pope and the Council with the indifference of an adherent of the heathen Renaissance, but used his pen against Eugenius IV.

His happiest hours were spent in Basle, in a little circle of friends, like himself, of studious tastes and of lax morality. It is impossible to say how far this atmosphere of heathen Renaissance was responsible for his opposition to the lawful Pope, but there can be no doubt that it exercised a considerable influence over him,† and we have positive proof that his own moral life was deeply tainted by the corruption which surrounded him, and that he even gloried in his errors with the shamelessness of a Boccaccio.‡

* Reumont, Aus der Gesch. Aachens, *loc. cit.*

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 217.

‡ See especially the notorious and much misused letter to his father, in which he begs him to receive a little son whom a

Æneas was not, it must be observed, at this time an ecclesiastic, and, indeed, as he openly declared in his letters, had no intention of entering a state whose duties are so serious.* In these same letters, the great questions of Church policy which then agitated society are treated with much levity.

When the Synod of Basle called a new Schism into existence, he took part in it, and even entered the service of the Anti-Pope, Felix V. But his keen understanding soon perceived that the position which the Synod had assumed was an untenable one, and he consequently became disgusted with his appointment, and eagerly seized the first opportunity of honourably escaping from a situation which had become intolerable. The opportunity occurred in the year 1442, when he accompanied the Ambassadors of the Council to the Diet of Frankfort. By the intervention of Bishop Sylvester of Chiemsee he was presented to King Frederick III., who offered him a place in the Royal Chancery. The offer was joyfully accepted, and his connection with Felix V. came to an end. When Frederick III. passed through Basle on the 11th November, 1442, on the occasion of his coronation, Æneas joined his suite and went with him to Austria.†

This step brought down upon him a torrent of abuse.

Bretonne woman had borne him (epist. 15). See on this matter Janssen, An meine Kritiker, 141 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 217. Another illegitimate child of Æneas' died early (Voigt, i., 289). The little account then made of faults of this kind is well known; in princely families of Italy the succession of illegitimate children was often permitted, and marriage and its rights were widely trampled under foot (see Burckhardt, Cultur, ii., 3rd ed., 210 *et seq.*).

* In 1444 he confessed to one of his friends that he shrank from entering the ecclesiastical state: "Timeo enim continentiam."

† He had already visited this country in 1438; see Bayer, 8.

The Historian of the city of Rome, however, judges it with his accustomed calmness and moderation. "A change of party," he writes, "whatever be the circumstances under which it takes place, always provokes detraction, and a man who had written so much and had been so unreserved in regard to his own personal feelings and the events of his private life, must necessarily have laid himself, in many ways, open to those who were ready to take hold of every word, even in his most confidential letters, that would swell the list of his sins. His character was by no means perfect. The versatility of his intellect must of itself have proved a danger, even if, with his poverty, his ambition, and his consciousness of talent, he had not been cast into a whirlpool which carried away many stronger natures. His subsequent confession was, whatever may be said against it, made in all good faith. He was not influenced by mere personal considerations, when, in the year 1442, he gave up his position in the service of Felix V. and accepted that offered to him in the Royal Chancery. For the moment indeed he gained nothing by so doing, and later he might, like the Anti-Pope and others, have made advantageous terms with Rome."*

Time worked a great change, not only in the political and ecclesiastical opinions, but also in the moral character of Æneas: old age seems to have come upon him prematurely, and a serious view of life took the place of his former levity. For a long time he hesitated about entering the priesthood, but in 1445 he resolved on the step, and actually took it in the following year. On the 8th March, 1446, he wrote in the following terms to a friend: "He must be a miserable and graceless man who does not at last return to his better self, enter into his own heart, and amend his life: who does not consider what will come in the other world

* Reumont, iii., 1, 132-133.

after this. Ah! John, I have done enough and too much evil! I have come to myself; oh, may it not be too late!" In the month in which these words were written he was ordained priest at Vienna.*

Æneas had formally made his peace with Pope Eugenius a year before his ordination. The Chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, had at that time sent him to Rome to confer with the Pope regarding the holding of a Council at a fresh place. Regardless of the warnings of those around him, he went in the fullest confidence to the Eternal City, and was very well received there. He could not, however, be admitted to an audience, until he had been absolved from the censures incurred as an adherent of the Synod and an official of the Anti-Pope, and he felt a certain embarrassment as to meeting Eugenius IV., whom he had at Basle so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, before fulfilling his mission, he wrote an apology which is a masterpiece of style. It has been described as the address of a vanquished king to his captor.†

"Most Holy Father," he says, "before discharging the King's commissions, I will speak a little of myself. I am aware that much has been brought to your ears regarding me, which is neither good nor worthy of repetition. And those who have laid accusations against me before you have not spoken falsely. Yes, I have, during all the time I was at Basle, spoken, written, and done many things—I deny

* Voigt, i., 438 *et seq.*; see 351.

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 218. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 156) observes in reference to this composition: "Never, except in ancient Athens, did the goddess of persuasion exercise such power over men as in the time of the Renaissance. Piccolomini disarmed Eugenius, confessed his errors at Basle in beautiful language, and then openly went over to the side of the Pope, who thoroughly understood his value and made him his secretary."

nothing. But my intention was not so much to injure you, as to serve God's Church. I erred, who would deny it? but I erred in company with men of no small importance. I followed Giuliano, the Cardinal of Sant. Angelo, Niccolò, the Archbishop of Palermo, Ludovico Pontano, the notary of Your See. These are held to be the eyes of justice, the teachers of truth. What shall I say of the Universities and of the other Schools, the majority of which were adverse to You? Who would not have erred with such men! But when I perceived the error of the people of Basle, then also, I confess it, I did not at once hasten to You as did the greater number. I rather dreaded rushing from one error into another, for he often falls into Scylla who would avoid Charybdis, and so I joined those who were considered neutral. I would not pass from one extreme to another without consideration and without delay. For three years I remained thus with the King. But the more I heard of the disputes between the Synod of Basle and Your Legate, the less doubt remained on my mind that truth was with You. I, therefore, willingly obeyed, when the King wished by my intervention to open for himself a way to Your goodness, for I hope thus to be able to return to Your favour. Now I stand before You, and inasmuch as I have sinned in ignorance, I beg You to forgive me."

Eugenius answered, "We know that you have sinned, together with many, but it is Our duty to pardon him who confesses his error: Holy Mother Church is inexorable to one who denies his fault, but never refuses absolution to the penitent. You have now returned to the truth. Beware of ever again forsaking it, and seek Divine Grace by good works! Your position is one in which you can defend the truth and serve the Church."

Æneas Sylvius did not disappoint the expectations of the Pope, for he succeeded in breaking up the League of

Electors, which was a danger alike to the Pope and the King of the Romans. He privately persuaded the Elector of Mayence, the representative of the Elector of Saxony and two Bishops to separate themselves from the Confederacy and join Frederick III.* On the 22nd September, these electors and bishops united with the Deputies of the King of the Romans in a secret declaration that the Pope's answer was a sufficient basis for the restoration of peace to the Church, and mutually bound themselves to hold fast to this opinion. On the 5th October, strengthened by the addition of fresh adherents, they held a second consultation, preparatory to the recognition of Eugenius.† On the 11th October, the Imperial Diet was prorogued, a measure which, as usual, merely concealed but did not heal the existing disunion. Many more bishops and princes were won over by the unwearied efforts of King Frederick and the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, so that at the end of 1446, messengers started for Rome from all parts of Germany; sixty met at Siena and travelled together by Baccano to the Eternal City.‡

On the 7th January, 1447, John of Lysura, representing the Elector of Mayence, Chancellor Sesselmann, representing the Elector of Brandenburg, and Æneas Sylvius and Procopius von Rabstein, as Delegates from the King of the Romans, arrived in Rome, and were very honourably

* It is well known that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Hist. Frid., iii., 128 *et seq.*, Comment. ed. Fea, 98), openly asserts that he had gained over the confidential Counsellors of the Elector of Mayence by a bribe (2000fl.) Pückert in his work of electoral neutrality (281-284) treats the story of bribery as a fable, but his arguments against it are not conclusive; see Hefele, vii., 827, and B. Bayer, 62 *et seq.*

† Pückert, 280 *et seq.*, 294.

‡ See Æneas Sylvius' report of the Embassy in Muratori, iii., 2, 880 (also in Baluze, Misc., vii., 525 *et seq.*, and Koch, 314 *et seq.*)

received. The Pope at once granted them a solemn audience, and Æneas Sylvius brought forward the claims of the Germans in so eloquent and able a manner, that all who heard him praised his power and his prudence, and foretold for him a brilliant future.* "We come," he said, "to bring peace, and the German princes desire peace, but they also make certain demands, and unless these demands are granted, wounds cannot be healed, nor peace attained. The first is that a General Council, the time and place of which are still to be decided, shall be summoned. The second, that You in writing confirm that acknowledgment of the authority and pre-eminence of General Councils representing the Church Militant, which has been made by Your Ambassadors. The third, that the grievances of the German nation be redressed; and the fourth, that the deposition of the two Electors be revoked."†

The dangerous illness of the Pope ‡ and the opposition of a portion of the Sacred College, made the negotiations which ensued both tedious and difficult.§ A happy conclusion was, however, arrived at, and expressed in four

* See the remarkable letter of the Abbot of San. Galgano, written on the 23rd January, 1447, which I found in the State Archives at Siena (Appendix, No. 24).

† Martène, Vet. Mon., viii., 980-988. Mansi, Orat. Pii, ii., 108 *et seq.*

‡ The different phases of the illness which attacked Eugenius IV. on the day after he had given audience to the German Ambassadors (12th January, 1447), are detailed at length in a set of *letters written by the Abbot of San. Galgano, who was at the time in Rome on a Mission from the Republic of Siena. See the text in Appendix, No. 23, 25-30. I found the originals of these letters in the Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187.

§ Scarampo and the Cardinals Carvajal and Parentucelli, who had been created on the 16th December, 1446, were in favour of the acceptance of the Concordat.

Papal documents, bearing date the 5th and 7th February, 1447, and forming what is known as the Concordat of the Princes. The demands of Germany were, with some abatements, granted in principle, but the concessions were made in a vague and guarded manner.* After the Ambassadors had received these Bulls, they gathered round the bed of the sick Pope, "who, on that day, had in some degree come to himself, and was able to attend to business;" on their knees took the oath of obedience, and afterwards, in open Consistory, solemnly repeated their declaration (7th February).† Those who, by means of their plenipotentiaries, took part in this Concordat, were: the King of the Romans, acting on his own behalf and on that of the Crown of Bohemia, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, the Margrave Albert, acting for himself and his brother John, Duke William of Saxony, and the Landgrave Louis of Hesse, together with the Bishops of Halberstadt and Breslau, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.‡

This event caused immense joy in Rome alike among the clergy and the populace. Although but a portion of the German nation had promised obedience to the Pope, the rejoicings were as great as if the entire Holy Roman Empire had made complete submission. All the bells of the city rang out, bonfires were lighted, and solemn processions were made to give God thanks for so great a benefit.

The submission of those German Princes, who still per-

* See Hefele's ample analysis (vii., 830-835).

† The great Archbishop of Florence, St. Antoninus, was one of the witnesses of this important proceeding; see his Chronicon, iii., t. 22, c. 11, § 17.

‡ Report of the Saxon Ambassador, H. Engelhardt, in Pückert, 303.

sisted in their opposition, was now a mere question of time, and the cause of the Synod of Basle was definitely lost in Germany. Eugenius issued a special Bull,* declaring that in the concessions which he had made to Germany, moved by his anxiety for the welfare of the Church, though unable through illness to investigate the matter as thoroughly as he would have desired, he had not intended in any way to compromise the rights or the authority of the Apostolic See. On the 23rd February he died, consoled by the knowledge that the Schism had lost its power, and that the Church was again resuming her sway.†

Looking back on the Pontificate of Eugenius IV., we

* Dated 5th February, and published by Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 7.

† See Æneas Sylvius' account in Muratori, iii., 2, 889 *et seq.* Regarding the tomb of Eugenius, see Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 87 *et seq.* A view is given in Tosi, Tav., 129. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Eugenio IV." (in Mai, Spicil. x., 23), the Pope exclaimed when on his death-bed: "O Gabriello, quanto sarebbe suto meglio per la salute dell'anima tua, che tu non fussi mai suto nè Papa nè Cardinale, ma fussiti morto nella tua religione!" These words have often been quoted in a spirit of partisanship, but Balan (v., 154) rejects them on the ground that they do not appear in the other accounts of the Pope's death; they are, to say the least, of doubtful authenticity, and in connection with the actual circumstances of the case, it seems improbable that they should have been spoken. For, as even Janus (354) admits, Eugenius died victorious over the Council and over Germany. Granting, however, that the Pope may, in a fit of despondency, have used these words, there is nothing in them to justify the inference drawn by Janus (*loc. cit.*), and after him by Gregorovius, of "remorse" for the means which he had employed. The Pope might have felt remorse for the large concessions made to the Germans, and for this very reason he published, on the 5th February, the important Bull which we have mentioned.

must say, with Æneas Sylvius, that it is marked by an uncommon measure of prosperity and of misfortune, and that the two are pretty equally balanced.* Prosperity would have greatly preponderated if the Pope had shown more moderation and prudence in his proceedings.† Æneas has, in a few words, given an admirable sketch of his character. "He was magnanimous, but without moderation; his actions were guided by his desires rather than by his powers."‡ Yet it was a time when the perplexed state of ecclesiastical and political affairs rendered prudence in a special degree necessary. Even at the moment of Eugenius' accession the position was critical enough, for the long-postponed question of Church reform cried for solution, and the Hussite heresy, which daily assumed a more alarming aspect, was not to be repressed by force of arms, and had to be rendered harmless by conciliatory means.§ Eugenius was partly the victim of circumstances, but it cannot be denied that, with his utter want of political experience, he often made matters worse by imprudence and obstinacy. As years went on, however, his opponents became convinced of the firmness of his principles, and from 1438 he was in many important matters successful. Considering the countless obstacles in his way, his successes are not to be estimated by an ordinary standard. He entered on the struggle for the restoration of Papal authority with but a small body of

* Muratori, iii., 2, 891 (Baluze, Misc., vii., 547). Chmel (Friedrich IV., ii., 410-412) has brought together the opinions of many contemporaries regarding Eugenius.

† See Frommann, Kritische Beiträge zur Gesch. der Florentiner Kircheneinigung (Halle, 1872), 23.

‡ Baluze, Misc., vii., 547. Frommann, *loc. cit.* See also Monrad. Michelsen, p. 22 *et seq.*

§ Aschbach, iv., 17.

loyal adherents, and, although without resources, and forsaken alike by ecclesiastical and temporal princes, he carried it on with unwearied energy until the victory was won.* The victory was not indeed complete, but its consequences were most important. At the time when Eugenius became Pope, the Schism had diffused even among the noblest sons of the Church false doctrines regarding the Papal Primacy and a tone antagonistic to the chief Pastor of the Church; when he died, the men of most importance were on the side of Rome;† the opponents of the Apostolic See and of the monarchical constitution of the Church, in short all the anti-ecclesiastical elements, had sustained a notable defeat; the attempt to change the Pope into a mere phantom-ruler, a sort of Doge,‡ had come to nought; and the greatest conflict which a Council had ever waged against Rome,§ was practically decided in favour of the Holy See.

High praise is unquestionably due to Eugenius for his absolute freedom from nepotism,|| and his bitterest opponents have never ventured to impugn the purity of his life.¶ His unwearied activity in works of charity is also worthy of grateful remembrance.

Eugenius IV. was, in the fullest sense of the word, a

* Zhishman, 21.

† The list of adversaries whom Eugenius IV. saw return to their allegiance contains names of great eminence: Cardinals Capranica, Cervantes, and Cesarini, Nicholas of Cusa, and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

‡ Raumer, Kirchenversamml., 131, thus characterizes the efforts made at Basle.

§ Juan de Segovia in the Mon. concil., ii., 63.

|| Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed. 94.

¶ "Attenta integritatis vitæ et sanctitatis vitæ fama," are the words of the Encyclical of the Basle Synod, issued on the 21st January, 1432, Mansi, xxix., 237. See Zhishman, 22.

father of the poor and the sick, to whom, according to Paolo Petrone, "he gave liberal alms, and he portioned many needy young maidens." St. Frances of Rome, who at this time filled the Eternal City with the splendour of her holiness, found in the Pope a generous promoter of her pious and benevolent undertakings.* The Hospital of Santo Spirito, which had fallen into decay, was an object of special care to Eugenius. He rescued the institution from its pecuniary difficulties, restored the ruined buildings, and put an end to irregularities which had arisen in the Confraternity, so that he really deserves to be considered as its second founder. He plainly declared that "if the Master General of the Order (at that time his own nephew, Pietro Barbo) did not fulfil his duty, he would take the burden on his own shoulders, and himself act as Master General and Superior of the Hospital, deeming such a charge by no means incompatible with the dignity of the Tiara.† In order to give a fresh impulse to the Confraternity, he became a member on the 10th April, 1446, and undertook to contribute a certain sum yearly.

* See Lady G. Fullerton, St. Frances of Rome, 124 *et seq.* The kindness shown by Eugenius IV. to poor people and to convents is mentioned in terms of high praise by George of Trebizond in the *Oratio edita et pronunciata apud S. Pontificem Eugenium papam quartum de laudibus eius. Cod. 487, f. 3, in the Court Library at Vienna.

† H. Brockhaus, Das Hospital Sto. Spirito zu Rom im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, in Janitschek's Repertorium (1884), vii., 282-283. See P. Saulnier, De capite sacri ordinis Sti. Spiritus dissertatio (Lugduni, 1649); Azzurri, I nuovi restauri del archiospedale di Sto. Spirito in Saxia (Roma, 1868), and Morichini, 100, 111 *et seq.* See also the *Istoria dell' opere pie di Roma, racc, da Camillo Fanucci Senese, in Cod. E. 111, 4, f. 13 of the Casanate Library in Rome. There is an account of the aid given by Eugenius IV. to the Sto. Spirito in *Cod. Vatic., 7871, f. 52. Vatican Library.

The Pope's example was followed by many Cardinals, among whom were Francesco Condulmaro, Giovanni Tagliacozzo, Niccolò Acciapacci, Giorgio Fieschi, Bessarion, Antonio Martini, Jean le Jeune de Contay, d'Estouteville, Torquemada, Scarampo, and Alfonzo Borgia, who afterwards became Calixtus III.*

The "visita graziosa," after the plan of an ancient institution in the Church, was, we are told, established in the time of Eugenius IV. Twice every month Magistrates and Overseers of the poor visited the prisoners and questioned each of them separately; when occasion offered they mitigated punishments; they brought about agreements between debtors and creditors, and, in many cases, set prisoners at liberty. The Popes, who have so often taken a prominent part in promoting the welfare of humanity, the progress of civilization and the exercise of benevolence, were also among the first to interest themselves in the

* *Liber confraternitatis Sti. Spiritus in the Archives of Sto. Spirito (T. 32), begins, f. 1, with Eugenius' Bull "Salvatoris nostri," d. d. 1446, viii. Calend. April; f. 2 has the following words: "In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Incipit liber confraternitatis Sti. Spiritus et Stæ. Marie in Saxia de urbe," after which are the autograph entries: "Ego Eugenius catholic. ecclesie episcopus dono annuatim ducat. auri principales (the number is unfortunately effaced).—Ego Franciscus episc. Portuen. Card. Venet. et R. E. vicecancell.—Ego Johannes (episc. card). Prænestin. major penitent.—Ego Nicolaus tit. S. Marcelli Card. Capuanus.—Ego Card. de Flisco.—Ego B[essarion] basilicæ, xii. Apost. presbyt. —Supra et infrascripti rev. d. cardinales intraverunt fraternitatem predictam hodie x. Aprilis 1446, coram prefato S.D.N. scripserunt se manibus propriis eadem hora qua D.N. intravit et se manu propria scripsit." f. 2b: "Ego Antonius tit. S. Crisogoni.—Ego Johannes tit. S. Laurentii in Lucina.—Ego Guillelmus tit. S. Martini in montibus.—Ego Johannes tit. S. Marie Transtib.—L. Card. Aquiles. tit. S. Laurentii in Damaso.—Ego. Card. Valent. tit. iv. Coronator."

improvement of prisons and the alleviation of the lot of prisoners, remembering that the proper aim of punishment is not retaliation, but the amendment of the criminal, or at least the protection of society from further injury.*

One aspect of this reign demands special consideration, because it has been made the occasion of serious charges against Eugenius IV. It is true that the general reform of ecclesiastical affairs was not carried out during his pontificate, but have those who blame him asked themselves whether such general reform was possible?

A very clear-sighted contemporary, who was also a thorough friend of reform, answers in the negative. The celebrated Dominican, Master John Nider, held a general reform of the Church in its head and its members to be a practical impossibility. He believed experience to have shown that only a partial reform was possible, and, in his chief work, the "Formicarius," he endeavoured to support this opinion. He draws a lesson from the custom of the ants who build themselves a city composed of many little dwellings, which they protect in their way from heat and from rain with sticks and leaves. "Herein," he explains, "they are the emblems of those who belong to the General Council, and especially of the Prelates; for they, as far as in them lies, have charge to reform the City of the Church Militant in its several orders, where it has suffered damage, that is to say, to instruct men in the way of serving God, to defend them from the heat of passions and the assaults of enemies, and in word and deed so to behave themselves that they may deserve to be specially led in this by the Spirit of God. Now, alas! it is all very different." The Councils of Constance and Basle, Nider continues, have made it their special business to reform the Church in its

* Neue Römische Briefe, i., 146 *et seq.*, 150 *et seq.* See Morichini, 783 *et seq.*

head and members. Much was said, particularly at Basle, about the Church; the Council called itself, in the title of almost all its Bulls, a Council of reform, it even established a Commission of reform, "and for six whole years the amendment of the various ranks of the clergy has been dealt with, but we have not perceived any result." Is there any hope of a general reformation of the Church in its Head and its members? "I have," answers Nider, "absolutely none in the present time, or in the immediate future; for goodwill is wanting among the subjects, the evil disposition of the prelates constitutes an obstacle, and, finally, it is profitable to God's elect to be tried by persecution from the wicked. You may see an analogy in the art of building. An architect, however skilful he may be, can never erect an edifice unless he has suitable material of wood or stone. And if there is wood or stone in sufficient quantity, but no master-builder, there will be no proper house and dwelling. And, if you knew that a house would not be fitting for your friend, or, when built, would be a trouble to him, you certainly would be prudent enough not to build it. Apply these three instances to the total reformation of the Church, and you will perceive its impossibility. However, I have no doubt that a partial reformation of the Church in many of its conditions and orders is possible."*

Eugenius IV. adopted this course; he began the work of reform in the only way which was, under the circumstances, possible or profitable, by the amendment and regeneration of the Religious Orders and then of the clergy.† The terrible storms which broke over the Papacy often interfered with the accomplishment of his excellent purposes; nevertheless, during the whole of his Pontificate he devoted the

* Schieter, Joh. Nider, 188-189.

† As early as July 6th, 1431, Eugenius IV. wrote to John Duke of Brittany; "*Nos enim reformationem cleri semper dum essemus in minoribus optabamus et ad papatum assumpti ad eam

greatest attention to the improvement of the morals of the secular and regular clergy. Reform was constantly talked of at Basle, but very little was done to carry it out. Truly pious and priestly-minded men were wanting. The very fathers who spoke most constantly of the simplicity of the Apostolic Church were seen hunting and hawking, fully accoutred and attended by a long train of lay retainers, or feasting at sumptuous banquets.* Eugenius IV. took the reform of the Roman clergy in hand in 1432, and continued the work even during the time of his exile.† After his return to Rome he looked closely to the maintenance of discipline amongst them.‡ Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a detailed account of the manner in which he reformed the monasteries of Florence and its neighbourhood during his long sojourn in that city.§ It was Eugenius' purpose to

totis affectibus anhelamus, et nisi nos ad curas alias necessarie distraxisset turbatio nobis illata per nonnullos rebelles ecclesiæ huiusmodi reformationi magnum iam principium dedissemus, quod tamen cito per Dei gratiam superatis iis difficultatibus faciemus." I found this letter, which, as far as I know, has not yet been published, in Cod. i., 75-76, f. 82b of the Borghese Library, Rome.

* See Voigt., Enea Silvio, i., 110, and Schieler, 349, 351.

† See Bullar., v., 6-10: Ordinances for the reform of the clergy of the City of Rome, 1432, Feb. 23. *Ibid.* 16-17, a Bull contra simoniacæ pravitatis reos eorumque mediatores, dated 1434, May 18. Eugenius specially insisted on the removal of the secular Canons from the Lateran, and replaced them by regular Clerks; see *Brief of 8th February, 1439, in the Lateran Archives.

‡ See his **Letters to the Bishops of Aquila and Bologna regarding the reform of the clergy at the Lateran, dated Rome, 1445. Nono Kal. Januar. A° xv.°, Reg. 377, f. 296b. Private Archives of the Vatican.

§ Mai, Spicil., i., 10 *et seq.* Many proofs of the promotion of monastic reform by Eugenius IV. are given in Wadding, x. and xi. See Bull. ord. prædic., iii. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23 *et seq.*, has some good remarks on the monastic reform of the fifteenth century.

restore strict observance in all monasteries, but adverse circumstances hindered the accomplishment of his plan. In connection with his zeal in this matter, we may mention his special affection for St. Bernardine of Siena and St. John Capistran; almost as soon as the former of these holy men had breathed his last, the process for his canonization was introduced.*

Eugenius IV. was not unmindful of the interests of art and artists; in fact, he gave them every encouragement possible in those troublous days.

Recent investigations have thrown much light on the Venetian Pope's relation to art, and the matter is especially worthy of attention, because in some sense he prepared the way for his great successor. Although it is a mistake to consider Eugenius IV. as the first of the line of Renaissance Popes,† yet it is true that he prepared the way for it, and his action in this respect is more apparent in the domain of art than in that of literature.

Like Martin V., Eugenius IV. was most simple and modest in his own manner of living, but deemed no splendour too great where the worship of God was concerned. The tiara which Ghiberti made by his order must have been a very marvel of magnificence; the gold employed in it alone weighed fifteen pounds, and the precious stones and pearls five and a half more. The value of these jewels—rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls (amongst which were six of the size of a hazel-nut)—was estimated by the Florentine goldsmiths at eight and thirty thousand golden florins. The exquisite workmanship of Ghiberti added to the worth of this costly tiara; the little figures and ornaments which adorned it were made by his own hand; in front our Lord was represented seated on a throne and surrounded by a choir of angels; at the back

* Wadding, xi., 233 *et seq.* See Vol. ii., Book I., chapter III.

† Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 2nd ed., p. 86.

was the Blessed Virgin, also enthroned and attended by angels; four medallions contained the Evangelists, and the band at the base was decorated with cherubs.* That the exiled Pope should have displayed such magnificence may be explained by the fact that the tiara was destined to be worn at the solemn ratification of the union with the Greeks, an act which was considered as an immense victory won by the Papacy, at the very moment when the Council of Basle was doing its utmost to destroy it.

In the eternal city, Eugenius IV. also followed the example of his powerful predecessor by taking special care of the restoration of the churches, without, however, forgetting the other buildings, the gates, the walls of the city, and the bridges. By his command works of restoration were undertaken at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sto. Spirito in Sassia, and in the Lateran.† In the last-named church the frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, begun in the time of Martin V. by Gentile da Fabriano, were finished by Vittore Pisanello.‡ Even while in exile, Eugenius managed to contribute considerable sums of money for these purposes; in 1437-1438 alone, he gave more than three thousand ducats.§ The Pantheon, an

* Müntz, i., 36, 53. Kinkel, 29, 56. The above description of the tiara is taken literally from the able work of Müntz, who justly observes in regard to Eugenius' love of splendour: "On reconnait le Vénitien à cet amour du luxe, de la couleur;" (i., 36).

† Müntz, i., 38 *et seq.*, 48 *et seq.*, 50 *et seq.* Rasponus, 31, 93. In this reign, as in Martin V.'s, comparatively few new buildings were erected. "Quand nous aurons cité le palais de la Monnaie, le presbytère du Latran et, en dehors de Rome, le palais de Bologne, nous en aurons à peu près épuisé la liste." (*loc. cit.*, 32). For the edifices built by the Cardinals, see Reumont, iii., 1, 376-377.

‡ Müntz, i., 46-47. See v. Ottenthal in the Mittheilungen, v. 441.

§ *Loc. cit.*, i., 37.

ancient heathen building, which had long served as a church, was restored, its splendid pillars were cleared to the base, and the entrance and floor paved with Travertine marble. On this occasion were discovered two basalt lions of Egyptian workmanship, which Pius VII. afterwards placed in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, and a wonderful porphyry basin, supposed at that time to be the Sarcophagus of Agrippa; it now adorns the splendid monument of Clement XII. in the Lateran.*

We have already spoken of the influence which his prolonged sojourn at Florence, the centre of the Renaissance, exercised on Eugenius IV., but to complete the picture of his life we must again return to the subject.

In Florence, Eugenius saw the first gate made by Ghiberti for the Baptistry, and it seems most probable that the sight of this masterpiece suggested to him the idea of ordering a similar work for the principal church in Rome. Accordingly the Florentine architect, Antonio Averulino surnamed Filarete, was commissioned to make new bronze gates for St. Peter's. They were put up on the 26th June, 1445, and still adorn the central entrance. Although their workmanship cannot bear comparison with that of Ghiberti, they are worthy of notice as clearly exhibiting that evil influence of the Renaissance, of which we shall hereafter have to speak. In his work, which was destined for the principal entrance of the noblest church in the world, Filarete had, to use the mildest term, the bad taste to place, together with the figures of our Saviour, His Virgin Mother and the Princes of the Apostles, and amid representations of the great religious acts of Eugenius' Pontificate, not only busts of the Roman Emperors, but also the forms of Mars and Roma, of Jupiter and Ganymede, Hero and Leander, of a Centaur leading a nymph through the sea, and

* *Loc. cit.*, i., 34-35. Plattner-Bunsen, iii., 3, 346. R. Schöner, Das Römische Pantheon (Allgemeine Zeitung, 1883, N. 336).

even of Leda and the swan; the composition is in keeping with the contemporary poems of the Humanists, where the names of Christian Saints and of heathen gods* are promiscuously intermingled.

It is curious that the same Pope who had these gates put up at S. Peter's, took Fra Angelico da Fiesole, the most devout of Christian artists, into his service, and employed this great master, in whose works the mystical tendency of Italian art reaches its climax, in the decoration of his new chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Vatican.† Hardly any fact could be better calculated to modify a hasty condemnation of the encouragement given to the Renaissance by the Popes. The first period of the Renaissance was one of striking contrasts, not only in the domain of literature, but also in that of art, and from these very contrasts the Pontificate of the successor of Eugenius derives its distinctive character.

* Hettner, 73, 171. See Piper, Christl. Mythologie, i., 292 *et seq.*, 362, 425, 435, 444; ii., 542, 644. Meyer, Künstlerlexikon, i., 472. Müntz, Précurseurs, 90-94; and H. v. Tschudi, "Filarete's Mitarbeiter an den Bronzethüren von St. Peter," in Janitschek's Repertorium (1884), vii., 291-294. We must, however, bear in mind that, in the days of which we are writing, people were not shocked, as they would now be, with incongruities of this kind.

† Müntz, i., 91. It is worthy of remark that Eugenius IV., who had sojourned for a long time in the Dominican Monastery at Florence (*loc. cit.*, i., 34), brought forward artists of this Order. Regarding the Dominican, Antonio of Viterbo, see the notice of N. della Tuccia (206), which Müntz has overlooked. From this notice it appears, that the wooden gates for S. Peter's carved by Antonio were almost finished at the time of the death of Eugenius IV.

APPENDIX.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The documents here brought together are only intended to corroborate and complete the text. It did not form part of the plan of my work to furnish an actual collection of Archives. I have given as accurately as I could the place where each is to be found. From considerations of space, my explanatory observations have been made as few and as brief as possible. As a rule, I have retained the spelling, punctuation, &c., of the text; such alterations as I have made in regard to capital letters and punctuation do not require justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned, but slight mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without remark. Additions are marked by brackets, and incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a note of interrogation, or the word "sic." Those which I have omitted as beside my purpose, either in my first copy, or later, when preparing for the press, are indicated by dots (. . .).

1. *Pope Gregory XI. to Giovanni Fieschi, Bishop of Vercelli.**

1374, August 9,
Villeneuve, in the Diocese of Avignon.

Venerabili fratri episcopo Vercellensi salutem, etc.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 54. For the sake of brevity, instead of giving the descriptive titles of this and the following documents, I refer to the place in the text where they are mentioned.

Pervenit ad nos, quod liber seu volumen, qui vocatur Trogus Pompeius,* ubi historie parcium orientalium diffuso lepore contexti feruntur, in Vercellensi urbe repertus est. . . . Et quia dictus liber nimium est sensibus nostris acceptus et longe acceptior, si eum presencialiter haberemus, fraternitatem tuam rogamus interne, quatenus circa invencionem ipsius absque mora impendere studeas operam efficacem eumque ut speramus inventum ad nos per fidelem delatorem non differas destinare, nobis proinde plurimum placiturus. Datum Novis, Avinion. dioc. v. id. aug. anno quarto. Regest. 270, f. 199. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

2. *Pope Gregory XI. to Bernardo Cariti, Canon of Paris.*†

1374, August 11,
Villeneuve, in the Diocese of Avignon.

Dilecto filio Bernardo Cariti canonico Parisiensi, apostolice sedis nuntio salutem, etc.

Discretioni tue tenore presencium iubemus expresse, quatenus in loco Serbone Parisiis perquiri facias diligenter in librariis eius pro libris Tullii Ciceronis scriptis in cedula presentibus interclusa. Et si quidem eos vel aliquos aut aliquem eorum inveneris, prout alias scimus inventos esse, illos facias pro nobis per intelligentes scriptores illico exemplari et exemplatos quamprius poteris ad nos per fidelem delatorem destinare procures, cautus ut in illis nullam committas negligentiam vel defectum. Dat. Novis, Avinion. dioc. iii. id Aug. pontificatus nostri anno quarto.‡

* *Cf.* Marini, Archiatri, ii., 21. Salutato also commissioned a friend of his to search for the Pompejus Trogus, of which he knew from Justinus. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 209.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 54.

‡ On the Bibliographical wealth of Paris, and later researches for Cicero's writings in France, see Voigt, Wiederbelebung, 2nd ed., 2, 336, 341.

3. *Pope Gregory XI. to Lucca.**

1375, Aug. 10, Villeneuve, Avignon.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei. Dilectis filiis regiminibus et communi civitatis Lucan[e] salutem et apostolicam ben.

Gravibus et diversis pariterque iniustis querelis Florentinorum seu eos regentium nuper verbo et scripto dolentur auditis eis qui in detestabilem superbiam videntur efferri et contra Sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, eorum et cunctorum fidelium matrem, cornua elationis erigere ac se immergere nonnullosque alios secum in precipitium trahere moliuntur, respondemus per nostras litteras, quarum tenorem inclusum presentibus dilectioni vestre volumus esse notum, sinceritatem vestram rogantes attentius et hortantes quatinus tanquam viri redimiti prudentia, fide constantes et devotione preclari nullis vos permittatis adulationibus decipi, nullis seditionibus corrumpi nullisque comminationibus teneri ad hiis, qui vostram quietem turbare et devotionem depravare forsitan niterentur et vicinorum suorum libertatem in servitutem redigunt, quando possunt, sed columpne prefate ecclesie, que libertatem vestram optat et querit tanquam devotissimi filii hereatis. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionen. dioc. iv. id. aug., pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

FRANCISCUS.

Orig., with leader seal, Lucca, State Archives, Arm. 6, n. 379.

4. *The Republic of Florence to the Romans.*†

1376, Jan. 4, Florence.

Romanis. Magnifici domini fratres nostri carissimi. Deus benignissimus cuncta disponens et sub immutabilis

* See *supra*, p. 102.

† See *supra* p. 109. This remarkable letter is undoubtedly from the pen of the Florentine Chancellor Coluccio Salutato (†1406, May

iusticie ordine nobis incognito res mortalium administrans, miseratus humilem Italiam ingemiscere sub iugo abominabilis servitutis, suscitavit spiritum populorum et erexit oppressos contra fedissimam tirannidem barbarorum. Et, ut videtis, undique pari voto excita demum Ausonia libertatem fremit, libertatem ferro viribusque procurat. Quibus nos requirentibus in tam preclaro proposito ac tam favorabili causa nostra subsidia non negamus. Que cuncta vobis tanquam publice libertatis autoribus ac patribus credimus ad iocunditatem accedere, cum cognoscantur ad maiestatem Romani populi et vestrum naturale propositum pertinere. Hic enim libertatis amor olim Romanum populum contra regiam tirannidem impulit et ad abrogandum imperio decemvirum, illam ob compressionem Lucretie, istud ob damnationem Virginie concitavit. Hec libertas Oratium Coclitem solum contra infestos hostes ruituro obiecit in ponte. Hec Mutium sine spe salutis in Porsennam immisit et proprie manus incendio stupendum regi omnique posteritati prebuit admirandum. Hec duos Decios sponte devote morti et gladiis hostium consecravit. Et ut singulos mortales vestre civitatis ingentia lumina dimitta-

4); see Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 202, n. 2. It confirms the remarks made by Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 204-206, and Reumont, ii., 984; iii., 1, 290, regarding the redundant and declamatory style of the celebrated Secretary of State. Gherardi (Guerra dei Florentini, vii., 1, 223), and Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 446-447) have already given some passages from it. The latter and Voigt, who follows him, (*loc. cit.*), are mistaken in mentioning the 6th January as the date. Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 448-449) gives a translation of the Florentines' letter of the 1st February, 1376, which immediately followed the above appeal and is couched in the same pompous tone. Both letters are mentioned by Balan (iv., 395, n. 2). Cipolla (159) speaks of that written on the 4th January as "una lettera bollentissima colle allusione classiche che ricordano i discorsi di Cola."

mus, hec sola fecit ut Romanus populus, rerum dominus et victor gentium, innumerabilibus victoriis totum orbem, sanguinem etiam suum effundendo, peragraverit. Ob quod, fratres carissimi, cum omnes ad libertatem naturaliter incendantur, vos soli ex debito hereditario quodam iure obligamini ad studia libertatis. Quid erat aspicere nobilem Italiam, cuius iuris est ceteris nationibus imperare, tam seva pessundari servitute? Quid erat videre hanc fedam barbariem prede et sanguini Latinorum seve crudelitatis nixibus* inhyantem per miserum Latium desevire? Quo circa insurgite et vos, o inclitum nedum Italie caput sed totius orbis domitor populus, contra tantam tirannidem fovete populos, expellite abominationem de Italie finibus et libertatem cupientes protegite, et si quos vel ignavia vel iugum fortius ac durius sub servitute continet, excitate. Hec sunt opera vero Romanorum. Nolite pati per iniuriam hos Gallicos voratores vestre Italie tam crudeliter imminere. Nec sinceritatem vestram seducant blandicie clericorum, quos scimus vos privatim et publice ambire suggerereque vobis, quod placeat et velitis statum ecclesie sustinere, offerentes papam curiam Romanam in Italiam translaturum et in magno verborum lenocinio vobis quemdam optabilem urbis statum ex adventu curie designantes. Denique hec omnia huc redeunt, hoc concludunt: facite Romani, quod Italia serviat, opprimatur et conculcetur et hi Gallici dominentur. An potest vobis aliquod proponi lucrum, aliquodve precium deputari quod preponendum sit Italice libertati? Quid plura? an potest levitati barbare aliquid credi? Aut de gente instabili certum aliquid opinari? Pridem Urbanus† quanta spe perpetui incolatus reduxit curiam? et quam subito, seu naturali vicio et levitate, seu sacietate Italie, seu Galliarum suarum desiderio

* "Nexibus" in the Vienna Codex.

† Urban V. See *supra* p. 95.

hoc tam constans propositum commutavit? Addite, quod summum pontificem trahebat in Italiam sola civitas Perusina, quam, cum omnibus Tuscie urbibus videatur excellere, sedem sibi continuam preparabat; et si quid humano commercio lucri poterat cum hac gente sperari, totum a vobis erat, si recte respicitis, affuturum. Nunc autem desperatis rebus offerunt, quod facturi non erant. Et ideo, fratres carissimi, considerate ipsorum facta, non verba; non illos enim vestra utilitas, sed dominandi cupiditas in Italiam evocabat. Nolite decipi in nectare verborum, sed prout diximus* Italiam vestram, quam compte progenitores vestri universo orbi multa impensa sanguinis prefecerunt, saltem nolite pati barbaris et externis gentibus subiacere. Dicite nunc, imo repetite ex publico consulto illud incliti Catonis dictum: nolumus tam liberi esse quam cum liberis vivere. Datum Florentie die quarta ianuarii XIV. ind. Nos autem communem nostrum omnemque nostram militarem potentiam ad beneplacita vestra paratum offerimus, in vestri nominis gloriam transmissuri.—Council of Florence State Archives.

Conc. Florence, State Archives. Signor. Car. Miss, XV., 40. Cop. Court Library, Vienna, Cod. lat. 3121, f. 67a-67b.

5. *Pope Gregory XI. to Osimo.*†

1377, Feb. 12, Rome.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei Dilectis filiis confaloniero, prioribus ac consilio et communi civitatis nostre Auximane, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Litteram vestram in forma brevis nobis directam benigne recepimus, in vestreque fidelitatis constantia tanto maiori exultamus gaudio, quanto ipsa fidelitas in tribulationis tempore sincerior invenitur, vosque proinde letari debetis, quod celebre nomen vobis acquiritis et apostolice sedis

* The Vienna MS. has "diximus," the Florentine "duximus."

† See *supra*, p. 102.

amorem et favorem promeremini potiores. Confortationis igitur spiritum, sicut habuistis hactenus, habere conemini continue in futurum. De damnis autem et tribulationibus vestris vobis paterne compatimur et super eis remedia, que possumus, adhibemus scribimusque dilecto filio nostro Roberto,* basilice XII. apostolorum presbytero cardinali, apostolice sedis legato, ac venerabili fratri nostro Petro,† episcopo Conchensi, provincie nostre Marchie Anconitane et nobis et ecclesiæ Romanæ rectori, ac dilecto filio Hugoni de Rupe‡ militi, quod super custodia arcis Auximane studeant celeriter providere. Scribimus etiam dilecto filio nobili viro Silvestro Bude§ militi et aliis Britonibus secundum tenorum presentibus interclusum. Super restitutione autem et ampliatione vestri comitatus, licet multam sedis gratiam mereamini, aliud nunc non respondemus, nisi quod periculosum est ex diversis causis, isto tempore tales facere novitates. Nihilominus tamen vos taliter commendatos habere proponimus, quod poteritis merito contentari.¶ Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum II. id. februar., pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

FRANCISCUS.

* Robert, Cardinal of Geneva, who afterwards became the Anti-Pope Clement VII.

† D. Pedro Gomez Barroso. See Noticias de todos los ilmos. señores obispos que han regido la diócesis de Cuenca por Fr. Muñoz y Soliva (Cuenca, 1860), 123-127, and Compagnoni, 229, 237, 241, 242 *et seq.*, 247; the account given by the latter is very confused, and in some particulars quite incorrect.

‡ "Mareschallus curiæ Romanæ" under Clement VI. and Gregory XI. Further particulars regarding him are given by Baluze, i., 883 *et seq.*, 1193; ii., 671 *et seq.*, 740 *et seq.*

§ See Muratori, xvi., 1096.

¶ The documents indicated by Cecconi (28 *et seq.*) show how Osimo was rewarded. Cecconi also mentions the foregoing letter, but with the erroneous date of Feb. 4. The *letter of Gregory XI. calling upon Osimo to give a good example to the other subjects

[*In verso:*]

Dilectis filiis confalonerio, prioribus ac consilio et communi civitatis Auximane.

Original on parchment in the Archives at Osimo.

6. *Pope Gregory XI. to Florence.**

1377, Juli 15, Anagni.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei.

Populo civitatis Florencie spiritum consilii sanioris. Pulsat mentem nostram pastoralis solercia et solicitudo paterna, ut vos, olim devotionis filios, in tenebris nunc sedentes et adulterinis quorundam pestilentium regentium et antepositorum in facto guerre vigentis seductionibus et mendosis fictionibus obfuscatos, veritatis detegendo rectitudinem, piis affatibus alloquamur, ne presides ipsi, veneno detractionis infecti et ambitionis cupidine turpiter excecati, assumpto mendacii spiritu falsis eorum persuasionibus vos in profundum malorum precipites secum trahant; hii profecto rectores et antepositi, quos gloria vexat inanis, sic elati sunt in superbia, ut luciferini cum principibus sedere cupiant et in solio presidere glorie dominantis, nullam libertatem querentes nullamque ad concives suos vel quosvis alios caritatem habentes vel amiciciam, quicquid fingant, adeo ceci facti cupiditatis ingluvie, ut videntes non videant nec intelligant audientes. Sed utinam saperent et novissima previderent ac pariter providerent. Quid autem demeruerat apud ipsos Romana ecclesia, fidelium omnium pia mater et magistra, in cuius gremio commune Florencie prerogativa speciali quiescebat, et que ipsum commune, ut de retropreteritis taceamus, proximis eciam temporibus

of the church ("bonum exemplum aliis ecclesie prefate subditis prebeatis"), noticed by the same author, is not dated Avignon the 5th March, but the 22nd February (for such is the signification of viii. Cal. Mart.).

* See *supra*, pp. 111 and 114.

coaluit et defendit veluti pullos suos gallina sub alis, et a servitute tirannica, cui propinquum erat, pluries ut est notorium preservavit. Ipsi vero rectores et antepositi, prosperitatis ipsius invidi, nulli occasione vel culpa eiusdem ecclesie nullaque diffidatione precedentibus, quinymo colligatione durante prioribusque nobis scribentibus, cuiusmodi scripturas studiose servamus, quod ecclesiam in nullo offenderent nisi ipsa primitus inchoaret, repentino ictu attrociter debachantes et insanientes, in ipsam omnes eius terras ad rebellionis seviciem clandestinis mendaciorum flatibus perfidisque suggestionibus concitarunt, ipsamque insontem, suo inebriati furore ac morbo ingratitudinis fedissime laborantes, alias inauditis affecerunt et obstinatione dampnabili affligere non desistunt iacturis, gravibus iniuriis et offensis. O ceca ambicio, que nec deum timet nec homines reveretur. O quam funesta rabies, que tantorum cedium, incendiorum, deflorationum, stuprorum et aliorum innumerorum et horrendorum facinorum non metuerit causam et inicium propinare. O quam barbarica ferocitas omni beluina crudelior, que manus sacrilegas in christos domini, quibus olim pharaonica impietas adhuc de proprio alimenta prebebat, extendere, bona eorum mobilia distrahere et, quod alias per quoscunque quantumcumque nefandos persecutores ecclesie nunquam factum fuisse narratur, immobilia alienare et dei prophanare sanctuarium non expavit. Vos autem convenimus, o popule, qui tanquam pusillus grex ad excidium temporale et eternum supplicium ducimini per predictos. Quid vobis profuit aut prodesse vel quem fructum proferre potest miserabilis ista vestrorum collisio vicinorum, qua divisis ac frementibus in se communitatibus et universitatibus quamplurimis, ac patre in filium, fratre in fratrem, cive in civem, et contra sevientibus tot mortes, depopulaciones agrorum et infinita scandala

continue perfidorum ipsorum presidum vestrorum ministerio perpetrantur, et tota Italia periclitationi subjicitur ac ruine, qua eciam efficimini plebis abiectio et omni obprobrium nationi, pro qua quidem concussione fovenda vestra corroditur substancia, et figmentis fallacibus adinventionibusque dolosis per prefatos detinemini, obstruso veritatis lumine vinculati. Asserunt enim ut accepimus, licet falsitate mendosa, quod ad concordiam nolumus inclinare, qui teste pacis auctore eius vestigiis inherentes cuius vices licet immeriti gerimus in humanis, premissis non obstantibus, pacem semper appetivimus et nunc eciam summis desideriis affectamus. Sed ultimate destinatis ad nos suis oratoribus qualem nobis pacem obtulerint, audiatis. En volunt in primis, quod rebelles nostri et eiusdem ecclesie nec non tiranni, qui terras ipsius ecclesie dictorum rectorum et antepositorum favore et auxilio occuparunt, in execrabili statu rebellionis et tirannizationis huiusmodi impune debeant hinc ad sexennium remanere. Volunt insuper, quod eis sit licitum, dicto durante sexennio cum dictis rebellibus quancunque ligam et contra quoscunque, eciam nos et dictam ecclesiam, pro libito renovare, et pro premissis omnibus necnon dictis iniuriis et offensis primo viginti, demum vero quinquagintæ milia florenorum singulis annis ipso sexennio perdurante solummodo obtulerunt. Si igitur ista pacis oblatio dici debeat, ubi primo petitur, quod nostri subditi in rebellione persistant et tirannia roboretur, ubi secundo futura guerra iam orditur, presagitur et aperte tractatur, ubi tertio de tantis damnis tantisque offensis, iniuriis et iacturis talis et tam elusoria compensatio nobis offertur, vosmetipsi considerare potestis. Et quamvis nos, qui sub spe concordie et pacis in tota Italia, auxiliante deo, reformande, solo nativo, amena patria, populo grato pariter et devoto ac

aliis multis delectabilibus derelictis, necnon regibus, principibus et multis cardinalibus ecclesie predicte, contradicentibus seu supplicantibus de contrario, nullatenus exauditis, ad ipsam accessimus non sine magnis periculis, laboribus et expensis et cum intentione firma reparandi, si qua per officiales nostros et eiusdem ecclesie minus bene gesta fuissent, ad multa nobis indecentia et minus honesta zelo pacis condescendere voluerimus, fueritque cum prefatis oratoribus per nonnullos ex fratribus nostris cardinalibus mediatoribus eciam et instantibus carissime in Christo filie Johanne regine Sicilie illustris et dilectorum filiorum ducis et communis Veneciarum ambaxiatoribus longo iam temporis decursu tractatum, ipsi tamen oratores ad aliud offerendum, quam superius expressum est, nunquam potuerunt induci dicentes, se ad ampliora non habere mandatum, sed de die in diem aliud expectare, de cuius quidem missione nulli hucusque rumores per nos sunt habiti nec habentur, et sic per verba ducimur sine fructu. Hec autem vobis more benigni patris, ovem perditam solicite requirentis, decrevimus aperire, ut de nobis oblatis per oratores predictos meram veritatem habentes, per deliramenta mendosa dicentium forte, alia fuisse nobis oblata, non circumveniamini, nec ignorancia facti ultraducamini in errorem a certo tenentes, quod nunquam parte nostra stetit, quominus concordia fieret, neque stabit duce deo, si nobis vera, firma et adhuc minus condecens offeratur. Levate igitur oculos et videte, quis rei exitus de tanta humilitate nostra et tanta vestrorum indurata superbia sit verisimiliter secuturus, et utinam quod bonum est eligentes, que floruit hactenus, rectorum et antepositorum predictorum calliditate dampnabili nunc efflorens, adhuc patre luminum inspirante refloreat nostris in temporibus civitas Florentina. Scientes tamen, quod ubi nobis non offerantur alia, cunctis

principibus, magnatibus et communitatibus orthodoxis premissa pandemus, et iusticia nostra et lenitas vestrorumque obstinata protervitas christicolis omnibus patefiat, sperantes in domino et in devotione fidelium confidentes, quod ipse deus innocenciam nostram ex alto prospiciens ecclesiam sibi sponsam non derelinquet, prout nec hucusque reliquit, finaliter indefensam.

Datum Anagnie id. iul., pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

[*In verso:*]

Populo civitatis Florencie.

Original Document in State Archives, Florence. Diplomat. Prov. Riform. Atti pubblici.*

* Mentioned by Gherardi (viii., 1, 287, n. 368), and used by Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 468). The latter is wrong in giving the 13th July as the date. As to the document itself, see Gherardi, v., ii., 112, and Reumont, ii., 1008-1009, who justly observes that Gregory XI., being perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in Florence, where the bow had been drawn too tight, endeavoured to foment the popular feeling against the Magistrates, with the object of constraining them to make peace. We learn the names of his Ambassadors from the following unpublished letter, which is also taken from the State Archives of Florence:—" Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Prioribus artium ac vexillifero iusticie populi et communis civitatis Florencie spiritum consilii sanioris. Habentibus aliqua vobis parte nostra preferre dilectis filiis Ludovico de Veneciis fratrum minorum et Johanni de Basilia fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ordinum in sacra pagina professoribus oportunas securiconductus, quas expectabunt in Pisis, litteras prout fecimus vestris ambaxiatoribus destinare velitis eisque et ipsorum alteri super exponendis eisdem cum ad vos pervenerint fidem credulam adhibere. Datum Anagnie xiii. cal. aug. Pontificatus nostri anno septimo [1377, July 20].

[*In verso:*]

Prioribus artium ac vexillifero iusticie populi et communis civitatis Florencie.

THEOBALDUS.

7. *Pope Gregory XI. to Bertrando, Abbot of San. Niccolò al Lido, Venice.**

[1377] Oct. 7, Anagni.

Bertrando abbati monasterii Sti Nicolai in littore prope Venecias, apostolico collectori. Gregorius etc. Dilecte fili. Ex quo Veneti processus nostros publicari et exequi non curarunt,† volumus et tibi mandamus, ut per aliquem tibi fidum processus eosdem in valvis ecclesiæ sancti Marci nocturno tempore et opportunitate captata affigi cum clavis secrete procures, sic tamen ordinans et cautelam adhibens, quod eiusdem rei executor huiusmodi statim ipsis adfixis recedere valeat sine suæ aliquo detrimento personæ, et nihilominus processus ipsos in locis circumvicinis facias et procures ubilibet publicari.‡ Datum Anagniæ die vii. octobris.

Cop. Aix (in Provence). Méjanes Library in the Hôtel de Ville. Cod. 915, f. 233.

[Recueil contenant les lettres d'Innocent VI. (p. 1-112),

* See *supra*, p. 115.

† The Venetians even protected the Florentine merchants in Flanders; see the letter of thanks from the Florentines to Venice, dated, Florentiæ die vigesimo primo mensis augusti decima quarta indictione millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto. There is a copy in the House, Court, and State Archives in Vienna. Cod. 570 (Libri commem.), vol. viii. (resp. xi.), f. 18.

‡ The importance of the publication of the Papal sentence in the merchant city of Venice may easily be conceived. I am not able to say with certainty whether it was really carried into effect; most of the accounts (as for example Stefani, 145) speak in very general terms; Bartolomeo Cecchetti (La repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione [Venezia, 1874], 2 vol.) says nothing on the subject; in any case, the will of the Pope was not at once obeyed in Venice, for in the MS. in the Library at Aix, p. 323-324, there is a *Repetition of the said command, dated Rome, ix. Nov. (1377).

d'Urbain V. (pp. 112-131) et de Grégoire XI. (pp. 131-417). Seventeenth century copy from an old MS. At the beginning is the coat of arms of Charles de Bachi, Marquis d'Aubaïs. The transcriber was a man of education, as is evident from his observations explanatory of the letters; these observations chiefly refer to the publication of some of the letters whole or in part, by Raynaldus. I have sought in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican for a portion of the letters contained in the Codex at Aix.]

8. *Pope Gregory XI. to the Nuncio Pietro Raffini.**

[1377] Dec. 26, Rome.

Magistro Petro Raffini, archidiacono Ilerdensi, cameræ nostræ clerico et apostolicæ sedis nuncio. Gregorius etc. Dilecte fili. Sicut nuper tibi scripsimus per urgentissimas, nos prementes indigentias nec lingua nec calamus sufficeret explicare † Ducatus ‡ concutitur, tribulatur Marchia,§ et Romandiola permaximis discriminibus est propinqua; clamant armigeri propter pecuniarum defectum nil boni penitus facientes, et cruciamur interius ultra quam sit honestum scribere. Haec in animo recensentes et capitaneorum hic existentium continuos non valentes audire clamores, ideo repetitis vicibus viscerose rogando tibi mandamus, ut in quantum statum nostrum et honorem diligis, quantitatem illam, quæ mitti debebat in fine mensis

* See *supra*, pp. 113 and 115.

† Almost the same expression occurs in a letter from Gregory XI. to the Archbishop John of Prague on the 23rd of February, 1376, in Palacky, Formelbücher ii., N. 92. Deutsche Reichstagsacten, i., 94 A.

‡ Spoleto.

§ Gregorius XI. . . . de mense septembris perdidit oppidum sancti Lupidii in Marchia . . . et oppidum s. Mariæ in Giorgio et oppidum Serræ. Spec. hist. Sozomeni Pistor. in Muratori, Script. xvi., 1103. See Buoninsegni, 591.

proxime preteriti nec non quamcumque aliam tibi possibilem, ultra quomodocumque non differas destinare, procurans cum ingenti ferventique ac etiam importuna instantia tam apud reginalem celsitudinem et comitem camerarium quam alibi, quod census residuum in instanti nativitate domini vel citius habeatur, ac de cleri subsidio quidquid poteris adunare; nam modicum adhuc erunt hæc omnia, profluviis debitorum et expensarum attentis.

Cæturum accepimus, quod Florentini, multos pannos magnasque mercancias Barulum* et Manfredoniam deferri fecerunt, et in regno quod immediate tenetur ab ecclesia plus quam quacunque parte mundi facta sua cum favoribus exequuntur, quod est valde absurdum audire. Quare procures cum sollicitudine quod bona huismodi et quævis Florentinorum alia capiantur omnino et nostri processus realiter exequantur.† Videretur autem nobis expediens, quod ille frater pro publicatione dictorum processuum destinatus ad executionem dictarum mercanciarum celeriter mitteretur. Rursus intelleximus, quod contra Robertum de Capua, eo quod tamquam obedientiæ filius prosequitur Florentinos et processus eosdem exequitur, regina turbata est, de quo non sufficimus admirari pariter et turbari, et præsertim quod spretis censura ecclesiastica et sententiis tam gravibus, ipsa vasalla peculiaris ecclesiæ, neglecto insuper iuramento, matris suæ favere velit notoriis inimicis; super quibus studio ferventi procures remedium celeriter

* Barletta, commonly called "Barolum" in the Middle Ages (see for example Muratori, iii., 495; xxi., 43), now an inconsiderable port with about twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.

† The Queen of Naples had at first taken harsh measures against the Florentines. See the complaint of the Republic to the Queen, dated 1376, Aug. 15, in Gherardi, viii., 1, 273, n. 292; afterwards she endeavoured to reconcile Florence with Gregory XI. See Salutat. Epist. ed. Rigacc. i., 82-83, 166.

adhiberi, omnino faciens quod nullus interveniat in supradicta pecunia quam tocius destinanda defectus, si nobis cupias in aliquo complacere.

Datum Rome die xxvi., decembris.

Cop. Aix. Méjanes Library, Cod. 915, f. 363-364.

9. *Pope Gregory XI. to Cardinal de Lagrange and the Archbishop of Narbonne.**

[1378] March 2, Rome.

Dilecto filio Joanni tit sti Marcelli presb. cardinali et venerabili fratri Joanni archiepiscopo Narbonnensi, sedis apostolicæ nunciis. Gregorius, etc. Dilecte fili ac venerabilis frater.

Mirari cogimur, unde ista parte processerint, quæ scripsistis vobis relata fuisse, nam ista civitas a nostro recessu citra in tanta quiete fuit continue sic unquam, nullo novitatis alicuius indicio; sed per quosdam malivolos ista vobis ad incussionem timoris fore suggesta credimus, ut vel pacem† impediant vel declinent ad pacta eis forsitan graciora. Est autem verum, quod quidam Antonius de Malavoltis de certo tractatu suspectus, pro ut ante vestrum recessum potuistis audivisse, captus et detentus, tandem plurimos accusavit. Lucas antem de nocte fugit, quod credimus pro meliori fuisse. Populus vero dicti Antonii confessione percepta unanimi consensu voluit, quod iustitia fieret de eodem, pro ut est factum, nam palam et publice nullo quocunque

* See *supra* p. 116. Regarding Cardinal de Lagrange, see Duchesne, Hist. des card. françois, i., 645 *et seq.*; ii., 467. The Archbishop of Narbonne was Gregory's nephew, Jean Roger; see Baluze i., 830 *et seq.*; ii., 778; and Gallia Christ. vi. (Paris. 1739), 94-95. Martinus de Salva, Bishop of Pampeluna, was sent with the Cardinal and Archbishop by the Pope; see Gallia Christ. *loc. cit.*; Salutat. Epist. ii., 135, and Baluze i., 1156.

† MS.: partem.

exorto rumore tulit sententiam capitalem;* nos autem divina suffragante clementia prosperæ quietudinis amenitate gaudemus, vos attente rogantes, ut omni turbatione concepta et animorum fluctuacione depositis nobis commissum negocium inconcussis mentibus prosequamini diligenter, progressus vero ac successura quælibet nobis assidue rescribentes.

Datum Romæ die 2, martii.

Cop. Aix. Méjanes Library, Cod. 915, f. 914-915.

10. *Cristoforo di Placenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua.*†

[1378] April 9, Rome.

Mag^ce^ d^ne^ mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominationi vestre, prout alias scripsi,‡ quod die xxvii. mensis marcii dominus papa Gregorius migravit ab hoc seculo, et die octava mensis aprilis domini cardinales bonitate et industria Romani populi elegerunt in papam dominum Bartholomeum archiepiscopum Barensem§ de

* I have only found the following notices regarding the conspiracy, which is not mentioned by the modern historians of Rome, (Papencordt, Gregorovius, and Reumont:) (1) Colluccio Salutato probably alludes to it in the following words taken from a letter addressed to Sir John Hawkwood, and dated Florence, 4 March, 1377 (resp. 1378) (ed. Rigaccius, ii., 146): "Summus Pontifex indiget gentibus pro discordia quam nuper cum Romanis habet." (2.) In the rare work of Pompeo Pellini, Dell' Historia di Perugia, P. 1, Venetia, 1664, of which I made use in the National Library at Florence, there is, f. 1206, a somewhat more ample account, but it is impossible to substantiate its details.

† See *supra*, p. 121.

‡ *Despatch, dated Rome, xxviii. marcii [1378]: "Die sabati vigesima septima presentis mensis dominus noster migravit de hoc seculo circa tertiam horam noctis." *Loc. cit.*

§ 1377, April 14—1378, according to Gams, 856.

civitate Neapolitana condescensum, utriusque juris doctorem, in agibilibus mundi valde expertum, virum de quo certe ecclesie sancte dei bene provisum; plura propter nuncii frequentiam non scribo, sed facta coronacione sua omnia, que intervenerunt, dominacioni vestre seriosus scribere curabo.

Datum Rome nono aprilis.

[*In verso :*]

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia, in curia procurator. Mag^co^ potenti d^no^ suo d^no^ Ludovico de Gonzaga d^no^ Mantue.

Original at Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, E xxv., 3., fasc. 7.

11. *Cristoforo di Piacenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga Lord of Mantua.**

[1378] April 12, Rome.

Mag^ce^ d^ne^ mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominacioni vestre, quod postquam vobis scripseram die nona presentis mensis, quod habebamus papam Italicum,† eademet die circa vigesimam secundam horam illius diei domini cardinales dederunt sibi [*sic*] nomen, et vocatur Urbanus sextus, nam primo vocabatur Bartholomæus et eadem [*sic*] archiepiscopus Barensis, regens cancellariam domini pape loco domini cardinalis Pampilonensis,‡ qui vicecancellarius est; et bene credo, quod habetis papam, qui vos diligat, et reddo me certum, quod ecclesia sancta

* See *supra*, p. 121.

† The Italian Nationality of the new Pope was also immediately proclaimed by Colluccio Salutato. See his letters of the 20th April and 6th May, in the edition of Rigaccius, ii., 161 and 167. In the first of these he writes: "Considerantes divinam providentiam ordinasse, quod in apostolica sede surrexerit vir iustus et a sanguine Italico nullatenus alienus," etc.

‡ Pierre de Montéruc, Cardinal under Innocent VI., †1385. Ciaconius, ii., 534-535.

dei bene gubernabitur, et audeo dicere quod sunt C anni et ultra ex quibus ecclesia sancta dei non habuit similem pastorem.* Nam iste non habet attinentes, et est multum amicus domine regine,† expertus in agibilibus mundi, sagax et prudens, et firmiter in die pasce coronabitur in sancto Petro,‡ et equitabit per terram usque ad sanctum Johanem de Laterano et ibi pernoctabit,§ nam Romani omnes indifferenter summe congratulantur de urbe, que suum sponsum recuperavit. Mittatis ambaxiatores vestros cicius quam poterit ad exhibendam sibi debitam reverentiam, nam dominus Octo reversus est. . . . Datum Rome xii. aprilis.

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia, in curia procurator

Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

12. *Cristoforo di Piacenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua.*‖

[1378] June 24, Rome.

Mag^ce^ d^ne^ mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominationi vestre, me recepisse vestras graciosas litteras continentes, ut de statu curie nova significare vellem, ad quarum tenorem breviter respondeo, quod mortuo domino

* See *supra*, p. 121. That Cristoforo was by no means singular in hoping great things from the new Pope is evident from a passage in a MS. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (T. 4, de schism., p. 80) given by Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 15.

† Joanna of Naples.

‡ The Coronation took place at St. Peter's, on the 18th April (see Niem, i., 3), not "in ecclesia s. Joannis Lateranensis," as the passage from Cod. lat. Monac., 150, cited by Döllinger, Beiträge, iii., 359, has it. The Pope was crowned "in capite scalarum S. Petri;" see Gatticus, 366.

§ See Phillips, v., 2, 897 *et seq.*

‖ See *supra*, p. 126.

Gregorio et assumpto domino Urbano sexto ad apicem apostolatus scripsi dominationi vestre de modo sue assumptionis et qualiter concorditer nemine discrepante fuit electus et in die pasce resurrexionis cum maximis solaciis et multitudine populi fuit coronatus omnibus cardinalibus ibidem existentibus et per terram secum equitantibus, et post predictas litteras lacius scripsissem de hiis, que occurrerunt, nisi [impeditus] fuisse [m] propter defectum nuntiorum illuc attendencium, quibus post guerras inceptas in partibus illis multum carni. Et post coronacionem per ipsum assumptam voluit habere dominos Hugonem* et Thomam† fratres de Sancto Severino, comitem Nolanum‡ et dominum Nicolaum de Neapoli§ in suos consiliares, et secundum consilium istorum se regebat et regit, licet in primordio sui apostolatus fuerit valde durus et precipue dominis cardinalibus; sed incipit innovare mores, subsequenter bullam aperuit, et adhuc est aperta, duratura

* See Baluze, i., 1124 *et seq.*

† See *ibid.*, i., 1470 *et seq.*, and Muratori, Script., iii., 2, 726 Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 482 *et seq.* Regarding the Sanseverino family, see Erasmo Ricca, La Nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie, Parte I.: Istoria de' Feudi del Regno delle Due Sicilie di quà dal Faro, 1859 *et seq.* (Also Reumont's Report in the Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung, 1867, N. 94, Supplement.)

‡ Niccolò Orsini. See Baluze, i., 1206, 1208, 1286; Reumont, iii., 1, 40, and Litta, fasc. lxii.

§ Niccolò Spinelli, the celebrated jurist, Chancellor to Joanna, Queen of Naples. Although a native of Giovenazzo, he was generally known as "Nicolaus de Neapoli;" see Baluze, i., 1455; Giannone, iii., 156. The above passage throws some light on the obscure history of the differences between Joanna and Urban VI.; but their real origin can only be cleared up by the discovery of further documents. Spinelli soon became one of the most violent opponents of the Pope, and a chief promoter of the Schism. See Tommaseo, iv., 211.

usque ad medium mensem augusti, et omnibus pauperibus gratiam volentibus fecit et facit, ideo quod omnium ecclesiasticorum de omnibus nacionibus mundi maximus concursus est in urbe. Subsequenter ex parte omnium dominorum Ytalie recepit visitationem et cottidie visitatur per plures dominos magis longinquos. Sunt eciam hic omnes ambaxiatores pro parte lige pro pace tractanda,* et speratur quod pax erit, quoniam dominus noster ad ipsam multum anhelat et pars adversa similiter, et credo quod quicquid circa predicta debebit fieri, cito terminabitur. A modicis diebus circa domini cardinales ultramontani novis captatis excusationibus et coloribus receperunt licentiam a domino nostro, dubitantes de ayere estivo,† pro eundo Anagniam, et dominus noster graciose eis concessit, et a modico tempore citra videtur, quod ipsi assumpserint spem rebellionis erga ipsum, propter quod, ut dicitur, dominus noster ipsos fecit citari, ut certa die mensis julii debeant in civitate Tiburtina, que distat ab urbe per miliaria XV, ubi tunc dominus noster propter calores estivos erit, se apostolico conspectu [i] comparere. Quid fiat, ignoro, sed speratur, quod omnia sedabuntur. Quid fiet circa premissa, dominacioni vestre intimare procurabo . . . . . ‡
Postquam presentem litteram vestre dominacioni scripseram, dominus noster papa accepit litteras ab illis cardinalibus, qui sunt in Avinione, multum congratulantibus de felici promotione sua, et ultra hoc miserunt nepotem domini cardinalis Pampilonensis et unum alium episcopum rogando ipsum, ut velit scribere, quid facturi sint. Datum Rome xxiv. junii.

* See Gherardi, v., 2, 121 *et seq*; viii., 1, 291 *et seq.*

† See Niem, i., 7.

‡ The passage omitted refers to the nomination to an Abbey.

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia.*

Original at Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

13. *Giovanni di Lignano on Pope Urban VI.*†

Tractatus de electione, inthronisatione et coronatione Urbani VI:

. . . Item quod præfatus ss^{mus} in Christo pater et dominus noster, dominus Urbanus PP. VI. tanquam verus, sanctus et iustus et qui semper volebat et voluit iustitiam tenere et servare et servari facere, crimina et vitia vitare, exstirpare ac vitari et exstirpari facere, maxime crimen nefandum symoniæ, quo crimine sine infamia hominum Romana curia quandoque consuevit habundare, ac etiam volens, quod negotia quæ coram eo deducerentur ac tractarentur, pure, libere et gratis ac sine receptione munerum tractarentur et expedirentur, maxime per cardinales, qui propter reverentiam et culmen dignitatis suæ debent esse ceteris iustiores et sanctiores ac ceteris viris ecclesiasticis et aliis bene vivendi speculum in se ipsis ostendere. Ipse namque dominus noster papa præfatis cardinalibus et multis aliis palam ac publice et etiam in secreto et sæpe ac sæpius et iteratis vicibus dixit, asseruit et protestatus fuit, mentem suam et animum suum super hoc expresse declarando, quod

* Other historically important letters from Cristoforo di Piacenza are unfortunately not to be found in the Mantua Archives. In the fasciculus (i.), containing letters from 1366-1399, are, with the above letters from Cristoforo, nine from Giacomo della Campana (Jacobus della Campana), written in 1388 and the following years. There is another interesting Report from Cristoforo to Lodovico di Gonzago, dated Avignon (1376), July 17, in the State Archives at Milan. Osio (i., 181-183) has published this ; see also Gottlob, 116, note 2.

† See *supra*, p. 124, and Höfler, Aus Avignon, 10. Chevalier, Rép. 1203, gives an account of the different works concerning Lignano.

ipse non intendebat sustinere, quod per symoniam vel lucrum aliquid coram eo tractaretur vel ab eo obtineretur per cardinales vel aliquem alium ; et quod ipse non audiret nec admitteret nec exaudiret aliquem, quem haberet suspectum de symonia vel alio lucro illicito, nec placebat nec placeret ei, quod cardinalis aliquis reciperet pensiones, provisiones, exenia vel lucra illicita aliqua a quibusvis personis, quia quando recipiunt vel sperant lucra aliqua, negotia ecclesiæ male procedunt. Et quod ipse dominus noster sciebat, quod hactenus in tractatibus, qui fiebant inter ecclesiam et inimicos ecclesiæ propter talia lucra, quæ recipiebant vel sperabant tractatores, qui debebant esse de parte ecclesiæ, ipsi tractatus male procedebant pro ecclesia, imo fuerunt impediti ita, quod ecclesia non potuit cum suis inimicis habere pacem, quam desiderabat et ipse dominus noster semper desideravit et desiderat. Et quod non placebat nec placeret ipsi domino nostro, quod tales tractatores in contra ipsis tractibus et negotiis se ingererent vel immiscerent. Ipseque dominus noster alia salubria monita sæpe ac sæpius et iteratis vicibus iisdem cardinalbus ad reformationem bonorum suorum et iustitiæ ac boni ac salubris status ecclesiæ dicebat et dixit. Et insuper etiam sæpe et sæpius dixit et publicavit, quod cum sedes sua Romana et apostolica sic et esse debeat ex institutione divina in urbe Roma, intentio sua erat, fuit, est et esset in eadem urbe ut plurimum residentiam facere et etiam ibidem, quando deo placeret, mori intendebat, et quodsi aliter faceret, reputaret se male agere.

Copy in Cod. 269, f. 234, Eichstätt Library.

14. *Roman Documents regarding the Papal Schism of the year 1378.*

The Roman collections of Manuscripts, which are rich in documents concerning the great Schism of 1378, have been far less thoroughly investigated than those of Paris. The

accomplishment of such investigation does not fall within the scope of my present work, but I think that a few notices regarding certain documents which attracted my attention while I was pursuing my researches in Rome may not be unwelcome to future students.

By far the most important documents regarding the great Schism are preserved in the secret Archives of the Vatican in Arm. liv., *n.* 14-39. This collection, entitled "De schismate Urbani VI.," refers chiefly to the beginning of that Schism; Raynaldus, and afterwards Bzovius (see xv., 13), and Marini in the second volume of his "Archiatri," have made use of it. I copied from N. 17 (Vol iv. "De schismate Urbani VI.") the Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, from which I have repeatedly quoted, and I intend by-and-bye to publish it in its entirety; I may here give the passage containing the Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille's declaration in favour of the validity of Urban VI.'s election: *"Ivi ad dom. card. de Agrifolio et supplicavi, quod diceret mihi veritatem pro salute anime mee, quia non intendebam adorare tamquam vicarium Jesu Christi non vicarium Jesu Christi, et de hoc protestabam tamquam in die judicii mihi redderet rationem. Ipse autem respondidit mihi: vide non dubites, quia pro certo a tempore S. Petri citra non sedit aliquis in sede sua magis juste quam iste. Ideo male facis tantum tardare."

The Vatican Library also contains a large number of documents concerning the great Schism. I noted the following as particularly worthy of attention: Codd. Vatic. 4039, 4153, 4192, 4896, 4943, 5607, 5608 (f. 119-131 are the "Consilium pro Urbano VI." by Barth. de Saliceto*), also Cod. D. i. 20 of the Casanatense Library, of which I shall speak more fully elsewhere. It may be observed that

* Regarding Saliceto see Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bologn. (Bologna, 1789), vii., 272-279; and Valentinelli, ii., 285 *et seq.*

the *" Dialogus de tollendo schismate" in Cod. 44 G. f. 1-7 of St. Peter's Library, to which I have referred *supra,* pp. 145 and 173, is identical with that mentioned by Labbé and Fabricius (iii., 294). Its author, Giovanni di Spoleto, was Professor at Bologna in 1394; see Mazzetti, Rep. prof. Bol. (1847), 1567. The work is addressed: "Ad rev. in Christo patrem et dom. dom. Jacobum de Altovitis de Florentia episcop. Fesulanum" (1390-1409; see Gams, 749 and Chevalier, 89). The passage quoted *supra* p. 173, runs as follows (f. 4) · *" Immoratum tam diu scisma per tot iam lustra que dispendia dederit, quot inde nocumenta provenerint scandala, depopulationes, ruine, fluctuationes, inconvenientia, turbines cum tecum examinando consideraveris ex adverso statim videbis que sancta possint ex unione commoda resultare. Illinc dissensionum omnium radix fuit, tumultus varii, dissensiones regnorum, seditiones, extortiones, excidia, violentie, bella, tirannidis incrementum, libertatis pessundatio, malefactorum impunitas, simultates, error, infamia, furentibus ferro et ignilatius concessa licentia. Hinc (si tamen succedet unionis bonum) concordia, libertas," etc. Besides that in St. Peter's Library, another MS. copy of this dialogue was, according to the catalogue, preserved in the Borghese Library, Rome (Scr. ii., N. 57), but in the spring of 1884 it was no longer to be found there.

15. *Langenstein's "Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis"* (1393).*

This poem is identical with the "Carmen pro pace," published by H. von der Hardt, in 1715, at Helmstedt, from a MS. in the Wolfenbüttel Library. I was not able to gain access to this rare edition, and accordingly quoted from a MS. in the University Library at Breslau (Cod. 320, f. 92-103), of which, by the kind intervention of

* See *supra*, p. 141.

Professor Laemmer, I obtained a copy. The edition printed by von der Hardt is moreover incomplete; it begins, according to Hartwig (ii., 33), with the words "Vivens non vivens," that is with v. 65 of the Breslau MS. The copy of the Invectiva in Cod. 3214, f. 80b-91b of the Court Library at Vienna is also incomplete; concluding at v. 640 of the Breslau MS; Cod. 3219 of the Court Library at Vienna, which unfortunately I was not able to examine as minutely as I wished to do, appears to me to give a more complete and, in some ways, a better text than the Breslau MS. A third copy of the "Invectiva" is to be found in the Vienna Court Library (see Denis, i., 460), and is interesting as containing a dedication to Eckhard von Dersch, Bishop of Worms. This dedication also occurs in a copy of the "Invectiva" in the University Library at Würzburg (Cod. Mch. f. 53, fol. 163a-169a). I am not able to say what has become of the MS. of the "Invectiva" cited by Pez (Thes. anecd., i., 1, p. lxxix.). Another copy of the poem is (see Archiv, xi., 725,) in Cod. 5 of the Amplonian Library at Erfurt. Lorenz (Geschichtsquellen, ii., 2nd ed., 212, note 2) seems to consider this Erfurt MS. as distinct from the Breslau work; but the similarity of the opening words leaves little room for doubt that it is really identical.

16. *Acta consistorialia in the Archivio Concistoriale and the Secret Archives of the Vatican.*

Besides the celebrated Secret Archives, the Archives of the ancient Dataria, of the Rota and the Signatura Gratiæ,* the Vatican Palace contains another Archive full of most valuable historical matter, which as yet has scarcely been turned to any account; this is the Archivio Concistoriale, whose entrance is in the Cortile di San. Damaso. Its precious collection of MSS. is of a strictly private cha-

* See Gottlob in the Histor. Jahrbuch, vi., 272.

racter, and is under the direct charge of the Cardinal Secretary of State. Few have yet been fortunate enough to obtain access to its treasures.*

The importance of the Archivio Concistoriale is evident, if we consider that the Consistory is a solemn gathering of the Cardinals around the Pope for the purpose of deliberation with regard to the final sanction of certain very weighty ecclesiastical affairs, or of performing some act of special gravity.†

The Archivio Concistoriale owes its origin to Urban VIII., the same Pope who devoted special attention to the Secret Archives of the Vatican. By the Bull "Admonet nos," dated Rome, "1625, xviii., Cal. Jan. Anno. pontif. 3°." of which I saw in the Consistorial Archives a copy printed in Rome in the year 1626, on a broadsheet, he directed that Archives should be established for the reception of the Acts of the Sacred College. In course of time the Consistorial Archives seem to have fallen into oblivion, and are not at present in the best possible order; it is, however, to be hoped that His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. will bring about an improvement in this particular. The documents are placed in fifteen large wooden chests, fourteen of which are numbered;‡ an Armarium which stands at the left of the entrance has no special mark; in it will

* Brady, i., p. vii.: "These latter Archives are strictly private; admission is rarely applied for, and still more rarely granted."

† See Bangen, Die Römische Curie, 75 *et seq.* Phillips, vii., 288 *et seq.*; Gatticus, 88, 199, 247, 251; and Moroni, xv., 187 *et seq.* The principal work on the Consistory is that of Cardinal Palaeoti: "De sacri consistorii consultationibus," Roma, 1592.

‡ I have endeavoured, as far as time permitted, to form at least an approximate estimate of the number of volumes in the different chests. The following summary may give at least a general idea of the arrangement and the contents of the Archives: Arm. i. and ii., c^a. 90 vols.; Processus ecclesiarum from 1564 to c^a. 1700;

be found a rich collection of Acts of Conclaves, of which I shall speak hereafter, as they do not refer to the period dealt with in the present volume.

The late foundation of these Archives explains the fact that the Acta Consistorialia only begin with the year 1409,* and are imperfect. Some volumes I have been assured were made away with by the French. In general the volumes referring to the fifteenth century are not the Original Acta Consistorialia, but copies made in the time of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and are not free from clerical errors. The original Acts begin with the year 1517,

Arm. iii. and iv., c^a. 100 vols.; Processus ecclesiarum, coming down to 1792; Arm. v., c^a. 30 vols.; Processus, and also c^a. 20 vols. Juramenta fidelitatis et profess. fidei; Arm. vi., c^a. 30 vols.; Præconia et propositiones (beginning with the seventeenth century; also some few of the time of Julius III.; and a series of official Reports regarding ecclesiastical matters, especially in Germany, in the seventeenth century, some of which are very interesting and go into the minutest details), Processus ecclesiarum of the eighteenth century, c^a 30 vols.; Arm. vii., Acta consistorialia from 1589 to 1717, c^a. 85 vols.; the contents of Arm. viii. were inaccessible to me as the key would not act; it probably contains the Consistorial Acts from 1717 to 1772; Arm. ix., Acta consist. from 1772 to 1817, c^a. 60 vols.; Arm. x., Acta consist. from 1409 to 1701 (some are wanting), c^a. 50 vols.; Arm. xi. Acta consist. from 1523 to 1798 (some wanting), c^a. 60 vols.; Arm. xii., Acta consist. from 1529 to 1700 (some wanting), c^a. 110 vols. (also some volumes of a miscellaneous nature); Arm. xiii. and xix. contain no proper Consistorial Acts, and accordingly I did not further investigate them. Such was the arrangement in the spring of 1884, when I worked in these Archives and drew up the above notices in the midst of difficulties and hindrances of all kinds. If the notice is incomplete, the shortness of the time allowed me must account for its deficiencies; I think, however, that even in its imperfect state it will be welcome to many, as the first which has yet been given of very important Archives.

* Not with Calixtus, iii., as Gottlob asserts.

and were written under the immediate supervision of the Vice-Chancellor of the day. The first volume of this valuable collection, which at the period of my investigations was placed in Armarium xi., bears the title: "Rerum consistorialium Leone X. et Adriano VI. pontificibus maximis expeditarum per me Julium de Medicis S. R. E. Vicecancell." It extends from March, 1517, to September, 1523. The same Armarium contains the original Consistorial Acts of the time of Paul III. and Paul IV., from which I intend to give extracts in a future volume of this work, and also two volumes of the following transcripts made in the days of Innocent X.:

1. Acta consistorialia ab. a° 1517 die ix. mensis martii coram Leone X., Hadriano VI., Clemente VII. et Paulo III. summis Romanis pontificibus usque ad diem xvii Aug. A[i] 1548 ex authenticis libris Card. Vice-Cancellarii, Pars prima T. 1 (ancient signature, C[1] 3343).

2. Acta consistorialia ab a° 1548 ad 1585 ex authenticis libris Card. Vice-Cancellarii. Pars secunda. T. 11 (ancient signature, C[1] 3344).

The last collection brings us down to a period from which a great number of Consistorial Acts have been preserved. This is due to the fact that from the sixteenth century the Cardinals made collections of Consistorial Acts for their own private use, and accordingly almost all the Roman libraries as well as the MS. Collections of Florence, Bologna, Pistoja and Paris possess documents of this kind which in some cases are very numerous. In the Barberini Library there are no less than eighty-one volumes of such Acts. Laemmer, in his most valuable publication,* and Brady (ii., 251 *et seq.*) have given many extracts from these sources, and in the course of the following volumes I

* Analecta Rom. 84-85. Zur Kirchengeschichte, 26, 71-75, 136-140.

shall often make use of the extensive transcripts from them in my possession.*

The most precious, because the most ancient, of the Acta consistorialia are stored up in Armarium X. My attention was in the first place directed to the exploration of these valuable materials, but the publication of the extracts I have made from them must be for the present deferred; they will, however, appear in my projected collection of documents. The first volume of the collection in Armarium X., is bound in red leather and consists of 246 pages; it bears the title: "Acta consistorialia ab anno 1409 ad 1433. Alex. V., Joh. XXIII., Martino V., Eugenio IV. pontif." The ancient signature is somewhat illegible; "C^1 3029" or "3028," indicating that these documents and those which we have mentioned as contained in Armarium XI., at one time formed a series. The numbers (3029 and 3343) give us an idea of the extent of the losses sustained by the Consistorial Archives, for, of the intervening documents, I found but one ("Liber rerum consistorialium Clementis VII. et Pauli III. S. P. C^1 3035") in the course of my investigations.

The volume which next comes under our notice has the Signature C^1 3029, and begins, f. 1, with the following words: "Liber provisionum sacri collegii A° 1409." Besides the nominations of Bishops, which would be of the greatest use in a new edition of Gams' "Series Episcoporum," it gives the exact dates of the election and death of the Popes, and of the departures of individual Cardinals and their return to the Court, notes the appointment of the most important Legates and the deaths of members of the Sacred College. Here and

* Brady (I., p. xvii., *et seq.*) gives valuable information regarding the "Formatari, Obbligazioni," etc., now kept in the Roman State Archives. The extracts which he has made relate solely to the Bishoprics of Great Britain.

there a hiatus occurs, but in general the arrangement is chronologically exact. The writer gives his name f. 86b as Johannes Constantinopolitanus.* A good index facilitates the use of this work, which unfortunately breaks off at the third year of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. The quotations at pp. 49, 191, 211, 213, 229, 262, 274, 275, 277, of the foregoing text are from this volume. Brady must be understood to speak of the Consistorial Acts of the fifteenth rather than of those of the sixteenth century when he says, "It should be remembered, however, that Consistories are meetings where business is transacted rather than discussed. The Consistorial Acts are not reports of debates or summaries of political speeches. It is but seldom that the Pontiffs' or the Cardinals' opinions are recorded. The Acts are virtually a register of Consistorial decrees, and do not profess to furnish even a summary of the facts of contemporaneous history, on which they were based."

The next volume begins with the year 1489 and concludes with 1503. Armarium X. contains a series of volumes concerning this period and subsequent years, but all my earnest endeavours to find among them one dealing with the time between 1433 and 1489 were in vain. My first idea that the deficiency might be supplied from the Secret Archives of the Vatican seemed to be without foundation, for I was here informed by the officials that their great collection of Acta Consistorialia began with 1517. After convincing myself of the correctness of this assertion† I did not let the matter drop, and my researches were at last

* For an account of him see Catalanus, 24.

† The first of about a hundred volumes of Consistorial Acts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican extends from 1517 to 1534. Brady has not made use of this collection nor of the Consistorial Acts from 1439 to 1486, of which I shall speak.

crowned with success, for in Armarium XXXI., volume 52, I discovered the Consistorial Acts from 1439 to 1486, and thus the most serious gap was filled up. The Acts in question commence at p. 15 of volume 52, and are without any superscription. Clerical errors and gaps abound, and they appear to have been extracted from a larger register. A certain "Jacobus Radulfi dicti (S. R. E. cardin.) collegii clericus" speaks of himself as the scribe. In his biography of Nicholas V., Georgius often quotes: "Ephemerides sacri consistorii per Jac. Radulphi scriptæ. MSS. in Tabul. Vatic." A number of variations show our MS. to be distinct from that employed by Georgius, which, it is much to be desired, may come to light. The following citations in my work are taken from the above-mentioned Acta Consistorialia, of which I shall make further use in Vol. ii.

17. *The Jubilee of the year 1423.**

Opinions are greatly divided, not only regarding the year of this Jubilee, but as to the question whether a Jubilee was really celebrated in the time of Martin V. Gregorovius makes no mention of such an occurrence, Platner (Tabellen der Gesch. Roms [47]) and Reumont (iii., 1; p. 169) consider it doubtful. Manni (57) also leaves the matter undecided. But the express testimony of Niccola della Tuccia (52, 117) certainly proves a Jubilee to have taken place in the time of Martin V. Moroni (ii., 111-112) supports the assertion, but he is mistaken in supposing that the pilgrims to Rome on the occasion were few. The grounds for the celebration are given by Franc. Maria Febbi in what is, I believe, an unpublished treatise on the Jubilees from Boniface VIII. to Innocent X. He says (f. 44a): "Martinus V., ut constat litteris Pauli II. 'Ineffabilis providentia' dat. an. 1470. xiii., Cal. Mai. Pont. 6°. §5 reductionem Urbani VI. ratam habuit . . . et anno quolibet trigesimo tertio jubilæum observari

* See *supra*, p. 232.

debere voluit, prout an. 1423 ad effectum deduci permisit, eaque observata extitit, multis ad urbem concurrentibus eo quod pax et tranquillitas universim esset, tantaque frumenti ac rerum ubertate et abundantia ut onus tritrici obolis viginti, ordei duodecim distraheretur." F. 45a: "In idem vero prorsus collinant assertiones Sixti IV. et Julii III. in diplomatibus indictionis jubilei et Victorellus parte 2ª in hist. 12 jubil. pag. 257, qui tamen fassus est, constitutionem Martini V., qua jubileum indixerat, se in Archivio Vaticano nullatenus adinvenire." *Cod. Capponi 244 of the Vatican Library. See also the testimony of Poggio and Niccola della Tuccia on p. 232. The latter writer mentions 1425 and in another place 1404 (52, 117) as the year of the Jubilee. I incline to agree with Bonanni (25), Vittorelli (257), and O. Ricci,* who hold that it was 1423. According to Fiala (493, Note), F. Hemmerlin also states that Martin V. appointed a Jubilee year; 1425 is given as the date. That the proclamation of a Jubilee was expected in the time of Martin V. is evident from Voigt, Stimmen 138, and from the Epistola di Alberto degli Albizzi, 23-24.

18. *Pope Martin V. to Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont.*†

[2427] Rome.

Martinus dilecto f [ilio] nobili viro Carolo de Borbonio, comiti Claromontis salutem etc. Non videmus, quare tibi amplius scribere vel si scribimus, quare te dilectum filium appellare debeamus, intellecta obstinata duritia cordis tui in detinendo ven. fratrem nostrum Martinum episcopum Claromontensem, cancellarium Franciæ, quem paternis hortationibus, precibus et mandatis nostris admonitus, et sicut accepimus per litteras carissimi in Christo filii nostri

* De' Giubilei universali celebrati negli anni santi (Roma, 1675), 52.

† See *supra*, p. 238.

Caroli Francorum regis illustris et ab aliis fide dignis, requisitus instanter atque rogatus trina legatione solemni prædicti regis et litteris ac nuntiis plurium aliorum principum ac baronum, communitatum et ecclesiarum ac personarum ecclesiasticarum, dimittere noluisti et restituere pristinæ libertati, sed verba das omnibus dilatoria, studens exquisitis coloribus excusare delictum tuum, in quo adhuc obstinato animo perseveras, propter quod excommunicatus iure debes de fidelium consortio segregari nec noster et ecclesiæ filius nuncupari. Sed charitas nostra vincit iniquitatem tuam, et te adhuc filium nominamus nec volumus te inter perditos deputare, sed optamus potius lucrari animam tuam deo et famam tuam reddere honestam mundo, sperantes in domino, qui inspirat sancta consilia, quod gratiam nobis dabit reductionis et pœnitentiæ tuæ et liberationis ipsius episcopi, quem de manu tua quærimus, præcipientes tibi in virtute fidelis obedientiæ, qua teneris nobis, si christianus es, vicario Jesu Christi, præcipue cum agatur de liberatione christorum suorum, quos exemptos esse voluit a potestate laicorum, quatenus prædictum episcopum statim restituas propriæ libertati nec in expectatione nos teneas excusationis tua, dicendo quod per oratores tuos facies nos contentos, quos audituri non sumus, nisi eodem episcopo liberato per te fuerit requisitioni nostræ obtemperatum, sicut nostro et ecclesiæ honori convenit et animæ tuæ saluti. Et super omnia diligenter caveas, ne quid attemptes in personam eius, tibique ita præcipimus sub ira dei et pœna indignationis nostræ perpetuæ ac anathematis ceterisque pœnis, quæ sunt a iure divino et humano contra contemnentes talia constitutæ. Et si aliquid attemptares in eum (quod avertat deus) tibi prædicimus, quod a nobis nunquam obtinebis absolvi, dum in apostolica sede sedebimus, sed cum tota clavium auctoritate et potentia contra te pro tanto scelere procedemus. Datum Romæ.

Copy in Borghese Library, Rome. Cod. i., 75 and 76, f. 81.

19. *Cardinal Antonio Correr* to Florence.*†

[1431] Feb. 20, Rome.

Magnifici et potentes domini priores. Licet multis diebus superioribus quædam fama publica hic in urbe sermo factus fuerit de ambigua vita sanct^{mi} domini nostri papæ, attamen non determinavimus magnificentiam vestram per has nostras notum facere, nisi de re firma et quæ in nulla dubietate consistat. Uno enim mense et pluri cum prædictus dominus noster passus graviter fuisset, postea visus fuit aliqualem convalescentiam recuperare. Postremo die lunæ proximo præterito pro collegio cardinalium misit, quibus pauca verba generalia protulit; qui iudicatus est ab omnibus nobis malum statum habere, non tamen talem, propter quem arbitraremur illum ita subito moriturum. Qui die sequenti, quæ fuit dies martis, circa horam unam diei ex apopletico morbo mortuus est.‡ Quo defuncto ex omnium cardinalium consensu totum collegium eorundem congregatum est, ad quam congregationem

* See our observations on this distinguished man, p. 269, *supra.*

† See *supra*, p. 281.

‡ See Graziani, Cronica, 349 ("a doi ore di notte in circa"); the letter of the Cardinals in Fumi, 689; Vita Martini V. in Muratori, iii., 2, 868 ("ex apoplexia jam sumto prandio infirmatus est et nocte sequenti paulo ante diem hic beatissimus pater et semper memorandus pontifex Deo animam reddidit"), and the letter of Juan Cervantes, published by Catalanus (175) ("die martis proxime preterita ante diei ortum viam universæ carnis ingressus est"). Infessura is accordingly incorrect in saying that the Pope's death took place "nell 'alba del die" (1123), a statement which also occurs in a letter from the Duke of Milan to King Sigismund (in Osio, iii., 6). The mistake of Ciaconius (ii., 819) in regard to the day of Martin V.'s death has been corrected by Papebroch (440).

convenerunt conservatores, capita regionum, mariscalchi omnesque officiales urbis, et se subposuerunt libere mandatis et singulis placitis collegii cardinalium promiseruntque amplissime, hanc urbem se manutenere velle ad omnem obedientiam felicissimi status ecclesiæ. Qui omnes prædicti recepti gratanter fuerunt a collegio prænominato, et versa vice illis promissiones multum grate porrectæ fuerunt. Itemque princeps domini nostri prædicti nepos misit viros venerabiles et cives egregios ad nos, qui pro eius parte polliciti sunt, illum consignaturum castrum s. Angeli et singulas portas huius urbis et omnia alia ecclesiæ fortalitia ad omnen requisitionem collegii in manibus et in omni potestate dicti collegii. Quare pro omnibus nobis supra enarratis certificamus vos, qualiter civitas ista nullam penitus turbationem in morte prædicti pontificis accepit. Quinymo comprehendimus, omnes et singulos cives maxime affectuosos fuisse ad pacificum statum ecclesiæ. Estque ad præsens in tanta pace et tranquillitate, ut qui nemo iudicasset, quod tanta quies esse debuisset.* Ista vobis ita succinte significamus, cum opinemur, ea vos gratissime debere audire, ut consultius vestro statui consulatur. Quodammodo in antea facturi sumus, et quia celebrabimus prædicti papæ exequias, posthac elapso novem dierum numero intrabimus conclave pro futuri pontificis electione, quem ut eligamus pro statu s. eccl. dei convenientissimum, velit v^ra^ magnificentia efficaces preces apud deum porrigi facere. Valete.

Ex urbe die 20 februarii.

[*In verso:*]

Magnif. et potentibus prioribus et vexillif. iustitie communis et populi civitat. Florentin.

Card^lis^ Bononien.

* See on this subject the above-mentioned Letter of Juan Cervantes, dated Rome, 22nd February, in Catalanus, 175-176.

Original in Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 128 (Authentic. varia MSS. Senar. ab a° 1077 ad. 1458).

20. *Antonio de Rido to Florence.**

1440, March 19, Rome.

†Jesus. Magnifici ac generosi domini mey, domini ac gubernatores comunitatis Florentie post debitam recomendationem etc. Perche le magnificentie et signorie vostre del caxo nuovamente occorso a Roma non prenda admiratione ho deliberato avixarle per questa chomo monsignor el cardinale legato de N. S. hora fa doy anni et piu, non una volta ma piu con suo versutie et ingani a cerchado con grandissimo detrimento de N^ro S. et de s^ca eclexia et mia vergogna et dapno de levarme de le mani castelo de s^co Agnolo et piu ho cognosudo aptamente et tochado con le mano questui esser expresso nemico de papa Eugenio al quale io ho deliberado et zurado de esser sempre fedelle, onde mosso io da buono amor et zielo porto a la S. Sua et a s^ca eclexia, non ho potuto patir che tanta nequitia de questo iniquo huomo aza habuto luoco. Et in effetto lo ho prexo et conduto in chastello de s^co Anzolo et qui lo tenero con bona diligentia et guardia a peticione de papa Eugenio per fina che se vedera manifestissimamente li soy pessimi fati et cative deliberatione le qualle chomo la S. de N. S. et le magnificentie vostre havera intexe chiaramente, chomo vedo et intendo io, bene che senza lizentia de N. S. lo habia fato per non haver habuto tempo de notifficarlo me rendo zerto haverano grato quello havero fato perche lo ho fato a fin de bene rendandome zerto haver fata chossa che sia acrissimento del stado de N. S. et de s^ca eclexia et de li amizi soy. Et etiandio ho fato a luy quello che son

* See *supra*, p. 300. Regarding Rido, see also Reumont, iii., 1, 487, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., viii., 478, 559; and for a description of his monument, which is still in good preservation, see Adinolfi, i., 404-405; Tosi, tav., 29, gives a figure of it.

zerto et e manifesto voleva far a mi. Datum Rome in chastro s^ci Anzeli de urbe die 19 marzii 1440.

Anthonius de Rido castelanus castri s^ci Anzeli de urbe, servitor vester minimus (subscripsi).

[*In verso :*]

Magnificis ac generosis dominis meis dominis comunitatis Florentie dominis meis singularissimis.

Original in the State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., Dist. 4, n. 12, f. 114.

21. *Pope Eugenius IV. to Corneto.**

1440, April 3, Florence.

Eugenius P.P. IV. Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Proximis diebus, intellecto de casu, quem in persona dilecti filii nostri Johannis cardinalis Florentini, apostolicæ sedis legati accidere fecerunt simultates inter prædictum cardinalem et dilectum filium castellaneum nostrum sancti Angeli de Urbe, illico misimus ad Urbem venerabilem fratrem L[udovicum] patriarcham Aquilejensem, camerarium nostrum. Quem cum sit utrique parti amicissimus, speravimus rem ipsam et cito et optime compositurum. Sed cum res ipsa, quemadmodum sæpenumero contingit in aliis quæ sunt magnæ, non potuerat ea, quam, credidimus, celeritate expediri, et merito timendum videatur ne nimis diuturna legati absentia aliquod scandalum aut detrimentum afferre possit in nostris et ecclesiæ rebus; tum etiam, cupientibus nobis atque intendentibus ad prædictam almam Urbem de proximo nos conferre, intelligamus expedire ut loca circumstantia bene disponantur ac multa alia fieri ordinemus, quæ melius commo-

* See *supra*, p. 301. Note x (where the 2nd is to be changed into the 3rd of April); Papencordt, 481, and Gregorovius, VII., 3rd ed. 74, 78, note. I am indebted to the kindness of the Syndic of Corneto for a copy of this letter, which unfortunately I have not been able to collate with the original.

diusque per hunc ipsum camerarium nostrum, cui ejusmodi rerum cura ex officio eminet, quam per alium fieri poterunt; idcirco ipsam opportunam et necessariam pro tempore provisionem facere cupientes, prædictum venerabilem fratrem patriarcham Aquilejensem legatum constituimus in omnibus et per omnia, eo modo et forma, quibus erat prædictus cardinalis Florentinus, quo die fuit detentus. Qui, si etiam non accidisset hic casus, ea legatione diutius uti non intendebat, cum mala detentus valetudine, et ad magnam perductus debilitatem successorem sibi a nobis dari sæpenumero postulaverit, quem daturi fuimus, jam est mensis, nisi nos continuisset spes accessus nostri ad partes Urbis, quo dictum futurum esse credidimus. Quare mandamus vobis, ut, prædicto camerario prout præfecturæ legato plenariam in cunctis obedientiam præstetis; talem namque viri ipsius virtutem ab longa experientia esse cognoscimus, ut non dubitemus, quin provintiæ et vobis omnibus abunde satisfaciat, et quieti vestræ prudenter consulat; cunctaque alia commisimus dilecto familiari nostro Colequarto vobis referenda, cui debebitis fidem credulitatemque plenariam adhibere. Datum Florentiæ sub anulo nostro secreto die 3ª aprilis, 1440, pontificatus nostri decimo.

BLONDUS.

Archives at Corneto. Cass. C.

22. *Pope Eugenius IV. to Bologna.**

1444, Dec. 9, Rome.

Eugenius papa IV. Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Credimus devotionibus vestris non incognitum esse, sed longa experientia notissimum, qua prudentia, quibus moribus, qua denique doctrina dilectus filius magister Thomas de Sarzana, electus Bononiensis præditus sit, et quanta cum honestate et gravitate in hanc usque diem vixerit. Cuius viri virtutibus consideratis

* See Vol. ii., Book I., Chap. I.

cupientes aliquem virum honestum, gravem doctum et bonum ac pro instruendis et ad viam salutis dirigendis ovibus sibi commissis aptum et expertum ecclesiæ Bononiensi præficere* desiderantesque ad illam ecclesiam aliquem promovere, et qui dignus successor esset recolendæ memoriæ quondam dilecti filii N[icolai] tituli sanctæ crucis in Jerusalem presbyteri cardinalis et qui merito devotionibus vestris et universo illi populo placere posset: prædictum Thomam omnibus venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus laudantibus et nemine dissidente, approbantibus in consistorio secreto xxvii. præteriti mensis novembris, ad ecclesiam Bononiensem promovimus. Hoc ideo devotionibus vestris significare curavimus, ut gratias deo agere possitis, qui vos tali patre tamque diligenti et accuratissimo pastore dignos fecerit. Non enim dubitamus, illum bonorum et reddituum illius ecclesiæ optimum dispensatorem, cultus vero divini celebrandi diligentissimum præsulem futurum esse, ita ut tota civitas et tam pauperes quam mediocres ac optimates merito de eo contenti esse debeant. Erit igitur offitium vestrum operam dare et efficere, ut ei vel procuratoribus suis possessio dictæ ecclesiæ et jurium suorum detur cum assignatione fructuum superioris temporis. Nam per tot annos Bononiæ stetit, ut merito civis appellari possit. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo nostro secreto die nono decembris, 1444, pontificatus nostri anno xiv.

[*A tergo:*]

Dilectis filiis antianis et vexillifero iustitiæ populi et communis civitatis nostræ Bononiensis.

Copy in the Court Library, Vienna, Cod. 3121, f. 119b.

* MS.: Bononiensis præficem.

23. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti*) to Siena.*

1447, Jan. 19, Rome.

. . . Intorno alla canonizatione del beato Bernardino non s'e inovato altro perche la Sta di N. S. non e stata in buona valetudine gia piu giorni sono; † ma hora per la gratia di dio e fuori d'ogni pericolo et in buona convalescentia. Sollicitaremo che in luogo del card di Capua‡ sia subrogato un altro cardinale senza l'quale questi due commissarii§ non vogliono fare nulla. La M^ta^ del Re e pure a Thigoli e non si puo per nisuno intendere quello intenda fare . . . . et palesamente si dice la che S. M^ta^ intende essere in Toscana|| et dicono alcuni de suoi che

* See *supra*, p. 348. Magnificent ruins of the church of the Cistercian Abbey of San. Galgano at Siena still remain. At p. 166 of the Codex which we have cited, a *letter of Cardinal Jean Le Jeune (Card. Morinensis; see Ciaconius ii., 912-913), dated Rome 1450, Nov. 22, mentioned the death "rev. patris domini contis abbatis S. Galgani fratris Marchi di Cazacontibus." The Abbot signs himself "Conte di Cacciaconti" or "Cacciacontibus abbas S. Galgani, orator immeritus." According to Pecci (321), the Sienese would have preferred Cacciaconti to Æneas Sylvius as Bishop of Siena.

† After Christmas in the year 1446, the health of Pope Eugenius IV. began to fail; his actual illness commenced on the 12th January, 1447. The Pope was perfectly aware of its hopeless character. See the report of the Papal Chamberlain Modestus in Muratori, iii., 2, 902-903; see 882.

‡ Niccolò Acciapaccio (tit. S. Marcelli), Cardinal of Capua, was banished by Eugenuis IV. at the instigation of the King of Naples; he did not return to Rome until after the death of that Pope; and himself died there on the 3rd April, 1447. Regarding this distinguished Prince of the Church, see Ciaconius, ii., 902, and Osio, iii., 123, 202, 239 *et seq.*, 510, 511, 519.

§ Bishops Amicus, Agnifilus, Aquilanus, and Joannes de Palena Pennenis; see Acta Sanctor. Maii, iv., 719.

|| *Alexius de Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi, informed the Sienese on the 3rd December, 1446, that the great warlike preparations of the

esso ha mandato per alcuna gente d'arme, ma come ho dicto nulla cosa di quello che habbia animo di fare si puo intendere dalla bocha sua et cosi dicano tutti questi signori che anno visitato la Sua M^{ta} se non che mostra assai nel parlare suo essere affecto a la Sta di N.S. e a santa chiesa. Ex urbe xix. ian. 1446 [st. fl.].

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 144.

24. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Jan. 23, Rome.

In the matter of the canonization of the Blessed Bernardine nothing can be done for the moment—" perche la Sta di N.S. non da molto audientia perche è anco debile la S. B^{ne} et anco è occupata in cose che richieghono celere provisione per obviare ali scandali che potrebbono advenire non provendendovi. Li imbasciadori de Re de Romani e degli electori ed altri principi oltramontani sono qua come per altra rendi avisate le M.S.V. Espose la imbasciata in nome di tucti gli altri in concestoro segreto lo eloquentissimo huomo poeta misser Enea Picogliuomini ciptadino vestro; espose in tal modo et con tanto ornato la imbasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingengno e la prudentia sua et non dubito che in breve saranno in qualche parte reseghuita la cipta vestra. Etsi in somma adimandano quatro cose ciascuna piu exorbitante e odiosa alla Sta di N.S. e generalmente a tucto collegio de cardenali e per la mala conditione del tempo sara necessario che nella maggior parte sieno exalditi per schifare magiori pericoli e scandali che advenerebbono se cosi non si facesse. Ex urbe 23. ian 1446" [st. fl.]

King were directed against Pisa. (State Archives, Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.)

* See *supra*, p. 348.

Original in the State Archives at Siena. Concistoro (Lettere ad an.).

25. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 11, Rome.

Da poi al ultime mie non e innovato altro se non che di bene in meglio ongni di la B^ne^ di N.S. megliora assai† per modo che iermatina tenne concistoro nel quale si fecero alcune promotioni et è quasi totalmente netto di febre, bene è vero che per lo male grande è anco debile, pure ongni di recupera el vigor meglio et presto si spera che sara in tucto ghuarito; che infinite volte sia rigratiata la potentia di misser domene dio che molti inconvenienti sarebbero seghuiti se dio non con rendarli sanita non avesse riparata di quali si vedevano e principii. Ex urbe xi. febr. 1446 [st. fl.]

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 150.

26. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count de Cacciaconti) to Siena.*‡

[1447] Febr. 14, Rome.

Ill. et magn., etc. Ne di passati per Giorgio fameglio di V.S. ultimamente scripsi come la Santita di N.S. era in tal modo megliorata che da medici et da tucti si diceva essare fuore di pericolo; da poi per Orbano cavalaio ricevetti el

* See *supra*, p. 348.

† The improvement had begun at the end of January, as appears also from a *Letter of the Cardinal of Aquileja to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, January 28 (State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.) Regarding the previous illness the letter says "Significamus M. V., quod verum fuit S. suam aliquot superioribus diebus egrotasse et aliquanto gravius, quam ceteris temporibus consueverit."

‡ See *supra*, p. 348.

ultima vestra de viiii[d] di questo et inteso che a le S.V. e carissimo el sentére di di in di e progressi delle cose di qua et max[e] della valitudine di N.S., unde per satisfare a desiderii delle V.M[tie] non senza molestia danimo aviso le prelibate S.V. come sabbato a sera nostro S. nelle prime hore della nocte li venne una grandissima dibileza la quale li duro infino a hore viiii. di nocte con grande affanno et con movimento di corpo. Dapoi glie ritornata la febre con fluxo per la qual cosa forte si dubita della vita sua la quale secondo e medici sara breve se altro meglioramento non seghue, il quale piu tosto procederebbe dalla gratia di dio che per virtu naturale intale modo e manchato el vigore della natura, perche pocha substantia prende et quella pocha non ritiene. Dubitasi assai in questa revolutione della luna. Dio dispongha, etc. . . . Ex urbe xiiii. febr., hora. xx.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 142.

27. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 16, Rome.

He had written three days before: "Dapoi continuamente N.S. e peggiorato et per modo sta che si stima chomunalmente perongni persona che pocho tempo e hore puo stare in questa misera vita e tucte le preparationi si fano come se fusse morto. E questa sera si debbano congregare e cardinali e cosi sono tucti stati richiesti. Dio dispongha le menti delle loro signorie di provedere la chiesa sua di buono pastore et che le cose passino senza novità o scandalo del quale forte si teme. La M[ta] de Re di Ragona e pure a Tigholi e ongni di rinforza piu el campo. Et ieri vi gionse el signor di Fondi ricercato dalla Sua M[ta] con fanti assai et cavalli et cosi ongni giorno si fortifica

* See *supra*, p. 348.

piu; non si sa quale sia l'animo suo; da grande sospitione a Romani e non minore a cortigiani; nientedimeno la Sua M^ta^ a mandato a dir a piu cardenali che occorendo el caso della morte di N.S^re^ non intende impadronirsi a nulla ne impedire la liberta e l'ordine della creatione del nuovo pontifice ne anco fare favore piu a uno che a uno altro; bene conforta loro a fare l'electione di buono pastore;* nientedimeno questa stantia si si longha† e anco fare questi provedimenti danno assai che pensare a la brigata.‡ . . . Sto certificato da uno de medici che sono stati al governo di N^ro^ S^re^ che e quasi impossibile ch'ella Sua Sta ci sia domatina. . . . Ex urbe xvi. febr., hora xvii."

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 151.

28. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.*§

1447, Febr. 18, Rome.

Martedi passato gionse qua uno imbasciadore di Re di Francia e del Dalfino, il quale fu el di med^mo^ con N.S. assai agravato dal male|| . . .

La Sta di N.S. stette ieri in caso di morte; da poi gli e alterata un pocho la febre e potria essare che per la buona diligentia che fa intorno a la persona sua¶ traunglara qualche di, ma di scampo non ce niente di speranza. . . . Ex urbe xvii. hora, xviii. febr., 1446 [st. fl.].

* After the death of the Pope, Alfonso again sent reassuring messages to the Sacred College; see Muratori, iii., 2, 891, and Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 135.

† According to Infessura (1130), Alfonso arrived at Tivoli on the 9th January, 1447.

‡ Here follows a passage regarding the concentration of troops in Rome; see Vol. ii., Chap. I.

§ See *supra*, p. 348.

|| For some account of this Embassy, see Chmel., ii., 422.

¶ Regarding the physicians who attended Eugenius IV., see Marini, Archiatri, etc.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 154.

29. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 20, Rome.

. . . [S. Sta] cosi da poi continuamente e peggiorata per modo che questra sera ha ricevuto el ultimo sacramento† e per tucti si tiene che rendara o sta nocte o per tucto di domane a la piu longha lo spirito a misser domene dio la qual cosa debba essare molesta a ongni christiano. . . .‡ Ex urbe xx. febr., 1446 [st. fl.], hora v. noctis.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 156.

30. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.*§

1447, Febr. 23, Rome.

. . . Aviso le S.V. come questa hora x^a^|| die xxiii^a^ piaque al altissimo dio revocare ad se di questa misere e fallace vita la beata anima della felice memoria del sommo

* See *supra*, p. 348.

† The minister of the last Sacraments was Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, subsequently canonized.

‡ The other passages of this letter which are of any historical importance are given in Vol. ii., Chap. I.

§ See *supra*, p. 348.

|| There are various conflicting accounts as to the hour of the death of Eugenius IV. The *Acta consistorialia (Secret Archives of the Vatican; see *supra*, p. 392) say that the Pope departed this life "hora nona vel quasi." Modestus, the Chamberlain (Muratori, iii., 2, 904), however, asserts that Eugenius IV. died "interdecimam et undecimam horam." The statement of this well-informed witness coincides with that made by the Bishop of Forli, who was at the time in Rome. A *letter addressed by him to the Republic of Siena, and found by me in the State Archives of the City [Concistoro, Lettere ad an.], contains the following words, "Questa nocte infra le x. e xi. hore proxima

pontefice nostro papa Eugenio della cui morte ciascuno fedele christiano sommament si debba dolere et maxime quelli della cipta vestra. . . . Ex urbe xxiii. febr., hora xi[a]

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 158b-159.

passato." This letter is dated Rome, 23 February, 1446 [st. fl.]. We must accordingly conclude that the death took place after the tenth hour, but certainly before the eleventh, at which time the Abbot of San. Galgano wrote the letter announcing the event. Infessura (1130) is undoubtedly in error when he says that Eugenius breathed his last "a ore otto di notte." The eleventh hour is mentioned in the Chronicle of Graziani (589), by S. Caffari (Arch. d. Soc. Rom., viii., 569), and in a *Letter of "Arsinius Monachus" to the Republic of Siena, dated Rome, 23 Febr., 1447. State Archives, Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. I.

Acciapacci, Niccolò (Cardinal), 320, n.; 354.
Æneas Sylvius (see Piccolomini).
Agguzonis, Francesco di, 126, n. 3; 127, n. 1; 138, n. 2.
Aigrefeuille, d' (Cardinal), 118, n. 1; 385.
Ailly, Pierre d' (Cardinal), 185, 191, 198, 204.
A Kempis, Thomas, 147, 149, 150, n. 1.
Alain (Cardinal), 255.
Albergati Niccolò (Cardinal), 37, 54, 262, 264, 268, n. 2; 469, n. 1; 306, 307, 315, 342.
Albertis, Alberto de, 320, n. 1.
Albizzi, Alberto degli, 211, n. 1.
Albizzi, Rinaldo degli, 27, 186, n. 2; 211, n. 1; 299, n. 2.
Albornoz (Cardinal), 94.
Alexander V. (Anti-Pope), 42, 190, 191, 260.
Alexandria, Clement of, 9, 52.
Alidosio, Bertrando d', 101.
Allemand Louis (Cardinal), 262, 263, n. 2; 308, 311, 312, 328, 339, 340.
Ambrose (Saint), 51.
Amelius, Petrus, 110, n. 3.
Amiens, Cardinal of, 115.
Amphilochius (Saint), 10.
Andrea (Blessed), 37.
Angela Caterina, 36.
Anguillara, Maria Maddalena, 235, n. 1.
Anjou, Duke of, 110.
Anjou, Louis of, 133, 135, 274.
Anjou, René of, 298, 330, 331.
Anjou, Robert of (King), 79.
Antoninus, St. (Archbishop of Florence), 37, 52, n. 5; 100, n. 1; 122, n. 1; 139, n. 1; 265, n. 2; 349, n. 3.
Antonio ab Ecclesia, 37.
Appiani, Gherardo, 226.
Aquinas, Thomas (Saint), 179, n. 1.
Aragon, Alfonso of (King of Naples), see Naples.
Aragon, Pedro of, 96.
Arc, Joan of, 144, n. 2.
Arelatensis (Cardinal), see Allemand.
Arrezzo, Niccolò d', 215, n. 1.
Argelata, Pietro di, 191, n. 3.
Aristotle, 2, 40, 183, 231, 321.
Arius, 176.
Armagnac, Jean d', 274, n; 276, 277.
Aschbach, 284, n. 2.
Assisi, Francis of (Saint), 33, n. 2.
Augustine (Saint), 2, 9, 40, 44, 51, 55, 150, 230, 231, 268.
Austria, Albert II. of (King), 280, n. 3; 330, 335.
Austria, Duke Frederick of, 92, n. 2; 197, 316, n. 2.

Barbaro, Francesco, 40, 43.
Barbo, Pietro (Cardinal), 22, n. 2; 52, n. 2; 255, n. 2; 302, 333, n. 2; 353.
Barletta, Gabriele, 32, n. 3.
Basil (Saint), 9, 10, 11.
Bassand, Giovanni, 37.

Bauer, R., 201, n. 1.
Bavaria-Munich, Albert, Duke of, 330.
Bavaria, John, Duke of, 330.
Bavaria, Louis of, 68, 74, 75, 79, 81-83, 86, 94, 138.
Bavaria, Stephen of, 92.
Beaufort, Henry, (Cardinal), 262.
Beaufort, Count de, 110.
Beaufort, Pierre Roger de (see Clement VI.).
Beaufort, Guillaume Roger, 92, n. 4.
Beccadelli, Antonio, 14, 15, 16, n. 1; 23-26, 306, 307.
Bellaci, Tommaso, 36.
Benedict XI. (Pope), 72, n. 1.
Benedict XII. (Pope), 6, 61, n. 3; 70, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 93, 99, n. 3.
Benedict XIII. (Anti-Pope), 138, n. 3; 165, 174, 175, 177, 178, 184, 185, 189, 190, 191, 195, 196, 200, 201, 260, 261, 274.
Benedict XIV. (Anti-Pope), 274.
Benedict (Saint), 86, 95.
Bernardine (Saint), see Siena.
Bertrando (Abbot), 374.
Bessarion (Cardinal), 307, 315, 318, 320, 321, 322, 354.
Bevilacqua of San Severino, 218.
Biondo, Flavio, 171, 248, 293, 304, 305, 321, n. 1.
Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 31, n. 3; 35, 36, n. 1; 41, 44, 47, 265, 269, 271, n. 1; 284, 286, n. 1; 350, n. 1; 357.
Bitonto, Antonio de, 32, 33, n. 3.
Bitonto, Niccolò di, 145, n. 3.
Boccaccio, 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 53, 342.
Böhm of Niklashausen, Hans, 155, n. 1.
Bohemia, Anne of, 161.
Bologna, Catherine of (Saint), 36.
Boniface VIII. (Pope), 58, 165, 283, n.
Boniface IX. (Pope), 120, n. 2; 142, n. 1; 150, 164, 165, 167, 201, 215, n. 1; 250, 251.
Borja, Alonzo de (see Callixtus III.).
Borsano, Simone de, 117.
Bosnia, Stephen of, 96, n. 2; 324.
Bourbon, Charles of (Count of Clermont), 238, 394.
Bower, Walter, 334.
Boyssetus, Bertrandus, 110, n. 3.
Brady, Maziere, 388.
Brancacci, Felice, 285, 294, n. 3.
Brankowitsch, George, 326.
Branda (Cardinal), 163, 264, n. 2; 266, 267, 271, 272.
Brandenburg, Albert of, 347, 349.
Brandenburg, Frederick of, 280, n. 3.
Brandenburg, John of, 349.
Breslau, Bishop of, 349.
Bridget (Saint), 97, 109.
Brieg, Louis of (Prince), 280, n. 3.
Brippi, Giuseppe, 212, n. 1.
Brittany, John, Duke of, 356, n. 2.
Bruneleschi, Piero, 295, n. 1; 303, n. 2.
Bruni, Lionardo, 10, n. 1; 14, 40, 42, 43, n. 1; 169, 175 n. 1; 257.
Bruno, Francesco, 54, n. 2.
Brunswick, Otto, Duke of, 125.
Bucca, Johann (Cardinal), 262.
Bude, Silvester, 368.
Burckhardt, J., 33.

Burgundy, Philip, Duke of, 338.
Busch, John, 147.

Cacciaconti (see San Galgano).
Calafata, Eustochia, 36.
Calatafimi, Archangelo di, 36.
Calderino, Domenico, 321, n. 1.
Callixtus III. (Pope), 217, n. 3; 243, 249, n.; 255, 276, 277, n. 1; 331, 332, 354.
Calvin, 78, 81.
Cambi, Giovanni, 5, n. 2.
Campano, 321, n. 1.
Capistran, John (Saint), 32, 34, 36, 358.
Capranica Domenico (Cardinal), 225, 261, 264-266, 268, 298, n. 3; 306, 307, 341, 352, n. 2.
Carillius (Cardinal), 264, n. 2.
Cariti, Bernard (Canon), 363.
Carrer, Jean, 274, 277, n. 1.
Carrieri, Matteo (Blessed), 33, n. 3; 37.
Carvajal, Juan, 339, 340, 348, n. 4.
Casale, Ubertino of, 81, n. 3.
Casanova, Juan (Cardinal), 264.
Cascia, Rita of (Blessed), 37.
Cassini, Antonio, 262.
Castellani, Francesco, 295, n. 1.
Castiglionchio, Lapo da, 273.
Castiglione (see Branda).
Catherine (Saint), see Bologna, Siena, Sweden.
Cattabeni, Francesco dei, 279, n. 5; 287, n. 1.
Celle, Giovanni delle, 145, 151, n. 3.
Cenci, Agapito, 257.
Ceredano, Pacifico di, 36.
Cervantes, Juan (Cardinal), 262, 352, n.
Cereriis, Bartolomeo de, 37.
Cesarini, Giuliano (Cardinal), 24, 54, 261, 264-268, 280, 288, 306, 312, 314, 325-328, 337, n. 2; 346, 352, n. 2.
Challant (Cardinal), 194.
Charles IV. (Emperor), 82, 86, 95, 96, n. 2; 103, n. 1; 135, 136, 253, 283.
Charles V. (King of France), 126, 127, 134.
Charles VII. (King of France), 237, 336.
Charles the Great, 249.
Charpaigne, Martin Gouge de, 238.
Chartres, Reginaldus de, 320, n. 1.
Chiaves, Antonio Martinez de (Cardinal), 254.
Chiemsee, Silvester of, 343.
Chivasso, Angelo di, 36.
Chrysoloras, Manuel, 215, 257.
Chrysostom (Saint), 11.
Cicero, 2, 4, 26, 27, 30, 50, n. 2; 53-55, 167, 268, 341.
Ciriaco of Ancona, 39.
Clémangis, Nicolas de, 141, n. 4; 146.
Clement V. (Pope), 58-61, 63, 64, n.; 71, 90, 126.
Clement VI. (Pope), 6, 53, 61, 85-90, 92, 93, 94, n. 2; 98.
Clement VII. (Anti-Pope), 103, 112, 113, 117, 127, 132, 133, n. 1; 134, 139, 161, 164, 165, 207, 260, 368.
Clement VIII. (Anti-Pope), 274-277.
Clement XII. (Pope), 360.
Cleves, Duke of, 174, n. 4.
Cochläus, 22, n. 4.
Cologne (Archbishop of), 338.
Colombini, Giovanni, 95.
Colonna, Antonio, 227.
Colonna, Family of, 209, n. 1; 226-228, 287, 293, n. 2; 294, 297.
Colonna, Giovanni, 1.
Colonna, Giordano, 227.
Colonna, Lorenzo, 209, n. 2; 227, 298.

Colonna, Odoardo, 227.
Colonna, Oddone (see Martin V.).
Colonna, Paola, 226.
Colonna, Prospero, 227, 261, 264, 272, 306.
Comitibus, de (Cardinal), see Conti, Lucio.
Condulmaro, Francesco (Cardinal), 294, 327, 354.
Condulmaro, Gabriel (see Eugenius IV.).
Condulmaro, Polyxena, 302.
Conrad (Archbishop of Prague), 277, n. 4.
Conradi, Matteo de', 287, n. 1.
Constantine the Great, 18-22.
Conti, Family of, 293, 297.
Conti, Lucio (Cardinal), 263.
Corona, Christopher of (Bishop), 326.
Corraro, Gregorio, 40, 43.
Correr, Antonio (Cardinal), 269, 270, 271, n. 1; 274, n. 2; 281, n. 2; 396.
Corsini, Pietro (Cardinal), 117, 119, n. 1.
Cortese, Antonio, 23.
Corvaro, Pietro da, 82.
Cosmati, the, 70.
Cossa, Baldassare (see John XXIII.).
Courland (Bishop of), 263.
Cracovia, Matthäus de, 184, n. 3.
Cusa, Nicholas of (Cardinal), 18, 266, 289, 311, 315, 339, 352, n. 2.
Cyprian, Saint, 51.
Cyprus, Hugo of (Cardinal), 262.
Cyprus (King of), 96, n. 2.
Cyrillus, 154.

Dante, 1, 3, 12, 39, n. 1; 40, 58, n. 2; 63, 64, 72, 82, 105, n. 2.
Döllinger, Dr. von, 76, n. 1; 78, n.; 137, n. 1; 152, n. 2; 193, n. 1; 205, n. 2; 240, n. 3.
Dominici, Giovanni, 32, n. 3; 37, 49, 50, n. 2; 175, 176.
Durazzo, Charles of, 136.
Dwerg, Hermann, 241, n. 2; 243, 244, n. 1.

Engelhardt, H., 349, n. 3.
Ephesus, Mark of, 315.
Estaing, Pierre d' (Cardinal), 114, n. 1.
Estouteville, Guillaume d' (Cardinal), 320, n. 1; 354.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 21, 22, 24, 25, n. 1; 33, 35, 40, 44, 46, 54, 169, n. 2; 170, 206, n. 1; 216, n. 2; 218, 236, 244, 245, n. 2; 246, 248, 252, 264, 269, 270, 281, 282, 284-290, 292-298, 300-318, 323-335, 337-342, 345-348, 359-361, 399, 400, 404, 405, 406.

Fabriano, Costanzio di (Blessed), 37.
Fabriano, Gentile da, 218, 219, 359.
Falkenberg, Johann von, 186.
Federighi, Carlo, 295, n. 1.
Felix V. (Anti-Pope), 167, 277, n. 3; 328-330, 332, 333, 343, 344.
Feltre, Vittorino da, 40, 44-47.
Ferrante of Naples, 332.
Ferrer, Vincent (Saint), 34, 138.
Ferretti, Gabriel, 36.
Ficino, Marsiglio, 323.
Fieschi, Giorgio (Cardinal), 320, n. 1; 354.
Fieschi, Giovanni (Bishop of Vercelli), 362.
Fiesole, Angelico da, Fra (Blessed), 37, 50, n. 3; 55, 218, 361.
Filargis, Petros (see Alexander V.).

Filarete (Averulino Antonio), 360, 361, n. 1.
Filastre, Guillaume, 185, 320, n. 1.
Filelfo, Francesco, 24, 29, 30, 51, 52, n. 1; 168, n. 3; 268, 321, n. 1; 341.
Fliscus (see Fieschi).
Foix, Pierre de (Cardinal), 275, 276.
Fortebraccio, Niccolò, 293, 294.
Frances (Saint), (see Rome).
Frangipani, House of, 228.
Frederick II. (Emperor), 94, 109.
Frederick III. (King of the Romans), 18, n. 3; 338, 340, 343, 347.
Frederick IV., 350, n. 1.
Freising, Nicodemus, Bishop of, 342.

Gaetani, House of, 297.
Gaetani, Onorato, 125.
Gaetani, Sveva, 227.
Gamaleon, 155.
Gambacorti, Chiara (Blessed), 37.
Gambacorti, Pietro (Blessed), 37, n. 2.
Gaufridus, 68.
Gelnhausen, Conrad von, 184.
Geneva, Robert of (Cardinal) (see Clement VII.).
Gerson, J., 175, 184, 193, n. 1; 198.
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 39, n. 2; 220, 358, 360.
Giotto, 70.
Giustiniani, Lorenzo (Saint), 37.
Gomez Barroso, Pedro (Bishop), 368.
Gonzaga, Francis, 174, n. 4.
Gonzaga, Gianfrancesco, 45, 279, n. 5.
Gonzaga, Lodovico, 121, 378, 379, 380.
Görres, J. von, 72, n. 3; 83, n.
Gregory XI. (Pope), 6, 35, 53, 54, 91, 100-104, 109-116, 121, 122, 125, 126, 169, 242, 362, 363, 364, 367, 369, 374.
Gregory XII. (Pope), 42, 43, 49, 120, n. 2; 170, 171, 174-178, 186, 188-191, 195, 196, 200-202, 251, 269, 286, n.
Gregory XIII. (Pope), 254.
Groot, Gerhard, 147, 148, 150.
Grube, Dr., 150, n. 3.
Grünwalder, Johann (Bishop), 330.
Guismar, Juana, 254.

Hadrian, Emperor, 215.
Halberstadt, Bishop of, 349.
Hapsburg, House of, 82.
Heimburg, Gregory, 339.
Herici, Nicolaus, 252.
Hesse, Louis of (Landgrave), 349.
Hohenstanfen, House of, 82, 133, 138.
Hübler, 193, n. 2.
Hunyadi, John, 325, 326.
Huss, John, 81, 161-163, 202, 211.
Hutten, 18, n. 2.

Infessura, 214, n. 1; 232, 233, 296.
Innocent III. (Pope), 62.
Innocent VI. (Pope), 54, n. 2; 62, n.; 90, n. 1; 93-95, 283, 284.
Innocent VII. (Pope), 42, 49, 120, n. 2; 165, 166, 169-171, 201, 251.
Innocent XII (Pope), 283, n. 2.
Iseo, Giacobino da, 241, n. 3.
Isidore (Cardinal), 320.
Isolani (Cardinal), 202, n. 2.

Jandun, Jean de, 76.
Janitschek, 13, n. 1 and 2.
Jenzenstein, Johann von (Archbishop of Prague), 112, n. 2;

122, n. 3; 124, n. 1; 128, n. 143, n. 1; 145, 146, n. 2; 151, n. 3; 155, n. 2; 375.
Jerome (Saint), 9, 51.
Joachim, 154.
Joanna I. (Queen of Naples), 96, n. 2; 113, n. 2; 118, 125, 135.
Joanna II. (Queen of Naples), 213, 226, 227, 331.
John II. (King of France), 92, n. 4.
John XXII. (Pope), 58, 61, 64, n.; 70, n. 3; 72, 74, 76, 79, 80, n.; 82, 83, 86, 90, 98.
John XXIII. (Anti-Pope), 24, 42, n. 2; 189, 191, 192, n. 2; 194-196, 199, 200, 212, 213, 239, 260.
John (Saint, the Evangelist), 179.
Joseph (Greek Patriarch), 315.
Julian the Apostate, 7, 8, 12.
Julius II. (Pope), 55, 252, n. 1.
Juvenis, Joannes (see Le Jeune)

Kastriota (see Skanderbeg).
Kalteisen, Heinrich, 243.
Kemp, Joannes (Cardinal), 320, n. 1.
Kilbt, Heinrich, 209, n. 1.
Kock, Albert, 244, n.

Labassole, Philippe de, 93.
Lactantius, 268.
Ladislaus (King of Naples), 165, 194.
Landriani, Gerardo (Cardinal), 307, 320, n. 1.
Lætus, Pomponius, 22, n. 2.
Lagrange, de (Cardinal), 110, n. 3; 116, n. 3; 377.
Langenstein, Heinrich von, 141, n. 2; 145, 154, 155, n. 2; 157, n. 1; 173, n. 3; 183, 184, 386.
Lapo da Castiglionchio, 273.
Lecce, Roberto da, 24, 32, 33, n. 3.
Le Jeune de Contay, Jean (Cardinal), 320, n. 1; 354.
Lenz, 193, n. 1.
Leo III. (Pope), 249.
Leo X. (Pope), 18, n. 2; 39, n. 1; 55, 252, n.
Leo XIII. (Pope), 61, n. 3.
L'Epinois, Henri de, 132, n. 2.
Leroy, Pierre, 185, 188.
Licci, Giovanni (Blessed), 37.
Liege, Jean of, 339.
Lignano, Giovanni di, 120, n. 3; 124, n. 1; 131, n.; 145, 383.
Livy, 341.
Loredano, Luigi, 327.
Loschi, Antonio, 24, n. 1; 171, 259, 272, 281.
Lucemburgo (see Luxemburg).
Luna, Pedro de (see Benedict XIII.).
Luther, Martin, 24, n. 2; 75, n. 2; 81.
Luxemburg, Ludovicus de (Cardinal), 320, n. 1.
Luxemburg, Peter of (Blessed), 138.
Lysura, John of, 347.

Machiavelli, 20, 28, 79, 193, n. 2.
Macone, Stephano, 144, n. 2; 181, n. 2.
Maffei, Timoteo, 8, n. 1.
Maggi, Sebastiano, da Brescia, 37.
Mahomet, 176.
Mairose, Raimond (Cardinal), 262.
Malatesta, House of, 224.
Malatesta, Carlo, 189, 200.
Malesicco, Guido di, 134.
Malestroit, Jean de, 103.
Malkaw, Joh., 139, n. 4.
Manetti, Gianozzo, 40, 41, 43, 306.
Mantua, Marquess of, 47.

Marc Antonio (see Salerno).
Marca, Jacopo della (Saint), 32, 36.
Marsberg, Johannes von, 244, n.
Marsciano, Angelina di, 36.
Marsigli, Luigi, 27, n. 5; 69, n. 2; 91, n. 1; 122, n. 3.
Marsiglio of Padua, 76-80, 81, 86, 159, 178.
Marsuppini, Carlo, 15, 27, 43, 306, 307.
Martin V. (Pope), 54, 199, n. 1; 202, 207-235, 237-240, 241, n. 2; 242-246, 249, 252-254, 256-266, 272, 274-282, 284, n. 2; 296, 332, 358, 359, 394.
Martini, Antonio (Cardinal), 68, 320, n. 1; 354.
Martini, Simone, of Siena, 70.
Masaccio, 219, 272, n. 1.
Masaccio, Angelo (Blessed), 37.
Masolino, 272, n. 1.
Masuccio, Guardato, 5, n. 1.
Mattiotti, Giovanni, 235, n. 1.
Mazzingi de Agustino, Angelo (Blessed), 37.
Medici, Cosmo de', 8, n. 1; 23, 42, 168, n. 3; 212, 321, 323.
Medici, Lorenzo de', 41.
Meiners, 41.
Migliorati, Cosimo de' (see Innocent VII.).
Milan, Duke of, 330, 332.
Milano, Cristoforo da (Blessed), 37.
Moleano, Pietro di, 36.
Monica (Saint), 44, 230, 231.
Montefeltre, Guido da, 225.
Montefeltro, Federigo da, 46.
Montepulciano, Bartholomeo da, 257.
Montfort, Guillaume de (Cardinal), 264.
Montone, Braccio di, 213, 224, 225.
Morosini (Cardinal), 213.
Munich, Peter of, 158.
Munos, Ægidius (see Clement VIII.).
Murad II. (Sultan), 327, 328.
Mussato, 81, n. 3.

Naldi, Naldo, 41, n.
Naples (Alfonso, King of), 17, 22, 239, 274, 275, 276, 330, 331, 332, 334.
Naples, Ferrante of, 332.
Napoli, Giovanni di, 32, n. 3.
Narbonne (Archbishop of), 377.
Nardi, Pietro, 295, n. 2.
Nazianzen, Gregory (Saint), 8-12.
Neri, Agnoli di, 295, n. 1.
Nero, 179.
Neyrot, Antonio, 37.
Nicholas V., Pope, 8, n. 1; 23, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 44, n. 2; 54-56, 170, 245, 249, n. 1; 255, 268, n. 3; 306, 318, 339, 342, 348, n. 4.
Niccoli, Niccolò, 14, 15.
Nider, John, 267, n. 1; 315, n. 1; 355, 356.
Nieheim, Dietrich von, 122, n. 1; 137, n. 1; 176, 192-195, 196, n. 1; 242, 243, 250, 254.
Noellet, Guillaume de (Cardinal), 53.
Novara, Bartolomeo (Bishop of), 342.
Novariensis (Cardinal), see Porta.

Occam, William, 75, 76, 86, 159, 178, 182.
Octavianus, Augustus, 223.
Offida, Baldassare d', 295.
Olesnicius, Sbigneus (Cardinal), 320, n. 1.
Origen, 11.
Orsini, House of, 70, 228, 293.

Orsini, Antonio, 298.
Orsini, Carlo, 228, n. 2.
Orsini, Francesco, 228, n. 2; 297.
Orsini, Gentile, 293, n. 2.
Orsini, Giacomo (Cardinal), 117, 124.
Orsini, Gianantonio, 228.
Orsini, Giordano (Cardinal), 263, n. 2; 272, 273, 306.
Orsini, Napoleone, 71.
Orsini, Orso, 228, n. 2.
Orsini, Pietro, 117.

Padua, Antony of (Saint), 33, n. 2.
Palæologus, John (Emperor), 96, n. 2; 311, 315, 319.
Palagio, Guido del, 69, n. 2.
Palermo, Nicholas, Archbishop of, 346.
Pallanza, Caterina da (Blessed), 37.
Palomar, John of, 287, n. 2.
Pandolfini, Agnolo di Filipo, 295, n. 1.
Paradinas, Alfonso, 254.
Parentucelli, Tommaso (see Nicholas V.).
Paul, Saint (Apostle), 40, 105, 133, 140, 179.
Paul II. (Pope) (see Barbo, Pietro).
Paul V. (Pope), 237, 275, n. 2.
Paula, Francis of (Saint), 37, 38.
Paulsen, 12, n. 2.
Pecock, Reginald (Bishop), 18.
Pelayo, Alvaro, 59, n. 1; 67, n. 1; 68, 72, 80, 98, 105, n 2
Perotto, 321, n. 1.
Persona, Gobelinus, 137, n. 1; 242, 243.
Perugia, Baldo di, 120, n. 3; 124, n. 1.
Peruzi, Ridolfo, 295, n. 1.
Pesaro, Serafina di, 36.
Peschiera, Andrea da (Blessed), 37.
Peter, Saint (Apostle), 105, 133, 140, 179.
Peters, Johann, 250.
Petit, Jean, 145, n. 3.
Petrarch, Francesco, 1-4, 12, 27, 44, 53, 54, n. 2; 64-66, 71, 95, 97, 108, 304.
Petrone, Paolo di Liello, 299, 353.
Philip the Fair (King of France), 60, 108, 111.
Philip VI. (King of France), 83, 84, 92, n. 4.
Piacenza, Bartolino di, 137.
Piacenza, Cristoforo di, 110, n. 2; 112, n. 1; 116, n. 2; 121, 126, n. 2; 378, 379, 380.
Piccinino, Niccolò, 294, 296.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.), 18, n. 3; 23, 24, 29, 30, n. 2; 234, 239, n. 1; 245, n. 1; 266, 268, 282, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 337, n. 2; 339-341, 343-348, 350, n. 2; 351, 353, n. 2; 403.
Pietro Geremia da Palermo, 37.
Piglio, Benedetto da, 257.
Pisanello, 47, n. 3; 218, 359.
Pius II. (Pope) (see Piccolomini).
Pius V. (Pope), 264, n. 4.
Pius VII. (Pope), 360.
Pius IX. (Pope), 302.
Plaoul, 185, 186.
Platina, B., 22, n. 2; 321, n. 1.
Plato, 2, 16, 25, 231, 321, 323.
Plautus, 272.
Plethon, Gemistos, 315, 319, 322, 323.
Plutarch, 273.
Poggio (Bracciolini) Gianfrancesco, 15, 24, 25, 29-32, 53, 166, n. 2; 167, 169, 170, 229, n. 1; 232, 257-259, 268, 272, 304, 306, 307, 321, n. 1

Pomponazzo, Pietro, 27.
Pontano, Ludovico, 346.
Porcaro, Stefano, 22, 23.
Porta, Ardicino della (Cardinal), 262, 263, n. 2.
Prague, Jerome of, 30, 167.
Prato, Giovanni di, 32.
Prignano, Bartholomeo (see Urban VI.).
Pulka, Peter Von, 206.

Queckels, Wilhelm, 246, n.

Rabstein, Procopius von, 347.
Radewins, Florentius, 148-150.
Raffini Pietro, 113, n. 2; 115, n. 2; 375.
Ragusa, Giovanni di, 279-281.
Ram, Domingo (Cardinal), 261, 264.
Randulfo, Andrea da, 193, n. 1.
Renan, Ernest, 57.
Rho, Antonio da, 24.
Rhotomagensis (Cardinal), (see Rochetaillée).
Richard II. (King of England), 134, 161.
Richenthal, Ulrich Von, 195.
Rido, Antonio, 299-301, 398.
Ridolfi, Bartholomeo, 295, n. 1.
Rienzi, Cola di, 71, 87.
Rimini, Antonio di, 32.
Rinuccini, Cino da, 26, 27, n.
Ripafratta, Lorenzo da, 37.
Rochetaillée, Jean de la (Cardinal), 262, 263, n. 2.
Rode, John (of Bremen), 244, n.
Rolewinck, Werner, 139, n. 1; 197, n. 3.
Rome, Frances of (Saint), 37, 214, n. 3; 235-237, 291, n. 3; 353.
Rondinelli, Andrea di Rinaldo, 295, n. 1.
Roraw, Heinrich, 254.
Rossellino, Bernardo, 43.
Rupe, Hugo de, 368.
Rupert (King of the Romans), 188.

Sacchi, P. G. P., 300, n. 1.
Sagan, Ludolf of, 138, 139, n. 1; 141, n. 1; 146, n. 1; 181, n. 2.
Sagundino, Niccolò, 318.
Salerno (Count of), 227, n. 1.
Saliceto, Bartolomeo di, 119, n. 1; 120, n. 3.
Saliceto, Ricardus de, 102, n 3.
Salutato, Collucio, 27, n. 5; 50, 51, n. 2; 54, n. 2; 109, 126, 131, n. 1; 139, n. 2; 169, 170, 173, n. 3.
San Galgano (Abbot of), 348, 402-407.
Savigny, de, 120, n. 3.
Sarteano, Alberto da, 24, 32, 33.
Savelli, Family of, 70, 293, 297.
Savelli, Niccolò, 298.
Savonarola, G., 32, n. 3; 34, 35, 50, n. 3.
Savoy, Amadeus of (see Felix V.).
Savoy, Louis of, 172, n. 1; 174, n. 4.
Savoy, Margaret (Princess of), 37.
Saxony, William (Duke of), 349.
Scammaca, Bernardo (Blessed), 37.
Scarampo, Lodovico (Cardinal), 301, 302, 331, 333, 348, n. 4; 354.
Schaumberg, Petrus à (Cardinal), 320, n. 1.
Schlick, Kaspar, 338, 340, 345.
Segovia, John of, 288, n. 4.
Sesselmann (Chancellor), 347.
Sforza, Attendolo, 213.
Sforza, Francesco, 33, n. 3; 293, 294, 296, 331, 334.
Siena, Bernardine of (Saint), 18,

n. 1; 24, 32, 33, 34, 36, 232-235, 358, 402, 403.
Siena, Catherine of (Saint), 37, 63, 100, 103-110, 114, 116, 122, 124-126, 129, 131, n. 1; 138, 143, 144, 272.
Siena, Silvestro da, 32.
Sigismund (King of the Romans), 177, 192, 194, 196, 199, 200, n.; 201, n. 1; 206, 210, 278, n. 3; 289, 292, 335, 347, 349.
Signa, Martino da, 5.
Signorili, Niccolò, 222.
Simmern, Stephen (Count Palatine of), 330.
Simonet of Lyons, 90, n. 1.
Sixtus IV. (Pope), 52, n. 1; 255.
Skanderbeg (George Kastriota), 327.
Socrates, 231.
Soderino, Niccolò, 104.
Soest, Conrad von, 244, n. 1.
Spain, Louis of, 88.
Spoleto, Giovanni da, 146, n.; 173, n. 3; 386.
Strada, Zanobi da, 54, n. 2.
Strasburg, Louis (Count Palatine of), 197, n. 1; 199, n. 4.
Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold (Count), 11.
Stronconio, Antonio di, 36.
Strozzi, Marcello, 275, n. 3.
Suchenwirt, Peter, 139.
Sweden, Catherine of (Saint), 138.

Tacitus, 259, n. 4.
Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (Cardinal), 320, n. 1; 354.
Tartaglia, 296.
Tavelli, Giovanni, 37.
Telesphorus, 152-155.
Tibaldeschi, Francesco (Cardinal), 117, 119.
Torquemada, Juan de (Cardinal), 320, n. 1; 354.
Tours, Bishop of, 311.
Traversari, Ambrogio, 15, n. 1; 40-42, 306, 318.
Trebizond, George of, 353, n. 1; 421.
Treves, Nicholas of, 272.
Treves, Archbishop of, 338.
Trevisanus, Zacharias, 157, n. 1.
Trinci, House of, 298.
Trionfi, Agostino, 80.
Trogus Pompeius, 53.
Tudeschi (Archbishop of Palermo), 332.
Turriani, Antonius, 37.

Urban V. (Pope), 54, n. 2; 95-99, 126.
Urban VI. (Pope), 116, n. 1; 118-122, 124-131, 133-139, 142-145, 164, 173, n. 2; 201, 260, 383.
Urbino (Bishop of), 115.
Urceo, Antonio, detto Codro, 28.
Ursinis (see Orsini).

Valentino, Elena (Blessed), 37.
Valla, Lorenzo, 13-22, 26, 31, 42, 51, 79, 259, 306, 321, n. 1.
Valori, Bartolomeo, 195, n. 2.
Van der Weyden, Roger, 218.
Varano, Rhodolfo da, 101, 103, 113, n. 3.
Varro, 2, 27, 231.
Vasari, 219.
Vegio, Maffeo, 40, 43, 44, 231.
Vercelli, Antonio di, 32.
Vergerio, Pietro Paolo, 170, 257.
Verona, Guarino of, 24, n. 1; 43, n. 1; 318.
Veronica (Saint), 305.
Vettori, Andrea, 295, n. 1.
Vico, Family of, 296.
Vico, Francisco da, 113, 116.

Vico, Giacomo da, 296, 297, n. 1.
Villani, 92, n, 4.
Virgil, 44, 341.
Visconti, The, 65, n. 2.
Visconti, Bartolomeo.
Visconti, Bernabo, 100, 115.
Visconti, Cristina, 37.
Visconti, Filippo Maria, 292, 294, 330, n. 2.
Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, 169.
Vitelleschi, Giovanni (Cardinal), 296-302, 341, n. 2.
Viterbo, Ægidius (Cardinal of), 85, n. 2; 99, n. 3; 137, n. 1; 208, n. 2; 211, n. 1; 282, 306, n. 2.
Viterbo, Antony of, 361, n. 2.
Viterbo, Nicholas of, 118, n. 1; 119, n. 2; 120, n. 1; 385.
Viviani, Francesco, 375, n. 4.
Viviano, Lodovico, 275, n. 4.
Volterra, Mariano da, 24.

Waal, A. de (Monsignor), 246.
Wegele, 20, n.
Weiss, A. M., 6, n. 5.
Wenceslaus (King), 135, n. 1; 177.
Wenceslaus (Saint), 253.
Wesselofsky, A., 13, n. 1.
Winchester, Bishop of (see Beaufort, Henry).
Wladislaw (King of Poland), 326, 328.
Wycliff, John, 81, 159-163.

Zabarella, Bartolomeo (Cardinal), 187, 194, 287, n. 1.
Zara, Jacob (King of Ethiopia), 324, n. 3.
Zechus, Dionisius (Cardinal), 320, n. 1.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii-xxx
List of Documents in Appendix	xxxi-xxxii
Election of Nicholas V. (1447)	3-26
First Years of his Reign	27-73
The Jubilee of 1450.—Cardinal Cusa in Germany	74-137
The Last Imperial Coronation in Rome	138-162
Nicholas V. as Patron of the Renaissance ...	165-214
Conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro	215-239
Advance of the Turks and Fall of Constantinople	240-286
Death of Nicholas V.	287-313
Election of Calixtus III.	317-343
The Holy See and the Eastern Question ...	344-387
The Victory of the Crusaders at Belgrade ...	389-428
Skanderbeg.—Deaths of Calixtus III. and Cardinal Capranica	429-495
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	496-566
Index of Names	567-580

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

BOOK I.

I.

ELECTION OF POPE NICHOLAS V., 1447-1455.

A.D.		PAGE
1447	Condition of Italy and the Church, on the death of Eugenius IV.	3
	Apprehension excited by the movements of the King of Naples	3
	Threatening attitude of the populace and Republican party in Rome	4
	Anxiety felt in regard to the election to the Papal Throne	5
	The Cardinals assemble to elect a successor to Eugenius IV.	6
	Composition of the Sacred College—character of its most eminent members	7
	Grandeur and depth of character of Cardinal Carvajal	7
	Cardinal de Torquemada, champion of the rights of the Church and Holy See	8
	His position as a theologian—founds the confraternity of the Annunciation	9
	Cardinal d'Estouteville—princely splendour in which he lived	10
	How different nations were represented in the Sacred College	11
	The voting in the Conclave—first results indecisive	11
1447	At the third scrutiny Cardinal Parentucelli is unanimously elected	11
	The election causes great rejoicings in Rome and in the States of the Church	13
	Parentage and early life of Cardinal Parentucelli	14
	His difficulties on the death of his father—enters the service of Cardinal Albergati	15
	His relations with the representatives of the Christian and heathen Renaissance	16

A.D. PAGE

1447 His rapid ecclesiastical advancement—becomes Bishop of Bologna 17
Breaks up the League of the Electors in Germany and is created Cardinal 18
Important position attained by him in the Sacred College 18
His personal appearance, disposition, and character . 19
His temperate habits, love of peace, and benevolence . 20
His intellectual attainments and his love of books and buildings 21
The literary treasures acquired by him in his travels . 22
His efforts to collect the writings of the Fathers, especially those of St. Augustine 23
His ardent desire to restore order, and to use no other weapon than the Cross 25
In promoting art and science his first object was the welfare of the Church 26

II.

FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF POPE NICHOLAS V.

State of political and ecclesiastical affairs on the accession of Nicholas V. 27
Misery and devastation in the States of the Church . 28
Revival of the hopes of the adherents of the anti-Pope (Felix V.) 28
Effect produced by the prudent and conciliatory action of the Pope 29
King Alfonso and Frederick III. send ambassadors to the coronation 30
Ceremony of the coronation—the Pope renews his promises to Frederick III. 31
Submission of Poland to the Holy See—concessions made to King Casimir 32
Embassy of the Florentine Republic—their reception by Nicholas V. 33
Agreement with the King of Naples—he sends ambassadors to Rome 34
Difficulties which reunion encountered in Germany and France 35
The Schismatic Councils of Bourges and Lyons decide that Felix should resign 35
Nicholas V. recognized by the King and Princes of Germany—Council of Basle to be dissolved . 36
Opposition and eventual submission of the University of Vienna. 37

A.D. PAGE

1448 Concordat concluded at Vienna between Frederick III. and the Pope 38
Causes which prevented the Concordat from producing its expected results 39
The Concordat ultimately accepted throughout Europe 40
Dissolution of the Basle Synod—submission of the King of France 41
1449 Concessions made to the Schismatics and to the anti-Pope 42
Honours conferred upon Felix V.—his retirement and death 43
The effect of the Basle Schism was to postpone reform 44
Jacob von Jüterbogk appeals to the Pope to remedy the abuses in the Church 45
New laws are not required, but the enforcement of those that exist 46
He enumerates the abuses in the Church—extent and limitation of the Pope's authority . . . 47
The Italians themselves the chief obstacle to reform . 48
Kayserberg's opinion of the efficacy of Councils for purposes of reform 49
Sterility of the Council of Basle—it served but to revive the Schism 49
Decline of the belief in the power of ecclesiastical parliaments. 50
Influence of ecclesiastical literature in promoting adherence to the Papal system 51
Cardinal de Torquemada's defence of the spiritual and temporal powers 51
Exposes the aims and methods of the enemies of the Holy See 52
The work of Rodericus Sancius against the Basle Schismatics 53
He attacks the Council theory and stigmatises the so-called neutrals 54
He lays it down as a principle that the Church will always need reform 55
If Councils were the proper agents they would need to be permanent 55
How reforms should be carried out and the evils of the Church remedied 55
St. John Capistran and Piero del Monte combat the Council theories 56
Stringent measures taken by Nicholas V. for the eradication of heresy 57

A.D. PAGE

1449 Reaction in favour of the Papacy consequent on the Basle Schism 58
Opposition which the movement for reunion encountered in Germany 59
In spite of the religious awakening in that country the anti-Papal spirit not entirely subdued. . . 60
Peace restored to the Papal States—self-government conceded to the people 61
The feudatories of the Holy See and several cities regain their ancient privileges 62
The measures adopted for the restoration of peace to the States of the Church 63
Policy pursued by the Pope for the maintenance of peace in his own dominions 63
Death of the last of the Visconti—the claimants for the Duchy of Milan 64
The Duchy in abeyance for three years—the ancient republic of Milan revived 65
Francesco Sforza becomes Duke of Milan and restores peace to Italy 66
Submission of Bologna—privileges conceded to the city by the Pope 67
Cardinal Bessarion appointed Papal Legate for Bologna 69
Success of his administration—Bologna's famous university restored 70
He re-establishes law and justice, and issues an edict against luxury 71
Results of the Pope's zeal in the cause of ecclesiastical and political order 72
His success in the cause of peace—the admiration of his contemporaries 73

III.

THE JUBILEE OF 1450.—CARDINAL CUSA'S LABOURS IN GERMANY.

The Pope determines to celebrate the termination of the Schism by a Universal Jubilee 74
1449 The Jubilee proclaimed—conditions for gaining the Indulgence 75
Joy throughout Christendom—pilgrimage of the nations to Rome 76
The great influx of strangers—preparations in Rome for their reception 77
The number and composition of the multitudes which daily arrived in the city 78

A.D. PAGE

1449 The canonization of St. Bernardine of Siena occurs in the Jubilee year 79
His process begun by Eugenius IV. is taken up by Nicholas V. 80
The ceremony of the canonization—the Pope pronounces the Saint's panegyric 81
The outburst of joy which the canonization of St. Bernardine elicited 82
Description of the Jubilee by dello Mastro, an eye-witness 83
The plague reaches Rome—appalling mortality among the pilgrims 84
The people are seized with panic and flee in all directions from the city 86
The Pope and the Papal Court quit the Eternal City . 87
1450 Cessation of the pestilence—the pilgrimages resumed . 88
The crowds are so great that the streets become impassable 89
Van der Weyden's visit to Rome—its influence on his work 90
Some of the important personages who joined in the Jubilee 91
The literature to which the Jubilee year gave birth . 93
Different treatises written on the subject of Indulgences 94
Provost Hammerlin denounces ecclesiastical abuses . 95
A lady of rank is seized at Verona and carried off by the soldiers 96
Fearful accident to the pilgrims on the bridge of St. Angelo 97
In the confusion some two hundred persons are crushed to death 98
The heart-rending scenes in the Church of St. Celso where the dead were conveyed 99
The Pope's distress at the terrible event—identification of the dead 100
Steps taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar accident 101
France and Germany demand the convention of a General Council 101
The Jubilee gifts enable the Pope to advance his schemes of art and learning 102
Spiritual effects of the Jubilee—triumph of ecclesiastical restoration 103
To reform ecclesiastical abuses the Pope sends legates to various countries 104
1451 Cardinal d'Estouteville endeavours to effect peace between France and England . . . 105

A.D. PAGE

1451 Cardinal Cusa undertakes the work of moral reform in Germany 105
Is opposed by those who favoured the principles of the Council of Basle 106
How to set about the work of ecclesiastical reform . 107
Wherever he went his first visit was to the Church to implore blessings on his work 108
His endeavours to reunite Germany to Rome, and to reform the religious orders 109
His labours in the diocese of Salzburg effect the closest union with the Holy See 110
He appoints apostolic visitors to enforce observance of the religious vows 111
Their labours in Germany and the reforms effected by them 112
Cardinal Cusa reconciles the differences between the mendicant friars and regular clergy at Bamberg . 113
He presides at the Provincial Chapter of the Benedictines at Würzburg 114
He commands the strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict 115
He proceeds to Erfurt, where he undertakes the reform of the religious houses 116
His reception at Erfurt—great multitudes come to hear him preach 117
Visits the religious houses and monasteries and confers with Johannes Busch 118
He enters Magdeburg—takes part in the procession of the Holy Sacrament 119
The measures adopted by him for the reform of religious houses 120
He appoints deputies to carry out the reform of the Augustinian Order 120
Extensive powers of the deputies—severe measures adopted towards grave offenders 121
An edict published against concubinage—Convents visited and reformed 122
Cardinal Cusa makes the religious instruction of the people his special care 123
His visitation of Minden—measures adopted for the better celebration of divine worship . . . 124
Religious means employed for the extirpation of concubinage among the clergy 124
St. John Capistran undertakes the reform of the Minorite Order in South Germany . . . 125
The veneration with which he was received—the multitudes who came to hear him . . . 126

A.D. PAGE

1451 The rule of life which he observed—is accused of vain ambition 127
By his preaching he wins thousands to a better life, and reconciles heretics to the Church . . . 128
He founds and reforms Convents, and fills them with young men won by his preaching from the Universities 129
As a result of one sermon nearly 120 students seek admission to the religious orders 130
Cardinal Cusa continues his labours of monastic reform in Northern Germany 130
While he admonished and punished ecclesiastics, he did not fail to instruct the laity 131
He establishes and endows a religious foundation for 33 poor persons 132
Concludes his labours in Germany—decrees of the Council of Mayence 133
The Pope entrusts him with a mission to Burgundy and England 134
He fails in his mission, returns to Germany, and presides at the Council of Cologne 135
He addresses the Synod on the measures to be adopted for reform 136
The unity of the Church and the authority of the Pope re-established in Germany 137

IV.

THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION IN ROME, 1452.

1452 Frederick III.'s desire to be crowned Emperor in Rome 138
Preparations for the coronation and the King's marriage with Leonora of Portugal 139
Commands the chief cities of the Empire to furnish his escort to Rome 140
Opposition to his project—symptoms of agitation in Austria 141
Magnificent reception accorded to him by the Republic of Venice 142
The Duke of Milan, whom he refused to recognize, sends an embassy to meet him 143
The manifestations of welcome with which he was received at Bologna 144
Royally received by the Florentines—reverence still felt for the Roman Empire 145
The King is more concerned about buying jewels than in receiving ambassadors 146

A.D. PAGE

1452 The Papal legates join the King—he meets his bride at Siena 146
The festivities at Siena—description of the future Empress 147
Alarm of the Pope at the King's approach—military precautions 147
The Pope's distrust of the Republican party the cause of his apprehension 148
The King approaches Rome—is met by the nobility and their retainers 149
Rapture of the King and the German knights on beholding the Eternal City 150
The King and the royal escort enter Rome under the Imperial standard 151
The royal procession—the King received with great pomp by clergy and people 152
The King's visit to St. Peter's—does homage to the Pope 153
His interview with the Pope—desires to receive the iron crown of Lombardy 153
Is crowned King of Lombardy—the Imperial coronation 154
Description of the ceremony at St. Peter's 155
Conclusion of the ceremonies—Frederick holds the Pope's stirrup 156
The Emperor quits Rome—his journey to Naples . 158
Attempted escape of King Ladislas—the Emperor returns to Rome 159
Armed revolt in Austria threatened—the Emperor departs for Germany 160
The insignificance of the Empire—Frederick's treatment by the Doge of Venice 161
St. Antoninus' judgment of Frederick—he is compelled to release King Ladislas 162

BOOK II.

I.

NICHOLAS V. AS PATRON OF THE RENAISSANCE IN LITERATURE AND ART.

The Pope places himself at the head of the movement for the revival of learning and art 165
Rome to be the focus of literature and art, possessing imperishable memorials of the Church's greatness 166

A.D. PAGE

1452 The fortifications designed to protect Rome against her enemies 167
His buildings and libraries intended to manifest the exaltation of the Holy See 168
His great architectural undertakings—extent of his design 169
He commences the restoration of the churches, basilicas, and palaces of Rome 170
His solicitude for the public health and for the embellishment of the city 171
Bridges are repaired, fortified or rebuilt, and the city walls restored 172
The Pope's design for rebuilding the Vatican, St. Peter's, and the Leonine City 173
Details of the plan for the construction of the Vatican and St. Peter's 174
The Papal city to be so fortified as to be practically impregnable 175
Magnitude of the design for the defence and adornment of the Eternal City 176
Conception and details of the scheme ascribable to Nicholas V. alone 177
His first design was to restore, and not rebuild St. Peter's 178
The design abandoned on the advice of Alberti . . 178
Reluctance to pull down St. Peter's—dangerous condition of the basilica 179
The monuments of Pagan Rome despoiled in the work of Christian restoration 180
Architectural alterations commenced in the Vatican palace. 181
The additions made by Nicholas V. and subsequent Popes 182
Artists are attracted to Rome from all parts of the world 183
Remuneration of some of the most celebrated in the Pope's service 183
The different systems under which the work was carried out 184
Decoration of St. Peter's and the Vatican—the labours of Fra Angelico 185
The almost unapproachable perfection to which he carried his art 186
Relations between him and the Pope—the works he executed for Nicholas V. 187
His paintings of St. Stephen—his mastery of his art unimpaired by old age 188

A.D. PAGE

1452 In his works the classical ideal is always subordinate to the Christian spirit 189
Other painters who received employment and patronage from Nicholas V. 190
He encouraged all those arts which lend magnificence to public worship 191
He beautified and fortified the towns, and restored the public buildings in the Papal States . . . 192
His passion for the revival of literature—his accession hailed by the humanists 193
He seeks to identify the Holy See with the revival of classical learning 194
Encouragement and support which literary men received from him. 194
Rome becomes the centre of art and intellectual activity 195
In his enthusiasm for learning the Pope gives support to the heathen humanists 196
Poggio, Filelfo, and Valla among the recipients of his patronage 197
The literature of Greece becomes accessible to Western Europe 198
The host of translators employed, and the recompense awarded them 199
Importance of Greek literature—Rome filled with books and parchments 200
The diffusion of Greek, a counterpoise to what was corrupt in the Renaissance 201
The scandals which arose through the rivalry of the humanists 202
Preferment granted to them to the exclusion of the clergy 203
The hostility excited by the votaries of the false Renaissance. 204
Maffei insists on the importance of classical knowledge to the clergy 205
The Pope encourages the advancement of ecclesiastical literature 206
The labours undertaken to publish more worthy Lives of the Saints 207
The Vatican Library intended to preserve the intellectual treasures of Greece and Rome 208
The quest for literary treasures throughout Christendom 208
Armies of translators and transcribers employed by the Pope 209
The Vatican Library was meant to be accessible to the whole learned world 210

A.D. PAGE

1452 The private Papal libraries—number of volumes contained in them 211
Number of MS. volumes in the famous private libraries of Italy 212
Contents of the manuscript volumes included in Nicholas V.'s collections 213
The importance of the Vatican library even to our own times 214

II.

THE CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453.

1453 Porcaro conspires against the temporal sovereignty and life of the Pope 215
The false humanism revives the ancient estimate of the murder of tyrants 216
Porcaro's antecedents—he devotes himself to classical studies 218
His desire to establish in Rome a Republic after the Florentine pattern 219
Conceals his opinions—appointments conferred on him by Eugenius IV. 220
Endeavours to provoke an insurrection on the death of that Pope 221
Nicholas V. forgave him, but he still continued to conspire 222
He is exiled to Bologna, but is granted a pension by the Pope 222
Escapes from Bologna in disguise and returns to Rome 223
Meets his co-conspirators and confers with them in the city 224
Plunder one of their inducements—their plan of operations 225
Porcaro delays—the Pope is apprised of his design . 226
The conspirators surprised, but many, including Porcaro, escape 227
His place of concealment discovered, and he is taken prisoner 228
He details the objects of the conspiracy, and the means of carrying it out 229
The Pope and Cardinals to be captured, and put to death if they resisted 229
He is sentenced to death and hanged with a number of his associates 230
The calamities which would have befallen the Papacy if he had succeeded 231

A.D. PAGE

1453 Excitement caused by the conspiracy—divergence of opinion regarding it 232
Alarm of the humanists—their condemnation of Porcaro 233
Polemical works written against Porcaro and in defence of the temporal power 234
The Papal rule contrasted with that of the municipal governors of Italy 235
Friendly powers congratulate the Pope on the failure of the conspiracy 236
Effect on the Pope of the danger to his life and his magnificent undertakings 238
He becomes suspicious and distrustful on seeing the old disloyalty revived 239

III.

ADVANCE OF THE TURKS AND FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1439 Instability of the Greek and Latin Union arranged at Florence 240
Schismatical writers labour to excite hostility towards Rome 241
Ineffectual attempt to bring about a union with the Russian Church 242
1448 Advance of the Turks—defeat of the Christian army at Kossowo 242
Inactivity of the Greek Court—the Pope alarmed at the Turkish success 243
The Hungarians granted the Jubilee indulgence without coming to Rome 244
Measures of the Pope for the revival of faith and suppression of heresy in Bosnia 245
1451 His action against the Turks—material assistance given to Cyprus 476
His support of the Greeks conditional on their observing the Union 247
His Brief to the Greeks on the necessity of the unity of the Church 248
Points out the dangers of schism and the decadence of the countries where it prevailed 249
He reminds them of their acceptance of the Union, and their attempts to evade it 250
The conditions on which he will give his assistance against the Turks 251
1451 The Turks who had menaced Cyprus turn their arms against a Mahometan Prince 251

A.D. PAGE

1451 The Greeks deeming themselves safe send an insulting embassy to Mahomet 252
He makes peace with his enemy, and turns his power against Constantinople 252
1452 He proceeds to fortify the Bosphorus, and declares war against the Greeks 253
Preparations for the decisive struggle—hopes of Union with Rome abandoned 254
Discussion in Rome on the question of assistance to the Greeks 255
It is urged that in spite of the schism Constantinople should be saved 256
Dangers to be apprehended if the city fell into the hands of the Turks 257
The Greek Emperor accepts the conditions laid down by the Pope 258
1452 Cardinal Isidore goes to Constantinople with aid for the Greeks 258
Solemn function held to celebrate the Union of the churches 259
The populace and schismatical clergy resist and denounce the Union 259
Antagonism to Rome general throughout Byzantine society 260
Consequence of this hostility in the then condition of Greece 260
Genoa aids the Greeks, but help from Venice comes too late 261
Venetian support half-hearted—assistance afforded by the Pope 262
Nicholas V. describes the amount of support he rendered to the Greeks 263
1453 The Papal fleet proceeds to Constantinople—strength of the opposing forces 264
Commencement of the siege—the credit due to Italian ships and foreign troops 265
Cowardice of the Greeks—their reliance on prayers and predictions 266
The troops inadequate to the defence—courage displayed by the Emperor 266
1453 (May 29th) Capture of the city—atrocities committed by the Turkish troops 267
Outrage to the Christian Faith—last traces of the Union obliterated 268
Degradation of the Greek Church—flight of the Christians from the East 269

A.D. PAGE

1453 Terror of Christendom at the downfall of the Byzantine Empire 270
Consequences of that event on the political system of Europe 271
Consternation in Rome on receipt of the news of the fall of Constantinople 273
Further advance of the Turks apprehended—measures adopted by the Pope 274
He equips a fleet and issues a Bull of Crusade to Christendom 275
A great portion of the revenues of the Church devoted to advance the crusade 276
The enthusiasm which inspired the crusades extinct 277
1454 Hungary alone undertakes the war against the infidel . 278
The commercial interests of the Venetian Republic prevail over its patriotism 279
It enters into negotiations with the Sultan and concludes a treaty with the Porte 280
Its mercenary action—shameful conditions accepted by the Republic 281
Helplessness of Genoa—surrender of its Black Sea possessions 282
Vacillation of the King of Naples in regard to the crusade 283
The Duchy of Milan and Florentine Republic give no support 284
Inaction of the Western Powers—the Pope's summons unheeded in France 285
Portugal and Hungary make serious preparations for the war 286
Discord among the European nations prevented their union against the Turks 286

IV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN ITALY—THE CRUSADE IN GERMANY—SICKNESS AND DEATH OF NICHOLAS V.

Cyprus and Rhodes implore aid against the Turks—escape of Cardinal Isidore 287
His account of the cruelties of the Turks and extent of their resources 288
1453 The Pope summons the Italian Powers to a peace congress 289
Irreconcilable differences among the States represented at the congress 291

A.D. PAGE

1453 The King of Naples adverse to the re-establishment of peace 292
The excessive influence he is supposed to have exercised over the Pope 293
The Pope becomes seriously ill during the negotiations 294
The peace congress breaks up amid mutual dissatisfaction 295
Mission of Fra Simonetto of Camerino to the Duke of Milan 295
1454 He brings about the peace which the congress failed to accomplish 296
The King of Naples indignant at the conditions of the peace of Lodi 297
Acceptance of the conditions of peace by the whole of Italy 298
1455 The Pope ratifies the league which is proclaimed amid general rejoicing 299
Frederick III. summons a Diet to concert measures against the Turks 300
The Diet badly attended—no definite result arrived at . 301
Disunion in the Holy Roman Empire—the Diet reassembles at Frankfort 302
It is decided to send an army and fleet to aid the Hungarians 303
The Diet next meets at Vienna—it evades the Turkish question 304
Illness of Nicholas V.—continued anxieties of his reign 305
Unable to give audiences or take part in the great feasts of the Church 307
Revolutionary agitation throughout the States of the Church 308
Intervention of the Pope between Spoleto and the Count of Anguillara 309
Commands his subjects to obey the Cardinals pending the election of a new Pope 309
His illness becomes dangerous—his preparation for death 310
He justifies on his death-bed before the Cardinals the acts of his pontificate 311
Contrasts the state of the Church on his accession with that in which he is leaving it 312
His death—tribute of Vespasiano da Bisticci to his memory 312
1455 He is buried in St. Peter's—his monument and epitaph 313

BOOK III.

I.

CALIXTUS III. THE CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST THE TURKS, 1455-1458.

A.D.		PAGE
1455	Apprehended disturbance in Rome—renewed activity of the Republicans	317
	Preparations made for the election of a new Pope	318
	The Cardinals assemble in conclave—composition of the Sacred College	319
	The proportion in which Italy and other nations were represented	320
	Speculation as to the future Pope—chances of Cardinals Colonna and Orsini	321
	Division among the Cardinals—three scrutinies fail to give the requisite majority	322
	Cardinal Bessarion's prospects—his elevation considered certain	323
	The decision remains uncertain—impatience of the populace	324
	Cardinal Alonso Borja elected—takes the name of Calixtus III.	325
	Prediction of St. Vincent Ferrer concerning him	326
	The ancestry and early life of Calixtus III.	327
	His ecclesiastical and diplomatic career—services rendered to Alfonso of Naples	328
	His moral and intellectual qualification—dissatisfaction at his election	329
	The Pope's character described by his contemporaries.	330
	Fear of the Italians that he will unduly favour his own countrymen	331
	Simplicity of his demeanour—contrast between him and Nicholas V.	332
	His attitude of indifference towards the Renaissance movement	333
	The humanists accuse him of having dispersed the Vatican library	334
	Reasons which prove that the accusation is a calumny	335
	Why Calixtus III. gave such little attention to the Renaissance	336
	Ceremony of the Pope's coronation at St. Peter's	337
	Disturbances in Rome—the Colonna and the Orsini again in conflict	338
	A truce is established between the contending parties	339

A.D. PAGE

1455 The Christian powers send ambassadors to pay homage to the Pope 340
His determination to reconquer Constantinople—St. Antoninus urges on the crusade 341
Doubtful intentions of the Venetians concerning the Turkish war 341
Profession of obedience to the Pope of the German nation 343
The Pope commends the Emperor Frederick for his intention of joining in the war 343

II.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Consequences of the fall of Constantinople—perilous position of the adjacent countries 344
Indifference shown by the European Powers to the welfare of Christendom 345
Danger to Western civilization—the Pope gives a powerful impulse to the crusade 345
He binds himself by a solemn vow to sacrifice everything to repel Islamism 346
Enthusiasm with which he enters on the contest—his deadly hatred of the Turks 347
His threefold purpose, to unite Christendom, succour Hungary, and equip a fleet 348
1455 He renews the indulgence of Nicholas V., and fixes a day for the departure of the expedition . . 349
He despatches legates to various countries to restore the unity of Christian princes 349
The ceremony of conferring the Cross performed at St. Peter's 350
He sends bishops, prelates, or monks to collect material aid for the expedition 351
Preachers of the crusade and tithe collectors appointed for the various nations 352
Some of the Religious Orders devote themselves to preaching the crusade 353
Precautions taken to prevent the funds subscribed being diverted from their purpose 354
The Pope devotes all his resources to the crusade, even Papal jewels and Church property 355
Suspension of the literary and architectural works undertaken by Nicholas V. 356
All his energy and attention are absorbed in preparations for the war 357

A.D. PAGE

1455 His plan for the recovery of Constantinople—his reliance on Philip of Burgundy 358
Endeavours to induce the King of Naples to join in the expedition 359
1456 The peace of Central Italy disturbed—Piccinino advances towards Siena 360
He is attacked by the Papal and Milanese forces and obliged to retreat 361
Duplicity of the King of Naples—his stipulations in favour of Piccinino 362
Piccinino harasses the Sienese, who seek the intervention of King Alfonso 363
Terms of peace arranged between the Sienese and the brigand Piccinino 364
The Papal fleet destined to harass the Turks attacks the ships of Christian nations 365
Deep indignation of the Pope—Cardinal Scarampo appointed admiral 366
Construction and equipment of a Papal fleet in progress on the Tiber 367
Festivities held in honour of Scarampo's appointment—extent of his authority 368
Administrative arrangements connected with the construction of the fleet 369
1456 The new Papal fleet sets sail with five thousand troops on board 371
The admiral goes to Naples to take over the ships promised by Alfonso 372
The King's treachery—the Pope appeals to the admiral to start without delay 373
The Cardinal's indecision—the Pope urges him to proceed to the Ægean Sea 374
1457 New ships built in Rome—the Papal fleet in Greek waters 375
Indifference shown by the Western Powers to the critical condition of the East 376
Apathy of Frederick III.—Charles VII.'s opposition to the crusade 377
The Pope urgently appeals to his legate to obtain assistance from France 379
Charles VII.'s agreement with the Pope and its violation 380
The Universities of Paris and Toulouse beg the King to resist the collection of the tithes 381
The Duke of Burgundy retains the money collected for the crusade 382

A.D. PAGE

1457 Inaction of the Kings of Denmark and Norway—the King of Portugal fails to keep his promise . . 383
The Papal Nuncio recalled from Portugal—desertion of the Pope by the European Powers . . . 384
The Duke of Milan and the Republic of Venice disregard the entreaties of the Pope . . . 385
Florence refuses to co-operate—overwhelming difficulties of the Pope 386
He sends ambassadors throughout Europe to collect money and troops for the war . . . 387
His indomitable resolution—artistic treasures and jewels converted into money 387

III.

THE VICTORY OF THE CRUSADERS AT BELGRADE.

The measures of the Sultan—extends his dominions in Servia, and prepares to attack Hungary . . 389
1456 His military preparations—he proceeds with 150,000 men to attack Belgrade 390
Belgrade invested—Hunyadi and St. John Capistran bring succour to the city 391
Carvajal encourages the Hungarians—treachery of King Ladislas and his barons 392
Hunyadi raises an army at his own expense—composition of the crusading army 393
Important documents connected with the relief of Belgrade still undiscovered *n*394
1456 Measures of Hunyadi—he breaks the Turkish line and gains a complete victory 395
The rival forces concentrated for a decisive battle—progress of the engagement 396
1456 Critical condition of the crusaders—heroism of Hunyadi—total defeat of the Turks 397
Importance of the victory—the chief merit due to Calixtus III. 398
His readiness to sacrifice himself and all he had in the defence of Christendom 399
Commands prayers to be said throughout the world to avert the invasion 400
Joy of the Christian world over the triumph at Belgrade 401
Great rejoicings in Rome, Italy, and Venice . . 402
How the aged Pontiff received the tidings of the victory 403

A.D. PAGE

1456 Condemns the inaction of his admiral—hopes Christendom will now assist him 404
St. John Capistran and Hunyadi on the defeat of the Turks 405
They appeal for more troops to complete the discomfiture of the infidel 405
Constantinople to be recaptured and the Holy Land freed from Islamism 406
Pestilence among the Christian army—death of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran 406
The Pope appeals to the Powers to follow up the victory 407
The Western Powers deaf to his entreaties—he appeals to the princes of the East 408
The Papal exhortation warmly received by the common people 409
Enthusiastic support of the war in Upper Germany—the Nuremberg crusaders 410
Their equipment and departure to join the army at Belgrade 411
They are joined by contingents from England, France, and other countries 412
Altercation between Ladislas, Hunyadi, and Count Ulrich before Belgrade 412
Disastrous consequences thereof—the crusading army returns home 413
The German prelates complain of the Holy See and demand reform 413
1456 Anti-papal movement in Germany—Synods of Frankfort-on-Main 414
Resistance to the collection of tithes—an anti-papal league established 415
Hostility to the Emperor—the Pope again appeals to him to assist the crusade 416
1457 The Diet of Frankfort reassembles—statement of grievances against Rome 417
The Pope rejects the overtures for a treaty with the Archbishop of Mayence 418
He replies to the accusations of the agitators, and condemns their disloyalty 419
Censures the Archbishop—the leader of the anti-papal movement 420
The Pope and Cardinal Piccolomini refute the charges against the Holy See 421
1458 Collapse of the movement—duplicity of the King of Naples 422

A.D. PAGE

1458 Requests the Pope to hand over to him certain territories of the Church 423
His attempts to frustrate the Pope's efforts for carrying on the crusade 424
His policy helps to prevent the union of Christendom against the Turks 425
Splendour of the reception accorded in Rome to Lucrezia di Algano 426
The Pope's threat to prevent Alfonso's illegitimate son from succeeding to the throne 427
The right of succession according to the law of Lombardy 428

IV.

SKANDERBEG.—DEATHS OF CALIXTUS III. AND CARDINAL CAPRANICA.

Skanderbeg's military renown—the romantic fictions connected with his life 429
1455 His achievements against the Turks—the Albanians revolt against him 430
Is defeated by the Moslems, and compelled to retreat to the mountains 431
His appeal for help—the Pope grants him pecuniary assistance 431
He defeats the Turks, and enters his capital in triumph 432
His nephew goes over to the Turks with a large force of the Albanian army 432
1457 Skanderbeg overthrows the Turkish army at Tomornitza 433
The papal fleet ordered to assist him—his appeal to the Western Powers 434
Skanderbeg promoted Captain-General for the Turkish war by the Pope 435
The Pope's solicitude for the protection of the Oriental Christians 435
Tries to save the Genoese Colonies on the Black Sea from the Turks 436
His efforts on behalf of the Genoese—the favours conferred upon them 437
1457 Defeat of the Turks by the papal fleet—capture of 25 of their ships 438
The Pope's energy in re-enforcing his fleet—his determination to maintain it 439
Indifference shown by Portugal and Burgundy in the defence of Christendom 439
Owing to dissensions among the Powers the victories over the Turks are not followed up . . . 440

A.D. PAGE

1458 Death of the King of Hungary—George Podiebrad elected King of Bohemia 441
King George renounces the Hussite heresy—promises to support the war against the Turks . . . 442
Swears fidelity to the Roman Church, and undertakes to oppose heretical doctrines 443
The Pope hopeful that the Bohemian heretics will return to the Church 444
Opposition encountered by Calixtus III. in his prosecution of the crusade 445
To ensure united action he summons a congress of the Powers to Rome 446
1458 The congress assembles—its deliberations end without result 447
The nepotism of Calixtus III.—how he enriched his Spanish relations 447
Characteristics of the Borgias—evil consequences of their elevation 448
Great abilities of Rodrigo Borgia—favours conferred upon him 449
Luis Juan and Rodrigo, the Pope's nephews, created Cardinals 450
Rodrigo's immoral character not manifested in the lifetime of Calixtus 451
Futile attempts by recent writers to rehabilitate his character 452
The Portuguese Infante James made Cardinal—his exemplary life 454
The Pope's further creation of Cardinals—opposition of the Sacred College 455
Six Cardinals, including Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, are created 458
Cardinals Luis and Rodrigo Borgia appointed to lucrative offices 459
Rodrigo becomes Vice-Chancellor—advancement of Don Pedro Luis 460
Protest of Capranica — intimacy between the Borgia and the Colonna 461
Don Pedro Luis becomes Prefect of the Eternal City . 462
Insolent manners of the Pope's nephews—influx of Spaniards to Rome 463
Many quit the papal service in consequence of the favour shown to the Catalans 464
The fortress of St. Angelo surrendered to the Borgia —fears of disturbance in Rome 465

A.D. PAGE

1458 Lawlessness in Rome under the Borgia—the plague revisits the city 466
Death of King Alfonso of Naples—rival claimants to the throne 467
The Pope bestows rich benefices on his nephews—his intentions regarding Don Pedro 468
He issues a Bull claiming Sicily as a lapsed fief of the Holy See 469
He ignores Don Ferrante, and orders a hostile demonstration against Naples 470
Claims advanced by Calixtus III. as to the disposal of Naples 471
Don Ferrante appeals against the Bull—the Duke of Milan declares in his favour 472
The Pope becomes seriously ill—maltreatment of the Catalans in Rome 473
On his death-bed the Pope confers new favours on Don Pedro. 474
His intention to create new Cardinals—opposition of the Sacred College 474
Excitement in Rome and the Papal States—precautionary measures 475
Don Pedro afraid—surrenders the fortresses in his possession to the Cardinals 476
Account of his flight—his military escort refuses to accompany him 477
Cardinal Rodrigo returns to Rome—his palace plundered by the populace 478
1458 (6 August) Death of Calixtus III.—his character, apart from his nepotism, worthy of praise 479
Hostility to the Borgia and their sympathizers—flight of the Catalans 480
Piccinino re-enters the Papal States—alleged connivance of King Alfonso 481
Negotiations regarding the election of a successor to Calixtus III. 481
Determination to elect an Italian—Capranica in favour with all parties 482
Capranica's early life—his relations with Cesarini . 483
His remarkable learning and virtue—his elevation to the purple 484
His exclusion from the Conclave which assembled on the death of Martin V. 485
Plunder of his palace and dispersion of his library by the Orsini 486

A.D. PAGE

1458 He is denied the dignity of Cardinal—appeals to the Council of Basle 486
Becomes reconciled with Eugenius IV.—his labours for reform and Union with the Greeks . . . 487
The offices conferred on him by Nicholas V.—his interest in the Turkish question 488
Courage displayed by him during the plague—opposes the promotion of Don Pedro 489
His life the ideal of what that of a Cardinal ought to be 490
The administration of his household—his practice of mortification 491
How he reconciled enemies—he founds a college for poor students 492
(19 August) Capranica's death—the Milanese ambassador's last interview with him 494
Is buried amid general mourning near the grave of St. Catherine of Siena 495
Election of Cardinal Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.) as successor to Calixtus III. 495

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

		PAGE
I.	Nicholas V. to Cardinal Bessarion ...	464
II.	„ to the Knights of St. John ...	474
III.	Three Bulls on behalf of the Knights of St. John	484
IV.	V. Amidano to Duke of Milan	500
V.	Giov. Inghirami to Giov. de' Medici	500
VI.	Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa	502
VII.	„ and Cyprus...	503
VIII.	„ to Cardinal Cusa	505
IX.	„ to Cardinal d'Estouteville	505
X.	„ to Cardinal Cusa	506
XI.	„ „	506
XII.	Speeches of Stefano Porcaro	507
XIII.	G. de Rapallo to P. de Campofregoso	508
XIV.	Depositions of Stefano Porcaro	510
XV.	B. de Lagazara to Siena...	517
XVI.	Cardinal Calandrini to Lucca	518
XVII.	Nicholas V. to Thomas of Lesina	520
XVIII.	N. Soderinus to Florence	521
XIX.	L. de' Benvoglienti to Siena	521
XX.	A. da Pistoja to Duke of Milan	522
XXI.	Cardinal d'Estouteville to Duke of Milan ...	523
XXII.	Nicholas V. and the Minorites	524
XXIII.	A. de Aliprandis to Duke of Milan	525
XXIV.	F. Contarini to Venice	526
XXV.	Æneas Sylvius to Nicholas V.	528
XXVI.	N. of Pontremoli to Duke of Milan	529
XXVII.	F. Contarini to Venice	532
XXVIII.	„ „	532

PAGE

XXIX. B. Visconti and N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan 533
XXX. N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan 534
XXXI. B. Visconti and N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan 536
XXXII. Calixtus III. to Bologna... 537
XXXIII. J. Calcaterra to Duke of Milan 538
XXXIV. Calixtus III. to Cologne... 538
XXXV. G. of Castiglione to Duke of Milan 539
XXXVI. Cardinal Scarampo to L. de Gonzaga 540
XXXVII. Calixtus III. creates Rodrigo Borgia Cardinal ... 541
XXXVIII. " and Archbishop of Tarragona ... 544
XXXIX. " to General of Augustinians ... 545
XL. " to Jacopo Perpinya 546
XLI. Doge of Venice to Duke of Milan 547
XLII. N. Severinus to Siena 547
XLIII. J. Calcaterra to Duke of Milan 548
XLIV. Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain 550
XLV. Cardinal Scarampo to O. Gaetani 551
XLVI. B. Ghilinus to Duke of Milan 552
XLVII. Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to L. de Gonzaga ... 553
XLVIII. Calixtus III. to Berne 554
XLIX. " gifts to Cardinals de Borgia ... 555
L. J. A. della Torre to Duke of Milan 556
LI. A. da Pistoja " 557
LII. " " 559
LIII. O. de Carretto " 561
LIV. A. da Pistoja " 563
LV. O. de Carretto " 564
LVI. " " 565

BOOK I.

NICHOLAS V.—THE FIRST PAPAL PATRON OF LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS, 1447-1455.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF NICHOLAS V.

EUGENIUS IV. had devoted the energies of his life to the restoration of the Papal power, but the great work was but in its beginning, and far from completion. The remnant of the Council of Basle was still in existence, and the anti-Pope was living in Switzerland. The efforts of the partisans of the Council to alter the manner of Papal elections were still fresh in the minds of many, and the political condition of Italy, especially that of the States of the Church, was one of uncertainty and confusion. In view of this threatening position of affairs, Eugenius IV. had, shortly before his death, renewed the Decrees of the General Councils of Lyons and Vienne regarding Papal elections, and appointed Cardinal Scarampo commander of all fortresses in the Roman dominions.* The attitude adopted by King Alfonso of Naples was the principal cause of the latter measure.

The King having, in concert with Eugenius IV., determined on an expedition against Florence, had been, ever since the beginning of the year, encamped at Tivoli, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, with a force of four thousand men, a circumstance which seemed seriously to endanger the liberty of the approaching Conclave.† Alfonso had indeed given an assurance to several of the Cardinals that, in the event of the Pope's death, he would observe absolute neutrality, and had also promised to

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 12.

† *Lettera di Roma, d. d. 1446 [st. fl.], Marzo, 3. Carte Strozziane, 242, p. 247, State Archives of Florence.

afford protection against any attempted pressure.* But his lengthened sojourn at Tivoli, the arrival of constant reinforcements for his army, and the impenetrable obscurity in which his plans were shrouded, were little calculated to allay the apprehensions of the Sacred College and of the members of the Court.

The Republican party was again astir in Rome. Its leader, Stefano Porcaro, publicly attacked "priestly authority," and was with difficulty silenced by the Vice-Camerlengo.† Suspicious-looking persons appeared in the streets, and the Camerlengo brought in troops to maintain order.‡ Many of the dangerous individuals were required to leave the City, but the attitude of the populace was so threatening that the merchants hid their goods in secure places.§

* *Despatches of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 16 and 20 Febr., Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187, pp. 156 and 157. See the first Despatch in Appendix N. 27, vol. i. In the letter of February 20th is the following passage: "Da poi ch'io scripsi non ho sentito altro da referire a la S.V., se non che la M^ta de Re di Ragona avendo notitia che per la maggior parte di qui si dubitava de facti suoi unde esso a facto uno salvo condocto a tucti e cardenali e a tucti cortigiani e gieneralmente a tucto el popolo di Roma e promesso non solamente di non offendere, ma offertosi di difenderli da ogni opressione che li fusse facta; pure el sospecto non si puo armare" (*sic* in original; one would expect calmare or disarmare).

† Infessura, 1131. See *infra*, Chapter VI., relative to Porcaro's conspiracy.

‡ *Despatch of the Abbot of S. Galgano to Siena, on the 16th February, 1447: "In Roma a richiesta del camarlengho sono venuti molti fanti et con balestre et con spingardelle e anco la compagnia del castellano." Cod. E., vi., 187, p. 151, Chigi Library in Rome.

§ St. Antoninus (xxii., c. xi., §17), an eye witness, mentions this fact. The prudent Florentines had, as early as February 11th,

The reports of the ambassadors in Rome testify to the fear which possessed men's minds. On the 20th February, 1447, when the condition of Eugenius had become hopeless, the ambassador of the Republic of Siena writes: "May God give us a good new Pastor, and may the election take place without strife. The state of affairs here gives us cause to fear the worst. May the Almighty be with us and take care of His Holy Church."* After the death of Eugenius IV., the ambassador urged his fellow-countrymen to have public prayers offered for the Election of a good Pope.†

The new election, however, was happily accomplished without disturbance, and in a most regular manner. Seldom, in fact, in any election, have all the prescribed formalities been carried out with such scrupulous exactness as in the Conclave in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva after the death of Eugenius IV.‡ This was principally due to the wise precautions taken by the Cardinals, who were thoroughly convinced of the

1447, commended their merchants to the Roman authorities. *Letter of this date in the State Archives, Florence. Cl. x., dist. 1, N. 40, f. 229.

* *"Le cose di qua non si disponghono bene et se dio non ci provede per la sua misericordia aranno mal fine. Adiuvet nos deus et provideat ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ." Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 156. Chigi Library.

† *Despatch of the Abbot of S. Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 23rd February: "Le cose di qua stanno con grande sospecto." Chigi Library. Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 158. According to Graziani (590), a procession was made in Perugia to beseech God that a good election might be made.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 400. Eugenius IV. was also elected in the Sacristy of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In memory of these two Conclaves, the following inscription was put up over the inner door of the Sacristy: "Memoriæ creationis hic habitæ Summ. Pontif. Eugenii IV. et Nicolai V." Cancellieri, Notizie, 14.

necessity, under the existing circumstances, of avoiding any flaw, or even the semblance of any flaw, in the election.* Opinions regarding the different candidates for the Papacy were greatly divided in Rome; but the desire for a speedy election was general.† This desire, in effect, was not disappointed.

In the evening of the 4th March the Cardinals then present in Rome went into Conclave. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, with the Bohemian, Procopius of Rabstein, and the ambassadors of Aragon and of Cyprus, had the honour of guarding the Conclave for two nights, has given us a full account of the proceedings.‡

* Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1446 [st. fl.], March 1. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives of Siena.

† *Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Fr. Sforza, d. d. Ex Roma, iv., Marzo, 1447: "Per altre le mie ho advisata la S.V. de la morte del papa e de quanto me accadeva circa cio ne da poy e innovato altro, accepto che li cardinali questa sera sono intrati in conclave e sperasse che assay tosto elegeranno un altro papa et molto sono le opinioni diverse al chi debbia tochare la electione." Carteggio generale ad an. State Archives at Milan.

‡ Ambassador's Report to the Emperor Frederick III., in Muratori, iii., 2, 892 *et seq.* See Æn. Silv. Comment., ed. Fea, 106-108, and Frid. iii., p. 136. Among more recent writers see especially Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 400-401; Lorenz, Papstwahl, 346-347, and Christophe, i., 360 *et seq.* The hour of entrance into Conclave is variously given. Paolo di Benedetto di Cola (Cronache Rom. 16) and Niccola della Tuccia (206) mention the twenty-second hour; Bartolommeo Roverella, Archbishop of Ravenna, on the other hand, writes, in a *Despatch to the Republic of Siena, dated ex urbe vi. Martii, hora xvi.: "Hi rev^{ml} cardinales die iv. intrarunt conclave *hora xxiv.* Tandem sepius reiterato scrutinio et votis omnium scruptatis eligerunt in summum pontificem rev^{mum} dominum dominum cardinalem Bononiensem." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. These statements in regard to the beginning of the Conclave (24th hour) and the election of Nicholas

The Sacred College at this time numbered twenty-four members. Two of these, Prospero Colonna and the noble Domenico Capranica, were the sole survivors of the Cardinals created by Martin V., and it was generally believed that the latter of the two would be the future Pope.*

The composition of the Sacred College at the death of Eugenius IV. bears witness to the care which he had taken to gather around him men of the greatest virtue, piety, and learning.† The Spanish Cardinal, Juan de Carvajal, who, with Tommaso Parentucelli, had been created in December, 1446, was generally looked upon as the most eminent of the body.

The singular grandeur and depth of Carvajal's character have won the esteem and even the admiration of writers whose judgment is habitually severe. He was indeed an ornament to the Sacred College, to the Church, and to humanity itself. He was absolutely free from the restless ambition and self-glorification, so common amongst the able men of the Renaissance. It was his nature, on the contrary, to withdraw and wait to be sought. To Pope Eugenius IV. belongs the credit of having placed this man, who seemed born for ecclesiastical diplomacy, in his proper sphere of action.‡ As a Cardinal, Carvajal continued to

V. (16th hour) are confirmed by the testimony of Stefano Caffari in the Arch. de Soc. Rom., viii., 572, which has just been published.

* *Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1447, February 27 (Cardinal N. Acciapacci was also mentioned as likely to be the future Pontiff). Fonds Ital. 1584, f. 49-50, in the National Library, Paris.

† See the praise which Vespasiano da Bisticci bestows on the Cardinals. Mai, Spicil., i., 40.

‡ In the year 1440, when Carvajal was first entrusted by Eugenius IV. with a mission to Germany, he was "decanus

live modestly without pomp or splendour. "No one," says the biographer of Æneas Sylvius, "saw the coarse garments which he wore beneath the purple, nor witnessed his fasts and his penances. The solid foundation on which his moral purity rested, was a stern sense of duty and obedience. His only idea was the consecration of his life to the Church, and especially to the promotion of the glory and power of Christ's Vicar." *

After the "incorruptible and indefatigable" Carvajal we must mention his distinguished fellow-countryman, Juan de Torquemada,† who belonged to a family of note; he had entered the Dominican order, was appointed Master of the Sacred Palace in 1431, and was employed in various embassies. At Basle he defended the rights of the Pope and of the Holy See against the supporters of the false conciliary ideas with such undaunted courage, that Eugenius IV. bestowed on him the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith." In the Council assembled at Ferrara and transferred to Florence, he again served the cause of the Pope with ardent zeal and keen dialectic skill, and in 1439 the grateful Eugenius raised him to the purple. Torquemada

Astoricen" (Astorga) and "causarum s. palatii apostcl auditor." See *Letter of Eugenius IV. to Frankfort-on-Maine, dated Florence, 1440, Nov. 7. The original is in the City Archives at Frankfort. Untergewölb A., N. 78, Urk. 6.

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 261; see iii., 512-514. Bibl. Hisp. vet. (1788), ii., 296, and A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 100. The Monograph of Lopez, De reb. gestis S.R.E. card. Carvajalis commentarius (1754), here cited, is very rare. Carvajal acted twenty times in the capacity of a Papal Envoy.

† See Catalanus, De magistro, 87 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii.-iv., 125 *et seq.*; Bibl. Hisp. vet. ii., 286-292; Bull. ord prædic., iii., 208; Echard, i., 837 *et seq.*; ii., 823; Fabricius-Mansi, iv., 443 *et seq.*, and among modern writers Budinsky (213) and Lederer's Monograph (Freiburg, 1879).

in his high position continued to wear the habit and punctually to follow the rule of his Order, and insisted on similar strictness on the part of his brethren in religion.

In regard to theology, Torquemada was undoubtedly the most learned member of the sacred College; a modern Protestant historian indeed considers him the greatest theologian of his age.* This great Dominican used to say that the only abiding treasure in this life is science, which alone compensates man for the shortness of life by the prospect of immortality.

As a writer, Torquemada dealt with almost all the questions which in his day agitated the Church; he was the leader of the literary reaction in favour of the Papacy.† His memory still lives in the Eternal City, in the foundation of the confraternity of the Annunciation established in 1460 for the purpose of providing dowries for poor girls. The picture of the Cardinal commending three poor maidens to the Blessed Virgin is preserved in the Chapel of the Confraternity, which he helped to build, at Sta Maria sopra Minerva.‡ The Humanists, Tommaso Parentucelli and Bessarion, were noted for their learning and their devotion to the Church, while Cardinal Enrico de Allosio was known as the father of the poor.§

There were, however, among the Cardinals many in whom the worldly element predominated; of this class

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 208. See V. de la Fuente, 455-461.

† Gierke, 132. Werner, iii., 711.

‡ This picture has been erroneously ascribed to Fra Angelico or Benozzo Gozzoli. The foundation of the Annunciation still exists. Previous to the seizure of Rome by the Italian Government, the Pope himself went every year on the 25th March, the feast of the Annunciation, to the church of the Minerva, where the poor girls who were to receive dowries, dressed in white, occupied the place of honour. Gsell-Fels, Rom., 436.

§ Ciaconius, ii., 924.

were Barbo, Scarampo, and Guillaume d'Estouteville.* Among non-Italian Cardinals few have in recent times attained such distinction as this wealthy Frenchman. He was connected with the Royal House of France, possessed many benefices, and lived in a style of princely splendour, but was by no means devoid of refined taste and culture. In his palace, worthy of a king, which Gregory XIII. afterwards assigned to the German College, and at Sta Maria Maggiore, of which he was archpriest, the best of music was to be heard. It is very doubtful whether any foundation existed for the charges brought against his morals. The many churches which he built both in France and in Rome bear witness to a certain ecclesiastical feeling on his part, and he bestowed much care on the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, over whose high altar he erected a richly carved baldacchino with four porphyry columns.† The most splendid proof of his munificence to the Eternal City is to be seen in the church of St. Agostino, whose façade, with its Corinthian columns, is a characteristic specimen of the early Renaissance architecture of Rome.‡

We must now consider the manner in which different nations were represented in the Sacred College, six of

* See Ciaconius, ii., 913 *et seq*; Voigt, Enea Silvio, iii., 504 *et seq*; Reumont, Neue Röm. Briefe, ii., 15 *et seq.*; and Gesch. iii., 1, 255 *et seq.*, and 495. In this work and Chevalier's (662) further authorities are given. Eggs, Suppl., 189 *et seq.*; Ratti, Genzano, 31 *et seq.*; Casimiro, 458 *et seq.*

† A representation of this baldacchino is given by Paolo de Angelis, Basilicæ Sta Mariæ Maj. de urbe descriptio (Romæ, 1621), 93. * A "History of the picture of Our Lady venerated in Sta Maria Maggiore," dedicated to Cardinal d'Estouteville and written in 1464 by a Canon of the Basilica, is in Cod. Vatic. 3921. Vatican Library.

‡ Gsell-Fels, Rom., 461. See Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 98, who speaks of the Florentine architect, Baccio Pintelli.

whose twenty-four members were, at this time, absent from Rome. Eleven of the Cardinals were Italians; four, Spaniards; two, Frenchmen; and two, Greeks; while England, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Portugal each contributed one.

Notwithstanding the varied composition of the Sacred College, the old Roman factions of the Colonna and Orsini soon assumed antagonistic positions in the Conclave. The former of these parties was the strongest, and its candidate, Cardinal Prospero Colonna, had at the first scrutiny no less than ten votes, but he failed to obtain the two more which would have constituted the required majority of two-thirds. Next to Colonna came Domenico Capranica and Tommaso Parentucelli. The second scrutiny gave a like result, but the votes which had been given to Capranica and Parentucelli were more divided, and votes were given outside the Sacred College, as, for example, to St. Antoninus, the Archbishop of Florence, and to Nicholas of Cusa. The final decision of the election was in great measure due to Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Archbishop of Tarento, who proposed Parentucelli, Cardinal of Bologna, as one fitted by his love of peace, his learning, and his freedom from party spirit to occupy the highest position in Christendom. On the occasion of the third scrutiny Parentucelli, who had received the red hat but two and a half months previously, and who, of all the Cardinals, appeared to have the least chance, received the required twelve votes. The sudden agreement of the Sacred College in his regard caused such surprise that Cardinal Capranica could not credit the fact until he had again looked through the votes.* When the majority of two-thirds had been established beyond the possibility of doubt, the remaining Cardinals gave their assent, and accordingly in the morning of the 6th March

* Catalanus, Capranica, 84-85.

the election was announced by Cardinal Colonna to the expectant multitude as unanimous.*

Everyone marvelled at Parentucelli's election. As the Cardinal of Portugal was leaving the Conclave he was asked whether the Cardinals had chosen a Pope. "No; the Pope has been chosen by God, not by the Cardinals," was his reply. The Sienese Ambassador, after exhorting his countrymen to render thanks to Almighty God that so distinguished and holy a Pontiff had been given to the Church, continued in the following words: "Truly in this election God has manifested His power, which surpasses all human prudence and wisdom."†

* The 6th March is established as the date of the election. See Papebroch, 461; Gatticus, 281-282; Georgius, 7-8; Falconi, 482; Sigonius, 509, and the above cited *Documents. Nevertheless we meet with erroneous statements even in contemporary authors (*e.g.*, Cronica di Bologna, 682; Istoria Bresc., 839), and these have been repeated in recent works (Reumont, 110; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 191; Hergenröther, ii., 1, 120; Perlbach, 7). The hour of the election is given with scarcely any variation in the Chronicles (Niccola della Tuccia, 206; Cronache Rom., 16; see Gatticus, 281), and the ambassadors' Despatches written almost immediately after it had taken place: (1) Despatch of the Archbishop of Ravenna to Siena (see *supra* p. 6, note ‡), Ex urbe, vi., Martii hora, xvi., State Archives at Siena. (2) Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Fr. Sforza: "In questa hora 17 o circha è publicato el papa Monsignore da Bologna . . ." Romæ, vi. Martii, 1447. State Archives at Milan. Carteggio generale ad. an. As the sixteenth hour by the Italian reckoning answers to 10 o'clock in the morning by our time this information coincides with that of *the Acta consistorialia: "Hora nona vel quasi" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† *Despatch from the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, March 10: "Credo che dapoi habbiate sentito fu intronezato papa Nicolao quanto la cui vita et santimonia quale essa sia stata e nota a ciascheduno et apresso quanto la S. Sta. sia affecta et benivola ala cipta vestra nisuno ne dubita per la quale

The choice of a Cardinal who had kept aloof from all party strife caused the greatest rejoicing in Rome. "Although many," according to Æneas Sylvius, "might have preferred a Pope of their own party, no one was hostile to him." It was a blessing to the Eternal City and to the Church at large to have a fresh outbreak of party animosity averted, and to see a man, whose worth had won the esteem of all, raised to the highest position.* Parentucelli's election had, however, a far wider importance; it marks one of the chief turning points in the History of the Papacy, for with him the Christian Renaissance ascended the Pontifical Throne.

Throughout the States of the Church, as well as in Rome itself, the Cardinal of Bologna's elevation was the occasion of public festivities. As soon as the tidings reached Perugia the bells of the Palazzo Pubblico and of the Cathedral of San. Lorenzo were rung, and bonfires were lighted in the open squares.† In Bologna the Palace of the Podesta was decorated with banners, and processions were made by command of the Senate for three days, in order to return thanks to God for the election of so excellent a Pastor.‡ Brescia, Genoa, Siena, and other places beyond the limits of the States of the Church,

cosa tucta la christianita et maxima la cipta vestra si debba sommamente ralegrare et altra a questo rendere debite grazie a l'omnipotente che di tale pastore abbia proveduto alle sue pecorelle et certamente a dimostrato in questa creatione parte della sua potentia la quale suprabonda ongni astutia et actione humana," etc Concistoro. Lettere ad. an., State Archives, Siena.

* Voigt, Enea. Silvio, i., 402.

† Graziani, Cronaca di Perugia, 590.

‡ *"Se ne fece grandissima allegrezza, e per commandamento del senato tre giorni continui si fecero le processioni rendendo grazia a Dio che loro avesse dato si buon pastore, e si posero alle finestre del palazzo li confaloni." Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, iii., *lib.* 30, Cod. 768, University Library at Bologna.

shared the general feeling.* How fully it was justified will be evident, if we glance at his character and previous life. In grateful remembrance of his former master and benefactor, the saintly Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, he took the name of Nicholas V.

Tommaso Parentucelli first saw the light on the 15th November, 1397. It seems most probable that he was born at Sarzana, a small place on the coast of Liguria.† His father, an upright and skilful physician, was by no means wealthy, and died when Tommaso was very young. The gifted and promising boy was early acquainted with hardship; poverty made it impossible for him to pursue his studies at the University of Bologna, where he had already won success. His mo her, who was in very straitened circumstances, had in the meantime married again,‡ and

* Istoria Bresciana, 839. *Congratulatory letter of the Doge of Genoa to Nicholas V., dated 1447, March 11th, in the State Archives at Genoa, Litt., Vol. xiii. *Despatch from the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, March 14th (he had informed the Pope of the festivities proposed in Siena, and found the Pope most favourably disposed towards that City). Concistoro, Lett. ad. an. State Archives at Siena.

† Great differences of opinion have existed regarding the family and the birthplace of Nicholas V. Frediani (207 *et seq.*, 253 *et seq.*) endeavoured with all the ardour of provincial patriotism to prove him a born Pisan, in opposition to de Rossi (267 *et seq.*), who asserted the just claims of Sarzana. The investigations of Sforza, who produced the Archivio Notarile di Sarzana, proved beyond all doubt that his family belonged to Sarzana, and established a strong presumption that he was born there (Sforza, 21, 48, 68-87, 224). Sanudo describes Tommaso's father as Mastro Bartolommeo *Cirusico* (1124), a term which appeared most extraordinary to Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 403), but may, I think, be explained as a clerical error in the place of *chirurgico.*

‡ Tommaso Parentucelli's step-father was Tommaso Calandrini, who also belonged to Sarzana; further particulars are given by Sforza, 90 *et seq.*, with a pedigree of the family.

having several children by her second husband, was unable to afford him any assistance, so that he was entirely dependent on his own exertions. Happily he obtained the situation of tutor, first in the family of Rinaldo degli Albizzi, of Florence, and afterwards in that of Palla de' Strozzi, the "Nestor of the learned Florentine aristocracy."* The two years spent in the City, which was at that time the centre of Humanistic studies, were of great importance in the development of Tommaso Parentucelli's powers, and especially in the formation of his literary taste; they imparted the germ of that enthusiasm for learning and for art which afterwards bore such abundant fruit, and brought him into contact with all the most celebrated scholars of the day. At the end of these two years Parentucelli had saved enough money to enable him to return to Bologna, where he took a Master's Degree in Theology. He continued in friendly relations with both the noble families, who had treated him with much distinction while in their employment as tutor. Years afterwards, when he had reached the summit of power, and his former pupils were in exile, he had the happiness of being able to be of use to them.†

It says much for the disposition and for the virtues of the young scholar, that the Saintly Bishop of the City, Niccolò Albergati, took him into his service. Three years later he was ordained priest, and for more than twenty years, in fact, until the death of the distinguished prelate, Tommaso was his constant companion, his confidential servant, and the Major Domo of his household and of his ecclesiastical establishment. The Historian of Humanism

* Regarding Palla de' Strozzi and his wealth, see Fabronius, Cosmus, i., 50; ii., 104 *et seq.* Villari, i., 93. Müntz, Précurseurs, 238. Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 393 *et seq.*; who also speaks of Rinaldo degli Albizzi.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 111.

justly observes* that "no higher testimony to the piety of Albergati's life can be given than the fact that a man so honourable and so free from all hypocrisy as was Parentucelli for years enjoyed his entire confidence. While, on the other hand, the modest and entire devotion of the future Pope to the service of his master, the filial care with which he tended his old age, and the pious gratitude which induced him, when called to fill the Papal Throne, to adopt the name of his departed benefactor, speak for him more eloquently than words could do."

After Albergati's elevation to the purple,† Parentucelli accompanied him to Rome, and thence to Florence, when the Papal Court migrated to that City. He was thus again brought into contact with the representatives of the Christian, as well as of the heathen Renaissance. Vespasiano da Bisticci has left us a pleasant picture of their social gatherings in Florence. "Every morning and evening," he says, "Lionardo and Carlo of Arezzo, Giannozzo Manetti, Giovanni Aurispa, Gasparo of Bologna, Poggio, and many other learned men, used to assemble in the open air, in the vicinity of the Papal Palace, for friendly and literary conversation. Tommaso Parentucelli always joined them. After leaving his Cardinal at home, he used to come, riding rapidly on a mule and accompanied by two servants, to take his part eagerly in their disputations." Parentucelli also often visited the Academy of Santo Spirito, in order to discuss philosophical and theological questions with the pious Master of Theology, Vangelista of Pisa; and he was even more frequently to be seen with the booksellers in Florence, into whose hands any money that he could spend found its way.‡

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 55.

† See Vol. i., p. 262.

‡ Vespasiano da Bisticci, Niccola V. Papa, § 5. Ser. Filippo di Ser. Ugolino, § 4. See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 55-56.

Parentucelli appears to have first attracted the attention of the Court at the period of the negotiations with the Greeks, when his knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, as well as his skill in argument, came into play. Eugenius IV. rewarded the services which he rendered to the Church on this occasion by appointing him Apostolic Subdeacon, with a yearly income of three hundred ducats.* In 1443 he lost his friend and patron, Albergati, but he soon found a new and more powerful protector in the Pope, who made him Vice-Camerlengo,† and on the 27th November, 1444, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Bologna.‡ The City was at the time in a state of revolt, and Parentucelli was unable to take possession of his See, as the steps taken

Parentucelli's love of books is mentioned in a notice which has hitherto been overlooked in * Cod. D. 36 of the Hospital Library at Cues, printed in the Serapeum, xxvi., 27.

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Niccola V., § 6, c. 10.

† According to Marocco (Serie de' prefetti secolari di Roma, etc., 1846), in the year 1443. Parentucelli distinguished himself in this position also. *"Inde apostolicus vice-camerarius in quo officio ac dignitate quid diligentiæ atque solicitudinis præstiteris quisque Romanus civis magno mihi testimonio esse potest." Ad beat. D. N. Nicolaum V.P.M. Michael Canensis de Viterbio. Cod. lat., Vatic., 3697, f. 6., in the Vatican Library, and Addit MS. 14794 in the British Museum, London.

‡ Not Archbishopric, as Geiger (121), Zöpffel in Herzog's Realencykl. (x., 2nd ed., 572), and Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 102) say, for Bologna only became an Archiepiscopal See in 1582. Voigt is also mistaken (Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 56) in connecting Parentucelli's nomination to the Bishopric of Bologna with the success of his mission to Germany. See the Brief of Eugenius IV. to Parentucelli in Sigonius, 507 *et seq.*, and Ciaconius, ii., 962 ; and that to Bologna from Cod. 3, Lat. 121, p. 119, of the Court Library at Vienna, given in Appendix, Vol. i., No. 22.

by Eugenius in January, 1445, proved fruitless.* To so poor a man the matter was serious, yet in the end it was the occasion of his further advancement, for the Pope, having had sufficient proof of his skill in diplomatic affairs, both during his connection with Albergati and when he acted independently at Florence and Naples, twice entrusted him with important missions to Germany. On the latter of these occasions he was successful in breaking up the League of the Electors which constituted a serious danger to Rome, and was rewarded by a Cardinal's Hat (16 and 23 December, 1446).†

The important position which the Cardinal of Bologna, as Parentucelli was now called, soon attained in the Sacred College, is evident from the remarkable fact that the Sienese Ambassadors, in one of their despatches, speak of him as a second Pope.‡ Pope Eugenius IV. is said to have foretold his elevation to the Papal throne; and his biographers mention many other similar predictions, to which, however, we must not give too much weight.§

* I found the **Original Brief of Eugenius IV., dated Rome, 1445, January 31, in the State Archives of Bologna.

† The above authentic dates disprove the assertion that Parentucelli became in one year Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope. This statement was first made by Niccola della Tuccia (206), Annal. L. Bonincontri (153), Sanudo (1,124), Facius (238), and other contemporaries, and subsequently repeated by many later writers, even by a student as conscientious as Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 405). Georgius (23-24) has long since shown that the story of the Pope sending the Red Hat to Parentucelli at Viterbo, which most modern writers relate, is incorrect.

‡ "Un altro papa," L. Banchi, Legazioni Senesi (2nd ediz., Siena, 1864), 29.

§ See Vespasiano da Bisticci, Eugenio IV., § 21; Nicola V., § 1 and 17, and Manetti, 910, 917. The Prophecy of Eugenius IV. is particularly adduced by Ægidius of Viterbo in his * Hist. viginti sæculor (Cod. C., 8, 19, of the Angelica Library, Rome). Nic.

The outward appearance of the man who had thus rapidly risen from poverty and obscurity to the highest dignity in Christendom—who had, in the course of three short years, become Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope—was anything but distinguished. Contemporaries describe him as small and weakly, with sharply-cut features, and keen black eyes, a pale complexion, and a powerful voice. The plain but intellectual countenance of Nicholas V. may still be recognized in his modest effigy in the crypt of the Vatican.* His disposition was lively, impatient, and hasty; he was extremely exact in all he did, and expected to be understood at a glance. In these and in other respects he was a complete contrast to his predecessor, who was grave, dignified, and silent. He was wont to speak much and rapidly, and dispensed with all irksome ceremony. Dissimulation and hypocrisy were hateful to his open-hearted nature.† He was affable, obliging, and cheerful; he showed himself to the people more frequently than Eugenius had done, and gave audiences at all hours of the day. His servants were all Germans or Frenchmen; the Italians, he thought, had their minds always set upon higher things, while Frenchmen and Germans contented

della Tuccia (206), in a most interesting report, attributes the rapid rise of Parentucelli to the protection afforded him by Cardinal Condulmaro.

* Hübner (i., 47) finds something of the Doctor in the features of Nicholas V., and speaks of his appearance as "the perfect type of a professor." For some accounts of medals of this Pope, see Friedländer, Schaumünzen, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, i., 98.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 8. The despatches of the ambassadors bear witness that the Pope loved to express himself freely; see, *e.g.*, the * Despatches of Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza on the nomination to the Bishopric of Como, dated 1451, June 29. Pot. Est. Roma, Corrisp. dipl. Cart., 1; State Archives at Milan.

themselves with the employments entrusted to them, did not trouble themselves about other matters, and were satisfied and faithful in the lowest service. His table was simple, and he was very temperate; he drank wine largely mixed with water; choice wines were only served for the prelates and great personages from France, Germany, and England, with whom he had become acquainted in his travels, and to whom he delighted to show hospitality when they came to Rome.* Alike as Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, he was so kind and affable to all comers that no one went away unsatisfied.† He loved peace; probably no prince of the time had so profound a horror of war. A signal proof of his benevolence was furnished by the foundation of the great Papal Almshouse near the Church of the German Campo Santo, where on Mondays and Fridays about two thousand poor people received bread and wine, and every day a dinner was given to thirteen.‡

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., 513. Reumont, iii., 1, 114.

† *Michael Canensis de Viterbo ad. beat. D. N. Nicolaum V. Pont. Max. cannot sufficiently praise the Pope's "benignitas in respondendo et gratitudo." "Nemo inauditus, nemo abs te non quietus abit." Cod. lat. Vatic., 3697, f. 8b, Vatican Library (and British Museum, see *supra*, p. 17 note †).

‡ Torrigio, Sagre Grotte Vaticane, 293. In the year 1629 Urban VIII. transferred this dole to the Vatican Palace; the present Hospice at the Campo Santo partly occupies the place of the former Papal Almshouse; see De Waal, Das Priester-Collegium, 3. With regard to Nicholas V.'s benevolence, see Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58, and *Anonymi oratio in funere Nicolai V. Cod. C. 145. Inf., f. 284, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The mother of Nicholas V. was also remarkable for her benevolence to the poor. See the *"Consolatio facta pape super obitu matris sue," probably written by the Dominican Heinrich Kalteisen, preserved in Cod. 326, f. 120-120b, of the University Library at Bonn. Nicholas' treatment of the Jews was in keeping

The remembrance of past hardships was no doubt one of the sources of these virtues which long made the name of Nicholas V. to be blessed. Nothing in Florence struck him as so noble as the splendour with which science and art were clothed; it seemed to him a disgrace that learned men and artists should starve. He used, even in those days, to say that if ever he had wealth, he would spend it on two things—books and buildings.* His defects were irritability and impetuosity.† His contemporaries greatly over-estimated his intellectual powers. He was well-versed in theology, in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Fathers; he was gifted with a good memory, great quickness of apprehension, and singular eloquence; but his mind was one essentially receptive in its character, and although capable of keen enjoyment in literary pursuits, it was devoid of productive power. He had, however, considerable talent for collecting, arranging, and editing.‡ When a young man, he spent his money almost entirely on books, and, like a genuine collector, would have them well written and tastefully bound; he did not look to the price,

with the kindness of his disposition; he never forgot the duty of endeavouring, by all lawful means, to win them to the Christian faith, but at the same time always advocated their toleration. See the Essay of F. Kayser in the Archiv für Kirchenrecht (1885), liii., 210 *et seq.*, which is valuable on account of its extracts from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* "Usava dire che due cose farebbe s'egli potesse mai spendere, ch' era in libri e murare." Vespasiano, § 7. See Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 56.

† Raph. Volaterranus (f. 234) mentions as the only fault of the Pope: "quod nimio bibendi studio teneretur perquisitis undique vinorum generibus." In opposition to this, see Vespasiano, § 13; Georgius, 130 *et seq.*, 154 *et seq.*; Aschbach, Kirchenlexikon, iv., 314, and Reumont, iii., 1, 114.

‡ Voigt, *op. cit.*, 58 *et seq.*

and often gave more for them than he could well afford. He enriched his books with marginal notes, and his handwriting, which was a transition between the ancient and modern style, was greatly admired by good judges. He was most keen in the search for new works, ransacking the libraries wherever he went, looking for fresh treasures. Both in Germany and in France he made valuable discoveries, and, from every journey which he took with Cardinal Albergati, brought back literary spoils. The future founder of the Vatican Library gradually became one of the first connoisseurs of his day in books, and was looked upon as a great authority among bibliographers and book collectors; but not so great among scholars and literary men. No one so well knew how to prepare and arrange a library. The plan of a monastic library which he drew up for Cosmo de' Medici is still preserved,* and was often made use of, especially, according to the Pope's well-informed biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the Libraries of St. Mark at Florence and the Abbey at Fiesole, and in those of the Duke of Urbino and of Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro.† Nicholas V. is not, however, to be looked upon as a literary specialist: he had no favourite line of study, but was a well-informed *dilettante*, wandering at will wherever his fancy led him.‡ The laudatory words of Æneas Sylvius are to be understood in this sense when he

* Cod. Magliabech, i., vii., 30, printed at Florence, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iii., xxi, 103-106; and in Sforza, 359-381.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 7. Enea Piccolomini in the Arch. stor. Ital. (Serie iii., xix., 114, N. 3), observes that the Convent Library of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, whose inventory used to be preserved in the State Archives of Siena (on the occasion of my last visit, in 1884, it was, unfortunately, not to be found), was arranged after Parentucelli's system.

‡ Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 72.

writes,* "from his youth he has been initiated into all liberal arts, he is acquainted with all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians; and is no stranger to civil and canon law, or even to medicine."

A man whose intellectual sympathies were so many-sided was well fitted to be the patron of scholars. Nicholas V.—a great part of whose life had been spent in close companionship with a saint †—was also sincerely pious. He was equally devoted to ecclesiastical and profane literature. No sooner had he found in Germany a copy of Tertullian's complete works, than he at once sent the precious treasure to Niccolo de' Niccoli at Florence. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, he was the first to bring into Italy the sermons of St. Leo the Great, and St. Thomas' commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. But his special favourite was the great St. Augustine, whose influence on his own and subsequent ages has surpassed that of any other doctor of the East or West. In his days of poverty the works of St. Augustine, in twelve costly volumes, adorned his bookshelves, and he was unwearied in his efforts to collect from various manuscripts the letters of the Saint.‡

* In his ambassador's Report of 1447. Muratori, iii., 2, 895.

† Cardinal Albergati: see Vol. i., p. 268. Nicholas V. was strict in his observance of all the precepts of the Church; even before his elevation to the Pontificate, he did not allow his journeys to interfere with the observance of fasting days. Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., §13.

‡ See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 263; ii., 2nd ed., 59. There is no proof that Parentucelli ever became a physician, or studied medicine in Siena, as R. Volaterranus (Anthropol. i., xxii., f. 234), Schivenoglia (122), and Frediani (284) have stated. J. B. Bomba in the rare work "De Pontificibus medicis et medicorum filiis" (Romæ, 1821), 21 *et seq.*, endeavours, in opposition to Georgius (12-14) to show that Parentucelli practised medicine,

This fact seems worthy of note, and is a proof amongst many that Parentucelli was a Christian Humanist. Almost all the representatives of the Christian Renaissance movement had a special veneration for this Father, who, after working his way through the contradictions of heathen culture, gathered up in his immortal works all the philosophical and theological truths acquired and prepared for future ages by Christian antiquity.* This reverence for St. Augustine had a special fitness at the period of which we are speaking, for the patristic learning which reached its climax in the works of the great Bishop of Hippo had grown up in the midst of the ancient literature, in living contact with it, and was the fruit of controversy and criticism.† It was therefore especially adapted to meet and combat the false heathen Renaissance.

Nicholas V. had the genuine humility which became a representative of the Christian Renaissance. All his contemporaries bear witness that modesty, the chief ornament of the scholar, was one of the virtues which distinguished this most affable Pope. A German chronicler of the Popes, writing in the fifteenth century, says, "Nicholas V. was a good, peaceful man, of whom I never

but his grounds are very weak. The words of Æneas Sylvius, quoted above, exclude, as Sforza justly remarks, the idea of his having been a physician. A physician who was the Pope's friend from his youth is introduced to us in the *Brief of Nicholas V. to Bologna, dated Spoleto, 1449, June 12: "Adeo virtutibus suis et humanitate ad se diligendum nos dudum allexit dilectus filius Bernardus de Garzonibus artium et medicine doctor Bononiensis fuimusque sic iuvicem nostris iuvenilibus annis devincti ut hoc tempore dilectionem nostram minuere non intendamus." The original is in the Arm. Q. lib. 3, f. 7, of the State Archives at Bologna.

* Haffner, Grundlinien, 280, 342 *et seq.*

† Haffner, *loc. cit.* 281.

heard any harm said, and in many things he showed himself gentle and lowly, and did not much exalt himself, however wise, and learned, and mighty he became." *

The manner in which Nicholas V. looked upon his high position was in perfect keeping with his noble and Christian sentiments. His old friend, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine bookseller, has handed down to us a conversation which he had with the Pope, and which may here find a fitting place. "Not long after the elevation of Nicholas V.," writes Vespasiano, "I attended on the day appointed for public audiences in the Papal Palace. I had hardly entered the audience chamber when the Pope observed me, and said aloud that I was to wait, as he would speak with me alone. He soon concluded the audience, and I was led to him. When we were alone, he said, with a smile: 'Vespasiano, have not certain proud lords been greatly surprised,—have the people of Florence been able to believe that a priest who formerly rang the bells has become Pope?' I replied that the people will believe that it was on account of the virtues of His Holiness and in order that Italy may again be at peace. Thereupon the Pope said: 'I pray God to give me grace that I may accomplish that which fills my soul: that is to say, that I may restore peace, and throughout my Pontificate use no other weapon save that one which Christ has given me for my defence, namely, His Holy Cross.'" †

* Chronicle of the Popes from the foundation of the Dominican Order, written by Johannes Meyer (†1485, as Father Confessor of the Monastery of Adelhausen; see Freiburg Diöcesan-Archiv, xiii., 128 *et seq.*), f. 65b., MS. of the Monastery of Adelhausen, now in the town library in the Rathhaus at Freiburg, i., B.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., § 18. The conversation must have excited attention at the time, for N. della Tuccia also mentions it in his Chronicle of Viterbo, 207.

In his great schemes for the promotion of art and science, Nicholas V. always had the welfare of the Church, whose head he was, before him as his first object. To exalt the mystical Bride of Christ by these means was the chief aim of his Pontificate. All the magnificent works which he undertook were for her adornment, but this pious and cultivated Pope was not spared to see them completed.*

* See Rio, ii., 20-21. See *infra*, Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF POPE NICHOLAS V. SETTLEMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS.*

POLITICAL and ecclesiastical affairs were alike in a state of extreme confusion at the time when Nicholas V. ascended the Pontifical throne. France and England were at war; in Germany the authority of King Frederick III., on whose fidelity he could rely, was thoroughly shaken, and a great part of Bohemia was severed from the Church. The condition in the East was yet more deplorable. The national antipathies of the Greeks and the craftiness of their Theologians had stifled the Union proclaimed at Florence, and ever since the disastrous day of Varna (1444) the advance of Islam had been unceasing.† In Italy there was disquiet, and perils threatened the Papacy. The temper of the most powerful of Italian Princes, King Alfonso of Naples, may be gathered from his favourite saying, which had special reference to the Head of the Church. "Blows,"

* The *Regesta of Nicholas V. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican occupy fifty-one volumes (N. 385-435). Raynaldus, D. Georgius, and more recently Dr. Kayser, have thoroughly examined these volumes. There are also a few letters in the Arm., xxxix., T. 7. See Kaltenbrunner in the Mittheilungen, 1884, p. 82. The great gaps in the Secret Archives of the Vatican are partly filled up by letters found in other Archives, especially in the State Archives of Bologna.

† Christophe, i., 371-372. Zinkeisen, i., 704 *et seq.*

he said, "have a better effect on priests than prayers."* Milan was governed by Filippo Maria Visconti, whose "cruel egotism"† stopped at nothing. The States of the Church were in unspeakable misery, the country was devastated by war, the cities were desolate, the streets beset by bands of robbers, more than fifty villages had been razed to the ground or completely pillaged by the soldiery; and a number of the free inhabitants had been sold as bondsmen, or had died of starvation in dungeons.‡ Added to all this, the Papal vassals were openly or secretly endeavouring to make themselves independent; Rome was impoverished, and the Papal Treasury empty.§

In ecclesiastical matters, the prospect, if not equally hopeless, was gloomy enough. In Savoy, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Germany, especially in the free cities, the party of the Council still numbered many adherents. The death of Eugenius IV. had re-awakened their hopes, and they thought the moment had come when the anti-Pope, Felix V., whom they had raised up to oppose him, might be put in his place, and the triumph of their principles be thus secured.‖ The anti-Pope himself went so far as to write a querulous letter, requiring "a certain Tommaso of Sarzana, who has presumed to mount the Apostolic Chair, and call himself Nicholas V.," at once to renounce his usurped position, and to appear before the Tribunal.¶

* "Li preti sonno homini da bastonate et non da preghiere." Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to F. Sforza, of March 8, 1447, in Osio, iii., 486 (not unpublished, as Buser, 356, supposes).

† Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 38.

‡ Römische Briefe, i., 372.

§ "Imperium difficile suscepit (Nicholaus V.), multis in rebus conturbatum et quod est difficilius egenum," writes Poggio on the 6th May, 1447. Epist., ix., 17 (Tonelli, ii., 340).

‖ Chmel, ii., 415, 421.

¶ Mansi, xxxi., 189.

The conciliatory and prudent dispositions with which the new Pope prepared to meet all these difficulties, are evidenced by his own words, which we have already cited.* On his election, he at once appeared in the character of a Prince of Peace, after the example of Him by whom the keys were given to St. Peter; these keys, Nicholas V., who had no family coat of arms, adopted as his armorial bearings, adding to them the beautiful motto, "My heart is ready, O Lord."† His predecessor had waged a stern and deadly warfare with the foes of the Church. Nicholas V. deemed that the work, which had been begun by force, could be best completed by gentle measures. Eugenius IV. had made the Papacy dreaded. Nicholas V. wished to manifest its power of healing and reconciliation.‡

The pacific disposition of the Pope, which the ambassadors at once made known in terms of praise,§ contributed more than anything to lessen existing troubles and to hasten his general recognition. Opposition was to be apprehended from King Alfonso and from the German princes. Nicholas V. succeeded in winning them all. On the very day after his election Cardinals Condulmaro and Scarampo went, at his desire, to the Neapolitan monarch, who, by their means, was induced to send four ambassadors to Rome on the 18th March, for the purpose of coming to an agreement with the Holy See and of taking part in the

* *Supra*, p. 25 *et seq.*

† Reumont, iii., 1, 116, and Georgius, 10. The keys of St. Peter still appear as Nicholas V.'s arms on many buildings in Rome, and also on coins. See Molinet, 7; Bonanni, 49-50; Venuti, 10; Cancellieri, De secret, 1,222; and Cinagli, 49-50.

‡ Christophe, i., 372.

§ See the reports of Marcolino Barbavaria and Roberto Martelli, in Osio, iii., 486-487.

ceremonies of the Pope's coronation.* When the German ambassadors congratulated him on his elevation, the Pope gave them assurances calculated to set all misgivings completely at rest. "I will," he said, "not only approve and confirm whatever my predecessor agreed upon with the German nation, but will also hold to it and carry it out. The Roman Pontiffs have stretched their arms out too far, and have left scarcely any power to the other bishops. And the Basle people have crippled the hands of the Apostolic See too much. But these things had to be. Whoever does what is unworthy must also make up his mind to suffer injustice; he who seeks to straighten a tree that is leaning to one side easily bends it to the other. It is my firm purpose not to impair the rights of the bishops who are called to share my cares, for I hope the better to uphold my own jurisdiction by not assuming that which is foreign to me." †

The German ambassadors, by the Pope's particular request, took part in the ceremony of his Coronation, which was performed with great pomp, on the 19th March, 1447, by Cardinal Prospero Colonna in front of the Vatican Basilica. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, as deacon, carried the cross before the Pope in the procession.‡ On the Corona-

* *Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome. 1447, March 19. The ambassadors, according to his account, arrived "con piú di dugento cavalli." Concistoro, Lettere ad. an., State Archives at Siena.

† These remarkable words are handed down by Æneas Sylvius in his report of his embassy to Frederick III.; see Muratori, iii., 2, 895.

‡ Besides Æneas Sylvius' account in Muratori (iii., 2, 896) see the *Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena on the 19th March, 1447. State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, Lettere ad an., and the *Cronica di Forli by Giovanni de Pedrino, Cod. 234, p. 235b. of the private library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni at Rome.

tion day Nicholas V. promised King Frederick III. that he would observe the treaty concluded between him and his predecessor, and declared his intention of carrying on the work which Eugenius had begun, while he expected the King on his part to continue to protect the Apostolic See, and engaged to send him the confirmation of the public convention by special legates.* Immediately after his Coronation, according to ancient usage, the Pope solemnly took possession of the Lateran. Piccolomini has given a brief and graphic account of the procession. "It was headed," he says, "by the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by numerous lighted torches. The Pope was preceded by three banners and an umbrella; he rode on a white horse, bore the golden Rose in his left hand, and blessed the people with his right. The ambassadors of Aragon and the Barons alternately led the Pope's horse. At Monte Giordano the Jews delivered to him their law, and he condemned their interpretation. After the conclusion of the ecclesiastical function in the Lateran, gold and silver medals were given to the cardinals, prelates, and ambassadors. The banquet next took place; the Pope was served in the Palace, and all the others in the House of the Canons. We," continues Æneas Sylvius, who, together with Procopius of Rabstein, was acting as ambassador of Frederick III., "were the guests of Cardinal Carvajal."†

* Chmel, Materialien, i., 2, 235. On the 28th March, 1447, Nicholas V. declared that the concessions made by his predecessor to the German nation were not to be affected by the new regulations of the chancery, and were to be strictly observed by each and all, *loc. cit.*, 236. Regarding J. Friedrich's strange interpretation of this Bull, see Scheeben, Das Oekumenische Concil (Regensburg, 1870), ii., 397 *et seq.*

† Muratori, iii., 2, 866. See Cancellieri, 41-42, who (87-88) gives a learned dissertation on the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament before the Pope.

It was long since Rome had seen such festal days as those by which the Coronation of Nicholas V. was celebrated. Ambassadors came from all parts of Italy, and afterwards from Hungary, England, France, and Burgundy to promise obedience to the Holy See.*

Poland also, which up to this time had continued neutral, sent ambassadors to profess submission. As early as July, 1447, King Casimir had entrusted Wysota of Gorka, the Provost of Posen, and Peter of Szamotòl the Castellan of Kalisz with this mission, charging them, however, to demand for him the collation to all benefices not in the gift of the Ordinaries, the grant, for a period of six years, of a tenth of all tithes in the country, and finally the revenue of Peter's pence for several years.† The Pope conceded to the King the right of collation to ninety benefices, and,

* Even small towns, such as Assisi, sent embassies to congratulate the Pope and profess their obedience; see Christofani, 305-306. The Burgundian embassy passed through Florence in the middle of February, 1448. "* De qui sono passati duy arcivescovi e duy signori per ambassatori del duca di Bergogna cum cavalli 170 [the Cronica di Rimini, 962, says 150] quali secundo se dicevano al papa per dargli la obedientia." Despatch of Vincentius de Scalona to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua, dated Florence, 1448, February 17, xxiv., N. 3., Napoli, Lettere. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† See Caro, iv., 387 *et seq.* The address of the ambassadors is, according to Caro, contained in a codex on paper of the fifteenth century (MS., vii., 15) of S. Peter's Library at Salzburg. The catalogue of the MSS. in this Library gives Cod. A. vi., 53, as the only reference to anything concerning Nicholas V., but it does not contain the address. The investigations kindly made in 1882 by P. Hauthaler among the MSS. of this celebrated Benedictine monastery were equally unsuccessful. The * "Oratio ambasiatorum Casimiri regis Poloniæ ad Nicolaum papam quintum," in Cod. 280f., 167, of the Court Library at Munich is not, as I at first supposed, identical with that used by Caro.

instead of the tenth of the tithes for six years and the Peter's pence for several years, granted to Poland the sum of ten thousand ducats charged on the ecclesiastical revenues.*

Of all these embassies none was received with greater distinction than that of the Florentines, for Nicholas V. wished to manifest the value which he attached to the continuance of his personally friendly relations with the Republic and with Cosmo de' Medici. Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us with patriotic pride how the ambassadors of his native city made their solemn entrance into Rome with a hundred and twenty horse, and were received by the Pope in a public consistory. The hall was crowded, and Gianozzo Manetti made an address, which lasted for an hour and a quarter. The Pope listened, with closed eyes, in perfect stillness, so that one of the attendant chamberlains thought it well to touch him many times gently on the arm, believing him to have fallen asleep. But, as soon as Manetti had finished, Nicholas V. at once arose, and, to the astonishment of all, answered every point of the long discourse.† The circumstance made a great impression, and tended materially to extend the fame of Nicholas V. In order to understand this, we must remember how the idea of the Roman Senate and the speeches made there had at this time taken possession of men's minds. In the Renaissance Age a speech might be an event; it is said, indeed, that the discourse which

* Theiner, Mon. Pol., ii., 54. Caro, iv., 392; *ibid.*, 395, on the submission of the University of Cracow. See on this subject Bressler, 71-79, and Malecki in the Abhandl. d. histor.-phil. Kl. der Krakauer Akad., vol. ii.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Comment. della vita di M. G. Manetti (Torino, 1862), 37-41, speaks as an eye-witness of the circumstance. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 81 *et seq.*

Tommaso Parentucelli pronounced at the obsequies of Eugenius IV. decided the Cardinals to elect him Pope.*

The able manner in which Nicholas V. answered the addresses of the different ambassadors who came to pay him homage produced the greatest effect. "A report soon went forth through the various countries, that Rome had as Pope a man of incomparable intellect, learning, amiability, and liberality, and these were truly the qualities which won for Nicholas V. the appreciation of the world."†

The happy results of the new Pontiff's policy of peace and reconciliation were soon visible. An agreement was made with King Alfonso of Naples, who might have been a most dangerous enemy to the Papacy, and, on the 24th March, 1447, his ambassadors, in a public consistory, promised true and perfect obedience to the Pope.‡

The German Empire was not to be so quickly won. King Frederick III. and a few of the Princes had pro-

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., § 16. See Æneas Sylvius in Muratori, iii., 2, 891. Regarding the importance attached to speeches in the Renaissance Age, see Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 275 *et seq.*

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 104.

‡ See Giannone, iii., 284, and *Alessandro Sforza's Report to Francesco Sforza, dated ex urbe die veneris, xxiv. Martii, 1447. This report says: "Questa matina a 24 del presente per bona conclusione facta fra la Sanctita de Nostro Signore et la Maesta del Re essa Maesta ha per suoi ambasciatori in concistoro publico in conspecto de Nostro Signore data et promessa vera ed integra obedientia a la Sanctita Soa dove personalmente me so (n) ritrovato primo per intendere bene et anche per vedere tanto solempne acto como e stato facto; che certamente e stata cosa notabile et singulare che ultra lo collegio de cardinali a intendere el sermone exposito per li ambassatori de la Maesta del Re et poi la reposta de la Sanctita de Nostro Signore e stato judicato per ogni valente homo acto laudabilissimo et multo excellente." Carteggio generale ad an. State Archives at Milan.

visionally recognized the Pope, and by their ambassadors promised obedience, but the general acknowledgment of the Electors and the other Princes had still to be obtained, and it was not improbable that they might be tempted to take the opportunity of again bringing ecclesiastical affairs into question and favouring the adherents of the Synod of Basle, who, with Duke Louis of Savoy, son of the anti-Pope, were making all possible efforts to find powerful patrons and protectors. They hoped much from King Charles VII. of France, whom Nicholas was also endeavouring to win.* The Basle party so far succeeded that the king summoned a new congress, at which the envoys of the Synod and those of the Duke of Savoy were to appear.† The electors of Cologne, Treves, the Palatinate, and Saxony, who had not yet acknowledged the Pope, joined France. It was not anxiety for the reform of the church, but private interests of various kinds, which induced these electors to take part with a foreign power in opposition to their own King and to the German Princes, who had already declared themselves for Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V.‡ In union with these Electors, and the ambassadors of Savoy and of England, and a few members of the Synod of Basle, Charles VII., in June 1447, opened a numerous assembly at Bourges, which was subsequently transferred to Lyons. It was then decided that Felix should resign, and that Nicholas should make many concessions to the Basle Schismatics and summon a general

* See the Bull of December 12th, 1447, in Leibniz, Cod. jur. gent., i., 378, and in Müller's Reichstagstheatrum, 358. Nicholas V., in this Bull, gives the Duchy of Savoy to the King of France, and calls upon the Dauphin to take possession of it. France, however, did not take the matter up.

† Chmel, ii., 422, 423.

‡ Pückert, 305 *et seq.*

Council as soon as possible to meet in a French city. Neither Nicholas nor Felix, however, assented to this plan.*

Almost at the same time King Frederick convened those German Princes, who had broken up the anti-Roman League of Electors, to meet at Aschaffenburg. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, on whom Nicholas V. had recently conferred the Bishopric of Trieste, and the Royal Counsellor Hartung von Cappell, represented the King. Nicholas of Cusa appeared on behalf of the Pope, though without instructions. The assembled princes decided that Nicholas V. should be proclaimed throughout Germany as the lawful Pope, and that on his part he should confirm the Concordat entered into by his predecessor. For the perfect adjustment of all differences a fresh Diet was shortly to be held at Nuremberg, and, unless the matter were in the meantime settled with the Pope's Legate, it was to decide the long standing question of compensation to be given to the Pope for diminution of income, in accordance with a promise already made by the Basle party.† King Frederick III. now proceeded to take decided measures in favour of Nicholas V. He required the Schismatics of Basle to dissolve their assembly, and withdrew the Royal safe conduct previously granted; on the 21st August, 1447, he issued an edict commanding everyone in the empire to acknowledge Nicholas V. as the true Pope and to reject all other orders.‡ Frederick solemnly repeated his declaration of obedience to the Pope, in his own name and that of his country, in St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna.§

* Hefele, vii., 837-838.

† Hefele, vii., 438.

‡ See Wurstiseu, Bassler-Chronik, 408; Cochlæus, Hist. Hussit., lib. 9; Chmel, Materialen, i., 2, 245-246, and Fiala, 422.

§ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 414. Bressler, 74 *et seq.*

But on this very occasion the want of real unity was manifested. The King desired to give all possible importance to this public recognition of Nicholas V. by the presence and assent of the University of Vienna, but the opposition which he encountered was so violent that he was obliged to enforce his commands by threats of deprivation of benefices and emoluments and other penalties. The jurists and physicians then yielded, and finally the faculties of theology and arts made up their minds, under compulsion and by constraint, to accede to the Royal desire. Some time afterwards, when Cardinal Carvajal came to Vienna as Legate from Nicholas V., the adhesion of the University to the Council, to which both King and Pope were adverse, showed itself anew.* Many in Germany shared the sentiments of the University, and if Rome ultimately gained the victory it was in no small degree due to the skill with which her envoys conducted the difficult negotiations, which at last resulted in the submission of the Count Palatine Louis, the Dukes Otho and Stephen of Bavaria, the Count of Würtemberg, the Bishops of Worms and Spires, and the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Saxony.†

These separate agreements prepared the way for the Concordat, concluded at Vienna on the 17th February, 1448, between the Holy See and the King of the Romans, and confirmed by Nicholas V. on the 19th March in the same year.‡

* Mitterdorffer, i., 161. Aschbach, i., 279 *et seq.* A. Wappler, Gesch. der theolog. Facultät der k. k. Universität zu Wien. (Wien, 1884), 13-14. Bressler, 75 *et seq.*

† Raynaldus, ad. an. 1447, N. 17. Pückert, 311-315.

‡ Koch, Sanctio prag., 201 *et seq.*, 235. Chmel, ii., 436. Here and in Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 418), a good list is given of the printed editions of the Vienna Concordat, to which we may now

The Concordat of Vienna begins with the words:—"In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1448, on the 17th February, the following Concordat was concluded and accepted between our Holy Father and Lord, Pope Nicholas V., the Apostolic See, and the German nation, by the Cardinal Legate Juan Carvajal* and King Frederick, with the assent of most of the electors and other spiritual and temporal princes of the nation." Then follow the several decisions by which the rights of the Apostolic See were considerably extended. The Concordat of Constance between Martin V. and the German nation serves as a foundation for that of Vienna, which literally embodies a great many of the conditions established on the former occasion. The Vienna Concordat recognizes the reservations of ecclesiastical benefices contained in the Canon law as well as those introduced by John XXII. and Benedict XII.; the appointment to bishoprics by free election, subject to the Pope's right of confirmation, and also, in case of manifest reasons, the nomination of more worthy and fitting persons to such posts with the advice of the Cardinals; the arrangement in virtue of which all canonries and other benefices becoming vacant in the alternate months were to be filled up by the Pope, and finally the Annates, which were to

add those of Walter, Fontes juris. eccles. (Bonn, 1862), and Nussi, Convent, de reb. eccles. (Mogunt., 1870), 15-19. Regarding the character of the Concordat as a real contract binding both parties, see Ph. Hergenröther's excellent article in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed., 817 *et seq.*

* The first trace of Carvajal's presence at the Royal Court is to be found on the 19th January, 1448. He had been appointed Legate for Germany on the 26th March, 1447 (Georgius, 28), but was still in Italy on the 21st October. See Pückert, 316. Bayer, 71. The day of his departure from Rome—15th September, 1447—is settled by the *Acta consistorialia, 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

be discharged in moderate amounts and in instalments payable every two years.*

This Concordat, no doubt, temporarily guarded the Holy See from being suddenly, and without any adequate compensation, despoiled of a great part of its necessary revenues, and yet the great evil from which the Church suffered in Germany was by no means checked.† If the exercise of patronage from so great a distance and with insufficient knowledge of persons and of local circumstances had its drawbacks, yet in view of the pride of birth and the distinctions of caste which became more and more dominant in the German chapters during the fifteenth century, its tendency was beneficial. Nevertheless, the good that might have resulted was greatly marred by the imperfect education of a portion of the German clergy, and the want of discipline which prevailed, and also by the recklessness with which many succeeding Popes exercised their right. Thus seventy years later, when the storm of the new doctrines burst over the country, hundreds of incumbents who held their preferments from Rome fell away like the withered leaves from a tree in autumn.‡

* Ph. Hergenröther, *loc. cit.* Hefele, vii., 840-846, gives a very ample account of the Vienna agreement with special regard to its relation to the Constance Concordat. See Gebhardt, 2, 98 *et seq.*

† This is the opinion of Phillips, iii., 329.

‡ Döllinger (ii., 1, 348) and Hergenröther (ii., 1, 122) concur almost literally in expressing the view I have given in the text. Regarding the manner in which the German nobility had in many dioceses assumed exclusive possession of the canonries of the Episcopal and Archiepiscopal Churches, see Höfler, Friedrich von Hohenlohe's, Bischofs von Bamberg, Rechtsbuch (Bamberg, 1852), lxxiv. *et seq.*, and the excellent article "Der Deutsche Adel in den hohen Erz-und Domcapiteln" in the histor.-polit. Bl., xliii., 653-676, 745-768, and 837-858. The noble author at the conclusion of this treatise (858) justly observes that the exclusive right of the higher and lower nobility to canonries was not merely incompatible

The next thing to be accomplished was the recognition and promulgation of the Vienna Concordat throughout the several parts of the empire. The Pope brought this about very gradually by means of separate negotiations with the individual German Princes, the most powerful of whom had to be won over by important concessions.* The Archbishop of Salzburg was the first † to assent to the Vienna agreement (22nd April, 1448); the Elector of Mayence followed his example in July, 1449, and the Elector of Treves in 1450. Cologne held out for some time, and the Concordat was not accepted by Strasburg, its last opponent, until 1476.‡

with the ecclesiastical purpose of the chapter, but prejudicial to themselves. J. Friedrich (Joh. Wessel [Regensburg, 1862], p. 9), who derived his information from Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 352, tells us that the Canons of Passau refused to obey Nicholas V. on the ground that he was not of the noble birth required as a condition of admission to their chapter. Bayer (169) justly considers the arrogant words of these Canons as "possibly exaggerated."

* Hinschius, iii., 139, note 2.

† Not the Archbishop of Mayence, as stated by all the Canonists and Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 425). In Cod. S. i., 1, of the Angelica Library, Rome, in a collection of papers left by Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius III.), is a copy of the manifesto of Archbishop Friedrich of Salzburg, dated Salezburge, mensis Aprilis die xxii., anno domini 1448. The Archives of Salzburg, according to Kleinmayer, contain nothing regarding the Archbishop's recognition of the Concordat, but in them is preserved a Bull of Nicholas V., dated 1448, November 1, declaring that the Concordat does not in any way prejudice the right of the Archbishop of Salzburg or his successors to nominate to the bishoprics of Seckau, Lavant, and Chiemsee. The document, whose date is wrongly quoted in Kleinmayer, is published by J. Mezger, Hist. Salisb. (Salisb., 1692), 999-1002; Hansiz, ii., 481-483, and Lüign, Deutsches Reichs-archiv, xvi., 1015.

‡ Koch, Sanctio pragmatica Germanorum, 42-44, 244-245, 282-287.

The Vienna Concordat not only established a new order of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany, but also virtually annihilated the Synod of Basle, which had latterly become a real scourge to the Church.* We may say that the death-knell of this assembly was sounded on the 17th February, 1448. The fact that the city of Basle still continued for some time to defy the authority of the King of the Romans is characteristic of the position of the empire. In 1448 Frederick III. was compelled to threaten it with an interdict, and at last the Senators felt it necessary to require the members of the Phantom Council to depart. On the 25th June they determined to transfer themselves to Lausanne, and on the 4th July, accompanied by troops, left for that place. The Bishop of Basle, the city, and the whole diocese then made their submission to the Pope, who, in a Bull dated 13th July, 1448, restored them to favour.†

The anti-Pope and his adherents now felt that all further opposition to the authority of Nicholas V. would be fruitless, and that a seemly retreat was the only thing to be thought of. By the intervention of France this course was made easy.

In the summer of 1448, Charles VII. sent a brilliant embassy to Rome to make solemn profession of obedience to the Pope, and to propose measures for the termination of the Schism. Nicholas V. entered into negotiations with the Archbishop of Rheims, the chief of the French ambassadors, and shortly afterwards Felix V. expressed his willingness to renounce the papal dignity. On the 18th January, 1449, the Pope issued a Bull revoking all confiscations, suspensions, excommunications, and penalties affecting Felix V., the Synod of Basle and its adherents, their

* Alzog-Kraus, ii., 49.

† Raynaldus, ad. an. 1448, N. 1. Chmel, ii., 442. Fiala, 460, Wurstisen, 409, and Ochs, Geschichte von Basel, iii., 492.

possessions and dignities.* In the further course of the negotiations for union the pacific Nicholas V. carried concession to its utmost possible limits; † with his approval, the anti-Pope, before his abdication, issued three documents confirming all disciplinary decrees promulgated during his pontificate, removing all censures pronounced against Rome and its adherents, and again ratifying all privileges and favours which he had granted.‡ Finally, the Pope consented that Felix V. should resign his usurped dignity into the hands of the Council of Lausanne (7th April, 1449).§ After the dismissal of its Pope, the moribund Council was also induced, in its third session, April 10th, 1449, to revoke its former censures, and in the fourth, on the 19th April, acting on the fiction of a vacancy of the Holy See, it elected as Pope, Tommaso of Sarzana, known in his obedience as Nicholas V. In the next session, on the 25th April, the assembly formally dissolved itself.‖

Though appearances were thus saved, the triumph of the true Pope was complete, and he could now hope that the

* d'Achery, iii., 774. For the date see Hefele, vii., 848, note 4.

† The conditions for the retreat of the anti-Pope and his partisans were, as Chmel (ii., 446) justly observes, more favourable than any yet granted by Rome to antagonists of the Holy See. The explanation of this fact may be found in the tone of feeling then prevalent in Germany and Switzerland, which was such as to threaten a further terrible outbreak of Schism.

‡ d'Achery, iii., 782 *et seq.*

§ Raynaldus, ad. an. 1449, N. 3 and 4. Georgius, 65. On the 20th June, 1449, the Envoys of Felix V. made their profession of obedience to the lawful Pope at Spoleto. The only information regarding this Consistory is to be found in Capranica's notes on the Council of Basle, in Catalanus, 237.

‖ Raynaldus, ad. an. 1449, N. 6. See Fiala, 410 *et seq.*, where the dates are somewhat different. The Lausanne Assembly, as this document testifies, to the last held to the fiction that it was gathered together in the power of the Holy Ghost, and represented the Universal Church.

jubilee to be celebrated in the following year would be attended with peculiar splendour. The tidings of the final suppression of the Schism awakened the greatest joy amongst the Roman clergy and people. At nightfall horsemen scoured the streets, bearing torches in their hands and loudly cheering Nicholas V. Processions in token of thanksgiving were made through the Borgo by his order.*

In fulfilment of the promise made by his ambassadors, the Pope published three Bulls at Spoleto, in June, 1449, revoking, by the first, all censures pronounced against the partisans of the Synod of Basle, by the second, confirming all nominations to benefices made by it and the anti-Pope, and by the third, restoring all who had been deprived of their positions during the time of the Schism. He bestowed on the late anti-Pope the dignity of Cardinal of Sta Sabina, made him Papal Legate and Vicar for life of Savoy and the territory belonging to Berne, in the Diocese of Lausanne, and conferred on him a pension from the Apostolic Chamber.† Felix retired to the solitude of Ripaille, on the Lake of Geneva, and died there on the 7th January, 1451.‡

* Platina, 712 ; Infessura, 1132, and Niccola della Tuccia, 212. See Georgius, 66. According to the Cronica di Rimini (964), these rejoicings lasted for three days in Rome.

† Martène Durand, viii., 999 *et seq.* d'Achery, iii., 784 *et seq.* Mansi, xxix., 228 *et seq.* Labbe, xiii., 1347-1349. Georgius, 68. Chmel (ii., 449, and Regest., 262), cast needless doubts on Spoleto as the place whence the Bulls were promulgated, but the Pope was certainly there at the time, and all possible uncertainty on the subject is set at rest by the Regesta in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. (See Georgius, *loc. cit.*)

‡ Papebroch, 460. "When the Bernese had taken possession of this country in 1538, and were even turning the churches (at Ripaille) to other purposes, a leaden coffin was found under the ground containing a body clothed in the robes of a cardinal. It was supposed to be that of Amadeus, and on exposure to the air crumbled away." Wurstisen (416).

Since his days no anti-Pope has arisen, and his case is a further proof of the old truth that the evil of a Schism in the Church is greater than any evil which that Schism professes to correct. From the time that the assembly at Basle became schismatical all hope of the long desired Church Reform grew dim, and the way was opened for a reaction calculated to bury in oblivion not only the false and revolutionary projects of the Synods of Constance and Basle, but even those which were just and moderate. The Council of Reform, which was a condition of the Frankfort Concordat of the Princes, and which was again promised in the Vienna Concordat, never took place.* The period of Councils was past and was succeeded by one of Concordats, a season of restoration and of reaction. It became more and more evident that the deplorable issue of the Synod of Basle had dealt a severe blow to the theory which it represented.†

The Spanish theologian, Rodericus de Arevalo, in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion in the time of Paul II.,‡ observes, "Men have now none of that respect and love for Councils which some suppose. We know that the nations of Christendom were put to great trouble and immense expense in maintaining their ambassadors and prelates at Basle and all to no purpose. What did that assembly procure for the Christian world save strife and schism? No one who looks back to its results can desire that the unity which the Church now enjoys should be

* Hefele concludes his great work with these words (vii., 850).

† A firm adherent of the Council theory, about the year 1451, writes: "Pro nunc non intelligo aliud, nisi quod auctoritas sacrorum conciliorum hat ghufft." Pez, Anecd., vi., 3,327.

‡ *De remediis afflictæ ecclesiæ. We shall speak at more length of this work hereafter.

again, to the detriment of Princes and people, disturbed by a similar assembly."*

The name of "Council," which had wrought such confusion, began gradually to lose its magic power. But ideas which have taken a deep hold upon the human mind are not quickly dispelled, and worthy men who were bent on reform, even after the sad failure of the Basle Synod, clung to the hope that the Parliamentary principle would yet assert itself in the Church; among those who cherished aspirations of this nature, we must mention the celebrated Carthusian, Jakob von Jüterbogk.†

After peace had been restored to the Church, when the Schism was at an end, and Nicholas V. was universally acknowledged to be the lawful Pope, this ardent reformer addressed a memorial on the subject to him. The multitude of abuses, Jakob von Jüterbogk declares, had impelled him, unworthy though he was, to raise his voice and cry for reform, and to proclaim its urgent necessity. The Synods of Siena, of Constance, and of Basle having failed to ac-

* *Nec habent homines ad concilia illam devocionem et affectum, quem aliqui arbitrantur; videmus qualiter omnes naciones fidelium apud Basileam infinitos labores habuerunt ac innumerabiles sumptus et expensas inutiliter et infructuose fecerunt in mittendo et tenendo ibi oratores et prelatos et alios ecclesiasticos viros per multa tempora, ex quorum congregacione quorundam hominum perfidia non nisi disidia et scismata orbi provenerunt, ex quibus utiliores fructus expectabant, que iam conspicientes nollent, ut unitas, qua nunc ecclesia auctore deo gaudet, per talem congregacionem perturbetur cum gravamine nacionum et principum." Cod. Z., L. xc., f. 27, of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

† See Ullmann i., 230 *et seq.*; Kampschulte, Universität Erfurt, i., 15 *et seq.*, and especially the excellent treatise of H. Kellner in the Tübing. theol. Quartalschrift Jahrg., 48 (1866), p. 315-348. Regarding Jakob's numerous works see Kellner (*loc. cit.* 320-323), Fabricius-Mansi, iii., 300 *et seq.*; Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 188, 332, and L. F. Hesse in the Serapeum, xix., 1 *et seq.*

complish that which the faithful expected, and the Schism being now at an end, the cry must, he says, again be raised, and to whom can it better be addressed than to him "who sits in the chair of Peter, who is possessed of the highest Apostolic dignity, and is the one vicar of Christ?" Thanks to the vigilance of former Pastors, decisions, decrees, and canons abound; new laws are not required, but the old ones ought to be obeyed. It is the duty of the Pope to feed the sheep of the Lord, and to see that the precepts of the Church are observed.

The author proceeds to animadvert with much freedom on many abuses in the government of the Church, and to remind the Pope of his duties. His observations allude rather to the period from 1434-1447 than to Nicholas V. himself, for whom he had a great esteem, and by whom several of his works were approved.* "If Christ were

* Evidence of the Papal authorization of treatises by Jakob von Jüterbogk may be found in many MSS. in the Library at Wolfenbüttel; see Heinemann, Die Handschr. der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, i. (Wolfenbüttel, 1884), 123-124, 203, 253; also in the "Sermones dominicales" (see Hain, N. 9331 *et seq.*), and the still unpublished* "Tractatus de bono morali et remediis contra peccata" (Cod. 4225, f. 17ª-31ª of the Court Library, Vienna, and Cod. 252 of the University Library, at Freiburg, i. B.). At the conclusion of the last named MS. (f. 17b) is the following observation: "Hec a me scripta sunt salvo iudicio cuiuslibet melius sencientis anno domini MCCCCLII. auctorisante SS. domino nostro Nicolao papa quinto. Gloria uni Deo. Explicit tractus de bono morali reverendi patris domini Jacobi Carthusien. Sacre theologie magistri." Among the MSS. of the City Library at Treves, I found the following works by Jacob marked "auctorisante domino Nicolao papa quinto": (1.) De apparitionibus animarum, etc. Cod. 270 (olim in domo S. Albani iuxta Trev.) and Cod. 662ª (olim S. Mariæ ad martyres). (2.) *De duabus civitatibus Jerusalem et Babilonia et civibus earundem. Cod. 579 (olim in domo S. Albani iuxta Trev.), and Cod. 662ª. (3.) *De

again on earth," he asks, "and occupied the Apostolic See, would He approve the present practice of that See in regard to benefices and to the Sacraments of the Church; the many reservations, collations, annates, provisions, expectancies, and benefices which are given for money; the revocations, annullations, nonobstantia, especially in regard to the power of election and appointment by which those, who have a canonical right, are excluded." The Pope's authority is conferred upon him that he may build up, not that he may destroy, and he must exercise it according to the will of God. Jakob then proceeds to consider the office of the Pope, whom he views as the head of the many members of the Church. He is the ruler of the Church, but he is himself bound to take the will of God and the decisions of Councils for his rule. Further on he complains of the simony then dominant, and brings forward the instance of the recent simoniacal practices of two bishops in Germany. Finally, he calls on the Pope to remove abuses by means of a General Council lawfully summoned.*

triplici genere prælatorum activorum et contemplativorum. Cod. 579. (4.) *De erroribus et moribus Christianorum. Cod. 579. The above approbation is also at the end of Jakob's treatise: Quodlibetum statuum humanorum (Hain, No. 9,335). Cod. 46 folio of the City Library at Cologne, and at the end of the work: *De statu securiori incedendi in hac vita. Cod. Y., 372, f. 19 (from the Grande Chartreuse), in the Library at Grenoble.

* "Avisamentum ad papam pro reformatione ecclesiæ," ed. E. Klüpfel (Vetus bibliotheca eccles., i., 1, 134-145). See Kellner, *loc. cit.*, 337, 338. The last-named author observes (338), that Jakob's "Avisamentum," from its contents and form, appears to have been a memorial addressed to Nicholas V. on his accession, but this idea is opposed by the fact that the termination of the schism is mentioned in the work, and that it bears at its conclusion the date 1449.

Jakob of Jüterbogk lived at Erfurt, and was connected with its university, the only one in Germany which maintained the false conciliar theories.*

It cannot be a matter of surprise that the German Carthusian's commendation of Parliamentary Church government found little favour with the Pope; but it must be regretted that the reforming zeal of the early days of his Pontificate gradually cooled down.† The fault lay not so much with the learned and virtuous Pope as with the Italians surrounding him, whose incomes, in great part, depended on abuses, and who, accordingly, like a leaden weight, impeded every movement in the direction of reform. Jakob von Jüterbogk complains bitterly in his treatise on the seven stages of the Church, that "no nation in Christendom offers such opposition to reform as Italy, and this from love of gain and worldly profit, and fear of losing its privileges."‡ The passionate pessimism of this work contrasts unfavourably with the tone of his memorial, while his exaggerated exaltation of the authority of Councils, and his assertion of their right to depose the Pope, were little calculated to promote the cause of reform, and tended rather to reawaken the schism that had so lately been set at rest.

It was well that these sentiments were not shared by the majority of Jakob's contemporaries. The violence of his language in this treatise is probably due to his vexation at

* See Bressler, 85.

† See G. Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408, 409. J. Voigt, Stimmen, 115 *et seq.*, 117, 127, and Sauer, 127.

‡ "De septem ecclesie statibus in apocalypsi descriptis." This work has been repeatedly printed: by Wolf. Wissenburgius in the Antologia Papæ (Basil., 1555), Brown, in the Fasciculus, ii., 102-112, and Walch, Mon., ii., 2, 43. Kellner (323) and Gieseler (ii., 4, 218) ascribe its production to the year 1449, while Janus (364) believes it to have been written "about 1450."

the collapse of the Council, and its proved inability single-handed to accomplish the work of reformation. Geiler von Kaysersberg, a distinguished man, whose zeal for reform was in no way second to that of Jakob, at a somewhat later period, expressed his firm conviction of the impossibility of carrying out a "general reformation in Christendom by means of parliamentary assemblies alone. The whole Council of Basle," he says, "was not sufficiently powerful to reform a convent of nuns when the city took their part. How then can a Council reform the whole of Christendom? And if it is so hard to reform a convent of women, what would it be to reform one of men, especially if it contains none that are single-minded, and they have many partisans? This is why the reformation of all Christendom, or of any class of men therein, is so difficult. Therefore, let each one hide his head in his own corner, and see that he keeps God's law and does what is right, that he may save his soul."*

No Council ever pursued so suicidal a course as did that of Basle. The suppression of the schism by the Council of Constance did more than anything to win men's minds to the conciliar views, whereas at Basle squabbles about the limitations of its powers took the place of the urgently-needed work of reform, and ended by reviving the dreaded schism.† The aversion to Councils increased, as it became more evident that, in spite of all the great hopes and expectations it had called forth, the Basle Synod had brought schism and revolution into the Church instead of reform. The old constitution was now more firmly established than before.‡

* Geiler von Kayersberg, Die Emeis (Strassburg, 1516), Bl. xxi^{b}. This passage seems to have escaped the notice of Dacheux, the excellent biographer of Geiler (Paris, 1876).

† See Höfler, Roman. Welt, 209.

‡ Wattenbach, Papstgeschichte, 281.

The change in the tide of opinion, which in some cases had been very sudden, is strikingly manifested in the speech of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the former champion of the supremacy of Councils, at the coronation of Frederick III. by the Pope in the year 1452. Speaking in the name and in the presence of the newly-crowned Emperor, he observes that another Emperor would have demanded a Council, but that Frederick holds the Pope with his Cardinals to be the best Council.*

The bugbear of a General Council was indeed repeatedly brought forward by the party opposed to the Papacy, but it proved to be a mere empty threat.† The utter hopelessness of the cause was fully manifested in the next generation, when an adventurous prelate, whose person and fate are veiled in obscurity, but who is known by the name of Archbishop of Carniola, made attempt to resuscitate the Council of Basle. Even the support afforded by Lorenzo the Magnificent was powerless to do anything towards the realization of what a modern historian‡ has well called a delirious dream, so thoroughly had the Holy See in the meantime regained its ancient authority.§

Many circumstances tended to favour the re-establishment of Papal power. The fruitlessness of all the efforts made on behalf of ecclesiastical parliaments had naturally produced weariness and exhaustion. The reigning Pontiff was, moreover, peculiarly fitted to bring about a reconciliation between the Papacy and its opponents. The first

* Æneæ Silvii hist. Frid., iii., 317.

† See *infra*.

‡ Kraus, 478.

§ See J. Burckhardt, Andreas, Erzbischof von Krain (Basel, 1852). Reumont, Lorenzo, ii., 2nd ed., 185-187, and Frantz, Sixtus, iv., 376 *et seq.*, 434 *et seq.*, 443, 456. A future volume of this work will give further details.

measures of his reign tended towards this result, to which, besides, the influence of the theological literature of the day, with its brilliant vindication of the Papal system, materially contributed.*

In the foremost rank of the champions who took up their pens on behalf of the Holy See we must name the great Spanish canonist, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada. The "Summa against the enemies of the Church," which he wrote in 1450, is the most important work of the later mediæval period on the question of the extent of the Papal power.† In his preface he gives the following explanation of the aim of his book:—"If ever it was incumbent on Catholic doctors, as soldiers of Christ, to protect the Church with powerful weapons, lest many, led astray by simplicity, or error, or craft and deception, should forsake her fold, that duty devolves upon them now. For, in these troublous times, some pestilent men, puffed up with ambition, have arisen, and, with diabolical craft and deceit, have striven to disseminate false doctrines regarding the spiritual as well as the temporal power. With these they have assailed the whole Church, inflicting grievous wounds upon her, and proceeding to rend her unity, to tarnish the splendour of her glory, to destroy the order established by God, and shamefully to obscure her beauty; they have undertaken to crush the Primacy of the Apostolic See and maim the supreme authority conferred on it by God; they have so poisoned the whole body of the Church that hardly any part of her seems to be free from stains and wounds. The

* Maurenbrecher, Studien, 334.

† So characterized by Döllinger, Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters, 2nd ed. (München, 1863), 144. Döllinger's view regarding the date of this work (ca. 1450) is shared by Pichler, i., 253, and Schwane, Dogmengesch., 567 *et seq.* Lederer (174), however, is of opinion that it was concluded in 1449 or 1448.

sacrilegious accusations of these godless men against the Church and the Holy See are shamelessly published everywhere. Thus not only is evangelical truth attacked, but the way is prepared for divisions and errors, dangers to souls, dissensions between princes and nations, and it is evident to all that the assaults of these persons are aimed not only at a portion of the Church, but at the very foundations of the Christian religion. Catholic scholars should hasten to oppose these antagonists with the invincible weapons of the faith. Therefore, incited by zeal for it and for the honour of Christ's Bride, I have written a book, with the title of 'Summa against the enemies of the Church and the Primacy.' I have here, as it seems to me, by passages from Holy Scripture and by the irrefragable decisions of the Fathers, sufficiently refuted the assertions of these unprincipled men, and shown that they are to be eschewed by all faithful Christians." These introductory words manifest the polemical character of the work, in which the Cardinal, who was firmly attached to the Thomistic tradition, strongly upholds the Papal power against the tendencies of the Synod of Basle.*

The importance of Torquemada's work, which is distinguished by its learning and by the keen logic of its arguments, became more and more appreciated as time went on, and even in the eighteenth century it was looked upon as a literary arsenal by the defenders of the Holy See.

* The view put forward by Lederer (190 *et seq.*, 219, 249) and Schwane (Dogmengesch, 573 *et seq.*), that Torquemada went too far in regard to the relative positions of the Bishops and the Pope is untenable; see A. Langhorst, Der Card. Torquemada und das Vaticanum über die Jurisdictionsgewalt der Bischöfe, in the Laacher Stimmen, 1879, ii., 447-462. See also Hergenröther, Kirche und Staat, 800, and Grisar, in the Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, viii., 729 *et seq.*

Another Spaniard, the Canonist Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo,* at this time dedicated to Nicholas V. a book which, like that of Torquemada, combated the ecclesiastical parliamentarianism of the schismatics of Basle.†

Rodericus Sancius, while serving as ambassador from the King of Castile at the Court of Frederick III.,‡ did his best to put an end to the neutrality of Germany, which constituted a serious danger to Rome. In a discourse which he pronounced in Frederick's presence,§ he urged him to promote the restoration of ecclesiastical unity by a simple adhesion to the lawful Pope. The "Dialogue regarding remedies for the schism," dedicated by Rodericus to Garcia Enriquez, Royal Councillor and Archbishop of Seville, belongs to this period.‖ The first part of this treatise, which

* For some account of this indefatigable writer, see Oudin, iii., 2661-2664; Bibl. pontif., f. 433 *et seq.*; Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 297-304; Schulte, 316, 317, and V. de la Fuente, 462. Further particulars will be given in a future volume of this work.

† *Rodericus de Arevalo, Contra Basilienses et de sedando schismate, Cod. lat. Vatic., 4167, f. 121-174, and Cod. lat. Vatic., 4154. Vatican Library.

‡ Not about 1440, as stated in the Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 298, but 1442. At this time Nicholas of Cusa addressed to Rodericus Sancius the letter whose meaning has been so differently understood by modern writers. See Scharpff, Cusa als Reformator, 79 *et seq.*; C. F. Brockhaus, Nicolai Cus. de concilii univ. potestate sententia (Lips., 1867); Stumpf, Politische Ideen des Nic. von Cusa (Köln, 1865), and Schwab, in the Theol. Lit.-Bl., 1867, p. 627 *et seq.*

§ *Oratio Roderici etc. ex parte regis Hispaniæ ad sereniss. Fridericum Imperatorem (*sic.!*) exhortatoria ad unitatem et pacem ecclesiæ, et quod deceat imperatores agere pro unione ac defensione ecclesiæ, inducens eundem Imperatorem ad puram adhæsionem dom. Eugenii et detestationem Basiliensium. Cod. lat. Vatic., 4881, f. 202 *et seq.* Vatican Library.

‖ *Dialogi de remediis scismatis. Cod. lat. Vatic., 4002. Vatican Library. A beautiful MS. of seventy pages, adorned with initial

has never yet been printed, deals with the authority of the Holy See in general. In the four chapters which compose the second part, Rodericus shows that the so-called neutrality and withdrawal of obedience are in all cases forbidden, that they lead to heresy and schism, and that the ecclesiastical dignitaries who adopt such dangerous measures lose the powers conferred upon them, because they sever themselves from the centre of unity. Rodericus de Arevalo was one of the most distinguished opponents of the Council theory. Subsequently, under Paul II., in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion, he controverted the errors of those who were never weary of exalting Councils as a panacea even for the threatened *Turkish peril.* The beautifully-written original manuscript of this treatise, ornamented with exquisite miniatures, once in Cardinal Bessarion's possession, is now preserved in the library of St. Mark's at

letters and with the armorial bearings of Archbishop Garcia Enriquez of Seville (†1448, see Gams, 73). A passage of the above-mentioned preface of Rodericus de Arevalo archidiaconus de Treviño regiæ M^tis^ secretarius is given in the Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 301. The second part of the Dialogus, which is specially directed against neutrality, consists of four chapters, under the following heads:—(1) Quod neutralitas aut subtractio obediencie a sede ap^ca^ ex quibuscunque causis facta auctoritative est omni jure damnata (et prohibita). (2) Quod inducere subtractionem obediencie aut neutralitatem a sede ap^ca^ sit laedere articulum fidei et hæresim inducere. (3) Quod inducere prefatam neutralitatem sit scisma facere et inducere, eciam prout scisma est speciale crimen. (4) Quod prælati et alii viri ecclesiastici illam (inducentes) aut ea scienter utentes non habent claves ecclesie nec habent ordinem nec consecrationem aut alia pontificalia. *Sermo in passione domini factus Romæ coram Nicolao V., per Rod. S. de Arevalo, 1449, in Cod. 134, N. 1, of the Gymnasium Library at Coblenz.

Venice.* The author begins by attacking exaggerated views of the importance of Councils, and justly observes that in the primitive Church their occurrence was not so frequent as some people supposed. Reforms, he says, will always be needed in the Church; if they can only be accomplished by Councils, it follows that they must sit perpetually.† Here, in fact, we have the real question at issue. If the fanatics of the party could have had their way, there can be no doubt that the Council, considering itself equal in authority to the Pope, would, under pretext of reform, have gradually assumed the whole government of the Church, and the Holy See would have been no longer necessary. How, then, are reforms in ecclesiastical affairs to be carried out? Rodericus answers the question in the second part of his work. In the first place, he says, let due obedience be rendered to the Apostolic See; then let good and loyal bishops be elected, prelates and clergy filled with the spirit of Christ appointed everywhere, and, above all, let visitations be extensively made, for the discovery and remedy of existing evils.‡

* *Roderici Calaguritani de remediis afflictæ ecclesiæ militantis adversus extrinsecas Turchorum persecutiones ac intestinas eius pressuras et angustias. Cod. Z-L-XC. of St. Mark's Library at Venice. The dedication is printed by Valentinelli, ii., 116. There is a copy of the work at Florence among the Magliabech. MSS. Cl. xxxvii., Cod. 202. See Bandinius, Bibl. Leop. Laurent., ii., 78 *et seq.*, and in the Chapter Library at Padua; Fabricius-Mansi, v., 413.

† *Cod. cit., f. 31 *et seq.*; f. 47 *et seq.* (I. cap. 9 and 15).

‡ *Cod. cit., f. 54b, 108. Secunda pars in qua adducuntur necessaria et expedientia remedia ad relevandam ecclesiam. See especially f. 72 and f. 88. The great Geiler von Kaysersberg also saw that the only hope for the German Church was in the appointment of good bishops; see Kerker, in the Histor.-Polit., Bl. xlviii., 962.

The celebrated preacher, St. John Capistran, who had written a great volume against the Fathers of Basle in the reign of Eugenius IV., now produced a treatise "on the authority of the Church," in opposition to the false Council theories, and dedicated it to Pope Nicholas.*

Although we cannot enumerate all the champions who at this time came forward to defend the rights of the Holy See, the name of the Venetian, Piero del Monte, pupil of Guarino, and Bishop of Brescia from the year 1442, must not be passed over.† This remarkable man continued, in

* Wadding, Script. ord. Min. (Romæ, 1650), 196.

† See Fabricius-Mansi, v., 254, 255; Ruggerius, 111 *et seq.*; Chevalier, 1594; Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 39, 340; and Schulte, 317-319. The last author is mistaken in calling him Bishop of Brixen. In *Cod. 224 of the Chapter Library of St. Martino at Lucca, at the conclusion of the treatise, attributed to Piero del Monte, "De summi pontificis et generalis concilii necnon de imp. M^tis^ origine et potestate," f. 305^b^, are the following observations in a handwriting of the fifteenth century: "Dixit mihi Pauliane Tube celebratissimus representator frater Robertus, quod Petrus de Monte fuit auctor huius tractatus. Fuit vir doctus et reputatus in curia et episcopus Brixiensis, compilator famosi repertorii et approximante semel tempore quo papa Eugenius 4us erat facturus promotionem cardinalium iste habuit firmissimas promissiones et a papa et a collegio cardinalium quod crearetur cardinalis, et tantorum virorum fide fretus gerebat se intrinsecus pro cardinali nec uspiam verebatur, imo paraverat in secreto omnia necessaria hiis qui promoventur. Sed quoniam in collegio cardinalium erat tunc D. Petrus Barbus Venetus [qui postea fuit Paulus 2us P. P. (*marginal note*)], vir imbutus moribus curiæ et in agilibus sagacissimus, qui sub umbra Eugenii patrui sui in cardinalem promotus rivalem non patiebatur et præsertim istum Petrum compatriotam et qui ob eius scientiam facile honore præcessisset, unde verebatur quod ipso creato cardinali deficeret Petro favor Venetorum et faverent isti Petro idcirca disturbata pontificis et cardinalium voluntate adeo operatus est quod iste non obtinuit et facta promotione aliorum cardinalium remansit delusus quo factum fuit ut

the days of Nicholas V., to display the same zeal which had characterized him under that Pontiff's predecessor. The work which he dedicated to Nicholas V. is divided into three books;* it does not, as its title might seem to imply, attempt to meet all the errors then prevalent in regard to ecclesiastical matters, but only those which prevailed in certain countries under the semblance of measures of reform.† The fact that Piero del Monte is one of the few Humanists who took part in the contest between the adherents of the Council and the defenders of the Holy See, gives a special interest to his work, which, unfortunately, has never been printed.

The renewed vigour of the Papal power was manifested during this Pontificate by stringent measures for the eradication of heresy. Nicholas V. made special use of the Minorite friars in this matter, and his zealous care was extended to Bosnia and to Greece, in which countries respectively the Patarines and the Fraticelli were leading many astray.‡ His efforts to repress the latter sect in Italy

subito iste D. Petrus præ nimio dolore cordis incideret in passionem mortalem et delusionem tantam impatienti corde corrodens vixit quatriduo et dolore mortuus est. [Impossible, for, according to Gams, 780, Piero del Monte did not die till 1457.] In eius funere oravit frater Robertus."

* *Petrus de Monte episcopus Brixiensis contra impugnantes sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem ad Nicolaum papam V., Cod. lat. Vat., 2694, f. 297 *et seq.*, and Cod. Vat., 4145. Vatican Library.

† In his preface the author says: " *Non est autem nobis contra omnes errores qui hac nostra etate ab impugnantibus sedis apostolice dignitatem prodierunt hoc in libro disputandum. Majus enim volumen res illa exposceret: sed contra illos tantum qui cum umbram quandam ac speciem reformacionis præ se ferant in quibusdam regnis atque provinciis tanquam sacre leges recipiuntur, custodiuntur atque observantur. Adversus hos nobis est pugna." Cod. lat. Vatic., 2694, f. 299. Vatican Library.

‡ Georgius, 61, 62, 84, 91, 143. Klaic, 380.

were continued for most of his remaining life; but they were not crowned with complete success.*

The restoration of the Papal authority was materially promoted by Nicholas V.'s perfect freedom from nepotism, and by the care which he generally exercised in the creation of Cardinals; amongst other excellent appointments we may mention that of the gifted Nicholas of Cusa, who united moral worth with intellectual qualities of the highest order.†

From the middle of the fifteenth century the position of Papacy manifestly regained solid strength. The attempts of the Basle party to revive the disastrous schism had produced a reaction throughout the whole Church. Multitudes turned with horror from the anti-Papal theories, which had become predominant at Constance and Basle,

* See, as well as Wadding and Raynaldus, Bernino, iv., 161 *et seq.*; Niccola della Tuccia, 213; Graziani, 622, 624; St. Antoninus, Chronic, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3; Acta Sanct. Octob., v., 324 *et seq.*; Baldassini, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154. An account of a heretic in Bologna is given in Annal. Bonon., 886 *et seq.*; Cronica di Bologna, 699; Echard, i., 815. Regarding French heretics see *ibid.*, i., 847, 848 (about 1450). Haupt, 43 *et seq.*, gives particulars of the spread of heresy in Germany. In Burgundy Nicholas V. had to deal with errors affecting indulgences and the confessional; see his ** Brief addressed to "Joh. Cabilonensi (Châlon-sur-Saône) et Antonio Sidonensi episcopis," dated Rome, 1448, June 1, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Reg. 387, f. 73b.

† Höfler in Münch. Gel. Anz., 1848, p. 494. Regarding Cusa, see Janssen, 1, 3 *et seq.*, and *infra*, chapter iii.; different notices of him are mentioned in Chevalier, Rép., 1631 *et seq.* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., § 23, speaks of the seven Cardinals created by this Pope (Antonio de la Cerda, A. Agnesi, Latino Orsini, Alain, Jean Rolin, Filippo Calandrini, and Cusa). See also Ciaconius, ii., 969 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii., iv., 139 *et seq.*; suppl., 193 *et seq.*; Georgius, 59 *et seq.*; Reumont, iii., 1, 256 *et seq.* Sforza, 228 *et seq.*, treats at length of the Pope's conduct towards his relations.

to the ancient doctrines regarding the monarchical constitution of the Church and the inalienable rights of the Holy See. Respect for the Papacy rose as the hopes founded on the action of Councils sank lower and lower, destroyed by the excesses of the Synod of Basle. The movement had begun in the time of Eugenius IV., and it continued under his successor, Nicholas V., who was able to do away with the remains of the schism, and the revolutionary tone, which had prevailed in the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century, gave place, as time went on, to a very different feeling.

In Germany, however, we cannot say that reunion with the Holy See at once produced general contentment, or laid the agitation for reform to rest. The billows of a troubled sea are not so easily calmed, but the efforts for reform became less and less radical in their character, and the Holy See regained much of the influence which had been lost in the time of Eugenius IV.* It was well, too, for Germany that in the following years men filled with the Spirit of God arose in her midst, and sought to remove the many existing evils and to impart new life to ancient ecclesiastical institutions and individual souls, by the use of the means of grace and salvation which Christ has entrusted to His Church.† Passionate opponents of the Papacy have falsely represented the course of events as one of increasing alienation from the ancient Church, until the severance became complete;‡ but the attentive observer cannot fail to discern the presence of the earnest and deeply religious feeling which finds expression in the well-known "Imitation of Christ." The immense impulse

* Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 21 *et seq.*, 24 *et seq.*, gives documentary evidence of this fact.

† Dittrich, 319-320.

‡ Wattenbach, Papstgeschichte, 282.

given to the life of the German people at this period made itself felt in the ecclesiastical sphere. Large and handsome churches were built, and adorned with loving care. The foundations for altars and masses were numerous, and, although a vast number of religious houses already existed, new ones arose. The richly ornamented prayer-books, the countless pictures and other works of art, and the woodcuts destined for the uneducated, all bear witness to the existence of the same pious spirit. The coarse satire of former days is hushed, or vents itself only on the mendicant friars and subordinate objects. "Our holy Father, the Pope," is everywhere spoken of with reverence, and is represented in all his glory in pictures.*

And yet the anti-Papal spirit in Germany was not thoroughly subdued; it appeared, indeed, less often at the surface, but its hidden influence was not the less real.† In a letter of the 25th November, 1448, Æneas Sylvius, with his keen insight into affairs, writes the following words to the Pope: "A time of peril is before us; storms are threatening on every side, and the skill of the mariners will be proved in the bad weather. The Basle waves are not yet calmed, the winds are still struggling beneath the waters and rushing through secret channels. That consummate actor, the devil, sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light. I know not what attempts will be

* I borrow this description from the work of Wattenbach (282-283) all the more willingly, inasmuch as he cannot be suspected of looking on anything connected with the Church in too favourable a light. See Mainzer "Katholik," 1877, ii., 506 *et seq.* For details, I may refer to the first volume of Janssen's "Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes" and the essay of P. A. Weiss: Vor der Reformation (Hist.-pol. Bl., lxxix.), to which I have often alluded. See also Maurenbrecher, Kath. Ref., i., 58 *et seq.*

† Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, i. (2nd ed.), 49. See Düx, i., 397.

made in France, but the Council still has adherents. We have a truce, not a peace. 'We have yielded to force,' say our opponents, 'not to conviction; what we have once taken into our heads we still hold fast.' So we must look forward to another battlefield and a fresh struggle for the supremacy."*

The efforts made by Nicholas V. to restore and maintain peace in Rome and in the States of the Church were crowned with the same success which had attended his great measures of ecclesiastical policy. The revolutionary aspirations of the Romans were appeased by the concession of a privilege which secured to them the right of self-government. All magisterial and municipal appointments were given into the hands of four Roman citizens, together with the entire control of the taxes.† At the same time, the Pope endeavoured to guard against any possible revolt, as well as against attacks from without, by rebuilding the city walls and erecting fortifications. We shall speak of these works later on. He conciliated the Roman Barons, and restored Lorenzo Colonna, the Savelli, Orso Orsini, and the Count of Anguillara, to favour. Lorenzo and Stefanello Colonna received permission to rebuild Palestrina, which had been destroyed by Vitelleschi, on condition that the town should not again be fortified. This condition, suggested by the strategical importance of the position, was subsequently restricted to the castle (May 13, 1452), and by degrees the present town arose, where walls dating from the fifteenth century are still to be seen, and fortifications,

* This remarkable letter, the first part of which is given by Pray (iii., 70), is published in amended form by Voigt in the Archiv (xvi., 392-394).

† Theiner, Cod. dipl., iii., 367-368. *Cod. C., 7, 9, of the Angelica Library, Rome, gives a list, Officiales almæ urbis, A° 1447.

especially on the southern side, of all styles and periods, beginning with the ancient cyclopean polygon.*

Other feudatories of the Holy See were appointed to or confirmed in the vice-regencies of Urbino, Pesaro, Forli, Camerino, Spello, Rimini, and the territories belonging to them, and thus peace was restored, although, of course, the Papacy was not absolutely secured from possible hostility on their part. The ancient Constitutions of the March of Ancona, the City of Fermo, and other places, were confirmed, and new privileges granted.† The City of Jesi, the only one in the March of Ancona under the dominion of Francesca Sforza, was surrendered by him in consideration of the sum of 35,000 florins.‡ In July, 1447, Nicholas V. recovered the Castle of Spoleto, and three years later Bolsena.§ The frequent visits of the Pope to Umbria and the Marches contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of a good understanding with those provinces.

The bloodless restoration of peace and order to the States of the Church must ever be viewed as one of the chief glories of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. In order fully to appreciate his success, we must recall to mind the

* Papencordt, 482. L'Epinois, 425. Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 181, 183, 457-461.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 116-117. Details from the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican are given by Georgius, 38-39, 62. See also Ugolini, i., 356 *et seq.*; Tonini, 206, and L. Siena, Storia della città di Sinigaglia (*ibid.*, 1746), 135.

‡ Simonetta, 395. Baldassini, xc-xci. For an account of the negotiations regarding the restitution of Jesi, which Nicholas urgently claimed, see, besides those which Osio has published (111, 559 *et seq.*, 567, 569), a set of *Despatches and letters from Marcolino Barbavaria and Alessandro Sforza in April and May, 1447. Cod. 1584 of Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

§ Graziani, 593. Niccola della Tuccia, 215.

condition of the country at the time of his accession. After ten years of incessant warfare, it was almost completely in the power of wild, mercenary troops. Nicholas V., who was no mere pedant, happily accomplished the work of pacification, and completely healed the wounds inflicted on the States of the Church during the troubled reign of Eugenius IV. Against the leaders of revolt, as, for example, Ascanio Conti, he proceeded with severity, fearing that the turbulent Barons might again be roused by evil example.* In general it was his principle, where his spiritual authority proved insufficient, rather to repress the lust of conquest and plunder by the erection of fortresses, than by the introduction of undisciplined mercenary bands, and he left no means unemployed to obviate the recurrence of disturbances. His conciliatory disposition is strikingly displayed in his treatment of Stefano Porcaro, who had endeavoured, while the Conclave was sitting, to revolutionize Rome. Instead of inflicting condign punishment he sought to win him by promotion.†

The satisfactory condition of the Apostolic Treasury tended materially to promote respect for Nicholas V. He had always a certain number of troops in readiness, and they punctually received their pay, so that they had no need to depend on plunder and booty.‡ It must be regretted that the Pope's anxiety for the peace of his own dominions led him to pursue a policy towards his neighbours which cannot be justified. In order to divert all disturbances from the States of the Church, he, as we shall see, secretly favoured complications in the other Italian provinces. By such means alone was he successful in

* Niccola della Tuccia, 215, expressly says this.

† L. Bapt. Alberti in Muratori, Script. xxv., 309; further details *infra*, Chap. VI.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408.

maintaining that tranquillity at home, which was an indispensable preliminary to his grand efforts for the promotion of learning and art.

More than once, indeed, did a great conflict seem to be imminent, as, for instance, in the first year of his Pontificate, when King Alfonso, of Naples, made hostile advances against Tuscany,* and again in the August of 1447, when Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, died without legitimate male issue.† Besides the grasping Republic of Venice, four claimants to the Duchy of Milan came forward, viz., King Alfonso, who, in virtue of a very doubtful will, maintained that he had been constituted heir to Filippo Maria; the Duke of Savoy; the Duke of Orleans, who was the son of a Visconti; and, finally, Francesco Sforza, the husband of Bianca Maria, who, although illegitimate, was the last scion of the house of Visconti. The complication seemed to be of the most threatening character, and we

* The Abbot of San Galgano, writing from Rome to Siena on the 19th January, 1447 (see Appendix 23, Vol. i.), and on many subsequent occasions, mentions Alfonso's designs upon Tuscany. *Despatch d.d. ex urbe xxii. Martii, 1446 (st. fl.): "Di certo la M^ta Sua intende in questa primavera essare con buono esercito et grande nelle parti di Toscani." (Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187, f. 160). Preparations were diligently carried on by the Neapolitan King during the whole of the summer. On the 5th August, 1447, Stefano Trenta wrote to the Ancients of Lucca that Alfonso had made ready a great many war machines. "Quo iturus, ignorantur, sed vulgo dicitur quod in Tusciam." See *Further despatches from Stefano Trenta to the same Ancients, d.d. Romæ, iii. Augusti, 1447: "Palam dicitur quod in Tusciam tendit." Lettere orig. No. 442 [1430-1447]. State Archives at Lucca.

† According to a *Despatch from Nic. Guarna to Fr. Sforza, dated Milan, 1447, Aug. 14, Filippo Maria died in the night between the 13th and 14th of August. Fonds Ital., 1584, f. 239 of the National Library at Paris.

cannot wonder at the extreme consternation of the Pope when, on the morning of the 20th of August, a letter from his friend and banker, Cosmo de' Medici, announced the death of the last of the Visconti,* for King Alfonso, who, according to the report of an ambassador,† had let his horse graze at the very gates of Rome, had even, since the conclusion of peace, been a cause of anxiety to the Pope. Untold dangers threatened the Papacy if the will of Filippo Maria should take effect, and the ambitious and war-like king should become ruler of the northern as well as of the southern portion of the Italian peninsula. Nicholas V. sought by every means in his power to counteract a combination which would have pressed him hard on both sides.

For a time no one of the four claimants was successful. The ancient republic of Milan was revived, but at the end of three years the Milanese found themselves compelled to yield to the successful general whom they had called to their aid.

Francesco Sforza, the son of a peasant of Cotognola,

* *Despatch from the Sienese ambassadors (the Abbot of San Galgano and Franciscus Patricius) to their native city, d.d. ex urbe xx. Augusti, 1447 (they had arrived in Rome on the 18th of August, and been admitted to an audience by the Pope on the 20th). "Principalmente gli piaque et laudo grandemente il proposito et dispositione de la S.V. del volere vicinare et conservare la pace et stare veramente di mezo." The Pope believed that Alfonso would go to Tuscany. "Questa mattina mentre ch' aspectavamo udientia vennero lettare da Cosmo de Medici a la Sta di N. S^re continenti la morte dello Illmo principe duca di Milano, la quale novella per quanto potemo comprendare altero assai la Sta del papa." Cod. E., vi., 187, f. 162-164. Chigi Library, Rome.

† Nicodemus de' Pontremoli in a despatch dated Florence, 1447, April 22, to be found in Osio, iii., 537.

made his solemn entry into the famine-pressed city as her Duke, on the 25th March, 1450.*

Milan had, however, no cause to complain, for the period of Francesco Sforza's rule was among the happiest in her history, and this martial duke restored peace to Italy which had been kept by his unwarlike predecessor for thirty years in a state of conflict.† The Pope, too, had reason to be satisfied, for the re-establishment of the Duchy of Milan restored the balance of power in Northern Italy, and formed a barrier against the rapacity of the Republic of Venice.‡

The submission of Bologna after its protracted resistance was a great triumph for Nicholas, who had a special affection for the city in which a great part of his life had been spent, and where he had found generous patrons in his time of need. He not only loved the Bolognese, but thoroughly understood their temper and circumstances, and was convinced that violent measures would be fruitless in overcoming their opposition to the Papacy. Accordingly, from the beginning of his reign, the city was treated with the utmost leniency and consideration, and, on the 23rd March, 1447, one of its citizens, the canonist, Giovanni di Battista del Poggio, was appointed bishop.§ This nomination was so acceptable that the Ancients ordered a general

* See Cipolla, 439, and Th. Sickel, Beitrage und Berichtigungen zur Geschichte der Eroberung Mailands durch Fr. Sforza, in the Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte, xiv., 189-258.

† This is the opinion of Reumont (iii., 1, 118). The tidings of the death of the last of the Visconti were received with great rejoicings in Brescia. People said: "Oramai Lombardia et etiam Italia sarà sanata; perche è morte quello che teneva tutto il mondo in guerra." Istorie Bresc., 483. See Cronica di Bologna, 684.

‡ Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 109.

§ Brief to the Chapter of Bologna, published in Sigonius, 510

holiday in token of rejoicing. All the church bells were rung and public processions celebrated the event.*

This was shortly followed, on the 11th April, by the despatch of an embassy to Rome to treat for a reconciliation with the Holy See. The Pope was, as Francesco Sforza's ambassadors declared,† much disposed for peace, but in consequence of the excessive demands of the Bolognese it was not finally concluded until the 24th August, 1447. The conditions were most favourable to the city, for Nicholas carried concession to its utmost possible limits. Bologna continued to be a Republic in reality, if not in name. The Papal Legate took part with the Municipal Council and the Magistrates in the Government. The city retained its right to elect the latter, the control of its militia and its revenues, while it was to be defended from foreign foes by the Papal troops. The Holy See only claimed the recognition of its suzerainty, the right of its Legate to a certain share in the patronage of public offices, and a tribute similar to that paid by the other Republics in the States of the Church and by the feudatories‡ of the Pope.

* Cronica di Bologna, 683. See Faleoni, 483.

† See Osio, iii., 560.

‡ Sugenheim, 332; Reumont, Lorenzo, ii., 2nd ed., 182, and C. Malagola, L'Archivio di Stato di Bologna, 40. *Codex B. 19, of the Vallicellana Library in Rome (Collectio literarum summorum pontificum, regum, principum et aliorum publicorum monumentorum historicorum et notabilium spectantium XV. Jesu Christi sæculum) has, f. 139 *et seq.*: "Capitula, postulationes et supplicationes ad sanctissim. in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Nicolaum divina favente clementia papam quintum pro parte dominorum oratorum Bononiensium nomine communitatis civitatis Bononiensis quibus quidem capitulis, postulationibus et supplicationibus prelibatis S. D. N. mandavit, voluit et decalravit infrascriptas responsiones et signaturas fieri in omnibus istis capitulis et

It cannot be denied that the relations now established between Bologna and the Church were such as might easily have given rise to complications. Thanks to Sante Bentivoglio, who was at the time all-powerful in Bologna, and, on the other hand, to the Pope, nothing of the kind occurred. Nicholas V. prudently continued to treat the Bolognese with great indulgence and to increase the obligations which already bound them to him by bestowing many fresh favours, more especially by the restitution of sundry castles and possessions which had formerly belonged to the city, but had, during the troubles of the preceding half-century, been annexed by Papal officials or others.* In the same year which witnessed the restoration of peace between Bologna and the Church, the Pope conferred a fresh token of favour on the city by elevating its bishop to the dignity of Governor of Rome,† and appointing his own half-brother, Filippo Calandrini bishop in his stead. In the following year both the bishop and Astorgio Agnesi, the Governor of Bologna, were promoted to the Sacred College. The historian of the city, Ghirardacci, gives a full account

quolibet eorum prout in fine infrascriptorum capitulorum et cuiuslibet eorum continetur" (see Cronica di Bologna, 685 *et seq.*). At the conclusion, f. 142[b], "Acta fuerunt hec Rome apud S. Petrum in palatio apostolico die xxiv. Augusti, 1447 anno primo." The ambassadors charged with the conclusion of the peace left Bologna on the 3rd of August, see Cronica di Bologna, 684. On the 5th August they were hourly expected in Rome. Despatch of Stephanus Trenta to Lucca, dated Rome, 1447, August 5, Lett. orig., No. 442. State Archives at Lucca.

* Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bolog., iv., 76. Sugenheim, 332, 333. Other Papal favours are mentioned by Georgius, 40, 41, 55, on the authority of the Papal Regesta.

† Giovanni Poggio died in Rome on the 13th December, 1447, report said, by the hand of an assassin. See Fantuzzi, vii., 64; Faleoni, 487; Sigonius, 510, 511; and Schulte, 311, 312.

of the splendid feast which took place on the 6th January, 1449, when Agnesi received the hat* sent by Nicholas V. Nevertheless, in that very year threatenings of disturbances amongst its excitable population induced the Pope to appoint Cardinal Bessarion Legate for Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona (1450, February 26). In his Brief, addressed to the Bolognese, the Pope says that he sends this distinguished man to them as an angel of peace, and confidently hopes that he will succeed in governing Bologna well and happily.† The great Humanist did not disappoint these expectations, the troubled city was calmed, and in a short time he had won the affections of its people.

On the 16th March, 1450, Bessarion entered Bologna,

* *Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, vol. iii., lib. 30. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. The brief nominating Calandrini bishop is given in the Cronica di Bologna (688, 689). Regarding the Cardinal's creation, see Ciaconius, ii., 970 *et seq.*

† *"Nicolaus papa quintus dilectis filiis Antianis et sedecim reformatoribus status civitatis nostre Bononie: Dilecti filii etc. Mittentes istuc Bononiam venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bissarionem episcopum Tusculanum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalem nostrum et apostolice sedis legatum tanquam angelum pacis cuius experientia comprobata virtutibus atque prudentia civitatem illam bene et feliciter gubernari confidimus. Fraternitati sue nonnulla commisimus devotionibus vestris nostri parte referenda cui velitis tanquam persone nostre plene credere. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die iii. Martii, 1450. Pont. nostri anno tertio.—Pe. de Noxeto." Original in the State Archives at Bologna, Arm. 2, lib. 3, f. 8. Hence the often-repeated statement (Hase, in Ersch-Gruber, ix., 298, and in the second edition of the Freiburg-Kirchenlexikon, ii., 531) that Bessarion entered on his Legation in 1451 is evidently mistaken. His appointment as Legate for Bologna took place on the 27th February, 1450. See in Appendix, N. i., the *Brief from the Regesta in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

where he was received with the greatest honour,* and continued to govern it for the remainder of this pontificate. During the five years of his rule the Greek Cardinal managed, by his prudence and moderation, to avoid conflicts and greatly to improve the general condition of the city. As a Humanist, he naturally devoted special attention to the once-famous university, which had fallen into decay during the troubles of the first half of the fifteenth century. He provided for the restoration of its buildings and for the appointment and fitting remuneration of excellent professors. A little intellectual court gradually gathered around the learned Cardinal, who had now become the hope† of the Humanists.

Bessarion's impartiality was in great measure the cause of his success at Bologna. A Greek by nationality, he kept aloof from Italian complications, and could be perfectly just towards all. The authority of law and equity was reasserted. He did everything in his power to calm popular passions, and to repress the occasional attempts to shake off the Papal rule.‡ He punished the originators of revolt, and prosecuted the malefactors who had long been masters of the unhappy city. His diligence, his fidelity to duty, and

* Cronica di Bologna, 695, and *Ghirardacci, *loc cit.*

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 129. Heeren, ii., 101. See Georgius, 55, and Malagola, Archivio, 56. The famous canonist, Andrea de Barbatia, dedicated his work, De præstantia Cardinalium (Bologna, 1457), to Bessarion, see Hain, N. 2428; it is probable, indeed, that it was written on purpose to welcome him. Schulte, 310.

‡ In a *Brief of Nicholas V. to the Bolognese, d.d. Romæ, 1451, Octob. 16, the Pope exhorts them to enter into no alliance with any other power. The city, he says, must remain neutral like its lord, the Pope. Original in Arm. 2, lib. 3, f. 15^{b}, of the State Archives at Bologna.

his moral purity were most exemplary.* His singular prudence enabled him always to preserve the most amicable relations with Sante Bentivoglio, who was, however, the chief power in Bologna, and whose position there may be estimated by the regal splendour with which his marriage to Alessandro Sforza's daughter was celebrated in May, 1454.†

The results of Bessarion's labours were very soon visible, for tranquillity and order were restored to the city, and its inhabitants again turned their attention to the arts of peace. Their confidence in him was such that he was often chosen as umpire in their disputes. From the very first he made it his aim by all possible means to re-establish law and justice, and at any personal sacrifice to defend the cause of the oppressed. Even stern critics, like Hieronymus de Bursellis, extol his remarkable love of justice,‡ which was combined with extreme affability; his door was ever open to the poorest people.§ He issued a severe edict against the luxury which had at that period assumed terrible proportions in Bologna, as well as throughout Italy, and he also reformed the statutes of the city.‖ The celebrated pilgrim-

* Vast, 180-181.

† See Cronica di Bologna, 706 *et seq.* *Ghirardacci (MS. in the University Library at Bologna; see *supra*, p. 69, note *), ad an. 1454.

‡ Annal. Bonon., 887, 888.

§ Vast, 181.

‖ Malagola, L'Archivio di Bologna, gives, p. 43, a list of statutes preserved in the Bolognese State Archives, amongst which are those of the years 1453 and 1454. The edict of 1451 against luxury is published in the Miscellanea di varie operette, viii., (Venezia, 1744), which also contains a number of edicts of Bessarion, belonging to the time of his mission at Bologna, taken from a MS. of the Theatines in Ferrara (probably the Codex marked No. 14, NA. 1, now preserved in the Biblioteca Communale at Ferrara).

age church of the Madonna di San Luca was restored by him, and he caused other churches, as, for example, that of the Madonna della Mezzarata, to be adorned with beautiful frescoes. The Bolognese honoured Bessarion's memory by an inscription in which he is praised as the benefactor of their city. This grateful affection is the best proof of the wisdom displayed by Nicholas V. in entrusting to him the government of the city.*

In looking back upon the earlier years of Nicholas V.'s Pontificate we cannot fail to be struck by his great zeal in the cause of political and ecclesiastical order. In Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Bosnia, Croatia, and even in Cyprus, he endeavoured to promote the peace of

Evidently, however, these constitute but a small portion of the decrees which he must have issued, and which are to be found in their completeness in the State Archives at Bologna. See Malagola, L'Archivio di Bologna, etc., and Antonio Urceo, 36 *et seq.* Unfortunately, when I visited Bologna in the autumn of 1883, the Director of the Archives and the learned Signor Malagola were absent, and accordingly the documents in question were not to be found. According to "Bart. Podestà, I primi oriuoli publ. in Bologna" (Atti e mem. di storia della Romagna, viii., 154, N. 1), the Registers of the time of Bessarion's Legation are preserved in the State Archives at Bologna. Some extracts from them are given (163 *et seq.*) in that work. In Rome I have vainly searched for original records of Bessarion's Mission in Bologna. The MSS. which, according to the catalogues, ought to have contained them, completely disappointed me. In Cod. iv., 195, in the Borghese Library there are, indeed, documents regarding Bessarion's time at Bologna, but they are mere copies of the collection published at Venice in 1744. Cod. G. 63, N. 9, of the Vallicella Library (De Legatione Bononiensi) refers to the sixteenth century. H. Vast (184), the latest biographer of Bessarion, is only acquainted with Migne's reprint of the above-named Venetian collections (Patr. Gr. clxi., pag. cxvii. *et seq.*).

* Vast, 185-188.

the Church.* In Bohemia, indeed, he was completely unsuccessful, although the indefatigable Carvajal spared no effort to bring affairs to a happy conclusion. But Nicholas V. had the consolation of seeing great results soon follow from his policy of peace. The pacification of the States of the Church, the recovery of the City of Bologna, which had for centuries been deemed, after Rome, the brightest jewel in the temporal crown of the Popes, and, above all, the termination of the disastrous schism, were successes which won the just admiration of his contemporaries.†

* Reumont, iii., 1, 119. Concerning the feverish activity of the Pope, Poggio writes on the 6th May, 1447: "Distrahitur tanto rerum turbine ac varietate ut neque sibi neque amicis vacare queat." Ep. ix., 17 (Tonelli, ii., 340).

† * "Bononiensis enim civitas magna atque magnifica, rerum omnium opulentissima, que longa temporum intervalla ecclesiæ infida extitit et adversa, per te unum nobis restituta est. Bella illa ac seditiones multiplices quibus iam in dies magis oppressa videbatur ecclesia solus ullo absque certamine effugasti. Postremo, beatissime pater, quod sine eximia animi laetitia nequeo effari, quis illud nefarium atque ominiosum *(sic)* in ecclesia sancta Dei heresis dedecus, quis illud tantorum summum perditionis discrimen, quis illud nutantium ex utraque religionis ac fidei parte hominum patentissimum in geennam iter nisi tu unus praeclusit? Unam omnes fidem, unum per te pontificem maximum, unum veri Dei vicarium et indubitandum in terris servamus colimusque. Regnat elucidissima sponsa Christi ecclesia, nullam vim, nullum inter carissimos eius filios divortium per te unum nuperrime conspicit." Michael Canensis de Viterbio ad beat. D. N. Nicolaum V. Pont. Max. Cod. lat. Vatic., 3697, f. 7b-8. Vatican Library. This Codex, which is beautifully written, and ornamented with initial letters and with the arms of Nicholas V., is evidently the copy presented to the Pope. For some account of its author see Fabricius, v., 72. A transcript is preserved in the British Museum, see *supra*, p. 17, note †.

CHAPTER III.

THE JUBILEE OF 1450 AND THE LABOURS OF CARDINAL NICHOLAS OF CUSA IN THE CAUSE OF REFORM IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1451-1452.

THE restoration of peace to the Church, after so protracted a period of conflict and confusion, was deemed by Nicholas V. a fitting occasion for the proclamation of a Universal Jubilee. A pilgrimage of the faithful of every country to the centre of ecclesiastical unity seemed to be the most splendid and appropriate celebration of the termination of the Schism and of the victory gained over the party of the Council, while it was also well calculated to give fresh vigour to the conservative element throughout Christendom.

The obstacles presented by the war in Italy and the pestilence which followed,* were not sufficient to deter the Pope from his project, and, on the 19th January, 1449, in

* As early as the summer of 1447 the plague had broken out in Venice (Sanudo, 1125; Cronica di Bologna, 684), and before long it had spread over a great part of Italy. In October it reached Perugia, where it raged for several years (see Graziani, 594, 600 *et seq.*, 604, 606-607, 611, 614, 618, and Massari, 41 *et seq.*, 179-180). During the hot season of 1448 the ravages of the malady (called Beulenpest (Plague-sore) by Hirsch, Handbuch der histor-geogr. Pathologie, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart, 1881], i., 352), in Forli (Annal. Forl., 223), in Florence and Bologna (St. Antoninus, Chron. xxii., c. xii., §3, and *Ghirardacci [MS. in the University Library at Bologna, see *supra*, p. 69, note *]), were terrible, and before the end of the year, it had visited Rome. In 1449, the cry of "the plague!" (il morbo) again arose from city after city. France and Germany also suffered severely (see Palmerius, 239; Cristofani, 306; and

presence of the assembled Cardinals, he solemnly imparted his benediction, after which a French Archbishop read aloud the list of all the Jubilees ever celebrated in the Church, and then proclaimed the new one.* All who, during a given time, should daily visit the four principal churches of Rome—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran Basilica, and Sta. Maria Maggiore—and confess their sins with contrition, were to gain a plenary indulgence, that is to say, remission of the temporal punishments due for those sins from whose guilt and eternal punishment they had been absolved.†

Haeser, iii., 185). But throughout the whole of the fifteenth century the destroying angel nowhere found a richer harvest than on the blood-stained soil of Italy. For an account of the great epidemics in Italy during the Renaissance age, see Haeser, *loc. cit.*, and E. v. Hörschelmann's article in the Allgem. Zeitg., 1884. Supplement, N. 177 *et seq.*

* Graziani, 613-614, and *Despatch of Nellius civis Senensis to his native city, dated Rome, 1449, January 19: "Questi di XVIIII del presente la Sua Sta cantata la messa dello spirito sancto nella chiesa di San Pietro, publico per bolla dal principio di San Pietro et di tucti y sommi pontefici che furno principi delle indulgentie del giubileo sequendo di uno in uno; la dicta indulgentia pronuntio e ordino doverse principiare nello proximo advenir 1450, incomiciando a nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

† The Jubilee Bull is published in part by Raynaldus, ad an 1449, N. 15. It is also frequently to be met with among the MSS. in German libraries—see Cod. 278 of the City Library at Mayence, Cod. 296 (monasterii S. Mathie ap. sanctique Eucharii) of the City Library at Trèves. For a notice of Jubilee indulgences in general, see Maurel, Die Ablässe (Paderborn, 1860), and J. Fessler, Vermischte Schriften (Freiburg, 1869), 3 *et seq.* Special faculties were granted to Confessors during Jubilee years, and the Grand Penitentiary was constantly occupied on these occasions; Capranica filled the office in 1450. See Mai, Spicil., i., 186.

Throughout the whole of Christendom the Pope's proclamation was received with rejoicing, and the joy was intensified by the fact that the discord which had for so long weighed heavily on the hearts of all who loved the Church was at an end, and that Nicholas V. was universally acknowledged as the true Vicar of Christ. The feelings of the faithful were eloquently expressed by Dr. Felix Hemmerlin, Provost of the Ursus Monastery at Soleure, who, at the conclusion of his work on the approaching holy year, adopts the words of Simeon, and says: "Now dost Thou dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace, because my eyes have seen the glorious advent of salvation. Now I know in truth that this is the desired time, this is the day of salvation: for the glorious days of Thy Jubilee surpass all earthly beauty and salvation. O, the depth of the riches, of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways! O Lord, whose mercy is unbounded, perfect Thy grace in us that, as Thou didst fulfil the expectation of Simeon, and he did not see death until it had been granted to him to see Christ the Lord, so we may not taste death until we have enjoyed the benefits of Thy salutary and most happy year of Jubilee!" *

The "golden year" opened on the Christmas Day of 1449. The concourse was immense. Then began a pilgrimage of the nations to the Eternal City, like that which had taken place a century before. All the miseries of recent years, the bereavements which war and plague had wrought, the manifest tokens of Divine wrath, were a call to serious reflection and self-examination. Some deemed a pilgrimage to be the best means of averting further chastisements and obtaining future benefits. Others undertook it in order to shew forth their gratitude for preservation from dangers,

* Hemmerlin, Opuscul., f. 90; Fiala, 495-496.

and to implore a continuance of the favours they had enjoyed. All hailed it as an opportunity of becoming partakers of the rich spiritual treasures opened by the Church to those who should visit the tombs of the Apostles.*

The pilgrims flocked from every country in Europe; there were Italians and "Ultramontanes," men and women, rich and poor, young and old, healthy and sick. As Augustinus Dathus says in his history of Siena, "Countless multitudes of Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Armenians, Dalmatians, and Italians were to be seen hastening to Rome as to the refuge of all the nations of the earth, full of devotion, and chanting hymns in their different languages."† The terrible calamities through which they had just passed had touched the hearts of many, and turned them from earthly to heavenly things, and awakened a spirit of devotion. Moreover, the personal affability of the Pope may have induced many to undertake the long and difficult journey.‡

An eye-witness§ likens the thronging multitudes of pilgrims to a flight of starlings or a swarm of ants. The Pope did everything in his power to render their passage through Italy easy and safe; in Rome itself he made the most extensive preparations, and especially sought to

* Reumont, ii., 882-883. See *the Letter of the Cardinal Archbishop of Benevento, Astorgio Agnesi, to Lodovico de Gonzaga, "Mantue Marchioni," d.d. Romæ, xviii. Maii, 1450, raptim: "Addimus quod in hoc anno sancto qui supervivunt plures gratias agere deo debent." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† Dathi, Opp., f. clxxxvi. The German pilgrims were extremely numerous. From Dantzig alone about two thousand went to Rome in 1450. See J. Voigt, Gesch. Preussens (Königsberg, 1838), viii., 230.

‡ Manetti, 924.

§ Manetti, *loc. cit* Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 47.

secure an adequate supply of provisions.* But the pilgrims arrived in such overwhelming masses that all his efforts proved insufficient. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini† estimates at forty thousand the number of strangers who daily arrived in the city. Even allowing for considerable exaggeration in this estimate, there can be no doubt that the crowds were enormous. The chroniclers and historians of the period seem to be at a loss for words to describe the concourse. Cristoforo a Soldo, chronicler of the city of Brescia, says, "A greater crowd of Christians was never known to hasten to any Jubilee; kings, dukes, marquesses, counts, and knights, in short, people of all ranks in Christendom, daily arrived in such multitudes in Rome that there were millions in the city. And this continued for the whole year, excepting in the summer, on account of the plague, which carried off innumerable victims. But almost as soon as it abated at the beginning of the cold season the influx again commenced."‡

* Platina, 714, and Tuccia, 56, note. In many places in the States of the Church, as for example in Perugia, officials were appointed for the purpose of shewing pilgrims the way. Graziani, 624, N. 1.

† Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 172.

‡ Ist. Bresc., 867. Cristoforo a Soldo here also mentions the presence of the Emperor; the Diario Ferrarese (196) likewise says that Frederick III. came with the King of Hungary to Rome for the Jubilee, and that they were not recognized. A substitution of the year 1452 for 1450 is the foundation of both accounts. Regarding the immense concourse of pilgrims for the Jubilee, see Cronica di Bologna, 696; Annal. Bonincontrii, 155; Sanudo 1137; Palmerius, 239; Blondus, Ital. Ill., 320; A. Dathus, *loc. cit.*; Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 298[b]; Manetti, 924; St. Antoninus, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3; Sabellicus, Opp., 944; Platina, 713; Chronic. Elwacense in the Mon. Germ., x., 47, and Catalanus, 91. This list of published accounts might easily be prolonged; for an unpublished testimony let me refer to the above-mentioned *Letter

One of the special attractions of this Jubilee was the Canonization of St. Bernardine of Siena, the most popular saint who had for centuries appeared in the Italian Peninsula, and the founder of a religious order which had increased so rapidly that it sent more than three thousand delegates to the General Chapter held at this time in the convent of Araceli.*

The process for his canonization had been introduced in the time of Eugenius IV., at the instance of the Sienese, of the inhabitants of Aquila, amongst whom St. Bernardine had found his last resting-place, and of King Alfonso of Naples. St. John Capistran, who afterwards became so celebrated as a preacher, laboured most energetically in the matter, and the Pope entrusted the examination into the life, death, and miracles of the holy man to Cardinals Niccolò Acciapacci, Guillaume d'Estouteville, Alberto de Albertis, and on his death to Pietro Barbo.† These cardinals in their turn employed two bishops, who, having made careful inquiries, presented a detailed report, which was con-

from the Cardinal of Benevento to the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, dated Rome, 1450, May 18, in which he says, "Multi mortales concurrunt Romam, id quod accidit illis ad salutem animæ eorum." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

* Rio, ii., 38; see Vittorelli, 292, and Chroniche de' frati minori del s.p. S. Francesco (Venezia, 1597), p. iii., 106 *et seq.*

† Acta Sanct. Maii, iv., 719, 745, 774. In the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, Lettere ad an.), I found a *Letter from Cardinal Niccolò Acciapacci (Card. Capuanus) to the Sienese, dated Rome, 1445, February 15, in which he promises that he will continue his efforts in the matter of the canonization of Bernardine and will do everything in his power to justify the confidence they have reposed in him. In the same Archives there is a *Letter from Cardinal Tagliacozzo (Johannes episcopus Prænestinus, Card. Tarentinus) to Siena, dated Rome, 1446, September 25, also promising his aid in regard to the canonization.

sidered in Consistory; but the illness and death of the Pope, at this point, brought the proceedings to a standstill.* The delay, however, was not of long duration, for immediately after his accession Nicholas V. took the matter in hand. On the 17th June he charged Cardinals Tagliacozzo, Guillaume d' Estouteville, and Pietro Barbo to examine St. Bernardine s miracles. The bishops, to whom they delegated the task, found more miracles than had been mentioned in the first Process. On the death of the Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Bessarion was nominated in his stead, and Angelo Capranica, Bishop of Rieti, was sent to Aquila, Siena, and many cities in which St. Bernardine had laboured.† The slow and cautious procedure of Rome was little to the taste of the cities which cherished the great preacher's memory and eagerly longed for his canonization. Notwithstanding supplications and importunities from various quarters, Rome refused to be unduly hurried,‡ and it was not till the 26th February, 1450, that sufficient progress had been made to enable the Pope to promise the

* See the *Letters from the Abbot of San Galgano (Chigi and State Archives at Siena) of the 19th and 23rd January, 1447, in Appendix, N. 23 and 24, Vol. I. In another letter in the same Archives, bearing date Rome, 1447, March 14th, the Abbot informs the Sienese that he has most urgently recommended the matter of St. Bernardine's canonization to the new Pope.

† Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 719, 720. See Wadding, ad an. 1447, N. 7, and Georgius, 61.

‡ See the letter from the city of Lucca of 15th October, 1448, to the Pope, now published from the draft in the State Archives at Lucca, by Sforza, 331, 332. Siena was the most urgent, and a special mission went from this city to inquire into the miracles at St. Bernardine's grave at Aquila; see Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 734. I found in the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, lettere ad an.) several *Letters from the Sienese ambassador, Petrus de Michaelibus, of October, 1447. exclusively regarding the promotion of the canonization.

Sienese ambassadors that the canonization should take place at Whitsuntide.* A substitute for Cardinal Bessarion, who was about to proceed to Bologna, had been appointed in the person of the Vice-Chancellor.† There was, therefore, nothing further to delay the ceremony, and the Pope, whose family subsequently entertained a special devotion to St. Bernardine,‡ had preparations made on a magnificent scale.

St. Peter's was beautifully decorated on Whit-Sunday, the 24th of May; a lofty throne was erected in the middle of the church for the Pope, who was surrounded by all the cardinals then in Rome, as well as by many bishops and archbishops. Every detail of the rite of canonization was carried out with the greatest exactness, solemnity, and splendour, the Pope himself pronouncing the panegyric. Two hundred wax-lights burned in the church; the cost of the vestments worn by the Pope and the cardinals, and of other things used on this occasion, was estimated at seven thousand ducats, and was borne by the inhabitants of Siena and Aquila.§

* *Despatch from Petrus de Beriguciis to Siena, dated Rome, 1449 (st. fl.), February 26th, on which day he had had an audience of the Pope, and had spoken with him of the canonization: "Ali fatti del beato Bernardino mi disse essere disposto canonizarlo in questa pentecosta futura a piu sua gloria perche facendosi qui el capitolo generale di quello ordine ricorriane de frati 3000 o piu." State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, lettere ad an.

† *Despatch of Petrus de Beriguciis of 22nd March, 1450. State Archives at Siena, *loc. cit.*

‡ De Rossi, Vita di Niccolo V., 94. Sforza, 331. See Wadding, 1449, N. 9.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 214; Dathus, Opp., *loc. cit.*, and Georgius, 205 (according to *Cod. Vatic., 470, Lib. cærem. S. Rom. eccles.). According to the Cronica di Bologna (696), there were present at the function fourteen cardinals, twenty-four bishops, "et piu di 2000 frati dell' ordine dell' osservanza i quali stettero

During these days of festal solemnity crowds of pilgrims went up to the Convent of Araceli, now transformed into a hospital, where eight hundred monks devoted themselves to the service of the sick of their own and other lands. The sight was one well calculated to awaken in the dullest soul some zeal for self-sacrifice and prayer. The Spaniard, Didacus, who was afterwards canonized, here distinguished himself by his heroic charity in tending the sick.*

Throughout all Italy an outburst of joy and of devotion was elicited by the canonization of St. Bernardine; churches sprang up under his invocation, preachers everywhere praised his holy life; solemn functions in his honour took place even in the smallest towns; those which took place in Perugia, Bologna, Ferrara, Aquila, and Siena were particularly magnificent, and in the last-named city his canonization was represented in a series of pictures.†

While the Pope remained in Rome he frequently took part in the solemnities of the Jubilee, and was seen to walk

alle spese del papa." The Bull concerning St. Bernardine's canonization was, we are informed by St. John Capistran, drawn up by Nicholas V. himself. It is in the Bullar, v., 101-105, and in Wadding, xii., 51-55.

* Rio., ii., 38. Manni, 66.

† See Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 734; Graziani, 626; Annal. Bononien, 885; Diario Ferrar, 196; Chronicon Estense, in Muratori, xv., 540; Allegretti, 767; and Dathus, *loc. cit.* A church was built in Aquila, see Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.*, 734, 778 *et seq.* In 1451 St. John Capistran exposed a biretta of St. Bernardine at Brescia (Ist. Bresc., 865 *et seq.*). On the 12th June, 1450, Nicholas V. gave the Sienese permission to erect a chapel dedicated to St. Bernardine in their cathedral, and at the same time an indulgence was granted for it. *Original Bull of this date in the State Archives at Siena, Cassa Leone, N. 158.

barefoot to visit the stations.* The Roman chronicler Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro has left us a description of the Jubilee, written with little literary skill, but full of life and fidelity. "I recollect,"† he says, "that even in the beginning of the Christmas month a great many people came to Rome for the Jubilee. The pilgrims had to visit the four principal churches, the Romans for a whole month, the Italians for fourteen days, and the 'Ultramontanes' for eight. Such a crowd of pilgrims came all at once to Rome that the mills and bakeries were quite insufficient to provide bread for them. And the number of pilgrims daily increased, wherefore the Pope ordered the handkerchief of St. Veronica to be exposed every Sunday, and the heads of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul every Saturday; the other relics in all the Roman churches were always exposed. The Pope solemnly gave his benediction at St. Peter's every Sunday. As the unceasing influx of the faithful made the want of the most necessary

* Vittorelli, 300; Manni, 01; and *Despatch of Petrus de Beriguciis, d.d. ex urbe, viiii. Marcii, 1449 (st. fl.): "Nostro Signore va quasi el piu de di ali stazioni et e tauto male agevole ad essere colla Sua Sta che e uno grande fatto, perche quello poco del tempo che gli avanza e cardenali el vogliono loro." State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, Lett. ad an. A *Letter from Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, dated Rome, 1450, March 10, also refers to the Pope's visit to the stations. Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

† Cronache Romane, 16-20. See Venuti, 12-15, and Manni, 63-66. The celebrated Roberto di Lecce, who, during the plague of 1448, had, by his powerful preaching, brought about many reconciliations in Rome, was appointed by Nicholas to preach the Lent; see Infessura, 1132. Casimiro, 419 *et seq.* Arch. Napol., vii., 141 *et seq.* The Pope also named Lenten preachers, chiefly of the Order of Minorites, for the other cities of Italy; see Wadding, 1450, N. 8.

means of subsistence to be more and more pressing, the Pope granted a plenary indulgence to each pilgrim on condition of contrite confession and of visits to the churches on three days. This great concourse of pilgrims continued from Christmas through the whole month of January, and then diminished so considerably that the innkeepers were discontented, and everyone thought it was at an end, when, in the middle of Lent, such a great multitude of pilgrims again appeared, that in the fine weather all the vineyards were filled with them, and they could not find sleeping-place elsewhere. In Holy Week the throngs coming from St. Peter's, or going there, were so enormous that they were crossing the bridge over the Tiber until the second and third hour of the night. The crowd was here so great that the soldiers of St. Angelo, together with other young men—I was often there myself,—had often to hasten to the spot and separate the masses with sticks in order to prevent serious accidents. At night many of the poor pilgrims were to be seen sleeping beneath the porticos, while others wandered about in search of missing fathers, sons, or companions; it was pitiful to see them. And this went on until the Feast of the Ascension, when the multitude of pilgrims again diminished because the plague came to Rome. Many people then died, especially many of these pilgrims; all the hospitals and churches were full of the sick and dying, and they were to be seen in the infected streets falling down like dogs. Of those who with great difficulty, scorched with heat and covered with dust, departed from Rome, a countless number fell a sacrifice to the terrible pestilence, and graves were to be seen all along the roads even in Tuscany and Lombardy."*

* So says also Niccola della Tuccia, 214. See Blondi Opp., 320, Schivenoglia, 124, and a passage from a letter of Alessandro Strozzi, in Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 70, Vittorelli, 294. Those who

The chronicler, as he pursues his narration, vainly endeavours to find language sufficiently forcible to depict the horrors of the plague and the terror which had seized upon him and all who were in Rome. The general panic surpassed any which had been experienced on previous occasions.* "The Court of Rome," writes the envoy of the

fell sick in the streets were conveyed to the hospital of Sta Maria Nuova in Florence, and taken excellent care of; see Manni, 74. About sixty thousand died in Milan in 1450; see Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 299[b]. The plague visited a great part of Europe this year, even reaching Sweden. Geiger, Geschichte Schwedens, i., 217. J. A. F. Ozanam, Histoire des maladies épid. (Paris, 1823), v.,10.

* In 1447 Rome seems to have been free from the plague, at least I find no record of its existence in that year. In 1448 it appeared in the city, at first in a mild form (see a **letter of much literary interest from Galeazzo Cattaneo to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and afterwards more severely. In the middle of November, according to the *report of Galeazzo Cattaneo to the Marchioness (d.d. ex Roma, 1448, Novemb. xiv., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), two or three persons were dying every day. See Infessura, 1132. In this year Joh. Golderer, of Nuremberg, the German Confessor at St. Peter's, formed his fellow-countrymen into a Confraternity, under the patronage of our Lady of Dolours, and thus restored the celebrated old Schola Francorum in a form suited to the needs of the age (see *Historia Campi Santi, MSS. in the Archives of the Confraternity). The Pope at that time permitted the said Joh. Golderer daily to preach penance "in campo sancto" (see the *Brief of Paul II., in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, cited Vol. i., p. 333, note †). Regarding the plague of 1449, see *supra*, p. 84. The numerous deaths recorded in the Liber benef. Animæ (229 *et seq.*) are connected with this visitation. The epidemic of 1450, which raged throughout Italy, sparing only Venice, is mentioned in many chronicles, *e.g.*, Annal. Forl., 223; Annal Bononien, 885; Sanudo, 1138. An anonymous *chronicle (Cod. Vatic., 9453) has the following entry for the year 1450: "Pestis ingens in Tuscia et fere per totam Italiam in qua multa milia hominum periere." Vatican Library. See also Cod. epist., 81, 312, 313.

Teutonic Order, "is sadly scattered and put to flight; in fact, there is no Court left. One man embarks for Catalonia, another for Spain, everyone is looking for a place where he may take refuge. Cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and all sorts of people, without exception, flee from Rome as the apostles fled from our Lord on Good Friday. Our Holy Father also left Rome on the 15th July, retreating from the pestilence, which, alas!—God have mercy!—is so great and terrible that no one knows where to dwell and preserve himself. His Holiness goes from one castle to another, with a little court and very few attendants, trying if he can find a healthy place anywhere. He has now moved to a castle called Fabriano, in which he spent some time last year, and has, it is said, forbidden, under pain of excommunication, loss of preferment and of Papal favour, that anyone who has been in Rome, whatever his rank, should come within seven miles of him,* save only the cardinals, a few of whom, with four servants, have gone to the said castle and are living there."†

Even in the previous year the Pope had, on the outbreak of the plague, fled from Rome with some few members of the Court and gone first to the neighbourhood of Rieti, and then to the castle of Spoleto, whence he was driven by the

* Not under pain of death, as stated by Voigt, Stimmen, 70; see *ibid.*, 160. In the previous year Nicholas V. had on a similar occasion proposed the same penalty. See *Letter of "Nicholas Nannis, legum doctor" to Siena, d.d. Spoleti, 1449, Juni, iv., Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

† Voigt, Stimmen, 70, 71; see 159-161. The lengthened sojourn of the Pope in Fabriano promoted the erection of buildings in the quiet little town. See Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 70. For the movements of the Pope in the year 1450 see the Cronica di Rimini, 966, and regarding the longing of the Romans for his speedy return, *Michael Canensis de Viterbio, ad b. d. n. Nicolaum V., P. M., Cod. Vatic., 3697, f. 9^{b}. Vatic. Library.

malady. In August he was at Fabriano, where the air seemed to be particularly pure. No one was admitted within the city without necessity; the aged Aurispa was the only one of the secretaries whom the Pope retained about him; business was mostly suspended, so that there was but little to be done; many members of the Court succumbed to the pestilence. Poggio mockingly declared that the Pope wandered about after the manner of the Scythians.* The same thing happened when the plague revisited the Eternal City in the summer months of 1451 and 1452.†

It has been suggested that Nicholas V.'s extreme fear of death was due to an excessive love of life,‡ but another explanation seems more probable. In the year 1399, when

* See the somewhat contradictory accounts of Graziani (616 *et seq.*) and the Cronica di Rimini (964). Poggio's letters of the 9th and 12th August, 1449, are in Tonelli's edition, iii., 6, 11. Cardinal Colonna, in a letter to the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga, written from Montefalco, June 14, 1449, says that he will inform him where he is, because they are continually moving about on account of the epidemic: "Noi venimo pur hieri qui partiti di Spoleto per la morte di un cortisano et lessere cascato amalato un altro. Simile se parti el rev. Msgr. di Messina. Doman si partira Msgr. delli Ursini. N^ro S^re festa in lo cassaro (= Castle). Hoggi sonno intrati in Spoleto li ambaxatori di Francia." Gonzaga, Archives at Mantua.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408. In the Milan State Archives (Pot. Est.) I found a letter, unfortunately partly destroyed by damp, written by the well-known Nicodemus de' Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, d.d. ex urbe, 29 Julii, 1451, and speaking of the Roman plague of that year. After informing him that the plague was again claiming victims, he observes: "Poi etiandio qui sono caldi exterminatissimi piu che mai se recordi homo vivo; el medesimo se dice de Napoli. Ma in omne modo omne nactione fuge volentire Roma ali tempi mo, et meritamente perche in vero e sepulchro de valenti huomini et e horribile stancia se non per chi ha el modo a viverci cum picola fatica e delicamento."

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*

the plague was raging in Lucca and the physicians had forsaken the city, the Pope's father was appointed physician by the remaining citizens. He accepted the perilous post, but soon afterwards died, most likely stricken down by the terrible malady in the exercise of his calling.* May not this circumstance account for the apprehensions of Nicholas, who was timid by nature, and at the time in indifferent health? It must also be observed that at this period the idea of contagion was gaining ground among the doctors. The black death and subsequent epidemics had afforded but too ample opportunities for the study of the subject, and the plague was much better understood than it had been. Natural science had made considerable progress, and enlightened physicians in the fifteenth century took little account of the influence of the stars, and directed their chief attention to the laws of contagion. Isolation consequently came to be regarded as the most essential of preventive measures, and it is impossible to estimate the number of human lives that may have been thus preserved during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even though it was very imperfectly carried out.†

When the pestilence ceased with the first cold of winter the Pope returned to Rome. Pilgrims again began to pour in, their journeys being facilitated by the peaceful condition of Italy. "So many people came to Rome," according to an eye-witness,‡ "that the city could not contain the strangers, although every house became an inn. Pilgrims begged, for the love of God, to be taken in on payment of a good price, but it was not possible. They

* Sforza, 90.

† Haeser, iii., 186-187. Martin V. also favoured this theory, and went from place to place to escape the plague. Voigt, Stimmen, 74. See also Massari, 39, and Vol. i., p. 229.

‡ Paolo dello Mastro, Cronache Rom., 18.

had to spend the nights out of doors. Many perished from cold; it was dreadful to see. Still such multitudes thronged together that the city was actually famished. Every Sunday numerous pilgrims left Rome, but by the following Saturday all the houses were again fully occupied. If you wanted to go to St. Peter's it was impossible, on account of the masses of men that filled the streets. St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore were filled with worshippers. All Rome was filled, so that one could not go through the streets. When the Pope gave his solemn blessing, all spaces in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, even the surrounding vineyards, from which the Loggia of the benediction could be seen, were thick with pilgrims, but those who could not see him were more numerous than those who could, and this continued until Christmas."

Among the strangers of note who visited Rome during the Jubilee of 1450 we must give the first place to an artist —the celebrated painter, Roger van der Weyden, or Ruggiero da Bruggia, as the Italians call him.* Many of his works had already been purchased by Italian princes and patrons of art, and were greatly esteemed.† It was probably as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome that this great master received from the Medici the commission to paint the picture of the Madonna with the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and the physicians, Saints Cosmas and Damian, which is now one of the treasures of the Städel

* See Alph. Wauters, Roger van der Weyden, etc. [Gand, 1846] (Extr. du Messager des sciences hist. de Belgique), 15-16.

† In the year 1449 Ciriaco of Ancona saw one of Roger's paintings, which belonged to the Marquess of Ferrara (Antichita Picene, xv., 143). Facius mentions several in the possession of King Alfonso, as well as a genre picture in Genoa. Schnaase, viii., 163 *et seq.*, 190, note 1.

Gallery of Frankfort-on-Maine.* The influence of Italy is evident in this beautiful work, and in others from the hand of the same master, especially in a charming picture representing St. Luke taking the portrait of the Blessed Virgin while she suckles the Divine Infant (formerly in the Boisserée Collection, and now in the Munich Pinakothek), and again in the Middelburg Tryptick, now at Berlin.† A modern writer on art is probably correct in his idea that the journey of 1450, although undertaken solely from motives of devotion, was an artistic revelation to the Flemish painter, who, by a comparison with foreign schools, learned to form a more correct estimate of his own talents and needs, and of those of his country. From this time he gave up painting life-sized figures and violent effects and gold back-grounds. He still chose striking and dramatic subjects, but the surroundings of his figures are now real, and they stand forth from an architectural perspective or a sunlit landscape full of graceful details. This was an approach to the manner of his predecessor, Van Eyck, and, moreover, a return to that of his own earlier days and to the mild harmonious tone most congenial to the piety and artistic sense common to himself and his fellow-countrymen. His best works were produced at this period, and he initiated a school, which, as compared with that of Van Eyck, manifests marked progress.‡ It would be impossible to say how many of the other painters, artists, and scholars, who went

* N. 100. See Passavant in the Kunstblatt, 1841, p. 19. A small copy is given in the Messager de Gand, 1838, p. 113; and the Blessed Virgin alone, without the attendant figures, in v. Quast-Otte, Zeitschr. für christl. Archäologie und Kunst (Leipzig, 1858), ii., Plate, 1.

† See Messager de Gand, 1836, p. 333, and Schnaase, viii., 186-187.

‡ Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 195.

as pilgrims to the capital of Christendom in 1450, were touched by the like influence.*

Jakob von Sirk, Archbishop of Trèves, once the most ardent partisan of the Council, was amongst the princes of the Church who were seen at Rome in the Jubilee year. He came, accompanied by a hundred and forty knights, to make his peace with the Holy See. Cardinal Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and the Bishops of Metz and Strasburg were also there, with other German prelates. Many saintly personages, too, were pilgrims, as, for example, St. Jacopo della Marca, St. Didacus and the celebrated St. John Capistran.† It was, more-

* G. L. Kriegk, Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter (Frankfurt, 1868), 350, justly observes that the numerous pilgrims of these times exercised an important influence on the progress of civilization, by multiplying subjects of information and materials for reflection, and bringing about, between the inhabitants of different countries, an intercourse which had its effect on the manners and ideas of each, the more so as the majority of the pilgrims belonged to the less wealthy classes of society, and made the journey on foot. Abbot George von Michaelbeuern, who rode to Rome in 1450, "causa devocionis," spent one-and-twenty days on his journey there, and as many more on his way back, and his expenses amounted to fifty-two golden florins; see Filz. Gesch, des Salzburg. Benedictinerstifts Michaelbeuern (Salzburg, 1833), ii., 370-371. The description of the Abbot's pilgrimage mentioned in this work is no longer to be found in the Archives of the Monastery at Michaelbeuern, where, however, in a Monastic Record of the fifteenth century (A., new signature V.A. a.1), seventeen lines, f 66^{b}, *relate his journey. This short notice contains the characteristically German observation regarding Nicholas V., "Qui fuit natus de simplici progenie." Certainly in Germany the Pope's lowly origin would have rendered it almost impossible for him to become an Archbishop; see Höfler, ii., 2, 362.

† See Manni, 60. Chmel., ii., 453. Ciaconius, ii., 912. A document, *Cod., 1608, of the City Library at Trèves, omitted by

over, at this time that Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, afterwards the famous Cardinal, turned his steps to the Eternal City, where he subsequently entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, the friend of all learned men.*

Numerous princes made the pilgrimage in 1450; the Pope welcomed the Duke Albert of Austria, gave him at Christmas a blessed sword, and granted him many spiritual favours in token of his affection for the House of Austria. It is probable that many Austrian nobles accompanied the Duke; the aged Count Frederick of Cilli was certainly in Rome this year.† We must also mention the Margravine Catherine of Baden, Landgrave Louis of Hesse, and Duke John of Cleves, who visited the seven principal churches on foot, and was received with great honour by

Hontheim, refers to the Archbishop's absence from Trèves in the year 1450: "Charta de anno 1450 concernens custodian reliquiarum in ecclesia cathed, depositarum in absentia archiepiscopi." For the favours which the Archbishop received from the Pope, see Görz, Regesten, 191. In the City Archives at Cologne, I found among the Imperial papers of Frederick III. a *Letter from Ruprecht, Bishop of Strasburg, to Cologne, dat. Dachstein, 1450, Mai 22 (sexta post dominicam Exaudi), which says: "As we have been a good while away from our chapter on holy pilgrimage to Rome, and now by the grace of Almighty God have lately returned to our country and chapter," etc.

* See Aretin, Beiträge, ii., 91, and the very rare work of Seb. Pauli, Disquisiz. istorica della patria e compendio della vita di G. Ammanati Piccolomini (Lucca, 1712), 39, 41.

† Chmel., ii., 452. Recent investigations have proved that the Pope's mother did not visit Rome in 1450 (as even Rio, ii., 39, amongst others, had asserted). See Sforza, 258, 260. The mistake regarding Frederick III.'s presence in Rome, mentioned *supra*, p. 78, note ‡, is to be found even in St. Antoninus, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3.

the Pope,* Johannes Dlugoss, "the first Polish historian who wrote in the grand style," and Nicodemus de Pontremoli, the trusted Ambassador of the Duke of Milan.†

This would seem the fitting place to remark that the Jubilee year gave birth to a little literature of its own, a portion of which has since been printed, while a good deal more exists only in manuscript.‡ We have the two editions

* See Liber benefact. Animæ, 34. Chmel, ii., 629. Before his journey to Rome the Duke of Cleves had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he went from Rome to Naples in the end of November, 1450 (Arch. Napol., vi., 258). For an account of his journey and his sojourn in Rome see Teschenmacher, Annal. Cliviæ. (Franc., 1721), 303, and Clevische Chronik., published by Dr. R. Scholten (Cleve, 1884), from the original MS. of Gert van der Schuren.

† Regarding Dlugoss, see Caro, iv., 425. Zeissberg, Polnische Geschichtschreibung des M.-A. (Leipzig, 1873), 213 *et seq.*, 215–217. Nicodemus mentions his presence at Rome in 1450, in the Despatch of the 4th April, 1455, given in the Appendix (State Archives at Milan). Another ambassador of Fr. Sforza's, Francesco Butigella, also proposed to go to Rome for the Jubilee; see his *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1449, Dec. 7. Fonds. Ital., 1585, f. 102, of the National Library, Paris.

‡ Of such *"Tractatus de anno jubileo" I have noted the following:—(*a*) Trèves: Town Library, a manuscript treatise on the Jubilee of the year 1449, bound up with the Incunabula, N. 1613 ("Iste liber est domus St. Albani juxta Trev. ord. Carth."). (*b*) Wolfenbüttel: Ducal Library, Cod. 264, Helmst., f. 62, 65: "Tractatus brevis et compendiosus de anno jubileo a quodam Carthus. s. theol. prof. editus" (perhaps identical with the treatise by Jakob von Jüterbogk?). (*c*) Cod. 32 of the Benedictine Abbey of Zwiefalten, according to Serapeum (Intelligenzblatt, 1859, p. 99), contains a "Tractatulus de anno jubileo," written in 1449. (*d*) In Cod. 278 of the Town Library at Mayence there are a number of treatises by Jakob von Jüterbogk, after which appears the indication, "De anno jubileo." Time did not permit me to investigate them. Cod. 562 of this library, not now in its place, also contained a work regarding the Jubilee year.

of a treatise by the Canonist, Giovanni d'Anagni, a man distinguished by the love of God and of his neighbour. Jakob von Jüterbogk and the Dominican, Heinrich Kalteisen, dealt with the subject of indulgences from the ecclesiastical point of view, and Johann von Wesel wrote against them.* St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, wrote concerning the pardon of the "golden year," at a date later than 1450.† Provost Felix Hemmerlin, of Soleure, in Switzerland, composed a dialogue between the Jubilee year and the Cantor Felix, in which the former successfully answers all doubts and prejudices regarding the validity of the Jubilee indulgence, and explains the conditions on which it may be gained by sinners of every position and degree. Hemmerlin's tone is grave and devout, and the dialogue contains many interesting passages which throw a vivid light on evils existing in the ecclesiastical life of Switzerland. He is unsparing in his

* For some account of Giovanni d'Anagni, see Cronica di Bologna, 724; Annal. Bonon., 890; Aless. de Magistris, Istoria della città e S. Basilica catt. d'Anagni (Roma, 1749), 44, and Schulte, 320, 322. Hain, 943 *et seq.*, alludes to his work. The treatise on Jakob von Jüterbogk, in Walch, Mon., ii., 2, 163 *et seq.* See Kellner, *loc. cit.*, 327-329, and Ullmann, i., 278-282; the latter also (i., 255, 259 *et seq.*, 282 *et seq.*, 287 *et seq.*, 417) notices that of Joh. v. Wesel. According to the Serapeum (Intelligenzblatt, 1859, p. 153), three leaves of Kaltersen's "De indulgentiis" were preserved in the Library of the Abbey of Zwiefalten, which has been transferred to Stuttgart. Notwithstanding the kind exertions of Heyd, these three leaves were not to be found, either in the Royal Public Library or the Royal Court Library. Manni, 66-67, speaks of Jubilee medals.

† "Decisio consiliaris supra dubio producto de indulgenciis," etc. Besides the edition mentioned by Fischer (Typograph. Seltenheiten [Nürnberg, 1804], v., 89 *et seq.*), I found in the Frankfort Town Library (Prædic., 1356) another "impressum per Fredericum Creussner civem Nurmbergen."

denunciation of the Beguines, of mendicant friars who hunt after benefices and money, and of ecclesiastics neglectful of their duty. "Canons," he says, "who are not present in choir and yet receive remuneration for fulfilling this duty, are no better than thieves and robbers, and must, even if they be prelates, make restitution of their revenues, or they will not be partakers of the graces of the Jubilee year." Hemmerlin also speaks at length, and with great force, against concubinage.*

A description of Rome, written by Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, who made the pilgrimage in 1450, has lately been published, and is full of interesting matter. Amongst other things, he speaks of the catacomb beneath the church of St. Sebastian as always open, and constantly visited by the pilgrims.†

"Perhaps," says the chronicle of Forli, "it may have been in order to moderate the Pope's joy at the unwonted and extraordinary concourse of pilgrims, and to preserve him from pride, that an event was fated to occur which caused him the deepest sorrow."‡ A very beautiful German lady of rank, who had undertaken the pilgrimage to Rome,

* See Fiala, 493-494. At a later period, under the influence of passion, Hemmerlin unfortunately endeavoured to counteract the effect of his words by writing the "Recapitulatio de anno iubileo;" see *loc. cit.*, 507 *et seq.* An extract from the "Dyalogus" and from the "Recapitulatio" may be found in Reber, 328-333.

† See Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 575. See N. Muffel's Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. (W. Vogt, Stuttgart, 1876), 37.

‡ *"Volse la fortuna forse per mettere qualche passione per freno al diletto del piaxere chel papa forse piglava dela grandissima intrada e magnificentia non piu di sue di veduda per la qual allegreia portava perigolo de tal superbia che forse bisognio per suo meglio achadesse alcuna cosa a dare afanno chel piacere alquanto denigrasse." Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forli, f. 242. Cod. 234 of the private library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni, in Rome.

was, in the district of Verona, set upon and carried away by soldiers. Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini was generally looked upon as the instigator of this crime, which caused great excitement in Italy, but notwithstanding the careful inquiries at once set on foot by the Venetians, the mystery was never cleared up.* The disaster was all the more distressing to the Pope, inasmuch as it was calculated to deter many rich and distinguished personages from setting forth on a journey which was already deemed in itself most perilous.†

Nicholas V. was yet more deeply affected by a terrible calamity in the Holy City itself. On the 19th December‡

* See Sanudo, 1137; Giornali Napol. 1130, and Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 172. The aforesaid *Cronica di Forli also ascribes the deed to Sigismondo Malatesta. Among more modern writers, Tonini (203 *et seq.*) endeavours to exculpate him.

† The pilgrims accordingly made their wills before starting. Grotefend, i., 394, mentions the will made by a citizen of Frankfort who meant to go to Rome.

‡ This date is certain ; Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro in the Cronache Rom. (18) gives the 18th December as the day; a clerical error, which Manni (62) might have avoided. In the MS. copy of Paolo's Chronicle, preserved in the Chigi Library at Rome (Cod. N. ii., 32, f. 16 *et seq.*), September is substituted for December, an alteration easily explained by a misapprehension of the abbreviated name of the month (Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 110, has not noticed this error). N. della Tuccia (214) stands alone in assigning the catastrophe to the 24th December. The accident at the bridge of S. Angelo struck all Italy with horror, and is mentioned by almost every contemporary Italian chronicler, and even by those of other nations. See Mon. Germaniæ, Deutsche Chroniken, ii., 381 ; Deutsche Städtechroniken (Augsburg), ii., 196. Among the accounts of the event which are at present known, only three are by eye-witnesses, viz., that of Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro (Chronache Rom., 18-20) and the short notices in Tuccia (215), and in the Annal. L. Bonincontrii (155). I have been fortunate enough to discover two new accounts,

a greater crowd than ever had assembled in St. Peter's to venerate the holy handkerchief and receive the Papal benediction. At about four o'clock in the afternoon* the Pope sent word that, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the benediction would not be given that day, and all the people hurried home by the bridge of St. Angelo, which was encumbered with shopkeepers' booths. On the bridge the crowd unfortunately came in contact with some horses and mules, which had taken fright, and a block ensued.† A great many of the pilgrims were in a moment thrown down and trodden under foot by the advancing masses, or else pushed into the Tiber. Meanwhile, the multitudes, who filled all the streets leading from St. Peter's, pressed onward in utter ignorance of what had taken place, and, but for the presence of mind of the Castellan of St. Angelo, the catastrophe might have been yet more appalling in its extent. He caused the bridge to

namely, (1), in the State Archives at Florence, a long *Letter from Giovanni Inghirami to Giovanni de' Medici. Inghirami was not himself present at the dreadful scene, but derived his information from eye-witnesses. (2) In the State Archives at Milan, a *Despatch from the Milanese Ambassador, Vincenzo Amidano, dated Rome, 1450, Dec. 21st. Both documents are given in the Appendix, N. 4 and 5.

* "Circha a ore, 23," according to *G. Inghirami and Paolo. The copy of Paolo's Chronicle in the Corsini Library at Rome and Tuccia (214) both speak of the twenty-fourth hour.

† Infessura (1132) mentions a report that the mule which first took fright belonged to Cardinal Barbo, and Platina (713), and a notice in the *Cod. Regin., 2076, f. 535 (Vatican Library) assert this positively ("cujus rei causa fuit mula Car^lis Barbi"). Further details are given in the Cronica di Bologna, 696. See also Sanudo, 1137. The Chronic. Eugub, in Muratori, xxi., 988, has a very different version of the story. Shopkeepers' booths on the bridge of St. Angelo, such as are now to be seen on the Ponte Vecchio at Florence, are mentioned by Raph. Volaterran., 234.

be closed, and brave citizens held back the advancing throng, but the fatal crush on the bridge continued for a whole hour. Then the citizens began to carry the dead into the neighbouring Church of San. Celso. "I myself carried twelve dead bodies," writes the chronicler, Paolo dello Mastro. More than a hundred and seventy corpses were laid out in the church, and this number, of course, does not include such as had fallen into the river.* According to most of the contemporary accounts the victims exceeded two hundred, and this estimate cannot be far from the truth.† Some horses and a mule also perished.

* Tuccia (215) says that the bodies of seventeen of these unfortunate people were taken out of the Tiber at Ostia, and that they held one another fast by the clothes.

† Paolo dello Mastro (19) says that a hundred and seventy-two dead were brought to San Celso from the bridge; *Inghirami mentions a hundred and seventy-six (and this number appears in the fourth Bavarian continuation of the Sächsischen Weltchronik, Mon. Germaniæ, Deutsche Chroniken, ii., 381). Tuccia (215) has a hundred and seventy-seven. It is impossible to ascertain how many perished in the Tiber; Tuccia (215) expressly says that comparatively few of the bodies were recovered. Sanudo (1137), however, reckons those who were drowned at a hundred and thirty-six, and those who were trodden down on the bridge at two hundred. The following quotations will show how widely authors vary in their estimate of the number of victims. Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 298[b]: "More than a hundred slain on the bridge, many thrown into the river." Annal. L. Bonincontrii, 155: "Centum viginti hominum fuerunt attriti et quidam in Tiberim præcipitati. Hoc ego certius affirmare ausim, quod mortuos paullo post deferri in ædem sacram ibi propinquam vidi." Sabellicus, Enead., 10, lib. 5 (Opp., 944): "A hundred and thirty dead buried in San. Celso." Infessura, 1132; Æ. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58; Palmerius, 239-240; Manetti, 924; Cronica di Bologna, 696; Platina, 713; Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 24; *Despatch of V. Amidano and *Cod. Regin., 2076: "ad 200†" (others cast into the river). Cronica di Rimini, 966: "270†." Tuccia, 215: "300†." Chronicle of B. Zink (Städte-

People who escaped with their lives had their clothes torn to pieces in the crowd. "Some were to be seen," says an eye-witness, "running about in their doublets, some in shirts, and others almost naked. In the terrible confusion all had lost their companions, and the cries of those who sought missing friends were mingled with the wailing of those who mourned for the dead. As night came on, the most heartrending scenes were witnessed in the Church of San. Celso, which was full of people up to 11 o'clock; one found a father, another a mother, one a brother, and another a son among the dead. An eye-witness says that men who had gone through the Turkish war had seen no more ghastly sight."* "Truly," writes the worthy Paolo dello

chroniken, v., 198) : "More than 300 were drowned." A. Dathus, Opp., clxxxvii. : "Supra, 350†." F. Mariano Fiorentino, in his MS. Chronicle of the Franciscan Order in Vitorelli (292), and F. Hemmerlin (see Reber, 333): "400†." St. Antoninus, xxii., c. xii., § 3: "Quadringenti et multo plures suffocati et aliqui in Tiberim lapsi." Ist. Brescian, 867 : "More than five hundred dead." Schivenoglia, 124 : "4,000†." Giornali Napol., 1131: "Gente infinita†." A narrative (*Caso occorso in Roma lagrimevole l'anno del giubileo, 1450), in the Cod. Urbin., 1639, f. 329-333, giving the 16th May as the date of the accident, and stating that three hundred and fifty-six persons, who had been trodden to death, were buried in San. Celso and the Campo Santo, and that sixty corpses were found in the Tiber, is quite unworthy of credit. This fabulous account further asserts that "the Emperor, who was at the time in the city, immediately caused the castle of St. Angelo to be occupied by two hundred men, lest the people should revolt!"

* *Letter of G. Inghirami on Dec. 27th, 1450, State Archives at Florence; see Appendix, N. 5, and the passage in B. Zink's Chronicle (Städtechroniken, v., 196). Zink conversed with two Germans who had been present at the catastrophe; he concludes his narrative with the prayer, "O Lord Jesus Christ, have pity on them all, and be merciful to us through Thy divine grace. Amen."

Mastro, "it was misery to see the poor people with candles in their hands looking through the rows of corpses, and as they recognized their dear ones their sorrow and weeping were redoubled." The dead were for the most part Italians from the neighbourhood of Rome, chiefly strong youths and women; there were but few old people or children among them, and scarcely any persons of high rank.* At midnight, by command of the Pope, a hundred and twenty-eight were carried to the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, where they were left all the Sunday for identification. The rest of the bodies were either brought to Sta. Maria della Minerva or buried in San. Celso. Their garments were laid together in one part of the church. "My father," says Paolo dello Mastro, "was appointed to take charge of them: many persons, who did not know if they had to mourn for one belonging to them, hastened there, and were assured of their loss."

This terrible event inflicted a deep wound on the paternal heart of the Pope. He could not, indeed, attribute any blame to himself, for he had done all that was possible to maintain order in Rome, and had caused its narrow streets to be widened—yet the tragedy took such hold upon him that he fell into a kind of melancholy.†

* *Inghirami in the above-mentioned letter, and Paolo dello Mastro, 19.

† "Il papa se ne ammalò di melancolia." Istorie Bresc, 867, Niccola della Tuccia, who was at the time in Rome, says (215): "Di questo successo il papa n' ebbe gran manenconia e ne pianse." See A. Dathus, *loc. cit.*, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola, v., § 24. Infessura, a violent enemy of the Papal rule, bears witness (1132) that in the Jubilee year Pope Nicholas V., with the greatest diligence and zeal, and without any assistance, made the best preparations for the thousands of pilgrims. He then mentions the misfortune of the 19th December, and it would seem as if the preceding observation was intended to guard against the possibility of

In order to guard against the possible recurrence of such an accident, Nicholas V. had a row of houses in front of the bridge cleared away, so as to form an open space before the Church of San. Celso. In the following year two chapels, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and the Holy Innocents, were erected at the entrance of the bridge, and mass was daily offered for the souls of the victims. These chapels remained until the time of Clement VII., who replaced them by the statues of the Apostles,* which now stand there.

The Pope's rejoicing in the glories of the Jubilee year was marred by yet another circumstance; the French ambassador demanded that a General Council should be summoned to meet in France; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was at the time in Rome to obtain the Pope's permission for the coronation of Frederick III., soon afterwards, in a solemn consistory, made request in the name of his King that it should be held in Germany, inasmuch as Frederick did not mean to consent to its meeting in any other country. This silenced the French and delivered Nicholas V. from a serious difficulty.†

any blame being attached to the Pope. Adinolfi, Il Canale di Ponte, 6, records the improvements made by Nicholas V. in the streets of Rome. In the face of such facts, Kolde, M. Luther (Gotha, 1884) permits himself to say: "It seemed prudent to provide the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims with some few worldly pleasures, besides spiritual gifts. The Pope instituted Jubilee games (!), and it mattered little that on this occasion hundreds perished by the breaking down (!) of one of the Tiber bridges, for their souls were certainly saved" (p. 4).

* Manetti, 924. Palmerius, 240. Sanudo, 1137. Jac. Phil. Bergomas, f., 298[b]. Adinolfi, *loc. cit.*, 6. For further particulars regarding the construction of the two chapels see Gori, Archivio, iv., 294-295; Müntz, i., 151 *et seq.*, and Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 17.

† Voigt, ii., 19 *et seq.*

Immense sums of money poured into Rome during the Jubilee Year, especially at its beginning and at its close, when the concourse of pilgrims was greatest. A chronicler mentions four classes as chiefly benefited: First, the money-changers; secondly, the apothecaries; thirdly, the artists, who painted copies of the holy handkerchief; and fourthly, the innkeepers, particularly those in the large streets and in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's and of the Lateran.*

On this occasion, as in previous Jubilees, the pilgrims brought an immense number of offerings. Manetti, the Pope's biographer, says that an exceedingly large quantity of silver and gold found its way into the treasury of the Church, and Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that Nicholas V. was able to deposit a hundred thousand golden florins in the bank of the Medici alone. From the Chronicle of Perugia we learn that money was dear at this time, and could only with difficulty be obtained, because "it all flowed into Rome for the Jubilee."†

The Pope thus became possessed of the resources necessary for his great schemes, the promotion of art and learning; the poor also had a share of the wealth.‡

The moral effect of the Jubilee, in its bearing on the

* Cronache Rom., 20. According to Giovanni Rucellai, in 1450 there were a thousand and twenty-two inns with sign-boards in Rome, besides a great many without them. Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 579. In the fifteenth century there was great devotion to pictures copied from the handkerchief of St. Veronica. See the notices from the Inventory of the Bohemian Hospice in Rome in the Mittheilungen für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen (1874), xii., 210 *et seq.*

† Manetti, 924 *et seq.* Vespasiano da Bisticci, and Graziani, 624. Nicholas V. caused gold coins to be struck in remembrance of the Jubilee. See Venuti, 12 *et seq.*; Bonanni, 49, and Manni, 70-71.

‡ Manni, 70-72.

Papacy, was even more important than its material advantages.

The experience of all Christian ages has shown that pilgrimages of clergy and laity to the tombs of the Apostles at Rome are a most effectual means of elevating and strengthening the Catholic life of nations, and of uniting them more closely to the Holy See; and, moreover, that every movement of the kind is in many ways fraught with blessings. The great pilgrimage to Rome, the perennial fountain of truth, had a peculiar value in an age still suffering from the consequences of the schism. Faith seemed to gain new life, and the world saw that the Vatican, whose authority had been so violently assailed, was still the centre of Christendom, and the Pope its common Head.*

"It was striking," says Augustinus Dathus, "to see pilgrims come joyfully from all lands, most of them with bundles on their backs, despising the comforts of their own country and fearing neither heat nor cold, that they might gain the treasures of grace. The remembrance of those days still rejoices my heart, for they made manifest the magnificence and glory of the Christian religion. From the most distant places many journeyed to Rome in the year 1450 to visit the Head of the Catholic Church and the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles. Truly this Jubilee year is worthy to be remembered throughout all ages."†

The Jubilee was the first great triumph of the ecclesiastical restoration,‡ and it was the Pope's desire that its renovating influence should be felt in every part of Christendom. The idea was in itself a fresh evidence of the

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 110. See Droysen, ii., 1, 139.

† A. Dathus, Op., f. clxxvii. See also the words of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in Düx, ii., 5, note.

‡ Droysen, ii., 1, 138.

right understanding and goodwill of Nicholas V.,* and in order to carry it into effect he decided to send special Legates to the nations which had been most affected by the troubles of the last decade. These Legates were to labour for the establishment of a closer union with Rome, and for the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, and to open the spiritual treasures of the Jubilee to the faithful who were unable to visit the Eternal City. The Jubilee Indulgence was also extended by the Pope to those countries for which no Legate was appointed. A visit to the Cathedral of their Diocese, and an alms to be offered there, were generally the conditions substituted for the pilgrimage, which to many was an impossibility.†

"In all countries and in every direction," as one of Cusa's biographers justly observes, "men had been for a long time sinning much and grievously. It was fitting then that the reconciliation should be general. The awakening of a sense of sin was to be for all classes—for clergy as well as laity—for high and low, a solemn recall to duty, and a means of moral restoration; and when hearts were thus changed, there was room to hope that the reformation of ecclesiastical life, which had been so long desired and so solemnly guaranteed, might at last become a reality."‡

In August, 1451, the Pope sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to France, with a special mission to undertake the reform

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 200.

† Hungary, Poland, the Spanish Kingdoms, and Naples were among the countries on which these favours were conferred. See Raynaldus, ad an., 1450, N. 6, Manni, 67, and Caro, iv., 456, 481. Regarding Naples, see Arch. Napol., vi., 412. The Pope also authorized many Bishops to grant the Jubilee indulgence to their flocks. See Geissel, Der Kaiserdom zu Speyer, 2nd ed. (Köln, 1876), 165.

‡ Scharpff, 153.

of the Cathedral Chapters, and of the Schools and Universities. The edicts issued by him on this occasion for the University of Paris manifest the skill and zeal with which he fulfilled his trust.*

D'Estouteville remained in France until the end of 1452, without, however, accomplishing the principal end of his mission, which was the restoration of peace with England; to his honour it must be recorded, that he initiated the proceedings by which justice was done to the memory of the Maid of Orleans.†

Before the end of December, 1450, Nicholas V. had sent, as Legate to Germany, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, a prelate renowned for learning and purity of life, who had already done much to promote the general peace of the Church, and the reconciliation of Germany with the Holy See. He was now commissioned to publish the Indulgence of the Jubilee, and to labour for the pacification of the kingdom, especially for the conclusion of the contest between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves, and for the reunion of the Bohemians. The chief object of his mission, however, was to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life and thoroughly to reform moral abuses in Germany, where the Council of Basle had found so many partisans, and where the years of neutrality had produced great confusion in the affairs of the Church, and allowed

* Reformatio Universitatis Parisiensis facta a card. Tutavilleo, in Bulaeus, v., 562-577. See Crevier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, iv., 168 *et seq.*; Ullmann, ii., 322, 325; and Daniel, Etud. Class., 160 *et seq.*, 402 *et seq.* Regarding the nomination of d'Estouteville, see the *Document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 9.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 255. Raynaldus, ad an., 1451, N. 8. G. Görres, Jungfrau von Orleans (Regensburg, 1834), 343. D'Estouteville returned to Rome on the 3rd January, 1453. See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

religious indifferentism to assume serious proportions.* The Pope granted the most ample powers to the German Cardinal, and even authorized him to hold Provincial Councils.†

Little attention has been paid to the remarkable fact, that Cusa's appointment encountered violent opposition from certain parties in Germany, who, untaught by the events of the previous ten years, still adhered to the un-Catholic principles of the Council of Basle. Although the assembly had given convincing proofs of its absolute incapacity to correct ecclesiastical abuses, there were still pedants who would accept reform only from a Council, and to whom any measure of the kind, proceeding from the Pope, appeared utterly obnoxious, even if carried out by so eminent and distinguished a man as Cusa.‡ Others were anti-Roman to such a degree, that the dignity enjoyed by the Legate as a member of the Sacred College created a feeling of distrust in their minds.§ Yet all might have been proud to welcome the zealous and sagacious Cardinal

* Jakob von Jüterbogk, in his *"Tractatus de malis," gives a very gloomy picture of the state of Germany, see especially cap 20: "De penis ac plagis mundi," and cap. 23: "De statu religiosorum." Cod. 34 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves.

† Regarding the significance of Cusa's appointment, see Jäger, i., 25-26, 29, and Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 28. A separate Bull was issued for each one of the affairs entrusted to the Cardinal. That concerning Bohemia is in Raynaldus, ad an., 1450, N. 12, and that for the conclusion of the dispute between Cologne and Cleves is published in the Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift, 1830, p. 171 *et seq.* The authorization to proclaim the Jubilee is wanting. The long-sought Bull for the reform of the German Church is given in the Appendix, N. 6, from the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ As, for example, the well-known Felix Hemmerlin; see Fiala, 514.

§ See the letters of the Carthusian Prior, Vincenz von Axpach, in Pez, Thes. nov., vi., 3, 327 *et seq.*

who came speaking their own tongue, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the concerns and the needs of the Fatherland; and, as time went on, it became evident that Cusa discharged the duties of his important office in the spirit of a genuine reformer, and for the good of his country.*

He looked on the work of ecclesiastical reform as one "of purification and renovation, not of ruin and destruction, and believed that man must not deform what is holy, but rather be himself transformed thereby." And, therefore, first of all and above all, he was a reformer in his own person. His life was a mirror of every Christian and sacerdotal virtue. Justly persuaded that it is the duty of those, who hold the chief places in the Church, to exercise the office of preachers, he everywhere proclaimed the Word of God to both clergy and laity, and his practice accorded with his preaching. His example was even more powerful than his sermons.† Detesting all vanity, he journeyed modestly on his mule, accompanied only by a few Romans,

* Fiala, 514, note 1.

† Janssen, i., 9th ed., 3. Scharpff, Cusa als Reformator, 262 *et seq.* There is no complete account of all Cusa's journeys as Legate. In regard to his labours in Northern Germany, K. Grube's work, which we have repeatedly cited, holds the first place, but, unfortunately, this author was not acquainted with Sauer's article in the Zeitschrift des Westfäl. Gesch.-Ver., 1873, to which is added (172 *et seq.*) an "Itinerar des Cardinals Nic. von Cues während seiner Legation von 1451-1452." Cusa was, as Scharpff (*loc. cit.* 263) justly observes, one of the best and most zealous preachers of the fifteenth century. He esteemed the office very highly, and considered that the successors of the apostles were bound by the most sacred obligations to exercise it. His own conscientious care in this matter is testified by an entry in the copy of his collected works, preserved in the Franciscans' Library at Trent, where the hand of a contemporary has noted the times and places of a hundred and thirty sermons delivered by the Cardinal. Among

and scarcely to be recognized, save by the silver cross which the Pope had given him, and which was mounted on a staff and carried before him. On arriving in any town his first visit was to the church, where he fervently implored the blessing of heaven on the work he had taken in hand. Many princes and rich men brought him splendid presents, but he kept his hands pure from all gifts. Amongst his companions was the holy and learned Carthusian, Dionysius van Leewis, a man filled with the most ardent zeal for the renovation of monastic life.*

the places are Mayence, Erfürt, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Coblence, Trèves, Maestricht, Minden, Aix, Nymwegen, Louvain, Cologne, and Haarlem. He preached twice at Neustift; eighty times (not fifty, as Scharpff [263] and Jäger [142] have stated) at Brixen; thrice at Wilten; thrice at Bruneck; once at Innsbruck; also at Taurn, at Säben, and elsewhere; see *Karpe, Tirol. Literaturgesch. Bibl. Tirol., 1261, vi., f. 12[b], in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck. MSS. of Cusa's sermons are in: (1) Cues, Hospital Library, Cod. F., 53; see Serapeum, xxvi., 55. (2) Mayence, Town Library Cod. 392. (3) Munich, Court Library, Cod. lat., 7008 (Fürst, 108); 18711 (Teg., 711); 18712 (Teg., 712) [regarding both of these see Scharpff, 263]; 21c67 (Thierh., 67). (4) Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat., 1244. (5) Vienna, Library of the Dominican Monastery, S. 18, Ser. iii., f. 191-204: Sermo Moguntie factus sub themate: "Confide filia, fides tua te salvum fecit."

* Sinnacher, vi., 357. The Carthusian, Dionysius, (†1471) at this time wrote a work, "De munere et regimine Legati," and a treatise on the reform of monks. The support which he rendered to the Cardinal in the fulfilment of his difficult task may be estimated by his stern and free-spoken rebuke, addressed to the Bishop of Liège, for conduct unbecoming an ecclesiastic. Scharpff, 177 *et seq.* For further particulars concerning Dionysius, who was a prolific author, see Acta SS., ad. d., xii., Martii, 245 *et seq.*; Fabricius, i., 448 *et seq.*; Freib. Kirchen-Lexikon, iii., 2nd ed., 1801 *et seq.*; Allgem. Biogr., v., 246-248; Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1881, and the Monographs of J. Houghton (Col. 1532, see Barbier, Dict. des ouvr. anon., iv.), and J. Cassani (Madrid, 1738).

Nicholas of Cusa, who left Rome on the last day of the year 1450,* began his arduous labours, in February 1451, by holding a Provincial Synod at Salzburg. We have, unfortunately, but scanty details regarding this assembly; it is, however, evident that a renewal and strengthening of communion with Rome and a restoration of the relaxed discipline of religious houses were, together with the proclamation of the Jubilee Indulgence, its principal objects. The Cardinal thoroughly understood the root of the malady with which the Church in Germany was afflicted. A real change for the better could only be accomplished by a strengthening of the slackened bonds which bound Northern and Southern Germany to Pope Nicholas V., whose general recognition was but of recent date, and by a thorough reform of the relaxed religious orders. The decrees of the Synod over which Cusa presided are framed with these purposes. "Every Sunday henceforth," it was ordained, "all priests are at Holy Mass to use a prayer for the Pope, the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Church." By this rule, not only each bishop, but each individual priest, was obliged weekly to renew his solemn profession of communion with the Pope, and the consciousness of ecclesiastical unity was thus rendered more vivid. The decree was, within a month, to be published in every Diocese of the Province of Salzburg, and thenceforth to be binding on all priests. An indulgence of fifty days was granted for its exact observance.†

* This date, which Jäger (i., 30) gives as uncertain, is established by the Acta consist., f. 22, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Jäger, i., 30-31, who had already recognized the significance of this decree. The same collect was also prescribed by the Legate at the Synods of Bamberg, Magdeburg (see infra, p. 122), Mayence (Binterim, vii., 277), Cologne (Hartzheim, v., 418), and Brixen (Bickell, 34). With regard to the Salzburg Synod, see Hartzheim, v., 923-927, and Dalham, 221-224. The decree "Quoniam Sanc-

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the great importance of this opening act of Cusa's career as Legate in Germany. It bound the clergy of this vast ecclesiastical province by the closest ties to the Holy See, and formed a powerful check against any schismatical movement. The need which existed in Southern Germany for measures of this character was amply proved by the opposition of the Brixen Chapter, when the Pope appointed Cusa bishop of that Diocese.*

The subject of monastic reform, which next engaged the attention of the Synod of Salzburg, was equally urgent.

tissimus" for the reform of monasteries, given by Dalham, was promulgated by Cusa for his Diocese of Brixen, on the 2nd May, 1452. In the document on this subject, preserved in the Government Archives at Innsbruck, the Salzburg decree is inserted. A comparison with Hartzheim and Dalham shows a number of slight variations from the text, and another date, viz., Dat. Salzburgae die mercurii 10 mensis Febr., 1451. For the proclamation of the Jubilee Indulgence, see Archiv für Oesterr. Gesch. iv., 300; and for the opposition to the Pope at Münster, and the consequent interdict, Sauer, Münst. Stiftsfehde, 105 *et seq.*, 111 *et seq.*

* The Chapter of Brixen had elected Leonhard Wiesmayer bishop; Nicholas V., however, in virtue of his right of provision, nominated Cardinal Cusa to the vacant See. The Chapter, to whom the appointment was communicated by the Pope on the 25th March, 1450, considered it an infringement of their right of election, and Duke Sigismund looked on it as a breach of the Concordat. The *original draft of the Chapter's appeal to the Pope, when more fully informed, and to a General Council, dated 1451, January 27th, is preserved in the Government Archives at Innsbruck (Brixener Archiv. Urk., 51), there is a German epitome in Sinnacher, vi., 352-354; see also Jäger, i., 6-28. The letters of the Carthusian Prior, Vincenz von Axpach in Pez. Thes. nov., vi., 3327 *et seq.*, give us an idea of the fanatical anti-Roman feeling of many of the Southern Germans; and Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 20, bears witness to the diminution of the influence of the Holy See in the Diocese of Passau, from the time of the discord engendered by the Council.

The spring-time of monastic institutions was past. In many convents the spirit of strict observance and the cultivation of learning had sunk very low.* At Salzburg the cardinal had only time to sketch out the plan of his future work in this field, for he was anxious to proceed on his journey so as to meet the King of the Romans at Vienna. Frederick III. granted him the official investiture of the See of Brixen, with all the customary formalities, and confirmed, by a special diploma, his episcopal privileges and immunities in the beginning of March,† at Wiener-Neustadt.

On the 3rd March Cusa issued a circular letter from Vienna to all Benedictine abbots and abbesses of the province of Salzburg, informing them, that, in virtue of the Papal commission, he had appointed Martin, abbot of the Scotch Foundation in Vienna; Lorenz, abbot of Maria-Zell; and Stephan, prior of Melk, apostolic visitors of their order. Having God before their eyes, and without regard to any other consideration, they were carefully and exactly to investigate and report upon the condition of the convents. In the event of resistance they were to invoke the aid of the secular arm, and to apprise the Legate, so that he might take all proper proceedings. They were, above all things, to insist on the strict observance of the three essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Dispensations accorded in former visitations were, without exception, revoked as contrary to the rule. A plenary indulgence, on condition of the performance of an appointed penance, was to be granted to those religious who,

* Chmel (Kirchl. Zust., 43 *et seq.*) has collected a mass of information regarding the Austrian religious houses.

† See Sinnacher, vi., 355. Jäger, i., 33. I have seen the original document, dated 1451, March 1st (not 3rd, as Sauer, 172, has it), with a very well-preserved seal in the Government Archives at Innsbruck, Brix. Archiv. Urk., 21.

by their lives, showed themselves worthy of it. The document concludes by exhorting all concerned to receive the visitors with honour, and unreservedly to make known everything to them. All, without distinction of rank, were to be regarded as excommunicate, and their monasteries as under an interdict, in cases of disobedience, after the lapse of the three days following the service of the monition, required by the canons.* The apostolic visitors at once set about their difficult, and in many cases thankless, task. Stephan von Spangberg, the Prior of Melk, being shortly promoted to a bishopric, was replaced by Johann Slitpacher, a monk from the same house, and King Frederick III. granted letters of safe-conduct to the visitors, each of whom was accompanied by a chaplain and a servant. Abbot Martin generally made the opening address; Abbot Lorenz questioned the religious individually, examined churches, abbeys, cells, farm buildings, etc., and drew up the instrument of reform; and Slitpacher acquainted the monastic chapter with its several clauses.†

The Archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, the Province of Salzburg, and a part of Bavaria were visited, and about fifty houses of both sexes reformed.‡

* Dalham, 224-225. Hartzheim, 925-927. Scharpff, 161 *et seq.*

† Wichner, iii., 184.

‡ For the history of the visitation, see the Diary of Abbot Martin in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 623 *et seq.* The documents regarding this matter are still, for the most part, unpublished, and accordingly a conclusive judgment as to the success of the reform is impossible. Braunmüller, in the Studien aus dem Benedict.-Orden, iii., 1311 *et seq.*, treats of the *" Recessus visitationis monasterii S. Emeranni," dated 1452, February 18th, in Cod. Lat. 14, 196, f. 154-162 of the Court Library at Munich. See also Binterim, vii., 245; Keiblinger, 573-574; Wichner, iii., 184 *et seq.*, 469 *et seq.*; Filz, Gesch. von Michaelbeuern, ii., 374 *et seq.*, and A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23 *et seq.*, on the importance of the monastic reform of this period in general.

Much about the same time the Cardinal turned his attention to the reform of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, entrusting the visitation of their houses to Provost Nicholas of St. Dorothy's, in Vienna, Peter zu Ror, and Wolfgang Reschpeck.*

The negotiations with the Chapter of Brixen in regard to Cusa's appointment having been, by the mediation of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg, brought to a satisfactory conclusion,† the Legate proceeded by way of Munich, Freising, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg to Bamberg, where he held a Diocesan Synod in the Cathedral. His labours were directed in the first place to the reform of the religious orders. A deplorable contest prevailed at this time in the Diocese of Bamberg between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy, and, with the full consent of the Synod, he decided to bring the discord to an end by the publication of a canon of the Lateran Council of 1215. Everyone, whether exempt or non-exempt, who failed to worship in his parish church on Sundays and festivals, was to be deprived of communion and refused admission to the church. And, on the other hand, inasmuch as Mendicant Friars, lawfully admitted by the Bishop to the cure of souls, could give valid absolution, even in cases reserved to the Pope, similar punishments were to be inflicted on those who disputed their powers. Furthermore, the Bishop of Bamberg was required to publish in the principal places in his diocese, on the first Sunday in Lent, for the information of

* Keiblinger, 572. Topographie des Erzherzogthums Oesterreich (Wien, 1836), xv., 49 *et seq.*, 55 *et seq.* Chmel, Regesten, N. 2701. Archiv für Oesterr. Gesch., xvii., 393. J. Stülz, Gesch. von. St. Florian (Linz, 1835), 58. The Cistercian Monastery of Wilhering was visited by the Abbot of Morimond in May, 1451. See J. Stülz., Gesch. von Wilhering (Linz., 1840), 66, 601-602.

† Particulars are given by Jäger, i., 36 *et seq.*

the people, the names of the Friars entrusted with the cure of souls, and a list of the cases reserved to the Bishop or the Pope. All controversy on the subject was to be discontinued, and any differences were to be referred to the decision of competent judges.*

Regulations for the reform of houses and various ordinances concerning processions, confraternities, and the Jews, were also promulgated by the Bamberg Synod, and the Salzburg decree, prescribing the prayer for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese at mass, was reiterated.†

In the latter part of the month of May, Nicholas of Cusa, together with four abbots, presided at the fourteenth Provincial Chapter of the Benedictines, which was held in the convent of St. Stephen at Würzburg. On this occasion

* Scharpff, 163-164. The decree is published by Hartzheim, v., 440-441, and L. Cl. Schmitt, Die Bamberger Synoden (Bamberg, 1851), 86, 88.

† Nothing was hitherto known of the Bamberg Synod save the decree regarding the Mendicant Orders. Binterim (vii., 247) considered it improbable that other statutes had been framed at Bamberg. *Cod. 17, 18, Aug. 4to., of the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, however, contains, as Dr. O. v. Heinemann, the librarian, has kindly informed me: *Nicolai Cusani decreta quædam, quæ fecit in Synodo Bambergensi a^{o} 1451, namely: (1) Ut religiosi infra annum regularem observantiam incipiant, f. 11-12^{b}. (2) De pensionibus, f. 13-14. (3) De Judæis, f. 22-24^{b}. (This decree was extended by Cusa on the 20th May, 1451, to the Diocese of Würzburg; see Stumpf, Denkwürdigk. d. Teutsch., besonders d. Fränkisch. Gesch. [Erfurt, 1802], i., 151-154.—Kayser im Archiv für Kirchenrecht [1885], liii., 211, 217 f., shows that Nicholas V. was inclined to treat the Jews with more leniency than Cusa would have shown.) (4) De processionibus et fraternitatibus, f. 24-25. (5) Decree on the contest between the Mendicant Orders and Secular Clergy (published by Hartzheim and Schmitt), f. 25-26^{b}. (6) De oratione pro papa et antistite, f. 26^{b}-27^{b}.

he commanded that the rule of St. Benedict should be observed in all its original strictness, approved the Bursfeld reform, and strongly recommended it to all the abbots. This Chapter was very numerously attended; seventy abbots from the Dioceses of Mayence, Bamberg, Würzburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Eichstädt, Spire, Constance, Strasburg, and Augsburg were present, and amongst them Abbot Johann Hagen, the worthy founder of the celebrated congregation of Bursfeld.* The Cardinal himself celebrated solemn High Mass, and each abbot individually came up to the altar and bound himself by vow to carry out the reform within the space of a year. To ensure the success of the good work, the disused custom of annual Provincial Chapters was re-established, and Abbot Hagen was appointed visitor, together with the Abbot of St. Stephen at Würzburg.† Thus was the good seed widely sown by the Cardinal Legate, for the seventy abbots bore back to their several houses the impulse received at

* Regarding the origin of this congregation, which did for the Benedictines what the congregation of Windesheim did for the Augustinians, see Evelt, 121 *et seq.*, 136 *et seq.* A complete history of the Bursfeld congregation is a desideratum, and MSS. authorities are by no means wanting. In the Cathedral Library at Trèves I noted in Cod. 31, *De reformacionis principacione ordinis b. Benedicti et de conversione et vita hominis dei Henrici abbatis (beginning with the year 1446). Diekamp, in the Zeitschr. für Geschichte Westfalens, No. 41 (1883), p. 141-142, speaks in detail of this MS. Other MSS. on the subject are preserved in the town library at Trèves: Cod. 68, 1144, and others. See also *Cod. 344 of the MS. theolog. in the Town Archives at Cologne. F. X. Kraus, in the Serapeum, xxiv., 367, draws attention to the Parisian MSS. concerning the history of the Windesheim congregation.

† Grube, Legationsreise, 396. The names of the abbots are in the Mayence Monats-schrift für geistl. Sachen (1791, p. 213) in Binterim, vii., 249-250. See Bussæus, Trithemii opera pia (Mogunt., 1605), 1048.

Würzburg; no mere passing emotion, such as is wont to touch the heart for a moment, and then leave it unchanged, but a steadfast, earnest purpose of reform. It is possible, indeed, that, through human weakness, or on account of insurmountable obstacles, some of the abbots may have failed to fulfil their promise within the appointed time, but there can be no doubt that the Würzburg Synod brought forth excellent fruit.*

From Würzburg the Cardinal-Legate, riding on a mule, proceeded through Thuringia to Erfurt, which, on account of its numerous churches, chapels, and convents, was called Little Rome. Of the eleven religious houses in this city, three only were reformed, and in one of these, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Cusa took up his abode. St. Peter's was at the time one of the most important monasteries of the Bursfeld congregation, and subsequently became its chief centre.† On the very day after his arrival (30th May), the Legate began to preach. Hartung Kammermeister, in his Annals, gives the following description of his labours as a preacher, and of his sojourn at Erfurt: "On the Saturday after *Cantate* (4th Sunday after Easter),

* Such is Grube's opinion, J. Busch, 130-131. During his stay at Würzburg, Cusa published other decrees of reform. In *Cod. Palat., 362, f. 89, we find a letter addressed by him to Bishop Gottfried, of Würzburg, d. d. Herbipoli, 1451, Maii, 22, concerning abuses in the collection of tithes; and at f. 90ab are protocols and resolutions sent to four rural deaneries with reference to the above letter. Vatican Library.

† The Chronicle of Nicholas of Siegen, published by Wegele, in the Thüringischen Geschichts-quellen, Vol. ii. (see p. 6), is, as this scholar remarks, an immediate result of the distinction conferred on St. Peter's, and of the share taken by that abbey in the movement of monastic reform, whose spirit inspires and guides its author.

anno Dom. 1451, Nicholas of Cusa, the Cardinal sent by Pope Nicholas, came to Erfurt, when the Council decided that its chief man, Count Henry of Glichen, with some of its servants, friends, and citizens, should ride to meet him and receive him. They had also arranged that the monks from the monastery, and also the university, with the students, in procession, should await his arrival at the outer gate towards Tabirstete, there receive him and escort him to the toll bridge. On the aforesaid bridge the Canons of both Chapters met him, and the Cardinal dismounted from his horse and followed them on foot, in procession, to the Church of Our Lady, and both there and at St. Severin there was grand music in the choir and on the organ. Afterwards the Cardinal again mounted his horse and rode to the Petersberg, where the Canons met him with their relics, and he got off his horse at the steps, and gave the kiss of peace, and followed them on foot, in procession, to the monastery, and those who had ridden forth to meet him followed him on their horses, and afterwards everyone rode home again.

"Now at mid-day of *Vocem jucunditatis* (5th Sunday after Easter), the same Cardinal made a good and beautiful sermon from the pulpit of St. Peter's, where a great multitude came together, and he informed the people why and in what manner our Holy Father the Pope had sent him, and he did the same in presence of all. Again on the Day of the Ascension of our Lord, the Cardinal preached from the stone pulpit at the Kaffate, and a great crowd came, for the people heard him gladly.

"Furthermore, on *Exaudi Sunday* the Cardinal preached from the pulpit of St. Peter's, and very many came from the country into the town, wishing to hear his discourse, and the throng was so great that some men were crushed

and many fainted, and it was supposed that more than two thousand persons were present."*

Nicholas of Cusa also visited all the religious houses of Erfurt, and appointed a special commission, with ample powers of reform. Among its members was the excellent Provost of the Augustinians, Johannes Busch, whose labours have been brought to light by recent researches.† Cusa's solicitude also extended to many Benedictine monasteries in Thuringia, and not being able to visit them all personally, he deputed Abbot Christian of St. Peter to act as his substitute, and the Abbot, in his turn, sought the aid of Provost Busch.‡

In the beginning of June the Cardinal went to Magdeburg, where monastic reform as well as renovation of life among clergy and laity were making the happiest progress under the auspices of the admirable Archbishop Frederick. It is worthy of note that Cusa deviated from the direct road to Magdeburg, in order to pass through Halle and make acquaintance with Johannes Busch, the principal promoter of monastic reform in Northern Germany, with whom he desired to confer regarding the great work in hand.

He entered Magdeburg on Whit-Sunday (June 13) in the morning, and remained there until the twenty-eighth of

* Mencken, Script., iii., 1214. According to Ullmann, Ref., i., 257, the celebrated John of Wesel was one of the Cardinal's audience.

† Grube, J. Busch, 132 *et seq.*, a most valuable monograph. See also Grube, Legationsreise, 398-399. In the Bull which Cusa issued for the reformation of the Augustinian convents, he says that Pope Nicholas V. had, in the first place, charged him with the reform of the religious houses of Germany. Busch, De reformat., in Leibniz, Script., ii., 960. See also Kolde, Augustiner congregation, 88.

‡ Thüring, Gesch-Quellen, ii., 433, and Grube, Legationsreise, 399.

June, devoting the first week of his stay to preaching and the visitation of religious houses, and the second to holding a Provincial Synod.* "This same Cardinal," to quote the Municipal Chronicle of Magdeburg, "granted to all people in our Lord of Magdeburg's Cathedral, in that year of graces, or golden year, the same Indulgences that were granted in Rome in the fiftieth year. The Canons had caused a new pulpit to be made, and when he wished to preach, the pulpit was ornamented with golden hangings. Many came to the sermon. There, on the Sunday after Corpus Christi, the Cardinal went with our Lord of Magdeburg in the procession, which every year is wont to be made with the Holy Sacrament, and the Cardinal himself bore It. It never before had been heard that a Cardinal from Rome had gone in procession here. Two Counts of Anhalt accompanied the Cardinal, and the canopy over the Sacrament was borne by the two Counts and other distinguished persons. Our Lord of Magdeburg bore the Holy Cross, and the Abbot of Berge and the Provost of Our Lady's Church also carried relics. At this time so many people came to Magdeburg that all the streets were thronged. In the afternoon, when it is customary every year to show the relics, the Cardinal and our Lord of Magdeburg went up the aisle and stood beside the priest who showed them, as long as this was going on. Then the Cardinal gave the Benediction to the people."†

The Provincial Synod, in which the Bishops of Brandenburg and Merseburg, as well as the zealous Archbishop Frederick, took part, was held by the Cardinal in the choir of the magnificent Cathedral of Magdeburg. The Jubilee Indulgence and the reform of the religious orders were the

* Grube, Legationsreise, 401. See Breest, in the Märk Forschungen, xvi., 237 *et seq.*

† Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, vii., 401.

principal subjects which occupied its attention,* and Cusa appointed for the several towns and monasteries special confessors, who were empowered to absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical censures, even in cases reserved to the Bishops or to the Pope. The measures resolved upon for the reform of the monasteries were stringent. On the 25th June he issued a Bull, requiring, under pain of deprivation of all privileges and of the right of electing superiors, that, within the space of a year, all religious houses in the whole ecclesiastical province should be reformed, and charging all Bishops to publish these decisions as soon as possible, and to aid in their execution. Special attention was next devoted to the reform of the Augustinians, and, in this respect, the Magdeburg Synod was the counterpart to that of Würzburg, which dealt in like manner with the Benedictines. The excellent Provost Busch was honoured as he deserved to be. The Cardinal declared that Pope Nicholas V. had, in his solicitude for the Order of St. Augustine, given him a commission to visit all its convents within the limits of his Legation. Being unable to accomplish this in person, he intended to nominate deputies, who, in their character of visitors and Legates of the Holy See, were to enjoy all the dignities and rights of an Apostolic Legate, and whose commands were in all particulars to be obeyed by the houses. Provost Johann Busch was appointed in the first place as visitor by Cusa, and with him was associated Provost Doctor Paulus Busse, and all Augus-

* Cusa's teaching regarding the Indulgence has been misrepresented, not only by the Protestant Swalue, but also by the Catholic Scharpff. They have been refuted in von Knoop's article in Dieringers Zeitschr. für Wissensch. und Kunst, ii., 44 *et seq.*, and Grube, Legationsreise, 403. Regarding Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg, who deserves a special monograph, see Evelt, 141 *et seq.*; Janicke, in the Allg. Biogr., vii., 548 *et seq.*; and Breest, in the Märk. Forschungen, xvi., 202 *et seq.*, 236.

tinian convents of the province of Magdeburg, and of the dioceses of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verdun, its suffragans, were to be subject to their jurisdiction. Cusa charged the visitors to begin with the superior of each house, and to go through all its members to the very lowest, and then to give an accurate account in writing of the result of their inquiries. "They were to correct everything found to be at variance with the rule of the Order and the Hildesheim Statutes, approved by Pope Martin V. at the Council of Constance. In case of grave transgressions, and towards incorrigible offenders, they were to use strong measures, and even to invoke the aid of the secular arm for the eradication of crimes and scandals." Finally, all houses that accepted the reform were to participate in the benefit of the Indulgence. Both the visitors were fully empowered to give absolution in reserved cases and from ecclesiastical censures, and to grant dispensations for all irregularities. They were, moreover, authorized to remove the interdict, and in cases where they were worthy, to confirm provosts and priors who had obtained their prelacies by simony, and to set them free from the obligation of restitution in regard to revenues which they had unjustly enjoyed. Any convent refusing to admit the visitors incurred interdict, and its inmates fell under the greater excommunication, both of which censures were reserved to the Cardinal Legate and the Apostolic See. By the grant of these powers the work of reformation, which had hitherto depended only on the goodwill of the religious houses and the efforts of the bishops, received Papal authorization.*

The labours of the Provincial Synod of Magdeburg were

* Grube, J. Busch, 135-136, and Legationsreise, 404. Leibniz, Script., ii., 956-958. See also, regarding Busch's reforms, Finke in the Zeitschr. für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg. Gesch. (Kiel, 1883), xiii., 148 *et seq.*

not yet at an end;* a long list of resolutions for the reform of ecclesiastical affairs was drawn up; regulations were made regarding the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament, the office in choir, and the Jews, and finally a severe edict against concubinage was published.† The decree requiring prayers for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese to be said during Holy Mass, issued for the Province of Salzburg at the beginning of Cusa's Legation, was now enacted at Magdeburg, and is a fresh example of the great Cardinal's care for the promotion of ecclesiastical unity.‡

A cheering token of the revival of piety in Northern Germany appears in the zeal, with which the Bishop and the secular authorities promulgated and carried out the decisions of the Magdeburg Synod. The visitors of the religious houses spared no trouble in the accomplishment of their difficult task, and the fact that they devoted nearly seven weeks to Erfurt bears witness to the thoroughness of their labours in the cause of monastic reform. The convents of St. Thomas at Leipzig and St. John

* As Grube (*loc. cit.*), whose excellent description we may in all other particulars adopt, would seem to infer.

† *Acta concilii provincialis Magdeburgensis. Cod. Vatic. 3934, f. 166 *et seq.* (Vatican Library). See Erdmannsdörffer in the Nachrichten der historichen Commission der Bayerischen Akademie, ii., 2, 98. The **Decree against those who had concubines is dated, Magdeburg, 1451, June 25.

‡ Cusa's Decree "De oracione pro papa et episcopo facienda" is, according to Erdmannsdörffer (*loc. cit.*), to be found in Cod. C. iii., 24, f. 140 of the Casanate Library in Rome. I failed, however, to find it there; there is a decree against forgers of Papal Bulls. Probably the reference given by Erdmannsdörffer is not correct; there is a mistake in the subsequent notice by this scholar (Cod. Vatic. instead of Palat. 362).

at Halberstadt were also visited and reformed this year.*

To this period belongs the Cardinal's well-known prohibition of the veneration of bleeding Hosts, a matter regarding which the result of recent investigations is by no means unanimous.† From Halberstadt, whence this order was issued, the Cardinal went to Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick, and then turned his steps towards Hildesheim. In this town he at once deposed the Abbot of St. Michael's, who had obtained his dignity by means of simony and was averse to the reform, putting in his place a monk from Bursfeld, and thus ensuring the strict observance of the rule.‡ Here, as elsewhere, Cusa made the religious instruction of the people his care. An interesting memorial of his solicitude is preserved in the Hildesheim Museum in the form of a wooden tablet, bearing the paternoster and the ten commandments, which he caused to be hung up in St. Lambert's, the parish church of Neustadt, as an aid to catechetical instruction.§

* Interesting details are given by Grube, J. Busch, 139 *et seq.*; and at p. 146 *et seq.* the opposition subsequently encountered by the reformer is described.

† Scharpff (164), Düx (ii., 19) and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler (203) justify the decision, while Grube (Legationsreise 406-407) regards it as most unfortunate, and as prejudicial to the work of reform. The document is published in Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 382-384. See also Zeitschr. f. Westfälische Gesch., Third Series, i., 236; Fiala, 518 *et seq.*, and the detailed account given by Breest in the Märk. Forschungen (Berlin, 1881), xvi., 240 *et seq.*

‡ Leibniz, Script., ii., 402, 412, 801. Grube, Legationsreise, 409-410. In opposition to the idea that Cusa's monastic reform was merely external, Grube justly observes that most of the reformed convents stood firm during the storms of the sixteenth century. See A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23.

§ Grube *loc. cit.* From the time of his sojourn at Hildesheim, the Cardinal Legate began to exercise an influence on the troubles

The Cardinal left Hildesheim about the 20th July,* probably spent some days in the ancient and celebrated convent of Corbie, and then remained in Minden uninterruptedly from the 30th July until the 9th August, labouring with great zeal at the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs.† His activity is shown by the list of rules by which he sought to amend the deplorable condition of the diocese. The convents of the city of Minden were subjected to a searching visitation, especially the Benedictine Abbey of St. Simon, where discipline had become very relaxed. Here, as in other places, he preached and said Mass in the Cathedral. He also inquired minutely into the condition of the Secular Clergy and the laity, and published ordinances for the better celebration of Divine Service and a severe edict against concubinage among the clergy. As this edict did not at once produce the desired effect, he caused a decree to be affixed to the church doors, threatening any beneficed ecclesiastic, who took back his concubine or kept her elsewhere, with the loss of his income and exclusion from public worship. Should the priest of any

in Münster. See Sauer, Münst. Stiftsfehde, 129 *et seq.* Sauer's work, which is founded in great measure on unpublished documents, is of special value, inasmuch as previous accounts had merely dealt with the ecclesiastical aspect of Cusa's mission.

* On the 19th July, 1451, Cusa issued at Hildesheim a *Bull of Indulgence in favour of the visitors and benefactors of the "ecclesia monasterii beate Marie virginis in Richenberga ordin. canonicor. regul. S. Augustini Hildeshemen. dioc." The original, according to the information kindly furnished me by Prof. Wilmanns, is in the App. dipl., n. 262, of the University Library at Göttingen.

† Sauer *loc. cit.* 153, 173-174. The details regarding his stay at Corbie in Manegold's article "Athanasia," in the Würzburger Zeitsch. (iii., 2, 251), are defective and in some degree incorrect. For an account of the subsequent progress of the reform in Corbie see Evelt, 169 *et seq.*

church permit an ecclesiastic, reasonably suspected of this sin, to enter his church or take part in the worship of God, the whole city of Minden was to incur an interdict which could only be removed by the Cardinal himself, or by the Apostolic See. The erection of new confraternities or congregations was prohibited, lest the laity should be encouraged to trust in a fallacious piety, consisting solely in externals and nominal membership in many brotherhoods.*

While Nicholas of Cusa was thus labouring in Northern Germany to reform the Church from within, the celebrated Minorite, St. John Capistran, was energetically prosecuting the same work in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom. King Frederick III. had, through the intervention of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, induced the Pope to send this great preacher to Germany, charged with the double duty of reforming his own order, and of combating the religious indifference, the sensuality and the spirit of insubordination, which had long prevailed among the people.†

The Papal mandate, desiring St. John Capistran to proceed to the north, found him at Venice, where he was preaching the Lent.

* Grube, J. Busch, 153-154. See the Minden Decrees in Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 385-399. Evelt, 150 *et seq.*, describes the fate of the reform in the Abbey of St. Simon.

† Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Friderici III., 175. Wadding, 1451, n. 1, Chmel, ii., 629. St. John Capistran was also to counteract the Hussite heresy; see Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 60. Just at this time the Duke of Milan had invited him to his dominions, and, when the invitation was declined, had replied that he would esteem a visit from the Saint as the greatest happiness. *Letter from the Duke to St. John Capistran, dated Piacenza, 1451, October 23rd. Regest. in Cod. 1612d., Fonds Ital. of the National Library in Paris.

He immediately started on his journey to Wiener-Neustadt, passing through Carinthia and Styria, where the mountaineers welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. "Wherever he arrived," says Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in his History of Frederick III.* "priests and people met him with the holy relics, received him as ambassador of the Pope and preacher of truth, as a great prophet and messenger from heaven. The people flocked down from the mountains as if St. Peter or St. Paul, or some other of the Apostles were passing by, desiring to touch even the hem of his garment, and bearing their sick, many of whom are said to have returned healed. He was about sixty-five years old, small of stature, thin, withered and worn, mere skin and bone, but always cheerful, powerful in intellect, unwearied in work, very learned and eloquent. He preached every day, treating of high and important matters to the joy and delight of learned and unlearned; to all he gave satisfaction, and persuaded them as he would. From twenty to thirty thousand people came every day to his sermons, and although they did not understand what he said, listened to him with more attention than to the interpreter, for it was his custom first to pronounce his whole discourse in Latin, and afterwards he let the interpreter repeat it.† It was long before he could reach Vienna, and when at the prayer of the Viennese he at last came to their city, they thronged to him in such crowds that the streets were too narrow to hold them. Men and

* Hist. Frid. III., 177 *et seq.*; Palacky, iv., 1, 281 *et seq.*

† In Magdeburg, as the Municipal Chronicle informs us, St. John Capistran's Latin sermons lasted from two to three hours. The like time was then occupied in their interpretation, so that the audience had to remain from four to five hours. Chroniken der Deutschen Städtes, vii., 392. He also often, as for example in Frankfurt, said Mass after the sermon. See Grotefend, i., 191.

women pressed one upon another, and when they saw him they shed tears of joy, raised up their hands to heaven and praised him, and those who could come near him kissed his garments, and greeted him as a messenger from heaven. He took up his abode with the Minorites, his brethren in religion, and was supported at the expense of the city. The rule of life which, together with his brethren, he observed was the following: he slept in his habit, rose at daybreak, and after much prayer said holy Mass. He then preached publicly to the people in Latin, from a high platform erected for him near the Carmelite Church on the Square, because elsewhere there was not room. A few hours later, when the interpreter also had finished, he returned to his convent, and after spending some time in prayer, went to visit the sick, laying hands on some, and touching others with the biretta of St. Bernardine, and the blood which had flowed from his nose after death. These visits occupied a long time, inasmuch as the sick were seldom fewer than five hundred, and the Saint prayed devoutly for them all. Towards evening he took food, gave audiences, said vespers, and returned to the sick and engaged in devotional exercises with them until after night had set in. After more prayer he at last allowed his body some repose, but his sleep was very short, for he stole from it time for the study of Holy Scripture. Thus did this man lead on earth what may be called a heavenly life, spotless, blameless, and sinless; I boldly say sinless although people were not wanting who accused him of vain ambition." *

* As for example the Saxon Chronicler, Mathias Döring, "the enemy of the Emperor and of his ally the Papacy," who represents St. John Capistran as a vain boaster and deceiver (in Mencken, iii. 19-20). The judgment of Æneas Sylvius was also at a subsequent period less favourable, and when Pope, he would not hear of the saint's canonization. The fanatical Döring (see Ullmann, i.,

Preaching penance wherever he went, St. John Capistran proceeded from Vienna through a great part of Germany. At Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nüremberg, Weimar, Jena, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Breslau and many other places, he was unwearied in proclaiming the Word of God, and won thousands to a better life*. In Moravia he battled with the Hussite heresy and reconciled many to the Church, but the hostility of Podiebrad closed Bohemia

251), in his chronicle, writes of things sacred to all devout men in such language that we can hardly believe our eyes as we read it. He condemns, not merely abuses, but also here and there the very substance of the Catholic faith. When he deals with Indulgences and the Jubilee he betrays his real sentiments: "Tus stille, lat over gan," and scoffs at both. F. W. Woker, Gesch. der Norddeutschen Franciscaner-Missionen (Freiburg, 1880), 19. See also in reference to Döring, Märk. Forschungen, xvi., 198 *et seq.* I am indebted to the kindness of my deceased master, Prof. Floss, for my knowledge of an unpublished *Letter of St. John Capistran's, dated, Vienna "prox. die post octavas Apost. Petri et Pauli A°, 1451," and preserved in Cod. 510 of the University Library of Padua.

* Almost all the chronicles of these cities speak more or less fully of the visits of the great preacher. Regarding his efforts against the Jews, see Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters (Braunschweig, 1866), 192 *et seq.*, 291; the reports of the Striegauer Stadtbuch in the Zeitschr. für Gesch. Schlesiens, 1865, vi., 378 *et seq.*; Mon-Poloniæ hist., iii. 785, *et seq.*, iv., 1 *et seq.*, and Grünhagen Gesch. Schlesiens (Gotha, 1884), i., 280 *et seq.* Also see Veith, De reb. Capist. in Silesia gestis (Glogau, 1831). F. C. G. Müller, Des Franciscaners J. v. Capistrano Mission unter den Husiten, 1451-1453 (Leipzig, 1867). Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Stadt. Dresden (1883): Capistrano in Dresden. Märkische Forschungen, xvi., 255 *et seq.*; Capistrano's Beziehungen zum Wilsnacker Wunderblut. See also Frind, iv., 37 *et seq.* I may here mention in passing that, according to information kindly furnished me by Prof. A. Jäger, a letter of affiliation from St. John Capistran to the Abbot and religious of the Convent of Stams, dated Wratislaviæ. 1453, April 12th, was to be found in the

to him. The Cardinal of Cracow and King Casimir invited him to Poland, where he continued his labours.*

His own order derived great benefits from his untiring energy. He knew how to arouse the zeal of the German Princes and cities. In most of the places where he preached he either founded a new convent, or obtained for his Observantines possession of one which required reform. It was his special care to fill these houses with learned novices who had been won, by his preaching, from among the undergraduates and students in the university towns.† He strove earnestly in his innumerable discourses to awaken among the people a spirit of true penance and moral reformation. Success crowned his efforts, and in many places men and women brought their dice, cards, false hair, paint, and such like to the public market place and there burned them. "In the year 1454," says an Augsburg chronicle, "Brother John Capistran, of the bare-footed Order, preached here in the church of our Lady, after Mass in the morning about the sixth hour, from the pulpit which had been erected for him, and he did this for eight days together. The men all had to sit on one side and the women on the other, and after dinner, towards evening, he touched all sick people in the court with the Relic of St. Bernardine. Many tresses of false hair and a

Provincial Archives of the Tyrolese Franciscans at Schwaz; it subsequently passed into the Archives of Hall and Innsbruck; the kind exertions of Fr. A. Troger have been unsuccessful in discovering the present place of this valuable document.

* Caro, iv., 455 *et seq.*, and Palacky, iv., 1, 285 *et seq.*, 292 *et seq.*, 360.

† Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 56. See Chmel, Kirchl. Zustände, 75. * Fratri Joh. de Capistrano conceditur facultas ædificandi conventus ord. min. in Bohemia, Moravia et Austria dat. iv. non Maii a° 1453, P. A. vii°. Reg. 400, f. 69b., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

pile of gambling tables and cards were burnt in the market place."*

In many places St. John's preaching produced effects which, though supported by ample testimony, appear almost incredible. In Leipzig, for example, after he had preached on death with a skull in his hand, nearly a hundred and twenty students sought admission into different Religious Orders, about half the number being clothed by the preacher himself with the habit of St. Francis. Fifty young men were won for his Order in Vienna, and a hundred and thirty in Cracow, and many of these were students.† The Pope showed his esteem for this marvellous preacher by bestowing on him special faculties and granting indulgences to all who should attend his sermons. He was popularly known as the "holy man" or "ghostly father." ‡

Meanwhile the zealous Nicholas of Cusa had in the brief space of six months traversed the most important districts of his native land, leaving everywhere traces of his presence in beneficent regulations which encouraged the good and were a terror to the evil.§ He now turned his steps to the spot whence monastic reform in Northern Germany had, in the first instance, proceeded, and where many of the happy days of his youth had been spent.‖ Amid general rejoicings he entered Deventer on the 12th August, and

* Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iv., 325; see vii., 391-392. The painter Steinle has represented these effects of the sermons in a picture in the Cathedral at Frankfort, which city the saint visited in October 1454. (See G. L. Kriegk, Deutsch. Bürgerthum im Mittelalter [Frankfurt, 1868], 23, 342, 526, 566, and Grotefend, 1, 59, 101, 191-192.)

† See R. L. Gräfe in Illgens Zeitschr. für histor. Theol. (1839), ix., 69, and Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 56.

‡ Grotefend, i., 191.

§ Hartzheim, Vita, 82.

‖ Scharpff, 167-168.

took up his abode with his beloved brethren in religion. It was his delight to share the common life of those virtuous religious; he ate with them, though occupying a special seat in conformity with his dignity, and observed the monastic rule in every particular. In the afternoon, when the brethren were assembled in choir, he delighted them with an edifying discourse. While here the Cardinal also visited Windesheim, where he first delivered a striking sermon, and then proceeded to the church, solemnly celebrated Pontifical High Mass, and imparted to all present the Indulgences of the Jubilee.* Cusa spent more than two months in the Low Countries, visiting Deventer, Zwolle, Utrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Arnheim, Nymwegen, Ruremonde, Mästricht, Liège, Brussels, and most other places of importance.† His attention was everywhere devoted not only to monastic reform, but also to that of the people. Van Heilo, his contemporary and assistant, writes: "He not only everywhere admonished and punished ecclesiastics, and required them to amend, but also in his sermons instructed the other members of Christian society in all things necessary, so that many, of high as well as of low estate, laity as well as clergy, were greatly moved in spirit by his words."‡

* Binterim, vii., 264-266. The prosperity of the Windesheim Congregation is evidenced by the fact that, according to Grube (J. Busch, 283 *et seq.*), up to the year 1464, it numbered sixty-four convents of men and thirteen of women.

† Scharpff, 183, and more particularly Sauer, 174 *et seq.* In dealing with Cusa's journeys through the Low Countries, we feel the want of a work similar to that in which Grube has so thoroughly informed us of the particulars of his progress through Northern Germany. Kampen (i., 214-216) gives but scanty details, and Wenzelburger, Gesch. der Niederl. (Gotha, 1879), i., hardly mentions Cusa.

‡ Swalue, 59-60, in Scharpff, 179. When in Holland, the Cardinal did not forget his own native land. From Deventer h

Cusa then passed through Luxembourg to enjoy, at his own beautiful home, and among his own people, a short period of well-earned repose. It is related that when his sister Clara came to welcome him at Trèves, at the end of October, in festal array, he would not receive her until she had resumed her simple ordinary dress.*

A foundation, whose origin dates from the Cardinal's sojourn with his family, still keeps alive the memory of his charity and of his affection for his home. He entered into an agreement with his brother John, the parish priest of Bernkastel, and his sister Clara for the establishment at Cues of a hospital where, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life, thirty-three poor people were to be provided for. The means required for the foundation were to be derived from the property of the family and from the Cardinal's revenues. "Perhaps," says one of Cusa's biographers, "this was the noblest of the fruits brought forth by the Church's summons to penance and satisfaction. The offering of this Christian family at Cues, with the preacher of the Jubilee in its midst, is in the genuine spirit of Christianity, and has been richly blessed by God."†

promulgated a salutary decree for the reform of the clergy of the dioceses of Minden and Osnaburgh (Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 399-400).

* Hartzheim, Vita, 133. The monument of Cusa's sister is still to be seen in the Hospital Church at Cues.

† Scharpff, 184. See Düx, ii., 42, 233 *et seq.*, Martini, Das Hospital zu Cues und dessen Stifter (Trier, 1841). The date of the hospital's erection is uncertain, but its existence is mentioned in a Bull of Indulgence granted by Nicholas V. on the 1st May, 1453. Scharpff, 382. By his will, Cusa, after some few other bequests, left to the hospital all his gold and silver plate, as well as the valuable collection of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin MSS., which he had collected during his repeated residences in, and visits to Italy and

The conclusion of Cusa's labours in Germany is marked by the great Provincial Councils of Mayence and Cologne, which brought the blessings of reform within the immediate reach of his own home.*

The Provincial Council of Mayence was opened in the middle of November, 1451, and lasted for several weeks.† The resolutions which it framed may be summed up as follows:—The edict of the Council of Basle regarding the holding of Provincial and Diocesan Synods was adopted. In these Synods the treatise of St. Thomas Aquinas, on "the Articles of Faith and the Holy Sacraments" was to be explained to those entrusted with the cure of souls and to be recommended as a useful handbook. A decree was passed dealing with the usurious practices of the Jews, and another regarding concubinage amongst the clergy, who were to be made subject to the penal laws passed at Basle.

Greece (Martini, *loc. cit.* 15 *et seq.*). Some idea of the importance of Cusa's library may be gathered from the fact that, although many of its treasures have been lost, it still contains three hundred and seven MSS.; see Klein, Ueber eine Handschrift des Nic. v. Cusa (Berlin, 1866), 5, and the excellent Catalogue by Kraus in the Serapeum, xxv., 353-365, 369-383; xxvi., 24-31, 33-42, 49-59, 65-76, 81-89, 97-100. Codices from Cues are to be found in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels (as, for example, 3819, 8873-8877, 9799-9809, 10615-10729; Serapeum, xxiv., 52, and Archiv, viii., 46, 517 *et seq.*, 531); in the British Museum, London (a special work treating of these will appear); also in Paris and in Vienna; see Serapeum, iv., 108; xxiv., 52, and Klein *loc. cit.*

* The reasons why the Cardinal issued no reforming Decrees for the Diocese of Trèves is given by Binterim (vii., 282), who refers to the reforms which Archbishop Jakob had already accomplished there. See J. J. Blattau, Statuta Synod. Trev., i., 309, and Evelt, 146.

† Binterim, 276 *et seq.* During the sitting of this Council a libellous tract on the Indulgence, alms, and other matters was found before Cusa's door. Görz, Trier. Regest., i., a.a. See Gebhardt, 3 *et seq.*

The holding of markets on Sundays and festivals and the abuse of Indulgences were forbidden, as also the erection of fresh confraternities to the prejudice of the public worship in the parish churches. The sentence of interdict was limited by a very wise resolution. In order to keep up respect for the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, It was to be exposed only on the festival of Corpus Christi and during its octave. Other decrees had reference to abuses in nomination to posts in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and others again prescribed monastic reforms.*

An important mission now removed Cusa for a time from the scene of his labour. Bulls from Rome commanded him in August, 1451 to proceed to England, and also to visit the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and there, as well as in the adjacent countries, to endeavour to establish that peace which the ever-increasing danger of Turkish invasion rendered so necessary to Christendom.†

* Düx, ii., 43-44; see Fiala, 516 *et seq.* The text of the decrees is given in Hartzheim, v., 398-412, and Martène, Coll., viii., 1005 *et seq.*, and in *Cod. Palat. (not Vatic., as Erdmannsdörffer states in the Nachrichten der histor. Commission, ii., 2, 98, for this Codex contains Epistolæ S. Hieronymi), 362, f. 126a-150a, Vatican Library. I found in a contemporary copy in Cod. ii., 219, of the town library at Mayence, a number of decrees by which "Hermanus Rosenberg decret. doctor, scolasticus ecclesie S. Marie ad gradus Mogunt., rev^{ml} in Christo patris et domini domini Theodorici archiepisc. Mogunt. in spiritualib. vicarius generalis ac commissarius et executor ad infrascripta ab eodem domino archiepiscopo spec. deputatus" charges the clergy to observe the decrees of the Provincial Council confirmed by Cusa; I shall speak more fully of these documents in their proper place.

† d'Estouteville was sent at the same time to France; see *supra*, p. 104. Also Georgius, 89, 92. Tübing. Quartalschr., 1830, p. 792-795 (Bull to Cusa of 15th Aug., 1451). Four *Bulls, dated Rome, 1451, Sept. 23, giving Cusa a list of faculties for his mission to England, are in the original in the Municipal Archives at Innsbruck. (Brixen Archives, n. 311-314). See also App., No. 8a.

In one of these Bulls, Nicholas V. expresses his confidence that Cusa will, by the exercise of that circumspection and prudence which God has bestowed on him, bring about the much desired peace and become worthy to receive the palm of glory by which God rewards peacemakers. But national animosity was too powerful, and a truce was the utmost that could be obtained.* Having returned to Germany he resumed his work by summoning a Provincial Synod to meet at Cologne. This assembly sat from the 24th February until the 8th March. Its decisions were substantially the same with those of the Synod of Mayence,† and Cusa joined to their publication the following beautiful words, "By the influence of Divine love and the power of the Apostolic Spirit, which, according to the testimony of St. Jerome, never

* Scharpff, 196. Cusa does not seem to have reached England; see Binterim, vii., 267 *et seq.*

† Sauer, 166; Binterim, vii., 280-281 *et seq.*, there are some very good remarks on the effects of the Cologne Decrees. After the conclusion of his embassy in Germany Cusa, in April, 1452, resumed the government of his diocese, and devoted special care to monastic reform, which brought him into conflict with Duke Sigismund. I shall speak of these differences in connection with Pius II. In June, 1452, the Cardinal took part in the Diet of Ratisbon (see Palacky, iv., 1, 294 *et seq.*). On the 19th August his mission to Bohemia was extended to the adjoining countries (*Reg. 399, f. 208b., Secret Archives of the Vatican). In the end of October the Pope sent him to Emperor Frederick III., to reconcile him with the young King Ladislas. See Appendix, No. 10 and 11. Jäger's conjecture (i., 42) that Cusa arrived in Brixen on the 16th April, 1452, is a mistake, for a *Letter from the Cardinal to the Prior "monasterii b^te^ Marie Virginis in Richenberge ordinis S^ti^ Augustini canon. regul. prope Goslariam Hildesemen dioec," about monastic reforms is dated "in civitate nostra Brixinen. sub nostro sigillo die decima quinta mensis Aprilis A° 1452." The original with a well preserved seal attached is in the University Library at Göttingen. Appar. dipl. n. 263.

forsakes the chair of St. Peter, and at the present time devotes itself with special solicitude to feeding the flock of Christ, it has come to pass that our Holy Father, Pope Nicholas V., has cast his eyes on this great province of Cologne, and has sent us, although the least of all the Cardinals of the Sacred College, here, to see how you, brethren, his beloved sons, advance in the way of the Lord. Let us, therefore, thank God, who has collected us together for the promotion of holiness, and in order that by mutual consultation things may take a better direction. And as you are here assembled, most worthy Archbishop Dietrich,* together with the honourable chapter and the representatives of the Suffragans, the worthy Abbots, Provosts, Deans, Canons, and other religious learned Priests and Masters in great number, it appears to me that the moment has come when from deliberate, ample, and common consultation a profitable result may ensue. For the sake of a better understanding, I think it well to premise that by these resolutions we do not in any way prejudice any apostolic ordinances published by ourselves or other Legates, nor repeal any provincial or diocesan decrees and laudable customs whatever they may be (in so far as they shall not be amended or limited by the decisions we are now about to publish) nor allow the authority of the Holy See or its Legate, or of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, or any rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities to be in any way impaired. We shall study to maintain the proved right of each one. Moreover, for the sake of carrying some measure of reform into the affairs of the Church, until God grants us more fitting time for more careful consultation, we, Nicholas, Cardinal and Legate, etc., in virtue of our ample power presiding over this Holy

* Dietrich II., Archbishop of Cologne, from 1414 to 1463; see Corbanus in the Allgem. Biogr., 179-182.

Provincial Council, according to the express consent of the worthy Lord and Father in Christ, Lord Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, presiding conjointly with us, of his reverend Chapter and his Suffragans, and the unanimous approval of the whole Synod conclude and ordain as follows,"* etc.

The work done by Cardinal Cusa as Legate in Germany and the Low Countries may be looked upon as the most glorious of his well-spent life, and all honour is due to the Holy See for the selection of an instrument so well-fitted to accomplish a task of rare difficulty.† Truly to use the words of Abbot Trithemius,‡ "Nicholas of Cusa appeared in Germany as an angel of light and peace, amidst darkness and confusion, restored the unity of the Church, strengthened the authority of her Supreme Head, and sowed a precious seed of new life. Some of this, on account of the hardheartedness of men, has not grown up, some has brought forth blossoms which from sloth and negligence have quickly disappeared, but a good part has borne fruit in which we still rejoice. Cusa was a man of faith and of love, an apostle of devotion and knowledge. His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God, and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men."

* Hartzheim, v., 413. Scharpff, 196 *et seq.*

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 204. "From the time when the ardour of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa inaugurated a new epoch," says Janssen (1, 9th ed., 591), "a fresh impulse of life and reform was given to the German Church." See Droysen, ii., 1139.

‡ Trithemius, De vera studiorum ratione, f. 2, in Janssen (1, 9th ed.), 4.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION IN ROME, 1452.

THE same pontificate which witnessed the abdication of the last anti-Pope, and the healing of the Schism of Basle, witnessed also the last coronation of an Emperor in Rome. Ever since the conclusion of the Concordat at Vienna, Frederick III. had set his heart on a visit to Rome. He desired that the reconciliation thus effected between himself and the Pope should be sealed by his solemn coronation as Emperor in the Holy City. In spite of the almost universal contempt for authority of every sort which had prevailed for the last ten years and more perhaps, indeed for that very reason, a reaction in favour of the Empire seemed setting in amongst a certain portion of the nations.* Thus, the less Frederick felt himself personally strong enough to assert his rights and bring his surroundings into subjection, the more eagerly did he seek compensation in the prestige that the coronation would confer on him. It was towards the close of the year 1449 that the thought of his journey to Rome began first to be seriously entertained at the Royal Court;† but nothing was done. Frederick's position was such as to render his absence from Germany inexpedient, and the disturbed condition of northern Italy, consequent on the death of the last of the Visconti, was not inviting. The

* Chmel, ii., 622. † Keussen, Reichsstädte, 50.

execution of the plan was therefore deferred, but it was not relinquished.

Later on the project of a marriage between the king of the Romans and Donna Leonora, daughter of the King of Portugal, was added to that of the coronation. In September, 1450, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was despatched to Italy to enter into negotiations with King Alfonso, Leonora's maternal uncle, for this alliance, and with the Pope for the coronation. With his accustomed dexterity, Æneas Sylvius successfully accomplished both commissions, and then Frederick began in good earnest and with unwonted energy to make his preparations both for the journey and for the reception of his bride. He issued an invitation and requisition to the Princes of the Empire, the Imperial cities, and all the nobles and loyal subjects in his hereditary dominions, in compliance with ancient usage, to attend him on his journey to Rome. The place of meeting was to be Austria for the Austrians and Bohemians, Carinthia for the Hungarians and Bavarians, Ferrara for the Suabians, the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces, and the Saxons.* Accordingly in his invitation to the Imperial cities, Cologne, Frankfort, and Strasburg, Frederick says that it is his will "to proceed to Rome," in order there to receive the Imperial Crown, and requests the above-named cities to provide him with an escort such as "their laudable ancient customs bind them to supply to the King of the Romans." He will himself "set forth" so as

* Chmel, ii., 634. See Bayer, 96; and 91 *et seq.*, for proof that the statements of Pecci (322) and Voigt (ii., 17) in regard to the nomination of Æneas Sylvius to the bishopric of Siena are false; Bayer has not noticed that the Papal Brief of Sept. 23rd, 1450, relating to this has been printed in Theiner (Mon. Slav., i., 406-407). On Donna Leonora see Birk's interesting paper in the Almanach der K. Akad. der Wissenschaft. Wien (1859), ix., 155-188.

to be at Ferrara by St. Catherine's day (November 25th), from which city he "purposes to start on his progress to Rome." He therefore requests, and "in virtue of his authority as King of the Romans, solemnly enjoins and commands," that the said escort shall be sent by that day to Ferrara, "thoroughly equipped and well provided," as is fitting "in order to accompany him on the said journey, for the honour of the Holy Roman Empire and his own."*

In March, 1451, Frederick sent two of his court chaplains, Jacob Motz and Nicholas Lanckmann, to Lisbon, to effect the formal ratification of his marriage contract. They were also commissioned to conduct the future Empress as far as the Tuscan part of Telamone, where a royal envoy would meet and receive her.†

But, when it became evident that Frederick was seriously intending to proceed to Italy, the obstacles to the realization of his purpose multiplied daily. Not only were there symptoms in Austria of a dangerous agitation against his wardship of the young King Ladislas Posthumus, but the commotion stirred up in Italy also by the news of

* *Fred. III. to Cologne, dated Neustadt, 1451, Sept. 10. Imperial Documents in City Archives, Cologne. See Keussen, 50 *et seq.* The corresponding letter to Frankfort is to be found in abstract in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 114. The Emperor's letter to Strasburg is, according to Ebrard (3), dated Sept. 11th; that to George von Herberstein, Sept. 23. See Chmel, Reg. No. 2721.

† See Lanckmann de Falkenstein, Historia desponsationis et coronationis Frid. III. et conjugis ipsius Eleonoræ, in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 591-606. This highly interesting narrative beginning with the words "O sacrum imperium," shows that the insignificance of the Empire in the later middle ages has been much exaggerated. "Nothing is a greater proof," says Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 282, "of the immense consideration still enjoyed by the Empire even in the remotest parts of Europe, than the account of the reception of the ambassadors in Portugal, and the whole history of the marriage."

his impending arrival was amazing. So great was the alarm of the timid Pope Nicholas V. that he entreated Heinrich Senftleben, then on his way to Germany, to do his utmost to persuade Frederick to desist from his purpose. But the King now displayed that singular stubbornness in his nature which made him blind to all dangers until they were actually upon him.* Regardless of the embarrassments he might be leaving to his counsellors, and of anything that might happen when his back was turned,† he set his face Romewards more resolutely than ever, and all attempts to dissuade him were still further frustrated by the changed attitude of the Pope, who, reassured by the representations of Æneas Sylvius, and perhaps also influenced by other considerations, now favoured his project. He sent him a safe conduct and a cordial letter, warmly expressing the pleasure he felt at the prospect of soon greeting the King in Rome. Meanwhile the worst news continued to arrive from Austria. Æneas Sylvius in his narrative emphasizes the fact that several of those who accompanied Frederick urgently besought him to put off his journey and return at once to Vienna to nip the impending insurrection in the bud. But the King was determined to "cross the Alps."‡ It was at Canale, 1st January, 1452, that his foot first pressed the soil of Italy. The young King Ladislas rode by his side, and the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and his

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 32.

† Ebrard, ii. On Oct. 2 *Æneas Sylvius wrote from Vienna to Jacobo de Tholomeis de Senis, "Quia ser^mus dominus noster Rex Romanorum intendit in brevi Ytaliam venire ac Romam ire pro corona, volui id tibi significare:" he was to inform the Marquess of Ferrara of this. Cl. x., dist. 4, n. 22, f. 76, State Archives, Florence.

‡ Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., p. 193 *et seq.*; see Bayer., 103 *et seq.*, 108 *et seq.*, 118 *et seq.* The Pope's safe conduct, dated Dec. 17, 1451, is to be found in Chmel, Reg. App. No. 92.

brother, Duke Albert, with his Suabians, had already joined the Royal party at Villach.

Frederick's suite was neither numerous nor brilliant. In all he had not more than two thousand two hundred men, and of these only Albert, Ladislas, and the Bishops of Ratisbon, Gurk, and Trent were of princely rank. Nevertheless, to avoid all possible occasion of umbrage, even this insignificant force was divided, and advanced in separate bands! The alarmists in Italy, who had hitherto expressed so much consternation at the prospect of his royal progress, were silenced perforce, and in fact the reception accorded to the harmless pilgrim was everywhere both friendly and splendid. The republic of Venice, through whose territory Frederick first entered Italy, spared no pains to welcome the future Emperor with befitting honours. Gaspard Enenkel, the imperial councillor, says that "the King crossed all the canals from Tervis to Padua on new bridges erected by the republic expressly for the occasion. There was the King right worshipfully entertained by all the people, clergy and laity, rich and poor, men, women, and children, all falling on their knees, praising him and doing him homage; truly if God Himself had come down from heaven they could hardly have done Him more honour, and all the King's costs were defrayed by the Venetians, till he came to the country of the Marquess of Verona."*

His reception in Ferrara by the Marquess Borso d'Este was exceptionally magnificent. This wealthy prince hoped that Frederick would make him a duke, and to display his liberality he not only defrayed all the King's own expenses during his stay in Ferrara, but also those of the Suabians, Franconians, and Germans from the Rhenish Provinces, who had preceded him there. The

* Enenkel, 134-135.

entertainment of the envoys from the city of Strasburg gives a specimen of the splendour of his hospitality. He sent sixteen different kinds of wine, as much bread as two servants could carry, ten chests of confectionery, three of wax lights, thirty capons, two live calves, and provender enough to load ten men. The chiefs of the party, Burkhardt von Mülnheim and his son, received each a splendid gold ring set with gems, and a costly rosary.* From the moment of Frederick's arrival on the 19th January a succession of various entertainments, pageants, balls, tournaments, etc., began, and were uninterruptedly continued.

In the midst of these festivities a less agreeable event occurred in the unexpected arrival of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, eldest son of the Duke of Milan, whose title Frederick had refused to recognize. This was on January 23rd. He was accompanied by his uncle Alessandro Sforza, and a brilliant retinue of Lombard nobles. He brought rich presents from his father of horses and weapons for the future Emperor, and saluted him in a speech "as long as two chapters of St. John's Gospel." The Duke of Milan had instructed Filelfo, a man in high repute for his skill in such compositions, to prepare this address, and gave him minute directions as to its length, matter, and arrangement.† Galeazzo's audience took place on the 24th. The Duke's little son delivered his oration so admirably that not only the Germans, but the Italians also were amazed. "One would have thought," wrote Ales-

* *Letter of the Secretary John to the Council of Strasburg, dated Florence on St. Stephen's Day (December 26th), 1451, in the Strasburg City Archives (a.a. n. 202). See Ebrard, 9-10. On the festivities at Ferrara, see Joh. Ferrariensis in Muratori, xx., 463, and Diario Ferrar., 198.

† Buser, 55. On Fred. III. at Ferrara, see also Frizzi, Memo., 14-15, and Magenta, i., 450.

sandro Sforza to his brother, "that one was listening to a practised orator of thirty, and he is but eight years old. Everybody wondered at the child, and the King himself expressed his satisfaction."* Alessandro assured Frederick of his brother's loyal devotion, and besought him to visit Milan on his homeward journey. The King declined the invitation, but courteously, for he knew only too well that he had no power to enforce his imperial rights against Sforza's usurpation.†

"After this" (24th January), says Enenkel, "the King proceeded to Bologna, which is a great and strong city belonging to the Pope, who has a legate there who is a cardinal, and resides in the palace with many retainers. There is also a bishop there, and an old university having many students, and a broad and handsome square with great gates. The cardinal with all his retinue, and the bishop, with his clergy, and the university, and the burghers and all the people rode forth to meet the King, and received him with the greatest honour, and placed his throne under a canopy in the bishop's court. Also they supplied him with more than enough of everything that he could want, and he had free quarters at all the inns."‡

From Bologna Frederick crossed the Apennines to Florence. Æneas Sylvius draws a vivid picture of the

* Alessandro Sforza to the Duke of Milan. Ferrara, Jan. 25, 1452. Original in Cod. 1586, p. 30-31, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† Besides the letter already quoted, see *Despatches of Gabriele da Narni to Fr. Sforza, Ferrara, January 24th, 1452, *loc. cit.*, p. 29. in the National Library, Paris. This narrator says that the whole Court was amazed at the presents from Milan, which were valued at 4,000 ducats. Many other papers relating to the mission of Galeazzo Maria are also preserved in this collection, which is taken from the Milanese Archives.

‡ Enenkel, 135.

rapture of the Germans at the enchanting loveliness of the landscape on which they gazed from these heights, and especially of their appreciation of the stately beauty of the city. The reception here was even more magnificent than at Ferrara and Bologna. "The Florentines received him right royally. There were upwards of a thousand horsemen splendidly attired in silk and gold, velvet and scarlet; and all knelt before him and gave him the keys of their gates, humbly declaring themselves and all their goods to be the King's, and that he might do, and ordain, and command there as he willed, being their rightful and natural lord, since they belonged to him and to the Holy Roman Empire. The clergy came to meet him outside the city, bearing the Host, and all knelt, and with them noble ladies and maidens, all decked out and adorned in the best that they had, and all received the King on their knees, and with them a multitude of the common folk, men, women, and children." *

We see how great was the reverence still felt for the Roman Empire; but Frederick was, neither in power nor character, a fitting representative of the highest temporal dignity in Christendom. This fact did not escape the notice of the Italian envoys who accompanied him. On this point we have most interesting testimony, drawn from this very sojourn in Florence. Sceva de Curte, Sforza's ambassador, who was commissioned to invite the King to

* Enenkel, *loc. cit.* 135. Bayer (129) had already noticed Æneas Sylvius's error in making Frederick enter Florence on the 21st January. The true date is the 30th, given by Niccola della Tuccia (215). Muratori (Annali, 1452) also names this day, with a reference to St. Antoninus, in whom, however, I cannot find the passage. Frederick left Florence on the 6th March. See dispatches of Sceva de Curte to Fr. Sforza, dat. Florence, February 7th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 41, in the National Library, Paris.

Milan, there to receive the crown of Lombardy, found it extremely difficult to obtain an audience; it seemed more important to Frederick to choose presents for his bride than to attend to public affairs. He spent all his time in looking at pearls and jewels, gold and velvet dresses, silken and woollen stuffs, "as if he had been a pedlar." "He buys little or nothing," says this ambassador, "and meanwhile he keeps the Signoria of this noble city, the Lord Carlo di Arezzo, many burghers, the ambassadors from Siena, and the Marquess of Ferrara waiting from morning till night, so that all Florence laughs at him, which I much lament."*

It was in Florence, also, that the Papal Legates, charged with the Holy Father's greetings, joined the King; one was Calandrini, step-brother to the Pope, the other Frederick's old acquaintance, Carvajal.†

Siena was the next stage in the journey, and it was there that the future Emperor and his bride met for the first time. After a long and perilous voyage she had arrived at

* *Despatches from Sceva de Curte to Fr. Sforza, Florence, February 4th, 1452. See Buser, 56, and *Despatches from Niccolo Arcemboldi, Sceva de Curte, and Jacopo Trivulzio to the same, of the same date. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 35 and 36, in the National Library, Paris.

† In the *Acta Consistorialia (Secret Arch. of the Vatican), the despatch of the Legates is not mentioned; on the other hand, in a *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dat. Rome, January 18, 1452 (Cod. Z., 219 Sup. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan), I found that both had been chosen on the 17th January. On the 27th January the Pope announced their coming to Frederick; see Chmel, Reg. App., No. 93. According to Columbanus (523), they left Rome on the 30th January and arrived at Florence on the 4th February. This latter statement is corroborated by the despatch from the three Milanese Ambassadors of February 4th (*loc. cit.* National Library, Paris).

Leghorn on February 2nd. In front of the Porta Camullia a marble pillar, bearing the arms of the Roman Empire and of Portugal, still marks the spot where the scene took place, which, later, was immortalized by Pinturicchio's pencil. Æneas Sylvius witnessed, and thus describes it: "When the Emperor first caught sight of his bride in the distance, he turned pale, for her stature appeared to him too low. But when she drew near, and he beheld her beautiful countenance and dignified bearing, his colour returned and he smiled, for he saw that he had not been deceived, and that his bride was even more lovely than report had made her. She was sixteen years of age, of middle height, with an open brow, black and sparkling eyes, a very white neck, and a faint colour in her cheeks. Her form was perfect, but her beauty was eclipsed by the gifts of her mind."

All the resources of that festive art in which the Italy of the Renaissance so excelled were displayed for the entertainment of the noble pair during their stay in Siena.*

At first sight the alarm displayed by Nicholas at the approach of so pacific a guest seems incomprehensible. By his command all the defences of the city were set in order, the guards were doubled at the gates, the Capitol, and the Castle of St. Angelo, and in addition to this, the Pope had sent for two thousand mercenaries and appointed thirteen district marshals to keep watch over all parts of

* Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 269–270. See L'incontro di Federigo III. con Eleonora di Portogallo sua novella sposa ed il loro soggiorno in Siena. Narrazione per Luigi Fumi e Aless. Lisini (Siena, 1868). The statement that the Florentines had hoped that they might have entertained Frederick and Leonora together in their city, for which Æneas Sylvius is the only authority (see Bayer, 130), is confirmed by the *Despatches of the three Milanese Ambassadors of February 4th, 1452 (*loc. cit.*, National Library, Paris).

the city.* Why all these precautions? Was the Pope really afraid of Frederick? It seems more probable that what Nicholas feared was not Frederick, but certain dangerous elements in Rome itself, where the republican party was again beginning to stir. An Emperor who would be almost always absent was a more acceptable master to these people than a Pope whose rule, however mild, was an ever present restraint. Thus it appears likely that the motive, which induced the Pope to desire his Legates to obtain from Frederick at Siena a sworn promise that he would respect the Papal rights, was rather mistrust of the loyalty of the Romans than any doubt of the Emperor's good faith. Nicholas knew the weakness of his character, and hoped thus to guard against the danger of the pressure which might be put upon him from certain quarters to induce him to assume the government of the city.† We shall still better understand the Pope's anxiety

* Infessura, 1133; Nic. della Tuccia, 216, *Despatches from Donatus de Donatis to Florence, d.d. ex urbe Romae, xviii. Jan., 1451 (st. fl.); Braccio di Baglioni el quale e stato qui circa un mese, mi disse oggi havere havuto incomandamente dal Papa andare a mettere in ordine la sua compagnia per poter fare quello gli sara comandato et che questo medesimo e suto mandato dire aglaltri condottieri. Stimasi gli fara venire tutti con le loro compagnie presso a Roma. Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 8. Florentine State Archives.

† Chmel, ii., 704, 705. Æneas Sylvius is the only authority for this demand of the Pope's and Frederick's reluctance at first to comply with it. See Gengler, Ueber A. Silvius (Erlangen, 1860), 22. As to the formula of the oath, see Bayer, 131, note 1. That many in Rome expected the King to arrive there earlier is plain from a *letter of Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, Rome, February 7th, 1452: "El Re de Romani sera infra pochi di a Roma per pigliar la corona et mi pare che a questo singolare acto si degia retrovare el nostro m^co Filiano vostra figliolo, el quale pora pigliar la militia de la S. M^ta honorevolmente." Original in the Gaetani Archives at Rome, ii., 33.

if we consider that the idea of the old Roman Empire was far from being extinct. It was but quite lately that Valla, in his refutation of the gift of Constantine, had declared that it was absurd to crown as Emperor a prince who had abandoned Rome; that in truth the crown belonged to the Roman people.*

The reception of the future Emperor was as splendid as the Pope could make it; he told the Milanese Ambassadors that he wished to show extraordinary honour to Frederick, and was prepared to spend from forty to sixty thousand ducats for the purpose.†

Frederick travelled from Siena by Acquapendente, Viterbo (in which city he was scared by an unseemly brawl in the streets) and Sutri. It was during this journey that, as they were gazing together on the "billowy Campagna with its girdle of shimmering heights," the King prophesied to Æneas Sylvius his elevation to the Papacy.‡

On the evening of March 8th he drew near to the Eternal City, and was met by the deputation sent out to welcome him. First appeared the greater portion of the nobility, the Colonna and Orsini, with a host of retainers, then the Pope's treasurer with the militia of the city, finally the Papal Vice-Chamberlain, with the Roman senators and the most eminent of the citizens. From Monte Mario he beheld that marvellous panorama of the valley of the Tiber, and Rome spread out before him, looking like a sea of houses, which Dante describes as "overpowering." There

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 117. See Vallæ Opp., 790.

† *Despatches from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, Rome, January 18th, 1452: "N. S^re come gia avisay V. Cels. dice voler honorar questo imperatore excessivamente et fa mentione spendervi da le xl^m fin in lx^m ducati se ce restara tanto." Cod. Z., 219 Sup. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

‡ Pius II. Comment., 20.

he lingered awhile, asking questions, and hardly able to tear himself away from the enchanting spectacle of the seven-hilled city, with all her monuments and towers, lighted up by the evening sun. The German knights were equally delighted; this view of the true capital of the whole world was enough in itself, they declared, to repay them for all the toils of the journey. At the foot of the hill Frederick found the Cardinals assembled to greet him. The King was given to understand that this honour had not been accorded to former Emperors; whereat those who, like Æneas Sylvius, had read history, could not help remembering that there had been a time when the Pope himself came out as far as Sutri to meet the Emperor. "But," he adds, "all earthly power is subject to change; in former days the majesty of the Empire eclipsed all lesser dignities, now the Pope is the greater."*

An ancient custom forbade Frederick to enter the city on the night of his arrival, and he passed it outside the walls in the villa of a Florentine merchant. Donna Leonora was lodged in another villa. The royal suite encamped in the meadows of Nero, where the Pope had provided gorgeous silken tents, blue, red, and white. Many, however, with the King's permission, entered the city. Among these was

* Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 275-276. The story told with "republican glee," according to Gregorovius, by Infessura (1133) of Frederick's having hardly noticed the Cardinals while he treated the Senators with the greatest distinction, seems very improbable, and nothing of the kind is to be found in any of the numerous other narratives. The ambassadors of all the Italian powers also went to meet the King, those of Milan and Florence four or five miles out of Rome in order to snatch the precedence from the Venetians; they placed themselves as near as possible to Frederick. See the Despatches from the Milanese ambassadors to Fr. Sforza dated Rome, March 11th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 47, 48, in the National Library, Paris.

Æneas Sylvius, who at once hastened to the Pope, again to repeat in the most solemn manner his assurances of the loyalty of Frederick's intentions. Nicholas, however, still thought it wisest to be on his guard.

On the following day, March 9th, all the bands composing the royal escort were summoned for a grand review in the meadow opposite the Porta di Castello. But when the counts and knights and also the mercenaries of the free cities appeared each with their own banner, on a sudden came an order from the King that these should be "put away," and all march under the royal standard alone. "At which," says the Strasburg narrative, "there was great demur on the part of all the soldiers and burghers, but more especially from the captain of the Company of St. George, who said that it was an unheard of thing that the flag of St. George should be thus slighted, and that though he were under the very walls of Rome he would return home with all his men, unless the banner of this honourable and illustrious Company were permitted publicly to enter the city; and that in the memory of man no Emperor or King had ever refused this." However, all opposition was in vain; "there was much murmuring amongst the knights and men-at-arms and burghers, but in the end all had to submit, and march into Rome under the Imperial standard alone."* This ensign, "a single-headed eagle on a banner

* Ebrard 12. *Cf.* Wencker, Dissert. de Pfalburgeris, Usburgeris, et Glevenburgeris (Argentor., 1698), iii., 19. Accounts of the disputes in regard to precedence between the Italian ambassadors before the procession are to be found in the Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors, dated Rome, 11th and 16th March, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 47, 48, and 53-55, National Library, Paris. For the procession itself, see specially Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 277 *et seq.*, and a plan of it drawn from a Benedictine source (Ordinatio ingressus Frid. III. in urbem, in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 561 *et seq.*), which Lorenz (ii., 140) aptly designates any kind

of cloth of gold hung on a gilt staff," was borne by the Burgrave Michael of Magdeburg, and the naked sword of the King was carried by the Marshal von Pappenheim.

The bride followed at some distance behind the King; "her horse was covered with a golden cloth, and she wore a beautiful mantle of gold and blue, and a costly gold necklace." The Papal horsemen, three thousand strong, in gorgeous armour, with bright helmets adorned with plumes, closed the procession, followed by a rear guard of two hundred Roman mercenaries on foot. Each division was accompanied by a band of trumpeters, to the intense delight of the populace, which had flocked in from all quarters to witness the pageant, and money was scattered amongst them.*

At the Porta di Castello the King was received with great pomp by all the "clergy and prelates, and numbers of bishops, abbots, provosts, and other religious men with their holy symbols and ornaments, under canopies hung with gold and silk. Truly it was a glorious sight, and if God Himself, made Man, had come down upon earth they could not have reverenced Him more, for they had a cross and censers, and they sang with joyous voices: *Ecce ego mitto Angelum meum vobis qui præparabit viam ante me.* The chamberlains who went before him threw much money among the people, and the mayor of the city carried a splendid sword behind him, and all the burghers and noble Romans, and a great number of noble ladies and damsels, knelt down before the King and welcomed him, as did also the common folk, of whom there was so vast a multitude

of "ordre de bataille." See also Bayer, 140, n. 5, and a *Despatch from the Sienese envoys: Cristoforus miles, Georgius doctor, and Franciscus Patricius, dated Rome, March 9th, 1452. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451. Sienese State Archives.

* Chmel, ii., 715. See Columbanus, 526.

that it was a wonder to see; and all kept holiday on that day and on the two following ones as though it had been Easter Day or Christmas." "The King and Queen rode under two canopies to the minster of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter; there the King alighted at the foot of the steps, and some of the cardinals went down to meet him, and led him up to where the Holy Father sat on his throne, surrounded by his clergy and officers. Then the King kissed his foot and offered him gold, whereupon the Pope stood up and gave the King his hand, who kissed it, and at the third time the Pope embraced the King and gave him the kiss of peace on one cheek; then the King knelt down before him and the Pope bent over him for a space, and after that he made the King sit down by his side." *

On the following day Nicholas fixed the 19th March for Frederick's coronation, that being the anniversary of his own coronation. The intervening time was spent by Frederick in visiting the objects of interest in the city, and in frequent interviews with the Pope. In these the King's Austrian difficulties, in which he desired the support of Nicholas, were discussed, and also the affair of the crown of Lombardy, which he wished to receive from the hands of the Holy Father, his relations with Sforza in Milan being such as to make it impossible to accept it from him. The Milanese ambassadors did their utmost to dissuade the Pope from granting the iron crown, but in vain; they had to content themselves with a protest.†

This coronation and the celebration of the royal

* Enenkel, 137.

† See Arch. St. Lomb. (1878), v., 138 *et seq.* See report of the Milanese ambassadors of the 17th March, 1452, given by Chmel in the Notizblatt (1856), vi., 30-32, and the other despatches of the same ambassadors (specially that of March 7th). Fonds Ital. (1586), p. 45-46. National Library, Paris.

marriage were arranged to take place together. On the 16th of March, after hearing a solemn Mass, the royal pair kneeling before the high altar in St. Peter's, received their costly wedding rings from the hands of the Pope, and the nuptial benediction from his lips. Then, after a second Mass, Frederick knelt again at the feet of Nicholas, and was crowned King of Lombardy with the iron crown which he had brought to Rome for the purpose.*

On the following Sunday (*Lætare,* March 19th†) the imperial coronation took place, with the insignia brought from Nuremberg. The Pope was seated on his throne in front of the high altar in St. Peter's, on his right the college of cardinals, on his left the bishops and prelates.

* Voigt, ii., 45. Æneas Sylvius incorrectly gives March 15; Muratori in his annals, Chmel (Reg.), and Lichnowsky (vi., iii.), follow him. But that his coronation as King of Lombardy actually took place on the 16th March is set beyond doubt by the documents cited by Bayer (145), and also by the *Despatches of the Sienese ambassadors, dated Rome, March 16, 1452 ("Hora avisamo la V. S. come questa mattina la M^ta^ del Imperatore piglia la corona dell' argento, la quale secondo la consuetudine soleva pigliare a Milano"), and March 17th. ("Ier mattina seguito la coronatione dell' argento.") Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451. State Archives, Siena.

† In regard to this important day also is much chronological confusion. Æneas gives the 16th March, Infessura (1134) the 18th. Though Infessura's dates are very untrustworthy (he gives March 10, 1133, as the day of the wedding), yet many later writers have followed him, *e.g.*, Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 121. It is, however, certain that March 19th was the date. Besides other authorities, this date is given by the Liber benef., 16, by Mussel, who was an eye witness (Städtechroniken, xi., 743), also by the *Despatches of the Sienese Ambassadors, Rome, March 19th, 1542 ("Questa mattina si fa la coronatione dell' imperatore,") March 20 ("Heri segui la coronatione dell' imperatore et dell' imperadrice con gran triumphi"), Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451, State Archives, Siena.

Outside the sanctuary two tribunes were erected for the King of the Romans and his consort. First of all Frederick had to take the oath which Louis the Pious was supposed to have sworn, and was then admitted into the college of the Canons of St. Peter's and clad in the imperial robes. Then, before the altar of St. Maurice, first the King and then the Queen were anointed on the shoulder and right arm with the holy oil. From thence they returned to their tribunes to hear the solemn coronation Mass. "Then they began to sing the Mass," says Enenkel, "and after the gloria, the Pope read the collects, first that for the day, and then the collect for the Emperor, who sat close by on his chair clad in the sacred robes of the Emperor Charles, a thing which had not for many hundred years happened to any Emperor, and which was accounted a very great honour and singular grace of God. After the gospel the Emperor and Empress were led by the Pope before St. Peter's altar, there the Emperor knelt down and the Pope read for some while over him, and put the holy crown of the Emperor Charles upon his head; and he said all to him in Latin. Then he put the holy sword of Charles, bare, into his hand, and thus made the Emperor a knight of St. Peter; he girded on the sword, drew it and waved it, and put it back into its scabbard.

"After that the Pope put the holy sceptre into his right hand, and the royal orb into his left hand, all with goodly collects.

"When all this was ended, he kissed the Pope's foot and seated himself again in his chair; then his brother, Duke Albert, and other princes, lords, knights, and men, also those of the imperial cities, knelt before him and wished him joy and all happiness.

"After this the noble King Ladislas and the Duke of Teschen led forward the fair young Queen; she was richly

attired, her head was bare and her hair very lovely to behold, falling in waving tresses over her neck behind; thus she was brought before St. Peter's altar and anointed, and many collects were said over her. Then the costly crown which had been specially prepared for her was put upon her head, and she was led back to her chair."*

When all the ceremonies were done, the Emperor and Empress received Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope.† At the conclusion of the service the Empress returned to her palace, while the Emperor remained to perform the duty of holding the Pope's stirrup and leading his horse from the church door. This done, he mounted his own, and both rode together to the Church of Sta. Maria Traspontina, where, after giving him the Golden Rose, the Pope took leave of the Emperor.‡ Then Frederick rode to the bridge of St. Angelo, where he bestowed

* Enenkel, 138.

† No Imperial coronation at Rome has been so minutely described as was this last one. See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 290 *et seq.*; Enenkel *loc. cit.*; Columbanus, 530 *et seq.*; Lanckmann, 597 *et seq.*; an anonymous account in Janssen, Reichscorresp., ii., 117-121; Hodoeporicon Frid. III., in Würdtwein Subs. dipl., xii., 29 *et seq.* (on Enenkel's connection with this account, see Bayer, 123); and finally the narrative of the Papal singer, Goswinus Mandoctes, in Chmel, Op., No. 98. There are also several unprinted documents. In the Archiv für ältere Gescht., i., 421, a MS. on the subject from Munich is specified. Among the *Despatches from the Sienese Ambassadors, that of March 20th is specially interesting, because it confirms the story of the fall of the Pope's mitre, for which hitherto Æneas Sylvius had been the only authority (Bayer, 146). It says: "Fatto tutto l'atto de la coronazione al papa cadde la mitria che fu tenuto malo augurio." *Loc. cit.*, State Archives, Siena.

‡ This is correctly stated by Columbanus (533), other accounts agreeing with his, *e.g.*, that in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 119. Æneas Sylvius (Hist. Frid. III., p. 293) gives Sta. Maria in Cosmedin erroneously, as is obvious to anyone with the slightest

the honour of knighthood on his brother Albert, and more than two hundred nobles, many of whom, however, were not soldiers, and had never drawn a sword.* When these ceremonies, which occupied about two hours, were concluded, the Emperor rode to the Lateran, where the solemnities of the day were closed by the great coronation banquet.

On the following day several of the Ambassadors presented congratulatory addresses, in high-sounding words, which but little corresponded with the truth, for in the political world the Imperial coronation passed almost unnoticed, though to Frederick personally it was the most brilliant moment in his life.†

knowledge of the topography of Rome, nevertheless he has been followed by many authors, including Voigt, ii., 46; Bayer also (146) does not question it. Reumont, too, is in error (iii., 1, 21) in saying that the Golden Rose was given on the following day.

* This ceremony was performed, according to Enenkel (138), in the middle of the bridge of St. Angelo ("Castle of St. Angelo," in Reumont, *loc. cit.*, is evidently a misprint). The number of knights is very variously stated. According to Æneas Sylvius, Mandoctes, and Enenkel, there were three hundred; Zantfliet (Chronic. in Martène, Ampl. Coll., v., 478) says two hundred and eighty-one; Columbanus (534) more than two hundred; Paolo dello Mastro (21), two hundred and fifty-six "Ultramontanes" and only three Italians; Niccola della Tuccia (220), two hundred and seventy-five, among whom nine were Italians; according to the account in Janssen (ii., 120), there were two hundred and three; according to the Annal. L. Bonincontrii (156) two hundred, of whom seven were Italian; finally, the *Despatches of the Sienese Ambassadors of March 20th give two hundred and sixty-three. In the Gaetani Archives at Rome (ii., 33), I found the *letter of Card. Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, dat. Rome, Feb. 7, 1452, mentioned above (p. 148, note †), in which there is a reference to this.

† Voigt, in the Allgem. Deutsch. Biographie, vii., 450. The Pope published the Coronation on the same day; see Chmel Regesten, App., No. 96, and Bull., v., 108 *et seq.*

The newly-crowned Emperor remained in Rome until the 24th March, on which day he started for Naples to visit his relative King Alfonso.* During this interval the two heads of Christendom again met frequently. These interviews resulted in a series of bulls in Frederick's favour; he received numerous indulgences and privileges, and a bull of excommunication was launched against the Austrian rebels.†

The journey of the Imperial pair to Naples was like a triumphal procession. In all the places through which Frederick was to pass, the pageant-loving Alfonso had given orders for the most magnificent receptions, and provided with lavish prodigality for every want. Naples itself was like a fairy city, drowned in a giddy whirl of theatrical performances, tournaments, sports, dances, and festivities of all descriptions.‡

* *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, dated Rome, March 27, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 65[b]. National Library, Paris. Muratori, in his Annali, and Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 122), incorrectly give the 23rd. The Emperor went first to Velletri (see Borgia, Velletri, 366), the Vicecamerlengo and Card. Colonna accompanying him to the frontier of the Papal States. See the *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, Rome, April 3rd, 1452. *Loc. cit.* p. 67, National Library, Paris.

† *Cf.* Bayer, 144 and 147, and Chmel's exhaustive enumeration of all these tokens of the Papal favour in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad. Phil. Histor. Kl., viii., 60-112, and ix., 273 *et seq.*

‡ Birk, Donna Leonor, *loc. cit.*, 175. On the Neapolitan Festivities, see Facius in Grævius, 158; and A. Panormita, Speculum boni principis, lib. iv., c. 4. On the "Mistero della Passione" represented in Sta. Chiara, see F. Torraca, Sacre Rappresentaz. del Neapolit. in Arch. Napolit., iv., 119 *et seq.* (1879). These festivities are also mentioned in the *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, N. Arcemboldi, and Nicodemus, Rome, April 18 and 24, 1452. Fonds. Ital., 1516, p. 94, 95, and 104-105,

From these festive scenes the Emperor was suddenly torn by the news of the attempted flight of his ward Ladislas, whom he had left behind at Rome. In consequence he started at once for that city and arrived there on April 22nd; the same evening he had a long interview with the Pope.* In an open consistory he again thanked the Holy Father and the cardinals for the honourable reception they had given him. It was in this assembly that Æneas Sylvius made that fiery speech against the Turks, in which those remarkable words about the council, which have already been quoted,† occur. Then Frederick set out on his homeward journey, now become urgent

National Library, Paris. That the apprehensions expressed by these Ambassadors in regard to the visit to Naples (Buser, 57) were well-grounded, is proved by the document brought to light by Chmel (Mat., ii., No. 8), in which Alfonso promises the Emperor to assist him in obtaining Milan. The Florentine Ambassador at Milan, Dietisalvi, also speaks with anxiety of this journey. *Cf.* his *Despatches of the 30th March, 1452. Cl. x., dist. 4, n. 22, f. 125. State Archives, Florence.

* Not on the 16th, as Lichnowsky (vi., 113), nor yet on the 23rd, as Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 122), following Infessura (1134), states. The true date is given in the *Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors of April 18th and 24th (the latter also mentions that the Pope had a careful watch kept over Ladislas) and in a *Despatch from Nello to Siena, Rome, April 23rd, 1452. "Yesterday the Emperor arrived and was received with great honour." "Heri sera di nocte la S. Sua stette con la Sta di N. S^re fino a hora tre di nocte." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. Eccard's copy of Infessura's Diarium (ii., 1886) rightly gives April 22 as the date of the Emperor's return.

† *Supra* p. 50. For the violent quarrel for precedence in the papal chapel between the Milanese and Venetian envoys in the presence of the Pope and the Emperor on April 25th, see the *Despatches from N. Arcemboldi and Nicodemus de' Pontremoli, Rome, April 25, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 106, National Library, Paris.

owing to the state of things in Austria, where a resort to arms to contest his wardship of Ladislas was imminent. "Yesterday morning," says one of the Sienese envoys on April 27th, "the Emperor left the Eternal City. Both he and his suite were loud in their expressions of satisfaction at the noble reception given them by the Pope.* Nicholas V., who through his representatives Cardinals Calandrini and Carvajal conducted his guest as far as the frontier, was no less pleased that the coronation had passed off peacefully and without disorder.†

The Emperor did not venture to return through Milan, rightly judging that Francesco Sforza was not to be trusted; and in fact the Duke of Milan, already allied with France, had also come to an understanding with Frederick's enemies in Hungary and Vienna.‡ He, therefore, chose the route by Florence and Ferrara, in which latter place, with great pomp, he bestowed on Borso d'Este the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio. This was the only imperial act of any importance that Frederick performed during this expedition to Rome.§ The negotiations begun in Ferrara, for the restoration of peace in Italy, never got

* Nello to Siena, Rome, April 27th, 1452: "La M^ta^ dello imperadore si partette da N. S^re^ tanto ben contento quanto e possibile e tutta la sua brigata et chiamansi molto ben contenti tutti del grande honore (che) la sua Sta li ha facto." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† Infessura, 1134.

‡ This was one of the causes of Frederick's hurried return. One effect of Sforza's intrigues was to make the Emperor more pliant in the negotiations relating to the investiture. Buser, 60, 65.

§ Bayer, 158. For the festivities at Ferrara see Muratori, Script., xviii., 1091, and Frizzi, 15 *et seq.* Borso gave the Emperor a present which was valued by the Milanese ambassador Antonio da Trezzo at 30,000 ducats. See the *Despatches from the same ambassador to Sforza, Ferrara, June 13th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 131 in the National Library, Paris.

beyond the first preliminaries; the ambassadors of Aragon held aloof, and the Emperor was too much taken up with the troubles in Germany to pursue them any farther.* From May 21st to June 1st Frederick remained at Venice, where, as before, a series of entertainments were offered to him.† But all this pageantry could not conceal the political insignificance of the empire. When the Emperor attempted to speak to the Doge of Venice about the pacification of Italy, the Doge replied that the Venetians had just declared war against Sforza with good hopes of success; consequently, under present circumstances the honour of the republic forbade any such negotiations. "We are sensible," said the Doge, "of the respect due to the most exalted of earthly dignities, and that the Emperor should not be put off with words; therefore, we have at once announced our decision, which is irrevocable." Thus Frederick had not long to wait for an opportunity of testing the value of his new dignity. Before he left he again visited the shops, (but in disguise, that he might not be called upon to pay imperial prices), and made more purchases.‡

Under the circumstances we cannot be surprised at the severe judgment passed upon Frederick's expedition to Rome by the usually indulgent Archbishop, St. Antoninus of Florence. "Nothing appeared in him of the majesty of an Emperor, neither liberality nor understanding, for he almost always spoke by the mouth of another. But everyone could see how greedy he was, how he loved gifts

* Despatches from Nic. Arcemboldi to Fr. Sforza, Florence, May 6th, 1452, and Ferrara, May 19th, Fonds. Ital., 1586, f. 111-112 and 119-120, National Library, Paris.

† Sanudo, 1143-1144. See P. G. Molmenti, La Dogaressa di Venezia (Torino, 1884), 233 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, ii., 60-61.

and sought for them. At last he went home, leaving behind him a sorry impression of his rapacity."* In fact Frederick had traversed the Italian peninsula not as Emperor and lord, but merely as a tolerated guest, under the safe conduct of the Princes and cities. Of outward show there had been enough and to spare, and his reception everywhere had been respectful, but all this thinly veiled the mistrust with which he was regarded by more than one of the Italian States.† Without any increase of power the newly-crowned Emperor returned to his hereditary dominions, where the insurrection broke out immediately. In vain did Nicholas threaten the insurgents with the severest penalties of the Church; they answered by an appeal to a future Council.‡ They compelled the helpless Emperor, whose Empire did nothing for him, to release King Ladislas. But the details of these occurrences belong to the history of the Empire.

Frederick III. was the first Emperor of the illustrious house of Hapsburg who was consecrated and crowned in Rome. He was also the last King and Emperor to whom this honour was vouchsafed.

* Chronicon, iii., tit. xxii., §3. How Poggio mocked at Frederick is well-known (Epist., x., 21; Tonelli). The gibe flung at his heels by one of the Milanese envoys mentioned by Buser, 61. is not without interest.

† Bayer, 162.

‡ The writ of appeal is in Pray, Annales, iii., 112-114. See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 357 *et seq.*, and Bayer, 168 *et seq.*

BOOK II.

NICHOLAS V. AS PATRON OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART AND LITERATURE.—RESTORATIONS AND NEW BUILDINGS IN ROME AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—ALBERTI.—FRA ANGELICO DA FIESOLE.—ROME, THE COURT OF THE MUSES.—FOUNDING OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY

CHAPTER I.

PATRONAGE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART.

For the history of the world, the true significance of the reign of Pope Nicholas V. is not to be found in the political and ecclesiastical events that we have hitherto been recording. Full of confidence in the vitality and force of the Christian idea, this highly cultured Pontiff ventured to place himself at the head of the Renaissance both in art and in literature; and it is in this that the real importance of his Pontificate consists. In thus lending the resources and authority of the Holy See for the promotion of learning and art, he inaugurated a new era both in the history of the Papacy and in that of culture.

In the learned and literary world the elevation of the poor professor of Sarzana was greeted with exultation. All who had ever come in contact with the new Pope were aware of his ardent love for learning and for the ideal in all its forms. "He would wish," he once said, "to spend all he possessed on books and buildings." Francesco Barbaro, like Nicholas, a votary of the Christian Renaissance, in his graceful congratulatory letter, quoting Plato, counts the world happy, since now the wise are becoming its rulers, or its rulers are becoming wise. All eyes turned hopefully towards Nicholas, expecting the dawn of a new era, and these hopes were not disappointed. Hitherto he had had nothing but his health and his time to offer to the cause of learning; now it soon became evident that the

Pope was resolved to devote all his means and his influence to its service.*

Nicholas's plan was to make Rome, the centre of the Church, a focus of literature and art, a city of splendid monuments, possessing the finest library in the world, and in so doing to secure in the Eternal City an abiding home for the Papacy.

It is of essential importance that the Pope's motives in this undertaking should be rightly appreciated. He has himself declared them in the Latin speech which, on his death-bed, he addressed to the assembled Cardinals. This speech, preserved by his biographer Manetti, is the expression of his last wishes, and explains the guiding principle of all his actions and the end at which he aimed.†

"Only the learned," says the Pope, "who have studied the origin and development of the authority of the Roman Church, can really understand its greatness. Thus, to create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something that appeals to the eye; a popular faith, sustained only on doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God Himself, belief would grow and strengthen like a tradition from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty

* Geiger, Renaissance, 121. See Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, note 1, (in answer to Voigt.)

† Manetti, 947-957. That this speech has been very considerably touched up and embellished by the biographer is highly probable, but there is no reason to doubt its essential accuracy. See Tommasetti, in Arch. de Soc. Rom., iii., 115; De Rossi in Studii e Doc., A°. ii. (1881), fasc. 2, p. 87, and Kayser, 222.

with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter." The learned Pope fully realized what an important influence the visible presence and past memories of the Capitol had exercised on the history of the Roman people.*

The fortifications erected in Rome and in the Papal States were intended, the Pope explains, to serve as defences against both external and internal enemies. If his predecessors had protected themselves in a similar manner, against the Romans more especially, they would have been spared much tribulation. "If," said Nicholas, "We had been able to accomplish all that We wished, our successors would find themselves more respected by all Christian nations, and would be able to dwell in Rome with greater security both from external and internal foes. Thus it is not out of ostentation, or ambition, or a vain-glorious desire of immortalizing Our name, that We have conceived and commenced all these great works, but for the exaltation of the power of the Holy See throughout Christendom, and in order that future Popes should no longer be in danger of being driven away, taken prisoners, besieged, and otherwise oppressed."

It has been asserted † that love of fame was the ruling

* See Rio., ii., 25.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 62. In support of this Voigt gives a reference to a passage in Manetti (925); this, however, by no means affirms that love of fame was the predominant motive of the actions of Nicholas. After speaking of the large sums of money which flowed into the Papal treasury during the Jubilee, Manetti goes on to say:—Ex nova tamen et inopinata prædictarum pecuniarum acquisitione, non modo ad cœptorum operum prosecutionem, sed amplificationem etiam et aliorum hujus modi innovationem mirum in modum animum applicuit ut ob perpetuam magnorum ædificiorum constructionem *Romanæ*

motive which guided Nicholas in all his actions, and that this is the true explanation of the splendour of his court, his buildings, his libraries, his liberality towards learned men and artists. It is evident from these words, spoken on the brink of eternity, that this assertion is false. A man, to whose detestation of all untruthfulness and hypocrisy both friends and foes alike bear witness,* would not have lied thus upon his death-bed. No doubt Nicholas may not have been wholly insensible at all times to the seductions of fame, but a selfish desire for his own glory was never with him the first motive. This has been admitted even by some who heartily detest the Papacy. "All that Nicholas undertook," writes one, "was directed towards the exaltation of the Holy See; the one object of his ambition was to increase its dignity and authority by the visible splendour of its monuments, and the intellectual

ecclesiæ honor et Apostolicæ sedis gloria simul cum singulari et præcipua Christianorum *Populorum omnium devotione abundantius ac latius amplificaretur* et ob assiduum insuper novorum præclarorumque operum cum traductionem tum compilationem *præsentibus et posteris studiosis hominibus plurimum adiumenti præberet.* . . . Atque huius suæ mentalis tam magnæ ac tam vehementis cum ad ædificandum tum ad traducendum et compilandum et libros congregandum applicationis, *etsi duas commemoratas causas in primis fuisse intellixerimus*, tertiam nihilominus propriæ gloriæ cuius suapte natura avidissimus erat, adeptionem ac sui nominis propagationem non immerito accessisse existimamus et credimus etc. Burckhardt is more discreet than Voigt (Geschichte der Renaissance, 11), and contents himself with simply quoting both Manetti's statements and the Pope's speech. See also Müntz, i. 72 *et seq.*

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, who knew the Pope intimately, is emphatic on this point. (§ 8) "Era un uomo aperto, largo, sanza sapere fingere o simulare, e nemico di tutti quegli che simulavano o fingevano."

influence it would exert, by making it the centre of the learning of the world."*

The great architectural undertakings which the Pope thus justified partly on practical and partly on ideal grounds consisted of new buildings and of restorations. In the latter he only continued the works begun by his two immediate predecessors, to repair the neglect which had wrought such havoc in the city during the absence of the Popes at Avignon, and the disastrous period of the schism But in the former he struck out wholly new paths.

Manetti, enumerating all the Pope's undertakings with the minuteness of a loving biographer, zealous for the honour of his hero, classes them under three heads, according as they were intended for defence, for sanitation or embellishment, and finally for piety. "The Pope had five things at heart, all great and important works, to rebuild the city walls and restore the aqueducts and bridges; to repair the forty churches of the stations; to rebuild the Vatican Borgo, the Papal Palace, and the Church of St. Peter's."† It has been justly remarked that the three last named projects are closely connected together and differ essentially from the two first. They are, in fact, the offspring of the new era, conceived in the genuine spirit of the Renaissance, while the others do not depart from the traditional lines of the medieval Popes.‡

The restorations of Nicholas are very extensive and embraced an enormous number of buildings, both religious

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 137. Zöpffel writes also, in Herzog's Realencyklopädie (x., 2nd ed., 527):—"It was neither ostentation nor the love of fame that impelled him in all this, but his desire to exalt the dignity of the Holy See in the eyes of all nations."

† Manetti, 930.

‡ Dehio, Bauprojecte, 242.

and secular. His first care was for the forty churches in which, during Lent, the stations were held. The little church of San. Teodoro, at the foot of the Palatine hill, was twice in the hands of his workmen. The interesting church of San. Stefano Rotondo, which had been seen by Flavio Biondo, in 1446, roofless, with its mosaics in ruins, and its marble slabs cracked and peeling from the walls, underwent a thorough renovation. By order of the Pope restorations of various kinds were executed in the churches of the Holy Apostles, San. Celso, Sta. Prassede, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sant. Eusebio, Sta. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon). At the same time those already commenced in the great Basilicas were continued, and new works begun. The restoration in the Churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore, San. Paolo, and San. Lorenzo fuori le mura were especially extensive and important. On the Capitol Nicholas rebuilt the palace of the Senators, and erected a new and beautiful edifice for the conservators.* The papal palaces, adjoining the churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Holy Apostles, were also restored.†

One of this Pope's greatest merits was the attention he bestowed on the water supply of the city. Nothing perhaps shows more plainly the state of decay in which Nicholas

* Muntz, i., 139-150. Reumont, iii., 1, 379 *et seq.* Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 15 *et seq.* Adinolfi, ii., 16, 173. The works in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are mentioned in the *Oratio episcopi Atrebaten. Rome in funeralibus Nicolai, P.P. v., Cod. Vatic., 5675, Vatic. Library. The necessity of restoring San. Paolo is noted in a *Despatch of Donatus de Donatis and Florence, November 30th, 1451. See x., dist. 2, n. 22, State Archives, Florence.

† Müntz, i., 144, 146 *et seq.* Perlbach, 20. Adinolfi, ii., 214. Cugnoni, 98. In spite of the indefatigable energy of Nicholas an immense number of ruined buildings still remained in Rome in 1453. See Perlbach, 18.

found it, than the fact that the majority of its inhabitants were dependent for water on the Tiber and the various wells and cisterns; the only aqueduct which, though out of repair, still remained serviceable was that of the Acqua Vergine.* Nicholas restored this, and thus made habitable that part of the city which was more distant from the river. An ornamental fountain, to which the name of Trevi was given, was erected at the mouth of this aqueduct in 1453; it was probably designed by the famous Alberti.†

Rome also owed to Nicholas much clearing away of ruins and masses of rubbish, which in many places had made the streets impassable, and he began to pave them and make them more regular. But his plans for improving and embellishing the city went much further than this. By his command Alberti had prepared designs ‡ for pavilions and colonnades, which were to be erected for protection from the sun on the bridge of St. Angelo and other exposed places in Rome. The reopening of the abandoned parts of the city also occupied his attention. Very soon after his election, on May 23rd, 1447, in order to check the growing desertion of the extensive district called de'Monti, he issued an edict granting special privileges to all who should build houses in that region.§ This enactment, which was confirmed a year later, was, however, not more successful in producing the desired effect than the earlier efforts of the magistrates, or those

* "Such was the penury," says the author of the Römischen Briefe, "to which the once wealthy city had been reduced."

† Vasari, Alberti, iv., 55. Müntz, i., 156-157.

‡ Müntz, i., 70, 157.

§ *Privileges granted by Nich. V. "Pro felici directione status urbis, d.d. Romæ, 1447, x. Cal. Jun. (= May 23rd) Pont. nostri anno primo" (Poggius). Lateran Archives, F.F., i., 65. I owe these, and other contributions from these still uncatalogued Archives, to the kindness of the late Prof. C. Vincenzi.

of Sixtus V., in later times. The district "de'Monti" is to this day, in proportion to its size, the most thinly peopled part of Rome.*

With a just appreciation of the needs of the times, the indefatigable Pope also turned his attention to the improvement and protection of the approaches to the city. The wooden central arch of the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) was replaced by a stone one; and at its entrance, on the right bank of the river, a strong tower was begun, which was finished by Calixtus III., whose arms, the ox of the Borgia, it bears. The other bridges in the neighbourhood of Rome, such as Ponte Nomentano, Ponte Salaro, Ponte Lucano, were repaired and fortified. The bed of the Anio was cleared and made navigable, so that it could be utilized for the transport of the large stones from the Travertine quarries.†

In 1451 the Pope's apprehensions on the occasion of the visit of Frederick III. hastened the restoration of the city walls, which in many places were in ruins. Along the whole boundary of the city proper, from the Flaminian gate by the river as far as the Ostian gate, we still trace the handiwork of Nicholas, whose name appears on the mural tablets more frequently than that of any other Pope.‡

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 721. *Confirmation of Privileges, d.d. Romæ, 1448, xii. Cal. Sept. (= August 21st), in the Lateran Archives, F.F., i., 68. Sixtus V. refers to these privileges in his *Bull "Quemadmodum," d.d. Romæ, 1589, 22 Martii, which was issued for a similar purpose. Archives of the Secretariate of Briefs.

† Manetti, 937. Papencordt, 501. Reumont, iii., 1378.

‡ Reumont, *loc. cit.* Müntz, i., 158 *et seq.* Perlbach, 20. For the medal which Nicholas caused to be struck, representing the city surrounded by a wall, with the old legend, "Roma Felix," see Bonanni, 51, and Venuti, 11-12.

But all this shrinks into utter insignificance when compared with his colossal designs for the rebuilding of the Leonine city, the Vatican, and the Church of St. Peter's.

No part of Rome had suffered more than the Leonine city, which had always formed a separate town in itself. Eugenius IV. had opened a road through the ruins and rubbish to the bridge, and had endeavoured to attract inhabitants to it by remitting all taxes within its precincts for a period of twenty-five years. Nicholas proposed, in close connection with the plans for the new Vatican Palace and Church of St. Peter's, to rebuild it altogether in the style of the Renaissance, and thus create a monumental residence for the Holy See.

Manetti's minute description of this vast project transports the imagination of the reader to Eastern lands, where such vast palaces and temples are reared for the habitations of gods and kings.*

The tomb of St. Peter, actually situated at the one extremity, was to be the ideal centre of this grandiose plan.† The opposite extremity was to be formed by a large square in front of the Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo. From this square three straight and broad avenues were to start, and terminate in another vast open space at the foot of the Vatican hill; the central avenue was to lead to the Basilica, the one on the right to the Vatican Palace, that on the left to the buildings facing it. These streets were to be flanked with spacious colonnades to serve as a protection against sun and rain, and the lower stories of the houses were to be shops, the

* Rio, ii., 22. Manetti's description, 931-939, is best given in Reumont (iii., 1380 *et seq.*) and Dehio (Bauprojecte, etc.). I have drawn the account given above from both these authorities.

† Dehio, Bauprojecte, 247

whole street being divided into sections, each section assigned to a separate craft or trade. The upper stories were to serve as dwelling-houses for the members of the Papal Court; architectural effect and salubrity were to be equally considered in their construction.

The principal square, into which these three streets were to run, and of which the right side was to be formed by the entrance to the Papal palace, and the left by the houses of the clergy, was to measure five hundred and fifty feet in length and two hundred and seventy-five in breadth. In its centre there was to be a group of colossal figures representing the four Evangelists, which was to support the obelisk of Nero; and this again was to be surmounted by a bronze statue of the Saviour, holding a golden cross in His right hand. "At the end of this square," continues Manetti, "where the ground begins to rise, broad steps ascend to a high platform, with handsome belfry, adorned with splendid marbles, on the right hand and on the left. Between and behind these is a double portico having five portals, of which the three central ones correspond with the principal avenue coming from the bridge of St. Angelo, and the two side ones with the two other streets. This quasi-triumphal arch leads into a court surrounded with pillars and having a fountain in the centre, and finally through this into the church itself."

All that the progress of art and science had achieved, in the way of beauty and magnificence, was to be displayed in the new St. Peter's. The plan of the church was that of a Basilica with nave and double aisles, divided by pillars, and having a row of chapels along each of the outermost aisles. Its length was to be 640 feet, the breadth of the nave 320, the height of the dome inside 220; this was to be richly decorated, and the upper part of the wall was to be pierced with large circular windows, freely admitting

the light.* The high altar was to be placed at the intersection of the nave and transepts, and the Papal throne and the stalls for the Cardinals and the Court within the apse. The roof was to be of lead, the pavement of coloured marbles, and behind the church was to be a Campo Santo, where the Popes and prelates should be interred, "in order that a temple, so glorious and beautiful that it seemed rather a Divine than a human creation, should not be polluted by the presence of the dead."† An immense pile of buildings at the side was destined for the accommodation of the clergy.

The Papal city, which, by its natural site, was detached from the rest of Rome, was to be fortified in such a manner, says Manetti, that no living thing but a bird could get into it. The new Vatican was to be a citadel, but at the same time to contain all the elegance and splendour of a palace of the Renaissance. A magnificent triumphal arch was to adorn the entrance. The ground floor, with spacious halls, corridors, and pavilions, surrounding a garden traversed by cool rivulets and filled with fruit trees and flowers of all sorts, was to be the summer habitation. The first floor was to be furnished with all that was required to make winter agreeable; while the airy upper story was to serve as a spring and autumn residence. The Papal palace was also to include quarters for the College of Cardinals, accommodation for all the various offices and

* Manetti, 934 *et seq.* See Reumont, iii., 1380. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 249. Jovanovits, Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche zu Rom. (Wien, 1877). Grundriss, p. 29. For the history of the building of St. Peter's I shall recommend the reader to refer to the studies and critical papers on this subject by R. Redtenbacher in the Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, Jahrg., 9 *et seq.*, and the more recent work by the same author, Architectur der Ital. Renaissance, (Frankfurt, 1886), 392.

† Manetti, 936. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 250.

requirements of the Papal Court, a sumptuous hall for the coronations of the Popes and the reception of Emperors Princes, and Ambassadors, suitable apartments for the Conclave, and for keeping the treasures of the Church, several chapels, and a magnificent library.*

Some modern writers have looked upon this project as chimerical; it would, they say, have required the lifetime of twenty Popes and the treasures of a Rameses to carry it into execution.† The contemporaries of Nicholas judged otherwise, and justly, for the Pope, at the time of his election, was only forty-nine; and with all the resources that he could have accumulated during his peaceful Pontificate, what might he not have accomplished if, instead of only lasting eight years, it had continued for fifteen or twenty! What he actually achieved during the short period granted him is amazing. Almost all the absolutely necessary restorations and an immense number of new buildings had already been completed when death overtook him, just at the moment when he would have been free to concentrate all his powers on the creation of the Papal city. At fifty-seven, life was not too far advanced to make the building of a new palace, or a church, even on a magnificent scale, or the rebuilding of a quarter of a city impossible tasks for a man who had talent, materials, and money at his disposal in lavish profusion.‡

A modern writer of considerable acumen in regard to all that relates to the history of art has taken great pains to ascertain to whom the intellectual proprietorship of this

* Manetti, 934. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 246.

† Gregorovius, vii. (3rd ed.), 621. Rohrbacher-Knöpfler. 400, and Springer, Rafael und Michelangelo (Leipzig, 1878), 99.

‡ Müntz, i., 71 *et seq.* Kinkel, 2972. Creighton, ii., 330. We must not forget what an enormous amount of building Sixtus V. accomplished during the five years of his reign.

vast architectural scheme, thus minutely described by Manetti, should be assigned. After a careful comparison between Manetti's description and the doctrines laid down in Alberti's work on architecture, he has come to the conclusion that the whole plan, not only in its general conception, but also in all its details, can be ascribed to no other mind.*

Matteo Palmieri, in his brief chronicles of the year 1452, says: "The Pope, wishing to build a more beautiful church in honour of St. Peter, had laid the foundations, and already carried the walls, (in the apse of the choir only), to a height of 52 feet; but this great work, in no wise inferior to that of olden times, was first interrupted by the advice of Leon Battista, and finally stopped altogether by the untimely death of the Pope. Leon Battista Alberti, a man of a most sagacious spirit, and well versed in all the arts and sciences, laid before the Pope his learned works on architecture." †

The above-named writer drew from these words an extremely probable conclusion. Nicholas had at first no intention of pulling down the venerable Cathedral of St. Peter's. The works mentioned in his account books, such as the restoration of the portico, the repaving of the floor, renewing the mosaics, doors, and roof, and filling the

* Dehio, Bauprojecte, 250. Springer had already remarked, in the work quoted above (p. 176, n. †), that the description of Nicholas's architectural plans read like a chapter of L. B. Alberti's work on architecture. "That Alberti was head architect, and had the control of all Nicholas's undertakings in this line, seems to me beyond doubt," writes Janitschek, 1879 (p. 117). The reason that neither M. E. Müntz nor I have hitherto succeeded in finding his name in the "Libri d'entrata et spesa," in the Roman State Archives, probably is that he received his remuneration in benefices. This hypothesis has been confirmed; see Mancini, 312.

† Palmerius, 241.

windows with stained glass, manifest, on the contrary, that his object was to repair and secure the ancient sanctuary and preserve it as long as possible. It was only the choir that he purposed actually to rebuild. Then the great Alberti, the humanistic architect, appeared before the humanistic Pope, and presented to Nicholas his ten books on architecture, the compendium of all his science and all his aspirations. The impression produced was instantaneous, profound, convincing. A comparison between Palmieri's statement, the testimony of the earlier account books, and Manetti's description places the matter beyond doubt. Clearly the perusal of this book, further supported by the eloquence of its gifted author, was the turning point with Nicholas in his building plans. The earlier conservative designs were discarded "by Leon Battista's advice," and the new colossal scheme adopted.*

The unsafe condition of the old Basilica, of which we shall speak presently, may have had an important influence on this decision. But before a single step had been taken towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's, all was stopped by the premature death of the Pope.† Later on, the project

* Dehio, Bauprojecte, 253. For the projected works of restoration in St. Peter's, *cf.* Müntz, i., 109, 113-115, 120, 121-124, and Gaz. des Beaux Arts (Paris, 1879), vol. xix., Les Architectes de St. Pierre de Rome, 353 *et seq.* I hold with Dehio, (Bauprojecte, 252) that the Pope, before he adopted Alberti's project, had intended to preserve and restore the aisles of the old Basilica; only the Choir, which, apparently, was in the worst condition, was to have been rebuilt. Herr Janitschek is preparing a monograph on Alberti. Meanwhile he has published a valuable preliminary paper in the Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft, vi., 38 *et seq.* See Springer, Bilder aus der neuern Kunstgeschichte (Bonn, 1867), 69-103; Yriarte, 182 *et seq.*; and Müntz, Précurseurs, 83 *et seq.* See Müntz, also, for the "heathen tendencies" of this great art theorizer and architect of the Renaissance.

† So Dehio thinks. Bauprojecte, 254, 255.

was resumed by Julius II., immediately upon his accession to the Papal throne, but on different designs.*

To many the thought of pulling down this venerable temple, which had witnessed the rise and growth of the Papacy, and the first grasp of Christianity on the ancient world, was painful.† In later times, also, the same sentiments have provoked some severe judgments on Nicholas for his action in this matter. But in the opinion of one who has carefully gone into its whole history, the rebuilding of St. Peter's had become an absolute necessity. "It was," he affirms, "only a question of sooner or later. Before fifty years were out this most interesting building must either have fallen of itself or else have been pulled down. From an architectural point of view the plan of the ancient Christian basilica is perhaps the most daring that exists. Its three upper walls, pierced with windows, rest on slender columns unsustained by buttresses or supports of any kind, and when once they have in any notable degree fallen out of the perpendicular, the case of the building is hopeless, it must be pulled down. This can easily be understood by anyone, and needs no special knowledge of the rules of architecture. Two unexceptional witnesses testify that this was the case with the old St. Peter's. Leon Battista Alberti states that the southern wall leant outwards to the extent of three braccia (4 ft. 9 in.), and he adds, "I am convinced that very soon some slight shock or movement will cause it to fall. The rafters of the roof had dragged the north wall inwards to a corresponding degree." The testimony of the archivist, Jacopo Grimaldi, is perhaps still more telling, because unintentional. He says that the paintings

* Geymüller. Entwürfe für St. Peter, 81.

† *Cf.* the words of Maffeo Vegio in his most valuable description of the Church of St. Peter's compiled between 1455 and 1457, in Piper, 671 *et seq.* Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 80.

on the south side are practically invisible, from the dust which gathers upon them on account of its slant, while those on the north wall can be seen; he estimates the deflection at five palms (3ft. 1½in.).*

If, however, we may acquit Nicholas of having needlessly laid hands on the venerable basilica of Constantine, we cannot hold him guiltless in regard to the other ancient buildings from which he ruthlessly purloined the materials for his own. In doing so he only followed in the footsteps of his contemporaries and predecessors. Nevertheless it seems strange that a Pope, who so highly appreciated the literature of the ancients, should have shown so little regard for their other creations. The account books of his reign are full of notices of payments for the transport of blocks of marble and travertine from the great Circus, the Aventine, Sta. Maria Nuova, the Forum, and, most of all, the Coliseum. More than two thousand five hundred cart loads were carried away from this amphitheatre in one year alone.† Similar reckless-

* Geymüller, Entwürfe für St. Peter, 135-136. The passage from Alberti, is in his work, "De arte ædif.," lib. i., cx.; that from Grimaldi, in Müntz, i., 118. Burckhardt also (Gescht. der Renaissance, 13), thinks that the next earthquake would have shaken down the old St. Peter's. See also the testimony of Nicholas V. himself (Bullar. Vatic., ii., 138), which Geymüller has overlooked: "Cum videamus basilicam principis apostolorum . . . in tecto collabi ac ita deficientum, ut ruinam minetur," etc., d.d. Romæ, 1451, v. id. Jul., P. A. Vo.

† Müntz, i, 105-109; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., p. 547, note; 628, note; Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 32 *et seq.*, and Adinolfi, i., 376. In the twelfth century foreigners also looked upon Rome as a stone quarry. See the instance cited by Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 326. For the destruction of the monuments, see Vol. i., p. 215 *et seq.* Eugenius IV. took stone from the ancient buildings. See Arch. st. Ital., Third Series, Vol. iii., pt. i., p. 213; as did also Vitelleschi. See N. della Tuccia, 168. Out of Rome too,

ness was, unfortunately, displayed in the destruction of a precious memorial of Christian antiquity, the mortuary chapel of the Anician family, built against the apse of St. Peter. Had not the humanist Maffeo Vegio, as he says, by accident, found his way into the abandoned and forgotten "Templum Probi," popularly called the house of St. Peter, before it was demolished, we should have known nothing of the interior of this most interesting mortuary chapel, or of the epitaphs of Anicius Probus and Faltonia Proba.* In justice, however, it must be said that on other occasions Nicholas showed great reverence for the relics of the old basilica, and was really careful to preserve the work of his predecessors. Thus he replaced the tomb of Innocent VII., and had the slabs of porphyry, which formed the ancient pavement, kept together and laid by. When the workmen employed in building the choir of St. Peter's found some Christian graves, he was so delighted that he presented them with ten ducats apiece. He caused a chalice to be made out of the gold ornaments found in these tombs.†

Notable alterations were made by Nicholas in the Vatican Palace. The account books show that these were commenced in the first year of his reign, and a special "architect of the Palace" appointed. The Pope began by causing one set of rooms to be restored and decorated, and then proceeded to the execution of the plan described by

e.g., in Rimini, the old monuments were mercilessly destroyed. See Yriarte, 194 *et seq.* The exportation of antique statues from Rome also began very early. King Alfonso carried off two in Oct., 1440. See Arch. st. Napol., vi., 254.

* See Vegio, Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 78 *et seq.*

† Müntz, i., 119. The sarcophagus of Probus, remarkable for its sculptures, stands now in St. Peter's in the small recess by the Cappella della Pietà.

Manetti. Thus, by his command, the new library, the hall for the equerries, the Belvidere, and the new chapel of St. Laurence were successively built. According to Panvinius Nicholas also built a new chapel dedicated to his own patron Saint. Walls and towers rose rapidly around the restored papal citadel; one of the latter is still in existence.* The building, which was being thus transformed, dated from the time of Nicholas III. If we ascend the great staircase of Pius IX., says one who knows Rome thoroughly, and thus enter the court of Damasus, the old building will be on our left, the greater part of its front concealed by the loggie of Bramante, and its longer side touching the great court of Julius II. In its present state the ground-floor dates from Alexander VI., the first-floor belongs to Nicholas V. The famous "stanze," whose walls were covered a little later with Raphael's paintings, together with those adjoining them and the so-called chapel of St. Laurence, remain, for the most part, architecturally unaltered, but, with the exception of the chapel, have been entirely repainted. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, on the other hand, built by Eugenius IV., and decorated by Nicholas V., was destroyed in the course of the alterations made by Paul III. The proportions of these "stanze" are singularly noble and harmonious, while the expanse of unbroken surface which their walls present and the semi-circular spaces above them corresponding with the intersecting arches of the ceilings make them peculiarly adapted for the reception of large compositions.†

* Müntz, i., 115 *et seq.*

† Reumont iii., 1, 383. Platina says that the alterations made by Nicholas V. were so sweeping that hardly any trace remained of the old edifice of Nicholas III. As early as 1450 Rucellai praises the beauty of the renovated Vatican, and also of the Papal gardens, "con una peschiera et fontana d'acqua" (*Cf. supra* Manetti's description). Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 572.

In his choice of artists and architects Nicholas fully maintained the cosmopolitan traditions of the Papal Court. Martin V. had bought the little portable altar, now in Berlin, painted by Roger van der Weyden; Eugenius IV. had sat for his portrait to Jean Fouquet; Nicholas, whose ambition it was to make Rome the capital of the world, drew artists of all sorts thither from every part of Italy, and from Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Spain.* The exuberant artistic life of Florence, and Nicholas's former relations with that city easily account for the preference accorded in general to Florentine masters. Alberti has been already mentioned. Associated with him we find the celebrated Bernardo Gamberelli, surnamed Rossellino. Before them another Florentine, Antonio di Francesco, had already entered the service of Nicholas. From the year 1447, his name appears in the account books as architect of the Palace, and he retained this post until the death of the Pope. His salary was liberal, ten gold florins a month; Rossellino received fifteen; Fioravante, also an architect, only from six to seven ducats. The fact that this Fioravante degli Alberti, a Bolognese, who, for his versatility, was nicknamed Aristotle, was employed by the Pope, has only been discovered quite recently. It was he who, in 1452, transported four gigantic monolith pillars from an old

* Müntz, i., 95-96, 179 *et seq.*; Kinkel, 3002; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 664; Bode, Ital. Portraitsculpturen (Berlin, 1883), 18. In regard to the Italian artists see Bertolotti's numerous publications, giving the results of his study of Archives, especially Artisti Lombardi, i., and Artisti Modenesi, Parmensi e della Lunigiana in Roma nei secoli, xv., xvi., and xvii. (Modena, 1882); Artisti Supalpini in Roma (Mantova, 1885) and Artisti Veneti in Roma (Venezia, 1885). This great scholar has also collected together the names of the Swiss artists who had worked in Rome since the fifteenth century in a paper in Bollet. Stor. della Suizzera Ital. (1885), vii.

edifice behind the Pantheon, and placed them in the choir of St. Peter's. And there is no doubt that he was the person selected to put into execution the Pope's design of placing the obelisk on the four colossal figures of the Evangelists.*

The architects appointed by the Pope had a number of clerks of the works under them, whose business it was to test the materials supplied, and measure the work done, under contract. Amongst those employed in this subordinate capacity, we find the names of artists of considerable merit. For the execution of the works three different systems were employed. Under one, the architects and workmen were paid fixed salaries monthly or daily, and had all materials found for them. Under a second, the work was paid by the piece. Finally, under the third, the whole building was put into the hands of a contractor, who provided both labour and material, and must consequently have been a man of considerable means. The most notable of these was a Lombard from Varese, Beltramo di Martino, to whom was entrusted the choir of St. Peter's, a portion of the new city walls, and the fortress of Orvieto. In some years the reimbursements received by him from the Pope on account of these works amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand ducats. "It is easy to see," says a modern writer, "what a population of workmen all these new buildings and their accompaniments must have drawn into Rome, and how rapidly an artisan class of citizens must have sprung up in the midst of the medieval herdsmen."†

The capacity displayed by Nicholas in harmonizing the

* Müntz, i., 79-83. For the transport of the four monoliths see Mussel, Beschreibung Roms, 48. See Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1877, p. 302.

† Kinkel, 2972. Müntz, i., 104. The wood carvers were mostly from Florence, the stonemasons from Lombardy; Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 13 *et seq.*

various branches of art, and assigning to each its proportionate place, was even more admirable than his largeness of conception and refinement of taste. With true insight, he made architecture the queen to whom all the rest were subordinate. If sculpture seems less favoured by this art-loving Pope, the cause is to be found in the circumstances which interrupted his work and left it unfinished; in the completed designs an ample part was assigned to it.* Nicholas did much to promote and encourage the art of marquetry (*Intarsia*). The chapel of the Madonna della Febbre and his own study were richly ornamented with inlaid woods.† Finally, painting was extensively employed in the decoration both of St. Peter's and the Vatican, and, amongst the many painters of whose services Nicholas availed himself, the foremost place must undoubtedly be given to the unique genius of Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (1387–1455).

This "charming master of inspired simplicity" brought religious painting to a height of perfection that it had never hitherto attained, possibly to the greatest which it is capable of attaining.‡ "In his work the medieval ideal

* Müntz, i., 74, 87 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 76. For the position of marquetry (the art of producing designs in inlaid woods of various colours) in the arts of the Renaissance, see Burckhardt, Gesch. der Renaissance, 253 *et seq.*

‡ Weiss, iii., 883. See Lermolieff, Die Werke der Ital. Meister (Germ. trans., Leipzig, 1880), 80, and Burckhardt, Cicerone, iii. 4th ed., 531. The latter rightly sees in Fra Angelico a genius of the very first order, who has no counterpart in the whole history of painting. Lübke agrees with him, Grundriss, 3rd ed., p. 438. "In that which constitutes the highest perfection of Christian art," says Weiss, "the animation of the outward form with the true spirit of Christianity, Angelico can never be surpassed." According to Crowe-Cavalcaselle (ii., 171), Fra Angelico also stands on a level with Raphael and Michaelangelo in power of expression and mastery of the technical resources of his art.

in response to the new life infused into it by the bracing air of the Renaissance, bursts forth into gorgeous blossoms; through him we see exactly how the kingdom of heaven, the angels, the saints, and the blessed were represented in the devout thoughts of his time, and thus his paintings are of the highest value as documents in the history of religion."*

"If," says the biographer of Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, "Giotto, at times, in his force and depth resembles the prophets of the Old Testament or the Psalmist pouring forth his soul-stirring lays, or the face of Moses resplendent with the reflection of the Deity, Fra Angelico is the image of the Disciple of love. He is the painter of eternal love, as Giotto and Orcagna are the painters of the faith. For him, as for St. Francis of Assisi, the whole universe is a hymn, and in all things he sees the reflection of the uncreated love of their Divine Maker. The world lies bathed in those golden beams which diffuse light and warmth throughout all creation. Like St. Francis he dwells in a region so far removed from all the discords of this world that with him some rays of light reflected from the sun of spirits fall even on the bad. Through all the heavenly circles his gentle spirit yearns upwards to the throne of infinite pity, from thence he looks down upon the world; he is the herald, the prophet, the witness of the Divine mercy."† Thus the pictures of the lowly Dominician impress us almost like a vision.

No one more truly appreciated Fra Angelico than Nicholas V. The relations between the Pope and the

* Burckhardt, Cicerone, 4th ed., 530-531.

† Frantz, Fra Bartolommeo della Porta. Studie über die Renaissance (Regensburg, 1879), 23-24. See also Card. Wiseman, Misc. Writings, p. 400, n. 1; Förster, Gesch. der Ital. Künst, iii., 191 *et seq.*, and Görres, Mystik, ii., 155 *et seq.*

devout artist, who never took up his pencil without prayer, soon ripened into friendship; * their acquaintance had probably begun in Florence. Those wonderful paintings in the cloister of St. Mark's, which to this day are the delight of all lovers of true art, belong to the time when Nicholas was a student in that city. The frescoes begun by Fra Angelico in the Vatican for Eugenius IV., and, alas! destroyed under Paul III., were its most precious ornament at the time that Nicholas ascended the Papal throne. While still occupied with these he had other work also to do for the Pope. The account books of 1449 make mention of a study built for Nicholas in the Vatican, decorated with *Intarsia* work and gilt friezes and cornices, and in one it is positively stated that some paintings were executed in this chamber by Fra Giovanni da Firenze (Fiesole) and his pupils. We gather further from these accounts that Fra Giovanni di Roma who was a painter on glass, furnished two windows for this room, one representing the Blessed Virgin and the other Sts. Stephen and Lawrence. But to this day we find paintings by Fra Angelico of the lives of these saints, in good preservation, on the walls of the chapel of St. Laurence. Hence the inference almost amounts to a certainty tnat this celebrated chapel and the study mentioned in these books are identical, the latter having afterwards been converted into a private oratory for the Pope.† The three walls of this chamber are covered with a double row of paintings, depicting the principal scenes in the lives of St. Stephen and St. Laurence. Fra Angelico thus gives visible expression to the popular custom of uniting the names of these two heroes of the Christian faith in a common invocation, which had prevailed ever since the time when their venerated remains had been deposited together in the

* Marchese, Memorie, i., 4th ed., 370 *et seq.*, 375 *et seq.*

† Müntz, i., 126, 127-128. Kinkel agrees with him (2987).

same tomb, in the old basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura.*

The charm of these pictures is indescribable and unfailing, however often they may be visited. Though past sixty when he painted them, as in Orvieto, Fra Angelico's freshness of conception and mastery of art show no traces of failure or decay.† The ordination of St. Stephen, the distribution of alms, and, above all, the picture of St. Stephen preaching, are three paintings which are as perfect in their way as the best examples of the greatest masters. It would be difficult to imagine a group more admirable in its composition, or more graceful in contour, than that of the seated and listening women in the last named picture. In that of the stoning there is, no doubt, some weakness in the delineation of the fanatical rage of the executioners, but this defect was inseparable from those qualities which are the painter's chief glory. His imagination, habitually dwelling in a region of love and devout ecstasy, was out of its element in such scenes of hatred and fury.‡

But, beyond this, the paintings in this room possess also a special interest, because they show, besides an increase in perfection and power in his own line, how far Fra Angelico was from turning away from the progress of his time, as one might, perhaps, have expected him to do.§ In many of these compositions the influence of the antique is unmistakably evident. The beautiful basilica in which St.

* Rio, ii., 35, 36. That Nicholas V. adorned the walls of his study with representations of the lives of the Saints is a further proof that he belonged to the Christian humanists.

† Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 533.

‡ Rio, ii., 36; Burckhardt *loc. cit.*; Förster, Fiesole (Regensburg, 1859), 10, and Marchese, i., 4th ed., 373 *et seq.*

§ Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 534. In these pictures, which have been admirably photographed by Braun, Sixtus II. is represented with the features of Nicholas V.

Laurence stands while distributing alms shows how quickly Fra Angelico had grasped the principles of the new architecture: its proportions are as chaste as they are noble. The picture of the same saint before the judgment seat of the Emperor Decius is an archæological restoration. Above the hall the Roman eagle is represented, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The only reminiscence of the Gothic is seen in the Baldacchini over the Fathers of the Church, everywhere else the classical style is supreme. But like his patron and friend, Pope Nicholas, Angelico joined to his appreciation of the antique an intense love for Christianity. Hence in all these compositions the influence of the classical ideal is never permitted to interfere with the Christian spirit which pervades them.* He has thus proved that even in the domain of art, the Renaissance, rightly understood, was capable of leading to a higher perfection.

Many other eminent painters were also attracted to Rome by Nicholas. From Perugia came Benedetto Buonfiglio, one of the most distinguished of Perugino's predecessors, from Foligno Bartolommeo da Foligno, the

* Müntz, Précurseurs, 101 *et seq.* See Hettner, 141. During his stay in Rome Fra Angelico was also commissioned by Nicholas V. to paint a chapel in St. Peter's and illustrate various books. See Marchese, Memorie, i., 4th ed., 383. He died at Rome, March 18, 1455. His tombstone in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva is still in good preservation (engraved in Tosi, pl. 75), with its beautiful epitaph:

"Hic jacet. ven. Pictor
Fr. Joh. de Flor. Ord. P.
MCCCCLV.
Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam.
Altera nam terris opera exstant, altera cælo,
Urbe me Johannem flos tulit Etruriæ."

See Marchese, i., 4th ed., 387; Forcella, i., 418.

master of Niccolò Alunno. The latter, according to the account books, painted a hall in the Vatican between 1451-1453. His salary was high, seven ducats a month, with board. In 1454 we find Andrea del Castagno in the Pope's service,* and, according to Vasari, Piero della Francesca and Bramantino were also employed by Nicholas.† Their names do not appear in the books, but there is a long list of others from Rome and its neighbourhood Of these the most eminent, judging by his pay (eight ducats a month), would seem to have been Simone da Roma; he was at work in the Vatican during almost the whole reign of Nicholas. A German and a Spaniard also appear amongst those who received commissions from the Pope.‡

Nicholas followed his own judgment in the distribution of their tasks, as freely as he did in the choice of the artists he employed. Thus, from Piero della Francesca he only required historical pictures; not a single altar-piece or religious painting of any kind was entrusted to him. His pictures contained portraits of Charles VII., the Prince of Salerno, and Cardinal Bessarion, and were placed in the hall in which we now see the miracle of Bolsena and the liberation of St. Peter. Nicholas V. seems to have had a special partiality for stained glass. Not only St. Peter's, but also all the chief rooms in the Vatican, had painted windows. The humanist Maffeo Vegio is loud in his praises of their beauty and brilliancy.§

* Müntz, i., 93 *et seq.* For the painters mentioned in the text, see especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii., 33 *et seq.*, 291 *et seq.*; iv., 126, 137, 148 *et seq.*; and Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 214.

† Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii., 492; iv., 17; xi., 277 *et seq.*

‡ See Vol. i., p. 219, note †, and Müntz, i., 94-96. This otherwise unknown German painter, Lucas, must have been a distinguished artist, since, in 1451, we find his salary was the same as that of Benozzo Gozzoli—namely, seven gold florins a month.

§ See Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 78. Müntz, i., 134.

The minor arts were equally encouraged by this Pope "For many hundred years," says a contemporary writer, "so much silken apparel and so many jewels and precious stones had not been seen in Rome."* To this large-minded Pope also belongs the honour of having founded the first manufacture of tapestry in Rome. He brought Renaud de Maincourt from Paris, and gave him four assistants and a fixed salary to weave tapestry.† The goldsmiths and gold embroiderers were unable to fulfil all the commissions of the Pope; the resources of Rome and Florence were soon exhausted, and the workshops of Siena, Venice, and Paris were called into requisition. The account books are full of orders for tiaras, copes, and other vestments, censers, reliquaries, crosses, chalices, and ornamental vessels of all sorts for the services of the Church.‡ In this, according to Manetti and Platina, the purpose of the Pope was the same as in his architectural undertakings. The pomp and magnificence displayed in the celebration of the Holy mysteries were equally a means for exalting the dignity and authority of the Holy See. Even in all the lesser details of its accessories and ornaments, the Church was to reflect the splendour of the Heavenly Jerusalem.§

But the indefatigable energy of Nicholas, which

* Kinkel, 3002. Perlbach, 20.

† Kinkel, 3003. Müntz, i., 179 *et seq.*

‡ Müntz, i., 77 *et seq.*, 166 *et seq.* All the appointments of the Vatican were magnificent. The silver vessels for the table were gilt, and some of them enamelled. The MSS. in the library were gorgeously bound, see *infra*, p. 209. For this Pope's solicitude in regard to the solemnity and splendour of the services of the Church, see Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, n. 24; 1449, n. 14, Infessura (Eccard, ii., 1883 *et seq.*) and Manetti, 923.

§ Manetti, 923. Platina, Nic. V. in fine. See Rio, ii. 21, Müntz, in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts (1877), xv., 418.

astonished his contemporaries,* did not exhaust itself in his plans for Rome; the whole Papal States were to be equally efficiently protected and embellished. With a just sense of the dignity of the head of Christendom, this great Pope was determined that the heritage of St. Peter should no longer be at the mercy of the insults and attacks of turbulent vassals. What had been done for Rome by the restoration of the walls and the forts of St. Angelo was to be done also for all the principal places throughout the Papal States. Everywhere ruined walls were rebuilt, churches restored, public squares enlarged and beautified. Assisi, Civita Vecchia, Gualdo, Narni, Civita Castellana, Castelnuovo, Vicarello were fortified and embellished by Nicholas. In Spoleto the magnificent castle of Cardinal Albornoz was completed; in Orvieto the Episcopal Palace, the aqueduct, and the walls were restored. At Viterbo the Pope built baths for the sick on a princely scale. In Fabriano, which was famous for its pure air, and where the Pope resided for some time on account of the plague which had broken out in Rome, he rebuilt the Franciscan Church and enlarged the principal square, which he surrounded with a wall.†

* See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 81; *Despatches of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe, 1452, Jun. 18. Cod. Z, 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan, and the Letter of "Nello fameglio de N. S^re^." (doubtless the same as Nellus de Bononia, see Arch. della Soc. Rom., vi., 9) to Siena, Rome, May 10, 1451. Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Arch., Siena.

† On these buildings see Pius II., Comment., 41, 111; Niccola della Tuccia, 56, 59, 215, 235; Bussi, 249, 251; Fumi, 712-713; Müntz, i., 70, 160-164; Rumohr, Ital. Forsch., 194 *et seq.*; Bertolotti, i., 17-19, 29; Cristofani, 319. Nicholas V. also gave assistance to the new building in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo at Perugia, and to the restoration of various monasteries (see Graziani, 623). See Theiner. Mon. Slav., i., 401.

In fact, since the Carlovingians, no Pope had built so much as Nicholas; the fresh eager enthusiasm of the early Renaissance is personified in him* "The works of Nicholas," said Æneas Sylvius, "are as far superior to anything that the modern world has produced as are the castle of St. Angelo and the buildings of the old empire; they now lie scattered around us like gigantic ruins, but had they been completed the new Rome would have had nothing to fear from a comparison with the old."† From his earliest youth Nicholas had loved and delighted in letters; it was but natural now that he had the powers that, much as he did for art, he should do still more for them. Under him Rome had seemed transformed into a huge building yard, an immense workshop and studio; it became also a vast literary laboratory. For, if architecture was the Pope's hobby, writing and translating and collecting books and translations in libraries was his passion.‡ The humanists had good reason to rejoice at the election of Tommaso Parentucelli. Insignificant and poor as he seemed, and comparatively young for a Pope, for he was only forty-nine, they knew well, most of them from personal acquaintance, how fully bent he was upon throwing the whole weight of his influence and position as head of the Church into the scales on the side of learning.

Poggio, the humanist, who was in a certain sense the Nestor of the republic of letters at that time, in his letter of congratulation to the new Pope, gives eloquent expression to the hopes and wishes of his party. "I beseech you, Holy Father," he says, "not to forget your old friends, or suffer your care for them to grow slack because you have many other cares. Take measures to increase the number of

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 624; Springer, Raffael, 99.

† See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 64-65.

‡ Geiger, Renaissance, 123.

those who resemble yourself, so that the liberal arts, which in these bad days seem almost extinct, may revive and flourish again. From you alone we hope for what has so long been neglected by others. To you is entrusted the glorious mission of restoring philosophical studies to their former honour and pre-eminence, and resuscitating the nobler arts." These words found a glad response in the breast of Nicholas; they reflected his own sentiments.*

"All the scholars in the world," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "came to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas, partly of their own accord, and partly at his request, because he desired to have them there." † This, of course, is not literally true, but in point of fact it was the Pope's wish to bind the revival of classical literature as closely as possible to Rome and the Holy See, and with this object, from the very beginning of his reign, he did his utmost to attract all the learned and literary men of his day to his Court. Rising talent was sought out and encouraged, and there was hardly a single literary man of any note who did not receive some recompense or favour from Nicholas. When Mæcenas heard that there were still some distinguished writers in Rome, who lived in retirement, and for whom he had as yet done nothing, he exclaimed, "If they are worth anything why do they not come to me, who am willing to encourage and reward even mediocrity." Had it been possible Nicholas would have been glad to have transported the whole of Florence to the banks of the Tiber.‡

The golden age of the humanists now began. Not

* Poggii Opp, (Basil, 1538), p. 291 *et seq.;* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, p. 314.

† Mai, Spicil, i., 43.

‡ Villari, i., 57; Papencordt, 501. "In spirit if not in blood," says Voigt (i., 413, 2nd ed.), "Parentucelli was the first Medici of the Apostolic See. He was to Rome what Cosmo was to Florence.

satisfied with those whose services had already been secured by his predecessors, Nicholas summoned a host of new literary celebrities to the Eternal City. In a very short time he had instituted there a veritable court of the muses, composed of all the most distinguished scholars of the day —Poggio, Valla, Manetti, Alberti, Aurispa, Tortello, Decembrio, and many others.*

The first thing that strikes the eye in glancing over the names of this brilliant company is that, like the artists employed by Nicholas, they are almost all strangers. There is but one Roman amongst them. The Eternal City seems strangely barren. Here and there we hear of a scholarly cardinal or prelate, but there is no mention of any improvement in the education of the people, or of intellectual tastes, with one or two exceptions, amongst the nobility, no literary activity in the convents, and no foundations except for theological studies.† To appreciate the full merit of this Pope we must take this state of things into consideration. It was he who, single-handed, turned the capital of christendom into that brilliant centre of art and learning that it became. How much less difficult was the task of Cosmo de' Medici, who was not obliged to begin creating an intellectual atmosphere.‡

Amidst the crowd of learned and literary men who quickly gathered around the Pope the Florentines naturally were admitted to the closest personal intimacy. Here again the noble figure of Alberti is the first to catch the eye; but unfortunately just as in Florence his personality is obscured by the throng of humanists who surround him so also in Rome no details concerning him are extant. Giannozzo Manetti was the most intimate of all with

* See Tiraboschi, vi., 57, and Zanelli, 17 *et seq.*, 83.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 318.

‡ Cipolla, 484-485.

Nicholas. As a Christian humanist he was truly "the man after the Pope's own heart," and in 1451 Nicholas made him Apostolic Secretary, and gave him a magnificent establishment when in 1453 he came to reside in Rome.* Manetti's admirable biography of his generous patron attests his gratitude.

The bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci was on very intimate terms with Nicholas. His excellent memoirs and sketches of character, which are invaluable to the student of the culture of his time, proclaim him to have been a man of warm heart, vigorous intellect, and sound judgment. The good Giovanni Tortello, the first librarian of the Vatican, also enjoyed a large share of the Pope's confidence.†

Unfortunately in his selection of the men who seemed to him to be necessary for his work Nicholas displayed a readiness to overlook much that was seriously objectionable, which can hardly be justified. Personally the Pope was undoubtedly loyal to the Christian Renaissance, but he was so far carried away by the enthusiasm of the time as to be almost wholly blind to the dangers that were to be apprehended from the opposite side. Thus he accepted from the unprincipled Poggio the dedication of a pamphlet in which Eugenius IV. was almost openly accused of hypocrisy,‡ and did not scruple at raising his salary so as

* Marini, Archiatri, i., 146. Voigt, ii., 82, 2nd ed. On Manetti as an adherent of the Christian Renaissance, see Vol. i., p. 40 *et seq.*

† See *infra*. In regard to Vespasiano de Bisticci, see Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 417, 2nd ed. *et seq.* The Pope's especial favourite was Piero da Noceto, nat. 1397, ob. 1467. See C. Minutoli in the Atti della R. Accad. Lucchese (Lucca, 1882), xxi., *et seq.* The way in which Flavio Biondo was passed over by Nicholas is strange, and has not hitherto been explained (*Cf.* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 86, Masius 21 *et seq.*).

‡ Poggius, Hist. de varietate fortunae, ed. a D. Giorgio (Lutet-Paris, 1723), 88.

to enable him to live entirely by his muse. When the cynical sceptic was called away to Florence to become a member of the Chancery there, Nicholas took leave of him with regret, and allowed him to retain a nominal secretaryship as a token of regard.* Filelfo, a perfect master in the art of scurrilous vituperation, was invited to Rome, and loaded with favours when he got there. The early death of the semi-pagan Marsuppini alone prevented his being brought thither, and provided for in such a manner as to enable him to give his undivided attention to the translation of Homer.†

Nothing affords a more striking proof of the indulgence with which the humanistic movement had come to be regarded in Rome than the attitude assumed by the dissolute satirist Valla, to whom nothing was sacred. In common with the majority of the adherents of the false Renaissance, Valla was far from being a fanatical sceptic. Even under Eugenius IV. he had written an obsequious letter retracting his former publications, and praying for an appointment. But the Pope very justly refused to be propitiated. Even Nicholas did not go so far as formally to invite to Rome and heap preferments on the author of the book "De voluptate," the declared enemy of the temporal power, the bitter satirist of the religious orders. But he tolerated the presence of such a man at the Papal Court, and even made him apostolic notary.‡ The task

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 78, 79.

† Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 96 *et seq.*, 196 *et seq.* *Cf.* Vol. i., p. 27.

‡ Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican of Nov. 14, 1448; Marini, Archiatri, i., 241. This honour was the only dignity conferred upon him by Nicholas. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 89 *et seq.*; *Cf.* i., 2nd ed., 478 *et seq.* There is another side to be considered in judging of these appointments, Nicholas sought at any rate to win over, if not to convert, dangerous opponents. In the case of Valla he seems to have been successful; not so in that of Porcaro. *Cf. infra*, chap. 6.

of translating Thucydides into Latin was entrusted to Valla.

Most of the learned men thus summoned to Rome were employed in translating Greek authors into Latin. This was the Pope's especial delight. He read these translations himself with the greatest interest, liberally rewarded the translators, and honoured them with autograph letters.* Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a long list of translations which owed their existence to this "noble passion of Nicholas V." By this means Herodotus, Thucydides, Zenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Philo, Theophrastus, and Ptolemy became now for the first time accessible to students. The delights of drinking in the wisdom of Greece from the source itself was inexpressible.† "Greece," writes Filefo, referring to these translators and to Nicholas's collection of manuscripts, "has not perished, but has migrated to Italy, the land that in former days was called the greater Greece."‡

At a time when the knowledge of Greeks was confined to such a small number of students, these translations were most valuable; they were regarded as a branch of literature to which the most distinguished men did not disdain to devote their energies. Nothing can be more unjust than to speak slightingly of this band of eager workers, whose activity was perpetually kept at fever heat by the admonitions and rewards of the Pope, and call them mere operatives in a great translation-factory.§ The most eminent

* See the letters to Perotti, the translator of Polybius, given by Georgius, 206, 207.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed. 509, 510. It is notorious that the Pope had much to put up with in regard to many of these translations. Those of George of Trebizond especially were almost worthless. See Ersch-Gruber, §1, Vol. lx., 222.

‡ Philelfi Epist., xiii., 1.

§ Geiger, Renaissance, 124.

humanists of the day—Poggio, Guarino, Decembrio, Filelfo, Valla—laboured at these tasks. Their productions were much admired by their contemporaries, and royally rewarded by Nicholas, who was determined, as far as it was possible, to render all the treasures of Greek literature accessible to Latin scholars. Valla received for his translation of Thucydides, of which the original manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library,* five hundred gold scudi. When Perotti presented his translation of Polybius to the Pope, Nicholas at once handed him five hundred newly-minted Papal ducats, saying that he deserved more, and should receive an ampler reward later. He gave a thousand scudi for the ten first books of Strabo, and offered ten thousand gold pieces for a translation of Homer's poems.

When we compare these sums with the payments made to artists, we begin to realize how enormous they were. At that period the latter were held in far less esteem than scholars and professors. The same Pope who thought nothing of making a present of five hundred gold florins to two humanists, and bestowed on Giannozzo Manetti an official salary of six hundred ducats, paid Fra Angelico at the rate of fifteen ducats a month only, and gave Gozzoli but seven.†

Learned and literary men were the Pope's real favourites; to them he gave with both hands. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that he always carried a leathern purse containing some hundreds of florins, and drew from it liberally on all

* Cod. Vat., 1801 (richly adorned with miniatures). See Vahlen, 359, 360.

† See *supra*, p. 183. According to Müntz (Renaissance, 55) no one towards the close of the fifteenth century could exist in Florence on less than fifty ducats a year. A man could live fairly well on from a hundred to a hundred and fifty, and luxuriously on from two hundred and fifty to three hundred.

occasions. And his manner of giving made the gift itself more efficacious. When he insisted on the acceptance of a present he would represent it as a token of regard rather than a recompense of merit. He would overcome the scruples of modest worth by saying with playful ostentation, "Don't refuse; you may not find another Nicholas." Often he actually forced his rewards on learned men. When Filelfo, conscious of some disrespectful expressions, was afraid to ask for an audience, Nicholas sent for him, and in the most gracious manner reproached him for having been so long in Rome without coming to see him. When he took leave he presented him with five hundred ducats, saying, "This, Messer Filelfo, is for the expenses of your journey." Vespasiano da Bisticci, who relates the story, exclaims enthusiastically, "This is liberality indeed."*

In fact Nicholas was the most generous man of a lavish age. "In the eight years of his Pontificate," says the historian of the Eternal City in the Middle Ages, "he filled Rome with books and parchments; he was another Ptolemy Philadelphus. This noble Pope might have been well represented with a cornucopia in his hand, showering gold on scholars and artists. Few men have had ampler experience of the happiness of giving towards worthy ends."†

If Nicholas had been permitted to accomplish his design of familiarizing the Italians with the literature of Greece, the consequences would have been in the highest degree beneficial. The main evil of the early Renaissance was its

* "Questi si chiamano liberali," Nicola V., §27. Filelfo, §3. "Sub quo enim pontifice," asks D. Birago in his *'Strategicon adversus Turcos,' "fuit unquam sedes ista magnificentior aut splendidior; quis opem tuam frustra imploravit, quis vir dignus clausam sensit in se benignitatem tuam?" Cod. Regin., 835, f. 19. Vatican Library.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 524.

ignorance of Greek. The efforts of Nicholas to correct this deserves the highest praise. Had the culture of the humanists been derived directly from Greek sources rather than from the degenerate Roman civilization, the whole later development of the movement would have been different.* This, as we know, he was unable to achieve. But much was done by the band of scholars whom Nicholas assembled in Rome to promote and diffuse the knowledge of the Greek language and literature, the value and importance of which in the history of culture he so fully appreciated. The writings of Aristotle, disencumbered of the veil thrown over them by the Arabs and schoolmen, were now for the first time really understood. Greek history, hitherto only learnt from compendiums, was now studied in the original writings of its own historians. Herodotus, Thucydides, and many others were by the middle of the century either wholly or partially translated. These translations often left much to be desired both in regard to accuracy and latinity; nevertheless, such as they were, they formed a notable accession to the materials of learning, and were an enormous intellectual gain, especially in stimulating the desire for further conquests.†

But, while fully admitting the value of the literary activity thus fostered by the Pope's liberality, we must not shut our eyes to the dark side. We have already pointed out how little discrimination he exercised in the selection of the scholars whom he invited. It stood to reason that scandals must arise. Like Florence in Niccoli's time, only to a still greater degree, Rome became an arena

* See Körting, i., 154, 316, 401, 413 *et seq.*; ii., 414.

† Opinion of Reumont (iii., 1, 328-329). See Papencordt, 502. See also Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 159.

for literary squabbles and scandalous stories of authors. Bitter feuds were carried on for years together between the Latins and the Greeks, and between individuals, even within both parties.*

The air was thick with the interchange of accusations and abusive epithets. Sometimes they even came to blows. One day in the Papal Chancellery George of Trebizond, in a fit of jealousy, hit the old Poggio two sounding boxes on the ear; then the two flew at each other, and were, with the greatest difficulty, separated by their colleagues. The Pope himself was obliged to interfere, and George, whose translations had proved worthless, was banished.†

Equally disgraceful was the quarrel between Poggio and Valla. "They abused each other," says the historian of the humanists, "like a couple of brawling urchins in the streets. Poggio raged and stormed, as in former days he was wont to do against Filelfo, accusing his adversary of treachery, larceny, forgery, heresy, drunkenness, and immorality, and seasoning his accusations with scurrilous anecdotes and coarse epithets. Valla, whose motto was. 'It may be a shame to fight, but to give in is a greater shame,' twitted Poggio with his ignorance of Latin and of the rules of composition, quoting faulty passages, and altogether affecting to look upon him as already in his dotage."‡

But even apart from these scandals the position of the humanists in the Court under this Pope cannot but appear anomalous. Nicholas embraced every opportunity for

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 149.

† George of Trebizond is the most unpleasing of the Greeks of that day. Conceited, boastful, and spiteful, he was universally hated.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 150 *et seq.* *Cf.* Villari, i., 101 *et seq.* Invernizzi, 138 *et seq.*

introducing learned men,* who, as Platina remarked, occupied themselves much more with the library than with the Church, seriously compromising that ecclesiastical character which the Court of the head of the Church should display. Under Eugenius, the highest dignities had always been bestowed on monks, now none but scholars or translators were promoted. Not only lucrative, but also responsible posts were conferred upon them; thus Giuseppe Brippi, a poet, was placed at the head of the Papal Archives; and another humanist, Decembrio, was made chief of the abbreviators.† This state of things made it possible for Filelfo, whose ambition after the death of his wife turned towards ecclesiastical preferments, to solicit the necessary dispensation from the Pope in hexameters! In this production, to which the Pope of course returned no answer, Filelfo declares that from early youth he had cherished a desire of devoting himself wholly to Christ, "the ruler of Olympus." ‡ It does

* Poggio, in his letters, sneers at the hosts, or rather legions of secretaries appointed by the Pope, numerous enough to make a good stand against the Turks. Epist., xiii., 8 (Tonelli, iii., 194).

† See Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 94-95. Brippi is distinctly named by Valla (Antidot., in Pog. iv.), "papalis regesti præses." Considering the losses sustained by the Secret Archives of the Vatican, it is not surprising that no mention of his appointment should be found. In regard to Brippi, see Vol. i., p. 212, note *; also Vahlen, Vallæ Opusc., lxi., 27 *et seq.*, and Wesselofsky, ii., 40. A series of religious poems by Brippi are to be found in the MS. of the Court Library at Vienna. See Endlicher, Cat. Codd. phil. Bibl. Vind., 269. His Carmina de laudibus S. Alexii. are in Cod. 2837 in the Library of the University at Bologna.

‡ For further details, see Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 97; *cf.* 479 *et seq.*, where similar expressions of Filelfo's are quoted. Amongst the extraordinary anomalies of that epoch must be reckoned several of the choir books in the Papal chapel, whose illuminations contain

not appear that this epithet shocked anyone; it was regarded as a Latin turn of expression or a harmless piece of pedantry.

The fact was that the votaries of the false Renaissance had not as yet openly broken with the Church. Doubtless many propositions are to be found in their writings which it would be hard to reconcile with Christian dogma, or the Christian point of view. But these were only *obiter dicta*, which those who uttered them would have been ready to explain away or retract as lightly as they were spoken.* This alone can account for the fact that truly pious men like Nicholas—he was the first Pope who carried the Blessed Sacrament in procession on foot—could regard these things as mere harmless play.

It is evident that the encouragement given to the humanists was a cause of scandal to many at this time, as was also the money spent by Nicolas on his buildings, which it was thought would have been better employed against the Turks.† These foes of the Renaissance were very numerous in the religious houses. At the same time

most unseemly pictures. Cod. 14, in the Archives of the Sistine Chapel (drawn up in the latter end of the 15th century), is, as Domkapellmeister F. X. Haberl kindly informed me, of special importance in this connection; it was not copied till 1482 (Haberl), Bausteine, i., 72). In regard to the care bestowed on music by Nicholas, see Atti e memorie di storia della Romagna, vi., 24-25, and Müntz, Renaissance, 59-90.

* Schnaase, viii., 532-533. See Vol. i., p. 39.

† The Pope's last address to the Cardinals, in which he defends his architectural undertakings, proves the number of these critics to have been considerable. L. Birago also, in his *Strategicon, mentioned *supra*, p. 200, n. *, notices these accusations. Besides the MS. just mentioned, I saw copies of this Strategicon in Cod. Vatic., 3423 (see Georgius, 214 *et seq.*), and in Cod. G., vi., 14, of the University Library in Turin.

a treatise* composed by Timoteo Maffei, the pious prior of the regular Canons of Fiesole, is interesting as evidence of the revolution in opinion which the labours of this large-minded Pope was gradually effecting. He denies the assertion that "saintly ignorance" is becoming in those who are called to the religious life, and that humanistic studies are the ruin of piety. On the contrary, he shows by many quotations, from both sacred and profane authors, how much profit monks, as well as other men, may derive from classical knowledge, and ends with a reference to the Pope, to whom he says nothing could be more agreeable than the pursuit of such studies.†

Ecclesiastical literature was no less dear to Nicholas, who had taken a lively interest in it long before he could have anticipated that he should ever be called to occupy the Papal chair.‡

Here, then, were many deficiencies, and some of them very important. The open-handed Nicholas followed the example of Alexander when he set forth to conquer Asia. He promised a reward of five thousand ducats to any one who would bring him the Gospel of St. Matthew in the original tongue. This, of all possible discoveries, was the one he prized most.§ Gianozzo Manetti was commanded to translate

* *Cod. Vat., 5096, f. 1, "Timothei Veronensis canonici regularis in sanctam rusticitatem litteras impugnantem dialogorum liber primus incipit feliciter; dicatus ad Nicolaum V. summum maximumque Pontificem." Prologus (printed in Maffei, Verona illustr., ii., 88). Liber primus ends, p. 37; Liber secundus, p. 38-87. Besides the MS. in the Vatican Library, of which I possess a complete copy, there is another in the Library of St. Mark's, at Venice. See Valentinelli, ii., 212. I hope at a future period to speak again of this MS.

† See Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 23.

§ Muratori, xx., 593. See Rio, ii., 24. Historical documents also were copied by the Pope's orders. The Vatican Library con-

the "Preparation for the Gospel" of Eusebius, together with various writings by Sts. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa. The translation of the eighty homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. Matthew appeared to the Pope especially desirable. This work was entrusted to George of Trebizond, who here again proved utterly incapable.* Original works in this department were also desired by the Pope. Gianozzo Manetti was commissioned to write an apologetic treatise against jews and heathens, and also to translate the whole Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew texts. Unfortunately Nicholas died before this great work was completed, so that he was unable to reward it as he would have wished, and the plan was never carried out in the manner originally intended.† The famous Dominican Cardinal Torquemada dedicated to him two treatises on canon law.‡ Antonio degl' Agli, a Florentine, afterwards Bishop of Fiesole and Volterra, wrote a book for him on the lives and acts of the Saints.§ In the preface to this interesting work the author declares that, having laid it aside, he resumed it at the

tains many works of this description. Thus I found in Cod. Vatic., 4167, the minutes of the Council held in Rome under Martin I. See the description of this MS. in the Arch. dell. Soc. Rom., iii., 69.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 199 *et seq.* See Zanelli (96) on Perotti and Nicholas V.

† *Loc. cit.*, 82. See Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 242, 333.

‡ See Georgius, 197, 211-214; *Cf.* Lederer, Torquemada, 264. (There is here a curious error. The author attributes the founding of the Barberina to P. Barbo).

§ In regard to this pious Bishop see Mai. Spicil., i., 273 *et seq.*; Ughelli, i., 399; iii., 336. The dedication of this book begins thus:—"Antonius Allius presbiter sanctissimo d. n. Nicolao P. V. Sanctorum vitas gestaque scribere ac juxta temporum aliquam rationem ordinare digerereque adorsus et desperatione inveniendi quæ certa atque irreprehensibili fide reponere possem perterritus

express desire of the Pope. He also explains its object. Unfortunately, he says, most of the legends of the Saints were full of fables, and written in an uncouth or affected style, which disgusted the humanists and made them despise Christianity. This he hopes to remedy. He has drawn from the best patristic sources, and especially the old Latin Manuscripts, which are more trustworthy than the Greek, as the Popes had early taken pains to verify the acts of the martyrs. The learned Ambrogio Traversari had already perceived the need of such a work, and begun to supply it. For himself he has done his best to make his book worthy of a place in the Papal library; to others he leaves the task of praising Rome's worldly heroes; his only ambition is to celebrate the heroes of the Church.* To conclude, the labours of Nicholas V. as a collector of books were indefatigable and most productive. In his penurious days he had spent every farthing he could spare on the purchase of manuscripts, and even been drawn into debt by his literary voracity; it is easy to imagine with what energy he would proceed now that he found himself in possession of such ample resources.

A noble library was to form the crowning glory of the

cum aliqua iam scripsissem, opus sic inchohatus (*sic!*) relinquere statui. Et nisi pium tuæ sanctitatis, beatissime pater, studium atque hortatus iterum ad scribendum me animasset, cœpta penitus omisissem. Cum igitur tuæ sanctitati pergratum futurum esse opus, ipsemit mihi assereres pium vera atque utili posteritati fore videretur, denuo receptis animis me ad scribendum converti." Cod. Vatic., 3942. Vatican Library.

* *"Hunc primum librum." The dedication proceeds to say: —"His contractioribus a me noctibus lucubratum tuæ sanctitati videndum examinandumque transmitto; quem si tua auctoritate probaveris, maioribus ad eos, qui sequuntur, animis deinceps expediendos accingas." Observations on the arrangement of the work follow. Cod. cit. from the Vatican Library.

new Vatican. The idea of this library, by means of which Nicholas hoped to make Rome the centre of learning for all the ages to come, was perhaps the grandest thought of this great Pope, who was as admirable for his genuine piety and virtue as for his many-sided culture. He wished to place all the glorious monuments of Greek and Roman intellect under the immediate protection of the Holy See, and thus to hand them down intact to future generations.

The zeal displayed by the Pope in the prosecution of this undertaking was unexampled. Not satisfied with collecting and copying the manuscripts that were to be found in Italy, he had agents at work in almost every country in Europe. He sent emissaries to Greece, to England, and to the grand master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, to discover and buy, or copy all the hidden literary treasures that could be found in these countries.* The influence which the Holy See possessed throughout all christendom was exerted by Nicholas far more for the organization of books than of power. No expense was to be spared; the more spoil his agents brought back the better pleased was the Pope. A rumour reached him of the existence of an exceptionally perfect copy of Livy in Denmark or Norway, and he at once sent the well-known Alberto Enoche of Ascoli, with ample commendatory letters, to procure it. Apparently he was not successful in bringing back anything of much value.† The private agents who were in his service in

* See Philelfi, Epist., xiii., 1, and the *Oratio funebris pronounced by Nicholas Palmerius, O.S.A., Bishop of Catanzaro, and afterwards of Orte and Civita Castellana during the first days of the obsequies of Nicholas V., Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 10, Vatican Library.

† In regard to Enoche see Reumont, in Arch. Stor. Ital., Third Series, pt. xx., 188-190. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 201-203. (See Reisserscheid in Deutsch Literat.-Zeit, 1883, p. 234). Intelligenz-

Greece and Turkey, both before and after the fall of Constantinople, were more fortunate* in procuring new manuscripts, which were immediately copied and corrected in Rome. Armies of transcribers, many of whom were Germans and Frenchmen,† were perpetually employed in this work. When in 1450 the plague in Rome obliged the Pope to retire to Fabriano, where at that time the best paper was made, he took his translators and copyists with him for fear of losing them.‡

Nicholas V., himself a calligraphist, required all manuscripts to be well executed. The few specimens still existing in the Vatican library are bound with exquisite taste, even when not illuminated. The material was

blatt., Serapeum, 1867, p. 11. Deutsche Städtechroniken, iii., note 5; iv., 281, note, and Mancini, 329. Voigt gives the brief of Nicholas V., in which he recommends Enoche to the Grand-master, Ludwig von Erlichshausen, taken from the Königsberg Archives. In this brief, among other things, the following occurs: "Nolumus enim ut aliquis liber surripiatur, sed tantum modo ut fiat copia transscribendi." But there is nothing to be found in this brief of any command of the Pope to the monks to show their books under pain of excommunication (as stated by Vespasiano). Leo X. was the first to do this, as I shall show in a future volume from a document in the Wolfenbüttel Library.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 203 *et seq.* No doubt many MSS. were destroyed at the fall of Constantinople, but a great many were saved. The Genoese, in a paper *dated February 13, 1461, addressed to Pius II., give an account of a number of books, relics, chalices, etc., which had been safely transported from Pera to Chios (Litt., Vol. xxii., Genoese State Archives. See also in Appendix No. 22 the instruction of Nicholas V., d.d. viii., Id, Oct., 1453, taken from the Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† See Gaye, Carteggio d'Artisti (Firenze, 1839), i., 164.

‡ Manetti, 928.

almost always parchment, and the covers mostly of crimson velvet with silver clasps.*

By means of these strenuous exertions the Pope succeeded, in a comparatively very short space of time, in bringing together a really unique collection of books. "Had Nicholas V. been able to carry out his intentions," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "the library founded by him at St. Peter's for the whole Court would have been a really marvellous creation."† It was to have been a public institution, accessible to the whole learned world.‡ Besides this Nicholas collected a private library of his own, the inventory of which is still to be found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.§ This mostly consists of profane authors.

The care of this library was confided by the Pope to Giovanni Tortello, a quiet and unassuming scholar, absorbed in his books, and as well versed in theology as in

* See Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed. *et seq.*, and Müntz in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts (1877), xv., 419. On the dealers in MSS. in Rome, see Serapeum, xiii., 294. Nicholas applied to Cosmo de' Medici repeatedly for Greek codex, see Fabronius, i., 135; ii., 222.

† Mai, Spicil., i., 49.

‡ "Pro communi doctorum virorum commodo." So runs the commendatory brief with which Enoche was provided (already mentioned, p. 208, note †). For previous Papal libraries, see Reumont, iii., 1, 131; G. B. de Rossi, La Biblioteca della Sede Apostolica, in Studi e docum., A° v. (1884), 317 *et seq.*, and Fr. Ehrle's admirable paper, "Zur Gesch. des Schatzes, der Bibliothek, und des Archives der Päpste im xiv. Jahrhundert," in the Archiv für Lit. und Kirchengesch. des M. A. (Berlin, 1885), i., 1 *et seq.*; 288 *et seq.*

§ In the last volume of the Diversor. Nicholai V., published by Amati in the Arch. Stor. Ital., Third Series, P. III., 207-212, and in Sforza, 385-391.

classics.* Few librarians have had so free a hand in regard to expense; his purchases were always sure of a welcome, and the more books he procured the better pleased was his patron. It has been estimated that Nicholas spent more than forty thousand scudi altogether on books.†

The numbers of the volumes in the Papal libraries have been very variously stated, and the discrepancies between writers who had the means of knowing accurately are extraordinary. Tortello, who had drawn up a catalogue, now unfortunately lost, reckoned, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, nine thousand volumes. Pope Pius II. estimated it at three thousand; the Archbishop St. Antoninus of Florence, only one thousand. On the other hand, Manetti and Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the biographies of Nicholas V., distinctly state that at the time of the Pope's death the catalogue numbered five thousand volumes. This estimate is considered by the latest writers to come nearest the truth.‡

Possibly, however, even this may still be too high. In the Vatican Library there is an inventory of the Latin manuscripts belonging to Nicholas V., which was taken

* Tortello was one of the Pope's most intimate friends. See Cortesius in Galletti, Villani, 227. See Zanelli, 39; Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 90, 94, and Anecdot. lit., iv., 374 *et seq.*

† Assemani, Præf. ad Vol. i. Cat. Cod. MS., Bibl. Vatic., p. 21. On the literature of the fifteenth century, see Reumont, Lorenzo, i. 2nd ed., 382 *et seq.*, 419 *et seq.*, and Wattenbach, Schriftwesen des M. A. (Leipzig, 1871, 2nd ed., 1875). On the price of books, see Savigny, iii., 593 *et seq.*; Schulte, Quellen, ii., 457; Müntz, Renaiss., 57.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 208. Geiger, Renaissance, 125. According to a statement in Muratori (xviii., 1095), which seems hitherto to have been overlooked, Nicholas V. left six hundred volumes when he died.

before the coronation of his successor, Calixtus III., on the 16th of April, 1455.* That this inventory is complete seems evident, since it includes the private library of the deceased Pope. The Greek manuscripts are not mentioned, but the Latin are numbered up to eight hundred and seven.† This was a large collection for those days; the most famous libraries were hardly more numerous. That of Niccoli, the largest and best in Florence, only contained eight hundred volumes (valued at four thousand sequins); that of Visconti, in his castle at Pavia, nine hundred and eighty-eight. Cardinal Bessarion, in spite of his influential connections and lavish expenditure, could only succeed in bringing six hundred manuscripts together. Duke Frederick of Urbino's library, which consisted of seven hundred and seventy-two manuscripts, was said to have cost him thirty thousand ducats. The other Italian collections are all under three hundred volumes. Even the Medici in 1456 possessed only one hundred and fifty-eight, and in 1494 about a thousand manuscripts.‡

According to this inventory the Latin manuscripts in the

* "Inventarium librorum latinorum bibliotece d. n. pape Callisti tercii repertorum tempore obitus bo. me. d^nl Nicolai predecessoris immediati et per me Cosmam de Monteserrato (see Marini, ii., 146) e. s. d. n. datarium et confessorem factum, scriptum et ordinatum, quod inceptum fuit xvi. Aprilis pont. sui anno p°." Cod. Vatic. 3959.

† Müntz (L'héritage de Nicholas V., p. 420), following an old note, f. 3a of the Cod. Vatic., erroneously counts eight hundred and twenty-four numbers; in his most recent work (La Renaissance, 119) in one place he writes eight hundred and twenty-four, and in another eight hundred and twenty-seven. The number given in the text is that in the notes made by me in the spring of 1884. Fr. Ehrle, S. J., has lately been kind enough to verify its exactitude.

‡ Müntz, La Renaissance, 119-120.

library of Nicholas V. were contained in eight large chests. The contents of the first chest were mostly biblical, those of the second consisted of the works of the Fathers of the Church. The Pope's favourite author, St. Augustine, had sixty volumes, St. Jerome seventeen, St. Gregory six, St. Ambrose fifteen. The third chest contained forty-nine volumes by St. Thomas Aquinas, and six by Albert the Great. In the fourth were twelve books by Alexander of Hales, the same number by St. Bonaventure, twenty-seven by Duns Scotus. In the fifth, amidst many theological and historical works, we first encounter some of the heathen classics, amongst these the gorgeously-bound translation of Thucidydes, presented to the Pope by Valla. The interesting treatise by Timoteo Maffei mentioned above is also to be found here.* The eighty-five volumes which filled the sixth chest consisted almost exclusively of works of theology and canon law. The seventh was devoted mostly to heathen classical authors, Florus, Livy, Cicero, Juvenal, Quintilian, Virgil, Claudian, Statius, Catullus, Terence, Ptolemy, Seneca, Apulian, Vegetius, Frontinus, Macrobius, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Zenophon, Silvius Italicus, Pliny, Horace, Ovid, Homer in a translation, Justin, Columella, Euclid, etc. The eighth chest contained a miscellaneous collection of profane and ecclesiastical writers.†

No other Pope was ever such a genuine book-lover as the former professor of Sarzana. "It was his greatest joy," says the historian of humanism,‡ "to walk about his library

* *"Item unum volumen, nuncupatum tractatus Thimothei contra rusticitatem sanctam." f. 23b of the above-named M.S. in the Vatican Library.

† I abstain from giving details because M. Müntz and Fr. Ehrle intend to publish this catalogue, the oldest in the Vatican Library.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 208. For the picture in the Vatican Library, belonging to the time of Paul V., see Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, ii., 2, 334.

arranging the books and glancing through their pages, admiring the handsome bindings, and taking pleasure in contemplating his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain towards their benefactor. Thus he is to be seen depicted, in one of the halls of the Vatican Library, employed in settling his books," and this, indeed, is his place by right, for he it was who founded that noble collection of manuscripts which still maintains its European reputation.

As the founder of the Vatican Library the influence of Nicholas V. is still felt in our own times in the learned world to a greater extent perhaps than that of any other Pope; this library alone is enough to immortalize his name.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453.*

STRANGELY contrasting with the glories of the Jubilee and of the Imperial coronations comes the conspiracy which at the very outset of the year 1453, threatened, not only the temporal sovereignty, but even the life of Nicholas V., and there is something peculiarly tragic in the fact that the would-be murderer of the very Pope who had striven to render Rome the centre of the literary and artistic Renaissance was one of the false humanists. The great patron of humanism was himself to taste the fruit produced by that one-sided study of classical literature which, while it annihilated the Christian idea, filled men's minds

* The history of this attempted revolt has lately been treated by O. Tommasini in the Arch. della Soc. Rom., iii., 63–133, and by the celebrated Archæologist, G. B. de Rossi, Gli Statuti del comune di Anticoli in Campagna con un atto inedito di St. Porcari (in the Studi e Documenti A° ii. [1881], fasc. 2, p. 71–103). Both these writers have made use of documents hitherto unpublished. See also Henri de l'Epinois, Nicholas V., et la conjuration d'Etienne Porcari (in the Revue des quest. hist., livr. 61 [Janv., 1882], 160–192), and Prof. Aug. Persichetti, Stef. Porcari e la lapide erettagli a nome del popolo Romano (in La Rassegna Italiana, A° ii. Roma, 1882], fasc. 1, p. 45–69). I was able to supplement these accounts by further information from the State Archives at Milan, Florence, Siena and Lucca, and by the important *Confession of Porcaro, which I discovered in a MS. in the Town Library at Trèves. The last-named document in some degree makes up for the missing record of the trial which de Rossi has vainly sought for in the Roman Archives.

with notions of freedom and with a longing for the restoration of the political conditions of ancient times.*

It would be a mistake to look on the attempted revolt of Stefano Porcaro as an isolated event. In Italy the period of the Renaissance was the classic age of conspiracies and tyrannicide. Such assassinations were for the most part closely connected with the one-sided Renaissance which revived the heathen ideal. Even Boccaccio openly asks: "Shall I call a tyrant King, or Prince, and keep faith with him as my Lord? No! for he is our common enemy. To destroy him is a holy and necessary work in which all weapons, the dagger, conspiracies, treachery, are lawful. There is no more acceptable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant." In Boccaccio's mouth, indeed, this is little more than a rhetorical phrase, like the pathetic declamations against tyrants often borrowed, especially in the early days of the Renaissance, from Latin authors, and used without any serious conviction or any practical effect.† But as time went on, Brutus and Cassius, the heroes of the humanists, found living imitators in many places.

Pietro Paolo Boscoli, whose conspiracy against Giuliano, Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici (1513) was unsuccessful, had been a most enthusiastic admirer of Brutus, and had protested that he would copy him if he could find a Cassius, whereupon Agostino Capponi associated himself with him in this character. We are told that the unfortunate Pietro, the night before his execution, exclaimed: "Take Brutus from my mind, that I may die as a Christian."‡ In the case of Olgiati, Lampugnani and Visconti, the murderers of Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, we have remarkable evidence

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 125.

† Körting, ii., 197, 404. The passage is in the work, "De casibus virorum illustrium," l. ii., c. 15.

‡ Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 59. See Cipolla, 482.

of the manner in which the ancient estimate of the murder of tyrants had been adopted. These misguided students of the past held fast to an ideal Republic, and defended the opinion that it was no crime, but rather a noble deed to remove a tyrant, and by his death to restore freedom to an oppressed people. Cola de' Montani, a humanist teacher of rhetoric, incited them to commit the crime. About ten days before it was accomplished, the three conspirators solemnly bound themselves by oath in the Convent of St. Ambrose: "then," says Olgiati, "in a remote chamber, before a picture of St. Ambrose, I raised my eyes and besought his aid for ourselves and all his people." So terribly was the moral sense of these men perverted that they believed the holy patron of their city and also St. Stephen, in whose church the crime was perpetrated, would favour the deed of blood. After the Duke of Milan had been slain (1476), Visconti repented, but Olgiati, even in the midst of torture, maintained that they had offered a sacrifice well-pleasing to God. A little before his death he composed Latin epigrams, and was pleased when they turned out well. While the executioner cut his breast open he cried out, "Courage! Girolamo! You will long be remembered! Death is bitter, but glory is eternal!" * We learn from the annals of Siena that the conspirators had studied Sallust, and Olgiati's own words furnish indirect evidence of the fact. A close observation of his character shows that it bore much resemblance to that of Catiline, "that basest of conspirators, who cared nothing for freedom." †

* Burckhardt, Cultur, i. (3rd ed.), 57-58. Geiger, Renaissance, 162. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 180. Villari, i., 32 *et seq.* Cola Montano, Studio storico di Girolamo Lorenzi (Milano, 1875). See Arch. st. Ital., Series iii , t. xxii., 291 *et seq.*

† Burckhardt, i. (3rd ed.), 58.

The man, who sought the life of the noble Pope Nicholas V., had a nature akin to that of Catiline; he had been trained in the heathen school, and was filled with the spirit of the false Renaissance.

Stefano Porcaro belonged to an ancient family, which is mentioned as early as the first half of the eleventh century,* and was probably of Tuscan origin. The ancestral mansion, with its punning crest—a hog in a net—is still to be seen near the Piazza of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, in the Vicolo delle Ceste. The day and year of Stefano's birth are unknown, and it would be difficult to obtain certain information on the subject.† There is no doubt that he devoted himself at an early age, and with enthusiasm, to classical studies. His intellectual capacity and humanistic culture won for him, in 1427, the honourable position of captain of the people in Florence, and the Republic was so pleased with him that, on the recom-

* In the year 1037. See de Rossi, *loc. cit.* 99, who adds many particulars to Tommasini's account of Porcaro's family (124-133). Another notice is to be found in Pachi, 87. See Adinolfi, i., 43, 98, 104. Infessura speaks of a certain Matteo Porcaro, who was in the service of the Colonna, 1137. I also found the following, in the *Divers. Pii II., 1458-1460, f. 45: "Saluato de Porcariis de Roma olim castellano montis alti flor. auri de camera viginti pro complemento omnium pecuniarum per eum habendarum racione custodie dicte arcis." State Archives, Rome. The inscription placed on Porcaro's house by the Common Council of Rome in 1871, says that "pitying the servitude of his country in the time of oppression, he raised the cry for freedom, and was put to death on the 9th January, 1453, by order of Nicholas V."! In contradiction of this unhistorical assertion, see de Rossi and Persichetti, *loc. cit.*

† The Roman Parish Registers only begin with the sixteenth century. When I was last in Rome (in the spring of 1884), I was, like Tommasini (126), unable to find any relevant documents in the Doria-Pamfili Archives; perhaps the new arrangement of these records may have brought something to light.

mendation of Martin V., his appointment was renewed the following year. His sojourn at Florence exercised an important influence on his mental development, for he was there admitted into a circle of celebrated humanistic scholars, and became intimate with Poggio, Manetti, Niccoli, Ciriaco of Ancona, and especially with the Camaldolese monk, Traversari, who had a high opinion of him, and was apparently quite ignorant of the change which had come over his spirit. The classical studies of the Roman knight had filled him with the utmost admiration for the ancient power and glory of the Roman Republic and the virtues of her citizens, and his head had been turned with the idea of her former freedom. Florence then produced a deep impression on his soul, as is witnessed by the eloquent Italian speech which he made as captain of the people, and which was, like the popular discourses of Bruni and Manetti, so widely circulated that copies of it are to be found in almost all the libraries of Italy.* In this speech he declared that Florence seemed to him the ideal of perfect civil and political life, and that the grandeur, the beauty, and the glory of the Florentine Republic dazzled and bewildered him.† The establishment of a similar Republic in Rome became the dream of his ambition. The temper of his mind is shown in his ostentatiously changing the family name from Porcari to Porci, giving out that it sprang from an old republican race, doubtless with the object of suggesting a reminiscence of Cato.‡

* See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 68. B. Fontius in Galletti characterizes Porcaro as "disertissimus." In Appendix No. 12, I have given a list of copies of Porcaro's discourses existing in most of the great Libraries of Italy.

† See the passages given by Tommasini (75 N.), from *Cod. Ottob., 3316.

‡ Papencordt, 484. De Rossi, 100 *et seq.* See Burckhardt, i. 3rd ed., 229.

Like most of the humanists, Porcaro loved travelling; he visited France and Germany, and in 1431 returned to his native city, in company with his brother, Mariano.* He must at this time have carefully concealed his republican leanings, for in 1433 Pope Eugenius IV. appointed him Podesta in the turbulent city of Bologna, where he manifested considerable ability in restoring order and quiet. Traversari wrote of him, "All men admire him, and praise his zeal to an incredible degree; the pacification of the factious city is mainly due to him. Both parties trust him, and rejoice in the calm which has succeeded the tempest." †

It is uncertain whether Porcaro had any part in the Roman Revolution of 1434; we know him in that year to have voluntarily undertaken the task of mediation between the Romans and the Pope, and to have gone to Florence for the purpose (September, 1434). His efforts failed, for Eugenius IV. absolutely, and, as events soon showed, wisely rejected his proposal that the Castle of St. Angelo should be confided to a Roman. Sick and disheartened, Porcaro turned his back upon Florence.‡ As yet, however, he made no attempt to form a party, but managed to keep the Pope in ignorance of his discontent. This is evident from the recently ascertained fact that Eugenius IV. in this very year appointed him Rector and Podesta of Orvieto. Here, again, he left a very favourable impression; even the stern Cardinal Vitelleschi highly commended his govern-

* See Traversarius, Hodoeporicon (Florentiæ, 1680), ii.

† Ambrosii Camald. epist. l. xix., ep. 20, in Martène, Thes., iii., 623. Perlbach, 3.

‡ Perlbach, 5. De Rossi (86) is also of opinion that the abortive negotiations disturbed the good understanding which had existed between Porcaro and the Papal Court.

ment, and the citizens acknowledged his services by a present to the value of sixty ducats.*

The next ten years of Porcaro's life are still veiled in obscurity. It seems scarcely possible that he should have lived in Rome under the severe rule of Vitelleschi and Scarampo; perhaps during this period he became poor and embarrassed in his circumstances, and joined himself to companions of doubtful character.† His aversion to "priestcraft" may naturally have been intensified by the ridicule which the humanists heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Valla's pamphlet against the temporal power of the Pope probably had a decided influence on the progress of his opinions,‡ for during the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Eugenius IV. he reappears on the scene in a new character.

Such periods were apt to be a time of trouble in Rome, and Stefano meant to turn the favourable opportunity to account. He assembled in Araceli a band of men ready for any enterprise, made an inflammatory speech declaring that it was a shame that the descendants of ancient Romans had sunk to be the slaves of priests, and that the time had come to cast off the yoke and recover freedom. The fear of King Alfonso, who, with his army, was encamped at Tivoli, alone prevented the outbreak of a revolution.§

There can be no doubt that Porcaro had actually rendered himself guilty of high treason. The new Pope,

* See L. Fumi, Il governo di St. Porcaro in Orvieto con appendice di molti documenti inediti (from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and the City Archives of Orvieto), in the Studi e Documenti, A° iv. (Roma, 1883), p. 33-93.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 69.

‡ Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 127 and 535) also deems this likely. See also Cipolla, 482. Regarding Valla's anti-Papal pamphlet, see Vol. i., p. 19.

§ Voigt, *loc. cit.* and *supra*, p. 4.

however, magnanimously forgave him, and appointed him governor-general of the sea coast and the Campagna, with Ferentino for his head-quarters,* hoping by this means to win a gifted and dangerous adversary, and reconcile him with the existing state of things. The hope proved delusive, for, having returned to Rome, Porcaro renewed his revolutionary agitation, and, with characteristic audacity, went so far as to say: "When the Emperor arrives we shall regain our liberty." A tumult which occurred in the Piazza Navona, on the occasion of the Carnival, gave the ambitious man an opportunity of inciting the populace openly to resist the Papal authority.†

Nicholas V. was now compelled to take action, but he did it in the mildest manner. Porcaro was sent away from Rome to Germany on pretext of an Embassy, and, as fresh tumults broke out on his return, he was afterwards honourably exiled to Bologna. Cardinal Bessarion, the friend of his literary associates, was here appointed to take charge of him, and Porcaro was required to appear in his presence every day. The generous Pope granted the exile a yearly pension of three hundred ducats, and Bessarion added, from his own private resources, a hundred more—no inconsiderable sum for those days.‡

Porcaro repaid these benefits by plotting from Bologna against the Pope. Any determined man could always find

* The knowledge of this fact is due to a fortunate discovery of de Rossi (*loc. cit.*, 74, 78 *et seq.*).

† Niccola della Tuccia, 226. De Rossi, 88 *et seq.*

‡ Sabellici Hist. Venet. Dec. iii., lib. vii., Opp. (ed. Basil, 1560), ii., 1447. Caccia in Cugnoni, 95. Niccola della Tuccia *loc. cit.* The Venetian Chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin says: "Sotto specie di officio fu mandato dal papa in Alemagna." See Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad. 1868, ii., 2. As to the amount of the pension see Tommasini, 69, 70.

instruments ready to his hand in Rome. The Eternal City contained a multitude of needy nobles and so-called knights, of partisans of the Colonna and Orsini in their feuds, of bandits, robbers, and adventurers of all sorts; and genuine political enthusiasts might also be found in the motley crowd. The cowardly rabble could be counted on wherever plunder was to be had.*

When Porcaro had completed the necessary preparations for action he eluded the daily supervision of Cardinal Bessarion by a feigned illness, and then stole away from Bologna in disguise.† Accompanied by but one servant, he rode in hot haste towards Rome, hardly ever dismounting. In Forlì, however, he was unwillingly delayed, as the custom house officials would not allow him to proceed, though he declared that he would rather lose his baggage than spend the night in the city. By the aid of an acquaintance he managed to come to terms with them, and hastened on his way at nightfall, regardless of all warnings of danger from the bad condition of the roads. This incident induced him to avoid towns for the future, and in four days he had accomplished the long journey to Rome which at that period generally occupied twelve.‡ On the 2nd of January

* Quoted from Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 69, 70.

† The following account is founded chiefly on the letters published by Tommasini (105-110) from the MSS. in the National Library of Florence, and on Porcaro's own words which I discovered in Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves; see Appendix No. 14.

‡ When Cardinal Gonzaga hastened to the Conclave in 1471 he spent thirteen days and a half on the way from Bologna to Rome. Schivenoglia, 163. Four days was the shortest time in which a courier on extraordinary business could possibly travel the distance. See the particulars I have given in my chapter on the Fall of Constantinople. I found the account of Porcaro's delay at Forlì in *Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forlì. Cod. 234 of the Private Library of Prince B. Boncompagni in Rome.

he dismounted at the Porta del Popolo, went to the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, and then hid himself, until the first hour of the night, in a vineyard belonging to the church. The servant gave notice of Porcaro's safe arrival to his nephew, Niccolò Gallo, a Canon of St. Peter's, who came and took him from his place of concealment, and they then went together to the family mansion of the conspirator, where another of his nephews, Battista Sciarra, awaited them. The three then repaired to the dwelling of Angelo di Maso, Porcaro's brother-in-law.

Porcaro, his brother-in-law and his two nephews were the heads of this conspiracy, and from their connections in the City were able without difficulty to make their preparations. On pretence of taking military service, Battista Sciarra engaged mercenaries, while the wealthy Maso collected stores of weapons, and kept in his house a number of men on whom he could rely; they were well entertained, but knew nothing of the business in hand. One evening, when all were seated at a splendid banquet in Maso's house, Porcaro appeared amongst them in a rich, gold-embroidered garment, "like an Emperor." "Welcome, brothers," he said; "I have determined to free you from servitude, and make you all rich lords," and he drew forth a purse containing a thousand golden ducats, and distributed a share to those present. All were greatly astonished, but as yet learned nothing further of the plot.*

It is impossible now to ascertain the exact number of those won over by the conspirators. Porcaro afterwards declared that he had hoped to muster more than four hundred armed men; he counted also on the aid of the

* Such is the account given in the Florentine Letter, *loc. cit.* 106, 107. The distribution of money is also mentioned in the *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5-6 of January, taken from the State Archives at Milan, and printed in the Appendix, No. 13.

greedy populace, for after the downfall of "Priestcraft" the "Liberators" were to be allowed to plunder freely. It was expected that the Papal Treasury, the Palaces of the Cardinals and of the officials of the Court and the vaults of the Genoese and Florentine merchants, would, when thus brought under contribution, yield more than seventy thousand gold florins.*

The plan of the conspirators was to cause general confusion by setting the Palace of the Vatican on fire on the Feast of the Epiphany, to surprise the Pope and the Cardinals during High Mass, and, if necessary, to put them to death, then to take possession of the Castle of St. Angelo

* Despatch of Bartolomeo de Lagazara of the 14th January. State Archives at Siena (see Appendix, No. 15), and L. B. Alberti, de Porcaria conjuratione, in Muratori, Script. xxv., 312. This report, published by Muratori under the high-sounding title of "Commentarius," is really nothing more than a letter, written soon after the suppression of the attempted insurrection. I am acquainted with two MS. copies of it, which, curiously enough, are both found in German Libraries: (1) *Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves. Here the letter, which is without superscription, is dated: Rome anno a nativ. domini 1453 sexto Idus Januar. (=8 January). (2) *Cod. lat. 4493 f. 88ᵃ–92ᵃ (Gesta Steffani de Porcariis Romani militis) of the Court Library at Vienna. Here the date is: Rome xix. Cal. Februar. (=14 January), 1453. In the Vienna MS. these verses follow:—

"Impie sacrilega sceleris patrator iniqui
Suscipe pro culpa meritos scelerate dolores."

Aliud: "Impie Porcari scelus atque infamia gentis
Subvertendo urbem populumque clerumque sacrumque
Et Christum dominiet templum violare volebas
Accipe iam dignis pro factis præmia tantis."

The text of the Vienna MS. varies somewhat from that given by Muratori.

and the Capitol, and to proclaim the freedom of Rome with Porcaro for tribune.*

Porcaro's scheme was by no means an impracticable one, for in the tranquil city there were hardly any troops save the scanty guards of the Palace and the police. Piero de' Godi, a contemporary, reckons them altogether at fifty, and the disparity of forces would have been yet more extreme if the hopes of external aid probably entertained by the insurgent party had been realized.†

Had the conspirators acted at once, it is not at all unlikely that they would have succeeded in carrying out their purpose, but the delay occasioned by Porcaro's extreme fatigue after his hurried journey proved the salvation of the Pope.‡

The accounts of the event differ in some particulars. It is certain that Cardinal Bessarion immediately informed the Pope of Porcaro's suspicious disappearance, and Godi says that some Romans who had been invited to take part in the

* *Porcaro's declarations in *Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves and other authorities. See de Rossi, 94 *et seq.* Caccia (Cugnoni, 96), Godi (Perlbach, 15), and the *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5-6 Jan. (Appendix No. 13) expressly say that Porcaro wished to make himself lord of Rome. It is worthy of notice that Infessura, his enthusiastic admirer, says not a word to clear him from the charges brought against him.

† Papencordt, 485. The passage about the fewness of the troops of Rome in Perlbach, 18. In the *Mandata Eugenii IV., 1443-1447, f. 255[b] (in the State Archives at Rome) are mentioned as belonging, amongst others, to the Papal household "2 portinarii prime porte, 2 servientes armorum" (probably predecessors of the Swiss guard), dat. sede vacante 4 Martii, 1447. *Ibid.* *Mandata Nicolai V., 1447-1452, f. 19, in an account dated ultimo Martii, 1447, "6 portinarii ad portam ferream" and "2 portinarii ad primam portam," are mentioned. These "6 portinarii," therefore, occur for the first time under Nicholas V.

‡ Reumont, iii., 1, 124.

treason revealed the plot to Cardinal Capranica and to Niccolò degli Amigdani, Bishop of Piacenza, who was at the time Papal Vice-Camerlengo. An anonymous Florentine writer asserts that the Senator Niccolò de' Porcinari himself warned Nicholas V. of the impending danger.* According to others, the Camerlengo Scarampo was the first to apprise the Pope of its existence,† and went at once to the Papal Palace, which was a scene of confusion and consternation, to persuade Nicholas V. of the necessity of immediate and decisive measures, inasmuch as every moment was a gain to the conspirators. A portion of the Palace Guard and of the garrison of St. Angelo, accompanied by the Vice-Camerlengo, who was also governo of the city, proceeded without delay to the house of Angelo di Maso, and encircled it. Most of the besieged made a brave resistance, but, being cut off from the rest of their adherents, they were compelled to yield to superior force. Battista Sciarra, however, who, during the conflict, frequently raised the cry of "People and Freedom!" fought his way out with a few followers, and got away from Rome.‡ Porcaro, with less courage, had managed to escape in the confusion, and to hide himself in the house of his brother-in-law, Giacomo di Lellicecchi. A price being set upon his head, it was impossible for him to remain here, and his friend Francesco Gabadeo offered to

* Many authorities mention the messenger sent by Bessarion; see particularly the Chronica di Bologna, 700, and Sanudo, 1146. The passage from Godi is in Perlbach, 15; and the Florentine letter in Tommasini, 107. Stefano Caccia's letter (Cugnoni, 96) says that the plot was divulged to Scarampo as well as to Capranica.

† Letter from a relation of Cardinal Scarampo in the Nimes Library, published by A. C. Germain, Lettre où est narrée la conspiration de Ste. Porcaro contre le pape Nicholas V. (Bordeaux, 1843), and also by Christophe, i., 495-498.

‡ Infessura, 1134. Alberti, *loc. cit.*, 312.

help him in his extremity. They both went in haste to Cardinal Orsini, in the hope that he would afford them refuge in his palace, the House of Orsini being apparently at this time at variance with the Pope. But the Cardinal was by no means disposed to assist the conspirator. He caused Gabadeo, who had entered his presence, to be at once arrested and taken to Nicholas. Stefano, who was waiting downstairs, became suspicious at Gabadeo's non-appearance, and fled to his other brother-in-law, Angelo di Maso, who lived in the quarter of the Regola. Meanwhile Gabadeo, in his prison, had betrayed Porcaro's probable place of shelter. About midnight, between the 5th and 6th of January, armed men entered Angelo's house; at their approach, Porcaro sprang from the bed where he was lying in his clothes, and got into a chest, on which his sister and another woman seated themselves, but the hero's hiding-place was discovered. As he was being led to the Vatican he kept exclaiming, "People! will you let your deliverer die?" * But the people did not respond.

After offences so manifest and repeated, Pope Nicholas showed no further mercy. He regretted the fate of the gifted man, but decided to let justice take its course. Stefano Porcaro was taken bound to the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the 7th of January made a tolerably ample confession.† He related his flight from Bologna and his meeting with the conspirators in the house of Angelo di Maso, as we have described them, and further declared that

* Perlbach, Godi, 10 and 17. Letter of Caccia (Cugnoni, 98). Infessura, 1134. Alberti, *loc. cit.*, 312. Florentine Letter in Tommasini, 109. *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5/6 January. State Archives at Milan. See Appendix, No. 43. There is a notice of Fr. Gabadeo in the Arch. di Soc. Rom., viii., 569.

† *Depositiones Stefani Porcarii, in Cod. 1324. City Library, Trèves; see Appendix, No. 14.

he had personally summoned his friends to assemble the night before the Feast of the Epiphany, and had intended, with them, and the armed men collected by them, to the number, as he hoped, of four hundred, to pass through the Trastevere to St. Peter's. Here they were to conceal themselves in the small uninhabited houses near the church, and to divide into four separate bands. As soon as the Pope's arrival in St. Peter's was announced, three of these bands were to take possession of the different entrances, while the fourth was to occupy the open space in front of the church. He had commanded these armed men to put to death anyone, in the church or out of it, who should offer resistance, and to make the Pope and the Cardinals prisoners. If they resisted, they also were to be slain. Porcaro further said that he had entertained no doubt of being able, after the imprisonment of the Pope, the Cardinals, and other lords, to seize the castle of St. Angelo, in which case the Roman citizens would have joined him. He would then have proceeded to make himself master of the strongholds in the neighbourhood of Rome, to demolish the Castle of St. Angelo, and adopt whatever other measures might appear necessary.

Porcaro's statement is corroborated by the evidence of well-informed contemporaries,* and there is no doubt that

* See the accounts collected by de Rossi, 94 *et seq.*, and Tommasini, 79. Porcaro's intention of killing the Pope is also mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (226), the Chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin (*loc. cit.*, 2), L. Boninc. Annal. (157), the letter from Nimes (*loc. cit.*), Caccia (*loc. cit.*), the Florentine Letter (in Tommasini, 110), Giov. Cambi (Deliz. erud. Tosc., ix., 306), and the Signoria of Florence in a *Letter to their Ambassador at Milan: "Domino Bernardo de Giugnis et Dietisalvio Neronis," d.d. Florentie, xiii. Jan., 1452 (st. fl.), hora iii. noctis: "Qui sono novelle che a Roma se scoperto un tractato del quale si dice era capo mess. Stefano Porcari e dovevano amazar il papa. E stato preso mess. Stefano et

the sentence of death pronounced by the Senator Giacomo dei Lavagnoli was a just one. He was hanged on the 9th January on the battlements of St. Angelo. He was dressed entirely in black, and his bearing was resolutely firm and dignified. His last words were: "O, my people, your deliverer dies to-day!" A number of his associates suffered the same penalty, but they were executed at the Capitol. A reward of a thousand ducats was offered for the apprehension of Battista Sciarra, or five hundred for his head.*

The question naturally arises as to what Porcaro intended to do with the Papacy in the event of a successful issue to his enterprise. The conspirator's confession furnishes no definite answer, but most writers of the day

alcuno altro di bassa mano. Non si sa anchora se ha maggior fondamento. Quando haremo piu particularita vene daremo notitia." (I have sought in vain for the further account.) Cl. x., dist. i., No. 46, f. 24b. State Archives at Florence.

* Florentine Letter in Tommasini, 110. Here, as in Infessura (1134), Platina (719), and Sabellicus (946), the 9th January is mentioned as the day of the execution. The 5th, however, is given as the date in L. Bonincontrii Annal. (157), the 13th, in the Letter from Nimes, the 18th by Niccola della Tuccia, and the 20th by the Annal. Forlivien. (224). Of these different dates, that of the Letter from Nîmes alone deserves consideration, as opposed to the evidence of the three contemporaries, who say that the sentence was executed on the 9th. The Despatch of Bartolomeo de Lagazara, dated Rome, 1453, Jan. 14, which I found in the State Archives at Siena, says nothing of Porcaro's execution, but mentions that of two of his companions on the 11th. It can hardly, however, be supposed that these accomplices suffered before the author of the conspiracy. This consideration, in conjunction with the evidence of the three contemporary witnesses, has induced me to adhere to the 9th January. Caccia's statement (Cugnoni, 99) that the corpses were seen hanging on the gallows on the Thursday (=9 January) accords with this date, and Godi's account (Perlbach, 18) is not incompatible with it.

affirm that he meant to remove the Holy See from Rome.* Had the plot been carried out, Christendom would again have fallen a prey to the calamities from which she had so recently been delivered, and the papacy would have been exiled from Italy. An interesting passage in relation to this subject is to be found in Piero de' Godi's Dialogue. To the objection that, after the assassination of Nicholas V. a new Pope would have been elected, and Rome would have again been conquered, the partisan of Porcaro replies: "Perhaps an Ultramontane would have been elected Pope, and would have gone to the other side of the mountains with the Court and left Porcaro in peace at Rome."† The consternation caused at the Papal Court by the conspiracy was so great that Alberti and others expressed their desire to quit the unquiet City. But after all, if the attempted revolution had been accomplished, and the Papacy again transferred to France, would not the Romans have very soon begun to pray for its return, as in the Avignon days? In the beginning of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV., when the revolution had triumphed in Rome, a few months of a liberty which brought nothing but anarchy had sufficed for the citizens, and they had besought the Pope to come back. A similar result would now have ensued, and all the more surely, because many of Porcaro's associates were men of the worst character. If his contemporaries compared him to Catiline, we cannot ascribe their words to vindictiveness and party prejudices, for his

* See De Rossi, 96 *et seq.*, from whose admirable work I borrow the following observations.

† Perlbach, 21. The fear of a return to Avignon continued for a long time; even in the Conclave of 1464 an article to the effect that the Court should not be transported beyond the Alps without the consent of the whole of the Sacred College was added to those which the Cardinals swore to observe. Quirini, Vindic. Pauli II., p. xxiii.

blood-thirsty and covetous followers were but too like the companions of the ancient tyrant.*

Porcaro's conspiracy caused great excitement throughout Italy; it is mentioned by most of the contemporary chroniclers but not always condemned.† The judgment of history is adverse to its author,‡ but Roman opinion seems to have been greatly divided on the subject. "When I hear such people talk," writes the gifted Leon Battista Alberti, referring to those who found fault with the Pope, "their arguments do not touch me in the least. I see but too clearly how Italian affairs are going. I know by whom all has been cast into confusion. I remember the days of Eugenius, I have heard of Pope Boniface and

* De Rossi, 95. Alfred v. Reumont, the first among German students of Italian history, is at one with the great Roman archæologist on this subject (Histor. Jahrbuch, v., 626). "Porcaro," says Voigt (ii., 2nd ed., 371), "was a Catiline in crime and depravity, but not in courage and energy." In face of Porcaro's modern apologists, it may be well to put together some authentic testimony regarding his companions. Caccia (Cugnoni, 97) says: "Omnes fere pauperes et abiecti," the writer of the letter preserved at Nimes calls them "latrunculos," and Paolo dello Mastro (Cronache Rom., 23), who was so favourably disposed towards Porcaro, says he has had with him "molti mal garzoni." See also in Appendix No. 15 the *Despatch of Bartolommeo de Lagazara of the 14th January, 1453. State Archives of Siena.

† The Annal. Forlivien. (224) for example call Porcaro "vir magnanimus" (Godi [ed. Perlbach, 18] disputes this opinion.) Sanudo (1146) says that he deserved death. See Niccola della Tuccia, 226.

‡ See Cipolla, 482. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 125) speaks of Porcaro's schemes as "ill-timed:" "for no Pope has been less to blame or done more for Rome than Nicholas V., the patron of all talent, the most liberal of the Popes." In another passage (vii., 3rd ed., 177) this author plainly says that Porcaro had sought to take advantage of the democratic movement to compass the aims of a Catiline.

read of the disasters of many Popes. On the one side I have seen this demagogue surrounded by grunting swine and on the other side the Majesty of the Holy Father. That cannot surely have been right which compelled the most pacific of Popes to take up arms."*

There were some in Rome who looked on Porcaro as a martyr for the ancient freedom of the city. Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, makes the following entry in his diary: "Thus died this worthy man, the friend of Roman liberty and prosperity. He had been exiled from Rome unjustly; his purpose was, as the event proved, to risk his own life for the deliverance of his country from slavery." †

The attitude of the humanists in the Court of Nicholas V. is a matter of some interest. The conspiracy was to them a most painful event, for it was not impossible that the Pope might look on them with suspicion. A connection might be traced between the ridicule and scorn which Valla, Poggio, and Filelfo had heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Porcaro's enmity to the temporal power. The danger, however, was averted by their almost unanimous condemnation of Porcaro's attempt, and it did not occur to the Pope to hold the study of antiquity responsible for the immoderate lust of liberty. Yet there can be no doubt that the conspiracy was the outcome of the republican spirit which that study fostered, and which now rose

* Muratori, xxv., 314. Reumont, iii., 1, 125.

† Infessura, 1134. The above expression of feeling sufficiently shows how we are to view the same author's odious details regarding those executed on the Capitol and the history of Battista di Persona. Georgius (130 *et seq.*) has adduced overwhelming arguments against the latter relation. In a future volume we shall have to deal at more length with Infessura's untrustworthiness. See, meanwhile, Reumont, iii., 1367, and Frantz, Sixtus IV. (Regensburg, 1880), p. v. *et seq.* Paolo dello Mastro also manifests sympathy for the criminal, Cronache Romane, 24.

against everything that it deemed to be tutelage or tyranny.*

Other writers living in the Pope's vicinity, but not belonging to the humanistic ranks, also produced polemical works in both prose and verse against Porcaro. Piero de' Godi, whom we have often mentioned, wrote at Vicenza a history of the conspiracy, which has but lately become known in its entirety.† It is in the form of a dialogue between a Doctor Bernardinus, of Siena, and Fabius, a scholar. The latter relates the event, speaking as an eye-witness, while the doctor, who had arrived in Rome subsequently, makes reflections on the Providence of God and the excellent government of Nicholas V., adducing a multitude of passages from Holy Scripture. The little work is in many ways worthy of notice; it is valuable as an authority, and, notwithstanding its manifestly Papal and party character, is perfectly trustworthy. The author vigorously asserts that Rome alone can be the seat of the Pope, and warmly upholds the temporal power of the Holy See. Considering that many among the Romans desired its removal from Rome, and that others shared the views regarding the annihilation of the Pope's temporal power lately expressed by Lorenzo Valla, it seems possible that Godi's Dialogue was an official production, intended

* Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 71. Geiger, Renaissance, 122. See Persichetti, *loc. cit.*, 54. The Dialogue of 1453, in which Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini defends the Pope's right to temporal power, is directed against both Valla and Porcaro; see Cugnoni, 258 *et seq.*

† By means of Perlbach, 1879, who found a copy of the Dialogue in a MS. of the Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg, in Prussia. This MS. is indeed very defective, and it is to be regretted that Perlbach did not compare it with Cod. Vatic., lat. 3619 and 4167. Cod. 3619 is probably the copy presented by the author to the Pope.

by its popular form to counteract these widespread errors.*

A similar tone of feeling pervades the long Lamentation of Giuseppe Brippi, who bitterly reproaches the Romans with their unpardonable ingratitude, and reminds them of the benefits which the Popes in general, and Nicholas V. in particular, had conferred upon the city. Notwithstanding the bombastic style of the poet—if, indeed, Brippi is worthy of such a name,—some of his remarks are extremely just, as, for example, when he points out to the Romans that the Papal rule has always been much milder than that of the other municipal governors in Italy. Brippi merely makes some general observations on the conspiracy, but he gives the Pope some good advice, recommending him to complete the fortification of his Palace, to be attended by three hundred armed men when he goes to St. Peter's, and to allow no other armed men to enter the church; furthermore, to seek to gain the affection of the Romans, to support the poor, and especially impoverished nobles, because the love of the citizens is the best defence of a ruler.†

* Geiger, in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr. N. F., vi., 179. Geiger is, however, mistaken in believing Manzi to have discovered the Vatican MS., for the credit is due neither to him nor to Gregorovius, but to D. Georgius, who, in his careful biography of Nicholas V., was the first to point out this document. Regarding Godi's trustworthiness, see also Tommasini, 69 *et seq.*, and de Rossi, 93. Godi is mentioned by Müntz (i., 213).

† "Ad s.d. nostrum pontificem maximum Nicolaum V. Conformatio Curie Romane loquentis edita per E. S. Oratorem Joseph B(ripium)," etc. Cod. Vatic., 3618. Georgius (129-130) first drew attention to the poem, and published the beginning. Ranke then published some passages (Päpste, iii., 6th ed., 3*-4*; his information is not quite correct). Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 132), and Müntz (i., 73); Tommasini (*loc. cit.*, 111-123) finally pub-

Friendly powers hastened to congratulate the Pope on the failure of the conspiracy; the Sienese Ambassador was the first to arrive. He had an audience on the 6th of January and again on the 14th, when he offered the Pope all the forces of the Republic in case of need, and also mentioned that the city contemplated the erection of a palace for the Pope.* The idea that the Pope would leave his unquiet capital was evidently general, and Siena wished to make sure of the honour and advantage of a Papal residence; a similar effort was subsequently made in the time of Pius II. The Republic of Lucca likewise sent letters to the Pope and his brother Cardinal Calandrini, expressing the deepest horror of Porcaro's crime.† The Cardinal's answer to the authorities of Lucca, dated 4th February, 1453, is worthy of note.‡ He declares that there was no question of plunder or of the freedom of the city, but that the object of the conspiracy was to drive the Christian religion out of Italy. These words probably refer to Porcaro's intention of banishing the Pope from the country.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportions attained by Porcaro's conspiracy. On this occasion, as on

lished it completely. The Roman poet Orazio's "Porcaria has not yet been published. See Zeno, Diss. Voss., i., 212; Vossius, De hist. lat., i., iii., p. 584; Fabricius-Mansi, iii., 261; Zanelli, 35, and Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., lxi., 378.

* *Despatches of Bartolommeo de Lagazara to Siena, dated Rome, 1453, January 7 and 15. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. In the despatch of the 15th January there is an account of an attempt on the life of King Alfonso of Naples, made in the beginning of January.

† Sforza, 383-384.

‡ See Appendix No. 16, where I have given the *Letter which had escaped Sforza's notice, from the original in the State Archives of Lucca.

others of a similar nature, there was no lack of conflicting accusations. Suspicions existed that Milan and Florence were implicated, and the Florentines endeavoured to cast blame on King Alfonso and the Venetians. Some of the conspirators certainly fled to Venice and Naples, but after the failure of the plot those powers handed them over to the Pope, and they were executed.* Other accounts speak of members of the Colonna family as taking part in the affair.† It is impossible to arrive at any absolute certainty on the subject, because much information must naturally have been suppressed. Too much importance accordingly is not to be attached to the statement of the Sienese

* Papencordt, 486. See Rosmini, Filelfo, ii., 303 ; iii., 168. The assertion here made that Porcaro had entered into an agreement with Alfonso is not confirmed by the *Depositiones St. Porcarii. The charge against Florence is in the Cronica di Bologna, 700. Alberti (314) speaks in a general way of "extrinsecos impulsores." Regarding the arrest of Porcaro's associates in Venice, see *the Despatch of Leonardo de Benvoglienti of September 1, 1453. State Archives at Siena; see Appendix No. 19. "The severity of Nicholas V. was quite intelligible," says Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 130). The complaints of P. Emiliani-Giudici (Storia dei comuni Italiani [Firenze, 1866], ii., 299 *et seq.*), Mancini (Alberti, 404), O. Raggi (La congiura di St. Porcara), and others are quite unfounded; for the Pope took no measures save such as were absolutely necessary, and must have been taken by any other government.

† Dlugoss, Hist. Polon., l. xiii., p. 109, and a letter from Margrave John of Brandenburg to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the Private Archives at Königsberg, dated Beierstorff, Friday before "Oculi" (3rd Sunday in Lent), 1453, cited by Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 116), who gives the fact as certain. Burckhardt (Cultur, i , 3rd ed., 99) thinks that Porcaro must have had accomplices among the Italian Governments. Interesting particulars may perhaps be concealed in the cypher of the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, January 13, but unfortunately the State Archives of Milan afford no clue to its meaning.

Ambassador, who, in a despatch of the 14th January, 1453, declared, as the result of his inquiries, that neither the Roman barons nor any foreign powers were concerned.*

The terrible event exercised a most injurious influence on the excitable and impressionable nature of the Pope. Immediately after the discovery of the plot, Nicholas V. displayed considerable courage by going to St. Peter's, of course with a strong escort, and celebrating High Mass on the Feast of the Epiphany.† But from the moment that the phantom of the ancient Republic arose, threatening destruction to his life, his authority, and all his magnificent undertakings on behalf of art and learning, his peace of mind was gone. He became melancholy, reserved, and inaccessible. It is said that he brought a great force of troops to Rome, and was always henceforth attended by an armed escort when he went out.‡ His agitation and dis-

* *Despatch of Bartolommeo de Lagazara. State Archives, Siena; see Appendix No. 15.

† *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo, January 5/6, 1453. State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 13.

‡ Manetti, 921; Platina, 719; N. della Tuccia, 227, and *a Despatch from Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, January 21: "Non ho potuto ancora ad longum rasonare cum N^ro S^re de questa practica de pace, perche sta perplexo per questa soa novita de Roma in modo che non pensa ad altro et continuamente fa venire gente darme nel borgo de Sampiero e fale scorere per Roma, maxime la nocte, mostrando non havere paura e volere ben purgare questa coniura." In a Postscript to his *Despatch of the 14th February, 1453, Bartolommeo de Lagazara complains that there was no money to be had in Rome, because since the attempted revolution the merchants were constantly employed in gathering in their money. Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives at Siena. I take this opportunity of observing that the "Breve narrazione della congiura di St. Porcari," in Cod. xxxiii., 117f, 136-137, of the Barberini Library, Rome, is identical with Platina's account. Tommasini (71) has not observed this fact.

quietude were increased by the knowledge that although the city continued tranquil, there were many Romans who, like Infessura, admired Porcaro. All the benefits conferred by the Pope, his just and excellent government, his promotion of Romans to many ecclesiastical posts, the advantages derived from the presence of the Papal Court, and the freedom and prosperity enjoyed by Rome above all other cities of Italy, had not sufficed to banish the old disloyalty.* Naturally, suspicion and distrust became more and more deeply rooted in his soul, casting a gloom over his once cheerful temper and undermining his health, which had already been shaken by serious illness.†

Nicholas V. had hardly recovered from the shock occasioned by Porcaro's conspiracy when another terrible blow fell upon him in the tidings that Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

* Papencordt, 486.

† On the 21st January, 1453, Nicodemus writes from Rome, in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza concerning the Pope: "Poy ancora questa soa gotta gli e calata in un zenochio e falo piu stranio." Cart. gen., State Archives, Milan. On the 14th February, 1452 (= 1453), Bartolommeo de Lagazara, writing to Siena, says that the Pope was again ill with gout. In a *Despatch of the 17th February, he adds: "Lo papa e stato gravato de la gotte dapoi tanto che non a data udientia ad alcuno," and in one of the 3rd March: "Lo papa e stato gia sono piu di 25 giorni in letto molto gravato de le gotte si che non da udientia ne segna ne fa alcuna cosa." Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives, Siena.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADVANCE OF THE TURKS AND THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE dogmatic differences between the Greek and Latin Churches had been removed by the Council of Florence, where Eastern and Western theologians had measured their strength, and the re-establishment of actual communion with Rome seemed to be the only means of healing the grievous wounds from which the Oriental Church, like every other severed from the common centre of Christendom, was suffering, and of imparting new life and vigour to the Byzantine Empire.*

But when the Greeks returned home from Florence they found it very hard to carry into effect that which had been agreed upon at the Council, and the Union met with violent opposition. Marcus Eugenicus soon produced his polemical letters, and Sylvester Syropulus his "True History of the False Union," a work which still constitutes the chief polemical arsenal of the Oriental schismatics.† Gennadius

* "In order," writes Döllinger (Kirche und Kirchen, 156), "to be convinced that everything stands or falls with the Papal See, and that it is most inseparably united with the very essence of the Church, we need only cast a glance at those bodies which have renounced Rome, or arranged their constitution so as to leave no place for a primacy."

† Hist.-polit. Bl. xxxvi., 787. See Hefele, Die temporäre Wiedervereinigung der Griechischen mit der Lateinischen Kirche (in the Tübinger theol. Quartalschr., 1848, xxx., 179 *et seq.*)

and numerous other writers followed in the same line, and as they fostered the national enmity of the Greeks against the Latins, their works produced more effect than those of the friends of the Union, many of whom, however, were distinguished and worthy men. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, for example, laboured indefatigably in the cause to the end of his days, and the Protosyncellus Gregory, Archbishop Andrew of Rhodes, and Bishop Joseph of Methone * are also worthy of honourable mention.

On this occasion, however, as it generally happens, the defensive party was at a disadvantage. The excellent men whom we have mentioned were unable to silence the calumnies of the schismatics, whose champion, Marcus Eugenicus, combined great talent and learning with extreme vehemence of character. He did everything in his power to stir up monks, clergy, and laity against the peace which had been concluded between Rome and Constantinople. The friends of the Union were treated with contempt and scorn, and called azymites, traitors, apostates, and heretics. The opposition of the majority of the clergy and of the populace to any tokens of fellowship with those who acknowledge the authority of Rome daily increased, while the Emperor hesitated to express his will in such decided terms as might have given a firm basis to the Union.† Carried away by the prevailing tone of feeling, many even of those prelates who had taken part in the negotiations at Florence now repented of their co-operation, and openly proclaimed their regret that they had allowed themselves to be persuaded into signing the act of Union. Antagonism to the West was so deeply rooted that it was

* See Hefele, *loc. cit.*, 197-200. For an account of Bessarion's labours, see Vast, 138 *et seq.*

† Frommann, 195 *et seq.*

absolutely impossible for the Union to gain any ground. When Metrophanes, the new Patriarch of Constantinople, took decided measures against the violent opponents of ecclesiastical unity, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem issued a strong protest, commanded the clergy appointed by Metrophanes, under pain of excommunication, to resign their posts, and threatened the Emperor that unless he abandoned the dogmas imposed at Florence his name should be omitted from their prayers.*

In Russia also the attempt at Union had proved ineffectual. The metropolitan of Kiew, Isidore, on his return to his country as cardinal and legate for the North had been cast into prison. In 1443 he managed to escape, and afterwards attained important ecclesiastical offices in Rome. It had been hoped that the whole of the Russo-Greek Church would by his means have been brought back to unity, but only the metropolitan province of Kiew, with its suffragan dioceses of Brjansk, Smolensk, Peremyschl, Turow, Luzk, Wladimir, Polotsk, Chelm and Halitsch, was reconciled to the Holy See, and Russia proper, with its metropolitan see of Moscow, continued in schism. †

Under these circumstances the tidings of the terrible defeat of the Christian army at Varna (10th November, 1444) had a disastrous effect on public feeling at Constantinople by destroying the hope that the alliance with Rome might bring about deliverance from the Turks. A few years after the battle Sultan Mahomet, in a deadly conflict of three days' duration on the plain of the Amsel (Kossowo, 1448), wrested from the noble Hunyadi of Hungary most of the laurels he had won.

The Turkish forces were now directed towards the

* Frommann, 199 *et seq.*

† Hefele, *loc. cit.* 201. See Karamsin, Gesch. Russlands (Riga, 1823), v., 236 *et seq*, 241.

Peloponesus in the South and Albania in the West, and Hungary also was seriously threatened. It was natural therefore that these countries should engross the principal attention of Europe, while the Greeks were comparatively neglected. Moreover the attitude of the Court during the recent calamities had been one of shameful inaction, a circumstance which was calculated to increase the indifference of the West and to confirm the growing impression that Hungary, rather than the Greek Empire, was the "shield against the Turks."*

This view was shared by Nicholas V., who, from the beginning of his pontificate, had taken a lively interest in Eastern affairs and endeavoured directly and indirectly to support the operations against the Turks.†

The defeat of Kossowo greatly alarmed the timid Pope, and, by means of his Legate, he made known to the Hungarians his opinion that, for the future, they would do well to confine themselves within the limits of their own kingdom. Hunyadi and his people, however, would not hear of such a course, and only reiterated their petitions

* Kayser, 209.

† Evidence from documents, some of them unpublished, in Kayser, 210 *et seq.* For supplementary information regarding the prohibition to furnish the infidels with arms and provisions, see a *Papal Letter to "Dominic. tit. S. Crucis in Jerusalem presb." (Capranica), d.d. 1447, iii. Non. Mai, which says: "Tibi omnes personas . . . usque ad numerum 25, que ad Alexandrie, Egipti et alias transmarinas partes, quas Soldanus Babilonis et alii inimici crucis detinent, merces et alia per ecclesiam prohibita portaverunt seu portari consenserunt, ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis etc. censuris . . . si hoc humiliter petierint auctoritate apostolica . . . plenam et liberam tenore presentium concedimus facultatem absolvendi." Reg. 406f, 28. Secret Archives of the Vatican

for the co-operation of the Holy See. These were not in vain, for on occasion of the Jubilee, the Pope issued a Bull, by which, in view of the impending danger from the Turks, he dispensed all prelates, barons, knights, and commoners of the kingdom of Hungary, who should take part in the war against the infidels, from personal appearance in Rome, and in order that they might not be deprived of the benefit of the plenary indulgence, he, in the fulness of his apostolic power, decreed that it should be extended to them on condition that on three consecutive days they should visit the Cathedral of Wardein and certain other churches in the kingdom appointed for the purpose, and should there deposit half of the money that would have been spent in their journey to and from Rome and in a sojourn of fifteen days in that city. The fulfilment of these conditions was to be deemed equivalent to fifteen days' visits to St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome, provided that the persons in question should not during the year leave Hungary save to make war on the infidels. Chests, furnished with triple locks, were to be placed in the churches referred to to receive the offerings, and extensive faculties, even in regard to reserved cases, were granted to all priests.*

Nicholas V. also rendered important service to the cause

* *Bull "Romanus pontifex," d.d. Rome ap. S. Petr., 1450, prid. Id. April. Pont. anno iv. (Gratis de mandato d. n. papæ), only partly given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1450, n. 6, Regest., 391, f. 252b-254. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Ibid*, f. 249, a document of the same date: "Dil. fil. Johanni de Hunyad, gubernatori generali totius regni Hungarie," by which he and his family, if "vere poenitentes et confessi cathedralem ecclesiam Waradien. per tres dies continuos dicti presentis anni devote et reverenter visitaverint, omnium peccatorum suorum remissio plenaria." The bearer of this letter is made known to us *"Litteræ passus pro Jacobo Andree de Bestrez," dat. Idib., April, 1450, *loc. cit.*, 284.

by endeavouring to compose the strife which had broken out between Hunyadi and Gislira, the captain of the kingdom, and by absolving Hunyadi, on the 12th April, 1450, from an oath not to pass through Servia, which had been extorted from him by fear and violence. His glorious victory at Belgrade was thus rendered possible, and the defeats at Varna and Kossowo were amply avenged.*

While the Pope thus favoured the Hungarians, he also supported the Albanians in their resistance to the Turkish power, and sought to induce them to make common cause with adjacent countries; of these, the most important was Bosnia, whose King, Stephen, had, as we have already related, returned to the Catholic Church in the time of Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. at once took a warm interest in him, and in June, 1447, he placed him and the reconciled magnates under the protection of the Holy See, and appointed Thomas, the Bishop of Lesina, his Legate.† Moreover, he did everything to promote the erection of Catholic churches in this devastated country, and took vigorous measures against the widespread sect of the Paterines. Being informed by the Bishop of Lesina that their errors were, nevertheless, gaining ground, Nicholas gave him full power to grant an indulgence and spiritual favours to those who should fight against these "unbelievers."‡ Furthermore, in June, 1451, he sent a new Nuncio to Bosnia, with

* Kayser, 213. The Bull "Quamquam ex debita," dat. prid. Id. April, 1450 (Gratis de mandato d. n. papæ), given in part in Raynaldus, 1450, n. 7, is complete in Regest., 391, f. 251-252[b]. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See, besides Klaic, 373, 378, the documents in Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 235-237; Mon. Slav., i., 402 *et seq.*; and Balan, Slavi, 184-185.

‡ *"Venerab. fratri Thome episc. Farense in regno Bosne . . . nostro et apost. sedis legato," d.d. 1448, iii., Non. Febr., Regest., 408, f. 96[b]. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the authority of a Legate, to labour for the pacification of the country.* The action of the Pope was not due solely to considerations of a spiritual nature, for the Paterines were secretly and even openly in league with the Turks, and thus, as Rome perceived, constituted a terrible danger to the country. Even members of the secular and regular clergy, among the latter some few unworthy Benedictine monks, were implicated in their treachery, and, counting on the Sultan's favour, endeavoured to lay hands on the property of the Church. The Pope commanded his Nuncio first to admonish these offenders in a friendly manner, but afterwards to proceed to ecclesiastical penalties, and eventually to invoke the assistance of the civil authorities.†

The names of Hunyadi and Skanderbeg are generally coupled together on the roll of heroes who in the fifteenth century made a valiant warfare against the ancestral foes of Christendom. We shall speak of Skanderbeg later on, when we come to deal with the history of Calixtus III., and must only here observe that Nicholas V. gave every support in his power to "this champion and buckler of Christendom against the Turks," who defeated them in an important engagement in the year 1449.‡

The action of the Pope against the Turks was not limited to the cases we have mentioned. He carefully watched each phase of the struggle for Rhodes, and in various ways assisted the Knights of St. John in their

* Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 254-256. A list of faculties for this Legate is in the *Regest., 412, f. 56 *et seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Kayser, 214. See the document of the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix No. 17.

‡ Kayser, 215-216, establishes this fact from documents in the Vatican. See Cugnoni, 100.

gallant resistance.* In 1451, when the Island of Cyprus was seriously menaced by the infidel power, he showed the utmost solicitude for its defence, and addressed an urgent appeal for assistance, coupled with the grant of an indulgence of three years not only to the Emperor but to the whole of Christendom; to France, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, England, Scotland, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, as well as to the different Italian States. At a later period Nicholas gave half of the offerings received from France to the King of Cyprus to enable him to rebuild the citadel of Nicosia.†

The facts which we have adduced sufficiently prove with what injustice the Pope has been charged with neglecting the war against the infidels.‡ The statement that he did as little as possible for the deliverance of the Greeks is equally false.§ It is perfectly true that Nicholas made the fulfilment of the terms of the Union agreed upon at Florence a condition of his assistance, and this was evidently his

* Kayser (216-217), Bull. Vat. (ii., 137), Cugnoni (100), and the documents from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix Nos. 2 and 3. See also Regest., 400, f. 327: "Universis Christifidelibus præsentes literas inspecturis," d.d. Rome, 1453, viii. Id. Jun.

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1452, N. 15, and the extracts from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix No. 7. Regarding the printed "Literæ indulgentiarum Nicolai V. pro regno Cypri," which have a special interest in connection with the history of the discovery and advance of printing, see Sotzmann's article in Serapeum, iv., 273-285, 289-299, 386-387; xv., 60-62; and Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten (Ulm, 1763), ii., 376 *et seq.* Pertz, Abhandl. der Berliner Akad., 1856. Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch, v., 634 *et seq.* Zeitschr. für wissenschaftl. Theol., 1884, p. 349 *et seq.*

‡ Kayser, 219.

§ Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 146.

duty as Pope, for it was incumbent on him to resist the encroachments of the schismatical Greek propaganda.*

The prospects of the Union were most gloomy in the Byzantine Empire. The new Emperor, Constantine, the last of the Palæologi, was unable to withstand the fanaticism of the people, and sent a special ambassador to Rome in the year 1451 in order to appease the Pope for the non-fulfilment of the agreement.† Nicholas replied in a long and incisive brief dated October 11th, 1451.‡

"The matter in question," Nicholas V. declares, "is the unity of the Church, a fundamental article of the Christian confession of faith. A united Church is an impossibility unless there is one visible head to take the place of that Eternal High Priest whose throne is in heaven, and unless all members obey this one head. Where two rulers command there can be no united empire. Outside the Church's unity there is no salvation; he who was not in Noe's ark perished in the deluge. Schism has always been punished

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1449, N. 10; Bull., v., 100-101, and Kayser, 220 (the Bull cited here, note 2, is not unpublished, and Kayser is mistaken in supposing that the point had never before been raised; Frommann had already drawn attention to it). In the year 1451, Nicholas V. made efforts, in great measure for the sake of the Crusade, to restore peace between France and England; see *supra*, p. 105, and Desjardins, i., 62, note.

† In this same year an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy came to Rome on the Turkish question. See *Despatch of Donatus de Donatis, dated Rome, 1451, July 9th, Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 30, State Archives, Florence. The Burgundian Embassy also brought forward the question of the restoration of peace between France and England. See in Appendix, No. 8b, the Document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Raynaldus, ad an. 1451, N. 1 and 2, from an older printed copy; the date here given is v. Id. Octob. (= 11th October). Frommann (226, note 3), and Kayser (220) do not assign any reason for their date of October 15th.

more severely than other crimes. Core, Dathan and Abiron, who sought to divide the people of God, were punished more terribly than those who had defiled themselves by idolatry.

"The Greek Empire itself is a living witness to this truth. This glorious nation, once so rich in learned and holy men, has now become the most miserable of all nations; almost the whole of Greece is given into the hands of the enemies of the cross. What is the reason of this heavy judgment of God? The once chosen people of God were sorely chastened by Him for two crimes. They were led into captivity in Babylon for idolatry; and for their putting to death our Redeemer Jesus Christ they were wholly given over into the power of the Romans, the city of Jerusalem was destroyed, and until this very hour the whole nation is scattered in exile throughout the world. Now we know that since the Greeks received the Catholic Faith they have never committed either of the above-mentioned crimes, on account of which the wrath of God might have given them into Turkish bondage. Some other sin must have provoked the Divine Justice, and this sin is the schism which was begun under Photius, and has since lasted for five hundred years. Full of sorrow and with a heavy heart do we make this complaint, and we would willingly have buried it in everlasting silence, but if a remedy is to be applied the wound must be laid bare. For almost five hundred years Satan, the author of all evil, and especially of division, has seduced the Church of Constantinople into disobedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter and representative of our Lord Jesus Christ. Innumerable negotiations have meanwhile been undertaken, a great many Councils have been held, countless embassies have been sent to and fro, until at last Emperor John and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, accompanied by numerous

prelates and great men, met Pope Eugenius IV., the Cardinals of the Roman Church, and a considerable body of Western Prelates at Florence in order, with the blessing of God, to put an end to the schism and establish unity.

"These negotiations were carried on before the eyes of the whole world, and the decree of Union drawn up in Greek and Latin and signed by all present has been made known to the whole world. Spain, with its four Christian kingdoms, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre; Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, the great islands lying beyond the continent; Germany, inhabited by numerous nations, and extending over far countries; the kingdom of the Danes, Norway, and Sweden, situated towards the extremest north; Poland, Hungary, and Pannonia; Gaul, which stretches between Spain and Germany from the western ocean to the Mediterranean, are its witnesses. All these countries possess copies of the decree of Union by which that ancient schism is at last removed, according to the testimony of the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, of the Patriarch Joseph, and of all the others who came from Greece to the Council of Florence, and by their signatures sanctioned the Union.

"And now so many years have already passed during which the decree of the Union has been disregarded by the Greeks, and there appears no hope of any readiness to accept it, the matter is put off from one day to another, and the same excuses are always brought forward. The Greeks cannot really believe the Pope and the whole Western Church to have lost their senses so as not to perceive the meaning of these constant excuses and delays. They understand it perfectly, but bear with it after the example of the Eternal Chief Pastor, who gave the barren fig tree two years more to bring forth fruit.

"Be it known to your Imperial Highness," continues the

Pope, "that we also will wait until this letter of ours has received your consideration, and if you, with your great men and your people, think better of it, and accept the decree of the Union, you will find us, the Cardinals and the whole Western Church always ready for you and well disposed towards you. But should you and your people refuse this, you compel us to do that which is demanded by your welfare and our honour." The Pope then lays down as conditions of peace that the Emperor should recall the Patriarch Gregory and reinstate him in all his dignities, that the name of the Pope should be inserted in the Diptychs, and that prayers should be offered for him in all the Greek Churches. Should any persons be in doubt regarding the decree of the Union the Emperor was to send them to Rome, where they would be honourably treated and every care taken to remove their doubts.*

The Papal letter of the 11th October, 1451, is also interesting, inasmuch as it implies that Rome had recognized the utter fruitlessness of the often repeated public disputations at Constantinople, where the excited populace not only supported the speakers opposed to the Union, but from the beginning rendered any concession to the Latins impossible.†

Meanwhile, the danger which, during more than a generation, had been threatening Constantinople and the whole of the East,‡ seemed to be averted. Sultan Mahomet, instead of attacking Cyprus, as had been apprehended, directed his forces against the ancient enemy of his kingdom, the Mahometan Prince of Karamania.

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 123-124.

† Frommann, 226.

‡ As early as 1416 Ailly said that immediate assistance was needed, else the "Empire of Constantinople" would perish utterly. Hardt, i., 414, 415. Tschakert, 261.

The Greeks, seeing their most dangerous adversary thus occupied in Asia, were deluded enough to adopt a tone of menace towards him, and sent an embassy to his camp to 'nform him that unless the pension, paid for Urchan, the Sultan's nephew, who was being brought up at Constantinople, were doubled, they would put him forward as claimant to the throne. Mahomet answered this preposterous demand in a furious speech, hastily made peace with the Prince of Karamania, and satisfied the Janissaries with money, so as to be able, without annoyance from internal or external foes, to turn his whole power against Constantinople. As soon as he reached Adrianople he refused to pay to the Emperor the revenue of the region on the Strymon, which was destined for Urchan's maintenance, and then began to take measures for the subjugation of the capital.* Early in the winter of 1451-1452 he sent orders throughout the different provinces of his kingdom, requiring that a thousand builders, with a corresponding number of hodmen and bricklayers, should be sent, and the necessary materials prepared for the erection of a fortress on the Bosphorus above Constantinople. The tidings caused the greatest consternation among the Christian population in that city, in Thrace, and in the Archipelago. "The end of the City has come!" they exclaimed, "these things are the forerunners of the downfall of our race; the days of anti-Christ are upon us. What will become of us? Rather let our lives be taken from us, O Lord, than that the eyes of Thy servants should see the destruction of the City, and let not Thine enemies say 'Where are the saints who watch over it?'"†

The Emperor Constantine despatched ambassadors to Adrianople to remonstrate against the building of the pro-

* Mordtmann, 9-10. † Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 530.

posed fortress. The Sultan's answer was a declaration that he would have anyone, who again came to him about this business, flayed. The fortress was begun in the spring of 1452, the Sultan himself having made the plan and selected the site at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, where a strong current drives vessels from the Asiatic to the European side, on the promontory of Hermæum.

Here, then, a fortress rapidly arose, with walls from two-and-twenty to five-and-twenty feet thick, and towers with leaden roofs, sixty feet high. The Turks gave it the name of Bogaz Kessen, which means cutter off of the Straits and also cutter-off of the neck.* As master of this castle and one opposite to it, named Anatoli Hissar, which had been built by Bajazet, the Sultan had it in his power to cut off all communication between the republics of Genoa and Venice and their colonies on the Black Sea, and also to deprive the city of Constantinople of the access to that Sea which was absolutely necessary to its inhabitants.†

During the progress of the work disputes arose with some of the inhabitants of Constantinople who had cornfields in the neighbourhood, and bloodshed ensued. The Greek Emperor then addressed a grave and dignified letter to the Sultan, who vouchsafed no other reply than a declaration of war (June, 1452), and caused the messengers who brought it to be beheaded. Mahomet was, however, too wise immediately to begin hostilities; for the time

* Mordtmann, 13, 17. In this fortress, which now bears the name of Rumili Hissar, the Sultan placed four hundred men, giving orders to their commander to require all ships to stop, and only to allow them to pass on payment of a toll. Vessels which refused to pay were to be sunk (*loc. cit.*, 18).

† Heyd, ii., 303, 382. The great danger which threatened mercantile nations from the erection of this fortress was laid before the Council of Genoa on the 13th March by Gabriele Doria. Atti della soc. Lig., xiii., 222. See Vigna, i. (atti 6), 20, 33.

being, he merely reconnoitred the walls, trenches, and gates of Constantinople, and on the 1st September retired to Adrianople.

The following winter passed by in quietness, but preparations were vigorously carried on on both sides for the decisive struggle.* The Emperor again showed himself disposed for Union with the Latins, no doubt with the view of obtaining their assistance against the Turks. Whether in this matter he acted in perfect good faith may be left an open question; but even granting that his purpose was sincere, it would have been impossible for him to carry it into effect in face of the fanatical opposition of his people. This must have become evident at Rome, where the long-cherished hope that the whole Greek Church would accept the Union effected at Florence had now died out.† It was necessary, however,‡ in order not to make too light of the Pope's dignity, that appearances should be kept up, and that his rights, which had been acknowledged at Florence, should be officially recognized at Constantinople, for on no other grounds could he be held bound to afford material assistance to the Greeks.

The question of helping the Greeks was warmly discussed in Rome, where great differences of opinion prevailed on the subject. An anonymous treatise § written there in the

* Mordtmann, 18-19, 29.

† This appears from the treatise of which we are about to speak, *Cod. D-I-20 of the Casanatense Library, Rome. See Frommann, 226 *et seq.*

‡ Frommann, 227 *et seq.*

§ To be found in Cod. D-I-20, f. 5 *et seq.* of the Casanatense Library, Rome, which is entitled: "Collectio plurium opusculorum spectantium auctoritatem papæ, concilii et cardinalium." The treatise itself has no superscription, but in the contemporary index of MSS. the following title is given: *"Sitne Graecis pro conservanda urbe Constantinopolitana aliisque de causis ac præcipue pro

December of 1452, gives us some interesting details, and endeavours, with the learning and rhetoric peculiar to the humanists, to show that the preservation of Constantinople was a necessity for Christendom.* Conflicting opinions prevailed in Rome as to the line of conduct pursued towards the Greeks. Starting from the principle that no communication is to be held with heretics, schismatics and excommunicated persons, one party was absolutely opposed to the idea of giving them any assistance, and held that the impious schismatics would but meet with due punishment.† This view is strongly condemned by the author of the treatise who adduces passages from the fathers of the

ineunda sive servanda unione subveniendum per Latinos ac in primis per pontificem summum?" The date of the MS. appears from the opening words, which are ornamented with beautiful initial letters: *"Ad laudem et honorem domini nostri Jesu Christi anno eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo mense decembris." The author proposes to answer three questions: "(1) *Utrum christiani teneantur ex debito caritatis imminente hac necessitate petentibus Grecis subvenire. (2) *Utrum Grecis negligentibus salutem suam et spiritualem et temporalem posito quod ita sit quod huiusmodi necessitas immineat teneantur christiani illis opem afferre. (3) *Utrum summus pontifex pre ceteris regibus et principibus christianis teneatur et obligetur ad premissa."

* Frommann, 226-227, who was the first to draw attention to this important treatise.

† *"Videtur quod Grecis non sit auxilium aliquod prestandum; hereticis et scismaticis et excommunicatis non est communicandum et multo minus auxilium prestandum, penis potius tormentis carcere coërcendi sunt prout utriusque iuris leges et canones satis docent. Sed Greci sunt eiusmodi, ergo eis non est prestandum auxilium. . . . Ingratis et pestilentibus viris non sunt prestanda beneficia. . . . Damnationis sententia non est relaxanda volenti in sua perfidia permanere ut ait beatus Leo. . . . Ad virtutem pertinet sumere vindictam de malis ut deducit S. Thomas," etc.

Church, and from Aristotle, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and other classical writers.* He then appeals to the principle of Christian charity, and to the love of sinners inoulcated by our Saviour, and maintains that, notwithstanding their schism and their ingratitude, the Greeks ought to be helped.† Should assistance be refused, there is, he continues, reason to fear that the conquest of Constantinople may be followed by a general massacre of the Christians.‡ If it be said that the Greeks will persist in their schism, this is indeed true with regard to many of them, but not to all, for amongst them are distinguished and religious men. No one knows what course these will take; we need not trouble ourselves about the future; for the present the first thing to be done is to grant the prayer of those who are so hardly beset by the enemies of the Christian name.§ He then urges the glorious past of the City of Constantinople. Men remarkable for their learning, their piety, and purity of life have dwelt within her walls, which contain countless relics of the Saints and

* *Cod. cit., f. 8: Seneca qui in epistola lxxxii., ad Lucilium putat "etiam ingratis beneficium dandum."

† *"Non obstante Grecorum scismate et ingratitudine eosdem iuvare tenemur." Cod. cit., f. 6.

‡ Cod. cit., f. 9: *"Ergo debemus Grecos servare, iuvare et tollerare ne in servitutem Teucrorum redigantur. Timendum enim valde est . . . quod capta Constantinopoli in finitimis regionibus magnum exsequeretur excidium christianorum et fidei. Ideoque melius est Grecos tollerare sicut meretrices ecclesia tollerat propter maiora mala vitanda," etc.

§ Cod. cit., f. 9: *"Ad quartum cum dicitur quod Greci videntur velle semper in sua perfidia permanere, dicendum, quod licet multi videantur esse tales, scimus tamen et cognovimus quod non omnes fuerunt nec sunt perfidi, sed sunt multi insignes et religiosi viri ut cardinales, episcopi, abbates aliique inferioris gradus. Quid autem acturi sint, nescimus nec iudicare de futuris debemus."

richly adorned churches; moreover for the sake of the great Emperor Constantine to whom the Christian people and the Roman Church are so deeply indebted, it is, he declares, a duty to preserve his city from falling into the hands of the unbelievers.*

He then proceeds to point out the motives which render it incumbent on the Pope to take measures for the preservation of Constantinople, making honourable mention of the exertions of Eugenius IV. against the Turks;† he gives a lively picture of the threatening peril, enumerates the horrible cruelties practised by the infidels, and insists on the necessity of re-establishing peace, if only in a temporary manner, in Italy. In view of the dangers which threaten Constantinople, Cyprus, and the shores of the Mediterranean, Christian kings and princes, and especially all prelates and ecclesiastics, are bound, he

* Cod. cit., f. 10: *"Preterea ad civitatem debemus habere respectum. Civitas quippe aliquando sancta vel non sancta dicitur propter homines, sed hoc dupliciter q[uidem] aut propter presentes aut propter preteritos. Et dato quod propter presentes non esset eis subveniendum, tamen propter preteritos esset id illis beneficium conferendum, qui doctrina religione et summa integritate claruerunt. Secundo propter multa corpora sanctorum, que ibi recondita sunt. Tertio propter ecclesias et vasa sacra, que ibidem sunt. Quarto propter fundatoris memoriam et reverentiam."—F. 11: "Et ni fallor plurimum obligatur populus christianus et precipue ecclesia Romana prefato Constantino maximeque propter eius memoriam omnibus viribus est laborandum, ne civitas sua . . . cedat in habitationem gentis infidelis." At a later period St. Antoninus also recalled the merits of Constantine in his speech against the Turks in the presence of Calixtus III. See Chronicon, tit. xxii., c. 16.

† Cod. cit., f. 15: *"Et sancte memorie Eugenius quantum in hac re laboravit notum est," etc.

concludes, to arm themselves for the defence of Christendom.*

Warnings of this nature, as a modern historian has observed,† coupled with the well-grounded apprehension that the Turks might, after the conquest of the Greek Empire, attack Italy, produced their effect in Rome, and greatly promoted the favourable consideration of the ceaseless petitions for aid, especially as the Emperor accepted the conditions proposed by the Pope. In May, 1452, Cardinal Isidore, an enthusiastic Greek patriot, was sent as Legate to Constantinople.‡ He was accompanied by about two hundred auxiliary troops, and by Archbishop Leonard of Mytilene, who has left us an account of the siege of Constantinople. The selection of

* Cod. cit., f. 17: *"Verum ad huius necessarie pacis opus perficiendum remedia possibilia temptanda sunt, ut perpetua vel saltem temporalis pax aliqua in Italia sequeretur, ut civitas illa Constantinopolitana, in oriente fidei christianorum arx et monumentum, salubri celerique remedio imminenti periculo proxima, liberari et conservari possit. Preterea quod regnum Cypri, quod superioribus temporibus propugnaculum fidei catholice erat, maximis subiaceat periculis manifestum est et quod sub tributo sit et quandam ignominiosam et miserabilem servitutem paciatur iam omnibus notum est. . . . Exhortandi ergo videntur reges et principes christiani et precipue prelati et persone ecclesiastice, ut prompto animo pro dei laude, pro fide catholica, pro christiana religione ad hanc necessariam christianorum defensionem, pro viribus se paratos disponant." The treatise concludes with a petition to the Pope for the pardon of any errors it may contain.

† Frommann, 227.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 2. Isidore arrived at Constantinople in November, 1452. Ducas, c. xxxvi., 253. The date of his departure from Rome, 1452, May 22, which was hitherto uncertain, is fixed by *Acta consistorialia, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican. (Hefele [Wiedervereinigung, 216] says that he went in summer or autumn), Frommann [228] gives no exact time.

Isidore as Legate was a most excellent one, and if the reconciliation was not effected, he certainly cannot be held responsible for its failure.* The great majority of the Greeks were not even now in earnest in the matter, and the solemn function in honour of the Union celebrated on the 12th December, 1452, in the church of St. Sophia, with prayers for the Pope and the exiled Patriarch Gregorius, was a mere farce.†

Many Greeks did not shrink from openly expressing their sentiments. "Once we are rid of the Turkish dragon," they said, "you shall see whether we will hold with the Azymites or not." Both laity and clergy conspired to frustrate the Union, and a wild outburst of fanaticism ensued while the Turks were actually approaching the very walls of Constantinople. The schismatic clergy, incensed by the Emperor's open adhesion to the decrees of the Council of Florence, solemnly anathematized all its partisans, refused absolution to those who had been present at the function held in honour of the Union, and exhorted the sick rather to die without the sacraments than receive them from a Uniate priest. The populace cursed the Uniates, the sailors in the harbour drank to the destruction of the Pope and his slaves, and emptied their cups to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, shouting, "What need have we of the help of the Latins?" The friends of the Union were naturally too weak to hold their ground against the violence of popular feeling, and succumbed in their unequal conflict with the national will, which, impotent in all besides, proved itself obstinate and unbending on the one point of opposition to Rome. The

* Mordtmann, 21. Frommann, 228, is of the same opinion.

† The sincerity of this function was doubted even by contemporaries. See Ducas, *loc. cit.*, and Cribellus, 51. Mordtmann (27) calls it a comedy.

Union was again rent asunder, and St. Sophia, which the schismatics called a cave of demons and synagogue of Jews, became a mosque.* This furious antagonism to Rome extended to the highest classes of Byzantine society. The Grand Duke Lukas Notaras, the most powerful man in the powerless empire, was not afraid to say that he would rather see the Turkish turban in the city than the Tiara of Rome.†

It is not surprising that the Latins showed but little zeal on behalf of a nation so hopelessly deluded, and that both in Rome and elsewhere some were found to maintain that no help ought to be given to the schismatics.‡ The violently anti-Latin temper of the Greeks explains, and in some degree excuses, the fact that the Western Powers did not render the speedy assistance which might have saved the glorious capital of the East.

Besides the Pope and the King of Naples, the Republics of Venice and Genoa were the only Christian Powers who helped the Greek Emperor, and their help was given from mercenary motives. The Venetians and Genoese were well aware that their own interests would be seriously affected by a Turkish occupation of the Greek capital. Constantinople and its suburbs had become a second home to many of their citizens. Within its walls the two republics possessed much valuable property, both public and private, and its fall would involve the severance of their connection with their colonies on the Black Sea, and their consequent loss.§

* Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 9.

† The day after the fall of the city Notaras was horribly murdered by the Sultan's executioner. Hefele, *loc. cit.*, 218-219. Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 537-538.

‡ See the Treatise in Cod. D-I., 20, of the Casatenese Library, Rome, cited *supra*, p. 254, note †.

§ Heyd, ii., 303.

Genoa and its colony of Chios accordingly sent war material and a considerable body of soldiers, and, unlike their vacillating fellow-countrymen in Pera, devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause.*

The powerful Republic of Venice displayed far less zeal.† Twice in the year 1452 did the Ambassadors of the Greek Emperor repair to the city, earnestly imploring counsel and aid against the threatened attack of the Turks; but no decided promise was made to them, for the interest of the principal personages was at this time concentrated almost exclusively on the war against the Duke of Milan.‡ Material considerations alone induced the Signoria to send some few ships to Constantinople, but the despatch of a fleet was postponed until the 7th May, 1453, because it was feared that it would have to act in concert with the ships promised by the Pope and King Alfonso.§ The ten vessels commanded by Jacopo Loredano, whose arrival had been so eagerly desired by the besieged, naturally came too late.‖ Indeed, the following instructions, given to Jacopo

* *Loc. cit.* 306-307. For an account of the heroic Giovanni Guglielmo Longo of the kindred of the Giustiniani in Chios, see Hopf in Ersch-Gruber, Section 1, lxviii., 321.

† The Greek Emperor therefore endeavoured, by pliancy and concession, to keep the Venetians in good humour. He granted them the privilege of the free export of wine, and removed the tax hitherto imposed on Venetian brokers and slave dealers. Romanin, iv., 245, N. 3. Heyd, ii., 303.

‡ Sanudo, 1141, and State Archives at Venice: *Secreta Senatus, xix., f. 169^{b}-170. See Vast, 196.

§ This opinion is repeated in the *letter of Venice to Nicholas V. written on the 4th February, 1453. State Archives, Venice: Secreta Senatus, xix., 184^{b}.

‖ See Heyd, ii., 316, and Romanin, iv., 254, 527. Regarding the hopes placed in Venice, see Barbaro, 34, and the account of the Florentine Tebaldi in the Appendix to Vallet de Virivelle's edition of Chartier, Chronique de Charles VII., Vol. iii., 30. Bar-

Loredano, are calculated to awaken some misgivings as to the real intentions of the Venetian Republic. "On the way to Constantinople you are not in any way to cause any injury to the cities, troops, or vessels of the Turks, inasmuch as we are at peace with them. For although we have prepared this fleet for the honour of God and the defence of the City of Constantinople, we will not—if it can possibly be avoided—involve ourselves in war with the Turks."*

Regarding the assistance afforded by Pope Nicholas V., the accounts which have reached us are unfortunately very defective, and in some cases contradictory. The diary of Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, a somewhat untrustworthy document, informs us that the Emperor's ambassadors were detained in Rome, and were unable to obtain a decided answer. St. Antoninus of Florence says in his Chronicle, that Nicholas V. directly refused them a

baro, 66; Sanudo, 1148; and Romanin, iv., 248, N. 2ª, 254, 260, N. 1, speak of the Venetian fleet.

* Loredano was again expressly directed to take no hostile measures against the Turkish ships unless in the event of an attack on his forces. The passage quoted above from the *Instructions for "Jacobo Lauredano ituro capitaneo generali maris," dated 1453, May 7, runs as follows: *"In via autem tua usque Constantinopolim volumus, quod nullo modo offendas neque damnum aliquod vel novitatem inferas locis, gentibus et navigiis Turchorum per observationem pacis quam cum Teucro habemus [Mahomet II. had, at the request of the Venetian Ambassador, on September 10, 1451, renewed the treaty made with Venice by his predecessor; see Romanin iv., 245; Sanudo, 1154-1156] quia licet hanc classem pro honore dei et conservatione civitatis Constantinopl. paraverimus, attamen si possibile fuerit ad aliquam novitatem vel guerram cum Teucro devenire nollemus." Secreta Senatus, xix., 194. State Archives, Venice. Venice commanded Bartolomeo Marcello, on the 8th May, as much as possible to keep up a good understanding with Mahomet II., and to bring about a permanent peace! Hopf, Griechenland, 115.

grant of pecuniary assistance. As, however, the fact that this Pope sent money in the year 1452 for the purpose of fortifying the walls of Galata, is proved by an inscription, these accounts cannot be correct.* We have, moreover, the testimony given by the Pope himself when on the very brink of eternity.

Nicholas V. informed the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed that, on receiving the tidings of the siege of Constantinople, he had at once determined to help the Greeks to the best of his power. He was, however, well aware that his own unassisted resources were insufficient to oppose an adequate resistance to the immense armies of the Turks. He had, therefore, "openly and plainly," declared to the Greek ambassadors that his money, his ships, and his troops were at the disposal of the Emperor, but that, inasmuch as this help was inadequate, his Majesty ought without delay to seek the assistance of other princes; assuring them of the support of the Papal forces. The Ambassadors had departed, well pleased with his answer, but, after making unsuccessful application to many princes, had returned to Rome, whereupon he had given them his help, such as it was.†

* The inscription is in Guglielmotti, ii., 180, and the passage from Infessura in the edition published by Muratori, p. 1136. The statement of St. Antoninus is in the Chronicon, l. 22, c. 13, § 14. In February, 1452, a Greek Embassy was in Venice to ask for assistance, and was to proceed thence to Florence and Rome; see Vast, 196. A new Greek Embassy arrived in Venice in the middle of November (Vast, *loc. cit.*), and on the 28th of the month reached Bologna (Cronica di Bologna, 700), on its way to Rome to petition for help. See, regarding this Embassy, Romanin, iv., 247, and Barbaro, Giornale dell' Assedio, App. n. 5.

† Manetti, 953. Kayser, 223. The last-named writer justly observes that the tidings of the siege of Constantinople must have taken the Pope as much by surprise as they did the Greeks.

Accordingly, on the 28th April, Nicholas V. commanded the Archbishop of Ragusa, Jacopo Veniero of Recanati, to proceed as Legate to Constantinople, with the ten Papal galleys and a number of ships, furnished by Naples, Genoa, and Venice.* The united Italian fleet did not, however, come into action, for on the 29th of May the fate of the city was decided.

On the 23rd March, 1453, Mahomet II. left Adrianople, and on the 6th April took up his position within a mile of Constantinople. According to the lowest, and therefore most probable estimate, his army numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. To meet this powerful, rapacious, and fanatical host, the Emperor had, in all, four thousand nine hundred and seventy-three Greeks, and about two thousand foreigners, Genoese, Venetians, Cretans, Romans, and Spaniards.†

The siege, of which we have details from a number of

No one in the West had believed in the greatness of the danger; see Æn. Sylv., Epist., clxii. Had the Pope, says the *"Tractatus seu exhortatio ad seren. dom. Fridericum imperat. domini Joannis de Castilione episc. Papien. et apost. legati ad defens. fidei contra Thurcos," known the necessity of Constantinople, "clare et in tempore, quo subsidium parari potuisset," he would certainly have granted all imaginable assistance. Cod. lat., 4143, f. 102, of the Court Library at Munich.

* See N. della Tuccia, 227. Guglielmotti, ii., 170-171. Kayser, 223 *et seq.* Kayser and Zinkeisen (i., 825) give a wrong date for the decree nominating Veniero Legate. It is given at length in Theiner (Mon. Slav., i., 409-410). According to Æn. Sylvius (Epist., 155), the Papal and Genoese ships were subsequently captured by the Turks.

† Mordtmann, 30, 41. Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 538. Vast, Bessarion, 199, gives a much higher estimate of the numbers on both sides, but in this he is mistaken.

eye-witnesses, began immediately.* Besides fourteen batteries, which were planted opposite to the walls of the city, the Sultan had twelve large pieces of artillery destined for special positions, and discharging stone cannon-balls of from two hundred to five hundred pounds' weight. One giant cannon, made by a Hungarian, is perhaps the largest mentioned in history, and its stone balls weighed from eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds.†

It was evident that the city, with its slender garrison, would ultimately be compelled to yield to such a force. The catastrophe was delayed by the position of Constantinople, which rendered it very difficult of assault,‡ and by the personal courage of the Emperor and of some few other Greeks. But the chief credit of the defence is due to the skilful tactics of the Italian ships, and to the foreign troops and the Venetian Catalan, and other colonists, together with the Genoese, who had secretly come from Pera. They ceaselessly repaired the breaches made by the enemy's artillery, and brilliantly repelled many Turkish attacks. Moreover, under the direction of a German engineer, countermining was carried on with such success

* See Vast, Bessarion, 187 *et seq.*, and Mordtmann's excellent monograph, which, however, does not notice nearly all the contemporary documents. See the important article by Hopf in Ersch-Gruber., section 1, lxxxvi, 116. Of more recent histories, we must mention besides Zinkeisen (i., 832 *et seq.*) and Finlay (History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires, ii., 620 *et seq.*); Guglielmotti, ii., 174 *et seq.*; Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschrift, iii., 76 *et seq.*; Krause, Die Eroberungen von Konstantinopel im dreizehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert (1870), 127 *et seq.*; Heyd, ii., 303 *et seq.*; Vast, Bessarion, 197 *et seq.*, and a paper by the last-named author in the Revue hist. (1880), xiii., 1-40.

† Mordtmann, 36, 50.

‡ See v. Moltke, Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei (2nd ed.), p. 55.

that the Turks finally abandoned their mines. A dangerous bastion constructed by the infidels was destroyed in a single night, and the astonished Sultan exclaimed, "Never could I have believed the Giaours capable of such great deeds, not even if all the Prophets had assured me of the fact!"

The greater number of the Greeks, however, played a pitiful part during the siege. Instead of fighting, they consoled themselves with the foolish predictions of their monks, wept and prayed in the churches, called upon Our Lady to deliver them, never considering that God is wont to help those who exert themselves, and at the same time humbly place their confidence in Him. A historian justly observes, "They loudly confessed their sins, but no one confessed his cowardice, the unpardonable sin of a nation devoid of patriotism."* The Emperor alone distinguished himself by his courage, but one man could not save a nation, many of whose members, from their bigoted hatred of the Latins, preferred quiet and toleration under the Turkish sway.†

The cowardice of the Greeks was equalled by their avarice, which kept them from employing the number of troops required for the defence of the widely extended walls of their city. The unreasoning covetousness which had been the proximate occasion of this terrible siege now contributed in great measure to bring about the final catastrophe. The small force of defenders could no longer hold the long chain of fortifications, partly ruined as they

* J. B. Weiss, iii. (2nd ed.), 1490. See Vast, Bessarion, 202. "No one would do his duty. We were forsaken by Providence, because we ourselves had abandoned Him," says Critobulus. The same writer gives many examples of the faint-hearted selfishness of the Greeks.

† Voigt, in the histor. Zeitschr., iii., 32.

were by the enemy's artillery, and on the 29th of May* the Janissaries made another desperate attack. The Emperor, with a great many of his faithful followers, fell. Cardinal Isidore, who was not recognized, was sold as a slave. Thousands of the Greeks who escaped death shared his fate, especially all those who had taken refuge in the church of St. Sophia. An ancient prophecy had foretold that the Turks would advance as far as the Pillar of Constantine, but would then be driven by an angel from heaven not only out of the city but back to the Persian frontier. As soon accordingly as they had entered the city, crowds pressed into the great church, which, with all its vestibules, corridors, and galleries, was densely thronged, multitudes who, ever since the feast held in honour of the Union had scorned the spiritual graces which they might there have found, now seeking within its walls to save their lives. "Had an angel really descended from heaven at this moment," says the Greek historian Dukas, "and brought them word to accept the Union, they would not have acknowledged it, and would rather have given themselves up to the Turks than to the Roman Church."†

The infidels, meanwhile, had become masters of the city, and had slain some thousands of its inhabitants before the idea of making gain out of them as slaves arrested the work of bloodshed.‡ On reaching the church of St. Sophia they burst open the doors and dragged the helpless fugi-

* On this very day the Florentine Ambassador at Genoa announced evil tidings regarding Constantinople. See Makuscev, 545.

† Hammer, i., 549.

‡ Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 225. "Natural avarice and desire for slaves and prey had more effect than any command," says Mordtmann, 92, "and the Turks henceforth only thought of making as many prisoners as possible."

tives off to slavery. The beautiful church was desecrated by all sorts of horrors, and then turned into a mosque. A crucifix was borne through the streets, with a Janissary's cap on its head, while the miscreants shouted, "Behold the God of the Christians."*

The Sultan did not compel the Greeks to conform to Islam, but rather sought to win their priesthood to his side by espousing the cause of the enemies of the Union. He brought about the election to the Patriarchate of Gennadius, a zealous member of the orthodox party and a violent opponent of the Latins. The ceremony of installation took place on the 1st of June, and the procession passed through streets still stained with blood. The Sultan, adopting the ancient custom of the Byzantine Emperors, delivered a golden staff to the newly-elected Patriarch, in token of investiture.† The last traces of the Union were thus obliterated in the great Turkish Empire. Henceforth it survived only in Lithuania and Poland, in some Mediterranean Islands subject to the Latin rule, and in the isolated Greek communities in Italy, Hungary, and Sclavonia.‡ The Sultan jealously claimed for himself all privileges enjoyed by the Emperors, especially the power of granting

* Sanudo, 1150. Regarding the horrors which took place in the church, see Hammer, i., 550. A note in Barbaro's diary gives the number of prisoners as sixty thousand; the spoil taken was worth three hundred thousand ducats, and for a long time afterwards the Turks used to say, when speaking of a very rich man, he was at the sack of Constantinople. Mordtmann, 95-96.

† Pichler, i., 423. Frommann, 232 *et seq.* From the time of the Patriarch Parthenius III., who was hanged by order of the city prefect (1657), the ruler of the infidels has considered it beneath his dignity personally to grant investiture to the Patriarch, and the office has devolved upon the Grand Vizier. Pitzipios, L'Eglise Orientale (Rome, 1855), iii., 83.

‡ Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 228-229.

confirmation and investiture to the Patriarchs, and it soon became the custom for each Patriarch to pay a considerable sum of money for his investiture, and thus to purchase his high dignity from the infidel ruler. As time went on, other Turkish magnates also received tribute from the Patriarch; money was the only means of obtaining anything at the Porte, and yet its magic power was not always a certain defence from bitter humiliations, from ill-treatment and plunder. Turkish despotism and Greek corruption brought the Patriarchate to the lowest depths of degradation to which the head of a Church with such a history could fall.*

The tidings of the great victory of the Turks over the "Christian dogs" were borne on the wings of the wind throughout the East. Success was now on the side of Mahomet II., and the consequences were more immediately disastrous there than in the West. The Oriental Christians at once felt the shock of the great blow which had fallen on their cause in the Bosphorus. In their first panic the whole population of these districts thought of nothing but speedy flight, and flocked to the seaside in order to embark for the West, on the first appearance of the Turkish flag.† Slowly but surely was the way prepared for the complete closing up and barbarizing of the glorious lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. No pause in the victorious advance of the Turks was to be expected, although for a time the Sultan retired with his army to Adrianople, and sent his fleet to the harbours of the Asiatic shore.

Soon indeed it became clear that, not content with victory on land, the Porte aspired to supremacy in the

* Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 158-161. Pichler, i., 423 *et seq.* Ersch-Gruber, section 1, lxxxiv., 193.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 16-17. See the letter of Fr. Giustiniani from Chios, 1453, Sept. 27th, in Vigna, i., 19-21.

Archipelago and the Black Sea. Mahomet II. spared no pains to create a formidable fleet, and Constantinople and Gallipoli afforded him every facility for his operations. No resource remained to the terrified Christians on these shores but to purchase the permission to exist by the payment of a heavy tribute.* The Sultan was not slow to take advantage of their distress. On his return to Adrianople he announced to the ambassadors, who came to congratulate him, that for the future Chios must pay six thousand instead of four thousand ducats, and Lesbos three thousand as a tribute.† Thomas and Demetrius, the cowardly Byzantine despots of the Peloponesus, who had meditated flight to Italy, laid a present of a thousand gold pieces at his feet, and received in return empty promises of peace and friendship. The Emperor of Trebizond was required by the Porte to pay the annual tribute of two thousand gold pieces for himself and the neighbouring shores of the Black Sea, and also to appear at an appointed time every year in the Sultan's Court. The despot of Servia had to purchase Mahomet's good will by a tribute of twelve thousand ducats a year.‡

It would be difficult to describe the terror of Western Christendom on learning that "the centre of the old world and the bulwark which protected European civilization from Asiatic barbarism" had fallen into the hands of the infidels.§ Men felt the event to be a turning point in the history of the world. In the downfall of the Byzantine

* Heyd, ii., 318. Atti della soc. Lig., vi., 20 *et seq.*

† Heyd, ii., 313.

‡ Zinkeisen, ii., 17-18. The King of Bosnia also sent messengers without delay to the victorious Sultan to do homage and commend himself to his favour.

§ Mordtmann (2) justly observes that the extraordinary impression made by the fall of Constantinople is a proof that the city outweighed in importance whole countries and provinces.

Empire, which united Eastern Europe with Asia, and which had been so instrumental in the civilization of the Slavonic races, the ruin of all that the first great medieval period had accomplished was begun. The Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 was tardily avenged by the foundation of a Turkish Empire on European soil, which had the effect of paralyzing the whole political system of Europe. All common action on the part of Christian nations was crippled, and Stamboul became that smouldering centre of discord which it still continues to be in the Eastern question of the present day. In face of the constant danger from the Turks the reforms, social as well as ecclesiastical, so urgently needed by Christendom, were neglected, and the Holy Roman Empire, second only in prestige to that of Byzantium, was drawn into the vortex of revolution.*

"The Kingdom of Mahomet II.," according to a modern historian,† "was for the first time thoroughly consolidated by the conquest of that magnificent central position uniting the great lines of communication between the Adriatic and Mesopotamia, and Belgrade and Alexandria, and carrying with it the sovereignty of the Empire of the Cæsars and the Constantines. The magnitude and danger of the Eastern question dates from this event."

The Republic of Venice was the first among the Western powers to learn that Constantinople had fallen, and that the bravest of the Palæologi had died a hero's death. The

* Such is the observation with which Höfler, in his "Lehrbuch der allgem. Gesch.," prefaces his picture of modern times (ii., 1, v.). See also Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. Phil.-histor., Kl. lxv., 588. Kraus, in the second edition of his "Kirchengeschichte," also makes the year 1453 the boundary between the Middle Ages and modern times (see iii., 529).

† Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 530; see 542.

tidings came on the 29th June, when the great Council was sitting; Luigi Bevazan, the Secretary of the Council of Ten, read the letters in which the Castellan of Modone and the Bailo of Negroponte announced the calamity. The consternation and grief which overpowered all present were so great that no one ventured to ask for a copy of the terrible news.*

From Venice it soon spread in all directions. On the 30th June the Signoria sent word to the Pope, adding that they deemed it likely that His Holiness would have already heard of the disaster by some other means.†

On the 8th July it was known in Rome.‡ The celebrated preacher, Fra Roberto of Lecce, told the populace, who

* See Zorzi Dolfin, Chronik. (Sitzungsber. d. Münch. Akad., 1868, ii., 36 *et seq.*), and the interesting letter from Battista de' Franchi and Piero Stella to the Doge Pietro de Campofregoso at Genoa, dated Venice, 1453, June 29th, in the State Archives at Florence, in a contemporary copy (Cl. x., dist. 2, No. 22). See Makuscev, 545-546. Regarding the consternation of the Venetians see also *the Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Reggio, 1453, July 4th. Fonds ital., 1586, f. 217, National Library, Paris.

† *Venice to Nicholas V., die ultimo Junii: "Quamquam existimemus, beatissime pater, tam litteris R^dl patris domini archiepiscopi Ragusien. legati apostolici hic existentis quam aliter, S^tem vestram ante has forsitan intelligere potuisse horrendum et infelicissimum casum urbium Constantinop. et Pere," etc. Senatus Secreta, xix., 202, State Archives, Venice. I found a copy, though not a perfectly correct one, of this letter in the National Library, Florence. Cod. Magliabech., viii.-1282, f. 40b.

‡ Infessura, 1136. (In the Latin copy of the Diarium in *Cod. xxxv., 37, f. 181 of the Barberini Library, Rome, the date is wrongly given as the 18th July, but correctly as the 8th, in Cod. Vatic., 5522, f. 48.) Infessura's dates are not generally very trustworthy, but on this occasion he must be right. We know from the Cronica di Bologna (701) that the news reached that city on the

broke out into loud lamentations. As it was a long time before any other accounts arrived to confirm those received from Venice, and as Constantinople was known to be well-provisioned, many persons both in Rome and Genoa considered them to be false.* Later on some maintained that the city had been reconquered in a marvellous manner "This," wrote Cardinal d'Estouteville, on the 19th July, "is possible but not probable." † The consternation at Rome was increased by a report that the Papal ships had been captured by the infidels, and that the Turks were preparing, with a fleet of three hundred vessels, to follow up the conquest of New Rome by that of the ancient city.‡

All writers agree in stating that the Pope and the Cardinals were overwhelmed at the tidings of the fate of

›th of July, and as we learn from *Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, iii. (Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna), a courier at that time took four days to reach Rome from Bologna. Accordingly the tidings could not be at Rome till the 8th July. This accords with the following *note from Cardinal Scarampo to Honorato Gaetani: "Magn. domine, compater noster car^me^ post salutem. Mandamo el vilano nostro famiglio alla M.V. con la presente al quale havimo comesso vi dicha alchune cose da parte nostra. Donateli fede come a noy. Insuper e gionte altre lettere per le quale havimo certa la infelicita di Constantinopoli. El Sig. Sigismondo Malatesta ha corso el terreno Fiorentino come loro inimico. Altro non ecc. In S. Paulo apud Albanum die x. Julii, 1453." Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

* See Appendix, no. 18, and *letter from Nicolaus Soderinus, d.d. Janue, 1453, Jul. 11. Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 259. State Archives at Florence. *Æneas Sylvius also wrote from Graz to Stephanus de Novaria on the 12th July, 1453: "Hic habentur nova horribilia de perditione Constantinopolis quæ utinam falsa sint." Original draft in Cod. lat. 3389, f. 123b, of the Court Library at Vienna.

† *Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, Rome, 1453, July 19. Original in State Archives at Milan.

‡ Cribellus, 56.

Constantinople.* The dominant feeling, however, in the mind of Nicholas V. and throughout the West was rather apprehension of further advances of the infidels than pity for the Greeks, who, by their dishonesty in regard of the Union and by the hatred which they never failed to manifest for the Latins had alienated the sympathy of the rest of Christendom.† Moreover, the rich Greeks had been as unwilling to make material sacrifices for the defence of their metropolis as they were to put aside their animosity. The well-informed chronicle of Bologna expressly attributes the fall of Constantinople to their avarice in not furnishing money for the payment of the troops, and St. Antoninus of Florence declares that in the year 1453, the Pope was extremely indignant at their again beseeching the impoverished Italians to give them pecuniary aid, although themselves possessed of hoards of wealth which would have amply sufficed to pay for troops.‡

The Pope's first measure on hearing of the calamity was to despatch legates to the different Italian powers in order

* Infessura, 1136. Niccola della Tuccia, 230. Cribellus, 56. Simonetta, 645. Platina, 719. *"Da Rome ce e che N^o Sig^re et li cardinali stano molto smariti e vergognosi del caso de Constantinopoli et che perho dicono volere mandare ambax^rl a tuti li Signori e potentie d'Ytalia ad confortargli a pace e presto dio mostrara miraculi se questo fano." Original despatch from Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza, dated Florence, 1453, July 13. Pot. Est. State Archives at Milan.

† Kayser, 227.

‡ According to this author (Chronicon, l. 22. c. 13, § 14), when the Turks conquered Constantinople they found an immense amount of treasure, which, if it had been spent in the defence of the city, would have sufficed to avert its destruction. The passage in the Cronica di Bologna is at p. 701. See also B. Poggio in Baluze, Miscell., iii., 278. Phrantzes (Migne, clvi.) also says (iii., c. 9) that the Greeks concealed their treasures. See Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 219; Frommann, 229, and Kayser, 219, 222.

to put an end to the internecine wars which raged amongst them. The excellent Cardinal Capranica accordingly left Rome for Naples on the 18th of July, and two days later Cardinal Carvajal started on his mission to Florence, Venice, and the camp of the Duke of Milan.* Nicholas V. also ordered five triremes to be equipped at Venice at his expense (the cost amounted to seventeen thousand three hundred and fifty-two Venetian gold ducats); and the Genoese, Angelo Ambrogini was sent with three galleys to the Greek waters. He found the Mediterranean already swarming with Turkish ships, and had great difficulty in making his escape.†

On the 30th September the Pope addressed a Bull of Crusade to Christendom in general. In it he declared Sultan Mahomet to be a forerunner of anti-Christ, and to restrain his diabolical arrogance called upon all

* Simonetta, 645; Ist. Bresc., 882 *et seq.*, and **Letter from Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, July 19th. State Archives at Milan. Regarding Capranica's journey to Naples see Catalanus, 98-99; Arch. st. Neapol., vi., 420-422, and a *Letter from Cardinal Scarampo to Honorato Gaetani, d.d. in S. Paulo apud Albanum, 1453, Jul. 18, hora 18: "Vi notificamo como questa mattina passate le tredeci hore Mons. di Fermo prefato se partito da Roma accompagniato fino alla porta da tutti li cardinali secondo lusanza de li legati et esserne venuto a Marino et serebbe questa sera venuto con noy ad Albano, ma lora tarda lo ha revocato. Noy a questora siamo gionti passate le xvii. hore. Domane al mattino epso Mons. venira a Sermonetta ad allogiare con la S^ria^ V^ra^, perce questa notte dormira a Marino." Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

† Niccola della Tuccia, 230. Sanudo, 1151. Zorzi Dolfin, Chronik. (see *supra*, p. 272, note *) p. 38. Guglielmotti, ii., 199. For the cost of the five triremes see Kayser, 228, who estimates the amount spent by the Pope at more than sixty thousand ducats, in which case he contributed more liberally than any other power concerned.

Christian princes to defend the faith with their lives and their money, reminding them of their Coronation Oath. A plenary Indulgence was granted to everyone who should for six months, from the 1st February of the following year (1454), personally take part in the holy war, or send a substitute. Every warrior was, as in former times, to wear the cross on his shoulder. The Church aided the cause by contributing money. The Apostolic exchequer devoted to the Crusade all the revenues which it received from greater or smaller benefices, from archbishoprics, bishoprics, convents, and abbeys. The cardinals and all the officials of the Roman Court were to give the tenth part of their whole income, and anyone who should be guilty of fraud or fail to pay this tenth was to be excommunicated and deprived of his post. A tithe was also imposed on Christendom at large under pain of excommunication, and anyone who should treacherously provide the infidels with arms, provisions, or materials of war was to be severely punished. Furthermore, that the undertaking might not in any way be hindered, the Pope, acting under the authority of Almighty God, determined and commanded that there should be peace throughout the Christian world. Prelates and dignitaries of the Church were authorized to mediate between contending parties, and, if possible, effect a reconciliation. In any case a truce was to be concluded. The refractory were to be punished by excommunication, or, in the case of whole communities proving obstinate, by interdict.* "Western

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 9-11 ; Zinkeisen, ii., 42, and Georgius, 139. See *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza of the 10th September, 1453, in Appendix No. 20 from the original in the Ambrosian Library. For an account of the preachers of the Crusade sent forth by the Pope, see Wadding ad an. 1453, and Georgius, 141 *et seq.* The correspondence between Nicholas V. and the Sultan (see Quirini, Diatriba, p. DIV-DVI ; Tosti, Volga-

Europe," to quote the words of the historian of Bohemia, "now witnessed a renewal of the scenes which had taken place at the beginning of the Hussite war. Missioners were preaching, distributing crosses and indulgences, collecting tithes, holding popular assemblies, and promoting warlike preparations, but the indifference was greater, and the results smaller than they had previously been, for the institutions and symbols which had once been able to inflame the world with ardent zeal in the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and the Promised Land had now but little power over men's minds."* The states of Europe were too much divided and too much occupied with their own internal affairs to rise up and unite in resisting the Turk. The great political unity of the Middle Ages was broken, Christendom as a corporate body had ceased to exist. Clear-sighted contemporaries were fully alive to the melancholy fact. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini bitterly complained that Christendom had no longer a head who could command general obedience. "People," he says, "neither give to the Pope what is the Pope's, nor to the Emperor what is the Emperor's. Respect and obedience are nowhere to be found. Pope and Emperor are considered as nothing but proud titles and splendid figure-heads. Each State has its particular Prince, and each Prince his particular interest. What eloquence could avail to unite so many discordant and hostile powers under one banner? And if they were assembled in arms, who

rizzamento di' maestro Donato da Casentino dell' opera di m. Boccaccio, De claris mulierib. (Milano, 1841), and Christophe, i., 491-495, is not, in my opinion, genuine. I hope to revert to this subject on another occasion, and meanwhile will only observe that my researches have failed to discover originals (resp. drafts) of these letters in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Palacky, iv., 1, 374.

would venture to assume the general command? What tactics are to be followed? What discipline is to prevail? How is obedience to be secured? Who is to be the shepherd of this flock of nations? Who understands the many utterly different languages, and is able to control and guide the varying manners and characters? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, the Genoese with the men of Aragon? If a small number go to the Holy War they will be overpowered by the infidel, and if great hosts proceed together, their own hatred and confusions will be their ruin. There is difficulty everywhere. Only look at the state of Christendom."* Under these circumstances Hungary, whose danger was the most imminent, had to undertake alone the war with the terrible enemy.

The decision arrived at by the Parliament assembled at Buda in January, 1454, corresponded to the urgency of the case. The celebrated Hunyadi was chosen General for a year, and a summons was issued declaring that not merely the landed proprietors, great and small, but also the Prelates were bound to perform military service. Nobles who, without adequate cause, should leave the camp were to be punished by the confiscation of their property, and commoners by death. Nevertheless, Hunyadi could not but see that his army was far too weak to gain complete success.†

After Hungary the Republic of Venice was undoubtedly the power exposed to greatest danger. The Sultan had offered her a direct insult by causing the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople to be executed, and imprisoning upwards of five hundred Venetian subjects. Added to this was the serious loss of merchandise, estimated by Sanudo at two

* Æneas Sylv., Ep. 127. See Zinkeisen, ii., 49 *et seq.*

† Fessler-Klein, ii., 546; Szalay, iii., 1, 154; Zinkeisen, ii., 71-76.

hundred thousand ducats. Immediately on receiving tidings of the fall of Constantinople, Cardinal Bessarion had addressed an urgent letter to Francesco Foscari, the Doge, calling upon him to defend the cause of Christendom.* If we may credit Filelfo the appeal was not in vain. He says that the Doge made an impressive speech, declaring that no time was to be lost, but that hostilities with the Turks ought at once to be commenced in order to avenge the affronts offered to the Republic at Constantinople.†

During the consultations at Venice, however, the opinion that every effort should be made to arrive at some kind of understanding with the Sultan prevailed. The threatening attitude of Milan, solicitude for the five hundred captives, the increasing financial difficulties of the Republic and the mercantile interests which overruled everything, all tended to confirm this decision. The merchants well knew what the fall of Constantinople implied; they were perfectly aware that their rich possessions in the East were in the most serious danger, and that the Italian Peninsula itself might next be imperilled.‡ Yet, with their usual

* Bessarion's letter, dated Bologna, 1453, July 13, is published by Muratori, Script., xxv., 35-38. It is strange that Vast (Bessarion, 194) should nevertheless write: "Enfin il n'est question nulle part de la lettre manuscrite de Bessarion à Fr. Foscari" (Bibl. nat. MSS. lat., 3127); and 211: "La lettre de Bessarion n'a jamais été publiée." Nevertheless Vast prints it (454-456) from the aforesaid MSS.

† This account is to be found in a letter of Filelfo's of the 1st August, 1453, addressed to a relation of the Doge's. See Zinkeisen, ii., 19. The words "*fertur* consuluisse" are used. Venetian authorities, as far as I have seen, are ignorant of this discourse.

‡ *Letter of the Republic of Venice, of July 8th, 1453, to the Archbishop of Ragusa (archiepiscopo Ragusien., legato apostolico, qui ad nos se contulit): "Consideramus etiam, quod civitates et loca nostra Gretie et illarum partium nostrarum, que ab annis C C

short-sighted egotism, their first thought was to save anything that might at this critical moment be saved, to gain an undue advantage over all other naval powers by securing the favour of the Porte, and to maintain their mercantile importance at the high point which it had reached before the catastrophe at Constantinople.*

We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that the words of the Papal Legate fell upon deaf ears. Instead of beginning the holy war, the Signoria recognized the peace which formally existed with the Sultan, and employed Bartolomeo Marcello to open negotiations for the release of the captive Venetians and the renewal of friendly relations with the Porte, and also to prepare the way for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. Jacopo Loredano was in the meantime sent with twelve galleys to protect Negroponte.†

Marcello was successful in his mission, and on the 18th April, 1454, concluded a treaty with the ruler of the infidels, which served as a basis for all subsequent relations between Venice and the Porte.‡ The first paragraph of this shame-

citra ut ita dixerimus in pace vixerunt, nec fortificate nec munite sunt per modum quod in magno et evidenti periculo constitute sunt. Et si quod absit amitterentur, non est dubium quod valde habiliter ac commodissime absque alia contradictione hostis iste crucis cum potentia sua in Apuliam se transfretare posset." Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 205. State Archives in Venice.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 21.

† Hertzberg (Griechenland, ii., 554) observes that Venice lacked alike the power and the inclination to strike a great blow. Her action was confined to the occupation of the islands belonging to the ruined Empire of the Palæologi, with the exception of Lemnos; see Hopf, *loc. cit.*

‡ The words of the treaty are given in Romanin, iv., 528 *et seq.* See Hopf, Griechenland, 116; Sanudo, 1154-1158, and Marin, vii., 283-287. A faulty translation is printed by Daru (ii., 394 *et seq.*), a much better one, which is further corrected by Heyd (ii., 317),

ful compact runs as follows:—"Between Sultan Mahomet and the Signoria of Venice, including all its present and future possessions, as far as the banner of St. Mark floats, henceforth, as formerly, there is peace and friendship." Another article expressly lays down that Venice shall not in any way, by ships, weapons, provisions, or money, support the Sultan's enemies in their undertakings against the Turkish kingdom. "And thus," indignantly exclaims the historian of Turkey, "the Republic of Venice was the first Christian power which, after the fall of Constantinople, neglected all other considerations, and, simply for its own advantage, entered into a treaty of peace with the Sultan, and secured for itself freedom of commerce throughout the whole Turkish Empire and the right of employing its own representatives to look after the interests of its subjects settled there.*

It cannot be said that the Signoria was unconscious of the shameful nature of this proceeding, for, before the conclusion of peace with the Sultan, it addressed a somewhat confused letter of apology to Nicholas V.†

The Republic of Genoa, which, next to Venice, was the

by Zinkeisen (ii., 33-37). Regarding Marcello's mission, see also Vast, Bessarion, 217, note 5. Romanin, iv., 260 *et seq.* Barbaro, Giornale dell' assedio, ed. Cornet., Appendix 74 *et seq.* Kayser, 227.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 37. The perilous charge of Bailo of the Republic of Venice at Constantinople was entrusted to Bartolomeo Marcello. On the 16th August, 1454, Venice sent him his credentials to the Sultan. *Commissio Barthol. Marcello ituro Baiulo Constantinopol., Sen. Secr., xx., f. 29-30b. State Archives at Venice.

† Venice to the Pope, 1453, December 15th. Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 228b. State Archives at Venice. (According to Kayser, 227, this is printed in Cornet's publication, to which I am unable at this moment to refer.)

naval power of Italy most interested in Eastern affairs, also endeavoured to enter into friendly alliance with the Sultan. The tidings of the fall of Constantinople had caused unexampled alarm and discouragement amongst her inhabitants, and here, as elsewhere, many had clung to the hope that they were false.* It was at once decided in Council that all available ships should be made ready, that ambassadors should immediately go to King Alfonso, and that if the terrible report were confirmed, an envoy should be sent to all States of Christendom to bring about a general peace, inasmuch as the loss of the whole of the Levant and of the Archipelago appeared in such a case to be imminent.†

But these good resolutions ended the matter, and the Genoese, weakened by internal dissensions and by the war with Naples, took no decisive step; indeed, in their utter helplessness and despondency they would have nothing more to do with their possessions on the Black Sea, and on the 15th November, 1453, made them over by a formal contract to the Bank of St. George.‡ This great financial

* *Despatch of Nicholas Soderinus to Florence, d.d. Janue, 1453, Jul. 11. A post messenger from Venice, who met a courier from Naples at Sestri, brought news of the "perdita di Constantinopoli et Pera et navi et altre cose. Mandovene la copia perche possiate meglio giudicare quello che possi esser seguitato che variando queste novelle quanto ellanno variato et essendo tanto tempo et non avendo altro aviso che per la via di Vinegia et essende quelle terre benissime proviste pare impossibile a molti qua chelle terre possino essene perdute; pure se ne sta qua con grande passione. Idio aiuti la christianita." Cl. x., dist. 2, N. 22, f. 259. State Archives at Florence.

† *Despatch of Nicholas Soderinus to Florence, dated Genoa, 1453, July 8th. State Archives at Florence; see Appendix No. 18.

‡ The contract is to be found in Vigna, i., 32-43. The instructions to her Ambassadors at the Porte, March, 1454, see Atti della Soc. Lig., xiii., 261 *et seq.*, Heyd., ii., 314 *et seq.*, bear witness to

company, which by its immense pecuniary resources, the well-known rectitude and solidity of its administration, its considerable landed possessions, and its widely extended foreign connections, had acquired the position of a State within the State, seemed alone able to accomplish that which the exhausted Republic could no longer undertake.* But even the Bank of St. George was unable to prevent Caffa, the chief emporium on the Black Sea, from becoming tributary to the Porte.†

The cause of the crusade found no better support from King Alfonso of Naples than from the Republics of Venice and Genoa. This crafty politician was, indeed, lavish of fair words, and in the spring of 1454 he seemed ready to come forward as the champion of Italy and the avenger of the terrible disgrace which the conquest of Constantinople had brought upon Christendom. By his example, he wrote to the Cardinals, he hoped to incite the other Christian princes to an expedition which should drive the Turks completely out of Europe. But his professions were not followed by action. He cared for nothing but his own

the complete helplessness of Genoa, as does the literature regarding the Bank of St. George, which Leo (Gesch. Ital., iii., 538) has compared to the English East India Company. The Bank was founded in 1407, and continued till the time of the French (1797). Its former seat, at the southern end of the Harbour Road at Genoa, now serves as the Custom House. The old hall and court of the building still contain statues of men who rendered valuable service to the Bank. In the autumn of 1883, when I visited this venerable memorial of Genoese greatness, it was in a very neglected condition.

* The Republic was not at this time in a condition to afford from its own resources the eight thousand pounds which seemed required for the conciliatory Embassy to be sent to the Sultan. Vigna, i., 6, 21-23 (Heyd, ii., 383).

† As early as 1454. See Heyd, ii., 389.

exaltation and that of his dynasty, and never struck a single blow for the defence of Christendom.*

The conduct of the Duke of Milan was equally unworthy. Delighted to see his enemies, the Venetians, fully occupied by Eastern affairs he caused his troops to advance into the territory of Brescia. This circumstance must be taken into account in extenuation of the attitude of the Venetian Republic.†

The Republic of Florence, allied as it was with the Duke of Milan in opposition to Venice and Naples, shared his sentiments. From reliable sources we learn the almost incredible fact that in the blind hatred of Venice the Florentines viewed the terrible blow dealt to the Christian cause in the East with satisfaction. Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Francesco Sforza's Ambassador to Florence, when announcing the disaster, wrote: "I also wish that it may go ill with the Venetians, but not in this manner to the detriment of the Christian faith. I doubt not that your feeling is the same. Would to God that Pope Nicholas had built less and had believed me! How often have I told him that, besides its other innumerable advantages, the pacification of Italy would greatly tend to the honour of His Holiness." ‡

While the Italians, to quote the words of a contemporary chronicler, were thus tearing each other to pieces like dogs,§ most of the other Western States held aloof from

* Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., iii., 34-35. Zinkeisen, ii. 46, note. Even in October, 1453, Alfonso had, of course only in words, offered himself to the Pope for the complete expulsion of the Turks. See *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1453, October 9. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

† Regarding Sforza, see Simonetta, 645.

‡ *Despatch of Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated 1453, July 7. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 222.

the proposed crusade. None of them, indeed, openly refused assistance; on the contrary, all the princes formally professed themselves ready to take part in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe,* but when it came to the point not one was prepared to act. Æneas Sylvius openly admits that nothing was to be expected from the northern kingdoms. England was a prey to perpetual civil wars, and Nicholas V. vainly endeavoured to restore her to peace and unity.† We shall have to relate the utter failure of the crusading projects of the powerful Duke Philip of Burgundy, ‡ and all through the great kingdom of France the Pope's summons was almost unheeded. The French King, Charles VII., had not even deigned to answer Filelfo, who, before the fall of Constantinople, submitted to him the plan of an expedition.§ The Emperor Frederick III., who,

* Christian, King of Denmark and Norway, declared the Turk to be the beast rising out of the sea, spoken of in the Apocalypse, and called God to witness that he would willingly join in the war. Histor. Zeitschr., iii., 35.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 46, 50-51.

‡ For an account of the remarkable festival at Lille, in 1454, when Philip made a vow to take the cross, see N. Arenst, Beschreibung der Festfeier, etc. (Trier, 1868). The *Pope's letters to the Duke, *e.g.*, that dated v. Id. Jan., 1454, P. A° 8° [Regest., 402, f. 196b. Secret Archives of the Vatican], show that he hoped much from Philip, whom he styles in the * Bull "Nuper cum," d.d. Rome, 1454, vi., Id. Mart. P. A° 8° "fidei ferocissimus athleta et intrepidus pugil contra turpissimi hostis huiusmodi conatus." Cod. cit., f. 43.

§ Zinkeisen, ii., 45. Bishop Zanon of Bayeux appealed to the King as well as to the Emperor Frederick on the subject of the war with the Turks. In the National Library, Paris, Cod. lat. 3127, f. 194b-199, I found this: * "Epistola Zanoni episcopi Baiocen. ad sereniss. Francorum regem exhortatoria ad christianitatem tutandam." In this letter, which as far as I know is still unpublished, the necessity of counter-preparations is urgently insisted on.

according to the medieval view, was above all other princes bound to defend the Christian cause, was not, as the following pages will show, the man to make up his mind to such an undertaking. Portugal was perhaps the only power, with the exception of Hungary, which made serious preparations for war against the infidels. Its King, Alfonso, promised to maintain twelve thousand soldiers at his own expense for a year, and at a considerable cost and amid many complaints from his people made ready for action, but obstacles of various kinds made it impossible for him to accomplish his purpose.*

The words which Æneas Sylvius had written to the Pope were but too true; discord was rampant in Europe, and the different nations hardly ventured to move against the common foe of Christendom. Moreover, the tranquillity of the past months had persuaded them that the danger which threatened from the East was not so imminent as it had seemed in the first shock of the catastrophe.† The Papal summons to the Holy War failed to evoke a sympathetic response throughout Europe, and it became evident that the bond which in the great medieval ages held princes and peoples together had grown slack.

"Ne hec nostra christiana religio tuis temporibus et te superstite tota labatur et pereat." The Bishop, in moving words, seeks to stir up the King, "ad repellendam et expugnandam sacrilegam feritatem huius atrocissimi tiranni et cruentissimi carnificis."

* Schäfer, Gesch. Portugals, ii., 477-479. On the relations of Nicholas V. with Alfonso of Portugal, see Georgius, 145, and Markgraf, Sklaverei, 187.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 45.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN ITALY—THE CRUSADE IN GERMANY — SICKNESS AND DEATH OF THE POPE.

WHILE consultations were being held throughout Western Christendom as to the means of repelling Turkish aggression, a cause for which no one was ready to make any real sacrifice, envoys arrived from Cyprus and Rhodes. They implored assistance,* bearing witness to the magnitude of the peril which threatened Europe, and unanimously asserting that no cessation of Turkish hostilities was to be expected.† These envoys were accompanied by Cardinal Isidore of Russia, some Franciscans of Bologna, and a few other Italians, who had escaped from the massacre at Constantinople or from bondage among the infidels. The Cardinal, more fortunate than Cesarini, had escaped the terrible massacre which followed the victory of the Turks, by dressing a corpse in his own clothes and taking those of the dead man. Unrecognized in this disguise, he had been captured and sold as a slave, but at length

* They arrived in Rome in November, 1453. Details are given by Niccola della Tuccia, 229 *et seq.* Regarding the Embassy from Cyprus to Florence, see the Florentines' Letter to Nicholas V. of the 19th September, 1453, in L. de Mas. Latrie, Hist. de Chypre (Paris, 1855), iii., 72-73.

† In the summer of 1454 a Turkish fleet of fifty-six vessels proceeded to the Black Sea, took Moncastro, surprised Sebastopolis, reconnoitred Caffa, and laid waste the defenceless district of Gothia. Heyd., ii., 382 383.

succeeded in making his escape, at first at the Peloponesus, and thence to Venice, where he arrived in the end of November, 1453, as one returned from the dead.* He and the Franciscans were the first to make known the full details of the catastrophe of the 29th May, 1453.

Cardinal Isidore gave a terrible account of the cruelties practised by the Turks, and declared that they were determined to conquer Italy. The danger was, he believed, imminent, and the necessity for the union of Christians imperative. He thought the forces at the Sultan's command more numerous than those of Cæsar, Alexander, or any other conqueror, and the pecuniary resources at his disposal to be equally enormous. The Turkish fleet already consisted of two hundred and thirty ships, the cavalry was thirty thousand strong, and there seemed to be no limit to the numbers by which the infantry might be increased. Calabria would probably be the spot selected for the first incursion of the infidels, and it was possible that Venice might also be attacked. According to the report of the Sienese ambassador in Venice, the Cardinal was firmly persuaded that unless within six months peace was restored another year and half would see the Turks in Italy.†

* Cronica di Bologna, 701, and *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, Sienese Ambassador to Venice, dated November 22, 1453. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. Regarding the Franciscans who were taken captive at Constantinople, and for whose liberation the Pope exerted himself, see * Nicholaus V. universis Christifidelibus "Ad ea libenter," d.d. Romæ, 1453, viii.; Id. Oct. Pont. anno vii.; Regest., 401, f. 47b. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Appendix No. 22.

† The principal portions of this *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti regarding the "Cardinale di Rossia" are as follows: "Et molto piu potente essere li pare (the Sultan) che Cesare, Alexandro o alcuno altro principe mai quale abbia haspirato al

It was evident that serious measures against the Turks could not be contemplated until concord had been re-established in the Italian peninsula, and accordingly Nicholas summoned the ambassadors of all the Italian powers to a Peace Congress in Rome. The matter was pressing, and the Pope's messengers were despatched in all haste towards the close of September.* About a month later the ambassadors began to appear in the Eternal City. On the 24th of October, 1453, envoys from the Republic of Florence and Venice arrived; the latter were specially

dominio del mondo. Et infra laltre cose questo cardinale dice chel Turcho atanto tesoro che forse di nissun altro principe lesse mai avere tanto oro coniato quanto costui. Dugento trenta legni dice avere in acqua, ma poterne fare facilmente quella quantita che vuole; xxx^{m} cavalli a al presente in exercito et molti a pie, ma potere congregare et cosi intende quella quantita che vorra, si che lexercito suo ara potentissimo per mare et per terra et che intende presto venire in Italia." . . . "Narra etiando questo rev^{mo} Sig^{re} che per tutti li luoghi principali e per tutte citta in ne piu alti e eminenti luoghi sette volte fra di et notte si fa preghi a dio che metta ghuerra, divisione et discordia infra christiani in nela quale el Turcho molto si confida." The same Despatch says that the Cardinal intended to go to Rome to incite the Pope to the Holy War. State Archives at Siena, *loc. cit.* Cardinal Isidore lamented over the misfortunes of Constantinople in an "Epistola lugubris," which is still preserved; Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 5, gives it in part, and Reusner has published it among the Epist. Turcic., l. iv. (Francof., 1598).

* *Letter from Cardinal d'Estouteville to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, Sept. 17. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.; see Appendix, No. 21. See *Despatch of "Bernardus de Juniis" and "Johannotius de Pictis" (for the sake of brevity I henceforth designate them the Florentine ambassadors), dated Rome, 1453, Nov. 23. Cl. x., dist. 2, No. 20, f. 239b. State Archives at Florence.

charged to excuse the Signoria for their negotiations with the Turks.*

The Duke of Milan, who believed that the Venetians were merely endeavouring to gain time for fresh warlike preparations, reluctantly resolved to take part in the Congress. The delay of his ambassadors created a most unfavourable impression in Rome, and the Pope and his cardinals bitterly complained of Francesco Sforza. On the 10th November the long-expected envoys at length arrived,† and business accordingly could begin. The despatches which have come down to us regarding this Congress are unfortunately of a very fragmentary character, and those of the Venetian and Neapolitan envoys are altogether wanting. It is, therefore, impossible to give a clear account of these complicated proceedings,‡ but there

* *Despatch of the Florentine ambassadors, dated Rome, 1453, Oct. 27. *Loc. cit.*, f. 234. State Archives at Florence. The **Instruction to the Venetian ambassadors is in Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 217b-219. State Archives at Venice.

† *Despatches of the Florentine ambassadors, dated Rome, 1453, Nov. 5, 6, and 10. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, f. 236 *et seq.*

‡ Christopher Moro and Orsato Giustiniani (Simonetta, 665; Sanudo, 1151; see Christoforo a Soldo, 886) were sent by Venice; Bernardo Giugni and Giannozzo Pitti by Florence (see Neri Capponi, 1214), Marino Caracciolo and Michele Riccio by Naples (Facius in Grævius, ix., 3, 177), Giacomo Trivulzio and Sceva de Curte, and afterwards Nicodemus, by Milan. See Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 240 *et seq.* National Library, Paris. The reports of the Florentine ambassadors [State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., dist. 2, N. 20. This reference applies to the quotations which follow] are the most ample which have reached us. The instructions given to the Milanese ambassadors are published in Arch. st. Lomb., 1882, p. 129. Canetta's article, La pace di Lodi (Riv. st. Ital., ii., 516 *et seq.*) is incomplete, as its author was acquainted

can be no doubt that the greatest difficulties arose in the way of a satisfactory settlement. All parties, indeed, were profuse in professions, but when their proposals were brought forward it became evident that the pretensions of each Power were so extravagant as to render the restoration of peace almost hopeless.

King Alfonso of Naples demanded from the Florentines the repayment of the sums which the war had cost him; the latter, far from being disposed to pay anything, called upon the King to deliver up to them Castiglione della Pescaja in the Maremma. The Venetians insisted that Sforza, for whose assassination they had, on the 14th September, 1453, promised a hundred thousand ducats, should restore all his conquests in the territories of Brescia and Bergamo, evacuate Cremona, and consider the banks of the Po and the Adda as the boundary of his States. Sforza, however, instead of making any concession to the Republic of St. Mark, asked that Crema, Bergamo, and Brescia should be restored to him.* He had not the least intention of concluding peace so quickly, and his ambassadors complained of the pretensions of Naples and Venice to rule over Tuscany and Lombardy. Each one of the hostile powers brought violent accusations against his adversary before the Pope. The envoy of the Marquess of Mantua assured Nicholas that Venice, if victorious, would strive to make

only with the documents in the State Archives of Milan, and not with those in the Ambrosian Library and the National Library of Paris.

* See Simonetta, 665-666, who had access to the Milan Archives, and the *Despatches of the Florentine Embassy, *loc. cit.* See Machiavelli, l. 6, and Sismondi, ix., 449, and regarding the Venetian plan of murdering Sforza, Buser, 71. The Florentine ambassadors' Despatch of the 23rd November, 1453, speaks of the complaints of the Milanese. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, 239b.

the Pope her chaplain, adding that his master would rather fall into the hands of the Turks than into those of the Venetians! *

If anything had been wanting to render a favourable result of the Congress impossible, the deficiency was supplied by Nicholas. He had already endeavoured secretly to foment the dissensions of the other Italian powers, with the object of diverting hostilities from his own dominions and securing for them alone the blessing of peace,† and to this line of policy he continued to adhere. Impossible as it is to justify the Pope's conduct, we nevertheless take into account the circumstances which partially excuse it. Had the States of the Church been involved in the conflicts of the period, all that he had accomplished at immense cost, and by the labour of years, in the hope of making Rome the centre of art and of learning, would have been undone. This idea took such possession of his mind that all other considerations had to give way. Moreover, the relations which existed between him and King Alfonso of Naples were of a character unfavourable to the success of the Congress. The King did everything in his power to complicate the negotiations and hinder Nicholas from taking any step which might have tended to peace. If we may credit the ambassador of Francesco Sforza, Alfonso, even in the month of July, had threatened to ally himself

* *Despatch of Zacaria Saggio di Pisa to the Marquess Lodovico concerning his audience of Nicholas V., dated Rome, 1454, January 29th: "Et qui gli dissi quanto per me si puote de la dispositione de Venetiani verso santa chiesa, gli quali se vincessero vorriano farsi el papa loro nel consiglio de Venetia nel vorriano per altro che per suo capellano." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† See Simonetta, 666; Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 56; Manetti, who is above all suspicion, 942-943, and the *Despatch of Nicodemus, d.d. ex urbe, 1452, Nov. 1. Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

with the revolutionary party in Rome in the event of the Pope adopting a policy at variance with his wishes.* The monarch had supporters in the Court, his influence over the timid Pontiff had for years been excessive,† and Nicholas yielded unduly, carrying on the negotiations, as even his eulogist Manetti admits, in a lukewarm and indifferent manner.‡ The state of his health no doubt had much to do with his timidity; at the end of August he was ill, and in December he was confined to his bed with so severe an

* **Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, d.d. Regii, 1453, Jul. 9, and *Copia litterar. missar. Romam ex Venetiis de die xxiv. Aug., 1453: "De novis da Napoli havemo el Re venire al tutto; stimo pero piutosto chel venira ad invernare a Tiboli per fare paura a N.S. azo non segui la pace." Both letters are in the State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1450, Nov. 4. State Archives at Milan, *loc. cit.* On the 6th June, 1451, Nicodemus, writing to his master from Rome, says, "Il Card. (di) Bologna, Morinens., Fermo et Orsini concludono che N. S^re stia pur troppo volentiere neutrale et e si timido de non despiacere a persona che lassera correre laqua ala valle, max^e per non despiacere al Re." Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Regarding the concessions made to King Alfonso and the favour shown him by Nicholas V., see Giannone, iii., 284. Georgius, 82-83, 90.

‡ Manetti, 943. See the Despatch of the Florentine ambassadors, written from Rome, Dec. 4, 1453 ("Parei che la Sta di N. S. et questi rev^ml Sig. cardinali vadano molto freddi in su questo fatto del Turcho et intendiamo che tucto procede per non vedere la conclusione di questa pace." State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, f. 241^b), and *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex Arctio, 26 Mart., 1454: "El papa col qual foy longamente da solo a solo . . . me par in fermo proposito de non sententiare pace che habia a dispiacer al Re. Et al Re non po piacer pace de Lombardia o de Toscano perche dubita non gli resulti in guerra." Ambrosian Library at Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Concerning Alfonso's partisans in the Court, see Poggii, Epist., l. xi., ep. 26 (Tonelli, ii., 95).

attack of gout that for a long time even the Cardinals were not admitted to his presence. After a short period of improvement, the malady returned at the end of January with fresh intensity, and for fully a fortnight Nicholas V. was again unable to grant any audiences.* A secret Consistory, which had been fixed for the 29th January, 1454, had, on account of the Pope's condition, to be held in his bedroom. The reports of the Florentine ambassadors enable us accurately to follow the history of Nicholas's illness. After announcing on the 6th of February that the Pope was again holding receptions, they had, five days later, to say that the gout had returned. In the beginning of March they speak of a fresh attack, and so it went on, for he never again rose from his sick bed.†

* See *infra*, and *Despatches of the Florentine ambassadors from Rome, 1453, Oct. 27: "Et per essere el s^co padre colle gotte non se potuto havere audientia prima che questa mattina;" December 12, "La Sta del papa e forte stretto dalle gotte et non da audientia ne a cardinali ne ad altri;" December 15, the sufferings of the Pope have ceased; 1454, January 27, on the 24th the Pope fell sick, "in modo non ha data audienza a persona;" January 31st, the Pope still in bed; February 3, audiences are not granted. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.* See *Despatch of Zacaria Saggio to Duke Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1454, January 29. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† Despatch from Sceva de Curte and Giacomo Trivulzio to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, Jan. 30. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.; published in Canetta *loc. cit.*, 527-528.—*Florentine Despatches from Rome of the 7th February ("Yesterday was the first audience given for a fortnight"); 11th February ("Le gotte di nuovo impediscono assai el s. padre"); 2nd March, 1454 ("La Sta sua da due di in qua e molto stretta dalle gotte et non da audientia.") State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*—Despatch of Gregorius Nicholai orator to Siena, dated Rome, 1454, April 11th: "S. Sta non sta in molto buona dispositione." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

Can we wonder that in the midst of such suffering, and oppressed by ceaseless anxieties, he had not sufficient energy for vigorous and determined action?

The Congress finally arrived at the end which had been foreseen. On the 19th March, 1454, the Sienese ambassadors announced to their Republic the utter failure of the negotiations, and on the 24th the Florentine envoys left Rome; the assembly effected nothing, and its members parted in mutual dissatisfaction.*

A simple Augustinian friar, Fra Simonetto of Camerino, accomplished that which the Congress had been unable to effect. The Venetians, whose finances were exhausted, and who were in need of peace, sent him as a secret messenger to Francesco Sforza to treat with him personally and lay fair proposals before him. The unquiet state of Sforza's own camp made him willing to accede to these, and Cosmo de' Medici, who alone was in the secret, favoured the negotiations. He knew that the intolerable burden of taxation was causing increasing discontent among the Florentines, and that there was a general longing for peace throughout the city. Francesco Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Siena during the years 1454 and 1455, repeatedly informs the Signoria of the general feeling which prevailed at Florence. "The citizens," he writes in April, 1454, "had raised a great outcry against the new taxes, and used strong language against Cosmo and the others who desired war."†

* *Despatch of Franciscus Aringherius orator, dated Rome, 1454, March 19th: "La pratica de la pace secondo m'hanno detto i prefati ambasciatori (of Florence) pare sia in tutto rotta." State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. For the departure of the Florentine ambassadors see Cipolla, 483. Canetta, *loc. cit.*, 546.

† Buser, 73. Contarini's Despatch of the 9th April, 1454, in the *Registro delle lettere di M. Francesco Contarini el d. ambrasc.

Fra Simonetto's negotiations were brought to a conclusion at Lodi on the 9th April, 1454, when Sforza agreed to restore to the Venetians all his conquests in the territories of Bergamo and Brescia, with the exception of a few castles, only laying down the condition that those who had espoused his cause should remain unpunished. The Duke of Savoy and the Marquess of Montferrat were, if they desired to share in the benefits of peace, to deliver up the places which they had taken in Novara, Pavia and Alessandria; in the event of their refusal the Duke of Milan held himself free to recover them by force. The Lords of Corregio and the Venetians were to give back to the Marquess of Mantua the part of his territory which they had annexed, and he was to restore to his brother Carlo his inheritance; finally the Castle of Castiglione della Pescaja in Tuscany, which King Alfonso had conquered, was to be retained by him on condition that he should withdraw his army from the rest of the Florentine States. All the Italian powers were called upon to give in their adhesion to the peace within an appointed time if they desired to partake of its benefits.*

a Siena. Cod It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library at Venice (not mxcvi., as Buser, 388, has it. In Cod. vii.-mcxcvii. is a fine copy of the preceding Codex, which, however, somewhat alters and modernizes the document). The Codex, which we shall often have to cite, is Contarini's original draft. The despatches here collected are apparently all that remain of the rich treasures which the Venetian Archives once contained regarding the period treated of in the present work. The consecutive series of despatches in these Archives begins with the middle of the sixteenth century, those of a previous date having perished by fire. Their destruction is all the more deplorable, inasmuch as Venice was in those days a political centre second only to Rome, and was peculiarly conversant with all Eastern affairs.

* The treaty is given from the original in the Milan Archives by Dumont, iii., 1, 202 *et seq.* Sanudo (1152) is mistaken in

The peace of Lodi did not at once produce the effects expected by the States, which were longing for tranquillity. Venice and Milan had kept the matter so secret that, with the exception of Florence, no power had been aware of what was going on. Accordingly the announcement that a treaty had been concluded on the 9th April was a surprise to all, and especially to King Alfonso of Naples. He had hitherto imagined that, as the most important of Italian princes, he could at his will impose peace, and now found himself treated as a secondary power, and invited to subscribe to an agreement framed without his knowledge. He expressed his indignation in no measured terms to the Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Moro, and endeavoured, as it proved, in vain, to hinder his allies, the Sienese, from becoming parties to it.*

On the 30th August Venice, Milan, and Florence entered into a League for five-and-twenty years for the defence of their States against every attack,† but Alfonso, in his anger, held aloof for nearly a year, and tedious negotiations, prolonged by dread of France, ensued. The Pope, who had

assigning the 5th of April as the day of its conclusion. Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, writing from Venice on the 18th April, 1454, says: "La pace fu conclusa in Lodi a di 8 d'Aprile a tre hore di notte." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. See also Ist. Bresc., 887, and Romanin, iv., 225. The document itself bears date the 9th April.

* Facius in Graevius, 178. Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., Vol. iii., 184. See *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, May 25. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

† The treaty concluded at Venice is in Dumont, iii., 1, 221 *et seq.* The peace of Lodi was published in Florence (see Misc. storica e letteraria edit. c. note per cura di P. B[igazzi], Firenze, 1849, n. 3, p. 32), as well as in Venice on the 14th April, 1454. See *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Venice, 1454, April 18. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

at first resented his exclusion from the compact of Lodi, brought these to a happy conclusion by sending Cardinal Capranica, the most distinguished among the members of the Sacred College, to Naples as his legate, with the special mission of persuading Alfonso to join the League.* The Cardinal was successful, and, on the 30th December, 1454, Sforza was informed by his ambassadors at Naples that the King had determined publicly to proclaim peace, and to enter into the alliance on the approaching Feast of the Epiphany. "On the Feast of the Epiphany, when the solemnity of the Three Kings takes place, Alfonso, after the example of those Three Kings who offered Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh, will bring as an offering to God —first, peace for all Italy; secondly, the League for greater quiet and security; and thirdly, the League against the enemy of Jesus Christ for the defence of our holy Faith. On that day the Papal Legate will celebrate Mass, and this holy Peace, the League and Alliance will be proclaimed, if God permit and your Highness consent."† The peace was, however, actually confirmed by the Neapolitan Monarch on the 26th January, 1455, but with the condition that the Genoese, whose ancient offences Alfonso could not pardon, and Sigismondo Malatesta, who had deceived him, should

* Regarding Capranica's mission, see Niccola della Tuccia, 237; Catalanus, 102 *et seq.*, 230-233; Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 5; Georgius, 147, 157. For an account of the negotiations between the Italian powers and Naples, see Buser, 74 *et seq.*, and Guasti, Legazioni, 36-37. In a *Despatch addressed to Venice, and dated Siena, 1454, May 21, Francesco Contarini writes as follows of the Pope's dispositions: "Subinde pur da di marcadanti se ha come esso summo pontefice summamente se ha maravigliato e doluto che fatta le pace per i ambassadori della Cels. V^ra^ el non sia stato richiesto ni a liga ni ad intendimento alguno." Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

† Buser, 77.

be excluded from it.* By a further compact the Pope, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Milan bound themselves by an offensive and defensive alliance for five-and-twenty years. The Pope ratified this great Italian League on the 25th February, 1455, and it was solemnly published in Rome on the 2nd March. The happy event was celebrated with splendid festivities by the command of Nicholas V. in that City and throughout the States of the Church.†

There was good cause for these rejoicings, for now Italy might be considered as at peace, and the peace seemed likely to prove permanent. In Upper Italy, Milan and Venice, and in Lower Italy the Pope and the King of Naples counterbalanced each other. Florence was determined to maintain the political equilibrium, and never to join those who evidently desired to impair it. The eyes of all were anxiously turned towards the East. Many of the lesser princes were ardently devoted to the interests of art and learning, and the rest, if not exempt from the vices of tyrants, were at least capable of appreciating the general intellectual revival which distinguished the age. Venice,

* Dumont, iii., 1, 234 *et seq.*; Sismondi, ix., 454 *et seq.*; Romanin, iv., 226. Regarding the adherence of the several Italian States to the Peace of Lodi, see Cipolla, 445 *et seq.*

† **Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 2 and 7. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est. Infessura's date in Muratori (1156) is accordingly incorrect (the Latin version of his Diarium, which I found in a seventeenth century transcript in Cod. xxxv., 37, f. 183 of the Barberini Library, Rome, *Cod. Vat. 5522 [Infessura], and the version in Eccard [ii., 1889] give "die 2 Martii," the real date). The proclamation took place on the 8th March at Viterbo; see Niccola della Tuccia, 237-238 (where the form used is given). The Papal ratification, dated Rome, 1455, February 25th, is in Theiner, Cod. dipl., iii., 378 *et seq.* (Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 5, has a wrong date).

Genoa, and Florence, with their rich commerce, were naturally averse to the continuance of war. Accordingly with Fra Simonetto's peace begins the most flourishing period of the Italian Renaissance. King Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza, Cosmo de' Medici and the Republic of Venice, together with Pope Nicholas V., constituted the intellectual aristocracy of Italy, and the lesser princes followed them.*

While the negotiations for the pacification of Italy were thus successful, the deliberations which took place in the Holy Roman Empire in 1454 and 1455 regarding the means of defending Europe from the Turk came to little good. It soon became sadly evident that the solidarity of Christendom as opposed to Islam had ceased to exist.

Frederick III. had summoned a great diet to meet at Ratisbon on St. George's Day (23rd April), 1454, "to deliberate concerning the defensive and offensive measures to be taken against the enemies of Christ in order that these should be punished, the sufferings of the martyrs avenged, the friends of God and Christian men consoled, and the faith upheld in an honourable and suitable manner, since all those who help this cause become partakers of the grace of God in the Papal indulgence for the health of their souls and obtain everlasting life."

Frederick III. promised himself to be present unless prevented by some special hindrance.† The imperial letter of invitation was addressed, not merely to the German States, but to all princes and republics of Christian Europe, so that it was generally supposed that a Congress of Christendom, like the Council of Constance, was about

* Leo, iii., 162. After the peace of Lodi Italy enjoyed three years of perfect tranquillity, broken only by Piccinino's enterprise.

† See the royal letter of invitation to Frankfort of the 12th January, 1454, in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 123-124.

to assemble.* But when the time drew near the disappointment was immense. The Emperor did not come in person, but only sent a representative. The Pope sent Bishop John of Pavia as his legate, and an embassy came from Savoy, but otherwise the Italian powers were unrepresented. The only foreign prince who came to Ratisbon was the Duke of Burgundy, and of all the many princes of Germany none but the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg and Duke Louis of Bavaria appeared. Stranger still, no one came on behalf of the young King of Bohemia, for whom the help of Christendom had been in a special manner invoked. In February there was a prospect of his presence at the Diet, but intrigues among those about him probably kept him away. In Buda a plan was made for the removal of Hunyadi from the government, in view of his appointment as General of the whole Christian forces against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the real object of this scheme was to keep him at a distance.†

The empire never appeared to less advantage than at this Diet, and the result of the Emperor's appeal was all the more deplorable at a moment when the nation was in a state of anxious and alarmed expectation. The intestine

* Palacky, iv., 1, 374. Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 108.

† Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 110. See the *Letter from Æneas Sylvius to the Cardinal of St. Angelo, d.d. ex nova civitate die 14 Febr., 1454. Plut. liv., Cod. 19f, 98b of the Laurentian Library at Florence. Nicholas of Cusa also appeared in Ratisbon. The day of his arrival there is given in an autograph *Letter from Æneas Sylvius to Siena, d.d. ex Ratispona, 1454, Maii 3 ("Heri autem advenerunt plures legati principum et Card^lis S. Petri ad vincula. Conventus dietim augetur") which I discovered in the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, Lettere ad an). In Cod. Z., 219, Suppl., of the Ambrosian Library at Milan I found the autograph of a *Letter from Æneas to "Sceva de Curte s. palatii Lateran comiti."

divisions of Germany, and the weakness of its ruler, were patent to all,* and we cannot wonder that even the fiery eloquence of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini failed to bring the Diet to any important decision. It was merely resolved that peace should be maintained in all countries, and that about Michaelmas another, and, if it pleased God, a more numerous and effective assembly should be held. In the event of the Emperor appearing in person, Nuremberg was selected as the place of meeting, otherwise it was to be Frankfort. The blustering Duke of Burgundy declared that if the other princes would likewise take part in the expedition he would proceed against the Turks with a force of sixty thousand men.† The Diet assembled at Frankfort-on-Maine in October, 1454, was somewhat more

* Bachmann, Römische Königswahl, 286.

† For an account of this Diet, see the detailed and interesting work of Æneas Sylvius, "De Ratisponensi dieta," published by Mansi, Orat. Pii II., Appendix, p. 1-85. Lucca, 1759, and the more modern history of Voigt, ii., 105-118, 330. Also K. Menzel, 8 *et seq.*; Keussen, 53-56; and Cod. epist., 150 *et seq.*, 152 *et seq.* In a *Letter to Siena, d.d. ex nova civitate, 1454, Junii 21, Æneas Sylvius writes of this Diet: "Summa est quod alia dieta indicta est ad festum S. Michaelis. Si Cesar personaliter venerit, erit conventio Norimberge, si minus Francfordie. . . . Dux Burgundie, qui Ratispone fuit, cum sexaginta milibus pugnatorum ex terra sua contra Turchos iturum se pollicetur si concurrentes habeat." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. Notwithstanding the support afforded by Nicholas V., the Duke of Burgundy did nothing to help the Crusade (see Kayser, 230). And yet it was he who had, in 1451, promoted the agitation regarding the Turkish question, not only at Rome, but also at the Court of Frederick III. See *"Tractatus seu propositio domini Petri Visques militis et fratris Nicolai Laqueri ord. præd. inquisit. hæret. pravit. ambasiatorum ill. princ. Philippi ducis Burgundionum ad seren. Romanorum regem Fredericum pro subsidio fidei catholicae contra Thurcum a° d^i 1451. Cod. lat. 4143, f. 49a-52b, in the Court Library at Munich.

numerously attended than that of Ratisbon. Albert of Brandenburg, together with the Margrave of Baden, represented the Emperor; Æneas Sylvius and the Bishop of Gurk appeared as his ambassadors; the Bishop of Pavia, who was engaged in the collection of the ecclesiastical tithes in Germany, was commissioned to act as the Pope's plenipotentiary; Jakob of Trèves and Dietrich of Mayence alone of the German electors were present; Archduke Albert, who arrived after the proceedings had commenced, was the only one of the temporal princes to answer the summons.* A tone of drowsy indifference characterized the Diet. Many of its members openly expressed their aversion to a crusade, and their contempt for Emperor and Pope. Both of these lords, they said, merely want to extort money from us, but they will find themselves mistaken, and learn that we are not so simple as they imagine. The discourses of Capistran and of Æneas Sylvius, and the urgent prayers of the Hungarian envoys, were powerless to evoke any zeal for the common cause of the West.† "The lords had no good will in the matter," says a chronicler. The energy and exertions of the Margrave of Brandenburg alone saved the deliberations of the Diet from complete failure, and at least kept up a "respectable appearance." A German force of thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry was to be sent in the following year to assist the Hungarians, but it was necessary that a fleet should at the same time proceed against the Turks from the Italian ports. The fleet was to

* Bachman, Römische Königswahl, 296; Voigt, ii., 120.

† While the Turkish question was the ostensible subject of consideration, the anti-Imperial opposition in Frankfort was occupied with matters of a widely different character, for from this time forth an active agitation, which aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the Monarchy, was set on foot. See Voigt, ii., 120 *et seq.*

be provided by the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Republics of Venice and Genoa, while the Emperor was to come to an agreement with the German princes at Vienna to furnish the land forces. The Diet of Vienna accordingly was the consequence of that of Frankfort, which in its turn had been the result of one held at Ratisbon.* The witty saying of Æneas Sylvius, in the year 1444, that the German Diets could not be accused of sterility, since each was the parent of a new one, was thus again verified.

The Vienna Diet was even more pitiful than its predecessors. "The Empire" was so scantily represented that practically it consisted only of the Emperor himself and the Electoral College. Its leader and ruler was the crafty Jakob of Trèves; he personally represented four electors, and the others were his puppets. They came, commissioned to evade the Turkish question, and to urge on the Emperor their projects of reform;† and, notwithstanding the speeches made by Æneas Sylvius, Capistran and Johannes Vitéz of Zredna,‡ the proxy for King Ladislas, adhered to their purpose. Vexatious explanations ensued,

* Bachmann, Römische Königswahl, 297. For further particulars of the Frankfort Diet, see Palacky, iv., 1, 376; Voigt, 119-132; Droysen, ii., 1, 174 *et seq.;* Menzel, 10 *et seq.;* Keussen, 56 *et seq;* and Cugnoni, 102 *et seq.* (The above-mentioned MS. of the Laurentian Library was apparently not collated by the Editor.) The account of the Diet of 1454 in the Mittheilungen des Frankfurter Geschichts und Alterthumsvereins (v., 529 *et seq*) is worthless.

† Voigt, ii., 134-135. See Menzel, 14 *et seq;* Keussen, 62 *et seq.;* and Stockheim, i., 1-32. The *Letter of Æneas Sylvius to Nicholas V. of the 21st February from the afore-mentioned Cod. of the Laurentian Library at Florence is given in the Appendix No. 25.

‡ See Joannis Vitéz de Zredna episcopi Varadiensis in Hungaria Orationes in causa expeditionis contra Turcas, ed. Fraknói (Budapestini, 1878), 13 *et seq.*

and the Turkish question remained unsettled. On the 12th April the tidings of the death of Nicholas V. arrived, and were far from unwelcome to this miserable assembly, furnishing, as they did, a decent pretext for the departure of its members, who agreed to put off to the following year further consultations regarding the crusade.

The health of Nicholas V. had always been indifferent. Even as a boy he had dangerous illnesses, and there can be no doubt that the fatigues and privations of his youth, as well as the wearing labours of his maturer years, had told on his weakly constitution. His nervous anxiety about his health is thus easily accounted for. The pressure of work and of care had been greatly increased from the time that he wore the tiara, yet, during the earlier years of his pontificate, he seems to have enjoyed a fair amount of health and to have displayed immense energy.*

In the year 1450 we hear that a sudden and severe illness attacked Nicholas V. at Tolentino, and that his physician, the celebrated Baverio Bonetti of Imola, had no hopes of his life.† Nevertheless, the Pope very soon recovered, but in December of the same year he again fell ill,‡ and

* See *supra*, p. 72, and regarding his illness when a boy, Manetti, 910.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 52. Regarding the nature of the malady see Corradini, Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia, i., 290, and Sforza, 245-246. The aforesaid Baverio Bonetti was a Professor in Bologna in 1480; Haeser (i., 752) considers his "Consilia" (Bonon., 1489, etc.) worthy of note. Marini. Archiatri, i., 145-160, treats at considerable length of the various physicians of this Pope.

‡ The Florentine Ambassador, "Donatus de Donatis doctor" gives details regarding this sickness in his *Despatches from Rome. On January 4th, 1451, he writes that he had not yet seen the Pope "per rispecto alla sua infermita . . . et universalmente da xx di in qua ambasciadori non a data audientia;" 7th January. This

from this time forth he never seems to have been really well. A great change was remarked in his disposition; his former expansiveness gave place to excessive reserve. Francesco Sforza's ambassador, Nicodemus, whom we have often mentioned, wrote, on the 7th January, 1453, to the Duke, that during the previous year an extraordinary change had taken place in the Pope, and that one of its causes was his sickness.*

The year 1453 was in every way a disastrous one to Nicholas V. It opened with Porcaro's conspiracy, and the tidings of the fall of Constantinople arrived when its

evening Donatus was with the Pope, which was difficult "attento non e ancora in buona valetudine;" in a Despatch of the 28th August 1451, Donatus again says that he had had no audience, because the Pope "da mezzanocte in qua" is suffering from violent pain in the side, and on the 30th August: "al papa e continuata la dogla del fianco in modo non a dato audientia a cardinali ne ad alcun altra persona." Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22; Lettere esterne alla signoria dal 1451 al 1453. State Archives at Florence. See *Letter of the underwriter Johannes to Strasburg, "written at Acquapendente on Thursday after the Christmas Day" (Dec. 30), 1451: "and there it was told us that the Pope had been ill quite a month;" even at present no one is admitted. City Archives at Strasburg, AA, N. 202.

* *Despatch of Nicodemus, d.d. ex urbe 1453, Jan. 7: "Ma ve adverto ancora S^re^ chel papa da uno anno o 8 mesi in qua e facto solitario fora de modo universalmente cum ognuno, etiam cum li cardinali, etiam cum li piu de li soy, et e tanto mutato de omne costume quanto e dal bianco al roso. La molotia ne e casone, ma molte altre casone ancora de quibus alias." Cart. gen. State Archives at Milan. Regarding the Pope's illness in the year 1452, see *Despatch of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1452, January 18 ("Et per non ce essere accaduta cosa de importantia et perche N, S^re^ e stato strecto e agravato da queste soe doglie in modo che non volia se rasonasse se non del male suo, non ho molto frequentato el scrivere da parecchi di in qua.") Cod. Z. 219, Suppl., of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

course was half run. The account, which says that grief for this event killed Nicholas V., may be an exaggeration,* yet there can be no doubt that the agitation and anxieties, which were its inevitable consequence, must have had a most injurious effect. The Pope had a bad attack of gout soon after Porcaro's conspiracy, and another before the year was over. From the end of August, 1453, until June, 1454, he was, with short intervals, confined to his bed, hardly ever able to give audiences and altogether incapable of taking part in the great feasts of the Church.† In August, 1454, he was again suffering acutely from the gout, and the baths of Viterbo failed to give him any relief. In the early part of November he was afflicted with gout, fever, and other maladies, and the ambassadors contemplated the possibility of his decease.‡ The sickness

* Voigt, ii., 146.

† See *supra*, p. 293. *Despatches of "G. Burghesius juris utriusq. doctor" to Siena, dated Rome, 1453, Sept. 6 and 9 (The Pope for the last twelve days so ill, that the ambassadors of the King of Aragon cannot speak to him), Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives at Siena, and *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, June 15. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

‡ *Despatches of the Sienese ambassadors (one of which is signed "A. Clusinus" = Alexius de Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi) from Rome, 1454, Sept. 1st (the Pope is suffering from gout); Sept. 12th (the Pope still in bed). State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. See in Appendix No. 23, the Despatch of Ambrosius de Aliprandis of the 5th of September, 1454. For an account of the Pope's journey to the baths see Niccola della Tuccia, 235. A *Despatch from the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, dated Rome, 1454, Nov. 8th, says: Al papa e ritornato la gotta nella spalla con febre non piccola . . . sarebbe per noi pessima novella se morisse ora." The same ambassador, speaking on the 15th November of an audience given by the Pope, says that being suddenly seized by "il mal di fianco," he was obliged to break it off. State Archives at Siena, *loc cit.* Regarding the Pope's sojourn in Tivoli (1454), see Viola, iii, 81.

which was consuming the Pope's life manifested itself in his countenance, for his brilliantly clear complexion had become yellow and dark brown.*

His physical sufferings were aggravated by disappointment and anxiety. From the beginning of his reign he had attached the greatest importance to the maintenance of peace in the States of the Church, and had been successful in re-establishing it. But from the time of Porcaro's conspiracy serious changes took place. Not only did the revolutionary party gain strength in Rome, but a dangerous agitation prevailed throughout the States of the Church. "The whole of the States of the Church are in commotion," writes Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Siena, on the 14th May, 1454, "and messengers are sent from all sides, especially from the Marches to Rome." Troops of disbanded soldiers, who had taken part in the war of Lombary, overran the defenceless country. The Pope was soon convinced that many, even among his own people, were unworthy of confidence. The auditor of the governor of the patrimony of St. Peter was imprisoned as a suspicious character.†.

Towards the end of the reign of Nicholas V. great

* Manetti, 918 919.

† *Despatch of Francesco Contarini, Venetian ambassador to Siena, dated 1454, May 14th: "Circa le terre e stato del summo pontefice ho per via certissima che tutte sono in trepidacione, e molte hanno mandati suoi messi a Romo et precipue le terre della Marca. . . . In Perosa veramente molti banditi e fuorusciti hanno pur cercato per quello intendo, non che ex certa scientia il sappi, de far novita in quel stato." May 21st: "Del stato della chiesa el par che tutto tremi per algune compagnie se dice farse delle gente superflue de Lombardia per Lorenzo da Montalto, el qual fò di occisori de M. Prencivale di Gateschi per el qual Viterbo se levò a rumore, e ne seguite molte occisioni, e stato preso e man lato in la rocca di Suriano. Item è stato preso per nome del summo pontefice per algune suspicioni l' auditor del rettor del patrimonio nome

troubles broke out in the patrimony and the adjacent portion of Umbria. They originated in a quarrel between the cities of Spoleto and Norcia, in which Count Everso of Anguillara espoused the cause of Spoleto. The Pope, hoping to bring about a reconciliation between the hostile cities, forbade the Count to take part in the contest, and also endeavoured to hinder Spoleto from entering into an alliance with Everso. Neither party, however, heeded the Papal behest, and accordingly Nicholas was constrained to intervene with an armed force. Spoleto submitted, but the Count, aided by the treachery of Angelo Roncone, managed to escape. The Pope punished the traitor with death.* Fresh tumults also occurred in Bologna.

The following spring brought no alleviation to the Pope's sufferings. From the beginning of March he grew daily worse; he was perfectly aware of his state, and, as we learn from the Milanese ambassador in a letter of the 7th March, spoke of the place where he wished to be buried, and seriously prepared for death. On the 15th of the month he received the sacrament of extreme unction; on the previous day he had ordered that briefs should be sent to the chief cities of the States of the Church, requiring them in all things to obey the Cardinals until God should give the Church a new Pope.†

M. Matteo da Camerino." Regarding the troubles in Viterbo see Bussi, 251 *et seq.*, and Contarini's Despatches of the 30th April and 5th June, 1454. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

* See the *Letter of Francesco Contarini to Venice, dated Siena, 1454, October 17th (St. Mark's Library at Venice), and the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Sforza, dated Florence, 1454, October 20th, in Appendix No. 24. Regarding Everso see C. Massimo, Torre Anguillara (Roma, 1847), 13 *et seq.*

† See the briefs of the 14th March to Orvieto in Fumi, 713, and to Bologna, whose original is in the State Archives at Bologna, Arm. Q., l. 3.

With a view of making a good preparation for death Nicholas V. summoned to his presence Niccolò of Tortona and Lorenzo of Mantua, two Carthusians renowned for their learning and sanctity; these holy men were to assist him in his last hours, and accordingly were to remain constantly with him. Vespasiano da Bisticci has given us a minute description of the last days of the Pope.* He tells us that Nicholas was never heard to complain of his acute physical sufferings. Instead of bewailing himself he recited Psalms and besought God to grant him patience and the pardon of his sins. In general his resignation and calm were remarkable. The dying man comforted his friends instead of needing to be comforted by them. Seeing Bishop John of Arras in tears at the foot of his bed he said to him, "My dear John, turn your tears to the Almighty God, whom we serve, and pray to Him humbly and devoutly that He will forgive me my sins; but remember that to-day in Pope Nicholas you see die a true and good friend." But the Pope also passed through moments of deep dejection, in which his terrible bodily sufferings and his anxieties regarding the disturbances in the States of the Church almost overwhelmed him. At such times he would assure the two Carthusian monks that he was the most unhappy man in the world. "Never," he said, "do I see a man cross my threshold who has spoken a true word to me. I am so perplexed with the deceptions of all those who surround me, that were it not for fear of failing in my duty I should long ago have renounced the Papal dignity. Thomas of Sarzana saw more friends in a day than I do in a whole year." And then this Pope, whose reign was

* Mai, Spicil., i., 56-61. See in Appendix Nos. 26 and 27 the accounts gathered from the Archives of Milan and Siena, and from the Library of St. Mark at Venice.

apparently so happy and so glorious, was moved even to tears.*

As Nicholas felt that his last hour was close at hand, his vigorous mind roused itself once more. When the Cardinals had assembled around his dying bed he made the celebrated speech designated by himself as his will.† He began by giving thanks to God for the many benefits conferred upon him, and then, in the manner which has already been related, justified his action in regard to the great amount of building which he had undertaken, adding the request that his work might be completed. He then spoke of his measures for the deliverance of Constantinople, because "complaints had been raised against him by a great many superficial men unacquainted with the circumstances." After a retrospect of his early life and of the principal events of his Pontificate, Nicholas continued: "I have so reformed and so confirmed the Holy Roman Church,

* Mai, *loc. cit.* Janus (201) has turned these words of the Pope's, which may be connected with the impression made by Porcaro's conspiracy, to account in his usual one-sided manner (Zeller, Italie et Renaissance. Nouv. édit., Paris, 1883, i., 26). It is evident from their bearing, that when his condition had become hopeless, Nicholas V. had reason to be dissatisfied with those around him. In a *Despatch, d.d. ex urbe, 1455, 24 Martii hora circa 20, Nicodemus of Pontremoli writes as follows: "El papa heri sera pegioro in modo che tuta nocte e stato e sta in [trans] ito, desparato et abandonato in tutto da li soy. Mess. Pietro da Noxeto heri sera entro in castello Sanctangelo e li sta et stara finche se inzegnara salvarsi cum la fameglia et robba soa. L'altri de casa del papa hanno preso et pigliano hora per hora quel partito per lo quale si credono potersi salvare meglio. A la guardia et cura de N. S^ne^ sono restati solamente quatro soy cubicularii." Pot. Est. State Archives at Milan.

† Manetti, 947 *et seq.* Regarding the authenticity of this discourse, which is also mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (238), see *supra*, p. 166.

which I found devastated by war and oppressed by debts, that I have eradicated schism and won back her cities and castles. I have not only freed her from her debts, but erected magnificent fortresses for her defence, as, for instance, at Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Città Castellana, at Narni, Orvieto, Spoleto, and Viterbo; I have adorned her with glorious buildings and decked her with pearls and precious stones. I have provided her with costly books and tapestry, with gold and silver vessels, and splendid vestments. And I did not collect all these treasures by grasping avarice and simony. In all things I was liberal, in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Latin and Greek manuscripts, and in the remuneration of learned men. All this has been bestowed upon me by the Divine grace, owing to the continued peace of the Church during my Pontificate."* The Pope concluded by exhorting all his hearers to labour for the welfare of the Church, the Bark of St. Peter.

Then Nicholas raised his hands to heaven and said: "Almighty God, give the Holy Church a pastor who will uphold her and make her to increase. I also beseech you and admonish you as urgently as I can to be mindful of me in your prayers to the Most High." Then, with dignity, he raised his right hand and said, in a clear, distinct voice, "*Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.*" Soon after this Nicholas, whose eyes were to the last fixed on a crucifix, gave back his noble soul to Him whose place he had filled on earth.

"It was long," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "since any Pope had passed in such manner into eternity. It was wonderful how he retained his perfect senses to the last.

* Manetti, 955-956. Translation of Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 138.

So died Pope Nicholas, the light and the ornament of God's Church and of his age."*

Nicholas V. was laid in St. Peter's, near the grave of his predecessor. The costly monument erected in his honour by Cardinal Calandrini was transferred in the time of St. Pius V. to the Vatican grotto, where some parts of it are still to be seen. Here is also the modest effigy of the great Pope, with the four-cornered white marble urn which contains his mortal remains. His epitaph, composed by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the last by which any Pope was commemorated in verse.

EPITAPH ON NICHOLAS V.†

Hic sita sunt Quinti Nicolai antistitis ossa,
Aurea qui dederat sæcula, Roma, tibi.
Consilio illustris, virtute illustrior omni,
Excoluit doctos, doctior ipse. viros.

* Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai *loc. cit.* 61. Niccola della Tuccia (238) says that the death of Nicholas V. caused great mourning through all the States of the Church, for the Pope had been: "savio, giusto, benevolo, grazioso, pacifico, caritatevole, elemosiniero, umile, domestico e dotato di tutte le virtù." The Protestant Weber (Weltgeschichte, ix., 722) calls Nicholas V. "one of the noblest among the wearers of the Tiara;" see Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed., 90. His death took place in the night between the 24th and 25th of March (see the passages collected by Sforza [291-292] and the *Despatch of F. Contarini of the 27th March in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice in Appendix No. 28). This will explain the fact that some writers give the 24th and others the 25th March as the day of the Pope's death. Cardinal Nicholas Cusa, in an autograph *notice at the end of Cod. C. 5 (S. Ambrosii epist., etc.) of the Hospital Library at Cues, observes that Nicholas V. died on the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady.

† This has often been printed, but in some cases incorrectly, as in Vittorelli, 268-269; Du Chesne, ii., 329-330; Platina, 722; Georgius, 164-165; Faleoni, 492-493; Palatius, 547; Bonanni,

Abstulit errorem quo schisma infecerat orbem,
Restituit mores, mœnia, templa, domos.
Tum Bernardino statuit sua sacra Senensi,
Sancta Jubilei tempora dum celebrat.
Cinxit honore caput Friderici et conjugis aureo,
Res Italas icto fœdere composuit.
Attica Romanæ complura volumina linguæ
Prodidit. Heu! tumulo fundite thura sacro.

55; Bibl. pontif., 167-168; Bzovius, xvii., 135; Ciaconius, ii., Abbild. 965 and 967 (where *urbem* is wrongly inserted); Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 16; Manni, 73; Reumont, iii., 1, 528, etc. Correctly in Forcella, vi., 37, and Sforza, 254. Gregorovius (Grabmäler, 93-94) is wrong in believing Maffeo Vegio to be the author of the epitaph. He composed another epitaph, which, however, was not used for the Pope's monument. For the text of the inscription see Ciaconius, 966, and Sforza, 254-255; here and in Cancellieri (De secret.) are further particulars regarding Nicholas's monument.

BOOK III.

CALIXTUS III., THE CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST ISLAM, 1455-1458.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF CALIXTUS III.—HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE RENAISSANCE—HIS CORONATION AND THE EMBASSIES SENT TO DO HIM HOMAGE.

FROM the beginning of March, 1455, by which time the death of Nicholas V. was looked upon as imminent, the question of the Papal election engaged the attention of all parties in the Eternal City. On the 13th March we find that the Cardinals assembled in the greatest haste to take counsel regarding the situation. "God grant," wrote the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, "that the election of the Supreme Pastor of the Church may take place in peace and without obstacle, a matter on which grave doubts here prevail."*

These apprehensions were not groundless. Considerable agitation again prevailed in Rome; the republican anti-papal party was astir, and it was fortunate that its gifted and eloquent leader, Porcaro, was no longer among the living. The masses became daily more and more turbulent, and the Cardinals prudently brought troops into the City. On the 24th March Nicodemus of Pontremoli, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, wrote as follows:—"The whole city

* *"E rev^m cardinali a furia tutti si ragunano a palazzo. A dio piacci si facci el suo vicario el pastore della chiesa con pace e sanza scandalo, la qual cosa molto se ne dubita." Despatch of Alessio de' Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi, to Siena, dated Rome, 1454 (st. fl.), March 13. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

is in an uproar, and the population are ripe for revolt."* Another element of danger was added by the disturbances in Bologna and Romagna, stirred up by the Venetian Condottiere Jacopo Piccinino and other leaders, like himself thrown out of employment by the peace of Lodi.†

After the death of Nicholas V., which took place in the Vatican in the night between the 24th and 25th of March, the ceremonies usual on such occasions were carried out,‡ and meanwhile the Sacred College laboured unremittingly. Letters were despatched to the rulers of all the cities in the States of the Church, exhorting them as "quiet, peaceable, good and devoted sons of the Church" to persevere in their wonted obedience, and at the same time the necessary preparations were made for the election of a new Pope.§ Everything was duly accomplished, so that on Thursday, April 3rd, the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The preliminaries had been hastened, because the next day was Good Friday. According to custom, a Prelate then delivered a Latin discourse to the Cardinals, exhorting them to give Christendom a worthy Supreme Pastor.‖

* *"Tutta questa citta bolle. Questo populo faria volentiere novita contra le chieriche." *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe 24 Martii, 1455, hora circa 20. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

† *Qua molto si dubita che el m° conte Jac Piccinino non facci grande scandalo alle terre della chiesa o nella marcha o nel ducato o a Bologna." Despatch of the Bishop of Chiusi of 13th March, State Archives at Siena. See the **Instruction from the Florentine ambassadors in Venice, Luigi de' Guicciardini. State Archives at Florence, Cl. x., dist. 1, N. 44, f. 128.

‡ The funeral discourses are in *Cod. Vatic., 3675 and 5815. See Georgius, 164, and *supra*, p. 208, note *.

§ The letter of the Cardinals to Viterbo, dated 25th March, has been incorporated by Niccola della Tuccia (239) in his Chronicle.

‖ See Novaes, Introduz., i., 252 *et seq.*; Phillips, v., 2, 858.

On the morning of the 4th April all the Cardinals present in Rome, preceded by the Papal Cross, went, while the *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, "peacefully and with great reverence and piety,"* from St. Peter's to the Chapel of the Vatican, in which the conclave was to be held. The adoration of the Cross customary on Good Friday and the exposition of the Holy Handkerchief had already taken place, and the conclave began that day.† The custody of the place of election was entrusted to six Bishops, of which four were foreigners, and six laymen; pre-eminent among the latter were Pandulfo Savello, Marshal of the Church, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Francis Sforza's ambassador, a portion of whose admirable account of the proceedings of the conclave is still preserved in the State Archives at Milan.‡

At the death of Nicholas V., the Sacred College was composed of twenty members, of whom six were absent, namely, two Germans, Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and Nicholas of Cusa, the Hungarian, Dionysius Széchy, the Greek, Bessarion, Jean Rolin, Bishop of Autun, and Guillaume d'Estouteville, both of whom were French; the last mentioned had been for nearly a year acting as Legate in France, and did not return to Rome till the 12th

* Despatch of the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Series iv., t. iii., 192.

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, April 4, from the original in the State Archives at Milan, in Appendix No. 30. See the report in the *Acta consistorialia. State Archives of the Vatican.

‡ The despatches of the Genoese ambassador, "Gotardus de Seresana," seem unfortunately to be lost. The series "Roma" of the "Carteggio diplomatico" in the State Archives of Genoa only begins with the year 1512, and even from this period the correspondence is very imperfect.

of September, 1455.* Of these six Cardinals, Bessarion alone was able to arrive in Rome in time for the election.† The Sacred College accordingly assembled in Conclave to the number of fifteen members. Two of these, the noble Capranica, and the aged Prospero Colonna, had been created by Martin V.; while five, namely, the learned and open-hearted Antonio de la Cerda, Latino Orsini, Alain, the former Bishop of Sitten, Guillaume d'Estaing, and Filippo Calandrini owed their elevation to Nicholas V. The remaining eight had been nominated by Eugenius IV. on different occasions. Scarampo and Pietro Barbo, two men of diametrically opposite characters and purposes, occupied the most prominent position among the Cardinals.

Italy furnished but seven of the fifteen electors; these were Fieschi, Scarampo, Barbo, Orsini, Colonna, Capranica, and Calandrini; of the eight foreigners, two, Bessarion and Isidore, were Greeks; two, Alain and d'Estaing, French, and the remaining four, Torquemada, Antonio de la Cerda, Carvajal and Alfonso Borgia, Spaniards. But in the election of 1455, as in the previous one, nationality was of

* The duration of d'Estouteville's absence from Rome (1454, May 16, until 1455, Sept. 12) is to be gathered from the *Acta consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *"Avendo aviso alli 23 marzo la domenica il Card. Bessarione che il pontefice era infermo a morte si parti da Bologna a ore 12½ (according to the Cronica di Bologna [715] his departure did not take place till the 24th), per passare a Roma e con lui andavano Achille Malvezzi cavaliere di nostra donna del Tempio, Pier Antonio Paselli dottore e cavaliere e Jacomo Ingrati." On his arrival in Rome he found the Pope dead. Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, Vol. iii., lib. xxxiv. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. The 1st April is named as the day of Bessarion's arrival in Rome by the *Acta Consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, mentioned in Appendix No. 16 of Vol. i.

comparatively little account. The opposing factions of the Colonna and Orsini formed the centres of the different parties.

"The majority of the Cardinals were," Nicodemus of Pontremoli informs us, "at first inclined to favour the election of the Colonna Cardinal, who would no doubt have become Pope had Nicholas V. died at the commencement of his illness. But its long continuance gave Cardinal Orsini time to counteract this feeling, and to enter into negotiations with the ambassadors of King Alfonso and of the Republic of Venice. Consequently—unless God should order otherwise—either Barbo or Scarampo will obtain the Papacy. The Orsini party, with the assistance of King Alfonso, is able to dispose of five votes, one of which would be absolutely required by the Colonna candidate to give him the necessary majority of two-thirds."* According to another despatch from the same ambassador, the wealthy, business-like Cardinal Orsini originally himself aspired to the tiara, and won over the Venetian ambassadors who lodged in his palace to his side; but in case his own hopes should be disappointed, he brought forward Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who subsequently became Paul II.†

The two opposing parties adopted different modes of action. The Colonna sought to gain adherents by prudence and affability, while the Orsini strengthened their material

* *Despatches of Bartol. Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, April 1. State Archives at Milan. See Appendix No. 29 (the passages in cypher are here indicated by more open type.)

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe 24 Martii, 1455, hora 20, Postscript.: "Orsino fa gran ponto al papato etiam col favore de li ambax^ri Ven^i che alogiano in casa soa e, mostra nol potendo haver luy farlo cader nel car^le de San Marcho." State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

power.* The prospects of Cardinal Orsini seem to have been rapidly clouded, for on the 20th March, Nicodemus writes that Pietro Barbo is as likely as any other candidate to fill the Papal Throne.

An old Roman proverb declares that "he who enters the Conclave a Pope leaves it a Cardinal," and the truth of the saying was exemplified in the case of Pietro Barbo.

Regarding the proceedings in the Conclave, our information is derived from the report of Æneas Sylvius, some scanty particulars in isolated despatches of ambassadors, and a notice in Vespasiano da Bisticci's work.† From these authorities it appears that the Cardinals were greatly divided, and that three scrutinies failed to give any decided result.‡ For a time it seemed as if Domenico Capranica, after Carvajal the most worthy among the members of the Sacred College, would be Pope. Christendom might, indeed, have been congratulated had the majority of votes been given to a Prince of the Church so distinguished for piety, learning, decision of character, and political ability. But Capranica was a Roman, and favourably disposed to the Colonna, and therefore unacceptable to many. The

* Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 16. State Archives at Milan ; see Appendix No. 26.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Capranica, §6 (Mai, Spicil., i, 190).—Comment. Pii II., 24. The Parisian MS. (Nat. Library, No. 5153) Pius II. : "Conclave Calixti III.," cited by Verdiere (Essai sur Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini [Paris, 1843], p. 48, 113-114) and Vast (219) is nothing more than the unaltered draft of the passage in the Commentary of Pius II. Voigt (ii., 158, 340) has already recognized this fact. Regarding the despatches of ambassadors, see Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 263 *et seq.*, and the Appendix to this volume, No. 29, 30, and 31.

‡ This is expressly said by B. Visconti, and also by Nicodemus in his *Despatch of April 8th, 1455, given in Appendix 31. See State Archives at Milan.

Colonna desired the election of an Italian, the Orsini that of a French Pontiff, and as neither party was able to carry the day, a neutral candidate was sought. In this capacity the learned Cardinal Bessarion had much to recommend him; as a born Greek, he had held aloof from Italian complications, he had no enemies, and was justly and generally esteemed for his learning and for his beneficent labours as Legate to Bologna. No one, moreover, seemed more likely to give a fresh impulse to the crusade than this distinguished representative of Greece. Eight Cardinals declared themselves in his favour, and on the Easter Sunday and Monday there was reason to think that he would be unanimously elected, and at once acclaimed Pope. Favours were asked of him as if the matter were already settled. Roberto Sanseverino, in a letter to the Duke of Milan, expressed his conviction that "if the Greek Cardinal had exerted himself more the tiara would have been his."* According to the account given by Æneas Sylvius it was Alain, the Cardinal of Avignon, who prevented the election of the great humanist, who would undoubtedly have carried on the work of Nicholas V. The French Cardinal represented to his colleagues that it was not becoming to place at the head of the Roman Church a neophyte, a Greek, who still wore his beard in Oriental fashion, and had but lately ceased to be a schismatic.† These words seem scarcely credible,

* Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269.

† According to the original draft of the Commentary of Pius II. the words of Alain were even more severe; see Cugnoni, 182. The mutilation of the Commentaries of Pius II. was noticed by Victorellus amongst others (see Ciaconius, ii., 991. and Voigt, ii., 340). The celebrated J. Garampi seems to have meditated the publication of the omission. In the Biblioteca Gambalunga at Rimini I found *Cod. D., iv.-214, a complete collection of these omissions. The title of the manuscript is: "Supplenda in Commentariis Pii

and the truth probably is, that the pride of some Italian Cardinals was wounded by the prospect of an Eastern, a member of the hated Greek nation, occupying the chair of St. Peter, while the worldly-minded amongst them, like Scarampo, dreaded Bessarion's austerity.

When this name had ceased to figure in the list of candidates, the former perplexity again returned. The crowds assembled in front of the Vatican grew impatient, and the ambassadors who kept watch over the Conclave were urgent for a decision, representing to the Cardinals the unsettled condition of Rome, and the danger threatened by Piccinino.*

In this difficulty, each party being strong enough to hinder the election of the opposing candidate, and yet too weak to secure that of its own, the electors cast their eyes upon a man who was not a member of the sacred college, the Minorite Antonio de Montefalcone,† but he also failed

II., Pont. Max." "Tutte le cose da supplirsi," Garampi observes in a prefatory note, "hanno la pagina e linea nelle quali anderebbero inserite nell' edizione di Francfort dell' anno 1614, stamperia Auberiana. Se sono inedite" (as they were till lately) "sono preziosissime. Siano cose soppresse o dall' autore o dall' editore, e quest' ultimo siasi servito di un codice diverso; sono sempre frammenti rispettabili che possono servire a una nuova edizione." In Rome I found the missing passages in the Commentary of Pius II. in Cod. L., vii., 253, of the Chigi Library, and in Cod. cclxii. of the Library of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme (now Cod. 179 of the Victor Emmanuel Library). Cugnoni's publication of 1883 is founded entirely on the Chigi MS. It is much to be regretted that the worthy head of the Chigi Library has not taken into account the many Vatican MSS. of the Commentaries of Pius II. Among these, I believe, I have discovered the original of the Commentaries of Pius II., written in part by his own hand. Further details will be given in a later volume of this work.

* *Despatches of Bart. Visconti and Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, April 8. State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 31.

† Wadding, Ann. Min., xii., 2nd ed., 245

to obtain the requisite majority of votes. Finally—as it were to postpone the contest—all agreed in electing an old man, whose life was almost at an end.* Accordingly, mainly through the exertions of Scarampo and Alain, on the morning of the 8th April a Spanish Cardinal, the aged Alonso (Alfonso) de Borja (Borgia) was elected by accession, and took the name of Calixtus III.† Those who had even before the beginning of the Conclave foretold that the discord of the Italians would result in the election of an "Ultramontane," now saw their predictions verified.

* See Vespasiano da Bisticci, Capranica, *loc. cit.*, and the supplement in Appendix No. 31 of the *Despatch of April 8, cited above. A certain amount of astonishment at the election of one so aged appears in the words of Nicholas of Cusa: "quamvis octogenarius . . . electus est." Autograph notice by this Cardinal in Cod. C., 5, of the Hospital Library at Cues.

† See the Despatches of R. Sanseverino in Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269, and of Cribellus, 57, as well as the *Acta consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Appendix No. 16, Vol. i.) Here and in a *Letter of the Republic of Florence to its ambassadors in Venice ("Oratori Venetiis," d d. Florent., 1455, April 10: "In questa mattina havemmo lettere da Ruberto Martelli da Roma, per le quali avisa, come a di 8, di questo a hore xv. fu creato nuovo papa." Cl. x., dist. 1, No. 44, f. 131, State Archives at Florence), the election is said to have taken place about the fifteenth hour (10 in the forenoon). Other authorities (*Despatch of the 3rd April [see Appendix No. 31], and the Cronica di Bologna [716]) name the thirteenth hour. Niccola della Tuccia (239) says: "La mattina a 14 hore dissero aver fatto nuovo papa ecc." With this agrees the **note of Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga of the 8th April, 1455. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. In some documents the new Pope was styled "Calixtus quartus," because the name Calixtus III. had already been borne by Johannes, Abbot of Struma, anti-Pope in the time of Alexander III. (see Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed., 1710-1711). It is remarkable that this designation also occurs in *Acta consistorialia of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Instead of Bessarion, the Greek humanist and philosopher, a Spanish canonist mounted the Papal throne.*

No one had hitherto contemplated the elevation of Alfonso Borgia as a possibility, but when once it became known, a prophecy of St. Vincent Ferrer was called to mind. It was said that this Spanish Dominican, while preaching at Valencia, remarked a priest among the crowds who commended themselves to his prayers, and addressed him in the following words: "My son, I congratulate you; remember that you are called to be one day the ornament of your country and of your family. You will be invested with the highest dignity that can fall to the lot of man. I myself, after my death, shall be the object of your special honour. Endeavour to persevere in your virtuous course of life."† The priest to whom the saint spoke was no other than Alfonso Borgia. From that moment, with the tenacity which belonged to his character, he had firmly believed in the prediction and frequently repeated it to his friends.‡ Now that it had been accomplished, one of the first acts of his pontificate was to raise St. Vincent Ferrer to the altars, and his solemn canonization took place at Rome on the 29th June,§ 1455.

* Alfonso Borgia was looked upon as one of the first canonists of his day; see Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58, Niccola della Tuccia, 239; Raph. Volaterr., f. 234, and Brippi's poem in Cod. 361 of the Riccardi Library in Florence, which we shall cite in Chapter II. of this book.

† Vita S. Vincentii Ferrer, by Petrus Ranzanus Panormitanus in Bzovius, Annal., 1419, N. 24.

‡ As for example, in 1449, to the celebrated St. John Capistran; see Wadding, xii., 246.

§ The 23rd May was the day originally intended for the canonization (Echard, i., 811); it was deferred because the "relatione del processo suo" appeared too long; see *Despatches of Bart. Visconti and of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, May 22

The old Catalan race of the Borja, or Borgia, as the Italians pronounced the name, had brought forth many remarkable men. Nature had been lavish in her gifts, and endowed them with beauty and strength, with intellect, skill, and that energy of will which compels fortune.* Alfonso, who was no less gifted than the other members of his family, was born, at Xativa, in Valencia, on the last day of 1378, the year which witnessed the outbreak of the great schism.† At a very early age he studied jurisprudence at the University of Lerida, and became a doctor of civil

and 24. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen. The Bull of Canonization is not entered in the Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, a circumstance which gave rise to doubts, which induced Pius II. to issue a fresh Bull (Bzovius ad an. 1419). I found the *Bull itself, dated Rome, 1455, tercio Cal. Jul. pont. a° I°, in Cod. lat., 18930 (Teg., 930), f. 86-89, of the Court Library at Munich. The Dominican H. Kalteisen gave his vote for the canonization; see Cod. 326 of the University Library at Bonn.

* Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 3. The origin of the race of the Borgia is veiled in obscurity. The statement that the family was of royal blood is unfounded; see Matagne in the Revue des quest. hist., ix. (1870), 467 *et seq.*; xi. (1872), 197. The father of Alfonso is called by Platina "John," and by Zurita (35) "Domingo;" and the family name of his mother, "Francisca," is unknown. Zurita (36) and Escolano (Hist. de Valencia [Val., 1610], ii., 200) say that she was from Valencia. Alfonso was born in Xativa, and baptised in the Collegiate Church of Sta. Maria in that town. We have his own testimony for this fact in two Bulls of 1457, published by Villanueva (i., 18 *et seq.*, 181 *et seq.*).

† Calixtus III. was accordingly at the time of his election in the 77th year of his age. Some chronicles make him even older; the Ist. Bresc. (891) says that Calixtus was 85, and Niccola della Tuccia (239) that he was 86 (the "Ricordi di casa Sacchi" give his age correctly as 77). L. Bonincontr. (158) and Nicholas of Cusa in an autograph *notice at the conclusion of the MS. in the Hospital at Cues, to which we have already (p. 325, note*) referred, generally speak of the Pope as an octogenarian.

and canon law. Subsequently he successfully taught these subjects at Lerida, and was nominated to a canonry in the Cathedral of that city by Pedro de Luna, afterwards known as Benedict XIII. His relations with King Alfonso were the means of diverting Borgia from the career of learning on which he had entered. The monarch recognized his diplomatic capabilities and drew him into his service, where, as private secretary and confidential counsellor, he amply justified the trust reposed in him, displaying the greatest skill and activity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and political negotiations. Borgia also rendered important service to the Papacy in the time of Martin V., and the abdication of the anti-Pope Clement VIII. was in great measure due to his exertions. The lawful Pope, Martin V., rewarded him in that very year by conferring on him the Bishopric of Valencia (1429).*

As Bishop, Alfonso took part in the most important affairs of Church and State. In the reorganization of the kingdom of Naples, which had long been distracted by war and tumult, he rendered special services to King Alfonso, and the institution of the celebrated tribunal of Sta. Chiara was his work.† His prudence and his spirit of perfect loyalty to Rome were manifested in the fact that he refused to act as Alfonso's ambassador to the Council of Basle, which was antagonistic to Pope Eugenius. He afterwards laboured most zealously to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Pope, and, after it had been accomplished, was raised to the purple, and took his title from the picturesque old Basilica of the Quattro Incoronati‡

* Raynaldus ad an. 1429, Nos. 3 and 5. Villanueva, i., 51; xx., 54 *et seq.* See Vol. i., p. 227, note *.

† Giannone, iii., 284-289. Alfonso Borgia also superintended the education of Ferrante, the natural son of King Alfonso (Zurita, iv., 52b).

‡ See Vol. i., p. 332.

which stands on a spur of the northern Cælian hill. Alfonso could not but accede to the Pope's desire that he should remain at his Court, and he there gained the reputation of being incapable of flattery or party feeling. There was but one opinion in Rome regarding the moral purity, the integrity, the capacity for business, and the knowledge of canon law which distinguished the Cardinal of Valencia, as Alfonso was now commonly styled.*

His health, unfortunately, was weak; severe study and unceasing activity had told upon his strength, and this circumstance, together with the familiar relations existing between him and King Alfonso, awakened considerable anxiety in Italy. The Republics of Venice, Florence, and Genoa were, as we learn from many contemporary letters,† dissatisfied with the election, although their official documents expressed sentiments of a very different character.‡

The choice of a foreigner for the Papal dignity was a severe blow to the national feeling in Italy.§ It was by

* Platina, 727. Jac. Phil. Bergom. Chronic., f. 304. See Giornali Napolit., 1131.

† See **Despatches of Antonio Guidobono from Venice, 1455, April 12, and Giovanni de la Guardia from Genoa, 1455, April 14. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

‡ The Florentine letters of congratulation have been published by Guasti (Legazioni, 34-35). See the **Letters of the Genoese to the Pope and the Cardinals, dated 15th and 28th April (State Archives at Genoa, Litt., Vol. xviii., f. 128, 132). The following words occur in a *Letter of April 20, 1455, from the Republic of Venice to Cardinals Scarampo and Barbo:—"Hec siquidem electio cum potius celestis quam humana existimanda sit: fatemur non satis litteris explicare posse, quantum gaudii et immense letitie mens nostra perceperit." Sen. Secret., xx., f. 58b. State Archives at Venice.

§ See the Despatch of R. Sanseverino in Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 268. *Letter from Lionardo Vernacci to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, d.d. Roma a di x. Aprile, 1455:—"Per lettere de Ruberto"

some even deemed probable that a great schism would break out, and that a number of Cardinals would leave the Papal Court, where, in the days immediately succeeding the election, Scarampo and Alain exercised an excessive influence.* Fears were entertained, especially by the Republics, that the already too great influence of King Alfonso would be still further increased, and that the hated Catalans would be unduly promoted. The latter of these apprehensions was, as we shall see, but too well justified. But the idea that King Alfonso would now, through his former Secretary, rule the Holy See, happily proved unfounded.

Calixtus III. was certainly regarded in Rome as a right-minded and just man. "The new Pope," wrote the Procurator of the Teutonic Order on the 3rd May, 1455, to the Grand Master, "is an old man of honourable and virtuous life and of excellent reputation."† His previous life had been blameless. Austere towards himself, he was amiable and indulgent to others. As Bishop and as Cardinal he had declined all other preferment. The poor and needy never sought comfort and help from him in vain.‡ The

[Martelli; see *supra*, p. 325, note†] "a Cosimo avete inteso della creazion del nuovo papa lo char^le de Valenza; vedete per la esitanza de nostri Taliani ove ci troviamo tucti. Regnano Chatalani e sa dio come la loro natura ci si confa. Bisogna per questa volta aver pazienza duna cosa, mi chonforto che dovera durar pocho di tempo sichondo leta," etc. Carteggio inanzi il principato. Filza, xvii., No. 131. State Archives at Florence.

* See Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269. See the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi. of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 158.

‡ Jac. Phil. Bergom., f. 304, and Raph. Volaterr., xxii., f. 234. The care of Calixtus III. for the hospital of Sto. Spirito is mentioned by Brockhaus in Janitschek. Repertor., viii., 283. See the notice, Vol. i., p. 354, from the Archives of Sto. Spirito. The Pope, in his

Sienese, Bartolommeo Michele, who had been previously acquainted with him, praised him in the highest terms. On the day after the election he wrote to his native city: "He is a man of great sanctity and learning, a friend and adherent of King Alfonso, in whose service he has been. He has always shown himself well disposed towards our city. His nature is peaceable and kindly." Michele, in this letter, exhorts the Sienese to send the most splendid embassy possible to Rome, and to select for it eminent and worthy men, inasmuch as the Pope was very clear-sighted and learned.*

A letter addressed by St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, to Giovanni, the son of Messer Domenico of Orvieto, in Pisa, gives a good idea of the fears awakened by the election of Calixtus, and of the favourable change in public opinion which soon took place in his regard. "The election of Calixtus III.," says St. Antoninus, "at first gave little satisfaction to the Italians, and this for two reasons. First, inasmuch as he was a Valencian or Catalan, they felt some apprehension lest he might seek to transfer the Papal Court to another country. Secondly, they feared that he might confide the strongholds of the Church to Catalans, and that it might eventually be difficult to recover possession of them. But now the minds of men have been reassured by more mature reflection, and the reputation which he bears for goodness, penetration, and impartiality. Moreover, he has bound himself by a solemn promise—a copy of which I have seen—to devote all his powers, with the advice of the Cardinals, to the war

will, assigned five thousand ducats to a hospital to be established in the residence he had occupied when a Cardinal. *Letter of Antonio Catabene to Fr. Sforza, dated 1458, August 7. Gonzaga, Archives at Mantua.

* Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., t. iii., 192.

against the Turks, and the conquest of Constantinople. It is not believed or said that he is more attached to one nation than to another, but rather that as a prudent and just man he will give to everyone his due. The Lord alone, whose providence rules the world, and especially the Church, and who in His infinite mercy brings good for her out of evil, knows what will happen. Meanwhile we must always think well of the Holy Father, and judge his actions favourably, even more so than those of any other living being, and not be frightened by every little shock. Christ guides the bark of Peter, which, therefore, can never sink. Sometimes He seems to slumber in the storm: then must we wake Him with prayers and good works, of which there is much need."*

The whole demeanour of Calixtus III. was marked by great simplicity; splendour and pomp were most distasteful to him. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini bears witness that he greatly surpassed his predecessor in the patience with which he gave audiences. He himself dictated the letters sent to Kings and to friends, and countersigned petitions with pleasure. He loved to converse upon legal matters, and was as familiar with laws and canons as if he had but just left the University.† Nicholas V. had delighted in conversation, but Calixtus was chary of his words. Nowhere, however, was the contrast between the Spanish Pontiff and the great patron of the Renaissance so striking as in the domain of literature and art.

* Translated by Reumont, Briefe, 143-144. The original of the letter, dated 24th April, 1455, is published by V. Marchese, Cenni storici del B. Lorenzo da Ripafratta (Firenze, 1851), 53, and in the Lettere di S. Antonino, 189-191. The dread of a removal of the Holy See from Rome is also expressed in the above-mentioned **Instruction for the Florentine ambassadors in Venice. State Archives, Florence.

† Æneas Sylvius. Europa, c. 58.

But in order to correctly estimate Calixtus III. in this matter we must begin by discarding the passionate and exaggerated denunciations of the humanists of his day, one of whom went so far as to declare that "Calixtus III. was a useless Pope."* Their golden age certainly closed with the life of Nicholas V. Indeed, if we consider the prominent position occupied in his days by men either indifferent or actually antagonistic to the Church, we must admit that a reaction was inevitable.† The violence of this reaction—which, from the ecclesiastical point of view, was a salutary one—was greatly exaggerated by the humanists. Calixtus III., the quiet, dry, legal student, was not directly inimical, but simply indifferent, to the Renaissance movement. In his reign its victorious course was checked for a time, but it was not violently arrested.‡

The extraordinary favour shown by the Pope to the humanist Valla has never been sufficiently explained. He was appointed Papal Secretary, and canonries were freely bestowed upon him,§ but he died on the 1st August, 1457. His monument in the Lateran, rescued from destruction by a great German historian,|| was removed to another place in the most recent restoration of the Church.

It is interesting to note the manner in which the

* Geiger, Renaissance, 139. A letter written by Filelfo to Bessarion after the death of Calixtus III. gives a specimen of the hatred of the humanists. Philelfi Epist., f. 102.

† Voigt also is of this opinion, ii., 2nd ed., 235.

‡ The School of Tapestry founded in the Vatican by Nicholas V. continued to exist under Calixtus III.

§ Amongst others, one at the Lateran; see Marini, Archiatri, i., 241. See *Reg. 439, f. 64b-66, and 145, f. 29-30. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

|| Niebuhr, Vortr. über Römische Alterth., published by Isler (Berlin, 1858), ii. Regarding the tomb, see Beschreibung Roms., iii., 1, 684, and Adinolfi, i., 204.

humanists conformed themselves to altered circumstances In the Vatican Library there is still preserved a petition for a pension, addressed to Calixtus III. by a learned man, who endeavours to recommend himself to the Pontiff by an allusion to the Eastern question, in which the latter took so deep an interest.* When they saw that it was in vain to hope for anything from this Pope they avenged themselves by calumnies.

One of the chief of these was that propagated by Filelfo and Vespasiano da Bisticci, which accused Calixtus of dispersing the Vatican Library. The account of Vespasiano runs as follows:—"When Pope Calixtus began his reign, and beheld so many excellent books, five hundred of them resplendent in bindings of crimson velvet with clasps of silver, he wondered greatly, for the old canonist was used only to books written on linen and stitched together. Instead of commending the wisdom of his predecessor, he cried out as he entered the Library: 'See, now, where the treasure of God's Church has gone!' Then he began to disperse the Greek books. He gave several hundred to the Ruthenian Cardinal, Isidore. As this latter had become half childish from age the volumes fell into the hands of the servants. That which had cost golden florins was sold for a few pence. Many Latin books came to Barcelona, some by means of the Bishop of Vich, the powerful Datary of the Pope, and some as presents to Catalan nobles."† There

* *Cod. Vatic., 4137, f. 216-220b. In f. 220-220b we find: "Rogo itaque . . . ut priusquam ex hoc seculo migres, tua ope et interventione vindicatum videas nobilissimum Christianorum sanguinem, quem in illa inclita Constantinopolitana urbe a sevissimo illo Teuchrorum duce tam crudeliter effusum audivimus."

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vescovo Vicense (Mai, Spicil., i., 283-284, 286). Cardinal Angelo Mai (*loc. cit.* 284, note 1), and Reumont (iii., 1, 333) have already declared against the credibility of this intrinsically improbable story of Vespasiano, notwithstanding

are serious grounds for disbelieving this narrative. If the dispersion of the books had been so complete, how could Platina, the Vatican Librarian under Sixtus IV., have admired their splendour? Isolated volumes may, as often happens after the death of a Pope, have found their way into other hands, but this cannot have been at all a general case, for a large portion of the collection of Nicholas V. is at the present moment in the Vatican.*

The next testimony which we shall adduce is of itself almost sufficient to decide the question.† On the 16th April, 1455, even before his coronation, the Pope caused his confessor, Cosimo da Monserrato, to undertake the compilation of a catalogue of the valuable library left by his predecessor.‡ This very fact indicates an interest in the

the support of the Bishop of Vich. (Had not Alfonso Borgia, we may ask, when at Naples with King Alfonso, enjoyed ample opportunities of seeing splendid MSS.?). Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 607) adopted this story, but later came to suspect it. See Weiderbelebung, 2nd ed., 209, note 1. Laemmer (Analecta, 20) also doubts it.

* See Platina, Vita Nicolai V., Reumont *loc. cit.* Assemani's assertion (Bibliothecæ apost. Vaticanæ Codd. MSS. catalogus [Romæ, 1756], i., 1, p. xxi.), that Calixtus himself spent forty thousand golden pieces on the purchase of MSS. from abroad rests on a misapprehension. See Müntz, L'héritage de Nicholas V., p. 421. Leonetti (i., 85-86) nevertheless repeats the tale.

† Müntz, L'héritage, 423. In his article (354) on the Library of the Holy See, cited *supra*, p. 210, note ‡, de Rossi coincides with Müntz.

‡ *Cod. Vatic., 3959 (see *supra*, p. 212, note*), Vatican Library. A copy of the catalogue exists in the Library of the Cathedral of Vich (see Villanueva, vi., 80; Serapeum, 1847, p. 93), and must evidently have been brought to Vich by Cosimo de Monserrato, who was Bishop of that Diocese from 1460-1473. This circumstance may perhaps have given rise to the report that Calixtus had sent books to Vich. Regarding Cosimo, see Moroni, xix., 130, de la Fuente, 475, and the Annales ord. eremit. St. August., in Cod. S. 3, 13, of the Angelica Library, Rome.

preservation of the books, and it is not likely that a Pope who thus acted would give them away to the first comer.* In this most ancient inventory of the Vatican Library we find a number of marginal notes, by means of which the humanistic statements regarding the dispersion of manuscripts may be reduced to their proper dimensions. Here it appears that Calixtus certainly gave away some manuscripts, five volumes in all, and these of no great value. Two went to the King of Naples.† The fact that the catalogue was undertaken on the 16th April, 1455, does not exclude the possibility of subsequent presents having been made by the Pope, but even if this were the case the number of manuscripts so disposed of must have been very small. If he bestowed only two on King Alfonso, his intimate friend, we may rest assured that he cannot have given hundreds to Cardinal Isidore or to the Catalan nobles. The only thing that may be granted as probable is that Calixtus, who was ready to pledge even his mitre to provide funds for the Turkish war, may have sacrificed some of the gold and silver bindings for this purpose.‡ Thus this oft-repeated tale proves for the most part legendary.

The attitude of the new Pope towards the Renaissance and its promoters doubtless formed a striking contrast to that of its enthusiastic patron, Nicholas V. It is to be accounted for, not only by his own want of taste for polite literature, but by the peril which threatened Christendom

* Müntz, L'héritage de Nicolas V., p. 423.

† *Cod. Vat., 3959 (Vatican Library), f. 3: "Glossa Nicolai de Lira; S. D. N. dedit hunc domino regi Arrag." "Glossa Nicolai de Lira," with the same note, f. 9 and 14 (Letters of St. Augustine, and "Liber de veritate cath. fidei"); "fuit traditum bancho de Pappis de man. S. D. N.," f. 23b. "Florus: Hunc dedit S. D. N. capitaneo." Müntz (L'héritage, 422) wrongly gives the number of volumes removed as eight.

‡ Gabriel Veronens in Wadding, xii., 290.

from the East. He justly deemed it to be his first duty to defend Europe from the Turk, and this care occupied his mind so completely that little room was left for more peaceful labours in the realm of literature and art.

The pontificate of Calixtus III. opened ominously on the very day of his accession with a violent outbreak of the old Roman family broils. He was crowned on the 20th April.* In the morning he repaired to St. Peter's, where, according to the old custom, one of the Canons of the Church reminded him of the transitory nature of all earthly greatness by burning a bundle of tow before his eyes, and saying, "Holy Father, so perishes the glory of the world!" The Pope himself celebrated Mass, Cardinal Barbo singing the Epistle and Cardinal Colonna the Gospel. The coronation afterwards took place in front of the Basilica; Prospero Colonna, as the senior Cardinal Deacon, placed the triple crown upon the pontiff's head with the words: "Receive the triple crown and know that thou art the father of all Princes and Kings, the guide of the world, the Vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever.—Amen."†

Immediately after this solemnity Calixtus took possession of the Lateran, the Cathedral Church of the Popes. He was accompanied by all the Cardinals and about eighty Bishops clad in white, together with many Roman barons and the magistrates of the city. He rode "a white horse" through the streets, adorned with tapestry, to the "golden Basilica, the mother and head of all the churches in the city and it the world." In pursuance of an ancient custom

* Description given (240) by Niccola della Tuccia, who was an eye-witness. Cancellieri (Possessi, 43) has nothing new; Tuccia's account (which was unpublished when he wrote) was unknown to him. Regarding the ceremonies see Meuschen, 169 *et seq*

† Meuschen, 178. See the rare work of Gatticus. 177, 205, etc.

the representatives of the Jews met the Pope on his triumphal procession in the Piazza, known as Monte Giordano; they presented him with the roll of the law. He read some words from it, and said: "We ratify the law, but we condemn your interpretation, for He of whom ye say that He will come—our Lord Jesus Christ—has come, as the Church teaches us and preaches."* This ceremony was the occasion of a riot, by which the Pope's life was endangered. The populace endeavoured to seize the richly ornamented book of the Jewish law, and even laid hands on the Papal baldacchino.

Disturbances of a yet more serious character occurred on the Campo de' Fiori. Napoleone Orsini, who had a dispute with Count Everso of Anguillara regarding the lordship of Tagliacozzo, determined to avenge the death of one of his men slain by an adherent of Everso. Leaving the procession he hastened to the Campo de' Fiori, where the Count lodged, and pillaged his quarters.† So great was the power of the Orsini that three thousand armed men

* See Cancellieri, 49; Meuschen, 182-183; Novaes, Introduz., ii., 350. The homage of the Jews was a very ancient custom, dating perhaps as far back as the time of the Roman Emperors (see Mehus, Jac. Angeli de Scarperia epist. ad Em. Chrysoloram. Florentiæ, 1743). The appearance of the Jews is definitely mentioned for the first time at the "Possessio" of Calixtus II., in the year 1119 (Cancellieri, Possessi, 9). The place varied. See Moroni, xxi., 29 *et seq.* In 1447 the ceremony was performed on Monte Giordano; but in 1484, on account of Roman acts of violence, the Jews were permitted to appear in the interior of St. Angelo. Popular tumults occurred also during the processions of Pius II. and of Innocent VIII. See Cancellieri, 48-49.

† The most ancient of the great inns of Rome were situated on the "Campo de' Fiori" (see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 686). There were the taverns of the Cow, the Angel, the Bell, the Crown, and the Sun. Of these the Albergo del Sole, Via del Biscione, Nos. 70-76, still exists.

assembled on Monte Giordano in answer to the cry, "Orsini! to the rescue!" The Colonna sided with the Count, and a fierce encounter between the two factions under the very eyes of the Pope was barely prevented, and peace for the moment restored by the strenuous exertions of his messengers and of Cardinal Orsini and the Prefect, Francesco Orsini.*

The Pope was greatly angered by these disturbances.† He afterwards charged Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who had recently established peace in the patrimony, to bring about a cessation of hostilities for a few months. This truce was subsequently prolonged by the Pope, who endeavoured also to restore peace among the other baronial families of Rome.‡ Happily the rest of the reign of Calixtus III. was not of a piece with this ill-omened beginning, for although the feuds among the barons were not completely extinguished, the city was less affected by them.§

* See Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.*; Platina, 728 *et seq.*; Infessura, 1136-1137; Mich. Cannesius, Vita Pauli II. in Muratori, Script., iii., 2, 1002, and the detailed account by the Bishop of Chiusi, on the 21st April, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., T. iii., 194, No. 1, as well as **the Despatches of the Bishop of Novara, dated Rome, 1455, April 20 (State Archives at Milan), and of Luca Nicholai of Siena, dated Rome, 1455, April 21 (State Archives at Siena). Concistoro, Lettere ad an. Calixtus III. mentions these "excessus" enormes on the nomination of "Jo. de Buesa" to the "barissellus generalis alme urbis," dec. Cal. Jul. (1455). Reg. 436. f. 264. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Despatch of Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ See Carinci, Lettere di Onorato Gaetani, 128, and Niccola della Tuccia, 254. One of the reasons for the exclusion of the turbulent Everso, mentioned in these letters, was that he constantly molested the cities in the States of the Church. Corneto had cause to complain of Everso, even in 1456; see the *Letter of August 1, 1456, lib. brev. vii., f. 46, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Reumont, *loc. cit.*

The Pope's coronation was followed by the homage of the Christian powers, and from the latter part of April Rome witnessed the arrival of a succession of splendid embassies.* That of Lucca was the first to appear, and was followed at longer or shorter intervals by those of the other cities.† That of King Alfonso was exceptionally magnificent, but his attempt to begin by making terms with the Pope regarding the obedience to be promised was little calculated to maintain the good understanding which had previously existed between him and Calixtus, who met his pretensions and a similar attempt on the part of the envoys of Frederick III. with a decided refusal.‡

The Republic of Florence which had sent humanists to do homage to Nicholas V. now selected as the chief of its embassy their Archbishop, St. Antoninus, a man remarkable alike for the purity of his life and his theological learning. With him were associated Giannozzo Pandolfini, Antonio di Lorenzo Ridolfi, Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, and the lawyer Oddone Nicolini.§ The ambas-

* Despatch of Bishop Alessio de' Cesari of Chiusi to Siena, dated Rome, 1455, April 25. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† See the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini in the Library of St. Mark, Venice, cited *supra*, p. 339, note†.

‡ See the Report of Æneas Sylvius and Joh. Hinderbach addressed to Frederick III., dated Rome, 1455, Sept. 8. Laurentian Library at Florence. For a further account of Alfonso's embassy see Guasti, 22; and regarding that from Siena, Arch. stor Ital., Serie iv., T. iii., 192 *et seq.* The names of the envoys from Bologna are given in the Annal. Bonon. (888); they started for Rome on the 23rd April. See Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, p. iii., lib. xxxiv. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

§ The instructions given to the ambassadors and their report are published by Guasti (3-31). The discourse of St. Antoninus is given in his Chronicon, tit. 22, c. 16; but his modesty has suppressed the name of its author.

sadors were desired without the archbishop's knowledge to request Pope Calixtus to promote him to the purple.* On the 24th of May, the day of their audience, Calixtus spoke of his determination to combat the foes of the Christian faith and to reconquer New Rome, not sparing even his own life in the cause, although he deemed himself unworthy to win the martyr's crown. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that Florence, as a true daughter of the Church, would render every possible assistance in this holy undertaking. On the 28th May the Archbishop delivered in open consistory his celebrated discourse on the war against the Turks, and the Pope replied by an eulogy of Florence. Two days later in a private audience Calixtus dwelt on his earnest desire for the complete restoration of peace in Italy, and the distress caused him by the disturbances which Piccinino was again stirring up in his unfortunate country.

In the end of July, 1455, the Venetian embassy reached Rome. The message which it bore regarding the burning question of the day was not of a very satisfactory nature. The ambassadors were the same who had already presented to Nicholas V. the congratulations of the Signoria. They were instructed to reassure the Pope as to the intentions of the Republic concerning the Turkish war. They were to inform him that if the other Christian powers would proceed seriously against the Turks they would manifest the same good will as their forefathers had shown.† The

* Unfortunately the desire of the city was not granted. But at a later period Adrian VI., a Pontiff who resembled St. Antoninus in his zeal for reform and in the simplicity of his life, raised him to the dignity of the altars. Reumont, Briefe, 139.

† *"Commissio oratoribus ituris ad S. P. Calixtum III.," 1455, Jun. 6 (the election of the ambassadors: Pasqualis Maripetro procurator, Triadanus Griti, Jacobus Loredano, Ludovicus Foscarino doctor, had already taken place on the 30th April. *Senatus Secret., xx., f. 59): "Si per id tempus, quo stabitis Rome, summus pontifex, qui ut intelligere potuistis, multum inclinatus

import of this answer was clear, and the Signoria subsequently inculcated on the envoys the necessity of adhering to it.* A similar evasive reply was given to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, when, on his passage through Venice to offer the Emperor Frederick's homage to the Pope, he, in his master's name, inquired into the intentions of the Republic regarding the Turkish question.†

Their stay in Venice delayed the arrival in Rome of Æneas Sylvius and his companion, the lawyer, Johann Hinderbach, until the 10th August. Their reception was honourable, but their attempt to treat with Calixtus regarding the Emperor's claims in the matter of reservations, tithes, nominations, and first requests, before making the profession of obedience, was frustrated, as the Pope absolutely refused to make any promise for the sake of gaining that which was his due. "We were placed in no

esse videtur ad exterminium Theucrorum, requireret seu diceret vobis quicquam de his rebus Theucrorum vellet que intelligere nostram intentionem, si et nos cum aliis potentiis favores nostros huic impresie prestaturi sumus: contenti sumus et volumus, quod Sue B. respondeatis in ea modestia et pertinenti forma verborum, quam magis utilem iudicabitis, quod quando videbimus alias potentias Christianas contra Teucros potenter se movere, nos quoque imitantes vestigia maiorum nostrorum reperiemur illius bone dispositionis, cuius per elapsum fuimus." Senatus Secret., xx., f. 62. State Archives, Venice.

* *Venice to the ambassadors in Rome, 1455, July 7: "Dicetis quoque S^ti Sue, quod grato et iucundo animo intelliximus optiman dispositionem ardensque desiderium clementie sue ad occurrendum perfidie Teucrorum pro honore creatoris nostri, communi commodo et salute totius Christiane religionio. Nos autem, sicut etiam habuistis in mandatis a nobis referendum B. Sue, perseveramus in consueto bono proposito nostro, et quando videbimus alios principes et potentias christianas se movere ad hoc sanctum opus, reperiemur illius optime mentis." Senatus Secret., xx., f. 66. State Archives, Venice.

† The answer, dated 10th July, 1455, is to be found in the Senatus Secret., xx., f. 66. State Archives, Venice.

small perplexity," Æneas Sylvius wrote to the Emperor,* "but as we saw that nothing else could be done, and that it would cause scandal if we were to depart without making profession of obedience, we decided on doing this, and then proceeding with your petition." Two days later the profession of obedience of the German nation took place in open consistory. Æneas Sylvius made a long speech on the occasion, and congratulated the aged Pope on the fact that he was the first Pontiff since Gregory XI., that is to say, for a period of about eighty years, who had no anti-Pope to fear. He then proceeded to advocate the Turkish war, a matter very near the heart of the Pope, and one in regard to which the speaker's former exertions and present zeal gave weight to his words. Calixtus praised the Emperor and commended his good intention of devoting himself to the war; and, for his own part, declared that he would not shrink from any sacrifice to achieve the extermination of the infidels.† During the following days the ambassadors presented the Emperor's petition in writing, and had repeated conferences concerning it with the Pope, but, as might have been foreseen, gained nothing. Hinderbach then returned to Germany, while Æneas Sylvius remained in Rome, endeavouring to make himself of use, and eagerly seeking promotion to the purple, for which, however, he had long to wait.‡

* "His ita dictis fuimus admodum anxii, sed cum videremus aliter fieri non posse, et quod scandalum esset hinc recedere obedientia non prestita, deliberavimus obedientiam ipsam prestare ac deinde petitiones prosequi, cum secus fieri non posset." Æneas Sylvius and Joh. Hinderbach to Frederick III., dated Rome, 1455, Sept. 8. Plut., liv., Cod. 19, f. 64b-67. Laurentian Library at Florence, now published by Cugnoni (121 *et seq.*), from a manuscript in the Chigi Library.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 161. See Gebhardt, 11 *et seq.*

‡ Details will be found in Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 163 *et seq.* Regarding the English embassy to Calixtus III., see Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., 61, 402.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION—A CRUSADING FLEET BUILT IN ROME—ITS FIRST SUCCESSES — ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN POWERS TOWARDS THE DANGER WITH WHICH THE TURKS THREATENED EUROPE.

THE dangers to the Church and to civilization which troubled the latter days of Nicholas V. had assumed yet more alarming proportions at the accession of Calixtus III. Torn by conflicting interests and internecine feuds, the West was ill-fitted to withstand the united and fanatical advance of Islam. The disastrous consequences of the fall of Constantinople had at once been felt, not only in the stagnation of trade with the East, but in the threatened hindrance by the Turks of free navigation in the Mediterranean.* Servia and Hungary, Greece, the Christian Islands, especially Rhodes, and the Empire of the Comneni at Trebizond, were in imminent danger, and the colonies

* See the letter of Nicholas V. to Ancona, dated Cal. Aug., 1454, in the Anecd. litt., iv., 254-255 N. "La captività Constantinopolitana che fo la ruina quasi de tutti mercanti si cristiani come pagani" are the words used in the Cronich. Anconit. di Lazzaro Bernabei ed. Ciavarini, i., 178. Ancona suffered so much that Calixtus III. repeatedly granted financial help to the city. See the *Letter to Ancona, dated 1455, July 13, and *that to the "thesaurarius provinc. nostre marchie Anconit.," dated 1456, June 12, both of which are in Lib. croc. parv., f. 5b and 6b. Archives at Ancona.

in the Black Sea were almost lost. Mahomet II. was himself unremitting in his efforts to extend his dominion.

Nevertheless, the leading Princes and States of Europe, with scarcely an exception, displayed the most deplorable indifference to the welfare of Christendom. So grievous were their dissensions, and such the decay of zeal and heroism, that not one could rise above individual interests and animosities to gather round the banner of the Cross. The Holy See alone truly apprehended the importance of the situation, and while all others were swayed by selfish considerations, again showed itself to be the most universal and most conservative power on earth.

With her traditional wisdom, Rome appreciated the magnitude of the danger which menaced the Western world and its civilization. She also perceived that this victory of the infidel, like the loss in former days of the Holy Sepulchre, might be a means of reviving the zeal and loyalty of the faithful, and thus lead to further progress in the work of restoration already begun.* The greater the spirit of dissension in the political and ecclesiastical sphere the more did it behove the Holy See to devote itself to the common interest.

Calixtus III. was the man of all others to give a new and powerful impulse to the crusade. His duty and his inclination were in this matter identical. From the beginning to the end of his Pontificate, in public and in private, in his letters to Christian princes and prelates, and in his solemn Bulls addressed to all Christian people, he declared that he looked upon the defence of Christendom as the main object of his life. The crusade against the hereditary foe of the Christian name was the point upon which all his powers and efforts were concentrated.

The new Pope resolved to inaugurate his reign by a

* See Droysen, ii., 1, 154.

solemn vow which bound him to sacrifice everything—the treasures of the Church and, if necessary, his own life—in order to repel Islam and recover Constantinople. The words of this vow, copies of which were circulated in almost all countries to the joy and edification of the good, have been handed down to us. They are as follows :—"I, Pope Calixtus III., promise and vow to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the Ever-Virgin Mother of God, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the heavenly host, that I will do everything in my power, even, if need be, with the sacrifice of my life, aided by the counsel of my worthy brethren, to reconquer Constantinople, which in punishment for the sin of man has been taken and ruined by Mahomet II., the son of the devil and the enemy of our Crucified Redeemer. Further, I vow to deliver the Christians languishing in slavery, to exalt the true Faith and to extirpate the diabolical sect of the reprobate and faithless Mahomet in the East. For there the light of Faith is almost completely extinguished. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee. If I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy, God and His holy Gospel help me.—Amen."*

* The vow has been often printed, in Cochlaeus, Hist. Hussit., 1, xi. ; d'Achery, Spicil., iii., 797 ; Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 18 ; Bzovius, xvii., 137 ; Wadding, xii., 245 ; Leibniz, Cod. jur. gent., i., 411, and others. It also occurs in Chronicles ; see L. Boninc. Annal., 158. According to Platina (727) and others, Calixtus even before his election made this vow, using his Papal name by anticipation ; but this is very improbable. St. Antoninus would surely have mentioned it in his discourse, instead of which he says : "Quia vero ad hoc efficiendum beatitudo tua a principio suæ creationis voto solemni se Deo dicavit," and the Pope himself, in his letter to the King of Ethiopia, says : "Antequam de conclave recederemus, votum emisimus." Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 45

With the resolute tenacity of a Spaniard, the aged Calixtus laboured unremittingly to accomplish his vow.

Seven centuries of warfare with the Moors had left an indelible impress on the Spanish national character. The crusades form an episode in the history of other nations, but the very existence of the Spanish race was a perpetual crusade; and one consequence of this state of things was the development of a high-souled enthusiasm, which led each individual to look on himself as one of a chosen race, and especially called to be a champion of Christendom.* That spirit of religious chivalry—which in other European countries had long since given place to more material views, or else degenerated into lawless feuds—still flourished in Spain. Like thousands of his fellow-countrymen, Calixtus III. had from his earliest days imbibed sentiments of deadly hatred for the mortal enemy of the Christian name, and after his elevation to the highest dignity in Christendom he deemed it his first duty to combat that foe. The repeated declarations in his writings that, next to the attainment of everlasting life, he desired nothing so ardently as the accomplishment of his vow regarding the deliverance of Constantinople, were no mere figure of speech.† He wished to make the most ample reparation for the shortcomings of his un-

(similar expressions occur in other letters, see *Ibid.*, ad an. 1455, N. 24-25), and on the 20th April, 1455, the *Signoria of Venice wrote to Cardinal Barbo: "Post hec alias litteras R^me^ V. P. accepimus die x. præsentis cum copia illis inserta voti per S. Pontificem novissime facti. Ea omnia nobis profecto fuere gratissima." Senatus Secret., xx., 59. State Archives at Venice.

* Döllinger, Academical discourse on the political and religious development of Spain, published in the "Allgem. Zeitung" (1884), App. No. 210. See Macaulay, 19.

† Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 8; 1457, N. 7, 12, 50; 1458, N. 35. See the *Brief to the Doge P. Campofregoso, dated 1457, May 10, Lib. brev. 7, f. 89-90. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

warlike predecessors, and as we read his fervent words we feel that years had done nothing to quell his ardent Spanish temperament. The union of Western Christendom against the power of Islam, the succour of imperilled Hungary, and the construction and equipment of a Papal fleet were the objects to be accomplished within the shortest possible space of time. With an energy which seemed to defy the advance of age, the Pope at once began to deal with the matter in all its aspects.*

The history of the Papal power was materially affected by the action of Calixtus. The Papacy under Eugenius IV. had been engrossed by Italian politics and contests with the Councils, and under Nicholas V. it had been absorbed in literary and artistic interests. Now under Calixtus III. it seemed to be roused to remorse by the fall of Constantinople, and, as in the days of Urban II., to realize the magnitude of the Eastern problem, whose solution might be the means of endowing it with fresh vigour.†

The warlike zeal and indomitable resolution displayed by Calixtus III., notwithstanding his age and infirmities,‡ is justly characterized by ecclesiastical annalists as marvellous.§ "The Pope," writes Gabriel of Verona, "speaks and thinks of nothing but the crusade." For whole hours he used to converse with the Minorites on the subject, which seemed to him to surpass all others in importance.

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 174.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 144.

‡ Even on the 2nd October, 1456, Nicodemus informed Fr. Sforza that the condition of the Pope was such that he might die any day. *Despatch from Florence of this date. Secret Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.; Firenze, i.

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 1. See also regarding the feeble state of the Pope, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Card. Capranica, § 6 (Mai, Spicil., i., 191).

"Other affairs," says the historian, "he despatches with a word, but he treats and speaks of the crusade continually."*

On the 15th May, 1455, Calixtus published a solemn Bull, by which all the graces and indulgences granted by Nicholas V. on the 30th September 1454, to those who should take part in the crusade, were confirmed, and all other indulgences published since the Council of Constance repealed. New regulations were made concerning the tithes to be devoted to the war, and the 1st March of the following year was appointed as the day for the departure of the expedition against the common foe of Christendom.†

In order to restore unity among the Christian princes, and to incite them to hostilities against the Turks, the Pope determined to send special legates to the principal countries of Christendom. The Cardinal Archbishop of Gran, Dionysius Széchy, was appointed to Hungary; the indefatigable Cardinal Carvajal to Germany, Hungary, and Poland;‡ Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa to England and Germany;§ and Cardinal Alain to France. On the 8th September Calixtus III. personally conferred the cross on

* Wadding, xii., 290.

† The Bull, "Ad summi apostolatus apicem," is given in part in Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 18, and fully in the *Regesten des papstl. Geheim. Archivs, 436, f. 163-165 (in the margin, Blondus).

‡ The Brief nominating D. Széchy is in Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 25, and Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 277-278. The latter passage also gives (278-279) Carvajal's appointment as legate to Germany and Hungary. Regarding the extension of his legation to Poland, see Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 26, and Theiner, Mon. Pol., ii., 103. See in *Regest., 442, f. 245 *et seq.*, the numerous faculties for Carvajal, d.d. 1455, xviii. et xvii., Cal. Octob., and 1456, iii., Non. Mai. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 27; 1455, viii., Id. Sept.: "Nicolao tit. S. Petri in vinc. conceditur commissio super decima colligenda in partibus Germanie." Regest., 438, f. 217. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Cardinals Alain and Carvajal, and on the Archbishop Urrea of Tarragona, who was to hasten with a naval force to the relief of the hard-pressed Christian islands in the Ægean and Ionian waters.* This solemn ceremony was performed at St. Peter's. This was indeed fitting, as the place hallowed by the remains of him whom our Lord had made the rock and foundation of His Church. It was the scene of all the most important actions of the Popes, and as such it was also to witness a deed whose effects were destined to embrace the whole of Christendom.† The Pope, as we learn from the Bishop of Pavia, manifested the greatest devotion on this occasion, and shed many tears. Calixtus III., he adds, is most eager to combat the Turks; anyone, who places obstacles in his way, is guilty of a great sin.‡ As early as September 17th Alain entered on his office as legate,§ and a week later Carvajal left the Eternal City on his way to the North.|| Nicholas of Cusa apparently did not undertake the journey to England, for the negotiations with the Duke of Tyrol prove that he spent the whole of the year 1455 in his diocese of Brixen.

The deplorable issue of the Diet summoned in the time of Nicholas V. to deal with the Turkish question determined

* Raynaldus an an. 1455, N. 28.

† Hürter, Innocenz III., i., 3rd ed., 95.

‡ *Letter from the Bishop of Pavia to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome 1455, September 9 (Appendix No. 35). State Archives, Milan.

§ Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 1) erroneously gives the year 1456 as that of the commencement of Alain's mission. Regarding the Cardinal's departure, see the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, September 17. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen., and *Acta consistorialia. See the Letter to Cologne from the Archives of that City in Appendix No. 34.

|| *Acta consistorialia (see Vol. i., Appendix No. 16) in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Calixtus III. to renounce the idea of any assembly of the kind, and to endeavour to deal directly with the individual potentates. He accordingly sent to the lesser European Princes and States, bishops, prelates, or monks who were to treat with the chief persons of the country regarding tithes, to call upon the people to contribute, to take part in the expedition, and to pray earnestly for the success of the Christian arms. He granted at the same time ample indulgences to those who should thus assist in the holy work. Anyone who has had the opportunity of looking through the thirty-eight thick volumes in the Secret Archives of the Vatican which contain the acts of Calixtus III.'s short Pontificate* must be amazed at the immense energy manifested by the aged and sickly Pontiff.

* Regest. De curia, Vol. 436-453. Secret., Vol. 454-464. Officior, 465-467. The Secret Archives of the Vatican of the time of Calixtus III. also contain in the Arm. xxix. a yellow leather book, bearing on its back the inscription: "Calixt. III., Divers. Cam., 1455, ad 1458, T. 28" (in the volume are these words: "Calixti III., Diversor. ann. 1455, ad 1458," lib. i., n. 2008); in Arm. xxxi., T. 8: "Diversor. Calixti III., Pii II., et Pauli II.," a thick volume of copies from the Regesta, and T. 59, a small volume of 83 pages, also containing copies, but only of Calixtus III.; in Arm. xxxix. two most important "Registra Brevium," T. 7 and 8 (cited by me as lib. brev., 7 and 8; see the detailed description of these volumes by F. Kaltenbrunner in the "Mittheil" [1884], p. 83); finally, a folio volume containing a transcript of Briefs and Bulls on the Oriental question from the time of Innocent III. to that of Leo X., which has no determined position. This volume bears the number 104, followed by the inscription "Pontif. bullæ pro subsidio Terræ sanctæ et de bello Turcis inferendo," and below, the number 12. To these 38 volumes of the Secret Archives of the Vatican we must add two now preserved in the Roman State Archives (Tesoro Pontificio, Mandati), the first of which is entitled "Diversor. Calixti III., 1455, ad 1456, Sec. Carm.," and begins with the words: "In nomine domini. Amen."

Special envoys were despatched, not merely to the larger Italian States, such as Naples, Florence, and Venice, but also to the smaller Republics and cities, and to the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. In the Regesta of Calixtus III. we, moreover, find records of the appointment of preachers of the crusade and of tithe collectors for the several provinces of Spain and Germany, for Portugal, Poland, Dalmatia, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and an ambassador was sent even to Ireland and to the distant shores of Scotland.*

Most of these envoys were chosen from among the Observantine Friars, who, as mendicants and as brethren of St. John Capistran, enjoyed the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. The names of San Jacopo della Marca, of Roberto da Lecce, and of Antonio de Montefalcone, on whom the cardinals in conclave had for a

The second of these volumes has the superscription: "Bulletar. Calixti de anno 2°" (179 written pages, with some blank places). These 40 volumes belonging to the brief reign of Calixtus III. are, however, far from containing all the acts of the Pontiff. It is evident from the description of Amati in the Arch. Stor. Ital., Series 3, iii., 181, that other volumes formerly existed in the Papal Archives. According to private accounts a number of volumes of the acts of Calixtus III. were lately discovered in the Archives of the Lateran, which for some time have been in course of rearrangement.

* See for example *Regest. 438, f. 251: "Mag. Birgerius constituitur nuntius et collector decimarum in regno Suetie, 1455, s. d." He received Faculties, 1455, duodec. Cal. Octob., 442, f. 43. Two Collectors "in regno Scocie ac ducat. Cleven. et Geldrie necnon comit. Holandie et Zelandie" are nominated 1456, duodec. Cal. Mai. A° 2°, 447, f. 33; Faculties for "Marino de Fregeno subdiac. Parmen. dioc. jur. can. perito in Norvegie, Dacie et Suecie regnis cum suis adherentiis, etc., nuntio et collectori nostro." See also Theiner, Mon. Hib. et Scot. (Romæ, 1864), 402-404, 405-406.

moment fixed their attention, are worthy of special mention.* But other Orders were also called upon by the Pope to assist in the work he had at heart. Heinrich Kalteisen, a Dominican from the Rhenish province, who had already given proof of his zeal at the Council of Basle, and whom Nicholas V. had appointed Archbishop of Drontheim,† laboured in Germany, preaching in Vienna, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Eichstädt, Nuremberg, and finally in his own Rhenish home, and had the honour of receiving a Brief‡ of special commendation from the Pope.

Another instance of the extent to which the Pope claimed the assistance of the religious orders in the matter of the crusade against the infidels is to be found in the command addressed on the 4th May, 1456, to the General and Provincials of the Augustinians, whereby he required them, under pain of excommunication, to immediately detain all the preachers of the Order, to give up all other undertakings, and to devote themselves entirely to preaching the crusade.§

* See Wadding, xii., 324, N. 329; xiii., 14. *Cf.* Arch. stor. Nap., vii., fasc. 1. *Anthonius de Montefalco ord. min. constituitur collector decime in episcop. Perus., civit. Castellæ, etc. D. Prid. Cal. Octob. A° 1°, Regest. 438, f. 193. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† In reference to Kalteisen, see Echard, i., 828 *et seq.* Bull ord. præd., iii., 122, 270 *et seq.*, 239 *et seq.*, 336. J. Wegeler, Berühmte Coblenzer (Cobl., 1865), 73. L. Daae, Kong Christian den Förstes Norske Historie (Christiania, 1879), 98 *et seq.* Interesting notes left by Kalteisen are preserved in the Library of the Gymnasium at Coblenz (see Dronke's Progr. Coblenz, 1832), and in the University Library at Bonn, Cod. 326 and 327. See *supra*, p. 20, note ‡.

‡ See Speyerische Chronik, i., 406, 412. Gemeiner, Regensb. Chronik, iii., 246 *et seq.* Deutsche Städtechron., iii., 408; x., 215. Voigt, ii., 200. The *Brief s. d. in lib. brev. 7, f. 57. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See in Appendix No. 39 the Papal Decree from lib. brev. 7, f. 9b-10. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

The chronicler of Viterbo enables us to form a clear idea of the manner in which it was published. "On the 8th September," he says, "a Franciscan monk began preaching the crusade in the chief square near the fountain. First of all he caused drums and fifes to be sounded, and then a silver gilt cross with a figure of the Redeemer to be set up; afterwards he brought forth the Pope's Bull and thoroughly explained it."*

Calixtus III. guarded against the abuses which had frequently occurred on former occasions by the most exact directions respecting the collection and keeping of the tithes to be levied on all ecclesiastics for the Turkish War. In the march of Ancona, for example, it was decreed that, subject to the advice of the Bishop, one or two collectors and treasurers should be appointed for each city, and should keep duplicate accounts of the names of the contributors and the sums paid. The Papal envoys were empowered to inflict the severest ecclesiastical penalties on the refractory, and, if necessary, to invoke the secular arm. They were, moreover, carefully to examine the preachers and to insist upon their explaining the contents and the import of the Bull of the crusade. A chest with four locks was to be placed in the sacristy of the cathedral to receive the alms; one of the keys of this chest was to be kept by the Bishop, the second by the Papal Commissioner, the third by the two collectors, and the fourth by two notable citizens to be chosen by the congregation. A notary was to write down the names of the contributors and the amount paid, so that everyone might be sure that the funds were devoted exclusively to the object of the crusade.†

* Niccola della Tuccia, 243. See the account of the preaching at Bologna in the Cronica di Bologna, 718.

† See the ** Brief of Calixtus III. to the Dominican Giovanni de Curte, dated 1455, Sept. 1. Reg. 438, f. 59-61. Secret

Nevertheless, as nothing human is perfect, serious abuses occurred. Some of the collectors retained the funds entrusted to them ; false collectors arose, as they had done in the time of Nicholas V., and cheated the people out of their money. Calixtus III., when informed of these malpractices, lost no time in proceeding against the offenders, yet it was impossible for him entirely to avert the discredit brought upon the whole enterprise in many cases by their misconduct.*

Not content, however, with causing collections to be made in every country for the expenses of the Holy War, the Pope, like a true Spaniard, determined to devote all the pecuniary and military resources at his disposal to the same object.

He accordingly did not hesitate to alienate jewels from the Papal treasure and even Church property in order to provide the means required for warlike preparations.† The

Archives of the Vatican. I saw in the Archives of Ferrara in lib. delib. H., f. 252b, the * Decree of the 6th October, 1455, by which two keepers of the alms for the crusade were nominated.

* A * Brief to the Bishop of Arezzo deals with the misappropriation of the alms for the crusade by a priest of that city. Lib. brev. 7, f. 54. See *Ibid.*, f. 73-74b, the Brief to Pontius Fenollet, dated 1457, March 26, and f. 132b-133b to Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1457, Dec. 4, in which similar defalcations are mentioned. See also Vigna, vi., 698 *et seq.*, 738-740. On the 15th July, 1457, the Bishop of Feltre received orders to proceed against an impostor who was going through Austria as a preacher of the crusade. Lib. brev., 8, f. 76-78.

† Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 49. The Pope repeatedly speaks of the alienation of Church property which he had made. See *Briefs to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, Nov. 8; to Philip of Burgundy, s.d.; to Charles VII. of France, dated 1456, Nov. 6, and to the Archbishop of Milan, dated 1457, Feb. 15. Lib. brev., 7, f. 40, 42b, 52, 63. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also the account of the sale of the castles of Giulianello, Vallerano,

long list of gold and silver plate bought by the art-loving King Alfonso of Naples from the Pope in the year 1456 is still extant, and mentions gilt amphoræ and cups, a silver wine cooler, a table service for confectionery, and also a tabernacle with figures of the Saviour and of St. Thomas, chalices and instruments of the pax.* It is easy to understand that such a Pontiff lost little time in dismissing the needy men of letters and most of the artists and craftsmen who had been constantly employed by his predecessor. Those whom he still retained in his service were required to labour in the cause of the crusade. The painters and embroiderers had to devote their skill exclusively to the fabrication of banners, and the sculptors to that of stone cannon-balls.

We can hardly wonder that the records of this Pontificate do not speak of any new buildings of importance. In Rome, however, the erection of fortifications was not altogether discontinued, and the works commenced by Nicholas V. at the Ponte Molle, the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the walls of the city were continued.† A medal of this period represents the Eternal City surrounded with great fortifications. But the ramparts of the Vatican seem to have been left as they were, and the Tribune of St. Peter's to have remained a ruin rising scarcely twenty feet above the ground. In vain did the Poet Giuseppe Brippi conjure

Carbognano, etc. (Morichini, 121), for twelve thousand golden florins in Cod. Vatic., 9835, f. 43 *et seq.* of the Vatican Library, which may be supplemented by Acts in the Archives of S^to^ Spirito.

* Müntz, i., 208-209. Kinkel, N. 209. See *Calixti diversor. T. 28, f. 175. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† "Scientius Jacobi Vannutii constituitur suprastans et revisor murorum urbis" D. 1455, Octov. Cal. Jan. A° 1°. Reg. 465, f. 138. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Guglielmotti, Fortificazioni, 23 *et seq.*

the Pope to continue the building of St. Peter's.* He merely placed a new organ in the church, restored the windows, and repaired the circular chapel of St. Andrew.

The architects who always found a welcome from Calixtus III. were military engineers and ship-builders, and he willingly expended the treasure of the Church in remunerating their labours. Although the great projects of his predecessor remained in abeyance, the Pope caused some works to be undertaken in those churches of the Eternal City for which he felt some special attraction.† He was not in reality indifferent to the state of the public buildings, but the war against the infidel absorbed his attention almost to the exclusion of every other subject.‡ A Bull is still extant in which severe penalties are pronounced against the robbers who were in the habit of

* Jos. Bripius, "Ad sanctissimum dom. nostr. papam Calixtum tertium," etc., f. 12; "Exhortatio ad complendum mirabilem capellam ecclesiæ S. Petri." Cod. 361 of the Riccardi Library at Florence. This MS. (of fourteen pages)—a beautiful renaissance codex with miniatures and the arms of the Borgia family—is probably the very copy presented to the Pope.

† Müntz, i., 192-210. Kinkel, N. 209. See also Rasponus, 93, and Bertolotti, Artisti Lomb., i., 18 *et seq.* Two *Orders issued by Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1455, June 16, and 1456, May 24, deal with the cleansing and improvement of the Roman streets. *Calixti divers., T. 28, f. 31 and 155. Secret Archives of the Vatican. We may further add that Calixtus III. also interested himself in the restoration of the church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura; see *Reg. 453, f. 360, and *Cod. Vat., 7871, f. 55b. Vatican Library.

‡ In granting an Indulgence to those who should assist in the restoration of St. Mark's, the Pope plainly declared that warlike preparations against the Turks rendered it impossible for him to spend money on building. *Reg. 452, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

removing stones and ornaments from the churches of Rome.*

Calixtus III., however, took no interest in an antiquarian discovery made in July, 1458. In preparing the grave of a Penitentiary in the Church of St. Petronilla, adjoining St. Peter's, a great marble sarcophagus was brought to light, which contained a large coffin and one for a child, both made of cypress wood and lined with silver. These coffins were so heavy that six men could with difficulty carry them. The bodies, which had been wrapped in rich, gold-embroidered, silken fabrics, crumbled away when exposed to the air. As no inscription was found, many conjectures were made; some believed the remains to be those of the Emperor Constantine or of his son. Calixtus III. had the coffins removed, and the gold of the embroidery, worth about a thousand ducats, was, by his desire, sent to the Mint to be made available for the Turkish war. Contemporary writers mention the circumstance without a word of disapproval;† a century later the destruction of such a treasure would have elicited expressions of indignant protest.

It was the intention of the Pope to attack the Turks at once, both by land and sea, and by this combined assault he expected to recover possession of Constantinople. He mainly relied for the land forces on Duke Philip of Burgundy, who ruled the richest and most important countries of Western Europe. He had received the Cross from the hands of a Papal envoy, and accordingly had been favoured, as in the time of Nicholas V., with the grant of a plenary indulgence for his companions in arms, a tax on all reserved

* Bull, "Quoniam multiplicata est." Regest., 447, f. 36. Published in Bull. Vatic., ii., 156-157.

† See, in Appendix No. 51, the report of the discovery, dated 24 June, 1458, taken from the original in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and Niccola della Tuccia, 256.

benefices, a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in his territory, and other privileges.* Moreover, in order that he might devote himself without distraction to the crusade, the Pope, in July, 1455, confirmed the peace which had been concluded between Burgundy and France.†

As no dependence could be placed on Venice, King Alfonso of Naples‡ seemed pointed out as the leader of the attack by sea. His sway extended over Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Isles; in fact, with the exception of Corsica which belonged to the Genoese, he commanded all the western portion of the Mediterranean, and could have done more than any other Western Prince to stay the advance of the Turks. Accordingly the Pope spared no effort to induce him to take part in the expedition, and the intimate relations, which had subsisted between them, gave good grounds for expecting his hearty co-operation. The monarch was lavish of fair promises and begged the Pope to allow him to be invested with the Cross. Calixtus III. gladly consented, and the ceremony was performed with great solemnity on All Saints' Day, 1455. Many of his nobles and

* Voigt, ii., 176. Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 31. The *Bull containing the "Confirmatio super litteris fe. re. Nicolai pap. v. concernentibus cruciatiam in favorem ducis Burgundie concessis" begins with the words "In sacra," and is dated Romæ, 1455, iii. Cal. Jan. (30 Dec.), A° 1°, Regest., 456, f. 1, *et seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *"Calixtus III., archiepiscopis Bisuntinen, et Cameracen, et Lausannen necnon Basil. episcopis," d.d. 1455, prid. Non. Jul. (6 July), A° 1°. Regest., 454, f. 172b-175. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Sanudo, 1159, and the **Answers of the Republic to Cardinal Carvajal of the 12th Sept. and 12th Oct., 1455. Senatus Secreta, xx., 70-71. State Archives at Venice.

barons also took the Cross on this occasion,* and the hopes of the Pontiff rose high, soon however to be blighted by the troubles which Jacopo Piccinino excited in Central Italy.

Deprived of his livelihood by the peace of Lodi in 1455, this Condottiere had threatened Bologna and the Romagna. The Duke of Milan, however, by sending an army of four thousand men into the field, had made it evident that insurrection in these quarters would not be tolerated, and Piccinino crossed the Appenines and directed his course towards Siena. This Republic had in the last war been hostile to Florence and Venice, and had also offended King Alfonso of Naples.† These circumstances emboldened Piccinino to advance against the Sienese, who at once appealed to all the powers who had joined the league, and more especially to the Pope, imploring assistance. Calixtus granted their request all the more willingly because the renewal of hostilities in Central Italy would necessarily have hindered his preparations for the crusade. In June, 1456, he informed the Venetian ambassadors that he would offer the same resistance to Piccinino as to the Turks, and would make an example of him, deeming the maintenance of peace in Italy to be a matter equal in importance to the defence of the Christian faith, and, indeed, inseparable from it.‡ In

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 30, and the autograph *letter of Æneas Sylvius to Siena, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 5 : "Allata sunt certissima scripta, quæ referunt seren. regem Aragonum cum grandi solemnitate in die omnium sanctorum crucem accepisse idemque multi et barones et nobiles factitarunt, ob quam rem papa boni animi est." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† E. Rubieri, Fr. Sforza, ii., 305. See L. Banchi's valuable treatise, Il Piccinino nello stato di Siena, 44 *et seq.*, 47 *et seq.*

‡ **Despatch of Bartolomeo Visconti to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, June 29. State Archives, Milan (erroneously given in Pot. Est. as Roma, 1461).

order to protect Siena, he despatched the Papal forces which were in readiness to make war upon the Turks. Napoleone Orsini, Stefano Colonna, and Deifobo and Ascanio, sons of Count Everso of Anguillara, accompanied these troops, and their commander was the Sicilian, Giovanni Ventimiglia.* Venice and Florence also declared against Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza desired his generals, Roberto di Sanseverino and Corrado Folliano, to start in his pursuit. King Alfonso alone remained passive, from which it was soon surmised that there was a secret understanding between him and the Condottiere.

The troops of the Duke of Milan joined those of the Pope near the Lake of Thrasymene. Piccinino boldly advanced and made an unexpected attack, which at first promised to be successful, but Roberto di Sanseverino soon rallied his forces and repulsed the enemy, who then fell back upon Castiglione della Pescaja. This fortress was situated between a marshy lake and the sea, and was almost impregnable. It belonged to King Alfonso, who caused his fleet to convey provisions to Piccinino.† In consequence of this assistance afforded to the Condottiere by

* *Johannes comes de Vigintimiliis constituitur capitaneus generalis gentium armorum S. D. N. Pape," 1455, xv. Cal. Jul. (17 June), A° 1°. Regest., 465, f. 61. On the 14th April, 1455 Calixtus III. had given orders "vicariis in temporalibus Rom. ecclesie subiectis, ut non permittant transire Jac. Piccininum in terras ecclesie." Regest., 436, f. 1. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See the **Pope's Brief of the 11th May, 1455, to Bologna. The original is in the State Archives at Bologna, Q. lib. 3.

† Banchi, Il Piccinino, 48 *et seq.* In a letter from "Jacobus archiepiscopus Ragusanus, exercitus S. D. N. commissarius et gubernator," to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex castris, S. D. N. apud Borianum, 1455, Aug. 13, Castiglione della Pescaja is described as "inexpugnabile." The support given by Alfonso is also mentioned in this letter. Cart. gen. State Archives at Milan.

the King, and of the incapacity and indecision of Giovanni Ventimiglia* the war was protracted to a disastrous length. This was exactly what the King of Naples desired, for it gave him time to place fresh obstacles in the way of the projected campaign against the Turks, and involved Calixtus III. and his allies in great expense.† Yet the Pope seems to have hoped that the influence of their ancient friendship would have enabled him to persuade Alfonso to second his efforts for the defence of Christendom. The King's pretensions on behalf of Piccinino were, however, little calculated to encourage such hopes. He required that the Italian league, into which he had entered, should consent to support a common army, and that Piccinino should be its general, and be always in readiness to resist the Turks. The Italian powers were called upon to promise a yearly payment of a hundred thousand florins to the army, and quarters for the soldiers. Francesco Sforza and Calixtus III. indignantly rejected the proposal that Italy should be made tributary to one whom they justly regarded as a brigand.‡ The attempt made by Piccinino

* See the **Letter of reproof addressed by Calixtus III. to Giovanni Ventimiglia, dated Rome, 1455, July 9 (State Archives, Milan; in Pot. Est. the date is erroneously given as Roma, 1461), in consequence of which he asked to be dismissed from his post. See the *letter already cited from the Archbishop of Ragusa on Aug. 13, in which he defends Ventimiglia. "Al prelibato capitaneo io non cognosco che in questa impresa di quanto ce e stato facto li se possa imponere mancamento alcuno," etc. State Archives, Milan.

† By the end of June, 1456, the war had cost the Pope seventy thousand ducats; see the **Despatch of Bartolomeo Visconti, on the 29th June, 1455, which we have already cited. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Sismondi, x., 36. Banchi, Il Piccinino, 52, 56, 58. *Copia brevis Calixti III., ad ep. Novarien., d.d. 1455, Julii 26; "latrunculus Jacobus, Dei et hominum inimicus," and *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra, dat. Rom., 1455, Oct. 9. State Archives, Milan.

to burn the papal crusading fleet at Civita Vecchia may enable us to estimate his fitness for the command of the army destined to make war upon the Turks.*

Unspeakable mischief was done to the Sienese by the petty warfare which Piccinino waged against them,† and their hardships were increased when, in the October of 1455, he took possession of their port of Orbitello, and from its plunder derived means to maintain himself for a season.‡ In despair they determined on sending an ambassador to the Court of King Alfonso, the source of all their troubles. But no agreement was arrived at, and early in April, 1456, a fresh embassy, consisting of Galgano Borghese, Leonardo Benvoglienti, and Æneas Sylvius, proceeded to Naples. Just at this time an open breach between Alfonso and the Pope seemed imminent. The King had been informed that Calixtus had on Maundy Thursday pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Piccinino, his partisans and protectors, and, enraged by these tidings, Alfonso had declared that he would have all the Pope's relations banished from his dominions. He also sent subsidies to Piccinino's adherents. He was satisfied, however, when it was pointed out to him that those who took arms against the Church had been excommunicated by previous Popes since the days of Martin V, and that the action of Calixtus in this matter was nothing new.§

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 6. The Genoese ships were also attacked by Piccinino ; see Vigna, vi., 628-629.

† Banchi, Il Piccinino, 233. See the *Despatch of Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Lucca, dated Siena, 1456, March 18th, in which, however, the opinion is expressed that Piccinino would come off worst in the end. State Archives at Lucca (Lettere orig., N. 444).

‡ Niccola della Tuccia, 244. Banchi, Il Piccinino, 235 *et seq.*

§ See *Despatches of Ant. de Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1456, April 2 and 7. Fonds Ital., 1587, f. 115-116 of the National Library, Paris. The *" Excommunicato lata in die Jovis

This cause of discord having been set at rest negotiations were resumed, and on the 31st May were at last concluded. The following were the conditions of peace: Piccinino was to give up the places he had conquered, to evacuate Tuscany and retire into the domains of his patron Alfonso; the States of the League were to pay fifty thousand florins for the maintenance of his army, Alfonso undertaking to furnish a fifth part of this sum. The arrangement of details was confided to the Pope,* who desired that twenty thousand florins should be paid out of the apostolic treasury; and Siena was to contribute a like amount. The admonitory briefs of Calixtus III.† preserved in its State Archives, bear witness to the dilatory discharge of this obligation by the exhausted city. Piccinino did not leave Orbitello until constrained to do so by King Alfonso in September, 1456, fifteen months after his disgraceful inroad into the territory of the unfortunate Sienese,‡ who now sent Bishop Alessio de' Cesari of Chiusi as their ambassador to Rome to thank the Pope for the great services which he had rendered them during the continuance of the war.§

sancta," 1456, viii. Cal. April, in Regest., 441, f. 202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Banchi, Il Piccinino, 244.

† *Calixtus III. to Siena, dated Rome, 1456, Oct. 18, Nov. 17 and 23. State Archives, Siena. See Banchi, *loc. cit.* 245.

‡ In the Regest., 458, f. 3, Secret Archives of the Vatican, I found the "Littera passus" for Piccinino, d.d. 1456, v. Non. Jul. Nicodemus of Pontremoli in a Despatch to Lucca, dated Siena, 1456, Sept. 19, also says that Piccinino most reluctantly withdrew into Alfonso's kingdom. Lett. orig., N. 444, in the State Archives at Lucca.

§ Banchi, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, 225, with regard to the picture of Sano di Pietro, preserved in the collection of the Istituto di Belle Arti in Siena, which has reference to the liberality of Calixtus III. towards Siena.

Another circumstance which occurred in the first year of his Pontificate caused the Pope even greater distress than that occasioned by this war in Central Italy. In September, 1455, he had entrusted to Archbishop Pietro Urrea of Tarragona, Antonio Olzina, and Antonio de Frescobaldis the command of the vessels destined for the relief of the Christian islands in the Ægean Sea, which were at this time harassed by the Turkish fleet.* The traitors, however, instead of employing the vessels which had been procured with money collected for the crusade in operations against the Turks, combined with King Alfonso's fleet, commanded by Villamarina, attacked the Genoese, devastated their coast,† and waged war with the ships of other Christian powers.‡ As soon as the first faint rumour of these events reached the ears of the Pope he at once despatched letters of urgent remonstrance to King Alfonso.§ "If only a few Christian galleys had shown themselves in the neighbourhood of Ragusa," wrote the justly incensed Pontiff to his

* See *supra*, p. 350. *Regest., 436, f. 104: "Antonio Olzina, duarum galearum patrono, militi S. Jacobi de Spata contra Turchos destinato conceditur littera passus," 1455, x. Cal. Jun. (23rd May); *ibid.*, f. 38b: "Antonio de Frescobaldis, priori Pisar., assignantur pecuniæ cameræ ap^cæ debitæ pro rebus necessariis ad armandum 4 galeas et unam navim in portu Pisano," 1455, iv. Non. Mai (4th May). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Raynaldus is mistaken in asserting that these troubles broke out in the year 1455. The **Letter of Pietro de Campofregoso to Fr. Sforza, dated Genoa, 1456, July 17th, proves that they took place in the latter year. State Archives, Milan. Pot. Est., Genova.

‡ As, for example, the Venetians. See the *Letter of the Signoria to Barbono Morosini, their ambassador at Rome, dated 1456, May 25th. Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 92b. State Archives, Venice.

§ See **the Brief of Calixtus III. to Genoa, dated Rome, 1456, s.d., Lib. brev., 7, f. 24b. State Archives, Venice.

ambassadors at Naples, "the Hungarians would have taken fresh courage. As it is they hear nothing of our fleet, and break forth into bitter complaints. Oh, traitors! your ships might have discomfited the Turks, raised up the Christians of the East, and delivered Hungary from the danger which threatens her. Instead of this, you have shamefully betrayed us with the help of our own money. The vengeance of God and of the Holy See will surely overtake you! Alfonso, King of Aragon, help Pope Calixtus! If you refuse, you will incur the wrath of heaven!"* The Pope then issued orders removing Urrea and his accomplices from their posts, and entrusted the execution of the sentence to Cardinal Scarampo, who was nominated Admiral of the Fleet.†

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 12. The letter from which the above extract is taken is addressed to Jacopo Perpinya, and unfortunately bears no date. Lib. brev., 7, f. 6-6b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† For the *Bull of deposition preserved in duplicate in the Regesta, see Appendix No. 38. In an undated *Letter to Cardinal Scarampo the Pope gives him permission to remove Urrea and Ozina: "a te vocandi et ut personaliter veniant cogendi et prefatos archiepiscopum et Antonium ac ceteros patrones vel substitutos ab eis si videris expedire a regiminis administratione et officiis per nos sibi commissis privandi et amovendi, sicuti nos harum serie et alias per nostras patentes litteras ab eisdem officiis, capitaneatu, admiratu, patronatu, regimine et administratione galearum et aliorum navigiorum amovemus et privamus." At the same time authority was given to Scarampo to appoint others to the vacant posts. Lib. brev., 7, f. 21b. In the Regest., 458, f. 68b-69, the document empowering him to remove the offenders is dated 1456, vii. Id. Jul. (9th July), A° 2°. It is difficult to understand the subsequent leniency of the Pope towards these traitors. On the 18th August, 1456, Calixtus III. wrote to Scarampo that he had certainly issued the above Bull against Urrea and his companions: "Considerata tamen impraesenciarum temporum et

These disastrous occurrences, however, could not damp the courage of the Pope, on the contrary, difficulties only increased his zeal for the holy cause. The construction and equipment of a fleet in Rome was the object of his efforts, and it is the special glory of this Pope that he successfully carried into execution a project which had hitherto been scoffed at as hopelessly chimerical.* The astonished Romans, who were soon to behold the baptism of a Turkish prince (March, 1456),† suddenly witnessed the development of an unwonted activity on the banks of

negociorum qualitate non alienum a nobis videtur, si mitius quam eorum demerita postulent agimus cum eisdem. Volumus igitur harumque serie facultatem tibi damus, ut satisfacto per dictum archiepiscopum et alios prefatos illis Venetianis, Januensibus ac aliis de eisdem querelantibus de pecuniis rebus et bonis, quibus se spoliatos asserunt, si pro utilitate classis nostre tibi faciendum videbitur, possis eidem archiepiscopo et ceteris salvum conductum dare et eos assecurare, ut bene serviendo et operando mala commissa et detestabilia bonis et gratis serviciis compensando ad gratiam nostram reduci valeant." Lib. brev., 7, f. 31b. Olzina did not amend, as we learn from a *Brief of Calixtus III. to Scarampo, dated 1458, March 15, in which he says: "Antonium autem Olzina quid in nos . . . temerarie temptaverit volendo pecunias et alia que classi nostre per prefatum Mich. de Borga mittebamus auferre, credimus te ex eodem Michaele intellexisse et ita eum et ei similes, si venerint in manus tuas, merita pena castiges." Lib. brev., 7, f. 153b. All these letters are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Voigt, ii., 177.

† In the *Reichstagsacten, Ansbacher Serie, Vol. v. (also numbered as i., embracing the period from 1414-1493), is, f. 61b, the following contemporary notice: *"Receptus est unus Turcus de stirpe regia cum aliis tribus Turcis secunda post Letare (8th March) in ecclesia S. Laurencii in Damaso ad fontem baptismatis, cum quibus nepos pape facit solempnitatem ducendo eos de ecclesia ad ecclesiam." Formerly in the Royal Archives at Munich, now in the Kreisarchiv at Bamberg.

the Tiber: docks were constructed at Ripa Grande, and a wall for the mooring of the galleys erected at Sto. Spirito. In order to hasten as much as possible the completion of the naval preparations, the Pope caused carpenters and seamen to be brought from Spoleto* and other places.

Cardinal Lodovico Scarampo was appointed Captain-General and Admiral of the Fleet. This warlike and wealthy prince of the Church, whose character had much in common with that of Vitelleschi, had already given proof of his military capacity in the time of Eugenius IV. Of all the Cardinals, he was perhaps the one best fitted for the conduct of this arduous enterprise, but he would have preferred remaining in Rome, where he occupied a most influential position at Court. This very circumstance, however, made the jealous members of the Borgia family anxious for his removal, and the Cardinal was finally compelled to depart.†

Scarampo's appointment as Legate and Admiral of the Papal Fleet took place on the 17th December, 1455, and was the occasion of magnificent festivities in Rome. A further decree then extended his authority as Legate over Sicily, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the whole of Greece, the Islands of the Ægean Sea, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Asiatic Provinces, and declared that all places which he should conquer from the enemy were to be subject to his rule.‡

* Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58. Guglielmotti, 221-222.

† Cribellus (57) asserts that the Cardinal declined to leave Rome, alleging as his reason the fewness of the ships, and that Calixtus III. threatened to proceed against him. I have not found any confirmation of this statement in the numerous Despatches of Ambassadors of the period.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13, where, however, the second decree is not given. The date of the appointment, which is omitted in the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, is supplied by

The arrangements for the construction of the ships of war were henceforth chiefly in Scarampo's hands; but a commission which had been formed by Nicholas V., and consisted of Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Capranica, Orsini, and Barbo, shared his labours.* The Pope's anxiety was increased by the frequent arrival of evil tidings from the East, and he unceasingly strove to push forward the works, and, in addition to the general tithe, required from the Cardinals a special contribution towards the cost of the fleet.†

A Register marked with a red cross is preserved in the Roman State Archives, and furnishes us with an account of the arrangements concerning the sums expended on the construction of the fleet in 1455-1456. The insight afforded us into the warlike preparations so zealously carried on by the Pope is most valuable. The administrative labours were directed by the Surveyor-General, Ambrogio Spannochi, under the control of Cardinal Scarampo. From this Register we learn that the work was begun in the autumn of 1455, and carried on during the whole of the following winter.‡ The cost of the iron,

Niccola della Tuccia (187) and by the Cardinal's letter which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, and have inserted in Appendix No. 36. Poggio congratulated Scarampo on his appointment (lib. iii., ep. 20 [ed. Tonelli]), and so did Genoa (Vigna, vi., 517), and Venice on the 29th December, 1455 (the latter speaks of the selection of Scarampo as "facta per Pont. Max. unanimi voto et consensu sacri collegii R^or^ dominor. cardinalium"). Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 76. State Archives, Venice.

* This is evident from a letter addressed by the above-named Cardinal to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1456, Febr. 15. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Makuscev, i., 1, 307.

‡ *Mandata pro classe conficienda. Diversor. Calixti III., 1455 ad. 1456, Sec. Cam., f. 183 *et seq.* Previously in the Archivio

pitch, and timber required for ship building is accurately entered, as well as the amount spent in the purchase of stone and leaden cannon-balls, cross-bows, arrows, morions, coats of mail, lances, swords, pick-axes, chains, ropes, and anchors. We are made acquainted with the smallest details of the equipment of the expedition, including even the flags and banners, the tents, and the ship-biscuits. The very bill for five reams of paper, (sent from Rome to Ostia), for the future correspondence of the Papal fleet is before us.*

The eager Pontiff desired that the expedition should start on the 1st April, 1456,† but the month of May had drawn to

Camerale dei Cancellieri della R.C.A., now in the Roman State Archives. Guglielmotti (252) also cites as existing in the Secret Archives of the Vatican *"Liber domini Thesaurarii introituum et exituum pro galeis 1455 et 1456, quattro codici segnati 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552," and gives some particulars from them. Amati (181) also mentions these documents, but says there are only two volumes. Unfortunately these Registers were not forthcoming, either in 1879 or on the occasion of my last sojourn in Rome in the spring of 1884. Guglielmotti's extracts are by no means so complete as might be desired, and do not suffice, in the absence of these volumes, to give us a complete idea of the expenditure of Calixtus III.

* *Mandata of the Roman State Archives (see Guglielmotti, 224 *et seq.*, whose statements are in part incorrect. His omission of the exact dates is misleading, and so is his neglect to make any distinction between Scarampo's decrees and those issued by his successor.) The "Mandata Ludovici Card. Aquilej." begin, f. 193, with the 22nd October, 1455, and end, f. 208b, with the 29th May, 1456. Then follow decrees of Georgius episcopus Lausan. to f. 217, but at f. 213b is another decree of Scarampo's of 1st May, 1456. The chronological order is by no means accurately preserved in the entries in this Register, for at f. 194 we find a decree of the 7th October, 1455.

† See the above-mentioned letters of the six Cardinals to Lodovico Gonzaga of the 15th February, 1456, in the Gonzaga

its close before the preparations were so far advanced as to render its departure possible. On the Feast of St. Petronilla (May 31) the Pope himself affixed the cross to the shoulder of the Cardinal Legate, who at once proceeded to Ostia with the ships which had been built in Rome.* Three weeks more passed before they stood out to sea, for in an Italian Archive there are letters written by Scarampo on the 13th and 20th June, and dated from the mouth of the Tiber.† According to the commonly received account, the forces under the Legate's command consisted of sixteen galleys; a recent historian, however, asserts that the fleet numbered twenty-seven sail, was manned by a thousand seamen, and conveyed five thousand soldiers with three hundred pieces of cannon.‡

The troops were gathered partly from Rome, Civita-

Archives at Mantua. See Makuscev, i., 1, 307, and the Papal **Letter to Fr. Sforza of the 27th April, 1556. State Archives, Milan.

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 12. See the *Brief to Joh. Solerius: "Hodie [June 1; see *Acta consist.] vero idem noster legatus suscepta per nos omnipotentis Dei benedictione cum ea qua decuit tantum negocium ceremonia triremes ascendit, ut rect. via ad Reg. Maiestatem proficiscatur et acceptis xv. galeis per eundem regem oblatis felici auspicio impii Turci terras petat easque inimiciter invadat. Dabis igitur operam, ut dicte xv. triremes armate reperiantur." Romæ s. d. Lib. brev. 7, f. 35b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The *Letters of Scarampo to Lodovico Marchese di Mantova, d.d. ex ostio Tiberis super classem, 1456, June 13 and 20, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. The statement of the Papal Letters that the fleet was sent forth "ab ultimo die Maii" is, therefore, only correct in a general sense; the expression occurs in the *Letter to Cardinal Széchy, and in that to St. John Capistran, d.d. 1456, viii., Cal. Sept. (25 Aug.), Lib. brev. 7, f. 22 and 39b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Guglielmotti, 267-268.

vecchia, Ancona, and Perugia, and partly from Fermo and Bologna. Among them were the Counts of Anguillara and other leaders of the mercenary bands which had been engaged against Piccinino. Velasco Farigna, a Portuguese, was appointed by the Pope vice-admiral. Judicial functions were confided to Alfonso de Calatambio, of Aragon.* By the month of August the cost of the fleet had amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.†

The object of the expedition was twofold—firstly, to protect the harassed Christian populations of the islands in the Ægean Sea from the Turks; and, secondly, to divide the armed forces of the infidels by means of a sea attack.‡ For the latter purpose the fleet was evidently inadequate, and accordingly the Pope's first care was to provide reinforcements. Scarampo, furnished with ample powers,§ directed his course at once to Naples, in order to take possession of fifteen galleys which had been promised the year before by

* Guglielmotti, 237-239, 235-236. See *Regest., 467, f. 169: "A° 1456 die xxiv. mensis Maii spect. dominus Valiscus de Farinha de Portugallo iuravit officium viceadmiratus classis apostolicæ contra Turcos," etc. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Calixtus III. to Cardinal Dionys. Széchy (s.d., but after the arrival of the tidings of the victory at Belgrade): "in qua (classe) paranda et armanda Deo teste iam supra cl. ducatorum millia expendimus." Lib. brev. 7, f. 22. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 10. *Calixtus III. to Bishop John of Pavia (s.d.): "Nos vero ad eorum vires distrahendas, scis quanta cum celeritate emisimus classem nostram iamque legatus Neapoli est, qui receptis triremibus regiis intra paucos dies Constantinopolim feliciter ad hostium terras invade[ndas] navigabit." Lib. brev. 7, f. 5b-6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Regest., 433, f. 122 *et seq.* Faculties for "Ludovicus tit. S. Laurentii in Damaso in partibus orient. legato," d.d. 1456, ix. Cal. Jun., v. Cal. Jun., x. Cal. Jun., viii. Cal. Jun., vii. Cal. Jun. etc. (=24, 28, 23, 25, 26 May). Secret Archives of the Vatican

King Alfonso. But the faithless monarch now made difficulties of every kind. As long as he could extort money from the churches and clergy of his realm he had been lavish of promises, but the money had been spent in the payment of his debts, squandered in splendid feasts, or employed in the prosecution of the war against the unfortunate Genoese.* The departure of Scarampo was thus delayed so long that the Pope became extremely impatient. He sent a special messenger to Naples, requiring the legate to put to sea immediately, even if the King's galleys were not in readiness. Letters from Cardinal Carvajal had reached Rome with tidings that the Turks might be expected to attack Hungary unless their forces were shortly weakened by the operations of the fleet.† Calixtus III. shortly afterwards desired his ambassador to "constrain" the legate to depart, saying that in Sicily he would find money and the ships which had been commanded by the Archbishop of Tarragona.‡ The Pope also wrote himself imploring him to start without delay, and finally laid him under an obedience to do so. In one of the Papal Briefs he thus addresses him: "Gird yourself with the sword, beloved son; leave Naples and fulfil your promise. Then

* J. J. Pontanus, De liberalitate (Opp. Basil., 1538), t. i. c. 9. Voigt., ii., 175; Vigna, vi., 697. Regarding Alfonso's promises, see a *Despatch from Æneas Sylvius, dated Rome, 1455, December 17, in the P.S. of which he says: "Rex Aragonum promittet pape pro nunc contra Turchos galeas xv. et sperat de meliori sibi subvenire summa." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† *Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya (s.d.): "Quare te hortamur ut, illico cum Neapolim applicueris, omni cura instes, ut legatus noster etiam cum solis galeis nostris, si illae regis non sunt paratae, recedat." Lib. brev. 7, f. 6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13, and *Lib. brev. 7, f. 7, 30b, 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

will God be with you, and neither money nor anything else that is necessary will be wanting."*

Scarampo entered on the expedition with great and manifest reluctance, and endeavoured as much as possible to defer its departure. The Pope was greatly incensed, and bitterly complained of the Cardinal, who only quitted Naples with a few of the King's galleys on the 6th of August.† The persistent entreaties of the Pope, who had in an autograph letter urgently implored Alfonso to furnish the promised galleys, were at least effectual in bringing about a change in the mind of the King.‡

Almost as soon as the Pope heard that Scarampo had

* Calixtus III., Camerario Legato (s.d.): "Accinge[re], dilecte fili, gladio potentissime et recede de Neapoli, adimple promissa et Deus erit tecum, nam pecunie non deficient nec alia necessaria. Victoria etiam cum paucis ab alto promissa est contra perfidum Turcum, nisi per te steterit. Et considera iam esse prope finem estus, et si nunc non navigas, quod tempus expectas?" Lib. brev. 7, f. 34b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Despatch of the 24th August, 1456, given in the Appendix No. 43, bears witness to the indignation of Calixtus III. against Scarampo. A *Despatch from Æneas Sylvius, Galgano Borghese, and Bernardo Benvoglienti, dated Naples, 1456, August 6, and containing the following words: "El rev. patriarcha questa sera si parti," has furnished me with the hitherto unknown date of Scarampo's departure. Cod. A., iii., 16. City Library, Siena.

‡ Calixtus III., Joh. Solerio, 1456, August 6: "Alfonso regi Aragonum et utriusque Siciliae illustri, cui etiam manu propria ut in copia hic inclusa, scripsimus, ut intelligat in quanto (the following words to 'classe' are identical in Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13), non enim parum utilitatis, ut dictus legatus scribit, facient galee nostre licet non sint in multo numero," etc. Lib. brev. 7, f. 22b-23. Secret Archives of the Vatican. It cannot be doubted that Alfonso finally gave some ships. Whether they were, as the Despatch in Appendix No. 43 asserts, the fifteen which had been promised, I am, in the absence of further evidence, unable to say.

quitted Sicily he urged him to proceed to the Greek waters.* His anxiety for immediate action was due to the continuance of disquieting reports from Hungary regarding Turkish preparations. He hoped that the appearance of his naval forces in the Ægean Sea would ultimately divert the attention of the Turks from that Kingdom, and meanwhile diminish their power of attacking it. Accordingly his first care was for the fleet.† New ships for its reinforcement were built in Rome. Odoardo Gaetani, Count of Fondi, presented Calixtus with a vessel which, in company with one of these, was to proceed to the relief of Rhodes early in the year 1457. The command of these two ships was entrusted to two Knights of St. John.‡

The ardent desires of the Pope were at last fulfilled; the flag of St. Peter appeared in the Greek waters, and the Christian islands were in some degree defended against the advances of the Turks.

The Papal force under Scarampo first touched at Rhodes to supply the distressed Knights with money, weapons, and corn, and then proceeded to Chios and Lesbos. In vain did the Cardinal endeavour to incite the inhabitants of these two islands to refuse payment of the tribute imposed by the

* Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya, Appendix No. 40. See his other undated *Brief to J. Solerius: "Et ita si aliquid operari potes; ut (sc. legatus) brevissime a Sicilia recedat, facias quod poteris." Lib. brev. 7, f. 10b.

† *Brief to Scarampo (s.d.(. Lib. brev. 7, f. 27. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Guglielmotti, ii., 275-276. In the Brief nominating Giov. Rolla he has omitted, after "fabricatæ," the words: "quam ad classem nostram et partes orientales tradendam ibi legato nostro mittimus patronum auctoritate apost. tenore praesentium facimus." *Regest., 465, f. 256b. For particulars regarding O. Gaetani's vessel, see Vigna, vi., 719-720, and Lib. brev. 7, f. 63b, 68, 69, 69b, 71. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

infidel. Dread of Turkish vengeance deterred them from joining the Christian cause. He was more successful in Lemnos, whence, as well as in Samothrace and Thasos, he expelled the Turkish garrison and left Papal troops in their place. He then established his head-quarters at Rhodes, where a large arsenal was at his disposal.*

The hopes and expectations of Calixtus III. were, no doubt, out of proportion with the strength of the fleet at his command.† Yet he also clearly perceived that no decisive success was possible without the co-operation of some of the most powerful of the western princes. But the danger which threatened to annihilate all the great results of centuries of Christianity elicited from these princes nothing but fair words. In vain did the aged Pontiff raise his voice in favour of the Holy War; his fiery eloquence produced little or no effect.

It became more and more evident that the age of crusades was past, and that the ideas which for centuries had ruled the minds of men had now lost their power. Internal dissensions had destroyed the sentiment of the solidarity of Christendom and its interests as opposed to the infidel. The great cause of Eastern Christianity touched no chord in the heart of Europe.‡

Fruitless deliberations took place in Germany, where a portion of the clergy sought to veil their selfish dislike to the levy of tithes for the crusade under a show of zeal for

* See Ducas, Hist. Byz. (Bonn edition), 338. Chalcocondyl. 469. Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 10. See the *Brief to P. Fenollet (s.d.). Lib. brev. 7, f. 59b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Sanudo, 1159. Pius II., Comment., 205. J. Phil. Bergom., 306. Hammer, ii., 26. Zinkeisen, ii., 235. Heyd, ii., 319. Guglielmotti, ii., 216, 217 *et seq.* Vigna, vi., 792. The last two writers over-estimate the success of the fleet.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 50.

‡ Kampschulte, Zur Gesch., 20.

the liberties of the German Church.* The peace-loving Emperor Frederick III. was by no means the man to rouse the empire to united and vigorous effort. Indeed its distracted condition would have made it an easy prey to any invader who once gained a footing in the realm. He would have found only isolated forces to resist him, each one of which could have been separately overcome.

The conduct of France was utterly unworthy of a Christian power. Repeatedly and in eloquent terms did the Pope appeal to the French King, particularly at the time of the departure of the fleet,† but the weak and helpless Charles VII. was indifferent to the exhortations by which he was reminded of his predecessors, and especially of St. Louis.‡ He excused his failure to comply with the Papal demands on the ground of the uncertain state of his relations with England, and of the necessity of being on his guard against that State. In the first instance he had forbidden the passage of troops through France, the promulgation of the Bull of the Crusade, and the collection of the tithes for the war. These proceedings called forth just and serious complaints from the Pope,§ who used every effort to bring about peace with England, and so remove the King's pretext. His attempts were unsuccessful in this matter, as were also those which he made to reconcile Charles VII.

* Döllinger, Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 349. Further particulars in the next chapter. Nicholas V. had already been constrained to reproach the German clergy with their lack of zeal for the crusade; see Kayser, 229.

† **Calixtus III. cariss. in Christo filio Carolo Francorum regi illustri, d.d. 1456 (ca. Mai). Lib. brev. 7, f. 1b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Despatch to the same (s.d. [1456, October ?]). Lib. brev. 7, f. 48. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 3 and 43, and Wadding xii., 380 *et seq.*

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 3.

with his son.* The Pope was much distressed by the manner in which Cardinal Alain neglected his duties as legate in France.† There are a number of unpublished letters on this subject. In the first of these, which was written in September, 1456, Calixtus expresses his surprise at the conduct of the French King, who, notwithstanding the goodwill recently manifested towards him by the Pontiff, would not permit the collection of the tithes for the crusade or even the publication of the Bull concerning it. This unfriendly conduct at such a time was, Calixtus declared, most painful to him. In conclusion, Alain is urgently exhorted to show himself zealous in the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to him, so as to falsify the sneering remarks which were current in regard to the failure of his

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 5. *Calixtus III. domino Delphino (s.d.). " . . . Vince te ipsum, ut alios vincere valeas; cum pater tuus dicat se omnia erga te velle facere, quæ pius et bonus pater debet . . . dum ad præsentiam suam veneris; age igitur, ut de te speramus, quoniam non modica pars victoriæ contra perfidum Turcum stat in concordia tua. Super his dil. fil. Ludovicus Cescases dicet tibi magis ample et extense verbis et consilio," etc., Lib. brev. 7, f. 13. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 1) is mistaken in assigning 1456 as the year of Alain's appointment as legate for France. The document which he gives is not the Brief of appointment. *This is to be found, d.d. 1455, prid Id. Sept., in Regest., 455, f. 5, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also in Appendix, No. 35, the *Despatch of the Bishop of Pavia of the 9th Sept., 1455, and a *letter from Æneas Sylvius, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 27, from the original in the State Archives at Milan. From these documents it appears that Alain was received in a very friendly manner, especially by the Dauphin, and that accordingly joyful anticipations of the co-operation of France were entertained. State Archives, Siena.

mission to France.* In October of the same year the Pope again felt it necessary to write to him in a similar strain. "The Christian who does not now render assistance in following up the victory God has granted," he says, alluding to the battle at Belgrade, "proves himself unworthy of divine favours." To this exhortation was added a command to urge upon the King the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.† The Knights of St. John at Rhodes were at this time endeavouring to secure a very large portion of the French tithes. In a long letter to Charles VII. the Pope objected to this arrangement, inasmuch as a great deal had already been done for Rhodes, and the support of the fleet was now the first consideration.‡

In February, 1457, Alain was again urged in the strongest manner to forward the money for the crusade. That which had been collected in Italy was far from sufficient for the

**Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain (s.d. [probably Sept., 1456, as the appointment of Blaise de Gréelle to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux is mentioned]). Lib. brev. 7, f. 43b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See *Ibid.*, f. 47b-48, a Brief also undated, but belonging to the same period, addressed to Charles VII., and in Appendix No. 44 the *Brief of 17th December to Alain. Colonna Archives, Rome.

† Calixtus III. to Card. Alain, dated 1456, Oct. 8 (two short passages in Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 43 and 51). "Quis igitur, qui catholicus sit et a deo potentiam accepit, negliget prosequi victoriam a deo pro salute nostra incohatam? Certe non nisi ingratus beneficiorum dei, qui de eis, quicunque fuerint, vindictam accipiet, Dabis igitur operam omni cura, studio et diligentia, ut, quod plerique ridiculose aiunt, frustra pro ecclesia missus esse non videaris." The Pope had acceded to the King's wish in regard to the appointment to the See of Bordeaux: "Utinam quo ei facimus faciat nobis." Lib. brev. 7, f. 49. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Ibid.*, f. 52-52b. Here is also a similar *Letter to Card. Alain.

support and reinforcement of the fleet, and he was to take measures for the collection of the tribute, not merely in France, but also in England. "Woe, woe to those, whoever they may be," exclaimed the Pope, "who hinder the cause of the crusade!"* At the end of March, 1457, Calixtus had not yet received a penny towards the war from the wide dominions of France. While he deplored this strange fact, he expressly blamed Alain for writing so little regarding the crusade. In the same brief he regrets the sluggishness of the Catholic princes;† and in hopes of stirring up the French King to greater zeal, he this year sent him the Golden Rose.‡ Afterwards when an agreement had been entered into between Charles VII. and the Pope§ for the construction of a fleet of thirty sail from the proceeds of the tithe, fresh difficulties arose. The King expressly prohibited the export of the money collected for the crusade, and even detained the ships which he had engaged to send, and employed them, not against the Turks,

* *Brief to Card. Alain, dated 1457, Feb. 16: "Des operam, ut pecunie ex ista tua legatione decima ac cruciata ad nos transmittantur, non enim sufficiunt facultates nostre nec pecunie, quas in Italia colligimus, ad sustentationem classis emisse et munitionem alterius emittende. . . . Et ve ve adversantibus, judicium enim portabit, qui nos conturbat quicunque sit ille." Lib. brev. 7, f. 66-67.

† *Brief to Card. Alain, dated 1457, March 26. Lib. brev. 7, f. 74b. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 51. In another *letter (s.d.), probably also addressed to Alain, are the following words: "Adhuc nihil nisi verba habuimus." *Loc. cit.*, f. 95.

‡ Brief to Charles VII., dated 1457, May 24. *Loc. cit.*, f. 93b-94. The conclusion, asking a favourable reception for J. Perpinya, the bearer of the Golden Rose, is wanting in Raynaldus (ad an. 1457, N. 52). See the *Brief to L. Cescases. *Loc. cit.*, f. 99.

§ Besides the passages adduced by Voigt (ii., 176, note 4), see also Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 33 and 54.

but partly against the English and partly against Naples.* This amounted to actual treason against the Christian cause.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed surprising that a considerable proportion of the French clergy assumed an attitude of absolute opposition to the Papal demands.

As early as the year 1456 the University of Paris had ventured to appeal from the Pope to a council in regard to the tithe for the war imposed by Calixtus.† The University of Toulouse and several ecclesiastical corporations in different dioceses of the kingdom joined in this appeal. Alain lost courage, and failed to act with the energy required.‡ The appellants then presented a very violent memorial to the King, strongly urging him to resist the "presumption of the Pope in levying a tax on the Gallican Church without her consent," and to do this all the more zealously in view of the audacity with which the Pope had opposed the newest fundamental law of the French State,

* St. Antoninus, iii., tit. xxii., c. 16, §1. The serious accusations in the Commentary of Pius II. (f. 94, the whole passage is given in Cugnoni, 198), to the effect that Alain had embezzled money collected for the crusade, had never given the Pope a penny, and had not returned to Rome until after the death of Calixtus, cannot be maintained, for the *Acta consist. (Secret Archives of the Vatican) bear witness that the cardinal came back to Rome on the 4th May, 1458. From other Archives we learn that Alain was in Rome during the life of Calixtus III., see Chap. IV.

† Bulaeus, v., 609, 613, 617. Planckh, Gesch. des Papstthums, iii., 512.

‡ Calixtus III. expressed his surprise at the cardinal's conduct in a *Brief to Ludov. de Narnia. Lib. brev. 7, f. 104. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 54, and Basin, Hist. de Charles VII. et de Louis XI., published by Quicherat (Paris, 1855), i., 321.

the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. In August, 1457, the King answered by a declaration that "the levy of the tithe prescribed by the Pope was to take place, but that the rights of the French were in no way to be impaired."*

In June, 1457, the University of Paris had even sent a special envoy to Rome to protest before the Pope and cardinals against the collection of the tithes, and at the same time to present eighteen anti-Papal articles and demand a general council.† The reply of Calixtus was by no means wanting in decision. Alain was reproved for his negligence, and commanded to compel the University of Paris to withdraw the appeal, which was declared invalid on the score of "rashness and impiety," while the appellants were visited with ecclesiastical penalties.‡

Notwithstanding all the grand promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, he did no more than Charles VII. to assist in the Holy War. None of the money collected in his dominions appears to have been transmitted to Rome, for, in the Register of Briefs of Calixtus III., we find one addressed to Philip regarding the large sums obtained in Burgundy for the crusade. The Pope here begs that, if not the whole, at least a portion of the amount may be sent to him.§ In December, 1457, when alarming accounts of the immense warlike preparations of the Turks reached Rome,

* Lett. pat. du Roi, Aout. 3, 1457, in the Preuv. des libert. de l'Eglise Gallic., ii., 861-862.

† *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio, dated 1457, June 23, in Appendix No. 46, from the original in the Ambrosian Library.

‡ **Bulle, "Illius qui," d.d. 1457, iv. Cal. Jul., Reg. 460, f. 134-135b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The Brief to Alain is in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 56-57.

§ Brief to Philip of Burgundy s.d. Lib. brev. 7, f. 42b; see *ibid.*, 48-48b. *Calixtus III. duci Burgundie (Britanie). Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding Philip's power, see Kampen, Geschichte der Niederlände, i., 212, f. In the year 1455 the income of the Duke of Burgundy was nine hundred thousand

the Pope wrote a fresh letter of remonstrance to the Duke, but it proved equally fruitless.*

King Christian of Denmark and Norway, and King Alfonso of Portugal, had also been lavish in promises of assistance against the Turks. But on the 2nd June, 1455, we find the former of these two monarchs providing himself with money by abstracting from the sacristy of the cathedral at Roskilde the pious offerings which had been collected for the expenses of the war and for the relief of the King of Cyprus! †

The solemn promises made by the King of Portugal in the autumn of 1456 both by letters and by his envoys to Rome had filled the Cardinals, the whole Court, and the Pope himself with the brightest hopes, and Calixtus had felt no hesitation in leaving in his hands the tithe collected in his dominions in the years 1456 and 1457.‡ King

ducats, that of Milan five hundred thousand, the Pope's four hundred thousand, that of Naples three hundred and ten thousand, and of Florence two hundred thousand ducats. Müntz, La Renaissance, 50.

* **Brief to Philip of Burgundy. Dat. u.s. (1457, Dec. 21), lib. brev. 7, f. 144. Regarding the Turkish preparations the Pope wrote as follows to Cardinal Alain on the 20th December, 1457: "Perfidus Turchus opera et studio nostro et dei auxilio jam pridem apud Hungaros turpiter profligatus et multis calamitatibus a classe nostra et alias affectus incredibili studio, ut certiores sumus effecti, et terra et mari magnam parat potentiam, ut tanquam canis rabidus in Christianos irruat et hoc hac estate proxime futura." *Loc. cit.*, f. 135-136. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Danske, Magazin, i., 352. Jahn, Danm. Hist., 259. L. Daae, Kong Christian (Christiania, 1879), 112.

‡ *Episc. Silvensi nuncio in regno Portugallie, d.d. 1456, Oct. 28. Lib. brev. 7, f. 49. For an account of the powers granted by Nicholas V. to the Portuguese King in regard to the heathen and Mahometans in Africa, and confirmed by Calixtus III., see Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 344 *et seq.*, and Margraf, Kirche und Sklaverei, 187 *et seq.*

Alfonso certainly kept possession of the money, but was as far as his Neapolitan namesake from taking part in the crusade. Calixtus did not spare his exhortations,* and continued to hope against hope for the ultimate fulfilment of the royal promise. A letter addressed to Cardinal Carvajal on the 23rd May, 1457, shows that he at that time expected the immediate appearance of vessels of war from Portugal and from Genoa.† The nuncio to Portugal received repeated instructions to do everything in his power to hasten the King's arrival,‡ but all was in vain. Towards the end of the year 1457 the Pope's patience was at length exhausted. He commanded his nuncio to return to Rome, bringing all the money for the crusade with him unless Alfonso should set sail in the following April. When the month of April was near its close, and the Portuguese fleet had not started, Calixtus was constrained to carry his threat into execution.§ By this means he at least saved the money collected in Portugal, which was greatly needed for the reinforcement of the fleet.

Forsaken in this manner by all the European powers, the Pope could look for assistance to the Italian states alone. Here, however, he found the same indifference, the same treachery, in regard to the Christian cause. None of the Italian statesmen of the day could rise to the idea of a

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 8, 10.

† *Letter to Carvajal. Lib. brev. 7, f. 75. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Episc. Silvensi, d.d. 1457, Apr. 10; in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 2, the commencement and the conclusion are wanting: "Qua propter incumbe, venerabilis frater, totis viribus et omni ratione adventum præfati regis accelera." Lib. brev. 7, f. 82b-83. *Ibid.* (f. 96), similar letters to the same, and also to the King of Portugal himself, dated 1457, May 25.

§ **Episc. Silvensi, d.d. 1457, Dec. 26, and 1458, Apr. 28 *Loc. cit.*, f. 136-160.

crusade. Their views were directed exclusively to their own immediate interests.*

We have already spoken of the great difficulty which the faithless King Alfonso of Naples had, like "the most Christian Monarch," placed in the way of the crusade. Next to Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan was the most powerful of Italian potentates. The Pope's constant requests for the favourable reception of his envoys and for material help against the Turks were met by the fairest promises.† In reality, however, the great general had no intention of heeding the Papal behests,‡ nor of placing himself in the cause of the crusade at the head of an army against the Turks. The strengthening of his own rule in Lombardy was his constant and principal care, and all other interests were secondary to this object.§

The Republic of Venice, which was beyond all other States bound to take a decisive part in this struggle, turned a deaf ear to all the Pope's exhortations. The Signoria would not on any account compromise its commercial

* Regarding the absence of any wrong general feeling in Italy against the Turks, see Burckhardt, i., 3rd edition, 89.

† Fr. Sforza to Calixtus III., dated Milan, 1455, Nov. 12, and 1457, Dec. 22. Draft in the State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est. Roma. See Ersch-Grüber, Sect. i., Vol. 86, p. 126.

‡ See the *Original Briefs of Calixtus III. to Fr. Sforza, dated 1456, Jan. 29, March 16, and Nov. 4. In the last of these are the following words: "Die certe noctuque nihil aliud cogitamus, quam ut pessimum Turcum et ceteros infideles penitus perdamus, in quo cum non parvo tua nobilitas possit esse auxilio, eandem hortamur, ut pro viribus suis id faciat, quod tuam decet facere excellentiam, prout in ea confidimus et speramus." State Archives, Milan.

§ See Sforza's answer, dated Milan, 1456, June 1, to the request of King Ladislas for assistance. Regest. in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital., of the National Library, Paris.

interests, and accordingly kept up constant and amicable relations with the Sultan.*

Florence also used every effort to avoid any open espousal of the Christian cause. The envoy who in the autumn of 1445 went to Porto Pisano to meet the Cardinal Legate Alain on his way to France, was strictly admonished on no account to make any definite promise in regard to co-operation in the Turkish war.† Love for the "cursed flower," as Dante called the Florentine golden florin, outweighed all else. A few of the smaller powers, like Mantua,‡ supported Calixtus, but the words of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "The Pope calls for help and no one listens to him; he threatens, and no one is afraid," may be taken as of a most universal application.§

The courage of Calixtus III., in presence of such overwhelming difficulties, was marvellous. He continued to adjure the Christian princes and potentates to make peace

* See D. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, 5. **The answer given to the Papal ambassador on the 8th March, 1456 (Sen. Secret, xx., f. 85b), shows the indifference of the Venetians, who at this time were endeavouring to assume arbitrary power over Ancona, and were, therefore, threatened by the Pope with excommunication. See *Bull "Romanus pontifex," dated 1456, iv. Cal. Mai. A° 2° Lib. croc. magn. f. xxiii. Ancona Archives.

† *Commissio Joannis Cosmi de Medicis deliberata cum collegiis sub die xx. Sept., 1455, ad rev. card. Avinionen. legat. D. N. P., Cl. x., dist. i., No. 44, f. 158b. State Archives, Florence.

‡ *Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga, d.d. Ex hostio tiberino, 1456, Jun. 20: "Venerunt nuper ad nos missi per ill. D. V. pedites et ballistarii," etc. Original in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. In contrast to Lodovico de Gonzaga we find that the Duke of Urbino at once forbade the collection of money for the crusades in his dominions, for which the Pope, on the 26th July, 1457, threatened him with excommunication. Lib. brev. 7, f. 113. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Epist., 239. Opp., 780.

among themselves, and take arms against the enemies of God. He still sent a number of ambassadors, chiefly selected from the Minorite friars, to collect money and troops for the holy war from every country in Europe. He himself gave the example of sacrifice by turning the treasures and jewels collected by Nicholas V. into money, and finally giving up the silver plate used at his table. Brother Gabriel of Verona informed his friend, St. John Capistran, that one day when gilt salt-cellars and other valuable articles were placed on his table, the Pope exclaimed: "Away, away with these things! take them for the Turks! Earthenware will do quite as well for me!"* In one of his briefs Calixtus expresses his willingness to have only a linen mitre for the sake of the defence of the Holy Gospel and of the true faith.†

No danger or difficulty had power to subdue the fiery enthusiasm of the aged man. "Only cowards," he used to say, "fear danger; the palm of glory grows nowhere but on the battle-field."‡ The epithet of "high-souled old man" has been well bestowed on Calixtus III. by Palmieri,

* Wadding, xii., 290. The Pope speaks in many of his letters of his great outlay for the war. See also the *Letters of Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 18, and 1456, Jan. 2. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Nec non tedeat dicere: ad gloriam immortalem in prosequicione defensionis sacri Evangelii et fidei orthodoxe, quam prosequimur eciam noctes transeundo insopnes, sola mitra linea remaneat nobis." Brief, without address or date, in lib. brev. 745. See *ibid.* (f. 23), the *Brief to Todi, dated [1457], Aug. 7: *"pro quo" (the war against the Turks) "nos aurum, argentum et iocalia nostra etiam usque ad mitras et exposuimus hactenus et exponere decernimus," and (f. 40), the *Brief to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, Nov. 8.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 41.

but the reproach uttered by Petrarch in the days of Urban V. was still applicable to the European potentates.

> Ye lords of Christendom! eternal shame
> For ever will pursue each royal name,
> And tell your wolfish rage for kindred blood,
> While Paynim hounds profane the seat of God!*

* Trionfo della Fama, c. 2. Translation by Boyd.

CHAPTER III.

THE VICTORY OF THE CRUSADERS AT BELGRADE—THROUGH THE INDOLENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWERS IT IS NOT TURNED TO ACCOUNT — ANTI-PAPAL FEELING IN GERMANY—RELATIONS OF CALIXTUS III. WITH NAPLES.

THE failure of the efforts made by the Holy See to unite all the nations of Europe in a defensive alliance against the ceaseless encroachments of Islam strengthened Mahomet II.'s determination to adopt aggressive measures and attack Hunyadi, whom he justly considered as, after Skanderbeg, the only enemy able to meet him on equal terms. Hungary was the power most dreaded by the Sultan, and accordingly his chief aim was to cripple or to annihilate it. In order to give a firmer basis to the political and military operations undertaken for this purpose he had even in the year 1454 begun to extend his dominion in Servia. Hunyadi was not in a position to prevent this, and in July, 1455, the important and strongly fortified city of Novoberdo, with all the treasures, which had in the course of years been amassed within its walls, fell into the hands of the infidels.*

In the following year Mahomet resolved to deal Hungary a decisive blow. He had no reason to apprehend hostile attacks by sea from the west, for the Republic of Genoa

* Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 607. Zinkeisen, ii., 68 *et seq.*, 77 *et seq.*

was helpless, and Venice was friendly, while the little Papal fleet, unsupported by any Christian naval power, was not likely to give him much trouble.

During the winter of 1455-1456 the Turks were actively engaged in getting ready for war. Troops were assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and an immense number of men worked day and night in a cannon-foundry, which was established at Kruschewatz on the Morava. Extensive preparations were made for the provisioning of the army which was to besiege Belgrade. War materials of all descriptions were carried to the spot. Weapons, especially bows and arrows, and a great part of the provisions, were procured in the adjacent province of Bosnia and stored up in magazines. Mills for grinding corn and a number of bakeries were constructed. With a care and foresight almost unknown in the West, everything was provided that could be needed for a protracted siege, or serve, in the event of success, to render Belgrade available as the Sultan's headquarters for future operations against Hungary and more northern lands.*

In June, 1456, the ruler of the infidels led an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men† with three hundred cannons towards the Danube, on his way to Belgrade, the bulwark of Vienna. His progress was absolutely unopposed, and by the beginning of July the city, which was the key to Hungary, was completely invested by land. A terrible fire was opened and kept up night and

* Zinkeisen, ii., 80-81. See the letter of the Minorite Friar, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, in Wadding, xii., 344 *et seq.*

† This estimate is the lowest, but the one nearest to the truth. See Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 77 *et seq.*, and Zinkeisen, ii., 80. Others affirmed "that the Turkish Emperor, with more than four hundred thousand men, horse and foot, lay before Belgrade." Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, x. (1863), 253. Speyerische Chronik., 406.

day. The thunder of the artillery was heard at Szegedin, more than twenty-four Hungarian miles distant. Mahomet, after his victory at Constantinople, looked on the siege of Belgrade as mere child's play, and is said to have boasted that he would in a fortnight subdue the fortress which his father had vainly besieged for half a year, and within three months' later would sup in Buda.* The besieged had completely lost heart, when unexpected succour arrived in the persons of John Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. These two great men were powerfully supported by the Papal legate Cardinal Juan Carvajal, a fellow-countryman of the Pope's, and one of the noblest characters of the age. In November, 1455, he had arrived at Wiener-Neustadt, whence he proceeded to Vienna and to Buda. "He brought," writes the biographer of Æneas Sylvius, "nothing with him but a plenary indulgence for all who should take up arms against the Turks, and promises, which had proved often delusive. But he brought himself, and his own inspiriting example."† "Such a legate truly corresponds to the greatness of our need," said the King of Hungary when he thanked the Pope for sending this distinguished man, who spent the next six years on the banks of the Danube, sharing all the sufferings and privations of the crusaders, and ready to close by a martyr's death a life of complete devotion to the service of God and His Church.‡

* Hammer, ii., 22.

† Voigt, ii., 80. Carvajal vainly endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Frederick III. and Ladislas. As Carvajal was then completely employed in Hungary, the Pope appointed the Bishop of Pavia nuncio to the Imperial Court; see Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 17 (the first of the letters here published is given incompletely). The Pope begins by saying that he had received from Carvajal very disquieting news regarding the warlike preparations of the Turks. I have given another passage which Raynaldus has also omitted from the same letter; see *supra*, p. 372, note ‡.

‡ Vast, Bessarion, 226-227

The summons issued on the 14th January, 1456, to the Hungarian Diet to meet at Buda, and the arrival of King Ladislas himself in Hungary towards the end of the month, were alike due in great measure to Carvajal's energy. When the Diet opened in February he did his utmost to encourage the Hungarians, by holding out the prospect of assistance from the Papal fleet, and from the King of Naples and the Duke of Burgundy, who were both engaged in warlike preparations. On behalf of the Pope he granted a plenary indulgence to every soldier who should take the field. The States levied a contribution of a golden florin on every farmhouse, made arrangements to provide shelter and food for the crusaders, who were expected to arrive in great numbers from other countries, and begged the Pope soon to send the promised fleet to the Hellespont. At the same time they declared that in consequence of the bad harvest of the previous year the expedition could not set out until August.* They had barely time to draw up their reports before messengers from the Lower Danube arrived bringing the alarming news of the advance of the Sultan with an immense army, and the imminent danger which threatened Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. At this critical moment the eyes of the nation naturally turned to King Ladislas, who, with his Privy Counsellor, the Count of Cilli, was still at Buda. But the King, having absented himself from his capital on pretext of a hunting party, made his escape to Vienna. His flight was a signal to the cowardly barons, who had taken no measures for the defence of their country, and they also at once left Buda and concealed themselves.

In this terrible extremity, Hungary was saved from the advancing tide of Islam by the three great men whom we

* Fessler-Klein, ii., 556.

have mentioned, each of whom bore the name of John.* Hunyadi raised a force of seven thousand men at his own cost; Carvajal, who, at the earnest desire of its Governor, remained in Buda, laboured unremittingly to procure means of transport, provisions, and assistance; while St. John Capistran collected the Crusaders who had been won to the cause by his own burning words and those of the missioners, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, Niccolò da Fara, and Ambroise of Languedoc.

As the Hungarian nobles, like those of Germany, remained, with few exceptions, inactive, the crusading army assembled by the Saint and Carvajal constituted the only aid afforded to the heroic Hunyadi.† The force was made up for the most part of poor citizens and peasants, monks, hermits and students, armed with axes, pikes, flails, pitchforks, and such other weapons as they could collect. Some greedy adventurers were certainly to be found among the motley crew, but the majority of the crusaders were determined to fight and die for their faith. They wore a red cross on the left breast, and their banners bore on one side a cross and on the other the figure of Sts. Anthony, Francis, Louis, or Bernardine. A number of German foot soldiers and three hundred Polish warriors gave some support to the untrained and ill-armed masses; the generalship

* Æneas Sylvius draws attention to this coincidence (Europa, c, viii.). See Raph. Volaterranus, xxii., f. 234.

† For an account of Carvajal's labours, see Pray, iii., 170; Katona, 1678; Wadding, xii, 332 *et seq*, and the *Orders of Carvajal, dated Buda, 1456, July 8, 9 and 18, in Cod. Palat., 368, f. 283, of the Vatican Library Many crusaders assembled in Germany in consequence of the preaching of H. Kalteisen; see Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 130. Regarding the "Türkenraizz" of the Viennese, see Schlager, Wiener Skizzen (Wien, 1846). Neue Folge, iii., 85 *et seq.*, 156 *et seq.*

of Hunyadi, seconded by the zeal of St. John Capistran, did the rest.*

* Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 608. Zinkeisen, ii., 84. The relief of Belgrade is, as Zinkeisen, *loc. cit.*, justly observes, one of those historical events regarding which it is extremely difficult to form an exact and complete idea, although we are in possession of a large amount of valuable information on the subject. From the first, the various reports of the eye-witnesses were made party matters, and, moreover, the first despatch of Hunyadi to King Ladislas, the second exhaustive letter of St. John Capistran, and the narrative sent by Carvajal to the Pope, are still undiscovered. I vainly endeavoured to supply the deficiencies when in Rome; I found nothing relating to Belgrade in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and in the Vatican Library only a letter, "Pro domino Francisco Schlick, canon. Ratispon," of which I shall speak hereafter. As, however, we learn from Theiner (Mon. Ung., ii., 282), Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 41), and *Lib. brev. 7 (f. 25b-26 [Brief to the King of Portugal]), that the Pope sent the reports he received from Hungary to his legates and ambassadors to be communicated to the princes of Christendom, there is still hope that the missing documents may be found in some Archives; other accounts of the battle were also sent from Hungary; see in Appendix No. 41 the *Letter of the Doge, Fr. Foscari, written 7th August, 1456. Hunyadi's second despatch is published by Pray, iii., 180; and St. John Capistran's first and third letters are given by Wadding, xii., 371-374. We have also a detailed account, though, unfortunately, the end is wanting, from the Minorite, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo (Wadding, xii., 340-362). This is valuable as proceeding from the pen of an eye-witness, but is throughout one-sided. For Voigt's exhaustive criticism of the relation between this narrative and the letter of the Minorite, Niccolò da Fara (also in Wadding, xii., 362-368), as well as the other authorities, including Æneas Sylvius, see Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, x., 75 *et seq.*, from which I have almost literally borrowed the excellent description of the relief of Belgrade. The report published by Birk in the "Quellen und Forschungen" (230 *et seq.*, 251-252), shows that Hunyadi's account of the victory is not absolutely correct.

Belgrade is situated on a rocky hill, in the corner of the promontory formed by the union of the Save with the Danube. At the summit of this steep hill stands the castle, which, at the time we are speaking of, was strongly fortified. The declivity along the banks of the river was occupied by the lower town, which was then surrounded by walls and also on the land side defended by a double wall and moat. Mahomet II. had not only shut in the fortress completely on the land side, but also sent a flotilla to cut off communication by the Danube and the Save.* To make a breach in this iron circle was the first object of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. The former, with the assistance of the legate, collected about two hundred boats at Salankemen, laden with munitions of war and provisions. He embarked his followers and the crusaders who joined them, and on the 14th of July, taking advantage of the current, bore down upon the Turkish ships, which were chained together. After five hours' fighting, during which the waters of the Danube ran red with blood, the Christians succeeded in breaking through the Turkish line, and gained a complete victory. While the combat was going on, St. John Capistran stood on the shore and encouraged the Christian warriors by holding up the crucifix, which the Pope had sent him by Cardinal Carvajal,† and calling out the Holy Name of Jesus!

The moral effects of this great victory were most important, for it broke the charm of supposed invincibility which had grown up around the Crescent. Moreover, it afforded breathing-time to the besieged, who had been under fire for a fortnight in the burning heat of summer. The Danube too was free, and the fortress was replenished with corn, wine, and troops. Hunyadi was prudent enough not to lose time in the pursuit of the Turkish vessels, but seizing

* Fessler-Klein, ii., 558. † Wadding, xii., 323, 341-342.

on the favourable moment, at once occupied the fortress which had been so hardly won. St. John Capistran accompanied him, and with his heart-stirring eloquence stimulated the courage of the besieged for the decisive day* which was approaching.

Mahomet, infuriated by defeat, determined to avenge the disgrace of the 14th July by the complete destruction of the place. Night and day the city was subjected to an unceasing fire, and meanwhile he gathered together the flower of his army for a general assault which was to deal the final blow. In the evening of the 21st July, the seventh day after the engagement on the Danube, at the head of his janissaries, he gave the signal for attack. The battle lasted throughout the whole of that night and the following day. From a tower in the fortress, Hunyadi and the Saint watched its vicissitudes, the former giving orders for the despatch of succour where it was required, and for the relief of the wearied and wounded. If he saw his forces anywhere giving way he flew to the spot, reanimating the courage of his men by fighting among them as a common soldier. St. John Capistran from the tower held up the crucifix which the Pope had blessed, and poured forth unceasing supplication to the Almighty for aid.† The besieged fought like lions, all the Turkish assaults were

* Zinkeisen, ii., 87.

† Voigt, ii., 182. See the Letter "Pro domino Francisco Schlick, canon. Ratispon." d.d. 1456, Aug. 2. In this, which is translated by the compiler of the Speirische Chronik (408) the following passage occurs: "Pater iste devotus Capistranus in pinnaculo in loco eminenti castri stans, crucifixum in altum erigens clamabat ejulato flebili; O Deus meus, O Jesu, ubi sunt misericordie tue antique? O veni, veni, in adjutorium veni! noli tardare, veni, libera nos, quos pretioso sanguine redemisti, veni, noli tardare, ne dicatur: ubi est Deus eorum?" Cod. Palatin. 368, f. 283. Vatican Library.

repelled, and those who had taken up their position in the trenches were dislodged by means of bundles of brushwood soaked in oil, pitch, and sulphur, and set on fire.

Various accounts are given of the final crisis of the battle. The following is probably the true one. The crusaders, whose enthusiasm had by this time reached its climax, ventured in opposition to Hunyadi's commands, and without any order from St. John Capistran, on a strong sortie against a portion of the fortified camp of the Turks. The voice of the Saint, who not only called out from the walls, but hastened down amongst them, was powerless to restrain their ardour. Suddenly the Turkish cavalry charged the rash Christian warriors, who, eager for plunder, were pressing forward into the encampment of a pasha, and drove them, exhausted as they were, into a narrow place. At this critical moment Hunyadi came to the rescue, making a fresh sally from the city, spiking some of the enemy's artillery and turning some against the Turks themselves.* The Sultan, wounded by an arrow and mad with rage, was compelled as night came on to give the signal for retreat. The whole of the Turkish camp with all the arms and a portion of the artillery fell into the hands of the Christians.† And thus, to use the words of Nicholas Cusa, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen the Cross of Christ triumphed over its enemy.‡ Belgrade, Hungary, and, in some sense, Christendom and European civilization were saved; their deliverance was due in great measure to the fiery eloquence of the indefatigable St. John Capistran, who, in conjunction with Hunyadi, had been the soul of this terrible battle, and who had the chief share in its happy

* Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 82.

† See the Letter cited above from Cod. Palat. 368. Vatican Library.

‡ With regard to the sermon of Cusa, see Scharpff, 275-277.

result.* Calixtus III. and his legate, the noble Cardinal Carvajal, must also be mentioned as having contributed to this memorable victory. "Whatever was achieved against the Turks," says a Protestant historian, "was entirely the Pope's doings, and the great deliverance wrought at Belgrade is to be ascribed most properly to him."†

It would be hard to describe the agitation of the Pope when the first tidings of the advance of the Turks towards

* Such is the wvie of Zinkeisen, ii., 84. See Krones, Gesch. Oesterreichs, ii., 371. In regard to the jealousy existing between Hunyadi and St. John Capistran, see Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Boh., c. lxv., and Europa, c. viii. The latter passage is: "Verum neque Capistranus Huniadis neque idem Capistrani Huniades mentionem fecere in eis literis, quas de obtenta victoria sive ad Romanum pontificem, sive ad amicos scripsere; per suum quisquam ministerium Deum dedisse Christianis victoriam affirmavit. Avarissima honoris humana mens, facilius regnum et opes quam gloriam partitur. Potuit Capistranus patrimonium contemnere, voluptates calcare, libidinem subigere, gloriam vero spernere non potuit." On the other side, see Pagi on Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 26, and Wadding, xii., 370-371. Voigt (in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 84) justly observes that a conclusive judgment regarding this matter cannot be arrived at, until all the war despatches of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran are before us. Voigt has overlooked the Saint's report of the 28th July, which Herschel publishes from a Dresden Codex in the Serapeum (xiv., 163-166). This document is very short, is addressed to the public, and is of the nature of an official Bulletin. No weight is to be attached to its complete omission of any allusion to the above-mentioned differences. There is more significance, I think, in the fact that the Pope in his Letter ascribes the victory equally to Hunyadi and St. John Capistran; see Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 41 and 51. I must also observe that the Letter to Fr. Schlick, dated Vienna, 1456, Aug. 2, contains these words: "Hec gesta de Capistrano non comprehenduntur in litera gubernatoris, sed qui ascendunt ita referunt ut etiam affirmat Michael Paldauff, qui heri sero venit de domino legato." Cod. Palat. 368, f. 283. Vatican Library.

† K. A. Menzel, vii., 242.

Belgrade reached Rome. The report of the Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, who had a long conversation with Calixtus III. on the 27th July, 1456, gives a vivid picture of the distress of the aged Pontiff, who, in his noble efforts for the defence of Christendom, found himself abandoned by all the Western Princes.* While groaning under the heavy burden laid upon him, the brave man was ready to sacrifice himself for the common cause. "I acknowledge and firmly believe, O Almighty God," he said, in the course of this memorable interview, "that it is Thy will that I alone should wear myself out and die for the general good. So be it! I am ready, even if I must myself go into bondage and alienate all the possessions of the Church." And, alluding to the plague which was at this time raging in Rome,† he added, "Nothing will induce me to leave Rome, not even if, like so many others, I am to fall a victim to the plague. Mahomet, the enemy of our

* See the **Despatch of this ambassador, written at Castel Giubileo, on the 28th July, 1456. State Archives, Milan. Carteggen.

† *"Ogni homo e partito o parte . . . El papa pur sta fermo," says Antonio Bicardo to Lodovico de Gonzaga in a *Despatch dated Florence, 1456, July 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, xxix., N. 3, Firenze. See Infessura, 1137, and *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra to Fr. Sforza, d.d. Ex castro Jubileo, 1456, Aug. 6 ("Il morbo non solamente persevera a modo uxato, ma augmenta . . La B^ne del papa pur he in proposito fermo et stabile de non volerse partire"). State Archives, Milan. Many fell victims to the pestilence, not only in Rome, but in the other cities of Italy, and especially in those of the States of the Church; see Massari, 42-43. Borgia, Velletri, 368. The confusion was increased by the appearance of a comet and by earthquakes which caused destruction chiefly in the kingdom of Naples (see Arch. st. Napol., x., fasc. 2) but also in Rome. Almost all chroniclers mention the comet; see Celoria, Sull' appariz. della Cometa di Halley avvenuta nell' anno 1456, in the Rendic. del R. Ist. Lomb., Series ii., Vol. xviii.

faith, compels me to remain. He does not relax his efforts, although thousands in his immense army have been carried off." The ambassador was greatly touched by the Pope's words, and on the day following the audience wrote thus to his master: "No man on earth can have so hard and stony a heart as not to be moved with the greatest compassion for His Holiness."

A month before this, Calixtus, bereft of all human aid, had solemnly sought Divine assistance. On the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), 1456, he addressed a Bull to all the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of Christendom, exhorting them by prayers, fasting and penance to "return to the Lord, that He may again return to us," and also to direct their attention to the reformation of the flocks committed to their charge. The following special directions were added: "On the first Sunday of each month processions were to be made in every diocese in order to pray that the threatened Turkish invasion might be averted; the *Missa contra Paganos* was to be said, and a suitable discourse delivered to the assembled people. Moreover, every priest, without exception, was required to use the following prayer in every Mass he said: "Almighty, everlasting God, to whom all power belongs, and in whose hand are the rights of all nations, protect Thy Christian people and crush by Thy power the pagans who trust in their fierceness." Indulgences were attached to the performance of these devotions, and to enable the people to share in these prayers and indulgences it was further enacted that in every church, between noon and vespers, one or more bells should be rung as for the angelus, and three "Our Fathers," and "Hail Marys" recited. Indulgences were granted for these prayers.* The Pope

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N 19-24. The remarks made by Gihr, in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon (1, 2nd ed., 847), may be

considered the splendid victory on the Danube primarily due to these supplications.*

The Christian world breathed more freely after hearing of the triumph of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. If the fear of Turkish invasion had been extreme, the joy of

corrected by a reference to the above summary of the contents of the Bull. The Papal commands were carried out in the States of the Church (see Cronica di Bologna, 721, Annal. Bonon., 889), and in the other countries of Christendom (in the Diocese of Brixen, by Cusa, see Bickell, 54), and the Pope himself took special care as to their accomplishment; see his *Letter "ven. frat. Petro episc. Alban. card. de Fuxo, ap. sedis legato," dated 1456, Oct. 13, and the undated *Brief "duci Burgundie (Britanie)," both of which are in Lib. brev. 7, f. 47 and 48-48b; from the latter we quote the following: "Ceterum quoniam vires humane sine Deo inanes sunt, quod videri potuit in exercitu Turcorum, mittimus ad nobilitatem tuam bullam orationum, quam fecimus et per universam christianitatem publicari et observari mandamus, prout iam per totam Italiam, Alamanniam, Hungariam et Hispaniam et, ut credimus, Franciam publicata exsistit et observatur, ut eam in tuo toto dominio et publicari facias et observari, ita ut continuato per orbem christianum orationum studio ipse Deus noster det successum laboribus nostris contra hos perfidos sue religionis hostes." Secret Archives of the Vatican, *loc. cit.* See also Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 280, 282. I copied from Cod. lat. 4143, f. 113b-114 of the Court Library at Munich an **"Oratio devota tempore huius cruciatae singulis diebus iussu Calixti papae a Christifidelibus recitanda," the authenticity of which must, however, remain doubtful. The foolish story repeated by Draper and Arago, that Calixtus caused the bells to be rung against the comet which appeared at this time and excommunicated it, is not worthy of refutation. See Clément, 8-9.

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 24; Wadding, xii., 380; Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 280, 282, and the *Brief to Ragusa (s.d. [August, 1456]): "Compertum enim est, quid divina illa maiestas nunc pro sua sacrosancta religione operata sit nostris et aliorum Christifidelium precibus inclinata, quas cum summa devotione per universum orbem christianum fieri mandamus." Lib. brev. 7, f. 27b-28. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Christendom at the happy tidings of unlooked-for victory knew no bounds. Every heart that beat true to the good cause received the news as a favour from God. "We can hardly find a chronicler, however distant from the scene of action, or however obscure, who fails to mention this wonderful victory of the poor crusaders."* Even in Venice, though she had done her best to remain neutral, the victory was the occasion of the greatest rejoicings.† Splendid festivities took place in the cities of the States of the Church, which learned the good news from special messengers sent by the Pope. Processions, in which the Madonna of St. Luke, the heads of St. Petronius and St. Dominic, the hand of St. Cecilia, and other precious relics were borne, were made in Bologna for three days.‡

No one throughout all Christendom was more delighted than the Pope at the defeat of the infidels. In one of his Briefs he speaks of the victory at Belgrade as the happiest event of his life.§ The Emperor and other potentates informed the Pope of it by special messengers.|| In Rome, by

* Voigt, ii., 184. Regarding the rejoicings in Florence, see the Letter of this Republic to Calixtus III. on September 13th, 1456, in Müller, 183-184.

† Sanudo, 1163. Zinkeisen, ii., 96. On the 12th August, 1456, Venice congratulated Cardinal Carvajal and Hunyadi. Sen. Secret., xx., f. 98b and 99b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ The Papal Brief addressed to Viterbo on the occasion of the victory is mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (248). For an account of the rejoicings in Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 721, and *Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, Vol. iii., lib. xxxiv., f. 320. Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

§ Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 281 *et seq.*

|| See in Appendix No. 42 the *Despatch of Nicolaus Severinus to Siena, dated Rome, 1456, Aug. 13. State Archives, Siena. From an undated *Brief of Calixtus III. to the Republic of Ragusa we learn that the Pope had sent thither a "tabellarius" to announce the victory. Lib. brev. 7, f. 27b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

his desire, the ringing of all the church bells, processions of thanksgiving and bonfires* announced the good news.

The Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, writing on the 24th August, 1456, gives a detailed and highly interesting description of the impression made on the aged Pope by the tidings of the relief of Belgrade.† In an audience lasting three hours and a half Calixtus poured forth his feelings with the utmost expansiveness and freedom. "The Pope," writes the ambassador, "was so full of the great victory that he constantly reverted to it. He praised Hunyadi to the skies, calling him the greatest man that the world had seen for three hundred years. But with equal energy did he lament the torpor of the Hungarians who

* The first news of the victory reached Rome on the 6th August, premature reports of success having been circulated in Naples in the beginning of July. See the *Despatches of Æneas Sylvius, Galgano Borghese and Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, to Siena, d.d. Napoli, 1456, Luglio, 3: "Qua sono venute novelle a la M^ta del Re dalo Scandarbeg, signore in Albania, come Janni a dato una rotta a Turchi che erano achampatia Belgrado." See the *Despatches of the two last-named ambassadors of the 13th July. I did not see the originals of these Despatches in the State Archives at Siena, but I found copies in Cod. A., iii., 16, of the Biblioteca Comunale in that city. Calixtus III. did not receive Cardinal Carvajal's report, now unfortunately lost, until the 22nd August (Infessura, 1137). It is strange that this letter should have reached Rome so late, and it is possible that Infessura's date, which does not appear in the Latin version (Cod. xxxv, 37, f. 187, Barberini Library, Rome), is incorrect. Other accounts of the victory were sent forth by the Pope as early as the 10th August; see Wadding, xii., 380. Letters regarding the victory reached Venice by the 7th August; see Appendix No. 41. *Letter from the Doge to Fr. Sforza. State Archives, Milan.

† I found the original of this document in the State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 43. This account may be compared with the Pope's Brief to his legate in Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 28 *et seq.*

had not supported Hunyadi and the crusaders." Moreover, Calixtus ascribed the victory to the grace of God more than to human courage. "God," he said, "has granted this victory especially to bring shame and confusion on those who opposed my efforts for the crusade, who said that no one could understand what I wanted, and that in pursuit of my vain dreams the treasures of the Church, which other Popes had amassed, were being thrown to the winds." "His Holiness," here observes Jacopo Calcaterra, "plainly told me that it was King Alfonso of Naples who had thus reproached him." Even more strongly did the Pope express himself regarding Scarampo; and it is evident that this Cardinal's influence at the Papal Court was entirely gone, and that the Borgias had succeeded in prejudicing the mind of the Pope against him. This estrangement was no doubt also caused by the delay of Scarampo in leading the Papal fleet against the Turks.

The victory at Belgrade had, as the letter of the Milanese ambassador shows us, raised the Pope's spirits wonderfully. Calixtus fully expected that the Christian Princes would look with very different eyes on the crusade, and would be more willing to make sacrifices for the common cause of Christendom now that his predictions, a thousand times repeated in the course of the past year, had been accomplished by the defeat and destruction of the Turks.

There can be no doubt that in the first joyful enthusiasm elicited by the success of the Christian arms he cherished far too brilliant anticipations regarding the consequences of the victory. The accounts which reached him from Hungary were well calculated to strengthen these hopes. In the joy of their triumph, Hunyadi and St. John Capistran were so persuaded of the approaching annihilation of the Sultan's power that they did not hesitate to represent it to

the Pope as an accomplished fact, only now requiring from him the support of an insignificant force to secure its fruits.* "Most Holy Father," wrote St. John Capistran, a few days after the relief of Belgrade, "the right time has come. The day of the salvation of Christendom has dawned! Now is the moment when the long cherished desire of your Holiness will be fulfilled, not only by the recovery of the Greek empire and Europe, but also by the conquest of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Almighty God will surely help us if only your Holiness persevere in your pious purposes. But one thing do your legates ask from your piety and zeal for the faith, namely, that you will send some ten or twelve thousand well-armed horsemen from Italy. If these remain with us for at least six months, together with the crusaders, who are devoted to you as obedient sons, and the noble princes, prelates, and barons of the kingdom of Hungary, we hope to acquire enough of the goods of the infidels to cover all expenses for three years and richly to reward the whole army. For at this moment we can do more with ten thousand men for the spread of the Christian faith and the destruction of these heathens than could be accomplished in other times by thirty thousand." Hunyadi wrote in a similar strain: "Be it known to your Holiness, that at the present time the Emperor of the Turks is so completely crushed that if the Christians, as is proposed, would only rise against him they might very easily, with the help of God, become masters of the whole Turkish kingdom."

No wonder that the lively imagination of the Spanish Pope rose to gigantic schemes on the reception of such letters. The victory granted by God must now be followed up, and immediately after the tidings arrived he urged his legates and the Christian princes to proceed with united

* Zinkeisen, Oriental. Frage, 557.

forces against the Turks. In the following March a great expedition was to set forth. Constantinople was to be reconquered, and Europe set free, the Holy Land and all Asia to be purged of infidels, the whole race of unbelievers extirpated.* In almost all the Briefs of the period these exaggerated schemes appear again and again, showing what complete possession the subject had taken of the Pope's mind.†

These hopes were no doubt illusory; and yet it was a misfortune for Europe‡ that the heroes who had given them birth, and had fostered them in the mind of the Pope, closed their earthly career soon after the glorious day at Belgrade.

A fearful pestilence, generated most probably by the heat of the burning sun brooding on the heaps of unburied corpses, broke out and carried off the brave Hunyadi on the 11th August. "When he felt his last hour draw near," said Æneas Sylvius,§ "he would not permit them to bring the body of the Lord to his sick bed. Dying as he was, he had himself carried into the Church, and there, after having received the Holy Sacrament, breathed forth his soul beneath the hands of the clergy." On the 23rd October the aged St. John Capistran followed his companion in arms.‖

* Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 282; Voigt, ii., 284.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 38; Wadding, xii., 380; Notizenblatt zum Archiv fur Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen, 1856, p. 34-35; Theiner, Mon. Ung., *loc. cit.*, and the *Briefs to Fr. Foscari and to Florence (both of August, 1456), to King Alfonso of Portugal, to Jayme Girad, Bishop of Barcelona (s.d.), to Ragusa (s.d.), to Cardinal Scarampo (s.d.), to Charles VII. of France (s.d.) Lib. brev. 7, f. 19b, 20, 25b-26, 26, 27b, 28b, 47b-48. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ So says Zinkeisen, Oriental. Fr., 559.

§ Hist. Frederici III., 460. Voigt, ii., 183.

‖ Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 84 *et seq.*, subjects the account of St. John Capistran's death to a searching criticism. He died and was buried at Illok. His body was subsequently lost. The

By the death of these two great men the operations against the Turks were deprived of their most powerful promoters.* The hope that the unexpected victory at Belgrade would give a fresh impulse to the Holy War melted away through the indifference of the Western Powers, which manifested itself in a disgraceful manner at the very time when its fruits might have been secured. Again was the Pope the only one who took the interests of Christendom seriously and honestly to heart. He wrote in strong terms to the Emperor, the Kings of France and of Naples, to the more powerful German princes, and to the several States of Italy,† entreating them to give God thanks

story of its being cast into the Danube, or into a well, dates only from the seventeenth century, and is unworthy of credit ; see the article of Fr. Eusebius Fermendzin in the periodical "Djakovacki Glasnik," Vol. for 1874. Probably the corpse of the celebrated preacher was stolen by the Turks in 1526; it seems afterwards to have been purchased from the unbelievers by the Bann Barbul, a Roumanian, and presented to the Convent of the Basilian monks of Bistritz. The reasons for this opinion are given in a *treatise by Blasius Kleiner, which I saw in 1884 in the Convent of Araceli at Rome, through the kindness of the Bosnian Franciscan, Father Eusebius Fermedzin, who has undertaken a history of the Church of his country, founded on Acts of the Propaganda and the Vatican Archives. The MS. in question bears the title: "Archivium inclytæ provinciæ Bulgariæ sub titulo immacul. conceptionis b. virginis Mariæ fratrum min. regularis observantiæ s. patris nostri Francisci, 1761."

* Yet Calixtus III. did not lose courage. See the *Brief to "Petrus episcop. Alban. Card^lis de Fuxo," dated Rome, 1456, October 13, of which Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 52) gives but a portion. Lib. brev. 7, f. 47, and *Ibid.*, f. 49. *Brief to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, October 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See the many similar Briefs to Charles VII. (dated 1456, August 10; Wadding, xii., 380-381) and to Fr. Sforza (August 23), Notizenblatt zum Archiv fur Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen, *loc. cit.*, as well as the *Letters to Fr. Foscari, containing the words:

for the victory, and to turn it to account; but his words were all in vain. Because the danger was for the moment averted, and this victory had been gained by the Hungarians and the undisciplined Crusaders, the Christian potentates seemed to think themselves justified in leaving all further defensive operations entirely to them. All through the upper ranks of society, which ought to have given an impulse to the rest, slothfulness, selfishness, and petty interests again outweighed all better feelings, and deadened all energy for good.*

Almost all the other powers followed the example of Venice. In vain did the eloquent Carvajal unite his prayers and exhortations with those of the Pope; all that could be said as to the necessity of following up the victory fell on deaf ears. The ambassador of the King of Hungary about this time failed to obtain any answer from Venice, "for, on account of the plague, no deliberations could take place;" and when he again, on his way from Rome, visited the city he received an evasive answer.†

The tepidity of the Western Powers, although unable to deter Calixtus from his efforts against the Turks, caused him for a time to seek for aid in other quarters. In December, 1456, he made an appeal to the Christian King of Ethiopia; in the following year he applied to the Christians in Syria, Georgia, and Persia, and finally to Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, the only one of the Eastern

("Jam tempus est a sompno surgere"), and to Florence (s.d.), Lib. brev., f. 19, 20b; *ibid.*, f. 28; a second *Brief to Fr. Foscari, dated August 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 97. Regarding the Pope's firm purpose of doing all that was possible to follow up the victory, see *Calcaterra's Despatch of the 24th August, 1456. State Archives, Milan.

† **Answer of the 23rd October, 1456. Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 106. State Archives, Venice.

princes whose power could compare with that of the Sultan.*

As a lasting memorial of the victory at Belgrade, and in thanksgiving for the unlooked-for success of the Christian arms, the Pope in the following year decreed that henceforth the Feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord should be solemnly observed throughout Christendom.† A number of briefs attest the importance attached by Calixtus to the due observance of this decree,‡ by which he hoped to revive the enthusiasm for the holy war. As far as the princes were concerned, however, these expectations were vain.

A pleasing contrast to the indifference is furnished by the zeal with which the lower orders received the Papal exhortations regarding the crusade. In many places the excitement and ardour manifested were most remarkable. A

* Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 44, 45, and 1457, N. 68) gives the Pope's Letters from the Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Wadding, xii., 420-423. Regarding Usunhassan, see Heyd, ii., 326 *et seq.*

† Bull of August 6, 1459, printed in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, n. 73-80 (see Mansi, and remarks on the earlier celebrations of the F. of the Transfiguration), and in Bull, v., 133 *et seq.* On the "Officium festis transfig. d.n. Jesu Christi, see Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 293; Eckard, i., 831. The institution of this feast has been the cause, as Hammer (ii., 846) has already observed, of the mistake of Bonfinius and Bernino, who suppose the victory to have been won on that day. It is no doubt for the same reason that Gregorovius, in the three editions of his History of Rome (vii., 1st ed., 145), puts off the battle of Belgrade to the 9th August, a date which is contradicted by all the best authorities (see Wadding, xii., 378). Droysen (ii., 1, 185) makes it take place on July 13.

‡ Besides the Brief to Carvajal (Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 80), see *those to P. Fenollet in Aragon, dated 1457, Sept. 24, and to L. Roverella in Germany, dated 1457, Nov. 30. Lib. brev. 7f., 124, 132. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

contemporary tells of peasants abandoning ploughs and of bridegrooms leaving their brides in order "to fight for the Catholic Faith for the love of God." Supernatural signs induced others to join the expedition.* Throughout Upper Germany especially fresh hosts of crusaders assembled after the relief of Belgrade. These bands were incomparably superior in discipline to those that had flocked together before that decisive victory.† Another contemporary description of the departure of the Nuremberg crusaders for Hungary‡ says, "Anno 1456, when our Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III., sent a Danish legate and Bishop named Heinricus Kaldeysen to preach the crusade against the Turks, and to confer the cross, in September (more correctly August), many people came to the church here to take the cross, and set forth against the Turks. And as they were without a leader, and needed one to maintain order and authority for the glory of God and the honour of the city, the Council gave them for their help and comfort Heinrich Slosser, of Berne, who was the captain of the Swiss, and Otto Herdegen, who knew the Hungarian language, with eight horses and a red and white pennon (the colours of Nuremberg). These captains appointed chiefs over tens and over hundreds, and the chiefs and their men respectively took an oath of mutual fealty. This oath is written in the little book which is kept in the Court, and the men are inscribed by name in the same register. About fourteen baggage

* See the *record of Brother Grys in Cod. Palat. 368, f. 283b. Vatican Library. I intend elsewhere to publish this document, which refers particularly to the crusaders from Nuremberg.

† See Oesterreich. Chronik in Senckenberg, Sel. jur., v. 13 *et seq.* (again published by Rauch in Vienna, 1794). Quellen und Forschungen, 57, 61, 251. Gemeiner, Regensb. Chronik, iii., 247-248. Speyerische Chronik 409. Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 407 *et seq.*; iv., 326; x., 217.

‡ Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 409 *et seq.*

waggons were also borrowed from the city to take their armour to Ratisbon. They bought three great ships for two hundred and twenty Rhenish florins, in which from one thousand three hundred to one thousand four hundred* well-armed men were to be embarked, six hundred carrying muskets, and the rest spears, cross-bows, and battle-axes. And they went forth in goodly array on the Friday after St. Bartholomew's day (27th August), shriven, and fortified with the Blessed Sacrament. They marched under the banner of the Holy Cross, whereon were also painted St. Sebaldus, St. Lawrence, and the Holy Lance, and under the flag of Nuremberg, which the chief leader, Heinrich Slosser, bore, as the Council had commanded through Niclas Muffel Paulus Grunther, and Erhart Schürstab, who admonished him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to keep faith with the city, and to be a true leader of the people. By the Council they were provided with pots, kettles, pans, plates, spoons, and other vessels for cooking, two tents, a cask of powder and priming, lead, arrows, five bushels of oatmeal fried in dripping in little barrels, and six bushels of millet and peas, and fifty hand guns. Item, in Hungary they were immediately to receive four hundred pounds' weight of copper coins for the general benefit, and in Vienna the house of Baumgartner gave two hundred pounds of the same, also to be spent for the general good. All this was done by the Council. Item, on the day when they departed hence each one of them was touched with the holy lance and with the holy cross at the hospital in the church of the Holy Ghost."

* This number, according to the account of the chiefs to the Council on the 15th September (Auz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1863, p. 253), represents the strength of the united armies of Nuremberg, Passau, and Salzburg. See Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 410.

The German crusaders were joined, the chronicle of Spire informs us, by crusaders from England, France, and other countries, among whom were "priests and monks, and they were mostly poor working people."* Cardinal Carvajal welcomed them all with real joy, and in every way that he could, showed them the greatest goodwill.†

The army of King Ladislas was now increased to forty-four thousand men, and, accompanied by Count Ulrich of Cilli, he landed with his force at Belgrade on the 8th November, 1456. The King and the Count were received with all due respect, but as soon as they and their servants had entered the fortress the gates were shut behind them, and admittance was refused to the armed Germans and Bohemians. On the following morning Cilli was invited to take part in the Council of the Hungarian nobles. When he appeared Ladislas Hunyadi upbraided him in violent terms with his ambition and his hatred of the Corvinus family. Ulrich, overmastered with rage, drew his sword and wounded Hunyadi and three Hungarian nobles, but finally himself fell beneath the blows of his enemies.‡ When this became known in the army of the King and among the crusaders, "everyone put on his armour, and the leaders went forth with their men intending to storm the castle." Young King Ladislas, however, dissembling his grief and indignation, sent word to the soldiers "that they were to take no notice of this matter, which did not concern the

* Speyerische Chronik, 409. Eight hundred well-armed crusaders came from Silesia. Grünhagen, Gesch. Schlesiens, i., 292.

† See the testimony of the above-named leaders in their letters to the Council of Nuremberg in the Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1863, p 287, 290.

‡ See Quellen and Forschungen, 229 *et seq.*, 251. Palacky, iv., 1, 401 *et seq.* Krones, ii., 373 *et seq.*

crusaders, and were to take off their armour." Soon afterwards the crusading army, which was "as in a sack" between fortress and town in double danger from Turk and Hungarians, was permitted by mutual agreement between the King and Cardinal Carvajal to "go home again." "And so ended the expedition against the Turks on account of the perfidy of the Hungarians, of which we complain to God."*

At the very time when the people of Germany were thus loyally supporting the crusaders their prelates were occupied in evading any real participation in the common cause by again coming forward with "complaints" against the Holy See. Now, as on former occasions, reform was the pretext, and pressure the means used to accomplish their end, which was to evade their obligations.† As leader of the opposition, the aged Elector Dietrich, Count of Erbach, filled the place of Jakob of Trèves, who had died in the end of May, 1456. The Elector's Chancellor, Doctor Martin Mayr, accompanied him and concentrated all his diplomatic and intriguing skill on the cause in hand.‡

In June, 1455, at a Provincial Synod at Aschaffenburg, the Archbishop of Mayence had caused a whole list of complaints against the Court of Rome to be drawn up.

* Quellen und Forschungen, 521-252.

† Such is the opinion of Voigt, ii., 198. How little any real purpose of reform was cherished by these exalted personages may be gathered by the "Abschied zwischen geistlichen Kurfürsten," probably to be assigned to the year 1452 (in Ranke, Deutsche Gesch., vi., 10 *et seq.*). See Gebhardt, 9; Bachmann, Königswahl, 282 *et seq.*

‡ Gebhardt, 12. Regarding M. Mayr (†1481), this "worthless intriguer, without conscience or heart for the master whom he served," see Voigt in the Hist. Zeitschrift, v., 453 *et seq.*, f. 54, and Riezler in the Allg. Deutschen Biogr., xx., 113 *et seq.*

These complaints, which referred chiefly to violations of the Concordat, were contained in an instruction for the embassy to be sent to Rome, and are important as being the foundation of many similar documents of a subsequent date.* After the close of this Synod, Dietrich and the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves entered into an understanding for the summoning of a great German national Council. The object of this Council was to confirm the decrees of Basle and to "take precautions against the burdens laid upon Germany, which strangely permits its eyes to be again torn out after having them restored by those salutary decrees.†

The anti-papal sentiments of the Elector of Mayence, the ally of the Count Palatine Frederick, were manifested in a most decided manner at a Synod which he held at Frankfort-on-Main in February and March, 1456. It was here determined that the Archbishop and his suffragans should unite in resisting the violition of the Constance and Basle decrees by the Court of Rome and the oppression of the German nation by tithes and indulgences.‡

On the Feast of St. Peter ad vincula (1st August), 1456, the representatives of the five Electors, together with the Bishops of Salzburg and Bremen, again met at Frankfort-on-Main; the Elector of Trèves held back, as he had not yet been confirmed by Rome. The fact that the Cathedral Chapters of Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, and Bremen sent messengers to this assembly gave it a great importance. All were unanimous in refusing the tithe which Cardinal Carvajal was about to demand from the clergy for the

* See Gebhardt, 12 *et seq.*

† Letter of Rudolf of Rüdesheim (see the monograph of J. Zaun, Frankfurt, 1881) to the Archbishop of Trèves on the 23rd June, 1455, in Voigt, ii., 199, note 3.

‡ See Menzel, Friedrich der Siegreiche von der Pfalz, 22.

crusade. In order to furnish a plausible excuse for this refusal the old disputes which the Concordat had set at rest were again revived. The war against the Turks was used by the Pope, they declared, as a pretext to fleece Germany. This was the object of the tithe, and the reason why the Indulgence granted to the defenders of Cyprus by Pope Nicholas had been withdrawn and declared invalid. They were resolved to appeal against the tithes; they would send the dealers in Indulgences back over the Alps with empty purses; they would not give money to support the spendthrift Catalan nephews at the Papal Court. The assembly then proceeded to draw up a report. This began with the usual complaints of the burdens imposed on the German nation; the tithes claimed by Rome for the Turkish war closing the list. A series of resolutions were passed for the redress of these grievances and the relief of the German Church. An appeal against the exactions of the Roman officials was drawn up and recommended. A league was formed, of which the members exchanged promises of mutual support in case anyone of them were threatened with excommunication, outlawry, war, or ecclesiastical or judicial proceedings, and also bound themselves not to enter into any "negotiation or understanding" without the consent of all.* "This," says a recent historian, "was an attempt at a German Pragmatic Sanction, which the ambassadors in the old fashion were to "bring after them." Practically but little result was to be apprehended from all this bluster. The assembly was to meet again at Nuremberg to consider whether it might not be better simply to accept the decrees of Constance and Basle. In reality their resolutions were nothing but a compilation of these with some slight modifications, which

* K. A. Menzel, vii., 237. Voigt, ii., 204 *et seq.* Gebhardt, 17 *et seq.*

essentially altered nothing."* The Frankfort assembly also resolved to apply to the Emperor and see if he would not make common cause with the Princes in endeavouring to find a remedy for the grievances of the nation, either by concluding a Pragmatic Sanction with the Holy See or by some other means. Moreover, they strongly urged him to come into the Empire, and to take upon himself the charge of it. Could he really suppose that the infidels were to be vanquished by letters and messengers? The document closes with a threat that if the Emperor should fail to appear at the Diet to be held in Nuremberg at the end of November, "we, with the help of God, will meet there to take counsel and to determine on all that it behoves us to do as Electors of the Holy Roman Empire and all that may be necessary for the furtherance of the Christian expedition."†

The Emperor met these demands with a blunt refusal, and the Pope in a brief to his nuncio expressed his just displeasure. He strongly condemned the appeal of the Elector of Mayence, but did not excuse the dilatory Emperor. "O, hearts of stone which are not moved by this!" exclaims Calixtus, after speaking of the victory won at Belgrade, "without King and without Emperor. Our fleet with the legate has sailed for Constantinople, and the Emperor sleeps. Arise, O Lord, and support our holy enterprise."‡

At the Diet held at Nuremberg in the end of the year 1456, anti-Imperial feeling for a moment effaced the opposition to the Pope. There is no doubt that the revolutionary party contemplated setting the Emperor aside by the election of a King of the Romans; the candidate they

* Gebhardt, 25.

† Ranke, Deutsche Gesch., vi., 21. See Speyerische Chronik, 413-415, and Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 131.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 40.

had in view was the young and powerful Frederick I. of the Palatinate, but as the anti-Imperial party was still too weak for action, it was merely determined that another Diet should meet at Frankfort-on-Main on *Reminiscere* Sunday (13th March); counsel was there to be taken as to the manner "in which the Pope was to be entreated regarding the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation."* No energetic measures against the Emperor were adopted at this Diet (March, 1457), which assembled in spite of his formal prohibition. The attitude of the anti-Papal party seemed more threatening. Its grievances were fully set forth in an intemperate letter addressed by Doctor Martin Mayr to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had meanwhile been promoted to the purple. The Pope, says this letter, does not observe the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle, he does not consider himself bound by the treaties which his predecessors have entered into; he appears to despise the German nation and to extort all he can from it. The election of prelates is frequently postponed without cause; and benefices and dignities of all kinds are reserved for the cardinals and Papal secretaries. Cardinal Piccolomini himself has been granted a general reservation in an unusual and unheard-of form on three German provinces. Expectancies without number are conferred, annates and other taxes collected harshly and no delay granted; and it is also known that more has been exacted than the sums due. Bishoprics have been bestowed, not on the most worthy, but on the highest bidder. For the sake of amassing money, new indulgences have daily been published and war-tithes imposed without consulting the German prelates. Lawsuits, which ought to have been dealt with and decided at home, have been hastily trans-

* Müller, Reichstagstheater, 553. See Gebhardt, 26, and Bachmann, Königswahl, 318 *et seq.* Keussen, 71 *et seq.*

ferred to the Apostolic Tribunal. The Germans have been treated as if they were rich and stupid barbarians, and drained of their money by a thousand cunning devices. And therefore this nation, once so glorious, which, with her courage and her blood had won the Holy Roman Empire, and was the mistress and queen of the world, is now needy, tributary, and a servant. For many years she has lain in the dust, bemoaning her poverty and her sad fate. But now her nobles have awakened as from sleep; now they have resolved to shake off the yoke and to win back their ancient freedom.*

The real weight to be attached to this document was soon made manifest, for hardly three weeks had passed away before the same Doctor Martin Mayr made private overtures to Cardinal Piccolomini for a treaty to be concluded between his master, the Archbishop of Mayence and the Pope. This proposal elicited the humiliating reply that it was not for subjects to make alliances with their lords, and that an Archbishop of Mayence should be content with the position which his predecessors had occupied and not seek to rise above it.†

All this anti-Papal agitation was well known, and caused grave solicitude in Rome. The apprehension that Germany might follow the footsteps of the French, who adhered to the Pragmatic Sanction, caused much anxiety, and the chief

* Voigt, ii., 232-233. Mayr's Letter (dated Aschaffenburg, 1457, Aug. 31) has very often been printed; to the editions named in the Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte (xvi., 416), we may add Goldast, Polit. Imp. (Frankf., 1614), p. xxiii., p. 1039 *et seq.*; Freher, Script., ii., 381 *et seq.*, and Geschichte der Päpst. Nuntien, ii., 663-664.

† Letter of the 20th Sept., 1457. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 822 *et seq.* "Mayr and his master," justly remarks Voigt (Hist. Zeitschr.. v., 454), "only wished to frighten the Roman Court so as to sell themselves to it on good terms."

object of the Pope was to prevent the Emperor from being drawn into the party of the anti-Roman princes. The Brief which Calixtus addressed to Frederick III. was drawn up by Cardinal Piccolomini. In this document the Pope denies the charge of disregarding the Concordats and of neglecting to appoint bishops. In regard to reservations and other exercises of patronage, if, in the multiplicity of affairs, anything has been amiss, this, he says, has been through inadvertence. Although the authority of the Holy See is absolutely independent and cannot be limited by the bonds of a contract, yet, in token of his ardent desire for peace and his goodwill towards the Emperor, he will allow the Concordat to continue, and will never, as long as he is at the helm, permit its violation. If, however, the nation has other complaints regarding the proceedings of his Court, and amendment is deemed necessary (for even he may fail and err as a man, especially in matters of fact), it does not become bishops or others to follow the example of those who, to the injury of ecclesiastical government, the destruction of the mystical Body of Christ and the ruin of their own souls, maintain principles which would authorize them to despise the commands of the Apostolic See and direct the affairs of the Church after their own will. He who ventures to act thus cannot call God his father, inasmuch as he does not acknowledge the Church for his mother. No one may oppose himself to the Roman Church; should anyone think himself wronged he must bring his grievances before her. The Pope dwells in forcible terms on the unreasonableness of the complaints regarding the money collected in Germany for the Turkish war, inasmuch as the great expenses which he incurred on behalf of Christendom in general, by the equipment of a fleet in the East, by supporting Skanderbeg in Albania, by paying so many ambassadors in all parts of the world, and by assisting multitudes

who needed help in Greece and Asia, were evident to all. "We venture," Calixtus says, "to glory in the Lord, for while the Christian princes have almost all been sunk in slothfulness, He, through His own servants, who alone carry on the holy work, has broken the proud ranks of the Turks in Hungary, and discomfited the great and mighty army which had threatened to ravage not only Hungary, but also the whole of Germany, France, and Italy, and to overthrow the kingdom of Christ."*

Copies of this Brief were sent from Rome to various persons, amongst whom were the King of Hungary and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa; and, at the same time, Cardinal Carvajal and the Minorite, San Jacopo della Marca were exhorted to resist the anti-Papal agitation in Germany.† A very severe letter was addressed by the Pope to the Archbishop of Mayence, the chief promoter of the movement. Calixtus declared that he could not believe so prudent a prelate to be capable of undertaking anything against the Papal authority, by which he would incur ecclesiastical and civil penalties and be guilty of the sin of heresy. As Elector, the Archbishop was, beyond all others, bound to maintain and extend that authority; if devils in human

* Brief of 31st August, 1457, given in part by Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 40, and completely in Æn Sylv., Opp., 840 *et seq.*, and in the Gesch. der Nuntien, ii., 640 *et seq.* "Considering the immense expense," says the very anti-Papal author of this work (353), "of the naval war in which the Pope had engaged, it is easy to believe that in this Brief to the Emperor he speaks the simple truth; and that instead of gaining anything he himself was obliged to contribute." In explanation of the expression regarding the fallibility of the Pope, see Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 934.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1457, N. 42. The date of the Brief to Carvajal, "penultim. Novemb., 1457," which is wanting in Raynaldus, is supplied in the Lib. brev. 7, f. 131b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

form taught otherwise, he ought not to give ear to them. To the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves* he wrote in a similar strain, and also sent despatches to several States of the Empire, to Berne and other cities, exculpating himself from the charges made against him.† As Carvajal had more than enough to do in Hungary, it was determined that another legate should be nominated for Germany, and Lorenzo Roverella, a distinguished theologian and diplomatist, was selected. Cardinal Piccolomini gave him detailed instructions as to the manner in which he was to proceed against the anti-Roman party in Germany.‡

The Cardinal himself personally took part in all these measures, and wrote a number of letters, among which those to Martin Mayr have attained a certain celebrity. This is the case more especially in regard to one of them, subsequently known as "Some account of the state of Germany," a title which, in strictness, is applicable only to a small portion of it. In it he defends the action of the Holy See, and appeals to the prosperity of the country as a refutation of Mayr's complaints of Roman extortion. This graphic picture of German life in the middle of the fifteenth century is still read with pleasure by patriotic Germans.§

* Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 49 (the beginning is omitted; the date is also wanting in Lib. brev. 7; probably this document, like the one which precedes it in the MS., is of the 23rd December, 1457) and 50 (Lib. brev., "D. u. s."=1457, Dec. 12). Rossmann, 429.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 39; and in the Appendix No. 48, the *Brief to Berne. State Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Letter of December 1st, 1457. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 821. For the date, see Archiv. für Oesterr. Gesch., xvi., 420. I have sought in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican for the special instructions to Roverella.

§ Böhmer was much interested in this "charming picture of medieval civic prosperity," and translated it; see Janssen, Böhmer's Leben, i., 66, 122; ii., 85.

"The apology of Æneas Sylvius," to use the words of a French historian, "perhaps too closely resembles that of the ancient Roman who replied to a charge of malversation of public money by proposing that his accusers should go to the Capitol and thank the gods for the victories which he had won. It must be confessed that there is much truth in the plea of the Pope's champion, and history will not fail to praise the zeal with which the common Father of Christians laboured to stem the further progress of the Turks and wrest their victims from them.*

At the beginning of the year 1458 alarming reports of the excited state of Germany again reached Rome;† no decided step, however, was taken, and ultimately the opposition died a natural death.‡

The conduct of Alfonso, the powerful King of Naples, was calculated to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than that occasioned by German discontent. From the very beginning of the Pontificate of Calixtus III. the personal relations between him and this monarch, which had formerly been most friendly, had totally changed.

The King who could boast of having in great measure brought about the elevation of Calixtus III., expected his old friend to show his gratitude by acceding to all his requests. The first of these was certainly not a

* Michaud, Histoire des Croisades (Bruxelles, 1841), Vol. ix., p. 17. There is certainly much exaggeration and sophistry in these apologetic writings; see Düx, i., 324, 326, 330 *et seq.*, 376, and Voigt, ii., 240 *et seq.*, on this subject and the erroneous dates of the letters to Mayr. Finally, see the opinion of K. A. Menzel, vii., 244 *et seq.*, 254.

† See the *Cipher Despatch of Otto de Caretto (who had seen letters from the Cardinal of Augsburg to the Pope) to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 27. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Voigt, ii., 247. Droysen, ii., 1, 194 *et seq.* Gebhardt, 28 *et seq.*

modest one, for he asked the Pope to hand over to him the March of Ancona and other territories of the Church.* Calixtus, however, was not prepared to sacrifice his duty to his affection for his former patron, and refused the investiture.† Further misunderstandings arose when the King proposed for several bishoprics in his dominions persons whose youth and ignorance rendered it impossible for the Pope to accede to his request. It must have been with reference to these differences that the Pope exclaimed: "Let the King of Aragon rule his own Kingdom, and leave to Us the administration of the supreme Apostolate."‡ The tension between Calixtus III. and the King was considerably intensified by the arrogance of Alfonso, who went so far as to insult the Pope personally. This we learn from a letter shown by a Papal Secretary to the Milanese ambassador, in July, 1455, in which Alfonso, calling upon the Pope to proceed against the infidels, says that "he appears to be asleep!" The document is full of other unbecoming expressions.§

Calixtus greatly disliked the alliance between Alfonso and the Duke of Milan, which the former announced to

* Pius II., Comment., 35. See also *supra*, p. 340 *et seq.*

† Calixtus III. also refused to grant the King the renewal of investiture of Naples. The Neapolitan ambassador openly attributed this refusal chiefly to the ambition of the Borgias. Zurita, iv., 44b.

‡ Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58. With regard to the matter of the bishoprics, see Platina, 736; Zurita, Anales, xvi., c. 39, and a *Despatch from Fr. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Siena, to the Signoria, dated 1455, Aug. 29 (Contest as to the appointment to the Bishopric of Valencia: "el qual el summo pontefice voleva per uno suo nepote et la real maiesta el voleva etiam per uno suo parente"). Cod. Ital., vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

§ *Despatch of J. Calcaterra of the 22nd July, 1455; see Appendix No. 33. State Archives, Milan.

him on the 4th October, 1455. Francesco Sforza betrothed his daughter, Hippolyta, to Don Alfonso, grandson of the Neapolitan monarch, and son of Ferrante of Calabria, while the daughter of Ferrante was actually married in 1456 to Sforza Maria, a son of the Duke of Milan. Venice, Florence, and Siena shared the apprehensions which these unions between the most powerful among the Italian princes awakened in the mind of the Pope.*

The disgraceful conduct of King Alfonso on the occasion of Piccinino's war with Siena must have still more embittered the relations between him and Calixtus. A fresh outbreak of hostilities in Italy was the greatest possible obstacle to the crusade on which his heart was set, nevertheless the monarch, who had solemnly promised to take part in this, persisted in fomenting the war in the Sienese territory.†

These matters being at length settled, the question of the crusade again became prominent. The success of the war against the infidels depended in great measure on the King of Naples, who had large naval and military forces at his disposal, and whose example might be expected to have great influence in winning the co-operation of other states. Alfonso formally made the most magnificent promises,‡ but he really had no intention of performing his vow of joining the crusade. Instead of proceeding against the enemies of Christendom, and without a declaration of war,

* See Buser, 83, 85, 87.

† See *supra*, p. 359 *et seq.*, and the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini of 29th August, 1455, cited *supra*, p. 339, note †, St. Mark's Library, Venice. *"La M^ta del Re," says Bernardus de' Medici to Fr. Sforza, under date Naples, 1455 (st. fl.). Jan. 4, "non si loda de papa et il papa biasima la M^ta Sua et sdegno cresce." Pot. Est., Firenze, i. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See Voigt, Æneas Sylvius, ii., 189.

he commenced hostilities against Genoa, which had always been the object of his hatred, and employed the fleet equipped by the Archbishop of Tarragona for the Holy War in devastating the territory of his enemies. At the same time he never ceased to oppress Sigismondo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini.* This policy, which not only stirred up fresh troubles in the Romagna, but also revived the designs of Anjou, and became the occasion of repeated interference on the part of the French, naturally had a most disastrous effect on the Pope's endeavours to unite Christendom against the Turks.† All his exhortations and attempts to re-establish peace were in vain,‡ and Alfonso's aggression finally compelled the Genoese to turn to France for assistance.§

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the relations between Calixtus and Alfonso became more and more embittered. The King was convinced that the Pope was determined to thwart him in every way.|| In the summer of 1457 there was much excitement about a pre-

* See *supra*, p. 365 Balan, v., 172 *et seq.*; Vigna, vi., 463 *et seq.*; Tonini, 251 *et seq.*, 256 *et seq.* Fano did not venture to take part in the crusade, fearing an attack from Alfonso. Amiani, Mem di Fano, i., 421.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 128.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 63; Vigna, vi., 697 *et seq.*, 727. *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1457, April 20. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Napoli I. See also the *Briefs to Genoa (s.d.) and to the Doge P. Campofregoso, dated 1457, Febr. 5, and May 10. Lib. brev. 7, f. 71, 64 and 89-90. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See Sismondi, x., 83; Cipolla, 452; Buser, 88 *et seq.*; Vigna, vi., 787 *et seq.*

|| Alfonso openly expressed this opinion to the Milanese ambassador. See *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1456, April 29. Fonds. Ital. 1587, f. 120 National Library, Paris.

sentation to a bishopric. The Pope having refused to accede to the King's desire, the Neapolitan ambassador appealed to a future council, and thus incurred excommunication. If we may trust the report of an ambassador then in Rome, the dispute became so violent that Calixtus concluded a Brief addressed to Alfonso with the words: "His Majesty should be aware that the Pope can depose kings," and Alfonso rejoined, "Let his Holiness know that the King, if he wishes, can find a way to depose the Pope."*

The almost regal reception therefore accorded to the beautiful Lucrezia di Algano, who was generally supposed, though he denied it, to be King Alfonso's mistress, when she came to Rome with a great suite in October, 1457, can only have been due to political considerations.† Whether any improvement in the state of feeling between Alfonso and Calixtus ensued it is impossible to say. If, as an ambassador has asserted, Lucrezia asked the Pope for a dispensation to become Alfonso's second wife, it is evident

* *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio of the 23rd June, 1457; see Appendix No. 46. Ambrosian Library, Milan. See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Storza, dated Florence, 1457, May 19, and preserved in the same library (Firenze, i.).

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 253-254; Pius II., Comment. 27, and Cugnoni, 184. The statement of Paolo della Mastro (Cron. Rom., 25), that Lucrezia arrived in Rome on the 9th October is confirmed by a *Despatch of Leonardus Benevolentus to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 10: "Mad. Lucretia ieri entro in Roma con gran solemnita e grandissima compagnia . . . Oggi ando a visitare il papa essendo insieme con li cardinali convocati; venne con grandissima et ornatissima compagnia, fu ornato el palazzo con molti panni d'arazo e ornatissimi e richi paramenti e in tutte parti ricevuta con grandissima pompa e honore, se fusse stata la propria regina, non so se si fusse fatto piu." Cod. A., iii., 16, Siena Library.

that the contrary must have been the case, as the Pope neither could nor would have granted such a request.*

In March, 1458, we learn that the Pope's nephews, more especially Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, made efforts to bring about a reconciliation between him and Alfonso, and there was some talk of sending the Cardinal to Naples.† It was expected that the great affection of the Pope for his relations would have ensured the success of these endeavours, but the King repelled all pacific overtures.‡ In June, 1458, Calixtus wrote of the Neapolitan monarch: "Since Alfonso has come into possession of Naples the Church has had no peace; he has been a constant torment to Pope Martin, Eugenius, and myself. Therefore, when he dies, I will do my utmost to deliver my successor from such bondage by preventing the succession of Don Ferrante, the King's illegitimate son."§ The feudal law of Lombardy

* *Despatch in cipher from Otto de Caretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 29. State Archives, Milan.

† *Cipher Despatch from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, March 28. State Archives, Milan (erroneously given in Pot. Est., Roma, 1461). According to a *Despatch from the same ambassador, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 17, Cardinal Barbo also offered his services in bringing about a reconciliation with King Alfonso. *Loc. cit.*

‡ Cipher *Despatch from the same to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, March 21. *Loc. cit.*

§ *Despatch of the Bishop of Modena of the 11th June, 1458; see Appendix No. 50. Ambrosian Library, Milan. It is evident that Alfonso was by no means a good and trustworthy neighbour to the States of the Church. See Voigt, iii., 22. On the 31st May, 1458, Otto de Carretto was able to inform Fr. Sforza by a *Despatch in cipher (Ambrosian Library) that Calixtus intended on the death of Alfonso to take possession of Naples as an escheated fief.

was on the Pope's side and of this he was no doubt aware.* According to it legitimization does not of itself carry the right of succession to a fief, and no special provision had been made to secure this for Ferrante.†

* See the *Letter of Otto de Carretto and Gio. de Caymis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. Cod. Z, 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. We shall speak of this letter later on.

† Æn. Sylvius (Europa, c. 65) certainly asserts the existence of a recognition of his right of succession, but the document has never come to light. In this matter my statement, Vol. I. p. 331, needs rectification. According to Zurita (iv., 44b) Alfonso expressly requested the Pope to grant Investiture to Ferrante. Eugenius IV. had clearly acknowledged Ferrante's capability of succession. I am indebted to the kindness of Fr. Ehrle, S.J., for my knowledge of the *Document concerning this matter (d.d. Rome, etc., 1444, Id. Jul. A° xiii°); Reg. 380, f. 28ab; Secret Archives of the Vatican. Calixtus III. seems to have proceeded on the conviction that he was not bound by this act of his predecessor's.

CHAPTER IV.

SKANDERBEG, "THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST"—THE POPE'S SOLICITUDE FOR THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST—COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE PAPAL EFFORTS FOR A CRUSADE—THE RISE AND DOWNFALL OF THE BORGIA—THE LAST DAYS OF CALIXTUS III.—THE DEATH OF CARDINAL CAPRANICA.

AFTER the death of the great Hunyadi, the Turks had but one adversary, able to cope with them, left on the western battlefields, and this was George Kastriota, Prince of Albania, generally known by the name of Skanderbeg.* The history of this hero, on whom Calixtus III. bestowed the name, "Soldier of Christ," has been rescued by recent investigations from the romantic fictions which had obscured it.

It is now an established fact that Kastriota was not, as had been supposed, a scion of an ancient Albanian family, but was of Slavonian origin. Original documents have also refuted the story that he distinguished himself when a hostage among the Turks, gained favour with the Sultan, and, after the battle of Kunovica, escaped and returned home to incite his countrymen to take arms against the infidel. The truth is that Skanderbeg's youth was passed in his native mountains,† and his warfare with the Turks

* See Hopf, 122; Makuscev, Slaven in Albanien (Warschau, 1871) Kap. 4, and C. J. Jirecek, Gesch. der Bulgaren (Prag, 1876) 368-369.

† Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 609.

began with the victory gained over them in the Dibra in 1444. This victory filled western Christendom with joyful hopes, inaugurated the independence of Albania, which Skanderbeg maintained for more than twenty years, and ushered in the heroic age of its brave people. He was himself the hero of heroes. Contemporary testimony is unanimous in representing him as one of the noblest figures of the age. While yet a boy, his handsome features and commanding gestures presaged a glorious future. A companion in arms tells us that he used to turn up his sleeves in battle, that he might better wield the sword or the club. His warlike spirit was such that a battle from time to time seemed to be a necessity for him. He was at once a soldier and a general. His physical strength was almost inexhaustible, and in their rapidity his military movements resembled those of Cæsar.*

All the efforts of the infidels failed to vanquish this mighty foe, and after a while they attempted by cunning to accomplish that for which their power had proved unequal. They succeeded in inducing some Albanian chiefs, who found the rule of the energetic Skanderbeg too burdensome, to revolt, and among these were the Princes Nicholas and Paul Ducagnini. A bloody civil war then broke out, and there was reason to believe that the Signoria of Venice were no strangers to these disturbances. The hatred of the Venetians to Skanderbeg was due to his connection with King Alfonso of Naples.† Pope Nicholas, who in every way supported him, at length brought about a peace.‡ The Turks now stirred up Moses Golem Komnenos against him. In 1455, Isâbeg, one

* See Fallmerayer, Albanes. Element, 5, 7.

† Hopf, 133. See C. Padiglione, Di G. C. Scanderbech (Napoli, 1879).

‡ Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 413-414. See *supra*, p. 246.

of the most experienced of the Turkish leaders, attempted a fresh attack on Albania. In order to make sure of the support of the King of Naples, Skanderbeg did homage to him as heir of the House of Anjou for his capital of Kroja, and Alfonso sent a thousand foot soldiers and five hundred musketeers to assist him. In the end of June, 1455, when with fourteen thousand men he attempted an attack on Berat, he was beaten by the superior Turkish forces, but his mountain home, with its raging rivers and torrents, easily placed him beyond the reach of his enemies. At the approach of winter the Turks retired and left the traitor Moses Golem in possession, promising him that if he brought them Skanderbeg's head he should receive a hundred thousand ducats, and be put in possession of Albania* without having to pay tribute.

For some time after the defeat at Berat Skanderbeg's fate was a matter of uncertainty in Western Europe, but in the spring of 1456 he reappeared upon the scene. In April he wrote to Cardinal Capranica, whose zeal for the cause of the crusades was well known, describing the warlike preparations of the Turks, and begging for his good offices with the Pope.† An envoy from the Albanian hero reached Milan‡ in June, and in October he again sent another messenger to Francesco Sforza and to Calixtus III. The Pope received his envoy with the greatest cordiality, but

* See Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 610. Hopf, 134. Regarding the stronghold of Kroja, see Hahn (Alban. Studien, Wien, 1853), i., 57, and Fallmerayer, 21. A *letter of the Doge Fr. Foscari to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1455, Aug. 14, speaks of the Turkish invasion of Albania. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Venez, i.

† *Skanderbeg to Card. Capranica, dated Alessio, 1456, April 8. Register in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris.

‡ *Fr. Sforza to Jacopo Calcaterra, his ambassador in Rome, dated Milan, 1456, June 20. *Loc. cit.*

unfortunately was not able to assist the Albanians with ships or troops. He, however, encouraged and sanctioned their enterprise and afforded pecuniary help to the best of his power.*

On the 5th April Skanderbeg made his triumphal entry into his capital, Kroja, laden with rich spoils, after having a few days previously defeated the traitor Moses and his Turks in the Lower Dibra. Moses returned home a despised and vanquished man. Full of repentance for his treachery he fled to Albania and begged forgiveness from Skanderbeg. The hero pardoned him and generously restored his confiscated possessions; it was henceforth Moses' aim to atone for his treachery by loyal service against the common foe.†

A sorrow far deeper than that which the apostasy of Moses can have caused him fell upon Skanderbeg in the defection of his nephew Hamsa, who, beguiled by Mahomet II., proved false to his blood, his country, and his faith. In 1457 he joined the Turkish General Isâbeg with a considerable force, and advanced against his uncle, who had scarcely ten thousand men at his command. The latter, therefore, determined to avoid an engagement with an enemy so superior in number, and to entice him into the interior of the devastated country. The crops which were nearly ripe were hastily gathered into the fortresses, where

* Zinkeisen, ii., 119. Hopf., 134. See Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 15. Early in July, 1456, King Alfonso heard of a victory gained by Skanderbeg; see the *Letter of the Sienese ambassadors (Æneas Sylvius, Galg. Borghese and L. Benevolentus) to Siena, dated Naples, 1456, July 3. Cod. A. iii., 16, of the Siena Library. In a *Brief to Brother Lud. Constanz, dated [1456] Dec. 15, Calixtus III. speaks of the impossibility of immediately sending assistance to Skanderbeg. Lib. brev. 7, f. 53. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 131. Hopf. *loc. cit.*

most of the country people with their goods also took refuge. As soon as the enemy began his march through the upper Dibra Skanderbeg with his troops retired towards Alessio. The Turks occupied a great part of the country, and extended their lines as far as this place, which belonged to the Venetians.* Venice complained bitterly of the violation of her neutral territory, but did not support the oppressed Albanians. Now, as before, the Signoria, in their desire to prevent any foreign interference in Albania, viewed with displeasure the assistance rendered by Alfonso of Naples to Skanderbeg, who in his necessity had also written to the Pope, entreating aid. The state of the Papal Treasury was unfortunately at this time far from prosperous. The maintenance of the crusading fleet was a great and constant expense, claims were made from all sides on the Supreme Head of Christendom, and meanwhile the war tithe came in very sparingly. The Pope did all that was in his power by transmitting a sum of money to Skanderbeg, and promising, as soon as possible, to send a well-equipped galley, which was to be followed by other ships.†

The most splendid and most bloody of Skanderbeg's victories was that which he gained in the Tomorniza in July, 1457. Isâbeg's army was surprised, and those who did not escape were cut to pieces. Thirty thousand Turks are said to have perished. Fifteen hundred prisoners, four-and-twenty horse-tails, and the whole camp of the enemy, with all its treasures, were taken by the conqueror. Hamsa, the traitor, was among the captives. Skanderbeg magnanimously spared his life, but sent him to Naples to be kept in safe custody by the King.‡

* Hammer, ii., 48. Zinkeisen, ii., 132. Fallmerayer, 68 *et seq.*

† Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 21 ; see 41 (from this passage it appears that the Papal succour arrived most opportunely).

‡ See Hopf, 135 ; Hammer, ii., 49 ; Fallmerayer, 69 *et seq.*

Albania was now delivered from the Turkish invasion, as Hungary had been by the victory of Belgrade in the previous year. The only powers who had afforded Skanderbeg any real assistance at this critical period were King Alfonso and the Pope. On the 17th September, 1457, the latter wrote to him in the following terms: "Beloved son! continue to defend the Catholic Faith; God, for whom you fight, will not abandon His cause. He will, I am confident, grant success against the Turks and the other unbelievers to you and the rest of the Christians with great glory and honour."*

The Pope had previously, on the 10th September, determined that a third part of the tithes from Dalmatia should be placed at the disposal of the brave Albanian chief. He also commanded his legate to come to Skanderbeg's assistance with at least a part of the fleet then in the Ægean Sea.† A special nuncio, Juan Navar, was sent to Dalmatia and Macedonia to collect the tithes; he was to oblige the people of Ragusa to fulfil their promises.‡ Navar does not, however, appear to have been very successful, for in December, 1457, the Pope threatened them with excommunication.§

After his victory Skanderbeg had informed the Western Princes that he was not in a position to bring the war to a happy conclusion without further assistance. The time had come, he said, for them to awaken from their lethargy,

* Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 26.

† Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 426-428, and Mon. Ung., ii., 303-304. Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 23.

‡ Raynaldus, *loc. cit.* See *Brief to Ragusa, dated [1457] Sept. 18. Lib. brev. 7, f. 122. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Brief to Ragusa, dated 1457, Dec. 3. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134. *Ibid.* 135, a Brief to J. Navar on this matter; f. 139, reiteration of the threat to Ragusa, dated 1458, Feb. 6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

to lay aside their dissensions, and to unite with him in exerting all their powers to obtain the liberation of the Christian world and to secure the future.* But this appeal was as ineffectual as those which the Pope had previously made. Naples alone sent some troops to Albania. Calixtus III. energetically expressed his satisfaction at the victory, and, on the 23rd December, 1457, appointed Skanderbeg his Captain-General for the Turkish war.† He also repeatedly sent him pecuniary aid.‡ Skanderbeg appointed as his lieutenant the despot of Roumania, Leonardo III., Tocco, ex-Prince of Arta, whose name was expected to rouse Southern Epirus to a general insurrection against the Turks. Unfortunately, Venice now came forward with various pretensions, the result of which was a new civil war, which was not terminated until February, 1458.§

In his zeal for the defence of Europe against Turkish aggression, and for the protection of the Oriental Christians, Calixtus III. never forgot the more distant outposts of Christendom in those regions. He interested himself more especially in the Genoese possessions in the Black Sea, which had already engaged the attention of Nicholas V.‖ On the second day after his coronation he issued a Brief urgently exhorting the inhabitants of the Genoese territory on the mainland, and some few specified provinces in the neighbourhood, to support the Bank of St. George with money and gifts, so that Caffa might

* Zinkeisen, ii., 136.

† Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 431-433.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 14-15, 16. Kaprinai, ii., 133 *et seq.* See *Brief to J. Navar, dated 1458, Feb. 6. Lib. brev. 7, f. 139b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Details are given by Hopf, 135.

‖ See Raynaldus ad an. 1455, and Vigna, vi., 269.

not fall into the hands of the unbelievers. In order to give the more weight to this appeal, new and ample indulgences were granted to those who should in any way support this establishment in its opposition to the Turks.* On the 22nd November, in the same year, Calixtus, who had in the meantime personally afforded considerable assistance to the Bank, expressly declared that the Bull issued in favour of Caffa was not to be considered as suspended by that of the crusade of the 15th May.†

These favours occasioned great satisfaction in Genoa, and honest collectors were sent without delay to the territories indicated by the Pope. Calixtus continued to manifest his goodwill to the undertaking. On the 3rd March, 1456, the directors of the Bank of St. George wrote to Caffa in the following terms: "The Pope shows himself in every way so well disposed towards the Genoese colonies that their welfare appears to be even nearer to his heart than it is to ours."‡ The reason of this was that Calixtus's motives were nobler than those of the directors of the Bank; they only cared for the preservation of their colonies on account of the income they derived from them, while the Pope undertook their protection from zeal for the maintenance of the Catholic faith and the defence of Christian civilization against the inroads of Islam.§

* See the Pope's Letter to the Bank of St. George, given in part by Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 32, and completely by Vigna, vi., 403-407; see *ibid.*, 305, 390, 396 *et seq.*, 407 *et seq.*

† Vigna, vi., 412-414. In the beginning of November, 1455, the Bank of St. George had sent a special envoy (ven. sacr. litt. profess. Deodatus) to Rome, to represent to the Pope the necessities of the colonies in the Black Sea. *Cf.* on this subject a letter to Calixtus III., dated Genoa, 1455, Nov. 5, which I found in Cod. D. 4.4. 1, f. 2b-3, of the City Library at Genoa, and which is, to the best of my belief, unpublished.

‡ Vigna, vii., 431, 540 *et seq.*; see 550 and 603-604.

§ *Loc. cit.* 446.

The Pope's correspondence with Genoa, which has recently been brought to light, enables us to appreciate his marvellous energy in his care for the Eastern colonies at the very time when Hungary and the fleet were so urgently claiming his attention. On the 10th March, 1456, he extended to the dioceses of Albenga, Savona, and Ventimiglia the Bull by which Lodisio Fieschi and Giovanni Gatti had been appointed collectors of the ecclesiastical tithes in the Genoese territory.* Other Briefs called upon the Bishops of Tortona, Luni, Alba, Acqui, and Asti to assist the collectors in every possible manner, and to give a good example to their subjects by their zeal for the common cause of Christendom.† Others, again, confirmed the plenary powers given to these commissioners, and commanded them severely to punish those who, under the cloak of piety, deceived the simple people by falsely representing themselves as collectors.‡ The Pope strictly charged Valerio Calderina, Bishop of Savona, and Administrator of the Diocese of Genoa, not to damp the zeal of the people by the suggestion of doubts and scruples.§ He also addressed a special Brief to Paolo Campofregoso, Archbishop Elect of Genoa, urging him to set a good example by the complete and speedy payment of the tithes of his benefice.‖ In his indefatigable zeal he also exhorted the Duke of Milan and the Marquess of Montferrat, the neighbours of Genoa, to support Caffa.¶ We cannot give a full account of all the favours which the Genoese received from Calixtus III., but we can undoubtedly assert that he did everything in his power on their behalf.**

* *Loc. cit.* 458-559; see 561-562.

† *Loc. cit.* 563-564.

‡ *Loc. cit.* 569-570.

§ *Loc. cit.* 570-571.

‖ *Loc. cit.* 571-572.

¶ *Loc. cit.* 567-568.

** See Vigna, *loc. cit.*, 599 *et seq.*, 615 *et seq.*, 625 *et seq.*, 630 *et seq.*, 636-637, 638-639, 712-719, 738-740.

With regard to the fleet, the Pope was sedulous in providing it with reinforcements,* and in encouraging the legate and exhorting him to keep his forces together in readiness for any emergency.†

A splendid victory gained at Mitylene over the Turks in August, 1457, when no fewer than five-and-twenty of their ships were taken by the Papal fleet, gave much consolation to Calixtus.‡ He commemorated the happy event by causing a medal to be struck with the inscription: "I have been chosen for the destruction of the enemies of the Faith."§

This fresh success encouraged the Pope to do everything in his power for the support and assistance of Scarampo and his forces.‖ As time went on, he continued to urge

* See the *Briefs to the Archbishop of Milan, dated 1457, Feb. 15; to Scarampo, dated 1457, Feb. 28 and March 29; to Carvajal, dated 1457, March 23; to Pontius Fenollet, dated 1457, March 26; all of which are in Lib. brev. 7, f. 65b, 72, 76, 75, 74. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Also the Brief to Fr. Sforza, dated 1457, Feb. 15 (Ambrosian Library; incorrectly given by Christophe, ii., 584-585). Scarampo himself urgently implored assistance. See his *Letter to Onorato Gaetani, dated Rhodes, 1457, May 19. Gaetani Archives; see Appendix No. 45.

† See the *Brief to Scarampo of 10th March, 1457: "Super omnia autem, dilecte fili, te hortamur, ut nullam galeam aut navigium recedere a te permittas, sed omnes tua solita prudentia retinere studeas, ne classis ipsa ulla ex parte imminuatur, sed potius corroboretur." Lib. brev. 7, f. 69b; see *ibid.*, f. 72, a *Brief sent to the said Cardinal on the 28th February, 1457, and Theiner, Cod. iii., 399.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 31 and 32; St. Antoninus, xxii., c. 14, § 1; Pius II., Comment., 245; Cugnoni, 132.

§ Molinet, 9; Bonannus, i., 57; Venuti, 16; Guglielmotti, ii. 289 *et seq.*; Atti della Soc. Lig., iv. and xc.; Vigna, vi., 793.

‖ See *Brief to Scarampo, dated 1457, August 29 ("Ecce ad te inpresentiarum mittimus tres galeas"), and August 32 (Michael de Borgia will bring money with the ships). Lib. brev. 7, f. 116-118. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

on the Cardinal Legate the necessity of keeping the fleet together, and remaining with it during the winter,* so that the expedition might be carried on with renewed vigour in the following year.† Further reinforcements were sent for this purpose early in 1458, and, in announcing their arrival to the Cardinal Legate, Calixtus III. solemnly assured him that he would never give up the fleet, and would support it as long as he lived. He bid Scarampo not lose courage, and expressed his confident hope that God would grant victory, and would bring great things to pass by its means.‡ The energy of the Pope never flagged until he was struck down by mortal sickness;§ and alas! it was not granted to him to witness another victory for the cause so near his heart.

Save for these successes, won by the arms of Scarampo and Skanderbeg, the year 1457 was fraught with disappointments to Calixtus. The King of Portugal, like the rulers of France and of Burgundy, constantly buoyed up his mind with vain hopes and empty expectations. No one in Italy made any exertion for the defence of Christendom. Venice remained, as before, deaf and cold to all Apostolic appeals; her traders cared only for their selfish interests, and accord-

* Besides the *Brief of 31st August, 1457, which we have mentioned, see *one to Scarampo, dated 1457, December 4, of which Raynaldus (ad an. 1457, N. 38) gives but a fragment. Lib. brev. 7, f. 132b-133b.

† *Brief to B. Vila, dated 1457, December 4. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134.

‡ *Brief to Scarampo, dated 1458, March 14. Lib. brev. 7, f. 152b-154. See Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 18.

§ *On the 29th May, 1458, he announced to Scarampo the early arrival of Juan Navar with succour, and the approaching despatch of four galleys built in Rome. Lib. brev. 7, f. 172; see *ibid.*, f. 174, the *Brief to Michael "de Borga," dated 1458, June 3.

ingly maintained peace with the Sultan, who invited the Doge in March, 1457, to the marriage of his son.*

The Duke of Milan endeavoured to obtain investiture from the Emperor by holding out hopes that he would send troops for the war. These tedious negotiations came to nothing, although the Pope took the Duke's part, and all expectations of succour from this quarter vanished.† Like the great victory on the Danube in 1456, the successes of Skanderbeg and Scarampo in 1457 were attended by no adequate results. All who wished to remain in peace, and attend without interruption to their own private interests, easily persuaded themselves that the power of the Turks was sufficiently subdued. Time was thus given to the enemy to recover from defeat, and to prepare for further aggressions, and an opportunity which never returned was lost by the short-sighted and egotistical policy of the European Powers.

The strength of Hungary was crippled; discord prevailed among her magnates and at the Court; Frederick III. was at variance with the young King Ladislas regarding the inheritance of the Count of Cilli. The Pope most earnestly adjured these two princes to lay aside this petty private matter for the sake of Christendom in general and of their own dominions. "How," he asks, "can the French, the Spaniards, and the English think of sending armies against the Turks when you, who are near at hand, and whose

* Sathas (Documents inéd., relat. à l'hist. de la Grèce, Première série [Paris, 1880], i., 36) has published the Sultan's letter. On the 20th October, 1457, Venice declared to the Sultan her firm purpose of maintaining peace with him. *"Imperatori Turcorum." Senatus Secreta, xx., 135. State Archives, Venice.

† See Buser, 86. *As early as the 1st November, 1456, the Pope had begged the German Electors to promote the grant of the Investiture to Sforza. Regest., in Cod. 1613, National Library, Paris.

interests are at stake, seem to take no heed of the danger which threatens you from the infidels?"* In the beginning of November, 1457, an agreement was at last arrived at between Frederick III. and Ladislas, but on the 23rd of the same month Ladislas died, and in consequence of his death affairs in the East took a new and unexpected turn. Matthias Hunyadi Corvinus, who was very young, ascended the Hungarian throne, and the Utraquist Governor, George Podiebrad, was elected King of Bohemia (2nd March, 1458).

In the election of George no regard was paid to the hereditary pretensions of Saxony, Poland, and the House of Hapsburg; the adjoining countries were not consulted, and the proceedings were altogether of an exceptional kind. Accordingly the new King was not without opponents, who had legitimate grounds for calling his election in question. Under these circumstances the congratulations of an eminent and generally esteemed Prince of the Church were peculiarly welcome. Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Buda on the 20th March to express his good wishes, and at the same time took the opportunity of urging upon the new Monarch the cause of ecclesiastical unity, and of the defence of Christendom against the Turks.†

Even before his elevation the crafty Podiebrad had been working to gain the favour of Rome. The Pope, who had already expressed his desire for the reconciliation of the Bohemians,‡ was all the more easily won because he was assured, not only of Podiebrad's Catholic sentiments

* Calixtus III. to Ladislas. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 819-820. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 8 *et seq.*, and Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 296.

† Palacky, Urkundl. Beiträge, 140. Bachmann (Podiebrads Wahl., 109) seems under the impression that Carvajal's letter is unpublished.

‡ See Palacky, iv., 1, 409

but also of his intention of taking part in the war against the Turks. The Premonstratentian Canon, Lukas Hladek, and Heinrich Roraw, the Procurator of the Bohemian Hospice in Rome, exerted themselves in his cause, and were so successful that the confiding Pontiff declared his determination in every way to defend the honour of the Bohemian King. Calixtus had letters of safe-conduct issued for the Bohemian ambassadors, and his confessor, Cosimo di Monserrato, shewed Lukas Hladek presents destined for King George.* The Pope's anticipations were raised still higher when he received tidings of what King George and his consort had, before their coronation, done and bound themselves by oath to do.

According to the decision of the States the coronation of George was to take place according to the ancient Catholic rite. Prague was at this time without an Archbishop; the Archbishop of Olmütz had not yet been enthroned, and the Archbishop of Breslau was hostile to the King. Consequently King Mathias and the Cardinal Legate Carvajal were requested to send a Hungarian Bishop to perform the ceremony.† The Bishops of Raab and Waitzen declared themselves willing to undertake the office. Carvajal would not allow them to start until they had promised to insist upon George's abjuration of the Hussite heresy previously to his coronation. The King, who well understood his obligations to the Utraquists, began by refusing to do this; the Bishops, however, stood firm, and at length he agreed to abjure his errors and take

* Report of the Roman parish priest Lichtenfelser, Rome 1458, April 3, in Palacky, Urk. Beiträge, 145. Regarding H. Roraw (Rohrau) see Voigt, iii., 426 and Vol. I. p. 254, and regarding Cosimo de Monserrato see *supra*, p. 335.

† See Palacky, iv., 2, 33. Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 110 *et seq.*

a Catholic coronation oath, providing only that the matter was kept secret. Fresh difficulties arose when the Bishops required that the abjuration of heresy should be inserted with the other points in the formal record of his oath. George could not be induced to consent, and the Bishops contented themselves with his verbal abjuration.* In the coronation oath taken on the 6th May, 1458, in presence of only eight witnesses, who were bound to secrecy,† George swore "fidelity and obedience to the Roman Catholic Church, her head, Pope Calixtus III., and his lawful successors," and promised "to preserve his subjects from all errors, divisions and heretical doctrines, and especially from everything opposed to the Catholic Church and the true Faith, and to bring them back to obedience, and to perfect external and internal unity and union with the Roman Church in worship and ceremonials." Every difference of every kind was to be given up, and notably the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds, and other things contained in the compacts which had never been confirmed by Rome.‡

* See the important letter of Carvajal to Calixtus III., 1458, Aug. 9, in Script. rer. Siles. (Breslau, 1873), 7-8, Markgraf, 7, 36f, and Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 125 *et seq.*, 132 *et seq*

† Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 24, 25. Kaprinai, Hung. dipl., ii., 163-166. Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 405. Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 134, 135. Frind, 465, 466.

‡ Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 137. Frind, 45. The former co-religionists of the King had no suspicion of his change or of the oath he had taken; George gained them over by his solemn confirmation of the privileges of the kingdom amongst which the compacts were reckoned, at least by the Utraquists, though these do not seem to have been expressly mentioned. The two oaths were, as George well knew, contradictory. As to the Pope's refusal to confirm the compacts, see Voigt (against Palacky) in the Histor. Zeitschrift, v., 413 *et seq.*

These solemn promises on the part of the King led Calixtus III. to cherish confident hopes that in time the majority of the Utraquists would follow the example of their monarch and return to the Catholic Church. Soon after his coronation George further encouraged these anticipations by accrediting Doctor Fantino de Valle as his Procurator in Rome, sending the Pope a copy of his oath, and adding ample promises regarding an expedition against the Turks to be undertaken when he had arranged the affairs of his kingdom.* According to Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini,† the aged Pontiff now resolved on addressing a Brief to King George with the superscription: "To my beloved son George, King of Bohemia," after the formula generally employed in the case of Catholic Princes. This Brief, however, has not come to light, and neither the King nor the Court ever alluded to it.‡

The coronation of King George by two Catholic prelates

* Voigt, iii., 431. Markgraf, 8. From his letter of the 13th May, 1458, in Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 20, it would appear that Calixtus III. was at first somewhat hurt at not being consulted with regard to the election of the new Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.

† Pius II., Comment., ed. Gobelinus, 430, 431. Here it is also said that the Pope's eyes were opened by the Minorite, Gabriel of Verona, and that before he died he realized that he had been deceived. Bachmann (Böhmen unter Georg v. Podiebrad [Prag, 1878] 75) justly rejects this story.

‡ Markgraf, 8, and Histor. Zeitschrift, N. F., ii., 131. Voigt (iii., 431) and Bachmann (Podiebrads Wahl, 145) consider the Brief to be genuine. In the Secret Archives of the Vatican I found no trace of it, but the Briefs of Calixtus III. are very imperfectly preserved. Against the authenticity of the document we have the fact that in the latter part of Calixtus III.'s life, and especially during his illness, several Papal documents were forged; See Cugnoni, 201.

according to the rite of the Roman Church, together with the friendly relations established between him and the Pope, produced an immense impression, and the tide of feeling became much more favourable to the new monarch. He had now a fair hope of inducing the neighbouring States to acknowledge him, and of depriving the efforts of the Duke of Saxony and the Hapsburgs of any prospect of success.*

To the end of his life Calixtus III. continued heartily devoted to the cause of the crusade. In order to estimate the immense difficulties in his way, we must bear in mind that he had to encounter the obstinate opposition of almost all the European princes and of a great portion of the clergy. This opposition was displayed not only in France and Germany, but also in Italy and Spain, and the Papal registers contain a series of condemnatory briefs bearing on the subject.† The Pope laments this sad state of things in language which shews how deeply it affected him. "The harvest is great but the labourers are few," he writes, in December, 1456, to Cardinal Alain. The sense of his isola-

Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 145, 174.

† See *Lib. brev. 7, f. 17: **"Archiepiscopo Mediolan" (s.d.). See f. 52b: "Fr. Coppino," dated 1456, Dec. 2, and f. 65b: "Archiepisc. Mediol.," dated 1457, Febr. 15; f. 60b: "Omnibus praelatis Sabaudiæ," dated 1457, Jan. 30; f. 83b-84: "G. P. Fenolleto," dated 1457, April 13 (concerning the appeal of the Chapter of Gerona); f. 92: "Episc., capit. et clero Urbinat.," dated 1457, May 20; f. 124: "Episc. Pensauri" (Pesaro), dated 1457, Sept. 24; f. 128b-129: to the clergy of the Province of Tarragona (d.u.s. [1457, Nov. 17]), see f. 160; f. 138: "Ant. de Veneriis nunt. in regnis Castelle et Leg.," dated 1458, Jan. 23; **to the Bishop of Trivento (with severe condemnation), dated 1458, Febr. 26, Regest., 459, f. 199: **"Declaratio contra prælatos et alios non solventes decimam in ducatu Sabaudiæ." Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also Vigna, vi., 680 *et seq.*

tion became at times so overwhelming that the burden of his office seemed almost intolerable.*

In Italy the restless spirit of Piccinino and the crafty policy of Alfonso of Naples caused him constant and serious anxiety. On account of these troubles, and also with the view of making yet another effort to avert the danger of Turkish aggression, Calixtus, in the autumn of 1457, conceived the idea of holding a congress in Rome. His invitation was addressed to all the princes of Christendom; and it was his last attempt. In order to facilitate the deliberations, the envoys were summoned for different dates. Naples, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Venice were to send their deputies to Rome by December, 1457; France, Burgundy, and Savoy by the end of the following January, and the other European princes, with the Emperor, by the end of February.† The Pope placed great hopes on this congress,‡ but the appointed periods passed by without the

* See Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 52; 1457, N. 35 and 50), the pathetic *Letter to the Archbishop of Florence, dated 1457, June 10, and the *Briefs to Joh. de Grolea, and the Archbishop of Granada, both of 20th Dec., 1457. Lib. brev. 7, f. 98, 145b, 145b-146. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The *Letter to Alain is in Appendix No. 44, from the Colonna Archives.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 36, 38. Sanudo, 1166. Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 305-306. See the *Briefs to Cardinal Carvajal, dated 1457, Nov. 29, and to the Duke of Burgundy, dated 1457, Dec. 21, Lib. brev. 7, f. 130-131b, and 144. That the case of Piccinino was to be one of the matters of deliberation appears from the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, Nov. 24, and 1458, March 21. State Archives, Milan (the last named despatch is in cipher; it is in Pot. Est., wrongly dated Roma, 1461), and from a *Brief to Bologna, dated 1457, Dec. 16, the original of which is in the State Archives, Bologna. See Appendix No. 50.

‡ See the *Briefs to B. Vila, dated 1457, Dec. 4, and to L. Cescases, dated 1458, Febr. 17. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134, 148.

arrival of any of those invited. Otto de Carretto wrote on the 4th February, 1458, to the Duke of Milan, "No one of the envoys convened to discuss the Turkish business has yet arrived."* In February several at last appeared, so that the deliberations could be commenced in March. They continued into the month of June,† but there is no record of any result.

The excessive nepotism of Calixtus III. is the only blot on his otherwise blameless character. The lavish prodigality with which he enriched his unworthy relations can only be, in some measure, excused as an effort to secure in them a counterpoise to the influence of the untrustworthy and often dangerous barons.‡

The relations of the Spanish Pope were very numerous, and some of them had come to Rome while he was still a cardinal. They belonged chiefly to the three allied Valencian families of Borgia, Mila, and Lanzol. Caterina Borgia, one of the Pope's sisters, was married to Juan Mila, Baron of Mazalanes, and was mother of young Luis Juan; another sister, Isabella, was the wife of Jofré Lanzol, a nobleman possessed of property at Xativa, and had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo. Calixtus gave both these nephews his family name by adoption.§

* The *Despatch is in cipher, and is to be found in the State Archives, Milan, where see also *Despatches from the same ambassador of the 4th and 8th Jan., 1458. Regarding the refusal of Venice to send ambassadors, see Banchi, Relaz., 441 *et seq.*

† See the *Briefs to Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1458, March 15 and May 29, and to Michael "de Borga," dated 1458, June 3, Lib. brev. 7, f. 153, 172, 174. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Papencordt, Höfler, 487, note 2. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 123. Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 520. Höfler, Roman. Welt. 214.

§ Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 4. See the partly-incorrect article by L. N. Cittadella, Saggio di Albero genealogico e di memorie sulla famiglia Borgia (Torino, 1872), and Reumont in the Arch. St.

The promotion of his relations was in itself objectionable, and was rendered still more so by the vicious character of some among them. A recent historian draws a striking comparison between the family of Borgia and that of Claudius in ancient Rome; the Borgias were in general distinguished by physical strength and beauty; they were sensual and haughty in disposition, and had for their armorial bearings a bull.* Calixtus III. was the founder of their fortunes, but derived little satisfaction from them.‡ Could he have foreseen the evil which his nephews would do to Italy and to the Church, he would certainly, instead of elevating them, have banished them to the deepest dungeons of Spain.‡

Amongst the Pope's nephews, Rodrigo Lanzol, or, as the Italians called him, Lenzuoli, has attained the saddest celebrity. The remarkable abilities of this man, who was born at Xativa, near Valencia, in 1430 or 1431, have been

Ital., Serie iii., xvii, 320 *et seq.* These writers know of but two sisters of Calixtus III., but from a Codex preserved in the Roman State Archives, *"Libre de Rebudes del an. 1452" (Household Book of Cardinal Alfonso Borgia), it would appear that he had two other sisters, named Juana and Francesca (see Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 113). The former is referred to on other occasions. *Regest., 455, f. 115: "Nobili mulieri Isabelle 'de Boria' ('germane nostre vidue') conceditur altare portatile," etc., 1455, Sept., Cal. Nov. A°.1°, "Item aluid simile fuit expedit. p. 'Joanna de Borja,' germ. prefati dom. nostri" (d.u.s.). Item . . . p. "Chaterina de B.," etc. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 148.

† "Camerarius legatus Orientis," writes Æneas Sylvius on the 4th July, 1457, "duos papæ nepotes in vincula coniecit, qui Cyprum populati fuerant" (Opp. 792). See Guglielmotti, ii., 279. Another of the Pope's relations, Gregorio Prima by name, by his distinguished virtues, forms a contrast to these offenders; see Wadding, xii., 481.

‡ Gregorovius *loc. cit.* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 214.

acknowledged even by his bitterest adversaries. Guicciardini says that "in him were combined rare prudence and vigilance, mature reflection, marvellous power of persuasion, skill and capacity for the conduct of the most difficult affairs."*

Even while yet a Cardinal, Calixtus III. had a partiality for his gifted nephew;† and, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he loaded him with dignities and favours of all kinds. As early as the 10th May, 1455, Rodrigo was Notary of the Apostolic See; on the 3rd June he was made Dean of the Church of Our Lady at Xativa, and other benefices in Valencia were conferred on him,‡ and in the same month he was sent by the Pope to Bologna to study jurisprudence.§ He accompanied Luis Juan Mila, Bishop

* See Reumont, Theol. Lit.-Bl., v., 688. Clément, 13, and L'Epinois, Rev. d. quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 363 *et seq.*

† Villanueva, iv., 270-271.

‡ Regest., 465, f. 58: "Rodericus 'de Boria,' sacrista eccl. Valent., recipitur in notarium sedis ap^ce^," d.d. 1455, sexto Id. Mai, A° 1° ("Cum itaque tu nobilitate generis, litterar. scientia et claritate virtutem decoraris" etc.), 436, f. 239b-241: "'Rod. de Boria' conceditur decanatus eccl. b. Mariæ de Xativa Valent. dioc." d.d., 1455 tercio Non. Jun. A° 1° ("Grat. p. nepote d. n. p."), 441, f. 38: "'Dil. fil. mag. Roderico de Borgia' confertur paroch. ecclesia de Quart Valent.," d.d. 1455 [=1456], s.d. [probably like the preceding document, prid. Cal. Mart.] ("Grat. de mand. d. n. p."). These hitherto unknown documents from the Secret Archives of the Vatican fill up the gap which Matagne lamented (469). On the 21st August, 1456, the "rectoria hospitalis S. Andree Vercell." was bestowed upon Rodrigo. *Ibid.*, 444, f. 230.

§ See in Appendix No. 32 the *Brief of the 18th June, 1455, from the original in the State Archives at Bologna. This brief disposes of the fantastic ideas of the Abbé Clément (73), who supposes Rodrigo to have come to Italy for the first time in the autumn of 1456. Ghirardacci, who had access to good sources of information, says: "*Venne anche con il d° governatore per studiare in

of Segorbe, who was nominated Governor of Bologna on the 13th June, 1455. On the 29th June the two cousins reached their destination, where they were honourably received. Luis Juan, however, had to be on his guard with the Bolognese in the exercise of his new dignity: and his abilities do not appear to have been considerable.* Nevertheless, Calixtus III. determined to raise him, as well as the young Rodrigo, to the purple. In November, 1455, the Archbishop of Pisa, Filippo de' Medici, was made aware of this intention, and it was expected that it would be carried out in the following month.† Some obstacle, however, must have arisen, for it was not till the 20th of February, 1456, that the Pope's nephews were secretly created Cardinals.

The records of this creation are preserved, and it appears that it took place in a Secret Consistory, in the presence and with the consent of all the Cardinals then in

Bologna Roderigo Borgia . . . il quale era assai bel giovine et allogio nel palazzo Gregoriano." Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna. I found in Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, an original letter of Rodrigo's to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex Bononia, 9th Oct., 1455, signed "Rodoricus de Boria pton. S.D.N. nepos."

* *Regest., 465, f. 56 : "Ludov. Joh. Segobricen. [episc.] constituitur vicarius generalis et gubernator in civitate Bononiæ et eius comitatu cum potest. leg. de lat.," d.d. 1455, Id. Jun. A° 1°. Secret Archives of the Vatican (also in the State Archives at Bologna, Q. 22, f. 23). On the same day Calixtus III. confirmed the "capitula" agreed upon between the Bolognese and Nicholas V., see *Bull in Cod. B. 19, f. 143, Vallicella Library, Rome. Regarding the arrival and the position of the Pope's nephews in Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 717; Annal. Bonon., 888; Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 53; Muratori, iii., 2, 1036.

† Letter from the Archbishop of Pisa to Florence, dated Rome [1455], Nov. 19. Cart. innanzi il princip., F. xvi., No. 356. State Archives, Florence.

Rome. Contrary to the usual custom, the Church of San. Niccolo in Carcere was on the same day assigned to Rodrigo as his title, and it was decreed that in the event of the Pope's death before his publication, the other Cardinals were at once, under pain of excommunication, to regard his creation as published, and to admit him to take part in the Conclave for the election of a new Pope.*

The new Cardinals had not as yet done anything to merit the dignity conferred on them, they were both very young—Rodrigo only five-and-twenty—their elevation was in itself an unjustifiable action, and the evil was aggravated by the fact that Rodrigo was an immoral and vicious man.†

Such is the judgment of a German Cardinal of the nineteenth century, and though it may seem severe, it is perfectly just. Rodrigo was handsome, of an ardent temperament, and extremely attractive to women. In the time of Pius II. the historian, Gasparo di Verona, sketched his portrait in the following terms: "He is handsome, of a pleasant and cheerful countenance, with a sweet and persuasive manner. With a single glance he can fascinate women, and attract them to himself more strongly than a magnet draws iron."‡ No unfavourable testimony regarding the conduct of Rodrigo during the lifetime of Calixtus III. has come to light; but the same cannot be said as to his subsequent course.

Repeated efforts have nevertheless been made in recent

* Rodrigo was, as Capranica had been, "creatus sed non publicatus," see Catalanus, 275, and Vol. i., p. 264. See the hitherto unknown *Decree of Nomination in Appendix No. 37, from the Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican; *ibid*, 459, f. 119, the similar *Decree in favour of Luis Juan de Mila.

† Hergenröther, ii., 1, 130.

‡ Muratori, iii., 2, 1036. Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 8.

days to rehabilitate the moral character of this man. In the face of such a perversion of the truth, it is the duty of the historian to show that the evidence against Rodrigo is so strong as to render it impossible to restore his reputation. We shall have to speak at a future period of his scandalous relations with a Roman lady, Vannozza de' Catanei, which form part of this evidence.*

The first light thrown upon Rodrigo's immorality occurs in an admonitory letter of the year 1460, in which Pius II. reproaches the Cardinal, who probably was not at the time a priest,† with his unbecoming behaviour at an entertainment given at Siena, in the garden of Giovanni de Bichis. "Our displeasure," says Pius II., "is unspeakable, for such conduct disgraces the ecclesiastical state and office. It will be said to us that we have been made rich and great, not in order that we should lead blameless lives, but to give

* In a future volume I shall also revert to the recent apologies for Alexander VI. Regarding the work of the Dominican, P. Ollivier, Le pape Alex. VI. et les Borgia; P. 1: Le card. de Llancol y Borgia (Paris, 1870), it is sufficient to refer to the destructive criticisms of Reumont, Theol. Lit.-Bl., v., 685-692, and Matagne, 466 *et seq.* Leonetti's Apology is also a failure; see the article of L'Epinois in the Rev. des quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 357 *et seq.* Any further attempt to rehabilitate Alexander VI. is rendered for ever impossible by the documents from the Archives of the Duke of Osuna in Madrid recently published by Thuasne (Joh. Burchardi Diarium [Paris, 1885], iii., Sup., p. 11 *et seq.*).

† Clément has very justly brought this forward. After careful investigation of the *Registers of Calixtus III. and Pius II., I have found no evidence that Rodrigo was at this time a priest. Nothing is proved by the only document relating to the matter (Regest., 445, f. 303b-304: "Roderico etc. conceditur facultas concedendi pro se vel al. familiarib. suis semel tamen in mortis articulo remissionem omnium peccatorum"), for remissio peccatorum here means the indulgence at the hour of death, and any priest can absolve a dying person.

us the means of self-indulgence. This is the reason why princes and powers despise us and the laity daily deride us. They reproach us with our own conduct when we would blame that of others. Contempt falls even upon the Vicar of Christ, because he seems to tolerate such things. You, beloved son! govern the Bishopric of Valencia, the first in Spain; you are also Chancellor of the Church, and —which makes your conduct more reprehensible—you sit with the Pope among the Cardinals, the Counsellors of the Holy See. We leave it to your own judgment whether it is becoming to your dignity to pay court to ladies, to send fruit and wine to the one you love, and all day long to think of nothing but pleasure. We are blamed on your account; the memory of your blessed uncle, Calixtus, is blamed; many consider that he did wrong in heaping so many honours on you. You cannot plead your youth, for you are not now so young as to be unaware of the duties which your dignity imposes on you. A Cardinal must be blameless and an example of moral life before the eyes of all men. What right have we to be angry if temporal princes call us by names that are little honourable, if they grudge us our possessions and constrain us to submit to their commands? Truly we inflict these wounds upon ourselves and invite these evils when by our own deeds we daily lessen the authority of the Church. Our chastisement for these things is shame in this world, and the ways of sin in the next. We trust in your prudence to remember your dignity, and not suffer yourself to be called a gallant by women and youths. For should such things occur again we shall be constrained to show that we do not consent to them, and our censure will not fail to bring confusion on you. We have constantly loved you, and we held you worthy of our protection as a grave and discreet person. Let your conduct be such that we may retain this opinion

to which nothing can more conduce than the adoption of a regular life. Your years favour the hope that you will amend, and permit us to exhort you in a fatherly manner. Petriolo, the 11th June, 1460."* Cardinal Rodrigo hastened to write a letter of apology to the Pope and endeavoured to place the affair in a more favourable light The reply of Pius II. was grave and dignified. The conduct of Rodrigo, he maintains, is inexcusable, although, perhaps, there may have been some exaggeration in the account of it. In any case the Cardinal must for the future keep aloof from all such things and be more careful of his reputation. If he will do this and live discreetly the Papal favour will not be withdrawn from him.†

* Raynaldus ad an. 1460, N. 31. See Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 7-8. Ollivier (162) had already gently insinuated a doubt as to the authenticity of this brief of Pius II. Leonetti (i., 165) then affirmed that he had not found a trace of it either in the papers of Raynaldus or in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Considering that if Leonetti had only looked through the volume cited by the Annalist of the Church he would have found the brief in question, we are at a loss how to characterize his mode of proceeding. l'Epinois has, however, done this; see Rev. des. quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 367 *et seq.* The brief is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Lib. brev. 9, f. 161); it is, with the exception of two printer's errata, correctly given by Raynaldus, and there is absolutely no ground for doubting its authenticity. Leonetti answered l'Epinois, but was signally defeated in this contest; see Rev. des quest. (1881), xxx., 526-548. All this has not deterred the Abbé Clément (Les Borgia, see p. 86 *et seq.*) from breaking a lance on behalf of Cardinal Rodrigo. As, however, he adduces no fresh evidence, I think it unnecessary to take any further notice of his work. The fact of Cardinal Rodrigo's sojourn at Siena in the summer of 1460 is confirmed by a *Letter from him to Fr. Sforza, dated ex Senis viii. Jul., 1460. State Archives, Milan, Aut. pont., Vol. iii.

† "Pius P. II. vicecancellario. Dilecto fili, etc. Accepimus literas tue circ^cis^ et intelleximus excusationem quam affers facti

The hopes of Pius II. were not realized. Cardinal Rodrigo would not change his mode of life. In the year 1464 Pius II., with his mortal sickness upon him, undertook his celebrated expedition to Ancona to place himself at the head of the crusaders. Rodrigo accompanied him, but even at so serious a time this "essentially low-minded man"* could not bring himself to give up his evil pleasures.†

It cannot surprise us to find that among the better disposed Cardinals great opposition was made to the promotion of such a man. This was probably manifested even in the Secret Consistory of the 20th February, 1456. If the Cardinals then gave him their votes, it was in the hope that the old Pontiff would die before Rodrigo's publication. This hope, however, was soon disappointed. In September,

(MS. factum). Factum tuum, dilecte fili, non potest non culpabile esse, licet minus fortasse sit, quam fuerit nobis relatum. Hortamur, ut a talibus deinceps abstineas honorique tuo prudentius consulas. Ignoscimus tibi veniam a nobis petenti, nec si te non dilexissemus ut nostrum peculiarem filium, non ita amanter monuissemus; scriptum est enim : ego quos amo arguo et castigo. Quod si (MS. ni or ne) bene feceris et modeste vixeris, non deerit pater protectorque bonus tibi ac tuis vitamque avunculi tui predecessoris nostri Pio vivo non multum desiderare habebis." Dat., etc., xiiii. Jun., Lib. brev. 9, f. 163b-164. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Guidantonio Vespucci and Piero Capponi speak of him in these words in a despatch of June 6, 1494 ; in Desjardins, i., 399.

† A *Despatch from Jacobus de Arretio to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 10, bears witness to the truth of this statement. In this document, which, unfortunately, is partly destroyed by damp, the following passage occurs: "Anchora aviso V. Ill. S. come lo vicecancelliere e amalato d morbo et questo e vero; ha la doglia nella urechia et sotto el braccio da quello canto. . . . El medico che primo lo vidde dice haverne picc[ola] speranza, maxime quia paulo ante non solus in lecto dormiverat."

1456, when all the Cardinals had left Rome on account of the insupportable heat and of a pestilential sickness, Calixtus III. actually proceeded to the publication (17th September).* A month later the Pope's nephews made their solemn entry into Rome; on the 17th November the red hat was conferred upon them, and on the 26th the ceremony of opening their mouths took place.†

Together with his nephews the Pope had raised to the

* See Pius II., Comment., 26, and Cugnoni, 182 (Gregorovius [vii., 3rd ed., 148] gives the 21st; Zurita [iv., 44b], the 22nd Sept., as the day of the publication, both these dates are wrong). The 17th September is proved to have been the real day by the following documents: (a) *Brief of Calixtus III. to Bologna, d.d. Romæ ap. S. Mariam maj., xvii. Sept., 1456, A° 2°: "Cum non ignoremus nobilitates vestras duobus nepotibus nostris, quos istic apud vos habemus, esse affectas tum pro vestra erga nos devocione et reverentia tum quia iidem istius nostre civitatis alumni eidemque plurimum affecti existunt, vobis nunciamus, quod hodie eosdem nepotes nostros, quos antea de venerab. fratrum nostrorum s. Romane ecclesie cardinalium consilio in cardinales assumpseramus, ut tales publicavimus." Original in the State Archives, Bologna, 2, lib. 3(b). *Brief to Cardinal Rodrigo of the same day. Copy in Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan (c). *Brief to Fr. Sforza of the same day. Regest. in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris (d). *Acta concist. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Rodrigo announced his elevation to the Duke of Milan on the 1st October, 1456 (*Letter ex Castrofrancho, original in the State Archives, Milan, Aut. pont., Vol. iii.); the Duke congratulated him from Milan on the 7th October, and on the 10th Cardinal Rodrigo replied (ex Castrofrancho) offering his services in Rome. Register of these *Letters in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and a **Letter from Cardinal Rodrigo to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1456, Nov. 20. Original in the State Archives, Milan. Rodrigo and his cousin had left Bologna on the 18th October; see Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna. Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

purple the Portuguese Infante, James, a young man noted for his modesty and purity of life. This Cardinal, who was in every way a contrast to Rodrigo Borgia, unhappily died on the 27th August, 1459, on his journey to Florence as legate. His monument, by Antonio Rossellino, is in the Church of San Miniato al Monte. The beautiful form of the young Cardinal, wearing on his countenance an expression of profound peace, rests on a bed of state standing in a niche raised on a lofty architectural pedestal. Two nude figures hold the ends of the pall. Above, on either side, two angels kneel on brackets fastened to the wall, holding a crown and a palm. In the vault over the niche is a medallion in relief of the Blessed Virgin, borne by two angels in the air.*

On the 17th December, 1456, Calixtus III. made another promotion of Cardinals, and on this occasion also the Sacred College offered opposition. "Never," wrote one of those nominated, "had Cardinals more difficulty in entering the Sacred College. The hinges (*cardines*) had become so rusty that they would not turn. The Pope had to use battering-rams and all kinds of engines to burst open the door."† Calixtus was again unsuccessful with some

* See Mai, Spicil., i., 203, 209. Ciaconius, ii., 990. The description of the monument is from Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., ed. 4, 366, where, however, the Cardinal's name is wrongly given as John. According to Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 654) this is the finest of the tombs of the Renaissance period. From the *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, we learn that the Cardinal arrived in Rome on the 1st December, 1456; received the red hat on the 2nd, and had his mouth opened on the 10th. He, like the two nephews of the Pope, had been created on the 20th February, 1456, in Secret Consistory; see the *Decree in the Register, 459, p. 120.

† Voigt, Enea Sylvio, ii., 191. To the authorities here cited we may add Cugnoni, 138.

of the candidates; for instance, he had to give up the Bishop of Novara, on whose behalf the Duke of Milan had repeatedly interested himself.* Of the six actually nominated, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was undoubtedly the most worthy and distinguished.† The others were Juan de Mella, Bishop of Zamora, a man noted for his stately manners and his knowledge of canon law;‡ Jacopo Tebaldo, Bishop of Montefeltre; Rinaldo de' Piscicelli, Archbishop of Naples;§ Giovanni da Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia;|| and lastly, Richard Ollivier de Longueil,

* *Brief of Calixtus III. to Fr. Sforza, dated 1456, Dec. 23 (he made three unsuccessful efforts to carry the election of the Bishop of Novara). Original in the State Archives at Milan, where is also an *Instruction, dated Cremona, 1455, June 18, for the ambassadors going to Rome, who were charged to work for the elevation of the said Bishop.

† Voigt, ii., 192; he speaks (148 *et seq.*, 164 *et seq.*) of Æneas' ambition to attain the dignity (from 1452), and the rejoicing in Siena when he was at length nominated; see Banchi, Relaz., 430-431. The nomination did not take place on the 18th December (Voigt), or the 19th (Banchi), but on the 17th; see *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and the *Brief which will be cited from the Colonna Archives. Cardinal Piccolomini was poor, and in consequence, like Cardinal Rodrigo, unbecomingly eager in the pursuit of benefices. See Voigt, ii., 145 *et seq.*

‡ Regarding this celebrated canonist, see Fuente, 461, 479.

§ Concerning his promotion, see Voigt, ii., 191. The date of Piscicelli's death here given is as incorrect as that in Ciaconius-Oldoinus, ii., 993. Piscicelli died 4th July, 1457. See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

|| Voigt's supposition (ii., 192) that the Duke of Milan had used his influence on behalf of the Bishop of Pavia is confirmed by the *Brief of Calixtus III. of 23rd Dec., 1456, to which we have referred in note *. The Cardinal of Pavia came to Rome on the 25th February, 1457, and received the red hat on the 26th; on the 9th March his mouth was opened, and San Clemente was assigned to him as his titular church; see *Acta consist., Secret Archives

Bishop of Coutances, who, like d'Estouteville, belonged to a distinguished family in Normandy. Charles VII. had zealously exerted himself for the promotion of the last named prelate; and Calixtus hoped, as it proved, in vain, that by conferring on him the purple he would win the French monarch to the cause of the crusade.*

As time went on fresh favours were constantly heaped upon the Borgias. Young Cardinal Rodrigo was appointed legate in the March of Ancona in December, 1456, and went there on the 19th January in the following year.† Cardinal Luis was made legate of Bologna,‡ and both were richly endowed with benefices.§

The most important and lucrative office of the Papal Court was that of Vice-Chancellor; one of the ambassadors speaks of it as the highest dignity after that of the Pope. Since the death of Cardinal Condulmaro (30th October,

of the Vatican, and a *Letter from the said Cardinal to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, March 10. Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. The "Card. Papiens.," in a *Letter to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1457, April 2, speaks of the honours which attended his arrival in Rome. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* See in Appendix No. 44 the *Brief to Card. Alain. Colonna Archives.

† Regist. 445, f. 295: "Rodericus tit. S. Nicol. in carcere constituitur vicarius in temporal. generalis in prov. Marchie Anconit.," etc. (with the consent of the Cardinals), d.d. 1456, prid. Cal. Jan. A° 2°. For the day of his departure, see *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Regist. 445, f. 239: "Ludovicus tit. SS. quatuor coronat. constituitur legatus Bononiæ," d.d. prid. Cal. Jan. [A° 2°]. *Ghirardacci, *loc. cit.* (see *supra*, p. 450, note *), speaks of the honourable reception of Card. Luis at Bologna (end of January, 1456). University Library, Bologna.

§ See in Appendix No. 49 the list from the *Registers in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1453) no one had been appointed to fill this high position, and it was but natural that those Cardinals who held no great office at the Court should aspire to it. We are expressly informed that such was the case in regard to d'Estouteville*. Since the year 1455 he had been labouring to obtain it, but in 1457 it was bestowed on Rodrigo, who was also made Commander-in-Chief of the Papal troops in Italy in December of the same year.† Don Pedro Luis, his brother, a layman, and a year younger than himself, was loaded with offices and honours in a manner equally scandalous. In the spring of 1456 he was appointed Captain-General of the Church‡ and Commander of St. Angelo,§ and, in the autumn of the same year, Governor of Terni, Narni, Todi, Rieti, Orvieto, Spoleto, Foligno, Nocera, Assisi, Amelia, Città Castellana, and Nepi; soon afterwards the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany was added to these.‖

* See Despatches of Jacopo Calcaterra to Sforza, dat. Rome, 1455, Sept. 15, and 1457, August 30. State Archives, Milan. Pot. Est.

† *Regest. 466, f. 8-9. "Rodericus tit. S. Nichol. etc. constituitur vicecancellarius S.R.E.," d.d. 1457, Cal. Mai. A° 3°; 461, f. 95-96: "Rodericus etc. constituitur dux et generalis commissarius omnium gencium armigerar. eccl. in Italia," d.d. 1457, iii., Id. Dec. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding the publication, see the *Original Letter of Card. Rodrigo to Lodovico de Gonzaga in Appendix No. 47, and the note upon it.

‡ Regest. 465, f. 153 (d.d. 1455 [st. fl], iv., Non. Feb. A° 1°). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ I have not seen the document in which the appointment was made; but in the State Archives of Siena I found an *Original Letter of Don Pedro's, d.d. Romæ in pal. apost. xxii. April, 1456, in which he speaks of himself as "castellanus S. Angeli and S.R.E. capit. gen."

‖ *Regest. 465, f. 203b *et seq.*: "Petrus Ludovicus de Borga, gentium armigerar. capitaneus generalis Sed. Ap., constituitur

Such a career was unheard of. Cardinal Capranica, who, as Grand Penitentiary under Nicholas V., had enjoyed the esteem of all classes, made a courageous protest, and his opposition could not be overcome either by prayers or threats. His noble conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Borgias, who vainly sought to have him sent as legate to a distance from Rome. Finally they went so far as to try to put him in prison, but this the Pope would not permit.*

The Borgias kept up the closest intimacy with the Colonna family—in the summer of 1457 it was even said that Don Pedro Borgia was to marry a Colonna†—and accordingly their relations with the Orsini were unfriendly. In 1457, when the Pope sent Don Pedro against the Orsini to recover from them some fortresses which he considered to be the property of the Church, open war

gubernator civitat. Interamnen., Narnien., Tudertin., Reatin., Urbis veteris et nonnullar. aliar. civit.," d.d. 1456, xii. Cal. Sept. A° 2°; f. 205: "Petrus Ludov. etc. constituitur gubernator in civit. et territorio Spoletan. et in nonnullis castris et locis" (d.u.s.); f. 205b: "Petrus etc. constituitur Fulgin., Nuceriæ et nonnullar. aliar. civit., terrar. et locor" (d.u.s.), f. 208b: "Petrus etc. constituitur gubernator civitatum Assisii, Amerinæ, Castellanæ, Nepesinæ," etc., d.d. 1456, iv. Id. Sept. A° 2°; f. 236: "Petrus etc. constituitur gubernator patrimonii b. Petri in Tuscia," d.d. 1456 [st. fl.], v. Non. Febr. A° 2°.

* Catalanus, 113, 115.

† The earliest information I have found on this subject is in the *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio, which is given in the Appendix No. 46, Ambrosian Library, Milan. The union is again spoken of in a letter from Otto de Caretto, dated Rome, 1457, Aug. 20. This ambassador wrote to Fr. Sforza in cipher on the 10th Sept., 1457: "Il parentado qual se doveva fare da Colonesi al capit° Borges pare sia rafredato," etc. Both *Letters are in the State Archives, Milan.

broke out. Cardinal Orsini now left Rome (July, 1457).* Scarampo, Carvajal, and Nicholas of Cusa were absent; and as d'Estouteville, Barbo, and Piccolomini held to the Borgias, they had the preponderance in the Sacred College. It is, moreover, not improbable that most of the Cardinals had assented to the appointment of Don Pedro Luis as Prefect of the City, which took place on the death of the City Prefect, Gian Antonio Orsini, on the 19th August, 1457.† On the evening of the same day the Conservators and the principal citizens of Rome came to the Papal Palace to thank Calixtus for the selection he had made. The Pope took the opportunity of assuring them that Don Pedro was, in feeling and manners, an Italian, and that it was his desire to live and die a Roman citizen. One of the Conservators went so far as to observe that he hoped soon to see the new City Prefect King of Rome; all united in requesting the Pope to make over to Don Pedro the fortresses which had always constituted the Prefect's fief. Don Pedro himself, in receiving the deputations which came to congratulate him, expressed his inten-

* See Nic. della Tuccia, 253; Banchi, Relaz., 435, and a *Despatch of Nicodemus, dated Florence, 1457, July 17. State Archives, Milan.

† *Regest. 465, f. 288-289: "Petrus Ludovicus de Borgia. recipitur in praefect. alme urbis," d.d. 1457 (s.d.) A° 3° ("ven' fratr. nostror. S.R.E. cardinalium consilio"): *ibid.*, f. 221b: "Joannes Anton de Ursinis constituitur et creatur præfectus alme urbis Romae, d.d. 1456 (s.d.). Secret Archives of the Vatican. The satirical *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 5, refers to this elevation of Don Pedro's and to Rodrigo's appointment as Vice-Chancellor. Copy in Cod. A., iii., 16, of the Library at Siena. Fr. Sforza congratulated the Pope on Don Pedro's nomination in a *Letter dated Milan, 1457, Aug. 31. The Draft is in the State Archives, Milan.

tion of becoming an Italian and his wish to live in Italy.*

These empty speeches were made because everyone knew how dearly the Pope loved his nephews.† In reality there was no love lost between the new Prefect and the Italians. The manners of almost all the Pope's nephews were over-bearing and insolent towards the Romans, who retaliated by bitterly hating the foreigners.‡ Their resentment was aggravated when the good fortune of the Borgias attracted a host of relations and other Spaniards to Rome, who brawled in the streets and overran the provinces.§ Adventurers of all kinds gathered round the wild and handsome Don Pedro Luis;‖ the general name of "Catalans" was given to all these strangers, among whom were Neapolitans as well as Spaniards, and, similarly, all the Pope's nephews were called "Borgia," whatever

* *Despatch of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1457, Aug. 20. From this document, which is preserved in the State Archives at Milan, it appears that the appointment of Don Pedro was announced in the Consistory on the 19th August. The fortresses in question were delivered up to him on the 31st July, 1458; see Borgia, Benev., iii., 386.

† In October, 1457, when Don Pedro fell ill, Calixtus III. was beside himself with grief. *Despatch of L. de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 22, Cod. A. iii., 16, Siena Library. The sickness of Don Pedro lasted until the January following; see *Letter of Ant. Catabenus, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 18. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See especially the dismal picture drawn by Roberto Martelli after his return to Rome in a *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1457, July 17th. State Archives, Milan.

§ Voigt, ii., 193.

‖ See Muratori, iii., 2, 1035; Niccola della Tuccia, 65, 251, and Cron. Rom., 25.

might be their patronymic; Calixtus, indeed, conferred on most of them the honour of bearing his family name.*

From the very beginning of his pontificate the Pope shewed a marked preference for his numerous fellow-countrymen equally with his nearer and more distant relations. Only a few days after his election we find evidence of this.† The feeling against the "Catalans" was already so strong that many Germans and Frenchmen voluntarily resigned their positions at the Papal Court.‡ The posts thus vacated were filled by Spaniards, who soon formed the largest portion of the Pope's circle; they were also to be found in the Papal Chapel§ and among the artists attached to the court. No large orders, however, were given to

* Voigt, iii., 117 *et seq.* In the *Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican I find the following Borgias (two of whom were hitherto unknown) mentioned as recipients of benefices and like favours:—1. "Alfonsus de Borgia can. Vicen." Regist. 447, f. 150b, 300; 461, f. 118 (here the name is given "de Boria.") 2. "Michael de Borga." Regist. 448, f. 77 (see *supra*, p. 439.) 3. "Joh. de Borga cler. Valentin. dioc.;" becomes Canonicus "eccl. Gerunden." Regist. 447, f. 88; see 450, f. 183. Probably this Johannes de Borgia is the one repeatedly mentioned in the Bulletar. Calisti de a° 2° (State Archives, Rome) as "castellanus arcis Hostie" (f. 4b, 11b, 18b, 25b, 32b, 41, 47, 52, 58, 64b, 70, 76b, 83b, 96, 103b, 107, 109, 114b.)

† *Letter of Lionardo Vernacci to Piero de Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, 1455, April 10. Cart. innanzi il princip. F. xvii., No. 131. State Archives, Florence.

‡ "Molti scrittori apostolici todeschi e franzesi sono partiti et dicono non voler esser sotto Catelani." *Despatch of the Venetian ambassador, Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

§ See *Div. Calisti, iii., 1455-1456, Sec. Cam., f. 108, etc. *Bulletar. Calisti de A° 2°, f. 17b, etc. State Archives, Rome.

these latter, for, where he could, Calixtus economized for the sake of the Turkish war.*

The power of the Borgias and Catalans became almost intolerable after the important fortress of St. Angelo had been given up to them. This was done on the 15th March, 1456, at a late hour in the evening and after the Pope had threatened the Castellan with the severest penalties. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and it was thought that nothing short of the summoning of a general council could avail to restore tranquillity.†

* Müntz, i., 196, 207; ii., 320. A list of the Spanish officials whom Calixtus III. gathered around him is given by Marini, ii., 146. Papal favours to the churches of Valencia and Xativa are mentioned by Villanueva, i., 9, 18-20, 51, 181-182; ii., 230 *et seq.*, 253 *et seq.* (the dates accord with the *Regest. 461, f. 305, 462, f. 8).

† All this information is given in the *"Novitates curiae Romanae" of March or April, 1456, MS. in Vol. v. of the Reichstagsacten, Ansbacher Serie, f. 61b; formerly in the Royal Archives at Munich, and now in the Kreis Archiv at Bamberg. This document, which has already been made use of by Voigt (iii., 118 *et seq.*) is so faded by time that some passages cannot be deciphered with any certainty; the following is an extract: *"Castrum S. Angeli, quod datum fuit a papa et collegio cardinalium episcopo Lusinensi" [must be Lausannen.; see *Regest 465, f. 16: "Georgius episc. Lausannen. constituitur castellanus castri Crescentii alias dicti S. Angeli de urbe," dated 1455, April 21; this notice from the Secret Archives of the Vatican shows Voigt's supposition to be incorrect, *loc. cit.*]; "a quo papa sepe peciit, castrum ille autem dicit sibi decustodiendum assignatum tam per papam quam per collegium, absque cuius auctoritate et scientia non deceret sibi dimittere castrum, tandem dominica Judica [March 14] hora tarda et suspecta videlicet post xxiiii. horam diei papa misit pro dicto L[a]usan [ne]nsi, cui cum comparuisset coram eo mandat sub excommunicationis, privationis et irregularitatis penis, ut ad statum sibi castrum ad manus suas resignaret; qui metu penarum castrum resignavit et liberum

As the military and police were in the hands of the Catalans they had unlimited power, and administered justice as they chose. "Every day," says a chronicler, "there were assassinations and encounters in the streets; nothing but Catalans could be seen."* The aged and sickly Pope had, we are expressly informed, no idea of what was going on.† His attention was constantly engrossed by the war against the Turks; and he thought that he might safely leave the affairs of Rome to the care of his beloved nephews.‡

The confusion in Rome was yet further increased by repeated visitations of pestilential epidemics. In the beginning of June, 1458, the plague raged so violently that everyone who could do so sought safety in flight. Most of the Cardinals left the city, amongst them the Portuguese Cardinal, the Infant James, Giovanni da Castiglione, Filippo Calandrini, and Piccolomini.§ The last-named betook himself to the Baths of Viterbo, to continue his former life of peaceful leisure.|| The aged Pontiff, however, remained in Rome, and his attention was fully occupied by the illness

promisit dimittere illi quem deputaret; tunc et quum res suas deportasset et ita feria secunda post Judica [March 15] dimisit castrum, quod commendatum est cuidam Cathalano. Res hec multos terret," etc.

* Cronache, Rom., 25; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 150.

† Raph. Volaterr., xxii., f. 234.

‡ "Love for the Borgias," says Nicodemus, "makes the Pope blind." *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 11. Cod. 1588, f. 93 *et seq.*, Fonds ital. National Library, Paris.

§ *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, June 3 and August 1. State Archives, Milan.

|| Voigt, ii., 331; iii., 1; Bayer, 35. In the State Archives at Siena I saw two *Letters from Card. Piccolomini, dated "ex balneis Viterb.," 1458, June 11 and 18. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

of his bitterest opponent, Alfonso of Naples, which terminated fatally on the 27th June.*

On the same day the King's illegitimate son, Don Ferrante, to whom he had bequeathed Naples, rode with royal pomp through the city, while the people cried "Long live King Ferdinand!"† But this was not sufficient to overcome the opposition to his accession which arose on all sides. The aged René of Anjou-Provence, who bore the title of King of Naples, and his son John, who styled himself Duke of Calabria, accepted the proposals of the former and recent antagonists of the Aragonese, all the more readily because Calixtus III., the lord paramount, was also hostile to that party.‡

Almost as soon as the Pope had heard what must to him have been the welcome tidings of Alfonso's death, he sent to the Neapolitan ambassador's house to have him arrested and taken to St. Angelo.§ But the ambassador, who had

* The date of Alfonso's death is variously stated; see Cipolla, 487. The above, however, may be considered certain. See the *Despatch of Antonio de Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1438, June 27. Cod. 1588, f. 89, Fonds. ital. National Library, Paris. The Sienese Despatch in Banchi, Relaz., 443; a *Letter of Angelus Acciaiolus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 2 ("Qui e per molte vie ch'il Re mori martedi a hore tre di nocte"), and a *Despatch from Nicodemus, dated Siena, 1458, July 1. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.

† Banchi, Relaz., 443. See the above-mentioned *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo in the National Library, Paris.

‡ Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 94, and Carafa da Maddaloni (Berlin, 1851), i., 14.

§ This, as well as the whole of the following narration, is taken from the *Letter of Antonio da Pistoja of July 4th, 1458, given in Appendix No. 52. The statements of this ambassador are confirmed by a *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 15. Cod. 1588, f. 94, Fonds ital. National Library, Paris.

been warned of the Pope's intentions, and had received early intelligence of the death of his King, had fled. The property, which he left behind him, was seized. On the following day Calixtus held a Consistory, in which he conferred on Cardinal Rodrigo the Bishopric of Valencia, with its revenue of eighteen thousand ducats, and on his Datary* the Bishopric of Gerona. The same morning Cardinal Luis Juan and other relations of the Pope received various benefices, the right of appointment to which, in common with the above-named Bishoprics, had been in dispute between Calixtus and Alfonso. After dinner the Pope had an interview with Cardinals d'Estouteville and Alain, lasting nearly till evening, in which he declared his determination of making every effort to recover Naples for the Church from Don Ferrante, who had no right to it. The Pope added, were this to take place, and it were proved to belong to King René, he would give it to him, otherwise he would grant it as a fief to whomsoever he deemed fit. It was surmised that he intended to bestow it on Don Pedro. The ambassador, from whom we learn this, says that the Pope looked on Don Pedro as a second Cæsar, and the reports of others are to the same effect.† Many contemporaries even assert that after the conquest of Constantinople Don Pedro was to have been made its Emperor

* Cosimo de Monserrato; see Mai, Spicil., i., 283-286. Cosimo is identical with the Catalan mentioned by Voigt (iii., 426) and Palacky (iv., 1, 410) as aspiring to the Archbishopric of Prague. (Frind [iv., 43] turns Catalan into a family name!)

† In a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 4 (State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.) Nicodemus says the Pope will make "el suo Cesare novello M. Borges" Governor of Naples. See the *Despatch of J. Calcaterra, dated Castel Giubileo, 1456, August 24, *ibid.*

or King of Cyprus.* There is more intrinsic probability, however, in the statement concerning Naples, and it is certain that although Ferrante made every possible effort to bring about a reconciliation, the Pope resolutely refused to acknowledge his right of succession.† On the 14th July a Bull was published in Rome, by which Calixtus claimed the kingdom of Sicily on this side of the Faro as a lapsed fief. At the same time its subjects were forbidden to swear fealty to any one of the pretenders to the Crown; such as had taken an oath were loosed from their obligations, and the claimants were invited to come to Rome to establish their rights.‡ Provision was immediately made for the publication of this document throughout the king-

* Besides the passages collected by Voigt (iii., 119, note), see also Niccola della Tuccia, 70, and a *Despatch from Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Venosa, 1458, February 14: "Credo che per la via di Roma la S. V., sia avisata come el papa ha creato Mess. Borges suo nepote imperatore de Constantinopoli del ch'el Re ne ha avuto aviso certo e se ne e riso," etc. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Napoli II.

† See in particular the ample *Despatches of Nicodemus, dated Siena, 1458, July 1; of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, July 12 and 14; and of Antonio da Pistoja, dated Rome, 1458, July 12. The last says: *"El papa sta pure in oppinione di volere el Reame in le mane et per niente monstra voler consentire che Don Fernando sia Re. Dio voglia ch' el papalista non si verifichi, cioe che questo papa se habia a la fine a trovare nudo, come e descripto." All these despatches to Fr. Sforza are in the State Archives at Milan.

‡ The Bull, dated 1458, July 12, in Regest., 453, f. 138; (in Raynaldus [ad an. 1458, N. 32] and Lünig [ii., 1255 *et seq.*] the conclusion is wanting). The day of its publication in Rome appears in a *Letter from Antonio de Strozzi to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, July 14 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a **Despatch from Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 15, from which we also learn that the document was originally sharper in tone. I found this despatch in Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

dom of Naples,* and it was moreover reported that the Pope had required from Don Ferrante, under pain of the most severe punishments, the payment of the sixty thousand ducats which Alfonso had bequeathed for the crusade.†

Great excitement was caused in both Naples and Rome by this action on the part of the Pope. On the publication of the Bull the price of corn at once rose in Rome. One of the Conservators, moreover, is reported to have expressed himself to the effect that in the event of the Pope making war upon Naples, the Romans would be compelled to choose the lesser evil.‡ The threat did not deter Calixtus from his purpose, and, in order to give greater effect to his Bull, he commanded Don Pedro to levy troops for a hostile demonstration against Naples.§

Contemporary despatches from ambassadors show how strong was the Pope's feeling against Don Ferrante. Calixtus had been greatly incensed by his letter announcing to the Pope and the Cardinals the death of his father, in which he already styled himself King. In a conversation with the Milanese ambassador, he called Ferrante a little bastard, whose father was unknown. "This boy who is

* *Despatch of Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. State Archives, Milan.

† **Despatch of Antonio de Strozzi (see *supra*, p. 469, note ‡) of July 14, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Rome.

‡ See the **Despatch which we have already cited from Antonio de Pistoja of the 15th July, 1458 (Ambrosian Library), and the **Letter of Antonio de Strozzi of July 14th, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Banchi, Relaz., 444 ; Niccola della Tuccia, 68 ; *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Siena, 1458, July 1 (State Archives, Milan), and the *Letter of the Milanese ambassador of 24th July, 1458, which we shall hereafter cite. Ambrosian Library.

nothing," he said, "calls himself King without our permission. Naples belongs to the Church, it is the possession of St. Peter. Alfonso would not assume this title until he had the consent of the Holy See, in this following our counsel. You," continued the Pope, "being from Lombardy,* where fiefs are more common than elsewhere, know that, admitting him to be the legitimate successor of Alfonso, he must have our confirmation before he can be called King. Moreover, Ferrante wrongfully holds possession of Terracina, Benevento, and other places which belong to the Church. Many have therefore thought that we should have proceeded against him with more severity, and altogether denied his right of succession. This we have not wished to do, but for the defence of the rights of the Church we have issued this just and holy Bull, which will stand not only on earth but also in heaven. In it we have reserved his rights as well as those of the other claimants, for everyone shall have his due. If your Duke, whom we greatly love, leaves us a free hand, we shall conquer and exalt him as we have always wished to do; the Duke must attach no importance to a child who is nothing, and whom no one regards; we have been told that Ferrante, when he heard the words of our Bull, burst into tears; his subjects do not wish to be excommunicated, and have accordingly determined to send ambassadors to us; they will be obedient to the Church. If Don Ferrante will give up his usurped title and humbly place himself in our hands, we will treat him as one of our own nephews."†

* In reference to this expression, see *supra*, p. 428, note †.

† **Letters of Otto de Carretto and Gio. de Caymis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. Cod. Z. 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan. Ferrante's letter to Calixtus III., dated July 1st. 1458, is published by Zurita, iv., 52b. I found in a cipher *Despatch from the Bishop of Modena and Otto de Carretto, dated

Ferrante was by no means disposed to do anything of the kind. He summoned a Parliament at Capua, and called on his barons for assistance against the unjust pretensions of the Pope. It was determined that ambassadors should be sent to Rome to appeal against the Bull of July 12th.* The messengers who brought the Bull into the kingdom were, by order of Ferrante, seized and soundly beaten.† It was a great advantage to him that the most powerful of Italian princes, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, declared himself against the Pope and acknowledged Ferrante as King. Cosmo de' Medici united with Sforza in supporting him against Papal menaces and French pretensions.‡

Under these circumstances it would have been hard to foretell the complications to which the Neapolitan question might have given rise had not the death of Calixtus III. completely altered the aspect of affairs.

The Pope had been seriously ill in the spring, but had recovered and risen up again with characteristic energy.§

Rome, 1458, June 8, the first certain account of the endeavours of Calixtus III. to win over the Duke of Milan to his Neapolitan scheme. Cod. cit. of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

* See the detailed *Report of the Milanese ambassadors to their Duke, dated Capua, 1458, July 31st, in Cod. 1588, f. 107 *et seq.* Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† *Despatch of Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31: "Credo la S.V. hara intexo che quel maziero [sergente d'arme] che porto le bolle nel reame publicate qui contra el Re e ritornato a Roma a piedi senza denari e senza havere potuto presentare le bolle ne anco reportarli in dreto, ha solamente reportate certe bastonate." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

‡ Simonetta, 685-686; Comment. Pii II., in Meuschen, 411; see Cugnoni, 184; also Buser, 90.

§ *Letters of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 4 and 8. State Archives, Milan, and *Despatch of Antonio Catabene to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, April 18. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

From the beginning of July, however, there had been a general failure of strength, and about the middle of the month his condition had become so much worse that all the business of government had to be suspended. On the 21st a violent and most painful attack of gout supervened, and as he was also suffering from fever, which may have been due to agitation regarding the Neapolitan question, the physicians gave but little hopes of his recovery.*

On the 30th July a report of the Pope's death was current in Rome, and immediately the hatred of the Romans against the "Catalans" broke forth; the foreigners were ill-treated in the public streets by the populace, and a young Catalan was slain. The state of things was so alarming that the Florentine merchants and the wealthy prelates and courtiers removed their possessions to places of safety.†

Meanwhile the Pope had again rallied a little; on the 1st and 2nd of August he was decidedly better, but on the 3rd a burning fever took away all hope of amendment.‡

* See Niccola della Tuccia, 68, and *Letters from Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24 and 26. State Archives, Milan. Antonio Catabene, writing on the 28th July to Lodovico Gonzaga, informs him that the Pope has been ill for about eight days: *"de 4 infermitate, de febre, de fianchi, de renella e non digerisse alcuna cosa, cosi come intra il cibo cosi ussisse." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est. The ambassador saw the Catalan struck down with the cry: "Death to thee, Catalan!"

‡ *Letter from Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1: "Lo S^mo N.S. papa he stato e he in gravissima infermita in modo che gia tre volte he stato tenuto per morto et sextima per ogniuno non campera molti di. Daheri in qua he alquanto megliorato, ma non cosa che daghi speranza de molta vita." On the 3rd August this ambassador says: *"Non e da sperare de la salute sua." Both letters are in the State Archives, Milan, the former in the Series Pot. Est. and the latter in the Cart. gen.

Even now the marvellous energy of the aged man made it hard for him to believe that he was so near his end. When the plain-spoken Cardinal Antonio de la Cerda told him that, as the physicians had given him up, it was now time to think of his soul and to prepare to die as beseems a Pope, Calixtus replied that it was not yet certain that he was to die this time. On the 1st August, however, he made up his mind to receive the Sacraments,* and on the 4th he was anointed.†

The affairs of government occupied his attention while he lay on his death-bed; on the 26th of July he held a Consistory,‡ and on the 31st he gave proof of the undying strength of his affection for his relations by an act of great importance.

On the death of King Alfonso, Terracina and Benevento had reverted to the Church, and on the above-named day the Pope granted the Vicariate of these two cities to his beloved Don Pedro.§ If we may rely on the report of the Milanese ambassador, the Cardinals consented from fear, lest opposition on their part might have involved imprisonment in St. Angelo. On the 1st August, Calixtus conferred the Archbishopric of Naples on Cardinal Tebaldi, the brother of his physician. At the same time it was understood that he intended to nominate no less than five new Cardinals, of whom two were to be "Catalans" and two Romans. A violent opposition arose on the part of the Sacred College, and Cardinals d'Estouteville, Orsini, Barbo,

* **Report of Antonio da Pistoja of the 2nd Aug., 1458, Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of Otto de Carretto of 5th Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library. Appendix No. 53.

‡ *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 26. State Archives, Milan.

§ Borgia, Benevento, iii., 386-390.

and de Mella met that evening in Cardinal Alain's Palace to take counsel. "It appears," writes one of the ambassadors, "that they have determined not to go to the Pope's Palace, and above all not to cross the Tiber until St. Angelo is given over to the Sacred College. Moreover, they have resolved not to consent to the nomination of new Cardinals."*

The excitement was not confined to the great Princes of the Church. The tidings of the mortal sickness of the Pope had deeply moved not only Rome, but also the Pontifical States,† and the general confusion was aggravated by the arrival (August 2nd) of Don Ferrante's ambassadors, who affixed to the doors of St. Peter's an appeal to the new Pope or to a Council, and declared that if the Cardinals would not listen to them they would seek the alliance of the Romans.‡

With a view of maintaining order, the Sacred College had, before the end of July, appointed a Commission consisting of four of its members—Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Alain, and Barbo. The Commission met daily, and one of its first acts was the occupation of the Capitol by a force of two hundred men under the Arch-

* **Report of Antonio da Pistoja of 2nd Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library. See the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1 and 5 (Appendix No. 53). In the Despatch of Aug. 1st he says, regarding the Cardinals: *"Il car^ie Orsino ne Colonna non vanno a palazo da otto di in qua et questo per dubio che essendo essi cum li altri tutti cardinali in palazo non fuseno detenuti per Borges," etc. State Archives, Milan.

† *"Tuta questa terra e in comotione," writes Antonio Catabene on the 28th July, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Letters of Antonio de Strozzi to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458 [Aug.] 4. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

bishop of Ragusa.* The Cardinals further made every effort to come to an understanding with Don Pedro Borgia. This was accomplished more easily than had been expected. Don Pedro, on whom his brother Rodrigo exercised a restraining influence,† had sense enough to perceive that his longer residence in Rome would be attended with danger; he therefore gave up to the College of Cardinals all the fortresses, including St. Angelo, and in return received in coin the sum of two-and-twenty thousand ducats which Calixtus III. had left him by will. His troops were at once required to take an oath of fealty to the Sacred College in the person of the Vice-Camerlengo; the dying Pope being left in ignorance of these transactions. The Cardinals had already taken into their keeping the treasury of the Church, which at the time contained a hundred and twenty thousand ducats.‡

The excessive bitterness of the Orsini family against Don Pedro can easily be accounted for. It was an open secret that they would spare no efforts to bring about his

* *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., and *Letter of Antonio Catabene to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† This interesting fact is evident from the above-mentioned *Letter of Antonio Catabene of 1st Aug., 1458. In regard to Don Pedro, he observes: "che intendeva fare molte cose se non fusse stato il vicecancelliere suo fratello che non ge a voluto consentire." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See in Appendix No. 53, Otto de Carretto's *Letter of the 5th Aug., 1458, from the original in the Ambrosian Library. This ambassador writes concerning the treasure of the Church, on Aug. 1, 1458: "Il cardinal Yliardense [=Antonio de la Cerda] he deputato a star al palazo a la guardia de molti denari sigilati a nome del colegio de consensu pape in una cassa in la camera desso papa; pur non se move ditta cassa de mano de chi era prima." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

downfall, and his way had been barred by land and by sea. Moreover, the violence of the popular fury against the "Catalans" had now in many places increased. In Rome the hated foreigners were cut to pieces whenever they fell into the hands of their enemies.* Under these circumstances Don Pedro felt that he was not safe, and he knew that his danger was all the greater because most of his troops were Italians, and he had not treated them very well; by the end of July it was thought that he would flee to Spoleto, and there await the election of a new Pope.†

Don Pedro's flight actually took place early in the morning of the 6th of August. He was assisted by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who was a friend of the Borgias, and was anxious to prevent bloodshed. In order to avoid the snares of the Orsini, Don Pedro proceeded with the greatest circumspection. He mounted his horse at three in the morning, accompanied by his brother Rodrigo in disguise, and by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who brought with him three hundred horse and two hundred foot. They first passed through the Porta del Castello di St. Angelo, and turned towards Ponte Molle. They then came back through the Porta del Popolo into the city, and hurried on, choosing the least inhabited streets to the Porta di San Paolo At this gate the two Cardinals parted from him, after commanding the soldiers to escort him to Ostia. But Don Pedro was already detested to such a degree that, although the order was given in the name of the Sacred College, nearly all the soldiers refused to accompany him any

* See the *Letter of Otto de Carretto of 5th Aug., 1458 Appendix No. 53.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, of the 31st July, 1458. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

further.* "Not one even of the grooms," says an ambassador, "would remain with him."† Fresh difficulties met the forsaken fugitive at Ostia, where he had ordered a galley with money and other valuables to await him. In vain did he look for this vessel, which had disappeared long before his arrival, and he was accordingly compelled to escape in a boat to Civita Vecchia.‡

Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia shewed more courage. He had retired to Tivoli in June on account of the unhealthy state of Rome, but returned during the night, between the 25th and 26th July, on hearing of the dangerous illness of the Pope.§ In the general confusion his servants forsook him, so that his splendid palace was left to be plundered by the populace. Rodrigo's return to the city, after his brother's flight, was a brave action. The chronicler of Viterbo says

* The narrative of Don Pedro's flight is from a **Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. See Muratori, iii., 2, 1003.

† **Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Ambrosian Library.

‡ *Account given by Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, on the 12th Aug., 1458. State Archives, Milan. See the *Letter of Giov. Fr. de Balneo to his brother, Conte di Modigliana, dated Todi, 1458, Aug. 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Don Pedro did not long survive his downfall, for he died on the 26th September in the Castle of Civita Vecchia. Niccola della Tuccia, 257.

§ *"Monsignor Vicecancellero che era fuzito el mal aere a Tiboli e tornato questa nocte a Roma a 7 hore. Misser Borges non raxona piu di partire," writes Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza on the 26th July, 1458, from Rome. State Archives, Milan. Rodrigo's brother Luis Juan did not leave Rome till August 4th (Cronica di Bologna, 726), and arrived in Rome on the 11th; see *Acta consist. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

that the Cardinal went to St. Peter's to pray for the forsaken and dying Pope.*

For fully a fortnight the aged Pontiff hung between life and death, until at last, on the evening of the 6th of August, the Feast of the Transfiguration, which he himself had instituted, God released him from his sufferings.†

Except for his nepotism, Calixtus III. deserves high praise, more especially for the energy, constancy and purpose which he displayed in dealing with the burning question of the day—the protection of Western civilization from the Turkish power. In this matter he gave a grand example to Christendom, and it is to be observed

* Niccola della Tuccia, 256.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of Aug. 6th, 1458, Appendix No. 54, from the original in the Ambrosian Library. The shameful manner in which the Pope was forsaken by his people is mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia, 256, and others. Cardinal Rodrigo was the only exception. He also erected a splendid marble tomb for his departed uncle in the Circular Chapel of St. Andrew, adjoining St. Peter's; fragments of this tomb are still to be seen in the grotto of the Vatican. See Torrigio, Sacre grotte, 94 *et seq.*; Cancellieri, Secret., 1124 *et seq.* and other places (see Index); Müntz, i., 212; Du Chesne, ii., 333. In the course of works at St. Peter's the tomb was emptied (1586) and the bones removed to another part of the church, where they were left until 1605. Bibl. Hisp., ii., 274. Finally, in 1610, the mortal remains of Calixtus III. and Alexander VI. were transferred to Santa Maria in Monserrato, the Spanish National Church, where a modern monument with the medallions of both Popes is to be seen in the first side chapel on the right. A figure of the old monument is given by Ciaconius, ii., 987. The "*Discursus de Calixti III. pape corpore" in Cod. H., 71, f. 343, of the Vallicellana Library, contains nothing new. The inventory, published by Müntz (i., 213-218), of the books found in the study of Calixtus III. (almost all of them ecclesiastical or legal works) is interesting and enables us to form an idea of the bent of his mind.

that in the midst of the military and political interest which claimed so large a share of his time and attention, he did not neglect the internal affairs of the Church, and vigorously opposed heresies.*

The tidings of the Pope's death caused the greatest excitement in Rome. The Orsini and the other enemies of the Borgia family rejoiced. Most of the "Catalans" had already taken flight, and those who still remained in the city sought to conceal themselves in out-of-the-way places, for the populace were attacking the houses of all the Spaniards and of any Romans who belonged to the Borgia party. Cardinal Barbo was included in the hatred borne to the family of the late Pope, and the assistance which he had afforded to Don Pedro in his flight was not forgiven.†

The bitter feeling against the evil doings of the Spanish strangers led to bloodshed in many parts of the States of the Church. Disturbances had occurred in Viterbo as early as August 1st.‡ The Castellan of Castelnuovo was slain by Stefano Colonna, and a like fate befell the Catalan Castellan of Nepi.§ At Città Castellana, Fabriano, Ascoli, and other places, the people rose with the cry, "Long live the Church!" The Orsini, with the consent of the College of Cardinals, invested San Gregorio, which Don

* See Bernino, ii., 172 *et seq.*, 177; Bull. ord. praedic., iii., 359 *et seq.*, 368 *et seq.*, and Bzovius, xvii., 144, 226 *et seq.* Also Freib. Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed. 1709 *et seq.*

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 256; **Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza of 6th August, 1458 (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*); and the *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of 6th August, 1458, in Appendix No. 54. *"Questi Cathelani sono tuti in fuga," wrote. Antonio Catabene on the 7th August, 1458, to Lodovico Gonzaga. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Niccola della Tuccia, 69.

§ **Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Ambrosian Library.

Pedro had formerly wrested from them.* Jacopo Piccinino again appeared to see what he could fish out of the troubled waters. Almost as soon as he heard of the Pope's dangerous illness he concluded a truce with Malatesta, and returned to the States of the Church. On the 15th August he appeared before Assisi, and the Catalan Castellan gave it up to him for a sum of money. Piccinino also occupied Gualdo, Nocera, Bevagna, and other places, and pitched his camp at Foligno. It was believed that there was an understanding between him and the King of Naples, who thus sought to extort a recognition of his own claims, to frighten the Cardinals, and to prevent the election of a French Pope.†

Even in the last week of July negotiations regarding the Papal election had begun among the Cardinals,‡ and the Italian Cabinets had also been busy. The questions connected with the succession to the chair of St. Peter were, indeed, of a most important character. Was the new Pope to be an Italian, a Spaniard, or a Frenchman, a friend of the Orsini or of the Colonna party? Would he favour

* **Despatch of Antonio Catabene of the 19th August, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See Niccola della Tuccia, 257.

† *"Ello non fa guerra veruna al paese . . . solamente cercha con piacevoleze senza bombarde, senza combatere havere qualche terra se la può havere, et tutte li terre de la chiesia onde el vada gli danno vituarie. Per ogniuno se crede che la Maesta del Re sia stata casone de la venuta sua, prima per metere paura al colegio de li cardinali et oviare che non se facesse veruno papa franzoso, deinde se presume che lo habia fatto fare per havere le bolle del Reame," etc. *Letter from Giovanni Francesco de Balneo to his brother, dated Todi, 1458, Aug. 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Niccola della Tuccia, 257, and Cristofani, 317 *et seq.*

‡ "Per li cardinali si comincia a fare de le pratiche circha el papato." *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome 1458, July 26. State Archives, Milan.

the French or the Aragonese dynasty in Naples? Would he attack the Turks? Would he be a man of peace or a man of war?*

It would appear that the Italian Cardinals, mindful of the previous Conclave which had resulted in the election of a foreigner, on this occasion at once proposed one of their own number, against whom no party could raise any serious objection. This was Cardinal Capranica, in favour of whose election, as an ambassador expressly declares, Italian and non-Italian Cardinals, Orsini and Colonna, were unanimous.†

The powerful Duke of Milan used his influence on behalf of Capranica. Writing on August 2nd to his ambassadors in Rome he says, "We wish you on this occasion to use all your zeal and all your skill, and leave nothing undone, of course, with due care for what is becoming, for the fulfilment of our desires. We exclude every other."‡ On the following day Simonetta, the Duke's confidant, repeated the command, and pointed out that Capranica was not only the most worthy member of the Sacred College, but also the individual best fitted to carry out ecclesiastical reforms.§

* Voigt, iii., 3.

† See the *Letter, partly in cipher, from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 26 (State Archives, Milan), and the *Despatch of the same ambassador of 14th August, 1458, which is given in Appendix No. 56. Ambrosian Library.

‡ *Instructions in cipher from Fr. Sforza to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 2, and concluding with these words: "Questa instructione non monstrarete ad persona alcuna, sed sit solum apud vos." Draft in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. See the *Despatch of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 12, preserved in the same Library, and Petrucelli, i., 273 *et seq.*

§ *Cecco Simonetta to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 3. Cod. 1588, f. 113, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

The King of Naples also was induced to favour his election.*

The explanation of this marvellous unanimity is to be found in the moral purity and the rare qualities of this great man.

Domenico Capranica was born in the Jubilee year of 1400, in the little town near Palestrina, which bore his name.† Although of modest fortune, his family was intimate with that of the Colonna. Domenico, who from his earliest youth showed a great love of learning, went at fifteen years of age to the University of Padua to study civil and canon law. Here Nicholas of Cusa was his fellow-disciple, and together they sat at the feet of Cesarini. The relations between Capranica and his master were of the happiest and most friendly description, and became yet more intimate when they were both on the same day raised to the purple. Capranica pursued his legal studies in Bologna with extraordinary zeal. Sleep, of which he allowed himself but a scanty measure, often surprised him over his books. His attention to jurisprudence did not

* Petrucelli, i., 274, and *Despatch of the Neapolitan ambassador, Antonio da Trezzo, to Fr. Sforza, dated Teano, 1458, Aug. 19. (Capranica's name is in cipher.) State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

† Besides the very rare monograph of Catalanus I have in the following sketch made use of the biographies of Capranica by Battista Poggio (Baluze, Miscell., iii., Paris. 1680), and Vespasiano da Bisticci (Mai, Spicil., i., 185-191), as well as of the *"Oratio funebris prima die exequiarum domini card. Firmani edita per Nicolaum praesulem Ortanum olim Catanzanum (see *supra*, p. 208, note *.) creato Pio pont. II., nondum coronato Rome in Minerva spectante universali curia et populo Rom. sub a° dom., 1458." Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 13-32b (for the sake of brevity I shall in future cite merely "Cod."). With regard to Capranica's family see also Adinolfi, i., 45, 121, and *Cod. Vatic., 7971, Vatican Library.

lead him to neglect polite literature, and even at this early period a brilliant future was predicted for the gifted youth, who outstripped all his companions, and was the favourite of his teachers. His modesty was such that he used to blush when an older person addressed a question to him.* Never, during his student life, did he take part in any public merry-makings or banquets, and we cannot be surprised to learn that he received the doctor's cap when only one-and-twenty. Martin V. was at this time living in Mantua, and was a friend of the Capranica family; Domenico accordingly at a very early age became a clerk of the Apostolic Chamber. In his new position he diligently continued his studies; St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cassian, and Seneca are said to have been his favourite authors.†

The more Pope Martin V. saw of the young official, the more persuaded did he become of his remarkable learning and of his rare virtues. In consequence he raised him to the purple when only three and thirty, but deferred the publication of his promotion to a later period for fear of the jealousy which it might arouse.‡

After Capranica had admirably accomplished several difficult missions entrusted to him by the Pope, and had also distinguished himself as leader of the Papal troops, Martin V. made him Governor of Perugia, where his justice, moderation, and disinterestedness won the affection of the people, and led them to look upon him as a father.§

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 15.

† *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 16. Baluze, iii., 288. Regarding the "clerici Camerae Apost.," see Moroni, vii., 6 *et seq.*; xi., 182 *et seq.*; and Bangen, 350 *et seq.*, 357 *et seq.*

‡ See Vol. i., p. 261.

§ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 17. See Catalanus, 18-19. The *Register of Capranica as "Capitaneus generalis Perusii," 1430, 1431 is still preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see von Ottenthal in Mittheil., vi., 617.

Martin V.'s last creation of Cardinals took place in the beginning of November, 1430, and on this occasion Ram, Prospero Colonna, Cesarini and Capranica were published. His friends received the tidings of his elevation with the greatest joy, and many of the Cardinals, including Albergati and the great Cesarini, congratulated him in the most cordial terms. "I pray the Giver of all good things," wrote the latter, "daily to increase in you the virtues by which you have merited the purple. May God grant to us both that as we have received this dignity upon earth at the same time we may also together be partakers of the glory of heaven."*

Capranica purposed soon after his publication to go to Rome in order to express his gratitude to the Pope, and to receive his hat and ring. The unsettled state of Perugia, however, caused him to defer his journey, and in the interval Martin V. died. After the death of his patron our Cardinal at once repaired thither with the view of taking part in the coming election. Anxious to avoid hurting the feelings of any member of the Sacred College, he halted at San Lorenzo fuori le mura, and sent three messengers to ask that he might be admitted to the Conclave. Meanwhile his enemies had been actively at work; his connection with the Colonna family and the circumstance that he had filled a position in the treasury were brought up in an invidious manner. No one, however, ventured to take any open measures against him. After a long delay he was informed that the existing state of affairs in Perugia made it seem most desirable that he should return there. Capranica perfectly understood the design of his enemies, but not wishing to occasion any confusion in the Conclave he acceded to the desire of the Cardinals. Before his departure he caused an act to be drawn up in which he

* Catalanus, 174-175. See Vol. i., p. 264.

complained of their delay, and declared that he would for the sake of peace yield to their wishes, but that he maintained his rights; against any attack on his position as Cardinal he appealed to the Council.*

The election of Eugenius IV. immediately took place. Capranica hastened to send messengers to congratulate the new Pope on his elevation, and respectfully to ask permission to appear with the red hat. But his enemies had already succeeded in completely prejudicing the mind of Eugenius against him. The Orsini, who bitterly hated the Colonna and their adherents, had been particularly active. They had caused Capranica's palace in Rome to be plundered, and his precious library had been dispersed. Soon after these tidings had reached him he heard that officers were on their way from Rome to arrest him. He therefore fled to the Convent of San Silvestro, on the Soracte, and waited there in hopes that the Pope would in time be better advised. These hopes were vain, as also were the efforts made by a few of the Cardinals on his behalf. A commission appointed by Eugenius gave judgment against him, and the dignity of Cardinal was denied him.†

Under these circumstances Capranica determined to seek protection from the Council then sitting at Basle. He appealed to this assembly, and set out to present himself before it. In Siena he took into his service Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Pietro da Noceto, who was afterwards the confidant of Nicholas V. After a difficult and dangerous journey they arrived at Basle in the spring of 1432. In the meantime Eugenius, further irritated by calumnious reports, had deprived him of the posts which he held, and had even

* Catalanus, 179 *et seq.*

† Catalanus, 31 *et seq.* Regarding the injustice of the proceedings of Eugenius IV., see Vol. i., p. 265.

confiscated his patrimony. The Cardinal was thus reduced to such poverty that he was compelled to dismiss his retainers, and amongst them Piccolomini and Noceto.

The Council, whose general esteem Capranica soon gained, pronounced in his favour. With admirable moderation, however, while claiming the purple as his right, he distinguished between persons and offices. During the whole of his sojourn at Basle he was never betrayed by his controversy with the Pope into any anti-Roman step, nor did he ever suffer a harsh word against Eugenius or the Court of Rome to pass his lips.* When an opportunity offered of coming to an understanding with the Pope he gladly embraced it. When at last a satisfactory arrangement had been arrived at, he went to Florence and was cordially received by Eugenius (1435). His relations with the Pope soon assumed an intimate character, which was only for a short time disturbed by his courageous protest against the admission of Vitelleschi to the Sacred College.† Important and honourable missions were entrusted to him, and he took part in the zealous Pontiff's monastic reforms, as well as in the negotiations for Union with the Greeks.‡ He, together with Cesarini, induced the Pope to make Bessarion a Cardinal. The reconciliation of Germany with the Church, which was the last joy of Eugenius IV. on earth, was a congenial task to his gentle and kindly nature, and his zeal and discretion largely contributed to it. The place which the Cardinal held in the estimation of the

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 18. Baluze, iii., 274. See Catalanus, 58 *et seq.*, 235, 237. Voigt (i., 58) also observes that Capranica never was an opponent of the Roman See.

† See Vol. i., p. 298, note ‡.

‡ Catalanus, 67 *et seq.*, 70 *et seq.*, 77 *et seq.* Capranica's second mission to Perugia, and his exertions for the reformation of morals in that district, are mentioned by Graziani, 562, 564 *et seq.*, 576.

Romans is evident from the fact that on the death of Eugenius it was generally expected that he would be the next wearer of the tiara, although he was at the time only forty-seven years of age.* The reasons which prevented his election on this occasion are unknown.

Capranica, or the Cardinal of Fermo, as he was styled from his Archiepiscopal See, was valued by the new Pope even more highly than he had been by Eugenius. He accompanied Nicholas V. on his various journeys, and in the year 1449 was appointed by him to the important office of Grand Penitentiary, the duties of which he discharged in the most admirable manner.† Various difficult legations were, as we have already said, confided to him, and while fulfilling these he also gave proof of his genuine devotion to the Church by promoting the cause of reform wherever it was possible to do so.‡

In the Conclave after the death of Nicholas V. there seemed again a likelihood that Capranica§ would be chosen. During the Pontificate of Nicholas V. he had already been actively interested in the Turkish question, and under Calixtus III. he redoubled his efforts for the

* See the *Despatch of Marolino Barbavaria. See *supra*, p. 7, note*. National Library, Paris.

† Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 19b-20. On the back cover of Cod. 327 of the University Library at Bonn I found a *Marriage dispensation granted by Capranica as Grand Penitentiary ("Ven. in Christo patri Dei gratia episc. Lucan. vel eius in spiritualibus vicario Dominicus miseratione divino tit. s. crucis in Jerusalem presb. card.") "Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum sub sigillo officii penitentiarie Id. Febr. Pont. dom. Nicolai pape V. A° 7°."

‡ See Catalanus, 90, 100. Very wholesome measures of reform were adopted by Capranica in Fermo (see *ibid.*, 88). For his share in the discovery of Stefano Porcaro's conspiracy, see *supra*, p. 227, note *.

§ See *supra*, p. 322.

protection of Christendom. The plague, which raged in Rome in the year 1456, drove almost all the Cardinals away, but he remained with the Pope. He fearlessly traversed the infected streets, strewn with the unburied corpses of its victims, as he went to confer with Nicholas on the affairs of the Church.* He displayed equal courage of another sort in personally and freely remonstrating with Calixtus when favours were heaped upon his unworthy relations. As we have already related, he steadfastly refused to acquiesce in Don Pedro's appointment as Duke of Spoleto.† The enmity which he thus incurred induced him to withdraw more and more from public life, and he employed his time of retirement in pious exercises, as if foreseeing his approaching end.

In the last days of July, 1458, just at the time when negotiations regarding his election as Pope were going on, Capranica was attacked by a slight indisposition, which soon grew into a mortal sickness. His first care was to receive the Holy Sacraments, and to seek pardon from the Cardinals for any offence he might have given them.‡ Years before he had composed a little book, which we may

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 22.

† See *supra*, p. 461. Regarding the Cardinal's courageous frankness, see Baluze, iii., 289-290; Catalanus, 124-125; Haberl, Bausteine für Musikgesch (Leipzig, 1885), i., 23; and *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 22.

‡ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 30. See Catalanus, 116 *et seq.* Otto de Carretto, writing to Fr. Sforza, on the 1st August, 1458, speaks of Capranica's illness in the following terms: *"Il card. de Fermo sono gia iv o cinque di he stato infermo de fluxo de corpo, hora he megliorato." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est. See also the *Despatches of Antonio da Pistoja of the 2nd August, and of Otto de Carretto of the 3rd August, 1458 ('Capranica very ill'). State Archives, Milan.

really call a golden volume, on "the art of dying,"* and all his thoughts were now directed entirely to eternity. He consoled the friends who stood mourning around his bed by reminding them that the death of those only is to be lamented who have never thought of dying until they saw that they could live no longer.†

The ideal of what a Cardinal should be is certainly a very high one. Capranica may be said to have realized it. All his contemporaries are unanimous in testifying that this great man united learning and piety in an uncommon degree.‡ His life was that of a Saint. His nightly repose was limited to four hours. Immediately on rising he recited the Hours, he then said or heard Mass, generally first going to Confession. Before granting audiences he devoted several hours to the study of the Fathers, among whom he had a special love for St. Jerome and St. Augustine. No women were allowed to enter his apartments, neither religious women nor his nearest relations—not even his sister and sister-in-law were excepted from this rule.§

The Cardinal of Fermo had built himself a palace suitable to his dignity in the vicinity of Santa Maria in Aquiro in Rome,‖ but luxury found no place within its walls. His manner of life was remarkable for its simplicity; his dinner consisted of one dish. He hated court ceremonies, and in

* Catalanus, 94, 147 *et seq.*, treats at length of this work and its different editions. See also Lamius, Cat. Bibl. Riccard., 48.

† Catalanus, 117.

‡ See besides the pieces cited in Vol. i., p. 265, note *, Pius II., Comment., 29; St. Antoninus, Chronicon, xxii., c. xvi., § 1; Graziani, 576; *Cod. Vatic., 5815 (whose statements are in most cases confirmed by the other documents); and the *ambassador's despatches given at the end of the present volume.

§ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 23b; see f. 16, 24, 30; Baluze, iii., 286 *et seq.*, 288.

‖ See Adinolfi, ii., 386 *et seq.*

intercourse with others he was simple, short, and precise. His ecclesiastical household was composed exclusively of men of worth; various nationalities found place in it.* To those around him he was rather a careful father than a master. If he perceived a fault in one of his retainers he at once endeavoured to correct it. He could be vehement and severe in dealing with the vicious and idle, and was unsparing in his reproofs to prelates who forsook their churches and busied themselves at court.† Capranica was sterner towards himself than towards others. It is told of him that never, even in joke, did he permit himself to utter a falsehood.‡ He repeatedly asked his friends frankly to point out his faults to him. When his dead body was unclothed it was found that even in his last illness he had worn an instrument of penance.§ His liberality was so unbounded that he was often in pecuniary difficulties. He frequently disposed of silver vessels and gave the proceeds, in secret, to the poor, who were required to promise that they would never let anyone know of his bounty.‖ He bequeathed all his property to ecclesiastical uses. "The

* Mai, i., 185, 186, 187. Baluze, iii., 295.

† See *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 29; strong expressions such as are here recorded, used by Capranica in righteous zeal, do not justify Piccolomini in representing him as choleric (Pius II., Comment., 29). Piccolomini, moreover, is not to be regarded as an altogether unprejudiced witness, for in 1458 Capranica was his rival in the Papal election; see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 158. In reference to the morose disposition for which others have blamed Capranica, Nicolaus Palmerius observes: *"Maluit morosus ac inhumanus videri, quam longius progredi, quam honestum aut ratio pateretur." Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 27b.

‡ Baluze, iii., 289.

§ St. Antoninus (*loc. cit.*), and *Cronaca Veneziana detta del Magno in Cod. 6216, f. 23. Court Library, Vienna.

‖ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 26-27. See Baluze, iii., 288, 294.

Church," he would say, "gave it to me; I give it back, for I was not its master but its steward. I should, indeed, have reaped but little profit from the nights spent in studying ecclesiastical decisions if I were to leave the goods of the Church, which belong to the poor, to my own relations."*

In Rome and in the States of the Church, Capranica zealously strove to settle the numerous feuds which existed.† If anyone would not be reconciled he used to take him into his room, and having bound him to secrecy, fall on his knees and implore him to make peace with his enemy.‡

He was a great lover of learning; his own attainments, especially in theology and in canon law, were considerable, and he counted among his friends both ecclesiastical and humanistic scholars. His valuable library was open to all students.§ He was also the founder of the first of the numerous colleges in Rome. In this institution, which still exists and bears his name, thirty-one poor scholars were to be received, of whom sixteen were to study theology and the liberal arts, and the remainder canon law. As his means were not sufficient to enable him to erect a building for this college, he received the students into his own palace.‖ The constitutions, which he drew up himself, are

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 29-30. Regarding the Cardinal's liberality in promoting the building of churches, see *ibid.*, f. 28, and Catalanus, 128.

† See on this subject a *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, Oct. 9. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 21.

§ Catalanus, 132 *et seq.*, 135 *et seq.* Papencordt, 511. Jacopo Ammanati, afterwards a cardinal, like Piccolomini, entered on his career under Capranica's guidance; see *supra*, p. 92.

‖ After the death of Capranica, his brother, Cardinal Angelo, erected a building near the palace, to which the students were transferred in 1460, and this is the present site of the Capranica

in their way a model.* Capranica was also an author. We have already spoken of his "Art of dying;" he also collected the Acts of the Council of Basle, wrote a work on the Turkish war, dedicated to Calixtus III., and for his nephews a set of Rules of Life, in which his beautiful character is reflected.†

College (Denifle, Universitäten, i., 317; where may be found details regarding the foundation). "This palace of Capranica's is," according to Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 617), "the oldest monument of Roman early Renaissance, and furnishes a good example of the transition from the Gothic to the modern Italian style."

* "Constitutiones collegii Cap.," MS. copies of which are frequently met with (*e.g.*, *Cod. Vatic., 7832; *Cod. Sessor., xciii., now No. 212 of the Victor Emmanuel Library, Rome), was twice printed in Rome (1705 and 1879), but neither edition is now to be had. The rich MS. Collection (see Cod. Vatic., 3958 and 8184) of the college has been in great part dispersed (see Archiv, N. F., ii., 364, also Blume, Iter, iii., 145 *et seq.*); Moroni (xiv., 152) says that some Codices found their way into the Vatican Library, yet, according to information kindly given me by the Rev. Mr. Schwarz (of the Campo Santo, Rome) some MSS. still remain in the library of the College.

† Catalanus, 143-155, 244 *et seq.* The Bolognese MS. of the "Constitutiones synodi Firmanæ" is now preserved in the University Library, Bologna (Cod. 2631). The admirable *Rules of Life for Capranica's nephews are in Plut., lxxxx., Cod. lv., f. 73-85 of the Laurentian Library, Florence. Bandinius (iii., 637) gives the preface. The following are the heads of this work:—1. De superbia et remediis contra eam (f. 74); 2. De invidia et de remediis, etc. (f. 75b); 3. De ira, etc. (f. 76); 4. De acedia, etc. (f. 77); 5. De avaritia, etc. (f. 77b); 6. De gula, etc. (f. 78b); 7. De luxuria, etc. (f. 79b). Regarding the further contents, see Catalanus, *loc. cit.*, and regarding the work dedicated to Calixtus III., see *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 28b. The assertion repeated by Voigt (ii., 2nd ed., 400) that Capranica also composed poems has already been disproved by Catalanus (151).

When in the second week of August the physicians declared Capranica to be out of danger, the joy with which the announcement was received by all friends of learning and all well-disposed persons may be imagined. But a violent attack of fever came on in the night between the the 13th and 14th, and by the afternoon of the latter day he was dead. A short time before he breathed his last he received the Holy Sacraments with such recollection and piety that he seemed to those who stood by like an angel from Paradise.* The last words which the dying man addressed to his friends were to beg the alms of their prayers, and to exhort them to continue to labour indefatigably for the welfare of the Church which he had loved so ardently in life.†

"Two hours before his death," writes Otto de Carretto, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, "the Cardinal gave me his hand and said, 'God be with you; it grieves me to the heart that I have not been able before my departure to show to your lord and yourself the gratitude you deserve from me; but God will repay you.' I," continues the ambassador, "had no power to answer him. And so, my illustrious Duke, the wisest, the most perfect, the most learned and the holiest prelate whom the Church in our days has possessed is gone from us. His whole life was devoted to the exaltation of the Roman Church. He was the pillar of Italian peace and a mirror of piety and all sanctity. We all confidently expected soon to be able to honour him as Pope, for parties in general were agreed regarding his elevation. And now we must sorrowfully assist at his obsequies. Such is the world! So is every hope disappointed!" With these words, written an hour

* See the *Despatch from the Ambrosian Library to be hereafter cited, and *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 30.

† Baluze, iii., 299. Catalanus, 118.

After Capranica's death,* the ambassador closes the despatch from whose faded lines the warm heart of the writer still speaks to our souls.

The remains of the great man found a fitting resting-place near the grave of St. Catherine of Siena in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.† He was lamented by all. "Nothing but mourning and sighing is heard," wrote the ambassador of the Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga on the 19th August, in reference to this calamity.‡

The Romans had, indeed, good cause for grief. Of all the cardinals of the Renaissance Age none but Albergati, Cesarini, and Carvajal can compare with Capranica. His sudden death was, in the existing state of affairs, the heaviest imaginable loss to the Church.

Two days later the Conclave began, and from it issued, as Pope, a cardinal distinguished alike as a statesman and an author, who had once been secretary to the Cardinal of Fermo.

* See in Appendix No. 56 this beautiful *Letter, which I found in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† His monument, a fine work of the time of Paul II., is to be seen in the Capella del Rosario in that church. See Beschreibung Roms, iii., 3, 510. Burckhardt (Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 142) calls the cardinal "Capraneo," and, like Gsell-Fels (438), gives the year of his death as 1469! His monument is found in Tosi, pl. 76. The epitaph, which makes honourable mention of Capranica's twelve legations, is given by Ughelli, ii., 716; Catalanus, 119; Ciaconius, ii., 840-841; in the Descriz. di Roma (Roma, 1739), 444, and in Forcella, i., 418. According to *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 28, Capranica himself built this tomb. The *Cronica di Forli of Giovanni de Pedrino speaks of his obsequies. Cod. 234, f. 259b of the private library of Prince B. Boncompagni in Rome.

‡ **Despatch of Antonio Catabene of 19th Aug., 1458 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See St. Antoninus, Chron., *loc. cit.* The general mourning for Capranica's death is also mentioned in the *Cronaca Veneziana detta del Magno, in Cod. 6216, f. 23, of the Court Library, Vienna.

APPENDIX.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

1. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Bessarion.**

1450, Febr. 27, Rome.

"Venerab. fratri Bissarioni, episcopo Tusculan., in civitate nostra Bononiensi et exarchatu Ravennat. ac civitatibus, diocesibus terris . . . in provincia nostra Romandiole situatis . . . ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam nulla medio spectantibus . . . pro nobis et eadem ecclesia Romana in temporalibus apost. sedis vicario generali salutem."

Inasmuch as the Popes in order fully to accomplish the pastoral duties give over a portion of their cares of Government to virtuous persons, and he (Nicholas V.) watches with special solicitude over the welfare of Bologna, etc.—"Et considerantes, quod tu quidem potens opere pariter et sermone, quem expertum in arduis, eximia probitate et fidelitate preclaraque industria et claritate generis atque sciencie prepollentem et altitudine consilii, morum elegantia et aliis grandium virtutum titulis gratum, ut per longam et continuam familiarem experienciam et alias novimus et dominus multifariam insignivit et in cuius affectibus prout indubitanter tenemus geritur sedare fluctuantes turbines, iusticie terminos colere, humiliare superbos et inobedientes compescere ac errantes ad viam reducere veritatis quod nos abstentes [*sic.!*] repugnante natura non possumus assistente

* See *supra*, p. 69.

tibi divina gratia civitatem Bononiensem, etc., solerter, diligenter et fideliter scies et poteris regere et gubernare, matura super hoc cum venerab. fratribus nostris S.R.E. cardinalibus deliberatione prehabita te in civitate Bononiensi, exarchatu Raven. ac provincia Romandiole . . . pro nobis et eadem ecclesia cum plene ac libere legationis a latere officio vicarium in temporalibus et spiritualibus usque ad apost. sedis beneplacitum constituimus." *(Here follow lengthy legal formulas defining his powers.)* Datum Rome ap. S. Petrum an. MCCCCXLIX° tercio kal. mart., pontificatus nostri anno tercio.

De Curia.

JO. DE STECATIS.

Lib. ii., Offic. f. 75b-78b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

2. *Pope Nicholas V. to the Knights of S. John in Rhodes.**

1450, Nov. 6, Rom.

Nicolaus, etc. Dilectis filiis magistro et fratribus hospitalis s^ti^ Johannis Jerusal. salutem, etc. *Inasmuch as the Saracens were fearfully oppressing the Island of Rhodes, with a great fleet*—illa vobis libenter concedimus, per que Christi fideles . . . ad impendendum vobis . . . presidia fortius animentur ac reddantur divine gratie aptiores. Hinc est quod nos . . . (ut) dicti fideles ad prestandum vobis in premissis ac aliis vestris necessitatibus caritativa subsidia promptiores reddantur, ut una et plures ac tot, quot vobis ad id expedire videbitur, ecclesiastice seculares aut vestri seu alterius cuiuscunque ordinis regulares per vos deputande et ab eis substituende pro tempore persone auctoritate apostolica concedere valeant universis et singulis Christifidelibus a civitate Racusin inclusive ultra versus orientales partes dumtaxat ubilibet commorantibus, quod illi ex eis qui infra annum a festo incarnationis dominice proxime futuro ipsis

* See *supra*, p. 247, and Kayser, 217, note 3.

deputandis vel substituendis terciam partem oblacionum et expensarum, quas . . . si ad urbem venissent, in veniendo, stando, offerendo et ad propria remeando fecissent, pro decencia personarum suarum iuxta eorum consciencias . . . dederint et . . . vere penitentes et confessi 15 continuis vel interpollatis diebus saltem semel in die quatuor ex principalioribus ecclesiis in ipsorum civitatibus seu diocesibus consistentibus visitaverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem perinde consequantur ac si ad urbem anno praesenti personaliter accessissent. . . . Datum Rome ap. s. Mariam majorem anno 1450, viii., id. Novemb. anno quarto.

A. DE RACANETO.

Nicol. V., Secret. T. ix., Reg. 393, f. 88b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

3. *Three Bulls of Pope Nicholas V. on behalf of the Knights of S. John at Rhodes.**

1450, Nov. 6, Rome.

(a.) Nicolaus, etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam.† *He had heard of the heavy burdens*—que dil. filios magistrum et fratres hospitalis pro ipsius hospitalis et insule Rhodi conservatione modernis praesertim temporibus . . . subire oportuit. . . . Cum itaque, sicut nonnullorum verifica relatione percepimus, quod . . . ad solvenda onera predicta et usuras quam plurimas . . . eidem hospitali nullatenus sufficiebant facultates . . . nos . . . motu proprio . . . medietatem omnium fructuum, reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum, prioratuum, castellaniarum, preceptoriarum, banchiarum, beneficiorum, membrorum, locorum et bonorum dicti hospitalis per universum orbem ubilibet consistentium anni praesentis ab omnibus et singulis prioribus, castellanis, preceptoribus ceterisque, eiusdem hospitalis et aliis illa solvere debentibus personis cuiuscunque . . . gradus, ordinis et conditionis existant, quibus . . . nulla

* See *supra*, p. 247. † Incip. "Graves labores."

privilegia . . . concessa, quoad hoc volumus nullatenus suffragari . . . integraliter solvendam, exigendam et per personas ad id a magistro et fratribus predictis deputandas . . . colligendam . . . auctoritate apostolica . . . tenore presentium imponimus. . . . Dat. Rome, ap. s. Mariam majorem anno, 1450, viii. id. Novemb., anno quarto.

(b.) Ad futuram rei memoriam.* . . . Nos motu proprio praesentis perpetuo valiture constitutionis edicto auctoritate apostolica statuimus . . . quod ex nunc in antea perpetuis futuris temporibus omnes et singuli priores prioratuum dicti hospitalis . . . per universum orbem ubilibet consistencium quilibet videlicet eorum infra sexaginta dierum spacium a die qua presencium notitiam . . . habuerint computandum sub excommunicationis pena . . . quatuor ex principalioribus preceptoribus sui prioratus iura ab eis debita bene solventibus eligere debeant, quodque dicti priores et prioratuum huiusmodi receptores ac sic electi preceptores, quilibet videlicet prior cum receptore et quatuor electis suis huiusmodi omnia et singula iura, census, redditus et emolimenta, que . . . debita præfato thesauro annis singulis integre realiter . . . solvere teneantur. . . . Datum Rome (ut supra).

A. DE RACANETO.

(c.) Ad futuram rei memoriam.† . . . Nos igitur . . . auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia praedictas et omnia alia et singula concessiones, privilegia et indulta . . . *(granted by us and the Holy See, or by anyone to the prejudice of the* "thesauri hospitalis Rhodi," *especially those in Portugal)* tenore presentium revocamus, cassamus et annullamus nulliusque roboris vel momento fore decernimus. . . . Datum Rome (ut supra).

A. TRAPEZUNTIUS.

Reg. 393, f. 99b., 100b., 101b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Incip. "Apostolice nobis." † Incip. "Dum solicite."

4. *Vincenzo Amidano to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1450, Dez. 21, Rom.

. . . Perche la I.S.V. forse havera sentito uno caso stupendo e miserabile ch'e occorso qui e stara ambigua se sia da credere o non, la certifico come sabato passato de sera per la multitudine inumerabile che era venuta ad questo iubileo, sul calcare del ponte de castello s. Angelo fra le apoteche che sono in capo del dicto ponte, se affocaro e moriro in uno attimo di tempo cercha persone ducento et alcuni cavalli, muli e somari e molti ne cascaro in lo fiumo del Tevere oltra questi de li quali la piu parte anegoe: e fra questi sono stati persone de ogni sexo e di ogni qualitade secundo se ritrovorno in quella calca che e uno accidente inaudito et incredibile ad chi non l'ha veduto. Ad la I.S.V. continuo me recomando. Rome, 21 Dicemb., 1450.

VICENTIUS.

Original in the State Archives at Milan. Carteggio generale.

5. *Giovanni Inghirami to Giovanni de' Medici.*†

1450, Dez. 27, Florenz.

Al nome di dio a di xxvii. di dicembre, 1450.

Scrissiti l'ultima a di 24 detto per mano del capitano de fanti e per essa fe risposta a due tuo lettere e la chagione di questa si e per avisarti dun chaxo terribilisimo advenuto a Roma per lo gubileo e questo si e che il sabato che fumo a di 19 di questo sendo andata tutta la prebe ‡ del gubileo a san Piero per vedere il sudario e avere la benedizione che fu tanto numero di gente quanto anchora vi sia stato esendo si mostro il sudario molto tardi ch'era circha a ore 23 e

* See *supra*, p. 97. Vicenzo Amidano often appears in Osio.

† See *supra*, pp. 97 and 99.

‡ Plebe.

parendo fusse tropo tardi a dare la benedizione il papa fe licenziare che non si dava quella sera : il perche caschuno dette volta in dretro ed essendo giunto gia al ponte la furia de la gente che si tornava a chasa scontrorono certi chavalli e muli che erano in sul ponte e fu tanta la furia de la gente che non potendo tornare a dretro quelli erano a chavallo furono spinti e chadono de questo su a piede del ponte da lato de banchi e fu tanta la moltitudine che chade luno adosso a laltro che de suto una crudele chosa a vedere quelli vi morirono e questo vene a essere circha a lavemaria ed era tanto che pignava di mano in mano che fino a san Piero era piena la via é non si poteva rimediare a farsi in dretro, pero che quelli di dretro non sapevano el caso era dinanzi, pure ebe tanto acorgimento el castelano * che calo la saracinischa in modo che piu non ne pote pasare, ma questa furia di quelli erano amontati era durata piu dun ora in modo tale che Piero e Ruberto scrive che a ore 3 di notte in santo Celso fu presentati corpi 176 morti† tra done e huomini e il forte done; che mai dichono si vide tanta schurita in tanto spaventevole chaxo e per chi e venuto che parti da poi [*sic*] ; dichono in Teviro ne chaschasi piu dal tanti, si di quelli si mettevano sulle sponde per non morire e di quelli che si gittavano ‡ e fa conto che quelli si trovorono nella stretta che non morirono erano tutti istracati i pani da dosso e che in farsetto e chi in chamica e chi ignudo e quasi tutte le done schapiglate in modo tale che non mancho era da incerchare de champati che de morti, pero che caschuno avea perduta la compagnia sua ed era vi grida andavano a laria perche chi non ritrovava il compagno suo credeva fussi morto e fino a ore 6 di notte era pieno la chiesa di santo Celso a rinvenire se di sua vera

* See Cronache Rom., 19.

† Regarding the number of dead, see *supra*, p. 98.

‡ A little blank ; perhaps "giù" should be supplied.

morti, e chi vi trovava padre, chi madre chi fratelli chi fioliuli ecc. chon quelle grida che intronavano Roma e per piata piu che 60 scrive Ruberto e Piero nalogiorno e done e huomini conchiudendo e vera chi se trovato al rotte de Turchi che non sono sute di tanto teribile spavento che se non si serava la parte del ponte parechi migliaia ve ne moriva. Piaccia a dio aver ricevuto quelle anime che ragionevolmente debono esere ite bene quasi tute. Questi morti o la piu parte erano Taliani e il forte di canpagna, ma non si sente vi sia persona di tropo nome* avisandoti che Piero e Pier Francesco e Ruberto e Fruosino erano tornati di mancho di $^1/_x$ dora pero chome fu mostro il sudario dettono volta a dretro che se avesino aspettato cho gli altri non pasava sanza gran pericholo di loro chome degli altri . . .

GIOVANNI INGHIRAMI in Firenze.

[In verso.]

Spectab. viro Giovanni de Medici a Volterra.

Origin. in the State Archives at Florence. C. Strozz, 338, f. 82.

6. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.*†

1450, Dez. 29, Rom.

Nicolaus Cusanus had been sent to Germany as "legatus de latere"—"pro reformatione ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum et personarum in illis degentium"—*with the commission* "pacem inter omnes dissidentes (*in Germany*) tractandi et componendi, treugas

* The Istoria Bresc , 867, on the contrary, says : "Vi morirono de' vescovi con le lor mule, de' cavalieri, g ntiluomini," etc. The Giornali Napolit. (1131) name as among the dead "Messer Antonello Sanframonde, Barone de lo Contado di Molise et Abbate Filippo Figliomarino, che haveva più di 1000 ducati de entrata." According to the Cronica di Bologna (696), most of the sufferers were Romans and Lombards.

† See *supra*, p. 106, and Raynaldus ad an. 1450, N. 12.

insuper ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur indicendi necnon ecclesias singulas tam metropolitanas quam cathedrales, monasteria, prioratus, prepositurias, dignitates, ecclesiastica beneficia quecunque et hospitalia earumdem partium tam secularia quam regularia, exempta et non exempta quecuncque ac personas in illis degentes auctoritate apostolica tam in capite exceptis archiepiscopis et episcopis, quam in membris visitandi, reformandi, corrigendi, emendandi et puniendi, extirpandi hereses ac hereticos puniendi . . . necnon in eisdem statuta et ordinationes de novo condendi et illa observari mandandi et faciendi, provincilia et synodalia concilia indicendi, celebrandi et tenendi," etc. Dat. 1450, iv. kal. ianuar., anno quarto.

Reg. 391, f. 17. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

7. *Pope Nicholas V. and Cyprus.**

(1451.)

(a.) "Nicolaus, etc. Carissimis in Christo filiis Romano, Ungarie, Polonie, Boemie, Suecie, Dacie, Dalmatie et Norvegie regibus illustribus ac universis et singulis venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus et dil. filiis nobilibus viris ducibus, principibus, magistris, marchionibus, comitibus, capitaneis . . . baronibus, militibus . . . et ceteris cuiuscumque sexus Christifidelibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus—*in Germany and other parts of the world*—salutem etc. Ut de talento . . . Hodie siquidem in carissimi in Christo filii nostri Johannis regis Cipri illustris et ipsius regni Cipri incolarum et habitatorum fidelium . . . favorem literas concessimus tenoris subsequentis:

"Nicolaus, etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Salutifere catholice fidei . . . Pensantes qualiter Theucri . . . christianorum terras et praesertim modernis temporibus . . . Johannis regis Cipri regnum hostiliter . . . invadere . . .

* See *supra*, p. 247.

non desinunt quodque, nisi . . . viriliter resistatur, possent verisimiliter brevi temporis spatio non modo regnum ipsum occupare, sed illud eiusque fideles ad totalem ruinam ac miserabilem presertim animarum desolationem perducere," *he justly claims assistance,* "et ut ad id fideles eo fervencius animentur . . . spiritualia eis munera que terrena antecellent elargimur. . . . Hinc est quod nos . . . universos et singulos . . . catholicos reges et . . . reginas, etc. *(as above)* obsecramus in domino . . . et per aspersionem sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi exhortamur, eisque in remissionem regni huiusmodi præfato regi grata imponant subsidia caritatis, nos . . . ipsis omnibus et singulis . . . qui de facultatibus suis magis et minus prout ipsorum fidelium conscientiis videbitur, perdictum Johannem deputandis nuntiis vel procuratoribus seu aliis ab eis substituendis pie erogaverint, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium indulgemus, quod singuli confessores . . . pro commissis hactenus etiam sedi apostolicæ reservatis excessibus . . . atque delictis . . . debitam absolutionem impendere . . . et censuris (omnibus) absolvere . . . semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo . . . valeant . . . Praeterea universis et singulis archiepiscopis, etc. . . . mandamus, quatemus . . . praesentes litteras . . . ubilibet . . . publicent. Volumus autem quod omnia . . . in prosecutione praemissorum expensa praefato Johanni regi integre et fideliter assignentur, per ipsum in regni sui defensione . . . convertenda per triennium a prima die maii anni 1452 proxime futuri incipiendum . . . Dat. Rome ap. S. Petrum 1451 prid. id. aug., pontif. anno quinto."

"Cum igitur expediat ut cathlolicorum regum . . . zelus . . . accendatur contra feritatem hostium praedictorum . . . vos omnes et singulos praesertim regias serenitates attentius rogamus . . . quatenus . . . subsidia liberaliter erogetis et ad illa eroganda alios Christifideles et praesertim vobis subditos instancius . . . inducere studeatis. . . . Dat. Rome

. . . prid. id. aug., 1451, pontif. anno quinto. (Gratis de mandato d.n. pape.) "

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xii. Reg. 396, f. 167b-169. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

(b.) This is followed by "*similis indulgentia in favorem regis Cipri*" to the King of Sicily, and to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, etc., Princes, etc., of Italy. Dat. ut supr. as above. Also to the King of Cyprus and all Archbishops, etc., Princes, etc., of the kingdom of Cyprus; to England and Scotland, Castille, Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre; to King Charles VII. of France and the Princes of his kingdom; finally an "*Indulgentia per totum orbem*" (*Ad. fut. rei mem., "Salutifere catholice"*) "*pro rege Cipri*"—all of the same date.

8. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.**

1451, Aug. 13 [15].

(a.) Nicolao lit. s. Petri ad vincula presb. cardin. ad regnum Anglia sedis apostolicæ legato. "Redemptoris et domini," etc. Dat. id. aug., 1451, pontif. anno quinto . . . te ad pacificandum regna praefata *(England and France)* apostolicae sedis legatum cum potestate legati de latere . . . providimus destinandum. . . . See *supra*, p. 134.

Nic. V., decuria, lib. xiii., Reg. 418, f. 181. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

(b). To the same, dated Aug. 15 (L.c., f. 183); see *supra*, p. 134. The copy of this document, printed in the Tüb. theol. Quartalschr., 1830, p. 792 to 795, is essentially the same as the text of the Register.

9. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal d'Estouteville.*†

1451, Aug. 13.

The Pope appoints d'Estouteville as "Legatus de latere" *in France* . . . "Cum Francie et Anglie regna sunt firmis-

* This has by an oversight been put before the following one.

† See *supra*, p. 105.

sima et fortissime praesidia reipublicae Christianae hiis regnis laborantibus consequens [est] universam christianitatem opportuna subventione carentem cum summo periculo etiam fidei catholicae laborare, praesertim diversis pelagis mundi infidelibus contra Christianos insurgentibus. Ad pacificandum praefatum regnum Francie convertimus omnes nostros sensus. . . . Dat. 1451, idib. aug., pontif. anno quinto."

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xiii., f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Ibid.,* f. 26, Extension of Estouteville's mission, *"ad Britaniam, Sabaudiam et Delphinatum."* Dat. vi. cal. sept., 1451.

10. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.**

1452, Oct. 20.

Dilecto filio Nicolao tit. s^ti^ Petri ad vinc. presb. cardinali. "Regis pacifici" . . . *He had heard of the disputes between Emperor Frederick III. and King Ladislas, therefore* "volumus et vobis serie presentium mandamus quatenus ad ipsam dietam (scil. in opido Viennen. Patavien. dioc. de proximo servandam) accedentes vice nostra huiusmodi efficiendis paci et guardie juxta datam vobis a deo prudentiam vos diligenter interponatis." . . . *He gives him full powers,* etc. Dat. xiii. kal. novemb., 1452.

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xvi., Reg. 400, f. 143b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

11. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.*†

1452, Oct. 23.

Cum nos nuper vos ad dietam de proximo in opido Viennen. Patavien. dioc. inter car^mum^ in Christo filium nostrum Fredericum Romanorum imperatorem semper

* See *supra,* p. 135, and Voigt, ii., 78.

† See *supra,* p. 135. This letter seems to be addressed also to the Bishop of Siena, which perhaps is the case in regard to No. 10 as well. Dr. Gottlob's abstract says nothing on the subject,

augustum et cariss. in Christo filii nostri Ladislai Hungarie et Bohemie regis illustris regnorum et dom[inationum] principes, barones et subditos pro semovendis dissensionibus inter eos occasione tutele dicti regis . . . subortis servandam . . . duximus destinandos, nos ad hoc ut commodius pacis et concordie huiusmodi commoda succedant vobis et cuilibet vestrum quoscunque processus adversus imperatori predicto in huiusmodi gerenda tutela rebelles et inobedientes per nos seu auctoritate nostra habitos tollendi, cassandi et revocandi . . . omniaque alia circa ea opportuna faciendi prout vobis vel alteri vestrum videbitur, dummodo tamen huiusmodi concordie subsequatur effectus plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica concedimus tenore praesentium facultatem . . . Dat x. kal. novemb., 1452, anno sexto.

Reg. 400, f. 143. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

12. *Speeches of Stefano Porcaro.**

Manzi (Testi di lingua inediti tratti da codici della Bibl. Vaticana [Roma, 1816], 3-55) has published, not very accurately, nine of Stefano Porcaro's speeches (see Raggi, 42). Papencordt (483), Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 98), and Raggi (17) have no very favourable opinion of these discourses, which, however, were evidently highly esteemed in the fifteenth century, for a great number of MS. copies of them are preserved. Tommasini (93-97) has given a particular account of such as are to be found in Rome. He has only omitted Cod. L, iv., 126 of the Chigi Library; it contains altogether sixteen of Porcaro's speeches, nine of which have been published by Manzi.† I also noted the following MSS. of the conspirators' speeches in Italy:—

* See *supra*, p. 219.

† The others have now appeared in Giuliari's publication, of which I shall presently speak.

Florence: National Library, Palat. Cl. i., Cod. li. MSS. Strozz., Cl. xxv., Cod. 616, No. 7, 8.*

Florence: Riccard. Library, Cod. 1074, f 38b-65; 1121, f. 23-33; 2204, f. 55-96; 2313; 2322, f. xxxxvi.-cxv.; 2330, f. 1-37b; 2544, f. lii.-lxxxx.

Genoa: University Library, Cod. E, v., 10, f. 101-125.

Lucca: Public Library, No. 1284, f. 54-94; No. 1640, f. 1-40.

Milan: Brera Library, Cod. AD, xiv., 43, No. 6.

Siena: Public Library, i., vi., 25.

Venice: Library of St. Mark, Cl. xi. Cod. xxiv.; Cl. xi., Cod. cxxvi.; Cl. xiv., Cod. ccliii.

Verona: Chapter Library, two MSS. See Giuliari, Prose del Giovane Buonaccorso da Montemagno inedite alcune. Bologna, 1874. Sixteen speeches, including the nine already published by Manzi, are here given. As the title of this work shows, Giuliari, reviving an ancient opinion, ascribes these speeches not to Porcaro, but to G. Buonaccorso. Tommasini, who does not mention Giuliari's work, agrees with de Rossi (see p. 82 of the treatise cited *supra*, p. 215, note *) in maintaining that the discourses are Porcaro's.

13. *Gabriel de Rapallo to Petrus de Campofregoso.*†

1453, Jan. 5 [6], Rome.

Copia. Illustrissime princeps et domine mi. Da poi ch' habiamo scripto esta mane a la S.V. circha le caxone nostre in cotesta hora e stato qui alchuna novita. Uno

* According to the catalogue of the National Library it contains a number of copies of Porcaro's discourses, but as I do not aim at giving a complete list of them all, and as the catalogue will appear in print, I omit further particulars.

† See *supra*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 238.

chiamato* miser Steffano Porcaio Romano, lo quale era confinato ha Bologna secretamente e venuto ha Roma e stato per alchuni giorni e za haveva dato de monti denari ha suoi partexani Romani e per conclusione havea ordinato domatina prender lo sancto padre cum tuti cardinali in la zexia de sancto Petro in la qualle quello sancto padre per uzanssa dice la mesa papalle in la festa de epiffania e statim e stato discoperto el dicto tractato. Sono andati alchuni provixionali del s^to^ padre in la contrata del dicto Steffano e cum alchuni de quelli se sono trovati a le mane. Sono stati morti dui homini de quelli del s^cto^ padre. Quel miser Steffano e monti altri hano havuto scanza e sono fugiti, ano ritenuti sei Romani ne li quali se dice esser lo nepote de quello miser Steffano. Per fin a qui non e altra novita essendo gia hore IIII. de nocte. Se tiene cotesta esser magiore praticha cha de quello miser Steffano se fusse venuta facta e no altro. Ex Roma, 1453, die veneris v. ianuarii hora IIII^a^. noct.

[In verso.]

SERVUS VR.
GABRIEL DE RAPALLO.

Illustri principi et d^no^ d. P. de Campofr^o^; dei gratia duci Januen.

Die vi. Januarii. Esta nocte e stato prezzo quello miser Steffano e alcuni altri e lano posto in lo castello de s^to^ Angelo. Voleva farsi signore de Roma ed e homo molto amato da populi, e bene eloquente e credo ch' ello havesse altra trama che de lui e tosto se ne avederemo. Lo sancto padre e stato a sancto Pedro e ha cantato la mesa tamen cum grande guardie per tuto.

Idem CABRIEL.

Cop. State Archives, Milan. Cart. gen. ad. an.

* MS.: piamato.

14. *Depositions of Stefano Porcaro.**

1453, Jan. 7, Rom.

Gesta Romanorum, nova in confusionem eorum, acta sunt die septima mensis ianuarii anno domini mcccccliii°.

Dominus Stephanus de Porcariis de urbe, miles constitutus ect. confessus fuit sponte omnia et singula infrascripta, videlicet quod cum suis causantibus culpis et demeritis in civitate Bononiensi relegatus et confinatus fuisset et esset et iam ibidem aliquamdiu stetisset, recordatus, ut asserit, quod tam dominus Nicolaus eius nepos,† quam Baptista

* See *supra*, pp. 215, 223, 226, 228, 237. This document is marked "Depositiones," etc., in the Trèves MS. At the end of Alberti's letter the following remark there occurs: "Item depositiones praedicti Stefani Porcarii invenies post volucionem duorum foliorum." Two pages further comes the document with the title "Gesta," etc. There can be no doubt of its genuine character, inasmuch as almost all its statements are confirmed by other contemporary authorities. The fifteenth century copy is in many ways incorrect; where I have attempted to rectify it I have marked the fact. The librarian, Mr. Max Kaeuffer, whose kindness I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, has been good enough again to collate the copy with the original. Several contemporaries expressly say that Porcaro made confessions. Niccola della Tuccia (226) and St. Antoninus (lib. xxii., c. 12, §5) asserts that these confessions were made by the conspirator when on the rack, but the well-informed (see de Rossi, 95) Caccia, in Cugnoni, 98, says Porcaro made them when a prisoner in the Vatican: "Ubi plerisque ex his, qui cum custodiebant, interrogantibus *sponte* multa confessus est; et illud maxime quod nulli parcere, sed omnes ferro, igne vel aquis extinguere decreverat." Godi (Perlbach, 17) says likewise that Porcaro was tried in the Papal Palace

† Niccolo Gallo, Canon of St. Peter's. See de Rossi, *loc. cit.* 88, 94. According to Niccola della Tuccia (226) another Canon of St. Peter's was also engaged in the conspiracy; Infessura (1135) calls him "Messer Cornelio." Nothing regarding him is to be found in the Library (resp. Archives) of St. Peter's. Concerning Battista Sciarra, see *supra*, pp. 215, 224, 230.

Sciara ac nonnulli alii, quorum nomina pro meliori tacentur, pluries variis vicibus et temporibus ipsum sollicitaverunt, quod ad patriam propriam quomodocunque redire posset, conaretur et deberet; deliberavit inter se ipsum, velle confinia rumpere et ad lares proprios per phas vel nephas omnino redire et se in discrimine mortis ponere.

Dixit eciam, quod volens dictum suum propositum ad effectum producere, iam sunt dies xx vel circa, quod quendam eius familiarem de dicta civitate Bononiensi ad urbem ad dictum dominum Nicolaum eius nepotem misit, cui familiari nichil aliud imposuit, nisi ut eidem domino Nicolao diceret, quod ipse dominus Stephanus infra paucos dies Romam rediturus erat.

Dixit eciam, quod inde ad aliquot dies ipse dominus Stephanus alium misit ad dictum dominum Nicolaum nuncium, cuius nomen pro meliori tacetur,* cui nuncio solum mandavit, ut eidem domino Nicolao intimaret, quod ipse dominus Stephanus infra breves dies Roman rediret et se ad pedes sanctissimi domini nostri pape presentaret.

Dixit ulterius, quod ipse dominus Stephanus post recessum dicti ultimi nuncii per aliquot dies circa xxii. horis diei incognitus ac coopertus in capite et in facie, prout per itinera incedunt Theutonici, associatus uno tamen familiari, dictam civitatem Bononiensem exivit et gressus suos versus urbem direxit et, die noctuque equitando nec de equo, nisi tamen quantum bladum comedebat, descendendo, ac civitatum,† terrarum et castrorum introitus, ne ab aliquo cognosci posset, quantum poterat evitando et aufugiendo,

* In the MS., however, are the words, "vocatur dominus Paulus de Alba." He must have been a Roman senator. See de Rossi, 96, and Tommasini, 107.

† MS., "civitatem."

Romam die martis * proxime preterita hora quasi tarda per portam populi intravit et iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de populo de equo descendit et dictam ecclesiam et demum statim quandam vineam ipsius ecclesie intravit et ibidem usque ad unam horam noctis vel circa permansit.

Dixit eciam, quod ex post misit dictum eius familiarem ad prefatum dictum Nicolaum, cui imposuit, quod sibi notificaret, qualiter ipse dominus Stephanus venerat et quod in dicta vinea erat et quod quia equus eius valde fessus erat, ipse dominus Nicolaus duos equos duceret, videlicet unum pro se ipso domino Nicolao† et alium pro ipso domino Stephano. Et quod dictus familiaris ivit et statim cum domino dicto Nicolao et cum dictis duobus equis redivit et quod incontinenti ipse dominus Stephanus unum et dictus dominus Nicolaus alium ex dictis equis equitarent, et iter ipsorum versus domum ipsius domini Stephani tenuerunt et dictam domum, ut caucius potuerunt, ingressi fuerunt, et ibidem per horam vel circa tantum permanserunt.

Dixit eciam quod interim, dum in dicta domo sua esset, ivit ad dictam domum Baptista Sciara supra nominatus, et quod statim ipse dominus Stephanus, associatus dictis Baptiste et domino Nicolao, se ad domum domini Angeli ‡ transtulit, et cum ibidem fuit, accesserunt ad ipsum dominus Nicolaus, frater dicti Baptiste, Jacobus domini Nicolai,

* 2 January. This day is also mentioned in the Florentine Letter (Tommasini, 105). Caccia's statement (97) that Porcaro arrived on Thursday (=4th January) is incorrect. All are unanimous in asserting that Porcaro made the journey from Bologna to Rome in four days. His departure from Bologna must then have taken place on the 30th December, 1452, and not on St. Stephen's Day, as the Cronica di Bologna (700) states.

† In the MS. "Stephanus" occurs by mistake.

‡ "Angelus de Maso, qui filius Martini pape quinti dicebatur." Godi ed. Perlbach, 16. See Niccola della Tuccia, 226, and Caccia, *loc. cit.*

jacobus Maglionus, Gregorius Anodevoli, Jacobus Lellicecchi,* Marianus Castellanus et nonnulli alii, de quorum nominibus dixit non recordari; quibus omnibus, ut dixit, tam per dictum Baptistam quam per dictum dominum Nicolaum fuerat adventus ipsius domini Stephani intimatus et, quod tunc ipse dominus Stephanus dixit dictis omnibus ac eciam dicto domino Angelo et Clementi eius filio,† qualiter ipse non petita nec obtenta licencia a sanctissimo domino nostro papa de Bononia recesserat et ad urbem venerat, ut ipsam urbem ad libertatem reduceret, et quod ipse ad hoc obtinendum tres cogitaverat vias: Prima, ut Capitolium cum amicis et aliis per ipsos requirendis invaderent et ipsum caperent et demum cum eorum sequacibus civitatem clamando: vivat libertas, discurrerent.‡ Secundam viam, ut primo§ cum dictis eorum complicibus Romam, ut premittitur clamando, discurrerent || et cum eorum sequacibus ad Capitolium accederent et illud caperent et demum ad pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape ad petendum, ut cum eis unum prelatum mitteret, qui una secum per civitatem clamando: vivat libertas [iret], accederent. Tercio, quod primo cum dictis eius sequacibus ad prefatum pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape de mane in die festivitatis Epiphanie, in qua ipse sanctissimus dominus noster papa in ecclesia sancti Petri celebrare deberet, accederet et prefatum sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam cum suis cardinalibus et prelatis caperet et sic libertatem et quicquid aliud volebat, obtineret, et quod pro tunc eisdem rem istam aliter non explanavit, et quod omnes

* See Perlbach, 9, 16, 17, 31, 32.

† See Infessura, 1134-1135; Tommasini, 106; Niccola della Tuccia, 226.

‡ MS., "discurrent."

§ MS., "prima."

|| MS., "discurrent."

supra prenominati et alii tunc astantes hoc facinus laudarunt et se [ad] amicos suos requirendos obtulerunt, excepto dicto Gregorio, qui se ad operandum armis impotentem asseruit, sed prestaturum arma, quæ poterat, obtulit, prout prestavit et misit.

Item dixit, quod dictus Jacobus Lelli ipsi domino Stephano in dicta domo dicti domini Angeli die jovis proxime preterita,* qualiter ipse locutus fuerat de hac materia cum domino Stephano . . .† et quod prima vice consenserat et deinde se penituerat, et dum ipsum pro armis requireret, licet illa primo sibi promississet, tum demum dixit, quod illa propter emergentes causas in domo retinere volebat. Item quod fuerat locutus cum magistro Petro de Monterotundo‡ medico non aperiendo sibi materiam et quod ipsum requisivit cum xv. armatis secum causa se de quodam eius inimico vindicandi et quod ipse magister Petrus assensit et dictos xv. armatos statim venire fecit et cum ipse Jacobus ad ipsum magistrum Petrum redivisset ad sciendum an dicti armati venissent, idem magister Petrus respondit, quod venerant, sed illos remiserat et quod tunc ipse Jacobus ipsum magistrum Petrum reprehendit et sibi materiam pandidit et ipsum, ut pro dictis armatis remitteret, requisivit, et quod idem magister Petrus tunc respondit, quod erat familiaris et medicus sanctissimi domini nostri pape et nolebat de hoc se cum persona impedire,§ se quod ad Montem Rotundum accederet et dictos armatos in tempore transmitteret. Item quod fuerat locutus domino Jacobo de Reatis, qui sibi responderat, quod equitare necessario

* 4th January.

† An illegible word, which neither the Librarian, Herr Kaüffer, nor I, can decipher.

‡ See Perlbach, 23.

§ In the MS. the words "et dictos armatos" follow, but they are effaced by dots by the reviser.

habebat, sed quod in tempore cum aliquibus eius sociis rediret et paratus esset. Item fuerat locutus tam cum Petro Paulo Stephanucie et Raucio Castine* quam cum similibus aliis suis amicis, qui se promptos et paratos cum eorum sociis optulerant tempore oportuno.

Item dixit idem Stephanus, quod die veneris redivit ad eius domum ante diem et quod ibidem de die vidit, quod erant ultra septuaginta apti iuvenes ultra supra nominatos, inter quos dixit se solum cognovisse filium Petri Pauli de Cavalieri et filium Anthonii Quadracii.

Item dixit, quod iam in dicta domo preparaverat ultra xl[ta] portegranas, xvi. bálistas, x. loricas et quam plures targones,† illa nocte, et alia arma ad dictum domum portata fuissent.

Dixit eciam idem dominus Stephanus, quod licet ipse narrasset dictis eius complicibus et sequacibus supradictas tres vias ad dictam libertatem recuperandam, quod nichilominus ipse cognoscebat et certum erat, quod due prime vie suprascripte non erant sufficientes, et quod ipse non dubitabat, dum ipse Capitolium invaderet et caperet et per Romam clamando : vivat libertas, discurreret, aut primo per Romam discurreret et demum Capitolium caperet, interim inde sanctissimus dominus noster papa castrum sancti Angeli intraret et pro suis gentibus armorum mitteret et tam cum dictis eius gentibus quam cum favore et auxilio cuiusdam maximi domini, quem summe amicari et affectionari ipsi sancto domino nostro pape sciebat, ipsum dominum Stephanum et omnes suos periclitaret et Romam recuperaret et ad pristinum statum reduceret, et quod propterea ipse dominus Stephanus deliberaverat terciam viam capere et ordinem infradicendum tenere. Nam decreverat, quod nocte precedente diem sabati, in qua die erat festum Epiphanie et in qua die credebat sanctissimum

* Or Cascine?

† = targa; see Du Cange.

dominum nostrum papam in ecclesia sancti Petri celebrare et ibidem omnes dominos cardinales et prelatos interesse, discurrere per Romam et personaliter amicos et benivolos suos requirere et cum ipsis et aliis supradictis, quos ut asseruit non dubitabat, quod excessissent numerum cccc. armatorum, se dirigere versus dictum pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape faciendo viam per Transtiberim, et cum essent post dictam ecclesiam sancti Petri iuxta cassalinos* et domunculas inhabitatas ibidem sitas, dictos armatos in quatuor partes seu quadras dividere et ipsos in dictis domunculis recondere et ordinem dare, quod die advieniente, cum certificatus fuisset, quod sanctissimus dominus noster papa esset cum suis cardinalibus et prelatis in capella ecclesie sancti Petri versus Juliam,† quod dicte squadre exirent et una ad portam dicte ecclesie sancti Petri,‡ alia versus portam pallacii predicti, alia versus portam dicte ecclesie a parte anteriori transferrent et invaderent, et quod quarta staret in platea ecclesie predicte ad succurrendum, ubi opus fuisset.

Dixit eciam, prout suum propositum, cum ad finem deducere potuisset, ordinare decreverat, quod dicti armati quoscunque eis impedimentum dare volentes seu in dicta ecclesia vel extra percuterent, vulnerarent et interficerent et ipsum sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam et dominos cardinales et nonnullos alios dominos caperent, et si ipsos vel ipsorum aliquem habiliter capere non possent, simul vulnerarent et interficerent.

* See Du Cange.

† This, as his Excellency, Privy Councillor Alfred von Reumont kindly informed me, must mean the Vatican Obelisk (Guglia), which still occupied its ancient position in the Circus of Nero. A stone near the sacristy of St. Peter's bears an inscription exactly describing its former situation.

‡ In MS. "versus Juliam," but these words are marked out by the reviser.

Dixit eciam, quod non dubitabat, quod postquam habuisset in potestate sua prefatum sanctum dominum nostrum papam et dominos cardinales et certos alios dominos, habuisset eciam in eius potestate castrum sancti Angeli ac eciam deinde secum haberet omnes cives Romanos, et cum ipsis civibus et populo Romano omnia terras et castra in districtu urbis existencia cum omnibus eorum fortaliciis acquireret, et ex post dictum castrum sancti Angeli dirueret, solo coequari fecisset et ad ulteriora processisset secundum temporis et rei exigenciam.

Dixit eciam, quod quamvis tam die iovis quam veneris proxime preteritis per novos nuncios certificatus fuisset, qualiter eius adventus ad urbem et congregacio armatorum predictorum ad aures sanctissimi domini nostri pape pervenisset, et quod ipse et eius complices et sequaces insultati et forte capti et puniti fuissent, quod nihilominus ipse dominus Stephanus tamquam desperatus credens dictam conspiracionem ad effectum producere, noluit de eius domo recedere nec aufugere, donec supervenerunt officiales urbis et gentes armorum prefati sanctissimi domini nostri pape.

Dixit ultimo, quod si dominus noster prefatus expectasset usque ad noctem predictam, clarus erat, quod aut dictum eius propositum adimplevisset aut aliquod aliud horribile facinus ordinasset et fecisset.

Copied from Town Library at Trèves. Cod. 1324: Liber frat. monasterii b^te^ Marie in insula prope Valinder ord. canon. regul. Treveren. dyoc. (Brought to the City Library by Hermes, 1823.)

15. *Bartolomeo de Lagazara to Siena.**

1453, Jan. 14, Rom.

. . . Infino a questa ora io o molto investigato come sta lo trattato che menava miss. Stefano Porcari et se avesse

* See *supra*, p. 225. The State Archives of Siena (*loc. cit.*) also contain another *Despatch of this ambassador's, d.d. Roma, 1452

spalla da signori o da communita grande o piccola o da baroni di Roma et in effetto non si truova che lui avesse intendimento con alcuno se non con alcuni Romani malcontenti populari li quali avevano spalle da molti gattivi povari e disviati, li quali indusse con sottili et diversi modi et con dar lo [ro]* speranza di farli richi de la robba del papa, de cardinali et de cortigiani et redurre la citta a liberta et questi erano li suoi propositi. Giovedi† fu impiccati 2 di quelli cioè uno Romano et uno dottore che aveva menato seco da Bologna et promessoli di farlo senatore‡ . . .§ Original at Siena, State Archives. Concist., Lett. ad an.

16. *Cardinal Calandrini to Lucca.*‖

1453, Febr. 4, Rom.

Mag^cl viri amici nostri sing^mi. Accepimus litteras vestras que nobis gratissime fuerunt. Nam licet nobis exploratissimum esset universum populum Lucensem non secus adversam fortunam summi pontificis et nostram laturum fuisse quam si libertas propria et propria salus in

(st. fl., after which style the above despatch also is dated), Gennaio 7, in which he says: "Per Franc° di Janni d'Amelia abitante in Roma vi scripsi ieri el caso occorso nuovamente in Roma circa lo trattato che faceva mess. Stefano Porcari contra la S. Sta de N. S^re et come lui era stato preso." This Despatch of the 6th January is unfortunately not now to be found. Other despatches of Lagazara are mentioned in this volume. A letter from Giovanni d'Amelia to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1449, Dec. 16, is in the National Library of Paris. Fonds Ital., 1585, f. 105.

* MS. "darlo."

† 11 January; Infessura (1135) says the 12th; in Eccard (ii., 1587) the 8th is given as the date.

‡ Infessura (l. c.) has given the name of the Roman, "Francesco Gabbadio" (Gabadeus). The Bolognese Doctor is Paulus de Alba. See *supra*, p. 511, note *, and Caccia in Cugnoni, 99.

§ Nothing more is said about the conspiracy.

‖ See *supra*, p. 236.

discrimine versaretur, tamen nobis majorem in modum gratum fuit ut hec populi Lucensis voluntas summo pontifici per litteras nostras declarata sit et prudentiam vestram in ceteris omnibus sed in hoc potissimum magnopere laudamus. Fecistis enim quemadmodum deditos et affectos filios decet erga parentem, que res s^mo^ d. n. gratissima fuit et vobis gratias agit. Nos vero cum omni prelatorum numero ingentes gratias immortali deo reddere tenemur, qui naviculam Petri procelloso pelago fluctuantem naufragio liberare dignatus est; nullum tantum scelus non solum factum sed ne excogitatum unquam fuit, imo ut verius dicamus si quis omnem post creatos homines coniurationem mente concipiat simulque in unum congerat universam ne minimam quidem partem huius scelestissime proditionis adequare comperiet: non hic de pecuniis acquirendis, non de libertate urbis agebatur; religio Christi et Christianorum nomen penitus ex Italia delebatur. Sed gregem suum pastor bonus tutatus est et sceleratissimi proditores laqueo turpiter vitam finientes hac turpissima coniurationis nota Romanos nostri temporis infecerunt ut ad eam eluendam non Tyberis unda sufficiat. Curiales vero pontificis maximi prudentia cum per civitatem militum et peditum presidia locata sint sine ullo periculo vivunt. Hec vobis verbosius scripsimus quia gaudentes deo duce tantum periculum evaxisse aliqu[ando] et[iam] meminisse delectat, offerentes nos ad beneplacita M. V. paratos. Romae, iv. februarii, 1453.

[In verso.]

Magnificis viris et amicis nostris sing^mis^ antianis et vexilifero iustitie populi et communis Lucani.

F[RANCISCUS] tit. s^tl^ Laurentii in Lucina presb. card. } Bonon.

Original in State Archives, Lucca. Lett. orig. N. 443.

17. *Pope Nicholas V. to Bishop Thomas of Lesina, Nuncio in Bosnia.**

Nicolaus, etc. Thome episcopo Pharensi in partibus Bosnae apostolicae sedis nuntio . . . Ad gregis dominici . . . Nuper siquidem non sine gravi amaritudine cordis accepimus, quod nonnulli clerici et presbyteri tam seculares quam regulares praesertim ordinis s^tl Benedicti professores partes tuae legationi commissas eisque circumvicinas incolentes . . . ad superiorem Teucrorum principem . . . recurrere ac illius favorem implorare, illoque freti nonnullas . . . personas ecclesiasticas eorum beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quae iustis titulis possidebant, etiam et abbates monasteriis aliisque regularibus locis suis in territorio. . . . Georgii Castriot tunc ibidem domini consistentibus . . . nequiter spoliare in illisque se intendere non sine proditoria deceptione et fraude gravique iactura dicti Georgii continuo adversus eosdem Teucros . . . viriliter pugnantis, qui ob huiusmodi fraudem a possessione supradicti territorii fuit eiectus, ausu temerario praesumpserunt illa indebite occupata detinere, minime formidantes excommunicationes ac alias sententias, censuras et poenas in tales a jure implectas (?), etiam in literis apostolicis in die jovis sancta publice legi solitis contentas damnabiliter incurrendo. . . . Nos igitur fraternitati tue . . . mandamus, quatenus de omnibus et singulis praesumptoribus et occupatoribus praedictis inquisitionem auctoritate nostra faciens . . . culpabiles . . . moneas . . . ut infra certum . . . peremptorium terminum . . . ab occupationibus desistentes beneficia . . . restituant. *Otherwise ecclesiastical penalties are to be pronounced, and eventually the secular power is to be invoked.*

Datum v. id. mai., 1453, pontif. anno septimo. Reg. 425, f. 176. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *supra*, p. 246.

18. *Nicholas Soderinus to Florence.**

1453, Juli 8, Genua.

. . . Venerdi mattina a di sei a hore xiv. due Genovesi che sono a Vinegia† scripsono una lettera qui allo ill. doge di che vi mando la copia in questa della perdita di Pera et Costantinopoli che non vi potrei dire e pianti e le disperationi ci sono state. Et benche sia paruto duro a credere a ognuno per molte ragioni, pure le passioni che gliono nanno non si potrebbe scrivere et per infino a questa mattina a di octo non ce altro da gniuna parte. Et per molti si sta in pensieri et credenza che non sia vero; anno facto fra venerdi e sabato piu consigli et in ultimo deliberato che prestamente si metta in puncto tucte le navi che gli anno o potranno avere et che gli ambasciatori che erano electi al Re si partino questa mattina . . . et che si manda ambasceria per tutta christianita se il caso di Pera riusci vero perche eglino intendono che si debba perdere tutto el levante et larcipelago et che la christianita in tutto ne sia diffacta non si provedendo altrimente et presto et anno consigliato che si debba pacificare qui dentro et datorno ogniuno. . . .

Original in State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., Dist. 2-22, f. 263.

19. *Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena.*‡

1453, Sept. 1, Venice.

. . . Ad instantia del papa la Signoria a fatto pigliar cinque di quelli che tenevano el tractato con misser Stefano Porchari de quali e tre ne sono mandati presi a Roma cioe Batista Sciarra § quel principale dopo misser Stefano, M.

* See *supra*, pp. 273, 282.

† Probably Baptista de Franchi and Pietro Stella.

‡ See *supra*, p. 237.

§ He was hanged, according to Niccola della Tuccia (227), in Rôcca Contrada nella Marca, and according to Infessura (1135) in Citta di Castello.

Piero da Monteritondo medico e Mario di misser Agnolo di Masso. Gl'altri due come forse meno colpevoli sono rimasi qui. . . .

Original at Siena, State Archives, Concistoro, Lett. ad an.

20. *Antonio da Pistoja an Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1453, Sept. 10, Rom.

Questa mattina in concistorio secreto la Sta di N. S^re^ ha deliberato mettere a la impresa contra el Turcho tutti li denari che apartengano a la S. B^ne^ de tutti li beneficii et dignita ecclesiastiche che debano pagare a la camera apostolica che sera grande summa de denari. Tutti li signori cardinali ci mettano la decima de li beneficii et officii che li hanno. Et ultra questo N. S^re^ attende a vedere le provisioni che si bisogna fare per obviare a la sevitia del Turcho et attende ancora a trovare denari per tutte le altere vie chel puo. Et fin adesso ad exequire queste doe cose ha deputati sei cardinali de quali el primo e el rev^mo^ monsignor mio, Andegavensis, Firmano, Camarlingo, cardinal de Uorsini et monsignore di S. Marco, si che se stima si deba fare per a tempo novo grandissima apparatione per esser contra questi infideli. Insuper in el ditto concistorio fu audita la relatione di Monsignore di S. Angelo et considerata ogni cosa fu determinato per lo meglio che la pace se tracti que. Et la Sta de N. S^re^ scrive al Re, a la S.V., a Venetiani et a Fiorentini che tutti debiate mandare vostri ambassatori a tractare questa cosa i quali a la piu longa debano esser qui a ix. di Octobre. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

* See *supra*, p. 276.

21. *Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1453, Sept. 17, Rom.

Ill. princeps, etc. Rendendosse noi certi la V. Ill. Ex. devere essere pienamente avisata per li correri de la Sanctita de N. Signore li quali furono cossi di subito spazati che non potemo altro scrivere a la S.V. e per altre vie de la convocatione facta per la Soua Sta de li ambassatori de tute le potentia de Italia per tenir tratato di pace, non se extenderemo scrivere piu oltra.† Solamente questa facemo per notificare a la S^ria^ Vra. che esso N. Signore vedendo la grande potentia de li Turchi e pericoli ne li quali sono sottoposti christiani e volendo seguire quello che li soi predecessori sempre hano fatto in simile casi e pericoli, delibera a ogni modo che si faza in Italia pace o treuga de la qual cosa ve demo aviso, azoche Ex. V. possa maturamente provedere e pensare de quanto apartene a lei et a lo Ser^mo^ Re Ranero, che sera una de le forte cosa da concordare. Lo Re de Aragona e de qua da Napoli quaranta milia et ha mandato a mesurare lo Tevere appresso de Hostia dove mostra voler far fare uno ponte per passar in Toschana per la via de Marema; che se sia non credemo per questo anno faza altra novitade, conzosia e mal provisto de gente per potere nosere [= nuocere] alo presente a Firentini. Ne alto havemo de novo ecc. . . . Rome die xvii. Sept., 1453.

Di poi scritta havemo per uno nostro conoscente e di

* See *supra*, p. 289.

† According to the Ist. Bresc., 883, the ambassadors were summoned to Rome for the 10th October (they arrived much later; see *supra*, p. 290). In the *Letter from Nicholas V. to Fr. Sforza, dated iii. id. Sept., 1453 (the original is in the State Archives at Milan, Aut. Pontif., i.), he desires him to send his ambassadors "saltem ad diem nonam mensis octobris"

fede che vene de lo reame chome lo Re de Aragona era a Sancto Germano et con gran diligentia ragunava gente per passare al tuto in Toscana chome di sopra se contene et tenese passera per certo per quella via.

Ad omnia Ex^cie^ Vre beneplacita p[ara]tissimus.

CARDINALIS ROTHOMAGEN.

[In verso.]

Address to Fr. Sforza.

Original in State Archives at Milan. Pot Est., Roma.

22. *Rescript of Nicholas V. in favour of the Minorites in Constantinople.**

1453, Oct. 8, Rom.

Nicolaus, etc. Universis Christifidelibus ad quos presentes nostre literae pervenerint salutem, etc. Ad ea libenter. . . . Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte dil. filii Jeronimi de Mediolano vicarii provincie orientalis ord. frat. minor. de observantia nuncupatorum in eadem provincia commorantium petitio continebat, quod ipse cum hac miserrima clade civitatis Constantinopolitanae ibidem cum decem et septem fratribus commoraretur, omnes dempto uno a Teucris interfecto in servitutem redacti sunt et deinde totus conventus sive domus depredatus fuit tam in libris divino officio dedicatis quam etiam in calicibus et aliis ecclesie paramentis et jocalibus necnon in libris tam in jure canonico quam sacre theologie et aliis librarie pro communi studio deputatis et aliis loci utensilibus. Et sicut eadem petitio subjungebat venerabilis frater noster Leonardus archiepiscopus Methalinensis,† ordin. fratrum praedicatorum professor in Constantinopoli et Pera publice dicere praesumit, quod omnes de preda a Teucris rapta etiam sciente vero domino et contradicente licite emere possunt nec data etiam pretio Teucris soluto restituere

* See *supra*, p. 209.

† The well-known Leonardo de Chio, O.S.D.

tenentur, ipseque archiepiscopus duo missalia et unum breviarium et nonnullos alios libros dicte librarie deputatos emere non dubitaverit. Nos igitur super praemissis . . . providere volentes omnibus et singulis . . . mandamus, quatenus si ecclesiasticae fuerint personae cuiuscunque status etc. fuerint, . . . qui libros tam ecclesiasticos quam etiam librarie deputatos nec non paramenta, calices et alia sacristie deputata vel alia dictorum fratrum utensilia emerint, sub excommunicationis, suspensionis necnon privationis regiminis et administrationis omnium et singularum ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, . . . laicis vero et secularibus personis, quacunque . . . dignitate praefulgeant sub poena excommunicationis late sententiae, quam incurrere volumus ipso facto et a quidem nisi in mortis articulo absolvi nequeant, si pertinaciter retinuere voluerint libros . . . reducto dumtaxat pretio quo emerint eisdem fratribus reddere et restituere teneantur. Et insuper nos cupientes, ut praedicti fratres de servitute redigantur et bona huiusmodi releventur . . . omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus qui ad redigendum in libertatem dictos fratres et ad redimendum libros . . . manus porrexerint adjutrices duos annos et totidem quadragenas de injunctis eis poenitentiis misericorditer relaxamus. . . . Dat. Rome ap. s. Petr. a. 1453, viii. id. octob. pontif. anno septimo.

Reg. 401, f. 47b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

23. *Ambrogio de Aliprandis to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1454, Sept. 5, Borgo S. Dònino.

Illustrissime princeps et ex dne. dne. mi singularissime.

In questa hora e azonto qui uno Zipriano de Casatii,† cusino de Francesco da Varesio, camarero de la Ex. Vra., che dice esser partito de Roma a di xxv. de aug° et dice se

* See *supra*, p. 307. † Or Casutii?

diceva in la corte del papa publicamente che il papa era amalato* per modo non pote ne scampare unde per mio debito o voluto avisare la Ex. Vra. et achadendo piu una cossa cum una altra sempre ad la Ex. Vra. ne avisaro ad la quale per mille volte me ricomando. Ex Burgo scti. Donini die v. septembris, 1454, hora duodecima.

Eiusdem D. V. fidelissimus servitor.

Ambrosius de Aliprandis, Burgi scti. Donini potestas. [In verso.]

Address to Fr. Sforza and the following remark: "Portentur per post. caval. cito cito cito die noctuque. Asig. cavval. Burgi s^ctl^ Domini die v. sept. hord xii. Asig. cavval. Plac[entiæ] die v. hora xviii. Cav. Laude. v. Sept. hora, xxiiii^a^.

Original in the State Archives, Milan.

24. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.*†

1454, Oct. 17, Siena.

. . . Da Roma veramente io ho come el summo pontefice ha fatto nuovamente in castel santo Agnolo decapitar' Agnolo Ronchon,‡ el qual' haveva al presente con la

* The Pope's sickness lasted until September (see *Despatch of Francesco Contarini to Venice, d.d. ex Sena, 1454, Sept. 9; "El summo pontefice infermo in letto ha dato audienza all' ambassador de questa inclita communita." Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice). It again attacked him in the first half of November; see *supra*, p. 307.

† See *supra*, p. 309.

‡ See Niccola della Tuccia (234), who gives the 11th October as the day of the execution, and expressly remarks: "Il papa lo fe pigliare e metter prigione in castel Sant' Angelo e provato come lui poteva pigliare il conte Averso quando fuggi presso Cività Castellana, il cui passo guardava esse Agnolo, e Cassollo passare perche era padre della moglie di Camillo suo figlio. Trovata la veritâ, li fu tagliata la testa," etc. The Republican Infessura (1136) accuses Nicholas V. on this occasion of having violated the

Ghiesia lanze 25 e page 300, e de suo zeneri uno la fatto decapitar nella rocha Contrada e l'altro a Roma è sta anegado in Tevere. Se dice questo esser seguito perche el par che 'l ditto Agnolo potesse prender el conte Everso quando esso summo pontefice fece impresa contra de luy et tamen per esserli parente nol prese; che se ancora l' odio tra el summo pontifice et conte Everso duarasse seria bona novella per questa cita: perche un dei principali* a questa guerra de Pitigliano per la parte del conte Aldrovandino sera questo conte Everso et essendo in guerra con el summo pontefice el mancheria da questa impresa overo vegnando se haveria subsidii de esso summo pontefice contra de luy. Unum est che 'l prelibato s. pontifice ho revocate tute sue† zente erano nel ducato et fate vegnir nel

safe-conduct given to Angelo Roncone, and of having ordered the execution when in a state of intoxication. As far as I see this serious charge is unfounded: neither the Despatch before us, nor Niccola della Tuccia alludes to the safe-conduct or the drunkenness of Nicholas V. Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Sforza's ambassador in Florence, who was greatly prejudiced against the Pope, would certainly not have let this story pass. In a *Despatch, dated Florence, 1454, Oct. 20, he only writes as follows: "El papa ha facta tagliare la testa ad Angelo Roncone, non se sa ponctalemente la casone perche; prima se gli rebello un castelleto havia in la Marca, poy ando ad Roma e dolevassi forte; poy gli fo podata la testa una hora inanti di in castel Sanctangelo; scrivono quelli del papa ch'attentava contra el stato e persona de N.S." (State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.) Platina says nothing of violation of a safe conduct or of intoxication, and in reference to the repentance of Nicholas V., observes: "Sunt autem qui scribant Nicolaum eius rei mirifice poenituisse quodque ira percitus mandaverat, adeo accurate praefectus arcis egisset" (720). Infessura's story may be dismissed as mere gossip, of which there has always been an abundance in Rome. Regarding the charge of excess in wine, see *supra*, p. 20.

* In the MS. "sera" follows. † MS. "suo."

patrimonio: se crede per el ditto conte Everso et per tuor tre terre tegniva el ditto Agnolo Ronchon. . . . Ex Sena, xvii. October, 1454.

Copy Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

25. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, to Pope Nicholas V.**

1455, Febr. 21, Vienna.

Eneas episcopus Senensis beatissimo papae Nicolao quinto s.p.d. Accepi breve sanctitatis tuae, per quod intellexi, exuberantissimam illam tuae pietatis caritatem erga me pro veteri consuetudine adhuc perdurare, quando mei memoriam habere dignaris, et quae statum apostolice sedis concernunt, mihi credere non dubitas. Facio ego, quae possum et scio. Si quando in locis me reperio, ubi de tuo honore tractetur, quod quidem sepe contingit, nihil omitto ex iis, quae puto ad sanctitatis tuae gloriam cedere, ad quam rem licet omnes christiani teneantur, ego tamen singulariori quodam vinculo sum adstrictus. Nam quanto clementiam tuam erga me benigniorem experior, tanto sanctitati tuae obnoxiorem me scio. Commendasti mihi novissime ecclesian expetitam; id ego pro magno munere suscepi. Faxit deus pro tantis beneficiis apud tuam sanctitatem dignus servitor inveniar. In rebus, quae hic geruntur, astiti hactenus, quantum mihi possibile fuit, reverendo patri episcopo Papiensi et assistam in futurum, quamvis pro sua prudentia nihil egeat opera mea. Conventus qualis apud nos sit, scribo reverendissimo domino cardinali sancti Angeli et Petro Noxetano, quia ab his Sanctitati tuae omnia referrentur. Non est cur illa repetam; res in dubio sunt. Germani non ardent, quantum vellem, desiderio tutandae fidei; verebuntur tamen, ut arbitror, non servare promissa; sed tardius, quam spes fuerit, colligetur exercitus, atque utinam colligatur.

* See *supra*, p. 304.

Utinam super indulgentiis annuisset tua Sanctitas desiderio Germanorum; negatio illa non parum prestabit impedimenti, et fortasse ad huc supplicabitur tuae Sanctitati, ut quod negatum est, velis concedere. Indulgentiae namque, quemadmodum in bulla tuae Sanctitatis continentur, parum pecuniae importare possunt; res autem bellicae sine multo argento non expediuntur et ab illis maxime, qui lucrum ex bello quaerunt. Treverensis hic est, ductor et rector eorum, qui pro ceteris electoribus assunt; homo est sagax et qui prodesse atque obesse possit. Utile crediderim talem virum apostolicis beneficiis retineri. Benefecerit, ut arbitror, tua Sanctitas, si de Metensi ecclesia eum reddiderit certiorem. Redimenda sunt haec tempora. Virus gallicum in Alamaniam penetrare nititur, nisi amicitiam retinemus eorum, qui multitudinis duces habentur. Res nostra in periculo est. Hæc cum fiducia dixerim ac pro debito, quo teneor tuae Sanctitati, cui me iterum atque iterum recommendo. Ex nova civitate die vicesima prima februarii, mccccl. quinto.

Copy with the inscription: Epistola, xxxviii., Suadet benefieri his qui prodesse possunt, Plut. liv., Cod. 19, f. 30. Laurentian Library, Florence.

26. *Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, March 16, Rome.

Signore. Post. humil. recom. El reveren^mo^ Mon^re^ de Novara nostro usa tanta e tale diligentia in avisare de tuto V. Il^ma^ S. che pare superfluo el volere replicare, maxime perche se degna participare tuto cum meco. Poy ancora mess. Albrico nostro parti de qui ali 13 del presente instructo de tuto ad compim^to^.† El papa sta pur grave,

* See *supra*, p. 322.

† From the reports of the Milanese ambassadors, some others may here find a place: (a.) *Despatch of the Bishop of Novara

maxime omne sera et fin a meza nocte, la matina se reha e pare stia meglio. Nondimeno e desperato da medici e da li soy, quali hano sgomberata omne loro roba de palasio e stano tuta via per pigliare partito chi de redursi in castello e chi altrove, dove meglio gli parera de salvarsi. Soa Beat^ne^ prese heri sera la extrema untione* et como per altra mia avisai V. Cel. se tiene per li piu che domane a l'alt^o^ in questa novita de la luna el se debia spazare. Ho ateso et attendo cum questi S^ri^ Cardinali che vogliano intender el bixogno de la chiesa, et loro et che mandino questo loro gente verso Romagna. Usano le piu grate risposte del mondo, tamen le gente venghono qua tute e

and Alb. Malletta to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 9: "Questo N.S. papa pur ancora non e megliorato e sta pur grave asay. E secondo che dicano li medici sel non se aiuta meglio in cibarse como epso habia fato fin a qui pocho sperano de luy." (b.) *Despatch of Albricus Malletta to Fr. Sforza, dated Bologna, 1455, March 16: "A xiii. del presente mi parti da Roma. . . . Quando mi parti da Roma el papa era molto agravato e molti dicevano ch'l era morto. Ma questo non era vero, perben pero che pocha speranza fusse de luy, e za la brigata havea commenzato a scombrare el palazo e quello populo era molto sulevato." *A physician still hopes to save the Pope.* (c.) *Despatch of the same, dated Bologna, March 25: *A messenger from Rome, who had started on the preceding Wednesday, brought word that the Pope's condition had improved.* (d.) *Despatch of Nicodemus to Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 9: "N.S. qual sta molto gravato de le soe doglie in lecto." (e.) *Despatch from the same of the 12th March: *The Pope is worse.* All these Despatches in the State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen. See also the following numbers.

* See *Despatch of Albricus Malletta, dated Florence, 1455, xxii. Martii hora xxii.: "Per fine a questa hora che sono xxii. hore anchora non habiamo novella certa chel papa sia morto, perben ch'l M. Cosmo habia lettere de xvi. del presente como el di avanti luy havea recevuta la sacra e ultima untione." State Archives, Milan.

gia ce ne e la piu parte. Intendessi vogliono prima salvar el gioco loro qui et l'altri de poy et forse e necessario si per sospecto del popolo tuto per se et per la gelosia hanno de Orsini e Colonesi per rispecto al papato, et per dubio del Re, che como da se e per sugestione e conforti de li amici soy Car^{li} voglia cercare de haver el papa a suo modo; pur la solicitudine se fa per vostra parte, ve resulta in honor, et ognuno ne favella in summa vostra comendatione, fin a dire, presertim li Car^{li}, che qualunque sera papa, ve restara obligat^{mo}, et questo maiormente campando se V. Il^{ma} S. gli fa un poco de spale finche provedano al bixogno loro qui. Sento qui et da un canto vedo potere fare poco o quasi niente, e forse dispiace a V. Cel^{ne}, da l'altro Mon^{re} e chiunche ama V. I. S. me conforta a restare in tanta rerum novitate, pur me sforzaro non perdere tempo, consigliaromi col tempo et dio me conceda pigliare quel partito che piu piacia a V. Cel^{ne} a la quale non posso acegnare chi debia esser novo papa, perche tuti questi Car^{li} inganano l'un l'altro, et nel secreto, per sancto e bon che sia, tuti aspirano a la loro specialita e meritam^{te}, perch'e bello officio quel che sia como per altra dissi, Colunna e li soy avanzano de voce, gratia, e prudentia e l'Orsino e li soy de spada o potentia. Tiensi el Re favorezara Mon^{re} el Camorlengho quale e cum Colunna. Ma se vedra potere per se, lassera Colunna et omne altro. Altri tengono che li oltramontani quali sono pares numero a li Italiani aiutarano mantenere la garre de li Italiani, poy farano saltare la sorte in uno de loro, ma de certo non se ne potra dare vero iuditio fin al ultimo del conclavi vel quasi. Iterum e sempre me rec^{do} a V. Cel^{ne} Ex urbe xvi. M^{tii}, 1455.

[In verso].

Address to Fr. Sforza.

Original, with wax seal (head of an antique gem), in the State Archives, Milan, P. E. Roma.

27. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.**

1455, March 17, Siena.

Ser^me^ princeps. In questa hora questi m^cl^ SS^rl^ me hano mandato una lettera gli scrive et R^do^ monsignor de Chiusi† suo legato data in Roma a xiiii. de linstante la qual contien in effecto che la note antecedente a viii. hore de note el summo pontefice passo di questa vita et che M. Piero da Noxeto era riduto in castel S. Agnolo et che li R^ml^ cardinali Colonna et Orsini zascadun de loro fortificava le suo [*sic*] parte e se ingrossavano de suo partesani. Non so se questo sia vero. . . . Item el conte Everso e le zente del S. mio et S. Agnolo da Farnese le qual erano ala defension del conte de Pitigliano par siano redute verso Roma. Item Lucha de Nicolo el qual era tesorier del sum. pontefice nel patrimonio et era in summa gratia de la B. Sua per esser Senese e venuto in questa cita dove la [=l' ha] conduta la suo roba. Successive scrive el prelibato monsignor che da Napoli se ha come lo ill. duca de Calabria se die redur a i suo confini cum tute le suo zente darme. Non se sa suspicar a che effecto . . . (1455) xvii. Martii hora 23 ex Sena.

Copy, St. Mark's Library, Venice. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi.

28. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.*‡

1455, March 27, Siena.

S^me^ princeps. In questa hora ho recevuto lettere da gli m^cl^ ambass. dela Sub. v. sono a Roma et per molte altre

* See *supra*, p. 310.

† Alexius de Cesari. In the State Archives at Siena I found, amongst others, the following Despatches from him on this matter: (a) Dated Rome, 1455, February 12: "S. Sta di doglie . . . e si fortemente gravato che co grandi passioni sta nel lecto gia sono di xv che nullo cardinale ha veduto." (b) Dated Rome, March 13: "Tiensi per Roma per bene non si dica" (the following word is destroyed) "et papa a ore viii. di nocte passasse di questa vita." This Despatch is probably the one mentioned by Contarini.

‡ See *supra*, p. 313.

vie certissime come el summo pontef. a di xxiv. delinstante vegnando el xxv. a hore vi. di nocte mori. Deus provideat ecclesiæ vacanti de un summo pontefice che tegni Italia in pace et defendi la christianita dal Turcho. Ex Sena 27 Martii, 1455, hora 24.

Copy, St. Mark's Library, Venice. Cod. cit.

29. *Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli, to Fr. Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, April 1, Rome.

. . . Ceterum havemo inteso quanto V. S. ne scrive circa il procurare de havere uno papa grato e venendo el caso che venuto de la morte del papa passato etc. Al che respondemo como gia haveamo cum omni honestate possibile facto tal opera che asay speravemo fusse V. Sig^ria per havere sua intentione, perche la piu parte era remasta contenta del Cardinale Colonese† et venevali facta sel pape fusse morto in quelli primi di che foe iudicato. Ma per l'essere tanto tardata esse morte e ne succeduto chel card. Ursino ha havuto tempo in fare le soe pratiche cum il Rede Ragona et Venetiani et halle facte tanto calde e strecte chel se reducta la cossa in lo cardinale de San Marco et nel Camerlengo in modo che un de loro sie per obtinere, se dio non li provede, cosi forte e ne lo parte Ursini quale cum il favore de Rede Ragona ha seco voce cinque de le quale seriane una necessaria ad minus a far chel Colonese obtinesse. Da questi doi autem non sapendo ben nuy stessi iudicare quale sia per essere piu grato o men pericoloso a la S. V. non e parso impazarse adcio non venessemo fare cossa fusse ingrata ad essa et damnosa come seria sel venesse obtinere quello de loro contra chi havessemo pratichato, si

* See *supra*, p. 322, and Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 265-266.

† These words as well as the others printed in more open type are in cipher in the Despatch.

che armay lassaremo el pensero a dio pregandolo per continuamente ne presti gratia che possiamo adiutare la pratica prima per la quale faremo ogni cosa, vedendo poterla adiutare come poteria ancora intervenire per il nostro stare a la guardia del conclave a la quale siamo deputati perche de hora in hora in quel loco potria acadere mille cosse per le quale se poteria fare mutare li pensieri a la brigata che a dio piacia cosi sia per contentamento de V. S. et nostro. . . .

Original in State Archives, Milan. P. E., Roma (by mistake Z. J., 1461).

30. *Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, April 4, Rome.

El nostro Mon^re^ de Novara ha voluta durare fatica de avisare a V. Cel^ne^ de tuto et essi degnato mostrarmi tuto e participare meco in modo che non me e parso tediare altramente V.I.S. Mo noy siamo reclusi a la guardia di questo conclave, nel quale hogi fornito l'offitio se reclusero li infrascritti quindece Car^li^ intesa o celebrata tamen fin heri matina la messa del spirito sancto, perche hogi non se potia e l'altra celebraranno domatina in capella in conclave e da per se in Sampiero et farassi la processione atorno a Sampiero e per lo palazo tuto de San Piero excepti li lochi ove siamo rechiusi, che e la salla grande e la capella maiore e menore quale tengono li Car^li^, benche li loro logiam^ti^ siano tuti in la capella maior, et noy staghiamo in le circumstantie, cioe sey vescovi fra li quali e el nro. M^re^ predicto, el vescovo de Perosa † e l'altri quatro sono oltramontani, siamo poy sey seculari cioe io per lo piu honorato in nome de V. Il^ma^ S., uno del duca de Borgogna, uno de Rhodi, uno de Zenoesi, cioe Gotardo,‡ largentrio

* See *supra*, p. 322, and Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 266-267.

† Jacob. Vanucci ; see Gams, 714. ‡ See *supra*, p. 322.

vechio de Franza e Pandolfo Savello marescallo de la chiesa a la quale una cum meco e data la cura de quello se ha ād far per questi sey seculari, e l'altri quatro allogiano in piu infimo loco et attendono a stare strecti e darsi piac^re^ a le spese de sancta chiesa. Et ad cio ch'io non paia ingrato e mal cognoscente de li honori ho da V. Cel^ne^, dico che quanto piu me e possibile regratio quella, la quale se bene non me ha per ancora date ville o possessioni como a de l'altri, saltem me ha pur dato e da continuamente tanta reputation che sto e ho do stare contentissimo e molto piu che de tuta la roba del mondo. Et quando bene non me recordassi che V.I.S. me ha facto de un poverello Pontremolese un vostro fidato e assay bene reputato fameglio (e de poy a dio) datomi lessere, pur non me se scordara mai, che me havete dato bon pezzo el primo loco de Christianita et al tempo che ho veduto el iubileo,* la coronatione de lo imperatore e mo la nova creatione del summo pontefice, in le quale tute so stato honorato como vostra creatura et in modo che omne S^re^ ne seria meritam^te^ possuto restar contento, dio sia che se degni retribuirne merito a V. Il^ma^ S. per me.

Nomina Cardinalium Rome et in conclavi existentium.

Zenoa o Fiescho	Messina	Bologna
Rossia o Ruteno	Fermo	Colunna
Niceno	Avignone	San Marco
Camorlengo	Ursino	Sanct Angelo
Valenza	Metensis	San Sisto.†

L'ordine che in questo conclavi et ad questa nova electione et similiter che e stato a le exequie de la felice recordatione de papa Nicolla riservo dire a boca a V. Il^ma^ S. (parendo a quella) per non ve tediar in longo scrivere che in breve non se poria narare. Et spero sera presto perche ellecto che sera el novo pontifice, vedro intendre da luy

* See *supra*, p. 93. † See *supra*, p. 320.

quello intende fare contra al conte Jac° * e solicitarlo quanto piu potro et animarlo al bixogno nostro, poy me ne venero cum li doy cavalli ve dona el camorlengo, quali haverey gia aviati volentier, ma per la mala disposition del paese non me e parso lassarli, saltem fin fora de le terre de la chiesa. L'altre occurentie qui intendera V.I.S. per l'aligate lettere commune de Mon^re^ et mie. Iter. et semper me recommando a V. Cel^ne^. Ex palatio apud sanctum Petrum urbis, 4 Aprilis, 1455.

SERVUL. NICODEM.

Original in State Archives, Milan, P. E., Roma.

31 *Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novaro, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†

1455, April 8, Rome.

Avisamo V.S. como fin in questa hora non se trovato ellecto ancora veruno al papato, non obstante siano gia celebrati tri scrutinii ne li quali son stati superiore de voce alcuni de li quali la brigata non se guardava ne al nostro iudicio alcuni dessi de Vra. S. se faceva. Sperasse che in questo quarto scrutinio quale nunc se fa debesse venire a la conclusione duno o bono o reo, chel sia, per il timore presertim hanno li cardinali del populo, quale comenza mormorare de tanta tarditate et nuy ancora deputati a la guarda loro, non li mancamo de sollicitudine recordandoli nedum il dicto pericolo ma etiam quel del conte Jacomo. Se Dio concedera s' acordano in alcuno, lo nominaremo in una cedula et la includaremo in la presente lettera quale ne parso tenere facta per piu cellere expedicione del cavalaro quale tenemo cum el pe in staffa aparigiato per mandarlo cum questa novella et etiam perche haveremo poi atendere ad altro che a scrivere : maxime a la conservatione de le cosse qua pro usu nostro portate che starano a pericolo

* Jacopo Piccinino. † See *supra*, p. 322.

d'essere robate da la furia del populo, quale sole venire a vedere el novo ellecto in papa. Quomodo autem et qualiter sera passata la dicta ellectione cioe chi se trovarano essere nominati in essa et como et perche sera caducta la sorte supra quello se trovara ellecto, per un' altra nostra avisaremo poy lacius Vra. Signoria, a la quale devotissime se recomandiamo. Dat. Rome apud conclave cardinalium die viii. hora xiii. aprilis, 1455.

E. D. I. Servitores devotissimi B. Epus. Novarien et Nicodemus de Pontremulo.

In a little note, which is with the despatch, is written: *Scrivando questo se trovato ellecto el Car^le de Valenza, J. B. et Nic.*

In another note is written, very hurriedly: *La cason perche questi Car^li son concordati in quel de Valenza si e perche e ne antiquo et sperano cadun de loro in un' altra electione potere meglio obtenere soa intentione che non hano in questa.* Original in State Archives, Milan. P. E., Roma.

32. *Pope Calixtus III. to Bologna.**

Dilecte fili [*sic.*], etc. Quoniam venerabilis frater episcopus Segobricensis et dilectus filius magister Rodericus de Borgia notarius noster, nepotes nostri valde cari, et dilecti filii oratores nostri Bononiensis cum familiaribus et comitivis et carriagiis salmis ac rebus suis ad civitatem nostram Bononiensem impresentiarum accedentes transitum facient per terras, passus ac loca nobilitati tue subiecta enixe requirimus atque exhortamur in domino, ut eos omnes familiares, comitivam, res ac bona omnia nostri intuitu suscipias ac suscipi mandes graciose commendatos tractesque ac tractari facias omnibus in rebus humane et grate, sicut in tua confidimus nobilitate habituri hanc rem caris-

* See *supra*, p. 449.

simam atque acceptissimam. Dat. Romæ, xviii. junii, 1455.

[In verso.]

"Sedecim reformatoribus status lib. Bonon." Original in State Archives at Bologna. Q, lib. 3.

33. *Jacopo Calcaterra to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, July 22, Rome.

. . . Matheo Johanne primo secretario del papa, il quale avanti era a li servicii de la Magesta del Re de Aragona, questa matina me ha monstrato et lecto due littere a se scritte per la Magesta del Re et sottoscritte de sua mano propria nel una de le quale se conteneva volesse excitare et desvegliare la Sta del papa a la impresa contra il Turcho, pero gli pareva che dormesse et era littera piene de molte stranioti et questo scrivo acio V.S. sapia et intenda che tra loro cioè summo pontefice et esso Re non sono le cose totalmente cosi bene composte et ordinate como al principio tuto il mundo se credeva et estimava. . .

Original (in duplicate), State Archives, Milan. Carteggio gen.

34. *Pope Calixtus III. to Cologne.*†

Calixtus episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis nobilibus viris universitati et hominibus civitatis Colonien. Salutem et apostolicam ben. Cum propositum nobis sit imminentibus fidei et christianitatis periculis que post lugendam captivitatem misere Constantinopolis in dies magis creverunt divina favente clementia oportunis remediis providere ac omnia undique adiumenta conquirere quibus spiritus infidelium Turcorum comprimi possit de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte Romane ecclesia cardina-

* See *supra*, p. 423, and Alfonso's Letter in the Arch. Stor. Ital., xv. (1851), 168-169.

† See *supra*, p. 350, also Rossmann's Bemerkung, 384-385.

lium consilio et assensu mittimus ad regnum Francie tanquam ad insigne christianitatis membrum ceterasque Galliarum partes dilectum filium Alanum tituli sancte Praxedis presbyterum cardinalem nostrum et apostolice sedis legatum de latere de cuius fide, diligentia et maximarum verum usu plenam in domino fiduciam gerimus. Ea propter devotionem vestram, dilecti filii, hortamur in domino et paterne requirimus, ut quandoquidem dei et catholice fidei causa agitur, in quam conspirare fidelium omnium consensus et suffragia debent, velitis, sicut catholicus decet et nostra est spes, eidem legato oportunos favores et auxilia impendere ac nichil omittere quod ad tam salutare opus possit conducere. Id enim obsequium erit deo beneplacitum et his periculosis temporibus maxime necessarium nobisque imprimis gratissimum. Dat. Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, tertio kl. septembr.,* pontificatus nostri anno primo.

L. THERUNDA.

[In verso.]

Dilectis filiis nobilibus viris universitati et hominibus civitatis Colonien.

Ia. Lucen.†

Original, with leaden seal, in the City Archives, Cologne.

35. *Giovanni Count of Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†

1455, Sept. 9, Rome.

Illu^me^ ac poten^me^ princeps et domine, domine me precipue, post affectuosam recom. Per le altre mee lettere credo havere satisfacto a la mente de la S^ria^ Vra. la quale de-

* Ennen (Geschichte Kölns, iii., 301) wrongly interprets this "3 September;" see Keussen, 69, note.

† See *supra*, p. 350.

siderava intendere particularemente de le cose de Alamagna ecc. Adesso non acade a scrivere altro se non che heri pose la messa in sancto Petro la Sanctita de Nro. S^re^* benedis [e] le croce, de le quali insigni li dui legati cioe mons^re^ de Avignon et mons^re^ de sancto Angelo, e lo archivescho de Terracona, el quale andara con le gabe le quale per adesso Nro S^re^ manda a Rodi. Anche ne dette una a quello che se dice lo argentere de France; fece la Soa Sanctita questo acto molto devotamente e con molte lacrime, ha ferventissimo desiderio contra lo Turcho et e grande peccato che se li posta impedimento maxime per questo fatto del conte Jacobo. Credo che del tutto che acade qui la Illu^ma^ S^ria^ Vra. sia advisata per messer Jacobo vostro procuratore, perho non me extendo piu. Anche la Ex^tia^ Vra. me perdona se io non scrivo cossi bene Italiano come meritarebbe la S^ria^ Vra a la quale sempre me recomando. Ex Roma, viiii^a^ Sept., 1455. Eiusdem Vre. Celsi^nis.^

fidelis servitor JOHANNAS EPUS Papien. et comes } manu propria.

Original in State Archives, Milan, P.E., Roma.

36. *Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga.*†

Ill et excell. dne., etc. Significamus Ill. D.V., quod in hac die ad laudem omnipotentis dei, conservationem ac exaltationem christianae fidei S.D.N. de unanimi voto et consensu omnium R^mor^ d. cardinalium designavit, ellegit ac pronunciavit nos legatum apostolicum, gubernatorem et capitaneum atque ducem generalem totius classis quae contra Turchos preparatur. Cui quidem oneri omnium gravissimo licet non ignoremus vires nostras satis non

* Manuscript: "si."

† See *supra*, p. 369. The nomination of Scarampo as legate of the fleet is announced by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in a letter, dated Rome, 1455, Dec. 17. State Archives, Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

sufficere, freti tum auxilio celesti et gratia dei nostro pro cuius nomine tuendo aguntur: volentes etiam prout tenemur mandatis apostolicis obedire illud prompto animo suscipiendum putavimus.—*Duke Lodovico might support him in this business, and send assistance at the latest by the middle of March.* Ex urbe, xvii. dec., 1455.

Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

37. *Pope Calixtus III. creates Rodrigo Borgia Cardinal.** 1456, Febr. 20, Rome.

Calistus, etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria sancti Nicolai in carcere Tuliano diacono cardinali salutem, etc. Longa diu meditatione pensantibus, quo potissimum modo grave humeris nostris impositum pontificatus maximi onus tollerare possimus, nichil eque visum est utile, nichil accomodum magis quam ut data legifero Moysi a deo nostro mandata executuri viros nobis assumeremus prudencia, fide et virtutibus ceteris conspicuos, quibus adiutoribus nunc fideli gravique consilio nunc solerti industrique opera oportune assistentibus opemque prestantibus cuncta salubriter et prospere in dei ecclesia dirigantur. Itaque matura cum venerab. fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus, prout tante rei gravitas exigebat, deliberacione praehabita, hodie ad personam tuam, quam graciarum largitor altissimus donis illis decorare dignatus est, de quibus virtutum tuarum clara testimonia probataque experiencia nos informant, nostre direximus apostolice consideracionis intentum ac de eorundem fratrum nostrorum consilio ad altissimi nominis gloriam statum sancte Romane ecclesie exaltacionemque fidei et ut nobiscum huiusmodi onera ad utilitatem praefate ecclesie parciaris illaque ut comodius perferre possis, motu proprio, non ad tuam, vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate peticionis instantiam,

* See *supra*, p. 451.

sed de nostra mera liberalitate, ut omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura, secularia et regularia, que nunc in titulum vel commendam ex quibusvis apostolicis dispensationibus obtines et expectas ac in quibus et ad que ius tibi quomodolibet competit seu competere potest, quecunque, quotcunque et qualiaque sint, retinere valeas eorumque fructuum, reddituum et proventuum veros valores annuos ipsarumque dispensacionum tenores presentibus pro expressis habentes ac gracias illas, quarum vigore beneficia aliqua expectas, in statum pristinum remanere volentes, susceptis per nos prius votis omnium venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S.R.E. cardinalium infrascriptorum et in fidem horum omnium propriis manibus una nobiscum se subscribencium ac in curia Romana ad presens residencium voto dumtaxat venerabilis fratris nostri Georgii episcopi Hostiensis cardinalis de Flisco excepto, qui cum in eadem curia infirmus sit per dilectos filios nostros Latinum tit. s. Johannis et Pauli de Ursinis et Petrum tit. s. Marci presbyteros cardinales ad eum per nos missos ut moris est,* illud praestitit ipsiusque et aliorum omnium unanimi et concordi ad id accedente consilio, te notarium nostrum in eiusdem ecclesiae Romane diaconum cardinalem s. Nicolai in carcere Tuliano duximus assumendum ac collegio ac consorcio eorundem venerabilium fratrum nostrorum cum prerogativis, honoribus et oneribus consuetis favorabiliter aggregandum sicque in dei nomine te ad cardinalatus dignitatem in nostro secreto consistorio ipsis venerabilibus fratribus nostris presentibus assumimus per presentes pariter et aggregamus. Et licet alias consuetum fuerit post assumptionem huiusmodi nonnullis diebus elapsis ei, qui ad cardinalatum assumitur, specialiter titulus cardinalis attribui, tamen tibi

* This custom was also observed by Alexander VI.; see his *Brief to Cardinal Joh. Colonna, dated Rome, 1496, Febr. 15. Original in the Colonna Archives, No. 54.

etiam hodie ipsum titulum s. Nicolai in carcere Tuliano de ipsorum fratrum consilio tribuimus et assignamus quacunque alia consuetudine in similibus hactenus observata non obstante. Volumus eciam ac statuimus et ordinamus, quod si contingat nos ab hac vita decedere ante publicationem tue assumptionis huiusmodi statim pro publicato cardinali solemniter habearis quoad electionem Romani pontificis et omnia alia quecunque que huiusmodi competunt dignitati, sicque de plenitudine apostolice potestatis volumus, statuimus, ordinamus, decernimus praeterque mandamus omnibus et singulis cardinalibus sub excommunicationis pena ipso facto et inhabilitacionis vocis* active videlicet et passive quo ad electionem Romani pontificis, quod in casu mortis nostre ante publicationem tuam quod ipsi cardinales teneantur et debeant immediate, scilicet infra diem naturalem, habita noticia obitus nostri, publicare praedicta teque pro cardinali publicato recipiant et admittant in omnibus et per omnia ac si publicatus per nos et ab ipsis admissus† fuisses, sicut superius est expressum. Tu itaque dignitatem hanc grata mente suscipieris, ea deinceps agere atque efficere studeas, ut in agendis rebus honorem dei, augmentum christiane fidei et ecclesie Romane ac sedis apostolice statum et gloriam perquirere comproberis, que tante dignitatis honor et gravitas postulant et requirunt. Nulli ergo [omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam] nostre deliberacionis, assumptionis, aggregacionis, assignacionis, constitutionis, decreti, mandati et voluntatis infringere [vel ei ausu temerario contraire]. Si quis autem [hoc attentare praesumpserit indignationem dei omnipotentis et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum euis se noverit incursurum].

Datum Rome apud. s. Petrum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadrigentesimo quinquagesimo quinto,‡ decimo cal. marcii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

* MS.: "Omnis." † MS.: "Pnoe." ‡ Florentine style.

Eguo * Calistus cath^e ecclesiæ episcopus s[ubscripsi].

Ego G[uillelmus] tit. s. Martini in montib. presb. card. Rhotomag. s[ubscripsi].

Ego Joh[annes] tit. s. Marie in Transtib. presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego L[udovicus] tit. s. Laurencii in Damaso presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego D[ominicus] tit. s. Crucis [in Hierusalem] manu propria.

Ego A[ntonius] tit. s. Grisogoni presb. card. Ilerden. manu propria s[ubscripsi].

Ego L[atinus] tit. s Jo[annis] et Pauli car^lis de Ursinis me s[ubscripsi].

Ego F[ilippus] tit. s. Laurencii in Lucina presb. card Bon[oniensis] me s[ubscripsi].

Ego Petrus tit. s. Marci presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego Georgius episcopus Hostien. card. de Flisco s[ubscripsi].

Ego Isidorus episcopus Sabinen. card. Rutenus s[ubscripsi].

Ego Bissarion episcopus Tusculan. card. Nicenus s[ubscripsi].

Ego Prosper tit. s. Georgii in Velabro diac. cardinalis de Columna s[ubscripsi].

Reg. 459, f. 121. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

38. *Bull of Pope Calixtus III. against the Archbishop of Tarragona.*†

1456, April 15, Rome.

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Sic decet . . . Sane nuper ex fidedignorum relationibus intelleximus, quod venerab.

* This form was used by Calixtus even as a Cardinal; see the signature given Vol. I., p. 354, from the Archives of Santo Spirito.

† See *supra*, p. 366, and regarding the Archbishop see also Villanueva, xx., 17 *et seq.*, 111.

frater noster Petrus, archiepiscopus Terraconensis, classis nostre maritime contra Turcum capitaneus generalis per nos et sedem apostolicam deputatus, et dil. filius Antonius Olzina, dicte classis admiratus s. Jacobi de Spata, et Antonius de Friscobaldis prior Pisarum, s. Joannis Jerosolimitani ordinum milites ac nonnulli alii patroni et gubernatores navium, triremium, fustarum et aliorum nostrorum et S.R.E. navigiorum eorum substituti concessionibus sibi per nos factis uti nescientes seu potius ingratitudinis vitio excecati uti nolentes ac eorum temeritatis cornua extra eis datos limites improbe extendentes nonnullos christianos invaserunt ipsosque eorum rebus, bonis, navibus et navigiis indebite spoliarunt ac alia plurima nephanda perpetrarunt propter que capitaneatu, admiratu, patronatu, gubernationis regimine et aliis ipsis commissis officiis merito privandi existunt. Nos igitur, etc. *(The faculties conferred upon the aforesaid are withdrawn, and they are removed from their offices.)* Dat. Rome, 1456. decimo sept. cal. mai * A° 1°.

Reg. 442, f. 291. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

39. *Pope Calixtus III. to the General, the Provincials, and others of the Augustinian Order.*†

1456, May 4, Rome.

Generali, provincialibus et ceteris quibus[vis] ministris ord. frat. predic. s. Augustini . . . vobis harum tenore committimus et in virtute s. obedientie mandamus, quod sine ulla mora quam citius fieri poterit sub excommunicationis et anatematis pena necnon sub ceteris etiam gravioribus ecclesiasticis censuris auctoritate nostra precipiatis omnibus et singulis ordinis vestri predica-

* The Bull is again entered in the Regest., 459, f. 212, but with the date "duodec. cal. april. A° II°."

† See *supra*, p. 353.

toribus ubilibet terrarum existentibus, quod intermissis aliis quibuscuncque materiis ad hoc sanctum et pernecessarium opus cruciate universos Christifideles in cunctis predicationibus suis accuratissime exhortentur, incitent atque ad conferendum eidem operi pecuniarum aut personale vel aliud opportunum subsidium provocent ac inducant nec aliquid penitus praetermittant, quod intelligent expedire huic nostro apparatui contra Turcos. . . . D. iiii. maii A° 2°.

Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 7; 1, f. 9b-10,

40. *Pope Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya.**

[1456, beginning of August, Rome.]

Jacobo Perpinya. Vehementer nos recreavit cum di-[lecto] fi[lio] camerario nostro cardinali apostolice classis legato ex Neapoli versus Siciliam te intelleximus navigasse. Non enim dubitabamus quin expeditionem eius facias accelerari versus partes orientales, in quo omni studio et cura labora; nihil enim gratius hac re facere potes. Optamus enim, ut illico cum classe ad Constantinopolim se conferat. . . . Iterum igitur atque iterum tuam devotionem hortamur, ut omne tuum studium in hoc versetur, ut quamprimum idem legatus ex Sicilia recedat, quod ut citius facere possit et nulla causa possit eum impedire proficiscitur ad eum dil. fil. Geraldus Castelvert miles et nepos noster cum galea sibi assignata, in qua proficiscuntur dil. filii fr. Jo. Alcaniye, ord. s^ti^ Joannis Jerusalem., quem thesaurarium, et Berengarius Vila familiaris noster commensalis, quem scribam racionis dicte classis fecimus,† cum pecuniis oportunis et rebus aliis necessariis. Facias igitur eos recipi ut decet et nostro nomine legato commendabis.

Lib. brev. 7, f. 10. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *supra*, p. 375.

† See Guglielmotti, ii., 240 *et seq.*, 244 *et seq.*

41. *Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1456, August 7, Venice.

Illustris et excelse frater noster carrissime.

Accepimus hac hora litteras ex regno Hungarie per tabellarium proprium parte R^mi d. Cardinalis Strigonensis† legati apostolici in regno predicto et R^di episcopi Sibinicensis ‡ cum inserta copia litterarum illustris comitis et strenui capitanei regni predicti d. Janus, que declarant felicissima nova et victoriam divino munere fidelibus concessam cum ingenti strage inimici Turcorum et expugnatione castrorum ac munitionum suarum et classis sue, quam in fluvio potentem habebant prout particularius V.E. intelligere poterit ex copia inserta littere prefati illustris capitanei, etc.

Dat, in ducali palatio die septimo mensis augusti, 1456.

Original in State Archives, Milan. P.E., Venezia, 1.

42. *Nicholas Severinus to Siena.*§

1456, Aug. 13, Rome.

. . . Venne qui hyeri uno corriere dalo imperadore con lectere et novelle come e cristiani avevano rotto el Turcho et che settanta miglaia de Turchi erano stati morti et presi. . . . El papa na fatta grandissima festa et demonstratione, incontinenti sonaro campane tucte di Roma, bandito publico tale rotta per la citta e mercato el corriere a cavallo vestito di cremesi et con ulivi et imediate per ciascuna chiesa fu fatto intorno a quella una breve processione; hieri la sera falo e suoni di campane per tutto et stamano anco di nuovo processioni a le parochie et altre chiese. Sia laudato dio.

Ex urbe, xiii. Aug., 1456.

Original in State Archives, Siena. Con., Lett. ad an.

* See *supra*, pp. 394, 403. † Dionysius Széchy.

‡ Urbanus Vignatus; see Gams, 419. § See *supra*, p. 402.

43. *Jacopo Calcaterra to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1456, Aug. 24, Castro Giubileo.

. . . Gionto adoncha a Roma, che fu heri, ritrovay la Sta de N.S. in lecto per uno pocho de dolore li he venuto in uno ginoghio e credo io sia mal de gotta et da S. B^ne^ fu visto molto amorevolmente e per supplire quelo non hera stato molti di passati per la absencia mia: steti secho solo chel non zera altra persona da le xx. hore per fina ale xxiii. et meza, e qui S. B^ne^ da poy me fu congratulato secho per parte de V.S. de la victoria havuta quanto piu amplamente e melio me fu possibile, non se poteva saciare replicando e triplicando piu di tante volte una medesima cosa de magnificare et exaltare la predicta victoria et de laudare et comendare fin de sopra ale stelle el nome de lo illustre Zohanne Vayvoda como uno de li piu gloriosi homini che trecenti anni nascesseno ho al presente vivano al mondo: e similmente per il contrario dampnando e vituperando asay li mali deportamenti e negligentia de tuti li Ungari non concedendo a loro parte alcuna de laude de questa victoria dicendo che tuta hera stata del prefato Zohanne Vayvoda accompagnato da li poveri e soli cruciati e non poncto da alchuni Ungari, si che giaramente dice se vede e se cognosce questa essere stata victoria e sola gratia se po dire de dio omnipotente piu tosto che per opera humana; e facta in confusione vituperio et obprobio de quili dampnavano Sua Sta dicendo non sapeva che se peschasse con queste sue cruciate e che se paseva de sogni e che andava jactando et butando via el texoro de la ghiexa mo xv. millia, mo xx. millia, mo xl. millia ducati exborsando al tracto, unda li altri Romani pontifici passati se studiavano de conservare et augmentare le faculta e texora de la ghiexa, e giaramente disseme Sua Sta che quello li faceva

* See *supra*, pp. 374, 403.

simile imputacione hera la Mag^{ta} del Re de Ragona el quale publicamente parlava in suo biasmo de questo e me parevo Sua B^{ne} molto irritata contra de luy. E li menazava chel judicio de dio verrebe sopra de quelo et in fine diceva, poxo molta e longa turbacione sua, che li pareva impossible che uno veghio de lxx. anni como he la Magesta del Re fusse corrigibile de soy costumi e parme che queste tale parole siano proferte per la prelibata M^{ta} del Re da poy che Mon^{re} el camerlengo gionse a Napoli per iustificacione de esso camerlengo, el quale non volendose partire et andando mal volentera ne la legatione sua, non ha lassato che dire in vituperio del papa, e cosi como como a quelo sia stato caxone et autore de tuto questo male e vituperoxe parole dicte. La Sta de N.S. piu ge lo imputa che non fa a la antedicta M^{ta} pur dice he stato necessario habia hauto paciencia e se ne sia andato. E. la M^{ta} del Re li ha dato quele xv. gallee li haveva promisso, da ben che per dare dilatione a questo facto se excussasse novamente de non potergele dare perfina ala prima vera proxima: ma che vedendo la mente de S. Sta per ognimodo disposta che andasse esso camerlengo senza quele galee quando havere non le potesse, pur a la fine ge la ha date * e cosi se partito el prefato M^{re} camerlengo, per la partita del quale dice N. Sig^{re} queste parole formale: che Ithalia he liberata del maiore schorpione fusse in quela.

La prosperita de la antedicta victoria pareme a mi habia ellata la mente de N. Sig. quanto dire se possa parindo a se che per questa no lo avenire tuti li sig^{ri} principi e sig^{rie} de christianita debbeno fare altra extima de luy che non fazevano prima et altramente essere obedienti e ben disposti al suo volere, parinde a S. B^{ne} de inferire che adesa ogni homo ghiaramente cognoscera essere verissimo quello

* According to Cribellus (58) only one galley built by Alfonso was added to Sc. rampo's ships.

che mille volte questo anno ha dicto he scripto in molte parte, cioe che al tempo sua la perfida et iniqua secta machometicha in tuto serrebe consumata e destructa . . . Ex castro Jubileo, 24 Aug., 1456.

Original in State Archives, Milan. P.E., Roma (by mistake in the year 1461).

44. *Pope Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain.**

1456, Dec. 17, Rome.

Calistus papa III. Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Assumpsimus hodie in sancte Romane ecclesie presbiterum cardinalem venerabilem fratrum nostrum Ricardum, episcopum Constantiensem,† adducti ex causis et rationibus, quas videbit tua circumspectio in copiis brevium, quas hic includi iussimus et mittimus eidem circums. tue brevia ut in copiis, que super ea re ad carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Karolum Francorum regem illustrem ac etiam ad eundem episcopum Constantiensem damus, ut pro honore tuo illa eisdem per te mittantur. Fuerunt unacum prefato episcopo Constantiensi similiter nonnulli alii eadem die in presbiteros cardinales creati et assumpti, scilicet venerabiles fratres nostri archiepiscopus Neapolitanus‡ ac Zamorensis, Papiensis, Senensis et Feretranus episcopi. Speramus omnes sedi apostolice et Romane ecclesie plurimum utiles esse futuros. Voluimus tuam circumspectionem per nostras litteras de his facere certiorem, ut que pro robore et dignitate Romane ecclesie fuerunt facta a nobis maxime intelligas. Tue igitur partes erunt, ut prefatum regem tuis precibus, exhortationibus et efficacissimis persuasionibus inducas ad complacendum

* See *supra*, p. 446.

† See *supra*, p. 459, the explanation of this name and those which follow.

‡ Hence it appears that the Brief in Ughelli, vi., is wrongly dated.

nobis in negociis cruciate, ut celeriter expediatur: postquam eidem quantum cum deo potuimus complacere studuimus, et alia efficies ac suplebis prout sapientie circumspectionis tue videbitur expedire. Et miramur a te non crebrius cerciores fieri de his pro quibus legatus de latere a nobis missus es, et iam sumus fere in vere et inimici fidei orthodoxe non dormiunt. Nosque dieque noctuque etiam sanguinem exponendo vigilamus et paucos cohoperatores reperimus. Messis multa, operarii vero pauci et sic rogemus dominum messis contra desides alios mittat curiosos et ferventes, quod infallanter faciet, nisi qui hodie presunt nobis fervencius assistant et in his pro repetitis habere volumus sepius scripta. In devotione tua multum quiescimus et speramus auxilium grande, sed dilationem evitare salus est et crastinare incurabilis morbus. Et dilectus filius L. Cescases sit tibi recomissus, et quia tibi valde devotum eum esse cognoscimus, placebit nobis hec sibi comunices. Et non permittatis istum papam senem sic afflictum pro defensione sacri evangelii magis affligi quam affligatur. Novit ille qui nihil ignorat quod in te multum quiescimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die xvii. decembris 1456, pont. nostri anno secundo.

[In verso.]

M. Ferrarii.

Dilecto filio Alano tt. sancte Praxedis presbytero cardinali in partibus Gallicanis notre et ap^ce^ sedis legato.

Original in Colonna Archives, Rome, iii. B.B., xvi., No. 21.

45. *Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani.**

Magnifice, etc. Acio vui habiati noticia de nui o di nostro stato ve advisamo como idio gratia siamo sani con tuta nostra brigata ch'l simile di vui e di tute le cose vostre desideramo. Di nuovo di qua non ci occurre altro salvo che nui speramo di ponente e da le parte di la subsidio e

* See *supra*, p. 438.

l'armata che venendo speramo con ladiutorio de dio fare cose grate al N.S. papa et a tuta christianitade, et non venendo dubitamo non ci rompi nostro designo. Vi pregamo ben che a nostra contemplatione ci vogliate scrivere spesso ecc. Dat. Rhodi, xviiii. Mai, 1457.

Original in Gaetani Archives, Rome. Cass. ii., No. 43.

46. *Blasius Ghilinus, Abbot of San Ambrogio at Milan, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

[1457], Juni 23, Rome.

Illustrissime domine. Fazo avisata la Vostra Excelencia como e azunto qua uno nuncio de la universitade de Parise per far certe proteste coram papa et cardinalibus e a intimarigli decem et octo articulos multi infamatori e domanda lo concilio. Non ne stato anchora da lo papa; questo lo azo da persona asia gravi, non so si scia vero. Ancora sapia como la Maiestade de lo Re da Ragona haviva mandato da N. S^re^ per la confirmacione de una postulacione fata de li canonici de uno vescovato fata in lo figlolo de don Ferando: non voglando la papa confermare, lo dicto ambasatore interpose una appellatione ad futurum concilium; papa maledixit illi et excommunicavit eum, lu dixe a lo papa che se na apellava a deo iusto che lo libererera de la maledicione. Lo papa scrise uno breve in questa cosa a lo Re e la fine era questa e in queste parole: verba pape: Sciat tua maiestas, quod papa scit deponere reges. Lo Re li fece resposta e la fine de la lettera diciva cosi: verba regis: Sciat tua Sanctitas quando voluerimus reperiemus modum deponendi pontificem. Signore, per questi vescovati e questa ruzine† infra lo papa e lo Re

* See *supra*, p. 461.

† The difference between the Pope and the King is also mentioned in a passage in cipher of a *Letter from the Cardinal of Pavia to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, March 10. Cod. cit. of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

ogni volta che lo Re vogla compiacere a lo papa de questi vescovati fara fare a lo papa quello che volera. E puesto creda la V.S. Aviso ancora la S.V. como mesero Borge cercha e cum grande studio de avere una nepote de lo card de la Colona e lo cardinale li presta li orize. . . .* Ex Roma, xxiii. Junii [1457].†

E.V.D, serviter B.‡ ABBAS S. AMBROSII.

Original. Ambrosian Library at Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

47. *Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to Lodovico de Gonzaga.*§

1457, Oct. 5, Fabriano.||

Ill^me^ et excell dom. etc. E piazuto a la S^tita^ de N^ro^ S^re^ de creare et publicare[me] vicecancellero de la sancta Ro[mana] chiesa, la quale cosa havemo voluto notificare

* What follows is unimportant.

† Written in a much later hand above in the margin.

‡ Blasius Ghilinus, divi Benedicti monachus, I.U.D., Abbot of San. Ambrogio from 1443-1473; see "Insignis basilicæ et imperialis coenobii S. Ambrosii majoris Mediolani abbatum chronol. series a D. Barthol. Aresio" (Mediolani, 1674).

§ See *supra*, p. 460.

|| This letter has a special interest, inasmuch as it informs us that Rodrigo's appointment as Vice-Chancellor was published in the autumn of 1457, a statement which is borne out by Carretto's *Despatch of 20 August, 1457, cited above (p. 463, note *). In this document he mentions the petition of three Conservators that Rodrigo might be invested with the important office of Vice-Chancellor. The Sienese ambassador, L. de Benvoglienti, on the 5th October, 1457, speaks for the first time of Rodrigo's elevation; see his *Despatch of that date in Cod. A., iii., 16, Siena Library. Moreover, in a *Despatch dated Rome, 1457, November 6, Carretto says that Cardinal Rodrigo was to arrive in eight days to enter upon his office of Vice-Chancellor, for which he had some time previously received the Bulls. State Archives, Milan. Conclusive evidence is finally furnished by a notice which I found in Cod. xxxv., 94, f. 184, of the Barberini Library. Here is a copy of the said Bull of appointment, d.d. 1457, Cal. Mai., and at its conclu-

per Jacomo Balister n^ro^ familiare a la V.I.S. . . .* Ex Fabriano, v. Octob., 1457.

[A tergo:] Address to Lod. de Gonzaga and the name of the sender:

"R. Cardinalis de Borgia } Marchie, etc., legatus."
S^te^ Ro. E. Vicecancell. }

Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

48. *Pope Calixtus III. to Berne.*†

[1457, Dec., Rome.]

The Pope commends the good dispositions of the Bernese towards the Holy See, "Nec vos moveat ab optima intentione si qui mali spiritus ac pocius demones humana membra induti tentant vos turbare pessimis eorum susurrationibus et sophismis. Nam quicquid undique colligi potuit ex hac sancta cruciata totum in conficienda et armanda classe nostra exposuimus et pro ea augenda et corroboranda continue exponimus ultra proprios thesauros nostros et ecclesie, quos usque etiam ad domesticas supellectiles sine ulla reservatione in hoc opus erogavimus nec desistere intendimus quousque vita nobis comes erit, parati etiam proprio sanguini non parcere, si eum pro defensione fidei orthodoxe effundere expediat. Spes autem nostra collocata est in deo, qui non deseret populum suum victoriaque in manibus est si Christiani potentatus nobiscum conferent opes et subsidia oportuna." *He encourages them to help him in the holy war, and not to allow themselves to be prevented by those who blame and disturb this holy work. Then follows the passage printed by* Raynaldus, 1457, No. 39: "De his autem et aliis occur-

sion the following notice which is omitted from the Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican: *"Lecta et publicata fuit prescripta bulla die lune 7 Novemb., dicti anni," etc.

* Here follow professions of devotion.

† See *supra*, p. 421.

rentibus in adventu dicti Ludovici* clarius et plenius intelligetis, cui tanquam persone nostre fidem indubiam prestetis."† Dat. Lib. brev. 7, f. 143. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

49. *Favours bestowed by Calixtus III. on Cardinals Rodrigo and Luis Juan de Borgia.*‡

*Reg. 445, f. 163-165: Roderico tit. s. Nicolai in carc. Tull. card. conferuntur decanatus eccl. Cartaginen. ac nonnulla simplicia beneficia in dioc. Cartagin. D. v. id. sept. [A° 2°]; f. 289: Roderico etc. datur in commend. monast. s. Marie Claravallis Cisterc. Camerac. dioc. D. 1456, Prid. cal. ian., A° 2°.

*Reg. 446, f. 195: Roderico etc. commendatur praepositura eccl. Maguntin. D. 1456, xiv. cal. marc., A° 2°; f. 197: Ludovico tit. ss. quatuor coronatorum commendatur praepositura monasterii s. Marthe Novarien. extra muros. D. 1456, xiii. cal. marc.; f. 248b: Ludovico etc. commendatur archidiaconatus ecclesie Bononien. D. 1456, vi. cal. febr., A° 2°; f. 307: Ludovico etc. commedantur monasteria ss. Victoria et Corone necnon s^ctl Januarii ordinis s^ctl Benedicti Vercell. dioc. D. 1456, iv. cal. marc., A° 2°.

*Reg. 447, f. 262b: Roderico tit. s. Nicolai etc. conferuntur nonnulla praestimonia in Compostellan. et Conchen. civitatib. et dioc. D. u.s. (1456, id. ianuar., A° 2°); f. 278: Roderico etc. conferunter nonnulla beneficia in civit. et dioc. Ispalen. consistentia. D. 1457, x. cal. mai., A° 3°.

*Reg. 449, f. 137: Ludovico tit. ss. quatuor etc. conceditur facultas, ut possit conferre duodecim canonicatus et praebendas duodecim personas. D. 1457, non. mai., A° 3°.

*Reg. 450, f. 139. Ludovico etc. commendatur hospitale pauperum pontis Rheni prope Bononiam. D. 1457, x. cal novemb., A° 3°.

* Cescases. † The previous letters are dated 12 Dec., 1457.

‡ See *supra*, p. 459.

*Reg. 451, f. 39: Ludovico etc. commendatur monasterium s. Benedicti de Mullegio Vallisumbrose Vercell. dioc. D. 1457, xiii. cal. marc., A° 3°; f. 71: Roderico etc S.R.E. vicecancellario commendatur monasterium s. Angeli in Massa ord. s. Benedicti Narnien. dioc. D. 1457, iv. non. marc., A° 3°.

*Reg. 452, f. 152: Roderico etc. commendatur monasterium de Fossanova Cistercien. ord. Terracinen. dioc. D. 1458, non. mai.

*Reg. 460, f. 14: Roderico etc. datur extensio sue expectative ad omnia dominia regis Castelle. D. 1456, x. cal. april, A° 2°.

*Reg. 461, f. 49: Ludovico etc. conceditur expectativa in dominiis ducis Sabaudie. D. 1457, viii. cal. Octob., A° 3°.

*Reg. 464, f. 109b, 114: *Similar favours to Card. Rodrigo.* D. 1457, iv. id. febr., vi. id. marc., A° 3°; also 1458, vii. cal. mai., A° 4°.

50. *Jacopo Antonio della Torre, Bishop of Modena, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1458, June 11, Rom.

. . Me pare chel papa dubita molto del conte Jacomo† vivente rege et moriente, ne dubita anchora perche crede gli habia a disturbar tuti li dessegni suoy, ch' ha circa el facto del Reame, dove me pare habia posto tutto el suo pensero morendo el Re como luy crede che habia a morire de questa infermita et io tengo per certo questo che la S. B^ne per questa casone principaliter voria questi oratori fossero presso luy per potere rasonare de tale materia quando seguisse la morte del Re. Et fa la Sta Soa fundamento che dice questo regno spectare a s^ta chiesia et a luy et suoy successori et che niuna potencia de

* See *supra*, p. 446. † Piccinino.

Italia doveva volere che el regno fosse daltri che de la chiesa per la pace et quiete de dicta sancta chiesa et de tutto lo resto de Italia, et quando questo fosse dice che ogniuno viveria in pace et el papa, quale e pater et dominus pacis, faria che ogniuno stava in pace et el re de Franza stava ancora luy contento. Ma che venendo el dicto reame al duca de Calabria el re de Franza che se potendo de haver rasone nel regno, may non lo comportaria et suscitaria in Italia tanto foco che brusaria ogniuno et in questa parte del re de Franza se extese longamente narrandome la potencia de Franza. Io credo firmiter che di nocte el papa stia suso questo pensar et desegno et expecta la morte del Re con summa leticia. Quattro* fiate son stato con S. B. una hora et piu per volta et sempre e stato su questi rasonamenti, ma heri sera me disse tutte le cose soprascritte. Monsig. Rhotomagen.† etiam me ha ditto de tali rasonamenti ha fatto con luy. Dice ancora che dipoy che la M. del Re ha havuto questo reame may sancta chiesia ha havuto reposo et che sempre ha tribulato el papa Martino et Eugenio et Calisto et che voria omnino morendo el Re liberare questo regno et li suoy successori de tanta servitute et conclude che totis viribus non supportaria che el duca de Calabria obtenghi el dicto reame et in questo voria haver optima et sincera inteligentia con V. Ex. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z. 219, Sup.

51. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francisca Sforza, Duke of Milan.*‡

1458, Juni 24, Rom.

. . . A li di passati essendo morto uno penetentiero del papa, el qual si haveva electa la sepultura in una certa

* The following passage to the words "con luy" is the only part of this letter not written in cipher.

† d'Estouteville.

‡ See *supra*, p. 358. Regarding this discovery, see also the short notice in the Annal. Bonon , 890, the more detailed narrative

capella* di S. Piero, volendo cavare nel ditto luoco per sotterarlo fu trovata una bellissima sepultura lunga piu di 3 bracia e poco manco in largeza tutta di marmo e de un pezo, alta tanto quanto larga. Et in detta sepultura erano due casse una lunga quasi quanto la sepultura e l'altra picola quanto sarebe per un puttino et benche ditte casse sieno di legno dident° tamen sono fodrate de argento finissimo et sono de tanto peso maxime la picola che erano sei chierici a portarla cum fatica. Ne la cassa grande fu trovato uno corpo grande vestito de una richissima vesta de panno d'oro, la qual el papa ha fatto abruxare et cavatone circa mille ducati d'oro. El ditto corpo quando vide l'aere, in poco spatio ando in cenere. Nulla memoria ni scriptura si trova per la qual se intenda chi el sia. Varie opinioni sono. Alcuni dicono chel e Constantino, el qual benche fusse sepellito a Constantinopoli nondimeno fu poi el suo corpo transferito a Roma et a questo si da assay fede, perche ne la ditta capella e di musaico tutta la storia di Constantino molto antiqua. Alcuni altri voiono dire chel e un corpo sancto, el qual i preti di San Piero al tempo di Gothi nascoseno per suspecto di quel argento. Ne la cassa picola furono trovate certe osse picole, le qual similmente andorono in cenere. El papa ha tolto ditte casse; li canonici di S. Piero le domandano come apartenenti a la chiesa.

of Niccola della Tuccia (256), which in great measure coincides with our account, and the following passage from Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna: *" Per lettere venute da Roma alli 20 luglio il giovedi si divulga come alla chiesa di S. Pietro di Roma nella capella di S Petronilla erano state trovate due casse di argento con due corpi d' uomini dentro, una delle quali era longa 13 palmi e larga 5. L' altra era la metà di questa. Furono stimate di valore 15000 ducati." Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

* Di S. Petronilla; see Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.* Reumont, iii., 1, 456, 521; 2, 758, 869, speaks of subsequent discoveries in this chapel.

Credo haveranno patientia et che fin hogi sia ala zecha. Miss Borges capitaneo e per lo patrimonio con le gente che altre volte dissi a la V.S. et tutte le terre che vogliano schifare allozarlo per rispetto de le biade si compongono et pagano un tanto et stimasi che a questo modo reportera un gran dinaro, che e una forma nuova da metter taglie. El cardinale de Avinione aspetta la risposta de hora in hora dal fiolo del re Riniero. . . .

Original in Milan, Ambrosian Library. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

52. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1458, Juli 4, Rom.

. . . El papa ha fatte molte demonstratione di haver piaxere de la morte del Re et di essere stato mal contento di modi suoi mentre chel visse: imperoche subito giunta la nuova mando el soldano a casa de lo ambasciatore, ch' era qui per lo Re, et havevali commesso lo pigliasse e lo mettesse in castello. Ma ditto ambasciatore, el qual per ventura era informato de la opinione del papa et de la morte del Re hebe aviso prima ch' altri, haveva levato campo a furia e lassato quasi tutta la soa roba, la quale et papa ha fatta sacheggiare et hallo privato di tutti li soi benefitii et similmente ha privato un altro, ch' era procuratore del Re in corte, el qual etiam si e fuzito.† Preterea el di sequente, che fu venere a di ultimo di jugno, quantunque fusse la commemoratione di s. Paulo e non fusse di concistoriale mando la mattina per tempo per li cardinali e fece concistorio e pronuntio vescovo di Valenza el nepote

* See *supra*, p. 467.

† The above tidings are confirmed by a *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 15. Fonds Ital. 1588, f. 94, of the National Library, Paris.

vicecancellero, che valle ditto vescovato 18^{m} ducati * et al datario diede el vescovato di Girona di valuta di ducati 8^{m}, sopra li frutti del quale ha reservato pensioni di 2^{m} ducato al altro nepote,† che e a Bologna. Et quella medesima mattina conferi molti grossi beneficii a la sua famiglia vacati gia anni, li quali insieme con li ditti vescovati el Re non volse mai consentire in vita sua che' papa li desse ne anco el papa li volse dare a petitione del Re. Et al questo modo el papa ha facto richi la piu parte di soi per forma che tutto el palazo ride. Quel medemo zorno dapoi desinare el papa mando per li cardinale Andegavensis et de Vignone et tenneli quasi fin al nocte et dopo molti raxonamenti disse loro essere al tutto disposto mettere ogni possanza per rihavere el reame dicendo che sapartiene a la chiesia et che don Fernando non puo esser ne di Napoli et che piu tosto sapartiene al re Raniero et concluse che sel reame li viene na le mane, indicandosi chel di raxone spetti al re Raniero lil dara, in caso che non ne vuole potere investire chi li piace. Ma ben si monstra assay inclinato ali Francesi, el che si iudica chel facci solum per haver piu favore dal canto suo. Ma se stima che se per ventura li venisse tal signoria ne le mani non la darebe ad altro homo che a misser Borges suo nepote, el qual e reputato da la Sta Sua un altro Cesare. Et per dare principio o la cosa el papa ha mandato per miser Borges et halli mandati denari per ch' l si metta in puncto e soldi piu gente chel puo. Credo la S.V. iudichra queste non esser cose da riuscire, ma che piutosto sono appititi puerili che ultramente come iudica la piu parte, nientedimeno e possibile che questo sia caxone di accendere gran fuoco. Di queste cose sono certificato

* Twenty thousand ducats according to the report of the Sienese ambassador in Banchi, Belazioni, 443.

† Luis Juan de Borgia.

da mon^re de Avignone * el qual mi afferma chel papa non ha altro in cuore che acquistare el reame et dicemi che guiardamente is lo posso scrivere a la V. Ex^tia . . .†

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

53. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*‡

1458, Aug. 5, Rom.

Illustrissime princeps et ex^me domine, domine mi singularissime.

Perchè Vostra Ex^tis intenda in che termini sonno le cose fin a questo ponto la Santita di Nostro Signore sta molto grave; heri sera hebbe lultima unctione,§ et non e piu speranza de la vita,‖ ma per forza de medicine lo tegneno vivo quanto ponno. Lo ill^mo prefetto d. Borges ha remissi li consegni de tutti le forteze in mano del colegio de li reverendissimi cardinali et hanno gia havuta la forteze del castello s. Angelo et consignata al reverend^mo cardinal Iliardense¶ et de d. Jacobo Mozarello chierico de camera a nome del colegio, et cosi tutte le gente darme hanno giurato in mano del vicecamerlengo a nome del colegio prefato, in modo che ogni cosa e in securo et hoc senza saputa de la Santita de N^ro Signore. Preterea essendo Sua Santita gia piu di fa in grande extremita da tre di in

* This name is in cipher.

† What follows is of no importance.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 475, 476, 477.

§ * "In questa horo che h. xx. dano lolio santo al nostro S.," writes Antonius de Strociis on the 4 [August], 1458, to Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga. Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ On the 26th July, 1458, Antonio of Pistoja wrote to Fr. Sforza: * "Mastro Simone [Tebaldi of Marini, i., 161 *et seq.*] medico dice chiaramente che non crede el papa possa compare di questo male ne vivere molti zorni." State Archives, Milan.

¶ Antonio de la Cerda.

qua fuora quasi dogni sentimento, hanno li R^{mi} Cardinali tolta una cassa piena de ducati, in la qual se dice erano ducati trecento milia, licet per essi cardinali non se dica se non de cxx. milia; de questi ha lassato il papa per testamento xxii. milia ducati* al prefato Borges, li quali ha havuti fin heri in denari contanti, et quelli sono stati casone de farli lassare il castello s. Angelo. Al preditto d. Borges come per altre scrissi a Vostra Ex^{tia} ha la Santita de N^{ro} Signore per bolle apostoliche concesso che sia duca de Benevento, conte de Terracina, et Marchixe de Civita Veghia; item se dice de alcune terre quale teneva il prefetto Veghio, de le quale la piu parte tene il conte Everso; de Benevento et de Terracina non so come havera la possessione de la Maesta del Re de Sicilia, item non intendo sia tal concessione de queste ne de le altre terre preditte approbata per ^{l}o colegio de cardinali, ma havendo opinione che questo santissimo papa debia presto manchare non hanno fatto altra condictione, cosi ancora non ha havuta Civita Veghia ben che li sia Castellano Catalano.

Il reverendissimo cardinale Orsino molto e adversante al prefato d. Borges, et dimanda restauratione de molti damni fatti a luy in casa sua senza comandamento a commissione del papa, et gia li ha fatto fare alcuni sopraventi, et quanto e in luy cercha de levarli il modo non se possi partire de qui, ne per terra ne per aqua, et dubito se altro remedio non se piglia li dara molta molestia. Qui e venuto labbate de Farfa fratello de dicto cardinale, qual intendo sia molto prompto a la vendeta de le iniurie recevute. A Viterbio sonno intrati molti de quelli erano bandezati et maxime de la parte Gatescha et stano su le arme, et qui se dice haveva il populo gia presa la rocha. Non altro per questa me rico-

* And even "xii^{m} per soldi de serviti e x^{m} per legato." *Despatch of Ant. Catabenus to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 7. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

mando humilmente a Vostra Ex^tia^. Rome die v. augusti, 1458, hora xxii.

E. V. Ex.

fidelissimo servitor,

OTTO DE CARRETO.

Post suprascripta. Quelli da Nepe per uno oltragio fatoli dal castellano hanno combatuta la rocha qual era molto forte et per trista provisione havea il castellano, lhano preso e tagliato a peze dicto castellano et appianata la forteza. Qui haveveno cominciato a tagliare a peze Catallani in mode che pochi andaveno per la terra pur se glie pigliato remedio et sperasi ogni casa sia pacifica dummodo se conci questa cosa fra Ursini et il capitaneo.

Idem OTTO.

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

54. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1858, Aug. 6, Rome.

Ill Sig. El papa e morto in questa hora xxiv.† Li Catelani sona tutti chi fugiti et chi nascosi et hanno tanto odio adosso che tristo a loro se si lasseno trovare nanzi la creatione de l'altro papa. Et forsi ancor alhora saranno a pezor conditione. Ricomandomi ecc. Rome, die vi. augusti, 1458.‡

S. ANTONIUS DE PISTORIO.

* See *supra*, pp. 479, 480.

† This is the hour given by Niccola della Tuccia, 70, 256. Others mention the twenty-third hour; see No. 55.

‡ Christophe (i., 24) gives the 8th August as the day of the Pope's death, and observes: "Une depêche manuscrite d' Otton Carrette a Sforza dans la correspondance de ce duc conservée à la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan établit officiellement cette dato de la mort de Caliste III." But although I repeatedly searched through the documents which must be alluded to (Cod. Z., 219,

El car^le^ de S. Marco e molto mal voluto da questi Romani, perche ha cavato Borges di Roma. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 212, Sup.

55. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.** 1458, Aug. 7, Rome.

(a.) Heri sera scrissi a V. Ex^cia^ per l'allig[ate] de la morte del nostro S^re^ papa, ma volendo in quel hora mandare via il cavalaro se trovo le porte serrate che non possi uscire, unde che e bisognato a ritardare per fin in quest' hora a mandarle.

Me raccomando, etc.

Rome die vii. aug. hora x^a^, 1458.

Sup.) I was unable to find this Despatch. In the State Archives at Milan I however copied two Despatches from the above-named ambassador (see No. 55), from which it would appear that the French author's statements are to be received with great caution. On what grounds Droysen (ii, 1, 195) asserts that Calixtus III. died on the 7th August I am unable to say.

* See *supra*, p. 479, and Appendix No. 54. The 6th August is given by all good contemporary authorities without exception as the day of the death of Calixtus III., for example by Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.*; Antoninus, t. xxii., c. 17, §1; Raph. Volaterranus, xxii., f. 234; Pius II., Comment., 29, and Brief to Viterbo, in Bussi, 432; Infessura, 1138; Palmerius, 242; Cronica di Bologna, 726; Protokoll des Notars de Merilis (see Bertolotti in Gori's Archivio, iv., 242); *Annales seu Chronicon ard. eremit, s. Augustini in Cod. S. 3, 13 of the Angelica Library, Rome; Cod. Vatic., 78, 71, f. 55b; Ex cod. Vatic., 6827; Martyrologium et regula s. Benedicti ad usum Monasterii S. Laurentii extra muros urbis Cod. sæc., xv.; at the beginning is a calendar which contains the words: viii. id. aug. obiit pie mem. Calixtus P. III.; notice in Lib. brev. 8, Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Kaltenbrunner in the Mittheilungen, 1884, p. 83; *Despatch of the Milanese ambassador to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Aug. 11, in Cod. 1588, f. 117, of the National Library, Paris; Acta consistorialia. See following note.

(b.) Questa matina per altre mie ho avisata V. Ex^{cia} come heri ad hore xxiii.* passa de questa vita il n^{ro} S. papa. Per quetta non occorre altro, etc. Rome die vii. aug., 1458, hora xxiiii.

Original in State Archives, Milan. Cart. gen.

56. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†
1458, Aug. 14, Rome.

Essendo stato aliquanti di infermo il r^{mo} car^{al} de Fermo, come io scrissi a V. Ex., a iudicio de medici e dogniuno era fuora dogni suspetto et pericolo de morte ; l'altra notte gli asalto la febre cossi terribile che hogi ad hore xxi.‡ e passato de questa vita ricevuti li debiti sacramenti con tanta sanctita et constantia che parea uno angelo de paradiso et de doe hore avanti che morisse mi tocho la mano : io vi lasso con dio et dolemi inanci che sia morto non ho possuto ricognoscere quello ill. signore et vuy, come meritava lamore che mi portavati, ma dio per me ve lo retribuisca. Jo non hebbi forza de responderli. Si che illustr. signore mio, e passato de questa vita lo piu prudente, costumato, docto e sancto signore e prelato che fusse ali di nostri in la chiesa de dio. E. morto un summo e cordialissimo amico de V. Ex. et quello la cui vita era la exaltacione de la s^{cta} chiesa Romana et la colona de la pace de Italia et spechio de religione et d'ogni sanctimonia e costume, et quando indubitanter credevemo vederlo papa et luy non cerchandolo§ tutti li cardinali et Ursini et Colonesi

* With this statement agree the Cronica Rom., 25, and the Cronica di Bologna, 726. The Notary de Merilis mentioned in note 1 says the Pope died "tra le ore 23 e 24." The *Acta consistorialia of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, say : "hora 23 vel circa."

† See *supra*, p. 482.

‡ This hour is mentioned by Galeoctus in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 15 (State Archives, Milan).

§ Pius II., Comment., 29, contradicts this assertion.

et Ultramontani et Citramontani erano dacordio in haverlo per pastore. Alora vederemo le lacrimose et dolorose funerali et cosi vanno li casi mondani et cosi ce vene falita ogni speranza. Onde ho deliberto questa novella quantunque acerbissima notificarla, etc. Rome, 14 aug., 1458, hora 22.

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. II.

Acciaiolus, Angelus, 467, n. 1.
Acciapacci Niccolò (Cardinal), 7, n. 1; 79.
Adrian VI. (Pope), 341, n. 1.
Æneas Sylvius (see Piccolomini).
Agli, Antonio degli, 206.
Agnesi, Astorgio (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 68, 69, 77, n. 1.
Ailly, Pierre d' (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 251, n. 3.
Alain (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 320, 323, 325, 330, 349, 350; 355, n. 2; 378, 379, 380, 381, n.; 383, n. 1; 386, 387, n. 2; 407, n. 1; 445, 446, n. 1; 459, n. 1; 468, 475, 550.
Albergati, Niccolò (Cardinal), 14-18, 22, 23, n. 2; 485, 495.
Albert the Great, 213.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 171, 177, 178, 179, 180, n. 1; 185, 195, 231, 232.
Alberti, Fioravante degli, 183.
Albertis, Alberto de (Cardinal), 79.
Albizzi, Rinaldo degli, 15.
Albornoz (Cardinal), 192.
Aldrovandino, Count, 527.
Alexander III. (Pope), 325, n. 2.
Alexander VI. (Pope) (see Borgia, Rodrigo).
Alexander the Great, 205, 288.
Algano, Lucrezia di, 426.
Aliprandis, Ambrogio de, 307, n. 3; 525.
Allosio, Enrico d' (Cardinal), 9.
Alunno, Niccolò, 190.
Amadeus of Savoy (see Felix V.).
Ambrogini, Angelo, 275.
Ambrose (Saint), 213.
Amidano, Vincenzo, 96, n. 3; 98, n. 2; 500.
Amigdani, Niccolò degli, 227.
Ammanati (see Piccolomini).
Anagni, Giovanni d', 96, n. 3.
Ancona, Ciriaco of, 219.
Angelico, Fra (see Fiesole).
Angelis, Paolo de, 10, n. 2.
Anguillara, Everso, Count of, 61, 309, 338, 339, n. 3; 372, 527, 532, 562.
Anguillara, Ascanio d', 361, 372.
Anguillara, Deifobo d', 361, 372.
Anhalt, Count of, 119.
Anicius Probus, 181.
Anjou, John of (Duke of Calabria), 467.
Anjou, René (Titular King of Naples), 467, 468.
Anodevoli, Gregorius, 513, 514.
Antoninus, Saint (Archbishop of Florence), 4, n. 3; 11, 74, n.; 78, n. 3; 92, n. 2; 94, 95, n.; 161, 211, 257, n. 1; 262, 263, n. 1; 271, 331, 340, 341, 346, n. 1; 381, n. 1; 438, n. 3; 490, n. 3; 491, n. 4; 495, n. 3.
Aragon, Alfonso of (see Naples).
Appiani, 198, 201.
Aquinas, Thomas (Saint), 23, 133, 213, 255, n. 2.
Arc, Joan of, 105.
Arcemboldi, Niccolò, 146, n. 1; 158, n. 3; 159, n. 2.
Arevalo, Rodericus Sancius de, 44, 53, n. 2; 54, 55.
Arezzo (Bishop of), 355, n. 1.

Arezzo, Carlo of, 16, 146.
Arezzo, Lionardo of, 16.
Aringherius, Franciscus, 295, n. 1.
Aristotle, 183, 201, 256.
Arras, John (Bishop of), 310.
Arretio, Jacobus de, 455, n. 1.
Assisi, Francis of (Saint), 130, 186, 393.
Augustine (Saint), 23, 24, 213, 336, n. 2; 484, 490.
Aurispa, Giovanni, 16, 87, 195.
Austria, Albert, Duke of, 92, 142, 155, 157, 303.
Axpach, Vincenz von, 110, n. 2.

Baden, Margrave of, 303.
Baden, Catherine Margravine of, 92.
Baglioni, Braccio di, 148, n.
Bajazet, 253.
Balneo, Giovanni, 478, n. 3; 481, n. 2.
Barbaro, Francesco, 165.
Barbatia, Andrea de, 70, n. 2.
Barbavaria, Marcolino, 6, n. 2; 7, n. 1; 12, n. 1; 28, n. 1; 29, n. 3; 62, n. 3; 488, n. 1.
Barbo, Pietro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul II., Pope), 10, 54, 56, n. 2; 79, 80, 97, n. 2; 206, n. 3; 320, 321, 322, 329, n. 3; 337, 339, 346, n. 1; 369, 462, 474, 475, 477, 480.
Barbul, of Roumania, 407, n. 1.
Basil (Saint), 206.
Basle, Bishop of, 41.
Bavaria, Louis, Duke of, 301.
Bavaria, Otho, Duke of, 37.
Bavaria, Stephen, Duke of, 37.
Bayeux, Zanon, Bishop of, 285, n. 4.
Benedict (Saint), 115.
Benedict XII. (Pope), 38.
Benedict XIII. [Pedro de Luna] (anti-Pope), 328.
Benevento (Cardinal), 79, n.
Bentivoglio, Sante, 68, 71.
Benvoglienti, Bernardo, 374, n. 2.
Benvoglienti, Leonardo, 237, n. 1; 288, n. 1; 296, n. 1; 297, n. 2; 363, 374, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 426, n. 2; 432, n. 1; 462, n. 2; 463, n. 2; 521.
Beriguciis, Petrus de, 81, n. 1; 83, n. 1.
Bertolotti, 183, n.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 44, 69, 70-72, 80, 81, 190, 212, 222, 223, 226, 227, n. 1; 241, 279, 320, 323-324, 326, 487, 545.
Bevazan, Luigi, 272.
Bicardo, Antonio, 399, n. 2.
Bichis, Giovanni, 452.
Biondo, Flavio, 170, 196, n. 2.
Birago, L., 200, n. 1; 204, n. 2.
Birgerius, M., 352, n.
Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 7, n. 4; 16, n. 3; 17, n. 1; 18, n. 2; 19, n. 2; 20, n. 1; 21, n. 2; 22, 23, 25, 33, 34, n. 1; 58, n. 2; 77, n. 4; 100, n. 2; 102, 168, n. 1; 194, 196, 199-200, 208, n. 2; 210, 310, 312, 313, n. 1; 322, 324, 325, n. 1.
Boccacio, 216, 277.
Bohemia, King of (see Podiebrad).
Bologna, Casparo of, 16.
Bonaventure (Saint), 213.
Bonetti of Imola (Baverio), 305.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 232.
Borghese, Galgano, 307, n. 2; 363, 374, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 432, n. 1.
Borgia, Alfonso (see Calixtus III.).
Borgia, Alfonsus de (Canon), 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Family of, 357, n. 1; 368, 423, n. 2; 447, 448, 459, 461, 462, 463, 465, 477, 480.

Borgia, Caterina, 447, 448, n. 1.
Borgia, Francesco, 448, n.
Borgia, Isabella, 447, 448, n.
Borgia, Johannes, 327, n. 1; 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Juana, 448, n. 1.
Borgia, Luis Juan (Cardinal), (see Mila).
Borgia, Michael, 367, n.; 438, n. 5; 439, n. 4; 447, n. 2; 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Pedro Luis, 447, 460-463, 468, 474, 476, 477, 480, 481, 489, 560-562.
Borgia, Rodrigo (Cardinal) [afterwards Alexander VI.], 182, 427, 447-456, n. 1; 457, 458, n. 2; 459-460, 462, n. 2; 468, 476-479, n. 2; 537, 541, 553, 555, 556.
Borja, Alonso de (see Borgia, Alfonso).
Boscoli, Pietro Paolo, 216.
Bosnia, Stephen, King of, 245, 270, n. 3.
Bramantino, 190.
Brandenburg, Albert Achilles (Margrave of), 301, 303.
Brandenburg, John (Margrave of), 237, n. 2.
Bremen, Bishop of, 414.
Brescia, Bishop of, 56.
Breslau, Archbishop of, 442.
Brippi, Giuseppe, 203, 235, 326, n. 1; 356, 357, n. 1.
Bruggia, Ruggiero da, 89.
Bruni, Lionardo, 219.
Buonaccorso da Montemagno, Giovanni, 508.
Buonfiglio, Benedetto, 189.
Burckhardt, 180, n. 1.
Burgundy, Philip, Duke of, 134, 248, n. 2; 285, 301, 302, 355, n. 2; 358, 382, 383, 392, 439, 446, n. 2.
Bursellis, Hieronymus de, 71.
Busch, John, 118, 120, 121, n.; 339, n. 1.
Busse, Paulus, 120.
Butigella, Francesco, 93, n. 2.

Cæsar, 288, 420, 430, 468.
Caffari, Stefano, 7, n. 1.
Calabria, Ferrante of (see Naples).
Calabria, John, Duke of, 467.
Calandrini, Tommaso, 14, n. 3.
Calandrini, Filippo (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 68, 69, n. 1; 146, 160, 236, 313. 320, 466, 518.
Calatambio, Alfonso de, 372.
Calcaterra, Jacopo, 262, n. 3; 399, 403, 404, 408, n. 1; 423, n. 4; 431, n. 3; 460, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 492, n. 2; 538, 548.
Calderina, Valerio (Bishop of Savona), 437.
Calixtus II. (Pope), 338, n. 1.
Calixtus III., anti-Pope (see Struma).
Calixtus III. (Pope) [Alonzo Borja], 111, 172, 212, 246, 257, n. 1; 320, 325, 335, n. 1; 336-387, 391, 392, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 402-410, 415-429, 431, 433-451, 453, 456, 457, 461, 465, 468, 476, 479, 488, 489, 493, 537, 538, 541, 544, 545, 546, 550, 554, 557.
Camerino, Matteo da, 308, n. 2.
Campofregoso, Paolo (Archbishop of Genoa), 437.
Campofregoso, Petrus de (Doge of Genoa), 272, n. 1; 365, n. 2; 425, n. 3, 508, 509.
Cancellieri, 5, n. 3.
Capistran, John (Saint), 56, 79, 81, n. 4; 91, 125-130, 303, 304, 326, n. 3; 352, 371, n. 2; 387, 391, 393-397, 398, n. 1; 401, 404, 405, 406.
Cappell, Hartung von, 36.
Capponi, Agostino, 216.
Capponi, Neri, 290, n. 3.
Capponi, Piero, 455, n.

Capranica, Angelo (Cardinal), 80, 492, n. 5.
Capranica, Domenico (Cardinal), 7, 11, 42, n. 4; 75, n. 2; 92, 227, 275, 298, 320, 322, 325, n. 1; 348, n. 3; 369, 431, 451, n. 1; 461, 482-495.
Caracciolo, Marino, 290, n. 4.
Carniola, Andrea, Archbishop of, 50.
Caretto, Otto de, 422, n. 2; 427, n. 1; 446, n. 2; 447, 448, n. 1; 461, n. 2; 463, n. 1; 466, n. 4; 469, n. 2; 471, n. 2; 472, n. 4; 473, n. 3; 474, n. 2; 475, n. 1; 476, n. 3; 477, n. 3; 478, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 482, n. 1; 489, n. 3; 494, 561, 564, 565.
Carvajal, Juan (Cardinal), 7, 8, 31, 37, 38, 73, 146, 160, 275, 320, 322, 349, 350, 359, n. 1; 373, 384, 391, 392, 393, 394, n. 1; 395, 398, 402, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 408, 409, n. 3; 412-414, 420, 421, 438, n. 1; 441-443, n. 1; 446, n. 2; 462, 495.
Casimir, King of Poland, 32, 129.
Castagno, Andrea del, 190.
Castellanus, Marianus, 513.
Castiglione, Giovanni de (Cardinal), 263, n. 2; 350, 391, n. 2; 458, 466, 539.
Catabene, Antonio, 330, n. 3; 463, n. 2; 472, n. 4; 473, n. 1; 475, n. 2; 476, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 1; 495, n. 3.
Catanei, Vannozza de', 452.
Cataneo, Galeazzo de, 85, n. 1.
Catherine, Saint (see Siena).
Cato, 219.
Cattaneo, Galeazzo, 85, n. 1.
Cavalierus, Pietro Paulo, 515.
Caymis, Giovanni de, 428, n. 1; 471, n. 2.
Cerda, Antonio de la (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 76, n. 3; 320, 474, 561.
Cesari, Alessio de (Bishop of Chiusi), 307, n. 3; 317, n.; 318, 319, n. 2; 339, n. 1; 340, n. 1; 364, 532.
Cesarini, Giuliano (Cardinal), 278, 485, 487, 495.
Cescases, Ludovicus, 346, n. 3; 378, n. 1; 380, n. 3; 551.
Charles VII. (King of France), 35, 41, 190, 285, 355, n. 2; 377-380, 381, n. 3; 382, 406, n. 2; 407, 439, 469, 505, 550.
Chio, Leonardo de, 524.
Christian (Abbot), 118.
Christian, King (see Denmark).
Chrysostom (Saint), 206.
Cilli, Frederick of (Count), 92.
Cilli, Ulrich of (Count), 392, 412, 440.
Clement VII. (anti-Pope), 101.
Clement VIII. (anti-Pope, 328.
Cleves, John, Duke of, 92, 93, n. 1; 105.
Cola, Paolo Benedetto di (see Mastro).
Cologne, Archbishop of, 105, 414, 421.
Colonna, Family of, 11, 149, 221-223, 237, 339, 481, 483, 485, 486.
Colonna, Lorenzo, 61.
Colonna, Prospero (Cardinal), 7, 11, 30, 320, 321, 337, 475, n. 1; 485, 531-533.
Colonna, Stefanello, 61.
Colonna, Stefano, 361, 480.
Columbanus, 146, n. 2; 156, n. 3.
Columella, 213.
Condulmaro, Francesco (Cardinal), 18, n. 4; 29, 459.
Constantine (see Palæologus).
Constantine the Great, 149, 180, 257, 358, 558.
Constanz, Ludwig, 432, n. 1.

Contarini, Francesco, 295, 298, 308, 309, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 330, n. 1; 339, n. 2; 340, n. 2; 423, n. 3; 424, n. 2; 464, n. 3; 526, 532, 533.
Conti, Ascanio, 63.
Coppino (Friar), 445, n. 2.
Corvinus, Family of, 412.
Corvinus, Mathias Hunyadi (King of Hungary), 441, 442.
Coutances, Bishop of, 459.
Cracow, Cardinal of, 129.
Creussner, Frederick, 94, n. 2.
Critobulus, 266, n. 1.
Curte, Giovanni de, 354, n. 2.
Curte, Sceva de, 145, 146, n. 1; 290, n. 4; 294, n. 2; 301, n. 2.
Cusa, Clara, 132.
Cusa, John, 132.
Cusa, Nicholas of (Cardinal), 11, 36, 53, n. 3; 55, 58, 103, n. 2; 104-137, 301, n. 2; 313, n. 1; 319, 325, n. 1; 327, n. 2; 349, 350, 397, 401, n.; 420, 462, 483, 505, 506.
Cyril (Saint), 206.
Cyprus, King of, 247, 383.

Dante, 149, 386
Dathus, Agustinus, 77, 103.
Decembrio, 195, 199, 203.
Decius, Emperor, 189.
Demetrius (Despot of Peloponesius), 270.
Denmark, Christian (King of), 285, n. 1; 383.
Didacus, Saint, 82, 91.
Dlugoss, Johannes, 93.
Döllinger, I. J. von, 39, n. 3; 51, n. 2; 240, n. 1; 261, n. 1; 347, n. 1; 377, n. 1.
Donatis, Donatus de, 148, n. 1; 170, n. 1; 248, n. 2; 305, n. 3.
Doria, Gabriel, 253, n. 2.
Döring, Mathias, 127, n.
Ducagnini, Nicolas, 430.
Ducagnini, Paul, 430.
Ducas, 267.

Enenkel, Gaspard, 142, 144, 145, n. 1; 155, 156, n. 2; 157, n. 1.
Enoche of Ascoli, Alberto, 208.
Enriquez, Garcia (Archbishop of Seville), 53, 54.
Erbach, Dietrich, Count of, 413, 414.
Erlichshausen, Ludwig von, 208, n. 2.
Estaing, Guillaume d' (Cardinal), 320.
Este, Borso d' (Duke of Modena), 142, 160.
Estouteville, Guillaume d' (Cardinal), 10, 79, 80, 104, 105, 134, n. 2; 273, 275, 278, n. 1; 320, n. 1; 459, 460, 462, 468, 474, 475, 505, 523.
Ethiopia, King of, 246, n. 1; 408.
Eugenius IV. (Pope), 3, 5, 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, 34, 35, 56, 59, 63, 79, 173, 180, n. 2; 182, 183, 187, 196, 197, 203, 220, 221, 222, 226, n. 2; 231, 232, 245, 250, 257, 320, 328, 348, 368, 369, 427, 428, n. 2; 486, 487, 488, 557.
Eugenicus, Marcus, 240, 241.
Eusebius, 2 6.
Everso, Count (see Anguillara).

Faltonia, Proba, 181.
Fara, Niccolo da, 393, 394, n. 1.
Farigna, Velasco, 372.
Felix V. (anti-Pope), 3, 28, 35, 36, 41-44.
Feltre, Bishop of, 555, n. 1.
Fenollet, Pontius, 355, n. 1; 376, n. 1; 409, n. 3; 438, n. 1; 445, n. 2.
Ferrara, Marquess of, 89, n. 2; 141, n. 2; 146.
Ferrer, Vincent (Saint), 326.
Fieschi, Lodisio, 437.

Fieschi (see Flisco).
Fiesole, Fra Angelico da (Blessed), 9, n. 3; 185-189, 199.
Filelfo, Francesco, 143, 197-200, 202, 203, 233, 279, 285, 333, n. 1; 334.
Firenze, Fra Giovanni da, 187.
Flisco, Cardinal, 542, 544.
Foligno, Bartolomeo da, 189.
Folliano, Corrado, 361.
Foscari, Francesco (Doge of Venice), 279, 394, n. 1; 403, n. 1; 406, n. 2; 407, n. 2; 431, n. 1; 547.
Foscarino, Lodovico, 341, n. 2.
Fouquet, Jean, 183.
Francesca, Piero della, 190.
Francesco, Antonio di, 183.
Franchi, Battista dei, 272, n. 1.
Francis (Saint), (see Assisi).
Frederick III., Emperor, 6, n. 3; 27, 31, 34-39, 41, 50, 53, 78, n. 3; 92, n. 2; 98, n. 2; 101, 111, 112, 125, 126, 135, n. 2; 138-162, 172, 222, 285, 300-302, 304, 340, 342, 343, 377, 391, n. 2; 407, 416, 419, 420, n. 1; 440, 441, 506.
Frederick, Count Palatine, 414, 417.
Fregeno, Marino de, 252, n. 1.
Frescobaldi, Antonio de, 365, 545.

Gabadeo, Francesco, 227, 228.
Gaetani, Odoardo, 375.
Gaetani, Onorato, 83, n. 1; 148, n. 2; 157, n. 1; 273 n.; 275, n. 1; 339, n. 3; 438, n. 1; 551,
Gallo, Niccolò, 224.
Gamberelli, Bernardo (see Rossellino), 183.
Gatti, Giovanni, 437.
Gennadius, 240, 268.
George (Saint), 151.
Ghilinus, Blasius, 552.
Ghirardacci, 68, 74, n. 2.
Giotto, 186.
Girad, Jayme (Bishop of Barcelona), 406, n. 2.
Gislira, 245.
Giugnis, Bernardo, 229, n. 1; 289, n. 1; 290, n. 4.
Giustiniani, Giovanni-Guglielmo-Longo, 261, n. 1.
Giustiniani of Chio, 269, n. 2.
Giustiniani, Orsato, 290, n. 4.
Glichen, Henry, Count of, 117.
Godi, Piero de', 226, 230, n.; 231, 234, 235, n. 1.
Golderer, John, 85, n. 1.
Gonzaga (Cardinal), 223, n. 3.
Gonzaga, Carlo, 296.
Gonzaga, Lodovico (Marquess of Mantua), 69, n. 3; 73, n. 1; 75, n. 3; 76, n. 1; 77, n. 2; 78, n. 3; 80, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 291, n. 1; 292, n. 1; 294, n. 1; 296, 325, n. 2; 369, n. 1; 370, n. 2; 371, n. 1; 386, n. 3; 387, n. 1; 455, n. 2; 458, n. 5; 460, n. 2; 540, 553.
Gorka, Wysota of, 32.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 9, n. 3; 190, n. 3; 199.
Gréelle, Blaise de (Archbishop of Bordeaux), 379, n. 1.
Gregory XI. (Pope), 343.
Gregory XIII. (Pope), 10.
Gregory, Protosyncellus (Patriarch of Constantinople), 241, 251, 259.
Gregory (Saint), 213.
Grimaldi, Jacopo, 179, 180, n. 1.
Gritti, Triadanus, 341, n. 2.
Grolea, John de, 446, n. 1.
Grunther, Paulus, 411.
Guardia Giovanni de, 329, n. 2.
Guarino of Verona, 56, 199.
Guarna, Nic, 64, n. 2.
Guidobono, Antonio, 329, n. 2.
Gurk, Bishop of, 303.

Hagen, Johann (Abbot of Bursfield), 115.

Hales, Alexander of, 213.
Hamsa, 432, 433.
Hapsburg, House of, 441, 445.
Heilo, Van, 131.
Heinemann 114.
Hemmerlin, Felix, 76, 94, 95.
Herberstein, George von, 140, n. 1.
Herdegen, Otto, 410.
Hesse, Louis Landgrave of, 92.
Hinderbach, Johann, 340, n. 3; 342, 343.
Hladek, Lukas, 442.
Hungary, King of (see Ladislas).
Hunyadi, John, 242, 243, 245, 246, 256, 278, 301, 389, 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398, n. 1; 401, 402, n. 2; 403-406, 412, 429, 548.
Hunyadi, Ladislas, 412.

Infessura, 4, n. 2; 100, n. 2; 148, n. 1; 154, n. 2; 159, n. 1; 233, 239, 263, n. 1; 272, n. 3; 274, n. 1; 299, n. 2; 399, n. 2; 403, n. 1.
Inghirami, Giovanni, 96, n. 3; 98, n. 2; 100, n. 1; 500.
Ingrati, Jacomo, 320, n. 2.
Innocent III. (Pope), 350, n. 2; 351, n. 1.
Innocent VII. (Pope), 181, 338, n. 1.
Isabeg, 430, 432, 433.
Isidore (Cardinal), 242, 258, 259, 267, 287, 288, n. 3; 320, 334, 336, 544.

Jacob (Archbishop), 133.
Janitschek, 177, n. 1; 178, n. 1.
Jerome (Saint), 135, 212, 484, 490.
John XXII. (Pope), 38
Joseph (Greek Patriarch), 249, 250.
Julius II. (Pope), 179, 182.
Jüterbogk, Jacob von, 45, 46, n. 3; 47-49, 93, n. 3; 94, 106, n. 1.

Kalteisen, Heinrich, 20, n. 3; 94, 326, n. 4; 353, 393, n. 2; 410.
Kammermeister, Hartung, 116.
Karamania, Prince of, 251, 252.
Kastriota, George (see Skanderbeg).
Kayserberg, Geyler von, 49, 55, n. 3.
Kolde, 100, n. 2.
Komnenos, Moses Golem, 430, 431, 432.

Ladislas Posthumus (King of Hungary), 135, n. 2; 140-142, 155, 159, 160, 162, 301, 304, 385, n. 4; 391, 392, 394, n. 1; 408, 412, 413, 420, 440, 441, 506, 507.
Lagazara, Bartolomeo de, 225, n. 1; 230, n. 1; 232, 238, n. 3; 239, n. 2; 517.
Lampugnani, 216.
Lanckman, Nicholas, 140, 156, n. 2.
Languedoc, Ambrose of, 393.
Lanzol, Jofré, 447.
Lanzol (see Borgia).
Lawrence (Saint), 182, 187.
Lausanne, George, Bishop of, 370, n. 1; 465, n. 2.
Lavagnoli, Giacomo dei, 230.
Lecce, Roberto of, 83, n. 2; 272, 352.
Lellicecchi, Giacomo di, 227, 513, 514.
Leo the Great (Saint), 23, 250, n. 2.
Leo X. (Pope), 208, n. 2; 351, n. 1.
Leonardo III., Tocco, Prince of Arta, 438.
Lesina, Thomas, Bishop of, 245, 520.
Leewis, Dionysius Van, 108.
Liege, Bishop of, 108.
Longo, Giovanni Guglielmo (see Giustiniani).

Longueil, Richard Ollivier de (Cardinal), 458.
Loredano, Giacomo, 261, 262, 280, 341, n. 2.
Lorenz (Abbot) of Maria-Zell, 111, 112.
Louis XI. (King of France), 381, n. 3.
Louis, Count Palatine, 37.
Louis IX., King of France (Saint), 377.
Lucas (German painter), 190, n. 3.
Luna, Pedro de (afterwards anti-Pope Benedict XIII), 328.
Luni, Bishop of, 437.

Maffeo, Timoteo, 205, 213.
Magdeburg, Frederick (Archbishop of), 119, 120.
Magdeburg, Michael (Margrave of), 152.
Maglionus, Jacobus, 513.
Mahomet II. (Sultan), 242, 246, 251-253, 255, 262, n. 1; 264, 266, 268-271, 275, 276, n.; 278-282, 283, n.; 288, 389-392, 395-397, 399, 404, 409, 429, 432, 440.
Mai, Angelo (Cardinal), 334, n. 2.
Maincourt, Renaud de, 191.
Malagola, 71, n. 5; 72, n.
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 96, 272, n. 3; 298, 425, 481.
Malvezzi, Achille, 320, n. 2.
Mandoctes, Goswinus, 156, n. 2; 157, n. 1.
Manetti, Gianozzo, 16, 33, 102, 166, 167, n. 2; 168, n. 1; 169, 172, n. 2; 173, 174, 175, 176, n. 1; 177, 178, 182, 191, 195, 196, 199, 205, 206, 211, 219, 238, n. 3; 263, n. 2; 293, 305, n. 1; 308, n. 1; 311, n. 2.
Mantua, Barbara, Marchioness of, 32, n. 1; 85, n. 1.
Mantua, Lorenzo of, 310.
Mantua, Marquess of (see Gonzaga, Lodovico).
Marca, Jacopo della (Saint), 91, 352, 420.
Marcello, Bartolomeo, 262, n. 1; 280, 281, n. 1.
Maripetro, Pasqualis, 341, n. 2.
Marsuppini, Carlo, 197.
Martelli, Roberto, 29, n. 3; 325, n. 2; 329, n. 4; 463, n. 3.
Martin (Abbot), 111, 112.
Martin V. (Pope), 7, 38, 88, n. 2; 121, 183, 219, 320, 328, 363, 427, 484, 485, 557.
Martino, Beltramo di, 184.
Maso, Angelo di, 224, 227, 228, 512, 522.
Mastro, Paolo Benedetto di Cola della, 6, n. 3; 83, 88, n. 2; 96, n. 3; 98-100, 232, n. 1; 233, n. 2; 426, n. 2.
Mayence, Archbishop of, 40, n. 2; 413, 418, 420.
Mayence, Elector of, 414.
Mayence, Dietrich of, 303.
Mayr, Martin, 413, 417, 418, 421.
Medici, Bernardus de', 424, n 2.
Medici, Cosmo de', 22, 33, 65, 194, n. 3; 195, 210, n. 1; 295, 300, 472.
Medici, Family of, 89, 102, 212.
Medici, Filippo de', 450.
Medici, Giovanni de', 96, n. 3; 216, 500.
Medici, Giovanni di Cosimo de', 340, 386, n. 2.
Medici, Giuliano de', 216.
Medici, Giulio de', 216.
Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent de', 50.
Medici, Piero di Cosmo de', 329, n. 5; 464, n. 2.
Mella, Juan de (Cardinal), 458, 475.
Merseburg, Bishop of, 119.
Methone, Joseph, Bishop of, 241.
Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople, 242.
Metz, Bishop of, 91.

Michael Angelo, 185, n. 3.
Michaelibus, Petrus de, 80. n. 3.
Michaelbeuern, George (Abbot of), 91, n. 1.
Michele, Bartolomeo, 331.
Mila, Family of, 447, 448.
Mila, Juan de, 447.
Mila, Luis Juan (Cardinal), 447, 449, 450, 451, n. 1; 455, 456, 459, 468, 555, 556.
Milan, Archbishop of, 355, n. 2; 438, n. 1.
Milan, Duke of (see Visconti and Sforza).
Modigliano, Conte di, 478, n. 3.
Montalto, Lorenzo da, 308, n. 2.
Montani, Cola de, 219.
Monte, Piero del, 56, 57.
Montefalcone, Antonio de, 324, 352, 353, n. 1.
Monterotondo, Piero da, 522.
Montefeltro (see Urbino).
Monteserrato, Cosimo de, 212, n. 1; 335, 442, 468, n. 1.
Montferrat, Marquess of, 296, 437.
Moro, Christopher, 290, n. 4.
Moro, Giovanni, 297.
Morosini, Barbono, 365, n. 3.
Motz, Jacob, 140.
Mozarello, Jacob, 561.
Muffel, Nicolas, 154, n. 2; 411.
Mulnheim, Burkhardt von, 143.
Mytilene, Leonard (Archbishop of), 258.

Naples (Alfonso, King of), 3, 4, n. 1; 27, 29, 34, 64, 65, 79, 89, n. 2; 139, 158, 161, 181, 221, 236, n. 1; 237, 260, 261, 282, 283, 286, 289, 291, 292, 293, n. 2; 296-298, 300, 304, 321, 328-331, 334, n. 2; 336, 340, 356, 359, 360, 361-366, 373, 374, 385, 392, 404, 407, 422-428, n. 2; 430-432, n. 1; 433, 434, 446, 467, 468, 470, 471, 474, 481, 483, 523, 524, 533, 538, 549, 552, 562.
Naples, Ferrante of, 328, n. 3; 424, 427, 428, 467-472, 475, 552.
Narni, Gabrielle da, 144, n. 2.
Narni, Lodovico da, 381, n. 3.
Navar, Juan de, 434, 435, n. 3; 439, n. 4.
Nazianzen, Gregory (Saint), 206.
Nello, 159, n. 1; 160, n. 1; 192, n. 1.
Niccoli, Niccolò, 23, 201, 212, 219.
Nicholai, Gregorius, 294, n. 2.
Nicholai, Luca, of Siena, 339, n. 1; 532.
Nicholas III. (Pope), 182.
Nicholas V. (Pope), 5, n. 3; 6, n. 3; 7, 9, 11-14, 17, n. 1; 20, n. 3; 31, 32, 33, 34-38, 40, n. 1; 41-43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53-63, 65-69, 70, n. 3; 72-74, 77, 79-89, 91-93, 95-97, 100-106, 108, 109, 110, 114, 117, 118, n. 2; 120, 125, 130, 132, n. 2; 135, 136, 138, 139, 141, 147-150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 159, 160, 162, 165-173, 176, 177-187, 188, n. 1; 209, 210-215, 218, 222, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231, 233-239, 242-248, 250, 251, 257-264, 272-277, 280, n. 2; 281, 284, 285, 286, 287, n. 1; 288, n. 1; 289, 290-294, 297, 299-304, n. 2; 305-313, 317-323, 332-333, 335, 336, 340, 344, 348, 349-350, 353-359, n. 1; 369, 377, n. 1; 383, n. 3; 387, 415, 435, 450, n. 1; 461, 486, 487, 488, 490, 497, 498, 505, 506, 520, 524, 528.
Nicholas (Provost), 113.
Nicolini, Oddone, 340.
Noceto, Piero da, 196, n. 2; 311, n. 1; 486, 487, 528, 532.
Notaras, Lukas, 260, 293, n. 2.

Novaria, Stephanus de, 273, n. 1.
Nyssa, Gregory of (Saint), 206.

Olgiati, Girolamo, 216, 217.
Olmütz, Archbishop of, 442.
Olzina, Antonio, 545.
Orcagna, 186.
Orleans, Duke of, 64.
Orsini, Family of, 11, 149, 228, 321, 323, 338, 339, 461, 476, 477, 480, 481, 486.
Orsini, Francesco, 339.
Orsini, Gianantonio, 462.
Orsini, Latino (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 228, 320-322, 339, 369, 462, 474, 475, n. 1; 480-482, 531-533, 562.
Orsini, Napoleone, 338, 339, 361.
Orsini, Orso, 61.
Orvieto, Giovanni of, 331.
Orvieto, Domenico of, 321.

Palaeologus, John (Emperor), 249, 250.
Palaeologus, Constantine (Emperor), 248, 252-254, 257, 259, 260-263, 264, 266, 267, 271.
Palaeologus, Thomas, 270.
Palmerius, Nicholas, 208, n. 1; 287, 491, n. 2.
Palmieri, Matteo, 177, 178.
Pandolfini, Gianozzo, 340.
Panvinius, 182.
Pappenheim, Marshal von, 152.
Parentucelli, Tommaso (see Nicholas V.).
Parthenius III., Patriarch of Constantinople, 268, n. 2.
Paselli Piero Antonio, 320, n. 2.
Patricius, Franciscus, 65, n. 1.
Paul II. (Pope) (see Barbo, Pietro).
Paul III. (Pope), 182, 187.
Paul V. (Pope), 213, n. 3.
Pavia, John, Bishop of, 301, 303, 350, 372, n. 3; 378, n. 2; 391, n. 2; 458, n. 5.
Pedrino, Giovanni de, 95, n. 3; 495, n. 2.
Pedro Luis, (Lanzol) (see Borgia).
Perotti, 198, n. 1; 199, 206, n. 1.
Perpinya, Jacopo, 375, n. 1; 380, n 3; 546.
Persona, Battista da, 233, n. 2.
Perugino, 189.
Peter (Saint), 177, 190, 324.
Petrarch, 387, 388.
Piccinino, Jacopo, 318, 324, 341, 360, 361, 362-364, 372, 424, 446, 481.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II.), 6, 8, 13, 22, n.; 23, n. 3; 30, 31, 34, n. 1; 36, 44, 45, n.; 47, 48, n. 2; 49, 50, 51, 52, n.; 56, n.; 58, n. 3; 59, 60, 78, 96, n. 3; 101, 125-127, n.; 135, n. 2; 139 141, 144, 145, 147, n.; 148, n. 2; 149, n. 3; 150, 151, 154, n. 1; 156, n. 3; 159, 192, n. 2; 193, 209, n. 1; 211, 234, n. 1; 236, 263, n. 2; 273, n. 1; 277, 278, n. 1; 285, 286, 293, n. 1; 301, n. 2; 302-304, 313, 322, 323, 326, n. 1; 332, 338, n. 1; 339, n. 1; 340, n. 3; 342, 343, 360, n. 1; 363, 368, n. 1; 373, n. 1; 374, n. 2; 378, n. 2; 386, 391, 393, n. 1; 394, n. 1; 398, n. 1; 403, n. 1; 416-419, 421-423, n. 1; 428, n. 2; 432, n. 1; 438, n. 3; 448, 451, 452, 454, 455, 458, 462, 466, 486, 487, 490, 491, n. 2; 492, n. 2; 495, n. 2; 528.
Piccolomini, Francesco Todeschini (Cardinal) [afterwards Pius III.], 20, n. 2.
Piccolomini, Jacopo Ammannati (Cardinal), 92, 444, 492, n. 4.

Pietro, Sano di, 364, n. 4.
Pintelli, Baccio, 10, n. 3.
Pinturicchio, 147.
Pisa, Vangelista, 16.
Pisa, Zaccaria Saggio di, 292, n. 1; 294, n. 1.
Piscicelli, Rinaldo de (Cardinal), 458.
Pistoja, Antonio da, 276, n. 1; 467, n. 4; 469, n. 2; 470, n. 1; 472, n. 2; 473, n. 1; 474, n. 3; 475, n. 1; 476, n. 1; 477, n. 2; 478, n. 4; 479, n. 2; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 2; 489, n. 2; 522, 557, 559, 563.
Pitighano, Count of, 532.
Pitti, Gianozzo, 289, n. 1; 290, n. 3; 291, n. 1; 293, n. 3; 293, n. 1.
Pius II. } See Piccolomini.
Pius III. }
Pius V., Pope, 213.
Pius IX., Pope, 182.
Platina, 97, n. 2; 182, n. 2; 191, 203, 238, n. 3; 313, n. 2; 327, n. 1; 329, n. 1; 335, 339, n. 1; 346, n. 1.
Podiebrad, George (King of Bohemia), 128, 441, 444.
Poggio, Battista, 483, n. 2.
Poggio, Battista Giovanni de, 66, 68, n. 2.
Poggio (Bracciolini), Gianfrancesco, 16, 23, n. 4; 73, n. 1; 87, 162, n. 1; 193, 195, 196, 199, 202, 203, n. 1; 219, 233, 274, n. 3; 368, n. 3.
Poland (see Casimir).
Pontremoli Nicodemus of, 19, n. 2; 68, n. 2; 69, n. 1; 87, n. 2; 93, 192, 238, n. 3; 249, n. 2; 274, n. 1; 283, 284, 290, n. 4; 292, n. 2; 293, n. 2; 297, n. 1; 306, 307, 309, n. 1; 311, n. 1; 317, 318, n. 1; 319, 321, 322, 324, n. 1; 326, n. 4; 338, n. 1; 339, n. 2; 348, n. 3; 350, n. 3; 363, n. 2; 364, n. 3; 423, n. 1; 426, n. 1; 451, 452, 454, 455, 460, n. 2; 462, n. 1; 463, n. 3; 466, n. 2; 467, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 469, n. 2; 470, n. 4; 529, 533-537.
Porcaro, Mariano, 220.
Porcaro, Matteo, 218, n. 1.
Porcaro, Niccolò, 510, 511, 512.
Porcaro, Salutato, 218, n. 1.
Porcaro, Stefano, 4, 63, 197, n. 3; 216, 219, 220-234, 236-239, 307, 308, 488, n. 3; 507-517, 520.
Porcinari, Niccolo de', 1, 227.
Porta, Bartolomeo della, 186.
Portugal, Alfonso, King of, 486, n. 1; 383, 384, 394, n. 1; 406, n. 2; 439.
Portugal, James, Infant of (Cardinal), 457, 466.
Portugal, Leonora of, 139. 147, 150, 457, 466.
Prima, Gregorio, 448, n. 2.

Raab, Bishop of, 442.
Rabstein, Procopius of, 6, 31.
Ragusa, Archbishop of, 479, n. 3; 362, n. 1; 476.
Ram, Domingo (Cardinal), 485.
Raphael, 182, 185, n. 3.
Rapallo, Gabriel de, 224, n. 1; 226, n. 1; 228, n. 1; 238, n. 2; 508.
Reatis, Jacobus de, 514.
Reschpeck, Wolfgang, 113.
Rheims, Archbishop of, 41.
Rhodes, Andrew (Archbishop of), 241.
Riccio, Michele, 290, n. 3.
Ridolfi, Antonio di Lorenzo, 340.
Ripafratta, Lorenzo da, 332, n. 1.
Rolin, Jean (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 319.
Rolla, Giovanni, 375, n. 3.
Rome, Giovanni of (Fra), 187.
Rome, Simone of, 190.

Roncone, Angelo, 309, 526.
Ror, Peter Zu, 113.
Roraw, Heinrich, 442.
Rosenberg, Hermanus, 134, n. 1.
Rossellino, Antonio, 457.
Rossellino, Bernardo Gamberelli 183.
Roverella, Bartolomeo, 6, n. 3,
Roverella, Lorenzo, 409, n. 3; 421, n.
Rucellai, Giovanni, 95, 102, n. 1; 182, n. 2.

Salerno, Prince of, 190.
Salzburg, Frederick (Archbishop of), 40, 113, 414.
San Galgano (Abbot of), 4, n. 1; 5, n. 2; 6, n. 1; 12, n. 2; 14, n 1; 30, n. 1; 64, n. 1; 65, n. 1; 80, n. 1.
Sanseverino, Roberto, 323, 325, n. 2; 329, n. 4; 361.
Sanudo, 14, n. 2; 18, n. 2; 278, 290, n. 4; 359, n. 3; 376, n. 1.
Sarzana Tommaso (see Nicholas V.).
Savelli, Family of, 61.
Savelli, Pandolfo, 319, 535.
Savona, Valerio Calderina, (Bishop of), 437.
Savoy, Amadeus of (see Felix V.).
Savoy, Louis of, 35, 64, 296.
Saxony, Duke of, 445.
Scalona, Vincentius de, 32, n. 1.
Scarampo, Lodovico (Cardinal), 3, 10, 29, 83, n. 1; 168, n. 2; 157, n. 1; 221, 227, 273, n. 1; 320, 321, 324, 325, 329, n. 3; 339, 355, n. 1; 357, n. 2; 366, 368, 369, 370, n. 1; 371, 372, 375, 380, n. 3; 404, 406, n. 2; 438, 440, 447, 462, 540, 551.
Schaumburg, Peter von (Cardinal), 91, 319.
Schlick, Francis, 394, n. 1; 396, n. 2; 398, n. 1.
Schürstab, Erhart, 411.
Sciarra, Battista, 224, 227, 230, 511, 512, 521.
Scotus, Duns, 213.
Senftleben, Heinrich, 141.
Seresanus, Gotardus de, 319.
Severinus, Nicolaus 402, n. 4; 547.
Sforza, Alessandro, 14, n. 2; 22, 34, n. 3; 62, n. 3; 71, 143, 144.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 6, n. 2; 7, n. 1; 12, n. 1; 19, n. 2; 23, n. 3; 28, n. 1; 34, n. 3; 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 87, n. 2; 93, n. 2; 125, n. 2; 143, 144, n. 2; 145, 146, n. 1; 149, n. 2; 150, n.; 153, 160, 161, 192, n. 1; 217, 237, n. 2; 238, n. 3; 239, n. 2, 261, 272, n. 1; 273, n. 2; 274, n. 1; 275, n. 1; 276, 283, n. 1; 284, 289, n. 1; 290, 291, n. 1; 292, 293, n. 1; 294, n. 2; 295, 296, 297, n. 1; 298. 299, n. 2; 300, 306, 307, n. 2; 309, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 318, n 1; 319, 321, n. 2; 322, n. 1; 323, 330, n. 3; 348, n. 3; 350, n. 3; 360, 361, 362, 363, n. 4; 365, n. 2; 370, n. 2; 385, 399, n. 2; 400, n. 3; 403. n. 1; 407, n. 2; 422, n. 2; 423, 424, 426, n. 1; 427, n. 1; 428, n. 1; 431, 437, 438, n. 1; 440, 446, n. 2; 447, 449, n. 4; 454, n. 1; 456, n. 1; 458, 460, r 1; 461, n. 2; 463, n. 3; 466, n. 3; 467, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 469, n. 1; 470, n. 1; 471, n. 2; 472, 473, n. 1; 474, n. 3; 475, 476, n. 1; 477, n. 2; 478, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 3; 482, 483, n. 1; 489, n. 3; 492, n. 2; 494, 500, 522, 523, 525, 526, 529, 533, 534, 536, 538, 539, 548, 552, 556, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565.

Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, 143, 144, n. 2; 216.
Sforza, Hypolite, 424.
Sforza, Maria, 424.
Siegen, Nicholas of, 116, n.
Siena, Bernardine of (Saint), 79, 83, 127, 129.
Siena, Catherine of (Saint), 495.
Siena, Luca Nicholai of, 339, n. 1.
Sigismund (see Tyrol).
Simonetta, Cecco, 291, n. 1; 292, n. 2; 482.
Simonetto of Camerino (Fra), 295, 296, 300.
Sirk, Jacob von (see Treves).
Sixtus II. (Pope), 188, n. 4.
Sixtus IV. (Pope), 335.
Sixtus V. (Pope), 172, 176, n. 3.
Skanderbeg (George Kastriota), 246, 389, 403, n. 1; 419, 429, 435, 439, 440, 520.
Slitpacher, Johann, 112.
Slosser, Heinrich, 410, 411.
Soderini, Nicolas, 273, n. 1; 282, n. 1; 521.
Solda, Cristopher à, 78, 290, n. 3.
Solerius, John, 371, n. 2; 374, n. 3; 375, n. 1.
Spada, Jacobus de, 545.
Spangberg, Stephan von, 111, 112.
Spannochi, Ambrogio, 369.
Spires, Bishop of, 37.
Springer, 177, n. 1.
Stella, Piero, 272, n. 1.
Stephen (Saint), 187, 188, 217.
Strasburg, Ruprecht (Bishop of), 91, n. 2.
Strozzi, Alessandro, 84, n. 1.
Strozzi, Antonio de, 469, n. 3; 470, n. 2; 475, n. 3.
Strozzi, Palla di, 15.
Struma (Abbot and anti-Pope under the name of Calixtus III.), 325, n. 2.
Syropulus (Silvester), 240.
Szamotòl, Peter of, 32.
Szechy, Dionysius (Cardinal), 319, 349, 371, n. 2; 372, n. 2; 547.

Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (Cardinal), 11, 79, n. 2; 80.
Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (Minorite), 390, n. 1; 393, 394, n. 1.
Tarragona, Pietro Urrea (Archbishop of), 350, 365, 366, 373, 425, 544.
Tebaldi, 261, n. 5.
Tebaldo, Jacopo (Cardinal), 458, 474.
Teschen, Duke of, 155.
Theodore (Archbishop), 134, n. 1.
Theophrastus, 198.
Tholomeis de Senis, Jacopo, 141, n. 2.
Torquemada, Juan de (Cardinal), 8, 9, 51, 53, 206, 320.
Torre, Jacopo Antonio della, 556.
Tortello, Giovanni, 195, 196, 210, 211, n. 1.
Tortona, Bishop of, 437.
Tortona, Niccolò of, 310.
Traversari, Ambrogio, 207, 219, 220.
Trebizond, Emperor of, 270.
Trebizond, George of, 198, n. 2; 202, 206.
Trenta, Stefano, 64, n. 1; 68, n.
Trèves, Elector of, 40, 414.
Trèves, Jacob (Archbishop of), 91, 133, n. 1; 303, 304, 413, 414, 421.
Trezzo, Antonio de, 160, n. 4; 272, n. 1; 293, n. 1; 363, n. 4; 425, n. 3; 467, n. 1; 469, n. 1; 483, n. 1.
Trithemius (Abbot), 137.
Trivulzio, Giacomo, 146, n. 1; 260, n. 4; 294, n. 2.
Tuccia, Niccolò della, 6, n. 3; 10, n. 2; 12, n. 1; 18, n. 2;

25, n. 2; 43, n. 1; 45, n.; 58, n. 1; 63, n. 1; 81, n. 4; 93, n. 3; 98, n. 1; 145, n.; 192, n. 2; 222, n. 3; 229, n.; 230, n. 1; 238, n. 3; 264, n. 1; 272, n. 1; 275, n. 2; 283, n. 1; 284, n. 4; 287, n. 1; 298, n. 1; 307, n. 3; 311, n. 2; 312, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 318, n. 4; 325, n. 2; 326, n. 1; 327, n. 2; 337, n. 2; 339, n. 1; 354, n. 1; 358, n. 2; 363, n. 3; 368, n. 3; 402, n. 3; 426, n. 2; 462, n. 1; 463, n. 5; 469, n. 1; 470, n. 4; 473, n. 1; 479, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 1.
Tyrol, Sigismund, Duke of, 110, n. 1; 135, n. 2; 350.

Urban II. (Pope), 348.
Urban V. (Pope), 388.
Urban VIII. (Pope), 20, n. 3.
Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of, 22, 212.
Urceo, Antonio, 72, n. 2.
Urchan, 252.
Usunhassan, Prince, 408.

Valla, Lorenzo, 149, 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 213, 221, 233, 234, 333.
Valle, Fantino de, 444.
Van der Weyden, Roger, 89, 183.
Van Eyck, John, 90.
Varesio, Francesco da, 525.
Vasari, 190.
Vegio, Maffeo, 179, n. 2; 181, 190, 314, n. 1.
Veneriis, Antonio de, 445, n. 2.
Venice, Doge of (see Foscari).
Veniero of Recanate, Jacopo, 264, 362, n. 1.
Ventimiglia, Giovanni, 361, 362.
Vernacci, Lionardo, 329, n. 5; 464, n. 2.
Verona, Gabriel of, 348, 387, 442, n. 2.
Verona, Gasparo of, 451.
Verona, Marquess of, 142.
Veronica (Saint), 83.
Vespucci, Guidantonio, 455, n.
Vich, Bishop of, 334.
Vila, B., 439, n. 2; 446, n. 3.
Visconti, Family of, 212.
Visconti, Filippo Maria (Duke of Milan), 28, 64, 65, 66, n. 2; 138.
Visconti, Bartolomeo (Bishop of Novara), 321, n. 1; 322, n. 3; 324, n. 1; 326, n. 4; 360, n. 3; 362, n. 2; 529, 533, 534, 536.
Visconti, Maria Bianca, 64.
Visconti, 216, 217.
Vitelleschi, Giovanni (Cardinal), 61, 180, n. 2; 220, 221, 368, 487.
Viterbo, Ægidius of (Cardinal), 18, n. 4.
Viterbo, Michael Canensis de, 17, n. 2; 20, n. 2; 86, n. 2.
Vitez, Johannes, of Zredna, 304.

Waitzen, Bishop of, 442.
Wattenbach, 60.
Wesel, Johann von, 94, 118, n. 1.
Wiesmayer, Leonhard (Bishop), 110, n. 1.
Wiseman (Cardinal), 186, n. 2.
Worms, Bishop of, 37.
Würzburg, Gottfried, Bishop of, 116, n. 1.
Würzburg, Stephen (Abbot of), 115.
Wurtemberg, Count of, 37.

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VOL. III.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.–VI. by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.–XXIV. by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory, Vols. XXV.–XXXIV. by DOM ERNEST GRAF, of Buckfatt Abbey, and Vols. XXXV.–XXXVI. by E. F. PEELER.

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK

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"Dissident invicem christiani principes et que contra infideles arma inferre debuissent, in sua latera convertunt et nemo eos composuit. Laxati sunt clericorum mores et facti sunt laicis in scandalum et ruinam et defuit disciplina. Vilescit in dies ecclesie auctoritatis et censurarum potencia pene enervata videtur et quis reintegravit eam? Romana curia in multis deformata est et quis reformavit eam?"

From the * Discourse of the Bishop of Torcello, Domenico de' Domenichi, to the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, 1458, Aug. 16, Cod. Vat. 3675. Vatican Library.

"Fluctuat saepe numero Apostolica navis, sed non demergitur; concutitur, sed non frangitur; oppugnatur, sed non expugnatur. Tentari sinit Deus electos suos, vinci non sinit."

Pius II. in the Bull "Vocavit nos" of 13th Oct. 1458.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
Editor's Preface	vii
List of complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. III. and IV.	ix
Table of Contents	xli
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lvii
Election of Pius II. (1458–1464)	1–44
The Eastern Question and the Congress of Mantua	45–101
The Contest for the Neapolitan Throne	102–128
Opposition to Papal Authority	129–212
Attempted Reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church	213–239
The Eastern Question, 1460–1463	240–268
Plans of Reform	269–310
The Crusade, and Death of Pius II.	311–374
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	375–418
Index of Names	419–424

70926

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE favourable reception accorded to the English Version of Volume I. of Professor Ludwig Pastor's "History of the Popes," issued in 1891, has given encouragement for a continuance of the publication of the Work.

The Second Volume, like the preceding one, in its English form has been divided into Two Volumes (Vols. III. and IV.). They comprise the Pontificates of PIUS II., PAUL II., and SIXTUS IV. (A.D. 1458–1484).

The Editor's share in the work has been confined to the supervision of the translation, the aim of which has been to follow the Text as closely as possible. The Notes, which contain most valuable matter, have been published *in extenso*, as also the Appendix of Unpublished Documents, the latter being indicated by a star. The original spelling, which may sometimes appear strange to modern eyes, has been rendered *verbatim*.

The Editor begs to express his best thanks to the friends who have prepared the translation, and compiled the Table of Contents and Index.

F. I. A.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

CHAPTER I.

Pius II.

A.D.		PAGE
1447–1455	Under Nicholas V., the Renaissance took root in Rome	3
1455–1458	Calixtus III. attempts to save Christendom from the Turks	3
	His efforts not seconded by the Princes of Europe	4
1458	His Death and that of Cardinal Capranica	4
	Divisions among the Cardinals	5
	The Italian powers favour Cardinal Piccolomini	7
	The entry into Conclave	8
	A Capitulation drawn up by the Cardinals	10
	Efforts of d'Estouteville against Piccolomini	11
	Influence of Cardinal Barbo in his favour	12
	He is elected Pope by the method called "accessus"	13
	He takes the name of Pius II.	14
	Cardinal Colonna's share in the election	15
	Popularity of the election in Rome and throughout Italy	16
	Satisfaction of the Emperor Frederick III.	17
	Bad health of Pius II.	18
	His great ability	18
	His one object, to unite Christendom against Islam	19
	He recognises Ferrante as King of Naples	20
	His Coronation	21
	Death of Don Pedro Borgia	21
	Arrival of the Florentine Embassy and St. Antoninus	22
	The Pope urges a War against the Turks	23
	He invites the European Princes to a Congress	24
	His endeavours to restore tranquillity to Italy	25
	The difficulties with Naples	25
	Pius II. concludes a Treaty with Ferrante	26
	Publication of the Bull of Investiture	26

A.D. PAGE
1458 A Marriage arranged between Ferrante's Daughter and Antonio Piccolomini 27
Piccinino compelled by Ferrante and the Duke of Milan to submit 28
Antonio Colonna made Prefect of Rome . . . 28
Unpopularity of the Pope's departure from Rome . 29
1459 Cardinal Cusa made Vicar-General of Rome . . 30
Simplicity of life of Pius II. 31
His outward appearance 32
His amiability and piety 33
His love of Travelling 34
His description of his Travels 36
Disappointment of the Humanists 37
Aversion of Pius II. to the false Renaissance . . 39
His esteem for Flavio Biondo 40
He attracts scholars to Rome 40
He himself composes the Papal Bulls . . . 41
His literary work, especially his Memoirs . . . 42

CHAPTER II.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CONGRESS OF MANTUA.

1459 Proposed journey of Pius II. 45
Mantua fixed upon for the Congress 45
Foundation of the Knights of our Lady of Bethlehem 46
The Pope refuses to be dissuaded from his journey . 46
His departure from Rome, January 22nd . . . 47
Receives the news of Piccinino's submission . . 48
Writes to the European Princes 48
His enthusiastic reception at Assisi and Perugia . 49
Negotiations with the Sienese Government . . 50
Pius II. leaves Perugia on the 19th of February . 51
He visits his early home at Corsignano . . . 51
It is made an Episcopal See 52
He is coldly received at Siena, February 24 . . 52
Bestows the Golden Rose on the Prior of the Balia . 52
Many Envoys meet the Pope at Siena . . . 53
Annoyance of the Emperor at the recognition of the King of Hungary by the Pope 53
A compromise effected between the Pope and the Sienese 54
Fresh attempts are made to dissuade Pius II. from the Congress 54
Some Cardinals endeavour to prejudice Charles VII. against it 54

A.D. PAGE
1459 Reception of Pius II. at Florence 55
Death of St. Antoninus, May 2nd, and Election of his Successor 56
Pius II. crosses the Appenines and enters Bologna on the 9th of May 57
Unfriendly feeling in Bologna 57
His magnificent reception at Ferrara on the 17th of May 58
He is received at Mantua by the Duchess of Milan, on the 27th of May 59
Pius II. finds no Princes or Envoys awaiting him at Mantua 60
He opens the Congress with a solemn Mass . . 61
He refuses to leave Mantua 62
Hostile attitude of many Cardinals, especially Cardinal Scarampo 62
Loyalty of Cardinals Bessarion and Torquemada . 63
Indifference of the European Princes 63
Excuses of the Emperor Frederick III. 64
His intrigues against the King of Hungary . . 64
The Pope remonstrates with him in vain 65
War declared between Frederick III. and Matthias Corvinus. 66
Delay of the German Princes 67
Hostile attitude of France 68
The Italian powers hold back on account of commercial interests 69
Thomas Palaeologus implores help 69
Arrival of the representatives of the Kings of Hungary and Naples 70
Arrival of the Duke of Cleves, representing the Duke of Burgundy 71
Excuses of the Burgundian Envoys 72
They leave Mantua, together with the Lord of Chimay 73
Arrival of the Duke of Milan in September . . 73
Insurrection breaks out in Naples 74
Supported by the Duke of Calabria (the French Claimant) 75
The Pope supports Ferrante 75
Arrival of Embassies from the Italian powers . . 75
Delay of the Venetians 76
Who arrive in September 77
The first sitting of the Congress is held on the 26th of September 78
Pius II. makes an eloquent address 79
Cardinal Bessarion replies for the Sacred College . 81

A.D. PAGE
1459 The Congress resolves on War against the Turks . 82
The Pope consults the Italian States . . . 83
The Republic of Venice makes impossible conditions 85
Departure of the Duke of Milan on the 2nd of October 86
Arrival of the Envoys from Saxony, and reception in Consistory on the 19th of October . . . 87
Pius II. visits the Church of Sta Maria delle Grazie . 87
Embassy of the Archduke Albert of Austria . . 87
Insolent demeanour of Gregor Heimburg . . . 88
Envoys arrive from France and Germany—hostility of Charles VII. to the Crusade 88
Pius II., in addressing the French, insists on the plenitude of the Papal power 89
The French Envoys attack the Pope's policy towards Naples 90
The Pope receives the Imperial and other German Envoys 90
Reply of Pius II. to the French—his defence of his conduct 91
He condemns the Pragmatic Sanction . . . 93
And shews his displeasure to the Envoys of the Duke of Calabria 93
The French and English Envoys refuse assistance . 94
Disputes between the German representatives . . 95
Which are fomented by Heimburg 95
But at last some assistance is promised . . . 95
A Diet to be held at Nuremberg, to which all German Princes are invited 96
The Emperor appointed Commander of the German contingent 97
Confidence of the Pope in the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg 97
Indulgences granted for the Crusade 98
Papal contributions to the Crusade 98
1460 Close of the Congress—departure of the Pope to Siena on the 19th of January 99
Pius II. condemns appeals to a Council . . . 100

CHAPTER III.

THE CONTEST FOR THE NEAPOLITAN THRONE.

1460 War breaks out between King René and Ferrante . 102
The Duke of Calabria leads a fruitless naval expedition 102
Insurrection in Naples—attitude of the Italian powers 103

A.D. PAGE
1460 The Pope and the Duke of Milan espouse Ferrante's cause 103
Ferrante is defeated at Sarno by the Angevines . . 104
Piccinino attacks the Milanese—a drawn battle . . 104
Indecision of Pius II. Concessions of Ferrante . 105
The Pope sends his nephew Antonio to occupy Terracina 106
The strife in Naples produces disturbances in Rome . 106
The Governor asks for military assistance . . . 107
The Savelli, Colonna, and Anguillara join the revolt . 107
The rebels take Tiburzio di Maso for their leader . 108
Piccinino attacks the Papal States, and threatens Rome 109
Pius II. is met by the Roman Envoys at Viterbo—His reproaches 110
He returns to Rome. Capture and execution of Tiburzio 111
The Pope tries to make peace with Jacopo Savelli . 112
1461 Piccinino retires to the Abruzzi. Revolution in Genoa 113
Federigo of Urbino compels Savelli to capitulate . 114
Fresh disturbances in Rome 115
The Pope retires to Tivoli for the summer . . . 116
Character of Sigismondo Malatesta—his hostility to the Pope 116
He defies the Pope's Excommunication . . . 117
He builds the "Temple of Malatesta" . . . 118
Defeat of the Papal expedition against Malatesta . 119
The Venetians and Piccinino encourage Malatesta . 120
Precarious position of Pius II.—his indecision . . 121
Marriage of his nephew Antonio with Ferrante's daughter 121
1462 Embassy from Louis XI. to the Pope . . . 121
Defeat of the Angevines by Ferrante and Sforza . 122
1463 Final defeat of the Duke of Calabria, who returns to Provence 123
Ambition of Antonio Piccolomini. Nepotism of Pius II. 123
Pius II.'s attachment to Siena—he is surrounded by Sienese 124
He resolves to crush Malatesta 125
1462 Who is defeated at Sinigaglia by Federigo of Urbino . 126
The Venetians plead his cause in vain . . . 126
1463 The Siege of Fano, which is taken by the Papal troops 127
Malatesta is pardoned, but his power is destroyed . 128

CHAPTER IV.

OPPOSITION TO PAPAL AUTHORITY.

A.D.		PAGE
1460	Opposition to Papal authority in France and Germany	129
	The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7, 1438) .	129
	Efforts of different Popes to procure its repeal . .	130
	Its results as described by Pius II.	131
	His prohibition at Mantua of appeals to a Council directed against the Pragmatic Sanction . .	132
	Irritation in France. Insulting protest of Charles VII.	132
	Apprehensions of the Pope—he ignores the appeal of Charles VII.	133
	The Dauphin promises to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction	134
1461	Death of Charles VII., July 22	134
	Accession of the Dauphin to the throne of France as Louis XI.	134
	Pius II. sends Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, to negotiate with him	135
	Ambitious motives of Jouffroy	136
	Louis XI. demands the Cardinal's Hat for Jouffroy and d'Albret	137
	Pius II. creates them Cardinals in spite of the objections of the Sacred College . . .	138
	Louis XI. revokes the Pragmatic Sanction . .	138
	Joy of the Pope, who sends Louis XI. a Consecrated Sword	139
	Gregorio Lolli on the revocation	139
1462	Jouffroy represents the repeal as dependent on affairs at Naples	140
	Louis threatens to call an Anti-Roman Council . .	141
	Anxiety and Indecision of the Pope	142
	He confides his uncertainty to Carretto, the Milanese Ambassador	142
	And explains the difficulty of his position . . .	143
	Carretto encourages the Pope to continue his support to Ferrante	145
	And points out the danger of yielding to French influence in Italy	146
	Arrival of the French Embassy in Rome . . .	147
	Carretto holds interviews with the Cardinals and the Pope	147
	Pius II. decides to uphold Ferrante—his interview with Jouffroy	148
	Solemn reception of the French Ambassadors . .	149

A.D.		PAGE
1462	Proposals of Louis XI.	149
	Reply of Pius II. The Cardinal's Hat conferred upon Jouffroy	150
	The Pragmatic Sanction unconditionally revoked	150
	Great Joy in Rome. Importance of the event	151
	Interviews between Pius II. and the French Ambassadors	152
	The Pope refuses to give way. Louis's offers are conditional	152
	Departure of the French Ambassadors—their threatening language	153
1463	Estrangement between Pius II. and Louis XI.	154
	Intrigues of Cardinal Jouffroy	155
	Alarming rumours from France	155
	Hostility of Louis XI.—his understanding with the national party	156
	Revival of the Gallican liberties	156
	Disorganisation of the Empire	157
1460	Two factions—headed by the Houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern	158
	War breaks out between them	159
	Mission of Cardinal Bessarion	159
	Opening of the Diet of Nuremberg—Bessarion's Address	160
	His entreaties are useless—a fresh Diet meets at Worms	161
	War breaks out on the Rhine. The diet at Worms is a failure	161
	Pius II.'s efforts in favour of Hungary	162
	Postponement of the Diet of Vienna	163
	Defeat of Albert of Brandenberg. Defection of the Archbishop of Mayence	164
	Character and Life of Archbishop Diether of Mayence	165
	The confirmation of his election obtained with difficulty	166
	Pecuniary conditions which Diether fails to keep	167
	The sentence of lesser Excommunication pronounced against him	168
	He leads the opposition to the Pope at the Diet of Vienna	168
	None of the German Princes attend the Diet	168
	Opposition of the Envoys—anger of Bessarion	169
	He asks to be recalled, and is refused	170
	The Pope encourages him to persevere	170
1461	Proposals of Pius II. Letter from Bessarion	172
	Bessarion justifies his conduct as to levying the Tithe	173
	Bessarion leaves Germany	175

A.D. PAGE

1461 Diether and the Count Palatine bind themselves to assist George Podiebrad 176
Diet of Bamberg—failure of the anti-Papal party . 177
Diether takes Heimburg into his service . . . 177
1452 Cardinal Cusa in the Tyrol—his zeal for reform . 178
Opposition of the Poor Clares at Brixen . . . 179
Dispute with Sigismund as to the jurisdiction over the Convent of Sonnenburg 180
Resistance of the Nuns—Calixtus III. recommends a compromise in vain 181
Cusa claims the rank of a Prince of the Empire, denied by Sigismund 182
1457 Hostility shewn to Cusa—his flight to Andraz . . 183
Sigismund threatened with Excommunication by Calixtus III. 183
Sigismund appeals against the Papal Bull—intervention of Heimburg 184
1458 Claims of Cusa at the Diet of Bruneck. Interdict not acknowledged 184
1459 Mediation of Pius II. at Mantua—his efforts frustrated 185
1460 Cusa renews the Interdict—he is imprisoned by Sigismund 186
Indignation of Pius II.—he summons Sigismund to appear before him 186
Sigismund refuses to obey, and is excommunicated . 186
Sigismund, instigated by Heimburg, appeals to a General Council 187
The German Princes take his side against the Pope . 187
Sigismund draws up a Memorial against the Pope . 188
Excommunication of Heimburg—his rage . . 189
Reply of Teodoro de' Lelli, and retort of Sigismund . 190
1461 Pius II. summons the Tyrolese Rebels to appear before him—they issue a violent manifesto . . . 191
Excommunication of Heimburg 191
Alliance between Sigismund and Diether . . . 192
Diet of Nuremberg—anti-Papal opposition reaches its climax 192
Diether appeals from the Papal judge to a future Council 193
The Papal Embassy arrives too late—other German Princes appeal 194
The Electors appeal to the Pope on behalf of Diether 195
Diether's second appeal—signed by many German Princes 196
The German Princes consult the French King. The Electoral Union 197

A.D. PAGE

1461 The Diet of Nuremberg dissolved. Collapse of the Opposition 197
The Emperor appeals to Pius II. for help. The Pope sends Nuncios 198
Their success in calming the German Princes . . 199
And in isolating Diether, who refuses to yield . . 200
Diet of Mayence—attended only by the Tyrolese Envoys 200
Rudolf of Rudesheim defends the Pope. Promises of the Nuncios 201
Defeat of the Conciliar party. Fresh attempts of Diether 202
Adolph of Nassau replaces Diether at Mayence . . 203
Diether's violent protestations 203
His unprincipled and vacillating conduct . . . 204
Fresh struggle between the Houses of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach 204
1462 Pius II. lays Diether under an Interdict . . . 205
The Count Palatine supports Diether in defying the Pope, who issues a new Encyclical, May 1st, 1462 206
Diether celebrates Mass by force—he loses the City of Mayence 207
The Archbishop of Cologne arranges a truce . . 207
1463 Diether resigns and receives Absolution . . . 208
1464 Reconciliation of the Count Palatine Frederick . . 209
Obstinacy of Sigismund 209
Mediation of the Emperor 210
His terms of peace accepted. Death of Cusa . . 211
Reconciliation of Sigismund 211

CHAPTER V.

ATTEMPTED RECONCILIATION OF BOHEMIA WITH THE CHURCH.

1448 Prevalence of Heresy in Bohemia 213
Failure of the Compact between Bohemia and the Council of Basle 213
The Utraquist Clergy do not fulfil the conditions of the Compact 214
Administration of the Eucharist under one kind forbidden by the Councillors of Prague . . . 214
The Compact never recognised by the Holy See . 215
Its efforts frustrated by the fanaticism of the Czechs . 215
Accession of George Podiebrad—his two contradictory Oaths 216
His duplicity and fair promises 217

A.D.		PAGE
1459	Podiebrad is invited to the Congress of Mantua	217
	Rokyzana procures Decrees against the Church	218
	Pius II. requires a public profession of obedience from George Podiebrad	218
	He styles him King at Mantua	219
	Podiebrad is not represented at the Congress	219
	Nuncios sent to settle his differences with the people of Breslau	220
	They effect a settlement, but Podiebrad delays coming to Mantua	220
	He desires to win the Crown of Germany by help of the Pope	221
1461	And proposes to effect the reunion of Bohemia with the Church	222
	Excitement in Bohemia. The King recognises Utraquism	222
1462	Distrust of Podiebrad at Rome. The submission of Breslau postponed	223
	Podiebrad sends the Embassy to Rome—its double purpose	224
	Feeling against Podiebrad in Rome	224
	Improved position of the Papacy	225
	Reception of the Bohemian Envoys by the Pope—Utraquist Address	226
	Reply of Pius II.—he condemns the Compact	227
	And in open Consistory refuses to recognise it	228
	The Compact is formally abolished	229
	Podiebrad dares not fulfil his engagement to abolish the Compact	230
	The Pope sends Fantino de Valle to Prague	231
	Marini's project of revolutionising the European system	231
	Which finds favour nowhere	232
	The Pope publishes Podiebrad's Coronation Oath	232
	Podiebrad openly declares himself an Utraquist	233
	And rejects Fantino's demand to abolish the Compact	234
	The Nuncio denounces the Compact—rage of Podiebrad	235
	Effect of the Nuncio's speech—he is imprisoned	236
	Podiebrad endeavours to temporise. Fantino is released	236
	The Emperor undertakes to mediate	237
	Marini's intrigues at the French Court	237
1463	They are counteracted by Pius II.	238
	The Pope delays to take action against Podiebrad	238
1464	Proceedings against him stopped by the death of Pius II.	239

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460–1463.

A.D.		PAGE
1459	Rapid progress of the Turkish power. Fall of Servia and of the Morea. Anxiety of Pius II. . .	240
1460	The Italian powers refuse the Tithes for the Crusade .	242
	The Pope sends Collectors to all the European States	243
	General Indifference—small results obtained . .	244
	Arrival of an Envoy from the Eastern Patriarchs promising obedience	245
	The genuineness of the Embassy doubtful . .	246
	A fresh Embassy arrives from the far East, welcomed by Pius II.	247
	Its doubtful character — deceit of its interpreter, Fra Lodovico	248
1461	Arrival of Thomas, the dethroned Lord of the Morea, he brings with him the head of St. Andrew the Apostle	249
	He is well received by the Pope, who gives him the Golden Rose and a pension	250
1465	Death of the Despot of the Morea	251
	His claims descend to the Jagellon family . .	252
1461	The Queen of Cyprus seeks aid from Pius II. . .	253
	Her reception by the Pope, and personal appearance .	253
	Assistance given to her by Pius II.	254
	She fails to obtain it from the Christian Princes .	255
	News of the Fall of Sinope and Trebizond arrives in Rome	255
	Letter of Pius II. to the Sultan attempting his conversion	256
	Representations and promises of the Pope . .	257
1462	The solemn reception of the head of St. Andrew in Rome	258
	Oration of Pius II. in its honour	259
	Rejoicings and Procession in Rome	260
	Discovery of Alum-beds at Tolfa	261
	Which greatly increase the Pope's revenue . .	262
	Lesbos falls into the hands of the Turks . . .	263
1463	Mahomet II. attacks Bosnia—its disturbed condition	264
	Conquest of Bosnia	265
	The Bosnian Christians allowed the free exercise of their religion	266
	The King of Bosnia is beheaded—the Queen-mother takes refuge in Rome	266
	Pius II. undertakes to lead the crusade . . .	267

CHAPTER VII.

PLANS OF REFORM.

A.D.		PAGE
1458	Pius II. appoints a Commission to consider the reform of the Roman Court	269
	Cardinal Cusa's scheme of reform of the whole Church	270
	Rule for the three Visitors chosen to execute the reform	271
	His plan for reforming the Court of Rome	272
	Domenichi's scheme of reform of the Roman Court	273
	He condemns nepotism and the plurality of benefices	274
	Pius II. abandons the idea of a general reform	275
1460	He corrects certain local abuses	276
	His zeal for the restoration of Monastic Discipline	277
	Deposition of Martial Auribelle, General of the Dominicans	278
1461	The Benedictine Congregation at Bursfield	279
	Opposition of the Nobility to the reform of the Abbey	280
	Love of Pius II. for the Franciscan Observantines	280
	The zeal of the Observantines for reform and missionary work	281
	Pius II. condemns negro slavery, which had just begun to appear—he defends the Jews	282
	Bull of Retractation of Pius II.	283
	He defends the Monarchical Constitution of the Church	284
	And resists the encroachments of temporal Princes	285
	His many censures against heresies	285
	Dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans	286
	Pius II. in vain forbids public discussion on the subject of the Precious Blood	287
1462	After a great disputation decides in favour of the Dominicans	288
	His solemn observance of the Feast of Corpus Christi	288
1461	The Canonisation of St. Catherine of Siena	290
	Pius II. draws up the Bull of Canonisation	291
	Rejoicings in Italy—memorials of the Saint in Siena and Rome	292
	Necessity of creating new Cardinals	293
1460	Pius II. creates six new Cardinals	294
	Merits of Cardinal Oliva—his early Death (1463)	296
	Five of the six Cardinals published at once—all Italians	297

A.D. PAGE
1461 Creation of three Italian and three Ultramontane Cardinals 298
Good Humanist culture of Cardinals Roverella and Ammanati 299
Ammanati a favourite of Pius II. 300
1462 Publication of the name of the Archbishop of Salzburg 300
Pius II.'s appreciation and patronage of Art . . 301
1463 Pius II. embellishes St. Peter's—building the Tribune for Benediction, and the new Chapel of St. Andrew 302
His repairs in the City and Churches . . . 303
His love and protection of the ruins in Rome and the Campagna 304
Memorials of Pius II. at Siena 304
1462 He built a Cathedral and a Palace at Corsignano, and changes the name to Pienza 306
Style of the Cathedral, mixed Italian and Gothic . 308
It is celebrated in verse by Campanus . . . 310

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CRUSADE AND DEATH OF PIUS II.

1462 Determination of Pius II. to lead the Crusade in person 311
The Venetians delay assistance 312
Cristoforo Moro elected Doge 312
The Turks attack the Venetian Colonies and seize Argos 313
Conquest of Bosnia. Vittore Capello urges war with the Turks 314
Altered tone in Venice—they propose to raise money for the war 315
1463 Peace concluded in Hungary through the mediation of the Pope 316
Louis XI. refuses to take part in the Crusade . . 316
The Duke of Burgundy at length fulfils his promise . 317
The Pope invites the Italian powers to a Congress . 317
Bessarion is sent as Legate to Venice . . . 318
Venice at length declares war against the Turks . . 318
Alliance against the Turks concluded between Venice and Hungary 319
Skanderbeg attacks the Turks. Reception of the Burgundian Envoys 320

A.D. PAGE
1463 Good prospects of the Crusade. Meeting of the Italian Congress 321
Unsatisfactory answers of the Italian States . . 321
Reply of Pius II. Selfish duplicity of the Florentines. 322
Their intrigues against Venice 323
Scheme of Pius II. for the partition of Turkey . . 324
He announces to the Cardinals his intention of leading the Crusade 325
He calls on them to follow him 326
The majority of the Cardinals agree—details of the enterprise 327
Regulations in regard to the Crusade 328
Delays of Florence, Milan, and Siena 329
Measures taken by the Cardinals to collect funds . 329
Alliance between the Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, and Venice 330
The Duke of Milan does not join in the Alliance . 330
Publication of the Bull announcing the Crusade . 331
Pius II. provides for the government of Rome during his absence 333
Excellent effect of the Bull in Italy 333
The promulgation throughout Europe, where it meets with little response 334
Efforts of the Pope to promote the Crusade, and promises of aid from the Italian powers . . 335
Money raised for the Crusade. The Crusade Account Book 336
Continued efforts of Pius II. on behalf of the Crusade 337
Victories over the Turks. Recovery of Vostitza and Argos 338
Death of the Prince of Tarento 338
The Doge compelled to join the Crusade in person . 339
The King of Hungary recovers Jaitza. Misfortunes of the Venetians 340
Defection of the Duke of Burgundy 340
The Duke of Milan's evasive conduct 341
His intrigues against Venice 342
Opposition of the Florentines to the Crusade . . 343
General disinclination to the Crusade in Italy . . 344
1464 Louis XI. forbids the Duke of Burgundy to take part in the war 345
Distress of the Pope—his threat of Excommunication 346
More bad news from Greece. Perseverance of the Pope 347

A.D. PAGE
1464 Pius II. goes to the Baths of Petriolo . . . 347
He threatens to Excommunicate Louis XI. . . 348
His resolution to embark at Ancona for Ragusa . 348
Cardinal Forteguerri appointed Legate of the Fleet . 349
Pius II. leaves Siena for Rome. Agitation of the Cardinals against the Crusade 349
The Pope's illness—he persists in setting out . . 350
Anger of Louis XI.—threat of a General Council . 351
Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini appointed Vicar of Rome 352
Arrival of large numbers of Crusaders in Italy . . 352
The Pope takes the Cross in the Vatican Basilica . 353
He leaves Rome for Ancona 354
Delays at Pisa—many of the Crusaders return home 355
Cardinal Carvajal appointed to superintend at Ancona 355
Illness of Cardinal Ammanati 356
Pius II. at Loreto—he falls seriously ill at Ancona . 357
Disputes among the Crusaders, who are mostly ill-provided 358
Efforts made to detain Pius II.—he is resolved to go 359
The insufficient preparations make it impossible to start 360
A pestilence breaks out at Ancona 360
The Turks threaten Ragusa—the Pope and Carvajal resolve to embark 361
Delay of Cardinal Forteguerri and the Venetians . 362
Selfish and intriguing policy of Venice 363
The Venetian Envoy endeavours to diminish the Pope's naval forces 364
Venice refuses to find transport for the Crusaders . 365
The transports sent at length arrive too late, the Crusaders having left Ancona 365
The Venetians attack Trieste—they delay their preparations 366
Delay in the arrival of the Doge at Ancona . . 367
Increased illness of Pius II. Arrival of the Venetian fleet 368
The Pope receives Holy Viaticum—his address to the Cardinals 369
Death of Pius II. on the Eve of the Assumption . 370
His death brings the Crusade to an end 370
Conference between the Cardinals and the Doge. Death of Cardinal Cusa 371

A.D. PAGE
1464 Terms arranged with Venice. The Pope's body removed to Rome 372
Departure of the Cardinals for Rome 372
The Doge returns to Venice—the squadron dismantled 373
Constant efforts of the Papacy against the Turks . 373
Character of Pius II. 374

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	O. de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan	377
II.	,, ,, ,,	378
III.	Antonio da Pistoja to ,, ,,	379
IV.	Pope Pius II. to ,, ,,	379
V.	,, to the Emperor Frederick III.	381
VI.	,, ,, ,,	382
VII.	,, ,, ,,	382
VIII.	,, to Bernhardus de Bosco	382
IX.	,, to the Emperor Frederick III.	383
X.	,, to King John II. of Aragon	383
XI.	,, to John III., Bishop of Eichstätt	384
XII.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	384
XIII.	,, to Frankfort on Maine	384
XIV.	,, to King Charles VII. of France	385
XV.	,, to Cardinal Cusa, Legate at Rome	385
XVI.	,, to Procopius of Rabenstein	386
XVII.	,, to Bologna	386
XVIII.	,, to the Duke of Milan	386
XIX.	,, to Diether of Isenburg	387
XX.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	387
XXI.	,, to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	387
XXII.	,, to Diether of Isenburg	388
XXIII.	,, to the Cathedral Chapter of Mayence	388
XXIV.	,, to Florence	388
XXV.	,, to the Duke of Milan	389
XXVI.	,, to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	389
XXVII.	The Duke of Milan to his Consort, Bianca Maria	389
XXVIII.	,, ,, ,,	391
XXIX.	Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	391
XXX.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	391

PAGE

XXXI. Nicolaus Severinus and Ludovicus de Petronius to the Republic of Siena 392
XXXII. The Duke of Milan to his Consort . . . 392
XXXIII. ,, ,, . . . 393
XXXIV. Pope Pius II. to Johannes Antonius of Spoleto 393
XXXV. Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . . 393
XXXVI. Pope Pius II. to the Conservators of Rome . 395
XXXVII. ,, to Philip, Duke of Burgundy . 396
XXXVIII. ,, to Charles VII., King of France 396
XXXIX. ,, to Duke Borso of Modena . . 396
XL. ,, to Ferrante, King of Naples . 397
XLI. Antonio Ricao to Lodovico of Gonzaga . . 397
XLII. Pope Pius II.'s project of Reform . . . 397
XLIII. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua . . 403
XLIV. ,, to Lodovico de Gonzaga 403
XLV. Pope Pius II. to Aquila 403
XLVI. ,, to the Bishop of Aquila . . 404
XLVII. Bartol. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua 404
XLVIII. Pope Pius II. to Bartol. Vitelleschi, Bishop of Corneto 404
XLIX. Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . . 405
L. Pope Pius II. to Bologna 405
LI. Bartol. Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga . . 405
LII. Martinus Suardus to Lodovico de Gonzaga . 406
LIII. Gregorio Lolli to Siena 406
LIV. Pope Pius II. to Frankfort on Maine . . 407
LV. Ludovicus de Petronius to Siena . . . 408
LVI. Sigismondo Malatesta to the Duke of Milan . 409
LVII. Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . . 409
LVIII. Nicodemus de Pontremoli to the Duke of Milan 410
LIX. Giov. Pietro Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua 410
LX. Pope Pius II. to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim . 411
LXI. Archbishop of Mayence to Ernest of Hildesheim 411
LXII. Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . . 412
LXIII. Pope Pius II. to Piero de' Medici . . . 413
LXIV. Gregorio Lolli to Siena 413
LXV. The Version of the "Memoirs of Pius II." . 415

BOOK I.

PIUS II. 1458–1464.

PIUS II. 1458–1464.

UNDER Nicholas V., the founder of the Vatican Library, that great movement in the history of culture, which we call the Renaissance, had fairly taken root in Rome. The capital of Christendom, now become the centre of learning and art, was flooded with the light of the new dawn.

Then came the fall of Constantinople; a shock, of which the reverberations have not yet died away. It soon became only too clear that this victory of the Turks had dealt a grievous blow to all the Western Nations. "The Turkish power in all the fierce strength of its eager youth took the place of the worn-out Eastern Empire, and challenged the whole of Europe. It seemed for a time as if the Cross must succumb in the battle." * A ruder and more anxious task than the peaceful labours of Nicholas V. in the cause of Literature and Art was allotted to his successor. Calixtus III. rightly judged that the main object of his life must be to save Christendom and Western culture from being overwhelmed by the flood of Turkish invasion. But in spite of the heroic efforts of the Spanish Pope, who pledged his mitre and his plate in order to raise money enough to equip a fleet, nothing worthy of the cause was accomplished. Not a single Prince or nation came forward to redeem their promises. The fire and enthusiasm which in former days had moved all Europe to fly as one man to the rescue of the Holy

* HEINEMANN, Æneas Sylvius, 2.

Places, now burnt itself out in internal dissensions and jealousies. Not a hand was lifted to check the rapid advance of the Ottoman arms.

One disaster followed another in the East all through the summer of 1458. The Morea and Attica were overrun and devastated by the Mahometan troops. In June, Athens fell; in August, Corinth. The subjugation of Servia was begun in the same month.*

On the very day on which the key of the Peloponnesus was lost to Christendom, the aged Calixtus, wearied and disappointed, at last sank to rest.

The question who should be the next occupant of the Papal throne was now of deeper importance than ever. In addition to the defence of Europe, an even more difficult and dangerous task than this was awaiting him, namely, the internal reform of the Church.

No one appeared more adapted for the solution of this problem than the noble and gifted Cardinal Capranica. His death, from a violent attack of fever, just before the Conclave opened (August 14), was a heavy blow to the Church, for his election was almost a certainty. Rome was plunged in grief. A contemporary writes of him: "He was the most accomplished, the most learned, and the holiest Prelate that the Church possessed in our days." A completely new situation was created, upsetting all previous calculations.

* HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 566 *seq.*; HOPF, 86, 127 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. der Stadt Athen, II., 381 *seq.* (Stuttgart, 1889). Detailed accounts of the successes of the Infidels in Greece reached Rome in the beginning of July; see *Despatches of Giovanni Amidani to the Marchioness Barbara, Rome, July 12th, 1458, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. More bad news arrived from Servia in August. See *Despatches of Nicodemus de Pontremoli and Boccacino to Fr. Sforza, Florence, Aug. 11, 1458, Cod. 1588, f. 117, Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF PIUS II.

AIM OF HIS PONTIFICATE TO FREE EUROPE FROM THE DISGRACE OF TURKISH DOMINATION.—PACIFIC POLICY IN ITALY.—THE POPE'S CHARACTER AND MANNER OF LIFE.—HIS ATTITUDE IN REGARD TO THE HUMANISTIC AND LITERARY MOVEMENT.

THE excitement periodically caused in Rome by every vacancy of the Holy See reached an unwonted height in the August of 1458. The confusion was aggravated both there and in the States of the Church by the general movement against the hated Spaniards and Neapolitans, "The Catalans," as they were called, and by the action of Jacopo Piccinino, who had seized Assisi, Nocera, and Gualdo, and was now encamped near Foligno. It was believed, that a secret understanding existed between this "landless Count" and the King of Naples, and that the latter sought by his means to prevent the election of a French Pope! *

The great question which for the time took precedence of all others, was whether an Italian or a Frenchman should occupy the Chair of St. Peter.

Of the eighteen Cardinals who assembled in Conclave

* See Vol. II. of this work, p. 481. Ferrante formally condemned Piccinino's invasion of the States of the Church (see his Letter to Florence, dated 1458, Aug. 20), but his behaviour was unsatisfactory; see Arch. St. Napol., IX., 74 *seq.* Nicodemus de Pontremoli, in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Aug. 18, declares that the fear of Piccinino would impel the Cardinals to hasten the Election. Cod. 1588, f. 130, Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris.

on the 16th August, eight were Italians, five Spaniards, two very influential Frenchmen, one a Portuguese, and two Greeks.* The foreigners accordingly outnumbered the Italians, but they did not constitute the majority of two-thirds requisite for an election.

The prospect of an increased preponderance of French influence in the Peninsula caused great anxiety to the Italian Powers, especially to the Genoese, the King of Naples, and the Duke of Milan. The latter Prince seemed almost haunted by his dread of France.† We cannot therefore wonder if on the death of Calixtus the whole weight of his influence was exerted to promote the election of an Italian Pope. Cardinal Capranica was the candidate of his choice. In the instructions sent in cipher on the 2nd August, 1458, to Otto de Carretto, he desires him to use every effort in his power on behalf of this excellent man. Should it be impossible to ensure his election, he must endeavour to obtain that of Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Failing this, he is to be guided entirely by the advice of Capranica.‡ Death silenced the voice of this counsellor on the 14th August; there was no time to receive further instructions, and Carretto was compelled to act on his own judgment. He naturally turned to Cardinal Piccolomini, who was friendly to the Duke, and

* Acta Consist., f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxi., tom. 52. Here are given the names of the eighteen Cardinals. The *Protocollo del Notaio de Meriliis in the State Archives at Rome mentions only 17. This mistake has led BERTOLOTTI in GORI'S Archivio, IV., 242, erroneously to charge Gregorovius with inaccuracy. CREIGHTON, II., 365, is wrong in making the Conclave meet on the 10th Aug., and PALACKY, IV., 2, 64, in stating that to be the day of the Election of Pius II.!

† See BUSER, Beziehungen, 84, 88 *seq.*

‡ Draft of Fr. Sforza's Instruction of August 2, 1458, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Z., 219 Sup.

"while Bishop of Siena had laboured to obtain for him the imperial investiture, and the recognition of his legitimacy." * In a despatch of that eventful 14th August, the Envoy expresses his hope of being able, even under these altered circumstances, to bring matters to a sufficiently satisfactory conclusion. "I am," he adds, "not without hope for Cardinal Colonna, but it would be easier to carry the election of the Cardinal of Siena, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; he is liked by all parties, and the Ambassadors of the King of Naples favour him."† On the following day, the Neapolitan, Galeotto Agnensis, wrote to inform Francesco Sforza that he had succeeded in bringing about a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Colonna and Orsini, which had almost always been at variance, and that he was now endeavouring to gain the votes assured to Cardinal Capranica for the Cardinal of Siena, whose elevation would be welcome alike to the Duke and to the King of Naples. "Thank God," continues Galetto, "Cardinal Orsini has consented, and I have a good hope of success."‡

The learned Torquemada and the popular Calandrini were also spoken of by many as candidates for the supreme dignity.§ Piccolomini had, however, far more formidable rivals in Pietro Barbo, and the wealthy and

* VOIGT, III., 65.

† Despatch of Otto de Carretto from the State Archives, Milan; see Appendix N. 1.

‡ Despatch of "Galeoctus" (=Galeottus Agnensis de Neapoli leg. doctor). See State Archives, Florence X-1-52, f. 10, to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 15. State Archives, Milan.

§ La mazor parte stima chel cardinal di S. Sixto Spagnolo succedera: ma rarevolte se indivina. Se si fara Papa Italiano credo tochera a Bologna, perche è bon homo e generalmente ben voluto dal collegio. Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31st. State Archives, Milan.

distinguished Guillaume d'Estoutevill·, the head of the French party.

The Conclave was held in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's. Cells, in which the Cardinals were to eat and to sleep, were prepared in the largest hall; a smaller hall bearing the name of St. Nicholas was to serve for the deliberations and for the actual business of the election.* The fact that the Envoys sent to the Sacred College by Ferrante, during the last illness of Calixtus III., were admitted as Royal Ambassadors to watch the Conclave, was much noticed.†

The customary Sermon addressed to the Cardinals before their entry into Conclave was delivered by the Humanist Domenico de' Domenichi, Bishop of Torcello.‡ He began with the words from the Acts of the Apostles, I, 24: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two Thou hast chosen to take the place of this ministry and apostleship." After pronouncing a eulogy

* Pii II. Comment. 30; see CANCELLIERI, Notizie de' Conclavi, 14--15 (Roma, 1823).

† See the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 14 and 20, State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.; see Appendix N. 2. These Envoys were sent at a date earlier than that given by VOIGT, III., 25, for they were in Rome on the 1st August: see *Despatch of A. Catabenus written on that day. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Rev. patris dom. Dominici episc. Torcell. omnium lib. artium et s. theologie magistri ad rev. S. R. E. Cardinales oratio die (xvi. Augusti according to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see also the Letter of the Bishop of Corneto in SANSI, Saggio, 26), qua intrarunt ad electionem Summi Pontificis habita Rome in basilica S. Petri. Cod. Vatic. 3675, Vatican Library. (At the end, habita Rome, xvii. Cal. Sept. A° 1459!). This discourse is also in Cod. Ottob. 10, 35, f. 1–10 (the beginning is wanting); in Cod. 2369 of the Brussels Library; and in Cod. C. 20, Chapter Library at Padua. Here it is dated xviii. Cal. Sept. 1458.

on the deceased Pontiff, Domenichi exhorted the electors to lay aside all ambition, intrigue, and contention. The prevalence of the first of these vices was denounced with special severity. "How many," he said, "would in better days have been contented with a small preferment, who now aspire to the highest dignities." After citing several examples from classical antiquity he continued: "Those who wish to be counted as Romans, should take for their models men like Decius, Brutus, Cato, Gracchus, and Regulus, whose glorious deeds, to use the words of St. Jerome, shine like stars in Roman history."

The orator dwelt on the special importance of this election in regard to the badness of the times. "The secular Princes," he exclaimed, "wrangle with each other, and turn against their own flesh the weapons which ought to be directed against the Turks. There has been no peacemaker. The morals of the clergy are corrupt, they have become a scandal to the laity, all order is at an end. Day by day the authority of the Church diminishes, her censures are unheeded, there has been no one to enforce them. The Roman Court is full of abuses. Who has made any attempt to reform it?"*

Domenichi also deals with the Turkish question. He specially deplores the horrors inflicted by these barbarians on Greece.

In conclusion, he points out the important problems which the new Pope would have to solve. "The dignity of the Church must be reasserted, her authority revived, morals reformed, the Court regulated, the course of justice secured, the faith propagated, captives set free, lost cities regained, and the faithful armed for the Holy War."†

* Cod. Vatic. 3675; see the motto of this volume, back of title page.

† Igitur cum restauranda sit dignitas ecclesie, sublevanda maiestas,

It soon became manifest in the deliberations of the Conclave how deeply the Cardinals had resented the high-handed manner in which they had been treated by the late Pope. A Capitulation was drawn up, extending the rights of the Sacred College, and limiting the power of the Pontiff.* The articles of this Capitulation, which was framed on the model of that of 1431, bound the future Pope to carry on the war against the Turks according to the advice of the Cardinals, and to reform the Court to the best of his power; it also enjoined him to consult the Sacred College in making appointments to offices at Court, and in the bestowal of Bishoprics and the greater Abbeys. In future, the Decree of Constance regarding the number and character of the Cardinals, and that requiring the consent of the majority of the Sacred College given in Consistory to their nomination, was to be strictly observed. Several Articles were concerned with safe-guarding the interests of the Cardinals in the matter of Benefices and *In Commendams.* Rights of nomination or presentation were to be granted to ecclesiastical or temporal Princes only with the approval of the Sacred College, and existing concessions contrary to this provision were to be repealed. Moreover, the Pope was not to grant to any one a tax upon the clergy or the goods of the Church. In relation to the government of the States of the Church, the strict limitations imposed upon the Papal power by the Conclave which elected Eugenius IV. were re-enacted. The Capitulation

firmanda auctoritas, que pene conciderunt, componendi mores, ordinanda curia, stabilienda iudicia, dilatanda fides, propagandi fines, redimendi captivi, recuperande civitates, armandi fideles. Hec omnia sapientissimum prestantissimumque pontificem desiderant. Cod. Vat. 3675.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 5–8; see VOIGT, III., 522 *seq.* Regarding the Capitulation of 1431, see our account in Vol. I., p. 284.

contained a new resolution requiring the Pope to allow to every Cardinal whose income was less than 4,000 golden florins, 100 florins a month out of the Apostolic Treasury, until that sum was made up.* Once in every year the Cardinals were to inquire into the manner in which these Articles had been observed, and if they had been infringed, charitably to admonish the Pope three times.

On the third day of the Conclave the business of the Election commenced. In the first scrutiny the Cardinals of Siena and Bologna, Piccolomini and Calandrini, had each five votes, and no other Cardinal more than three. And now those who aspired to the supreme dignity began the work of canvassing. No one was more zealous than the ambitious d'Estouteville, who was closely allied with Cardinal Alain. Our information in regard to the means employed by this leader of the French party is derived entirely from his rival, Piccolomini, who certainly is not an unprejudiced authority.† According to his report, d'Estouteville, on the one hand, made brilliant promises, and on the other sought in every way to depreciate the Cardinals of Bologna and Siena. "How," he asked, "can Piccolomini be thought fit for the Papacy? He suffers from the gout, and is absolutely penniless. How can he succour the impoverished Church, or, infirm as he is, heal her sickness? He has but lately come from Germany; we do not know him; perhaps he will remove the Court thither. Look at his devotion to the heathen Muses. Shall we raise a poet to the Chair

* The monthly allowances were called *Piatto Cardinalizio* (the Cardinal's Portion); see MORONI, LII., 274–6; BANGEN, 45. They are here mentioned for the first time.

† PII II. Comment. 30 *seq.*, with the supplement in CUGNONI, 184 *seq.* Regarding the variations of the Cod. Regin. 1995 of the Vatican Library, see Appendix N 65.

of St. Peter, and let the Church be governed on Pagan principles?"

The same authority declares that not only Alain, but Bessarion, Fieschi, Torquemada, Colonna, and Castiglione bound themselves by oath to vote for the French candidate. Piccolomini, however, by skilfully insisting on the national aspect of the case, succeeded in winning over Castiglione, and also in obtaining the support of those Cardinals who had been as yet undecided.

The energetic action of Cardinal Barbo was of the greatest importance in the Election. After he had given up all hope of himself wearing the tiara, he determined at least to make every possible effort to obtain it for one of his own nation. Assembling the Italian Cardinals, with the exception of Colonna, he proposed to them that member of the Sacred College who, above all others, was distinguished by keenness of intellect, varied learning, experience of the world, and diplomatic ability,—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In the following scrutiny, on the 19th August, the latter accordingly had nine votes and d'Estouteville only six!*

The decision was then arrived at by the method called *Accessus*. Rodrigo Borgia was the first to break the hush

* See Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.*, and the **Report of Otto de Carretto of Aug. 20th, 1458, cited *infra*, p. 14, note ‡, Ambrosian Library, Milan. See also Appendix N. 3. According to the Mém. de J. du Clercq, III., c. 39, fear of a repetition of the Avignon exile weighed in the scale against d'Estouteville. VAST, p. 231, bestows great praise on Zeller's description of the Conclave. The latter, however, makes the extraordinary mistake of confounding the Cardinal of Pavia (p. 27) with Carvajal, who was not at the time in Rome. I did not find in the State Archives at Milan, Carretto's Despatch of the 29th August, translated by PETRUCELLI, p. 281; there must be a mistake in the date. Regarding the Cardinal of Lerida, erroneously mentioned by VOIGT, III., 9, see VAHLEN, 62.

of expectation with the words: "I vote for the Cardinal of Siena." A second and longer silence ensued. Cardinals Isidore and Torquemada made a fruitless attempt to adjourn the election, but Cardinal Tebaldo now giving his vote for Piccolomini, only one more was needed. Again there was a pause of breathless suspense. Then, in spite of those who tried to hold him back, Prospero Colonna stood up and said: "I also vote for the Cardinal of Siena, and make him Pope." All then arose and offered their first homage to the newly elected Pontiff. Having returned to their seats, they unanimously proclaimed the election valid, and Bessarion made a speech congratulating the new Head of the Church.*

Piccolomini, who had been only twenty months a Cardinal, was greatly overcome by his election. "The burden of the future fell upon his soul; he understood the height of his calling." Campano, his biographer, tells us that he burst into tears and for some time could hardly command himself. When he had recovered his composure, he said to the friends who were encouraging him, that none could rejoice at being raised to such a dignity save those who forgot its attendant dangers and toils. It was now for

* The hour of the election is variously stated. INFESSURA, 1138, and the Cron. Rom., 26, say *a ore di terza.* The Cronica di Bologna, 726, mentions the 14th hour, and so does Otto de Carretto in a **Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 19th. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. Antonius Catabenus in a *Letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 19th, writes: "Ozo a XV. ore vel circa fu creato e publicato per la divina gratia in papa il revmo. olim Monsre de Sena, laus Deo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *Acta Consist., f. 28, say circa horam XVI. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The 17th hour is that given in a letter in the Archives of Spoleto (see SANSI, Storia, 50); the 23rd, 24th by the Notary de Meriliis; see *supra* p. 6, note *, and GORI, Archivio, IV., 242.

him to accomplish that which he had formerly demanded from others.*

After he had assumed the white cassock of a Pope, he announced that he would take the name of Pius II., and in this name again swore to observe the Capitulation, adding, however, the proviso: "As far as I am able, with the help of God, and consistently with the honour and the integrity of the Apostolic See."†

Besides the account written by the newly elected Pope himself, our sources of information regarding the Conclave of 1458 consist of a few despatches from the Milanese Envoys, the most important of which is one written by Otto de Carretto on the 20th August.‡ It was only natural that the envoy should make the most of his own share in the election; but on the other hand his account of the attitude of Cardinal Colonna is striking. In consequence of the family alliance which we have mentioned between the Orsini and the Colonna, both Cardinals with their adherents agreed, according to him, to elect Piccolomini. Carretto himself gained for him the support of the Neapolitan Envoys, of Cardinal de la Cerda, and of Cardinals Mila and Borgia, the

* CAMPANUS, 947; VOIGT, III., 15. In reference to Piccolomini's elevation, the *Cronica di Forli of Giovanni de Pedrino incorrectly asserts: Era stado fatto vescovo e cardenale e papa in 18 mexe e questo fo tenuda grande ventura. Cod. 234, p. 259b of the Library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni. For an account of the previous life of Æneas, see Vol. I., pp. 340–48, and Vol. II., pp. 139 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*, 419, 458 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 8.

‡ The **Report of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, die xx. Augusti, 1458, is partly in cipher, the interpretation of which, however, is added. Ambrosian Library, Milan, *loc. cit.* The efforts of Colonna on behalf of Piccolomini are twice mentioned in this Report. According to Carretto, Bessarion as well as Barbo aspired to the Papacy.

nephews of the deceased Pope; the two last were influenced by the hope that Ferrante would be favourable to them. The Commentary of Pius II., however, represents Cardinal Colonna as a firm partisan of d'Estouteville up to a short time before the final decision; he alone failed to take part in the deliberations to which the Italian Cardinals were invited by Barbo. The report of the Milanese Envoy, written as it was immediately after the election, is certainly more direct evidence than the Commentary of Pius II., which is of a much later date. On the other hand, we must remember that Carretto, who, in pursuance of the instructions received from his master, was bound to promote the cause of Colonna, had an interest in exaggerating the part taken by this Cardinal in Piccolomini's election. Prospero Colonna himself, after having given the vote which decided the election of Pius II., may have been anxious that his former efforts on behalf of d'Estouteville should be forgotten.* It is to be hoped that future discoveries in the Archives may throw further light on this point. There is, however, no doubt that Piccolomini's election was zealously promoted by the Milanese and Neapolitan Envoys. Francesco Sforza expressly says in his letter of the 14th September that Pius II. was elected through the influence of King Ferrante, and this statement is borne out by the favour which the new Pope shewed to the King of Naples.†

In Rome the election of Piccolomini was welcomed with

* According to the Comment. Pii II., Orsini was for a long time less ardent in Piccolomini's cause than Carretto represents him to have been.

† The **Letter of Fr. Sforza to Joh. de Ulesis, dated Milan, 1458, Sept. 14th, Cod. 1588, f. 151. National Library, Paris. As to the friendship between Piccolomini and the Sforzas, see *supra*, p. 6. In his Letter of Congratulation to Pius II., dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 23rd, Fr. Sforza refers to the fact. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

unmixed satisfaction. The people threw away their arms, and with cries of "Siena, Siena, Evviva Siena!" hastened to St. Peter's to pay homage to the newly made Pope. At nightfall bonfires were kindled, and lights shone forth from all the towers of the city. Jubilant crowds thronged the streets, which re-echoed with songs and the sound of horns and trumpets. Old people declared that they had never seen such an outburst of rejoicing in Rome. The Ambassadors congratulated the Pope immediately after his return from St. Peter's; they found him greatly wearied, but still as witty and genial as when he was a Cardinal. On the following evening the nobles of the city came on horseback, bearing torches, to offer their felicitations. The splendid procession filled the Borgo from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's.*

At the home of the new Pope at Corsignano and Siena, the rejoicings were naturally very great. The spirit of the Renaissance displayed itself in splendid pageants in most of the other cities of the Peninsula. All the Italian powers, with the exception of Florence and Venice, were delighted at the elevation of the pacific and statesmanlike Piccolomini.†

* Pii II. Comment. 31; Reumont, III., 1, 135. Illuminations always formed a part of a Renaissance Festival. See Burckhardt, Cultur, II., p. 191, 3rd ed. Carretto's Despatch of the 20th Aug. 1458, speaks of the Ambassadors' congratulations. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† Niccola della Tuccia, 71; Pii II. Comment. 32, 57; and Cugnoni, 189, regarding the dissatisfaction of Florence and Venice. See also the *Letter of Fr. Sforza to Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Milan, 1458, Sept. 12th; Register in Cod. 1613 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris. For an account of the Festivals in Ferrara, see Muratori, Annal. Esten., XVIII., 1095–96; in Bologna, Cronica di Bologna, 726, and Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, III., f. 325* Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; in Siena, Dathi, Opp. 84–5; Allegretti, 770; Thomasius in Muratori, XX., 57; Malavolti, III., 60; *Cod. Lat. xi-lxxxiii., f. 169b *seq.* St. Mark's Library, Venice.

Men breathed more freely now that the danger of a foreign Pope had been averted. The fear that a Frenchman might be raised to the supreme dignity is manifested in the reports of the Ambassadors then in Rome. "As your Excellency is aware," wrote Antonio da Pistoja on the 21st August to Francesco Sforza, "we were in great danger of having a French Pope. D'Estouteville and Alain had managed matters in such a way that the Papacy seemed almost certain to devolve upon one or other of them. Thanks be to God, it remains in Italy."*

Beyond the limits of the Italian Peninsula the result of the election was welcomed by all, except France and the other opponents of the Emperor.† Frederick III. was greatly pleased. On the very day of his election, the new Pontiff addressed two letters to him, one official and the other private.‡ He would indeed have scarcely recognised

Pius II. expresses the satisfaction these festivals gave him in a *Brief to Siena, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 29. State Archives, Siena. LEONE, 195.

* See the *Letter in the Appendix N. 3, from the Original in the Ambrosian Library. In the answer of the Florentines to Galeottus Agnensis, who was sent in the beginning of September by Pius II., they say: *"Cum timerent Italici omnes, ne dignitas illa in Ultramontanos transiret cum damno maximo et dedecore Italici nominis summe ipsi letati, scilicet videntes tandem Italum pontificem electum esse." State Archives, Florence, X., 1-52, f. 12.

† It is interesting to learn that the free cities of Germany individually congratulated the Pope. See the *Letter of thanks from Pius II. to the Council of Nuremberg, dated Rome, 1458, Dec. 5th (Non. Decemb.). District Archives of Nuremberg.

‡ The official document is given by SENCKENBERG, IV., 408. VOIGT, III., 17, was the first to draw attention to the *Private Letter, which is in Cod. 215 of the Court Library at Munich. To the copy of the Encyclical of Sept. 4th, given by him (III., 16), we may add TROMBELLI, Mem. Storiche conc. le due canoniche di Sta. Maria di Reno e di S. Salvatore, 258-9, Bologna, 1752.

his former Secretary, so heavily and so quickly had time told upon him. Though but fifty-three, Pius II. was already an old man. His bodily strength was broken, and he suffered much from gout in the feet. This malady had been contracted in Scotland when he went barefooted on a pilgrimage through snow and ice to a Church of Our Lady in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea. The tortures which he endured from the gout were such that he was often quite unable to move. He was also afflicted with stone and with a constant cough. Yet he kept up with surprising energy. "The habit of suffering had given him such mastery over himself, that even when tortured by the stone, he could repress every sign of the anguish he was enduring. But his grey hair and the ashy paleness of his complexion, which became almost livid with the slightest indisposition, bore witness to the ravages of disease. Andrea Guazzalotti's medal, which was considered a masterpiece of portraiture, represents a worn countenance and sunken eyes." *

The election of a poet, historian, humanist, and statesman of European fame, was an event of far-reaching importance. The Papal chair was now filled by a man who really stood at the head of his age, and who was capable of understanding both its past and its present. Amongst his contemporaries there was not one who even approached Piccolomini in the insight he possessed in regard to the moral and

* VOIGT, III., 14. Regarding the medal by A. Guazzalotti, of Prato, see the work of FRIEDLÄNDER, Berlin, 1857; Italian edition, amended and corrected by GUASTI, Prato, 1862; and Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, II., 225 *seq.* Celebrated fellow-sufferers of Pius II. are enumerated by A. CARRADI in the Mem. dell. Acad. delle Scienze di Bologna, X. 419, *seq.*, Bologna, 1859. The bad state of the Pope's health gave the Astrologers a welcome opportunity of foretelling his sicknesses; see a *Despatch of ANTONIO DA PISTOJA of Sept. 6th, 1458, Ambrosian Library.

physical forces at work in the period. He had learned from his own observation and experience the circumstances and the views of both friend and foe, for we may say no party existed in whose camp he had not sojourned for a while. No one could have been better fitted to restore the ancient greatness and glory of the Papacy. His immediate predecessors had indeed done much in this direction since the dissolution of the Council of Basle; but the crowning of the edifice remained for him.*

The master-thought which filled the mind of Pius II. and governed all his actions during the whole six years of his pontificate, was his noble project of freeing Europe from the disgrace of Turkish domination, by uniting all Christian nations in a general crusade. To repel the advance of the barbarians of the East by the united power of the West, was the great purpose to which, regardless of his bodily weakness, he devoted himself with all the enthusiasm of a young man, and with a marvellous constancy and energy. "As he watched the steady advance of Mahometanism from Africa, through Granada and Spain, and from Asia over the ruins of the Byzantine Empire, and along the banks of the Danube, he became convinced that nothing less than the united forces of the whole of Christendom could suffice to avert the danger."†

On the very day of his election, Pius II. spoke plainly to the Milanese Ambassador, in no uncertain tones, of the great war which must be undertaken by the Christians against the Turks. The next morning he summoned the

* PALACKY IV., 2, 64–5. See JÄGER, I., 307 *seq.*

† PALACKY, *loc. cit.*; see PII II. Comment. 34. "The deliverance of Constantinople was," says GREGOROVIUS, VII., 163, 3rd ed., "the ideal of his pontificate, and the aim was a high one, and in accordance with the needs of the age." See also GEBHARDT, 29, and JÄGER, I., 317 *seq.*

Sacred College to consider the measures to be adopted.* The restoration of tranquillity in the States of the Church was a matter of the most urgent importance. It was necessary to remove the Catalan governors, and above all to avert the danger threatened by Piccinino. This could only be effected in concert with Naples. The French party was averse to the recognition of Ferrante. Pius II. met their remonstrances with the simple question, "Will King René, the French candidate, free the Church from Piccinino?"† Accordingly, it was determined, on the 20th August, that the Neapolitan Ambassadors should be treated in every way as Royal Ambassadors, and that Ferrante should be styled "his Majesty."‡ Negotiations were at once entered into with Don Pedro Luis Borgia, who still had possession of Civita Vecchia, Spoleto, and other strongholds.§ It was feared that he would combine with Piccinino in an attack on the defenceless Pope.||

The anxiety of Pius II. was aggravated by tidings of the constant advance of the Turks which reached him from the East. No wonder that even during the festivities of the succeeding days he appeared preoccupied and almost

* Report of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, August 20. Ambrosian Library.

† Pii II. Comment. 36.

‡ Second Report of Otto de Carretto of the 20th August, 1458, in Appendix N. 2, from the original in the State Archives, Milan. See the Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Sept. 8, Cod. 1588, f. 141, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

§ Despatch of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, August 26. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.

|| Letter of Giov. Fr. de Balneo to his brother, Conte de Modigliana, dated Todi, 1458, August 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

melancholy.* On Sunday, the 3rd September, in front of St. Peter's, he received the tiara from the hands of Cardinal Colonna, and afterwards solemnly took possession of the Lateran. A tumult among the populace, who prematurely sought to seize the Papal palfrey, disturbed this ceremony, which a fellow-countryman of the Pope's describes as most magnificent.† Pageants of the kind derived a special charm from the fresh impulse which the Renaissance had given to art. The fact that a master like Benozzo Gozzoli painted the flags and banners used on this occasion, may give us some idea of its artistic beauty.‡

The 3rd September also brought Pius II. the satisfaction of seeing an agreement concluded with Don Pedro Borgia, whose death on the 26th delivered the Pope from all further apprehensions on his account.§

The succeeding days were fully occupied by the reception of the Embassies sent to do homage to the Pope, and by anxious deliberations concerning the measures to be taken to resist the Turks, whose progress in Servia became more and more threatening.‖ On the 7th October the Envoys of

* See *Letter of Otto de Carretto of 20th Aug. 1458 (Ambrosian Library) and the Despatch of Nicodemus of Sept. 8, 1458, cited *supra*, p. 20, note ‡. National Library, Paris.

† L. Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 3. State Archives, Siena. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257, is mistaken in giving Sept. 4 as the day of the Coronation. Infessura confounds Coronation and taking Possession (CANCELLIERI, 44 *seq.*). See also GORI, Archivio, IV., 242, and *Acta Consist., f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See the accounts in *Div. PII II., 1458–60, State Archives, Rome: printed in part by MÜNTZ, I., 330 *seq.*

§ N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257; SANSI, Saggio di Doc. 34, Storia, 51. Regarding the agreement with Don Pedro, see *Despatch of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 3. States Archives, Siena.

‖ Regarding the Florentines' Embassy, see the document from the Archives of their city in GUASTI, 45 *seq.* On the 11th Sept. 1458,

the Republic of Florence arrived. Among them were Cosmo's nephew, Pier Francesco de' Medici and St. Antoninus, the holy Archbishop, who had already congratulated the predecessor of Pius II. on his elevation to the Papacy. The 10th was the day fixed for the reception of the Florentines. When the Consistory was about to assemble, the aged Archbishop, worn out with years and austerities, seemed to be sinking; they gave him a cordial to strengthen him, and then, to the astonishment of all present, he poured forth an eloquent address to the Pope, lasting nearly an hour. Pius II. was greatly touched by the hopes which St. Antoninus expressed of victory over the Turks, and his reply was worthy of the discourse which called it forth. Afterwards, when the Florentines were commending some of their fellow-countrymen to his favour, he asked them, half in jest, why they said nothing for their Archbishop. "The Archbishop," they replied, "needs no recommendation but himself."*

"Triadanus Griti, Mathæus Victuri, Hieronym. Barbadico, and Jacobus Lauredano" were chosen at Venice as Ambassadors to Rome. The last named declined, and his place was taken by V. Capello. *Sen. Secr. XX., 157, State Archives, Venice. With reference to the progress of the Turks, see the *Letter of Petrus Tomasius, dated Buda, 1458, Aug. 25: Dapoi a di 24 in nocte questo Smo. S. Re hebe lettere et messi de Servia et lochi circumstanti come el Bassa Turco per accordo ha havuto el castel de Colombazo, State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. See letters of the same P. Tomasius in September and October in Mon. Hung., I., 36, and MAKUSCEV, II., 220 *seq.*

* GUASTI, VII., 53 *seq.* See VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI in MAI, I., 240 *seq.*; ST. ANTONINUS, Chronicon III., xxii., c. 17 in princ. et 1; REUMONT, Briefe, 138. The Orator of the Milan Embassy also declared in favour of the war against the Turks; see *Oratio exornatissima praeclarissimi poetae laureati dom Thome de Reate consiliarii ill. d. ducis Mediolani prolata per eum coram S. D. N. Pio papa II. in urbe Roma die quarta Oct. 1458, Cod. Vatic. 5994, f. 59b *seq.*, Vatican Library. On the 10th Oct. 1458, the Ambassadors from Avignon took

From the reports of the Envoys it appears that the Pope was wholly engrossed by the one idea of war against the Turks.* On the 12th October he made known the decision at which he had arrived, after mature consideration and lengthened deliberations with the Cardinals. The most distinguished members of the Sacred College, many bishops and prelates belonging to the Court, together with all the Ambassadors then in Rome, were assembled on that day in the chapel of the Papal Palace. In an exhaustive speech he enumerated the defeats which the Turks had inflicted upon the Christians, and shewed that they aimed at the annihilation of Christendom. For the protection of religion he had resolved to attack the enemy. As it was impossible to do so without the assistance of the Christian Princes, he purposed to hold a Congress at Mantua or Udine, and would, with the Cardinals, proceed thither in the beginning of June, thus meeting half-way those who were coming from the other side of the Alps. He would then hear the opinions of those whose help he was about to ask. It was painful to him to leave Rome, the See of St. Peter and the rock of Christendom; but it would give him infinitely more pain if, under his Pontificate, the Faith were to suffer, for which he was ready to risk not only the whole world and the Patrimony of St. Peter, but also his life. Old and infirm as he was, he would not shrink from crossing mountain or river to take counsel with the Christian Princes for the welfare of religion. This determination was commended by the Cardinals, Bishops, Envoys, and all present.†

the oath of fidelity to the Pope; see *Cod. XXXIV., 22, f. 99, Barberini Library, Rome.

* GUASTI, X., 55.

† See CRIBELLUS, 65–70; PII II. Comment. 34. The Florentine and Venetian Envoys were very guarded in their expressions concerning

On the following day Pius II. published a Bull, earnestly inviting all the European Princes to the Congress. Since the Emperor Constantine had given peace to the Church, she had never, he said, been so trampled upon as she now was by the adherents of the "false prophet Mahomet"—the bloodthirsty hosts of the "venomous dragon." It was a punishment from Heaven for the sins of the nations. God had raised him to the See of Rome that he might deliver the world from this peril. The task laid upon him was most difficult, but he did not despair. "The bark of the Church often rocks to and fro, but it does not sink; it is buffeted, but not shattered; it is assailed, but not wrecked; God permits His people to be tried, but He will not suffer them to be overwhelmed."*

Besides this general Bull, special letters of invitation were addressed not merely to the great Powers, but also

the Turkish war; see the report of the Envoy of Florence of the 12th October in GUASTI, 57. Also the *Instruction for the Envoy of Venice of October 30th, 1458, Sen. Secr. XX., f. 164, State Archives, Venice.

* The Bull "Vocavit nos pius," is, as VOIGT, III., 20, remarks, wrongly dated in PII Epist. I., (edit. Mediol.) iii. Cal. Oct. The Milan edition of 1481 is certainly here meant: in that of 1487 (HAIN, 170) the right date is given: iii. Id. Oct. The same day is mentioned in CRIBELLUS, 76, from the MS. in the State Library, Munich, quoted by VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; in Cod. Urb. 404, f. 1–11, and Cod. Ottob. 2506, f. 226–32 of the Vatican Library, Rome; in Cod. Hamilton, 242, II., f. 1 of the Royal Library, Berlin; in Cod. c. II. 9, of the Library of the Escurial; in Cod. 296 of the City Library at Trèves; Addit. MSS. 30935, f. 75 *seq.* of the British Museum; in Cod. 12 (see Vol. II., p. 351) of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 161–6; in the copy in the Secret Archives of Vienna (see CHMEL, II., 362); and in those in the City Archives, Cologne. (ENNEN, III., 303, gives erroneously as the date, iv. Id. Oct., a mistake, as iii. is clearly written in the original, which bears a leaden seal); in the District Archives of Nuremberg and the State Archives, Dresden, Doc. 7587. See also N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257.

to the smaller Princes, States, and Cities. All these letters contained an earnest request that the Envoys should be persons of distinction, and be provided with ample powers.*

Before anything effectual could be attempted against the Turk it was essential that tranquillity should be restored in Italy. Pius II. undertook this difficult task with the greatest zeal. He began with the States of the Church, which, owing to the misrule of the Borgias, were in great disorder. All the Catalan governors were, like Don Pedro Borgia, paid to give up their fortresses.†

The worst legacy left to the new Pope by his predecessor was the difference with Naples. The first steps towards its settlement had been taken before his coronation. Difficulties had subsequently been caused by the interference of various persons.‡ Then the opposition of the French party in the Sacred College placed further obstacles in the way, and Ferrante himself, looking on many of the Pope's conditions as too hard, was slow in

* The *Letter of October 24, 1458 (see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 18), to the German electors, is in Lib. brev. 9, f. 2, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Pius II.'s *Letter to Cologne (Communitati et adherentibus civitatis Colonien.) is dated Rome, St. Peter's, 1458, Oct. 18 (xv. Cal. Nov.). It says: Requirimus autem, ut eosdem oratores pleno mandato instructos mittere studeatis non ad decernenda solum ea, quorum causa vocamini, sed ad componendam pacem vel ad iudicandas treugas cum illis, cum quibus esset vobis forsan contentio. The original with a leaden seal is in the City Archives, Cologne. A similar *Letter was sent to the City of Nuremberg on the 20th Oct. (xiii. Cal. Nov.) 1458, District Archives, Nuremberg.

† CAMPANUS, 975; PII II. Comment. 36; see the *Report of Antonio da Pistoja, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 8, Ambrosian Library; and a *Letter of "Jac. Chici," to Ludovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 10, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Copy of a letter from Otto de Carretto to Antonio da Trezzo, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 28, Ambrosian Library.

accepting them. Pius II., however, adhered to the demands which he had made in the interests of the Church, and sent word to the King that he was not like a merchant making a bargain, and asking the double to obtain the half.* Ferrante, to whom a declaration of legitimacy from the Holy See was a matter of great importance, was finally compelled to yield. On the 17th October a treaty was concluded in Rome, by which the Pope undertook to remove the censures inflicted by his predecessor, and to grant him the right of succession and investiture in the accustomed form, without prejudice however to the claims of others. A Legate a latere was, as usual, to perform the ceremony of coronation. The Neapolitan King on his part solemnly bound himself to pay yearly to the Holy See a certain tribute, to give up Benevento at once, and Terracina in ten years' time, and also to compel the Condottiere Piccinino to restore the territories which he had taken from the Church.†

On the 10th November the Bull of Investiture was published, together with the oath to be taken by Ferrante. The ecclesiastical and sovereign authority of the Pope was safe-guarded by a repetition of the conditions formerly agreed upon between Charles I. and Clement IV. At the conclusion of the Bull it was expressly laid down that the claims of other persons were not to be prejudiced by it.

* Pii II. Comment. 36. See a second *Letter of Otto de Carretto to Antonio da Trezzo of 28th Aug. 1458, Ambrosian Library.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 20–26 (see BORGIA, Benevento, III., 1, 391, and Arch. St. Napol., IX., 79), gives the treaty, from Cod. B. 19, of the Vallicellana Library, Rome (see Vol. II. of this work, p. 67, note ‡). Nicodemus de Pontremoli mentions it to Fr. Sforza in writing from Florence on the 26th October (Register in Cod. 1613 of Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris). HELWING, 16, justly defends the Neapolitan policy of Pius II.

The document was signed by only thirteen Cardinals, those of the French party holding aloof.*

At the same time Pius II. issued another Bull absolving Ferrante from all censures pronounced against him by Calixtus III. and requiring his subjects to render him obedience.†

Cardinal Orsini was on the 1st December charged to receive the oath of fealty and to perform the Coronation,‡ and soon after, Niccolo Forteguerri who had been appointed Bishop of Teano, was sent on a secret mission to Naples. Its object was to treat of a betrothal between the natural daughter of the King and Antonio Piccolomini, the nephew of the Pope, a union by which the newly established good relations between Rome and Naples were to be yet more closely cemented.§ The effects of the

* DUMONT, Suppl. au Corps Dipl., II., p. 412 *seq.* (Paris, 1739); RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 30-49, from the above mentioned MS. of the Vallicellana Library. I saw another copy in Cod. 35—B—16, f. 117b *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

† Bull "Inter caetera" (given in part in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 27, and LUNIG, II., 1259-60) in *Cod. Cors., f. 114 *seq.* (ex liber vicariat. Nicolai V., Calixti III. et Pii II.) but here also undated.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 29, and Register, 469, f. 40 *seq.*; Latinus tit. S. Joannis et S. Pauli constituitur legatus de latere in regno Siciliæ citra Pharum pro coronatione regis Ferdinandi. Dat. Romae, 1458, Cal. Dec., Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding the Coronation at Baretta, see Notario GIACOMO, 102; BORGIA, Dom Temp. nelle due Sicilie, 196; VOIGT, III., 27; ROCCHI, Codd. Crypt., 318; Arch. St. Napol., IX., 90.

§ SIMONETA, 688; Regest. 469, f. 42b; *Pius II. to N. Forteguerri, dated Romae Prid. Non. Dec. A° 1°, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The following words are taken from this document: "pro quibusdam arduis nostris et S.R.E. negotiis te ad regnum etc. destinamus." Ferrante was very loth to part with Benevento, and did not yield up the fortress until May, 1459; see BORGIA, Benevento, III., 1, 393-4; Arch. St. Napol., IX., 88.

alliance were soon visible in the condition of the States of the Church. The menaces of Ferrante, coupled with those of the Duke of Milan, induced Piccinino, early in the year 1459, to yield up his spoils in consideration of an indemnity of 30,000 ducats.* The Pope also used every means in his power to restore order in Rome. He summoned the Barons and made them take an oath to keep the peace during his absence, pronouncing the severest penalties against those who should violate it. The privileges enjoyed by the cities and Princes of the States of the Church were confirmed, and a portion of their tribute remitted for three years.†

The important post of Prefect of the City having become vacant by the death of Don Pedro Luis Borgia, Pius II. conferred it on the 16th December, upon Antonio Colonna,‡ with the right of succession to his eldest son. By this means he attached to his own interest the most powerful of the Roman parties. Antonio Piccolomini had been nominated Governor of St. Angelo on the 1st of September.§

* See the authorities cited by VOIGT, III., 127. Regarding the interference of the Duke of Milan, see the *Brief of Pius II. to Fr. Sforza of the 14th Nov. 1458 (Register in Cod. 1613 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris), and the Brief of Dec. 10, 1458, in Appendix N. 4, Ambrosian Library.

† PII II. Comment. 37; THEINER, Cod. Dipl., III., 401 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 429.

‡ Not the 22nd December, as VOIGT, III., 30, copying the inaccurate INFESSURA (1138), asserts, but on the 16th of the month; see the *Brief of appointment from the Colonna Archives, which is dated Romae, 1458, decimo septimo Cal. Jan.

§ *Antonius . . . de Piccolom. constituitur castellanus "castri Crescentii alias dicti S. Angeli de urbe." Dat. Romae, 1458, Cal. Sept. A° 1°, Register 515, f. 137, Secret Archives of the Vatican. For payments to him, see *Div. PII II., 1458–60, f. 7, 26 etc. State Archives, Rome.

The Romans, however, could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a protracted absence of the Pope from their city, and its consequent loss of the advantages derived from the presence of the Court. The distressful period, during which Eugenius IV. was away from Rome, was still fresh in the memory of many. The intentions of the Pope were mistrusted, and the Congress at Mantua was looked upon as a mere pretext. It was feared that he would linger in Siena, and enrich his own home. Some said that Pius II., who had grown up among the Germans, would ultimately live entirely in their country, and would not deem it beneath his dignity to transfer the Chair of Peter to the other side of the Alps. Others again were full of apprehension lest the aged and sickly Pontiff might never return. Intense excitement prevailed in the city; the women lamented, the youths and men cursed and reviled the Pope, and a number of the old and more influential Romans went to him in a body and besought him not to leave them. Pius II. did his best to reassure them, pointed out the necessity for his departure, and promised soon to return.*

In order the better to tranquillise the public mind, it was decided that a certain number of the Court officials and a few of the Cardinals were to remain in Rome and carry on current business without interruption. A special Bull made provision for the next Papal election, which was to take place only in the Eternal City.† On the 11th

* Pii II. Comment. 34–5; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257. According to the Report of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza on the 17th Oct. 1458, the Romans murmured at the Pope's decision, but the rest of the world was much pleased with it; Cod. 1588, f. 174, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† Pii II. Comment. 37. See THEINER, Cod. Dipl., III., 409 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 1. The Bull is of the 5th January, 1459, not the 4th, as GREGOROVIUS has it, VII., 165, 3rd ed.

January, 1459, Pius II. entrusted the important post of Papal Vicar-General in Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter to his old friend the German Cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa, who had returned there in the end of September.* Galeazzo Cavriani, Bishop of Mantua, was appointed Governor of the City on the 15th January, 1459.†

Platina, Campano, and other authorities, have furnished us with ample materials for forming an idea of the character and mode of life of Pius II.‡ All concur in their estimate of his many-sided culture, his great intellectual powers, his affability, gentleness, and simplicity. Like all really able men, he hated pedantry, and did not care for display, although he could, when it was necessary, maintain the dignity of his position with suitable magnificence.§ The simplicity of his life formed a striking

* Nicolaus tit. S. Petri ad vincula constituitur generalis vicarius cum potestate legati de latere in urbe et patrimonio. Dat. Romae, 1458 (stil. flor.) tertio Id. Jan. A° 1°, Register 515, f. 132–34b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. SCHARPFF, 279, who saw this Bull in the Library at Cues, dates it in 1458, when Calixtus III. was still reigning! Giovanni di Juzzo, in N. DELLA TUCCIA, 73, calls Cusa "lo vice papa." A deed of Cusa of 1st Nov. 1459, is given in VITALE, Senatori di Roma, II., 436 *seq.* (Roma, 1791). Cusa returned to Rome on the 30th Sept. 1458, Acta Consist., f. 28b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Deed of Appointment is dated Romae apud S. Petrum, 1458, xviii. Cal. Feb. A° 1°, Reg. 515, f. 139a–140a. Secret Archives of the Vatican. REUMONT is accordingly mistaken, III., 1, 138, in assigning the nomination to October. Regarding the importance of the position of *governatore* in the 15th century, see GARAMPI, Osservaz. sul valore delle antiche monete pontificie, 157. In the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua I saw nineteen *Original Letters of G. Cavriani to the Marquess Lodovico of the year 1459, and seven of the year 1460.

‡ The particulars from Cod. Urb. 1248, in PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 25 *seq.*, which have not been noticed by previous students, are of special importance.

§ MÜNTZ, I., 225 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 549.

contrast to the pomp and show in which d'Estouteville, Borgia, and some of the Cardinals delighted. His retainers were often in despair when, in course of his numerous journeys, the Pope had to stay in poor country villages and decayed convents, where it was difficult to obtain even the barest necessaries of life. On such occasions Pius himself was content with everything; he did not object to use the coarsest and commonest ware, and to sojourn in monasteries which could hardly afford shelter from wind and weather. The provisions served at the Pope's table were of the homeliest kind; there was but little wine, and he seldom ordered any delicacy for himself.

The Papal account-books corroborate the statements of his biographers. A careful student of these volumes has arrived at a result which does honour to the Popes of the early Renaissance period, and to Pius II. in particular. "On the whole," he says, "the simplicity and frugality of the Papal table was amazing. It was like a convent refectory. The household expenses of Pius II. are the lowest recorded. They generally amount to six, seven, or eight ducats a day." The marvellous cheapness of provisions at this period is, of course, to be taken into consideration; but when we remember that this small sum sufficed for the support of from 260 to 280 persons, it must be confessed that declamations against the luxury of the Court are altogether out of place.*

Pius II. had the reputation of being very methodical in the regulation of his time. When in health he rose at daybreak, recited his office, said or heard Mass, and then

* GREGOROVIUS, "Das Römische Staatsarchiv" in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr., Vol. 36, pp. 158–60; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.* For the number of officials see MARINI, II., 152 *seq.* Nevertheless GEBHARDT, La Renaiss., 181, accuses Pius II. of gluttony!

went at once to work. Until the Cardinals arrived, he gave audiences and attended to other business. A short walk in the garden was his only recreation before dinner, after which he conversed with those around him, and took a brief siesta. He then dictated letters, or employed himself in literary work, and again gave audiences until supper-time. Current business was next despatched with Ammanati and Gregorio Lolli, and accounts settled. In addition to these two persons, his nephew, Francesco Piccolomini, Bernardo Eroli, the grave and learned Bishop of Spoleto, Niccolo Forteguerri of Pistoja, and Giacomo di Lucca, enjoyed his special confidence. The Cardinals most intimate with him were Calandrini, Castiglione, Cusa, Carvajal, and Bessarion. Before going to rest Pius II. said the remainder of his office; he often read and dictated in his bed, as he needed but from five to six hours' sleep.*

Platina gives us a description of the outward appearance of the Pope. He was small of stature;† his hair became prematurely grey, which gave him, even in the prime of life, the appearance of age. The expression of his countenance was kindly, but grave. In his dress he avoided both negligence and elegance. He had been accustomed to hardships, and bore hunger and thirst with equanimity. His naturally strong frame had been worn

* See PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 25–6; CAMPANUS, 984; *Despatch of A. da Pistoja of 21st Aug., 1458, see Appendix N. 3; PLATINA, Vita Pii II., see HAGENBACH, 38 *seq.* Regarding the confidants of Pius II., see the *Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza of the 11th Nov. 1458. The "vescovo de Spoleti" is here described as "homo de grande rectitudine ymo austerita, doctissimo in utroque jure et experto del stillo de corte. Con questo la Sta. de N. S. se consiglia molto cosi in le cose di stato come in quelle de corte et quasi niente se fa senza luy." Ambrosian Library.

† See Istoria di Chiusi, 994.

by many journeys, labours, and vigils. Although often suffering from a chronic cough, from stone, and from gout, he was accessible to all, and unwilling to refuse any petition. Campano says that on one occasion, when an attendant endeavoured to make signs to a garrulous old man to curtail his discourse, Pius II. gently told him to go on, but said sharply to the servant: "Do you not know that as Pope I have to live, not for myself, but for others?" He spent all that he received. He had no desire to be rich, and left the reckoning of his money to others, but at the same time he understood its value. In consequence of the war, his coffers were constantly empty, so that he was often oppressed by debt.* He hated liars and hypocrites, was quickly angry, but as quickly pacified. Personal injuries were readily forgiven, but he firmly resisted any attack upon the Holy See. He was kindly and genial in his intercourse with those around him, and witty in conversation. He was indifferent to what was said of him, and to the blame cast on his frequent journeys. Fear and vacillation had no place in his nature; he was never seen to be elated by prosperity nor downcast in adversity. His leisure hours were spent in reading or in literary work. He was sincerely devoted to the Christian Faith, and frequently approached the Sacraments.

* Regarding the very frequent monetary difficulties of Pius II., consequent on his financial mismanagement, see VOIGT, III., 148, 165, 545 *seq.*, and the careful work of GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., where the balance-sheets of the Papal Treasury are given. Yet he sometimes objected to financial irregularities. For example, he wrote to Bologna: Intelleximus non sine displicentia thesauraria illius nostre civitatis Bononie non administrari cum eo quo decet ordine multaque in ea negligi et male conduci in non parvum praeiudicium camere apostolice; "this is to be amended." Dated Tibure, 1461, Aug. 3. Original in the State Archives, Bologna.

A few more touches may still be added to this picture which is drawn by a grateful hand.* The strictness with which Pius II. kept the laws of the Church appears from the fact that his friends endeavoured in vain to hinder him from fasting, when suffering from illness. The Pope had a great veneration for the Blessed Virgin. He looked upon her as, in a special manner, his Protectress; he made frequent pilgrimages to her shrines, and enriched them with many gifts. He also composed some hymns in her honour.†

The great love of travelling, which Platina mentions as a characteristic of Pius II., deserves further notice. Few of the Popes have seen as much of the world, although some may have taken longer journeys. The epithet of

* It cannot be denied that Platina's description of Pius II. is intended to make his successor's character appear yet darker by contrast; yet other authorities agree in this really valuable account. See CREIGHTON, II., 524. The opinion of GREGOROVIUS, who is certainly impartial, is as favourable as that of Platina; the life of Pius II. "as Pope," he says (VII., 163, 3rd ed.), "was blameless; he was temperate, mild, benevolent and indulgent."

† Pii II. Comment. 131, 360; PELLEGRETTI, 39, 54 *seq.*, 64. The ancient privileges of the Shrine of Einsiedeln were confirmed, and new favours granted by Pius II.; see G. MOREL, Regesten v. Einsiedeln, 70–1 (Chur, 1848), where, however, Nos. 905 and 906 are inserted under 1463 instead of 1464. No. 906 is, in Cod. 814, f. 404 of the Cathedral Library at St. Gall, correctly dated Cal. Febr., instead of iii. Cal. Feb., as Morel has it. An elegy on the Blessed Virgin by PIUS II. is published in his works, p. 964 (Basle edition). LAMIUS, Catal. Bibl. Riccard., 8 (Liburni, 1756), gives the beginning of another hymn "Ad beatam virginem" by this Pope, and I believe that one which commences with the words:—

Virgo decus celi, virgo sanctissima, virgo
Que super angelicos es veneranda choros.

Cod. 710, f. 71b–73, Riccardian Library, Florence, has not yet been published.

"Apostolic Wanderer," which the prophecy of Malachy bestows upon Pius VI., was equally applicable to him. Considerations of policy and health,* an insatiable thirst for knowledge, a delight in unrestrained social intercourse, and finally, an enthusiastic admiration of the beautiful scenery of his country, furnished the motives for an amount of travelling unusual in his days. A visit to the country was the chief solace which he allowed himself when pestilence and excessive heat made the low-lying districts insupportable. The summer sojourn of the Pope on Monte Amiata, of which we have a description from his own pen, has often been mentioned. During the hot season of the year 1462, he took up his abode in the Abbey of San Salvatore, which is situated half-way up the mountain. "Splendid chestnut trees clothe the edge of the precipice, which commands a view of the whole of southern Tuscany with the towers of Siena in the distance." An inscription still reminds the traveller that under one of the finest of these trees the affairs of both Church and State were despatched by the Pope. He never allowed his love of travelling to interfere with business. He made a point of discharging the duties of his office both personally and promptly. "Often and often did he hold Consistories and sign state papers, and give audiences to Ambassadors beneath the giant old chestnuts or in the shade of olive trees, on the green sward, by murmuring waters."†

* "It was not," REUMONT, III., 1, 392, observes, "really by way of recreation that he repeatedly sojourned at the Baths of Macerato and Petriolo." The disturbed state of the capital must also be taken into account. "It was not without reason that Pius preferred any place of residence to Rome." BURCKHARDT, Cultur., I., 100, 3rd ed.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur., II., 21, 3rd ed. In his description of Monte Amiata, Pius II. speaks of himself as "silvarum amator et varia

The beautiful descriptions of his travels left by Pius II. are justly esteemed, and even at the present day excite the admiration of those who can appreciate the charm of Italian scenery. "Diana's hiding place" on the blue lake of Nemi, Todi, enthroned amid vineyards and olive-covered slopes, Subiaco in its wild solitude, the view from the summit of the Alban hills over "the wide Campagna studded with the ruins of a primitive civilisation, the mountain heights of Central Italy, with woods and valleys and shining lakes at their feet," had never before been portrayed with such enthusiasm and in such detail. "All things that give charm to a landscape, corn-fields, and meadows, high mountains and low-lying lakes, the rushing brook, the murmuring river overhung with dusky foliage, the contrasted hues of the blue waving flax and the yellow broom, the distant prospect over land and sea, city, mountain and valley," were all observed by the delighted eye of the Pope, and recorded by his pen.*

Nor was his interest less in the memorials of antiquity and the treasures of art which he met with in his travels; no relic of the Christian or heathen past escaped him. In the convents he had all the old manuscripts brought to him; at Chiusi he sought for the Labyrinth mentioned by Pliny; at Mincio he visited Virgil's Villa, and in the neighbourhood of Rome he traced out the old Roman roads and aqueducts, and endeavoured to determine the boundaries of the ancient tribes. In Hadrian's villa at Tivoli he tried "to interpret the fragments of walls, and in imagination to restore their former connection."

videndi cupidus." Comment. 217; see also CAMPANUS, 982–3. With regard to the Pope's speedy despatch of business, see PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 26.

* BIESE, Die Naturanschauung des Hellenismus und der Renaissance, in the Preuss. Jahrb., LVII., 552. BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*

"Time," he writes in his Memoirs, "has here defaced everything. The walls, which were once adorned by coloured tapestry and gold-embroidered hangings, are now clothed with wild ivy. Thorns and briars are growing where the Tribunes once sat in purple, and snakes are dwelling in the chambers of queens. Such is the transitory nature of all earthly things."*

The constant pecuniary difficulties of Pius II. in some measure account for the remarkable fact that very little was done for the Humanists during his reign. His election had awakened great expectations among them, and their disappointment was all the keener. Moreover, the Pope, who was himself a distinguished author, proved a very fastidious critic. Orators and poets, he used to say, must be really original, else they are worthless.† During the early years of his Pontificate, death removed several

* Pii II. Comment. 138; VÔIGT, II., 310 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, I., 227 *seq.*, 3rd ed.

† CAMPANUS, 986; VOIGT, III., 608 *seq.* The number of poets who sang the praises of Pius II. was, as VAHLEN (378) observes, much greater than Voigt's description would lead us to suppose. Regarding the Roman poet, Niccolo Valle, who repeatedly strove for the favour of Pius II., GREGOROVIUS, VII., 598, 3rd ed., may be compared with VAHLEN (376). I found a printed copy, which has apparently escaped the notice of Vahlen, of a poem, "Constantinopolis Rome sue salutem edita a Nicolao de Valle," in the University Library at Innsbruck, II., 11 E. 1580, 14. Cod. Db. 75 of the Dresden Library contains "Hesiodi opera et dies interprete Nicolao Valle carmine heroico"; at its conclusion is a notice from a more modern hand to the effect that a translation of the "Opera et dies Nicolai de Valle" is to be found printed in the Appendix of the Silius Italicus published in Rome in 1471. The Library of Dresden possesses a copy of this rare edition, and in it the translation is preceded by a dedication to Pius II. There is a collection of the poems in his honour in Cod. I., VII., 260 of the Chigi Library, Rome, and among them is also one of a complimentary character, addressed to the worthy Battista Pallavicini; see *infra*, Book II., Chapter I.

prominent Humanists; Vegio died in 1458, Manetti, Poggio and Aurispa in 1459; and some of their successors were of little note. Versifiers of the calibre of Giantonio Porcello evidently could have little interest for a man of Pius II.'s intellect. Filelfo ruined his fortunes by his "shameless importunity."* The value to be attached to the complaints of other Humanists is uncertain. Until the manuscripts bearing on the subject have been thoroughly examined it will not be possible to come to a definite conclusion in regard to the relations of Pius II. with the literary men of his day. The following may serve as an instance of the caution required. One who is thoroughly versed in the literary affairs of the period asserts that "the translators of Nicholas V.'s time were a jealous and quarrelsome set, and were entirely unnoticed by Pius II." In contradiction to this statement we have the fact that Francesco d'Arezzo, a disciple of Valle's was expressly charged by the Pope to complete his master's translation of the Iliad, and to undertake a translation of the Odyssey as a companion volume. In return for his labours he received a permanent appointment, which "not only sufficed for his own necessities, but also enabled him to

* VOIGT, III., 629 *seq.* Regarding Porcello, see VOIGT'S Wiederbelebung, I., 494 *seq.*, 589-91, 2nd ed., where there is evidence that this writer shared the impure tastes of Beccadelli. *Cod. Vat. 1670, contains: Ad divum Pium II. Pont. Max. Porcelii Pandoni poetae laur. epigrammata poemataque soluta, fol. 2: de felicitate temporum divi Pii II. P. M. liber primus; f. 14b *seq.* on the Congress at Mantua; f. 23 *seq.*: poema de podagra et eius crucibus ad divum Pium II. P. M., Por. poeta dolorum impatientissimus. Lege bona cum valetudine, f. 28b: Porcelius poeta ad Romanos ut Pium P. M. Tybure redeuntem maximo honore complectantur; f. 75b concerning the artistic undertakings of the Pope; some passages are given by MÜNTZ, I., 229-30, from the same MS. of the Vatican Library. In relation to Porcello's Feltria in Cod. Urb. 373, see SCHMARSOW, 75 *seq.*

carry out his long-cherished wish of providing for his mother and sister." Several Humanists were, during this Pontificate, employed in the College of Abbreviators; amongst others we may mention Bartolomeo Platina, Leodrisio Crivelli, and Battista Poggio.*

While it is true that the scholarly Pope did not neglect the Humanists to the degree that his latest biographer has supposed, it cannot be denied that a certain reserve is evident in his conduct towards them. This fact has been accounted for by his pecuniary necessities, by his engrossing ecclesiastical and political cares, and by his zeal for the Crusade. We may add another motive, which is to be found in the Pope's aversion for the false Renaissance. Pius II. was but too well-acquainted with this dangerous aspect of the movement which he had once favoured, and, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, resolutely opposed it. Here, too, it may be said that Æneas was now forgotten and Pius alone remained. Christian works formed the principal part of his private library, and heathen authors were little regarded.† In his own writings he scrupulously avoided everything which could be looked upon as an approach to heathenism. If the ancient gods were mentioned they were spoken of as demons or idols; "the ideas and opinions of Roman philosophers were corrected and conformed to the Christian standard. Scepticism and criticism were

* VAHLEN, 387 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*, 376, 410. VOIGT, III., 617 *seq.* is mistaken in supposing the relations between Pius II. and Agostino Dati to have been unfriendly, and in suggesting politics as the cause. In the Archives of Siena I saw *Letters from Dati, and especially one of April 14, 1462, addressed to Siena, in which he manifests the most sincere reverence for "Papa Pio Senese."

† MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatic., 122. In regard to the fate of the MSS., see DE ROSSI, Bibl. Vatic., 365, note.

silenced in presence of the authority of the Church."* Authors whose lives were immoral, as for example A. Contrarius, were relentlessly banished.† The representatives of the Christian Renaissance, on the other hand, such as Flavio Biondo, enjoyed the special favour of Pius II. Biondo accompanied the Pope on his excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood of Rome and recalled the various historical associations of the landscape. He also took part in the Congress of Mantua, and, while in that city, completed his "Roma Triumphans." This work, "the first great attempt at a general picture of Roman antiquity," was dedicated to Pius II.‡ The high esteem in which the Pope held this good man may be gathered from the fact that he made an abstract of Biondo's great historical work, the first twenty books of the "Decades," and also made his son Gasparo notary to the Papal Treasury. In the spring of 1463, when Biondo became very ill, the Pope sent his own Confessor to visit him, and he afterwards provided for his burial.§ Gasparo at once succeeded him as secretary.‖

Pius II. also endeavoured to attract to Rome some scholars from other countries, as for example the celebrated astronomer, Battista Piasio, and the learned German theologian, Gabriel Biel; the latter, a simple and modest man,

* VOIGT, III., 579, 640; also I., 13, and II., 280.

† AGOSTINI, II., 431; APPONYI-ABEL, Isotæ Nog., Op. I., cxxviii.

‡ MASIUS, Fl. Biondo, 27 (Leipzig, 1879, Dissert.); BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 228, 3rd ed.; GASPARY, 131.

§ Cronica di Forli, by GIOVANNI DE PEDRINO in Cod. 234, f. 280 of the Library of Prince Boncompagni at Rome. Here the 4th June is also given as the day of his death.

‖ See WILMANNS in the Gött. gel. Anz., 1879, p. 1500 *seq.*, where the reproaches of Filelfo regarding Pius II.'s neglect of Biondo are shewn to be utterly unfounded.

declined the invitation. Niccolo Sagundino of Negroponte went to Rome and died there in 1463.*

Two Sienese, Agostino and Francesco de' Patrizzi; the Roman, Agapito di Cenci de' Rustici; Jacopo Ammanati; and the witty and genial Giantonio Campano, shared with Biondo the special favour of the Pope. Campano, "a master of style," was the Court Poet of Pius II., who thought so highly of his productions that he inserted a number of them in his Memoirs.† These Memoirs were the constant occupation of his leisure hours; many portions are apparently written by his own hand, and others were dictated. He saw, with regret, that time would not permit him to give his work the finishing touches he might have desired. Yet the original manuscript contains numerous literary corrections.‡ Pius II. also purposed to reform the style of the Papal Bulls, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt, as he found that the changes made gave rise to suspicions of their authenticity.§ He used himself to compose Briefs and Bulls of importance. "Though sentences and images from Holy Scriptures took the place of quotations from Horace and Virgil in the Pope's discourses, their elegant and flowing style proved to the world that he was both a scholar and a man of modern culture."‖

* RENAZZI, 170; Tüb. Quartalschrift, 1865, p. 204; REUMONT, III., 1, 337.

† VOIGT, III., 620 *seq.*

‡ See Appendix N. 65.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 223.

‖ VOIGT, II., 283. For some account of Pius' relation to the Roman University, see RENAZZI, 170 *seq.*, and PAPENCORDT, 515. His love of learning was evinced by the foundation of the Universities of Ingolstadt (PRANTL, I., 13 *seq.*); of Basle (HAGENBACH, 49–51; VISCHER, Gesch. der Univ. von Basel, 26 *seq.*); and of Nantes (BULAEUS, V., 661; Bull. V., 153–6), as well as by the encouragement given to the High

It is really wonderful that, notwithstanding his constant sufferings and the immense burden of affairs which pressed upon him, the Pope found time for serious literary work. During the first years of his Pontificate, in hours stolen from sleep, he laboured to carry out his magnificent project of writing "A geographical and ethnographical description of the whole of the known world with historical illustrations." Asia, the first part, which Pius had begun when a Cardinal, and which had occupied him during his summer sojourn at Tivoli in 1461, alone was completed. In the unfinished section on Europe the history of recent events fills a consi lerable place. Germany is treated in detail, and many errors which prevailed in Italy regarding that country are corrected. A far from indulgent critic praises the elevation of thought displayed in this acute and learned work, and declares that a book which exercised such a powerful influence on Christopher Columbus must not be lightly esteemed.*

Nor is less importance to be attached to the Memoirs of Pius II., to which allusion has frequently been made in these pages. In the spirit of a genuine historian Piccolomini had, throughout the whole of his eventful life, made notes of all that had befallen him, and all that he had seen, and also of what he had heard and learned from others. As Pope he still kept up the custom, and this was the origin of his Autobiography, the most comprehensive and characteristic of his writings. This work

Schools already in existence; see HAUTZ, I., 308–9; DENIFLE, I., 452; BELLESHEIM, I., 296.

* VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 515, 2nd ed.; GASPARY, 133; HUMBOLDT, Kosmos, II., 291 (Stuttgart, 1847). BURCKHARDT, I., 5–6, 3rd ed.; see also PESCHEL, Gesch. der Erdkunde, 217 (München, 1877), and GENGLER, Æneas Silvius' Bedeutung f. d. Rechtsgesch. (Erlangen, 1860).

is, at once, a history of the remarkable period during which he occupied the Papal chair, and a portrait of it as reflected in his mind. He was generally so overwhelmed with business that it was but seldom that he could devote two consecutive hours to his task, and, if he did, they were mostly borrowed from his sleepless nights. "Accordingly, the Memoirs are composed of a multitude of fragments of different length, whose connection is but slight, and, in many cases, merely arbitrary. The first book, his life previous to his elevation to the Papacy, is the only one which is more than a rough draft. He often made his secretaries write down the events of the few preceding days, both personal and political, adding historical or geographical matter culled from the treasures of his memory, or from his collections of extracts. Here and there unconnected episodes are introduced." The narrative proceeds from day to day like a journal, "and only ceases with the commencement of his last illness."* Pius II. was well aware of the defects necessarily incidental

* VOIGT, II., 336 *seq.*; CUGNONI, 15 and 180; CHRISTOPHE, II., 107 *seq.* Regarding Cod. Regin. 1995 of the Vatican Library, in which I believe I have discovered the Original MS. of the Pope's Memoirs, see Appendix N. 65. Notwithstanding the evidence furnished by Voigt to shew that the Bonn Priest, JOHANNES GOBELINUS, from Lintz on the Rhine, whose name appears on the title-page of the printed editions (Rome, 1584 and 1589; Frankfort, 1614) as author or editor, was merely its transcriber, this error still holds its ground. HEGEL, Städtechroniken, XVIII., 1, 92, for example, speaks of the "ecclesiastical historian. Gobelinus," as author of the Comment. PII II. HARTZHEIM, Bibl. Coion., 174, brings forward nothing new concerning Gobelinus. The Parish Archives of St. Martin at Bonn are equally barren, for the more ancient protocols of the Cassius foundation only date from 1568. From information kindly imparted by Vicar Hurth, I find that a Gobelinus was parish priest in Waldorf, two hours' journey from Bonn, on the 23rd Jan., 1580.

to a work composed in this manner, and Campano was entrusted with the duty of removing them. It was well for posterity that the Court Poet did not expend much labour on the task.

Delicate and sympathetic observation of men and things, sound judgment, a youthful freshness of perception and description, are merits universally conceded to this remarkable work. If it is not exempt from the faults which characterise the historical writings of the time, and of Memoirs in general,* it still remains a highly valuable authority. The narrative in its details may often fail in accuracy and impartiality; but from this, as from everything written by this gifted man, we carry away a "vivid and personal impression, which has a value of its own quite as real as that of historical documents."† The unprejudiced reader of the geographical and historical works produced by Pius II. during the period of his Pontificate will not fail to agree with the verdict of a non-Catholic writer, who declares that they furnish ample testimony of the genuine love of art and learning, and the noble aspirations by which he was animated.‡

* There is no doubt that, as GASPARY remarks, 133–4, Pius II. drew his own portrait in a favourable light, and that his digressions manifest something of the garrulity of age; see *ibid.*, 665, for a striking example of the manner in which Voigt misjudges and underrates this Pope. Gaspary also points out the great political sagacity displayed in the Commentaries.

† VOIGT, II., 317; REUMONT, III., 1, 335 *seq.*; MONOD in the Rev. Hist., I., 8–9; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 584 *seq.*, 3rd ed.; CIPOLLA, 489 *seq.*; J. B. CHRISTOPHE, Pie II. Écrivain (Lyon, 1865).

‡ HAGENBACH, 41.

CHAPTER II.

The Eastern Question and the Congress at Mantua. 1459–60.

The beginning of February 1459 had been fixed as the date of the Pope's departure from Rome, but the tidings of the victorious advance of the Turks into Servia induced him, notwithstanding his weak state of health, to resolve on setting out on his journey in January.* The Venetians, afraid of disturbing their commercial relations with the Porte, refused to let the Congress be held at Udine, and Mantua was finally selected as its place of meeting.†

* Cedule affixe pro recessu S.D.N. pape: "Nos Georgius episc. Lausan Car^lis^. Aquilej. locumtenens tenore presentium intimamus, insinuamus et notificamus, quod idem S.D.N. infra quintum decimum diem post festum Epiphanie Domini proxime futurum intendit iter arripere ad civitatem Mantuanam." Dat. Romae, 1458, Dec. 6, Pii II., Div. Cam. 1458–60; Arm. XXIX., T. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Nicodemus, writing to Fr. Sforza from Florence under date 1548, Oct. 17, mentions Pius II.'s intention of setting out in February. Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 174, National Library, Paris.

† Pii II. Comment. 42. The letter of the Marchioness Barbara, given by Hofmann, Barbara, 35–7, bears witness to the great efforts which had been made in Mantua to ensure the assembling of the Congress in that city. Janner, III., 519, speaks of the disappointed hopes of the Town Council of Ratisbon. G. Cavriani wrote from Rome to the Marquess Lodovico on the 16th Jan. 1459: *"Questi di gionse qui Bartol. Bonatto cum li capituli chi se haveano a concludere per el transferire li de la corte li quali questa mattina sono conclusi et ratificati. The Pope is better; he is full of the greatest zeal

With the object of protecting the Christians in the Greek waters against the rapidly increasing naval power of the Turks, the Pope, shortly before his departure, instituted a new religious Order of Knights. This Order was framed on the model of that of St. John at Rhodes. It was to bear the name of Our Lady of Bethlehem, and to have its headquarters in the Island of Lemnos.*

On the 20th January, 1459, Pius II. left the Vatican for Sta. Maria Maggiore, where he spent the following day, and gave his blessing to the sorrowing people. An attempt was again made to dissuade him from his journey on the ground of his state of health and of the inclement season of the year. When these arguments proved unavailing, the dangers which threatened the States of

for the Turkish expedition." See *Letter of the same Cavriani of the 22nd January, 1459, and one from B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1459, Jan. 16th. Both of these are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Bull "Veram semper et solidam" dated Romae, 1458 (st. fl.) quartodec. Cal. Febr. A° 1°, Register 470, f. 4–6b of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Given in part, and with a wrong date, by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 2–4, and LEIBNIZ, Cod. I., 418–9. It is not known whether this Order ever actually came into existence; see ZINKEISEN, II., 237–8; VOIGT, III., 652. The latter also mentions the scheme for transferring the Teutonic Order from Prussia to the Turkish frontier. Another Order, the *Societas Jesu Christi*, was founded with the object of fighting the Turks. Pius II. confirmed it at the request of Bessarion, but it did not attain any great importance, its principal promoter having turned traitor. See CASTAN in the Rev. des Sociétés Savantes, 1876, p. 479 *seq.*, and LE FORT, Une Société de Jésus au quinzième siècle. Documents inédits des Archives de Genève in Mém. et Documents, publ. par la Société d'Hist. de Genève, XX., 98–118. A *Bull of Pius II., Register 469, f. 386: "Societati domini Jesu nuncup. conceditur licentia eundi contra Turchos per unum annum et datur eis indulgentia," dated Romae, 1458 (st. fl.), Id. Jan. A° 1°, Secret Archives of the Vatican, has not come to the knowledge of either of these students.

the Church were laid before him. As soon as he was known to have crossed the Po, the tyrants would, it was predicted, rush like ravening wolves upon the patrimony of St. Peter, and on his return, he would not know where to lay his head. But the Pope replied that Mahomet was menacing his spiritual authority, and that its recovery would be a matter of far greater difficulty than that of the States of the Church, which had already been often lost and as often regained.*

On the 22nd January Pius II. accordingly took leave of Rome.† Among those who accompanied him were Cardinals Calandrini, Alain, d'Estouteville, Borgia, Barbo, and Colonna, with a number of courtiers and Envoys.‡ They passed out of the city by the Ponte Molle, and travelled as far as Campagnano, where the Orsini, to whom this place belonged, had prepared a splendid reception.§ The next day, on the way to Nepi and Civita Castellana, the Pope was met by the joyful tidings of

* Pii II. Comment. 39.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257, compare 73, N. 2; INFESSURA, 1138, Cron. Rom. 26; Cronica di Bologna, 727. HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 102, is mistaken in giving the 22nd January as the day of the Pope's departure from the Vatican. In several Briefs of the 20th January, Pius II. speaks of leaving Rome on that day for Mantua; amongst others, in that to Albert of Brandenburg in WÜRDTWEIN, Nov. Subs. XIII., 61–2, and in *one to Cologne, dated Rome, St. Peter's, 1458, tertiodecimo Cal. Febr. A° 1°, in which he again urges on the preparations for the Congress. Cologne City Archives. The Brief arrived: 1459, die mercurii p. f. pasche. A similar *Brief of the same date addressed to the city of Nuremburg, is preserved in the Kreisarchiv, and another to Duke Frederick of Saxony, is in the State Archives at Dresden. Orig. Doc. N. 7600.

‡ GHIRARDACCI, Storia di Bologna, III., f. 328, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna, is wrong in giving eight, and SISMONDI, X., 120, in giving ten, as the number of the Cardinals.

§ Pii II. Comment. 39. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257.

Piccinino's submission. At Civita Castellana, picturesquely planted on a rock of tufa, he enjoyed the satisfaction of meeting in its Bishop his old friend, Nicholas Palmerius. At Magliano he crossed the Tiber by a wooden bridge, which was richly decorated. Everywhere laity and clergy vied with each other in manifesting their respect for the Vicar of Christ. Youths and maidens crowned with laurel, and bearing olive branches in their hands, wished long life and happiness to their noble guest. The streets and roads were strewn with green boughs, and filled with crowds who deemed it a happiness even to touch the hem of the Pope's garment.* Thus Pius II. passed through Narni and Terni to Spoleto, where he remained two days.†

Even on this journey the indefatigable Pope allowed himself no rest. From Terni he wrote to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, to the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and to Duke Frederick of Saxony about the Congress.‡ During the following days, while at Spoleto, he addressed similar letters to Cardinal Carvajal, to the Emperor's Council, to the Emperor himself, to the Bishops of Eichstädt, Würzburg and Bamberg, and to the cities of Strasburg, Basle and Constance.§

* PII II. Comment. 41. The tumult in Narni is not mentioned here, see CAMPANUS, 975.

† See the Vatican Itinerary in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 5 and again in the Mittheil. des Œsterreich. Inst., 83 (1885).

‡ CHMEL, Urkunden u. Briefe, 180–1. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 6. The *Brief to Frederick of Saxony is in the State Archives, Dresden, N. 7601.

§ RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.* *Lib. brev. 9, f. 5 and 6b to Carvajal (dated Spoleto, 26th Jan. 1459); f. 8 to the Emperor's Council (dated Spol. 27 Jan., Hortamur devotionem tuam in domino et instanter requirimus, ut commemoratione continua Serenitati Sue velis ostendere quid honor proprius et debitum dignitatis sue requirat); f. 6b to the

In the monastic city of Assisi, the Pope was received with special rejoicing. He visited the walls and fortifications which Nicholas V. had restored, and desired that they should be strengthened. He also received the oath of fealty of the citizens.* Even greater honours awaited him in Perugia, where no Pope had been seen for eighty years. All the houses and churches of the city were splendidly decorated; the keys of its gates were presented to the Pontiff, who immediately returned them to the magistrates. The joy of the people was deep and heartfelt. The Chronicle of Perugia describes his solemn entry on the 1st February, when, in Pontifical vestments and wearing the mitre, he was borne through a delighted throng, in a litter adorned with purple and gold. In the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, where three of his predecessors repose, he adored the Blessed Sacrament, and thence proceeded to the Governor's Palace. During the succeeding days the inhabitants paid the Pope every possible honour. He remained for three weeks in the city, and consecrated the Church of San Domenico. He did his best to reconcile its contending factions, issued fresh invitations to the Congress,† and received the Envoys of

Emperor (dated Spol. 26th Jan., see Appendix N. 5); f. 7 to the above-named Bishops and Cities, dated Spoleti ex itinere 26 Jan.; they were to send to Mantua Ambassadors furnished with complete powers. Secret Archives of the Vatican. For the time spent at Spoleto, see SANSI, Storia, 51.

* PII II. Comment. 42. CRISTOFANI, 318–19.

† *Lib. brev. 9, f. 13: to Rudolf von Rudesheim, dated Perusii, 17th Feb. (he was to admonish the Archbishop of Mayence, over whom he had great influence, to send Ambassadors to the Congress); f. 13b "Joh. Lesura canon. Spiren., decret. doct. d. ut s." (Devotionem tuam hortamur in domino et requirimus ut omni impedimento seposito in dieta prefata interesse des operam. Tua enim presencia consolacioni nobis erit.) Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Duke of Savoy and of Federigo, Count of Urbino.* A mission also arrived from Siena to endeavour to compose the differences which made it doubtful whether the Pope would visit his birth-place.†

Even while Bishop of Siena, Pius II. had had to contend against the distrust of his fellow-countrymen. "He was looked upon as a partisan of the nobles who had been driven out of the Government, and since his elevation to the purple he had never entered the city."‡ After his election to the Papacy, the dignities and offices of State had been again opened to the Piccolomini family. This, however, was far from satisfying Pius II., who required that the nobles in general should be eligible to all posts. An autograph Brief of energetic remonstrance, addressed to his fellow-countrymen on the 25th November, 1458, had removed all possible doubts as to his views.§ An

* Regarding the reception of the Pope and his sojourn in Perugia (1–19th Febr.) see GRAZIANI, 632–5; MARIOTTI, II., 534 *seq.*; PII II. Comment. 42–3; PELLINI, 650; BONAZZI, 675 *seq.* Giacomo Chigi in a *Report to the Marquess L. Gonzaga, dated Siena, 1459, Febr. 24 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), speaks of the joy of the Perugians. In reference to the solemn reception of the Count of Urbino we have a *Despatch from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Perugia, 1459, Feb. 12, which is unfortunately half-destroyed. (Giunse qui sabato sera che fu, a di X. de questo lo m^co^. Conte d'Urbino al qual la Sta. de Nro. S. et li R^mi^. Car^li^. mandarono le loro famiglie et cosi ce anday io et molti prelati.) The other *Despatches of this Envoy of the 6th, 7th, and 14th February, preserved in the State Archives at Milan, are written in cipher which cannot be made out. The *Bull, dated 1459, March 4, by which Pius II. took Federigo de Montefeltro and his heirs under his protection, is in the State Archives at Florence (Pergam. d'Urbino, Eccl. N. 70).

† *Despatch of the three Sienese Envoys, dated Perugia, 1459, Febr. 12, in the State Archives, Siena.

‡ VOIGT, III., 32.

§ The postscript added by the hand of Pius II. to the Brief of the

Embassy sent to Rome in December was informed that the Pope would not inflict any punishment upon the Sienese for their contumacy, but that if his demands were not complied with, he would withhold the favours which he had intended to confer upon the city.* He also allowed it to be understood that he would not pass through Siena on his journey. The popular party yielded to this pressure in so far as somewhat to modify their resolutions against the nobles. A special Mission was despatched to Perugia to acquaint the Pope with this decision, and to urge him to visit Siena. Pius II. graciously accepted the invitation and the concession, at the same time expressing a hope that more would follow. He refused to agree to the demand of the Envoys that no further mention should be made of the questions at issue.†

On the 19th of February, amidst the regrets of its citizens, the Pope left Perugia. On the frontier of the Sienese territory a solemn deputation awaited his arrival. The people everywhere received him "with heartfelt joy." His journey lay through Chiusi and Sarteano to Corsignano, the home which he had left as a penniless lad, and now revisited as the Head of Christendom. "There upon the hill, and above the vineyards, stood the lowly houses in which the Piccolomini had dwelt, and there was the old parish church." The Pope's joy in again beholding the home of his youth was deep and tender; but many of his contemporaries were dead, and those who survived were confined to their houses by age

25th November, 1458, preserved in the State Archives of Siena, is printed in PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 11.

* Report of the Envoys in BANCHI, Istruz. e relaz., 67.

† VOIGT, III., 33 *seq.*; THOMASIUS, 57 *seq.*; MALAVOLTI, 61; BANCHI, *loc. cit.*, 76–7; CUGNONÎ, 53.

and sickness, or so altered that he could with difficulty recognise them. It was on this occasion that an aged priest came and cast himself at the Pope's feet—the Father Peter, who had taught the now learned and famous author to read and write. Pius II. spent three days in the little town, all too short a time for its inhabitants, who could never have enough of gazing at their renowned fellow-citizen. "On the feast of St. Peter's Chair (22nd February), he celebrated the High Mass in the lowly parish church."*

Before his departure, Pius II. made the necessary arrangements for the erection of a Cathedral and of a Palace; for Corsignano, under the name of Pienza, was now to become the See of a Bishop.†

On the 24th February the Pope entered Siena, where his arrival was awaited by the dominant party with feelings of anxious suspense. His reception, although not wanting in suitable magnificence, was cold. Attentive observers were struck by the contrast which it formed with the enthusiastic welcome of Perugia.‡ Pius II. nevertheless manifested "nothing but goodwill and kindness." The Golden Rose was bestowed on the Prior of the Balia, with a speech from the Pope in praise of the city.§

The lengthened sojourn of Pius II. brought unwonted animation to the quiet streets of Siena, and the price of

* VOIGT, III., 35; see I., 7.

† PII II. Comment. 44.

‡ See the interesting *Report of Giacomo Chigi to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Siena, 1459, February 24th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), where the solemnities attending the Pope's reception are also described.

§ MANSI, Orat., II., 1–4; ALLEGRETTO, 770; VOIGT, III., 35–6. Regarding the Golden Rose, see CARTARI, 86, and FALUSCHI, 115.

provisions at once rose considerably.* The Kings of Castille, Aragon, Portugal, Hungary, and Bohemia, Dukes Philip of Burgundy and Albert of Austria, and the Margraves Albert and Frederick of Brandenburg, all sent their representatives thither to do homage. The Pope answered all the addresses with his wonted eloquence. The Emperor, to whom he had written from Spoleto, and again on the 28th February from Siena, urgently pressing him to come to Mantua,† sent men of comparatively inferior rank. They shewed their annoyance with the Pope for having addressed Matthias Corvinus as King of Hungary, by putting off for a while their arrival at Siena. But Pius II. appealed to the example of his predecessor and to the custom of the Holy See, by which the title of King is given to the actual possessor of the kingdom without prejudice to the rights of others. The Humanist Hinderbach made the profession of obedience on behalf of the Imperial Embassy, to which the Pope graciously replied.‡

Not till towards the end of his stay in Siena did the

* The key to the cipher used in the *Letter of Otto de Carretto from Siena of the 25th March is unfortunately wanting.

† *Brief of 28th February 1459, in Appendix N. 7, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VOIGT, III., 37 40. Regarding the Bohemian Embassy see *infra*, chapter 5. The discourse of HINDERBACH is in Cod. 3786, f. 168–73, State Library, Munich. (For a further account of him, see ZINGERLE, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Phil., I., 54 *seq.* I may here observe that the Episcopal Archives at Trent contain nothing else by Hinderbach; everything has been transferred to the Government Archives at Innsbruck.) In reference to the proceedings towards Hungary, see HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, p. 785. Presents were given to the Imperial Envoys. In the account of expenses of Pius II. on the 29th March, 1459, is the entry: Flor. auri de camera 200 "oratori imperat. Friderici." *Div. PII II., 1458–60, f. 85, State Archives, Rome.

Pope speak of his wishes in regard to the Sienese Constitution. He again asked for the restitution of the nobles as a body, and desired that party names might be laid aside, for they kept up irritation amongst the people and fostered strife. Long deliberations ensued, in the course of which "some of the nobles proposed to rouse the mob, and carry their point by a *coup de main;* but Pius II. refused to sanction this. He would not do violence to his native city; at worst he would only withhold the favours that he had meant to bestow." It was finally decided that the nobles should be eligible for all posts and dignities, but that their actual share of preferment at any given time should be limited to a fourth, or, in some cases, an eighth part. So small a concession could not have satisfied the Pope, yet he accepted it graciously, at the same time expressing a hope that more would hereafter be done to carry out his wishes. As a token of his gratitude, he raised Siena to the dignity of a Metropolitan Church, and conferred the little town of Radicofani on the Republic as a perpetual fief.*

Before the departure of Pius II. from Siena, attempts were again made to dissuade him from holding a Congress. Its opponents not only sought to alarm him by representing all its possible dangers, but endeavoured also to prove that it was both useless and injurious.

Some Cardinals, devoted to the interests of France, even ventured to attempt to prejudice King Charles VII. against it. A letter written with this object fell into the Pope's hands, and nothing but the fear of a scandal

* VOIGT, III., 36–7, 562. The Bull making Radicofani a fief, dated Siena, 1459, April 18, is in the handwriting of the Pope, and is subscribed by Cardinals d'Estouteville, Scarampo, Orsini, Alain, Rolin, Calandrini, Barbo, Mila, Bessarion, Colonna, and Borgia. I found this Bull in the State Archives at Siena. C. LEONE, 199.

deterred him from punishing its author.* Meanwhile those who flattered themselves with the hope that Pius II. would be in any degree influenced by such arts were greatly mistaken. Firmly resolved to accomplish the promise which he had made before the whole world,† he steadily pursued his journey.‡

The Florentine Envoys received him at the frontier. Others awaited him at San. Casciano. Next came the Lords of Rimini, Forli, Faenza, and Carpi, and finally Galeazzo Maria Sforza, aged sixteen, the son of the Duke of Milan, attended by a retinue of 350 horsemen. The reception took place at the Certosa. Young Sforza leaped from his horse, kissed the Pope's foot and bade him welcome in a speech composed by the Humanist Guiniforte da Barzizza. The Gonfaloniere, Angelo Vettori,

* Pii II. Comment. 48; CUGNONI, 192.

† Pius II. legato urbis dat. Senis, 1 April. 1459: Ex his, que variis ex locis accipimus, non putamus ipsam dietam etiam absente imperatore ita infructuosam futuram sicut est quorundam opinione multique respectus nos tenent ut personaliter sicut toti orbi promissum est illuc accedamus. Lib. brev. 9, f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Pius II. left Siena (to which place books were brought from Rome for him on the 3rd April, see *Div. Pii II., 1458–60, f. 86, State Archives, Rome) on the 23rd April, and arrived at Florence on the 25th; see Mittheil., 1885, p. 83, and *GHIRARDACCI, *loc. cit.*, University Library, Bologna, Cod. 768. In a *Brief, dated Siena, 1459, March 21, he had already announced his arrival to the Florentines (X-2-23, f. 72b–73); a special messenger followed: *Die 14 Aprilis, 1459, venit ad mag. dominos magister Stephanus prothonotarius et referendarius ap. sedis, summi pontificis orator; he brought word that the Pope might soon be expected (X-1-52, f. 31b.). In the *Answer of the Florentines on the 16th April 1459, they say: Itaque S.V. sibi persuadeat volumus nos eam honorifice letissimis animis suscepturos et daturos operam, ne qua desint que vobis aut vestris accepta grataque fore arbitrabimur. State Archives, Florence, X-2-51, f. 103.

went before the Pope, whose litter was borne by the Lords, in some cases "reluctantly," to the Cathedral, and thence to Sta. Maria Novella, which had also been the residence of Martin V. and Eugenius IV.* Theatrical performances, combats of wild beasts, races and balls were given in honour of the illustrious guest.† "The learned and artistic Pope fully appreciated all the beautiful things which the wealthy city had to shew him." Cosmo de' Medici, having on the plea of indisposition excused himself from appearing, no business could be transacted. The only exception was the election of an Archbishop, St. Antoninus having just died (2nd May). The Florentines prayed that one of their fellow-citizens should be chosen, and Pius II. acceded to their wishes.‡

The Pope had intended to leave Florence on the 4th May, but remained there one day longer. On the 9th of the month he was at Bologna.§ In

* Pii II. Comment. 49; *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, III., f. 328, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; Tartinius, II., 733 *seq.*; Richa, III., 116, VI., 241; Palacky, Urk. Beitr., 181; Müntz, Précurs., 130; Cipolla, 502. A good description of Pius II.'s entry is given also by Antonius Donatus in a letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Florence, 1459, April 26, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† See *Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forli, f. 261, Cod. 324 of the library of Prince Boncompagni at Rome.

‡ Reumont, Lorenzo, I., 128, 407, 2nd ed. Reumont believes that Cosmo was really indisposed. See for the opposite opinion Cugnoni, 193. The account given by Gregorovius, VII., 170, 3rd ed., is incorrect. The nomination of Orlando Bonarli (see Richa, VI., 241, and Ughelli, III., 231) is announced to the Florentines by Pius II. in a *Brief, dated Bononiae, 1459, quinto Id. Maii A° 1°, State Archives, Florence, X-2-23, f. 75.

§ *"El papa si parti da Fiorenza a di 5 del presente; a Bologna zonse a di 9." Juan Francesco da Cremona to Filipo and Matheo de Strozis at Naples, dated Roma, 28 maggio 14[59]. State Archives, Florence (C. Strozz., 242, f. 259). See *Despatch of Ant. Ricao to

crossing the Appenines, he ventured on dangerous ground. Latium, Sabina, Spoleto, and Tuscany were at least "within the sphere of Rome's influence, even if her hold on them was somewhat insecure. But on the other side of the Appenines, the Marches and Romagna, though included among the States of the Church, had their political centre in Milan and Venice." *

Bologna, proud of her freedom, was in a state of perpetual disquiet. The dominant party was as averse to the authority of the new Pope, as it had been to that of his predecessor,† and long deliberations had been held in reference to this journey. At last it had been decided that Pius II. should be invited to Bologna, but that at the same time Milanese forces should be brought into the city. The Pope consented to this arrangement on condition that the troops should swear fealty to him. The command was entrusted to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who had already given proofs of his devotion to the Holy See.‡ These circumstances are sufficient to account for

the Marquess of Mantua, dated Florence, 1459, May 5. Regarding Pius' intention of departing sooner, see *Despatch of the same, dated Florence, 1459, April 28 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a *Letter from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1459, April 27, State Archives, Milan.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 170, 3rd ed.

† See *Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Nov. 14, Cod. 1588, f. 188 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris. Pius II. had appointed the excellent A. Capranica, Governor of Bologna; see *Despatch of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 12, in the State Archives, Milan. *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, III., 1, 30, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

‡ PII II. Comment. 55; Cronica di Bologna, 728 *seq.*; see FALEONI, 496. Regarding the mistrust of the Bolognese and the Pope's annoyance at their pretensions of independence, see *Despatch of

the shortness of his stay in the unfriendly city, which lasted only from the 9th to the 16th of May.* From thence he sent a Brief to King René of Provence, who, resenting the Coronation of Ferrante of Naples, would not permit it to be published. He also sent Briefs to King John II. of Aragon, and Henry VI. of England, both of whom he invited to take part in the Congress.†

Pius II. made his entry into Ferrara under a gold-embroidered baldacchino on the 17th May. His reception was magnificent. The streets were strewn with green branches, the windows adorned with splendid hangings and garlands of flowers, music and singing resounded on all sides. Borso, the Duke of Modena, did everything in his power to shew extraordinary honour to the Pope.‡ But the long list of requests which he produced, considerably marred the effect of all this homage. Pius II. was not able to satisfy him completely. On the 25th May he bade farewell to his host, "whose petitions kept

Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Bologna, 1459, May 10th, Cod. Z-219 Sup. of Ambrosian Library.

* *GIOV. DE PEDRINO (see *supra*, p. 56, note †), f. 261b ; Cronica di Bologna, 729 *seq.* ; Annal. Bonon., 891 ; GUIDICINI, Miscell. Bol., 44, 55 *seq.* A detailed account of the sojourn of Pius II. in Bologna is given by *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, III., lib. 30, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna ; see Arch. St. Ital., Ser., 3, 120 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 39, and Appendix N. 10, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The *Brief from the State Archives of Bologna given in Appendix No. 17 shews that negotiations regarding the preliminaries of the Congress were at this time being carried on with the Bolognese.

‡ Diario Ferrar., 203 *seq.*; PALMERIUS, 243 ; MURATORI, Antichità Est., II., 215 *seq.*; and especially the full *Reports of Antonius Donatus to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Ferrara, 1459, May 16, 17, 19, 20, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Chronicles of Ferrara in Cod. I-I-5, f. 33b and I-I-6, f. in the Chigi Library.

pace with his demonstrations of respect." * Thence the Pope passed on through Revere to the marshy plain in which lies the city of Virgil.

It was on the 27th May† that Pius II. entered Mantua, where he was welcomed with a splendour rivalling that which had been displayed at Perugia. "Three banners were carried before him; one of them bore the Cross, another the keys of the Church, and the third the arms of the Piccolomini, five golden crescents on an azure cross. The Pope, in gorgeous vestments, resplendent with purple and jewels, was borne in a litter by the nobles and vassals of the Church. At the gate, the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga dismounted from his horse and presented him with the keys of the city. Perugia and Florence were the only other places where this had been done. Carpets were laid down in the streets, the houses were almost hidden by flowers, and the balconies and roofs were filled with richly-dressed ladies. The streets through which the Pope passed to the Palace were thronged with people shouting, Evviva Pio Secondo."‡

The Duke of Milan had sent his consort to Mantua to welcome the Head of the Church. On the following day the Duchess and her children appeared before the Pope. Sforza's charming daughter, Ippolita, who was

* Pii II. Comment. 56–8; VOIGT, III., 43.

† VAST says (235) the 28th; but *GHIRARDACCI, the Vatican Itinerary, cited *supra*, p. 48, note †; the inscription under Pinturicchio's fresco in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena; the Cronica di Bologna, 731; WADDING, XIII., 152, agree with Pius II. himself in naming the 27th as the day. See Lib. brev. 9, f. 34b: *Cardinali Augusten. (s.d.): "Ad diem 27 Maii duce deo Mantuam venimus." See in Appendix N. 11, the *Brief to the Bishop of Eichstädt, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 58–9, and VOIGT, III., 44. See Ist. Bresc., 891; PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 858; and *GHIRARDACCI, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 58, note *.

but fourteen years of age, on this occasion made a speech in Latin, which excited general admiration.* "A Goddess could not have spoken better," wrote Luigi Scarampo to a friend.†

But all this outward show of respect could not blind Pius II. to the real state of affairs. The city was crowded with strangers; excellent arrangements had been made for his accommodation;‡ but of all the Christian Kings and Princes to whom he had addressed repeated and urgent invitations, not one had taken the trouble to appear, and notwithstanding all their promises they had not deemed it necessary to send representatives invested with full powers.§ Such want of consideration towards

* See *Report of Otto de Carretto, dated Mantua, 1459, May 30, State Archives, Milan. Several MS. copies of Ippolita's speech and the Pope's answer exist; for example, in Rome, in the Barberini Library, XXIX., 157; at Munich, in the Court Library, Cod. Lat. 522 and 650; in Cod. 138, f. 10–11 of the Albornot Library, Bologna; in the Parma Library (see PEZZANA, III., 187). They are printed in MANSI, II., 192–4; see M. D'ESCOUCHY, II., 382; VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, I., 525, 2nd ed.; CIPOLLA, 526; MAGENTA, 456; JANITSCHEK, 113.

† *L. Scarampo to F. Strozzi, dated Mantua, 1459, June 2, State Archives, Florence. VOIGT'S idea (III., 615 and elsewhere) that the Poetess, Isotta Nogaroli, also made a speech in presence of Pius II. in Mantua, rests on mere conjecture; see APPONYI-ABEL, I., CXLIII., II., 143 *seq.*

‡ See the *Report of the Protonotary, Teodoro de Montefiore to the Marchioness Barbara, dated Siena, 1460, February 6, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Regarding the lodging provided for individual Cardinals, see EQUICOLA, Istoria di Mantova, 182 (Mantova, 1610), and of the place of Congress, Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 272.

§ CRIBELLUS, 77, says that only those Envoys who had accompanied the Pope on his journey were present. The names of the Representatives of Siena are in BANCHI, Istruz., 78. See the complaints in the *Letter of Pius II. to the Cardinal of Augsburg, Lib. brev. 9, f. 34b; see also Appendix N. 11, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Pope, who had himself arrived some days before the appointed time, promised ill for the future. Processions were at once made to implore the protection of the Almighty for the assembly.

On the 1st June, Pius II. opened the Congress with a solemn Mass* and a discourse in which he made no secret of his dissatisfaction. At the same time he declared himself resolved to persevere. If those who were invited did not come it would at least be evident that it was not the Pope who had been wanting in good will.† A circular letter to the same effect, and bearing the same date, was despatched to all the Christian Powers, and was immediately followed by exhortations to send Envoys invested with full powers.‡

Under these circumstances it was impossible that business should be definitely commenced. We cannot but admire the energy of the suffering Pontiff, who firmly refused to leave Mantua, though all those by whom he was

* See L. Scarampo's letter of June 2nd, 1459, cited *supra*, p. 60, note †, from the State Archives, Florence.

† MANSI, II., 206, according to a MS. in Lucca. (A second MS. of the discourse is in Cod. Harl., 4913, N. 2, in the British Museum); see VOIGT, III., 46, note 1.

‡ The circular letter "Iam duce altissimo," published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 43; also in KAPRINAI, II., 304–5; and with an Appendix in the Fontes Rer. Austr., Pars Dipl., XLII., 279–80 from the original in the Archives of Weimar, is in *Lib. brev. 9, *not* f. 34, but f. 37b, 38b. On the first and second of June special letters were sent to the Emperor (see *infra*) and to the free cities. Of the latter, that to Cologne of 1st June, 1459 (original in the City Archives, Cologne), and one in similar terms to Frankfort of 2nd June (see the text in Appendix N. 13, City Archives, Frankfort), are still extant. In the Lib. brev. 9, f. 37, the following letters of exhortation are noted on the 2nd June, Salzburgen. archiepiscopo; communitati Basil.; ducibus Brunsvic.; duci Calabrie; duci Janue and to the Bank of St. George. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

surrounded did everything in their power to induce him to do so. The Pope, they complained, had acted without due consideration in coming to this place. Few Envoys were present. The situation was marshy, unhealthy, and hot, the wine and provisions bad. Many had fallen sick, pernicious fevers were carrying off not a few, and there was nothing to be heard but the croaking of frogs.*

The attitude of a certain number of the Cardinals was particularly distressing to the Pope. Those who, on different pretexts, departed from the dreary city, or who engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, were by no means the worst.† Others, especially those who sympathised with France, sought to defer the meeting of the Congress. No one spoke of the Pope more contemptuously than did Cardinal Scarampo. He characterised his scheme as childish; the Pope, he said, had left Rome and was now wandering hither and thither asking for hospitality, and hoping by his persuasions to involve the Princes in the war, and to annihilate the Turks, whose troops were invincible. He would have done better to stay at home and take care of the Church. Scarampo even went so far as to dissuade the Venetians from sending representatives. Cardinal Tebaldo declared that the Pope had foolishly come to Mantua to enrich strangers, while he left his own people in poverty. Other Cardinals asked Pius II. to his face whether he wished them all to die of fever in the pestilent

* Pii II. Comment. 61. The Sienese Envoy, Mignanellus, complains of the great heat in a *Report dated Mantua, 1459, die apostolor. 29th June. State Archives, Siena.

† Among the entertainments were boating parties, in which Cardinals Colonna, Alain, and Borgia joined. The Pope rebuked them sharply; see the interesting **Letter from the Marchioness Barbara to the Duchess of Milan, dated Mantua, 1459, July 10. State Archives, Milan.

air of Mantua. He ought, they said, to return to Rome; having come to the appointed place of meeting he had done enough to satisfy his honour. Did he really believe that he could by himself conquer the Turks?*

Notwithstanding all these efforts the Pope held firmly to his purpose of doing everything in his power for the defence of Western Christendom; Cardinals Bessarion and Torquemada stood by him loyally.† Again he issued letters of warning and of menace to all parts of the world; "but only slowly, and very slowly, did Envoys appear from one quarter and another." The European Princes in general shewed the greatest indifference. They had no sympathy with the noble aspirations of Pius II., "who aimed at reviving the era of the Crusades."‡

The conduct of the Emperor was deplorable. On him, as the defender of Christendom, devolved, according to mediæval ideas, the duty of protecting the West against the attacks of Islam. Even if the Imperial dignity of that day was but a shadow of what it had been in the past, a certain prestige still clung to the throne of Charles

* Pii II. Comment. 61, with the additions in CUGNONI, 195. Cardinal Scarampo had gone back to Rome in the beginning of February, 1459. On the 8th of that month he wrote to Lodovico Gonzaga: *"Significamus vobis nos post varios casus ac pericula que hactenus terra marique perpessi fuimus tandem concedente altissimo ad almam urbem Romam rediisse atque in ea ad presens esse sanos atque incolumes." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The forbearance of Pius II. is shewn in a *Brief, dated Perugia, 1459, Febr. 13, in which he congratulated Scarampo on his return. Lib. brev. 9, f. 12, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Torquemada wrote at this time a Treatise against the Arch-heretic Mahomet; see LEDERER, 268, and Bibl. Hisp. Vet., II., 289. Besides the MS. in the Vatican Library I know of two copies of Torquemada's work in the Library at Siena, G. VI., 4 (saec. 15) and G. VI., 3 (saec. 10).

‡ GEBHARDT, 29.

the Great. Pius II. therefore, from the beginning, attached special importance to the personal appearance of Frederick III. at Mantua, hoping that it would be the means of attracting the other Princes to the Congress.* The excuses of the Emperor were pitiful. He pleaded urgent affairs in Austria, and represented that he was not bound to attend, because the invitation had been indefinite, either to Udine or Mantua.† "The reply which our envoy at your Court transmits to us," wrote Pius II., on 26th January from Spoleto to the Emperor, "meets neither our expectations nor the necessities of the case. If you remain absent every one will deem himself sufficiently excused. For the honour, therefore, of the German nation, for the glory of your own name, for the welfare of the Christian religion, you are entreated to reconsider the matter and decide on attending the assembly."‡

Frederick III. was, when these exhortations reached him, engaged in political schemes directly opposed to the Pope's plans. "Instead of upholding Hungary in its integrity as the bulwark of Germany and of his own States, he entered upon a course calculated to break, or at least greatly weaken, the defensive power of that kingdom." He made an alliance with that party of Hungarian magnates which was hostile to the house of Corvinus, and, on the 4th March, 1459, had himself proclaimed King of Hungary.§

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 6.

† PII II. Comment. 41; see SCHMIDT'S opinion, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 234.

‡ *Lib. brev. 9, f. 6b, see Appendix N. 5; see f. 4b (Bapt. Brende. Dat. Spolet., 1459, Jan. 27), Secret Archives of the Vatican. The answer contained in the commentary gives us an insight into the sentiments of the Pope; see VOIGT, III., 47.

§ FESSLER-KLEIN, 19 *seq.*; MENZEL, VII., 262; HOFFMANN, 19 *seq.*

Pius II. had sought to assuage the strife between these two Princes, which interfered so seriously with his hopes, and enlist them both in the war against the Turks.* He was in Siena when the tidings of Frederick's usurpation arrived, and lost no time in remonstrating with him. "While the King of Hungary," he wrote on the 2nd April, "would willingly draw his sword against the Turks, he is harassed by hindrances from Christians. Discontented magnates persuade your Highness to take part in a change of government in this kingdom. We exhort You, for the sake of your own honour as well as for the common welfare of Christendom, to cease to give ear to the counsels of restless persons. For if, as may easily happen, war should break out in consequence of your action, the King, should he seek deliverance by a peace with the Turks, will be less to blame than he who has constrained him to so shameful a treaty. This kingdom is the shield of all Christendom, under cover of which we have hitherto been safe. But if the road is thus opened to the barbarians, destruction will break in over all, and the consequences of such a disaster will be imputed by God to its author."† Cardinal Carvajal, the Papal Legate in Hungary, was charged to use all diligence to avert violent proceedings and procure at least a truce for

* MENZEL, VII., 263; MAILATH, 40 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, 21; HOFFMANN, 15 *seq.* See in Appendix N. 6, the *Brief of 26th February, 1459, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 15; MÜLLER, I., 721–2; PRAY, III., 230–1; KAPRINAI, II., 288–9; MAILATH, Appendix, 12–16; THEINER, II., 324. See MENZEL, *loc. cit.*; VOIGT, III., 663. O. de Carretto, writing on the 25th March, from Siena to Fr. Sforza, says: *"Qui e venuta novella che li Ungari hanno ellecto lo Imperatore per suo Re, pur la Sta. de Nro. S. dice ancora non haverla ben certa, monstra li dispiaceria questa cosa propter damnum christiane fidei." State Archives, Milan.

the ensuing summer. But his labours were vain, and open war was declared between Frederick III. and Matthias Corvinus.*

The Emperor soon caused fresh trouble to the Pope. Instead of the distinguished embassy which had been expected, men of so little consequence appeared on his behalf that Pius II. at once dismissed them, requiring him to send personages fitted by their rank, to represent him worthily at the assembly and have a decisive voice in its deliberations.† On the 11th June, Pius II. again addressed the Emperor. "We have learned," he says, "that our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of France, is negotiating with your Highness for the transfer of the present Congress of Mantua to some place in Germany. If this be the case the labour will be lost, for as we have left our Apostolic Chair and come a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, not without great personal inconvenience, to meet your Highness and the other Christian Princes, it is right that they also should leave their courts, and at the summons of the Vicar of Christ, have the affairs of the Faith laid before them and consider their duty. We beg your Highness to give no encouragement to such suggestions."‡

On the 6th July, Pius II. admonished the Emperor in view of the complaints which might be expected from the

* Mon. Hung., I., 51 *seq.*; VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; HOFFMANN, 25 *seq.*

† *Brief of 30th April, see Appendix N. 9; see PII II. Comment. 65; and a letter of the 1st June in MAILATH, Appendix, 26–8; and KAPRINAI, II., 305–6. A *Brief of 2nd June again demanding that Ambassadors should be sent by the Emperor is in the Lib. brev. 9, f. 40, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ In MAILATH, Appendix, 39–42, the Brief is dated June 4th, but in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 45, the 11th June is clear; here is also the correct reading, *Vacet potius*, instead of *vocet.*

Hungarian Envoys, quickly to appoint suitable representatives. Finally, the Pontiff sent him a blessed sword and hat to remind him of his duty. All, however, was in vain. The autumn arrived and no Imperial mission was yet in sight.*

The German Princes were not more zealous than their Head; repeatedly and in vain were they summoned, and when, after considerable delay, some came or sent Envoys, it was not on account of the Turks or of the Faith, but from merely selfish motives.†

* MAILATH, Appendix, 45 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 51. The conclusion of the Brief which accompanied the sword and hat is wanting in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 44. It is as follows: "Praesentator autem huius ensis ac pilei erit dil. fil. Sebaldus N., familiaris noster ac scutifer, cui cum nonnulla commiserimus eidem tue Subl. nostro nomine referenda eandem in domino exhortamur, ut [velis] ipsum benigne audire et commendatum habere nostro intuitu. (The Brief immediately preceding this is dated: Mantuae, x. Julii, A° 1°.) Lib. brev. 9, f. 54b–55, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The exact date appears from the following entry: *"Sebaldo de Noremberga S.D. N. pape scutifero et deferenti spatam ad seren. Romanorum imperatorem flor. quinquaginta pro eius expensis. Mantuae, xiiii. Julii, 1459." Div. PII II. 1458–60, f. 102, State Archives, Rome.

† VOIGT, III., 51. The Brief of July 25th to William of Saxony, given by MÜLLER, Reichtags-Theater, I., 620, is preserved in the Archives of Weimar. BACHMANN needlessly publishes it again in the Fontes Dipl., XLII., 282–3, and makes some mistakes. For example, instead of Anonia, it should read *quoniam;* and instead of accedat, *accendat.* A Papal Letter of the 13th August, 1459 (original in the Archives at Dresden), complains that the Elector, Frederick the Mild, like the other German Princes, notwithstanding frequent invitations, failed to appear at Mantua on the appointed day, June 1st, and requests him to attend a new Assembly on St. Martin's Day. We do not, however, learn that the Elector complied with this fresh invitation; see WEBER, Archiv für Sächs. Gesch., V. (1867), p. 129. The ecclesiastical Princes were equally dilatory; see Appendix N. 11: *Letters to the Bishop of Eichstätt and the Archbishop of Salzburg. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

"Day and night," wrote the Pope on the 11th June to Cardinal Carvajal, "We are unwearied in exhorting the Christian Princes and powers to unite for the salvation of Christendom. We shall not cease to labour to the end; We shall neglect nothing that seems to be pleasing to God and Our duty, hoping that the Divine goodness will not permit our efforts to be fruitless."* Pius II. certainly was not wanting in zeal, but all his eloquence did not avail to rouse the German Princes from their lethargy.

Worse even than the indifference of Germany was the hostile attitude of France, the second of the great Powers of Christendom. Ever since Ferrante's investiture with Naples, the French King, Charles VII., who favoured the pretensions of Anjou, had constantly aimed at reversing this act. He hoped to attain his object by making his co-operation in the Crusade conditional on a change in the Italian policy of Pius II. The King next manifested his discontent by answering the Pope's letter of invitation by a "significant menace," reminding him of the anti-Roman Assembly of Bourges, and then, in spite of all exhortations, delaying as long as possible in sending his Envoys. No one at the Papal Court doubted that violent dissensions were to be expected when they arrived.†

The Republics of Florence and Venice used the Neapo-

* MAILATH, III., Appendix, pp. 33–5. The trouble that the Pope took to induce individual Princes to attend the Congress appears from H. Leubing's reports in KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 367 *seq.*

† Pius II.'s letter of invitation and the King's (undated) reply are in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., pp. 859–60, edit. Basil. Both are also to be found in Cod. Regin. 557, f. 98–98b, Vatican Library. Here again Charles VII.'s letter is without a date. See also VOIGT, III., 52. Two *Hortatory Briefs, issued by Pius II. on the 8th June and 14th July 1459, are in Lib. brev. 9, f. 40 and 55, Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix N. 14.

litan difficulties as a cloak to cover that aversion to the war which was really due to their mercantile interests. Pius II. ceased not to exhort them both by messengers and by Briefs. On the 14th of May, when at Bologna, he had again called upon the Florentines to send Envoys to the Congress, invested with full powers. On the 1st and on the 12th June the same request was repeated from Mantua, but in vain. Accordingly, on the 28th July, another letter was addressed to Florence. It proved as ineffectual as its predecessors. On the 16th of August, Pius II. complained that the Florentines, although so near to the city where the Congress was to meet, had not yet sent any representatives. He had, he said, waited for eighty days; his patience was now exhausted, and, if this last summons should remain unheeded, he would be compelled to bring a public accusation against Florence.*

Meanwhile, living witnesses to the danger which threatened from the East had arrived in Mantua. Messengers imploring succour came from Epirus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Lesbos, together with Envoys from the hard-pressed Thomas Palaeologus. These latter, who brought the Pope sixteen Turkish captives, declared, with true Byzantine boastfulness, that a small army of assistance from Italy would suffice to drive the Turks from the Peninsula! When the matter was discussed in Consistory, the Pope justly observed that so small a force would be utterly insufficient. Only the representations of the enthusiastic and unpractical Bessarion induced him to grant the troops, a third part of which were furnished by the

* I found the **Documents cited above in the State Archives, Florence, Class. X., dist. 2, N. 23, f. 75b–80b. See also the Lib. brev. 9, f. 65–6 (*Brief to the Archbishop of Florence, s. d., *circa* 14th August) and f. 68 to Florence; see Appendix N. 24, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Duchess of Milan. The event proved the Pope to have been right. The Crusaders arrived in time to assist Thomas in a fresh and fruitless siege of Patras, and then dispersed and scattered themselves over the unhappy land, plundering and devastating as they went.*

The representatives of Matthias Corvinus reached Mantua in the end of July, and were received as Royal Envoys. They had been preceded by messengers from the King of Bosnia asking for assistance, and then the alarming tidings had come that the important fortress of Smedervo, at the junction of the Morawa with the Danube, was in the hands of the infidels. "There is nothing now," said the Pope, "to prevent the Turks from attacking Hungary." †

For eleven weeks Pius II. waited, but as yet none of the European sovereigns had arrived, and of the Italian Princes the King of Naples alone had sent representatives. There was no prospect of a commencement of business. In order to avoid vexatious disputes, such as had already broken out among the members of the Court, the Pope, on the 15th August, issued a proclamation to the effect that the order of precedence adopted

* Pii II. Comment. 61 ; WADDING, XIII., 117 *seq.* ; ZINKEISEN, II., 193–200 ; VOIGT, III., 57. Regarding the troops provided by Milan, see the Despatch of G. Mignanelli of the 16th July 1459, in Tre Lettere, p. 9.

† Pii II. Comment. 61. Despatch of Carretto of the 29th June in Mon. Hung., I., 62 *seq.* Despatch of G. Mignanelli of 26th July, see Tre Lettere, p. 12 ; KLAIC, 407 *seq.* Pius II. announced the fall of Smedervo to Albert of Brandenburg on July 24th (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 56), and on the same day to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol (Secret Archives, Vienna). On the 25th July he wrote to Steph. de Nardinis : *"Zendren. oppido amisso secundum vulnus christianitati inlatum est et Turcis liber in Ungariam patet excursus." Lib. brev. 9, f. 56b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

in the Assembly should not prejudicially affect any future claims on that point.*

At last, in the middle of August, to the great relief of Pius II. a brilliant Embassy from the powerful Duke of Burgundy made its entry into Mantua. The Duke, indeed, did not appear in person as he had promised, but in his stead he sent his nephew, Duke John of Cleves, and Jean de Croix, the Lord of Chimay, with a retinue of 400 horse.† The Marquess of Mantua, with an equally splendid suite, and several of the Cardinals, went forth to greet Duke John, who, on the following day, appeared before the Pope in Consistory. Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, who accompanied the Duke, made a speech in which he excused his master's absence, and gave assurances of his readiness to take part in the defence of Christendom. The little importance to be attached to these professions became evident during the ensuing days, when negotiations were entered on in detail. The Duke of Cleves declared that he could not enter

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 59.

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 139, is wrong in placing the entry on the 7th September. In the Chroniques des Ducs de Bourgogne (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 227, Brussels, 1873), and in the Mém. de J. du Clercq, III., c. 45, there are no dates. *Pius II. wrote on the 10th July to the Duke of Burgundy: "Intelleximus generositatem tuam delegisse oratores ad dietam ducem Cliven. et alios"; his appearance in person would have given him still more pleasure, but the Envoys are very welcome, the Pope praises the Duke for having sent them. Lib. brev. 9, f. 54, Secret Archives of the Vatican. From a *Brief of Pius II. to the Duke of Savoy, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 3 (Plut. LXXXX., Sup. Cod. 138, N. 24 of the Laurentian Library, Florence), which contains the following words: *"Dux Clivensis iam per mensem apud nos fuit," it might be supposed that the Embassy had reached Mantua in the beginning of August. From MATTH. D'ESCOUCHY, II., 386, we learn, however, that it halted five miles from Mantua on the 16th; the entry must accordingly have taken place on the 18th.

upon Turkish affairs until the Pope had complied with his wish in regard to the affair of Soest. Pius II. yielded, but gained no thanks by his concession. The Envoys then explained that their master had only agreed to co-operate in the Crusade if some other of the Princes first set the example, and the Pope had to content himself with a promise that the Duke would send 2000 horsemen and 4000 foot soldiers to the relief of Hungary.* The Duke of Cleves now wished to return home, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Pope induced him to defer his departure until the 6th, and afterwards until the 10th September, when the Duke of Milan and Borso d'Este were to arrive.† As, however, to the Pope's great annoyance, the latter retracted his promise,‡ and

* Pii II. Comment. 65 *seq.*; MATTHIEU D'ESCOUCHY, II., 387 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 60 *seq.*; FIERVILLE, 86 *seq.* In a *Brief of the 16th Sept. 1459, to the Duke of Burgundy, Pius II. expresses a hope that he would do more to aid the Turkish war. Regarding the promises of the Ducal Envoys, he here observes: "Quæ etsi contemnenda non sunt, sed laudanda, non tamen ea sunt quae sperabamus nec expectationi aliarum nationum satisfactum videtur." Copy in the Codex of the Laurentian Library cited above.

† See Appendix N. 25 and Lib. brev. 9, f. 70b: *Duci Mediolani, dated 3rd Sept.: "To-day, after many prayers, the Duke of Cleves has consented to wait until the 11th of September. The Duke must, therefore, hasten so as to be in Mantua by this time." (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The arrival of Fr. Sforza had been looked for by the middle of August; see Despatch of G. Mignanelli, dated Mantua, 1459, Aug. 1, in Tre Lettere, p. 16. Mignanelli's death occurred soon afterwards, and in announcing it to the Sienese, Pius II. wrote as follows: *"Hortamur devotionem vestram in domino, ut quantocius oratores novos et pleno mandato instructos mittatis." Brief of August 21, 1459, Plut. LXXXX., Sup. Cod. 138, N. 18 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 73, and CUGNONI, 195. See the **Briefs to Borso of 29th July, 4th and 8th Sept., Lib. brev. 9, f. 59, 71, 76b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Francesco Sforza again postponed his arrival, Duke John refused to wait any longer. The Lord of Chimay, who was suffering much from fever, also left Mantua. "With difficulty the Pope detained two subordinate members of the Embassy, so that Burgundy might not be altogether unrepresented. For several days he was nearly alone with the members of his Court and the Eastern Envoys. Three months had now passed since the day appointed for the opening of the Assembly, and with the exception of the Imperial Embassy which Pius II. had sent back, the Burgundian Mission which he had been unable to detain, and some unimportant Envoys from certain Bishops and Cities who were carrying on business of their own at the Court, no representatives had appeared, save those sent by Ferrante of Naples."*

A change for the better took place in the latter part of September, when Francesco Sforza, after repeated invitations from the Pope, at last came in person to the Congress.† He arrived in the Mincio with forty-seven ships; the Marquess of Mantua, and his Consort Barbara, with twenty-two vessels, went some way out to meet him. A Mantuan chronicler gives a vivid description of the approach of this magnificent fleet to the City.‡ The

* VOIGT, III., 63; MAGENTA, I., 456. In relation to Ferrante's Envoys, see PELLICIA, IV., 299; Arch. Neapolit., II., 47 (1877).

† See *supra*, p. 72, and the *Briefs of the 29th July, and the 25th August, in Appendix N. 18 and 25, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SCHIVENOGLIA, 140. This chronicler, who is little to be relied on in the matter of dates, gives the 25th September as the day of Sforza's arrival. In the State Archives of Milan (Pot. Sovrane), however, there is a *Letter from the Duke to his wife, written from Mantua on the 19th Sept. 1459. If the date attached to Filelfo's Speech 92b (Oratt. Paris, 1515, f. 92b, and MITTARELLI, Bibl. S. Michael, 888) is genuine, Fr. Sforza arrived at Mantua on the 17th September. SIMONETA (689) has no date.

Duke and his sumptuous retinue excited universal admiration. On the following day he went with great pomp to the Pope. Pius II. received him in open Consistory and assigned him a seat immediately after the Cardinal Deacons. The Humanist Filelfo made a speech; he promised that his master would, at the Pope's command, devote all his energies to the war against the Infidel, "as far as the state of Italy permitted."* This last point was warmly discussed in the private interviews which took place on the ensuing days between the Duke and the Pope. Neapolitan affairs formed the subject of consideration.

The party opposed to Ferrante, headed by Giovanni Antonio degli Orsini, the tyrannical Prince of Taranto, had, even as early as the commencement of 1459, begun to agitate against the King.† Pius II. had at once done his best to meet the danger which thus threatened the peace of Italy.‡ But the Prince of Taranto never rested until, in August, an open insurrection against Ferrante broke out. Jean, the son of René, the French claimant, was

* Fr. Sforza had already, on the 24th Feb., 1459, assured the Pope of his readiness to proceed against the Turks, adding, however, that he could not carry out so great an undertaking alone. *Fr. Sforza to O. de Carretto, dated Milan, 1459, Feb. 24, State Archives, Milan.

† On the 1st August, 1458, O. de Carretto in a cipher *Despatch from Rome to Fr. Sforza says: "Il Card. di Colonna me disse che il principe de Taranto per niun modo delibera dare obedientia al Re Ferrando." State Archives, Milan.

‡ See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 79–80, *Brief of the 18th March in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Appendix N. 18) and **Fr. Sforza's letter of the 17th March, 1459, State Archives, Milan. In a *Brief, dated Siena, 1459, February 27, Pius II. speaks of his grief at the strife between Ferrante and the Prince of Taranto, and calls upon the Florentines to send a Mission to Naples to bring about a reconciliation. X-2-23, f. 70b–71, State Archives, Florence.

summoned to support the rising, and assumed the title of Duke of Calabria. The success of this chivalrous Prince in Naples would have given Sforza reason to fear a similar attack from Orleans on the Duchy which he had won with no small difficulty, and his title to which had not yet been recognised by the Emperor.* Moreover, French influence would have become predominant in Italy, and a death-blow been struck at its existing political constitution. In view of the opposition of France to the Crusade, Sforza had no difficulty in inducing Pius II. to support Ferrante.†

The immediate effect of the presence of the most distinguished of Italian Princes at Mantua was to induce most of the other States of the Peninsula to send representatives. Almost every day witnessed a fresh arrival. The Sienese Envoys, writing on the 25th September, were able to describe the beautiful city of Mantua as adorned by the presence of many Prelates, many Lords, Ambassadors and Courtiers.‡ Even the Venetians at last made up their minds to send a mission. This determination was arrived at after long and animated discussions.

* BUSER, Bezieh., 95 *seq.* In a *Despatch from O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 20, Cod. 1588, f. 131 of the Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris, I found the first intimation that the Pope, who was on such friendly terms with Frederick III., might intervene in the question of the Imperial confirmation.

† SIMONETA, 690. No mention of these important negotiations occurs in the Duke's *Letters to his wife, but Fr. Sforza repeatedly speaks of his many affairs. *Letters of 21st and 29th Sept. 1459, in the State Archives, Milan, *loc. cit.*, see Appendix N. 28.

‡ SCHIVENOGLIA, 141. *Despatch of the Sienese Envoy Nicol. Severinus and Lodovicus de Petronibus, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 25: "Mantua hoggi è molto ornata di prelati, di signori, di ambascatori e di molta corte et è una bella Mantua." State Archives, Siena.

The most influential personages in the city opposed the Crusade from purely commercial considerations, because it threatened to put a stop to their profitable trade with Turkey The Doge, Pasquale Malipiero, "a great friend of peace, a lover of good cheer, and of the fair sex," kept up very amicable relations with the Sultan.* Efforts had at first been made to put the Pope off with fair promises;† at last, after repeated importunities on his part, on the 29th July, Orsato Giustiniani and Luigi Foscarini were chosen to represent the Republic at the Congress.‡ All through the month of August their departure was delayed in the hope that Pius II. would be wearied out by procrastination and disappointments.§ As early as the 3rd August he had exhorted the Doge to send the Envoys who had then just been elected. On the 25th of the same month he issued another Brief to the Venetians, complaining bitterly of their delay. He now adopted "a tone

* VOIGT, III., 69; great confusion regarding dates prevails in this work, and in MALIPIERO, 7. SANUDO, 1167, and ROMANIN, IV., 309, give but scanty details. The real facts are found in the hitherto unknown *Acts of the State Archives, Venice.

† *Sen. Secr. XX., f. 183b: "1459 die xi. Junii. Delatum est nobis breve S. Vre. diei primi presentis . . . Intelleximus quoque quantum S. Vra. cupida est, ut ad eius conspectum legationem nostram mittamus. Nos, beatissime pater, de more maiorum nostrorum in consueto proposito nostro perseverantes Vre. B. nunciamus, quod quemadmodum et per oratores nostros et per litteras sibi significasse recordamur dispositio et intentio nostra est mittere legationem nostram ad presentiam Vre. Clementie. De parte 128; de non 7; non sinc. 5." State Archives, Venice.

‡ **Sen. Secr. XX., f. 188, State Archives, Venice. The **Brief to Paolo Morosini, dated Mantua, 1459, July 21, bears witness to the pressure used by the Pope. In the Cod. of the Laurentian Library, cited *supra*, p. 72, note †.

§ Duci Venetiarum, dated Mantua, 1459, Aug. 3, Lib. brev. 9, f. 68, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

of reproach instead of one of supplication; it was whispered," he said, "that the Venetians held more with the Turks than with the Christians, and were concerned for their trade, not for faith and religion." At the same time Pius II. declared his settled determination of beginning the business of the Congress on the 1st September. If Venice still tarried he would be constrained to complain publicly of the bad dispositions of the Republic.* The Signoria, on the 3rd September, made answer that their representatives would without fail set out on the 15th.† This promise was due to the appearance of the Duke of Milan at Mantua. A glance at the instructions given to the Ambassadors reveals the real purpose of the Republic: "They are only to give a general promise, that if the Christian Princes unite their forces in a common expedition against the infidels, Venice will do her duty."‡ On the evening of the 23rd September, the Venetian Envoys, escorted by 500 horsemen, made their entry into Mantua with great pomp. The whole Court and all the Princes who were there, including even the Duke of Milan, went forth to meet them.§ On the following day they were

* MALIPIERO, 7–10; VOIGT, III., 70. The bearer B. de Boscho was only to deliver the letter in case of necessity; see the *Brief of the 25th August addressed to him. To this matter also relates a **Letter to the Archbishop of Crete, who was to influence Venice in the interests of the Pope. Copies of both Letters in the Laurentian Library, Florence, *loc. cit.*

† **Sen. Secr. XX., f. 188, State Archives, Venice.

‡ MALIPIERO, 10; VOIGT, III., 70. The excuses to be offered by the Venetian Ambassadors were of a very general nature; see the **Letter of the 17th Sept., 1459, Sen. Secr. XX., f. 189b–190, State Archives, Venice.

§ See PII II. Comment. 82, and the *Despatch of Nic. Severinus and Lod. de Petronibus, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 25, State Archives, Siena. SCHIVENOGLIA, 140, is wrong in asserting that the Venetians

received in public Consistory. Foscarini promised great things if the expedition against the Turks were taken up by all the Christian powers in union. "It was evident that this condition would furnish a ready pretext for evading an engagement which was only made because it could not be avoided. How could it be expected that all nations without exception would join in this expedition?"* The Pope in his reply pointed out the difficulty of this condition. He also could not refrain from reproaching the Venetians for being, although the nearest to Mantua, the last to appear there. In all else he commended the good intentions of the Republic.†

At last, on the 26th September, four months after the arrival of the Pope, it was possible to hold the first sitting of the Congress. The assembly was to meet in the Cathedral. After a Mass of the Holy Ghost had been said,‡ the Pope rose, and, in a carefully considered discourse, which lasted two hours, explained the necessity and the object of a general crusade, the means by which its success might be assured, and the reward which awaited those who should take part in it.§

arrived on the 26th September. Luigi Scarampo writes to Filippo de Strozziis at Naples: "dd. In Mantoa a di xxiii. Setembre, 1459. Questa vi scrivo solo per avisarvi como eri sera gionseno li ambasatori di Venitiani con grandissimo triomfo. Il Sre. ducha di Milano gle ando ascontrare circha ii. migla; fo reputato da ogni persona ch'abia usato una grandissima humanita; altro non avemo . . ." C. Strozz., 337, f. 40, State Archives, Florence.

* K. A. MENZEL, VII., 267.

† PII II. Comment. 82. See the *Despatch of the Sienese envoy of 25th Sept. 1459, cited *supra*. The discourse of Pius II. is in MANSI, II., 182.

‡ See *Sforza's letter of the 26th Sept. 1459, Appendix N. 27, State Archives, Milan. Regarding the contest for precedence, see ZINKEISEN, II., 258.

§ The discourse (regarding which the Report of P. Camulius in

Pius II. began his address with a prayer, and then proceeded in eloquent terms to describe the losses which Christendom had suffered at the hands of the unbelievers. "The Holy Land flowing with milk and honey, the soil which brought forth the Saviour, the temple of Solomon, in which He so often preached, Bethlehem, where He was born, the Jordan, wherein He was baptized, the Mount of the Transfiguration, Calvary, whereon His Precious Blood was shed, the Sepulchre, in which His Sacred Body had rested, all have long been in the hands of our enemies; without their permission we cannot look upon these Holy places. But these are ancient losses; let us turn to what has happened in our own days and through our own fault. We ourselves, and not our fathers, have allowed Constantinople, the chief city of the East, to be conquered by the Turks, and while we sit at home in slothful ease, they are pressing on to the Danube and the Save. In the royal city of the East they have slain the successor of Constantine and his people, desecrated the temples of the Lord, defiled the noble church of Justinian with their Mahometan abominations. They have destroyed the images of the Mother of God and of the Saints, cast down altars, thrown the relics of the Martyrs to the swine, killed the priests, dishonoured wives and daughters, even consecrated virgins, and murdered the nobles of the city. At the Sultan's

VIGNA, I., 951 *seq.*, may be consulted) is frequently to be met with in MS. (Rome, Barberini Library, xxix., 152, f. 1 *seq.*, and Vatican Library, Cod. Vatic. 5667, f. 1 *seq.*; British Museum, 4913, N. 7; Vienna Court Library, 3449; Munich Library, Cod. 519; Berne Library, Cod. 531, f. 125a *seq.*) and has been repeatedly published. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, Opp., 905 *seq.*; MANSI, II., 9–29; MÜLLER, I., 647 *seq.*; LABBÉ, XVIII., 220 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 258 *seq.*; MENZEL, VII., 267 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 71 *seq.*; HEINEMANN, 23.

banquet, the image of our crucified Redeemer was dragged through the mire and spat upon, while they shouted: 'This is the God of the Christians!' All these things have been done before our eyes, yet we remain as it were asleep, though indeed we are alert enough in fighting among ourselves. Christians fly to arms and shed each other's blood for any trifle, but no one will raise a hand against the Turks who blaspheme our God, who destroy our Churches, and seek utterly to root out the Christian name. Truly, 'all have turned from the way; they are become unprofitable together; there is none that doth good, no, not one!' People say, indeed, that these things are past and cannot be undone, that now we shall have peace; but can we expect peace from a nation which thirsts for our blood, which has already planted itself in Hungary, after having subjugated Greece? Lay aside these infatuated hopes. Mahomet will never lay down his arms until he is either wholly victorious or completely vanquished. Each success will be only a stepping-stone to the next until he has mastered all the Western Monarchs, overthrown the Christian Faith, and imposed the law of his false prophet on the whole world."

After shewing that in the populous countries of the West it was possible to levy forces amply sufficient to cope with the Turks, he concludes by exclaiming: "Oh, that Godfrey, Baldwin, Eustace, Hugh, Boemund, Tancred, and those other brave men who reconquered Jerusalem, were here! Truly they would not need so many words to persuade them. They would stand up and shout as they did of old before Our predecessor Urban II.: 'God wills it! God wills it!' You wait in silence and unmoved for the end of Our discourse. And it may be that there are some among you who say: 'This Pope exhorts us to fight, and expose our lives to

the sword of the enemy; that is the way of priests. They lay heavy burdens on others, and will not themselves touch them with a finger.' Do not believe it, my Sons! No one who, within the memory of your fathers, has occupied this chair has done more for the faith of Christ than We, with your help and the grace of God, will do. We have come here, weak enough, as you see, not without bodily risk, and not without detriment to the States of the Church. We have deemed the defence of the Faith of more value than the Patrimony of St. Peter, than our own health and repose. Oh, had We but the youthful vigour of former days,* you should not go without us into battle or into danger. We ourselves would bear the Cross of our Lord; We would uphold the banner of Christ against the infidel, and would think ourselves happy if it were given to us to die for the Faith. And now, if it seems well to you, We will not hesitate to devote our sickly body and our weary soul to Christ the Lord in this holy enterprise. Gladly, if you advise it, will We be borne in our litter into the camp, and into the battlefield itself. Go and take counsel, and see what may be most profitable to the Christian cause. We do not deal in fine words, hiding a cowardly heart. We will hold nothing back, neither person nor goods."

Bessarion, the one among the Cardinals who had always taken the most lively interest in Oriental affairs, answered in the name of the Sacred College. He began by praising the Pope, and declaring that the Cardinals were well inclined for the Holy War. In a discourse amply garnished with Christian and classical allusions, he described the deeds of horror perpetrated by the Turks,

* O si, quae fuerant, juvenili in corpore vires! VOIGT, III., 72, rightly conjectures these words to be taken from a classical author, but does not mention his name. The passage is from VIRGIL, Aen., v., 475.

and the danger which threatened religion, concluding by calling upon all Christian Princes and nations, for whom our Lord had shed His blood, to take up arms against the infidels with full confidence in the help of God.*

The Ambassadors now all expressed their adhesion, and Francesco Sforza also declared himself ready to comply with the Pope's wishes. The Bishop of Trieste, who acted as the Emperor's representative, kept silence, even when the Hungarian Ambassadors made bitter complaints against Frederick III. Pius II. rebuked them for this unseemly introduction of their private quarrels. At last the Assembly unanimously resolved on war against the Turks. For the carrying out of this determination, the Pope adopted the "only expedient possible" under the existing circumstances. He did not again call the Congress together, but treated with each of the several nations separately.†

* VAST, whose monograph is very defective, is mistaken (238) in believing this discourse to be unpublished. It appeared in the last century in CONTARINI, Anecdota Veneta, 276–83. Besides the Codex cited by Vast (National Library, Paris, Fonds Lat., 4154, f. 116–23), I may mention the following MS. copies :—(1) *Ibid.*, 12,532, f. 187 *seq.*; (2) Rome, Vatican Library, Ottob. 1754; Altaemps, f. 279–80 (defective); Vatican, 3526, f. 26 *seq.*; Vatican, 4037, p. 1, f. 77–81; Vatican, 5109, f. 27–33b; (3) Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. LIV., Cod. ii., f. 223 *seq* According to ERSCH-GRUBER, IX., 298, there is also a copy in the Library at Naples, Cod. ii., d. 44. His remarks on the copy in BORGIA, Anecdot. Litt., are founded on a mistake. In Cod. 4154 of the National Library, as well as in Cod. Vatic. 5109, the following words, which are wanting in Contarini's version, are at the conclusion of the discourse: *"Dixi et quidem prolixius quam debueram, sed quaeso affectui meo id tribuendum putet tua clementia et vestra humanitas veniamque prestetis."

† See *Letter of Fr. Sforza of 26th September 1459, State Archives, Milan, in Appendix N. 27; PII II. Comment. 82–3; VIGNA, I., 952–3; VOIGT, III., 73; ZINKEISEN, II., 260 *seq.*

The first consultation was with the Italians, and took place on the 27th September. The Duke of Milan, the Marquess of Mantua, and the Marquess of Montferrat, the Lord of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, the Envoys of the King of Naples, and those of the King of Aragon, as ruler of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, with the representatives of Venice, Florence, Siena, Ferrara, Lucca, and Bologna, were present.* After some introductory remarks from the Pope, the details of the expedition came under consideration. In regard to the operations by sea, the Venetian Envoys, though they only took part in the Council as private individuals, were given a decisive voice. For the prosecution of the war on land, Francesco Sforza recommended that the best soldiers from the countries nearest to Turkey should be chosen, because they had most knowledge of the enemy, while Italy and the more distant countries should contribute only money. All present agreed to this, except Sigismondo Malatesta. "I also," replied Pius II., with his usual tactful consideration for the susceptibilities of his fellow-countrymen, "should advocate the choice of Italian soldiers, whose prowess in the field is unsurpassed, were any other nation capable of furnishing pecuniary aid. But Italy alone can do this, and therefore the other nations must provide men and ships, that all the burden may not fall on one. We must also consider that it would be difficult for us to call on

* Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.* The *Instruction of the 14th Sept. 1459, for the Sienese Envoys, desires them to represent to the Pope the exhausted state of the resources of the city (Instruct. VIII., State Archives of Siena). Regarding the Bolognese Envoys, see Cronica di Bologna, 731, and *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, *loc. cit.* (Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna), and Atti dell' Emilia, N.S. IV., 1, 169. Bologna also had to be exhorted to send them; see in Appendix, N. 17, the Brief of 28th July, 1459, State Archives, Bologna.

our captains to fight in a foreign country. Here war is carried on with no danger to life, and for high pay. With the Turks the strife is deadly, and the reward rather in the next world than in this. We, therefore, advise that for three years the clergy shall contribute the tenth, the laity the thirtieth, and the Jews the twentieth part of their income to the support of the war."*

The representatives of Venice and Florence, the States which had the largest resources at their command, raised the greatest objections to this proposal.† Both of these Republics leaned to the side of France, which maintained the claims of Anjou on Naples, and were accordingly already ill-inclined towards the Pope; but the narrow and selfish policy of these mercantile States, which considered nothing but their own commercial interests, was the chief cause of their opposition to the war.

On the 30th September the representatives of the Italian powers again assembled. The Pope insisted that all present should, with their own hands, sign the decree regarding the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth part. None but the Venetian Envoys openly refused to comply with his desire. The attitude of the Florentines was doubtful, but it was believed that they would follow the example of the Venetians.‡ Pius II., however, succeeded in making

* Pii II. Comment. 83 *seq.*; PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 859; MENZEL, VII., 270 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 261 *seq.*; HEINEMANN, 23–4. Regarding the possibility of warfare being carried on by the mercenary bands without bloodshed, to which Pius II. alludes in his discourse, see BLONDUS, Hist., 394 (Basil., 1559).

† Regarding the delay of both these States in sending their representatives, see *supra*, pp. 68 and 70. A *Letter dated 1459, Aug. 23, at last announced to the Pope that the Florentine Orators would shortly be sent. Cl. x. dist. 1. N. 51, f. 155, State Archives, Florence.

‡ See Appendix N. 31, *Despatch of the Sienese Envoys of the 1st Oct., 1459, State Archives, Siena.

a secret agreement with them;* but all his efforts to win Venice were in vain. This State continued to pursue its ancient policy of laying down impossible conditions. It claimed the sole command of the naval forces, the possession of all the spoil that might be acquired, indemnification for all expenses; 8000 men for service on its ships, and a maintenance of an army of 50,000 horse and 20,000 foot on the Hungarian frontier. The Pope could not conceal his anger at the conduct of this great power, which might have been expected to take the foremost place in the enterprise. "You demand impossibilities," he is said to have exclaimed. "Your Republic has, indeed, degenerated. Once it prepared a magnificent fleet for the defence of the Faith, and now it cannot furnish a single ship. You have fought well for your allies and subjects against the Pisans and Genoese, against Emperor and King; and now, when you ought to fight for Christ against the Infidels, you want to be paid. If arms were given to you, you would not take them. You only raise one difficulty after another in order to prevent the war, but if you succeed, you will be the first to suffer."† All was in vain; the Venetian Envoys remained inflexible.‡

* From fear that the Turks might seize the trading vessels of the Florentines in the Levant, the Envoys were expressly desired to treat with the Pope "secretamente et in luogo secreto." Instruction of the 26th Sept., 1459; see also the *Instruction of the 1st Oct. 1459, State Archives, Florence, X., 1, 53.

† Pii II. Comment. 85; CUGNONI, 197; CAMPANUS, 980. See MAKUSCEV, II., 228. The **Letters of the 3rd, 11th, and 27th Oct., 1459, are characteristic of the attitude of the Venetians, Sen. Secr. XX., f. 191–4, State Archives, Venice. See also the *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Mantua, 1459, Nov. 29, Ambrosian Library.

‡ In the middle of January 1460, G. Lolli came as Papal Legate to Venice in order to induce the Republic to take part in the

The representatives of the Polish monarch afforded little satisfaction to the Pope; a profusion of words took the place of actual offers of assistance, and all his concessions failed to bring about a better state of feeling.*

The results as yet obtained were small enough, but those who surrounded the Pope deemed them sufficient to justify a return to Rome, for Pius II. could not consider his task accomplished while many Envoys and Princes from France as well as from Germany were still expected.†

The Duke of Milan bade farewell to the Pope on the 2nd of October. He was, as he informed his wife, so busy during his last days at Mantua that he had scarcely time to eat. He left the city on the 3rd of the month.‡

At length, before the end of the month, the representatives of Duke Louis of Savoy arrived. Notwithstanding all the Pope's exhortations, this Prince, whose sympathies were French, had delayed so long that the consultations

Turkish war, but he gained little or nothing. Further details of the negotiations are to be found in *Sen. Secr. XX., f. 204 *seq.*, State Archives, Venice.

* CARO, V., I, 174 *seq.*, 190. Schivenoglia's statement, 142, that the Polish Ambassador did not enter Mantua till the 18th Nov. must be incorrect, as his discourse is dated the 14th of that month in Cod. Epist. 193.

† See *Despatch of the Sienese Ambassadors of Oct. 1st, 1459, State Archives, Siena. On the 3rd Oct., 1459, Pius II. writes to Stephano duci Bossinae: *"Nos cum Dei auxilio et gratia foeliciter tenemus hanc Mantuanam dietam in qua plures ex christianis principibus personaliter venerunt et plurimos venturos speramus. Oratores vero omnium fere nationum adsunt." Plut. LXXXX. Cod. 138, N. 35 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

‡ Il duca di Milano parti mercoledi a di iii. di questo et hore xvi. Despatch of the Sienese Envoys, dated Mantua, 1459, Oct. 5. Schivenoglia is wrong in saying the 4th of October. See in Appendix N. 28, 32 and 33, Sforza's *Letters of Sept. 29 and Oct. 1 and 2, 1459, State Archives, Milan.

with the Italian Envoys had already been concluded.* On the 19th October, when at last the Envoys appeared, Pius II. received them in a public Consistory, and in his address expressed his dissatisfaction in severe terms, almost amounting to a reprimand.† In the afternoon he left Mantua to pay a visit to the Church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie. This venerable sanctuary lies on the other side of the lake, five miles to the west of the City. He spent four days in the adjacent convent; on the Sunday he said Mass in the Chapel of the Miraculous Picture, and granted an Indulgence to all the faithful who should visit the church and receive Holy Communion there on the first Sunday of October.‡

On his return to Mantua, where his absence had been kept secret, Pius II. encountered fresh mortifications. The first German Embassy that appeared was that of the Archduke Albert of Austria, and its mouthpiece was Gregor Heimburg, who, with his wonted coarseness, laid

* SCHIVENOGLIA, 141, says that the Envoys of Savoy arrived on the 9th Oct.; but the incorrectness of this statement is shewn by a **Brief of the 10th Oct. to the Bishop of Turin, Lib. brev. 9, f. 84. See in Appendix N. 12, 20, and 30, the *Briefs to the Duke, of the 1st June, 6th Aug., and 30th Sept., 1459, Secret Archives of the Vatican. I found a fourth *Brief of the same description of the 3rd Sept. in the Codex of the Laurentian Library, Florence, mentioned in p. 86, note †.

† "El papa ieri mattina fe concistoro publico per la venuta di mi ambasciatori del duca di Savoia, quali anno facto grandissime offerte publice." Despatch of the Sienese Envoys, dated Mantua, 1459, Oct. 20, State Archives, Siena. The speech of Pius II. is in MANSI, II., 204–5.

‡ See PELLEGRETTI, Madonna delle Grazie, 39 *seq.*, 54, 64; WADDING, XIII., 151. Schivenoglia, 141, wrongly gives the 22nd Oct. as the date of Pius II.'s departure; the 19th of Oct. is also named in the Despatch of the Sienese Envoys cited in the above note from the State Archives, Siena.

himself out to annoy and insult the Pope. At the audience accorded to him on the 29th October, he did not even uncover his head, and the tone of his speech was sneering and contemptuous. On two other occasions Heimburg spoke in the Pope's presence, once in the name of Duke William of Saxony, and again in that of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, who, himself, came in person on the 10th November. In the last of these discourses he had the insolence to remind Pius II. of the love-letters which, as Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, he had composed for the youthful Sigismund.*

The appearance of the Tyrolese Duke in Mantua was not due to the Turkish question, but merely to a private dispute with Cardinal Cusa, who had already betaken himself to the Pope.†

The Envoys from France and Germany, who appeared in the latter part of November, displayed no more zeal than their predecessors. The fact that the representatives of these great powers, who ought to have been the first to answer the Pope's summons, did not come until the end of the Congress was in itself sufficiently strange. It would have been well if even then they had manifested some goodwill towards the great cause which filled the soul of the Pope.

The dislike of Charles VII. of France, to the Crusade, was evinced by the efforts made by his Envoys in Venice to

* VOIGT, III., 77-8, 100-101; here are particulars concerning the discourses of Heimburg which are preserved in Cod. 522 of the State Library at Munich. The account given by BROCKHAUS, 141 *seq.*, is very unsatisfactory. See also Denkschr. der Wiener Akad., IX., 277 *seq.*; JÄGER, I., 331 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, 30 *seq.*

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 142, is mistaken in giving the 24th October as the day of Cusa's arrival; see Pius II.'s Brief of the 6th October in JÄGER, I., 330-1.

dissuade the Republic from taking part in it.* In Mantua they pursued the same course. On the 14th November they reached the city simultaneously with the Envoys of King René and of the Duke of Brittany.†

Soon afterwards came the Margrave Charles of Baden, and the Bishops of Eichstätt and Trent.‡ In the first audience granted to the French on the 21st November, they did homage, and everything passed quietly. Pius II. in the discourse which he addressed to them insisted on the plenitude of the Papal power. No one, he said, was to imagine that the authority of Councils could limit the power which God Himself had established in the throne of St. Peter. To oppose to it the opinions of any body of men, however learned, was wholly inadmissible, and had been condemned by the Council of Florence. All Catholic Princes are subject to the Roman Church.§

* See Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, III., 184 *seq.* (1841), and DANSIN, Hist. de Charles VII, 409 *seq.* From the *Report of the Sienese Ambassadors, dated Mantua, 1459, October 5 (State Archives, Siena), it is evident that Pius II. at once perceived the real import of the French Embassy to Venice. Charles VII. exerted his influence in Genoa for the same purpose; see Giornale Ligustico di arch. storia dir. da Belgrano e Neri, III., 132 *seq.* (1876).

† PII II. Comment. 85 *seq.*; JEAN DE REILHAC, I., 78 *seq.*; MATTHIEU D'ESCOUCHY, II., 393–4. Letter of Jean de Chambes in Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, III., 195 (1841). Report of Nicolas Petit in D'ACHERY, III., 806 *seq.*, and the Rélation de l'ambassade envoyée par Charles VII. à Mantoue, published by M. DE BEAUCOURT in L'Annuaire Bulletin de la Soc. d'Hist. de France, II. (Paris, 1864), where is the correct date of the entry of the Ambassadors, which VOIGT, III., 81, erroneously assigns to the 16th November. See also MAGENTA, I., 436.

‡ According to SCHIVENOGLIA, 142, the Margrave of Baden and the Bishop of Trent rode into Mantua on the 17th November with three hundred and forty horses.

§ MANSI, II., 31–7. See the authorities cited in note *, and VOIGT, III., 83.

The deliberations on the Neapolitan affairs demanded by the Envoys took place on the 30th November.* Those of King René and of the Genoese were present, also the Margrave of Baden, not, however, in his character of Imperial Ambassador. The Dukes of Brittany and Savoy were represented, but no one appeared on behalf of Burgundy or of Venice. Sigismund of the Tyrol did not take part in the audience. To the great regret of the Pope he suddenly left Mantua just before it, without having settled his dispute with Cusa. The spokesman of the French Embassy began by an enthusiastic eulogy of the "nation of the Lily" and its King, whose right to Naples he sought to establish, and then bitterly attacked the Pope's Italian policy. Ferrante's investiture was a wrong to the Royal House of France, and the refusal to allow Piccinino to pass through the Papal States an act of injustice. Finally, he demanded that Pius II. should cancel all that he had done in Ferrante's favour, and confer Naples on King René. The Pope, who listened with much patience to the discourse, answered in a few words. Hitherto, he informed them, in dealing with questions of this kind he had always acted in conjunction with the Sacred College, and from this practice he did not mean to depart. At the same time he requested the French to present their claims in writing, as was usual at the Papal Court.

On the following day Pius II. received the representatives of the Emperor and the other German powers, and at a later hour those of the Duke of Brittany; the latter were especially praised, because their master had

* Pii II. Comment. 87; Voigt, III., 84 *seq.*; see the interesting *Despatch of the Sienese Envoys of the 1st December 1459 (State Archives, Siena), and that of O. de Carretto of the same day (Ambrosian Library); see Appendix N. 35.

repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction, and adhered faithfully to the Holy See.* After this the Pope sent word that he was ill.

The French now gave in their proposals in writing.† The speech in which Pius II. replied is a master-piece of its kind.‡ He would not deny, he said, at the beginning of a discourse which took three hours to deliver, that he was a sinner, but he had yet to be convinced that he had done any injustice to France. France had done much for the Church, but the Church had also done much for France. They required impossibilities. He could not remove the Archbishop of Genoa without transgressing the Canon Law, according to which bishops might not be translated against their will without trial. What had been done in Naples was in accordance with reason and justice. Going back to the past, he urged, in defence of the changeable policy of his predecessors, the necessities of the times, and justified his own action by the force of circumstances. It was not he who had excluded the French from Lower Italy; he had found them already shut out. The Aragonese claimant had been acknowledged by the Barons at Capua; not a single voice was then raised in favour of René. The chief powers of

* See the *Despatches of the Sienese Envoys and of the Milanese Orator of the 1st Dec., 1459. Regarding the audience of the Envoys of the Duke of Brittany, see VOIGT, III., 89.

† *Propositiones legatorum regis Franciae factae in conventu coram S.D.N. Pio II., 1459. Cod. 215, f. 73 *seq.*, State Library, Munich.

‡ Such is the opinion of VOIGT, III., 85. The discourse is printed in MANSI, II., 40–72, and D'ACHERY, III., 811–20, and was disseminated in many MS. copies, even as far as Sicily. According to information kindly furnished by Prof. Gaetano Millunzio, there is one to be found at Monreale in Sicily, in a Codex left by Auxias Despuig de Podio, Archbishop of Monreale, 1458–83, a Prelate whose sympathies were with Aragon; see PIRRO, Sicilia Sacra, I., 404–5.

Italy, Venice, Milan and Florence begged us to grant investiture to Ferrante; had we refused them, the Church was threatened with a dangerous war. We could only have supported the Duke of Calabria if he had been on the spot, and as powerful as his rival. Therefore, in consideration of the danger to the States of the Church, and in view of the most necessary war with the Turks, we determined to grant investiture to Ferrante; his coronation was a necessary consequence of this step which we were compelled to take. The Pope further maintained, that he had never injured King René, but had been repeatedly injured and deceived by him; above all he had been greatly distressed by the despatch of a fleet against Naples during this very Congress, and the consequent disturbance of the peace of Italy.

It was impossible to cancel all that had been granted to Ferrante in favour of René without giving the former a hearing. The Pope had not deprived René of anything, or even denied his right to the throne. How could he now dispossess Ferrante until his cause had been heard? If a legal decision were desired, the sword must be sheathed. He would be a just judge.

In regard to the other demand of a free passage through the States of the Church for Piccinino, Pius II. insisted on the untrustworthiness of the promises given by such mercenary chiefs. He solemnly declared it to be the duty of Christians, in presence of the danger threatened by the Turks, to preserve peace among themselves. On no condition would he permit the Neapolitan difference to be settled by war. If an appeal to arms were resorted to in this case there was reason to fear that the whole of Italy might become involved. This was the ardent desire of the Turks. But it was the duty of the French, formerly such powerful champions of the Catholic

Faith, now to help in attacking the enemy. The French Monarch, called by universal consent the Most Christian King, had a great task before him, and the Pope awaited suitable proposals from his Ambassadors.

At the conclusion of his discourse, the Pope spoke of his desire that the French nation should be blameless. This, however, could not be the case until the stain of the Pragmatic Sanction was effaced. By this measure the authority of the Holy See was impaired, the power of religion weakened, the Church robbed of her freedom and universality. Laymen were constituted judges of the clergy. The Bishop of Rome, whose cure extends over the whole world, and is not bounded by any ocean, is only allowed in France such jurisdiction as it pleases the Parliament to grant him. "If we let this continue," said the Pontiff, "we destroy the liberty and unity of the Church, and turn her into a many-headed monster. The King has not indeed perceived this; it must be pointed out to him, that he may abandon this course, and really merit the name of Most Christian."*

The French Envoys in a private audience made a feeble reply. Their chief endeavour was to justify the action of their King in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction; they again recommended their petitions to the consideration of the Holy Father.†

The audiences of the representatives of King René and the Duke of Calabria gave rise to somewhat stormy encounters. The former desired to issue a protest against the adverse attitude of the Pope in regard to the investiture, and Pius II. threatened, if they adopted this course, to proceed against them as heretics. "But the

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 114–18; VOIGT, III., 86–8; see DANSIN, 257.

† VOIGT, III., 88; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 118–19.

full vials of his wrath were poured out upon the Envoys of the Duke of Calabria, who had carried off the fleet destined to attack the Turks from Marseilles, and begun the disturbances in Italy. The Pope received them with angry looks, and would hardly listen to their address."*

The real object of the Congress was thus thrust into the background by the Neapolitan question. When Pius II. again insisted upon it, and plainly asked the French Envoys what assistance their King meant to give, they answered that it was useless to discuss this matter so long as the war between France and England continued. When the Pope expressed his intention of summoning an assembly to arrange these differences, they replied that the initiative must rest with their King. They also declined to furnish even a small body of troops. The representatives of Genoa and of King René spoke, as was to be expected, in the same sense. Envoys at last arrived from England, "but they came rather with a view of finding some remedy for the unhappy condition of their country than with the intention of doing anything for the cause of Christendom."†

* VOIGT, III., 89–90; in the letter of September 29th, 1460, King René to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, says in regard to Pius II. *"Oratores insuper illustris precarissimi filii nostri Calabrie vel Lotharingie ducis viros graves ad se transmissos ore et facie turbida vix in sua relacione audire voluit, eisque diversimode et quod de rege alio iam providerat comminatus fuit." Court Library at Vienna.

† PII II. Comment. 88; ZINKEISEN, II., 266 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 91. Regarding Genoa, see VIGNA, I., 16 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*; III., 2, 465 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 527; and A. NERI, Di Gottardo Stella, specialmente della sua legazione al concilio di Mantova nel 1459; Giornale Ligustico, III., 125–39 (*cf.* A. NERI, Scritti di storia patria, Genova, 1876). It is much to be wished that the *Instruction for the Genoese Envoys preserved in the Archives of Genoa (Instruct. 1) were also printed. Pius II. sent the Bishop of Terni (Interamnensis, not Teramo, as BROWN in the Cal. of State Papers, 89–92, and in the document we

Notwithstanding his frequent disappointments, the Pope still cherished some hope of better success with the Germans. But here also disunion reigned supreme. "The representatives of the Emperor could not come to an agreement with those of the Electors and Princes, nor the latter with each other or with the Envoys of the cities."*

These dissensions were zealously fomented by Gregor Heimburg. With a mind soured by disappointment, and steeped in the ideas of the Council of Basle, he raged equally against both Pope and Emperor. Pius II., therefore, must have greatly rejoiced when, on the 19th of December, the Germans came to an agreement with each other, which had at least a show of sincerity, although in reality the strife was merely postponed.† The contingent of 32,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, formerly promised to Nicholas V., was granted. The details were to be arranged with the Apostolic Legates in two diets, one of which was to be held in Nuremberg and the other in Austria, in order to settle the dispute between the Emperor and Hungary.

shall cite, reads it), Francesco Coppini, as Nuncio to England; see THEINER, Mon. Hibern., 423. This man made so bad a use of his ecclesiastical and diplomatic position that Pius II. disavowed him, and caused him to be confined in a monastery. See PAULI, Gesch. von England, V., 343; VOIGT, III., 190; Calendar of State Papers, "Venice," I., 89 *seq.*; and BROWN, L'Archivio di Venezia, V., 172–3 (1865).

* DROYSEN, II., 1. 156; VOIGT, III., 92.

† VOIGT, III., 97. With regard to the agreement between the Emperor and the Pope as to the division of the money contributed for the war, VOIGT observes (94–5), that although there is the greatest probability in its favour, circumstances make it impossible to produce documentary proof of it. See also GEBHARDT, 32 *seq.* According to GOTTLOB, Camera Ap., part 3 shews that in the 15th century the tithes and indulgence-alms were in most cases divided.

On the following day letters of invitation were sent to all the Princes and States of the Empire. The Pope, in the most pressing terms, urged them to appoint Envoys with full powers. The diet at Nuremberg was to be held on *Invocavit* Sunday, 2nd March, and that at the Emperor's Court on *Judica* Sunday, 30th March.* Similar summonses were issued on the 21st January 1460, in the name of Frederick III.†

The thorny post of German Legate was confided to Cardinal Bessarion.‡ The Emperor, by a Bull of the

* The form of the Brief issued on the 20th December is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 72 (see VOIGT, III., 98, 219). The Archives of the German cities contain many such documents, *e.g.*, Breslau (see Script. Rer. Sil., viii., 36), Frankfort (see JANSSEN, II., 142), and Cologne. In the copy in the Archives of Cologne some variations occur, as *opportuna* for optima, and *conveniat* for oporteat.

† Letter to Frankfort in JANSSEN, II., 142 (where the date is wrongly stated as the 18th instead of the 21st January), on the same day to the Burgomaster and Council of Cologne in the Archives of that city (Kaiserschreiben); to the Confederates in TSCHUDY, Chronic. Helvet., II., 594–5. These are in German. That to the city of Lucca, dated Vienna, 1460, January 21st, is in Latin. "If the time is too short, they might send their Envoys to the second Diet" (State Archives, Lucca). Lett. orig. 444 (honorabil. et prudent. gubernatoribus et consulibus civitatis Lucan. nostris et imperii sacri fidelibus dilectis). Similar letters from the Emperor to Florence (State Archives, Florence, X., 2–23, f. 89) and to the city of Pavia in the Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 288, National Library, Paris.

‡ The Bull of the 15th January, 1460, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 18, and in part in *Regest. 475, f. 49. A complete copy also exists in the city Archives of Frankfort-on-Main, R. T. A., IV., f. 21–23, attached to which are fol. 24 the Beslosse des tags zu M. The whole in form of a pamphlet. The nomination of Bessarion took place on the 2nd January in a Secret Consistory. *Report of the Sienese Envoys of this day, State Archives, Siena. Register 474, f. 283 *seq.* Numerous Faculties for Bessarion, dated Mantuae, 1459, (st. fl.), prid. Id., Jan. A° 2°, are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

12th January, 1460, was appointed commander of the German Crusading army, and if unable personally to take part in the expedition, he was empowered to appoint a German Prince to take his place.*

The Pope made it very evident that he wished this post conferred on the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, who, to his great joy, had arrived in Mantua at the end of 1459.† Pius II. had always had great confidence in the military capacity of this Prince, and now showered praises and presents upon him. The German "Achilles" saw his opportunity, and while flattering to the utmost the fancies of the Pope, sedulously applied himself to obtaining Bulls from him curtailing the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg, and enabling him to gain a firmer footing in Franconia.‡

On the 14th January, special Collects composed for the occasion were introduced in the High Mass celebrated by the Pope.§ At its conclusion the Bull ordaining a

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 20. Other copies are noticed by Lichnowsky-Birk, Reg., N. 303.

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 143. In August and September Pius II. had most urgently invited Albert, and he had promised to come; see in Appendix N. 21, 26, and 29, the Briefs of the 13th August, and 9th and 30th September. Secret Archives of the Vatican and Laurentian Library.

‡ VOIGT, III., 105; HOFMANN, Barbara, 15; DROYSEN, II., 1, 157; KLUCKHOHN, 133; MÜNTZ, I., 310. Regarding the honourable reception of the Margrave of Brandenburg by Pius II., see the *Report of Leodrisio Crivelli to the Duke of Milan, dated Mantua, 6th January, 1459 (1460), Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 219, National Library, Paris.

§ The Preces habitae a Pio II. in Missa solemni Mantuae, xiv. Januarii, 1460, in Plut. LXXXIX. Sup. 16, f. 140a–b of the Laurentian Library are not unpublished as VOIGT, III., 106, supposes, but are identical with those given by MANSI, II., 84–6, and are evidently the Versiculi alluded to in the Comment. 93. The date (14th Jan.) assigned in this MS. to the close of the Congress has more probability to support it

three years' crusade against the Turks was published. It was decreed that on every Sunday during Holy Mass the Divine assistance should be invoked for the Christian arms. A Plenary Indulgence was granted to every one who, for the space of eight months, should personally take part in the expedition. The same Indulgence was granted to all convents and religious communities which should maintain for eight months, at their own expense, one soldier for every ten of their members.*

The necessary Decrees for obtaining the pecuniary resources required for the Holy War were issued simultaneously with this Bull. The Holy See "itself led the way with a good example."† The whole Papal Court, that is to say, all officials paid by the Holy See and out of the Papal treasury, were required, like the rest of the clergy, to contribute a tithe of their income. The laity, especially those in Italy, were to pay a thirtieth, and the Jews a twentieth part.‡ Col-

than that adopted by Voigt *loc. cit.* (19th Jan.), for Cardinals Colonna and Orsini left Mantua on the 16th; see SCHIVENOGLIA, 143–4.

* Bull "Ecclesiam Christi," Reg. 474, f. 256b–259b. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 1–7, and THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 366–9. The Bull is frequently to be met with in MS., and there is a copy in the State Archives at Mantua. VOIGT, III., 106, remarks concerning this Bull: "All other Indulgences, with the sole exception of those granted to the visit to Roman churches, are declared by the Pope to be revoked, which was equivalent to telling the faithful who thought they had already purchased bliss that they must pay for it over again." It is lamentable that a serious student should betray such ignorance on a point which has been repeatedly explained. Apart from the fundamental errors of his statement (for according to the Catholic doctrine a remission of sins is not a synonym for bliss, nor beatitude a thing that can possibly be purchased), Indulgences already gained were in nowise affected by the Decree of Pius II.

† VOIGT, III., 107.

‡ Register 474, f. 333–5, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Bull

lectors were appointed in great numbers to gather in the money.*

In his farewell discourse Pius II. again summed up the results of the Assembly; he looked upon them as far from satisfactory, yet not altogether hopeless. He then closed the Congress with a solemn prayer: "Almighty, eternal God, who hast deigned to redeem the human race by the Precious Blood of Thy Beloved Son, and to raise the world which was sunk in darkness to the light of the Gospel, grant, we beseech Thee, that the Christian Princes and nations may so valiantly take up arms against the Turks and all the other enemies of the Cross, that they may be victorious, to the Glory of Thy Name."†

On the 19th January, 1460, the Pope left Mantua for Siena, his feeble health making a season of rest absolutely necessary after the labours and agitations of the Congress.‡

"Pugnantium contra Amalech hostem," dated Mantuae, 1459 (st. fl.) decimo nono Cal. Febr. A° 2° (tithe from the clergy), f. 259b–260; "Si ecclesiasticos omnes," f. 262–3. "Prospicientes de summo apostolatus apice" (thirtieth part from the laity), XIX. Cal. Febr. A° 2°; see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 7 *seq.*

* Register 474, f. 310 *seq.*

† MANSI, Orat., II., 78–86.

‡ Acta Consist., f. 28b, Secret Archives of the Vatican; Istoria Bresc., 892; SCHIVENOGLIA, 144; WADDING, XIII., 152. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 261, wrongly places his departure on the 22nd, the *Cronica di Forli (Library of Prince Boncompagni, see *supra*, p. 56) on the 17th, and VOIGT, III., 109, on the 20th January. The greater part of the Pope's journey, which brought him through Revere, Bologna, Firenzuola, S. Pietro a Sieve, Florence, S. Casciano, and Poggibonsi, is described by the Protonotary Teodoro de Montefiore in his *Report to the Marchioness Barbara, dated Siena, 1460, Feb. 6th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). He describes in detail the suffering state of Pius II., who arrived at Siena on the 31st January. The inscription still to be seen on the unfinished wall of the Cathedral of that city refers to this visit of

A short time before his departure, Pius II. had published an important Bull in defence of the monarchical constitution of the Church. It was directed against the custom of appealing from the Pope to a general Council, which was an outcome of the false teaching regarding the supremacy of Councils, and which still prevailed, notwithstanding the prohibition of Martin V. Under Calixtus III., the clergy of Rouen and the University of Paris appealed against the levy of the Turkish tithes. It was to be expected that such appeals, which had always been the war-cry of the opposition, would now be repeated in connection with a similar question.

Pius II. said that the continuation of this practice "must end in the complete degradation of the Papal authority and the dissolution of all ecclesiastical orders. It was in itself an absurdity to appeal to a non-existent judge, to a tribunal which, even if the decrees of the Council of Constance were literally carried out, would meet only once in ten years."* Accordingly,† with the

the Pope: "1459 (st. fl.) a di V di febraio PPA., P. II. vene in questa butiga."

* DÖLLINGER, II., 1, 350; HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 966 *seq.*; DE MAISTRE, Du Pape, 7 *seq.* (Louvain, 1821); BEETS, 81; WALTER, Kirchenrecht, p. 371, 14th edition; Katholik, I., 307 (1850); ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 223; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 1158 *seq.*, 2nd ed. When RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., I., 234, remarks: "The respect gained by the Councils only induced the Pope to pronounce it damnable to appeal to a Council;" one might enquire, *ubi nexus?* In any case Ranke passes too lightly over the Bull whose "far-reaching import" is justly pointed out by Voigt.

† Bull "Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus." Bull. V., 149–50, in PII II. Comment. 91–2, with the date: XV. Cal. Febr. (= 18th January). VOIGT, III., 103, observes that Raynaldus, ad an. 1460, N. 10, gives us to understand, on the authority of the Vatican Register, that the Bull was not published till the 23rd January. This date is disproved by the fact that Pius II. left Mantua on the 20th January

consent of the Cardinals, he renewed for the future, under pain of excommunication, the prohibitions of previous Popes and denounced all such appeals as had already been made.

(19th ; see *supra*, p. 99), and even in the Bull "Infructuosos palmites" in Raynaldus, *ibid.*, N. 35, the 19th January is mentioned by the Pope as the day of the publication of the Bull "Execrabilis." On reference to the Register cited by Raynaldus, I found that in X. Register, 475, f. 198–198b, decimo Cal. April. originally stood as the date of the Bull "Execrabilis," and had been altered into sextodecimo Cal. Febr. The *Register, 502, f. 280, has Dat. Mantuae, 1459, decimo Cal. April., A° 2°, and above the Bull in more recent ink: XXIX. April. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The copy of the Bull in the Archives of Brixen has Mantuae, XV. Cal. Febr., 1459 (JÄGER makes a gross mistake in the Œsterreich. Archiv., IV., 316, by referring the Bull to the year 1459, and then calmly marks the following Register: "Pius II. invites Duke Sigismund to Mantua"). A copy in the State Archives, Dresden, loc. 7384, f. 200, bears the same date as that at Brixen. In the Indiculus Bull. Ord. Seraph., ed. Fr. Petrus de Alva et Astorga, II., 42 (Romæ, 1655), the Bull "Execrabilis" is dated the "XVI. Cal. Febr."

CHAPTER III.

THE CONTEST FOR THE NEAPOLITAN THRONE AND ITS REACTION ON THE STATES OF THE CHURCH. — THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN ROME, 1460–61.—FAVOUR SHEWN TO THE PICCOLOMINI AND THE SIENESE.—HUMILIATION OF THE SAVELLI AND MALATESTA.

WHILE Pius II. was seeking to unite the Christian Princes against Islam, the dispute in Italy between the houses of Anjou and Aragon had broken out into open war. King Charles VII. of France espoused the Angevine party, and made over to King René for the expedition against Ferrante of Naples, the twenty-four galleys which Cardinal Alain had collected for the Turkish war.* In the beginning of October 1459, René's son, Duke John of Calabria, appeared before Naples with these ships. His hope that an insurrection would break out against the King, who was absent in Calabria, was disappointed. Accordingly he sailed back and landed at the mouth of

* PII II. Comment. 94; SIMONETA, 696–9; Chronica di Bologna, 732; see the Brief of Pius II. to Carvajal in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 78, and that to *E. Barbaro, Bishop of Verona, dated Senis, 4 Junii, A° 2°. The Holy See here complains, "non vident quid de triremibus illis sit factum que per dil. filium nostrum Card. Avinion. apost. sedis legatum in portibus Gallicanis pro subventione fidei sunt fabricate: sine ulla licentia, sine indulto apost. sedis armate sunt contra Christianos et per hec nostra maria quottidie volitant. Cruciate illa fuit pecunia in obsequium Dei, in opus fidei, in subventionem Christifidelium, non oppressionem proximorum collecta." Lib. brev. 9, f. 114b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Volturno.* This was the signal for a general rising against Ferrante under the leadership of the ancient Angevine party and the most powerful of the feudal lords, and the cause of the house of Aragon seemed lost.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, strenuously opposed the pretensions of the Angevines. Clearly perceiving that the success of the French in Italy, and their establishment in Naples, must destroy the political independence of the Peninsula, he induced the Pope to take Ferrante's part. Florence and Venice professed neutrality;† on the other hand, the Condottiere, Jacopo Piccinino, managed to elude the Papal Legate and Federigo of Urbino, and march southwards along the coast to assist the insurgents.

Military operations began in the spring of 1460. The Milanese forces were commanded by Alessandro, Francesco's brother, and the Papal troops by Simonetto. When the Duke of Calabria approached the city of Nola, Ferrante, with the army of the Pope, advanced to meet him. On

* Giornali Napolit., 1133; SIMONETA, 699-700; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 260; CAGNOLA, 147. The authorities and works concerning the Neapolitan war are enumerated by VOIGT, III., 133 *seq.*, where, however, the work of P. MAZIO, La guerra di Ferdinando d'Aragona e di Renato d'Anjou (published in Saggiatore, I., 177 *seq.*)—important on account of its extracts from the Gaetani Archives, Rome—is omitted. Mazio has, however, by no means exhausted the treasures of these private Archives. In the Index of MSS. I found a great many other documents concerning the Neapolitan war mentioned; see also CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 128 *seq.* (Roma, 1870). LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 289 *seq.*, also brings forward some new documents; the picture here given is certainly very one-sided, II., 433 *seq.*, the compiler furnishes valuable extracts from a Chronica di Napoli in the Brancacciana Library at Naples, 2 G. 11. Regarding G. Pontano as the historian of this war, see the article in Rivist. Univers., 1874, Ottob., 529 *seq.*

† See *supra*, p. 75; BUSER, Beziehungen, 94-5.

the 7th July the Neapolitan king having rashly attacked the enemy, who was encamped in the little town of Sarno, a few miles from the capital, was completely defeated. His troops were for the most part taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with but twenty horsemen to Naples. Almost all the chiefs, and most of the cities of the Campagna, with the exception of Naples, joined the Angevine party.*

Had the enemies of Ferrante been more united among themselves, and more energetic, the consequences of the victory at Sarno might have been far more serious than they were. As it was, the King, who was powerfully supported by Milan, found time to recover his strength.

At the end of July a sharp encounter also took place in the north. On the 22nd of the month, at San Fabiano, not far from Ascoli, Piccinino attacked the army commanded by Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and a sharp engagement ensued. Neither side could claim the victory, but eventually Alessandro and Federigo were obliged to retreat.†

Pius II., who had been at the baths of Macerata and

* SIMONETA, 710–13; PII II. Comment. 104–5; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 62; NOTAR GIACOMO, 102; Cronica di Napoli in LECOY DE LA MARCHE, II., 434; two undated letters from Ferrante to Pius II. in SUMMONTE, III., 296–8. I found in the State Archives at Milan (Napoli e Sicilia, III.) the letter mentioned by Simoneta, similar to the first printed by Summonte, in which Ferrante informs Fr. Sforza of his defeat, dated Naples, 1460, July 7. Details of the encounter are also given in the *Letter of the Duke of Calabria to the Prince of Rossano, Marino da Marzano, written on the battlefield on the 7th July, and sent on the 9th by the Prince to Caterina Orsini. Both letters are in the Gaetani Archives, Rome. See also CARINCI, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 103, note*.

† Cronica di Bologna, 734; SIMONETA, 714 *seq.*; Chronic. Eugub. 997; CIPOLLA, 492, N. 3.

Petriolo to seek relief from his old enemy the gout,* was at Siena when he received the evil tidings. As early as May, King René had sent an unsuccessful embassy to induce the Pope, by threats of insurrection in Avignon and an appeal to a Council, to abandon the cause of Ferrante.† But the unfortunate issue of the battles at Sarno and San Fabiano so alarmed Pius II. that he began to waver. He seems even to have thought of "yielding to the pressure of the French and forsaking Ferrante." The representations of the Duke of Milan, who "had the most urgent interest in this war," and the concessions of Ferrante, held the Pope in this critical moment to his agreement.‡ Ferrante not only made over the little city of Castiglione della Pescaja, in Tuscany, and the island of Giglio to the Pope's nephew, Andrea, but also renounced his claim to Terracina. After the battle of Sarno, a party adverse to the French interest had there arisen which besought the protection of the Church. Pius II. upon this sent his nephew Antonio,

* See PORTIOLI, VI., 3, 9, 11, 15, 19, 20, according to the Acts of the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. (O. de Carretto, writing from Siena on the 5th April, 1460, to Francesco Sforza, says: "*La Sta. de N.S. sta. pur alquanto pegio de le sue gotte quale li danno grande noia" (Ambrosian Library). The sufferings of the Pope, and spring as the time for baths, are also mentioned in CARD. PAPIEN. Epist., f. 37b. See also HAESER, I., 748.

† See VOIGT, III., 143. See the **Brief to the Cardinal de Foix of the 24th May, 1460. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 109.

‡ SIMONETA, 713–16; VOIGT, III., 114. On the *11th August, 1460, Pius II. begged the Duke of Milan to send troops quickly to Naples, and also promised himself to despatch further succour. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 131b.) *Ibid.* a second urgent Brief *s. d.* (the previous Brief is dated Senis, 19th August, A° 2°) requires Fr. Sforza to support Ferrante.

who occupied this important city, which was the key of the Campagna. The King of Naples and Francesco Sforza were both equally dissatisfied with this proceeding, but they were compelled to submit if they wished to retain the alliance of Pius II.* The Pope won the goodwill of the inhabitants "by confirming their municipal constitution and other privileges, and acceding to their request that the Jews might be allowed to settle in their city, and enjoy its freedom and rights."†

Meanwhile the strife in Naples was reacting most injuriously on Rome. As long as Nicholas of Cusa, who had been appointed Papal Vicar-General, remained in the city, all was quiet, a fact acknowledged with commendation in many of the Pope's Briefs.‡ Soon after his departure, however, we hear of riots and outrages, and the citizens anxiously desired the return of the Pope.§ In a Brief of February 1st, 1460, Pius again alludes to disturbances in Rome, and charges the Senators of the city to repress these "daily recurring scandals."‖ Contem-

* Regarding Castiglione della Pescaja, which Alfonso of Aragon had taken from the Florentines in 1448, see SIMONETA, 727; THOMASIUS, 61; MARINI, II., 162; and the *Brief to King Ferrante of 15th April, 1460, Secret Archives of the Vatican, see Appendix N. 40. For the acquisition of Terracina, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 65; CONTATORE, 120. The determination with which Pius II. claimed Terracina appears from the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto, dated Sancto Quiricho, 17th September, 1460, and Rome, October 14th, 1460. State Archives, Milan.

† CONTATORE, 121–5; SUGENHEIM, 336.

‡ See in Appendix N. 15 the *Brief of June 9th, 1459. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Briefs of the 27th November, 1459, in the Laurentian Library, Florence, and of 30th January, 1460, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix N. 34 and 36.

‖ *Brief of February 1st, 1460. Lib. brev. 9, f. 99, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

porary chroniclers inform us that two bands of lawless youths had formed themselves in Rome, who were perpetually at war with each other, and had ended by establishing a veritable reign of terror. Rape, plunder, and murder were the order of the day.* The municipal authorities did little or nothing to restore order, hoping that the continuance of this state of anarchy would induce Pius II. to return. On the 30th March the Pope expressed to the Conservators his surprise that they could suffer these excesses to be perpetrated by the youth of the City; and informed them that if they expected by such means to force him to come back they were greatly mistaken. He might be moved by submission and obedience, but never by turbulence.† The situation soon became so critical, that the Governor withdrew from the Vatican, and asked for military assistance, which Pius II. at once granted.‡

In the month of May the troubles increased. It now appeared that the party of revolt in the city had warm supporters in the Savelli, the Colonna, and the Anguillara. "For these Barons again lifted their heads when the Neapolitan war broke out; they espoused the cause of Anjou, and entered into an alliance with Piccinino and Malatesta."§ Jacopo Savelli afforded a secure asylum to the Roman banditti in Palombara, at the foot of Monte Gennara. On the 16th May a young Roman, surnamed,

* N. DELLA TUCCIA, 261; PAOLO DELLA MASTRO, Cron. Rom., 26.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 69; VITALE, II., 441–2; LÜNIG, Codex Dipl. Ital., IV., 183.

‡ By a *Brief of 9th April, 1460. Four days later the Pope exhorts the Conservators to greater firmness. Both **Briefs are in Lib. brev. 9, f. 178 and 154b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 178, 3rd ed. In regard to the connection of the Colonna and Savelli with John of Calabria, see Saggiatore, I., 183.

on account of his amorous propensities, the Innamorato, carried away a maiden who was about to be married; he was arrested for this offence, and delivered to the Senate. His friends at Palombara at once hastened to rescue him. The band was headed by Tiburzio and Valeriano di Maso, two brothers, who belonged to a family of conspirators. Their father, brother-in-law to Stefano Porcaro, had, together with his elder brother, been executed as principal accomplices in Porcaro's plot. Tiburzio and Valeriano wished "to avenge these martyrs of liberty, to cast off the yoke of the priests, to restore the ancient Republic." They fortified themselves in the Pantheon, laid the surrounding quarter under contribution, and never rested until they had procured the liberation of the Innamorato.* As time went on, things got worse in the city, where the absence of the Pope, and his participation in the Neapolitan contest, caused great dissatisfaction. A new band was formed, and under the leadership of a certain Bonanno Specchio, committed all sorts of crimes. A tower near San Lorenzo in Lucina served as a hiding-place for these rebels, who when driven hence by the Pope's nephew, Antonio, fortified themselves in the Capranica Palace. Here they spent their days in revelry, and at night sallied forth to plunder. Tiburzio was their king.†

On hearing of these disorders, Pius II. seriously thought of returning to Rome. The city continued unquiet, even after Tiburzio, at the request of some of the nobles, had gone back to Palombara. Unarmed citizens were maltreated in the open streets, women and maidens outraged,

* INFESSURA, 1138 (here as well as in ECCARD, 1891, 1460 is to be substituted for 1459); PAOLO DELLA MASTRO, 26–7; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 263; PII II. Comment. 106–7; VOIGT, III., 147 *seq.* Regarding ANGELO DI MASO, see Vol. II., p. 224 *seq.*

† PII II. Comment. 107; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 179, 3rd ed.

and a convent situated near the city completely sacked. The Pope now saw that his presence was the only remedy, and he resolved to put an end to these disturbances.*

The beginning of September brought terrible tidings. Piccinino had burst into the Sabina, plundering and murdering as he went, and threatened, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons, to attack Rome.† Cardinal Colonna had great difficulty in keeping Tivoli quiet, where the Ghibelline party supported Piccinino, whose troops, harboured by Jacopo Savelli in Palombara, from thence ravaged the surrounding country. "Confusion and terror reigned in Rome. From the walls and heights of the city, burning castles and villages were to be seen, and it was expected that the enemy would soon enter its gates. The party of revolt within was in communication with the Condottiere. Everso of Anguillara had resumed his raids, and Malatesta openly espoused the cause of Anjou."‡

Meanwhile the Roman police arrested a certain Luca da Tozio, whose confessions "revealed the abyss of danger in all its depths to the Pope." In the castle of St. Angelo, without being subjected to torture, he declared that Piccinino had been invited into the Roman territory by the Prince of Tarento, Everso of Anguillara, Jacopo Savelli and the Colonna, and that Tiburzio and his band were to open

* Pii II. Comment. 107. See the **Briefs to the Governor and the Conservators of Rome, of the 26th and 31st August, 1460, Lib. brev. 9, f. 145b, Secret Archives of the Vatican, which shew that even at this time, before Piccinino's attack, the return of the Pope had been resolved upon. His departure from Siena took place on the 10th September. THOMASIUS, 61 ; Cronica di Bologna, 732.

† SIMONETA, 716; PII II. Comment. 110; PONTANUS, Lib. I.; *Briefs of the 20th Sept. (Theanensi) and 21st Sept., 1460 (castellano S. Angeli). Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 115b–116.

‡ VOIGT, III., 149. Regarding Tivoli see CARD. PAPIEN. Epist., f. 37b.

the gates of Rome to the Condottiere, after which the city was to be plundered, and the Pope's nephew slain.*

Ill though he was, the Pope, on receiving these tidings, resolved to start as soon as possible. After having prepared the way for peace between the contending parties in Orvieto,† he set out and reached Viterbo on the 30th September. The Roman Envoys here awaited him and begged him to pardon the excesses of the Roman youths. "What city," the Pope is said to have replied, "is freer than Rome? You pay no taxes, you bear no burdens, you occupy the most honourable posts, you sell your wine and corn at the price you choose, and your houses bring you in rich rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? Is he a Count, Marquess, Duke, King or Emperor? No! one greater than all these, the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. He it is who brings you glory and prosperity and attracts the wealth of the whole world to your gates."‡

On the 4th October, Pius II. started for Rome escorted by five hundred horsemen, sent at his urgent request by the Duke of Milan. On the 6th, to the great joy of the inhabi-

* Pii II. Comment. 108–9. The Pope alludes to this affair in the Brief to Card. Forteguerri, dated Rome, 1460, Oct. 19, where he says in relation to Savelli, "Sunt nobis et alia cognita, que litteris credenda non sunt." Laurentian Library, *loc. cit.*

† See MANENTE, Hist. d'Orvieto, II., 90 (Venezia, 1566); FUMI, Cod. 719, and Pio II. e la pace d'Orvieto, in the Studj e Doc. VI., 249 *seq.* from Documents in the Archives of Orvieto.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 113–14; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 81–2. VOIGT, III., 150, looks upon the discourse as an oratorical fiction, while GREGOROVIUS, VII., 180, 3rd ed., considers it to be genuine, and observes that the arguments are the same as in Cod. Vat. 3618 (see Vol. II. p. 235). Similar ideas occur in the *Commentary of V. Albergato, of which MSS. exist in the Archives, Vienna, and the Corsini Library, Rome. See my sketch in the Hist. Jahrb., III., 128.

tants, he entered the city.* He at once summoned the Conservators and chief citizens, and, in a discourse lasting two hours, put before them the necessity of resisting John of Calabria, Piccinino, and the other authors of agitation.†

The presence of the Pope produced a momentary calm, but the situation continued very perilous. In the middle of October a report was current to the effect that Piccinino was planning a last and decisive attack on Rome, and had secured the assistance of the Neapolitan Insurgents.‡ In the same month Tiburzio destroyed himself by an act of foolhardiness. Bonanno Specchio, venturing into the city on the 29th October, fell into the hands of the police. Tiburzio immediately hastened from Palombara with fifteen companions, and called upon the Roman populace to rise. "It is too late," was the reply. The agitators were as little prepared for this want of sympathy, as for the energetic opposition offered by the friends of order and the Papal soldiers. They sought safety in flight; a certain number succeeded in escaping, but Tiburzio was captured, together with five of his associates. On the scaffold he acknowledged that he had intended, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons and of Piccinino, to overthrow the Government of the

* SIMONETA, 717–18; PII II. Comment. 115–16; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 82 and 263. INFESSURA, 1136, wrongly gives the 5th October as the day of his arrival (see VOIGT, III., 151), and L'ÉPINOIS, 32, the 7th. The latter mistake is due to the fact that the Pope returned on that day to the Vatican. To this circumstance Card. Scarampo, in a *Letter to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1460, Oct. 8, refers when he says the Pope came back yesterday, "cum grandissima letitia universalmente da tucto el popolo Romano." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 263; PII II. Comment. 121–24.

‡ *Despatch of Otto de Carretto and Augustinus de Rubeis, ex urbe die 14 Octobris, 1460. State Archives, Milan.

Pope, and to plunder the rich merchants and Cardinals. Soothsayers had persuaded him that the power of the priests was to be overthrown that year; he did not ask for mercy, only for a speedy death. His companions expressed similar sentiments. The Pope forbade them to be tortured; but on the last day of October, Tiburzio, Bonanno Specchio, and six others, were hanged in the Capitol.* "If in Porcaro the democratic movement had already degenerated to the level of Catiline, in Tiburzio and Valeriano, the heroes of 1460, it had sunk to that of mere brigandage."†

The position of Pius II., threatened as he was by Piccinino, was so precarious that he offered on fair conditions to make peace with Jacopo Savelli.‡ Early in December a reconciliation with this "most audacious opponent" of the temporal power of the Pope seemed actually effected;§ but Piccinino again advanced with

* INFESSURA, 1139 (where again 1460 is to be substituted for 1459); N. D. TUCCIA, 264; Chronic. Eugub., 998 *seq.*; RAPH. VOLATERRANUS, Comm. 253; PII II. Comment. 117–20; *Cronica di Forli, f. 269b (Cod. 234, Library of Prince Boncompagni, Rome); and the *Despatch of Antonio Ricao of the 6th Nov., 1460. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, see Appendix N. 41.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 177, 3rd ed. "Bandum pro quiete urbis" of the 2nd Nov., 1460; see THEINER, Cod. II., 415–16.

‡ Brief of 19th Nov., 1460. PII Epist., Mediol., 18th edit. In RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 70 and 71, are letters from the Pope to Milan and Florence, asking for assistance. The threatening attitude of Piccinino is mentioned in a despatch of "G. de Piccolominibus" to Siena, dated Rome, 1460, Nov. 25. State Archives, Siena.

§ "Jac°. Savello ha mandato a chiedere misericordia a la Sta di N. S. il quale e tanto clemente che e contento riceverlo et per tanto sono levate le offese infino a martedi proximo. Spero fra oggi o domane si concludara." G. de Piccolominibus to Siena, dated Rome, 1460, Dec. 6. State Archives, Siena.

his troops, whereupon Savelli broke off the negotiations.*

The misunderstandings between Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and the irritation of the former at the occupation of Terracina by the Pope, account for the fact that they did not pursue Piccinino "when he attacked the territory of the Church." In the end, however, by their efforts he was induced to retire to the Abruzzi for the winter.†

The French suffered a serious disaster in the spring of 1461. A revolution broke out in Genoa in the month of March; the French garrison was compelled to retire into the fortress, and was there besieged. Milan supported the revolutionists. King René, who himself came to the rescue, was completely defeated, and finally the fortress was taken.‡

This was a terrible blow to the Angevine party in the Kingdom of Naples. No decisive battle took place during the summer of 1461. Skanderbeg appeared in August, with between two and three thousand Albanians to support Ferrante in Apulia, but his undisciplined hordes only added to the general confusion.§

* Despatch of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Rome, 1460, Dec. 10.

† VOIGT, III., 153 *seq.* "*Infine aviso V. E. che tra li ill. signori Alexandro et Conte d'Urbino non e bona intelligentia, ma guerra et dissentione in modo che non saria possibile nisi aliter provideatur a fare cosa che ben fosse." O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1460, Nov. 15, third *Despatch of the same day, State Archives, Milan.

‡ BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., 307 *seq.*, IV., 361–2; VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 436; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 327 *seq.*; VAESEN, Lettres de Louis XI., I., 354 *seq.* (Paris, 1883).

§ CIPOLLA, 493; PAGANEL, 264 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 158, makes Skanderbeg's expedition take place in July. This, however, is contradicted by the Despatches of Antonius Guidobonus, dated Venice, 1461, Aug. 12 and 25 *seq.* See MAKUSCEV, II., 156, and his work, Slaven, 101–3, where

The Pope meanwhile was labouring earnestly for the restoration of peace in his own immediate neighbourhood. Rome was full of fear and excitement; the Palaces of the Cardinals were fortified and occupied by armed men.* In March, 1461, eleven other members of Tiburzio's band, who had ventured from Palombara to Rome, were executed.† In May it was given out that the Pope intended to make a supreme effort to rid himself of Jacopo Savelli, who, in his own immediate neighbourhood, was constantly threatening him.‡ Great apprehensions were entertained that this attempt might prove a failure, but Federigo of Urbino fully justified his reputation for generalship. By the beginning of July the whole of the Sabina was subdued; Savelli, shut up in Palombara, was compelled to capitulate. On the 10th he threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who received him graciously, and in consideration of his connection with the Colonna, granted peace on moderate terms.§

however, the success of the Albanians is greatly exaggerated; as also by BARLETIUS in his well-known Biography of the Albanian Leader. G. Lolli, in a *Letter, dated Tivoli, Sept. 9, 1461, gives the number of the Albanians as 2000, State Archives, Siena.

* "*Qui se vive cum grande carestia et suspecto, non ce Cardinale chi non habia armata la famiglia et casa sua." Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, Feb. 23. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 265, and the Report of Fantinus de Valle in PALACKY, Beiträge, 243. See **Despatch of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 26. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ "*La impresa de Palombara pur se fara per quello se ne vede fin qui. E vero che ge sono pratiche assai de accordo, ma il papa ge malissimo disposto et dice vole batter tucti li altri baroni de Roma cum lo exempio de questo. Se la reusira bene, sera contra la commune opinione." *Despatch of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, May 6. Gonzaga Archives. See also PORTIOLI, 24–8.

§ PII II. Comment. 135; CUGNONI, 209 *seq.*; SIMONETA, 727;

Rome, however, still continued restless. If an ox was stolen, as Pius II. told the Milanese Envoys, the people were all in commotion.* At the end of July a plot to blow up the castle of St. Angelo was discovered. At the beginning of the following month, bearing arms within the City was severely punished.† A fresh outbreak of disturbance occurred when the Pope, who had been ill ever since the spring,‡ left Rome on the 21st July for Tivoli, to escape from the heat. The authorities had great difficulty in restoring order. The Envoy from Mantua relating these occurrences, expresses his fear that the Sicilian Vespers would be repeated in Rome. The citizens were utterly ungovernable. Mildness and severity were alike unavailing.§

During his summer sojourn at Tivoli the Pope was not inactive. Considering the defenceless state of this City,

Chronic. Eugub., 1001 ; PALMERIUS, 245. See the *Despatches of Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, July 5, 10, 14, and 17 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Report of O. de Carretto of the 11th July, 1461, in Appendix N. 49, State Archives, Milan.

* *Despatch of O. de Carretto and Augustinus de Rubeis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1461, May 21. State Archives, Milan.

† *Reports of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, July 3 and 5. See the Ambassador's **Despatches of June 29 and 30, 1461 ; also Appendix N. 47, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On the 28th January, 1461, Pius II. had published a decree against murder ; see Bull. 156-8.

‡ See *Despatches of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 23 and April 3. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See **Report of B. Bonatto of July 22nd, 1461 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Several of the Cardinals had left the City before the Pope did. Cardinal L. J. de Mila, on the 21st June, writing "ex urbe," expresses his intention "hoc tempore Romanos confugere calores" to come to Siena. A follower of Tiburzio's was executed in the end of February, 1463. See *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1463, Feb. 26. Gonzaga Archives.

which commanded the passes, he ordered a citadel to be built, and he also reformed its Franciscan Convent.* Besides this he found time for scientific studies; he was then working at his description of Asia. He also frequently sought refreshment for mind and body by making excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood.

The peace of the States of the Church was at this time disturbed not only by the Neapolitan war, but also by the hostile attitude of Sigismondo Malatesta. The despot of Rimini is not only the most horrible figure in the history of the early Renaissance, but "one of the most detestable rulers of any age. Bold, skilful, and frequently successful, he united the characteristics of the fox and the wolf, which Machiavelli holds to be necessary for the establishment of a tyranny." He was withal a patron of learning and art, and himself a poet, philosopher, and scholar. But all this humanistic culture did not hinder Sigismondo from sinking to the lowest depths of moral depravity. There was no crime which this reckless heathen "had not committed, or at least was not deemed capable of committing. From jealousy or passion he murdered or put away two wives, and outside his own family circle his insatiable sensuality and cruelty drove him to commit the most horrible crimes."† His

* AMMANATI, Ep., f. 37b; WADDING, XIII., 201; VIOLA, III., 99 *seq.*; NIBBY, Viaggio antiq., I., 153; GORI, Viaggio antiquario di Roma a Tivoli, I., 17 (Roma, 1855); MANDALARI, P. Vitali, 16 (Roma, 1877).

† GEIGER, 212–13, and LÜTZOW, Zeitschr., XVIII., 3–4. See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 33, 271 (3rd ed.), II., 225, 327; JANITSCHEK, 31. The account given of Sigismondo by PONTANUS, De immanitate c. 17 (Opp. I., 322) is horrible: "filium suum Robertum cognoscere tentavit." Burckhardt *loc. cit.* attributes his crime not to mere depravity, but to astrological or magic superstition. The latest monograph regarding Sigismondo by YRIARTE (1882) is, indeed, a magnificent work, but leaves much to be desired in the way of historical accuracy. See

quarrel with Pius II. dated from the peace to which the Pope had constrained him at Mantua. Sigismondo took advantage of the invasion of the States of the Church by Piccinino to resume possession of the territory which he had then surrendered.* In November, 1460, Pius II. had invoked the assistance of the Duke of Milan against him, and had also commenced legal proceedings.†

On the 25th December he was excommunicated as a notorious criminal, and declared to have forfeited his dominions.‡

Heathen as he was, he merely mocked at the sentence, and jestingly asked whether excommunicated persons could still taste good wine and relish the pleasures of the table. The Pagan Humanism found a congenial soil in his depraved and defiant nature. He had already shewn his contempt for the ceremonies of the Church. It is said that on one occasion, as he was returning from a banquet, he caused the holy water stoup of a church to be filled with ink.§ The unchristian temper of his mind

JANITSCHEK, Repertorium, VII., 156 *seq.*; LÜTZOW, Zeitschr., XVIII., 1 *seq.* Yriarte's exploration of the Archives is very incomplete, or he could not have overlooked the most interesting letter of his "hero" which I found in the Milan Archives (see *infra*, p. 125).

* VOIGT, III., 127 *seq.*, 160.

† Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1460, November 4, State Archives, Milan. See the *Brief of the 25th November, 1460, to Cardinal Forteguerri, Laurentian Library.

‡ **Report of Carlo da Franzoni of the 26th December, 1460. See **Despatch of G. Chigi, of Jan. 16, 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to the custom of the time caricatures of Malatesta were exhibited in the towns of the States of the Church. It is worthy of remark that this was not permitted in Bologna. Chronica di Bologna, 739, and *Brief of Pius II. of 9th October, 1461, State Archives, Bologna; see Appendix N. 50.

§ VOIGT, III., 123 *seq.*

was also exhibited in the extraordinary edifice to which his contemporaries gave the name of the "Temple of Malatesta."

All historians of art agree in saying that the Church of San Francesco, when rebuilt according to the plan of Leon Battista Alberti in the newly-revived Classical style, had far more resemblance to a heathen temple than to a Christian church. The only difference, as a witty observer puts it, is that it was destined, not for the worship of Juno, Venus, or Minerva, but for that of Sigismondo's mistress (afterwards his wife), the beautiful Isotta.*

The profane character of the "Temple of Malatesta" was strikingly manifested in the interior, which was adorned with royal magnificence. "In all the marble tablets lavishly spread over the walls, scarcely a single Christian symbol, or figure from any saintly legend, is to be seen." Of the numerous inscriptions but one has a doubtful reference to religion. The cross, the Christian symbol of victory, seems to be purposely avoided in the decoration. On the other hand "heathen allusions abound, and Isotta and Sigismondo appear as the presiding genii of the edifice, the divinities to be honoured in the temple." On the balustrades, friezes, arches, vaults, everywhere the interlaced letters I (sotta) and S (igismondo), together with the arms and emblems of Malatesta, are introduced. Some of the inscriptions deify the builder as the Jupiter

* MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 87; BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 8; YRIARTE, 180–98; and the Reviews of this splendid work by C. von FABRICZY in the Allgem. Zeitung. 1883, Supplement No. 242–4, and by GEIGER in LÜTZOW, Zeitschr. für Kunst, XVIII., 1 *seq.* The foundations of San Francesco were laid, not in 1446, as Yriarte, Geiger, 7, and Lützow, 368, say, but in 1447; see Cronica di Rimini, 960, and TONINI 210.

or the Apollo of Rimini.* Diana, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, even Venus arising from the sea,† together with almost all the other personages of the heathen Olympus, are portrayed in the Chapel of St. Jerome! The sarcophagus of Sigismondo, and the splendid monument of Isotta, which rests on two elephants, the armorial supporters of the Malatesta, are equally devoid of any Christian symbol. Isotta's monument, erected in her lifetime, has an inscription in which the title of Diva is bestowed upon her! Many of the sculptures are illustrations of a love-poem addressed by Sigismondo to Isotta.‡

Certainly such an edifice as this fully merited the condemnation of Pius II., who says in his Memoirs that San Francesco at Rimini appeared to be a temple for heathen rather than for Christian worship.§

The sympathies of the Duke of Milan were not altogether with the Pope's expedition against Malatesta, for he would rather have seen all forces directed to the Neapolitan war.‖ Pius II., however, was not to be deterred, and sent 5000 men, under the command of Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Archbishop of Corneto, against the tyrant. The two armies met at Nidastore in the Marches, on the

* YRIARTE, 196–8, 237–8, and the above-mentioned articles of Fabriczy and Geiger.

† See the illustrations in YRIARTE, 203, 216–17.

‡ See YRIARTE, 213 and 219. Here are given good representations of the tombs of Isotta (145) and Sigismondo (272). Yriarte gives proof that Isotta, whom the court poets celebrated as a model of purity, beauty, and culture, was utterly uneducated, and even unable to write.

§ PII II. Comment. 51.

‖ **Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1461, Jan. 3rd (Ambrosian Library). The feverish, excited preparations of Sigismondo are mentioned in the *Report of B. Bonatto to Lod. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, May 21. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

2nd July, 1461. Sigismondo fought like a "furious bear," and completely routed the Papal troops.*

The Venetians rejoiced at the issue of this conflict, and took the opportunity of accepting from Sigismondo a mortgage on Monte Marciano. The Pope remonstrated, but without effect, for it was the policy of the Signoria "gradually to acquire territory on the coast." Piccinino and the Prince of Tarento aided Sigismondo by sending him 16,000 ducats.†

The defeat at Nidastore greatly alarmed the Pope, but did not dishearten him. He commanded the Legate of the Marches to collect more troops, and took Napoleone Orsini into his service.‡ In August, 1461, he even seemed not indisposed to grant a truce to his enemy.

The position of Pius II. was at this time most precarious. His finances were exhausted, his troops hardly sufficed to resist Sigismondo.§ The Duke of Milan fell

* Pii II. Comment. 141; SIMONETA, 730; Chronic. Eugub., 1001, and the detailed account from the Chronicle of Broglio, Codex D. III., 48, Gambalunga Library, Rimini; TONINI, 281 *seq.*; REPOSATI, I., 205. The above date is corroborated by the **Despatch of B. Bonatto of the 5th July (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and Ghirardacci's Chronicle, St. di Bologna, *loc. cit.*, University Library, Bologna. On the 6th July, 1461, Pius II. endeavoured to console B. Vitelleschi; see Appendix N. 48, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See BALDASSINI, Mem. 165, and App. C.; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 10; BATTAGLINI, 644; Mem. di Rimino, 644 (Bologna, 1789); TONINI, 288 *seq.*, and App. 220–1; VOIGT, III., 170; L'ÉPINOIS, 433.

‡ *Legato Marchie, dated 5 Julii A° 3°, Lib. brev. 9, f. 190, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Despatch of Otto de Carretto of August 18, 1461, State Archives, Milan. The original of the **Document for N. Orsini, dated Tibure, 1461, XVI. Cal. Sept., in the Orsini Archives (II. A. XVII. No. 35), Rome.

§ **Legato Marchie (*s. d.*), Lib. brev. 9, f. 247, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

seriously ill, and the French party at his Court used every effort to break the alliance with Naples. The Pope now began to say that "it was impossible for him longer to endure the complaints and grievances daily brought forward by the King of France, by most of the Prelates, and almost all the Court; he had exposed the Church to much danger on Ferrante's account, whose enemies were increasing in number like the heads of the Hydra; it would therefore be much better to be neutral and await the issue of the struggle, to take care of the States of the Church, and spend the money on the war with the Turks."* But Francesco Sforza stood firm, and the marriage of the Pope's nephew Antonio to Maria, the natural daughter of Ferrante, which took place late in the autumn, was a fresh tie binding him more closely to the house of Aragon. Antonio, who already bore the title of Duke of Sessa, was now made Chief Justice of the Kingdom and Duke of Amalfi.†

In the following March (1462) a brilliant Embassy from Louis XI., the new King of France, arrived in Rome, and made fresh efforts to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou. After a short period of indecision, however, Pius II. determined to adhere to his alliance with Ferrante.‡

The summer of the same year witnessed the close of the struggle which had so terribly devastated the Nea-

* SIMONETA, 731; VOIGT, III., 162. I searched in vain in 1882 in the State Archives at Milan for Carretto's letter of 1461 which Simoneta mentions. Perhaps in the new arrangement of the Archives which has now been undertaken it may again come to light.

† VOIGT, III., 163 *seq.*; PORTIOLI, 29. On the 30th May, 1461, Pius II. in an eloquent *Letter congratulated his nephew on his approaching marriage. A copy is in Cod. I., 28, Borghese Library, Rome.

‡ See *infra*, Chap. IV

politan kingdom.* On the 18th August, 1462, Ferrante and Alessandro Sforza gained a decisive victory at Troja over Piccinino and John of Calabria.† Its immediate result was that the Prince of Tarento made his peace with Ferrante. And this was the turning-point of the war.

As might have been anticipated, events now succeeded each other somewhat rapidly. In the autumn of the following year (1463), Piccinino entered the service of the victor for high pay. Aquila, "which had ever since 1460 displayed the banner of Anjou," capitulated; at last Marzano, Duke of Sessa and Prince of Rossano, also yielded.‡ The unfortunate Duke of Calabria fled in September, 1463, to Ischia. In the middle of October

* "*Et e tanto, S. miei, la destructione dello reame universale che e una pieta," writes Petronius on the 15th May, 1462, from Rome to Siena (State Archives, Siena). Rome was at this time quiet, as the same writer bears witness in the P.S. of a *Letter of the 23rd May, 1462. On the 13th February, 1462, the Pope had strictly forbidden any vassal of the Church to enter into the military service of any other power without his permission. *Despatch of L. Petronius, dated Rome, 1462, Feb. 14. State Archives, Siena.

† PONTANUS, Lib. IV.; SIMONETA, 736 *seq.*; PII II. Comment. 247 *seq.*; Chronic. Eugub., 1002; NOTAR GIACOMO, 104; CAGNOLA, 157–8; Giornali Nap., 1133; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 340, II., 434. *G. de Piccolominibus on the 24th August, 1462, writing from Pienza, gives the Sienese "la felice nuova de la rotta data per la M^ta del S. Re al duca Giovanni et al conte Jaco." State Archives, Siena.

‡ For an account of the beginning of the negotiations which led to the defection of Piccinino and Marzano, see the *Report of Card. Gonzaga, dated Tivoli, 1463, Aug. 10, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Regarding Marzano's reconciliation, see *Despatch of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Tivoli, 1463, Sept. 5 (State Archives, Siena), and the *Bull of Pius II. of 16th Sept., 1463 (Orsini Archives, Rome). Regarding Aquila, see VOIGT, III., 177 *seq.*; Saggiatore, I., 180, and the *Brief of June 10th, 1461; see Appendix Nos. 45 and 46, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Pope was able to recall his troops from Naples.* On the death of the Prince of Tarento in the following month, Ferrante appropriated his treasure and his fiefs.† There was no further hope for the house of Anjou, and in the spring of 1464, Duke John returned to Provence.‡

It has been already stated that Antonio Piccolomini had been invested by Ferrante with the Duchies of Sessa and Amalfi, in recognition of the assistance rendered by Pius II. in the war with Anjou. The ambition of the Pope's nephew was not, however, satisfied, and, with the help of his powerful patron, he succeeded in 1463 in also becoming Count of Celano.§

His too great attachment to his relations is an often recurring blot on the Pontificate of Pius II. Laudomia, his sister, who had married Nanni Todeschini, had, besides Antonio, three other sons, named Andrea, Giacomo, and Francesco. Small fiefs were granted by the Pope to

* See *Despatch of Nicodemus, of the 21st Sept., 1463, State Archives, Milan; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, II., 435. Card. Gonzaga in a *Letter of Oct. 15, 1463, informs his father of the recall of the Papal Troops. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Various dates are given for the death of the Prince of Tarento; see VOIGT, III., 179; that of December 26th in TOMACELLI, Storia di Napoli dal 1458 al 1464 (Napoli, 1840), is certainly wrong. Baldinus vicedux in a *Despatch to Siena, dated Naples, 1463, Nov. 18, speaks of the death of the Prince (State Archives, Siena); J. de Arretio, in a *Report to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 23rd, mentions the 14th Nov. as the day of his death (Gonzaga Archives). Regarding the fiefs of the deceased, see GOTHEIN, 284.

‡ RINUCCINI, Ricordi XCIII.; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 342. On the 11th August, 1463, Pius II. had exhorted him to give up the hopeless contest; see the *Brief of this date in the University Library, Turin, Cod. I., VI., 21, f. 59b.

§ CORSIGNANI, I., 485 *seq.*; CARAFFA, Hist. di Napoli, I., 209; COSTANZO, 258; TUZII, 116 *seq.*; BRANCA, Mem. Stor. di Sora, 129 *seq.* (Napoli, 1847); VOIGT, III., 176 *seq.*; TOSTI, 171.

Andrea and Giacomo, and Francesco was in March, 1460, raised to the purple. Niccolo Forteguerri, a maternal kinsman of Pius II., was also promoted to the same dignity. "A crowd" of Sienese relations was introduced into the Prefectures of the States of the Church.*

This favour was extended to the Sienese in general. The Pope clung with enthusiastic affection to the home of his youth,† to the undulating hills, the orchards and vineyards which he has so gracefully described. He loved to dwell in the rural solitude of Corsignano, or in Siena, the city of castellated towers, which still retains many memorials of his frequent visits. The principal scenes of his eventful life are depicted in its Cathedral Library in the great historical frescoes of Pinturicchio.‡

Those who surrounded the Pope were "almost all Sienese, and of these Sienese the majority were Piccolomini." His Maggiordomo was Alessandro de Miraballi-Piccolomini, also Prefect of Frascati from the year 1460. His special confidants were Jacopo Ammanati, created Cardinal in 1460, and Gregorio Lolli, the son of his aunt, Bartolomea; § "but

* VOIGT, III., 554 *seq.* See REUMONT, III., I, 491 *seq.*, and Römische Briefe, IV., 164 *seq.*, as well as SANSI, Storia, 51-2. It is characteristic that in his first *Brief to Siena (dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 29) Pius II. warmly recommends the Piccolomini Family (State Archives, Siena). C. LEONE, 195.

† See in particular the Report of the Sienese Ambassador, MIGNANELLI in Tre Lettere, 18-19.

‡ This series of frescoes, painted by Pinturicchio between 1502-8 for Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, furnishes on the whole the best and truest example of the early Italian Renaissance with its wealth of form and colour. LÜTZOW, 321; FALUSCHI, 16 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 572 *seq.*, and CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 293 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, Rafael und Pinturicchio in Siena (Stuttgart, 1880).

§ VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; SANSI, Storia, 53. The Archivio Piccolomineo (Arch. della Consorteria delle famiglie Piccolomini) was early in this century, by an abuse of confidence, deprived of its most precious

at any rate Pius II. did not enrich his nephews at the expense of the States of the Church, and he observed the same discretion even after Malatesta had been subdued." *

At the very time when the fate of the house of Anjou was decided at Troja, fortune also turned against Sigismondo. In the spring of 1462, Pius II. had plainly manifested his intention of inflicting exemplary punishment on the tyrant. In two different parts of Rome his effigy, a speaking likeness from the hand of Paolo Romano, was burned, an inscription in these words being affixed to it: "This is Sigismondo Malatesta, king of traitors, enemy of God and man, condemned to the fire by the decision of the Sacred College." † Sigismondo not only sought to avenge himself with his pen for these words, which expressed the general opinion, but also determined to defend himself with the sword to the last drop of his blood, for, as he wrote to the Duke of Milan, a brave death ennobles a whole life! ‡

treasures. What is still preserved there is of no great importance. Enea Piccolomini gave some extracts in his Documenti, Siena, 1871. The relations of Pius II. with the authorities of Siena, who viewed him merely as a Piccolomini, were always more or less strained; see *supra*, pp. 50 and 54; also, in regard to the further phases of the constitutional question, VOIGT, III., 558 *seq.*, and the appointments of Sienese to Bishoprics, 565.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 188, 3rd ed.

† PII II. Comment. 184–5; TONINI, 289; YRIARTE, 287; GEIGER, 213, is wrong in assigning the burning to the year 1461. This date is opposed by the calculation in MÜNTZ, I., 248, and the *Report of B. Marasca of the 27th April, 1462 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), as also by a **Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga of April 28, *ibid.* It was at this period customary to exhibit the portraits of adversaries, accompanied by satirical verses; see REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 105, 2nd ed. It is interesting to observe that Sigismondo had, in 1461, vainly sought the aid of Louis XI. against the Pope; see FIERVILLE, 115.

‡ Sigismondo's characteristic *Letter to Fr. Sforza is given in Appendix N. 56, from the State Archives, Milan.

On the 12th August, 1462, after suffering a severe defeat at Sinigaglia from Federigo of Urbino, he fled to Apulia. He intended to seek assistance from John of Calabria and the Prince of Tarento, but their power had been broken at Troja, and Sigismondo found but the fragments of the Angevine army. "He returned to Rimini even more disheartened than he had started." His last hope was in Venice. The Republic had formerly given secret support to his family,† and now by letters and Ambassadors importuned the Pope to grant favourable terms to the rebel, to whom, at the same time, pecuniary assistance was privately afforded.‡ Meanwhile, Federigo, rejecting the attempts made by Malatesta to shake his allegiance to his master,§ vigorously followed up his victory; while none of Malatesta's subjects raised a hand to defend the tyrant they abhorred. Diplomatic intervention in favour of Sigismondo led to nothing. Pius II. was evidently determined to crush the tyrant. ||

* Pii II. Comment. 258–9, where the above date is mentioned. Regarding other dates, see VOIGT, III., 168; TONINI, 293, and YRIARTE, 290. Those writers who give the 24th or 26th August as the day are certainly mistaken, for Federigo of Urbino writes on the 21st August, 1462, "ex castris sanct^mi. D. N.; *De la nostra victoria contra el S. Sigismondo semo certo ne havete havuto grandissima alegreza et consolatione et e raxonevole chel sia cusi. Speramo del continuo farve sentire del altre cose che ve piaceranno." Archives of Urbino, I.G., CIV., N. 7, State Archives, Florence.

† VOIGT, III., 168, 170.

‡ **Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 121b, 28 Oct., 1462, State Archives, Venice.

§ See the **Brief of Oct. 7th, 1462, in the State Archives, Florence.

|| See **Report of O. de Carretto ex Petriolo, 28 Oct., 1462, State Archives, Milan. Regarding Malatesta's tyranny, see SIENA, Storia di Sinigaglia (1746), 138, 235; and for an account of the intervention in which Milan and Florence, as well as France (VOIGT, III., 169) and Venice (see *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 123 *seq.*), took part, see the

In the following year, 1463, as soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Federigo again took the field against the rebel, whose condition became more and more hopeless. His younger brother, Domenico, despairing of any change of fortune, sold Cervia for 4000 ducats to Venice, which had recently taken forcible possession of Ravenna.*

From the month of June the conflict was carried on chiefly round Fano, a strong place to which Federigo laid siege by land, while Cardinal Forteguerri strove to cut off all access to it by sea. Early in August the Papal fleet gained a victory over that of Malatesta; "but two Venetian galleys appeared, released Malatesta's ships and chased the Armada of the Pope back to Ancona." † Venice continued to succour the beleaguered city, but it was finally taken by the Papal troops on the 25th September. Sinigaglia next surrendered. ‡ The Papal force

*Despatches of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Tuderti, 1462, Dec. 1 and 3. State Archives, Siena.

* SUGENHEIM, 340; VOIGT, 171. Regarding the purchase of Cervia, see *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 152, May 14, 1463, State Archives, Venice.

† VOIGT, III., 172. See TONINI, 297, and in Appendix N. 58, the interesting *Despatch of Nicodemus of 7th Aug., 1463. State Archives, Milan.

‡ According to TONINI, 297, Fano was taken on the 13th, and according to CIAMPI, Forteguerri, 12, on the 16th September. Both are wrong; see the *Despatch of L. Benvoglienti of September 27, 1463 (State Archives, Siena), and the report of Federigo of Urbino to Fr. Sforza, of Sept. 25, 1463, which I found in the Ambrosian Library. According to this the capitulation was determined on *questa matina*. Ph. de Lignamine agrees with this statement. The Chronic. Eugub. 1006, says that the fortress capitulated on the 28th. On the 9th Oct. 1463, Cardinal Gonzaga writes to his father: *"Ritrovandomi questa sera a palatio cum la S. de N. S. se hebbe la novella che Senegallia insieme cum la rocha senza un trar de bombardo se era data a la chiesia" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the same year, Pius II. gave Sinigaglia with Mondavio to his nephew Antonio; see *L.

then advanced to Rimini, where Sigismondo, "completely broken in spirit, awaited his fate."

To the intercession of Venice, supported by Florence and Milan, the tyrant owed the pardon granted to him by the Pope. Its conditions, however, were so hard that his power was thoroughly shattered; Venice had to raise the siege of Trieste, of which Pius II. had once been Bishop. Sigismondo, who was required to abjure his "heresy," retained possession of the city of Rimini, with a territory of five miles in circumference, while his brother occupied one of similar extent around Cesena. Both undertook to pay an annual tribute to the Apostolic See, and in the event of their death without legitimate heirs their lands were to revert to the Church.*

Thus did the most powerful of all the despots of Italy, the man who "for twenty years had been the terror of Princes and Popes," fall before the unwarlike Pius II. "He could now look down with satisfaction from Monte Cavo, the highest of the Alban Hills, which commands the plain from Terracina to Capo Argentaro, on the broad States of the Church—a country which, if it contained nothing but Alma Roma, contains that which suffices to make its rulers the equals of Emperors." †

Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 30, State Archives, Siena.

* VOIGT, III., 173; SUGENHEIM, 340 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 178, 2nd ed. Regarding the intercession of Fr. Sforza for Sigismondo, see CLEMENTINI, Racc. Storico di Rimino, II., 244 (Rimini, 1627) and the **Despatches of O. de Carretto and Augustinus, dated ex urbe die xxi., Oct. 1463, State Archives, Milan. Federigo of Urbino was largely rewarded; see BALDI, III., 54 *seq.*, and REPOSATI, I., 215 *seq.*; VOIGT, *loc. cit.* The extent to which the Pope confided in him is manifested in the **Brief of Sept. 7, 1463. State Archives, Florence. See UGOLINI, I., 405 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 189, 3rd ed.

CHAPTER IV.

Opposition to Papal Authority in France and Germany.

The state of ecclesiastical and political affairs in France and Germany was such as to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than the troubles of his native land. The indifference of these two great powers to the Crusade was in itself a serious sign of the lessening influence of the Church. The effects of the false doctrines promulgated at Constance and Basle manifested themselves in both countries in a yet more alarming manner, in persistent efforts to destroy her monarchical constitution. All attempts of this kind were resisted by Pius II. with a clear apprehension of the dignity of his office as Head of the Priesthood. His zeal and firmness in vindicating the authority and the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the assaults of the Conciliar and national parties are doubly admirable when we consider the difficult circumstances of his time.

Twenty years had elapsed since, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7th, 1438), France had assumed a semi-schismatical position. The Resolutions drawn up during that period of confusion hardly left to the Pope any influence in ecclesiastical appointments in France, and also deprived his Court of the revenues formerly drawn from that country. Moreover, since they reaffirmed

the Decree regarding the Superiority of Councils, they also threatened the monarchical constitution conferred by Christ on His Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, in the opinion of a non-Catholic student, was an abiding memorial of the Conciliar ideas, principles and aims, and of the opposition of the national spirit to the theory of the Universal Church. It expressed the pretension of the temporal ruler to order ecclesiastical matters in his kingdom according to his own good pleasure. As long as France adhered to it, a precedent existed to which other nations could appeal, and which constituted a perpetual menace to the Papal power. While it remained in force the restored Papacy could not consider its authority to be perfectly re-established. France had based her position on the Decrees of Constance and Basle, and was accordingly compelled to sympathise with every movement which aimed at the maintenance of the superiority of Councils over the Pope.*

Efforts had not been wanting to procure the repeal of this law, which had proceeded from an authority absolutely incompetent to deal with ecclesiastical matters. Eugenius IV., Cardinal d'Estouteville, acting for Nicholas V., and finally Calixtus III., had all laboured, though vainly, in this direction.†

Pius II. took up the question energetically. The picture

* CREIGHTON, II., 423-26; VOIGT, III., 181 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, III., 326 *seq.*; FEVRE, VI., 174 *seq.*; DE BEAUCOURT in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., XII., 104; PÓR, Aen. Sylvius, 214 (Budapest, 1880); MÜNCH, Concordate, I., 207, characterises the Pragmatic Sanction as a deadly blow to the Roman Court in that most important portion of its domain, France. See also the memorials of G. Aquaviva on the causes of the spread of heresies in the 16th century in LÄMMER, Melet. Rom. Mant., 222 (Ratisbonae, 1875).

† See Vol. II. of this work, pp. 104 and 379, where the documents are given; also BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., 319.

which he drew in his Memoirs of the effects of the Pragmatic Sanction shews how deeply impressed he was with the necessity of obtaining its revocation. "The French Prelates," he writes, "supposed they would have greater liberty; but, on the contrary, they have been brought into grievous bondage, and made the slaves of the laity. They are forced to give an account of their affairs to Parliament; to confer benefices according to the good pleasure of the king and the more powerful nobles; to promote minors, unlearned, deformed and illegitimate persons to the priestly office; to remit the punishment of those whom they have justly condemned; to absolve the excommunicated without satisfaction. Any one conveying into France a Bull contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction is made liable to the penalty of death. Parliament has meddled with the affairs of the Bishops, with Metropolitan Churches, with marriages and matters of faith. The audacity of the laity has gone so far that even the most Holy Sacrament has been stopped by order of the King when borne in procession for the veneration of the people or for the consolation of the sick. Bishops and other Prelates and venerable priests have been cast into common prisons. Church property and the goods of the clergy have been confiscated on trifling pretexts by a secular judge, and handed over to lay people." *

At the Congress of Mantua, Pius II. had made no secret of his opinions. In the memorable audience in

* Pii II. Comment. 160; VOIGT, III., 186; DANSIN, 257. The power of interference in the internal affairs of the Church granted by the Pragmatic Sanction to the Parliament was already very great; Parliament soon extended it so far that, in 1453, Charles VII. was constrained to issue an ordinance against it; this, however, was of no avail; see PHILLIPS, III., 1, 328, and DOVE, Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, III., 85 *seq.*

which he justified his action in favour of Ferrante and against the Angevine claims supported by France, he strongly expressed his disapprobation of the abnormal position of the Church in that country of which the Pragmatic Sanction was the cause. The prohibition of appeals from the Pope to a Council, published at the conclusion of the Congress, was explicitly directed against the theory on which the French law rested.*

The irritation produced in Paris by this measure was evinced by the attitude of the University quite as much as by that of the king. This body, which from the first had been bitterly hostile to Pius II., had, even in the time of Calixtus III., nominated a committee for the interpretation and execution of the Pragmatic Sanction. On the 16th May, 1460, it further determined that these delegates should receive a salary. Negotiations with the king and the Parliament for the defence of the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church were also set on foot.† Charles VII. was all the more disposed to take up the matter, on account of his grudge against Pius II. in regard to the contest for the throne of Naples. Through his Procurator-General, Jean Dauvet, he published a very disrespectful protest against the Pope's discourse at Mantua. Pius II. was attacked for his "praise of the Bastard, which he would have done better to keep to himself;" he was admonished to take care what he did against France, to leave the Council and its decrees in peace, and to summon a free Council, not in the Lateran, but in France. Meanwhile the King would uphold the Conciliar decisions in his dominions, and should the Pope trouble him or his subjects on this account, he would appeal to a future Council; and if the Pope failed to call one in a free

* See *supra*, pp. 93 and 100 *seq.*

† BULAEUS, V., 632, 636, 642.

place, he, together with other Princes, would take the matter into his own hands.* The Pope was still further insulted by the contemptuous treatment of the ambassadors whom he had sent to negotiate with Charles regarding the war against the Turks, and who were kept for months without an answer. Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed strange that the requests of the King for the appointment of Cardinals agreeable to him were not granted.† Later on, when the anti-Papal feeling in Germany had grown very strong, fears were entertained at the Roman Court that the enemies of the Holy See in France and Germany might make common cause.‡ These apprehensions were by no means unfounded, for at this very time Gregor Heimburg, the most violent opponent of Pius II., was sent to the French Court in order to bring about a general combination against Rome, and to procure a Council.§ The Pope, therefore, deemed it prudent to ignore the conditional

* Preuves des Libertez, 502. See VOIGT, III., 187. VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 437.

† On the 7th March, 1460, *Pius II. wrote to Charles VII. that it had not been possible to confer the Red Hat, according to his request, on the Bishop of Lausanne and the Protonotary Delebreto, as the *assensus* of the Cardinals could not be obtained. Lib. brev. 9, f. 121b, *ibid.* f. 130, the *Brief concerning the Ambassadors; see Appendix N. 38, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ On the 14th Feb., 1461, B. Bonatto wrote as follows from Rome to Marquess Lodovico: *"Credo che il papa mandara etiam in Franza qualchuno; se queste due natione (French and German) concoresseno insieme poteria esser se faria qualche cossa;" he goes on to express the hope that the Council will assemble in Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 84; HASSELHOLT-STOCKHEIM, 305; MENZEL, 119. Regarding the manner in which the German enemies of Rome were instigated by France, see *infra*, p. 175, Bessarion's *Letter of 29th March, 1461, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

appeal of the French monarch to a Council, "a formal condemnation of the Paris acts would necessitate lengthy legal proceedings at the Court of Rome." But he did not modify his decrees in any way, and in his Briefs to Charles VII. constantly insisted on the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.*

It was an important advantage for Pius II. in dealing with the ecclesiastical affairs of France, that the Dauphin Louis, then an exile in Burgundy, and uncertain as to his succession, was on his side. Negotiations conducted by the ambitious and learned Bishop of Arras, Jean Jouffroy, had resulted in a formal promise from Louis that, if he should succeed to the throne, he would abolish the Pragmatic Sanction.† This event was hastened by the excesses of Charles VII., which had told most injuriously on his feeble constitution. In the summer of 1461 he was attacked by toothache; fearing poison, he refused food and drink for a considerable time, and this led to his death on the 22nd July.‡ Louis XI. became King of France.

The great question now was whether the new King would hold to the engagement which had been made under such different circumstances. The uncompromising opposition to his father's system, which he manifested

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 124. Regarding the text of Pius II.'s Brief of the 9th Dec., 1460, to Charles VII., see CIAMPINI, Parergon ad examen libri pontificalis sive epistola Pii II. ad Carolum VII. (Romae, 1688).

† PII II. Comment. 164. See a Letter of Louis XI. in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., p. 863, Basle ed.

‡ VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 458. Here (p. 443 and in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., XVII., 382 *seq.*) details are given regarding the immoral life of the King. Tidings of Charles's death reached Bologna on the 3rd August (Cr. di Bologna, 739) and Rome on the 7th.

from the first moment of his accession,* gave rise to the most favourable anticipations.

As early as the 18th August, 1461, the Pope, in an autograph letter, reminded him of his promise;† adding that the special negotiations regarding this important matter would be intrusted to a prelate, who would be acceptable to his Majesty, Jean Jouffroy, the Bishop of Arras.‡

It seems, however, as if Pius II. at this time had but little confidence in the progress of ecclesiastical affairs in France. The Bishop of Arras was accredited to England, Scotland, and Burgundy, but not to France, as if it was feared that in that country his authority as Legate a latere might meet with opposition.§ The Cardinal of Coutances was urgently exhorted to persevere in his efforts for the restoration of the Papal authority, and to do everything in his power to assist those of Louis XI.‖

Jouffroy, who was honourably received by the King,¶

* BASIN-QUICHERAT, II., 25–6; DANSIN, 259. G. Lolli wrote from Tivoli to Siena on the 11th Aug., 1561: "La nuova della morte del re di Francia fara mutare molte fantasie." State Archives, Siena.

† PII II. Ep. 23, Milan ed.

‡ Even on the 15th Aug., 1461, *O. de Carretto, writing from Tivoli, was able to inform the Duke of Milan that Jouffroy would probably be sent to Louis XI.; he speaks of the Prelate as "molto accetto et familiare allo prefato S^mo^ Re." State Archives, Milan. P. E. Roma II. For an account of the previous life of Joufiroy, see FRIZON, 512 *seq.*, the monograph of Pierre Joseph Grappin (Besançon, 1785) and the eulogistic work of FIERVILLE; see also VAHLEN, 33 and 407.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 116; VOIGT, III., 191; CHASTELLAIN, IV., 121.

‖ ** Brief to the Cardinal of Coutances, Lib. brev. 9, f. 244, Secret Archives of the Vatican (incomplete in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 117).

¶ *Brief of Pius II. to J. Jouffroy, dated Rome, 1461 Oct. 20: "Accepimus litteras tuas et intelleximus quid cum Regia Ser^te^, quid

entered upon his task with the greatest zeal; but his zeal, and the means which he employed, were far from being pure. To this ambitious man the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction was nothing but a ladder for his own exaltation. He hoped by success in this matter to earn the Cardinal's hat, which he had already vainly sought, through the intervention of the Duke of Burgundy.* With this aim in view Jouffroy began to insinuate himself into the good graces of the new King, and thanks to the "courtly address," which was his undoubted characteristic, he was soon successful.

The dislike of Louis to everything that his father had done greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the task entrusted to the Bishop of Arras. He also represented to the King that if once the arrangement made in 1438 were abolished, the influence of the nobles in the matter of Church preferment would be at an end. The idea of lowering and weakening the power of the Vassals of the Crown had, at this time, taken possession of the mind of Louis XI. In the course of these negotiations no doubt the old grievance in regard to the large sums of money drawn out of France by Rome was again revived. We have not sufficient information to follow in detail all Jouffroy's intrigues, but it is probable that these apprehensions were met by the assurance that the Pope would appoint a Legate to reside in France, who would institute to all benefices, and that thus the money would remain in the kingdom.†

ille tecum contulerit. Letamur incolumen te pervenisse ad regem et cum honore fuisse ab illo susceptum." Lib. brev. 9, f. 223, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Brief of 7th March, 1460, to Philip of Burgundy: see Appendix N 37, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Mém. de J. DU CLERCQ, V., c. 4.

Louis XI. seems to have expressed to the Legate a confident hope that, in acknowledgment of the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Pope would change his Neapolitan policy and favour the claims of France; and Jouffroy no doubt confirmed this expectation, although well aware of its fallaciousness. At Rome he said little or nothing of this, but dwelt much on Louis' noble sentiments and his firm determination to repeal the anti-Papal Law by his own authority.

On the reception of these good tidings, Pius II. at once wrote a long letter of thanks to the King. He commended Louis' decision as a great and good deed, and begged him not to defer its accomplishment. "If your Prelates and the University desire anything from Us," he says in this letter, "let them only apply to Us through You; gladly will We grant all that can fittingly be granted." At the same time he admonished the King that it was his duty to take his part in the rescue of Christendom from the Turks.*

The first and most urgent demand of Louis XI. was that Jouffroy and Prince Louis d'Albret should be raised to the purple. Pius II. perceived the necessity of granting this request, which had already been made by Charles VII., if the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction were to be accomplished. It cost him much trouble, however, to obtain the consent of the Sacred College. There were long and excited discussions, of which the Pope gives a detailed account in his Memoirs.† Many of the Cardinals were extremely averse to any increase in the

* Pius II.'s Letter of Oct. 26, 1461, in Opp. omn., 861–2.

† Pii II. Comment. 183, with the important supplement in CUGNONI, 214 *seq.* The date of the commencement of the negotiations may be gathered from the statement that Cardinal Fieschi was dead. His decease took place on the 8th Oct., 1461; see *Acta Consist., f. 30, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

numbers of the Sacred College, others brought forward objections which as d'Albret was a man of strictly moral life, were only applicable to Jouffroy. Cardinal Alain in particular painted the character of his countryman in the darkest colours. Pius II. did not contradict his statements, but pointed out the necessity, under the circumstances, of choosing the least of two evils. In the event of his refusing the King's request, the Pragmatic Sanction would not be repealed; Jouffroy would be furious and would have no difficulty in turning Louis completely against the Pope, since he was already dissatisfied with the policy of the Holy See in regard to Naples. In the beginning of December an agreement was arrived at. On the 18th, the names of seven new Cardinals were published, and amongst them were those of d'Albret and Jouffroy.*

Just at this time tidings reached Rome that Louis XI. had really revoked the Pragmatic Sanction. The King himself wrote to the Pope on the 27th November, 1461, to announce the event. "As we perceive," he said, "that obedience is better than sacrifice, we consent to admit that which you have announced to us, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction is injurious to the Holy See, and that, originating in a time of schism and revolt, it robs You, from whom all holy laws proceed, of Your authority, and is contrary to right and justice. Although some learned men have sought to refute this and have greatly dissuaded Us from the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet knowing and perceiving that You are the Prince of the whole Church, the head of religion, the Shepherd of the Lord's flock, we follow Your teaching and cleave to it with full consent. Therefore, as You require, we set aside and proscribe the Pragmatic Sanction in our whole kingdom, in Dauphiné and all our dominions, in which from henceforth

* *Acta Consist. *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Your jurisdiction shall be unquestioned. Even as the members in the human body are directed without conflict by one head and one spirit, so will the Prelates of the Church in our kingdom yield complete obedience to Your Sacred Decrees. Should any, however, offer resistance and make objections, We pledge our royal word to Your Holiness to have Your instructions carried out, to exclude all appeals, and to punish those who should prove refractory."*

When Pius II. imparted this Letter to the assembled Consistory, he could not refrain from tears of joy. His confidential secretary, Gregorio Lolli, at once sent a copy to Siena, adding that it was long since any Pope had achieved so great a victory as had now been won by their fellow-countryman.†

Antonio da Noceto, a brother of the well-known Pietro da Noceto, was sent to France to convey to the King a consecrated sword. On the blade was engraved an invitation to the Turkish war composed by Pius II., who also sent an autograph letter, praising his conduct in the highest terms.‡

On the 26th December, 1461, Gregorio Lolli had triumphantly informed his Sienese fellow-countrymen that the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction was the most

* ÆN. SYLVII Opera, 863, Basle ed. See HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 107 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 195; LEGEAY, I., 294.

† Autograph **Letter of G. Lolli, of the 15th December, 1461, State Archives, Siena.

‡ PII II. Comment. 184; Ep. 27, ed. Mediolan.; VOIGT, III., 195, is mistaken in supposing Antonio da Noceto to be the son of Pietro. GERINI (Mem. s. Lunigiana, II., 200) identifies him with Pietro; see on the contrary MINUTOLI in the Atti d. R. Accad. Lucchese (Lucca, 1882), XXI., 27 *seq.*, and Arch. St. Ital., 1889, 34 *seq.* DESJARDIN'S Louis XI., p. 12, also maintains that Louis' zeal against the Turks was not sincere.

important intelligence that could have been imparted to the Apostolic See; with one stroke a country so great as France had been won back to its allegiance, and the obedience of all Christians confirmed. They ought to thank God that His Church had been thus exalted in the time of a Sienese Pope; for their fuller information, and that they might see how unreservedly Louis XI. had revoked this enactment, he sent them a copy of two letters from Cardinals Longueil and Jouffroy.* But by the beginning of January, 1462, a report from Jouffroy of a very different character was in the Pontiff's hands. "After Jouffroy had entered the sure haven of the Cardinalate," Pius II. writes in his Memoirs, "he brought forward that which he had hitherto concealed, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction would certainly only be repealed when the King's wishes regarding Naples had been complied with."† Pius II. answered the observations of the new Cardinal regarding the practicability of carrying out the royal Decree on the 13th January, 1462. Jouffroy would, he said, no doubt be able to remove the difficulties which were arising, he could not believe in a change of purpose on the part of the pious King.‡

The conduct of Louis XI. at this time was well calculated to confirm the Pope's impression. The Parliament was commanded to have the letter of 27th November, 1461, registered as a Royal Ordinance; the King would brook no opposition.§ The objections of the Parliament and the University were sternly silenced. When a deputation

* See the text of the Letter from the Original in the State Archives, Siena, in Appendix, N. 53.

† Pii II. Comment. 186.

‡ Pii II. Ep. 26, ed. Mediol.

§ Ordonnances des Rois de France, XV., 193 (Paris, 1811). See Voigt, III., 195.

from the University of Paris appeared before the King in January, 1462, while he was at Tours, "Go your ways!" he exclaimed, "I care not to trouble myself about such as you." *

Louis XI. hoped that the Pope would reward this zeal by completely changing his policy in regard to Naples, and either openly espousing the cause of Anjou, or at least abandoning that of Ferrante. The monarch who, according to Monstrelet, could speak with the tones of a syren, did not hesitate on occasion to resort to threats. At the end of January, 1462, the Florentine Ambassadors had informed Cosmo de' Medici that Louis had sworn to avenge himself on the Pope in case he should refuse to support John of Calabria. A Council was to be called, and whatever else could most harass and annoy the Court of Rome was to be done.† The mere mention of the word Council was enough greatly to disturb the Pope; and to trusted friends, such as the Milanese Ambassador, he spoke bitterly of Gallic pride and arrogance.‡ But he concealed his vexation from the King,

* According to CHASTELLAIN, IV., 200, the King's words were: "Par la Pasque Dieu Sainte! que je n' en feray riens. Vous estes meschans gens et de mauvaise vie, et avez vos grosses grasses ribaudes que vous nourissez auprès vous. Allez vous en, car vous ne valez point que je me mesle de vous." The time when this scene took place is to be gathered from the Itinerary of Louis in JEAN DE REILHAC, etc., II., XXXII., according to which the King stayed at Tours until the 14th January, 1462.

† Report of Nicodemus of the 26th January, 1462, in BUSER, Beziehungen, 411. The account given by Nicodemus is confirmed by the Despatch of an Italian (Florentine?) *Ambassador, dated Tours, 1461 (st. fl.), January 6th, of which I found a contemporary copy in the Gaetani Archives, Rome (XLV., N. 49).

‡ *Despatch of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 6, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

and again on the 24th February wrote to him in the most friendly manner, saying that he was awaiting proposals from Jouffroy, and would refuse nothing consistent with honour and justice.*

Pius II. was, in fact, at this time seriously considering the advisability of a complete change of policy in regard to Naples. The French King's threats of an anti-Roman Council and a schism had begun to take effect. As the day of the arrival of Jouffroy and the other Ambassadors approached, his anxiety increased. Coppini, Bishop of Terni, was indefatigable on the Cardinal's side, insisting on the threatening attitude of Louis XI., and declaring that unless Pius II. took the part of Anjou, the French King would ally himself with the Venetians, send an army into Italy by way of Savoy, and so harass the Duke of Milan that he would be compelled to abandon Ferrante. Thus the whole burden of the Neapolitan war would fall on the Pope.†

Pius II. was able to conceal his agitation from the world at large, but to a few who enjoyed his confidence he made no secret of his uncertainties regarding the possibility of continuing to support Ferrante. A remarkable report, written by the Milanese Ambassador, Otto de Carretto, to Francesco Sforza on the 12th March, 1462, bears witness to this.‡ "To-day," writes the Ambassador, "after having dismissed all who were present in his room, the Pope said to me: 'Messer Otto, you are a faithful

* Epist. 28, ed. Mediol.; VOIGT, III., 196.

† PII II. Comment. 186.

‡ I found in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, the original of this **Document, which is important as correcting the picture given in the Memoirs of Pius II. Its length is such that my copy fills eighteen large pages, and I am therefore obliged to reserve it for my proposed "Collection of Documents."

servant of your lord; and as his affairs are most closely connected with my own, I will quite secretly impart certain matters to you and then ask your advice concerning them.'"

Then, continues Carretto, Pius II. proceeded to sketch the present political situation. He began with Milan and pointed out that the Duchy was surrounded by States like Savoy, Montferrat and Modena, whose sympathies were partially or entirely with France. In the case of an attack from that country, the most that could be expected from Florence would be some secret and small pecuniary aid. Venice would, no doubt, make use of a war between Milan and France for her own advantage. Francesco Sforza could reckon with certainty only on the Marquess of Mantua, whose power was not great. The discontent of many Milanese subjects,* some of whom leaned to the side of France, and others to that of Venice, must also be taken into consideration.

The Pope looked upon Ferrante's position in Naples as hopeless. His treasury was empty, and his subjects detested him; nothing but sheer force kept him on the throne. The nobles who had submitted to him might at any moment again revolt, some were already wavering; his government had no solid foundation.

He then went on to draw a melancholy and even exaggerated picture of his own difficulties. The powerful party of the Colonna was, he said, entirely devoted to France. The Savelli and Everso of Anguillara would gladly renew their alliance with Jacopo Piccinino. Many others in the dominions of the Church were discontented because their excesses had been restrained. In the Marches, the Vicar of Camerino, Giulio Cesare Varano, was a great enemy of the Holy See. He preferred to say

* See BUSER, Beziehungen, 107.

nothing of Sigismondo Malatesta, of Forli, and the Vicars of the Romagna. Florence and Venice had no more ardent wish than that the temporal power of the Church should be weakened. He could rely on no one in Italy save the Duke of Milan, and if his resources were taxed in another direction, what was to become of the Papal Government? His treasury was exhausted, his annual revenues from all sources did not altogether amount to more than 150,000 ducats. Then the spiritual power of the Holy See was a matter of incomparably greater importance than the temporal, and what was the prospect here? In Italy the religious situation was no better than the political. In Germany, by maintaining, as he was in duty bound, the honour of the Holy See, he had incurred the enmity of the powerful Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and of the Elector of Mayence. Several of the German Princes, and especially the Count Palatine Frederick, had joined the latter. Other Princes of the Empire were hostile to the Pope because of his friendship with the Emperor. The King of Hungary, who had entered into an alliance with Louis XI., was also against Frederick III. The King of Bohemia was half a heretic, the Duke of Cleves was also anti-Roman in his sympathies, because the Holy See had not yielded to his unjust requisitions upon the Church of Cologne. Spain was almost entirely led by France, and so were Burgundy and Savoy. How easy would it be for the French monarch to place himself at the head of these malcontents, especially in ecclesiastical matters. Louis XI. had indeed repealed the Pragmatic Sanction, but now, it was said, he required Rome to desist from assisting Ferrante. If his demand were refused, there was reason to fear that, under the cloak of zeal for the Church, he would insist on the summoning of a Council. All these enemies of Rome, and even many

of the Cardinals, would join him in this. A schism might easily be the consequence. He greatly feared some threat of this kind from the French Ambassadors now on their way to Rome. The Cardinals, partly from fear of a schism and partly from a leaning to France, would think it better that he should make friends with the French King in time, rather than run the risk of all the troubles that might ensue. Carretto was now required to give his opinion, but he was to speak to no one of this conversation; for the Pope had as yet kept his uncertainties secret, fearing the pressure to which he might be subjected if they were known. Moreover, he had been informed that even in the Duke's own Court there were but few who considered it expedient to persist in supporting Ferrante.*

The Milanese Ambassador replied that, notwithstanding all difficulties, his master was disposed to hold to Ferrante. The French Ambassadors, he said, must be appeased by soft words. He was, however, ready to lay before the Duke the doubts which the Pope had manifested to him.

Pius II. replied that Carretto was to express his views not as an Ambassador, but as a private individual. The latter then acknowledged all the difficulty of the situation, but also maintained that a change in the Italian policy of the Pope would in no way mend matters He was in honour bound still to support Ferrante. What kind of impression would be made if Pius II., who had hitherto helped him in every possible manner, were now, on account of French threats and persuasions, to reverse all that he had done? In regard to immediate advantages, it was to be considered that the French custom was

* Regarding the French party at Fr. Sforza's Court see *supra*, Chap. III., p. 119.

to promise much and perform little. Moreover, it was doubtful whether Louis XI. would really engage so deeply in Italian politics. Venice would hardly suffer French influence to become all-powerful in Italy. In the Milanese territory the people were not so discontented as the Pope seemed to suppose. On the contrary, never had a Prince been more loved and honoured by his subjects than was the Duke; every one of them would suffer anything rather than submit to another ruler. If Louis XI. were to interfere personally in Italian affairs, time would still be required for the necessary preparations, and meanwhile the rising in Naples might be quelled.

At the conclusion of his statement, Carretto again reverted to the opinion which he had expressed at the beginning. Admitting, he said, the existence of all these dangers, a change in the Italian policy of the Holy See would produce others of a yet more serious character If France should acquire a preponderating influence in Naples, Genoa, Asti, Florence and Modena, the haughty young King, having seen that a word had sufficed to subdue the Pope and the Duke of Milan, would soon subjugate the rest of the Peninsula. Whose fault would it then be that Italy was at the mercy of France, and the Pope reduced to the position of Chaplain to her King? What, after this, could hinder Louis XI. from placing a creature of his own on the Papal Throne, and again transferring the supreme government of the Church to his dominions? Italy and the Apostolic See ought not to be exposed to such dangers as these, in the vain hope that the French King would take part in the Turkish war. If the Cardinals, Prelates and others about the Court, were in favour of an agreement with France, the Pope must remember that they were actuated by selfish motives.

The day after this conversation the splendid Embassy from the King of France, headed by Count Pierre de Chaumont, arrived in Rome. It was received with great pomp and solemnity. As the Cardinals of Arras and Coutances were among the Envoys, most of the members of the Sacred College went as far as the Porta del Popolo to meet them. They alighted at the Convent at this gate, where newly-appointed Cardinals were accustomed to await their formal reception in Consistory.*

During these days the Milanese Envoy was indefatigable in his activity. His representations made a great impression on the Pope, but it soon became evident that other means also must be employed to counteract the menaces of France and to hold Pius II. fast to his treaty. Carretto turned to those who had most influence with the Pontiff—to Cardinals Forteguerri and Ammanati, to Gregorio Lolli, and also to Scarampo, Bessarion, Carvajal and other eminent members of the Sacred College. He deemed it a matter of the greatest importance that the French offers of large military assistance in the war against the Turks should be appreciated by that body at their real worth.

Before the reception of the French Ambassadors, Carretto had two other interviews with Pius II. In the latter of these the Pope told him that he had resolved to reply to the French in an amicable manner, and to bestow on them due praise for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and with regard to Neapolitan affairs, to inform them that he must persevere in the course which he had adopted, but that he was ready to gratify Louis XI.

* See **Carretto's Report of the 14th March, 1462, State Archives, Milan, and *Acta Consist., f. 30b, Secret Archives of the Vatican. FIERVILLE, in his Biography of Jouffroy, tells us hardly anything new in regard to the events which follow.

in any way consistent with his honour. Above all, he would not break with France; it was to be hoped that in the end some means might be found of reconciling conflicting claims. "My most anxious endeavour," writes Carretto in concluding his report, "will be to keep his Holiness firm in this matter, and to take care that no one should know of his vacillations."*

Cardinal Jouffroy had in the meantime also seen the Pope. Even in his very first audience, forgetful of his duty as a Prince of the Church, and a member of her Senate, he shewed himself simply and solely a Frenchman, the paid agent of his King. He tried by every means in his power to turn the Pope from his alliance with Ferrante. He painted in the darkest colours the disadvantages of the policy which he had hitherto pursued, in order to contrast them with the benefits which the French King could confer, dwelling especially on the great things in store for the nephews of Pius II. The Pope replied that he duly valued the friendship of France, and was sensible of the debt of gratitude which he owed to the King for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; but that what Louis demanded in regard to Naples would bring disgrace on the Holy See, and that he could not, and would not, yield in this matter. In the course of a long interview, Jouffroy, acting on his own authority, proposed that Ferrante should be compensated by the grant of the principality of Tarento. Pius II. expressed a doubt whether the Neapolitan King would consent to this plan, and finally the Cardinal took his leave, declaring that he hoped, on the next occasion, to find the Pope better disposed.†

* **Letter of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 15, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† **Second Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, of March 15th,

The solemn audience of the French Ambassadors took place on the 16th March.* Pius II, in full pontificals, sat on the throne in the great Hall of the Consistory, the Cardinals were opposite to him, while the middle space was occupied by the Bishops, Prelates, Notaries, and other officials, together with numerous spectators. When the Ambassadors had kissed the foot of the Pope, and presented their credentials, Jouffroy made a long speech. After a pompous eulogy of the French nation and its monarch, he did homage on behalf of Louis XI., read the royal decree concerning the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction,† and made magnificent promises in regard to the Turkish war. His King would lead an army of 70,000 men against Mahomet, and only asked in return that the Pope should assist him to reconquer Genoa, and

1462, Ambrosian Library. Louis XI. afterwards, but without any real intention of carrying out the arrangement, offered his daughter in marriage to the Pope's nephew; Pius politely declined, his nephew being already married. VOIGT, III., 165.

* Not on March 15th, as VOIGT, III., 197, following the Report of the Bohemian Ambassador in PALACKY, IV., 2, 220, states, for the 16th of March is mentioned: (1) by O. de Carretto in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 16; (2) by Bartholomaeus Riverius in his *Report to Fr. Sforza, of the same day: both of these Documents are in the State Archives at Milan; (3) by G. Lolli, in a **Letter to Siena, dated Rome, 1461 (st. fl.), March 17 (State Archives, Siena); (4) by *B. Bonatto to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, 1462, March 16 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); (5) in *Acta Consist. *loc. cit.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cod. Vatic., 5667, also states that Pius II. answered the French Ambassadors on the 16th March. Voigt's supposition that the Pope pronounced this discourse on the following day is mistaken, and is in direct contradiction to the Memoirs of Pius II., p. 187.

† See the *Letter of G. Lolli, of March 17, 1462, in the State Archives, Siena.

support John of Calabria instead of Ferrante in the Kingdom of Naples.

All present were filled with astonishment at the eloquence and fluency of the discourse which Pius II. made in reply. So deep was the silence, says a Milanese chronicler, that it seemed as if there were no one in the Hall.* The Pope did not fail to praise the French King, but made no allusion to his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples.† After a formal document concerning the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction had been drawn up by a notary, the hat was conferred upon Jouffroy, to whom a seat among the Cardinals was then assigned.‡

On the 17th March, Gregorio Lolli announced to his fellow-countrymen the unconditional revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. This was, he declared, the most solemn and important event which had occurred for

* "*La Sta. de N. Sre. audite queste loro offerte et supplichacione ad richiedere prout supra disi, ha risposto con tanta dolzeza, con tanta sonoritate et influentia de dire, che tuto il concistorio publico e rimasto stupefacto: tanta e stata la elegantia de lo dire che niuno pareva fusse in quella salla et tanta era la audientia che se prestava ad Sua Sta., che, Sor mio, e stata una cosa miraculosa ad audire la Sua B. proferire questa sua elegantissima et resposiva oracione in acceptare solo le offerte del la Mta. de Sre. Re de Franza facte per questi rmi. oratori soy de la quale aceptacione in publico S. B. ne ha facto tractati instrumentum per uno mes. Antonio da Eugubio doctore apostolico notaro cum quelle solempnitate se richiedono." *Report of B. Riverius in the State Archives, Milan. See in Appendix, N. 55, the *Despatch of L. Petronius, of the 17th March, State Archives, Siena.

† See *Despatch of O. de Carretto, of March 16, 1462, State Archives, Milan. The Pope's speech is in MANSI, II., 103–114.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 30b, Secret Archives of the Vatican. From the same source we learn that the ceremony of opening the mouths of the Cardinals of Coutances and Arras took place on the 29th of March.

many years at the Court. It was celebrated by processions and festivities.*

In Rome the tidings were received with an outburst of joy. Bonfires were kindled and the air was filled with the sound of trumpets and bells. The Pope was praised all the more highly because the expectations of success had been but small. No one, he says in his Memoirs, had looked upon the repeal of the law as a possibility; it was deemed a great thing that the evil had not extended yet further.†

The event was one of those which leaves its mark in the world's history. The Pope's thoughts must have reverted to those days in the spring of 1447, when, as Ambassador of Frederick III., he had procured the reconciliation of the greater part of the Holy Roman Empire with the Holy See.‡ On neither occasion can his joy have been unmixed; yet Pius II. had good reason to be satisfied at the great effects which, at least for a time, were produced by the concession of Louis XI.§

During the succeeding days, Cardinal Jouffroy and the Count de Chaumont had several prolonged audiences of

* **Letter of March 17, 1462, State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. 187. See in Appendix N. 55 the *Despatch of Petronius of March 17, 1462.

‡ See our account of this matter, Vol. I., p. 348.

§ Palacky, IV., 216–17. On the same 16th of March Bessarion held up to the Bohemian Ambassadors the splendid example which the King of France had given in his complete submission to the Pope. In spite of the opposition of the French Hierarchy Louis XI. had carried out his purpose; the honours which this action had gained for him would, in case of similar conduct, be the portion of the King of Bohemia, *loc. cit.* 220. From a *Letter written by Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1462, March 30th, we learn that Pius II., at this time, intended to issue a solemn Bull regarding the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Pope.* All their eloquence failed to bring Pius II over to the cause of Anjou. He indeed proposed a truce or a compromise, but all negotiations for this purpose proved fruitless.† Threats were freely employed by the French. How, they asked, will the Pope's resistance to the House of France be looked upon by Christendom, when it is known that Louis XI. has manifested his perfect obedience by revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, and has also promised such great assistance in the war against the Turks? Will it not be said that Pius II. has abdicated his position as head of the nations, and no longer concerns himself with the defence of the Faith?‡

The Pope, indeed, was well aware that the enemies of the Holy See might thus turn the Turkish question to account, but on the other hand he had from the first understood the real value of the magniloquent promises of France regarding this war. Any possibility of misapprehension on the subject was removed when Jouffroy and Chaumont declared that the offers of Louis XI. were made only on condition that his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples should be satisfied.§

* On the 20th March, 1462, B. Bonatto writes to the Marquess of Mantua: "*La Sta. de N. S. tre volte ha dato audientia privata ad essi ambassatori francesi et molte cose sono sta dicte hinc inde ad questo proposito da desistere ad perseverare a questa impresa del Reame. La Sta. N. S. molto ben se iustifica." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 22, State Archives, Milan (in P. E. wrongly given as 1461, Rome).

‡ *Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 26, Ambrosian Library. The ample letter of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, April 6, shews that Pius II. was greatly afraid of French intrigues in regard to ecclesiastical matters. State Archives, Milan.

§ **Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 29. Ambrosian Library.

On the 3rd April, after three weeks had been consumed in negotiations, the Count de Chaumont with the Bishop of Saintes left the City.* The Ambassadors saw that they had failed to accomplish the principal object of their mission, and on their way back expressed their vexation in no measured terms. Chaumont, when in Florence, declared that his master would recall all the French prelates from Rome, and revenge himself in such a way as should make the Pope repent.†

A new French Ambassador, the Seneschal of Toulouse, used equally menacing language. Pius II., however, was not alarmed, for he knew on good authority that the Ambassador was not empowered to carry these threats into execution.‡

* *" Questa matina parteno lo rev. vescovo de Santes et lo Mons., de Chiamont ambasiatori de la Mta. del Re di Franza per tornare a quella con la risposta qual per altre mie ho gia scritto, la qual porta Bartolomeo Rivero." Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, April 3, State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen. Nicodemus de Pontremoli wrote from Florence on the 31st May, 1462, to Fr. Sforza: *" Li ambaxatori del Re de Franza sono partiti da Roma et del papa hanno havuto quanto hanno saputo chiedere excepto el verbo principal." *Loc. cit.*, P. E. Firenze, II.

† **" El c. de Ciamonte . . . heri gionse qui da Roma . . . dice in effecto che dal papa hanno havute parole assay et effecto nullo bono como anch' hebero de V. Cels., ma chel Re suo fara meraviglie." Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1462, April 9. On the 10th April Nicodemus writes: *" Quel conte de Ciamonte ambaxatore del Re de Franza, che torna da Roma et e venuto in la, ha dicto qui ad chi gli e parso de potersi fidar chel Re de Franza revocara de corte de Roma tucti li prelati e altri cortesani francesi." State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen. See also CUGNONI, 219, and a letter of L. Petronius to Siena of the 5th April, 1462, State Archives, Siena.

‡ PII II. Comment. 207–8; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 338; LEGEAY, I., 303 *seq.* See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli

During the whole of this time an uninterrupted correspondence was maintained between Pius II. and Louis XI., but their estrangement continued to increase. On one side-question indeed an agreement was arrived at, as Louis XI. gave back to the Church the Countships of Dié and Valence, which had been annexed by the last Count, and retained by Charles VII. In return for this act of restitution Louis was to keep the portions of these territories lying on his side of the Rhone.* Antonio da Noceto was sent to France to take possession of those which were restored to the Holy See. Jouffroy and Louis XI. again proposed a marriage between one of the Pope's nephews and a daughter of the French Monarch. At the same time the prospect of a Franco-Bohemian alliance was used as a bugbear to constrain the Pope to alter his Italian policy; but both the proposal and the menace were fruitless.† By the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction the King had expected not only to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou, but also to acquire the patronage of all the more important ecclesiastical benefices.‡ When this anticipation also proved illusory the irritation of Louis knew no bounds. He wrote an insolent letter to the Pope and Cardinals in which he criticised all the acts of Pius II.'s government, and even accused him of fomenting divisions among the

to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1462, May 29, State Archives, Milan, P. E.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462, N. 12–13; VOIGT, III., 200; FANTONI, I., 337 *seq.*

† Report of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, January 13, Ambrosian Library. Regarding the Franco-Bohemian Alliance, see *infra*, chap. 5.

‡ GUETTÉE, VIII., 20. See BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., XXXVI., and SICKEL, Frankreich und Burgund um die Mitte des 15 Jahrhunderts, in the Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, 17 (Wien, 1858).

Princes of Christendom, instead of uniting them for the Turkish war as he professed to do.* The Pope sent Nuncios, and wrote several autograph letters to appease the wrath of Louis. All was in vain, chiefly owing to the machinations of Cardinal Jouffroy, who, fearing the discovery of his own intrigues, was more bitter even than the King against Pius II., and kept constantly fanning the flame.† Amongst other serious charges against Jouffroy contained in the Memoirs, the Pope accuses him of having misrepresented to him the contents of Royal letters, and attributed to the King desires which he had never entertained, and in his reports falsely represented the Pope as an enemy of the French Dynasty, and untrue to his word.‡

In the autumn of 1463 the relations between Louis XI. and Rome were strained to the uttermost, and alarming rumours were daily arriving from France. The King was said to have behaved very rudely to Cardinals Longueil and Alain. It was reported that the Bishoprics of Uzès and Carcassonne, the Abbey of St. Jean d'Angeli and other benefices, which the latter held *in commendam*, had been sequestrated. Certain Royal Edicts, directly opposed to the rights of the Holy See, were said to have been issued. It is thought, wrote the Envoy of Mantua on the 4th October, 1463, from Rome, that the King will renew the Pragmatic Sanction; he writes angry letters to the Pope in defence of Jouffroy, who is, he affirms, set aside because he does his duty! §

The King did not, indeed, go so far as to re-establish

* Pii II. Comment. 323-4; Voigt, III., 203.

† Fierville, 127.

‡ Cugnoni, 230 *seq.*

§ Report of P. Arrivabene of the 4th October, 1463, in Appendix N. 59, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the law of 1438; but on the other hand, from 1463, he did his best to recover that which he had yielded in the previous year. In 1463 and 1464, a number of Decrees were issued "to defend ourselves against the aggressions of Rome, and for the restoration of the ancient Gallican liberties," by which most of the concessions obtained in the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction were nullified. Pius II. complains in his Memoirs that the hostility to the Church manifested by Louis in these Decrees far exceeded his former loyalty and zeal in the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.* The conduct of the King in regard to two benefices which had fallen vacant in Angers and in Paris at the end of 1463 or beginning of 1464 is another instance of the high-handed tone which he now assumed. He requested the Pope to confer them upon Jean Balue, adding that this favourite had already taken possession of them, and that he would himself defend him against all opponents! Pius II. refused, and asked the King if he would suffer any one to say to him, "Give me this castle freely, or I will take it by force."†

From the time that Louis' antagonism to the Pragmatic Sanction had cooled, a good understanding had existed between him and the national party among the French clergy, who thus unconsciously aided the King in weaving the "web in which he purposed to entangle them" and to destroy the independence which he professed to defend against the aggressions of the Pope.‡

Cardinal Jouffroy left Rome to return to France on the

* Pii II. Comment. 324; VOIGT, III., 208; here, as also in GUETTÉE, VIII., 24, FIERVILLE, 129 *seq.*, LEGEAY, I., 327, further details regarding the Royal Decrees may be found. See also PHILLIPS, Das Regalienrecht in Frankreich, 168 *seq.* (Halle, 1873).

† CUGNONI, 144–5.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 142.

24th October, 1463.* Some curiosity may have been felt as to the reception he would meet with from Louis. He was detested by the Parisians, who had made him the subject of many satires and caricatures, and when he entered the city no one took any notice of him. But the King shewed him the greatest favour.† He knew that this man would now enter into his anti-Roman policy with no less zeal than that which he had formerly displayed in the opposite direction. King Louis and Cardinal Jouffroy were a well-matched pair.

Besides the revival of the so-called Gallican liberties, Louis had, in the Turkish question, another means of revenging himself on the Pope. The manner in which he thwarted the great designs of Pius II. in this important matter will appear in the sequel.

While the monarchical power in France was thus gathering up all the forces of the nation to subserve its own ends, the mortal sickness which, to use the words of Nicholas of Cusa, had attacked the Holy Roman Empire, was making ceaseless progress. "God help us," writes a contemporary, "the whole Empire is so shattered and torn on all sides that it nowhere holds together. Cities against Princes, Princes against cities, wage endless wars, and no one is of too low estate to challenge his neigh-

* See CUGNONI, 232–3. The exact date is given in the *Acta Consist., f. 31b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Mém. of J. DE CLERCQ, V., c. 4, Jouffroy is described as "grand orateur et grand promecteur, mais peu tenoit ce qu'il promectoit : il estoit fort convoiteulx et ne lui estoit rien impossible à entreprendre, mais qu'il y euist prouffit." Here is also a notice regarding the play performed by the Parisian scholars in which rats gnawed the seals of the Pragmatic Sanction and then got red heads (Cardinals' hats). There is a better satire on Jouffroy in BALUZE, Miscell., IV., 29–30 (Lucae, 1764).

bour. There is no quiet corner in the whole of Germany; turn where you will, you have to guard against ambush, robbery, and murder; the clergy enjoy no peace, the nobility no honour."*

Amidst this general confusion two princely factions became prominent, one of which, assuming a threatening attitude towards the Emperor, demanded Reform. At the head of this party, which pursued its own selfish ends under the cloak of the renovation of the Empire, were the two Princes of the House of Wittelsbach, Frederick I. the Victorious, Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, and Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut. The champion of the other party, who found it profitable to pursue their own interests under the shelter of the Imperial authority, was Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg. Albert, "the clever man of Brandenburg,"

> "Whose inventions so subtle
> Are fathom'd by none,"

surpassed all contemporary German Princes, not only in statesmanship and decision, but also in cunning. The fundamental idea of his policy was, with the help of the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain the chief magistracy of the Empire, and to make Franconia a Duchy and the chief Principality between the Maine and the Danube.†

The House of Wittelsbach was his natural opponent, but its downfall seemed at hand when in June, 1459, the Emperor Frederick III. outlawed Duke Louis of Bavaria for having violently seized upon the free Imperial City of Donauwörth. Albert Achilles undertook to carry out the sentence. At this perilous crisis Pius II. sent his Nuncios

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 134. See Beiträge, 205.

† DROYSEN, II., 1, 207. See BACHMANN, I., 10, 17, and Deutsche Biographie, I., 243 *seq.*; FEEFER, 60 *seq.*

to an assembly held at Nuremberg in July, 1459, and succeeded in restoring peace.* This, however, was of short duration, and the beginning of 1460 witnessed the outbreak of a war between the houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern, which soon devastated a great part of Germany.

Just at this time Cardinal Bessarion came thither provided with the most ample powers for the promotion of the Turkish war and the pacification of the Empire. This mission undertaken by the devoted Cardinal at the age of sixty-five, and in the depth of winter, is justly described by his biographer "as a martyrdom."†

* KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig der Reiche, 104–6.

† PLATINA, Panegyricus in laudem Bess.; BANDINIUS in Migne, clxi. pp. xxix.–xxx.; VOIGT, III., 220; SINNACHER, VI., 506. The four volumes of Letters and Documents regarding Bessarion's German and Venetian Missions, mentioned by BANDINIUS, but not utilised by him or by VAST, are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. I first of all found in Arm. xxxv. two of these volumes; Tom. 134 is described as Car^lis. Bessarionis Bullae. There is a good index at the beginning: Infrascripta est tabula registri seu bullarum registratarum per ordinem concessarumque per rev. d.d. Card. Nicenum legatum in legatione Germanica sive Alamanica. The volume begins with a Bulla Bessarionis, dat. Norimberge, Cal. Marcii, 1460, and concludes f. 104b, with another, dated Wienne, 1461, September 8. Tom. 135, also described as Card. Bessarionis Bullae, contains Documents of the years 1464–72, arranged without any order, but also belonging to the period of the Greek Cardinal's Mission to Germany (*e.g.*, dated Norimberge, Dec. Cal. Martii, A° 1460), 117 pages in all without an index. Three other volumes of Bessarion's Documents, of which we shall speak in our account of the Cardinal's Mission to Venice, are preserved in Arm. xxix. and xxxiv. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Of yet greater importance than these Documents, which give us no information regarding the special political labours of Bessarion, is a Collection of his *Original Reports in Arm. xxxix., T. 10, which will hereafter be cited. These are but scanty remains of Bessarion's Reports as Nuncio, but are all the more valuable from the

By the 20th February Bessarion had arrived in Nuremberg, where the Diet agreed upon at Mantua was to be opened on March 2nd.* The Cardinal of Augsburg and the Bishops of Spires and Eichstätt attended as Commissioners from the Emperor. Of the German Princes, Albert Achilles, who was desirous of keeping up a peaceful appearance, alone was present. Duke Louis had sent his Councillors, merely charging them to make complaints of the bad faith of the Margrave.† The Greek Cardinal in a striking exhortation urged upon all the preservation of peace which Christ had bequeathed to his disciples. The divisions of the Christian Princes had, he declared, increased the power of the Turks to its present extent. It would be a scandal if Germany did nothing to oppose the enemies of the Cross. The bad example alone would do incalculable harm.‡

extreme dearth of Reports of the period. On the 13th January, 1460, Bessarion received, "flor. auri de camera duo milia pro sua provisione, quatuor mens." *Div. Pii II., 1458–60, f. 137, State Archives, Rome.

* MÜLLNER'S statement, adopted by VOIGT, III., 220, that the Cardinal only reached Nuremberg on the 28th February, is erroneous, for a *Document of Bessarion, dated Nuremberg, 1460, February 20, is in existence. Arm. xxxv., T. 135, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† KLUCKHOHN, Herzog Ludwig, 137 ; Städtechroniken, X. 245. The statements of BACHMANN, Böhmen, 182, regarding those present are incorrect in part. See the extract in HASSELHOLT-STOCKHEIM, taken from the Bamberg Archives.

‡ *Bessarion's discourse in Plut., LIV., Cod. 2, f. 232–44 of the Laurentian Library, Florence. He says: "Non concipitis animo, non cogitatis principes illustres quam nocive, quam graves damnosque reipublice christiane fuerint et sint christianorum principum simultates atque dissensiones? Quid aliud maximam christianorum potentiam minuit, Turcorum vero magnam ex minima effecit?" The conclusion of the discourse is as follows: "Ut igitur honorem quem cupitis vel

These words unfortunately fell upon deaf ears, for the thoughts of all were absorbed in the struggle now imminent between the Wittelsbach party and that of the Hohenzollern. Those present, as a contemporary chronicler informs us, did nothing "but blame and revile one another."* Even when Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Hungary, telling of a fresh incursion of the Turks, and Bessarion, with tears, implored them to unite in taking up arms against the enemy, no impression was made. The utmost he could obtain was to induce them to agree that another Assembly should meet at Worms on the 25th March.

Meanwhile war had already broken out on the Rhine, in Suabia and Franconia, and as Bessarion journeyed to Worms he saw its sad traces. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Diet at that city was as fruitless as the one of Nuremberg had been.†

cupere debetis et gloriam veram assequamini bella contra fidei hostes geratis, inter vos pacem amplectamini, pacem diligite principes excellentes ad quam vobis acquirendam atque restituendam omnem laborem, omnen diligentiam, omnem denique curam me bono animo, zelo ac fide serviturum polliceor cum ut iussa pontificis maximi exequar, tum ut rem gratam Deo, vobis utilem christianeque reipublice necessariam efficiam illius adiutorio fretus qui omnium bonorum operum auctor est cuiusque gratia co-operante finis optatus in quaque re attingitur." This discourse is also to be found in Cod. Vat., 4037, p. 1, Vatican Library.

* Speierische Chronik, 439. See Bessarion's complaints in his letter to King George in PALACKY, Beiträge, 229.

† See JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 144 *seq.* Regarding Bessarion's journey, see VOIGT, III., 221, and Städtechroniken, X., 247. Here and in the Nachrichten der historischen Commission, III., 4, p. 145, the safe-conduct granted by him on the 16th March to the Nuremberg Jews, in Cod. Germ., fol. 370 of the National Museum at Pesth, is referred to as bearing witness to Bessarion's presence in Nuremberg; a second *Document of Bessarion dated Nurenberge,

"Deeply dejected and discouraged, Bessarion informed the Pope of his failure and returned to Nuremberg. As Hungary could look for no external aid, Pius II. was most anxious that at least her own forces should be available for the defence of the young King." Accordingly, as early as the 28th March, he earnestly requested the King of Bohemia to use his influence to restrain the Emperor from all attacks on Hungary. On the 20th April, while in Nuremberg, the Cardinal Legate received a Brief from the Pope, "which, together with words of consolation and encouragement, contained an express charge to use all possible diligence in supporting King George." Meanwhile Pius II., distrusting the powers of the sickly and irritable Legate, commanded the able jurist, Francis of Toledo, to repair to the Imperial Court in order to influence Frederick III. The negotiations, however, had already broken down before Bessarion had time to take part in them.*

According to the decision taken at Mantua, the Diet ought to have assembled at the Imperial Court on the 30th March. But, on account of the war, Bessarion had been constrained, much against his will, to consent to its postponement until the 11th of May.†

The Cardinal left Nuremberg in good time, and on the 7th May reached Vienna, where he was honourably

XVI. Marcii 1460, is in Arm. xxxv., T. 134 (see *supra*), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 184–5; this author, like VOIGT, III., 222, is mistaken in stating that Bessarion only reached Nuremberg on the 20th April. See Städtechroniken, X., note 247.

† PALACKY, Beiträge, 227. Regarding Bessarion's vexation, see the *Brief addressed to him by Pius II., dated Macerati [1460] May 5 Lib. brev. 9, f. 201b–202, Secret Archives of the Vatican. A passage from this is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 86.

received by the Emperor.* The opening of the Diet, however, was impossible, for, instead of the Princes who were expected, only a few Ambassadors had arrived, and these few were not furnished with adequate instructions.

A further postponement until the 1st of September was inevitable. The Pope and his Legate, as well as Frederick III., issued urgent letters of invitation to this Assembly.† Nevertheless, not one of the Princes appeared at the time appointed. Several weeks again were spent in anxious expectation, and not till the 17th September was the Diet opened.

Meanwhile Albert of Brandenburg, whose allies did little or nothing for him, had succumbed. On the 23rd

* Chron. Austr. in SENCKENBERG, V., 3; PLATINA, Panegyricus etc.; MAILATH, III., Appendix, p. 94. In the early part of his sojourn in Vienna, Bessarion appears to have had some hope; this is shewn by a Brief of Pius II. addressed to him, dated XIII. Jun. A° 2° [1460], in which are these words: *"Laetamur Circ. tuam incolumem pervenisse ad Imperialem Celsitudinem et de rebus Alamanie non malam spem habere cepisse. Hoc enim aliquantulum nos recreavit anxios tam diuturna malorum continuacione. Non dubitamus quin diligencie tue sit ascribendum quidquid inde boni sequetur." Lib. brev. 9, f. 202, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 85; Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 44–5; Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien, 1850, II., 655–6; PALACKY, Beiträge, 227–30. The original of Bessarion's letter of Invitation to the City of Cologne (with seal impressed on the back and fastening the letter) dated Vienna, 1460, June 1 (almost identical with that to King George), is in the Archives of that city. Bessarion employed the interim in striving to establish peace in Germany (see THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 359). Pius II. especially commended the moderation of the Cardinal, who abstained from pronouncing censures. "*Laetamur quoque a stringendis censuris tua prudencia temperatum neque enim sine contemptu ap. sedis et scandalo partis alterius poterant exerceri. Moderatio tua nobis et ipsi rei aptissima satisfecit." Brief of July 31, 1460, to Bessarion, Lib. brev. 9, f. 130, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

June, 1460, he had been obliged to sign the treaty of Roth, which was so unfavourable to his interests that his "eyes filled with tears," as it was sealed. The harshness of its conditions made Pius II. fear that the peace would be of short duration.*

Even more distressing to Albert was the defection of Archbishop Diether of Mayence which soon followed. On the 4th July, 1460, Diether was defeated at Pfeddersheim near Worms by the Count Palatine Frederick, who constrained him to enter into alliance with him. The Archbishop's motive in thus changing sides from the Hohenzollern party to that of Wittelsbach was the hope that the Princes who were in opposition would afford him more support against Pius II. than he could have obtained from his former friends.†

Diether of Isenburg belongs to that class of ecclesiastics of whom a Rhenish chronicler of the fifteenth century says: "Alas! with most Bishops the sword has supplanted the crosier; Bishoprics are sought after chiefly for the sake of the temporal power they confer. Spirituality is now the rarest of qualities in a dignitary of the Church."‡

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 80. The date of July 31, 1460, which is here wanting, is found in the *Lib. brev. 9, f. 130, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† K. MENZEL, Deutsche Biographie, V., 164, and Diether, 66 *seq.*

‡ JANSSEN, in the Theologischer Literaturblatt, III., 334, cites this passage from an unpublished Chronicle and observes: "These abuses had arisen and increased especially since the time when the Cathedral Chapters were arbitrarily and unjustly filled entirely by the nobles. In order to keep these nobles, who were not inclined to bow to an inferior or an equal, somewhat in check, it had become almost necessary to favour the elevation of Bishops and Archbishops belonging to the great families. By this means worldly elements were more and more introduced into the Episcopate; Monasteries became involved in the family conflicts and feuds of their princely and noble inmates; the ecclesiastical office was looked upon as a sinecure."

Diether, who was born about 1412, appears as a Canon at Mayence as early as the year 1427. Besides holding prebends in the Cathedrals of Cologne and Treves, he was, in 1442, appointed Provost of the Collegiate Churches of St. Victor and St. John in Mayence. In 1453 he became Custos in the Cathedral Chapter of that city. But these dignities did not suffice to satisfy the ambition of a man who was so ignorant that he scarcely knew a word of Latin. In 1465 he was a candidate for the Archbishopric of Treves, but the majority of the electors preferred the Margrave John of Baden.* On the death of Dietrich I., Archbishop of Mayence, on the 6th May, 1459, Diether was again an eager aspirant for the vacant post. This time his efforts were successful and he obtained the coveted position of an independent Prince with territory and subjects. On the 18th June† he was elected Archbishop by a compromise, said to be simoniacal, giving him a majority of one vote over Adolph of Nassau.‡ Three days after his elevation, in consequence of the Election Capitulation, he was obliged to renew the league which his predecessors had concluded with Albert Achilles and Ulrich of Wurtemberg against the Count Palatine Frederick. Owing to the party position in which he was thus placed from the very first, the Papal Confirmation

* JOANNIS, I., 771; II., 223, 234, 312, 622; MENZEL, Diether, 20; SIMON, Gesch. von Isenburg-Büdingen, II., 217 (Frankfort, 1865).

† See JOANNIS, I., 772. The 18th of June is also named by WIMPHELING in his *Chronik der Mainzer Erzbischöfe, f. 28, MS. in the Castle Library at Aschaffenburg.

‡ MENZEL, who is prejudiced in favour of his hero, rejects the idea that the election of Diether was obtained by bribery (Diether, 20), while VOIGT, III., 269, does not consider this by any means improbable, although the charge was not made until years after the event. SUGENHEIM, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, III., 666, and DROYSEN, II., 1, 154, also assert that there was bribery.

was a matter of the greatest importance to him. He accordingly at once despatched Envoys to Mantua, where Pius II. was holding the Congress.

Immediately on hearing of the departure of this mission the Pope sent word to Diether that if he sought to obtain Confirmation he must present himself in person at the Papal Court.* But the Archbishop took no notice of this admonition, even when it was soon afterwards reiterated.† Pius II. was already much annoyed at the non-arrival of the Princes summoned to the Congress, and this disregard of his expressed wishes on the part of a petitioner was not calculated to soothe his irritation. He made many difficulties regarding the Confirmation of the Election, and the grant of the Pallium, and he is said to have required Diether's Envoys to pledge their master to support the levy of the tithe on all ecclesiastical revenues in the Empire, and to promise that he would never press for a Council or consent to a general Assembly of the States of the Empire without Papal permission.‡ It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the Pope really imposed these conditions; in any case they were not again mentioned.

* See the text of this hitherto unknown Brief of 31st July, 1459, in Appendix N. 19, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Brief of Pius II., of 13th August, 1459. See Appendix N. 22, Laurentian Library, Florence. See Appendix N. 23.

‡ This account is given by Diether, in his defence, written in 1461, and in his Manifesto of 1462, against Adolph (MÜLLER, II., 39 *seq.* and 113 *seq.*), personal writings which can hardly be regarded as historical evidence in regard to facts. Nevertheless MENZEL, referring to these (Diether, 25), remarks: "I have no scruple in believing him." HÄUSSER, I., 365, considers Diether's complaint as probable, but justly observes that it is impossible to say whether it was well-grounded. The Reports of the Mayence Envoys, which, as yet, are undiscovered, might furnish us with the means of arriving at a decision on the matter.

The active support of the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg in Mantua did much to promote Diether's success. A second mission from Mayence received the Bull of Confirmation and the Pallium, after having solemnly sworn that within a year Diether would appear in person, and that the Annates claimed by the Apostolic Treasury should be paid. The Treasury estimated the expenses of the Confirmation at 20,550 Rhenish florins,* a sum which the Envoys do not seem "to have considered at all so excessive" as Diether afterwards represented it to be. Roman money-lenders advanced the amount, the Envoys giving a bond. When the Pope's portion was paid, the Cardinals and inferior members of the Court also bound themselves to reimburse the money-lenders in case Diether should not discharge his debt.†

Diether failed to fulfil a single one of the conditions on which the Confirmation had been granted. He did not appear at the Papal Court, he protested against the amount of the Annates, and refused to pay them.‡ When the time allowed for the payment had elapsed, the Papal

* MENZEL, Diether, 28 and 69, says 20,650 Rhenish florins, but Codex 1095, f. 46, of the University Library at Leipzig (which he adduces in opposition to the erroneous version of SENCKENBERG, IV., 393 *seq.*) has XX^{m} V^{c} L, which admits of no interpretation save that of the text.

† VOIGT, III., 271–2, gives the proofs. The sum of 20,501 florins mentioned by him, rests upon Senckenberg's mistaken reading. The name of one of the money-lenders (Alessandro Miraballo) appears in a letter of Alessandro Gonzaga of 29th April, 1461, in PORTIOLI, 25.

‡ BACHMANN, Böhmen, 21*c*, is of opinion that "although the money-lenders at the Papal Court had made the payment for him," Diether might fairly object to cover the amount. Against this view it will suffice to state VOIGT'S judgment: "As surely as he who gives full power of action is bound by the deed of his agent, so surely had Diether lost all right of objecting to the amount of the Annates which had already been paid."

Judge pronounced the sentence of lesser excommunication; in spite, however, of this censure the Archbishop continued to be present at public worship, and even to officiate. When, soon after, the Diet met at Vienna, the first ecclesiastical Elector of the Empire appeared as the leader of the opposition against the Pope.

None of the German Princes thought of personally attending this Assembly. Many of the cities, as, for example, Mayence and Wetzlar, did not even send representatives, excusing themselves on the score of their poverty and the insecurity of the times.* Bessarion lost heart so completely that Pius II. found it necessary to exhort him to be patient.† Events fully justified the apprehensions of the aged Cardinal. Not one of the Princes arrived, for, says the Chronicle of Spires, "they had too many quarrels among themselves on their hands to want another with the Turks."‡ The worst dispositions prevailed in the assembly, and the reading of the Bull conferring plenary powers upon Bessarion contributed to aggravate these. This document, without

* See *Letter of Mayence to the Envoys from Cologne and Frankfort journeying to the Imperial Diet, dated 1460, August 6 (City Archives of Frankfort, Reichssachen, 5195), and *Letter of Wetzlar to Frankfort, dated 1460, August 11 (*ibid.*, Kaiserschreiben, IV., 196).

† Brief to Bessarion, dated Corsignano [1460], September 12: "Accepimus litteras dat. XXIII. August." Two fragments are given in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 58 and 80. After "diligere" in the latter, follow the words: "Fraternitas tua pacienter omnia perferat et in malis que accidunt pro consuetudine sua eligat minima mala." Lib. brev. 9, f. 139, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Speierische Chronik, 446. The list of those present which SCHILTER, II., Appendix, 106 *seq.*, gives, without reference to his authority, is from the City Archives at Strasburg, where I saw it in fasc. A.A. 208.

reference "to the consent of the Diet, simply directed the Legate to carry out the Papal commands."* The Envoys accordingly felt called upon to defend their right and to take counsel together and come to a decision regarding the expedition against the infidel, and the tax for the war. Their spokesman was Heinrich Leubing, Diether's representative, who eagerly availed himself of this opportunity of resisting the Pope. It was, Leubing declared, "a praiseworthy usage and custom that when a matter so high and great, affecting the Christian faith or the Holy Roman Empire, was to be considered, this should be done by His Imperial Majesty with the Council of his Electors." A fresh Diet must therefore be held.†

"In vain did Bessarion labour to influence the deputies, both privately in his own abode and collectively in their public sittings, and to awaken some enthusiasm and devotion to the holy Cause." The prospect of success grew fainter and fainter. His one consolation was the Emperor's readiness to comply with the Pope's demands, but the only result of this was that the Assembly now turned against Frederick.

Conscious of the purity of his own motives, the Greek Cardinal became more and more embittered by the obstinate opposition of the Envoys. The terrible fate which threatened his fellow-countrymen filled him with an ardent desire to render assistance as soon as possible. "Unfortunately he was utterly wanting in self-control. Regardless of his office and of his dignity, he poured forth menaces and invectives against the German Princes, and cast doubts on their good-will towards the holy

* VOIGT, III., 225.

† KÖNIG VON KÖNIGSTHAL, I., 141–2. LOOSE in the Mittheil. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Meissen, 1883, I., 34 *seq.*, has begun to publish a biography of H. Leubing.

Cause." The Envoys answered in a similar tone and left the Diet.*

Bessarion in his grief and disappointment now begged to be recalled. But Pius II. would not take such a step without first consulting his Cardinals. They were utterly opposed to it, and to any interruption of the negotiations. On the 4th November, 1460, Pius II. imparted their decision to his Legate.† "God's honour," he said, "and the honour of the Apostolic See require that we should be steadfast in hope, using every means by which the minds of men may be led to better counsels. If others withdraw from the work, it does not become us to follow their example. Perseverance in good leads to good even those who are ill disposed, and hearts that are now depraved may not be so always. The conversion of men is wrought by a hidden power, and the way of salvation often opens where no one expects it. Your departure would give a great advantage to our enemies. If the cause of Christendom seems despaired of, they will believe that everything already belongs to them, and will be more audacious in attacking us, and it will be hard for the faithful to stand firm if their hope grows faint. The

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 202 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 72–4; VOIGT, III., 224 *seq.* See also regarding the Diet, FELS, 7 and 86.

† The Brief is given as a whole, sine loco et anno, in MAILATH, III., Appendix, pp. 143–151; incompletely in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 26, but with the date, "3 Junii, A° 3°." Raynaldus has made use of the copy preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, *Lib. brev. 9, where the Brief stands as f. 256b (not f. 259), but here the conclusion is merely: "Dat., etc." The previous Briefs are also undated, the last of the preceding documents, which bears a date, is one of 3rd June, which must have been the cause of Raynaldus' date. VOIGT'S supposition (III., 233) that the said Brief belongs to January, 1461, is also a mistake. I found the correct date in Lib. brev. 9, f. 193b–196; here the Brief is again given, with the addition: "Dat. Romae, IIII. Nov^br^., A° 3°," which is undoubtedly correct.

Hungarians also have hitherto been restrained rather by shame than by good-will. They may seize upon this opportunity as an excuse and conclude a peace or a truce with the Turks. The disgrace then would be ours, and not that of the Germans. You know how calumnies pursue good deeds. It is therefore all the more needful, now that the negotiations have been broken off, a thing which has in itself a bad appearance, that we should aim at maintaining the reputation of the Church, and act in such a manner that the servants of the Holy See may not be blamed. Moreover, as in many places, the subsidies determined on at Mantua have been carefully collected, the perverse would take occasion from this to complain, and the dilatory would make it an excuse for altogether withholding their assistance; and thus all would fail us. Finally, as we have so often proclaimed to you, to our brethren and to the world that we will only give up the work of the Diet with life itself, our words would appear nothing but empty boasting devoid of truth and steadfastness. The glory of God, the salvation of Christendom and the liberation of your oppressed country are at stake. You can labour with great merit in this cause, both by preserving peace and by the conduct of business. Therefore, worthy brother, we encourage you to persevere until some good result appears. Let our beloved son, John Cardinal Carvajal, who is now in the fifth year of his labours as Legate, and champion of the faith, serve for your consolation and example."

In this same Brief Pius II. reverts to a bold proposal which he had already made to his Legate on the 11th October.* It was that the warlike head of the Wittelsbach party should receive the banner of the faith and of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 89; VOIGT, III., 232.

the Empire, insist on the payment of the tithe by the clergy, and equip the army. Should he refuse,* the Legate was to turn to one of the other German Princes; if need were, as he himself had once said in Mantua, he must "beg for soldiers from door to door. If all fails, we will take this course and diligently pursue it as our last possible hope; meanwhile consider the ways and means of carrying it out and impart to us in writing what appears to you best fitted to promote the end in view." Bessarion's Reports are unfortunately missing. The Secret Archives of the Vatican contain only one letter from him referring to the matter. This was written on the 29th March, 1461; it justifies his proceedings, especially in regard to the question of the tithe, and gives a most interesting picture of the German situation.†

In order to understand this letter, we must bear in mind that Pius II., in view of the threatening storm, and acting on the conviction that the opposition of the German Princes was chiefly occasioned by pecuniary considerations, sent two Legates to Germany, charged

* From an undated *Brief to Bessarion, as well as from other sources, we gather that the Pope leaned to the Count Palatine. In the Brief are the following words: "De Palatino nil aliud dicimus nisi quod fiat voluntas Dei. Frigescentibus ad opera bona nunquam excusatio defuit. Nos in multis malis consolationem hanc ferimus quod aliis deficientibus nobis nos illis non desimus magisque culpare possumus quam culpari." Lib. brev. 9, f. 200b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† I found the original of this remarkable **Document in Tom. 10 of Arm. xxxix. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. This valuable collection of autograph Letters, to which I have already referred, p. 159, note †, *supra*, extends to 1480; it includes several letters from Ammanati, some of which have been published, and *Reports from Bessarion regarding his Mission to Venice in 1463, which we shall hereafter cite.

with reassuring explanations concerning the tithes. Moreover, on the 12th February, 1461, he sent the Cardinal of Augsburg to conduct the affair.* On the 4th March, Bessarion was instructed to recall any order which he might have issued concerning the tithes, and to make it generally known alike by word and by letter that it was not the Pope's intention to demand anything without the consent of the nation.† Bessarion replied from Vienna on the 29th March. "The excuses of the German Princes are vain and empty pretexts. In regard to the tithes I have said no more than what I have already written to your Holiness. I represented the extraordinary outlay of the Holy See for the cause of the Faith, to which I added the declaration that your Holiness does not demand from the German Princes the tithes, but the promised army. It is true that in a fatherly way I complained and admonished and counselled them as became one who had the matter much at heart. But I have not proceeded beyond remonstrances, or issued any commands regarding the levy of the tithe which, according to your instructions, I should have to recall. Their charges against me were therefore unfounded in this respect. Meanwhile, if I have wronged them in anything, it is only because they had desired that, for their excuse and justification, I should accuse the Emperor and lay everything to his charge. They had already, at that time, begun to work in secret against Frederick III., as it appeared afterwards. Seeing that for cogent reasons I would not yield to them, I became the object of their hatred; they looked upon me as quite devoted to the

* Regarding the mission of the Nuncios, see *infra*, p. 199. The Brief to the Cardinal of Augsburg in Cod. 519, f. 249 of the Munich Library is mentioned by VOIGT, III., 246.

† *Lib. brev. 9, f. 233b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Emperor. In this they were by no means mistaken. I have the highest esteem for Frederick III., because I know how greatly your Holiness and the Emperor are attached to one another. This is the cause of their dissatisfaction, and they say it quite openly. Many other convincing proofs of these things are before your Holiness, amongst them the extravagances which have lately been widely circulated from the pen of the shameless heretic, Gregor Heimburg. I had scarcely the patience to read them once, and then threw them away, and I will not send them to your Holiness. Did I not know that You are well aware that the causes of this agitation are other than the tithe question, I should perish with grief. Yet, Holy Father, many causes have combined to produce this state of things. First, the disgraceful ingratitude of Diether. I will now speak freely of this man, in whose house, as Rudolf of Rüdesheim informed me on my return from Worms to Mayence, Rome is daily reviled by that crazy Dominican Bishop who came to Mantua about his Confirmation, as well as by his other companions. I bring a witness; your Holiness can examine him at your pleasure. Then came the excommunication of the Archbishop of Mayence on account of the Annates, whereupon he became so excited that he threatened to move heaven and earth. He and the rest utterly disregard this excommunication. He also seeks to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor who was by no means devoted to the Holy See. Who was better acquainted with these intrigues than your Holiness, whose task it formerly was to frustrate them? From the appeal of the Princes it is evident that they do not complain of the tithes alone, but also of the Annates, Indulgences and pretended extortions of various kinds. They are also constantly stirred up by France and the perpetual

complaints of Duke Sigismund. Concerning the tithes I have, as I informed your Holiness in two letters, taken sufficient care in the matter. For the rest it would be very well to send new Ambassadors, capable of settling the affair with prudence and discretion. As the Diet to be held in Frankfort is put off until Trinity Sunday, the Ambassadors might with advantage be charged in the meantime to visit the Princes individually and to treat with each in particular."*

A short time after this report was written, Pius II. had himself arrived at the conviction that Germany was lost to the cause of the war. "I perceive," he wrote to Bessarion on the 2nd May, 1461, "that almost everything for which you were sent to Germany being hopeless, the reconciliation of the Emperor with the King of Hungary is now your only remaining duty."† But the sufferings entailed on the sickly Cardinal by these numerous journeys were aggravated by vexation and the severity of the climate,‡ and he hailed with joy the truce of Laxenburg (6th September, 1461), which permitted him to bid farewell to the Imperial Court and quit the barbarous country where "no one cared for Latin and Greek."§

* **Original Report of Bessarion to Pius II., dated Vienna, 1461, March 29, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxix., T. 10, f. 3.

† MAILATH, III., Appendix, p. 152, gives the Brief with the date of May 2nd, while KAPRINAI, II., 491, has the 20th. The former date must be the correct one; in the *Lib. brev. 9, f. 209b no year is assigned to the Brief, but it is preceded by a document dated "II. Maii A° 3°."

‡ VOIGT, III., 233.

§ *On the 28th September, 1461, Bessarion informed his friend Ammanati that he had taken leave of the Emperor and commenced his return journey, but the state of his health made it necessary for him to travel slowly. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxix., T. 10.) Bessarion did not arrive at Bologna until the 23rd October; see

In his Report to the Pope on the 29th March, 1461, Bessarion speaks of the Archbishop of Mayence and Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol as the chief authors of confusion in Germany. Some further details must be added in regard to the proceedings of these two.

The mischievous action of the Envoy from Mayence at the Diet of Vienna was a foretaste of the future. Before the conclusion of the year 1460, Diether of Isenburg and the Count Palatine Frederick, bound themselves to assist George Podiebrad, who aspired to become King of the Romans. The compact between Diether and the King of Bohemia was concluded in the early days of December. Podiebrad, in return for the support of his pretensions to the Crown of Germany, was obliged to promise that he would establish at Mayence a supreme Court of the Empire, to be called a Parliament, would preserve peace and unity, and as soon as possible, with the advice of the Electors, undertake an expedition against the Turks. He promised not to sanction the levy of the tithe, nor any other tribute imposed by Pope or Council; he undertook to cause a General Council to be assembled in a German city on the Rhine, and there to "repeat and administer" the Basle Decrees, especially those concerning Confirmations, Annates and the jurisdiction of the Roman Court, to take care that the Pope should claim from Diether for the Pallium no larger sum than was customary, and, finally, with his people to abandon the Utraquist heresy and return to the Roman Church.*

Cronica di Bologna, 741, and *Ghirardacci (see *supra*). He reached Rome on the 20th November, 1461, not in January, 1462 (VAST, 253); see *Acta Consist., f. 30, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 280–5; MENZEL, Diether, 88 *seq.*; BACHMANN, Böhmen, 240 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 167–8.

Immediately after the conclusion of this compact an Assembly of the Princes took place at Bamberg, where the opposition to Pope and Emperor was strongly manifested. "Princes and their Envoys spoke with unexampled bitterness against the two heads of Christendom, and, as might have been expected, Diether of Isenburg was the most violent." He it was who laid before the Assembly a document protesting against the demand of ecclesiastical tithes and appealing against all ecclesiastical censures. The Councillors of Saxony and Brandenburg, however, refused to sign this. The King of Bohemia, and Duke Louis of Landshut, led by him, would not hear of any measure against the Pope, and could not be induced to give their signatures to the appeal.* The result of this meeting accordingly in no wise answered the anticipations of Diether and the other opponents of Rome. Violent language against the Holy See was again indulged in at Eger on the following day; but nothing came of it, for Podiebrad contrived to divert the stream of opposition almost entirely from Rome, and turn it against the Emperor.†

Rebuffs of this kind might certainly have taught a lesson of moderation to one of another stamp, but they only roused the passionate Diether, supported by the Count Palatine Frederick, to greater energy in his agitation against the Apostolic See. On the 22nd of February, 1461, he took into his service Gregor Heimburg, the bitterest enemy of Rome and Pius II.‡ This man had already

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 250 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 95 *seq.*; and Gesch. von Nassau, 280 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 169.

† GEBHARDT, 35 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 97 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 170 *seq.*

‡ GEBHARDT, 30; MENZEL, Diether, 105; Annalen d. Ver., f. Nassauische Alterthumskunde, XIII., 179. The original entry in

been excommunicated by the Pope and had done much to aggravate the conflict between Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and Cardinal Cusa.

The contest in question was closely connected with Cusa's zeal for the liberty and purity of the Church entrusted to his care.

The ecclesiastical troubles of preceding years had paved the way for grievous abuses in the Tyrol, as well as in most parts of Germany, and fearful immorality prevailed amongst clergy and laity.* It was only natural that Cusa, full of zeal as he was for the reform and welfare of his country, should concentrate all his energies on the diocese which had been entrusted to his care in the spring of 1452.† The Cardinal set to work with all the vehemence of his

Vol. 29, f. 102b, of the Mainz-Aschaffenburger Ingrossaturbücher is as follows: * "Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo uf sontag Invocavit zu Nurenberg hat myn gnediger herre doctor Jorgen Heimburg zu nat und diener ufgenomen, dafur sal sin gnaden im jerlichs geben hundert gulden und eyn fuder wins Heymbechs ad relationem magistri Job de Riet legum doctoris." Kreis-Archiv, Würzburg. A dissertation on Heimburg has recently been published at Munich by P. JOACHIMSON. See Hist. Jahrb., X., 883.

* As early as 1419, Bishop Berthold of Brixen complained that evil and abuses were gaining the upper hand in his Diocese (BICKELL, 65), and in 1438 Nicholas Swarat, decanus et in spirit. eccl. Brix. vicarius generalis in a *Document, dated Brixinae, 1438, January 28, strongly condemned the great prevalence of the *crimen concubinatus* in the Diocese, and published the Decree of the Council of Basle on this matter. Cod. 68, f. 117b-118 of the University Library, Innsbruck. See also the complaints of Bishops George II. and John VI., in 1438 and 1449 in BICKELL, 7 and 20. In the face of such testimony it is amusing to read the words of EGGER, Gesch. Tirols, I., 655: "The moral corruption which attacked all ecclesiastical circles in the 14th and 15th centuries could not thrive so rapidly and so luxuriantly in the pure air of our mountains."

† See GRISAR'S Article on BICKELL, Synodi Brix., in the Hist. Jahrb., I., 604 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 62 *seq.* JÄGER,

Rhenish temperament, but the majority of his flock failed to co-operate as they ought to have done in his labours for the true welfare of their country. Cusa was too great for the narrow politics of the Tyrol, the extraordinary powers entrusted to him by Rome were not respected, and conflicts arose on every side.

Difficulties such as these would have damped the courage of an ordinary man, but that of Cusa rose to the occasion. He was resolved at any cost to carry out the reform of his Diocese; his special attention was directed to the Religious Orders, the scandal of whose moral corruption was aggravated by their profession of a life of poverty and self-abnegation. The extent of the evil may be estimated by the violent opposition which the regulations of the new Bishop encountered. The Poor Clares of Brixen in particular were distinguished by the obstinacy of their resistance, and even the intervention of the Holy See was ineffectual. The nuns treated the Papal Brief with as little respect as the Interdict and Excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal.* Experience has long since shewn that the only effectual resource in such cases is the introduction of fresh members thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit, and by this means Cusa at length succeeded in improving the state of the Brixen Convent.† In other places also, as, for example, in the ancient

II., 6, completely misrepresents the situation when he speaks of Cusa's efforts at reform as "a lengthened series of vexations inflicted on the Religious Orders and the whole people of the Tyrol."

* JÄGER, I., 87–9.

† The *Briefs of Calixtus III., for the reform of the Poor Clares of Brixen, mentioned by JÄGER, I., 89, without exact reference, are dated the 28th and 29th April, 1455. Their contents are given in the *Protocollum Brixinense . . . auctore P. Ruffino Laxner Bludentino. MS. fol. in the Provincial Archives of the Franciscans at Hall (formerly at Schwaz).

Premonstratentian Monastery of Wilten, near Innsbruck, he accomplished the necessary reform by summoning monks from a distance.*

Cusa's most serious contest was with the nuns of the Benedictine Convent of Sonnenburg, in the Pusterthal, where a secular spirit had made terrible inroads. The right of jurisdiction over this house was doubtful. A dispute had arisen between the nuns and their dependents in Enneberg, and the former had applied to Duke Sigismund as Governor and Sovereign, and the latter to the Bishop of Brixen. Both Cusa and Sigismund brought the matter before their respective tribunals, and a violent quarrel was the result. Cusa thought it right to cling all the more firmly to his claim of jurisdiction over the Convent as a means of carrying out the ecclesiastical reform which he had so much at heart. This, however, was precisely what the nuns of Sonnenburg were determined to resist. They maintained that the Cardinal had no concern with the reform, but only with the temporalities of the Convent. When he insisted on the observance of the decisions of the Synod held at Salzburg in 1451, especially of those regarding enclosure, they turned to Duke Sigismund for protection. This dissolute Prince was a strange champion for a convent of nuns, but he was equal to the occasion.† The assistance which he promised to the nuns rendered them so stiff-necked that Cusa thought it necessary to

* TINKHAUSER, Beschreibung der Diöcese Brixen, II., 266 *seq.* (Brixen, 1879).

† In 1490 the deputies of the States represented to Sigismund that "the gracious Lord had certainly more than forty sons and daughters who were illegitimate"; see Archiv für Süd-Deutschland, I., 154 (Frankfurt, 1807); Archiv für Œsterreich. Gesch., XLI., 310; *ibid.* 302 *seq.* shews Sigismund to have ultimately become the sport of depraved women.

adopt strong measures. In 1455, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced on the obstinate inmates of the convent, who thereupon appealed to the Pope. Calixtus III. disapproved of the Cardinal's severity, and recommended, for the sake of avoiding scandal, that the matter should be amicably adjusted. Cusa, however, would yield nothing, and the nuns persevered in their resistance, relying on the protection of the Duke.*

* JÄGER, I., 41 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; V. GASSER, Das Benediktinerinnenstift Sonnenburg (in the Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, 1888, p. 48 *seq.*), brings forward nothing new. Jäger in his detailed account, which is followed by all later writers, affirms that Cusa had provoked the contest, "and that he had overstepped the limits of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction" (I., 60 *seq.*) in his letter of admonition of the 2nd May, 1452, but he had issued a similar rescript at Utrecht on the 3rd September, 1451 (see SWALUE, De Cardinal Nicolaas van Cusa en zijne werckzaamheid in Nederland, 147–51, and UEBINGER in Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 653). There is no trace of a domineering spirit in these documents. Their object was simply the reformation of monastic discipline which had unfortunately become terribly lax. It was the duty of the Cardinal to interfere (see Hist.-Pol. Bl., XLIX., 672), and this should have been recognised by Jäger. Yet it cannot be denied that Cusa's proceedings were too violent (in 1458 he caused the rebellious nuns to be turned out of their convent by force of arms); but the obstinate resistance that he met with must be considered. The writer of the documents recently cited by Jäger adopts Sigismund's point of view, and is sometimes far from impartial (see Lit. Handweiser, 1863, p. 144). Yet it must be remarked that he excuses what DR. EGGER (I., 582), the great partisan of Sigismund, styles the "relentless expulsion" of the Poor Clares of Brixen. "The deportation of the nuns," he says, "if it had been less hurriedly effected, does not appear so cruel as might at first sight be imagined" (II., 245). In almost all contested questions, Jäger takes the side of his fellow-countrymen. All that can be said in favour of the Tyrolese is brought prominently forward; and where documentary testimony is wanting he is always ready to think the best of Cusa's opponents,

The Sonnenburg dispute caused the learned Cardinal to make a thorough investigation of the old documents, charters and privileges of his Church. The result of his researches was to convince him of his right to claim the dignity of a Prince of the German Empire, ranking immediately after the King of the Romans. Sigismund declared these pretensions outrageous on the ground that they ignored the legitimate developments of more recent events The Sonnenburg question soon fell into the background and resolved itself into a contest between the sovereignty which had grown up and the imposing immunities of the early mediæval period.*

Cusa's severity towards the Sonnenburg nuns is hardly surprising when we find that so hostile a spirit soon manifested itself against him as a "stranger," and he seriously thought of abandoning a sphere in which he encountered so many hindrances, and even commenced negotiations for resigning his Bishopric to a Bavarian Prince. The

while facts which favour him are kept in the background. In so full an account, the question how far the Cardinal is supported by the principles of Canon Law should not have been evaded. Jäger's bias also appears in his treatise on the feud of the Gradners (Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, IX., 233 *seq.*). VOIGT, III., 342, observes that "the manner in which Sigismund favoured the Styrian Gradners for a time and then cast them off and plundered them, gives a good idea of his character: no one but a Tyrolese would have excused him on the ground that they were foreigners." My former pupil, Professor Amman, informs me that there are other documents relating to Cusa's labours in the Tyrol, preserved in the Archives of Neustift at Brixen, of which Jäger has made no use in his monograph.

* JÄGER, Gesch. der landständ. Verfassung Tirols, II., 2, 150 (Innsbruck, 1885). The diligence with which Cusa studied his Archives, is evidenced by his numerous autograph notes in the Brixen Book of traditions; see REDLICH, Acta Tirol, I, p. 11 (Innsbruck, 1886)

situation became more and more insupportable. The secular and regular clergy, who had no wish to be reformed, vied with each other in placing difficulties in the way of their Bishop. "Since the rebellion of Jezabel" (the Abbess of Sonnenburg), wrote Cusa to his confidential friend, the Prior of Tegernsee, "the Poor Clares at Brixen have also become incredibly audacious. The Premonstratentians at Wilten, who had begun to walk in the way of salvation, are looking back; my doings are not to the taste of my Cathedral Chapter, for they love the peace of this world. The nobles threaten more and more. The Prince keeps silence or favours my adversaries, and as they cannot yet reach me, they stir up others to violence in order to intimidate me." The common people disregarded the Cardinal's commands even when accompanied by threats of the severest penalties. Under these circumstances "Cusa everywhere suspected plots even against his life, and saw dangers where none really existed."* To escape from these supposed perils he fled in July, 1457, to Andraz, an almost inaccessible mountain fortress in Buchenstein, hired mercenary troops in the Venetian territory, and accused Duke Sigismund to the Pope of intending to take his life. Calixtus III. accordingly threatened the Duke with excommunication, and his dominions with an Interdict. Eight days were allowed him to restore to the Cardinal that perfect liberty and security which he required for the exercise of his pastoral office.†

The Duke on receiving the Pope's Bull applied to a friendly lawyer, and by his advice issued on the 1st November, 1457, a protest against the sentence of the

* JÄGER, I., 130, 141–2.

† *Ibid.*, 255–7.

Holy See, founded, he complained, on a mere rumour, and appealed to the Pope better informed. At the same time he sent a safe-conduct to Cusa signed with his own hand.* There can be no doubt that the friend whose influence induced the Duke to take this momentous step was Gregor Heimburg, the declared enemy of the Holy See. This highly gifted, but violent man, "henceforth became the leading spirit in all the serious opposition" to Rome.† From the time that Heimburg took part in the dispute there was small hope of coming to a satisfactory arrangement. The breach was further widened, and its bitterness intensified by the claims which Cusa's representative urged at the Diet of Bruneck (13th January, 1458). He demanded the restoration of the Castles which had in ancient times been taken from the Church of Brixen, the recognition of the Cardinal as the lawful ruler of the Innthal and Norithal, and the restitution of all fiefs of the Diocese held by Duke Sigismund in these valleys, on the ground that they had escheated. On the 6th of February, 1458, Sigismund made a second appeal, accompanying it with a declaration that he did not acknowledge the Interdict. The spirit which at this time prevailed among the Tyrolese clergy is shewn by the fact that the greater number joined in the appeal and paid no heed to the sentence.‡

The death of Calixtus III. summoned Cusa to Rome,

* Cusa, however, rejected this safe-conduct. He was, he informed the Bishop of Chur, in a well-fortified Castle belonging to his Church, and by no means an exile. JÄGER, I., 255–60.

† VOIGT, III., 335; JÄGER, I., 300, and II., 92; SINNACHER, VI., 465; GEBHARDT, 32; HUBER, III., 182, is mistaken in saying that Heimburg first "took a decided part in the contests" in August, 1460, thus completely ignoring his important action at Mantua in 1459 (see *supra*, p. 88).

‡ JÄGER, I., 250–52, 270; SINNACHER, VI., 454; HUBER, III., 180.

where he found his friend Æneas Sylvius, under the title of Pius II., in the chair of St. Peter. The new Pope at once undertook the part of a mediator, and summoned Cusa and Sigismund to appear in his presence at Mantua in November, 1459. The appointment of Gregor Heimburg as his agent was a strange return for the fatherly kindness with which Pius II. received Sigismund. We have already spoken of Heimburg's intrigues against the crusade, and of his abuse of the Pope.* The selection of such a man to conduct negotiations on his behalf was little calculated to promote the restoration of peace, and Cusa's irritation and his claim to the exercise of absolute spiritual and temporal power within the limits of his diocese destroyed any lingering hope of success. Notwithstanding the exasperation of the contending parties, Pius II. still strove to mediate between them, and to bring about an agreement clearly defining the relations between the Bishop of Brixen and the temporal lord of the Tyrol. Sigismund rudely rejected these proposals, he even protested against the competency of the Papal tribunal, and, to the great grief of Pius II., left Mantua on the 29th of November.

In spite of this failure the Pope again resumed the negotiations, but his efforts were frustrated by the persistent and increasing animosity of the two opponents. In March, 1460, at a Synod at Bruneck, Cusa renewed the Interdict which the Pope had suspended for two years, and proceeded to inform the Duke that, in the event of mild measures proving ineffectual, he would make over to the Emperor all the fiefs of the Church of

* See *supra*, p. 88. GEBHARDT, 36, considers the Pope to have manifested extreme goodwill on this occasion. HAGEN, 153, attributes the failure of the Pope's mediation to Heimburg's management of the Duke's affairs.

Brixen. Sigismund then resolved upon an act of violence, and, on Easter Day, caused the unsuspecting Cardinal to be arrested and imprisoned at Bruneck. Cusa was not released until he had signed an unfavourable treaty.*

The consternation of Pius II. was extreme when he heard of the "outrage offered to a Prince of the Church, one personally dear to him and bearing a name honoured alike throughout Eastern and Western Christendom." The deed perpetrated at Bruneck was in his eyes a grievous insult to the Apostolic See, to the Sacred College, and to the Church at large. "It was an encouragement to all who had a mind to lay violent hands on her property or her dignitaries, an attack on her liberty and on the inviolability of her members and possessions, and a challenge to her authority." † He therefore resolved to withstand the Duke with all the resources of his spiritual power. Legal proceedings were at once commenced, and Sigismund was required to appear in person and answer for himself on the 4th August.‡

The Duke's reply was an appeal from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope better informed, and in this appeal the majority of the Tyrolese Clergy supported him. On the 8th August, in consequence of his disobedience to the Papal summons, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced at Siena against him and his adherents.§ Even before the tidings of this excommunication reached

* JÄGER, I., 338–9, II., 8 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 356–62.

† JÄGER, II., 45–9.

‡ DÜX, II., 466 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 52. The date here assigned for the meeting between Pius II. and Cusa, at Siena, is incorrect. The Cardinal did not arrive in that city until the 28th May. See *Acta Consist., f. 29b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 34; GOLDAST, Monarchia, II., 1583; VOIGT, III., 373–5; JÄGER, II., 77 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*

the Ducal Court at Innsbruck, Sigismund took a step "which was in every way calculated to render the breach irreparable." He entrusted the whole conduct of his affairs to the impetuous Heimburg, "who carried the irresolute Duke away with him in his passionate and reckless opposition to the Holy See, in which personal aversion had no small share." On the 13th August, Sigismund issued a fresh and yet stronger appeal to the future Roman Pontiff and to a general Council, utterly disregarding the decree of the Pope at Mantua, which expressly prohibited such a course. Heimburg was the author of this document.*

The revolt was now fairly inaugurated, and Pius II. at once met it by decisive measures. Briefs were despatched in all directions, announcing the excommunication of Sigismund, and prohibiting all intercourse with him or his territory. A manifesto of the 19th August detailed the reasons of the excommunication, and the Emperor and the Bund were required to wrest the Tyrol from the Duke. Switzerland was the only country in which this proclamation had any effect. The German Princes condemned the action of the Pope, the majority of them openly espousing the cause of Sigismund; the prohibition of intercourse was disregarded by almost all the cities. Even the Princes of the Church for the most part neglected to take any measures for carrying out the Papal

* FREHER, II., 121–4; JÄGER, II., 94–9; VOIGT, III., 376. According to SENCKENBERG, IV., 390, Charles VII., Venice, Milan, the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, Archduke Albert and Duke Louis of Bavaria, joined in the appeal. No information on this important point is to be found in Jäger's more ample account. It is curious to observe that GREGOROVIUS, VII., 175, 3rd ed., represents Sigismund as fighting with Cusa "for the Bishopric of Brixen, of which he held possession"!

commands.* In the Tyrol itself the laity and most of the clergy declared themselves on the side of the Duke, who displayed a feverish energy in face of the dangers which threatened him. He applied for assistance not only to his father-in-law, King James of Scotland, but to other Princes who, like Diether of Isenburg and Charles VII. of France, were more or less hostile to the Holy See. A memorial against the Pope was at once drawn up in Latin and circulated throughout the Tyrol; and in the beginning of September a defence in Latin and German was sent out from Innsbruck to the temporal and spiritual Princes far and near. This document strongly insisted on Sigismund's "rights as Lord of the country." On the 9th September, the appeal of the 13th August was reiterated. The Cathedral Chapter of Brixen also appealed and declared the Papal Interdict invalid.†

Sigismund's new appeal and the defence both proceeded from the pen of Heimburg. These writings, like the productions of Luther and Hutten in a succeeding generation, were disseminated throughout the whole of Germany with

* SCHARPFF, 326 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 104 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 391 *seq.*, 396 *seq.* On the 30th January, 1461, *Pius II. wrote to Frankfort to the effect that he had heard of the disregard by that city of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Sigismund, and required that it should be respected. Original in the City Archives, Frankfort, Foreign Affairs, Doc. VII., N. 246.

† VOIGT, III., 380 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 117 *seq.*, 122 *seq.* In their detailed account of these matters Voigt and Jäger have, like GEBHARDT, 38, overlooked the long letter of Sigismund to Diether, which SCHUNCK, Cod. Dipl., 338–57 (Mog., 1797), publishes "from an old archival MS." I found this letter in Cod. 96, f. 259–64, of the Cathedral Library, Frankfort (now in the City Library, Frankfort). Schunck may have made use of this MS. The letter is here dated "am Eritag nach des hl. crützes tage exaltationis" (16th September), for which Schunck reads "Fritag."

extreme rapidity. The numerous copies to be found in the German Libraries bear witness to their extensive circulation. The appeals were "like the Papal Indulgences affixed to the Church doors in Germany and Italy, and even as a hostile demonstration in Florence and Siena."*

In the autumn of 1460 Pius II. took proceedings against Heimburg in person as the "chief instigator of the Duke," and the "author of the obstinate opposition to the Apostolic See." He was excommunicated by name, and all the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of Germany were desired to seize "this son of the devil."†

Heimburg "now gave free vent to his rage." He began by appending a series of abusive marginal notes to the Bull which condemned him, directed not only against the person, but also against the Primacy of the Pope. This was followed by a new appeal to a Council, "an invective exceeding all former attacks in violence."‡ He accuses the Pope of being "more garrulous than a magpie," and of having at Mantua "praised adultery and crimes against public morality," and maintains the supremacy of Councils. "Hold fast what you have gained," he says to the clergy, "the Council is the fortress of your liberties, the corner-stone of your dignity. Rend the feeble nets and break the worthless bonds which you have taken pains to forge for yourselves in your scholastic philosophy. And you, Princes and soldiers, who are accustomed in warfare

* GEBHARDT, 36; VOIGT, III., 377.

† ÆN. SYLV. Opp., 932–3; FREHER, II., 124–5; JÄGER, II., 144 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 382 *seq.*

‡ GEBHARDT, 37; JÄGER, II., 183; VOIGT, III., 383–7; BROCKHAUS, 176–84. It is certain that Heimburg behaved with a coarseness unworthy of a man of culture. Hist.-Pol. Blätter, XLIX., 672. See also SCHARPFF, 337 *seq.*

to exercise your skill in seizing the best positions before the enemy can reach them, make haste to secure this most important point of the General Council. Should the Pope succeed in wresting this stronghold from you, you will find yourselves left without shield or spear and constrained to buy your lives at a heavy price, in the tribute which, under the mask of the Turkish war, is levied only to be spent for shameful and criminal purposes." The Decree of Mantua is stigmatised by Heimburg as vain and senseless and the Pope is called a dotard and a heretic.*

Teodoro de' Lelli, Auditor of the Rota, and in 1462 Bishop of Feltre, stood up as the champion of the Pope and the monarchical constitution of the Church. The principle that "a guiding head is as essential a part of the hierarchy established by Christ in the Church as the gradations among its members," is well worked out in his reply. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that he adopted a passionate and intemperate tone similar to that of his opponent. The latter at once retorted that his heresy consisted merely in his defence of Councils which Pius II. had endeavoured to crush at Mantua, and in his assertion that the Pope's only motive in calling for the Turkish expedition was to extort money.†

* G. HEIMBURGII Appelatio a papa variis modis ad concilium futurum in FREHER, II., 125 *seq.*; GOLDAST, II., 1292 *seq.* Frequently also in MS., *e.g.* in Munich (see VOIGT, *loc. cit.*) and in the State Archives, Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 209 *seq.*, Cod. Regin. 557, f. 77 *seq.*, and Cod. Palat., 362, f. 87b *seq.*, Vatican Library.

† Lelli's Replica and Heimburg's Apologia are in GOLDAST, II., 1595 *seq.*, 1604 *seq.*; translated by BROCKHAUS, 184 *seq.* See GEBHARDT, 37; DÜX, II., 210 *seq.* Regarding Lelli see OUDIN, III., 2571; FABRICIUS-MANSI, VI., 525; LORENZ, II., 384, 3rd ed. Lelli's Tractatus contra pragmaticam sanctionem in Cod. Vat. 3878 (Vatican Library) is, as far as I know, unpublished.

Pius II. meanwhile had taken a further step against the Tyrolese rebels. On the 23rd January, 1461, he summoned Duke Sigismund, Gregor Heimburg, Lorenz Blumenau, Bishop George of Trent, all the Duke's Counsellors, the Cathedral Chapter of Brixen, most of the Abbots of the Tyrolese Convents, a number of other spiritual and temporal Lords, and all clergy and laity of the Tyrol who had contemned the ecclesiastical Interdict, to appear within fifty days before his Tribunal to vindicate their orthodoxy, especially in regard to the article, "I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."*

Heimburg replied on the 16th of May, 1461, by another appeal or rather manifesto, pouring contempt on the Papal summons, and full of revolutionary doctrines in regard to the spiritual power of the Papacy. "This appeal," to quote the words of an historian who favours the Duke, "was certainly a considerable advance on the part of Sigismund and Heimburg, and it might seriously be asked whether they still remained within the sphere of the Catholic body, or had withdrawn from it and taken refuge in that abstract and universal church which exists only in the imagination."† On Wednesday in Holy Week, 1461, Pius II. solemnly excluded Gregor Heimburg as a heretic from the Communion of the Church. On

* The Bull "Contra Satanæ" given fully only in GOLDAST, II., 1579 *seq*. The date (X. Cal., Febr. A° 3°; VOIGT, III., 405) is established by the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The Bull is twice entered here: Regest. 479, f. 189, and 480, f. 194.

† JÄGER, II., 192; FRIEDBERG, Zeitschrift, VIII., 84; GRENZEN, I., 113–14; BACHMANN, I., 33; HAGEN, 153. This manifesto of Heimburg is printed in GOLDAST, II., 1580–83; the conclusion which is there wanting, is given from the copy in the State Archives in Vienna by CHMEL, Reg. II., 386. I found another copy in the State Archives, Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 204 *seq*

Maundy Thursday (2nd April) he reiterated the sentence of greater excommunication pronounced against him, as well as against Sigismund and his adherents.* Sigismund retorted by causing Heimburg's insolent manifesto of the 16th of March to be posted up in four places in Rome, but it was immediately torn down by the incensed populace.†

The bad effects of the Duke's example were but too apparent in the hostile attitude assumed by the Archbishop of Mayence in the spring of 1461. Heimburg had brought about an alliance between these two Princes. The day after he entered Diether's service, the deliberations of the Diet of Nuremberg began (23rd February, 1461). In this Electoral Diet the anti-Papal opposition reached its climax.

Diether of Isenburg was the leading spirit of this Assembly. The lesser excommunication pronounced by the Papal judge in consequence of his non-payment of the Annates had so incensed him that he threatened to do his utmost against Rome.‡ Emboldened by finding such a goodly array of Princes assembled in Nuremberg

* The Bull of April 1st is translated by JÄGER, II., 199–200, from the copy in Cues; it is also to be found in the Regest. 480 *seq.* 198, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† "*El duca Sigismondo de Austria heri de nocte hebe el modo de far mitter qua a la porta de S. Petro, a quella del Castello, in banchi et in campo de fiore, non se po sapere chi sia stato lamico che seria lapidato, uno processo in carta de capreto longissimo per spatio de duo braza dove dice de molto cose ad sua iustificatione . . . . . Queste scripte come furono vedute a furore de populo furono levate et portate a palazo." *Report of B. Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, April 30th, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

‡ *Letter of Bessarion to Pius II. of the 29th March, 1461, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (see *supra*, p. 175); see CUGNONI, 207 *seq.*

in answer to his summons he cast aside all consideration for the Head of the Church.

However unbecoming the action of the Papal judge might have been in thus proceeding against the first Prince of the Empire, it certainly "was neither so important nor so irrevocable as to justify the extraordinary step at once taken by Diether. For, instead of availing himself of the nearest legal remedy, or complaining to the Pope of the treatment to which he had been subjected, he issued a formal appeal to a Council * which, according to the decisions of Constance and Basle was to be held once in every ten years, committing himself, his Church and all who would join him to its protection. He declared that he could not appeal to the Pope, inasmuch as it was thought that he was a party to the judge's act. Nevertheless, he was willing to do so if Pius II. would refer the matter to the arbitration of some Prelate who was above suspicion; otherwise he appealed to his successor, who would have the right to revise his proceedings."

A Protestant historian considers that "it would have been almost impossible to offer a deeper insult to Pius II. than such an appeal, which passed over all the ordinary legal means and completely ignored the authority of the Pope. It was true that he had himself in former days at Basle defended this method of procedure. But his recent decree at Mantua had expressly forbidden it, denounced the principle on which it rested as a dangerous and destructive heresy, and declared that all authors and abettors of such an appeal from the Emperor himself down to the clerk who transcribed it would thereby incur the greater excommunication from which the Pope alone

* Unfortunately without a date in SENCKENBERG, IV., 392-9.

could absolve them at the hour of death." Most probably it was Heimburg, who was at this time in Nuremberg, who induced the Archbishop to take this rash step.* The appeal bears marks of having been written by him.† Diether's rupture with Rome was now final.‡

In obedience to the Pope's command, Cardinal Bessarion had at once sent an Embassy to Nuremberg to explain that it was not the intention of Rome to demand anything, however small, without the consent of the nation.§ Neither this Embassy, however, nor the two Nuncios seem to have arrived in time to intervene in the deliberations of the Diet.

Diether had now full scope for his anti-Roman agitation. He enjoyed the triumph of seeing not only the Count Palatine Frederick, but also the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, his brothers, Albert and John, together with the Bishop of Würzburg, likewise appeal.|| The Bohemian Ambassadors alone held aloof from this demonstration, as their master had good reasons for not breaking with Rome.

* MENZEL, VII., 277. The gravity with which the demand for a Council was viewed in Rome is witnessed by the *Despatch of B. Bonatto, of March 16th, 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix N. 44.

† MENZEL, Diether, 105; GEBHARDT, 38, considers the appeal "undoubtedly" Heimburg's work.

‡ See HIRSCHEL, Diether und der Apost. Stuhl, in the Mainzer Katholik, 1850, I., 260, 307.

§ This appears from the *Brief to Bessarion of the 9th April, 1461 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Lib. brev. 9, f. 217b.

|| JOANNIS, I., 776; MENZEL, Diether, 106-7. Efforts were made to win Mayence to the side of the appeal. The people of Mayence asked advice from Frankfort. The *Council of that city answered on the 6th February, 1461, that such a demand had not yet reached them. City Archives of Frankfort-on-Maine, Reichssachen, 5227.

Frederick III. also was bitterly attacked at Nuremberg. Antagonism towards him was in many ways interwoven with opposition to the Pope, and each gathered strength from the other.* On the 1st of March the Electors of Mayence, of the Palatinate, and of Brandenburg, addressed a threatening letter to the Emperor. They described the deplorable condition of the Empire, complained of the negligence of Frederick, who for fifteen years "had not been seen in this portion of it," and invited him to a Diet at Frankfort on the Sunday after Pentecost (31st May). Should the Emperor fail to appear they would decide and act without him, as might be necessary for the welfare of the Empire.† On the same day the Electors bound themselves "by a solemn promise, equivalent to an oath," not to suffer themselves to be turned from their purpose by Pope or by Emperor.‡

On the 2nd March the Elector Frederick and the Margraves, Albert and John, together with the Count Palatine, addressed a letter to the Pope expressing their astonishment that he should have required from Archbishop Diether a larger sum than his predecessors had paid for the Pallium. This demand, they declared, inflicted fresh injury on the Church of Mayence, which was once the most powerful in the Empire, but had suffered considerably from wars and calamities, it infringed the rights of the Councils, and violated the Concordats which former Popes had concluded with the German nation, and would lead to the ruin of the Church in Germany. They most humbly begged His Holiness to be satisfied with the ancient tax which the Archbishop was

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 172.

† JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 149–52. A copy of the letter is also preserved in the City Archives at Cologne, Reichsacten B.

‡ KREMER, Urkunden, N. 74; MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 285.

ready at any moment to pay and to remove the penalties inflicted upon him and his adherents. If the Pope refused to grant their request, concluded the letter in a tone of menace, they and almost all the Princes of the German nation would range themselves on Diether's side and support him by word and act.*

As if the Apostolic See had not been sufficiently offended by his first appeal, Diether shortly afterwards issued a second. In this he complained of the attitude of Bessarion in Vienna, and of the numerous Indulgences by which the coffers of the devout were emptied and of the exorbitant claim of Annates. This appeal and a joint manifesto in accordance with it were signed by a large number of the Princes and Envoys.† A yet more important symptom of the general feeling was the fact that the Council of Archbishop John of Treves eagerly took part in all these measures against the Holy See. The ultimate goal of the opposition conducted by Diether and Heimburg was evidently a German imitation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; the bond between the German Church and the centre of unity was to be as far as possible loosened, and Germany placed in a semi-schismatical position.

It is very remarkable that the opposition should have been so strong in Germany against a Pope whose own countrymen accused him of German sympathies.‡ But it is easy to see how little importance is to be attached to all these fine words about the liberty and honour of Germany; they were but a mask to cover selfish aims and private interests. Where was the patriotism of men who did not shrink from an alliance with the French monarch

* MENZEL, Diether, 114–15.

† *Ibid.*, 118; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 306 *seq.*

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 125. In Poland also Pius II. was looked upon as the friend of the Germans. CARO, V., 1, 173.

who was still hankering after the Rhine country? Full details are wanting, but it is a fact that Heimburg was sent to the French Court to consult with the King as to measures to be taken by the German and French opposition in common.* Nor did the German Princes scorn other foreign assistance, they thought of a treaty with King René, who was in active antagonism to the Pope on the Neapolitan question.† It is obvious that the triumph of King René, and with him of French influence in Italy, would not have promoted the interests of Germany.

After the Count Palatine Frederick and Diether had on the 6th March joined the Electoral Union, the dissolution of the Diet was decided upon. This body demanded amongst other things a general Council and a fresh Assembly in Frankfort on the 22nd May; all private negotiations with the Roman Court were prohibited.‡

The dissolution of the Diet was accepted unanimously, but discontent and mistrust soon broke forth again among the confederates, who were occupied solely with their own private interests, and no one of whom was prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause which he professed to advocate.§ The Assembly which had seemed so seriously to threaten the two chief powers of Christendom had but glossed over for a time the ancient party strifes. Margrave Albert discovered to the Emperor "in profound secrecy"

* HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 84; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 305; MENZEL, Diether, 119, N. 33. Heimburg's Mission was primarily concerned with the place of the Council. The general feeling in Germany was against one being held on French soil, as appears from a Despatch of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 16, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix N. 44.

† HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 305–6; MENZEL, Diether, 120.

‡ MENZEL, Diether, 124 *seq.*

§ PRUTZ, Mittelalter, II., 530.

the plans which had been framed in the Diet,* and in the course of a few months Diether's work was undone, and everything that had been sealed and sworn to at Nuremberg was forgotten.

The tidings of these proceedings had caused the greatest consternation alike at the Imperial and the Papal Courts. Frederick III. turned to Pius II. for assistance. "Consider, Holy Father," he wrote on the 7th April, "how rampant the factions in the Empire have grown. See how they presume to lay down the law to Us both. It is absolutely necessary that We should at once combine to oppose their designs. We beg Your counsel and assistance. In Diether you may see the consequence of granting ecclesiastical confirmation without consulting the temporal ruler. At any rate do not let him be consecrated Archbishop." Frederick III. sent his Marshal, Henry of Pappenheim, throughout the Empire to dissuade and threaten those who might have been disposed to attend the proposed Diet at Frankfort.†

The dangerous nature of the situation had been recognised first in Rome, and decisive measures had been taken. Even before the arrival of the alarming tidings from Germany, Pius II., "ever watchful and armed," had despatched, as his Nuncios to that country, the Canon Francis of Toledo and Rudolf of Rüdesheim, the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Worms. They were to treat with the German Princes in regard to their grievances, and in particular to give reassuring explana-

* Heymlich werbung an den Kayser, in HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 80–85; BACHMANN, I., 49 *seq.*

† PALACKY, IV., 2, 181. Frederick's Letter to the Pope is published by BIRK in the Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., XI., 158–60. Regarding the answer of Pius II., see VOIGT, III., 253; PALACKY, 182; BACHMANN, I., 42.

tions on the subject of the levy of the tithes.* They shewed great skill in accomplishing the difficult task of quieting the storm which threatened ecclesiastical authority. "No doubt in their conflict with this many-headed movement, they were at an advantage in being the servants of a united power. Still it is greatly to their credit that they were able so completely to soothe the partisans of the Council, and to separate them from the Archbishop of Mayence, as Pius desired."†

The Papal Nuncios next succeeded in detaching Albert Achilles from the party of opposition. They assured him that it was not the Pope's intention to impose the tithes without the consent of the nation. They formally apologised for Bessarion's threatening language in Vienna. He had had no such instructions from the Pope, "but had been carried away by his own eager interest in the matter and wounded feelings." They also justified Pius II.'s proceedings against Duke Sigismund and the friendly relations with the King of Bohemia, which he had hitherto maintained. In regard to the Council they declared that Pius II. would consent to it on condition that the temporal powers should co-operate in carrying out the reforms decreed by the Bishops.‡

When the Nuncios had also induced the Count Palatine Frederick and the Archbishop of Treves to withdraw from the appeal,§ the isolation of Diether was almost

* See the Document in HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 334–5.

† MENZEL, Diether, 133; ZAUN, 23. Regarding Rudolf of Rüdesheim see also ROTH, Gesch. Quellen Nassau's, 1880, I., XX. and 358; FABISZA, 95 *seq.* and GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

‡ MENZEL, *loc. cit.*; BACHMANN, I., 51; Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., XII., 351 (where 1461 is to be read instead of 1451). Fontes Rer. Austr., 2, part XLIV., 75.

§ PII II. Comment. 146; MENZEL, Diether, 140; and Gesch. von Nassau, 289.

complete; and the failure of the Assembly at Frankfort which was opposed by the Pope as strongly as by the Emperor, might be predicted with certainty.* Nevertheless, following the counsels of the impetuous Heimburg, he would not hear of yielding. In vain did his clergy urge him to retrace his steps, in vain did the Papal Nuncios declare themselves ready to come to terms if the Archbishop would but recall his appeal. When Frankfort, the Imperial city of Germany, at the command of Frederick III., refused to receive the proposed Assembly, he changed its place of meeting to his own Episcopal City.†

The Diet of Mayence was very ill-attended, "the Imperial Cities in general, as well as the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Bohemia were unrepresented. The Archbishop, in fact, stood alone with the Tyrolese Envoys; there were no others, and these had private reasons for their hostility to the Church."‡

The proceedings began on the 4th June with a defeat for the opposition, for the excommunicated Heimburg was prevented by the Papal Nuncios from attending the Sessions. On the following day Diether, in a long speech, brought forward his complaints against Rome and demanded a General Council as "the only remedy against the encroachments of the Apostolic See." He charac-

* The Papal Letter without its commencement and without date is given by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 14, and by MÜLLER, II., 21, in its entirety, but without date in *Lib. brev. 9, f. 196, Secret Archives of the Vatican. VOIGT'S observation, III., 253, that the letter was despatched on the 24th April, 1461, accords with the fact that the preceding date in the Lib. brev. is 21 April, 1461.

† BACHMANN, I., 55; MENZEL, Friedrich, 81; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 155 *seq.*

‡ BACHMANN, I., 56-8; MENZEL, Diether, 142 *seq.*

terised the Tithes and Indulgences as frauds, and the Turkish war as merely a pretext to support them.*

Rudolf of Rüdesheim, distinguished alike as a diplomatist and a canonist, defended the Holy See against Diether's attacks with "equal courage and success." His discourse was a masterpiece, "temperate in its language, prudent and conciliatory in its treatment of questions of general interest, broad in its point of view, uncompromising and trenchant in dealing with the particular cases which touched the authority and doctrines of the Church."† At the same time the two Nuncios emphatically declared that it had never been the intention of the Pope, and was not now his will to burden the German nation in opposition to the wishes of its Princes and Prelates with the imposition of the tithe determined at Mantua, nor to inflict on any one the spiritual penalties threatened in the Bull on this subject.‡

These words dealt a heavy blow to the opposition. These ardent reformers once convinced that they would not be required to put their hands in their pockets for the expenses of the Crusade, forgot all about "the oppressions of Rome," together with their grand projects of a General

* Pii II. Comment., 143.

† Bachmann, I., 59; Palacky, IV., 2, 184; Zaun, 23 *seq.* Bachmann is mistaken when he says, p. 60: "I found the Legate's Discourse, as pronounced before the assembly of Princes, in the Royal State Archives at Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 191–2." I also consulted the above-mentioned Fasciculus, 7384, but only found (f. 191b) the well-known declaration of the 5th June, made by the Nuncios regarding the tithes, and (f. 193–99) Rudolf's discourse as it is printed from Cod. Germ. 975 of the State Library at Munich, in Zaun, 67–109.

‡ Hasselholdt-Stockheim, I., 1, 334. On the 4th September, 1461, Pius II. solemnly confirmed the declaration of his Nuncios. See Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 169–70.

Council and a Pragmatic Sanction, and left Diether to his fate.*

The defeat of the Conciliar Party was sealed shortly afterwards by Diether's promise, in the hope that the Pope would also make some concession or would extend the time for the payment of the Annates, to desist from whatever was displeasing to the Holy Father and to comply with his wishes.† We can hardly be surprised that this unprincipled man was not trusted in Rome, especially when we find that he soon made a fresh attempt at opposition. With a view of bringing pressure to bear upon the Pope, he invited the German Princes, Prelates and Universities to resume the Diet of Mayence at Michaelmas, in order again to discuss the Turkish war, the tithes and the grievances of the nation and adopt suitable resolutions.‡

* GEBHARDT, 43; MENZEL, Diether, 146; and Gesch. von Nassau, 290. At the end of June these good tidings reached Rome. Bartol. Bonatto wrote to the Duke of Mantua a letter, dated Rome, 1461, June 29, in which is the following passage: *De Alemagna se hanno novelle de questa dieta et bone per la Sta. de N. S. che quelli principi e signori hanno deliberato che la Sua Bea. habia vera ubedienza da quello paese et che lo arcivescovo de Magonza, chi era quello era casone del tucto per non pagare la anata del suo vescovato chie XX^m ducati, pagi quello è justo e non si faza piu mentione de appellarse ad futurum concilium cum questo che non se ge rasoni de darge decime, cusi scrive quello cubiculario fu mandato de qui." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 291; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, I., 1, 137; Annalen des Nassauischen Alterthumsvereins, XII., 184; BACHMANN, I., 6. PALACKY, IV., 2, 185, observes that the Party of the Council thoroughly succumbed before this change, and the misfortune which fell upon Charles VII. of France (he died shortly afterwards, on the 22nd July, 1461).

‡ HÄUSSER, I., 366; MENZEL, Friedrich, 87; and Diether, 149; VOIGT, III., 259; CREIGHTON, II., 421.

This meeting did not take place. Pius II. having found another candidate for the Archbishopric in the person of the Canon Adolph of Nassau, secretly sent John Werner of Flassland as his agent to Germany, with Bulls, depriving Diether, and granting the Papal institution to his opponent.* Flassland arrived safely at Mayence, where Adolph of Nassau at once summoned a meeting of the Cathedral Chapter. Diether, who had heard of the danger which threatened him, was present. Adolph, however, was by no means perplexed; with the Papal Bull in his hand he announced Diether's deposition and his own appointment. The former at once protested and appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed, but he was not able to hinder the enthronement of his adversary.† He also issued a violent defence, in which he related his whole contest with Rome, protested against his deposition, and declared that he did not acknowledge the prohibition of appeal on the ground that it had not the sanction of the Council, and was contrary to all justice, human and divine. "If," he said, "no one is to appeal from the oppression of a Pope to a future General Council, then we are all at the Pope's mercy."‡

Diether's position was from the first far from encouraging, for the Imperial party, led by Albert Achilles, which

* The Bull of deprivation of the 21st August, 1461, is in *Regest., 505, f. 93b–97b, with its commencement wanting in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 21–5; complete in PII II. Epist. 4 (Milan Edition) and in JOANNIS, II., 146 *seq.* Here are also the Provision for Adolf and the other Bulls referring to the matter. Regarding Flassland, see MARINI, II., 160.

† PII II. Comment., 146 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 155 *seq.* and Gesch. von Nassau, 294; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 175.

‡ MÜLLER, II., 38–46. See Speierische Chronik, 459.

had opposed him before now, unanimously took the side of Adolph of Nassau.* The deposed Prelate nevertheless determined to fight. He trusted in the powerful Count Palatine, but when this crafty Prince assumed a procrastinating attitude, he for a moment completely lost courage. "Unprincipled as ever, wavering between submission and defiance," he at first promised to yield, and then again took up arms.† On the 11th November, 1461, Diether entered into a solemn agreement with Adolph, by which he undertook to give up his See on condition of receiving absolution from excommunication and a considerable indemnity in land and men at the expense of the Church of Mayence. Peace seemed to be thus restored, but on the very day when this contract was sealed and sworn, Diether sought assistance against Adolph. On the 12th November his Envoys absolutely denied, in a letter to the Council of Mayence, the existence of any treaty between them. On the 19th he made a fresh alliance with the Count Palatine for the vindication of his claim to the Archbishopric, assigning to him the cities and castles of the Bergstrasse as the price of the aid he was to render.‡

A fierce conflict now broke forth, involving all the country bordering on the Rhine in the miseries and horrors attendant on the warfare of the period. Early in the following year the feud between the families of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach blazed forth afresh, and

* The Court of Rome was at first of opinion that there would be no further difficulties about the matter, but experience soon proved this hope to be delusive. See the *Despatch of B. Bonatto to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, 20th November, 1461: "De Alemagna se ha che quella depositione de Magontino non passava cussi neta come se credia la brigata." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† DROYSEN, II., 1, 185; VOIGT, III., 268, and PALACKY, IV., 2, 217.

‡ MENZEL, Diether, 165 *seq.*, and Gesch. von Nassau, 299 *seq.*; FEESER, 88 *seq.*

the greater part of the Empire was filled with the din of arms. The vicissitudes of this struggle do not enter into the scope of our work.

On the 8th January, 1462, Pius II. published a severe Bull against Diether. He required him within the space of eighteen days to give up all lands belonging to the archbishopric; in the event of his disobedience the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties were to be inflicted on him and his adherents, and all places in which they might sojourn were to be laid under an Interdict.* Immediately after this, urgent requisitions were sent from Rome to the cities of Cologne and Frankfort, calling upon them to support Adolph of Nassau.† On the first February the proceedings against Diether were justified in a detailed memorandum which also claimed help for Adolph, and insisted on the execution of the Papal censures.‡ Francis of Toledo and Pietro Ferrici were sent to Germany as Nuncios to labour in the cause of the Pope, which they zealously did by word of mouth, by letters and manifestoes.§ "But this time success was more difficult, for

* SATTLER, Gesch. von Würtemberg, III., Supplement, p. 194–8 (Ulm, 1767), gives the Bull, but wrongly assigns it to the year 1461.

† See in Appendix N. 54 the *Brief to Frankfort from the original in the City Archives. The original of the similar document, addressed to Cologne, has the note: "Praesentatum anno 62, die 17 Martii."

‡ In the Milan edition of 1487, the Bull is dated: Prid. Cal. Febr., but in Cod. Hamilton, 198 (Royal Library at Berlin), Cal. Febr., which latter is correct.

§ Besides the letters published in JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, others are preserved in the City Archives at Frankfort, as *e.g.* *Letters from Francis of Toledo, to Frankfort, dat. ex. Altavilla, 1462, June 10, and July 4 (Reichssachen, 5293 and 5324). *Tractatus utrum in notoriis requiratur citacio, et sunt quatuor questiones de facto privationis archiepiscopi Maguntini a domino papa Pio, edite per Franciscum Hyspanum decanum Tolletanum in Cod. Hamilton, 198, Royal Library, Berlin.

the rebels were now attached to Diether's cause by strong ties of material interest and advantage, both actual and prospective."*

At Spires the Papal Bull of excommunication was torn down from the Cathedral door; the Count Palatine forbade its publication in his camp under pain of death. He, like Diether, appealed to the Council, as "if he could thus wipe out the Pope."† On the 30th March Diether addressed a manifesto from Höchst to all temporal and spiritual Princes, calling upon them "to take to heart and consider how very unjustly and dishonourably he had been treated, imploring them not to hinder him in the maintenance of his righteous cause, but rather to punish such ungodly dealing, and to grant him help and support."‡ By means of Gutenberg's printing-press, numerous copies of this manifesto which, it was hoped, would arouse a strong feeling against Rome, were disseminated throughout Germany.§

Pius II. had no thought of yielding. A fresh Encyclical of May 1st, 1462, called upon all the Estates of the Empire to assist Adolph of Nassau.||

* MENZEL, Gesch. Nassau's, 306.

† VOIGT, III., 284–5; GEISSEL, Der Kaiserdom zu Speier, II., 34 (Mainz, 1828); REMLING, Speier Bischöfe, II., 123–4.

‡ MÜLLER, II., 113–17.

§ Copies of the letter are now very rare; there is a fine one at Frankfort, no longer in the Archives (as BACHMANN, I., 250, says), but, since 1866, in the City Library. The Ernestine Collection of Archives, at Weimar (see MENZEL, Diether, 173), the Library at Munich, the City Archives at Spires, and those at Colmar all possess copies of this rare specimen of typography, of which FALCKENSTEIN (126) only knew three copies. Regarding other broadsheets, which, at this time, issued from the Press at Mayence, see LINDE, Gutenberg, 56 *seq.* (Stuttgart, 1878), and Buchdruckerkunst, III., 905 *seq.*

|| GUDENUS, IV., 150–53. A Brief from Pius II.. to the cities of

Diether made great efforts to prevent the clergy from observing the Interdict. With this object in view he appeared in person at Frankfort-on-Maine on the 19th September, 1462. The Town Council would not allow him to proceed against the loyal clergy within the walls. The "Archbishop," however, could not be prevented from going to St. Bartholomew's. Here the doors were of course shut, but he was not to be so easily hindered; he caused the doors to be broken open, and as far as was necessary, the windows, and thus by main force celebrated Divine worship in the Church which had for weeks been closed on account of the Interdict.*

The capture of the City of Mayence by his enemies on the 28th October, 1462, was a serious blow to Diether. Deprived of this stronghold he became more and more dependent on the Count Palatine.† Many attempts were made to end this unholy warfare. But all were fruitless until the spring of 1463, when Rupert, brother of the Count Palatine, was elected Archbishop of Cologne, and anxious to secure the Confirmation of his Election, made serious efforts to bring about a peace. At Oppenheim he succeeded in inducing the contending parties to consent to a truce from April 24th to November 11th, 1463. At

Hagenau, Schlettstadt and Colmar, desiring them to afford no assistance to Diether, but to support Adolph of Nassau, dat. Romae prid. Cal. Maii (30th April), 1462, is in the City Archives of Colmar, A. A.

* SCHELHASS, Die Stadt Frankfurt während der Mainzer Bisthumsfehde, in the Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte, Series 3, I., 213 (Frankfurt, 1888).

† K. MENZEL in Deutsche Biographie, V., 168. Regarding the surprise of Mayence, see Städtechroniken, XVIII., I., 51 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, II., 176 *seq.* The Bull of the 18th January, 1463, commanding the German clergy to publish the Brief against Diether and his followers, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 88.

the expiration of this period, it seemed likely that war would break forth anew, when affairs took a most unexpected turn.

The adherents of Nassau had long been desirous of breaking the alliance between Frederick and Diether. This at length came to pass. Diether, who had some reason to distrust his self-interested friend, entered into an agreement with Adolph in October, 1463. In consideration of being left in possession of a small territory, he renounced the Archbishopric, while Adolph promised to be responsible for all his debts and to bring about his reconciliation with the Pope and the Emperor.* This agreement was soon afterwards ratified at Frankfort in presence of Pietro Ferrici, the Nuncio to whom Pius II. had entrusted plenary powers. Diether, in token of his abdication, gave up his Electoral sword to Archbishop Adolph in a public assembly and did homage to him as his Lord. Then on his knees he asked for and received absolution from the sentence of excommunication.†

* MENZEL, Diether, 213 *seq.* Regesten Friedrichs des Siegreichen, 406; Annalen des Nassauischen Alterthumsvereins, X., 14 *seq.*

† PII II. Comment., 345; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 230 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 216 *seq.* and Gesch. von Nassau, 336 *seq.* Adolph did all that he could to heal the wounds of his Diocese, and was active in the reform of the regular and secular clergy (see JOANNIS, I., 782 *seq.*; MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 353); he died on the 6th September, 1475 (regarding his grave, see ROSSEL, Die Abtei Eberbach, Part II., Wiesbaden, 1862). Diether was then elected for the second time (see JOANNIS, I., 787 *seq.*, II., 145 *seq.*; GROTEFEND, Chroniken, I., 22). SIXTUS IV. had at first protested against the re-election; at the petition of the Chapter, he, however, confirmed it on the 5th April, 1476 (GUDENUS, IV., 418). In an ancient collection of State Archives at Darmstadt, under the year 1475, is the entry: "Archbishop Diether of Mayence informs the Count Philip of Katzenelnbogen that, on the Friday before Palm Sunday he was confirmed in his office by the Pope — Saturday after Easter." This

The Count Palatine Frederick was more difficult to deal with; at length, however, the representations of his brother Rupert induced him to agree to a peace on very favourable terms. Adolph promised to obtain absolution for him and his followers from the Pope, and together with his Cathedral Chapter, acknowledged the mortgage on the Bergstrasse.* In the middle of March, 1464, at a Diet at Worms, he was solemnly received back into the Communion of the Church by Bishop Onofrio of Tricarico, and Canon Pietro Ferrici, the Papal Legates. Before his absolution the Count was required to make a declaration that during the contest he had never intended to withdraw from submission to the Apostolic See and that for the future he would always be loyal and obedient to it.†

These two leaders of the anti-Papal opposition in Germany were far surpassed in obstinacy by Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol. The conflict between the democratic Conciliar theory, represented by Heimburg and Sigismund, and the monarchical constitution of the Church upheld by the Pope, had reached its climax in the Manifesto of the 16th March, 1461. The contest now entered upon its last stage, that of negotiations for peace. The exasperation of both parties was still intense; the

document was not to be found in the Darmstadt Archives; Baron Schenk of Schweinsburg supposes the original to be in the Archives of Marburg; 1476 certainly ought to be read instead of 1475, the date "Friday before Palm Sunday," 5th April, then coincides with Gudenus.

* KREMER, Friedrich, Urk., p. 319 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 220; FEESER, 107.

† KREMER, Friedrich, Urk., 327 *seq.* On the 25th May, 1464, Pius II confirmed Rupert's Election as Archbishop of Cologne (LACOMBLET, IV., 408–9). On this occasion and subsequently Pius II. manifested his gratitude by the grant of many favours; see MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 348.

violent measures of the Duke against those who respected the Papal censures must have produced a very painful impression in Rome.* Yet fresh proposals of mediation were constantly brought forward. The inefficacy of the Papal penalties, together with the course of events in Germany, induced Pius to consent to negotiations. But Sigismund would not hear of making any kind of apology until the Pope should have withdrawn his censures. This, and the large demands made by Cusa, frustrated the conciliatory efforts of the Venetians who earnestly desired the end of a contest which seriously impeded their trade through the Tyrol.†

In consequence of a happy combination of circumstances, a solution was at length brought about by means of the Emperor. "Most Holy Father," wrote Frederick III. on the 2nd February, 1464, "it is time that this matter should be settled. The authority of the Church, as we see, is too little respected. In consideration of the times in which we live a little indulgence is necessary. We beg your Holiness to consent to our continuing the negotiation and to commission the Bishop of Lepanto to return to us and to give him authority when the matter is settled and absolution is sought, to grant it together with the removal of the Interdict and whatever else may be necessary for the complete restoration of peace. For as soon as an arrangement has been arrived at in regard to the restitution and things depending thereon, We, in the name and stead of our cousin, in accordance with the Mandate which We shall receive, will solemnly and humbly beg of your Holiness or your Commissary,

* JÄGER, II., 206 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*

† VOIGT, III., 407 *seq.*, 414 *seq.* JÄGER gives a detailed account of the Venetian mediation (252–402).

absolution, removal of penalties, restitution, and everything that is required."*

The sudden death of Cusa † (11th August, 1464), which was followed three days later by that of Pius II., brought all these troubles to an end. On the 25th August, the proposals which had been solemnly presented by the Emperor on the 12th June were accepted. The principal articles were the following: The Bishopric of Brixen was to be restored to the Cardinal who was to hold it as his predecessors had done before the Compact of Bruneck, which was to be considered null and void. Obligations contracted previously to that event were to continue in force. All ecclesiastical and secular persons were to be reinstated in their former possessions and dignities. The Poor Clares whom Sigismund had banished from Brixen were to return to their convent. In regard to the jurisdiction over the convent of Sonnenburg and other points left undecided by this Convention, they were to be arranged in accordance with former deeds. The Cardinal, as Bishop of Brixen, was to grant investiture to the Duke, in the same manner as his predecessors had granted it to the Duke's forefathers. All who have adhered to Sigismund are to be absolved; the Chapter of Brixen retains

* JÄGER, II., 414–15.

† Regarding CUSA'S will and his tomb, which is still in good preservation in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, see SCHARPFF, 380 *seq.* A copy of his will is at Cues, and another in the Archives of the Anima at Rome. Cusa's heart was brought back from Rome to his birthplace, Cues. "Here it reposes in the soil of his fatherland, to whose highest spiritual welfare it had ever been devoted, within the walls of that noble foundation, which more than anything else bears witness to its Christian sentiments." See Vol. II., p. 132. A copper tablet, with Cusa's likeness, marks the spot where it rests, in the choir of the Hospital Church. This church also contains the tomb of the Cardinal's sister.

its ancient privileges. Frederick III. having, with head uncovered, besought pardon and absolution for Sigismund from the Papal Legate, the latter absolved the Duke from excommunication and the other censures, and removed the Interdict.* Heimburg was not absolved; from the time that the Emperor undertook the work of reconciliation, he vanishes from the scene in the Tyrol. The Czech King, George Podiebrad, subsequently furnished him with another opportunity of joining battle with Rome.

* JÄGER, II., 421 *seq.*, 427. Here we may observe that there is no ground for saying that the Emperor made this petition on his knees. It is strange that Jäger, and, after him, HUBER, III., 186 (who, however, takes care not to impart to his readers the substance of the agreement!) should have attached such importance to an undated and anonymous letter, to an un-named Cardinal, in which a partisan of Cusa laments the issue of the struggle. JÄGER, II., 415, moreover, had shortly before admitted with regard to the contract, "The Pope could not expect nor ask anything more. His Imperial Majesty himself offered a vicarious submission and satisfaction, which, as it presupposed Sigismund's consent, implicitly involved an acknowledgment of guilt and prayer for pardon. Satisfaction was offered to the authority of the Papal See, and Sigismund's honour was also saved by avoiding a direct and personal petition."

CHAPTER V.

Attempted Reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church.

THE opposition to the authority of the Holy See in both France and Germany proceeded from the Princes and men of learning, and was schismatical rather than heretical in its character. In Bohemia, however, the case was different, and the movement was all the more dangerous because most of the people had become alienated from the teaching of the Church.

In the summer of 1451, as Nuncio in Bohemia, Pius II. had been able, from personal observation, to judge what deep roots these anti-Papal sentiments had taken in the nation. The so-called Compact, concluded in 1433, between the Bohemians and the Synod of Basle, had soon proved an absolutely insufficient basis for the establishment of a true and lasting peace. The Basle party to whom it was of the utmost importance to gain a palpable advantage over Eugenius IV., acted with as little good faith as the Bohemians. "The document which granted the chalice to the laity was amply furnished with evasive clauses, and the Bohemians took it as a simple confirmation of their heresy with all its varying doctrines, forms and rites, without troubling themselves as to the exact import of the articles. On the 5th July, 1436, the Compact was published at the Diet at Iglan in Sigismund's presence, but on the very next day fresh differences regarding the administration of the Sacrament

arose between Rokyzana and the Legate from Basle, and they parted without being able to agree. No formal decision was given for a long time with regard to a great many of the disputed points, and no agreement was ever arrived at in regard to the reception of the Eucharist by children. Both parties were interested in ostentatiously misrepresenting the Compact. The Council acted as if the Bohemians had submitted, and the Bohemians as if their heresy had been sanctioned."*

The concessions contained in the Compact were accepted by the Utraquists, but the accompanying conditions and obligations were utterly disregarded. Accordingly the Utraquist Clergy, while administering the Blessed Sacrament under both kinds to the laity, neglected to remind them that Christ was wholly and entirely present in each species, although the Compact plainly required them to do so. The conditions which bound them to conform to the Church in other matters of Dogma and Ritual were no better observed; they continued to deny the Catholic doctrine regarding Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, Indulgences, and the use of images of the Saints. In 1448 the Councillors of Prague went so far as to forbid the private or public administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist under one kind, at the same time proclaiming "with curious logic," that the Compact was to be maintained inviolate! The meaning of all this was made clear when negotiations with the Byzantine Schismatics were set on foot. In this same year, 1448, the Catholic

* VOIGT in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., V., 413, who justly blames PALACKY (III., 3, 217) for giving the contents of the Compact superficially and incompletely, and from a Hussite account instead of from the original Document, which he himself published in Latin and Bohemian. See also FRIND, III., 152–7, who observes "It was a peace founded on illusions."

Cathedral Chapter and all the German Professors and students were compelled to leave Prague because they would not recognise Rokyzana, who had not received Archiepiscopal confirmation from Rome.* Utraquism ruled supreme in the Bohemian capital. From the pulpit of the Teyn Church, Rokyzana could, without let or hindrance, abuse the Roman Church and proclaim the Pope to be closely connected with the Beast in the Apocalypse.†

Thus it will be seen that the Compact had long been broken before Rome formally annulled it. The Holy See had always abstained from any recognition of the agreement entered into with the Synod of Basle. Throughout the weary period of the contest with the Conciliar Party the Popes had silently tolerated the exceptional position of affairs in Bohemia, while they clearly perceived that its continuance would constitute a danger to the Church.‡

The action of Rome in annulling the Compact was amply justified by the practical working of the treaty which proved more and more adverse to Catholic interests, while an Utraquist Church was growing up with the granting of the Chalice to the laity as its distinctive symbol. It was plain that no less decided measures would suffice to reunite Bohemia to the Church. But all efforts in this direction were frustrated by the fanaticism of the Czechs in regard to Communion under both kinds.

* HÖFLER, Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung, I., 174–7; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 417, 437.

† "Rokyzana" as GINDELY, Gesch. der Böhmischen Brüder, I., 11 (Prag, 1857) observes, "cast a new fire-brand into the country, by widening the breach which separated the Utraquists in general from Rome, he played into the hands of the individual fanatics who were raising new bulwarks against her by founding fresh sects."

‡ "The Compact was a living offshoot of the Revolution," says DROYSEN, 196.

Better days seemed to dawn with the accession of George Podiebrad to the throne. His abjuration of the Hussite heresy and his Coronation Oath must have awakened hopes in Rome, that with his assistance the nation might be brought back to Unity.* But his habitual duplicity was not laid aside in his dealings with the Apostolic See. Previously to his Coronation he had solemnly sworn, before two Catholic Bishops and a small number of witnesses, not only to be himself loyal and obedient to the Church and her Head, but also to bring his people back from all errors and heresies to complete obedience to the Roman Church, and union with Rome in ritual and worship.† This oath was thoroughly Catholic, and left no room for any Utraquistic interpretation. It abandoned the Compact; nevertheless, the King made no difficulty in swearing to maintain the privileges of the Bohemian kingdom, amongst which the Utraquists reckoned this agreement. It was evident that he was aware of the contradiction between these two oaths from the pains which he took to keep both his abjuration of heresy and the Coronation Oath a profound secret.‡

It was only to be expected that double-dealing of this kind would sooner or later bring its own punishment. The non-fulfilment of his Coronation Oath exposed the King to the well-merited reproaches of the Holy See, while the attempt to redeem his solemn promise was equivalent to a declaration of war against the Utraquists, who were his most important partisans. All Podiebrad's ingenuity was accordingly exercised in postponing the

* BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, III., 128.

† See Vol. II. of this work, p. 444.

‡ The abjuration of heresy was not even to be committed to writing, see BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, 140.

decisive moment when he must lay aside the mask and openly declare himself for or against Rome, in the meantime deriving all possible advantage from his ambiguous position.

At first things went better than he could have expected. In the beginning he had stipulated that time should be allowed him for the fulfilment of his promises, and this made it the more easy for him to put off the Holy See. Moreover, circumstances were taken into account at Rome, and the King was not pressed to hurry on the work of reunion.*

In order to keep the Papal Court in good humour, George Podiebrad at once took up the question which was justly considered as the most important of the day, and as a matter of life or death to Christendom. He had already made splendid promises to the aged Pope, Calixtus III., in regard to the Turkish War, and he now continued to speak in the same tone to Pius II. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was determined in Consistory to send the Bohemian King an invitation to the Congress at Mantua, similar to that which was addressed to the other Christian Princes. Podiebrad lost no time in making use of this Brief, in which the Pope addressed him as "dear son," for his own profit, and, as a matter of fact, the "little letter" brought many cities and districts to his feet.† But, on the other hand, these evidences of friendly relations with Rome incited Rokyzana to fresh attacks upon the Catholics. By the instigation of this

* "Unless," observes BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, 140, "Rome desired to bring the King at once into conflict with that large portion of the nation which had chiefly contributed to his elevation to the throne, there was nothing for it but to permit him at first to pass as an Utraquist."

† MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 10–11.

leader, Decrees were published in 1459, in the Utraquist districts, to the effect that no one should enter into possession of an inheritance, or acquire property unless he bound himself by oath to live and die in the use of the Chalice. Marriage in the Church and burial in consecrated ground, the right of citizenship in Prague, and of admission to the Corporation, as well as the power of exercising a handicraft were all made dependent on the same condition.* The great influence possessed by Rokyzana, as head of the Utraquist party, induced the King to tolerate, if not to sanction, this Edict which was equivalent to a breach of the Compact. If Pius II. took account of these circumstances, and attributed the Edict to Rokyzana, and not to the King, yet he was evidently aware that the Bohemian monarch was playing the same game with him that he had so long carried on with his predecessor, Calixtus. The solemn Embassy, which had been empowered to complete the Union promised to that Pontiff, never arrived. By holding out expectations and making empty promises, George sought to obtain from the Holy See a full recognition of his position, and at the same time to avoid any step which would compromise him before the Hussites. He was most anxious that the validity of his title should be acknowledged by the whole Catholic world at the approaching Congress, if he made up his mind to send representatives there. But the Pope demanded a complete and public profession of obedience in his own name and that of the kingdom of Bohemia, and George did not think it possible to go so far.† Accordingly, in February, 1459, Provost John of Rabenstein was sent to the Papal Court to promise obedience to the Pope in the name of the

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 290; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 436.

† VOIGT, III., 439-40.

King and the Royal family, but not in that of the kingdom, and this act was to be performed in a Secret Consistory. Pius II. continued firm in his determination not to recognise George publicly as King until he should have made a public profession of obedience.*

The Congress which had now just opened at Mantua gave Podiebrad a very favourable opportunity for treating with the Pope. Pius II., whose mind was almost exclusively engrossed by the Turkish War, here experienced the first great disappointment of his Pontificate. The more indifferent the Christian Princes in general appeared in this matter, the greater was the apparent zeal on the part of Podiebrad. "He announced the speedy arrival of his Envoys, and broadly hinted that he hoped to stifle the arrogance of the Hussites, and wipe out the stain of heresy in the war against the Turks." The effect of this crafty policy was to induce Pius II. to modify his attitude. In his answer to the announcement that Bohemian Envoys would appear at the Congress, he "for the first time, without circumlocution," styled George, King, begging him to come in person to Mantua, or to send Ambassadors; and further explained that if Rabenstein had not been received as a Royal Envoy, it was because he had come in a private manner.†

Podiebrad neither came in person nor sent representa-

* MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 13–14; BACHMANN, Böhmen, 77 *seq.* *Regest., 470 *seq.*, 26b. Oratoribus regis Bohemie conceditur littera passus, dat. Senis III., non. April. A° 1°, f. 78: Joanni de Rabenstein prepos. Wisigrad. conceditur littera passus, dat. Senis 1459, Cal. April. A° 1°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† I intend to publish at full length in a future collection of Documents the *Brief of 8th June from the above mentioned Cod. of the Laurentian Library. See also in Appendix N. 16, Pius II.'s *Brief of the 12th June, 1459, to Procopius von Rabenstein. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

tives to the Congress, excusing himself on the plea that until he was lord over all his subjects, he could undertake no step in the matter of union.* This had reference specially to the people of Breslau, who withheld their allegiance on the ground that he was a heretic. In the beginning of September, Jerome Lando, Archbishop of Crete, and Francis of Toledo were sent to Silesia to settle this difference. As they were also to treat of the Turkish War and the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, they went, in the first instance, to Prague. Here George used every effort to win over the Papal Nuncios, and was completely successful. At Breslau, where he was hated more as a Czech than a heretic, they experienced considerable difficulty. At length, however, they were able to bring about a settlement, and it was arranged that, after the expiration of three years, homage should be rendered to him as a Catholic King.†

The last remaining antagonism to Podiebrad was thus removed by Papal intervention. The King was lavish in expressions of gratitude, and declared that nothing lay nearer to his heart than the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, and the war against the Turks. But his deeds did not correspond with his words. Month after month went by, yet his Envoys did not arrive at Mantua. The delay necessarily awakened distrust in the mind of the Pope, who, unable any longer to conceal his impatience, sent the Royal Procurator, Fantino de Valle, who was at the time in Rome, to Prague to remonstrate with Podiebrad. But the Bohemian monarch contrived so thoroughly to convince this messenger of his sincerity that from henceforth he became his most ardent defender in

* MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 17.

† *Ibid.*, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 18 *seq.*; GRÜNHAGEN, Gesch. Schlesiens, I., 305 *seq.*

Rome. On the 12th September, 1460, the King assured the Pope that he adhered with unchanging fidelity to his oath; his delay arose from the difficulties of his position, but in the following February at the latest his Embassy would arrive to do homage; his sincere desire was by prudence to prepare the way for the restoration of the true faith.*

Meanwhile, in reality George's mind was occupied with matters of a very different nature. He sought to win the Crown of Germany, and as, with this object in view, he entered into a close alliance with the anti-Papal party there, he naturally again aroused the suspicions of the Roman Court; when this project failed, he next conceived the bold idea of becoming King of the Romans with the help of the Pope. Had Podiebrad really been a champion and Martyr of the Hussites, as some prejudiced historians have represented, it would have been impossible for him to have cherished such a scheme as this. In reality his religious convictions, as far as the term has any meaning as applied to a man of his stamp, "always retired out of sight whenever his political interest or his schemes of personal aggrandisement required them to disappear."†

Accordingly he now offered his services to Pius II., against the German opponents of the Papacy, formerly his own political friends, for he really cared as little about a rearrangment of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany as about the so-called reform of the Empire. This is proved by the "Instruction for treating with the Pope,"

* Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 45, 47–8; MARKGRAF, *loc. cit.*, 21; BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 89–90.

† BACHMANN, Böhmen, 280, as opposed to Palacky, Droysen and Jordan; see also SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 429. The Pope's suspicions are expressed in the *Brief of Nov. 6th, 1466, to Procopius von Rabenstein, Lib. brev. 9, f. 193, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

a draft which, though never seen by Pius II., is still a most important document. How, it may be asked, did George intend to win the Pope to his views? By nothing less than the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. He declared himself ready to consent that the Pope should appoint an Archbishop of Prague, or invest a worthy ecclesiastic with Archiepiscopal powers until such time as one should be lawfully appointed. If Pius II. would send a qualified Legate to Bohemia, the King, conjointly with the Administrator of the Archdiocese, would find means to restore the unity of faith in the kingdom without bloodshed. Nor would he have any difficulty in publicly and solemnly doing homage and professing obedience to the Holy See in the name of his whole kingdom, as his predecessors had done before him.* The severe measures taken by the King against the smaller sects in his kingdom (from March, 1461) seemed in harmony with these professions. The Utraquists became very uneasy, and the storm broke when, on Maundy Thursday, 1461, the Bishop of Breslau, of course in the absence of the wily Podiebrad, preached openly in the Castle of Prague against the administration of the Chalice to the laity. It now became evident that Rokyzana, supported by the Utraquist mob, was more powerful than the King, who, while stretching out his hand to grasp the Roman Crown, felt the ground beginning to give way under his feet. The excitement in Bohemia reached such a pitch that he deemed it prudent to abandon his hopes of the crown, and unreservedly

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 296. The "Memorandum to the Pope," published by HÖFLER, Urkunden zur Gesch. Böhmens, 53 *seq.* (Prag, 1865), and HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, Urkunden, I., 1, 301, 316. See HÖFLER in the Sitzungsberichten der Königl. Böhm. Gesellschaft der Wiss., 1862, Juli–December, 51 *seq.*

to recognise Utraquism. An extraordinary Diet was assembled at Prague in the month of May, at which he solemnly promised to maintain the use of the Chalice for the laity, and also the Compact.*

Meanwhile Podiebrad had come to be thoroughly distrusted in Rome, "If the Bohemian Envoys do not soon arrive," wrote the faithful Fantino, "your Majesty will be disgraced; all now look on me as a liar."† A letter of safe-conduct for the Bohemians had been issued on the 30th June, 1461,‡ but still no one came. Pius II. waited yet another half-year, and at the end of that time his patience was at length exhausted. On the 1st January, 1462, he wrote to the Archbishop of Crete, whom he had sent to Vienna, Prague, and Breslau, and empowered him, in case the King should still delay to carry out his obligations as to the question of faith, indefinitely to postpone

* The original, according to PALACKY, IV., 2, 187, is in St. Wenzels-Archiv, Prague. The position taken up by George will be better understood by the consideration of a fact which BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 93, brings to light. The chief nobles, who had adhered to the ancient faith, were not prepared, for the sake of the restoration of Catholicism, to give up possession of the Church property they had acquired.

† Letter from Rome of 5th April, 1461, in PALACKY, Urkundl. Beiträge, 243–4. BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 142, writes: "This is the cry of distress of a faithful servant, who trembles for his master's cause and for his own good name."

‡ SOMMERSBERG, Siles. Rer. Script., I., 1030 (Lips., 1729), gives the text. B. Bonatto, writing from Rome on the 29th June, 1461, says: *"El Re de Boemia chi mostra havere intentione de ridure quelli heretici del paese suo a la unione cum la gesia, ha mandato a domandare uno salvo conducto per li ambasatori, intende de mandare fin a cento cavalli tra li quali sera quello suo principale de la sita, si domanda el Rochezana et vengono per disputare o confondere altro o esser confusi lor, non so quello ne seguira; el salvo conducto ge si mandato." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the submission of the citizens of Breslau. He was also to bring about an alliance against the King between that city and all the neighbouring powers, both within Silesia and beyond it, and pronounce void all contrary oaths, promises and agreements.*

At length, after three years of delay, Podiebrad made up his mind to send the Embassy. Its object was twofold, to do homage to the Pope in the name of the kingdom of Bohemia, and at the same time to ask for the confirmation of the compact! † Its composition was in harmony with its purpose, for it had two chiefs—the Catholic Chancellor Procopius von Rabenstein, and the Hussite, Zdenko Kostka, of Postupitz. Two Utraquist theologians, Wenzel Wrbensky and Wenzel Koranda, were among its members, and most of our information regarding the ensuing events is derived from the reports of these last.‡

The Envoys travelled slowly southwards, passing through Vienna, where Wolfgang Forchtenauer joined them as the representative of the Emperor. They reached Rome on the 10th of March. Here the general feeling was very unfavourable to the King. It was well-known that he only adopted this line of action because his plans had failed in Germany. Cardinal Cusa, whom the Pope had charged to examine the Bohemian affairs, was full of distrust.§ Pius II. himself, on the 11th of March, told the Milanese Ambassador in confidence that the semi-heretical King of Bohemia was utterly untrustworthy, and had been a dissimulator from his

* Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 70–1.

† See the Instruction in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 130.

‡ See PALACKY, IV., 2, 218 *seq.*; JORDAN, 49 *seq.*; BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 197, and PATERA in the Archiv Cesky, Prag, 1888

§ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 26.

childhood.* "No more unfortunate moment could have been selected by George for obtaining concessions which had hitherto been steadily refused by the Papal Court."† The whole position of ecclesiastical and political affairs had apparently changed greatly to the advantage of the restored Papacy.‡ Sigismund of the Tyrol persevered in his revolt, but the Archbishop of Mayence was virtually subdued, the German Conciliar party was broken up, and now the King of France was abandoning the Pragmatic Sanction. By a strange coincidence the Bohemian Ambassadors arrived just in time to witness this fresh triumph of the Papacy. In a private interview, Cardinal Bessarion at once pointed out to them the splendid example of Louis XI., who had renounced the Pragmatic Sanction; "and you must know," he added, "that in France one hundred and one Bishops, many great Abbeys, and a large number of the Clergy opposed this measure with all their might, but the King's determination carried it through. You see what renown he has gained by this. Your King has only to act in a similar manner to obtain a like reward."§

* PIUS II.'s words to O. de Carretto were: "*Ce ancora il Re de Boemia il qual benche mandi sua ambasiata, qual heri gionse qui a dare obedientia, tamen dice Sua Sta e mezo heretico et e cativo de nido et non se ne puo pigliare fede." *Letter of Carretto of the 12th March, 1462; see *supra*, p. 141 *seq.* Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 26.

‡ What passed in secret was at the time but little known. There can be no doubt that in the conversation with Carretto of which a sketch has been given (*supra*, p. 141 *seq.*), Pius II. drew too dark a picture of his situation.

§ PALACKY, IV., 2, 220; see *supra*, p. 149, note §. BACHMANN (Reichsgesch., I., 199) is mistaken in saying, in his addition to VOIGT (III., 511), that Carvajal only returned at this time from his Mission to Hungary. The Cardinal had arrived in Rome by the 30th September,

On Friday, the 19th March, Kostka, the most confidential Councillor of King George, was summoned alone into the Pope's presence. In this interview Pius II. vainly endeavoured to convince the Bohemian Baron that the Compact was no longer valid, inasmuch as the generation to which it had been granted had nearly died out; moreover the Bohemians had violated it in many ways, and thus forfeited all right to it.

On the following day the Envoys had their audience. After an introductory discourse from the Imperial Plenipotentiary Forchtenauer, Chancellor Rabenstein spoke, excusing his master's long delay and proffering the profession of obedience in his name. Upon this the Pope remarked, "You make the profession of obedience in the King's name alone, whereas it is customary to make it in the name of the kingdom." The Chancellor hesitated, and did not venture to satisfy the Pope until Kostka, who was standing near him, had given his consent. Pius II. then asked if they had anything further to say, whereupon Professor Wenzel Koranda, who was opposite the Pope, began his address. "He spoke rapidly in a loud voice, and in the bold and arrogant tone which was usual among the Hussite preachers and disputants."* His long discourse culminated in a request that the Pope would confirm the Compact.

The Utraquist Professor in his conceit imagined that he had acquitted himself brilliantly; but the impression

1461; see *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. What PALACKY, IV., 2, 99, mentions regarding the secret sojourn of Carvajal in Bohemia, has already been stated by VOIGT in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., V., 446, note 30. I may add that in the Lib. brev. 9, f. 52, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, "ex Wienna" is plainly written in the Brief of Pius II.

* VOIGT, III., 462.

left upon his Roman audience was that the Bohemian movement was, as it had formerly been, a revolutionary one, and that its spirit was thoroughly anti-religious. Its dangers were more clearly perceived than they had been, and there was a stronger conviction of the necessity of eradicating it at any cost. He was not ashamed, wrote one who had been present at the audience, "to maintain before these learned fathers that Communion in both kinds was necessary to salvation, being in accordance with the appointment of Jesus Christ; much of what he said was not to the point, and indeed simply ridiculous."*

Pius II. at once replied. Well acquainted as he was with Bohemian affairs he had no difficulty in thoroughly confuting his adversary. His address lasted two hours. "He went back to the origin of the State of Bohemia and its conversion to Christianity. He painted in glowing colours the intellectual and material prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the nation in the 13th and 14th centuries, while it remained in the unity of the Faith and enjoyed the blessings of a truly Christian life. Then, turning to the period since the rise of the Hussite heresy, he pointed out the contrast. The country was devastated. Learning had fallen into decay, and the political power of the nation was weakened, and its internal peace destroyed by the division of the people into two bitterly hostile religious bodies. The Compact, he said, was the melancholy symbol of this confusion. It had never been formally acknowledged by the Church, and on that very account was strenuously supported by the Hussites. Far from being a means for the restoration of a union between Bohemia and the Church, and of internal peace which the Holy See so earnestly desired, it was the chief hindrance in the way.

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 203–4. The Report cited is in the Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 85–6.

The question to be considered, therefore, was not how these articles might be confirmed, but how they might be set aside, and as the matter was one of the greatest importance, out of respect for the King, the Pope wished to take counsel with the Cardinals before giving a final answer to the Envoys."*

Fresh negotiations took place between the Bohemians and a Commission of Cardinals, but with no result. It was only agreed that Rome should send a Legate to Bohemia to treat with the King of matters for which the Envoys had no powers.

Meanwhile Pius II. had determined to draw out the logical conclusions which followed from the profession of obedience. On the 31st March an open Consistory was held in the presence of four thousand persons. "In calm and unimpassioned language," the Pope explained the reasons which made it impossible for him to recognise the Compact. It had only, he said, been agreed to on certain conditions. The Chalice had been granted to the laity on the understanding that in every other matter they should conform to the Church; this condition had never been fulfilled, and therefore the concession which depended on it did not hold. "We, with our brethren the Cardinals, have revised the copies of that agreement and found, and hereby publicly declare, that your priests cannot lawfully give the Chalice to the laity. You have, indeed, requested us to grant permission, but this is for many reasons impossible. In the first place, our predecessors have constantly refused to do so, and the concession would give scandal to the rest of Christendom. In the second place, it would be prejudicial to you, for there would be danger of encouraging a heretical belief that Christ is not wholly present under one species. A third reason is the risk of spilling the Precious Blood on

* BACHMANN, I., 204.

the ground, which has often happened in former times. Fourthly, the unity and peace of your kingdom would be endangered, for the majority of the Bohemians will not hear of Communion under both kinds. Concessions cannot be required from those who are walking in the footsteps of their forefathers, but rather from those who have turned aside to novelties. Fifthly, should we accede to your desires, your good relations with your neighbours would be imperilled. You do not know what a hurtful thing you are asking. As a faithful shepherd guards his sheep that they may not stray, so are We bound to watch that the nations do not wander from the way of salvation. Because We desire your salvation therefore We refuse your request. Unite yourselves with the rest of Christendom, and the glory and peace of former days will again return to your kingdom."*

When the Pope had concluded his speech, Antonio da Gubbio, Commissary for matters of Faith, read the following declaration:—"The Compact which the Council of Basle granted to the Utraquists is annulled and abolished; Communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation; the Holy Father will not recognise the obedience professed in the name of the King of Bohemia, until both the King and the nation shall have conformed to the Catholic Church in every particular."†

The abolition of the Compact was a most important step, and was not determined upon without anxious deliberation on the part of the Holy See.‡ The matter did not admit of

* MANSI, II., 93–100; PALACKY, IV., 2, 229 *seq.* The Pope's speech, with some variations, is often to be found in manuscript; as in Frankfort, City Archives, Reichssachen, 4220–22; in Kremsmünster, Abbatial Library, Cod. 4, f. 103–5; in Vienna, Court Library, Cod. 3609, f. 225–7; 4453, f. 384–5; 4764, f. 181–5; 13,760, *f. 1–3.

† BACHMANN, I., 198, 208.

‡ See *ibid.*, I., 207.

further delay: "now that the reforms of Basle had been almost universally repudiated, the Compact would have been a scandal to the other nations, and a constant danger of schism and heresy to the Bohemians."* Moreover, the Compact had been intended to bring about the reunion of Bohemia with the Church, in return for the grant of the Chalice to the laity; the Bohemians, however, used it as an instrument for the destruction of all conformity with the Church. What right had they now to complain of the repeal of an agreement which they had themselves so often broken and so greatly abused? "Was the Compact, as it was now interpreted, the same as that made by the Council of Basle? Was not this request for its confirmation equivalent to a demand for the sanction of the abuses which had been practised by its means?"†

Podiebrad did not at once stand up to defend the Compact, but let a considerable time pass before he declared himself. His position had from the first been a false one, since in his secret Coronation Oath he had promised that it should be abolished. It had now become impossible for him to fulfil his engagement. Hitherto the existence of this Oath had been concealed from all but a few confidential persons. In May the Pope resolved to make it more widely known. By this means pressure would be brought to bear upon George, "for Pius II. still hoped that the King could be induced to submit. If he could be persuaded to set the example by conforming to the Catholic ritual, the people were sure to follow."‡ Such was the spirit of the instructions given

* FRIND, IV., 57; PALACKY, IV., 2, 7.

† HÖFLER, in the Lit. Beilage der Mittheilungen des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, II., 10–11. See also Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung, III., 179,202. BACHMANN (Georgs Wahl, 131) justly observes that Rome was not to be a second time deceived by feigned obedience.

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 29, 37; GRÜNHAGEN, I., 308.

to Fantino de Valle, formerly Procurator to the King, when he was sent to Prague. Fantino had up to this time confidently maintained in Rome that the King intended to fulfil his Coronation Oath. Who could be better fitted now to call upon him to redeem his word?

The Legate reached Prague in the fourth week after Easter, but had to wait a long time for an audience from the King, who hoped by delay to strengthen and improve his position. He was at this time much occupied with an extravagant project suggested to him by Antoine Marini, a Frenchman, who had recently entered his service. The fundamental idea of Marini's scheme was "that all Christian Princes and nations would never cease to cling to Rome and be loyal to her as long as the Holy See alone took thought for the defence of Christendom against the advance of the Turk." The Turkish question must therefore be taken out of the hands of the Pope. It was to be solved, and the pacification of Christendom was to be secured by a grand Alliance to be concluded between Bohemia, Poland Hungary, France, Burgundy, and Venice. The Holy See, was thus to be deprived of its European influence, and George was to obtain the Imperial Crown of Byzantium. A General Council, moreover, was to assemble "to reform the Church, that is to say, to depose the Pope and confirm the Compact." The plan also included an International Court of Justice, and a "Parliament of States," in which, apparently, the French King was to preside, and which was to settle all disputes among the Confederates.*

* See regarding Marini and his project, VOIGT, III., 487 *seq.*; PALACKY, IV., 2, 239 *seq.*, and the detailed account of MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 245 *seq.* Marini was sent to Venice in the beginning of July, 1462. George Podiebrad wrote on the 3rd July [1462] from Prague to the Doge: "Mittimus strenuum Antonium Marini de Francia cui comisimus nonnulla bonum statum ecclesię

This wild project, which aimed at revolutionising the whole political system of Europe, found little favour at the different Courts. Casimir of Poland, indeed, who was involved in a serious contest with the Pope regarding the appointment of the Bishop of Cracow, developed a sudden zeal for the war against the Infidel.* But the powerful Republic of Venice, although at the time somewhat at variance with Rome on account of Malatesta, was utterly opposed to the exclusion of the Holy See from the Turkish war. The Duke of Burgundy, who was friendly to the Pope, shewed no disposition to let himself be beguiled by Marini. Louis XI. treated him with more courtesy ; an alliance between France and Bohemia might be useful for bringing pressure to bear on Pius II., but the Council was rejected by the French monarch, and he was by no means over zealous in promoting a scheme by which Podiebrad would be the chief gainer.†

Meanwhile diplomatic action on the side of Rome had also commenced. "It was characterised by a far greater unity of purpose and practical efficiency than that of its opponents, being based upon fixed principles and real existing relations. Fantino had now received special powers enabling him to enter into alliances with the Catholic Lords of Bohemia, the Silesian Princes and the Bishop of Breslau, and to treat more fully with the City." Next came the publication of the Secret Coronation Oath.

sancte Dei et christiane religionis defensionem concernentia V^re^ Ex. referre." I found a copy of this letter, which seems not yet to have been published, in Cod. Lat. XIII.–XC., f. 14b of St. Mark's Library, Venice. Marini's *Treatise De unione Christianorum contra Turcos is in Cod. 15,606, f. 1 *seq.*, of the Library at Munich. See Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie, 1875, II., 219 *seq.*

* SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., V., 465 ; CARO, V., 1, 191 *seq.*

† VOIGT, III., 489 *seq.*

"This was a well-considered step; if the King kept his promises the Document revealed only that which all the world might know; if he did not, it convicted him of perjury and duplicity."* The Czech monarch preferred the latter alternative.

On the 12th of August, 1462, negotiations were opened at Prague with the Court, which had been transferred thither, and Podiebrad, emboldened by the improvement in his position, determined to lay aside the mask by which, at the time of his election and Coronation, he had sought to gain the Pope, the Bishops, and the Catholic Party. He now formally and solemnly declared himself an Utraquist. He concluded his speech on that day with the following words:—"Let all men know that we have been born, brought up, and by the Grace of God have ascended the Throne in the practice of Communion under both kinds. We are resolved to maintain it, and to live and die in it. Our Consort, our Children, and all who love us must likewise uphold the Compact."†

George's speech had a twofold object: first, by a strong demonstration in favour of the grant of the Chalice to the laity, he meant to secure the Utraquists, and secondly, to take the Catholics by surprise. He hoped to raise his own personal quarrel to the rank of a question of State, and to obtain the sanction of the nation for his double-dealing. He completely failed, though Kostka, as the spokesman of the Utraquists, promised unconditional adhesion, Zdenko of Sternberg, the leader of the Catholics, declared that in temporal matters they would render obedience to him, but they had never had anything to do with the Compact. He

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 228. Evidence of the superiority of Rome in the sphere of Politics is here given in detail. See also SYBEL's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 275 *seq.*

† PALACKY, Urkundl. Beitr., 275; MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 33

had taken it up without asking their advice; let those now help him who had counselled the step.*

On the 13th August Fantino was admitted to the King's presence, but he was not given the rank of a Papal Nuncio.† He began by claiming the freedom of speech conceded to Ambassadors, well aware that in the King's present temper an appeal to the right of nations was by no means superfluous. He then enlarged on the absolute necessity of the abolition of the Compact, and insisted that, in virtue of his Coronation Oath and of his profession of Obedience, Podiebrad was bound to carry out the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. If we may believe the Breslau chronicler, who from his party-position was deeply interested in the course of these events, the Catholics were much encouraged by the clear and practical discourse of the Legate, which made an impression also on the advocates of the Chalice. Had Girsik (George), says the chronicler, but said the five words, "I will obey the Pope," the whole nation would have stood by him.‡ The King, however, bluntly rejected the demand of the Papal Legate. It had never crossed his mind, he said, to abolish the Compact; on the contrary, he meant to live and die in it.

If we remember how firm a champion Fantino had hitherto been of George's good faith, we can understand the shock which the Legate must have received on hearing this cynical denial of his obligations. He stood speechless for a moment, as if stunned by a blow. Then he reminded the

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 236 *seq.* Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 220. George deeply felt the failure of his attempt to surprise the Catholics, as is evident from his appearance at the Assembly of Clergy at Prague in September, 1462, where the Catholics again "unanimously" refused to uphold the Compact as he required.

† VOIGT, III., 475.

‡ BACHMANN, I., 239.

King of his engagement, adding that if he persisted in adhering to this declaration he might justly be charged with perjury. The King angrily interrupted him, but the Nuncio was not to be intimidated. In a louder tone he proclaimed all ecclesiastics who held to the Compact to have forfeited their posts; should the King and his family persist in their error they too would incur the penalties of the Church. As he had himself become the King's Procurator in the firm belief that he would give up the Compact and Communion under both kinds, he now resigned his office.

For a moment it seemed as if the King, who was pale with rage, would have sprung upon his adversary, and it was with some difficulty that he at length controlled himself sufficiently to allow Fantino to depart. But as soon as he was gone his wrath burst forth afresh; he would not live another moment without avenging himself; Rome was not the Holy See, but a plague spot; the Holy See was formed by the union of all the faithful, and that was certainly not to be found in Rome.*

The effect produced by the "uncompromising attitude of the Champion of the Roman Church" can hardly be overestimated. "It was, indeed, long since such words had been heard in Bohemia! Many a one, while adhering to the Chalice, had deemed himself by virtue of the Compact a good Catholic Christian. Now he found both it and himself condemned by the Pope. Many another, while rejecting the Chalice, had, for the sake of peace, held fellowship with those who received it, and now it appeared that the Pope judged such peace and fellowship a sin. Decision and courage in the defenders of a cause go a great way in making it popular."† Recognising this danger, the faithless

* Bachmann, I., 240.

† Voigt, III., 476.

King took a fresh step on the downward path, and on the morrow, in gross violation of the right of nations, sent the Papal Envoy to prison.*

At this direct outrage on the Pope and the Catholics, the Bishop of Breslau, Sternberg, and other noblemen indignantly left the Bohemian capital.† The breach with Rome and with the Catholics of Bohemia was now an accomplished fact.

When King George came to himself he perceived that his impetuosity had driven him to the brink of an abyss. He wrote letters to friendly Princes, and one even to the "Holy Father" himself, in which he styled himself his "obedient son," and sought to palliate conduct which was in fact inexcusable. Pius II., "in firm but calm language, required that Fantino should be released;" and on the 26th of October he was set free, his servants and horses, however, being retained.‡ From this time forth George strained every nerve to avert by diplomacy and dissimulation any decided action on the part of Rome, and even to obtain the confirmation of the Compact.

It is difficult to understand how the Czech monarch could cherish such vain hopes. The explanation is perhaps to be found in his early training. "Reared from his childhood in party strife, George Podiebrad was an adept in political chicanery, and had unlimited faith in the power of corruption and intimidation, and all the arts of diplomacy. It was incredible to him that any political power could be really guided by principles or by moral motives. He sup-

* Fantino had scorned to fly from the danger which threatened him. On his way to the prison George cried out, that he could hardly keep his hands off him, whereupon the Nuncio rejoined that he could desire no greater honour than to die by the hand of the King.

† DLUGOSS, 294; VOIGT, III., 477.

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 34; BACHMANN, I., 243.

posed the differences between himself and the Holy See to be merely a question of politics, and therefore capable of being solved at any moment by a change of circumstances."*

The King of Bohemia had gained an important advocate in the Emperor. Frederick undertook, as a reward to Podiebrad for having delivered him out of the hands of the rebels at Vienna, to arrange the dispute with Rome and avert its unpleasant consequences. His influence with the Holy See did in effect prove strong enough to induce the Pope, at the end of 1462, to suspend all the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by George.† He chose, however, to understand the settlement as including a confirmation of the Compact, an interpretation which, it need hardly be said, was at once repudiated by Pius II. When, soon after, the Pope took the people of Breslau under his protection, the King reverted to his project of a European Confederation of Princes. "Formerly he had endeavoured to win the Pope by fair words and promises, now he intended to intimidate him by menaces."‡ Louis XI.'s irritation against the Holy See seemed likely to make him look with favour on a scheme which meant opposition to Rome, and, in fact, he appeared to welcome the proposals of the King. He kept clear, however, of any definite engagements; and when Marini visited Venice in February, 1463, the promise of a levy of forces against the Turks was gratefully acknowledged, but the necessity of an understanding with Rome, as well as with Hungary, was also insisted on.§

Through Antonio da Noceto, who was in his service and living in France, Pius II. had in January, 1463, heard

* VOIGT, III., 480–1.

† See PALACKY, Urkundl. Beiträge, 287 *seq.*

‡ VOIGT, III., 487.

§ BACHMANN, I., 408.

of Marini's intrigues at the French Court,* and lost no time in taking measures to counteract them. In October of this year, Rome, Burgundy and Venice entered into a League against the Turks, and thus effectually worsted the Bohemian King and his hare-brained Councillor.†

The Pope had accordingly nothing further to fear from this side. Why, it may be asked, did he, notwithstanding the importunity of the citizens of Breslau, still hesitate to proceed further with the Bohemian question? Many motives combined to keep him back. In the first place, Pius II. was naturally averse to violent measures. And, in spite of all that had taken place, he was not exasperated against George, "whose difficult position he understood, and who, he believed, had power and skill enough, if he would be firm and courageous, to bring the Hussites back to the Church." Then the ever-growing danger from the Turks drove the interests of Bohemia into the background. Finally, it was an ancient and abiding principle with Rome to neglect nothing, but to hurry nothing.‡ In the end,

* MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 289, supposes Pius II. to have obtained the information through the Court of Burgundy. As evidence that the Pope was aware of the whole scope of the project, he cites a letter which Fantino de Valle wrote on the 23rd May, 1463, from Rome to Breslau (published in Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 202 *seq.*). The first supposition is mistaken, as we learn from the *Report of O. de Carretto, of 13th January, 1453, which I found in the Ambrosian Library. From the same Report we gather the date at which Pius II. became acquainted with the matter. See the passage on the subject in Appendix N. 57.

† The final result of the negotiations with France was very unsatisfactory to Podiebrad. The alliance concluded between him and Louis XI. was of the vaguest character. The grand scheme of an anti-Papal, cosmopolitan Union had to be completely abandoned; see MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 302 *seq.*

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 29; VOIGT, III., 492; BACHMANN, I., 399, 484.

however, the patience of Pius II. was exhausted by the perpetual prevarications of the King, who only aimed at gaining time and bringing Breslau into subjection. In the spring of 1464, in the midst of the preparations for the expedition against the Turks, proceedings founded on his Coronation Oath were commenced against George as a perjured and relapsed heretic. In an open Consistory (16th June, 1464), it was decided that he should be summoned to Rome,* and the Bull of Citation had actually been drawn up when the Pope died.†

* Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 256 *seq.*; BACHMANN, I., 501 *seq.*

† Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 257–8; Script. Rer. Siles., IX., 77–90; BACHMANN, I., 501, has overlooked the more ample Bull of June 16th, 1464 (according to VOIGT, III., 500, also in Cod. I. G. 34 of the University Library at Prague). PALACKY, IV., 2, 313, who certainly made use of this MS., gives from it the wrong date (15th June), published by CUGNONI, 145–54 (1883).

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460–1463.—INDIFFERENCE OF THE ITALIAN POWERS. — EASTERN ENVOYS AND FUGITIVES IN ROME. — THE LAST OF THE PALÆOLOGI. — CHARLOTTE OF LUSIGNAN. — PIUS II. WRITES TO THE SULTAN EXHORTING HIM TO BECOME A CHRISTIAN. — THE HEAD OF THE APOSTLE ST. ANDREW IN ROME.—DISCOVERY OF THE ALUM MINES OF TOLFA.—TREBIZOND, LESBOS AND BOSNIA SUBJUGATED BY THE TURKS.—THE POPE DETERMINES TO LEAD THE CRUSADE IN PERSON.

WHILE Western Christendom was consumed by internecine strife, the Conqueror of Constantinople pursued his victorious course in the East. In order "to complete the circle of his Empire in this region, it was necessary to bring into subjection the independent Greek, Albanian, and South Slavonian countries that lay scattered within its boundaries, on the broad line between the limits of the Venetian territory and Trebizond." Fortune favoured the Turks, and the new power that had arisen on the shores of the Bosphorus threatened "to be a greater danger to Western Christendom with its thousand divisions than the inroads of the Hun and the Mongol in former days."* In the summer of 1459 Servia had been constrained to bow beneath the Ottoman yoke. The Greek Schismatics preferred Islam to union with the Catholic Church, and the Papal garrison of the Island of Lemnos had been overpowered

* HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 602, 637.

through their treachery.* In 1460 the power of the Palæologi in the Morea was crushed, and the glorious Parthenon changed from a Church of our Lady into a Mosque.† Onward and onward the Turk pressed with fire and sword, filling these countries, once the most beautiful and flourishing in the world, with ruin and desolation. The Eastern question became more and more alarming; it was the "oldest and most important of all the questions of foreign policy that Christendom had ever had to deal with."

The life or death character of the struggle with the barbarism of Islam in which Christian civilisation was engaged was fully appreciated at Rome. From the time of his accession, Pius II. had, like his predecessor Calixtus III., been anxiously occupied with the affairs of the East; but in the early days of his Pontificate, at the Congress of Mantua, he had to endure bitter disappointments. During the troubles which followed the arrival of the Duke of Calabria in Naples he had never lost sight of his great object.‡

The first thing to be done was to obtain the accomplishment of the promises solemnly made at the Congress.

* CRITOBULOS, 128 *seq.*; HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 321; KLAIČ, 407; KALLAY, Gesch. der Serben 169 (Budapest, 1878). Regarding the oppression of Latin Priests in Crete by the Greeks, see **S. Mar. VII., f. 23 (1461, June 27). State Archives, Venice.

† HERTZBERG, Griechenland, 574 *seq.*; HOPF, Griechenland, 128; MICHAELIS, Der Parthenon, p. 55 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Athen im Mittelalter, II., 396.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, VII., 190, 3rd ed. Poets and orators chose the Turkish question when they could, as the theme most pleasing to the Pope. See *Ludov. Donati ap. sedis prothonotarii orationes tres habitæ Senis apud P. M. Pium II., N. 2: Pro gloriosissimi doctoris Augustini celebritate. Senis in aede eiusdem b. Augustini 1460, V. Cal. Sept. A beautiful MS. adorned with miniatures from the collection left by Pius II. now in the University Library, Pisa S. 4, 537.

Even during his journey from Mantua to Siena, Pius II. urged this matter on the different powers. But he met with hardly any response. Evasive and unsatisfactory answers reached him from various quarters. Duke Borso of Este, although he had with his own hand signed the Decree regarding the levy of the tithes, would not be the first to let the collection take place in his territory, and sent back the Papal messengers.* In vain did the Pope reproach him with his ingratitude and faithlessness, in vain did he threaten him with Excommunication.† Borso would not keep his word, and at a later period even supported Sigismondo Malatesta in his attack on the States of the Church.‡

The wealthy Florentines behaved no better. When Pius II., during his sojourn in their city, spoke to them of the fulfilment of the decrees of Mantua, he was informed that the promises of the Envoys must be confirmed by the Great Council, and that there was no prospect that it would permit the tax to be levied on the laity. Hopes were held out that the tithes from the clergy might be collected, but when it came to the point this also was prohibited.§

Hoping that some change of mind might have taken place among the influential leaders of the Republic, Pius II. sent his confidential friend Goro Lolli to Venice, but his representations were without effect. The cold and calculating policy of the Signoria, whatever might befall, was

* Pii II. Comment. 95 *seq.*; *Brief to Borso of the 1st April, 1460, see Appendix N. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Pii II. Epist. 10, ed. Mediolan.; VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 9; RANKE, Hist. Biogr. Studien, p. 223 (Leipzig, 1877), is strangely mistaken in saying that Borso "had contributed largely to the undertaking."

‡ Brief to Borso, without date. (Non deberes malorum patrocinium tam aperte suscipere.) Lib. brev. 9, f. 229, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Pii II. Comment. 96, and particularly the vehement *Complaints of Nic. Palmerius who was sent as Papal Nuncio to Florence, 1460, March 17, X. 1–52, f. 54–6. State Archives, Florence.

to keep on good terms with the powerful enemy of Christendom.*

The exhortations of the Pope were thrown away on these short-sighted worshippers of Mammon. And even the threat of severe spiritual penalties produced little effect in Bologna and other places. Many who would not pay were not frequenters of the Sacraments. The chronicler, who relates this, adds that the money was by no means destined for the Turkish war, that it was all a cheat, and that the contributions were not demanded anywhere, save in Bologna.† On the other hand, it was asserted that a great deal of money had been collected in that city for the defence of the Faith.‡ All the inhabitants did not share the anti-Roman sentiments of the chronicler. A glance at the Registers in the Secret Archives of the Vatican suffices to shew the falsity of the assertion, that tribute for the Turkish war was not claimed from other states. Even during the Congress, and immediately after its close, Nuncios and Collectors were sent to Norway, Sweden, Lithuania, various districts in Germany and Italy, to England, Scotland, Ireland, Aragon, Castille, and Leon. Some of the Briefs on this subject are dated from Siena, and some from the Baths of Macereto and Petriolo, an evidence of the zeal and earnestness displayed by the Pope.§

* Pii II. Comment. 95.

† Cronica di Bologna, 732. See also *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, f. 339; Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

‡ Annal. Bonon., 892. See Atti dell' Emilia, N. S., IV., 169.

§ Brief to Florence, dated Mantua, 1459 (st. fl.), Jan. 17. "Dilectumque filium Ignatium abbatem monasterii S. Mariae de Florentia ordinis S. Benedicti presentium exhibitorem cum plena facultate exigendi decimam, trigesimam et vigesimam huiusmodi in vestro dominio collectorem et nuntium nostrum per literas nostras sicut videre poteritis deputavimus." State Archives, Florence, X., 2–23, f. 69b–70. *Regest. 471, f. 301 *seq.*: "Marinus de Fregeno (see

The results obtained were certainly small; a strange indifference prevailed in almost all the Christian States regarding the danger which threatened from the East, although it was a favourite subject with the Humanistic Poets and Rhetoricians.* The Decree for the levy of the Tithes from the members of the Roman Court was published at Siena on the 24th February, 1460.† Soon, however, it became known that some Prelates and Cardinals, especially those whose sympathies were with France, "did not set the good example of paying, but the evil one of murmuring and resisting."‡ In Italy, Pius II. complains to Cardinal Bessarion in May, 1460, that "people are far from manifesting the alacrity we had hoped for. Few are mindful of the engagements they made at Mantua."§ France and Germany, the most war-like

GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.) constituitur nuntius et commissarius pro regnis Norvegie, Gotie et Lituanie, d. Mantuae, 1459 tert. Non. Jul." Conf. f. 341, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 75. Reg. 476, f. 77: "Franciscus ep. Interamnen. constituitur collector in regnis Anglie, Scotie et Ibernie, d. Senis, 1459, xiii. Cal. Mart. A° 2°"; f. 281: "Antonius de Senis constituitur nuntius et collector in partibus Mediolan. Derthon, Alexand. Novarien. etc., civit. et dioc., d. Petrioli, 1460, x. Cal. Julii A° 2°." Conf., f. 327, f. 289: "Ant. de Veneriis constituitur collector et nuntius in reg. Castellae et Legionis, d. Macerati, 1460, iii. Cal. Junii A° 2°." See also Reg. 514, f. 35b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See for example the Eroticon of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, Lib. V., f. 58b (Venice, 1513), and Pietro Apollonio Collazio's "Epistolarum liber" (published at Novara, 1878, at the expense of the Library, not for sale). Here are seven Latin letters, in verse, addressed to the most eminent Princes and to Pius II., pp. 11–15.

† Mandatum solutionis decime pro curialibus, dat. Senis, 1460, Febr. 24, A° 2°; PII II., Div. lib. I., f. 73 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., xxix., T. 29.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 10; VOIGT, III., 107.

§ Brief of May 5th, 1460. Lib. brev. 9, f. 201b–202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

of the Western powers, were even less zealous than Italy. The fair promises in most cases came to nothing.*

In this deplorable state of things, any great undertaking was impossible. Pius II. had for the time to content himself with giving assistance to the most oppresed, as far as his small means and the troubles in Naples and the States of the Church permitted, and with keeping the idea of a Crusade alive until better days should dawn. His strongest opponents cannot deny that he did this to the utmost of his power.†

While the Pope was at Siena, Moses Giblet, Archdeacon of Antioch, a scholar well versed in Greek and Syrian literature, arrived in that city. He came as Envoy from the Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, the Prince of Caramania, Ibrahimbeg, and other Oriental Rulers who hoped that Pius II. would deliver them from the Turkish yoke. He bore letters from these various Eastern potentates declaring their adhesion to the Florentine Union. Pius received him both in private audience and publicly, and on the 21st April, 1460, caused a memorandum to be drawn up recording these professions of obedience. This Document, together with a Latin translation of the letters of the Patriarchs and Princes, was deposited in the Archives of the Church. It is preserved in a book prepared for the purpose, and distinguished from other contemporary Registers by its careful penmanship and arrangement. It was called "The Red Book" on account of its handsome red binding.‡

* See *supra*, p. 61 *seq*. The fact that Mantua does not possess the smallest memorial of the meeting of the Congress accords well with this.

† Regarding the seriousness of the Pope's intentions, see Appendix N. 42.

‡ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. IV., caps. III., N. 1, or A. ; see Mittheilungen d. Œsterr. Instituts, V., 618 *seq*. Kaltenbrunner is here

It is worthy of notice that Pius II. never again mentioned this great event. Possibly, even at the time, he may have had doubts of the genuineness of the mission and the letters.*

At the end of December of this year (1460), a fresh Embassy from the East arrived in Rome, whither the Pope had by that time returned.† The Romans were astonished

wrong in stating that the last Document drawn up by Moses himself bears date 16th April, 1460. Document, f. 23, in which he declares his acceptance of the Florentine Decree of Union in the name of those who have sent him, concludes with the following words: *"Ego Moyses Giblet hic an[te] nominatus archidiaconus Anthiochenus indignus servitor V^re^ S^tis^ hec scripta manu propria signita confiteor. Dat. Senis die xxi. mensis Aprilis, 1460." From the Documents before us, it is hard to decide whether Giblet was acting in a straightforward manner. Ibrahimbeg's letter (*Lib. rub., f. 22b) conveys the impression of being genuine: it is not directed to Giblet's advantage. More suspicion may attach to the other letters which praise his zeal for the Church. Giblet's signature, f. 24b, made "Jo. Bapt. Gonfalonerius Arch. S Angeli custos" doubt him as long ago as 1633. The letters of the Patriarchs Joachim of Antioch, Marcus of Alexandria, and Joachim of Jerusalem (thus in the Documents of the Papal Archives. By these LE QUIEN, III., 515, is to be corrected) may be genuine, according to the opinion of my colleague Bickell, to whom I shewed them; FROMMANN, also (200, note, and 246) believes that the three Patriarchs really joined the Union, "yet the affair had no practical result." See also, in regard to this Embassy, PII II. Comment. 103, and PHIL. DE LIGNAMINE, 1308, where, however, is an error in the date. The Giblets were among the most distinguished of the Syrian nobles; see MAS-LATRIE, Chypre, 341 (Paris, 1879).

* VOIGT, III., 644.

† I found, in a **Letter written by Carlo de Franzoni from Rome to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua in 1460, in nocte S. Stephani, the date of the arrival of the Envoys which was not known: "Le venuto," says Carlo, "da sei giorni in qua una nova generation de ambasiatori che già gran tempo non furono mandati al summo pontefice, etc." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With this agrees a Record in the State Archives at Florence, published by MÜLLER, Doc. 188. The Brief of

at the appearance of the Envoys of Emperor David of Trebizond, of the King of Persia, the Prince of Georgia, and other Eastern Rulers in their strange Oriental attire.* The Persian and Mesopotamian Envoys attracted particular attention; the latter had his head smooth-shaven like a monk, with the exception of a little crown of hair and a tuft at the top. The travellers had come through Austria and Hungary to Venice, and had there been honourably received, a circumstance which convinced the Pope of the genuine character of the Embassy. They presented letters in grand eloquent language from their Princes. Their interpreter and guide was Lodovico of Bologna, a Franciscan Observantine, who, in the days of Nicholas V. and Calixtus III., had travelled much in the East and made many friends there. He now held out hopes of a political combination, such as had often been contemplated in Western Christendom. The attack of the European powers on the Turks was to be seconded by parallel action on the part of the Oriental Rulers. Lodovico made the most splendid promises as to the immense number of troops they would furnish. Pius II., who had already entered into alliance with the Prince of Caramania, entertained the Envoys at his own expense, and advised them to visit, not only the Italian Princes, but the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, without whose co-operation the Crusade could scarcely be undertaken. They agreed to follow this advice, but asked the Pope to supply them with money for their journeys, and to appoint Lodovico of Bologna Patriarch of the Oriental Christians.†

October 4, 1458, whereby the privileges granted by former Popes were confirmed in favour of Lodovico of Bologna, is in WADDING, XIII., 60.

* FALLMERAYER, Trapezunt, 263 *seq.*, and BROSSET, 408–10, give details.

† PII II. Comment. 127 *seq.*; CAMPANUS, 988–9; PLATINA, 735;

Although provided with Papal letters of recommendation, the Easterns brought nothing back, either from the French or the Burgundian Court, but empty words. This time their reception was less friendly; suspicions of fraud had arisen. Lodovico had, on his own authority, assumed the title of Patriarch, granted dispensations, and collected money everywhere. The Pope gave the Envoys money for their journey home, but refused to nominate Lodovico Patriarch. Soon afterwards, learning that he had carried his audacity so far as to contrive, on false pretences, to obtain consecration in Venice, Pius II. gave orders for his imprisonment. Warned by the Doge, Lodovico fled, and the Pope, who, from henceforth, looked with suspicion on all messages from the East, never again heard of him.*

It is difficult to say, from the reports of this Embassy which are before us, and considering the defective means of communication in those times, how far it was fictitious in its character.† We may at least affirm that Michele degli Aldighieri, the representative of the Emperor of

Annal. Bonon., 891; WADDING, XIII., 153 *seq.*; MÜLLER, Doc. 185; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 75. In Regest. 479, f. 65, I found *Nicolaus Tiphlo [Nic. Tephelus, *cf.* WADDING, *loc. cit.*], constituitur baiulus in civitate Tiphli regis Persarum. "Cum tu a chariss. in Christo filio nostro rege Persarum illustri pro causis fidei christiane ad nos missus, etc." Dat. Romae, 1460 (st. fl.), Id. Jan. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* PII II. Comment. *loc. cit.*; WADDING, XIII., 155; Mém. de J. du Clercq, IV., c. 27; GACHARD-BARANTE, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne II., 179 *seq.* (Bruxelles, 1838), Dagboek der Gentsche collatie uitg. door Schayes 441–3 (Gent, 1842); FREDERICQ, 43; HEYD-RAYNAUD, 363–4.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 144. Here a fact, which took place in the time of Sixtus IV., is brought forward in support of the genuineness of the Embassy; VOIGT (III., 650), who maintains the existence of fraud, omits all mention of it. See also BROSSET, 407.

Trebizond, was no deceiver. It can hardly be supposed that a man of his stamp would have travelled through Europe in the company of impostors.* Whatever may have been the real nature of this Embassy, it is, however, certain that the efforts of the Pope to call forth a Crusade, elicited a movement amongst Mahomet's enemies in Asia, which, under more favourable circumstances, might have proved a serious danger to him.

A deeper sensation than that caused by the appearance of the Envoys was soon aroused in Rome by that of the dethroned Eastern Princes, who now began to arrive. It had long been one of the most treasured privileges of the Holy See to shelter and befriend the exiled and the unfortunate, and seldom had the claims on that hospitality been more urgent than at this period.

On the 7th May, 1461, Thomas, the dethroned "Despot of the Morea," came to Rome.† In the beginning of the previous year he had been rash enough to break a treaty made with the Porte, and to quarrel with his brother Demetrius. The consequence was that Mahomet determined to bring the rule of the Palæologi in the Morea to an end. The cowardice and degeneracy of the Greeks were now deplorably manifested. Demetrius submitted, and gave the Sultan his daughter for his harem. Mahomet plainly told him that he meant to get rid of the Palæologi. The whole country was devastated, and horrible outrages were committed. On the 28th July, 1460, Thomas quitted the Peloponnesus in despair, and sought shelter in Venice. From thence, on the 16th November, by the Pope's invitation, he proceeded to Ancona, bringing with him a precious relic, the head of the Apostle St. Andrew from Patras. This

* HEYD-RAYNAUD, 363, note 2.

† Report of B. Bonatto, of 9th March, 1461; see Appendix N. 43. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he gave to Cardinal Oliva, who, by order of Pius II., deposited it provisionally in the strong fortress of Narni.*

The Lord of the Morea bore a striking resemblance to the statue of St. Paul which formerly stood in front of St. Peter's. He is described as a grave and handsome man, about fifty-six years of age. He wore a long black cloak and a white hat of a material resembling velvet. Of the seventy horses which formed his train, three only were his own. The Pope received the unfortunate Prince in a Consistory held in the Hall of the Papagallo, assigned to him as his abode the Palace near SS. Quattro Coronati, and provided for his maintenance.† On Lætare Sunday he sent him the Golden Rose, and, with the assistance of the Cardinals, granted him a yearly pension of 6000 ducats.‡

* HOPF, Griechenland, 131 *seq.*; HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 574 *seq.*; FALLMERAYER, Morea, II., 375 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 650 *seq.* Regarding the head of St. Andrew, see PII II. Comment. 192 *seq.*; PERUZZI, Storia d'Ancona, 356. Thomas Palæologus afterwards presented the Pope with another relic. Otto de Carretto writes to Francesco Sforza from Siena, 1464, May 6: *"Lo despota ha donato [see the Document in CUGNONI, 337, *seq.*, *cf. ibid.*, p. 49] a la Sta de N. S. lo brazo dextro di S. Giohanni Bapt. qual haveva portato da Constantinopoli e questa matina e stato ditto brazo portato in processione accompagnato da la Sta de N. S. e da tutta la corte . . . con gran divotione." (State Archives, Milan.) This sacred treasure is still preserved in Siena, see FALUSCHI, 13. About this time the Turks also attacked the Despot of Arta, Leonardo III., Tocco. Pius II. caused one of the galleys, built in Rome, to be assigned to him (see **Briefs of 16th and 29th Nov., 1459, in the above-mentioned Codex of the Laurentian Library), and afterwards endeavoured to support him with money. See the *Brief to Bologna of 13th May, 1460, in the State Archives of that city.

† Report of B. Bonatto of 9th March, 1461, Appendix N. 43, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See the account in MÜNTZ, I., 294.

‡ Despatch of B. Bonatto to the Marchioness Barbara at Mantua, dated Rome, 1461, March 13, Gonzaga Archives. The Ambassador

In the spring of 1462 Thomas, who could not forget that he was the sovereign and heir of Byzantium, made a vain attempt to induce Siena, Milan, and Venice to espouse his cause. Pius II., by a solemn Bull, called upon all the faithful to furnish him with troops and arms, and thus give him the support which he himself was unable to afford. An indulgence was also promised to all who should aid him to recover his throne.* When all these efforts proved fruitless, Thomas seems to have found it impossible to resign himself to his dependent position.† Melancholy and disappointment consumed him, and on the 12th May, 1465, he died forgotten in the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito. His wife Catherine had preceded him in 1462. Thomas had two daughters, Helena, Queen of Servia, who died in a convent at Leucadia in 1474, and Zoe; also two sons, Andreas and Manuel. The latter of these two returned to Constantinople, became a Mussulman, and received a pension from the Porte. Andreas, whom Pius II. acknowledged as titular Despot of the Morea, remained in Rome, but injured his position by marrying a woman of bad reputation. His schemes of

thus describes the Rose: "è un arborsello de fogliete et oro cum uno zafiro in cima." See CARTARI, 57, and MÜNTZ, I., 315; also Vol. I. of the present work, p. 221. In a Despatch of 23rd March, 1461, B. Bonatto writes of the "Despot of the Morea" "La Sta di N. S. continua in farli honore."

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462, N. 35–8; VOIGT, III., 651 *seq.* See Brief to Florence in MÜLLER, Doc. 189–90. Regarding the Despot's journey, see Cronica di Bologna, 743; SANUDO, 1167; and MAKUSCEV, Monum., II., 206 *seq.* *Letters from Card. Colonna (dat. ex urbe 1462, Febr. 3) and from Bessarion (dat. Rome, 1462, March 15) urgently commended him to the Sienese. I found these letters in the State Archives of Siena.

† On the 2nd January, 1463, Bartol. Marasca tells Marchioness Barbara that her son, the Cardinal, had invited the Despot of the Morea to dinner, "E uno signore de grande aspecto"; he ate little, and was full of grief. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

reconquering the Peloponnesus by the assistance of Naples or of France came to nothing. In 1502 he died in misery, having bequeathed his kingdom to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Isabella of Castille. Zoe, who was very beautiful, lived in Rome under the guardianship of Cardinal Bessarion, and, in 1472, received a dowry from the Pope, and married the Grand Duke Iwan Wassilijewitsch III. of Russia, transmitting her claims to the throne to her only daughter Helena and her son-in-law, Alexander I. of Poland, who belonged to the Jagellon family.*

In the beginning of October, 1461, it was rumoured that Charlotte of Lusignan, the youthful Queen of Cyprus, a relation of the Palæologi, meant to come in person, and seek assistance from the Pope. This unhappy Princess, who had ascended the throne in 1458, was married to Prince Louis, son of the Duke of Savoy. But the young Queen and her weak consort were unable to rule their distracted kingdom. Charlotte had both courage and strength of will, but could not prevent her half-brother James, with the assistance of the Sultan of Egypt, from usurping her throne. Louis of Savoy was surrounded by his enemies in the fortress of Cerines, and Charlotte hastened to Rhodes and then to Rome in search of aid.†

The prospect of this visit was by no means agreeable to the Pope, "who had little reason to be pleased with the conduct of the House of Savoy, or the loyalty of Cyprus."

* HOPF, Griechenl., 131 *seq.*; HERTZBERG, II., 578 *seq.*; MAS-LATRIE, III., 174–5, note 1, 324, note 2; HERQUET, 150–54; FINLAY, 306; FALLMERAYER, Morea, II., 403 *seq.*; FROMMANN, Beiträge, 236 *seq.*

† MAS-LATRIE, III., 82 *seq.*; REINHARD, Gesch. von Cypern, 51; HERQUET, Charlotta, 107 *seq.*, and Königsgestalten, 52 *seq.*; WEIL, Gesch. der Chalifen, V., 268 *seq.*, 303. James's Ambassadors had in vain endeavoured to obtain recognition from the Pope; see PII II. Comment. 165–78, Asia, c. 97; MAS-LATRIE, III., 154 *seq.*; HERQUET, Königsgestalten, 74.

He sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to Ostia to dissuade the Queen from her purpose.* This proved impossible, and Pius II. received her "with sympathy and kindness."† On the 14th October she landed at S. Paolo, and on the following day made her entry into Rome; nine Cardinals met her, and she was received with all the honour due to a Queen.‡ In his Memoirs, Pius II. thus describes this lady: "She seemed to be about twenty-four years of age, and was of middle height. Her eyes had a kindly look, her complexion was pale and rather dark, her speech, as is common with the Greek, winning and fluent She dressed in the French style, and her manners were dignified."§

Pius II. received the Queen in Consistory with the greatest kindness, and when she knelt he made her rise

* Despatches of B. Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga of the 11th and 12th Oct., 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. HERQUET, Charlotta, 129, and Königsgestalten, 70, is mistaken in giving the end of October as the date of the Queen's arrival from Ostia; VOIGT, also, III., 655, assigns the same time. The account in REINHARD, II., 62 *seq.*, is extremely confused.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 146.

‡ See in Appendix N. 51, the letter of B. Bonatto of the 16th Oct., 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Different dates are assigned for the Queen's entry into Rome. In a *Letter of Giac. Chicio to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1461, Oct. 16, we read: "a 15 del presente la regina di Cipri feze lo ingresso suo dentre da Roma." Nicolaus Consandulus in a *Letter to Borso of Este, dat. Rom., 1461, Oct. 14, says: "La reina di Cipri nepote del dispota de la Morea et fiola del re passato anchuo ariva in Roma e aloza in casa del card. de Spoliti la quale è nel curtile del palazo del papa. Provisione e facta per farge honore" (Modena Archives). In a second Report of the 16th Oct., 1461, B. Bonatto expressly says: "heri entro" (Gonzaga Archives). The 15th May then may be considered established as the date.

§ PII II. Comment. 179. This description agrees with that in the Ambassador's Report from the Gonzaga Archives in Appendix N. 52.

immediately.* He assigned her as her residence a palace in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vatican. The next day, with many tears, she told her sad story to the Pope, besought his help for her besieged husband, and entreated him to furnish her with the means of continuing her journey, for she had been plundered by pirates on her way. Pius II. promised to grant her requests, but could not help reminding her of the contempt of the Holy See, and disregard of the interests of Christendom, which her husband and her father-in-law had manifested during the Congress of Mantua.†

Charlotte remained in Rome till the 29th October, and visited the Holy Places.‡ Meanwhile the Pope had provided for her travelling expenses, and caused an escort of fifty men to be prepared.§ Thus attended, the Queen

* This is related by B. Bonatto in a second **Report of the 16th Oct., 1461. Giac. Chicio, in the *Letter of 16th Oct. which we have already cited, also says: "Cum humanitade incredibile N. S. accepto questa regina in la camera del papagollo pres. tutti li rev. cardinali." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Pii II. Comment. 179–80.

‡ Mas-Latrie (III., 114), the best authority on the History of Cyprus, is so uncertain as to the duration of the Queen's sojourn in Rome, that he transfers to Rome a letter of hers of the 5th Nov., 1461, dated ap. S. Chirichum. The account in Comment. Pii II. *loc. cit.*, is also uncertain. The correct date is given by Paolo della Mastro, Cron. Rom., 27, and in a *Despatch of B. Bonatto's, dated Rome, 1461, Oct. 29: "Questa matina e partita questa regina di Cipro." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.*; Cronica di Bologna, 742. The Papal Letter of Commendation to the French King appears as Epist. 387 of the Basle edition; that to Florence in Müller, 195–6 (in place of octavo Cal. Octob., here should be Novemb.). The accounts for Charlotte in the Apostolic Treasury begin on the 30th Oct., 1461. *Intr. et exitus, 449, f. 110b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Gottlob, Cam. Ap.

passed through Siena, Florence, and Bologna, to the home of her husband. Everywhere she was received with sympathy, and hospitality was shewn to her and to her escort. But she found her father-in-law so little disposed to render assistance that she gave up her intended journey to France. In the end all her efforts to interest the Christian Princes in her cause proved fruitless, and in the autumn of 1462 she embarked at Venice to return to Rhodes. The letter in which she describes her forlorn and helpless condition is very touching.*

Even before the arrival of the Queen of Cyprus, heavy tidings from the East had again reached Rome. In the end of September, letters from Venice declared that the Principality of Sinope and the Empire of Trebizond were in the hands of the Infidels.†

* Letter of Charlotte's dated Mantua, 1462, Aug. 10, in GUICHENON, Preuves, 393; *ibid.*, I., 540–41. Charlotte is said to have appeared at the Congress at Mantua; this, however, is a mistake. For a further account of the Queen, see CHASTELLAIN, IV., 194; HERQUET, Charlotta, 138 *seq.*; and Königsgestalten, 75 *seq.*

† FALLMERAYER, Gesch. von Trapezunt, 280; PAGANEL, 287; and HOPF in the Ersch-Gruber, LXXXIV., p. 189, give the year 1462 as the date of the fall of Trebizond. This error is also to be found in Ist. di Chiusi, 992, and in the Hist. della casa Musachia, HOPF, Chroniques, 337; VOIGT, III., 656; FROMMANN, 236; BERCHET (Rep. di Venezia e Persia, 2 and 100) and HEYD, 365, are certainly correct in adhering to the year 1461. The Annal. Venet. of St. Magno (HOPF, Chron. 201) record the calamity as having taken place in this year, and are confirmed by other authorities. (1) In the *Instruction for the Venetian Ambassadors to France, dated 1461, Oct. 20, are the following words: "Nuper litteras accepimus a capitaneo nostro maris quibus certiores facti sumus. Turcum ipsum fuso et fugato Ossone Cassano civitatem Trapesunde occupavisse." Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 63, State Archives, Venice. (2) B. Bonatto on the 26th Oct., 1461, writes from Rome to the Marchioness of Mantua: *"Del Turco se ha che l'ha preso lo imperator de Trebusunda et mandato luy, la dona e

At the very time when the Pope thus learned that the northern shore of Asia Minor was lost to Christendom, he was "in the midst of the troubles of the Apulian war, and in extreme financial difficulties." The news from the East, together with the indifference of the Western Powers in regard to the danger threatened by Turkey, may have been the immediate occasion which suggested to him the bold idea of making an attempt to convert the Sultan.* The learned Pope's letter to Mahomet is so comprehensive that it deserves rather to be called a treatise. It breathes the conviction, which subsequent history has confirmed, that the Koran can never ultimately prevail against Christian civilisation. This remarkable document is far more impassioned in style than any of Pius II.'s other works. It laid before the Sultan the teachings of Christianity, contrasting them with those of Islam, and expressed the ardent desire of the writer that he might turn to the truth. "Were you to embrace Christianity," the Pope writes, "there is no Prince upon earth who would surpass you in glory or be your equal in power. We would acknowledge you as Emperor of the Greeks and of the East, and that

figlioli et 30m persone de quello paese ad Constantinopoli ad habitar." Gonzaga Archives.

* VOIGT, III., 658; PICHLER, I., 501, conjectures that this mighty project of the Pope's was only intended to alarm the Christian powers and induce them to join in common action. The fact that Gennadius had, by the Sultan's request, drawn up a statement of the Christian faith (KIMMEL, Mon. Eccl. Orient., I., 1–10 (Jenae, 1850); see OTTO in the Zeitsch. für Histor. Theol., 1850, III., 1864, IV.), may have led Pius II. to make the attempt at conversion; see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 144; see also ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 230. Regarding the Apology for Christianity as against Islamism, De cribratione Alchoran, composed by Cusa and used by Pius II., see DÜX, II., 165 *seq.*, 411 *seq.* Histor. Politische Blätter, I., 996 *seq.*; SCHARPFF, Cusa's wichtigste Schriften (Tübingen, 1862), and Cusa als Reformator, p. 248 *seq.*

which you have now taken by violence, and retain by injustice, would then be your lawful possession. We would invoke your aid against those who usurp the rights of the Roman Church, and rend their own Mother. And as our predecessors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo summoned Pepin and Charles the Great to assist them, and transferred the Empire from the Greeks to their deliverers, so should we also avail ourselves of your help in the troubles of the Church, and liberally reward it. O! what a fulness of peace it would be! The Golden Age of Augustus sung by the Poets would return. If you were to join yourself to us, the whole of the East would soon turn to Christ. One will could give peace to the whole world, and that will is yours!" The Pope went on to shew the Sultan, from history, that such a conversion would not remain isolated; the Franks had been converted with Clovis, the Hungarians with Stephen, the Western Goths with Reccared, and with Constantine heathen Rome itself became Christian. This latter example was well worthy of his imitation, and the Pope, with the help of God, would bestow the dignities promised.*

* The Pope's letter has often been printed as Ep. 7 of the Milan edit., Ep. 396 of the Basle edit., RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 44–112; s. l. et a. (Frankfort, Polemical Library, 205, N. 1), and also frequently occurs in MS. Bamberg Library, Cod. E., VII., 2 (from the Carmelite Library in that City). Berlin, Royal Library, Hamilton, 242, T. II., f. 43 *seq.*; Cracow, Jagellon Library, Cod. 2367; Munich, Court Library, Cod. Lat., 10,454, f. 120 *seq.*; Prague, University Library (see Archiv fur Œst. Gesch., XVI., 332). Olmütz Library; Rome, Vallicella Library (the foundation of Raynaldus' version, *loc. cit.*), Vatican Library, Ottob. 856, f. 19 *seq.*; 1170, f. 212 *seq.*; 3009, f. 1 *seq.*; Vat., 4034, f. 128b–192b, and 5869, f. 52–90b; Urbin., 404–406, f. 67–107, and 697, f. 68b–113. The date, unfortunately, is wanting alike in these manuscripts and in the printed copies mentioned. It is given, however, in an ancient printed copy by TARVISH, 1475 (examples of this rare

In the Holy Week of 1462 the head of St. Andrew was brought from Narni into Rome with great pomp and solemnity, by order of the Pope, and it may be with the hope of re-awakening the smouldering zeal for the Crusade.* Three Cardinals, Bessarion, Oliva, and Piccolomini, had been sent to Narni to fetch the precious relic, and they brought it to Rome on Palm Sunday (11th April). On the following day, the Pope, with all the

little work are preserved in the Library at Siena and in Cod. Vat. 5109, f. 109 *seq.*), of which copies exist (Weimar Library, see VOIGT, III., 659; University Library, Padua, Cod. 61 and 489). Here, at the conclusion, is the note: "Data Senis Kalendis Quintilibus millesimo quadragesimo sexagesimo." This, however, does not, as VOIGT, *loc. cit.*, remarks, agree with the only chronological statement in the book; in this year the Sultan conquered Sinope and Trebizond. It has already been shewn, p. 178, N. 5, that the news reached the Pope in October, 1461, and accordingly RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*, has rightly assigned the letter to that year, so has BEETS, 67. No certain information whether the letter was received by the Sultan is forthcoming (HEINEMANN, 25), but it is undoubtedly genuine. See VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 191, 3rd ed. The letter of Pius II. to the Sultan of Babylon, dated Siena, 1460, May 28th, printed by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 97–101, is pronounced by VOIGT, III., 659, N. 2, to be a forgery, as we have proof that the Pope was not on that day at Siena. But in Cod. 535 of the Court Library at Darmstadt this letter is dated: "Senis, V. Ydus Julii, 1460," when the Pope actually was at Siena, as appears from RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 86.

* Besides the description in PII II. Comment. 193 *seq.*, I have made use of the detailed *Report of J. P. Arrivabenus of the 14th April, 1462, of a *Letter of the same date from B. Bonatto (Gonzaga Archives), and of two *Letters from A. Dathus, dated Rome, 1462, April 12 and 14. (State Archives, Siena.) The letter in PALACKY, Beitr., 270, gives nothing new, nor does the modern work of PORTINI (Roma, 1847). Andreis, Cod. Vat. 5667, mentioned by VOIGT, III., 597, is identical with the account in the Memoirs of Pius II.; and the Diario in Cod. Vat. 5255, to which the same writer alludes, is the published Roman Chronicle of Paolo dello Mastro.

Cardinals, Prelates, Ambassadors, and Magnates of the City, went in procession to the meadows on the Romeward side of the Ponte Molle. A high tribune with an altar had here been erected; it was ascended by two corresponding flights of stairs; the one next the bridge was destined for the Cardinals bearing the Holy Head, and by the other, which was on the side of the City, Pius II. went up to receive the treasure. Bessarion, "a venerable man, with a long beard, was the representative of the Greeks." Tears rolled down his cheeks as he delivered the reliquary to the Pope, who, also deeply moved, "prostrated himself before the sacred relic. Then, rising, in accordance with the fashion of that rhetorical age, he pronounced a Latin oration in honour of its advent."* The Pope's voice trembled with emotion as, in presence of an immense crowd, he began: "Thou art here at last, O sacred head, driven from thy resting-place by the fury of the Turk. Thou comest as a fugitive to seek an asylum with thy brother, the Prince of the Apostles. O happy exile that brings thee here! Thou seest before thee Alma Roma, hallowed by thy brother's blood. Here is the nation won by Peter and Paul for Christ. We rejoice, we exult in being able to welcome thee here. Come into our holy City, and be gracious to the Roman people. Be our advocate in Heaven, and, together with the Prince of the Apostles, protect Rome

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 195, 3rd ed. In the last number of KOCH and GEIGER'S Zeitschr. f. vergl. Lit. Gesch. und Renaissancelit. (N. F. Vol. II., N. 4–5), H. HOLSTEIN, 364–5, gives the discourse of Pius II. on the arrival of the Head of St. Andrew in Rome on the 12th April, 1462, from Cod. Upsal. Hist., 8, f. 78. The whole speech has long since been published in Pii Comment. 194–5. The place where Pius II. received the holy head is still marked by a statue of St. Andrew. MÜNTZ, I., 248 *seq.*, considers this to be a work of Paolo Romano.

and the whole of Christendom. Turn the anger of the Almighty against the godless Turks and Barbarians who despise Christ our Lord." After the Pope and all present had venerated the relic, and Pius II. had invoked the protection of St. Andrew against the Turks, the Te Deum and other festal hymns were sung. Then the solemn Procession moved towards Rome, the Pope bearing the Apostle's head. The Via Flaminia was filled with multitudes of people; and, as an Indulgence had been proclaimed for the feast, countless Pilgrims had flocked together, not merely from all parts of Italy, but even from France, Germany, and Hungary. The relic was laid on the High Altar in Sta Maria del Popolo, and on the 13th of April carried thence to St. Peter's.

In his Report to the Sienese, Augustinus Dathus says, that so grand a function had not been seen for centuries. The streets were strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs, and sheltered with rich tapestry from the rays of the sun. The great men of the City and the Cardinals, in particular Alain and Borgia, had vied with one another in the adornment of their Palaces, and the Churches displayed all their relics and treasures. Lights were burning everywhere, and sacred music filled the air. The streets were thronged with worshippers, and it was believed that so many had not been present on any single day of the Jubilee of 1450. The Procession went round and through the City, and the Pope had given orders that all who took part in it, even the Cardinals, should go on foot. It was touching to see Princes of the Church, bowed down with age and infirmity, clad in their gorgeous vestments, and with palms in their hands, following it, and praying fervently. All the Clergy and Magistrates, the Ambassadors, and the great men of Rome walked in this Procession carrying lighted tapers. The Pope, although suffering from gout, was there in full

pontificals. Seated on a golden chair of state, beneath a Baldacchino, he bore the Holy Head to St. Peter's, which was brilliantly illuminated. It was deposited in front of the Confession. In a lengthy oration, Bessarion invoked the aid of St. Andrew and the Princes of the Apostles for the Crusade. When he had done, the Pope stood up and spoke again: "We promise thee," were his concluding words, "Holy Andrew, most worthy Apostle of Christ, to do our utmost to regain possession of thine earthly abode, and of thy flock. We have nothing so much at heart as the defence of the Christian religion and of the true Faith, which the Turks, thy enemies and ours, are threatening to destroy. If the Christian Princes will listen to our voice, and will follow their Shepherd, the whole Church will rejoice that we have not neglected what belongs to our office, and that thou hast not sought a brother's aid in vain." The relic was then exposed for the veneration of the faithful; and the Festival was closed by the Papal Benediction and the publication of a plenary Indulgence.

In the month of May of this same year, the rich alum-bed of Tolfa was discovered by Giovanni de Castro, a Paduan, and son of the celebrated jurist Paolo.* Until

* Pii II. Comment. 185–6. Here, as also by N. DELLA TUCCIA and in the *Cronica di Forli, f. 278 (Buoncompagni Library, see *supra*, p. 112), the discovery is said to have occurred in the year 1462. This is contradicted by a Document in THEINER, Cod. Dipl., 419-20, of the 23rd Aug., 1461, which REUMONT, III., 1, 506, follows. In the *Regest. Pii II., XV., f. 72, is the clear entry 1461, x. Cal. Sept. A° III°; but mistakes on the part of the Register Clerks are not impossible. Among modern writers, VOIGT, III., 548, and HEYD, 556, also adopt 1462 as the date, and it is found in the Cronica di Bologna, 748, in *GHIRARDACCI (see *supra*, p. 243), Annal. Forliv., 226, and PALMERIUS, 246, who mentions one Carolus Pisanus, as associated with de Castro in this discovery. GASP. VERONENS., 1038–43, names instead of him, the Astrologer Domenico (di) Zaccaria from Padua; see MARINI, II., 18 and 200.

1453, de Castro had managed extensive dye-works in Constantinople, and there he had become acquainted with the Levantine alum and the places where it was found. Pius II., in his Memoirs, tells us that Giovanni de Castro, wandering about the mountains, which extend from near Civita Vecchia to the sea, and are rich in springs and in forests, found an herb in the March of Tolfa, which also grows on the Alum Mountains of Asia Minor, and then observed white stones which had a saltish taste, and on being submitted to the fire proved to be alum. Giovanni hastened to the Pope to inform him of the discovery. "To-day," he cried, "I bring you a triumph over the Turk. Every year he receives more than 300,000 ducats from Christendom for alum. I have found seven mountains full of this substance, which elsewhere in the West is only obtained in small quantities, and in a few places. There is enough here to supply seven-eighths of the world, and plenty of water near at hand. This, and the proximity of the sea, gives every advantage for the working of the beds. Thus, a great gain may be withdrawn from Turkey, and fresh resources for carrying on the Holy War may be furnished to you."

Pius II. at first looked on the whole affair as the dream of an astrologer, but experts confirmed its reality. Some Genoese, who had learned the way of working alum in the East, were summoned: "They shed tears of joy when they recognised the mineral. The process of baking proved the quality to be excellent; 80 pounds of it were worth 100 of the Turkish alum. The Pope determined to employ the gift of God to His glory in the Turkish war; he exhorted all Christians henceforth to buy alum only from him and

TUCCIA, 88, says: "Il trovatore di quest' allume fu messer Giovan da Castro per mezzo d'un giovane Cornetano e un Genovese, ch'erano stati in Turchia, etc."

not from the Unbelievers." The working of the beds was at once begun; and, according to the chronicler of Viterbo, 8000 persons were employed in it as early as the year 1463.* The technical part of the business was, from the first, left by Pius II. entirely to the discoverer who, conjointly with a Genoese and a Pisan, founded an Alum Company; this company took the Apostolic Treasury into partnership.† The Tolfa alum, which is still highly esteemed, was soon in general request, and Castro became famous; his discovery brought a yearly income of 100,000 ducats to the Papal Treasury.‡

While this new and unexpected source of revenue had been opened to assist the Pope in his war, the Infidels had brought nearly the whole Archipelago into subjection. Almost immediately after the fall of Sinope and Trebizond, Mahomet had sent a powerful fleet to the Ægean Sea. The object of this expedition was to put an end to the Genoese rule in Lesbos, to extort a higher tribute from the Maona of Chios and the Duke of Naxos, and, if possible, to expel the Knights of St. John from Rhodes and its dependent islands. These last, on whose behalf the Pope subsequently

* N. DELLA TUCCIA, 268; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 86; VOIGT, III., 547.

† GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost., and REUMONT, Briefe, I., 285. Atti dei Lincei Ser. III., 1, 96, 164. See also S. BREISLAK, Saggio di osservazioni mineralogiche sulla Tolfa, etc. (Rome, 1786), and GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 334 *seq.* Through the kindness of his Eminence, Cardinal Teodolfo Mertel, I have had access to his rare pamphlet quoted above. Cenni storici sulle miniere delle allumiere (Civita Vecchia, 1835), and also to a collection of manuscript notices which furnished me with further materials for the history of the Alum Quarries in the 16th century. A picture by Pietro da Cortona in the Gallery of the Capitol represents the beds of Tolfa.

‡ N. DELLA TUCCIA, *loc. cit.*, and AMMANATI, Comment., 394 (edit. Francof.).

appealed to Germany, were able to hold their own; but in September, 1462, the rich Island of Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, and fearfully devastated.*

In the following year the Unbelievers directed their forces against the few remaining Southern Slavs, who still retained their independence. Bosnia was in the greatest danger, and the designs of Mahomet were greatly forwarded by the unfortunate state of its internal affairs. The country was distracted by feuds, there was discord among the members of the ruling house, and fierce sectarian dissensions. Stephan Thomaschewitsch, who came to the throne in 1461, had much to suffer from this last cause.

Stephan made peace with his step-mother Queen Catherine, and with Matthias Corvinus, and in every way favoured the Catholic Church. "The Slavs, following the example of the Roumanians, preferred servitude under the Turks to the freedom which the Latin world brought them." The numerous Patarenes in Bosnia entered into secret alliances with the Sultan, and slowly prepared the storm which at last was to shroud their country in "the lasting night of Ottoman bondage."†

The Bosnian King's refusal to pay tribute in 1462 finally determined Mahomet II. to carry out his purpose of reducing the country to the condition of a Turkish Pashalik. Being at the time occupied in Wallachia, he postponed his vengeance until the following spring.

* HOPF, Griechenland, 143; VIGNA, II., 1, 138 *seq.*; HOPF, De Leonardi Chiensis de Lesbo a Turcis capta epistola papae Pio II. missa, 7 *seq.* (Regiomonti, 1866), and Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, XXXVII., 359-66; HERTZBERG, II., 582. Regarding the assistance of Rhodes, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 27, 1463, N. 20, and the **Brief of March 1st, 1463, to the Bishop of Strasburg. District Archives, Strasburg, G. 141.

† KLAIČ, 414 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*, 440; HÖFLER, Slavische Geschichte, 885.

Stephan Thomaschewitsch employed this interval in preparing, as best he could, to meet the threatening danger. The Pope helped him according to his ability. Venice, of all powers the one best able to grant assistance, was indifferent, and absolutely rejected the proposals of the Bosnian Ambassadors for an alliance against the common enemy.*

The Sultan's plan was to take the King by surprise before help could reach him from any quarter. He kept the project secret, and granted a truce of fifteen years to Stephan, who was terribly alarmed by the immense warlike preparations of Turkey. Mahomet then advanced with 150,000 men, sent some of his troops against the Save to keep Matthias Corvinus employed, and with the rest proceeded to the Bosnian frontier. In May, 1463, the Turkish host encamped before the fortress of Bobovatz. Mahomet had made up his mind to a protracted siege; but after a few days, Radak the Commandant, a Patarene at heart, gave up the bulwark of the country. When this traitor claimed the reward promised by the Sultan, the tyrant caused him to be beheaded.

The general consternation produced by the fall of Bobovatz, to which further treachery was added, facilitated the work of conquest. The unfortunate King, who had fled to the strong Castle of Kljutsch on the Save, was beleaguered by the Turks. Want of victuals and ammunition constrained him to capitulate; life and liberty were promised him on condition that he would himself summon all places, not yet conquered, to surrender to the Turks. "And now all the horrors by which the cruel policy of the Sultan loved to break conquered nations fell upon the land."† Those who could sought safety in

* KLAIČ, 427; MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 104 *seq.*

† HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 621; KLAIČ, 431 *seq.*;

flight. A brave Franciscan drew Mahomet's attention to the threatened depopulation of the territory he had just acquired, and the Sultan granted to his Order a Deed by which the free exercise of their religion was permitted to the Christians. From this time forth the Franciscans were the only shield and refuge of all Bosnian Christians."*

Not content with the subjugation of Bosnia, Mahomet next cast his eyes on Herzegowina, but soon found that the conquest of that mountainous country could not be so easily accomplished. On his way back to Adrianople, he caused the letters he had granted, ensuring freedom to the King of Bosnia, to be declared invalid, and had him beheaded, together with his uncle and nephew.† The Queen Maria and the Queen-mother Catherine escaped death by flight; the latter lived first at Ragusa, and, from the year 1466, in Rome. Supported by the Pope, she, with other noble Bosnian lords and ladies, inhabited a house near St. Mark's, and afterwards one in the Leonine City. Here she died on the 25th October, 1478, at the age of fifty-three, having bequeathed her kingdom to the Holy See, unless her children, who had become Mahometans,

BALAN, Slavi, 196 *seq.*; MAKUSCEV, Slaven, *loc. cit.*, and Mon. Slav., II., 26 *seq.*

* KLAIČ, 439; BALAN, Slavi, 199 *seq.* Regarding the self-sacrificing labours of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegowina, see BATINIĆ, Djelovanje Franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini (Agram, 1881–83, 2 Vols.). Mahomet's Firman of 1463 was pretty generally respected, yet it did not suffice to hinder grievous oppression of the Latins at a later period, as we learn from the Firmani inediti dei Sultani di Constantinopoli ai conventi Francescani e alle autorità civili di Bosnia e Erzegovina, published by D. Fabianich, Firenze, 1884.

† HAMMER, II., 76–8; SCHIMEK, Gesch. von, Bosnien, 152 (Wien, 1787). Lately (1888) the Grave of Stephan Thomaschewitsch is said to have been discovered at Jaice. See DR. CIRO TRUHELKA, Gesch. und Denkwürdigkeiten von Jaice, Serajewo, 1888.

should return to the Catholic Church. "The grave of the landless Queen is to be seen in Sta Maria Araceli. Her full-length figure is sculptured on the stone, her crowned head resting on a pillow, at whose sides are two coats of arms; her hands are laid upon a book, with an inscription which describes her lineage, dignity, and age." *

Even before the tidings of the subjugation of Bosnia had reached Italy, the Pope, during many sleepless nights, as he himself declared, had thought of a new expedient for infusing fresh vigour into the struggle with the Turks: sickly as he was, and feeble from age, he would undertake in person the Leadership of the Holy War.

Pius II. imparted the project, in the first place, to six Cardinals in whom he placed special confidence, supporting his view by a retrospect of his former fruitless efforts to unite Christians against the common foe. "When the idea of a Convention occurred to us," he said, "what occurred at Mantua shewed us that the plan was a vain one. When we send Ambassadors to ask the aid of the Princes they are mocked. If we impose a tithe on the Clergy, appeal is made to a future Council. If we publish Indulgences, and invite contributions, by means of spiritual favours, we are charged with greed. People think all this is done merely for the sake of extorting money; no one trusts us. We have no more credit than a bankrupt merchant. Whatever we do is interpreted in the worst manner; people measure our sentiments by their own. We see but one resource, perhaps the last. In the year that Constantinople fell Duke Philip of Burgundy made

* REUMONT, III., 1, 148; KLAIČ, 438; MIKLOŠIĆ, 519; CASIMIRO, Mem. d'Araceli, 147; CIACONIUS, III., 41, gives a very inadequate representation of the monument. Regarding the Queen's residence, see ADINOLFI, Portica, 102–4; her will is given by THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 509–11.

a solemn vow to take the field against the Turks if some great Prince would place himself at the head of the expedition. Up to this time no one has offered. Well, then, in spite of our age and infirmity, we will take upon ourselves the warfare for the Catholic Faith. We will go into the battle, and call upon the Duke of Burgundy to follow. If the Vicar of Christ, who is greater than the King and the Emperor, goes to the war, the Duke, when his oath is appealed to, cannot with honour stay at home. If Philip embarks at Venice we will wait for him at Ancona, with as many Galleys as we can make ready, and with our whole force. The Duke will bring about 10,000 men. The French King will be ashamed not to send at least as many, for he promised 70,000. Volunteers will come from England, Germany, and Spain; those who are threatened by the Turks will rise everywhere, in Europe as well as in Asia. Who will refuse his aid when the Bishop of Rome offers his own person? Above all, however, the Venetians must be induced really to take part, for they best know how the Turks should be attacked, and all the seas are open to them. If they agree, and if Burgundy and France also consent, we mean to proceed boldly to impose on all Christians a five years' truce under pain of Excommunication, to lay a contribution on all the clergy under the same penalty, and to invite the support of the laity by granting Indulgences and spiritual favours. We hope that the publication of this determination will act as a thunder-clap to startle the nations from their sleep, and inflame the minds of the faithful to stand up in earnest for their Religion."*

* Pii II. Comment. 189-91; Voigt, III., 676-7.

CHAPTER VII.

PLANS OF REFORM.—AMENDMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE NEGROES AND JEWS.—THE BULL OF RETRACTATION.—DEFENCE OF THE LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH.—PUNISHMENT OF HERETICAL TEACHERS.—THE DISPUTE ON THE PRECIOUS BLOOD.—CHURCH FESTIVALS.—CANONISATION OF CATHERINE OF SIENA.—CREATION OF CARDINALS.—PROMOTION OF ART.—SIENA AND PIENZA.

BY the Capitulation Act at the Election of 1458, the new Pope was expressly bound to undertake the reform of the Court of Rome. In the case of a man like Pius II., this motive of action was scarcely needed, for "he had learnt life in all its phases, and amassed a wealth of experience, combined with multifarious knowledge, which was unequalled amongst his contemporaries."* No one knew better than he that great and terrible evils existed in all the other countries of Christendom, as well as in Rome and Italy. At the beginning of his Pontificate, Pius II. certainly was not wanting in zeal for the work before him. Evidence of this disposition is found in a fact which has hitherto remained unknown to students of history. The Pope appointed a Commission, composed of several Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and Doctors, to deliberate concerning the Reform of the Roman Court. "Two things are particularly near my heart," said Pius to the members of this Committee,—"the war with the Turks, and the Reform of the Roman Court. The amendment of the

* REUMONT, III., 1, 135.

whole state of ecclesiastical affairs, which I have determined to undertake, depends on this Court as its model. I purpose to begin by improving the morals of the ecclesiastics here, and banishing all simony and other abuses from hence."*

Of the projects brought forward on this occasion, two are before us, that of the learned Venetian, Domenico de' Domenichi, and that of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, which latter was embodied in a Papal Bull. The Cardinal, who was an intimate friend of the Pope, took a wider view of the question than Domenichi, and drew up a scheme for the general reform of the Church.† According to it, three

* "Nam dixit nobis duo sibi maxime in corde versari ad quae intendat scilicet ad curiae reformationem a qua sicut ab exemplo et forma dependet ecclesiae reformatio quam intendit et sic corrigere excessus et reformare mores maxime clericorum ne sanguis eorum de manu sua requiratur et sic a curia sua expellere vendentes et ementes et menses nummulariorum evertere et cathedras vendentium columbas id est auferre symoniacas concessiones, negotiationes et alias immunditias et indecentias. Item maxime intendit ad defensionem eiusdem ecclesiae contra perfidos Turchos christiani nominis inimicos et hoc est aliud quod versatur in corde ipsius." Dominicus Dominici, De reformatione, etc., f. 5b; see f. 6 and 14b in the MS. of the Vatican Library, cited *infra*, p. 273, note *.

† Cusa's project is preserved only in Cod. 422 of the State Library at Munich. SCHARPFF, 284 *seq.*, has the credit of being the first to draw attention to this remarkable paper, which DÜX afterwards published, II., 451–66. VOIGT, III., 341, judges the project unfairly; he attacks the Introduction, not considering that in the Middle Ages it was customary to proceed from the general question, and connect everything with the chief fundamental principles. See also SCHARPFF, Cusa als Reformator, 263 (Tübingen, 1871), and regarding Cusa's zeal for reform in general, ENNEN, III., 765, and Hist.-Pol., Bl. LXXIX., 23 (on Voigt's supposition). As to Voigt's further assertion that "Pius II. regarded Cusa's reforms with an eye to their political effect alone," proofs are wanting, for the one case adduced by him only shews that there was a difference of opinion between Pius II. and

Visitors were to be chosen; and, beginning with Rome and the Court, were gradually to extend their labours throughout the whole Church. Fourteen Rules were laid down for the guidance of these Visitors, who are to be "grave and proved men, true copies of Christ our model, preferring Truth before all else, combining knowledge and prudence with zeal for God, not striving for honour and riches, but detached from all things, and spotless in thought and deed, a burden to none, contenting themselves for food and raiment with what is appointed by the Canons, to which they are bound by oath."

The substance of the Rule for the Visitors may be summed up as follows: From among those to be visited, three sworn men are to be chosen, with whose co-operation the reform is to be carried out. Its ultimate aim is a return to primitive conformity with the precepts of the Church, so that every one, ecclesiastics and laity, may live in a manner befitting his vocation and condition. Detailed directions are given in regard to beneficed persons, specially aimed at the abolition of pluralities; the incorporation of Church preferment in Chapters and Convents is strictly forbidden; a very important clause threatens all secular and regular Clergy, who, under pretext of Papal privilege, oppose the reform, with the loss of their prerogatives. Those who despise Papal censures are to be deprived of their benefices,

Cusa on the matter of the Bleeding Host, as there are in the present day differences of opinion on this question; see our Vol. II., p. 123, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 46 *seq.* The other instance, which, besides, is not an isolated one (see *infra*, p. 277), merely evinces the Pope's goodwill in regard to Monastic Reform. We leave the reader to judge whether the fourteen Articles of Reform "in principle concern only forms and formalities." The German Cardinals' project is not dated. I think, however, that I cannot be mistaken in connecting it with the appointment of the Commission of Reform spoken of by Domenichi in his *Reform plan, f. 6.

and the faithful to be forbidden to attend their ministrations. The Visitors are recommended to pay special attention to Hospitals, to the fabric of Churches, to fraudulent dealers in Indulgences, to the enclosure of nuns, to the genuineness of Relics, and whether the veneration in which they are held is excessive, also the reality of alleged miracles, particularly Bleeding Hosts. Finally, the Visitors are to be zealous in eradicating open usury, adultery and contempt of the commands of the Church; to suppress all factions, to cleanse all places from the defilement of soothsayers, sorcery, and all such sins, by which the Divine Majesty and the Christian commonweal are offended, and to do their best to bring back the purity of the early Church.

The second part of Cusa's project concerns the amendment of the Court of Rome. Beginning from the Pope, a list of reforms is called for affecting the Cardinals, the Court officials, and the Roman clergy. He who remarks anything calculated to give scandal, even in the Supreme Head of the Church, is to speak out freely. The Court is not to be an asylum for idle and roaming Prelates, Beneficiaries, and Religious, or to furnish them with opportunities for suing for higher dignities and amassing benefices. All who, for any just reason, are detained there, must conform to the rules of the Church, in conduct, morals, clothing, tonsure, and observance of the Canonical hours. Members of the Court, even laymen, who lead immoral lives, are to be sent away. The office of the Penitentiary is to be most closely examined. Here, as well as in the other offices, Cusa urges the removal of novelties which have been introduced for the sake of gain; if nothing better can be done at present, at least the Court might be brought back to the state it was in at the accession of Martin V.

The plan of Domenico de' Domenichi is equally bold.

His long residence in Rome had given this distinguished scholar and diplomatist a thorough acquaintance with existing evils.* The scheme of reform for the Roman Court, which he submitted to the Pope, is divided into twenty-two sections.† The first two are directed to prove the necessity of Reform, and depict in dark colours the prevailing corruptions. Hence Domenichi concludes that the work of renovation must begin with the Pope and the Cardinals, then be extended to the Bishops, and ultimately to the other members of the Church, and that none should venture to put hindrances in the way. The fifth section

* Domenichi was born in 1416, had been for twenty-one years Professor of Philosophy in the University of Padua, distinguished himself greatly in a disputation held before Eugenius IV., who appointed him head of the Academy of S. Biagio. Nicholas V. made him Protonotary in 1448, gave him the Bishopric of Torcello, where he laboured zealously. Calixtus III. summoned him to Rome, and made him Apostolic Referendary; his discourse in the Conclave is mentioned, *supra*, p. 8 *seq.* Pius II. placed special confidence in this gifted man; he took him with him to Mantua, entrusted him with the revision of the suit against Duke Sigismund, and then sent him to establish peace in the German Empire. See GRADONICUS, 352 *seq.*; MARINI, I., 158; AGOSTINI, I., 386 *seq.*; CICOGNA, II., 116 *seq.*; and in particular, the dissertation of Jo. de Augustinis prefixed to Domenichi's Liber de dignit. Episcop., 16 *seq.* I hope elsewhere to be able to speak of writings of Domenichi, for the most part unpublished, in the Vatican, the University Library at Bologna, and the Mantua Library. I will only here remark that Domenichi's work, De dinuit. Episc., dedicated to Pius II., and adorned with exquisite miniatures, is in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Cod. A. 76 Inf.

† Domenichi's Tractatus de reformatione curiae Romanae . . . ad sanc. dom. Pium papam secundum, was printed in Brescia in 1495 (see HAIN, 6321). This edition is, however, extremely rare, and even the Brescia Library contains no copy of it; it is in many places very incorrectly printed. I make use of two Manuscript copies of the treatise, which I found in the Vatican Library in Cod. Ottob., 2473, and Vatic., 5689.

brings him to his special subject. He begins with Public Worship, the ceremonies to be observed by the Pope, and of the silence which should be maintained by the Cardinals and Prelates in Church. A Chapter is devoted to the duty of Almsgiving, especially as incumbent on the Pope, who should be the father of the poor. Indulgences, according to Domenichi, should be granted but rarely. Nepotism is strongly condemned; in making appointments, good and learned men are always to be preferred; but Domenichi does not disapprove of the advancement of virtuous members of the Pope's family! Those who immediately surround the Supreme Head of the Church must be blameless; above all, they must be absolutely incorruptible.

In the eleventh section Domenichi touches a fundamental ecclesiastical abuse; that of the plurality of benefices. This demands strong measures, especially in the case of reversions. Sections 12–17 refer to the life of the Cardinals and higher Prelates. Those who compose the Supreme Senate of Christendom are to set a good example, to hear Mass in public, to eschew all luxury and pomp; the members of their households are to wear the tonsure, and to be clad as clerics. Grievous abuses have crept in, and give great scandal to those who come to the Court. Sumptuous banquets must not be given by the Cardinals and Prelates, not even to do honour to Ambassadors; Domenichi would have jewels and gold and silver plate almost completely banished from the houses of Prelates. In the case of Bishops and beneficed Clergy, the duty of residence is strongly urged. Young men who frequent the Court instead of devoting themselves to study, and seek to rise to ecclesiastical dignities by the favour of Cardinals, are severely blamed. A special Commission to insist on the duty of residence is suggested. The eighteenth chapter condemns the custom which prevailed at the Papal Court,

of allowing Protonotaries and Ambassadors to take precedence of Bishops. Penitentiaries should be forbidden to receive anything from those who made confession to them. Above all, a regular salary ought to be assigned to the Court officials, especially to the Abbreviators and members of the Rota, and all other gains be forbidden. Finally, Domenichi expresses the wish that the Decrees of Constance and Basle, for the amendment of the Court, may be carried out as far as they suit present circumstances. In the last section he recommends the institution of a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates to effect the reform of the Court officials, especially those of the Chancery, who should make it their business to eradicate everything approaching to Simony.

Unfortunately these extensive reforms were only partially undertaken. The fact that Pius II. summoned such a man as St. Antoninus * to take part in his Commission, and also caused a Bull to be drafted directed against the prevailing abuses,† will prove that, for a time, he seriously intended to carry out this important work. But, in the end, he did not venture to engage in a gigantic conflict with all the evils which had invaded the Church, and contented himself with opposing isolated abuses. The alarming advances of the Turks, and the struggle for the existence of Christendom, soon engrossed his attention, and, if his whole energies were not absolutely absorbed by the Turkish question, an unusual combination of troubles in Italy, France, Germany, and Bohemia, claimed a part of his care. The question of Reform was driven more and more into the background,

* Vita S. Antonini in Acta SS. Maii, I., 324. As St. Antoninus died on the 2nd May, 1459, the plans of Reform of which we have spoken evidently belong to the beginning of Pius II.'s Pontificate.

† I found this interesting Document in a manuscript in the Barberini Library, Rome. For details see Appendix N. 42.

and in the interests of the Church, this cannot be sufficiently regretted. It remains certain, however, that Pius II. was not altogether inactive in this matter. As early as June, 1459, the Bishops were restored to their proper precedence over the Protonotaries. The Apostolic Referendaries were required, on their entrance on office, to swear that they would not receive any presents.* It is evident that the abuses in the Penitentiaries must also have been corrected, for the simple, moderate, and upright Calandrini was appointed Grand Penitentiary. Pius II. carried out an expressed desire of Domenichi's when, in the year 1460, he set on foot a thorough visitation and Reform of the Penitentiaries of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and Sta Maria Maggiore.† Ordinations not in accordance with the canonical prescriptions were strictly forbidden by a Bull, issued in 1461.‡ Strong measures for the suppression of concubinage among Seculars and Regulars in the Diocese of Valencia were adopted in 1463.§ Peter Bosham, who went as Nuncio to Scandinavia in 1463, received a special charge to see to the reform of the clergy in those parts.‖ Pius II. also took pains to enforce the duty of residence on incumbents in the Venetian territory.¶

* Bull. V., 152–3; Pii II. Comment. 37.

† Bull. Vatic., II., 162–3.

‡ Bull. V., 165–6.

§ *Pius II. dil. fil. vicariis ven. frat. nostri episcop. Valentin. in spirit. generalib. et officiali Valent. contra concubinarios civit. et dioec. Valent. D. Romae, 1463, xiii. Cal. Oct. A° 6°. Regest. 493, f. 9–11. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Regarding the deposition of the unworthy Archbishop of Benevento, see TARTINIUS, I., 994, and BORGIA, III., 396.

‖ *Regest. 519, f. 27 (Petro Bosham. Dat. 1463, V. Id. Nov. A° 6°).

¶ This is evident from a *Brief, unfortunately without date, addressed to the Doge in Lib. brev. 9, f. 156b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Cardinals who, like Rodrigo Borgia, forgot the dignity of their position and gave themselves up to a licentious life, and worldly members of the Sacred College and of the Roman Court, were often sharply rebuked by the Pope.* His zeal for the restoration of Monastic Discipline is specially worthy of praise. The terrible descriptions given by well-informed contemporaries, such as Johannes Ruysbrock, Johannes Busch, and Jakob von Jüterbogk, bear witness to the enormity of the abuses.† Soon after his accession the Pope published a Decree to hinder members of Mendicant Orders from withdrawing themselves from the jurisdiction of their superiors,‡ under pretext of studying. Later on we find him proceeding against relaxed Convents in different countries, especially in Italy, Germany, and Spain.§ He bestowed many favours on the admirable and exemplary Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina, at Padua; confirmed all its former privileges, and aggregated to it convents which were in need of reform.‖ The amendment of the Convents of the Order of Vallombrosa

* Pii II. Comment. 339; CUGNONI, 199. Regarding the letter of reproof to R. Borgia, see our account, Vol. II., p. 452 *seq.*

† See especially Chapters 23 and 24 of the *Tractatus de malo (seculi) of Jakob von Jüterbogk (see Vol. II., p. 45 *seq.*) in Cod. 34 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves, and also in Cod. 561, Helmst. of the Library at Wolfenbüttel. I found in the University Library, Würzburg, a work by the same author: *De causis deviationis religiosorum et de remediis eorundem.

‡ Bull. V., 143–4. See Bull. Carmelit., 252–3, and Bull. Praedic., III., 384; in both the last-named the Bull is dated xv. Cal. Nov.

§ *Archiepiscopo Toletano. Dat. in Abbatia S. Salvatoris Clusin. dioc. 1462, prid. Cal. Aug. A° 4°. Regest. 507, f. 233. See WADDING, XIII., 254.

‖ Bull. Casin., I., 90; II., 353, 355. Regarding the salutary labours of this Congregation, see Katholik, 1859, II., 1360 *seq.*, 1489 *seq.*; 1860, I., 200 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*

was undertaken in 1463.* In Florence and Siena, Pius II. sought to restore Monastic Discipline. Measures were taken for the Reform of the Humiliati in Venice, of the Dominicans at Forli and Reggio, and of the Carmelites at Brescia.† Martial Auribelle, the unworthy General of the Dominicans, was removed from his position by the command of the Pope.‡ Pius II. was encouraged to take a peculiar interest in the renovation of the Carmelites, on account of the character of their General, John Soreth, a man who combined gentleness with austerity, and who had all the knowledge of the necessities of the case demanded by such a work.§

The Pope did, comparatively speaking, a great deal for the improvement of the German Convents. Amongst other entries of the kind in his Registers are ordinances for the reform of the Scotch Abbey at Ratisbon, and of the Poor Clares at Basle, Eger, and Pfullingen.‖ At the very out-

* See *Regest., 518, f. 162. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Secret Archives of the Vatican, Regest. 493, f. 132: *Excommunicatio contra intrantes monasteria monialium Florent. Ord. S. Benedicti. D. Romae, 1463, Oct. Id. Octob. A° 6°. *Briefs regarding the Reform of the Convent of Sta Maria Novella of 2nd June and 1st September 1460, are in the State Archives at Florence. In reference to Siena, see *Regest. 478, f. 199, and the *Letter of Card. Calandrini to the authorities of that city, dated Rome, 1464, July 17 (State Archives, Siena), which shews the anxiety of Pius II. to set things right there. Humiliati in Venice: see State Archives, Venice, Misto XVI., f. 41b; Forli and Reggio, see Bull. Praedic., III., 401, 404; Brescia, GRADONICUS, 247.

‡ CUGNONI. 224.

§ Bull. Carmelit., 262–3. See Freib. Kirchenlexikon, III., 1920 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; PEZZANA, 202. The historian of the Carthusians, TROMBY (VIII., 255 *seq.*), also praises the solicitude of Pius II. in regard to the Religious Orders. Regarding Soreth, see the excellent work of KOCH, Die Carmelitenklöster der niederdeutschen Provinz, 12, 122 (Freiburg, 1889).

‖ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Regest. 472, f. 189: "*Monas-

set of his reign he warmly acknowledged and commended the devoted labours of the Benedictine Congregation at Bursfeld, and extended to it the privileges which Eugenius IV. had granted to that of St. Justina in Padua.* Subsequently he supported this Union of German Benedictines in various ways; two Bulls in their favour bear date 1461.†

It has been remarked that the external constitution of the Bursfeld Congregation was characterised by a centralisation which did not belong to the original Benedictine rule. This change was due to the circumstances of the period. "Isolation had latterly brought much evil to Convents."‡ In consideration of this fact Pius II., in 1461, contemplated the union of the three Congregations of Bursfeld, Castel, and Mölk.§ Although this great scheme was not carried into execution, this was not due to any diminution in the reforming zeal of the

terium S. Jacobi Scotor. Ratisp. mandatur reformari et visitari per Rupertum administrat. eccles. Ratisponen. D. Romae, 1458, IV., Non. Dec. A° I°"; *ibid.*, f. 235: "Reformatio monast. monialium in Phullingen ord. S. Clare Const. dioec. Dat. Mantuae, 1459, Sept. Cal. Aug. A° I°." Regest. 507, f. 178. The reform of the convent, S. Clare, was committed to the Bishop of Basle. D. Romae, 1461, xv. Cal. April. A° 4°. Regarding Eger, see SCHLESINGER, Deutsche Chroniken, III., 276, and GLASSBERGER, 410.

* EVELT, Anfänge der Bursfelder Benediktiner-Congregation, in the Zeitschr. für Gesch. Westfalens, 3, Series V., 139; LEUCKFELD, 155, Nic. de Siegen; Chronicon, published by WEGELE, 431, 446–7 (Jena, 1855); THOMAS, Gesch. der Pfarrei St. Mauritius, III.

† One in LEUCKFELD, 160–64, the other *Regest. 485, f. 139: "Dil. fil. Thome in Borsfeldia Magunt. dioec. et S. Jacobi prope Magunt. monasterior. abbatibus conceditur facultas reformandi monasteria et alii pia loca dioec. Magunt. Dat. Romae, 1461, X. Cal. April. A° 4°." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ KATHOLIK, 1860, I., 428.

§ KEIBLINGER, Melk, I., 638, note 1.; HELYOT, VI., 266 *seq.*

Pope. In April 1464, the Papal Nuncio, Jerome, Archbishop of Crete, in support of the reform of the Benedictine Convents, declared that nothing was more pleasing to the Pope than this salutary work. The nobles, however, were its chief opponents. In Bamberg there seemed danger that the occupation of the Abbey of St. Michael's Mount by reformed monks not belonging to the Franconian nobility would provoke a civil war. When we consider the wealth of the Benedictine Order, "we can understand the interest of the nobility in preventing the Reform of these Abbeys."* The reform of the Bavarian Premonstratensians, and of the Dominicans in the Netherlands, was also promoted by Pius II.†

Among the Franciscans he favoured the strictest, that is to say, the Observantines.‡ "A series of Bulls shews that he confirmed donations made to them, permitted them in some places to build new houses, and conferred privileges on them; favours calculated to give them a greater hold on the people." In his many journeys the Pope loved to rest at their houses. In obedience to a Papal command the Conventuals withdrew from the Convents at Tivoli and Sarzana to make way for the Observantines. In Spain and Germany, also, he befriended them, and they, on their side, were indefatigable in preaching the Crusade. In 1464 he gave to the Vicar-General of the Observantines out of Italy authority to proceed independently against any members

* Höfler in the Quellen zur Fränk. Gesch., IV., 21–2.

† Voigt, III., 341, Bull. Ord. Praedic., III., 399.

‡ Regarding the Pope's measures of Reform, especially in the Franciscan Order, see Vols. II. and III. of the Indic. Bull. Ord. Seraph. of Petrus de Alva et Astorga, which has already been cited. P. Eubel had the goodness to inform me that, having compared the Bulls here given with the copies of Bulls on this subject, preserved in the Minorite Archives of SS. Apostoli, he found the number of the latter to be rather limited.

of the Order who might fall away from the Faith, a privilege which was, however, withdrawn by later Popes.* The favours shewn to the Observantines advanced the cause of real Reform, for their preachers in Italy were most successful in combating the prevalent immorality; the party passions that burst through all bonds; and the usury by which the people were impoverished.† They were the chief originators and promoters in Italy of one of the most useful Institutions of that time, the public pawn-offices. These *Montes pietatis*, as they were called, relieved the immediate necessities of the poor, and saved them from becoming the prey of the usurer.‡

No less fruitful were the labours of the Franciscan Observantines among the heathens and Infidels. "In their missionary work they displayed a courage and constancy such as were no longer to be found among the Secular Clergy or the other Religious Orders. In Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, in Moldavia and Wallachia, in all provinces which had already fallen or were inevitably falling under the power of the Crescent, the Observantines, step by step, and often sword in hand, defended the Christian faith. They had houses in Jerusalem near the Holy Sepulchre, and in other parts of the Holy Land, in Rhodes, and in Crete. They were established in Minorca and Iviza, and thence they accompanied the expeditions to the Canary Isles and

* VOIGT, III., 587 *seq.*, where are to be found the proofs from Wadding. See also EUBEL, II., 277 *seq.*; GAUDENTIUS, Beiträge zur Kirchengesch., I., 135 (Bozen, 1880), and GLASSBERGER, 378 *seq.*, 407 *seq.* Pius II. did not accede to the Observantines' desire for the Canonisation of Capistrano.

† Kirchenlexikon, IV., 1662, 2nd ed.; BURCKHARDT, Cultur II., 238 *seq.*, 3rd ed.

‡ See MORONI, XLVI., 253 *seq.*; FUNK, Zins und Wucher, 80 *seq.* (Tübingen, 1868); WEISS, Vor der Reformation, 111 *seq.*; CRISTOFANI, 327–8; FUMI, 724; LUZI, Il primo Monte di Pietà (Orvieto, 1868).

Guinea," where there was a great dearth of Secular Clergy.* There, on the West African Coast, Negro slavery in the time of Eugenius IV. had just begun to appear. In the days of Pius II. it had attained such proportions that even the converts of the Missionaries were not safe from Christian slave-dealers. When the Pope heard of these doings, he at once, in a Brief of the 7th October 1462, to the Bishop of Ruvo, condemned the nefarious traffic, and threatened all Christians who should dare to drag the new converts into slavery, with severe ecclesiastical penalties.† Pius II. also actively promoted the ransom of Christians who were in captivity among the Turks.‡

The Jews, who in those days were often the victims of much unjust oppression, also excited the compassion of the Pope. During the Congress at Mantua, a Jewish Deputation brought their grievances before him. He desired the Bishop of Spoleto to examine carefully into their complaints, and then issued a solemn Decree, forbidding the baptism of Jewish children under twelve, against the will of their relations, and also the practice of compelling the Jews to do servile work on Saturday.§ He manifested the same freedom of spirit in regard to astrology, the interpretation of dreams, and other forms of magic,‖ which, in those days, were so much in vogue.

* VOIGT, III., 590.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462; N. 42; Nuove effemerid. Sicil. Sett.-Ott., 1880; MARGRAF, Kirche und Sklaverei, 191 (Tübingen, 1865), who, however, is wrong in his statement that the negro slave trade began under Nicholas V.; see, on the other hand, RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1436, N. 26.

‡ *Regest. 479, f. 316. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ PEZZANA, III., 28–9, App., 15 *seq.* I was not able to consult BARDINET'S article on this subject in the Rev. des Études Juives, 1883.

‖ BURCKHARDT, Cultur II., 281, 3rd ed. The common idea that Pius II. expressed latitudinarian opinions in regard to the Mendicant Orders, and to the marriage of Priests, is clearly contradicted by VOIGT,

The foregoing pages have brought Pius II. before us as the zealous opponent of the adherents of National Churches and the Supremacy of Councils. As there were in his earlier writings, especially those belonging to the period of his sojourn in Basle, many things to which this party could appeal in support of their opinions, he felt called upon to make a solemn retractation of his former errors. This was done in the celebrated Bull of Retractation, addressed to the University of Cologne on the 26th April 1463.* Pius II. begins by recalling to mind the Dialogues which, while as yet only in minor orders, he had addressed to the University of Basle, in defence of the Supremacy over the Pope, claimed by the Council held in that City. "Perhaps," he proceeded, "this may have led some of you into error. If God should now require this blood at our hands We can only answer by an acknowledgment of our sin. But it is not enough to pray for mercy from God, We must also seek to repair our fault. Misled, like St. Paul, We have said, written, and done much that is worthy of condemnation, and, in ignorance, have persecuted the Church of God and the Roman See. Therefore We now pray: Lord, forgive us the sins of our youth! Meanwhile our writings are no longer in our own power but in the hands of many, and may, if misused by the evil-minded, do great harm.

III., 577, who was certainly no friend of the Pope's. Voigt is mistaken in supposing the celibacy of the priesthood to be an article of faith in the Church, for it is only a matter of discipline.

* This Bull has been frequently printed, but generally the versions are incorrect (*e.g.*, in Bull. V., 173 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 114 *seq.*); the best is in FEA, Pius II., 148–64 (Romae, 1823). For a critical examination of this document, especially the passage regarding the Council of Constance, see PHILLIPS, IV., 460 *seq.*; VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, III., 433; Laacher Stimmen, III., 119 *seq.*; DÜX, I., 320–21; BEETS, 78, 85 *seq.*

"We are therefore obliged to imitate St. Augustine, and retract our errors. We exhort you, then, to give no credit to those earlier writings which oppose the Supremacy of the Roman See, or contain anything not admitted by the Roman Church. Recommend and counsel all, especially to honour the throne on which our Lord has placed His Vicar, and do not believe that the Providence of God, which rules all things and neglects none of His creatures, has abandoned the Church Militant alone to a state of anarchy. The order given by God to His Church requires that the lower should be led by the higher, and that all, in the last resort, be subject to the one Supreme Prince and Ruler who is placed over all. To St. Peter alone did the Saviour give the plenitude of power: he and his lawful successors are the only possessors of the Primacy. If you find in the Dialogues, or in our letters, or in our other works—for in our youth we wrote a great deal—anything in opposition to this teaching, reject and despise it. Follow that which we now say; believe the old man rather than the youth; do not esteem the layman more highly than the Pope; cast away Æneas, hold fast to Pius."*

To confute those who attributed his change of mind to his promotion to the Papal dignity, Pius takes a retrospect of the Basle period, and shews that he had come to acknowledge the truth long before his elevation. This is proved by the letter of recantation which Æneas Sylvius addressed to the Rector of the Academy of Cologne, in August 1447.†

At the conclusion of the Bull the Pope again insists on the monarchical constitution of the Church. What St. Bernard taught regarding Eugenius III. is to be applied

* A similar passage occurs in the undated Retractation of his erotic writings (Opera, 870), which Pius vainly attempted to suppress.

† Published by FEA, 1–17.

to Eugenius IV., and to all successors of St. Peter. The summoning of General Councils and their dissolution appertains to the Pope alone; from him, as from the head, all power flows into the members.

The decision with which Pius II. resisted the Conciliar Party was also manifested in regard to the encroachments of the temporal power on the liberty of the Church. In Italy he had to defend himself against attacks of this kind from Siena and Venice, and from Borso d'Este.* The appointment of Bishops to the Sees of Cracow and Leon involved him in disputes with the monarchs of Poland and Castile and Leon.† In these two cases he was defeated, but in Aragon a Pragmatic Sanction, which threatened the liberty of the Church, was annulled. This matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by Stefano Nardini.‡

If Pius II. pronounced many censures, the circumstances of the time were the cause. As far as in him lay he was circumspect in the employment of these weapons, and their increasing inefficacy is one of the most serious tokens of the waning influence of the Church.§

In 1459 he felt bound, in defence of the integrity of the Faith, to take measures against the heretical writings of Reginald Pecock, who was tainted with the errors of Wicklif, and had, in 1457, been deprived of the Bishopric

* See **Brief to the Doge on the 14th March 1460, in the Borghese Library, I., 28, f. 19, and to Borso of Este, Ep. 10, edit. Mediolan. In reference to Siena, see the *Letter of L. Benevolentius, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 1. State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. 103 (not 503, as FRIEDBERG, II., 539, states). Further details as to the contest with the King of Poland will be found, *supra*, p. 232; VOIGT, III., 575; and ZEISSBERG, 230 *seq.*

‡ *Revocatio constitutionum in Aragonia contra libertatem ecclesiasticam. Cod. I., 28, f. 291–3, Borghese Library.

§ See *supra*, p. 163, note †; and VOIGT, III., 262.

of Chichester.* The Pope also gave orders for the punishment of a rigorist sect which declared celibacy to be necessary for salvation. These errors sprang up in Brittany while Picardy was infested by numerous Waldensees, against whom Pius II. pronounced severe sentences. "In the very States of the Church a sect appeared which would acknowledge no one as successor of St. Peter who did not follow his Master in poverty," a description which must apply to the Fraticelli. In Bergamo a Canon of the Cathedral taught that Christ suffered, not from love to the human race, but constrained by astral influences; that in the consecrated Host He is present, not in His Humanity but only in His Divinity; and that theft and robbery are not mortal sins.† The Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, and the Papal Auditor, Bernardo da Bosco, induced the unhappy man to abjure his errors, which, by the Pope's command, he expiated by confinement in a convent for the rest of his life.

The name of Giacomo da Brescia is connected with a dogmatic dispute which, even in the time of Clement VI., had divided the Franciscans and Dominicans. The question between them was, whether the Blood shed by our Lord in His Passion, and reassumed at His Resurrection, was, during the three days He remained in the Sepulchre, hypostatically united with the Godhead, and therefore entitled to worship? The celebrated Minorite Preacher, St. Jacopo

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 29. (In the collection of Bulls in the State Archives, Venice, I saw a copy of the document given by Raynaldus.) Regarding Pecock, see PAULI, Gesch. von England, V., 664 *seq.*, and REUSCH, I., 36, II. 1219.

† BERNINO, IV., 184; VOIGT, III., 581. Here there should have been a reference to the work of BOURQUELOT, Les Vaudois au 15e Siècle, in the Bibl. de l'école des chart., 2nd Series, 1864, III., 81–109. See also FIERVILLE, 27 *seq.*; LEA, III., 519 *seq.*, 568; and SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., LXI., 57.

della Marca * in the pulpit at Brescia, on Easter Sunday, 1462, maintained the negative, and was, at the instance of the Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, publicly accused of error and heresy. A hot dispute at once arose between the Franciscans and Dominicans which the Bishop of Brescia in vain endeavoured to appease. Then Pius II., under pain of Excommunication, forbade any one to preach publicly or privately on the question.† Notwithstanding this prohibition the agitation continued, and accordingly, at

* See the literature concerning this distinguished man in CHEVALIER, 1144–5, 2665. Autograph drafts of sermons and other writings from his hand are preserved at Monteprandone (Prov. Ascoli Piceno). Regarding the MSS. in the Library at Monteprandone, *cf.* BRUTI LIBERATI, F., Inediti documenti sulla bibl. et reliquie di S. Giacomo detto della Marca publ. per la prima messa del sig. ab. A. Romandini (Ripatransone, 1845). TASSO, L., in the Miscell. Francesc., I., fasc. 4 (Foligno, 1886). CRIVELLUCCI, I codici della libreria raccolta da S. Giacomo della Marca nel convento di S. Maria delle grazie presso monteprandone (Livorno, 1886). Two MSS. of S. Jacopo della Marca are preserved in the Franciscans' Library at Quaracchi; these are like our note-books. The outside shews them to have been much used. Some leaves were only written in part by the Saint, and another hand (of the same period) has written in the blank spaces little stories and anecdotes which must have been related by him, as we learn from the note: *narrat. Fr. Jacobus.* Here and there single leaves have been cut out of both these little books; in some places several sheets even are wanting. The contents of both volumes consist of Treatises on Theology, Canon Law, and Philosophy, plans of sermons, little stories and examples for preachers, and such like. The author frequently cites Holy Scripture, the Fathers, the Classics (Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Dante), and makes great use of the Scholastics and the writers on the Summa of the 13th and 14th centuries. At the beginning of each of these little books is an Index rubricarum. (Information kindly given by Herr Fr. B. Rechte.)

† WADDING, 206 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*; and GLASSBERGER, 394. Concerning the contest, see also GRADONICUS, 348 *seq.*, and the Introduction to Dominici, De dignit. Episc., 22 *seq.*

Christmas, 1462, a great Disputation was held by the Pope's order, and in his presence. Domenico de' Domenichi, Lorenzo Roverella, and the Franciscan, Francesco della Rovere, greatly distinguished themselves. After three days of discussion a consultation was held with the Cardinals, most of whom, as well as Pius II., pronounced in favour of the Dominican opinion.* A definite Decree on the subject, however, was deemed inopportune; the services of the Minorites as preachers of the Crusade were indispensable, and Pius II. was therefore unwilling to offend them. The fact that, in August, 1464, the Pope was again obliged to forbid preaching and disputation on this point, shews that the conflict continued.†

Although Pius II. did not follow the example of his predecessors in instituting any new Church festivals, he observed those which already existed with great solemnity. This remark is specially applicable to the Feast of Corpus Christi. In 1461 Pius was in Rome at the time, and himself carried the Host in the great Procession, in order to

* Pii II. Comment. 279 *seq.* At 292 occurs the following passage: "Maior pars sententiam praedicatorum approbavit, pauci cum Minoribus sensere. Pius quoque in maiori parte fuit: sed non est visum eo tempore decretum fieri declarationis ne multitudo Minorum cuius erat contra Turcos praedicatio necessaria offenderetur: in aliud tempus decisionem referre placuit." BENRATH, Ochino (Leipzig, 1875), is to be corrected by this statement. See also CUGNONI, 299–336. VOIGT, III., 592, has already observed that in the Pope's Memoirs (also in the Cod. Reg., 1995, f. 487b, mentioned in Appendix N. 65), the year 1463 is wrongly given as that of the Disputation. Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that the New Year was often counted from Christmas. Any idea that the Disputation might have been at Christmas, 1463, is removed by a *Letter from Cardinal Gonzaga to his parents, dated Rome, 1463, Jan. 7. Gonzaga Archives. LEA. II, 173, is accordingly altogether wrong in placing the Disputation in the year 1463.

† Bull. V., 180–82; Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 434.

express his veneration for the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.* In the following year, when he was at Viterbo seeking relief from the gout which caused him so much suffering, the Feast was celebrated with surpassing splendour. All the pomp and pageantry of the Renaissance were pressed into the service of religion. From the Church of St. Francesco to the Cathedral, in the streets through which the Procession was to pass, all booths and other obstructions were cleared away, and the work of adorning the houses was distributed amongst the Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court then in the City, the Pope reserving a share for himself. The rich tapestries of the French Cardinals were a marvel to behold. Other members of the Sacred College prepared Tableaux Vivants representing appropriate scenes. Torquemada exhibited the Institution of the Blessed Eucharist: a statue of St. Thomas Aquinas was included in the group. Carvajal depicted the fall of the Angels; Borgia had a fountain of wine symbolising the Blessed Sacrament, with two adoring angels; Bessarion's represented a choir of angels. There were also exhibitions which we can scarcely understand in the present day, such as combats of savages with wolves and bears. A Holy Sepulchre was erected in the market-place, from which, as the Pope drew near, the Saviour arose, and, in Italian verse, announced the redemption of the world. The tomb of the Blessed Virgin was also to be seen, and, after High Mass and Benediction, her Assumption was represented by living figures. The streets through which the Procession took its course were hung with garlands; there were sky-blue awnings decorated with golden stars; gorgeous triumphal arches and altars of repose had been erected, and sacred music

* See the *Report of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, June 4, and addressed to the Marchioness Barbara immediately after the Feast. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

resounded on every side. Thousands of persons had congregated from the surrounding neighbourhood. Pius II. in full pontificals bore the Blessed Sacrament. The chroniclers of Viterbo affirm that so glorious a festival had never been celebrated, either in their City or in any part of Italy.*

Canonisations were always celebrated by the Popes with great magnificence. The Pontificate of Pius II. witnessed only one event of this kind, that of St. Catherine of Siena.† She died at the age of thirty-three, and, like St. Francis of Assisi, was at once venerated by the people as a Saint. Her letters were widely read; even a rationalistic historian describes them as a "magnificent book of devotion, parts of which seem more like the words of an Apostle than those of an unlearned maiden." Her likeness, copies of which had, by the beginning of the 15th century, been multiplied in Venice, was in the possession of thousands.‡ Yearly, on the day of her death, her feast was

* Besides the detailed description given by Pius II. (Comment. 208–11), see the not less full account of N. DELLA TUCCIA, 84–7; also CAMPANUS, 982; KITZING'S Report in SS. Rer. Siles., VIII., 105–6; and the notices of a MS. in the Forteguerri Archives at Pistoja, given by CIAMPI, II., from the Episcopal Archives at Viterbo; and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 151, 3rd ed. (A similar representation by living persons took place in the Corpus Christi procession at Munich, in the year 1563. OBERBAYER, Archiv XIII., 58.) For an account of the solemn reception of the head of St. Andrew, see *supra*, p. 258.

† St. Vincent Ferrer had been canonised by Calixtus III. on the 29th June, 1455; see our account Vol. II., p. 326. As, meanwhile, the "literae ejus superveniente obitu minime confectae fuerunt," Pius II. issued on the 1st Oct., 1458, a new Bull, entered in Regest. 468, f. 377 *seq.*, printed in Bull. V., 145–9; in BZOVIUS, 1458, N. 38; and FONTANINI, Codex constit. quas s. pontif. edit. in solemni canonizatione Sanctor., 175 *seq.* (Romae, 1729); in part in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1455, N. 40 *seq.*, and Acta SS. April. 1, 524–5.

‡ HASE, Caterina von Siena, 174, 302 (Leipzig, 1864). See REUMONT, Briefe, 21–2.

kept at the Dominican Convent, her panegyric preached and wreaths of flowers and crowns were laid before her picture. In the evening a dramatic representation of the principal scenes of her life was performed in the Court of the Convent. The choruses sung on this occasion are still preserved; the following is one of them: "O sweet city of ours, Siena, birth-place of the Holy Virgin, the glory of this poor maiden outweighs all thy other glories." *

The Holy See had never forgotten its debt to this simple nun. Several of the Popes, especially Gregory XII., had taken the cause of her Canonisation in hand, but the troubles of the time, and afterwards the jealousy of the Franciscans, prevented its completion. The question was again raised by the Sienese Ambassadors in the time of Calixtus III.† Pius II. gave it his attention immediately on his accession, and entrusted the necessary investigations to certain Cardinals.‡ At the Congress of Mantua further progress was made in the matter, but, as the Holy See proceeded with its usual circumspection, it was not concluded until 1461.§ Consistories were held on the 8th and 15th June, and in the latter the Canonisation was finally decided.|| Great preparations were made; an Ambassador

* CHAVIN, III., 83. Regarding the terra-cotta clay bust of St. Catherine, see BODE, Ital. Portrait-sculpturen, 32 (Berlin, 1883).

† BANCHI, in Arch. Stor. Ital., 4, Serie V., 442.

‡ Two Decrees of Cardinals Bessarion and Colonna, dated Ferrara, 1459, May 19, and ordering the introduction of the Process of Canonisation, are in the Library of Siena. As far as I know they have not been published.

§ Tre lettere di M. G. MIGNANELLI, 15. In the *Instructions, dated 14th Sept., 1459, for the new Ambassadors, Lod. de Petroni and Niccolo Severino, sent by Siena to Mantua, they are again charged to press forward the Canonisation. Instr. VIII., State Archives, Siena.

|| *Report of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, June 8 and 15. See the *Letter of Carlo da Franzoni of 18th June, 1461 (Gonzaga Archives,

estimates the expenses at 3000 ducats.* On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Siena's most distinguished son declared that the Church had raised the greatest of her daughters to the Altar. The Pope himself drew up the Bull of Canonisation. "To a Sienese," he says, "has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena."† Pius II. further composed an Epitaph, the Office, and several Latin hymns in honour of the new Saint.

The Italians, in whose hearts the memory of Catherine was ever fresh, were full of joy, which found expression in solemn processions.‡ The inhabitants of Fontebranda, the quarter of Siena in which she was born, turned the house into an Oratory. This Sanctuary has been beautifully decorated, and still contains many relics of the Saint.§ Other memorials of her abound in the ancient city. Pinturicchio painted her Canonisation in the library hall of the Cathedral, and in the Chapel of S. Domenico, where her

Mantua); and the *Report of the Sienese Ambassador of 8th June, 1461. State Archives, Siena.

* *Letter of B. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara, June 29, 1461. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Pii II. Comment. 135; INFESSURA, 1139; *Letter of B. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1461, June 29. (Gonzaga Archives.) The Bull of Canonisation is given with a wrong date in Bull. V., 159–65; the correct date in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 127. In a separate publication (Siena, 1861), Acta Sanct., CHAVIN, III., 99–108; Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 409 *seq.*; and CAPECELATRO, Storia di S. Caterina, 477 *seq.*, here at p. 473 *seq.* are also the hymns composed by Pius II. See also CUGNONI, 370; and TROMBY, VII., p. cclxvii. *seq.*

‡ Annal. Placent., 906; Annal. Bonon., 893; *GHIRARDACCI (see *supra*, p. 243); TROMBY, IX., 5–6. Pius II. celebrated the feast of the new Saint with great pomp; I found in Cod. Vatic., 4589, f. 48–74, of the Vatican Library, a discourse pronounced before the Pope on this occasion, in 1463, by D. de' Domenichi.

§ See REGOLI, Documenti relativi a S. Caterina (Siena, 1859); and A. BUSIRI, La casa di S. Cat. in Siena (Siena, 1880).

head is preserved, Sodoma's picture is perhaps the most beautiful and touching likeness of her that exists. Rome also has many memorials of the Saint; in 1855, when Pius IX. laid her body in a new resting-place beneath the High Altar of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, and again, in 1866, when the same Pontiff added a fresh jewel to her Crown by declaring her Patroness of the Eternal City, the Romans did not fail to pay due honour to her memory.

After the election of Pius II. the Sacred College numbered twenty-three members, of whom only seventeen were then present in Rome. Late in the summer of 1459, when James of Portugal and Antonio de la Cerda were removed by death, the Pope had but fifteen Cardinals around him.* This circumstance, and the opposition manifested by the French party immediately after the Conclave, compelled him at once to consider the question of further creations.† These were violently opposed by some Cardinals, especially by Scarampo.‡ The Pope, however, stood firm; "it was necessary that he should secure a devoted majority. This must be remembered in our judgment of the much blamed practice of promoting relations. In the Apostolic Senate, as he found it, Pius II. had determined adversaries and few friends, and this compelled him to make fresh nominations." §

* According to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives, f. 28b, Cardinal James died on the 27th Aug.; de la Cerda on the 12th September. See the *Letter of one "Francesco," whose full name is not known, to Filippo da Strozzi in the C. Strozz., 242 *seq.*, 249. State Archives, Florence.

† See in Appendix N. 3, the *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of 21st Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library.

‡ See Pii II. Comment. 97–8 (GASPARY, 655, shews Voigt to have completely misunderstood this passage), and the important supplement in CUGNONI, 199–200.

§ VOIGT, III., 528. Many of the secular powers also urged the

Not until March, 1460, was all opposition overcome; on the 5th of that month Pius II. created his first batch of Cardinals at Siena. Those chosen were all excellent men. Angelo Capranica, brother of the estimable Cardinal Domenico, was distinguished by his austerity, piety, and uprightness, and was also considered to be an admirable administrator.* Bernardo Eroli was celebrated for similar qualities. "Although raised to the Bishopric of Spoleto, and invested with several small offices, he had continued poor. Pius II. had the greatest confidence in him, and shewed him marked favour. Some of the Cardinals opposed his elevation on account of his plebeian origin and needy position, but the Pope took no heed of their objections. He made him Legate for Perugia, and Eroli held this appointment until his death, many years later. He was stern in manner, even harsh and rough, but all who knew him were obliged to confess that he not only thoroughly understood justice, but also practised it."†

The brave Niccolo Forteguerri, the third of the Cardinals created on this occasion, combined diplomatic skill with remarkable military talents, and was distantly related to the Pope. The reader will remember the services he

creation of Cardinals. Florence pleaded the cause of Filippo de' Medici, Bishop of Arezzo; see the *Letters to the College of Cardinals and the Pope of the 19th and 20th Febr., and 3rd March, 1460 (11 X. Dist. I. n. 55, State Archives, Florence), and the **Brief of apology of Pius II. to Cosmo de Medici, dated Siena, 1460, March 7, Lib. brev. 9, f. 127.

* See CIACONIUS, II., 1035; RASPONUS, 98; Cronica di Bologna, 733; Annal. Bonon., 894; CARDELLA, 136 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 532; MIGNE, Card., 619. O. de Carretto, in a *Letter of 12th Sept., 1458, partly written in cipher, bestows the highest praise on A. Capranica. State Archives, Milan.

† VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; EROLI, Miscell. Narn., I., 104 *seq.*; SANSI, Storia, 52, 62; MIGNE, Card., 928; see *supra*, p. 32.

rendered to the Papal cause in the war against the party of Anjou and Malatesta. The assertion of a modern historian that there was more of the soldier than of the priest in Forteguerri, is contradicted by the opinion of well-informed contemporaries.*

His youthful age was all that could be brought against Francesco de' Todeschini-Piccolomini, son of the Pope's sister, Laudomia. He was a man of distinguished "culture, versatile capacity, and estimable life."†

Alessandro Oliva, General of the Augustinians, was in every sense an admirable man. Pius II. introduced him to the Cardinals, "elect of God, and perfect like Aaron." "In the fifth year of his age, his parents had consecrated him to God and the Blessed Virgin; for forty-two years he had belonged to the Augustinian Hermits, who adhered strictly to the ancient rule, and laboured assiduously to restore the failing credit of the Order." He had for many years been professor of Philosophy at Perugia. Later he traversed the greater part of Italy as a zealous and inspired preacher. Elected General of his Order in 1458, "his life was a shining example of perfection." From his unwearied efforts to appease party contests in the Italian cities, he was called the angel of peace. His summons to the Senate of the Church took him completely by surprise, and his friends had to supply the necessary outfit. Elevation to the purple made no

* In opposition to VOIGT, III., 530, see the Monograph of CIAMPI, 17, to which he had not access. Forteguerri had been made Vice-treasurer, and afterwards Bishop of Teano, by Pius II.; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap. Regarding Forteguerri's inexcusable conduct in the year 1464, see our account in Chapter 8; respecting his palaces, see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 98 and 106, who greatly praises him; and BUSSI, 275. CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, CXXVIII., speaks of his earlier relations with Æneas Sylvius.

† VOIGT, III., 531; CIACONIUS, II., 1048 *seq.*; CARDELLA, 142 *seq.*

change in his austere life, or his rule of devoting six hours every day to the Canonical Office. He was often seen to shed tears when offering the Holy Sacrifice Although his income was but small, Oliva was always ready to help the poor Exiles, needy Churches and Convents, and Greek Schismatics returning to the Church. He was a zealous patron of learned men. Gentle towards others he was severe towards himself, and wore a hair shirt beneath the purple. He never quitted his modest dwelling except to visit the Pope, the Cardinals, or the Churches. A heavy blow was dealt to the Church, when, in August, 1463, he was carried off by a fever at the age of fifty-five. Pius II. himself undertook the charge of his funeral, and presided at his obsequies. In his Memoirs, he writes of him with deep feeling: "He was an ornament to the Sacred College. The lustre shed by his learning was only equalled by the radiant purity of his life. Many men might have died, and no harm be done; this death inflicted a severe wound on the Church."*

If to have made such a man Cardinal, is one of the glories of Pius II., the general belief which prevailed that Oliva, if he had lived long enough, would have been the next Pope, reflects equal credit on the Sacred College.†

The sixth new Cardinal, Burchard of Weissbriach, Archbishop of Salzburg, was retained *in petto*, as the Pope did not wish to offend the other ultramontane Princes.‡ The

* Pii II. Comment. 329; VOIGT, III., 532; CARDELLA, 142 *seq.*; and, especially, LANTERI, 51 *seq.*, who made use of a Manuscript Life of the Cardinal, by Phil. Nicolaus Basanti. Differences exist as to the day of his death; Voigt adopts the usual date of the 20th August; Lanteri and Migne, Card., 1289, have the 21st; but Card. Gonzaga mentions it in a *Letter of the 19th August, 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

† OSSINGER, Bibl. Augustin., 640; WEISS, Vor der Ref., 103.

‡ *Brief to H. Senftleben, dated Rome, 1461, March 6th, Lib. brev. 9, f. 126b–127. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

rest were, "contrary to all expectation," published at once on the 5th March 1460.* Pius II. admonished them in an impressive address on the duties of their high office.† On the 8th March, Forteguerri, Eroli, and Oliva received the red hat, and on the 19th their titular Churches of S. Cecilia, S. Sabina, and S. Susanna. On the 21st of March Capranica and Todeschini-Piccolomini also arrived, and, five days later, the Churches of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Eustachio were assigned to them. Cardinal de Castiglione dying on the 14th April, Todeschini-Piccolomini was, on the last day of that month, appointed Legate of the Picentine Marches.‡

All the Cardinals published on the 5th March were Italians. It was impossible, however, permanently to disregard the feelings of the Ultramontane powers. As early as December, 1460, Pius II. began to speak of the necessity of shewing them consideration in this matter, but he again encountered violent opposition.§ A year elapsed before he

* Besides Pii II. Comment., *loc. cit.*, see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 79; Annal. Bonon., 892; Cronica di Bologna, 733; and particularly, *Acta Consist., f. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Pii II. Comment. 99. In the catalogue of the Brera, at Milan, a speech to the new Cardinals, in Codex A. G. IX., 26, f. 169–70, is noted as unpublished (Verba quibus usus est Pius II. P. M. cum primos suos cardinales creavit). This discourse is completely different from that in MANSI, II., 89–91, in which the new Cardinals are described, but is literally identical with that in the Commentaries, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

§ The *Letter from the Florentines to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, dated 9th Dec. 1460 (11 X. Dist. I. N. 55, State Archives, Florence), shews that a fresh creation of Cardinals was in contemplation at the end of 1460. In October, 1461, Pius II. made another attempt (see CUGNONI, 214); the assembly of Cardinals called together in November (see Cronica di Bologna, 714) was no doubt connected with this matter. The date when the negotiations began appears from the statement that Cardinal Fieschi died at the time. His death took

was able to carry out his purpose. On the 18th December, 1461, three Italians and three Ultramontanes were added to the Sacred College.* Among the Ultramontanes, the names of Jouffroy and d'Albret have already come before us. Their elevation, like that of Jayme de Cordova, Bishop of Urgel, and of Francesco Gonzaga, was due to princely influence. "From the time of the Turkish Congress close relations had existed between Pius II. and the family of Gonzaga, and from a yet earlier period between the Pope and the Hohenzollerns. Lodovico, the most cultured noble of an intellectual age, sympathised with the Pope in his efforts for the promotion of Science and Art. Francesco, who was twenty years of age, was pursuing his studies at Padua when the Purple was conferred upon him. His tendencies were anything but ecclesiastical." †

place on the 8th October, 1461; see *Acta Consist. On the 7th Oct. Paulus Archiepisc. Januen. et Hybletus de Flisco, writing to the Pope from Genoa, informed him: "*R^dus Card. de Flisco . . . laborat in extremis." State Archives, Genoa, Lit., Vol. 1b.

* The common statement which VOIGT, III., 535, adopts, that seven Cardinals were published, is incorrect; for Pius II., in his **Letter to Florence of 18th Dec., 1461 (State Archives, Florence), expressly says that he had nominated only three Italian and three foreign Cardinals. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 267; and KITZINGS in SS. Rer. Siles., VIII., 69, give the same account. The 18th Dec. is proved beyond all doubt to be the day of the nomination by the *Brief of that date of Pius II. to Fr. Sforza, in which Ammanati's creation is announced (State Archives, Milan) by a *Despatch of L. Petronius of 18th Dec., 1461 (State Archives, Siena), and by the Decree for Rovella, which will be cited presently.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 258–9; see Lorenzo, I., 235 *seq.*, 2nd ed. From the year 1460 efforts had been made to obtain Francesco's nomination; see PORTIOLI, 13, 16, and HOFMANN, Barbara, 16. Later on these negotiations were conducted by B. Bonatto, the Ambassador, from Mantua to Rome (PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 860), whose *Letters in the Gonzaga Archives enable us to follow the course of the affair. In a *Letter of the 14th Dec., 1461, he first confidentially informs Marchioness

He took, however, a lively interest in Literature and Art.*

The two other Italians who entered the Sacred College, Bartolomeo Roverella and Jacopo Ammanati, came of poor families, and were distinguished by a good humanist culture. Roverella had to thank Nicholas V. for his nomination to the Archbishopric of Ravenna. From that time forward, "he had been unceasingly occupied in political Embassies or the administration of the States of the Church, under Pius II. he had governed the March of Ancona and Umbria, and he had especially distinguished himself in the Legation in the kingdom of Naples during the war against the Anjou." Vespasiano da Bisticci praises the conscientiousness, the fear of God, the simplicity and humility of Roverella.† Ammanati was born in 1422, at Villa Basilica

Barbara that the promotion of her son had been determined in a Secret Consistory that very day, and that the publication was to take place on the following Friday. Barbara, herself, subsequently thanked the Elector Albrecht for his intervention in this matter; see SPIESS, Brandenburg, Münzbelustigungen, IV., 302 (Ansbach, 1771). Some of the Cardinal's *Letters are to be found in the Royal Archives, Berlin; his *Correspondence with his parents, which I discovered in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, is extremely valuable, and has been of the greatest use to me in the present work. In the above-mentioned Archives, I saw an autograph letter from Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to Marchioness Barbara, dated ex urbi, 1461, Dec. 18, announcing Francesco's elevation. Cardinal Gonzaga started for Rome on March 4, 1462 (SCHIVENOGLIA, 149), arrived there on the 23rd, and was received in Consistory on the following day. See *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* The enthusiastic interest taken by Gonzaga in Art is clearly shewn in his will. See MÜNTZ, III., 297–300.

† MAI, Spicileg., I., 196–200; GRAZIANI, 614; CANENSIUS, 85 *seq.*; GASP. VERONEN., 1033; BLONDUS, It. Illustr., 355; QUIRINI, Mon. lit. episc. Venetae ditionis., 1742; VOIGT, III., 537. The Decree of Roverella's nomination, dat. Romae, 1461. xv. Cal. Jan. in Regest. 484, f. 22b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

near Lucca, and went at an early age to Florence, where he laid the foundation of his classical studies.* In the time of Nicholas V. he came to Rome; there he lived in the greatest poverty, entered the service of Capranica, and under Calixtus III. became Apostolic Secretary. Pius II., on the very day of his election, confirmed him in this appointment. It soon became evident that he enjoyed the special favour of the new Pope, who, in 1460, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Pavia. His episcopal labours were most fruitful, and during his long absence he took care that his place should be properly filled. Ammanati looked up to Pius II., who had received him into the Piccolomini family, and invested him with the rights of a citizen of Siena, "with affectionate reverence." The Sienese Pontiff was his ideal in literary matters. His continuation of the Commentaries, and his numerous letters, are quite in the Pope's style; they are among the most important historical authorities of the period. The loss of his "Life of Pius II." is greatly to be regretted. Although not perfectly free from Humanistic vanity and irascibility, the Cardinal of Pavia was a good man: his will bears witness to the generosity and kindliness of his disposition.†

The elevation of the Archbishop of Salzburg was not published till the 31st May, 1462, at Viterbo.‡ There is no

* See especially the Monograph of Pauli; I make use of this rare work from the National Library at Florence, which was unknown to Voigt, and even to Tiraboschi.

† PAULI, 100–107.

‡ *1462, XXXI. Maii. Eodem die fuit publicatus dom. Card. Salzburgen. Acta Consist., f. 30b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) VOIGT, III., 542, is to be corrected by this statement. See also ZACHARIAS, It. Litt., 72 *seq.* (Venet., 1752); Anecd. Litt., III., 355 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 538 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 202, 337; Lorenzo, I., 405, 2nd edit., and MAGENTA, I., 471. According to the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, Ammanati had already received the

authority for the assertion that the Bishop of Eichstätt, John III. von Eich, was also at this time raised to the Purple. There can be no doubt that his zeal in the reformation of his diocese well deserved such a distinction; but the Calendars of Eichstätt do not mention it, and the fact that the Consistorial Acts of the Secret Archives are equally silent is conclusive.* In the year 1463 the Sacred College lost two of its members, Prospero Colonna and Isidore.† Their places, however, were not filled, though, during the remainder of Pius II.'s Pontificate some princes sought to bring about fresh creations of Cardinals.‡

Pius II. was not an enthusiast for Art, like his predecessor Nicholas V., or his successors Paul II. and Leo X.; nevertheless he appreciated it keenly, and did much for its promotion. Numerous architects, sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and miniature painters were employed by him; but the government of the Church was the engrossing interest of his life.§

Hat on the 19th December, and on the 8th January, 1462, the title of S. Crisogono.

* EGGS, 180–81, who, like CARDELLA, 157, maintains that John was created Cardinal, gives only recent authorities; VOIGT, III., 542, none at all. John's promotion to the Sacred College was called in question by CONTELORIUS, Elenchus, 56; see also SUTTNER in the Eichst. Pastoralblatt, 163 (1854).

† P. Colonna died on the 24th March, Isidor on the 27th April, 1463; see *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* See *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of 27th April, 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ O. de Carretto, Fr. Sforza's Ambassador, repeatedly sought to obtain the elevation of Nardini, the Archbishop of Milan. See Carretto's *Letters, dated Siena, 1464, April 4 (Ambrosian Library), and Rome, 1464, June 6. State Archives, Milan.

§ MÜNTZ, I., 220 *seq.*, 308 *seq.*, and Bibl. du Vatican, 122 *seq.* I find no mention in Müntz of the splendid disc-shaped Monstrance, with the embossed figures of the Pope praying on one side, and on the other an Agnus Dei, which he had given to the City of Basle. An Inscription

Both the Vatican Palace and St. Peter's were embellished by this Pontiff. The tribune for the Papal Benediction, and the new Chapel of St. Andrew, which he caused to be erected, are important works, and deserve special notice. "A spacious platform, to which an imposing flight of steps 133 feet wide led up, then occupied that side of the Piazza of St. Peter's, where Bernini's colonnades now meet. Beyond this platform was the entrance to the Atrium, supported by columns, which had to be traversed in order to reach the five doors of the ancient Church. On this platform Pius II. erected the new tribune, having first restored the steps which were much dilapidated, and adorned them with colossal statues of SS. Peter and Paul." In 1463 the celebrated Mino da Fiesole was employed here. Antique pillars supported the tribune, which was covered with

declares it to have been sent by him, in 1460, to the City of Basle, in token of ancient friendship. There is a description of this work of art in BURCKHARDT-RIGGENBACH, Der Kirchenschatz des Münsters zu Basel, X., 9 *seq.* (1867); it is now among the treasures of the Art Museum at Berlin. I know four rings of Pius II.'s: (1) one at Nachod, in Bohemia, of copper-gilt, with a false ruby, at the four sides, on the upper part, are the emblems of the Evangelists, on the hoop the arms of the Piccolomini, the Keys of St. Peter, and the words: Papa Pio. A representation of it is given by M. Beermann, Alt-und Neu-Wien 555–60 (1888). (2) A similar ring, with a topaz, in the collection of an Englishman, Th. Windus, is given in Illustr. Ztg., I., 345 (1879), and Alte und neue Welt, 334 (1886). (3) Another, like it, in the Ferdinandeum, at Innsbruck, not yet engraved, origin unknown. (4) A ring in the Museo del opera del duomo, at Siena, formerly in the Bibl. Comm. Bishops' and Prelates' rings of this period, in copper, are by no means rare. I am able to give some account of the Siena ring. In a *Letter from Paul V. to Silvio Piccolomini, dated Romae xiv. Cal. April., 1610, A° 5°, which I found in the Siena Library, B.V. 5, f. 160, are the following words: "*Annulus quem tipi mittimus nuper repertus fuit in sepulcro fel. rec. praed. nostri Pii II. S. P. Gentilis tui, dum ampliandae principis apostolorum sanc^{mae} basilicae [causa] ex antiquo loco dimoveretur."

marble sculptures. The Chapel of St. Andrew, to the left of the principal entrance of the ancient Church, was built to receive the head of that Apostle. This beautiful shrine was destroyed when the Basilica was rebuilt. Some fragments of the magnificent reliquary, in which the head of the Saint was kept, are preserved in the Grotto of St. Peter's. Recent investigations have proved that all Pius II.'s great works were carried out under the direction of the sculptors, Paolo di Mariano (Romano), and Ysaias of Pisa.*

The roof of St. Peter's, the Lateran, Sta Maria Maggiore, S. Stefano, Sta Maria Rotunda (Pantheon), the Capitol, many of the bridges, and also the wall encircling the city, were repaired by Pius II.† It is evident that the mighty projects of Nicholas VI. had no attraction for him. Rome was to him the city of ruins. While yet a Cardinal he gave expression, in a well-known epigram, to that sense of the transitory nature of all earthly things which the Eternal City, more than any other place in the world, tends to impress on the mind.

> O Rome! thy very ruins are a joy,
> Fall'n is thy pomp, but it was peerless once!
> The noble blocks wrench'd from thy ancient walls
> Are burn'd for lime by greedy slaves of gain.
> Villains! If such as you may have their way
> Three ages more, Rome's glory will be gone.‡

* MÜNTZ, I., 244 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*; JANITSCHEKS, Repert., IV., 426 *seq.*, 429 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, De Secret, 702 *seq.*; KINKEL, 3059, 3076; BONANNI, Num., 180; FORCELLA, VI., 39; GEOFFROY, 382 *seq.*

† NIBBY, Mura, 290; FORCELLA, XIII., 5; MÜNTZ, I., 293 *seq.*; Rev. Archéol., VII., 136, 238 (1886). In 1888, on the city walls between the Pretorian Camp and the Porta Pinciana, I saw the coat of arms of Pius II. in good preservation, with the ancient small tiara.

‡ MABILLON, Mus. Ital., I., 97. Beschreibung von Rom., I., 257.

This feeling comes out still more strongly in the Bull issued by Pius II., on the 28th April, 1462.* In it he forbids the injury or breaking down of ancient buildings in Rome, and in the Campagna, even on private property, reserving to himself the right of making any alterations that may become necessary. The Pope's account books shew that he frequently availed himself of this right.† A Roman citizen, Lorenzo, the son of Andrea Mattei, was appointed architectural superintendent of the City.‡ Many buildings were erected, mostly for military purposes, and various restorations carried out in the States of the Church by the Pope's order, and at his expense, at Assisi, Civita, Castellana, Civita-Vecchia, Narni, Nepi, Orvieto, and Viterbo. A new harbour was made at Corneto, and, as we have already mentioned, a fort was built at Tivoli.§

The ancient city of Siena is still full of memories of Pius II. and the Piccolomini. In the Cathedral an inscription records his gift to it of an arm of St. John the Baptist; also that he had raised it to the rank of a Metropolitan Church, and, in 1460, granted an Indulgence there. A second inscription on the uncompleted wall of the projected larger Cathedral commemorates his prolonged stay at Siena. We have more than once mentioned the frescoes in the Cathedral Library, which are so striking a memorial

* THEINER, III., 422–3.

† See MÜNTZ, I., 266 *seq*. Regarding Pius II.'s care for the preservation of the old Church in Luni, see SFORZA, 270–1.

‡ "*Laurentius Andrae Matthei civis Romanus constituitur officialis aedificiorum et magister stratarum urbis. D. Romae, 1458, Sept. Id. Sept. A° 1°." Regest. 515, f. 22b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See *supra*, p. 48; PII II. Comment. 131; MÜNTZ, I., 228 *seq*., 297 *seq*.; LASPEYRES, 8 and 32. In Orvieto, Pius II. provided for the restoration of the great hall in the Papal Palace; see FUMI, 718.

of this Pope, "in their abiding freshness and the splendour of their unfading colours."*

The lover of the past, as he walks through the streets of the City, which still retains a mediæval air, will notice on many of its houses and palaces the armorial bearings of the Piccolomini; he will admire the graceful vaulted hall (Loggia del Papa) which, according to the inscription, Pius II. dedicated to his family. The builder of this Loggia, commenced in 1460, was Antonio Federighi.† The architect, Bernardo, designed the plans for the dwelling which Pius II. caused to be erected for his sister, Caterina, in the principal street of Siena (Palazzo Piccolomini della Papesse, now Nerucci), and also for the magnificent Palace commenced by Giacomo and other Piccolomini, which still bears their name.‡ The stately splendour of the early Renaissance architecture is strikingly exemplified in this building, and yet more in the magnificent works in the Pope's birthplace.

Midway between Orvieto and Siena, near the ancient military road to Rome, and at three hours' distance from Montepulciano (famed for its wine), the Episcopal City of Pienza is enthroned upon a hill of Tufa. It is a straggling place, almost isolated in the Valley of Orcia, and the hill

* See *supra*, pp. 124 and 292; REUMONT, Briefe, I., 6; and KEYSSLER, Reisen, 409.

† MILANESI, Doc. per la storia dell' Arte Senese, II., 308, 321; FALUSCHI, 150; MÜNTZ, I., 305 *seq.* Siena e il suo territorio, 254 (Siena, 1862). According to the Report of a Sienese Ambassador of the 27th September, 1458, even at that time the Pope contemplated the erection of a beautiful palace in Siena; see PICCOLOMINI, Docum., 27; and, in relation to A. Federighi, see JANITSCHEK, Repert., XII., 277 *seq.*

‡ RUMOHR, II., 198 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 395. Pius II. also caused the Churches of S. Pellegrino, S. Martino, and S. Francesco in Siena to be restored. MILANESI, II., 311; MÜNTZ, I., 306.

on which it is built slopes steeply down towards the South East. Here once stood the Castle of Corsignano, and, in its neighbourhood, the country-house where the Pope was born. While still a Cardinal, Pius II., with "that warm love of home, which was a marked feature in his character," had adopted the poor parish; in 1459, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he determined to adorn it with a new Cathedral and a Palace.* The works were at once begun; and, in 1460, the Pope personally inspected their progress. On account of the strained relations between Pius II. and the Republic, he did not visit Siena in 1461, or either of the two succeeding years, and devoted all the more attention to his birth-place.† In 1462 it was invested with municipal privileges, and named Pienza, and the Cardinals and Court officials were called upon to build residences there.‡ By the month of June, 1462, the Cathedral was sufficiently completed to be consecrated; and, in August of the same year, the City was made an Episcopal See.§

* RUMOHR, II., 177 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 130; PICCOLOMINI, Docum., 12. See *supra*, p. 51.

† See VOIGT, III., 559 *seq.* The tension was particularly great in July, 1462. See MALAVOLTI, 66, and especially the *Despatch of Nic. Severinus to Siena, dated ex castro abbatie S. Salvatoris, 1462, July 4. State Archives, Siena.

‡ On the 29th August, 1462, Cardinal Gonzaga informed his parents that the Pope had requested him to build a house in Pienza. A letter from Jac. de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara, dated Tivoli, 1463, July 31, shews that he again urged the matter in that year. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. G. Lolli, in a *Letter to Siena, dated Rome, 1462, Dec. 22, speaks in general of the expenditure of the Pope for Pienza. State Archives, Siena.

§ By a Bull of 13th August, 1462. In the *Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, 487, f. 187, it is entered in very large letters. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462, N. 47, gives it, omitting part of the commencement, and it is complete in Bull. V., 186 *seq.* For an account of the Consecration, see Ist. di Chiusi, 993.

Pius II. calls the Director of these works by the name of Bernardus Florentinus, and in the Papal accounts he is styled Mastro Bernardo di Fiorenza. It is not, however, clear whether he is the same as Bernardo Rosellino, or Bernardo di Lorenzo, who built the vestibule of S. Marco in Rome. The original estimate was considerably exceeded, yet Bernardo continued in favour with the Pope, and was even entrusted with fresh commissions.* The Bishop's Palace, the Canon's residence, and the Town Hall are also his work.

The buildings we have mentioned are picturesquely grouped round a little square in which a fountain plays; to the south is the Cathedral, with its beautiful façade; near it, on the eastern side, is the grave and simple House of the Bishop (Vescovado); on the west the great Palace of the Piccolomini, an imposing edifice in the Florentine rustic style. Though now sadly dilapidated, the interior, "with its richly-coloured coffered ceilings, and beautiful doors and chimney-pieces, bears witness to the taste of the truly artistic Prince."† Each of the three storeys on the southern

* Pii II. Comment. 235. Regarding the expense, which is over-estimated by Voigt, see MÜNTZ, I., 301–2. The latter thinks that "according to all probability" by Bernardo di Fiorenza is meant B. Rosellino; this opinion is shared by RUMOHR, II., 194; REDTENBACHER, 132; LÜTZOW, 324; and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 91; while GSELL-FELS, I., 221; and LÜBKE, Gesch. der Architektur, II., 684, 5th ed., uphold the claims of Bernardo di Lorenzo. Rosellino's identity, as REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitg., 1883, p. 962, remarks, has not yet been established.

† H. HOLTZINGER, 23; RASCHDORFF, 7, 23–9. The coat of arms on the Bishop's Palace, of which HOLTZINGER, 20, gives a figure without any explanation, is that of R. Borgia, to whom Pius II. entrusted the superintendence of this building. The splendid ornaments of the façade of the Court of the Piccolomini Palace are represented in DOLMETSCH, Der Ornamentenschatz (Stuttgart, 1887), Plate 47, N. 9–11. Regarding the interior disposition, see also BURCKHARDT,

side, overlooking the garden, has an open gallery which commands that magnificent view of the Etruscan hills, on to the basalt summits of Monte Amiata and wild Radicofani, which had such charms for a lover of nature like the Pope. Almost opposite the Cathedral, and separated from the Bishop's Palace by the principal street, is the Town Hall (Palazzo del pretorio), richly decorated in *Sgraffito*; "a true work of the bright and joyous early Renaissance." It has an open court, and at one corner a beautiful Campanile ornamented with elaborate iron-work.*

The Cathedral,† which has three doors, stands like that of Siena, with its choir overhanging the steep slope of the hill, and has under the High Altar, in imitation doubtless of that church, a Crypt accessible from the interior, which forms the Baptistery. The plan of the edifice is that of a Church with three Naves of equal height, an arrangement very unusual in Italy.‡ It appears to have been begun from the choir; there are many traces of the Northern Gothic style, the pointed windows have rich late Gothic ornaments. When we come to the beautiful façade, all these disappear, and the Renaissance reigns supreme.

Gesch. der Renaissance, 170 *seq.* By a *Bull, dat. Tiburi, 1463, xiv. Cal. Aug. A° 5° (Library at Siena, B. V. 5, f. 82), Pius II. gave his Palace at Pienza to his nephews, Antonio, Giacomo, and Andrea; see PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 12.

* See RASCHDORFF, Plates 30, 33, 90. BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaiss., 217, gives a ground plan of Pienza; the survey of HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, Plate 16, is better and more accurate. I am indebted to the kindness of Herr Conservator Graus of Graz for many interesting observations regarding Pienza.

† The ground plan, façade, and section, are given by HOLTZINGER, Plates 16, 17; and by LASPEYRES, Die Kirchen der Renaiss. in Mittelitalien, Berlin, 1882.

‡ It is also to be found in the Gothic Cathedral at Perugia, and the Church Sta Maria dell' Anima at Rome.

It is interesting to note the circle of chapels round the choir, contrary to the manner of the Italians. The general impression conveyed by the whole is that the architect had been desired to introduce certain Northern ideas, and this accords with the statement in the Pope's Memoirs.* He says he had decided on the form of a church with Tribunes, because, from the examples which he had seen in Austria, "it appeared to him more beautiful and lighter." The Castle Church at Wiener-Neustadt (A. D. 1449), the Cathedral at Graz (A. D. 1449), and St. Stephen's at Vienna, may have suggested this type to him.†

The interior of the Cathedral was cased with marble, and the Pope issued a special Bull prohibiting the introduction of paintings, tablets, or any kind of adornment that could interfere with the effect of its glistening whiteness.‡ The stalls in the choir are extremely beautiful, with the Italian-Gothic carving and intarsia work, and on them the Pope's armorial bearings, supported by angels, with the date 1462, are introduced. On the other hand, almost all the furniture of the Church, holy water stoups, lectern, font, are of the best early Renaissance.§ A tabernacle in the same style as the Church is still to be seen in a chapel to the left, near the High Altar; in the other chapels are three altars with Italian wood-carvings in basso relievo, and pictures of the Sienese School.|| In one of these chapels relics are kept, amongst others a portion of the head of St. Andrew.

* In the celebrated description of Pienza, reproduced by MÜNTZ, I., 353–60.

† KINKEL, 3059, only mentions St. Stephen's. Pius II., who did not finally leave Germany until May, 1455, may have seen both the other churches.

‡ PII II. Comment. 235; HOLTZINGER, 18, 19; and BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance, 154.

§ LÜTZOW, 325; HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, 19 *seq.*, and Plate 18.

|| LÜBKE, Ital. Malerei, I., 383; HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, 20.

Pius II.'s Gothic Pectoral Cross and Chalice are preserved there, the latter high and wide in the cup. The richly embroidered Cope of the Pope is also there, with a number of more modern vestments.*

Campanus, Pius II.'s Court Poet, celebrated in verse the new creation of the early Renaissance, the effect of which is indeed strikingly complete and harmonious :—

"If I, Pientia, stand on high
In pomp and splendour drest,
My very name will tell you why
To me above the rest
Of country-towns there should be giv'n
A city's laws and state,
A rich Cathedral, solid walls,
A Palace fair and great.
Pius, the Pontiff, loves full well
The cradle of his race,
Envy me not, that he bestows
On me his special grace!" †

* The Cope, in the autumn of 1883, shared the fate of many other works of art in modern Italy; it has disappeared.

† HOLTZINGER, 24; RUMOHR, II., 178; REUMONT, III., 1, 517. Pienza is now again a lonely little country town, with about 3000 inhabitants, where it is difficult even to get a night's lodging. Some MSS. of the time of Pius II., which used to be kept there, are now removed.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Crusade and Death of Pius II.

THE Pope's heroic determination to place himself personally at the head of the Crusade, in hope of thus inducing "all the Christian Powers to take part in it," had at first been kept secret. In March, 1462, it was communicated to six of the Cardinals, and was approved by them. They considered that it well became the Vicar of Christ to follow the example of his Master by giving his life for his sheep.

Pius II. had also, in a confidential autograph letter, informed the Doge of Venice, Prospero Malipiero, of his purpose. The reply of the Venetians was favourable, but so vague in its terms that it gave no indication as to whether they contemplated any change of policy.* Hitherto these selfish traders, looking to their commercial interests alone, had been careful to keep as far as possible on good terms with the Porte. At all the Conventions for organising united resistance to the Turks, "their ambassadors either kept away altogether, or arrived too late, or unprovided

* The Venetian **Reply to the Papal Letter (Epist. 44 of the Milan edit., with the wrong date, 1463 instead of 1462) is in the State Archives, Venice, Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 80. See *ibid.*, 86, *Letter to Pius II., dated 1462, April 22. The Pope was to keep secret the promises of Venice on behalf of the war; nor was he to mention to any one the assistance given by the Republic to Hungary; *ibid.*, f. 99b; "*Nic. Sagundino, secret. nost. ad S. Pontif.," 1462, July 19.

with sufficient powers, or else they insisted on impracticable conditions."* The Pope's exhortations were all in vain. The Venetian Government was unremitting in its preparations for the struggle which must eventually break out between the first naval power of the West and the new Empire on the Bosphorus. But, meanwhile, it was resolved to put off the evil day as long as might be.

The Doge, Prospero Malipiero, the leader of the peace party, died on the 5th May, 1462, and on the 12th of the same month Cristoforo Moro was elected as his successor. Great hopes of a change of policy, favourable to the Christian cause, seem to have been entertained at Rome. Cardinal Bessarion, in his letter of congratulation, said that a staunch defender had been won for the cause of religion, by this election.† The Pope, not content with merely writing, sent a special Ambassador, who made an oration in the style of the period, expressing the joy with which he welcomed the elevation of the Doge. Most of the Cardinals wrote separately in the same strain.‡

* HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 318–9. See Vol. II. of the present work, p. 278.

† Bessarion's **Letter, dated Viterbo, 1462, May 24, is in Cod. Lat. XIII.–XC., f. 10b–11. St. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ In the MS. referred to in the preceding note, the following passage occurs: "*Cum ill. princeps dom. Christoforus Mauro ad fastigium Venetorum ducatus promotus esset ab italorum exterorumque potentatibus congratulatorie littere misse fuerunt, quas ego Leonardus Sanudo tunc S. Ex. suarumque fortunarum curam egens in unum coegi. A°, 1462, xii. Maii." Here is inserted Pius II.'s letter of congratulation, dated Viterbo, 1462, Mai 18. Then "*Hec sequens oratio a Feltrensi praesule non superiori epistola Pius papa contentus coram praefato principe illust. suo nomine edita fuit, Et iterum per Bellunensem praesulem de eiusdem assumptione congratulatus est, ut sua mens magis perspecta fieret." At p. 7b–9b, is the discourse, published in CUGNONI, 161 *seq.*; f. 10, the *Brief of Pius II., dated Viterbo, 1462, May 19, accrediting Donato, the Bishop of Belluno; f. 10b–14b, the Congratulatory letters of Cardinals Bessarion, Cusa (dat. in urbe veter. xi. Junii), Scarampo

The desired change, however, did not immediately take place, and Venice, while diligently continuing to make ready for war, was equally assiduous in her efforts to defer it.* In September, 1462, Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, while the Venetian Captain-General looked on at the head of a well-armed squadron of twenty-nine galleys without venturing to interfere. The extraordinary activity now displayed by the Sultan in strengthening and organising his naval forces made it evident that the commencement of the decisive struggle was not far distant.† Nevertheless, a powerful party still remained in Venice, which advocated conciliation and diplomacy.

The refusal of the Venetian authorities at Modon to give up a Christian slave, although in itself a trivial matter, "at last brought down the avalanche." In November, 1462, Omar Pasha ravaged the environs of Lepanto. The Pasha of the Peloponnesus in the following spring attacked the Venetian colonies in Argolis, and on the third of April, with the assistance of a treacherous Greek priest, obtained

(dat. "Monteflaschon.," xxv. Maii), Alain (dat. ex Viterbio, Cal. Jun.), Estouteville (dat. Viterbii, ult. Maii), Colonna (dat. ex terra nostra Ardie, vi. Junii), Calandrini (dat. apud balnea S. Philippi in agro Senensi, x. Junii), Barbo (dat. ex urbe, xx. Maii), Carvajal (dat. ex. Viterbio, ii. Junii), R. Borgia (dat. ex Viterbio, Cal. Juniis), Gonzaga (dat. Viterbii, i. Junii); f. 16, *Congratulations of Card. Roverella (dat. Beneventi, xii. Junii); 16b, *Congratulation of Card. Capranica (ex Bonnonia, xxiii. Julii, 1462). Early in the succeeding year Pius II. sent the Doge a blessed sword (still preserved in the Arsenal at Venice); see CICOGNA, VI., 575. On the 15th January, 1463, B. Giustiniano was charged to thank the Pope for the same. *Sen. Secr., XXI., 132b.

* Regarding the preparations, see the *Resolution of 6th Nov., 1462. Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 124b. State Archives, Venice.

† MALIPIERO, 11; CHALCOCONDYLAS, 529 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 675; ZINKEISEN, II., 243 *seq.* See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus of 12th Oct., 1462, State Archives, Milan.

possession of Argos. "Although it was now perfectly evident that the Porte meant the annihilation of the Venetian power, the Signoria still hesitated to declare war."* In the same spirit the Republic received the Ambassadors of the oppressed King of Bosnia very coldly, and absolutely declined the alliance which they proposed. Its action was very different when it was a question of supporting Malatesta in his revolt against Pius II., and appropriating the territory of the Church on the shores of the Adriatic.† Accordingly, by the end of June, Bosnia had become a Turkish province. The danger to Ragusa and the coast of Dalmatia caused great agitation throughout the whole of Italy,‡ and the war party took advantage of this to make another attempt to obtain a hearing. Vittore Capello, a man of strong and resolute character, was at their head. In a long speech he asserted that further delay was treason to the Republic. He pointed out that the seizure of Argos clearly shewed that the Sultan meant to try how far he could go. If his course were not checked, he would take possession of the other Venetian cities in the Peloponnesus, and even of Negroponte. It was necessary at last to shew this barbarian the power of the Christians; Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, and, finally, Bosnia, had been lost by delay. If they still remained with folded hands what could be expected but that the rest of the possessions of the Republic would be taken, and her subjects reduced to slavery. The war party

* HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 586; HOPF, 154. For an account of the preparations determined on, May 1463, in consequence of the loss of Argos, see *Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 152. State Archives, Venice.

† See SUGENHEIM, 339, and *supra*, p. 127.

‡ **Card. Gonzaga's letters of 22nd June and 1st July, 1463. See also Bart. Marasca's letter to Marchioness Barbara, dated Tibure die 30 Augusti, 1463. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

now became predominant, although their opponents still formed a considerable body.*

The panic occasioned in Venice by the conquest of Bosnia is evidenced by the altered tone of the instructions given to Bernardo Giustiniano, the Venetian Ambassador to Rome. On the 10th June he was commissioned to impart the sad tidings to the Pope and the Cardinals. A fortnight later he was instructed to describe the further advance of the Turks into Croatia, and the danger which threatened Italy, and also to declare that his government had resolved to resist the enemy to the utmost. The Ambassador was to request the Pope's permission for the levy of the tithes, and the twentieth and thirtieth parts by the Signoria in their dominions, so that the war might be carried on, not merely for their own defence, but also for that of the other Christians.†

In spite of all these fair promises it soon appeared that the Venetians meant to carry on the inevitable war, as far as possible, with a view to their own private interests. These intentions were not hidden from their contemporaries. Pius II. drily says that the commercial position of the Morea, and the 300,000 ducats yearly derived from its customs, had won the Venetians over to the war.‡

* CHALCOCONDYLAS, 545 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 297.

† The **Instructions are dated the 10th and 25th June, 1463, State Archives, Venice. The *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 22nd June, 1463, shews how indignant Pius II. had been at the former indifference of Venice. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ VOIGT, III., 695. The passage in the Commentarii, 314 *seq.*, is much stronger in the original edition. Here it is stated that the Venetians had been induced to take arms, not for the defence of religion, but with the aim of extending their dominions. CUGNONI, 228–9. The Milanese ambassadors also assert that the chief concern of the Venetians was the conquest of the Morea. See *Report, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 19. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

Another consequence of the fall of Bosnia was the termination of the unholy war which had divided the forces of the Hungarian kingdom, and "dangerously weakened this strongest bulwark of Christendom against Islam. To the Legate, Cardinal Carvajal, belongs the credit of having recognised the real position of affairs, as well as the needs of Christendom, and laboured unremittingly for peace while keeping aloof from the dynastic questions whose evil effects were before his eyes. The actual conclusion of the treaty in the year 1463 (24th July), at Wiener-Neustadt, was brought about through the mediation of the Pope." In it Corvinus was acknowledged as King for life, and in the case of his death, without legitimate issue, the succession was secured to the House of Hapsburg.*

The Pope, however, could not be satisfied with the adhesion of the Hungarians and Venetians alone. To succeed in such a task the co-operation of the whole of Italy and the Emperor, together with France and Burgundy, must also be secured. Bishop Lorenzo Roverella of Ferrara had been sent at Easter, 1462, to the last-named countries. But Louis XI. would have nothing to say to the war, which he declared to be a mere trick designed to

* REUMONT, III., 1, 144; VOIGT, III., 681 *seq.*; and HOFFMANN, 39 *seq.*, go at length into the subject of the Pope's mediation between the Emperor and Matthias. See BACHMANN, I., 389 *seq.*; Mittheil. der Œsterr. Inst., VIII., 664 *seq.*; and HUBER, III., 148 *seq.* A. POR (see Lit. Berichte aus Ungarn, IV., 412), in an article upon Pius II. and M. Corvinus, treats of the zeal and energy of Carvajal; we are also indebted to this writer for a more popular Biography of the Pope, Budapest, 1880. A monograph regarding Carvajal's relations with Hungary, based on authoritative documents, has been prepared by Fraknói. I take this opportunity of expressing to the honourable Vice-president of the Hungarian Academy my thanks for the assistance which he has rendered me in my studies.

shelve the affairs of Naples.* Philip of Burgundy, who was ill at the time, promised to send Envoys to Rome. As they did not arrive, Pius II. sent Lucas, the Dalmatian, as Nuncio, to hasten them. He was not at first more successful than his predecessor, but the Duke, being again attacked by serious illness, looked upon this as an admonition to fulfil his vow. The moment he recovered he announced himself ready to accomplish it.†

The Pope received these happy tidings on the 2nd July,‡ and at once imparted them to the Italian powers, and invited them to a Congress at Rome. At this moment "he might have cherished the hope of at last seeing the work, to which he had devoted the labour of years, worthily carried out." § On the 5th of July Bessarion went as

* Pii II. Comment. 221–2; VOIGT, III., 677 *seq.*

† VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; BACHMANN, I., 484; OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, III., 36. Philip's Ambassador, Guillaume Filastre, Bishop of Tournay, subsequently described his change of mind, in the rhetorical style of the day, in his "*Oratio dicta Rome apud S. Petrum in consistorio publico, 1463, viii. die Octobris." Dr. Sauerland, who found this document among the MSS. in a library in the Rhenish provinces, will publish it in his "Quellen zur Gesch. des 14 und 15 Jahrh." According to the Cab. Hist., 1885, p. 223, this *discourse is also to be found in a MS. in the Archives of Dijon.

‡ See the Letter of commendation addressed to Philip on the 2nd July, 1463, Milan edit., V., 1487, Epist., 46. The date "Romae" is incorrect, for Pius II. was at the time at Tivoli. In Cod. R. II., 11, of the Seminary Library at Trèves is (f. 178–80) a copy of the Brief with the correct conclusion: "Scriptum [apud urbem] Tiburtinam, &c."

§ REUMONT, III., 1, 148. The Brief informing the Florentines of the decision of the Duke of Burgundy, and inviting them to the Congress at Rome, is dated Tivoli, 1463, July 6. There is a copy in the State Archives at Florence. Pius II. wrote in similar terms to Bologna on the 3rd July; see MAKUSCEV, I., 309–10. Regarding the power and wealth of the Burgundian Duke, see CHASTELLAIN, IV., 360; RAUCH, 9; MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 50; FREDERICQ, 33, 57–8.

Legate to Venice.* The object of his mission was to induce the Signoria formally to declare war against the Turks, to arrange details in regard to the general Crusade, and to settle the dispute between Venice and the Emperor about Trieste.

The Greek Cardinal arrived on the 22nd of July in Venice, and was received almost as if he had been a crowned head, but his negotiations were not rewarded by the immediate success which his zeal for the holy cause had expected.† The Signoria gratefully accepted the Pope's support, and the permission to levy tithes, twentieths and thirtieths in its territory, but made difficulties as to the formal declaration of war, and did not fail to intercede for the rebellious Malatesta. "Most Holy Father," wrote Bessarion, on the 26th July, "I do not understand, and very greatly wonder, why the Venetians make such difficulties about a formal breach with the Turks, for they have already made, and are continuing to make, great preparations by land and sea. This is now done quite openly; whereas, formerly, the very appearance of preparation was avoided. Therefore I hope that they will soon come to the point."‡ By dint of unremitting exertions he was able, on the 29th of July, to write to Rome announcing that the declaration of war with the Porte had been decided

* Not in August, as VOIGT says (III., 696). See *Acta Consist., f. 31b, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See Serapeum, II., 93.

‡ **Report of Bessarion to Pius II., dated Venice, 1463, July 26. I found the originals of this and the following letter of the Cardinal in the valuable Codex of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, mentioned at p. 160. On account of their length I must reserve these Reports for publication in my collection of Documents. The other collections of Bessarion's Acts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm., XXXIV., N. 6 and 7; XXXV., T. 134 and 135), contain Decrees, Dispensations, &c., but no Reports of his negotiations.

on the day before.* Yet a full month more passed before the Crusade was publicly preached in Venice, or the levy of the tithes—twentieths and thirtieths, in accordance with the Decree of Mantua—proclaimed for the whole territory of the Republic.†

A part of the Legate's commission was now discharged, but the negotiations regarding the general Crusade presented difficulties of a yet more serious character. The Venetians again put in a plea for Malatesta. Bessarion applied for further Instructions,‡ and the Legate's request for the cessation of the war with Trieste was at first unheeded; peace was not made until the 14th November, and was but of short duration.§

An offensive alliance entered into in September, 1463, between Venice and Hungary, was a most important event. These two powers, equally threatened as they were by the aggressive policy of Turkey, bound themselves only to lay down their arms by mutual consent. The Venetians were to attack the enemy with a force of forty Galleys, and also to send cavalry and infantry to the Morea and Dalmatia, while the Hungarians were to advance with a strong force on the northern frontier provinces. This compact was communicated to all the other Kings or Princes.‖

* Bessarion's **Report of the 29th July, 1463, to Pius II.; see also the extracts from the Venetian State Archives given by VAST, 270.

† **Letter from Bessarion to Card. Ammanati, dated Venice, 1463, August 28, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Loc. cit.*

§ BACHMANN, I., 530. Regarding Pius II.'s relations with Trieste, see FR. SWIDA in the Archeografo Triestino, N.S. XIV., 1 *seq.*, Trieste, 1888.

‖ The Original of this treaty, dated Peterwardein, 1463, Sept. 12 (published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 50–1; and THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 380 *seq.*), and written on parchment, is preserved in the State Archives, Venice, Atti Dipl.

Pius II. lost no time in appealing for assistance to Skanderbeg, whose very name was already a terror to the Turks. His harbours and fortresses were advantageously situated for the disembarkation of the Italian troops. The Archbishop of Durazzo was commissioned to call upon the Albanian hero to take part in the contest on which the Western powers were about to enter. He responded by at once commencing hostilities against the Turks, without even waiting to declare war.*

Meanwhile the long-looked-for Burgundian mission had reached Tivoli where the Pope was spending the summer. The splendid promises made by its spokesman, the Bishop of Tournay, filled his heart with joy and hope.†

The official reception of the Burgundians took place on the 19th September in a public Consistory in Rome, whither Pius II. had returned a short time previously. The Bishop of Tournay spoke with enthusiasm of the Crusade, and promised that his master would, in the following spring, begin the war in good earnest, and would, if possible, himself join the expedition, or if unable to do this, would send a representative. The Pope warmly commended the Duke's zeal, and spoke of the Congess of Italian Envoys which was to open immediately.‡

* SISMONDI, X., 234; PAGANEL, 315 *seq.* On the day of Pope Pius II.'s death, Skanderbeg gained an important victory over the Infidel.

† PII II. Comment. 329 *seq.*; VIOLA, III., 107. See *Card. Gonzaga's Letters of July 1st and Sept. 5th, 1463, from Tivoli (which speak of the offers of the Burgundians). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the résumé in the long **Despatch of the Milanese Ambassadors of the 16th Nov., 1463. State Archives, Milan.

‡ CHASTELLAIN, IV., 458; PII II. Comment. 331 *seq.* The date here omitted is supplied by a *Letter from Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 19: "Questa matina facendose consistorio publico per audir li ambasciatori de Bergogna, quali hanno fatto le offerte come

The political condition of Christendom seemed at this time to promise well for the Crusade. The contest for the throne of Naples was at an end, turbulent Malatesta had been subdued, all Italy was for the moment at peace. "Venice and Hungary, who had already taken up arms, formed a solid coalition, able, without extraneous assistance, to put forth considerable power, and yet happy to accept the co-operation of others. Pius II. hoped in the Congress to recover the direction of the whole scheme, and by the offering of his own person, the last means at his disposal, to regain the leadership of the enterprise."*

The negotiations with the Envoys of the Italian powers opened on the 22nd September.† The Pope informed them of the promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, and enquired what they proposed to do for the defence of the Catholic Faith. The replies of the Neapolitan and Venetian Envoys sounded satisfactory, but that of the Milanese was completely different in its tone. The import of their many words was merely that they had not sufficient powers, and must communicate with the authorities at home. The Florentines adopted the same line, but their reply was even less encouraging, for they insisted on the

altra fiata scrissi a V.S.," and by the *Despatches of B. Marasca to Marquess Lodovico, and the *Letter of J. P. Arrivabenus to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 19. In the latter occur the following words: "Opinione commune e che N. S. a bon tempo debba ussir de Roma et elezer qualche luoco idoneo a la coadunatione de christiani. Assai se dicto de Udene, ma Molti dicono che se venira a Mantua." Similar reports had already been current at the Roman Court; see the **Despatch of B. Marasca, dated Tivoli, 1463, Aug. 30. I found all these Documents in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

* VOIGT, III., 686.

† The date in the Comment. PII II., 333, is incorrect. Bart. Marasca, in his *Despatch of 23rd Sept., 1463, expressly says, the negotiations took place yesterday. Gonzaga Archives.

co-operation of the French King, of whose aversion to the Crusade they were well aware. The Sienese, Bolognese, Lucchese, and Mantuan deputies also declared themselves obliged to consult their respective governments, and receive fresh instructions.

In his answer, Pius II. dealt, in the first place, with the question of the tithes, and referred to the resolutions framed at Mantua, and there approved by all parties, with the exception of the Venetians, who, however, were now full of good-will. Every prince might, he said, collect the money in his own dominions, enlist troops, and prepare ships; he would not touch it, only provision must be made for seeing to its proper expenditure. With regard to the condition laid down by the Florentines, he maintained that Italy, being the country most immediately threatened, ought to be the one to begin the Crusade. The Envoys, however, stood firm, and declared themselves unable to enter into any engagement until they had received further powers from their governments; the Venetian Envoys alone formed an honourable exception to this line of conduct.*

As time went on the duplicity of the Florentines became more and more apparent, and they proved the most cunning and obstinate opponents of the Crusade. Their conduct was prompted by their jealousy of the projects of political aggrandisement in Italy cherished by the Republic of St. Mark, and the rivalry between the two powers for the possession of the trade of the Levant. "The secret hope of the Florentines was that Venice would exhaust herself in

* Pii II. Comment. 333–4, and the more detailed **Report of A. de Rubeis and O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 24, which has unfortunately been much injured by damp. State Archives, Milan (wrongly placed in P. E., 1461). See also the *Letter of B. Marasca, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 23. The Pope, he says, spoke "elegantemente more solito." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

single combat with the Turks." Accordingly they were most anxious that the war should not be made the common affair of the West,* and to effect this object their Envoys shrank from no intrigue. In a private audience they represented to the Pope that the war against the Turks was, after all, taken in hand merely for the benefit of the Venetians, who, dreaming themselves the successors of the ancient Romans, and the inheritors of their world-wide dominion, aspired, after the conquest of Greece, to subject Italy to their yoke. Would the Roman Church in such a case be able to retain her independence and dignity? The Venetians and the Turks ought to be left completely to themselves; the result would be a protracted war by which both powers would be weakened to the great advantage of Italy and the Christian world.

Pius II. pronounced such a policy to be short-sighted, ignoble, and unworthy of the Vicar of Christ. The ambition of the Venetians might indeed be excessive, but dependence on Venice was to be preferred to dependence on the Porte. Even though she might be selfishly aiming at the possession of the Peloponnesus, still her discomfiture by the Turks would be a disaster for Christendom. In the present crisis the only thing to be thought of was how the Turks could be repelled, and the liberty of Europe secured. The future must be left to take care of itself. All must

* HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 339. The delay of Florence, in sending Envoys to Rome, appears from the *Despatches of Nicodemus of Pontremoli, dated Florence, 1463, Aug. 14 and 22. In the Despatch of 24th Sept., 1463, mentioned in the note on preceding page, Florence is said to be "in tutto aliena de questa impresa." All these Reports are in the State Archives at Milan. An invitation to Florence was issued on the 6th July, 1463; at the beginning of September no Envoy had yet arrived, and accordingly, on the 1st of that month, in a *Brief dated from Tivoli, Pius II. begged that one might be sent as quickly as possible. Copy in the State Archives, Florence.

unite, with his assistance and the support of the Duke of Burgundy, the King of Hungary, and the enemies of Turkey in Asia, to attack and vanquish the common foe. In order to make it plain to the Florentines that the conquered territores would not all become the property of Venice, the Pope unfolded a plan for the partition of Turkey. This is the first of many similar projects. The Venetians were to have the Peloponnesus, Bœotia, Attica, and the cities on the coast of Epirus; Skanderbeg was to receive Macedonia. Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and all the country as far as the Black Sea, were to belong to Hungary; while other portions of the Byzantine Empire were to fall to the share of various distinguished Greeks. The Envoys also laid great stress on the difficulty that there would be in getting money from the Florentines.*

On the following day (23rd September) the Pope in a Secret Consistory laid his scheme before the assembled College of Cardinals. In a long and earnest address, in the course of which he even shed tears, he strove to meet all objections to the undertaking. Peace being restored in Italy, it was now possible, he said, to take up arms against the Turks, and this ought to be done without delay. Now was the time to prove whether the Cardinals' zeal for the Faith had been merely a pretence, or whether they would follow the Pope. He meant to equip as large a fleet as the resources of the Church would permit; and, feeble and old as he was, to take ship himself and proceed

* Pii II. Comment. 334 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 282 *seq.* Similar representations to those made to the Pope were made by the Florentine Envoys to the representatives of Milan; see their **Despatch of the 24th Sept., 1463, cited *supra*, p. 322. (State Archives, Milan.) The *Letter of A. de Rubeis and Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10, shews that the Florentine Envoy obstinately persisted in his opposition to the Crusade. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

to Greece and Asia. "It will be said, of course, 'what has this sickly old man, this priest, to do with the war? What business have Cardinals and officials of the Roman Court in the Camp? Why do they not stay at home and send a fleet with troops accustomed to fight?' Whatever we do people take it ill. They say that we live for pleasure, accumulate wealth, bear ourselves arrogantly, ride on fat mules and handsome palfreys, trail the fringes of our cloaks after us, and show round plump faces beneath the red hat and the white hood, keep hounds for the chase, spend much on actors and parasites, and nothing in defence of the Faith. And there is some truth in their words: many among the Cardinals and other officials of our Court do lead this kind of life.* If the truth be confessed, the luxury and pomp at our Court is too great. And this is why we are so detested by the people that they will not listen to us, even when what we say is just and reasonable. What do you think is to be done in such a shameful state of things? Must we not take some steps to regain the confidence which we have lost? You will ask what steps? Truly none that we find ready in these days: we must enter upon new paths, we must enquire by what means our predecessors won for the Church the authority and consideration that she has. These means we also must employ. Her authority must be maintained by the same means which originally served to acquire it. Temperance, chastity innocence, zeal for the Faith, ardour in the cause of religion, contempt of death, and the desire for martyrdom, have exalted the Roman Church, and made her mistress of the world. She cannot maintain her position unless we follow in the footsteps of those who created it. It is not enough

* Evidently an allusion to Cardinal Borgia. We have already mentioned the letter of admonition which Pius II. addressed to this Cardinal in the year 1460. See Vol. II., 452 *seq.* of this work.

to profess the Faith, to preach to the people, to denounce crime, and extol virtue. We must make ourselves like those who offered their lives for the heritage of the Lord. We must suffer all things for the flock entrusted to our care, even unto death. The Turks are devastating one Christian country after another. What shall we do? Send troops against them? There is no money to arm them. Shall we exhort the Princes to go forth and drive the enemy out of our borders? That course has already been tried in vain, without success.

"Our cry, Go forth! has resounded in vain. Perhaps, if the word is, Come with me! it will have more effect. This is why we have determined to proceed in person against the Turks, and by word and deed to stir up all Christian Princes to follow our example. It may be that, seeing their Teacher and Father, the Bishop of Rome, the Vicar of Christ, a weak and sickly old man, going to the war, they will be ashamed to stay at home. Should this effort also fail, we know of no other means to try. We are well aware that at our age we are going to meet an almost certain death. But let us leave all to God, His holy will be done! Nevertheless, we are too weak to fight sword in hand, and this is not the priest's office. But we will imitate Moses, who prayed upon a height while the people of Israel were doing battle with the Amalekites. On the prow of a ship, or on the summit of a mountain, we will beseech our Lord, whose Holy Body will ever be with us, to grant us deliverance and victory."

The Pope concluded by calling upon the Cardinals to follow him; only the aged and infirm were to remain at home, with one Legate for ecclesistical and another for secular affairs, the latter of whom was to be supported by a force of 5000 men, under the command of Antonio

Piccolomini. "Thus we commend our grey hair and feeble body to the mercy of God. He will care for us, and, if He does not permit us to return, He will receive us into Heaven, and will preserve the See of Rome, and His Bride the Church, unharmed."*

In spite of these stirring words, the French party in the Sacred College protested against the Pope's plan. Men like d'Estouteville or Jouffroy were utterly incapable of understanding Pius II.'s resolve to imitate the martyr-popes of old. The majority of the Cardinals, however, agreed with him. Carvajal, old as he was, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "It is the voice of an angel. I follow, for it is to heaven that you are leading us."†

During the ensuing weeks the Pope was fully occupied with the details of the enterprise. A commission of Cardinals was appointed to carry on the preparations in the States of the Church,‡ and consultations with the Envoys, regarding the Burgundian proposals, took place almost daily.§ The difficulties of the expedition were clearly perceived by Pius II., who studied day and night how to overcome them, and the reproaches and objections of the French King, who again threatened Christendom with a Council, only served to inflame his zeal.‖

* MANSI, Orat., II., 168–79; VOIGT, III., 687 *seq.*; MENZEL, VIII., 31 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 285.

† PII II. Comment. 341; CUGNONI, 229–30; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 200, 3rd ed.

‡ **Report of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 1. State Archives, Milan.

§ See the Despatches of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 26 and Oct. 3. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ See the **Report of the Milanese Envoys of 1st Oct., 1463 (State Archives, Milan), and a **Letter from the same, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10, quoted in above note ‡. In this Letter are the following words: "Signore, la Sua Sta ha l'animo molto ardente a questa impresa."

On the 6th October, in an assembly composed of the Cardinals and Envoys, the Pope laid down the following regulations in regard to the Crusade :—The war, he said, is to be undertaken in the name of God, and under the banner of the Holy Cross. A supreme leader is to be chosen on behalf of the Church, and is to be obeyed by the others. The spoils are to be divided according to the service rendered by each. As the Duke of Burgundy will set forth next May, every one is to be ready at that time, and furnished with provisions for a year. In order to avoid differences, a monetary exchange was to be established. All the Envoys, with the exception of the representative of Venice, agreed to these arrangements. He, however, objected to the disposition of the spoils, and to fighting under the banner of the Church. Before the Assembly broke up the Pope asked those present whether any answer regarding the tax of the thirtieth had been received from their governments. Only Lucca and Bologna replied in the affirmative ; the others hoped to receive a reply by the next despatch.*

The negotiations were extremely protracted. The Florentines made more excuses than any of the other powers ; Pius II. perceived very clearly that they meant to

(Ambrosian Library.) The Sienese Envoy, L. Benvoglienti, also wrote on the 7th Oct., 1463 : "*El santissimo padre ad questa sancta et gloriosa impresa ci viene molto animoso et volenteroso . . . et se per se medesmo el potesse fare non richiedarebbe altro aiuto ne di genti ne di denari." State Archives, Siena.

* See the **Letter of Giacomo d'Arezzo of the 10th Oct., 1463 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the **Despatch of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 7. (State Archives, Siena.) The **Report of the Milanese Envoys of 1st Oct., 1463, mentions the opposition of the Venetians, who would not accept the decision regarding the spoils, nor "quello capitolo quod omnes debeant militare sub vexilo ecclesie." State Archives, Milan.

do as they had already done at Mantua.* Milan, too, shewed but little zeal.† The Pope was greatly pained by the conduct of his native city, "for which he had done and suffered so much."‡ As long as it was possible they deferred giving any decided answer. Notwithstanding repeated and urgent remonstrances from the Pope, November had arrived, and still no instructions had been received by the Sienese Envoy. On the 5th of that month he informed his government that others besides the Pope were astonished at their conduct. On the 12th, he again wrote, adding that Pius II. was extremely indignant that they who ought to have been first were the last in this matter. After endless negotiations they finally made up their minds to pay 10,000 ducats, excusing themselves from a larger contribution on the plea of poverty.§

Meanwhile the Commission of Cardinals were taking strenuous measures to collect the necessary funds. Tithes, twentieths, and thirtieths were to be levied throughout all the States of the Church; all superfluous ornaments, chalices, &c., were to be sold, and a contribution was to be laid upon all convents without exception. The Crusade was to be

* See the **Despatches of O. de Carretto and Aug. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10 and 19 (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*). The **Letters of the Florentine government to their Roman Envoys, dated 1463, Oct. 1, 6, 15, 17, 24, and Nov. 5, 12, 19, manifest their strong dislike to the Crusade.

† **Report of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 16. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See VOIGT, III., 691. The Sienese Envoy was expressly charged to enter into no "promissione, obligatione o vero conclusione;" see **Nota substant. al sp. L. Benevolenti, dated 1463, Sept. 12. State Archives, Siena, Instr., VIII.

§ PII II. Comment. 342. See the **Despatches of 'L. Benevolti,' dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 9, Nov. 5, 12, 23. State Archives, Siena, Conc.

published throughout the world, and all Indulgences, but those granted on its behalf, were to be suspended.*

On the 19th October, 1463, the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy entered into an alliance with Venice, by which each of the contracting parties undertook to prosecute the war against the Turks, with all the resources they had, from a period of from one to three years, and only to conclude peace by common consent. Pius II. also promised that when the Duke of Burgundy came to Italy he would himself set out with him.†

It was evident that if other distinguished princes could also be induced personally to take part in the Crusade, as their forefathers had done in the happier days of faith, its importance would be greatly enhanced. Pius II. did his best to win such adherents to the cause. In the first instance he applied to his friend and ally, the Duke of Milan, and afterwards to the Kings of Castile and Portugal.‡

Francesco Sforza gave an evasive answer, to the bitter disappointment of the Pope, who had hoped to be able to announce the co-operation of this powerful Prince in the Bull which was to make the Crusade known to the whole

* *Letter of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 6. Ambrosian Library.

† Conventio celebrata Rome sumende expeditionis contra Mahometh Turcum christ. religionis hostem inter B^m in Christo patrem et D. D. Pium II., S. Pontif., ill. principem Philippum ducem Burgundie et ill. D. Christoph. Mauro ducem et inclytum dom. Venet., State Archives, Venice, Commem. XV., f. 91b–93. The Treaty begins: In nomine Dom. Cum S. in Christo pater . . . Pius II., considerans persecutiones et mala, &c. The principal parts are given by VAST, 270, where, instead of "S. D. vir Pius II.," should be read: S. D. noster. See also **Cardinal Gonzaga's letter of the 17th Oct., 1463. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Epist., 47–9, ed. Mediolan.

of Christendom.* This Bull had already been approved in a Secret Consistory on the 5th October; and to delay its publication was scarcely possible, for the Burgundian Envoys were anxious to depart, and a pestilence had broken out in Rome.†

Accordingly, in the evening of the 21st of October, the Pope summoned the Cardinals and the Italian Envoys to his palace, and called upon them solemnly to bind themselves to carry out the Decree of Mantua on the contributions for the war. All present, first the Envoys of the King of Naples, then those from Milan, Modena, Mantua, Bologna, and Lucca, consented. Details as to the time and the manner of collecting the funds were not discussed. The Florentine and Sienese Envoys were not present at this meeting, not having yet received instructions from their governments. Genoa, Savoy, and Montferrat were not even represented at the Congress!‡

On the morning of the following day, Saturday, the 22nd October, a Public Consistory was held in presence of the whole Court and of all the Envoys. Goro Lolli read the Bull of the Crusade in which the Pope solemnly announced that he and the Duke of Burgundy would take part in the Holy War. Immense spiritual favours were promised to

* **Report of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 19. Ambrosian Library.

† Besides the Report cited in preceding note, see a *Despatch from the same Ambassadors of 6th Oct., 1463 (Ambrosian Library), and a *Letter from them both, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 21, in the State Archives, Milan. The first outbreak of the Plague is mentioned by L. Benvoglienti in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 7. State Archives, Siena.

‡ See the **Letter of the Milanese Envoys of 21st Oct., 1463 (Ambrosian Library). Also a second *Despatch of the same Envoys, written on the same day, now in the State Archives of Milan; where there is also a *Copy of the Deed by which Milan undertook to carry out the Taxation Decree of Mantua.

all who should support it. Those who should personally join the expedition, and remain in the field for at least six months, as well as those who should give money according to their power, were to gain a Plenary Indulgence. High and low were called upon in impassioned words to come and join the expedition. "O stony-hearted and thankless Christians! who can hear of all these things, and yet not wish to die for Him Who died for you. Think of your hapless brethren groaning in captivity amongst the Turks or living in daily dread of it. As you are men, let humanity prompt you to help those who have to endure every sort of humiliation. As you are Christians, obey the Gospel precept which bids you love your neighbour as yourself. Think of the miseries inflicted on the faithful by the Turks. Sons are torn from their fathers, children from their mother's arms, wives are dishonoured before the eyes of their husbands, youths are yoked to the plough like cattle. Take pity on your brethren, or, in any case, take pity on yourselves; for the like fate is hanging over you, and if you will not assist those who live between you and the enemy, those who live further away will forsake you also when your turn comes. You Germans who will not help the Hungarians, how can you expect assistance from the French—and you Frenchmen how can you count upon the aid of the Spaniards if you do nothing for the Germans? With what measure you mete the same shall be measured to you again! The ruin of the Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, of the Kings of Bosnia and Rascia, and other princes who have been overpowered, one after another, proves how disastrous it is to stand still and do nothing. As soon as Mahomet has subdued the East, he will quickly master the West."*

* ÆN. SYLV. Opp., 914–23; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 29–40; and VIGNA, II., 1, 189–204, 169; MENZEL, VIII., 32; HEINEMANN, 26;

Two full hours were devoted to the reading of the Bull: the Pope then announced, for the satisfaction of the Romans, who were extremely averse to his departure, that he would appoint a spiritual as well as a secular Legate, and would confer on him ample powers during the time of his absence. Further, the Chancery, the Apostolic Treasury, the Rota, and the Grand Penitentiary would remain in Rome, so that the faithful might suffer no inconvenience from his absence.

Many people up to this time had looked upon the whole affair as an impracticable dream, but the publication of the Bull produced a great change of feeling. A general opinion began to gain ground that if the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy were spared, the enterprise might be both successful and glorious. The Milanese Envoys concluded their report with the words: "May God, whose cause is at stake, grant long life to the Pope and the Duke."*

In this Bull Pius II. took his stand as head of the Christian Religion, and protector of humanity, liberty, and civilisation. It was at once promulgated in all directions. Nuncios, Collectors, and preachers of the Crusade were also appointed, not only for the whole of Italy, but for most of the other States of Europe.† All Europe resounded

VOIGT, III., 692; JANSSEN, I., 522 *seq.* (13th and 14th ed.). ZINKEISEN, II., 286, is wrong in giving the 19th October, and HAGENBACH, 33, in mentioning the 11th November, as the date of the Bull. Regarding the publication of the Bull, which was at once printed at Mayence by Fust and Schöffer (there is a copy in the Court Library at Aschaffenburg), see the *Report of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 23. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* *Letter of Aug. de Rubeis and O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25. Ambrosian Library.

† PII II. Comment. 1, XIII.; in VOIGT, II., 360, see III., 704 *seq.* Numerous appointments of Collectors are recorded in *Regest. 519.

with the cry of the Holy War. The Minorites were foremost in this work, while the Nuncios were indefatigable in calling on the people to render assistance, and in urging their rulers to support the cause.* Their success fell far short of what had been hoped. Those in high places had lost the enthusiasm "which in the Middle Ages had drawn the Christian world to flock to the scenes where our Saviour had lived and shed His Blood." Scarcely a trace remained of the "chivalrous spirit which made men willing to devote their lives to the rescue of the Holy Places out of the hands of the Infidels."† Only the middle and lower classes responded, and this chiefly in Germany. In many parts there, the excitement was so great that, as the Hamburg Chronicle tells us, "the people forsook their waggons and ploughs to hasten to Rome to take arms against the Turks."‡

During the later months of the year 1463, Pius II. had to carry on wearisome negotiations with the Florentine, Mantuan, and Sienese Envoys, in order to obtain some assistance from the States they represented.§ The Plague was raging in Rome, many of the Cardinals fled, but the Pope, although suffering much from gout, remained, and sought by every means in his power to promote the great

(Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See in Appendix N., 60 and 61, the extracts from Cod. 33 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves.

* BACHMANN, I., 496 *seq.* An account of the preaching of the Crusade in Flanders is given by KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, V., 80; N. DELLA TUCCIA and the Diario Nepesino, 137, speak of it in Italy. For further information regarding the Minorites, see WADDING, XIII., 343 *seq.*

† HEINEMANN, 27.

‡ Hamburg. Chroniken, 257; JANSSEN, I., 523, note 2 (13th and 14th ed.). See also Städtechroniken, XIV., 810, and *infra*, p. 352 *seq.*

§ The perpetual delays often incensed the Pope. See the *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 23, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

cause he had at heart.* He promised to fit out three Triremes and several transports at his own expense, seven of the Cardinals undertook each to provide a Galley, and the others gave hope of further assistance. Among the Italian powers, Borso d'Este, Lodovico of Mantua, and the Republics of Bologna and Siena, engaged themselves to furnish two triremes; Cosmo de' Medici and the Lucchese each one trireme; and Genoa eight large vessels.† On

* With regard to the plague, see Card. Gonzaga's letters, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25 and Nov. 9 (El timor è grande); *Letters from B. Marasca, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 9; and from J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25, Nov. 10; all of which are in the Gonzaga Archives. On the 5th Nov., 1463, Carretto and A. de Rubeis wrote: "La peste qui ogni di e majore et e appizata in le principale case de cardinali, de prelati et citadini et molti ne sono fuziti et la Sta di N. S. ha mandato li duj piu gioveni nepoti a Pienza." State Archives, Milan. Scarampo fled to Florence, and, when the Plague broke out in that city, to Prato. See his *Letter to "Catherina de Ursinis," dated ex Prato, 1463, Dec. 19, complaining of "questa execranda peste," which prevented his return to Rome (Gaetani Archives, Rome). L. Benvoglienti, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 12, speaks of Pius II. as suffering from the gout. State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. in Voigt, II., 364. In a *Despatch of 10th Jan., 1464, the Milanese Envoy gives higher numbers. According to *Sen. Mar. VII., f. 168 (State Archives, Venice), ships were got ready in Venice by Cardinals Bessarion, Barbo, Gonzaga, Scarampo, and d'Estouteville, as also by the Bolognese and Duke Borso. See Sanudo, 1179. From Raynaldus, ad an. 1464, N. 37, we learn that R. Borgia also prepared a Galley. With regard to the Pope's promises, see also a *Letter from O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 6 (Ambrosian Library). Borso seems on this occasion to have intended honourably to fulfil his engagement: by a *Proclamation issued on the 10th May, 1464, he called upon experienced oarsmen to offer themselves for the war-ships, and undertook to pay them well. I found this Document in Arch. Comm. at Ferrara. On the 26th March, after Pius II. had consented to the levy of the Tithes by the Commune, it was decided that Lucca should send a Trireme; see State Archives, Lucca, Arm. 44, N. 9, f. 159.

the 5th November, 1463, a Decree was published, requiring all the officials of the Roman Court, of whatever degree, to contribute a tenth part of their income for the expenses of the Turkish war.* A tax was at the same time imposed on all who should receive benefices within the ensuing six months,† and it was decided that the property of all Prelates dying during the continuance of the Holy War should be devoted to defraying its expenses.‡

A special Treasurer was now appointed to manage the moneys for the Crusade, and this duty was confided to the care of Niccolo Piccolomini, private Treasurer to the Pope His Crusade Account Book, bound in red morocco, and bearing on its cover the cross and the arms of Pius II., is still preserved.§ It commences in November, 1463, and is continued until after the death of the Pope. Receipts as well as payments are accurately entered. The charge made by the personal enemies of the Pope, that he had neglected to make due preparations for the Crusade, is here disproved by documentary evidence. Between the 15th November, 1463, and the 10th April, 1464, 27,255 ducats were expended for this purpose. From the be-

* Papal *Mandate of the 31st Oct., 1463, published on the 5th Nov., Barberini Library, XXXV., 94, f. 187.

† *Bull, "Pastor providus," dated Romae, 1463, prid. non., Nov. A° 6°, published on the 5th Nov., in the Codex f. 187b, cited in preceding note.

‡ *Bull, "*Ad exequendam," dated Romae, 1463, iv. Id. Nov. A° 6°, *ibid.*, f. 188b. This Bull is mentioned by J. P. Arrivabene in a *Despatch of the 10th Nov., 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

§ In the State Archives, Rome, the record opens with the words: "*Al nome sia dello omnipotente idio e della sua madre, &c. Questo libro e fatto per tutti li denari che si coglieranno e pageranno per la crociata, il quale libro sara scripto per me Nicolo de Piccoluomo Piccogliuomini cubiculario di N. S. e depositario fatto per la Sua Sta." The account book of the Pope's private coffer, also kept by N. Piccolomini, is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Introitus et Exit. Pii II., N. 458. See GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

ginning of the new year the amounts paid out became larger. In January, 5000 ducats were spent on provisions; in February, 4500 for the hire of vessels from Rhodes, and 1000 for the Galleys to be fitted out at Pisa; the same sum occurs again in March; in May it rises to 2500 ducats. In that month no less than 12,639 ducats were disbursed, and by August the sum total amounted to 62,309.*

"The Holy Father," writes the Sienese Envoy on the 12th November, 1463, "is indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of the Crusade. His Bull on the subject has been sent into all Christian countries, and will, I believe, lead many to take part in it. God has indeed sent this Pope for the salvation of His people, whose Princes have forsaken them, and left them a prey to the attacks of the Turks." The Envoy then enumerates all the efforts which Pius II. had made from the beginning of his reign, and the obstacles which he had encountered, and rejoices at the alliance entered into with Burgundy, Venice, and Hungary. "If," he concludes, "the Pope had not taken all these precautions, we should have been worse off now than in the time of the invasion of the Barbarians."†

The Turkish question was at this time the predominant subject in all the Pope's negotiations and interviews with the representatives of foreign powers. In the beginning of November, he said to the Sienese Envoys: "In consequence of the lukewarmness and negligence of Christian Princes, I am constrained to place myself at the head of the Crusade. If we allow the Turks to advance, as they have done of late

* If we add together all the money disbursed up to September, 1464, the result comes to 106,327 ducats since the previous November. Deducting the 40,314 ducats paid to the Doge on the 17th August, and the 1800 and 1904 in September, we arrive at the figures given in the text.

† **Letter of L. Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 12. State Archives, Siena.

years, we shall soon all be subjugated. I will do what is in my power; God will help me!"*

The zeal of Pius II., and his anticipations of success, received a fresh impulse from the good tidings which came from Greece. General Bertoldo of Este had commenced operations in July, and all the Greeks and Albanians throughout the Peloponnesus had at once risen in arms. Vostitza and Argos were recovered, and in a fortnight the intrenchments of the Hexamilion were restored. When the Pope was informed of these events by Bernardo Giustiniani, the Venetian Envoy, he immediately summoned a Consistory, and announced the victories in an enthusiastic address.†

By the middle of November the death of the Prince of Tarento had almost brought the war in the Kingdom of Naples to an end; and the main hindrance to the Crusade being thus removed, great hopes for the future were entertained.‡ The expectation that Ferrante I. would himself take part in the expedition proved delusive. The Pope then tried to obtain the 60,000 ducats which his father had left by will for the Turkish war, but only succeeded in inducing Ferrante to send half the amount in the following March.§

On the 25th of October, Pius II. had addressed a stirring

* **Letter of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 5. State Archives, Siena.

† MALIPIERO, 17; SANUDO, 1174; HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 623; ROMANIN, IV., 315 *seq.* See also the Letter from the State Archives of Siena, cited in preceding note. B. Giustiniani was recalled in the beginning of November, 1463: *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 199. State Archives, Venice.

‡ See the **Letters of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 23, 27, Dec. 5 (State Archives, Siena.) For the end of the war, see *supra*, p. 122 *seq.*

§ *Despatches from O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, March 10,

Brief to Cristoforo Moro, the Doge, calling on him to join the Crusade in person.* When the matter came under discussion at Venice, the Doge made difficulties on account of his advanced age, and his want of experience in naval affairs, which made Vittore Capello exclaim: "If your Excellency will not embark of your own free will, we will use force, for we value the welfare and the honour of this country more than your person." The final decision was that the Doge must proceed with the fleet, but four military councillors were given him; and, by his desire, Lorenzo Moro, Duke of Candia, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet.† It was also determined that an attempt should be made on the Sultan's life.‡ Preparations for war were carried on with all possible speed; Ambassadors were sent to France and to Burgundy, and negotiations were begun with Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans.§

and Siena, 22nd March. (State Archives, Milan.) In a *Despatch to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua, dated Florence, 1464, March 2, Ant. Ricavo speaks of the Pope's energetic efforts in this matter. (Gonzaga Archives.) See the *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 18, *loc. cit.*

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 41; SANUDO, 1175–76; MALIPIERO, 18 *seq.* The Brief of the 25th of October to the Doge has lately appeared as a separate publication, from a Manuscript in the Chapter Library, at Verona, by Giuliari: Breve di Pio II. al doge della republ. Veneta, Verona, 1886.

† See MALIPIERO, 21 *seq.*; SANUDO, 1174; and especially **Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 200; and **Maggior Consiglio Deliberaz., Vol. XVIII., Regina, f. 46b–47b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ LAMANSKY, 17.

§ Regarding the preparations, see the *Letter to Pius II., dated 1463, Dec. 4, Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 210; *ibid.*, f. 212–13. Nic. de Canali was sent to France, and M. Donatus to Burgundy, 1463, Dec. 9. (State Archives, Venice.) Concerning the relations with Usunhassan, see BERCHET, Venezia e la Persia, p. 3, 102; also BERCHET, Nuovi docum. e regesti, 36 *seq.*, Venice, 1866.

Good news had, meanwhile, been received from the King of Hungary. At the end of September he had led his army across the Save, and invaded Bosnia, then advanced by forced marches to the very walls of Jaitza. On the 1st October this important city was retaken; the Citadel held out till December. The severe winter and the utter devastation of the country alone hindered the further advance of King Matthias.*

Venice zealously supported the King, in the hope that the Turkish forces, being fully occupied on the Danube and the Save, their action in the South would be hampered. But the power of the Sultan was so great that these anticipations were disappointed. Misfortune after misfortune overtook the Venetians. Bertoldo died of his wounds, the rising in the Peloponnesus subsided, and sickness broke out. The siege of Corinth and of the Hexamilion had to be abandoned, and the arrival of a Turkish army, 80,000 strong, soon reversed almost all the previous success.†

The Venetian disasters were far from unwelcome to the Duke of Burgundy. He gladly took advantage of this opportunity to express his misgivings, and defer his departure for two months. Pius II., however, was not inclined to tolerate his delay. "On three successive days he wrote to the Duke to encourage him, and keep him to his purpose."‡

In Venice, as in Rome, the Duke of Burgundy's change of mind caused much surprise; and it was decided that Marcus Donatus should be sent to remonstrate with him on behalf of the Republic.§ Warlike preparations were pushed

* ZINKEISEN, II., 159; KLAIČ, 441; HUBER, III., 210.

† HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 586 *seq.*

‡ VOIGT, III., 698.

§ Marco Donato oratori ad ducem Burgundie, 1464, Febr. 1; Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 227; see XXII., f. 5b, *Letter to the same, written on the 17th March, 1464. State Archives, Venice.

on, and Sigismondo Malatesta was taken into the Venetian Service. The report that negotiations for peace were in progress between Venice and the Porte was denied by the Envoys of the former power.*

When the Pope declared that he would proceed without the Duke of Burgundy, Venice also resolved not to be deterred by his defection.†

From the month of September the personal co-operation of the Duke of Milan had been under discussion. Notwithstanding the evasive answer given by Francesco Sforza,‡ the Pope made repeated efforts to win him to the cause. The position of the Milanese Envoys was at this time a difficult one. Francesco Sforza blamed them for not having kept him sufficiently informed of all that passed at the Roman Court, and especially of the Pope's alliance with Venice; and they, in a long letter, endeavoured to shew that his reproaches were undeserved.§ On the other hand, they were obliged continually to find excuses to make to the Pope for their master's failure to take part in the Crusade.‖ From the correspondence of this period we learn that many in Rome were of opinion that the only object of the Doge of Venice, in promising to join in

* *L. Fuscareno oratori ad S. Pontif., 1464, March 23; Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 7b. (State Archives, Venice.) Regarding S. Malatesta, see SATHAS, Doc. I., 242 *seq.*

† **Oratori nostro ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xxiii., Martii; Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 8b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ Printed in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., 865 *seq.* See also the *Instruction to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1463, Oct. 24. A copy is in the State Archives, Milan.

§ **Letter of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 16. The original, unfortunately much damaged, is in the State Archives, Milan.

‖ See especially the *Report of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463. Nov. 18. State Archives, Milan.

the war, had been to exclude the Duke of Milan.* In December, 1463, the Pope endeavoured to induce Francesco Sforza at least to undertake to appear in person later on, and the Envoys deemed it advisable not to destroy all such hopes, although they well knew that their master had no intention of the sort.† For a long time the preaching of the Crusade was forbidden in the Milanese dominions on the pretext of the Plague.‡ When Francesco Sforza, after continued pressure on the part of the Pope, at last promised to send 3000 men under the command of his son, the promise was not made in good faith. Later on, it was discovered that he had even "been working at the French Court to dissuade the Duke of Burgundy from the expedition."§

The Duke of Milan was at this time occupied with very different matters from the defence of Christendom. "While Venice was most deeply involved in the Eastern war, and was compelled after her reverses to send fresh forces to the scene of action, Sforza seized the opportunity to try to gain Genoa and Savona over to his side. The naval supremacy of Venice would be seriously threatened by an alliance between a great Italian power and these important maritime cities."‖ The negotiations were brought

* *Letter of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 20. State Archives, Milan.

† Report of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 10. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated ex urbe die, xxv. Jan., 1464. The collection of tithes in the Milanese territory was not permitted until March; see the *Despatch of Paganinus, dated Senis, 5 Martii, 1464. Both these documents are in the Ambrosian Library.

§ MALIPIERO, 27; VOIGT, III., 702; GINGINS, Dép. des amb. Mil., I., p. 7. Regarding Sforza's promises, see SIMONETA, 764, and the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 22. State Archives, Milan.

‖ VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; see BUSER, Beziehungen, 115 *seq.*

to a successful conclusion on the 22nd December, 1463. In the beginning of February the news reached Rome, the Pope having, up to that time, been entirely ignorant of what was going on. At the Papal Court Sforza was believed to have promised that the French King should be made Emperor. Pius II. declared to the Milanese Envoy that he would suffer martyrdom rather than permit such a thing to take place.*

These proceedings in Upper Italy not only dealt a heavy blow to Venice, but seriously hindered the war against the Turks. The Republic of Genoa had promised to furnish eight large transports which were urgently required; there was now no hope that these would be forthcoming.†

The disinclination of Florence for the Turkish war was much more openly expressed. The Milanese Envoy, writing on the 11th June, 1463, says: "It is here considered a misfortune that the Turks have conquered Bosnia; but it is not considered to be amiss that the Venetians should have met with a repulse."‡ The opposition of the Florentines to the Crusade was very evident in the instructions given to their Envoy at Rome. The proposals which he was empowered to make were thoroughly unsatisfactory; § and when the grant of troops and money could no longer in honour be delayed,

** Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 3rd Febr., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) On the *17th June, 1464, Carretto writes: "many at the Roman Court are of opinion that Louis XI. has promised, in return for the support given to his projects for obtaining the Empire, to make the Duke of Milan King of Italy." State Archives, Milan.

† Pii II. Comment., lib. XIII.; VOIGT, II., 369, and III., 702.

‡ BUSER, Beziehungen, 113. Cosmo, in his private capacity, undertook the arming of a Galley (VOIGT, III., 703); it is, however, certain that he did not intend to have anything to do with the Holy War.

§ *Commissio dom. Ottonis oratoris ad S. Pontif. delib. die x. Dec., 1463, X.-1-53, f. 120b-121. State Archives, Florence.

it was made as small a one as possible.* Hatred of Venice was so deeply rooted in the City that the tidings of disaster which came from Greece were joyfully welcomed.† A Florentine chronicler even declares that his countrymen handed over to the Sultan intercepted letters from the Venetians, explaining the plans of the Signoria.‡

The evident disinclination to forward his undertaking among even most of those nearest to him, was very discouraging to the Pope. In the States of the Church the collection of money for the Crusade was opposed by the laity as well as the Clergy. Pius II. was constrained formally to impose contributions, and to insist on their payment. "The spirit of cheerful sacrifice on which he had reckoned was quite wanting. In Corneto, for instance, when he ordered ship biscuits to be prepared, he heard that the Commune meant to levy a mill-tax on the flour employed." Threats of an Interdict were required to make the wealthy city of Perugia do her part.§ The Bolognese had made the fairest promises; they were only required to provide two Galleys, but even this demand was thought excessive. The Cardinals were very slow in getting their Galleys fitted out. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that no decisive measures could be contemplated for the moment.‖

* See the complaints of Pius II. in his *Brief to Fr. Sforza, dated Petriolo, 1464, April 23 (Ambrosian Library), * "Qui sono molto pigri a provedere a danari della XXX^ma.^" A. Acciaiuoli writes to his son James, on the 16th June, 1464, from Florence. C. Strozz., 138, f. 28. State Archives, Florence.

† Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1464, June 13. State Archives, Milan.

‡ HAMMER, II., 550.

§ VOIGT, III., 711 *seq.*; WADDING, XIII., 267 *seq.*; PERUZZI, 261.

‖ CHASTELLAIN, V., 49. Concerning Bologna, see the **Brief of 1st Febr., 1464, addressed to that City. State Archives, Bologna.

The most bitter of his many disappointments was yet in store for Pius II.: the Duke of Burgundy broke the vow by which he had bound himself to take part in the Crusade. The party of the Lords of Croix, who were opposed to the war, met with but little resistance from Philip, who was thoroughly enervated by his excesses.* In February, 1464, they brought about a meeting between him and the French King. The latter forbade the Duke, who was his vassal, to go to the war, alleging as a reason that the Pope's enterprise would only be to the advantage of the Greeks and the Venetians, and was not for the welfare of Christendom.† Philip now thought he had before him a way of breaking his vow and the treaty without disgrace.‡ On the 8th of March he caused his States to be informed that, at the command of the French King, he had been obliged to defer his Expedition for a year. His illegitimate son, Antoine, might, in the meantime, set out with 3000 men. Well-informed persons at once asserted that this offer of assistance would come to nothing. The event proved them to be in the right.§

Pius II. was at this time at Siena, whence, by the urgent advice of his physicians, he meant to proceed to the Baths

* **Report of A. Malleta, dated Carnot, 1464, April 29, Cod., 1611 of the Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris. Regarding the profligate life of the Duke, see also FRÉDERICQ, 19, 84.

† **Report of A. Malleta, dated Carnot, 1464, April 27. See also the **Letter of the same Envoy, dated Paris, 1464, March 11, *loc. cit.* In reference to the efforts made by Louis XI. to hinder the Duke of Burgundy from taking part in the Crusade, see also the notice from the Archives, given by KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE in his edition of the Chronicle of Chastellain, IV., 461; and Mém. de J. DU CLERCQ, V., c. 8.

‡ VOIGT, III., 707, 709.

§ **Report of Malleta of the 27th April, 1464, *loc. cit.*; and **Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, April 12. (Ambrosian Library.) VOIGT, III., 711; OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, III., 35 *seq.*

of Petriolo.* He was so ill that he had not been able to hold a single Consistory, and was harassed with anxiety lest the complications at Genoa should render the Crusade impossible.† From beyond the Alps the tidings which reached him were by means cheering. King René had set his face against the Collection of contributions from the clergy in his dominions, and had also appealed to a Council.‡ But the thing which most of all distressed the sick Pontiff was the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy. At first a change of purpose on the part of Philip had appeared to Pius II. hardly credible; once more he reminded him of "his public and irrevocable vow, and appealed to his honour." The Bull of Maundy Thursday threatened all Kings who should put hindrances in the way of the Crusade with Excommunication. This was aimed at the author of the Duke's defection. Philip's letter to the Pope, received on the following day, made doubt no longer possible, and Pius II. declared that its receipt coincided well with Passiontide.§

* The Pope had left Rome on the 6th February, 1464 (not as VOIGT, III., 570, states on the 4th): see PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, Cron. Rom., 29; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 89; *Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 6th Febr., 1464, State Archives, Milan; and *Acta Consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. He arrived at Siena on the 21st February. (*Letter from Paganinus, dated Siena, 1464, Febr. 25, State Archives, Milan. "La Sta di N. S. introe in questa cita a 21 del presente." The reading of the transcript of the 13th Book of the Comment., in the Corsini Library, which VOIGT, II., 373, rejects, is the correct one.) Regarding Petriolo, where Pius had sought relief from the gout in 1460 and 1462, see REUMONT, III., 1, 392, and the well-known work of PORTIOLI.

† Besides *Paganinus' letter of the 25th Febr., 1464, quoted in preceding note, see his *Despatch, dated Siena, 1464, March 5. State Archives, Milan.

‡ LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 541.

§ VOIGT, III., 710. See *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, March 27. State Archives, Milan.

At Easter he heard that the King of Hungary had received the consecrated sword with enthusiasm, but this brief joy was soon mingled with gall. Disastrous news came from the Morea; preparations at Venice were arrested by an outbreak of pestilence;* and, furthermore, a Turkish Envoy was reported to be on his way to that City with a view to negotiations for peace.†

"It might have been thought that the failure of so many efforts, and the disappointment of so many hopes, would have been enough to cool the zeal of the most ardent soul, and to wear out the patience of the most constant mind. But it was not so with Pius II. As difficulties multiplied, his unwearied diligence kept pace with them, and in proportion to the disregard of his exhortations, his voice grew louder, and its tones more penetrating."‡ On the 4th April, 1464, he went with much reluctance to the Baths of Petriolo. So greatly did he long to reach Ancona, that, as the Mantuan Envoy repeatedly declares, every day seemed to him almost as long as a year.§ His indignation with the Burgundians was intensified when the news arrived, on trustworthy authority, that no reliance was to be placed

* See the *Despatches of G. de Collis, dated Venice, 1464, April 2 and 7. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

† "*Qui si fa gran murmuratione come a Venecia deve venire uno ambasciator del Turcho." The Venetian Envoy declared that he would not be admitted to an audience. *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated ex Petriolo, 1464, April 18. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

‡ HEINEMANN, 24.

§ "*La S. d. N. S. hiermatina a hor. XV. parti da Siena (see *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican); ando a bagni (of Petriolo, where the Abbot of Einsiedeln went in quest of him; see HARTMANN, Annal. Heremi. Friburgi, 1612, p. 424 *seq.*) gli par ogni di uno anno esser in Ancona." *Letter of Ant. Ricavo to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua, dated Florence, 1464, April 5. On the 10th April, 1464, Ricavo again writes: *"Ogni di gli par uno anno esser in Ancona per esser a la vela." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

even on the Bastard's expedition.* The part played by the crafty Louis XI. in these affairs so incensed the Pope that at the end of April he spoke of Excommunicating him.†

Many of the Cardinals, especially those of French nationality, were of opinion that as Duke Philip was not coming, the Pope would be fully justified in staying at home.‡ Pius II., however, would not listen to this for a moment. Even those Envoys, who were averse to the undertaking, in their reports bear witness that the Pope was determined in any case to keep his promise, and go in person to Ancona, there to await his Galleys and the Venetian fleet, and then to proceed to Ragusa, where he hoped to join the King of Hungary and Skanderbeg.§

In the face of suspicions expressed at the time, and subsequently reiterated, it is important to observe that the Milanese Envoy was so thoroughly persuaded of the sincerity of Pius II. that he asked leave to settle his domestic affairs before entering on this long journey.‖ Indeed, after he had so solemnly announced his intention to the world, it would have been impossible, even if he had

* **Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, April 4. (State Archives, Milan.) See his *Letter, dated Rome, 1464, April 12. Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto ex Petriolo, 28th April, 1464. Regarding the hypocritical assurances given by Louis XI., see the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Febr. 8. Both documents are in the State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, March 27. (State Archives, Milan.) See Pii II. Comment., lib. XIII.; Voigt, II., 375.

§ *See O. de Carretto's despatches, dated Siena, 1464, March 27, April 4, May 2 and 3. State Archives, Milan.

‖ *O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Siena, 1464, May 3. Carretto adds that, after his request has been granted, he is ready to proceed to Turkey with the Pope, should such be the Duke's desire. State Archives, Milan.

wished it, for the Pope to draw back. On the 4th May Cardinal Forteguerri was appointed Legate of the Fleet. A few days later, he, with the Pope's nephew, Giacomo, went to Pisa to superintend the equipment of the Galleys; while on the 7th of May, Pius II. himself left Siena for Rome, where he arrived on the 19th.*

The agitation in the College of Cardinals, caused by the Pope's project, was extreme.† With the exception of Carvajal, Cusa, and Bessarion, few, if any, of its members were capable of appreciating or seconding the magnanimous resolve of the feeble Pontiff. The idea of following the army into these barbarous Eastern countries was absolutely intolerable to the majority of these ostentatious Princes of the Church. The French Cardinals were particularly opposed to the undertaking. Every possible effort was made to frustrate it. The dangers from the Plague, which was said to have broken out at Ragusa, and from the hostility of the Patarenes in Bosnia, were painted in the darkest colours.‡ The diplomatists joined their

* See O. de Carretto's *Letters, dated Siena, 1464, May 5, May 6; and the *Despatch of an Envoy (probably Caymus), who signs himself Raphael, dated Siena, 1464, May 7. (According to the *Acta Consist., in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Pope had reached Siena on the 1st May.) The same Envoy writes from Viterbo on the 15th May: "*to-day the Pope departed;" ex Bracciano, on the 17th May, Carretto reports that the Pope was obliged to keep his bed; on the 20th May follows the announcement from Rome that Pius II. had arrived on Saturday. This accords with the testimony of the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. Carretto's letters are in the State Archives, Milan.

† See the statements of O. de Carretto in his *Letter, dated Viterbo, 1464, May 15; a *Despatch from Paganinus, dated Siena, 1464, March 11; and a *Report of Gerardus de Collis, dated Venice, 1464, May 24. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Letter from O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, May 26. See also his *Report from Viterbo of May 15th, 1464. (State Archives, Milan.)

voices with those of the Cardinals, but all was in vain. Pius II. was not to be moved. None but the aged and sick among the Cardinals, and those entrusted with the affairs of government, were to remain in Rome. All the others were to accompany the Pope.* At the end of May he had a fresh attack of gout, accompanied by fever. It was generally considered impossible that he should endure the hardships of the journey. Nevertheless, he declared that he was quite determined to set forth on the promised expedition, even if he were to die by the way.†

A last attempt to detain the Pope was made on the 6th of June by the Duke of Milan's Envoy. He explained that his colleague at the French Court was preparing to mediate between Pius II. and Louis XI., and to persuade the King to give energetic support to the Crusade in the following spring. To secure this it would be necessary for the Pope to defer his expedition till then.

Pius II. understood only too well the real object of this proposition. The King of France had begun by treating him with the greatest insolence, threatening him with a Council, and other vexatious measures. He had also, by keeping back the Duke of Burgundy, done his best to render the Crusade impossible. As threats had proved

Scarampo's disinclination towards the Crusade is mentioned by Ant. Ricavo in a *Despatch to Marquess Lodovico, dated Florence, 1464, April 9. Gonzaga Archives.

* Besides Carretto's letter of the 26th May, cited in preceding note, see his *Despatch, dated Rome, 1464, June 6. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 20th May, Fr. Sforza caused T. de' Lelli, Bishop of Feltre, to represent to the Pope the perils attendant on the Crusade (morte, captivita, vergogna et insidie de falsi christiani, &c.). See *Letter of T. de' Lelli to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, May 28. Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 28th May, 1464, in Appendix, N. 62.

unavailing, he was now trying another way. From former experience the Pope had lost all confidence in the King's promises. "I have no doubt," he said to the Envoy, "that Louis XI. will allow the tithes to be levied, but in the end he will keep them for himself."*

That the Pope did not take an exaggerated view of the case is evident from the Reports of the Milanese Ambassador at the French Court. On the 26th May, writing from Paris, he says that the King is extremely incensed against the Pope, who would not gratify him in regard to the appointments of several Bishops. "The Papal Nuncio," Louis XI. declared, "gives himself unnecessary trouble; go and tell him in my name that I will not consent to the levy of the tithes, and that I have no further communication to make to him." He adds that "the King repeated this twice." In the course of the interview, Louis XI. also spoke of the King of Bohemia's agitation in favour of an anti-Papal Council. Hitherto he had not entered into this movement, but now he was expecting a fresh Mission to treat of this subject.† The representative of Milan expresses his conviction that, "unless something be shortly done to counteract these measures, a great scandal will arise, especially as the Pope will soon leave Rome to proceed against the Turks; I look upon it as certain that a General Council will be attempted."‡

* The above is from a detailed **Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, June 7. State Archives, Milan.

† **Letter of A. Malleta to Fr. Sforza, dated Paris, 1464, May 26, Cod. 1611 of the Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris. The Mission sent to bring about an alliance between France and the Hussites of Bohemia had left Prague on the 16th May. At its head were Marini and Albrecht Kostka of Postupitz, a Bohemian noble. For an account of their fate, see MARKGRAF, in Sybel's Zeitschr., XXI., 297 *seq.* See *supra*, p. 237 *seq.*

‡ "*Signore mio a mi pare che chi non provede presto a queste

Those immediately around the Pope united their remonstrances to those of the Cardinals and Ambassadors, but with no better success. Almost as soon as the fever had left him, Pius II. again declared that he would start on this expedition, even if it should cost him his life.* On the 11th June he appointed Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini his Vicar in Rome and the States of the Church.†

In the meantime the arrival of large bands of Crusaders in Italy was reported. The idea of a Pope leading the Crusade in person was peculiarly calculated to touch the lower classes in distant lands. Thousands from Germany, the Low Countries, France, and even from Scotland and Spain, flocked to Venice, Rome, and Ancona. The people had been greatly stirred by the Pope's appeal: "If the Princes and Nobles had been what they were three centuries earlier, all the West would have been aroused."‡ Those

facende che ne seguira grandissimo scandalo, maxime havendose el papa ad partire da Roma per andare contra el Turco et tengo per certo che costoro darano principio al concilio." Malleta, on the 26th May, *loc. cit.* Regarding the differences between Louis XI. and Pius II., see also *Malleta's letter, dated 1464, May 31, in the MS. already cited. National Library, Paris.

* "*La Sta Sua e in tutto liberata de la febre e dice volere partire fra otto giorni." O. de Carretto, ex palacio apost., xi. Junii, 1464. In a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1464, June 13, the same Envoy writes: "*Sua Sta dice vole andare se dovesse morire e con chi li dice il contrario se scoroza e dice che non hanno consideratione al honore suo e de la fede katolica si che ogniuno crede debi partire lunedi, benche li suoi cerchano de indugiare quanto puono." State Archives, Milan.

† *Regest., 517, f. 6–10: "Franciscus cardlis Senen. tit. S. Eustachii in absentia S. D. N. alme urbis et civit. S. Ro. Eccl. subdit. gubernator constituitur. Dat. Rome, 1464, tertio Id. Jun. A° 6°." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 151; VOIGT, III., 693, 713–4. To these authorities may be added N. DELLA TUCCIA, 269; Diario Nepesino, 140; Cron. Rom., 29; PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 862; CAMPANUS, 989; Cron. di

who came belonged chiefly to the lower ranks of society, and among them were numerous adventurers; many had neither arms nor money. To the Archbishop of Crete was given the double charge of inducing the useless ones to return to their homes, and of providing for those who were fit for war.*

It was also reported that some of the Saxon nobles were on their way with well-armed troops; letters were received in Rome, in which they complained of bad treatment from the Duke of Modena, and expressed their confident hope of finding the Pope at Ancona.†

Ill as he was, Pius II. could no longer be restrained; his friends and physicians might say what they would, the 18th of June was irrevocably fixed for the start.‡ On that day he took the Cross in the Vatican Basilica; commended himself and his cause to the intercession of the Princes of the Apostles; and in a short address, again declared "that it was absolutely necessary that he should set forth himself, in

Bologna, 757; Städtechroniken, VII., 407; Limb. Chronik., 115 (where, instead of 1466, read 1464). From the city of Ghent 300 Crusaders presented themselves, FREDERICQ, 44. See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Hist. de Flandre, V., 80. More than 2000 men came from Lübeck; see Lübeckische Chroniken, 2, 273–5. *"Vi concurse tanta gente tramontana che fo cosa incredible," says BROGLIO in his *Chronicle, f. 277b, Cod. D. III., 48. Gambalunga Library, Rimini.

* *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, June 6. (State Archives, Milan.) See Script. rer. Siles., IX., 74, 87. Nicolaus de Palude, dat. Pisauri, 1464, Julii 3, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the excesses of the rabble who had followed the Crusaders.

† Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, June 13. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Letter of Stephanus de Robiis, cancell. Papien., dated Rome, 1464, June 15. (State Archives, Milan.) The condition of the Pope was so serious that the next election was already spoken of in secret. *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dat. Rome, 1464, June 14. Ambrosian Library.

spite of his age and failing strength." Otherwise, he said, "nothing would be done." At Ancona he confidently expected to find not only the Doge but Sforza's two sons, with a splendid band of horsemen and foot soldiers, together with supplies from Siena, from Borso of Modena, and the Marquess of Mantua, from Bologna, Lucca, Ragusa, and Rhodes.*

Immediately after this ceremony Pius II. left the City.† "Farewell, Rome!" he exclaimed with emotion, "never will you see me again alive." The journey to Otricoli was made by water, as being easier to the Pope, who still

* VOIGT, III., 715. The Pope's discourse, omitted in Mansi, is given in the Anecd. Litt., III., 287–96, where a medal struck at the time is also mentioned: Pius II. is seated at the prow of a ship, holding in one hand the banner of the Cross, and with the other giving his blessing, with the motto: "Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici ejus."

† The first half of Pius II.'s journey, and his last days at Ancona, are described by Ammanati, as an eye witness, in a long letter (Epist. card. Pap., f. 22–28, in the Frankf. ed., ep. 41), to Card. Fr. Piccolomini (interfui singulis et usque ad supremum spiritum ab ore suo pependi). This interesting account accords almost literally with that in Ammanati's Commentaries, *loc. cit.*, f. 337b–343, Frankf. ed., 35–46. In both, the 18th of June is given as the day of the Pope's departure from Rome. This day is also mentioned by (1) TUCCIA, 269; (2) *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican; (3) *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; (4) *Despatch of J. de Aretio, dated Florence, 24th June 1464 (Gonzaga Archives); (5) Letter of the Archbishop of Crete, in Script. rer. Siles., IX., 91; (6) Diario Nepesino, 139. The date given by the inaccurate INFESSURA, 1139 (19th June), is erroneously adopted by PALACKY, IV., 2, 213; WEISS, III., 1514, 2nd ed.; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 201, 3rd ed., and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 149. BACHMANN, I., 502, makes Pius II. leave Rome on the 17th June, and then cites VOIGT, III., 715, where the correct date appears. The *Despatches from the State Archives, Milan, and the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which we shall quote, are valuable authorities regarding the Pope's journey. See also CAMPANUS, 989 *seq.*

suffered from gout and fever. He also slept on board the vessel, as every movement caused him pain, and mental distress was added to his bodily torments. Cardinal Forteguerri, who was supposed to be already on his way to Ancona, appeared on the second day after the Pope's departure from Rome, and reported that the Galleys at Pisa were not yet completely equipped. At the same time it became known that many of the Crusaders, who had started without resources, and with no idea of the difficulties to be encountered, were returning to their homes. To save the Pope as much as possible from such disheartening sights, the curtains of his litter were let down whenever a band of these fugitives passed by.

About 5000 Crusaders were on their way to Rome. Cardinal Cusa was sent to meet them, and the difficult task of keeping the impatient crowds at Ancona in order, and superintending their embarkation, was entrusted to Carvajal. Pius II. implored, rather than commanded, him to undertake it. "I alone," says Ammanati, "was present at the interview. Carvajal responded, as usual, bravely and heartily, 'Holy Father, if I am the man whom you consider most fit for such great things, I will at once obey your orders, and follow your example. Are not you risking your life for me and for your flock? You have written to me to come—here I am; you command me to go—I go. How can I refuse this little end of my life to Christ.'" Accordingly he started immediately for Ancona.*

The weakness of the Pope, and the intense heat, made it necessary to travel very slowly.† At Terni, Cardinals

* Besides this *Report of Ammanati's, see the *Letter from O. de Carretto, dated Spoleto, 1464, June 26. State Archives, Milan.

† "*Non camina piu che sey o sette miglia el giorno," writes Paganinus, on the 2nd July, 1464, from Foligno. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

d'Estouteville, Borgia, and Eroli joined the Pope's train. At this time a pestilence was raging throughout the neighbouring country, and at Spoleto Cardinal Ammanati fell sick.* In the fortress of that city there was a man from the East who professed to be the exiled brother of the Sultan, and many hopes were built on the help he was expected to give in the attack upon the Turks. In Venice, also, the identity of this precursor of the celebrated Dschem was believed, and he was allowed to join the Pope's company from Spoleto.† On the 3rd of July Assisi was reached, and on the 7th, Fabriano.‡ Here Count

* In consequence of this sickness the Cardinal only reached Ancona on the 25th July; see *Letter from S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25. (State Archives, Milan.) Also PAULI, 69. Regarding the Plague, see the *Letters of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, July 4 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *O. de Carretto, dated Bologna, 1464, July 4. State Archives, Milan.

† **Letter from Paganinus to O. de Carretto and C. Simoneta, dated Fabriano, 1464, July 10. (State Archives, Milan.) This brother of the Sultan's is said to have been brought first to Venice and then to Calixtus III.; see KNEBEL, II., 33. Then the *fratello del Turco* appears in an account of the 2nd May, 1459, in MÜNTZ, I., 298; see also Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 228b: *"1463 (st. fl.), die x. Febr. Ser. Ludovico Fuscareno doctori nostro ad Summum Pontificem. . . . Sicut videbitis in altera ex copiis litterarum prefati oratoris nostri mentio agitur de fratre Turci, qui dicitur esse in manibus summi pontificis. Propterea sumus contenti et volumus quod postquam summus pontifex intellexerit rem istam, detis honestam operam intelligendi mentem Beat. Sue circa hoc et que sit eius opinio faciendi de fratre dicti Turci et si verum est quod sit factus christianus, nos quamprimum letteris vestris certiores facietis. Nostis enim quod etiam aliter quam armis quandoque victoria parta est." State Archives, Venice.

‡ See the *Despatches of Paganinus, dated Assisi, 1464, July 3; Chron. Eugub., 1007; ACQUACOTTA, Mem. di Matelica, 148 (Ancona, 1838); and PELLINI, 677. Also the *Letter of G. Lolli, dated Fabriano, 1464, July 8. State Archives, Siena.

Federigo of Urbino met the Pope, and made a fresh attempt to dissuade him from proceeding any further; but Pius II., who was now somewhat better from the change of air, would not listen to him for a moment.*

At Loreto the Pope offered to the Blessed Virgin a golden chalice, bearing the following inscription: "Holy Mother of God, we know that Thy power is without limit, and Thy wonders fill the world; but, as it is Thy will to shew it forth, more especially in certain places, and Thou dost daily sanctify this acceptable spot of Loreto with Thy favours, I, a wretched sinner, turning to Thee with my whole heart, beseech Thee to cure me of this consuming fever and cough, and to restore strength to my failing limbs, in the desire and hope that this may be for the advantage of Christendom. Meanwhile accept this gift as a token of my homage. Pope Pius II., in the year of Salvation, 1464." †

By the time the Pope reached Ancona, on the 19th July, he was seriously ill. Many of the inhabitants mistrusted him, and dreaded his arrival, on account of the frequent differences which had arisen between him and the city.‡

The Pope took up his abode in the Episcopal Palace

* See the *Letter of Paganinus of the 10th July, 1464, which has already been cited. State Archives, Milan.

† TURSELLINUS, 117–18; KEYSSLER-SCHÜTZE, Reisen, 891 (Hanover, 1751); CIACONIUS, II., 1010; VOIGT, III., 717. Pius II.'s journey to Loreto is mentioned by S. Nardini in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza of the 14th July, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Pope arrived outside Ancona on the 18th, but did not make his entry until the following day; see CIAVARINI, I., 184; BROGLIO in the *Chronicle cited, *supra*, p. 353, MS. in the Gambalunga Library, Rimini, says, f. 277, Pius II. entered Ancona on the 19th July; so does Jacobus de Aretio in a *Letter, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) VOIGT, III., 718, is to be corrected by their statements. In regard to the alarm of the citizens, see *Letter

near the beautiful Cathedral Church of S. Ciriaco, which was built on the site of the Temple of Venus. The height on which this ancient Basilica stands commands a charming view of the old city, the picturesque line of coast, and the sea beyond. "The refreshing breezes which blow there, and the brilliant sunshine, seem like air and light from Hellas and the East."*

The first act of Pius II. was to order public prayers, and to send Cardinals Carvajal and d'Estouteville to quiet the Crusaders, most of whom were Spaniards or French, and spent their time in quarrelling with each other. The majority of them belonged to the poorest class, or were mere vagrants. They had set out without leaders, arms, or money, expecting to have everything provided for them by some miracle. They laid all the blame of their miseries on the Pope, but the summons of Pius II. had only been addressed to soldiers "well-armed, and fully provisioned for at least half a year."† The first thing to

of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 22. (Ambrosian Library.) PERUZZI, Ancona, 362, wrongly assigns the 13th and 14th July as the dates of the arrival and entry of Pius II. See *ibid.*, 364 *seq.*, for the justification of the Pope from the charge that he wished to take vengeance on Ancona. The manner in which the citizens manifested their dissatisfaction is described in the Chronic. Eugub., 1007. As to their former disputes with Pius II., there is an interesting *Brief addressed to the City (Dat. Romae, iii. Nov. A° 3°), preserved in the MS. of the Laurentian Library, mentioned, *supra*, p. 71. See also CIAVARINI, St. d'Anc., 116; and CRONICHE, I., 182–5. I saw in Lib. Croc. parvus, 9, of the Ancona Archives, the *Brief of 23rd March, 1461, which is here quoted.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 202. Some remains of the Bishop's Palace still exist. In January, 1883, it was being rebuilt. A plaster bust of Pius II. was the only memorial of him to be seen, and the Keeper of the Episcopal Archives informed me that they contained no Acts of the Pope.

† SIMONETA, 764; PERUZZI, Ancona, 362; VOIGT, III., 713.

be done was to separate those who were without means from those who were sufficiently equipped. This was the task of the two Cardinals, but they were empowered to grant the Crusade Indulgence to those who had to be dismissed, as though they had been accepted.*

Greater efforts even than those made in Rome were now used to detain Pius II. An Envoy, writing on the 22nd July, declared that the Cardinals, the whole Court, and those who immediately surrounded the Pope, were all opposed to his journey. The Cardinals appealed to the Election Capitulation which forbade the Court to be moved without their consent.† The physicians told Pius II. that if he embarked he would not live more than two days.‡ The Diplomatists pointed out the dangers which threatened the Churches of France and Bohemia; but the Pope informed them that he was not afraid of Louis XI., nor yet of the King of Bohemia, who had lately been summoned to give an account of himself; he was resolved to go.§

If the whole Pontificate of Pius II. was more or less a series of disillusions, their climax was reached in these last days of his life. "To the bodily torments of gout, stone, and fever was added the mental anguish of foreseeing that the humiliations of Christendom, and the dangers which

* **Letter of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28, State Archives, Milan (wrongly placed in Pot. Est., Roma, 1461).

‡ **Despatch of J. de Aretio to the Marchioness Barbara, at Mantua, written 25th July, 1464 (Gonzaga Archives); and **Letter from Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 1. State Archives, Milan.

§ *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 22. Ambrosian Library.

threatened it, would continue and increase." * The preparations for the expedition had proved so insufficient that it was not possible to think of starting at once.† The only power that was ready was Venice, and that was not trustworthy. The Milanese troops were promised, but they did not come. What Florence sent, after lengthened negotiations, was useless.‡ Few among the Cardinals fulfilled their promises. The death of the Pope seemed so near now that all thoughts were occupied with the approaching Conclave.§ The delusion under which Pius II. laboured, as to the possibility of the Crusade, can only be accounted for by his illness, which must have dimmed his naturally clear perceptions.

At Ancona the state of things became more and more serious. There was not sufficient house-room or water; and, with the great heat of the beginning of August, a pestilence

* K. A. MENZEL, VIII., 34.

† The common statement (which VOIGT, III., 712, adopts from Chastellain), that only two Galleys furnished by the Pope were ready at Ancona, is incorrect. The Chronicle of L. Bernabei in CIAVARINI, I., 184, mentions "quattro galle con molte fuste," which went to meet the Doge. *Carlo de Rodiano informs Marchioness Barbara, on the 19th August, 1464, that "sei nave de lo papa" are in the harbour at Ancona. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28; and a *Despatch from Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Florence, 1464, July 9. (State Archives, Milan.) The death of Cosmo de' Medici, which occurred on the 1st August, furnished a welcome pretext for withholding all assistance, although the tithes had been collected; see REUMONT, Hist. Schriften, 80 and 134. Pius II. sent his condolences to Piero de' Medici on the 8th August; see in Appendix, N. 63, the text of this "last letter from the dying Pope," from a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

§ Communications on the subject were made in cipher by S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464 ult. Julii. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

broke out, which not only carried off many of the Crusaders, but claimed many victims also from the Cardinals' households.*

Extreme was the dismay, when the news came from Ragusa that a large Turkish force was advancing towards the city, threatening it with complete destruction unless tribute were paid, and the vessels which had been promised to the Pope withdrawn. Pius II. at once embarked the 400 Archers, who composed his body-guard, in ships well-laden with corn. He then took counsel with Carvajal and Ammanati as to what should be done if Ragusa were besieged. Carvajal, ever ready to sacrifice himself in the service of God, offered to start that very night with the Galleys then lying in the harbour. "And what should hinder me from sailing with you?" said Pius II. "I am resolved to go, if the Turks advance and invest the place." The suffering Pope still believed in the moral effect his presence would have in striking terror amongst the Turks, and in attracting multitudes of Christians. Carvajal agreed with him.† "But poor creature that I am," says Ammanati, "I spoke strongly against this plan, for, weakened

* The idea of fleeing from the Plague was given up, for the whole of the March of Ancona was infected. Borgia was the only one who left, but he too fell ill. This was attributed to his irregular life; see our account, Vol. II., p. 455. Regarding the Plague, see the **Reports of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25, Aug. 7; and a *Letter from Joh. Jac. de Crema, fisico to Marquess Lodovico, dated Montexii ap. Florent., 1464, July 28. (Gonzaga Archives.) In 1464 the Plague raged not only in almost every part of Italy (NOTAR GIACOMO, 109; MASSARI, 44), but also in most of the other countries of Europe. See BACHMANN, I., 263; GEIGER, I., 217; STRICKER, Gesch. der Heilkunde, p. 7 (Frankfort, 1847). WOLTMANN, II., 181, mentions a painting by B. Gozzoli, having reference to this Plague. Regarding the distress in Ancona, see the same *Letter of J. de Aretio of 21st July, 1464. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† VOIGT, III., 719.

as I was with fever, I feared that I should die on the way." Carvajal and the Pope, however, adhered to their purpose, until, four days later, they heard of the departure of the enemy.

"Pius II. almost succumbed beneath the burden laid upon him by his zeal for the accomplishment of the holy work which he had undertaken. Worn out as he was with bodily suffering, the continued mental strain produced a distressing state of feverish excitement."* His agitation was increased by the unaccountable delay of Cardinal Forteguerri and the Venetians, whose ships he had so confidently expected. The Cardinal had at first been hindered by contrary winds; and on the 1st August tidings came that the Plague had broken out in his ships, and in consequence he could not arrive till at least twelve days later;† but the conduct of Venice was of itself enough to wreck the Crusade.‡

From the first, the views of the Republic had differed widely from those of the Pope. Pius II. had desired that common cause should have been made against the Infidels in a holy war; but to the Venetians, the defence of Christianity was a mere pretext, their real aim being the conquest of the Peloponnesus, a matter of extreme importance to their commercial interests.§ When they concluded their

* ZINKEISEN, II., 288.

† See *Despatch of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, July 4. (Gonzaga Archives.) *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28, and of Paganinus, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 1. State Archives, Milan.

‡ FREDERICQ, 44, has already justly observed: "Mais la peste, la famine et le mauvais vouloir des Vénetiens firent avorter cette expédition." In the following pages I give what seems ample proof of the dishonesty of Venice. The chief authorities on which I rest my statements are documents in the Venetian State Archives, which hitherto had remained unknown.

§ See *supra*, p. 315. A *Despatch from O. de Carretto, dated

alliance with the Pope, they may have flattered themselves that he might be led to connive at their purpose. As soon as it became evident that, looking at matters from a higher point of view, he was bent on uniting all Christendom in a common enterprise, their relations with Rome again became strained. Efforts on their part were not wanting to induce the Head of the Church to give up his independent attitude.* With a shew of zeal for the Faith the Venetian Envoy repeatedly represented the needs of Hungary to the Pope, and urged him to devote all his forces to the war on the mainland ; † Venice, herself, wishing to keep in her own hands the sole conduct of the naval operations.‡ In the middle of January, 1464, the Venetian

Rome, 1464, Febr. 3 (Ambrosian Library), shews the Roman Barons to have been of opinion that Venice only desired to reconquer the Morea, not to undertake any real Crusade.

* Fr. Sforza feared that this would actually be the case, and his Envoys in Rome expressed the apprehension to the Pope, who repeatedly declared that he neither had become a Venetian, nor ever would. *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 25. Ambrosian Library.

† *1463, Decemb. viii. Commissio viro nobili Ludovico Fuscareno . . . . oratori nostro ad S. Pontif. Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 211 ; see *ibid.*, f. 217–217b, Decemb. xxviii. Commissio L. Fuscareno, &c. State Archives, Venice.

‡ For this reason the Venetian Envoy made objections to the proposal that the fleet should sail under the banner of the Church, see *supra*, p. 328. On the 19th June, 1464, the Venetian Envoy to the Roman Court was instructed, if the Pope's departure should not take place, to represent to him the great outlay Venice had expended, and to beg that he would permit, "quod galee saltem rev. dom. cardinalium et aliorum dominorum et communitatum armari iam designate et promisse et pro quibus denarii iam sunt huc conducti et parati cum omni festinatione armentur *et simul cum nostris vadant ad inveniendum capitaneum nostrum generalem maris.*" Sen. Secr. XX., f. 19b. (State Archives, Venice.) *J. de Aretio, writing from Ancona on the 21st July, 1464, says that the Venetians caused the

Envoy urged that the number of Galleys intended to accompany the Pope should be reduced, and the money to be spent on them sent instead to Hungary. Pius II. replied that it would be more to the purpose if Venice were to abstain from arming a few of her own Galleys, and devote the money to Hungary; the number of those destined for the Pope was already less than befitted his dignity. This answer so incensed the representative of the Republic of St. Mark that he declared he had much rather the Pope should stay at home altogether.*

Venice continued to make every effort to carry out her purpose. Her Envoys were repeatedly charged to work in this direction, and to quiet the Pope by assuring him that the Republic would have more than forty triremes afloat, which he might look upon as his own, and which would always be completely at his disposal.†

The real worth of these promises was soon evident. In April, when the Bishop of Torcello, speaking in the Pope's

crews of the vessels which the Cardinals, the Bolognese, and others had fitted out at their own expense at Venice, to swear obedience to the Republic. Bologna was not satisfied with this. It was hoped that the Pope would interfere. Gonzaga Archives.

* *Letter of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 18. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 17th January, he had written the following words: *"Questo ambasciatore (of Venice) pare si trovi non ben satisfacto et ha avuto a dire che piu li seria caro che la Sta di N. S^re non andasse lei in persona et questa spesa che fa Sua Sta in questo suo aparato la facesse in gente d'arme, &c."

† "*Vestra itaque prudentia et modestia consueta curabitis rem istam, si ita esse possit, ad aliquem bonum effectum producere commemorando etiam ad vestra proposita pro quanto, ad diminutionem expense classis Sue Sanctitatis spectare potest, quod nos habebimus in mari ultra triremes XL^ta quas B. Sua proprias suas reputare poterit quoniam semper erunt et ad beneplacitum et ad obedientiam suam. Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 225. Oratori nostro ad S. Pontif., 1463 (st. fl.), Jan. 24." State Archives, Venice.

name, requested Venice to furnish means of transport for a portion of the Crusading army, the Signoria declared that their ships were for the moment employed in the convoy of troops to Greece, and that it would be better for the Crusaders to go by way of Hungary.* In the summer, when they began to arrive in considerable numbers in Italy, those who went to Venice did not find a single ship ready for them.† In January, forty triremes were to be placed at the sole disposal of the Pope; on the 21st of June, two ships for the transport of the soldiers, then in Ancona, were all that was promised.‡ But how was even this miserable promise kept?

Three weeks more went by; the Pope was at the gates of Ancona, but no Venetian ship had appeared. The Envoy who accompanied Pius II. was instructed to report upon the number of Crusaders then at Ancona, and the Pope was assured for his comfort that two large transports were in readiness at Venice.§ Another week elapsed before they were really sent. When they at length reached Ancona, on the 11th August, they found but a small number of Crusaders waiting to embark. For most of them, wearied with waiting, had left the city at the end of July.‖ According to Ammanati, this was the Pope's death-blow.

* **1464, die quinto Aprilis episcopo Torcellano. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 9b. State Archives, Venice.

† DETMAR'S Chronik, II., 274 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 714.

‡ **Oratori nostra ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xxi. Junii. Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 20b. In a *Letter to S. Malatesta, dated 1464, June 25, the Venetians speak of three large ships which would go to Ancona "quam primum," *ibid.*, f. 21b. State Archives, Venice.

§ **Ludovico Fuscareno doctori, oratori nostro ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xvi. Julii. Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 25. State Archives, Venice.

‖ "*Sono venute due navi da Venetia per passar gente quando sia bisogno." Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 11. (State Archives, Milan.) The unfavourable opinion entertained in

What interest in the holy cause could be expected from a government which, in the midst of the preparations for the campaign against the Turks, renewed their war on Trieste? In July, 1464, a detachment of Venetian troops invaded the territory belonging to that city, destroyed the salt works in the Valley of Zaule, and then retired.*

The delay of the Doge's departure was equally disgraceful. His reluctance to take part in the war was an open secret.† In Venice, however, where the interest of the State was predominant, his personal feelings would have signified little had there been a real desire for the Crusade. The representations made by the Venetian Envoy, at the end of April, to the Pope, would lead us to believe that such existed. Pius II. was urged to come to Ancona with all possible speed.‡ But at this very time, as a matter of fact, the only preparations that were being seriously pressed on were those for the war in Greece. The arming of the fleet, which was to sail with the Pope, proceeded so slowly that in June one of the Envoys was of opinion that it would never be completed.§ At the end of January the number of ships which were to

Ancona of the Venetians is evident from **S. Nardini's Despatch of 11th Aug., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) In his *Letter, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 10, J. de Aretio says that the greater number of the Crusaders had already departed. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) According to S. Nardini's *Letter of the 28th July, 1464, which we have cited above, only about 200 remained behind.

* LOWENTHAL, Gesch. von Triest, 70 (1857); BACHMANN, I., 531.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, May 26. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See the *Report of O. de Carretto, ex Petriolo, 25th April, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

§ *G. de Collis to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1464, June 17. (State Archives, Milan.) Regarding the preparations for the reconquest of the Peloponnesus, see *Senato Mar., Vol. VII. State Archives, Venice.

accompany the Doge was fixed at ten.* By the 12th July five triremes only were ready.† When once the Pope had reached Ancona, further delay would have given open scandal. Accordingly, it was at last determined, on the 26th July, that the Doge should put to sea on Sunday 29th;‡ but Cristoforo Moro still lingered, and a fresh summons on the 2nd August was required to make him leave Venice; even then he did not proceed straight to Ancona, but went first to Istria to complete the equipment of his vessels.§

The dissatisfaction caused at Ancona by all this delay was universal. Well-informed persons were of opinion that the Doge would not come;‖ and even after he had left Venice, the Duke of Milan was convinced that Cristoforo Moro would sail home again.¶

Pius II. was in a state of most distressing uncertainty, for, from the time of his arrival at Ancona, no communication regarding the Doge's movements had reached him from Venice.** Without the Venetian fleet it was evidently impossible to commence operations; had it "arrived in due

* **Decision of the 30th January, 1463 (st. fl.) S. Mar. State Archives, Venice.

† **Letter for Ludovico Fuscareno doctori, oratori nostro ad S. Pontif. dated 1464, Jul. 12, Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 24b, *ibid.*

‡ **Ibid.*, f. 26–27b.

§ MALIPIERO, 29; CICOGNA, VI., 576. On the 2nd Aug., 1464, the Doge informed the Envoy, in Hungary: *"quam primum discedamus profecturi ad urbem Anconae." Sen. Secr. XXII., 28b. State Archives, Venice.

‖ *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 11. Ambrosian Library.

¶ *Fr. Sforza to Malleta, dated Milan, 1464, Aug. 10, Cod. Ital. 1611. National Library, Paris.

** **Letter of J. de Aretio of the 25th July, 1464 (Gonzaga Archives), and *Despatch from S. Nardini to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 4. State Archives, Milan.

time, an attempt might have been made to secure the Dalmatian Coast and Ragusa, which was threatened by the Turks. Such had been the intention of the Pope and Carvajal. But day after day passed, and Pius II. grew daily worse." *

On the 11th August a slight improvement in the Pope's condition was apparent, though the fever still continued.† His vital energies seemed to rally for a time, when, at last, on the 12th August, the approach of the Venetian ships was announced. He desired that his Galleys with five of the Cardinals should go to meet them. Then, with great difficulty, he had himself carried to a window of his bedchamber, which looked upon the harbour and the sea. "A flood of despondency overwhelmed his spirit" as he watched the ships coming in, and, with a deep sigh, he murmured, "until this day the fleet was wanting for my expedition, and now I must be wanting to the fleet!" ‡

It was not long before death set the Pope free from his sufferings of mind and body. On the morning of the 13th August he received the Holy Viaticum, in the presence of

* REUMONT, III., 1, 151. The Ambassadors repeatedly declare that the Pope was unable to come to any further decision regarding the Crusade until the arrival of the Doge. See *Letters of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21, July 25, Aug. 7. In the last of these are the following words: * "Del andar contra el Turco questo anno lasso el iudicio a V. Ex. Da la parte de N. S. buono animo ce, se le forze del corpo ci fusseno, ma li medici gli danno per conseglio che rebus sic stantibus non entri in galea. Stimese che forse se fara per questo anno uno legato. Tutto depende da quello se concludera [a gap in the original] lo ser. duce sira qui. Mons. Niceno molti giorni fa arrivo qui . . . his Galley is molto bene in ordine." Gonzaga Archives.

† Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 11. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Pope was at this time too weak to attend to any business. *Letter of Maffeo Valaresso, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 12. Barberini Library, XXIX., 153, f. 582.

his household, and addressed them in words befitting the Vicar of Christ.* On the following day the Cardinals gathered round his death-bed. He gathered up his failing powers once more to impress upon their minds the holy work to which he had devoted his life. "My well-beloved Brethren," he said in his gentle and often broken voice, "my hour is drawing near: God calls me. I die in the Catholic Faith in which I have lived. Up to this day I have taken care of the sheep committed to me, and have shrunk from no danger or toil. You must now complete what I have begun but am not able to finish. Labour therefore in God's work, and do not cease to care for the cause of the Christian Faith, for this is your vocation in the Church. Be mindful of your duty, be mindful of your Redeemer, who sees all, and rewards every one according to his deserts. Guard the States of the Church also, that they may suffer no harm. Beloved Brethren, as Cardinal and as Pope I have committed many faults in my dealings with you. I have offended God, I have wounded Christian charity. For those offences may the Almighty have mercy on me; for that in which I have failed towards you, forgive me, beloved brethren, now, in the presence of death. I commend to you my kindred, and those who have served me, if they prove worthy. Farewell, Brethren! May the peace of God and heavenly grace be with you." The Cardinals listened in tears. For a long time not one could speak. At length Bessarion, in the name of all, made a short reply; they then knelt round the bed to kiss his hand.

The next day being the Feast of the Assumption, Pius II. wished again to receive the Blessed Sacrament, and his friend, Cardinal Ammanati, was to bring It to him; but the

* See the *Letter of S. Nardini of the 13th Aug., 1464. State Archives, Milan

Pope was not destined to celebrate the Feast on earth. After he had been anointed, he again expressed his desire that the Crusade should be persevered with, and then fell asleep peacefully about the third hour of the night. His last words were addressed to Ammanati. They were a request to be remembered in his prayers.* "Such was the end of Æneas Sylvius, his last hours bearing witness to the depth and earnestness of his zeal for the Crusade."†

The body was laid out in the Cathedral on the Feast of the Assumption (August 15, 1464), and afterwards, in accordance with the desire of the deceased Pope, conveyed to Rome, where it was buried in the Chapel of St. Andrew, which he had built.‡

Pius II. had been the soul of the Crusade, and it came to an end with him; his death was "a heavy blow not only to Western Christendom, but also to the Christians of the

* See AMMANATI, Ep., f. 26b–28, 42b, and 341–342b; CAMPANUS, 990. Regarding the Pope's death, see Appendix, N. 64, *G. Lolli's Despatch of the 15th Aug., 1464. State Archives, Siena.

† HEINEMANN, 27. In another passage (3) this scholar observes in relation to Pius II.: "His warnings, counsels, and predictions, his ardent, although fruitless, zeal for the complete removal of the danger by which Europe was, for the first time, threatened, are still worthy of consideration in our own days. His far-sightedness discerned the evil which has come upon subsequent generations from the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus, and had his exhortations then been heeded, the crisis which now threatens us would have been averted."

‡ Regarding the tomb of Pius II., see CANCELLIERI, De Secret., 712 *seq.* On the occasion of the restoration of St. Peter's, under Paul V., Pius II.'s monument was removed to the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, where it "occupies the whole space between two of the pillars." GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 96. The long epitaph of 1623 is in CIACONIUS, II., 1027 (where is also a very imperfect representation of the monument), and BONANNI, I., 69–70; for the old one, see DE ROSSI, Inscript., II., 421.

East, who were already beginning to feel the pressure of the Turkish yoke."*

On hearing of the Pope's death, the Doge landed. Francesco Gonzaga, who had recently arrived in his Galley, met him with three other Cardinals, and accompanied him to S. Ciriaco. Here Cristoforo Moro at once had a conference with some of the members of the Sacred College, Cardinals Barbo and Borgia being prevented by illness from taking part in it.† At the same time came the tidings of the death of the celebrated Cardinal Cusa, which had taken place at Todi on the 11th August.‡

From one of the accounts of the conference between the Cardinals and the Doge "who had undertaken the expedition much against his will,"§ we learn that the latter made demands which it was impossible to concede.‖ On the 16th August the Archbishop of Milan expressed his opinion that the Venetians evidently repented of their voyage to Ancona and the whole expedition against the Turks.¶

* DÜX, II., 238.

† See **Report of Rafael Caymus to Simoneta, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 15 (State Archives, Milan), and the letters of Giacomo d'Arezzo and Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also MALIPIERO, 30.

‡ In the *Letter from the Archbishop of Milan, cited below, note ¶, is the following passage regarding the death of Cusa: "del che e gran danno per la virtu et religione regnava in Sua Signoria." See Script. rer. Siles., IX., 91, 94, and *supra*, p. 211, note †.

§ This is also the opinion of VOIGT, III., 722.

‖ "El prefato illustre duxe audito poi in concistorio el collegio de li rev^mi cardinali ha dimandato cose molto difficili et ardue et impossibili a quel collegio." *Letter to C. Simoneta of the 24th August, 1464, in the State Archives, Milan. The name of the writer, as well as that of the place where it was written, has been destroyed by damp.

¶ *Report to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16. State Archives, Milan.

After the Doge had returned to his ship, the Cardinals, who were longing to get back to Rome, determined to give over the Galleys which were lying ready in the harbour to the Republic, on condition, however, that they should be restored if the new Pope were not to approve of the arrangement, or should himself wish to undertake a Crusade. It was, moreover, resolved that the 40,000 ducats which remained of the money collected for the Turkish war should be entrusted to the Venetians for transmission to the King of Hungary. These decisions were imparted to the Doge on the following day.* On the 17th, the Pope's body was removed to Rome; his viscera were buried in the Choir of S. Ciriaco.† Some of the Cardinals left Ancona the same day, the rest soon followed, for all were anxious to be in good time for the new election.‡

* AMMANATI, Comment. 362. See MALIPIERO, 31, and Chronic. Eugub., 1008. Here the correct number of 40,000 ducats is given, while Ammanati mentions 8000 more. The exact sum is copied at p. 336, *supra*, from the account book in the State Archives, Rome.

† In the middle of the Choir the spot is marked by a marble slab, bearing the arms of Pius II., and the following Inscription (given incorrectly in LEONI, 232, and CIAVARINI, I., 185).

MCCCCLXIIII. XIX. Kls. Sept.
PII II.
Pont. Max. prae-
cordia tumu-
lantur.
Corpus Romam
translatum. Anco.
moritur dum
in Turcos bella parat.

‡ Report of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, on the 23rd Aug., 1464. (State Archives, Milan.) Of the conference of the 16th August we have, unfortunately, only general notices in the *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene and Card. Gonzaga of the 16th Aug., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

The Doge left Ancona in the night of the 18th August, and went, in the first instance, to Istria with his squadron.* And now came the fulfilment of Pandolfo Contarini's predictions to the Duke of Milan when the Venetian fleet first set sail for Ancona.† Cristoforo Moro returned to Venice, and orders were issued at once that the squadron should be dismantled! ‡

A glance at the energy with which Pius II., like his predecessor, Calixtus III., sought to resist the power of the Turks, suffices to shew the injustice of the reproach of recent days, that the Popes were responsible for the incubus which even now presses upon Europe in the form of the Eastern question. "The Papacy never forgot, in the face of difficulties of all sorts, its duty of Christianising the East,§ and was equally persevering in its advocacy of the Crusades as the only way in which the increasing danger of Turkish invasion could be met. The Popes did more in proportion to their material resources than any European power, for the defence of Christendom against this terrible foe. Pius II., on his death-bed while the Crusaders' fleet sailed into Ancona, was the champion and exponent of a great idea, whatever opinion may be

* Giacomo d'Arezzo to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 18: *"Lo ser^mo duce de Venetia se partira questa nocte." (Gonzaga Archives.) On the 21st August, C. Moro, from Parenzo, announces his speedy return to Venice. *Original Letter in State Archives, Venice, Atti. Dipl.

† P. Contarini, in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1464, Aug., 29, refers to these predictions. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See P. Contarini's letter, cited in previous note. The tortuous style of the Doge's *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated 25th Aug., 1464, is characteristic. He announces his return to Venice, and represents the death of the Pope to have been quite unexpected! *Original in the State Archives, Milan.

§ See our 1st Vol., p. 60 *seq.*

formed as to the suitability of the means by which it was to have been realised."*

Pius II. is one of those Pontiffs whose life and character has called forth the most conflicting appreciations. This is not surprising, if we consider his great talents and varied attainments, so far surpassing those of the majority of his contemporaries, and the many changes which marked the course of his eventful life. It is impossible to defend much of his conduct in his earlier days, or his nepotism when raised to the Papal Throne. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, as Head of the Church, Pius II. did much to restore the dignity and authority of the Holy See; and that, in cultivation and learning, this gifted and genial Pope has had hardly an equal among Princes.† The greatest authority on the Renaissance period places him next in order of merit to Nicholas V., admittedly the best of the 15th century Popes.‡ And, besides this, we cannot withhold our admiration and esteem from the untiring zeal with which, although feeble with age and tortured by bodily suffering, he laboured in what he must have felt to be the almost hopeless cause of the Crusade, striving with might and main to organise the forces of the West to resist the imminent destruction with which they were threatened by the Turkish power. This alone will secure for him an honoured remembrance throughout all ages.

* See REUMONT, Allg. Zeitung, 3676 (1879), as against Döllinger's intemperate charges. See also VIGNA, II., I, 101 *seq.*, 167.

† GEIGER, 140. MÜNTZ, I., 220, similarly expresses himself: "L'Église a rarement été gouvernée par un Pape aussi lettré, aussi spirituel, aussi aimable que Pie II." PALACKY, IV., I, 373, speaks of Æneas Sylvius as one of the greatest intellects of his age. See also MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 17; HELWING, 2 and 24; and SISMONDI, X., 354. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 204, 3rd ed., describes Pius II. as a great ornament of the Papacy.

‡ BURCKHARDT Cultur, I., 90, 3rd ed.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE documents here brought together are only intended to corroborate and complete the text. It did not form part of the plan of my work to furnish an actual collection of Archives. I have given as accurately as I could the place where each is to be found. From considerations of space, my explanatory observations have been made as few and as brief as possible. As a rule I have retained the spelling, punctuation, &c., of the text; such alterations as I have made in regard to capital letters and punctuation do not require justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned, but slight mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without remark. Additions are marked by brackets, and incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a note of interrogation, or the word *sic*. Those which I have omitted as beside my purpose, either in my first copy, or later, when preparing for the press, are thus indicated (. . .).

1. OTTO DE CARRETTO TO FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.*

1458, Aug. 14, Rome.

Illustrissime princeps et excellentissime domine, &c.

Poyche l'altissimo Dio ha voluto ad se recevere quello dignissimo cardinale de Fermo† et cosi repentinamente ce ha rotto el disegno

* See *supra*, p. 7.

† Domenico Capranica.

nostro, il quale se in hominem e fede alcuna non poteva mancare come qualche volta faro intendere chiaro a chi vegna qui per Vostra Excellentia, rivocando in tanto dolore a me il consiglio de la rasone spero con l'aiuto de Dio drizare la cosa ad asay bon porto et non son senza speranza del rev. cardinale de Colonna, ma piu fatibile pare de quello de Siena* et a questo se accorda meglio li animi de tutte le parti et cosi de questi ambasciatori de la Maesta del re.† Onde mi sforzero de operare con tal discretione che venendo in lui o altri, per che intendero pendere la fortuna, se tegnira da nuy servito in modo che Vostra Excellentia restera da mia opera e diligentia satisfacto secondo il caso, non altro per questa. Rome die xiv. Augusti, 1458.

Eiusdem Vestrae Excellentiae fidelissimus servitor,

OTHO DE CARRETTO.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

2. OTTO DE CARRETTO TO FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.‡

1458, Aug. 20, Rome.

Come per altre scrissi a v. Ex^{cia} lo collegio de car^{li} gia havea concesso ch'a la guardia del conclavi fussero accettati li ambasiatori de la M^{ta} del re Ferrando come ambasiatori regali et tal opera havemo fatta con li amici; hora la Sta de N. S. insieme con li rev^{mi} car^{li} hanno deliberato in ogni atto siano accettati come ambasiatori regali et car^{li} et altri li possiano scrivere re. Item la prefata Sta de N. S. molto largamente et gratiosamente li ha confortati che facino la sua proposta in consistorio a la Sua Sta et a li car^{li} et che lasseno conducere la cosa a sua Bea^{ne} perche la conducera a bon porto, del che sono rimasti molto contenti et intendono il favore de v. Ex^{cia} in queste sue cose haverli giovato asay et resteno, ut opinor, de mia opera ben satisfatti, &c.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

* Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

† Ferrante of Naples.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 8, 20.

3. Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1458, Aug. 21, Rome.

Come credo sara avisata la S. V. gran pericolo fu che non havemo papa franzoso et io sapevo tal practica tra Roano† et Vignone‡ che era quasi impossibile ch'el papato non tochasse a uno di loro duy. Laudato Dio che e remaso in Italia. In questo principio ha grande stato presso al papa il cardinal di Bologna§ et Pavia‖ sera el secondo perche fu molto favorevole a la sua electione, et contrario a Mons. de Roano per il che sono fatti inimici. Ma credo bixognera per forza ch'el papa habia bona intelligentia con questi dui franzosi, se vorra havere obbedientia da la lor natione, che è sempreel principale membro di questa corte. Et gia li ditti duy carli franzosi cominciano a fare di strecte pratiche insieme . . . . . .

[Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

4. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.¶

1458, Dec. 10, Rome.

Pius PP. II. Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedic. Ex litteris, quas tua nobilitas ad nos et suos hic presentes oratores nuperrime scripsit, intelleximus promptitudinem tuam ad omnia peragenda que nobis grata esse intelligis et statui nostro conducere arbitraris.

Cognovimus enim quid mandatario comitis Jacobi Piccinini responderis, quid Tome de Bononia ad illum misso exponenda tui parte commiseris: quid denique pro redintegratione nobilium Senensium ad regimen civitatis pollicearis et sentias. Que omnia adeo nobis iocunda sunt et accepta: ut te in diem magis ex toto corde nostro amemus in nostrisque et ecclesie necessitatibus unicum ac verum refugium in tua nobilitate positum arbitremur. Agimus igitur pro his omnibus bonitati et caritati tue debitas gratias teque dignum putamus quem apostolica sedes in suum peculiarem filium habeat et eum benevolentiae officio prosequatur, non dubitantes huiusmodi zelum quem preter ceteros in rebus

* See *supra*, pp. 12, 17, 32, 293. † d'Estouteville.
‡ Alain. § F. Calandrini. ‖ J. Castiglione.
¶ See *supra*, p. 28, and Raynaldus, ad an. 1458, N. 5.

ecclesie ostendis ad meritum divine retributionis et prosperum tuum [statum]* cessurum. Quia vero satis adhuc dubitamus quorsum sit evasura in restituenda civitate Assisij comitis antedicti voluntas, et securiori parti semper est consulendum, optaremus vehementer ut gentes illae, quas tua nobilitas missuram se scribit mittere, sine ulla dilatione quantocius maturares, adeo ut, cum nos concedente altissimo intendamus circa festum purificationis beate Virginis Perusij personaliter interesse, ante eam diem, si fieri posset, terras ecclesie essent ingresse, credentes celerem earum adventum ad omnia feliciter dirigenda plurimum posse conferre, quod ut tua generositas faciat, studiose requirimus in singulare pignus tui in nos animi hoc habituri. Cum autem subducta nostrarum gentium ratione videamur equites mille et totidem pedites ad hoc ipsum posse afferre, tibique vires comitis antedicti et loca in quibus illi est obsistendum notissima esse non dubitemus, pro [tua]* sapientia iudicare facile potes quem numerum copiarum mitti sit opus. Nos tamen quantum opinione nostra consequi possumus putaremus duo milia equitum et pedites mille vel saltem quingentos ex provisionariis tuis presenti necessitati sufficere, quod tamen juditio tuo, qui sapientissime omnia perspicis, totum relinquimus. Unum requirimus, ut quam primum venire illas mandaveris, nos ilico facias certiores, ut in tempore ductoribus earum significare possimus, in quam partem terrarum nostrarum divertere illas velimus. Quod si forte comes predictus tuis admonitionibus cedens Assisium nobis antea redderet (quod tamen incertum est nobis) nobilitati tue scribemus quam partem illarum gentium si necessitas fuerit relinqui nobis optemus, in omnibusque ita nos habere curabimus ut obsequia tua cognita et grata fuisse intelligas. Quia vero carissimus in Christo filius noster Ferdinandus Sicilie rex illustris nuper ad comitem antedictum Antonium de Pisauro transmisit, et is hac iter faciens instructiones, quas ad illum regio nomine deferebat, nobis ostendit, ne quid tua nobilitas eorum quae aguntur ignoret, cuncta tuis oratoribus predictis narravimus. Ex quorum litteris illa et que in presentiarum exposcimus plenius intelligere poteris. Solum eandem tuam generositatem hortamur in domino, ut cum primus in Italia princeps sis, qui ingruente necessitate ad conservationem comunis pacis et

* Word left out in text.

protectionem apostolice sedis contra illarum turbatores semper exurgas, tuam in hoc gloriosam consuetudinem studeas retinere et in cumulum tue in nos fidelis voluntatis causam nobilium predictorum nostra opera inceptam, suffragio tuo et celeri missione eius quem dicis iuvare contendas, ut omni ex parte tibi debere et agere gratias habeamus.

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die x. Decembris millesimo quadringentesimo octavo pontificatus nostri anno primo.

JA. LUCENSIS.

[*P.S.*]—Super his etiam dilectus filius Galeottus de Agnes. familiaris noster per suas litteras tuae nobilitati desyderium nostrum et presentem necessitatem pluribus explicabit.

[Atergo]
Dilecto filio nobili viro
Francisco Sforzie duci
Mediolani.

[Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.-219, Supp.]

5. POPE PIUS II. TO EMPEROR FREDERICK III.*

1459, Jan. 26, Spoleto.

He commends him for being constantly faithful to the Holy See, and thanks him for information regarding preparations against the Emperor and the Pope.†

Orator noster quem apud celsitudinem tuam habemus misit ad nos copiam responsi super adventu tuo ad dietam accepti quod profecto neque expectationi nostre neque necessitati satis respondet. . . . He himself is coming to Mantua. Nemo profecto erit qui te cessante non sibi honestum putet cessare. Pro honore igitur Germanie nacionis et gloria nominis tui, pro salute etiam cristiane religionis cui gradus tuus imprimis est debitor velit serenitas tua super hoc actentius cogitare et omnino ad conveniendum mentem disponere.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 6b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, pp. 49 and 64.

† See GEBHARDT, Gravamina, p. 29.

6. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.*

1459, Febr. 26, Siena.

Declines to give advice regarding the reception of the Crown of Hungary; see Raynaldus, ad an. 1459, N. 14. . . .

Quod autem ob hanc solam causam adventum tuum ad dietam excusas, hoc nobis valde est grave non solum quia exemplo tuo multis convenire cura non erit, sed quia plane videmus racionem pii consilii nostri impediri vel certe in longum differri. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 15b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

7. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.†

1459, Febr. 28, Siena.

Ex urbe primum diem discessus nostri et mox ex arce Spoletana ‡ progressum itineris et alia quae oportuna sunt visa tue celsitudini significavimus. Nunc autem eidem eciam nunciamus nos iuvante altissimo Senas iam pervenisse et hic non longa facta mora ad civitatem Mantuanam recto itinere profecturos sublimitatem tuam hortantes in domino et per salutem christiani populi in cuius protectione una nobiscum Deo es debitor ex corde requirimus ut preces nostras tocies super personali tuo adventu iteratas exaudire clementer velis sciens te unum esse in quem respiciunt ceteri et qui tuo exemplo ad res prospere vel secus gerendas dare in utramque partem momentum maximum potes. Velis in hoc diligenter actendere quid a te in tali necessitate requirat Deus, quid honor tuus expostulet et quid nostra toti orbi nota conditio flagitet. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

8. Pope Pius II. to Bernhardus de Bosco.§

1459, March 18, Siena.

Quia continuantibus discordiis inter chariss. in Christo filium nostrum F[erdinandum] Sicilie regem ill. et dil. fil. nob. virum principem Tarentinum verisimiliter posset tota Ytalia ex diuturna quiete sua maximis olim laboribus parta in antiquas calamitates recidere, sends to the Archbishop of Ravenna in order to bring about a peace between them.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 64. † See *supra*, p. 53. ‡ See *previous page*. § See *supra*, p. 74.

9. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.*

1459, April 30, Florence.

. . . . Verum cogitamus hos ipsos oratores licet virtute et fide meliores esse non possint nosque propterea eis ex corde sumus affecti tamen in conventu tot principum non satis representaturos esse gradum celsitudinis tue qui ut magnus est ita et maiora ceteris postulat. Credidimus honori tuo plurimum convenire saltem inter hos ipsos principem aliquem de pocioribus dominorum tuorum ascribere in cuius persona tu honoreris et qui praestancia sua non solum auctoritatem diete adjicere sed omnia tua possit maiora efficere. Propterea eandem celsitudinem hortamur in domino ut† pro estimacione nominis sui velit hoc ipsum actendere et iudicium nostrum amplecti. He gave him this advice, because he is solicitous for his honour, which he will defend: tamen veremur ne si digniores non miseris omnis nostra excusatio parum vera apareat, nunc presertim cum acceptata electione regni Ungarie defensio eius contra impetus Turchorum tibi sit debita et ignominiosum possit censeri non ostendere hoc regni inicio mentem ad illius protectionem incensam. Hec ut fideli animo scribimus, ita velit serenitas tua in bonam partem accipere et nos exaudire, oratores etiam predicti ad te redeuntes de his et ceteris tue cels. plenius referent. Dat. Florentiae ex itinere xxx. Aprilis A° 1°.

[Lib. brev. f. 31. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

10. Pope Pius II. to King John II. of Aragon.‡

1459, May 12, Bologna.

Pervenimus iam duce altissimo &c. . . . Sere. tuam hortamur in domino et per viscera misericordie domini nostri requirimus ut memor causam fidei agi qua nulla est major et in cuius defensione catholicus quisque est debitor, velis ceteris impedimentis posthabitis que nos in rebus nostris pro Deo contempsimus ad ipsam dietam accedere et pias exhortationes s. sedis hoc necessario tempore audire. Dat. Bononiae xii. Maii A° 1°. Regi Anglie simile.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 66. This Brief is essentially different from that in the Comment., which Voigt, III., 50, rightly considers to be forged.

† Hs.: et.

‡ See *supra*, p. 58.

11. Pope Pius II. to John III., Bishop of Eichtstätt.*

1459, May 31, Mantua.

Ad diem vicesimum septimum maii duce Deo Mantuam venimus cum antea per litteras nostras in kalendis iunii promisissemus nos illuc affuturos. Expectamus principes huc conventuros vel si id non poterunt oratores eorum quorum neminem convenisse hucusque satis miramur. Hortamur frat. tuam, &c.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 35; see f. 37, a similar summons to the Archbishop of Salzburg. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

12. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.†

1459, June 2nd, Mantua.

Inasmuch as the Duke, so he hears, will not come in person to Mantua, it is all the more fitting that he should send Ambassadors.

Hortamur nobilitatem tuam in domino ut aut per te ipsum quod inprimis optamus aut per oratores quos scribis viros praestantes et tante solemnitati ydoneos velis celeriter convenire.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

13. Pope Pius II. to Frankfort on Maine.‡

1459, June 2nd, Mantua.

Pius PP. II. Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedict. Credimus devotioni vestre notum iam esse, quemadmodum de mense octobris iam proxime elapsi intendentes quantum in nobis esset saluti fidelium contra perfidos Turchos paterne consulere indiximus in kal. iunii in civitate Mantue solemnem dietam principum et potentatum christianorum dispositi concedente Deo personaliter ibidem interesse, ad quam iam duce altissimo quinto ante hunc terminum die personaliter affuimus iter ingressi non sine magnis persone et rerum nostrarum incommodis. Siquidem etas nostra iam ingravescens quietem desiderat et patrimonium ecclesie pontificis presentia destitutum manifestis periculis quotidie subiacet; omnia hec tamen pro Deo magnifacienda non duximus scientes fidelium populorum salutem et causam sacrosancte fidei catholice anteferendam esse cunctis laboribus atque periculis. Cum itaque comunitatem vestram magnifecerimus semper illamque con-

* See *supra*, pp. 59 and 67. † See *supra*, p. 87. ‡ See *supra*, p. 61.

silio et ope sua plurimum adiumenti afferre posse sciamus ad hoc nostrum propositum, hortamur devotionem vestram in domino et instanter requirimus ut sicut devoti apostolice sedis filii et bonorum operum zelatores velitis huc una cum ceteris oratores vestros transmittere mandatum tale afferentes, ut ipsam comunitatem super concludendis non sit necesse ex ipsa dieta quotidie consuli. Facietis in hoc Deo rem acceptabilem, nobis gratam et toti christiano populo salutarem, honori quoque vestro hac in parte laudabiliter consuletis, siquidem de fide catholica agitur pro qua et gloriosum est mori et labores suscipere christiano cuique debitum. Ipsos igitur vestros oratores unacum ceteris hic expectamus. Dat. Mantue sub anulo piscatoris die ii. Junii, 1459, pontif. nostri anno primo.

.·.

JA. LUCEN. |

[A tergo :]

Dilectis filiis et comunitati civitatis Francfordien.

[Original in the City Archives at Frankfort-on-Maine. Reichsangelegenheiten betreffendes, N. 5107.]

14. POPE PIUS II. TO KING CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE.*

1459, June 8, Mantua.

. . . Quare hortamur et rogamus tuam cels. ex corde ut posthabitis omnibus difficultatibus velis quam celerius fieri potest ad nos iam Mantue prestolantes oratores suos mittere et quidem ut paulo antea scripseramus ita dignos tua sere^te^ et munitos mandatis necessariis ut quoad ea, que tractanda erunt, mittere ad te denuo consulendum non expediat.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

15. POPE PIUS II. TO CARDINAL NICHOLAS OF CUSA, LEGATE AT ROME.†

1459, June 9, Mantua.

He begs him to remain in Rome and keep at his post, and praises him for having so well maintained peace. Te enim istic presente quieto animo vivimus et nostra omnia in tuto posita credimus. Should he find the heat oppressive, he may go to Tivoli. The Pope will not forget to take care of his business; duci Sigismundo efficacissime scripsimus. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 43. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 68. † See *supra*, p. 106.

16. Pope Pius II. to Procopius of Rabenstein.*

1459, June 12, Mantua.

. . . hortamur tuam devot. in domino et studiose requirimus ut exhortari cariss. in Christo fil. nostrum Bohemorum regem ill. quotidianis commemorationibus tuis non desinas ad celeriter mittendos oratores suos ad hanc Mantuanam dietam mandato pleno suffultos non solum ad ea quae sanctam pro fide expeditionem concernunt, sed ad ea eciam componenda atque tractanda per que regnum illud matrem suam Romanam ecclesiam omni ex parte cognoscat.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 46. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

17. Pope Pius II. to Bologna.†

1459, July 28, Mantua.

Dilecti fili, &c. Quom istic Bononie essemus, officii et propositi nostri memores hortati sumus vos, ut oratores vestros ad dietam pro rebus christiane fidei agitandis institutam mittere curaretis. Et quidem non mediocriter admirati sumus id a vobis ad hanc usque diem dilatum extitisse. Cum presertim idipsum ea nos potissimum gratia exoptare intellexeritis, ut reliquis Italie civitatibus diligentia vestra exemplo essetis et ob id ad mittendum promptiores celerioresque redderentur. Iam vero nonnullorum Germanie principum ac regis Hungarie et Aragonum oratores advenerunt. Alii quoque ducis Burgundie diversorumque dominorum propediem affuturi sunt. Quocirca iterum atque iterum vos hortamur in domino et districte requirimus, ut pro tam pio tamque salutifero catholice fidei opere perficiendo debitum vestrum diutius remorari nolitis. Sed illud quantocius fieri potest diligenter implere studeatis, quod sumopere desideramus et a vobis instanter deposcimus. Dat. Mantuae sub anulo pisc. die xxviii. Julii, 1459 pontif. nostri anno primo.

[Original in the State Archives, Bologna.]

18. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1459, July 29, Mantua.

The Pope insists on the importance of the Duke's presence. Nam cum auctoritas tua magna sit et consilium etiam sapiens,

* See *supra*, p. 219. † See *supra*, p. 58. ‡ See *supra*, p. 73.

speramus te praesente ac considente omnia ex nostro desiderio efficacius successura.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 58b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

19. Pope Pius II. to Diether of Isenburg.*

1459, July 31, Mantua.

Comiti de Ysemburg. Dilecte fili, &c. Intelleximus te proxime ad Moguntinam ecclesiam electum fuisse et oratores iam destinasse qui ad procurandam illius confirmacionem accedant. Significamus tibi necessarium esse ut tu personaliter venias et presens ab apostolica sede hoc impetres. Nos enim aliter daturi illam non sumus. Si qui sunt qui contrarium consulunt in errore versantur . . . Si veneris invenies nos ad omnia promptos quae honorem et utilitatem tuam concernant. Si minus necesse erit intelligas veritatem mendacio preferendam fuisse . . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 60. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.†

1459, August 6, Mantua.

Expectavimus usque in praesentem diem oratores tue nobilitatis quos te missurum iam dudum promiseras. Here follows an urgent request that they should at last be sent.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 60b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

21. Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.‡

1459, August 13, Mantua.

The Pope counts up the many summonses to Mantua already addressed to him and the other Princes—all, however, in vain. He expects him by the Feast of St. Martin hac sola de causa hic moraturi. Et propterea etiam atque etiam per viscera misericordie Dei nostri nobilitatem tuam per has ultimas nostras requirimus et monemus tibique quia ita salus fidelis populi postulat expresse mandamus ut intra hunc terminum personaliter velis adesse. Cum enim usque ad eam diem propter Germanos solos expectaturi hic sumus, cederet non solum tibi sed toti nacioni ad confusionem non parvam in tempore non accessisse.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 62b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra* p. 166. † See *supra*, p. 87. ‡ See *supra*, p. 97.

22. Pope Pius II. to Diether of Isenburg.*

1459, August 13, Mantua.

Diethero de Isemburg, canonico Moguntino. Requisivimus, &c. He has already, by Briefs, required him personally to attend the Congress at Mantua. This summons is hereby repeated. Dat. Mantuae xiii. Augusti A° 1°.

[Cop. Plut. LXXXX. Supp. Cod. 138, N. 17 of the Laurentian Library at Florence.]

23. Pope Pius II. to the Cathedral Chapter of Mayence.†

1459, August 13, Mantua.

Capitulo ecclesiae Moguntinae.

Dilecti filii salutem. Cum dietam hanc Mantuanam pro defensione christianae fidei indixerimus, requisivimus bo. me. Theodericum archiepiscopum Moguntinum tunc in humanis agentem ut cum aliis Christi fidelibus principibus conveniret. Evenit ut interim sicut Deo placuit, ipse hac vita functus est. Ob quam rem vos provide agentes ad successoris electionem processistis atque dilectum filium Dietherum de Ysemburg elegistis qui ad nos pro electionis confirmatione misit. Nos considerantes quantum utilitatis allatura sit christianae religioni haec dieta, si principes et prelati conveniant, deliberavimus eum requirere ut ad nos veniret tam pro confirmatione quam pro facto fidei. Et ita literis nostris sibi scripsimus. Hortamur igitur et requirimus devotionem vestram ut ei persuadeatis ut ad nos quantocius veniat. Quod si effeceritis ultra universale bonum fidei et sibi et ecclesiae vestrae rem utilem facietis. Dat. Mantuae sub anulo piscatoris xiii. Augusti, pontif. nostri anno primo.

[Cap Cod. LXXXX.–138, N. 16 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.]

24. Pope Pius II. to Florence.‡

1459, August 19, Mantua.

Non cessavimus usque in praesentem diem quotidianis precibus

* See *supra*, p. 166.
† See *supra*, p. 166, and Pii II. Comment. 65.
‡ See *supra*, p. 69.

ad mittendos oratores vos adhortari*—but all has been in vain. As the business of the Congress commences at the beginning of next month, requirimus in conspectu Dei et hominum rem publicam vestram ut eo tempore suos oratores cum pleno mandato curet hic esse.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 68. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1459, August 25, Mantua.

Quia dil. fil. nob. vir dux Clivensis omnibus horis super discessu suo apud nos instat necessarias causas ostendens quibus ad redeundum impellitur, quia eciam nos ab eo cum difficultate impetravimus ut ad longius usque ad diem sextam Septembris expectare hic vellet: ideo nobilitatem tuam quanto maiore studio possumus hortamur atque requirimus ut pro summa consolacione nostra et felici principio rerum pro fide agendarum ad minus circa secundam vel terciam diem mensis eiusdem ceteris posthabitis cures hic esse . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 70b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

26. Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.‡

1459, September 9, Mantua.

. . . Ceterum vehementer admiramur quod tua nobilitas nihil nobis rescribit de suo adventu ad dietam. Here follows an urgent request that he would appear in person at Mantua; the Congress there exceeds all others in importance. Dat. Mantuae ix. Sept. A° 2°.

[Florence, Laurentian Library. Plut. LXXXX. Supp. Cod. 138, N. 28.]

27. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.§

1459, September 26, Mantua.

Illustrissima et ex. domina consors nostra precordialissima.

Hersera recevessemo una littera de la Sig^ria Vostra di sua mano

* See particulars from the State Archives, Florence, *supra*, p. 69.

† See *supra*, p. 72. ‡ See *supra*, p. 97. § See *supra*, pp. 75 and 78.

a la quale al presenta non possemo fare resposta, ma domane gli responderimo al tucto et maxime la chiarerimo quando sera el partire nostro de qui et la casone perche non possemo respondervi de nostra mano questo dì si e che come scripsimo heri a la Sig^{ria} Vostra questa matina la Sta de Nostro Sig^{re} tra le XII et XIII hore fece dire una messa del spirito sancto in canto nel domo: dove et lo ill. Sig^{re} lo Marchese et nuy depoy la Sta de N. Sig^{re} fussemo li primi et fornita la messa posto a sedere N. Sig^{re} in pontificale et cossi tucti li sig^{ri} et ambax^{ri} de christiani che se troveno qui in li lochi loro con li rev^{mi} Sig^{ri} cardinali in publico in essa chiesia dove era un grandissimo numero de gente d'ogni natione: el prefato N. Sig^{re} pronuntio una longa et ornatissima oratione quale duro per spacio de due hore in la quale tra molte altre cose el confortò ogniuno a limpresa contra el Turcho et finita la sua oratione ne recitò un altra el cardinale Niceno quale la tenne una hora: per la quale confirmando quello che havia dicto N. Sig^{re} persuadete per parte de tucti li . . . cardinali a tucti quelli quali erano presenti a la dicta impresa; dapoy resposero tucti li . . . ambaxatori regali per parte de li loro sig^{ri} et cossi tucti li altri ambaxatori et etiando nuy respondessemo in persona che eramo apparechiati a seguire la volunta de la Sta Sua et tandem fu concluso che limpresa omnino se debia prendere contra dicto Turcho; de qui inanci mo privatamente et non piu in publico se tractara del modo se havera a servare in pigliare dicta impresa. Li . . . ambaxatori del duca de Borgogna hanno offerto per parte del suo sig^{re} incomenzando dal principio dela guerra fin al fine de voler tenere a sue spese IIII^{m} fanti et II^{m} cavalli. Et de quello che piu ultra se fara la Sig^{ria} Vostra continuamente ne sera advisata. Altro non diamo se non che ne recomandiamo a la Sig^{ria} V. la quale advisamo come per gratia de Dio stiamo bene. Dat. Mantuae xxvi. Septembris, 1459. . .

Franciscus Sfortia vicecomes dux Mediolani

Papie Anglerieque comes et Cremone dominus.

[A tergo: Address]

JOHANNES.

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

28. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.*

1459, Sept. 29, Mantua.

Illustrissima et ex. domina consors nostra precordialissima.

Non se meravigli la Sig. V. se ne heri ne hogi noy li havimo scripto di nostra mano: perche sonno tante loccupatione che nuy havimo et maxime adesso che semo al fine del nostro stare qui et per partirne che non ne avanza pur el tempo ad poter manzare. Nuy con el nome de Dio havimo deliberato partirne de qui o lunedi o martedi al piu longo et questo non manchera et per la gratia desso dio stiamo bene de la persona et attendemo tucta volta ad expedirne qui a le cose che havimo affare et speramo chel tucto passara optimamente. Mantuae xxviiii. Septembris, 1459, hora quinta noctis.

Franciscus Sforza vicecomes dux Mediolani
Papie Anglerieque comes ac Cremone dominus.

[A tergo: Address]

Johannes.

[Original in State Archives at Milan.]

29. Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.†

1459, September 30, Mantua.

He praises him, and rejoices that he has appointed a time when he may be expected in Mantua. Expresses great hopes for the progress of the Congress.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 79b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

30. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.‡

[1459, September 30, Mantua.§]

Nescimus utrum magis miremur an doleamus quod tocies ad conventum hunc Mantuanum pro fide Dei nostri vocatus usque in hanc diem non veneris nec oratores tuos transmiseris. . . . He must, at last, send Ambassadors provided with full powers.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 80b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 75. † See *supra*, p. 97. ‡ See *supra*, p. 87.
§ The Brief is without date, but is of the same day as the preceding one.

31. Nicolaus Severinus and Lodovicus de Petronibus to the Republic of Siena.*

1459, October 1, Mantua.

Yesterday, "a hore xx," the whole Italian Nation was assembled. Proposal of tithes, twentieth and thirtieth parts for the Turkish war. Volse S. Sta che ciascuno si soscrivesse propriis manibus cominciando dallo s^{mo} principe duca di milano et cosi di mano in mano tutti quelli ch'erano presenti excepto li ambasciatori della s^{ma} S^{ria} di Venetia per li quali e stato lassato lo spacio che benche habbino el mandato dicano non extendersi a questo, ma che anno scripto a la S^{ria} da la quale in 4 giorni aspectano resposta et tengano certissimo che di niente discreparanno dagl' altri. Per li Fiorentini promisse el s. pontifice et etiandio lo s^{mo} duca di Milano, li quali finalmente dicano in brevi di aspectano resposta; crediamo che sia per imitare i Vinitiani. Era, m^{ci} S. N., tutta la corta da hieri in la opinione et proposito di partire subito et cosi si credeva. But in the last Assembly the Pope declared that he must still wait for a very powerful Prince from Germany,† who would come at Martinmas. This Prince will furnish numerous troops for the expedition. When some one respectfully said to the Pope that people had expected him to set forth sooner, Pius II. answered: che per bene et salute de la christianita bisognava differire questo tempo secondo la sua declaratione. . . . . The Duke of Milan will start in a few days.

[Original in State Archives, Siena.]

32. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.‡

1459, Oct. 1,§ Mantua.

. . . . . Siamo stati da le xxii. hore fin a le due hore di nocte con la Sta de N. S^{re} con la quale havimo tractato cose private et particulare et havimo tolto licentia al fine di essa Sua Sta con intentione de partirne de qui dimane . . . . .

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 84.

† This must be Albert Achilles of Brandenburg; see *supra*, p. 391.

‡ See *supra*, p. 75.

§ Hora vi. noctis.

33. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.*

1459, October 2, Mantua.

Come scripsimo hersera a la Sig. V. hogi . . . . . havimo tolto licentia de la Sta de N. S^re^ et da tucto el collegio de li rev. sig. cardinali quali a posta facta erano congregati ne la camera de la prefata Sta de N. S. . . . . .

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

34. Pope Pius II. to Johannes Antonius of Spoleto, Senator of the City of Rome.†

1459, November 27, Mantua.

Dilecte fili salutem. Cum propter fidei christianae succursum ad hunc Mantuanum conventum dimissa alma urbe nostra venerimus, nihil gratius audire possimus in hac nostra absentia quam urbem ipsam bene et juste gubernari et sub frenis iustitiae compesci audaciam eorum qui scandala et turbulentias quaerunt. Unde cum varii ad nos rumores proferantur multa et graviora scelera in urbe predicta committi ex quibus commotiones et scandala graviora sequi formidantur nisi diligens provisio adhibeatur, volumus et tibi inquantum gratiam nostram caram habes precipiendo mandamus quatenus in his totis sensibus invigiles et te fore virum ostendas et contra sceleratos et malefactores acriter procedas et iustitiae rigore illos coherceas, ita quod urbs ipsa quam maxime tuis opibus et diligentia eiusmodi sceleratis et malefactoribus purgetur. Nec comittas ut de negligentia aut lentitudine notari possis: quia tibi dedecori esset et nobis summe displiceret. Datum Mantuae sub anulo piscatoris xxvii. Novembris anno 1459, pontif. nostri secundo.

[Copy in Laurentian Library, Florence.]

35. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1459, Dec. 1, Mantua.

Ill^me^ princeps et ex^me^ domine d. mi sing^me^. Heri hebbero

* See *supra*, p. 75.

† Voigt, III., 146, is to be corrected by this Letter; see *supra*, p. 106.

‡ See *supra*, p. 90.

audientia da la Sta de N. Sta questi ambasiatori francessi cio he quelli de serenissimo re de Franza, del re Renato et Genoesi quali sono tuti una mistura et erano presenti il Marchese de Baden nomine suo non come ambasiatore de lo imperatore et niuno de li altri ambasiatori imperali ce fu, ma luy se dice fu richiesto come parente del re Renato. Il S^re^ duca Sigismundo, quantunque como parente de la casa de Franza fusse stato richiesto, heri matina parti asay a la sproveduta et dicemi il s^re^ Marchese de Mantua crede partisse forsi piu tosto che non seria per non essere a questo atto et cosi he partito etiam senza decisione de la causa qual ha cum lo rev^mo^ card^e^ de san Petro a vincula.* Ce fureno ancora presenti li ambasiatori de Bretagna et quelli de Savoya et tuti li card^li^; li ambasiatori Venetiani et Borgognoni non ce fureno. Parlò un de li ambasiatori del cristianissimo re de Franza, il quale he baylivio de una cita de la quale non mi ricordo il nome et in substantia disse comme antiquamente lo regno de Napoli era de la casa de Franza, narrando qual fu il primo re investito de quello, et da qual summo pontifice et poy successive tute le investiture a quelli de la casa de Franza fatte per li summi pontifici; poy venne a la querella che questo summo pontifice havesse investito et coronato questo s. re Ferrando per un legato de la sede apostolica et fatto confortare li regnicoli a la devotione desso re Ferrando cum tanta iniuria de la casa de Franza. Inseri ancora che adesso se diceva che Sua Sta non contenta de questo cerchava cum le arme impedire il conte Jacobo che non potesse andare a li favori loro in lo regno, il che se vero fusse, seria grande iniquita, per la qual cosa essi ambasiatori francesi et li altri che erano li in sua compagnia supplicaveno a Sua Beatitudine se dignasse restaurando le iniurie a loro fatte rivocare ogni cosa concessa a don Ferrando, il quale per niuna rasone deve essere re de quello regno, et con cedere nova investitura al re Renato, al quale de rason spetta, et dovesse Sua Sta mandare un suo legato in lo regno a confortare quelli regnicoli a la devotione del re Renato et de la casa de Franza come apartene a boni et veri vassali et subditi che sono de la ditta casa, et cosi facendo li parera essere restaurati dogni iniuria et danno loro. Questo me he ditto fu il suo parlar in affetto, poy se scusa et dimandò venia se manco reverentemente et

* Nich. of Cusa; see *supra*, p. 90.

cum manco modestia o prudentia haveva parlato perche lanimo suo non era de dir cosa che fusse ingrata a Sua Sta La B^ne^ sua havendoli cum grande pacientia ascoltati cum grandissima modestia li rispose cum poche et grave parole, reasumendo quello che ditto haveveno molto distinctamente: dicendo che quantunque a la magior parte de queste cose li fusse la risposta asay promta, non dimeno per che la cosa era de natura sua ponderosa et grave et era costume de Sua Sta in rebus arduis uti consilio et participatione fratrum suorum non voleva prima rispondere che havesse communicato et partecipato questo cum card^li^, cum li quali fin a qui Sua Sta haveva partecipato simile cose, et maxime in questa causa in la quale haveva fatto ogni cosa de consilio et consensu omnium; et questo disse Sua B^ne^ per tochare li card^li^ de Roan* et de Vignon† quali così li hanno consentito come li altri. Item disse che ancora ricordava a loro il solito ritto de corte, qual era in simile cose de importantia dare in scritto la propositione et dimanda che se fa, a cio che ancora se li dara risposta in scritto et data che havessero tal dimanda Sua B^ne^ habita participatione cum cardinalibus li daria tal risposta che se contentariano overo meritamente se dovriano contentare; et cosi se crede che questoro daranno in scritto et Sua Sta in scritto li rispondera et forsi anchora a bocha. Questa matina la Sta de nostro S^re^ ha fatto la signatura publica ut moris est, da poy il disnare he stato in dare audientia a li ambasiatori imperiali et altri Alamani, et sul hora tarda a quelli de Bretagna il che sera durato fin a grande hora de notte . . . . . (what follows is unimportant). Dat. Mantue primo Decembre, 1459.

Ill^me^ D. V.

Servit. Otho de Carreto.

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.-219, Supp.]

36. Pope Pius II. to the Conservators of the City of Rome.‡

1460, Jan. 30, Poggibonsi.

Accepimus litteras vestras in quibus cum desiderare vos cernimus reditum nostrum non possumus non laudare devocionem vestram et filialem caritatem qua nos complecti videmini. Est

* d'Estouteville. † Alain. ‡ See *supra*, p. 106.

Nobis ad reditum par desiderium vicissimque vobiscum esse et nostram sedem revisere summe optamus. . . . . But, by the advice of the physicians, he must rest a while in Siena and Petriolo after his exertions at the assembly at Mantua. They must, accordingly, have patience for a little.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 98b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

37. Pope Pius II. to Philip, Duke of Burgundy.*

1460, March 7, Siena.

At the request of the Duke he has neglected no effort to promote the Bishop of Arras, J. Jouffroy, to the purple, but the necessary consent of the Cardinals was wanting. The Cardinals would have no Ultramontanes, for which reason the petitions of the Kings of France and Aragon, and of the Duke of Savoy, also remain unsatisfied. He gives the Duke hopes for the future.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 127b–128. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

38. Pope Pius II. to Charles VII., King of France.†

[1460, March], Siena.

Car. in Christo fili, &c. Miramur non parum oratorem nostrum quem pro rebus fidei christiane ad tuam cels. misimus sine ullo responso tot iam menses istic detineri. Est hoc grave publicis rebus quarum gratia venit. Est nobis molestum qui tuos ad curiam venientes benigne expedire conamur. Proinde hortamur ser. tuam in domino et rogamus ut pro honore nostro et suo velit illum celeriter expedire et ad nos cum bona conclusione remittere. Convenit hoc nomini tuo qui christianissimus diceris et nobis qui nihil praeter utilitatem publicam quaerimus erit magnopere gratum. Dat. Senis.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 130. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

39. Pope Pius II. to Duke Borso of Modena.‡

1460, April 1, Siena.

Intelleximus nobilitatem tuam hactenus noluisse permittere ut littere apostolice super decimis, vigesimis et trigesimis in dicione

* See *supra*, p. 136. † See *supra*, p. 133. ‡ See *supra*, p. 242.

tua publicentur et illarum executio fiat, de quo satis miramur, cum tales dilationes christianis rebus sint valde contrarie, propterea hortamur ut quid circa hoc facere intendas nobis per presentem nuncium plene rescribas. Dat. Senis i. Aprilis A° 2°.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 153b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

40. Pope Pius II. to Ferrante, King of Naples.*

1460, April 15, Siena.

Cum usque in presentem diem sine ullo respectu imo cum gravi onere nostro egerimus quaecunque ad dignitatem et conservacionem status tui pertinere putavimus idque tibi notum esse non dubitamus, miramur quod in tradenda arce Castilioni quam fecimus pro nepote nostro a te postulari tanta dilacione utaris. Pius hopes that the King's Officials alone are to blame for this.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 179b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

41. Antonio Ricao to Lodovico of Gonzaga.†

1460, Nov. 6, Florence.

. . . . . A Roma sono stati presi et subeto apicati 8 di quelli Romani scandalosi, Tiburtio principale nepote de M. Stefano Porcharj cum 7 compagni per loro summa bestialità et pazia; pare che uno loro compagno fusse preso; esso poi con 6 altri entrororo in Roma et andorono alla doghana et presono el economo, che è Senese; pare che lo menassero via dicendo per la via: andando noi faremo quello a costui che serà facto al compagno nostro, confortando el populo a levarsi et pigliare l'arme; furono seguitati et presi di fuori, da sera examinati, la matina apichati. Florentie vi. Novembr. 1460.

Antonius.

[Original in the State Archives, Mantua.]

42. Pope Pius II.'s Project of Reform.‡

[1460.]

[I.] De summo pontifice (f. 1–13). As Christ taught by word

* See *supra*, p. 106. † See *supra*, p. 112.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 245 and 275. Dr Glasschroeder has most kindly furnished me with a copy of a portion of this Bull which, unfortunately, was never issued. It begins with the words: "Pius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Ad futuram

and example so must the Pope. Before prescribing anything to the faithful he must take heed to himself. The most important and absolutely necessary thing in the Church of God is Faith, and therefore he, the Pope, will make his profession of Faith. This Faith of the Church he will keep pure and defend all his life. This present *Professio Fidei* is to be solemnly read aloud, during Mass, in the Cathedral Church of Siena, before the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court. Faith and Religion are threatened by the Turks, as also by other Infidels. Although, through the efforts of the enemy of mankind, the Congress of Mantua has not had the desired result, the Pope is of opinion that the war against the Infidels must not be abandoned, and still relies on the assistance of Christian Princes and people. In order that they may be able to devote themselves entirely to the Holy War, he will endeavour that peace and unity may reign among them. It will be his care to keep heresy and schism far from the flock entrusted to him, and to revive and promote piety and virtue in Christian peoples. In these manifestations of Christian life, he himself will lead the way with a good example. He will, to the utmost of his power, avoid avarice, from which the Roman Pontiffs are bound especially to flee, and all simony, which is the consequence of avarice. In short, he will labour, according to his power, to eschew all faults and vices, and to practise all virtues, so that he may, in all things, become like unto Him, whose place, unworthy though he be, he holds. Once at least in the week, he will, for the future, grant public audiences, and take special care that the poor shall be admitted and assisted. Should he himself be prevented, he will appoint a representative who will inform him of all that has passed. When he goes to worship God in public, people shall be allowed to speak to him on his way, and on his

rei memoriam. Pastor aeternus dominus noster Jesus Christus," &c. In the Index at the Commencement of the Codex, is the entry: "Generalis Romanae curiae reformatio facta tempore Pii PP. II." This document, which is drawn up in strictly legal style, is without a date. The mention of the failure of the Congress at Mantua, and the decision regarding the reading of the *Professio Fidei* in the Cathedral of Siena, points to the sojourn of the Pope in that city in the spring and summer of 1460; Pius II. did not come to Siena in 1461, 1462, and 1463, and only revisited it in February, 1464. The project of Reform cannot, however, belong to 1464, for Pius would, in that case, have mentioned his intention of personally taking part in the Crusade.

return, and to present petitions. He will order his appearance, his manner of life, and the style of his Court, so as neither to give offence by excessive splendour, nor make himself contemptible by meanness. He will only suffer upright men in his Palace, and will strive to fill all the places in his Court with the men who are most fitted for them. Jugglers, actors, musicians, and such frivolous persons, will not be tolerated in the Palace. He will not alienate or pledge Cities, fortresses and Castles, or impose new taxes and tributes in the States of the Church, without the knowledge and consent of the Sacred College. The Commandants of Castles are to be bound by oath, on the occasion of a vacancy of the Holy See, to give up the Castles, when required, to the Cardinals or to the newly-elected Pope, even if pay should still be due to them. Governors of Cities, and Cardinals who rule Provinces of the States of the Church as *Legati a latere*, are yearly to render an account to Papal Syndics deputed for the purpose. If they transgress in any way they are to be brought to account. The Pope promises to recognise all privileges and rights conferred by his predecessors, unless compelled to abolish them by the ingratitude of the recipients; also not to make war against any Christian Princes or people without the consent of the Sacred College. Inasmuch as the Cardinals are, as it were, members of the Pope's body, he will promote none but worthy men to the purple. They must be born in lawful wedlock, at least thirty years of age, Doctors of Theology or of Canon Law, of blameless life, and experienced in business. In the case of the so-called Crown Cardinals (sons, nephews, and nominees of Princes), an ordinary education (mediocris litteratura) shall suffice. Two brothers, a nephew and uncle, or two members of the same mendicant order, are not at the same time to belong to the Sacred College. He wished to guard against the formation of too many parties in it, and, in the nomination of Cardinals, as far as possible, to consider all nations, and to appoint only those approved by the majority in the College (fratrum vota non auriculariter, ut olim servari consuevit, sed collegialiter accipiemus).

[II.] De cardinalibus (f. 13b–18). The Cardinals are to be distinguished from the rest of the faithful by the sanctity of their lives. If, by an evil life, any one of them should bring shame on his exalted position, he will have to reckon with the anger of the

Pope as well as with the chastening Hand of God. He will not suffer a bad example to be given by the Cardinals. On the contrary, they are to report in Consistory all abuses in Christendom and at the Court, and to provide remedies. Worldly considerations are never to interfere with the interests of the Catholic and Roman Church. Cardinals who, through princely favour and for their own benefit, seek and obtain any temporal advantage, shall be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated, and not absolved until they have renounced, in favour of the poor, what they had acquired. The management of all the most important affairs of the Church is to be committed to the Cardinals. Those who have been nominated previously to the Pontificate of Pius II. are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have more than sixty servants and forty teams of horses; those created by Pius II. are limited to twenty servants and four teams, and must not possess any Benefice whose revenue exceeds 4000 golden florins. The Cardinals are forbidden to wear the Cappa rubea. None who belong to the Court may hunt or keep hounds. Banquets are prohibited; as far as etiquette requires, they may be given in honour of Princes or their Ambassadors, but, on these occasions, only music of a serious character is permitted. *Other strict injunctions concerning the conduct and style of living of the Cardinals follow.* With the exception of Consistories, Cardinals are not to come to the Apostolic Palace unless they are summoned.

[III.] De penitenciariis (f. 18–19). The Grand Penitentiary, who is a Cardinal, can at any time be removed by the Pope. He must be a Magister Theologiae or Doctor of Canon Law, and, at least, forty years of age.

[IV.] With regard to the officials, the conduct of business and the management of taxes *in the Papal Chancery and Treasury*, the Constitutions of John XXII., Benedict XII., and Martin V., are prescribed (f. 20–36).

[V.] Directions regarding the Cubicularii and Custodes, the Hostiarii virgae rubeae, the Servitores Armorum and Cursores, the Clerici et Cantores capellae, the Magister sacri Palatii (who is to be a Dominican), the Procurator and Advocatus fisci (f. 36–42).

[VI.] De moribus curialium (f. 42–46b). . . . Monemus ut in posterum omnem a se malorum suorum lubricitatem repellant, scurras, histriones, ioculatores, lusores atque omne genus infamium

personarum a domibus suis eiiciant atque ita se familiamque suam reforment ut habitationes eorum religiosorum receptacula videantur. Si quis curialium concubinam seu focariam aut aliam quamcunque feminam de fornicatione suspectam tenere inventus fuerit, si semel admonitus per auditorem camere aut aliquem ex officialibus honestatis, quorum infra mentio fiet, illam non dimiserit, omnibus ecclesiasticis beneficiis atque officiis ipso facto privatus existat illaque libera tamquam vacantia impetrentur. Si quis de incontinentia suspectus circa quodcunque vitium carnis admonitus ut supra, non se correxerit, omnibus beneficiis et officiis ecc^cis^ privetur et ulterius iis poenis subiiciatur quae contra tales statutae reperiuntur. Si quis cum scorto repertus in colloquio fuerit in sua vel aliena domo, in aureis viginti condemnetur quorum decima accusatori cedant et quarta soldano. Curiales qui firmata curia in certo loco per tabernas vinarias discurrunt et in illis comedunt aut bibunt, nisi pauperes fuerint domum aut propriam habitationem non habentes, auditoris camere arbitrio puniantur. Quicunque aut Deum aut sanctos blasphemasse compertus fuerit, beneficiis atque officiis quibuscunque privetur, ecclesiasticis et aliis juris poenis subiiciatur; laici pro delictis suis officia quae obtinent in Romana curia perdant. Quicunque curialis episcopo minor pro pecunia in taxillis ludere praesumpserit, in aureis viginti apostolicae camerae condemnetur, episcopus autem aut eo maior in aureis centum quarta parte accusatori servata et eius nomine occultato. Qui ferro ligno lapide aliquem percusserit, nisi defensionis causa id fecerit, pro qualitate puniatur excessus et exul fiat a curia. Si quis curialium cuiusvis status etiam si S. R. E. cardinalis fuerit, nuncios aut litteras miserit cuipiam in derogationem aut denigrationem Romanae curiae aut Romani pontificis vel sacri collegii cardinalium, ipso facto excommunicationem incurrat et tanquam proditor et maiestatis reus puniatur nec absolvi possit nisi a Romano praesule et tunc expressa causa cur [in] excommunicationem inciderit.

Praelati etiam si cardinales fuerint duobus annulis sint contenti quorum alter dignitatis insigne, alter signandis litteris idoneus; qui plures extra missarum solemnia gestaverit, excommunicationi subiaceat et tanquam vanus et iactabundus infamiae notam incurrat. . . . Here follow directions for the reform of the dress of members of the Court. The obligation of residence is inculcated on Bishops, the number of their servants limited, and

the outward appearance of the same regulated. Precautions to ensure the election of worthy Bishops,—severe enactments against simony,—the Court officials are forbidden, under pain of excommunication and restitution, to take more than their appointed fees.

[VII.] De mercatoribus [sc. curiae], (f. 47). Regulations for the prevention of simoniacal elections.

[VIII.] De pluralitate beneficiorum (f. 47b–51). Only a Cardinal may have another Church besides that of his title, nisi duae pontificales ecclesiae prius unitae invicem fuerint. No Abbot is to have two Convents subject to him. The Bishops in Greece, Dalmatia, Croatia, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and Spain, whose incomes amount to at least 500 golden florins, are not to take any other benefice. Any deed conferring a benefice on such is invalid. Pari poena subiiciantur ultramontani episcopi quorum ecclesiae mille aureos residentibus reddunt nisi regum filii fuerint aut nepotes sive quarto gradu regio sanguine nati. A Convent, in which are eight or more inmates, is not to be given in Commendam. No Cardinal is to hold more than two or three Convents in Commendam; detailed regulations for the limitation of Commendams and Reservations, and for the carrying out of the Wills of Officials of the Papal Court, follow.

[IX.] De bullis apostolicis aegrotante papa factis (f. 51–51b). Arrangements to ensure that in such circumstances there should be no fraud.*

[X.] De oratoribus regum (f. 51b). Oratores regum et principum populorumque quorumcunque ecclesiasticorum ultra sex menses in Romana curia locum legatorum minime teneant, sed finito tempore aut domum redeant aut tanquam privati inter alios sui ordinis sedeant. While employed on active service, Legates are to hold no other office.

[XI.] De assistentibus (f. 51b–52). Rules regarding those immediately about the Pope; they are to be Bishops, and not above eight in number.

[XII.] De triumviris sive officialibus honestatis (f. 52–3), who are to see that the preceding ordinances are not contravened

* As had been the case during the last illness of Calixtus III.; see our Vol. II., p. 444.

by the members of the Roman Court. Transgressions on the part of Cardinals and Bishops are judged by the Pope.

[Copy in Cod. XXVII.-6, f. 1-53. Barberini Library, Rome.]

43. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.*

1461, March 9, Rome.

Sabato prox. passato che fu a VII. de questo entro qui el dispota de la Morea qual certo e un bel homo et ha uno bello et grave aspecto et bon modi et molto signorili; po havere da cinquanta sei anni. Havea in dosso una turcha de zambeloto † negro cum uno capello biancho peloso fodrato de cetanino ‡ velutato negro cum una cerata intorno; per quello intendo havea LXX. cavalli et altretanti a piede, tucti cavalli prestati salvo che tre sono suoi. The Pope received him in Consistory, in the Camera del Papagolo, and shewed him great honour. He costs the Pope 300 ducats § a month, and has an apartment at SS. Quattro Coronati.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

44. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga. ‖

1461, March 16, Rome.

. . . . Qui in tucta la corte se rasona cosi caldamente de concilio come se fra octo di havesse a livare et da molti et prelati et altri sono sta domandato se è vero chel si faza a Mantua, io li respondo che non ne so cosa alcuna, ma quando fusse la sorte so ben ge seria acceptato . . . . Al palazo sento pur ne sta rasonato perche monsig. Niceno ¶ ha scripto che tuta Alemagna el crida et seriase contenti se facesse in Italia et che in Franza non consentirano mai . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

45. Pope Pius II. to Aquila.**

1461, June 10, Rome.

A letter of sharp rebuke, with Scriptural allusions: Erexistis

* See *supra*, pp. 249-50. † See Heyd-Raynaud, II., 704. ‡ *Ibid.*, 702.
§ See Pii II. Comment. 130. ‖ See *supra*, pp. 194 and 197.
¶ Bessarion. ** See *supra*, p. 122.

cornua vestra in regem vestrum. At the conclusion the Pope threatens the people of Aquila.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 187b–188. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

46. Pope Pius II. to the Bishop of Aquila.*

1461, June 10, Rome.

De iis que Aquilani in dies contra regem suum et contra Romanam ecclesiam faciunt non caret tua fraternitas crimine. Tu cum prudens sis et auctoritatem in populo habeas, non putaris facere quod ad tuum officium pertinet . . . . Here follows an exhortation to amendment. He also writes, at the same time, to the inhabitants of Aquila:† the Bishop has now an opportunity of shewing whether he is for the Pope or not, he is to point out their misdeeds to his flock.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 188b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

47. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.‡

1461, June 29, Rome.

He speaks of S. Catherine of Siena's Canonisation and of George Podiebrad.§ Heri qui a li merli del castello fureno impichati dui de quelli fanti del castellano, uno Senese et l'altro de Urbino‖ et uno per li piedi, l'altro pur per il collo; fu una grande demonstratione . . . . se dice voleano tore il castello . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

48. Pope Pius II. to Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Bishop of Corneto.¶

1461, July 6, Rome.

A letter of consolation in regard to the blow which had fallen on him. Credimus nullam tuam fuisse [in] his negligentiam . . . . . Bono animo esto. He will soon send him troops. Opera est danda ut macula hec novo deleatur conatu.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 189b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 122. † See N. 45. ‡ See *supra*, p. 115.

§ See *supra*, pp. 223 and 292.

‖ Regarding these worshippers of the Sun, see Æn. Sylv. Opp., 289.

¶ See *supra*, p. 120.

49. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1461, July 11, Rome.

Heri sera gionsi qua insieme col rev^mo^ cardinale de Thiano† et condussi lo S. Jacobo Savello alli pedi de la Sta de N. S. in presentia d'alcuni s^ri^ cardinali et de molti prelati et infiniti cortesani et essendo con luy molti citadini Romani con grandissima reverentia et humilita dimando misericordia a N. S. il qual benignamente lo receve a gratia usandoli parole clementissime. La qual cosa de quanta alegreza et piacere sia stata a tutta questa cita et a questa corte non lo potrey scrivere. Idio ne sia laudato.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

50. Pope Pius II. to Bologna.‡

1461, Oct. 9, Rome.

Dilecti, &c. Littere vestre nobis reddite sunt ab ea quam de vobis spem animo conceperamus longe aliene. Putabamus vos tanquam devotos et fideles subditos nostros nihil passuros quod in nos ne dicamus facto, sed simplici verbo committeretur ac pro statu nostro ut debetis arma ad minimumque usque sumpturos facultates et vitam in discrimine ubi opus esset posituros nullo respectu habito. Verum longe decepti videmur quod pro status nostri proditore quasi pro amico interceditis et picturam in eius ignominiam fieri vix pati potestis quem hostem et rebellem nostrum esse non ignoratis. Proinde respondemus nostre intentionis esse picturam in proditoris ignominiam fieri et quidem Bononie si quicquam in ea civitate que nostra est vel minimum possumus nec vobis imputari potest quod in civitate nostra fieri iussimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die ix. Octobris 1461, P. N. A. IIII°.

† G. de Piccolomin. †

[Original in the State Archives, Bologne. Lib. Q. 3, f. 53.]

51. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga.§

1461, Oct. 16, Rome.

Regarding Queen Charlotte of Cyprus: Qui starala cinque o sei

* See *supra*, p. 115.

‡ See *supra*, p. 117.

† Fortiguerra.

§ See *supra*, p. 253.

di per quello intendo; è allogiata in palazo—her maintenance will be paid for, and she will be greatly honoured: ge andorno incontra nove cardinali et cinque fin alla nave sua che era de sotto de s. Paulo et quatro fin alla porta . . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

52. MARTINUS SUARDUS TO LODOVICO DE GONZAGA.*

1461, Nov. 11, Florence.

. . . . Heri circa ore XXII la regina di Cipri entro in questa [citta].†

She was much honoured. Era vestita de una veste di colore beretino cum maniche picole. La portatura de la testa tanto dimessa e del collo et della gola che a me pareva videre una suore, non che una regina, ma altremente e bella e giovene de ettade de XXI. o XXII. anni; vero che la tiene un puocho del bruno.‡

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

53. GREGORIO LOLLI TO SIENA.§

1461, Dec. 26, Rome.

Magnifici, &c. A questi di passati mandai a la M. S. V. la copia d'una lettera del re di Francia. Dapoi e seguito che col ultimo di Novembre la Maestà sua nel suo grande consiglio assistenti prelati et vari signori insieme con li ambasciadori de le provincie di Francia ad honore di Dio et de la sede apostolica et di papa Pio

* See *supra*, p. 253.

† See Ricordi di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini, LXXXIX. REUMONT, Lorenzo I., 129, 2nd ed., is much mistaken in making the Queen journey from Florence to Rome. See *supra*, N. 51. To complete MAS-LATRIE'S account, III., 114 *seq.*, I will add the following dates regarding Charlotte's journey: 20–22 Nov. at Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 742, and *GHIRARDACCI (Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna); 28 Nov. in Piacenza, see Annal. Placent., 906. In the year 1462 the Queen entered Mantua on the 18th July, and left it on the 14th August for Venice (SCHIVENOGLIA, 150). The unfortunate lady's letter, cited *supra*, p. 255, bears out these particulars. Regarding Charlotte's negotiations with Venice, 1462, see *Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 105 *seq.* State Archives, Venice.

‡ In the *Letter of the 16th Oct., 1461, mentioned *supra*, p. 253, Giac. Chicio describes Charlotte as follows: "La statura sua bona piu tosto grande che mediocre, di colore bruno, la fronte per rispecto a la compositione de tuto il corpo pichola, assai li ochgii e di laude degni." Gonzaga Archives.

§ See *supra*, p. 140.

ha tolta la pragmatica, la quale piu pontefici antecessori di N. S. non hanno possuta tollare. È la maggior novella che potesse havere la sede apostolica, perchè in uno tracto a acquistato un regno tale quale è quello di Francia, et ha integra obedientia di tutti li christiani. È da rendere gratie a Dio che al tempo d'uno papa senese habbi tanto exaltata santa Chiesa. Ecci anchora non piccola utilità de la patria nostra perchè la strada si duplicara nel venire de cortigiani. Et acciò che intendiate tutto et come la Maestà del re di Francia ha tutto dato ala Santità di N. S. senza alcuno riservo vi mando la copia di due lettere l'una del cardinale di Constantia, l'altra del veschovo Atrebantense nuovo cardinale.* Dio sia lodato d'ogni cosa, che tante gloriose cose ha fatto et fa tutto ne la persona del nostro pontefice . . . Rome die xxvi. Decembris MCCCCLXI.

M. D. V. Servitor,

G. DE PICCOLOMNIBUS.

[A tergo :] Address.

[Original in the State Archives, Siena. Concist. Lett. ad an.]

54. POPE PIUS II. TO FRANKFORT ON MAINE.†

1462, Jan. 10, Rome.

PIUS episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis Magistris civium et consulatui ac communitati civitatis Frankforden. salutem et apost. ben.

Non dubitamus vos iampridem scire iniquitatis filium Dietherum de Isemburg ob graves excessus inobedientiam et demerita sua iusto iudicio privatum ecclesia Moguntin. fuisse et excommunicatum. Propterea devotionem vestram in domino exhortamur requirimus et monemus ut si forte vos vel Dietherus ipse vel adherentes et complices sui ad participationem ac societatem peccati et scandali viam vocarent, ipsos audire nolitis, sed potius illos ad erroris emendationem inducere ac iusticie et honori Roman. sedis et saluti Moguntin. ecclesie assistere ac totis viribus consulere et favere nitamini, mandantes nichilominus vobis in vim sancte obedientie et pro ea quam nobis et apostolice sedi reveren-

* This letter is preserved in Fonds Lat., 4154, f. 148, of the National Library, Paris, and was published from the original by FIERVILLE, 246–47.

† See *supra*, p. 205.

tiam debetis quatenus prefato Diethero adherentibusque et complicibus ac sequacibus suis quocunque nomine censeantur neque auxilium neque consilium neque favorem neque assistentiam ullam nec denique suffragium aliquod verbo vel scripto vel opere [di] recte vel indirecte aut aliquo quesito colore impendatis impendive faciatis, quinymo dilecto filio Adolfo de Nassaw vero et indubitato electo Moguntin. et adherentibus ac fautoribus suis omni favore et auxilio possibili assistatis et pro honore nostro et dicte ecclesie salute illum constanter iuvetis; facietis rem placentem Deo, dignam populo fideli et nobis admodum caram qui pro bono publico et ad corrigendam malignantium pravitatem remedia huiusmodi querimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum anno incarnationis dominice 1461° quarto id. Januar. pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

G. DE PORRIS.

[On the lower margin:]

Presentata in die S. Gertrudis anno LXII.

[A tergo:]

Dilectis filiis magistris civium et consulatui ac communitati civitatis Frankforden.

[Original, with leaden seal attached to it, in City Archives at Frankfort on Maine. Rechtsangelegenheiten betreffendes 5293.]

55. LUDOVICUS PETRONIUS TO SIENA.*

1462, March 17, Rome.

The French ambassadors have done homage, and repealed the Pragmatic Sanction, et qua n'è facto festa et processione con molta allegreza.† E ben vero che a due parti non fu resposto per lo s. pontefice, lo quale respose si gloriosamente che fu piu presto cosa divina che humana et con admiratione di ciaschuno racontando quasi tucte le storie et tucti i gesti di casa di Francia et non fu resposto alla parte di Genova et alla parte del regno . . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Siena.]

* See *supra*, p. 151.

† That the Pragmatic Sanction was delivered up, and dragged through the streets of Rome (DAUNOU, 275), is not mentioned in this or any other Ambassador's Report. VOIGT, III., 197, justly rejected the story in 1869, which, however, does not prevent FRIEDBERG, Grenzen, II., 490, again bringing it before his readers.

56. Sigismondo Malatesta to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1462, March 26, Rimini.

. . . . Apreso io so advixato che la Sta de N. S. ha fatto alchuni versi contro di me et in mia ignominia et quilli ha mandato a Fiorenza a farli ligare. Et perche determino fare como quello che disse: honorem meum nemini dabo, ho voluto prima advixarne la V. Illma S. como a mio signore per farli intendere che el mio animo non sia de comportare simile cose etiam che Sua Sta me sia signore et io li sia vicario et servo. Quando simile cose se spandano fora et quanto io potro me sforzaro: essendo offeso cum la penna offendere altri in quello medesimo modo; se cum la spada me ingegnaro similiter deffendermi cum la spada usque ad mortem, perche quantunque io sia povero homo, tutta fiada me recordaro de quello ditto che dice: uno bello morire tutta una vita honora. He wished to make this communication to the Duke, so that he might not be able afterwards to say: Sigismondo, you ought not to have kept this thing from me.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

57. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1463, Jan. 13, Rome.

The Pope relates to the ambassador the news brought by Antonio de Noceto from France. Esso Antonio ce scrive molte cose de le menaze che fanno li signori et prelati de Franza, et come ogniuno ne vole male excepto lo re; ce scrive come li trova un messer Antonio di natione Galico, ma stato gran tempo in Ungaria et Boemia, il quale gia fu qui in corte per parte del re de Boemia, et quando il vescovo de Ferrara torno de Franza, lo trovo a Milano che era li come ambasiatore del prefato re de Boemia, ac etiam de li re d'Ungaria et de Polonia, questo tale è al presente in Franza, et per parte de li prefati tre re ha suaso et confortato la M^ta^ del re de Franza a levarci la obedientia et tornare la pragmatica et a fare concilio, con ciò sia cosa che dica noy esser tanto apassionati in questa impresa del regno per nostra specialita, che non attendemo a le cose del Turcho pro defensione fidei, et che nuy siamo capitali inimici de la casa de Franza, et che in Ala-

* See *supra*, p. 125. † See *supra*, p. 238.

magnia et in altre parte havemo molti nemici per nostro difetto, et che volendo sua M^ta^ farsi capo de questi come se conveniva per riformare la chiesia et provedere a la defensione de la fede de Christo, li prefati tre re et cosi molti altri signori d'Alamagnia et d'altre provintie lo seguitareno; et grande instantia ha fatto circa di cio. La M^ta^ del re li ha data repulsa, il che vedendo lui e itto al re Renato, et fatto instantia cum lui, lo quale ha mandata sua ambasiata a la M^ta^ del re de Franza a confortarlo a questo, et cosi molti prelati et s^ri^ di Franza lo conforteno; fin a qui sua M^ta^ non li ha data risposta et stasse alquanto suspeso.

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

58. Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1463, Aug. 7, Florence.

. . . Qui fo heri matina la rotta data per larmata eclesiastica ad quella de S. Sigismondo: heri sera vi fo che doe galee Ven^e^ hanno recuperata parte de larmata perduta per Malatesti et che a la scoperta fano contro N. S.; pare stranio qui ad ognuno quel fano Ven^i^ et tiensi non habino facto tanto apparato, se non ad fine de renovar la intelligentia col Turco cum megliore conditione e trovarsi in ordine ad fine de disponer la voglia loro de l'empresa del reame et de Malatesti: ex consequenti de Ytalia, quando N. S. Dio disponesse max^e^ chiamar ad se N. S^re^, V. Cel e Cosimo . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Cart. Gen.]

59. Giov. Pietro Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.†

1463, Oct. 4, Rome.

Illustrissima madonna mia. . . . De Franza ogni di se sentono gran novelle. Pare chel re habbi fatto condanare nel parlamento a Pariso el r^mo^ mon. de Constantia‡ in circa X^m^ ducati: facendo gran menaze se in un certo tempo non li haverà pagati e fatto revocar un breve che haveva mandato per una abbatia chel litigava; ha tuolto al r^mo^ mons. d'Avignone tuto le stato temporale perchè favoreva la pratica d'un vescovo contra la voluntate desso

* See *supra*, p. 127.

† See *supra*, p. 155, and Voigt, III., 204 *sea.*: also Cugnoni, 134 *seq.*

‡ See, on this subject, Fierville, 134.

re, e se non desiste da questa impresa menacia de tuorli tuti suoi beneficij de Franza: ha facto certi edicti che nel regno suo niuno sotto pena de la vita olsi de exequire alcuna lettera apostolica o sia bulla ne appellarse in causa alcuna a la corte Romana. Credese anche innovarà la pragmatica; scrive a N. S. lettere terribilissime in favore de Atrebatensis mostrando che da S. S^te^ è malvogluito perchè fa li facti suoi. Ricorda a Roano e Lebreto che lo vogliano honorare se hanno cara la gratia sua. Dicesi che esso Atrebatense vole andare in Franza fina VIII. di e già ha fatto ligare la più parte de le sue cose. Sel va, dubito serà cagione de gran scandali. Questi di è morto el duca de Colona fratello che foe del Card^le^. . . . Rome iiii.° Octobr. MCCCCLXIII.

Servitor Jo. Petrus Arrivabenus.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

60. Pope Pius II. to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim.*

1463, Nov. 10, Rome.

He informs him that the Archbishop of Mayence will furnish him with an authentic copy of the Bull recently issued, and commands him to publish this Bull and to take care, ut omnia fiant quae et desiderii nostri intelligas et ad nos adiuvandos conducant.

[Copy in the Cathedral Library, Trèves. Cod. 33, f. 1.]

61. Archbishop Adolph of Mayence to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim.†

1464, Jan. 31, Mayence.

. . Recepimus paucis effluxis diebus certas literas apostolicas a sanctissimo dom. nostro Pio papa secundo ex parte generalis defensionis catholice fidei contra infideles et fidei christiane persecutores perfidos Turcos emanatas nobis per certos s. sedis nobiles ambaciatores et nuncios praesentatas. In quibus eadem sedes nos requirit, quatenus illarum copiam una cum brevibus e[iusdem] s[ue] s[an]c[titatis] et nostris exhortacionibus suffraganeis ecclesie nostre transmittere studeamus. Verum quia nos tamquam catholicus princeps sancte Romane ecclesie et apostolicis preceptis, presertim hiis que ad sacrosancte catholice fidei suffragium et defensionem procedere sperantur, prompto affectu merito obedientes meritoque inclinati iuxta commissionem prefati sanctis-

* See *supra*, p. 334. † See *supra*, p. 334.

simi domini nostri vobis transmittimus earundem apostolicarum literarum copias auschultatas una cum brevi nobis asscripto. Rogamus atque hortamur dilectionem vestram singulari cum diligencia, quatinus iuxta monita apostolica et ipsarum literarum continenciam ortodoxe religionis zelo vos benivolum exhibeatis. Illa eciam a nobis sincero animo placeat intelligere . . .

[Copy in the Cathedral Library, Trèves. Cod. 33, fol. 1–1[1].]

62. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

[1464], May 28, Rome.

Gives an account of the suffering condition of Pius II., who will not, in the opinion of those around him, be able to bear the hardships of the journey: e tal chi era prompto a suaderli l'andare hora e piu remisso e lo rev^mo card^le de Pavia † me l'ha detto molto in secreto e dice haverne lui parlato con la Sta Sua, la qual sta obstinata dicendo se dovesse morire che vuole andare come ha promisso.‡

* See *supra*, p. 350. † Ammanati.

‡ These words, spoken by Pius II. to one of his confidants, furnish important evidence of the earnestness of his efforts on behalf of the Crusade. Reumont, III., 1, 491, characterises as unworthy the insinuations of Voigt in regard to the Pope's motives in the Crusade; Brosch, Kirchenstaat, I., 14, defends Voigt, and says: "what these motives really were, we learn from the Despatches of the Milanese Ambassador, Girol. de Collis, dated Venice, 24 Aug. and 11 Sept., 1464, published in the Collez. di doc. storichi antichi delle terre Marchigiane p. c. di Ciavarini, p. 185 (Ancona, 1870). The Despatches furnish documentary evidence that the crusading zeal of Pius II. appeared to the best informed contemporaries, like the Doge of Venice, in a most suspicious light." H. Brosch could hardly have appealed to a worse witness than the Doge Ch. Moro, who only joined the Crusade by compulsion, and, by his whole bearing, shewed how unpleasing the Pope's expedition was to him. (See *supra*, p. 366 *seq.*) The Despatches of G. Collis, which I have been unable, after diligent search, to find in the Milanese Archives, and which Ciavarini obtained through a Russian, only shew that the Pope, who would not allow himself to be used for the ends of the Republic, and who endeavoured to bring about a general expedition against the Turks, was very badly spoken of in Venice. Both Reports were written after the death of the Pope. The statements of those who were eye-witnesses of the last part of Pius II.'s life, are certainly worthy of more credit than those made by an Ambassador who was at a distance, living in Venice, and who, after the death of the Pope, wrote what was there reported. G. de Collis says that nothing was prepared by the Pope, and that not even "un

63. Pope Pius II. to Piero de' Medici.*

1464, Aug. 8, Ancona.

Pius Papa II. Petro Medici Cosmi filio. Dilecte fili, &c. Intel-

sacho de biscotto" was ready. How far this assertion is true may be seen by a glance at the *Crusade account-book, mentioned *supra*, p. 336, where, in May, 1464, is an entry of 1000 duc. for biscotto. (State Archives, Rome.) In opposition to Brosch, see also Cipolla in Arch. Veneto, XX., 116. Almost all scholars of note, even such as are not favourably disposed towards Pius II., justly maintain that he was thoroughly in earnest in his efforts to promote the Crusade; see in particular, Ranke, Päpste, I., 25; Burckhardt, A. v. Krain, 16; Jäger, Cusa, I., 318; Cipolla, Signorie, 490; Helwing, 21; Fromann, 235; Villari, I., 59–60; Weber, Weltgesch., IX., 116; Hopf, Griechenl., LXXXVI., 155; Hagenbach, Kirchengesch., 590; Bigazzi, Miscell. Storica, Nr. III., p. 25 (Florence, 1849); Höfler, Borgia, 23–24. See also Schröckh, Kirchengesch., 290, and Marcellino da Civezza, III., 43. Simoneta's suspicious statement, adopted by Voigt, III., 764, that Pius II. had resolved only to go to Durazzo, and then to return to Rome, is also to be rejected. The Reports of Carretto, to which Simoneta appeals, are neither in the State Archives, Milan, nor in the Ambrosian Library. *Reports of Carretto, dated May and June are, however, extant, and shew that Pius II. was steadfastly determined to go to the Turkish war. The place to which the troops were to be transported on leaving Ancona depended, in some measure, on the will of the Doge, as appears from a *Report addressed by the Bishop of Feltre to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, 1464, May 28 (State Archives, Milan), and from a *Letter of Giacomo d'Arezzo, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25 (Gonzaga Archives); before the Doge's arrival it was accordingly impossible to come to a definite conclusion. There is also an *Instruction of Fr. Sforza's for his Ambassadors to the Pope, dated Milan, 1464, July 30. (Archives at Milan.) The Duke, in this document, does not express the slightest doubt of the Pope's purpose to undertake the expedition. It is well known that Fr. Sforza was little inclined for the Crusade; see *supra*, p. 341 *seq.* Simoneta desires to excuse his Duke, and therefore casts suspicion on the Pope. That the Duke of Milan to the last intended to hold Pius II. back is evident from an *Instruction for the French Ambassador, Malleta, dated Milan, 1464, Aug. 10, in which he says: "*Nuy gli dessuademo tale andata et faremo el possibile perche non passi della; benche l'habia el cervello Senese che sapete, ma dal canto nostro non gli mancarimo ad questo effecto et de quello succedera ve advisarimo." (Cod. 1611, Fonds. Ital. of the National Library, Paris.) These words make it clear that a secret purpose on the part of the Pope to return to Rome is out of the question. A hundred years ago S. Borgia, in the Anecd. Litt., III., 278, expressed himself as opposed to Simoneta and to the Report of Christophorus a Soldo, which made insinuations against the Pope.

* The last letter of the Pope, who was already sick to death; see *supra*, p. 360, and Voigt, III., 703.

leximus nuper Cosmum patrem tuum ex hac vita migrasse. Acerbum sane et luctuosum nuntium.* Dileximus quidem illum sincera caritate ut virum quem nobis et apostolicae sedi semper devotum experti sumus et quam singulari prudentia et bonitate preditum esse cognovimus. Mors eius etsi non tibi solum sed multis lugenda videatur, tamen oportet fili te forti animo ferre eum casum qui divina lege mortalibus prescriptus est. Voluntatem hanc divinam constanter feras nec dolori indulgeas. Si mortalitatis cursam recto iudicio existimas, vixit diu Cosmus, satisfecit naturae et viam universae carnis grandevus est ingressus. Vixit in laude et gloria: nec solum in civitate sua, sed in tota Italia et universo fere orbe cum summa existimatione et quod pluris faciendum est† vixit pie et religiose dei timoratus. Nec expedit eius viri exitum lugere qui iuste et recte vixit quoniam ex hac turbulentissima vita humana ad quietissimam et tranquillissimam migrasse censendum est. Nos dilecte fili quoniam genitorem tuum paterna et† singulari† quadam caritate amplectebamur intendimus erga te eundem animum gerere quem erga eum gessimus facturosque nos assidue pollicemur quae honori et commodis tuis et domus et familiae de Medicis conducere arbitrabimur.‡ Hec te non ignorare voluimus. Datum Anconae sub annulo piscatoris die 8 Augusti 1464, pontificatus nostri anno VI. Die postea XIV hora IV noctis ibidem ex febri est mortuus.

[Cop. Plut. LIV.–Cod. 10, f. 123. Laurentian Library, Florence.]

64. Gregorio Lolli to Siena.§

1464, Aug. 15, Ancona.

. . . E piaciuto a Dio questa nocte ad hore tre|| chiamare a se la

* In the copy in Plut. LXXXX., Cod. 36, here follow the words: "nobisque molestissimum."

† Wanting in the above-mentioned Manuscript.

‡ The other manuscript has "arbitramur."

§ See *supra*, p. 370.

|| This hour is mentioned in Cron. Rom., 29; Cr. di Bologna, 757; in the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 33b; in the *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 15; of Giacomo d'Arezzo, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16; and of Cardinal Gonzaga of the same date (these are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The second hour of the night is the time given in the *Chronicle of Broglio, f. 278 (Cod. D.,

benedecta anima de la felice memoria di papa Pio. Ecci a tanto danno uno poco di refrigerio che essendo mortale come li [altri] homini è morto il piu glorioso pontefice che gia grandissimo tempo sedesse in quella sedia, è danno non solo a noi, ma tutta la christianita n'ha a fare grande lamento di tanta perdita.

[Original in the State Archives, Siena.]

65. The Version of the "Memoirs of Pius II."

(In Cod. Regin., 1995. Vatican Library.)

In the second volume of this work (p. 323, note †) I have referred to the very one-sided manner in which the "Memoirs of Pius II." were mutilated in several editions (Rome, 1584, and 1589, and Frankfort, 1614), to the Manuscripts of the Gambalunga, Chigi, and Santa Croce Libraries (? V. Emman. Libr.), which contained the missing and often most interesting passages, and to the fact that Professor Cugnoni founded his edition of these omissions, (published in Rome in 1883), only on a Manuscript in the Chigi Library, and did not consult the Vatican Codices. After a careful examination of these Codices, made in March, 1883, I believe that in Cod. Regin., 1995, MS. chart. fol. sec. XV. fol. 595, I have found the Original of the "Memoirs," written in part by the hand of Pius II. himself, and the Manuscript seems to be the one entrusted to Campanus for correction. This was certainly done when the 12 Books of the Commentaries were completed: Campanus, 986, mentions only these 12 Books, while Platina, from the first, speaks of a 13th; this, which has been published by Voigt, is, however, in its Latinity and style throughout, of a date subsequent to the earlier ones. The ancient title of the Cod. Regin., 1995, mentions neither 12 nor 13 Books. The Manuscript actually, however, contains the beginning of the 13th Book, which was written later, and concludes with the very same words as the two Manuscripts in the Vallicellana and Corsini Libraries * on which Voigt based his edition. Cod. Regin. opens with an

III., 48, Gambalunga Library, Rimini), and in a Letter from the Archbishop of Milan to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16 (State Archives, Milan), while the Chron. Eugub., 1008, and the notice in N. 63, have the fourth hour.

* The present designation of this Manuscript is: 35. G. 11.

Index, then the MS., f. 1, commences with the words: "Jesus. Si perit morte animus, &c.," that is to say, with Campanus' Preface. At f. 1b the Papal "Memoirs" begin at first in the handwriting of an amanuensis, but with later additions in the margin. The words in italics, for example, regarding the names bestowed on Piccolomini, are a later edition: Aeneas etiam patris Silvii nomen accepit et *ob reverentiam Apostoli, quem Indorum barbari decoriarunt, Bartholomaei, tritoninus enim fuit, Aeneas Silvius Bartholomaeus apellatus: editus autem est in lucem ipsa luce sancti Evangelistae Lucae xiii. Cal. Nov. 1405.* Hic in pueritia, &c." A notable variation from the printed text occurs in the Vatican Manuscript, f. 2, which has the words: "Exinde cum diu apud patrem quaevis officia ruris obiisset, annos jam duodeviginti natus in urbem migravit." Not only are the words "civili exercitatione" omitted, but also the passage which, without knowledge of the Manuscript, VOIGT, II., 339, had justly concluded to be inserted by a flatterer,* "animi levandi causa prout a nobilibus fieri solet." The addition on f. 7, excusing the author, is also very characteristic: "At Aeneas non tam foeminas quam latrones—dormire sinebant" which is wanting in the older editions—and was first published by CUGNONI, p. 180. From f. 11 to f. 33b is the work of another hand; f. 34 is blank. I think that I recognise the autograph of Pius II. in the note, f. 35–61; a comparison with the facsimile of his autograph, given by CUGNONI, ex Cod. Chis., I., VII., 251, 269, as well as with the autograph Postscript of his Brief of the 25th November, 1458, to Siena (published in Piccolomini Doc., see *supra*, p. 50, note §), which I shortly afterwards had the opportunity of examining, shews the greatest similarity in the formation of the characters. While Part f. 11–33b proceeds like a transcript, and without corrections, the continuation from f. 35–61 conveys the idea of being a rough draft; it is a first copy, with corrections, such as an author makes while writing; words are frequently transposed, a better expression is selected, or a wrongly written word effaced. Professor Aug. Wilmanns,† who was at the time

* Voigt suspects Campanus, but this appears to me doubtful.

† I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt gratitude to the worthy Director of the Royal Library for the unwearied kindness with which he repeatedly sent numerous works, from the wealthy institution under his care, to Innsbruck for my use. As there are many serious deficiencies in the

working in the Vatican, and to whom, as a very competent authority, I submitted my discovery, was also of opinion that the Manuscript was that of the author. This view of the matter is further corroborated by the fact that the passage where, if I am correct, the Pope himself takes up the pen, beginning with the words "Turcae dum haec aguntur," narrates the fall of Constantinople (Comment. Pii II., Frankfort ed., p. 22 *seq.*), a subject which, naturally, was very near the heart of the august writer. At the conclusion of the first Book, f. 61, the Pope ceases to write with his own hand; his autograph draft also includes the relation of his own election,* of which I have made use (*supra*, p. 11). I have minutely examined this much mutilated section, and have noted the most important corrections made by the writer. These corrections have strengthened my conviction that it is written by the author himself. For example, at the beginning of the account of the Conclave, instead of "Haec cum accepisset Philippus card. Bononiensis" were the words "Inter hec Eneas historiam bohemican cum absolvisset," which the author has effaced; instead of "urbem" stood "Romam," instead of "sacella," "capelle," after "in maiore" the most unnecessary addition "capella," and so forth. But in the final Text of the Cod. Regin. slight variations from the former version occur, variations which improve upon the style, and indicate the hand of the author. Instead of "Aeneam timebat" (CUGNONI, 185), Cod. Regin. has the stronger expression "formidabat"; instead of the unmeaning word "revelabit," "relevavit"; instead of "non me imprudentem nosti," "nec me, &c."; instead of "dimissus," the more correct "dimissurus." The passage which VOIGT, III., 7, holds to be genuine, "Veniebant non pauci magnis pollicitationibus et quasi amasiae capiebantur ab domino vendebaturque Christi tunica sine exemplo," stands in the Cod.

Library at Innsbruck, the completion of my work without extraneous aid would have been an impossibility. I am also greatly indebted to the Directors of the University Library at Vienna.

* Important variations, regarding the time of Nicholas V. and of Calixtus III., do not occur, therefore I could not—as DRUFFEL, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1888, p. 515, requires—point them out. This "Critic" who, without waiting for my later volume, here casts doubts on my statements regarding the original Manuscript of the Commentaries, has never himself even seen the Manuscript in question.

Chis. (CUGNONI, *loc. cit.*) as well as in Cod. Regin. "Vincebantur non pauci magnis pollicitationibus et quasi musce capiebantur ab homine vendebaturque tunica Christi sine Christo." The principal words in question, "quasi musce," &c., are found in many other Manuscripts.* VOIGT's conjecture, III., 8, of "Ursinus" instead of "Pisanus," is confirmed by Cod. Chis. as well as Cod. Regin. Finally, the following readings from the Cod. Regin. are to be preferred to those of Cod. Chis. in CUGNONI, 185–186:—

certi ex cardinalibus	*instead of*	certis ex c.
pontificatum obtinent	,,	p. ineat.
paupertatem praemiis	,,	paupertate premeris.
alienum est a Christi professione quam vicarium	,,	alienum est a Ch. p. quum vicarium.
non feret	,,	non fert.
lupanar meretricum	,,	l. meretricium.
ne solus remanerem	,,	ne s. permanerem.

It will be observed that the sum total is small, but they are worthy of attention in a new addition of this remarkable work. In Cod. Regin. there are many changes of hand; at f. 349, another hand begins with Lib. VIII.

I see, in addition, that DUDIK, I., 264, suggests that Cod. Regin., 1995 "appears to be the Original," without, however, giving any further grounds for this impression. The statement here made, that the Codex came from the Library of S. Andrea at Rome, is of importance. According to DE ROSSI (Bibl. Vat., 365), the Codices from the Library of Pius II., now preserved in the Vatican, were brought from the magnificent Library which the Theatines had at S. Andrea della Valle (BLUME, III., 141); the Manuscript, therefore, is from the Pope's private Library, a circumstance which yet further confirms the opinion I have expressed.

* As Cod. Urb., 407, p. 1, f. 58, Vatican Library, Cod. XXXIII.–142. f. 122; Barberini Library, IX.; Cod. XXX. and XXXII. of the Marciana at Venice, and Conclavi diversi a Pio II. ad Pium IV., Vol. 139. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. III.

ADOLPH OF NASSAU, Archbishop of Mayence, 165, 203–206, 208, 209.
Agnensis, Galeotto, 7.
Alain, Cardinal, 11, 13, 17, 47, 102, 138, 155.
Albert, Archduke of Austria, 53, 87.
Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg, 48, 53, 97, 158, 160, 163–165, 167, 168, 194, 195, 197, 199, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 118.
d'Albret, Louis, Cardinal, 137, 138, 298.
Aldighieri, Michele degli, 248.
Alexander I., King of Poland, 252.
Amalfi, Duke of, *see* Piccolomini, Antonio.
Ammanati, Cardinal (Bishop of Pavia), 32, 41, 126, 147, 299, 300, 355, 356, 361, 365, 369, 370.
Andrew, St., Head of, 249, 258–261.
Anguillara, Everso, 109, 143.
Anguillara, Family of, 107.
Antoine of Burgundy, 345.
Antoninus, St. (Archbishop of Florence), 22, 56, 275.
Antonio da Gubbio, 229.
Antonio da Noceto, 139, 154, 237.
Antonio da Pistoja, 17.
Augsburg, Cardinal of, 173.
Auribelle, Martial, 278.
BAMBERG, Bishop of, 48.
Barbara, Marchioness of Mantua, 73.
Barbo, Pietro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul II.), 7, 12, 47, 301, 371.
Benvoglienti, Leonardo, 329, 337.
Bernardo da Bosco, 286.
Bernardo of Florence, 305, 307.
Bertholdo d'Este, 338, 340.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 12, 13, 32, 63, 69, 81, 96, 147, 159–163, 168–170, 172–176, 194, 199, 225, 244, 258, 261, 289, 312, 317–319, 349, 369.
Biondo, Flavio, and Gasparo, 40.
Blumenau, Lorenz, 191.
Borgia, Pedro Luis, 20, 21, 28.
Borgia, Rodrigo, Cardinal (afterwards Alexander VI.), 12, 14, 31, 47, 277, 289, 356, 371.
Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara, 58, 72, 242, 285, 335, 353, 354.
Brescia, Bishop of, 287.
Breslau, Bishop of, 222, 232, 236.
Brittany, Duke of, 90.
Brixen, Bishop of, *see* Cusa.
Burchard of Weissbriach, Cardinal (Archbishop of Salzburg), 296, 300.
Busch, John, 277.

CALANDRINI, Cardinal, 7, 11, 32, 47, 276.

Calixtus III., Pope, 3, 4, 6, 9, 27, 100, 130, 132, 181, 183, 186, 217, 241, 291, 300.
Campano, Giantonio, 13, 30, 33, 41, 44, 310.
Capello, Vittore, 314, 339.
Capranica, Angelo, Cardinal, 294, 297.
Capranica, Domenico, Cardinal, 4, 6, 7, 300.
Carretto, Otto de, 6, 14, 15, 19, 141–143, 145–147, 224, 341, 343, 348, 350.
Carvajal, Juan de, Cardinal, 32, 48, 65, 68, 147, 161, 171, 289, 316, 327, 349, 355, 358, 361, 362.
Casimir, King of Poland, 232.
Castiglione, Cardinal, 12, 32.
Castille, King of, 53.
Castro, Giovanni de, 261–263.
Catherine, Queen-mother of Bosnia, 264–266.
Catherine of Siena, St., 290–293.
Cavriani, Galeazzo, Bishop of Mantua, 30.
Cenci, Agapito di, 41.
Charles VII., King of France, 54, 68, 89, 102, 132, 134–137, 188.
Charles I., King of Naples, 26.
Charles, Margrave of Baden, 89, 90.
Charlotte de Lusignan, Queen of Cyprus, 252–255.
Chaumont, Pierre de, 147, 151–153.
Clement IV., Pope, 26.
Cologne, Archbishop of, *see* Rupert.
Colonna, Family of, 7, 14, 107, 109, 114, 143.
Colonna, Antonio, Prefect of Rome, 28.
Colonna, Prospero, Cardinal, 6, 7, 13–15, 21, 47, 109, 301.
Contarini, Pandolfo, 373.
Contrarius, A., 40.
Coppini, Bishop of Terni, 142.
Cordova, Jayme de, Bishop of Urgel, 298.
Corneto, Bishop of, *see* Vitelleschi.
Corvinus, Matthias, King of Hungary, 53, 66, 70, 144, 175, 264, 265, 316, 340, 345, 348, 372.
Coutances, Bishop of, *see* Longueil.
Crete, Archbishop of, *see* Lando.
Crivelli, Leodrisio, 39.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 30, 32, 88, 90, 106, 157, 178–186, 210, 211, 224, 270–272, 349, 355, 371.

Dati, Agostino, 260.
Dauvet, Jean, 132.
David, Emperor of Trebizond, 247.
Diether of Isenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, 144, 164–167, 169, 174, 176, 177, 188, 192–208, 225.
Domenichi, Domenico de', Bishop of Torcello, 8, 270, 272–275, 288, 364.
Donatus, Marcus, 340.
Durazzo, Archbishop of, 320.

Eichstätt, Bishop of, *see* John III.
Eroli, Bernardo, Cardinal (Bishop of Spoleto), 32, 282, 294, 297, 356.
d'Este, *see* Bertholdo and Borso d'Este.
d'Estouteville, Guillaume, Cardinal, 8, 11, 15, 17, 31, 47, 130, 253, 327, 356, 358.
Eugenius III., Pope, 284.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 11, 29, 130, 213, 285.

FANTINUS DE VALLE, 220, 223, 231, 232, 234–236.
Federighi, Antonio, 305.
Federigo of Urbino, 50, 103, 104, 113, 114, 126, 127, 357.
Feltre, Bishop of, *see* Lelli.
Ferrante, King of Naples, 5, 6–8, 15, 20, 25–28, 58, 70, 74, 75, 83, 90, 92, 103–106, 113, 121–123, 131, 141–145, 148, 150, 338.
Ferrici, Pietro (Nuncio), 205, 208, 209.
Fieschi, Cardinal, 12.
Filelfo, Francesco, 38, 74.
Flassland, John Werner of, 203.
Florence, Archbishop of, *see* St. Antoninus.
Forchtenauer, Wolfgang, 224, 226.
Forteguerri, Cardinal (Bishop of Teano), 27, 32, 124, 127, 147, 294, 297, 349, 355, 362.
Foscarini, Luigi, 76, 78.
Francesco d'Arezzo, 38.
Francis of Toledo, 162, 198, 199, 204, 205, 220.
Frederick III., Emperor, 17, 48, 53, 63–66, 82, 96, 144, 158, 162, 163, 169, 173, 174, 177, 195, 198, 200, 210, 212, 237.
Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, 53, 194, 195.
Frederick I., Count Palatine, 144, 158, 164, 165, 176, 177, 194, 195, 197, 199, 204, 206–209.
Frederick, Duke of Saxony, 48.

GEORGE PODIEBRAD, King of Bohemia, 53, 144, 162, 176, 177, 199, 212, 216–226, 230–239, 351, 359.
George, Bishop of Trent, 89, 191.
Giacomo da Brescia, 286, 287.
Giacomo da Lucca, 32.
Giblet, Moses, 245.
Giustiniani, Orsato, 76.
Giustiniano, Bernardo, 315, 358.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal, 298, 371.
Gonzaga, Lodovico III., Marquess of Mantua, 59, 71, 73, 83, 144, 298, 335, 354.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 21.
Gregory XII., Pope, 291.
Guiniforte da Barzizza, 55.

HEIMBURG, Gregor, 87, 95, 133, 174, 177, 184, 185–192, 194, 196, 197, 200, 209, 212.
Helena, Queen of Poland, 252.
Helena, Queen of Servia, 251.
Henry VI., King of England, 58.
Hinderbach, 53.

IBRAHIMBEG, Prince of Caramania, 245, 247.
Isidor, Cardinal, 13, 301.
Iwan Wassilijewitsch III., 252.

JACOPO DELLA MARCA, St., 286.
James, King of Scotland, 188.
James, Cardinal of Portugal, 293.
Jean de Croix, Lord of Chimay, 71, 73.
John II., King of Aragon, 53, 58, 83.
John, Margrave of Baden, Archbishop of Trèves, 165, 196, 199.
John, Margrave of Brandenburg, 194, 195.
John, Duke of Cleves, 71–73, 144.
John III., Bishop of Eichstätt, 89, 160, 301.

John, Duke of Calabria, 74, 92–94, 102, 103, 111, 112, 126, 141, 150, 241.
Jouffroy, Jean, Cardinal (Bishop of Arras), 71, 132, 135–138, 140, 142, 146–152, 154, 155, 157, 298, 327.
Jüterbogk, Jakob von, 277.

KORANDA, Wenzel, 224, 226.
Kostka, Zdenko, 224, 226, 233.

LA BALUE, Jean de, Cardinal, 156.
La Cerda, Antonio de, Cardinal, 14, 293.
Lando, Jerome, Archbishop of Crete, 220, 223, 280, 353.
Lelli, Teodoro de', Bishop of Feltre, 190.
Leo X., Pope, 302.
Leubing, Heinrich, 169.
Lodovico of Bologna, 247, 248.
Lolli, Gregorio, 32, 124, 139, 147, 150, 242, 331.
Longueil, Cardinal (Bishop of Coutances), 135, 140, 147, 155.
Louis XI., King of France, 121, 134–138, 140–142, 144, 146–152, 154–157, 225, 232, 237, 316, 343, 345, 348, 350, 351, 359.
Louis, Duke of Savoy, 86, 90.
Louis of Savoy (Husband of Charlotte de Lusignan), 252.
Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, 158, 160, 177.
Luca da Tozio, 109.
Lucas of Dalmatia, 317.
Lusignan, *see* Charlotte de.
Lusignan, James de, 252.

MAHOMET II., Sultan, 249, 256, 263, 264–266.
Malatesta, Domenico, 127, 128.
Malatesta, Isotta, 118, 119.
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 83, 107 109, 116, 118–120, 125–128, 130, 144, 232, 242, 318, 319, 321, 341.
Malipiero, Pasquale, Doge, 76, 311, 312.
Malleta, A., 351.
Mantua, Bishop of, *see* Cavriani.
Maria, Queen of Bosnia, 266.
Marini, Antoine, 231, 232, 237, 238.
Martin V., Pope, 56, 100.
Marzano, Duke of Sessa, 122.
Maso, Tiburzio di, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114.
Maso, Valeriano di, 108, 112.
Mattei, Lorenzo, 304.
Matthias Corvinus, *see* Corvinus.
Mayence, Archbishops of, *see* Adolph, Diether.
Medici, Cosmo de', 56, 141, 335.
Medici, Piero Francesco de', 22.
Mila, Luis Juan de, Cardinal, 14.
Milan, Archbishop of, *see* Nardini.
Mino da Fiesole, 302.
Mirabilli-Piccolomini, *see* Piccolomini.
Montefeltre, *see* Federigo of Urbino.
Moro, Cristoforo, Doge, 312, 339, 354, 366, 367, 371–373.
Moro, Lorenzo, Duke of Candia, 339.

NARDINI, Stefano, Archbishop of Milan, 285, 359, 371.
Nicholas V., Pope, 3, 38, 49, 95, 299–301, 303.
Nicodemus de Pontremoli, 141.

OLIVA, Cardinal, 250, 258, 294, 297.
Omar Pasha, 313.

Onofrio, Bishop of Tricarico, 209.
Orsini, Family of, 7, 14, 47.
Orsini, Giov. Antonio, Prince of Tarento, 74, 109, 120–123, 126, 338.
Orsini, Napoleone, 120.

PALÆOLOGUS, Andreas, 251, 252.
,, Catherine (Wife of Thomas), 251.
,, Demetrius, 249.
,, Helena, *see* Helena.
,, Manuel, 251.
,, Thomas, Despot of the Morea, 69, 70, 249, 251.
,, Zoë, Wife of Iwan Wassilijewitsch III., 251, 252.
Palmerius, Nicholas, 48.
Paolo di Mariano (Romano), 303.
Patrizzi, Agostino de' and Francesco de', 41.
Paul II., *see* Barbo.
Pavia, Bishop of, *see* Ammanati.
Pecock, Reginald, Bishop of Chichester, 285.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 53, 71, 136, 232, 267, 268, 317, 330, 331, 340, 343, 345, 346.
Piasio, Battista, 40.
Piccinino, Jacopo, 5, 20, 26, 28, 48, 92, 103, 104, 107, 109, 111–113, 117, 120, 122, 143.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius, *see* Pius II.
,, Alessandro de Mirabilli-, 124.
,, Andrea, 105, 123, 124.
,, Antonio, Duke of Amalfi, 27, 28, 105, 108, 121–123.
Piccolomini, Bartolomea, 124.
,, Caterina, 305.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 32, 123, 124, 258, 295, 297, 352.
,, Giacomo, 123, 124, 349.
,, Laudomia (Wife of Nanni Todeschini), 123.
,, Niccolo, 336.
Pietro da Noceto, 139.
Pius II., Pope, 6, 7, 11–79, 82–97, 99, 100, 102, 104–115, 117, 119–121, 123–135, 137–143, 145, 147–158, 162–164, 166, 168, 170–172, 175, 185–230, 236–374.
Pius VI., Pope, 33.
Pius IX., Pope, 293.
Platina, Bartolomeo, 30, 32, 34, 39.
Podiebrad, *see* George Podiebrad.
Poggio, Battista, 39.
Porcaro, Stefano, 108, 112.
Porcello, Giantonio, 38.
Portugal, King of, 53.

RABENSTEIN, John of, 218, 219.
Rabenstein, Procopius of, 224, 226.
Radak, 265.
René, King of Provence, 20, 58, 89–94, 102, 105, 113, 197, 344, 346.
Ricavo, Antonio, 347.
Rokyzana, 214, 215, 217, 218, 222.
Rosellino, Bernardo, 307.
Roverella, Bartolomeo, Cardinal (Archbishop of Ravenna), 299.
Roverella, Lorenzo, Bishop of Ferrara, 316.
Rubeis, Augustinus de, 341, 342.

Rudolf of Rüdesheim, 174, 198, 199, 201.
Rupert, Archbishop of Cologne, 207, 209.
Ruvo, Bishop of, 282.
Ruysbroeck, Johannes, 277.

SAGUNDINO, Niccolo, 41.
Salzburg, Archbishop of, *see* Burchard.
Savelli, Family of, 107, 143.
Savelli, Jacopo, 107, 109, 112–114.
Scarampo, Luigi, Cardinal, 60, 62, 147, 293.
Sforza, Alessandro, 103, 104, 113, 122.
Sforza, Francesco, Duke of Milan, 6, 7, 15, 27, 59, 72–75, 82, 83, 86, 101, 103, 104, 106, 110, 117, 119–121, 125, 142–144, 146, 330, 341–343, 367.
Sforza, Galeazzo, 55, 57.
Sforza, Ippolita, 59.
Sigismondo, *see* Malatesta.
Sigismund, Duke of the Tyrol, 48, 88, 90, 144, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182–188, 191, 192, 199, 209–212, 225.
Simonetto, 103.
Skanderbeg, 113, 320, 324, 348.
Specchio, Bonanno, 108, 111, 112.
Spoleto, Bishop of, *see* Eroli.
Stephan Thomaschewitsch, King of Bosnia, 70, 264, 266, 314.
Sternberg, Zdenko of, 233, 236.

TEANO, Bishop of, *see* Forteguerri.
Tebaldo, Cardinal, 13, 62.
Terni, Bishop of, *see* Coppini.
Todeschini, Nanni, 123.
Todeschini-Piccolomini, *see* Piccolomini, Francesco.
Torcello, Bishop of, *see* Domenichi.
Torquemada, Juan de, Cardinal, 7, 12, 13, 63, 289.
Tournay, Bishop of, 320.
Trent, *see* George, Bishop of.
Trèves, Archbishop of, *see* John, Margrave of Baden.
Tricarico, Bishop of, *see* Onofrio.
Trieste, Bishop of, 82.

ULRICH OF WÜRTEMBERG, 165.
Urban II., Pope, 80.
Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, 339.

VARANO, Giulio Cesare, 143.
Vespasiano da Bisticci, 299.
Vettori, Angelo, 55.
Vitelleschi, Bartolomeo, Bishop of Corneto, 119.

WILLIAM, Duke of Saxony, 88.
Wrbensky, Wenzel, 224.
Würzburg, Bishop of, 48, 194.

YSAIAS DA PISA, 303.

ZDENKO, *see* STERNBERG.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii–xxii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xxiii–xxv

BOOK I. PAUL II., 1464–1471.

Election of Paul II.	3–35
Paul II. and the Renaissance	36–78
The War against the Turks	79–91
European Policy of Paul II.—Reforms	92–118
The New Cardinals. The Church Questions in Bohemia	119–147
Paul II.'s care for the States of the Church	148–173
Death of Paul II.	174–194

BOOK II. SIXTUS IV., 1471–1484.

Election of Sixtus IV.	197–230
Rise of the Rovere and Riario families	231–255
The King of Denmark in Rome	256–272
The Jubilee Year	273–287
Beginning of the Rupture with Lorenzo de' Medici	288–299
The Conspiracy of the Pazzi	300–312
The Tuscan War	313–330
The Turkish War	331–347
Alliance between the Pope and Venice	348–371
The Pope's Struggle with Venice. Death of Sixtus IV.	372–388
Sixtus IV. and Ecclesiastical matters	389–431
Sixtus IV. as the Patron of Art and Literature	432–471
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	475–523
Index of Names	525–535

70927

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF PAUL II.

A.D.		PAGE
1464	The Cardinals return to Rome	3
	Arrangements for the Election	4
	The Cardinals go into Conclave	5
	Prospects of the Election	5
	Discourse by Domenico de Domenichi	7
	Election Capitulation signed by the Cardinals	9
	Election of Cardinal Pietro Barbo	11
	He takes the name of Paul II.	12
	Birth and previous career of Paul II.	13
	His Character	15
	Attempt to plunder his Palace	16
	The Castle of St. Angelo given to Sanchez de Arevalo	17
	Coronation of Paul II.	18
	Arrival of Embassies to the Pope	19
	Objections of Paul II. to the Election Capitulation	20
	Intentions of the Cardinals in framing it	22
	The Capitulation altered by the Pope	24
	Estrangement between the Pope and the Cardinals	24
	Manner of life of Paul II.	26
	Discontent of the Ambassadors	27
	Liberality and benevolence of Paul II.	28
	His care for the City of Rome	29
1471	Revision of the Roman Statutes	30
	Development of the Carnival	31
	Good government of Rome	33
	The Pope's care for the States of the Church	34
	His regulation of the Coinage	34

CHAPTER II.

PAUL II. AND THE RENAISSANCE.

A.D.		PAGE
1464	Development of the heathen Renaissance	36
	Violence and slanders of the Literati	37
	Changes made by Paul II. in the College of Abbreviators	38
	Indignation of the Humanists	39
	Letter of Platina to the Pope	40
	He is sent to the Castle of St. Angelo	40
	Released by the intercession of Cardinal Gonzaga	41
	Meetings of the Humanists at the house of Pomponius Laetus	41
	Character and manner of life of Pomponius Laetus	42
	Formation of the Roman Academy	43
	Its anti-Christian and Republican views	45
	Excited state of Rome	45
1468	Conspiracy against Paul II.	46
	Arrest of the leaders of the Academy	47
	Attitude of Paul II. towards them	48
	Reported details of the Plot to murder the Pope	49
	He distinguishes between their anti-religious and political views	50
	His resolution to root out the heresy	51
	His efforts to get hold of the Conspirators	52
	Platina's account not trustworthy	54
	His letters to Paul II.	54
	His correspondence with Sanchez de Arevalo	55
	Whose intercession he implores	56
	Capture of Pomponius Laetus	56
	His apology and release	57
	Precautions taken by Paul II.	58
	Recriminations of the Conspirators	59
	Resolution of the Pope against Heathen Literature	60
	Treatise of Ermolao Barbaro against the false Renaissance	61
	Papal prohibition against the use of the Classics	62
	The Academicians acquitted and the Academy dissolved	62
	The Academicians in the Catacombs	63
	Platina's "Lives of the Popes"	65
	Generosity of Paul II. to scholars	66
1465	His interest in the art of Printing	67
	German printers summoned to Italy	68
	They settle themselves first at Subiaco	69
1467	And afterwards in Rome	70

A.D. PAGE
1467 Bussi and Campano Correctors of their works . . 71
Paul II.'s care for Ancient Roman Monuments . . 72
Paul II.'s collection of Antiquities and Works of Art . 73
His munificence in the restoration of Churches . . 74
The Palace of St. Marco built by Paul II. . . . 75
He takes up his residence there 77
Subsequent fate of the Palace of St. Marco . . 78

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

1464 The Crusade arrested by the death of Pius II. . . 79
Paul II. appoints a Commission of Cardinals . . 80
1465 He negotiates with the Powers, and specially with Venice 80
Selfishness of the Italian Powers 81
Opposition to the Tithe 83
Generosity of the Pope in supporting Hungary . . 83
Discouragement of Hungary and Venice . . . 84
1466 Paul II. sends Carvajal as Legate to Venice . . 85
Diet of Nuremberg 85
Defeat of Skanderbeg 86
Liberality of Paul II. to the Albanians . . . 87
Heroism of Skanderbeg. Siege of Croja . . . 87
Arrival of Skanderbeg in Rome 88
Assistance given to him 89
1467 Victory of Skanderbeg. Croja saved . . . 90
1468 Death of Skanderbeg 90
Albania overrun by the Turks 91

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPEAN POLICY OF PAUL II. REFORMS.

1441 Anti-Papal Policy of Venice 92
Cardinal Barbo and the Venetians 93
1459 They refuse to recognise him as Bishop of Padua . 94
Venetian Embassy to Rome 95
1465 Conflicts between Venice and the Holy See . . 96
1466 Paul II. threatens Venice with an Interdict . . 97
Carvajal sent as Legate to Venice 97
1468 Alliance between the Pope and Venice against Malatesta 98

A.D.		PAGE
1466	Disputes with Florence and with France	99
	Louis XI. delays his profession of obedience	100
	French Ambassy in Rome	101
	Jean de La Balue made Cardinal	102
1467	Declaration of Louis XI. against the Pragmatic Sanction	103
	The Parliament refuses to register it	103
1468	French demand for a General Council	103
	Louis XI. and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy	104
	Fall of La Balue	105
	Paul II. defends the rights of the Holy See	106
	His love of splendour	106
	Change in the Papal Seal	108
	Paul II. as a Reformer	109
	His care in the choice of Bishops	110
1469	He promotes monastic reform	111
	He is surrounded by men of worth	112
1466	Spread of the Fraticelli	113
	Arrest and trial of their leaders	114
	Refutations of their doctrines published	115
	Heretical sects in Germany	116
1470	Bull concerning the Jubilee	117
	Marriage arranged of Ivan III. with Zoë Palæologus	118

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW CARDINALS. CHURCH QUESTIONS IN BOHEMIA.

1465	Cardinals appointed by Paul II.	119
1467	A large number of Cardinals created	120
1468	Two Nephews of the Pope created Cardinals	123
	Opposition between the Pauleschi and the Piischi	124
	Paul II.'s relations with Cardinal Scarampo	125
1465	Death of Scarampo	125
	His Will set aside by the Pope	126
	Paul II.'s friendship for Cardinal Bessarion	127
	Patriotism of Bessarion	127
	His relations with the Humanists	128
	His work as Protector of the Basilian Order	129
	Liberality of Bessarion in the restoration of Churches	130
	The character and labours of Cardinal Carvajal	131
	The universal reverence felt for him	132
1464	Commission appointed concerning Bohemia	134
	Paul II. tries gentle treatment with Podiebrad	134
1465	Whose evasions necessitate sterner measures	135

A.D.		PAGE
1465	Podiebrad summoned to take his trial for heresy	135
	He makes fresh proposals through the Duke of Bavaria	136
1466	They are absolutely rejected by the Pope	136
	Who had released his subjects from their allegiance	136
	Severe language used by the Pope	137
	Podiebrad takes Heimburg into his service	137
	Heimburg's Manifesto in favour of Podiebrad	137
	Answered by Carvajal and Rudolf of Rüdesheim	138
	Heimburg's second apology—attacking the Pope and the Emperor	139
	It alienates the Emperor from Podiebrad	139
	Bull of Deposition of Podiebrad	141
1467	He appeals to a General Council	141
	And sends an Embassy to the King of France	142
1468	The King of Hungary declares war against Bohemia	143
1469	Negotiations between Matthias Corvinus and Podiebrad	144
	Frustrated by the Papal Legate	144
	The war breaks out again with no decisive result	145
	Death of Cardinal Carvajal	145
	Podiebrad endeavours to negotiate with the Pope	145
1471	He dies before the reconciliation is effected	146
1472	Heimburg is reconciled to the Church before his death	146
1471	Wladislaw of Poland is elected King of Bohemia	146
	The Compacts are still upheld	146
	Deaths of Rokyzana and Podiebrad	147

CHAPTER VI.

PAUL II.'S CARE FOR THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

1465	Paul II's care for the States of the Church	148
	He crushes the Counts of Anguillara	149
	Extension of his power in the Romagna	150
	He comes into conflict with the King of Naples	151
	Who refuses to pay his tribute	152
1466	Death of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan	153
	Prompt action of Paul II.	153
	Schemes of Venice against Florence and Milan	154
1467	The Florentine Exiles under Colleone attack Florence	155
1468	Peace proclaimed by the Pope	156
	Ferrante threatens Rome	158
	He turns aside to Sora, and eventually comes to terms	159
	Death of Sigismondo Malatesta	159
	Roberto Malatesta refuses to give up Rimini	160
	Frederick III.'s second journey to Rome	160

A.D. PAGE
1468 The Gates of Rimini closed against him . . . 161
Insolence of the Ambassadors of Galeazzo Sforza . 161
Magnificence of his reception at Rome . . . 162
Splendour of the Christmas Festival 164
Political discussions between the Pope and the Emperor 166
A Congress to be held in Rome 167
The Pope refuses to grant the Emperor the succession to Bohemia and Hungary 167
But grants the Process of Canonisation of Leopold of Babenberg 168
1469 The Emperor leaves Rome 169
War breaks out between the Pope and Roberto Malatesta 169
The Italian powers declare against the Pope . . 170
Federigo of Montefeltre defeats the Papal forces . 171
He refrains from attacking the Papal States . . 171
Paul II. compelled to make terms with Malatesta . 172
Fall of Negropont 173

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF PAUL II.

1470 Mahomet II. sends a Fleet against Greece . . 174
A Consistory summoned by the Pope . . . 175
Delay of the Italian Powers 176
Fall of Negropont 176
Alarm of Venice, which is also threatened by the Duke of Milan 177
Paul II. summons the Italian Powers to Rome . . 178
He endeavours to conclude a League against the Turks 179
Which is unsuccessful 180
1471 Papal Envoys sent to France and Germany . . 181
Diet of Ratisbon, which comes to no conclusion . 181
Disturbances in Bologna. Ill-will of Florence and Milan 182
Friendly relations of Paul II. with Borso d'Este. . 183
The Pope grants him the title of Duke of Ferrara . 184
Borso comes to Rome to receive his new dignity . 184
With which he is invested on Easter Sunday . . 186
Borso also receives the Golden Rose. . . . 187
Idea of a Congress to be held at Ferrara . . . 188
Paul II. forms a League with Usunhassan. . . 189
The Pope dies suddenly of a stroke 190
Character and life of Paul II. 191
His liberality to the Eastern exiles 193
International character of the Roman Court . . 194

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF SIXTUS IV.

A.D.		PAGE
1471	Critical state of Christendom at the time of death of Paul II.	197
	Instability of all political combinations	197
	Disturbances in Romagna and Rome during the vacancy of the Holy See	198
	Prospects of the Election	199
	Preponderance of the Italian Cardinals	199
	Efforts of Cardinals d'Estouteville and Orsini	200
	Differences among the Cardinals	201
	Election of Cardinal Francesco della Rovere	201
	He takes the name of Sixtus IV.	201
	Details of the Election	202
	Influence of the Duke of Milan in securing it	203
	Rejoicings in Rome	204
	Birth and early life of Sixtus IV.	205
	His distinguished position in the Franciscan Order	206
	As General, he undertakes its reform	207
1467	Created Cardinal by Paul II.	208
	Simplicity of his life in Rome—his studious habits	208
	His theological writings, and personal appearance	209
1471	Favours conferred on the Cardinals by Sixtus IV.	210
	Treasures left by Paul II.	211
	Consecration of Sixtus IV. as Bishop, and his Coronation	212
	Resemblance between Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV.	213
	Unpopularity of the Holy See in Italy	214
	Sixtus IV. comes to terms with Naples and Venice	214
	His friendly relations with Milan and Florence	215
	Which are promoted by Filippo de' Medici	216
	Arrival of the Venetian Envoys in Rome	217
	The Pope desires a Congress	217
	He fails to obtain one	218
	Turkey threatened by Usunhassan	219
	The Pope sends Legates to the Christian Powers	219
	And publishes a Bull calling upon them to act	220
1472	Mission of Cardinal Bessarion to France	220
	His death on his homeward journey	221
	Cardinal Borgia's Mission to Spain	222
	Differing accounts of his success	223

A.D.		PAGE
1472	Cardinal Barbo in Germany	223
	Failure of his mission	224
	Deplorable state of the Papal finances	225
	Despatch of a Fleet against the Turks	226
	Which joins those of Naples and Venice	227
	Smyrna surprised and plundered	228
	Disputes with Naples and Venice	228
	The Papal Fleet returns to Italy	228
1473	Defeat of Usunhassan by the Turks	229
	Marriage of Zoë Palæologus with Ivan III.	229
	She conforms to the Orthodox Church	230
1476	Negotiations with Russia in favour of union	230

CHAPTER II.

RISE OF THE ROVERE AND RIARIO FAMILIES.

1471	Nepotism of Sixtus IV.	231
	Promotion of his Nephews	232
	He creates Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario Cardinals	235
	Disapproval of their promotion	236
	Benefices conferred on Giuliano della Rovere	236
1443	His birth and character	237
	Character of Pietro Riario.	238
	His ostentation and extravagance	239
1473	Extraordinary feast given by Riario	240
	Leonora of Naples visits Rome.	241
	Magnificence of her reception	242
	Feast given in her honour by Cardinal Riario	243
	The Pope's alliance with Ferrante	245
	Lionardo della Rovere made Prefect of Rome	245
	Ferrante puts an end to the Italian League	247
	Amicable relations between Naples and Milan	248
	Favour shewn to Cardinal Riario by the Pope	248
	The Duke of Milan sells Imola to Florence	249
	Sixtus IV. induces him to revoke the sale	250
	He bestows Imola on Girolamo Riario	250
	Cardinal Riario Legate of all Italy	250
	He is ill-received in Umbria	251
	But welcomed by Florence and Milan	251
	His ambitious designs	252
1474	His sudden illness and Death	253
	His character—he is regretted in Rome	254
	Public feeling at his decease	255

CHAPTER III.

THE KING OF DENMARK IN ROME.

A.D.		PAGE
1474	Grief of Sixtus IV. at the death of Riario	256
	Influence of Girolamo Riario and Giuliano della Rovere	257
	Character of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere	257
	King Christian of Denmark comes to Rome	258
	Honours bestowed upon him by the Pope	259
	Arrival of Federigo of Urbino in Rome	261
	Negotiations for the Marriage of his daughter to Giovanni della Rovere	262
	Insurrection in Todi	262
	Which is suppressed by Cardinal Giuliano	263
	Who also attacks Spoleto—which is plundered	263
	Cardinal Giuliano marches against Nicoli Vitelli	264
	Who receives assistance from the Florentines	265
	The Duke of Milan and the King of Naples interfere on behalf of Vitelli	266
	The Pope creates Federigo of Urbino Duke	267
	Sends him against Vitelli, who consents to negotiate	267
	Vitelli obtains favourable terms	268
	Cardinal Giuliano returns to Rome with Vitelli	269
	Betrothal of Giovanni della Rovere to the daughter of the Duke of Urbino	270
	Success of the Pope's policy—exposure of Lorenzo de' Medici's intrigues	270
	Negotiations among the Italian Powers	271
	The Pope's hopes for a general alliance against the Turks disappointed	271
	League concluded between Florence, Venice and Milan	272

CHAPTER IV.

THE JUBILEE YEAR.

1474	Restorations and embellishments in Rome	273
	Especially of the Churches and Sanctuaries	275
	Rebuilding of the Hospital of Santo Spirito	276
	Bull issued concerning the renovation of Rome	277
1475	The Jubilee Year. Visit of the King of Naples	278
	Festivities in his honour	279
	Negotiations between the Pope and Ferrante	280
	The Jubilee pilgrims	281
	Queen Charlotte of Cyprus in Rome	282

A.D. PAGE
1475 Death of the City Prefect 283
Floods and pestilence in Rome. 283
Jubilee to be held in Bologna in 1476 . . . 284
Sixtus IV. sends a Legate to make peace in Burgundy 284
Stephen the Great defeats the Turks in Moldavia . 285
Victories of the Turks in the Crimea. Fall of Caffa . 286
Efforts of the Pope against the Turks . . . 287

CHAPTER V.

BEGINNING OF THE RUPTURE WITH LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

1476 The Plague in Rome. Departure of the Pope . . 288
Assassination of the Duke of Milan 290
1477 The Pope sends a special Legate to Milan . . 291
Intrigues of Lorenzo de' Medici against the Pope . 292
Favour shewn at first by the Pope to the Medici . 292
1472 Plunder of Volterra by the Florentines . . . 292
1473 Lorenzo endeavours to prevent the purchase of Imola by the Holy See 293
The management of the Apostolical Exchequer given to the Pazzi 294
1474 Support given to Vitella by Lorenzo 294
Sixtus IV. makes Francesco Salviati Archbishop of Florence 294
The Florentines refuse to recognise him . . . 295
1475 They refuse to dismiss Vitelli from their territory . 296
The Pope will not admit a Florentine to the Sacred College 296
1477 Lorenzo encourages the return of Fortebraccio . . 297
Who attacks Sienese territory 297
And threatens Perugia 298
Which is saved by the Duke of Urbino . . . 298
Fortebraccio retires to Montone and is forced to capitulate 298
1478 Alliance of the Pope, Ferrante and Siena against Florence, Venice, and Milan 299

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSPIRACY OF THE PAZZI.

1478 Tension between Lorenzo de' Medici and the Pope . 300
Ambition of Girolamo Riario—his hostility to the Medici 301

A.D. PAGE
1478 Unpopularity of Lorenzo in Florence 301
Coalition of the Pazzi with Girolamo Riario against him 302
They plan a revolution with violence 302
The Archbishop of Florence joins in the Plot . . 303
Difficulties with regard to the Pope 303
Interview of Montesecco with Sixtus IV. . . . 304
The Pope is opposed to violence 307
Arrival of Cardinal Sansoni-Riario in Florence . . 307
Montesecco withdraws from the Conspiracy . . 308
Assassination of Giuliano de' Medici in the Cathedral during Mass 309
Escape of Lorenzo. Failure of the Plot . . . 310
Death of the Conspirators, including Montesecco . 311
His disclosures prove the Pope's innocence . . 311
Action of Sixtus IV. to be regretted 312

CHAPTER VII.

THE TUSCAN WAR.

1478 Slaughter of the enemies of the Medici by Lorenzo . 313
Imprisonment of Cardinal Sansoni-Riario . . . 314
Sixtus IV. claims satisfaction and the release of the Cardinal 315
He Excommunicates Lorenzo and his adherents . 316
Release of Cardinal Sansoni-Riario 317
Cardinal Gonzaga is sent to Bologna 317
Florence disregards the Interdict pronounced by the Pope 318
Violent language used against the Pope . . . 319
Beginning of the Tuscan War. Ferrante takes the Pope's side 320
1472 Relations of Louis XI. with Sixtus IV. . . . 320
Tension between France and Rome 320
1475 Louis agitates for a General Council 321
1476 And calls an Assembly of the French Church at Lyons 322
Mission of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to France. 322
1478 Lorenzo de' Medici appeals to Louis XI. . . . 324
Hostility of the Envoys to the Pope 325
Who asks for the mediation of the Emperor . . 325
1479 The French Ambassadors demand a General Council 326
Reply of Sixtus IV. 326
Mediation of the Emperor's Ambassadors . . . 327
Mission of Cardinal Gonzaga to Bologna . . . 327
Negotiations for peace—pressure by the League upon the Pope 328

A.D. PAGE
1479 The Envoys of the League leave Rome . . . 329
Discontent in Florence. Treaty between Lorenzo and Ferrante 329
Which is ratified by the Pope 329
1480 Peace concluded between the Pope and Florence . 330

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TURKISH WAR.

1478 Turkish successes in Albania 331
Venice makes peace with the Sultan 332
1479 Leonardo III. of Tocco takes refuge in Rome . . 332
1480 Turkish attack on Rhodes repelled 333
Fall of Otranto—terror in Italy. 334
Dismay of Ferrante. Sixtus IV. appeals to the Italian Powers 335
Efforts of the Pope to raise an opposing force .. . 336
His Brief to the Bolognese concerning the money required 337
Mission of Cardinal Giuliano to Louis XI. . . 338
Who promises large contributions to the war . . 339
Sixtus IV. sends a circular letter to the Italian Powers 340
Difficulty in collecting money, example set by the Pope 341
Death of Mahomet II.—rejoicings in Rome . . 342
Blessing of the Papal Fleet and its departure . . 343
Recovery of Otranto. 343
Delay of the Portuguese Fleet 344
Disputes at Otranto 345
Return of the Papal Fleet to Civita Vecchia . . 346
Disappointment of the Pope 347

CHAPTER IX.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE POPE AND VENICE. ITALIAN WAR.

1481 Ambition and intrigues of Girolamo Riario . . 348
His close relations with Venice, and designs against Ferrante 349
Consent of Sixtus IV. to an attack upon Naples . 350
Ferrara offered as a bait to Venice 350
The Venetians decide upon war 351
1482 Return of Giuliano della Rovere from France . 351
The King of Naples commences hostilities . . 352

A.D. PAGE
1482 Venice declares war against Ferrara 352
Feud between the Colonna and the Orsini . . 353
Contest between the Santa Croce and the Della Valle 353
The Pope recalls the Roman Barons from Naples . 353
The Colonna and Savelli refuse to obey . . . 353
Disturbances in Rome 354
The King of Naples enters the Papal States . . 354
The Ambassadors of Naples and Ferrara leave Rome 355
Treachery of Prospero Colonna 355
Cardinals Colonna and Savelli accused of treason . 355
Warlike preparations in Rome 356
Successes of the Neapolitans and Florentines . 357
Andrea Zuccalmaglio tries to revive the Council of Basle 358
1480 The Emperor recommends him as Cardinal in vain . 358
His violence against the Pope 359
1482 He proclaims a General Council at Basle . . . 359
Hesitation of the Emperor 360
Andrea's abuse of the Pope 360
He is secretly encouraged by Lorenzo de' Medici . 361
Ugolini's report to Lorenzo from Basle . . . 362
Cardinal Giuliano urges the Pope to make Peace . 364
Arrival of Roberto Malatesta in Rome . . . 364
Retreat of the Duke of Calabria to the Maremma . 365
Battle of Campo Morto; victory of the Papal troops . 366
Rejoicings in Rome. Marino surrenders . . . 367
Triumph of Riario. Death of Roberto Malatesta . 368
Withdrawal of the Venetians 369
Sixtus IV. concludes peace with Naples, Milan and Florence 371

CHAPTER X.

THE POPE'S STRUGGLE WITH VENICE AND THE COLONNA. DEATH OF SIXTUS IV.

1483 Failure of the Pope's Mission to Venice . . . 372
Italian Congress at Cremona. Preparations for war . 374
Sixtus IV. lays Venice under an Interdict . . . 375
Anger of the Venetians 376
The Bull of Interdict is published in France . . 376
St. Francis of Paula in Rome 377
Death of Louis XI. 377
1484 Negotiations for Peace—interference of Riario . . 378
1483 Liberation of Cardinals Colonna and Savelli . . 379

A.D. PAGE
1484 Renewed feuds between the Colonna and Orsini . 379
Imprisonment of the Protonotary, Lorenzo Oddone Colonna 381
Cardinal Giuliano endeavours to reconcile the Pope with the Colonna 382
Which is prevented by the Orsini and Riario . . 382
Execution of Lorenzo Oddone Colonna . . . 383
Riario fails to subdue the strongholds of the Colonna near Rome 384
Illness of the Pope 385
Peace concluded with the Venetians 386
Treachery of Lodovico il Moro 386
Interview of the Venetian Ambassadors with the Pope 387
Death of Sixtus IV. 387
His obsequies 388

CHAPTER XI.

SIXTUS IV. AND ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.

1472 Sixtus IV. and the Religious Orders 389
Favour shewn to the Dominicans and Franciscans . 390
1479 The Golden Bull 391
The Conventuals and Observantines 391
1482 Canonisation of St. Bonaventura 392
Sixtus IV. institutes the Sistine Choir . . 392
He annuls the Decrees of the Council of Constance . 393
His devotion to the Blessed Virgin 393
Dispute concerning the Immaculate Conception . 394
1483 Constitution of Sixtus IV. on the subject . . . 395
His concessions to secular governments . . . 396
Church and State in Spain 397
1482 Increased power given to the King and Queen . . 397
The Spanish Inquisition and the Jews in Spain . . 398
Establishment of the Inquisition 399
Brief of Sixtus IV. against abuses 400
1483 Appointment of a Grand Inquisitor 402
The Spanish Inquisition a mixed institution . . 403
Sixtus IV. and reform 405
A Bull of Reform of the Roman Court drawn up . 406
But not published owing to the opposition of the Cardinals 407
1472 Unfortunate changes in the Sacred College . . 408

A.D.		PAGE
1473	Appointment of worldly-minded Cardinals	409
1477	And of the Pope's Nephews	411
	Worldly character of the Court	414
	Accusations of Infessura against Sixtus IV. untrustworthy	416
	Evil influence of Girolamo Riario upon Sixtus IV.	419
	Increase of financial corruption	420
1479	Discontent in Germany	421
	Bad management and increased taxation	422
	Care of Sixtus IV. for Rome	425
	The corn speculations of Sixtus IV.	426
	His efforts to improve the state of the Campagna	427
	Kindness and generosity of Sixtus IV.	428
	His good qualities obscured by the influence of Girolamo Riario	429
	Virtues and failings of Sixtus IV.	430
	His efforts to beautify Rome	431

CHAPTER XII.

SIXTUS IV. AS THE PATRON OF ART AND LITERATURE.

1471	Zeal of Sixtus IV. for the promotion of Art and Learning	432
	He restores the Vatican Library	433
	And increases it largely	434
	Appointments of Bussi and Platina as Librarians	435
	Classification of Documents	436
	Buildings and Halls of the Library	437
	Sixtus IV. and the Humanists	439
	He strives to draw foreign scholars to Rome	440
	Historians during the pontificate of Sixtus IV.	442
1476	Literary men as Diplomatists	443
	Self-esteem of the Humanists	444
	Insolence of Filelfo	445
	Sixtus IV. encourages Humanism	446
	His relations with Platina	447
	Platina's "Lives of the Popes"	449
	He is appointed Librarian to the Vatican	450
	The Collection of Documents of the Roman Church	451
1481	Death of Platina	451
	Sixtus IV. as a Patron of Art	453
1480	His renovation of Rome	454
	The restoration of the Roman Churches	456

A.D.		PAGE
1480	The Castles of Grottaferrata and Ostia built by Cardinal Giuliano	457
	Restorations and Buildings by other Cardinals	458
	Especially by the Pope's Nephews	459
	The opening of the Capitol Museum	459
1482	Restoration of the Hospital of Santo Spirito	460
	And re-establishment of the Confraternity	461
	Buildings of Sixtus IV. in other cities of the Papal States	462
	His encouragement of Sculpture and Painting	463
	Formation of the Academy of St. Luke	463
1476	Melozzo da Forli's picture of the Ascension at the SS. Apostoli	464
1473	Building of the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican	465
1483	Its opening on the Feast of the Assumption	467
	Description of the Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel	468
	Typical character of the Paintings	471

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Cardinal Ammanati to the Duke of Milan	475
II.	J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	476
III.	Cardinal Gonzaga to Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga	476
IV.	J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	476
V.	Jacopo de Aretio to the same	477
VI.	Tristano Sforza to the Duke of Milan	477
VII.	Cardinal Gonzaga to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	477
VIII.	Paul II. to the Doge Cristoforo Moro and the Senate of Venice	478
IX.	Metrical Inscription on the Church and Palace of St. Marco	478
X.	Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	479
XI.	Augustinus de Rubeis to the Duke of Milan	479
XII.	Instruction for the Milanese Ambassador to Louis XI.	480
XIII.	Paul II. to Bologna	480
XIV.	Timoteo Maffei to Piero de' Medici	480
XV.	Cardinal Gonzaga to Marquess Ludovico of Mantua	481
XVI.	,, ,, ,,	481
XVII.	Bartolomaeus de Maraschis to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	482
XVIII.	Cardinal Gonzaga to Marquess Ludovico of Mantua	482
XIX.	Joh. Blanchus to the Duke of Milan	483
XX.	Augustinus de Rubeis to the same	484
XXI.	Joh. Blanchus to ,,	488
XXII.	Augustinus de Rubeis to ,,	492
XXIII.	Paul II. to Florence	493
XXIV.	Giacomo Trotti to the Duke of Modena	493
XXV.	Tommaso Soderini to Florence	494

PAGE

XXVI. J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua 494
XXVII. Paul II. to Florence 496
XXVIII. ,, to Cardinal Stephan de Varda . . 496
XXIX. Cardinal Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua . 497
XXX. Paul II. to the inhabitants of Rhodes . . 498
XXXI. ,, to the Grand Master of Rhodes . . 499
XXXII. ,, to the Duke of Modena . . . 499
XXXIII. ,, to the Grand Master of Rhodes . . 499
XXXIV. ,, to the Governor of Spoleto . . . 499
XXXV. Cardinal Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua . 500
XXXVI. Paul II. to John II. Margrave of Baden and Archbishop of Trèves . . . 501
XXXVII. ,, to Cardinal Piccolomini . . . 501
XXXVIII. ,, to the Duke of Ferrara . . . 502
XXXIX. ,, to Cardinal Piccolomini . . . 502
XL. ,, to the Duke of Ferrara . . . 503
XLI. ,, to the Marquess of Brandenburg . 503
XLII. Nicodemus de Pontremoli to the Duke of Milan 504
XLIII. Voting List of the Conclave of the year 1471 . 505
XLIV. Nicodemus de Pontremoli to the Duke of Milan 507
XLV. Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan . . . 507
XLVI. Nicodemus de Pontremoli to the Duke of Milan 508
XLVII. Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan . . . 508
XLVIII. ,, to ,, . . . 508
XLIX. ,, to ,, . . . 509
L. ,, to ,, . . . 509
LI. ,, to , . . . 509
LII. ,, to ,, . . . 510
LIII. ,, to ,, . . . 510
LIV. ,, to ,, . . . 511
LV. ,, to ,, . . . 512
LVI. ,, to Florence 512
LVII. Report of Milanese Ambassador in Florence concerning the Pazzi 512
LVIII. Albertinus, Prior of St. Martino, to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua 514
LIX. Instructions from Sixtus IV. to the Nuncios to the Emperor 515
LX. Pier Filippo Pandolfini to Florence . . . 517
LXI. ,, to ,, . . . 517
LXII. Sixtus IV. to Louis XI. 517
LXIII. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to Louis XI. . 518
LXIV. Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Savoy . . . 518
LXV. ,, to Cardinal Fregoso . . . 519
LXVI. Cardinal Gonzaga to Federigo I. of Gonzaga . 519

			PAGE
LXVII.	Sixtus IV.	to the Duke of Milan	519
LXVIII.	,,	to ,,	520
LXIX.	,,	to ,,	520
LXX.	,,	to ,,	520
LXXI.	,,	to ,,	520
LXXII.	Girolamo Riario	to ,,	521
LXXIII.	Sixtus IV.	to ,,	521
LXXIV.	,,	to the Abbot of St. Gall	521
LXXV.	,,	to the Emperor, Frederick III.	521
LXXVI.	,,	to the Duke of Milan	522
LXXVII.	,,	to ,,	522
LXXVIII.	,,	to ,,	522
LXXIX.	,,	to ,,	522
LXXX.	,,	to ,,	522
LXXXI.	,,	to ,,	523
LXXXII.	Stefano Guidotti	to Mantua	523

BOOK I.

PAUL II. 1464–1471.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE AND THE ELECTION.—CAPITULATION OF 1464.—PAUL II.'S CHARACTER AND MANNER OF LIFE.—HIS CARE FOR THE CITY OF ROME AND FOR THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

THE Cardinals in attendance on Pius II. had hastened to Rome as soon as it was decided that the election should be held in that city. The period of the vacancy of the Holy See was one of great disquiet, as it had often been before. The Sienese in Rome suffered much, and were assailed by a hostile crowd wherever they appeared.*

Cardinal Roverella returned from his Mission to Naples on the 23rd August, and Cardinal Gonzaga reached Rome on the 24th. The Sacred College assembled in the morning of the 25th in the house of Cardinal Scarampo. In this preliminary meeting, doubts were expressed as to the prudence of holding a Conclave in the Vatican while Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, still kept possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, and many Cardinals advised

* **Letter from Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1464, Aug. 25. See *Despatch of G. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1464, Aug. 27: "Quelli de Fermo hanno brusato quello castello de S. Petro de Laio, vituperato le donne, menato via li fanciulli et usato mille crudelitate etiam contra li luochi sacri, che è uno stupore ad udire. Li Senesi dove se trovano sono a furia perseguitati." *Jacobus de Aretio writes on the 27th Aug., 1464, to Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga: *"Molti latrocinii et correrie se fanno vacante questa benedetta sedia et maxime per la strada de Ancona a Roma." All these letters are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

that the Election should take place in the Minerva or at the Capitol.*

The Duke of Amalfi, who was at this time absent from Rome, seems to have been an object of suspicion, principally because of the close relations which existed between him, the Orsini, and King Ferrante of Naples. Some of the Cardinals feared that, in the event of a Pope being chosen who was not agreeable to the King, he might make difficulties about giving up St. Angelo. On the other side, it was maintained that Antonio Piccolomini had given the most positive assurances, and that regard for his brothers, one of whom was a member of the Sacred College, would deter him from doing anything that could interfere with the liberty of the Conclave. This consideration prevailed, and it was determined that the Election should be held in the Vatican.†

On the evening of the 28th August,‡ the Cardinals went

* **Letter from Cardinal Gonzaga on the 25th Aug., 1464, *loc. cit.* For Roverella's arrival, see *Acta Consist., f. 33b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See AMMANATI, Comment. 347; **Letter of the 25th Aug., from Cardinal Gonzaga; and a **Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene of the 27th Aug., 1464 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); also the *Report of Jo. An. Ferrofinus to Cecco Simoneta, dated Rome, ex palatio S. Petri die xxix. Augusti, 1464. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

‡ AMMANATI, *loc. cit.*, says the 27th August. This date, which is repeated by CANCELLIERI, Stagioni, 15; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 206, 3rd ed.; REUMONT, III., 1, 152; and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 232, is wrong, as is also that given by PETRUCELLI, 285, the 26th August. The Cron. Rom., 30, name the 22nd; the Diario Nepesino, 141, has the 18th; Infessura, 1139, the 24th August; CREIGHTON, III., 3, follows this last. The 28th is established as the day of entrance into Conclave by the following authorities:—(*a*) *Despatches of J. P. Arrivabene of the 27th Aug. and 1st Sept., 1464; (*b*) *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of the 1st Sept., 1464 (Gonzaga Archives); (*c*) the *Report of J. A. Ferrofinus of the 29th August: "Heri sera da

into Conclave. We have a graphic account of the proceedings from the Duke of Mantua's Envoy. The little Chapel of the Palace was chosen for the actual Election. The doors and windows were walled up. The chambers to be occupied during the election were like monks' cells; they were twenty-five feet square, and were so dark that artificial light was almost constantly necessary. The cells were marked with a letter of the alphabet, and assigned to the different Cardinals by lot. Each Cardinal had his meals brought to him at regular hours by his servants, in a coffer called a cornuta, adorned with his coat of arms. These coffers had to pass three sets of guards who surrounded the Conclave. The first was composed of Roman citizens, the second of Ambassadors, and the third of Prelates; they carefully examined the contents of the coffers, so that no letters should be introduced with the provisions.*

Bessarion was invested with the dignity of Dean, and for a long time it seemed likely that the tiara would fall to his share.† After him the most notable among the Cardinals were, d'Estouteville, the head of the French party; Carvajal, with his untiring zeal; Torquemada, who was looked upon as the first theologian of his time; and the two antipodes, Scarampo and Barbo. Of the more youthful members of the Sacred College, Roderigo Borgia was distinguished by his position of Vice-Chancellor.

le xxiii. a le xxiv. hore li rev^{mi} S^{ri} cardinali intrarono in conclave numero xix. che'l rev. card. de Theano nondum venit et S. Sisto propter infirmitatem nondum e venuto o rectius stato portato fin a questo matina si che adesso sonno xx^{ti}" (State Archives, Milan); (*d*) Cronica di Bologna, 758; (*e*) *Acta Consist., f. 33b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* **Report of Arrivabene of the 1st Sept., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

† VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, 192; CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, CXXI b.

His private life, like that of Francesco Gonzaga, was anything but edifying. Cardinals Filippo Calandrini, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Juan de Mella, Angelo Capranica, Lodovico Libretto, and Bartolomeo Roverella,* by their irreproachable conduct formed a great contrast to Borgia and Gonzaga. In Ancona, Roverella had, like Capranica, Carvajal, and Calandrini, been named as a candidate for the papacy.† On the other hand, even in June, 1464, when the condition of Pius II. had become worse, Cardinal Barbo's prospects had been highly thought of. The Milanese Ambassador advised his master at that time to make a friend of this Cardinal.‡

On the 27th August, one of the Ambassadors then in Rome wrote as follows: "The negotiations regarding the Papal Election are being carried on in every direction in secret, and with great zeal. God grant that the Holy Spirit, and not human passions, may preside! Some few persons conclude, from certain predictions, that Cardinal Torquemada will be Pope, but he is very suffering, and this morning was said to be dead, which, however, I do not believe. Others are of opinion that the choice will fall on one who is not a member of the Sacred College, and, in virtue of some prophecies, Battista Pallavicini, Bishop of Reggio, is named."§

* AMMANATI, Comment. 348b *seq.*; GASPAR. VERONEN., 1028–1038; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 205–206, 3rd ed.; CIAMPI, Forteguerri, 17–18.

† So Raphael Caymus informs us in a *Letter of the 15th August, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, June 14th. Ambrosian Library.

§ **Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1464, Aug. 27th. See the **Letter of Jacopo de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) At Ancona it was believed that d'Estouteville's Election was very probable; see *Despatch of

The statements regarding Cardinal Torquemada's prospects of election are confirmed by one of the Duke of Milan's Envoys. On the 29th August he informed his master of the general impression that Cardinal Torquemada, who had that morning been carried into the Conclave, would never return to his own dwelling, but would either become Pope or die, as he was so old and feeble.* After Torquemada, Scarampo was thought by many likely to be the favoured candidate.†

The discourse pronounced by Domenico de' Domenichi, the eloquent Bishop of Torcello, in St. Peter's, before the Conclave began, gives a picture of the general state of affairs, and describes the disposition of the Electors.‡ The

S. Nardini to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16th. (State Archives, Milan.) For an account of the pious and learned B. Pallavicini, who was a disciple of Vittorino of Feltre, see AFFO, Scritt. Parmiz., II., 242 *seq.*; MARINI, II., 181, 199.

* "*Communis est opinio che'l rev. Monsig. S. Sisto, quale questa matina fu portato al conclave, piu non debia tornare ad casa essendo aut creato pontifice aut posto in sepultura, adeo est senex et infirmis." Despatch of J. A. Ferrofinus of the 29th Aug., 1464. State Archives, Milan.

† *Letter from Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ **Rev. patris Dominici episcopi Torcellani ad rev^{mos} dominos S. R. E. cardinales oratio pro electione summi pontificis habita Romae in basilica S. Petri. I am acquainted with four MS. copies of this Discourse, three of which are in the Vatican Library: (1) Cod. Vat., 3675; (2) Cod. Vat., 4589, f. 25–48; (3) Ottob., 1035, pp. 10–18b; (4) Cod. CXXXIV., f. 105 *seq.*, of the Library at Turin. The last MS. states that the Discourse was pronounced on the iv. Cal. Sept. MSS. N. 2 and 3, give viii. Cal. Sept. = 25th Aug., N. 1, v. Cal. Sept. = 28th Aug. As the customary Discourse de eligendo s. pontifice was pronounced before the Cardinals went into Conclave, and Cod. Vat., 4589, expressly speaks of the Discourse as "habita in basilica S. Petri," the last named date must be the correct one. On the 28th, the Cardinals heard the Mass of the Holy Ghost in St. Peter's; see

preacher took for his text the words of Jeremias, "To what shall I equal thee, O virgin, daughter of Sion? For great as a sea is thy destruction: who shall heal thee?" and applied them to the state of Christendom. He recalled the fall of Constantinople, and the Christian losses, in the East, which followed on that deplorable event. Things had now, he said, reached such a point that tidings of defeat were frequently, indeed almost daily, received; and yet the Princes took no heed, and were, as had been evident during the life-time of Pius II., deaf to the exhortations of the Supreme Head of Christendom. After an affecting picture of the dangers from without, Domenichi turned to the contemplation of the ills which the Church had to suffer from her own sons. The clergy, he said, are slandered, the goods of the Church plundered, ecclesiastical jurisdiction impeded, and the power of the keys despised. He frankly blamed the Popes for their compliance with the unjust demands of Princes, and attributed the sad condition of the times to the fact that those in authority had sought their own interests, and not those of Jesus Christ. Help, he maintained, could be looked for only from a Chief Pastor who would give back to the Church her former liberty, and would not fear the power of Princes.* He pointed out that the relations between the Pope and the Bishops had also been impaired. "Burdened by you," exclaimed the Orator, addressing the Cardinals, "the Bishops favour your enemies; oppressed by the Princes, they turn, not to the Mother who appears to them in the guise of a step-mother, but seek the favour of those into whose power they have been allowed to fall." Finally, Domenichi declared that the position of the Sacred College

*Report of J. A. Ferrofinus of the 29th August, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

** Cod. Vatic., 4589, f. 38b, 39.

itself was not what it had been. "Where," he asked, "is the former splendour of your authority? where is the Majesty of your College? Once, whatever was to be done, was first laid before your Senate, hardly anything was determined without your counsel." Domenichi concluded by lamenting the complete change that had taken place, and pronouncing the existing state of things to be insupportable, inasmuch as the authority, dignity, and splendour of the Sacred College had well-nigh disappeared.*

These last words were hailed with delight by those Cardinals who sought as much as possible to limit the Papal authority. On the first day of the Conclave this party framed an Election Capitulation, which all the Cardinals, except Scarampo, signed, and swore to observe.†

The provisions of this document would necessarily have involved a transformation of the monarchical character of the Church's Constitution, and have reduced the Pope to the position of the mere President of the College of Cardinals.

The Capitulation began by binding the future Pope to prosecute the Turkish war, and to devote to this purpose

* *Cod. Vatic., cit. f. 40b, 42. There is a passage on this subject in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 206–207, 3rd ed.

† Despatch of Arrivabene of Sept. 1, 1464. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The Election Capitulation is in AMMANATI, Comment. 350–51, and has often been published from his version, as in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1464, N. 55; CIACONIUS, II., 1071; QUIRINI, Vind., XXII.–XXIX.; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 344. HÖFLER, Zur Kritik und Quellenkunde Karls V., 2nd Abth. (Wien, 1878), prints it, pp. 62–3, from a very incorrect MS. in the Court Library at Munich (Cod. Lat., 151), as if it had not previously been published. Otto de Carretto promises soon to send the Duke of Milan a copy of the Election Capitulation, which, when he wrote, he had not himself seen. *Despatch, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 11. Ambrosian Library, Milan, Cod. Z.—219, Supp.

all the revenue derived from the Alum quarries. He was, moreover, to reform the Roman Court, was not to remove it to any other Italian city without the consent of the majority of the Cardinals, nor to any place out of Italy without the consent of the whole body. A General Council was to be summoned within three years' time. This Council was to reform Ecclesiastical affairs, and to summon the temporal Princes to defend Christendom against the Turks. It was further decided that the number of the Cardinals should never exceed four and twenty, and that one only should be of the Pope's kindred; no one was to be admitted into the Sacred College under the age of thirty, and also no one who did not possess the requisite amount of learning. Creations of new Cardinals, and nominations to the greater benefices, were only to be made with the express consent of the Sacred College. The Pope was further to bind himself not to alienate any of the possessions of the Church, not to declare war, or enter into any alliance without the consent of the Cardinals; to confer the more important fortresses in the Patrimony of St. Peter exclusively on Clerics, who, however, were not to be his kinsmen; no relation of his was to occupy the position of Commander-in-Chief of his troops. In State documents, the formula, "after consultation with our Brethren," was only to be used when the Cardinals had actually been summoned together in Council. Every month these resolutions were to be read to the Pope in Consistory, and twice in the year the Cardinals were to examine whether he had faithfully observed them; should this not be the case they were, "with the charity due from sons towards their parents," to remind him three times of his promise. What was to take place, in the event of these warnings being unheeded, is not stated. Schism was the only course open.

The arrangement of the Election Capitulation was followed by the Election, which, on this occasion, was very rapidly concluded. The first scrutiny took place on the 30th August.* Scarampo had seven votes, d'Estouteville nine, and Pietro Barbo eleven. The last-named Cardinal, who, six years before, had almost obtained the tiara,† now at once received three more votes by way of *accessit.* His election was accordingly secured. The other Cardinals also agreed, invested him with the Papal robes, and did him homage. Thus the high-born but needy Sienese Pope was succeeded by a rich Venetian noble. The populace assembled in front of the Vatican received the news with joy. The Pope was then carried to St. Peter's, where the throng was so great that it was most difficult to find a passage through it.‡

* The principal authority for the completely new information given above is **Despatch of Arrivabene of the 1st Sept., 1464. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See, in the same Archives, the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio to Lodovico Gonzaga of the 1st Sept., and Cardinal Gonzaga's Letter of the 13th Sept., 1464.

† See our account, Vol. II., p. 322.

‡ Various dates are given, not only for the beginning of the Conclave but also for the actual Election of Paul II., and this even by contemporaries who ought to have been well informed. In a *Letter from Albertino de Cigognara to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1, the Pope is said to have been elected on the 28th August. (Gonzaga Archives.) PLATINA, 762, and the Istoria di Chiusi, 994, name the 31st August, and are followed by CHEVALIER, 1740, and KRAUS, 802, while L'ÉPINOIS, 435, mentions the 29th. The 30th August, however, is established by the testimony of many chroniclers; see Cronica di Bologna, 758; Diario Nepesino, 141; NOTAR GIACOMO, 107; Chron. Eugub., 1008; PH. DE LIGNAMINE, 1310; *GHIRARDACCI, Cron. di Bologna (see our Vol. III., p. 354), and a number of other well-informed contemporaries, such as Gaspar. Veron. in MARINI, II., 178; F. HANKO, Polit. Corresp. Breslau's, IX., 94; *Arrivabene, *Jacopo de Aretio (see preceding note*); and Cardinal Gonzaga, in a Letter of the 30th August to his father; also by the College of Cardinals itself in a *Letter

The unusual rapidity of Cardinal Barbo's Election was looked upon by many as a miracle, for an Election preceded by less than three scrutinies had not occurred within the memory of man; but a little consideration enables us to understand the motives for the haste of the Cardinals.* The first of these was the anxious state of public affairs, together with fear of the King of Naples and of the Duke of Amalfi, the latter of whom had his troops encamped on the frontiers of the States of the Church;† moreover, Torquemada, Scarampo, and Barbo were very ailing, and Rodrigo Borgia had not yet recovered from his illness; he appeared in the Conclave with his head bound up.‡ The confinement and privations of the Conclave must necessarily have been doubly irksome to these invalids, and made them desirous to get through the Election without delay.

Cardinal Ammanati says that Barbo at first wished to take the name of Formosus; the Cardinals, however, objected, on the ground that it might seem to be an allusion to his good looks. Barbo, who had been Cardinal Priest of St. Mark's, then thought of selecting Mark, but this was the war-cry of the Venetians, and was therefore deemed unsuitable. Finally, he decided to be known as Paul II.§

to Lodovico Gonzaga, d. d. Romae die sexta Sept. A°, 1464, assumptionis dom. nostri pape prefati die octava. (Gonzaga Archives.) To these may be added the statement in the *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Besides CANENSIUS, 32, see the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of Sept. 1, 1464: "Facta questa electione al mio parer miraculosamente, perho che tutti dicono non esser mai fatto meno che tre scruptinii." Gonzaga Archives.

† **Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464, Aug. 27. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ **Despatch of the same, 1st Sept., 1464.

§ AMMANATI, Comment. 348. This historian, who certainly was

The new Pope was, as Ammanati in a confidential autograph letter informed the Duke of Milan, indebted for his elevation to the elder Cardinals, that is to say, to those who had been members of the Sacred College before the time of Pius II.; they were of opinion that the late Pope had shewn so little regard to the Cardinals, because his own experience as a member of the Sacred College had been very short. Some of the younger Cardinals, and amongst them Ammanati, joined the party of the elders.*

The Prelate so quickly elevated to the Supreme dignity of Christendom was at this time in the 48th year of his age.† His pious mother was sister to Eugenius IV.,

not prejudiced in favour of Paul II., writes: "Indiderat autem sibi Formosi pontificis nomen secutus credo religionem animi quandam qua historiam eius legens innocentiam adamarat." It is, however, not true that Paul II. wished to be called Formosus on account of his personal beauty, as PALACKY, IV., 2, 237, and others have stated. This writer charges Paul II., who would never allow a capital sentence to be carried out (see Platina in VAIRANI, I., 34) with cruelty (p. 326), and also affirms that the Election Capitulation required the immediate summoning of a Council. Two names are spoken of in the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1 (Gonzaga Archives), which is unfortunately mutilated. Otto de Carretto and the Archbishop of Milan, in their *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Aug. 30, only mention the name of Mark. State Archives, Milan.

* *Letter of Card. Ammanati to Fr. Sforza, written on the 1st Sept., 1464 (Ambrosian Library): see Appendix, N. 1. GREGOROVIUS' assertion, VII., 208, 3rd ed., that "he owed the tiara to the alliance of the Roman Court with Venice against the Turkish war," lacks proof.

† AMMANATI, 348, expressly says: "Annos 48 natus." REUMONT, III., 1, 153; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 207, 3rd ed.; CHEVALIER, 1740; ZÖPFFEL in Herzog, Real-Encykl., XI., 318, 2nd ed.; MÜNTZ, II., 129; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler and others must therefore be mistaken in giving 1418 as the year of his birth. CANENSIUS' statement (p. 9) that Barbo was born on the 23rd February, 1417, agrees with that of Ammanati.

and the youth, originally destined for a mercantile career, had been very carefully brought up, and owed his education, as well as his ecclesiastical advancement, to that Pope.* The teachers selected by Eugenius IV. for his nephew were men of ability,† yet the progress of the latter was but slow; he took no interest in Humanistic studies, History and Canon Law had more attraction for him. Barbo's favourite pursuit at that time was the collection of coins, gems, and other antiquities.‡

As early as 1440, Barbo was, together with his rival Scarampo, raised to the purple; he also became Cardinal Deacon of Sta Maria Nuova (now Sta Francesca Romana), which Church he afterwards exchanged for S. Marco.§ Under Nicholas V. and Calixtus III., he continued to occupy the same influential position as he had enjoyed

Regarding his family, which, of course, was in no way connected with the Domitii Aenobarbi, see LITTA, 146, where are given engravings of the coat of arms, of a ring, and of a Bust of Paul II., now in a Palace in Venice.

* CANENSIUS, 9.

† Barbo, when Pope, shewed his gratitude to them. See PLATINA, 763; CANENSIUS, 11; and a *Despatch from Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, Oct. 9, 1464. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

‡ MÜNTZ, II., 2, 3, 129. It may here be remarked that the Venetian nobles as a class were indifferent towards Humanism; see VOIGT, I., 416, 2nd ed.

§ See our Vol. I., 302. The nomination took place in Florence, and, on the 8th Sept., 1466, Paul II. gratefully alluded to it in writing to the Florentines: "Insuper cum in minoribus agebamus, multum familiariter in ea urbe versati sumus et consuetudinem multorum habuimus ibique dignitatem cardinalatus accepimus, ut profecto eam patriam quasi nostram omni dilectione et paterna caritate complectamur." Cl. X. Dist. II., N. 23, f. 148b–149b. In a *Brief d. d. Rom., 1468, Maii 16, Paul II. again declares his affection for Florence: "ubi adolescentiam summa consolatione et benivolentia omnium bonorum civium egimus ac demum cardinalatus honorem suscepimus;" *ibid.*, f. 172. State Archives, Florence.

during the pontificate of his uncle.* His relations with Pius II. were not of so agreeable a character. The Cardinal of S. Marco† derived a princely income from his numerous benefices, and made a most generous use of it, sometimes for the benefit of less wealthy colleagues, such as Cusa and Æneas Sylvius. A lover of splendour, like all Venetians, he began in 1455 to build a great palace, and in 1458 undertook the restoration of his titular Church. He was also a diligent collector of antiques and artistic treasures, and in this respect, rivalled even the Medici.‡

The Cardinal of Venice, as Barbo was also styled, was one of the most popular personages in the Court and City of Rome. His generosity, liberality, affability, and gentleness, soon won all hearts. His devotion to his friends was manifested on the occasion of the fall of the Borgia.§ Any one who enjoyed his patronage was deemed fortunate. He used to visit the sick in his neighbourhood with kindly

* See PLATINA, 764; and B. JUSTINIANUS in LÜNIG, Orat. I., 8. Barbo's appointment as generalis gubernator in prov. Campanie et Maritime, dat. 1456, prid. Non. Julii A° 2°, is in Regest. 458, f. 4b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† His contemporaries generally called him by this title. The Cardinal in his *Letters used to sign himself:

P. tit. s. Marci presb. } episc. Vicentin.
Car^lis Venetiar. }

I found *Letters with this heading, but unimportant in their contents, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (to Lodovico Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1456, May 15 and Dec. 20), and in the State Archives, Milan (to Fr. Sforza, d. d. ex urbe, 1454, March 11, 1455, Febr. 3. Autogr. pontif. I.).

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 153 *seq.*; Lorenzo de' Medici, II., 131, 2nd ed. Regarding the glorious choir-books, restored by Barbo, and now in the Archives of the Papal Chapel, see HABERL, Bausteine zur Musikgesch., Fasciculus II.

§ See our Vol. II., p. 477. The great "humanita" of Barbo is particularly praised by Jacopo de Aretio in a letter of the 1st Sept., 1464, to Marchioness Barbara. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

solicitude, and had a little pharmacy from which he dispensed medicines gratis. The poor were loud in their praises of the open-handed and tender-hearted Prince of the Church, and strangers were delighted with the kindness of his welcome and his readiness to serve them. Any one who had matters of business at the Roman Court, might reckon on success if Barbo took an interest in him. Genial wit and good humour reigned at his table, and he used to say in jest that when he became Pope each Cardinal should have a beautiful villa, to which he might retire during the heat of summer.*

Cardinal Barbo added to his amiable qualities the charm of an imposing appearance ; he was tall, well-made, and his bearing was dignified, advantages which have always been greatly valued by the Italians. For half a century, says a chronicler, a handsomer man had not been seen in the Senate of the Church.† The weak points in his character were his jealousy, his vanity, and an overweening love of pomp, which betrayed his Venetian and mercantile origin.

According to the rude custom of the age the Romans used to plunder the abode of a new-made Pontiff; even Cardinals who had not been elected, frequently suffering on these occasions, Barbo and Scarampo had taken the precaution of placing military guards in their Palaces. An attack made on Scarampo's Palace, when a report of his election had been circulated, was repulsed.‡ After Barbo's

* VOIGT, Enea Silvio, III., 507; CHRISTOPHE, 110–119; BARBO'S "humanita, amore et benivolentia" towards his friends and servants are praised by Jacopo de Aretio in a second *Letter of the 1st Sept., 1464, addressed to the Marquess of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 89, see 100, N. 1; ÆN. SILVIUS, De viris illustr., 2 (Stuttgart, 1842); Gaspar. Veron., in MARINI, II.. 187; and SCHIVENOGLIA, 136.

‡ *Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1. Gonzaga Archives.

elevation became known, his Palace, which was full of treasures and works of art, was besieged by the rabble. Nothing but a haystack, however, fell into their hands. Some of the marauders then rushed to the Convent of Sta Maria Nuova, under the erroneous impression that property belonging to the newly-elected Pope was hidden there. Defensive preparations had, however, been made, and the mob returned to the Palace. They seemed about to storm it, but were pacified by a present of 1300 ducats.*

Extensive preparations for the Pope's Coronation were undertaken by three Cardinals chosen for the purpose.† Even before this solemnity took place, he was delivered from the anxiety which had beset the first days of his reign in regard to the Duke of Amalfi. After the Election, the Castle of St. Angelo and the fortresses of Tivoli, Spoleto, and Ostia, were still held by Sienese captains in the Duke's name; the garrisons declared that they would not give up these strongholds until the sum of 30,000 ducats, which he said he had advanced to the Roman Church, had been repaid.‡ In order to guard against the recurrence of such a danger, the Pope entrusted St. Angelo, which was finally given up to him on the 14th September, to the learned Spaniard, Roderigo Sancio de Arevalo. In compliance with the stipulations of the Election Capitulation, the Pope also arranged that for the future the governors of all the fortresses in the States of the Church should be Prelates.§

* See the *Letter cited in the previous note. Paul II. was, however, unable to hinder the plunder of his chamber in the Conclave; see *Arrivabene's Letter of the 1st Sept., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

† See the two *Letters already cited, written by Jacopo de Aretio, 1st Sept., 1464; and a *Despatch of this Ambassador, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 14.

‡ *Despatch of W. Molitoris of 9th Sept., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

§ *Report of J. P. Arrivabene of the 16th Sept., 1464, *loc. cit.*

The Pope's Coronation took place on the 16th September.* Cardinal Borgia, as the senior of the Cardinal Deacons, was entitled to perform the ceremony, but, as he was indisposed, Cardinal Forteguerri acted in his stead.† The ceremony took place on a tribune erected in front of St. Peter's. It was observed that Paul II. did not, like other Popes, get a new tiara made for himself, but used the old one, which is said to have belonged to Pope St. Sylvester.

After his Coronation the Pope took possession of the Lateran. It was long since the Romans had witnessed more splendid festivities. More than 23,000 florins were spent on this occasion, according to the accounts of the Apostolic Treasury.‡ The Pope rode from St. Peter's to Sta Maria Nuova on a palfrey adorned with crimson and silver, which had been presented to him by Cardinal Gonzaga. Ancient custom gave the Roman populace a claim to the horse ridden by the Pope to the Lateran; and, after the Coronation of Pius II., as well as on many other occasions, a riot had been the result. To avoid this,

According to the Diario Nepesino, 142, the Castle was not given over until the 16th Sept.

* Hitherto nothing has been known of Paul II.'s Coronation and the *Possesso*, save the date; see CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 44–5. The description we give is founded on Arrivabene's Report, cited in preceding note, together with the *Despatches of Jacopo de Aretio and W. Molitoris, dated, respectively, the 17th and 21st Sept., both of which are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *Acta Consist., f. 33b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The statement of REUMONT (III., 1, 154) and HÖFLER (Rod. de Borgia, 24) that Card. Borgia crowned the Pope is mistaken. Jacopo de Aretio, writing on the 17th Sept., expressly says: *"Et perche lo rev^mo^ Monsig. Vicecancelliere, a cui spectava porre la cor[ona] in testa a N. S^re^ come a piu antiquo diacono cardinale, non se sentiva bene perche an[cora non] è ben guarito, Monsig. de Thyano suppli e fece la incoronatione." Gonzaga Archives.

‡ MÜNTZ, II., 124–6.

Paul II. dismounted at the Convent of Sta Maria Nuova, leaving the palfrey there, and having himself carried in a litter the rest of the way. The function in the Lateran was followed by a banquet. The Pope spent the night in the Palace of Sta Maria Maggiore, and on the following morning, after he had heard Mass, returned to the Vatican.*

Many Embassies soon arrived to pay homage to the new Pontiff. The first was from the King of Naples, which was admitted to an audience two days after the Coronation, when Paul II. reminded the Envoys of the benefits received by King Ferrante from the Apostolic See.† The Neapolitan Embassy was followed by others from Lucca, Siena, Mantua, Milan, and Florence, this latter being remarkable for its magnificence. All these were received in public, but the Embassies from the States of the Church in Secret Consistories; which furnished an opportunity for making complaints and asking for favours. Paul II., who, especially at the beginning of his reign, appeared to think a good deal of his own importance,‡ was not very ready to comply with these requests, and disputes with the Bolognese arose in consequence.§ Some of the speeches made by the

* *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Despatch of W. Molitoris of 21st Sept., 1464. See Jacopo de Aretio's **Letter of the 29th Oct., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ See NOTAR GIACOMO, 107.

§ Besides Jacopo de Aretio's *Letter, cited in note †, see *Letter written by him on the 9th Oct., 1464; Polit. Corresp. Breslau's. IX., 97; and a *Letter of W. Molitoris, dated Rome, 1464, Oct. 28 (Gonzaga Archives.) Regarding the complaints brought forward by the Ambassadors from Ascoli, see the *Letter of the Archbishop of Milan to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Dec. 14. (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*). The *Oratio of Giulia della Mirandola's Ambassador ad pontif. summ. Paulum, II., 1464, is to be found in the Campori Library, Modena,

Ambassadors were masterpieces of Humanistic eloquence, filled with quotations from the ancient authors. That of the Jurist, Francesco Accolti, who was attached to the Milanese Embassy, was specially admired.* On the 2nd December the Ambassadors of the Emperor Frederick III. arrived; they were commissioned to treat also of the affairs of Bohemia.†

Some of the Articles of the Election Capitulation were so obnoxious that even a Pope less imbued with a sense

App. Cod. 169 (saec., 15). The *Instruction for the Florentine Embassy, dated 1464, Oct. 6, is in the State Archives, Florence, X.–I.–53, f. 125. GUIDICINI, Miscell., 16, speaks of the relations between Paul II. and Bologna. See LA MANTIA, I., 316; CIPOLLA, 541.

* A MS. copy of Accolti's discourse is in the Chapter Library at Lucca; it is printed in BALUZE-MANSI, Miscell., III., 166 *seq.* See VAHLEN, 415–16; and MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 68 *seq.* Vahlen makes Accolti arrive in Rome at the end of 1464. This is incorrect. He delivered his discourse in the October of that year: *"Il nostro Misser Francesco d'Arezo ha facto il dovere cum grande comendatione dogni persona che l'ha udito." Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Oct. 22. (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*) The *Speeches of the Ambassadors of Naples, Lucca, Siena, Ferrara, Venice, and Florence are in Cod. 537 of the University Library, Padua.

† PALACKY, IV., 2, 328 *seq.* "To-day the Emperor's Ambassadors arrived," says Jacopo de Aretio in a *Despatch of the 2nd Dec., 1464. (Gonzaga Archives.) The Archbishop of Milan, in a *Letter of the 14th Dec., 1464, Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*, mentions a night attack upon the Imperial Embassy, which greatly displeased the Pope. (The war-cry of the rioters was "Austria.") In November, the Knights of St. John, at Rhodes, sent an Embassy to offer their homage; see BOSIO, 228. Regarding a French Embassy which, perhaps, was connected with this occasion, see JEAN DE REILHAC, I., 183. He is mistaken in asserting that the Acts of the French Nunciature in the Secret Archives only begin some years after the commencement of Paul II.'s Pontificate.

of his own importance than Paul II. would have been driven to resist this fresh attempt to introduce an oligarchical character into the government of the States of the Church, and, as a necessary consequence, into that of the Church itself. As a Venetian, the Pope was only too well-acquainted with the defects of this system, and was firmly resolved not to allow himself to be reduced "to the helpless position of a Doge, controlled by Committees of the Nobles."* He was encouraged in this resolve, if we may believe Ammanati, by two Bishops who were aspiring to the purple.†

The Pope, himself, prepared the Ambassadors for an alteration in the Election Capitulation. To one of them he bitterly complained that its stipulations tied his hands so that he could hardly do anything without the consent of the Cardinals. "I perceive," wrote the Duke of Milan's Ambassador on the 21st September, "that His Holiness will endeavour, if he possibly can, to mitigate the Election Capitulation."‡

One of the reasons which, from Paul II.'s point of view, compelled him to take this course was, that, under existing circumstances, any limitation of the Monarchical power of the Pope in the States of the Church would necessarily interfere with the free exercise of that power in matters purely ecclesiastical.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3rd ed.; CREIGHTON, III., 6.

† Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, and Teodoro de Lelli, Bishop of Treviso. AMMANATI, Comment. 351; see Epist., 114. Nardini's efforts to become a Cardinal are mentioned in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza of the 6th Dec., 1464, which we shall cite, and in a *Despatch from Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 21. Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*

‡ **Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 21. (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*) See *Arrivabene's Letter of 1st Sept., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

According to the Catholic Doctrine, the Constitution of the Church is, by Divine appointment, monarchical; any attempt, therefore, to alter it was unlawful, and the oath to observe the Election Capitulation invalid. It is, moreover, an article of Faith that each Pope receives the plenitude of power as directly from God as when it was first conferred by the Divine Founder of the Church. Prescriptions of limitation, therefore, whether contained in an Election Capitulation or in the enactments of a predecessor, can only affect the new Pope as counsels or directions, not as binding obligations.*

According to trustworthy contemporaneous testimony, the intentions of many of the Cardinals in framing the Election Capitulation were far from disinterested. In reality, their aim was, not the removal of prevailing abuses, but an unlawful elevation and extension of the authority of the Sacred College. At the head of this party was the worldly-minded Cardinal d'Estouteville, who would have had much to apprehend from a genuine reform.† A very

* See our Vol. I., 179 *seq.*, 282. Papa subsequens non potest ligari constitutione praedecessoris sui. See Declaratio Innoc. III., c. 20, de electione. Bonif. VIII., c. fin. de rescriptis in VI.—juncta glossa ad "nostris successoribus indicamus." Eugen. IV., Constit., "Quum ad nos" an. 1433, ap. RAYNALDUS. The Pope ought not without reason to neglect such indications, accordingly, some Canonists hold that he is bound *honestatis* not *necessitatis causa* to be guided by them: *honestatis causa*, that is to say, non sine rationabili causa ab illis constitutionibus recedere potest; ita tamen ut penes ipsum pontificem (et non penes alios) sit judicare de existentia et rationabilitate causae recedendi a statutis praedecessorum. If this holds good in the case of enactments of a predecessor, far less has the College of Cardinals power to establish limitations. See BENEDICTUS XIV., De synod. dioec., XIII., c. 13, N. 20. PHILLIPS, V., 900.

† **Report of Otto de Carretto of the 26th Sept., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) VAST (283) attributes the origin of the Election Capitulation to Bessarion, but gives no decisive evidence to support this statement.

well-informed Ambassador, writing on the 11th September, 1464, says that the stipulation regarding the Council was not made in good faith by the Cardinals, but adopted by them as a means of keeping the Pope in fear, and inducing him to comply with their demands.* Paul II., who thoroughly understood these designs, soon made it clear how much this resolution displeased him.

The Pope was required to publish a Bull, confirming the Election Capitulation, on the third day after his Coronation; but the Bull did not appear and, instead of framing it, Paul II. was occupying himself in devising means of recovering the free exercise of the Monarchical power.† He caused several legal authorities to draw up opinions on the question, whether the articles to which he had sworn in the Conclave were binding on him. These authorities answered in the negative,‡ and the Pope then

* **Report of Otto de Carretto of the 11th Sept., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 23, is therefore mistaken in considering the Election Capitulation as an expression of serious purposes of reform.

† **Report of Otto de Carretto of the 26th Sept., 1464. Ambrosian Library.

‡ See ANDREAS DE BARBATIA, Consilia, I., c. 1 (see SCHULTE, II., 306–311; and Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsts., II., 37), and the treatise dedicated to Paul II. in the MS. Theol. Lat. quart., 184, of the Royal Library, Berlin: *"Ad beatiss. Paulum P. M. contra supercilium eorum, qui plenitudinem potestatis Christi vicario divinitus attributam ita cardinalibus communicatam censent, ut Romanum pontificem nec quae sunt fidei terminare nec cardinales creare nec ardua quaeque sine eorum consilio et consensu asserant posse disponere libellus." Lib., II., cap. XIII., defends the principle: "quod nulla pactio facta sede vacante etiam si voto vel jurejurando ante vel post electionem firmata fuerit Romani pontificis auctoritatem vel circa creationem cardinalium vel regimen universalis ecclesiae possit astringere." The copy in the Berlin Library, bound in red velvet and adorned with Miniatures, and with the arms of Paul II., is the one presented to the

laid a document, differing very essentially from the Election Capitulation, before the Cardinals, and persuaded, or constrained, them to sign it. All yielded, with the exception of the aged Carvajal, who was immovable in his opposition.*

The excitement in the Sacred College reached such a height that Cardinal Alain, brother of the Admiral of France, told the Pope to his face that his whole life for twenty-four years had been nothing but a plot to deceive them.† Cardinal Gonzaga, whose relations with Paul II. were in general friendly, and who had received many favours from him, wrote word to his father, on the 4th September, that the Pope was very much taken up with

Pope. The treatise of an unknown author in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 343–6, is directed against Barbatia. Döllinger is certainly mistaken in ascribing this to the time of Paul II.; SOUCHON (Die Papstwahlen, Braunschweig, 1888, p. 16), believes Paris de Grassis, Master of the Ceremonies to Julius II., to have been its author. The *Disceptatio an capitula jurata a cardinalibus sede vacante obligent futurum pontificem D. Clementis Tosii monachi et abbatis Silvestrini et s. congreg. indicis consultoris ad Alexand. VII., P. O. M., appeals to Barbatia, Cod. J.–II.–36 (not 31, as it is printed, Vol. I., p. 283), f. 425–443, Chigi Library, Rome. The treatise of Domenico de' Domenichi: An papa ligetur vinculis sui juramenti, &c., also belongs to this matter, Turin Library, Cod. 134, f. 111 *seq.* See PASINIUS, II., 30.

* AMMANATI, Comment., 351; see Epist., 113b *seq.* Ammanati's representation is not *sine ira et studio*, and it is much to be regretted that the version of the other party is not before us. The following passage from an Ambassador's Report is, however, interesting, and gives us the date of the abolition of the Capitulation (which Ammanati does not mention): *"Come per l'altra mia (unfortunately not to be found), ho dicto ad V. Ill. S. dopoy se sonno tolti in parte et in parte modificati questi capituli del conclave, che e stato una saluberrima cosa." Letter from Archbishop S. Nardini of Milan to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Dec. 6. Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*

† AMMANATI, Epist., 115.

his dignity, and was proceeding in a most dictatorial manner. "Possibly," he added, "the council which is to take place in three years may humble him."* Even in October, it was reported at the French Court that a schism had begun.†

Happily this danger was averted, but the relations between the Pope and the Cardinals continued for a long time far from friendly. No improvement took place, even though he granted pensions to the poorer members of the Sacred College, and to all Cardinals in general the privilege of wearing the red biretta, and a large mitre of silk damask, embroidered with pearls, such as had hitherto been worn only by the Popes.‡

Cardinal Ammanati, who now fell into complete disgrace, was the most bitter in his complaints of Paul II. "All," he wrote, "is suddenly changed, affability has given place to harshness, friendliness to a distant and repellent behaviour, a happy commencement to an evil progress." §

* Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 4th Sept., 1464; see Appendix, N. 3. Regarding the kindness shewn by Paul II. to Gonzaga, see Arrivabene's Despatch of the 1st Sept., cited *supra*, p. 15, note §.

† **Despatch of the Milanese Ambassador in France to Fr. Sforza, of the 5th Oct., 1644. National Library, Paris.

‡ The following Reports from Ambassadors which I have found, have served to supplement the former account of this matter (in PHILLIPS, VI., 279 *seq.*), and to settle its date: (*a*) *J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, d. d. Roma, 1464, Sett. 13: "Vole el papa che da qui inanti li cardinali habbiano le lor mitre bianche raccamate de perle." (*b*) *Jacopo de Aretio, d. d. Roma, 1464, Sett. 14: "Vole N. S^re^ che differentia sia fra le mitre de questi S. cardinali et altri prelati et per tanto ha ordinato quelle de li cardinali sieno de domaschino et cum alcune perle." (*c*) *Cardinal Gonzaga to his mother, 1464, Dec. 28; see Appendix, N. 7; (*d*) B. Suardo to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1465, Jan. 7, regarding the Cardinals' red biretta. All these are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ AMMANATI, Epist., 113b, f. 93.

The estrangement was aggravated by the Pope's inaccessibility, induced by his peculiar manner of life. Changes, which he considered necessary for the sake of his health, were made in the arrangements of the Court; day was turned into night, and night into day.* Audiences were only granted at night. A German Ambassador writes: "His Holiness gives no more audiences by day, and, as mine was the first, I sat all night in the Pope's chamber until 3 o'clock in the morning." † Other accounts say that even good friends of the Pope had to wait from fifteen to twenty days before they could see him.‡ To obtain an audience, the Envoy from Breslau writes, has now become quite an art. He had recently spent as much as five hours in the Palace, and had then been put off till the following evening. "It has now become three times as difficult to have an audience as it was under Papa Pio," says this same Ambassador, adding that he had often seen even Cardinals obliged to go away, after waiting two hours, without having obtained their object.§ It is not astonishing to find that business was greatly delayed and continued to accumulate.

* Besides CANENSIUS, 48 and 69; PLATINA, 767–93; AMMANATI, Comm., 350; Cronica di Bologna, 788; and N. DELLA TUCCIA, 100, n. 1, 269; see, in regard to the nocturnal habits of Paul II., *Otto de Carretto's Letter of the 9th Oct., 1464, and a *Despatch of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1465, June 18. Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*

† VOIGT, Stimmen, 158. See BARROCIUS, in Anecdot. Veneta, ed. Contarini, 266.

‡ See the *Despatch of the Milanese Ambassador of the 9th Oct., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) *J. P. Arrivabene, writing on the 3rd Oct., 1464, says that the old Secretaries of the Pope are much displeased, most of them not yet having had an audience. Gonzaga Archives.

§ Polit. Corresp. Breslau's, IX., 110; see 100–101. See *Jacopo de Aretio's Despatch of the 31st Jan., 1465. (Gonzaga Archives.) See Appendix, N. 10. Augustinus de Rubeis in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1466, Dec. 6, complains of the difficulty of obtaining an audience. State Archives, Milan.

The progress of affairs was further hindered by the slowness, indecision, and distrustfulness which were natural to Pope Paul II.* In many cases he went so far as to instruct the Chancery not to accept authentic copies of documents, but to require the originals.†

The Ambassadors also lamented the difficulties which the Pope made in granting dispensations and important favours.‡ All these causes tended seriously to diminish the incomes of the officials, and discontent soon prevailed amongst them.§ This dissatisfaction led to the expression

* All the Ambassadors repeatedly complain of these hindrances. See, amongst others, the Reports of Otto de Carretto of the 9th Oct., 1464 ; of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1465, May 12 (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*) ; of Jacobus Trottus, dated Rome, 1467, Dec. 1 (State Archives, Modena) ; of W. Molitoris, dated 1464, Dec. 20 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Augustinus de Rubeis on the 18th June, 1465, tells Fr. Sforza that the Pope is "longo, tardo et suspectuoso." (Ambrosian Library.) In a *Letter of the 22nd Oct., 1464, Otto de Carretto complains of the inconstancy of Paul II. The same reproach is made by Augustinus de Rubeis in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1466, Nov. 29. State Archives, Milan.

† VOIGT, Stimmen, 158. In a *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1465, Oct. 24, Otto de Carretto speaks of the "suspicione mirabile che ha (Paul II.) quasi dogniuno." (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*) Jacobus Trottus in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1467, July 13, says the Pope is slow, wishes to do everything himself, and trusts no one. State Archives, Modena.

‡ See *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of the 31st Jan., 1465 (Gonzaga Archives), and the Milanese Ambassador's Reports, especially the *Letter of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1465, May 12 (Ambrosian Library). Jacobus Trottus writes on the 2nd Sept., 1467, to Ferrara : *"Voglio che V. Ex. sapia che *il papa* (the words are in cipher) non serve ni fa conto de servire ni de far piacere a potentia alcuna de Italia indifferenter." He gives an example. State Archives, Modena.

§ Polit. Corresp. Breslau's, IX., 103 ; Cronica di Bologna, 788 ; *Letter of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1465, June 18. Ambrosian Library.

of unfavourable opinions regarding the Pope, which have not always been received with due caution.

There is certainly no foundation for the charge of parsimony so often made and repeated against Paul II. Cardinal Ammanati, who originated it, must have had many opportunities of witnessing the Pope's generosity. He granted 100 florins a month to Cardinals whose income was under 4000 golden florins; he was most liberal in assisting Bishops who were poor or exiled from their Sees. Impoverished nobles, destitute widows and orphans, the weak and the sick, and especially the members of the dethroned families from the East, who had taken refuge in Rome, were all partakers of his princely beneficence.*

Almost every page of the account books of his reign furnishes documentary proof of his magnificent benevolence. Entry after entry records alms bestowed on needy widows and maidens, on nobles, on invalids or fugitives from the countries which had fallen under Turkish domination, from Hungary, and from the East.† He made admirable arrangements for the care of the poor of Rome, and by his orders the Apostolic Treasury, every month, "for the love of God" (amore Dei), distributed 100 florins to those in want.‡

* AMMANATI, Comment., 350; CANENSIUS, 66 *seq.*; Gasp. Veron. in MURATORI III., 2, 1019, 1047. See CHRISTOPHE, II., 177 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, II., 12. See *infra*, Chap. III.

† State Archives, Rome. *Div. Pauli II., Vol. I., 1464–1466. Payments, f. 104: pro duobus pauperibus Ungaris fugitivis a captivit. Turcor., 18th Sept. 1465; f. 113: pro honest mulieri Felicie pauperrime et egrote, Oct., 1465; f. 139: pro duobus pauperibus Indis, 5th Dec., 1465; f. 163: pro pauperibus Indis, Mart. 1466; pro pauperibus personis, Mart. 1466; f. 208: pro pauperibus Indis qui hodie proiecerunt se ad pedes, S. D. N. pape eundo ad S. Petrum, 29 Junii, 1466, *Lib. II., Bulletar. Pauli II.; f. 80: 100 duc. pro pauperibus puellis, 12th Dec., 1466, &c.

‡ These 100 florins are entered every month; see *loc. cit.*, *Vol. I., f. 175, 199; *Bullet., II., f. 1, 17b, 41, 75, &c.; *Bullet., III.

Fixed sums were also received at regular intervals by a number of poor Convents and Churches in Rome; as, for example, S. Agostino, S. Marcello, Sta Maria sopra Minerva, Sta Maria Ara Celi, Sta Maria del Popolo, Sta Sabina, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Giuliano, S. Clemente, S. Onofrio, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Sta Susanna, S. Alessio, S. Francesco in Trastevere, S. Cosimato and S. Pietro in Vincoli; but his bounty was not confined within the limits of the Eternal City; the Hospital of S. Matteo at Florence looks upon Paul II. as, after Leo XI., one of its chief benefactors.*

From the beginning of his Pontificate, Paul II. devoted much care to the concerns of the City of Rome,† a care rendered all the more necessary on account of the series of calamities, floods, tempests, and earthquakes by which it had then been visited.‡ These were followed by pestilential epidemics, which raged in the autumn of 1464 to such a degree that one of the Ambassadors says that all the Cardinals' houses had become hospitals.§ This Plague

(March 1468 to March 1469); *Lib. quart. Bullet. (April 1469 to July 1470); *Lib. V. Bullet. (Aug. 1470 to July 1471), regularly on the first of each month. See also in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Introit. et Ex. 466; and CANENSIUS, 67.

* RICHA, VII., 92. Evidence regarding the support given to the Roman Convents in the State Archives, Rome. *Div. Pauli II., Vol. I., f. 175, 188; Bullet., II., 1467, Jan. 11, April 2, &c.

† Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 268 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, II., 8.

‡ INFESSURA, 1141; AMMANATI, Epist., 49. See also a *Letter from Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1465, Jan. 20, in which he speaks of a violent storm which had visited Rome during the previous night, and goes on to say: "Caschò secondo intendo la saetta in casa de Mons. Vicecancelliere (R. Borgia), ma non ha fatto danno." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) An account of an earthquake in the neighbourhood of Rome on the 15th Jan., 1466, is to be found in Cod. Δ., a. XV., at Grottaferrata. See ROCCHI, Cod. 316.

§ *J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464,

lasted on into the colder months, and returned in the following years.* Paul II. rightly judged that the sanitary condition of the city could only be improved by a greater attention to cleanliness; he accordingly caused the streets to be purified, and sewers and aqueducts to be repaired.†

A great benefit was conferred on Rome by Paul II., in the revision of its Statutes, which was completed in 1490, and had for its object the better and more rapid administration of justice. The revised Statutes were printed in the time of this Pope, probably in the year 1471. They are divided into three books: Civil Law, Criminal Law,

Oct. 3: many died of the Plague; "Quasi in ugni casa de cardinali e uno hospitale." See the *Despatches of Jacopo de Aretio of the 9th Oct. (Plague and fever prevail, many courtiers are dying) and 16th Oct., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

* See the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, Nov. 13, and Arrivabene's of the 16th Nov. (Scarampo fled from the Plague to Albano). A *Letter from Cardinal Gonzaga to his parents, dated Rome, 1465, Feb. 12, speaks of the continuance of the Plague, which, during May (see the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of the 21st May, Gonzaga Archives) and June (see AMMANATI, Epist., 69b, 70, 71, 72b), continually claimed fresh victims. It again visited Rome in 1468 and 1469; see AMMANATI, *loc. cit.*, 145–6, 175. The question whether it was right to flee from an infectious malady was then discussed. It is dealt with in the *Epistola Dominici episcopi Torcellani quod liceat pestem fugere ad rev., &c., Jacobum S. R. E. card. S. Crisogoni Papien. nunc in Cod. B.–51 of the Chapter Library, Padua. A little work against the Plague was also written in the time of Paul II.: it begins with the following words: "*Jesus.* Questo è un consiglio optimo contra lo morbo pestilentiale, Cioè anguinaglie; Carbunculi antrace: apostemie: et altri mali cativi et apostemosi. Composto per Mastro Francesco da Siena doctore nell arte medicinale. In fine: Laus omnipotenti Deo Finis. *s. l. et a.*" A copy of this very rare little volume, which I do not find mentioned by bibliographers, was sold in 1888 in Florence by the Bookseller, Franchi (Cat. 66, N. 1006).

† CANENSIUS, 99; MÜNTZ, II., 96 *seq.*

and Administrative Law. This reform did not materially alter the principles of the Statutes of 1363, and the external and internal rights of the city remained unaltered.*

Paul II. took great pains to win the affection of the Roman people. In 1466 he gave them the Golden Rose, and the precious gift was borne in triumph through the streets.† But they appreciated still more the variety and splendour with which the popular festivals, and especially the Carnival, were now celebrated.

Hitherto the Carnival had been confined to the Piazza Navona, the Capitol, and Monte Testaccio. In 1466, Paul II. allowed the races to be held in the principal street of Rome, which from that time came to be called the Corso. The triumphal Arch of Marcus Aurelius, near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, was the starting point, and the Palace of S. Marco was the goal.‡ Games and prizes were multiplied.

* LA MANTIA, I., 173–8; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 213 *seq.*, 3rd ed. The ed. princeps of the Statutes reformed by Paul II., is, however, not so rare as CORVISIERI, Arch. Rom., I., 484, supposes; LA MANTIA, I., 176, enumerates eight copies. See also Riv. Europ., XII., 456 (1879). Regarding the form of the oath taken by the Roman Senate under Paul II., see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 268 *seq.*

† "*La rosa heri foe data al populo de Roma e cussi tuto hoggi cum gran triumpho l'hanno per la citade accompagnata; queste cose molto gratificano questo populo, el quale se ne piglia piacere assai." J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, d. d. Rom., 1466, Mart. 17. (Gonzaga Archives.) To complete the account of the Golden Rose, given in Vol. I., 320 and 321, note 1, we may here observe that the "Meisterwerke Schwäbischer Kunst aus der kunsthistorischen Abtheilung der Schwäbisch. Kreisausstellung" (München, 1886), Plate XXI., N. 5, gives a very good Phototype (a quarter the size of the original) of the Rose presented by Nicholas V., in 1454, to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, and now in the possession of the Benedictine Priory of Andechs.

‡ ADEMOLLO, Il Carnevale di Roma, 1 (Roma, 1883), is wrong

"In order," writes Canensius, in his Life of Paul II., "that none of the elements, out of which Roman society was formed, might be left out, he instituted races for Jews, for boys, for grown men, and, finally, for old people, each with its suitable prize. The palls which it was customary to bestow as prizes on the successful race-horses were, by his directions, made of more costly materials." The great banquets, in the Square of S. Marco, to which the Pope invited the magistrates and the people, formed a new feature in the festivities. From a window of his Palace, Paul II. looked down upon these entertainments, and at their conclusion money was distributed amongst the people. To give greater variety to the scene, donkey and buffalo races were added.* Amusement of a higher grade was provided in the magnificent processions "which represented the triumphs of the ancient Roman Emperors, a favourite theme of the imagination of the period." No doubt these "pictures of old Roman days were, in all archæological simplicity, clad in the brightest colours of the style of the early Renaissance, but that only gave more life and variety to the scene."† These worldly proceedings were even at the time condemned by some, but Paul II. paid no heed. He counted much on these popular amusements for counteracting the evil influences of the revolutionary

in giving the year 1467 as the date of Paul II.'s regulation; see the testimony of the contemporary, Cron. Rom., 31; see NATALI, Il Ghetto di Roma, 98 *seq.* (Roma, 1887). Besides the materials collected by *CANCELLIERI, Il Carnevale di Roma (the MS. is in the Archives of the Capitol), I found other unpublished Documents relating to the history of the Roman Carnival; these I intend to publish in a separate work, as to treat this subject adequately would lead me too far from the purpose of the present volume.

* CANENSIUS, 50 *seq.*; BAYER, Aus Italien, 158.

† BURCKHARDT, I., 230, II., 160, 163, 3rd ed.; BAYER, Aus Italien, 191.

demagogues.* How much the festivities were generally appreciated may be gathered from the detailed and enthusiastic descriptions given by different chroniclers.†

The care with which Paul II. promoted the better supply of provisions for the City, and his measures against the robbers who infested its neighbourhood, gave him a further title to the gratitude of the Romans.‡ The Pope likewise endeavoured to check the vendettas and blood-feuds, to which so many lives were sacrificed in Rome and in all the Italian cities.§

Paul II. hated violence, and made it his special object to ensure the preservation of peace in the City. His government displayed a happy combination of firmness and gentleness. No malefactor escaped punishment, but the sentence of death was hardly ever carried out. The Pope met remonstrances against this great leniency by asking whether it were indeed a small thing to take the life of so wonderful a work of God as is man,—and a being upon whom Society has for many years expended so much pains. Criminals who had deserved death were generally sent to the galleys, but he gave express orders that they should not be treated with cruelty. The Pope was so tender-hearted and compassionate that he could not bear to see beasts led to the slaughter, and often bought them back from the butchers. It is said that he had great difficulty in refusing any request, and was obliged to shun

* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 235.

† Cron. Rom., 31–4; see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 90.

‡ N. DELLA TUCCIA, 89, N. 2; CANENSIUS, 35; Gasp. Veronen. in MURATORI, III., 2, 1006 *seq.* In a poem of the year 1468, published by P. L. GALLETTI, Verona, 1787, D. Galletti celebrates the restoration of peace, both in Rome and outside it.

§ L'ÉPINOIS, 436; BURCKHARDT, II., 207, 3rd ed. From CHMEL, Materialien, II., 306, we learn that Paul II. insisted also on the Jews being justly treated.

doubtful petitioners lest he should, against his own better judgment, grant what they asked.*

Paul II. was a true friend and benefactor, not only to the Romans, but to all his other subjects. He was zealous in the promotion of all useful public works. In poor places such as Cesena† and Serra San Quirico,‡ he contributed towards the repair of the harbours and the city walls. He repeatedly took measures to protect the Bolognese territory from being flooded by the Reno.§ In the second year of his reign, he issued very salutary regulations for the better organisation of the Mint in the States of the Church. For a long time the rule prevailed that money should be coined nowhere but in Rome; afterwards, however, the privilege was extended to the cities of Fermo, Ancona, Ascoli, and Recanati, with the stipulation that the conditions previously laid down should be exactly observed.|| In 1471 the Senate of the City of Rome was strictly enjoined to be diligent in proceeding against all who coined false money, or clipped the silver from the Papal mint.¶

* CANENSIUS, 39-40; CORTESIUS, LIIII.

† *Brief to Cesena of the 29th April, 1471, Lib. brev. 12, f. 139-139b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Document in the Archives of the place. The people of Ancona also received a grant "in reparationem murorum vestrorum"; see **Brief of Paul II., dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 25. Archivi Comm. at Ancona.

§ See the *Briefs of the 29th April, 1466, and 6th March, 1469 (Bologna Archives); see Appendix, N. 13 and N. 27.

|| For the subject in general, see PERUZZI, Ancona, 371 *seq.* The *Permission for Fermo and the other cities is dated Febr. 4 and July 4, and is to be found in the State Archives of Venice. Regarding the erection of a Mint in Rome, see AMMANATI, Ep., 61; and, in relation to the great number of coins of the reign of Paul II., see CINAGLI, 42 *seq.*; and MÜNTZ, II., 6.

¶ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 12, f. 90. *Senatori urbis, dat. Romae, 1471, Febr. 1; see *ibid.*, fol. 180: *Brief for

A very wholesome Decree of this Pontiff forbade all Legates, Governors, and Judges to receive presents, and their conduct in this matter was closely watched.* In grateful recognition of his excellent government the inhabitants of Perugia determined, in the year 1466, to erect a bronze statue of the Pope in their city.†

Joh. Bapt. de Sabellis prov. Marchie gubernatori, dat. Romae, 1471, Febr. 7. Similar *Orders concerning the exact observance of the ordinances for the coinage were sent on the 25th July, 1471, to all Rectors and Legates in the States of the Church.

* See Appendix, N. 34. Bull to the Governor of Spoleto of the 5th April, 1471. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† PELLINI, 690; and BONAZZI, 682. A *Brief from Paul II., dated 15th Dec., 1466, thanking the people of Perugia for their proposal to erect the statue, is preserved in the Municipal Archives of the city.

CHAPTER II.

Paul II. and the Renaissance.—The Conspiracy of 1468, and the Abolition of the Roman Academy.—Platina and Pomponius Laetus.—The Art of Printing in Rome.—The Pope's Collection of Works of Art in the Palace of S. Marco, and his care for Ancient Monuments.

The great intellectual movement of the Renaissance was at the time of Paul II., still expanding and developing. Through each one of its phases the two currents of heathen and Christian tendency are always clearly discernible, but the attentive observer cannot fail to recognise a considerable difference between its condition under Nicholas V. and under Paul II.

In the time of Nicholas V. the genuine and noble Renaissance, which had grown up on Christian principles, and, while embracing classical studies with enthusiasm, had made them subordinate and subservient to Christian aims and ideas, still thoroughly held its own against the other tendency. Subsequently, a change took place, and the school which inclined to substitute the heathen ideal of beauty for the central sun of Christianity, became predominant. In the second generation of Humanists that one-sided devotion to classical antiquity, which led to a completely heathen view of life, gained considerably in extent and importance.

Opposition on the part of the highest ecclesiastical authority was inevitable. Even before the accession of Paul II. the Church and the heathen Renaissance would

already have come into collision, had it not been so extremely difficult to lay hold of this tendency by any external measures. A formal heresy might be condemned, but it was much harder to discern the many byways into which this new, and, in itself, lawful and salutary form of culture had strayed, and any interference with its course would almost necessarily have destroyed not only that which was evil, but also much that was excellent. Moreover, the partisans of the heathen Renaissance carefully avoided any appearance of conflict between their learning and theology, and altogether contrived to assume such an innocent air of dilettanteism that it would have seemed ridiculous to attempt to deal seriously with them.

If, however, a case arose which did not admit of being excused as mere harmless classicism, the Humanists at once made the strongest professions of submission to the dogmas of the Church, and either altered or abandoned the theories which had been called in question. Thus, by their very frivolity and utter want of principle, the Literati were able to avoid any serious conflict with authority.*

But however complaisant the Literati might be in matters of this kind, it was quite another affair wherever their material interests were concerned. Any one who failed to treat them in this respect with the greatest indulgence and consideration must be prepared for the most violent attacks. Neither age nor rank were any protection against the envenomed tongues and pens of the disciples of Cicero. Lies and slanders pursued Calixtus III. and Pius II., even to their graves. And the same fate in a yet greater degree befell Paul II.

A measure passed in the very beginning of his Pontificate gave occasion to a calumny which has not even yet completely died out, and which represents him as a

* See our Vol. I., pp. 21 and 38.

barbarous enemy of classical studies and of all intellectual activity, in fact a "hater of learning."*

The measure in question affected the College of the Abbreviators of the Chancery. In November, 1463, Pius II. had made a Decree that this body should be composed of seventy members, of whom only twelve were to be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. The work and the pay were to be distributed only amongst these seventy, and not directly by the Vice-Chancellor. In May, 1464, Pius II. reorganised the College; the former officials were suppressed, and a number of Sienese, chosen from the Humanist party, were appointed, some by favour and others by purchase.† Paul II., who had always kept up friendly relations with the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, reinstated him in his former powers, and reversed the arrangements made by his predecessor.‡ Thus the

* GEIGER, 149. Similar unjust judgments on the part of other modern historians have been collected by L'ÉPINOIS, Paul II., 278 *seq.*

† CIAMPINI, 25 *seq.*; VOIGT, Enea Silvio, III., 553; VAHLEN, 411. See in Appendix, N. 5, the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of the 9th Oct., 1464. (Gonzaga Archives.) Regarding the Abbreviators, see PHILLIPS, IV., 394 *seq.*; OTTENTHAL, Bullenregister, 49 *seq.* (Innsbruck, 1885); BRESSLAU, Urkundenlehre, I., 235 (1889).

‡ The Decree of Paul II., dated 1464, Dec. 3, is in CIAMPINI, 31. It may be questioned whether the date of "Dec. 3" is correct, for the **Letters of J. P. Arrivabene and Jacopo de Aretio of the 15th and 16th October, 1464 (Gonzaga Archives), speak of the change as having already taken place. The time mentioned by PLATINA, 766, (statim ubi magistratum iniit), accords with October rather than December. To this may be added the testimony of the *Despatch of Jacopo de Aretio of the 9th Oct., 1464 (Gonzaga Archives), which we print in Appendix, N. 5. It is much to be regretted that we have not the key to the *Cipher Letters of Otto de Carretto of the 15th and 21st, 1464, in the State Archives at Milan, Cart. Gen. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 210, 3rd ed.; REUMONT,

Abbreviators, who had enjoyed the favour of Pius II., lost both their places and their means of living. This was undoubtedly a hardship to those who had bought their positions, although an order was given that the purchase money should be refunded.*

The indignation of those affected by this change was extreme. The secretaries, poets, and Humanists at the Roman Court really considered themselves the most important persons in the world; they seriously believed that they "conferred on the Papal Court as much honour as they received from it," and were firmly persuaded that "men of their stamp were absolutely necessary to the Pope, and that he must seek them out from all parts of the world, and attach them to himself by the promise of rich rewards."†

The distress of these self-important men was equal to their astonishment. They resolved, in the first instance, to have recourse to friendly representations; and even the lowest members of the Papal Court were importuned for assistance to obtain them an audience. For twenty consecutive nights they besieged the entrance to the Palace without gaining access to the presence of Paul II.

One of their number, Bartolomeo Sacchi da Piadena (a small place between Cremona and Mantua), known as an author by the name of Platina, the Latin form of Piadena, then resolved on a desperate measure.‡ He

III., 1, 155; ZÖPFFEL, in HERZOG, Real-Enc., XI., 318, 2nd ed.; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 234; L'ÉPINOIS, 435, &c., are undoubtedly wrong in placing this event in the year 1466. This error may have arisen from the fact that Raynaldus relates the matter under that year (N. 21).

* See in Appendix, N. 5, the record of this order.

† PLATINA, 766; BURCKHARDT, I., 273, 3rd ed.

‡ See in CHEVALIER, 1850, a notice of the literature regarding Platina; the important work of Vairani is here omitted. See also

wrote a pamphlet in the form of a letter, and, by his own confession, addressed the Pope in the following terms:—"If it is permissible for you to despoil us, without a hearing, of that which we had justly and fairly purchased, it must be allowable for us to complain of so undeserved an injury. Since we find ourselves contemptuously repulsed by you, we will address ourselves to the Kings and Princes, and urge them to assemble a Council, before which you will be constrained to justify yourself for having robbed us of our lawful possession." The letter concluded with the subscription:—"Servants of Your Holiness, if the new regulations are cancelled."*

Platina gave this letter sealed to the Bishop of Treviso, the Pope's most confidential Counsellor, remarking that it was written by the Humanist, Ognibene da Lonigo.†

Hitherto Paul II. had kept silence; now he acted. Platina was summoned to the Papal Palace, where he appeared with a defiant air, and, when the Bishop of Treviso called him to account for his conduct, answered very insolently. He was committed to St. Angelo, where, notwithstanding the intercession of Cardinal Gonzaga, he had that same evening to undergo an examination by torture, "I am very anxious on his account," wrote one of the Ambassadors, then in Rome, on the 15th of October, "for the Pope has spoken very violently about him to many, and no one ventures to take the part of a man guilty of so

SCHMARSOW, 25 *seq.*, 338 *seq.* The account given by BISSOLATI, 15 *seq.*, is very unsatisfactory.

* PLATINA, 767, and **Arrivabene's Despatch of the 16th Oct., 1464. (Gonzaga Archives.) According to Platina, it was on this occasion that Paul II. said: "Omnia iura in scrinio pectoris nostri collocata esse." The character of the reporter makes it very uncertain whether these words were ever really uttered.

† **J. P. Arrivabene's Letter of the 15th Oct., 1464. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

great a crime."* On the following day another writer mentions that Paul II. had talked of having him beheaded. "As Platina is an excellent author," he adds, "every one laments this mischance, more particularly Cardinal Gonzaga, in whose service he was at one time; but he is unable to help him in this matter. It is true, however, that when the Pope spoke to the Cardinal, he excused Platina as a madman. This deed of folly, indeed, proves him to be such."†

In the cold solitude of St. Angelo, Platina had full time for reflection. When, after four months of confinement, Cardinal Gonzaga's persevering intercession procured his release, he could hardly stand. He was obliged to promise that he would not leave Rome.‡ The Papal enactment was never repealed, and the ejected Literati, and more especially, their ill-starred leader continued to meditate vengeance.

The meeting of these malcontents, and of the heathen-minded Humanists, took place in the house of a scholar well known throughout Rome for his intellectual gifts and for his eccentricity. Julius Pomponius Laetus § was an ille-

* See the **Letter cited in preceding note.

† **Letter of Jacopo de Aretio, of the 16th Oct., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ PLATINA, 768; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 211, 3rd ed., wrongly refers to Card. Gonzaga the words "admonet ne ab urbe, &c."

§ Regarding P. Laetus and his studies, see AP. ZENO, Diss. Voss., II., 232 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 92 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*; A. ZAVARRONI, Bibl. Calabra, 59 *seq.* (Neapoli, 1753); TAFURI, Scritt. Nap., II., 2, 364 *seq.*; TOPPI, Bibl. Nap., 213 *seq.*; NAEKE, De Julio Pomponio Sabino, Virgilii interprete (Bonn., 1824); VILLARI, I., 128; NOLHAC, in Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist., VI., 139 *seq.* (1886); DE ROSSI, Inscript., II., 401 *seq.*; and in Studi e Doc., III., 49 *seq.*, VII., 129 *seq.*; also Arch. d. Soc. Rom., X., 635 *seq.*, 696 *seq.* A critical Biography of P. Laetus, drawn from original sources, would be a great boon. I have been dis-

gitimate scion of the princely house of Sanseverino, had come to Rome at an early age from his home in Calabria, and had become Valla's disciple, and afterwards succeeded him as Professor in the University. "Of all the worshippers of antiquity, whose exclusive ideal was ancient Rome and the oldest words of the Latin tongue," he was the most extreme.* No scholar, perhaps, ever lived so completely in the heathenism of the past; "the present was to him a mere phantom; the world of antiquity was the reality in which he lived and moved and had his being."†

Pomponius Laetus lived in antique style, in haughty poverty, like a second Cato. In the cultivation of his vineyard he followed the rules of Varro and Columella. He would often come down, with buskined feet, before daybreak to the University, where the hall could hardly contain the crowd of his eager scholars. The vivacious little man might frequently be seen wandering alone through the ruins of ancient Rome, suddenly arrested, as if in a rapture, before some heap of stones, or even bursting into tears. He despised the Christian religion, and passionately inveighed against its adherents. As a deist, Pomponius believed in a Creator, but, as one of his most devoted disciples tells us, as an antiquarian he revered the "Genius of the City of Rome," or what would, in modern language, be called "the Spirit of Antiquity."‡

appointed with the Memorie di P. Leto in the Cod. G., 285, Inf., of the Ambrosian Library, cited by DE ROSSI, Roma Sott., I., 7; they contain nothing new.

* VOIGT, II., 239, 2nd ed.

† HÖRSCHELMANN, 150–51; see SCHMARSOW, 26.

‡ "Fuit ab initio contemptor religionis, sed ingravescente aetate coepit res ipsa, ut mihi dicitur, curae esse," says Sabellicus. See P. CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, LXXXVII.; CREIGHTON, III., 42; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 566 *seq.*, 3rd ed.; GEIGER, 158. "Even from a by no means rigorous point of view, P. Laetus can hardly be any

His house on the Quirinal was filled with fragments of ancient Architecture and sculpture, inscriptions and coins.* Here, in an atmosphere charged with the spirit of heathen Rome, he assembled his disciples and friends. Disputations were held on ancient authors, and philosophical questions, discourses and poems were read, Comedies of Plautus and Terence were sometimes performed, and an infatuated admiration for the old Republic was cherished.

Such was the origin of a "literary sodality," called the Roman Academy, whose object was the cultivation of pure Latinity, and of the ancient national life of Rome. "Pomponius, the founder of the Society, went so far as to refuse to learn Greek, lest he should injure the perfection of his Latin pronunciation."†

Around Pomponius, the representative of pagan Humanism, soon gathered a number of young freethinkers, semi-heathen in their views and morals, who sought to make up for their lost faith by a hollow worship of antiquity.

The members of the Academy looked upon themselves as a Confraternity; they laid aside their ordinary names, and adopted ancient ones instead. The original name of Pomponius, who was venerated by all as their leader and teacher, is not even known. Bartolomeo Platina and Filippo Buonaccorsi, who was called Callimachus, are the most noted of the other members. We also hear of Marcantonio Coccio of the Sabine country, called Sabellicus; Marcus Romanus, or Asclepiades; Marinus Venetus,

longer considered a Christian," according to GEBHARDT, Adrian of Corneto, 79; JANITSCHEK, 19, is of the same opinion.

* "Leto's chief merit, in the judgment of posterity, is the initiation of a practical interest in antiquity," says REUMONT, III., 1, 341; VILLARI, I., 129, expresses a similar opinion.

† HÖRSCHELMANN, 151.

or Glaucus; a certain Petrus or Petrejus; Marsus Demetrius, Augustinus Campanus, &c.*

It may be admitted that this use of heathen names was a mere fancy, for which a parallel may be found in the increasing preference for such names, and even those which were of evil repute, in baptism. But other practices of the Academicians cannot be thus explained. The fantastic "enthusiasm of the adherents of the old Calabrian heathen" found vent in religious practices which seemed like a parody of Christian worship. The initiated constituted their learned Society into "a formal Antiquarian College of Priests of the ancient rite, presided over by a pontifex maximus, in the person of Pomponius Laetus." The sentiments and the conduct of these "pantheistic votaries of Antiquity" were certainly more heathen than Christian.† Raphael Volaterranus, in his Roman Commentaries, dedicated to Julius II., plainly declared that the meetings of these men, their antique festivities in honour of the birthday of the City of Rome and of Romulus, were "the first step towards doing away with the Faith."‡

There was certainly some ground for the charges brought against the Academicians of contempt for the Christian religion, its servants and its precepts, of the worship of

* PAPENCORDT, 513; CORSIGNANI, II., 494; and NOLHAC in Mél. d'Arch., VI., 140 *seq.*

† See SCHMARSOW, 26; REUMONT, III., 1, 342; CANTÙ, I., 187. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 568, 3rd ed., writes: "Among the Academicians there was scarcely a trace of Christianity . . . They despised the dogmas and the hierarchical constitution of the Church, for they were of the School of Valla and Poggio." In another passage he speaks of the Academy "as a classical Freemasons' lodge." Regarding Platina's immorality, see *infra.* Sabellicus died in 1506, leaving an illegitimate son; see CORSIGNANI, II., 494–5.

‡ Commentarii, XXI., f. 246; see GEBHARDT, Adrian of Corneto, 79.

heathen divinities and the practice of the most repulsive vices of ancient times. Pomponius Laetus was the disciple of Valla, and was certainly an adherent and disseminator of the destructive doctrines of his master. A heathen idea of the State, hostility to the clergy, and the dream of substituting for the existing government of Rome a Republic of the ancient type, prevailed in this circle, together with Epicurean and materialistic views of life. "Experience had already sufficiently shewn that the enthusiastic veneration of the old Roman commonwealth was not unlikely to have practical consequences."*

This heathen and republican secret society seemed all the more dangerous in the increasingly excited state of the Roman populace. Many of the youths of the city were ready for any sort of mischief, and numerous exiles lurked on the Neapolitan frontiers. In the June of 1465, when Paul II. went to war with Count Everso of Anguillara, there was a decided movement in favour of the tyrant.† A year later, many adherents of the Fraticelli were discovered; their trial revealed the opposition of their rites and doctrines to those of the Church. Further inquiry shewed that the partisans of this sect were at work not only in the March of Ancona, but also in the Roman Campagna and in Rome itself. There is no proof of any connection between these heretics and the Roman Academy.‡ It is, however, certain that various fanatical demagogues, and some of the angry Abbreviators, held

* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 321; VOIGT, II., 239, 2nd ed., also thinks it very probable that P. Laetus and his disciples may have had their heads full of heathen and republican aspirations. Regarding Valla's doctrine, see our Vol. I., p. 12 *seq.*

† CANENSIUS, 56–9; see also AMMANATI, Epist., 54b.

‡ It is even improbable that such existed. Platina only condemns the excessive pomp of the Church "ecclesiae pompam." Regarding the Fraticelli, see *infra.*

intimate relations with the Academicians, and that in their assemblies strong language against the Pope was freely indulged in. Thus "all the hostile elements of Heathenism, Republicanism and Heresy seemed to have their centre in the Academy."*

In the last days of February, 1468,† the inhabitants of Rome suddenly learned that the police had discovered a conspiracy against the Pope, and had made numerous arrests, chiefly among the Literati and members of the Roman Academy.‡

Disquieting reports of various kinds had, for some time, been prevalent in the city, and predictions of the Pope's speedy death had been circulated.§ Paul II. had attached

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 570, 3rd ed.; CREIGHTON, III., 44; SCHMARSOW, 27. It need not surprise us, REUMONT observes (III., 1, 345 and 509), that the Academy was looked upon with suspicion, when we see how, subsequently, in the 16th century, the Academy sided with the party of opposition in politics. In that of Florence, for example, a jargon, known only to the initiated, was framed for party purposes. See also REUMONT, Gesch. Toskana's, I., 258 *seq.* (Gotha, 1876).

† Not 1467, as CIAMPI, I., 27, and ZÖPFFEL in Herzog, Real-Enc., XI., 318, 2nd ed., state; nor in 1469, as REUMONT, III., 1, 344; MARCELLINO, III., 78; L'ÉPINOIS, Paul II., 27; CHRISTOPHE, 192; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 320; SCHMARSOW, 27, and others have it.

‡ The chief authorities for the following details are the Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors. Hitherto none was known but that of J. Blanchus of 28th Febr., 1468, which MOTTA published in the Arch. della Soc. Rom., VII., 555-9. I succeeded in finding two other *Reports of J. Blanchus of 28th and 29th Febr., as well as Aug. de Rubeis' Despatches of the 28th Febr. and 4th March, in the State Archives, Milan. See Appendix, N. 19-22.

§ A *Prognostic of Gistoldus de Melodia, for the year 1469, speaks of "mundi evacuacio, cleri decisio, christianitatis deposicio, &c." Cod. 4764, f. 193b, of the Court Library, Vienna. A long *Prognostic for 1470, by a Servite, Paulus Venetus, is preserved in the State Archives, Milan, Astrologia.

no importance to these rumours, but, after receiving a warning letter from a temporal Prince, he looked on the matter in a more serious light. His anxiety increased, and his determination to act was confirmed, when some of the Cardinals also made communications of an alarming character. On the same night an order was issued for the arrest of the ringleaders of the Conspiracy. Four members of the Roman Academy, viz., Callimachus, Glaucus, Petrejus, and Platina, had been named to the Pope as the chiefs. The first three, having received intimation of the danger which threatened them, succeeded in making their escape. Callimachus, himself, in a letter subsequently written for his own justification, declares that he had at first remained hidden in Rome, and then fled secretly to Apulia.*

Others who had been connected with the Academicians were, together with Platina, incarcerated in St. Angelo, and afterwards examined by torture. "Every night some one is arrested," wrote the Milanese Ambassador, Johannes Blanchus, on the 28th February, "and every day the matter is better understood; it is not, as Cardinal Ammanati supposed, a dream, but a reality. The plan would have succeeded if God had not protected the Pope."†

It is most interesting to observe the manner in which Paul II. himself took the whole affair. Hitherto, we have had little save the somewhat scanty account of his biographer, Canensius, to guide us. He informs us that the Pope had taken measures to make an example of an infamous band of young Romans of corrupt

* ZEISSBERG, 352. Pomponius Laetus was in Venice at the time when the conspiracy was discovered.

† Arch. della Soc. Rom., VII. 557. PLATINA, 781, says that about twenty persons in all were imprisoned.

morals and insolent behaviour. They had maintained that the Christian religion was a fraud, trumped up by a few Saints, without any foundation in facts. Hence, it was allowable to copy the Cynics, and give themselves up to the gratification of their passions. "These persons," Canensius goes on to say, "despise our religion so much that they consider it disgraceful to be called by the name of a Saint, and take pains to substitute heathen names for those conferred on them in baptism. The leader of this Sect, whom I will not here name, was a well-known teacher of Grammar in Rome, who, in the first instance, changed his own name, and then those of his friends and disciples in this manner. Some abandoned men associated themselves with him: as, for example, the Roman, Marcus, who is called Asclepiades; the Venetian, Marinus, who is called Glaucus; a certain Petrus, who has styled himself Petrejus; and Damian, a Tuscan, who is known as Callimachus. These had bound themselves to murder the Pope."*

This account enables us to look at the affair from the point of view of the Pope's position as "Guardian of Faith and Morals," and recently discovered Reports of the Milanese Ambassadors serve yet more clearly to elucidate its significance in this respect. Their independent character, and the direct nature of their testimony, entitle them to be considered as documents of the greatest importance.†

It was not easy for the Ambassadors of the League,

* CANENSIUS, 78–9. VOIGT, II., 240 *seq.*, 2nd ed., observes that this account is all the more unprejudiced, inasmuch as it is written without a suspicion of the deeper significance of these events.

† The Milanese Ambassadors were by no means prejudiced against Platina, and PLATINA, himself, says (789) that the Venetian and Milanese Ambassadors afterwards made interest on his behalf with Paul II.

then in Rome, to obtain really authentic information regarding the events which had just taken place there, for the most varied and fantastic accounts were circulated.*

Many different statements were made as to the day fixed upon for carrying the plot into effect. Some said that Paul II. was to have been murdered on Ash-Wednesday, at the Papal Mass, others that the crime was to have been perpetrated on Carnival Sunday, when all the people, and even the Papal Guards, would have gone to Monte Testaccio for the accustomed festivities. Others again declared Palm Sunday to be the day selected. It was further reported that the conspirators had, with a view to the accomplishment of their purpose, associated with themselves Luca de Tocio, a banished Roman, belonging to the party of the Orsini, who was a member of the Council at the Court of Ferrante I. at Naples. This man was believed to be in league with other banished persons. Four or five hundred of them were to enter the city secretly, and to hide themselves in the ruins of the houses which had been pulled down in order to enlarge the Papal Palace. On the other side, forty or fifty partisans were to join the conspirators, and begin an attack on the attendants of the Cardinals and Prelates, who would be waiting in the Square in front of the Palace. By this means the Pope's small Guard would be occupied, and the conflict was to serve as a signal to the hidden outlaws, who would then make their way into the Church and murder the Pope and those about him. General pillage was to ensue, and Luca de Tocio was to establish a new Constitution.†

* The following description is from the *Reports of A. de Rubeis and Joh. Blanchus of the 28th and 29th Febr., 1468, given in Appendix, *loc. cit.* State Archives, Milan.

† The resemblance between this plot and that of Porcaro is obvious; see our Vol. II., p. 224 *seq.*

Even more alarming than the plot itself was the reported extent of its ramifications. The King of Naples was accused of taking part in it, and some were of opinion that the King of France was also engaged, while others declared Sigismondo Malatesta to be one of the conspirators.*

These varied accounts led the Ambassadors of the League to seek from the Pope himself more accurate information, and, at the same time, to express their sympathy and offer assistance on behalf of their several masters. An account of the Audience was drawn up by the Milanese Ambassadors personally, and in duplicate.† This document makes it perfectly evident that, from the very first, the Pope clearly distinguished between the Anti-Christian and immoral life of many Academicians, or their "heresy," as the Ambassadors shortly style it, and the Conspiracy against his person.‡

On the first of these points Paul II. made some very important statements, representing the Academicians as complete heathens and Materialists. They deny, he said, the existence of God, they declare that there is no other world than this, that the soul dies with the body, and that, accordingly, man may give himself up to the indulgence of his passions without any regard to the law of God; all that is

* J. BLANCHUS in the Arch. della Soc. Rom., VII., 559.

† See Appendix, N. 20 and 21 (State Archives, Milan). The Perugians, according to PELLINI, 695, also sent an Ambassador to Rome to offer Paul II. assistance against the conspirators, and to invite him to come to Perugia. This Ambassador must, no doubt, have written home, but I have not been able to find the Letters in the Perugian Archives; another may, perhaps, be more fortunate.

‡ Paul II. did not alter the accusation in the tenth month after the imprisonment of the conspirators, as PLATINA, 785, would have us believe.

needed is to avoid coming into collision with the temporal power.*

Paul II. had much more to tell of the evil deeds of these Epicureans, who seem, indeed, to have adopted the doctrines promulgated by Valla in his book "on pleasure." They despised the commands of the Church, he said, ate meat on fast-days, and reviled the Pope and the Clergy. They said that the priests were the enemies of the laity, that they had invented fasting and forbidden men to have more than one wife.† Moses, they taught, deceived the Jews, his law was a forgery, Christ was a deceiver, Mahomet a great intellect, but also an impostor.‡ They were ashamed of their Christian names and preferred those which were heathen, and they practised the most shameful vices of antiquity. Some of these free-thinkers are said to have contemplated an alliance with the Turks. Predictions of the speedy death of the Pope were circulated by them ; then there would be a new Election and a complete change in the state of affairs.

Paul II. named Callimachus, Petrejus, Glaucus, and Platina as the ringleaders of the Conspiracy. He deeply regretted that the first three had escaped beyond the reach of justice. He evidently considered the matter to be most important, and expressed to the Ambassadors his determination to root out this "heresy," and his regret that he had not sooner become aware of its existence.

In regard to the Conspiracy against his person, the Pope said he had heard the prevalent reports, but added that he

* It will be observed that this account agrees with that of Canensius, mentioned p. 48.

† It is known that, in the above-mentioned work, Valla advocated the community of women desired by Plato ; see our Vol. I., p. 16.

‡ This teaching is concealed beneath the leading idea of the work : De tribus impostoribus. See WELLER'S edition, Heilbronn, 1876.

could form no decided opinion as to whether they were well-founded or not, because those believed to be the leaders in the plot had escaped. According to the report of one of the Ambassadors, Paul II. had, at first, a suspicion that Podiebrad, the Hussite King of Bohemia, might be implicated; it appeared to him not improbable that one heretic might help another.*

The Pope was particularly disquieted by the rumour about Luca de Tocio, who had taken part in the troubles in the time of Pius II. He at once sent a courier to Naples to ascertain whether he had really left that city. As it was also affirmed that Tocio had given 1000 ducats to the guards of St. Angelo, as a bribe to induce them to deliver up the fortress, the Pope caused searching enquiries to be made, but very little information was obtained. Even at the time, it was suspected that these reports had been set afloat by persons whose interest it was to raise a cloud of dust as a stratagem to escape punishment.†

A reward of 300 ducats was offered for the discovery of the whereabouts of Callimachus, Glaucus, and Petrejus, and 500 for that of Luca de Tocio. The Pope hoped to get hold of some, if not all, of the conspirators.‡ On the 29th February, it was believed that a clue to Callimachus' abode had been found; he was considered next in importance to Luca de Tocio.§

The houses of the fugitives were, of course, searched, and

* *Despatch of Joh. Blanchus of the 29th Febr., 1468. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 21.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ *Report of Augustinus de Rubeis of the 28th Febr., 1468. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 20.

§ *Report of Joh. Blanchus of the 29th Febr., 1468. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 21.

the licentious poems which were found furnished fresh proof of the immorality of the Academicians.*

"We cannot wonder that the Pope did not consider the existence of such a Conspiracy as in itself incredible. He had incurred the bitter hatred of the aggrieved Abbreviators. Stefano Porcaro, the head of the conspiracy against Nicholas V., had also been a Humanist, and had dreamed of the restoration of the ancient Republic. The Ghibelline bands in Rome were still in existence, and their alliance with the party-chiefs of the city, and with the fugitives and exiles beyond its limits, constituted an abiding danger. Again, in the days of Pius II., young Tiburzio, at the head of a similar Catiline band, had stirred the people up to cast off the priestly yoke, and revive the ancient liberty of Rome. By his decided action, Paul II., at any rate, repressed disorder, and provided himself with material for investigation."†

Until the official documents are brought to light, it will be impossible to give an exact account of these proceedings, which were conducted by Cardinal Barbo, and watched with the greatest interest by Paul II. They would furnish us with the means of checking the detailed relation of Platina, whose participation in the events renders it necessary to receive his statements with the greatest caution.‡ In many cases they are, moreover, at variance with facts otherwise established.§

He certainly is guilty of gross misrepresentation in his

* See the *Report cited in preceding note.

† VOIGT, II., 240, 2nd ed.

‡ For critical observations on Platina, see ZEISSBERG, 351 *seq.*; VOIGT, II., 237 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; BURCKHARDT, II., 277 *seq.*, 5th ed.; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 571, 3rd ed.; L'ÉPINOIS, Paul II., 278 *seq.*; CREIGHTON III., 274 *seq.*; TRIPEPI, Religione e Storia, Roma, 1872.

§ See especially ZEISSBERG, 351.

Life of Paul II., when he affirms that, in his examination, he had shewn the indolent Callimachus to be incapable of independently originating a Conspiracy. In Platina's letters, written during his imprisonment, we find him, on the contrary, laying the whole blame on the blustering folly of Callimachus. "Who," he asks, in one of these letters, "would believe that the drunken dreams of this man, whom we mocked at and despised, could have brought us into such trouble? Alas! for us, poor wretches, who must pay for the silly temerity of another! That crazy bestower of treasures and kingdoms roams about freely, drunk with wine and glutted with food, while we, for being imprudent enough not to reveal his mad dreams, are tortured and shut up in dungeons." In almost all the other letters of this period Platina reiterates these accusations.*

The constancy with which Platina claims to have undergone examination and endured torture must also be relegated to the domain of fiction.

The letters written during his imprisonment also testify against him. Anything more abject than his petitions addressed to the Pope can hardly be imagined. His error, in not shewing up the drunken Callimachus, had been one of negligence, not of malice. For the future, however, he promised, whenever he hears anything against the name or the welfare of the Pope, even from a bird of the air, at once to report it to His Holiness. He approves of the measures taken for the repression of Humanistic license, inasmuch as it is the duty of a good shepherd to preserve his flock from contagion. He confesses that, when turned out of his office, he accused God and man; he repents of this, and will not again so far forget himself. Finally, he promises, if restored to liberty and secured from want, to

* VAIRANI, I., 30, 32, 33, 37.

become the Pope's most ardent panegyrist, to celebrate in prose and verse "the golden age of his most happy Pontificate"; he is even ready to abandon classical studies and devote himself entirely to Holy Scripture and Theology. The Humanist, however, again comes out when he reminds the Pope that poets and orators confer immortality on Princes: Christ was made known by the Evangelists, and Achilles by Homer. The prevailing tone of the letter is expressed in its concluding words: "Only give hope to us who, with clasped hands and bended knees humbly await your mercy."*

Utterly broken and crushed, Platina in his distress built much on the assistance of Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, Bishop of Calahorra and Prefect of St. Angelo, and besieged him with elegant letters. Rodrigo had the courtesy to grant Platina's request that he would refresh him with a letter. This led to a brisk correspondence between the two Humanists, one of whom was a representative of the Christian and the other of the heathen Renaissance. Rodrigo sought to calm and elevate Platina's mind by presenting to him religious motives of consolation. It is curious to see how difficult the latter found it to respond to the Bishop's thoughts. In spite of some convulsive snatches after Christian reminiscences, the antique element is the one that predominates in his letters, and certain fatalistic observations which escaped from his pen, induced Rodrigo to enlighten him as to the manner in which a Catholic ought to speak of Fortune and of Fate.†

The letters in which Platina invoked the intercession

* See the original text of this Letter in VAIRANI, I., 30–32.

† See VAIRANI, I., 45–66. Concerning Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, see, besides the works cited in our Vol. II., p. 44, SAXIUS, Onom., II., 460; CHEVALIER, 2036, and *supra*, p. 17.

of a number of the Cardinals and Prelates are as deplorable as the "abject and fulsome flatteries" with which he overwhelmed his gaoler. All these letters are full of the praises of those to whom they are addressed, and of Paul II. and Sanchez de Arevalo. In one of them Platina confesses that he contemplated suicide. In answer to the accusation of irreligion, he maintains that, as far as human frailty permitted, he had always fulfilled his religious duties, and denies that he had ever impugned any article of Faith. He is conscious of no crime save his silence regarding the babble of Callimachus.*

Pomponius Laetus, who was delivered up to the Pope by Venice, during his detention at St. Angelo's shewed little of the ancient Roman stoicism which he had so ostentatiously professed. At first he seems to have given some sharp answers to his examiners; † but he soon followed the example of his friend Platina, and sought by obsequious flattery to win the favour of his gaoler and of the Pope.‡ He protested in the strongest terms that he was innocent, and, at the same time, begged for some books to read in his solitude. Instead of Lactantius and Macrobius, for which Pomponius asked, Rodrigo de Arevalo sent him his treatise on the errors of the Council of Basle. Pomponius was little gratified by the substitution, but thanked him in an offensively fulsome letter. This was meant to pave the way for another petition, and, on the same day, he expressed a wish for a cheerful companion, with whom he

* See especially the Letter to Cardinal Ammanati in VAIRANI, I., 36–7.

† This appears from a Letter of Platina's to P. Laetus, in VAIRANI, I., 38.

‡ CREIGHTON, III., 44–5, 276–284; here the original text of the letters is given from Cod. 161, of the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

might interchange ideas. In support of his request, he quoted the words of Scripture: "Bear ye one another's burthens, and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ." This application was granted.

The Apology drawn up by Pomponius Laetus, while in prison, is also a pitiful production.* He meets an accusation, in regard to his relations with a young Venetian, by an appeal to the example of Socrates. He had withdrawn from all intimate intercourse with Callimachus from the time he had become aware of his wickedness. Everywhere, and especially in Venice, he had extolled Paul II. He confesses with regret that he had spoken strongly against the clergy; he had said these things in anger because he had been deprived of his maintenance; he begs to be forgiven for the sake of the sufferings of Christ. He brings forward witnesses to prove that he had fulfilled his Easter duties, explains his disregard of the law of fasting by the state of his health, and declares that he had received the necessary dispensation. Finally, in evidence of his Christian sentiments, he refers to the verses which he had composed on the Stations of the Cross, to his discourse in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and his treatise on the Immortality of the Soul. He concludes by a penitent admission that he has done wrong, and prays that, for the sake of the Risen Saviour, mercy may prevail over justice.

This pitiful document seems to have decided the fate of Pomponius. Paul II. came to the conclusion that the

* **Defensio Pomponii Laeti in carceribus et confessio. Cod. Vatic., 2934, P. 1, p. 305–308b. (Vatican Library.) This Document was not, as GEIGER, 150, supposes, discovered by Gregorovius; DE ROSSI first drew attention to it (Roma Sott., I., 7). GREGOROVIUS' extracts, VII., 571–2, 3rd ed., are more perfectly accurate; the correct reading must be "*effusissimo* ore laudavi," and "ignoscate" should be "ignoscite."

writer of such a letter was incapable of originating a Conspiracy, and, with regard to the other charges against him, he probably considered that the severe lesson which he had received was sufficient to reform him. The reason of Platina's far longer detention in prison was evidently that the suspicions against him were stronger, owing to his former conduct.*

Paul II. still hoped that the ringleaders of the Conspiracy would fall into his hands, and, if we may believe Platina, Petrejus was actually apprehended, but confessed nothing.†

That the affair had a political side is evidenced by the fact that, immediately on the discovery of the plot, the Pope transferred his residence from St. Peter's to S. Marco, "in order to remove from the neighbourhood of the Orsini and place himself near the Colonna." "But," as the Ambassador, from whom we learn of this change, remarks, "danger is everywhere."‡

Things, however, did not now seem so alarming. The report of the departure from Naples of Luca de Tocio, the partisan of the Orsini, and of his participation in the Conspiracy, proved to be mistaken. Paul II., nevertheless, considered it well to surround himself with a strong guard. The Carnival amusements, as Augustinus de Rubeis, on the 4th March, informed the Duke of Milan, took place just as usual. "Regarding the Conspiracy against the Pope's person," writes the same Ambassador, "enquiries have been most carefully made, but as yet nothing has been discovered but some blustering talk of murdering the Pope, which may easily have arisen in the way I have already

* CREIGHTON, III., 46; VOIGT, II., 240, 2nd ed.

† PLATINA, 784.

‡ *Report of Joh. Blanchus of the 28th Febr., 1468; see Appendix, N. 19. State Archives, Milan.

described. As the populace and the whole Court are discontented, it was only necessary for some one to make a beginning in order to carry all with him." *

The obscurity in which this Conspiracy is involved will never be completely cleared away. Platina and Pomponius Laetus, "with touching unanimity concur in laying all the blame on the cunning of the fugitive who was not there to defend himself." Even in distant Poland, where he hoped to find sure refuge with Paul II.'s enemy, King Casimir, Callimachus had good cause to guard his lips, for the Pope made great, though ineffectual, efforts to get him into his power. Again, in the year 1470, the Papal Legate, Alexander, Bishop of Forli, urged the General Diet at Petrikau to deliver up the conspirator, who only escaped through a combination of favourable circumstances.†

Although enquiries regarding this Conspiracy were finally abandoned in Rome for want of evidence, yet the prosecution of what was designated as the "heresy" of the Academicians, was carried on, and this with all the more reason, inasmuch as Platina himself had not ventured to deny the charge of heathen practices. Unfortunately, trustworthy information on this subject is but scanty. From many sources, however, we learn that Paul II. meditated measures of extreme severity against the heathen and philosophical extravagances of the Professors and Literati.

"If God preserves my life," said the Pope to one of the Ambassadors very soon after the discovery of the plot, "I will do two things; in the first place, I will forbid the study of these senseless histories and poems, which are full of heresies and blasphemies, and, secondly, I will prohibit the

* See Appendix, N. 21.

† See ZEISSBERG, 354 and *seq.*; Acta Tomic., I., Appendix; and CARO, V., 1, 322 *seq.*

teaching and practice of Astrology, since so many errors arise thence." "Children," continued the Pope, "when hardly ten years old, even without going to school, know a thousand villanies. What, then, must they become when, later on, they read Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, and Ovid? Juvenal certainly makes a shew of blaming vice, but he leads his readers to the knowledge of it."* There are many other books, he added, through which a sufficient amount of learning may be attained; it is better to call things by their true names and to avoid poetical circumlocution. These Academicians are worse than the heathen, for they believed in God, while these deny Him. The Ambassadors expressed their agreement with the Pope, especially Lorenzo of Pesaro, who delighted him by demonstrating the faith of the ancients with a great display of learning. The Ambassadors also considered it very advisable to forbid Ecclesiastics to study Poetry and Astrology. The Pope concluded by declaring that he also meant to take measures against the Roman habit of spreading false reports.†

* This admirable discourse furnishes a fresh proof that Paul II. was not so unlearned as Platina represents him.

† For the above, see the interesting *Report of Joh. Blanchus of 29th Febr., 1468. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 21. Amongst other reproaches brought by Ammanati (see FRIEDRICH, Astrologie u. Ref., 20 *seq.*, München, 1864) against Paul II., is that of having, in 1465, firmly believed in Astrological predictions. I have not yet found any confirmation of the statement of this witness, who is certainly open to suspicion: the assertion, however, cannot be an absolute invention, and the general prevalence of Astrology in the Renaissance age must be borne in mind. See BURCKHARDT, II., 279 and 346, 3rd ed., concerning Sixtus IV.; see also GOTHEIN, 446, and PASTOR in the Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 1525 *seq.*, 2nd ed. In 1441, Domenico de Domenichi even pronounced a *Discourse in laudem astrologiae et confutationem opinionum ei adversantium. (Manuscript in the Mantua Library; see ZACHARIAS, Iter, 135.)

In the consultations, which were held during this time, to devise the best means of attacking the false Renaissance, the Pope may have had in his mind a treatise which Ermolao Barbaro, the excellent Bishop of Verona, had dedicated to him in 1455. This author, looking at the matter exclusively from a moral point of view, vehemently protests against the undue estimation in which the ancient poets were commonly held, and in some places altogether condemns the whole of the old heathen poetry. He goes through the whole series, first of the Greek, and then of the Latin poets, and cites a number of extracts from the writings of the Fathers, in which immoral poets are condemned. In his opposition to the fanatical admirers of ancient poetry, Barbaro sometimes flies to the other extreme, and completely condemns the art in itself. The conclusion which he deduces is, that if the study of these heathen writers, even by the laity, requires much circumspection, this must be still more necessary in the case of religious and priests.*

One of the Ambassadors expressly states that, in the middle of March, 1468, all the teachers in Rome were, on account of the danger of heresy, forbidden to make use of the old poets; further details are wanting.† It is,

* Ad rev. in Christo patrem et dominum dom. Petrum tit. S. Marci presbiterum card. dignissimum Hermolai dei paciencia episcopi Veronensis oratio contra poetas. The preface is dated: ex Verona, Cal. April. 1455. I found this remarkable treatise in Cod. Reg., 313, f. 167–192, of the Vatican Library. Barbaro looks only at one side of the question, and his adversaries at the other, the former blaming, and the latter praising, the poets. He dwells almost exclusively on the bad poets, and the evil contained in the writings of the good ones, while his opponents only mention the good. Barbaro died in 1471; see OROLOGIO, Canonici, 23.

† The *Despatch of "Laurentius de Pensauro" to Fr. Sforza, unfortunately a very short one, which, in accordance with the Pope's

however, probable that the Papal prohibition was confined to the schools. At any rate, it did not apply to all poets, but only, as the Pope clearly explained to the Ambassadors of the League, to those who were objectionable on the score of morals. Every one must admit that the moral aspect was the one which a Pope was bound to consider in forming a judgment on the Classics. The vindication of the Christian moral law in this domain was, therefore, a most salutary act. Poison is poison still, even if contained in crystal vials.

As regards the issue of the trial, we have only Platina's report, and it cannot be looked upon as trustworthy. According to him, the Academicians were acquitted from the charge of actual heresy, nothing more than flippancy and undue licence in language being proved against them. Accordingly, the prisoners were now no longer shut up, but merely detained in the Papal Palace, then within the precincts of the Vatican, and finally, at the intercession of some of the Cardinals, especially Bessarion, only in the City of Rome;* but the Academy was dissolved, and certain limitations were imposed upon classical studies.

The severe lesson given by Paul II. to the wanton insolence of the Humanists, was no doubt a salutary one. No one can deny that the Pope was acting within his rights when he took measures against the practical heathenism of the Academicians. Platina, himself, in a letter to Pomponius Laetus, confessed that the heathenish practices of the Academy must, necessarily, give offence.

explanation, must refer to the immoral poets only, runs as follows: "Il papa ha prohibito a tutti li maestri de scole che non vole S. Sta che legano poeti per la heresia era intrata in certi che se delectavano de questi poeti. Dat. Romae, xvi. Martii, 1468." State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

* PLATINA, 788.

"And so," he adds, "we must not complain if the Pope defends himself and the Christian religion."*

The action of Paul II. towards the Roman Academy has received a remarkable justification from recent investigations in the Catacombs.

Until the 15th century the subterranean necropolis of the early Christians had, with the exception of the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, been completely forgotten. Traces of visitors begin to reappear from the year 1433. First, we have names of Monks and Pilgrims, led there by devotion. "I came here," writes Brother Laurentius of Sicily, "to visit this holy place, with twenty companions of the Order of the Friars Minor, on the 17th January, 1451." Then, suddenly, we come upon the autograph scratches (Graffiti) of Humanists and Roman Academicians: of Pomponius, Platina, Volscus, Campanus, Pantagathus, Ruffus, Histrius, Partenopaeus, Perillus, Calpurnius, &c. They call themselves "a company of venerators and students of Roman antiquity, under the leadership of the pontifex maximus, Pomponius." Pantagathus describes himself as "Priest of the Roman Academy."† These men were in search, not of Christian, but of heathen, antiquity. In his large collection of inscriptions Pomponius inserted but

* "Justus fuit pontificis dolor; honesta tanta suspicione questio. Proinde et nos ferre aequo animo debemus, si saluti suae, si christianae religioni cavit." VAIRANI, I., 38. See GEBHARDT, A. of Corneto, 79; FRIEDRICH, J. Wessel, 63 *seq.*, and JANITSCHEK, 19. The last-named author says: "I do not believe the charge to be false, that the Academicians were enemies of the Christian religion and intended to bring back the heathen worship."

† DE ROSSI, Roma Sott., I., 3 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 342 *seq.* "The date 1475," observes Reumont, "points to the time of Sixtus IV., when, the meaning of these things being known, the danger was at an end. But, undoubtedly, this was a repetition, in a more public manner, of what had formerly been connected with a sort of secret society."

one which is Christian, and this one because it was metrical, and its polished form had a flavour of heathenism.* Even more characteristic is the fact that these "modern heathens" ventured, in the venerable vaults of the Catacombs, where the very stones preach the Gospel, to scrawl flippant inscriptions on the walls! † With this evidence before us, therefore, we cannot wonder that, even after their liberation from prison, the contemporaries of the Academicians should persist in maintaining that they were heathens rather than Christians.‡

Of all the Academicians no one had been treated with more severity than Platina. After his release he cherished the hope that his cringing flattery would, at least, have secured him some appointment from the Pope.§ Paul II. however, did not see any necessity for employing the pen of this violent and immoral man.‖ This disappointment

* DE ROSSI, Inscript., II., 402.

† DE ROSSI, Roma Sott., I., 6. The inscriptions have no individual character, and are written in the ordinary capitals.

‡ KRAUS, Roma Sott., 3 (Freiburg, 1879).

§ BALAN, V., 196, concludes from a letter of Platina's that he had been set at liberty some time before the September of 1469. A *Letter of the Cardinal of Ravenna's of the 7th July, 1469, in the Gonzaga Archives, proves this unfortunate man to have been at liberty at that date.

‖ At this time Platina intended to dedicate to Paul II. his work, "De falso ac vero bono." In the printed version, however, it is dedicated to Sixtus IV. (see ARISIUS, I., 317; and SCHMARSOW, 338 *seq.*), but Cod. 805 of the Trivulzio Library, Milan, shews that Platina originally offered or intended to offer it "divo Paulo II., P. M." Testimony as to Platina's immorality is furnished by the *Letter of the Bishop of Ventimiglia, from which DE ROSSI, I., 3–4, has only given the passage cited above. The Bishop here complains that Platina had recently loaded him with abuse in his own house. The cause of the quarrel was Platina's jealousy of a member of the Bishop's household, who was, he feared, likely to turn away his mistress from him: "vereris ne

intensified the hatred of the Humanist. He swore that he would have his revenge, and took it, after the death of Paul II., in his wide-spread "Lives of the Popes."

In this work he describes his enemy as a monster of cruelty, and a barbarian who detested all learning. This "biographical caricature" * has for centuries imposed itself on history. Even scholars, well aware of Platina's bias, have not succeeded in avoiding the influence of the portrait, drawn with undeniable skill and in a bright and elegant style. Some few over-partial attempts to vindicate his character have only served to increase the confusion, until, at length, recent critical investigation of the Archives has brought the truth to light.†

It must always be remembered that Paul II. was not an

illa tua adolescentula a tuis amoribus abducatur." The young person in question is then characterised as "puellam turpissimam monstroque similem," and Platina is reminded that he is no longer young. Cod. Vatic., 9020, f. 11. Vatican Library.

* BURCKHARDT, II., 50, 3rd ed.; BAYER, Aus Italien, 160, calls Platina's Biography of Paul II. 'a pamphlet.'

† The merit of this investigation is due to E. MÜNTZ, II., 1 *seq.*, where the new literature on the subject is quoted. See also GEOFFROY, 383 *seq.* "Platina," observes CREIGHTON, III., 274, "without saying anything that is obviously untrue, has contrived to suggest a conception of Paul II. which is entirely contrary to known facts, yet which is so vivid, so definite, so intelligible, that it bears the stamp of reality." The influence of this work on Gregorovius is, therefore, quite comprehensible, especially as its sentiments accord with the prejudice against the Popes which even the Sybels'chen Zeitschr., N. F., XXI., 358, admits to exist in his mind. The great authority of Platina and Pomponius Laetus with their contemporaries has also had its effect, and so has the unfavourable opinion of Ammanati and of the author of the Cronica di Bologna, in regard to Paul II. The party feeling, which colours the writings of the Cardinal and the chronicler, has not been duly taken into account. See CREIGHTON, 273 *seq.* The disputes between Paul II. and Bologna warped the mind of the chronicler.

opponent of the Renaissance in itself, yet he is not to be looked upon as a Humanist, like Nicholas V. The boastfulness and conceit of its adherents repelled him: he preferred men of practical knowledge and practical tendencies. Poetasters had little to expect from him, and, in view of the pseudo-classical rhymes of a Porcello or a Montagna, this was not much to be regretted.*

The favours which Paul II. granted to the Roman and other High Schools,† as well as his generosity to a number of learned men, prove him to have been no enemy of culture and learning. While still a Cardinal he repeatedly visited Flavio Biondo in his last sickness, gave him assistance, and promised to provide for his children. As Pope, he fulfilled this promise by giving the charge of the Registers to Gasparo Biondo, in recognition of his father's deserts.‡ When the pious and enthusiastic scholar, Timoteo Maffei, fell ill, Paul II. sent him a present of money and a skilful physician, and, on his recovery, he conferred on him the Bishopric of Ragusa. Bishoprics were also bestowed on the three former preceptors of the Pope, and one of them, Amicus Agnifilus, was even raised to the purple. Learned men,

* MÜNTZ, II., 3, where there is proof from the *Epigrams of L. Montagna. Cod. 103 of the Bibl. de l'Institut, Paris.

† RENAZZI, I., 175, 185, 193; PAPENCORDT, 515. In regard to the other Universities, see DENIFLE, I., 514; PRANTL, I., 15–18; FROMMANN, Zur Gesch. d. Buchh., II., 23; BULAEUS, V., 674 *seq.*; Ungar. Revue, 1881, p. 503. "Hatred of learning" is not indicated by the fact that Paul II. excommunicated those who removed the books from the Library of S. Spirito in Florence (RICHA, IX., 58), or, by his command, that the Bishop of Modena should take care that the MSS. to be transferred from Monte Cassino to Rome suffered no injury on the way from rain or from any other cause. *Brief of the 20th March, 1471, in the State Archives, Venice.

‡ Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, p. 1501 *seq.* Regarding Atti camerali rogati dal notaro G. Biondo, see Studi e Doc., 1886, VII., 59 *seq.*

like Perotti, were promoted to positions of some importance in the States of the Church. Niccolo Gallo, Professor of Jurisprudence, when seriously ill, asked for a Confessor furnished with faculties to absolve from every sin; the Pope granted his request, and added a present of 20 ducats.* He summoned to Rome many scholars whose acquaintance he had made while a Cardinal; for example, Domizio da Caldiero and Gasparo da Verona, who was subsequently his biographer.† The Florentine, Lionardo Dati, was made Bishop of Massa, and Sigismondo de' Conti and Vespasiano da Bisticci bear witness to the Pope's affection for him; the latter declares that, if the life of Paul II. had been prolonged, Dati would have been a Cardinal.‡ In the year 1470, Paul II. shewed the interest he took in historical studies by causing some Chronicles to be copied for him.§

Among the scholars advanced by Paul II. to the Episcopal dignity, was Cardinal Cusa's intimate friend, Giovan Andrea Bussi of Vigevano, a man who deserves the highest praise for his labours in the diffusion of printing throughout Italy. The numerous books dedicated by this Prelate to the Pope prove the interest taken by Paul II. in the

* CANENSIUS, 66–7; QUIRINI, XIII. See also MUTIUS PHOEBONIUS, Hist. Marsorum cum catal. episcop., p. 35 (Neapol. 1678); and CORSIGNANI, II., 559. Regarding Maffei, see, besides the account in our Vol. I., 8, note 1, and Vol. II., 205 *seq.*, GIULIARI, 39, 163, 167 *seq.*; MONTFAUCON, Bibl. bibl., I., 98; and ENGEL, Gesch. von Ragusa, 184 *seq.*

† RENAZZI, I., 234; see 211, and GIULIARI, 40–44.

‡ MAI, Spic., I., 275. Sigismondo de' Conti, in his *Treatise pro secretariis addressed to Sixtus IV., wrote: *"Gratus jocundusque fuit Paulo II., pontifici sapientissimo Leonardus Dathus Massanus praesul vir summa innocentia, summa prudentia, summa in rebus omnibus temperantia, stilo praeterea erudito et gravi praeditus." Vatic., 2934, P. II., f. 600, Vatican Library.

§ MÜNTZ, Bibl., 133, 134; see CANENSIUS, 97–8.

introduction of the newly discovered "divine art." "Your pontificate, most glorious already, will never be forgotten," says Bussi, "because this art has been taken up to your Throne."*

It is impossible to say, with certainty, who it was that summoned the first German printers—Conrad Schweinheim from Schwanheim, opposite Höchst on the Maine, Arnold Pannartz from Prague, and Ulrich Hahn from Ingolstadt—to Italy. Cusa was deeply interested in the important discovery, but he died before these Germans arrived in Italy. There can be no doubt that to Subiaco, "the Mother

* QUIRINI, 135; see MÜNTZ, Bibl., *loc. cit.*, who, like PAPENCORDT, 515, and FALKENSTEIN, 209, maintains that the Pope patronised the new discovery. It is evident that Bussi's dedications were acceptable to the Pope, as the Bishopric of Aleria was conferred upon him in 1469 (regarding which, compare MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 701 *seq.*; MOTTA, P. Castaldi . . . ed. il vesc. d'Aleria, Torino, 1884; and Riv. St. Ital., I.); and, moreover, a dedication to the Pope always implies his consent; it is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find H. V. D. LINDE, I., 165, assert that "Paul II. was by no means a friend to the innovation;" and that Bussi had provided his editions with letters of dedication to the Pope in order to convince him of the utility of typography. Tiraboschi's account of the Pope's proceedings against the heathen Academicians is quoted by H. v. d. Linde in support of his theory. Those proceedings cannot be understood to imply any aversion on the part of Paul II. to the art of printing, for Bussi, in one of his dedicatory epistles (QUIRINI, 134), speaks of the humbling of these restless men as favouring his efforts. A great many other passages n these epistles (QUIRINI, 115, 152, 194, 196, 233) not only exclude the idea of Paul's aversion to printing, but shew it to be absolutely at variance with facts. FALK, Die Druckkunst, &c., draws a vivid picture of the manifold encouragements afforded by the Church, in all European countries, to Gutenberg's invention during its first decades. His work is founded on materials gathered from a very wide field, many of which have as yet been hardly, if at all, turned to account. This view has since prevailed, even on the Protestant side, over the prejudices of former days; see, *e.g.*, B. HASE, Die Koberger, Leipzig, 1885, 2nd ed.

House of the Benedictine Order, which has done so much for the cause of learning, is due the honour of having given a home to the first German printers."* Constant relations between this great seat of Western culture and Germany had been maintained ever since the days of the excellent Abbot Bartholomaus III. (1362, &c.), who, in his zeal for the improvement of the monastic spirit, had invited from beyond the Alps many German monks, remarkable alike for their learning and their austerity of life.† Again, also, in the middle of the 15th century there were many German Benedictines at St. Scholastica.

In the retirement of Subiaco, Schweinheim and Pannartz printed, first the Latin Grammar of Donatus, which was extensively used in the Middle Ages, then Cicero's work on Orators, and the Instructions of Lactantius against the Heathen. The last of these books was completed on the 29th October, 1465. Two years later, an edition of St. Augustine's "City of God" issued from the Convent printing press at Subiaco.‡ The States of the Church may therefore claim, after Germany, the honour of first producing printed books.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 515, 3rd ed.

† Cronaca Subl., 394, 396–7. The holy life of the monks in their solitude is described by PIUS II. Comment. 168. Cod. 211, Juvenal, written in 1455 by Peter Paul Dominici de Subiaco, bears witness to the cultivation of classical studies in the monastery of Subiaco.

‡ See C. FUMAGALLI, Dei primi libri a stampa e specialmente di un Codice Sublacense impresso avanti il Lattanzio e finora creduto posteriore, Lugano, 1875; see FALKENSTEIN, 209; LAIRE, Specimen Hist. Typogr. Rom., Romae, 1778; AUDIFFREDI, Cat. Rom. edit. saec., XV., Romae, 1783; and OTTINO in the review, L'Arte della Stampa, 1870–71. Of the first edition of Lactantius but one copy now exists at Subiaco (before the French Revolution there was, according to BLUME, II., 241, a second); see the description in GORI, II., 325. The copy in the Casanatense Library, valued at 15,000 francs, dis-

Of Ulrich Hahn's labours at Subiaco no trace now remains. The learned Cardinal Torquemada induced him to come to Rome, and here, in 1467, Hahn, who is generally known by the name of Gallus, finished printing the "Contemplations" on the picture in the Court of Sta Maria sopra Minerva, which his patron had composed.* In the September of the same year, 1467, Schweinheim and Pannartz had also migrated to the Eternal City.† Here

appeared in 1885. The theft was, according to the "Frankf. Ztg." supposed to have been perpetrated by one of the officials of the library, and they were all severely punished; the last of the Dominicans had a short time previously been removed. BERLAN'S opinion (La invenzione della stampa a tipo mobile revendicata all' Italia, Firenze, 1882), that Italy was the first country to make use of moveable type, is briefly refuted in the Jahresberichten der Geschichtswissenschaft, VI., 2, 268.

* Thirty-four folio pages with thirty-three woodcuts. LINDE, III., 715. See FALKENSTEIN, 211; and SCHMARSOW, 57. FROMMANN, Zur Gesch. d. Buchh., II., 5, says: "With the aid of the German monks, Torquemada caused the German printers, Schweinheim and Pannartz, to come to Subiaco and set up a printing press in the monastery." This is a conjecture for which evidence is wanting. Moveover, Falkenstein ought not to have confounded Cardinal Torquemada with the Spanish Inquisitor.

† The time when the German printers arrived at Subiaco cannot exactly be determined (FROMMANN, II., 5, thinks it was about the beginning of 1464, and so does VILLARI, I., 130, but Ph. de Lignamine does not agree with them); I can, however, confidently give 1467 as the date when they settled in Rome. GASP. VERONEN, Paulus II., 1046, adds to his account of Carvajal's return from his mission to Venice, the remark: "Hac tempestate ad sanct. Romam quidam juvenes accesserunt et ii quidem Teutonici qui Lactantium Firmianum de hominis opificio, de Dei ira necnon contra gentiles mense uno formaverunt et ducentos hujusmodi libros quoque mense efficiebant." Carvajal's return took place on the 17th Sept., 1467, as we learn from the *Acta Consist., f. 35b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) PH. DE LIGNAMINE, *loc. cit.*, relates the arrival of Schweinheim and

in the Massimi Palace, near the German National Hospice, they established their printing press. Its first production was the "Letters of Cicero to his Friends." In the course of a few years this was followed by two editions of Lactantius, a second edition of Cicero's Letters, St. Augustine's City of God, the works of St. Jerome, the Holy Scriptures, St. Cyprian's Letters, the Catena of St. Thomas, and, amongst other classical works, those of Cæsar, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Gellius and Apulius.*

The corrector, or, as we should now say, the editor, of these works was the indefatigable classical scholar, Bussi. Almost all the books we have mentioned had fervid dedications to the Pope from his pen, and contained verses written by him. On one occasion he thus alludes to the names of his typographers, which had to the ears of his countrymen a barbarous sound:—

> The harsh-sounding German names awaken a smile:
> Let the admirable art soften the unmelodious tones.†

The friendly attitude of the Pope towards the new art, and the extraordinary liberality with which he allowed Bussi to make use of the precious Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, greatly contributed to promote the success of the Bishop's efforts.‡

The important post of Corrector—with whom scientific textual criticism had its beginning—was also filled at Hahn's printing-house by a Bishop, Giantonio Campano, a

Pannartz in Rome, in June, 1465, but this must allude to their first visit, after which they went to Subiaco.

* QUIRINI, 107 *seq.* The Roman types were not so fine as the older ones employed at Subiaco.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 347, 510. Most of Bussi's prefaces are in QUIRINI, *loc. cit.* See BOTFIELD, Prefaces to the first editions of the Greek and Roman Classics, London, 1861.

‡ QUIRINI, 188.

fact which shews the esteem in which typography was held at this period.*

After the death of Torquemada, Caraffa became a warm patron of the art of printing; nor did he stand alone among his colleagues in this respect. In 1469 Bussi writes, "We have as yet found no one in the Sacred College of Cardinals who has not been favourable to our efforts, so that the higher the dignity the greater has been their zeal in learning. Would that we could say as much for other orders."† As time went on, the Roman clergy maintained an unflagging interest in the "sacred art" which, in the dedication to Paul II. prefixed to the letters of St. Jerome, is said to be "one of the most auspicious of all the Divine gifts bestowed during his pontificate on the Christian world, enabling even quite poor men at small cost to procure books."‡

The account-books of Paul II.'s pontificate, which have lately been brought to light, shew how little he can be charged with systematic hostility towards classical antiquity. They lead us to the conclusion that this so-called barbarian watched over the preservation of ancient remains even more carefully than the scholarly Pius II. The triumphal arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, the Colossus of Monte Cavallo, and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius were restored by his desire, and many forgotten and neglected relics of antiquity were brought to the Palace of S. Marco.§

The magnificent collection of antiquities and works of art, which Paul II. had brought together in this Palace while yet a Cardinal, contained the most important treasures

* FALKE STEIN, 211; FALK, 18; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 517, 3rd ed.

† QUIRINI, 202.

‡ QUIRINI, 135; FALK, 19–20; LINDE, III., 705.

§ MÜNTZ, II., 4, 92–5.

of this kind from the time of the destruction of the Roman Empire. It contained numerous rare and most precious examples of antique Cameos and engraved gems, medals, and bronzes. From Byzantium there were pictures with golden backgrounds, little domestic altars with mosaics, reliquaries, ivory carvings, and gorgeously embroidered vestments. To these objects, whose value was enhanced by their age or their origin, was added a splendid selection of more recent works of art, such as Flemish tapestries, Florentine work in gold, vases and jewels. An inventory of this collection, taken in 1457, while Barbo was still a Cardinal, is one of the most interesting documents in the Roman State Archives,* and is of great value in connection with the history of art and civilisation in the Renaissance period. A comparison of the objects here mentioned with those in the Museums of the present day, enables us to realise the wealth of the Collection at S. Marco's. The Museum of Vienna contains about 200 ancient Cameos, and the Paris Library about 260; the inventory of Barbo's collection mentions 227. The Cardinal collected about a hundred ancient gold, and a thousand ancient silver, coins. He had twenty-five domestic altars with mosaics, a number greater than that now possessed by all the Museums of Europe together.†

But all these ancient, modern, and Eastern treasures were not sufficient to satisfy the soul of a collector like Paul II. On the contrary, now that the means at his disposal were greater, his schemes assumed yet larger propor-

* Published with some later additions by MÜNTZ, II., 181–287. Regarding Paul II. as a collector, see *ibid.*, 128 *seq.*; and MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 159, 170, 184, 193. His long sojourn in Florence, of which Paul II. speaks with so much enthusiasm in his *Letter of Sept. 8, 1466, cited on p. 14, must have had an important influence on his taste for collecting.

† MÜNTZ., II., 140, 143.

tions. He seems to have seriously entertained the idea of transferring the whole of the library of Monte Cassino to his palace, and he is said to have offered to construct a new bridge for the inhabitants of Toulouse in exchange for a Cameo.*

The Pope, however, was not merely an enthusiastic collector, but also an expert in matters of art. His memory was so extraordinary that he never forgot the name of a person or a thing, and he was able at a glance to tell where an ancient coin came from, and give the name of the Prince whose image it bore.†

The Churches of the Eternal City shared the care which he bestowed on the ancient monuments; works of restoration, of a more or less extensive character, were carried on at the Lateran, S. Lorenzo in Piscibus, Sta Lucia in Septemviis, Sta Maria in Araceli, Sta Maria Maggiore, Sta Maria sopra Minerva and the Pantheon. The bridges, gates, walls, and many of the public buildings in Rome were repaired by his command. Similar benefits were conferred upon Tivoli, Ostia, Civitavecchia, Terracina, Viterbo and Monte Cassino.‡

The progress of Architecture, under Paul II., was most

* Proof of this statement is to be found in MÜNTZ, II., 133.

† Gasp. Veronen. in MARINI, II., 179; CANENSIUS, 31-2.

‡ MÜNTZ, II., 85-90, 94, 96, 98-107. See MÜNTZ, Les Anciennes Basiliques, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20-21, and Rev. Archéol., VII., 339, IX., 171. FORCELLA, XIII., 6. Regarding the Artists employed by Paul II., see also the Doc. e Stud., published by the Deput. di St. Patria, I. (Bologna, 1886), Studi, p. 4 *seq*. On one of the doors of the Palazzo Pubblico, at Viterbo, I saw the arms of Paul II., with the inscription: PA PP II. 1465. Paul II. also contributed to the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Loreto; see TURSELLINUS, 133 *seq*. (SCHMARSOW, 122), and the *Brief of this Pope to the "episcop. Parentinus, eccl. Rachanaten. vicarius," dated Romae, 1 Martii, 1471. Lib. brev. 12, f. 12. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

remarkable,* and in this branch of creative art the Pope appears as the champion of the Renaissance. In the erection of the magnificent Palace of S. Marco he was the first to apply the theories of Vitruvius and definitely to break with the Gothic style. The splendid and extensive buildings at the Vatican secured the triumph of the new style in Rome.† The fact that Paul II. reverted to Nicholas V.'s grand scheme for the reconstruction of St. Peter's, and proceeded with the erection of the Tribune, is of the higest interest. A medal and a couple of lines in Canensius' Biography of the Pope were, until lately, our only sources of information on this subject, and, accordingly, it came to be supposed that only works of restoration were alluded to. The accounts preserved in the Roman State Archives, however, furnish absolute proof of the magnificent projects entertained by the Pope. A passage, unfortunately very laconic, in a letter from Gentile Becchi to Lorenzo de' Medici, confirms this statement.‡

The transportation of the Obelisk on St. Peter's square—another scheme of his great predecessor's—was also taken in hand by Paul II. The distinguished architect, Ridolfo Fioravante degli Alberti, one of the first men of his day,

* Painting was not at this time very flourishing. See MÜNTZ, II., 30 *seq.*, 32, 107-108, and JANITSCHEK'S Repert., VI., 215 *seq.*

† MÜNTZ, II., 8, 32-43.

‡ "*Sam Marco si sta. La tribuna di Sam Piero diseguita." Gentile Becchi to Lorenzo de' Medici, 1470 (stil. flor.), da Roma a di III. di Gennaio (Ricevuta a di V. detto). The Original is in the State Archives at Florence. Av. il princ. filza 61, fol. 119. This recently discovered information perfectly agrees with the extracts from accounts given by MÜNTZ, II., 45 *seq.*, and with his conjecture regarding the date of the medals given by Litta (note 11). The juxtaposition in these of the works at S. Marco and S. Peter's, leads us to conclude that a great new building had also been in contemplation on the site of the latter.

had prepared the plans, and the work had already been commenced when the Pope died.*

The Palazzo di S. Marco, now Palazzo di Venezia, is the most magnificent creation of Paul II. Recent investigations of the Archives have thrown some light on the history of this gigantic work, but many questions regarding it are still unanswered.† Medals struck on this occasion, and frequently found during restorations in earthenware caskets, together with an inscription on the façade, bear witness that these extensive works were begun in the year 1455.‡ This magnificent building was designed in truly Roman proportions. A whole quarter had to be pulled down in order to make room for it, and, although the works went on during the whole of Paul II.'s pontificate, the Palace "within which the newly decorated Basilica of St. Mark was contained like a chapel" was not completed at the time of his death. But even in its unfinished state it is one of the grandest of Roman Monuments,§ and, in a remarkable manner, exhibits the transition from the mediæval

* MÜNTZ, II., 4, 24–5. See our Vol. II., p. 184. To the works concerning Fioravante, cited by MÜNTZ, I., 83, may be added the Arch. St. Lomb., 1882, and the Giornale dell' Ingegnere Architetto of 1872.

† Here again the investigations of MÜNTZ, II., 49 *seq.*, are our principal authority; they are supplemented by his articles in L'Art (1884), and in Gli Studi in Italia, A°, VII., 1, fasc. 2 (which also appeared separately at Rome in 1884). See also SCHMARSOW, 62 *seq.*, and Studi e Doc., VII., 67 *seq.* (1886).

‡ BONANNI, I., 71. The inscription is as follows: "Petrus Barbus Venetus cardinalis S. Marci has aedes condidit A° Chr., 1455."

§ All contemporary writers mention this building with admiration. Fr. Ariostus, in his *Description of Borso's elevation to the dukedom of Ferrara, which we shall hereafter quote, says, in regard to the passage of this Prince through Rome, that he came "per quella regione dove si fabrica quello alto e superbo pallazo pontificale a S. Marco cum tanta incomparabile spesa, cum tanto maraveglioso

fortress to the modern Palace, and from the Gothic to the Renaissance style. In the Palace proper, the character of a fortress predominates. "It is," to quote the words of a gifted historian of art, "a speaking monument of an age of violence, presenting to the mob a stern and imposing aspect, devoid of all grace or charm, jealously concealing all the beauty of its spacious and decorated halls, destined to be the home of a luxurious life, and the scene of many a gorgeous spectacle." * The grand unfinished court, with its portico ornamented with pilasters in the Doric-Tuscan style below and Corinthian above, the Palazzetto, begun in 1466, joining it at the right-hand corner, and the vestibule of S. Marco, connected with the Palace, are all in the Renaissance style.

From 1466, Paul II. had, during a great part of the year, taken up his abode in this stupendous Palace, which was

artificio, cum piu ingegno, cum piu magnificentia che per adriedo si sia usitado edificare in Roma." Cod. J., VII., 261. Chigi Library, Rome.

* SCHMARSOW, 63, who conjectures that the purpose of this edifice was to put an end to the banishment of the Popes to the Leonine City. That political motives actually induced Paul II. frequently to dwell in the new Palace, is evident from the *Despatch in the Archives at Milan, cited *supra*, p. 58. See PAPENCORDT, 516 *seq.*; GSELL-FELS, 188; BURCKHARDT-BODE, 98; REDTENBACHER, 155; BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaiss., 55, 160. Regarding S. Marco, see ARMELLINI, 327. Calixtus III., in 1458, tertio Non. Maii A° 4°, granted an Indulgence to promote the restoration of S. Marco, and, on this occasion, mentioned the care and expense bestowed by Card. Barbo on this Church. Regest., 452, f. 40. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Compare also Stevenson's remarkable treatise, "Sur les tuiles de plomb de la basilique de S. Marc, ornées des armoiries de Paul II. et des médaillons de la Renaissance," in the Mél. d'Arch., p. 439 *seq.* (1888). The area of the Palace, together with the Church and the Palazzetto, is (as the Architect, F. Pokorny, kindly informs me) 12,174 square metres. The Ecclesialogist, XXIX., 160.

situated in the middle of the City, at the foot of the Capitol and in the domain of the friendly Colonna family. The Apostolic Treasury was also transferred there.* Subsequent Popes frequently, as their Bulls bear evidence, lived there. Just a century after the Election of Paul II., this grand building was given by Pius IV. to the Republic of Venice.† Afterwards, when Venice fell into the hands of Austria, it became the property of that Empire, whose Ambassadors now occupy it.

* See GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost. Especially in summer, when the neighbourhood of the Vatican is infested with fever, the Pope lived at S. Marco, which is accordingly called by Fr. Ariostus in the MS. cited *supra*, p. 76, the 'stantia estiva de la Sta de N. S.' His sojourn there was often prolonged into the winter months; in 1464, Paul II. was still at S. Marco on the 16th November, as appears from the *Acta Consist., f. 34a. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The investigations of MÜNTZ (Arts, II., 13, 15, 16, 53; Palais, 9) shew that Giacomo da Pietrasanta, who first came into notice in the time of Nicholas V., may justly claim to be considered the architect of this Palace. See REDTENBACHER, 146. Giuliano da San Gallo, then a youth, Meo del Caprino, and Giovannino de' Dolci, were all fellow-workers with him. Blocks of Travertine freestone, taken from the Colosseum, were employed in the building. See MÜNTZ, II., 7. Over and over again, valuable ancient stones were also sent out of Rome. On the 16th Sept., 1464, *Cardinal Gonzaga writes from Rome to his mother, Barbara: "Mando etiam per questo mestiere alcuni pezzi de alabastri et altre antiquitate tuolte qui." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) A metrical inscription on the Church and Palace of S. Marco, which has not previously been published, will be found in Appendix, N. 9.

† See CECCHETTI, I., 333, note. The transfer was symbolised by the shutting and opening of the gates; see the *Act regarding the Traditio of the Palace by Card. Guidō Ascanius Sforza, Procurator of Pius IV., to the Orator Jacobus Superantius, dated 1564, 2, VII., in the State Archives, Venice. (Kindly communicated by Prof. F. Kaltenbrunner.)

CHAPTER III.

The War against the Turks.—Skanderbeg in Rome.

The death of Pius II. inflicted a heavy blow upon the Church, more especially because its effect was to arrest the movement for the defence of Christendom against Islam, which had then just commenced. Cardinal Bessarion, one of Greece's noblest sons, gave expression to his sorrow in touching words.* The Crusade was, for the time, at a standstill, but the idea lived on in the minds of the Popes. Paul II. had, even while a Cardinal, taken a deep interest in the Turkish question, and his friends hoped great things from him.†

The first steps taken by the new Pope in no way disappointed these expectations. In the letters by which he informed the Italian Princes of his election, he gave expression to his zeal for "the defence of the Christian Faith against the fury of the Turks."‡ One of the principal

* Report of the Milanese Ambassador of the 23rd Oct., 1464. Ambrosian Library.

† Jäger, II., 428. The letter of Paul Morizeno, of the 4th Sept., 1464, here cited, is no longer to be found in the Government Archives of Innsbruck.

‡ Contelorius, 57–9 (see Raynaldus, ad an. 1464, N. 59). The Letters to Florence (of which a copy exists in the Archives of that city) and to the Marquis of Mantua (Original in the Gonzaga Archives) are similar to that here published. In a *Brief to Bologna, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 20, Paul II. also asserts his intention of carrying on the war against the Turks which Pius II. had begun. (State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.) See also Theiner, Mon. Hung., II., 398.

hindrances in the way of Pius II.'s magnificent schemes had been his constant financial difficulties. Paul II., the practical Venetian, sought to remedy this state of things, by removing the charge of the revenue derived from the Alum monopoly, and, in virtue of the Election Capitulation, destined for the Holy War, from the Apostolic Treasury to a Commission composed of Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville and Carvajal.* These Cardinals, who were styled "Commissaries General of the Holy Crusade," were to deliberate on all measures necessary for the prosecution of the war, and to report accordingly. "Also the income from Indulgences and from the tithes paid by the clergy for this purpose, as far as it had hitherto been at the disposal of the 'Camera Apostolica,' was now, for the most part, directly handed over to the Commission, or expended according to its decision."† The magnificent support afforded by the Commission to the brave Hungarians has won for it an abiding and honourable remembrance.‡

In the autumn of 1464, when the Envoys of the Italian States came to Rome to do homage, the Pope took the opportunity of bringing forward the Turkish question.§

* Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to his Mother, dated Rome, 1464, Nov. 23. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See *ibid.*, *Letter of Jacopo de Aretio of the 1st Sept., 1464; AMMANATI, Epist., f. 26, 60; and CANENSIUS, 47.

† GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

‡ Further particulars will be found, *infra*, p. 83. A Papal Bull, "Ad sacram," dated Romae, 1465, III. Id. April (=11 April), renews the prohibition of trade with the Infidels and of any interference with the alum trade. (Regest., 519, f. 153, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Copy in the State Archives, Milan.) GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., shews that Paul II. called upon the other powers to protect the Papal monopoly of Alum.

§ See Paul II.'s Brief to Louis XI. in D'ACHERY, III., 824, and the *Letter of the Milanese Ambassadors of the 14th Oct., 1461. Ambrosian Library.

Special negotiations were set on foot with the splendid Embassy of the Venetian Republic.* They proceeded to treat with the Commission of Cardinals, and a fresh scheme was proposed for the Italian States, according to which the Pope and Venice were each to contribute 100,000 ducats, Naples 80,000, Milan 70,000, Florence 50,000, Modena 20,000, Siena 15,000, Mantua 10,000, Lucca 8,000 and Montferrat, 5,000.†

The plan was by no means well received by the Italian powers. The Pope, who declared himself ready to pay the 100,000 ducats, even if he should have to take it out of his household expenditure,‡ had great difficulty in obtaining a promise to let the matter be again brought under discussion in Rome. The deliberations lasted for six months. No one was prepared to pay the appointed contributions, which the Pope intended to devote to the assistance of the Hungarians. Each sought to diminish his own share, and the more powerful States attached onerous conditions to their compliance. Venice, Florence and Milan demanded the remission of the Papal tax of the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth, and the King of Naples the complete remission of the tribute which he owed to the Holy See. In order to enforce his request, Ferrante informed the Pope that the Sultan had made offers of alliance to him, with a sum of 80,000 ducats, if he would stir up a war in Italy. Subsequently, when the relations between Rome and Naples had become still more un-

* Regarding this Embassy, see ROMANIN, IV., 321.

† AMMANATI, Epist., 41. See Mon. Hung., II., 234, where the document on the subject is wrongly assigned to the year 1471, instead of the autumn of 1464. The proposal is also interesting as giving an idea of the wealth of the Italian States. See the Table of 1455 in MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 50.

‡ Mon. Hung., II., 234.

friendly, he openly threatened to ally himself with the Turks.*

The Ambassadors assembled in Rome displayed a true Italian talent for evasion and procrastination. It was evident that not one amongst them would do anything.† This "hopeless state of things" induced Paul II. to lift the veil, and let all the world know whose fault it was that, after six months of deliberation, not a single step in advance had been made. The just displeasure of Paul II. found vent in bitter complaints. "The outcry against the burdens imposed is only raised in order to avoid giving support to the Venetians. May it not prove that, in thus forsaking the Venetians, people are forsaking themselves and all the faithful." They desire to discharge their obligations with the money of the Church, and thus to render it impossible for her to assist the Hungarians. The consequence will be that Hungary will be compelled to make peace with the Turks. What is left for the Venetians but to take the same course, especially as Mahomet has offered them tolerably favourable conditions? When both these champions are removed, the way to Italy by land and sea lies open to the enemies of Christendom.‡

These complaints were as powerless to rouse the Italian powers from their lethargy as the tidings of the immense

* Besides the authorities cited by CHRISTOPHE, II., 120 *seq.*, 152 *seq.*, see the *Letter of Augustinus de Rubeis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1465, Febr. 20. (Ambrosian Library.) Particulars regarding the conflict between Rome and Naples will be found in Chapter VI.

† Jacopo de Aretio, one of the Ambassadors, writes (dat. Roma, 1465, Marzo 18), regarding the negotiations with the Commission of Cardinals: *"Secondo a mi parse comprendere in quelle volte che me so ritrovato in simil congregatione non compresi alcuno che vollese offerire alcuna cosa." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ AMMANATI, Epist., f. 60b; ZINKEISEN, II., 309 *seq.*

naval preparations of the Turks, which reached Rome in May, 1465, denoted immediate danger to Italy.* Yet at this very time Florence refused the payment of a yearly contribution for Hungary demanded by the Pope.†

Even in the States of the Church the Pope encountered obstinate opposition to the payment of the Turkish tithes. Not only the smaller towns, like Viterbo, Toscanella and Soriano, but even the wealthy city of Bologna had to be seriously admonished to fulfil the obligation.‡ Tivoli and Foligno begged for a remission of the tax; Ferentino lay for a long time under an Interdict for resisting the claims of the Apostolic Treasury; the Counts of Conti in the Campagna were utterly recalcitrant. Ecclesiastical penalties proved useless, and in the end it was necessary to resort to force.§

Meanwhile, Paul II. maintained the war against the enemies of the Faith as well as his own resources permitted, making great sacrifices, especially on behalf of Hungary. A modern historian,|| after mentioning 42,500 (or 40,000) ducats given to Matthias Corvinus at Ancona, speaks of "some smaller" sums of money sent by Paul to Hungary. This statement is directly contradicted by the testimony of the Pope's contemporary, Vespasiano da Bisticci, who says that Paul II. sent about 80,000 ducats to Hungary in 1465, and also promised an annual contribution.¶ The

* *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene of the 21st May, 1465. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† MÜLLER., Docum., 202–3.

‡ *Brief to Bologna, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 20. (State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.) Regarding the other cities, see *Cruciata Pauli II., f. 10b. State Archives, Rome.

§ GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

|| HUBER, Gesch. Oesterr., III., 212.

¶ MAI, Spic., I., 297.

account-books preserved in the Roman State Archives shew that on the 23rd May, 1465, the Commissaries General of the Crusade paid 57,500 golden florins to the Ambassadors of King Matthias of Hungary from the proceeds of the Alum monopoly alone, and, on the 28th April, 1466, a further sum of 10,000 Hungarian ducats.* The expense of the mercenaries meanwhile was so heavy that the Hungarian Monarch felt obliged to give up all offensive warfare against the Turks. Venice, also, at this time thought of making peace with the enemy. The deplorable policy of the Italian States, which Paul II. had vainly endeavoured to gain to the common cause, explains this universal discouragement. "Naples and Milan kept on good terms with the Porte, Genoa and Florence hankered after the reversion of the commerce of Venice in the Levant." Under these circumstances, it was well that the heroic Skanderbeg and the war in Asia Minor, "by which the feudatory kingdom of Caramania was annexed in 1466," fully occupied the Turkish forces.†

To prevent the conclusion of a peace with the Turks, Paul II. made large offers of money, and resolved to send Cardinal Carvajal, the most distinguished member of the

* *Cruciata Pauli II. See GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., and GORI, Arch., III., 39. I will not blame Huber for having overlooked the last mentioned treatise, but I ask why he has completely ignored the statements of Vespasiano da Bisticci in a work which is generally accessible. It is absolutely incomprehensible that HUBER, *loc. cit.*, should speak of "some few smaller sums of money also sent" by Paul II., while he himself cites the Brief of that Pope of May 26th, 1465, published by TELEKI, XI., 124 *seq.*, in which the transmission of 57,500 florins is expressly mentioned. The zeal of Paul II. in resisting the Turks has been generally acknowledged, even by the Venetians, who were not favourably disposed towards him. See Mon. Hung., I., 321; *ibid.*, 324, 332, 339, 343, 375.

† HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 591. See ROMANIN, IV., 324 *seq.*

Sacred College, to Venice. This prelate, who had through life ardently espoused the cause of the Holy War, was of all others the best fitted to accomplish so difficult a mission. His appointment as Legate for Venice took place on the 30th July, 1466; he left Rome on the 20th August, and did not return till the autumn of the following year.*

In November, 1466, a Diet, energetically promoted by Paul II., was held at Nuremberg† to consider the Turkish question. The despatch of an army to the assistance of Hungary was discussed at great length, but neither this Assembly nor those which followed had any definite result.‡

* GASP. VERONEN., 1046, expresses himself in a very mysterious manner regarding Carvajal's Mission, but declares that the Cardinal accomplished the object in view. MALIPIERO, 38, says even more. The above dates, which have hitherto been unknown, are from the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 34b–35; the purpose of the journey is here mentioned in the following terms: "sollicitaturus aliqua contra nephandissimum Turcum et alia etc." Concerning his return, see *infra*, p. 140, note †. From a *Letter of Card. Gonzaga's, dated Rome, 1466, July 31, in which the 30th July is mentioned as the day of his appointment, we learn that Carvajal was to enter into negotiations not only about the Turkish War, but also concerning the other matters then in dispute between Rome and Venice. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See *infra*, Chap. IV. Carvajal had also to treat of the entry of Venice into the Italian League; see *Report of A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1466, December 6. State Archives, Milan.

† The Cardinal of Augsburg sent out the Papal Briefs, in which the "great peril of the Christian Faith" was laid before the States, and they were called upon to send delegates to Nuremberg. The Original of a *Letter to Frankfort-on-Maine (dated Dillingen, 1466, Oct. 15) is in the Archives of that City, Reichssachen, 5537. Paul II. himself also exhorted the powers to attend the Diet appointed, also to meet at Nuremberg on the 15th June, 1467. See JANSSEN, Reichscorr., I., 251, and Cod. Dipl. Sax., 170–171. A list of those who at this time received these Papal Briefs is in the City Archives of Strasburg, AA. 205.

‡ See REISSERMAYER, I., 20 *seq.*, where the dignity of Cardinal is

In July, 1466, the Pope invoked the assistance of the European Princes on behalf of Skanderbeg. For two years had this hero resisted all the attacks of the Turks, who had been repeatedly defeated by him.* To avenge this disgrace, the Sultan determined on an expedition against Albania. In the spring of 1466 a Turkish force, 200,000, or, as some few writers say, 300,000 strong,† began its march against Croja, the capital city. At the end of May a messenger reached Ragusa with the news that Skanderbeg had been defeated by treachery, and that a number of Christians had been slain; a second Turkish army was also said to threaten Hungary.‡ The Italians were panic-stricken. Piero de' Medici shed tears over the fate of Albania and promised help.§ The Pope, who had already aided Skanderbeg, again sent money,‖ and lost no time in calling on the Christian powers to bestir themselves. He spoke in moving terms of the affliction of Christendom, of the terror of the nations on the Adriatic coast, and of the fugitives who were constantly arriving from the East. "One cannot without tears behold those ships that flee from the Albanian shore

wrongly ascribed to Fantinus. Besides the Acts of the Electoral Chancery in the State Archives of Vienna, the *Händelung auf dem päpstlichen und kaiserlichen Tage zu Nürnberg, A° 66, in the City Archives at Oberehenheim, may be consulted in regard to this Diet.

* PAGANEL, 327 *seq.*, 349 *seq.*

† **Letter from the Ambassador of Mantua to Rome, 31st May, 1466. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ **Letter of Bartol. de Maraschis to the Marchioness of Mantua, dated Rome, 1466, May 31. Gonzaga Archives.

§ *Letter of T. Maffei of the 15th May, 1466, according to the Florentine State Archives, in Appendix, N. 14. See the complaints of the Venetians in MAKUSCEV, Slaven in Albanien, 108.

‖ Documentary evidence of this fact, taken from the Roman State Archives (*Cruciata Pauli II.), is given by Bertolotti in GORI, Archivio, III., 39, and also by GOTTLOB, who was unacquainted with Bertolotti's work, in Hist. Jahrb., VI., 443.

to take refuge in Italian harbours; those naked, wretched families, driven from their dwellings, who sit by the sea, stretching out their hands to heaven and filling the air with lamentations uttered in an unknown tongue." The account-books of his pontificate bear witness to the magnificent liberality with which Paul II. succoured these unhappy creatures. The Pope might indeed say that he had done what lay in his power; the Hungarians alone had in the preceding year received 100,000 golden florins, but he could not do everything; effectual support from the Christian powers was more than ever a necessity.*

Happily the apprehensions regarding the fate of Albania were not realised. The heroic valour of its champion rendered Croja invincible. "Skanderbeg pursued his ancient, well-tried tactics, and from the woodlands of Tumenistos he ceaselessly harassed the besiegers, inflicting so much loss and disgrace on the Turkish army, that the Sultan, finding corruption and force alike useless, left Balaban with 80,000 men to continue the siege of Croja and starve it into submission, and himself retired with the bulk of his troops into winter quarters at Constantinople."†

The fate of Albania depended on the deliverance of Croja, which Balaban had encircled with a girdle of fortresses, and the task was beyond the unassisted powers of the Albanians and Venetians. Skanderbeg, therefore, resolved to go in

* Papal Letter to the Duke of Burgundy in AMMANATI, Epist., 102b–104, and in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1466, N. 2–6. The date, July 1466, wanting in CIPOLLA, 535, may be gathered from the contents, and from a comparison with the Brief cited by LICHNOWSKY, Urkunden, p. CCCLXVIII., addressed to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol. I have, however, vainly sought for this Document in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck.

† FALLMERAYER, 87. See HOPF, 156, and MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 109.

person to Italy to beg for money and arms from Rome and Naples.*

In the middle of December, 1466, the Albanian champion reached Rome, where he was received with honours. "He is," to quote the words of an eye-witness, "an old man in his sixtieth year; he came with but few horses, in poverty; I hear that he will ask for help."†

It has been again and again falsely asserted that, in consequence of his "too Venetian sympathies," Skanderbeg obtained nothing from the Pope beyond the Indulgence and the Proclamations addressed to the deaf ears of Western Christendom, together with some pious exhortations and the renewal of the never fulfilled promise of the crown of Epirus and Macedonia.‡

His biographer, on the contrary, not only relates the honourable and friendly reception of the hero in Rome, but expressly observes that the Pope, like the Cardinals, had generously responded to his requests. "With many

* MALIPIERO, 38; BARLETIUS, I., XII., p. 355.

† PAGANEL, 356, gives 1465 as the date of Skanderbeg's journey to Rome; ZINKEISEN, II., 393, places it in the beginning of 1466; FALLMERAYER, 87, and HOPF, 156, in the summer of that year. They are all mistaken. The Cron. Rom., 32, expressly mention his arrival in the December of 1466, and the *Account-books of Paul II. in the Roman State Archives, as well as a *Letter of Card. Gonzaga's of the 15th Dec., 1466 (Gonzaga Archives), concur in the statement. In the Gonzaga Archives a *Letter from J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, xiv. Decemb., 1466, contains the following words:—*"El S. Scanderbeo gionse qui veneri [=12 Dec.] et incontra li forono mandate le famiglie de' cardinali. È homo molto de tempo passa li 60 anni; cum puochi cavalli è venuto e da povero homo. Sento vorrà subsidio." Beneath the Quirinal, Vicolo di Scanderbeg No. 116–117, is to be seen on the house where he is said to have dwelt, his image with the inscription: "Geor. Castriota a Scanderbeg princeps Epiri || ad fidem iconis rest. an. dom. MDCCCXLIII." See BELLI, Case, 58.

‡ FALLMERAYER, 88, where the Pope is twice called Paul III.!

presents, and with a considerable sum of money," says Barletius, "Skanderbeg returned cheered and encouraged to his people."* Other authentic documents give fuller particulars as to the results of the journey to Rome. In the account-books of Paul II. we find that first of all Skanderbeg received for his maintenance on one occasion 250, and on another, 200 ducats, and that furthermore on the 19th April, 1467, 2700, and on the 1st September 1100 ducats were paid to him.† Regarding the Secret Consistory of January 7th, 1467, in which the assistance to be given to the Albanian hero was considered, we have the testimony of Cardinal Gonzaga, who took part in it.‡ He says that the Pope at once declared his readiness to pay 5000 ducats; the necessity of protecting his own country was his reason for not contributing yet more largely; Cardinal Orsini, who was hostile to Paul II., ventured to observe that the Pope had nothing to apprehend from any quarter. This remark greatly angered the Pope, and provoked some interesting disclosures as to his relations with Naples. He said that he knew with certainty that Ferrante was eager to attack the States of the Church. One of the King's five confidants on this matter had given information to Rome. It is evident that, under these circumstances, the Holy See could not do more for the champion of Albania. A Secret Consistory of the 12th January, 1467, determined that in any case Skanderbeg should have 5000 ducats.§ Not only Venice, but also

* BARLETIUS, I., XII., p. 358. The speech of Skanderbeg here related is no more genuine than that which the hero is said to have made on his death-bed.

† Authorities are given in the articles by BERTOLOTTI and GOTTLOB, cited p. 86, *supra*. See also CANENSIUS, 74.

‡ See in Appendix, N. 18, the text of this *Document, which I found in the Gonzaga Archives.

§ *"Questa matina de novo foe havuto ragionamento in consistorio

Ferrante, whose relations with Skanderbeg had long been of an intimate character, received him and sent money, provisions and munitions.* On his return to his beloved country he soon won fresh laurels; in April, 1467, the Turks were defeated and Balaban's brother taken prisoner. A second victory quickly followed, in which Balaban fell and his troops took to flight.† Croja was saved. The danger, however, was not at an end; a second Turkish army appeared, and Skanderbeg had to keep the field throughout the whole year. In the midst of these conflicts, death overtook the Albanian champion; on the 17th January, 1468, Skanderbeg succumbed at Alessio to the effects of a fever.‡

No greater loss had befallen Christendom since the death of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. This was but too plain to the enemies of the Faith. It is said that when the Sultan heard the news, he exclaimed, "At last Europe and Asia are mine. Woe to Christendom! she has lost her sword and her shield!"

secr [eto circa] li fatti de Scandarbeo al qual se daranno pur li cinquemilia ducati." Letter from Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 12 Januarii, 1467. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* TRINCHERA, I., 90.

† This is related by Zacharius Barbarus, writing on the 10th May, 1467, from Letters from Alessio. See MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 110.

‡ HAMMER, II., 91, 94, makes Skanderbeg die in 1466; PAGANEL, 377; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 227, and CIPOLLA, 539, fix 1467 as the date; and REUMONT, III., 1, 189, February, 1468. The date we have given above, to which FALLMERAYER, 95, also adheres, is confirmed by the Letter of Condolence in TRINCHERA, I., 439, and the Milanese Report in the Mon. Hung., II., 93. See also HOPF, Griechenland, 157. Skanderbeg's helmet, with a goat's head erect embossed, and his sword, with the inscription in Arabic, "God's hero, Iskender Beg," are preserved in the Ambras Collection at Vienna: see VON SACKEN, Ambras Sammlung, 211–212 (Wien, 1855).

The effect of the blow was felt at once by the hard-pressed Albanians. The Turks overran their country—"in the whole of Albania we saw nothing but Turks," says a contemporary account—8000 unhappy creatures were sent away as slaves within a few weeks.* But Albania was not yet completely vanquished: Scutari and Croja, whose garrisons were strengthened by Venetian troops, continued to hold out. The enthusiastic honour paid by the afflicted people to the memory of their departed chief was most touching. "Choirs of Albanian maidens," Sabellicus informs us, "though surrounded with the din of battle and the clang of barbarian arms, assembled regularly every eighth day in the public squares of the cities of the principality to sing hymns in praise of their departed hero." † The valour with which the little nation resisted the overwhelming power of Mahomet for more than a decade is a proof that the spirit of Skanderbeg still survived amongst them. though he himself had passed away.

* HOPF, Griechenland, LXXXVI., 157.

† SABELLICUS, Decad., III., 568; FALLMERAYER, 100.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DOMINEERING POLICY OF THE VENETIANS AND LOUIS XI. OF FRANCE.—EFFORTS TO GIVE GREATER EXTERNAL SPLENDOUR TO THE HOLY SEE.—REFORMS.—PUNISHMENT OF THE FRATICELLI.—REGULATIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE. — ATTEMPT TO UNITE RUSSIA WITH THE CHURCH.

THE independent attitude which the island city of Venice maintained towards the other Italian States is equally marked in the domain of ecclesiastical politics. In no portion of the Appenine Peninsula do we meet with such early and persistent efforts for the extension of the authority of the State at the expense of the liberty of the Church. The Popes were the natural opponents of these efforts, and more than once found themselves under the sad necessity of inflicting the sharpest ecclesiastical penalties on the proud Republic.*

The great piety of the Venetians, to which their numerous churches still bear silent witness, seems to contrast strangely with these efforts to subjugate the Church to the State. A deeply religious spirit no doubt existed among the people, and of this the rulers of the Republic, who loved to call it by the name of St. Mark, were obliged to take some account. Yet this St. Mark was almost constantly

* See *Collect. Scripturar. spectantium ad interdictum reipubl. Venetae inflictum a variis summis pontificibus. Cod. L. 27 of the Vallicell. Library, Rome.

in conflict with the Holy See, because it strove in every way to degrade the freeborn Church into the position of handmaid to the State. Further contests with Rome were also occasioned by the efforts of the Republic to obtain possession of the Romagna. In 1441 the Venetians had gained a footing in Ravenna, and ever since that period they had been constantly bent on the extension of their dominion to the detriment of the States of the Church. These more external disputes, however, were driven into the background, by the contests which arose from the pretensions of the Venetian oligarchy to absolute dominion over the whole life of its subjects, even in regard to ecclesiastical matters.*

Even while a Cardinal, Paul II. had come into collision with the government of his native city. In 1459, on the death of Fantin Dandolo, Bishop of Padua, Pius II. had conferred the See on Cardinal Barbo.† By this appointment he intended to please both the Cardinal and the Republic,‡ which had always been glad to see her Bishoprics occupied by the sons of her noble families. The Venetian government had, however, on this occasion selected another candidate, Gregorio Correr, and now made every effort to give effect to their choice. It was resolved that, unless the Cardinal should within twenty days renounce his Bishopric, all his revenues derived from Venetian territory should be sequestrated. Moreover, Paul Barbo was to put pressure

* FRIEDBERG, II., 688 *seq.*, follows almost exclusively the unsatisfactory article of SAGREDO, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, II., 92 *seq.* See also LEBRET, II., 2, 668 *seq.* Many fresh details are given by CECCHETTI, V., e la C. di Roma, 2 vols., but ill-arranged and very defective.

† May, 1459; see DONDI OROLOGIO, Canonici, 24.

‡ PII II. Comment. 44. See DONDI OROLOGIO, Dissert. nona s. l'Istoria Eccl. Padovana, 50 *seq.* (Padova, 1817.)

on his brother in the same direction, and if he failed to induce him to resign, was to be banished from the Venetian territory and deprived of his possessions!* Soon afterwards, the Signoria wrote many urgent letters on the matter to the Pope and to various Cardinals.† As Cardinal Barbo did not yield, the Venetian Ambassador was strictly charged not to visit him.‡ So firmly did the Signoria adhere to their purpose § that the Cardinal was at last obliged to give way. Jacopo Zeno, however, not Gregorio Correr, became Bishop of Padua. He was required to pay 2000 ducats yearly to Cardinal Barbo, and the resolutions against Paul Barbo were rescinded.||

Great was the embarrassment of the Venetian statesmen when, a few years later, the Cardinal who had been treated in this manner was elevated to the Papal throne. No elec-

* *Decision of the 5th March, 1459. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 177b–178. State Archives, Venice.

† *Letters to Pius II., dated 1459, March 8 and 27, and to Card. Scarampo, dated 1459, March 27. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 178–9, *loc. cit.*

‡ *"Bene autem commemoramus et mandamus vobis, quod desistere debeatis a visitatione rmi card. S. Marci ex causis et respectibus vobis notis." *Instruction for the Envoys for Mantua, 17th Sept., 1459. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 190. DARU, and after him VOIGT, III., 70, are mistaken in speaking of a prohibition to speak to the Pope or to salute him.

§ See especially the discourteous *Letter to the Envoys to the Pope of the 4th January, 1459 (st. fl.), in Sen. Secr. XX., f. 203.

|| See SANUDO, 1167; CANENSIUS, 97. The resolution against P. Barbo was repealed on the 5th March, 1460; see *Sen. Secr. XX., f. 177b. Memmo's Memoir of 1709, printed in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, II., 120 *seq.*, incorrectly gives 1443 as the date, and speaks of a Cardinal of Mantua instead of S. Marco. FRIEDBERG, II., 692, has simply adopted the chronological error, although any list of Bishops, *e.g.*, UGHELLI, V., 456, might have served to correct it. CAVACIUS' opinion (Hist. coenobii D. Justinae Patav., p. 228, Venetiis, 1606) that Barbo was Bishop of Padua for a year is a mistake.

tion could have been less agreeable to them. They were, however, prudent enough carefully to conceal their vexation. Arrangements for public rejoicings were made immediately, and an Embassy of surpassing splendour was sent to Rome to proffer obedience to Paul II. The usual number of Envoys on such occasions was four. In the case of Eugenius IV., who was a Venetian, this number was doubled; but now ten were sent.* The Pope perfectly understood the value of these outward tokens of honour. Even before the arrival of the Mission he spoke in bitter terms to the Milanese Ambassador about the arrogance and the personal hostility of certain Venetian statesmen, and expressed his opinion that before the Envoys had been a fortnight in Rome, disputes would break out.† In fact, unpleasant explanations began almost immediately,‡ and the tension kept on growing from day to day, for no European power was viewed in Venice with such jealousy as the Roman See.§ At the end of 1465, Paul II. poured forth a whole list to the Milanese Ambassador of charges against his fellow-countrymen. In the Turkish matter, he said, they had, by a simple act of arbitrary power, imposed a tithe on the clergy. They claimed tribute from Cardinals visiting Venice, a thing which no Christian Prince had ever done. They were perpetually incurring reprimands for contemptuous conduct towards their Bishops. They had forbidden

* MALIPIERO, 32; SANUDO, 1181; Ist. Bresc., 900. The Pope knew that the festivities in Venice were intended to obliterate the memory of former injuries; see Carretto's *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Oct. 24. (Ambrosian Library.) Regarding the Embassy to do homage, see also *GHIRARDACCI, ad an. Cod. 768 of the Library at Bologna.

† See Appendix, N. 6. Ambrosian Library.

‡ *Letter of S. Nardini to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Dec. 6. Ambrosian Library.

§ LEBRET, II., 2, 670; Gesch. d. Republik Venedig.

the Archbishop of Spalatro to enter his See. They were seeking to take possession of the Morea, which belonged to Thomas Palæologus. The Venetian Merchants, by buying alum from the Turks, put Christian money in the pockets of their enemies. The penalty of Excommunication would have to be pronounced against them. Assuming the position of mistress of the Adriatic, Venice oppresses Ancona; she holds wrongful possession of Cervia and Ravenna. The Knights of St. John at Rhodes, and the Emperor, complain of the Republic, and indeed every one has some grievance against her. The law which prohibits any one who has a relation among the clergy from being a member of the Council is absolutely intolerable; the infidels themselves could not do worse; this measure must be repealed.*

Nothing of the kind was contemplated in Venice; the remonstrances of the Pope were utterly unheeded.† In the following spring the appointment to the Patriarchal Throne gave occasion for further conflicts with Rome, which were aggravated in the summer, when the Signoria took advantage of the scare about the Turks again arbitrarily to impose taxes on ecclesiastical property. Many in Rome were of opinion that this was done with the object of concealing a secret understanding with the Sultan.‡ It is quite certain that a powerful party in Venice favoured a peace with the Porte; some few Venetians, according to

* **Report of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1465, Dec. 11. (Ambrosian Library.) Concerning the dispute about the tithes, see NAVAGIERO, 1125; the notice in CECCHETTI, I., 154; and also ROSMINI, Milano, IV., 67.

† See in Appendix, N. 8, the undated *Brief to the Doge. Cod. Ottob. of the Vatican Library.

‡ Cardinal Gonzaga mentions this on the 5th July, 1466. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See Appendix, N. 15. For further particulars relating to the question of the Patriarchate, see Arch. St. Ital., *loc. cit.*, 121 *seq.*

the report of the Milanese Ambassador, even went so far as to say that it would be well, not merely to make peace with the Turk, but also to open the way to Rome for him, that he may punish these priests!* In the summer of 1466 the Republic raised the question of the Council. This so incensed Paul II. that he spoke of excommunicating them, and laying them under Interdict.† Several Consistories took place, in which these extreme measures were seriously considered. Two grave motives weighed against a breach with Venice: in the first place, the necessity of previously securing the support of an Italian Power,‡ and secondly, the fear that the Signoria might actually conclude peace with the Infidels. Even in July the Milanese Ambassador was persuaded that, notwithstanding the threats which had been pronounced, the Pope would in the end endeavour to come to an amicable understanding.§ This difficult undertaking was entrusted to Cardinal Carvajal, who, however, was empowered, in case of necessity, to pronounce the Interdict. What has transpired of the instructions given to him, makes it evident that the Pope sincerely endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory understanding. Cardinal Gonzaga believed Paul II. to have contemplated an alliance with Venice, as

* Mon. Hung., II., 14.

† *Report of the Milanese Ambassador, dated Rome, 1466, Aug. 4. Paul II., he says, fears the Council "piu che l'inferno." Fonds Ital., 1591, f. 362–3, of the National Library, Paris.

‡ See in Appendix, N. 16, Card. Gonzaga's *Letter of July 19, 1466.

§ "*Questi signori preti faranno ogni cosa per abonizare dicta signoria." *Letter of A. de Rubeis to the Duke and Duchess of Milan, dated Rome, 1466, July 20. (Fonds Ital., 1591, f. 358 of the National Library, Paris.) The presence of the Duke of Urbino, who is spoken of in the *Report of 4th August, cited above, was no doubt connected with the Venetian dispute.

a protection against the animosity of the King of Naples.* Details regarding the protracted negotiations carried on by the distinguished Cardinal are unfortunately wanting. He is, however, said to have admirably discharged his arduous mission. If he was not successful in bringing all questions between Rome and Venice to a solution, he at any rate prevented the conclusion of a peace with the Porte, and prepared the way for better relations between Paul II. and the Republic.† The question of the tithes having been settled in 1468, in a manner which contented the Venetians, in the May of the following year the Pope and the Signoria entered into an alliance directed chiefly against the treacherous Roberto Malatesta. The double game which the Venetians subsequently played,‡ and fresh disputes regarding the Turkish tithes, again caused discord between the allies. When Paul II. died, things had reached such a pass that there was no Venetian Ambassador at the Roman Court.§

Paul II. had repeated differences with Florence on matters connected with the liberty of the Church, and in

* *Letter of Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1466, July 31. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The Milanese Ambassador, in the *Report of August 4th, 1466, which we have already cited, expresses his belief that Carvajal was charged to bring about a reconciliation between the Republic and the Holy See.

† See *supra*, Chap. III., and also the two very short notices in CECCHETTI, I., 154, regarding the solution of the tithe question. See also Mon. Hung., II., 33, 35, 63.

‡ See *infra*, Chap. VI.

§ MALIPIERO, 239. Regarding the joy of the Venetians at the death of Paul II., see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 254. In the year 1472, Paul's sister, Isabella Zeno, mother of the Cardinal, was imprisoned and banished because she was said to have revealed State secrets to the Roman Court. Isabella subsequently came to Rome. Her last resting-place was in St. Peter's ; see REUMONT, III., 1, 494, and CECCHETTI, I., 419 *seq.*

1466* and 1469 about the arbitrary taxation of ecclesiastical property. The obstinacy of the opposition encountered by the Pope may be estimated by the frequency of his remonstrances.† One was published but a few days before his death.‡ Beyond the Italian frontier the appointment to the See of Brixen also gave rise to a conflict.§

The omnipotence claimed by the State was also the occasion of considerable tension in the relations between the Pope and the French King. Louis XI. wished to reign alone, alike in State and Church; his will was to be in all things supreme.|| Even in the beginning of November, 1464, fresh anti-Roman measures of the King were reported in Rome. It was said that Louis XI. had announced that the

* *Paul II.'s Brief to Florence, dated 1466, March 25. State Archives, Florence, X., II., 23 f., 141 *seq.*

† *Paul II.'s Brief to Florence, dated 1469, Aug. 25, *loc. cit.*, X., II., 25, f. 14b–15.

‡ Paulus II., Florentinis, dat. 1471, Julii 23. Lib. brev. 12, f. 180. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Ibid.*, f. 45b, is a *Brief which must here be mentioned, inasmuch as it treats of the protection of ecclesiastical rights: * "Regi Aragonum. Non absque magna admiratione intelleximus quod adhuc possessionem monasterii S. Victoriani ac prioratus de Roda Ilerd. dioc. dil. fil. noster L.[udovicus] tit. s. 4 coronator. S. R. E. presb. card^lis^ assequi non potuit." Threats follow. Dat. 1470, Dec. 5.

§ The account given of this matter by EGGER, I., 595, is very imperfect; the author's attack on his own fellow-countrymen speaks for itself. Regarding Paul II.'s measures for the protection of ecclesiastical liberty in Hungary, see TELEKI, XI., 133 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, 141 *seq.* I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Fraknói, Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy, for having made known to me a *Brief of Paul II. to the Abbot of the Convent of S. Maximiani extra muros Trev., in which the latter is blamed for having invoked the assistance of a layman in a dispute: "Hoc enim non videtur ius suum velle defendere, sed monasterium et ecclesiam laicis ipsis quodammodo subicere."

|| See FIERVILLE, 137.

publication of Apostolic Bulls throughout the whole of his kingdom must depend on his permission, and had also prohibited *expectances.* "These things," wrote the Milanese Ambassador, "are poor tokens of obedience; these measures are worse than the Pragmatic Sanction, which formerly prevailed in France." No wonder that Paul II. distrusted the French Monarch, whose tyrannical and ambitious disposition was well known to him.*

A treatise, written by Thomas Basin about the end of the year 1464, shews the state of feeling which then prevailed at the court of Louis XI. He twisted the words in which homage was paid to Louis XI. so as to deduce from them that this document only bound the King to Pius II. personally. By the death of that Pope, Louis XI. was freed from all further obligation. Basin also insisted on the necessity of speedily convening a French National Synod.†

Evil counsels of other kinds came to the French King from Milan. In March, 1466, an Envoy from that State was charged to advise Louis XI. to defer his profession of obedience as long as possible, on the ground that, while this matter was in suspense, the Pope would be obliged to shew himself pliable.‡ The French Monarch, however, did not take this view; his honour, he thought, allowed of no further delay, and that which had already taken place had been injurious to him.§ When, however, the representative of Milan again brought forward his request, the

* **Letter from O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Nov. 6. (Ambrosian Library.) See also BULAEUS, V., 671 *seq.*; Ordonnac., XVI., 244; GUETTÉE, VIII., 24.

† BASIN-QUICHERAT, IV., 69, 73–90.

‡ See in Appendix, N. 12, the *Instruction of the 3rd March, 1466, to the Milanese Envoys. National Library, Paris.

§ Paul II. had not granted the concessions asked by the French Ambassador, Pierre Gruel, in the name of Louis XI.; see FIERVILLE, 136.

King consented to procrastinate as long as possible. "As the French fear the heat and the Plague," adds the Milanese Envoy, "the Embassy which is to do homage in the usual form will not start before September. The Archbishop of Lyons, Charles of Bourbon, will be its leader; Cardinal Jouffroy, who is to accompany and support the Envoys, will not, his people say, begin his journey before September."* This last piece of news was untrue, for Jouffroy reached Rome on the 4th October, 1466.† The great Embassy, however, did not leave Lyons until the end of the month.‡ In a letter to the Pope the King excused his tardiness on the plea of the troubles in his kingdom. The instructions given to the Envoys seemed to promise a favourable change in the ecclesiastical policy of France. They were desired, in the first place, to express the sincere devotion of the King to the Holy See, of which the decree abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, in spite of the opposition of almost all the kingdom, was a token. Besides making the profession of obedience in the form which, since the days of Martin V., had been

* *Letter of Joh. Petrus Panicharolla to the Duke and Duchess of Milan, dated Montargis, 1466, June 25. Fonds Ital., 1611, of the National Library, Paris.

† *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Jouffroy's Biographer, Fierville, fails to give us any information regarding these dates.

‡ "*Li rev^mi arcivescovo di Lione, fratello del duca di Borbon et monsig. da Mans, fratello del conte San Pollo et li altri ambassatori che vanno a Roma di presente sono per partire da Lione." Emanuel de Jacopo and J. P. Panicharolla to the Duke and Duchess of Milan, dated Orleans, 1466, Oct. 26. (Cod. 1611 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris.) FIERVILLE, 137, is mistaken in his statement that the Embassy started as early as "towards the end of 1465 or beginning of 1466." See also Lettres de Louis XI., III., 99, 107 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*

in use, the Ambassadors were charged to apologise in Louis's name for the anti-Roman ordinances of 1464; and to explain that they were not the act of the King, but due to the Bishop of Bayeux and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The King would be an obedient son of the Holy See; in return he asked for the right of appointing to twenty-five Bishoprics.*

Paul II. was not deluded by these fair words, for he was well aware that the Bishop of Bayeux had acted by the directions of the King. The Ambassadors obtained nothing. At this time, Jean de La Balue, Bishop of Evreux, and afterwards of Angers, another favourite of Louis, took part with Cardinal Jouffroy in the negotiations concerning the ecclesiastical policy of France.† This designing man, who was exactly of the same stamp as Jouffroy and his apt pupil, sought, like him, to win the purple by means of the question of the Pragmatic Sanction.‡ For a while Paul II. resisted the admission of such a man into the Senate of the Church, but the hope that Louis XI. would now really suppress the Pragmatic Sanction induced him at last to yield. "I know the faults of this priest," he is reported to have said, "but I was constrained to cover them with this hat."

In return for the red hat conferred upon his favourite,§

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1466, N. 15–16, and FIERVILLE, *loc. cit.*

† For the literature regarding La Balue, see CHEVALIER, 214 and 2439. Also Lettres de Louis XI., III., 225–6.

‡ GUETTÉE, VIII., 27.

§ 18th Sept., 1467, according to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. FRIZON, 517, is mistaken in making Balue Cardinal as early as 1464. For satires concerning this nomination, see Bibl. de l'École d. Chartes, Series IV., I., 565. The Harenga facta per rev. card. Albiensem in eccl. Paris, A° 1468, qua die cardinalatus dignitatem recepit dom. card. Andegavens. in D'ACHERY, nov. edit., III., 825 to 830. See FIERVILLE, 141–6. Cardinal Alain took part in

Louis XI. issued a declaration against the Pragmatic Sanction of a more stringent nature than those which had preceded it. When La Balue, on the 1st October, 1467, appeared in Parliament with this document, the Procurator-General refused to register it. In order to work upon the mind of the King, much stress was laid upon the abuse of *commendams*,* and the large sums of money sent to Rome from France.†

The University of Paris, like the Parliament, declared against the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction. An appeal to a future Council was even issued. Now, however, the Procurator-General resigned his post, and the Royal Declaration remained in full force, although not registered.‡ The ecclesiastical policy of France, nevertheless, remained as unsatisfactory and disquieting as ever, for the King never relaxed his efforts to bind the Church fast within the toils of the State. His favourites, Jouffroy and La Balue, turned the position of affairs to their own advantage. His acceptance of the anti-Roman project of a Council, put forward by the Hussite King of Bohemia, enables us to estimate the value of the "filial obedience" to the Holy See so often spoken of by his Envoys in Rome. In 1468, when the French demand for a general Council was again mentioned to Paul II., he said that he would hold one that very year, but that it should be in Rome.§

the ceremony of giving the red hat. His Recessus versus Galliam is noted in the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, as taking place on the 12th June, 1468.

* Paul II. looked into this abuse, and gave advice regarding its abolition. It was not, however, thoroughly remedied. See AMMANATI, Epist., f. 59; FIERVILLE, 18.

† PICOT, I., 426, note 2, considers the statements respecting the money made by the excited Parliament of 1467 to be exaggerated.

‡ GUETTÉE, VIII., 29–32.

§ This is stated by the Milanese Ambassador, Joh. Blanchus, in the

Meanwhile, in the person of the new Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, the King encountered so dangerous a political adversary, that ecclesiastical affairs were again for a time completely in abeyance. Ever since the subjugation of Liège, Charles had reigned more absolutely than any of his predecessors, and his immense financial resources gave him a great advantage over the French King. Louis fought his enemy with the weapons of treachery and corruption. He had an interview with him at Peronne, during which tidings arrived of a fresh rising of the Liégeois, excited by the agents of Louis. The Duke of Burgundy was furious, and, it is said, contemplated the murder of the King, who was in his power. The demands which the Duke now made would have appeared to a high-minded man worse than death: Louis was to proceed in person against Liège, which he had himself incited to revolt. Utterly destitute of every feeling of honour, he made no difficulty, and at once consented to join the Duke in his expedition against the Netherlands, and thus witness with his own eyes the barbarous sack of Liège.*

The immediate consequence of these events was the downfall of La Balue, by whose advice the meeting at Peronne had taken place. His good fortune was short-

Postscript to a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1468, March (the date effaced), State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen. Regarding the Bohemian project of a Council, see the next Chapter.

* See SCHMIDT, Gesch. Frankr., II., 432 *seq.*; HENRARD, Les Campagnes de Charles-le-Téméraire contre les Liégeois (Bruxelles, 1867). Paul II. had, in 1468, sent Onofrius de S. Cruce, Bishop of Tricarico, as Legate to Liège to appease the discord between Bishop Louis of Bourbon and his subjects, and to prevent Charles the Bold from turning his victory to the prejudice of the liberty of the Church; this mission failed. The Legate wrote a Memorandum in his own justification. It is published in BORMANS, Mém. du Légat Onofrius sur les affaires de Liège en 1468 (Bruxelles, 1886).

lived, and the King thought that he had before him evidence of a treacherous understanding between the Cardinal and the Duke of Burgundy. He resolved to take signal vengeance on the man whom he had raised from nothing to be the first of his subjects. La Balue was despoiled of his possessions and imprisoned. A like fate befell the Bishop of Verdun, who was believed to be in league with him. Even a tyrant like Louis XI. saw that a Cardinal could not be tried without the Pope, and two Envoys were charged to enter into negotiations on this subject with Rome. The conditions which the Pope laid down for the trial were perfectly in accordance with the prescriptions of the Canon law, but they were not to the King's taste. Under these circumstances, it was deferred, and La Balue remained in prison.*

The hostility of Louis XI. to the Holy See was further evinced by the efforts which he made, in the year 1470, to induce the Pyrenean Princes, as well as those in the Appenine Peninsula, to support his Conciliar projects, which were aimed directly against Paul II.† All these anti-Roman machinations, however, led to no definite result.

* Details are given in AMMANATI, Comment., I., VII.; GUETTÉE, VIII., 33; LEGEAY, II., 8-9. Regarding the canonical prescriptions, see PHILLIPS, VI., 283 *seq.*

† See Mariana in FIERVILLE, 198; and MOUFFLET, Étude sur une négociat. dipl. de Louis XI. (Marseilles, 1884). Here is given the text of the Speech addressed to the Duke of Milan and other Italian Princes by Guillaume Fichat on the question of the Council. Corrections and additions to Moufflet's work were furnished by GHINZONI (G. Maria Sforza e Luigi XI., in Arch. St. Lomb., Series II., part 1, 1885). It is evident, from a *Report of the Milanese Envoys, dated Rome, 1468, April 27, that even at that period Louis XI. was seeking, by threats of a Council, to extort concessions from Paul II. The same Report informs us that similar threats were used by Charles the Bold. State Archives, Milan.

Paul II. was a steadfast defender of the privileges of the Holy See, not only against the temporal power, but also against ecclesiastical encroachments. On the 1st June, 1466, he strictly prohibited the use of the Tiara* by the Archbishop of Benevento, and reserved the right of consecrating the Agnus Dei to the Holy See.† In 1469 a stop was put to the loss inflicted on the Apostolic Treasury by the frequent practice of uniting benefices to each other which were subject to Annates. It was decided that henceforth all ecclesiastical Corporations were, every fifteenth year, to contribute what were called "Quindennium," instead of Annates, for the benefices united by them.‡

This last measure, and the great delight which the Pope took in pomp and splendour, have been made the subject of severe strictures. It cannot be said that these reproaches are altogether unfounded; but, on the other hand, the surrounding circumstances must be taken into account. In a time of such general magnificence as the period of the Renaissance, the Papacy could not, without a loss of dignity, be clothed in Apostolical simplicity. Paul II. was firmly persuaded that the Pope ought to appear in a style befitting the highest position on earth. His private life§ was as simple as his appearance in public

* MARINI, II., 161.

† Bull. V., 199–200. The Agnus Dei, which hold the first place amongst all Sacramentals, are little tablets of wax with the image of the Lamb of God imprinted. Their use is extremely ancient. See Breve notizia dell' origine, uso e virtù degli Agnus Dei (Roma, 1829); Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 344 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; MORONI, I., 127 *seq.*

‡ PHILLIPS, V., 2, 581 *seq.*

§ Paul II., as a rule, ate only plain dishes; he always mixed water with the wine he drank. See CANENSIUS, 98–9; CHRISTOPHE, II., 179; GEBHART, 183.

was sumptuous. He always went in state from the Vatican to his Palace at S. Marco, scattering money amongst the crowd.* All Church Festivals in which he took part were celebrated with exceptional magnificence. His coronation and the ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran had given the Romans a foretaste of future glories.† The following Christmas the Pope appeared in gorgeous vestments and wore the Tiara.‡ It was then reported that a new Tiara, more costly and splendid than any that had yet been seen, was to be made. At the Easter of 1465 the Pope wore this work of art, which was the wonder of his contemporaries.§ Holy Week and Easter were always celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. Thousands of foreigners crowded on these occasions to the tombs of the Apostles.|| The Pope had a new litter made for the Christmas of 1466, and it must have been a marvel of workmanship. It is said to have cost more than a palace.¶

* See the *Description given by Augustinus de Rubeis in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1465, Oct. 28. Ambrosian Library.

† See *Letter of Jacobus de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, Nov. 13. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1464, Dec. 26. Gonzaga Archives.

§ See Appendix, N. 11: Letter of A. de Rubeis of the 21st April, 1465. Ambrosian Library.

|| Bart. Marasca, writing from Rome, 1467, May 30, mentions this to Marchioness Barbara, and adds: *"lo officio d'heri fu molto solenne cum quello regno in modo che a hora 20 fu finito." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The importance attached to great functions by Paul II. and also by Sixtus IV. (BURCKHARDT, I., 149, 3rd ed.) cannot be deemed surprising by a Catholic. If the magnificent Liturgy of the Church is the mantle of the mysteries of religion, its worthy celebration is an efficacious means of promoting the honour that is due to her.

¶ "*Ha similiter facto fare una cadrega da farse portare a questo natale che es dice costa piu che non faria uno bono palazo. Et

At these great festivals all beholders were deeply impressed by the noble figure and countenance of the Pope, the magnificence of his vestments, and his majestic bearing. Even on the lesser festivals the ceremonial was very carefully carried out.* The love of splendour which belonged to his artistic temperament led him to surround the person of the Vicar of Christ with corresponding magnificence. We have already mentioned the measures taken at the beginning of his reign to give greater external dignity to the Cardinals.† Another change was made at the same time. Any one who has seen the Papal leaden seals will be able to recall the ancient type: the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are on one side, and on the reverse the name of the Pope of the day. In the time of Paul II., we find on the face of the seal the Pope himself enthroned and dispensing graces, with two Cardinals by his side, and in the foreground a number of other persons; on the reverse are the full-length figures of the Princes of the Apostles, seated.‡ This alteration, however was

demum Sua Sta è tutta piena de magnanimita et magnificentia quemad modum se po intendere per le cose grande chel fa." Augustinus de Rubeis from Rome, 1466, December 6. State Archives, Milan.

* See the *Letter of Giacomo d'Arezzo to Marchioness Barbara, describing the distribution of candles by the Pope, of whom he observes: "molto è ceremonioso." This letter is dated Rome, 1465, Febr. 13. (Gonzaga Archives.) See Gasp. Veronen. in MARINI, II., 178, and in MURATORI, III., 2, 1009.

† See *supra*, p. 25.

‡ COMTE DE MAS-LATRIE, Les éléments de la dipl. pontificale, in the Rev. d. Quest. Hist., XLI., 434 (April, 1887), considers these leaden seals of Paul II.'s to be "sceaux spéciaux soit pour confirmer les décisions des conciles soit pour d'autres usages moins définis," and cites the Bull of 13th June, 1468, confirming the privileges of the University of Paris as an example "de ce *rare* type." (Archives Nat. Paris, Bull. L., 234, N. 3.) All the seals of Paul II. are, however, of this design, as, for instance, that affixed to a Bull of 17th Sept., 1464, in the Innsbruck

not maintained, and the ancient type reappears under Sixtus IV.*

The necessity of reforms, especially in Rome, had been insisted on by Paul II., immediately after his election,† and soon the question as to the manner in which they were to be accomplished arose. In the very first Consistory the matter was seriously considered, and a number of wholesome regulations were framed. It was on this occasion that several Cardinals declared themselves in favour of the abolition of *reservations;* no less a personage, however, than the excellent Carvajal adduced such weighty reasons against this measure that it was abandoned.‡ It is certain that Paul II. was anxious to introduce a thorough reform amongst the officials of the Court, and also that, at the very outset of his reign, he opposed the simoniacal and corrupt practices which prevailed there.§

Archives (L. 3, 16 A). That the measure was a general one, adopted by the Pope immediately after his Election, is evident from J. P. Arrivabene's *Report of the 3rd Oct., 1464, in Appendix, N. 4. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* See, *e.g.*, the *Bull of Sixtus IV. regarding the appointment of Georgius Golser, decretor. doctor. et canonicus Brix., to the Episcop. ecclesiae Brix., dated Romae, 1471, 17 Cal. Jan. A° 3°, from the Brixen Archives in the Government Archives, Innsbruck, L. 3, 21d.

† *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ AMMANATI, Epist., 58b–59; PHILLIPS, V., 530.

§ In the Corp. jur. can. (C. 2, de simonia) [l. 5 tit. 1] Paul II.'s Constitution of the year 1464 against simoniacal persons was adopted. See also ROD. SANCIUS, Hist. Hispaniae, IV., c. 40; see FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 18, and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 211 *seq.*, 3rd ed. Regarding the corruption which prevailed among the Roman officials, see SS. rer. Siles., IX., 97, 101, 103, 104, 111, 114, 115. ÆGIDIUS of Viterbo, in his *Hist., XX. secul., greatly praises Paul II. for the strict morality which he tried to enforce amongst those immediately around him. Cod. C. 8, 19, f. 308b. Angelica Library, Rome.

If, in the sequel, the Venetian Pope did not prove such a zealous reformer as the sad state of affairs perhaps required, he cannot be charged with absolute inaction. "The abuse of the *commendams* and *expectances* was, if not removed, yet practically much restrained; simoniacal practices were combated, the receiving of gifts by Legates, Governors and Judges was forbidden, and also the alienation of Church property, or leasing it for more than three years; and the interests of benevolent foundations were protected."* In the matter of refusing presents, the Pope himself set a good example. When the Ambassadors who came to congratulate him on his elevation offered the customary gifts, he steadfastly declined them all, whatever their value might be. He desired nothing, he said, but perfect fidelity to the Holy See.† During the whole of his reign he adhered to this practice. In the spring of 1471, the Archbishop of Trèves sent him an ornament composed of diamonds and rubies, and the Pope, who did not think it possible to refuse the present, at once sent in return a cross adorned with similar stones, adding that it was not his habit to receive gifts.‡

The high and fixed principles on which Paul II. acted in making appointments to ecclesiastical offices was greatly calculated to improve the condition of the Church. In other matters, he is reported to have said, the Pope may be a man, but in the choice of Bishops he must be an Angel, and in that of members of the Sacred College, God.§ Canensius expressly informs us that he conferred ecclesi-

* REUMONT, III., 1, 155. See Bull. V., 183-6, 194-5, and Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 458.

† CANENSIUS, 31.

‡ See the *Brief of the 19th April, 1471, in Appendix, N. 36. Venice Archives.

§ Ægidius of Viterbo in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1471, N. 63.

astical dignities only after mature and impartial deliberation, having strict regard to the merits of the recipients, and he adds that many excellent men were appointed Bishops without their previous cognisance and in their absence.*

Paul II. did much to promote monastic reform, particularly in Lombardy, Modena, Ferrara and Venice;† as also in Western and Southern Germany, especially in Cologne, Bavaria and Würtemberg.‡ In 1469 he issued a Bull for the better regulation of the Augustinian Congregation in Lombardy.§ A few months before his death the Pope exhorted the Patriarch of Venice to proceed against all clergy and monks who led irregular lives, without respect of persons,|| and also took measures for raising the standard of education amongst the clergy in the Diocese of Valencia.¶ The evil star which presided over the Briefs of Paul II. has consigned much interesting information on this subject to unmerited oblivion.

The fact that Paul II. was always surrounded by men of worth is one that speaks well for his own character. In the autumn of 1466 the Milanese Ambassador mentions the Archbishop of Spalatro, Lorenzo Zane, who became Treasurer; Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan; and Teodoro de' Lelli, Bishop of Feltre and, after the 17th September, 1466,

* CANENSIUS, 48, 99.

† RICHA, IX., 187; Bull. Ord. Praedic., III., 469; *Lib. brev. 12, f. 111b; see below, note ||.

‡ Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 449; Anal. Francisc., 413, 417 *seq.*, where is also information regarding the reform of the Convents of St. Francis and St. Clare at Eger. See also Deutsche Chroniken aus Böhmen, III., 12, 277 *seq.*

§ KOLDE, Augustiner Congregation, 106 *seq.*

|| *Patriarchae Venetiarum, VI. Martii, 1471. Lib. brev. 12, f. 111b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ *Brief dated Romae, 1471, 28 Martii, *loc. cit.*, 251.

of Treviso, as possessing much influence with the new Pope. The Bishop of Aquila, who had been his preceptor, is also named amongst those who occupied positions immediately about him. Lelli, as it was at once surmised, took the first place.* No letter, or decree of importance, was issued until it had been examined by this excellent man.† On his death in 1466, the Pope took his nephew Marco Barbo, and Bessarion into his confidence. Agapito Cenci de' Rustici, Bishop of Camerino, who had been greatly valued by both Pius II. and Paul II., had passed away in October, 1464.‡ Giovanni Barozzi, Patriarch of Venice from the year 1465; the learned Angelus Faseolus, Lelli's successor in the See of Feltre; Valerius Calderina, Bishop of Savona; Pietro Ferrici, Bishop of Tarasona, afterwards a Cardinal; and Corrado Capece, subsequently Archbishop of Bene-

* *Letter of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, October 9. (State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.) Nardini was at once given a lodging in the Papal Palace; see the *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 1. In this Ambassador's *Reports of the 11th Sept. and 3rd Oct., 1464, we have evidence that the Pope's relations with Lelli were of a very intimate character. These three documents are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Fr. Sforza, writing from Rome on the 11th Sept., 1464, informs Jo. Jacobus de Plumbo Parmen. that Lelli is one of the 'principali homini' about the new Pope. (State Archives, Milan.) Regarding Lelli's appointment as Bishop of Treviso, see *Reg. Bull. Pauli II., A. 2, tom. II., f. 203. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See Appendix, N. 4.

† AMMANATI, Epist., 109b. See also, regarding Lelli, A. M. QUIRINI, Ad. S. D. N. Benedictum XIV. Monum. lit. episc. Venetor. ditionis, 1742.

‡ "*A questi di mori lo rev. mons. vescovo de Camerino notabilissimo prelato pianto da tutta la corte per la integrita et virtu sue . . . fu in somma gratia di papa Pio" [see Vol. III., p. 41], who entrusted to him the Signatura delle supplicationi. Paul II. also loved him and visited him during his illness. *Jacopo de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, Oct. 9. (Gonzaga Archives.) See also MARINI, II., 157.

vento,* were also in the Pope's confidence. Most of the Sienese had left Rome; many of them were called to account by the Pope for extortion or embezzlement.† Even Platina bears witness to the strict order and discipline which he maintained in his Court and among his dependents.‡ Moreover, at the very beginning of his pontificate it was observed that Paul II. engaged no Venetians among his guards.§

The disorders of the Fraticelli (fraticelli de opinione) were, like the abuses at the Court, energetically repressed by Paul II. In the summer of 1466 it became evident that the partisans of this sect had gained a footing, not only in the March of Ancona and the adjacent district of Romagna, but also in the Campagna, and even in Rome itself.|| The headquarters of these dangerous heretics were Assisi and the little town of Poli near Palestrina, where Stefano de' Conti was accused of being in league with them.¶ The Pope caused this Baron and all the rest

* Gasp. Veronen. in MARINI, II., 192 *seq.* See CHRISTOPHE, II., 205 *seq.*

† See VOIGT, III., 556.

‡ PLATINA, 794.

§ In Carretto's Letter of the 9th Oct., 1464, cited *supra*, p. 112, he observes: *"Scuderi ce sono Milanesi, Alexandrini, Monferrini, Mantuani e daltre natione. Fina qui non ce nullo Venetiano bence ne sono de Friuoli e Vicentini." State Archives, Milan.

|| DRESSEL, Documente, IV.; INFESSURA (1140–1141) wrongly assigns the prosecution of the Fraticelli to the year 1467. So does LEA, III., 178, who is unacquainted with Dressel's Documents and with Canensius! Besides the pieces published by Dressel, may be cited for the year 1466 the *Letter of B. de Maraschis of Sept. 1, 1466, in Appendix, N. 17. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) It is, however, true that some of these heretics were punished in 1467; this appears from *Lib. II., Bullet. Pauli II., where, on the 6th July, 1467, are entered payments for "xii. vestibus, ferram. lignis et aliis oportunis rebus . . emendis in faciendo cert. act. nonnullor. hereticor." State Archives, Rome.

¶ CANENSIUS, 78, and DRESSEL, Documente, 9.

of the accused to be confined in St. Angelo, where they were tried. Five Bishops were appointed to conduct the enquiry.* Many statements made by the accused are extant, but as most of them were extorted by the rack their value may be questioned. One of their principal doctrines seems to have been, that of all the successors of St. Peter, no one had really been the Vicar of Christ who had not imitated the poverty of his Chief; from the time of John XXII., who spoke against the poverty of Christ, in particular, all Popes had been heretics and excommunicate, as also had all Cardinals, Bishops and Priests consecrated by them. Paul II. was no true Pope. These heretics were, moreover, charged with immoral practices in their assemblies, and other crimes. In the record of the trial, mention is made of a small codex found in the possession of a priest of this sect, which confirmed the truth of these allegations. A Fraticelli bishop is named in this, thus a formal Church must have been contemplated. The Hussite principle, that unworthy priests lose their powers,† was also a part of their teaching. It is certain, at any rate, that the movement was one which threatened great danger to the Papacy, and which had for a long time been making progress in the locality we have named. One of the women accused said that St. Jacopo della Marca had converted her, and that she

* "*Cum apud Asisium plures deprensi fuerint fraticelli della oppinione vulgariter nuncupati, ii autem ad urbem vincti ducti sunt et in castro s. Angeli duris carceribus mancipati per summum pontificem Paulum II., causa Mediolanen. archiepiscopo, Zamorensi, Farensi, Tarraconensi et mihi Ortano episcopi commissa, &c." NIC. PALMERIUS, De paupertate Christi. (Cod. Vatic., 4158, f. 1., Vatican Library.) See DRESSEL, Doc. 24.

† Processus contra haereticos de opinione dampnata A° 1466, from Cod. Vatic., 4012, in DRESSEL, Documente, 7, 12, 17, 20–22, 25, 31; see NIEDNER'S Zeitschr., 1859, III., 436 *seq.*

had again relapsed into error.* All these heretics, Platina says, were punished: those who continued obstinate, with the greatest severity. Such as acknowledged their errors, and sought for pardon, were treated more leniently.†

The extent to which these doctrines had spread, and the serious manner in which they were viewed in Rome, may be estimated from the numerous refutations which at once appeared, although the Franciscan, St. Jacopo della Marca, had already published a work dealing thoroughly with the subject.‡ Nicholas Palmerius, Bishop of Orte, one of the prelates who took part in the enquiry, composed a treatise on the poverty of Christ, and dedicated it to Cardinal Jouffroy.§ Rodericus Sancius of Arevalo offered his work on the same subject to the Pope himself; in this treatise he shews that there is no contradiction between the statements of Nicholas III. and John XXII. in regard to the poverty of Christ.|| There are also treatises on this sub-

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 46.

† PLATINA, 776; CANENSIUS, 78. In 1471 the Fraticelli reappeared on the coast of Tuscany.

‡ Dialogus contra fraticellos in MANSI, Miscell., IV., 595–610. See JEILER in the Freiburg Kirchenlexikon, IV., 1930 *seq.*, 2nd ed., who, however, is mistaken in saying that after 1449 the name of the Fraticelli vanishes from history.

§ R^do^ J[oan.] tit. s. [Stephani in monte Coelio] presb. card. Albiensi nuncupato de paupertate Christi. (Cod. Vatic., 4158.—70 pages). This beautifully adorned copy is evidently the one presented to the Cardinal.

|| In the Vatican Library, *Cod. Vatic., 969, I found the copy presented to Paul II., adorned with his arms and with miniatures: Ad sanct. et clem. patrem et dom. d. Paulum papam II. pont. max. libellus incipit de paupertate Christi creatoris et dominatoris omnium nec non apostolor. eius . . . editus a Roderico episc. Zamoren. eiusdem Sanct^tis^ in castro suo s. Angeli de urbe fidelissimo castellano et referendario.

ject from the pens of Torquemada* and of Fernando of Cordova.†

At this time tidings reached Rome of the discovery in Germany of a sect similar to that of the Fraticelli.‡ The copy of a letter, addressed to Bishop Henry of Ratisbon by Rudolf of Rüdesheim, Bishop of Lavant and the Papal Legate, on the 11th June, 1466, contains details regarding these dreamy fanatics, whose chiefs were Brothers John and Livin of Wirsberg. A member of this sect called himself John of the East; he was to be the forerunner of the anointed Redeemer, the One Shepherd of whom Christ had spoken. These heretics declared the Pope to be Antichrist, and all Catholics who did not believe in the "anointed Redeemer" to be members of Antichrist. "John of Wirsberg promulgated his doctrines in Eger as well as in the country, and even in the Bishopric of Eichstätt; his most zealous adherent, however, was his brother Livin," who died in prison in 1467, after having abjured his errors.§

It is very probable that Paul II. also took measures

* *Libellus velociter compositus et editus contra certos haereticos noviter impugnantes paupertatem Christi et suorum apostolorum. (Cod. Vatic., 974, f. 55 *seq.*) MONTFAUCON, Bibl., II., 1382, saw this work also in the Library at Metz, where it is no longer to be found.

† Fernandi Cordubensis (see regarding him, HAVET in the Mém. de la Soc. d'Hist. de Paris, IX., 193 *seq.*), adversus haereticos qui fraterculi dela opinione vulgo appellantur ad rev. in Christo patrem et ill. dom. G. episcop. Hostiensem S. R. E. card. Rotomagens. vulgo appell. tractatus. I found this work, which FABRICIUS, I., 570, does not cite, in the Cod. Vatic., 1127; it occupies 166 pages.

‡ See in Appendix, N. 17, the *Letter of B. de Maraschis of the 1st September, 1466. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ JANNER III., 564–71, and GRADL, Die Irrlehre der Wirsperger, in the Mittheilungen des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen (1881), XIX., 270 *seq.*

against these sectaries. Direct evidence, however, is wanting, for the Secret Archives of the Vatican only contain Briefs belonging to the second half of the seventh year of his pontificate. These Briefs shew that he proceeded against heretics in the Diocese of Amiens, and afterwards in Bologna.*

The solicitude of Paul II. for the spiritual welfare of the faithful committed to his charge is manifested by his decision that the Jubilee should, for the future, be celebrated once in every twenty-five years. The Bull on this subject was published on the 19th April, 1470. "The thought of all that the Church had suffered from schism at two periods, and all that it had cost her to end it; the terror of Western Christendom when, by the fall of Constantinople, the Turks gained a footing in Europe; the alarming outbreaks of devastating maladies; finally, the ruin which ceaseless wars had wrought in the very life of the Western kingdoms, led men to turn their eyes to Heaven, and shewed that, in order to avert the strokes of the chastening hand of God, it was needful that all should tread the paths of penance." Moved by considerations such as these, and by the fact that, under the former regulations, but few could partake of the Jubilee Indulgence, the Pope made the Decree we have mentioned, which was at once solemnly announced throughout Christendom.† But Paul

* Lib. brev. 12, f. 26: *heret. pravit. inquisitori in prov. Remen. et in dioc. Ambianen., dat. Romae, xviii. Oct., 1470, A° VII°., f. 121: *Simoni de Novaria Ord. Praed. prof. heret. pravit. inquisitori, dat. xiii. Martii, 1471. Here is also mentioned a letter to the Bishop of Bologna, which has not been preserved. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See also Annal. Bonon., 897.

† Bull. V., 200–203 (in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 55, the beginning is wanting, and there is an error in the date). See NÖTHEN, 65 *seq.*, and FESSLER, Schriften, 23. Regarding the publication, see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 98, and Istoria di Chiusi, 995–6. The Bull is to be

II. was not destined to see the beginning of the new Jubilee year.

Towards the end of this pontificate a remarkable effort was made to prepare the way for the union of the Russian with the Roman Church, and also to gain the Grand Duke Iwan III. as a champion against the Turks. The idea originated with Bessarion, and found great favour with Paul II., who had just at that time expressed to the Maronites his wish that they should conform more closely to the Roman ritual.* An Ambassador was sent to Moscow to propose a marriage between the Grand Duke and Zoe (Sophia), the daughter of the unfortunate Thomas Palæologus. Iwan entered into the project, and the Ambassadors were at once sent back to Rome to bring a portrait of the bride. After a time things were so far settled that a Russian Embassy was sent to Rome to conduct Zoe to her new home. When this Embassy, bearing letters to Bessarion and to the Pope, reached Italy, Paul II. had ceased to live. His successor, however, took up the matter with equal zeal.†

found in many Manuscripts, as, *e.g.*, in Cod. 12,262 of the State Library, Munich (see Catal., IV., 2, 63); Cod. 3496, f. 6a–8b, Court Library, Vienna; and in Cod. LXXVI., f. 159a–160b, of the Cathedral Library, Zeitz.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1469, N. 28 *seq.*

† See FR. PIERLING'S remarkable article, "Le Mariage d'un Tsar," 353 *seq.*, which is much better than the account of FIEDLER. (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, XL., 29 *seq.*), or PICHLER, II., 54, and PELESZ, I., 261.

CHAPTER V.

The New and the Old Cardinals.—Church Questions in Bohemia.

THE appointment of new Cardinals was spoken of in the earliest months of Paul II.'s pontificate. At the Christmas of 1464, or, at the latest, in the following Lent, he seems to have contemplated an increase of the members of the Sacred College. Marco Barbo, Bishop of Vicenza, and Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan,* were named as candidates. No nomination, however, according to Canensius, actually took place until the second year of his reign, and Teodoro de' Lelli, Bishop of Treviso, and Giovanni Barozzi, Patriarch of Venice, the only Prelates then elevated to the purple, both died before their publication.† A creation of Cardinals was positively announced for December, 1466;‡ but it did not take place. The consent

* *Letter of Stefano Nardini to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Dec. 6, in which he asks for his good offices with Paul II. Ambrosian Library.

† CANENSIUS, 100. Although the *Acta Consist. are silent regarding this nomination, we cannot, like CONTELORIUS, 63, completely reject it. Canensius was in all matters very well-informed. PANVINIUS, 315, is mistaken in assigning the first nomination to the year 1464. Regarding the death of the two who were created, see GAMS, 792 and 804.

‡ *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1466, Dec. 19, who says it was believed that L. Zane, Archbishop of Spalatro, would be made Cardinal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the Sacred College probably could not be obtained. At last, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, on the 18th September, 1467, Paul II. was able to create a large number of Cardinals.* Three of the eight then admitted to the Sacred College were foreigners: Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury; Stephan de Varda, Archbishop of Colocsa,† and Jean de La Balue, Bishop of Angers. The last-named prelate, who, "by his cleverness and cunning," had risen from a very obscure position, was at this time Louis XI.'s Ambassador to Rome, and was engaged in negotiations regarding the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction; this explains his appointment.

Of the five Italians promoted, one of the most distinguished was Olivieri Carafa, Archbishop of Naples. "He was a jurist, a theologian, an antiquarian, and a statesman; he had even taken part in warfare as Admiral against the Turks. Highly esteemed and influential in his own country, he was remarkably popular in Rome. His popularity was due to the use which he made of his ample income and to his affability. He was generous in supporting learning and learned men; many youths were won by him for the Church and for serious studies."‡ Paulus

* *Acta Consist., f. 35b, Secret Archives of the Vatican. See *Despatch of J. Trottus of the 18th Sept., 1467: "N. S. ha facto hoggi li cardinali descripti ne la presente cedula" (State Archives, Modena), and *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 18th Sept., 1467: "Questa matina sono pronuntiati octo cardinali cioè, etc." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) N. DELLA TUCCIA, 271, is mistaken in naming the 19th December.

† The King of Hungary had, from the year 1464, exerted himself on his behalf; see Mon. Hung., I., 305; also Arch. St. Ital. (Series 3), XX., 311.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 259-60. See CHIOCARELLUS, 286 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, II., 1097 *seq.*; CARDELLA, 159 *seq.*; TOPPI, Addiz. alla Bibl. Neapolit., 189 *seq.* (Neap. 1683); MÜNTZ, II., 87. MIGNE, 622, and CHEVALIER, 392, are mistaken in stating that 1464 was the

Cortesius praises his great discretion, his uprightness, and his blamelessness.*

The character of Paul II.'s nephew, Marco Barbo, Bishop, first of Treviso (1455–64) and afterwards of Vicenza, was still more admirable.† A singular sweetness of disposition and deep piety were in his case united with a rare capacity for business and great learning. He was absolutely disinterested. During his lifetime he gave almost all his income to the poor, to whom he afterwards bequeathed what remained, "for," he said, "the goods of the Church are, according to the teaching of the Fathers, the inheritance of Christ's poor." His fine library was the only gratification he allowed himself.‡ Of all the Pope's relations, he was the one most closely united with him; his "inexhaustible power of work and his consummate prudence" were of great use to Paul II.§

year of Carafa's appointment. Regarding Ferrante's exertions for Carafa, see TRINCHERA, I., 33 *seq.*

* CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, f. LXIb. and CCXXXVIb.

† In the Library at Würzburg, I found in Cod. Q., 1: *Leonelli Chieregati oratio in laudem Marci Barbi episc. Vicentini pro ingressu suo in civitatem, dat. Vicentiae, Kal. Octob., 1464.

‡ LITTA, Famiglie: Barbo; MÜNTZ, II., 153; MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 318–19; Tiara et purp. Venet., 31 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 368. In the Lib. confrat. b. Mariae de anima, p. 23, is the entry: "Marcus episc. Prenest. card. hospitalis nostri protector et singularis promotor, 1479." Barbo's sweetness is particularly praised by P. CORTESIUS, De Card., CCXXXVII.; see CXXb. A work dedicated to him by Amelius Trebanus, De felicitate, is in Cod. Vat., 2924. See ABEL, I., CXXX. On the 15th March, 1471, *Paul II. informs the Doge that he has conferred the Bishopric of Vicenza on Cardinal M. Barbo. Lib. brev. 12, f. 113. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See SCHMARSOW, 25. The confidential relations of Barbo to the Pope are mentioned by the Ambassador of Este, J. Trottus, in a *Despatch of the 19th Sept., 1467, in which he advises his master to congratulate the Cardinal of Vicenza: "il quale è lo ochio destro del

Amicus Agnifilus, the third of the Cardinals nominated on the 18th of September, 1467, had been a member of the household and a friend of Domenico Capranica, and subsequently tutor to Paul II. When raised from low estate to be Bishop of Aquila, he had chosen, for his armorial bearings, a lamb and a book. His epitaph praises his generosity to the poor, his discretion, and his thorough knowledge of Canon Law.* Little has been handed down concerning the fourth Cardinal, the Protonotary, Marquess Theodore of Montferrat,† and even less concerning Francesco della Rovere, the General of the Franciscans, on the occasion of whose elevation to the purple Paul II. is said to have observed that he had chosen his successor.‡

On the 19th September, the Red Hat was conferred on those among the newly-created Cardinals who were at the time in Rome. On the 2nd October, the mouth of Cardinal Barbo was opened, and S. Marco assigned to him as his titular Church. On the 22nd of the month, Agnifilus reached Rome; the Cardinal's Hat was at once given to him in a Public Consistory, and, on the 13th November, he received the Church of Sta Balbina, which, on the 13th October, 1469, he exchanged for that of Sta Maria in Trastevere. S. Pietro in Vincoli was the titular Church of Francesco della Rovere, and SS. Pietro e Marcellino that of Carafa, who arrived in Rome on the 3rd December, 1467.

papa e ragiona in concistorio de darli il suo titulo de S. Marco," in order that his palace may be left to him. See also a *Despatch of this Ambassador, dated Rome, 1469, Sept. 30. State Archives, Modena.

* CIACONIUS, II., 1111; CARDELLA, 172 *seq.*; CHEVALIER, 39, is mistaken in regard to the appointment as well as the title of Agnifilus.

† CARDELLA, 174–5. The Hist. Monteferrat. (MURATORI, XXIII., 136) is wrong in giving 1466 as the date of his nomination. The Cardinal had a benefice in Mayence; see JOANNIS, II., 288.

‡ FULGOSUS, I. c. 2.

Cardinal Theodore of Montferrat did not make his entry into Rome until the 21st April, 1468, when S. Teodoro was assigned to him.*

On the 21st November, 1468, Paul II. created two more Cardinals, who, like Marco Barbo, were of his own kindred: these were Battista Zeno and Giovanni Michiel, the sons of two of his sisters. They received the Red Hat, and the Churches of Sta Maria in Porticu and Sta Lucia, on the 22nd Nov., and the ceremony of the opening of their mouths took place on the 9th December.† The Pope's nephews were both men of unblemished character. None of the Cardinals were excessively wealthy or influential.‡

Towards the end of his reign, Paul II. created four other Cardinals. This was done in a secret Consistory, and with the proviso that, in the event of his death, they were to be considered as published.§ They were Johann Vitéz, Archbishop of Gran, Pietro Foscari, Giovan Battista Savelli, and Francesco Ferrici.||

* All these statements are from the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. From the same authority it appears that, on the 13th May, 1468, Bourchier, S. de Varda, and La Balue received respectively the Churches of S. Ciriaco, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, and Sta Susanna. The Cardinal's hat was not transmitted to S. de Varda until 1471; see Appendix, N. 28.

† *Acta Consist., f. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ CREIGHTON, III., 50, who, at p. 51, observes: "In the creations of cardinals, Paul II. shewed his general impartiality and his good intentions." For a further account of Zeno and Michiel, see Tiara et purp. Venet., 34 *seq.*, 369; CIACONIUS, II., 1112 *seq.*; and CARDELLA, 175 *seq.*

§ CONTELORIUS, 62–3; CIACONIUS, II., 1114. The publication was deferred out of consideration for the French King; see *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, June 8. Gonzaga Archives.

|| Regarding Vitéz, who died in 1472, see REUMONT, in Arch. St. Ital., 1874, and the Monograph of FRAKNÓI (Budapest, 1879); regarding the others, see *infra*; for Foscari, see Tiara et purp. Venet., 39 and 371.

Between the Cardinals created by Paul II., who were called the "Pauleschi," and the "Piischi,"* who owed their elevation to his predecessor, a certain opposition existed. Of the latter number, Ammanati fell into complete disfavour, while Forteguerri, Roverella, and Eroli enjoyed the good graces of Pope Paul II., and the first of these three Cardinals enjoyed great influence with him.† At the beginning of the pontificate, Richard Longueil,‡ who, on the 1st October, 1464, was sent as Legate to Perugia, was also at the French Court believed to have considerable influence.§ Cardinals Borgia and Gonzaga also received marked favours; the latter, however, was not a friend of the Pope.|| On the 18th February, 1471, he was appointed Legate at Bologna, possibly with the object of removing him from the Court.¶

The relations which existed between the Pope and

Frederick III. sought in vain to obtain the elevation of Domenico de Domenichi (DOMINICUS, De dignit. episc., 32), and King René that of the Archbishop of Arles, his Ambassador to Rome; see LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 542.

* These appellations are, as far as I know, found for the first time in a *Despatch, which I shall speak of later, written by Joh. Blanchus on the 29th July, 1471. State Archives, Milan.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 98. Concerning Ammanati, see *supra*, p. 25.

‡ *Letter of A. Malletta to Fr. Sforza, dated Abbeville, 1464, Oct. 8. Fonds Ital., 1611, National Library, Paris.

§ *Acta Consist. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

|| See *supra*, p. 24, and Appendix, N. 2. Gonzaga Archives.

¶ Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1471, Febr. 18: *"Questa mattina è piaciuto a la Sta de N. S. deputarmi legato ad Bologna." (Gonzaga Archives.) See *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. According to this authority, Card. Gonzaga did not set off until the 5th July. *Ghirardacci speaks of his entry on the 21st July. A *Bull granting numerous faculties for his new sphere of work, dated Rome, 1471, tertio Non. Julii A° 7°, is in the State Archives, Bologna, Q. 22.

Cardinal Scarampo were of a peculiar character. The latter, whose contemporaries deemed him remarkable for his cunning, had, shortly after his rival's elevation, made peace with him. The reconciliation seems to have been tolerably complete, for, in September, 1464, the Pope had no hesitation in granting to Scarampo the full exercise of his post of Cardinal-Camerlengo. "Neither Calixtus III., nor Pius II., nor even Nicholas V., would have done this," observed a secretary in Cardinal Gonzaga's service.* The fact that, after the death of Cardinal Pierre de Foix, Paul II. conferred the Bishopric of Albano upon Scarampo shews that some degree of friendly feeling existed.† That there was, however, a certain amount of friction in the relations between the former rivals, is far from improbable. For instance, in answer to a pointed remark of the Cardinal's regarding the cost of the Palace of S. Marco, the Pope is said to have declared that it was far better to spend his money in buildings than to play it away.‡

At the beginning of March, 1465, Scarampo fell ill, and, on the 22nd, he died.§ He was a thoroughly worldly man,

* "*Item dom. papa voluit quod rev. dom. camerarius debeat officium suum exercere libere in curia Romana quod tempore pape Calisti et pape Pii (see VOIGT, III., 544) et eciam pape Nicolai facere non potuit." W. Molitor, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1464, Sept. 21. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of Giacomo d'Arezzo to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1465, January 9. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, CXXXIIII.

§ VOIGT, III., 508, attributes Scarampo's death to vexation at the election of Paul II. *J. P. Arrivabene, writing on March 1, 1465, reports Scarampo to be suffering from gout. Cardinal Gonzaga seems to have been on good terms with Scarampo, for in a *Letter to his parents, dated Rome, 1465, March 21, he expresses his sorrow that Scarampo "laborat in extremis ne se gli ha speranza alcuna." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

and was known at the Roman Court by the name of Cardinal Lucullus. As a Prince of the Church, his example was bad. As a statesman and politician, however, by restoring regular government in Rome, by promoting employment, and looking after the welfare of the people, by his consummate skill in the conduct of the negotiations with the Italian Princes, as well as by his care for the army and fleet, he did good service to the restored Papacy at a critical period.*

The close of Scarampo's career was followed by a somewhat painful episode. He had availed himself of the right conceded to him of making testamentary dispositions to bequeath his whole property, amounting to 200,000, or, according to some accounts, to 400,000 golden florins, to his nephews. Scarcely anything was left to the Church in whose service he had amassed these riches. To the general satisfaction, Paul II. set aside this will and devoted the whole of the property to charitable purposes, such as churches, the poor, and refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks. The nephews of the deceased were also remembered; even Platina here admits the kindness of the Pope.†

* Such is the opinion of GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap. See our Vol. I., p. 301 *seq.*

† CANENSIUS, 40 *seq.*; FULGOSUS, VII., c. 7, see VI., c. 10; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 210, 3rd ed. According to *GHIRARDACCI, Cronica di Bologna, 759, the Cardinal left 600,000 ducats. Here there is a mistake as to the day of his death: the date we give is established by the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Annal. Bonon., 895, and Cronica Borselli (GUIDICINI, Miscel., 44), which add, "Oh! Che buon elemosiniere!" *Carlo de Franzoni, writing to the Marchioness of Mantua, speaks of the "infinita di denari e goije" left by the Cardinal. (Gonzaga Archives.) For an account of Scarampo's tomb in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, see MÜNTZ, II., 81 *seq.*; GATTULA, II., 568; and FORCELLA, V., 171.

His friendship for Cardinal Bessarion speaks well for Paul II. The dispute about the Election Capitulation had temporarily estranged them, but, in the year 1468, the Duke of Este's Ambassador spoke of Bessarion as enjoying more consideration than all the other Cardinals, and, in the following year, he wrote word that Barbo and the Greek Cardinal were much in the Pope's confidence, and were the only men trusted with the most secret affairs.* In fact, "in the history of this period Bessarion stands forth almost like a father of the Church; his majestic presence, his noble Greek profile with his long flowing beard, also contributed to enhance the esteem and deference which were everywhere accorded to him."†

Bessarion, who was an ardent patriot, not only took the deepest interest in the proposed Crusade, but also endeavoured in every way to awaken the compassion of Western Christendom on behalf of his exiled countrymen. The unselfishness with which he assisted the scattered fugitives, and his "noble efforts to preserve and render profitable whatever it had been possible to rescue from a vanishing civilisation, call upon us to deal leniently with his weaknesses."‡

* Report o Jacobus Trottus, dated Rome, 1468, Nov. 2 (*Niceno, Rohano e S. Angelo son contra il Re a morsi et a calci et piu Niceno che è tuto Venetiano et che ha piu auctoritate chal resto de cardinali), and 1469, Sept. 30. (State Archives, Modena.) See Vespasiano da Bisticci in MAI, I., 193, and CANENSIUS, 101.

† SCHMARSOW, 4. See also our Vol. I., p. 319 *seq.*, Vol. II., 69 *seq.* I have since had an opportunity of seeing the Russian Monograph of Alex. Sadov (St. Petersburg, 1883) there mentioned, and it has disappointed my expectations. The author brings forward no new documents or authorities, but rests exclusively on foreign literature. As Vast's work is also unsatisfactory, a new life of the Greek Cardinal. based on original sources, is still greatly to be desired.

‡ GOTHEIN, 400–401.

The Greek Cardinal's state of health became so much worse during Paul's reign that, in 1466, he caused the simple tomb, which is still well-preserved in the Church of the SS. Apostoli, to be prepared.* In the following year he stayed for a considerable time at Viterbo, where he had on former occasions taken the baths.† In spite of his bodily sufferings he devoted himself as zealously as ever to study; his celebrated work in defence of Plato appeared at this time. He was also in constant intercourse with the Humanist Scholars in Rome. His house at SS. Apostoli was common ground for the most noted Greeks and Italian Hellenists, where all were welcomed by their learned host with the most winning kindness.‡ "Here Andronikos Callistos, Constantine Laskaris, and Theodore Gaza held brilliant and genial converse with the Cardinal in friendly rivalry with his pupil and favourite, Niccolo Perotto, who translated Polybius, and composed a metrical poem." Francesco della Rovere, afterwards Sixtus IV., Domizio da Caldiero, Johannes Müller Regiomontanus, the great astronomer and geographer, and many others, also frequented his house,§ and Bessarion

* VAST, 293 *seq.*

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, Pref. XX. and 91. That Bessarion was also at Viterbo, in 1468, is shewn by his Letter to the Doge, dated from that city, giving his valuable library to the Republic of Venice; see Serapeum, II., 94 *seq.* Regarding this gift, see also Arch. St. Ital., 3 Series, IX., 2, 193 *seq.* (here, p. 198, is also an account of a College, founded by Bessarion in Candia, for the education of clergy of the Greek Rite), and OTTINO-FUMAGALLI, Bibl. bibliograph. Italica, 350 *seq.* (Roma, 1889).

‡ CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, LXXIII., says that Bessarion, like Torquemada and Cusa, was always most courteous to the learned men who visited him.

§ SCHMARSOW, 26. See VOIGT, II., 130 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; GASPARY, 110; VAST, 308 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 1887, XIX., 314 *seq.* Among the learned men whom Bessarion assisted we must also mention Michael

took part in their learned disputations with unfailing interest.*

As Protector of the Basilian Order, the Greek Cardinal's labours were both extensive and important. The reforms which the Order at this time required, and which Martin V. had already attempted, were energetically taken in hand. "Persuaded that the extent of the malady demanded a comprehensive remedy, Bessarion began by drawing up a Rule in Italian and in Greek, which he strictly imposed upon the Monasteries in Italy and Sicily. He increased their revenues by recovering lands which had been alienated, and by regulating their household expenses, and endeavoured to give new splendour to the Order by beautifying its ancient buildings and by constructing on the old lines skilfully arranged additions." Bessarion everywhere insisted on serious study; he encouraged the monks to apply themselves to the Greek classics, to transcribe and collect Manuscripts and to establish good schools. Among these, the Gymnasium of Messina acquired a great reputation. Laskaris, whom Bessarion appointed Professor at this Institution in 1467, soon attracted scholars from all parts of Italy.†

In recognition of these important services Pius II., in August 1462, nominated Bessarion Commendatory Abbot of Grottaferrata. This celebrated Abbey, which had long been considered as a link uniting East and West, had, at the period of which we are speaking, fallen into a state of dilapidation. Bessarion at once devoted himself most ardently to the work of restoration, and quickly succeeded in effecting a thorough renovation, both material and

Apostolios, concerning whom see LEGRAND, Bibl. Hell., I., LVIII. *seq.*, and NOIRET'S work, Lettres inéd. de M. A. (Paris, 1889).

* CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, XXXIX.

† VOGEL, C. Laskaris in the Serapeum, VI., 45 *seq.*; VAST, 224 *seq.*; LEGRAND, I., LXXIX.

spiritual, in this interesting spot, so rich in classical associations and Christian memories.* His chalice, his famous Inventory (Regestum Bessarionis †), and some valuable Manuscripts, presented by him to his Abbey, are still preserved at Grottaferrata.‡

The Vatican Basilica, the Camaldolese Abbey at Avellana, and the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, were also generously enriched by Bessarion.§ The last-named Church, which Eugenius IV. had assigned as his title, was the special object of his paternal solicitude. In the beginning of Paul II.'s pontificate the Cardinal caused the Chapels of the Archangel Michael, of St. John the Baptist, and of Saint Eugenia, at the left of the High Altar, to be completely restored and decorated by the painter Antonazzo Romano. "In the centre of the vaulting appeared the figure of Our Lord, enthroned and surrounded with nine choirs of Angels, in a blue firmament strewn with stars and encircled by a frieze. In the corners were the four Evangelists, with a Latin and a Greek Father of the Church writing in his cell beside each. On the upper part of the wall behind the Altar was the apparition of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano, and beneath this the birth of St. John the Baptist. On the side walls, between two real and two painted windows, stood two Archangels above, and the third with St. John the Baptist below. From half-way up the wall down to the ground, curtains ornamented with patterns in flowers

* ROCCHI, Grottaferrata, 38 *seq.*, 65, 80, 138, 162. The Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Grottaferrata, commenced by order of Bessarion in 1462, has been published by BATIFFOL in DE WAAL'S Quartalschrift, III., 39 *seq.*

† Description in ROCCHI, Cod. Crypt., 513.

‡ A liturgical Manuscript, Γ. β. I., which Cesarini gave to his friend Bessarion, and the magnificent Codex Z. δ. I., are particularly worthy of notice. See ROCCHI, Cod. Crypt., 220 and 500.

§ MÜNTZ, II., 298 *seq.*; MALVASIA, 80 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*

and gold were painted. On each of the six pilasters was the figure of a Saint under a canopy. The framing-arch was adorned with a frieze, and three shields with the arms of the founder."*

Amongst the nearest and dearest of Bessarion's friends was Juan de Carvajal, the most devoted of all the sons of the Church. His motto was "To suffer all things for Christ and His Church!" In consequence of his extreme modesty, and utter disregard of fame, the memory of this distinguished man has not been honoured as it deserves. The student of history can discover but scanty records of the life of this saintly Cardinal, who proved his fidelity and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of the Church in twenty-two Legations and "from all his journeys brought back nothing but the reputation of an unspotted priesthood."†

Since the autumn of 1461 Carvajal had again been living in Rome. "The vigorous man, whom Pope Calixtus had sent to Hungary at the time when Belgrade was threatened by the Turks, had grown old and feeble in that severe climate, amid the turmoils of the Court and camp, and the fatigues of travel. His teeth were so loose in his mouth that he could only use them with the aid of artificial appliances. Yet it was political reasons rather than considerations of health, which at last induced him to abandon this bleak country of moorlands and marshes.

* SCHMARSOW, 57. See MALVASIA, 36 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, II., 82 *seq.* The first of these writers draws attention to the similarity of these frescos, which were whitewashed over in the 17th Century, and Fra Angelico's paintings in the Vatican.

† See our Vol. II., p. 7 and p. 390 *seq.* The scarcity of materials for a life of Carvajal is evident from the Monograph of LOPEZ, Rome, 1754. A College, which he founded at Salamanca, is mentioned by DENIFLE, I., 813. FRAKNÓI, in an article which has just appeared, and which I have not yet seen, gives the history of the Cardinal's Legations in Hungary.

He left behind him the memory of a pure and beneficent life, and his merits, which have never been questioned by any historian, met with an honourable appreciation in Rome. No other Cardinal, it was justly observed, did so much and endured such sufferings as Carvajal in the six years during which he was Legate for Hungary, while championing the Church's highest interest, the purity of her faith."* Extreme simplicity and exemplary order prevailed in his modest dwelling near S. Marcello.† His ascetic manner of life enabled him to be very liberal to the poor, and to provide for needy churches. He was never absent from any great ecclesiastical function or from a Consistory. In Consistory he expressed his opinion freely, but in a conciliatory manner. In their "brevity, simplicity, and clearness, their strict logic and their utter absence of rhetoric," his discourses form a striking contrast to the bombastic and artificial productions of the literary men of his day; his Reports while a Legate have the same "restrained and impersonal character."‡

Though always genial in his intercourse with others, there was a something about Carvajal which inspired a certain awe in all who saw much of him. Cardinal

* VOIGT, III., 511–12, who remarks that Carvajal would have been a Pope suited to the period, after the Tridentine Reforms. In regard to the date of his return, which is given wrongly by all writers, see our Vol. III., p. 225, note §, the extract from the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Carvajal's mortal remains found their last resting-place in this church. The inscription on the monument, erected by Bessarion, has the following lines :—

"Pontificum splendor iacet hic sacrique senatus ;
Namque animo Petrus, pectore Caesar erat."

—CIACONIUS, II., 926.

‡ VOIGT, I., 260.

Ammanati observed of him: "our age may rightly place him by the side of the ancient Fathers of the Church," and these words expressed the general opinion of the members of the Sacred College. It might be said that Rome did not contain a single man who had not done homage to "the height and depth of his character." Pomponius Laetus, "who admired nothing in ruined Rome but the heroic grandeur of its earliest founders; who hardly deigned to bestow a glance on the Barons and Prelates of the Papal City,—the proud Platonist, the cynic scorner of all flattery and of every kind of dignity, who never uncovered his head, or bowed to any one, made but one exception, and that was the aged Cardinal of S. Angelo."*

Subsequent historians have unanimously endorsed the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries for Carvajal. The latest biographer of Pius II., who is generally disposed to believe the worst of men,† speaks of Carvajal with the greatest reverence. Even the Hussite historian of Bohemia says of him: "Not only in zeal for the Faith, in moral purity and strength of character, was he unsurpassed, but he was also unequalled in knowledge of the world, in experience of ecclesiastical affairs, and in the services which he rendered to the Papal authority. It was chiefly due to his labours, prolonged during a period of twenty years, that Rome at last got the better of Constance and Basle, that the nations returned to their allegiance, and that her power and glory again shone before the world with a splendour that had not been seen since the time of Boniface VIII. Carvajal's colleagues knew and acknowledged this, and in

* M. Fernus, J. Pomp. Leti Elogium Hist., in FABRICIUS-MANSI, VI., 630; VOIGT, III., 514. We have shewn, *supra*, p. 57, that P. Laetus had his hours of weakness.

† This is the opinion of VAHLEN, Valla, LXI., 371.

all important matters were guided by his counsels. Paul II. himself feared him, and yielded to all his wishes. Thus, his personal influence, and his opinion regarding King George and the doctrine of the Hussites, had great weight in Rome."*

As a member of the Commission appointed by Paul II. to consider the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Bohemia, Carvajal was associated with Bessarion and d'Estouteville.† From the beginning he advocated stern measures. The ill-advised conduct of the King of Bohemia, who omitted to send any one from his Court to offer the congratulations usual from Princes to a new Pope, had confirmed the Cardinal in the conviction "that it would be absolutely necessary to employ the knife in the case of wounds which admitted of no other remedy, and to guard against fatal corruption by severing the decayed members from the body of Holy Church."‡

The Pope at first hoped that gentleness might be successful with George Podiebrad. The proceedings which Pius II. had commenced were at once suspended. Paul II. declared that, if the Bohemian King fulfilled his promises, he would be to him not a Pope, but a loving brother.§ It soon became evident that the double-tongued monarch had no thought of keeping his oath. When all Christian Princes sent Ambassadors to Rome, none appeared from Bohemia. Fresh complaints were constantly made by the

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 372. Regarding Carvajal's influence with Paul II., see CANENSIUS, 101.

† BACHMANN, I., 548, and other historians mention Cardinal "William of Ostia," without giving his real name. This is not a scientific way of speaking.

‡ PALACKY, IV., 2, 325. See Fontes Rer. Austr., XLIV., 589.

§ This is related by Johann Rohrbacher to Procopius von Rabenstein in PALACKY, Urkundl. Beitr., 338, Gesch., IV., 2, 329.

Catholics. The "pacific inclinations" of Paul II. gradually vanished. The letter which the King of Bohemia sent to Rome on the 7th March, 1465, only apologises in a passing way for the delay of the Embassy; its main purpose is to explain the reasons why George did not think it well to comply with the Pope's desire, and raise the siege of the fortress of Zornstein, which belonged to the Catholic Heinrich von Lichtenburg. Paul II.'s reply to this letter was not addressed to the King himself, but to the Bohemian Prelates and Barons (13th May, 1465),* a fact which shews the change in his feeling. By the middle of the summer of this year the stern views of Carvajal had completely prevailed, and from henceforth guided the Pope in all his decisions. On the 2nd August, Podiebrad was summoned by Cardinals Bessarion, Carvajal and Eroli, who were entrusted with the management of the Bohemian affair, to appear at Rome within 180 days to answer charges of heresy, of relapse into heresy, of perjury (in regard to the breach of his coronation oath), of spoliation of churches, and of blasphemy. "In order, however, to guard against a further outbreak of heresy during the trial, and to protect the oppressed Catholics," the Pope, on the 6th August, empowered the Legate Rudolf, Bishop of Lavant, to inflict ecclesiastical censures on all George's adherents, and to declare all engagements entered into with him null and void.†

Meanwhile George's position had become much worse, the chief lords of Bohemia, dissatisfied with his arbitrary government, having become more and more hostile to him. He therefore made new proposals of accommodation with Rome; but Rome was weary of these endless negotiations.

* BACHMANN, I., 549 *seq.*, 553.

† SS. Rer. Siles., IX, 135–9; PALACKY, Urk. Beitr., 362–6; FRIND, IV., 65.

"Long years of prevarication had destroyed all confidence in George, so that even those who had once depended upon his word now turned from him with feelings embittered by disappointment, and firmly resolved never again to be deceived by him."* As early as the 8th December, 1465, Paul II. had released George's subjects from their oath of allegiance; on the 6th February, 1466, the proposals made through Duke Louis of Bavaria in favour of the King of Bohemia were absolutely rejected.

In order to understand the severe language of this document, we must remember the shameful manner in which George had trifled with Calixtus III. and Pius II. regarding the Turkish question. It is strange to find the King now bringing forward this question, and demanding to be rewarded beforehand for his return to the Church, and his participation in the Crusade, by the title of Emperor of Constantinople for himself, and the Archbishopric of Prague for one of his sons. Is a relapsed heretic, a perjured man, Paul II. remarks, to ask, instead of penance and punishment, for a reward such as could hardly be granted to the most Christian Princes, who had rendered the greatest services to religion? He desires to traffic with his conversion to the Faith, and sell his conscience for gain. His feigned obedience would indeed be a precious boon to the Church, while the old leaven would still ferment throughout the kingdom. Is the Apostolic See to beg for this, while he reserves to himself the right to accept or reject what is offered? The proposed Archbishop is a youth, scarce twenty years of age, who has grown up in the midst of his father's crimes and deceits, in

* BACHMANN, I., 574. Regarding the League among the Lords, see Markgraf's article in SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVIII., 49 *seq.*, where, however, at pp. 54 and 65, the date of Paul's accession and Pius II.'s death are wrongly given.

ignorance of all law, either human or Divine; he has but just ceased to be a heretic, and is now to be made a Bishop! Equally obnoxious is the request that the Archbishop should have as assistant an Inquisitor who will prosecute all "heresies outside the Compact." That is very cunningly devised: is it not equivalent to a covert demand that the Compacts should be re-established? Again, what is the meaning of the petition for the Imperial Crown of Constantinople? Evidently its object is only to secure an easier passage from one Confession of Faith to another (the Greek). But the dominion of the Infidels, who have never known the truth, is a lesser evil than the rule of a heretic and schismatic, who has apostatised from that which he professed. The Church has not yet fallen so low as to be compelled to seek the protection of heretics and robbers of churches.*

The fact that Podiebrad, in the summer of 1466, took the excommunicated Gregor Heimburg into his service is a proof that the Pope had not judged him too severely. His connection with this unscrupulous man, who, "for twenty years, had been at the head of every opposition offered outside the limits of Bohemia to the restoration of the Papal power," was equivalent to a renunciation of all idea of reconciliation with the Church.† Even on the 28th July, Heimburg, who had formerly made a parade of his German sympathies, published a manifesto in defence of the "honour and innocence" of the Czech monarch, who

* Paul II. to Duke Louis of Bavaria, 1466, Febr. 6. SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 156–63. See PALACKY, IV., 2, 375 *seq.*; BACHMANN, I., 575 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 261 *seq.*; JORDAN, 195 *seq.*; Markgraf in SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVIII., 72 *seq.* Paul II.'s Brief to the people of Breslau (Fontes, XLIV., 593), which Bachmann erroneously assigns to the year 1465, refers to this occasion.

† BACHMANN, I., 583; PALACKY, IV., 2, 391.

had been treated by Rome worse "than the fratricide Cain and the Sodomites!" George, he said, was no private individual whom the Pope might summon to Rome at his pleasure, but a King, and a King of great merit. This advocate found excuses for everything, even for the imprisonment of Fantinus, which was a breach of the law of nations. The Pope was accused of credulity, and his conduct characterised as hasty, as an offence against Divine and natural law, and opposed to reason and Scripture. He further insisted that a Diet should be summoned, at which the Envoys of the temporal Princes should, in the presence of a Legate, deliberate on the ecclesiastical affairs of Bohemia.* As this manifesto was at once sent, not only to all the German Courts, but also to the King of France and the other Princes of Christendom, it was impossible for the Papal party to be silent. The autumn had not passed before letters in answer appeared from Rudolf von Rüdesheim, Bishop of Lavant, and from Cardinal Carvajal. The former sought to surpass his opponent in violence of language, and lost himself in prolix explanations, while Carvajal, in his brief, simple and logical style, exposed the treacherous arts of the Czech monarch and of his advocate. In particular, he brought forward the sacrilegious manner in which George had violated the right of nations by his conduct towards Fantinus and the double-faced policy by which he had trifled with the Holy See. What Rome now commanded was the result of mature deliberation, and was in accordance with justice. George's intrigues are unmasked, the axe is laid to the roots; he must prove his innocence or else experience the rigour of justice.†

* SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 181–90; MÜLLER, Reichstagstheater, II., 250–58; BROCKHAUS, 286 *seq.*; JORDAN, 227 *seq.*

† Instead of "ut penas juris paciatur oportet" (SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 209) we must surely read "aut penas," as the copy in Cod. 4, f. 74b–76b,

Heimburg soon wrote a second apology for King George, in which he gave vent to his violent hatred of the two heads of Christendom and for the Cardinals. All manner of false charges were here made against both Pope and Emperor, and amongst others that of immorality. The "very violence and indecency of these accusations destroyed their effect."* The only result of this letter was entirely to put an end to the friendly relations which had existed between George Podiebrad and Frederick III. The action of George's counsellor was certainly not that of a statesman.

of the Library at Kremsmünster has it. This Manuscript also gives f. 45a–68b, the above-mentioned *Letter of Rudolf von Rüdesheim contra venenosum hereticum Georgium. I also found in a collection formerly belonging to the Convent of Ebrach : *Scripta in causa G. Podiebradii Bohemiae regis, f. 53–79, now Cod. Q. 15, of the University Library, Würzburg.

* MARKGRAF in SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 190, where it is observed that PALACKY, who (Urkundl. Beitr., 647 *seq.*) publishes the Apology, is mistaken in giving 1467 as its date. The charges of immorality made by Heimburg against Paul II. are also to be found in B. CORIO, 264. SCHMARSOW, 14, had not been able to receive this man's evidence because of its very general character (uomo molto dedito alla libidine), and because of the close relations which existed between him and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who was hostile to Paul II.; in the earlier parts of his history he is very untrustworthy (see ANNONI, Un plagio dello storico B. Corio, a reprint from the Rivist. Ital., and Arch. St. Lomb., II., 155), and also in the later period tells his readers many incredible stories and reports (see the example from the time of Alexander VI. in DÖLLINGER, Papstfabeln, p. 32, note, 2nd ed.). Nor is Janus Pannonius a more credible authority ; according to VOIGT, II., 325, 2nd ed., he brought "all the moral filth of Italian Humanism into Hungary," and derided the precepts of the moral law and found pleasure in turning ecclesiastical things and persons into ridicule. The passage on the subject (in WOLF, II., 112) is, for all purposes of historical criticism, properly characterised as a biting epigram. JANUS, 372, rightly perceives that in such a case the testimony of partisans

The decided measures advocated by Carvajal did not meet with universal approval at the Roman Court. Looking at the matter from a merely human point of view, some urged that there was no one who could carry into effect the sentence of the Holy See. Nothing was to be expected from the irresolute Emperor, and Poland also displayed little inclination to be of use. King Matthias of Hungary had, indeed, given the best assurances of good-will, but it was generally desired that he should reserve his forces for the Turkish war. It was doubtful whether the power of the Bohemian nobles was equal to the occasion. In the face of these grave difficulties, Carvajal remained unmoved in his opinion that justice ought to take its course, and that there was a duty to be accomplished. God would, he believed, provide for all.*

After Carvajal had left Rome as Legate to Venice, on the 20th August, 1466, Cardinals Ammanati and Piccolomini were the chief advocates of strong measures. After long deliberations their opinion finally prevailed.† On the

like Heimburg (see BROCKHAUS, 369) and Corio, or the obscene Pannonius, is inadmissible; that adduced from Attilio Alessio (in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 519) must also be rejected, inasmuch as he wrote after 1530. In the numerous Ambassadorial Reports in the Archives of Milan, Mantua, and Modena, which I have gone through, there is no trace of a charge against the moral character of Paul II., although his other faults are by no means concealed. The silence of his bitterest enemy,—Platina,—who, if grounds of accusation had really existed, would certainly not have passed them over, ought to be deemed conclusive.

* See Fabian Hanko's Report of the 17th July, 1466, in SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 181. Further particulars regarding the attitude of Poland will be found in CARO, V., I, 269 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*

† AMMANATI, Comment., 401–402 (Frankfort ed., p. 437), speaks as if the energetic words of Carvajal had at once, and of themselves, brought about the Consistory of Dec. 23, 1466. PALACKY, IV., 2, 419, and BACHMANN, I., 592, who follow this later account, might have

23rd December a Consistory was held, in which George Podiebrad was deposed from his dignities of King, Marquis and Prince, his posterity declared disqualified for any honour or inheritance, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.*

The Papal Bull announcing this decision made a deep impression on loyal Catholics, and in order to lessen its effect, Podiebrad, on the 14th April, 1467, published a solemn appeal to a General Council, which ought properly, he said, to have been assembled before this time, and

learnt from the final sentence of 23rd Dec., 1466 (SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 211), that Carvajal was not at the time in Rome. The *Acta Consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican also expressly declare that Carvajal was absent from Rome from the 20th August, 1466, until the 17th Sept., 1467. See also HÖFLER, Geschichtsschr. der Husitischen Bewegung, III., 224 ; and Cardinal Gonzaga, who wrote from Rome on the 18th Sept., 1467 : *" Heri sera tornoe el rev. mons. de S. Agnolo." (Gonzaga Archives.) Probably the Cardinal was exerting himself in opposition to Podiebrad in Venice, while Heimburg was endeavouring to gain the Republic over to the Bohemian side. (BACHMANN, I., 584, note 3.) The above-mentioned controversial letter must also have originated there.

* Besides Balthasar of Piscia's Report in SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 214-215, see *J. P. Arrivabene's letters from Rome. (1) Dat. 1466, Dec. 19 : " P. S. Fornito el consistorio de hoggi niente si è saputo de cardinali. Sono stati sopra questa materia del Re de Bohemia." Probably a Public Consistory was to be held on the Monday. (2) Dat. 1466, Dec. 23 : " P. S. Nel consistorio publico che foe differito ad hoggi è sta dechiarato quello Georgio che se pretende Re de Bohemia heretico e privato d'ugni dignitate regale ducale e marchionale e d'ugni bene spirituale e temporale e inhabilitato li figlioli e l'acto foe sollemne secundo el stilo de ragione. Ad' esso che è xxiv. hore e giunto Alexio." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) A *Commentary on the Bull of Deposition was written by Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo, and dedicated to Paul II. Bessarion's Copy of the Document is preserved at the Marciana in Venice (see ANDRES, Cartas, III., 73 [Madrid, 1790]); present number, Z. L. CXCIV.

had been put off only by the Pope's negligence. This document, which attacked the Pope personally, was drawn up by Heimburg. It was immediately sent to all the German Princes.* At the same time an Ambassador was despatched from Prague to the Court of the French King. He was to propose the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Louis XI. and Podiebrad, into which the Poles and a number of the German Princes were to be drawn, especially the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg, whose sympathies were with Bohemia. The immediate object of the allies was to be the humiliation of Burgundy. When this was accomplished, Louis XI. was to summon a Council, "which should be held by the nation," and which should put down all strife and all arrogance, especially the pretensions of the Pope and the Emperor, who were to be brought low and punished! At the French Court the Ambassador maintained that the Pope was endeavouring "to get both swords into his hands, and thus subject all rulers to himself, so that the clergy might have their way in everything." Words like these found a ready access to the ear of a tyrant like Louis XI. He promised to exert himself in Podiebrad's favour in Rome, and also to use his influence "to maintain the Compacts of the Holy Council of Basle in force"; he further advised that the German Princes should be persuaded to advocate the assembling of the Council. George's efforts in this matter were unsuccessful, and complications in his own dominions, and with England, so fully occupied the French King, that he was unable to pursue his anti-Roman project of the Council.† The close relations which

* Fontes Rer. Austr. Dipl., XX., 454–8, XLII., 410; SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 226.

† J. Pažout, G. v. Böhmen und die Concilsfrage im Jahre 1467, in the Archiv. für Œsterr. Gesch., XL., 333 *seq.* See *supra*, p. 104.

continued to exist between Louis XI. and the Bohemian monarch is evidenced by the fact that when, in the following year, Paul II. wished to have the Bull of Maundy Thursday, in which Podiebrad was mentioned by name, published in France, the French King at once raised objections, and the Duke of Milan did the same.*

While Podiebrad was somewhat unsuccessfully labouring to elevate his personal contest with Rome into a matter of general importance to all the temporal powers, the opposing party within his kingdom did not remain idle. Nothing decisive, however, was done, even after the formation of a great Catholic League in the December of 1467. It became more and more evident that the League could only hope to prevail against George if assisted by some powerful Prince. All efforts to obtain such aid proved fruitless, and accordingly in the end no alternative remained to the Pope and the League, save to listen to the overtures made to them by the King of Hungary.†

The adversaries of George greatly rejoiced when Matthias Corvinus (1468, March 31) declared war against Bohemia. Cardinal Ammanati's letters to Paul II. and Carvajal bear witness to their satisfaction.‡ The necessary interruption

* DAUNON, 265 *seq.* See FRIEDBERG, Grenzen, 479. From a command on the subject to the Archbishop of Lyons on the 25th Febr., 1469, we find that Paul continued his efforts to have Podiebrad's Excommunication published in France. D'ACHERY, III., 834 (nov. edit.). The Maundy Thursday Bull, expressly naming Podiebrad, was also disseminated in the vernacular in Italy. I found a contemporary Italian translation of the Bull *Cœna Domini*, of 1469, in the State Archives at Modena ; Bolle. In reference to the opposition made by the Duke of Milan, see a contemporary *Notice on the copy of the Maundy Thursday Bull in the State Archives, Milan.

† This is the opinion of HUBER, III., 208, see 215 ; and CARO, V., 1, 293.

‡ AMMANATI, Epist., f. 151b, 152b. pp. 655–6 (Frankfort ed.).

of the war with the Turks was looked upon as a lesser evil. The Apostolic Faith was deemed to be in imminent danger unless the Bohemian King should voluntarily abandon his schismatic position, or be forcibly deprived of the power of doing harm.* On the 20th April, 1468, the Pope had again pronounced the severest ecclesiastical penalties on all the adherents and abettors of George, and had moreover promised a number of Indulgences to those who should either personally, or by pecuniary contributions, take part in the war against him.† Lorenzo Roverella, the Bishop of Ferrara, who had but lately returned to Rome, was again sent to Germany to publish these Indulgences, and furnished with fuller powers.‡

During the year 1468 the fortunes of war favoured the King of Hungary. In the following February, Matthias advanced into Bohemia, but was completely shut in by Podiebrad in the defiles near Wilimow, and his case seemed hopeless. He then began to negotiate for a truce, and promised to obtain from the Pope the toleration of the Compacts for the Bohemians. On the 24th March, the two Kings purposed to meet at Olmütz, and conclude a permanent peace. The Papal Legate, Roverella, hastened to the spot to prevent this, and succeeded in doing so.§

* See the passage from Joh. von. Rabenstein's Dialog. in the Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., LIV., 382.

† SS. Rer. Siles., IX., 265–9.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1468, N. 2–3. A *Letter of Credentials, given by Paul II. to L. Roverella for the City of Ratisbon, dated 1468, April 20, is in Regensb. R–T–A. in the Records Office in Munich. Even on the 8th April, 1468, there appears in *Cruciata Pauli II., f. 84, an entry of 1000 ducats, "pro dom. episc. Ferrariensi, nuncio et oratori S. D. N. papae in partibus Alamanniae pro negotiis Bohemiae rem fidei concernentibus ituro." State Archives, Rome.

§ PALACKY, IV., 2, 573 *seq.* See Urkundl. Beiträge, 569 *seq.*; and Fontes, XLIV., 661 *seq.*

In July, 1469, the war broke out afresh, Matthias having been two months previously solemnly elected King of Bohemia. No decisive advantage was gained by either party during that year or the next. The war was one of mutual devastation, and seemed likely to be endless. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his opponents, George held his ground, paying his partisans out of the spoils of the Church. He failed, however, to accomplish his plan of founding a Czech dynasty by securing the succession to one of his sons.*

Meanwhile, the "greatest, and, in regard to his moral character, the most estimable, of the enemies of Bohemia in the Sacred College," Juan Carvajal, had died in Rome (6th December, 1469).† At the same time it was reported that one of the Cardinals had advocated a pacific arrangement with Podiebrad; this induced the latter to express to the Cardinal in question, whose name is unfortunately unknown, his desire for reconciliation with Rome. He declared that he had never intended to injure the Holy Father, and yet had undeservedly to endure his severe displeasure. He had never believed himself to be outside the Holy Church, in which alone is salvation. If in any way he had departed from the unity of the Faith, he had done it in ignorance. Although he had already entrusted his reconciliation with Rome to King Casimir of Poland, he

* FRIND, IV., 73; GRÜNHAGEN, I., 321, 324.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 48; and PALACKY, IV., 2, 657, both give 1470 as the year of Carvajal's death. They are contradicted by AMMANATI, Comment., lib. VII., and the precise statement of the *Acta Consist., that on the 6th Dec., 1469, at the first hour of the night, the Card. Joannes tit. S. Angeli episc. Portuens., Camerlengo of the Sacred College, died "cuius anima per dei misericordiam propter sua infinita benemerita requiescat in pace." (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) A complete and really critical biography of Carvajal would be a very valuable work.

now sent another Ambassador, whom he hereby accredited to the Pope.*

If these endeavours at reconciliation were really sincere, the increasing danger from the Turkish power gave them a prospect of success. But when matters had gone so far a higher Hand intervened. On the 22nd February, 1471, Rokyzana, "the soul of all the anti-Catholic efforts of the Utraquists," died in Prague, and on the 22nd March George Podiebrad followed him. The opinion that the King was, before his death, reconciled to the Church is erroneous.† It is, however, certain that Gregor Heimburg, the man who had exercised so potent an influence on his anti-Roman policy, did, before his death (1472), make his peace with the Church.‡

The struggle about the Compacts, which were not really observed in any of the Utraquist Churches, was not terminated by the deaths of the spiritual and temporal chiefs of the party; the Polish Prince Wladislaw, when elected by the Bohemians in May, 1471, as their King, was obliged expressly to bind himself to uphold them. The hopes cherished by the father of the newly-elected sovereign, that

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 657 *seq.*; see Urk. Beiträge, 639 *seq.*

† FRIND, IV., 75, speaks decidedly of George's conversion, and considers his interment in the Cathedral to be evidence of his reconciliation with the Church; see, on the other hand, PALACKY, IV., 2, 665, N. 458. The testimony of COCHLAEUS, l. XII. (followed by PESSINA, Phosphorus septicornis, 292 [Prag., 1673], and VOIGT, III., 501, who does not reject the statement), cannot be considered of weight in this question; every doubt, however, is removed by the Letter of Paul II. to Roverella (in THEINER, II., 425), where he expressly mentions "Georgius de Podiebrad *damnate memorie.*"

‡ Heimburg applied by letter to Sixtus IV., who, inasmuch as the Holy See is not wont to refuse forgiveness to penitent sinners, gave the Bishop of Meissen full power to absolve him. BROCKHAUS, 383–4; and Cod. Dipl. Sax., 211 *seq.*

the Bohemian position would be recognised by Rome were accordingly without foundation; for this was no mere question of externals, but a deep-seated and essential separation which might be for a time concealed by a formula of union, but could not be conclusively settled by any such means.*

* See HÖFLER, Gesch. der Husitischen Bewegung, I., xxxvi.; III., 205. The fanaticism which possessed many of the Bohemians appears in the "Manifesto of Satan," written in the time of Sixtus IV., and published by JORDAN, 520 *seq.* This letter begins as follows: "We, Lucifer, by the power of fraud, King of the Kings of earth, holding the sceptre of the most illustrious Roman Emperor by virtue of our presence and residence near the tombs of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, where we have achieved the complete abandonment of the doctrine of Jesus and trodden His faith under our feet."

CHAPTER VI.

PAUL II.'S CARE FOR THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—DESTRUCTION OF THE BANDIT FAMILY OF ANGUILLARA.—THE PEACE OF 1468.—THE POPE'S DIFFERENCES WITH FERRANTE OF NAPLES.—SECOND JOURNEY OF FREDERICK III. TO ROME.—THE STRUGGLE REGARDING RIMINI.

PAUL II., who was by nature anything but warlike, was in the early part of his reign more successful in his conflicts with tyrants in the States of the Church than in his expeditions against the Turks and Hussites.* The robber Knights of Anguillara were the first to claim his attention.

The cruel Count Everso of Anguillara had already given great trouble to his immediate predecessors. "During the Pontificate of Pius II. he had taken possession of all the territory formerly held by the Prefects, and there in his mountain fortresses securely guarded the spoils gathered from the plunder of towns, pilgrims, and merchants. Like Malatesta, he had been the ally of all the enemies of the Pope." Cardinal Ammanati says that he despised God and the Saints and yet made pious foundations.† Much has

* Jacobus Trottus, Ambassador of Este, in a Postscript to a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1469, Sept. 6, remarks of Paul II., "non e de natura bellicosa." (State Archives, Modena.) See also CANENSIUS, 83.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 218, 3rd ed. See AMMANATI, Comment., 351b; MASSIMO, Torre Ang., 12 *seq.*; ADINOLFI, Laterano e Via Maggiore (Rome, 1857), Doc. 4; ROHAULT, Pl. 63; ARMELLINI, 272.

lately been heard of the portion of his Palace which still exists, a gloomy tower in Trastevere, which was in danger of falling a sacrifice to a destructive work of restoration. Happily this interesting building, which commands a splendid view of the City, has for the present escaped; who can say, however, how long it may be spared?

Count Everso, who had to the last defied Pius II., died on the 4th September, 1464.* His two sons, Francesco and Deifobo, began by making the fairest promises to the Pope, but soon betrayed a disposition to follow in the footsteps of their father, and ruin the peace of the whole neighbourhood. Paul II. then determined to make war upon this race of tyrants, who had braved the authority of four successive Popes, and were a scourge to that portion of the States of the Church. His prudence and caution enabled him to take the Counts completely by surprise.

At the end of June, 1465, the sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against them, and Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerri, Federigo of Urbino, and Napoleone Orsini,† at once advanced with an armed force. They were joined by troops from the King of Naples, who had a personal quarrel with Deifobo. Thirteen castles, some of which had been deemed impregnable from their position and fortifications, were taken almost without a blow. In these robbers' nests were found implements for coining Papal money, correspondence of a compromising character, and numbers of unhappy captives, doomed by the tyrants to perpetual

* Not on the 3rd September, as GREGOROVIUS, VII., 218, 3rd ed., says, following INFESSURA (1140), who is most unreliable, especially as to dates; see in MASSIMO, 15, Everso's epitaph, which was formerly to be found in Sta Maria Maggiore; this agrees with the statement in the Diario Nepesino, 141.

† See Paul II.'s Brief to Cesare de Varano, 10th June, 1465. State Archives, Florence (Urbino).

imprisonment. Deifobo escaped to Venice; Francesco was imprisoned, together with his children, but was soon liberated at the instance of Stefano Colonna.* Twelve days sufficed to break the power of the Anguillara; the conquered towns and fortresses came under the immediate rule of the Holy See.†

The year 1465 also witnessed an extension of Papal authority in the Romagna. By virtue of the treaty concluded in 1463 with Pius II., the towns possessed by the Malatesta were, on the extinction of their line, to revert to the Holy See. Malatesta Novello, Lord of Cesena, dying childless on the 20th November, 1465, his nephew, Roberto, sought to occupy Cesena and Bertinoro. His efforts were, however, frustrated by the loyalty with which these cities adhered to the promise given to the Holy See. The inhabitants had good reasons for preferring immediate

* "*Francescho fiolo che fu del conte de Aversa è cavato de presone mediante la intercessione de Stefano Colona, quale ha fatto securtate de cento milia ducati," writes Bartholomaus de Maraschis to Marchioness Barbara, under date Rome, 1465, July 24. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Francesco seems to have been again imprisoned subsequently, for, on the 13th Aug., 1471, Sixtus IV. set him at liberty. This we learn from *Petrus de Modegnano in his Report of August 14. (State Archives, Milan.) REUMONT, III., 1, 175, gives 1475 as the year of Francesco's death. The epitaph in SCHRADER, Mon. Ital., 129, and GALLETTI, III., 156, however, have 1473, and FORCELLA, IV., 385, agrees with them. I found in Cod. Vat. 939, Vatican Library, an *Epistola ad nob. vir. Franc. de Anguilaria exhortatoria ad pacientiam (belonging to the time when he was in confinement at S. Angelos).

† For an account of the war against the Anguillara, see AMMANATI, Comment., 355 *seq.*, Epist., 71b, 77; Gasp. Veronen. in MURATORI, III., 2, 1014 *seq.*; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 270; CANENSIUS, 51–64; Diario Nepesino, 149–52; PLATINA, 772–3; Cronica di Bologna, 760–61; Chron. Eugub., 1009; BALDI, Fed. di Montef., III., 71 *seq.*; CIAMPI, Forteguerri, 14; ROSMINI, Milano, IV., 65; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 117–18, 179–82; X., 425–6.

dependence on the government of the Church, which allowed them far greater liberty, and did not harry them with oppressive taxation. In order to conciliate and win over the warlike Robert, Paul II. invested him with the fiefs of Meldola, Sarsina, and some other small places, and took him into his service as a captain of mercenaries.*

Not long after the downfall of the Anguillara, the Pope came into conflict with the King of Naples, "the terrible and faithless Ferrante."†

The unreasonable demands of the King, and his prevarications about the payment of his tribute, had, even at the beginning of the Pontificate, caused some estrangement between Naples and the Pope.‡ Although, according to the Bull of Investiture granted by Pius II., the severest penalties—such as Excommunication, Interdict, deposition from the throne, and forfeiture of his fief—were to be incurred by non-payment of the tribute, Ferrante steadily neglected it. "When called upon to pay, he never failed to find some excuse; at one time he pleaded the great difficulties occa-

* SUGENHEIM, 341; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 179, 2nd ed.; BALDI, III., 86 *seq.*; TONINI, V., 308 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 437. Rob. Malatesta's pay is entered on the 10th Oct., 1466, in *Div. Pauli II., Vol. II., f. 43. State Archives, Rome.

† Thus designated by GREGOROVIUS in the Augsburg Allg. Zeitung, 1870, N. 146. See GOTHEIN, 32. Bartholomaus de Maraschis, in the *Despatch of the 24th July, 1465, cited on p. 150, note*, tells how the Neapolitan troops, immediately after the downfall of the Anguillara, oppressed the Romans.

‡ See the *Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, Oct. 14 and 24 (Ambrosian Library, Milan), and a *Letter of the 21st Oct., 1464, from the same Carretto in the State Archives at Milan. See the passage from a *Despatch of Nicodemus of the 31st Oct., 1469 (State Archives, Milan), given *infra*, p. 172, note*. When Federigo, the son of the King of Naples, came to Rome in April, 1465, he was treated with great honour. *Div. Pauli II., 1464-66, fol. 82b, contains records of money expended on this occasion. State Archives, Rome.

sioned by internal troubles, at another the expenses in which he had been involved by his share in the war against the Anguillara." The tension constantly increased. When Ferrante, who already owed the Pope 60,000 golden ducats, sent the customary palfrey, but not a farthing with it, the Pope returned it. The King went so far as to threaten that, if the claim were still insisted upon, he would enter into alliance with the Turks, whereupon the Pope answered that he would provide for having Ferrante driven from his kingdom, and the Turks expelled from the Christian dominions.*

The complicated relations which existed between Naples and the Apostolic See made it possible for the King to keep the Pope in perpetual alarm, by constantly making fresh demands. The real ground of Ferrante's hostility was the jealousy with which he viewed the consolidation of the Papal power in the States of the Church, and accordingly he harassed the Pope in every way that he could.

The energetic measures of Paul II. against the lawless Barons in the Roman territory "had not perfectly restored peace; feuds were constantly breaking out amongst them, as well as amongst the lesser nobles, while bloody and barbarous revenges were of frequent occurrence. Yet much had been gained. The Pope laboured unremittingly, by means of his Cardinals and Prelates, to bring about reconciliations."† At the same time he did what he could

* CANENSIUS, 74–5; GASP. VERONEN., 1041; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 220, 2nd ed.; BORGIA, Dom. temp. nelle Sicil., 196–7, Rome, 1789, 2nd ed. According to GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., Part 3, the *Introitus-register of Paul II.'s pontificate records no payment of tribute by Ferrante.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 157. See L'ÉPINOIS, 436. Regarding the Pope's efforts to promote peace in Orvieto, see the documents in

to maintain among the Italian powers that peace which the danger of Turkish invasion rendered so necessary. His prompt action at the critical moment of the death of Francesco Sforza, which occurred on the 8th March, 1466, after an illness of but two days, was specially judicious and effective. This unexpected event caused the greatest consternation at the French Court,* as well as in Florence and in Rome, where the news arrived on the 16th March.† A Consistory was at once held, in which, at the Pope's suggestion, it was determined that the Holy See should use every possible means for the maintenance of peace. Paul II. forgot all previous differences with Milan, and sent a special Ambassador to express his sympathy, and declare his intention of standing by the Duchess and her children.‡ He also addressed Briefs to all the Italian Governments, informing them of his determination to maintain peace in the Peninsula, and earnestly exhorting them to avoid all disturbances.§ The warning was needed,

FUMI, 724–8. Paul II.'s *Briefs of the 17th Nov., 1470, to Card. S. Clementis (Ravenna), and the Episc. Firmanus, deal with troubles in the dominions of Todi and Spoleto. Lib. brev., 12, f. 36, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See the *Despatches of Panigarola and Em. de Jacopo to the Duchess of Milan, dated Orleans, 1466, March 23. Fonds Ital., 1611, National Library, Paris.

† *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1466, March 17. (Gonzaga Archives.) See BUSER, Beziehungen, 134 *seq.*

‡ See A. de Rubeis' Report of the 18th March. Fonds Ital., 1613, National Library, Paris.

§ See PLATINA, 775; *PARENTI, Hist. Fiorent. (Original Manuscript in the National Library, Florence); MAGLIAB., XXV.–2–519, f. 2; and CANENSIUS, 70 *seq.*; see also DESJARDINS, I., 137. A *Brief of Paul II. to Florence, dated Rome, 1466, xiii. Cal. April., and relating to this subject, is in the State Archives, Florence (X.–II.–23, f. 142–3): the Republic is here urged to maintain peace in Italy. In the State Archives, Milan, I found a copy of a *Brief of similar import addressed

especially in regard to the Republic of St. Mark, whose policy had given the Pope just cause for dissatisfaction.* Many exiles from Florence had at this time betaken themselves to Venice to hatch in safety conspiracies against the rule of the Medici. The Signoria, ever ready to fish in troubled waters, while avoiding any open breach of the peace, by no means discouraged these plots. "The old grudge against Florence, on account of the defeat of their schemes against Milan by Cosmo, revived. The resentment of the banished Florentines was to be turned to account to establish a government there, which should be dependent on the support of Venice, and to overthrow the Sforzas in Milan."† Bartolommeo Colleone, an ambitious and avaricious Condottiere, was to be the instrument employed for the accomplishment of these designs. In order to enable the exiled Florentines to avail themselves of his services, the Signoria dismissed him with promises of money.‡

In face of the threatening attitude of Colleone, the Ambassadors of Florence, Naples and Milan, on the 4th January, 1467, entered into a defensive alliance at Rome, under the protection of Paul II., with a view of securing the

by Paul II. to the Doge of Venice, dated 1466, April 17, with an observation appended to the effect that letters of the same character had been sent to Naples, Ferrara, Mantua, and Siena.

* See Appendix, N. 14. *Letter of T. Maffei of the 15th June, 1466, and *supra*, p. 96 *seq.*

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 173–4, 182, 2nd ed. See BUSER, Beziehungen, 135 *seq.* Regarding the conspiracy in Florence, see PERRENS, 313 *seq.* Paul II. wrote a *Letter of condolence, dated Rome, 1466, Sept. 8, to the Florentine Government in reference to these troubles, which he characterises as dangerous to the city, and injurious to the peace of Italy and the war against the Turks. State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–23, f. 148b–149b.

‡ See PERRENS, 328.

peace of Italy.* This was a time of great anxiety for the Pope; he placed no confidence in Ferrante, who shewed symptoms of meditating an attack on the temporal possessions of the Holy See.† In the month of March the Ambassador of Modena was of opinion that Ferrante would declare war on the Pope.‡

Besides Colleone, the Florentine exiles took Ercole of Este, Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro, Pino degli Ordelassi, Lord of Forli, the Lords of Carpi and Galeotto de' Pici della Mirandola into their pay. An army, 14,000 strong, was assembled. The Republic of Florence engaged the services of the Count of Urbino, while Ferrante sent auxiliary troops, and Galeazzo Maria himself hurried to the front, at the head of 6000 men. The two most famous Italian Generals of the day, Colleone and Federigo of Urbino, thus stood opposed to one another, each at the head of a considerable force. On the 23rd July, 1467, they met at La Molinella, in the territory of Imola; but the battle led to no decisive result.§

After this action, more than half a year was spent "in useless marches and entrenchments, and in wrangling,

* See MALIPIERO, 212; TRINCHERA, I., 1 *seq.*, 6 *seq.*; BUSER, Beziehungen, 139; DESJARDINS, I., 144 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 173, 183, 2nd ed. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 221, 3rd ed., is wrong in giving the 2nd January as the date of the conclusion of the League. A *Letter of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1466, Dec. 6, throws important light on the negotiations which preceded the treaty. State Archives, Milan.

† *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 7th Jan., 1467. Gonzaga Archives; see Appendix, N. 18.

‡ "*Il me pare vedere che Re Ferrando [ha] voglia di guerra col papa." Report of Jacobus Trottus, dated Rome, 1467, March 15. State Archives, Modena.

§ LEO, III., 410 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 183 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; PERRENS, 331.

recriminations and negotiations."* At last Paul II. determined, on the Feast of the Purification, 1468, after Mass at Araceli on the Capitol, to proclaim peace by his own authority.† The Bull published on this occasion first insists on the necessity of peace in face of the danger from Turkey, then relates the efforts made by the Pope for the restoration of tranquillity, and requires Venice, Naples, Milan, and Florence, within the space of thirty days, to come to terms. Colleone was named General of the Christians, with a salary of a hundred thousand florins, to which all the Italian States were to contribute, and he was to carry on the war with the Turks in Albania; the territory which he had won from the Florentines, and from Taddeo Manfredi of Imola, was to be restored within fifty days.‡

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 188, 2nd ed. See SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXIX., 329 *seq.*; and CIPOLLA, 541 *seq.* Further lights are needed to explain the attitude of Paul II. during these negotiations. AMMANATI, Comment., lib. IV., is by no means an absolutely trustworthy authority; nor can we, like SISMONDI, X., 324 *seq.*, place complete confidence in G. B. PIGNA, l. VIII., who wrote in the time of Alfonso II.

† Until this time war had been threatening; not till the 28th Jan., 1468, could Card. Gonzaga declare: *"Heri matina in concistoro secreto la Sta de N. S. concluse che omnino voleva pronunciare questa pace el di de la purificatione." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1468, N. 14–21; Bull. V., 189–94, where the Bull is wrongly assigned to the year 1467. See AMMANATI, Comment., l. IV.; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 272; MALIPIERO, 231 *seq.*; PALMERIUS, 250–51; SANUDO, 1185; Chron. Eugub., 1015; also SUMMONTE, IV., 564; and Arch. St. Napol., IX., 217. The Brief to Colleone, which accompanied the Bull, is in the Istor. Bresc., 911–12. On the 2nd February the Florentines were also informed by a *Brief of the conclusion of peace; a Copy is in the State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–23, f. 170. A detailed account of the proclamation in Araceli is given in a *Report of Aug. de Rubeis and Joh. Blanchus, dated Rome, 1468, Febr. 3. (State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.) Expenses pro luminaribus pro pace publicanda are entered on the 1st Febr., 1468. in *Div.

Milan and Naples, however, would not do anything towards paying Colleone. A chronicler sums up their reply in the following words: "We desire peace, but as to Colleone, we will not give him even a biscuit." * Other difficulties were also raised; and for some time it seemed as if the war must break out again. Paul II. was obliged to give up the stipulation regarding Colleone. On the 25th April peace was proclaimed in Rome, and soon afterwards in Florence, and celebrated everywhere with brilliant festivities. Some fresh obstacles were now created by Venice,† but finally these, too, were happily overcome, and on the Feast of the Ascension peace was proclaimed in the territories of the Republic.‡ By the 8th May the conditions

Pauli II., Vol. II. (State Archives, Rome.) Gold medals were struck to commemorate the conclusion of peace (MALIPIERO, 233). Domenico Galletti, on this occasion, addressed several poems to Paul II.; these are preserved in Cod. Vat., 3694 and 3695; Piero Luigi Galletti published them in a very rare pamphlet (Nozze-Publ.), Verona, 1787.

* Chron. Eugub., 1015.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1468, N. 22; LANDUCCI, 10; Cr. di Bologna, 773; TRINCHERA, I., p. LVIII. *seq.*; *Letter of August. Patritius to Campanus, dated Rome, 1468, April 27; Cod. S. I. I., f. 117, of the Angelica Library, Rome; *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1468, April 25 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and *Despatch of Lorenzo da Pesaro to the Duke of Milan of the same date. This last Document begins with the words: *"Ad laude et gloria del omnipotente dio, de la sua madre madona S. Maria semper vergine et de S. Ambroscio, de S. Agnese, de S. Petro matiro et de tucta la corte celestiale, ad exaltation et grandeza del stato de V. J. S., &c., hoggi havemo firmata la pace in lo infrascr. modo." The Original and Copy are in the State Archives, Milan. Regarding the festivities in the States of the Church on occasion of the peace, see also PERUZZI, Ancona, 376; BONAZZI, Perugia, 683. As to the Republic of Florence, see P. BIGAZZI, Miscell. Stor., N. 3, p. 25 *seq.* (Florence, 1849).

‡ Ist. Bresc., 912. See CIPOLLA, 584 *seq.*; and ROMANIN, IV., 332, for the ratification.

had been officially drawn up in Rome in the Pope's presence.*

On Ascension Day there was a magnificent procession, in which Paul II. himself took part on foot. Hymns were composed for the occasion by Lionardo Dati and an eloquent discourse was pronounced by Domenico de' Domenichi.†

Paul II.'s satisfaction at the advent of peace was enhanced by the hope which it encouraged that Italy would now offer a serious resistance to the Turks. For this object he had already expended no less than the sum of two hundred thousand florins,‡ and his disappointment, when clouds again overspread the political horizon, must have been in proportion to his interest in the cause.

Ferrante of Naples was the disquieting element. In the summer of 1468, when Paul II. had attempted to occupy the important fortress of Tolfa, which commanded the alum mines, he had been prevented by the Neapolitan troops, who not only supported the Orsini, who were the lords of the soil, in their resistance, but even threatened Rome itself. The Pope was so much alarmed that he meditated flight. His most valuable property had already been hidden in St. Angelo, when the Neapolitan army turned against Sora.§

* Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Lib. rubeus (see our Vol. III., p. 245), f. 81 *seq.*, and *Cod. B–19, f. 49, of the Vallicellana Library, Rome. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1468, N. 25, makes use of the latter manuscript. See also MITTARELLI, Access. Faventinae, 337 (Venet., 1771).

† CANENSIUS, 82; AMMANATI, Epist., f. 143 *seq.*, 165, 166b, 167. Domenichi's *Discourse, which QUIRINI, 287, intended to publish, is preserved in Cod. A 44, N. 9, of the Chapter Library, Padua, and in Cod. Ottob., 1035, f. 46–53, Vatican Library. Disbursements for the peace rejoicings on Ascension Day appear in the *Lib. III., Bullet. Pauli II., on the 22nd May, 1468. State Archives, Rome.

‡ See the *Brief of the 16th May, 1468, addressed to Florence. State Archives, Florence; also Appendix, N. 23.

§ CANENSIUS, 84. See REUMONT, Diplomazia, 371.

During the contest for the throne of Naples, Pius II. had become Sovereign of this important Duchy, and he had maintained his rights over it against all the efforts of Ferrante. On the accession of Paul II., the King had again endeavoured to recover Sora. He now deemed the moment to have arrived for the forcible accomplishment of his object, and certainly the opportunity seemed favourable. Paul II., who always shrank from outlay for military purposes, was almost defenceless; in vain did he reproach the faithless Monarch with ingratitude towards the Holy See, to whose favour he owed his crown. Fortunately for him, Cardinal Roverella was successful in persuading Ferrante not to advance any further. In October, 1468, the Pope gave orders that fresh troops should be levied, to occupy the frontier between the States of the Church and Naples, which shews how little confidence he had in his neighbour.* Paul II. was unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain possession of Tolfa; subsequently, an amicable arrangement was arrived at, and in June, 1469, the Apostolic Treasury purchased the place for 17,300 golden ducats.†

Ferrante was also the Pope's chief opponent in regard to the territory of Malatesta.

In the October of 1468, Sigismondo Malatesta, who had

* Jacobus Trottus in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1468, October 28, says: *"Il papa ha molto ben forniti de fanti quelli suoi luoghi de confine dove el dubitava del Re." (State Archives, Modena.) See CONTATORE, 239–40. Blanchus, in a Report of the 28th March, 1468, in LAMANSKY, 765, speaks of the labours of Bessarion in favour of the Venetians. Regarding the claims of Ferrante, see Chron. Eugub., 1016.

† PLATINA, 774, 791; AMMANATI, Comment., 368 *seq.*; CANENSIUS, 83–8; THEINER, Cod. 456–8. *Lib. III., Bullet. Pauli II., contains entries of payments for war material for the conquest of the castrum Tolphe as late as August, 1468. State Archives of Rome.

not long returned from the Turkish war, died without leaving any legitimate heir, and accordingly, in virtue of the treaty which had been made, Paul II. justly claimed Rimini. Sigismondo's wife, Isotta, however, assumed the government of the city. Roberto Malatesta, who was at the time in Rome, promised the Pope, by oath and in writing, that he would deliver up Rimini to him.* Upon this he was at once commissioned to take possession of the city on behalf of the Holy See. But no sooner had he succeeded, with the assistance of the inhabitants, and by means of the subsidies granted by Paul II., in getting rid of the Venetian garrison and making himself master of the citadel, than he informed the Pope that he did not consider himself bound by the promise he had given. A secret alliance with the King of Naples encouraged him to venture on this step. "The Pope, finding himself thus betrayed, collected an army, and in a short time nearly all the Italian States were involved in the war about Rimini."†

Such was the political situation of the Italian Peninsula when Frederick III. determined to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made in 1462, while a prisoner in the Castle of Vienna, and of which he had repeatedly postponed the accomplishment.‡ The

* On the 16th June, 1469, the Pope communicated copies of this promise to the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines. *Transcripts of the letters, which are all of similar import, are in the State Archives at Venice and Florence.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 220 *seq.*, 3rd ed.; SUGENHEIM, 342; LILIUS, Hist. di Camerino, II., 215; UGOLINI, I., 485 *seq.*; TONINI, V., 325 *seq.*; YRIARTE, 341 *seq.*

‡ Regarding the postponement of the journey, see LICHNOWSKY, VII., 113, and also TRINCHERA, I., 106, where is given a letter of the 8th April, 1467, from the King of Naples; but even on the 16th February, 1467, J. P. Arrivabene wrote: *"La venuta del imperatore da octo di in qua se fa piu dubia che prima." Gonzaga Archives.

Emperor's suite was not a large one; it consisted of fourteen Princes and Counts, and a number of knights, and amounted altogether to 700 horsemen. All were in mourning garb on account of the death of the Empress.*

Frederick travelled by the same route as that which he had followed sixteen years before; it led through Treviso to Padua, where the Venetian Ambassadors met him and paid their respects, then by Rovigo to Ferrara.† At Francolino on the Po, Borso d'Este welcomed his noble visitor.‡ From Ferrara the pilgrims continued their journey by Ravenna along the coast to the Sanctuary of Loreto.§ The gates of Rimini were closed by Robert Malatesta, who distrusted the Emperor. This obliged him to alter his route, but the swampy character of the ground compelled him again to approach the city. The inhabitants at once armed themselves and hastened to the walls, where they remained until the travellers were out of sight.|| He met with even greater rudeness from the Ambassadors of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who, when informed by Frederick that he looked upon Milan as belonging to the Empire, had, we are told, the audacity to reply, that Galeazzo's father had won the Duchy by the sword,

* Gesch. W. von Schaumburg, 7; and GRAZIANI, 641. *LANDO FERRETTI, Storia d'Ancona (original Manuscript in Cod. H., III., 70, of the Chigi Library, Rome), f. 304, mentions "sei cento cavalli ben guarniti et molto all' ordine." The Diario Ferrar., 215, and CANENSIUS, 88, speak of only 500 as accompanying the Emperor.

† See in Appendix, N. 25, Tommaso Soderini's *Letter of the 29th Nov., 1468. State Archives, Florence.

‡ For an account of the honour paid to the Emperor in Ferrara, see Diario Ferrar., *loc. cit.*; Cronica di Bologna, 776; Annal. Bonon. 897.

§ On the 18th December, Frederick III. was at Ancona. See CIAVARINI, I., 186 (see PERUZZI, 373), and *L. FERRETTI, *loc. cit.*

|| TONINI, V., 329, where for 1464 *read* 1468.

and that his son would not lose it save by the sword.*

Paul II. looked forward with some apprehension to the Emperor's arrival. He took precautions against possible disturbances in Rome by bringing large bodies of troops into the city.† Special Briefs were sent to all the officials of the States of the Church, desiring them to receive Frederick III. with honour, and to entertain him at the expense of the Holy See.‡ The Governor of the March of Ancona, by order of the Pope, accompanied the Emperor to Rome,§ and a number of members of the Papal Court were appointed to meet him.|| On Christmas Eve Frederick approached the walls of Rome. He had proceeded by water from Otricoli to Castell Valcha, where Cardinals d'Estouteville and Piccolomini met him with a numerous escort.¶

He was met at Ponte Molle by the Vice-Camerlengo, the City Prefect, the Conservators, and the rest of the municipal authorities, with the Roman nobles, by command of the Pope. The Sacred College had a long time to wait at the Porta del Popolo. The late hour at which Frederick arrived made it difficult to carry out the order of the procession, every detail of which had been arranged by Paul II.**

* Chronic. Eugub., 1017.

† Chronic. Eugub., 1016; PLATINI, 785, and *Report of J. P. Arrivabene of Dec. 26, 1468, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix, N. 26.

‡ *Brief to "Joh. Bapt. de Sabellis notario nostro civit. nostre Bononien. gubernatori," dated Romae, ap. S. Petrum, 1468, Dec. 6. (State Archives, Bologna.) Bolle e brevi, Q. 22. See also CANENSIUS, 89.

§ *L. FERRETTI, *loc. cit.*, f. 305. Chigi Library, Rome.

|| See Paul II.'s Brief to the Emperor, in MÜLLER, II., 320.

¶ *Report of J. P. Arrivabene; see Appendix, N. 26.

** PATRITIUS, 207.

At this gate of the city, Bessarion made a speech, and he and Cardinal d'Estouteville then took their places, one on each side of the Emperor. They then proceeded first to S. Marco, all the streets through which they passed being richly decorated. The Emperor, clad in black, rode with the Cardinals under a baldacchino of white silk damask, embroidered with gold, and bearing the Papal and Imperial arms. One of Frederick's suite estimated the number of torches in the procession at 3000.*

The Imperial pilgrim was met in front of St. Peter's by the clergy of the city bearing a cross and relics. At the fifth hour of the night he entered the venerable Basilica, and, going at once to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, knelt "for a long time in prayer." The Pope, who was very exact in matters of the kind, had most minutely arranged the ceremonial to be observed at the meeting of the two chief powers of Christendom. This appeared to their contemporaries so significant as a token of the relations then existing between them, that Augustinus Patritius, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, carefully transcribed the whole in a special note-book.†

"As soon," Patritius says, "as the Emperor beheld the

* Gesch. W. von Schaumburg, 8. See AMMANATI, Comment., Lib. 7; Storia Napolit., 235; INFESSURA, 1141; and the *Report of J. P. Arrivabene in Appendix, N. 26. (Gonzaga Archives.) Payments ad explanandum et mundandum stratam de Ponte Mollo ad portam populi et . . . palatium s. Marci are noted in *Lib. III., Bullet. Pauli II. State Archives, Rome.

† First made use of by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1469, N. 1, from Cod. F., N. 73, of the Vallic. Library, and afterwards published from the same MS. by MABILLON, II., 256–72; PEZ, II., 609–622; and MURATORI, XXIII., 205 *seq.* I cite from this last. Patritius' account is also in Cod. Vat., 8090. There is nothing of interest to us in the Notula hist. de Frid. III. Imp. Romam, 1469, visitante in Cod. 4455, f. 366, of the Court Library, Vienna.

Pope upon his throne, he bent the knee before him, and repeated this act several times during his approach. When he had got up to the Pope, he did homage to the Vicar of Christ by kissing his feet. Paul II. bent his eyes upon Frederick with an expression of great benevolence, put his arms round him, and permitted him to kiss both his knees; then he rose a little and embraced him warmly. He pointed out to him the place he was to take on his right hand above the Cardinals. The Emperor's seat, which had a back, was covered with green cloth, embroidered with gold; the Papal throne was so placed that the Emperor's seat was at the same height as the feet of the Pope." After the conclusion of the ceremonies in St. Peter's, which were accompanied with chanted psalms, "the Emperor departed to a noble palace, hung with cloth of gold and precious tapestry, wherein he was to have his abode, and every one of his people, according to his rank and dignity, was conducted to a well-appointed chamber therein."*

The Christmas festival was celebrated with great splendour. "When it came to the holy Gospel," says Wilwolt von Schaumburg, "the Emperor put on a dalmatic. The Pope gave him, as was fitting, a costly hat; they say that it must have been worth 8000 ducats. And when the Emperor was to begin singing the Gospel, one of the highest of his servants, who was appointed for the purpose, took the hat from his head, and put the naked sword, which was commonly carried before him, into his hand. The Emperor held it solemnly aloft, and ever and anon, while he sang the Gospel, he brandished the sword lustily."

After the Offertory, the Emperor was incensed next

* Gesch. W. von Schaumburg, 8. The Emperor lived in the part of the Palace which he had occupied in 1452. PATRITIUS, 209.

after the Pope; Paul II., having given him Holy Communion with his own hand, bestowed on him the kiss of peace. The Pope administered the Blessed Sacrament to the Emperor, Deacon and Sub-Deacon, under the species of Bread only, although it was usual to give the Chalice in such cases to all who communicated with him. On this occasion the practice was discontinued on account of the erroneous teaching of the Hussites.*

After the conclusion of Mass, the Pope and the Emperor venerated the veil of St. Veronica. Then Paul II. solemnly imparted his Blessing, and an Indulgence was proclaimed. After the customary form, the words, "and for our Emperor Frederick, that the Lord God may grant him victory over the heretical Bohemians, the Turks, and the other enemies of the Christian name," were added.

Throughout these solemnities, and during the days which followed them, Frederick III. behaved towards the Pope with the utmost respect and deference. When Paul II. returned his visit, he accompanied him back to his chamber, and, on New Year's Eve, when they quitted the Lateran together, Frederick sprung forward to hold the Pope's stirrup. The Pope, however, declared that he would not allow this, and refused to mount until the Emperor had dispensed him from receiving, and himself from rendering, this service. "The Pope's affability," Patritius observes, "was thought all the more of, because the credit of the Papacy is no less than in former times, and its power is far more considerable; for God has so disposed things, that the Roman Church, through the sagacity of her Pontiffs, and especially of the present Pope, has so increased in power and wealth, that she can hold her own by the side

* PATRITIUS, 212. See AMMANATI, *loc. cit.* Heimburg's Apology in PALACKY, Urkundl. Beiträge, 657, shews that the Pope's precaution was not uncalled for.

of kingdoms of the first rank. The Roman Empire, on the other hand, has fallen into such deep decay, that nothing but the name is left to its chief. Under these altered circumstances, the smallest mark of honour comes to be very highly regarded." In the sequel he lays much stress on the Pope's courtesy towards the Emperor, and says that he treated him in all points as an equal.*

The ceremony at which, in presence of the Pope, the Emperor conferred knighthood on 125 Germans in the middle of the bridge over the Tiber, provided an imposing pageant for the Romans. On this occasion Frederick III. also declared Galeazzo Maria to have forfeited the Duchy of Milan, and granted investiture of this fief to his grandson.†

The first point to be discussed between Frederick III. and the Pope was the war against the Turks and the Hussites. A Public Consistory for this purpose was held but four days after Christmas. The Emperor began by declaring, through his spokesman, that it was not merely his vow which had brought him to Rome, but also his concern for the general good, and that he desired to learn the views of the Holy Father in regard to the measures to be adopted against the Turks. Paul II. caused all the efforts of the Holy See for this great object to be related, saying that his resources were now exhausted, and it had become the duty of the Emperor to counsel and to act. When Frederick explained that he had come to receive, and not to give, counsel, the Pope repeated what he had

* PATRITIUS, 215–6. See CANENSIUS, 89, and the *Report of J. P. Arrivabene of the 26th Dec., 1468, Gonzaga Archives; see Appendix, N. 26. Regarding the visit to the Lateran, see ROHAULT, 251 *seq.*, 500, 502.

† CANENSIUS, 90; Chron. Eugub., 1017; PLATINA, 785; Gesch. W. von Schaumburg, 9; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 223, 3rd ed. See ADINOLFI, I., 16–17.

already said. The Emperor then, with his Counsellors and all the Ambassadors who were present, withdrew into an adjoining hall to deliberate on the subject, and remained there for an hour. As the result of their consultation, he proposed that a general assembly should be held at Constance, in the presence of the Emperor and the Pope. Afterwards, Ammanati informs us, most of those who were accustomed to weigh matters at that period doubted whether the proposal had originated from the Emperor, who might have been anxious to shew his zeal for the Faith, or from the politic Venetians. The Pope and the Cardinals, however, were agreed that the existing state of affairs did not demand such a measure, which past experience had shewn to be dangerous. It was at last settled that the Ambassadors of all the Christian Princes should be invited, in the name of the two heads of Christendom, to a Congress, to be held in Rome in September, and that the Venetians should be allowed to levy a tenth part from the clergy, the twentieth part from the Jews, and the thirtieth from the laity, in their dominions.*

It is equally hard to ascertain the exact nature of the claims which Frederick at this time made on the Pope, and the special purpose of the Imperial pilgrimage. According to Dlugoss,† he sought, but did not obtain, from the Holy See the confirmation of the succession in Hungary and Bohemia to himself and his son Maximilian. He would "seem also to have tried unsuccessfully to procure the transfer of the electoral vote belonging to the Crown of Bohemia to the house of Austria. The

* AMMANATI, Comment., I., 7, and Frederick III.'s letter in BONELLI, III., 271. See GEBHARDT, 46. As to the negotiations now carried on regarding the Brixen affair, see SINNACHER, VI., 558.

† DLUGOSSI Hist. Pol., II., 439.

Court of Rome looked upon King Matthias as its principal champion in Christendom, and would consent to nothing that would be distasteful to him. In reference to the Crown of Bohemia, moreover, its views differed wholly from those of the Emperor, as it desired the suppression of this dignity."* The Emperor, on the other hand, obtained the confirmation of the Order of St. George, as also the commencement of the process of canonisation of Margrave Leopold of the house of Babenberg, and the erection of two Bishoprics, one at Vienna and one at Wiener-Neustadt.† This last measure fulfilled a desire which had been ardently cherished by Rudolf of Hapsburg.

On the 9th January, 1469, the Emperor left Rome, enriched with many Indulgences, relics, precious stones, and pearls.‡ The Pope had borne all the expenses of his suite.§ Cardinals Capranica and Borgia escorted him

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 554; RAUCH, 34.

† GAMS, 321–2; POTTHAST, Bibl. Suppl., 440; and WIEDEMANN, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Bisthums Wiener-Neustadt, in the Œsterr. Vierteljahrschrift für Kath. Theol., 1864, III., 514 *seq.*, all give the year 1468 as that of the foundation of the Bishopric. The Bull in Cod. 9309 of the Court Library, Vienna, which the last-named author cites, is certainly dated Romae, anno 1468, Jan. 18, but the note "pontif nostri anno quinto" shews the document to belong to the year 1469. The Bull for the erection of the Bishopric of Vienna, whose original is in the Consistorial Archives of the Archbishop at Vienna, has also "pont. nostri a° quinto" (this Bull is printed in Bull. V., 195 *seq.*, but wrongly placed in the year 1468). On account of the opposition of the Bishop of Passau it was not solemnly published until 1480; see details in the exhaustive Study of Prof. KOPALLIK, in Wiener Diöcesanbl., 1887, N. 2, and KEIBLINGER, I., 659.

‡ PATRITIUS, 216; INFESSURA, 1141; GRAZIANI, 641. The Cron. Rom., 34, gives a wrong date, 19th, which is repeated by LICHNOWSKY, 115.

§ According to GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., the festivities, the lodging, and entertainment of Frederick's suite cost 6000 flor. auri; the Pope contributed 3690 florins from his private purse.

as far as Viterbo. Here, as well as in Rome and throughout his return journey, Frederick III. conferred many honours.*

Soon after the Emperor's return, the war, which Roberto Malatesta's treacherous usurpation of Rimini had rendered inevitable, broke forth. The Pope and the Republic of Venice, formerly rival claimants for the possession of the city, now united against Roberto, who had deceived them both. On the 28th May, 1469, an alliance was concluded, by which Venice undertook to assist the Pope energetically, both by land and sea.† Paul II. made haste to collect troops, and took Napoleone Orsini and Alessandro Sforza into his service.‡ Lorenzo Zane, Archbishop of Spalatro, was appointed Legate for the Papal army. The war began in the month of June, and it seemed as if the crafty Malatesta was doomed to destruction.§

Things, however, took a different turn. Roberto's escape was principally due to "Federigo of Montefeltre, an ancient

* N. DELLA TUCCIA, 94. For an account of Frederick's homeward journey, see SANSI, Storia, 64–5; PELLINI, 69 *seq.*; BONAZZI, 684; CRISTOFANI, 327; CINELLI, L'Imperiale castello presso Pesaro, 1881; Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstf., IX., 166; BURCKHARDT, I., 18 *seq.*, 3rd ed.; MURATORI, Ann. ad an. Regarding his sojourn in Venice, see SANUDO, 1188; MALIPIERO, 237; Gesch. W. von Schaumburg, 10 *seq.*; MITTARELLI, 1015; and TODERINI, 13 *seq.*

† DUMONT, III., 1, 405; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1469, N. 24; ROMANIN, IV., 333, N. 2.

‡ A *Letter of Napoleone Orsini (S. R. E. armorum generalis capitaneus) to Piero de' Medici, d. d. ex felicibus castris S. D. N. apud flumen Toppini prope Fulgin. die II. Aug., 1469, is in the State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., f. 17, f. 736.

§ J. P. Arrivabene wrote from Rome to Mantua on the 20th June, 1469: *"La impresa de Arimino per quanto se comprende dara occasion de rumpere in tuto la guerra, perche se sente pur chel Re fa adunare le gente suoe al Tronto." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

enemy of his house, who unexpectedly became his friend and helper." Federigo, "the most powerful feudal lord in the States of the Church," looked upon "the Pope's zealous and successful efforts to diminish the number of feudal potentates in his territory" as a danger to himself.* For the same reason, not only the King of Naples, who was almost always more or less at variance with the Pope,† but also Milan and Florence, declared against him.‡ All these powers were agreed that "any increase of the authority of the Popes in their temporal principality," at the expense of its feudal nobility, was to be strenuously resisted. "The element of weakness, caused by the partition of the States of the Church among a number of feudal nobles," must be retained.§

The support of these allies emboldened Roberto Malatesta to command his General, Federigo of Montefeltre, to assume the offensive. On the 30th August, just when Rome was celebrating the sixth anniversary of Paul II.'s elevation to

* SUGENHEIM, 345.

† Jacobus Trottus, writing on the 15th April, 1469, says that the Pope was disposed for war, and only contemplated the ruin of the King. Another Ambassador from Este, Agostino de Bon, wrote on the 14th April, 1469: *"Questo papa me pare ogni di ingrossa le sue gente. Lo cardinale de Napoli, che fu mio compagno in studio, me ha ditto, che lo Re de Napoli ha mandato a dire al papa che el volle intendere che homo el debba esser o de dio o del diavolo; queste sono le parole formale e par voria fare certi capituli cum el papa, non sa ancora se se poterano acordare, ma pure me pare che lo Re ogni otto di ge da una spelazata." State Archives, Modena.

‡ On the 16th June, 1469, Paul II. wrote to Florence: *"Hortamur in domino et summopere rogamus devotionem vestram ut tametsi Robertus ipse ad vestra stipendia conductus existit, nihilominus in hac re nihil ipsum iuvetis aut presidis prosequamini contra nos et S. R. E." State Archives, Florence, 11, X., dist. II., 25, f. 10–11.

§ SUGENHEIM, 344; UGOLINI, I., 487, 496; REUMONT, Diplomazia. 372 *seq.*

the Chair of St. Peter,* he attacked the Papal army, and completely routed it. Three thousand prisoners, a number of guns and other booty from the enemy's camp, were seized by the victors. Amongst the spoils was all the Legate's silver plate.†

The consequences of this victory might have been serious, but Federigo of Montefeltre shrank from attacking the actual territory of the Holy See. He contented himself with subjugating thirty castles and the territories of Rimini and Fano to the authority of Roberto Malatesta, and then, in November, 1469, disbanded his troops.‡

The co-operation of Florence and Naples, which had made this successful resistance on the part of his rebellious vassal possible, deeply incensed the Pope. Before the assembled Consistory he broke forth into bitter complaints of the Medici and of Ferrante. "The King," he said to the Milanese Ambassador, "immediately after my elevation, demanded the surrender of Ascoli and other things so preposterous that I can never be his friend. He is so

* J. Trottus' account in a **Letter of the 30th August, 1469. State Archives, Modena.

† See AMMANATI, Comment., I., 5, f. 375 *seq.*; Epist., 174 *seq.*, 176 *seq.* Vespas. da Bisticci in MAI, I., 107–108; TONINI, V., 336 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 344; REUMONT, III., 1, 157; and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 236, follow Muratori in naming the 23rd August as the day of the battle. The date given above is that in the Annal. Forliv., 228, and in the document in REUMONT, Diplomazia, 373. The Cronica di Bologna, 777, has the 29th; CANENSIUS, 92, and NOTAR GIACOMO, 116–17, mention the 31st August. On the 5th Sept., 1469, *J. Trottus declares that the Pope had received a letter concerning the defeat. (State Archives, Modena.) *Angelus Azarolus informs Pietro Dietisalvi, ex Ferrara, 2nd Sept., 1469, that the army of the Church had been defeated, "e forsi piu grossamente che non si dice qui." State Archives, Florence, Strozz., 365, f. 88.

‡ Cronica di Bologna, 777.

crafty and malignant that no one can trust him. Moreover, he is no son of King Alfonso's; Pope Calixtus told me the names of his real parents."*

The confederates were in no way intimidated either by Paul II.'s complaints or by the warlike preparations which he carried on with much energy.† On the contrary, in July, 1470, Naples, Milan, and Florence renewed their alliance, and determined, with their united forces, to protect Malatesta against the Pope, not only in the possession of Rimini, but also "in that of all the conquests which he had since made in the States of the Church or might yet make, unless within two months the Pope should agree, on his restoration of these spoils, to be reconciled to him and to invest him with the remainder of his family dominions."‡

Hard as it was for Paul II., he was compelled to yield, for he knew that his Venetian countrymen and allies were

* I find this statement, which has not hitherto been made public, in a *Letter from Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1469, Oct. 31. Speaking of Paul II., he says: *"Poi disse de le stranie cose havia volute da lui fui ad havergli facto domandare Ascoli quamprimum fo assumpto al pontificato et altre domande adeo enorme che mai gli poria esser amico, ne persona se posseva fidare de lui, tanto è ficto e de mala natura, fin a dirmi non è figliolo del Re Alphonso et como papa Calisto gli havia dicto el patre et la matre, quali ha dicti ad me." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

† In a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1469, Sept. 14, J. P. Arrivabene says: *"Qui non se attende ad altro se non a le provision de remetter queste gente eccles." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The preparations were considered very onerous. "All the Cardinals," wrote *Angelo Acciaioli from Rome on the 12th Dec., 1469, "wish for peace, but with honour to the Pope and the maintenance of the States of the Church." On the 20th Dec., 1469, he wrote: *"La S. de N. S. non può lasciare Arimino sanza gran vergogna e carico suo e damno della chiesa." Both these *Despatches are in the State Archives, Modena.

‡ DUMONT, III., 1, 354 *seq.*, 408; MORBIO, VI., 377, 393 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 345.

playing a very double game, "more intent on the extension of their own power in the Romagna than on the support of the Papal government."* A yet more decisive influence was exercised by an event which now filled Christendom in general and Italy in particular with fear: Negropont was taken by the Turks.†

* REUMONT, III., 1, 157–8; BALAN, V., 198. Regarding the delay of the Venetian subsidies, see the *Letter of J. Trottus of the 30th Aug., 1469. State Archives, Modena.

† Malatesta was not actually put in possession of the fief of Rimini and its territory until after the death of Paul II.; see TONINI, V., 347 *seq.*; BALDI, III., 208.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FALL OF NEGROPONT, AND THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ITALY AND GERMANY REGARDING THE TURKISH QUESTION.—THE DIGNITY OF DUKE OF FERRARA CONFERRED UPON BORSO D'ESTE.—SUDDEN DEATH OF THE POPE.

EVER since the naval fortunes of Venice had, under the command of Niccolò Canale (1468), taken a more favourable turn, Sultan Mahomet, with the energy which was his characteristic, had laboured to increase and improve his fleet. Many new ships of war were built, and numerous Jews and Greeks, then deemed the best seamen, were engaged to man them. In the spring of 1470, he thought that the favourable moment had arrived for avenging his former defeat and dealing a crushing blow to the Venetian power. Mahomet himself set out for Greece at the head of an army more than 100,000 strong, while Mahmoud Pasha, with a fleet of about 400 vessels, 100 of which were men-of-war, put to sea. In the latter half of June the tidings that this great expedition was on the way reached Venice, and from thence passed on to Rome.* It was not yet known for certain that Euboea, "the pearl of the Italian dominions in

* **Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1470, June 30 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); here, as well as in MALIPIERO, 51, the number of Turkish vessels is given at 400; other authorities mention 300; see Cronica di Bologna, 779; *Letter of A. Hyvanus of the 19th Aug., 1470, Cod. 3477, f. 3b, of the Court Library, Vienna. See also MAGISTRETTI, 341.

Greece," was its goal, but the greatness of the peril was manifest. A Consistory was at once summoned in an unusual manner by the Pope; Cardinal Gonzaga informs us that he was prepared, for the sake of restoring peace in Italy, to renounce his claim to Rimini and the other places taken from him in the war, and that a Congregation of Cardinals was appointed to take counsel regarding further measures.* In view of the confusion prevailing in the whole of Europe, and more particularly in Italy, and the failure of all former attempts † at combination against the ancestral enemy of Christian civilisation, the task was somewhat hopeless. Yet Paul II. at once issued an urgent general appeal for help. King Ferrante of Naples, who, next to Venice, seemed the most immediately threatened, declared his readiness not only to join a general alliance of all the Christian powers, but also to enter into a special agreement with Venice and Rome. As the bitter enmity which existed between Venice and Milan left little prospect of a general alliance among the Princes of Christendom, Paul II., forgetting the injuries which he had received from

* This Consistory, which has hitherto remained unknown, is mentioned by Cardinal Gonzaga in the **Letter cited in note on previous p.

† The accounts of the Congress held in Rome, in the autumn of 1469, to deliberate on the measures to be taken against the Turks and Hussites, are very scanty. Frederick III. sent Hinderbach on this occasion as his representative (BONELLI, III., 270–71). The passage of many Envoys is mentioned by N. DELLA TUCCIA, 97. It appears from a *Letter of the City of Cologne to Dr "Wolter van Bilssen," dated 1469, June 22 (Cologne City Archives, Letter-book 29, f. 33b), that even the German cities were called upon by Frederick III. to send Envoys. Nicodemus de Pontremoli, the representative of Milan, who was himself devoid of zeal for the Turkish war (see BUSER, Beziehungen, 153), in a *Letter dated Rome, 1469, Nov. 20, admits that the Pope had the cause much at heart (ha molto al core). State Archives, Milan.

the Neapolitan monarch, accepted his second proposal. He gave orders that eight of the Cardinals, postponing all other business, should assemble once in every four days to take counsel regarding the measures to be adopted. Their first meeting was held on the 8th August, at which time no answer had yet been received from either Milan or Florence to the Papal Briefs despatched to them at the same date as that to Naples. From the outset it was evident to all experienced persons that the negotiations were likely to be extremely protracted.* On the 3rd of August a fresh Brief had been addressed to Florence, and also to Milan, insisting on the imminent danger with which the siege of Negropont threatened Italy, and exhorting these powers to despatch Envoys.†

Meanwhile, the growing power of Islam had again given proofs of its strength; on the 12th July, after a desperate resistance on the part of the besieged, Negropont, which had been accounted impregnable, had fallen into the hands of the Turks.‡ The terrible tidings caused the greatest consternation throughout Italy, and nowhere was the feeling more intense than in Venice. The Milanese Ambassador to that city, in a despatch of the 7th August, said that he had seen the proud nobles weep as if their own wives and children had been slain. "All Venice,"

* **Report of Jacobus Trottus to Borso of Este, dated Rome, 1470, Aug. 8. State Archives, Modena.

† MÜLLER, Doc., 211–12; where is also to be found the answer of the 8th of August expressed in terms of general goodwill.

‡ ZINKEISEN, II., 322 *seq.*; VAST, 379 *seq.*; ROMANIN, IV., 337 *seq.*; Rivista Maritt., 1886, Luglio-Agosto, and Arch. Veneto, XXXII., P. II., p. 267. The Brief concerning Niccolo de Canale, given in part and without date by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 17, is in *Lib. brev. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, 12, f. 61, dated 24th Dec., 1470. See Bibliofilo, VII., 40.

he added, some days later, "is struck with dismay; the inhabitants, half-dead with fear, say that the loss of all their possessions on the mainland would have been a less disaster."* "The glory and credit of Venice are destroyed," wrote the chronicler Malipiero, "our pride is humbled."†

The conquest of Euboea by the Turks was in fact an event of such importance that the latest historian of Greece considers it as the close of an epoch. All the Greeks, with the exception of a small fraction, were now in the clutch of the Sultan. Venice "was driven back into Crete and a few small islands and fortresses on the outer rim of Greece."‡

The alarm of the Venetians was increased by the strained relations which existed between them and the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Hungary, as well as by the openly hostile attitude of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who was the centre of a party which sought to take advantage of the misfortunes of the Republic, and recover the territory surrendered in 1454. In Bergamo, Crema, and Brescia an immediate invasion of Milanese troops was apprehended; guards were doubled, and the work of strengthening the defences was carried on day and night.§ Happily, the King of Naples declared to the representative of Milan that, in presence of the actual danger from Turkey, he would take no part in any attack upon Venice.|| The attitude of the King of

* See the Despatch from the Milanese State Archives in MAGISTRETTI, 347, see 101.

† MALIPIERO, 59. The terror was great in Naples and Sicily, where all the harbours were placed in a state of defence; see BLASI, Storia di Sicilia, II., 648.

‡ HERTZBERG, II., 603; see III., 3 *seq.*

§ MAGISTRETTI. 81, 89, 92–4, 101, 106.

|| *Ibid.*, 114, 116.

Hungary, on the other hand, was by no means reassuring. Paul II., however, with a true sense of his high position, laid aside all resentment against Venice, and laboured earnestly for the restoration of peace and the conclusion of an alliance against the Turks.* On the 25th August he informed all the Christian powers of the fall of Negropont, drew a vivid picture of the danger which lowered from the East, and urgently implored assistance: prompt action on their part, he said, would give him the greatest consolation.† The Pope earnestly entreated the Duke of Milan, who had attacked the Lords of Correggio, to lay down his arms, and urgently admonished the Venetians to desist from the works they had begun on the Mincio, which were a menace to the Marquess of Mantua, and were calculated to excite fresh troubles.‡ Paul II. himself set a good example, by determining to waive his rights regarding Rimini, and to refrain from punishing the Neapolitan King. On the 18th of September an invitation was addressed to all the Italian powers, calling upon them to send Ambassadors as soon as possible to Rome, in order to consult on measures for the general defence and the preservation of their own liberties.§

* See Paul II.'s *Brief to Florence of the 23rd Aug., 1470. State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 25–6.

† **Brief to Frankfort-on-Maine, dat. Romae, 1470, Octavo Cal. Sept., in the Archives of that City. A similar Letter to Joh. de Sabaudia comes Gebennensis is in the State Archives, Turin, and the one to Cologne in the City Archives, Or. Pgm., arrived with the appended Bull, according to the entry in the Chancery, Nov. 23, 1470. I found in the R. T. A., I. (Sect. V.), f. 135, of the Kreisarchiv, Bamberg, a German translation of the Brief, also addressed to Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg on the 25th August, 1470.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 39–40.

§ *Ibid.*, ad an. 1470, N. 41. The reports prevalent at this time

The Pope had no more zealous supporter in his labours than Cardinal Bessarion, who addressed several long circular letters to the Italian Princes and people, vividly representing the magnitude of the common peril and the necessity for unanimous action against their cruel foe.* With the impression of his soul-stirring words fresh on their minds, the Italian Envoys commenced their deliberations in Rome. There were apprehensions to be removed and disputes to be settled, but at length the efforts of Paul II. were crowned with success.† On the 22nd December, 1470, a general defensive alliance of the Italian States against the Turks was concluded, on the basis of the League of Lodi, Roberto Malatesta being included among its members.‡ Public thanksgivings were offered and bonfires kindled throughout the States of the Church by desire of Paul II.§

concerning a defeat of the Turkish fleet were not confirmed; see the *Letter of Jacobus Azzarolus to Pietro Dietisalvi, dated Rome, 1470, Sept. 20: "Le novelle vostre della ropta della armata del Turcho non graniscono." C. STROZZ., 365, f. 106. State Archives, Florence.

* VAST, 385 *seq.* On the 13th Dec., 1470, Bessarion sent them to Guillaume Fichat, Prof. in Paris. See the *Cardinal's Letter of that date in Cod. Vat., 3586, Vatican Library.

† See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 38; and WÜRDTWEIN, Nov. Subs., XIII., pp. 68–70. Paul II. also speaks of his labours to promote a league of Italians in the *Brief of the 20th Dec., 1470, to the Duke of Modena, and explains that the representative of Modena, Jacobus Trottus, had been unjustly calumniated. Lib. brev., 12, f. 58, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ LEIBNIZ, Cod. 429–30; DU MONT, III., 2, 29–30; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 42. See TRINCHERA, I., LX.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1470, N. 43. In the State Archives at Bologna I saw the original of the Brief published by Raynaldus from Lib. brev., and also by LÜNIG, Cod. Dipl. Ital., IV., 184–5. It bears the address: Joh. Bapt. de Sabellis, gub. Bononiae. (The Cr. di Bologna, 783, speaks of the joy which it awakened.) Similar

"But this time again the hopes of the Pope were far from being realised. Sforza did not ratify the treaty, ostensibly because his wishes were disregarded in some unimportant points in the draft of the document, but in reality because he disliked committing himself to a war against the Turks. Although the Florentine Signoria sent their ratification, Guicciardini put it aside, because Lorenzo, who desired to hold with Milan, and, like his grandfather, not to break with the Sultan, had secretly instructed him not to sign."*

In France and Germany the prospect was not any brighter. The Pope sent special envoys to both countries.† Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, the Legate for Germany, left Rome on the 18th March, 1471,‡ to proceed in the first instance to Ratisbon, where a Diet was to open at the end of April.

Piccolomini was chosen for this mission, first, on account of his "distinguished personal qualities," and secondly, because he could speak German,§ and was "a nephew of Pius II., whose memory was still warmly cherished at the Imperial Court."||

*Documents were sent to gubernat. Marchie, rect. Campanie, gub. Fani, Cesenae, Sore, &c. (Information kindly furnished by Dr. Fraknói, Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy.)

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 222, 2nd ed.

† CANENSIUS, 95.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 42, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Piccolomini's nomination as Legate in Alemaniam had taken place on the 18th February, *loc. cit.*

§ See A. Patritius in FREHER, II., 145. In a letter of 1485, the Cardinal again alludes to his knowledge of the German language; see JANNER, III., 543. It was, at this time, the custom of the Roman Court, when possible, to send representatives acquainted with the language of the countries to which they were accredited; the contemporary French Nuncio understood French; see AMMANATI, Comment., l. VII.

|| REISSERMAYER, I., 28–9; see II., 15.

He entered Ratisbon on the 1st May, where all his energies had first to be applied to the allaying of the ill-feeling occasioned by the prolonged delay of the Emperor. His position was by no means an easy one: "he desired and was even bound to defend the Emperor, and yet he could not altogether deny the justice of the complaints made by the impatient Assembly."* At last, on the 16th June, Frederick III. arrived, and "the great Christian Diet" began on the 24th. During the deliberations which ensued, the zeal displayed by Cardinal Piccolomini fully justified the repeated commendations of the Pope.† But neither his acknowledged eloquence, nor the urgent entreaties of the unhappy victims of the Turkish invasion from Croatia, Carniola, and Styria, sufficed to remove the manifold obstacles in the way of unanimous and energetic action. "The question of aid against the Turks proceeds so slowly," wrote an Italian Ambassador on the 7th July, "that the Cardinal Legate is wearied to death, and looks for little result from this Diet, on which he had built such great hopes."‡ After fully four weeks of negotiations, no decisive resolution binding all the states of the Empire had been arrived at. "All went well till it came to the determination of the amount to be contributed by each power, because, up to that point, general promises and offers sufficed; but when definite engagements were to be set down in black and white, difficulties of all kinds were raised, absurd pretexts invented, conditions imposed, and fresh proposals made to escape the obnoxious task." For a little while, to the delight of the Cardinal, things seemed again to take a more favourable turn; but the issue of this

* Reissermayer, I., 54–5.

† See in Appendix, N. 37 and 39, the two *Briefs from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Report of A. Bonattus in Reissermayer, II., 126.

Diet, the largest within the memory of man, was no better than that of those which had preceded it. "Private interests on all sides outweighed the general interests of the Empire."* Only two among the Princes—Ernest, Elector of Saxony, and Albrecht of Brandenburg, who had made his peace with the Pope at Ratisbon†—sent troops to the threatened frontiers; none of the others stirred.

"O the blindness of men!" exclaims Rodericus de Arevalo. "The Catholic Princes see the blazing torch of the infidel at their very doors, ready to set fire to all the kingdoms of Christendom, while they are squabbling each one for his portion. With their own eyes they behold the destruction of the Faithful, while every heathen jeers at their struggles to conquer each other, without thinking of saving themselves."‡

Besides the threatened danger from Turkey, the year 1471 had brought many other troubles to Paul II. At its very outset, disturbances had broken out in the Bolognese territory;§ in Florence, as well as in Venice, there had

* REISSERMAYER, II., 73 *seq.*, 113 *seq.* See SCHWEIZER, Vorgesch. des schwäb. Bundes, 55 *seq.* (Zurich, 1876); and GOTHEIN, Volksbewegungen, 3 *seq.* and 42.

† See in Appendix, N. 41, the *Brief of 20th June, 1471. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ "O mortalium ingenia sinistris passionibus tenebrata: vident catholici principes commune omnium regnorum incendium ab infidelibus parari, dum ipsi inter se super regnis concertant. Cernunt omnium fidelium naufragium, ipsi vero non de salute, sed ut ethnicus ille dicebat aut potius irridebat super gubernatione contendunt. Rodericus episc. Calagurritan. ad rev. patr. et dom. d. Rodericum Borja S. R. E. diacon. card. et vicecanc. liber de origine et differentia principatus imperialis et regalis et de antiquitate et iusticia utriusque." Cod. Vat., 4881, f. 1, Vatican Library. This MS. is richly adorned with miniatures, and is no doubt the copy presented to the Cardinal.

§ See Paul II.'s *Brief to Alex. de Perusio episcopatus nostri Bonon. vicarius, dat. Romae, 1471, Jan. 11. State Archives, Bologna, Q. 22.

been "troublesome discussions" about the contributions for the Turkish war, and scarcely anywhere, either in Italy or elsewhere, was any genuine zeal for the defence of Christendom to be found.* Tidings of a very anxious nature had come from the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. It would appear that, for some time past, the Christians in that island had completely lost heart. Paul II. hastened to encourage the Knights to stand firm, promised assistance, and exhorted them to put the fortifications of the island into a state of thorough repair.† A serious attack of the Turks might, under the actual circumstances of the island, have been successful. Happily, no such attempt was made, the attention of Mahomet being at that time much engaged by the Turcoman Prince Usunhassan.

Of all the Italian Princes, no one was on more friendly terms with Paul II. than Duke Borso of Modena; there was much intellectual sympathy between them, both were warm patrons of Art, and had a taste for external splendour, which the Duke, as well as the Pope, believed to have a great effect on the popular mind.‡ Borso's most ardent desire was to add the ducal title of Ferrara to that of Modena; during the pontificate of Pius II. he had vainly

* In the *Brief of the 20th Dec., 1470, to the Duke of Modena, mentioned in *supra*, p. 179, note †, Paul II. dwells on the confidence with which he had hoped for aid from the Italians. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See in Appendix, 30, 31, and 33, the *Briefs of 20th Jan. and 12th March, 1471. With regard to the General Chapter of the Knights of St. John, held in Rome, and the appointment by Paul II. of Giambattista Orsini as Grand-Master (1467), see BOSIO, 234 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*

‡ See MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 328. Regarding Borso's promotion of Art, see Atti d. Romagna, III., 388 *seq.*, 3rd Series; and VENTURI in the Rivist. St. Ital., II., 689-749.

laboured for the realisation of this wish.* Under Paul II. further negotiations were carried on, and, in the spring of 1471, they were brought to a successful conclusion.†

Borso came to Rome to receive his new dignity. On the 13th March he left Ferrara with an almost royal train. The Lords of Carpi, Correggio, Mirandola, and Scandiano formed part of the company, and a host of nobles and knights; there were more than 700 horses and 250 mules, all adorned with costly trappings, and some of them bearing the arms of Este. Paul II. sent his friend, the Archbishop of Spalatro, to welcome the Duke,‡ who, on his arrival in Rome, was received by Cardinals Barbo and Gonzaga, all the great Barons, the Ambassadors, the Senate, and all the other city dignitaries. A contemporary informs us that, in the opinion of the Romans, no such honours had ever been accorded to any King or Emperor as were now paid to Borso.§ Festal music resounded through the richly-decorated streets which he traversed on his way to the Vatican. Shouts of "Paulo, Paulo! Borso, Borso!"

* See a *Letter from Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1463, Feb. 15. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Considering the good relations which existed between Paul II. and Borso, it is somewhat strange to find a *Brief addressed to him on the 31st Dec., 1470, admonishing him to pay his tribute, inasmuch as the Apostolic Treasury has to meet great expenses in the defence of the Catholic Faith. Lib. brev., 12, f. 63b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See in Appendix, N 32, the *Brief of 3rd March, 1471, from the State Archives, Modena.

§ Atti d. deput. p. le prov. Moden., II., 307 (1864). Besides the description here given from the Archives of Modena, see the continuation of the Chron. Estense in MURATORI, XV., 542; INFESSURA, 1142, and especially a very detailed *Report from the Jurist Franciscus Ariostus to Ercole d'Este, dated Rome, 1471, April 3 (not 1, as GREGOROVIUS, VII., 224, 3rd ed., has it). Cod. J., VII., 261, Chigi Library, Rome.

from the crowd mingled with the clang of the trumpets. The Pope received his visitor seated on a throne adorned with gold and ivory, and the Palace of Cardinal Castiglione, which adjoined the Vatican, was assigned to him as his residence.* The rest of his followers were provided for, at the expense of the Apostolic Treasury, in the numerous inns which then existed in Rome.†

On Palm Sunday, after Mass, Paul II. assembled the Cardinals and informed them of his intention regarding Borso. They all approved of the Pope's decision, and the Duke was then called in. Paul II. told him what had passed, and Borso warmly expressed his gratitude.‡

* "*Questo e uno magno regale et eminente pallazo non molto distante dal pontificale quale gia la recolenda memoria de monsignor Constanciense haveassi fabricado cum spesa non vulgare e cum admirabile inzegno." F. Ariostus in the *Report cited in note § on preceding page. I intend elsewhere to publish his description of the street decorations, which is of value as bearing on the history of Renaissance Art and culture.

† *Lib. quintus Bullet. Pauli II., p. 205 *seq.*, gives the payments pro infrascriptis personis hospitibus in alma urbe et pro expens. fact. d. march. Ferrarie—in all flor. aur. de cam. septem millia noningentos triginta octo, b. XLIIII., d. XII. This sum represents only a part of the outlay, which, according to CANENSIUS, 96, amounted to 14,000 golden florins; in the same *Lib. quintus other payments are entered, *e.g.*, "pro luminaribus in dicto castro [S. Angeli] pro adventu ill. ducis Mutine." 1st April, 1471. These records have a special interest from the fact that they give the names of the Roman inns of the period. We have *Hospes ad solem, ad spatam, ad turrim, ad navim, ad stellam, ad navim in campo florae, ad camellum, ad coronam, ad lunam, ad scutum, ad angelum, ad S. Catherinam, ad galeam* and *Hospitissa ad dalphinum* and *ad S. Triffonem.* (State Archives. Rome.) Some of these names are still kept up. See the unhappily incomplete Notizie storiche intorno alla origine dei nomi di alcune osterie, etc., di Roma, by A. Rufini, Roma, 1855.

‡ *Letter of Cardinal Fr. Gonzaga of 1st April, 1471. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Easter Sunday (14th April) was the day fixed for Borso's solemn investiture with the title of Duke of Ferrara.* All the Cardinals, Bishops, and Prelates then in Rome, together with all the members of the Court, were assembled in the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, where Borso was in the first place made a Knight of St. Peter. The Pope himself handed him a naked sword, saying: "Take this in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and use it for your own defence and that of God's Holy Church, and for the destruction of the enemies of the holy Cross and of the Faith." The High Mass then began, the music being rendered by the Papal Choir.† When the Epistle had been sung, Borso took the oath of allegiance to the Pope. After the Communion, he and his followers received the Sacred Host from the hands of Paul II., who then bestowed on Borso the

* For the following account, see, besides Borso's short letter of the 16th April, 1471, which was known to PIGNA, Hist. d. princ. d'Este, 617 (Ferrara, 1570), and is published in the Atti d. st. patr. d. prov. Mod., II., 307–308; (*a*) Lettera inedita di Borso d'Este scritta in Roma il di 15 Aprile 1471, al suo segretario Giovanni di Compagno, printed in honour of a wedding, Ferrara, 1869; (*b*) a *Description (Latin and Italian) of all the festivities by the Ferrarese, Franciscus Ariostus, dated ex urbe Roma Cal. Maii, 1471, and dedicated to Duke Ercole (regarding F. Ariostus, see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 1058), in Cod. J., VII., 261 (not T. VII., as CORVISIERI, in his otherwise correct description of the MS. in Arch. Rom., I., 467, has it), Chigi Library, Rome. My copy of this MS. occupies 160 quarto pages, which may give an idea of the detailed character of the Report. It is of special interest in connection with the history of civilisation, and I shall again revert to it.

† "*Non altramente haresti sentido, magnanime signore divo Hercule, ussire di quel choro de piu excellentissimi cantori un concerto de tante melodie nello intonar quello sancto introito ricevendo cum maravigliosi signi de letitia la S. Sanctita." F. Ariostus, *loc. cit.*

Ducal robes and the other insignia of his new dignity. The veneration of the Veil of St. Veronica, the Papal Benediction, and the proclamation of a Plenary Indulgence closed this imposing function, which was witnessed by an immense multitude gathered from far and near.* When Borso sought to accompany the Pope back to his apartments, his Holiness desired the Cardinals to pay that token of respect to the Duke, who was enchanted with the distinctions heaped upon him. He wrote to his Secretary: "We have been treated as if we were a King or an Emperor."

On the following day Borso accompanied the Pope to St. Peter's, and there received the Golden Rose. From there he rode, carrying the Rose, to the Palace of S. Marco, where a great banquet was prepared. During the ensuing days the same pomp and ceremony were displayed in various other entertainments provided for the new Duke, especially at a grand hunting-party, in which many of the Cardinals took part.†

After all these festivities were over, the Duke still lingered in Rome. The extraordinary honours of which he was the object, and his frequent interviews with the Pope, had, from the time of his arrival, attracted general attention. Even the Cardinals were kept in the dark as to the subjects of these conversations. With a view of obtaining some information, Cardinal Gonzaga told Borso of the pleasure which it had given him to hear it said at the Court that the Pope meant to accompany the Duke back to Ferrara; and further expressed his opinion, that, considering the dispositions of Germany and the perpetual demands of

* The Diario Ferrar., 228, and F. Ariostus give 200,000 as the number of those present, but this is certainly an exaggerated estimate.

† CANENSIUS, 96.

France for a Council, such an Assembly might with advantage be held in that City. Borso replied that the Cardinal's view was most reasonable, adding: "Would to God that every one thought the same." "These words," wrote the Cardinal to his father, "make me think that something of the sort may be in the wind." In a second conversation the Duke expressed his confident hope of bringing the Pope to Ferrara. Cardinal Battista Zeno, the Pope's nephew, at this time said that it would be wise to hold a Congress at some suitable place in Italy, for that by doing so in time, and of his own accord, the Pope would avoid the danger of having it forced upon him, when also some undesirable place would probably be selected.*

The learned Bishop of Calahorra, Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo, had some years previously, in a treatise dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion, declared against the holding of a Council, the demand for which had always been the war-cry of the opposition. Nothing of the sort was required to deal with either the Turkish question or that of Reform. Hard fighting, not a Congress, was the means by which the Infidels must be repelled. From the outset of his pontificate, Paul II. had done everything in his power to protect Christendom against them. The example of the Synod of Basle was not one to encourage another attempt of the kind. And as to the Congress of Mantua, it had

* These particulars, previously unknown, are taken from a *Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga, written on the 10th April, 1471, which I found in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and have printed in Appendix, N. 35. The first half of the *Considerationes de concilium generale congregandi utilitate et necessitate, belonging to the year 1471, in Cod. 4 of the Kremsmünster Library, deals with the demand for a Council. See thereon H. SCHMID, Cat. Cod. manuscript, Bibl. Cremf., I., 66. From ROMANIN, IV., 353, where, unfortunately, the exact quotation is wanting, it appears that Venice also at this time asked for a Congress or Council.

been utterly fruitless, and even prejudicial, for it had made the disunion of Christendom patent to the Turks.*

Another project to which Paul II. had turned his mind seemed far more likely to prove beneficial than the meeting of a Congress. This was an alliance with the enemies of the Sultan in the East, and especially with the Turcoman Prince, Usunhassan, who was now at the summit of his power.† Following the example of the Venetians and of his predecessors, Calixtus III. and Pius II., Paul II. leagued himself with this Prince, the only one among the Oriental rulers who could venture to measure swords with Mahomet. Usunhassan indeed made such solemn promises of co-operation against the common foe,‡ that powerful aid from the East seemed a certainty. At this crisis Paul II. suddenly died.

The Pope, whose constitution was naturally strong, had appeared to be in excellent health. At the beginning of his reign he had suffered from the dangerous Roman fever ;§ in 1466, and again in 1468, he had been ill, but had quite recovered ;|| at this moment there seemed no cause for apprehension.

* *Roderici Calaguritani, De remediis afflictae ecclesiae, Cod. Z.-L.-XC., f. 11 and 27b, St. Mark's Library, Venice. Regarding other manuscript copies of this work, see our Vol. II., p. 55, note *. In the year 1466 Rodericus Sancius dedicated to Pope Paul II. his *Defensorium ecclesie et status ecclesiastici contra querulos, detractores et emulos sublimitatis, auctoritatis et honoris Romani pontificis nec non praelatorum et ceterorum ministrorum ecclesie. Cod. Vat., 4106. Vatican Library.

† MÜLLER, Islam, 325 *seq.*, 340 ; HEYD, II., 326.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1471, N. 48.

§ *Despatch of Laurentius de Pensauro to Fr. Sforza of 27th Oct., 1464. (State Archives, Milan.) See also *Card. Gonzaga's Letter of 8th Oct., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

|| See CANENSIUS, 101, and the *Letter of Barth. de Maraschis of 1st Sept., 1466, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, see Appendix, N. 17.

On the morning of the 26th July the Pope was perfectly well, and had held a Consistory lasting for six hours; he then dined bare-headed in the garden* and freely indulged his taste for melons and other indigestible food. At the first hour of the night he felt ill, and his chamberlain advised him to postpone the audiences usually granted at that time, and to rest for a while. Paul II. was suffering from a sense of oppression and lay down on a bed, while the chamberlain left the room to dismiss those who were waiting without. After an hour had passed, he heard a knocking on the door of the bed-chamber, hurried in, and found the Pope half-insensible and foaming at the mouth. With difficulty he lifted the sick man on to a bench and rushed out to summon assistance. By the time he returned the Pope had expired, having died of a stroke. Cardinal Barbo was at once called, and the corpse, accompanied by a few torches, was borne to St. Peter's.† Here the obsequies

In reference to the illness of 1468, Giacomo Trotti, in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1468, May 21, says: *"N. S. hora non da audientia ni a cardinali ni a persona del mondo. Il se ha sentito malo e se medecina." According to a *Despatch of 15th June, the indisposition of the Pope continued up to that time: no audiences were granted. The Plague was then raging in Rome; see in Appendix, N. 24, the *Letter of G. Trotti of 8th July, 1468. All these letters are in the State Archives, Modena.

* CANENSIUS, 103.

† See in the Appendix, N. 42, Nicodemus of Pontremoli's Report, which I found in the State Archives at Milan. One of the last cares of Paul II. regarded the health of the Duke of Ferrara; see in Appendix, N. 38 and 40, the *Briefs of the 10th and 20th July, 1471. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On the 27th July the Archbishop of Milan, writing to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, to inform him of the Pope's death, said, "che è stato uno stupore maraviglioso ateso che era sanissimo piu fosse stato gran tempo fa." The Cardinals at once assembled, made some preliminary arrangements, and summoned their absent colleagues. Nardini reluctantly undertook the "governo di Roma."

for the departed took place ;* the mortal remains of Paul II. were deposited in an imposing monument erected by Cardinal Barbo in the Chapel of St. Andrew. It was the work of Mino da Fiesole, "an artist who exercised a very important influence on sepulchral decoration, and with whom began a new and brilliant epoch in monumental art." Fragments of the tomb are still to be seen scattered about in the Grotto of St. Peter's.†

"Pope Paul," says the chronicler of Viterbo, "was a just, holy, and peaceable man ; he established good government in all parts of his dominions."‡ His labours, as a practical ruler, to strengthen and consolidate the authority of the Holy See throughout the States of the Church, may indeed be considered one of the chief characteristics of his reign. A modern historian sums up his judgment of the Pope in the following words: "Paul II. was certainly a born ruler, and one animated by the most noble intentions. It may be regretted that the mitre was compelled to give way too much to the tiara, and that his pontificate displayed an excess of worldly splendour, but it cannot be said that ecclesiastical interests suffered in any direct way from this. In many

(State Archives, Milan.) On the 27th July the Cardinals announced the death of the head of the Church. Letters to this effect are to be seen in the Archives of Florence (X.–II.–25, f. 35a, b), and in those of Milan ; the latter is marked, *cito, cito.*

* According to information kindly furnished by Dr. Gottlob, 13,610 pounds of wax, costing about 1852 florins, were consumed on this occasion ; 6062 flor. 10 bolog. were also paid "pro broccato auri ac pro pannis lane ac aliis rebus eiusmodi . . . ratione exequiarum fe. re. dom. Pauli pape II." State Archives, Rome.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 399 *seq.* See GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 98. BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 372 *seq.*, 4th ed., speaks in less favourable terms of this monument. See also MÜNTZ, II., 48–9.

‡ N. DELLA TUCCIA, 98.

matters he was a zealous reformer. Witnesses who are above suspicion attest his determination in opposing all simoniacal practices. If, weighed down beneath the burden of affairs, he was not always successful in accomplishing the good he desired, we must not be harsh in our judgment of one whose uprightness is admitted even by his enemies. The nepotism from which he was not free, never took the offensive and mischievous form which we have to lament in his immediate successor. Even his enemies do not venture to say that it was ever hurtful to the Church." * In opposition to Platina's calumnies, it must be remembered that Paul II. opposed only that heathen abuse of learning which seemed dangerous to religion; apart from that he encouraged it. It was not the learning of the Humanists that he hated, but that tendency which Dante characterised as the stench of heathenism.† All Platina's other charges against the Pope are merely insinuations, not facts. "How virtuous," concludes a non-Catholic scholar, "must he have been when so diligent and malicious an enemy as this Humanist could bring forward so little against him." ‡

The statement that Paul II. did not realise the Turkish danger is also unjust. It is true that this war was not the one all-engrossing object of his life, as it had been with Pius II., but the silence of those who hated him most is in itself a proof that no cause of complaint can be found against him on this head. Recent investigations, moreover, have brought to light many facts which are much to his credit.§ It is impossible that a conclusive judgment can be formed until our information is completed

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 238; Reumont, III., 1, 160.

† Parad., XX., 125.

‡ Creighton, III., 275.

§ See Gottlob in the Hist. Jahrb., IV., 443, and Cam. Apost.

by further examination of the Archives. We have, as yet, before us but scanty particulars as to the negotiations which took place in 1471 for the purpose of organising defensive measures against the Osmanli. A newly-discovered letter of Cardinal Gonzaga, written on the 17th of January in that year, shews that Paul II. was prepared to devote 50,000 ducats, the quarter of his annual income, to the expenses of the Turkish war.* This sum does not include the revenue derived from the Alum monopoly, which, from the beginning of his reign, he had assigned to the objects of the Crusade. Subsidies and pensions were provided out of these funds for all the unfortunate exiles who had been driven by Turkish conquests to take refuge in the States of the Church. The account-books of his pontificate are full of entries of this description, sometimes reaching the annual amount of 20,000 to 30,000 ducats. The name of Thomas, the dethroned Despot of the Morea, appears as the recipient of a monthly pension of 300 florins. After the death of Thomas, the Pope continued this allowance to his children, who were brought up under the care of Cardinal Bessarion.† Catherine, Queen-Mother of Bosnia, who migrated to Rome in 1466, from that time received 100 florins a month, and in the following year a further annual allowance of 240 florins was made to her for the rent of her house.‡ To the Despot Leonard of Arta, were

* The Venetians were dissatisfied with these offers of the Pope. See Appendix, N. 29.

† FALLMERAYER, Morea, II., 404. See our Vol. III., p. 251, and also, for an account of the death of Thomas, **J. de Aretio's Despatch of the 21st May, 1465. (Gonzaga Archives.) In the *Div. Pauli II., 1464–1466, f. 100 (also f. 112, 126, 135, &c.), payments are entered "pro filiis bon. mem. olim dom. Thome Paleologi Amoree despoti" from Sept. 5, 1465. State Archives, Rome.

‡ She lodged with the "prudens vir Jacobus Mentebone." For

granted, "as assistance in the war against the Turks," 1000 golden florins on the 12th March, 1465, 1200 on the 18th July, 1466, and another 1000 on the 2nd April, 1467. Monthly pensions were likewise bestowed on Queen Charlotte of Cyprus, Prince John Zacharias of Samos, Nicolaus Jacobus, a citizen of Constantinople, Thomas Zalonich, and many others. From the year 1467 the Archbishop of Mitylene and the Despot of Servia also received regular allowances, which were supplemented by occasional presents.*

These facts prove the princely liberality of Paul II. It is also worth noting that now, as on many subsequent occasions, possession of the States of the Church enabled the Holy See to offer an asylum to the persecuted and exiled, and to succour the oppressed and unfortunate. "The dominions of the Church have a characteristic which distinguishes them from all other kingdoms; in contradistinction to the exclusiveness of other States, they partake of the Catholicity of the Church. They form a separate realm; but as their Monarch is the Supreme Head of Christendom, this realm is the common patrimony of all Christians. No nationality is excluded from its offices and dignities, and its educational institutions and Convents are open to all races." †

these particulars I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Gottlob, who intends to publish a complete list of those assisted by the funds of the Cruciata, founded on accurate study of the *Account-books preserved in the Roman State Archives. Hist. Jahrb., VI., 443. See *supra*, p. 28.

* As on 17th Dec., 1467, 200 gulden. State Archives, Rome.

† PHILLIPS, V., 708. In regard to the international character of the Roman Court in the 15th Century, see our Vol. I., p. 242 *seq*. Amongst Pius II.'s officials we find numerous Germans, several Englishmen, a Burgundian, Bohemians, and Spaniards. At the Court of Paul II. there were three Henrys, all of them Germans; see MARINI, 152, 202.

BOOK II.

SIXTUS IV. 1471–1484

CHAPTER I.

THE PAPAL ELECTION OF 1471.—ECCLESIASTICAL CAREER OF SIXTUS IV. AND FIRST ACTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT.—HIS ZEAL FOR THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—SUCCESSES OF THE PAPAL FLEET.

THE death of Paul II. had occurred at a most critical moment. Steadily, like an advancing flood, the Turks streamed on to overwhelm the distracted West. It was not Italy alone which now found all barriers swept away between her coasts and the enemy. The defenceless frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire were overrun by these barbarian hordes, carrying rapine, murder, and devastation in their train as they pressed through Croatia into Styria. The terrible tidings of the destruction which threatened Italy and Germany alike, were well calculated to startle the most slothful from their slumber. Nevertheless, at the Diet which met at Ratisbon, under the "influence of the Turkish panic," next to nothing was accomplished; the Papal Legate, Piccolomini, preached to deaf ears.* Italy, like Germany, was rent by internal dissensions: no one seemed to realise the serious character of the times. "As wave follows wave upon a storm-swept sea, so one political combination was perpetually giving way to another

* See *supra*, p. 181. Regarding the inroads of the Turks, see ZINKEISEN, II., 362 *seq.*; HASELBACH, 42; ILWOLF in the Mittheil. des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark, X., 222 *seq.*; and HUBER, III., 224.

in a restless, aimless succession. This everlasting change of relations, this possibility of being at once mutually friendly and hostile; the impossibility of having any clear certainty of the position, at any given moment, of any State towards its neighbour, became more and more the characteristic of Italian political life."*

During the vacancy of the Holy See in 1471, the Province of Romagna, always more or less unquiet, gave special cause for anxiety.† Considerable excitement also prevailed in Rome. Immediately after the death of Paul II., the Secular Canons of the Lateran had, with the assistance of their Roman friends, driven out the Regular Canons introduced by the deceased Pontiff. On the 28th July a deputation from the people of Rome appeared in front of the Minerva, where the Cardinals had assembled, demanding, amongst other things, that, for the future, benefices in Rome should be conferred on none but Romans, and that the income destined for the Roman University should no longer be diverted to other objects. The Cardinals answered in a conciliatory manner, whereupon an order was issued that all should lay down their weapons, and that the outlaws should leave Rome. This did much to soothe the popular feeling. Other concessions were also made to the Romans. On the morning of the 29th, forty prisoners, confined in the Capitol for minor offences, were set at liberty. The Cardinals released two citizens of Ascoli and a Baron suspected of heresy, who were imprisoned in the dungeons of St. Angelo, on condition that they should not depart from Rome before the Coronation of the new Pontiff.‡

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 155.

† *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 6. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See N. DELLA TUCCIA, 100.

‡ **Letter of Joh. Blanchus de Cremona to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, 1471, July 29. (State Archives, Milan.) The imprisoned Baron

The City continued tolerably quiet during the ensuing days.*

Sixteen Cardinals were in Rome when Paul II. died. Of those who were absent, none but Roverella and Gonzaga were able to reach the City in time for the Election. Roverella, Legate of Perugia, arrived on the 1st, and Gonzaga on the 4th August.† Many persons expected that the latter would be Pope, others thought the election of Cardinal Forteguerri more probable.‡ A Milanese Ambassador insists on the importance of the Turkish question in regard to the Election; he mentions the persons apparently best fitted to bring about its solution, in connection with the two parties, the Piischi and Pauleschi, already existing in the Sacred College. Of the former, he names in the first place, Forteguerri, then Eroli, Ammanati, and Roverella. Among the Pauleschi he looks upon Amicus Agnifilus and Francesco della Rovere as the most likely candidates.§

The preponderance of the Italian element on this occasion was very remarkable. Of the eighteen electors, all but three (Bessarion, d'Estouteville, and Borgia) were Italians. The thirteen years which had elapsed since the Conclave of

was probably the nobleman from Poli mentioned *supra*, p. 113. For a further account of the Canons of the Lateran, see CANENSIUS, 45; ROHAULT, 253; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 882.

* *Letter of the same Ambassador, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 1. (State Archives, Milan.) See *ibid.*, a *Letter from Nicodemus of the 2nd Aug., 1471.

† *Acta Consist., f. 42b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 243, 2nd ed. In regard to Forteguerri, J. Blanchus, in a *Despatch of the 1st Aug., 1471, wrote: "*La opinione grandissima del s. pontificato persevera molto sopra Thiano." State Archives, Milan.

§ Second *Letter of J. Blanchus to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, 1471, July 29. (State Archives, Milan.) See *supra*, p. 124, note *.

Pius II. had brought great changes, and the ascendancy of the foreign Cardinals was at an end.*

Foremost among the aspirants to the Tiara were Cardinals d'Estouteville and Orsini. The former eagerly endeavoured to secure the support of the powerful Duke of Milan. A confidential person was employed to inform him that his brother, Ascanio Sforza, would receive the red hat, and that he himself might be the wearer of a royal crown in the event of d'Estouteville's success.† The wealthy Cardinal Orsini, a man of great capacity for business, was equally energetic in his efforts to obtain the supreme dignity. His brothers and relations had assembled in the neighbourhood of Rome, and it was reported that the former had determined to procure his elevation to the Papal Throne, whether by fair means or foul, and that the King of Naples favoured their design. The Ambassador of Mantua confirms this statement, and adds that Orsini, if his own cause seemed hopeless, would espouse that of Forteguerri and Eroli.‡ Even before the beginning of the Conclave, serious differences occurred between Cardinals Orsini and Bessarion;

* The Conclave of 1458 was composed of eight Italian and ten foreign Cardinals; see our Vol. III., p. 6. The distribution of creations during the last four pontificates was as follows: four Italians, six Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and one German were raised to the purple by Nicholas V.; four Italians, three Spaniards, one Portuguese, and one Frenchman by Calixtus III. (see our Vol. II., p. 457 *seq.*, and PANVINIUS, 302 *seq.*); eight Italians, two Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and one German by Pius II.; and seven Italians, one Englishman, one Hungarian, and one Frenchman by Paul II. See our Vol. III., p. 293, and *supra*, p. 119.

† **Letter of Paulus Gazurrus de Novaria capnus d. revmi Rhotomag. to Duke Galeazzo Maria, dated Rome, 1471, July 29. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Besides the **Letter of P. Gazurrus, cited above, see that of J. P. Arrivabene of the 6th Aug., 1471. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the latter declared that he would not, under any circumstances, suffer the Election to be carried out in the same way as the last had been. Controversies also arose regarding the admission of Cardinals Savelli and Foscari, who had not yet been published. Orsini desired their exclusion, and his opinion prevailed.*

On the morning of the 6th August, after the solemn obsequies of Paul II. had been concluded, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung, and the College of Cardinals went in procession into the Conclave in the Vatican. There were seventeen present, and on the following day Cardinal Ammanati, who had been delayed by indisposition, was added to the number.†

On the morning of the 9th August, Francesco della Rovere, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, was elected Pope.‡ As the Conclave had commenced on the feast of Pope Sixtus II., the new Pontiff assumed the name of Sixtus IV.

A number of fresh documents regarding the proceedings of the Conclave are now before us; they do much to complete the scanty details hitherto known, but leave some important matters still obscure. By far the most valuable of these are in the State Archives at Milan. They consist of two lists of the Electors, with an exact account, on the one hand, of which candidate each Cardinal voted

* See *Despatch of Pietro de Modegnano, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 1. (State Archives, Milan.) See PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, 293.

† *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican. REUMONT, III., 1, 163; CHRISTOPHE, 209; and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 238, are mistaken in asserting that there were nineteen Cardinals. VAST, Bessarion, 398, makes the Conclave begin on the 20th July!

‡ See the *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 9. (Gonzaga Archives.) Also Appendix, N. 44.

for, and on the other of the number of votes received by each, with the names of the voters.*

The faithful and capable Nicodemus de Pontremoli managed to procure these lists for the Duke, his master, who had expressed a great desire for trustworthy Reports of the Conclave. The Ambassador himself was far from over-estimating their value, and, in order at the present day to appreciate them fairly, it is necessary to bear his observations in mind. After dwelling on the difficulty of obtaining these lists, he draws attention to the fact that most of the Cardinals in the Conclave voted for those whose votes they hoped by this means to win, and not for those whose Election they really desired ; some few, he adds, reserved their votes to conceal secret engagements.† According to these lists, which, unfortunately, do not enable us clearly to distinguish the several scrutinies, Roverella and Calandrini were at first seriously thought of in the Conclave, each of them receiving seven votes ; Bessarion ‡ and Forteguerri followed next, each with six ; d'Estouteville had only four in all, and Orsini but two. The same authority informs us that Cardinals Giovanni Michele, Teodoro of Montferrat, Battista Zeno, Roverella, Forteguerri, Agnifilus, Bessarion, Calandrini, and Orsini gave their votes for Francesco della Rovere ; Borgia, d'Estouteville, and Barbo afterwards adding theirs.

* See Appendix, N. 43. These two lists agree, with only two exceptions ; they are on separate sheets, and have hitherto escaped notice.

† **Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 20. (State Archives, Milan.) When transmitting the lists on the 28th August to the Duke, the Ambassador again refers to these explanations ; see Appendix, N. 46.

‡ The Venetians had begged their friends in the Sacred College to give him their support ; see G. Colli's Despatch of the 2nd Aug., 1471, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 254.

The omission of the name of Cardinal Gonzaga from among the supporters of Rovere in the report of Nicodemus is very strange, for all the other accounts are unanimous in asserting that his Election was chiefly due to Orsini, Borgia, and Gonzaga, and that they were liberally rewarded for their share in securing it.* Ample testimony exists in proof of the part taken by Cardinal Gonzaga. A Despatch from the Ambassador of Mantua to his mother details the reasons which had induced him to espouse the cause of Rovere. In the first place, there was the hope of winning the favour of the future Pope; secondly, Rovere was a person acceptable to the Duke of Milan; and thirdly, d'Estouteville had no prospect of success. Accordingly, says the Ambassador, our most gracious Lord Cardinal has taken the greatest trouble on behalf of Cardinal della Rovere, so that it may be said that he, more than any one, has made him Pope. His Holiness has shewn his gratitude by confirming him in his appointment as Legate, and authorising him, if he chooses, to perform his duties by proxy. Moreover, the Abbey of S. Gregorio in Rome has been conferred on the Cardinal, and I believe that he will also have the Bishopric of Albano. The Ambassador then expressly says that the tenth vote for Rovere was given by Cardinal Gonzaga, the eleventh by Barbo, and the twelfth by d'Estouteville.† The Duke of Milan's share in securing the election of Sixtus IV. is confirmed by so many other authorities that we may look upon it as clearly established.‡

* Regarding Borgia's share in the matter, see AMMANATI, Epist. (Frankfort edition), N. 534.

† **Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 11. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ In a second *Letter of the 28th Aug., 1471, Nicodemus informs his master that the Pope was grateful to the Duke: "vide

No mention, however, is made in the Ambassadorial Despatches of the part which, according to two chroniclers, the Franciscan Pietro Riario had in the election. Cardinal della Rovere brought him into the Conclave, where he was very useful to his patron in winning for him many undecided votes.* The Election Capitulation, to observe which Sixtus IV. was obliged solemnly to bind himself, is also only alluded to in these Despatches.†

The election of Cardinal Francesco della Rovere caused great joy throughout Rome, especially, Nicodemus informs us, because the well-known piety and holiness of his life led all to hope that he would be an excellent Pastor for the Church and for the Christian Faith everywhere.‡ Francesco, like Nicholas V., owed his elevation to the purple to his reputation as a learned theologian and a man of blameless life. He belonged to an ancient, but impoverished, Ligurian family, and was related to the

et intese quel fo operato pro lui in nome vestro." State Archives, Milan.

* COBELLI, 258, and INFESSURA, 1143.

† On the 13th Aug., 1471, J. A. Ferrofinus relates that on the aforesaid day the Pope had shewn to the Cardinals at St. Angelo Paul II.'s jewels: "de le quali secondo m' ha detto Rhoano hanno *capitulato* in conclavi che non possa disponere ma le conservi a li bisogni de la fede." (State Archives, Milan.) No doubt, then, an Election Capitulation was drawn up in 1471. See also *infra*, p. 211, and the *Despatch of B. Bonattus of 13th Dec., 1471, given in Chapter II., p. 235, and the statement in MAI, Spic., I., 198, that Roverella would not promise anything in the Conclave which might refer to the Election Capitulation.

‡ *Despatch of the 9th Aug., 1471. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 44. The election caused great satisfaction also in the States of the Church; see Cr. di Bologna, 788, and *Ghirardacci; also *infra*, p. 206, note †. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 100, speaks of Sixtus IV. as "omo umile e di buona complessione." See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 5.

Piedmontese Rovere, Lords of Vinovo.* His father, Lionardo, lived in modest circumstances in the little village of Abezzola, not far from Savona. To escape from an infectious disease which broke out there, he and his wife, Luchina Monleone, migrated to Celle on the sea-coast, and here Francesco was born.†

In consequence of his repeated sicknesses, Francesco's pious mother consecrated him by vow to St. Francis; and, in spite of the opposition of some worldly-minded relations, entrusted him, when nine years of age, to the care of the Minorite, Giovanni Pinarolo. Under the guidance of this excellent religious, the gifted boy learned to know and esteem the monastic life to which he was destined to devote himself. Later, he went to the High School of Chieri, and finally to the Universities of Pavia and Bologna, where he studied philosophy and theology. "His talent for dialectics was displayed for the first time in the General Chapter of his Order held at Genoa when he was only twenty. On that occasion he acquitted himself so well in the Latin disputation, that the General, Guglielmo Casale, embraced him."‡ After he had completed his philosophical and theological studies at Padua, he undertook the duties of Professor, and taught with

* Francesco's letter of 1468 in VILLENEUVE, 31, contradicts the assertion in REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 243, 2nd ed., that nothing was heard of this relationship until he became Pope.

† PLATINA, Vita, Sixti IV., 1053 *seq.*, is the principal authority for all the following particulars. His detailed narrative gives us what those most nearly concerned then believed to be true; see SCHMARSOW, 3, N. 1. We have also a poem, composed in 1477, and entitled *Lucubraciunculae Tiburtinae cuiusdam protonotarii, which I generally cite from the MS. in the Court Library, Vienna (Cod. 2403), where I found it, and an *Oratio ad Sixtum IV., by Naldo Naldi in Cod. 45, C. 18, f. 113b–117, in the Corsini Library, Rome.

‡ FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 132; MAGENTA, I., 355.

great success at Padua,* Bologna,† Pavia, Siena, Florence, and Perugia.‡ The attendance at his lectures was so great that Johannes Argyropulos and Bonfrancesco Arlati subsequently declared that every learned man in Italy had been a disciple of Rovere's. Cardinal Bessarion is expressly mentioned as having been among his hearers, and ever after having held him in the greatest esteem. So much was this the case, that from that time he would not publish any of his works until the great Franciscan philosopher and theologian had revised and corrected them.§

Francesco was also a distinguished preacher, and was, on many important occasions, a support to the General of his Order. He was afterwards called to fill the post of Procurator in Rome. When the General, Jacopo de Sarzuela, felt the burden of office too heavy for his advanced age, he chose Francesco "as his Vicar for the whole of Italy, and made him Provincial of the Ligurian Province of

* In Naldo Naldi's Oration, cited in preceding page, note †, he speaks in the following terms of Francesco's labours in the City of Padua: *"In ea enim cum homines min. ordinis domi theologiam edoceres, tantus populariter ad te concursus audientium factus est, quod publicis etiam illius civitatis institutis munus tibi philosophie precepta tradendi demandatum esset, ut multi praestantes viri, quidam etiam ex ipsa usque Grecia interessent." According to Naldo, Francesco also professed philosophy in Rome. Cod. 45, C. 18, f. 114, Corsini Library, Rome.

† See *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna. The affection of the Bolognese, many of whom were personally acquainted with the new Pope, was, Ghirardacci informs us, manifested in the splendid Embassy sent in 1471 to congratulate him.

‡ See GRAZIANI, 644, and BINI, Mem. Ist. della Perug. Univ., I., 1, 515 *seq.* (Perugia, 1816).

§ See the testimony of L. Carbo from Cod. Vat., 1195, in SCHMARSOW, 335–6, and CREIGHTON, III., 57.

the Order, where he was very successful in carrying out measures of monastic reform." *

He won yet greater renown by the part which he took in the disputation regarding the Precious Blood, held in December, 1462, in the Vatican before Pius II.† The learning and controversial ability which he then manifested doubtless had a share in bringing about his Election to the Generalate, at the great Chapter of the Franciscans held at Perugia in May, 1464.‡ He at once determined vigorously to undertake the reform of his Order. A violent fever laid him low for a time, but did not hinder the accomplishment of his purpose. The skill and care of Ambrosius Grifus § brought him safely through, and he hardly gave himself time to recover before beginning the work of visitation and reformation in the Franciscan Convents and the educational establishments connected with them.

Francesco so ably defended the privileges of the Institute over which he presided that Pope Paul II. abstained from the measures he had intended to take against the whole Order. A General Chapter was consequently held at Florence in 1467.|| In the summer, the General went to his home to recruit his health, which had been impaired by his sojourn in Rome; he then visited Pavia, and meant to proceed thence to Venice, and there to give theological lectures during the winter. He was ready to start on

* FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 133.

† See our Vol. III., p. 286.

‡ WADDING, XIII., 344–5.

§ See the **Letter of "Franciscus de Saona" to the Duke of Milan, dated Bologna, 1465, Jan. 2, and also a *Brief of Sixtus IV. of the 15th Nov., 1471, to the same. Both documents are in the State Archives, Milan.

|| WADDING, XIII., 397. I saw in the State Archives at Milan an Autograph *Letter of Franciscus de Saona to Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, dated Florence, 1467, Febr. 27.

the journey, when, at the end of September, a letter from Cardinal Gonzaga, accompanied by another from Bessarion, informed him that he had been created Cardinal on the 18th September, 1467, by Paul II.*

On the 15th November, 1467, the new member of the Sacred College reached Rome, where he received the red hat, and had S. Pietro in Vincoli † assigned to him as his titular Church. The condition of the Cardinal's Palace adjoining this venerable Basilica was so dilapidated that Francesco was at once obliged to restore it, a work which his poverty would have rendered impossible, had it not been for the assistance of his colleagues. In the purple, the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, as he was styled, continued to be a simple Franciscan; "in his house, which overlooked a great part of the ancient and of the modern City, questions of scholarship and ecclesiastical affairs were discussed, but no politics." ‡ Whatever leisure his new dignity allowed him was devoted to learned pursuits, and, during the four years of his Cardinalate, he published a number of works which brought him more and more into notice.

In the first place the Cardinal again took up the disputed question regarding the Precious Blood; his work on the subject, dedicated to Paul II., was printed in Rome in 1470, together with a treatise "On the power of God." A

* See *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, and *supra*, p. 122 On the 24th Sept., 1467, Francesco still wrote as General to the Duke of Milan, and, on the 9th and 12th October, as Cardinal. I found these three Autograph *Letters, which are dated from Pavia, in the State Archives at Milan. According to AMMANATI, Ep., 529, and Vespas. da Bisticci (MAI, I., 194), Bessarion induced the Pope to raise Francesco to the purple; regarding the affection entertained by Paul II. for him, see COBELLI, 258.

† *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican: the 20th November is here named as the day of the *aperitio oris*.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 243, 2nd ed.; VILLENEUVE, 8 and 31.

philosophical and theological dispute in the University of Louvain was the occasion of a writing entitled "De futuris contingentibus." A work on the Immaculate Conception bears witness to that devotion to the Blessed Virgin which continued unabated after his elevation to the Papal throne. With a view of composing the frequent disputes between the Dominicans and the brethren of his own Order, in which the one party appealed to Duns Scotus and the other to St. Thomas Aquinas, he endeavoured to shew that the two authorities, although differing in words, were really of one mind. In the midst of these labours the voice of his colleagues summoned him, at the age of fifty-seven, to fill the Chair of St. Peter.*

A portrait from the hand of his Court-painter, Melozzo da Forli, which is still preserved, represents the new Pope as a man of middle stature and strong, compact frame. The features are regular, the nose and forehead forming an

* SCHMARSOW, 6, where Duns Scotus is strangely confounded with Scotus Erigena. Regarding the learned writings of Sixtus IV., see CORTESIUS, XXXIX., Bibl. pontif., 203 *seq.*; FABRICIUS, VI., 491 *seq.*; CAVE, II., App., 187; QUIRINI, 283 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 354. In the eulogistic poem, *Lucubraciunculae Tiburtinae cuiusdam protonotarii, written in 1477, which has been mentioned at p. 205, occur the following lines :—

"Tris autem scripsit libros (ut opuscula nondum
Edita praeteream), quibus in tribus eminet eius
Ingenium excellens ingensque scientia rerum.
Ex iis unius titulis (si rite recordor)
Est de posse Dei, de contingentibus alter,
Tertius inscriptus liber est de sanguine Christi."

Cod. 2403, f. 5–5b, Court Library, Vienna. It is hard to understand how GEIGER, Renaissance, 152, can assert that Sixtus IV. was no scholar or respecter of mediæval theology, and that he had no right to the place which Benozzo Gozzoli assigns to him in his picture as an admirer and expounder of St. Thomas Aquinas.

oblique line, with a gentle curve between them. The powerful head impresses us with an idea of uncommon energy and force, which difficulties could not daunt; while the lines on the brow bear witness to a life of hard and unremitting toil.

Sixtus IV. commenced his reign by conferring favours on the Cardinals, and in this proceeding formed such a contrast to his predecessor, that, as an Ambassador wrote, every one felt as if they were in a new world.* In the first place, those who had brought about his Election were rewarded. Cardinal Borgia received the Abbey of Subiaco *in commendam*, and Gonzaga that of S. Gregorio, while Orsini was made Camerlengo, and as such took the oath as early as the 12th August. The position of Legate to the Marches was promised to Cardinal Forteguerri, but report said that he declined it, preferring to remain at the Court; it was accordingly conferred on Roverella, and Ammanati was sent to Perugia.†

On the 13th August the Pope gave a banquet to the Cardinals at St. Angelo. After its conclusion, the money and valuables collected by Paul II. were inspected. Great

* "*Ad ugniuno pare vedere principio d'un novo mundo." Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 13. Gonzaga Archives.

† *Report of Nicodemus of Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 12. (State Archives, Milan.) Borgia completed a wing of the Castle at Subiaco, and added the tower, still standing, where his coat of arms and an inscription may be seen; see GREGOROVIUS, Wanderjahre, II., 17; GORI'S Arch. St., IV., 126; and JANNUCELLI, Subiaco, 230. According to the *Acta Consist., f. 43 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Bessarion's translation from the See of Albano to that of Porto took place on the 30th Aug., 1471; Cardinal Borgia, who must then have been a priest, at the same time being appointed Bishop of Albano. GAMS, XXIII., and BRESSLAU, Urkundenlehre, I., 211, are mistaken in giving 1468 as the date of Borgia's elevation to the episcopal See of Albano, as is CLEMENT, 133, in stating that it occurred in 1476.

interest was at this time felt regarding these treasures, which had hitherto been so carefully preserved, and, in conformity with the Election Capitulation, were to be expended on the cause of the Faith.* The Pope and the Cardinals were occupied for the whole day in examining these precious stores. One of the Cardinals told the Duke of Milan's Ambassador that they had found, in the first place, fifty-four silver shells, filled with pearls, valued at 300,000 ducats. These were sealed up by all the Cardinals, and were to be sold to defray the expenses of the war with the Turks. Next were seen the jewels and the gold belonging to the two tiaras which Paul II. meant to have had rearranged, worth about 300,000 ducats. A magnificent diamond, estimated at 7000 ducats, was pledged to Cardinal d'Estouteville for monies which he had advanced to the deceased Pontiff. The amount of gold, silver, jewels, precious objects, and other ornaments filled them with astonishment, and their value was deemed to be a million ducats. "But," the Ambassador adds, "the worth of these things depends on the opinion of those who will buy them." The money found amounted only to 7000 ducats, and was chiefly in the form of carlini. Deposits of 100,000, 60,000, 80,000, and 30,000 ducats were entered in a note laid up in a chest. The place where these sums were concealed could not at first be discovered; but their actual existence was certified by the fact that Paul II., in a Consistory held not long before his death, had spoken of half a million of ducats which he would expend on the war if the Christian Princes would undertake an expedition against the enemies of the Faith. All these treasures, which the new Pope had

* Besides the passage from Ferrofinus' Despatch of the 13th August, quoted *supra*, p. 204, note †, see two *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 11 and 13. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) In regard to L. Orsini, see SANSOVINO, Casa Orsina, 5 *seq.*

sworn not to touch, were sealed up by the Cardinals, and placed in the custody of the Castellan of St. Angelo.*

After Sixtus IV. had been consecrated Bishop, his solemn Coronation took place on Sunday, the 25th of August.† The tribune where the Pope received the tiara of St. Gregory the Great from the hands of Cardinal Borgia was so lofty that all the people could witness the ceremony.‡ According to ancient custom, he then proceeded to take possession of the Lateran. In the splendid procession were to be seen the Despot of the Morea and Scanderbeg's nephew. A tumult occurred in front of the Lateran; the Pope himself was in danger, and Cardinal Orsini had much difficulty in appeasing the excited populace. The impression made on Sixtus IV. by this untoward event was such that he returned to the Vatican at the first hour of the night.§

* The above account is drawn from the hitherto unknown *Report which Petrus de Modegnano, apost. protonot., furnished to Duke Galeazzo Maria, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 14. See also a *Letter of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 20; both these documents are in the State Archives, Milan. As Dr. Gottlob has kindly informed me, the account-books shew that Sixtus IV. sold many of Paul II.'s jewels as early as 1471. On the 31st May, 1472, the Medici paid 23,170 florins, "pro valore plurium jocalium de diversis sortibus emptorum ab ipsis depositariis usque in diem 19 Sept. proxe preteriti;" a further sum of 12,000 florins was realised by the sale of jewels. The King of Naples lent 16,000 florins, and received jewels as security for their repayment.

† See Bull. Vatic., 195. Here and elsewhere the 26th of August is wrongly named as the day of the Coronation, in contradiction to all the best authorities; see following note. FRANTZ, 134, is also mistaken in giving the 22nd August; and the Lib. confrat. b. M. de Anima, 13, the 8th September.

‡ See the *Reports of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 25, and that of Blanchus de Cremona, dated Rome, 1471 Aug. 26th (State Archives, Milan), as well as the *Acta Consist. of Secret Archives, f. 43.

§ The *Letters of the Milanese Ambassadors which we have just

The letters by which the Pope made his elevation known to the temporal powers are dated on the day of his Coronation; in these he begs for the support of fervent prayers that he may rule the Church to the praise and glory of God, and the salvation of the people committed to his care.*

"When the tiara first rested on the brow of Sixtus IV. the figure of Nicholas V., amongst his immediate predecessors, must have presented itself most vividly to his mind, for he also was a native of Liguria, and like Sixtus himself, but unlike Pius II. and Paul II., had risen from a modest position. Again, he was by nature a scholar, and only after his elevation had developed the princely magnificence whose traces were visible wherever ruined Rome bore the aspect of a new city. That the new Pontiff should resolve to follow in his steps, and with the good fortune of the Rovere, to carry out the work begun

quoted, give more details than Infessura and Platina regarding Sixtus IV.'s *Possesso*. The Jews who stationed themselves on the Bridge of St. Angelo are here mentioned. Schmarsow, misled by Platina (see on the other side CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 45), makes the Coronation take place after the *Possesso* and after the tumult. PLATINA, Vita Sixti IV., 1057, estimates the expenses of the Coronation of Sixtus IV. and the obsequies of Paul II. (see *supra*, p. 191, note *) at 28,000 golden florins (see also MÜNTZ, III., 1, 268 *seq.*, and ROHAULT, 253 and 503). The sum is not so extravagant as SCHMARSOW, 8, imagines, for the Coronation alone of Paul II. cost 23,000 florins.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1471, N. 70. I found letters of this description, with some textual variations, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (original), in the Florentine State Archives (Copy, X.–II.–25, f. 35b–36b), and in the Archives of Perugia. VOIGT, Gesch. Preussens, IX., 41, mentions one addressed to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the Archives of Königsberg. The letters of the Sacred College regarding the election are also dated on the 25th August; see CHMEL, Urkunden und Briefe, II., 267; a similar letter to the Duke of Saxony is in the State Archives, Dresden.

by his energetic countryman, was but natural. But he had not the clear start from the first that Nicholas had. Nicholas V. had been freely elected, his actions were untrammelled. Sixtus, in order to be elected, had permitted himself to be bound, and the conditions of the Papal power also had undergone a complete change in the interval." *

In Italy itself the Apostolic See had no trustworthy friends. Sigismondo de' Conti tells us that the excessive obstinacy of Paul II. had almost everywhere provoked distrust and hatred.† The jealous fears of Italian politicians in presence of the increasing power of the States of the Church may have exercised a yet more potent influence. Sixtus IV. at once sought to establish friendly relations on all sides. Under Paul II. the disputes with Naples and Venice seemed to be interminable. Sixtus IV. at once came to an understanding with these two powers,‡ although at the cost of considerable sacrifice on his own part. Without any great trouble Ferrante obtained the satisfaction of seeing the rich Abbey of Monte Casino conferred upon his youthful son, while the Protonotary Rocha was made Archbishop of Salerno.§

"This Pope evidently intends to be on good terms with every one," wrote the Marquess of Mantua's Ambassador,‖ briefly describing the beginning of Sixtus IV.'s pontificate.

* SCHMARSOW, 7.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 5.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, I., 6–7.

§ *Letters of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 31 (State Archives, Milan), and of the Ambassador of Mantua, B. Bonattus, dated Rome, 1471, Sept. 2. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also GATTULA, II., 568, and TOSTI, Monte Cassino, III., 181.

‖ "*Questo papa monstra voler star bene cum ogniuno." B. Bonattus on the 2nd Sept., 1471. Gonzaga Archives.

Before he had an idea of being Pope, or even Cardinal, Sixtus IV. had had amicable relations with the Duke of Milan, and this in a measure explains the warm interest taken by Galeazzo Maria Sforza in promoting the election. After it had been carried, he was one of the first to congratulate the new Pope.* Sixtus IV. replied at once on the 16th of August by an autograph letter of the most flattering character. He began by recalling their former relations, praised the Duke's piety and devotion to the Holy See, of which he had given proof in the Romagna during the vacancy of the Chair of St. Peter, and finally assured him that his pontificate should bring the Duke nothing but happiness and blessing.†

The bond between the new Pope and the Florentines was even closer. "He looked upon the Medici, the patrons and friends of the modest Thomas of Sarzano, as his natural allies."‡ This was made very apparent when the Florentine Embassy, headed by Lorenzo de' Medici, arrived in Rome to pay homage on behalf of the Republic. Its reception was most cordial and honourable. Two antique marble busts were presented to Lorenzo, and he was allowed to acquire gems and cameos from the collection of Paul II.

* In the State Archives, Milan, "Roma," I found the draft of this *Letter of congratulation, dated 1471, Aug. 11.

† See Appendix, N. 45. (State Archives, Milan.) Nicodemus de Pontremoli, writing to the Duke on the 20th Aug., 1471, says: *"As I have already stated, His Holiness has repeatedly declared that he places his chief hopes on your Excellency; he expresses himself in this manner, not only to me and to Cardinal Gonzaga, but also in the Consistory, and on every occasion when your Highness is mentioned." (State Archives, Milan.) The Cronica di Bologna, 789, gives an account of the great Milanese Embassy, in which Ascanio Maria Sforza took part. See N. DELLA TUCCIA, 101; and RATTI, I., 78, 89.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 7.

at a very moderate price. The Pope's confidence and good-will were also manifested in other very substantial ways. The financial affairs of the Papacy were confided to the Roman Bank of the Medici, by which arrangement a rich source of wealth was opened to Lorenzo and to his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni. Further concessions in regard to the alum works were granted to him. Emboldened by so many favours, "the practical-minded Medici at last took courage to remark that he had but one desire unfulfilled, and that was to see a member of his family admitted into the Sacred College. To this request Sixtus IV. also lent a favourable ear, for he was unwilling to refuse Lorenzo anything. The latter soon left the Eternal City, laden with all possible tokens of the Pope's good-will, which was soon to be repaid with ingratitude."*

For a time indeed Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, endeavoured to maintain good feeling between Florence and Rome. "The Pope has shewn me such honour," he wrote on the 15th November, 1471, from Rome to Lorenzo de' Medici, "that a hundred tongues would fail me to express it. He told me to rest assured that I might dispose of Sixtus IV. as I would. Had you not yourself been here I would write yet more particularly regarding His Holiness' affection for our house, but as you know it, I think it unnecessary."†

On the 28th November the Venetian Envoys appeared

* Opinion of SCHMARSOW, 8. See REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 243 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 182.; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 135 *seq.*; and PERRENS, 358. The *Oration on behalf of the Florentine Embassy was delivered on the 3rd Oct., 1471, by Donato Acciaiuoli (see MAI, Spic., I., 440; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 41), and is preserved in Cod. 541 of the Chapter Library, Lucca, and in a Manuscript in the Riccardian Library, Florence, from which LAMIUS, 4–5, gives a passage.

† BUSER, Lorenzo, 19; see 23 and 27.

in Rome. One of them, Bernardo Giustiniani, made an elaborate speech in the Pope's presence, the principal subject of which was the unspeakably deplorable condition of the East.* It was not indeed necessary to remind Sixtus IV. of this, for he had already turned his attention to the terrible danger with which the steady advance of Islam threatened Christian civilisation. He aimed at the formation of a league of the European powers, to be directed exclusively against the Turks. A great Congress was to carry the idea into effect. During the days which immediately followed his Election, it was rumoured that, in accordance with the Capitulation, the Pope intended as soon as possible to convene such an Assembly. Cardinal Gonzaga † at the same time endeavoured to have his

* CIACONIUS, III., 120–26; LÜNIG, Orat., I., 26–46; Orat. clar. vir., 105 *seq.* (Cologne, 1559). A *Letter from the Ambassador of Mantua, dated Rome, 1471, Nov. 29, speaks of the arrival of the Venetian Embassy. (Gonzaga Archives.) The 16th November was the day appointed for the Florentines to pay their homage; see Filippo de' Medici's *Letter to Lorenzo, dated Rome, 1471, Nov. 15. (State Archives, Florence, F. 27, f. 522.) The Embassy of Frederick, Count Palatine, which was admitted to audience on the 21st April, 1472, also dealt with the Turkish question; see JACOB. VOLATERR., 87. In November of the same year Envoys from Sigismund of the Tyrol were in Rome. I found in Cod. Q., 41, of the Franciscan Library at Schwaz the Discourse pronounced on this occasion, *Pro Sigismundo Austrie duce illustr. ad Sixtum IV. P. M. Ludovici de Fryburgk utriusque juris doctoris oratio anno sal. septuagesimo secundo die veneris sexta Novemb. Romae in consistorio publico habita. Ravenna sent a special Embassy to Rome, payments for which I find entered on the 21st October and 13th November in *Sixt. IV., Lib. Bullet., 1471–73 (State Archives, Rome), where appear also payments on the 11th November, 1471, "pro oratoribus regis Ungarie," and on the 18th November, 1471, "pro nuntio regis Portugallie."

† See his *Letter of the 17th Aug., 1471, from which it appears that the Pope and the Milanese Ambassador had considered this

paternal city chosen as the place of meeting, and his proposal was favourably received, although Cardinal Orsini exerted himself on behalf of Florence.* Piacenza and Pavia were also spoken of.† On the 30th of August the matter was discussed in Consistory. Bessarion and others among the older Cardinals sought to deter the Pope from leaving Rome, and to induce him to hold the Congress in the Lateran; others again preferred Mantua or Pisa. No definite decision was yet arrived at.‡ A letter was now received from the Emperor, who asked that Udine might be selected, but the Duke of Milan and other Italian Princes declared against this city. Sixtus IV. accordingly proposed, first Mantua and then Ancona—but all in vain; the Princes neither understood nor sympathised with the aims of the Holy See, and all proposals were wrecked on the rocks of their indifference and private interests.§

Sixtus IV. was not as much distressed by this failure as he otherwise might have been, because at this moment a dangerous enemy was threatening Turkey in the rear. The Turcoman Prince, Usunhassan, "with the hope of completely supplanting the Sultan, seemed disposed to make common cause with European Christendom. At the

plan. (Gonzaga Archives.) GROTEFEND, I., 217, speaks of the processions ordered by the Pope to avert the danger of Turkish attack.

* *Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 20. State Archives, Milan.

† *Letter of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 29. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Report of Nicodemus of Aug. 31, 1471, and that of the Mantuan Ambassador of Sept. 2, 1471. (Gonzaga Archives.) Regarding the reasons in favour of Rome, see PLATINA, Sixt. IV., 1056 *seq.*

§ PLATINA, *loc. cit.*; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 142. On the 21st Dec., 1471, the *Mantuan Ambassador, B. Bonattus, wrote word that a Congress (dieta) was no longer talked of, but rather the despatch of Legates.

time of Sixtus IV.'s accession the conflict between Mahomet and Usunhassan in Caramania appeared to be tending to a great catastrophe, while the relations between Mocenigo, the Doge of Venice, and Usunhassan were such that they seemed only to need to be drawn a little closer to make the position of the Turks absolutely hopeless." The Turkish question might thus be said to have become a matter of world-wide importance, and accordingly the Pope "inaugurated his action in it with a certain magnificence."*

On the 23rd December a Secret Consistory was held, and five Cardinals were appointed Legates de latere, with the object, as the Consistorial Acts declare, of calling upon the whole Christian world to defend the Catholic Faith against the Turk, the enemy of the name of Jesus. Bessarion was sent to France, Burgundy, and England; Borgia to Spain, Angelo Capranica to Italy, and Marco Barbo to Germany, Hungary, and Poland, while Oliviero Carafa was to command the naval forces which were to be assembled with the assistance of the King of Naples.†

* CARO, V., 1, 361–2; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 102, mentions the sending of Ambassadors from Great Caramania to Rome.

† "*Die lunae xxii[i] decembris, 1471, idem S.D.N. in dicto consistorio secreto creavit quinque legatos de latere cardinales per universas provincias et regna mundi ad requirendum reges, principes et alios christianos ad defensionem fidei Catholicae contra nefandissimum Turcum qui nomini Jesu infensus, etc.:—

Rev. dom. Nicenum apud regem Franciae, ducem Burgundiae et regem Angliae.
" " Vicecancellarium apud regem Yspaniae et alios.
" " S^tae Crucis apud principes et dominos Italiae.
" " S^ti Marci apud imperatorem et regem Ungariae et alios.
" " Neapolitanum apud regem Ferdinandum et per mare."

Acta Consist., f. 44. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See also **Bessarion's letter of the 23rd Dec., 1471, which I shall cite. PALACKY, V., 1, 74, and CARO, V., 1, 362, mention only four Legates, in this

A few days later the Pope issued a solemn Bull, in which he described the Turkish preparations for the conquest of Christendom, and called on the powers to take common measures of defence.*

The aged Bessarion was certainly the most worthy of all the Legates. Although he feared that the burden would be beyond his strength, yet in the hope of being able, at least, to effect something, he had resolved to accept it.† On the 20th April, 1472, he left Rome, but instead of directly proceeding to France, he remained some time longer in Italy.‡ According to Ammanati, he lingered from dread of undertaking the arduous task; other accounts attribute his delay to the fact that Louis XI. kept him waiting a long time for a letter of safe conduct.§ When once he had

following PLATINA, 1057. The Venetian authorities (SANUDO, 1196; MALIPIERO, 70) correctly give five as the number.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1471, N. 72.

† See his **Letter of 23rd Dec., 1471, in the State Archives of Florence.

‡ BANDINIUS, LV. (MIGNE, CLXI.), says that Bessarion left Rome at the beginning of the year. The *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican record his departure from Rome for France on the 20th April, 1472; and so does a *Despatch from the Milanese Ambassador of the 20th April, 1472. In Sixti IV., Lib. Bullet., 1471–73, a sum is entered as paid for "cursori eunti ad regem Galliae et archiepisc, Lugdunen.," who were to announce Bessarion's appointment as Legate. (State Archives, Rome.) On the 21st March, 1472, Sixtus IV. had written to Charles of Burgundy regarding Bessarion's mission. BALUZE, IV., 527–31. On the 27th April the Cardinal was at Gubbio (Chronic. Eugub., 1021); on the 10th May at Bologna (PIERLING, Le mariage d'un Tsar, 368); and on the 16th May at Piacenza (Annal. Placent., 942). The date of the letter in REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 420, 2nd ed., must accordingly be wrong.

§ VAST, 409. Ammanati's assertions regarding Bessarion's attitude on this occasion (see, especially, Epist., 437 and 534, and also 425 of the Frankfort edition) cannot now be individually verified;

received it, he travelled as rapidly as his infirm health permitted. On the 15th August he wrote from Saumur to the French King, exhorting him to peace, and, on the same day, he also sent letters to the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy.*

Shortly before this time an understanding had been arrived at, by direct negotiations with Rome, in regard to the abnormal condition of ecclesiastical affairs in France, but this agreement met with violent opposition in some quarters. There can be no doubt that the Greek Cardinal touched on these matters in his interviews with the King. He also tried to obtain the release of La Balue, but his efforts proved unsuccessful, as did also those which he made to reconcile the French Monarch with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and to win him for the Crusade. Sick and disheartened, he started on his homeward journey. When he reached Ravenna, his illness assumed a dangerous character, fever came on and soon consumed the little strength which yet remained to him, and on the 18th November, 1472, he died.† His mortal remains were

SCHMARSOW, 9, looks upon his authority as open to suspicion. Vespasiano da Bisticci's account (MAI, I., 195) is doubtful; his statement that Bessarion did not give his vote for Francesco della Rovere is in direct contradiction to the documents which we give in Appendix, N. 43.

* D'ACHERY, III., 842, new edit.; MIGNE, CLXI., 699; VAST, 413 *seq.*, 459 *seq.*

† BANDINIUS, LVI.; MALVASIA, 254; VAST, 430. By several writers, as, for example, REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 420, 2nd ed.; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 240; CIPOLLA, 565; CHEVALIER, 301, the 19th November is wrongly given as the day of the Cardinal's death; SCHMARSOW, 13, names the 6th November; ZINKEISEN, II., 400, even places it in the December of 1473. The *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, amongst other authorities hitherto unknown, adhere to the date we have adopted in the text. So does *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna; see our Vol. III., p. 243, note †.

borne to Rome, where they arrived on the 3rd December, and were deposited in the Church of the Holy Apostles.* Sixtus IV. was present at the obsequies.

Cardinal Borgia, who had been appointed Legate for the whole of Spain and the neighbouring islands, was not more successful in advancing the cause of the Crusade. On the 15th May, 1472, he went to Ostia, there to embark for his native land.† His task was no easy one, for the Peninsula was at this time in a state of great agitation and disorder. Ammanati speaks most unfavourably of Borgia's proceedings in Spain. He says that he shewed himself everywhere vain, luxurious, ambitious, and greedy. Yet, in a letter which is still extant, this same Ammanati writes to Borgia in the most flattering terms, and praises the way in which he had carried out his Spanish mission.‡ Such a writer has no claim to our credit. It is, however, extremely probable that Borgia considered a Cardinal Legate as a very important person, and acted accordingly; in fact, treated his countrymen to a considerable amount of Spanish

* Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Regarding the monument, which was afterwards transferred to another position, and is still preserved, see VAST, 432 and 461–62. REUMONT, III., 1, 532, also gives the Epitaph; he is mistaken in asserting (III., 1, 316) that the Cardinal died in Rome. L. MAZIO speaks of Bessarion's palace and of his tomb, Studi Storici, 275–77 (Roma, 1872); and p. 280 of the probable dwelling-place of Platina. See also, in regard to Bessarion's mission to France and d'Estouteville's nomination as Legate for that country, S. LJUBIČ, Dispacci di Luca de Tollentis vescovo di Sebenico e di Lionello Cheregato vescovo di Traù nunzi apostolici in Borgogna e nelle Fiandre, 1472–88; ZAGABRIA, 1876, 24 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*, 32.

† *Acta Consist. (Secret Archives of the Vatican), by which CLEMENT, 118, is to be corrected. In *Sixti IV., Lib. Bullet., 1471–1473, on the 12th Febr., 1472, occurs the entry: "Roderico vicecan. legato ad regna Hispaniar. flor. duo millia octuaginta." State Archives, Rome.

‡ Ep., 513, Frankfort edition.

pride. A recent historian, by no means prejudiced in Borgia's favour, speaks of the discharge of his diplomatic duties in terms which form a complete contrast to Ammanati's account. "The Legate," he says, "had, as far as lay in his power, fulfilled his mission to Spain. It was time for him to return to Rome, and render an account to the Pope of the state of things which he had found on his arrival, of that which prevailed during his sojourn in the country, and of the result of his efforts. Matters had certainly improved in Aragon; in Castille the situation depended on factors which were entirely beyond the sphere of a Legate's authority, and which were working themselves out independently of him. His task was fulfilled when he had done what he could in helping to direct affairs along the only path which could lead to peace and quiet."*

On the 11th September, 1473, Cardinal Borgia made his will, and began his return journey. Off the coast of Pisa he encountered a fearful storm; one of his galleys sank before his eyes, and the ship in which he himself sailed almost met the same fate. More than 200 of his suite were drowned, and amongst them three Bishops; the loss of property was estimated at 30,000 florins, and was aggravated by the depredations of wreckers on the coast.†

There can be no doubt that the task entrusted to Cardinal Barbo was undoubtedly the most difficult of all, while at the same time the most important, for, with regard to the Turkish war, "nothing was more indispensable than the aid of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia,—and these were

* HÖFLER, R. Borgia, 37. See also HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 199–200.

† See AMMANATI, Ep., 534; PLATINA, 1060; PALMERIUS, 256–7; ZURITA, XVIII., c. 59. I found in the State Archives at Florence a **Letter of Cardinal Borgia's of the 12th Oct., 1473, in which he gives an account of his misfortune. Regarding his Will, see THUASNE, III., App., p. I.–II.

involved in almost hopeless discord."* Barbo's zeal is evidenced by the fact that he left Rome on the 21st February, 1472, his instructions directing him to proceed in the first place to the Emperor.† Until the autumn of 1474, the Cardinal Legate's labours in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia were unremitting.‡ Even those who judge him most severely, highly praise his persevering efforts for the restoration of peace; success, however, was not granted him.§ The internal dissensions of the European nations had reached such a pitch that it was beyond the power of any individual to allay them. Frederick III., who, from the point of view of that day, was the natural leader, was extremely slow in his decisions, especially in cases where a pecuniary sacrifice was in question.‖ Unbounded egotism prevailed among laity and clergy; their attitude towards the great danger in the East was one of almost absolute indifference.¶

* CARO, V., 1, 362.

† *Acta Consist. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The date commonly given, 22nd February (PALACKY, V., 1, 74; SCHMARSOW, 11), is to be corrected by reference to this document. On the 6th Febr., 1472, Cardinal Barbo received 2083 florins for his journey. *Sixti IV., Lib. Bullet., 1471–1473. (State Archives, Rome.) The Cardinal's Instructions are to be found in Cod. epist., 259; in TELEKI, XI., 459 *seq.*; and THEINER, Mon. Hung., 436 *seq.*

‡ According to the *Acta Consist. (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Card. Barbo returned to Rome from Germany on the 26th Oct., 1474, and not in November, as SCHMARSOW, 94, states.

§ PALACKY, V., 1, 74 *seq.*; FABISZA, 98 *seq.*; CARO, V., 1, 365; ZEISSBERG, 245 *seq.*

‖ "*Dominus Imperator tardus est admodum in [de]liberationibus suis et in eis presertim in quibus pecuniam effundere oportet." These words are taken from a Roman *Instruction of this period, but unfortunately undated, in Cod. S. 1, 1, f. 21–24. Angelica Library, Rome.

¶ Regarding the return of the Cardinal, whose amiability had won

Sixtus IV., however, did not permit the indifference of the great European powers to damp his zeal in regard to the war. During the earlier months of 1472 he was engaged in negotiations for the restoration of peace in Italy,* and particularly in the equipment of galleys. Repeated letters were addressed to all the Faithful, urging them to contribute towards these warlike preparations; and at the same time the Pope made repeated efforts to awaken the interest of individual Princes in the cause.†

Sixtus IV. was all the more dependent on extraneous contributions for the naval preparations on account of the deplorable state in which he found the Papal finances at his accession. The general belief that Paul II. had left large sums of money had soon proved to be a delusion. Treasure and jewels were not wanting, but of actual coin there was not more than 7000, or, according to other accounts, 5000 florins. The Cardinal-Camerlengo put the officials of the Treasury in prison, but nothing could be extracted from them. Creditors of previous Popes took the opportunity of coming forward and demanding payment. Sixtus IV. had to sell many of the gems and works of art, handed down by his predecessors, to satisfy them. Some

the affection of the Germans (SCHMARSOW, 25), see AMMANATI, Epist., 595, Frankfort edition.

* See the Letter of B. Bonattus, dated Rome, 1472, Jan. 4 (Gonzaga Archives), and the **Brief of 5th Jan., 1472, to the Duke of Milan. State Archives, Milan.

† See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1472, N. 2 and 16. A *Brief to Cologne, dated Rome, 1471, Sept. 24 (8 Cal. Oct. is to be rendered by this date, and not, as ENNEN, III., 307, has it, by 8th October), mentions the despatch of a special Ambassador to Frederick III., to inform him of the equipment of a fleet for the Crusade by the Pope. Or. Pgm., with seal appended, is in the City Archives, Cologne.

few of the Cardinals, amongst them d'Estouteville, now presented old claims.*

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the arming of the fleet proceeded. The account-books show that in 1471–72 144,000 golden ducats in all were devoted by Sixtus IV. to this object.† A treaty was entered into with Venice and Naples, in accordance with which both these States equipped a fleet for the war. The Pope himself furnished twenty-four galleys and 4700 soldiers, who embarked at once on the Adriatic. Four ships came up the Tiber for Cardinal Carafa.‡ On the Feast of Corpus Christi, the 28th May, 1472, he sang a solemn High Mass at St. Peter's, in presence of the Pope and the whole Court. Sixtus IV. then blessed the banners for the fleet, which were presented to him on his throne by the Ambassadors. In the afternoon, a new and unwonted spectacle was witnessed; the Pope on horseback, accompanied by all the Cardinals, went in procession from the Vatican to the ships, which lay at anchor in the Tiber below S. Paolo. Sixtus "went on board the Legate's galley, and, from a platform at the stern, blessed the ships, the commanders with their followers, and the crews.

* PLATINA, 1057; SCHMARSOW, 8. See the *Letter in the State Archives, Milan, cited *supra*, p. 212, note*. On the 19th Sept., 1471, Bessarion received "ex precio jocalium, S. R. E.," the amount of his expenses in the time of Paul II., and the cost of his journeys as Legate for Germany and Venice under Pius II. *Sixti IV., lib. Bullet., 1471–73. State Archives, Rome.

† GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost. Individual cities in the States of the Church, as, *e.g.*, Jesi, contributed to the cost of the fleet; see BALDASSINI, Jesi, 175.

‡ GUGLIELMOTTI, 360–65. See CIPOLLA, 566. LANDO FERRETTI, *Storia d'Ancona, says, in agreement with Bernabei: "Delle galee del papa ne furono armate sei in Ancona." Cod. H. III.. 70, f. 307. Chigi Library, Rome.

He then bestowed a farewell embrace upon his lieutenant, and left him in the ship, himself returning to the Vatican as the sun was declining."*

The Cardinal-Admiral Carafa is described as a man "of resolute character and full of good-will." He went by way of Naples, where he was most honourably received, to Rhodes. Having appeased some internal dissensions among the Knights of St. John, he joined the Neapolitan and Venetian ships.† The whole fleet now numbered eighty-seven galleys, to which were added two from Rhodes.‡ In a Council of War, it was determined that an attack should, in the first instance, be made on the port of Satalia on the coast of Caramania. The southern coast of Asia Minor was selected, on account of the alliance which existed between the Caramanian Princes and Usunhassan, who was also on very friendly terms with the Venetians, and with the Pope. Another reason for commencing operations here was the opportunity it afforded for shewing the strength of the Crusaders' fleet to their Asiatic allies.§ The chains which defended

* SCHMARSOW, 11. To the authorities from which we have drawn our account may be added the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and a *Letter of Arcimboldi's, dated Rome, 1472, May 30. (State Archives, Milan.) According to this last Report, the Pope again blessed the galleys on the 30th May, and the next day Carafa sailed for Ostia. In *Sixti IV. lib. Bullet., 1471–73, the following entries occur on the 23rd May, 1472: "Oliv. Card. Neapolit. pro stipendio classis flor. auri de camera viginti quatuor millia unum." On the 9th June: "archiepiscopo Pisar. pro expedit. galear. flor triamillia ducentos octo;" and on the 10th July, 1472, a sum "pro vexillis S^ce † rev^mo card. Neapolit." State Archives, Rome.

† BOSIO, II., 334.

‡ GUGLIELMOTTI, 371–2. See FINCATI, L'armata Venez., 38, and CHIOCCARELLUS, 289.

§ HEYD, II., 326. From Malipiero, 79, it appears that Ambas-

the harbour of Satalia were burst, and serious injury was inflicted on the Turks by the destruction of its rich warehouses and suburbs, but the city proper, with its strong fortifications, successfully resisted the attack. Jealousies between Naples and Venice soon reached such a point that the Neapolitan fleet returned home, yet it was resolved that the war should be carried on. The wealthy city of Smyrna was taken by surprise. Carafa wished to preserve it as an important basis of operations, but the Venetians were of a different opinion, and it was given up to plunder, and then set on fire. This dispute broke up the friendly relations which had existed between the Papal forces and their Venetian allies, and, when winter began, the fleet of the Republic retired to the harbours of Modone and Napoli di Romania, while Carafa returned to Italy. On the 23rd January, 1473, he made his entrance into Rome, bringing with him a number of Turkish prisoners on camels. The Cardinal hung up portions of the broken harbour-chain of Satalia on the door of St. Peter's; these trophies are now placed over the entrance which leads to the Archives of the Basilica.*

Carafa's successor as Legate, Lorenzo Zane, Archbishop of Spalatro, and a Venetian by birth, sailed with ten galleys for the East at the end of April, 1473;† he was

sadors from Usunhassan came to Rome. I found in *Sixti IV. lib. Bullet., 1471–72, in the State Archives, Rome, an entry made on the 16th Aug., 1471, of payments for "tribus oratoribus Somcassani principis, etc., in alma urbe commorantib."

* GUGLIELMOTTI, 372 *seq.*; F. JULIEN, Papes et Sultans, 110 *seq.* (Paris, 1879).

† I take the above dates, in regard to which GUGLIELMOTTI (396), the most accurate student of these matters, gives no information, from a *Letter of the Milanese Ambassador, Sacramorus, dated Rome, 1473, April 25: "S. Sta questa matina ha benedite et date le bandere al arcivescovo de Spalatro che va legato in Levante cum

not able to do anything, and Usunhassan's defeat at Terdschan (26th July, 1473) gave a decided advantage to the Turks. Moreover, the Venetian Commander, Mocenigo, held aloof from the Papal Legate, fearing that the latter would frustrate his designs on Cyprus.*

Hopes had been entertained that the marriage of Princess Zoë, niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, with the Russian Grand Duke, Ivan III., would enlist a new champion for the Crusade, and bring about the reunion of the Russian with the Roman Church. These hopes were doomed to disappointment. On the 25th May, 1472, Sixtus IV. had received the Russian Ambassadors in Secret Consistory, and, on the 1st June, Zoë, who was acknowledged by her contemporaries to be the legitimate heiress to the Byzantine throne, was married by proxy to the Grand Duke. What took place on this occasion, in regard to the question of religion, is not clear, but Rome was probably deceived by fair promises. The Pope gave the Princess rich presents and the sum of 6000 ducats, provided for her a suitable escort, and sent letters of recommendation to the different States through which she was to pass on her journey to the North.†

The Greek Princess left Rome on the 24th June, 1472;

le X. gallee che se armano in Anchona, cosa che a jaschuno etiam a li piu cardinali pare mala spesa et denaro gettato, ma per piu rispetti dio perdoni a chi l'ha persuaso." If victorious, Zane was to receive the red hat. State Archives, Milan.

* GUGLIELMOTTI, 396 *seq.*, and SISMONDI, X., 420. See also FINCATI, L'armata Venez., 57, and WEIL, Gesch. der Chalifen, V., 340.

† PIERLING, Le mariage d'un Tsar, 375, says that he has discovered only one of these letters, that addressed to the Duke of Modena. I am able to point out two others: (*a*) to Bologna, dated Rome, 1472, June 22: "Cum dil. in Christo filia nob. mulier Zoe." State Archives, Bologna; (*b*) to Nuremberg, dated Rome, 1472, June 30. Kreisarchiv, Nuremberg.

everywhere, both in Italy and in Germany, the Pope's letters procured for her a brilliant reception. His kindness was but ill repaid, for, from the moment she set foot on Russian soil, she shewed herself a schismatic.* On her entry into Moscow (12th November), the Papal Legate who accompanied her was only admitted into the city in *incognito*, for it was feared that his public appearance with his cross would imply an acknowledgment of the Pope's Supremacy. The new Grand Duchess completely conformed to the Orthodox Church.†

Four years later, we again hear of negotiations between Sixtus IV. and the Russian Grand Duke, who was then seeking to obtain the Crown. Poland at the time dreaded the consequences of their success, and worked against the Union which it had supported at Kiew.‡ Michael Drucki, the Metropolitan of that place, had, with the consent of his clergy, sent an Embassy with a letter to the Pope, expressly acknowledging his Primacy; and his successor, Simeon, is said to have been in favour of Union.§

* PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 376 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*

† STRAHL, Beiträge zur Russischen Kirchengeschichte, 89, 190 (Halle 1827, 2nd ed.), and Gesch. Russlands, II., 335 *seq.*; KARAMSIN, Geschichte des Russ. Reiches, VI., 51 *seq.* (Riga, 1824).

‡ See THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 230; PICHLER, II., 54–5; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 265, N. 7.

§ PELESZ, I., 476–7; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 266. The letter of the Kiew Clergy to Sixtus IV. was first published in 1605, and was for a long time considered apocryphal; recent and thorough investigation on the part of Malychewski has established the genuine character of this important document; see Rev. d. Quest. Hist., XVII., 274 (1875).

CHAPTER II.

Rapid Elevation of the Members of the Families of La Rovere and Riario.—The Cardinal of San Sisto.

THE admirable energy with which, in the earlier years of his pontificate, Sixtus IV. devoted himself to the defence of Christendom, is, in great measure, clouded by the extravagance with which, from the moment of his accession, he heaped favours upon his numerous, and, in many instances, unworthy relations.

Foremost among his kindred appear the sons of his brother Raffaello, Giuliano, Bartolomeo, and Giovanni della Rovere, of whom the first two embraced the ecclesiastical state, while Giovanni remained in the world, and, under Federigo of Montefeltre, studied the art of war.* Lionardo, who afterwards became City Prefect,† was the son of Bartolomeo della Rovere, another brother of the Pope's.

* Further details regarding him will be found, *infra*, p. 270. Bartolomeo della Rovere entered the Franciscan Order at an early age, was made Bishop of Massa Marittima in 1473, and of Ferrara in 1474 or 1475; see UGHELLI, II., 553, and GAMS, 695; also ADINOLFI, Portica, 116. His praises are sung by the author of the *Lucubrac. Tiburtinae, mentioned *supra*, p. 205, note,† in Cod. 2403, f. 19, of the Court Library, Vienna. In the British Museum is a drawing by Melozzo da Forli, representing an old man without a beard, in complete profile, turned towards the right (Photogr. Braun, N. 61). SCHMARSOW, 391, supposes this to be the likeness of Raffaello della Rovere, the father of Julius II.

† VILLENEUVE, 38-9.

Three sisters of the Pope had respectively married into the families of Riario, Basso, and Giuppo; and from these marriages sprang a number of descendants, "over all of whom the oak spread its branches,* so that the golden fruit fell into their laps." † Bianca della Rovere, the wife of Paolo Riario, had two sons, Pietro and Girolamo, and one daughter, Violante; Violante married Antonio Sansoni and was mother of Cardinal Raffaello Riario Sansoni, well-known in connection with the Pazzi conspiracy. Luchina, the Pope's next sister, had, by her marriage with Giovanni Guglielmo Basso, five sons, Girolamo, Antonio, Francesco, Guglielmo, and Bartolomeo, and a daughter, Mariola. Antonio was a man of pure and blameless life; and in 1479 he espoused a relation of the King of Naples.‡ The christian name of the Pope's third sister, who married Pietro Giuppo, is not known; a fourth, Franchetta, is mentioned as married to Bartolomeo Armoino, and dying in 1485.§

A new epoch for his kindred began with the elevation of Francesco della Rovere to the Throne of St. Peter. As early as the autumn of 1471, we find three of his nephews in the Papal service.|| In the following spring, two of his

* The arms of Sixtus IV.

† SCHMARSOW, 30.

‡ VILLENEUVE, 36, 49–50; SCHMARSOW, 178. As to Antonio Basso, see Civ. Catt., I., 679, 1868, where are given two hitherto unpublished Briefs relating to him.

§ VILLENEUVE, 51–3, partly from Acts in the Vatican Archives.

|| On the 31st Oct., 1471, among the payments made by the Thesaurarius, is entered: *"magcis dominis Leonardo, Antonio et Jeronimo S. D. Nri pape nepotibus duc. auri 3250 pro eorum presentis anni provisione." Exitus, 487, f. 150. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See *Sixti IV. lib. Bullet., 1471–73, where, f. 20b, on the 30th Sept., 1471, is a payment "pro Leonardo nepoti ad stipendia S. R. E. nuper conducto," and on the 16th Oct., 1471, others "pro Leonardo, Antonio et Hieronymo nepotibus." State Archives, Rome.

sisters, probably Bianca and Luchina, migrated to Rome, where Sixtus IV. had prepared for them a suitable dwelling.* The arrival of the other relations was not long delayed.

All the members of the Ligurian colony which assembled around the Pope well understood how to take advantage of the fact that "Sixtus did not know the value of money, and, having grown up from his youth in a mendicant Order, gave with full hands as long as he had anything to give."† These relations, who had mostly been in very needy circumstances and humble positions, in the course of a few years found themselves in the enjoyment of wealth, and of ecclesiastical and temporal dignities such as hitherto they had never dreamed of.

Sixtus IV. had not occupied the Papal throne for many months before two of his youthful nephews, Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario, were admitted into the Sacred College. The Pope was deeply indebted to Paolo Riario of Savona, the father of the last-named young man. Leone Cobelli, in his Chronicle of Forli, has recorded some interesting particulars regarding their earlier relations.‡ A certain Franceschino of Savona, he tells us, of the Order of the Minorites, was studying in that town, and was on very friendly terms with Paolo Riario. Paolo, a worthy and benevolent man, observing the young monk's love of learning, resolved to receive him into his house, and to

* See the entries of the 23rd of March and 8th April, 1472, in *Sixti IV. lib. Bullet., 1471-73. (State Archives, Rome.) The sisters of Sixtus IV. arrived on the 2nd April, 1472; see the Milanese Ambassador's *Letter of that day in the State Archives at Milan, in which the nephew, Antonio, is spoken of as "homo de bona conditione," and his care of the Pope, who was suffering from the gout, is mentioned.

† SCHMARSOW, 30.

‡ L. COBELLI, 257-8.

support him. Franceschino accordingly instructed the sons of his patron, and was enabled by the latter to complete his own education. This generous assistance could not have been better bestowed, for the needy student became one of the best professors in his Order. In the fulness of his gratitude to Paolo Riario, Franceschino said to him: "I well know that to you, after God, I owe it that I have become what I am; I will shew myself grateful; let me have your son Pietro for my son: I will give him the best possible education, and make a notable man of him." Paolo gladly consented; Francesco clothed his *protégé* with the Franciscan habit, and shewed him the greatest kindness.* When a Cardinal, he took Fra Pietro with him to Rome, where he is said to have played an important part in the Conclave.† Almost immediately after his accession, Sixtus IV. bestowed on Pietro an Abbey on the Franco-German frontier, with a yearly income of 1000 ducats, and the Bishopric of Treviso.‡ But he was destined ere long to mount yet higher.

* According to the *Funeral Oration for Cardinal Riario in Cod. 45, C. 18, of the Corsini Library, Rome, which we shall hereafter cite, his father died when he was twelve years of age; Francesco della Rovere was then lecturing on Holy Scripture in Siena, and made the orphan come to him. From the same source, we also learn that Fra Pietro studied at Pavia, Padua, Venice, and Bologna, and subsequently at Siena and Ferrara. CIACONIUS, III., 43, says that the Oratio in funere Petri card. S. Sixti habita a Nicolao episc. Modrusien. has been printed. A complete refutation of the fable, invented by political enemies of Sixtus IV., to the effect that the Riario were his sons, is to be found in the Civ. Catt., III., 417 *seq.*, 1868. REUMONT, in the Allgem. Zeitung, p. 3836, 1877, expresses his astonishment that a man like Villari (MACHIAVELLI, I., 61) should repeat charges so utterly unfounded.

† See *supra*, p. 204.

‡ *Letter of Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Rome, 1471, Aug. 31. State Archives, Milan.

In the second week of December, 1471, it was reported that the Pope was about to create new Cardinals; that he purposed to make an alteration in the Election Capitulation, and meant to elevate his two young nephews to the purple.* Sooner than had been expected, these anticipations were realised.

On the 16th December, 1471, a Consistory was held, and Pietro Riario, aged twenty-five, and Giuliano della Rovere, aged twenty-eight, were created Cardinals, though not immediately published.† To the former was assigned, as his title, on the 22nd December, the Church of S. Sisto, while Giuliano received that of S. Pietro in Vincoli, previously held by Sixtus IV. himself.‡ On the following day, although not yet published, both of the young Cardinals appeared with the Red Hat, a thing which the Marquess of Mantua's Ambassador mentions as hitherto unheard-of.§

The promotion of these two nephews afforded to those

* "* De far cardinali se fa gran praticha et per quello sento al papa se consentirà de farne dui che siano aut de carne sua aut de natione cum far una aditione al capitulo del conclave de questa reformatione per non stringer el resto, et questi serano il vescovo de Carpentrasse suo ninodo [=nipote] ex fratre et il vescovo di Treviso suo alevo [=allievo]." *Letter of B. Bonattus, dated Rome, 1471, Dec. 13. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Letter of B. Bonattus, dated Rome, 1471, Dec. 21. (Gonzaga Archives.) The day of the creation, which is not here given, is learned from the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. The common statement that the nomination was made on the 15th December is erroneous. SCHMARSOW (10) is also wrong in saying that this creation of Cardinals took place in "the same sitting" as that in which the Legates for the Turkish war were nominated, and REUMONT, III., 1, 164, in speaking of this Consistory as the first.

‡ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ "*Res inaudita che prima siano comparsi cum il capello che publicati." B. Bonattus from Rome, 1471, Dec. 23. Gonzaga Archives.

who had not approved of the first acts of Sixtus IV., and had deemed themselves overlooked, a welcome occasion for angry and injurious comments. Cardinal Ammanati speaks of the elevation of two youths, now for the first time brought out of obscurity, and altogether inexperienced, as an act of imbecility. "He declaimed against the nepotism of La Rovere, quite forgetting that his own patron, Pius II., had been far from blameless in this particular."*

This first creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV. was certainly an infringement of the Election Capitulation, "but the uncertain position of the new Pope, surrounded as he was on all sides by experienced, influential, and skilful prelates, who desired to use him as a tool for their own selfish designs, justifies this step, to which Bessarion lent his approval and aid. Sixtus IV., to ensure his independence, required the support of trustworthy coadjutors, whose energies should be absolutely at his disposal."†

Giuliano della Rovere was certainly the most remarkable of the two nephews. "Even at an early age he gave evidence of those qualities which rendered his long and brilliant career so distinguished alike in the political history of Italy and in the annals of intellectual culture. If, like others, he profited by the abuse which had now become a system, and allowed numerous Bishoprics and Abbeys to be conferred upon a single individual, with the

* SCHMARSOW, 9.

† With this opinion of SCHMARSOW, 10, may be compared the justification of Sixtus IV. in his Brief to Charles of Burgundy (BALUZE, IV., 528), and the declaration of GREGOROVIUS, VII., 230, 3rd ed., that nepotism "formed for the Pope a governing party, and a bulwark against the opposition of the Cardinalate." As early as the summer of 1472, Sixtus IV. was completely "master of the situation," "potestate, abundat," says AMMANATI, Epist., 454.

sole object of enriching him; if his uncle made him Archbishop of Avignon and of Bologna, Bishop of Lausanne, Coutances, Viviers, Mende, and finally of Ostia and Velletri, and Abbot of Nonantola and Grottaferrata, heaping benefice after benefice upon him, Giuliano manifested in the expenditure of his income, and in his whole manner of living, a prudence and seriousness which contrasted favourably with the conduct of many other prelates. If his moral character was not unblemished, his outward demeanour was always becoming, and, immediately after his elevation to the purple, he began to devote that attention to the fine arts, and especially to architecture, which won for him lasting renown. The serious character of his other studies, although they were mostly directed to secular subjects, contributed to develop those exceptional abilities of which his labours in later life gave such signal proof, and which had begun to manifest themselves even during the pontificate of Sixtus IV."*

Giuliano della Rovere was born on the 5th December, 1443, at Albizzola, near Savona, where his parents were living in very poor circumstances. Having entered the Franciscan Order, he pursued his studies at Perugia. Sixtus IV., even while a Cardinal, treated him with exceptional favour. "The grave and resolute character of this nephew justly inspired him with confidence. Like himself, he had been trained in the strict discipline and privations of the monastic life, and there had been an almost constant interchange of thought between them." Giuliano's appearance was striking. Melozzo da Forli's fresco of "Sixtus IV.,

* REUMONT, III., 1, 165. See SCHMARSOW, 177 *seq.*, 369 *seq.* Regarding Giuliano's connection with Grottaferrata, see ROCCHI, 102 *seq.* About the year 1475 the Abbey of Gorze was bestowed on him; see LAGER, Gorze, 85; MARTÈNE, II., 1503–4. In reference to the Bishopric of Lausanne, see Jahrbuch für Schweiz. Gesch., IX., 22 *seq.*

surrounded by his Court, appointing Platina Librarian of the Vatican" represents his tall figure, his face in profile, looking down upon his uncle with great dark eyes full of seriousness and dignity. He wears the purple cape, lined with ermine. His black hair is surmounted by a bright coloured skull-cap. The "round head, with its angular cheek-bones, and the firmly closed mouth betoken the man of deeds, who wastes no words, but acts."*

Pietro Riario was a very different character. He was intelligent and cultivated, courteous, witty, cheerful, and generous, but his good qualities were counterbalanced by a lust of power, a boundless ambition and pride, and a love of luxury, which rendered him utterly unworthy of the purple. Unfortunately, Sixtus IV. fostered these faults by lavishing rich benefices on him, even more abundantly than on the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The Archbishopric of Florence, which had so lately been held by a Saint, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Abbey of S. Ambrogio, and a number of Bishoprics were soon concentrated in the hands of this young man.† His yearly revenues before long exceeded 60,000 golden florins‡ (=about 96,000 pounds); but even this sum was far from satisfying his requirements, for Riario, "transformed in one night from a mendicant friar into a Crœsus, plunged into the maddest excesses."§ The Cardinal, says Platina, set himself to collect together unheard-of quantities of gold and silver plate, costly raiment, hangings and carpets, splendid horses, and a multitude of servants in scarlet and silk. He patronised young poets and painters, and delighted in

* SCHMARSOW, 44.

† See CIACONIUS, III., 43.

‡ So says CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, XLIV. SCHIVENOGLIA, 176, estimates the income at 50,000 ducats.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 231, 3rd ed.

contriving and carrying out pageants and tournaments on the most magnificent scale. He gave extravagant banquets to some of the Ambassadors, and to Leonora, daughter of the King of Naples. He was very generous to scholars, and to the poor. Moreover, he began a palace in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the extensive foundations of which bespoke a colossal superstructure. He seemed to vie with the ancients in pomp and grandeur* —and, it may be added, in vices. All morality was openly defied by this upstart. Instead of the habit of St. Francis, he went about in garments laden with gold, and adorned his mistress from head to foot with costly pearls.†

The ostentation of Cardinal Riario, says Ammanati, surpassed anything that our children will be able to credit, or that our fathers can remember.‡

The Reports of Ambassadors then in Rome shew that Ammanati's expressions were not exaggerated; the Ambassadors of the Duke of Milan seem unable to say enough of the brilliant tournaments and the rich banquets given by the Cardinal, especially during the Carnival.§

* PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1058. See FULGOSUS, VI., c. 10. The *Funeral Discourse in Cod. 45, C. 18, of the Corsini Library gives, f. 119, the number of his household as about 500.

† FULGOSUS, X., c. 1: "Amicam Tiresiam non palam solum, sed tanto etiam sumptu alebat quantus ex eo intelligi potest quod calceis margaritarum tegmento insignibus utebatur temporis meliore parte inter scorta atque exoletos adolescentes consumpta." See Cr. di Viterbo di Giov. di Juzzo, 104; Annal. Placent., 944; KNEBEL, II., 54; and the passage from the *Work of Sigismondo Tizio (Chigi Library) in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 478.

‡ AMMANATI, Epist., 548 (Frankfort edition).

§ *Joh. Ferrofinus, in a *Report, dated Rome, 1473, March 4, describes the "giostre ha facto fare in questi di de carnevale il cardinale S. Sisto." (State Archives, Milan.) See also INFESSURA, 1144, and Una cena carnevalesca del Card. P. Riario. Lettera

Great astonishment was excited by a feast to which Riario invited four Cardinals, all the Ambassadors, and several prelates on the 1st February, 1473.* The sons of the Despot of the Morea, the City Prefect, and the Pope's nephews, Girolamo and Antonio, also took part in it. The walls of the dining-hall were adorned with precious tapestry; in the middle, on an elevated platform, was a table where the so-called King of Macedonia sat, in splendid robes, and attended by four Counsellors and an interpreter. At the left of this platform was the Cardinal's table, to which those of the guests were joined; there were two sideboards laden with silver, and a multitude of torches made a blaze of light. The feast lasted fully three hours. Before every course the seneschal appeared on horse-back to the sound of music, and each time in a fresh costume. The banquet was followed by a Moorish dance and other pastimes. At its conclusion, came a Turkish Ambassador, bearing credentials, and accompanied by an interpreter; who complained that Cardinal Riario had bestowed on the King of Macedon a kingdom which belonged to the Turks, and threatened that unless he gave up his usurped insignia, war should be declared. The Cardinal and the King replied that they would let the matter be decided by arms. Accordingly, on the following day, the combat took place in the square before the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the Turk—being taken captive by Usunhassan the King of Macedon's General—was led through the streets of Rome in fetters.†

ined. a di Lud. Genovesi 2 Marzo, 1473. Roma, 1885. (Nozze Vigo—Magenta.)

* I take the description of this feast from a **Report of Johannes Arcimboldus to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, dated Rome, 1473, Febr. 3, which I found in the State Archives, Milan.

† This strange representation seems to have been so much admired

Before the year was over, Riario again gave an entertainment on a yet larger scale, surpassing in mad extravagance anything that the sumptuous age of the Renaissance had yet produced. The occasion for this further display was the passage through Rome of Leonora, the daughter of the King of Naples, on her way to her husband, Ercole of Ferrara.*

On the 5th June, 1473, after a short rest at Marino, Leonora approached the walls of Rome. Ercole's brothers, Sigismondo and Alberto, together with many nobles from Ferrara and Naples, accompanied her. Cardinals Carafa and Ausio, and several Prelates, awaited her arrival at the third milestone from the City, and conducted her to the Lateran, where she partook of some refreshment, and venerated the holy relics.† Meanwhile, the Pope's two favoured nephews, Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere, had come to bid her welcome, and, escorted by them, the Princess proceeded to the residence of the Cardinal of S. Sisto by the Church of the Holy Apostles, where preparations for her reception had been made in a style of unprecedented magnificence.‡ "In the square before the

that it was repeated at the beginning of March, 1473. *"Heri," writes Joh. Ferrofinus on the 4th, "se fece uno bellissimo torniamento et bagordo cum representatione de Ussoncassan da un canto et lo Turco da l'altro quale tandem fo preso et menato per la briglia per Roma et poy reducto ad casa de M^re^." State Archives, Milan.

* See the Monograph of OLIVI, who, p. 27, proves, in opposition to Gregorovius, that Leonora was the legitimate daughter of Ferrante.

† See CORVISIERI, I., 479 *seq.*, and Sacramorus' **Report of the 7th June, 1473, which I found in the State Archives, Milan.

‡ On the 5th June, 1473, Sacramorus writes: *"Questa duchessa de Ferrara intrera hoggi a le xxi. hore; smonta in casa de S. Sisto como V. Ex. è advisata grande apparechio, ymo sumptuosissimo de tappezarie, ornato e argenti li fa in casa sua." The Cardinal, the Ambassador adds, willingly shews his numerous precious possessions. State Archives, Milan.

Church, Riario had caused to be erected a splendid house constructed of wood, rivalling the Palaces of ancient times. It had three halls, with wreathed pillars, surmounted by a rich frieze, on which the arms of the Pope, the Cardinal, and the Duke of Ferrara were hung. The open sides of these halls looked into the court, which, on its fourth side, was closed by a stage prepared for the theatrical representations which were to be given. In the middle of the court were two fountains, supplied with water from the roof of the Basilica. The whole open space was protected by an awning from the rays of the sun. Five spacious sleeping rooms for the Princess and her ladies opened into the first hall. The gentlemen of her suite were accommodated in fourteen chambers, similarly opening into that of the opposite wing. The middle hall, looking across to the stage, was in front of the Church over against its portico. Externally, the edifice was painted to resemble stone; within, the walls, ceilings, and floors were covered with gold-embroidered carpets and precious tapestries and stuffs, so that the wood-work nowhere appeared."*

The banqueting-hall of this palace was kept cool by means of three bellows, out of sight, and here was to be seen the marvellous tapestry, representing the creation of the world, made by order of Pope Nicholas V., and believed to be unequalled in Christendom. This masterpiece of art was afterwards hopelessly lost.† The luxury of the interior was indescribable; silk, damask, and gold brocade were lavished in reckless profusion; even the meanest vessels were made of pure silver and gilt! However highly we may estimate the extravagance of the age,

* SCHMARSOW, 51. To the authorities here cited may be added the Reports in CORVISIERI, X., 645 *seq.*

† See KINKEL in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1879, p. 3003.

such senseless prodigality must necessarily have given cause for scandal and offence.*

On Whit-sunday, after the Mass at St. Peter's, the Princess, attired with dazzling splendour, was received by the Pope, and in the afternoon the History of Susanna † was represented by a Florentine troupe.

On Whit-monday, Riario gave a banquet in her honour, which, in its sumptuous and unreasonable luxury, recalled the heathen days of Imperial Rome.‡ If the silk-clad servants, and the splendid decoration of the hall, the great sideboard, with its twelve épergnes and masses of silver plate, was enough to astonish the guests, the feast itself was even more marvellous. Before its commencement, sweetmeats, oranges encrusted with sugar, and malvoisie were offered to the company, and then rose-water for the hands. The guests took their places at the table to the sound of trumpets and fifes. Only ten persons sat at the principal table with Leonora, eight belonging to her suite, her host and Girolamo Riario. The banquet lasted six

* See INFESSURA, 1144, who indignantly exclaims: "Oh guarda in quale cosa bisogna che si adoperi lo tesauro della chiesa." See also AMMANATI, Epist., 548, and the **Report of T. Calcagnini of 7th June, 1473. University Library, Padua.

† See Leonora's Letter of the 10th June, in CORVISIERI, X., 647 *seq.*, and the **Reports of Sacramorus and T. Calcagnini; as also a Letter from the Ambassador of the Duke of Modena, dated Rome, 1473, June 7 (State Archives, Modena), now published by OLIVI, 26–7.

‡ Besides the documents published by CORVISIERI, X., 648 *seq.*, and, in particular, the Princess's Letter of the 10th June, we may here refer to the **Reports of Sacramorus (State Archives, Milan) and T. Calcagnini, written on the 7th June, and already cited. The latter of these, which I found in the University Library, Padua, is also interesting, as having furnished the foundation of Corio's account: its length is such that I am obliged to publish it elsewhere. Of more modern writers, see SCHMARSOW, 52 *seq.*, and MÜNTZ, 50 *seq.*

whole hours; there were three courses, during which forty-four dishes were served; amongst them were stags roasted whole and in their skins, goats, hares, calves, herons, peacocks with their feathers, and finally, a bear with a staff in his jaws. Most of the dishes were for show, the bread was gilt, the fish and other viands were brought to table overlaid with silver. The sweets and confectionery were countless, and all sorts of artistic shapes. Amongst other devices, the labours of Hercules were represented the size of life; and a mountain with a gigantic and apparently living serpent. Sugar fortresses, with towers and citadels from which banners waved, were borne in and thrown amongst the people from the balcony. "Ten great ships sailed in, made of confectionery and laden with sugared almonds, which, in allusion to the arms of the Rovere, were shaped like acorns. Next came the triumph of Venus, drawn in a chariot by swans," then a mountain from which a man emerged and expressed his astonished admiration of the banquet. Allegorical figures also appeared during the feast, amongst others, a youth who sang verses in Latin, and announced: "At the command of the Father of the Gods I am come, and bring you joyful news: Envy us no longer the festivals of our Heaven, for Jupiter himself is a guest at your board." *

Towards the end of the entertainment a ballet was danced on a stage by ancient heroes with their mistresses; while it was going on, ten Centaurs suddenly burst in upon the scene, with little wooden shields and clubs, and were driven away by Hercules. Bacchus, and also Andromeda, were represented, and "other things," says a writer belonging to the Princess's suite, "which I do not remember or did

* See CORVISIERI, X., 649, where a colon should be inserted after 'jubet.'

not understand, as I was not a proficient in Humanistic studies."*

Leonora received many costly gifts from Sixtus IV. and the Cardinals; she remained in Rome until the 10th June.† Other spectacles, of a more Christian character, were provided in her honour, forming a striking contrast to the mythological representations we have described.‡

The splendid reception of the Neapolitan Princess had, in part, a political object; it was intended to make the alliance between the Pope and Ferrante evident to the world. This agreement had cost the Pope considerable sacrifices, but it put an end to a ceaseless series of disputes, and, for a time, delivered the Apostolic See from apprehensions which had caused much distress to Paul II.§ A family connection was to confirm the alliance with Naples. In the spring of 1472, on the death of Antonio Colonna, Lionardo della Rovere had become City Prefect.|| Soon afterwards, he married a natural daughter of Ferrante, and Sora, Arpino, and other territories were bestowed on the newly-married couple. Both outwardly and inwardly, Lionardo was so poorly gifted that he was the laughing-stock of the Romans. Thus the union was anything but an attractive one. In order to bring it about, Sixtus IV. renounced his right of sovereignty over Sora, and Ferrante agreed to invest Rovere with that fief.¶

* **Report of T. Calcagnini in the University Library, Padua.

† OLIVI, 29, is wrong in naming the 9th.

‡ CORVISIERI, X., 653. For some account of similar feasts in that age of luxury, see MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 225 *seq.*; and in REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 310 *seq.*, 2nd ed., the description of B. Salutati's banquet on the 16th February, 1476.

§ Sixtus IV. alludes to this fact in a **Brief of the 30th May, 1472. State Archives, Milan.

|| **Brief of the 17th Febr., 1472. State Archives, Florence.

¶ SCHMARSOW, 12.

Not satisfied with what he had already obtained, the Neapolitan Monarch now brought forward the question of the feudatory tribute, and, in this matter also, Sixtus IV. shewed himself exceedingly complaisant, remitting the whole tribute, together with all other debts. The King, in return, bound himself to send a white horse yearly to Rome, in recognition of the tenure of his fief, to take part in the war against the Turks, to defend the coasts of the States of the Church against pirates, and, if necessary, to support the Pope, at his own expense, with an armed force.* Platina admits that this agreement was disapproved of by many.† Sixtus IV., in writing to the Duke of Milan, quotes the advice of the Cardinals and the intention of Pius II. in justification of his renunciation of territory, adding that the fief had brought the Church more trouble than gain, and that the Duke himself had advised the measure.‡

"After this beginning, a crafty diplomatist like Ferrante too clearly perceived the advantages promised by the alliance with the Pope to refrain from making use of it for his own ends. In the spring it was evident that nothing would come of the Italian League. The King soon succeeded in rendering the negotiations with the agents of the different States, who had come to Rome, ineffectual, and lost no time in writing to inform the

* See the *Letters of Sixtus IV. to Ferrante, dated Rome, 1472, Febr. 28 and March 11, in Cod. B. 19, f. 122b and 125 of the Vallicellana Library, Rome. Also RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1471, N. 82, and 1472, N. 57–8; GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost. and Mél. d'Archéol., 185, 1888.

† PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1059; SCHMARSOW, *loc. cit.* In a *Letter, dated Rome, 1472, April 2, Cardinal Gonzaga mentions the remission of the Neapolitan tribute. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ **Brief of 30th May, 1472. State Archives, Milan.

Milanese of the dissolution of the compact between him and them." *

This disturbance of the relations between Milan and Naples was extremely disagreeable to the Pope, who earnestly endeavoured to prevent a breach between the two powers.† He had reason to hope for success, from the fact that his relations with Milan, which had always been good, had of late been drawn yet closer. Platina informs us that, either from jealousy at Rovere's elevation to the post of City Prefect and to the Dukedom of Sora, or else in obedience to the wishes of the Lord of Milan, the Cardinal of S. Sisto had exerted himself to promote the betrothal of his brother Girolamo with Sforza's grand-niece, the daughter of Conrad of Cotignola. Girolamo had hitherto been a grocer, or, some say, a public scrivener in Savona. The little town of Bosco was now purchased for him at the price of 14,000 golden florins. Riario even went so far as to have Cardinal Giuliano's youthful brother secretly conveyed from Pavia to Rome, because Galeazzo Maria Sforza had cast his eyes upon him, and expressed a wish that this nephew of the Pope's should be connected with his family by marriage. When Giovanni della Rovere so suddenly disappeared from Pavia, Galeazzo changed his plans. The Countess of Cotignola made difficulties about the dowry, with the result that this alliance was relinquished, and Girolamo Riario married instead Caterina Sforza, a natural daughter of the Duke, and was made Count of Bosco.‡

* SCHMARSOW, 12.

† **Brief of the 30th May, 1472, *loc. cit.*

‡ PLATINA, 1059; SCHMARSOW, 12–13. Cardinal P. Riario, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1472, June 20, thanked the Duke of Milan for having invested his brother with Bosco. (State Archives, Milan.) *B. Bonattus, writing from Rome on June 3, 1472, mentions 16,000 ducats

Meanwhile, all danger of war between Milan and Naples had ceased. On the 22nd June, the Pope had urged the Duke to keep on good terms with the King of Naples, assuring him that in no way could he give him greater pleasure.* On the 17th July, he was able to express his satisfaction to Galeazzo in learning that he meant, for the future, to preserve amicable relations with Naples.†

Cardinal Riario was now in the fullest enjoyment of the favour of the Pope. He seemed, says a contemporary, able to do whatever he wished. A chronicler speaks of him as being the first among the Cardinals, having the complete control of the Papal treasure, and the Pope himself entirely in his hands.‡ "Not the reserved, brusque Giuliano, but the versatile and agreeable Pietro was the one to conduct all negotiations, and, with undeniable skill, to assist Sixtus IV., who had little experience in diplomacy, in all the more important business of the State."§ The influence of the Cardinal of S. Sisto had in a very short time become so great that he was feared, not only by the Cardinals, but even by Sixtus IV. himself, to whom nothing but the

as the sum paid for Bosco, and says that the whole business was carried out "molto secreta." (Gonzaga Archives.) Girolamo went in person to Milan; see in Appendix, N. 47, the *Brief of the 22nd June, from the State Archives, Milan. Regarding the splendid presents given by Girolamo to his bride, see MAGENTA, II., 351 *seq.*

* *Brief of the 22nd June, 1472. (State Archives, Milan.) See Appendix, N. 48.

† *Brief of the 17th July, 1472. State Archives, Milan.

‡ "*Card. de S. Sisto dicto fratre Pietro da Savona ord. min. primo cardinale di Roma lo quale havea ne le mane tutto el thesauro de papa Sisto et che gubernava la Sua Sta come voleva et ad minus cavalchava cum trecento cavali. et era de estode de anni circa 23 in 24." U. CALEFFINI, Cronica Ferrariae, f. 38. Cod. I.-I.-4, Chigi Library, Rome.

§ SCHMARSOW, 10-11.

Papal dignity seemed left, while all real power was in the hands of the favourite.*

The year 1473 was one of trouble for Sixtus IV. In February he was attacked by an illness,† in consequence of which he spent the hot season on the airy heights of Tivoli.‡ All through the summer he was harassed by political anxieties. In May, tidings came that the Duke of Milan had sold Imola to the Florentines for 100,000 florins, and, at the same time, he heard that the Hungarians had entered into an agreement with the Turks, and meant to attack the Venetians in Dalmatia.§ The last of these reports was false, but the first proved correct.

The Pope was greatly, and very reasonably, disturbed by the sale of Imola. Neither he nor Ferrante could "calmly witness" the extension of Florentine domination "into the Romagna, which would introduce relations of a very different order from those maintained with the small existing dynasties. Moreover, the measure was also unwelcome, because it would obviously tend to stimulate the desire of Venice for further annexations."|| On the 16th of May, a Brief of admonition and complaint was addressed to the Duke of Milan, informing him that the Pope would not, on

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 123; Cr. di Viterbo di Giov. di Juzzo, 104. See CORIO, 264.

† See in Appendix, N. 49, the *Brief of the 24th February, 1473. State Archives, Milan.

‡ According to the *Acta Consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Pope was absent from Rome from the 19th July to the 13th November. AMMANATI, Epist., 478, 514, 518, condemns this sojourn of Sixtus IV. at Tivoli. "He forgot," remarks SCHMARSOW, 17, "when he said this, that Pius II. had loved to stay there." Regarding the care of Sixtus IV. for Tivoli, see VIOLA, III., 108.

§ *Letter of Ol. de Bonafrugis of 26th May, 1473. Gonzaga Archives.

|| REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 256, 2nd ed.

any account, permit the sale of Imola.* This declaration was repeated in Papal Missives to Florence itself, to the King of Naples, and to the Bolognese.† A week later, Sixtus IV. again begged the Duke to revoke the sale of this city, which belonged to the Church. "O my son!" he writes, in concluding his letter, "listen to your father's counsel; depart not from the Church, for it is written: 'Whoever separates himself from thee, must perish.'"‡ Shortly afterwards, on the 6th June, another Brief was written to the Duke, who had meanwhile expressed his willingness to comply with the Pope's desire. The importance attached by Sixtus IV. to the matter is manifested by the fact that he again wrote with his own hand.§

On this occasion the Pope obtained all that he wished. Galeazzo Maria Sforza restored Imola to the Holy See for the sum of 40,000 ducats, and, with the consent of the Cardinals, Sixtus IV. conferred it as a fief upon Girolamo Riario.‖

There can be no doubt that these circumstances were connected with the tour through Italy which Cardinal Riario undertook, in the middle of the summer of 1473, as Legate for the whole of that country.¶ The commencement of this journey was far from propitious. The Cardinal's efforts to compose the party strife in Umbria

* See the **Brief of the 16th May, 1473. State Archives, Milan.

† See the **Brief of 17th May, 1473, in the State Archives, Bologna.

‡ I also found this interesting **Brief, which is in Sixtus IV.'s own handwriting, dated Rome [1473], May 23, in the State Archives, Milan.

§ **Original in the State Archives, Milan.

‖ RATTI, II., 35 *seq.*; BURRIEL, III., XXIX. *seq.*; TONDUZZI, Faenza, 506; RIGHI, II., 229.

¶ Not late in summer, as SCHMARSOW, 16, says, for, on the 6th August, 1473, *Cardinal Riario writes "ex Tuderto." (State Archives, Florence.) Arch. Med. Filza, 46, f. 263.

were unsuccessful. Spoleto and Perugia refused to obey his commands. "The Legate indignantly turned to Gubbio, whither he had summoned the petty princes of the Flaminian and Pisan territory to meet him; but Niccolo Vitelli, who was practically tyrant of Città di Castello, answered his invitation by saying that he was a private individual, and a simple burgess of his native city; an assembly of Princes in no way concerned him, as he had never coveted so high a title. Thus the Legate was mocked, and the competency of his tribunal denied."* The immediate punishment of the refractory Vitelli being impossible, Riario proceeded to Florence,† to take possession of his Archiepiscopal See, amid great festivities.‡ On the 12th September he entered Milan. The Duke received him with royal honours, conducted him in triumph to the Cathedral, and then to the Castle, where, as if he had been the Pope himself, apartments were given him, and the keys of the Citadel delivered to him each night. In the

* PLATINA, Sixt. IV., 1060; SCHMARSOW, 16. In regard to the dispute concerning the marriage ring of the Blessed Virgin, which at this time occupied the Perugians and then the Pope, see GRAZIANI, 644; PELLINI, 712 *seq.*, 726 *seq.*, 731 *seq.*; BONAZZI, 686 *seq.*; FANTONI, Del pronubo anello della Vergine, Perugia, 1673; CAVALLUCCI, Istoria del s. anello, Perugia, 1783.

† He announced his arrival to Lorenzo in the following words: *"Prest^me^ vir ut frater car^me^. Proximo [die] lune ad vos venturi summemus iter, quod scientes Tue Prest^tie^ gratum fore scribere voluimus. Vale. Augusti xx., 1473, P[etrus] S. Sixti presb. card., patriarcha Constant. Perusiae etc. legatus." Original in the Arch. Med. Filza, 46, f. 268, State Archives, Florence, where are also a number of *Letters of Riario's, from which the further course of his journey may be learned. He dates ult. Aug. Florentiole, IV. Sept. Bononiae, 18 Octob. ex sancto Cassano.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 255, 2nd ed., where the "eulogistic verses" of Angelo Poliziano, "with their evil bombast and profane idolatry," are mentioned.

negotiations which ensued, the Cardinal succeeded in securing the favour of the Duke for himself. Report, moreover, spoke of a compact then entered into, by virtue of which the Pope was to make the Duke of Milan "King of Lombardy, and give him possession of all the cities and provinces appertaining to this dignity." The Duke, in return, it was said, promised to help Cardinal Riario to obtain the Tiara. It was even asserted that, on his return to Rome, the Pope would resign the Chair of St. Peter in favour of his nephew!*

From Milan, Riario proceeded by way of Mantua† and Padua to Venice, where further festivities awaited him. By the end of October‡ he was again in Rome. Soon afterwards Sixtus IV. thanked the Duke of Milan for his splendid reception of Riario, and confirmed the arrangements entered into by the latter.§

Two months more brought the scandalous life and

* SCHMARSOW, 16 *seq.*, and BURCKHARDT, I., 101, 2nd ed., are inclined to give credit to Corio's Report. See also Arch. St. Lomb., III., 449, and VI., 721 *seq.* I have found nothing concerning this matter in the Ambassadors' Despatches.

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 175–6.

‡ This appears from a *Brief of Sixtus IV. to Bologna, dated Rome, 1473, Oct. 28, in which he says, "as soon as ever Cardinal Riario returned, he told me of his splendid reception at Bologna;" the Pope then expresses his thanks. (State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.) With this accords the following notice in the *Cronica Ferrariae of the Notary Caleffini: *"1473 a di 13 de Octobre arivò in Ferrara il card. S. Sisto cum circa 300 cavali nominato frate Pietro da Savona; he had been in Lombardy and Venice; the Duke went to meet him, and shewed him great honour. On the 15th, the Cardinal started for Rome per la via de la Marcha." Cod. I.–I.–4, Chigi Library, Rome.

§ See in Appendix, N. 50, the *Brief of 2nd Nov., 1473, from the State Archives, Milan. See CORIO, 276, whose manner of expressing himself lacks exactness and clearness.

ambitious projects of the Pope's nephew to an end. In the third week of December, 1473, Riario was attacked by a violent fever;* on the 5th January, 1474, he was a corpse.† Venetian poison was spoken of by some, but the statement of other contemporaries, who say that the Cardinal, though only eight and twenty years of age, fell a victim to his own excesses, is more probable.‡ The

* See the *Report of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1473, Dec. 20, who speaks of "febre continua" and "gran indisposition del stomacho"; only the physicians were admitted to see him. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Riario must soon have recovered; see the Despatch of the 30th Dec. 1473, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 264, when a relapse ensued.

† *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, and *Letter of the Mantuan Ambassador, dated Rome, 1474, Jan. 5.

‡ A highly-coloured apologetic article, "Il card. fra Pietro Riario," in the Civ. Catt., III., 705, 1868, questions the testimony of Raph. Volaterranus, because he wrote his "Commentarii" thirty years after the death of the Cardinal; this objection cannot be raised against that of PALMERIUS, who expressly says, p. 257: "morbo ex intemperantia contracto moritur." See also Arrivabene's *Report of the 20th Dec., 1473, cited above. Riario was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles, where the well-known beautiful monument was erected in his memory (see SCHMARSOW, 166 *seq.*). The obsequies took place on the 18th Jan., according to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. In Cod. 45, C. 18, of the Corsini Library, Rome, f. 117–23, is the *Oratio in funere rev^di d. Petri card. S. Sixti habita Romae a rev^do patre d. Nicolao episc. Modrusien, a tissue of flatteries which must be received with the greatest circumspection. The orator may be more easily credited when he praises Riario's great "liberalitas"; he then continues: "Extinctus jacet optimarum artium dedicatissimus amator. Interiit omnium studiosorum praecipuus fautor, cultor bonorum (!) curiae splendor, ornamentum civitatis et huius urbis diligentissimus restaurator." The notice, f. 119, "Nullas a ministris impensarum exigebat rationes: nulla computa exigere volebat," is interesting, as a proof of his neglect of money matters. CIACONIUS, III., 43, says that the "Oratio in funere Petri card. S. Sixti habita a Nicolao episc. Modrusien" has been published.

Report of a Milanese Ambassador also informs us that Riario was converted before his end, received the holy Sacraments, and died truly penitent.*

All Rome wept with Sixtus IV. over the untimely death of the pomp-loving Cardinal. The feeling of the people is expressed by the Senatorial Secretary, Infessura, who says: "Our delightful feasts all came to an end, and every one lamented the death of Riario." † In the short period of his cardinalate he had squandered 200,000, or, according to some accounts, 300,000 golden florins, and the debts which he left amounted to 60,000 florins.‡ Justice, however, requires us to add that Riario had also spent some of his wealth on noble objects. "In his love of splendour we trace the taste of the period for that artistic embellishment of existence, without which the temporal rulers of the day, even the wildest and most warlike of them, deemed it impossible to live. During his sojourn at his Palace of the Holy Apostles," continues Melozzo da Forli's biographer, "his love of the fine arts was evidenced by the way in which he attracted to himself, and gathered into his service, all the talent that Rome afforded." § This account is confirmed by the statement of a Roman scholar, who, after a thorough investigation of the subject, asserts that every poet at

* Letter of Sacramorus, written on the 5th Jan., 1474, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 262–4.

† INFESSURA, 1144. Many cutting satirical verses were also composed on the occasion; see CORIO, 276, and SCHMARSOW, 338; of this class is the Epitaphium rev. d. Petri cardlis Sixti IV. in the rare little volume entitled "Epitaphia claror. viror.," Strasburg, 1510.

‡ Cr. di Viterbo di Giov. di Juzzo, 104, and RAPH. VOLATERRANUS, XXII., f. 234.

§ SCHMARSOW, 50; see 54, 163, where it is shewn that, after critical investigation, the connection of Melozzo da Forli with Cardinal Riario, although very probable, is not absolutely proved.

that time living in Rome has commemorated the Cardinal as a patron of talent.* The funeral discourse pronounced at his obsequies makes mention of the valuable library which he was preparing to establish in his Palace, and also his restorations and embellishments of churches at Treviso, Milan, Pavia, and Rome.†

* CORVISIERI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 478 *seq.* See also CORSIGNANI, II., 468, and Civ. Catt., III., 696 *seq.*, 1868.

† In particular, S. Gregorio in Rome ; with regard to the Church of the Holy Apostles, the funeral discourse only declares that Riario intended to beautify it. Cod. 45, C. 18, f. 121b–122 of the Corsini Library, Rome.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIAN, KING OF DENMARK AND NORWAY, AND FEDERIGO OF URBINO IN ROME.— DISTURBANCES IN THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE'S EXPEDITION INTO UMBRIA.— FEDERIGO BECOMES DUKE OF URBINO, AND GIVES HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE TO GIOVANNI DELLA ROVERE.—THE LEAGUE OF THE 2ND NOVEMBER, 1474.

SIXTUS IV. consoled himself more quickly than had been expected for the death of his beloved nephew.* For a few days he gave himself up to his sorrow, no one, not even the Cardinals, being admitted to his presence ; † but on the 10th January, 1474, the Mantuan Ambassador was able to inform the Marchioness that the Pope was beginning to get over

* Even the *Brief of the 6th Jan., 1474, to Ercole of Este has a calm and collected tone: *"Sed quoniam ita fuit Dei voluntas, in cuius potestate omnia posita sunt, ferendum est equo animo iuxta illud : Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, ut domino placuit, sic factum est, sit nomen domini benedictum." The Original is in the State Archives, Modena. The same quotation occurs in the *Briefs of like import dated Rome, 1474, Jan. 6, which informed the Florentines and the Duke of Milan of P. Riario's death, and commended Girolamo Riario to them. (State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 59, and State Archives, Milan, Autogr.) It may indeed be a question how far the official letters of the time represented the feelings of the Pope.

† "His Holiness," Marquess Giov. Francesco Gonzaga writes from Rome on the 9th Jan., 1471, to Marchioness Barbara, *"sta molto strata et cum dolore et ad niuno se lasse vedere fin qui ne ad cardinali ne ad altri." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Riario's loss.* The question as to who would now exercise the influence wielded by the late Cardinal, whose jealousy had kept all others in the background, and on whom would his wealth devolve, was eagerly and generally discussed. Some predicted the elevation of Girolamo Riario, while others thought it would be Cardinal Orsini, who had now no opponent.†

Riario's possessions, regarding which fabulous stories were circulated, passed to his brother, Girolamo, who inherited with them much of his influence.‡ Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere also became a prominent figure. The conduct of this nephew of the Pope formed a happy contrast to that of Pietro Riario. Giuliano "was not distinguished by brilliant intellect or fine literary culture, but he was a man of serious disposition and great prudence, though frequently rough in his manner and proceedings. He did not surround himself with an extravagant number of attendants, and indulged in no needless expense in apparel or in living, yet his taste was good in his house and furniture, and he loved excellent workmanship. On suitable occasions, he knew how to give free play to the

* "*Benche N.S. doppo la morte de frate Petro ne in lo giorno de la epiphania uscisse fuori a la messa ne habia fatto consistorio ne voluto udire cardinale che sia andato a palatio, nondimeno se intende che de questo caso se ne porta piu constantemente che la brigata pensava e dice che vol attendere a vivere. Le conte Hieronymo sento gli fa persuasione assai a questo effecto." *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1474, Jan. 10. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† See J. P. Arrivabene's *Letter of the 10th Jan., 1474, cited in preceding note.

‡ See N. Benededei's Report in CAPELLI, 252. *"De qua," to use the words of J. P. Arrivabene in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1474, March 5, "lo conte Jeronimo continua in grande favore e reputatione e fa piu che tuti li altri." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

largeness of his nature."* Such occasions presented themselves when princely persons visited his uncle in the Eternal City, and in 1474 and 1475 they were of frequent occurrence.

Early in March, 1474, it was rumoured that King Christian of Denmark and Norway was coming to Rome. Sixtus IV. at once declared his intention of shewing all possible honour to the Northern Prince, and lodging him in the palace formerly occupied by Frederick III.;† he also wrote him a very cordial letter of welcome.‡ If, as would seem probable from recent investigations, the motive of the King's journey was principally religious, the joy of the Pope and the attentions paid to his guest can easily be understood.§ Moreover, Sixtus IV. hoped for

* SCHMARSOW, 18, where is also a good remark regarding the authority of Jacobus Volaterranus. He also justly observes (see p. 10) that the description of Giuliano's first years as a Cardinal given by BROSCH (5 *seq.*) needs many corrections.

† *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1474, March 3. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1474, N. 1. The date is not given by Raynaldus, and is also wanting in the MS. B.–19, f. 220, of the Vallicellana Library, Rome. Regarding the pilgrimage of Christian I. to Rome (which MANNI, 79, wrongly assigns to the year 1475), see, besides CANCELLIERI, Notizie della venuta in Roma di Canuto II., e di Christiano I., re di Danimarca negli anni 1027, e 1474, etc. (Roma, 1820), LÖHER in the Hist. Taschenbuch, 1869, p. 266 *seq.*, and HOFMANN, Barbara, 23; especially the Danish Monograph of F. KROGH, published in Copenhagen in 1872. In this work the documents in the State Archives, Milan, are used but partially, and without accurate references. Krogh is not acquainted with the *Letters from the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which we shall cite.

§ KROGH, 7. In Germany, certainly, every one spoke only of the political objects of this journey, and cities and Bishops heard of it with anxiety. LÖHER, *loc. cit.*, 267. There is no doubt that various diplomatic negotiations were connected with Christian's pilgrimage.

the assistance of Christian I. in the war against the Turks; he was aware that the King believed in a prophecy which had declared that a Northern Ruler was destined to conquer and expel the Infidel.

The King, a grave man, with a long gray beard, came with 150 followers; all were soberly clad, and pilgrims' staves were embroidered on the housings of their horses.* On the 6th of April the travellers entered Rome. Christian I. was overwhelmed with tokens of honour; the whole Court went to meet him and conducted him to St. Peter's. Here Sixtus IV. would have embraced him at once, but the King knelt down with all his followers, and begged for the Papal blessing. When he rose from his knees, the Pope embraced him and conducted him to his Palace. Cardinals Gonzaga and Giuliano della Rovere provided for the hospitable entertainment of the visitors.†

During the whole time of his sojourn in Rome, Christian I. paid such honour and attention to the Pope and the clergy, that he was often cited as an example to the Italians of the manner in which they ought to bear themselves towards the Church and her servants.‡ The Pope gave the royal pilgrim a portion of the true Cross and other relics, a portable altar,§ a splendid mule with a bridle studded with gold, a valuable ring, and other

* See SCHIVENOGLIA, 177–8. The Italians wondered at the fair hair and complexions of the Northerns; see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 111; *Ghirardacci, Hist. di Bologna, writes: "Era questo re tutto vestito di negro con una beretta rossa e portava nel petto un segno come portono li pelegrini che vanno a S. Jacomo di Galezia." Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

† KROGH, 46; SCHMARSOW, 18.

‡ S. AMMANATI, Epist., 556, of the Frankfort edition. The date, April 4, also given in the Milan edition, f. 276b, must be wrong; perhaps it ought to be IV. Idus April = 10th April.

§ Now in the Museum at Copenhagen.

precious things. On Maundy Thursday, after Holy Mass, Sixtus IV. bestowed his blessing on the King, and granted him an Indulgence. On Easter Sunday Christian received Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope, and the Golden Rose. He also received costly gifts from the Cardinals, and, in return, presented them with beautiful furs, and other choice products of his kingdom.*

King Christian remained in Rome for three weeks, Sixtus IV. shewing him honour in every possible way.† The conversations between the Pope and the King dealt with the question of the Crusade, the affairs of the Northern Kingdom, and perhaps other political projects, such as the possibility of changing the Ducal Crown of Sforza into a Royal one.‡ As the Papal Bull for the foundation of the University of Copenhagen is dated 12th June, 1475, the erection of such an institution in the North must also, at this time, have come under discussion.§ The Pope shewed great readiness in meeting the wishes of his royal guest with regard to several other Bulls, and Christian was so much delighted with his sojourn in Rome that he had a medal struck to commemorate it.||

* KROGH, 52–3. See Lübeckische Chroniken, published by GRAUTOFF, II., 358, where, in some cases, dates different from those of Krogh are given ; the latter, however, being supported by the Letters of the Milanese Ambassadors, deserves the preference.

† See the *Report of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1474, April 19. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ LÖHER, *loc. cit.*, 267 *seq.* ; KROGH, 47.

§ The University at Copenhagen was opened on the 1st June, 1479, the High School at Upsala having been inaugurated on the 22nd Sept., 1477 ; see KROGH, 54, and C. ANNERSTEDT, Upsala universitets historia. Första. delen. (Upsala, 1877).

|| The only example of this Medal, possessed by the Royal Collection in Copenhagen, was lost in 1805 ; KROGH, 55. How far Sixtus IV. consented to the extension of Royal rights over the Danish Clergy, which, by the advice of Albrecht of Brandenburg, Christian

After again devoutly visiting the seven principal Churches,* Christian I. started on the 27th April on his homeward journey.† The Milanese Ambassador informs us that all the Cardinals conducted him, with every token of respect, to the gate of the City. Two members of the Sacred College accompanied him on his way, as far as the frontier of the Papal territory. According to the same Ambassador, Christian was the bearer of important letters from the Pope to the Emperor, Frederick III., a fact which proves that the opportunity afforded by this pilgrimage for discussing political affairs had not been neglected.‡

Soon after the departure of Christian, Count Federigo of Urbino, a former friend of the Pope, arrived in Rome.§ On this occasion also, Cardinal Giuliano was splendid in his hospitality; "he had given up his residence in S. Pietro in Vincoli to the City Prefect, and had moved to Bessarion's Palace, near the Church of the Holy Apostles."‖ On the 28th May, the Count was solemnly received by the Pope; Sixtus IV. had "assigned him a place in the Chapel on the benches of the Sacred College, so that he sat immediately below the last Cardinal, an honour hitherto reserved for the eldest sons of Kings." Although d'Estouteville and Gonzaga were extremely annoyed at this arrangement, the Pope adhered to it.¶ His motive

sought to obtain, I am unable to say. (See Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., VII., 98–9.)

* This is expressly stated by J. P. Arrivabene in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1474, April 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of Sacramorus, dated Rome, 1474, April 28. State Archives, Milan, "Roma."

‡ See KROGH, 55.

§ BALDI, III., 208; REPOSATI, I., 42.

‖ SCHMARSOW, 18–19.

¶ JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, Diarium, 95. See two *Reports of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1474, May 28. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

was soon evident. A marriage was in contemplation between a daughter of Federigo and Giuliano's younger brother, Giovanni della Rovere, who was to be given Sinigaglia and Mondavio. Even before it had been discussed in Consistory the Pope had impressed upon the Count the impossibility of obtaining the consent of the Cardinals to the project.* Jacobus Volaterranus informs us that it was looked upon in the Sacred College as a dangerous example of nepotism. Federigo was obliged to depart without effecting his purpose.†

During the Count's sojourn in Rome, and at the very time when the Pope was occupied in taking precautions against an impending dearth, tidings reached him of the murder of Gabriello Catalani, the Guelph Lord of Todi, and of the outbreak in that city of an insurrection which seemed likely to spread.‡ All the discontented from Umbria, and especially from Spoleto, with their partisans, flocked into Todi, and were headed by Giordano Orsini and the Counts of Pitigliano.§ Soon the whole of the province was in commotion. Rioting, murder, and incendiarism were the order of the day. If the whole place was not to be given over to absolute anarchy, "it was necessary to act at once with a strong hand."‖

At the beginning of June, Sixtus IV. sent Cardinal Giuliano to restore peace in Todi by force of arms.¶ The

* *Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1474, May 27. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† See *Cardinal Gonzaga's Letters, dated Rome, 1474, June 2 and 4, *loc. cit.*

‡ PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1061.

§ The people of Spoleto had already, at the beginning of the year, given trouble to those of Ceretano. See the *Brief of 3rd Febr., 1474. State Archives, Florence.

‖ Opinion of SCHMARSOW, 20.

¶ See the **Letter of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to Lorenzo

task was one of great difficulty, but in selecting Giuliano the Pope had chosen a man well fitted to carry it out.* "Accustomed to privations, and to the stern discipline of the cloister, the Cardinal did not shrink from the hardships of a soldier's life. With the assistance of the valiant Giulio of Camerino, he forced his way into Todi. Giordano Orsini and the Count of Pitigliano withdrew, some of the insurgents were cast into prison and others banished, and all communication between the country people and the city was cut off." †

Cardinal Giuliano then turned his arms against Spoleto, which, at the time, was in the hands of the party of the Orsini. At 3000 paces from the city he halted, and, through Lorenzo Zane, Patriarch of Antioch, called upon the inhabitants to lay down their arms. Thereupon many of the citizens fled, carrying their most valuable possessions to the mountain fortresses in the neighbourhood; the rest accepted the Ambassador's offers of peace, went to meet

de' Medici, dated Rome, 1474, June 1 (State Archives, Florence), and Sixtus IV.'s Brief to Perugia of the same day. Arch. St. Ital., XVI., 588. The day of Giuliano's departure from Rome is not mentioned in the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which, for this period, are very fragmentary and incomplete. The Pope, at the same time, appealed to the friendly powers for their support; see the *Brief of the 1st June, 1474, in Appendix, N. 51. (State Archives, Milan.) The Cardinal's Mission to Todi was announced to the people of Spoleto by a Brief of the 3rd June, 1474; see SANSI, Saggio di Doc., 43–5.

* Even in 1472 Sixtus IV. had endeavoured to appease disturbances which had broken out in Todi. Two *Briefs to Perugia, one dated 1472, April 16, and the other s. die, are excerpted in Cod. C. IV. 1, University Library, Genoa.

† PLATINA, 1061; FRANTZ, 153; SCHMARSOW, 20. See also Sixtus IV.'s *Brief to Florence of the 20th June (State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 62b–63), and that to Ercole d'Este of the 14th July, 1474. State Archives, Modena.

the Legate, and begged for pardon. Giuliano garrisoned the gates of the city, and had already begun to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, when, in defiance of his express command, the greedy mercenaries began to plunder. Most of these men were from Camerino and Ceretano, and were bent on retaliating on the people of Spoleto the depredations which they had suffered at their hands. The Legate's voice was powerless to restrain the lawless troops; indeed, his own life was at one moment in danger. He could only be thankful that he was able to save the Episcopal Palace and the Convents, and to preserve the women and maidens from outrage. "Such," observes Platina, "was the fate of the Spoletans, who had despised the Pope's commands, and had filled their city with the spoils of their neighbours."*

At the end of June, the Cardinal proceeded to the upper valley of the Tiber, where Niccolo Vitelli, the tyrant of Città di Castello, replied to all remonstrances from Rome with words of open scorn. He was charged with having lent assistance to the insurgents in Todi and Spoleto: the time had come when he must be compelled to submit. His contumacy seemed all the more dangerous, because it found favour with his neighbours. "Whenever any political dispute should break out with Rome, the forcible alienation of the important district on the borders of Tuscany was to be apprehended. The adjacent stronghold of Borgo San Sepolcro was still in the hands of the Florentines, to whom it had been mortgaged by Eugenius IV. The Pope was bound to put an end to this state of

* PLATINA, 1061–2. See SCHMARSOW, 20; FRANTZ, 154 *seq.*; CAMPELLO, lib. XXXVII.; PELLINI, 740; SANSI, Saggio di Doc., 43–4, and Storia, 68 *seq.* In the *Briefs of June 20 and July 14, 1474, already mentioned, Sixtus IV. speaks of Giuliano's resistance to the plunder of Spoleto.

things." Not till all peaceable means had been exhausted did he proceed to force.* And even to the last he declared that, if Vitelli would submit, he would again receive him into favour, for he only sought obedience, not vengance.†

Vitelli, meanwhile, had no idea of submission; he rejected the easy conditions offered by Cardinal Giuliano, who was accordingly compelled to lay siege to Città di Castello. Sorties were made every day, and the Papal troops repeatedly suffered serious losses. But a far greater danger threatened them in the consequences of an alliance which Vitelli had succeeded in negotiating with Milan and Florence. The Florentines, forgetful of benefits received from the Pope, even as recently as during the war of Volterra, had furnished the tyrant with money, and then, in spite of the absolute promise of Sixtus IV.‡ that their territory should remain inviolate, had sent 6000 men to Borgo San Sepolcro near Città di Castello, ostensibly for the protection of their frontier, but in reality with the object of assisting Vitelli whenever the situation should become critical.§ Sixtus IV. justly complained of the shameful manner in which help was thus given to "a

* SCHMARSOW, 21, where details are given in regard to Vitelli's defiant bearing towards Paul II. and Ammanati; the latter pleaded in favour of Vitelli, and thereby incurred the displeasure of Sixtus IV. See also REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 257, 2nd ed.

† See in Appendix, N. 52, the *Brief of the 25th June, 1474. State Archives, Milan.

‡ "*Promittimus enim vobis in verbo pontificis neque nos neque legatum nostrum neque ullas copias que illuc profecte sunt aut proficiscentur minimam offensiunculam terris aut agris vestris illaturas," are the words of the *Brief to Florence of the 28th June, 1474. State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 63b-64.

§ FRANTZ, 155; SCHMARSOW, 22. See the opinion of REUMONT. Lorenzo, I., 257, 2nd ed.

rebellious subject, whom no kindness had been able to win to obedience."*

During the siege of Città di Castello the attitude of Galeazzo Maria Sforza was very unsatisfactory. On the 5th June the Pope felt constrained to express his astonishment at the manner in which the Duke had written to him on this occasion, and to defend the justice of his action. The Pope said, "We ask nothing from Vitelli but obedience; if he will submit, and live as a private individual, We will be gracious to him, but no Prince can tolerate open rebellion. The excuse of the Florentines that they feared an attack on Borgo San Sepolcro, was hypocritical, for, on the 28th June, We had already pledged our word on this matter."†

In the middle of July, Milan and Florence began diplomatic action in favour of Vitelli; meanwhile, the Pope refused to accede to the request that he would withdraw his troops from Città di Castello, giving a full account of the motives which influenced his decision.‡ It is worthy of note that the King of Naples, who had received many benefits from Sixtus IV., also interfered on behalf of the rebels. Anarchy in the States of the Church was more in accordance with his wishes than peace and

* See *Brief to Ercole d'Este, dated Rome, 1474, July 14. State Archives, Modena.

† See the *Brief of 5th July, 1474, in Appendix, N. 53. (State Archives, Milan.) On the same day Sixtus IV. again wrote to Florence: *"Monemus et hortamur vos pro mutua benevolentia, pro iustitia ipsa et honestate, desinite ab inceptis favoribus quos Nicolao prestatis ne indignationem Dei contra vos provocetis." State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 64b-65b.

‡ This appears from the *Brief to Naples, Milan, and Florence, dated Rome, 1474, July 18 (Copy in the State Archives, Milan and Bologna, Q. 22), in which the Pope refuses the above-mentioned request.

order. The ingratitude of the Duke of Milan seems to have been particularly distressing to the Pope, who, on the 28th July, 1474, sent him an autograph letter, reproaching him in touching language.*

In this serious state of affairs Sixtus IV. turned to the warlike Count Federigo of Urbino. In order to make yet more sure of his fidelity, he bestowed on him, on the 21st August, the Ducal dignity with the same pomp and ceremonies observed in the case of Borso of Este three years before.† Two days after this, Federigo arrived at the Papal camp before Città di Castello.‡ On the appearance of this General, "who was reputed to be invincible," Vitelli expressed a willingness to negotiate. His bearing, however, was still anything but submissive. He knew that he had powerful friends to fall back upon, and he was also aware that Federigo had no intention of strengthening the Papal authority on his own borders. The daring rebel was able so to manage the negotiations, that the capitulation was not a submission, but an honourable treaty.§ It was decided that the Cardinal, with 200 soldiers, should be admitted into the city. The personal safety of the tyrant was guaranteed; Lorenzo Zane, Patriarch of Antioch, was to remain with a garrison in

* In Appendix, N. 54, I give this *Letter, which I found in the State Archives, Milan.

† Particulars are given in the Letter of J. P. Arrivabene of the 21st August, 1474, amongst AMMANATI, Epist., N. 568, of the Frankfort edition. See PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1062, and a *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1474, Aug. 21. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) REPOSATI, I., 250, wrongly gives the 23rd March, and REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 259, 2nd ed., the 23rd August as the day when the Ducal dignity was conferred.

‡ This we learn from a *Letter written by J. P. Arrivabene, and dated Rome, 1474, Aug. 26. Gonzaga Archives.

§ L'ÉPINOIS, 441; SCHMARSOW, 23.

the castle until the return of the exiles and the completion of a fort, for the erection of which, Giuliano had given orders. The army then withdrew, and the Cardinal, accompanied by Duke Federigo who brought Vitelli with him, started for Rome.*

The tidings of the fall of Città di Castello were received with great rejoicings in Rome; trumpets announced the event from S. Angelo, and more noise could not have been made about the taking of a Spartacus or a Sertorius; yet, adds Cardinal Gonzaga's Secretary, "I do not believe in a real submission, for there are crafty people who know how to mingle fire and water without disturbing any one."†

The capitulation was, indeed, calculated rather to encourage than to subdue Vitelli. It was in harmony with the whole course of this affair, which clearly shewed the character of the confederates with whom Sixtus IV. had to deal. "Surrounded by treachery, with such an ally as the crafty Ferrante of Naples at his side, and with neighbours like Lorenzo de' Medici, can the Pope be blamed for establishing his nephews firmly in the States of the Church, where a Cesare Borgia and a Pope like Julius II. were needed to purge it from its oppressors great and small?"‡

* SCHMARSOW, 23, who (p. 21, note 3) draws attention to the fact that Roberto Orsi's (De obsidione Tifernatum, Citta di Castello, 1538; and in TARTINIUS, II., 671 *seq.*—an Italian translation by E. Manucci appeared in 1866 at Perugia) account is that of a partisan of Vitelli's. See also UGOLINI, I., 507. In a Brief, dated Rome, 1474, Sept. 2, Sixtus IV. informs the Duke of Milan "deditionem civitatis nostre Castelli." The original is in the State Archives, Milan, and it was printed by MARTÈNE, II., 1468.

† Letter of J. P. Arrivabene of the 3rd Sept., 1474, in AMMANATI, Epist., 574, Frankfort edition. See *ibid.*, N. 575, and a *Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1474, Sept. 5. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ FRANTZ, 156–7.

Platina informs us that the Legate, on his journey back to Rome, was met by Envoys from many cities, who congratulated him and brought him valuable presents. These the Cardinal either declined, not from pride, but as unbefitting a servant of the Church, or else devoted to pious objects, like the restoration of Churches and Convents.* "On the 9th of September, early in the morning, Giuliano with the Duke reached the Porta Flaminia. All the Cardinals had been commanded by the Pope to go and meet him, but the hardy Ligurian was too early for them. Before the sun had risen he was in the Church of Sta Maria del Popolo. Thence he was conducted to his Palace with great pomp. The Duke, the City Prefect, and Count Girolamo rode in front, preceded by Vitelli amid some nobles." A Consistory was then held, and the vanquished rebel did homage.† The Pope was prevented by indisposition from taking part in these proceedings.‡

During the Duke of Urbino's sojourn in Rome on this occasion he received honours even greater than those bestowed upon him in the spring. The rooms provided for him were immediately above those of the Pope.§ This time the negotiations regarding the marriage were brought

* PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1063. See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 9.

† Letter of J. P. Arrivabene of the 9th Sept., 1474, in AMMANATI, Epist., 578, Frankfort ed.; SCHMARSOW, 23.

‡ On the 9th September, Arrivabene was full of conjectures as to the Pope's malady, but on the 10th he was able to write: *"Lo mal del papa per quanto se habia è piccol cosa; ha havuto doi legieretti parosismi de terzanetta, de la qual se munda e non ne fanno caso se non per essere papa, e lo secundo de heri doppo'l disnare non fu piu che tre hore." On the 16th of September, the same Ambassador says: *"La cosa è tardata per questa puocha febre del papa che fu solamente doi parosismi, hora sta bene." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1474, Nov. 2. Gonzaga Archives.

to a satisfactory conclusion. On the 10th of October Sixtus IV. informed the Duke of Milan that "to-day the betrothal of our nephew, Giovanni della Rovere, with the Duke of Urbino's daughter, has been announced." * Two days later, the Vicariates of Sinigaglia and Mondavio, which, after the death of Pius II., had revolted against Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, were conferred upon Giovanni.† The document appointing him Vicar was signed by all the Cardinals, including those who before had voted against the measure, with the exception of Cardinal Piccolomini. The yearly salary was fixed at 600 ducats.‡

In attaching to himself, by benefits and by bonds of relationship, the warlike Federigo of Urbino, who might have been a dangerous enemy, Sixtus IV. had achieved an important political success. Indeed, the Pope had much reason to congratulate himself on all that he had gained during the summer of 1474. The attempt "to keep his hands full at home, by making troubles in the States of the Church, had not succeeded for any time, and its authors had been exposed. The intrigues of Lorenzo de' Medici were laid bare. He had most unwarrantably interfered in a private affair of the Pope's. Even Cardinal Ammanati, who certainly was no partisan of the Rovere family, thought it necessary to remonstrate with him. Not content with supporting the insurgents, he had, under cover of the confederation, sent letters and messengers about to excite

* See Appendix, N. 55. State Archives, Milan.

† SIENA, L., St. di Sinigaglia, 154.

‡ *Report of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1474, Oct. 12. (Gonzaga Archives.) SCHMARSOW, 343–4, gives extracts from Cod. Urb., 1023, concerning the architectural works undertaken by Giovanni della Rovere in Sinigaglia : *La vita e gesti della buona mem. sig. Johan Prefetto auct. Fra Garzia de Francia. A good description is also here given of Giovanni's person.

disturbances throughout the whole of Italy, with the view of compelling the Pope to desist from the chastisement of the rebels."* His efforts had failed, and Lorenzo de' Medici saw that his hopes of assistance from Milan and Naples were vain.† He at once looked about him for new allies, and turned to Venice. The rulers of the Republic, however, felt that the league against the Turks bound them to Naples, and yet more to the Pope, who had sent money and provisions when Scutari was besieged.‡ The Signoria, Navagiero informs us, answered Lorenzo's overtures by declaring that they had already concluded a league with Naples, and with the Pope, and that he was free to join it. The matter was to be dealt with in Rome, where Ambassadors from all parts would soon meet. The hopes of the Pope, that his wish for a general alliance among the Italian powers might yet be fulfilled, began to revive. The failure of this scheme, so necessary in view of the warlike preparations of the Turks, was in no way his fault.§

The progress of the negotiations seemed at first to justify the brightest expectations. An agreement, which satisfied all parties, was framed. But at the last moment, when the treaty was about to be signed, Ferrante, according to the testimony of a Venetian chronicler, instructed

* SCHMARSOW, 24. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 9, writes of Lorenzo: "Nam praeterquam quod Nicolao pecunias et vires subministrabat, omnem Italiam literis nunciisque sub specie foederis sollicitavit ad opem illi ferendam, ut pontifex ab incepto turpiter desistere cogeretur."

† PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1063.

‡ SCHMARSOW, *loc. cit.*

§ An anonymous *Letter, ex Constant., III. Julii, 1474, says: *"Imprimis in Constantinopoli publice divulgabatur che in el anno futoro il Turcho intende de uscire cum una potente armata in el golfo de Vinexia." (State Archives, Milan. Milit. Guerre, Turchia.) See also Mon. Hung., II., 263.

his Ambassadors to break off the negotiations.* On the 2nd November, 1474, Florence, Venice, and Milan concluded a defensive alliance for twenty-five years.† The Duke of Ferrara, the Pope, and the King of Naples were invited to join this league. The Duke alone consented to do so.‡ Sixtus IV. gave a decided refusal, accompanying it with a full explanation of the reasons which induced it. He looked upon the league "as a coalition against the Holy See, an attempt to isolate him and to reduce him to the position of a mere tool for carrying out the egotistical policy of the Tyrants."§ Such was the condition of Italy immediately preceding the Holy Year proclaimed by Paul II.

* Navagiero (in MURATORI, XXIII.), 1144.

† *Renovatio et instauratio pacis et ligae inter Venetos, ducem Mediolani et Florentinos cum infrascriptis capitulis. In nomine s. et ind. trinitatis, etc. A° 1474 die II. mensis Novemb. Compertum est pacem ut rerum optimam mortalibus a nostro redemptore imperatam, ita maxime necessariam non posse in Italia esse diuturnam sola cessatione bellorum, etc. Cod. B. 19, f. 156, Vallicell. Library, Rome. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1474, N. 15, used this copy; I saw another in the State Archives, Bologna, lib. Q. 22. See also concerning the proclamation of the League, SISMONDI, XI., 33; ROMANIN, IV., 373; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 261, 2nd ed.; TRINCHERA, I., p. LX.; VIGNA, II., 2, 473.

‡ According to Califfini, *Cronica Ferrariae, Ercole joined the League on the 14th February, 1475. Cod. I.–I.–4, f. 51, Chigi Library, Rome.

§ FRANTZ, 150. See CHMEL, Mon. Habsb., III., 471, and RAUSCH, 147.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JUBILEE YEAR, 1475.—COMMENCEMENT OF WORKS FOR THE EMBELLISHMENT OF ROME.—KING FERRANTE VISITS SIXTUS IV.—THE FALL OF CAFFA AND THE WAR WITH THE TURKS.

AS early as the 26th March, 1472, Sixtus IV. had confirmed his predecessor's decision that every twenty-fifth year should be a year of Jubilee; a further Bull of the 29th August, 1473, abrogated all other Indulgences and Faculties during the Jubilee Year.* In Rome itself the Pope at once began various works of embellishment in preparation for the approaching solemnity. "From the autumn of 1474," writes Platina, "Sixtus IV. devoted himself to the beautifying of Rome. The bridge, which, from its ruinous state, had long been called by the Romans the Ponte Rotto, was rebuilt from its foundations, at great cost, of square blocks of Travertine. This restoration was an immense boon, both to the Romans and to the strangers who came for the Jubilee, and Sixtus IV., with a justifiable pride, desired that it should bear the name of Ponte Sisto. It was a truly princely gift, and we appreciate it all the more, when we see that no Pope before him had ever attempted it. In my opinion," continues Platina, "this was done principally to guard against the recurrence of the disaster which occurred on the Bridge of St. Angelo, in the time of Nicholas V., and which I have already related, when,

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1472, N. 60; MANNI, 76.

owing to a panic, numbers of pilgrims were crushed to death."*

Infessura tells us that this bridge was begun in the spring of 1473. On the 29th of April the foundation stone was laid. The Pope, with the Cardinals and several prelates, proceeded to the bank of the Tiber, and, descending into the bed of the river, inserted, in the foundations, a square stone, with the inscription: "Built by Pope Sixtus IV. in the year of Salvation, 1473."† Two years later the work was completed, so that this "most durable and solid," though not beautiful, bridge was ready for the use of the pilgrims in the Jubilee Year.‡ Two inscriptions on marble tablets also for many centuries bore witness to the care of Sixtus IV. for these pilgrims.§

Another work of great public utility, commenced in 1472, was finished in the Jubilee Year. The Aqueduct, conducting the Aqua Virgo to Rome, which had been almost stopped up, was cleared out and prolonged from the Quirinal to the Fontana Treve.|| "The architectural decorations at its mouth were entrusted to Antonio Lori

* PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1064. The passage is important, as it shews that Platina's Vita Nicolai V. was at this time completed, and furnishes a further argument in support of the belief that the Vita Sixti IV. in Muratori is really from the pen of Platina. See, on this subject, also *infra*, Chap. XII. The beginning of the works in Rome coincides, according to Platina, with Barbo's return from Germany, which was in the end of October, 1474; see *supra*, p. 224, note †, the extract from the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 1143.

‡ VASARI, IV., 136, is wrong in naming Baccio Pontelli as the architect; see MÜNTZ, III., 201; SCHMARSOW, 32.

§ In the present day nothing is spared, and these memorials have been removed. For the text of the inscriptions, see REUMONT, III., 1, 533, and FORCELLA, XIII., 54.

|| PLATINA, 1064; MÜNTZ, III., 174 *seq.*

of Florence and Giacomo of Ferrara. Here, as in many other undertakings, Sixtus IV. continued what Nicholas V. had begun. Opposite to the simple inscription left by his predecessor, he placed one of his own, and surmounted it with a cornice which, with pillars, formed the façade."*

The chief solicitude of Sixtus IV. was for the restoration of those Churches and Sanctuaries which were the special objects of the pilgrims. He had St. Peter's thoroughly cleaned, and inserted several windows to admit more light. He caused a portion of the wall on the left side, which was in a dangerous condition, to be strengthened. The Basilica of Constantine was cleansed, and the side aisles were refloored and embellished.† The Vatican Palace was restored; the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which was falling from age, was repaired, and placed in front of the Lateran on a larger marble pedestal decorated with trophies.‡ The Church of the Holy Apostles was beautified, and many of the smaller Churches, which, even in those days, were very numerous in Rome, were renovated. "There was hardly a chapel in the whole City," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "to which the Pope did not contribute something in the Jubilee Year." Many inscriptions still remain which bear witness to his energy in this respect.§

* SCHMARSOW, 33. FEA, Storia delle Acque, p. 16 (Roma, 1832), and the *Poem in the Court Library, Vienna, 2403, f. 10, cited p. 209.

† PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1064; SCHMARSOW, 34; ROHAULT, 254.

‡ Albertini Opusculum de mirabilibus Romae, 1509, ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886.

§ MÜNTZ, III., 154 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 35. The passage in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI is I., p. 205. See also FORCELLA, VIII., 301; IX., 263, 345, 531; X., 35, 219, 221, 319, 322, 323; ARMELLINI, 112, 133, 199, 245, 260, 577, 593.

The Cardinals vied with the Pope in their care for the Sanctuaries of the Eternal City. "The ancient saying, that the people copy their Princes, was verified," wrote Platina, in the year 1474, "for so much building is going on throughout Rome, that, if Sixtus lives, the whole City will soon be transformed. Inspired by these examples, Guillaume d'Estouteville, the Cardinal Archbishop of Ostia, had vaulted the side aisles of the Basilica of the Holy Crib, now called Santa Maria Maggiore, and so embellished it, that nothing finer can be found in Rome."*

In the early part of this pontificate the restoration of the ruined Hospital of Santo Spirito was begun. Here, also, care for the expected pilgrims was the chief inducement for taking the work in hand.† Amongst many other instances of his solicitude for their welfare, we find exhortations addressed to the Italian Powers, calling on them to take care that the roads should be good and secure, to provide a sufficient number of inns for their accommodation, and not to burden them with tolls.‡

Similar considerations led Sixtus IV. "to revert to the plans for the improvement of the streets, already contemplated by the patron of Leon Battista Alberti."§ In a Brief, addressed to the Papal Commissary, Girolamo de Giganti, on the 14th December, 1473, we find the following passage: "Amongst countless other cares we must also

* PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1064; SCHMARSOW, 36; PAULUS DE ANGELIS, Bas. Mar. Mag, Descriptio, 44 and 52 (Roma, 1621).

† Further details are given *infra*, Chap. XII. In 1475 the foundation stone of the new Church at the Hospice of the Campo Santo al Vaticano was also laid; see DE WAAL, National-Stiftungen d. Deutsch. Volkes in Rom., 11 (Frankfurt, 1880).

‡ **Brief to Florence, dated Rome, 1474, Nov. 25. (State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 78-78b.) See also MARTÈNE, II., 1476, and PEZZANA, III., 367.

§ SCHMARSOW, 33.

attend to the purifying and beautification of our City; for, if any city should be clean and fair, certainly this one should be so, since, by reason of the Chair of St. Peter, it is the head of the whole world. Considering, then, that through the negligence of those whose duty it is to keep the streets in good order, they are in many places foul and unsightly, we command you for the future to pay special attention to this matter."* Already in the year 1474 the paving of the streets between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Vatican was put in hand. The other principal thoroughfares were then paved with blocks of stone, the road from Monte Mario to the Borgo repaired, and the walls and gates of the City restored.†

In the beginning of the Jubilee Year appeared the celebrated Bull, "which had, for its chief provision, the renovation of Rome." It opens with the following sentences: "If it is a part of our common duty to see to the welfare of all the cities in the States of the Church, then, certainly, our best-beloved daughter, the chief City of the Church, hallowed by the blood of the Princes of the Apostles, has a special claim on our care and attention. Unhappily, many calamities have befallen her, through which her buildings have fallen into decay, and the number of her citizens has been diminished. We therefore earnestly desire to see her population increased, her houses and palaces rebuilt, and all her other necessities duly provided for." Many valuable proprietary rights and privileges are promised to all who will contribute to the accomplishment of these objects.‡

It may easily be understood that the Pope met with "great difficulties in carrying out his improvements, when

* MÜNTZ, III., 179–80.

† SCHMARSOW, *loc. cit.*

‡ THEINER, Cod. Dipl., III., 480–81; MÜNTZ, III., 180–81; SCHMARSOW, 34.

they involved clearances to be effected in the narrow streets beyond the Leonine City, belonging to the Roman burghers. Haughty barons could not easily be induced to sacrifice their private property, or the unkempt comfort of their dwellings, to the higher end of the common good. Thus progress was necessarily slow, but the Romans dated the obnoxious measures from the visit of the King of Naples, who certainly encouraged the Pope in his plans, although he was not their originator."*

In December, 1474, an approaching visit from the Neapolitan monarch began to be talked of, the motives of which were rather political than religious.† Ferrante and Sixtus IV. had been drawn closer together by the League of November 2, 1474, which was a cause of grave apprehension to them both. A personal interview was now to afford the opportunity of deciding on the attitude to be adopted towards this new combination.

The reception of the King of Naples was honourable in the extreme. Rodrigo Borgia and Giuliano della Rovere,‡ two of the most distinguished among the Cardinals, welcomed him in Terracina, on the borders of the States

* SCHMARSOW, 170, is no doubt correct in thus understanding Infessura's well-known anecdote, according to which the King told the Pope that he was not lord of the City as long as the streets remained so narrow and so obstructed with porticoes, balconies, and erections of all kinds.

† *Despatch of Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1474, Dec. 18. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) A *Letter from the Cardinal, preserved in the same Archives, and dated Rome, 1474, Dec. 24, says that Ferrante's visit was to be expected on the 20th January, 1475. *On the 2nd January, 1475, he writes that the King would leave Naples on the 7th or 8th of the month.

‡ They left Rome on the 14th January; see *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, January 17. (Gonzaga Archives.) See also NOTAR GIACOMO, 128.

of the Church. When he entered Rome on the 28th January, 1475, all the Cardinals met him before the Porta S. Giovanni.* Splendid festivities followed. The King and his brilliant suite, however, remained but three days in Rome. Infessura says that the numbers of falcons which the Neapolitans brought with them completely cleared the City and all the neighbourhood of owls.

The King and the Pope interchanged rich presents, nor did Ferrante forget the Roman officials and the Churches.† When he left Rome, on the 1st February, all the Cardinals accompanied him to the Porta S. Paola, and four of their number as far as S. Paola itself, where he heard Mass before starting for Marino, Rodrigo Borgia and Giuliano della Rovere being with him on this occasion, and Federigo of Urbino having also arrived.‡ At Grottaferrata he received the Order of the Garter, sent to him by the King of England.

On the 8th February, 1475, the Mantuan Ambassador wrote word that Ferrante was to return to Rome secretly by night. On the 5th a report was current that the King

* Not on the 6th January, 1475, as REUMONT, III., 1, 169, following the inaccurate INFESSURA, 1144, says; see Cron. Rom., 35 (where certainly 1475 should be read for 1476); SUMMONTE, III., 490, and the *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, January 29: *"Heri introe in Roma la Mta del Re al qual tuti li cardinali andorono contro un puocho fuora de la porta de S. Janni." (Gonzaga Archives.) The description of Ferrante's entry, given by Giovanni Santi in his *Reimchronik von Urbino (Cod. Ottob., 1305, f. 211b), is, MÜNTZ informs us (III., 279), inaccurate.

† INFESSURA, *loc. cit.* NOTAR GIACOMO, 128–9, where Ferrante's entrance is assigned to the 25th February; a mistake repeated by REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 262, 2nd ed. See SUMMONTE, III., 490, and SCHMARSOW, 34.

‡ So we learn from a *Letter written by J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, Febr. 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

had come privately to the Pope.* According to Paolo della Mastro's Chronicle, he was in Rome on the 13th and 14th February.†

The subject of these interviews between the Pope and Ferrante was at first unknown to the majority even of the Cardinals. On the 17th February, Cardinal Gonzaga thought he had some inkling of it. On that day Sixtus IV. summoned a Consistory, in which he announced that the danger from Turkey called for a general League of all the Italian Powers, and the levy of a tithe from the clergy. This decision was then imparted to the Ambassadors appointed to attend the Consistory, but the Neapolitan Envoy was the only one who displayed any alacrity in responding to the wishes of the Pope.‡ There can be no doubt that negotiations had also been carried on between Sixtus IV. and Ferrante regarding the attitude to be adopted by them towards the League of the 2nd November, 1474.§

The concourse of Jubilee pilgrims, which commenced on Christmas Day of that year, did not at first equal the great expectations entertained. The wars in France, Burgundy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Spain, and other countries were, according to the Chronicle of Viterbo, the reason why so few people came; also, respect for the clergy had been much shaken by former experiences.‖ An encouraging token of a return to a better state of feeling was, however, manifested by the much-decried

* *Despatches of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, Febr. 5 and 8. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Cron. Rom., 35.

‡ **Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1475, February 17. Gonzaga Archives.

§ See PALMERIUS, 258.

‖ Cron. di Viterbo di GIOV. DI JUZZO, 411.

courtiers, who eagerly availed themselves at Easter of the graces of the Jubilee.* The pilgrims now became more and more numerous. One of the Ambassadors gives 200,000 as the number present when the Pope solemnly blessed the people on Ascension Day.† This is, no doubt, an exaggerated estimate, but the report of this eye-witness fully establishes the fact that the concourse was immense.

Entries in the Confraternity-Book of the Church of the Anima shew that a great many pilgrims, both clerical and lay, came from Germany during the "golden year." ‡

Among the princely personages at Rome on this occasion we may mention Queen Dorothea of Denmark,§ Nicholas of Ujlak,|| whom Matthias Corvinus had made King of

* "*Questi di sancti benche la Ex. V. soglia havere male opinione de cortesani se attesto tanto al spirituale et a visitar questi luochi sacri per guadagnar lo iobileo che le cose del mundo erano in tuto mese da canto." *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, April 1. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) LANDUCCI also went as a pilgrim to Rome in 1475, see Diario, 14.

† *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, May 5. He further says: *"Qua concorre gente asai a questo iobileo et piu che mai non se haveria veduto." Gonzaga Archives.

‡ Lib. confrat. b. Mariae de Anima, 25 *seq.*, 78, 105, 260. For an account of the pilgrimage of the Bishop of Ratisbon, see JANNER, III., 574; of that of the Abbot of Melk, KEIBLINGER, I., 644 *seq.* Regarding the editio princeps of the tract entitled "Indulgentiae et reliquiae urbis Romae" of 1475, see ROSSI, I., 163.

§ DAAE, Kong Christian, 92, cites only the account of the Chronicle published by Gherens (Norsk. Hist. Tidsskr., IV., 105). The Queen's journey is mentioned also by SCHIVENOGLIA, 180; GIOV. DI JUZZO, 411; and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 204. See also KROGH, 25; and HOFMANN, Barbara von Hohenzollern, 23.

|| See ENGEL, Welthist., XLIX., 3, 431; *Califfini, Cronica Ferrariae (Cod. I.–I.–4, f. 51–2, Chigi Library, Rome), says that the Re di Bossina arrived at Ferrara on the 21st February, 1475, with 110 horses (andava a Roma al perdono del jubileo), and was again there on the

Bosnia; Anthony of Burgundy, the "Great Bastard"; * and finally, Charlotte of Lusignan. Charlotte had left Rhodes on the 4th July, 1474, and was never again to see that island or Cyprus. She had gone first to her husband at Montcalier, and now journeyed to Rome, where her rights were recognised.† In the latter part of May she reached Civita Vecchia,‡ and on the 3rd June entered Rome. The Cardinals went to meet the deposed Princess, and during her stay in Rome she was entertained at the Pope's expense.§

Sixtus IV. caused the reception of Charlotte of Lusignan to be portrayed among the frescoes in the Hospital of S. Spirito. "Beneath the picture, still visible, which represents the Queen, adorned with the insignia of her rank and surrounded by her attendants, kneeling before Sixtus IV., is a somewhat fulsome inscription, which

5th April on his return journey. J. P. Arrivabene also says, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1475, March 24, that the King of Bosnia came only on account of the Jubilee. Who the "ill. madama ducessa d'Alemagna," mentioned in a *Letter of Arrivabene's, dated Rome, 1475, March 6, as then arriving in Rome, may be, I am unable to say. Gonzaga Archives.

* Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, II., 253. Anthony's visit to Naples in the month of April is mentioned by the Giornali Napol., 1135, and his arrival at Ferrara on the 15th June, by Califfini, *loc. cit.*, f. 52. (Chigi Library, Rome.) Arrivabene, in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1475, May 22, also says, "to-morrow the bastardo de Bergogna will depart." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† HERQUET, Königsgestalten, 89–90, and Charlotta, 186 *seq.*, who, however, like MAS-LATRIE, III., 114, is ignorant of the exact time of her arrival in Rome. See also Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, p. 268 (1877).

‡ See *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, May 18 and 22. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Letter of Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1475, June 8 (El papa li fa le spese). *Loc. cit.*

declares that the Pope received the unhappy lady with such kindness, that, in her overflowing gratitude, she was incapable of words and could only weep." * Charlotte spent the next year in Rome, supported by a pension from the Pope; a house in the Leonine City, now the Palazzo de Convertende, was assigned to her as a residence.†

The Jubilee year closed sadly for the Pope. The City Prefect fell ill at the end of October, and died on the 11th November.‡ Sixtus IV. conferred the vacant post on his nephew, Giovani della Rovere.§ During the same month, the Tiber rose and overflowed a great part of the City. The mud, which it deposits more abundantly than almost any other river, and the continued dampness of the flooded quarter, produced malaria and pestilence.|| Under these

* HERQUET, Königsgestalten, 90, and Charlotta, 194.

† See ADINOLFI, Portica, 96 *seq.* Regarding the maintenance given by the Pope, see MAS-LATRIE, III., 148 *seq.*; and GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

‡ J. P. Arrivabene wrote from Rome on the 3rd Nov., 1475: *"Heri sera lo prefetto laborabat in extremis destitutus omni spe medicorum. Nra Sre [=Card. Gonzaga] fu a visitarlo . . . Sua Bne fa mostra de haverne extrema passione." (Gonzaga Archives.) Regarding his death, see INFESSURA, 1145.

§ On the 17th December, 1475, see Cod. XXXIII.-129, f. 115. (Barberini Library, Rome.) A *"Panegyricus cum Joannes Rovere praefectus urbis creatus est," composed by D. Calderino, is preserved in Cod. 157 of the Chapter Library, Verona. Giovanni, by his marriage with the Duke of Urbino's daughter, solemnised in 1478, "with Persian pomp" (Palmerius), Lord of Sinigaglia, was, as SCHMARSOW, 43, remarks, the most permanently prosperous of the Pope's nephews, and his son, Francesco Maria della Rovere, became heir to the Duchy of Urbino. In regard to Giovanni's popularity in Sinigaglia, see SIENA, Sinigaglia, III., 160.

|| INFESSURA, 1145, and NOTAR GIACOMO, 130. See A. DE WAAL, Das Böhmische Pilgerhaus in Rom., p. 70 (Prague, 1873). The Plague soon spread through a great part of the Italian Peninsula; see HÖRSCHELMANN in the Allg. Ztg., 1884, N. 177; BONAZZI, 728; and MASSARI, 46 *seq.*

circumstances, many were prevented from coming to Rome to gain the Jubilee Indulgence. The roads had also become more insecure, and accordingly, to avoid exposing pilgrims from a distance to these risks, the Pope commanded that the Jubilee should be held at Bologna during the Eastertide of 1476, and granted the Plenary Indulgence to all who, besides fulfilling the usual conditions, should visit the Churches of S. Pietro, S. Petronio, S. Antonio, and S. Francesco in that city.* Countless pilgrims, therefore, flocked to Bologna, which had never before seen so many strangers within her walls.† Participation in the graces of the Jubilee Year, without leaving home, was also granted to several other foreign Princes and countries; in most cases with the condition that the Jubilee alms should be devoted to the defence of Christendom from the Turks.‡

Besides his consultations with the King of Naples in the beginning of the Jubilee Year, the Pope was repeatedly occupied with the affairs of the Turkish war. "Owing to the hostile complications in which Central Europe was involved through the Burgundian war, it had become powerless to resist the advance of the Turks." Sixtus IV., accordingly, on the 15th February, 1475, appointed Bishop Alexander of Forli Papal Legate for the restoration of

* NOETHEN, Gesch. der Jubeljahre, p. 67, is mistaken in stating that this change was made in the year 1475. Cardinal Gonzaga, in a *Letter of the 6th May, 1476, speaks of the concession in favour of Bologna as recently granted. Gonzaga Archives.

† See FALEONI, 510.

‡ NOETHEN, 68; MANNI, 85; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, II. 317, 2nd ed.; VITTORELLI, 317. See THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 449 *seq.*; Mon. Slav., 503 *seq.*; Mon. Hibern. 474-6. FINKE in the Zeitschr. für Gesch. Westfalens, 45, p. 113 *seq.*, mentions a volume preserved among the *Libri decime* of the State Archives at Rome, with the Notaries' Deeds regarding the Jubilee alms in Burgundy and the adjacent countries.

peace.* In the ensuing months the Pope made repeated appeals to the Italian Powers for help.† The state of affairs in the East was indeed calculated to cause the greatest anxiety. Usunhassan had never been able to recover from his defeat, and thus the hand of the Sultan pressed more and more heavily on the Christians in Albania, the coasts of the Adriatic, and the Danubian Provinces.‡ At the end of 1474 a powerful Turkish army attacked the brave Woiwode of Moldavia, Stephen the Great, who refused any longer to pay tribute. Stephen, with great skill, decoyed the superior forces of the enemy on through the forest to the Lake of Rakowitz (north-west of Galatz), and there inflicted on them a severe defeat (10th January, 1475).§

Meanwhile, a fleet of 300 sail, with 40,000 men on board, had been made ready at Constantinople. Candia was, at first, supposed to be its destination, but it took an easterly

* CHMEL, Mon. Habsb., III., 435; RAUSCH, 135, see 146, in regard to the Legate's success.

† On the 16th April, 1475, Sixtus IV. commended Usunhassan's Ambassadors to the Florentines. MÜLLER, Doc., 220. On the 1st July, 1475, he wrote to the Italian Powers, describing the increasing danger from Turkey, and claiming from them assistance. * "Quare eandem devotionem vestram per viscera, etc., hortamur in Domino ac deprecamur, ut iuxta vires vestras aliquam subventionem facere velitis." *Brief to the Florentines in the State Archives, Florence, and on the same day, 1st July, to the Marquess of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ HERTZBERG, Osmanen, 630.

§ See the Letter of the 24th January, written from Torda, to King Matthias, and the Report of Woiwode Stephen of the 25th January in Mon. Hung., II., 299–302. See MAKUSCEV, II., 13 *seq.*; also HAMMER, II., 137, and Arch. St. Lomb., I., 315 *seq.*, besides the documents published by C. ESARCU in the year 1874 at Bucharest. Stephen sent some of the banners he had taken from the Turks to Sixtus IV.; see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1474, N. 10–11.

course, ran into the Black Sea, and, on the 31st of May, appeared before Caffa in the Crimea, a rich and important Genoese colony. On the 6th of June the place was in the hands of the Turks, and its fate was soon shared by the whole southern coast of the Crimea.*

Strenuous efforts for the preservation of this city had in former days been made by Popes Calixtus III., Pius II., and Paul II.† The tidings of its fall reached Rome in September, 1475. Further details were soon received from the Knights of St. John,‡ and the accounts of the cruelties exercised by the Turks on its unfortunate inhabitants caused general horror and dismay, which were intensified by the impossibility, under the melancholy circumstances of the West, of that united defensive action which alone could have promised success. Discouraging as the result of his former attempts had been, the Pope again fulfilled his duty. He sent special Briefs to all the Princes of Christendom, informing them of the disaster, and calling on them to resist the indefatigable foe.§ Sixtus IV., at the same time, exhorted them to send Ambassadors

* VIGNA, II., 2, 163 *seq.*, 177, 474 *seq.*, 480 *seq.*; SERRA, 248 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 386 *seq.*; HERTZBERG, Osmanen, 633; HEYD, II., 400 *seq.*; CARO, V., 1, 445, N. 2.

† See our Vol. II., p. 435 *seq.*; VIGNA, II., 1, 164 *seq.*, 559–60, 645 *seq.*, 665 *seq.*; and THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 464 *seq.*

‡ AMMANATI, Epist., 641, Frankfort edition. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1475, N. 23–6, and VIGNA, II., 2, 176.

§ Cardinal Gonzaga wrote from Rome on the 18th Sept., 1475: * "La Sta de N. S. havuto mo la certeza de la perdita de Caffa ne da aviso a tuti li principi e potentie de Italia." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, where is also the *Brief to Mantua, dated Rome, 1475, Sept. 12. I saw in the State Archives of Modena, and in those of Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 89b–90b, similar Briefs of the same date. It appears from Mon. Habsb., III., 437 *seq.*, that Briefs were also addressed to other Princes besides those of Italy.

to Rome. It would seem that he still hoped to bring about a League of all the Powers against the Osmanli; but he met with little response!* In November negotiations began, and they lasted for months. "Their result may be learned from the fact that the flames of the places the Turks had set on fire were soon visible from the belfry of St. Mark's." † In March, 1477, Cardinal Ammanati wrote: "Our Pope is doing everything in his power. He did not dismiss the Italian Ambassadors, as he wishes to obtain more than the tithe. The tithe from the clergy, and a twentieth part from the Jews, has been granted to him, but how little is that compared to such a war. What are a few hundred thousands for the defence of a needy king ‡ against the ruler of all Asia and a good part of Europe? The assistance of the laity, so anxiously desired by His Holiness, has not yet been afforded. We strive as far as in us lies, to copy the indefatigable zeal and courage of our Father. May God enlighten our minds and hearts, that we may not walk in darkness and the shadow of death, and, when we have lost this valiant champion, too late lament that we have not sooner known the way of our salvation." §

* Sixtus IV. was obliged frequently to urge the sending of Ambassadors; see his *Briefs of the 17th and 30th Sept., 1475, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 91 and 91b–92; *ibid.*, 94b–95b, a long *Brief, dated Rome, 1475, Dec. 21, in which he earnestly prays that assistance may be sent against the Turks.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 263, 2nd ed. Regarding the persons of the Ambassadors, see PEZZANA, III., 378. PERUZZI, Ancona, 383, and SERRA, III., 252, shew that Sixtus IV. cannot be accused of negligence as to the Turkish war.

‡ Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.

§ AMMANATI, Epist., 644, Frankfort edition.

CHAPTER V.

Beginning of the Rupture of Sixtus IV. with Lorenzo de' Medici.

THE pestilence, which had already visited Rome in the Jubilee Year, returned early in the summer of 1476, with such violence that residence in the City became almost intolerable.* At the beginning of June the Pope determined to seek the heights of Viterbo;† on the 3rd he commended his States to the Protection of King Ferrante;‡ on the 10th he left Rome, accompanied by Cardinals d'Estouteville, Borgia, Carafa, Nardini, Gonzaga, and Michiel.§ Cardinal Cybò remained behind as Legate. Later on, the City was visited by terrible thunderstorms and tempests. The Palace of the Senate was closed, and justice

* This epidemic, which broke forth with great virulence in March, was consequent on the inundations in January. See the Roman Letter of the 21st March, 1476, in KNEBEL, II., 408–9; Cron. di Viterbo di GIOV. DI JUZZO, 412; and a *Notice in Cod. Vatic., 7239, f. 157. (Vatican Library.) In the course of the month of April, Duke Albrecht of Saxony came to Rome (RÖHRICHT, Pilgerreisen, 160), where Girolamo Riario held a splendid tournament on the 25th (INFESSURA, 1145). On the 1st May, *Cardinal Gonzaga mentions the return of the Plague, which rapidly increased. See J. P. Arrivabene's *Letter, dated Rome, 1476, May 24. All these Papers are in the Gonzaga Archives.

† *Letter of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1476, June 5, *loc. cit.*

‡ MARTÈNE, II., 1452–3.

§ See Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican in MARINI, II., 17, and INFESSURA, 1145.

was administered at the foot of the steps. Penitential processions thronged the streets. Infessura mentions one in July, in which the venerated image of our Lady from S. Maria Maggiore was carried with much devotion.*

The Pope was obliged, immediately on starting, to alter his route, for the terrible malady had appeared at Viterbo; he went, therefore, first to Campagnano, then to Vetralla, then for a time to Amelia and Narni, and finally settled at Foligno.† Thence he visited Assisi, where, in the month of August, he celebrated the Feast of St. Francis, the founder of his Order, and venerated his relics with great devotion.‡

* INFESSURA, 1145. A Brief of 5th Aug., 1476, commending Cardinal Cybò, is given in MARTÈNE, II., 1548.

† See MARINI, II., 217 *seq.*, and Cron. di Viterbo di Giov. di Juzzo, 413. See also the incomplete *Reports of the Bishop of Parma, S. Sacramorus, which are in the State Archives at Milan. One of these *Letters, written in July (the date is effaced), speaks of the terrible ravages of the Plague in Rome, whence every one had fled: it appears "non ci sia rimasto quasi niuno"; the pestilence had also reached Todi. A *Report by Sacramorus, written ex Amelia on the 8th July, 1476, shews that the Plague continued in Rome; isolated cases had occurred in Viterbo, Spoleto, and Todi; the Pope was suffering from the gout. A Letter, dated Foligno, 1476, Sept. 26, shews that the Pope was then in that town. See also, in reference to Sixtus IV.'s sojourn at Foligno, the Cronica di Suor Caterina Guarneri in Arch. St. p. le Marche, I., 300 (Foligno, 1884). Ammanati's Letter of the 13th July, 1476, in Anecd. Litt., III., 372, speaks of the ravages of the Plague in the Sienese district. In Perugia it was so violent that Sixtus IV., by a *Brief of the 7th July, 1476, authorised the magistrate to pass important resolutions when only two-thirds of the members of the Council were present. Regest. in Cod. C.-IV.-I., University Library, Genoa.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 110, after WADDING, ad an. 1476, XIV., 145 *seq.* See Cronich. di S. Francesco, III., 182. In a *Letter, dated Foligno, 1476, Aug. 29, Bonfrancesco Arlotti also mentions that Sixtus IV. went to visit the bodies of St. Francis and St. Clare. (State Archives Modena.) GRAZIANI, 647, says that Sixtus IV. left Assisi on the 25th August on account of the Plague.

As the pestilence abated very slowly, Sixtus IV. remained at Foligno until the autumn. When Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere returned, on the 4th October, from his mission to France, he found the Pope still in this charming little town,* which he only left on the 7th of the month. He spent the first night at Spoleto, and then, probably because the Plague was still claiming many victims,† travelled so slowly that he did not reach his capital until the 23rd of October.‡

Just as this calamitous year was closing, all Italy was struck with horror at the assassination of the Duke of Milan (26th December, 1476). This crime was a tyrant-murder of the ancient type, and was directly attributable to the influence of ideas zealously propagated by the false Humanist, Cola Montano. The Annals of Siena expressly state that the conspirators had studied Sallust, and Sigismondo de' Conti also informs us that Lampugnani had, from early youth, chosen Catiline as his model.§

"The peace of Italy is at an end!" exclaimed the Pope, on hearing of the death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza; and,

* *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See a *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 24th Oct., 1476. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. SCHMARSOW, 110, N. 5, has already pointed out the error of Infessura in giving the 27th December as the date of the Pope's return to Rome. Many condemned his long absence, as we learn from the justification offered in the *Lucubrac. Tiburtin., Cod. 2403, Court Library, Vienna. To this subject also refers *Oratio habita ad pontif. Xistum qua cohortatur ut remota sevitie pestis ab urbe dignetur repetere urbem Romam et ipsam presentia sua consolari. Cod. Ottob., 2290, f. 172b–173, of the Vatican Library.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 17. See REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 266, 2nd ed.; BURCKHARDT, I., 58, 134, 3rd ed.; and, besides the literature alluded to in our Vol. II., p. 216 *seq.*, Atti d. deput. p. l. prov. di Romagna, 1869, VIII., 121 *seq.*, and Arch. St. Lomb., II., 284 *seq.*, XIII., 140 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*

indeed, the existing political system seemed entirely upset. The Duke of Milan was the only Prince sufficiently rich and powerful permanently to counterbalance the ambitious King of Naples, his heir was still a child; the Regency was in the hands of the Duchess Bona, a weak woman, entangled in the meshes of her intriguing brothers-in-law.*

Fully alive to the dangers which threatened Italy, Sixtus IV., on the first day of the new year (1477), addressed a Brief to all the Italian Princes and Rulers, earnestly exhorting them to the maintenance of peace.† Cardinal Giovanni Mellini was also sent as special Legate to Milan and Lombardy, and instructed to use every effort for the same object.‡ The newly-appointed Legate was a man venerable alike for his age, his learning, and his goodness; he started on the 27th January, and returned on the 7th May.§

The course of affairs in Milan was watched, not only by the Pope, but also by Lorenzo de' Medici, with the keenest interest. Peace was for the present preserved, and the Duchess remained in power,|| but her authority rested on

* SCHMARSOW, 109, 111. See REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 267 *seq.*, 2nd ed. Duchess Bona's letter, informing the Pope of the murder, is given by MURATORI, Chron. Est., XV., 546.

† All these *Briefs are dated Rome, 1477, Jan. 1, and their words are identical. I have seen the Originals in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the State Archives, Modena and Bologna (Lib. Q. 3), and a contemporary copy in the State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 103b-104.

‡ See *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, and a *Brief from Sixtus IV. to Florence, dated Rome, 1477, January 3. State Archives, Florence, *loc. cit.*, f. 104b.

§ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 17.

|| See the **Letter of Ascanio Maria Sforza to Albrecht of Bonstetten of the 20th March, 1477, in Cod. 719, N. 51, of the Chapter-Library at St. Gall.

no solid foundation. Lorenzo sought in every way to confirm it. "But," as a friend of the Medici writes, "it is perfectly incomprehensible how, at so critical a moment, when the support of Milan was most uncertain, he could think of giving just cause of complaint to neighbours whom he knew to be already dissatisfied with him. Yet this is what he did." *

At the beginning of his reign, Sixtus IV. had been very favourably inclined towards the Medici; the reception which Lorenzo met with in Rome, the fact that the financial affairs of the Holy See were, much to their advantage, entrusted to their care, and that the Alum works at Tolfa were farmed out to them, were plain proofs of this good-will.† If these friendly relations were of brief duration, it was only because Lorenzo openly manifested his ungrateful purpose of making troubles for the Pope.‡

The Florentine Expedition against Volterra, in the year 1472, was the first occasion on which these differences appeared. The Pope had sent auxiliary troops to aid the Florentines in suppressing the revolt of that city; this act of friendship towards Lorenzo led to disastrous results. After twenty-five days of bombardment, the city capitulated, on condition that the lives, honour, and property of the burgesses should be spared. No sooner, however, had the undisciplined troops entered the place, than a general plunder began. "In vain did Federigo of Montefeltre remonstrate; Volterra was sacrificed in the most shameful manner. This seemed to have delighted the Florentines. When the victor came, with a heavy heart, to their city, they overwhelmed him with marks of gratitude to console

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 270, 2nd ed.

† See *supra*, p. 215. From GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost., we learn that, previously to 1478, the Medici farmed the customs in Rome.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 111. See *supra*, p. 265 *seq.* and 268 *seq.*

him for the wound that his honour had sustained; but the Pope saw his credit abused, and general compassion excited on behalf of the ruined city. His magisterial hand, which had been laid upon the balance in favour of the Medici, was stained with blood."*

Then followed the purchase of Imola. The acquisition of this territory from the Duke of Milan interfered with the designs of the Republic, which had eagerly sought an extension of its domain in that direction.† Lorenzo had made the greatest efforts to make it impossible to obtain the money required. Henceforth "the Court of Rome could no longer employ him in a financial capacity. That which had once been so generously offered to him was now withdrawn. The management of the Apostolical Exchequer was transferred to the Bank of the Pazzi, who, in spite of the Medici, had advanced the sum; that was all, but it was enough."‡

* Such is the judgment of SCHMARSOW, 13. See REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 249, 2nd ed., and II., 455, where the special literature on the subject is indicated. FRANTZ, 141, believes the first alteration in the relations between Sixtus IV. and Lorenzo was due to the Pope's decided refusal to elevate Giuliano de' Medici to the purple. An ecclesiastical difference (taxation of the clergy) is mentioned in the *Brief of 14th Sept., 1471. State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 37b–38.

† FRANTZ, 141.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 24. See FRANTZ, 177, and BUSER, Lorenzo, 31. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 16, speaks of the withdrawal of the financial business in Rome from the Medici in 1476. "Fisci tamen administrationem apud eum amplius esse non passus est, credo ne posset sanctam Romanam ecclesiam viribus propriis oppugnare." But a Letter of Lorenzo, of the 14th Dec., 1474 (in BUSER, Lorenzo, 132), implies that this had already been done. According to information kindly communicated by Dr Gottlob, from July, 1474, the Medici no longer appear as depositarii generales S.R.E. in the Libri introitus et exitus of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. DAUNON, I., 279, is

The tension between Sixtus IV. and Lorenzo was also greatly increased by the faithless conduct of the latter at the time of the siege of Città di Castello. He repaid the assistance rendered to him by the Pope, during the war with Volterra, by vigorously supporting rebellion in the States of the Church.* The persistent aid accorded by Florence to Vitelli rendered his complete subjugation impossible. Thus the capitulation, which was at last brought about, is characterised by Cardinal Ammanati, favourably disposed as he was towards the Medici, as an insult to the victors, for the terms were dictated by the vanquished.†

The next dispute had to do with a more ecclesiastical question. On the death of Cardinal Riario, Francesco Salviati had aspired to the Archbishopric of Florence, but had been compelled to give way to Lorenzo's brother-in-law, Rinaldo Orsini.‡ In 1474, Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, a man much devoted to the interests of his relations, died. Without consulting the Florentines, the Pope now raised Francesco Salviati to the vacant throne.§ It is not to be supposed that the Pope made this appointment with the intention of wounding the Medici and the Republic, but "from a letter of Cardinal Giuliano to Lorenzo, it is evident that he knew it would not be welcome. The Cardinal commends the Archbishop-

altogether incorrect in saying: "Un des premiers soins de Sixte IV. fut d'ôter à la famille de Medicis l'emploi de trésorier."

* FRANTZ, 160. See *supra*, p. 265.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 258, 2nd ed.

‡ GAMS, 748, does not give the day of his appointment. A *Brief of Sixtus IV., dated Rome, 1474, quinto Cal. Mart., acquainted the Florentines with Orsini's nomination. State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 59b-60.

§ On the 14th Oct., 1474, Sixtus IV. communicated the elevation to the Florentines; see the *Brief of that date in the State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 69b-70.

elect to Lorenzo, and emphatically declares that there had been no intention of offending his Magnificence by the nomination."* Girolamo Riario earnestly entreated Lorenzo to overrule the opposition that would be made to the acceptance of Salviati. As this letter was not answered, Girolamo Riario wrote again on the 26th October, 1474, and this time with his own hand. "If," he says, "you would have me see that I am loved by you, and that my friendship is agreeable to you, and would also have our Master perceive that you are towards His Holiness all that I have ever declared you to be, then deal with me in this matter as you wish me to deal with you and your affairs."†

Two days before this letter was written, the Pope had exhorted the Florentines to be reasonable, and to acknowledge the newly-appointed Archbishop; but neither the Republic nor Lorenzo had any idea of yielding.‡ Lorenzo, writing to the Duke of Milan, declared that to consent to recognise the Archbishop would be to betray the honour of the city.§ Early in 1475 Girolamo sent his Chancellor to Florence to enter into negotiations for an agreement; but a long time passed without any settlement.‖ All the

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 270–71, 2nd ed.

† BUSER, Lorenzo, 30.

‡ *Brief, dated Grottaferrata, 1474, Oct. 24. *"Nos quidem," it says, "eo animo sumus, ut digne a nobis factam provisionem substineamus; vos quidem cum prudentes sitis nobiscum convenietis in sententiam et electo ipsi statim possessionem tradi facietis." State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 70–70b.

§ BUSER, Lorenzo, 31 and 132.

‖ Regarding the result of the negotiations, see the Report of the Milanese Ambassador; BUSER, Lorenzo, 32–3. J. P. Arrivabene writes on the 13th April, 1475: *"Le cose de Lorenzo de Medici dico de le rasone suoe de la depositeria qui presso al papa sono in speranza d'acordo, el qual seguendo stimase che lui habia a venir qui in brevi personalmente." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Pope's exhortations failed to obtain Salviati's reception.* For three whole years the Florentines held out. Salviati remained in Rome, and the resentment which he cherished was soon shared by others. "Lorenzo," says an historian by no means prejudiced against him, "could not fail to perceive that this affair was seriously disturbing his relations with the Pope and his adherents. It is easy to understand that the feeling of animosity was directed against Lorenzo personally; men had come to look upon him as the head of the Republic, and everything, whether good or evil, was ascribed to his influence." †

A fresh manifestation of the hostile disposition of the Florentines towards Sixtus IV. occurred in the autumn of 1475. Niccolo Vitelli was then endeavouring to regain his former position in Città di Castello. The enterprise failed, but the Pope's request, that the faithless rebel should no longer be permitted to dwell in the territory of the Republic, was refused.‡

After all this, it is not surprising that Sixtus IV. did not grant the petition that a Florentine should be admitted into the Sacred College, but put off the Republic with hopes for the future.§

In the spring of 1477 Lorenzo placed further difficulties

* On the 6th October, 1475, Sixtus IV. wrote to Florence: *"Per integrum fere annum exspectamus, ut dil. filio electo Pisano possessionem ecclesie traderetis"; they must at last do this. State Archives, X.-II.-25, f. 92-92b.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 278, 2nd ed.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 19. See in Appendix, N. 56, the *Brief of 21st October, 1475. State Archives, Florence.

§ In a *Brief on the subject, dated Rome, 1476, Jan. 12, Sixtus IV. says: *"Non tulerunt tempora quemadmodum nobis supplicastis ut ante hac ornare vestram rempublicam cardinali Ro. ecclesiae potuerimus"; he then holds out hopes of the ultimate accomplishment of their desires. State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 95b.

in the Pope's way, by encouraging the mercenary captain, Carlo Fortebraccio, to abandon the Turkish war and return to the Umbrian frontier. Carlo desired to win for himself the quasi free city of Perugia, where his father and brother had formerly ruled.* Without the consent of the Florentines this was impossible, as free passage through their States and maintenance for his troops were indispensable; but they also had designs upon the city. They wished to draw it into their league, to alienate it from the Pope and to bring it under their own influence. They therefore incited Carlo to attack the Sienese; he nothing loth began, on the most frivolous pretexts, to plunder and to levy contributions in the valleys of the Chiana and the Arbia. The Medici viewed with satisfaction these troubles of their neighbours, hoping that they would tend to incline them to submit to their domination. Moreover, it was desirable that the Pope's attention should be diverted from Perugia, until the conspiracy for the betrayal of the city should be mature.†

The Sienese, thus attacked in time of peace, complained to the Pope and the King of Naples, and from both received promises of assistance. Sixtus IV. remembered that Carlo's father had threatened to make Pope Martin say twenty Masses for a *bolognino*.‡ A division of the army, under Antonio of Montefeltre, advanced to chastise the mercenary chief, who had thus wantonly disturbed the peace of the

* In *Letters of the 3rd and 11th Jan., 1477, Sixtus IV. had already forbidden the Perugians to admit Fortebraccio into their city. On the 22nd March he thanked them for having given a good reception to the Bishop of Rieti, whom he had sent as Governor. Regest. in Cod. C.-IV.-1, University Library, Genoa.

† SCHMARSOW, 135; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 273, 2nd ed.; LEO, IV., 388.

‡ See Cronica di Viterbo di Giov. di Juzzo, 414.

district.* Carlo Fortebraccio made a feint of going to meet the enemy, but on a day agreed upon with some of the nobles who were in league with him, suddenly appeared before Perugia. Happily the plot was discovered, and the seizure of the place prevented. Carlo thus saw the scheme, for whose accomplishment he had come to Tuscany, frustrated, and, as the hostile army had meanwhile increased in strength, he retired first to Montone and afterwards to Florence. Duke Federigo of Montefeltre had, by this time, led a large force into the Perugian territory. Montone was surrounded. The stronghold of the Bracci stood on a steep height, and was defended by lofty walls and various outworks, erected by the old Condottiere. All the plunder amassed by Fortebraccio was collected in this mountain fortress, and his wife, who was in charge, appeared with dishevelled hair, urging the garrison to offer a brave resistance. Carlo himself also sent messengers and letters from Florence to encourage them, promising that a powerful army should soon arrive to raise the siege, for he was assured of the assistance of the Medici and their allies; but no castle had yet been able to hold out against Federigo, "a stormer of cities like Demetrius, the son of Antigonus." The troops sent from Florence were repulsed, and Montone compelled to capitulate. "As pardon had been promised to them," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "they remained unharmed from first to last, and were, moreover, through the Pope's goodness, indemnified for their losses,

* See L'ÉPINOIS, 441; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 273, 2nd ed. The *Brief in the State Archives of Florence, here cited, was already known by means of a Regest. in Arch. St. Ital., XVI., 2, p. 588. *Briefs regarding the sending of troops to Perugia were addressed to that city by Sixtus IV. on the 25th and 28th of June and the 6th July, 1477. Regest. in Cod. C.-IV.-1, University Library, Genoa.

but the walls were destroyed, and a nest of rebellion was thus rooted out."*

The Sienese from this time forth were greatly alarmed: they concluded a close alliance with Sixtus IV. and Ferrante of Naples (8th February, 1478). Lorenzo himself could cherish no illusions as to the untoward position in which his own fault had placed him. He looked round about him for allies. He thought he might depend upon Milan, and then turned to Venice to ask if he might, in case of necessity, reckon on the troops of the Republic; the answer was in the affirmative. Interests and parties became more and more sharply separated. Sixtus IV., Count Girolamo, Ferrante, and Siena being on one side, and Florence, Venice, and Milan on the other.†

Lorenzo's attitude towards the Pope remained unchanged. "It is hard to discover in these proceedings his customary circumspection and political penetration. Even his biographer, Niccolo Valori, is not able to reconcile his conduct towards Sixtus IV. with the claims of either statesmanship or gratitude."‡

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 20; SCHMARSOW, 136, where the date of the 2nd September, as that of the fall of Montone, is wrong. ALLEGRETTI, 783, mentions the 27th September, and in accordance with this is a *Brief of the 30th Sept., 1477, to the Marquess of Mantua, informing him of the surrender of the place. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, where is a long *Brief of the 2nd Sept., 1477, in which the Pope speaks of the shameful conduct of Fortebraccio.

† BUSER, Lorenzo, 34.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 274, 2nd ed.

CHAPTER VI.

The Conspiracy of the Pazzi, 1478.

At the beginning of the year 1478 the tension between Rome and Florence was such as to render a catastrophe almost inevitable. Wherever the opportunity had occurred, Lorenzo de' Medici had thwarted the Pope; he had done everything in his power to prevent the consolidation of the temporal principality of the Pope and to foster the elements of weakness which existed in the States of the Church.* His ambition and masterfulness had increased beyond all bounds: he would have been prepared to sacrifice even the precious blessing of ecclesiastical unity to carry out his own schemes. His confidential letter of the 1st February, 1477, to Baccio Ugolini shews that he would have contemplated a schism without shrinking. In this letter he says, in so many words: "For any one in my position, the division of power is advantageous, and, if it were possible without scandal, three or four Popes would be better than a single one."†

The downfall of the Medici, who had become the very soul of the anti-Papal agitation in Italy, appeared the only

* Sugenheim, 350–52.

† The passage to which Buser, Lorenzo, 32, first called attention is as follows: *"Per mia pari fa che la auctorita si distribuischa et se potessi esser sanza scandalo sarebbono meglo tre o quattro Papa che uno." Arch. Medic. innanzi il princ. F., 89, f. 351. State Archives, Florence.

hope of security for the future. No one maintained this view with more warmth and eloquence than the Pope's nephew, Girolamo Riario, who felt that, as long as that family governed Florence, his hold upon Imola must remain precarious. The weakness of Sixtus IV. allowed to Girolamo an overweening influence in public affairs, and his ambition had become absolutely unbounded since his marriage with Caterina Sforza (May, 1472), a woman of a spirit kindred to his own.* "I am not," she said, "Duke Galeazzo's daughter for nothing: I have his brains in my head."†

Lorenzo, more or less by his own fault, had made many enemies in Florence as well as in Rome. Eaten up with pride, "he cared for no one and tolerated no rival. Even in games he would always be first. He interfered in everything, even in the private lives of the citizens, and in their marriages; nothing could be done without his consent. In the work of casting down the mighty and raising up those of low degree, he refused to act with that consideration and discretion which Cosmo had always been careful to observe."‡ Among the old nobility, in particular, there was great dissatisfaction. It was an essential part of the policy of the Medici to prevent any family, even if allied

* See **Report of Sacramorus ex urbe, 1477, May 25 (State Archives, Milan), and Juzzo's Chronicle in the edition of N. DELLA TUCCIA, 414; F. OLIVA, Vita di C. Sforza, 2 *seq.* (Forli, 1821); and BONOLI, 248.

† SCHMARSOW, 137, conjectures that it was Caterina Sforza's account of her father's assassination which suggested to Girolamo that the haughty Prince who stood in the way of his further advancement might be removed in a similar manner. FRANTZ, 178, is convinced that the Milanese conspiracy encouraged the Pazzi to follow in the same track.

‡ Thus VILLARI, I., 40, judges Lorenzo de' Medici. The documents subsequently brought to light by Buser are not calculated to modify his opinion.

or related to their own, from becoming too powerful or too rich. Lorenzo de' Medici carried out this principle to the utmost. The Pazzi soon perceived that he was planning their ruin. They saw themselves excluded from all honourable offices and influential positions in the Republic, and at last found their property also attacked. Grievances such as these drove them into the party of Lorenzo's opponents, "whose motto was, the Liberty of the Republic."*

The enemies of the Medici soon formed themselves into two groups, one of which gathered round the Pazzi, and the other round Girolamo Riario. The hostility of the Pazzi towards the Medici was purely political, or, perhaps, social and political, in its character. With Sixtus IV. and his right hand, Riario, its motives were chiefly ecclesiastical.

The indignation of the Florentine nobility against the purse-proud tyranny of the Medici was so deep and so wide-spread that, independently of Roman influence or co-operation, it must sooner or later have led to a catastrophe such as it had often already produced. The outbreak was hastened on by the alliance of the Pazzi with Girolamo, which had become closer since the purchase of Imola.

It is uncertain whether the idea of effecting a change in the form of government in Florence by violent means originated with the Pazzi or with Girolamo. However this may be, Francesco de' Pazzi, the Roman banker, was quite as active and as eager in the matter as Riario.† Together

* See REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 278, 2nd ed., who thinks that the Pazzi were not the principal offenders. See SCHMARSOW, 137, and FRANTZ, 175 *seq.*

† See FRANTZ, 204. According to a passing observation of JAC. VOLATERRANUS, 128, the Roman Palace of the Pazzi was near the Bridge of S. Angelo, therefore in the Street Canale del Ponte, now Via del Banco di S. Spirito, where the Sienese and Genoese bankers also lived.

they induced the Archbishop of Pisa, Francesco Salviati, who was living at the Roman Court, and very bitter against the Medici, to join them.

The first most important point was to discover what line the Pope would take in regard to their plan. "There was no doubt that, in his present state of irritation, he would favour any attempt to bring about a change of government in Florence. But Girolamo Riario was also well aware that his uncle would not lend himself to any undertaking which could imperil the honour of the Papacy. They must aim at securing a free hand to carry out the revolution, without letting the Pope know how it was to be accomplished."* He must be led to believe that the ill-will in Florence against the Medici was already so great that they could be easily overthrown in the usual manner, that is to say, by an insurrection without assassination. Giovan Batista da Montesecco, a vassal of Riario's, was selected, after the blow had been struck, to march into Florence with an armed force, and follow up the advantage gained. He consented, but warned the conspirators that the business might not be so readily accomplished as they thought.†

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 280–81, 2nd ed. When VILLARI, I., 40, writes of the Pazzi conspiracy: "It was planned in the Vatican by Sixtus IV., and many members of the most powerful Florentine families took part in it," he, by an unworthy perversion of facts, falsely attributes the origination of the crime to one who was only drawn into connection with it afterwards. For there is no doubt but that "Salviati and Fr. de' Pazzi, with Count Girolamo," were, as CIPOLLA, 582, says, "primi autori di tutta quella intricata matassa"; see Montesecco's confession in CAPPONI. Reumont, in his day, also protested, in the Allg. Ztg., against Villari's violent condemnation of Sixtus IV. See *supra*, p. 234.

† See Montesecco's depositions in CAPPONI, II., 548–58. This edition is henceforth cited, as being the only one taken from the

Montesecco had also another misgiving as to what the Pope would say to the plan. The answer given by Girolamo and Salviati is most significant. "Our Lord, the Pope," they said, "will always do what we persuade him, and he is angry with Lorenzo, and earnestly desires this." "Have you spoken to him of it?" "Certainly," was the reply, "and we will arrange that he shall also speak of it to you."*

This interview, at which Salviati and Girolamo alone were present, soon took place. According to the later and thoroughly credible statement of Montesecco, the Pope from the first declared that he wished for a change of government in Florence, but without the death of any man. "Holy Father," replied Montesecco, "these things can hardly be done without the death of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and, perhaps, of others also." The Pope answered: "On no condition will I have the death of any man: it is not our

original MS. Montesecco merely details the preliminaries of the conspiracy; as to the crime itself, see (*a*) Politianus, De conjurat. Pactiana commentarius, 1478 (published again in OPERA POLITIANI, Basil., p. 636–43, 1553, and in an old Italian translation, in P.'s Prose volgari, ed. G. Adimari, Napoli, 1769), a contemporary work, substantially true, but written with great bitterness (see ROSCOE, Lorenzo, 155, and REUMONT, II., 456, 2nd ed.); (*b*) LANDUCCI, Diario, 17–19; (*c*) Strozzi's Report, first published by Bini e Bigazzi, Vita di Fil. Strozzi il vecchio, 55–9 (Firenze, 1851), and afterwards by FRANTZ, 207 *seq.*; (*d*) *Parenti (see *infra*), used by REUMONT, I., 287, 2nd ed., in his excellent description. As to further authorities, see CAPPONI, II., 379; REUMONT, II., 456, 2nd ed.; and PERRENS, 384 *seq.* Diplomatic Reports regarding the crime were hitherto unknown; I was fortunate enough to find the *Reports of the Milanese and Mantuan Ambassadors, written two days after the event; the text of these two important pieces is given in Appendix, N. 57 and 58. As the Milanese Ambassadors were invited by Lorenzo, we have here a fresh account from eye-witnesses.

* CAPPONI, II., 550; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 283, 2nd ed.

office to consent to the death of any, and, even if Lorenzo is a villain (villano), and has wronged us, I in no way desire his death; what I do desire is a change of government." * Girolamo then said, "What is possible shall be done to avoid such a casualty, but if it should occur, will your Holiness forgive its authors?" "You are a brute," rejoined Sixtus, "I tell you I do not desire the death of any man, but only a change in the government; and to you also, Giovan Battista, I say that I greatly wish that the government of Florence should be taken out of Lorenzo's hands, for he is a villain and an evil man, and has no consideration for us, and if he were out of the way we should be able to arrange matters with the Republic according to our mind, and this would be a great advantage." "What your Holiness says is true," said Riario and the Archbishop. "If, after a change of government in Florence, the State is at your disposal, your Holiness will be able to lay down the law for half of Italy, and every one will have an interest in securing your friendship. Therefore, be content to let us do all that we can for the attainment of this end." Hereupon Sixtus IV. again spoke very decidedly, without any reserve or ambiguity. "I tell you," he said, "I will not. Go and do as seems good to you, but no one's life is to be taken." † At the close of the audience, he gave his consent

* "Io non voglio la morte de niun per niente, perchè non è offitio nostro aconsentire alla morte de persona; e bene che Lorenzo sia un villano e con noi se porte male, pure io non vorria la morte sua per niente, ma la mutatione dello Stato sì." CAPPONI, II., 552; FRANTZ, 199.

† "Io te dico che non voglio: Andate e fate chome pare a voi, purchè non cie intervengha morte." CAPPONI, II., 552; FRANTZ, 200; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 284, 2nd ed. All these strong words of prohibition, although spoken in a private audience and to confidants, must, according to GREGOROVIUS, VII., 242, 3rd ed., have been a mere farce. "If," writes this historian, "he" (Sixtus) "did not

to the employment of armed men. Salviati said, as he withdrew: "Holy Father, be content to let us steer this bark, we will guide her safely." The Pope said, "I am content." "Sixtus IV. could only understand that those present fell in with his views, and he gave his consent."

The Pope, who had grown up in the cloister, and was little acquainted with the world, evidently believed that the advance of the troops assembled on the frontiers of the Republic, to join the discontented Florentines, would make it possible to overpower and capture the Medici.* The conspirators had other views. After repeated consultations, Girolamo and Salviati determined to act in opposition to the clearly expressed desire of the Pope. Preparations were at once commenced.

It is important to observe that Sixtus IV. again sent a message through a Bishop to urge the confederates to consider the honour of the Holy See and of Girolamo himself.† Had he known anything of the purpose of assassination, such an exhortation would have been absolutely unmeaning. "For, even if it succeeded, if both the Medici fell at once, and the Republic declared itself free, the

expressly desire their" (the Medici's) "death, he cared little whether blood was shed or not." Dr. Joseph Schmid has very kindly communicated to me the following extract from the work of Dr. Kempter, a gifted writer, too early taken from us: "How," he says, "can such an assertion, which is not merely prejudiced, but utterly unfounded, be reconciled with history and justice? According to the literal sense of the documents, we should be condemned by any tribunal as guilty of libel and calumny, if we were to say that Sixtus IV. intended the death of the two Medici in the year 1478."

* FRANTZ, 203.

† See Montesecco in CAPPONI, II., 555. It is hard to understand how Reumont's critic can maintain, in the Rev. Hist., XXVI., 164, that the words in question are not to be found in Montesecco's confession in Capponi.

honour of the Holy See would be compromised. Sixtus IV. accordingly remained, as is perfectly clear from the whole of Montesecco's deposition, under the impression that the plan was to take both the Medici prisoners: Lorenzo on his journey to or from Rome, Giuliano perhaps on his way from Piombino, and then to issue a Proclamation from the Republic. An unprejudiced critic cannot arrive at any other conclusion from the documents before us." *

Circumstances had hitherto been unfavourable to the execution of the scheme. As, however, many had been initiated, it became necessary to act promptly, to avoid the risk of discovery. Francesco de' Pazzi had at last won over his brother Jacopo, the head of the family: among the other conspirators may be named, Bernardo di Bandini Baroncelli and Napoleone Franzesi Jacopo, son of the well-known Humanist, Poggio Bracciolini, two of the Salviati, and two clerics, Stefano of Bagnone, a dependent of Jacopo de' Pazzi, and Antonio Maffei of Volterra, "who had been led to take part in the plot by grief at the misfortunes of his native city, whose ruin he attributed to Lorenzo." Francesco de' Pazzi and Bandini were to murder Giuliano, while Lorenzo was to be killed by Montesecco; Salviati was to seize the Signorial Palace, and Jacopo de' Pazzi to arouse the Florentines.†

Just at this time, in the spring of 1478, the young Cardinal Rafaello Sansoni-Riario came to Florence, in consequence of an outbreak of the Plague at Pisa, and took up his abode at the Villa of the Pazzi. According to the original plan, the Medici were to be assassinated at a banquet; but, as Giuliano was prevented by indisposition from attending it, the murder was postponed. Cardinal Rafaello, who was but eighteen, had no suspicion of all

* FRANTZ, 206–7.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 286 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; FRANTZ, 197.

that was going on, and held free and friendly intercourse with Lorenzo de' Medici. Lorenzo repeatedly urged him to visit his Palace and the Cathedral, and Rafaello Sansoni promised to do so on Sunday, the 26th April, 1478. The conspirators determined to take advantage of this favourable opportunity for carrying out their purpose.

Lorenzo had invited a brilliant company to dinner in honour of the Cardinal. Many Ambassadors and Knights, among them Jacopo de' Pazzi and Francesco Salviati, were invited. On the morning of the eventful day, the Cardinal, with a few companions, among whom were the Archbishop and Montesecco, went into the city. Giuliano de' Medici excused himself from the feast on the plea of ill-health, but promised to be present in the Cathedral. "This caused a change of purpose, and the church, instead of the banqueting-hall, was selected as the scene of the murder."* Montesecco, however, at the last moment refused to perpetrate the crime in the Cathedral, either because he shrank from shedding blood in a church, or, on maturer consideration, from the affair altogether.† In his stead,

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 287, 2nd ed. Regarding the frequency of paid assassinations at this period, see, besides the work of Lamansky, GOTHEIN, 22; and BURCKHARDT, II., 222 *seq.*, 2nd ed., who, in I., 56 *seq.*, 2nd ed., also speaks of murders in churches; see VILLARI, I., 27; and GEIGER, Renaissance, 192.

† So says SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 23 (o fosse mosso da religione o piu attentamente considerando a che impresa si sarebbe sobarcato—in the very carelessly-given Latin text the Preface is omitted). POLITIANUS (Op., 638) only says: "Destinatus ad Laurentii caedem Joannes Baptista negotium detractarat." *PARENTI, f. 9b, only remarks at first, "ricussolo poi dicendo nolle fare in chiesa *secondo che molti dichono*." Later on he speaks of Montesecco's refusal in the following words: "o che non li bastasse alhora la vista o che l'amicitia teneva con Lorenzo lo rattenesi o che religione l'impedisce o che altra occulta causa lo movessi in effetto lo recuso." National Library, Florence.

the two clerics, Stefano and Maffei, undertook the deed.

The beginning of the second part of the High Mass was the signal of action for the conspirators.* With the cry "Ah! traitor!" Bernardo di Bandini Baroncelli made a rush at Giuliano, and plunged his dagger in his side. Severely wounded as he was, he strove to defend himself, and, in doing so, pushed against Francesco de' Pazzi, from whom he received a thrust in the breast. After this he staggered about fifty paces further, and then fell to the ground, where Francesco de' Pazzi stabbed him repeatedly till life was extinct.† Stefano and Maffei had meanwhile

* On no point do accounts vary so much as with regard to the exact time appointed for the deed; see the comparison of passages in FRANTZ, 208, N. 1. The Milanese Ambassador, in his *Report, says the *Agnus Dei;* the Mantuan and LANDUCCI, 17, mention the *Elevation;* these two moments are so near that it was very easy to confound them. Vespasiano da Bisticci (MAI, I., 448), writes: "levato il corpo di Cristo circa la communione"; the Synodus Florentina expressly declares: "Evenit autem ut in ecclesia ab elevatione ad communionem res differretur." F. Strozzi, on the other hand, observes, "in sul dire missa est"; whereupon PERRENS, 385, adds: "A ce moment, quoiqu'il y ait encore quelques prières à dire, chacun se leve, sort de sa place, s'achemine vers les portes. Il y a dans l'église un va-et-vient, un brouhaha très favorable aux violences. En outre les cloches sonnent alors: elles devaient avertir l'archévêque Salviati," &c. But the bells were also rung at the *Elevation* and the *Communion.* In opposition to Strozzi's statement is the fact, expressly mentioned by himself and several other writers, that Giuliano and Lorenzo, according to their custom, were then walking about in the church (see Appendix, N. 57), which, at the end of the Mass, would be natural and not worthy of notice, but during its continuance was unusual, and a bad habit of a corrupt age. The conspirators cannot then have chosen the *Ite missa est* as their signal, for their victim in that case might easily have escaped.

† "*Venuto el tempo a hora circa xiv. Bernardo Bandini secondo che ciaschuno afferma perche fu chosa quasi invisibile si cacciò adosso a

attacked Lorenzo, but only wounded him slightly. While his servants and some youths warded off further blows with their cloaks, he fled into the old sacristy, and its bronze door was fastened at once by Angelo Poliziano.*

All this was the work of a moment. Very few persons could see exactly what took place. This, and the horror which paralysed the senses of the immediate witnesses, accounts for the many variations in the details which have reached us. Those who were at a little distance did not know what was going on, and many thought that the dome of the Cathedral was about to fall in.†

Salviati's attempt to take possession of the Signorial Palace was equally a failure. Jacopo de' Pazzi's cry of liberty met with no response, while the people rose on all

Giuliano et con una coltella li menò nel fiancho dicendo : hai traditore. Giuliano ispaurito si mosse per volersi aiutare et retornarne et rintoppò in Francesco che medisimamente li menò un altro colpo nel petto. Il perche discostatosi Giuliano qualche cinquanta passi dal primo luogho dove fu ferito cascò in terra et Francesco addossoli tante ferite li dette che lo lasciò morto. Similmente trasseno fuori l'armi alcuni famigli di Francesco intorno a Giuliano ; in nella baruffa ferirono Francesco in una gamba et gravemente." PARENTI, f. 11. (National Library, Florence.) Machiavelli's assertion, repeated by REUMONT, I., 288, 2nd ed., that Francesco wounded himself, is therefore erroneous ; see also PERRENS, 386, N. 2.

* See, besides the authorities cited above and in PERRENS, 387, the detailed account of the attack on Lorenzo in the *Reports of Don Albertinus (Gonzaga Archives), and of the Milanese Ambassadors. (State Archives, Milan.) Appendix, N. 57 and 58.

† POLITIANUS, Op., 639. See also STROZZI'S description (*loc. cit.*, 56), and PARENTI, who writes * "Fatto questo la confusione fu grande tra cittadini che si trovavano nella chiesa. Chi si fuggi di chiesa e corse a casa sua, chi per paura si noscosse nella calonica di S. Reparata, chi nelle case vicine, chi ando per l'arme et tornò in chiesa in difesa di Lorenzo, chi pure vi si rimase senza suspetto per veder le cose dove restavano et chi prese un partito e chi un altro."

sides to that of "Palle" (the balls in the armorial bearings of the Medici). The slaughter of the guilty at once began. Archbishop Salviati, his brother, and his nephew Jacopo Bracciolini, with Francesco de' Pazzi, were all hung up together from the window-bars of the Signorial Palace. Then the ropes were cut, so that the bodies fell amidst the crowd,* where they were torn in pieces, and the severed heads and limbs borne in triumph through the streets. All who were supposed to be enemies of the Medici, whether guilty or innocent, were butchered.† The two assassins who had fallen upon Lorenzo had their noses and ears cut off before they were killed.

Montesecco was seized on the 1st, and beheaded on the 4th, May. Neither his withdrawal at the last moment, nor the disclosures which he made in regard to the ramifications of the conspiracy, availed to mitigate his sentence.‡ His statements are of the greatest importance in their bearing on the question of the participation of Sixtus IV. in the events of the 26th April. "It is certain that he desired that the Medici should be overthrown by force. It is equally certain that he can have known nothing beforehand of the details of the attempted assassination, for these were only arranged in haste on the very morning of the deed, when it had been found necessary to abandon the plan of murdering the brothers at a banquet." §

The further question, whether Sixtus IV. approved of the murderous intention of the conspirators, must be answered

* See the Milanese Ambassadors' *Report of the 28th April, 1478, in Appendix, N. 57. State Archives, Milan.

† LANDUCCI, 19; POLITIANUS, Op., 640; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 291 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; PERRENS, 391 *seq.*

‡ PERRENS, 393.

§ H. HÜFFER in the Allg. Ztg., 1875, p. 1010, indirectly against RANKE, Päpste, I., 31, 6th ed.

in the negative. Had this been the case, "Montesecco, whose interest it was to make the least of his own share in the crime, would scarcely have concealed the fact. His depositions bear upon them the stamp of truth; they have sometimes been taken in their obvious sense, and sometimes arbitrarily interpreted. In face of such evidence, to continue to make the Pope an abettor in the murder is worse now than it was 400 years ago."*

It is, however, deeply to be regretted that a Pope should play any part in the history of a conspiracy. Lorenzo had given Sixtus IV. good ground for a declaration of war; the principle of self-preservation demanded active measures for future security, and amongst them, the overthrow of this malignant enemy; but open warfare would certainly have been more worthy of a Pontiff than participation in a political plot, even had it involved no bloodshed.

* Opinion of REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 292, 2nd ed., see II., 456, 2nd ed.; and CREIGHTON, III., 75, in regard to the credibility of Montesecco's statements, which have been well described as an honourable, soldierly avowal. See also HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 214, N. 2, against BROSCH, Julius II., p. 10.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TUSCAN WAR.—FRENCH INTERVENTION IN FAVOUR OF THE FLORENTINES.—RELATIONS OF LOUIS XI. WITH THE HOLY SEE.—THE POPE'S RECONCILIATION WITH FLORENCE.

AN unsuccessful conspiracy always strengthens the power against which it has been directed. Lorenzo, who shewed admirable skill and tact in making the most of his advantage, now rose to absolute power in Florence. "Even those who had hitherto been heartily opposed to him, from Republican convictions, came over to his side. The baseness of this attack on his life, to which was added the abuse of the sacred place and the most solemn act of worship, and the presence of a Cardinal, had called forth the greatest indignation." * Immediately after the failure of the plot, this anger found vent in the indiscriminate slaughter of all the enemies of the Medici; and, as time went on, far too much license was permitted to the mob. Twenty-three days after the event, boys were allowed to drag the half-clad corpse of Jacopo de' Pazzi through the streets, and fling it, with ghastly jibes, into the Arno.† Cruel reprisals continued even into the year 1480: a well-informed contemporary doubts the guilt of those then sentenced. Renato de' Pazzi, a peaceful man, devoted to study, who had refused to take any part in the conspiracy,

* FRANTZ, 213.

† LANDUCCI'S description of this scene (Diario, 21–2) makes one shudder.

was certainly innocent. Nevertheless, he was executed.* Bandini was pursued to Constantinople, where the Sultan gave him up to Lorenzo. This circumstance, and, in a yet greater degree, the letters of condolence which he received from all sides, from Princes and Republics, Statesmen and Cardinals, helped to make him haughtier than ever.†

Many ecclesiastics who had nothing to do with the conspiracy were also executed.‡ The Archbishop of Pisa was brutally scourged, without trial of any sort, and Cardinal Rafaello Sansoni-Riario, although perfectly innocent, was imprisoned. These things greatly angered Sixtus IV. Sigismondo de' Conti thus describes his feelings when the tidings first arrived from Florence. "The Pope expressed his horror at the crime, in which the conspirators had added sacrilege to murder. He was also deeply grieved at the danger of Cardinal Sansoni, the disgraceful slaughter of innocent priests, and the ignominious death of the Archbishop. He saw that a serious indignity had been inflicted on the Church. This latter point was specially distressing to him, because it made peace impossible, for it would

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 292, 2nd ed. PERRENS, 396, agrees with Reumont in saying that the vengeance exceeded all bounds, and was quite unparalleled; see also p. 391, where Perrens speaks of an *orgie de vengeance*, and VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 41.

† In the State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, we find *Letters of condolence from Lucca, Perugia, and Venice, and also from Cardinal d'Estouteville. The last of these *Letters is dated Rome, 1478, April 28, and contains the following words: *"Per l'antiqua affectione et singulare amore che havemo portato et portiamo a quella E.S. non sanza grande dolore et despiacere de animo havemo intesa questa matina la novita che li e stata et dallo altro canto inteso el buon fine per la V. tranquillita et pace che e seguito secundo el dolendo caso; habiamo ringraziato dio," &c. Spoleto also condoled with the Florentines; see SANSI, Storia, 80, and Doc. 46.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 24.

be a dangerous example for the future, if those who had so gravely infringed her rights were to be left unpunished." * Accordingly, Sixtus IV. claimed satisfaction from the Florentines for their violations of ecclesiastical immunities, and also demanded the liberation of Cardinal Sansoni, and the banishment of Lorenzo.

The first two demands were undoubtedly just. Donato Acciaiuoli, the Florentine Ambassador in Rome, though he had been deeply affronted by Riario,† strongly advised his Government to fulfil the promise which they had made in writing to release the unoffending Cardinal. Florence, he observed, gained nothing by his detention, and the refusal to comply with the righteous request of the Pope must lead to serious danger. But "the reasonable representations of their trusty servant," and Ferrante's warning not to add fuel to the fire,‡ were alike unheeded.

It was decided that the Cardinal should for the time be retained in captivity, as a hostage for the safety of the Florentines in Rome.§ On the 24th May, Sixtus IV. sent the Bishop of Perugia to the city with a letter from the Cardinal-Camerlengo to Lorenzo, informing him that a commission was already appointed to commence proceedings against the Republic, unless the Cardinal was

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 25; see *ibid.*, 39, Sixtus IV.'s circular letter. In 1476 the Pope had remonstrated against the practice, which prevailed in England and Wales, of summoning clerics to appear before secular judges, as a breach of ecclesiastical law. HARDOUIN, Conc., IX., 1496 *seq.*; ROSCOVÁNY, Monum., I., 115–17; WILKINS, III., 609–10; Mon. Acad. Oxon., I., 348 *seq.*

† Sixtus IV. maintained that this had occurred without his knowledge, and regretted the incident; see Vespasiano da Bisticci in MAI, I., 451.

‡ BUSER, Lorenzo, 37; FRANTZ, 218.

§ See *Letter from the Milanese Ambassadors, dated Florence, 1478, May 20. Ambrosian Library.

at once set free. Venice also advised the Florentines not to give their enemies just cause of complaint by keeping Sansoni in prison.* All, however, was in vain; although there had been ample time to establish the innocence of the young Prelate, they would not hurry themselves, and matters daily grew worse.†

Sixtus IV. was at last weary of waiting. He "would, no doubt, have preferred a reconciliation with Florence, but that had been rendered impossible."‡ Accordingly, on the 1st June, fully four weeks after the tragedy, and, therefore, when the excitement of the first moment had subsided, he issued a Bull excommunicating Lorenzo and his adherents. The Bull began by enumerating the whole series of Florentine offences: the protection afforded to the Pope's enemies, the attack on the Papal territory, the hindrances placed in the way of those who were going to Rome, and the detention of convoys carrying provisions to the Court there, finally their treatment of Francesco Salviati. Passing on to the events which had succeeded the conspiracy, Sixtus IV. declared that the vengeance taken in the form of executions and banishments had been cruel and excessive. Lorenzo, the Gonfaloniere, and the Prior in their mad fury, and by the instigation of the devil, had even laid hands on ecclesiastics. They had hanged the Archbishop at the window of the Palace in the sight of the crowd, and, cutting the rope, allowed the corpse to fall down into the street. Other innocent clerics, of whom some belonged to the suite of Cardinal Sansoni, had also suffered death. Finally, although the Bishop of Perugia had been sent as Legate to apply, in the name of the Pope, for the release of the Cardinal, he had not been

* ROMANIN, IV., 390; FRANTZ, 219.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 299, 2nd ed.

‡ REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 300.

released. On account of these crimes, the sentence of the greater Excommunication was pronounced against Lorenzo and the other functionaries, and, in the event of these guilty persons not being delivered up, the city would be laid under an Interdict and its Archiepiscopal dignity cancelled.*

In spite of the severity of this Bull the Cardinal was still kept in prison, though the rigour of his captivity was somewhat mitigated. Its character may be gathered from the description a Sienese chronicler gives of his appearance when he was at length set free. "On the 13th June," says Allegro Allegretti, "Cardinal Sansoni-Riario came to Siena, more dead than alive from the terror he had endured, and still feeling as if the rope were about his neck."†

On the 20th June the Cardinal arrived in Rome. The deadly pallor of his face bore witness to the torments he had undergone, and this he retained to the end of his life.‡ Francesco Gonzaga had left the City two days previously for Bologna, where the friendship of the Bentivogli with the Medici awakened some anxiety. The instructions given to Gonzaga betray the Pope's "uneasiness, and his consciousness of the bad impression produced by Florentine events." They also shew that there had been a possibility

* Bull, "Iniquitatis filius et perditionis alumnus Laurentius de Medicis," in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1478, N. 4 *seq.*, and FABRONIUS, II., 121 *seq.* See FRANTZ, 221 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 216; and L'ÉPINOIS, 444.

† ALLEGRETTI, 784, who also says that the Cardinal had been repeatedly threatened with hanging. In regard to Sansoni's Letter to the Pope, "which was apparently dictated" (REUMONT, I., 299), see the excellent observation of CIPOLLA, 586.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 55, Secret Archives of the Vatican. According to the same authority, the ceremony of opening the Cardinal's mouth was performed on the 22nd June, and on the 26th he went as Legate to Perugia.

of reconciliation; for, after exhorting the Bolognese to be faithful, Sixtus IV. observes, "We have not taken it ill, nor do we blame our people for their friendliness towards the Florentines when the tidings of these disturbances first reached them. On the contrary, we approved of this manifestation of sympathy with their neighbours, as the Republic had as yet done nothing against the Church, and we ourselves wrote to Florence to express our regret at the occurrence. But, now that they have committed such shameful outrages on the ecclesiastical state, and have incurred the censures of the Church for their persistent violations of her rights, the Bolognese can no longer in honour continue to stand by them. Such a course would constitute an attack upon us, and would not assist them."*

The long-deferred, but practically inevitable, release of the Cardinal, whose innocence could not be denied, was the only concession made by Florence to the Pope. The Excommunication was despised; the Interdict,† pronounced on the 20th June, was disregarded; and the alliance of other Powers, especially that of France, was sought. Memorandums, couched in violent language, and evading any real answer to the very definite charges made by the Pope,‡ threats of a Schism, and preparations for war were the only reply vouchsafed by the once pious and fastidiously refined Florentines to the exhortations of

* REUMONT, I., 303, 2nd ed. The copy here used of the *Instructio pro R. Card. Mantuano in the Cod. Capponi, XXII. (now in the National Library at Florence), is without date; the date may, however, be gathered from the statement in the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, that Gonzaga started on the 18th June on his Mission to Bologna.

† See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1478, N. 12–13.

‡ See FRANTZ, 228 *seq.*, and REUMONT, I., 318, 2nd ed.

Sixtus IV., who was convinced of the justice of his cause.*

Although the Florentine Government set the Excommunication and Interdict at naught and constrained the clergy to perform their sacred functions, they still complained of the distress which these censures had occasioned. The document known by the name of the "Synodus Florentina" bears eloquent testimony to the fanatically anti-Roman temper of the party of the Medici. In it Sixtus IV. is called "the adulterer's minion" and the "Vicar of the Devil." He is loaded with accusations, and the hope is expressed that God may deliver His people from false shepherds who come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.†

* See, in particular, the autograph Letter to the Duke of Urbino, of 25th July, 1478, in FABRONIUS, II., 130–31.

† See HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 218, and FRANTZ, 242 *seq.* There is no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the document known as the Synodus Florentina, and published in FABRONIUS, II., 136 *seq.*, for the original, probably in the handwriting of Gentile Becchi, Bishop of Arezzo, is preserved in the State Archives, Florence (C. STROZZ., 387). The further question, whether the Synodus Flor. was the work of an actual and formal Conciabulum, or was a more or less individual production of Gentile Becchi, has been treated at length by FRANTZ, 237 *seq.* This conscientious writer believes that, "to the shame of the clergy who had grown up under the Medici," we must admit "that the Council was really summoned, and asserted the principles of the Synodus Flor." Striking as are Frantz's observations in detail, and thoroughly as he analyses the document, his reasons do not seem to me, nor to the latest biographer of Lorenzo (REUMONT, I., 318, 2nd ed.), sufficient to establish his conclusion. FABRONIUS, Döllinger, 354; CAPPONI, II., 385; and CREIGHTON, III., 287, are of opinion that there was no Synod; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 218 *seq.*, and REUSCH, II., 969, believe that there was. The lamented C. Guasti was kind enough, at my request, to make minute investigations regarding this matter; but neither in the State Archives, nor

War began in July. Ferrante, hoping by this means to gain Siena, espoused the Pope's cause. Lorenzo looked for support to Venice and Milan, and especially to Louis XI., King of France.

The relations between this monarch and Sixtus IV. had, from the first, been precarious. In 1472 he had, indeed, sent an Embassy to Rome* to do homage, but it soon became evident that the King adhered to his former policy of holding the Pragmatic Sanction and the Council over the Pope's head, to be used as a bait or a rod according to circumstances.† The agreement arrived at by direct negotiation with Rome, in the summer of 1472, lasted but a short time. The University resisted it as contrary to the Basle Decrees. Although Louis XI. ratified the Concordat on the 31st October, 1472,‡ the Pragmatic Sanction continued practically in force.§ The Mission of the Bishop of Viterbo to France made no change in the state of affairs.|| In the following year the tension between France and Rome increased. At the French Court it was asserted that the

those of the Duomo at Florence, is there any notice of this supposed Synod: in the latter, however, the expenses incurred on such an occasion would necessarily appear, yet no trace of them is to be found.

* Regarding the reception given to the French Ambassadors in Rome, see LJUBIČ, *loc. cit.*, 22. Cardinal Gonzaga gave them a splendid banquet. See MOTTA in Bollet. st. d. Suizz., VI., 21.

† REUMONT, I., 305, 2nd ed. See PHILLIPS, III., 328; Kirchenlexikon, II., 754, 2nd ed.; GUETTÉE, VIII., 36; FIERVILLE, 146–7; and LEGEAY, II., 90.

‡ CHARAVAY, Sur les lettres de Louis XI., 9 (Paris, 1881); PICOT, I., 425; and FIERVILLE, 147.

§ FIERVILLE, 147; BULAEUS, V., 701 *seq.*

|| The *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, mention d'Estouteville's nomination as legatus in Gallias on the 12th October, 1472; but he declined the appointment, and the Bishop of Viterbo went in his stead. See GINGINS LA SARRA, I., 3 *seq.*

creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV. on the 7th May, 1473, was simoniacal. The Pope justified himself in a letter addressed to the King on the 22nd August, 1473.* Louis' reply is a combination of reclamations and insults. He angrily complained that the Pope had passed over the names of those whom he had proposed for the purple, while the wishes of other Princes were taken into consideration. He thought that he deserved better treatment than this, after having abolished the Pragmatic Sanction in his kingdom. He concludes with an appeal to Almighty God and to St. Peter and St. Paul!

At the end of 1474 Sixtus IV. had remonstrated with the King about his breach of the treaty of 1472.† Louis answered by issuing an Ordinance on the 8th January, 1475, "for the protection of Gallican liberties," making the Royal Placet necessary for the publication of all Papal Decrees.‡ Measures of a more hostile character soon followed. The King began to agitate for the holding of a General Council, in which the "Church might be reformed," and "a lawful Pope elected in the place of Sixtus IV., who had obtained his elevation by simony." Secret Despatches, taken from a Hungarian Envoy, shew that Louis was seeking to win over the Emperor Frederick to this scheme. The King of Hungary, upon this, represented to the Duke of Burgundy that he and the King of Naples thought that the only way of counteracting these manœuvres was for the Pope himself at once to summon a Council. He

* I found in the State Archives of Milan a contemporary copy of this hitherto unknown *Document, and will publish it elsewhere, together with the *Answer of the French King. GUETTÉE, VIII., 38, may be corrected by reference to these documents.

† D'ACHERY, Spicil., III., 844 *seq.* (Paris, 1723).

‡ See Archiv für Kirchenrecht, XVIII., 170; and DAUNON, II., 263.

had obtained the consent of Sixtus IV., and urged the Duke to join them.*

In January, 1476, Louis XI. issued a decree convening an Assembly of the French Church at Lyons.† Thus, the Council so much dreaded in Rome threatened to assume a tangible form. There can be no doubt that the Mission of the Legate, Giuliano della Rovere, to France was connected with this movement.‡ His presence there was also rendered desirable by the state of affairs in Avignon,§ of which city Giuliano was Archbishop; to this dignity was now added that of Papal Legate.|| Louis XI., who was by no means favourably disposed towards the Cardinal,¶ did everything in his power to have the former Legate, Charles of Bourbon, reappointed. A violent dispute ensued, in which it seemed probable that Avignon would have been lost to the Holy See. At last the difficulty was settled

* DROYSEN, II., 1, 301; SEGESSER, Beziehungen der Schweizer zu Matth. Corvinus, 72 *seq.* (Luzern, 1860); RAUSCH, 148 *seq.*; MENZEL-SCHLIEPHAKE, Geschichte von Nassau, V., 424 (Wiesbaden, 1879), doubts, but without sufficient reason, whether this agitation for a Council was serious.

† GINGINS LA SARRA, I., 285, see 321.

‡ Although this Mission of Giuliano's (see next page, note *) is mentioned in universally accessible publications, BROSCH, in his Monograph, 7–9, knows nothing of it! SCHMARSOW, 110, has already observed that, in consequence of this gross ignorance, Brosch "takes upon himself to suggest that the Cardinal Legate may at this time have fallen under the Pope's displeasure." We have here a characteristic example of this writer's want of circumspection, and of his mania for hazarding injurious conjectures on every occasion.

§ Giuliano left Rome on the 19th February, 1476, as Cardinal Gonzaga and J. P. Arrivabene concur in stating in their *Letters, dated Rome, 1476, February 20. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also the Brief of the 24th February in MARTÈNE, II., 1528.

|| FANTONI, I., 343.

¶ See LAGER, Gorze, 85; MARTÈNE, II., 1503–4.

by the elevation of Charles of Bourbon to the purple.* Giuliano founded a College in Avignon for poor students, and was received with great honour in Rome when he returned in the autumn. In the difficult negotiations with the French monarch, he received much assistance from his skilful judicial adviser, Giovanni Cerretani.†

In March, 1476, while Giuliano was still in France, a letter from Louis XI. was affixed to the door of St. Peter's, commanding all Cardinals, Prelates, and Bishops of his kingdom to appear at Lyons on the 1st May, to deliberate upon the assembling of a General Council.‡ In the latter part of April a French Embassy presented to the Pope the strange request that he would consent that a Council should be held at Lyons, and would be present there in person! Naturally, this request was not granted.§ For a considerable time it was reported that the Pope, in order to be beforehand with the opposition, would himself summon a General Council to meet in Rome.|| In the end, neither Assembly came to anything.

* Besides FANTONI, *loc. cit.*, see, regarding Giuliano's Mission to France, GINGINS LA SARRA, II., 33 *seq.*, 97, 131, 185; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 413; KNEBEL, II., 429; AMMANATI, Epist. (Frankfort edition), ep. 877 and 886; MARTÈNE, II., 1529, 1547; SCHMARSOW, 109–10; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 305, 2nd ed.; FRIEDBERG, II., 477; CHARPENNE, Hist. des réunions temp. d'Avignon, I., 10 (Paris, 1886).

† PALMERIUS, 259. According to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Giuliano reached Foligno on his homeward journey on the 4th Oct., 1476, "ubi papa cum curia sua tunc residebat." This date was hitherto unknown.

‡ KNEBEL'S Tagebuch, II., 391–2; RAUSCH, 150. See also MARTÈNE, II., 1535, and the **Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1476, May 14. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Sixtus IV. explained his reasons in a **Brief to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, 1476, April 21. (State Archives at Milan.) A similar *Brief to Ercole d'Este is in the State Archives, Modena.

|| See KNEBEL'S Tagebuch, II., 408; also 405 and 406.

Trusting in the schismatical tendencies of Louis XI., Lorenzo had, on the 2nd May, 1478, begged him to interfere in the contest between Florence and Rome, and a little later had recommended that the usual means of intimidation, the proposal to hold a Council, should be employed.* Louis XI. did not need much persuasion. "The King," writes a contemporary Ambassador, "has long cherished the plan of bringing about a schism in the Church. That which has taken place in Florence has furnished him with an excellent pretext. He is, therefore, sending Philippe de Commines to Turin, Milan, and Florence. Commines will not go to Venice, the King being persuaded that, in consideration of the close alliance existing between him and the Signoria, the intimation of his wishes by a simple letter will suffice."†

Sixtus IV. did not allow himself to be cast down by the threats of the French King. On the 11th July an outbreak of the Plague obliged him to betake himself to Bracciano,‡ where he was joined by the representatives of Venice, Milan, Florence, and Ferrara, together with two new French Envoys. On the 1st August all the Envoys met together

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 193–4. See DESJARDINS, Polit. de Louis XI., 29, and Négociat., 171 *seq.*

† Despatch of the Milanese Ambassador of the 16th June, 1478, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 173 *seq.* See FRANTZ, 261, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 220. Nothing, unfortunately, is known of the negotiations with the Pope carried on by Commines; even the time of his visit to Rome has not been exactly ascertained; see REUMONT, I., 310, 2nd ed.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 55, Secret Archives of the Vatican. We learn from this authority that Sixtus IV. did not return to Rome until the 17th September. HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 223, is, accordingly, mistaken. The Plague, as J. P. Arrivabene in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1478, May 24, declares, had broken out in May. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

in the Castle of the Orsini, and declared that the conduct of Sixtus IV. towards Florence and towards Lorenzo was a scandal to Christendom, because it hindered the Turkish war. Repeated requests for the removal of the censures had been made to him without any effect. For this reason, and also because all countries, chiefly through the faults of their rulers, needed thorough reform, they demanded the assembly of a Council in France.* On the 16th August Louis XI. strictly forbade the transmission of any money to Rome. In September the temporal and spiritual magnates of France met at Orleans. They left it to the King's choice, "either in the following year to summon a National Council at Lyons, or to prevail on the Pope to hold an Œcumenical Council. Louis XI. deemed it best to attempt the latter alternative."†

At the beginning of December, 1478, Sixtus IV., with the object of counteracting French intervention in the contest with Florence, as well as the schismatic tendencies of Louis XI. and his Italian allies, sent two Nuncios to the Emperor Frederick III., requesting his mediation and assistance.‡

* The *Document drawn up on this occasion, which GREGOROVIUS, VII., 246, 3rd ed., was the first to point out, is in the State Archives, Florence, Atti publ., CLXI. It begins with the words: "In nomine, &c., 1 Aug., 1478. Cum Sixtus IV. injuste," &c., and concludes as follows: "Acta facta et gesta fuerunt predicta omnia et singula suprascripta Brachiani Sutrin. dioc. terrar. (*not* territ., as Gregorovius reads) dom. Neapoleonis de Ursinis et in palatio sive fortitio dicti oppidi Brachiani." The French Envoys were Tristanus comes Claramontis and Gabriel Vives. Regarding the unjust accusations made by the King, see FRANTZ, 261 *seq.* On the 5th Aug., 1478, entrance into France was denied "à ung nommé Herosme Riaire, homme de bas lieu," &c.; see BASIN-QUICHERAT, III., 67.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 327, 2nd ed.; GUETTÉE, VIII., 40 *seq.*; LEGEAY, II., 318; BUSER, Beziehungen, 478; PERRENS, 413.

‡ Sixtus IV. had already written to the Emperor about Lorenzo on

The Ambassadors of the King of France reached Rome in January, 1479, and at once presented a memorial desiring the assembling of a General Council. Sixtus IV. replied that, if it were possible, such a measure would be very agreeable to him. At the same time, he made it plain that the Pope presides in an Œcumenical Council, and that to him belongs the right to summon it. He pointed out that the Prelates, who are all bound to maintain the liberty of the Church, would sit in it. No one of them would say that Lorenzo had the right to cause the Archbishop of Pisa to be ignominiously executed. All would rather be of opinion that he ought first to have been sentenced by an ecclesiastical tribunal. No Council could be called without the consent of the Emperor and the other Princes. The summoning of such an Assembly belongs to the Pope, and he would take council with the Cardinals on the subject. Sixtus IV. went on to speak in detail of the ecclesiastical policy of Louis XI. As to the Pragmatic Sanction, he said, either it was a just measure, in which case the King ought not to have revoked it, or an unjust one, in which case he ought not to think of reviving it. In recalling the Prelates from Rome, he had done wrong: their Superior is the Pope. The King would do better to lead Lorenzo to acknowledge his errors, and to persuade him to make fitting atonement; if he did this, he would obtain pardon, and all else would be easily settled. A Papal Ambassador had, moreover, been sent to France, and would be able to give the King further explanations. Numerous letters received from members of the clergy bear witness to the indignation that would be felt if the Pope did not appear

the 23rd May, and again on the 6th Aug., 1478; on the 1st December, he informed him of the arrival of L. de Agnellis; see Mon. Habsb., 451, 454. The *Instruction for L. de Agnellis and A. de Grassis are in Appendix, N. 59. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

as the avenger of the insults offered to the Church in Florence.*

On the 15th February another Consistory was held, and the Emperor's Ambassadors, who had meanwhile arrived, took part in it. They expressed themselves with decision regarding the rights of the Holy See, and did not think a Council necessary, but were of opinion that the Pope should deal mercifully with the Florentines, and conclude a peace, considering the present danger from the Turks.†

Most of the Cardinals also desired the restoration of peace, but Count Girolamo and Ferrante laboured with all their might against it, and were at first successful.‡

The uncertain attitude of Bologna at this time caused the greatest anxiety to Sixtus IV., and Cardinal Gonzaga was sent there.§

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1478, N. 18 *seq.*; FRANTZ, 283 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 224 *seq.*

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 227 *seq.*; GUETTÉE, VIII., 41–2, where are details regarding the negotiations which followed. DESJARDINS, Polit. de Louis XI., 31, sees the matter completely from the French King's point of view, and believes in his honourable feeling for Christendom!

‡ See N. DELLA TUCCIA, 421, and in Appendix, N. 60 and 61, Pandolfini's *Letters of the 20th and 25th March, 1479. State Archives, Florence.

§ See *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, *loc. cit.* (see our Vol. III., p. 243), and an autograph **Letter of Sixtus IV. to Cardinal Gonzaga, dated ex urbe 20 Martii, 1479 (Orig. in the Episcopal Archives, Mantua), from which it appears that Gonzaga was also to go to Germany. This Mission, however, came to nothing; for on the 21st April, A. tit. S. Sabine card. Montisregalis [=Auxias de Podio] was appointed legatus de latere in partibus Alamanie; he set off on the 17th May. (*Acta Consist., f. 57, Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On the last day of March Sixtus IV. commanded Card. Gonzaga, should the Bolognese continue obstinate in their disobedience, at once to leave the city. *Brief of this day in the State Archives, Milan. By the end of the

In the struggle with Florence, things at last seemed taking a more favourable turn, for, on the 4th April, 1479, the ecclesiastical censures were suspended, and a temporary cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the Pope.* Emboldened by this partial success, the Florentines, on the 28th April, rejected the terms of peace then proposed by him. In order to bring pressure to bear upon Sixtus IV., on the 27th May the League, through the Venetian Ambassador, declared that, unless within a period of eight days he should agree to a peace, their representatives should be instructed to leave Rome. Sixtus IV. was justly astounded at this communication, which "was tantamount to a refusal to make any concession to his demands. The limit of eight days, also, was an insult, since it was obviously impossible for him to conclude a peace without the consent of his allies, Naples and Siena."† On the 31st May the Ambassadors again assembled in the Pope's presence for further negotiations. Sixtus IV. caused a long statement to be read, shewing that he had tried every possible means for the restoration of peace. "The Venetian Ambassador replied in a speech in which he greatly incensed the Pope, by dwelling largely on the obnoxious topic of the Council." When the French Ambassador, in the name of his master, and in accord with the League, endeavoured to enter a protest against the

year, partly through the conciliatory action of the Pope (see *Letter of Joh. Angelus de Talentis, dated Rome, 1479, May 27, State Archives, Milan), matters were so far settled that in a *Brief, dated Rome, 1479, November 20, Sixtus was able to praise the Bolognese for their obedience. State Archives, Bologna.

* Sixtus IV. and Giuliano della Rovere lost no time in informing the French Ambassadors of the fact. See in Appendix, N. 62 and 63, *Letters of the 6th and 7th April, 1479, from the Milanese State Archives.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 231.

failure of the negotiations, Sixtus IV. brought the meeting to a close. Soon after this the Envoys of the League left Rome, unaccompanied, however, by those of the French King.*

The position of the Florentines grew much worse in the autumn.† Discontent was more and more openly expressed; Lorenzo was told to his face that the city was weary of war and needed peace. It became evident that there was no hope of assistance from Louis XI., and this conviction had a great effect on public feeling.‡

In his necessity Lorenzo boldly resolved to go himself as a suppliant to Naples (6th December, 1479). The utter faithlessness of Ferrante now became evident. Regardless alike of the alliance concluded with the Pope, and of the loyalty which he owed to his suzerain, he did not hesitate to betray him. The treaty of peace, which was the result of his negotiations with Lorenzo and Lodovico il Moro, regarded nothing but his own interests, although he had but recently sworn that he would lose ten kingdoms and his crown rather than let Lorenzo go without securing the conditions desired by Sixtus.§ The Pope bitterly complained that the victory which had been in his hands was filched away, as it were, behind his back; but, that no one might accuse him of being an obstacle in the way of peace, he ratified the treaty, stipulating, however, that

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 208–12, and Lorenzo, 141 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, Négociations, I., 185–6; PERRENS, 426–7.

† The Pope was at this time more than ever resolved on the expulsion of Lorenzo from Florence; see the *Briefs of the 20th and 22nd Sept., 1479, to Alfonso of Calabria and Federigo of Urbino. State Archives, Milan.

‡ FRANTZ, 332 *seq.*

§ FRANTZ, 351. Regarding Ferrante's artfulness and faithlessness, see GOTHEIN, 32, and SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschrift, N. F., XXI., 365.

Lorenzo should come in person to Rome; from this time "the Tuscan war languished."*

Meanwhile Otranto had been taken by the Turks, and this loss did more than anything else to turn attention from these internal disputes to the dangers in the East, and to remove the last obstacles in the way of a complete reconciliation. "The advantage which the Florentines derived from the altered condition of affairs was so manifest that many voices were heard which accused Lorenzo of having encouraged the Sultan to attack Apulia."† Florence decided to send a solemn Embassy to Rome, praying for the removal of the Interdict. It arrived on the 25th November, 1480, and the negotiations for peace were promptly brought to a happy conclusion. On the 3rd December the Florentines were released from all ecclesiastical censures.‡

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 236; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 247, 3rd ed.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 368, 2nd ed.; FRANTZ, 352.

‡ Particulars of the ceremonies and of the conditions of peace are given by JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 113 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

TURKISH EXPEDITIONS AGAINST RHODES AND OTRANTO.—RESISTANCE OFFERED BY SIXTUS IV.—DEATH OF SULTAN MAHOMET.—THE POPE'S REPEATED ATTEMPTS AT A CRUSADE.

IT has always been a part of the policy of the Eastern conquerors to profit by the quarrels of the Western Powers. From this point of view the last thirty years of the 15th Century had been an exceptionally favourable period for the Sultan. Half Europe was convulsed with wars, and, from 1478, Rome, hitherto always the foremost in the defence of Christendom, had been involved in an unholy struggle, with the result that for a time Sixtus IV. did nothing in this direction.

From 1477 the outlook in the East had grown more and more gloomy. "In May of that year, while a Turkish army blockaded Lepanto and Leucadia, Achmed Bey attacked Kroja, the capital of Albania, and, on the 15th June, 1478, this stronghold was compelled to capitulate. Schabljak, Alessio, and Drivasto also fell into the hands of the Turks; only Antivari and Scodra continued to hold out though besieged." *

Even more distressing than these losses were the barbarous incursions of the Turks into the Austrian Alpine Provinces,† Friuli, and Upper Italy. The Tuscan war

* HERTZBERG, Osmanen, 630. See FALLMERAYER, Albanes. Element, 103 *seq.*, and MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 115.

† See HUBER, III., 234 *seq.*, where are also details regarding the

deprived the Venetians of all hope of assistance from their fellow-countrymen; and an alarming outbreak of the Plague added yet more to their discouragement. The Signoria took the momentous resolution of abandoning the contest. On the 25th January, 1479, a treaty of peace was signed at Stamboul by Giovanni Dario, the Venetian Commissioner. The conditions were hard. Not only Kroja and Scodra, the Albanian chieftains, and the house of Tocco, but also even Eubœa and Lemnos were abandoned to the enemy; however, the trade of the Republic with the Levant was preserved.* From this moment a period begins during which the whole policy of Venice is devoted to the one object of maintaining this advantage.†

In the very nature of things, for a conquering state there is no standing still. This was evident after the great successes gained by the Turks over the first naval power of the West. In the summer of 1479, Leonardo Tocco the Third was driven from Leucadia. The unfortunate man sought refuge in Rome, where the number of fugitives from the East was constantly increasing. Sixtus IV. generously gave him 1000 ducats at once, and allowed him twice that sum as a yearly pension, promising to do more when better times should come.‡

The next year an attempt was made to put an end to the rule of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes. They had

conflicts in Moldavia and Wallachia. Huber seems to have been unacquainted with Haselbach's work, Die Türkennoth im 15 Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zustände Oesterreichs, Wien, 1864.

* See ZINKEISEN, II., 432–7; HERTZBERG, 632; HEYD, II., 327 *seq.*; HOPF, Griechenland, LXXXVI., 161; Cal. of State Papers, Venet., I., 139 *seq.*

† ZINKEISEN, II., 441.

‡ JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 102.

long been the terror of the Turks, and the object of their bitterest hatred. As there was no Christian naval power now to be feared, the task seemed an easy one; but the heroic valour of Pierre d'Aubusson and his Knights wrought marvels, and this last bulwark of Eastern Christendom was saved for a time (Summer of 1480).* Tidings of the approach of succour from the West hastened the departure of the Turks.† Sixtus IV. had granted a special Indulgence to all who should do anything to aid the Knights; had called upon the Italian Powers to assist them, and besides himself sending two ships with provisions and war materials, was preparing for further exertions.‡

Western Christendom had not yet recovered from the agitation caused by the struggle in Rhodes, when a fresh disaster filled all hearts with terror and dismay.

Mahomet had long been gazing with covetous eyes on the wealth of Italy, the seat of his great enemy, the Papacy.§ There can be no doubt that the insane jealousy of Venice at the increase of the power of Naples, hurried on the impending attack. If the Signoria did not actually invite the Turks into Italy, they certainly allowed them to believe that their arrival would be far from unwelcome to them.||

The result appeared in the despatch of a Turkish fleet, with a number of troops on board, to Apulia. On the 11th

* ZINKEISEN, II., 464 *seq.*; BERG, Die Insel Rhodus, 60, 133 *seq.* (Braunschweig, 1862). The Knights were praised by all for the courage displayed in this war; see RÖHRICHT-MEISNER, Pilgerfahrten, 22 (Berlin, 1880).

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 102.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1480, N. 2 *seq.*, 24; JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 106; Diario Parm., 334, 345, 348; FOUCARD, Dispacci, 104 *seq.*, 106 *seq.*, 118 *seq.*, 131, 139; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 214; GUGLIELMOTTI, 423.

§ See MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 90.

|| BROSCH, Julius II., p. 18. See CIPOLLA, 605, and FOUCARD, Dispacci, 132.

August, 1480, Otranto was in the hands of the Infidel.* Of its 22,000 inhabitants, 12,000 were put to death with terrible tortures, and the rest carried away into slavery. The aged Archbishop, who, with heroic courage, had remained to the last before the altar imploring the help of God, was sawn in two, as was also the Governor. Indescribable horrors were perpetrated. Many captives, who refused to become Mahometans, were slaughtered on a hill before the city, and their bodies thrown to the dogs.†

The tidings that the victorious banner of the Crescent had been planted on Italian soil "produced unutterable consternation." ‡ "In Rome," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "the alarm was as great as if the enemy had been already encamped before her very walls. . . . Terror had taken such hold of all minds that even the Pope meditated flight. I was at that time in the Low Countries, in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Giuliano, and I remember that he was commissioned to prepare what was necessary at Avignon, for Sixtus IV. had decided upon taking refuge with the French, if the state of affairs in Italy should become worse." §

* See *Copia della presa d'Otranto da Turchi nel anno 1480 in Cod. X.–IV., 52, N. 17. (Casanatense Library, Rome.) See JAC. VOLATERRANUS, 110; FOUCARD, Dispacci, 85, 88, 92, 111, 153, 165 *seq.*; M. SANUDO, 1213; Diar. Parm., 352; CIPOLLA, 604.

† The height on which these victims died for their Faith has ever since borne the name of the Martyrs' Hill. They were at once venerated as saints by the people, and ultimately canonised by Clement XIV. Acta Sanctorum, 18th Aug., p. 179 *seq.*; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 248; SUMMONTE, III., 501 *seq.*

‡ See BASIN-QUICHERAT, III., 68; SERRA, Liguria, 267; CIAVARINI, I., 195; BLASI, Sicilia, II., 665, see also his Storia dei vicerè, &c., di Sicilia, 118 (Palermo, 1842).

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 107–9; SCHMARSOW, 142; GUGLIELMOTTI, 429. Ferrante had sent a special messenger to inform the Pope of the fall of Otranto; see FOUCARD, Dispacci, 86.

Ferrante's dismay was even greater than that of the Pope. His son, Alfonso, was immediately recalled from Tuscany,* and the assistance of Sixtus IV., and all the other Princes of Italy, vehemently invoked with the threat that, unless active support were speedily given, he would throw in his lot with the Sultan for the destruction of all the others. We see, from the report of a contemporary historian on the Papal side, how unfriendly were the relations between the Pope and the King of Naples at this time. "Sixtus IV.," he writes, "would have witnessed with great indifference the misfortunes and losses of his faithless ally, had Ferrante's enemy been any one but the Sultan; but it was a very different matter when the common foe of Christendom had actually got a footing on Italian soil, and speedily the Papacy and Rome itself were threatened with utter ruin, unless he were promptly expelled. He at once sent all the money that he could get together, permitted tithes to be levied from all the clergy in the kingdom, and promised a Plenary Indulgence to all Christians enlisting under the banner of the Cross."†

Immediately on the landing of the Turks in Apulia, Sixtus IV. had appealed to the Italian Powers, and his cry for help was soon repeated in yet more pressing terms.‡ "If the faithful," he said, "especially the Italians, wish to preserve their lands, their houses, their wives, their children, their liberty, and their lives, if they wish to maintain that Faith into which we have been baptised,

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 146; G. A. PECCI, Mem. di Siena, I., 14 *seq.* (Siena, 1755); FOUCARD, Dispacci, 82, 121, 153; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 368 *seq.*, 2nd ed.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.* See FOUCARD, Dispacci, 110 *seq.*, 142, 609 *seq.*

‡ Florence also received similar *Briefs, dated Rome, 1480, July 27 and August 5. (State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 154b-156b.) The Pope had already, in July, the intention to fit out a fleet in Genoa, and so to meet the Turkish danger. CHMEL, Briefe, 278 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*, 302, 325 *seq.*

and through which we are regenerated, let them at last trust in our word, let them take up their arms and fight."*

In a Consistory, held on the 14th August, it was determined that every possible effort should be made to expel the Turks from Otranto.†

On the 18th August Gabriele Rangoni was appointed Cardinal Legate to Naples, and, on the 23rd, he started for his post.‡ On the 22nd September fresh Briefs were addressed to all the Italian States, desiring them to send representatives to a Congress to be held in Rome at the beginning of November.§ The example set by Sixtus IV., in his reconciliation with Florence, could not fail to have a good effect on his efforts for the restoration of peace in Italy. One of the conditions of the treaty with the Republic was that it should furnish fifteen galleys for the war with the Turks.|| On the 4th December Cardinal Savelli was sent to Genoa, to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties there, and to superintend the equipment of the Papal fleet in the harbour.¶

* See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1480, N. 20–28, and Diar. Parmen., 352.

† FOUCARD, Dispacci, 98, 112.

‡ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. See FOUCARD, Dispacci, 114, 142, and 154–5, Brief of Sixtus IV., of the 16th August, regarding the purposed Mission of the Bishop of Terracina to Naples. An undated *Brief of Sixtus IV., referring to Rangoni's Mission, is in the Library at Bamberg (bound up with Incunabel, Q. II., 24).

§ *Brief to Florence, dated Rome, 1480, Sept. 22. State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–25, f. 158b; a copy is in the State Archives, Milan, Autogr.

|| REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 370, 2nd ed.

¶ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. The 20th December is here mentioned as the day of Savelli's departure, while JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 116, has the 19th. From the *Acta Consist. we learn that the Cardinal had only returned from Perugia on the 2nd of the month.

The Divine assistance was invoked by an ordinance of the Pope, desiring that the Octave of the Festival of All Saints should henceforth be solemnly celebrated throughout Christendom.* The preparations for the Crusading fleet were at once commenced; twenty-five galleys were to be built, partly in Ancona, and partly in Genoa.† As the Papal Treasury was empty, Sixtus IV. was compelled to have recourse to extraordinary taxation. A tax of a gold ducat was, in the first instance, laid upon every hearth‡ in the States of the Church, and then a tithe imposed for two years on all churches and convents in the Papal territory.§

A Brief of Sixtus IV. to Bologna, dated 3rd January 1481, furnishes detailed information regarding the deliberations of the Envoys assembled in Rome. The Pope explains that, as a tax for the expenses of the Turkish war has to be imposed on all Princes, he and the Cardinals, in order to set a good example, have undertaken to contribute the sum of 150,000 ducats, although so large an amount is almost beyond his powers. 100,000 ducats of this is to be expended on the equipment of twenty-five triremes, and the remaining 50,000 to be sent to the King of Hungary. He, moreover, engages to collect 3000 soldiers for the recovery of Otranto, to which place he has already sent troops. With regard to the building of the fleet, the Ambassadors

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1480, N. 29.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 115; GUGLIELMOTTI, 432.

‡ See the **Brief to Card. Gonzaga of the 29th Nov., 1480. (State Archives, Bologna.) A Sienese Ambassador, whose *Report is, unfortunately, half-destroyed, writes, under date Rome, 1480, Nov. 20, that the Pope said: *"Nos una cum istis venerab. fratribus nostris sumus parati pro posse et ultra posse facere debitum nostrum et exponere introitus nostros et omnia bona nostra et calices, &c." State Archives, Siena.

§ See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1480, N. 28, and a *Brief to Bologna, dated 1480, December 17. State Archives, Bologna, Lib. Q. 3.

are of opinion that 100 triremes must be prepared, and 200,000 ducats be sent annually to the King of Hungary. The money required for these purposes is to be raised among the several Powers; he and the Cardinals having already contributed their share, the preparation should be completed by March. The Bolognese must not delay, for the danger was imminent.*

The action of the Pope was not confined to Italy. He was unremitting in his endeavours to unite all the Princes of Europe against the common foe. The results varied in different places. King Edward IV. of England declared that it was unfortunately impossible for him to take part in the war.† No help was to be expected from distracted Germany. Even now, the States assembled to take counsel together were unable to come to terms.‡

Tidings of a more favourable nature arrived from France, where Giuliano della Rovere was at this time acting as Papal Legate.§ He had been charged to bring about a peace between Louis XI., Maximilian of Austria, and the Flemings, to obtain the release of Cardinal de La Balue, and procure French assistance for the Crusade.‖ Giuliano had

* MAKUSCEV, I., 311–12. See also the Milanese Report of 13th Dec., 1480, in CHMEL, Briefe, 347 *seq.*

† Cal. of State Papers, Venet., I., 142–3.

‡ ENNEN, III., 308.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., pp. 15 and 304, following Jac. Volaterranus, only mentions the 9th June as the date of Giuliano's departure. From the Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 59, we learn that the Cardinal was appointed legatus de latere for France on the 28th April; the 9th June is also given here as the day when he left Rome. Giuliano was at Parma on the 3rd July. See Diar. Parm., 343.

‖ This appears from a *Letter, written by Giuliano della Rovere to Sixtus IV., dated Vendôme, 1480, Aug. 24, in which he speaks of his favourable reception by Louis XI. I found a copy of this document in the State Archives, Milan.

been obliged to renounce the exercise of his full powers as Legate, but he was in great measure successful in regard to the Crusade.* On the 28th August he was able to forward to the Pope a royal letter, containing the most satisfactory assurances as to the share France would take in the war.† Envoys were to be sent to Rome to settle the details. In the instruction for this Mission, Louis XI. says: "No sufficient resistance can be offered to the Turks at less cost than at least 100,000 golden scudi a month. He proposed himself to furnish 100,000 annually, and twice that sum if the Pope would allow him to impose a tribute on all ecclesiastics in his kingdom, and would send him a Legate provided with all the faculties desired by the King, and especially with full powers to absolve in cases reserved to the Pope. Other Christian Princes, however, must also contribute their share. The King counted on 40,000 scudi annually from Italy and the States of the Church; on 200,000 from Germany, which had so many rich Archbishops, Bishops and Beneficiaries, Princes and cities; and on the same amount from Spain. The King of England might contribute 100,000 scudi. Venice, he had heard, would not be unwilling to declare war against the Turks if help from Italy were certain. The plenipotentiaries were accordingly authorised to unite with the other Italian Powers in promising an annual subsidy of 300,000 scudi to the Republic. In the event, however, of the other Kings and nations not giving any definite promise, the French Envoys were only to undertake that their Government would contribute its just share of the burden.

* Authenticated by BROSCH, Julius II., 16. See also FRIEDBERG, II., 477.

† This *Letter of Louis XI. to Sixtus IV., dated Vendôme, 1480, Aug. 28, was hitherto unknown; I found a copy in the State Archives, Milan.

The Pope must also, above all, secure France against England."*

Soon after the arrival of the French Mission (8th March)† Sixtus IV. wrote a circular letter to the Italian Powers, laying before them the proposals of Louis,‡ as expressed in a Memorandum, in which the Envoys had embodied the result of their negotiations. It proclaimed a general peace throughout Italy, and decreed that speedy assistance against the Turks should be rendered with the least possible delay. France promised troops, and was to be included in the alliance. The Emperor was also invited to join it, and a subsidy of 50,000 ducats was allotted to the King of Hungary. The Pope undertook to furnish twenty-five, and King Ferrante forty triremes. Genoa promised five galleys, Ferrara four, Siena three, and Bologna two, Lucca, Mantua, and Montferrat one each; while Milan engaged to give 30,000 and Florence 40,000 ducats.§

According to the testimony of a contemporary historian, the Milanese and Florentines were not remiss in contributing money; the Venetians only held aloof, because they had concluded peace with the Sultan.||

On Passion Sunday, the 8th April, 1481, Sixtus IV. published an Encyclical, calling on all the Princes of Europe

* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 447.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 123. See BASIN, III., 70.

‡ *Brief to Milan, dated Rome, 1481, March 23 (the Original is in the State Archives, Milan); one of the same day to the Duke of Ferrara (Original in the State Archives, Modena), and to Florence (Copy in the Florentine State Archives).

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1481, N. 4 *seq.* See GRASSO, 323.

|| SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 110. In a *Brief of the 3rd Jan., 1481, Sixtus IV. exhorted the Milanese Government to pay the tax; on the 10th April he again called upon them for aid against the Turks. Both these *Bulls are in the State Archives, Milan.

to take part in the Turkish war.* Indulgences were proclaimed throughout Italy, and the tithe for the war was levied. On the 9th April the tithe was announced in France and Dauphiné, and Giuliano della Rovere appointed Collector-General.† Notwithstanding the daily increasing danger, there was still in many places but little zeal. The wealthy city of Bologna, for instance, declared that the tribute of hearth-money and the equipment of two triremes were too much for her; the Pope accordingly, on the 1st February, 1481, forgave the tribute, but urged that the two vessels should be prepared at once.‡ A Papal Brief of the 3rd May to the Vice-Legate at Bologna shews that the city then professed itself willing to contribute 2000 ducats towards the expenses of the war. The Pope considered the sum very small, but had all the more hope that it would be sent without delay. In June we hear of difficulties. On the 7th of August it was still unpaid. At last, on the 11th of September, it arrived! § Several other cities behaved in the same manner.

Personally, Sixtus IV. gave the best possible example. He parted with his own silver plate, and sent a large quantity of sacred vessels to the Mint to meet the expenses of the Crusade.||

* See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1481, N. 19, 20 *seq.*; FABRICIUS, VI., 492; and GRASSO, 351. A complete copy of the Bull of the 8th April, beginning with the words, "Cogimur jubente altissimo," is in the State Archives, Milan.

† GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 448.

‡ *Brief of Sixtus IV. to Bologna, dated Rome, 1481, Febr. 1. State Archives, Bologna, Lib. Q. 3.

§ *Briefs of Sixtus IV. to the Legate's representative at Bologna, dated Rome, 1481, May 3, June 16, Aug. 7, and Sept. 11, *loc. cit.* See also on next page, note †.

|| Diar. Parm., 364–5. See CORTESIUS, De cardinalatu, f. CXXIV., and Anecdot. Litt., III., 258.

In the midst of these anxious and hurried preparations came tidings of the death of the mighty conqueror, whose name, during one whole generation, had filled Europe and Asia with terror. By the end of May rumours of this event began to circulate in Rome, and, on the 2nd June, the report was confirmed by letters from the Venetian Government to its Envoys.* Cannons were fired, and all the Church bells rang to announce the good news. The Pope himself went at once in thanksgiving to the Vespers at Sta Maria del Popolo, which the Sacred College and all the Ambassadors also attended. As darkness came on, bonfires were lighted in all directions. On the 3rd of June, processions of thanksgiving were ordered during three successive days, and Sixtus IV. personally took part in them.† Briefs, dated the 4th June, pointed out to all Christian Powers that this was the moment for dealing a decisive blow. Sixtus IV. was able to announce that he had already equipped a fleet of thirty-four ships at Genoa, which would soon be in the Tiber, and that men-of-war were being built at Ancona and would be added to the Neapolitan fleet.‡

* **Despatch of B. Bendedeus of the 2nd June, 1481. (State Archives, Modena.) See JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 134.

† *Letter of B. Bendedeus, dated Rome, 1481, June 3rd. (State Archives, Modena.) See NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1071, and INFESSURA, 1147. Throughout all Italy similar rejoicings took place; see Diar. Parm., 374. In many instances the newly-kindled zeal for the Crusade grew cold. The Bolognese, seeking to withdraw from their promise of a subsidy, said "mortuo nunc Turcorum tyranno necessitatem amplius non imminere." Sixtus IV. expressed his astonishment at such language in a *Brief to the Vice-Legate, dated Rome, 1481, June 16, and urged them to take advantage of this opportunity of crushing the enemy. He was himself determined, he added, to do everything in his power to accomplish this end. State Archives, Bologna, Lib. Q. 3.

‡ MÜLLER, Docum., 233.

On the 30th June the Pope, with all the Cardinals, went to S. Paolo for the blessing of this fleet, which brought the Cardinal Legate Savelli back to Rome, and also its recently appointed Admiral, Cardinal Fregoso. After Vespers, the Pope held a Consistory. Savelli gave an account of his mission, and the ceremony of opening the mouth of Cardinal Fregoso then took place.* Sixtus IV. made him an address on the task which he was called upon to undertake, "gave him his Legate's ring and the banner which he had consecrated for the fleet. The captains of the ships then came in, kissed the foot of the Pope, and were signed with the cross on their breasts. At the close of the Consistory, the Pope, with the Cardinals and a great number of Prelates, proceeded to the river, where the galleys were lying at anchor, went on board each of the vessels, and gave the Apostolic blessing. The crew stood fully armed on the decks and saluted when he appeared. Weapons were brandished, swords drawn and struck upon the shields, and military evolutions executed as in actual battle. Hundreds of hoarse voices shouted the Pope's name amid the thunder of artillery; it was a feast for both eye and ear," writes the chronicler, Jacobus Volaterranus.†

On the ‡ 4th July the Cardinal Legate sailed by way of Naples for Otranto, and, together with Ferrante and his ships, took part in the siege of that place. The resistance of the Turks was most obstinate, and they did not lay down their arms until the 10th September. Ferrante at once informed the Pope of the happy event, and he, in his turn, transmitted the news to all the Powers.§

* *Acta Consist., f. 62, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† SCHMARSOW, 181, according to JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 139. See also Diar. Parm., 377; and NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1071.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 62, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Ferrante's letter in JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 146 *seq.*; in regard to

Sixtus IV. had, from the first, intended that, after Otranto had been retaken, his fleet, joined by the ships of the other Powers, should proceed to Vallona, and, with the help of the Albanians, wrest this important fortress from the Turks. As early as the 30th of August he had written to Genoa to this effect.* The Portuguese fleet of twenty-five vessels, which had appeared before Ostia, was to form part of this expedition. Its Commander, the Bishop of Elbora, begged permission to go to Rome and receive the Pope's blessing, a favour which Sixtus IV. could not refuse. But his annoyance may be imagined, when, on his return from a short absence, he found that the Portuguese officers had preferred sight-seeing in Rome to going to the war, while the sailors occupied themselves in robbing the Roman vineyards. It required stringent orders from the Pope to induce them at last to weigh anchor and proceed to Naples, but only to linger there in a similar manner, under pretext of completing their equipment.† Sixtus IV.

the Papal Brief of the 18th Sept., 1481 (National Library, Florence), see Appendix, N. 64. Also GRASSO, 481 and 484–5. PRUTZ, Mittelalter, II., 553, gives a medal struck by Sixtus IV. to commemorate the expulsion of the Turks from Otranto. Luca Pasi, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1481, Sept. 20, speaks of the feasts and processions by which this victory was celebrated. State Archives, Modena.

* "*Januensibus," dated Rome, 1481, Aug. 30. This Brief is one of the first in the extremely important collection of Sixtus IV.'s Briefs in Cod. Magliab., II.–III.–256, of the National Library, Florence (in future, where this Library is cited, this MS. is to be understood). RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1481, N. 19, laments the loss of the Register for the year 1481; we have here almost a complete collection of the Briefs of Sixtus IV. from the end of August, 1481, till the end of August, 1482. The Florentine MS. is from the Rinuccini Library, and no doubt originally came from the Secret Archives of the Vatican; in the University Library, Genoa, I found a fine copy of this valuable collection; Cod. B. VIII., 17.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 154; SCHMARSOW, 185. In a *Brief to

repeatedly complained of the conduct of these Crusaders, and especially of that of their unprincipled chief.* But it was all in vain.

Meanwhile, still more deplorable events had occurred at Otranto. Disputes had arisen among the victors about the partition of the spoil. On the 1st September the Cardinal Legate wrote word that the captains of the triremes were bent on leaving, because the Plague had broken out on board four ships, and, moreover, their pay had not arrived. Sixtus IV. wrote to the Legate on the 10th September, maintaining that he was in no way to blame, he had fulfilled all his promises; he also exhorted Fregoso to use every effort to retain these captains.† On the 18th September, after hearing that Otranto had been recaptured, Sixtus IV. again urged his Legate to follow up the victory to the best of his power.‡ Great, therefore, was his surprise when he learned from the King of Naples that the Legate had given out that the Pope had desired him to return with his fleet after the capture of Otranto! Sixtus IV. at once, on the 21st September, wrote to the King that he had, on the contrary, always intended and desired that the fleet, after delivering Otranto, should sail to Vallona.§ At the same time, he sent strict orders to the Legate to proceed

the Bishop of Elbora, dated Bracciano, 1481, Sept. 15, the Pope says: * "Intelleximus frat. tuam audita Hydronti recuperatione nolle ulterius progredi, sed statuisse istic morari. Miramur vehementer, &c." National Library, Florence.

* See **Briefs of the 17th September to the Cardinal of Lisbon and to the King himself. National Library, Florence.

† "*Tibi mandamus expresse et quemadmodum per alias litteras scripsimus omni studio, cura et ingenio enitaris ad continendos et refrenandos animos eorum. Legato classis, 1481, Sept. 10." National Library, Florence.

‡ See Appendix, N. 65.

§ *Regi Ferdinando, 1481, Sept. 21. National Library, Florence.

thither at once, recapture the place, and destroy the Turkish ships.* On the 23rd September Sixtus IV. sent one of his naval captains to prevent the return of the Papal fleet, and to urge the Legate to start for Vallona.†

All the Pope's efforts were, however, fruitless. By the beginning of October the Legate and his ships appeared before Civita Vecchia. Sixtus IV. hastened there to endeavour to prevail upon him to turn back. Protracted consultations ensued, in which the Pope presided, and the Legate, the Neapolitan Ambassador, and the captains of the ships took part.

* "*Volumus et ita expresse tibi precipiendo mandamus ut . . . redeas omnino et unacum classe regia Vallonam proficiscaris ad eam expugnandam et classem Turcorum comburendam, ita enim est firme et immutabilis nostre voluntatis. Card^li Januensi, dat. Bracciani, 1481, Sept. 22." (National Library, Florence.) There is also a similar *Brief from Sixtus IV. to Fregoso, dated 23rd Sept., 1481, in Cod. Vatic. 4103, P. II., f. 105, Vatican Library.

† *Card^li Januensi and *Melchiori Zocho triremium nostrar. capitaneo, dat. Bracciani, 1481, Sept. 23, *loc. cit.* GREGOROVIUS completely misrepresents the facts of the case when, after dwelling on the favourable opportunity for carrying on the war with the Turks afforded by the deliverance of Otranto, he says (VII., 249, 3rd ed.): "Andreas, the last of the Palæologi, had at this time found an asylum in Rome after appearing as a suppliant at the gates of every European court. Sixtus generously granted him a yearly pension of 8000 ducats; but he would hear nothing of the East (in the 2nd edition, here follow the words, 'and continued completely engrossed by his territorial policy'). His fleet, with the Cardinal Legate, P. Fregoso, returned to Civita Vecchia, and in vain did the Neapolitan Ambassador, Anello, urge the prosecution of the war." Regarding Andreas Palæologus, see, in contradiction to Gregorovius, a *Brief of Sixtus IV. to the Bishop of Elbora, dated Bracciano, 1481, Sept. 15, in which he is directed to assist Andreas to pass over to the Peloponnesus, so that he might be able to reconquer his country. (National Library, Florence.) An admirer of Gregorovius has lately observed that "he looks at the deeds of the past with the eye of a poet"; this is evidently a doubtful course.

These last complained much of the conduct of the Duke of Calabria, while Fregoso represented, with all due deference, the impossibility of carrying out the undertaking. "The outbreak of the Plague on board the ships, the impracticability of the men, whom no amount of pay could persuade to serve any longer, the advanced season of the year, the essential difficulty of the enterprise, its immense cost—for the repair of the fleet alone, 40,000 ducats would at once be required—all these things were brought forward to prove the enterprise hopeless; but Sixtus IV. declared himself ready for every sacrifice. He would, like Eugenius IV., pawn his mitre, he would sell the rest of his silver plate: all was in vain." * He was obliged to return to Rome without effecting his purpose, only leaving orders that the harbours of Civita Vecchia and Corneto should be thoroughly repaired.†

* ZINKEISEN, II., 461, from JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 147–52. See CIPOLLA, 608, N. 2, and BALAN, 221, both of whom express their disagreement with Gregorovius. See also GUGLIELMOTTI, 459, 461; SERRA, Liguria, 268 *seq.*, and GRASSO, 339 *seq.* I have failed to find, either in Rome or in Florence, the ten letters of Sixtus IV. belonging to this period, mentioned by Guglielmotti as published by de Romanis (Notizie istoriche della terra di Canino con alcune lettere di Sisto IV., Roma, 1843); the pamphlet is reviewed in Arch. St. Ital., App. VI., 412 *seq.*; but I have sought for it in vain in the editorial library of this Review.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 152–3. The Pope returned to Rome on the 17th Oct., 1481. For an account of the Embassy of the Prete Gianni, which arrived in Rome in November, 1481, see the Report of the Milanese Ambassadors in Arch. St. Lomb., 1889, p. 151 *seq.*, which also treats of Turkish affairs.

CHAPTER IX.

SIXTUS IV. AND VENICE AT WAR WITH FERRARA AND NAPLES.—ANDREAS OF KRAIN'S ATTEMPT AT A COUNCIL.—THE BATTLE AT CAMPO MORTO, AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE POPE AND VENICE.

WHILE Sixtus IV. was zealously devoting himself to the Turkish war, Count Girolamo was occupied with matters of a very different nature. His ambition soon involved the too indulgent Pontiff in a new war in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and even in the City itself. Giuliano della Rovere was at this time Legate in the Low Countries, where he had been sent to make peace between Louis XI. of France and Maximilian of Austria. His prolonged absence rendered it easy for Count Girolamo to carry out his plans and abuse the affection of the Pope.*

It was intolerable to Girolamo that Lorenzo had not only escaped the attempted assassination on the 26th April, 1478, but that it had actually served to render his position more secure. All his thoughts and desires were directed to the one aim and object of obtaining some compensation for this failure. His uncle's advanced age urged him to prompt action. "Wholly incapable of making himself a

* SCHMARSOW, 177; REUMONT, III., 1, 174, and Lorenzo, II., 182, 2nd ed. Regarding Giuliano's Mission, see the Report of his private secretary, SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 108–9; also LEGEAY, II., 400 *seq.*, and COMMINES-LENGLET, III., 574 *seq.*, 595 *seq.*, 598 *seq.*, 600 *seq.*, 616 *seq.*, 623 *seq.*, 630 *seq.*

name by valorous deeds, Girolamo, who cared for nothing but his own aggrandisement, was perpetually, by his schemes, running counter to all statesmanlike plans of policy. He thus entangled a generous nature like that of Sixtus IV. in deplorable inconsistencies, and took advantage of his uncle's affection to urge him further and further down the steep incline which ends in ruin."*

Ferrante of Naples had, during the Tuscan war, faithlessly abandoned the Pope and constrained him to make peace on very unfavourable terms. From this time forth, the chronicler says, the Pope's confidence, withdrawn from Naples, was bestowed on the Venetians. At the beginning of February, 1480, negotiations were set on foot which led to the conclusion of an alliance with Venice. Here Count Girolamo stepped in. Even during the war of Otranto he had formed close relations with Venice. Not content with Imola, he had taken advantage of the dispute which broke out after the death of Pino of Ordelassi, regarding the succession, and seized on the Countship of Forli.† After this success he cast his insatiable eyes on Faenza. In January, 1481, Venice had made known her willingness to gratify him in this point also. The Council of Ten, however, warned him that another project of his, which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of Ferrante from Naples, must be kept a profound secret.‡ According to Sigismondo de' Conti, it was Virginio Orsini, the heir of Napoleone, who urged the Count on to this enterprise. "Virginio claimed from Ferrante the Countships of Alba Fucense and Tagliacozzo, which formed part of his patrimony, and which the King

* Such is the opinion of SCHMARSOW, 178.

† See the detailed account of SCHMARSOW, 179; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 365, 2nd ed.; BONOLI, 247; and BURRIEL, III., p. xliii.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 21.

had sold for 12,000 ducats to Lorenzo Oddone Colonna and his brother." Orsini was deeply wounded by this transaction, because his family had always been true to the King. He now hoped, by Ferrante's humiliation or downfall, to recover his rights. He promised Girolamo that his family would assist to the utmost in the war against the King of Naples. Sixtus IV., in his irritation against Ferrante, gave his consent to the scheme, but he and Girolamo were well aware that the co-operation of Venice was indispensable. This could only be obtained by offering some tangible advantage to the Republic. Ferrara was accordingly held out as a bait. Sixtus IV. was incensed with the Duke, because, in the Florentine war, he had been at the head of his enemies, and because he persistently strove to evade his yearly tribute. Moreover, Ercole of Ferrara had so far forgotten himself as to prohibit the publication of several Apostolic Rescripts in his State, which he governed in the name of the Holy See.*

In September, 1481, Girolamo Riario went to Venice. He was received like an Emperor, the Doge meeting him at the foot of the Palace steps.† In a Secret Council the Count unfolded his plan for overthrowing Ferrante, and promised the Venetians Ferrara if they succeeded in conquering it. They were only asked to furnish a fleet, to keep the King in check, and a few troops. Girolamo claimed nothing for himself, except Lugo and Bagnacavallo, two

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 114 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 182; BALAN, 223. An admonitory Brief to the Duke regarding the tribute to be paid, written as early as the year 1475, is given in MARTÈNE, II., 1480. BROSCH'S statement, Kirchenstaat, I., 12, that Ferrara had paid 5000 ducats as tribute, is, according to GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., mistaken; the *Introitus-Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican mention 4000 florins.

† FRANTZ, 370; BONOLI, 249.

cities in the Flaminia, on the border of his Countship of Imola.*

After the Pope's nephew had left the Council, deliberations began. Opinions were divided. The elder men, whose judgment was the clearest, objected to involving the Republic in a fresh war. They represented the difficulty of taking Ferrara, a strong and populous city, surrounded by swamps and a wide river; they averred that Ercole d'Este was a skilful soldier; that his neighbours were bound to him by ties of kindred and friendship, and that he had at his disposal treasures amassed by a long line of ancestors. Doubts were also expressed as to the trustworthiness of Riario, who was not considered scrupulously truthful; it was further urged that Sixtus IV. was but mortal and had reached an age when death could not probably be distant, that he was a Ligurian and inconstant in his resolutions, that even if he adhered to his purpose the Sacred College would not stand by him, as they had never desisted from claiming the restoration of Cervia and Ravenna from the Venetians. The votes of the younger members of the Council, however, prevailed against these considerations, and war was decided upon. Girolamo returned to Sixtus IV., after having received the freedom of the city and been admitted amongst her nobles.†

The beginning of the year 1482 seemed to offer some hope that peace might still be maintained. Giuliano della Rovere returned at this time from his Mission to France, and Ercole d'Este and Lorenzo de' Medici sought, by

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 119; SCHMARSOW, 184.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 120. While Girolamo was occupied with these far-reaching projects, the ground under his feet began to give way. Three conspiracies occurred in succession, and were with difficulty suppressed. Florence persistently stirred up discontent against Girolamo. See SCHMARSOW, 274.

means of his powerful influence, to avert the war. They were well acquainted with the Cardinal's opinion of the ambitious and restless Riario,* who just then had scarcely recovered from a violent fever,† and this fact also made it more probable that the Pope might be induced to withdraw his consent.

In the middle of April the King commenced hostilities by the advance of his troops into the States of the Church.‡ In Rome, preparations for war were but half completed, and Venice would not be ready till the end of April. Two fleets had been equipped by the Republic: one of them, under Vettor Soranzo, was to commence operations on the coast of Naples, while the other, under Damiano Moro, was to penetrate to the States of Ferrara. The land forces were also divided into two armies, under the command of Roberto Malatesta and Roberto da Sanseverino. At the beginning of May Venice declared war against Ferrara.§ The Marquess of Montferrat, Genoa, and Pietro Maria de Rossi, Count of San Secondo in the Parmesan territory, joined the Papal and Venetian league. Ferrara and Naples found powerful allies not only in Milan and Florence, but also in the Marquess Federigo of

* SCHMARSOW, 188.

† See *Letters of Alexander Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1482, January 23 and 26. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BALAN, 228. On the 2nd April, 1482, Sixtus IV. had issued the following *Order: "Gubernatori Reatis et Interamnis . . . volumus ac tibi presentium tenore expresse mandamus ut omnia loca et passus istius gubernii ex quibus transire solent aut possunt qui in regnum proficiscuntur diligenter custodiri facias"; no troops were to be allowed to pass without a written permission from him or Count Girolamo. "Simile gubernat. Campanie, praefecto urbis, Virginio de Ursinis." National Library, Florence.

§ See SANUTO, Commentarii della guerra di Ferrara nel 1482, 11–12, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 121. See CIPOLLA, 612.

Mantua, Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna and Federigo of Urbino.*

Unhappily for the Papal cause, the ancient feud between the Colonna and the Orsini at this time broke out again.

The immediate occasion of this outbreak was the hostility between the rich and noble families of della Valle and Santa Croce. In the autumn of 1480 the whole City had been involved in this contest, the della Valle being supported by the Colonna, and the Santa Croce by the Orsini. Not till April, 1481, did the Pope, after much trouble, succeed in restoring peace. A Commission of three Cardinals was appointed to watch over its maintenance, and to arrange all differences that might arise.†

As most of the great Roman Barons, with the Pope's consent, had entered the service of Ferrante, and were fully occupied by the war at Otranto, tranquillity for a time continued; but after the recovery of that city, quarrels recommenced, and, fomented by the King of Naples, became more and more violent.

In consequence of the tension which existed between Rome and Naples in the spring of 1482, the Pope recalled the Barons who, since the war with the Turks, had remained in Ferrante's pay. The Orsini, headed by Virginio, the intimate friend of Girolamo Riario, obeyed, and the Conti also, as well as Stefano Colonna of Palestrina, with his sons Giordano and Giovanni, re-entered the Papal service. The Savelli, on the other hand, and the Colonna of Paliano-Genazzano cast in their lot with the King of Naples. Their alienation was partly due to the enmity between them and the Orsini, which Ferrante took pains to foster, but partly

* SISMONDI, XI., 227.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 126. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 134 *seq.*, gives a full account of the origin of the animosity between Valle and Sta Croce.

also to the domineering ways of Girolamo Riario. The Pope endeavoured, by gentleness and consideration, to repair the harm which his nephew had done, and several Cardinals, amongst whom were Giuliano della Rovere and Stefano Nardini, did their best to pacify the offended Colonna, even at the last moment, but all these efforts were fruitless.*

At the beginning of April a fresh incident occurred, which made matters worse. During the night of the 3rd of that month the Santa Croce, aided by the Palace guards, whom Girolamo had given them, attacked the house of the della Valle. Most unfortunately, in the struggle which ensued, Girolamo Colonna, an illegitimate brother of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Aquiro and of Prospero of Paliano, was killed.† The Pope, in consequence, outlawed the Santa Croce, and caused their palaces to be destroyed. The exasperation of the Colonna from this time forth knew no bounds.

At this critical moment, several weeks before the Venetian declaration of war, the King of Naples commenced hostilities against Rome. In the middle of April his troops appeared in sight of the Papal residence at Marino, ostensibly for the purpose of defending the Colonna against the Orsini. Ferrante informed the Conservators that he was not taking up arms against Rome, but for the deliverance of the City and of Italy from the slavery to which the bad government of Girolamo Riario had reduced them.‡

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 132 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 191, who very justly observes: "BROSCH, Julius II., 23, completely misapprehends the position of affairs when he considers Giuliano della Rovere to have been guilty of a breach of confidence in regard to the Pope." Brosch is very unfortunate in his most prejudiced conjectures; see *supra*, p. 322.

† BALAN, 227, note 4.

‡ *Ibid.*, 228.

On the 18th April the Pope admonished King Ferrante to withdraw his troops from Rome; * on the 23rd he complained in Consistory of the presence of the Neapolitans at Marino, and declared that he could not grant the request of the King's son, Alfonso of Calabria, for a free passage through the States of the Church to support Ferrara.†

The Ambassadors of Naples and Ferrara left Rome on the 14th May. They went, in the first instance, with great pomp to Lorenzo Colonna at Marino. Strengthened by the Savelli, and by constant reinforcements from Naples, Lorenzo now ventured to lead his men up to the very gates of Rome. On the 30th May his troops entered the City, but were driven back by the Orsini and Girolamo Riario. Prospero Colonna had previously gone over to the side of the Pope's enemies, and had received in Paliano (on the 22nd May) a garrison from the Duke of Calabria, who had meanwhile appeared before Rome as Commander of the Neapolitan troops.

Sixtus IV. was naturally much incensed by this treachery, and all the more so because Prospero had recently drawn a portion of his pay. The Pope also fully realised how injurious to him was the loss of these villages. Therefore, Sigismondo de' Conti informs us, he resolved on a hazardous step, which, however, the sequel proved to have been a judicious one.‡

A Consistory took place at mid-day on the 2nd June. Count Girolamo and Virginio Orsini attended it, and accused Cardinals Colonna and Savelli of treason. The

* *Sixtus IV. regi Ferdinando, dated Romae die XVIII. Aprilis, 1482. National Library, Florence.

† BALAN, 228, from Despatches in the State Archives, Modena. Here also are the particulars of a last attempt made by the Pope to win the Colonna.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 137.

two Cardinals warmly defended themselves, openly condemning the conduct of their kinsmen and casting all the blame upon them. The meeting was stormy, and lasted until the evening. At last the Pope, to avoid worse evils, gave orders that the accused Cardinals should be kept as hostages for their disaffected families. Cardinal Savelli's brother, Mariano, who had a command in the Papal army, was also arrested. As disturbances were apprehended from the partisans of the Colonna, the Vatican was guarded by horse and foot soldiers. The captured Cardinals were honourably treated during the first day and the following night: Savelli in the house of Giuliano della Rovere, and Colonna with Girolamo Basso, who at that time lived in the Vatican. At the close of the second day an order arrived to transfer them to St. Angelo.*

Several hundreds of light Turkish horsemen from the garrison of Otranto had gone over to Alfonso of Calabria, and now formed part of his army, which was encamped within sight of Rome. These wild troops ravaged the Campagna, and spread terror in every direction. On the 6th of June the Papal force was ready. Count Girolamo was Commander-in-chief, and under him were Count Niccolo of Pitigliano, Virginio and Giordano Orsini, Giovanni Colonna, Giacomo and Andrea de' Conti, the Count of Mirandola, and many others.†

Sigismondo de' Conti has left us a graphic picture of the state of things in Rome at this crisis. "In the Pope's antechambers," he says,‡ "instead of cassocked priests, armed

* FRANTZ, 375–6. In contradiction to the Venetian Documents (see SCHMARSOW, 192), SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 137, maintains the innocence of the Cardinals.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 175.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 137–8. For "qui impar" *read* "quia i.," and for "quornm" *read* "quorum." The Roman edition of

guards kept watch. Soldiers, equipped for battle, were drawn up before the gates of the Palace. All the Court officials were filled with terror and anguish; the fury of the populace was only restrained by the fear of the soldiers."

Thus, with the assistance of the Colonna, Alfonso of Calabria had succeeded in effecting his purpose, and transferring the war to Roman soil. He was perpetually making raids in the vicinity of the City walls, and carrying off men and cattle. The Papal army, encamped near the Lateran, did not venture out, either from a sense of its own weakness or from a fear that the angry townspeople, in whose vineyards it lay, might shut the gates and prevent its return. To add to all, the Plague again broke out in the City. Alfonso took Albano, Castel Gandolfo and Civita Lavinia, without encountering any resistance. His father, Ferrante, meanwhile was active. With a fleet of twenty triremes he harassed the shores of the Roman territory. He further succeeded in making himself master of Terracina and Benevento by treachery. The Florentine army, under the command of Costanzo Sforza, took Città di Castello. The Pope was greatly alarmed, and commanded his chamberlains and domestics to take turns in keeping nightly watch. His anxiety increased from day to day, more particularly as the Venetian fleet, on which all his hopes rested, had not yet sailed.*

this author, published in 1883, is far from perfect in this respect. See also *supra*, p. 308, and GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 303 *seq.*

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.* The Romans had much to suffer from Girolamo, whose soldiers even desecrated the Lateran Church. On the 20th June Città di Castello fell into the enemy's hands, whereupon Sixtus IV. sent troops against this city. (*Brief of the 5th July to the City Prefect. National Library, Florence.) The citadel of Terracina was lost four weeks later, and Benevento in the middle of July; see the Despatches to Modena in BALAN, 229. Sixtus IV. then drew as many troops as he could into Rome; see his

Rome was insufficiently defended, and was shut in on every side by enemies.* The perplexity and anxiety of the Pope were increased by accounts which reached him from the North of attempts which the Dominican, Andrea Zuccalmaglio, Archbishop of Carniola,† was making to revive the Council of Basle. He had come to Rome in 1478, as Envoy from the Emperor,‡ and received many presents and marks of distinction from the Pope.§ His ambition led him to aspire to greater dignities, and even to the purple, and, in October 1480, he induced the Emperor to address to the Pope and the Sacred College letters

*Briefs of the 11th, 12th, and 24th of July to the City Prefect. (National Library, Florence.) At the beginning of August the Pope even recalled his troops to Rome from Bologna, which was unsafe; see *Brief to Perugia, dated 1482, Aug. 3. Cod. G.-IV.-1, University Library, Genoa.

* In his necessity, Sixtus IV. even applied to France; see REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 183, 2nd ed.

† Recent students, such as BURCKHARDT, Andreas von Krain, and FRANTZ, 435, are certainly incorrect in adopting Hottinger's idea that Andreas lived at Laibach (Aemona), for, until 1788, Laibach was not an Archbishopric (GAMS, 283). From 1452–1525, seven, or possibly eight, Archiepiscopi Crainenses are known. Andreas succeeded his predecessor on the 18th January, 1476 (*loc. cit.*, 405). Several Slav provinces bear the name of Krains; according to FARLATTI, III. Sacr., IV., 189 *seq.*, the coast about Macarsca is here meant (see Kirchenlex., I., 837, 2nd ed.); GAMS, *loc. cit.*, thinks that a somewhat more southerly district is to be understood.

‡ BURCKHARDT, 25; FRANTZ, 434; and GEBHARDT, 47, say that Andreas first came to Rome between 1480 and 1482; the Briefs in Mon. Habsb., III., 453, and II., 330, which certainly Burckhardt had not the means of consulting, shew this statement to be mistaken. In his table of contents, p. xlii., CHMEL wrongly designates Andreas as Archbishop of Gran.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 157; Lib. confrat. B. M. de Anima, 27; and the Briefs of 10th Sept., 1481, and 4th May, 1482, to which we shall presently refer.

recommending him in pressing terms.* In consequence of these letters, Sixtus IV., who readily made promises, seems to have given him some encouragement; but, as the red hat did not arrive, Andrea soon began to pour forth torrents of insolent abuse against the Pope, his nephews, and the Roman clergy. Sixtus IV. admonished and warned him, but in vain. There was nothing for it but to call him to account for his calumnies. The Emperor's mediation soon procured his liberation from confinement in St. Angelo, where, out of consideration for Frederick III., he had been treated leniently. The same motive induced the Pope, in opposition to the desire of the Cardinals, to abandon the suit which had been commenced against him, and then to set him at liberty.† Sixtus IV. soon had cause bitterly to regret his indulgence. Andrea Zuccalmaglio went by way of Florence to Basle, where he falsely announced himself as the Emperor's representative, and even went so far as to assume the title of Cardinal of S. Sisto. On the 25th March, 1482, he entered the Cathedral of Basle during the celebration of Mass, and, with violent invectives against the Pope, proclaimed a General Council, to be held in that city. Even at this time, his secretary, Numagen, clearly perceived that he was not quite right in his head. He could not control himself, was incapable of deliberation, and would listen to no one's advice.‡

In April, Andrea went to Berne, and was at first cordially received by the authorities, but at the end of eight days

* Mon. Habsb., III., 48.

† See the important Brief of the 10th Sept., 1481, published in the Appendix to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 410. This at last throws some light on a matter hitherto involved in obscurity, and decides the date of the conflict. BURCKHARDT, 25, has placed it at too late a period.

‡ HOTTINGER, 356; BURCKHARDT, A. von Krain, 28–89.

the Bernese had discovered his real character. On the 4th May the alarmed Council sent a letter to Basle to warn that friendly city against the danger of espousing his cause. Berne apologised to Rome for having unwittingly shewn honour to one who placed himself in opposition to the Church and the Pope.*

In Basle, also, Andrea's abuse of the Pope had awakened some doubts, and a suspicion that he was influenced by personal hatred. Nevertheless, he was left quite free when he formally announced the assembling of a Council at the beginning of May. The Emperor was duly informed, but did nothing, and waited to see what would come.

Sixtus IV. was greatly disquieted, and, on the 4th May, wrote to Frederick III., and sent a special Envoy to ask him to take measures to secure the arrest of the Archbishop.† The Emperor's attitude now became so strange as to excite suspicions in Rome that Andrea was acting on secret instructions from him. On the 21st July he called the Archbishop "trusty and well-beloved," and asked for information about his project, and, on the 23rd July, he merely recommended the Councillors at Basle to act with caution.‡

Andrea chose this very time to cut off all means of retreat. On the 20th and 21st July he issued two violent and ill-written appeals, the last of which "was no better than a pasquinade." In the opening words of this detestable production, Sixtus IV., whom he had but a few days before invited to attend his Council, is addressed, no longer as Pope, but as "Francesco of Savona, Son of the Devil, thou who hast climbed to thy high dignity through the window

* Jahrb. für Schweiz. Gesch., IX., 13–14.

† I found this **Brief, which, as far as I know, was up to this time undiscovered, in the National Library, Florence.

‡ BURCKHARDT, A. von Krain, 34.

of simony instead of entering by the door, thou art of thy father, the Devil, and seekest to do his will."*

If we remember that the Archbishop had not a single adherent among the German or French Prelates, these outrageous railings against the Head of the Church seem almost like the ravings of a maniac; but when we find that Andrea had allied himself with the enemies of the Pope in Italy, it is easier to account for his violence. This evidently took place when he went from Rome to Basle by way of Florence. He must then have received from the Florentines and other conspirators assurances without which he could scarcely have ventured on his hazardous enterprise. "A bitterly exasperated Prelate, who promised to raise the whole of the North against the Pope, was, under the circumstances, an important ally, however dubious might be his motives, and however great the peril to which he exposed the Church."† The last consideration did not certainly weigh with Lorenzo de' Medici, who already was of opinion that it would be for his advantage to have three or four Popes instead of one.‡

The experiences of Lorenzo during his first conflict with Sixtus IV., however, deterred him from again exposing himself to the risk of Excommunication. Andrea was, there-

* HOTTINGER, 360 *seq.*, 368 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, 36.

† BURCKHARDT, 49. BUSER, Lorenzo, 158, has referred to the summons to Basle addressed by Andreas to Lorenzo de' Medici. It begins in the following words: * "Spiritus sanctus qui per totum terrarum orbem dispersos in unitatem fidei congregat dignetur fovere ignem suum accensum in te, fidei et ecclesie Christi zelatore fidelissimo. Agimus nempe in gaudio magno gratias ei qui te nobiscum sollicitare hoc opus sanctum et necessarium accendit; ille eciam labores tuos si perseveraveris legitime eternis gaudiis compensabit. Age igitur pro Christo, pro fide et ecclesia illius et pro tota christianitate constanter et veni." State Archives, Florence.

‡ See *supra*, p. 300.

fore, for the time, "only to be supported in secret, and very cautiously. When he had been in a measure successful, and the Pope had been thoroughly intimidated, the allies would proceed to advocate a Council."* Not till the 14th September did Lorenzo's confidant, Baccio Ugolini, accompanied by a Milanese Envoy, arrive in Basle.

Ugolini's Reports to his master enable us to estimate the hostility of Lorenzo to the Papacy, and to appreciate the reasons which induced Sixtus IV. to make the efforts he did for his removal from Florence. "I offered him" (Andrea of Carniola), writes Ugolini on the 20th September, 1482, "in your (Lorenzo's) name all that I could and knew to favour this undertaking (the Schism), praising him and flattering him as is customary. . . . It is a great thing that he is a Friar; that is the crown of all his qualities, and he has a fearless countenance, which awakens confidence and knows how to keep a man in his place, and let no one approach him. . . . The citizens (of Basle), too, could not be better disposed . . . they would not by any means allow their priests to observe the Interdict, and they openly favour the Archbishop as much as they can. . . . This man is quite fitted to serve out the Pope and the Count (Riario), and that is enough." Ten days later this Florentine again wrote confidentially to Lorenzo, saying, amongst other things: "I afterwards made a long speech (to the Magistracy of Basle) in favour of the Council, praising the lords for this honourable enterprise, and extolling the person of Carniola, while I drew a contemptible picture of the government of Sixtus IV., and insisted on the necessity for a Council.† They listened thankfully to everything. . . . As regards the matter of the Council, they declare that they are well-

* BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.* See also BUSER, Beziehungen, 228.

† The Venetian-Papal troops were just at this time victorious.

disposed towards the Holy See, and so far as they can have their way they will take care (they, the Councillors of Basle!) that the Church, which they see to be in great danger, or rather in ruins, shall be reformed to the faith of Christ. . . . Moreover, I (Ugolini) have gained such an ascendancy over the Carniolan (the Pope and 'Reformer' of the future), that it rejoices him more than anything. . . . Every hour he raises his hands to heaven and thanks God who has sent me to him. I need not say how eagerly the Doctors of the University read the letters which I have communicated to the Council here. What more can we desire? The Pope is more hated here than there." *

* FABRONIUS, II., 227 *seq.* In consequence, however, of the energetic action of the Pope, who sent a great number of Nuncios in succession to the Emperor and to Basle (see BURCKHARDT, A. von Krain, 29 *seq.*; in another place I will give supplementary extracts on the subject from Sixtus IV.'s *Briefs, which are before me. Secret Archives of the Vatican and National Library, Florence), and especially because the condition of the League had completely changed, it was in the end deemed well to leave their tool (RANKE, III., 5, 6th ed.) to his fate. Basle had at first refused either to give up or to imprison the Archbishop, and had thus fallen under an Interdict, which, however, was not regarded. No change took place until October, when the Emperor openly declared against Andrea. On the 18th December, 1482, the authorities of Basle at last arrested Andrea, but still refused to give him up. The Bishop of Suessa accordingly published a Bull of Crusade against Basle, which occasioned great distress. The matter was not settled when Sixtus IV. died, and was succeeded by Innocent VIII.; it was finally concluded by the suicide of Andrea, who was found hanged in his dungeon on the 13th November, 1484. For details I refer to BURCKHARDT, 65 *seq.*, 93 *seq.* GLASSBERGER in Anal. Francisc., II., 483, gives a full description of the danger involved by Andrea's proceedings. In Chap. XI. we shall mention that Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain also threatened to hold a Council. Regarding the open and secret opposition to Rome in Germany in the time of Sixtus IV., see GEBHARDT, 48 *seq.*, and DROYSEN, II., 1, 328, 341.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Girolamo Riario, the cause of all this trouble, became very unpopular in Rome, and a powerful party, headed by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, strongly urged the Pope to conclude a peace. But when the Venetian General, Roberto Malatesta, who had hitherto been fighting against Ferrara, appeared in Rome on the 23rd July, the war-party again got the upper hand.*

His arrival caused great rejoicing. "This is he who will redeem Israel!" shouted the people in the streets. On the 24th July Roberto was received in secret audience by the Pope, after which he at once began to make his preparations. The Proveditore, Pietro Diedo, brought money by command of the Republic to help in raising fresh troops for the Papal army; 1000 young Romans, ready armed, were enlisted in a week. On the 15th August the Venetian auxiliaries came in, and were blessed by the Pope from a window of the Vatican. Rome was full of warlike enthusiasm. "The banners of the Republic, together with those of the Pope, were borne through the whole City, and harmony reigned in the common camp." †

On the same 15th August the army advanced as far as Bovillae on the ancient Appian Way.‡ Castel Gandolfo, Castel Savello, and Albano surrendered.§ Alfonso retired before the superior forces of the enemy behind Velletri to the neighbourhood of Nettuno and Astura, where he expected succour by sea from Naples.

* Reumont, III., 1, 176.

† Frantz, 381–2; Schmarsow, 194.

‡ Sigismondo de' Conti, I., 139.

§ On the 19th August, 1482, Sixtus IV. wrote to Count Girolamo: * "Gratissimum nobis fuit quod scribit nob. tua de castello Gandolfo et de castello Sabello;" the Pope hopes that all will go on well. National Library, Florence.

Along this sea-shore stretches a woody morass, a desolate wilderness, the home of the buffalo and the wild boar. "In the whole of the Roman territory there is not another district so pestilential as this desert of Maremma." Its air is full of deadly fever, which has given the place the name of the Campo Morto (field of death); even down to the time of Pius IX. it has been a safe refuge for murderers. In the midst of these marshy thickets, at about an equal distance from Velletri and Nettuno, was a "fortified enclosure for the breeding of buffaloes and cattle; this castrum took from its Church the name of San Pietro, and from its moats the surname in Formis."* Alfonso of Calabria had here assembled his troops to await the attack. His position was a strong one, for his army occupied a sort of island, covered to the south by a small swamp, and protected on the north and east by trees and brushwood. To the west, where the Papal forces made the attack, there was a meadow about 500 paces in width, which was crossed by a ditch about two feet deep to carry off the water. Behind this, Alfonso's artillery was placed; some 300 paces further back he caused a considerably deeper trench to be made for the defence of his troops.†

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 256, 3rd ed. See Mél. d'Archéol., V., 84 *seq.* NOTAR GIACOMO, 148, calls the place Campo Morto, as do also Infessura and P. Cyrnäus (see GREGOROVIUS, *loc. cit.*). The mistaken statement, that the name was due to the battle, occurs in PAPENCORDT, 490, and REUMONT, III., 1, 177.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 142 *seq.*, who also gives a very good description of the battle, largely used by Sansovini in his History of the Orsini. See also SANUDO, Comment., 39-40; a Sienese Despatch in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 606 *seq.*; the Este Reports in CAPELLI, 31–3; Roberto's Letter in TONINI, 390 *seq.*; and a second Letter from him, which Valentini published, with other Reports, in Arch. Veneto, 1887, fasc. 65, p. 72 *seq.*; to these we may add the **Report of Pasius, dated 24th Aug. 1482, from the State Archives, Modena.

Roberto Malatesta, to whom Riario had resigned the command, having set his troops in order of battle and exhorted them to bravery, ordered the foot soldiers to make the attack. These were mostly recruits, and were so alarmed by the appearance of the Turks, whom Alfonso opposed to them, that they fled almost immediately. The whole of the Papal army would have been cast into confusion had not Roberto, at the right moment, rushed forward with a chosen band of tried soldiers, by which means he not only repelled the onslaught of the enemy but drove him back behind the trench. Sword in hand, Roberto here held his ground for a whole hour, acting at once as soldier and as leader.*

While the battle was raging at this point, Giacomo de' Conti, with six companies, attacked the camp on the right. This movement was hidden from Alfonso by the thicket. Roberto, at the same time, renewed his assault on the front. Alfonso's forces were not able to resist the two-fold onslaught of an enemy superior in numbers; they began to waver and then to fly.

Up to this moment Alfonso had "fought like a lion"; † several horses had been killed under him; now, fearing he would be surrounded and made prisoner, he also took to flight. He had some difficulty in making his way through the wood to Nettuno, where, with a few followers, he took boat for Terracina. Here, under the protection of his father's galleys, he gathered together the remnant of his army.

The battle of "Campo Morto in the Pontine Marshes" thus ended in a complete victory for the Papal troops. Both sides had fought desperately. The field was strewn with wounded, and the number of dead who lay there was

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.*

† See the **Report of Pasius, quoted on preceding page, note †. State Archives, Modena.

proportionately large; almost all the Janissaries were among them. Many flags and cannons fell into the hands of the conquerors, who also took a number of prisoners, including almost all the Chiefs and Barons.*

Roberto proceeded at once to Velletri, to attend to the wounded and rest his wearied troops. On the following day he sent his light cavalry forward to collect the baggage of the enemy.

When the news of the victory reached Rome, bonfires were lighted, the bells of the Capitol rang out, and all the Churches answered. Sixtus IV., with a numerous suite, attended a Mass of Thanksgiving at Santa Maria del Popolo.†

The very day after the battle, Marino surrendered to the Pope the keys of the Citadel and the captive Fabrizio Colonna; the idea of pressing on into the kingdom of Naples with the victorious army was spoken of in Rome.‡ Sixtus IV. informed the Emperor and all friendly States of the great success obtained by his General,§ and thanked the latter in a highly eulogistic Brief.||

Girolamo Riario made a splendid pageant of his entry into Rome with his prisoners. The Romans were treated with the spectacle of the enemies who had but recently

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.* In reference to the number of dead here given, the small strength of the army is to be borne in mind, and the fact that the warriors were clad entirely in mail.

† NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1077; SCHMARSOW, 195; FRANTZ, 385.

‡ See the *Despatch of the 24th August from Pasius in the State Archives, Modena, cited *supra*, p. 365, note †.

§ See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1482, N. 9, and the **Briefs to Genoa and Perugia of the 22nd and 24th August, 1482. National Library, Florence, and University Library, Genoa (G.–IV.–1).

|| **Rob. Malatestae, dated Rome, 1482, Aug. 24. National Library, Florence.

threatened their very walls, now led through their streets as captives, with heads bowed low, in the triumphal procession. Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, and Vicino Orsini, son of the Grand Constable of the kingdom of Naples, attracted the greatest attention. The Pope received the captives with kindness, and honourably entertained the Duke of Amalfi, Pius II.'s nephew, in his Palace, before sending him back to his family.*

"It is a true saying," writes Sigismondo de' Conti, "that human happiness is never long unalloyed." The sounds of rejoicing were soon silenced and exchanged for lamentations over the premature death of the victor.

Roberto Malatesta was engaged in dispersing the hostile troops scattered about the neighbourhood of Rome, when "the effects of his tremendous exertions in the great heat of the unhealthy swamps overtook him. The fatal breath of Campo Morto proved stronger than youth and courage." †

On hearing of the sickness of his General, the Pope at

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 144; SCHMARSOW, 195; FRANTZ, 385. Regarding the Triumphal Procession, see also NOTAR GIACOMO, 149, and the Sienese Despatches in Arch. Stor. Rom., XI., 608.

† SCHMARSOW, 195, rejects the idea that Roberto was poisoned, and CREIGHTON, III., 91, agrees with him, as also GREGOROVIUS, VII., 257, 3rd ed., who inclines to the same opinion. Even SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 144, mentions the report of poison. Count Girolamo Riario has been suspected of the murder; see, in his defence, TONINI, 393, and App., 289. Any idea that Roberto's death was due to foul play is set aside by a Despatch given by BALAN, 230, and also by a *Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1482, Sept. 11, which I found in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and a passage in the *Cronica Ferrariae of Caleffini. Cod. I.–I.–4, f. 156, Chigi Library, Rome (see Appendix, N. 66). These authorities, who are by no means prejudiced in Girolamo's favour, may be considered as conclusive on this question. The *Diario del Corona also says: "Mori Roberto Malatesta di febre." Barberini Library, Rome, LIV., 10, f. 410.

once sent his own physician to Val Montone, where Roberto lay, and caused him to be transported in a litter to Rome. He was most carefully tended in the house of the Cardinal of Milan, but he did not rally. When his condition left no room for hope, the Pope, with his own hands, administered Extreme Unction. On the 10th September the brave warrior breathed his last.*

Sixtus IV. paid every possible honour to the deliverer of his capital. He personally took part in the obsequies, and afterwards caused a marble monument to be erected in St. Peter's. After many vicissitudes, this monument, on which the figure of the leader, mounted on his war-horse, is carved in relief, found its way to the Louvre, where it now adorns the hall devoted to Sculpture of the Renaissance period.†

On the 11th September the Pope legitimatised the sons of Roberto and invested them with the paternal inheritance, thus refuting the imputation that he was influenced by designs upon the fief of the Malatesta; though some such hankerings, perhaps, had been cherished by Girolamo Riario.‡

The immediate consequence of Roberto's death was to nullify the good effects of the victory of Campo Morto. The Venetian troops, regardless of the promises and entreaties of the Pope, withdrew. The siege of Cavi by the

* MARINI, I., 209; BALAN, 229; FRANTZ, 387. The different dates given for Roberto's death (see CIPOLLA, 617) are set at rest by Cardinal Gonzaga's Letter, which we publish in the Appendix, N. 66. Caleffini, *Cronica Ferrariae, Cod. I.–I.–4, f. 156, Chigi Library, Rome, also names the 10th September as the day. Roberto's epitaph is to be found in DE ROSSI, Inscript., II., 421.

† See COURAJOD in the Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, 1883, p. 233, and YRIARTE, 354 *seq.*

‡ TONINI, 394–5.

Papal forces was unsuccessful, either because of the strength of its fortifications or because the Orsini, who disliked any further extension of the power of the Pope, neglected to render assistance.*

Meanwhile, Alfonso had again rallied his soldiers, and the war continued, generally to the disadvantage of the Papal troops and the detriment of the Romans, whose fields were laid waste and whose flocks were carried off. The Orsini, incensed by Girolamo's selfish proceedings, at last declared that, if no other auxiliaries arrived, they would withdraw. Without them—as Sigismondo de' Conti justly insists—it was impossible to carry on the war against the King of Naples, and especially against the Colonna. The Venetians, on their side, made it plain that the only thing they wanted was Ferrara, and that which might befall the Pope was nothing to them.†

Meanwhile, the revived opposition in the North added to all these troubles the threat of a Council and a Schism, and Andrea of Carniola was still unchecked in his career.‡

Sixtus IV. now began to perceive "that, by his own action, he was strengthening the hands of a Power which, by its persistent efforts to acquire dominion over the cities of the Adriatic littoral, was likely soon to prove a source of serious danger to him. Giuliano della Rovere seems to have been the person who induced the Pope to separate himself from

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 156.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 156; SCHMARSOW, 196-7. Sixtus IV. writes, on the 20th October, 1482, to Jordano Orsini regarding the proceedings of the enemy in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome: * "Dilecte, etc., Quottidie hostes per Latium discurrunt nemine prohibente et versus S. Sebastianum et alia loca urbi vicina irrumpunt et predas abigunt." Lib. brev., 15, f. 96b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See *supra*, p. 363.

the Republic, while Girolamo Riario, the soul of the war party, was probably won over by a hope of eventually obtaining the Malatesta fiefs."* On the 28th November a truce was concluded with the Duke of Calabria. On the 12th December a treaty of Peace between Rome on the one side and Naples, Milan, and Florence on the other was signed. By this treaty the possession of his States was guaranteed to the Duke of Ferrara, territories conquered during the war were mutually restored, an alliance for twenty years, which the Venetians also were free to join, was concluded, and finally, a pension was secured to Girolamo Riario.†

On the following day, the 13th December, Sixtus IV. went in procession to the newly-built Church of Sta Maria della Virtù and bestowed on it the name of Sta Maria della Pace (Our Lady of Peace). At Christmas Peace was publicly proclaimed.‡ The important point now was to obtain the adhesion of the Venetians to this alliance, which had been concluded without their knowledge. Failing this, the peace would be little more than a name.

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 187, 2nd ed.

† SISMONDI, XI., 242.

‡ NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1080; *Diario del Corona. (Barberini Library, LIV., 10, f. 411.) See FEA, La chiesa di S. M. d. p. (1809), and ARMELLINI, 433.

CHAPTER X.

The Pope's Struggle with Venice and the Colonna.—The Peace of Bagnolo and the Death of Sixtus IV.

THIS one-sided treaty which, under the stress of circumstances, had been concluded by Sixtus IV., had a most prejudicial influence on his relations with Venice. Sigismondo de' Conti, known as an historian, was sent in December, 1482, to pacify the Venetians, and to obtain the cessation of hostilities against Ferrara. The reception which awaited him was far from encouraging; no one ventured to speak to him. The Envoy, however, was not to be deterred from the accomplishment of his Mission; he delivered the letters which the Pope and the Sacred College had entrusted to him, and endeavoured, with honied words, to persuade the Doge and the Council to a truce; all his efforts, however, were ineffectual. The Signoria, after the great sacrifices which had been made, would not draw back. They believed victory to be in their hands, and were determined in any case to carry on the war. Sigismondo's Mission was a complete failure.*

The irritation of the Venetians against Sixtus IV. was at this time so great that they proceeded to violent menaces. They declared that, if the Pope should be led to employ his spiritual weapons, he would find himself involved in a

* See his own Report, in which (I., p. 158 *seq.*) the Briefs to Venice are inserted; also MALIPIERO, 269 *seq.*, and Hist. Jahrbuch, VII., 308 *seq.*

disastrous war in Italy, the end of which he would not live to see. They said they were in league with all the Christian Powers, and were resolved, if necessary, even to call in the Turks! *

Sixtus IV. did not allow himself to be intimidated. A State Paper repelling the accusations of the Venetians was drawn up,† and it was then determined that, besides Girolamo Riario, Cardinal Gonzaga should be sent as Legate to Ferrara.‡ On the 5th February, 1483, Cesare de Varano was commanded immediately to proceed thither with all the troops he could collect.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 165 *seq.* That these were no empty threats is evident from the Report of Sanudo (Comment., 58), who informs his Government that Melchiore Trevisan had been sent to Constantinople. See CIPOLLA, 619.

† I found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican this document, which, as far as I know, has not yet been printed, with the Title: Responsio dom. nostri Sixti papae IV. ad objecta sivi per venetos in causa belli Ferrariensis; Politic. varia, VII., f. 309–30. The charges against Sixtus IV., which the Venetians, through their Ambassadors, had disseminated at the different Courts, are here refuted, and the ambition of Venice is sharply rebuked. The special ground of her animosity is declared to be "quod non ad eorum libitum pontificatum administramus." The importance of Ferrara as the "antimurale totius Romandiole" is asserted; were Ferrara Venetian, Forli would be imperilled. In conclusion, His Holiness still expresses the hope that Venice would perceive her error, &c. There is no date, but the document must certainly belong to the spring of 1483. See also the justificatory piece in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 3.

‡ *On the 13th Dec., 1482, Sixtus IV. announced to Ercole of Ferrara the Mission of Gonzaga, in order that "presentia sua consolari ac spiritualibus et temporalibus favoribus sicut necessitas exegerit promptius iuvare et reintegrationi status tui intendere possit." Copy in the State Archives, Modena. On the same 13th December the Legate's Representative at Bologna was also informed of Gonzaga's Mission. The *Brief on the subject is in the State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.

§ **Brief of 5th Febr., 1483, in the State Archives, Florence (Urbino).

At the end of February the Venetian Ambassador left Rome; fearing that Sixtus IV. would proclaim a Crusade against Venice, he let fly a parting threat, that in that case there should be no more peace for the Pope. If it came to the worst they would make a league with the Devil!*

At the same time, the Congress at Cremona, which, besides the Papal Legate, the Duke of Calabria, and Lorenzo de' Medici, comprised Lodovico and Ascanio Sforza, Ercole d'Este, Federigo Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua, and Giovanni Bentivoglio, determined to put down the Venetians by force of arms.†

Preparations for war were hastily begun in every direction. There was no time to be lost, for Ferrara could not hold out much longer. The Pope was unwearied in his exhortations.‡ He especially insisted on the necessity of attacking Venice by sea.§ No less than 50,000 ducats were allotted for the equipment of the fleet, the sum being raised by the creation of new offices.‖

Early in April, Branda Castiglione, Bishop of Como, was appointed Legate of the fleet.¶ On the 30th of the month the Pope proclaimed his alliance with Naples, Milan, Ferrara,

* CAPELLI, 37.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 189, 2nd ed.; FRANTZ, 421 *seq.*, 458; CIPOLLA, 620. Girolamo Riario was not present, as SCHMARSOW, 200, shews, in opposition to Reumont.

‡ See in Appendix, N. 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, the *Briefs of 4th March, 16th and 21st April, and 1st May, 1483, as well as Girolamo Riario's Letter of the 7th May, 1483, from the State Archives, Milan.

§ See *Brief of 3rd April, 1483, in Appendix, N. 68.

‖ CAPELLI, 37.

¶ Bonfrancesco Arlotti, Bishop of Reggio, writes from Rome on the 9th April, 1483: *"El vescovo de Como per concistorio et da N. S^re è publicato legato suxo l'armata." (State Archives, Modena.) Regarding the operations of the fleet, see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 181 *seq.*

and Florence, and reiterated his promises of assistance to the Ferrarese through Cardinal Gonzaga, who died soon afterwards, a victim to the fatigues of the war.* The Venetians on their side entered into negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine, "in order again to harass King Ferrante by a popular Angevine rising, while their fleet harried the coast of Apulia and took possession of the important stronghold of Gallipoli."†

By the end of May the spiritual weapons of the Pope were also launched against Venice. From the month of February the Ambassadors of Ferrara had been urging him to proclaim an Interdict.‡ Girolamo Riario exerted his influence in the same direction, and succeeded in determining Sixtus IV. to take this important step.

The Bull of Interdict was laid before the Consistory on the 24th May. All the Sacred College, with the exception of the Venetian Cardinals, declared their concurrence. Their opposition, which greatly incensed the Pope, was not calculated to alter his purpose. On the same day the Bull was affixed to the Gates of St. Peter's. In the Archives of Modena the jubilant Report is still preserved in which the Ferrarese Envoy tells the Duke that he had at once hastened to St. Peter's to convince himself of the fact.§

The Pope at once communicated the Bull to the Emperor, the King of France, and the other Kings

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 4, 5; CIPOLLA, 621.

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 189.

‡ See *Letter of B. Arlotti, dated Rome, 1483, Febr. 21. State Archives, Modena.

§ *Letter of B. Arlotti, dated Rome, 1483, May 24, *loc. cit.* The Bull (dated X. Cal. Junii = 23rd May, *not* June, as CIPOLLA, 621, has it) is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 8–16; it was sent to Milan on the 25th May. See Appendix, N. 73, *Brief from the State Archives, Milan.

and Princes of Christendom for publication in their dominions.*

As the Venetian agents in Rome refused to transmit the Bull to their native city, the Pope sent a herald to deliver it to the Patriarch of Venice, whom he charged, under pain of Excommunication and suspension, to impart it to the Doge and the Signoria. "The Patriarch pleaded illness, and apprised the Doge and the Council of Ten, who enjoined strict silence, and commanded him to continue the celebration of public worship as if nothing had happened."† "The indignation of the Venetians against the Pope is extreme," wrote the Ferrarese Ambassador. "They threaten to recall all their Cardinals and Prelates from Rome, and Sixtus IV. has prepared, in anticipation of this, a new Bull against Venice."‡ The Signoria, in the first place, appealed to a future Council,§ and at once began to agitate at the Imperial Court,‖ as well as at those of France and of England,¶ for its convocation, but these efforts were fruitless. Louis XI., on the contrary, at once complied with the wishes of the Pope,** and had

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 17; FRANTZ, 429. See Appendix, N. 73 and 74, Cathedral Archives of St. Gall.

† FRANTZ, 426; ROMANIN, IV., 413 *seq.*

‡ *Report of Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dated Rome, 1483, June 16. State Archives, Modena.

§ This appeal was affixed to the Church doors of S. Celso in Rome, in the night between the 2nd and 3rd July; see MALIPIERO, 283. The Informatione circa l'interdetto di Sisto IV. contro Venetia in Cod. LIX.-120 of the Barberini Library, Rome, is merely an extract from Malipiero. The Pope already, on the 24th June, knew of the "vain and unlawful" Appeal, for the Venetians had sent a copy to their Cardinals; see *Letter of Bonfr. Arlotti, dated Rome, 1483, June 24. State Archives, Modena.

‖ See in Appendix, N. 75, the *Letter of the 15th June to the Emperor. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ See Cal. of State Papers, Venetian, I., 146.

** See *Brief to Louis XI., dated Rome, 1483, June 15, in which

the sentence against Venice published in his dominions. The Venetian Ambassadors were dismissed. This happy result was chiefly due to the exertions of the Archbishop of Tours and of St. Francis of Paula. The latter had come to Rome in the beginning of 1483. "All the Cardinals went to see him. He had three audiences from the Pope, who placed him on a seat of honour by his side, and conversed with him for three or four hours. He was so struck with admiration at the wisdom of his discourse that he granted him permission to found a new Order."* From Rome St. Francis went to the French Court, and was there when Louis XI. died (29th August).†

Sixtus IV. had never allowed himself to be alarmed by

the necessity of resorting to spiritual weapons is asserted. "De consilio igitur fratrum nostrorum sententias et censuras ecc^cas^ adversus prefatos Venetos pro tulimus sequuti fe. re. Clementum predecessorem nostrum. . . . Bullam autem censurarum huiusmodi ad Maj. tuam in praesentiarum mittimus, ut eam per totum regnum tuum si ita tibi videbitur publicari facias." Lib. brev., 15, f. 620–21, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* REUMONT, III., 1, 180; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, 176–7; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 22. See also VICTON (Vita Francisci a Paula, p. 121, R. 1625); FANTONI, 345; LEGEAY, II., 503; and the Monographs on S. Francis of Paula by SYLVAIN (P. 1874), DABERT (P. 1875), and ROLLAND (P. 1876, 2nd ed.); as also F. ROLLE, Documents relatifs au passage de S. François à Lyon (1483), Lyon, 1864.

† Under the new monarch, Charles VIII., to whom Sixtus IV. expressed his condolences on the 11th Sept., 1483 (in the *Brief Lib. brev., 16 B., f. 27, Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Mission of a Legate is also announced), the anti-Papal tendency revived again in France. The restoration of the Pragmatic Sanction was demanded, and Cardinal de La Balue, who had been sent as Legate to the French Court, could do little or nothing. See HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 260; GUETTÉE., VIII., 53 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*; FIERVILLE, 147; PICOT, I., 426 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Rom. Welt, 186; and, especially in regard to La Balue's Legation, BULAEUS, V., 763; FRIEDBERG, II., 503 note; BUSER, Beziehungen. 240 *seq.*; and Mèm. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris, 1884, XI., 35 *seq*,

the threat of a Council. He declared in Consistory that he was quite willing that one should be held, only it must be at Rome in the Lateran, for the right of summoning it belonged to him; moreover, added the Pope, the Council will necessarily afford an opportunity for the reformation of the ecclesiastical and temporal Princes, and also for calling the Venetians to account for their appropriation of portions of the States of the Church, which must be restored.*

No decisive advantage had meanwhile been gained at any one of the various seats of war. Not one of the enterprises begun by the allies had been brought to a conclusion. Contending interests threatened the League with dissolution. But Venice also was in a deplorable condition; "her treasury was exhausted, her arsenals empty."†

There seemed, indeed, to be a hope of peace in March, 1484, when, at the desire of the allies, Ascanio Sforza, a brother of Lodovico Moro's, was raised to the purple. The Portuguese Cardinal, Giorgio Costa, who possessed the full confidence of the Signoria, had already made considerable progress in this direction, when Girolamo intervened. The selfishness of this insatiable man completely destroyed the prospect of peace, "which, at this moment, would have been more honourable to the Pope and more favourable to himself than it ever again could be."‡

While the Ferrarese war engrossed general attention, internal dissensions again broke out with great violence in Rome. The year 1483 had been a year of peace for the

* See the **Report of B. Arlotti of the 7th July, 1483. (State Archives, Modena.) Sixtus IV.'s Protest against the Appeal of the 15th July is given by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 18–21.

† FRANTZ, 459–61.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 202, from SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 185–6.

Eternal City; towards its close, Cardinals Colonna and Savelli were liberated.* They were joyfully welcomed by their dependents when released on the morning of the 15th November, and at once took part in the Consistory in which Sixtus created five new Cardinals.†

If the year 1483 had been one of tranquillity, the next year was stormy. In January the Orsini, confident in the friendship of Girolamo Riario, began the conflict by expelling Antonio Savelli from Albano. The "factions flew to arms. On the 21st February the della Valle stabbed their enemy, Francesco Santa Croce," and fortified their Palace. The Colonna now espoused the cause of the della Valle, and the Orsini that of the Santa Croce, and also barricaded their Palaces.‡ The disturbances came to such a pitch that, as we learn from an Ambassador, soon no one in the City felt his life or property secure.§ "Never," wrote another

* "Instances of brutal outrage were not wanting, the after effects of the calamity of war and of inconsiderate tyranny." SCHMARSOW, 199. Regarding the horrible scenes at d'Estouteville's funeral, see NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1081–2.

† "*Questa matina son liberati li rev^mi cardinali Savello et Columpna de castel S. Angelo, ondo erano carcerati, cum omnium consensu et plausu incredibili. In questa medema hora et eodem consistorio son creati cardinali cinque." Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dated Roma, 1483, Nov. 15. According to a *Report of this Ambassador, of the 1st June, the release of the Cardinals was, even at that time, expected. (State Archives, Modena.) See also a *Letter of Stefano Guidotto, dated Rome, 1483, Nov. 18: * "Io gionsi qua a Roma sabbato mattina a 15 del presente e ritrovai tutta la terra in festa per esser alhora cavati di castel S. Angelo quelli dui rev^mi cardinali Colonna e Savello." They were present at the election the same morning. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) GRAZIANI, 653, is mistaken in stating that the Cardinals were liberated on the 17th November.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 261, 3rd ed.

§ See a *Letter from B. Arlotti, dated Rome, 29th May, 1484. State Archives, Modena.

contemporary, "did I see such confusion. It was the 29th of May; the whole of Rome was in arms. It was said that they wished to seize the Protonotary by night; he kept watch and secured himself as well as he could. I had two hand-barrows full of stones set inside my doors, which I barricaded, and I had heavy stones brought up to the windows and into the loggia. All through the night the cry of Bear! Bear! was heard in the Rio Ponte, and on Monte Giordano watch-fires burned, shots were fired, and trumpets blown."*

On the following day, May 30, the Pope made an effort to settle the dispute in an amicable manner. He sent messengers to the Palace of Cardinal Colonna, on what is now called the Piazza della Pilotta, where Lorenzo Oddone, the Protonotary, had entrenched himself, inviting him in the most friendly terms to his presence, and promising him all that his justice and generosity could grant. Lorenzo's intimate friend, Cardinal Sansoni, endeavoured to persuade him to accept the Pope's invitation. Finally, Giuliano della Rovere himself came and offered to remain as a hostage in the house of the Colonna until such time as Oddone should return from the Pope, an offer, as Sigismondo de' Conti observes, suggested rather by affection than prudence.†

Lorenzo was fully inclined to go, but his friends, fearing for his safety, prevented him. When Sixtus IV. sent the

* See REUMONT, III., 1, 181, who is mistaken in assigning these disturbances to the 29th March. This error is due to the omission of the name of the month in Notajo di Nantiporto. INFESSURA, 1158, and JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 196, are correct in mentioning the end of May. SCHMARSOW, 250, misled by Sigismondo de' Conti, speaks of the 28th and 29th April. See, on the other hand, B. Arlotti's *Letter of the 29th May, already cited, and a **Report of Stefano Guidotto, dated Rome, 1484, June 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 189.

Conservators for the second time, and promised to forgive everything, he mounted his horse and rode away alone. But some armed followers of his met him on the Piazza Trevi and obliged him to return.

Girolamo and the Orsini had meanwhile ascertained, through Leone Montesecco, the Prefect of the Body Guard, that Oddone had only a crowd of untrained and unwarlike retainers in his house.

All fear vanished. After a proclamation had been made to the effect that all who should take part with the Colonna incurred the guilt of high treason, an order for the forcible arrest of the Protonotary was issued. The attack at once began. A panic seized the Colonna; a great many of them left the Palace, which was soon surrounded on all sides. During the fight, which lasted but two hours, forty of the Colonna and only thirteen of their adversaries were killed. The barricades were then scaled, the Palace was relentlessly plundered, and Lorenzo Oddone taken prisoner. On the way to the Vatican, Virginio Orsini had to defend the unarmed captive from Count Girolamo, who, in his rage, twice drew his sword against him. Sixtus IV. reproached him in violent language, and accused him of having twice sought to drive him from Rome. "The Protonotary tried to excuse himself on the ground that his people had prevented him when he tried to go to the Vatican, but after all the terror he had undergone he could hardly utter a sound. He was given over to Virginio Orsini and confined in St. Angelo." *

"It was fortunate," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "that the conflict was not protracted into the night, under cover of which shame and fear are put aside, and many more would

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 190 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 251. See Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 612, and Stefano Guidotto's **Reports of the 1st and 4th June, 1484. Gonzaga Archives.

have taken part with the Colonna, so that the Pope and the Orsini might have been in great danger." *

The houses of the della Valle were, like the Palace of the Colonna, razed to the ground.† The undisciplined soldiers billeted themselves in the houses of the Colonna quarter and wrought cruel havoc there.‡

A portion of the Roman burghers determined to beg the Pope to make peace with the Colonna. Cardinal Giuliano also earnestly advocated a reconciliation, but again the Orsini and Count Girolamo prevented it. The conduct of the latter became more and more insupportable. "He extorted money from the Roman churches, and even from the College of Papal Secretaries and that of the Stradioti."§ If we may believe Infessura, whose sympathies are with the Colonna party, high words passed between Girolamo Riario and Cardinal Giuliano, even in presence of the Pope. Cardinal Giuliano had granted asylum in his Palace to some fugitives from Cardinal Colonna's dwelling, and had expressed his displeasure at Riario's violence. Girolamo accused the Cardinal of protecting rebels and enemies of the Church. Giuliano replied that the men whom he protected were no rebels against the Church, but some of her most faithful servants; that Girolamo was hunting them out of Rome,

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 191. Bonfr. Arlotti writes on the 2nd June, 1484: *"El non si poteria dir quanto stano di bona voglia el papa et conte per questa victoria et sbatimento di Colonesi." State Archives, Modena.

† See S. Guidotto's **Report of the 1st June, 1484, and the *Diario volgare del Corona in Cod. LIV.-10, f. 413. Barberini Library, Rome.

‡ Particulars, especially with regard to the ill-treatment of P. Laetus, in SCHMARSOW, 251.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 262-3, 3rd ed. See also SCHMARSOW, 252-3, who gives a graphic picture of Girolamo's doings in Rome, of his exactions, his usurious speculations in corn, and his insolence towards the Rota.

setting the Church of God on fire and destroying her. He was the cause of all the evil deeds which were bringing ruin on the Pope and on the Cardinals. The Count, on this, flew into a rage and declared that he would drive him out of the country, burn his house over his head, and give it up to plunder, as he had done to that of the Colonna.*

The attack on the Colonna still went on in the neighbourhood of Rome. The whole of Latium was soon a prey to fire and rapine. On the 27th June Marino fell, and the Colonna retired to Rocca di Papa.†

Three days later Lorenzo Oddone was beheaded in St. Angelo, after retracting the confessions torn from him on the rack. The unhappy man met death with calmness and dignity. The corpse was taken, in the first instance, to the neighbouring church of Sta Maria Traspontina, whence, in the evening, it was conveyed to that of the SS. Apostoli. Here it was received by his mother and many other women, wailing and lamenting, and was buried that same night by Infessura and a vassal of the Colonna.‡

* INFESSURA, 1168; SCHMARSOW, 253.

† "*Marino hogi s'è dedito et accordato cum el papa," writes B. Arlotti on the 27th June, 1484. (State Archives, Modena.) SCHMARSOW, 254, is, accordingly, mistaken in giving the 25th as the date.

‡ NOTAJO DI NANTIPORTO, 1087, and INFESSURA, 1174-5. The former merely says of Colonna's mother, "fece gran lamento"; the latter, although a partisan of the Colonna, and very hostile to Sixtus IV., is (like the Cron. Rom., 37, and the above-mentioned *Diario del Corona) silent as to the words of accusation which ALLEGRETTI, 817, says she uttered at the sight of her dead son: "Questa è la testa del mio figlio e la fede di Papa Sisto che ci promesse, come lassassimo Marino, ci lassarebbe el mio figliulo." GREGOROVIUS, VII., 264, 3rd ed., and RANKE (Päpste, I., 31, 6th ed.) both incorporate the words in their text, but the former is fair enough in a note to call attention to the fact that they rest solely on Allegretti's authority. REUMONT, III., 1, 183, does not mention them. SCHMARSOW, 254, repeats them, but, as CREIGHTON, III., 99, admits, "there is no evidence that the

On the 2nd July Girolamo and Virginio Orsini, with their troops, took the field against the Colonna.* Events soon proved that they had been very ill-advised in thwarting the efforts made to re-establish peace. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna defended themselves bravely. "The Savelli allowed themselves to be corrupted, and thus many strongholds were indeed lost, but Paliano held out," and Girolamo found it necessary to apply to the Pope for reinforcements. He was soon compelled to own that he had little hope of subduing the Colonna.

Sixtus IV. was greatly disturbed by these tidings; he had never anticipated such determined resistance.† In the month of March his health,‡ which, till then, had been very

Pope made any promise to release Lorenzo." It is worthy of notice that the Mantuan Ambassador, S. Guidotto, does not even allude to the mother's words. Writing on the 2nd July, 1484, he says: *"La Sta del N. S. el fece portare in una cassa ad una certa chiesa propinqua al castello e fu monstrato ad alcuni e poi etiam a la madre e fu sepelito la sera assai honorevolmente a Sto Apostolo." *On the 8th July he reports that Colonna's mother had died of grief; but says nothing of these words. I found these two *Letters in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Sienese Report in Arch. Rom., XI., 614, contains nothing in regard to the supposed exclamation. All rules of criticism require us to reject the statement of an absent writer, when all the witnesses who were on the spot are ignorant of the circumstance mentioned.

* "*Hogi a l'alba lo ill. s. conte è andato in campo, cussi el sre Virgineo." S. Guidotto on the 2nd July, 1484. (Gonzaga Archives.) See B. Arlotti's *Letter of the same day. (State Archives, Modena.) Payments for Girolamo's troops are entered in July, 1484, in *Div. Sixti IV., 1484. State Archives, Rome.

† REUMONT, III., I, 184; SCHMARSOW, 255.

‡ On the 7th January, 1483, Stef. Guidotto wrote: * "La Sta de N. S. za tri o quatro di è stato per uno puoco di catharo col collo tuto incordato, non ge stato tempo ne honesto di chieder audientia perche etiam il feci dir a li cardinali che non ge andassimo. S. Sta me fece

good, had begun to give way.* Constant agitation and anxiety naturally told upon him at last. In the middle of June he fell ill of a fever.† Early in August his old malady, the gout, attacked him with such violence that he received the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist.‡

Meanwhile, the rumour that peace had been concluded with the Venetians continued to gain more and more credence in Rome. This was actually the case.

The warlike zeal of Milan had been gradually cooling ever since the July of 1483. The urgent demands of Sixtus IV. had failed to produce any effect.§ A year later, "Lodovico Moro had succeeded in severing himself from the League, of which he had been but a half-hearted member." "When the Venetians were getting the worst of it, and their finances were nearly exhausted," says Commines, "Duke Lodovico came to the aid of their honour and credit, and every one again got his own, excepting the poor Duke of Ferrara, who had been drawn into the war by himself and his father-in-law, and was now obliged to abandon the Polesina to the Venetians. It is said that the affair brought Duke Lodovico in 60,000 ducats. I know not," adds Commines, "if that is true, but I found the Duke of Ferrara, who, however, had not at that time yet given him his daughter in marriage, under this belief."||

dire una matina che ge andassi e ritrovai che la notte gera venuto quello disturbo, non è percho gran male, anci l'è gaiardo e bello continuo comel fussi de 40 anni." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Sienese Despatch of the 17th March, 1484, in Arch. Rom., XI., 610.

† BURCHARD-THUASNE, I., 493.

‡ *Report of B. Arlotti, dated Rome, 1484, August 3. State Archives, Modena.

§ See in Appendix, N. 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, and 81, the *Briefs of July 15th, August 20th and 25th, Sept. 20th, and Oct. 2nd and 13th, 1483. State Archives, Milan, and Secret Archives of the Vatican.

|| REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 190, 194, 2nd ed.

Gallipoli and other places on the coast, which had been taken from him, were restored to the King of Naples. Roberto da San Severino, the Captain-General of the Venetians, became commander of the troops of the League, with a yearly salary of 20,000 florins. Riario went away empty. The Peace of Bagnolo (7th August, 1484) became, as Sigismondo de' Conti justly observes, a victory for Venice, for Ercole of Ferrara was obliged to come there in person as a suppliant, and Lodovico sent his son ostensibly to take part in the festivities, but really as a hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty.*

The Pope would not at first believe in this disgraceful Peace. When, however, he could no longer doubt that his authority had been thus set at naught, his grief was extreme. "Faithless Lodovico!" he was heard to exclaim, in a voice shaken with sighs.†

His illness was no doubt aggravated by excitement. A Consistory had been summoned to meet on Wednesday, the 11th August, but as the Pope had become worse in the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 194; SCHMARSOW, 256, who draws attention to the fact that Gianfrancesco Tolentino, as Procurator and Mandatory of Sixtus IV., had the first place among those who conducted the Peace negotiations, and that, accordingly, it cannot be said that the treaty was concluded behind the Pope's back (as BROSCH, Julius II., p. 27, represents it to have been), and without his knowledge or consent, but the conditions, to which the majority agreed, broke his heart.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 204. "Hardly five months had passed," says REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 195, 2nd ed., "since he had conferred the Red Hat on Ascanio Maria Sforza, brother of the man who was now thwarting all his plans. Ascanio began a troubled cardinalate under warlike auspices." See also SCHMARSOW, 256. The assertion that Sixtus IV. took delight in wars and troubles, and, accordingly, was greatly vexed that any kind of Peace should be concluded, is a malicious invention, irreconcilable with his last authentic utterances. LÄMMER in Histor. Jahrbuch, I., 179.

night, the assembled Cardinals were dismissed. Nevertheless, after Vespers, the Ambassadors of the League were admitted into his presence. "When he had heard them," says Jacobus Volaterranus, "he complained, not, as evil-minded and malicious persons have asserted, that Peace had been concluded, but that its conditions were so unfavourable. 'Up to this time,' he said, 'we have carried on a dangerous and difficult war, in order, by our victorious arms, to obtain an honourable Peace for the security of the Apostolic See, our own honour, and that of the League. Now, when as you know, by the will of God, success was at hand, you bring back conditions of Peace suited to the vanquished, not to the victor. The Venetians had already offered our Apostolic Legate terms much fairer and more profitable to your Princes, terms which were honourable to the Apostolic See, whereas these are disgraceful. The cities taken in the war were to be entrusted to our protection, the nobles were to send us hostages and await our judgment, Ferrara was not mentioned. You propose none of these things, but, on the contrary, shameful conditions, fraught with the seeds of confusion and future evil rather than good. This Peace, my beloved sons in Christ, I can neither approve nor sanction.'"*

During the night and the following day the weakness of the Pope hourly increased; the fever consumed his strength. On the Feast of S. Clara, 12th August, in the fourth hour of the night, he passed peacefully away. "Four days previously," Jacobus Volaterranus informs us, "he had received Holy Communion. After his death the Penitentiaries of the Friars-minor washed him, vested him, and laid him out on his bier. In the evening the corpse was brought to the

* JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 199; FRANTZ, 476 *seq.* See also Bonfrancesco Arlotti's **Letter of the 12th August, 1484. State Archives, Modena.

Basilica of St. Peter, and, with all fitting honour, deposited in the chapel which he had himself built in his lifetime, until his monument should be ready. The obsequies commenced on the fourth day, and continued for nine days without intermission." *

* JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 200; FRANTZ, 477. Regarding the Pope's last hours, see the Despatch of Guidantonio Vespucci in BURCHARD-THUASNE, I., 496, where the actual account of his death is, however, wanting. * "In questo punto che siamo a hore V. è passato di questa vita la santa mem. di papa Sisto." *Despatch of Vespucci of the 12th August, Arch. Medic. filza 39, f. 320. (State Archives, Florence.) With this, accord Bonfrancesco Arlotti's *Despatches of 14th and 15th August, which say that death took place between the fifth and sixth hours. (State Archives, Modena.) Stef. Guidotto's Letters of the 12th and 13th August from the Gonzaga Archives, printed in Appendix, N. 82, mention an earlier hour. The imposing bronze monument, which Cardinal Giuliano erected to his uncle's memory, was executed by Antonio Pollajuolo, a Florentine, in 1493, and is now in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Peter's; it represents the departed Pope in his Pontifical robes: "a thick-set, almost small figure, a bony hand with dry sinews, covered with loose leathery skin, but with veins which seem almost throbbing with warm blood, and a long history written in the deep furrows and angular lines of the weather-beaten face" (SCHMARSOW, 259); round about are ill-chosen and, in some instances, objectionable, allegorical figures of the Sciences. See BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 358; GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 101 *seq.* See also CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, III., 127; BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 292; PIPER, Mythologie, I., 89; The Ecclesiologist, XXIX., 161; SEMPER, Donatello, 120 (Innsbruck, 1887); Plate in LITTA, fasc. 147.

CHAPTER XI.

Activity of Sixtus IV. in Ecclesiastical Matters.—Favour shewn to the Mendicant Orders.—Devotion to the Blessed Virgin encouraged.—His Attitude towards the Spanish Inquisition and the Question of Reform.—Secularisation of the College of Cardinals.—Character of Sixtus IV. as Temporal and Spiritual Ruler.

In following the course of Sixtus IV. through the mazes of Italian politics, it is often difficult to believe that he was once the General of a Mendicant Order; but in the ecclesiastical sphere the case is quite different, and his action fully corresponds to what we should naturally expect.* As early as the year 1472 the decision of Gregory IX. regarding the powers of the Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscans was confirmed.† A Bull of the 3rd October of that year made the Feast of St. Francis henceforth a holiday of obligation.‡ This was followed, on the 31st August, 1474, by the Bull known as "Mare magnum" (the Great Sea), by which the privileges of the Franciscan-Conventuals were so greatly augmented. In it those granted by Clement IV. and Eugenius IV., which were already very extensive, were not

* Regarding the abolition of the exemptions of the Mendicant Orders from common law jurisdiction, which was contemplated by Calixtus III., and then by Paul II., and the protest of Francesco della Rovere against the measure, see Phillips, VII., 997.

† Bull., 205–7.

‡ Bull., 209. A copy of the Bull is in the State Archives, Dresden, D P O, No. 64.

only confirmed but considerably increased. Most ample powers were conferred upon the Conventuals in regard to Divine Worship during an Interdict, jurisdiction in cases reserved to the Pope, exemption from tithes and from episcopal jurisdiction, the administration of the Sacraments, and the burial of the faithful in the habit and in the cemeteries of the Order. All who opposed them were threatened with severe punishments.* A similar Bull was also issued in favour of the Dominicans.†

Even this was not enough, for in 1479 Sixtus IV. granted yet further favours by the "Golden Bull."‡ To enumerate the good things bestowed on the Mendicant Friars, and more particularly on the Franciscans, during this long pontificate would be an almost endless task.§ Highly as we may estimate the manifold and important labours of these Orders, there can be no doubt that the indulgence shewn to them was excessive. Sixtus IV. also assisted the Brothers of the Common Life, and approved the order of the Minims and that of the discalced Augustinians.||

* Bull., 217 *seq.* See WADDING, 1474, N. 17; Anal. Francisc., II., 457. PANZER, Annal., III., 488, gives information regarding a very ancient printed copy of the 'Mare magnum.' A copy of it is in the City Library, Frankfort, Rit. Cath., 151.

† Bull., 224 *seq.*; Bull. praedic., 516 *seq.*

‡ Bull., 278 *seq.*; Bull. praedic., III., 578 *seq.*

§ See, besides Wadding, the Croniche di S. Francesco, III., 319 *seq.*, and EUBEL, II., 223.

|| JANSSEN, I., 66, 15th ed.; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 199. Sixtus IV. repeatedly came forward as the Protector of Monastic Institutes (see his *Decree for the Dominicans at Ghent, dated Rome, 1483, Febr. 18; Minute brevium Sixti IV., &c., f. 18, N. 79, Secret Archives of the Vatican; and a *Bull, dated 1484, iv. Cal. Julii, in reference to the Monast. Trinit. Milet. in the Archives of the Greek Seminary, Rome, L. II.), and, especially, of ecclesiastical liberty; see *supra*, p. 314 *seq.*, and the *Brief to the Doge of Venice of the 7th

The many disputes of the Religious Orders among themselves were deplorable. Accordingly, in the "Golden Bull" Sixtus IV. expressly forbade the office of Inquisitor to be exercised by a Franciscan against a Dominican or *vice-versa;* and, to prevent the perpetual conflicts between the Secular and Regular clergy, he also issued a decree that Parish Priests were not to accuse Mendicants of heresy, and, on the other hand, prohibited the latter from telling the people that they were not bound to hear Masses of obligation in their Parish Church. Seculars and Regulars were alike forbidden to influence the faithful in regard to their place of sepulture. Sixtus IV. confirmed the rule that the Easter Confession was to be made to the Parish Priest.*

There seems to be no doubt that Sixtus IV. also desired to effect a reunion between the Franciscan Conventuals and the Observantines. As he had himself been a Conventual, this would have meant the abolition of the Observantines. They were greatly disturbed about this scheme. Glassberger writes in his chronicle: "During the whole course of his pontificate, Sixtus IV. did nothing that could justly be blamed, except that he wished to subject the Observantines to the Conventuals; for this reason God raised up an adversary against him in Andrea of Carniola. From all sides, even from temporal Princes like the Duke of Milan, petitions were showered upon Rome, so that the Pope exclaimed: 'The whole world is for the Observantines!'" St. Jacopo della Marca is said to have predicted to Sixtus IV.

Nov., 1480, in Lib. brev., 13, f. 160. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) For evidence of the care of Sixtus IV. for the Greek Christians, see Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, 1877, p. 269.

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 253. See REMLING, Speier, II., 172–3; LEA, I., 293, 302. KOLDE, 205, relates the unavailing attempt of four Electors from the Rhine Provinces to induce Sixtus IV. to suppress the Mendicant Orders.

that he would die suddenly if he carried out this plan. As a fact, the Bull, which had been drafted, never appeared.*

The partiality of Sixtus IV. for his own Order doubtless contributed to bring about the canonisation of St. Bonaventura, which was proclaimed with much solemnity in Rome on the 14th April, 1482.† In the previous year he had raised to the altars the Minorites martyred in Morocco in the time of Honorius III.‡

The exertions of Sixtus IV. on behalf of the due celebration of Divine worship and chanting of the Liturgy are also especially worthy of record. It was by him the famous Sistine Choir was instituted and attached to this Chapel for the daily chanting of the Divine Office. The reign of this Pontiff was the beginning of a new artistic life in the Papal Chapel; "the most highly-gifted singers from all countries flocked to Rome, allured by the opportunity afforded to them of exercising their art, making their talents known, and reaping rich rewards." §

Sixtus IV. laboured assiduously to preserve the integrity

* GLASSBERGER in Anal. Francisc., II., 455, 463; EUBEL, II., 278.

† INFESSURA, 1148; JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 169 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1482, N. 47 *seq.*; Bull., 284 *seq.*; WADDING, XIV., 285 *seq.*; Anal. Franc., II., 284; BALUZE-MANSI, Miscell., IV., 471 *seq.*; MARTÈNE, II., 1672–3; OROLOGIO, Canonici di Padova, 157; SCHULTE, Quellen, II., 332; VALENTINELLI, Regesten, 522 (München, 1865); SUMMONTE, III., 503 *seq.*; STÄLIN, III., 594.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1481, N. 52–3.

§ HABERL, Bausteine, I., 72, and III.: Die Römische Schola Cantorum und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur mitte des 16 Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1887. Extract from the Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, Jahrg., 3. Part II. of the "Bausteine" contains the musical catalogue of the Archives of the Papal Chapel (1888). The well-known editor of Palestrina has in this work far surpassed his predecessor (SCHELLE, Die päpstl. Sängerschule, Wien, 1872), and has rendered valuable service by his researches in the musical treasures of the Roman Archives.

of the Faith, and, in particular, took measures against the Waldensees in Piedmont and France.*

The Pope was, as the preceding history bears witness, most solicitous for the maintenance of the monarchical constitution of the Church. In 1478 he formally annulled the Decrees of the Council of Constance. Martin V. had already refused to recognise them, with the exception of those concerning the Faith. In 1483 he revived the Bull of Pius II. prohibiting appeals to a Council.†

His ardent devotion to the Blessed Virgin was an admirable trait in the character of this Pope. Sigismondo de' Conti says that he used to pray before her statue with such

* LEA, II., 159, 187, 266, 416; BERNINO, 208 *seq.*; Bull. praedic., III., 487, 501, 577; MARTÈNE, II., 1507, 1510; Bull., 263 *seq.* See PELAYO, I., 548, 788; REUSCH, I., 42. Regarding Sixtus IV.'s ordinances against Slavery, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1476, N. 21–2.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1478, N. 46, 1483, N. 18 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, 45, and *supra*, pp. 326 and 377 *seq.* That Sixtus IV. was an energetic champion of Papal authority, in opposition to the false Conciliar theories, is evident from his autograph *Observations on the official Acts of the Council of Constance, which Dr. Finke has most kindly made known to me. After the words: "Nos votis—conspiciebamus" in the Convocation Bull "Ad pacem" of 1413, December 8 (MANSI, XXVII., 537 *seq.*), is the remark: "Sixtus papa IIII. manu propria addidit et glosavit in originali existenti in bibliotheca: Deceptus fuit papa Johannes." After "deinde securit. civ. Const.," Sixtus IV. wrote: "Papa habet determinare locum concilii et tempus et solus habet congregare concilium, ideo petitur ab eo, &c." At the 5th November Sixtus IV. has added to the marginal note, "Inchoatio concilii" (see MANSI, 532) "Parvi roboris." On the Bull of Publication he wrote: "Nota quod papa statuit et concilium approbat, ideo papa est super concilium, quemadmodum rex, qui statuit, est super concilium suum, quod facta per regem approbat." (Barberini Library, XVI., 63.) With reference to Sixtus IV.'s observations on the Acts of the Council of Constance, see H. FINKE, Forschungen und Quellen zur Gesch. des Konstanzer Concils., 54 (Paderborn, 1889).

fervour and recollection, that for a whole hour his eyes never wandered from it.* The Italian shrines of our Lady, especially those of Loreto and Genazzano, were the objects of his particular care.† In the year 1475 he instituted the Feast of the Visitation and published an Encyclical on the occasion.‡ He also, in many ways, promoted the devotion of the Rosary.§ In Rome the Pope's veneration for the Mother of God found expression in the erection of the celebrated churches of Sta Maria del Popolo and Sta Maria della Pace, and of the Sistine Chapel, which was dedicated to her Immaculate Conception.‖ In 1475 he approved of a special Office of the Immaculate Conception for the 8th December.¶ Here also his Franciscan sympathies appear. His Order, in opposition to that of the Dominicans, were ardent champions of this doctrine, which was already widely diffused in the Church. The contention between the two Orders on this subject now broke forth anew. A Dominican, named Vincenzo Bandelli, had asserted in public disputations and in writing that those who declared the Conception of the Blessed Virgin to have been Immaculate were guilty of heresy and, accordingly, of mortal sin. The dispute became so violent that Sixtus IV. had to interfere. Although he did not pronounce any definite decision, the Constitution, which he published in 1483, clearly shews to which side he personally inclined. "We," he says, "reject and condemn

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 204.

† TURSELLINUS, 140 *seq.*; DILLON, Unsere liebe Frau vom guten Rathe, Einsiedeln, 1887.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1475, N. 34. See FABRICIUS-MANSI, VI., 491.

§ Bull. praedic., III., 567, 576 *seq.*; Bull., 268; GIESELER, Kirchengesch., II., 4, 337.

‖ Bull., 269 *seq.*; Bull. Vatic., 205 *seq.* FRANTZ, 514, has misunderstood this Bull.

¶ FRANTZ, 513.

the assertions of those preachers, who allow themselves to be so far carried away as to represent such as believe or maintain that the Mother of God was preserved from the stain of original sin, to be thereby tainted with heresy or guilty of mortal sin, and those who solemnly celebrate the Office of the Conception of Mary, or listen to sermons in which that doctrine is declared, as thereby committing sin—we reject and condemn, by Apostolical authority, all such statements as false, erroneous, and completely devoid of truth, together with the books which contain them. We also determine and appoint that preachers of the Word of God and others, of whatever station, rank, calling, and character they may be, who shall henceforth rashly venture to maintain that the statements we have thus disapproved and condemned are true, or who shall read books containing them, holding or considering them to be true, after the preceding constitution has been made known to them—*ipso facto*, incur the sentence of Excommunication."

In order, however, to guard against the impression that any special dogmatic decision of the doctrine in question was here involved, the Pope adds to this decree the express declaration that no such decision has yet been given by the Apostolic See, and that, accordingly, the opponents of the view of Scotus and of the Doctors of Paris cannot at present be accused of heresy.*

In the sphere of ecclesiastical policy, Sixtus IV. made considerable concessions to governments with whom he was on good terms, or from whom he expected assistance of a political nature. The influence of the secular power on

* Extrav. commun., lib. III., tit. XII., c. 2. See the beautiful work, Zum Lobe der unbefleckten Empfängniss der allers. Jungfrau, 58–9 (Freiburg, 1879); DENZINGER, Die Lehre von der unbefl. Empfängniss, 30 *seq.* (Würzburg, 1855, 2nd ed.); FRANTZ, 513 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 213; Kirchenlexikon, IV., 473, 2nd ed.

ecclesiastical affairs was thus unduly strengthened.* Besides confirming the Bulls granted to the Emperor Frederick III. by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., regarding the exercise of patronage for the episcopal Sees of Trent, Brixen, Gurk, Trieste, Chur, Piben, Vienna, and Wiener-Neustadt, on the 8th April, 1473, he also granted him the right of presentation to 300 benefices.† A Bull of 1478 also accorded to Frederick the temporary patronage of other Bishoprics.‡

Dukes Ernest and Albrecht of Saxony received from Sixtus IV., in 1476, the right of presentation to several high dignities belonging to the Chapter of Meissen, and, nine years later, that right was extended to all such posts in that city.§

A Bull of the 8th July, 1479, allowed the Government of Zurich to fill up all benefices belonging to the Great Cathedral and that of our Lady and the Monastery of Embrach, even such as should fall vacant in the Papal months.‖ In consideration of the number of clerical state criminals and falsifiers of the coinage in the Republic of Venice, Sixtus

* An example of "the truly pertinacious energy" with which even minor States sought to impose upon the Holy See prelates devoted to their interests, may be found in the Jahrb. für Schweiz. Gesch., IX., 21 *seq.* See also, in STÄLIN, III., 539, the utterances of the Duke of Wurtemberg regarding his right to confer ecclesiastical fiefs. For an account of the dispute concerning the appointment to the Bishopric of Fréjus, in which Sixtus IV. carried out his purpose, see LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 543.

† Mon. Habsb., I., 316, 318.

‡ Mon. Habsb., II., 386 *seq.* See Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., LV., 175.

§ Cod. Dipl. Sax. Urkundenbuch des Hochstiftes Meissen, III., 240, 263, 272, 278; GESS, Klostervisitationen des Herzogs Georg von Sachsen, 2 (Leipzig, 1888).

‖ Geschichtsfreund, XXXIII., 46 *seq.*; Jahrbuch für Schweiz. Gesch., IV., 9.

IV. consented that such should be tried by the secular judges in presence of the Vicar of the Patriarch.*

The control of the State over the Church in Spain had at this time assumed an immense development. Efforts to strengthen and extend this power led to important contests concerning presentations to Bishoprics. In the autumn of 1478 Cardinal Peter Ferrici, Bishop of Tarragona, died.† Sixtus IV. then conferred the Bishopric on Andreas Martinez; but King Ferdinand, who desired this preferment for Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, commanded Martinez to resign at once, threatening him with exile and other severe penalties to be inflicted on himself and his relations.‡ The See of Cuença (1482) was the occasion of an even more serious dispute. Sixtus IV. had appointed his nephew, Raffaello Sansoni, to this Bishopric, while Isabella wished it to be given to her Confessor, Alfonso de Burgos. The remonstrances of the Royal pair being disregarded, they broke off communication with Rome and threatened to hold a Council. The friendship of the Spanish monarchs was of great importance to the Pope in his Italian difficulties. In consequence, he had granted them extensive concurrent rights in episcopal nominations, and Alfonso de Burgos eventually became Bishop of Cuença. Isabella, however, it must be said, used her privilege in favour of really excellent men.§

* FRIEDBERG, 692; see 690. As to the treatment of obnoxious Bishops by Venice, see the information given by MAS-LATRIE in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., 1878, April, p. 571 *seq.*

† PANVINIUS, 325.

‡ PRESCOTT, I., 255; Archiv für Kirchenrecht, N. F., IV., 11; FRIEDBERG, 539 *seq.*

§ MAURENBRECHER, Studien, 13 (Leipzig, 1874), and Kath-Reformation, 378 (Nördlingen, 1880); FRIEDBERG, 540; PRESCOTT, I., 256 *seq.*, II., 586; SENTIS, Monarchia Sicula, 102. See also HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv f. Kirchenrecht, N. F., IV., 15; PHILLIPS-VERING, Kirchenrecht, VIII., 1, 199 *seq.*

Sixtus IV. shewed greater firmness in regard to the question of the Spanish Inquisition. This tribunal, whose office it was to punish obstinate heretics or notorious sinners who were nominally members of the Church,* was created, in the first instance, to deal with the special circumstances of the Jewish community in Spain. No other European State had suffered, to the extent that Spain was then suffering, from the unrelenting system of usury and organised extortion practised by these dangerous aliens. Persecutions were the natural consequence, and often the only alternative before the Jews was baptism or death. Thus the number of merely nominal converts to the Christian Faith soon became very great. The secret Jews were incomparably more dangerous than those who openly professed their religion. "If the latter monopolised the greater part of the wealth and commerce of the country, the former threatened alike the Spanish nationality and the Christian faith. On the one hand they contrived to insinuate themselves into a number of ecclesiastical charges, and even to become Bishops, and on the other to attain high municipal honours and to marry into all the noble families. These advantages, and their great wealth, were all covertly devoted to the gradual subjugation of the Spaniards and the undermining of their Faith in favour of the Jews and Judaism."† Things had latterly come to such a pass that the very existence of Christian Spain was at stake.‡

The Inquisition was created as a remedy for these evils.

* Only such as having, through baptism, become members of the Church were viewed as rebels against her authority, and the unbaptised were not subject to the Inquisition. See GRISAR, 551, N. 1.

† HEFELE, Ximenes, 277-8.

‡ Such is the opinion of A. HUBER, Ueber die Spanische Nationalität und Kunst, Berlin, 1852.

The necessary authorisation of the Holy See was given in a Brief of the 1st November, 1478.* Ferdinand and Isabella were hereby empowered, after due examination, to nominate two or three Archbishops and Bishops, or other dignitaries of the Church, who should be secular or regular priests, commendable for their prudence and virtue, at least forty years of age, and of blameless morals, Masters or Bachelors of Theology, Doctors or Licentiates of Canon Law. These Inquisitors were to proceed against relapsed Jews who had been baptised and other apostates. The Pope granted them the necessary jurisdiction for proceeding, according to law and custom, against the guilty, and permitted the Spanish monarchs to dismiss them and appoint others, with the reservation that the Bull itself could not be annulled without express mention of its contents.†

By the desire of Queen Isabella another effort was made to bring back those who had been led away by preaching and other peaceable means. These attempts being obstinately and scornfully rejected, the Spanish monarchs, in virtue of the Papal Bull, nominated, on the 17th September, 1489, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and Juan Martin, as Inquisitors for the city and Diocese of Seville. Two secular priests were associated with them. They began their work without delay. Jews who obstinately persisted in their errors were handed over to the secular power and burned.‡

Very soon vehement complaints of the harsh and irregular proceedings of the Inquisitors began to arrive in Rome. Sixtus IV.'s Brief of the 29th January, 1482, shews that grave abuses had arisen. The Pope, in the first place, expresses

* Not on the 1st September, as GRISAR says, 560.

† LLORENTE, I., 167–8 ; see IV., 410.

‡ LLORENTE, I., 171 *seq.* See HEFELE, Ximenes, 282 *seq.*; RODRIGO, II., 71 *seq.* ; GRISAR, 561.

his displeasure at the omission, without his knowledge, of certain clauses in the former Brief, which, as it appears, would have guarded more securely against abuses, brought the methods of procedure into greater harmony with the course of common law, and facilitated the concerted action which had been usual between the Inquisitors and the Bishops. The result had been that these former, under pretext of the Papal Brief, had unjustly imprisoned many persons without trial, subjected them to cruel tortures, pronounced them heretics, and confiscated the possessions of those who were executed, so that numbers had fled the country in dread of a similar fate. Moved by the complaints of persons who had turned to the Holy See as "the defender of all the oppressed," after consultation with the Cardinals, he issued his commands that the Inquisitors should henceforth proceed in conformity with law and justice, and in concert with the Bishops. Sixtus IV. further declared that nothing but consideration for the King, whose Ambassadors in Rome interceded for the Inquisitors, could have induced him to continue them in their office. Should they persist in these evil practices, and act without consulting the Bishop of the Diocese, or considering what the salvation of souls demanded, he would put others in their place. The Pope refused to grant the request of the Spanish monarchs for the appointment of Inquisitors in the other portions of their kingdom, as the Dominican Inquisition was already in force there.*

Sixtus IV., though approving of the new Inquisition in itself,† had soon fresh cause for dissatisfaction with the con-

* LLORENTE, IV., 394–7; GRISAR, 561, where, naturally, 1482 is to be read for 1492.

† This is evident from the Brief of the 23rd February, 1483, in LLORENTE, IV., 402–6. No Pope has condemned the Spanish Inquisition in itself, but many for these abuses, as, especially, Sixtus V. in the Bull of the 22nd January, 1588, where he speaks of the

duct of the Inquisitors. His displeasure was directed not against the institution, but against the manner in which it was carried out. There can be little doubt that the Spanish monarchs desired to give it too worldly a character, and at times made the real danger which existed from the feigned Christians, a pretext for bringing the tribunal to bear upon their other enemies, and that the new Inquisitors were but too ready to play into their hands. Against these abuses Sixtus IV. insisted on the strict observance of the provisions of the common law. We learn something of the domineering character of Michael Morillo from a Bull of Sixtus IV., dated 21st January, 1479. From this document it appears that Morillo had removed the former Inquisitor of Valença who had been appointed by the General of the Dominicans, and had given his post to another. The Pope cancelled this act, and desired the original appointment to be maintained.*

The abuses in the Spanish Inquisition, however, did not cease; consequently, when the jurisdiction of the tribunal was extended to Castille and Leon, Sixtus IV. pronounced the severest penalties against Inquisitors who should fail to exercise their office in a conscientious manner, and in accordance with the canonical prescriptions.†

It is important to note, as a significant fact bearing on the character of this institution, that "not only the ecclesiastical authorisation of the first Inquisitors, but also the first regula-

Spanish Inquisition as established by the authority of the Holy See (see RODRIGO, II., 153). An Edict of their Spanish Majesties in 1487 affirms that the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain was due to the Holy See; see REUSS, Instructionen, 134. On the other hand, it is certain that Rome did everything to mitigate the severity of the Inquisition, and to guard against its employment for political objects; see HEFELE, Ximenes, 315 *seq.*

* Bull. praedic., III., 572.

† LLORENTE, IV., 410.

tions as to the mode of procedure, emanated directly from the Pope." In order to avoid constant appeals to Rome, often made as mere subterfuges and with a view of impeding the course of the law, he, in 1483, appointed the Archbishop of Seville, Papal Judge of Appeals for the Inquisition.*

Notwithstanding all these precautionary measures on the part of the Holy See, accused persons were still treated in Spain with arbitrary cruelty and injustice. To remedy this evil, Sixtus IV., on the 2nd August, 1483, decreed :—(1) That decisions on appeals given in Rome were to be held valid in Spain; (2) that shamefaced penitents were to be absolved in secret; (3) that those once absolved were not again to be molested by the Inquisitors. In conclusion, Sixtus expressly admonished the Royal pair to leave those who had retracted, in peaceful possession of their property. "As it is mercy alone that makes us like God, we beg and exhort the King and the Queen, for the love of Jesus Christ, to imitate Him, whose property it is always to have mercy and to spare. Let them have compassion on their subjects in the city and Diocese of Seville, who are sensible of their errors and ask for pardon."†

The appointment of a Grand Inquisitor, which took place in this year, was another important step in the organisation of the new tribunal. The idea appears to have originated with the Spanish monarchs. In the autumn of 1483 Sixtus IV. entrusted the spiritual powers of this office to Thomas Torquemada, the Dominican Prior of S. Cruz.‡ "He was

* LLORENTE, IV., 411–12; GRISAR, 562.

† LLORENTE, IV., 408–21. See HEFELE, Ximenes, 287; BAUMSTARK, Isabella von Castilien, 98 (Freiburg, 1874); ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 69.

‡ See, for further information, BARTHÉLEMY, Erreurs Hist., IV., 170 *seq.* (Paris, 1875). Torquemada's Instruction of 1484 is in REUSS,

to direct all the business of the Inquisition, was empowered to delegate his Apostolic Mission to others, and, especially, as the Pope's representative, to hear appeals made to the Holy See, superseding the former occupant of this office."* The Grand Inquisitor's sphere of jurisdiction was, by a special Papal Brief of the 17th October, 1483, extended to the kingdom of Aragon.† A Council of Inquisition was now established, mainly with the object of assisting in the hearing of Appeals. Torquemada instituted this Council "by virtue of the plenary powers which he had received when his authority was conferred upon him by the Pope." Sixtus IV. gave his sanction to this measure.‡ The members of the Council have often been spoken of as mere State officials; this, however, is a mistake. They were State officials, and, as such, derived their temporal jurisdiction from the King, but, in their primary ecclesiastical capacity, they had no authority until it was imparted to them by the Papal Delegate. The Grand Inquisitor, nominated by the King, always received his ecclesiastical jurisdiction from an Apostolic Brief.§ He proposed, and the King nominated, the Councillors, who derived their spiritual jurisdiction from his approbation, by which he imparted to them a share in his Apostolic authority.‖

The Spanish Inquisition, accordingly, appears as a mixed, but primarily ecclesiastical, institution.¶ The fact that the

Instructionen, 1 *seq.*; the ecclesiastical character of the Inquisition is clearly manifested in the documents here printed (p. 67, form of Abjuration, and p. 70, Oath of Absolution).

* GRISAR, 563; HEFELE, Ximenes, 288.

† Bull. ord. praed., III., 622. See RODRIGO, II., 101 *seq.*

‡ RODRIGO, II., 163.

§ In addition to the testimonies adduced by Rodrigo, see the passages from L. a Paramo and Carena in GRISAR, 564, note 2.

‖ RODRIGO, *loc. cit.*; GRISAR, 564.

¶ Rodrigo's work, which is somewhat prolix and inaccurate, has the

condemned were handed over to the secular arm testifies to the correctness of this view. Had the Spanish Inquisition

merit of shewing that the Spanish Inquisition cannot justly be looked upon as a purely State institution. The Spanish scholar sums up his opinion in the following terms: "The tribunals of the Holy Office had no essentially secular character. They were ecclesiastical in regard to the matters of which they took cognizance, and to the authority by which they were created. But, in consideration of the Royal delegation conferred upon the judges, they may be said to have had a mixed character" (I., 276); "in fact the Spanish Inquisition was a spiritual court, armed with Royal weapons." The view which regarded it as a purely State institution was popularised in France by DE MAISTRE (Lettre à un gentilhomme Russe sur l'Inquisition Espagnole, 11–12, Lyon, 1837), and in Germany by RANKE (Fürsten und Völker, I., 241 *seq.*, Hamburg, 1827; and, with slight alterations, also in the 4th edition of 1877, p. 195 *seq.*). It has been recently put forward, on the Catholic side, by three other historians: GAMS (Zur Gesch. der Span. Staatsinquisition, Regensburg, 1878); HERGENRÖTHER (Kirchengesch., II., 765, 3rd ed., and Staat u. Kirche, p. 607 *seq.*); and KNÖPFLER (Rohrbacher's Kirchengesch., 68 f., and Hist.-polit. Bl., XC., 325 *seq.*, and XCI., 165 *seq.*). In favour of the opinion we have adopted above, may be cited the old theologians of the Inquisition, such as Paramo and Carena, who must have been accurately acquainted with the matter; and, among modern writers, BALMES (Protest. und Kath., II., 177, Regensburg, 1845); PRAT (Histoire du P. Ribadeneira, 347 *seq.*, Paris, 1862); ORTI Y LARA (La Inquisicion, Madrid, 1877); RODRIGO, GRISAR (see Innsbr. Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie, 1879, p. 548 *seq.*); BAUER (*loc. cit.*, 1881, p. 742 *seq.*); F. X. KRAUS (Alzogs Kirchengesch., II., 106, N. 3, 10th ed.); FUNK (Lit. Rundschau, 1880, p 77 *seq.*, and Kirchengesch., 360); BRÜCK (Kirchengesch., p. 533, 4th ed., and Kirchenlexikon, VI., 765 *seq.*, 2nd ed.); and JULIO MELGARES MARIN (Procedimientos de la Inquisicion, 2 vols., Madrid, 1886, I., 82 *seq.*). This last, who is keeper of the Archives at Alcala, speaks with full knowledge of their contents. On the Protestant side, see HERZOG, VI., 740 *seq.*, 2nd ed. (Benrath), and Allg. Ztg., 1878, p. 1122. Excessive regard for the authority of Ranke has prevented the general acceptance of the correct view of this question, and, in the case of Catholic publicists, it is hard to decide how far apologetic con-

been a State institution, a royal court of justice, there would have been no necessity for this. "A court which invariably hands over those whom it finds guilty to the secular arm for punishment cannot itself be a secular tribunal." It was precisely the ecclesiastical character of the new Inquisition which made its judges decline to execute capital sentences, and follow the custom always observed by the ecclesiastical Inquisition of requesting that the prisoner "might be leniently dealt with," a formality prescribed by the Canon Law.*

The action of Sixtus IV., as General of his Order, would have led to the expectation that he would prove a reforming Pope. Admonitions and exhortations on this point were not wanting. Apart from those voices which clamoured for reform as a means for compassing other ends, many memorials reached Rome from abroad, animated by the purest motives, and urging the need of it on the Pope. The abuses in the Cistercian Order, particularly that regarding *commendams*, were thus brought under his notice.† In Rome itself zealous Friars went preaching penance and

siderations may have weighed in their adoption of the theory of a State institution. Apologetic ends must not, however, be allowed to influence the historian, whose sole aim should be truth.

* GRISAR, 572.

† I found this remarkable *Document in a collection in the University Library at Würzburg, M. ch. q. 15 (formerly belonging to the Convent of Ebrach), f. 239–43: *"Ad beatissimum in Christo patrem et dominum nostrum dom. Sixtum divina providentia papam quartum . . . exhortatio de et super quibusdam gravaminibus ac injuriis per quosdam cardinales Romanae curiae . . . Cisterciensis sacri ordinis quibusdam abbatiis ac coenobiis violenter illatis per rev. dom. Johannem Cistercien. s. theol. profess. producta." Here, at f. 240b, we read: "Commenda est vipera matris ecclesie rumpens viscera, exterminans spirtualia et devorans temporalia secundum ethimologiam nominis . . ."; f. 241b: "Testis est fere tota Italia, testis est ipsa Lumpardia ubi vix ordinis sunt vestigia . . . Testis est Sabaudia (where a Convent had been

amendment. Many secular priests were equally earnest, warning their hearers that God would let the Turks come to Rome as a judgment for their sins. The Pope placed no obstacle in the way of such men, but, on the contrary, gave them every encouragement, remembering how valuable the preachers of penance had been in stemming the tide of depravity during the period of the Renaissance.* A secular priest, who had come to Rome in 1473 and spoken in this strain, was not only permitted by the Pope to preach everywhere, but also received material support.† Sixtus IV. sent the celebrated St. Jacopo della Marca in October, 1471, to pacify Ascoli, which was torn with hatred and factions.‡

A further proof that the Pope was favourably disposed towards ecclesiastical reform is furnished by a Bull, drawn up at his command, and containing minute provisions for the amendment of the Court. Abuses which had crept in among the Cardinals were relentlessly exposed in it, and rules laid down which, had they been carried into effect, would have completely changed the aspect of the Sacred

granted *in commendam* to a boy three years of age !). Testis est ipsa Burgundia ubi monasteria nobilia sunt ad devorandum exposita." The author is deeply attached to his Order, whose ruin he desires to arrest, by the help of the Pope.

* See, on this subject, the particulars we have given in our Vol. I., p. 36 *seq.*

† *Letter of J. Arcimboldus, dated Rome, 1473, Febr. 26, in the Arch. Veneto, 1888, fasc. 71, pp. 241–2. From VOLATERRANUS, 173, we learn that Sixtus IV. did not interfere when Father Paolo Toscanella preached in the strongest manner at the Papal Court against the Pope, his family, and the Cardinals.

‡ Jacobo de Marchia, ord. min. prof., dated Romae, 1471, Octob. 17: *"Hortamur te charitate paterna, ut ad civitatem ipsam te conferre et in eadem gratia tibi assistente divina quidquid boni poteris operari velis." Lib. brev., 14, f. 1, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

College and of the whole Court.* Unhappily, this Bull was never published. The cause of this must be sought not in the remissness of the Pope, but in the opposition of those who surrounded him.† His nephews well knew what the consequences of reform would be to them. The Sacred College also put obstacles in the way. A letter of Petrus Barrocius, written in the year 1481, expressly states this,

* *Bull "Quoniam regnantium cura," s. d. in Cod. Vat., 3884, f. 118–132b (Vat. Library. Thence in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 479 *seq.*; also in Cod. Vat., 3883; see HABERL in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, III., 242), and in Cod. 422, f. 239 *seq.*, of the State Library, Munich. Extracts from this Reformatio Sixti IV. are also to be found in Cod. Cappôni, LXXXII., N. 26, National Library, Florence.

† It cannot, however, be denied that Sixtus IV. ought to have done far more than he did for the cause of reform. Even if the stormy character of his reign be taken into account, that which was actually accomplished in the way of remedying the sad state of things was far too little. It related principally to the Religious Orders; see GROTEFEND, I., 22; MOHR, Regesten, I., 98; Jahrb. f. Schweiz. Gesch., IX., 75; MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1863; WADDING, *passim*; Bull. praed., III., 526, 585, 588; Chroniche di S. Francesco, III., 204; and *Brief to episc. Acien., dated Rome, 1480, Oct. 1; Lib. brev., 13, f. 87, Secret Archives of the Vatican; *ibid.*, f. 190: Abbati monasterii S. Pauli de urbe, dated Rome, 1480, Nov. 22 (Reform of the Convent at Todi); *ibid.*, f. 221, a Brief for Hermann. elect. et confirmat. Colonien., &c., dated Rome, 1480, Dec. 6, urging the removal of abuses. Lib. brev., 14, f. 15b and 32 (Monastic Reform in Ireland and Sicily). See also RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1483, N. 36 (Reform of the Clergy in France). Of even more importance than these isolated Decrees is the Constitution of the 22nd May, 1472, against simony; see Bull., 208–9. Regarding a measure of reform attempted by Sixtus IV., in opposition to the Election Capitulation in the Bishopric of Bamberg, see Quellensammlung f. Fränk. Gesch., IV., LXXXXI. *seq.* The above-mentioned Orders, confirmed by Sixtus IV., were also appointed to labour for reform. His appointment of good Bishops is recorded by MASLATRIE in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., 1878, Avril, p. 570 *seq.*

while giving a detailed account of the corruption of the Court. "Sixtus IV.," he writes, "wished to set his face against these practices, and appointed a Commission of reform, but the majority of the Cardinals negatived the suggestions of the better disposed."* This could not have happened but for the unfortunate changes which had taken place in the members composing the Sacred College.

Torquemada and Carvajal, two unflinching champions of ecclesiastical purity, had died during the pontificate of Paul II.† In the time of Sixtus IV., many of the elder Cardinals had gone to their reward. Bessarion, amongst others, in 1472, and, on the 21st December in the following year, at Verona, the brave Forteguerri.‡ Three other admirable members of the Sacred College died in 1476: Roverella (3rd May), Calandrini (24th July §), and Agnifilus (9th November). On the 11th August, 1477, Latino Orsino, and || in 1478, the austere Capranica passed away; Eroli and Amma-

* Letter of P. Barrocius to Card. Petrus Fuscarenus, dated Belluno, 1481, Aug. 13, in Anecdota Veneta, ed. Contarini, p. 202. With the description given by Barrocius, compare those of Card. AMMANATI, Epist., 272 (820 *seq.*, Frankfort ed.); of B. FULGOSUS, II., c. 1; and Savonarola (see VILLARI, I., 15 *seq.*, 19 *seq.*). I shall revert to this last in the Introduction to my next Volume.

† See *supra*, p. 145. Torquemada died on the 26th Sept., 1468.

‡ These dates are taken from the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding Forteguerri's death, see also N. DELLA TUCCIA, 105.

§ See FALEONI, 511, and SFORZA, Nicolaus V., translated by Horak, 134 (Innsbruck, 1887).

|| The important post of Camerlengo was then conferred on d'Estouteville (in a Letter of the 12th August, 1477, he announces to the Florentines his nomination, which had taken place on that day; see State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 124b), and, after his death, on Raffaello Sansoni Riario; see MARINI, II., 245; and *Div. Sixti IV., 1482-4, f. 135. State Archives, Rome.

nati in 1479 (2nd April and 10th September).* The loss of these representatives of better days was not adequately repaired; during the thirteen years of Sixtus IV.'s pontificate, eight creations of Cardinals took place, and thirty-four prelates, twenty-two of whom were Italians, were raised to the purple;† but, in the majority of cases, these appointments were not made from purely ecclesiastical motives, and the worldly-minded Cardinals, such as Jouffroy (†1473), Alain (†1474, May 3), d'Estouteville (†1483, January 22‡), and Gonzaga (†1483, October 21), who died in the time of this Pope, were but too soon succeeded by others of like character.

The first creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV. was much to be deplored. On this occasion his two young nephews, one of whom was utterly unworthy of this dignity, were raised to the purple. In the second creation, on the 7th May, 1473,§ the wishes of temporal Princes had predominant weight. The Archbishop of Arles, Philippe de Lévis, had been recommended for the dignity by King René, and Giovanni Arcimboldo, Bishop of Novara, by the Duke of Milan. The selection of Philibert Hugonet, Bishop of Macon, seems to have been due to the Duke of Burgundy's influ-

* For an account of Ammanati's last years, his death, and his tomb, see PAULI'S rare monograph, 91–8.

† Of the twenty-two Italians, six were Romans. According to the common account, Sixtus IV. nominated thirty-five Cardinals; but the elevation of Theobald of Luxemburg (see Lettres de Louis XI., III., 107) is very uncertain; according to FRIZON, 523–4, Theobald was *designatus*, but not *publicatus*. The *Acta Consist. and other authorities say nothing about him, and I have therefore thought it right to exclude him from the number.

‡ This date is given by the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, while BORGIA, Velletri, 382, maintains the 22nd Febr.

§ See *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and *Letter of Oldroandus de Bonafrugiis, dated Rome, 1473, May 10. Gonzaga Archives.

ence.* As to Stefano Nardini, Sixtus IV. himself said of him that he had made him a Cardinal, in order to encourage the members of the Court to emulate his zeal and industry.†

If Nardini, the founder of a College for poor students,‡ was worthy of a place in the Senate of the Church, the same cannot be said of the two other Italians who received the purple on the 7th May, 1473. Giov. Batista Cybò had passed a frivolous youth, and the wealthy Antonio Giacomo Venier was living in a style of princely luxury The two Spaniards, Auxias de Podio and Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo,§ created at this time, were, however, excellent men.

More than three years elapsed before Sixtus IV. again added to the numbers of the Sacred College. An Ambassador, then living in Rome, speaks of violent disputes between the Cardinals and the Pope, who, notwithstanding all his efforts, only succeeded in accomplishing the creation of five new Cardinals.‖ This took place on the 18th December, 1476.¶ Among those promoted, but one, G. B. Mellini,

* That the nomination of Ph. Hugonet was due to the Duke of Burgundy's influence is evident from LJUBIČ, Dispacci, &c., 33.

† Letter to Louis XI. of the 22nd Aug., 1473. (State Archives, Milan.) See *supra*, p. 321.

‡ ARMELLINI, 645; FORCELLA, XIII., 171.

§ Details regarding the eight Cardinals created in 1473 may be found in CIACONIUS, III., 47 *seq.*; CARDELLA, III., 182 *seq.*; CONTELORIUS, 69; FRIZON, 519 *seq.* See also DOMINICUS, De dignit. Episcop., 33. The titles were, according to the *Acta Consist., conferred on the 17th May.

‖ *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1476, Dec. 10, 18, and 22. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¶ INFESSURA, 1145, is mistaken in saying the 17th December; the Cron. Rom., 34, rightly gives the 18th as the date; see also *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. The Cardinals were published on the 20th; see CONTELORIUS, 71.

Bishop of Urbino, was an Italian; two, Charles de Bourbon and Pierre de Foix, were French; one, Pedro Ferrici, was a Spaniard; and one, Giorgio da Costa, Archbishop of Lisbon, a Portuguese. This last died in 1503, at the age of 100, one of the wealthiest Princes of the Church of his time.*

In the following March we hear of negotiations for the nomination of new Cardinals. On the 24th of that month Sixtus IV. proposed in Consistory, John of Aragon (a son of Ferrante),† Ascanio Maria Sforza, Pietro Foscari, and his own two nephews, Cristoforo della Rovere and Girolamo Basso della Rovere.‡ The preliminary discussions lasted all through the summer,§ ending on the 10th December, 1477, in a complete victory for Sixtus IV. On that day all those whom he had proposed were, with the exception of Ascanio Sforza, raised to the purple, and to their number were added the Minorite, Gabriel Rangone,‖ George Hesler, who had rendered important service to the house of Habsburg,¶ and, finally, a third nephew of the Pope's, Raffaello

* REUMONT, III., 1, 262; CIACONIUS, III., 55 *seq.*; CARDELLA, III., 192 *seq.*; FRIZON, 524 *seq.* Concerning P. de Foix, see MARTÈNE, II., 1517, 1530, and MIGNE, 921.

† Giorn. Nap., 1138; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 927.

‡ I find this fact, which has hitherto been unknown, in a *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1477, March 24. Regarding the Pope's nephews, he says: "El castellano de S. Agnolo qui el qual è arcivescovo de Tarantaso gientilhomo piamontese dicto de la Rovere buon dottore e prelato assai commendato e lo vescovo di Recanati nepote d. S. Sta ex sorore." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1477, June 18, *loc. cit.*

‖ He had been recommended for elevation by the King of Hungary as early as the year 1475; see Mon. Hung., II., 295.

¶ Frederick III. had for some years actively sought to procure Hesler's elevation (regarding this prelate's life, see WÜRDTWEIN, Nov. subsid., XIII., 63 *seq.*), and was expecting it in March, 1474; see Mon. Habsb., I., 329 *seq.* Also the Brief of 1475 in MARTÈNE, II., 1497–8, and a Despatch of 1476 in GINGINS LA SARRA, I., 288. In

Sansoni Riario.* These numerous additions to the Sacred College gave occasion for the creation of a new Title, the first which had for several centuries taken place. Sixtus IV. gave Pietro Foscari, St. Nicholas at the Colosseum (S. Nicolaus inter imagines)† as his titular Church.

If the simultaneous elevation of three Papal nephews was in itself an extraordinary proceeding, Raffaello Sansoni's age—he was only seventeen—did not tend to diminish its exceptional character! The spiritual element was no better represented by him than by Cristoforo and Giuliano della Rovere. "Though presenting many radical differences in personal character, they were all great lords with essentially worldly interests. The fourth of the Pope's nephews on the sisters' side, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, was a prelate of blameless life, who never abused the favour of his uncle or of his cousin, Pope Julius II."‡ Cristoforo della Rovere dying on the 1st February, 1478,§ Sixtus IV., on the 10th of

February, 1477, the dignity had been promised to Hesler (see ENNEN, III., 530), Sixtus IV. then making the provision that, in the event of his own death before Hesler's publication, the latter should be reckoned among the Cardinals; see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1477, N. 11. Hesler was not published until December; see *Acta Consist., f. 53, Secret Archives of the Vatican. On the 13th January, 1478, Sixtus IV. sent him the Red Hat; Mon. Habsb., III., 447. Hesler came, for the first time, to Rome on the 21st January, 1480; on the 28th January took place the ceremony of the opening of the Mouth; on the 1st of May he started on his homeward journey; see *Acta Consist., f. 59, *loc. cit.*

* See CIACONIUS, III., 63 *seq.*; CARDELLA, III., 202 *seq.*; CONTELORIUS, 72, who repeatedly corrects Ciaconius.

† See ARMELLINI, Chiese, 23; PHILLIPS, VI., 224; and PANVINIUS, De episc. titulis, &c., 20; *ibid.*, 28 and 42, concerning other innovations made by Sixtus IV. connected with this subject. For an account of P. Foscari, see also OROLOGIO, Canonici di Padova, 82 *seq.*

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 261.

§ *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. TOSI, Plate 126, gives an engraving of Domenico's beautiful grave in S. Maria del Popolo.

that month, received his brother, Domenico, into the Senate of the Church. He "built for himself the much-admired Palace on the Piazza Scossacavalli, and a villa in the neighbourhood of Ponte Molle, without the City, which was often visited by Sixtus IV. He also built the Chapel in Sta Maria del Popolo, which, like his Palace, was adorned with paintings from the hand of Pinturicchio. The little town of Montefiascone owes to him its principal church, and his native city, Turin, its Cathedral, which, being the work of Meo dal Caprino, bears a striking resemblance to the churches built by the same architect in Rome. This member of the Rovere family had no merit in the way of talent to recommend him. He had but little literary culture, and was not either learned or naturally quick-witted. It was the grace of God, his good reputation, and his true and loyal disposition which brought him to the front." *

These last nominations, together with the increasing influence of the Pope's nephews, who came in greater numbers to Rome at this time, gave to the Court a more and more worldly character. The crafty Girolamo Riario, who was made Burgher of the City and a member of the Roman nobility in the year 1477, and, in 1480, Commander-in-Chief of the Church, surpassed all the Cardinals in influence.† The whole demeanour of this upstart was in keeping with his extravagant expenditure on all festal occasions. He took pride in eclipsing all the Cardinals, even those who

* SCHMARSOW, 145; MÜNTZ, III., 37–8; ADINOLFI, Portica, 144 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*

† INFESSURA, 1147. Regarding Riario's influence, see, besides the passages from different authorities collected by SCHMARSOW, 367, the Florentine Ambassadorial Despatches in Appendix, N. 60 and 61; GRASSO, 332; and the treatise of DE LA NICOLLIÈRE-TEIJEIRO, Institution du comte palatin de Latran en faveur de Jérôme Riario, &c., Nantes, 1886.

were of princely birth.* The purely worldly tendencies displayed, especially by Rodrigo Borgia, Francesco Gonzaga and d'Estouteville, among the older Cardinals, the frequent admission of others of similar disposition into the Sacred College, and the removal by death of so many of those who were truly devoted to the interests of the Church, led pious and earnest men like F. Piccolomini and Marco Barbo to absent themselves as much as possible from Rome. Giovanni Michiel and Pietro Foscari, the kinsmen and countrymen of the latter, were essentially Venetian patricians, and found the new order of things by no means uncongenial.†

The next creation still further promoted the worldliness and pomp of the Sacred College. It took place on the 15th May, 1480,‡ and was, in many respects, an important one. With hardly an exception those raised to the purple were of high birth: they were, Paolo Fregoso, Ferry de Clugny,§ Cosimo Orsini de' Migliorati, the "excellent Giovan Battista Savelli, whose elevation had, up to this time, been hindered by the Orsini party. He had given proof of his abilities in several Legations, was endowed with an enterprising spirit and a talent for organisation; he had been designated for the cardinalate by Paul II., but the sudden death of that Pope, and the influence of Latino Orsini with Sixtus IV. had so far kept him from that dignity. In conjunction with him, Giovanni Colonna was also created, and the seeds of party

* See JAC. VOLATERRANUS, 104. For a description of Girolamo's Palace, see SCHMARSOW, 116, and ADINOLFI, La torre de' Sanguigni, 49 *seq.* (Roma, 1863).

† See SCHMARSOW, 144 *seq.*, and also KNEBEL, II., 392.

‡ Not the 5th May, as CIACONIUS, III., 77; CARDELLA, III., 215; and CONTELORIUS have stated, but die lunae XV. Maii, according to the *Acta Consist., f. 59, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ FRIZON, 527 *seq.*, speaks of him as a distinguished man. See also Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, 1881, p. 444 *seq.*, and MIGNE, 688 *seq.*

strife introduced into the Sacred College; for Giuliano della Rovere was a friend of the Colonna and the Savelli, while Girolamo Riario's interests, as a temporal lord, drew him to associate himself more and more closely with the Orsini." *

The next creation, on the 15th November, 1483, did yet more to increase the influence of the great Roman families in the Sacred College, Giovanni Conti of Valmontone and Battista Orsini being then raised to the purple. The same dignity was conferred on Juan Moles, a Spaniard, on the Archbishop of Tours, Elie de Bourdeilles, and on Giovanni Giacomo Sclafenati, Bishop of Parma, who was but twenty-three years of age.† The choice of this youthful Prelate gave occasion to much unfavourable comment, and completely nullified the good impression which the simultaneous elevation of the saintly Bourdeilles might have produced.‡ A yet greater error was committed in the promotion of Ascanio Maria Sforza (March, 1484) dictated as it was by worldly and political motives.§

* SCHMARSOW, 147.

† *Acta Consist., f. 67, Secret Archives of the Vatican. CIACONIUS, III., 81 *seq.* CARDELLA, III., 221, is uncertain as to the date which the diligent CONTELORIUS, 76, gives correctly. See also, in relation to Sixtus IV. and the Orsini Cardinals, Lett. eccles. di P. Sarnelli, 332 (Naples, 1686).

‡ Stefano Guidotto, in the Postscript to a *Letter, dated Rome, 1483, Nov. 18, speaks of Bourdeilles as "sanctissimus et observandissimus s. religionis." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also the statements of FRIZON, 529 *seq.*, and MIGNE, 588.

§ According to CONTELORIUS, 76, Ascanio's nomination took place on the 6th March "in secreto consistorio et die 17 fuit publicatus." The *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican mention only the latter event. Stefano Guidotto says, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1483, March 16, that it was believed that Ascanio would be published as a Cardinal on the following day. (Gonzaga Archives.) In the Lib. brev., 16 A, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, I found, f. 60, a *Brief to Ascanio, dated 1484, March 17, informing him of his nomina-

When we consider that it was this man, in conjunction with Cardinals Riario, Orsini, Colonna, Sclafenati, and Savelli (all of them admitted by Sixtus IV. into the Senate of the Church), who in 1492 carried the election of Rodrigo Borgia, we are naturally inclined to form an unfavourable opinion of this Pope, from whom so much had been hoped.*

Nevertheless, an impartial study of history must lead us to protest against the picture drawn by Infessura of Sixtus IV. Infessura was a violent partisan of his deadly enemies, the Colonna. He blesses the day when God delivered his people out of the hand of this "most profligate and unjust of Kings." Neither fear of God nor love for his people, no spark of kindness or good-will, according to this author, were to be found in him; nothing but sensuality, avarice, love of show and vain-glory. After this tremendous general accusation he proceeds to enter into details. He cannot say a good word anywhere of Sixtus IV. It is plain from this, and from the violence of his language, that we have here a collection of everything that was reported to the Pope's disadvantage in Rome, at a time when a strong opposition to his person and to his Court prevailed there.†

tion as Cardinal, which had taken place on that day, "de unanimi consilio et consensu" of the Cardinals. From a *Letter of Cardinal Arcimboldus to the Duke of Milan. dated Rome, 1476, Dec. 22, it appears that great efforts had at that time been made to procure Ascanio's elevation. (State Archives, Milan.) See also *supra*, p. 409. Regarding A. Sforza, see also BÜCHI'S work, Albrecht von Bonstetten (Frauenfeld, 1889), which has just come under my notice, especially pp. 35 and 38. A request addressed by Richard III. to Sixtus IV., with regard to the appointment of a Cardinal, is mentioned in RYMER, XII., 216.

* Regarding these hopes, see JORDAN, Podiebrad, 358–9. Of the twenty-three Cardinals who composed the Conclave of 1492, fourteen had been created by Sixtus IV.

† This is the opinion of SCHRÖCKH, Kirchengesch., XXXII., 364

As regards Infessura's most serious accusation, that of gross immorality, in that corrupt age such a charge was but too frequently flung at any enemy. Later on, the austere Adrian VI. was himself a victim to the slanderous tongues of the Renaissance age. Things had come to such a pass that "no one could escape calumny, and the most exemplary virtue provoked the worst detraction."* Atrocious crimes of this kind are not proved by the malignant gossip collected by a writer so open to suspicion as Infessura.† No trustworthy contemporary, not one of the

As opposed to BROSCH, who (Julius II., p. 29) inclines to Infessura's view, and speaks of Sixtus IV. as "a man without truth and faith, without shame and conscience," we may mention not only HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 268, but also SCHMARSOW, 262, who express themselves in very different terms, and maintain that Sixtus was deeply penetrated with a sense of the sacredness of his priestly office. CREIGHTON, III., 115, also writes: "Infessura . . . has blackened his memory with accusations of the foulest crimes. These charges, made by a partisan who writes with undisguised animosity, must be dismissed as unproved."

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 187 *seq.*, 3rd ed. Even in the lifetime of Pius II. an Invective appeared from the pen of an offended Humanist (probably Filelfo), making the most infamous accusations against him, many of which were quite absurd; see VOIGT, Pius II., III., 636. Here a charge similar to that made by Infessura against Sixtus IV. is not wanting, yet the moral life of Pius II. as Pope was blameless.

† The passage in question, with "ut fertur vulgo, ut dicunt quidam, ut dicitur," is only in Eccard's edition, 1939. Muratori omits it, deeming it too disgraceful to place before the eyes of respectable men; referring any one who finds pleasure in such filth to Eccard (MURATORI, III., 2, 1110). Even opponents of the Papacy have protested against these accusations. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 268, 2nd ed., writes: "The text of Infessura, as given in Eccard, brings terrible charges against the moral character of Sixtus; these are certainly exaggerated." SYBEL'S Zeitschr., N. F., XXI., 358, admits that Gregorovius is not prepossessed in favour of Sixtus IV. In his third edition Gregorovius

numerous Ambassadors, who reported everything that took place in Rome with scrupulous accuracy, has a word to say on the subject; one indeed of these Envoys, immediately after the election of Sixtus IV., extols his blameless and pious manner of life.* Whatever faults Sixtus IV. may have committed as Pope, there was no change for the worse in regard to morals or religion. The fact that he chose as his confessor the blessed Amadeus of Portugal, a man of extraordinary sanctity and mortification, is in itself a proof of this.† We have ample evidence to prove that Sixtus IV. discharged his religious duties zealously and seriously, and venerated his holy patrons, St. Francis and the Blessed Virgin, with the same devotion which he had manifested before his elevation. Though suffering acutely from gout, he never allowed this to prevent him from assisting at the solemn Easter Mass. "With touching perseverance the feeble old man made his pilgrimages of devotion to the Churches of Sta Maria del Popolo and della Pace, which he had built in honour of the Blessed Virgin."‡ Sixtus IV. must indeed have been a consummate hypocrite if his private life was infamous while he appeared so fervent a client of the most Pure Mother of God.§

has struck out the last four words of our quotation, but he produces no evidence in support of Infessura's statements.

* *Despatch of Nicodemus of the 9th Aug., 1471. Appendix, N. 44.

† Regarding Amadeus, see AA. SS. Aug. II., 572 *seq.*; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 669, 2nd ed.

‡ JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 131; SCHMARSOW, 263.

§ See my observations in the Hist. Jahrbuch, VIII., 729, against SCHMARSOW, 4, 261, 327. These last passages seemed, not only to me, but to other students, to prove that the worthy biographer of Melozzo looked upon Infessura's charges as well-founded. I am glad now to be able to say that Professor Schmarsow, in writing to me (1887, Oct. 26), protested against the idea that he adopted Infessura's shocking view of the life of Sixtus IV. In the further course of our

Infessura's other charges against Sixtus IV. must equally be either dismissed or modified. An impartial student admits that "the historian who represents this Pope as avaricious and greedy of gain, double-faced in his policy, insatiable in his lust of conquest, passionate and tyrannical in character, without taking into account how much in his conduct is entirely, or in great measure, due to Girolamo Riario, is guilty of a serious error. History belies herself when she paints her subject in a glare of light, oblivious of the deep contrasting shadows."*

Among the darkest of these shadows is that unfortunate attachment to his nephews, in spite of his many estimable qualities, which entangled him in a labyrinth of political complications, from which at last no honourable exit was possible.† The difficulties into which this deplorable weakness for his relatives led Sixtus IV. also had other most injurious effects. "In order to procure the required resources, it was necessary to resort to all sorts of financial expedients, which resulted in a terrible amount of venality and corruption."‡ Even before the time of this Pope there

correspondence the Professor wrote (1887, Nov. 11): "I am willing to accept what you say against my words, only you must not make me appear to be a blind follower of Infessura;" and "with the kind of documents that are before us, it would hardly be possible to prove the charge of immorality." If LEA, III., 639, still maintains the truth of Infessura's accusations, we may understand it, considering the standpoint of the author of "An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy."

* SCHMARSOW, 260. See CIPOLLA, 626. An example of the manner in which Sixtus IV. is made responsible for the sins of his nephews is given in WOLF, Lect., I., 952.

† "Le népotisme," writes RIO, II., 66, "fut la grande plaie, la plaie honteuse du règne de Sixte IV."

‡ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 255. See BURCKHARDT, I., 150, 3rd ed. Both refer to the melancholy picture drawn by BAPT. MANTUANUS, De calamitatibus temp. l. III., Op. ed. Paris., 1507, f. 302b.

existed offices which could be purchased, and to which were attached certain sources of income. The revenues of these offices are said to have amounted in 1471 to something like 100,000 scudi.* When the danger from Turkey made the want of money more and more pressing, Sixtus IV. further added to this crowd of officials. Four Colleges, those of the "Stipulatori, Giannizzeri, Stradiatori, and Mamelucchi," were revived by him.† While the expense of every Bull or Brief went on constantly growing, as the host of officials connected with it increased, the Annates were again raised,‡ and a new tax (Compositio), to be paid to the Dataria in Rome § on collation to a benefice, imposed. Besides this there was the so-called "Quindennien," a tax to be paid every fifteen

* See RANKE, Päpste, I., 262, 6th ed. I found also in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Cod. A., 13 Inf., the account of *Gli ufficii piu antichi, cited above by Ranke from Cod. N., II., 50, of the Chigi Library. REUMONT, III., 1, 283, again repeats the erroneous statement that the creation of ecclesiastical posts in the Roman Court began with Sixtus IV.

† MORONI, VII., 186, LXVII., 172; BANGEN, 447. The "Mamelucchi" were abolished by Innocent VIII.

‡ See KIRSCH, Die Annaten und ihre Verwaltung in der zweiten Hälfte des 15 Jahrhunderts in the Hist. Jahrbuch, IX., 307. The Manuscript of the National Library, Rome (F. XLVI.–1471, MS. Sessorian, 46), here mentioned, is not so little known as Kirsch imagines it to be, for the Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch., N. F., 1887, 18, Nos. 2 and 3, gives extracts from it. Regarding a list of Annates in the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, see DUDIK, I., 66 *seq.*

§ The extreme party of Reform looked on the Compositio as a pretium collationis, and pronounced it simoniacal; a more moderate party, on the other hand, considered it as a stipendium attached to the benefice itself; see Sixti IV. S. P. ad Paulum III., compositionum defensio, ed. Dittrich, Braunsberg, 1883. DITTRICH, Regesten Contarini's, 279 *seq.* (Braunsb., 1881). See also DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 218, and DITTRICH, Contarini, 381 *seq.* (B., 1885).

years by all benefices subject to Annates, which dated from the reign of Paul II.*

The venality of many of the Court officials, and the excessive exercise of the Pope's rights in the matter of taxation, occasioned, especially in Germany, a feeling of deep dissatisfaction with the Holy See, which did more than has generally been supposed to pave the way for the subsequent apostacy. When the great assembly of the clergy of the Metropolitan Churches of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne was held at Coblence, in the year 1479, numerous complaints were formulated for transmission to the Pope. Their principal subjects were the non-observance of the Concordat, unfair taxation, the great privileges of the Mendicant Orders, and the number of exemptions.†

If, notwithstanding the many imposts levied, the Papal Treasury was almost always in difficulties, this was due, not only to extravagant expenses, but also to defective financial administration. Serious and growing negligence is to be observed in the manner in which the accounts of the Apostolic Treasury were kept. The monthly audit had become little more than a formality. The salaries of the officials were often five or eight months, or even a year or two, in arrear. The deficit, which increased month by month, necessitated constant loans.‡ Under such circumstances we cannot be surprised to learn that Sixtus IV.

* See *supra*, p. 106.

† Further particulars will be found in GEBHARDT, 53 *seq.* The gravamen of 1479 has been often printed; as, for example, by LEIBNIZ, Cod. I., 439 *seq.*, and GEORGI, Grav. coll., 254.

‡ Everything was mortgaged, even, on one occasion, the Registrum Bullarum, upon which Petrus Mellinus lent 1000 flor. auri. It was redeemed on the 20th Aug., 1482. This fact has been kindly communicated to me by Dr. Gottlob, whose book on the Cam. Ap. will throw much light on these matters from authentic sources. Regarding mortgages, see also REUMONT, III., 1, 283.

at his death left behind him debts to the amount of 150,000 ducats.*

This financial pressure led to a considerable augmentation of indirect taxation in the States of the Church, and also to the diversion of the revenues of the Roman University to other objects, and the imposition of taxes on the salaries of the Professors. As Infessura, who was a member of the teaching staff of this University, speaks with peculiar bitterness of the injury inflicted on it by Sixtus IV.,† there is ground for supposing him to have been among the sufferers.‡ In this circumstance, and in Infessura's alliance

* MÜNTZ, III., 64–5.

† Infessura in ECCARD, 1941.

‡ See TOMMASINI, II diario di Stef. Infessura, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 494–5. In this study, the prelude to a much needed critical edition of Infessura's Diarium, the various MSS. are indicated and described, and valuable information regarding the family and the life of Infessura is furnished. Tommasini's work as critic is, however, incomplete, and coloured by partiality. Even the enumeration of critical judgments of the chronicler is, with all its apparent minuteness, very imperfect. Tommasini ignores the opinions of SCHRÖCKH; HERGENRÖTHER (see *supra*, p. 416); CHRISTOPHE, II., 295 *seq.*; BRÜCK, 450; Civ. Catt., 1868, I., 147; HAGEN, Die Papstwahlen von 1484 und 1492, p. 2, &c. He even thinks it well completely to omit the important observations of SCHMARSOW (416, note †, to which may be added Schmarsow's words, p. 196, where, in speaking of the death of R. Malatesta, he says: "Infessura alone directs suspicion to the Pope, on whom, without examination, he casts the chief responsibility of Girolamo's crime"), as well as the opinion expressed in REUMONT'S Lorenzo, II., 456, 2nd ed. ("Infessura exaggerates the faults of the Pope with regard to truth"). It is even more extraordinary that the passage from REUMONT, III., 1, 367, is not given completely in this special study. Here Reumont, in the first place, points out that Infessura's special value as an authority begins with the time of Martin V. and Eugenius IV., and continues during the last three pontificates of the Century down to the year 1494, and then proceeds to observe: "This genuine representative of undying Roman slander has provided those who delight

with the Colonna and his Republican sentiments, may be found the motive of the unmeasured reproaches heaped

in scandalous gossip with materials as rich as, if not richer than, those furnished by the well-known J. Burchard of Strasburg, Bishop of Orte and Master of Ceremonies of the Papal Chapel from the days of Innocent VIII. to those of Julius II.; but a little experience of the manner in which, even up to the present day, truth and falsehood are mingled in the history of Rome, and cartloads of fabrication accredited by a few ounces of fact, will guard us against taking such narrators absolutely at their word, however evil the age may be. The Roman Liutprand of the 15th Century demands the same severely critical examination as that of the 10th." Tommasini is also silent regarding the manifest falsehoods of Infessura, of which Gregorovius has given proof (L. BORGIA, 11–12, Stuttgart, 1874), and the misrepresentation exposed by FRANTZ, 481 *seq.*, 483 *seq.* In the face of such proceedings, Tommasini's reiterated professions of impartiality can deceive no one; his purpose is clear: Infessura must, at any cost, be raised to the position of a thoroughly trustworthy authority. As yet he has been unsuccessful in this attempt; it remains to be seen whether in his edition he can adduce anything further in support of his thesis. It is unjust to say that I represent Infessura as a "violento avversario della dominazione papale" (TOMMASINI, p. 488); Infessura himself does far more to represent himself in that light by the praises which he bestows on a murderer like Porcaro (see our Vol. II., p. 233, note †), and therefore even Gregorovius describes him as "an enemy of the Papal power." At p. 482, Tommasini himself admits "l'amore dell' Infessura alla liberta communale di Roma," as well as his sympathies with the Colonna and the Republican party (see pp. 526, 547, 554), but he fails to draw the evident conclusion from these admissions. Infessura's position as a partisan necessarily incapacitates him from forming an impartial judgment in regard to Sixtus IV. It is really time that the name of a chronicler who admits lampoons as serious evidence in his work, should be struck out of the list of impartial narrators of history (see TOMMASINI, 550). The writings of such an author are only to be employed with the greatest prudence, and after the most critical investigation. Tommasini, however, has not thought an examination, such as we have made, of Infessura's individual charges against Sixtus IV. necessary. He has saved himself much

upon Sixtus IV., the friend of the Orsini, and the advocate of strongly monarchical ideas. Violent personal feeling, arising from the position of the author, and perhaps from his unpleasant experiences, is here openly expressed.* We have a repetition of the relations which existed between Platina and Paul II. Platina is not an impartial and truthful authority in regard to the builder of the Palace of S. Marco, neither is Infessura to be trusted when he tells the history of the head of the Rovere family.

trouble by not entering into the most serious accusations, or those which some critics have proved to be absurd. On the other hand, he brings evidence to shew that, in matters of secondary importance, Infessura's charges are true; see p. 559. Here, however, he is not very fortunate, for the evidence in regard to the purchase of corn (560) by no means proves any usurious dealing on the part of Sixtus IV. The justice of Reumont's remarks on the mixture of truth and falsehood in Roman slander is here exemplified. The Sienese Despatches, published by TOMMASINI, p. 606 *seq.*, in a general way confirm Infessura's picture of the state of things from 1482, but they do not contain a syllable in support of his shocking accusations against the Pope. It would certainly be an error totally to reject Infessura's testimony (as SANESI, St. Porcaro, p. 108, Pistoja, 1887, seems to suppose me to do. I will here observe, as a curious fact, that Sanesi himself says he has "esaminato soltanto poche pagine" of Infessura), but it is a still greater error to accept it unconditionally, especially when, as in regard to Sixtus IV., it is dictated by passion, and its exaggeration is patent. That Infessura is here as unfair as P. DELLA MASTRO, whose point of view is most narrowly Roman (Cron. Rom., 37), has already been declared by an authority like MÜNTZ, III., 8. As TOMMASINI, p. 577, cites an article written by Burckhardt thirty-seven years ago, he will be interested to hear that Burckhardt's opinion is now different. The worthy author of the Cultur der Renaissance, writing to me on the 12th May, 1889, said: "I am now aware that I have set far too much value on Eccard's Infessura, and other muddy sources, and been too much guided by them."

* This observation applies to the Florentine historian; see *infra*, p. 433.

Many abuses no doubt existed in the Rome of those days, and Girolamo Riario was certainly guilty of many unbecoming actions, but Infessura is not justified in accusing Sixtus IV. of usurious speculation in corn for his own covetous purposes. The Pope's great care for Rome of itself contradicts this statement, and witnesses above suspicion testify to the relatively favourable condition of the inhabitants of the States of the Church under Sixtus IV., excepting, of course, in times of war. Philippe de Commines, who went to Rome with no favourable prejudices, after he had become personally acquainted with the state of things there, expressed his opinion that the Popes were wise and well advised, and that, but for the strife between the Colonna and the Orsini, the dwellers in the States of the Church would be the happiest people on earth, inasmuch as they paid no poll-tax and practically hardly any other taxes.* If this last statement is to be taken with some reservation, it is still certain that "hardly anywhere, on an average, was the taxation so low as in the States of the Church."†

* Mém. (ed. Lenglet), II., 367; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 184.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 279. "In his civil administration," says SCHMARSOW, 262, "Sixtus IV. manifests extraordinary talents. No one so well understands how to ensure the accomplishment of his orders; he foresees everything, directs everything, takes account of everything beforehand: for he is well aware that quite as much prudence and determination are necessary in dealing with the insubordination of the starving Roman populace as in the task of bridling the Barons. Everything is thought out thoroughly and in detail. If we find liberal measures restricted by conditions which almost nullify their effect, we must recognise in this the hand of a revising financial adviser. Parsimony had no place in the nature of Sixtus IV." Such is the judgment of an impartial investigator. In his article on Infessura, where Tommasini, in addition to all this author's other charges, also maintains those of avarice and misgovern-

The history of the speculations in corn of Sixtus IV., about which Infessura has so much to say, is actually that the magistrate of the Annona or Abondanza bought corn by his orders, laid it up in granaries and distributed it to the bakers at a settled price, according to which the value of bread was regulated. Abuses on the part of the subordinate officials no doubt occurred; while men are men, such things will arise in similar cases. But the new system was devised by the Pope in order to facilitate and secure the provisioning of Rome, and affords no ground for charging him with usurious dealing in corn. Practically, under the successor of Sixtus IV., the Annona protected the Roman people from want, when, in the year 1485, the Duke of Calabria was encamped in the Campagna and cut off supplies.* The energetic measures adopted by Sixtus IV., in order to ensure public safety in Rome and other cities of the States of the Church, as, for example, Perugia, were appreciated by his contemporaries.†

ment, it is easy to see that he is bent on branding Sixtus IV., on any terms, as the corrupter of Rome. Such partiality is all the more shocking in one who always seeks to call in question the fairness of other writers. See *e.g.*, Arch. Rom., XI., 482, 488, &c.

* REUMONT, III., 1, 285 *seq.* See, regarding the Annona in general, MORONI, II., 145 *seq.*; RANKE, Studien, 100 (Leipzig, 1877); also Römische Briefe, II., 170 *seq.*, where evidence is given of the sacrifices made by later Popes, in order to provide the Roman people with good bread at the lowest possible price. Further proof of the care taken by Sixtus IV. for the provisioning of Rome, especially in years of scarcity, is furnished by numerous *Briefs: *e.g.*, to Bologna, dated Rome, 1473, Sept. 14 (State Archives, Bologna); to Perugia, dated 1474, Febr. 24 (University Library, Genoa, C. IV., 1); also Lib. brev., 15, f. 12, 122, 297, 696; 16 A, f. 6, 30, 45; 16 B, f. 2, 21, 75b, 111, 139, 171b (Secret Archives of the Vatican); see MARTÈNE, II., 1540, 1541, 1542, 1548.

† THEINER, Codex, III., 484, and *Brief to Perugia, dated 1479, May 23. (University Library, Genoa, C. IV., 1.) A *Speech made by

The solicitude of Sixtus IV. for the welfare of his subjects is further evinced by his efforts to check the devastation of the Campagna, and to promote tillage there,* his re-introduction of the Constitution of Albornoz,† his solicitude about the coinage,‡ and his exertions for the regulation of the rivers,§ and the drainage of unhealthy places in the States of the Church. Works of this description were promoted by him in the neighbourhood of Foligno,|| and in the Maritima. At the latter spot there was an idea of making an attempt to dry up the well-known Pontine Marshes. In 1476 the Pope requested the Duke of Ferrara to send him

the Milanese Ambassador praises Sixtus IV. for the restoration of security in Rome and its neighbourhood. Cod. Vatic., 6898, Vatican Library.

* THEINER, Codex, 491 *seq.*, *ibid.*, 482 *seq.*; and Römische Briefe, II., 166 *seq.*, as well as REUMONT, III., 1, 284 *seq.* In regard to the promotion of agriculture by the Popes, and their relation to the Roman Campagna, see, in general, SOMBART, Die Römische Campagna (Schmoller's Forschungen, Vol. 8), and, to complete his account, RATTINGER, Kirchenstaat, 42 *seq.*; Hist.-polit. Bl., 1884, I., 24 (against LÖHER, Das neue Italien, 1883). MILELLA, I papi e l'agricoltura nei dom. temp., Roma, 1881, was not accessible to me.

† In the year 1478; see THEINER, Cod., 494 *seq.*; LA MANTIA, I., 462.

‡ L'ÉPINOIS, 450. See MÜNTZ, III., 244; THEINER, Cod., 488. Sixtus IV. was, according to Friedländer, the first who had his likeness stamped on the coins; see MÜNTZ, L'atelier monét. de Rome, 2 (Paris, 1884). The regard of Sixtus IV. for uniformity of coinage appears in his *Brief to Perugia of the 21st March, 1477. University Library, Genoa, C. IV., 1.

§ See the *Briefs to Perugia of the 4th Febr. and 20th April, 1482 (University Library, Genoa, *loc. cit.*), and THEINER, Cod., 497.

|| See **Briefs to Cardinal Savelli, Legate in Perugia, dated Rome, 1482, May 18 (National Library, Florence), and to Barthol. archipresbyt. plebis Scandiani, dated Rome, 1482, Aug. 30, Lib. brev., 15, f. 17. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Even in time of war, Sixtus IV. found leisure for such occupations.

an hydraulic architect, competent to direct these difficult works.*

The accusations of greed and cruelty, which Infessura has brought against the Pope, must also be absolutely dismissed. "The most trustworthy authorities," on the contrary, bear witness to the inherent kindliness which was expressed in his countenance and speech. "He was won by the least token of attachment; the more disposed he himself was to kindness, the less worthy of further benefits did he esteem those whom he saw to have abused former ones."†

Equally unanimous is the testimony which assures us of his generosity. He could refuse nothing, "so that the pleasure he felt in satisfying people often made him grant the same appointment to several troublesome petitioners. Accordingly, for the sake of avoiding misunderstandings, he found it necessary to entrust to an experienced and firm man, like John of Montmirabile, the revision of requests, grants, and presents. Even in the Vatican, the Mendicant Friar so little understood the value of money that, if he saw any coin on the table, he could hardly refrain from at once distributing it, through his chamberlains, to friends or to the poor. His saying, 'A stroke of the pen suffices to procure for a Pope any sum that he desires,' is an evidence of his simplicity in matters of this kind. No Pontiff was fonder of giving, or of kinder disposition, and he was always willing to advance men and to bestow honours upon them. This amiable and benevolent temper of mind led him to adopt, in his intercourse with those around him, both high and low, a tone of affability and goodness, and even of expansive

* This appears from a **Brief of the 10th Febr., 1476, which I found in the State Archives, Modena.

† SCHMARSOW, 260; see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 204. Also TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 64; Tommasini has never seen the critical observations of these eminent students.

confidence, which, in diplomatic negotiations, often gave cold politicians an advantage over him. His unpleasant experiences with the Cardinals, who had carried his election, and with Ferrante of Naples, who was solely influenced by selfish considerations, furnished the reasons which induced him later on to confide practical affairs to the crafty brothers Pietro and Girolamo Riario."* The foregoing pages have shewn the disastrous influence exercised especially by the latter. Girolamo was like the evil genius of Sixtus IV.; bred in the cloister, and without experience of the world, the better judgment of Francesco della Rovere succumbed but too often to his headstrong policy. It may truly be said, that nothing so much tended to obscure the good, and even brilliant, qualities, of this Pope, as his inability to shake himself free from influences which stained his honour. It may

* SCHMARSOW, 260–61. See ARTAUD, Gesch. der Päpste, IV., 164 (Augsburg, 1854). *Sixti IV. lib. Bullet., 1471–73, records, as early as the 5th Nov., 1471, alms to the amount of tria millia octingentos quinquaginta duc. From the same Register it appears that gifts were regularly bestowed upon the poor at Christmas and Easter. (State Archives, Rome.) Dr. Gottlob will treat, in a special work, of the support accorded to the fugitives from the East. Regarding Charlotte of Cyprus, who again lived in Rome from the year 1482, see BELLI, 35 *seq.*; HERQUET, Charlotta, 205; and ADINOLFI, Portica, 99 *seq.*, 102 *seq.* Generous assistance was also given to the cities of the States of the Church. Perugia, which had suffered from the Plague and from a year of scarcity, received in 1477 a thousand ducats as a free gift; see *Brief to Perugia of the 18th January, 1477. (University Library, Genoa, C. IV., 1.) On the 17th October, 1471, money was sent to assist in the restoration of the walls and bridges at Folignano near Ascoli. *Lib. brev., 14, f. 1 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); the same volume affords many proofs of the liberality of Sixtus IV. on behalf of needy convents. See f. 95b: *Abbati S. Placidi ord. S. Benedicti et Henrico de Avellino canonico et decano eccl. Messanen. (1472, January 2); f. 116: *Archipresbyt. et Jacobo de la Fossa canonico eccl. Reginae; f. 146b: *Assistance pro fabrica infirmarie conventus ord. min. Bononien. (1472, Febr. 29).

be asked how such weakness can be reconciled with the great energy often manifested in the conduct of Sixtus IV.; the best answer is, in the words of Melozzo's biographer, that his was one of those peculiar characters "which are capable at times of strong efforts of will, during which they display really commanding ability, but which are followed by intervals of weakness and indifference which seem necessary to enable them to collect their forces again." * The crafty Girolamo relentlessly turned these weaker moments to account.

Side by side with many excellent and praiseworthy qualities, we see in Sixtus IV. great defects and failings; there are many bright points, but there are also dark shadows.

If our unbiassed researches lead us, for the most part, to dismiss the intemperate accusations brought against Sixtus IV. by a partisan of the Colonna like Infessura, on the other hand, they forbid us to look upon him as an ideal Pope. Francesco della Rovere was admirable as General of his Order; the contemplation of his pontificate awakens mingled feelings in our minds. It is but too true that the father of Christendom often disappears behind the figure of the Italian prince; that, in the exaltation of his own kindred, he exceeded all due bounds, and allowed himself to be led into worldly ways, and that great relaxation in ecclesiastical discipline and manifold abuses prevailed in his reign, although they were not unaccompanied by measures of reform. Ægidius of Viterbo may be guilty of exaggeration in dating the period of decadence from his pontificate,† yet there can be no doubt that he steered the Barque of St. Peter into dangerous and rock-strewn waters.

* SCHMARSOW, 260.

† The passage is to be found in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 266, 3rd ed. See CHRISTOPHE, 214

In his relations to learning and art Sixtus IV. appears to far greater advantage than in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy. "When we remember that this man was a poor Friar, suddenly transformed into the mightiest Pontiff of his age, we are struck with astonishment at finding nowhere in him the least trace of the straitened surroundings of his youth and early training. Instead of the narrowness and pettiness we should expect, we find him entering into the spirit of the past, and making the magnificent taste of the day his own to a degree that no other Pope had done. We see him vying with the most renowned Italian Princes in raising his capital from the dust and degradation of centuries of ruin to be a seat of splendour, a worthy and beautiful abode; endeavouring not merely to place her on an equality with the greatest cities of Italy, but to make her once more the intellectual literary and artistic centre of the world. Noting all this, we are filled with respect for a man so capable and so powerful, in spite of some violence in his temper and inequalities in his character. Notwithstanding all his faults, there is something imposing in the first of the Rovere Popes; we are constrained to admire him, and, without hesitation, place him on a level with his predecessor, Nicholas V., and his nephew and successor, Julius II."*

* SCHMARSOW, 263.

CHAPTER XII.

Sixtus IV. as the Patron of Art and Learning.—(*a.*) Refounding and Opening of the Vatican Library.—The Secret Archives of the Vatican.—Intellectual Life in Rome.—Encouragement of the Humanists.—Platina and his "History of the Popes."—(*b*) Renovation and Embellishment of Rome.—The Pope and the Cardinals as Church-Builders.—The Capitoline Museum.—The Hospital of S. Spirito.—Artistic Versatility of Sixtus IV.—Melozzo da Forli.—The Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel.

One title to renown, possessed by Sixtus IV., is uncontested; he was unwearied in his zeal for the promotion of art and learning. Fresh from the poverty of the Franciscan Convent in which his earlier days had been spent, and from the arduous philosophical and theological studies which had occupied his mind, Francesco della Rovere, on his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, at once set to work to adorn Rome with the most precious and varied works of art and learning, and to raise her to the position of the chief city of the Christian world, and the artistic and literary centre of the Renaissance. The prosecution of the great work of Nicholas V. was the ideal which filled his mind, and, amid all the political and ecclesiastical perplexities which troubled the thirteen years of his reign, the realisation of this ideal was pursued with a steadfast earnestness which even his opponents were constrained to admire. In the history of Intellectual Culture the name of Sixtus IV. must ever find an honourable place, together with those of Nicholas V., Julius II., and Leo X.

It may safely be said that, in regard to the development of the Renaissance in Rome, Sixtus IV. occupies a position similar to that of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. "If the Golden Age which he introduced was often the subject of exaggerated praise from the admirers of his brilliant literary Court, it is nevertheless true that he has a right to be numbered among the most popular National Popes." *

I.

Of all the works undertaken by Sixtus IV. none has a greater claim on the sympathy and interest of the historian than the re-establishment of the Vatican Library, and its opening for general use. This "most admirable of all his foundations" † occupied the Pope even in the earliest months of his pontificate. On the 17th December, 1471, he took the first step towards rescuing the forgotten Library of Nicholas V., and providing the necessary accommodation for its preservation.‡ As time went on, "he adopted the idea of Nicholas V. in its fullest extent, and made further additions to the treasures which had been saved. He endeavoured to procure valuable manuscripts, ancient codices, and modern copies from all parts, so that a book-dealer like Vespasiano da Bisticci speaks of the Pope's love of collecting as marking a new epoch, from which he occasionally dates, although, as a Florentine, he is not otherwise favourably disposed towards this Pope."§

* CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, III., 326, referring to an Eulogium in Cod., 1092, University Library, Leipzig.

† CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, III., 327. See RENAZZI, I., 179–80. The Poem mentioned *supra*, p. 209, note *, in Cod., 2403, f. 11b *seq.* of the Court Library, Vienna, is enthusiastic in the praise of the Library of Sixtus IV.

‡ MARINI, Archivi, 18; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, III., 215; MÜNTZ, III., 118 *seq.*; and Regestum Clementis V., I., p. xiv.

§ SCHMARSOW, 37.

The zeal with which Sixtus IV., assisted by Platina, Jacobo di Volterra, Lionardi Dati, Domizio Calderino, Mattia Palmieri, and Sigismondo de' Conti, laboured to increase the Vatican Library is evidenced by the fact that in 1475 it contained no less than 2527 volumes, 770 of which were Greek and 1757 Latin. Between 1475 and 1484, 1000 more were added, bringing the number up to more than 3500 volumes, something like three times as many as appear in Nicholas V.'s Inventory drawn up twenty years before.* In order to appreciate the importance of the collection, let us remember that ten years later the library of the wealthy Medici contained about a thousand Manuscripts.†

In the collection of Pope Sixtus IV. we observe a decided preponderance of ecclesiastical works. Theology, Philosophy, and Patristic Literature form its chief contents. The Inventory of 1475 mentions 26 volumes of St. Chrysostom's writings, 28 of St. Ambrose, 31 of St. Gregory, 41 of Canon Law, 51 of Records of Councils, 51 of the works of St. Thomas, 57 of St. Jerome, and 81 of St. Augustine. The Old and New Testaments occupy 59 volumes, and Glosses on the Scripture 98. Celebrated Greek authors are represented by 109 volumes, and there are 116 on religious subjects by less-known writers of the same nation. Compared with the collection of Nicholas V., the total absence of any writings in the vernacular is a defect. The classics occupy the second place; there are 14 volumes of the works of Seneca, 53 of the Latin Poets, 70 of Greek Poetry and Grammar, 125 of Roman, and 59 of Grecian History. The Latin writers on Astrology and Geometry contribute 19, and Greek Astrologers 49 volumes; Latin Philosophers 103, and

* MÜNTZ, Bibliothèque, 135, 141.

† See our Vol. II., p. 212. The particulars there given in regard to Nicholas's Library are supplemented by MÜNTZ, Bibl., 315 *seq.*, and Rev. critique, 1886, p. 282.

Greek 94. There were 55 Latin and 14 Greek works on Medicine.*

The first Librarian of the Vatican under Sixtus IV. was Giandrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, a man of classical culture. The appointment of this ardent promoter of the art of typography in Rome renders it probable that the productions of the printing-press were not excluded from the Papal collection. An Inventory of the year 1483 distinguishes between printed books and Manuscripts.†

Bussi, who died in the Jubilee Year, was succeeded by Bartolomeo Platina. New and regular revenues were, at the same time, assigned by the Pope to the Library,‡ and energetic measures were taken for the recovery of books which had been borrowed and not restored.§ Platina received a yearly salary of 120 ducats (=£240 sterling) and

* MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 121, and Biblioth., 142 and 159 *seq.* In regard to the Inventories, see also the articles of MÜNTZ and DE ROSSI (355) in the Serapeum, I., 334 *seq.*, VI., 301 *seq.*, XII., 130 *seq.*

† MÜNTZ, Bibl., 141. In 1472 Bussi drew up a petition to Sixtus IV. in the name of the printers, Schweynheim and Pannartz, who had fallen into great distress; to this petition is appended a most valuable list of the works which, up to that time, had issued from their press, with the number of copies of each; see LINDE, I., 167 *seq.*; LORCK, Gesch. der Buchdr., 57 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1882). The two printers had then printed 12,475 volumes; Bussi's letter was probably of little use to them. Competition was increasing, and at length they abandoned the struggle. Pannartz died after 1476; Schweynheim entirely gave up printing. According to JANSSEN, I., 15 (14th ed.), Rome had, in 1475, as many as twenty printing-offices, and by the close of the Century 925 works had been produced; most of these were mainly supported by the clergy; see also FROMANN, 9; FALK, 18; LINDE, I., 172, III., 715.

‡ **Bull of Sixtus IV., dated Romae, 1475, XVII. Cal. Jul., Armar. XXXI., N. 62, f. 113. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ The Bull on the subject is printed in the Regestum Clementis V., I., p. xlvi. See also MARINI, Archivi, 18.

apartments. Three officials, called Scriptores or Custodes, were placed under him, and also a bookbinder. They were paid 12 ducats a year each, and were generously supported by Sixtus IV. in every way that he could. One of them, Demetrius of Lucca, was a man of considerable learning.* Platina soon died, and his place was filled by Bartolomeo Manfredi, surnamed Aristophilo, Secretary to Cardinal Roverella. In July, 1484, the new Librarian went, by the Pope's desire, to Urbino and Rimini to copy Manuscripts.†

The appointment of Platina, the employment of subordinate officials, and the assignment of a regular income were the first steps towards the reorganisation of this noble Institution, which soon acquired a world-wide reputation. On the 1st July, 1477, Sixtus IV. published another Bull regarding the revenues of the Library and the stipend of its custodians. In the introduction to this Bull, he says that the objects of this Institution are the exaltation of the Church militant, the spread of the Catholic Faith, and the advancement of learning.‡

Another important work of the Pope was the separation of the Manuscript books from the Documents and Archives. A special place, called the Bibliotheca Secreta, was prepared, in which the Documents arranged by Platina were to be preserved in walnut-wood chests. "The whole room was wainscoted, and the free space on the walls above adorned with frescoes in chiaroscuro. This costly undertaking must have been completed in the latter part of the Summer of 1480." §

* MÜNTZ, Bibliothèque, 137. See also VOGEL in the Serapeum, VII., 296 *seq.*

† See Sixtus IV.'s Briefs of the 18th Oct., 1481, and 14th July, 1484, in MÜNTZ, Bibl., 300–303. Also Regestum Clementis V., I., p. xlvii.

‡ MÜNTZ, Bibl., 300.

§ SCHMARSOW, 206.

Documents of special importance had, from the beginning of the 15th Century, been kept at St. Angelo. Having regard to the troubled state of the times, Sixtus IV. caused the Charters containing the chief privileges of the Roman Church to be transferred to this place ot safety, after authentic copies of them had been made by Urbino Fieschi and Platina.*

The Library proper consisted, until 1480, of two halls opening into each other, one for the Latin and the other for the Greek Manuscripts. From the registers of payments it appears that, in the summer of 1480, Sixtus IV. added a third hall, which was distinguished by the name of the Great Library, and was in all probability situated on the other side of the Cortile del Papagallo, beneath the Sistine Chapel. Its walls and ceiling were painted by Melozzo, with the assistance of Antoniasso. Twenty-five years later, Albertini wrote a description of the Library, which is shorter than we could wish. He places the three portions of the Public Institution in juxtaposition, so as to separate the Library from the Secret Archives. "In the Apostolic Palace at the Vatican," he writes, "is that glorious Library, built by Sixtus IV., with his portrait exquisitely painted and the epigram beneath.† There are also paintings of the Doctors, with other verses, which I give in my collection of epigrams. Beside this Library is another, called the Greek one, also built by Sixtus, together with the chamber of the Custodians. There is, moreover, a third very beautiful Library, also erected by Sixtus IV., in which are the Codices

* BRESSLAU, Urkundenlehre, I., 129; Löwenfeld in RAUMER'S Hist. Taschenbuch, 6th Series, V., 318; DUDIK, II., 14 *seq.*; Regestum Clementis V., I., p. xlix.; MARINI, Archivi, 18; GACHARD, Arch. du Vatican, 7–8 (Brussels, 1874); Mél. d'Archéologie, 1888, p. 150; and Studi e Doc., VIII., 11.

† See *infra*, p. 453.

adorned with gold, silver, and silk bindings. I saw Virgil's works in this hall, written in capital letters, besides geometrical, astronomical, and other instruments connected with the liberal arts, which are also decorated with gold, silver, and paintings." Albertini then proceeds to speak of the Secret Library (Bibliotheca Secreta), which had been rearranged by Julius II.*

The Great Library, which contained the collection of ancient Manuscripts, had the advantage of the two other halls in being well-lighted by "a large glass window containing the arms of the Rovere family. The German glass-maker Hermann had been obliged to bring this himself from Venice."† Here stood the long tables to which the Manuscripts were secured by little chains—just as they now are in the splendid Laurenziana at Florence; but in the 15th Century the comfort of scholars was more considered than it is in the 19th. In the cold and damp winter days the grand Library was warmed.‡ Although the Manuscripts were chained, they were most liberally lent out. Platina's list of books lent is preserved,§ and shews

* SCHMARSOW, 40 *seq.* His researches concerning the Vatican Library have essentially rectified and completed the earlier descriptions of GREGOROVIUS, ZANELLI (Bibl. Vat. [R. 1857], p. 13), and REUMONT (Arch. St. Ital., N. S., VIII., 1, 132 *seq.*). Schmarsow's Monograph has unfortunately escaped the notice of the worthy M. Müntz in his valuable work on the Vatican Library.

† SCHMARSOW, 42; MÜNTZ, III., 119 *seq.*

‡ MÜNTZ, Bibliothèque, 140.

§ Cod. Vat., 3964, published by MÜNTZ, Bibl., 269–99. In order justly to appreciate the liberality of Sixtus IV., the extreme difficulty of procuring Manuscripts in those days must be remembered; Lorenzo de' Medici, in the period of his greatest magnificence, had to write an autograph letter to Ercole d'Este, a Prince who was under great obligations to him, for the loan of 'Dio Cassius,' and, notwithstanding the confidential relations which existed between them, Ercole did not send the original; see REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 106, 2nd ed.

that several volumes were entrusted at once to the same person. Among those who availed themselves of the literary treasures of this Library, were the Pope himself, Cardinal Giuliano, numerous Bishops and Prelates, Johannes Argyropulos, Sigismondo de' Conti, Pomponius Laetus, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, Hieronymus Balbanus, Augustinus Patritius, Jacobus Volaterranus, Francesco de Toledo, and others. The negligence of some borrowers compelled the administrators from the year 1480 to require pledges to be deposited for books lent.

The reorganisation of the Vaticana, and its opening to the public, would suffice to secure for Sixtus IV. an abiding record in the history of scholars. But his other efforts for the promotion of learning were by no means inconsiderable.

In the early days of his pontificate, the Humanists seem to have felt much anxiety as to the attitude the former Franciscan friar might adopt in regard to their pursuits. This feeling is evidenced by a work which Sigismondo de' Conti dedicated to the Pope, reminding him that Nicholas V., the most famous Pontiff of the age, had gained great renown by his patronage of scholars. Sigismondo warned Sixtus IV. not to attach too little importance to the opinion of the learned, and to what might be written of him by celebrated men. He reminded him of the words of Francesco Sforza, who said that the wound of a dagger was less to be dreaded than that of a satirical poem. In conclusion, the anxious Humanist again begged the Pope to shew honour to men who were in a position to preserve his name from oblivion and to immortalise his actions.*

* "*Habeantur in pretio viri qui tuum nomen ab interitu vendi care, qui tuas res gestas immortalitati mandare possunt." Fol 603 of Sigismondo de' Conti's *Work, Ad Sixtum IV. pro secretariis, which I found in Cod. Vat., 2934, P. II., Vatican Library. Sixtus IV. restored the College of Abbreviators, and fixed their number at seventy-

Exhortations of this kind were not needed. Sixtus IV. perfectly understood the importance of the Renaissance; he was well aware that the Humanists were indispensable, and that it was impossible, on account of some isolated excesses, to adopt a position of antagonism towards the intellectual life so ardently cultivated on all sides. "Full of intellect and of taste for high culture," the ex-general of the Mendicant Order from the first resolved "to surround the Papal Throne and his own relations with all that could give him prestige in the eyes of the world."* Although the attraction which the Eternal City exercises on lovers of antiquity had already drawn a numerous colony of learned men to Rome, the Pope constantly sought to add to their number. One of his greatest acquisitions was Johannes Argyropulos of Constantinople, the most highly gifted among the Greeks who had migrated to Italy. In winning him to Rome, Sixtus IV. gained a victory over the Medici, in whose service he had been for some time. Argyropulos was very successful there. He had the satisfaction of numbering amongst his hearers men of the greatest distinction, Bishops and Cardinals, and even notable foreigners such as Johann Reuchlin.† Angelo Poliziano was also his disciple.‡ The worthy Bartholomäus Fontius was appointed to a Professorial Chair in the Roman University under Sixtus IV. In 1473 Martino Filetico became Professor of Rhetoric in that Insti-

two; see CIAMPINI, 33 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, VI., 394. In regard to the sale of these places, see GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost.

* PAPENCORDT, 517.

† Reuchlin was among the audience of Argyropulos in the Spring of 1482 when staying in Rome with Count Eberhard of Württemberg. See MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 83; STÄLIN, III., 592 *seq.*; GEIGER, Reuchlin, 25.

‡ MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 83. Concerning Argyropulos, see VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, I., 372, 2nd ed., and LEGRAND, Bibliographie Hellénique, Paris, 1885, 2 vols., *s. v.*

tution.* Even non-Italian scholars were summoned by the Pope to Rome. Among these, was, in 1475, the famous Regiomontanus (Johann Müller of Königsberg in Franconia). Unfortunately, this great discoverer, who, by the Pope's desire, would have assisted in the work of reforming the Calendar, died in July, 1476.†

But the ambition of Sixtus IV. was not yet satisfied. He desired to win for his beloved Rome the prince of the neo-platonic philosophy, the scholar whose writings cast a halo of glory over Florence. Several of the Cardinals supported him in this project. Marsilio Ficino, however, was bound to the Medici by bonds which could not be severed. He requited the Pope's gracious summons by a letter couched in the most flattering terms.‡

* Filetico had previously taught Greek there; see MARINI, II., 208; SCHMARSOW, 55, 75 note, and 345; and CORVISIERI in the Review, Buonarotti, Ser. II., Vol. IV., 1869.

† FULGOSUS, VIII., c. 13; ASCHBACH, Wiener Universität, I., 556; KALTENBRUNNER, Kalenderreform, in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad. Hist. Cl., LXXXII., 374; JANSSEN, I., 124 (14th edit.); TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 356. The statement that Regiomontanus was poisoned (BECHSTEIN, Deutsches Museum, I., 253) is a pure invention; Aschbach supposes him to have succumbed to the summer fever raging in Rome, which was of a pestilential character; this hypothesis, which Jovius gives as a fact, is all the more probable, inasmuch as the Plague actually prevailed in Rome at the time; see our account, *supra*, p. 288. There is an interesting statement in the Koelhoff'schen Chronik to the effect that, after hearing Johann Cantor dispute in Rome, Sixtus IV. wrote an extremely friendly Brief to his Father. Städtechroniken, XIV., 877. In regard to the Pope's relations with Joh. Wessel, see ULLMANN, II., 353 *seq.*, and to his encouragement of Universities, PRANTL, I., 68; Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr., p. 206, 1865. See F. STÄLIN, Gesch. Württembergs, I., 2, 671 *seq.* (Gotha, 1887); PELLINI, 813; and *supra*, p. 260, regarding Copenhagen.

‡ MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 83. See the Revue des deux Mondes, 1881, Nov., p. 163. Regarding the jurists whom Sixtus IV. invited to Rome, see RENAZZI, I., 185 *seq.*

The Roman Humanists in the time of Sixtus IV. formed a very brilliant circle. While Pomponius Laetus lived almost entirely by his labours as a Professor,* "Platina wrote his History of the Popes, Campanus composed his elegies and epigrams, Aurelio Brandolini charmed even the unpoetical Pope with his verses, while a bevy of youthful writers produced Latin poems of more or less merit." † The favour shewn by Sixtus IV. to Gasparo and Francesco, the sons of Flavio Biondi, shewed his willingness to reward the services rendered by departed scholars.‡ Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, the editor of many ancient authors, was in his service. His kinsman, Philippus de Lignamine, a Dominican, continued Ricobaldo's Chronicle of the Popes down to the year 1469, and dedicated his work to Sixtus IV.§

His pontificate was very fruitful in historical works. The example of Pius II. in writing the history of his own time produced many imitators. Sigismondo de' Conti holds the first place amongst these. His "Contemporary History," in seventeen books, comprising the period from 1475 to 1510, "ensures him an honourable mention among the Cinquecento writers." Sigismondo, who is spoken of with the greatest respect by contemporaneous authors, was a Christian Humanist. These men, "the sympathetic outcome of the age of the Renaissance, had themselves experienced the antagonism between the ancient classical world and the

* Petrus Martyr was, from the year 1477, a disciple of P. Laetus; see HEIDENHEIMER, P. M., 4 (Berlin, 1881).

† GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 4. See RENAZZI, I., 187 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 408–9; and VILLENEUVE, 14, for an account of Brandolini. For the relations of D. Calderino to Sixtus IV., see GIULIARI, 76 *seq.* See also MANSI-FABRICIUS, I., 297.

‡ This information is furnished by Wilmanns from the Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican in the Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, pp. 1502–3.

§ FABRICIUS-MANSI, V., 279–80.

mediæval point of view, but able justly to distinguish between the means and the end, were not blinded by the splendour of the past, and held fast to the principles of Christianity." Sigismondo requited the favours of Sixtus IV. and the Rovere by a frequent and far too partial mention of them in his work, which otherwise is both trustworthy and candid.* "Jacopo Gherardi of Volterra (Volaterranus), attracted by Pope Sixtus IV. to the Court of Rome, followed the example of his first patron, Cardinal Ammanati, by writing Memoirs of his time. Mattia Palmieri of Pisa, Papal Scriptor, who died in 1482, continued the chronicle of his famous Florentine namesake, Matteo Palmieri." †

Notwithstanding the love of literature which distinguished Sixtus IV., the unfortunate circumstances of the time robbed the Roman University of much of her splendour. "The revenues destined for the maintenance of the Institution were often employed in the war, and taxes were imposed on the salaries of the Professors. Different posts connected with the University came by purchase into unworthy hands."‡

Sixtus IV. also encouraged literary men by appointments to diplomatic Missions. In 1476 Georgios Hermonymos went to England as Orator to the English§ Embassy, and in 1482 Sigismondo de' Conti, who had previously accompanied Cardinal Giuliano to the Netherlands, was sent to Florence.||

* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 304–23. See also SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., N. F., XXI., 359. The Life of Sigismondo by Bartol. Alpeus, preserved in the Archivio Communale of Ancona, has been published by Faloci Pulignani, S. de C. Il Topino, I., N. 26.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 350.

‡ RENAZZI, I., 195; PAPENCORDT, 521; CHRISTOPHE, II., 295 *seq.* See *supra*, p. 422.

§ OMONT, G. Hermonyme in the Mém. de la Soc. d'Hist. de Paris, XII., 65 *seq.*, and GEIGER, Vierteljahrsschrift für Renaissance, II., 197.

|| See *supra*, pp. 334 and 372.

Johannes Philippus de Lignamine had, in 1475, the honour of welcoming the King of Naples at Velletri, and was subsequently entrusted with Missions to Mantua and Sicily.*

The excessive self-esteem of these favoured Humanists often took a very offensive form. Theodoros Gaza, considering the payment given him by the Pope for his translation of Aristotle's Animals insufficient, is said to have scornfully cast it into the Tiber.† The anecdote may be an invention, but it exemplifies the insolence and greed of many Humanists, one of whom, George of Trebizond, even went so far as to beg money from the Sultan, to whom he wrote two fulsome letters.‡ Francesco Filelfo, who made presents and money

* MARINI, I., 193 *seq.*

† So says Jovius, while PIERIUS VALERIANUS, De infelicitate literat., II., 159, makes Trapezuntios die of it. Hodius doubts the whole story; BÄHR, in Ersch-Gruber, I., Section 55, p. 135, refuses to reject it altogether. See LEGRAND, I., xxxviii.

‡ Perotti (how far he received directions from Sixtus IV. remains still uncertain; see REUMONT'S Vermuthungen, III., 1, 350, and *cf.* Vespasiano da Bisticci [in MAI, I., 279], who, however, being a Florentine, is not an impartial witness; Civ. Catt., I., 148, 1868) accordingly made a furious attack on Trapezuntios. VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 144, 2nd ed., cites: N. Perotti, Refutatio deliramentorum Georgii Trapezuntii in Morelli; Codices ms. lat. bibl. Nanianaep., 51. The last-named book was not within my reach. On the other hand, there is in *Cod. Vat., 2934, I., f. 219 *seq.*, an "Invectiva Nic. Perotti in Georg. Trapezunt. quia Turcum omnibus quicumque fuerunt imperatoribus natura praestantiorem esse voluit," which is, perhaps, identical with the "Refutatio." Perotti here takes both the letters of Trapezuntios to the Sultan to pieces, sentence by sentence, heaps reproaches upon him, and calls on the Pope, the Emperor, and all Christian Princes to punish him: "Hancine luem, hancine pestem . . . sustinere amplius poteritis? . . . Exurgite igitur, exurgite . . . et hunc sceleratissimum hominem, hanc trunculentam feram, hoc immanissimum monstrum non ex urbe abigite, non ex Italia exterminate . . . sed cadendum flagris et usque ad ossa dilaniandum discerpendum dilacerandum tradite."

the chief subject of his verses, was even more covetous.* If the insolent petitions of this insatiable man were not favourably received he revenged himself by the coarsest invectives. Each new Pope was addressed immediately upon his elevation by the "King of importunate poets," and if, like Pius II., he failed to satisfy the immense expectations of the petitioner, was loaded with abuse. The attacks which this most repulsive of Humanists made on the memory of the departed Pius II. were so horrible, that the College of Cardinals caused him to be imprisoned at the very time when he was striving to obtain a place at the Court.† On the accession of Sixtus IV., Filelfo renewed his efforts in this direction. The Pope at first gave him no encouragement, and Filelfo's flatteries soon changed to complaints, and finally to threats. When he was summoned to Rome in 1474, he owed his appointment mainly to the dread of his pen.‡ Filelfo was employed for three years as Professor at the Roman University; dissensions were not wanting during this period; the most important was his quarrel with Miliaduca Cicada, Master of the Papal Treasury. For the first time, however, "he was delighted with the City, its climate, the exuberance and elegance of its life, and, above all, with the incredible liberty which there prevailed."§

The "incredible liberty" was most strikingly displayed in

* VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, I., 531, 2nd ed., gives a detailed description of Filelfo's system of begging.

† VOIGT, Pius II., III., 637 *seq.*; GASPARY, 116.

‡ This fear is manifest in the friendly manner in which Sixtus IV. caused him to be treated on his arrival in Rome; see MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 89. BUSER, Lorenzo, 26, informs us that Filelfo begged assistance from Lorenzo de' Medici for his journey to Rome.

§ "Et quod maximi omnium faciendum videtur mihi, incredibilis quaedam hic libertas est." Ep. LX. in ROSMINI; see GREGOROVIUS, VII., 531, 3rd ed., and MÜNTZ in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, 1881, Novemb., p. 168.

the permission given by the Pope to the Roman Academy to resume their meetings, which had been suppressed. Sixtus IV. looked upon Humanism as a purely literary movement in no way dangerous to religion. The apprehensions which the extravagances and the heathen tendencies of many literary men had awakened in the mind of his predecessor were not shared by him. "He may also have thought that the Humanists had had their lesson and taken it to heart." Pomponius Laetus was again perfectly free to lecture, and the Academy held its sittings without the slightest hindrance. The spectacle was a strange one. "While a Minorite occupied the Papal Throne the worship of antiquity, with its excesses as well as its good side, flourished unrebuked, and no offence seems to have been taken at the pontificate of Pomponius Laetus. The assemblies at this house on the Quirinal near the Gardens of Constantine were more brilliant than ever. The Academy was openly recognised, and this, in fact, was the simplest way of rendering it harmless."* High dignitaries of the Church were on friendly terms with it. On the 20th April, 1483, when the Academicians celebrated the birthday of Rome, a solemn High Mass, followed by a discourse from Paulus Marsus, preceded the banquet, at which six Bishops were present. At this Academic Feast the "Privilegium," by which the Emperor Frederick granted to the body the right of conferring the title of Doctor and crowning Poets, was publicly read.†

In his treatment of Platina, one of the most violent members of the Academy, Sixtus IV. shewed great tact and knowledge of human nature. "He managed to win this ringleader of the opposition by treating him as an old friend, and assigned to him successively two tasks, which removed all danger of anti-Papal dispositions, by enlisting all his

* REUMONT, III., 1, 351. See also SCHMARSOW, 28.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 185.

energies and talents in the service of the very power against which he had rebelled. He first encouraged him to write a History of the Popes, and then requested him to make a collection of all the Documents regarding the rights of the Holy See."* By the end of the year 1474, or the beginning of 1475,† Platina was able to offer his "History of the Popes" to his august patron.‡ It is, in many respects, a remarkable

* SCHMARSOW, 28.

† This appears from the fact that Platina's work comes down to November, 1474. DÖLLINGER, Papstfabeln, 22, is, therefore, in error when he says that Platina's History of the Popes was written in 1460. VAIRANI, I., 6, gives 1473 as the year in which the work was begun.

‡ I found in Cod. Vat. 2044, of the Vatican Library the copy presented to Sixtus IV. It is a splendid Renaissance Codex, of 236 folio pages, written on parchment. It begins, f. 1: "Prohemium Platynae in vitas pontificum ad Sixtum IIII. P. M. Multa quidem, &c." The 'M' is illuminated with an exquisite miniature of the arms of the Rovere, supported by two naked genii. Each word is written in many colours: blue, red, green, lilac, and gold, and the effect on the fine parchment is splendid. There is a still finer miniature at f. 2b, a portrait of the Pope, surrounded by the inscription: "Sixtus Pont. Max," and framed in a wreath with golden acorns. The many-coloured letters often recur, as in f. 3, where the naked genii again appear, but this time without the coat-of-arms. Here the actual history begins. "Platynae historici liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum qui hactenus ducenti fuere et XX. Nobilitatis maximam partem, &c." This original copy of the History, which has become so celebrated, has a threefold importance. (*a.*) It contains, f. 229–236b, the Life of Sixtus IV., as found by MURATORI, III., 2, 1045-65, in a Cod. Urb.; that is to say, without the addition regarding the Hospital of S. Spirito. This tends to confirm Schmarsow's view that Platina was the author of this Vita; see also *supra*, p. 272. (*b.*) It contains all the passages calculated to give offence, as, *e.g.*, that against John XXII., fol. 177b, as well as the violent language, of which we shall speak presently, condemning the state of ecclesiastical affairs at that period. (*c*) There are many interesting notes, probably in Platina's own handwriting, some of which are mere corrections, and others, especially in the Biography of Paul II., alterations of the text; expressions are in some instances,

work for the period in which it was written. Instead of the confused and often fabulous Chronicles of the Middle Ages, we find here for the first time a clear and serviceable handbook of real history. The graphic descriptions, the elegant, perspicuous, and yet concise, style of the work have won for Platina's "Lives of the Popes" many readers even down to the present day.*

In his Preface, which is addressed to Sixtus IV., Platina begins by emphasising, in the Humanistic style,† the dignity and importance of history. His declaration that he will, on principle, avoid applying expressions belonging to classical heathenism to Christian subjects, is remarkable. He begins his work with Christ, "so that, springing from the Emperor of Christians as from a living fountain, it may flow on through the Roman Bishops down to the days of Sixtus." In the lives of the earliest Popes, Platina repeatedly mentions the ancient monuments with admiration. "In the Church of Sant' Andrea near Santa Maria Maggiore," he writes, in his life of Simplicius, "as I looked at the relics of antiquity which it contains, tears often filled my eyes at the neglect of those whose duty it is to preserve it from decay."‡

toned down, and in others intensified. Further particulars will be given in another place.

* See TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 279; VILLARI, I., 130; BISSOLATI, 73 *seq.*; MÜNTZ in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, 1881, Nov., p. 174. An English translation of Platina's Lives of the Popes appeared in 1888. The book was first printed by two Germans in Venice, in 1479; in 1481 another edition came out at Nuremberg (Hain, 13,047); this was followed by numerous others, some of which were mutilated; see VAIRANI, I., 11–12 (here p. 119, also the "Prohoemium Platinae ad Sixtum IV. in libellum Plutarchi de ira"), and POTTHAST, Bibl., I., 495. What BISSOLATI, 165 *seq.*, adduces is unsatisfactory.

† See, in general, VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 495, 2nd ed., and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 4.

‡ His interest in antiquity is often betrayed. In opposition to the

The critical acumen repeatedly manifested by Platina is worthy of note, "though he keeps this faculty under restraint, not wishing to interrupt the flow of his narrative."* The freedom with which, in a work dedicated to Sixtus IV., he treats of the faults of both the older and the more recent Popes, is to be commended, and does equal honour to the author and to his patron. It is all the more painful to find that, in dealing with the life of his former adversary, Paul II., Platina has been unable to rise to the height of an impartial historian. Death is a great peacemaker, and it might have been expected that, when Paul II. was no longer on earth, Platina would have done justice to his memory. This, however, is by no means the case. The labours of Paul II. are described in a very one-sided manner, and indeed often wilfully travestied and ridiculed.† Even in passages in which there is no occasion for mentioning this Pope, Platina seeks one, in order to give vent to his hatred.‡ This is all the more to be deplored, inasmuch as the biographies of the Popes of the Renaissance period constitute the only original portion of his work.

Platina's language, also, in speaking of the ecclesiastical affairs of his own time, is often very intemperate. Strangely enough, these outbreaks do not occur in the lives of the 15th Century Popes, but are interpolated in those of an earlier period. They are, in fact, masked attacks. When writing of Dionysius I., Platina drags in complaints of the

ignorant chroniclers of the 14th Century, he clears St. Gregory the Great from the slanderous accusation of having ruthlessly destroyed the relics of the past.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 589, 3rd ed. Platina looked with suspicion on the fable of Pope Joan, but would not omit it, as almost every one maintained it; see DÖLLINGER, Papstfabeln, p. 22.

† See SCHMARSOW, 29. See also *supra*, p. 64 *seq.*

‡ See the passages in the Life of Hadrian I. and Stephen VI.

pomp and pride of the higher clergy. In the histories of Julius I., Socinus I., and Boniface III. he introduces censures, obviously aimed at the clergy of the 15th Century. The immorality of Sixtus IV.'s Cardinals is severely castigated in the biography of Stephen III. A still more violent passage is inserted in his account of Gregory IV.* There was doubtless good cause for his animadversions, but they come somewhat strangely from a man whose own life was so dissolute.† Platina, however, is guilty of a worse fault, when, in dealing with the reign of John XXII., he repeats the assertion of the party of the opposition, who maintained that the Pope contradicted Scripture, in saying that Christ possessed no property. The truthfulness of this historian may be gauged by the frivolous inscriptions discovered to have been written by some of the Roman Academicians in the Catacombs of S. Callisto, on the occasion on which he describes himself as having visited it out of devotion‡ with a few friends.§

We cannot but be surprised that Sixtus IV. accepted the dedication of a work like Platina's. Probably he was only acquainted with its contents in so far as they concerned the history of his own pontificate. This portion, which comes down to November, 1474, contained nothing but what would have given him perfect satisfaction. This feeling found expression in Platina's appointment as Librarian of the Vatican in the following year. While he occupied this post, the Pope commissioned him to arrange the collection of

* Reflections on the danger threatened by Turkey in the 15th Century are placed in the history of Boniface V., and coupled with charges against the clergy of Platina's own time.

† See the evidence from *Cod. Vat., 9020, *supra*, p. 64, note ||.

‡ "Invisi ego haec loca cum amicis quibusdam religionis causa." Vita Calisti I., p. 56.

§ See *supra*, p. 63.

Documents containing the Privileges of the Roman Church, which are now preserved in three volumes in the Vatican Archives. This useful work, which is invaluable to the annalists of the Church,* was brought to a conclusion during the war with Florence.† Here, also, Platina proved his critical discernment in excluding the "Donation of Constantine" from his collection of Documents. The Preface to the work is interesting, inasmuch as Platina not only avoids everything of an anti-Papal tendency, but also speaks with approval of the proceedings of the Popes against heretics and schismatics.‡ There appears to be no doubt that Sixtus IV. succeeded in completely winning him over to the cause of the Church. The same may also be said in regard to the proud Pomponius Laetus, who now composed poems in honour of Sixtus IV.§

Platina died in 1481. His friends, among whom were some Bishops, celebrated the anniversary of his death in the Church of Sta Maria Maggiore, where he was buried.|| Mass was said by the Bishop of Ventimiglia, an Augustinian, and the tomb was sprinkled with holy water and incensed.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1478, N. 48. Kaltenbrunner is going to publish an exact description of the Coll. Platinae, together with a partial Catalogue of its rich contents; see Mittheil. des Œsterr. Instituts, VI., 208.

† This appears from the Preface, of which MARINI, Archivi, 21, and Regestum Clementis V., I., p. xlix., give short passages; through the kindness of Professor Kaltenbrunner, I was able to make use of a complete copy.

‡ *"De auctoritate anathemizandi eos qui contra sedem apost. moliti aliquid fuerint quique heresim et seditionem in ecclesia Dei severint tam latus in his bullis apparet campus ut fulmina quedam in prevaricatores ipsos et scismaticos e celo missa videantur." Preface to the first volume of the Coll. Platinae. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 574-5, 3rd ed.

|| See BISSOLATI, 82, and Archivio Veneto, 1887, fasc. 67, p. 161.

Pomponius Laetus, the President of the Academy, then mounted the pulpit to pronounce an oration in memory of his departed friend. Jacobus Volaterranus informs us that it was of a thoroughly religious and serious character. A poet from Perugia, named Astreus, then, from the same pulpit, recited an elegy in verse, lamenting his loss! That such a thing could have been done is indeed an evidence of that "incredible liberty" so triumphantly praised by Filelfo. We cannot, however, suppose that serious men could fail to disapprove, when, in the very sanctuary of the Queen of Heaven, just after the Mass for the Dead, a layman, without the least token of any spiritual office, pronounced, from the pulpit, verses which, although very elegant, yet—as Volaterranus remarks—were quite alien to our religion, and out of keeping with the sacred function which had just taken place.*

The Rome of that day was indeed full of strange contrasts, against which no one protested. Christian and heathen Humanism are to be seen walking side by side in daily life, and apparently incommoding each other as little as did the reforms and abuses which prevailed together in the Church.†

II.

During his long pontificate, Sixtus IV. did incomparably more for the promotion of Art than for that of Literature. It has been justly observed, that the artistic activity of

* JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 171; SCHMARSOW, 189; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 278, 3rd ed.

† See *supra*, p. 406 *seq*. This may also be a fitting place to mention that Cod. 14 of the Archives of the Papal Chapel contains most unseemly mythological figures, and a naked Cupid with violet stockings; see HABERL, Bausteine, I., 72. Things of this kind cannot have come to the knowledge of the Pope, who, although an enthusiastic lover of Art, punished an obscene painter. INFESSURA, 1178.

the 15th Century reached its climax in Rome in his days.* Francesco della Rovere started with the firm determination of carrying on the work of Nicholas V., in adorning the capital of the Christian world with all that sheds lustre on a secular power. But as his individual character differed widely from that of the first patron of Art among the Popes, the manner in which he proceeded naturally differed also. Sixtus had, in common with Nicholas V., that love of the ideal which was so strong in the earlier Pope, but he "confined himself to what was practical and possible, and did not let his imagination run wild" in gigantic projects. Accordingly, Sixtus IV. had the happiness of reigning long enough to accomplish the greater part of what he had undertaken.†

The verses from the pen of Platina, on the opening of the Vatican Library, which adorn the portrait of Melozzo da Forli, tell, in a few words, what Sixtus did for Rome :—

> Templa domum expositus ; vicos, fora, mœnia, pontes :
> Virgineam Trivii quod repararis aquam.
> Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus :
> Et Vaticanum cingere Sixte ingum :
> Plus tamen Urbs debet : nam quæ squalore latebat :
> Cermitur (*sic*) in celebri bibliotheca loco.‡

The approach of the Jubilee Year was, as we have shewn, the primary occasion of the external renovation of the Eternal City, and her transformation from the mediæval type to one in keeping with the advancing needs of the age. At the present day there are but few parts of Rome that give any

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 639, 3rd ed. See MÜNTZ, III., 11, and REUMONT, III., 1, 402.

† See REUMONT in the Lit. Rundschau, 1878, p. 334, and MÜNTZ, III., 17.

‡ See SCHMARSOW, 37. Milanesi has shewn that Baccio Pontelli was never Sixtus IV.'s chief Architect ; Meo del Caprino, Giovanni de' Dolci, Giacomo da Pietrasanta, and others were employed in that capacity.

idea of the City as it was four hundred years ago. There was an irregular collection of narrow, crooked, and dirty streets, in which the common requirements of a great town were utterly neglected. In many cases, projecting porticoes, stalls, and balconies seriously obstructed the ordinary traffic, not to speak of that which might be expected in the Jubilee Year. In some places, two horsemen could not pass each other. Pavements, with the exception of some which had been begun in the time of Nicholas V., were almost unknown, either in the middle of the streets or alongside of the houses.*

Into this gloomy and unhealthy chaos Sixtus IV., following the schemes of Nicholas V., first brought air and light. The most important streets were paved, and it then became possible to think of cleansing them.† We have already spoken of the difficulties encountered in the work of widening the streets, which was undertaken in preparation for the Jubilee Year.‡ The Pope, however, was not to be deterred from it. In January, 1480, he began by the removal of the armourers' shops on the Bridge of S. Angelo. "The Romans at first opposed this innovation, but soon became reconciled to what was a real benefit."§ In June of

* See REUMONT, III., 1, 403 *seq.*

† CORIO, 264, expressly states that the measures of Sixtus IV. rendered Rome more healthy. It is hard to realise the state of the streets in former times. Many of the principal thoroughfares in London were not paved until the 15th or 16th Century. Berlin was not completely paved even in the earlier half of the past Century; and its streets were not swept before the year 1600. The highly-civilised Italian cities were the first to have their streets paved; see the dates in BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 212–13.

‡ See *supra*, p. 276 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 631, 3rd ed. "Every one nowadays," says SCHMARSOW, 149, "takes the part of the energetic Pope who proceeded relentlessly against these abuses, although Roman chroniclers of his own time complain of his tyranny."

the same year an order was promulgated, requiring that "in all the most frequented streets projections should be cleared away, pavements laid down, at least at the sides, houses jutting out into the street wholly or partially removed, the ruined ones rebuilt, new squares laid out and those already existing widened and made more symmetrical. Cardinal d'Estouteville was to superintend these improvements." * The Pope himself came from time to time to ascertain personally how his directions were being carried out.

In the Leonine City he laid out a handsome street, originally known by his own name, extending from the moat of the Castle to the great gate of the Papal Palace (now Borgo S. Angelo) ;† a third street here met the old Via de' Cavalli, which took much the same direction as the present Borgo S^to^ Spirito, and the old Via Santa, now Borgo Vecchio. The erection of the Ponte Sisto effected a complete transformation in that part of the City which lay on the right bank of the Tiber. Sigismondo de' Conti says that, in consequence of the accommodation afforded by the Bridge, this dirty and uninhabited district became thickly populated.‡ Distinguished persons built houses there, and, even to the present day, the Vicolo Riario, near the Corsini Palace, remains as a memento of the villa belonging to that family which was situated there.§

Besides all that he did for the Library, Sixtus IV. carried

* REUMONT, III., 1, 404; MÜNTZ, III., 182; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, III., 92; P. BELLONI, La costituzione "Quae publice utilia . . ." intorno al decoro publ. e la città di Roma, 11 (Roma, 1870).

† ADINOLFI, Portica, 51 and 218 *seq.*; FORCELLA, XIII., 68, 78, 85. The *Eulogy of Sixtus IV., mentioned *supra*, p. 209, note *, expressly lays stress on the formation of the Via Sistina. Cod. 2403, f. 11, Court Library, Vienna.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 204.

§ See BURRIEL, Caterina Sforza, I., 31.

on other works of restoration in the Vatican, and built the Chapel which bears his name. The interior of the Palace was fitted up anew, and a barrack erected for the guard. The roof of St. Peter's, its Sacristy, and the Chapel of S. Petronilla were restored, and the Tabernacle of the Confession and the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception were constructed.*

We have already spoken of the restoration of the churches before and during the Jubilee Year.† These works were very rapidly carried on, and Sixtus IV. also found time for building new churches. Foremost among these we must mention Sta Maria del Popolo, begun in 1472, and St Maria della Pace, both of which are worthy memorials of the Pope's devotion to the Queen of Heaven. Sta Maria del Popolo is a Basilica, with three naves surrounded by chapels, and with an octagonal dome supported on a drum, the first of the kind erected in Rome; unlike the other buildings of the period, which were, for the most part, very hurriedly built, the façade of the year 1477 is a good specimen of pure Renaissance.‡

Sta Maria del Popolo was the favourite church of the Pope and of the Rovere family. Sixtus IV. visited it almost every week, and the chief events of his reign were mostly celebrated there.

The Cardinals, especially his nephews, followed the Pope's

* MÜNTZ, III., 111, 139, 147; SCHMARSOW, 229. Regarding the Tabernacle of the Confession, probably erected in 1475, see Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, VIII., 12 *seq.*

† *Supra*, p. 275.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 113–14, see pp. 35, 115, 117; REUMONT, III., 1, 408; FORCELLA, I., 319 *seq.*; FRANTZ, 167; PAPENCORDT, 521. "In the edifices of the time of Sixtus IV.," says SPRINGER, Rafael, 103, "we observe that massive forms and grand proportions are avoided; they have, however, the advantage of presenting in their interior ample space for sculpture and painting." See *infra*, p. 465 *seq.*

example. "Two Churches and palatial Convents, S. Pietro in Vincoli and SS. Apostoli, are, in their entirety, memorials of the Rovere."* In the first-named Basilica, Cardinal Giuliano continued the work of his uncle, and in the latter, that of the nephew, Pietro Riario. This Cardinal also restored the portico of S. Agnese.†

The Castles of Grottaferrata and Ostia, in the neighbourhood of Rome, are also abiding monuments of the powerful Cardinal. After the death of Bessarion, Grottaferrata was granted *in commendam* to Giuliano, who at once began to build there. On account of the strategical importance of its position, the Convent was surrounded by a fortification. Those who have visited the Alban hills will remember this "incomparably picturesque group of buildings at the foot of the green hills of Tusculum, on a smooth space overshadowed by old elms and plane-trees."‡ The Castle of Ostia is of kindred character—even now, "in its decay, the most beautiful ruin of the later mediæval period in the vicinity of Rome"; but the surrounding landscape is very different. Grottaferrata lies amidst rich fields and fruitful hills; about Ostia is a "melancholy, silent tract of barren, low-lying ground, formed of rubbish and sand-hills," through which the yellow, sluggish stream makes its way to the sea. A long inscription on the principal tower of the Castle records that "Giuliano of Savona erected this stronghold as a refuge from

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 635, 3rd ed. See MÜNTZ, Anciennes Basiliques, 21 *seq.* Vasari has assigned to Pontelli a share in the building of SS. Apostoli; this cannot however be admitted. Müntz supposes Giovanni de' Dolci to have been the Architect of this church. JANITSCHEK in the Repertorium, IV., 214, concludes from its style, that it is the work of Giacomo da Pietrasanta.

† FORCELLA, II., 228, X., 350.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 409, and SCHMARSOW, 10 and 118. See also ROCCHI, 103 *seq.*

the perils of the sea, a protection to the Roman Campagna, a defence to Ostia, and to the mouth of the Tiber." He began it in the reign of Pope Sixtus IV., his uncle, and concluded the work by digging out, at his own expense, the moat which had been silted up by the river in the time of Pope Innocent VIII., in the year of Salvation 1486, the 2115th after the building of Ostia, the 2129th after Ancus, the founder of the city. The architect of the Castle at Ostia and probably also of the fortifications at Grottaferrata, was the celebrated Giuliano Giamberti, surnamed da San Gallo.*

Before Cardinal Giuliano built the Castle of Ostia, the wealthy d'Estouteville, its Bishop, had provided the ruined city with walls, streets, and houses.† In 1479, d'Estouteville, who had, two years previously, succeeded Orsini as Camerlengo, began to rebuild the Church of S. Agostino in Rome: this work was completed in four years.‡ He was also a great benefactor to other Roman Churches, especially to Sta Maria Maggiore and S. Luigi de' Francesi.§

Mention has already been made of the buildings erected by Cardinal Domenico della Rovere. Girolamo Basso della Rovere completed the Pilgrimage Church at Loreto, and

* GUGLIELMOTTI'S work, Della rocca d'Ostia, &c., Roma, 1862, is admirable. See also REUMONT, III., 1, 410 *seq.*, 519. For an account of Giuliano's magnificent constructions in Bologna, see Atti dell' Emilia, II., 194 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, Rafael, 104.

† See Anecdota Veneta, ed. CONTARINI, 267; ARMELLINI, 145.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 145. See MÜNTZ, III., 41; JANITSCHEK'S Repert., IV., 76; ARMELLINI, 107; FORCELLA, V., 18. Regarding the removal of the market from the Capitol to Piazza Navona by order of d'Estouteville, see CANCELLIERI, Il Mercato, 16 (1811).

§ DE ANGELIS, Basilicae S. Mariae Majoris descriptio, 137 *seq.*; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, Le Card. d'Estouteville bienfaiteur des Églises de Rome (Angers, 1859), and Inventaires des établ. nationaux de S. Louis des Français et de S. Sauveur in Thermis à Rome (Paris, 1861); also MÜNTZ, III., 285 *seq.*

caused the Cappella del Tesoro to be painted by Melozzo da Forli; the paintings, which are in excellent preservation, are very original and striking.* Another important edifice of this time was the Palace of Cardinal Stefano Nardini (Palazzo del Governo Vecchio), built in 1475. "It is the last Roman Palace which still retains something of the character of the mediæval fortress."†

It would take too long to go further into details. The relations of Sixtus IV. were undoubtedly admirable patrons of Arts; the armorial bearings of Riario Rovere and Basso on many ancient piles bear witness to their splendid achievements in this line.

Sixtus also did much in the way of restoring the bridges, walls, gates, towers, and other buildings of the City.‡ At the Capitol these works were connected with the opening of a museum of antiquities, the first public collection of the kind in Italy, and indeed in Europe.§ The practical Sixtus IV., by admitting the public to visit the collection, rendered it more popular than it had been in the time of its founder, Paul II. Museums now began to appear everywhere in connection with and as supplementing the Libraries. The characters of distinguished men frequently present great contradictions, and we find Sixtus IV., almost simultaneously with the opening of the Capitoline Museum, dispersing many of the costly treasures of the Palace of S. Marco. With similar inconsistency, he restored the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius and destroyed many ancient

* A detailed description is given by SCHMARSOW, 124 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 638, 3rd ed. See FORCELLA, XIII., 171. An inscription on a restoration undertaken by Cardinal Gonzaga in Bologna is given in Atti dell' Emilia, II., 188.

‡ MÜNTZ, III., 188 *seq.*; FORCELLA, XIII., 13.

§ MÜNTZ, III., 168 *seq.*, and Le musée du Capitole, Paris, 1882. See also MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, III., 91.

temples and triumphal arches.* But, however great the injury he may have inflicted on the ancient monuments, it was more than outweighed by his artistic embellishment of Rome, to which he imparted a completely new aspect. In order to encourage building in his capital, and to increase the number of its inhabitants, he had, in 1475, conferred the right of ownership on all who should build houses within the City district.†

One of the most beneficial works accomplished by Sixtus IV. was the restoration of the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito, a foundation of Innocent III., which had fallen into decay.‡ Pity for children deserted by unnatural mothers induced this Pope, whom his enemies depict as another Nero, to adopt Eugenius IV.'s undertaking. When Sixtus IV., in his frequent visits to the dilapidated house, saw these poor, forsaken children at play, his heart was touched, and he decided to have the Hospital thoroughly rebuilt and richly endowed. "He engaged the best Architects, hired a number of labourers, and commenced operations at once. Sixtus IV. considerably extended the original plan; he provided portions for the girls as they grew up, so that they might not be exposed, without resources, to the temptations of the world."§ Although the building was certainly hurried on

* See MÜNTZ, III., 15. By a special Bull of 1474, Sixtus IV. protected the old Basilicas; MÜNTZ, Anc. Basil., 8.

† THEINER, Cod., III., 480–81. See MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, II., 725.

‡ ". . . Verum hoc quum longa vetustas
Demolita foret, vix relliquiae ut remanerent,
Sixtus id instaurat novaque omnia sumptibus illic
Efficit immensis."

These lines are from the *Poem, cited p. 209, note *; which is in Cod. 2403, f. 12, Court Library, Vienna.

§ PLATINA, Sixtus IV., 1064; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 205; Bull., 226; FRANTZ, 165. S. Spirito was situated on the Tiber, and most

for the Jubilee Year, it was not until 1482 that the works were completed. The Architect of the whole is unknown; he could not have been Baccio Pontelli, who, until 1482, lived at Pisa and Urbino, not in Rome. Sixtus IV. also shewed his predilection for the Order of the Holy Ghost and for the Hospital "by a grant of various privileges and an increase of its fixed revenues."* Following the example of Eugenius IV., he re-established the confraternity in the spring of 1478, and himself became a member.† All the Cardinals and the whole Court followed him. From that time forward, it became more and more the custom to enter this pious society. The Confraternity-book of S^to^ Spirito has accordingly become, in its way, a unique collection of autographs.‡

of the German Hospitals of the Holy Ghost were also by the water, partly for sanitary reasons; see Zeitschr. des Vereins für Erforschung Rheinisch. Gesch., II., Part 4 (Mainz, 1864). A ground-plan of the whole institution is given by LETAROUILLY, Édifices de Rome, III., Pl. 256.

* BROCKHAUS, S. Spirito, 284–5, 289, 290. See also, in regard to Pontelli, REDTENBACHER, 147.

† Not 1477, as GREGOROVIUS, VII., 633, 3rd ed., and BROCKHAUS, 285, N. 10, state; in Bull., 245 *seq.*, for A° VI. should be *read* A° VII., as RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1477, N. 12, has it, and, which is conclusive, the *Confraternity-book in the Archives of S^to^ Spirito, f. 65. The Bull was printed at the time (HAIN, pp. 14809–12). Only these Latin editions were hitherto known, but a German one also exists. In 1885 a copy of this most rare early-printed book (*s. l. e. a.*, fol. 6 sheets) was offered by the antiquary, Alb. Cohn, in Berlin (Mohrenstrasse, No. 53, Catalogue 164, No. 429), for forty marks.

‡ See DUDIK, I., 86; GREGOROVIUS, *loc. cit.*; and Mon. Vat. Hist. Hung. illust., Ser. I., Tom. V., Budapest, 1889. The following entry, written in a firm hand, at f. 69 of the *Confraternity-book, is interesting: "Ego Rodericus de Boria episcopus Portuen. card^lis^ et ep. Valent. S. R. E. vicecancellarius intravi predict. sanct. confraternitatem die XXI. Martii, 1478, ea mente ut indulgentiam prefatam a S. D. N. concessam consequar ideo propria manu me suscripsi." Archives of S^to^ Spirito.

The magnificent scale on which the reconstruction of this Hospital was carried out, so that even Alberti was satisfied with it, is an abiding memorial of the benevolence of Sixtus IV. Much pains were bestowed on the decoration of the interior; the spacious and airy hall for the sick was ornamented with frescoes as far as the tops of the windows, and above them with a broad frieze of pictures arranged in panels. Attention has recently been directed to these half-faded paintings, which are of the ancient Umbrian type. They portray the foundation of the Hospital by Innocent III., and, in a very attractive form, the life of Sixtus IV. from his birth. The inscriptions under them are from the pen of Bartolomeo Platina.*

The architectural works of Sixtus IV. extended to almost all the cities of the States of the Church, and even as far as Savona and Avignon. Assisi, Bertinoro, Bieda, Bologna, Caprarola, Cascia, Cesena, Citerna, Città di Castello, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Fano, Foligno, Forli, Monticelli, Nepi, Orvieto, Ronciglione, Santa Marinella, Soriano, Spoleto, Sutri, Terracina, Tivoli, Todi, Tolfa, Veroli, and Viterbo, were all, in this respect, indebted to this Pontiff.†

* To BROCKHAUS belongs the merit of having first appreciated these frescoes, which are not even mentioned by Crowe-Cavalcaselle; he gives a minute description of them, 429 *seq.* See also SCHMARSOW, 202 *seq.*, who establishes Platina's authorship of the inscriptions. A copy of the legend under each picture is given in Cod. Barb., XXX., 113, *f.* 80, of the Barberini Library. VILLENEUVE, 8, is mistaken in his observations regarding this MS.

† See the accounts from the Archives given by MÜNTZ, 207–39. To supplement these, see also *supra*, p. 427, and, with regard to what was done in Assisi, CRISTOFANI, 332 *seq.*; LASPEYRES, 7, 10, 13, 14, 32 *seq.*; and REDTENBACHER, 164; for those at Bologna, a **Brief of the 10th Nov., 1471, in the State Archives of that city. A *Brief to Savona (*s. d.* preceding one of the 17th April, 1483) begins with these words: *"Magno tenemur desiderio, ut capella quam in ecclesia

It is worthy of remark that Sixtus IV.'s patronage of the Arts was universal in its character. Sculpture was encouraged in the persons of Verocchio and Pollajuolo, and he also did much for the promotion of the minor arts; medallists, engravers, glass-makers, cabinet-makers, goldsmiths, weavers, and embroiderers were all employed by him, and he also took an interest in pottery.*

In his orders for Works of Art, the Pope did not spare expense, as is evident from the fact that the Tiara made for him cost over 100,000 ducats. In this, as in all other things, he fully realised that the duties of a Pope are very different from those of the General of a Mendicant Order.†

The artistic chronicle of this pontificate is not yet exhausted. Sixtus IV. seems to have been even more active as a promoter of painting than as a builder. His practical spirit was shewn in his command, that the painters settled in Rome should form themselves into a Guild and draw up statutes; and this was the beginning of the famous Academy of St. Luke.‡

B. Francisci istius civitatis construi facimus absolvatur et perficiatur." They were to take care that this should be speedily done. (Lib. brev., 15, f. 489, Secret Archives of the Vatican.) In Viterbo a palatium ad habitationem presidis provincie patrimonii was built (see the *Decree of Card. Sansoni, dated Viterbo, 1484, Mai 18, Lib. brev., 17, f. 37, Secret Archives of the Vatican): this building, now the Palazzo Pubblico, still bears the Pope's arms with the inscription: Sixtus IIII., Pont. Max.

* UGOLINI, II., 530, and REUMONT, III., 1, 520.

† MÜNTZ, III., 30; REUMONT, III., 1, 426. Here is an account of the medals and coins of Sixtus IV. See also MÜNTZ, Atelier monét., p. 2; Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, II., 105, 232–3, III., 143. The influence of the Renaissance on the leaden seals attached to the Bulls of Sixtus IV., is noticed by MAS-LATRIE in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., 1887, Avril, p. 433 *seq.*

‡ MISSIRINI, Mem. p. serv. alla storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca, Roma, 1823; PIAZZA, Opere pie, 621; SCHMARSOW, 149 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, III., 99–111.

Sixtus IV. was, in fact, for Painters what Nicholas V. had been for Architects. We find, employed in his service, men whose names are held in honour by the whole civilised world: Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Signorelli, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and finally, the great Melozzo da Forli.*

This last-named artist was specially in touch with the stately characteristics of the Rovere family. Every one who has visited the Vatican galleries must remember Melozzo's picture of Sixtus IV., surrounded by his kindred, appointing Platina Prefect of the Vaticana. This was originally a fresco, and was afterwards transferred to canvas. If no other work of Melozzo's had been preserved, this one, "which captivates the eye at once by its simple and reposeful presentation of clearly defined personalities," would suffice to give us a very high idea of the painter's power.†

This magnificent picture was painted in 1476 and 1477. In the following year the master was working at Loreto, in 1479 he decorated the Chapel of the Choir in St. Peter's, and during 1480 and 1481 he was fully occupied in painting the Vatican Library.‡ Vasari does not mention any of these works, or, indeed, any one of Melozzo's, with the exception of his picture of the Ascension in the Church of SS. Apostoli. This, the most splendid masterpiece produced in Rome during the pontificate of Sixtus IV., was unfortunately

* See MÜNTZ, III., 89 *seq.* Pinturicchio worked, in the first instance, in the Sistine Chapel as assistant to Perugino, who was eight years his senior, and afterwards independently in the Capella Bufalini of Sta Maria in Araceli; see SCHMARSOW, B. Pinturicchio in Rom (Stuttgart, 1882), and Gött. Gel. Anz., 1884, p. 796 *seq.* Regarding Signorelli's sojourn in Rome (1482–83), see VISCHER, L. Signorelli und die Ital. Renaissance, 88 (Leipzig, 1879).

† SCHMARSOW, 1 *seq.*, 42–8, 162 *seq.*, 204, 311. The Arundel Society has brought out a very good chromo-lithograph of this picture. The wood-cut in LÜTZOW, 425, is unsatisfactory.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 167.

destroyed, all but a few fragments, when the church was rebuilt in 1711. Vasari, who saw it, speaks of it with enthusiasm. "The figure of Christ," he says, "is so skilfully fore-shortened, that it appears to pierce the vaulting, and the surrounding angels equally seem to be soaring or floating in air. The Apostles, in their various attitudes, are also drawn with such admirable adaptation to the eye of the spectator, who views them from below, as to have won for Melozzo the highest praise from the artists both of his own day and of ours. The buildings in the picture display a perfect mastery of the laws of perspective."* The few remains of this painting still extant in the Chapter-house of St. Peter's and in the Quirinal, are just sufficient to enable us to guess what the beauty of the whole must have been.† A recent writer justly observes: "In boldness of conception, in largeness and freedom of execution, the fresco in the tribune of SS. Apostoli is a real masterpiece, and is an unanswerable proof of the excellence which it was given to this artist to attain."‡

The Chapel in the Vatican which bears the name of Sixtus IV. contains many splendid memorials of his artistic tastes. This simple and noble edifice was begun in 1473 §

* VASARI, Opere, III., 52, and SCHMARSOW, 167 *seq.*, and p. 71 regarding Melozzo as the special inventor of the "sotto in su."

† Authentic original photographs of the figures of the four Apostles, five Angels, and Christ, have been for the first time, published by SCHMARSOW, Plates, 13–22. The Arundel Society has a chromo-lithograph of two Angels.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 175, who is disposed to adopt 1481 as the year in which this painting was completed. Against the earlier view, that this great work was accomplished under the auspices of Cardinal P. Riario, see also Gött. Gel. Anz., 1882, p. 1616 *seq.*

§ PLATTNER-BUNSEN, Beschreibung von Rom, II., 1, 245. In the Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, III., 234, Haberl seems to think that the Chapel was finished as early as 1473. In the *Eulogy

and finished in 1481. Vasari attributes the Cappella Sistina to Baccio Pontelli, but this is a mistake. It is the work of the Florentine, Giovannino de' Dolci, who must be looked upon as Sixtus IV.'s head Architect. The Sistina, henceforth the special Papal Chapel for ecclesiastical ceremonies of a semi-public character, is in form a parallelogram, and measures 132 feet by 45. "For two-thirds of its height the wall on the longer sides is unbroken, then there is a cornice, and above this six round-headed windows; formerly there were two similar ones on the altar side, but these are now blocked up. Their position, however, is shewn by two false ones, painted with a fac-simile of the glass that filled them, on the opposite wall adjoining the Sala Regia. Each of these latter windows has a bull's eye in the centre. In the interior, all architectural divisions are purposely avoided, with the exception of the cornice, about 3 feet in width and provided with an iron balustrade, which runs round beneath the windows. The ceiling forms a shallow circular vault resting upon brackets, and is pierced by a skylight over each of the windows. The whole was, from the first, evidently intended to be covered with paintings."*

written in 1477, which has been mentioned *supra*, p. 209, note *, the following passage occurs :—

*" Quumque intra divi sacra ipsa palatia Petri
Nonnullas pater ille domos ornat reparatque
Tum illic aedificat pulchrum praestansque sacellum.
Quod quum perfectum fuerit pleneque politum
Taleque iam factum, quale ipsum destinat auctor
Amplo et celso animo, tum demum fas erit illud
Praesulis absque pari monumentum dicere Sixti."

Cod. 2403, f. 11b, Court Library, Vienna.

* SCHMARSOW, 208. See BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 99. Regarding the Architect of the Sistina, who had settled in Rome in the time of Nicholas V., and was much employed by Pius II., and appointed

A richly-sculptured balustrade of white marble, with the arms of Sixtus IV., divides the space in front intended for the Pope and the Cardinals from that of the laity. The tribune for the singers, which projects but slightly to the left, is similarly enclosed. The floor is beautifully inlaid in stone.

For the decoration of this modest and unpretending building, Sixtus IV. summoned to his Court all the most distinguished painters of Umbria and Tuscany. Domenico Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Cosimo Roselli, Pietro Perugino, and Pinturicchio vied with each other in a noble rivalry in its embellishment.* The time taken to complete the paintings on the walls of the Sistina, which were begun in the year 1480, "greatly tried the patience of the Pope. Like Julius II. at a later period, when Michael Angelo was painting the roof, Sixtus IV. could scarcely bear to wait for the termination of the work. On the anniversary of his election, the vigil of S. Lawrence," Jacobus Volaterranus tells us, "he came unannounced, and quite against his usual custom (*extra ordinem*), to Vespers in the Chapel to see how the frescoes were getting on. At last, on the 15th August, 1483, came the long-desired day of their completion."† On the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, which that year fell on a Saturday, the Pope, we learn from a contemporary, came to the new Chapel and

praesidens fabricae under Paul II., see MÜNTZ, Giovannino de' Dolci con docum. inediti., Roma, 1880.

* LERMOLIEFF (Die Werke Italienischer Meister, 304 *seq.*, Leipzig, 1880) infers, from the landscape, the composition, and many peculiarities, that Pinturicchio probably executed the pictures of the Baptism of Christ and the journey of Moses, which Perugino had been commissioned to paint. This is not the place for a more detailed treatment of the subject, on which see SCHMARSOW, B. Pinturicchio in Rom (Stuttgart, 1882), and Preuss. Jahrb., XLVII., 50 *seq.*, XLVIII., 129.

† JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 188; SCHMARSOW, 209–10. Volaterranus is as trustworthy in his dates as Infessura is the reverse.

there heard Mass. There was no further ceremony. All the Prelates and some others assisted at the function. The only Cardinal present was Raffaelo Sansoni. This was the first Mass said after the completion of the Chapel, and only the ecclesiastics belonging to it attended. In commemoration of the event, the Pope published an Indulgence for all who should visit the sanctuary, including women. Sixtus IV. also attended Vespers there that same day. The Prelates were placed below Cardinal Sansoni on the benches assigned to the Sacred College. The Pope blessed the people, both at Mass and at Vespers. When it became known that an Indulgence had been granted to those who should visit the Chapel, the whole City was astir in a moment. The crowd in the Sistina was so great that it was extremely difficult either to enter or to leave the Church, and the throng continued to pass through until after midnight. On the Pope's coronation day, the first solemn High Mass was celebrated in the new Chapel; Giuliano della Rovere being celebrant and all the Cardinals assisting.*

The whole series in the Sistina consisted originally of fifteen frescoes, twelve of which still remain on its longer sides, the other three having given place to Michael Angelo's colossal picture of the Last Judgment.† On the left wall, looking to the right from the altar, are represented events from the history of Moses. According to the custom and taste of the period, several scenes are grouped in the same picture around the principal subject. Moses slaying the Egyptian, driving away the shepherds who hindered Jethro's daughter from drawing water, going into Egypt, and, with his sandals put away, worshipping God in the burning

* JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, *loc. cit.*

† The series of the life of Moses and of Christ has thus been deprived of its beginning.

bush, are thus combined, due to the pencil of Botticelli. The whole forms "a masterpiece of vivid feeling and expression and technical facility."*

Signorelli's farewell and death of Moses is another glorious creation, full of dramatic power. In contemplating it, "we perceive at once that the artist was thoroughly aware that the strength of his rivals lay in composition and in the management of light and shade. In his grouping, largeness of conception and combination are united with great clearness of detail. The drawing is bold and strongly marked, and the entire execution bears the impress of great care and taste, as also the employment of gold on the draperies."†

On the right wall are paintings by Pinturicchio, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Roselli, and Perugino, representing scenes from the life of our Lord. Two of these frescoes, the Vocation of SS. Peter and Andrew, by Ghirlandajo, and St. Peter receiving the Keys, by Perugino, "stand out from among the other mural paintings in so marked a manner, indicating the approaching triumph of the noble ideal style in art, that nothing but the overpowering proximity of Michael Angelo's work could prevent the immediate recognition of this important fact."‡ All artists agree in considering Perugino's Institution of the Primacy "one of his most perfect productions." The solemn grandeur of this marvel-

* RUMOHR, II., 272. See The Ecclesiologist, XXIX., 195. The date of Botticelli's arrival in Rome is uncertain; according to LIPPMANN in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, IV., 71, perhaps it may have been in October, 1482.

† CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 8–9, who also remarks: "Signorelli unquestionably deserves a place of honour among the painters of the Sistina"; see also BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 552. Roselli's pictures are the least successful; Sixtus IV.'s expression of opinion regarding them is, however, a mere legend; see RIO, II., 65 and 83.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 227.

lous creation fully corresponds with the dignity of its subject, and this latter is enhanced to the imagination by the situation of the picture.

Ghirlandajo, however, surpassed all his companions. His masterly genius enabled him to grasp the vocation of SS. Peter and Andrew in its most impressive and solemn aspect. "His picture is, so to speak, a foreshadowing of Raphael's Miraculous draught of Fishes and Feed my Sheep."*

The wall behind the altar was adorned by a painting of the Assumption of our Lady, with Sixtus IV. praying beneath it. Vasari believes this to be the work of Perugino, but Sigismondo de' Conti remarks, in regard to this fresco, that the Blessed Virgin seems actually to rise from the earth towards Heaven;† Perugino never possessed the art of fore-shortening in its perfection. "So marvellous is the view from beneath, so real the ascent towards Heaven, that no man then living, save Melozzo da Forli, could have created the like," and the most recent investigations are perhaps right in assigning the work to the great Master, who has been called the forerunner of Raphael and Michael Angelo.‡

As we survey this sanctuary of Italian Renaissance, we cannot fail to acknowledge that the choice of subjects for the frescoes in the Papal Chapel could not have been improved.§ To the chief scenes from the life of Moses on the

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 552. See PLATTNER-BUNSEN, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, II., 1, 252, and The Ecclesiologist, XXIX., 195 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 205.

‡ SCHMARSOW, 214; see 317 *seq.* In the Repert., XI., 199, are to be found Janitschek's remarks in support of a contrary opinion.

§ See PRUDENTIUS ROMANUS, Römisches Leben, in the Wiener "Vaterland," 1888, May 20, and REUMONT'S Römische Briefe, I., 75 *seq.*

one side, correspond on the other those from the life of our Lord, as the fulfilment of their typical signification. What Moses, the leader of the chosen people, foreshadowed, has been perfected by Christ for all time. Peter, who lives in his successors here, reigns as the Vicar of Christ. Through him the human race is brought to the Saviour, as the Jewish nation, the type of Christendom, was led by Moses to the feet of the Christ. The development of the whole plan of Salvation is concentrated in the three names: Moses, Christ, Peter. Thus, the magnificent drama of the Story of the Church is presented to the spectator as the Life and the Truth in the frescoes of this Chapel, which, in its historical aspect, is the most remarkable in the world, and thus worthily was the building fitly inaugurated, which afterwards, under another Pope of the house of Rovere, was to be enriched with the marvellous productions of the giant genius of Michael Angelo.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Cardinal Ammanati to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1464, Sept. 1, Rome.

La Ex. V. havera inteso la nova creatione del pontefice et forse in se medesma pensera quanto sia da stimarla. Signore, primum et ante omnia, questi r^mi^ cardinali antichi, creati da altri papi che Pio deliberorno unanimiter fra loro de non eleggere se non de loro medesmi parendoli che N. S. defuncto per esser stato pocho nel cardinalato non li havesse charezati ne stimati tanto quanto haveriano voluto, che imputavano allo haver poco provato ch' è esser cardinale. Ne da questo proposito se potiano revocare. Alchuni de novi, non essendo dacordo, ne vedendo haverli a riescire il fatto loro proprio per gratificarsi se ne andorono con li prefati antichi. Onde che ancora io vedendo la necessita della cosa per non esser scluso dalla gratia sua et perche sempre me haveva mostrata optima volunta verso de V. Ex. ne andai con li altri. A Dio se vole referire tutto che in tal loco et tempo mirabiliter opera. Io sono de opinione ch' ogni giorno piu V. Ex. sara satisfacta et che le demonstrationi et opere de questo pontifice ve saranno accepte et grate et il parlare suo quotidiano assai efficacemente lo demonstra . . . .

[Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

* The above letter is entirely in his own handwriting; see *supra*, p. 13.

2. JOHANNES PETRUS ARRIVABENUS TO MARCHIONESS BARBARA OF MANTUA.*

1464, Sept. 2, Rome.

The Archbishop of Spalatro (L. Zane), che foe nepote del vicecancelliere vechio è facto thesaurere.† El. rev. monsignor vicecancelliere secondo el iudicio havera gran conditione et merito chè s'è fatigato a la real.‡

[Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. CARDINAL GONZAGA TO HIS FATHER, LODOVICO DE GONZAGA.§

1464, Sept. 4, Rome.

. . . Costui comincia a far del altiero e molto stima suoa dignitate; puoria accadere chel concilio che è statuito de far in termino de tre anni lo faria puoi humiliare.

[Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. JOHANNES PETRUS ARRIVABENUS TO MARCHIONESS BARBARA OF MANTUA.

1464, Oct. 3, Rome.

The Plague is raging in Rome.‖ Questo papa ha mutato la stampa del piombo de le bolle; da un canto fa S. Paulo e S. Petro che sedeno; da l'altro lui è in cattedra e doi cardinali presso cum alcune persone denanti in ginochione.¶

Discontent on the part of the Secretaries, because most of them had not yet had audience.** The influence of the Bishop of Vicenza with Paul II.††

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 124. † See GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost.

‡ This account of Card. Borgia is repeated by J. P. Arrivabenus in a *Despatch of 4th Sept., 1464: * "El rev. mons. vicecancelliere ha gran credito et certo l'ha meritato cum costui." (Gonzaga Archives.) Regarding Borgia's part in the Conclave, which is here alluded to, see also *supra*, p. 12.

§ See *supra*, p. 25. ‖ See *supra*, p. 29, note §.

¶ See *supra*, p. 108. All Paul II.'s leaden Bulls are distinguished by their tasteful and delicate execution; see Arch. St. Ital. (3rd series), IX., 2, 195; and Mél. d'Archéologie, 1888, p. 454. The Medals of this Pope are equally fine; see Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, II., 92 f.

** See *supra*, p. 26. †† See *supra*, p. 111 *seq.*

5. Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.*

1464, Oct. 9, Rome.

. . . Lo r^mo mons. vicecancelliere ne ha hauta una pesta de questa sua malattia insino al presente, pur heri comenzo ad usir fora, non è perho ancor salda la cicatrice de la peste; molto gla giovato l'alegreza che ha hauta de la restitution sua al pristino officio, che papa Pio glavia interdetto; † cum detrimento perho è facta questa restitutione de molti poveretti che haviano compero l'officio et io so uno di quelli; è perho dato ordine che sieno restituiti li denari che difficil cosa sira perche non è picciola somma onde forse per questa casone qualche sancto ce aiutera . .

[Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Tristano Sforza to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1464, Oct. 21, Rome.

. . . Disse§ poy come con Veneciani non credeva poter mantener amicitia perche erano molti in quel regimento li quali gli erano inimici; item di sua natura erano tanto insolenti che non li potria comportare et diceva che se rendeva certo venendo qua la loro ambasciata, non li stariano XV. di, che seriano in discordia con S. Sta . . .

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.-219, Supp.]

7. Cardinal Gonzaga to his Mother, Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.‖

1464, Dec. 28, Rome.

Hoggi havendo terminato la Sta di N. S. che li cardinali portino di continuo berette rosse parendo essere colore conveniente a la dignitate, ne donoe una per ciascuno et ha inhibito che in corte niuno altro le posse portare rosse su la fogia da preti et la S. Sta portara la beretta e capuzino de cremesino. El di de natale celebroe esso nostro S^re et io cantai l'evangelio nel quale me feci grande honore . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 38. † See Voigt, III., 553, N. 1.
‡ See *supra*, p. 95. § Paul II. ‖ See *supra*, p. 25.

8. Pope Paul II. to the Doge Cristoforo Moro, and the Senate of Venice.*

s. d. [1464/5].†

Paulus II. . . . . Christoforo Moro duci universoque senatui Veneto salutem. "Vas electionis, etc." The Pope draws the attention of the Venetians to the many misfortunes which they endured, to the calamities in the East, Plague, &c. These are judgments from God for their cupido dominandi. Intermissa fidei causa Tergestum ‡ imperialem urbem oppugnare aggressi quantum eris et temporis perdideritis et quod iacturis affecti fueritis, ipsa rebus infectis soluta obsidio patefecit. Serious charges are then made against the Venetians :—(1) You despise the priests and Bishops; (2) you have occupied lands belonging to the Church; (3) you have, without permission, imposed tithes on benefices, but prohibited the Papal tithes; (4) you exclude the clergy from public offices "ut iam quicunque apost. sedis gratiam promeruerit in propinquo ab omnibus publicis rebus se cognoscat extorrem." Warning and admonition to turn from this course.

[Cop. s. d. Cod. Ottob., 1938, f. 9–16. Vatican Library.]

9. Metrical Inscription on the Church and Palace of S. Marco.§

Patritius Veneta Paulus de gente secundus
Barbo genus magni princeps vicerector Olympi
Hec patribus monumenta dedit decora alta . . . ‖
Marmoribus templum Marci reparavit et arte
Et posuit latis miranda palatia muris
Cesareae quales fuerant sub collibus aedes
Hinc hortos dryadumque domos et amena vireta
Porticibus circum et niveis lustrata columnis.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican, Armar., XXXIX., T. X., f. 83b.¶]

* See *supra*, p. 96.

† As the contest about tithes lasted until 1468, this very ample letter (rather a treatise than a letter) may be assigned to a later date. I have selected an earlier one on account of the mention of the war with Trieste.

‡ Manuscript: *Trigrestum.*

§ See *supra*, p. 78.

‖ An illegible word, perhaps meaning "reformans."

¶ These verses are preceded by others, which also occur "in frontispicio

10. Jacopo de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.*

1465, Jan. 31, Rome.

. . . La Sta de N. S. sta anchor bene et attende a far una mirabil mitra la qual chiamano el regno, perche se fa al exemplo de quella de S. Silvestro cum li tri corone, chiamata el regno; vole anchora come per altra ho scripto che questi r^mi^ s. cardinali usino insegni cioe ornamenti differenti da li altri prelati † et perche similmente è honesto che Sua B^ne^ sia differentiata da li cardinali comenza a usare lo scapuccino de cremesi, non so quello usaranno li cardinali, ditto messer Johanni porra referire. Questo so che S. Sta è molto tenace et strecta a concedere gratie exorbitanti da rasgione come sono dispense et altre gratie difficili et per tanto tutti li officiali se lamentono perho che simili gratie son quelle che mettono dinari in corte per rispecto de le taxe et nel dare audientia S. B. fa a modo usato cioè che pena usa a darla, ma ristora in una cosa che quando la da ascolta volontieri et non fa caso che nel dire l' homo. sia longo . . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

11. Augustinus de Rubeis ‡ to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.§

1465, April 21, Rome.

. . . De le altre cerimonie facte per la Sta del N. S^re^ a questa pasqua et de una mitria in tre corone papale de precio forsi de piu de LX^m^ ducati, quale ha facta fare il papa nova, portatola il di de pasqua et con essa celebrata la messa informarà a piena la V. S^ia^ praedict. Francesco de Varese che ha veduto ogni cosa.‖

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.]

hortorum divi Marci"; Marini, II., 199, has published them without more exactly mentioning their source. Some verses on Paul II.'s palace, composed by Porcello de' Pandoni, are in Müntz, II., 54. Verses "in laquearibus templi S. Marci" in de Rossi, Inscript., II., 439; see also Mél. d'Archéol., 1888, p. 455, N. 3.

* See *supra*, p. 26. † See *supra*, p. 477, No. 7.

‡ Regarding this Ambassador, see also Portioli, 23.

§ See *supra*, p. 107.

‖ I have sought in vain for this Report. In the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, I found a *Letter of Bald. Suardo to Marchioness Barbara, which speaks of

12. Instruction for the Milanese Ambassador, Emanuel de Jacopo * to Louis XI.†

1466, March 3, Milan.

Cose che sono da dire per Emanuele a la M^ta^ del re de Franza. The Venetians are always spreading injurious reports regarding France.

Item diray a la M^ta^ sua chel ne pare per bene de la M^ta^ Sua che sopraseda ad dare l' obedientia al papa perche, soprasedendo, el papa se sforzarà sempre ad compiacergli et fargli cosa grata per indurlo ad questa obedientia et questo finche la M^ta^ Sua havera assetato ad suo modo le cose de suo regno, perche dapoy sempre pora fare quello sera de suo piacere . . . .

[Copy in National Library, Paris. Fonds Ital., Cod. 1611.]

13. Pope Paul II. to Bologna.‡

1466, April 29, Rome.

Intelleximus quod Rhenus fluvius qui iam pridem proprium alveum egressus fuit magnam partem agri nostri Bononiensis inundat maximumque damnum ex huiusmodi inundatione resultat tam civibus civitatis nostre Bononie quam incolis comitatus territorii eiusdem . . . .

Yet greater damage is to be feared for the future. Therefore they are to take measures to have the river led back to its bed. Dat. Romae apud S. Marcum sub annulo piscatoris die XXIX. Aprilis 1466 pont. nostri a° 2°.

[Original in the State Archives, Bologna, lib. Q.-3.]

14. Timoteo Maffei to Piero de' Medici.§

1466, June 15, Rome.

The Pope will again take measures to promote peace in Italy, although he found the Venetians disinclined for it. Tuum dolorem

the new mitre made by order of Paul II. The cost is here estimated at 30,000 ducats; much higher sums are named by Canensius, 43-4, and Ammanati, Comment., p. 371 (Frankfort ed. of 1614).

* See Reumont, Diplomazia, 367, and Lettres de Louis XI., III., 10, 55, 145, 327.

† See *supra*, p. 100.

‡ See *supra*, p. 34.

§ See *supra*, pp. 86 and 154.

tuasque lachrymas, quas pro irruptione Turcorum in Albaniam emisisti, gratas habuit: sed gratiorem oblationem quam illi tuo nomine tuoque iussu feci . . . .

[State Archives, Florence. Av. il princ., f. 17, N. 506.]

15. Cardinal Gonzaga to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua.*

1466, July 5, Rome.

Illmo S^r mio patre. Veneri proximo † in consistorio la Sta de N. S. molto turbato et alteramente propose che de novo la S. de Vinesia ha fatto publicare ne le terre suoe de vuolere riscuotere da preti sei decime, per la qual graveza pare chel clero se ne sia dogliuto et ha havuto ricorso a la sede apost^ca. Parse che la S. B^ne ne fosse grandemente sdignata e che chi li havesse consentito de facto haveria mandato de la excommunicatione et interdicti cominciando a rumpere cum lor con larme spirituali. Pur essendo iudicata la cosa de grande importantia e digna de molto contrapeso foe determinato che se gli facesse pensiere sopra e puoi nel primo consistorio se pigliasse el partito de quanto se havesse a fare pro honore sedis apostolice. Qui è opinione dalcuni che essendo Venetiani secretamente in acordio col Turcho vogliano cum questo riscuotere fare doe cose: restaurarsi de le spese fatte per el passato et occultare tanto piu la intelligentia de la pace col Turcho credendo che quando la brigata veda fare queste aspere exactioni debba stare in opinione che pur siano in guerra dal canto de là . . . Romae v. Julii, 1466.

Ill. D. V. filius observ^mus.

F. Card^lis de Gonzaga.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Cardinal Gonzaga to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua.‡

1466, July 19, Marino.

. . . Circa quelle decime da Vinesia foe pur concluso doppo molti ragionamenti de mandarli un messo ea de causa ut desisterent da metterle e casu che nol facessero mettere man a l' arme spirituali e mandare excommunicatione et interdicti. Tamen el messo fu

* See *supra*, p. 96. † July 4. ‡ See *supra*, p. 97.

fatto soprastare de qua per alcuni dì che penso sia o per vedere se interim cum littere et altre trame se puotesse assettare o che el *papa* * voglia prima vedere de havere qualche intelligentia o cum *el re Ferando* * o cum *qualche potencia* per non rimanere solo a la pugna . . . . Marini, xix. Julii, 1466.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

17. Bartholomaeus de Maraschis to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.†

1466, Sept. 1, Rome.

A questi di scrissi como in Alemagna era scoperta una setta de heretici quasi simili a questi fratizelli de la opinione.‡ Qua a la corte erano mandate littere sopra cio dal vescovo Laventino al quale daria pocha fede cum sit chel ne habia puocha se non se havesse per altre vie questo esser vero; pur ho cercato havere copia de una littera mandata da esso Laventino al vescovo de Ratisbona § che in vero è una brutta cossa et questa copia mando a la Ex. V. El papa pur ha habuti tri termini de febre terzana, non grande, credese presto guarirà . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

18. Cardinal Gonzaga to his Father, Marquess Lodovico of Mantua.‖

1467, Jan. 7, Rome.

. . . Questa matina in consistorio secreto fossemo sopra la materia del soccorso che dimanda el Scandarbec et in summa el papa disse che li daria cinque milia duc^ti ne piu voleva dargene allegando che anche lui bisognava provedere a li fatti suoi,

* These words are in cipher with the key annexed.

† See *supra*, pp. 116 and 189.

‡ Regarding these heretics, see *supra*, p. 113 *seq.*

§ I found this letter, dated Breslau, 1466, June 11 (which Janner, III., 565, cites from Cod. 716 of the Königl. Kreissbibl., Ratisbon), also in Cod. 4764, N. 14, of the Court Library, Vienna; it is printed in the Anal. Francisc., 422, now also by Döllinger, Beitr. z. Sectengesch. d. M.-A., II., 625-6 (München, 1890), from Cod. Paris Library, 5178, with the wrong date, ii. Jan., 1466, and other variations.

‖ See *supra*, pp. 89 and 155.

monstrando pur de temere de qualche novitate. Qui el card[le] de li Ursini comincioe a dire che la S. Sta non haveva a temere da niuno lucco, allegando le ragione perche non; el papa se ne scaldoe e corruciato usci a campo dicendo che sapeva del certo chel re haveva consultato cum cinque soli, di quali uno ge ne haveva dato adviso, se doveva assaltare el stato de la chiesia o non, e che questi cinque gli havevano persuaso che lo facesse e cussi anche lo re se li monstrava molto animato. . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Joh. Blanchus* to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1468, Febr. 28, Rome.

. . . Haveano bene essi ambasciatori ‡ tutti insieme pensato de andare hozi tutti al papa ad visitarlo et dolersi de questi tractati che gli sono stati facti contra et ad offerirli voy sig. principali de la liga molto largamente per consolarlo alquanto, etc., ma havendo loro mandato da S. S[ta] ad richiederlo de audientia per potere exequire dicto loro pensiero senza farli assapere alcuna cosa de quello gli volessero dire et essendoli facta lambassata venne de fuori el suo cubiculario et dixe al misso che l' haveva per doe volte facta lambassata, ma che S. S[ta] non havea resposto ne si ne non, el che se iudica sii per grande affanno che ha S. S[ta] de questi tractati come e da credere debba havere. Credo starano mo ad expectare che S. Sta mandi per loro.

Questi tractati hano molto diminuita la reputatione del papa appresso quelli che intendeno qualche cosa. S. Sta se partite da le habitatione de S. Petro et venne ad habitare ad S. Marco § per levarse de le mano de Orsini et stare fra Colonesi. Ma ad quello se vede l' è || periculo per tutto. Credo che S. Sta sii in grande affanno et como el tractato se andara scoprendo maiore tanto maioremente gli crescera l' affanno et cosi e converso sel tractato ser de poca stima.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. ad an.]

* See, regarding this Ambassador, Gingins, Dép. Mil., I., xvi., II., 37, 308, 368.

† See *supra*, pp. 46 *seq.* and 58.

‡ Of the League.

§ In MS.: *Maro.*

|| In MS.: *le.*

20. AUGUSTINUS DE RUBEIS TO GALEAZZO MARIA SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.*

1468, Febr. 29, Rome.

Illustr., etc. El me occorre de presente de scrivervi una nova hystoria accaduta qua acio V. Ex. sapia la cossa como passa, perche so bene se ne dira variamente. Nam in questa corte erano alcuni docti, gioveni, poeti e philosofi tra li quali se domandaveno li principali uno Calimacho Venetiano, secretario del rev^mo^ cardinale de Ravenna,† uno Glaucho Coldelmero pur de Venesia, Petreo secretario del rev^mo^ cardinale de Pavia,‡ non so di che payse fusse; uno altro Platano Mantovano, secretario del rev^mo^ cardinale de Mantua§ et uno familiaro del rev^mo^ vescovo de Feltro,‖ thexaurero apostolico con molti altri scriptori et cortesani de diversi lochi, sed del dominio vostro non ce ne era veruno. Quali havevano facti una certa secta za piu di de persone asay et tuta volta multiplicava de gente de ogni condicione, la piu parte famiglii de cardinali et de prelati. Et costoro tenevano opinione chel non fusse altro mondo che questo et morto il corpo morisse la anima et demum che ogni cossa fusse nulla se non attendere a tuti piaceri e volupta, sectatori del Epicuro et de Aristippo dummodo potesseno far senza scandalo, non za per tema de Dio, sed de la iusticia del mondo, havendo in omnibus respecto al corpo, perche l' anima tenevano per niente. Et ita non facevano altro che goldere manzando carne la quadragesima, non andar may a la messa, non se curar de vigilie ne de santi et al tutto contempnendo papa, cardinali et la giesia catholica universale. Dicevano che santo Francesco era stato uno ypocrita et demum se facevano beffe de dio e de li santi, vivando al suo modo usaveno maschii e femene promiscue et indifferenter cum singulis similibus, etc. Se vergognaveno esser domandati per nome christiani. Propterea se li havevano facti mutare et se chiamaveno li soprascripti nomi stranei et de simile. Dicevano che Moyses era stato un grande inganator de homini con sue leze et Christo un seductore de popoli e Machometo homo de grande ingegno, che se tirava dreto tuta gente per industria e malitia sua, siche era grande manchamento ali moderni docti sequir tal leze e norme se non viver al

* See *supra*, p. 50 *seq.* † B. Roverella. ‡ Ammanati.
§ F. Gonzaga. ‖ A. Faseolus; see *supra*, p. 112.

suo modo, etc. Gli era ancora uno de li principalissimi chiamato Julio Pomponio doctissimo homo, Romano, qual circha uno anno ando a Venesia et li par legesse et modo sia destenuto pur per tal cason. Tandem devenerant isti ad tantam insolentiam ultra laltre pacie che tutoldi andaveno vociferando et digando che certamente il papa morirà presto inante passasse il mese de marzo proximo mo luno mo laltro et in diversi lochi et modi siche se ne faria un altro et che le cosse andariano per altra via. Intanto ch' essendone piu fiate avisata S. Sta se ne faceva beffe credando fusse per vaticinii o per astrologia, etc. Et tra laltri lo nostro rev^mo^ cardinale de Thyano * sentendone pur qualche cossa ghe ne dedi notitia per scaricho suo et anche non lo extimo Sua B^ne^ ni may monstrò farni caso fin ch' un Juliano de l' Aquila, altre fiate factor de monsig^re^ de Pavia † la in quele parte et nunc fora de casa sua cum pocha gratia et qual era molto mal contento, fu temptato da alcuni de questi ita superficialiter de la morte del papa maxime dal dicto Petreo per esser stati piu domestici in una casa medesima, al qual dando parole generale subito pensò retornare in gratia del patrono col scoprir questa cossa. Et ita fecit et immediate esso monsignore feci chiamare dicto Petreo interrogandolo de questa materia ac etiam examinandolo suptilmente. Qui confessus fuit et non negavit qualiter erano una brigata che havevano determinato amazar lo papa et mettere sotto e sopra tuta la corte e nominò Calimacho dicto de sopra per lo capo de la brigata et che questo facto havevano ordinato far il di primo de quaresma ala messa papale in dacione cinerum. Dil che replicandoli lo cardinale como haveva potuto consentir saltem a la pernicie sua chel sapeva pur li voleva ben, gli rispose haveva pensato dirli quello giorno et confortarlo che non andasse a la messa per bene de la persona sua et camparlo a quelo modo. His autem intellectis immaginò S. R^ma^ S. scrutari hanc rem medulitus per poterne meglio chiarire la Sta del papa et dixit isti chel dovesse andar a veder da quelo Calimacho et informarse bene de la cossa, postea ritornar con intentione sel se ne trovava fondamento de poterne certificare lo papa et darli ne le mane luno et laltro. Sed fo tristo et fece notitia ad esso Calimacho, a Glaucho, et luy insemo, quali erano capita istius factionis, et se ne fugireno senza altro indusio ni retornar dal cardinale. Tamen incontinenti fece sapere il tuto al papa, sed non

* N. Forteguerri. † Ammanati.

se potereno havere costoro ; ma alchuni altri seguaci foreno pigliati, che non sano lo trattato formaliter. Nientedemeno son stati examinati e cosi se recitava questa hystoria multifariam et multis modis. Alchuni dicevano che havevano tractato de amazare lo papa et mettere a carne e sacho tuti li preti et altri quando gli fosse stato possibile menando le mano a tuti, etc. E per fornir meglio tal pensere havevano trama etiamdio con uno d. Lucha de Tocio,* citadino Romano, bandito za piu anni passati ; ma perche è doctore e valente homo stava presso la M^ta^ del sig^re^ re Ferando con bona reputatione e nome de regio consiglero, il qual haveva luy anchora intelligentia de molto altro numero de banditi e sfidati da Roma bene piu de quatro o cinque cento persone, le qual tute dovevano entrar in questa terra secretamente cum ordine dato al primo di de quaresima nel hora de la messa papalle quando zetasse la cenere in capo lo papa, retrovarsse insemo nascosti per le ruine sono a canto al palazo de le case zetate a terra per ampliarlo e farlo mazor, qual e grandissimo spatio dascondere nedum tanti homini, ma uno exercito, etc. Da laltra parte dovevano venir circha L. o LX. persone cum quili altri cortesani soprascripti su la piaza de dicto palazo et incomenzare questione con li famigli di cardinali e prelati, che stano expectando li patroni li, per occupare alcuni pochi fanti che stano a la guarda del papa, perche a dire lo vero viveva molto liberamente e cum pocha custodia. E cossi quisti altri nascosti, atachato lo rumore dal canto di qua, subito dovivano entrar la giesia, amazar lo papa et quanti ne havessero voluto de nuy altri. Postea sachezar, rubar e far al suo modo con intentione esso d. Lucha de Tocio de introdur uno novo stato di populo e farsi luy patrono de li altri se la fantasia li sequeva. Alcuni altri dicono questo facto se doveva far hogi, che è la dominica de carneval et tuto lo populo va a festo in Testazo e li fanti de la guarda e li altri officiali, ita che restano poche persone per Roma e ne le case et nel hora de la festa far lo insulto al palazo, zetar a terra le porte et amazar lo papa ; il che seria stato fornito in ante se fusse sentuto la cossa e potuto gionger lo succorso, deinde andare de casa in casa a li cardinali et altri e far lo medesimo. Et alcuni

* Compare our Vol. III., p. 107 *seq.* and *supra*, pp. 49, 52, 58. In a *Brief of Sixtus IV. (without address), dat. Rome, 1483, Sept. 23, "Lucas Tozolus eques Romanus car^mi^ in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Sicilie regis ill. orator," is mentioned. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

dicevano se doveva far lo di de le palme per lo soprascripto modo, etc. Il perchè non se potendo sapere ben el vero, deliberassemo nuy oratori de la liga andar al papa per sapere avisar li nostri principali de la verita intesa de Sua B^ne^ e per offerirse li in tal caso, etc. Fu contenta haverci auditi et ce ringratiò. Postmodum ce narrò tuto il facto de le heresie ut supradictum est nominando li sopradicti principali tuti et su questa parte monstrò far un gran caso de voler extirpar tal heresia dolendose non haver havuta prima notitia, etc. De questa altra conspiracione in la persona sua ce disse haver inteso tuto quanto e scripto de sopra, sed che anche non trovava lo fundamento, perchè non se erano potuti haver li principali, quali cerchava tuta via de trovare e credeva li haveria. Et lo piu havesse potuto intervenir fin a mo era la confessione de uno di presi chi diceva del certo lo predicto d. Lucha de Tocio esser dentro de Roma per questa cason et che li haveva parlato luy ben che non se ne sia potuto trovare indicio ne certeza alcuna; imo a mandato il papa fin a Napoli a sapere sel se absentato niuno di de là et anche non è venuto la risposta; adjungendo costuy ultra de cio che esso d. Lucha haveva etiamdio tractato in castello S. Angelo et haveva mandato mille ducati a certi fanti de la guardia per dover pigliar lo castello a sua richesta, etc. A facto fare inquisitione grande il papa per cavarne la verita et non ha trovato altro fundamento. Se crede che quisto tal confesso simile cosse lo habia * facto per intrichar et alongar la iusticia de la persona sua. E questo è usque nunc cio che se trova. Non se cessa de fare ogne diligentia per haver li principali, et ha lo papa facto bandir che li da uno de li tri caporali in le mane videlicet Calimacho, Glaucho e Petreo o che li acusa in modo che li se possano haver li sera donato CCC. ducati per chiaschuno e de d. Lucha de Tocio V^c^ ducati. Cum questo poteria forte essere se sentirea piu ultra et non dubita il papa de haverne qualche uno o tuti, confidandosi non se debiano reducere in diminio alcuno che li siano mandati fin qua, e dice del tuto ne avisarà nuy altri et io a V. Ex. scrivaro quanto succederà, a la qual me recommando.

Romae die xxviii. Februarii, 1468

Eiusdem i. et ex. D. servulus Augustinus de Rubeis.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. *Placed by mistake in the fasciculus*, "Florence, 1478."]

* In MS.: *habiano.*

21. Joh. Blanchus to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1468, Feb. 29, Rome.

Ill^me^, etc. Per la alligata de XXVII. del presente ho scripto a V. Ex. quello se diceva per Roma et per alcuni di principali de questa corte circa questa coniuratione et tractati. Dapoy heri sera la Sta de N. S^re^ mando ad dire ad questi rev^di^ et mag^ci^ ambaxatori de la liga che potevano andare da Sua B^ne^ et cosi gli anday ancora io con loro et doppo condolutose essi ambaxatori in nome de voy signori principali de la liga de questa coniuratione et offerto le persone e stati et gente vostre ad soe deffese e favori et demum domandato come passavano queste cose, S. Sta respose et dixe che uno signore del mundo l' haveria avisato che la se guardesse perche lera certificato che per alcuni in Roma se tractava de stranie cose etiam contra la persona soa et che deinde vennero alcuni cardinali da se et nomino solamente el cardinale de Mantoa † ad dirli de certa mala vita et heresia che seguivano alcuni scellerati scolari nominandone quatro per principali, cioe Calimaco, Petreo, Glaucho et un altro extraneo nome dicendo che costoro se havevano electo una vita achademica et epicurea perche ultra che haveano manzato la quaresima passata et tutta via manzavano li venerdì et sabbati carne et non servavano vigilia alcuna et seguivano li appetiti carnali con maribus et feminis et facevano mille altre scelleragine quod abhominabilius est negavano la divinità cioè non esser Dio et negavano che fosse l' anima dicendo che morto el corpo era morta l' anima et subjungevano che Moyses fo seductore del popolo et che Christo fo falso propheta et ultra questo non se volevano per niente chiamare ne lassare chiamare per li proprii nomi, ma se havevano posti li nomi predicti che forono nomi de achademici et epicuri dicendo S. Sta che non gli bastava esser loro cativi ma che andavano seducendo questo et quello altro et che ne havevano seducto alcuni et maxime uno Lucido che stava con suo parente che è qua suo depositario, subjungendo S. Sta che non solamente se andavano gloriando de questa loro scellerata vita et heresia, ma andavano detrahendo al honore de Dio et de la chiesa dicendo male de S. Sta et delo clero del mondo et dicendo: guarda se questi preti sono inimici de layci che hano facta la quaresma et voleno che nuy la jeiuniamo et piu ce hano

* See *supra*, p. 59, *seq.*

† F. Gonzaga.

ligati che non possiamo pigliare piu che una mogliere et multa huiusmodi, dicendo ancora S. Sta che non gli bastava questo ma che piu ultra dicevano che presto se vederia de nove cose et maxime verso uno certo prete dixero date de bona voglia che fra pochi di non te bisognera fare piu tante supplicatione perche havemo uno iudicio chel papa ha ad morire presto et sapemo che ad ogni modo el morirà presto et seguirano de le altre cose relevate et similia et dice S. Sta che per questo loro avantarse de simile cose li dicti cardinali hano voluto intendere la facenda et poy gli lo sono venuti ad dire ut s.

Ma dice S. Sta che per alhora non pote haver gratia de fare prendere dicti quattro scellerati perche fugirono, ma spera haverli perche vano latitando qui dintorno et che è su la via de haver almanco Calimaco ch' è el principale et dice S. S. non potendo havere loro ha facto prendere le loro cose et hagli trovati soy epygrammata et versi et soneti intitulati ad pueros in genere turpe dove demonstravano molte loro ribaldarie et dice che havendo facto pigliare alcuni che practicavano con loro per questo et per la fuga de loro se comenzò ad credere che la conjuratione fosse de grande importantia et questo . . . * mercordi proxime passato et che quello di medesmo che se corse el palio de le gioveni † venire uno Roma [no] ad dire ad S. Sta che se guardasse intorno perche l' haveva veduto alcuni banditi che erano venuti in Ro[ma] et che non gli degono esser venuti se non per fare male, etc., et gli ne mostrò uno addito che era . . . * alla festa del palio. Et dice S. Sta che alhora fece demandare el vicecamerlengo et reprehendendolo che [non §] havesse mandato bando che li banditi non potessero venire in Roma ad queste feste de carnevale . . .* commise che dovesse andare ad fare prendere dicto bandito et cosi fu preso luy et uno suo [compagno ‡] et dice che interrogandolo el vicecamerlengo et reprehendendolo chel fosse venuto in Roma essendo bandito per la vita come era, el repose et confessoe che l' era venuto ad videre le feste, ma dice S. Sta che como cativo che le fece una inventione dicendo che l' era venuto in Roma con uno factore de d. Luca Tozolo § Romano bandito che sta ad Napoli con la M^ta^ del re et che esso d. Luca doveva

* What follows is destroyed by damp. † See *supra*, p. 31 *seq.*

‡ Destroyed in original.

§ Regarding this matter see CANENSIUS, 80, and PLATINA, 779.

anche luy essere gionto in Roma perche el l' haviva lassato in la silva de Velitri et piu ultra accusò dicto d. Luca dicendo che esso d. Luca haveva mandato in Roma mille ducati in mano de li suoi parenti per dispensarli in certi suoy pensieri che l' haveva facto. Et dice S. Sta che intendendo questo gli crescette el suspetto e che ha mandato ad cercare per tuta Roma esso d. Luca et postoli la taglia adosso como per l' altra littera io scrivo et che interim che lo faceva cercare è venuto S. S. un cittadino Romano cognato desso d. Luca ad pregare S. Sta che non se fatichi piu in cercarlo perche el non era venuto et che sel fosse venuto l' haveria facto capo ad casa soa et che luy voleva obligare la vita chel non era partito da Napoli et diceloli S. Sta come nuy intendiamo che l' ha mandato qua mille ducati da farne certi suoy designi, etc. : el gli respose che l' e vero che per littera di cambio l' ha mandato mille ducati per la dote de una soa figliola la quale S. Sta sa che l' hano voluta maritare al suo medico et che non li [ha] mandati per altra casone. Et dice S. Sta che l' e vero chel suo medico li di passati gli richiese licenza de prendere dicta soa figliola per mogliere, ma che el gli dissuase questa cosa con dirgli che may ad sua instantia ne de homo del mondo el non faria gratia al dicto d. Luca de retornare ad Roma perche l' era bandito che havendo facta pace con un altro Romano et havendoli data sicurta de non lo offendere, lo fece poy amazare et che la seria cosa de troppo male exempio et che facendo quella gratia bisognaria poy farne molte altre simile et che non voleva tiarse questo carico ad le spalle et per questo pare quasi che S. Sta sii fuori d' ogni suspecto de d. Luca et dice che l' expecta per tutto hozi la certeza da Napoli. Nientedimeno S. Sta non abandona la impresa de investigare meglio la cosa et dice S. Sta che per questo ha cognosciuto che dicto bandito che ha accusato d. Luca ut supra lo ha facto per dare favore et dilatione alla pena che l' ha ad patire luy et piu ultra dice che gli ha accusato uno signore ben grande et grande et che crede chel dica le boxie dechiarando S. Sta che pro certo el non gli ha accusato el re Ferrando. Dice S. Sta che da principio che gli fo dicto che questi conjuratori havevano intelligentia con uno gran signore gli andò l' animo sopra el re de Boemia dicendo chel credeva che l' uno heretico se intendesse con l' altro. Item dice che questi ribaldi hano qualche volta dicto de volere andare ad trovare el Turco et ch' unaltro de questi scolari che al

presente e a Venetia fin l'anno passato andò ad Venetia per volere deinde andare ad trovare el Turcho et qui comenzò S. Sta ad damnare molto questi studii de humanità dicendo che se Dio gli prestava vita, voleva providere ad due cose: l' una che non fosse licito studiare in queste vane historie et poesie perche sono piene de heresie et maledictione; l' altra che non fosse licito imparare ne exercire astrologia perche da essa nascono molti errori dicendo li putti non hano ad pena dece anni che senza che vadano ad scola sano mille ribaldarie, pensate come se degono poy impire de mille altri vicii quando legeno Juvenale, Terentio, Plauto, Ovidio et questi altri libri, dicendo Juvenale monstra de reprendere li vicii, ma el ne fa docto et li insigna ad chi lo lege, come fano anche questi nostri predicatori quali qualche volta havemo reprehesi che predicando insignano fare de le cose lascive che l' homo non le intese may piu et questo quando se metteno ad volere dire: in questi modi se po fare uno peccato; dicendo S. Sta che gli sono tanti altri libri che se possono legere et che legendoli l' homo se farà tanto docto quanto bastarà et che le meglio dire una cosa per li proprii vocabuli cha per queste circuitione che usano poeti. Retornando ad damnare molto li dicti 4 coniuratori che ex toto negano Dio dicendo che li pagani et gentili et li altri antichi servavano qualche religione et costoro negano el tucto. Et qui el mag^co^ d. Lorenzo da Pesaro* allegò molte cose et de Romani et de altri antichi in le quale servarono grandissima religione et tante cose allegò ad questi propositi esso d. Lorenzo chel papa ne prese piacere assay et lo stava volunteri ad audire. Fo etiamdio allegato et testamento vechio et testamento nuovo et rasone civile et rasone canonica per esso d. Lorenzo et per li altri ambaxatori de la liga perche tutti sono doctori chi in utroque et chi in jure civili tantum. Fo etiamdio recordato che como è prohibito alli preti de seguire le lege civile per le conditione differente che sono dal temporale al spirituale così se po prohibere el studio de le poesie et astrologie perche da esso se cava mille heresie, etc. Ad un altra cosa dixe S. Sta che la voleva provedere cioè alle zanze et bosie che se dicono qua in campa de Fiore et che ordinarà uno decreto opportuno ad questo et che farà fare de li schrizzi ad questi zanzatori che se fano ad Venetia dicendo che quando Pier

* In reference to this Ambassador, see *supra*, p. 60, and Lettres de Louis XI., Vol. III., 278-9, 343.

Brunoro fo mandato in la Morea uno Venetiano gli dixe va pur che tu non ne tornaray may et che essendosene doluto Piero Brunoro cosi la S^ria^ fo statim preso dicto Venetiano et dattoli XXV. squassi de corda et poy bandito et molte altre cose dixe ad questo proposito dicendo maxime che tutto quello fo dicto in campo de Fiore o vero o boxia, o ben o male che sia fu scripto per tutto el mondo et che del vero et bene se po havere l' homo per excusato, ma che de la bosia et male el se voria castigare cioè castigare quelli che lo andasseno fingendo et seminando.

Demum la S. Sta dixe che ad ogni modo l' haveria deliberato communicare questa cosa con li prefati ambaxatori et con li cardinali, ma che l' era stato fin hora ad non dirne altro perche el non sapeva ancora dire alcuna verità de tradimento se non le bestialitate suprascripte et cosi li cardinali sono andati questa matina ad palazò per questa casone le quale tutte cose me è parso significare a V. Ex. alla quale humilmente me recommando. Datum Romae ult. Februarii, 1468.

[Original in the State Archives of Milan. Cart. gen. *Wrongly placed under February*, 1463.]

22. Aug. de Rubeis to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1468, March 4, Rome.

Circha li tractati contra la persona del papa de li quali ve scripsi per altre mie, se facta ogni diligencia et inquisicione per sentir piu oltra et tandem non se trovato fin a qui altro che parole paze e vane de coloro che zanzaveno † chel se voria amazare lo papa et chel se poteria bene far per quello modo che io scripsi et ch' essendo questo popolo et tuta la corte mal contenta ‡ et disposta non manchava se non che qualch' uno incomenzasse che tutol mondo poy gli tirarey dreto, &c. L' è § vero che quelli principalli per anchora non se suni potuti havere. Se cercha per ogni modo haverli ne le mano et crede prefata Sta da loro se saperia piu inanti. De d. Luca Tozo s' è || trovato non essere vero se sia ullo tempore partito da Napoli ni sia intervenuto ni

* See *supra*, p. 59.

† = cianciavano, dicevano ciance.

‡ See our account, *supra*, p. 27 *seq.*

§ Manuscript: *Le.*

|| Manuscript: *se.*

conspirato a la cosa. Lo papa ha molto piu che prima ordinate le guarde de palazo et sta con pur asay major respecto chel non soleva. Le feste de carnevale, corsi de palii, convito al popolo la domenica pasata et laltre tute se sonno facte al modo usato como laltri anni ho scripto et nulla è inmutato ni manchato.

P.S.—Del resto de quella heresia se ne trova pur molti intricati et tutavolta se va cercando de laltri et lo papa ha intentione de stirpare questa secta.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

23. Pope Paul II. to Florence.

1468, May 16.

The Pope expresses his affection for Florence (see *supra*, p. 14) and praises the Florentines for having accepted the peace. Paul II. then speaks of his constant zeal from the beginning * of his reign for war with the Turks. Hactenus enim ducenta milia florenor. in huiusmodi christianorum subsidia erogavimus † . . .

Datum Romae apud S. Marcum, xvi. Maii, 1468.

[Copy in the State Archives, Florence X.–II.–23, f. 172.]

24. Giacomo Trotti ‡ to Borso, Duke of Modena.§

1468, July 8, Rome.

The Pope is going to leave Rome because the Plague is raging there.|| Persona non rimane qui,¶ chi va de qua chi de la, ne mor[ono] 40 e 50 el di. All are fleeing from the Plague-stricken

* The Milanese Ambassadors, Laurentius de Pesaro and Joh. Blanchus, writing home from Rome, on the 24th April, 1468, speak in the following words of the Pope's disposition on this subject : "* El papa monstra secundo ha dicto questa sera chel voglia che se attendi omnino ad fare expeditione contra el Turco." State Archives, Milan.

† See *supra*, p. 158. The statement of Paul II. is corroborated by the testimony of Sixtus IV. ; see Raynaldus ad an. 1471, N. 71.

‡ This diplomatist was still with Paul II. in the autumn of 1470 ; see Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., XIII., 69.

§ See *supra*, p. 190.

|| The Plague had reached Rome in the beginning of April ; see *Despatch of Augustinus de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1468, April 2. (State Archives, Milan.) By the end of the month it was making great ravages ; see *Letter of A. Patritius, dated Rome, 1468, April 27, Angelica Library, S. 1, 1, f. 117.

¶ Laurentius de Pesaro writes from Rome on the 3rd June, 1468 : "*omne persona fugge." State Archives, Milan.

city where are only to be seen sick people being carried. Three Cardinals have remained in Rome, but with closed doors, so that no one of their household may go out.

[Original in the State Archives, Modena.]

25. Tommaso Soderini* to Florence.†

1468, Nov. 29, Venice.

News reached Venice that the Emperor had arrived in Porde none.‡ Questa S. per honorare la M^ta^ Sua ha electi sedici imbasciadori. Quattro gli sono iti incontro insino a Frigoli et domattina si partono gli altri dodici per riceverlo a Padova. Haveano apparechiato qui splendissimamente la casa del marchese di Ferrara per la stanza sua; ma dicono ha mandato a dire non vuole passare per Vinegia, ma che fa la via di Padova a Ferrara. Manda questo dominio due oratori che anno a compagnare la persona sua insino a Roma e quali sono M. Piero Mozanigho et M. Triadono Gritti. . . .

[State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–24, f. 81b–82.]

26. Joh. Petrus Arrivabenus to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.§

1468, Dec. 26, Rome.

Illma madonna mia. L' ordine dato de mandare incontra a limperatore prima quatro prelati e insieme doi auditori de rota e doi advocati consistoriali come scrissi a V. Ex. vene servato e cussi subsequenter li doi card^li^ || e Suoa M^te^ ad una terra chiamata Otriculi lontana de qua quaranta miglia entroe in barcha nel Tevere e vennesene fin presso a Roma a sette miglia ad un luoco che se dice la Valcha dove smontoe in terra, e qui da quelli doi card^li^ etprelati mandati, li qualilhavevano per terra seguitato era aspettato e da molte altre persone che li erano andate in contra.

* Florentine Ambassador in Venice.

† See *supra*, p. 161.

‡ See Toderini, 13 and 113. The Oration pronounced at Pordenone in presence of the Emperor, by Petrus Molinus, one of the Venetian Ambassadors, is in the British Museum (MS. 15906, f. 14b).

§ See *supra*, p. 162 *seq.*

|| d'Estouteville and F. Piccolomini.

Quello di che foe la vigilia de natale stimandose che havesse ad giongere de di, el collegio di card^li^ se congregoe a la porta de S. Maria del populo, e cussi tuta la corte e la citade col baldachino fatto cum larme del papa e suoe de damaschino biancho brochato doro, ma retardoe infina a le tre hore de notte ad intrare, che dicono alcuni foe per la giornata longa, alcuni per esserli data quella hora da astrologi.* Sentendo la suoa venuta li card^li^ se li fecerono incontro un puocho fuora de la porta, et a la porta Suoa M^te^ entroe sottol baldachino vestita dun vestitello de panno negro e col suo capuzino et capello, de nanti li andavano el S. de Camarino . . . et questi altri signori e baroni ecclesiastici cum le torze in man; la terra era apparata de panni et altri ornamenti dove haveva a passare et feceronoli fare un longo circuito et passarono da S. Marco, passate le cinque hore gionse a S. Petro dove la Ste de N. S. laspettava in la capella magiore e qui se inginochioe a basarli el pede e puoi la mane di puoi levandose a basare el volto el papa se levoe un puocho da la sede suoa. Era presso la cathedra del papa per spacio de doi homini al lato dextro apparichiata una sede per limperatore ma piu bassa dun brazo e piu eminente che el luoco di card^li^ un grado; qui fatte alcune oratione e cerimonie ascesero in palatio tuti doi al pare e N. S. teneva limperatore per mane allato mancho e cussi se andarono fin a la camera del papa e di puoi el collegio compagnoe limperatore a la camera suoa, che è piu bassa in palatio dove allogioe anche altra fiata; puoi la messa de la nocte che foe perho cantata presso al giorno, N. S. li dede la beretta e la spatha et al ma† . . tore levangelio exiit edictum a cesare augusto et mons. mio ‡ disse la omelia, heri a † . . . . andoe giuso col papa sottol baldachino pur a mane in S. Petro et communicosse in la messa † . . . N. S. ascese nel tribunal alto avanti le scale de S. Petro dove deda la benedictione e † . . . sotol baldachino e vedevase lo imperatore che certo monstro una gran reverentia col capo scoperto, e Ste Suoa lo faceva coprire; nel tornare suso N. S. compagnoe limperatore insina a la camara suoa e li voleva lasciarlo, ma Suoa M^te^ fece resistentia et volse venire cum N. S. bene doe sale fin a piede de una scala per la qual puoi se ascende a le sale de sopra e qui

* Frederick III. was greatly given to Astrology; see FRIEDRICH, Astrologie und Ref., 29 *seq.*

† What follows is completely destroyed ‡ Card. Gonzaga.

se lasciarono che erano passate le xxiii. hore; portoe indosso limperatore una turcha de veluto negro senza altro ornamento; questa matina credo uscira anche fuori a la messa. In palatio è dato logiamento a S. M^te^ e parichii di suoi; li altri che se dice ha di cavalli 600 sono divisi per le hostarie* e sento che N. S. a li hosti ha fatto gia el pagamento per octo di, che tanto se ragiona habbia a stare qui, et ha ordinato li sia facto honore. Sono fatti venire in la terra giente darme assai et di fanti e balestrieri quatro milia. Finqui cussi è stato el progresso suo; cum S. M^te^ è uno abbate de Casanova Savoino el qual è tanto inimico al duca de Milano, e sento ha buona condicione seco in modo che essendo mal dispuosto el papa e lo collegio a la promotione del vescovo de Bressa è opinione dalcuni che forsi questo abbate se habia a fare card^le^ a petitione de limperatore el qual non pare voglia domandare todescho alcuno. Doi ambasciatori Venetiani sono venuti col imperatore, messer Paulo Moresini e messer Antonio Preoli . . . Rome xxvi. Decem^is^, 1468.

Ser^or^ Jo. Petrus Arrivabenus.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. Pope Paul II. to Bologna.†

1469, March 6, Rome.

Concerning the overflow of the Reno.‡ The Pope expresses his astonishment that nothing had yet been done to prevent it, and desires that measures should at once be taken against this calamity. He gives this command because he (the Pope) is bound to watch over the general welfare. Dat. Romae vi Martii, 1469, Pont. nostri A° 5°.

[Original in the State Archives, Bologna. Lib. Q., 3.]

28. Pope Paul II. to Cardinal Stephan de Varda.§

1471, Jan. 14, Rome.

Stephano tit. sanctor. Nerei et Achillei presbyt. card^li^ et archiep. Colocensi. Dudum siquidem, etc. . . . The King has often

* See Gottlob, Cam. Apost.

† See *supra*, p. 34.

‡ See *supra*, p. 34.

§ See *supra*, p. 123.

requested him to send him the Cardinal's Hat as he has long since raised him to the purple. He had expected him to come in person to Rome; now, however, he sends him the hat by Gabriel de Verona, ordin. minor. nuntium nostrum.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 77b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]*

29. Cardinal Fr. Gonzaga to his Father.†

1471, Jan. 17, Rome.

He gives an account of the deliberations of the Commission of Cardinals appointed to consider the Turkish business. This Commission held its sittings in the house of Cardinal Bessarion and resolved: che per quest' anno non se havesse ad fare provisione de offendere, ma solum che bastasse a defendre et per mare tantummodo, ad che pareva bastariano cento quaranta galee e xx. nave grosse, ma che ben se disponesse come per li anni seguenti se havesse e per terra e per mare tendere a la ruina del Turco; ma tre cose concorrevano qui chel se intendesse la celeritate de le provisione, la perseverantia desse che pareva se dovesse promettere per xxv. anni aut ad minus per x. e la rata che ciascuno volesse contribuire a questa impresa. Non li fue de ambasciatori chi facesse offerta alcuna speciale; quelli del re e de Venetiani assai dissero in persuadere le provisione opportune se facessero, Fiorentini temporezano cum parole generale, quelli del duca disserono non havere commissione a questo, ma chel suo signore è cussi ben dispuosto a fare tutto quello che li metta bene et honore che volendo N. S^te^ da lui cosa alcuna ge lo puo scrivere et trovarallo per la observantia chel ge ha obedientissimo a fare ciò che sia dovere suo, e tuti insieme conclusero che essendo el papa capo e pastore dugniuno li parera che S. Sta havesse prima a specificare la rata suoa per dare exemplo a li altri et che anche quella che sa e conosce la potentia de ciascuno puoria taxare quanto li paresse che ugniuno havesse a conferire. Questa fue la relatione de le cose agitate apud deputatos. The Cardinals were summoned to treat further on the subject dominica proxima in furia. The deliberations lasted from the 22nd hour fin presso le sei hore de nocte: ne la qual consultatione furono varie sententie e parole assai che non accade de extendere; demum fatta la conclusione

* Kindly communicated by Dr. Gottlob. † See *supra*, p. 193.

secundo lo comune parere furono chiamati dentro li ambasciatori a li quali N. S. se duolse che in omnibus li facessero cussi puocha demonstratione de reverentia che havendoli fatto richiedere non hanno voluto fare dechiaratione alcuna de suoa voluntate. . . . The Pope then informs the Ambassadors: che communicata re cum cardinalibus et examinate le facultate suoe li offereva de darli lo quarto de le intrate suoe che pigliava L^{m} duc^{ti} l' anno, perche dice l' intrate suoe tanto del temporal quanto del spiritual senza lalumiera, la qual gia è dedicata a la crociata,* non essere piu che cc^{m} ducati † e per suoa iustificatione offerse de fare monstrare li libri daltri pontifichi e suoi, e de ciò ne fue data commissione al card^{le} de Theano ‡ chi fue thesauriere a tempo di Pio et al card^{le} de S. Marco, § el qua ha fatto un gran tempo lofficio del camarlengo, che insieme havessero ad examinare li conti et intrate suoe. . . . Non parse che la offerta satisfacesse a la brigata et maxime a Venetiani ‖ li quali hanno havuto a dire che N. S. deveria vendere le suoe zoie, darli el tuto de le intrate suoe reservato solamente quanto bisogna per lo vivere etiam extenuato et che nui cardinali li doveressimo mettere la metade de le intrate nostre et in summa metteno la taglia come se ce havesserono in presone. Replicorono che la S. B^{ne} specificasse quante galee voleva mantenere alimpresa dicendo che non volevano questa offerta de denari ne del quarto; perche lhora era tarda la cosa fu remessa ad un altro consistorio. . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

30. Pope Paul II. to the Inhabitants of Rhodes.¶

1471, Jan. 20, Rome.

In view of the common danger all must render assistance.** The Pope exhorts them to courage: Aderit et Deus ipse nosque quoad poterimus nihil in tanta re pretermittemus. In conclusion, he urges them speedily to repair the ruinous walls of Rhodes.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 86b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 80.
† See Gottlob, Cam. Apost.
‡ N. Forteguerri.
§ M. Barbo.
‖ See Romanin, IV., 353, note 1.
¶ See *supra*, p. 183.
** Regarding the sufferings of the people at Rhodes, see also Bosio, 253 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*

31. Pope Paul II. to the Grand Master of Rhodes, Giambatista Orsini.*

1471, Jan. 20, Rome.

He had received their letters, from which he perceived their fear of the Turks. Timendum quippe est, sed non ita ut ab auxiliis ac remediis desistatur, quinimo est eo melius et celerius providendum. Itaque nolite vobis ipsis deesse, sed bono animo sitis. He promises help, and urges them to lose no time in improving the fortifications and moats of the island.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 87b, *loc. cit.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

32. Pope Paul II. to Duke Borso of Modena.†

1471, March 3, Rome.

The Pope in a few words informs the Duke, who intended to visit Rome, that he was sending the Archbishop of Spalatro [Lor. Zane], who is "thesaurarius ac provinciae nostrae marchiae Anconitanae gubernator," to greet him. He will inform the Duke that his arrival is very agreeable to him (the Pope).

[Original in the State Archives, Modena.]

33. Pope Paul II. to the Grand Master of Rhodes, Giambatista Orsini.‡

1471, March 12, Rome.

An exhortation to courageous constancy against the attacks of the Turks, *as above*, No. 31.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 112. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

34. Pope Paul II. to the Governor of Spoleto.§

1471, April 5, Rome.

Habes bullam de non recipiendis muneribus alias per nos editam.‖ This is to be observed exactly (ad unguem). Prohibe-

* See *supra*, p. 183. G. Orsini had been appointed Grand Master of Rhodes by Paul II., in 1467, on the death of Zacosta (see Cron. Rom., 32), and died in 1476; see Reumont, III., 1, 521.

† See *supra*, p. 184.

‡ See *supra*, p. 183.

§ See *supra*, p. 35.

‖ Printed in Bull., V., 184 *seq.*

mus ne aliquo pacto in causis vertentibus in prima instancia sportule alique recipiantur preterea ne gratis paleas nec ligna deferri tibi facias.

Simile rectori Patrimonii.

„ „ Campanie.

„ gubernatori Fulginei, Fani, Cesene, Asculi, Reatis et Interamni, Urbis veteris, Vetralle.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 142. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

35. Cardinal Fr. Gonzaga to his Father.*

1471, April 10, Rome.

. . . Che parlamenti siano stati fati fra lor † non posso altramente de certo sapere, bene uso ugni industria possibile per cavarlo per indirecto e quando el S^r^ fue qui a visitarme sabbato passato ‡ cussi inter loquendo me li acostai e dissi che queste suoe visitatione davano molto da dire a la brigata la qual pensava che fusserono per condure el papa a Ferrara, il che a me piaceria grandemente perche essendo io cupido del bene de N. S. e de la sede apostolica lo comprobaria parendomi che seria molto expediente e proficuo considerato come sta tuta la Germania verso di nui et che la Franza pui volte ha domandato el concilio e questo io lhaveria piu caro ad Ferrara perche seressemo in una terra libera et buona e ne la qual per la mia particularitate essendo non manco fiolo a Suoa S^ria^ che al marchese de Mantuoa seria bene visto. Rispuoseme che parlava prudentemente e Dio volesse che tuti li altri fussero de questo parere le qual parole me fecerono credere che qualche cosa ne fusse. Io mandai puo per Jacomo Trotto § cum monstrare de voler per lo mezo suo fare intendere al S. el fatto de quella bolla,‖ a la qual non era stato presente lui e puoi entrai a dirli de questa andata a Ferrara commendandola et inferendo che lo fusse quodamodo necessaria et chel S. faria una

* See *supra*, p. 188.

† Paul II. and Borso d' Este.

‡ 6th April.

§ The Ambassador of Modena to Rome, of whom in the *Report from the Chigi Library, cited *supra* p. 186, Fr. Ariostus speaks in most favourable terms.

‖ Concerning a "fraternitate o compagnia che se chiamasse de la pace."

sancta opera a usarli ugni industria. Rispuoseme tacete monsignor che ad ugni modo la conduremo. Lo rev^mo monsignor cardinale de S. Maria in Portico * el qual è nepote del papa me disse questi dì, el seria pur bene fatto de celebrare una dieta in qualche buon luoco in Italia et anticipare avanti che per necessitate fussemo costretti da altri a farla e forsi puoi dove nui non voressimo. Tute queste parole e coniecture me fanno presumere che qualche cosa ne sia; andaro investigando piu che puotrò per darne aviso a V. S. et maxime passati che siano questi di sancti ne li quali se attende a lanima. . . .†

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

36. Pope Paul II. to John II., Margrave of Baden and Archbishop of Trèves.‡

1471, April 19 ——

The Pope returns thanks for the iocale addamantibus ac rubinis ornatum sent to him through Hermann Frank, and praises the Archbishop: sed ne te lateat nos munera recipere non consuevimus. He accepts the present, however, in order that the Archbishop may have no doubt of the favour he bears him, and sends him in return crucem etiam addamantibus atque rubinis et unionibus redimitam que multas sacras reliquias . . . tetigit.§

[State Archives, Venice.]‖

37. Pope Paul II. to Cardinal Fr. Piccolomini.¶

1471, June 26, Rome.

Card^li Senensi legato. Accepimus plures litteras tue circ^nis ex

* Bat. Zeno.

† Further particulars of the negotiations, which undoubtedly took place in 1471, concerning a fresh Congress or Council, are wanting. The sudden death of the Pope afterwards turned the thoughts of all in another direction; but this question soon came again to the front; see *supra*, p. 217.

‡ See *supra*, p. 110.

§ See also the Brief to the King of Portugal (Marini, II., 201), and that to the King of Hungary in Teleki, XI., 122–3.

‖ I am indebted to the kindness of Canon Fraknói, Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy, for a copy of this Brief.

¶ See *supra*, p. 181.

Ratispona, ex quibus intelleximus, quid usque in eam diem a te factum sit circa ea quae tibi a nobis sunt demandata in causa expeditionis in Turchos, et quomodo ad illos principes qui Ratispone aderant concionem habueris mentemque nostram spem et rei necessitatem aperueris illorumque responsionem. Commendamus plurimum prudentiam et diligentiam tuam. Ita enim est faciendum . . . Quare non cessabis similiter in futurum ab ipso bono opere, sed instabis et perseverabis industria et diligentia, ut nichil boni quod fieri in hanc rem possit postponatur praesertim autem nunc, quum Turchus . . . illam (scl. religionem christianam) extinguere contendit. Super his et aliis etiam lator praesentium, qui ad te revertitur, poterit coram latius referre, quae a nobis audivit; de occurrentibus successu temporis Nos tuis literis facies certiores.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 162. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

38. Pope Paul II. to Borso, Duke of Ferrara.*

1471, July 10, Rome.

A melancholy report had lately been circulated in Rome regarding a danger which threatened the Duke.† He now hears that this danger has happily been overcome. The Pope exhorts the Duke to strengthen his health, and thanks him for his beautiful present.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 175b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

39. Pope Paul II. to Cardinal Fr. Piccolomini.‡

1471, July 13, Rome.

Cardinali Senensi legato. Sollicitabat nos antea cura non mediocris, quod car^mi^ in Christo filii nostri Friderici imperatoris tardior ad istam Ratisponensem dietam adventus de die in diem videbatur diferri, cum ad praescriptum diem multi iam convenissent. Vere-

* See *supra*, p. 190. Among the Briefs of Paul II. in the State Archives of Modena I saw neither this nor the Brief of 20th July.

† According to the Diario Ferrar., 229, Borso had been suffering since the 27th May from "febri continue flemmatiche che mai non lo abbandonorno insino a la morte" [20th August]. The Duke had probably contracted this sickness in Rome; see also Atti e mem. d. deput. di storia patria Moden., V. (1870), 418 *seq.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 181.

bamur namque, ne si ejus optata presentia deesset, dissolveretur quicquid tam necessario tempore principum consiliis et subsidiis iuste desiderabamus fieri in Turchum. Sed tu, dilecte fili, qua soles diligentia progressum omnem et quae ad eam diem sequuta sunt, tuis literis datis Ratispone *duodecima iunii* plene significans nos admodum recreasti . . . Speramus namque et ita optamus, quod et ipsius car^mi^ filii nostri pium studium et sincere principum voluntates te maxime operam dante accendentur ad tam sanctum opus magis ac communi periculo consulent . . . Confidimus enim devotionem tuam cunctos principes in ipsa dieta presentes efficaciter cohortari et inducere ad prosecutionem hujus rei posse.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 174b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

40. Pope Paul II. to Borso, Duke of Ferrara.*

1471, July 20, Rome.

Up to this time he had no tidings regarding the Duke's state of health; he exhorts him to thank God for his recovery. The Pope in conclusion assures Borso of his prayers.

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 176b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

41. Pope Paul II. to Albrecht, Marquess of Brandenburg.†

1471, July 20, Rome.

Marchioni Brandeburgensi principi electori. Intelleximus, dil° filio nostro tit. sancti Eustachii diacono card^li^ Senensi isthic in Ratisponen. conventu sedis apost. legato per suas maxime significante, nobilitatem tuam absolutionis beneficium devote suscepisse, quod ipse tibi auctoritate nostra impendit et te sancte matris ecclesie mandatis ac nostris etiam reverenter parere velle accepimus; placet hoc nobis quam maxime . . . Here follow words of praise . . . . Cuius (scil. Dei) quoque gratiam maiorem ut denique assequaris, nunc potissimum assurgere debes et totus pio operi intendere atque accingi ut scilicet pro fidei puritate

* See *supra*, p. 190.

† See *supra*, p. 128. Albrecht had been excommunicated, 1446, Oct. 15, because he persisted in marrying his daughter, Ursula, to the son of the excommunicated G. Podiebrad, in spite of all warnings to the contrary.

servanda atque eius tutela in hac contra Turchos expeditione penitus studeas et alios principes adesse diligentissime horteris, ingenium tibi ut praediximus perspicacissimum est atque ad omnia mature cogitanda et aggredienda prudentissimus haberis et nos scimus te gratia multum valere et auctoritate . . .

[Lib. brev., 12, f. 176b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

42. Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1471, Aug. 2, Rome.

. . . Per altre mie havera inteso V. Cels. che la morte del papa fo in un subito in questo modo che essendo lui stato la matina in consistorio cioè el venerdi a vintisei del passato da le dodece hore fino a le deceocto de la megliore voglia del mondo, cenò a le vintidoe hore, mangiò tre poponi† non molto grandi cossi alcune altre cose di trista substantia come si era assuefacto mangiare da alcuni mesi in qua. Poi ad una hora de nocte disse ad un M. Petro Franzoso suo cubiculario chel se sentiva tutto grave. Esso M. Petro gli recordò non desse audientia per quella sera, ma andasse un poco a posare. Giettosse in suso un letuzo dove gli pigliò grande ambascie e tale che essendo uscito esso M. Petro de la camera per licentiare la brigata et lassarlo dormire un poco, senti passate de poco le doe hore bussare lusso‡ de la camera dove el papa se era a pena possuto condure et aprendo lusso trovò el papa presso de morto cum molta bava a la bocca et atacandossegli el papa al colo hebero a cadere ambe doi in modo se abandonò. Essendo li presso una cadrega M. Petro cum molta difficulta ce l'assectò suso et tornò al usso a domandare M. Doymo suo compagno. Quando tornarono dentro el papa havia posate le mane in suso li pomeli de nanti de la cadrega et appozato el capo al muro et vedendolo cum molta bava ala bocca volendolo aiutare el trovarono morto passate de poco le doe hore,§ adeo che dal principio del dolorse

* See *supra*, p. 190.

† The death of Frederick III. is also said to have been caused by too liberal an indulgence in melons; Mailath, I., 319.

‡ = l' uscio.

§ According to our reckoning eleven at night. Our statement is confirmed by the best authorities; see *Acta Consist. (26 July, 2nd hour of the night,)

et morire non fo una hora. Cardinal Barbo was at once summoned. Disturbances had, up to this time, occurred only in Todi. Qui sono concorsi molti sbanditi et facte alcune picole vendete et robarie, tamen el popolo se deporta fin mo assai bene.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. P. E. Roma.]

43. Voting List of the Conclave of the Year 1471.*

[I.] *Voce pate ne la creatione del Papa successore ad Papa Paulo.*

Niceno [1] ad Rohano,[2] Bologna,[3] Sanct.†,[4] Pavia,[5] S. Petro. in vinc.[6]

Rohano [2] ad Niceno,[1] Bologna,[3] Sanct.†,[4] Mantoa.[7–8]

Orsino ad Thiano,[9] Ravenna [10] et S. Petro in vinc.[6]

Bologna [3] ad Niceno,[1] Rhoano,[2] Sanct.†,[4] Ravenna [10] et Pavia.[5]

S. Croce [4] ad Niceno,[1] Rhoano [2] et Bologna.[3]

Secret Archives of the Vatican. N. d. Tuccia, 100; Landucci, 11; Graziani, 643; Cron. Rom., 34; Notar Giacomo, 108. *Letter from the Archbishop of Milan to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, dated Rome, 1471, July 27 (ii. hore di nocte ad xxvi.); State Archives, Milan (P. E. Roma); *Letter of Cichus by order of the Duke of Milan, dated Gonzaghe ult. Julii, 1471 (venerdi di prox. passato la nocte sequente fra ii. et tre hore). *Loc. cit.* Infessura is wrong in giving the 25th July as the date; the Cronica di Bologna, 788, has the 27th. Palacky, V., 1, 61; and Caro, V., 1, 360 *seq.*, follow the last statement. This is adopted by Chevalier, 1740, and Kraus, 802; Platina also falls into the same error. Reumont, Lorenzo, I., 223, 2nd ed., is also in error in asserting that the Pope died in the night between the 25th and 26th of July. Trollope, The Papal Conclaves (London, 1876), even gives the 18th July as the date. Regarding the foolish reports which at once arose concerning the death of Paul, see Cipolla, 558.

* See *supra*, p. 202. The above list is certainly the oldest extant. Ammanati's statements are somewhat different, Epist., f. 209 (Frankfort ed., N. 395); but little weight can be attached to them because the letter in question is an apology. *Cichus Simoneta had, on the 31st July, 1471, by desire of the Duke, informed the Roman Ambassadors in writing that the Duke wished one of the following Cardinals to become Pope: Rhotomag. (d'Estouteville), S. Crucis Reatinus (Capranica), Gonzaga, S. Pietro in vinc. (Fr. della Rovere), S. Crisogoni Papien. (Ammanati), Card. Aquilan. (Agnifilus). State Archives, Milan.

[1] Bessarion. [2] d'Estouteville. [3] Calandrini.
[4] A. Capranica. [5] Ammanati. [6] Francesco della Rovere.
[7,8] Fr. Gonzaga. [9] Forteguerri. [10] Roverella.

Spoleti [11] ad Thiano [9] et Ravenna.[10]
Thiano [9] ad Spoleti [11] et S. Petro in vinc.[6]
Ravenna [10] ad Bologna,[3] Thiano,[9] Napoli [12] et S. Petri.[6]
Pavia [5] ad Niceno,[1] Rhoano [2] et Bologna.[3]
Napoli [12] ad Niceno,[1] Spoleto [11] et Ravenna.[10]
Aquila [13] ad Thiano,[9] S. Marco [14] et S. Petri.[6]
S. Marco [14] ad Niceno [1] et Spoleti.[11]
S. Piero [6] ad Orsino, Bologna,[3] S.†,[4] Thexno,[9] Aquila.[13]
Vicecanc.[15–16] ad Ravenna.[10]
Mantoa [7–8] ad Rhoano [2] e Vicecancell.[15–16]
Monferrato [17] ad Rhoano,[2] Bologna,[3] Theano,[9] Pavia,[5] Aquila,[13] S. Petro [6] e Mantova.[7–8]
S. Maria in portico [18] ad Ravenna,[10] Aquilla,[13] S. Petro in vinc.[6]
S. Lutia [19] ad Orsino, Aquilla,[13] S. Petro in vinc.[6]

[II.] *Voce havute.*

Niceno da S. Marco, Napoli, Rohano, Bologna, S.†, Pavia.
Rohano da Mantoa, Monferrato, Niceno, Bologna, S.†, Pavia.
Orsino da S. Lutia S. Piero in vinc.
Bologna da Monferrato, Ravenna, Niceno, Rohano, Pavia, S.†, S. Petro.
S.† da Niceno, Rohano, Bologna, S. Pietro.
Spoleti da Thiano, S. Marco, Napoli.
Thiano da Monferrato, Ravenna, Aquila, Orsino, Spoleti, S. Pietro.
Ravenna da S. Maria in port., Napoli, Vicecanc., Bologna, Orsino, Spoleto et S. Pietro.*
Pavia da Monferrato, Niceno, Bologna.
Napoli da Ravenna.
Aquila da S. Lucia, S. Maria in port., Monferrato, S. Petro.
S. Marco da Aquila.
S. Pietro ad vinc. da S. Lutia, Monferrato, S. Maria in port., Ravenna, Thiano, Aquilla, Niceno, Bologna † et Orsino.

[11] Eroli. [12] Carafa. [13] A. Agnifilus.
[14] Barbo. [15–16] R. Borgia. [17] Theodore of Montferrat.
[18] B. Zeno. [19] G. Michiel.

* This is a variation from List I. where the name of Roverella does not occur among those who voted for F. della Rovere.

† In List I. it is not stated that Calandrini gave his vote to F. della Rovere.

Vicecancell. da Mantoa.
Mantoa da Monferrato, Rohano.
Monferrato: *niente.*
S. Maria in port.: *niente.*
S. Lucia: *niente.*
Voce agiunte al papa altra le prime nove: Vicecanc., Rohanno, S. Marco.

[Contemporary Copy in the State Archives, Milan, Roma ad an.]

44. Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

[1471, Aug. 9, Rome.†]

The Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli had that very hour been elected Pope. All Rome rejoices: essendo stato cognosciuto relligioso et sanct^mo^ homo etiam in minori gradu et perho e anche opinione de ognuno che debia essere optimo pastore per s. chiesa et per tutta la fede christiana.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

45. Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1471, Aug. 16, Rome.

He returns thanks for the Duke's congratulations on the Papal dignity, quam Dei clementia non meritis nostris adepti sumus. The Duke had loved him when he was yet in minoribus; he, on his part, had continually loved the Duke. Erit igitur noster hic pontificatus ad omnem honorem et dignitatem tuam facillimus. He knows him to be one of the Princes most devoted to the Apostolic See, quod clarissimis argumentis nuper vacante sede in Romandiola demonstrasti.§ "Dat. Romae apud S. Petrum sub

* See *supra*, p. 204.

† The original bears as date vii. Aug., wrongly written instead of ix. Aug., and the superscription: "cito, cito."

‡ See *supra*, p. 215.

§ See the **Brief of Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan of 31st August, 1471. State Archives, Milan.

annulo piscatoris xvi. Aug., 1471 ante coronationem." His autograph signature follows.

"F[ranciscus]* vester ex optimo corde manu p.p^a."

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

46. Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1471, Aug. 28, Rome.

Cum questa sera la lista ‡ de li voti dati in conclave in la assumptione de questo novo pontefice, qual me è stato difficile havere respecto al juramento, hanno ex consuetudine nedum de darla, ma de non participarla cum persona. Recordomi haver scripto per altra mia a § V. Cels. quello havete ad extimare et persuadervi di questi voti. Rimettomi a quel medesimo et a V. C. me rec. Ex Roma, xxviii. Aug., 1471.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

47. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.||

1472, June 22, Rome.

Ad veterem benevolentiam quae tibi nobiscum semper intercessit¶ nova accessit necessitudo by the betrothal of Girolamo Riario to Caterina Sforza; he sends Girolamo to Milan as the Duke wished. Sit super hec sponsalia benedictio nostra, super te et filios tuos et filios eorum . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

48. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1472, June 22, Rome.

He earnestly exhorts the Duke, carissimum in Christo filium

* The Brief is not signed "Sixtus IV.," because it was written before the Coronation. Only the baptismal name is therefore used.

† See *supra*, p. 202.

‡ See No. 43 of this Appendix.

§ Of the 20th Aug., 1471; see *supra*, p. 202.

|| See *supra*, p. 248. ¶ See *supra*, p. 215. ** See *supra*, p. 248.

Ferdinandum, Sicilie regem illustrem, affinem tuum eo amore prosequi qui esse debet inter amantissimos affines. He could do nothing more pleasing to him than this.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

49. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1473, Febr. 24, Rome.

He thanks him for his good reception of Girolamo Riario. His pauculis diebus laboravimus aliquantulum eodem morbo pedum qui et superiore anno nos invasit licet minus doloris et molestie nunc nobis attulerit . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

50. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1473, Nov. 2, Rome.

Rediit ad nos dil. filius noster Petrus tit. S. Sixti presbyter cardinalis, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, noster secundum carnem nepos, qui quanta cum humanitate, quo apparatu, qua liberalitate, qua iocunditate animi eum exceperis abunde nobis explicavit . . . The Pope thanks the Duke for this, and confirms all that the said Cardinal has settled with the Duke.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

51. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1474, June 1, Rome.

The Pope declares his intention of taking care for the peace of his subjects; he will, in particular, take measures against the rebellion in Todi; he therefore requests the Duke to send troops iuxta requisitionem Hieronymi generis tui Imole in temp. vicarii . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

* See *supra*, p. 249. † See *supra*, p. 252.

‡ See the Brief to Perugia in Arch. St. Ital., XVI., 588, and *supra*, p. 263.

52. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1474, June 25, Rome.

The Papal Legate is advancing with an army against Città di Castello: nihil tamen aliud quam obedientiam exacturus et res civitatis illius pro omnium quiete compositurus. Eam si Nic. Vitellius prestare voluerit clementiam et pietatem inveniet, nam et natura ipsius nepotis et legati nostri mitissima est et nos obedientiam quaerimus non vindictam . . . †

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

53. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1474, July 5, Rome.

The Pope expresses his astonishment at a letter of the Duke's concerning the affair of Città di Castello. Sixtus IV. justifies his action in the matter, A. Nic. Vitello nihil aliud quam obedientiam exegimus; deponat dominatum, vivat ut privatus et clementiam in nobis inveniet; exititios introducere non est nobis consilium . . . Quis est regum aut principum qui in dominio suo populum inobedientem aut rebellem aut tyrannum possit tolerare? Quare miramur quod nobis hoc persuadeas cum potius presidium a te speremus. The Florentines say they fear on account of Borgo S. Sepolcro: vana est ista suspicio, for he had assured them on his Papal word that his troops should undertake nothing against Florence.§

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

* See *supra*, p. 265.

† Sixtus IV. expressed himself in similar language in his *Brief to Florence, dated 1474, June 28 (a Copy is in the State Archives, Florence), and in that to Ercole d'Este, dated 1474, July 14 (the Original is in the State Archives, Modena).

‡ See *supra*, p. 266.

§ The principal passage of this Brief of the 28th June, 1474, is printed *supra*, p. 265, note ‡, from the State Archives, Florence. Sixtus IV. also communicated the document on the same 28th June, 1474, to the Duke of Milan; see *Brief of this date in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.

54. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1474, July 28, Rome.

Yhs

Sixtus papa IIII.

Carissime fili salutem et apost. benedict.

Ve habiamo scripto molti brevi per li quali asai amplamente avete potuto intendere la iustitia nostra in li fati de cita di Castello. E per questo si maravigemo asai e non possiam credere quillo ne † scripto de Fiorense cioche voi non solo incitati Fiorentini contra di noi, ma anco prometete a loro ogni subsidio contra ‡ di noi. A fili carissime quid tibi fecimus? Non se ricordiamo averve offeso mai nec verbo neque opere; anco per lo singulare amore vi portiamo tuto quello abiamo potuto fare per voi habiamo fato e faremo sempre. A a numquid redditur pro bono malum? quare § foderunt foveam anime mee.|| A fili carissime consciderate la iustitia de le mie petitione. Considerate contra quem agitur, quod contra dominum, cui illa civitas subiecta est, contra ecclesiam suam, contra vicarium suum, contra patrem te cordialiter amantem, contra affinem, contra illum qui ortum habuit ex civitate tibi subiecta. Velis ergo fili mi desistere ab inceptis ut ira Dei non veniat super te, quod absit et velis bene consciderare petitiones meas iustas et faveas Deo pro debito ac honore tuo, cuius con servationem semper quesivi. Speramus pro nobilitate animi tui quod sicut ego sum tibi bonus pater, ita eris nobis bonus filius. Fomo riquiesti pro parte vostra se volemo v' intromitesti in acordare questa cossa. Dicemmo quello habiam risposto ad ogni altro chi na ¶ fato simile domanda che non ne pare via honesta dovere mendicare acordio con nostri subditi, ma quando voi o altro lo facesse come da si ch' eravamo contento quod non petebamus a subditis nisi obedientiam veram e de questa mia risposta non credo vi dovesti scandalisare. Precamur igitur vos ut pro

* See *supra*, p. 267. The letter is all written by his own hand. Regarding the rarity of such Papal autographs, see Campori, Lettere ined. di sommi pontefici, p. vii. (Modena, 1878).

† = n'è.

‡ Manuscript: *c.*

§ Manuscript: *qr.*

|| Jerem., 18, 20.

¶ = n'ha.

conscientia vestra ac honore vestro non velitis esse contra * ecclesiam domini prout vos facturos speramus. Bene valete.

Ex urbe 28 Iulii, 1474.

[A tergo:]

Cariss. in Christo filio Galeaz. Marie duci Mediolani ill. dentur in propriis manibus.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

55. Pope Sixtus IV. to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1474, Oct. 10, Rome.

Hodie conclusum est Deo auctore et publicatum inter dil. filium Johannem nostrum secundum carnem nepotem et natam dil. fillii nobilis viri Friderici ducis Urbini matrimonium. . . .‡

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

56. Pope Sixtus IV. to Florence.§

1475, Oct. 21, Rome.

He can hardly believe that they shew favour to N. Vitelli, who is fighting against the Church. They must not do this: Secus autem quod absit et quod non credimus iniurie resistere lacessiti cogeremur.

[Copy in the State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 92-92b.]

57. Report of the Milanese Ambassadors in Florence regarding the Conspiracy of the Pazzi.||

1478, April 28, Florence.

Il cardinale nipote del conte Girolamo per la peste de Pisa

* Manuscript: *c.*

† See *supra*, p. 270.

‡ On the 14th October, 1474, Sixtus IV. wrote to Florence: *"Nuperrime cum dil. fil. nob. viro Federico Urbini duce de nata eius dilecto filio Jo. de Ruere nostro secundum carnem nepoti in matrimonio locando transegimus, quod gratum vobis esse non dubitamus." (State Archives, Florence, X.-II.-25, f. 69b.) See the Brief to the Duke of Ferrara, dated 1474, Oct. 14, in Martène, II., 1670.

§ See *supra*, p. 296. Lorenzo's letter of apology, dated Florence, 1475, Dec. 25, is published in Moreni, Lettere di Lorenzo il M. al S. P. Innocenzo VIII., 1 *seq.* (Florence, 1830), but—as Reumont, Lorenzo, I., 258, 2nd ed., observes—assigned in an incomprehensible manner to the successor of Sixtus IV.

|| See *supra*, p. 304 *seq.* Eine Münze auf die Pazzi-Verschwörung in Richa, VI., 142.

stavasi ad un palazzo di M. Jacopo de Pazzi non molto discosto da Firenze ed aveva molte volte detto a Lorenzo de Medici trovandosi con lui che voleva un giorno venire a Firenze per vedere il suo palazzo e chiesa maggiore per cui Lorenzo lo aveva invitato a venire ed a disinare in casa sua domenica scorsa che fu ai 26 di Aprile e col cardinale aveva pure invitato l' arcivescovo de Pisa governatore suo e da Firenze M. Jacopo de Pazzi e moltri altri cavalieri e cittadini per onorare il cardinale ed erasi disposto un solennissimo apparato; el cardinale col arcivescovo venne la domenica mattina e smontato si pose nel duomo alla messa grande che era cantata solennemente e circa il momento che si intonava l'agnus Dei,* etc., quando Giuliano e Lorenzo ambedue se trovarono in duomo che secundo l' usanza passegiavano pero ben separati l' uno dall altro Lorenzo fu assaltato da alcuni, tutti forastieri e per la piu parte Spagnuoli della famiglia del cardinale o forse dell' arcivescovo, ma che se seppe presto reparare, mentre dal famiglio ed alcuni giovani fu ajutato essendosi essi interposti ripararono i colpi coi loro mantelli che ancora si vedono traorati. Lorenzo scappò il pericolo e fu soltanto leggermente ferito alla gola e tosto ritirato in sacrestia; certo Francesco Neri suo compagno nel ripararlo fu ammazzato. Mentre che Lorenzo fu cosi assaltato ed in un punto medesimo da un altra parte del duomo a Giuliano fu facto simile assalto da costoro insieme con uno Franceschino de Pazzi e Bernardo Barunzelli che ambedue proditoriamente quella matina si erano accompagnati con Giuliano e loro due furoni i primi a dargli delle ferite e così il povero Giuliano rimase morto con innumerevoli ferite che doveva essere pietà a vederlo. Dio non volle la morte de Lorenzo per evitare maggiore male. . . . Non si potrebbe esprimere quanta dimonstrazione abbia fatto questo popolo a Lorenzo e casa de Medici. The people shout: Palle, palle! Execution of the guilty: L'arcivescovo dopo gli vene concesso di potersi confessarse e comunicare fu appicato per la gola lui ed il fratello con Jacopo Salviati suo nipote, Jacopo de M. Poggio con tutti quelli che erano presi in palazzo ed erano gettati fuori dalle finestre del palazzo de S^ri^ col capestro appicato al colonello delle finestre e di la un pezzo tagliavasi i capestri e cadevano in piazza; in piazza che erano caduti straziavansi dal

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 133, gives the same account.

popolo e dalla moltitudine in pezzi. . . . El numero delle persone impiccate, tagliate a pezzi e morte in questo facto forse ascende ad un centinajo di persone. . . .

[State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

58. Albertinus, Prior of S. Martino, to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.*

1478, April 28, Florence.

He arrived in Florence on the 27th. Nui habiamo trovato Firenza in grande travaio cum credo sapia la prefata V. S. Lordine de la cosa sicondo posso intendere è questo: zoè essendo venuto il card^le^ nepote del conte Jeronimo a Fiorenza non si dice perche se non che mal per lui et per altri, ditto card^le^ non volse intrar in Fiorenza, ma si redusse di fora a uno zardino de quelli de Pazi e de li a certi di questi Pazi fezeno uno convido a Fesole dove fu invitado Lorenzo de Cosimo e Zuliano de Cosimo, ma Zuliano no possette andarli che haveva due anguinalie, sichel disegno de Pazi non potete haver effetto, ma non pentiti fezeno che Lorenzo convidoe il card^le^ a casa sua a pasto per haver ditto Lorenzo e Zuliano a suo a piacere, siche aparichiatto il convido amplo e magnifico venuta lora de la messa andono in S. Liberata e tardono la messa piu che fu possibile per far fastidio al popolo azio se havesse a partire, ma pur seguendo la messa quando il prete fui a la levatione† se levò Franceschino de Pazi e amaza de fatto cum certe sui compagni Zuliano de Medici; da po volse e menò per dar a Lorenzo e uno suo compagno li volse piliar il colpo e piliò la morte de fatto per modo che ditto Franceschino taliò la testa cum una spala a ditto compagno de Lorenzo e cum quello medesmo colpo ferì Lorenzo in de la gola, ma non ha grande male. Il card^le^ fuzi e larcivescovo de Pisa corse al palazo‡ cum certi fanti . . . e funo a li mane; il popolo corse e non potendo intrare andono a una altra porta e brusola e introno dentro e preseno larcivescovo e de fatto lo inpicono lui e il fratello; possa preseno il card^le^ cum tuti quelli de li sui che poteno havere e furono inpicati e similiter il prete che havea cantato la messa e dui garzoneti che erano ragazi del card^le^ per modo che quello di

* See *supra*, p. 304 *seq.* † See *supra*, p. 309, note *.

‡ For what follows, see Reumont, Lorenzo, I., 289 *seq.*, 2nd ed.

fui la domenica ne forono inpichati 36; il luni seguente* ne fono inpichati 16; ozi che martidi ancho non e fatto altro; ma questa notte è sta menato Ser Jacomo de Pazi cum circha 18 altri e tuta via ne sono menati e tuti secondo se dice siranno impichati; il card^le e pur vivo, ma in presone in del palazo de li S^ri cum grande guarda; se tene perho che non morirà; altro non ho presentuto fin a questa hora presente e che hore nove et di 28 del presente. . . . Dopo questa hora siamo a messa a l' Anunciata et havemo fatto oratione speciale per V. S. e tornati a lozamenti ne stato ditto alcuni soldati del conte Jeronimo sono stati taliati a pezi venendo lor a Fiorenza. Non ho potuto intendere altro mi ric^do a V. M. S. Florentie die 28 Aprilis, 1478.

E. D. V. ser^or fid^mus don Albertinus prior S. Martini.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

59. Instruction from Sixtus IV. for Ludovico de Agnellis and Antonio de Grassis, Nuncios to Emperor Frederick III.†

1478, Dec. 1.

Instructiones datae r. patrib. dom. Ludovico de Agnellis protonot. apost. et Antonio de Grassis‡ s. palatii causar. auditori ad M^tem Imp. S. D. N. oratoribus. Primo salutabunt ser^mum Imperatorem. . . . Complaints against Lorenzo de' Medici. Item audivimus Venetos misisse ad suam M^tem Jacobum de Medio,§ qui diu in curia nostra ista versatus est et cognitus, cuius dicta bene advertat, est enim magnus fabricator et Cretensis, qui iuxta apostolum consueverunt esse mendaces‖ . . . Insuper sciat Serenitas S., quod Veneti convenerunt cum rege Franciae, ad

* 27th April.

† See *supra*, p. 326.

‡ Some Manuscripts have Frassis, a mistake which Ranke, Päpste, III., 4*, has not noticed. It is hard to understand how Ranke, *loc. cit.*, can speak of this Instruction as "the oldest" which came before him among the Manuscripts which he saw. The Berlin Historian made use of Cod. VII., G. 1, 99, of the Altieri Library in Rome, which contains the well-known Instruction of 1472 for Card. Barbo, cited *supra*, p. 224, and frequently to be met with among the Manuscripts in the Roman Libraries. The texts communicated by Ranke are not correct.

§ See, regarding him, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, p. 282.

‖ Tit., 1, 12.

quem cum istis de liga miserunt oratorem, ut fiat scandalum in ecclesia, obliti quot quantasque pecunias exposuerimus contra Turcum in eorum et caeterorum defensione Christianorum. Miramur certe, quod ipsi qui se profitentur Christianos velint maiorem fidem servare erga Laurentium de Medicis quam erga Deum et sedem apost. . . . . miramur potissimum, quia anno superiori, ut per coniecturas satis per omnes cognitum est, Carolus de Montone instigatione ligae venisset ad damna ecclesiae; nam habebat in Perusia tractatum civitate ecclesiae, qua habita omnes aliae civitates et tota ecclesia fuisset perturbata, cum etiam detecta proditione publice aggressus fuisset Senenses et pax Italiae fluctuaret cum tamen Turcus esset prope Forum Julii et iam abduxisset magnam praedam, ipsi nihil dicebant, Carolum non reprimebant, nec per ligam quidquam dicebatur de Turco, sed potius de iuvando eundem Carolum, contra cuius oppidum misimus exercitum nostrum, ne amplius perturbaret pacem Italicam. Juvabatur iste ab omnibus, prout per nostros suae Ser^{ti} iam scripsimus, et cum reverteret Florentiam colebatur ab omnibus ac si Deus esset. Scripseramus tum primo ad Venetos, ut vellent eum revocare . . . et nunquam nobis responderunt. Nunc autem ecclesia juste contra ipsum Laurentium mota, clamant Veneti, clamat tota ista liga, petunt cum rege Franciae concilium in Gallis in dedecus nostrum . . . parum advertentes, ad quos spectat congregare concilium . . . eapropter hortamur M^{tem} suam, ut non praestet eis aures . . . sed rogamus M^{tem} Suam, ut pro debito suae protectionis quod habet ad ecclesiam et pro honore suo . . . velit scribere regi Franciae similiter et isti ligae ostendendo, quod non recte faciunt et . . . quod debent magis favere ecclesiae iustitiam habenti, quam uno mercatori, qui semper magna causa fuit, quod non potuerunt omnia confici contra Turcum, quae intendebamus parare et fuit semper petra scandali in ecclesia Dei et tota Italia.

His age and infirmities make it impossible for him to leave Rome, but he hopes to see the Emperor in Rome, and there to take counsel with him regarding the affairs of Christendom.

Reddat igitur nos certos et de tempore et de via, per quam venturus erit . . . Item dicat suae Ser^{ti}, quod rex Franciae et alii complures principes querunt se intromittere, ut fiat ista concordia inter nos, Laurentium et alios, quibus respondimus, quod semper

parati sumus ad pacem, dummodo fiat cum honore Dei et ecclesiae. Tamen cum ipse sit primus inter principes temporales . . optaremus, ut ipse, qui est ecclesiae protector, haberet istum honorem.

He should do this.

[Cop. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; Instruct. divers., II., 30, f. 55b–57 et LV., f. 43b *seq.*; Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob., 2726, f. 40b–43; Altieri Library (see *supra*, p. 515, note ‡); Barberini Library, XXVII., 4, f. 81; Borghese Library, I.–34b.; Chigi Library, Q. 7, 6; Corsini Library, 33, F. 1, f. 68–70.]

60. Pier Filippo Pandolfini to Florence.*

1479, March 20, Rome.

Tutta questa corte generalmente desidera et vorrebbe pace et ne parlono publicamente; in questa medesima sententia è la maggior parte de cardinali, ma sono in luogo che non ardiscono parlare quello intendono et alcuni che lanno fatto ne sono stato molto represi et con parole non conveniente dal conte Je[ronimo] et da M. Aniello imb^re del re in modo che qui ogni cosa si fa secondo la voglia del conte Je[ronimo] il qual in omnibus dipende dal re . . . .

[State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–24.]

61. Pier Filippo Pandolfini to Florence.†

1479, March 25, Rome.

The Cardinals wish that the negotiations for peace should not be broken off: ma il conte ‡ puo piu lui solo che tutto il collegio et pero sanza lui nulla e da sperare si possi fare.

[State Archives, Florence, X.–II.–24.]

62. Pope Sixtus IV. to Louis XI., King of France.§

1479, April 6, Rome.

He announces the suspension of the censures and the cessation of hostilities with the Florentines: Quod significamus tue M^ti ut optimum animum nostrum et dispositionem cognoscat ad com-

* See *supra*, pp. 327, 413.

‡ Girolamo Riario.

† See *supra*, pp. 327, 413.

§ See *supra*, p. 328.

placendum tue M^ti^ et ad pacem ipsam dummodo fiat cum honore apost. sedis.

[Contemporary Copy in the State Archives, Milan.]

63. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to Louis XI., King of France.*

1479, April 7, Rome.

He has been silent because there was nothing important to tell, et fere nulla spes pacis erat. Now, however, the Pope has yielded to his Majesty's request: arma deposuit censurasque et interdicta suspendit. . . .

[Contemporary Copy in the State Archives, Milan.]

64. Pope Sixtus IV. to Duke Philibert I. of Savoy.†

1481, Sept. 18, Bracciano.

Quod toto nostro desiderio expectabamus et iocundissimum nobis fuit, hodie intelleximus a nostris: the reconquest of Otranto. This opportunity must be seized to resist the Turks: it will never return if now allowed to escape. Ecce tempus salutis, tempus glorie, tempus victorie quod si negligatur nullum tale unquam recuperare poterimus. Parvo negocio bellum nunc confici potest quod non sine maximo dispendio maximis calamitatibus nostris . . . postea conficietur. He has done everything, and ought now to be supported.

Simile imperatori.

Regi Francie, Anglie, Scocie, Polonie, Dacie, Hungarie, Hispanie, Portugallie.

Duci Maximiliano, Britanie, Mediolani.

Electoribus imperii.

Duci Ferrarie, Sabaudie.

March. Montisferrati, Mantue.

Florent. Lucens. Senensib.‡

[National Library, Florence. Cod. Magliab., II.–III.–256, f. 52b.]

* See *supra*, p. 328. † See *supra*, p. 344.

‡ Of these Briefs I found that addressed to the Duke of Milan in the State Archives, Milan, and that to the Florentines in the State Archives, Florence (X.–II.–25, f. 168b). Both are dated Bracciano, 1481, Sept. 18, and agree with each other: the text, however, differs from the one given above.

65. Pope Sixtus IV. to Cardinal Fregoso, Legate of the Crusader Fleet.*

1481, Sept. 18, Bracciano.

He has received the Legate's letter of the 11th of September concerning the conquest of Otranto. Great joy at this success, which will confer everlasting glory on the Legate and the Duke of Calabria.

Reliquum est ut quod prospere inceptum est felicibus incrementis perficiatur hostesque ipsos omni conatu persequamur ut hac cura et periculo Italiam perpetuo liberemus, ad quam rem intrepide capessendam omnes christianos principes exhortati sumus.† Quare quod in te est cum classe nostra reliquias belli prosequere et hostes quam maximis potes damnis contere ne oblate divinitus occasioni desimus. . . . Quod prestare ipsi possumus libenter facimus utinamque soli possemus neminem certe requireremus. The Pope is surprised that the patroni triremium complain without cause.

[National Library at Florence. Cod. Magliab., II.-III.-256, f.38.]

66. Cardinal F. Gonzaga to Federigo I. of Gonzaga.‡

1482, Sept. 11, Rome.

. . . Essendo accaduta questa accelerata et immatura morte de la bo. me. del Sr Roberto Malatesta causata da una febre continua terzana dopia cum fluxo vehementissimo per il che tandem heri tra la prima e seconda hora de nocte expiravit.§ The Pope has to-day legitimatised Roberto's sons per la successione.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

67. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.‖

1483, March 4, Rome.

Dispensatio duci Mediol. pro impositione novae gabellae seu

* See *supra*, p. 345. † See No. 64 of this Appendix.

‡ See *supra*, p. 369.

§ Caleffini, in his *Cronica Ferrariae, writes, Roberto died yesterday * "de una ferita che l' have adi passati in lo facta d' arme fra lui, conte Hieronymo, duca de Calabria et Romani;" a "fluxo" having supervened. Nothing is here said of poison. Cod. I.-I.-4 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

‖ See *supra*, p. 374.

datii ad succurrendum eius gravissimis impensis presertim pro defensione Ferrariae.*

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

68. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.†

1483, April 3, Rome.

A long letter urging the importance of naval warfare against Venice. Verum quia et a principio et semper expedire ac necessarium esse diximus ut valida classis maritima instrueretur sine qua ullus bonus rerum successus vix sperari posset huiusmodi rem tanti momenti esse ut in ea certissima victoriae spes collocata sit, commemoramus. . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

69. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.‡

1483, April 16, Rome.

Instat apud ducem ut contribuere velit quam citius pecunias per eum solvendas pro armanda classe. . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

70. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.§

1483, April 21, Rome.

Sixtus IV. hortatur ducem ad solvendum stipendia promissa pro armanda classe contra Venetos.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

71. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.||

1483, May 1, Rome.

An exhortation to send aid to Parma for the rescue of Ferrara.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

* Thus in a contemporary statement of contents.

† See *supra*, p. 374.

‡ See *supra*, p. 374.

§ See *supra*, p. 374.

|| See *supra*, p. 374.

72. Girolamo Riario to the Duke of Milan.*

1483, May 7, Rome.

As Ferrara is in the greatest danger, the Duke is urged to send help as soon as possible.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. P. E. Milano.]

73. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.†

1483, May 25, Rome.

Dilecte fili, etc. Mittimus nobilitati tue bullam censurarum adversus Venetos quam publicari hic fecimus. He is to allow this Bull to be published in his domains.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

74. Pope Sixtus IV. to Ulrich VIII.,‡ Abbot of St. Gall.§

1483, June 5, Rome.

. . . Cum superioribus diebus decrevimus bullam censurarum adversus Venetos, qui . . . ab oppugnatione civitatis nostrae Ferrariensis . . . desistere noluerunt, mittimus ad te bullam . . . allegatam, te quoque hortamur . . . ut personaliter ad confoederatos omnes tamquam orator noster accedas et . . . opereris ut bulla ipsa publicari possit. . . .

[Original in Cathedral Chapter Archives, St. Gall.‖]

75. Pope Sixtus IV. to Emperor Frederick III.¶

1483, June 15, Rome.

He sends him the Bull against Venice, and exhorts him to let it be published in the Empire et cum effectu observari. Describes the ambition and thirst for conquest of the Venetians. The Pope hopes that the Emperor will proceed against these enemies qui

* See *supra*, p. 374. † See *supra*, p. 376.

‡ Rosch aus Wangen, Abbot from 1463-91; see Mooyer, Onomasticon Hierarchiae Germ., 138 (Minden, 1854).

§ See *supra*, p. 376.

‖ This Brief is also in Lib. brev., 15, f. 601, Secret Archives of the Vatican, and there is a contemporary Copy in the State Archives, Milan.

¶ See *supra*, p. 376.

scisma in ecclesia Dei querunt. The Emperor must shew himself a Catholic Prince.

[Lib. brev., 15, f. 623. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

76. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.*

1483, July 15, Rome.

The Pope again most urgently begs him to begin the war against Venice in Lombardy.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

77. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.

1483, Aug. 20, Rome.

Exhorts him to send assistance to Ferrara, for this is the most important point.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

78. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.

1483, Aug. 25, Rome.

The necessity of still maintaining the fleet is urgently insisted on.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

79. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.

1483, Sept. 20, Rome.

The fleet must still be kept up for some time. The Duke ought to lend his aid.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

80. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.

1483, Oct. 2, Rome.

Urgent exhortations to send support, especially for the fleet, whose maintenance is very necessary.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Autograph.]

* For Nos. 76 to 80, see *supra*, p. 385.

81. Pope Sixtus IV. to the Duke of Milan.*

1483, Oct. 13, Rome.

Non possumus satis mirari quod res Ferrariensis ita negligatur. . . . Nihil factum est eorum quae in dieta et post dietam ordinata sunt. The Duke must send help most speedily. He (the Pope) is not to blame if Ferrara be lost. Similia Regi et Florent.

[Lib. brev., 16 B., f. 98. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

82. Stefano Guidotti to Mantua.†

1484, Aug. 12, Rome.

A quest' hora che sono quattro de notte ‡ le passato di questa vita el papa. The Cardinals assemble in the Palace during the night. The beginning of disturbances is already to be seen.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 385. † See *supra*, p. 388.

‡ The same *Stefano Guidotti writes still more precisely on the 13th Aug. : "Ale 4 hora e ¼ el passò di questa vita, benissimo disposto e recevuti tuti i sacramenti ecclesiastici resi il spirito a Dio." (Gonzaga Archives.) The Lib. confrat. Sta M. del. Anima also says that the Pope died between the 4th and 5th hour of the night, as does the record from the Library at Munich in Schmarsow, 377. A Sienese Despatch mentions the 3rd hour ; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 618.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. IV.

Acciaiuolo, Donato, 315.
Accolti, Francesco, 20.
Adrian VI., Pope, 417.
Ægidius of Viterbo, 430.
Agnifilus, Amicus, Cardinal (Bishop of Ostia), 66, 112, 122, 199, 202, 408.
Alain, Cardinal, 24, 409.
Albano, Bishop of, *see* Scarampo.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 276, 462.
,, Ridolfo Fioravante degli, 75.
Albertini, 437.
Alberto d'Este, 241.
Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, 182.
Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, 396.
Aleria, Bishop of, *see* Bussi.
Alexander VI., Pope, *see* Borgia, Rodrigo.
Alexander, Bishop of Forli, 59, 284.
Allegretti, Allegro, 317.
Alfonso, King of Naples, 172.
Alfonso of Burgos, Bishop of Cuença, 397.
Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, 335, 347, 355–357, 364–366, 370, 371, 374, 408, 426.
Amadeus of Portugal, Blessed, 418.
Amalfi, Duke of, *see* Piccolomini, Antonio.
Ammanati, James, Cardinal (Bishop of Pavia), 12, 13, 21, 25, 28, 47, 124, 133, 140, 143, 148, 167, 199, 201, 210, 220, 222, 236, 239, 270, 287, 294, 408, 443.
Angers, Bishop of, *see* La Balue.
Anguillara, Deifobo, 149, 150.
,, Everso, 45, 148, 149.
,, Francesco, 149, 150.
Antoine of Burgundy, 282.
Antoniasso, 437.
Antonio of Montefeltre, 297.
Aquila, Bishop of, *see* Agnifilus.
Arcimboldo, Giovanni, Cardinal (Bishop of Novara), 409.
Argyropulos, 206, 439, 440.
Arles, Archbishop of, *see* Lévis.
Arlotti, Buonfrancesco, 206.
Armonio, Bartolomeo, 232.
Asclepiades (Marcus Romanus), 43, 48.
d'Aubusson, Pierre, 333.
Ausio, Cardinal, 241.
Avignon, Archbishop of, *see* Rovere, Giuliano della.

Balaban, 87, 90.
Balbanus, Hieronymus, 439.
Bandelli, Vincent, 394.
Bandini-Baroncelli, Bernardo di, 307, 309, 314.
Barbaro, Ermolao, Bishop of Verona, 61.

Barbo, Marco, Cardinal (Bishop of Vicenza), 53, 112, 119, 121, 122, 127, 184, 190, 191, 202, 203, 219, 223, 224, 414.
,, Paul, 93, 94.
,, Pietro, Cardinal, *see* Paul II.
Barletino, 89.
Barozzi, Giovanni, Patriarch of Venice, 112, 119.
Barrocius, Petrus, 407.
Bartholomaus III., Abbot of Subiaco, 69.
Basin, Thomas, 100.
Basso, Antonio, 232, 242.
,, Bartolomeo, 232.
,, Francesco, 232.
,, Giovanni Guglielmo, 232, 356, 411, 412, 458.
,, Mariola, 232.
Bayeux, Bishop of, 102.
Benevento, Archbishop of, *see* Capece.
Bentivoglio, Family of, 317.
Bentivoglio, Giovanni, 352, 374.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 5, 79, 80, 112, 118, 127–131, 134, 135, 163, 179, 188, 193, 199, 200–202, 206, 208, 218, 219–221, 236, 408, 457.
Biondo, Flavio, 66, 442.
,, Francesco, 442.
,, Gasparo, 66, 442.
Blanchus, Johannes, 47.
Bona, Duchess of Milan, 291.
Bonaventura, St., 392.
Boniface III., Pope, 450.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 133.
Borgia, Family of, 15.
Borgia, Cesare, 268.
,, Rodrigo, Cardinal (afterwards Alexander VI.), 5, 6, 12, 18, 124, 168, 199, 202, 203, 210, 212, 219, 222, 223, 278, 279, 288, 414, 416.
Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara, 161, 183–188.
Botticelli, Sandro, 464, 467.
Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal (Archbishop of Lyons), 101, 322, 323, 411.
Bourchier, Thomas, Cardinal (Archbishop of Canterbury), 120.
Bourdeilles, Elie de, Cardinal (Archbishop of Tours), 377, 415.
Bracci, Family of, 298.
Bracciolini, Poggio, 307, 311.
Brandolini, Aurelio, 442.
Brittany, Duke of, 221.
Brixen, Bishop of, *see* Cusa.
Buonacorsi, *see* Callimachus.
Bussi, Giov. Andrea, Bishop of Aleria, 67, 71, 72, 435.

Calahorra, Bishop of, *see* Sanchez.
Calandrini, Filippo, Cardinal, 6, 202, 408.
Caldarini, Valerius, Bishop of Savona, 112.
Calderino, Domizio, 434.
Calixtus III., Pope, 14, 37, 131, 136, 172, 189, 286.
Callimachus (Filippo Buonacorsi), 43, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 57, 59.
Callistos, Andronicus, 128.
Calpurnius, 63.
Camerino, Bishop of, *see* Cenci.
Campano, Giantonio, Bishop, 71.
Campanus, Augustinus, 44, 63, 442.
Canale, Nicolo, 174.
Canensius, 32, 47, 75, 110, 119.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, *see* Bourchier.
Capece, Corrado, Archbishop of Benevento, 106, 112.
Capistran, St. John, 90.

Capranica, Angelo, Cardinal, 6, 168, 219, 408.
„ Domenico, Cardinal, 122.
Caraffa, Olivieri, Cardinal (Archbishop of Naples), 72, 120, 122, 219, 226, 228, 241, 288.
Carniola, Archbishop of, *see* Zuccalmaglio.
Carretto, Otto de, 6, 21.
Carvajal, Juan de, Cardinal, 5, 6, 24, 80, 84, 85, 97, 98, 109, 131–135, 138, 140, 143, 145, 408.
Casimir, King of Poland, 59, 145.
Castiglione, Cardinal, 185.
Castiglione, Branda, Bishop of Como, 374.
Catalani, Gabriel, 262.
Catherine, Queen-Mother of Bosnia, 193.
Cenci de' Rustici, Agapito, Bishop of Camerino, 112.
Cerretani, Giovanni, 323.
Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 104, 105, 220, 321, 322, 409.
Charlotte of Lusignan, Queen of Cyprus, 194, 282, 283.
Christian I., King of Denmark and Norway, 258–261.
Cicada, Miliaduca, 445.
Clement IV., Pope, 389.
Cobelli, Leone, 233.
Coccio, Marc Antonio, *see* Sabellicus.
Colleone, Bartolomeo, 154–157.
Colocsa, Bishop of, *see* Varda.
Colonna, Family of, 58, 78, 353, 354, 356, 357, 370, 379–384, 415, 416, 423, 430.
„ Antonio, Prefect of Rome, 245.
„ Fabrizio, 367, 384.
Colonna, *continued*—
„ Giordano, 353.
„ Giovanni, Cardinal, 354–356, 380, 382, 414, 416.
„ Giovanni, 353, 356.
„ Girolamo, 354.
„ Lorenzo Oddone, 350, 355, 380, 381, 383.
„ Prospero, of Paliano, 354, 355, 384.
„ Stefano, of Palestrina, 150, 353.
Commines, Philippe de, 324, 385, 425.
Como, Bishop of, *see* Castiglione, Branda.
Conti, Counts of, 85, 353.
„ Andrea de', 356.
„ Giacomo de', 356, 366.
„ Giovanni de', Cardinal, 415.
„ Sigismondo de', 67, 214, 275, 290, 298, 314, 334, 349, 355, 356, 368, 370, 372, 380, 381, 386, 393, 434, 439, 442, 443, 455.
„ Stefano de', 113.
Correr, Gregorio, 93.
Cortesius, Paul, 121.
Corvinus, *see* Matthias.
Costa, Giorgio, Cardinal (Archbishop of Lisbon), 378, 411.
Cotignola, Conrad, 247.
Cuença, Bishop of, *see* Alfonso of Burgos.
Cusa, Nicholas, Cardinal (Bishop of Brixen), 15, 17, 68.
Cybò, Giov. Batista, Cardinal (afterwards Innocent VIII.), 288, 410, 458.
Dandolo, Fantin, Bishop of Padua, 93.

Dario, Giovanni, 332.
Dati, Lionardo, Bishop of Massa, 67, 158, 434.
Demetrius of Lucca, 436.
Diedo, Pietro, 364.
Dionysius I., Pope, 449.
Dlugoss, 167.
Dolci, Giovanni de', 466.
Domenichi, Domenico de', Bishop of Torcello, 7–9, 158.
Domizio da Caldiero, 67, 128.
Dorothea, Queen of Denmark, 281.
Drucki, Michael, 230.

Edward IV., King of England, 279, 338, 339.
Elbora, Bishop of, 344.
Ercole d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara, 22, 155, 241, 272, 350, 351, 371, 374, 385, 386, 427.
Ernest, Duke of Saxony, 182, 396.
Eroli, Bernardo, Bishop of Spoleto, 124, 135, 199, 200, 408.
d'Este, *see* Alberto, Borso, Ercole, and Sigismondo.
d'Estouteville, Guillaume, Cardinal, 3, 5, 11, 22, 80, 134, 162, 163, 199, 200, 202, 203, 211, 226, 261, 276, 288, 409, 414, 455, 458.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 13, 14, 95, 130, 264, 389, 396, 460, 461.
Evreux, Bishop of, *see* La Balue.

Fantinus de Valle, 138.
Faseolus, Angelus, Bishop of Feltre, 112.
Federigo of Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino, 149, 155, 169–171, 231, 251, 261, 262, 267–270, 279, 292, 298, 353.
Federigo of Montefeltre, *contd.*—
Feltre, Bishop of, *see* Lelli and Faseolus.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon, 397, 399–402.
Fernando of Cordova, 116.
Ferrante, King of Naples, 4, 12, 19, 49, 50, 81, 89, 90, 98, 149, 151, 152, 155, 158–160, 170, 171, 175, 177, 200, 210, 214, 219, 245, 246, 248–250, 266, 268, 271, 272, 278–280, 284, 288, 291, 297, 299, 315, 320, 321, 327, 329, 335, 340, 343, 345, 349, 350, 352–355, 357, 370, 375, 386, 411, 429.
Ferrara, Bishop of, *see* Roverella, Lorenzo.
Ferrara, Duke of, *see* Borso and Ercole d'Este.
Ferrici, Pietro, Cardinal (Bishop of Tarasona), 112, 123, 397, 411.
Ferry de Clugny, Cardinal, 414.
Ficino, Marsilio, 441.
Fieschi, Urbano, 437.
Filelfo, Francesco, 444, 445, 452.
Filetico, Martino, 440.
Foix, Pierre de, Cardinal, 125, 411.
Fontius, Bartholomaus, 440.
Forli, Bishop of, *see* Alexander.
Fortebraccio, Carlo, 297, 298.
Forteguerri, Niccolo, Cardinal (Bishop of Teano), 18, 124, 149, 199, 200, 202, 210, 408.
Foscari, Pietro, Cardinal, 123, 201, 411, 412, 414.
Francis of Paula, St., 377.
Francesco de Toledo, 439.

Frederick III., Emperor, 20, 139, 160–169, 177, 181, 218, 224, 261, 321, 325, 340, 358–360, 367, 375, 396, 446.
Fregoso, Paolo, Cardinal, 343, 345–347, 414.

GALLO, Niccolo, 67.
Gasparo da Verona, 67.
Gaza, Theodore, 128, 444.
George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, 52, 103, 134–139, 141–146.
Gherardi, Jacopo, *see* Volaterranus.
Giacomo of Ferrara, 275.
Giamberti, Giuliano San Gallo, 458.
Giganti, Girolamo de', 276.
Giulio of Camerino, 263.
Giuppo, Pietro, 232.
Giustiniani, Bernardo, 217.
Glassberger, 391.
Glaucus, Marinus, Venetus, 43, 47, 48, 51, 52.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal, 3, 6, 18, 24, 40, 41, 89, 97, 124, 175, 184, 187, 188, 193, 199, 203, 208, 210, 217, 259, 261, 280, 288, 317, 327, 373, 375, 409, 414.
Gonzaga, Federigo I., Marquess of Mantua, 352, 374.
Gonzaga, Ludovico III., Marquess of Mantua, 178.
Gran, Archbishop of, *see* Vitez.
Gregory IV., Pope, 450.
Gregory IX., Pope, 389.
Grifus, Ambrosius, 207.
Guicciardini, 180.

HAHN, Ulrick, 68, 70, 71.
Heimburg, Gregor, 137–139, 142, 146.
Heinrich of Lichtenburg, 135.
Henry, Bishop of Ratisbon, 116.
Hermann, 438.
Hermonymos, Georgios, 443.
Hesler, George, Cardinal, 411.
Histrius, 63.
Honorius III., Pope, 392.
Hugonet, Philibert, Cardinal (Bishop of Macon), 409.
Hunyadi, Johannes, 90.

INFESSURA, 254, 274, 279, 289, 382, 383, 416, 417, 419, 422–426, 428, 430.
Innocent III., Pope, 460, 462.
Innocent VIII., Pope, *see* Cybò.
Isabella, Queen of Castille, 397, 399, 402.
Isotta, Wife of Sigismondo Malatesta, 160.
Ivan Wassilijewitsch III., 118, 229, 230.

JACOPO DELLA MARCA, St., 114, 115, 391, 400.
Jacopo da Sarzuela, 206.
Jerusalem, Patriarch of, 102.
John, Margrave of Baden, Archbishop of Trèves, 110.
John XXII., Pope, 115, 450.
John of Aragon, Cardinal, 411.
John of the East, 116.
John of Montmirabile, 428.
John Zacharias, Prince of Samos, 194.
Jouffroy, Jean, Cardinal, 101–103, 115, 409.
Julius I., Pope, 450.

LA BALUE, Jean de, Cardinal (Bishop of Evreux and Angers), 102–105, 120, 221, 338.

Laetus, *see* Pomponius.
Lampugnani, 290.
Laskaris, Constantine, 128, 129.
Laurentius of Sicily, 63.
Lavant, Bishop of, *see* Rudolph.
Lelli, Teodoro de', Bishop of Feltre, 40, 112, 119.
Leo X., Pope, 432.
Leonard, Despot of Arta, 193.
Leonardo Tocco the Third, 332.
Leonora of Naples (Wife of Ercobe of Ferrara), 239, 241–245.
Leopold of Babenberg, 168.
Lévis, Philippe de, Cardinal (Archbishop of Arles), 409.
Libretto, Lodovico, Cardinal, 6.
Lignamine, Johannes Philippus de, 439, 442, 444.
Lignamine, Philippus de, 442.
Lisbon, Archbishop of, *see* Costa.
Longueil, Richard, Cardinal, 124.
Lorenzo of Pesaro, 60.
Lori, Antonio, 274.
Lorraine, Duke of, 375.
Louis XI., King of France, 50, 99–105, 120, 138, 142, 143, 220, 221, 320–326, 338–340, 348, 375–377.
Louis, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, 136.
Luca de Tocio, 49, 52, 58.
Lusignan, *see* Charlotte.
Lyons, Archbishop of, *see* Bourbon.

MACON, Bishop of, *see* Hugonet.
Maffei, Antonio, 307, 309.
Maffei, Timoteo, Bishop of Ragusa, 66.
Mahmoud Pasha, 174.
Mahomet II., Sultan, 81, 82, 86, 87, 90, 91, 96, 174, 177, 180, 183, 189, 219, 285, 314, 331, 333, 342.
Malatesta, Novello, 150.
„ Roberto, 98, 150, 151, 160, 161, 169–172, 179, 352, 364, 366–368, 369.
„ Sigismondo, 50, 148, 159.
Malipiero, 177.
Manfredi, Bartolomeo (Aristophilo), 436.
„ Taddeo, 156.
Mantua, Marquess of, *see* Gonzaga.
Marcus Romanus, *see* Asclepiades.
Marsus, Demetrius, 44.
Marsus, Paulus, 446.
Martin V., Pope, 101, 129, 297, 393.
Martin, Juan, 399.
Martinez, Andrew, 397.
Massa, Bishop of, *see* Dati.
Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 83, 84, 140, 143–145, 168, 177, 281, 321, 337, 338, 340.
Maximilian of Austria (afterwards Emperor), 167, 338, 348.
Medici, Family of, 171, 292–294, 297, 298, 300–303, 306, 311, 313, 434, 440.
Medici, Filippo de', Archbishop of Pisa, 216, 294.
„ Giuliano de', 304, 307–309.
„ Lorenzo de', 17, 75, 180, 215, 216, 268, 270, 271, 291–296, 299–302, 304, 305, 307, 308, 310–317, 320, 324–326, 329, 330, 348, 351, 361, 362, 374, 433.
„ Pietro de', 86.
Mella, Juan de, Cardinal, 6.

Mellini, Giovanni B., Cardinal (Bishop of Urbino), 291, 410.
Melozzo da Forli, 209, 237, 254, 435, 453, 459, 464, 470.
Mendoza, Pedro Gonzalez de, Cardinal (Archbishop of Toledo), 397, 410.
Meo del Caprino, 413.
Michael Angelo, 467–471.
Michiel, Giovanni, Cardinal, 123, 288, 414.
Milan, Archbishop of, *see* Nardini.
Mina da Fiesole, 191.
Mirandola, Galeotto de' Pici della, 155, 156.
Mitylene, Archbishop of, 194.
Mocenigo, Doge of Venice, 219, 229.
Modena, Duke of, *see* Borso d'Este.
Moles, Juan, Cardinal, 415.
Monleone, Luchina, 205.
Montagna, 66.
Montano, Cola, 290.
Montefeltre, *see* Federigo of Urbino.
Montferrat, Marquess of, *see* Theodore.
Montesecco, Giovan. Battista, 303–305, 307, 308, 311, 312.
,, Leone, 381.
Morillo, Michael, 399, 401.
Moro, Damiano, 352.
Müller, Johann (Regiomontanus), 128, 441.

Naples, Archbishop of, *see* Caraffa.
Nardini, Stefano, Cardinal (Archbishop of Milan), 111, 119, 288, 354, 410, 459.
Navigiero, 271.
Nicholas III., Pope, 115.
Nicholas V., Pope, 14, 36, 53, 66, 75, 204, 211, 212. 242, 275, 396, 431–434, 439, 453, 454.
Nicholas of Ujlak, King of Bosnia, 281.
Nicodemus de Pontremoli, 202, 204.
Nicolaus, Jacobus, 194.
Novara, Bishop of, *see* Arcimboldi.
Numagen, 359.

Ognibene da Lonigo, 40.
Ordelassi, Pino degli, 155, 349.
Orsini, Family of, 4, 49, 58, 158, 353–355, 370, 379, 381, 382, 415, 424, 425.
Orsini, Battista, Cardinal, 415, 416.
,, de' Migliorati, Cosimo, 414.
,, Giordano, 262, 263, 356.
,, Latino, Cardinal, 89, 200–203, 210, 212, 218, 225, 257, 315, 379, 408, 414.
,, Napoleone, 149, 169.
,, Rinaldo, 294.
,, Vicino, 368.
,, Virginio, 349, 350. 353, 355, 356, 381, 384.
Orte, Bishop of, *see* Palmerius.
Otranto, Archbishop of, 434.

Padua, Bishop of, *see* Zeno, Jacopo.
Palæologus, Thomas, Despot of the Morea, 96, 193, 212.
,, Zoë, Wife of Ivan Wassilijewitsch, 118, 229, 230.

Pallavicini, Battista, Bishop of Reggio, 6.
Palmerius, Nicholas, Bishop of Orte, 115.
Palmieri, Mattia, 443.
Pannartz, Arnold, 68–70.
Pantagathus, 63.
Parma, Bishop of, *see* Sclafenati.
Paolo della Mastro, 280.
Partenopaeus, 63.
Patricius, Augustinus, 163, 165, 439.
Paul II., Pope, 5, 6, 11–41, 45–89, 93–143, 148–160, 162–194, 208, 210–214, 245, 263, 286, 414, 424, 449, 459.
Pavia, Bishop of, *see* Ammanati.
Pazzi, Family of, 293, 302.
Pazzi, Francesco de', 302, 307, 309, 311.
,, Jacopo de', 307, 308, 310, 313.
,, Renato de', 313.
Perillus, 63.
Perotto, Niccolo, 67, 128.
Perugino, Pietro, 464, 467, 469, 470.
Petrejus, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52, 58.
Piccolomini, Antonio, Duke of Amalfi, 3, 4, 12, 17, 270, 368.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 6, 140, 162, 180, 181, 197, 270, 414.
Pinarolo, Giovanni, 205.
Pinturicchio, 464, 467, 469.
Pisa, Archbishop of, *see* Salviati.
Pitigliano, Counts of, 262.
,, Niccolo, 356.
Pius II., Pope, 37–39, 52, 72, 79, 80, 148, 159, 183, 207, 236, 246, 286, 393.
Platina, Bartolomeo, 39–45, 47, 51, 53–59, 62–64, 66, 113, 115, 126, 192, 238, 246,
Platina, *continued*— 247, 264, 269, 273, 276, 424, 434–438, 442, 446–453, 462.
Podiebrad, *see* George Podiebrad.
Podio, Auxias de, Cardinal, 410.
Poliziano, Angelo, 310, 440.
Pomponius Laetus, 41–45, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 133, 439, 442, 446, 451, 452.
Pontelli, Baccio, 466.
,, Stefano, 53.
Porcello, 66.

RAGUSA, Bishop of, *see* Maffei.
Rangone, Gabriele, Cardinal, 336, 412.
Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, 470.
Ratisbon, Bishop of, *see* Henry.
Ravenna, Archbishop of, *see* Roverella, Bartol.
Reggio, Bishop of, *see* Pallavicini.
Regiomontanus, *see* Müller.
René, King of Provence, 409.
Reuchlin, John, 440.
Riario, Girolamo, 232, 243, 247, 250, 257, 259, 295, 299, 301–306, 327, 348–356, 362, 364–366, 367, 369–371, 373, 375, 378, 379, 381–384, 386, 413, 415, 419, 425, 429, 430.
,, Paolo, 232–234.
,, Pietro, Cardinal, 204, 232–235, 238–244, 247, 248, 250–255, 294, 429, 457.
,, Violante (Wife of Antonio Sansoni), 232.
Roberto da Sanseverino, 352, 386.
Rocha, Archbishop of Salerno, 214.

Rokyzana, 146.
Roselli, Cosimo, 467, 469.
Rossi, Pietro Maria di, 352.
Rovere, Bartolomeo della (Brother of Sixtus IV.), 231.
" Bartolomeo (Nephew of Sixtus IV.), 231, 233.
" Bianca (Wife of Paolo Riario), 232, 233.
" Cristoforo, Cardinal, 411, 412.
" Domenico, Cardinal, 412, 413, 458.
" Francesco, *see* Sixtus IV.
" Franchetta (Wife of Bartolomeo Armoino), 232.
" Giovanni, 231, 247, 262, 270, 283.
" Giuliano, Cardinal (Archbishop of Avignon), afterwards Julius II., 44, 231, 233, 235–238, 241, 248, 257, 259, 261–265, 267 – 269, 278, 279, 290, 294, 295, 322, 323, 334, 338, 339, 341, 348, 351, 352, 354, 356, 364, 370, 380, 381, 382, 412, 415, 431, 432, 439, 443, 457, 467, 468.
" Lionardo (Father of Sixtus IV.), 205.
" Lionardo (Nephew of Sixtus IV.), 231, 245, 247, 261, 269, 283.
Rovere, Luchina della (Wife of Giovanni Basso), 232, 233.
" Rafaelle, 231.
Roverella, Bartolomeo, Cardinal (Archbishop of Ravenna), 3, 6, 124, 159, 199, 202, 408.
" Lorenzo, Bishop of Ferrara, 144, 210.
Rubeis, Augustinus de, 58.
Rudolph of Rüdesheim, Bishop of Lavant, 116, 135, 138.
Ruffus, 63.

Sabellicus (Marc Antonio Coccio), 43, 91.
Salerno, Archbishop of, *see* Rocha.
Salviati, Francesco, Archbishop of Pisa, 294–296, 303–308, 310, 311, 314, 316, 326.
Sanchez, Rodrigo de Arevalo, Bishop of Calahorra, 17, 55, 56, 115, 182, 188.
Sansoni, Antonio, 232.
Sansoni-Riario, Rafaelle, Cardinal, 232, 307, 308, 314–318, 380, 397, 411, 412, 416, 468.
Santa-Croce, Family of, 353, 354, 379.
Santa-Croce, Francesco, 379.
Savelli, Family of, 353, 355, 384, 415.
Savelli, Antonio, 379.
" Giov. Battista, Cardinal, 123, 201, 336, 343, 355, 356, 378, 414, 416.
" Mariano, 356.
Savona, Bishop of, *see* Calderino.
Scarampo, Luigi, Cardinal (Bishop of Albano), 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 125, 126.
Schweinheim, Conrad, 68, 70.
Sclafenati, Giovanni, Cardinal (Bishop of Parma), 415, 416.

Servia, Despot of, 194.
Seville, Archbishop of, 402.
Sforza, Alessandro, 155, 169.
„ Ascanio, Cardinal, 200, 374, 378, 411, 415.
„ Caterina, 247, 301.
„ Costanzo, 357.
„ Francesco, Duke of Milan, 13, 143, 153, 439.
„ Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, 155, 161, 166, 177–180, 200, 203, 215, 218, 246–252, 266, 267, 270, 290, 291, 293, 295, 409.
„ Ludovico il Moro, 329, 374, 378, 385, 386.
Sigismondo d'Este, 341.
Signorelli, Luca, 464, 467, 469.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 109, 122, 128, 199, 201–206, 229–250, 252, 254, 256–262, 265–296, 299–307, 311–329, 331–338, 340–356, 358–364, 367–382, 384–403, 405–416, 418–443, 445–456, 459–468.
Skanderbeg, 84, 86–90.
Soranzo, Vettor, 352.
Spalatro, Archbishop of, *see* Zane.
Stefano of Bagnone, 307, 309.
Stephen III., Pope, 450.
Stephen the Great, Woiwode of Moldavia, 285.
Sylvester, St., Pope, 18.

TARASONA, Bishop of, *see* Ferrici.
Teano, Bishop of, *see* Forteguerri.
Theodore of Montferrat, Cardinal, 122, 123, 202, 352.
Tiburzio, 313.
Tocco, House of, 332.
Toledo, Archbishop of, *see* Mendoza.
Torcello, Bishop of, *see* Domenichi.
Tornabuoni, Giovanni, 216.
Torquemada, Juan de, Cardinal, 5–7, 12, 70, 72, 116, 408.
„ Thomas, 402, 403.
Tours, Archbishop of, *see* Bourdeilles.
Trèves, Archbishop of, *see* John, Margrave of Baden.
Treviso, Bishop of, *see* Lelli, and Riario, Pietro.

UGOLINI, Baccio, 300, 362, 363.
Urbino, Duke of, *see* Federigo of Montefeltre.
Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, 183, 189, 218, 219, 227, 229, 285.

VALLA, Lorenzo, 42, 51.
Valle, della, Family of, 353, 354, 379, 382.
Valori, Niccolo, 299.
Verano, Cesare de, 373.
Varda, Stephan de, Cardinal (Bishop of Colocsa), 120.
Vasari, 464, 470.
Venice, Patriarch of, 376. *See also* Barozzi.
Venier, Antonio Giacomo, Cardinal, 410.
Ventimiglia, Bishop of, 451.
Verdun, Bishop of, 105.
Verona, Bishop of, *see* Barbaro.
Vespasiano da Bisticci, 67, 83, 433.
Vicenza, Bishop of, *see* Barbo, Marco.
Vitelli, Niccolo, 251, 264–269, 294, 296.
Viterbo, Bishop of, 320.
Vitez, John, Cardinal (Archbishop of Gran), 123.

Volaterranus, Jacobus, 262, 269, 343, 387, 434, 439, 443, 452.
,, Raphael, 44.
Volscus, 63.

WILWOLT VON SCHAUMBURG, 164.
Wirsberg, John of, 116.
,, Livin of, 116.
Wladislaw, King of Bohemia, 147.

ZALONICH, Thomas, 194.
Zane, Lorenzo, Patriarch of Antioch, Archbishop of Spalatro, 96, 111, 169, 184, 228, 263, 267.
Zeno, Battista, Cardinal, 123, 188, 202.
,, Jacopo, Bishop of Padua, 94.
Zimeon, 230.
Zoë, *see* Palæologus.
Zuccalmaglio, Andrea, Archbishop of Carniola, 358–363, 370, 391.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

	PAGE
Preface	vii
List of complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. V. and VI.	xi
Table of Contents	xlvii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lxix
Introduction	3–226

BOOK I. INNOCENT VIII., 1484–1492.

Election of Innocent VIII.	227–248
Quarrels between the Pope and Ferrante of Naples	249–270
Troubles in the Romagna. Disputes and final Reconciliation between Rome and Naples	271–287
The Eastern Question. The Turkish Prince Dschem. Death of Innocent VIII.	288–321
The late Pope as Patron of Art and Scholarship	322–333
Defence of the Liberties and Doctrines of the Church; its Moral Condition	334–372

BOOK II. ALEXANDER VI., 1492–1497.

Election of Alexander VI.	375–419
Death of Ferrante of Naples. Alliance between Alfonso II. of Naples and the Pope. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.	420–433
Dismay and Helplessness of Alexander VI.	434–449
Charles VIII. in Rome and Naples. Flight of the Pope	450–481
Expulsion of the French from Naples. The Pope's Schemes of Reform	482–523
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	527–563
Index of Names	565–576

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PREFACE.

According to my original plan the present Volume* should have extended to the close of the Lateran Council in 1517, but the amount of matter to be dealt with has proved so large that, in order to keep it within reasonable dimensions, I have been obliged to break off at the death of Julius II. in 1513. A cursory treatment of two such marked Pontificates as those of Alexander VI. and Julius II. could not be satisfactory; and the wide divergencies of opinion in regard to their characters, as well as the extent and variety of the now available documents relating to them, make it necessary to enter into details as much as possible. Many of these documents, especially those in the Consistorial Archives, and the Bulls and Briefs of Alexander VI. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, have hitherto been inaccessible to modern historians. For the last three hundred years no one has been allowed to see the *Regesta* of the latter Pope. In the spring of 1888, through the kind, good offices of the late lamented Cardinal Hergenröther, I obtained the necessary special permission from his Holiness Leo XIII. to examine these documents, with full liberty to make use of them; for which I again tender my devoted thanks to the noble Pontiff who has opened the Secret Archives of the Vatican to historical research.

The Ambassadorial Reports in the Italian Archives, especially those in Mantua, Modena, and Milan, afford extremely valuable

* The above-mentioned volume (Vol. III. of the original German) forms Vols. V. and VI. of the English Translation.—F. I. A.

supplementary matter. Of course they have been used by Gregorovius and Balan, but by no means exhaustively. Thus, I found a document in the Gonzaga Archives in Mantua, which makes it impossible to represent Lucrezia Borgia's conduct as *absolutely* blameless.

The papers preserved in the Milanese Archives which, besides the Despatches of the ducal Envoy, contain the whole of the correspondence (partly in cypher) between Cardinal ASCANIO SFORZA, who was completely in the confidence of the Borgia family, and his Brother, Duke LODOVICO MORO, are extremely important. Gregorovius purposely ignored this collection, in spite of its great value for the history of the Borgia, on account of its unarranged condition. Writing in the *Allg. Zeitung* (1876), No. 76, Supplement, he says: "I found it impossible to pick out the Despatches of the Milanese Orators, which no doubt contain many valuable bits of information, from the mass of unclassified bundles of papers in which they are at present buried." I found myself amply rewarded for the labour of hunting through these documents by the treasures which I found in them.

Thus, in the composition of this work, three most important sets of Archives have, for the first time, been thoroughly investigated and used, together with other Archives and collections of MSS., and the very extensive printed literature relating to the subject.

Though therefore it is not impossible that some fresh documents bearing on the history of the Borgia Pope may yet still appear, it does not seem probable that anything new remains, in regard to essentials, to be discovered. In any case the documents produced and cited in these Volumes amply suffice to justify a conclusive judgment on the main points. In many matters of detail, of course, the last word has not yet been spoken, and there is plenty of room for further investigation. But from henceforth it is clear that the rehabilitation of ALEXANDER VI. is a hopeless task.

For the Pontificates of INNOCENT VIII. and JULIUS II. I found an equally rich mine of unprinted materials. I was more

especially successful in finding much interesting unprinted matter bearing on JULIUS II.'s artistic undertakings, and in particular on the history of the building of S. Peter's, and Bramante's relations with the Pope, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, and the State Archives at Modena. I had the advantage of being permitted to discuss the descriptions of the immortal works executed for this Pope by Raphael and Michael Angelo, some of which have not been described before, with my honoured friend the Prelate FRIEDRICH SCHNEIDER completely, and partially with JAKOB BURCKHARDT. Both agree in endorsing the modern interpretation of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro. To both of these, and to all others who have kindly helped me in my work, which was rendered more difficult by being out of reach of any large library, I desire in this place to repeat my heartfelt thanks.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

15th August, 1895.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

	PAGE
The Renaissance a period of transition, especially in Italy	3
Great development in Literature and Art	3
As also in material civilisation	4
Corruption in political life. Worship of success	4
Misery caused in Italy by the Condottieri	5
And by the wars resulting from the invasion of Charles VIII.	5
The constant prevalence of pestilences and other natural calamities	6
Recourse to the intercession of the Saints. Its effect on Art	7
No common effort made for the protection of Italy from the Plague	8
Difficulty of appreciating the moral and religious character of the time	9
The history of the Renaissance derived chiefly from the Humanists	10
Purity of family life during this period	11
The correspondence of Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi	12
Her Christian piety and resignation	13
The piety of Francesco Datini and Feo Belcari	13
Belcari's letter on humility	14
The family note-book of Giovanni Morelli	15
The genuine piety and faith of the age of the Renaissance	16
Giovanni Rucellai; his generosity as a citizen of Florence	17
His note-book and its revelation of his inner life	18
The monographs of Vespasiano da Bisticci	19
His relations with Nicholas V. and the Medici	19
The diary of Luca Landucci	20
His spirit of charity and resignation	21

PAGE
Pious practices and the reading of Holy Scripture . . 21
General observance of the precepts of the Church . . 22
And the Liturgical spirit of the people 22
The fasts of the Church strictly kept 23
Charitable contributions to religious houses . . . 23
Piety shewn in the forms used for drawing up wills . . 23
The will of Giovanni da Empoli 24
Giovanni Dominici on the government of the family . . 25
His instructions to Bartolomea Alberti 25
On the careful training of children 26
The respect to be shewn by them to their parents . . 27
The "Opera a ben vivere" by S. Antoninus . . . 28
Its piety and the practical wisdom of his advice . . . 29
The true Renaissance in harmony with the reform of the Church 29
The good influence of Vittorino da Feltre 29
Works on education by the Christian Humanists . . 30
Dangers of the spirit of the Renaissance in the education of women 31
Successful combination of intellectual culture with purity of life 32
Description of the Court of Urbino by Baldassaro Castiglione 32
The importance of the intellectual and literary training of women 32
Some famous women of the Renaissance 33
The religious manuals of the time 34
Questions for confession applied to different classes . . 34
The religious spirit of the guilds and brotherhoods . . 35
Their strict rule of life 35
The patron Saints of each guild 36
Their care for the poor and sick and prisoners . . . 36
Their charity to the dead 37
Confraternities for good works—their patronage of Art . 37
The Confraternity of the Misericordia founded in Florence 39
Other associations for help in the time of the Plague . . 40
The Confraternity of the Annunziata in aid of poor girls . 41
The various Confraternities in Florence and in Rome . 42
New associations founded in the 15th Century . . . 43
The Confraternity of the Misericordia for the assistance of condemned criminals. 44
The trade guilds of Rome—their churches and hospitals . 45
The national brotherhoods and hospitals 46
The development of religious poetry and drama in the 15th Century 46
The Lauds or Hymns of Praise 46
Developed into mystery plays or "Divozioni" . . . 48

PAGE
Their first beginning in Umbria—their connection with the guilds 48
The "devotions" for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday 49
Their development into the religious drama . . . 51
Which was essentially religious—with some secular touches 52
Religious lyrics and dramas—the Roman Passion Play . 53
Performed in the Colosseum on Good Friday night . . 54
Confraternities of the Rosary and of Tertiaries . . . 55
The institution of Third Orders in the Middle Ages . . 55
The Third Order of S. Francis 56
Widely spread in Italy, among the most distinguished men of the age 57
Sanctioned and approved by the Holy See . . . 58
Development of the Third Order of Regulars . . . 58
The Third Order of S. Dominic 58
The brethren of the Misericordia at Florence . . . 59
Their presence at funerals in the present day . . . 59
Foundations for the relief of the poor—their variety . . 60
The great hospitals of the 15th Century 61
Especially in Florence and Rome 62
The care of the Popes for the sick and poor . . . 62
Their patronages of charitable foundations . . . 63
Charity of the smaller cities of Italy 64
Luther's praise of the Italian hospitals and foundling asylums 65
List of charitable foundations in Italy in the 15th Century. 66
Christian Art in Italy during the Renaissance . . . 67
The development of Architecture, Painting, and handicrafts 68
Revival of the classical style in architecture and sculpture 68
The antique forms inspired by Christian Art . . . 69
Magnificence of the new churches throughout Italy . . 69
List of the principal works of Art executed during the Renaissance 70
Danger of the revival of classical Art 77
Comparison between Renaissance and Gothic Architecture 77
Development of the Italian National School of Painting . 78
Its inspiration by the spirit of religion and devotion to the Mother of God 79
Large proportion of religious, compared to classical, pictures 80
The advance in realism the cause of doubtful innovations . 81
The spirit of the Dominican painters 81
The Architecture of the Renaissance essentially Christian . 82
Art, as displayed in the churches, the exponent of Faith . 83
Saintly Cardinals and Bishops of the Renaissance . . 84
List of the Saints during the time of the Renaissance . . 86
The devout spirit of the people—as shewn in times of calamity 89

PAGE
Processions during the outbreak of Plague in Bologna . 89
And also in Venice after the defeat of Agnadello . . 90
Reverence felt for the office of the Pope—as distinct from his personality 90
Trust felt in the Sacraments by great sinners . . . 91
Death-bed repentances—edifying death of Lorenzo de' Medici 92
The punishment of the Church still dreaded . . . 92
Belief in the intercession of the Saints—devotion shewn to their relics 93
Veneration of the Blessed Virgin—universal devotion to her 94
The magnificence of the festivals of the Church in Italy . 94
The processions of Corpus Domini, in which the Popes took part 95
Growing veneration for the Blessed Sacrament . . . 95
The daily prayers of the period, including those for Mass and Confession 96
The public evening devotions of the guilds of workmen . 96
Pilgrimages to famous shrines,—especially those of the Madonna 97
Attraction exercised by the preaching Friars . . . 97

II.

The sharp contrast of the Christian and Pagan Renaissance 98
The unrestrained individualism of the pseudo-renaissance . 98
The Pagan ideal of life, as contrasted with that of Christianity 98
The craving for personal glory—the Pagan Elysium restored 99
The cultus of great men instituted. Spirit of vain-glory . 99
Great crimes the result of the desire to achieve notoriety . 100
Increase of luxury and immorality in Italy. 101
Denunciations of Roberto da Lecce and other preachers . 101
Municipal statutes against luxury and ostentation . . 102
The taste for display stimulated by prosperity and Art . 103
The great wealth of Italy—especially Venice and Florence . 104
Extravagance and prodigality of living in Florence . . 105
Denunciation of usury by S. Bernardino of Siena . . 106
Extortionate and fraudulent practices of usurers. . . 107
Treatise of St. Antoninus against usury 108
Foundation of the Monti di Pietà by the Italians . . 108
First established in the Papal States by Pius II. . . 109
Denunciation of the Jews by S. Bernardino da Feltre . 110
A Monte di Pietà established in Florence by Savonarola . 111

PAGE

Disputes as to the lawfulness of a percentage on loans by Monti di Pietà 111
Decision of Leo X. on the subject 112
Prevalence of gambling in Italy 112
And of immorality during the age of the Renaissance . 113
Most of the rulers of the day illegitimate 114
Cruelty and vindictiveness of many of the great Italian families 114
The immorality and cruelty of the Courts of Milan, Ferrara, and Naples 115
Lorenzo de' Medici, his cruelty and immorality . . . 116
Joined with his patronage of Art and Literature . . 116
Bad example of the Doge and nobles of Venice . . 117
The sins of the great condoned by the disciples of culture . 117
Immorality of the Humanists at the various Courts . . 118
Higher tone of morality in the bulk of the population . 118
Realism in Literature the cause of corruption . . . 119
The evil influence of the false Renaissance on family life . 120
Bad effect of the writings of Bojardo and Ariosto . . 121
The revival of the Pagan Drama at Ferrara by Pomponius Laetus 122
Classical plays acted in Rome before Cardinals . . . 123
Encouraged by Alexander VI. and Leo X. 124
The plays of Machiavelli—the "Mandrágola" . . . 124
The sacred Drama gradually superseded by the classical Drama 125
Disastrous consequences of the importation of slaves into Italy 126
And of their introduction into great families . . . 127
Increased numbers of courtesans in the towns . . . 128
The revival of the Hetæræ — their culture and social position 129
Efforts made by the Church and the mission preachers to check it 130
But with little success till the Catholic Reformation . . 131
Revival of the national vice of the Greeks 132
Guilt of the Humanists 133
Frequency of murders and of political assassination . . 134
Irreligious tone of the literature of the day 135
The resuscitation of Pagan thought and ethics . . . 135
But actual atheism or formal heresy very rare . . . 136
Death repentances of many Humanists 137
The writings of Pontano and Galateus 138
Christian thought disguised in Pagan language . . . 139
Passion of the Humanists for antiquity 140
Sannazaro's medley of Paganism and Christianity . . 141

PAGE
Heathen terms used in Theology by Cortesius . . . 143
Corneto's work "On true Philosophy," in opposition to the Humanists 144
Its extreme character 146
Difficulty of drawing the line between the true and false Renaissance 147
Spread of Oriental superstitions in the age of the Renaissance 147
Study of Astrology; belief in the influence of the planets . 148
Entertained by many of the Popes of the time . . . 149
Astrology believed by Pontano to be an experimental science 150
Astrological ideas expressed in Art 150
Astrology opposed by the mission preachers . . . 151
And most successfully by Pico della Mirandola . . . 151
Subsequent decline of Astrology in Italy 151
Belief in demonology and magic 152
The Platonism of Plethon and Ficino 153
The philosophy of Pico della Mirandola 154
The Aristotelians of Padua — their dangerous doctrines concerning the soul 155
Condemned by Leo X at the Lateran Council of 1513 . 155
Pomponazzi teaches the mortality of the soul . . . 156
Leo X. calls upon him to recant 157
His deliberate suicide 157
His views refuted by Agostino Nifo and others . . . 159
Paganism of Niccolò Machiavelli 160
Coarseness and immoral principles of his writings . . 161
"The Prince." Politics severed from Christian principles . 162
Its advocacy of fraud and cruelty 163
Machiavelli's political heathenism 164
His hatred of the Popes 165
And of Christianity itself 166
His attacks upon the Church 167
Corruption of the Italian Clergy of all ranks . . . 169
Beginning with the Popes and the Cardinals . . . 170
Unpriestly lives among the religious orders and secular priests 171
Deplorable condition of many monasteries . . . 172
Efforts for reform—influence of the Benedictines . . 173
Zeal and success of the preaching Friars 175
Especially during the penitential seasons of the Church . 176
Their effect increased by dramatic representations . . 178
Social and moral reforms effected by the Friars . . . 179
Pagan philosophy introduced into the pulpit . . . 180
As well as so-called prophecies and revelations . . . 181

PAGE
Fra Girolama Savonarola 181
His poem on the decay of the Church 182
Sent to preach in Florence, where he is coldly received . 183
His belief in his divine mission 184
His success at S. Gimignano and Brescia 184
His return to Florence, where he achieves a triumph . . 184
The Scriptural character of his sermons 185
The severity of his denunciations 186
His relations with Lorenzo de' Medici—the forbearance of Lorenzo 186
His stringent reform at S. Marco 187
His Advent sermons in 1493 and in Lent 1494 188
He denounces the corruption of the clergy 189
His prediction of the triumph of Charles VIII. 190
Savonarola as Ruler of Florence during the exile of the Medici 190
His political reforms in Florence 191
Christ proclaimed as King of Florence 192
Savonarola believes himself to be an inspired prophet . 193
His visions and revelations 193
His extravagant attacks upon the ancient philosophy . . 193
Though not really opposed to science itself . . 194
He denies that he is the enemy of poets and poetry . . 194
Savonarola's opposition to the Pagan false Renaissance in Art 195
And to naturalism and realism in religious Art 196
Sensual tendency of Italian Art in the 15th Century . . 197
Personal friends of the artist painted as Saints 197
Even when of notoriously immoral character 197
The use of the nude in religious Art 198
And the introduction of mythological subjects 198
The "Temple of Malatesta" at Rimini 199
The influence exercised by Savonarola upon artists . . 200
A certain unreality found in the works so produced . . 202
The extravagance and violence of his social reforms . . 202
The religious excitement caused in Florence by his sermons 202
The exaggeration and narrowness of his government . . 203
His inquisitorial proceedings 205
And employment of children as inquisitors 206
The peace of family life destroyed 206
Theatrical character of the "burning of vanities" . . 207
Extravagance of his political prophecies 208
His political fanaticism 209
And attempt to establish a theocracy in Florence . . 210
His claim to be a prophet the cause of his ruin . . . 210
The shallowness of his reform in Florence 211

PAGE
Failure of his schemes of universal reform 212
Which depended upon Charles VIII. 212
His defiance of Alexander VI. 212
Its consequences, as shewn among his disciples. . . 213
The preaching of Martino di Brozzi 214
The sectaries of Pietro Bernardino 215
Who were either burnt or exiled 216
Hieronymus of Bergamo and other prophesying friars . 217
Regulation of preaching by the Lateran Council under Leo X. 218
The prophecies of Francesco da Montepulciano. . . 219
And of other monks and friars 220
Savonarola's predictions long believed in Florence . . 221
Portentous prophecies—Francesco da Meleto . . . 221
Whose book was condemned by Leo X. 222
The lay preacher—Hieronymus of Siena 223
Fra Bonaventura, the "Angelic Pope" 224
Who is imprisoned by Leo X. 225
The ferment in men's minds and need of reform . . 225
The prestige of the Papacy seriously shaken . . . 226

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF INNOCENT VIII.

A.D.
1484 Disturbances in Rome during the vacancy of the Holy See 229
Devastation of the palace of Girolamo Riario . . 229
Caterina Riario holds the Castle of S. Angelo . . 230
Girolamo Riario arrives with his troops before Rome 230
But shortly after retreats to Isola Farnese . . . 230
Enthusiastic reception of Cardinal Colonna in Rome. 231
Obsequies of Sixtus IV. Confusion in Rome . . 231
Order restored by the interference of Cardinal Marco Barbo 232
The Cardinals in Conclave—large number of electors 233
Preponderance of Italian Cardinals 233
Deplorable consequences of the appointments of Sixtus IV. 233

A.D. PAGE
1484 The Election-capitulation drawn up by the Cardinals 233
Prospects of the election 234
The personal ambition of the Cardinals 235
Efforts of Alfonso of Calabria and Ludovico Sforza to influence the election 236
Parties among the Cardinals—intrigues of Cardinal Borgia 237
Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere promotes the election of Cardinal Cibò 238
Election of Cardinal Cibò 239
Who takes the name of Innocent VIII. 239
The appearance and family of Innocent VIII. . . 239
His previous career and friendship with Cardinal Giuliano 240
His gentle and amiable character 241
The unbounded influence of Cardinal Giuliano on Innocent VIII. 242
The coronation of Innocent VIII. 243
The difficulties of the Holy See, and good intentions of the Pope 245
The Pope's desire for peace, and efforts to preserve it 246
Appointment of the Cardinal Legates 247
Illness of the Pope 247
Disputes between the Colonna and Orsini . . 248

CHAPTER II.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE KING OF NAPLES.

1484 Alfonso of Calabria demands the annexation of Benevento 249
Which is refused by the Pope 249
1485 Innocent VIII. withdraws the canonical penalties imposed on Venice 250
Ferrante refuses to pay tribute and despoils the clergy 251
Commencement of the Barons' war at Naples . . 251
The Barons appeal to the Pope for aid 252
Ferrante sends Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona to Rome 253
Who dies there of the Plague 253
The Holy See declares war against the King of Naples 254
Ferrante declares himself the protector of the Orsini . 254
1486 And with Mathias Corvinus threatens a general Council 255

A.D. PAGE
1486 Hungary and Milan declare for the King of Naples . 255
And are followed by Lorenzo de' Medici . . . 255
The Pope concludes an alliance with Genoa . . 256
Roberto Sanseverino enters the Papal service . . 256
The enemy before Rome—disorders in the city . 257
Violence of Virginio Orsini 258
Successes of Roberto Sanseverino 258
Cardinal Orsini is reconciled to the Pope . . . 258
False report of the Pope's death—sufferings in the Papal States 259
Efforts of Ferdinand and Isabella and the Duke of Brittany on behalf of peace 260
The Pope turns to the Duke of Lorraine—disputes in the Sacred College 260
The Pope determines to apply to the French for help 260
Roberto Sanseverino defeated by Alfonso of Calabria 261
Who marches on Rome. The Papal States in danger 261
Intrigues of Florence against the Pope . . . 262
Mathias Corvinus prepares to invest Ancona . . 262
Arrival of the Envoys of Charles VIII. and Duke René in Rome 263
The Pope makes peace with Ferrante . . . 263
Favourable terms granted by Ferrante . . . 264
Who violates the treaty in a few months . . . 265
The revenge taken by Ferrante upon the Barons . 265
He refuses to pay tribute to the Holy See . . 265
Irresolution of Innocent VIII. 265
1487 Negotiations with Lorenzo de' Medici . . . 265
Who assists the Pope against the rebel Boccolino . 266
Ferrante formally repudiates the Treaty with the Holy See 267
His insolence to the Nuncio, Pietro Vincentino . 268
Ferrante appeals to a Council 269
The marriage of Lorenzo's daughter Maddalena with Franceschetto Cibò 269

CHAPTER III.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROME AND NAPLES.

1488 Troubles in the Romagna—murder of Girolamo Riario at Forli 271
The citizens desire to place themselves under the Holy See 272

A.D. PAGE
1488 The Pope abstains from interference 272
On account of the opposition of Lorenzo de' Medici . 273
Further disturbances in the Romagna . . . 273
Maurizio Cibò appointed Governor of Perugia . . 274
Conflicts between the Oddi and the Baglioni — expulsion of the Oddi 274
Cardinal Piccolomini pacifies the Baglioni . . 274
1489 Insolent hostility of Ferrante to the Pope . . . 275
A foreign invasion averted by Lorenzo de' Medici . 275
The King of Hungary supports Ferrante and seizes Ancona 275
Innocent VIII. hopes for assistance from France and Spain 276
The Pope proclaims Ferrante's deposition . . 277
1490 Obstinacy and insolence of Ferrante, who refuses the tribute 278
Distress of the Pope, who threatens to leave Italy . 279
Illness of the Pope and report of his death . . 281
Franceschetto Cibò endeavours to seize Prince Dschem 282
1491 Isolation of the Pope in Italy 283
The Pope makes overtures of peace to Ferrante . 284
1492 Conditions of peace arranged 284
The imprisoned Barons to be tried by the Pope . 284
Complete transformation of Ferrante's behaviour to the Pope 285
Arrival of Ferdinand of Capua in Rome . . . 285
Betrothal of Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò . 286
Negotiations concerning the marriage of Charles VIII. to Anne of Brittany 286
Charles VIII. attempts to hinder the investiture of Ferdinand 286
The Neapolitan succession regulated by a Papal Bull 286

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

1484 Turkish progress. Encyclical of the Pope to the Christian States 288
Personal efforts of the Pope; indifference of Florence 289
1485 The Pope appeals to Spain 289
But the disputes in Italy interfere with the Turkish war 290
1486 The Pope proposes a Crusade, and levies a tax on ecclesiastical benefices 291

A.D.		PAGE
1486	To be collected by Raymond Peraudi and Gratiano da Villanova	291
	Noble character of Peraudi—his zeal for the Crusade	292
	Resistance to the tax in Germany	292
1487	The Pope turns to France, and sends Cheregato and Florez as Nuncios	293
1488	Lionello Cheregato's address to Charles VIII.	294
	Difficulties created in France by the Interdict laid on Flanders	295
	Raymond Peraudi sent to France	295
1489	Convocation of the States-General at Frankfort	295
	Brief sent by the Pope—its success	296
	A truce arranged between the Emperor and the King of Hungary	296
	The Pope obtains possession of Prince Dschem	297
	Who was in the hands of the Knights of S. John	297
	Concessions made by the Pope in order to obtain possession of the Prince	298
	Anger of the King of Naples	298
	Arrival of Prince Dschem in Rome	299
	His reception by the Pope	300
	Impression made by Prince Dschem in Rome	301
	Preparations for the Crusade	303
1490	The Sultan attempts to poison the Belvedere fountain	303
	Failure of the plot and execution of Magrino	304
	The Pope proposes a Congress	304
	Which meets in Rome—Venice taking no part in it	305
	Address to the Congress by the Pope	306
	Reply of the Envoys, who thank the Pope for his exertions	307
	The constitution of the army	307
	Reply of the Pope, who insists on the importance of immediate action	308
	Death of Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary	310
	Maximilian of Austria disputes the succession with King Ladislaus	310
	Revival of the quarrel between Maximilian and Charles VIII.	311
	Hopelessness of the Crusade — faithlessness of Venice	311
	Bajazet makes proposals to the Pope, who accepts a pension for Dschem	312
	The Sultan a tributary of the Pope	313
1492	The fall of Granada—faithlessness of Ferrante	314
	Rejoicings in Rome, both religious and secular	315
	Ferrante takes counsel with the Pope against the Turks	315

A.D. PAGE
1492 Bajazet sends the head of the Spear of Longinus to Rome 316
Reception of the Holy Spear in Rome . . . 316
Death of Lorenzo de' Medici 317
Illness of the Pope—his state declared hopeless . 318
Disorders in Rome 319
Death of Innocent VIII. 320
His tomb by Antonio Pollajuolo 321

CHAPTER V.

INNOCENT VIII. AS PATRON OF ART AND SCHOLARSHIP.

1492 Few works of Art executed in his reign . . . 322
Innocent VIII. continues the work of Paul II. in the Vatican 322
Restorations effected in Rome 323
And in other parts of the Papal States . . . 323
The Vatican Belvedere decorated by Pinturicchio and Mantegna 325
Whose works have been almost entirely destroyed . 326
Other artists employed by Innocent VIII. . . 327
His encouragement of Art manufactures . . . 328
Innocent VIII. compares unfavourably with Sixtus IV. in Literature 328
But gives encouragement to scholars . . . 329
The secretaries of Innocent VIII. 330
His liberality in permitting the use of manuscripts . 330
Discoveries of a sarcophagus and its contents on the Appian Way 331
Good preservation of the body; excitement in Rome 332

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT VIII. AND THE DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH.

1485 Ecclesiastical disputes with Venice—the See of Padua 334
The Patriarchate of Aquileia. Ermolao Barbaro exiled 335
Attacks on the rights of the Church by Florence, Bologna, and Milan 335
Insolence of Mathias Corvinus towards the Church . 336

A.D. PAGE
1485 His nomination of Ippolito d'Este as Archbishop of Gran 336
The Pope forced to give way 336
1488 But insists on the liberation of the Bishop of Kalocsa 337
1485 Attacks on the rights of the Church in France . . 337
As also in England and Portugal, which are resisted by the Pope 338
1484 He makes concessions to Ferdinand of Spain on political grounds 338
1485 Canonisation of the Margrave Leopold of Austria . 339
Privileges granted by Innocent VIII. to the Cistercian Order 340
As also to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians 340
He unites the Order of Lazarists to the Knights of S. John 340
Innocent VIII. defends the Faith against the Waldensian and Hussite heresies 341
1486 Pico della Mirandola in Rome 342
Condemnation of his propositions by the Pope . . 343
Pico della Mirandola's apology and explanation . 343
He is accused of breaking his oath of submission . 344
He devotes himself to a life of prayer and retirement 344
Alexander VI. gives him absolution in an autograph Brief 344
Trouble given to Innocent VIII. by the Jews in Spain 345
1484 The Inquisition introduced into Aragon . . . 345
Disturbances in consequence. The Inquisitor mortally wounded 346
1492 Ferdinand requires the Jews to become Christians or to leave Spain 346
1484 Innocent VIII.'s Bull on witchcraft 347
Belief in witchcraft of long standing in Germany . 347
Two Dominican professors appointed Papal Inquisitors 348
The Bull contains no dogmatic decision on witchcraft 349
And only confirms the jurisdiction of the Inquisitors . 350
No reform of ecclesiastical abuses under Innocent VIII. 350
Calumnious accusations of Infessura against Innocent VIII. 350
Discovery of forged Bulls in Rome 351
Which are the source of Infessura's accusations . 351
Evil effects of the sale of offices in Rome . . . 352
The number of the College of Secretaries increased in order to raise money 352
Creation of the College of Piombatori with an entrance fee 353

A.D. PAGE
1484 The disorder produced by the corruptibility of officials 353
Scandalous life of Franceschetto Cibò . . . 354
Opposition of the Sacred College to the creation of new Cardinals 354
1489 The nomination of new Cardinals 355
Including Giovanni de' Medici, still a boy . . 356
Whose ecclesiastical career had begun at the age of seven 356
1492 He takes his seat in the Sacred College after three years' study 357
Lorenzo de' Medici's letter of advice to his son . 358
Worldly tone among the Cardinals . . . 361
Many of whom lived as secular princes . . . 362
The character and life of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia . 362
Vanozza de Cataneis and the Borgia children . . 363
Ecclesiastical career of Cæsar Borgia . . . 365
Jacopo da Volterra's account of the splendour of Cardinal Borgia 366
Ostentation and wealth of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza . 367
Cardinal de La Balue 367
Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere—his force of character 368
And influence during the reign of Innocent VIII. . 369
The Courts and followers of the Cardinals . . 370
Their encouragement of Literature and Art . . 370
The denunciations of the mission preachers . . 370
Prophecies of impending judgment 371
Especially those of Savonarola 371

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF ALEXANDER VI.

1492 Cardinal Raffaele Riario preserves order in Rome . 375
Cardinals Sanseverino and Gherardo admitted to the Conclave 376
Beginning of the Conclave—address by Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal 377
Prospects of the next election 377
Intrigues among the Cardinals 378
Disagreement among the Italian powers . . 378

A.D. PAGE
1492 Ferrante and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere . . 379
Report of the Envoy of the Duchess of Ferrara . 380
Also from the Ambassador of Milan 380
Opening of the Conclave 381
Promises of Cardinal Borgia 382
He secures the majority of votes by simony . . 384
Election of Alexander VI. 385
Popularity of the election 386
Personal appearance of Alexander VI. . . . 387
Indifference of public opinion to his moral character . 388
But indignation aroused by his shameless bribery . 389
The election welcomed by many in Italy and abroad 389
Splendour of the Coronation of Alexander VI. . . 390
Satisfaction felt in Milan at the election . . . 391
Rejoicings in Florence at the election . . . 392
Views of Naples, Spain, and Venice 393
The Envoys of the League in Rome . . . 394
Good opinion of the Pope in Germany . . . 395
The Pope's economy and strict administration of the laws 396
His good intentions and desire of peace . . . 397
Nepotism of Alexander VI. Arrival of his relations in Rome 398
His affection for his children. Character of Lucrezia Borgia 399
Her personal appearance 400
And betrothal to Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotignola 402
Character and appearance of Cæsar Borgia . . 403
Ferrante fears the influence of Milan with the Pope . 404
And sends his son Federigo to Rome to arrange an alliance with the Pope 405
1493 Failure of the scheme. Intrigues of Ferrante with Virginio Orsini 405
Protest of the Pope against Virginio's occupation of Cervetri and Anguillara 406
Opposition of Giuliano della Rovere to Ascanio Sforza 406
Giuliano della Rovere retires to Ostia . . . 406
Alarm of the Pope, who fortifies Civita Vecchia . 407
Negotiations of Ferrante with the Pope . . . 408
League concluded between the Holy See, Milan, Venice, Mantua, and Ferrara 408
Ferrante on Alexander VI. 409
Marriage of Lucrezia with Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro . 410
Remonstrances of the Spanish Ambassador . . 411
Menacing attitude of Ferrante. Federigo of Aragon in Rome 412

A.D. PAGE
1493 Ferrante's proposals of family alliance with the Pope 412
A reconciliation effected between the Pope and Giuliano della Rovere 413
The Pope comes to terms with Virginio Orsini . . 413
The French Envoy fails to obtain the investiture of Naples for Charles VIII. 414
Marriage of the Duke of Gandia to Maria of Aragon . 414
And of Jofré Borgia to Sancia, daughter of Alfonso of Calabria 414
Political success of Alexander VI. 415
Temporary disgrace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza . 415
The creation of new Cardinals 416
Annoyance of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere . . 418
And of the other Cardinals of the opposition . . 418

CHAPTER II.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALFONSO II. OF NAPLES AND ALEXANDER VI.

1493 Ferrante's complaints against the Pope . . . 420
1494 Death of Ferrante. The question of investiture . 421
Charles VIII. sends an Embassy to Rome . . 421
And seeks the friendship of Giuliano della Rovere . 421
The Pope decides in favour of Alfonso of Naples . 422
But sends the Golden Rose to Charles VIII. . . 422
The Bull containing the Pope's decision read in Consistory 422
Astonishment and anger of Charles VIII. . . . 423
Alliance between Charles VIII. and Giuliano della Rovere 424
Flight of Cardinal Giuliano from Ostia, which capitulates to the Pope 424
Coronation of Alfonso II. in Naples by Cardinal Juan Borgia 425
Cardinal Giuliano joins Charles VIII. 425
And demands a Council for the reform of the Church 426
Terror of the Pope on account of his simoniacal election 426
Charles VIII. sends Envoys to demand the investiture of Naples 426
Cardinal Ascanio Sforza brings about the defection of the Colonna 427
The Pope endeavours to propitiate Bajazet in favour of Alfonso 428

A.D. PAGE
1494 Failure and isolation of the Pope. King of Naples 430
Plan of operations against the enemy . . . 430
Disloyalty of many of the Cardinals 431
Charles VIII. enters Italy 431
Personal appearance of Charles VIII.—the strength of his army 432
Ambitious designs of the French King . . . 433

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES VIII. IN ITALY.

1494 Savonarola's prophecies of a new Cyrus . . . 434
Enthusiastic reception of Charles VIII. in Italy . 434
Victory of Louis of Orleans over Federigo of Aragon 435
March of Charles VIII. on Rome 435
Death of Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan . . . 435
Consternation in Rome—alarm of the Pope . . 436
Revolt of the Colonna and Savelli. Occupation of Ostia by the French 436
The Pope declares war against the rebels . . . 436
Charles VIII. assumes the protection of the Colonna 436
Conspiracy of the Colonna to seize Prince Dschem . 437
Charles VIII. in Tuscany. Submission of Piero de' Medici 437
The Medici driven from Florence — their palace plundered 438
Charles VIII. refuses to see Cardinal Piccolomini at Lucca 438
Meeting of Charles VIII and Savonarola — the French in Florence 439
Manifesto of Charles VIII.—his declared object the overthrow of the Turks 440
Difficulties and helplessness of Alexander VI. . . 441
His fear of a Council and of his deposition for simony 442
But he refuses to abandon Alfonso 442
Cardinal Peraudi sent to Charles VIII., who wins him to his side 443
Rapid advance of the French upon Rome . . 444
Alexander VI. implores the help of Maximilian . 444
Excitement in Rome. Blockade of the city by the Colonna 445
Imprisonment of Cardinals Sforza, Sanseverino, and Lunati 445

A.D. PAGE
1494 Helplessness and irresolution of the Pope . . . 446
Preparations for flight 446
Fall of Civita Vecchia. The Orsini join the French King 447
The Pope resolves to permit the French to enter Rome 448
Terms of the agreement between Charles VIII. and the Pope 449

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES VIII. IN ROME AND NAPLES.

1494 Entry of Charles VIII. into Rome 450
Demands of Charles VIII., which are refused by the Pope 453
1495 Panic and disorder in Rome. The Pope takes refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo 454
Charles VIII. and the Reform of the Church . . 455
The deposition of the Pope beyond his power . . 456
The Pope accepts the terms of Charles VIII. . . 457
Terms of the agreement. Cæsar Borgia a hostage to the French King 457
The investiture of Naples not included . . . 458
Vexation of the Cardinals of the opposition . . 458
Meeting of the Pope and Charles VIII. . . . 459
Favours bestowed by the Pope upon the French . 460
Charles VIII. marches on Naples—abdication of Alfonso II. 461
Remonstrances of the Envoys of Ferdinand the Catholic 462
Disappearance of Cæsar Borgia 462
The Fort of Monte S. Giovanni taken by the French 463
Victorious march of Charles VIII. on Naples . . 463
The Crusade given up. Charles VIII. remains in Naples 464
Sudden death of Prince Dschem 465
Alarm caused in Italy by the successes of Charles VIII. 465
Conclusion of the Holy League between the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, and the Italian Powers, . 466
Charles VIII. delays his retreat from Naples . . 468
Retreat of half the French army. Alarm of the Pope 468
Papal negotiations with Charles VIII. Excitement in Rome 469
The Pope retires to Orvieto, and Charles VIII. re-enters Rome 470

A.D. PAGE
1495 The Pope refuses to meet the French King, who continues his retreat 471
Meeting of Charles VIII. and Savonarola at Poggibonzi 472
Battle of Fornuovo. The escape of the French with the loss of their baggage 473
Rejoicings in Italy. The French troops driven out of Naples 474
Charles VIII. returns to France 475
Disastrous flood in Rome. Distress in Rome and the Campagna 476
Excitement of the people—portentous stories . . 480
1496 Prophecies of Savonarola 481

CHAPTER V.

TROUBLES IN ITALY.

1496 Virginio Orsini takes service with the French in Naples 482
Anxiety of the Pope, who supports Ferrantino . . 483
Assistance sent to Ferrantino by Venice . . . 483
Capitulation of the French at Atella 484
Success of the League, which is joined by England . 484
Maximilian I. in Italy—opposition of Venice to the Emperor 485
Ineffectual remonstrances of the Pope . . . 485
The Emperor retires to the Tyrol 486
Alexander VI. takes measures against the Orsini . 487
Virginio Orsini the prisoner of Ferrantino . . . 488
The Duke of Gandia appointed Commander-General of the Papal troops 488
First successes. The siege of Bracciano . . . 489
Which is relieved by Vitellozzo of Città di Castello . 490
1497 Defeat of the Papal troops at Soviano . . . 490
Ostia taken by Gonsalvo de Cordova . . . 491
The Pope decides to deprive Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere of his benefices 491
And his brother Giovanni of the Prefecture of Rome. 491
Return of Gonsalvo de Cordova and the Duke of Gandia to Rome 491
The Pope's Spanish proclivities — more Spanish Cardinals 492
Favours bestowed on the Duke of Gandia . . 493
Murder of the Duke of Gandia 494
Whose body is found in the Tiber, and is buried at S. Maria del Popolo 495

A.D. PAGE
1497 Distress of the Pope 496
Suspicions and rumours in Rome 497
The palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza searched . 498
His letter to the Duke of Milan 498
The Pope resolves to reform his life, and makes large gifts to churches 499
He promises a Reform of the Church in Consistory . 500
Apologies for the absence of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza 501
Official announcement of the death of the Duke of Gandia to foreign Powers 501
The Pope receives the Envoys of the League and of Federigo of Naples 502
Estrangement between the Pope and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza 503
Who is believed to be the murderer of the Duke of Gandia 503
Cardinal Ascanio retires to Genazzano—his letter to his brother 504
Suspicions of Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro 505
The Orsini charged with the murder—for which they had good motives 506
Impossibility of attaining certainty on the subject . 507
Cæsar Borgia believed to be the assassin 509
But he had no sufficient reason for the crime . . 510
Nor is the suspicion justified by facts 511
Good resolutions of the Pope 512
The Reform Commission. The Borgia desired to leave Rome 513
Good work done by Cardinals Costa and Caraffa . 514
The Bull of Reform drafted 515
Provisions of the Bull 516
The work of Reform put off. The Pope returns to his old life 518
Cæsar Borgia in Naples for the Coronation of Federigo 519
He desires to resign his cardinalate and marry . . 520
Dissolution of the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza 520
Scandal given by the dissolution 521
Accusations brought against the Borgia 522
Superstitious stories in Rome 522
Explosion in the Castle of S. Angelo 523

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan	528
II.	,, ,, ,,	528
III.	Pope Innocent VIII. to C. Bandinus	529
IV.	,, to Roberto Sanseverino	530
V.	,, to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere	530
VI.	J. P. Arrivabene to the Marquess of Mantua	530
VII.	B. Arlotti to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara	531
VIII.	Report from Milan on the balance of parties in the College of Cardinals	532
IX.	Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to the Duchess Eleonora of Ferrara	533
X.	Valori to Florence	535
XI.	Ambrosius Mirabilia to Bartholomaeus Calchus	536
XII.	Thadeus Vicomercatus to Milan	537
XIII.	Pope Alexander VI. to the Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza	537
XIV.	Giacomo Trotti to the Duke Ercole of Ferrara	538
XV.	Pope Alexander VI. gives the Bishopric of Valencia to Cæsar Borgia	538
XVI.	,, nominates Juan Borgia to the Cardinalate	539
XVII.	,, to Jofré Borja	540
XVIII.	Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua	541
XIX.	Pope Alexander VI. to Jofré Borja	542
XX.	Stefano Taberna to Milan	542
XXI.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan	543
XXII.	Stefano Taberna to Milan	543
XXIII.	,, ,,	544

PAGE

XXIV. Pope Alexander VI. to Franciscus de Sprats, Papal Envoy to Spain 544
XXV. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan 545
XXVI. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua . 546
XXVII. Pope Alexander VI. to Fabrizio Colonna . 546
XXVIII. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua . 547
XXIX. ,, ,, ,, . 548
XXX. ,, ,, ,, . 548
XXXI. ,, ,, ,, . 549
XXXII. Floramonte Brognolo to ,, . 549
XXXIII. Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna . . 550
XXXIV. ,, creates four new Cardinals . . . 550
XXXV. ,, to Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan . 551
XXXVI. Letter from an unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio 552
XXXVII. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan 552
XXXVIII. An unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio . 554
XXXIX. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan 555
XL. Paulus Bilia to Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan 556
XLI. Scheme of Reform of Pope Alexander VI. . 558

INTRODUCTION.

Moral and Religious Condition of Italy during the Period of the Renaissance. — Changes that took place.

INTRODUCTION.

Moral and Religious Condition of Italy during the Period of the Renaissance.—Changes that took place.

During the second half of the 15th Century and the beginning of the 16th, the whole of Europe, and Italy more especially, was passing through a period of transition from the old ways of living to other forms hitherto untried. A revolution was in progress, producing startling contradictions and a seething unrest in all the relations of life, political, social, literary, æsthetical, and ecclesiastical, which announced the dawn of a new era.

While the splendid discoveries of maritime explorers had so surprisingly enlarged the material horizon, on the intellectual side the Renaissance movement had equally opened out a new and marvellous world. In both fields of discovery Italy had played an important part; but the Renaissance in Literature and Art, in its origin and early development, was almost entirely its work. The modern world, looking back upon that period, stands amazed at the number of distinguished scholars and artists produced by Italy in such a short space of time, a number which, in the whole history of mankind, has never been equalled, except, perhaps, in Greece in the age of Pericles.

The material civilisation of the country kept pace with its intellectual culture. "The husbandry which enriched the fertile meadows in the plains, was carried to the summits

of the hills. Governed only by native rulers, Italy rejoiced in a teeming population and abounded in wealth of all sorts. At the same time, her numerous, powerful and generous Princes shed additional lustre on the land to which had been granted the unique privilege of containing the centre of Christendom."*

In this picture of Italy in 1490 Guicciardini lets no hint escape of the reverse side of the medal, of the political degeneration which had already begun and was destined so soon to bring about the ruin of this beautiful country. In the second half of the 15th Century, a thoughtful observer could not fail to be struck by the alarming corruption which pervaded Italian political life. Statecraft was developing more and more into an organised system of overreaching and bad faith; to consider any engagement binding was looked upon as a mark of imbecility. Treachery and violence were the order of the day. No one expected anything else, and all relations between the various States and Princes were poisoned by envy and suspicion.

With a cynicism which is almost grand in its audacity, Machiavelli openly recommends a policy "which sets aside all considerations of morality and Christianity, or of Divine providence or judgment, simply assumes that the end justifies the means, and bows down with unwavering allegiance before the idols of success and the accomplished fact."† All the prominent men of that time, Francesco and Lodovico Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici, Alexander VI., Cæsar Borgia, Ferrante of Naples, pursued this corrupt system.

In military matters the baleful influence of the Condottieri reigned supreme. Armies, instead of being composed of citizens or peasants fighting for hearth and home, consisted

* GUICCIARDINI, I., c. 1.

† HIPPLER, Geschichts-Auffassung, 72.

now entirely of mercenary bands who sold their services to the highest bidder and changed sides from day to day. These men were a veritable scourge to the country, plundering and wasting in all directions. Serious battles were rare, but these undisciplined and greedy marauders kept up a perpetual succession of raids and disturbances, of which pillage was the only object. We read in the narratives of the time, of "sieges of wretched villages which lasted thirty days, of battles in which one man was killed, smothered by his heavy armour." All private life was at the mercy of the caprice of the ruling classes, and the administration of the law was often harsh and cruel in the extreme. In many States the citizens were crushed under the burden of unequal and ever increasing taxation, which they had no power to resist. No doubt similar political and social evils were to be found more or less in all the States of Europe; but "in no other country were these abuses so artistically systematised, and the ancient liberties of the people so completely annihilated" as was the case in Italy.*

It was not surprising that, when the storm began with the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., there was no power to withstand it. For many years the most civilised country in Europe became the arena of the most sanguinary of wars, the prize for which France and Spain, only recently developed into modern monarchies and states of the first class, contended as for life or death. It ended in the demolition of the national Italian political system and the complete hegemony of Spain in the peninsula.

To the ravages of war were added unusual calamities in the natural order. The Chronicles of the 15th Century, more especially those of its latter half, are filled with accounts of portents in the heavens, storms, failures of

* REUMONT, Caraffa, I., 23; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 85 *seq.*, ed. 3; PÖHLMANN, 17, 140; and GISI, 4.

crops, scarcities, inundations, earthquakes, and plagues.* All infectious diseases were at that time, and indeed till much later, classed together under the one name of the Plague, while the common people called them simply the death (*la moria*).

The misery consequent on incessant wars, the close packing of the population during prolonged sieges, and the absence of police regulations or any attention to cleanliness in the towns, produced very unfavourable conditions from a sanitary point of view. Added to this was the danger from the constant unguarded intercourse with the East, with the result that Italy was never wholly free from infectious diseases smouldering in one place or another, and ever ready to burst forth into flame.†

At no time in the whole course of her history was the country so frequently desolated by pestilence as during the much belauded golden age of the Renaissance. The ghastly picture of the procession and chariot of Death painted by an artist of that day, Piero di Cosimo, was taken from the life.‡ Like an unextinguished fire, sometimes burning low, but perpetually flaring out afresh, the scourge lingers on through the whole of the 15th Century

* SCHNURRER, II., 7 *seq.*, professes in his Chronicle to record not only plagues but also all the other troubles; but his work is extraordinarily incomplete, *e.g.*, he says nothing about the great famine of 1496 (*cf.* MATARAZZO, 49 *seq.*). MASSARI, 43 *seq.*, confines himself to epidemics; *cf.* COPPI, 47 *seq.*; Vita Italiana, I., 115 *seq.*; HÄSER, III., 185 *seq.* The great work of CORRADI, Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia dalle prime memorie fino all' anno 1850 (8 vols., Bologna, 1865–94), is much fuller, including dearths and meteorological phenomena. *Cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X., 422 *seq.*, and PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 74, 84 *seq.*; III., 360 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 67.

‡ Described in detail by VASARI. See WOLTMANN, Geschichte der Malerei, II., 185.

and on into the 16th. It was not only the large and low-lying places that suffered; even such salubrious situations as Orvieto were not exempt, and again and again were turned into pestilential charnel-houses.* Whenever the dreaded sickness appeared in any place, every one who could, fled. Large bonfires in all the open spaces were supposed to constitute the best preservative for those who were left behind. The pious spirit of the time manifested itself in processions, public acts of penance and prayers to appease the Divine displeasure. Recourse was had especially to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of S. Sebastian, who, from its earliest days, had always been regarded throughout all Christendom as the great protector against pestilences. Many beautiful votive pictures, such, for example, as Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco, painted in 1464, in the Church of S. Agostino in S. Gimignano, date from these days of distress. The partiality for S. Sebastian as a subject, displayed by so many painters, as, for example, Antonio Pollajuolo, Mantegna, Foppa, Perugino, Becchietta, and Benedetto da Majano, though partly due to artistic considerations, derived an additional impulse from faith in his power to preserve his clients from infectious diseases. A similar efficacy was attributed to the prayers of S. Roch. On the banner painted for the Church of SS^{ma} Trinità at Città di Castello by Raphael, both Saints are depicted, with uplifted eyes, beseeching the Holy Trinity to protect the land from pestilences and plagues.† In some

* See the death-rolls in the Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, beginning with the year 1482, published in Orvieto in 1891.

† PASSAVANT, Raphael, I., 60–61 (French ed., II., 7); MÜNTZ, Raphael, 81; WOLTMANN, Gesch. der Malerei, II., 181. Of the pictures mentioned here, that of A. Pollajuolo is now in London; Perugino's (1505) is in S. Sebastiano at Panicale (Reproduced by the Arundel Society). Perugino painted another S. Sebastian in 1518. Mantegna's, with the name of the

places, even in those days, really rational precautions were adopted by energetic municipalities and intelligent physicians; "but these were purely local, each Commune acting only for itself. No sort of common effort was made to protect the peninsula as a whole from the desolating enemy." Although towards the end of the century a system of local quarantine was instituted, sanitary commissioners appointed, special plague doctors and hospitals set apart in the large towns, and measures taken and carefully carried out for disinfection, no sensible diminution could be perceived either in the diffusion of the malady or in the frequency of its outbreaks.* The merciless germs found a too favourable soil in the blood-sodden fields of Italy. It was a terrible time. If for a short space the Plague seemed to have died out and men began to breathe freely again, only too surely somewhere would the well-known symptoms reappear; the most certain and the most dreaded being the blueish-black boil under the armpit, or on the palm of the hand.

Contrasted with the brilliant literary and æsthetic culture and the tasteful luxury which prevailed more or less in all the many States of Italy, and more especially in Rome and Florence, "the Plague, with all its horrors and the misery that accompanied it, appears as something more than a mockery of all that shining pageant; it seems a ghastly

master signed in Greek, is in the gallery at Vienna; B. Foppa's in the Brera at Milan; the one painted by Fra Bartolomeo in 1515 has disappeared; see WOLTMANN, II., 606. Becchietta's S. Sebastian for the Cathedral at Siena was painted in 1478. Benedetto da Majano's is in the Church of the Misericordia in Florence (Phot. Alinari, Nr. 4901).

* See UFFELMANN, Oeffentl. Gesundheitspflege in Italien, in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege, XI., 177 (Braunschweig, 1879). *Cf.* also HÖRSCHELMANN, Ueber die grossen Epidemien in Italien während der Renaissancezeit, in the Allg. Zeitung, 1884, No. 177 *seq.*, Supplement.

invention of some Dantesque imagination;"* but the descriptions and lamentations of those who lived through it, and the long death-roll in the Chronicles, leave no doubt of the appalling extent of its ravages.

That the age of the Renaissance was steeped in moral turpitude is one of those broad statements which are easily uttered and readily believed. A conscientious historian, however, in judging of the religion and morality of this period, must take account of the lights as well as of the shadows, and confine himself within the limits of facts which are substantiated by historical investigation. It is incontestable that in many respects there was a great deterioration in morals during this period. Such terrible calamities and such uprootings and changes as have been mentioned above could not fail to have an injurious effect on the nation at large. But we may still see reason to question whether the corruption was so radical and hopeless, or the paganisation of all the relations of life so universal as has been maintained.

In the nature of things it must be extremely difficult to present a truthful picture of an age which witnessed so many revolutions, affecting almost all departments of human life and thought, and abounded in contradictions and startling contrasts. But the difficulty becomes enormously increased if we are endeavouring to formulate a comprehensive appreciation of the moral and religious character of such an epoch. In fact, in one sense, the task is an impossible one. No mortal eye can penetrate the conscience of a single man; how much less can any human intellect strike the balance between the incriminating and extenuating circumstances on which our judgment of the moral condition of such a period depends, amid the whirl of conflicting events? In a rough way, no doubt, we can

* HÖRSCHELMANN, *loc. cit.*

form an estimate, but it can never pretend to absolute accuracy. "In this region the more clearly the facts seem to point to any conclusion, the more must we be upon our guard against unconditional or universal assertions."* The greatest caution is needed here, because the completeness of the historical data for the various classes of the population depends so much upon accident. In the story of the Renaissance, the Humanistic literature contributes a quite disproportionate amount of the evidence we possess in regard to the life and manners of the time. There can be no doubt that in these circles and among the clergy there was a great deal of immorality. Still an unprejudiced student even here must take care not to paint the state of things during the Renaissance blacker than it really was. In nature, preservative forces are always at work side by side with those that make for destruction. Their action is not so noticeable, because the beneficent principle works in silence, and that which develops itself in accordance with its law neither attracts the curiosity, nor compels the attention which the law-breaking violence evokes.† For this reason the records of all nations mostly consist of the story of crimes. Virtue goes quietly on her way; vice and lawlessness are always making a noise; the scapegrace is the talk of the town; the honest man does his duty and no one hears of him. If we are to present a true picture of the history of culture, we must bear in mind its conservative and harmonious as well as its revolutionary and licentious side. Amongst the Italians both were strongly marked. A political writer of the 15th Century concludes an extremely able *résumé* of the pathological phenomena connected with culture among the nations of Europe, by

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 199, ed. 3.

† KAUFMANN, Cæsarius von Heisterbach, 125, ed. 2. Köln, 1862.

saying that the Italians had no moderation, their good and their bad were always extreme, but on the whole the good preponderated.*

I.

Throughout the Middle Ages a deep conviction of the truth of religion was a fundamental characteristic of the Italian nation; and in many circles this was maintained through the dangerous period of transition and into the 15th Century.† The salutary influence of the Church, in spite of the corruption of some of its members, made itself felt in every department of society. A glance at the family life of this period shews at once, how much that was good and estimable still held its ground, through all the storms of the time and the ferment of the Renaissance.

In Tuscany, the very focus of Italian culture, the picture presented by domestic life, on the whole, is a very pleasing one. Although painful exceptions were not wanting, still in general, morality, order, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and tender solicitude in the bringing up of children, were the rule. Noble and capable women, whose portraits lend a singular grace to the frescoes of the Florentine painters of that day, kept guard over the religion and morals of the

* A. MARINI, *cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., c. 3 (Engl. trans.). Considerationes in THOMAS, Zur Venet. Geschichtsforschung in the Allg. Zeitung, 1876, Suppl., No. 358.

† All the ablest historians, such as Burckhardt, Reumont, Rösler, Gaspary, Müntz, Torraca and Guasti, whatever their leanings may be, are agreed as to this. Further proofs will be found in the course of our narrative; *cf.* also PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 39 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); STERN, I., 152; PRÖLSS, I., 1, 20, 36; GRUYER, 173; VISCHER, Signorelli, 125, 128; GABOTTO, Un poeta beatificato, 7 (Venezia, 1892); CIAMPI, Lorenzo il Magnifico e G. Savonarola (Estratto dalla N. Antologia, 1875, Gennaio, p. 14); and CESAREO in the same periodical, 1894, Vol. CXXXV., p. 102.

household. The type of womanhood portrayed in the charming biographies by the worthy Florentine bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci, and in the work of Jacopo da Bergamo on the famous ladies of his time, is an eminently beautiful and noble one.* The extensive private correspondence, fortunately preserved, of this period proves that the pictures are not overdrawn.

From this point of view, the correspondence of Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, a noble Florentine lady (1406–1471), is of great value. These intimate letters not only give us a large insight into the domestic life of the period, but also reveal a beautiful soul in the much-tried mother whose whole life was devoted to her children's welfare after the early death of her husband. The sorrows and joys, the hopes and disappointments of a life-time are spread before the reader. Their tone throughout is that of a deep and genuine piety. Writing of her son Matteo, who had died in a foreign country, she says:—"I know now that on the 23rd of August it pleased Him who gave him to me to recall him to Himself, in the full possession of his faculties, and after having received all the sacraments, as befitted a good Christian. It is a bitter grief to have been deprived of such a son and, apart from my own natural feelings for him, I hold his death to be a great loss to you, my two surviving sons. I praise God and thank Him for all; for I am convinced that He perceived that this was best for the good of his soul, and what you have told me of his ready acceptance of death, confirms me in the belief; and though in my heart I experience a more piercing anguish than any I have ever felt before, still I am conscious of two great consolations. The first is, that he

* REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitung, 1876, Suppt., No. 191; LORENZO, II., 326, ed. 2; and Kleine Schriften, 55 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*; BRAGGIO in the Giorn. Ligustico, 1885, XII., 35 *seq.*

was with you; because this gives me the certainty that all that doctors and medicine and human care could avail was done to save his life, and thus that if this failed it was purely the will of God. The second is, that our Lord before his death gave him the grace to perceive and confess his sins, and, as I understand, piously to ask for Extreme Unction and the Holy Viaticum, which I regard as a token that God has graciously received him. So now, since I know that we all have to tread this path, but that whether we shall be able to do so in the manner that has been vouchsafed to my beloved Matteo is most uncertain; for many die suddenly, and some are cut to pieces, and some lose both body and soul at once, I resign myself in peace, considering that God might have sent me something so much harder to bear. If in His mercy He will still preserve you, my two sons, I will not complain of anything." A little later Alessandra returns again to the subject and writes:—"We must humbly resign ourselves to what we cannot alter; God knows what is best for our sanctification. Arm yourself with patience and pray for him. Let us be prepared for sorrows. God strikes us, and men strike us too. We must be ready for all things and bear all that comes, in peace." *

Piety of this stamp was not confined to women, but is equally to be found in many men of all ranks and conditions. What a grand figure is that of the rich and energetic Florentine merchant, Francesco Datini (ob. 1410), the friend of Giovanni Dominici, who, in the evening of his day, went into retirement in his native village, leaving all his property to the poor. His widow became a Dominican Tertiary. A similar character was another

* GUASTI, Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi. Lettere di una gentil donna Fiorentina del sec. XV. ai figliuoli esuli (Firenze, 1877). REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 73–5, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art., I., 15 *seq.*

Florentine, Feo Belcari, one out of the many which the 15th Century produced to balance the one-sided spirit of the Renaissance. Like Datini, his life was an active one; he filled several public offices, sat, in the summer of 1454, on the Bench as one of the Priori, was a Commissioner of the public debt, and died in 1484. His devotional writings and private letters bear splendid testimony to the spirit which animated a large body of laymen during this time. His letter on humility to his daughter Orsola, a nun in the Convent of Il Paradiso in Florence, is one of the gems of the spiritual literature of the day.*

"Humility," Belcari writes, "is an inestimable treasure and a Divine gift. Humility is an abyss of self-abasement before which the powers of Hell recoil; a tower of strength before the face of the enemy. Humility is a Divine assistance and protection which draws a veil across our inward eye, so that we do not see our own excellences and virtues; it is the perfection of all that is true and pure. Penitence raises the soul, compunction enables it to touch the gates of heaven, humility flings them open. Love and humility are the soul's best conductors, the one teaches it to soar, the other prevents it from falling. The Fathers say that bodily toil is a means of gaining humility, and S. John Scholasticus recommends obedience and simplicity, and everything that contradicts our pride. Poverty, pilgrimages, a habit of concealing our attainments, simplicity in speech, begging for alms, manual labour, renunciation of dignities, reticence, putting little trust in man and confiding in God only, are all means of becoming humble. Also a constant recollection of death and the judgment, and of our Lord's Passion. Humility makes the soul pliable, gentle, devoted, patient, peaceful, cheerful, obedient, sympa-

* On Datini and Belcari, see REUMONT, Briefe, 82, 153 *seq.*, and LORENZO, I., 432 *seq.*, ed. 2.

thetic, above all, it enables it to be strenuous without sadness and to watch without weariness. In conclusion, let me enumerate the fruits of humility in the words of S. Bernard. 'If you desire to glorify God, be humble; if you want to obtain the forgiveness of your sins, be humble; if you would win the grace of God, be humble; if you have temptations to overcome, or an enemy to conquer, be humble; if you want to guard and cherish virtues, be humble; do you wish to attain to the apprehension of Divine mysteries, to penetrate the meaning of Holy Scripture, be humble; if you aspire to win true glory, to deserve the favour of God, to keep your soul in peace, be humble. May our sweetest Lord Jesus Christ grant this virtue to us and to all who need it. Pray for me who am not humble.'

"Written at Florence, Oct. 19, 1455. FEO BELCARI." *

The same pious tone of thought pervades the numerous private memoirs of which Florence possesses a large store. It was the custom there to keep family note-books in which births, marriages, deaths, and events of all sorts, were recorded for the benefit of its members. Interspersed amongst these entries which concerned the private history only of the family, are often to be found narratives of contemporary events, both at home and abroad, notes of books read, practical rules of life, and general observations. A book of this kind containing notes extending from the beginning of the 15th Century up to 1421, written by a Florentine, Giovanni Morelli, has been preserved.† Morelli relates the history of his own life and fortunes for the guidance of his son in the pursuit of true happiness. The

* Printed in MORONI, Lettere di F. Belcari (Firenze, 1825). Translated by REUMONT, Briefe, 155–8.

† Cronaca di Giovanni Morelli, as a supplement to MALESPINI, Istoria di Firenze (1718), 217–354. *Cf.* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 68 *seq.*

narrative reveals a model Christian father whose solicitude for the welfare of his children, both temporal and spiritual, begins with early infancy and follows them throughout their lives, and even beyond the grave. We may fairly consider that the great majority of Florentine families were brought up in this sound and truly Christian spirit. In spite of all its aberrations the age of the Renaissance was an age of faith and of genuine piety.* It is noticeable that Morelli attaches an almost exaggerated importance to the study of the Classics, in which point he says his own education was defective; at the same time, he subordinates this to higher aims, and especially to the study of religion. His child-like faith is well expressed in the following passage, which occurs in a panegyric on his father, who died early:— "Oh, if only we could be faithful Christians and true friends of God, how plainly we should be able to see His power and His supreme justice (in His providence) from day to day; but our sins blind us and cause us to be much more inclined to attribute all our good and ill fortune to chance, or to our own prudence or imprudence, rather than to the will of God; but this is false, for all comes from Him and in accordance with our deserts. Therefore, I say: the good fortune of the wise consists in this, that they acknowledge God, and do good, and help themselves with all the strength they have. Thus God requires you to attain to perfection by your own toil and efforts, as you may plainly see by the example of my father Paul." In another touching passage he describes the way in which he spent the anniversary of the death of his eldest son, in prayer and penance at the foot of the Crucifix. "May it please Thee," he exclaims, at the close of his long prayer, "in Thy goodness to accept my petition and in Thy mercy to grant it for the salvation, the enlightenment, the joy, and the blessedness of the departed

* Opinion of RÖSLER, *loc. cit.*, 73.

soul of my sweet child. I desire far more to know that he is in peace in the eternal mansions, than even, were this possible, to have him back again here on earth." Then he turns to the Mother of God and, after reciting the *Salve Regina*, thus pours out his heart to her. "Sweetest Mother," he says, "Dwelling of the Son of God, grant to me, I entreat Thee, a share in thy sufferings and sorrows, that, justified by this participation, I may deserve to receive the pledge of that bliss which thy Son has purchased for us on the Cross. Make me worthy of the grace which I have implored from thy most gracious Son, and commend me and the soul of my son to the living Source of all justice. I am encouraged to make this prayer to thee, O Queen of Heaven, by the hymn which I have just recited in thy praise and honour, in which thou art called our Advocate."*

Giovanni Rucellai was another layman of the same stamp as Morelli. He had been successful in business, and had amassed great wealth, which he generously employed for the good of the Church and his city. His name is still to be seen on the marble façade of the Church of Sta Maria Novella, which was completed for him by the celebrated Leon Battista Alberti. The same master built his house, the Palazzo Rucellai in the Via della Vigna, which is considered one of the finest examples of Tuscan early Renaissance.† Not far from this stands the Oratory of S. Sepolcro, also erected by Alberti, by order of Rucellai, in 1467. It contains an exact reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre, constructed from a drawing procured by the architect from Jerusalem. In his latter years, Rucellai kept a note-book of the kind described above, which reveals much of the inner life of the time.

"I thank God our Lord," we read here, "that He has

* RÖSLER, *loc. cit.*, 72–3.

† Engraved in BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 63.

created me a rational and immortal being; in a Christian country; close to Rome, which is the centre of the Christian faith; in Italy, the noblest country in Christendom; in Tuscany, one of the noblest provinces of Italy; finally in Florence, the most beautiful city not only of Christendom, but, by common consent, of the whole world. I thank Him that He has granted me a long life and such perfect bodily health, that I do not remember in the course of sixty years to have had to remain in the house for a single month on account of illness; for health is the greatest of temporal blessings. I thank Him also for the success in my affairs by which I have been enabled from small beginnings to acquire riches and the confidence of all men, and that it has been given to me not only to amass wealth honourably, but also to spend it in like manner, by which greater merit is obtained than in the getting of it. I thank Him that he has ordained for my earthly life in Florence a time which all allow to be the most prosperous that she has ever enjoyed, the time of our illustrious citizen Cosimo de' Medici, whose fame fills the world, a time of undisturbed peace, which has lasted ten years, the benefits of which are all the more keenly felt by contrast with the burdens and troubles of past times. I thank Him for an excellent mother, who, though only in her twentieth year at the time of my father's death, refused all offers of marriage and devoted herself wholly to her children; and also for an equally excellent wife, who loved me truly, and cared most faithfully for both household and children, who was spared to me for many years, and whose death has been the greatest loss that ever has or could have befallen me. Recalling all these innumerable favours and benefits, I now in my old age desire to detach myself from all earthly things in order to devote my whole soul to giving praise and thanks to Thee, my Lord, the living Source of my being."

Thus wrote Giovanni at the close of a long life which had not been devoid of trials, though they were coupled with many consolations. And the book to which he confided his thoughts and feelings contains the following entry added by his two sons:—"In remembrance of him by whom this book was written, we, his two sons Pandolfo and Bernardo Rucellai, hereby testify that we have been told by the friends of our family, that from its origin till now no one has won for the House of Rucellai so much honour and glory, or has deserved so much praise, as this Giovanni, our father." *

Again, the same note rings through the charming monographs of the Florentine bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci. Springing from a middle-class family, Bisticci lived during the most brilliant period of the Italian book-trade, and corresponded on the most intimate terms with a great number of illustrious persons. Amongst his special friends may be counted the Medici, the Duke of Urbino, and, pre-eminently, Pope Nicholas V. Vespasiano held himself aloof from the votaries of the false renaissance; the pious Gianozzo Manetti was his ideal Humanist.† In his latter years he gave himself up entirely to the study of the Fathers, which he preferred to the Classics, "because they are helpful to the soul." A series of devotional and ascetical writings resulted from these studies.‡

The Diary of the Apothecary, Luca Landucci, who certainly never dreamed that it was destined one day to appear in print, furnishes another proof of the good elements which existed in middle-class circles in Florence. It contains a delightful medley of family and city history. His

* REUMONT, Lorenzo de' Medici, I., 328–9, ed. 2.

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 40 *seq.*; II., 166 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ FRIZZI, Di Vespas. da Bisticci (extract from the Annali della R. Scuola Normale Sup. di Pisa, 1880), p. 95 *seq.*

domestic life seems to have been an ideal one. Speaking of the death of his wife, he says that in the course of a union which lasted forty-eight years she had never once made him angry. In all misfortunes he recognised a just punishment for the sins of men. Penetrated with the thought of the transitory nature of all earthly glory, the wealth and pomp with which he was surrounded in Florence had no attractions for him.

While the splendid Palazzo Strozzi was in course of building, its owner died, on the 15th May, 1491, and never saw its completion. Entering the event in his Diary, Landucci observes:—"Here we see how precarious are all earthly anticipations. Man appears to be the lord of all things, but in reality the reverse is the case. This Palace will last for ages, and how many masters it will outlive. We are only stewards of outward things, not lords, and our stewardship lasts as long as God pleases and no more." A year later came the death of Lorenzo de' Medici il Magnifico. "How vain," exclaims Landucci, "is our earthly life. In the judgment of men, Lorenzo was the most famous, the richest, the most powerful man in the world. His friends boasted that he held the fortunes of Italy in his hands; in truth he was rich; he was successful in everything. He had just achieved what for many years past had been beyond the reach of any of our citizens; his son had been made a Cardinal; and yet all this could not obtain the prolongation of his life for a single hour. O man, what hast thou to do with pride?"*

Landucci follows the course of events in general, and especially the fortunes of his native city, with sympathetic attention, but without partisanship. The beneficent influence of his conciliatory and forgiving spirit, and of his kindly interest in the welfare of all with whom he came in

* LANDUCCI, Diario, 62, 64-5.

contact was immense. When the Medici were banished in 1494, all his sympathies went forth towards the young Cardinal, whom he had seen at the window of the Palace, with clasped hands, commending himself to God. In 1497, when Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who had been implicated in a conspiracy, was executed, Landucci wept. An earnest adherent of Savonarola, as long as he believed that he was preparing the way for a better state of things; he turned from him at once when the Dominican friar came into collision with the Church. Whether his punishment were just or unjust, he held that he was bound to submit.* The unshaken trust in God and genuinely Christian resignation which he displays under misfortune are most touching. "On the 2nd of August, 1507, it was the will of God that a fire should break out in my house which destroyed everything, so that my loss amounted to 450 gold ducats. I and my sons had to fly for our lives with nothing on but our shirts; my son Battista had to spring naked out of his bed which was burning; but I am resolved to accept all things whether good or bad from the hand of God and to give Him thanks for all. May He only forgive my sins and grant me such things as I need for His glory. Praised be the Lord of all creatures! By this means we are victorious over all pain and privation. Let us learn from Job who said: The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!"†

This solidly religious spirit manifested itself also in a great variety of other ways. No house was without a crucifix or pious picture, more especially one of the Blessed Virgin, before which a lamp was kept burning; nearly all the larger houses contained a small chapel.‡ The numbers

* *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 1 (Engl. trans.).

† LANDUCCI, Diario, 283–4.

‡ See RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 217. The woodcuts

of New Testaments printed during that time shews that, besides books of devotion, amongst which the Fioretti di S. Francesco was specially popular, Holy Scripture was very much read.*

The precepts of the Church were conscientiously observed because they had become for the most part completely interwoven with family life and customs. Numerous books explaining its rites and ceremonies† enabled the people to understand their significance and enter into their poetical beauty, while the almost universal familiarity with the Latin language made it easy for all classes to take part in the services. Even now in Italy the common people join readily in the Liturgical offices. The observance of Sundays and holidays was strongly inculcated in books of religious instruction, and to those of the Church many of

representing Saints were mostly fastened on the doors, and thus the reason why early Italian Xylographs are so rare. In the cabinet of copperplates in Berlin there are a number of fragments of very early Italian woodcuts which were taken from the wall of a room in an old house in Bassano, which was pulled down. *Cf.* LIPPMANN'S valuable paper on Italian woodcuts in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 316. A few Italian woodcuts with other engravings are to be found in W. L. SCHREIBER, Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au 15me siècle (Berlin, 1891 *seq.*), *e.g.*, N. I. (proof), 85, 86, 90, 167–9, 320, 598, 636 (637), 753–5, 771, 830, 994, 995, etc. Here, too, SS. Roch and Sebastian are often repeated. See N. 1670-76.

* *Cf.* the Testament of Benedetto Majano, in LEADER, La Parrochia de S. Martino a Maiano (Firenze, 1875). In regard to Italian translations of the Bible, see Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie, 1895, p. 341 *seq.* On the spiritual and devotional books of that time see also LIPPMANN, Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 306 *seq.*

† A book of this description (Lucidarius), which "was read from Vesuvius to Hecla," had already passed through seven Italian editions before the year 1500. See an excellent treatise by SCHMIDT, Der Einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark, 15. Freiburg, 1894.

the trade guilds added days of obligation of their own.* The fasts also were strictly kept. Machiavelli remarks on the bad impression produced upon the Florentines by the laxity of the Duke of Milan's retinue on his visit to the Medici in the beginning of 1471. That any one should disregard the commandments of the Church on this point had never been seen before.† The relations between the laity and both the secular and regular clergy were of the closest. Charitable contributions towards the support of churches and convents were so liberal that Directors often warned their penitents against bestowing alms on convents where the rule was not strictly observed, and even against too great lavishness towards good religious, lest they should be tempted to relax the strictness of their life.‡ In the making of wills a certain proportion was almost invariably bequeathed to some church or charitable foundation, with a provision for masses and prayers for the soul of the testator. The forms employed in drawing up wills are another proof of the pious feeling of the time. They almost all begin by invoking God and the Saints, or by commending the soul of the testator to God and the Saints.§ The will of the celebrated traveller Giovanni da

* LANDUCCI, Diario, 38.

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 136 *seq.*

‡ RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 23.

§ PASOLINI (III., 537 *seq.*) has published the will of Caterina Sforza, made in Florence in 1509. In proof of what is stated in the text I will give some specimens of commencements of Venetian wills. (1) Will drawn up by the notary Pietro Arrivabene, Sept. 1, 1474. "Al nome de Dio dovendo mj Alvixe de Lion andar in Fiandra et considerando el viazio longo . . . perhò ho determinado voler ordinare," etc. Other wills, *e.g.*, one of May 28, 1475, begin with the name of the testator, but in the body of the document we find, "Committo animam meam altissimo Jehsu et B. Mariae et S. Ursulae," etc. (2) The wills drawn up by the notary Niccolò Riga, who was working up to 1505, almost all begin with the words: "In nomine Dei aeterni. Amen." One

Empoli begins, "I commend my soul to Almighty God and His glorious Mother B. Mary ever-Virgin, to the Holy Apostle and Evangelist S. John, to SS. Jerome and Blasius my patrons, and all the Saints in Paradise, that in their kindness and mercy they may intercede for me with God and His Mother, praying that on the day in which I am called away, I may be admitted into their holy company. Although I am a sinner and deserve severe punishment, yet God will not despise a broken and contrite heart; for we are His children and destined to enjoy eternal beatitude. I trust to God and His glorious Mother to grant me grace to serve Him in this vale of misery, and afterwards to participate in that glory which is prepared for all true Christians. May they grant me the grace that this will may serve for the unburdening of my conscience, and that my soul may remain pure and free from guilt."*

of these of Feby. 4, 1475, begins: "Al nome sia de miser Jehsu Christo et de la sua madre sant^ma Madonna S. Maria et de tutta la corte celestiale. Amen." (3) Wills drawn up by the notary Bernardino Ranemi (1471–79) begin with the name of the testator, but a recommendation of the soul to God, the B. Virgin, and the Saints is hardly ever omitted. Some have, as a preamble, "Al nome sia dello eterno Iddio padre et fiol et spirito santo et della gloriosa vergine," etc. (4) Wills by the notary Pasino Grattaroli up to 1508, all begin with the formula: "In Dei aeterni nomine. Amen." (5) Wills by the notary Cristoforo Colonnino (1513–28) almost all begin: "Quoniam humanum genus non est stabile, sed devenimus ad finem et nescimus diem neque horam animoque prudenti hoc pertinet, ut semper mortis periculum cogitetur eventus, hic est quod praedicta considerans Ego . . . in primis animam meam commendo altissimo Deo creatori." A few wills begin: "In Christi nomine. Amen." (6) Wills by the notaries Francesco Zorzi and Bartolomeo Raspi (1515–25) begin: "In nomine Dei aeterni." Later, *e.g.*, in the wills by the notary Domenico Baldigara (1530–40), the beginning is in Italian: "In nome del Sig. nostro Gesù Cristo." State Archives, Venice. Sezione notarile.

* GIORGETTI has published the text of this will in the Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, XIV., 324 *seq.*

All the best intellects on the side of the Church were keenly alive to the extreme importance of the maintenance of Christian family life during this period of danger and turmoil. It was in the early part of the 15th Century, when the influence of the Renaissance was just beginning to make itself generally felt in Italian society, that B. Giovanni Dominici wrote his admirable book on the government of the family. It was composed for the instruction of a noble and pious lady, the wife of Antonio Alberti. In terse and vigorous language the zealous Dominican sets her duties before her. Nothing can be more practical, and at the same time more truly Christian, than his teaching, in which the harmony between nature and grace is admirably set forth. "While the Humanists propose an ideal of life which is unattainable for the majority of mankind and wholly alien to Christianity, Dominici's rules can be practised by all, and teach the Christian not only to act as a reasonable man in every situation in which he can be placed, but also to aim at that which alone is necessary. Dominici combines the highest ideal in religion with the most perfect common sense." * Addressing Bartolomea, he says, "You have offered yourself, your body and soul, with all your possessions and your children, as far as they belong to you, to God our Lord, and now you want to know how to make the best use of all these good things for His glory." In correspondence with this division the treatise is in four parts, describing how the powers of the soul, the faculties and senses of the body, and all temporal goods are to be used, and children trained, so as to attain the end willed by God. The third and fourth sections are the most important, and may be classed among the finest works produced by the literature of that period. In the introduction to the right use of temporal goods, it is impressed upon

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 18.

the mother that it is her duty to see that the property which her children are to inherit, is preserved intact. In regard to that of which she is free to dispose, she is to look upon herself as God's stewardess, and in poverty of spirit to dispense it for the good of her neighbour; but as all men have not equal claims on her charity, an order of precedence in regard to those who require help is laid down.

In treating of the bringing up of children, Dominici marks five points. Children are to be trained, 1st, for God; 2nd, for their father and mother; 3rd, for themselves; 4th, for their country; 5th, for the trials of life. The house should be adorned with pious pictures in order that the love of virtue, the love of Christ, and the hatred of sin should be infused into the children's minds from the moment they begin to observe. The love of the Saints will lead them to love the Saint of Saints. The reading of Holy Scripture should be begun as soon as they are sufficiently prepared to understand it. In the education of boys, she must endeavour to guard against the abuse of heathen writings. In matters of dress, children should be trained from their earliest youth to modesty and decorum. "Be careful with whom they associate; none of the things that God has confided to you are so precious in His sight as your children. Their souls are worth more in His eyes than heaven and earth and the whole of the irrational creation, and you do Him a greater service in bringing up your children well than if you possessed the whole world and gave all away to the poor. It will be hard for you to save your own soul, if, in consequence of your neglect, the souls of your children should perish; on the other hand, if by your care you have secured their salvation, you may rest in peace as to your own."

Dominici's counsels as to how children should be trained to fulfil their duties towards their parents are equally admir-

able. They should be taught to be extremely respectful in addressing them. He specially insists upon three points. (1) When a parent corrects a child, the correction should be received with thanks. (2) Children should be silent in the presence of their parents. (3) When spoken to, they must answer with modesty. Honour must be shewn to parents also in the use of temporal goods, and in demeanour. "In the presence of their parents, children should not sit down unless desired to do so; they must stand in a respectful attitude, humbly bow the head when any command is addressed to them, and uncover when they meet their parents." He lays great stress on a practice which he says will greatly conduce to the happiness of the household. Twice at least in the course of the day, at night before retiring to rest, and in the morning before going out, each child should humbly kneel down before one or other of the parents and beg a blessing. "I should prefer," he says, "that this should also be done on going out again after the mid-day meal, but for daughters and those who stay at home, the morning and evening will suffice. You on your part should give your blessing with great humility, willingly accepting this mark of respect not as for yourself, but for the good of your children. When the child, kneeling, says *Benedicite*, you should give the blessing in whatever phrase appears to you to be most agreeable to God and suitable to the child who asks for it. As, for instance, 'May God bless thee with an everlasting blessing,' or 'May the grace of God be always with thee,' or 'May God replenish thee with His holy blessing in body and soul,' or 'May God give thee favour in His sight and in that of men,' or, finally, 'May God make thee perfect now and for ever.' Thus you may vary the blessing according to circumstances. As the child rises after having received your blessing he should kiss the hand that has

bestowed it; and then he may go forth with the firm conviction that nothing can happen to him that will not be for the good of his soul. But now look to yourself and see that you shew to your Father in Heaven the same respect that your children are to shew to you, and more especially in this matter of bending the knee. You should ask His blessing on your knees not only twice or thrice in the day, but whenever you change your occupation. Also make the sign of the Cross with your finger on the ground, the table, the wall, whatever is nearest to you, and kiss it. Be careful never to utter anything in the shape of a curse or ban on your children, either in anger or in jest, or to frighten them, or on any pretext whatsoever, nor should you curse any creature or send them to the devil, for such curses from the lips of a father or mother may take effect, and in any case are hurtful."

In the last section: "How to bring up children to be good citizens," Dominici's counsels reflect the state of Florence at the time. Above all things he warns against party spirit. "Nothing can be more deleterious," he says; "for the partisan, instead of building up the commonwealth, rends and destroys it."*

The "Opera a ben vivere," which is attributed to the great Florentine Bishop S. Antoninus, though written a generation later than Dominici's treatise, is very similar in character. Though S. Antoninus' letters to Diodota degli Adimari are not directly concerned with education, they contain a great deal of advice on this subject. They treat of the rule of life, demeanour, intercourse with others, Church-going and devotional practices, and in their practical good sense and strict yet simple piety, breathe throughout a spirit which is the very opposite of all exaggeration or cant. "All prayer," he writes, "is pleasing to God, and that

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 25-66.

which comes most from the heart is most pleasing; but I have no objection to your saying the Office. Prepare yourself to endure sickness, poverty, or any other privation, contempt or persecution, household cares or temptations. Go to confession every month, and to communion every two months, on some feast-day. In society, even among relations, speak as little as possible and only when it is necessary. Be careful about your children; see that they live a good life, and guard them from dangerous company. Avoid evil not only in your actions but in your thoughts. Be watchful, keep yourself in hand; if bad thoughts come, turn away your mind to something else. When you are tempted to be proud think at once of your sins. When you are discouraged and inclined to despair, recall to mind the infinite goodness and mercy of Christ, and think of the story of the publican. It is easier to begin a good work than to persevere in it; but what is the use of beginning if the end is not reached. Fortify your soul by frequent spiritual reading and diligence in meditation. There is no harm in conversing with pious women, but do not trust every one too readily. Vows once made must be fulfilled as soon as possible. May God grant you His blessing."*

The votaries of the true Renaissance are entirely at one in principle with such saintly church reformers as Dominici and S. Antoninus. These men saw that it was possible to engraft the wisdom of the ancients on the root-stock of Christianity. The noble and pious Vittorino da Feltre was an eminent example of this school. Though he has left no writings behind him, the salutary influence of his famous College at Mantua was immense, and very

* REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 27, and Briefe Hl. Italiener, 140 *seq.*; RÖSLER (Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 67–8) doubts whether S. Antoninus really was the author of the "Opera a ben vivere." Firenze, 1858.

widely diffused.* Hardly inferior to him was Agostino Dati, a native of Siena (ob. 1479), whose great worth as an instructor has been specially brought out by recent authors. Antonio Ivani is another of these illustrious schoolmasters; his treatise on education in the family is truly Christian in its spirit. Francesco Barbaro, at the early age of 17, wrote a work on marriage, the family and education, which was much admired by his contemporaries; its tone is lofty and pious.†

The most important work on education produced by the Christian Humanists of the 15th Century was written by Maffeo Vegio, a friend of Pope Pius II. In his six books on this subject, first printed at Milan in 1491, we find nothing that is not practical and fruitful. For a course of instruction for developing the reasoning powers, Vegio borrows his method from the sages of antiquity, while he derives the principles of Christian education from revelation, Holy Scripture, the works of the Fathers, and the example of the Saints. He strongly insists on the necessity of carrying out the precepts of Christian faith and morals in daily life. He lays great stress on the power of a living example, and in addressing parents repeatedly points to S. Monica and her noble son as a demonstration of the effects of a truly good and religious education. The "sweet and eloquent" Confessions of S. Augustine was a favourite book with all the Christian Humanists. "The good example of parents," he says, "gives efficacy to their instructions, and their prayers bring down the blessing of God." In point of style Vegio's book is admirable. "There is a genial warmth in his writing

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., p. 44 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† RÖSLER in his Dominici's Erziehungslehre, etc., 150 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*, 214 *seq.*, has written admirable descriptions of these great teachers. In regard to Ivani, *cf.* also A. NERI, Notizie die A. Ivani. Sarzana, 1868.

which springs from conscious sincerity and earnest conviction, and sometimes kindles into enthusiasm. In every word and line we feel that he is penetrated with the importance and greatness of his subject."*

These numerous treatises, formulating with such unanimity sound principles of Christian education, did much to counteract the dangers which the spirit of the Renaissance, permeating all the relations of life, brought with it. These dangers were especially manifest in its effect on the education of women, in breaking through the restraints which had hitherto encompassed their lives in the Middle Ages. The process could not fail to have a deleterious influence on morals, and we find the writings of the adherents of the Christian Renaissance full of warnings on this subject. Vespasiano da Bisticci sets examples of distinguished women before the Italian mothers, and exhorts them to "bring up their daughters in the fear of God and to live soberly and piously. Do not give them the Hundred Tales or any of Boccaccio's works to read, nor yet Petrarch's Sonnets, for though these may not be immoral, still they are not suitable for pure minds, which ought only to love God and their husbands. Let them read devotional books, Lives of the Saints, and history, so that they may learn how to live and behave and turn their thoughts to serious things and not to frivolity."†

In consequence of the disregard of these warnings, the movement in the direction of emancipation was attended with much that was unseemly and immoral. Nevertheless there were many who perfectly succeeded in harmonising

* From the Preface of KOPP'S M. Vegius' Erziehungslehre, 20 *seq* (Freiburg, 1889). See also the same author's excellent work: M. Vegio ein Humanist und Pädagoge des XV. Jahrhunderts, 12 *seq*. (Luzern, 1887); and KÖHLER, Pädagogik des M. Vegius, Schwäb. Gmünd, 1856.

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 25.

the new tendencies with the eternal principles of the Christian religion. "Both amongst the princely and noble families and in the burgher class in the 15th Century, we find many women who combined the highest intellectual culture with the most perfect womanliness and purity of life. Equally in the 16th Century, when the old restraints had become still more relaxed, if not wholly broken through, admirable examples of the noblest type of womanhood were not wanting." *

In the "Cortegiano" written by Raphael's friend, the well-known scholar and diplomatist Baldassare Castiglione, we have a vivid description of the Court of Urbino, and of the society which assembled there, in what was probably the first example of the modern *salon*. Nothing can be more charming than this picture of the influence of a beautiful and noble woman, as it is portrayed in this classical book.†

Castiglione lays down as a fundamental principle that the education of a lady in the higher circles should be such as to place her intellectually on a level with her husband. She should be sufficiently familiar with all the various branches of Science and Art to form an intelligent judgment on any subject that comes before her, though not herself a proficient in it. She should be equally well-versed in current literature; and thus equipped at all points, the refinement of her taste will shew itself, in her dress, which will be

* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 100.

† *Cf.* Dr K. FEDERN'S delightful article, Ein Salon der Renaissance, in No. 11,003 of the morning edition of the N. Fr. Presse, April 12, 1895. S. MARCELLO, La cronologia del "Cortegiano" di B. Castiglione, Leghorn, 1895 (per nozze Crivellucci-Brunst), is of opinion that the three first books of the Cortegiano were composed at Urbino between April 1508 and May 1509, and the fourth at Rome, between September 1513 and December 1513.

always becoming, in her conversation, which, alternately grave and gay, will never be too free or flippant; finally, in the grace and dignity of all her movements. At the same time, the domestic virtues must not be sacrificed to these intellectual attainments; she must care for her household and her children, and, while rivalling her husband in intelligence and knowledge, retain the grace and charm of womanly ways. Women, he maintains, though physically weaker than men, are not inferior, because they understand so much better how to control and apply the powers they possess. Hence in all the various departments of life, in government, in war, in science, in poetry, women have achieved fame.*

In addition to the greater frequency with which women appeared in public, and made their individuality felt in the age of the Renaissance, the attainment of distinction in scientific pursuits by such women as Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Cecilia Gonzaga, Cassandra Fedele, may be claimed for this period as something hitherto unknown and entirely new. Antonia de' Pulci and Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, won laurels in poetry, and it is characteristic of the time that all their compositions were religious. Veronica Gambara and Vittoria Colonna belong to a later period. The first was not exempt from the frailties of the day. The second, the most celebrated poetess of Italy, was so admirable in every respect that she is called the Saint of the Renaissance by its special historian.†

The Sacrament of Penance was one of the most efficacious means of securing the spiritual development of the

* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 100–101; J. BURCKHARDT, Die Cultur der Renaissance, II., 134 *seq.*, ed. 3; H. JANITSCHEK, Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien, 50 *seq.* Stuttgart, 1879.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 126, ed. 3.

individual and the family, and preserving both from the dangers of this period. All the manuals on Confession of that day, amongst which that of S. Antoninus * seems to have been the most popular, enjoin that the people should be questioned on the Creed, the Our Father, the Ten Commandments, and the precepts of the Church. S. Antoninus recommends that children should be examined on their conduct towards their parents, and equally that care should be taken to impress on the parents a sense of their duties towards their children and servants. Children are to be strictly brought up in the fear of God, servants are to be allowed time to fulfil their religious duties, and are to be taken care of and supported in sickness.†

The manuals also contain special questions suitable for the different ranks and classes of the population. In that of S. Antoninus there are questions for judges, for advocates (whether they have defended an unrighteous cause or failed to protect the poor); for teachers, for physicians (whether they have attended the poor); for merchants, innkeepers, butchers (whether they have sold bad meat or given light weight); for bakers, for tailors (whether they have kept back remnants of cloth, or worked unnecessarily on Sundays); for smiths, weavers, goldsmiths, servants and day-labourers.‡ No class was too insignificant to claim the

* See GEFFCKEN, Der Bilderkatechismus des XV. Jahrhunderts, I., 34 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1855). Detail also regarding other manuals on Confession, of this time, p. 108.

† Confessionale D. Antonini archiepiscopi Florentini, 1508, f. 74b *seq.*, et 43.

‡ Confessionale D. Antonini, etc., f. 69 *seq.* In the Diocese of Acqui there was a rule, which was confirmed by a synodal decree of the Bishop Luigi Bruno on August 22, 1499, that every confessor should possess and diligently study either the Summa of S. Antoninus or the Manipulus Curatorum. This decree explains the large number of copies

maternal care of the Church ; we see what a zealous watch was maintained over the lives of the people, and how lovingly she strove to meet and counteract the failings and frailties of all classes.

The solicitude of the Church for the welfare of all her children, and the religious spirit that prevailed amongst the people, are strikingly displayed in the manifold development of the numerous guilds and brotherhoods.

The immediate objects of the guilds were mainly secular, but religious and charitable foundations were almost invariably associated with them. Their trade-marks always bore a religious character. Every guild had its own church or chapel and its own chaplain.* The statutes breathe a deeply religious spirit, and frequently the guild owed its origin to a desire to maintain a lamp before a certain altar, to honour the feast of some special Saint, to possess a private chapel for the use of the members. There were strict rules in regard to the observance of their religious duties. They were bound to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays, and to attend a Mass in the chapel of the guild at least once a month. There were rewards for frequent attendance in church. The statutes often enjoin reverent behaviour in the House of God, and members are forbidden to leave the church before the end of the service. Some of the statutes require members to go to confession at least thrice in the year, and no allowances are to be granted to the sick until they have fulfilled this duty. Some guilds have a rule against profane language. Great stress is laid on the observance of Sundays and holidays. Each craft

of both these works which were printed during the last thirty years of the 15th Century; see Allg. Deutsch. Biog., XX., 591.

* In regard to the following passage, see RODOCANACHI, I., lxxv. *seq.*, xcix. *seq.*, and also GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XVI, 130 *seq.*

had its patron Saint, connected in some way through legend or history with the trade or occupation exercised by its members. Thus in Rome S. Eligius was the patron of the farriers and goldsmiths, S. Nicholas of the sailors, the tanners had S. Bartholomew, the husbandmen S. Isidore, the millers S. Paulinus of Nola, the coopers S. James, the wineshops S. Blasius, the innkeepers S. Julianus, the bricklayers S. Gregory the Great, the stone-masons the four crowned Martyrs, the money-changers S. Mark, the shopkeepers S. Sebastian, the wool-merchants S. Ambrose, the shoemakers S. Crispin, the barbers and physicians SS. Cosmas and Damian, the apothecaries S. Lawrence, the painters S. Luke.*

The patronal-feast was celebrated by a solemn Mass and procession, which all the members had to attend. All the guilds in Rome assembled to take part in the great procession on the eve of the Feast of the Assumption from the Lateran to Sta Maria Maggiore. This feast was regarded in Rome as the special *festa* of the industrial classes.†

It was the influence of this spirit of solid piety which pervaded the guilds in Rome and in all the other Italian cities, which created and preserved amongst the working-classes those sentiments of fraternal charity and mutual goodwill, and that lofty sense of honour and probity which we find expressed in their statutes. Care for the poor and the sick and for prisoners is especially enjoined. Each guild had its own physician and its hospital. Guild officials were appointed to visit and relieve the sick, and such members as were in prison through misfortune rather than misconduct; and the superior officers were bound to see personally to the fulfilment of these duties by their

* RODOCANACHI, I. et II. *passim.*

† ADINOLFI, I., 2; RODOCANACHI, I., ci.

subordinates. Many guilds provided pensions for needy members and for widows and orphans, and in some cases contributed substantial sums to the marriage portion of girls. Even beyond the grave, members were not forgotten; all the associates were bound to attend their funerals, the poor were buried at the expense of the guild, Masses were said for each member at his death, and on certain days throughout the year all were remembered at the Altar.*

Both beside and within the guilds, numerous associations existed which aimed at the spiritual and moral advancement of their members by means of various good works, either for the honour of God or the good of their neighbours. These brotherhoods had also their special patron Saints and particular chapels. The alms of the members were devoted to the relief of the poor, dowries for poor girls, the sick, or the burial of the dead.†

The more wealthy Confraternities spent a portion of their funds on the erection or embellishment of churches of their own, on gifts of paintings or carvings, or perhaps a Holy Sepulchre to other churches in their city; on having special banners designed and executed for the association, or on building and decorating a hall for their meetings, called a *Scuola*.‡

In Venice in the year 1481 the Confraternity of S. John the Evangelist built a Scuola with a richly decorated Atrium, and employed Gentile Bellini to paint the miracle of the finding of the true Cross for it, in three divisions. These pictures are now in the Venetian Academy. S. Mark preaching, by the same master, now in the Brera,

* RODOCANACHI, I., xcv. *seq.*, and GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*

† *Cf.* in a general way, MORONI, XVI., 117 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien, 182-5, where several instances of this kind are mentioned.

was painted in 1485 for the Confraternity-hall of the brotherhood of that Saint.* Carpaccio painted for the Congregation of S. Ursula his masterpiece, the history of the Saint in nine pictures, 1490–1495. The Confraternity-houses of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni and of S. Stefano are also adorned with paintings by this master.† The Confraternity of the Scuola di S. Rocco, in 1489 built a church dedicated to their patron Saint. In 1517 Bartolomeo Bon began the building of a magnificent Confraternity-house which afterwards became one of the most sumptuous creations of Venetian architecture, and was adorned by Tintoretto with fifty-six colossal Biblical pictures.‡ Two of the most remarkable buildings in Padua were the Scuola del Santo, embellished later with sixteen frescoes of the legend of S. Antonio by Titian and his pupils, and the Scuola del Carmine.

In Siena the Confraternities of S. Bernardino and S. Catherine built two beautiful Oratories close to each other, with Sodality-halls attached.§ The Church of the Misericordia at Arezzo was adorned with a magnificent façade out of the surplus of the alms received by the brothers.‖ The Confraternity of the Annunziata employed Piero degli Franceschi in 1466 to paint a banner for their church; unfortunately, this has disappeared.¶

In Florence, many of the Confraternities possessed buildings of their own. One of the most beautiful of these is that of the Confraternity dello Scalzo (so-called because in their processions the brother who carried the Crucifix

* BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 184; WOLTMANN, II., 287.

† WOLTMANN, II., 298-9.

‡ BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 184.

§ *Ibid.*, 186.

‖ *Ibid.*, 183.

¶ WOLTMANN, II., 216; Giorn. degli Archiv. Tosc., VI., 11.

walked barefoot), which contains ten frescoes of scenes in the life of S. John the Baptist by Andrea del Sarto (painted 1511–1526).*

The Scuole of S. Niccolò di Foligno and the Annunziata had a large number of pictures and banners painted for their use.† The wealthy Confraternity of S. Bernardino decorated the façade of their church,‡ and had a splendid banner painted by Benedetto Buonfigli in 1475.§ The guild of the soap-boilers of S. Gregorio in Assisi possessed a splendid banner which is now in Carlsruhe.|| In 1518 Timoteo Viti painted the *Noli me tangere* on a banner for the Confraternity of the S^ti^ Angeli at Cagli.¶ One of the most beautiful chapels in Rome with its pillared court is that which belonged to the Scuola of S. Giovanni Decollato.**

Thus, in the pursuance of their works of charity, these numerous corporations have rendered no little service to Art.

Every city, and indeed almost every village, in Italy possessed one or more of these sodalities. One of the oldest is that of S. Leonardo at Viterbo, which founded the Ospedale Franco in 1144.†† Just a hundred years later the well-known Confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy, and generally called the Misericordia, was founded

* WOLTMANN, II., 614.

† *Ibid.*, 211.

‡ BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 183.

§ WOLTMANN, II., 214.

|| *Ibid.*, 212.

¶ *Ibid.*, 323.

** BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 185.

†† The Statute of this Confraternity has lately been published by PINZI, Gli ospizi medioevali e l'ospedale grande di Viterbo, V. (1893). This discovery upsets MURATORI'S views (Antiquit. Italiae Diss., 75) in regard to the date of the first appearance of these brotherhoods.

by a Florentine day-labourer. The duty of the brothers was to take sick or injured persons to the hospitals and to bury the dead. During the Plague of 1325 the brothers of the Misericordia rendered most valuable services, and from that time it became customary for men of all ranks and avocations to enrol themselves in the Confraternity. In 1425 the Misericordia disappeared, in consequence of its union with the Compagnia di Sta Maria di Bigallo, which was not bound to any works of charity. In 1475 it was revived, and in the Plague of 1494 again proved most valuable.*

More than once during the course of the 15th Century some startling word from a mission-preacher, or the terrible ravages of the Plague, caused fresh associations of this kind to be formed. Thus, in 1415 in Venice,† the Confraternity of S. Rocco was instituted and proved an invaluable blessing during the repeated visitations of the Plague. Wealthy citizens, the nobility, and even some of the Doges enrolled themselves in this sodality, which in consequence became so rich that over and above what was needed for the poor, it was able, as has been already mentioned, to spend large sums on the patronage of Art.

In 1448, when the Plague was raging in Rome, the German confessor at S. Peter's founded the Sodality of Our Lady of Dolours for his own countrymen, which is still in existence.‡ Another of these Confraternities which still survives is that of the Buonuomini di S. Martino, an association of Florentine citizens founded by S. Anto-

* P. LANDINI, Istoria della Archiconfrat. di S. Maria della Misericordia (Firenze, 1843, e Livorno, 1871); C. BIANCHI, La Compagnia della Misericordia (Firenze, 1855); Dublin Review, CXIV. (1894), 333 *seq.*

† On the erection and importance of the Venetian Scuole, see SANSOVINO, Venezia, 99 *seq.*

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 85, note (Engl. trans.).

ninus in 1441, with the object of finding out and assisting persons who had seen better days and were ashamed to let their poverty be known. In a very short time from its institution, the brothers had already ministered to 600 families; but the Saint could not be satisfied with vicarious almsgiving, and S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, Patriarch of Venice, relates that he personally visited the poorer quarters of the city, bringing help and comfort to all who were in need.* In Vicenza the B. Bernardino of Feltre established two foundations for the benefit of reduced persons of noble family and others who shrank from making known their necessities, which have been perennial fountains of blessing for many centuries.†

In 1460 the learned Cardinal Torquemada founded the Confraternity of the Annunciata, and gave it a chapel of its own in Sta Maria sopra Minerva. Its object was to provide dowries for poor girls.‡ During the 15th Century associations devoted to this particular work of charity, which in a special way combines chivalry with Christian prudence, sprung up in many other cities also. Thus in Parma in 1493 an association was instituted to facilitate marriages between young men of good character and poor and virtuous girls.§

Florence and Rome contained a larger number of these brotherhoods than any of the other Italian cities. In Florence at the beginning of the 16th Century there were seventy-three municipal Associations or congregations for

* *Cf.* RATZINGER, Armenpflege, 376; SKAIFE, 186, and especially N. MARTELLI, I Buonuomini di S. Martino (extract from the Rassegna Naz.), Firenze, 1884. See also Correspondant, Juillet 1889, 396, and GUASTI in the Rosa d'ogni mese, Calendario Fiorentino, 1864.

† Acta Sanct., Sept., VII., 869.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 9 (Engl. trans.).

§ KOBLER, Kath. Leben, II., 839.

religious objects; there were also Confraternities for children, shewing how intimately the practices of religion were bound up with family life. Those for children assembled to assist at Vespers on all Sundays and holidays. Some of the associations for men included amongst their objects entertainments of various sorts, others were devoted entirely to works of charity, others to penance. One Confraternity undertook to prepare condemned criminals for death, and attend them on the scaffold.*

A clearer notion of the nature of these Confraternities can be formed by studying their development in Rome itself—the metropolis of Christendom. The most distinguished of those in Rome was that of the Gonfalone, later erected into an Arch-Confraternity and still flourishing. It was formed in the year 1264 by twelve noblemen, who assembled first in Sta Maria Maggiore and afterwards in Sta Lucia della Chiavica, and called themselves La Compagnia de' Raccommandati di Madonna Sta Maria. Innocent VIII. gave it the name of 'del Gonfalone,' because of the banner which was carried in their processions. He affiliated five other Confraternities to it. It was devoted to various pious practices and to works of charity, as was more or less the case with all these associations in Rome. Alexander VI. also favoured it.†

The institution of the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost goes back as far as the reign of Innocent III. Popes Eugenius IV. and Sixtus IV. enlarged its scope and gave it a fresh impetus. Many Cardinals and almost all the

* VARCHI, Storia Fiorentina, I., 393-4 (Milano, 1845); REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 317 *seq.*, ed. 2; SKAIFE, 186; D'ANCONA, I., 405 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* RUGGIERI'S interesting Monograph, L'Archi-Confraternità del Gonfalone (Roma, 1866), where the rescripts of Innocent VIII., taken from the Archives of the Confraternity, are given, p. 49 *seq.*

Court belonged to it, and by the 15th Century it had become customary for foreign Princes, when they came to Rome, to inscribe their names in the book of the Confraternity, which has thus become, in its way, a unique collection of autographs.*

Equally famous was the Confraternity of S. Salvatore, which was the earliest to be erected into an Arch-Confraternity. This congregation venerated in a special manner the ancient picture of our Saviour in the Sancta Sanctorum Chapel. On the Feast of the Assumption the brothers carried it in solemn procession across the Forum to the Church of Sta Maria Maggiore, while the miraculous picture of the Madonna belonging to that church was brought out to meet it.† The Confraternity of the Seven Dolours of our Lady in S. Marcello was founded in the 13th Century, those of Sta Maria del Popolo, S. Bernardo and S. Anna de' Parafrenieri in the 14th.

The 15th Century was specially fruitful in new associations of this description. Under Eugenius IV. the brotherhood of S. Bernardo alla Colonna Trajana was founded; under Pius II. the Confraternity of Priests of Santa Lucia de' Ginnasii, which was renewed by Julius II. Cardinal Torquemada's foundation for poor girls already mentioned belongs to the same Pontificate; the Confraternities of the Immaculate Conception in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and of S. Ambrogio belong to that of Paul II.‡ In the reign of Innocent VIII., in 1488, some pious Florentines formed

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 353 *seq.*, and IV., 461 (Engl. trans.).

† PIAZZA, 361 *seq.*; B. MILLINO, Dell' oratorio in S. Lorenzo del Laterano detto Sancta Sanctorum (Roma, 1666); G. MARANGONI, Istoria dell' Antichissimo Oratorio . . . Appellato Sancta Sanctorum. Roma, 1747.

‡ PIAZZA, 556 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, 523 *seq.*, 514 *seq.*, 510 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 429 *seq.*, 423 *seq.*; and MORONI, II., 295 *seq.*

themselves into a Confraternity in S. Giovanni Decollato, called the *Misericordia*, which had for its object to provide spiritual consolation and Christian burial for condemned criminals. This brotherhood was approved by the Pope and endowed with various privileges in 1490, and had a chaplain of its own. Whenever any criminal was condemned to death, two of the brothers went to him to prepare him for his general confession and for Holy Communion. When he was led out for execution, the whole brotherhood accompanied him to the scaffold, carrying a cross draped with black, and singing the penitential Psalms. After the execution they conveyed the corpse to their own burial-ground. The brothers wore black garments and hoods, on which was stamped an effigy of the head of S. John the Baptist, their patron.*

In the year 1499, Alexander VI. established the Confraternità di S. Rocco e di S. Martino al Porto di Ripetta. This society, which soon built a church and a hospital of its own, took charge of the poor sailors and lodging-house keepers in that quarter of the city. Leo X. conferred special Indulgences on it. The brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and the Five Wounds of Christ, which grew and flourished very rapidly, also dates from the time of Alexander VI. Its members escorted the Holy Viaticum in procession whenever it was carried to the sick and dying. They had a chapel of their own at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which was soon splendidly decorated. Julius II. was an especial benefactor of this society. A brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament was also formed under Leo X. in the church of S. Giacomo Scossacavalli in the Borgo. Two other new congregations belong to the reign of this Pope, the Archi-Confraternità della Carità at S. Girolamo and the brotherhood of the Holy Cross at S. Marcello. The former,

* Bull., V., 343 *seq.*; PIAZZA, 502 *seq.*

founded by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, devoted itself specially to the sick and dying; Leo X. also committed penitent fallen women to its care.*

The beneficial effect produced by these brotherhoods, and, above all, the influence they exercised in fostering religion and morals among the middle and working classes, can hardly be over-estimated. The history of the Oratory of the Divine Love, begun in Leo X.'s time, shews how important such societies could become, as well to the religious life of Rome as in much wider spheres.†

But we are still far from having come to the end of the religious societies in the Eternal City. The national brotherhoods and the trades guilds have also to be considered. The latter (Confraternità dell' Arti) existed in those days for bakers, cooks, barbers and surgeons, apothecaries, saddlers, gold- and silver-smiths, painters, masons, weavers, gardeners, fruiterers, cheese- and sausage-mongers (Pizzicaroli).‡ These guilds usually had hospitals of their own, close to the churches and chapels which belonged to them. No expense was spared in adorning the guild-chapels; nearly all the churches were remarkable for their grandeur and for their rich ornamentation, which usually contained some ingenious allusion to the trade pursued by the members. Thus the garlands in Sta Maria dell' Orto in Rome remind us of the fruiterers. This church was planned by Giulio Romano. The bakers' church, Sta Maria di Loreto, near the forum of Trajan, was erected under Julius II. after a design by Antonio da Sangallo.

A no less brilliant and varied array meets the eye when

* MORONI, II., 300 *seq.*; PIAZZA, 429 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*

† The forthcoming volume of the present work will furnish further particulars on this subject in connection with ecclesiastical reforms.

‡ PIAZZA, 605 *seq.*

we glance at the national brotherhoods, which were founded mostly for the benefit of craftsmen. Thus there were in Rome special associations for the German cordwainers and German bakers. The head-quarters of the universal German Confraternity were at the German national hospital, Sta Maria dell' Anima. In like manner, French, Portuguese, Sclavonians, Spaniards, Sienese, Lombards, and Florentines all had their societies in close connection with the hospitals of their respective nations.*

An important part was played by the guilds in the development of popular religious poetry and drama, both of which flourished greatly during the 15th Century.

The vibrations of the inspired chords struck by S. Francis and Fra Jacopone da Todi were prolonged and expanded in the popular hymns. Besides being fostered and cultivated by the guilds, religious poetry in a great measure owed its origin to them. The brothers, particularly in Tuscany, had an ancient custom of assembling at the hour of the Ave Maria, after their day's work was done, either in their chapels or at the street corners before the images of the Madonna, to pray and sing hymns of praise, called Lauds. A company of Laud-singers (Laudesi) was formed in Florence at the end of the 12th Century, an example followed in time by all the many brotherhoods and the companies of Or San Michele, Sta Maria Novella, Sta Croce, the Carmine and Ognissanti. The singing of Lauds was formally prescribed in their statutes. The people sang out of the fulness of their hearts, and saw nothing strange or repugnant in adapting common secular tunes to sacred words. The composer of these Lauds frequently belonged to the highest and most cultivated classes of society.

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 248 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); Zeitschr. d. hist. Ver. für Bamberg, XXXVII. (1875), 73 *seq.*; and PIAZZA, 296 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*

Thus we find among the Laud-writers, Cardinal Dominici, the learned Lorenzo Giustiniani (ob. 1456), Antonio Bolognini, Bishop of Foligno (ob. 1461), Castellano Castellani, professor at Pisa, 1488–1518, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, and finally Lorenzo himself.*

The hymns were sung at processions and on pilgrimages as well as at private and public worship. Many gems of true poetry and sincere piety are contained in this vast treasury. Though the perpetual recurrence of the same motive tends to become wearisome, we marvel at the countless variations and at the exquisite tenderness of feeling so simply expressed. This is especially true of the most conspicuous of these religious poets, Feo Belcari,† who is never tired of his one, inexhaustible theme—the love of God. A collection of his poems was published in 1455 for the Compagnia de' Battuti di Zan Zanobi at Florence. Belcari, the 'Christian Poet,' died in 1484. His pupil, Girolamo Benivieni, thus laments his master:—

Perduta ha 'l cieco mondo quella luce,
  Che pel dubio camin gran tempo scorta,
  Fu già de' passi miei ministra e duce.
Tace 'l celeste suon già spinta e morta,
  E l' harmonia di quella dolce lyra
  Chel mondo afflitt' hor lascia 'l ciel conforta.‡

The earlier Lauds were probably purely lyrical, but soon,

* Besides GASPARY, II., 194 *seq.*, 663, *cf.* also REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 429 *seq.*, ed. 2; II., 22 *seq.*, ed. 2; STERN, I., 145 *seq.*; VISCHER, Signorelli, 134 *seq.*; CREIZENACH, I., 305 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 112 *seq.*, ed. 2. The best collection of Lauds was published by Galletti: Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzi, etc. Firenze, 1863.

† See *supra*, p. 14 *seq.*

‡ REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, I., 431–3, ed. 2.

in sympathy with the dramatic ritual of the Church,* they assumed more and more the character of the drama. Poems in dialogue soon turned into regular religious plays, called *devozione* (devotions). It was not by accident that the Italian mystery play should have begun in Umbria, in Southern Tuscany, and in the northern districts of the Papal States. Here in the secluded rocky vale of Rieti,

* This point is too little insisted on. It appears to me to be of the greatest importance. GUIDO GÖRRES, in his clever essay on the mediæval stage, says, with much truth :—" How dramatic is the ritual of the central point of all Catholic worship, the office of the Mass, the whole service being at once a memorial celebration, and an unbloody repetition of the greatest and holiest of earthly scenes—the Passion and Sacrifice of Christ. Each division of the Mass represents the progress of the sublime tragedy, which is unfolded, as it were, in five acts, before the eyes of the worshippers. First in the Introit and up to the Creed we see the preparation and sanctification of the celebrant as he ascends the holy mount, then the oblation, till we come to the Canon, where we behold the unbloody sacrifice itself in the Consecration and as far as the Paternoster, then in the Communion we have the entombment, and finally the thanksgiving and the benediction. Moreover between the actors in the Mass, the priest with his assistant Levites and the people, there is a frequent interchange of address and response ; also, the colour and shape of the priest's vestments and of the altar, even the cruciform of the Church itself, are all symbolical. Then again Vespers, being more reflective and lyrical in character, resemble the chorus of the ancient tragedies. Here also the antiphones, little chapter and responses are divided between the priest at the altar as the leader, and the people, who form the chorus. Thus it was by no chance accident that the finest works of our Christian musicians were based upon a ritual so arranged. Hand in hand with the music, the sacred drama of the Middle Ages unfolded itself, adhering of necessity to the form of its model, the Mass, in the dramatic celebration of which the congregation were in some places allowed to take part. At the present day, in the Catholic Church the Gospel of the Passion is still chanted dramatically, in parts. She still appeals to the senses in processions—in her commemorations of the deposition from the Cross and Resurrection, and in many other symbolical ceremonies."

S. Francis had made the first manger of Bethlehem for the instruction of the neighbouring shepherds, and the child-like spirit of the Saint still survived in the hearts of a profoundly religious population. Neither was it by chance that the guilds were the earliest and most zealous promoters of the mystery plays. Their processions, with lighted torches and waving banners, were in themselves a religious spectacle. The new method soon spread far and wide, as is proved by the dramatised lament of the Blessed Virgin in the dialect of the Abruzzi.* Here and in the probably Umbrian "devotions" for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday,† we see a marked advance. Both plays certainly belong to the 14th Century, perhaps to the first half of it. They are closely connected with the Liturgy, and the representations took place in the church, their object being to make the people understand the words spoken by the priest at the altar and in the pulpit.

The "devotion" for Maundy Thursday is rich in touching passages of singular beauty. Most pathetic are the lines in which Mary implores her Son not to return to Jerusalem where He is threatened with death! The Saviour, in order to spare His mother, has told only S. Mary Magdalene what He intends to do. But she reads in His face what is about to happen. She asks Him why He is so troubled; her own heart throbs with anguish; she is choked with fear.

Dimelo Filgio, dimelo a me
Perché stai tanto afanato?

* D'ANCONA, I., 116 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† First published by PALERMO, I Manoscritti Palatini di Firenze, II., 279 *seq.*; then by D'ANCONA in the Riv. di Filol. Romanza, II., 1 *seq.* *Cf.* EBERT in the Jahrb. für Roman. Literatur, V., 51 *seq.*; KLEIN, IV., 156 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 184 *seq.*, ed. 2.

Amara me, piena di suspiri
Perche a me lo ai celato?
De gran dolore se speziano le vene,
E de dolgia Filgio me esse el fieto
Che te amo Filgio con perfeto core,
Dimelo a me, o dolce segnore.

Then Christ tells her that He is going to die in order to redeem the world. Mary faints and falls to the ground. When she comes to herself she cries, "Call me no more Mary, because I have lost Thee my Son." Mary desires to accompany the Saviour. This He allows. At the gates of Jerusalem she blesses her Son and falls senseless; when she revives He has vanished, and in her agony she cries:—

O Filgio mio tanto amoroso
O Filgio mio due se' tu andato?
O Filgio mio tuto gracioso
Per quale porta se' tu entrato?
O Filgio mio asai deietoso
Tu sei partito tanto sconsolato!
Ditemi, O dove, per amore de Dio
Dove andato lo Filgio mio.

Immediately after this comes the scene on the Mount of Olives, where our Lord is taken prisoner.

The devotion for Good Friday begins when the preacher comes to the passage in which Pilate gives the order to scourge Jesus. It is a complete representation of the Passion; the lamentations of the Madonna which are introduced from time to time are full of exquisite poetry. After Christ's prayer for His enemies, she addresses the Cross: "Bend thy boughs, O Cross, and yield some rest to the Creator."* The entombment is most dramatically

* Inclina li toi rami, o croce alta.
E dola [dona] reposo a lo tuo Creatore
Lo corpo precioso ja se spianta;
Lasa la tua forza e lo tuo vigore.

portrayed. Mary consents to the burial, but desires to clasp her Son once more in her arms. S. John stands at His head, the Magdalene at His feet, Mary between the two. One by one, she kisses His eyes, His cheeks, His lips, His side, His feet, letting fall broken words at intervals. Finally, she turns once more to the people, and shews them the nails, while S. Mary Magdalene exhorts them to forgive their enemies, as Christ forgave His.

After the middle of the 15th Century, the religious drama—now called Rappresentazione Sacra—appears in Florence in other and more highly developed forms, but still in connection with the guilds. Now we have real mystery plays, resembling the sacred dramas of other countries.* The performances were no longer held in church but in the open air, the action becomes more varied, and the mounting of the piece more elaborate. Instead of simple Laud-writers, we have real poets like Lorenzo de' Medici and Belcari. Many of the latter's mystery plays are preserved: for instance, Abraham and Isaac (acted in 1449), the Annunciation, S. John the Baptist in the Desert, the Last Judgment, etc. The authors of many of the pieces are unknown. The subjects are taken either from Scripture or from the legends of the Saints; the treatment is as realistic as possible, everything is calculated to stir the feelings of the audience. Religious plays were very popular among all ranks of society throughout the Peninsula during the 15th Century, but nowhere so much so as in Florence, the city of Art, *par excellence*, in the Italy of

* *Cf.* D'ANCONA, I., 217 *seq.*, ed. 2, and also the judicious observations of STIEFEL in Gröber's Zeitschr. für Romanische Philologie, XVII (1893), 573 *seq.*, 582 *seq.* An excellent Bibliografia delle antiche Rappr. Italiane ne' secoli XV. e XVI. was published by Colomb. de Batines (Firenze, 1852); Sacre Rappres. de' secoli XIV., XV. e XVI., with admirable introductions by D'Ancona. 3 vols., Firenze, 1872.

those days. Hence, all the authors of mystery plays whose names are known to us—Belcari, Lorenzo de' Medici, Bernardo and Antonio Pulci, Pierozzo Castellano, Giuliano Dati—are all Florentines. Distinguished artists like Brunellesco brought scene-painting and decoration to the highest pitch of perfection. We hear of the most amazing stage mechanism, flying machines which wafted the glorified Saints to heaven, and parachutes upon which God's messengers floated down to earth. Nor were the most dazzling effects of light wanting. The best artists of the Renaissance vied with each other in contriving representations of the angelic choirs around the throne of God the Father.*

The sacred drama, the outcome of Christian worship and of popular sentiment, preserved its essentially religious character throughout the 15th Century, in spite of the introduction of sundry comic touches.

This secular and comic element remained a superfluous addition, often an effective contrast; the end and object of every piece, still edification and piety. Dogmas, even the mystery of the Holy Trinity, are expounded, the Ten Commandments commented on, domestic virtues inculcated, the opinions of Jews and infidels confuted. The performances, therefore, take place almost always on the great Church festivals, so as to provide pure and elevating amusements for the populace; and also on days of fasting and penance, in order to turn men's minds heavenwards by setting forth before their eyes Christ's sacred Passion and His glorious victory.†

* *Cf.*, in corroboration, D'ANCONA'S great work, I., 245 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*, 474 *seq.*, 505 *seq.*, ed. 2, and FLECHSIG, Decoration der modernen Bühne, 5, who says: "We might almost affirm that our own age, with all its technical science, is yet not able to compete with the achievements of the Renaissance."

† For the religious and moral aspect of the Sacra Rappresentazione,

Any one who wishes to understand the true character of the life of the people of Italy in those days should consult these religious plays. The spirit of faith with which it was saturated is here expressed with such fervour, such grave simplicity and dignity, as deeply to impress even those who are farthest from sharing it.*

This efflorescence of religious lyrics and dramas in the 15th Century is another incontestable proof that faith remained strong and vivid during the period of the Renaissance; it lasted into the first decade of the 16th Century. Thus, even as late as the year 1517, a number of youths in Pistoja were banded together, under Dominican influence, into a congregation for the practice of works of charity and piety, under the name of the Compagnia della Purità. They instituted symbolical processions with accompanying religious performances. A Madonna play which they acted created quite a stir in the city, and moved even the most obdurate to tears.†

More powerful still was the Roman Passion-play, which, in its finished form, belongs to the end of the 15th Century, but is certainly older.‡ In Rome, too, the pious

cf. D'ANCONA, I., 644–58, ed. 2, where, however, it is by no means exhaustively described. The subject is so foreign to the author's mind that he sometimes completely misrepresents it. He is, however, fair-minded enough to make the admission which will be found in the next note.

* D'ANCONA, I., 658, ed. 2, says of the representations of the rite of Baptism given in the Plays of S. Quirico e Julitta and S. Barbara: "Una scena simile a questa crediamo che anche al di d'oggi nella sua nuda maestà, nella sua semplicità solenne, scuoterebbe profondamente il publico scettico de' nostri teatri."

† *Cf.* the valuable publication by P. VIGO, Una compagnia di Giovinetti Pistoiesi a principio del secolo XVI. (Bologna, 1887), and the Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XX., 240 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, Kleine Schriften, III., 177 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1892);

plays owed their origin to a guild, that of the Archi-confraternità del Gonfalone,* which has been mentioned above. This brotherhood owned a chapel in the Colosseum which was restored in 1517. Christianity had surrounded this mightiest of Roman ruins with chapels, and planted the Cross in the middle of the amphitheatre, to commemorate the triumph of Christianity over idolatry on that same arena wherein so many Christian martyrs had sealed their faith with their blood. Up to recent times, every Friday and Sunday, as long as Rome was still Papal, a procession might have been seen at dusk wending its way to the Colosseum, so too in olden times the members of the Confraternità del Gonfalone used to resort thither to pray and scourge themselves before the Cross in the arena. In 1490, Innocent VIII. accorded permission to the brotherhood to act religious plays in the amphitheatre,† a permission which gave them, both actually and from an historical point of view, the noblest theatre in the world.

The performances took place on a high platform erected over the flat roof of a chapel (Sta Maria della Pietà), which was built against one of the southern arcades. Genuine artists, such as Antoniasso Romano, who belonged to the guild, painted the scenery. The authors of the plays, Mariano Particappa and Bernardo di Mastro, both Romans, and Antonio Dati, a Florentine, and Grand Penitentiary in the time of Alexander VI., were also

AMATI, La Passione di Christo in rima volgare secondo che recita e rappresenta di parola a parola la compagnia del Gonfalone di Roma, etc., Rome, 1866 (edition of only 200 copies); ADINOLFI, Roma, I., 380 *seq.*; KLEIN, IV., 155; REUMONT, II., 999 *seq.*, 1212; CREIZENACH, I., 335 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 115 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 353 *seq.*, ed. 2. No reference is made in these works to the frescoes in the western doorway of the amphitheatre to which MOLITOR, 61, alludes, and which were connected with the Passion-plays.

* See *supra*, p. 42.

† See ADINOLFI, Laterano, Doc. XII.

members of the Confraternity. The actors, men of the upper middle classes, appeared in antique garb, with Roman togas, helmets, and breast-plates. The play consisted of a rhymed and metrical—partly lyric, partly dramatic—rendering of the history of the Passion, in the dialect of the people. Here, too, the lamentations of Our Lady are intensely pathetic. The play was acted on Good Friday after nightfall, by torch- and lamplight, and was thus witnessed in 1497 by the famous knight and traveller of Cologne, Arnold von Harff. He highly commends both the play and the actors, who were youths of good family.*

Confraternities of the Rosary, Tertiaries of various Orders, and associations for the burial of the dead were common throughout Italy. The Confraternities of the Rosary were naturally chiefly promoted by the Dominicans, S. Dominic having been practically the founder of this devotion ; some of the Papal Nuncios, however, and especially Bishop Alexander of Forli, were active in encouraging them. The members pledged themselves to recite the Rosary on certain days, to implore the Divine protection against pestilences and other calamities. Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. encouraged these guilds by bestowing special indulgences upon them.†

The institution of the Third Orders was also a legacy of the best period of the Middle Ages. It is usually ascribed to S. Francis, but in S. Norbert's time the Premonstratensians had already a third Order, the members of which lived in the world, but took part in certain conventual prayers and exercises.‡ S. Francis, however, was the first

* HARFF, 31. These religious performances had the good effect of, to a certain degree, preventing the Colosseum from completely falling into ruin. REUMONT, III., 2, 454.

† WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, IX., 399.

‡ HURTER. Innocent III., Vol. IV., 146 (ed. 2, 1844)

to give a more definite shape to the idea, and greatly to enlarge its scope. The rule, as laid down by the Saint in 1221, is in twenty sections. The conditions of admission are primarily, the Catholic Faith, obedience to the Church, and a blameless reputation. No heretic, no person even suspected of heresy, can be accepted, and if after admission any member should lapse into heresy, he must be handed over to the authorities for punishment. Any one who holds any property that has been unjustly acquired, must make restitution before he can be accepted; after acceptance there is a year's probation before being actually admitted; all must promise to fulfil the Commandments of God. Married women cannot be received without their husbands' consent. Both sexes are to dress plainly, without ornaments of any kind, to abstain from revels, masques and dances, and not to countenance strolling mountebanks. They are directed to fast more frequently than other Christians, and to recite certain prayers at stated hours. The sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist are to be approached three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Offensive weapons may only be carried when absolutely necessary. Every member must make his will three months after his admission. Quarrels, which the brethren and sisters are bidden scrupulously to avoid, either amongst themselves or with others, are to be settled by the Superiors of the Order, or by the Bishop of the Diocese. An oath was only permitted in unavoidable cases. If possible, one Mass was to be heard daily. Sick brethren were to be visited, the dead followed to the grave, and prayers offered for the repose of their souls. The Superiors of the Order were not to be elected for life but for a fixed term. All members must present themselves once a year, or oftener if required, at the appointed place for the visitation, which was to be conducted by a priest; and each

must fulfil whatever penance is imposed upon him. The rules, however, except in so far as they are included in the laws of God and of the Church, are not binding under pain of mortal sin.*

These Tertiaries, or brethren and sisters of Penance, were to form a religious society, living in the world, but preserved by their rule from a worldly spirit. Thus laymen and secular priests could share in the benefits and privileges of the Order, and be governed by the mind of S. Francis.

Obviously such an association as this could not fail to exercise a salutary influence in raising the tone of morals and the standard of Christian life in the Church. The spirit of S. Francis, or rather the spirit of the Gospel, was spread abroad among all ranks by the Third Order.

It was, from the outset, especially popular in the country of its founder. The choicest spirits of Italy—Dante and Columbus, for instance—were members of it.† S. Antoninus testifies to the vast number of Italians who were Tertiaries of S. Francis.‡

As S. Francis always made everything that he did

* Regula Tertiariorum in HOLSTENIUS, Codex regul. monast., III., 39-42. WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 740.

† This important but hitherto unnoticed passage is in the Summa Theol., III., tit. 23, cap. 5, § 5 (Verona, 1750, III., 1291). According to S. Antoninus, the third Order of S. Dominic had only a very small following in Italy.

‡ DE SÉGUR, Die Bedeutung des dritten Ordens des hl. Franciscus, 2 *seq.*, 7 *seq.* (Mainz, 1876). This author asserts, with JEILER (Normalbuch für die Brüder und Schwestern des dritten Ordens des hl. Franciscus, 12 [Warendorf, 1881]), but without producing any evidence, that Raphael and Michael Angelo also belonged to the third Order, but of this I could find no authentic proof. Raphael's father was a member of the Society of Sta Maria della Misericordia; according to VISCHER, Signorelli, 125, that great artist belonged to a religious brotherhood at Cortona.

depend upon the Centre of the Church, he was careful to obtain at once for his rule the sanction of the Holy See. Few Popes since then have neglected to bestow some sign of approval on his Tertiaries. The historian of the Franciscans counts no less than 119 Bulls and Briefs in favour of the Third Order before 1500. During the Renaissance period, Popes Martin V., Pius II., Sixtus IV., Julius II., and Leo X. were its special patrons and protectors.

A further development of the Third Order resulted from a desire which sprung up in many of its members to add entire seclusion from the world to the practice of penance. They lived in communities under the three vows, and thus the Third Order of Regulars came into being. Pope Nicholas V. granted them permission to found new religious houses, to hold general chapters, to elect from amongst themselves a Vicar-general and four assistants, and to adopt a distinctive habit instead of the hermit's garb they had hitherto worn. The first Vicar-General was chosen in 1448 at the general chapter of Montefalco. Ten years later they had obtained a General of their own. At the end of the 14th Century, chiefly owing to the efforts of S. Angelina di Corbara, a congregation of Nuns of the Third Order of S. Francis was established. It spread quickly all over Italy, and was favoured by Popes Martin V. and Eugenius IV. Pius II. placed them under the control of the General of the Franciscan Observantines.*

In a precisely similar manner a Third Order of S. Dominic had been founded, partly as associations of both sexes living in the world, and partly as congregations of religious living in convents. Its rule was confirmed by Popes Innocent VII. and Eugenius IV. This Third Order of S. Dominic boasts of several canonised and beatified members, of whom

* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 741 *seq.*

we will mention only SS. Catherine of Siena, Colomba of Rieti, Osanna of Mantua, and Lucia of Narni.*

The example thus set by the two Mendicant Orders was soon followed by others. In 1401 Boniface IX. allowed the Augustinians to institute a Third Order for women, both married and single. Later on Sixtus IV. sanctioned the admission of men. Tertiaries are also found among the Servites and Minorites. The Oblates of Tor de' Specchi, founded by S. Frances of Rome, must also be mentioned here in this connection.† The Third Orders and many other congregations have survived all the storms of subsequent centuries, and still exist in Italy.

Most people who have been in Italy have experienced the indelible impression which the first sight of a funeral conducted by one of these brotherhoods makes upon the mind.

In silence and with measured tread the brethren of the Misericordia still pass along the streets of Florence, exactly as they did 500 years ago. They might have stepped out of some old fresco by Giotto or Orcagna, with their ample black cloaks, and the black hoods which cover the head and neck, and only leave slits for the eyes, each with a rosary hanging from his belt which tinkles faintly as he walks, and in the midst the bier draped in black. To this day every Italian, from the King to the beggar, bares his head, as he did 500 years ago, when the sable cortège approaches. To this day, when the foreign visitor, startled at the spectral apparition, turns to a bystander and asks what it means, the Florentine, half surprised, half scornful at his ignorance, answers curtly, "la Misericordia."

For no less than 500 years the name of the Misericordia

* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, III., 1444 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† HELYOT, III., 76 *seq.*, VII., 519; WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 745; and for the Oblates of Tor de' Specchi see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 236 (Engl. trans.).

has always been held in grateful veneration throughout Tuscany. Modelled on the old republican constitution, the brotherhood has remained true to its principles and its offices, undisturbed by social or political changes, from the days of Dante to the present hour. Between the middle of the 13th Century, when it was founded in Florence, and the close of the 15th, there were twenty-five outbreaks of the Plague in the city, and on each of these occasions contemporaneous accounts bear witness to the courage of the brethren of the Misericordia in the face of death, and their unwearying labours in the fulfilment of their mission.*

But in their care for the dead they did not forget the living. They practised all the seven acts of mercy so graphically illustrated by a contemporary artist in the terra-cotta bas-reliefs on the celebrated Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoja.†

Enough has been already related to shew that the trade-guilds throughout Italy were in the habit of instituting various foundations to supply the temporal and spiritual wants of their members. But in addition to these, the convents and municipal corporations were no less zealous and active in works of charity than the companies and brotherhoods. During the Middle Ages, Hospitals, Almshouses, and Orphanages were erected in all parts of the country, and in the smaller as well as in the more wealthy cities, every variety of institution for the mitigation of human misery in all its forms is to be found. Many of these institutions suffered severely in those stormy times. The extraordinary calamities of the 15th Century made large

* HÖRSCHELMANN'S Essay, quoted *supra*, p. 8, note *, on Pestilential Epidemics, No. 179.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, II., 457. For particulars about the fate of the Ospedale del Ceppo, see the works of BARGIACCHI, *infra*, p. 64, note *

claims on all of them, claims which were, almost without exception, generously met.

In most places the relief of the poor seems to have been admirably organised, and, in the accounts of the many epidemics, there is nearly always some mention of what the corporation had done for the destitute in such times of trouble. Shelter, clothing, good food, and medical assistance were as far as possible supplied, and special officials appointed to deal with this branch of the public service.*

The immense variety of the charitable foundations is as admirable as the number of them. The great hospitals are one of the glories of the 15th Century, and in this matter also Florence took the lead. So early as 1328 the various asylums in this city contained over 1000 beds for the sick poor.†

In the 15th Century the number of hospitals increased to thirty-five. The oldest and most famous is that of S. Maria Nuova, founded by the father of Dante's Beatrice. In Varchi's time, the 16th Century, this hospital spent 25,000 scudi a year on tending the sick, 7000 being derived from alms, and the rest from its endowments.‡ It has become one of the greatest institutions in the world. Next to it ranked the Scala hospital founded in 1306, which existed till 1531. Niccolò degli Alberti founded an asylum for poor women in 1377; in the same century, the hospital of S. Niccolò, afterwards called S. Matteo, was established. The beautiful hall of S. Paolo, designed by Brunellesco in the Piazza S. Maria Novella, reminds us of the infirmary of the same name founded in 1451. Varchi also mentions the asylum for the sick of S. Boniface and that of the Incurables (Incu-

* Quoted from UFFELMANN, Oeffentl. Gesundheitspflege in Italien, published in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege, XI., 178.

† HÜLLMAN, Städtewesen, IV., 61.

‡ VARCHI, I., 394.

rabili) as well as the various guild-hospitals. Besides these institutions devoted to the care of the sick, there were many others which provided shelter for the destitute poor. Since 1421 Florence has also possessed a foundling hospital (Ospizio degli Innocenti), which is one of the finest architectural creations of Brunellesco. One of its most beautiful features is the hall on the ground floor, in the style of the Renaissance, adorned with exquisite bas-reliefs in porçelain of infants in swaddling clothes by Luca della Robbia.*

But all other hospitals of the time were thrown into the shade by the Ospedale Maggiore, built by Filarete, and the Lazaretto in Milan, begun by Lazzaro de' Palazzi in 1488. These were in no respect inferior to the grandest modern buildings of the kind. They were constructed on the principle of admitting as much light and air as possible, with wide corridors, open colonnades, court-yards and gardens. In the great hospital the large hall was in the form of a cross, and the beds were so disposed that all the patients could see the Altar in the middle. Pope Sixtus IV. made a similar arrangement at the S^to^ Spirito in Rome.†

In Rome itself the Popes invariably led the way in the matter of charity. Martin V., the renovator of the Eternal City, "the father of his country," was zealous for the poor;‡ Eugenius IV. was, in the best sense of the word, a father to the sick and needy. He restored the ruined hospital of S^to^ Spirito in Sassia, and assisted it by becoming himself

* For Florentine charitable institutions, *cf.* besides PASSERINI, Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza di Firenze (Firenze, 1853); SKAIFE, Florentine Life, 180 *seq.*, and FR. BRUNI'S monograph, Storia d. Spedale di S. Maria degl' Innocenti di Firenze, e di molti altri pii stabilimenti (Firenze, 1819), 2 vols.

† MÜNTZ, I., 436.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 254 (Engl. trans.).

a member of the brotherhood of the Holy Ghost.* His example was followed by Sixtus IV., who rebuilt the hospital and shewed much favour to the Confraternity. In consequence, almost every one in Rome joined it.† On the occasion of Alexander VI.'s Jubilee in 1500, the bakers' guild founded the brotherhood of Sta Maria di Loreto, which built the church and hospital of Sta Maria di Loreto de' Fornari.‡

The asylum for incurables, the plans for which were drawn by Antonio di Sangallo the younger,§ was specially favoured by Leo X.‖ Besides these public institutions, there were the national asylums which served to shelter houseless pilgrims, to tend those who were sick, and to assist the poorer members of the various nations who had settled in Rome. All these foundations were munificently patronised by the Popes, who bestowed many marks of favour on them, and thus greatly encouraged the erection of new national associations and hospices. The Sta Maria dell' Anima, for instance, owed a great deal to several of the Popes. Through the generosity of Nicholas V. the church and hospital of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni were erected for the Dalmatians and Sclavonians. Under Sixtus IV., in whose reign several national hospices were restored, this foundation was considerably enlarged. In 1456, Calixtus III

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 252 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† *Ibid.*, IV., 460 *seq.*

‡ PIAZZA, 71.

§ REDTENBACHER, 365.

‖ PIAZZA, 45, 46. Even such men as Count Everso of Anguillara and Cæsar Borgia were patrons of hospitals. The former left money in his will for the new wing of the infirmary S. Giovanni in Laterano (ARMELLINI, 272). Cæsar built the women's ward at S. Maria della Consolazione (REUMONT, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III., 1, 421–2). I have not been able to consult PERICOLI, L'Ospedale della S. Maria della Consolazione. Imola, 1879.

assigned a church to the Bretons, to which, in 1511, an infirmary was added.

The smaller cities did not lag behind the larger ones in works of Christian philanthropy. Recent researches have brought to light the amazing liberality of Pistoja and Viterbo.* Many places, especially in the Papal States, are known to have been equally charitable, of some others there is, unfortunately, no record, but here too the names of S^to^ Spirito, S. Giacomo, S. Pellegrino, Misericordia, which still survive, speak plainly enough. There is no exaggeration in the words of one who knew Italy well when he says "In no country in the world are there such large bequests and endowments, such important societies for the relief of the poor and in aid of the sick, the weak, the helpless and unfortunate."† The total wealth of the benevolent societies in Italy during the seventies of this Century, including Rome and the Montes Pietatis, has been reckoned at 1200 million lire.‡

Never did the love which Christ brought down from Heaven, the Divine fire which He kindled in the hearts of His disciples, burn more ardently than during the time of

* See the valuable monographs of BARGIACCHI, Storia degl' istituti di beneficenza, d'istruzione ed educazione in Pistoia e suo circondario (Firenze, 1883–4), 4 vols., and PINZI, Gli Ospizi medioevali e l'Ospedale grande di Viterbo (Viterbo, 1893); *cf.* also GRISAR in the Zeitschrift f. Kathol. Theol., XIX., 151 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XV., 77 *seq.*; Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., I., 458. The splendid hospital buildings at Fabriano are well-known. See MÜNTZ, I., 436.

† RUMOHR, Drei Reisen nach Italien, 126 (Leipzig, 1832).

‡ Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 357, Supplement. These figures will, indeed, soon belong to history, for here too the revolution has begun its ruthless work of destruction. The whole patrimony of Christian love, which had been accumulated by the faith of pious ancestors under the shadow and guardianship of the Church is now entirely withdrawn from her influence. All endowments, except such as benefit particular families, are in danger.

the Renaissance. Not only were most of the older foundations better supported than ever, but a great number of new ones were added to them. This bright spot in the life of that period has been too much overlooked. It may therefore be considered permissible to insert the subjoined statistical tables in order to demonstrate the truth of our assertion.*

These numerous charitable and pious endowments bear eloquent testimony to the fervent love to God and man which glowed during the Renaissance, in the hearts of the Italian people. Foreigners visiting Italy were profoundly impressed by all that was done there on behalf of the afflicted and destitute. Martin Luther on the occasion of his journey to Rome in 1511, is one amongst others to bear witness to this impression.

"In Italy," he remarks, "the hospitals are handsomely built, and admirably provided with excellent food and drink, careful attendants and learned physicians. The beds and bedding are clean, and the walls are covered with paintings. When a patient is brought in, his clothes are removed in the presence of a notary who makes a faithful inventory of them, and they are kept safely. A white smock is put on him and he is laid on a comfortable bed, with clean linen. Presently two doctors come to him, and the servants bring him food and drink in clean glasses, shewing him all possible attention. Many ladies also take it in turns to visit the hospitals and tend the sick, keeping their faces veiled, so that no one knows who they are. Each remains a few days, and then returns home, another

* *Cf.* Statistica delle Opere Pie al 31, XII., 1880 (Roma, 1886-91) 8 vols. The figures for the Æmilia are missing here, and are borrowed from the statistics of 1861. Neither of these books is complete or scholarly. Completeness could not be attempted in this Introduction; if it had been, it would have grown to the dimensions of a separate volume.

	Piedmont.		Lombardy.		Venetian States.		Liguria.		Æmilia.	
	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1400.	From 1400 to 1500.
Hospitals and Foundling Asylums	18	12	11	19	25	11	5	9	15	6
Almshouses	...	...	2	...	6	5	1	...	1	2
Orphanages	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1
Relief of the Poor	1	3	28	56	15	14	3	7	4	6
Dowries	1	2	1	10	1	5	...	5	...	...
Education	1	1	...	4	3	1	...	...	...	...
Various	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
	22	22	42	90	50	37	9	23	20	16

	Tuscany.		Umbria.		Latium.		The Campagna.		Sicily.	
	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.
Hospitals and Foundling Asylums	30	6	9	5	5	16	7	5	9	12
Almshouses	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orphanages	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	2
Relief of the Poor	8	2	6	2	1	7	14	36	12	19
Dowries	...	2	...	...	...	4	...	6	3	19
Education	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Various	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46	11	15	7	6	27	24	47	24	54

taking her place. In Florence, the hospitals are managed in the same way and with the same care. Equally excellent are the foundling asylums, where the children are well-fed and taught, suitably clothed in a uniform, and altogether admirably cared for."*

A similar opinion is expressed by John Eck, who says that none of the German hospitals can be in any way compared with the splendid establishments in Rome, Florence, Siena, Venice, and other places.† Nearly all those hospitals were favoured with special Papal or Episcopal Indulgences.‡ The innumerable works of Art embodying Christian truths, which were produced in Italy during the Renaissance, stand only next to the pious foundations in their historical importance, as a measure of the national stand-point in regard to religion. They are indeed visible "witnesses of the faith that was in it."§ This Art is the glory of an age which was enthusiastic in its appreciation of beauty, its triumphs are an undying tribute

* K. E. FÖRSTEMANN, D. Martin Luther's Tischreden oder Colloquia, so er in vielen Jahren gegen gelehrten Leuten, auch fremden Gästen und seinen Tischgesellen gefuhret, nach den Hauptstücken unserer Christlichen Lehre zusammen getragen II., 213 (Leipzig, 1845). *Cf.* also the praise of the great hospital at Siena in the pilgrimage of the Knight ARNOLD VON HARFF, 1496 *seq.*, edited by Groote, 12 *seq.*

† ECK: Der Fünft und letst Tail Christenlicher Predig von den Zehen Gebotten (Ingolstadt, 1539); *cf.* for this rare work my quotations from JANSSEN, Gesch. des Deutsch. Volkes, VII., 496, f. lvii[d]. In answer to BUTZER'S attack on Catholics, saying that there is no real trust in Christ, no active charity, no true holiness among them, ECK says: Hic tamen ei obiicio unum hospitale S. Spiritus Romae aut hospitale Senense aut S. Marci Florentiae, aut ea quae sunt sub illustri Venetorum dominio an non in his officiosius monstretur caritas in proximos etiam alienos, quam fiat in omnibus dominiis et civitatibus Luthericis. Replica Jo. Eckii adversus scripta secunda Buceri, p. 32. Parisiis, 1543.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance, 222.

§ Fr. SCHNEIDER in Alte und Neue Welt (1877) p. 488.

to the genius of the gifted Italian race. To the general public and to most of those who visit the Peninsula, this artistic activity in the service, or at least under the influence of the Church, appears to be the characteristic feature of the age, in fact the real Renaissance. But natural as is this view at first sight, the historian, while fully realising the splendid development of its Art, must not neglect or overlook the other manifestations of the culture of the age. Indeed, the Art itself cannot be rightly understood without an adequate appreciation of the other characteristics of this unique period.

Without entering into disputed questions in æsthetics, I think it important to observe that in studying and criticising the Art of the Renaissance, a distinction should be drawn between the development of architecture and ornamental sculpture on the one hand, and of painting, more particularly of easel pictures, on the other. That of the handicrafts also, which are assuredly the best criterions of popular culture and taste, requires to be separately considered. Too little attention is paid, as a rule, to the importance of this great factor in the economic and social life of a nation.

In Architecture and decorative Sculpture, the Renaissance effected a substantial revolution. The antique style was revived, which, though a product of Pagan civilisation, was in itself neutral, and neither Pagan nor anti-Christian.* The degree of æsthetic perfection attained by any school of architecture can supply no criterion of its merit from a religious point of view. The spirit in which the buildings were conceived is the only measure by which they can be judged. The historian of Art may indeed find it difficult to forget the world which produced the antique models, and

* *Cf.* GRAUS, Die Kath. Kirche und die Renaissance, 2nd edit. Freiburg, 1888.

to regard the Architecture of the Renaissance solely in the light of the Faith which inspired it, but it was in this light that the age interpreted its own work, and thus only can it be correctly estimated. Thus, many of the critics of the Art of the Renaissance, failing to recognise this fusion of the religious with the æsthetic point of view, are wholly at fault in their judgment of it. Christian Art strove to inspire the antique forms, to express Christian ideas in classic shapes, and permeate them with the Christian civilisation of the day.

Magnificent new churches, which are still the glory of its cities, sprang up all over the Apennine Peninsula. Municipal pride and piety here went hand in hand.* These emphatic "sermons in stone," would in themselves be proof enough that the great majority of the nation in all ranks were still devoted to the Faith. The very excess of decoration in their churches testifies to their allegiance.† Anything like a complete list of the works of Art executed at the time of the Renaissance for religious purposes, would fill a volume. The following is merely an approximate record of the most important of these in the domains of Architecture and Sculpture.‡

1401. Ghiberti, Quercia and Brunellesco, compete for the bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence.

1403. The first door of the Baptistery is entrusted to Ghiberti.

1407. Donatello is commissioned to execute the figure of David for the Cathedral in Florence.

1408. Commissions for figures of three Evangelists for the Cathedral in Florence are given to Donatello, Niccolò Lamberti and Nanni d'Antonio di Banco.

1408. Quercia completes a Madonna for the Cathedral at Ferrara

* REUMONT in the Lit. Rundschau (1878) p. 333.

† MÜNTZ, I., 34, 414.

‡ Mainly borrowed from REDTENBACHER, 453 *seq.*

1409–10. Ciuffagni is at work on statues for the Cathedral in Florence.

1409. Donatello is paid for the figure of a prophet.

1412. Donatello receives the price of his Josue.

1414. Intarsia work in the Cathedral at Orvieto.

1414. Ghiberti undertakes the bronze statue of S. John the Baptist for Or San Michele in Florence.

1415. Donatello receives a commission for two figures on the Campanile in Florence.

1415. Donatello is paid for his S. John the Baptist.

1416. Donatello is at work on his statue of S. George for Or San Michele.

1416. Quercia is directed to provide a font for San Giovanni at Siena.

1417. The holy-water stoup ascribed to Matteo Sanese is placed in the Cathedral at Orvieto.

1417. Ghiberti designs silver candelabra for Or San Michele.

1417. Two bronze plaques for the font in San Giovanni at Siena are entrusted to Quercia.

1417. Two descriptive panels for the font at Siena are ordered from Ghiberti.

1419. S. Lorenzo at Florence begun by Brunellesco.

1419. Ghiberti commissioned to execute a statue of S. Matthew for Or San Michele.

circa 1420. The Pazzi chapel in Florence erected by Brunellesco.

1421. A marble statue for the bell tower (campanile) in Florence, ordered from Donatello and Giovanni di Bartolo.

1422. Donatello executes the heads of two prophets for the Cathedral at Florence.

1422. Quercia carves figures for S. Frediano at Lucca.

1424. Ghiberti finishes the bronze gate of the Baptistery in Florence.

1424. Ghiberti designs glass windows for the Cathedral at Florence.

1425. Ghiberti receives the commission for the second bronze gate of the Baptistery in Florence.

1426. Brunellesco begins the central part of the Monastery degli Angeli in Florence.

1426. Façade of the Cathedral at Como erected.

1431. Completion of the dome of the Cathedral at Florence.

1431. Marble tribune for the Cantoria executed by Luca della Robbia for the Cathedral in Florence.

1433. Brunellesco draws plans for S^to^ Spirito in Florence.

1433. Tabernacle by B. Rossellino in SS. Flora and Lucilla at Arezzo.

1433. Tribune for the Cantoria by Donatello, placed in the second chapel of the Cathedral in Florence.

1434. Stained glass windows by Ghiberti, put in the Zanobi chapel of the Cathedral in Florence.

1436. Consecration of the Dome in the Cathedral at Florence.

1436. Tabernacle by Bernardo Rossellino in the Abbey at Fiesole.

1436. Donatello is directed to prepare the bronze doors of the two new Sacristies at the Cathedral in Florence.

1437. Luca della Robbia's five reliefs for the Campanile in Florence.

1438. Luca della Robbia makes two marble altars for the Cathedral in Florence.

1438. Turini decorates the Cathedral-sacristy at Siena.

1440. Ghiberti completes the shrine of the relics of S. Zanobi.

1442. San Marco in Florence.

1442. Michelozzo works with Ghiberti on the doors of the Baptistery in Florence.

1442. Luca della Robbia makes a Tabernacle for the Hospital of Sta Maria Nuova in Florence.

1442. Vecchietta carves a figure of Christ for the Cathedral at Siena.

1443. Buggiano makes a Tabernacle for the Cathedral at Florence.

1443. Ghiberti finishes six bas-reliefs for the second door of the Baptistery in Florence.

1446. Luca della Robbia begins his "Ascension" for the Sacristy of this Cathedral at Florence.

1446. Turini finishes his figure of Christ for the Cathedral in Siena.

1447–8. Bronze screen-work by Michelozzo for the Cathedral at Florence.

1447. Building of S. Michele in Bosco near Bologna.

1448. Luca della Robbia's two angels in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral of Florence.

1448. Turini's Reliquary of S. Bernardino.

1449. Luca della Robbia's sounding-board for the pulpit in S. Domenico at Urbino.

1450. S. Marco at Fiesole is finished.

1450. S. Giacomo on the Piazza Navona in Rome begun.

1451. Choir by Alberti in the Church of the SS^{ma} Annunziata in Florence.

1451. Donatello carves a figure of S. John the Baptist for the Church of the Frari in Venice.

1452. Michelozzo makes the silver statue of S. John the Baptist for the Baptistery in Florence.

1452. Vittorio Ghiberti gilds the bronze door of the Baptistery.

1452. Ghiberti's second bronze door is put up.

1453. Sta Maria sopra Minerva in Rome is finished.

1456. Façade of Sta Maria Novella in Florence completed.

1456. The Church of Corpus Domini at Bologna begun.

1456. The high altar in the Cathedral at Ferrara. (Meo del Caprina.)

1457. Donatello begins the bronze doors of S. Giovanni at Siena.

1459. S. Domenico at Perugia.

1460. S. Sebastiano and S. Lorenzo at Mantua begun by Alberti.

1460. The great doorway of the Cathedral at Como.

1460. Marble choir in Sta Maria della Spina at Pisa.

1460. Campanile of the Cathedral at Ferrara.

1462. Portinari Chapel near Sant' Eustorgio in Milan.

1462. Statues of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome by Paolo Romano.

1463. Stalls carved by Giuliano da Majano in the Sacristy of the Cathedral at Florence and the Badia at Fiesole.

1463. Chapel of S. Andrea near S. Peter's in Rome.

1463. Tabernacle by Mino da Fiesole for an altar in Sta Maria Maggiore in Rome.
1463. Sta Maria delle Grazie in Milan is begun.
1463. Vecchietta's statue in wood for the Cathedral at Narni.
1465–72. Vecchietta's Ciborium in the Cathedral at Siena.
1465. Choir-stalls by Lendinari in the Cathedral of Modena.
1465. Façade of S. Marco in Rome.
1466. S. Michele in Venice.
1466. Church of the Ospedale della Scala at Siena.
1468. Choir-stalls of the Frari Church in Venice.
1469. Completion of the tomb of S. Dominic at Bologna.
1470. Completion of the façade of Sta Maria Novella in Florence.
1470–75. Wood-carving by Giuliano da Majano for SS^ma^ Annunziata in Florence.
1470. S. Satiro at Milan is begun.
1471. Madonna della Neve at Siena is finished.
1471. The Church of the Servi di Maria at Siena is begun.
1471. The Church della Consolazione in Rome consecrated.
1471. Verrocchio begins statues of the Apostles for Sixtus IV.
1471. Mino da Fiesole's Tabernacle for the Baptistery in Florence.
1472. The Cathedral of Città di Castello is begun.
1472. S. Andrea at Mantua begun by Alberti.
1472–77. Sta Maria del Popolo in Rome.
1473. Sta Maria in Bado at Ferrara is begun.
1473. The façade of the Certosa near Pavia is begun.
1473. The Sistine Chapel in Rome.
1473. Civitali's sculptures in marble in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1474. Benedetto da Majano carves the pulpit of S. Croce in Florence.
1475. S. Caterina at Siena.
1475. Choir of the Cathedral at Pisa by Baccio Pontelli.
1475. Sacristy of S. Satiro at Milan.
1475. Vecchietta's statue of S. Paul for the Cathedral at Siena.
1476. The choir of SS^ma^ Annunziata in Florence is finished.
1476. The Colleone Chapel at Bergamo.

1476. Carved stalls in S. Domenico at Perugia.
1476. Renovation of S. Satiro at Milan by Bramante.
1476. Verrocchio's David in bronze.
1476. Vecchietta's Christ in bronze for the Ospedale della Scala at Siena.
1477. The new part of the Cathedral at Pavia begun.
1477. Baccio Pontelli finishes his stalls for the Cathedral of Pisa.
1478. Verrocchio's figures for the Tabernacle in Or San Michele at Florence.
1478. The Incoronata Chapel at Pisa completed by Baccio Pontelli.
1478. Vecchietta's S. Sebastian modelled in silver for the Cathedral at Siena.
1478. Vecchietta's infant Christ for the font of S. Giovanni at Siena.
1479–81. S. Agostino in Rome.
1480. SS^{ma} Annunziata outside Bologna.
1480–89. Sta Maria de' Miracoli by Pietro Lombardo in Venice.
1481. Tabernacle by Mino da Fiesole for S. Ambrogio in Florence.
1482. S. Lorenzo at Cremona is finished.
1482–84. Civitali's Tempietto for the Volto Santo in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1483. S. Giovanni Crisostomo in Venice.
1483. SS^{ta} Maria delle Grazie at Pistoja.
1485. Decoration in wood by Giuliano da Sangallo for the high altar of the Cathedral at Florence.
1485. The foundation-stone is laid of Giuliano da Sangallo's Church of the Madonna delle Carceri at Prato.
1485. Foundations laid of the Church of the Madonna del Calcinajo at Cortona.
1485. Sta Maria Maggiore at Città di Castello is begun.
1485. New altar in the Cathedral of Siena.
1486. Choir of S. Francesco at Treviso.
1487. The Incoronata Church at Lodi.

1487. Sta Maria de' Miracoli at Brescia is begun.
1487. Ferrucci designs and executes a Ciborium for the Cathedral at Prato.
1488. S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini at Rome is founded.
1488. S. Bernardino at Assisi.
1488. Choir-stalls of S. Pancrazio in Florence.
1488. Choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1490. Choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Città di Castello.
1491. Campanile for the Cathedral at Ferrara begun.
1491. Sta Maria in Via Lata at Rome begun.
1491. Atrium of the Cathedral at Spoleto.
1491. Sta Maria presso S. Celso at Milan begun.
1491. Choir-stalls of Sta Maria Novella in Florence.
1491. Civitali decorates the Chapel of S. John the Baptist in the Cathedral at Genoa.
1491. Choir of the Cathedral at Florence finished.
1492. S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence begun by Giuliano da Sangallo.
1492. The Church of Pietrasanta at Naples.
1492. The Crypt of the Cathedral at Naples embellished.
1493. S. Croce at Crema.
1493–1508. S. Niccolò at Carpi.
1494. S. Francesco at Ferrara.
1494. Madonna dell' Umiltà at Pistoja.
1494. S. Chiara at Pistoja.
1494–98. Civitali's pulpit in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1495. Sta Maria di Monserrato in Rome.
1495. S. Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome, partly built.
1495. Sta Maria dell' Annunziata at Bevagna finished.
1495. The carved stalls of S. Petronio at Bologna.
1497. S. Giacomo Maggiore in Florence.
1498. S. Francesco al Monte near Florence.
1498. S. Vincenzo del Orto at Savona.
1499. Decoration of the Choir in the Cathedral of Ferrara.
1499. Sculptures by Benedetto da Rovezzano for the Tribune of the Choir in S. Stefano at Genoa.

1499–1500. Michael Angelo's Pietà.
1499–1511. S. Sisto at Piacenza.
1500. S. Benedetto at Ferrara is begun.
1500. Rebuilding of the Cathedral at Foligno begun.
1500. Sta Maria dell' Anima in Rome.
1500. Building of Sta Maria di Loreto in Rome determined on.
1500. S. Pietro in Montorio.
1500. Chapel of S. Antonio at Padua.
1502. Sta Giustina at Padua is begun.
1502. The Cathedral at Cividale is begun.
1503. S. Cristoforo at Ferrara.
1504. S. Magno at Legnano.
1504. Laying of the foundation-stone of Sta Maria della Consolazione at Todi.
1505. S. Giovanni Battista at Ferrara.
1506. Laying of the foundation-stone of the new S. Peter's in Rome.
1506. S. Fantino in Venice.
1506. Benedetto da Rovezzano's tomb of S. Gualberto for the Vallombrosa.
1508. Altar in Madonna delle Carceri at Prato.
1508–9. Bramante's work at Loreto.
1509. Sta Maria Maggiore at Spello.
1509. S. Michele at Orvieto.
1510. S. Giovanni at Parma.
1511. The Servite Church at Siena.
1511. J. Sansovino makes the statue of S. John the Baptist for the Cathedral of Florence.
1512. Sto Spirito at Ferrara.
1512. The statue of an apostle by Sansovino for the Florentine Cathedral.
1514. Sansovino's work in the Casa Santa at Loreto.
1514. Cathedral at Carpi begun.
1515. S. Zaccaria at Venice completed.
1517. Sta Maria di Piazza at Busto Arsizio.
1518. S. Stefano at Faenza is begun.

At the same time, while fully recognising how large a proportion of the Art of the Renaissance was dedicated to Christian uses, it cannot be denied that the revival of the antique in art as well as in literature, brought with it the danger of a return to Pagan ideals in ethics and civilisation.* A Pagan Renaissance was to be feared, keeping pace with the Christian movement, but less formidable here than in literature. Classical studies in both branches had never quite died out in Italy. Italian Gothic had absorbed many antique elements into a style of its own, which, however, speaks far less eloquently to posterity than the mediæval monuments of Germany, France, or Spain. Thus the Architecture of the Renaissance was as neutral in relation to the national sentiment and conditions of life, as it was in relation to Christianity and the mind of the Church.

The æsthetic merit of the Renaissance principle in Architecture when compared with the Gothic is a totally different question. The champions of the latter may justly insist on its freedom and variety of detail in strict subservience to fixed laws, its perfect mastery of large masses, the superiority of the dynamic principle of construction over the ancient static method, its adaptation of each form to the idea and purpose and to the material employed, its noble symbolism and peculiar capacity for expressing religious and Christian thought, more especially the lifting up of the soul to God;† but we shall not be far wrong if we attribute all that is regrettable in the practical consequences which resulted from the classical revival (especially from the later Renaissance period down to our own day), whether in architecture, sculpture, or handicrafts, rather to the degradation of taste than to the failure of the religious basis. The

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 12 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 49 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† A. REICHENSPERGER, particularly in the pamphlet, Die Kunst Jedermann's Sache, ed. 2, 1891

effect of the employment in the modern classical style of ready-made forms, which had been designed by the ancients to express different ideas and serve other purposes, was to slacken that close bond between the form and the thought which it represents, or the use for which it is intended, which is an indispensable condition for all good Art.*

Painting, and to a certain extent, sculpture, must be regarded from another point of view. There is no contrast here, as there is in the modern-classical architecture, between present and past, we have only a further development, especially in regard to statues and grotesques in which the influence of ancient ideas and types is increasingly felt.† Architecture speaks the language of the antique, on which it is based. But in painting and sculpture, classic reminiscences are rare and subordinate, being confined to decorative and architectural details.‡ The painting of this period "is the perfected blossom of the national spirit of the Italians. Had this gifted race produced nothing beyond its magnificent schools of painters, this alone would have sufficed to secure it an imperishable fame. The steady and continuous development of

* The loosening of these relations is apparent in the debased style of the late Renaissance and *baroque* period. This fault, combined with the failure in our own century to recognise the æsthetic interdependence of form and material, is, apart from other contributory causes, mainly responsible for the state of decadence from which architecture and industrial art are only just beginning to emerge. The thorny question as to which style of architecture, the Gothic or the Renaissance, should in the present day be preferred and cultivated, requires to be approached in the light of the history of Art and with a due consideration of modern conditions. *Cf.* Dr A. TSCHERMAK, Ueber einen Hauptfehler des modernen Kunsturtheils in the Christliche Kunstanzeigen, 1894 (Frankfurt), Nos. 11, 12.

† For further details see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 7, and Book II., c. 8.

‡ WOLTMANN, II., 135.

Italian painting resembles the luxuriant growth of a plant under absolutely favourable conditions. It was rooted in the national religion whence it drew its inmost life." Thus Italian painting became "the chosen interpreter and organ of the mysteries of Christianity."*

Easel-painting, especially saturated with the spirit of religion, reached the highest pitch of excellence which history has ever recorded, and the soul of this pre-eminence was the Catholic Faith.† True it is that here and there, though very rarely, in the 15th Century, the sensuous Pagan tendency appears, side by side with the Christian; but the best work is that which breathes the most purely religious spirit. Painters and sculptors vied with one another in doing honour to the Mother of God. She is "the theme of Raphael's life, the golden thread which is interwoven with the whole fabric of his art" as is proved by the fifty or more pictures of the Madonna which we owe to his pencil. The crown of them all is his Madonna di San Sisto, which, like all his works, combines realism in form, with an idealism in conception.‡ Mary appears here in glory in her triple character of Virgin, Mother of God, and Queen of Heaven.§ The sorrow of the Mother of God is most touchingly represented in the Pietà by Guido Mazzoni (a terra-cotta in S. Giovanni at Modena 1480||), in the Pietà by Giovanni Bellini at Milan,¶ and in Michael Angelo's renowned masterpiece.**

* GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, VIII., 149, ed. 3.

† This is SCHADEN'S view, 197.

‡ P. KEPPLER, Raffael's Madonnen, in the Histor-polit., Bl. XCVI., 19 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*

§ NAUMANN, Archiv für Zeichnende Künste, Jahrg., II., 100.

|| Archivio St. dell' Arte, III., 10.

¶ MÜNTZ, I., 5.

** To the objection raised by some of his contemporaries that he had made Mary too young, Michael Angelo replied that he had sought to

Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper, the "Disputa," Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine tapestries, and the Transfiguration, mark the culminating point of Christian Art.* Although Italy has supplied a liberal share of the contents of nearly all the galleries in Europe, it has still so large a store of religious pictures of the first order, that an even approximately complete enumeration of them would fill a volume.

Altar pieces were the commonest form of easel-picture, but devotional subjects were often painted for private families. Biblical scenes were frequently depicted, and portraiture was widely cultivated. The awakened interest in antiquity opened up a new world of subjects in mythology and history, which served to adorn the state apartments of the rich and great ;† but still throughout the 15th Century, the proportion of religious to classical pictures stands at about twenty to one.‡ The advance in realism

represent that Virgin whose soul had never been vexed by the faintest sinful desire, and to make visible to the world the virginity and changeless purity of the Mother of God. This work at once made Michael Angelo the most famous sculptor in Italy. Originally destined for the chapel of S. Petronilla, it was placed in 1749 on the altar of the first chapel in the right aisle of the nave of S. Peter's, where unfortunately its transcendent merits cannot be fully appreciated. See GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 185 *seq.*, ed. 5 ; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone 433 ; and SPRINGER, 15 *seq.*; ARNOLD WELLMER, Michelangelo's Spuren in Rom ; Frankfurter Zeitung, March 6, 1875, No. 65, Morning edition ; Christliches Kunstblatt, 1875 (Stuttgart), No. 7, and WÖLFFLIN, Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo (München, 1891) ; and also TSCHUDI in the Deutsche Lit-Zeitung, 1891, 885. For other Pietàs *cf. infra* on Savonarola and Art. *Cf.* also BEISSEL in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XVIII., 473 *seq.*, and Revue de l'Art Chrétien, 1883, Octobre.

* On the "Disputa," see Vol. VI. of this work, Book III., c. 10 ; on Leonardo's Last Supper, see the admirable treatise by FRANTZ—Das Heilige Abendmahl des Leonardo da Vinci, Freiburg, 1885.

† WOLTMANN, II., 134.

‡ MÜNTZ, I., 232–73.

which characterises all the Art of this period, including the Flemish, still the predominant school throughout the rest of Europe, was obtained at the price of some very doubtful innovations. Saints are often shorn of their nimbus, of their typical attributes and of their traditional features, and they are depicted in the garb and with the faces of ordinary citizens.* The study of the nude, indispensable to accurate drawing, was largely extended by the Renaissance,† but during its earlier portion, while most of the children are naked, male figures are rarely represented nude, and female figures scarcely ever.‡ Religion could not be accused of prudery in the moderate restraints which she imposed upon artists, and it was not till the Renaissance had attained to its apotheosis that they were entirely thrown off.

The Dominican painters § have a special importance as representing the opposition to this incipient profanation of the Art of the Renaissance. At their head is Fra Giovanni Angelico, the most Christian painter of any age,‖ and after him, Fra Filippino, who painted the frescoes in Sta Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, and the great Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, who died in 1517.¶ The war waged by Girolamo Savonarola against the corruptions in the art of this period which were thus setting in, will be described in a subse-

* MÜNTZ, I., 298, 327–46, 604.

† *Ibid.*, 232.

‡ *Ibid.*, 291, "En thèse générale les quattrocentistes évitaient de représenter des figures nues . . . L'emploi des figures nues ne cessa d'ailleurs, pendant tout le quinzième siècle, de soulever des protestations."

§ Renaissance und Dominikanerorden, Histor.-polit., Bl. XCIII., 897 *seq.*; XCIV., 26 *seq.* P. VINCENZO MARCHESE, Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, 2 vols., Bologna, 1878–9, ed. iv.

‖ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 185 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

¶ FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, Regensburg, 1879.

quent chapter, which will also deal in more detail with its faults and follies; but these were still, as yet, few and far between.

A comprehensive review of the architecture, painting and sculpture of the 15th Century in Italy, leaves no doubt on the mind that the immense majority of this almost countless host of works of art, in spite of traces everywhere of the influences of the antique, were inspired by religion, and that the Art of the period was essentially Christian.* The Art of the Renaissance, although it might be termed aristocratic,† because it dwelt so much in courts and palaces, was yet chiefly used to adorn the churches. As

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, who says, I., 273–4:—"Religious sentiment throughout the 15th Century, inspired the vast majority of artistic productions. Art seems wholly bound up with religion." THODE, Franz von Assisi, 525, observes:—"In spite of the influence of the antique, quattrocento art also is purely Christian." P. KEPPLER, Kunstbetrachtungen in den Histor-polit., Bl. XCV., 17 *seq.*, says:—"The Renaissance produced monuments of religious art, which in their spirit of faith and purity, rank beside the masterpieces of the Middle Ages—its most vigorous roots were struck in the soil of the Church. Neither in intention, character, nor results was it in the main irreligious; and its grandest triumphs were those achieved in the name of Faith and Christianity." VISCHER, Signorelli, 143, says:—"A glance at the works of her painters and sculptors reconciles us with the Italian spirit, for they are the expression of true piety." GOTHEIN, Ignatius Loyola, 87:—"To Art, in a far higher degree than to poetry, was assigned the task of formulating the religious ideal. How she performed that task, how she shewed her gratitude to Christianity, and the services she has rendered and still renders to Catholicism, all this is universally recognised. The artist who painted religious pictures was not himself necessarily pious, although, as a matter of fact, we know that the greatest of these felt all that they portrayed, and whatever is painted or carved by the artist must in some sense have been seen by him. Thus Italian Art represents the whole series of religious emotions from the simplest to the loftiest; and that with incomparable completeness."

† MÜNTZ, I., 234.

the Greeks gave the best they had to their temples, so did the Italians to their churches. Long before there were any museums or galleries properly so called, these churches partook of both, and contained everything which architecture, painting, sculpture, or the crafts could produce.* All these treasures were accessible to the multitudes. Every day they could be seen at leisure, and in an atmosphere of devotion. The popular taste was formed on them and learnt to study them. Thus Art became the exponent of Faith for all, whether peasant or prince, and the Church still speaks in the same language, even to those who are not her children. Hence a modern critic is perfectly right in his estimate of the significance of the testimony of its Art to the moral and social condition of the Italian people at the time of the Renaissance, when he says, "The painting alone of the Italy of those days atones for all the blemishes that disfigure her, as it expresses the true mind of the nation, apart from that dissolute section of it which composed the ruling class." These monuments of Art "are a proof that the people still spoke and understood the language of profound piety and exalted faith. Even where the sentiment is not directly religious, we find a spiritual beauty, a purity in feeling, a seriousness and lofty enthusiasm which afford unmistakeable evidence that in spite of the inadequacy of the moral standard of the age, the nation remained sound at the core, still seeking the good in the beautiful."†

Art, however, was not by any means the only form in which the vitality of the Faith displayed itself. Large as undoubtedly was the number of unworthy prelates, bishops and cardinals, in this period of turmoil and transition, we

* R. MEYER in the literary supplement to the Leipziger Zeitung, No. 129, Oct. 27, 1894.

† WOLTMANN, II., 136.

come across many excellent men wholly devoted to their pastoral duties. Such were: at Mantua, Matteo Bonimperto (ob. 1444); at Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani (ob. 1446);* at Milan, Gabriele Sforza (ob. 1457); at Florence, S. Antoninus (ob. 1459); at Osimo, Gasparo Zacchi (ob. 1474); at Bovino, Natulo Lombardi (ob. 1477); at Squillace, Francesco Cajetani (ob. 1480); at Foligno, Antonio Bertini (ob. 1487); at Cosenza, Giovanni Battista Pinelli (ob. 1495); at Imola and Rimini, Jacopo Passarella (ob. 1495); at Aquino, Roberto da Lecce (ob. 1495); at Modena, Niccolò Sandonnino (ob. 1499); at Belluono and Padua, Pietro Barozzi (ob. 1507); at Naples, Alessandro Caraffa (ob. 1503); at Chieti (from 1505 to 1524), Giovanni Pietro Caraffa; at Forli, Pietro Griffi (ob. 1516); at Pistoja, Niccolò Pandolfini (ob. 1518).†

The senate of the Church contained not a few prelates who were eminent both in talent and piety. Martin V. appointed a number of distinguished Cardinals, the greatest of whom were, Domenico Capranica, Giuliano Cesarini and Niccolò d'Albergati. Eugenius IV. bestowed the purple on the famous Greek, Bessarion, on Juan Torquemada, Juan de Carvajal, Enrico de Allosio and Nicolas of Cusa. Calixtus III. elevated the saintly Don James, Infante of Portugal, to the Cardinalate, and Pius II. bestowed the Hat

* See WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1528 *seq.*, ed. 2, which gives all the references for this subject.

† *Cf.* for the above, UGHELLI, especially IV., 380; III., 224; I., 563; VIII., 384; IX., 622; I., 761; IX., 342 *seq.*; II., 690; I., 445; II., 168; V., 439; VI., 224, 943; II., 626; III., 376. For S. Antoninus *cf. supra*, p. 28, and PASTOR'S Hist. Popes, III., 12 (Engl. trans.). For Caraffa's labours in the cause of Reform at Chieti see DITTRICH in the Hist. Jahrbuch, V., 346 *seq.* BURCKHARDT, II., 104, 230, ed. 3, points out that in Italy, bishoprics never (as for instance in Germany) ran in families; also that novelists and satirists scarcely allude to the bishops. Virtuous bishops are described by BANDELLO, II., 39, 40, in his novels.

on Angelo, the worthy brother of Domenico Capranica, Bernardo Eroli, Alessandro Oliva, and Roverella. Under Paul II. the noble Olivieri Caraffa and Marco Barbo were nominated. The Cardinals appointed by Sixtus IV., Stefano Nardini, the two Spaniards Auxias de Podio and Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, also Gabriele Rangone and the saintly Elias de Bourdeilles, were an honour to the Sacred College.*

Afterwards, when the College of Cardinals was becoming more and more saturated with worldliness, many pious learned, and capable men remained, who were in every sense ornaments to the Church, to counterbalance the unworthy members. One of these was Raymond Peraudi, created by Alexander VI., but, towering above all the rest, mention must here be made of the great Francis Ximenes, who combined administrative qualities and literary culture of the highest order with entire simplicity, and the most inflexible morality. He received the Hat under Julius II. Later, under Leo X. the senate of the Church was graced by Cajetanus (Thomas de Vio), who, as Legate in Germany, France and Hungary, displayed consummate ability, and was styled, on account of his learning, the greatest theologian who had appeared in the Church since S. Thomas Aquinas.†

Even in Saints the Renaissance period was richer than is commonly supposed. The following list, arranged according

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 225, 261, 264 *seq.*, 306, 309, 320; II., 8–9, 105 *seq.*; III., 294, 297, 299; IV., 255, note †, 301 (Engl. trans.).

† A more detailed account of these Cardinals will be given further on. *Cf.* also Hist.-polit., Bl. LXXIX., 103 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 231, and SANUTO, XI., 771–3, agree in praising Caraffa. When Peraudi died, in September 1505, JULIUS II. wrote as follows:—Erat enim rectus et sedi apost. admodum utilis. Breve episc. Lesinen *s. d.* Lib. brev. 29 *seq.*, 72b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

to the date of death, may, though incomplete, give the reader some idea of the glorious band of Saints and Beati the study of whose lives is a revelation of that Christian Italy of the Renaissance, which has so long lain hidden under its more prominent heathen aspect.*

1400. Oddino Barotti, Provost of Fossano in Piedmont.
1404. Jacopo d'Oldo, priest at Lodi.
1410. Orsolina da Parma.
1411. Daniello da Venezia, Camaldolese.
1415. Benincesa Rapaccioli, Servite.
1419. Chiara Gambacorti, Dominicaness.
1419. Giovanni Dominici, Dominican.
1426. Benincesa, Servite in Tuscany.
1429. Gemma of Sulmona.
1429. Conradino, Dominican. He refused the purple and died in the service of the plague-smitten inhabitants of Bologna.
1430. Manfredi of Riva, Hermit.
1432. Roberto Malatesta, Franciscan tertiary at Rimini.
1433. Stefano Agazzari, Regular Canon of Bologna.
1435. Pietro Gambacorti, founder of the Hermits of S. Girolamo.
1435. Angelina di Marsciano, Franciscan tertiary at Foligno.
1440. Francesca Romana.
1443. Niccolò d'Albergati, Bishop of Bologna and Cardinal.
1444. Bernardino of Siena.
1446. Giovanni Tavelli, Bishop of Ferrara.
1447. Tommaso Bellacci.
1447. Coleta.
1450. Angelina, Poor Clare at Spoleto.
1451. Ercolano of Plagario, Franciscan.
1451. Matteo da Girgenti, Franciscan.

* For the following list the reader is referred in general to CHEVALIER, Répert., where a complete and accurate summary of the literature on this subject will be found. Various details about the early Renaissance Saints are given in the earlier portion of this work, Vol. I., 36, 232 *seq.*

1452. Pietro Geremia, Dominican.
1455. Fra Angelico da Fiesole, Dominican, and painter.
1455. Giovanni Bassand, Celestine.
1455. Andrea of Modena, Franciscan.
1456. Lorenzo Giustiniani, Patriarch of Venice.
1456. Filippo d'Aquila, Franciscan.
1456. Rita di Cascia.
1456. Giovanni Capristano, Franciscan.
1456. Gabriele Feretti.
1457. Angela Felix.
1458. Angelo Masaccio, Camaldolese.
1458. Cristina Visconti at Spoleto.
1458. Antonio ab Ecclesia.
1458. Elena Valentinis of Udine.
1459. Antonino, Archbishop of Florence.
1460. Antonio Neyrot of Ripoli.
1460. Archangelo of Calatafimi.
1463. Caterina of Bologna, Poor Clare.
1463. Maddalena Albrici.
1466. Bartolomeo de Cerveriis, Dominican.
1467. Margherita, Princess of Savoy, Dominicaness.
1471. Antonio of Stronconio.
1471. Matteo Carrieri, Dominican.
1472. Giovanni Bonvisi, Franciscan.
1476. Jacopo della Marca, Franciscan.
1478. Caterina of Pallanza.
1478. Serafina of Pesaro.
1479. Andrea of Montereale, Augustinian.
1479. Michele di Barga, Franciscan.
1480. Andrea of Peschiera, Dominican.
1482. Amadeo, Franciscan, at Milan.
1482. Pacifico Ceredano, Franciscan.
1483. Giacomo Filippo Bertoni, Servite.
1483. Damiano Fulcheri, Dominican.
1484. Maria degli Alberici.
1484. Cristoforo of Milan, Dominican.

1485. Jacopo, Franciscan, at Bitetto.
1486. Bernardo of Scammaca, Dominican.
1489. Bartolomeo Foresta, Franciscan.
1490. Pietro of Molino, Franciscan.
1490. Lodovico Ravida, Carmelite.
1491. Jacopo Alemannus, Dominican, at Bologna.
1491. Giovanna Scopelli at Reggio.
1491. Eustochia Calafata, Poor Clare.
1491. Vitale of Bastia.
1494. Bernardino of Feltre.
1494. Sebastiano Maggi, Dominican.
1494. Antonio Turriani, Augustinian.
1495. Angelo of Chivasso.
1495. Francesca, Servite nun at Mantua.
1495. Veronica of Binasco.
1495. Domenica, Franciscan nun at Urbino.
1499. Marco of Modena, Dominican.
1502. Girolamo Garibi, Franciscan.
1503. Martino of Vercelli, Augustinian.
1504. Vincenzo of Aquila, Franciscan.
1505. Margherita of Ravenna.
1505. Osanna of Mantua.
1506. Colomba of Rieti.
1507. Francesco di Paolo, founder of the Minims.
1507. Francesco of Caldarola, Franciscan.
1510. Caterina Fiesco Adorna.
1511. Giovanni Licci.
1520. Elena Duglioli dall'Olio, at Bologna.

We have already seen how the innately religious temperament of the Italian nation shewed itself in countless works of mercy, in Art, and in the vast number of Saints and saintly persons which it produced. Pervading all classes of society, it revealed itself in all sorts of ways, and neither the troubles of the times, nor yet the corruption of a great part of the clergy, had power to extinguish the flame of

piety, in some districts amounting to fervour, which still burned in the hearts of the people. Even in the accounts of sanguinary party feuds, such as those at Perugia, the chroniclers cannot refrain from turning aside to record instances of saintliness and Christian charity among the citizens.*

The way in which the great Jubilee years 1450, 1475 and 1500 were observed, affords unmistakeable proof of the devout spirit of the masses,† and this was no less manifest in seasons of general calamity, notably in the frequent outbreaks of the Plague. Every effort was then made to obtain pardon from God, by acts of penance, mercy and piety. In the archives of Bologna, when in 1457 the city was visited with an outbreak of Plague and an earthquake, we read of solemn impetratory processions through the streets. Numbers of flagellants paraded the city in solemn array, crying aloud when stopping before the crosses set up at the street-corners, and crying Mercy! Mercy! (*Misericordia!*). A strict fast was kept for a week, the butchers sold no meat; even women living in shame amended their lives.‡ In 1496 when Siena was convulsed by civil strife, a report spread abroad of a miraculous apparition which inspired great terror. At once the brotherhoods instituted processions, and all the parishes, one after another, did the same. Long lines of men and women filed into the Cathedral, where each one lighted a taper before Duccio di Buoninsegna's picture of the Virgin (the celebrated *Majestas*). Besides this, every one, according to his ability, performed some act of charity. One man, says Allegretto Allegretti, ransomed an imprisoned debtor,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 29, ed. 3.

† *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 74 *seq.*; IV., 280 *seq.*, and Vol. VI., Book I., c. 6 (Engl. trans.).

‡ Annal. Bonon., 890.

another gave a dowry to a poor maiden, others again had masses said. This was done by the members of all the brotherhoods. Day and night they walked in processions barefoot through the city, scourging themselves, and reciting prayers imploring the Divine protection.*

Towards the end of 1504 and the beginning of 1505, Bologna was harassed by a succession of earthquakes. The municipality immediately organised solemn processions in which their principal relics and the Madonna di San Luca were carried. The people fasted and prayed, wearing mourning and rope girdles. As a thank-offering, when at length the shocks ceased, Giovanni Bentivoglio caused the story of S. Cecilia to be painted on the walls of her chapel, by Francesco Francia and his pupils.†

Similar measures were adopted by the Venetians after their disastrous defeat near Agnadello on May 14, 1509. A day of humiliation was officially proclaimed, in order to appease the wrath of God, and during those days of terror, more than 70,000 of the inhabitants received the Sacraments.‡

Many dignitaries of the Church, even Popes like Alexander VI., were utterly worldly; but the Italians perfectly, and better than any other nation, understood the distinction between the man and his office. S. Catherine, in saying that allegiance must be rendered to every Pope however bad, and under all circumstances, only expressed what was universally believed.§ The dispensers of blessing

* Allegretto Allegretti, 856.

† GOZZADINI, Giov. Bentivoglio, 147 *seq.* WOLTMANN, II., 310–18. These frescoes, although damaged, are of such exquisite beauty that no one who has once been in the chapel can forget them. The burial of S. Cecilia is incomparable in its tenderness and grace.

‡ BEMBO, lib. viii.

§ SCHULTHEISS, in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1892, No. 294, Supplement; *cf.* also GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 79. S. Antoninus enlarges upon

and grace might be personally unworthy, but the people knew that Christ's deputy, however faulty, was still the representative of the Lord in the exercise of his office, and that the Sacraments derived their efficacy from Christ, and not from the merits of His minister. A sinner like Vitellozzo Vitelli had no dearer wish before his execution than to obtain the Pope's absolution, although that Pope was Alexander VI.* The sons of Caterina Sforza exhorted her in her trouble not to let the devil drive her to despair at the thought of all her sins, for one drop of Christ's blood was sufficient to atone for all the crimes in hell. Caterina, like a true child of the age, had never lost her Faith. Even, in the midst of her follies and while leading a life of sin, she built churches and endowed convents. In her old age she repented of her cruelties, heard mass daily, and gave alms liberally.† In her later years, Lucrezia Borgia equally sought to atone for the errors of her youth by deeds of piety and charity.‡

the possibility of wicked priests being elevated even to the Papacy, and enjoins the duty of obedience to them. The whole structure of human society which is God's ordinance, rests, he argues, on authority. Therefore, however wicked the powers or their underlings may be, the authority is in itself good—and good will spring from it. The power which God allowed the devil of tempting or tormenting Job, or Peter, or Paul, must have served to prove or humble those thus assaulted. S. Antoninus then emphasises the duty of obedience, particularly to the Pope, the chief of all earthly potentates. For the rest, a Pope though morally imperfect may yet be a good ruler; and even if he should happen to be both a bad man and a bad ruler, the misuse of power is one of the results of human corruption, but the power itself is still divine, and serves to purify and save the elect, to punish and condemn the wicked. S. ANTONIN., Summ. Theol., III., tit. 22, c. 2.

* MACHIAVELLI, Scritti minori, 142; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 98, 148, 251, ed. 2; BARZELLOTTI, Italia mistica, 51.

† PASOLINI, II., 290, 398 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 5 (Engl. trans.).

Death-beds, on which the consolations of religion were rejected, were almost unknown. Cosimo de' Medici had been guilty of much cruelty to his enemies, and injustice in the collection of the revenue. When he felt his end approaching he prepared for death by a humble confession of his sins, and after having asked pardon of all around him, received the Holy Viaticum with the deepest faith and contrition.* Lorenzo de' Medici, in spite of the lax morality of his life and his relish for the maxims of the heathen philosophers, still kept a firm hold on positive Christianity. He too died as a good Catholic. When the Holy Communion was brought to him, he would not receive his Saviour lying in bed. In spite of the remonstrances of those about him, the dying man arose, dressed himself, and, supported by his attendants, entered the hall where he prostrated himself before the Sacred Host. The devotion with which he received the Holy Viaticum made a deep impression on the bystanders.†

Even men, who in youth and health had heaped scorn and derision on the Church and her Priests, returned when they lay dying, to the Faith of their youth.

The punishments inflicted by the Church had certainly less effect than formerly,‡ partly through the fault of the clergy who employed them too freely and for trifling causes; but that they were still observed and dreaded by the mass of the people, is proved by the strenuous efforts

* SCHULTZE, S. Marco, 50; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 139, ed. 2. For C. Marsuppini who died, unfortified by the rites of the Church, *cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 26 (Engl. trans.).

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 416, ed. 2.

‡ P. P. VERGERIO as early as the year 1408, complains of this (Arch. Stor. per Trieste, l'Istria ed. il Trentino, I., 372); *cf.* also the Florentine Ambassador's Report dated Rome, 1454, Feb. 27. (Florentine State Papers, Cl. X., Dist. 2, No. 20, f. 259.) See also PASTOR, Hist Popes, IV., 318 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

made for the removal of Interdicts, and the effect produced by the Pope's excommunication of Savonarola.*

Belief in the intercession of the Saints and the miracles wrought by their relics was universal. Every town and village tried to secure some such heavenly protector for itself. Even States, which like Venice were perpetually at variance with Rome on account of their encroachments on the rights of the Church, proved no exception to this rule. We find repeated accounts of infinite pains and large sums of money expended by the Venetians in procuring relics in the countries which they had wrested from the Turks. On the arrival of these sacred treasures, the whole municipality, with the Doge at their head, came forth in solemn procession to meet them. In 1455 it was agreed that 10,000 ducats was not too great a price to pay for the seamless coat of Our Lord, which, however, could not be obtained.† The republics of Siena and Perugia went to war for the possession of the marriage ring of the Blessed Virgin; Sixtus IV. endeavoured to mediate between them. Rome was richer than any other place in relics. Two specially precious treasures were acquired during the 15th Century, namely, the head of S. Andrew, purchased by Pius II., and the Holy Lance, presented by the Sultan to Pope Innocent VIII. On both occasions, the entry of these relics was celebrated by a gorgeous pageant, in which the Christian Renaissance displayed its utmost magnificence.‡ The Romans watched over their treasures with jealous care, so much so, that their chief magistrate called Pope Sixtus IV.

* For a detailed account, see *infra*, and also BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 137, ed. 3; and CAMPORI, CIII., Lettere inedite di Sommi Pontefici, 1 *seq.* Modena, 1878.

† BURCKHARDT, I., 72, ed. 3.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 249, 258 *seq.*, and *infra*, Book I., c. 4 (Engl. trans.).

sharply to account for having, in 1483, bestowed certain relics on Louis XI.* when he was dying.

The veneration of the Blessed Virgin, always strong in Italy, was remarkably so at this period. High and low, Popes and Princes, or simple town and country folk, vied with one another in their devotion to Mary. Art and poetry did their utmost in her honour. Countless churches and chapels were dedicated to her, and miraculous pictures of her were reckoned the most precious treasures that any city could possess, and were carried solemnly through the streets in times of trouble. In all their distresses the people turned with touching confidence to the Mother of Mercy; whole towns sometimes, as was the case with Siena in 1483, would consecrate themselves to the Queen of Heaven.† In a similar manner Savonarola, amid general enthusiasm, proclaimed Christ, King of Florence.

Church festivals were celebrated with a pomp and splendour undreamt of by northern nations. Rome, the centre of the Church, had always been famous for the magnificence of her ecclesiastical ceremonies; under Pius II. and Paul II. they became still more sumptuous. That of Corpus Domini, to which Martin V. and Eugenius IV. had devoted much attention, was the most brilliant of all. The Popes themselves took part in the Roman processions, appearing in full pontificals, usually carried on the *Sedia Gestatoria* and surrounded by all the Cardinals and prelates

* Sixtus IV. appealed to the example of his predecessors, especially S. Gregory the Great who had also given away relics; Jac. Volaterranus, in MURATORI, XXIII., 187.

† BURCKHARDT'S remarks (Cultur, I., 252 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 335, ed. 3) on this point need correction, as also BARZELLOTTI'S in Italia mistica, 52. Neither of them is acquainted with the extensive Catholic literature on the subject. *Cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 848 *seq.*, ed. 2.

and the clergy of the city. Nicholas V. and Pius II., out of reverence for the Sacred Host, went on foot, carrying the monstrance in their own hands. Even if the papal court was travelling, as, for instance, in 1462, when Pius II. was at Viterbo, Corpus Domini was celebrated with as much pomp as in Rome. Contemporary accounts shew how all those resources of decorative art which were so richly developed by the Renaissance were called into play on these occasions in the service of religion.* The exquisite banners, mostly designed and executed by painters of the Umbrian School, were a prominent feature in those pageants.† Venice was famous for the splendour of her Corpus Domini festival, in which the Doge and all the Magistrates took part.‡ In Ferrara, the members of the reigning house always appeared in the procession.§

Descriptions, dated 1439 and 1454, are preserved of the famous semi-dramatic pageant on S. John the Baptist's day at Florence. That of 1454, as we see by the record, represented the whole history of the world, from the fall of Lucifer to the Last Judgment.‖

The ardent veneration for the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, expressed in these gorgeous Corpus Domini processions, is one of the most consoling features of those times.¶

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 288 ; IV., 106 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* also BURCKHARDT, II., 144, 191, ed. 2 ; MORONI, IX., 46 *seq.*, and D'ANCONA, I., 79 *seq.*, 296, ed. 2. For the grand Corpus Domini processions held since 1426 in Perugia, *cf.* Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 6 *seq.*, and for the procession at Bologna in 1492, see Annal. Bonon., 911.

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 81.

‡ SANUTO, VIII., 376 *seq.*, and MOLMENTI, 326 *seq.*

§ D'ANCONA, I., 295, ed. 2.

‖ CREIZENACH, I., 303 *seq.*

¶ F. X. KRAUS attributes this to the Franciscans. Lit. Rundschau (1895), 9. *Cf.* Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XXXIX., 45.

In Art it manifested itself in the beauty and costliness of the Tabernacles. The best masters vied with each other in designing and creating a worthy dwelling-house for the Body of Christ. Thus in 1432 Ghiberti designed the Tabernacle for the church of the Weavers' Guild in Florence. Others of the same period, and equally beautiful, can still be admired at Arezzo, Fiesole, Prato, the Hospital della Scala at Siena, and in Sta Maria Nuova, S. Ambrogio, the Cathedral, and the Baptistery at Florence. It was by no mere chance that under Julius II., the "Disputa" of Raphael was painted to celebrate the glories of the Holy Eucharist.*

The prayers of the period bear touching testimony to the prevailing veneration for the Blessed Sacrament. Equally earnest and devout were the morning and night prayers then in common use, the prayer to S. Jerome for protection during the day, and the private devotions at mass and before confession. The meditation of the Venerable Bede on the seven last words of Our Lord had been translated into Italian and was very popular, particularly in Tuscany.†

Such prayers take us back to the time when, untroubled by heathen practices of so many of the upper and cultivated classes, the confraternities of workmen were wont to assemble when the day's toil was over, to pray and to sing in the churches and chapels of their respective guilds, or before the images of the Madonna at corners of the streets. Pilgrimages were another common form in which devotion and the sense of spiritual needs were manifested.‡ Next to Rome, the most important places of pilgrimage were

* For a detailed description of this picture, see Vol. VI. of this work, Book II., c. 10 (Engl. trans.).

† See Orazioni antiche Toscane in Palermo, Opera a ben vivere di S. Antonino, 265 *seq.*

‡ See REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 428 *seq.*, ed. 2.

Loreto and Assisi, and in the South, the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano.

As regarded other places of pilgrimage, that of the Monte Sacro of Varallo, instituted in 1491, soon obtained a great reputation,* while, in due correspondence to the special love of the Italian for the Madonna, those dedicated to the Blessed Virgin are by far the most numerous. The following new shrines in her honour were added during this period to those already existing, some of which date from the first centuries of Christianity. In Piedmont, our Lady of the Pillar, at Mondovi; in Liguria, our Lady of the Wood of Camogli, near Genoa; in Lombardy, our Lady of Grace at Mantua; Sta Maria presso Celso in Milan; in the Æmilia, our Lady of the Fire in the Cathedral at Forli; our Lady of the Oak at Viterbo; our Lady of Good Counsel at Genazzano; our Lady of Perpetual Succour at Rome; and many others.†

The concourse of the faithful at these holy places was greatest of all when, to the attraction of the sanctuary itself was added that of the presence of some famous preacher of penance. The earnest outspokenness of these Friars, the deep and practical impression often produced by their sermons, form one of the most cheering features of the time, shewing what deep root the Christian Faith had struck in the hearts of the Italians.

II.

Side by side with the Christian Italy of the Renaissance was another Italy deeply imbued with the pagan spirit of the Classics. In the South, which is the land of extremes,

* MOTTA, Il beato Bernardino Caimi fondatore del Santuario di Varallo, Doc. e lett. ined. Milano, 1891.

† WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 856 *seq.*, ed. 2, which gives the literature on this subject.

this unchristian element necessarily asserted itself in a sharper contrast with the other than in more northern countries, and the preaching Friars were in perpetual conflict with it. The century which produced S. Antoninus, Fra Angelico, and S. Francis of Paula, was also the age of Lorenzo Valla, Sigismondo Malatesta, Cæsar Borgia, and Niccolò Machiavelli. The chair of S. Peter was occupied in turn by Alexander VI. and Pius III., Innocent VIII. and Julius II. Good and evil are curiously interwoven in all the Italian States during the 15th Century.* If we ask how it was that so many of the Italians of that day became so fearfully depraved, the answer is not far to seek. The cause is to be found in the unrestrained individualism fostered by the pseudo-renaissance. The adherents of this soul-destroying philosophy deliberately advocated the selfishness, pride, ambition, and sensuality of Paganism in opposition to the mortification, self-abnegation, and humility of Christianity. Thus it was that those specially revolting characters of which Niccolò Machiavelli is the type came into existence, men who combined the highest polish with the utmost depravity, cruelty, and cunning.† When Machiavelli pronounced that "All Italians are super-eminently irreligious and wicked," the words are false as a general statement, but true of the votaries of the heathen renaissance. Most of these men gave themselves up to lust and sensuality with the rest, the proud virtue of the heroes of antiquity took the place of the Christian ideal.‡

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 16, ed. 3; HÖFLER, Rodrigo Borja, 21; and GRIMM, Michael Angelo, I., 117, ed. 5.

† *Cf.* ARNOLD E. BERGER, the "Rückkehr zum Zeichen" (ritornar al segno, as Machiavelli says) in the Allg. Zeitung, 1894, No. 237, Supplement. ANTONIO OF VERCELLI emphatically denounces the selfishness of his age, Serm., III., 69.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 201, ed. 3.

The result of these views was to produce a craving for personal glory, which amounted almost to a demoniacal possession. Even in Petrarch we find an overweening vanity which is distinctly pagan, and notions of a sort of Elysium in the next world for great men, borrowed from Cicero, and Plato's "Phaedon." In him, however, and in all the Christian Humanists, we recognise a conflict between the two antagonistic principles of heathen self-glorification and Christian humility.* But not so with the votaries of the pseudo-renaissance. For them, merit and glory are identical. That man alone is admirable who has won laurels, no matter what means he has employed. Wherever we find the ideal of Christian life thus obscured by the ideal of achieving fame, there, too, we find the pagan Elysium, as depicted by classical authorities, replacing the Christian Heaven which could be won only by faith and self-denial. Dante had not deemed it possible for even the greatest of the heathen, those whom he would most gladly have admitted into Paradise, to rise above the Limbo just on the gate of Hell. Now, indeed, the poets launched out into all the new liberal ideas of the future state; in Bernardo Pulci's poem, Cosimo the Elder is received after his death into heaven by Cicero, who is called "the father of his country," and by the Fabians, Curtius, Fabricius, and many others, "and with them," it continues, "he will adorn that choir in which only blameless souls may sing."†

The Modern temple of Fame was built up by the writings of the Humanists, who instituted a sort of cultus of great men, including veneration of their birth-places and tombs. "The philologists and poets have created a universal pantheon in their collections of the lives of celebrated men

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 3 (Engl. trans.); and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 317, 361, ed. 3.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 317–318, ed. 3.

and women." They regard themselves as the arbiters of fame and immortality.* "Their boundless pretensions, colossal vanity, insatiable thirst for glory, in any form and with any results" are expressed "with appalling frankness" in Machiavelli's famous preface to his history of Florence. He censures previous writers for their too scrupulous reticence in their accounts of the civil feuds. "They were greatly mistaken, and have proved how little they understood human ambition, and man's desire to perpetuate his name. How many who could not distinguish themselves by noble deeds, have sought by their crimes to become, at any rate, notorious. Those authors did not take into consideration that actions of importance, such as those of states and rulers, always meet with more praise than blame whatever their nature and consequences."†

This explains why thoughtful historians of the Renaissance have attributed more than one detestable and criminal undertaking to an inordinate craving to achieve something that should be remembered.‡ The greatest admirers of the Renaissance acknowledge that there is something truly diabolical in this temper of mind.§ Machiavelli's latest biographer very justly observes that Cola di Rienzo, Stephano Porcaro, Girolamo Ogliati and others, were actuated less by the love of liberty than by a desire to emulate Brutus. It was vain-glory rather than faith or fanaticism which nerved them to face death on the scaffold;‖ happily such instances were rare. With the majority,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 173 *seq.*, ed. 3.

† *Ibid.*, II., 179, ed. 3.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 215 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), which shews the connection between many conspiracies and assassinations of this pernicious classical revival.

§ BURCKHARDT, I., 179–180, ed. 4; VILLARI, I., 78.

‖ VILLARI, *loc. cit.*

when death in its stern reality drew near, these idle dreams vanished and made way for repentance and conversion.*

Vain-glory, however, was by no means the worst of the vices which sprang from the unrestrained self-regarding spirit which the false renaissance did so much to promote. Luxury and extravagance, deceit and fraud, gambling, vendettas, immorality, rapine and murder, religious indifference, infidelity, and preternaturalism were its boon companions. The culmination of the results of this apotheosis of selfishness was seen in some men who appeared at this time, monsters in human form, utterly ruthless, revelling in crime for its own sake, not merely using it as a means to an end; or, rather using such means to compass ends even more abnormally detestable and horrible than the means themselves. To this class belonged Sigismondo Malatesta, and, in a sense, Cæsar Borgia;† but they were exceptional, and altogether the Pagan Humanists formed a mere fraction of the Italian nation. It is, however, indisputable that the infection of their poisonous influence was widely diffused. Zealous preachers may sometimes exaggerate, but, beyond all doubt, Italy, under the influence of the false renaissance, was rapidly deteriorating. The more we look into the inner life of the period, the fuller we find it of the most startling contrasts.‡

In almost every town luxury and immorality were on the increase, driving out the old simplicity and purity of manners. "I know not how to describe the luxury which has already infected the whole of Italy," cries Roberto da Lecce in one of his sermons. "Ever since S. Bernardino began to preach, he and his successors have denounced vanity and extravagance in dress; but to no purpose, for the women

* FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 187.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 224 *seq.*, ed. 3.

‡ TORRACA, Roberto da Lecce, 140.

grow worse and worse." He threatens frivolous women with the wrath of God. "Oh ye wantons, God is angry because of you, your trailing gowns, your bare bosoms, your painted faces, your desecration of holy places and seasons, your obscene gestures," etc. Another time he treats the subject with less indignation, but more practically. "The love of ostentation has so increased nowadays that the dower of a bride is something enormous, and a man with several daughters is hardly able to afford to marry more than one of them.* Other preachers, such as Antonio da Vercelli † and Michele da Milan,‡ used language to the same effect; but the efforts to stem the growing evil were by no means confined to the Friars, the magistrates in the cities were equally alive to it.

There is hardly a town in all Italy whose statute-book does not shew a whole series of enactments against luxury, extravagance in dress, especially among women, over-expenditure on weddings, bridal outfits, feasts, and funerals.§ Their frequent repetition proves how quickly and widely the mischief was spreading.|| The flourishing state of trade

* GÜDEMANN, 214–5, where Old Testament denunciations of luxury in dress are cited.

† ANTONIUS VERCELLEN., Sermones, f. 121; BAPT. MANTUANUS, De Patientia, lib. II., c. 23.

‡ MICHAEL DE MEDIOLANO, I., 48; II., 48–49; III., 48, 72.

§ In Florence, the statutes of 1415 enacted that the number of guests on both sides at weddings and family festivities was never to exceed 200. Among the great families in Rome, the number of guests at weddings was so large that public squares were converted into banqueting halls by means of canvas roofs. See REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 358, Supplement.

|| In Florence, so early as 1306 and 1330 sumptuary laws were issued. Next came the strict prohibitions of 1352, 1355, 1384, 1388, 1396, 1439, 1456 (see Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 100; HÜLLMANN, IV., 139; RÖSLER, Dominici, 54 *seq.*), of Nov. 29, 1464, and Feb. 29, 1471 (these two, which so far as I know have never been printed, I found in the

and manufacture, and the growing prosperity of the country, together with the impetus given to Art by the Renaissance, and the artistic temperament of the Italian people, combined to stimulate to an alarming degree the taste for extravagance and display, especially in dress, in some of the great cities.*

Cod. Capponi, CIV., f. 74–76, 102–104, of the National Library in Florence), and 1511 (see LANDUCCI, 307). At Bologna we must notice Card. Bessarion's regulations about dress, dated 1453, which caused bitter lamentations among the women. See a pamphlet by Matteo Bosso of Verona. (*MATTHAEI VERONENS., Can. reg. ad B. [essarionem] Card. Tuscul. Bononiae legatum ne feminis Bononiensibus luxuriosa ornamenta vestium reddantur, Cod. Vat., 1196, f. 99 *seq.* See Vatican Library.) In Rome the statutes revised by Paul II. (see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 30, Engl. trans.) and the regulations of Sixtus IV. imposed limitations on luxury, but quite in vain, as Altieri's interesting description written in Julius II.'s time shews: Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri, ed. Narducci (Roma, 1873). At Lucca sumptuary laws were enacted in 1473 and 1484 (see Arch. St. Ital., X., 124 *seq.*). At Macerata prohibitions of luxury begin with the 15th Century. *Cf.* Gli statuti suntuari del secolo XV. al XVIII. per la Città di Macerata. (Fano, 1879, Wedding publication.) Venice and Genoa passed innumerable laws curtailing extravagance (see besides BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 170, ed. 3; MOLMENTI, 279 *seq.*). *Cf.* also SANUTO, XIV., 115 *seq.* For Genoa, BELGRANO, 166, 254 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*, 493 *seq.*

* The authorities cited in preceding note supply further details supplementing BURCKHARDT'S statement in Cultur, II., 112 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 117, 172, ed. 3. *Cf.* also BAUDRILLART, Hist. du luxe, III., 333 *seq.* (Paris, 1880); CIAN, Cortegiano, 43, 88 *seq.*, 155; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 5, 198 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*; MANCINI, Alberti, 442 *seq.*, 453; MOLMENTI, La Dogaressa di Venezia, 233 *seq.*, 256 (Torino, 1884); Arch. della Soc. Rom., I., 484, note. In Rome, which only a few decades earlier had seemed to the cultured Florentines no better than a city of cowherds, luxury increased enormously under Sixtus IV. and his successors. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 238 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); REUMONT, III., 1, 463 *seq.*, 2, 458 *seq.*; and the Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 358, Supplement (following the "Nuptiali" by Marco Antonio Altieri, already quoted). For Renaissance banquets and table decora-

The chief cause of the rapid progress made in material comfort and good living was the wealth of the country. The Italians had become one of the richest nations in the world. The revenue of Naples in 1455 was 310,000 ducats, that of Florence 200,000, of the Papal States 400,000, of Milan 500,000, of Venice as much as the whole income of the King of Spain, namely 800,000 ducats. In 1492 it amounted to 600,000 in Naples, 300,000 in Florence, 1,000,000 gold ducats in Venice, thus shewing a general improvement, in spite of the loss inflicted on Italian commerce by the steady advance of the Turks. After this, indeed, came blow upon blow, each one falling most heavily on Venice, the last and worst of all being the discovery of the sea-route to the East Indies; but her wealth still remained very great.*

The prosperity of Florence ranked only second to that of Venice, and accordingly the complaints from both preachers and laymen were loud in proportion. "The furniture of a single room," writes Leon Battista Alberti, "costs more than would once have sufficed to prepare a whole dwelling for the reception of a bride. Formerly workmen were content to eat their mid-day meal of bread, with a little wine, in the workshops, while the women dined at home, and no wine was drunk except at meals. Nowadays the young folk want to enjoy themselves, they waste their money

tions, see Essays by M. SEIBT in the Frankf. Zeitung, 1887, Jan. 11 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 212; L. STECCHETTI, La tavola e la cucina nei secoli XIV., XV. (Firenze, 1884); and the pamphlet by L. A. GANDINI, which is important as containing new material drawn from the Archives at Modena. Tavola, cucina e cantina della corte di Ferrara, nel Quattrocento, Modena, 1889 (Nozze Agazzotti-Testi).

* MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 50 (Revenues of 1455); GREGOROVIUS, VII., 347 (Revenues of 1492, *cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 256 *seq.*); and with reference to Venice, LUIGI DA PORTO, 26, and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 63, ed. 3.

at play, or on feasting and finery, or with women; they have lost their reverence for age, and fritter their time away in idleness. Public men try to make their offices as lucrative as if they were in trade." "The times," remarked Alessandra Strozzi, in a letter dated 1466, "are not favourable to matrimony. Young men prefer to remain single. Things are out of all proportion nowadays, and bridal outfits have never been so extravagant. No matter how large the dowry may be, the bride, when she leaves her father's house, generally carries it all away on her back in silks and jewels."*

The evil increased rapidly in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, and some families were brought to utter ruin by sheer prodigality and luxury. The banquet given by Benedetto Salutati and his fellow-craftsmen in 1476 to the sons of King Ferrante, is an instance of the extremes to which this was sometimes carried. It resembled the notorious orgy of Cardinal Pietro Riario.† At the same time, as has been justly observed, excesses of this kind were far from being general throughout Italy. Everyday life remained simple, so that we must not take contemporary lamentations too literally.‡ But there is no denying the downward tendency which characterised the 15th Century. Many rich families set a bad example. The celebrations for the marriage of Bernardo Rucellai and Nannina de' Medici in 1466 consumed more than 150,000 lire of our money.§

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 323, ed. 2; and Kleine Schriften, 131 *seq.*

† PALAGI, Il convito fatto ai figliuoli del Re di Napoli da Benedetto Salutati e compagni mercanti Fiorentini il 16 Febbraio del 1476 (Firenze, 1873). For the banquet of Cardinal Riario, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 240 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ This is REUMONT'S opinion, Lorenzo, II., 313, 323, ed. 2.

§ Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 125 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*

Usury and fraud went hand in hand with the wealth and commerce, which all this luxury required for its support. S. Bernardino of Siena reproaches the merchants with the devices and tricks with which they strove to overreach each other. He is particularly angry with the Stocchi family (stocco = rapier), who were in the habit of buying up goods in order to raise prices, then selling them again at a profit, and afterwards buy them back cheap. Their name fitted them well, for they stabbed and murdered their neighbours, and ought to be driven out of the city. S. Bernardino is equally severe on those who used false weights and measures, who knew they were sinning, but said to themselves—

> "From floor to roof the barn we'll fill,
> May the goods be gotten well or ill."

The Saint vehemently denounces those Christian usurers who even give money to the Jews, which by usury they have extorted from Christians.* It is plain from the sermons of Gabriele da Barletta (1470), Roberto da Lecce, and Michele da Milan, that matters did not improve as time went on. The latter gives a long list of common forms of fraudulent contracts and monetary transactions, explaining the technical terms in his own way.† A whole series of sermons by Michele deal with tricks of trade and false weights.‡ Gabriele da Barletta, in his peculiar, graphic style introduces the following dialogue into one of his sermons:—"My son, art thou a Christian?" "Yea, father,

* GÜDEMANN, 244 *seq.*, who, in opposition to all received authorities, flatly denies that the Jews practised usury. It was natural that the preachers should attack the Christians, since no Jews came to hear their sermons.

† GÜDEMANN, 245.

‡ MICH. DE MEDIOLANO, Sermones, Pars II., N. 81, and the whole of Pars III. See also ROB. DE LITIO., Quadrag. de Peccatis, 123.

christened in such and such a church." "What is thine occupation?" "I am a usurer." "Oh, if thy wife's gowns were put under a press the heart's blood of the poor would drip from them."*

From these passages it is plain that the Jews were not the only extortioners and oppressors of the poor. The Christian Jews lent money on far more exorbitant terms, as the Town Council of Verona complained, than the Jews themselves.†

The preachers everywhere inveighed against usury, and many cities, Piacenza for instance, forbade it under pain of the severest penalties (exclusion from Holy Communion and from Christian burial), but the evil was still unabated.‡ It was, of course, at its worst in commercial and financial centres like Florence and Venice. In Florence we find all patriots, writers, preachers, and legislators concurring in putting usury foremost in the list of offences, and attributing all other evils to it, and we have documentary proof that their accusations were no mere oratorical phrases. Thirty per cent. was no uncommon rate of interest.§

In 1420 money-lenders were prohibited from taking more than 20 per cent., but still there was no improvement. Ten years later another course was tried, and an attempt made to put a stop to Christian usury by allowing the Jews to lend at 20 per cent. Jews and Christians now combined to grind the people down,‖ and the writings of both clergy and

* G. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, 48. Lugdun., 1511.

† DELLA CORTE, Storia di Verona, III., 6. Venezia, 1744.

‡ GÜDEMANN, 246.

§ PÖHLMANN, 80 *seq.*; ENDEMANN, Studien, I., 32 *seq.*; JANNET, Le crédit populaire et les banques en Italie, 12 *seq.* According to MORONI (XLVI., 252) 70 or 80 p.c. was sometimes charged in Italy; 40 p.c. was usual at Piacenza in the days of Bernardino da Feltre. See WADDING, XIV., 481.

‖ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 308 *seq.*, ed. 2; PÖHLMANN, 81.

laity are full of complaints of their extortions. S. Antoninus composed a treatise against usury, in which he protests most earnestly against these iniquitous practices.* Twenty years after the death of the Saint, Vespasiano da Bisticci exclaims, "Repent, O city of Florence, for thou art full of usury and unlawful gains. Thy citizens devour one another; greed of gain has set every man's hand against his neighbour; injustice has become so common that no one is ashamed of it. Of late thou hast seen terrible things in thy streets, such disturbances and distresses as are plainly a chastisement from God, and yet thou remainest obdurate. There is no hope for thee, because the minds of all are set upon nothing but money-making, although they see how, the moment a man dies, all his riches vanish away like smoke." Vespasiano da Bisticci addressed similar exhortations to the Milanese.† The preachers redoubled their efforts, but they did not content themselves with words, and in the end it was they who sought and found a remedy in the erection of public loan-offices.

As in the 13th Century, so now, in the latter half of the 15th, it was the Franciscans who, with the sanction of the Apostolic See, took this social reform in hand.‡ Intercourse with all classes of society had rendered them familiar with the pitiless greed with which Jewish and Christian money-lenders took advantage of a temporary embarrassment to demand incredibly high interest. To prevent this extortionate trading upon the needs of the smaller townsfolk, the Franciscans resolved to found institutions where any one in want of ready money could obtain

* De Usuris: *Cf.* FABRICIUS-MANSI, I., 111, and ENDEMANN, I., 34 *seq.*

† VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, Vite, ed. Frati, III., 322.

‡ *Cf.* JANNET, 10.

it in exchange for some pledge, and without interest, the working capital of the scheme being supplied by voluntary contributions, collections, gifts, and legacies. Hence the expression *mons* (mountain) meaning a heap of money, the owners of which were supposed to be the poor in general, or the institution.

To the Papal States belongs the honour of having opened the first of these charitable institutions, or mountains of mercy (*montes pietatis*). The Popes at once recognised the significance and the importance of these establishments, and encouraged them to the utmost of their power. In the year 1463 Pius II. established the first Mons Pietatis in Orvieto; that of Perugia was founded in 1464 by Paul II. In both places the Franciscans were the originators and chief promoters of the movement.* Sixtus IV. erected one in his native city, Savona. In the course of time similar institutions sprung up in Assisi, Mantua, Pavia, Ravenna, Verona, Alessandria, Ferrara, Parma, Rimini, Cesena, Montagnana, Chieti, Rieti, Narni, Gubbio, Monfelice, Brescia, Lucca, Aquila, and other places, and almost always under Franciscan auspices. S. Bernardino da Feltre especially was indefatigable in this direction. In the course of his missionary tours, which covered almost the whole of Italy, he founded Montes Pietatis wherever he went. The extraordinarily rapid diffusion of these institutions is the best proof that they responded to a real want

* In addition to the references given in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 32, 33 (Engl. trans., notes), see also WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1690 *seq.*, ed. 2; BRUDER'S Staatslexikon, III., 1092 *seq.*; BLAIZE, Des Monts-de-Piété, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856); ENDEMANN, in Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie, I. (1863), 324 *seq.*; ENDEMANN, Studien der Romanisch-canonistischen Wirthschafts- und Rechtslehre, I. (1874), 460–471; DE DECKER, Les Monts-de-Piété en Belgique, Introduction (Bruxelles, 1844); and JANNET'S work, which has not received as much notice as it deserves, p. 4 *seq.*

especially in the smaller towns. They met also with plenty of resistance; the war that was carried on against them is significant as a proof of the predominance and social power which, through their control of the Exchange, the Jews had acquired in Italy at that time.*

Many of the Princes, Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza of Milan and Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, were on the side of the usurers; but they found in S. Bernardino da Feltre a strong and persevering opponent.† In the Saint's unwearied and unsparing denunciations of the Jews we are led to see what a baneful influence they exercised throughout the whole of Italy, and how they drained the life-blood of the people, both rich and poor. The result was a wide-spread anti-semitic movement, which sometimes led to reprehensible excesses. S. Bernardino must not be held responsible for these, for he denounced the Christian usurers as well as the Jews, and deprecated all violence. "No one," he said in his sermon at Crema, "who values the salvation of his soul will dare to injure the Jews either in their persons or their property, or in any other way. For we owe justice and Christian charity to all men, and the ordinances of the Popes and the spirit of Christianity alike enjoin this; but, on the other hand, the Church forbids us to maintain intimate relations with Jews; neither ought we to have recourse to them as physicians, as is now so commonly done."‡ Nevertheless, some Jewish usurers endeavoured to procure his assassination.§ S. Bernardino

* JANNET, 14.

† See ERLER'S articles on the persecutions of the Jews in Vering's Archiv für Kirchenrecht, L., 61 *seq.*; LIII., 3 *seq.*

‡ Acta Sanctorum, Sept., VII., 868, 882; ERLER, *loc. cit.*, LIII., 9, 13.

§ At Modena a Jewess sent him some poisoned fruit. See ERLER, *loc. cit.*, L., 62.

escaped from his assailant and continued his labours. In 1486 Innocent VIII. called him to Rome, and soon after, a Bull in favour of the Monte was issued.

In the year 1473 a Monte di Pietà was to have been erected in Florence, but the intention was not carried out. It was said that the Jews had bribed the magistrates and Lorenzo de' Medici to prevent it, with a sum of 100,000 ducats. When S. Bernardino came there in 1488 he endeavoured to revive the project, but the Jews were again successful, by their intrigues and bribery, in staving it off. Finally Savonarola at last succeeded in procuring its establishment. The decree promulgated on this occasion shews the grinding usury practised by the Jews. We find that in Florence they exacted 32½ per cent. for loans, so that a loan of 100 florins would bring in by the end of fifty years the sum of 49,791,556 florins, 7 grossi, and 7 danai.* The ever-increasing demands upon the Monte di Pietà necessarily entailed a corresponding increase in the expenses of administration, and thus it was found needful to make a small charge on each loan in order to cover these. To this the Dominicans objected, as a contravention of the law of the Church against usury.† A literary controversy sprang up on this question, which was embittered by jealousies between the various orders. Here, as always, the Holy See adopted a line of wise moderation. Martin V. had already declared the lawfulness of mortgages,‡ and his successors

* *Cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 294 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); also DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 238 *seq.*; JANNET, 12, n. 5; PERRENS, II., 147; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 309, ed. 2. These authorities completely dispose of the assertions of Güdemann (see *supra*, p. 100, note *) and REINACH, Hist. des Israélites, 152 (Paris, 1885), who deny the practice of usury by the Jews.

† JANNET, 13; and BRUDER'S Staatslexikon, III., 1093.

‡ See BRUDER, Finanzpolitik Rudolfs IV. von Œsterreich, 95 *seq.* Innsbruck, 1886.

followed his example in regard to the Monte di Pietà. The foundation of these institutions had been approved by Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Julius II.;* finally, they were protected from all further attacks by a privilege granted to them by Leo X. on May 4, 1515, in the fifth Lateran synod. They were allowed to demand a percentage on loans sufficient to defray the expenses of management, but no more than this. Any one who asserted this to be unlawful incurred excommunication.† The fall in the rate of interest in the 16th Century to a great extent coincides with the prosperity of the Monte di Pietà.‡ Another great evil of this period was the vice of gambling, which was more intense and universal in Italy than in any other country in the world. Already, in the 13th and 14th Centuries, this passion had acquired a terrible hold over the whole nation, both rich and poor—even the Jews in Italy were enslaved by it. During the annual villegiatura, when people were less under observation, it went on to a frightful extent. There was no lack of enactments against it; the laws of every town contain statutes condemning and forbidding it.§ In Florence, dice-throwing and other games of hazard had been interdicted as early as the year 1285; but there, as elsewhere, these prohibitions, though repeated in the 15th Century, had very little effect, especially as on certain days play was permitted. The influence of saintly men, such as S. Dominic and SS. Bernardino and Antonino, was the only thing that seemed to have any power against it. It is related of the latter that one day after having

* See ERLER, *loc. cit.*, L., 63; LIII., 6, 9; and JANNET, 24.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 646.

‡ JANNET, 15.

§ *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 305 *seq.*, ed. 3. In the 13th and 14th Centuries the Rechtsgeschichtliche Studien of Zdekauer in Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XVIII., 20 *seq.*; XIX., 3 *seq.*

preached at San Stefano, as he was returning through the Borgo SS. Apostoli, he saw a party at play in the Loggia of the Buondelmonte. He walked in at once and overturned the tables, while the players, startled and ashamed, fell on their knees before him and begged to be forgiven.* The effect of the labours of such men as these were unfortunately largely frustrated by the evil influence of the excesses which many of the worldly-minded Cardinals and nephews of the Popes permitted themselves to indulge in.† The originals of the graphic pictures drawn by Leon Battista Alberti‡ of the gamblers of his day were probably Romans, but the same thing went on in Genoa and all the other great cities.§

Undoubtedly of all the evils which darken Italian life in this period, the deadliest was the prevailing immorality. Contemporary writings are full of complaints on this subject, especially of course those of the preachers. Roberto da Lecce declares that the wickedness of his day exceeded that of the world before the flood.|| This no doubt is an exaggeration, but it cannot be denied that in the smaller as well as the more important cities, immorality increased to a terrible extent during the age of the Renaissance, and that especially amongst the cultivated and higher classes, revolting excesses were common. Illegitimate children were not accounted any disgrace, and hardly

* See RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 36; and REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 315, ed. 2.

† For instance, Franceschetto Cibò, of whom mention will be made later on.

‡ Cena di Famiglia in the Opere volgari, I., 176 *seq.* *Cf.* RÖSLER and REUMONT, *loc. cit.*

§ BELGRANO, 434.

|| ROBERTO CARACCIOLI, Quadragesimale de peccatis, 146 (Venet. 1490); GÜDEMANN, 219.

any difference was made between them and those born in wedlock.*

With a few honourable exceptions almost all the Italian Princes of the age of the Renaissance were steeped in vice; the crimes of the Borgia family were not without parallels in other princely houses. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in his History of Frederick III., says, "Most of the rulers of Italy in the present day were born out of wedlock."† When Pius II. came to Ferrara in 1459, he was received by seven Princes, not one of whom was a legitimate son.

It is therefore not surprising that in this era of bastard dynasties no one took umbrage at the origin of the Borgia family, or that little heed was paid to moral character in general.‡ Cruelty and vindictiveness went hand in hand with immorality. Many of the illegitimate rulers allowed themselves to perpetrate deeds that we shudder to read of. The histories of the Malatesta in Rimini, the Manfredi in Faenza, the Baglioni in Perugia, are an appalling tissue of malignity, profligacy, and savage brutality. Giampaolo Baglione lived in incest with his sister. The city of Siena, torn to pieces by factions, had for her tyrant Pandolfo Petrucci, whose summer sport was to hurl great boulders from the top of Monte Amiata regardless of who or what might be in the way.§

* ZELLER, Italie et Renaissance, 188; VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 10; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 114, ed. 5; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 37 *seq.*; and R. DI SORAGNA in Rassegna Naz., X., 131 (1882).

† A. SYLVIUS, Gesch. Kaiser Friedrichs III., 135 (Leipzig, 1890); *cf.* CUGNONI, 199. Things were not much better in most of the other countries of Europe. *Cf.* HÖFLER, Die Aera der Bastarden am Schluss des Mittelalters (Abhandl. d. Böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., VII., Folge, IV. Bd.), Prag, 1891.

‡ CIAN, Cortegiano, 35; GRAF, Cinquecento, 120.

§ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 28 *seq.*, 34, ed. 3; TOMMASSINI, Machiavelli, I., 335.

All the glamour of tasteful magnificence and intellectual culture which hangs round the Courts of the Sforza in Milan and the d'Este in Ferrara is insufficient to conceal the fearful immorality which pervaded this brilliant society, and the horrors that were enacted within it. One domestic tragedy succeeded another. In Ferrara, "in 1425, a Princess was beheaded for adultery with a step-son; in 1491, the sons of the House, both legitimate and illegitimate, fled from the Court and were dogged by assassins sent after them; the exiles kept up a series of conspiracies against the government; the bastard of a bastard sought to dispossess the lawful heir, Ercole I., who, a little later, in 1493, was supposed to have poisoned his consort on discovering that she was plotting to get rid of him by the same means, at the instigation of her brother, Ferrante, King of Naples. The whole episode closes with a plot contrived by two bastards against their brothers Alfonso I. the reigning Duke, and Cardinal Ippolito, which, being discovered, they were forced to expiate by a life-long imprisonment."*

The Court of Naples was, if anything, even worse. Indefatigably energetic, Ferrante combined considerable intellectual culture with the cunning and cruelty of a beast of prey. Pontano describes the horror with which he watched the King chuckling and rubbing his hands with Satanic delight at the thought of the poor wretches confined in his dungeons, whom he kept in trembling uncertainty as to what their fate was to be. Most of these unhappy victims had been treacherously seized while dining at his own table. Ferrante's treatment of his old minister Antonello Petrucci, who had grown grey and lost his health in his service, has been justly characterised as diabolical.

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 47 *seq.*, ed. 3; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 139 *seq.*; and BELGRANO, 40.

The poor man, in ever increasing alarm, kept on making present after present to his master, who quietly accepted them all, and when an opportunity came, in the shape of a plot in which it was possible to accuse him of being implicated, had him arrested and executed. The chronicler Philippe de Comines says of Ferrante's son and successor, Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, that he was the cruellest, most vicious, and commonest man that had ever been seen.*

The Court of the Gonzaga family at Mantua shews a somewhat better record, though there, too, excesses were not wanting. Even at that of the Montefeltre at Urbino, of which Baldassare Castiglione has painted such a charming, though highly idealised picture, very immoral plays were performed, and much admired.†

Dark blots deface the history of the Medici family, more especially that of Lorenzo. Thanks to his excellent mother, Lorenzo never lost his Faith, as was proved by his Christian death, but the life of this great patron of the Arts and Literature was far from corresponding with his belief. Even his warmest admirers are unable to defend his memory from the disgrace of the cruel sack of the city of Volterra, of his seizure of the chest containing the money for the marriage portions of maidens, by the loss of which many were driven to embrace a life of shame, and of the audacious greed with which he appropriated the property of the State. He was hardly ever without some love affair on hand, and for years carried on an intrigue with a married lady. One day would find him disputing in the

* GOTHEIN, 32 *seq.*, 364 *seq.*, 523–26; and BURCKHARDT, I., 36, 7, ed. 3.

† In further details on this point, see *infra*, where the Drama is treated of. In regard to this Court, see REUMONT, III., 2, 136 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, I., 43 *seq.*, ed. 3; CIAN, Cortegiano, 17 *seq.*; and especially LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino. Torino, 1893.

Academy on virtue and immortality, and inditing pious poems; on the next he might be seen in the midst of his dissolute friends singing loose carnival-songs, or listening to Luigi Pulci declaiming the wanton lyrics of his "Morgante." The words and example of such a man, and the evil splendour of such a Court, could not fail to have a corrupting influence on Florentine life.*

As in Florence, so also in Venice, those who were at the head of the government set the worst example. What we are told by a Milanese Ambassador in the year 1475, of the immorality of the Doge, Pietro Mocenigo, a man of 70, and what other narrators relate of the corruption of the nobles, sounds almost incredible. Under such circumstances we cannot be surprised to find traitors among the highest officers of the Republic, or that Soranzo was hanged for robbing churches, and Contarini put in chains for burglary.†

The indulgence with which the excesses of the great were viewed by the disciples of culture is something amazing. The amours of princes were celebrated during their lifetime by poets and literary men, and later by painters, also in a way that in modern times would have been considered the height of indiscretion, but was then looked upon as merely a tribute of friendly feeling.‡

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 346, ed. 2; and Gesch. Roms, III., 1, 355; STERN, I., 178; VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 39 *seq.*, 44, 49 (Engl. trans.). BAUDRILLART, 342 *seq.*; OWEN, 152; GASPARY, II., 247 *seq.*, 251; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 33 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 186, 222; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 11 *seq.*; the document here cited on p. 121, does not indeed afford much evidence on the subject of Lorenzo's immoralities, since, instead of referring, as Buser supposes, to 50 beautiful slaves, it only mentions 50 Sclavonian hides!

† MOLMENTI, 291, 296; BELGRANO, 408; BURCKHARDT, I., 64, ed. 3. See also a Letter from Leonardus Botta to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, dated Venice, 1474. State Archives, Milan.

‡ BURCKHARDT, I., 53, ed. 3; GOTHEIN, 525.

The Humanists of the false renaissance made themselves indispensable at the Courts of the various Princes as tutors, orators, or envoys, and vied with their patrons in the immorality of their lives.

As regards the morals of the bulk of the population, excluding the Court circles, it is impossible to form any certain judgment. We have already pointed out how much that was good and admirable it still contained, especially amongst the intelligent middle classes—the social strata which in the towns are comprised between the craftsmen (inclusive) and the city patricians.* Religion was the central interest in their minds. Accustomed to an occupied life, regulated by the exigencies of each day's work, they exercised far more control over their imaginations than the classes either above or below them. They felt the corruption of the clergy acutely, and were deeply anxious for reform, even if it were only in their own cities, as is testified by the chronicles of the time, which proceed mainly from these circles.†

Also, if we want to form a correct idea of the historical facts of the case, we must not allow ourselves to take the descriptions of poets, satirists, novelists, and preachers too literally; they almost all generalise unduly, and exaggerate, and judgments founded on such sources are sure to be more or less mistaken,‡ but there can be no doubt

* See *supra*, p. 11.

† GOTHEIN, Ignatius von Loyola, 81, who also points out the immense influence of the "Divina Commedia" on the tone of thought of the citizen class. Raphael in the "Disputa" justly assigns a place amongst the theologians to Dante.

‡ *Cf.* WOTKE'S observations, which are very valuable, though perhaps sometimes carried a little too far, in his paper on Ercole Strozza, 11 *seq.* (Wien, 1892); and in the Allg. Zeitung, 1893, No. 29, Suppl. It is a pity that he does not enter more into detail in the statement of his views. Those of Schultheiss in the Allg. Zeitung, 1892, No. 301, Suppl., are

that, side by side with the many good elements in Italian society in the 15th Century, there was also a terrible amount of evil.* Amongst the general causes contributing to produce this state of things a considerable share must be assigned to literature and the drama.

The foul literature produced by such writers as Beccadelli, Valla, Poggio, and their innumerable disciples was accessible only to the cultivated classes. Among the great bulk of readers the poison was disseminated by means of the novels and plays which were written in the vulgar tongue. In addition to Boccaccio's novels, first printed by a Jew, and repeatedly re-issued during the 15th Century, there were the far worse productions of Ser Cambi, Masuccio, Gentili Sermini, Francesco Vettori, Bandello, and others.† Their favourite subjects are the relations between the sexes, treated with the crudest realism, and in connection with this, attacks on marriage and the family. The unsuspicious husband is hoodwinked, and the jealous husband is betrayed in spite of all his precautions. Priests and Monks seduce and deceive, and are in their turn cheated and beaten. The tendency in all is to condone, and indeed to glorify adultery, if only it is accompanied with adroit deception.‡ As with the Humanists of the false renaissance,

similar. *Cf.* also RANKE, Zur Kritik, 153*; Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, II., 288 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 452–3; GRANT in Die Nation, IV., 482 *seq.*; and in the same connection, GEIGER, in the Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Lit.-Gesch. N. F., II., 250 *seq.*

* *Cf.* for one class of subjects, BELGRANO, 422 *seq.* and 453 *seq.* Though the preachers often exaggerate in their diatribes, still in many cases their statements are only too definite and credible. *Cf.* Sermones de Sanctis, Gabr. Barlete, 12.

† HOFMANN, Barbara von Mantua, 25. BOCCACCIO'S Decamerone was read even by women; see MAI, Spicil., IX., 616. On the dissemination of bad books, see Sermones, Gabr. Barlete, 13.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 31, n. ‡. (Engl. trans.), with the references

free love is the ideal set before the reader. Gradually things came to such a pass that men who were thoroughly estimable in all other respects actually defended divorce. It is interesting in this connection to compare the opinions of Leon Battista Alberti and Baldassare Castiglione, two of the most celebrated writers of the time of the Renaissance. The former wrote a work on education in Italian, which, compared with Dominici's treatise on the same subject, bears clear traces of the evil influence of the false renaissance. In the first the system of morals is based on the firm foundation of Christian teaching; in the second it rests on purely human considerations. Alberti's practical counsels are excellent, but the name of Christ is scarcely ever mentioned, and the ancient classics supply all the models of conduct and heroic instances.* At the same time, Alberti firmly holds fast the indissolubility of the Sacrament of Marriage. A quarter of a century later Baldassare Castiglione, though so high-minded in all other respects, expresses opinions in his "Cortegiano" which look very like an apology for adultery.† Pontano says plainly that a wife had better shut her eyes to the relations between her husband and her maids.‡

Again, from a moral point of view, the influence of such poems as the romantic epics of Bojardo and Ariosto was anything but good. Bojardo's chivalric poem is full of coarse jokes and doubtful episodes;§ the "Orlando Furioso"

there given. See also DANDOLO, Secolo di Leone X., II., 155 *seq.* Milano, 1861.

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 186 *seq.*, and the same writer's admirable work, Die Frauenfrage, 207. Wien, 1893.

† See CIAN'S interesting essay, Divorzisti e Antidivorzisti nel Rinascimento Italiano, in the Turin Gazzetta Letteraria, 1893, N. 6.

‡ GOTHEIN, 572.

§ ERSCH-GRUBER, II., Section 26, 25.

of Ariosto, the Court poet at Ferrara, is much worse. Here the occasions of all the knightly exploits and feats of arms are simply the sensual passions of the heroes and heroines, and the poem is full of voluptuous descriptions, glowing with colour, and all the more dangerous from the attractiveness with which the art of the poet invests them. Many portions of the Orlando, the most important work of the kind which the Renaissance produced, are of such a character that the majority of its translators refrain from reproducing them.* Before entering on his, anything but decorous, diatribe against women, and their ineradicable duplicity, faithlessness, and caprice, Ariosto himself says:—

> Donne e voi che le donne avete in pregio
> Per Dio non date a questa istoria orecchio. . . .
> Passi chi vuol tre carte, o quattro, senza
> Leggerne verso;
>
> *Orlando Furioso*, Canto xxviii.

There are also in this poem many satirical passages on the immoral lives of the clergy, though the poet's own conduct was not by any means of a kind to give him a right to be severe upon the sins of other men.† Ariosto, however,

* RUTH, Gesch. der Ital. Poesie, II., 293 *seq.*; MAFFEI, Storia di Lett. Ital., 3, 2 (Milano, 1825. II., 61-64); GASPARY, II., 412, 429 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*; WEISS, Apologie, II., 382; BURCKHARDT, II., 45, ed. 3; SCHNEEGANS, Groteske Satire, 112 *seq.*; E. SCHMIDT, Der rasende Roland, in the Allg. Zeit., 1882, Nos. 308, 310. The privilege granted to Ariosto by Leo X. on the publication of his poem, has given rise to a foolish notion that this Pope had formally approved of it; whereas in fact it is nothing but an ordinary grant of copyright, REUMONT, III., 2, 347.

† Ariosto, says RUTH, II., 245, could neither live nor write without a mistress. In his fiftieth year he refused the honourable post of Envoy to Rome, which would have extricated him from all his pecuniary difficulties, because he could not bring himself to part from his lady-love in Ferrara (Satira, VII., 57 *seq.*). He resolved not to marry in order to

never attacked religion; indeed, in some of his Satires he points out the danger of tampering in any way with Faith.*

From the moral point of view, it was in his plays that Ariosto permitted himself the greatest licence. Nowhere does the deep-seated corruption of the Italian Courts display itself in a more revolting form than in this branch of literature. Here we see the influence of the ancient pagan spirit at its worst.

To Pomponius Laetus, a votary of the false renaissance, and the pomp-loving Ercole I. of Ferrara, belongs the doubtful glory of having restored the works of Plautus and Terence, to the stage. No Festa of the Roman Academy, or the Court of Ferrara, could be adequately celebrated without a representation of some play, full of indecent jests, by one or other of these authors. Those organised by Pomponius Laetus in Rome were, however, carefully got up in antique style. It was at Ferrara that the true renaissance of Plautus and Terence was accomplished, under the auspices of Ercole I., who was the founder of the characteristic Drama of this period.† They were his favourite authors. The stage decorations were gorgeous, many of the pieces, in which a ballet (Moresca) was always introduced, were a tissue of low *double-entendres*. During the Carnival of the year 1486 the Menaechmi of Plautus was represented in Italian for the first time in Ferrara.‡ This piece was

retain his liberty. *Cf.* also FERNOW, Ariosto's Leben, 81 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*, 177 (Zürich, 1809); PRÖLSS, I., 2, 107; and SCHUCHARDT, in the Allg. Zeit., 1875, No. 149, Suppl.; and Renaissance und Keltisches. Berlin, 1886.

* *Cf.* besides RANKE, Z. Gesch. d. Ital. Poesie, WERKE, 51–52, 204, especially GABOTTO, La politica e la religiosità di L. Ariosto in the Rassegna Emiliana. Modena, 1889, Novembre.

† See D'ANCONA, Origini del Teatro Italiano (ed. 2, Torino, 1891); and FLECHSIG, Dekoration der Modernen Bühne, 6 *seq.*, 10 *seq.*

‡ Diario Ferrarese, 278.

the most popular of his plays in the age of the Renaissance, and the one which exercised the greatest influence on the development of Italian Comedy. Ercole's successor, Alfonso I., was equally devoted to this kind of performance. Ariosto's "Cassaria" (the Casket), written in the style of Plautus, was produced for the first time at his Court during the Carnival of 1508.* This vile piece, in which the chief personage is a pander, who, after the fashion of ancient Rome, is a dealer in female slaves, is even surpassed in licentiousness by the same author's "Suppositi," which was put upon the stage at Ferrara for the first time in the following year. His third Comedy, "Lena" (a procuress), a tale of low debauchery, was performed in 1528 before the whole Court at the marriage of Prince Ercole with Renée of Valois.†

Isabella d'Este, wife of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, shared her father's passion for the Drama, and took great pains with the Theatre at Mantua. Secular plays were also introduced at Urbino. In Rome classical plays probably first began to be acted in the reign of Innocent VIII., and were not long restricted to the small circle of the Humanists. Very soon the worldly-minded Cardinals and other Church dignitaries opened the doors of their palaces to Pomponius Laetus and his dramas. Cardinal Raffaele Riario especially patronised the stage with princely munificence.‡

* CAMPORI, Notizie per la Vita di L. Ariosto, 68-9 (ed. 2, Modena, 1871); FLECHSIG, Dekoration der Modernen Bühne, 20 *seq.*

† On the plays of Ariosto see KLEIN, IV., 304 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*, 351 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 416 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 109 *seq.*; BOUTERWEK, II., 58 *seq.*; FEUERLEIN, Die Ital. Komödie, in the Preuss. Jahrb., XLVII., 10 *seq.* On the representations in Ferrara see CAMPORI, *loc. cit.*, 69 *seq.*, and FLECHSIG, 22 *seq.* See also CAMPANINI, L'Ariosto (Bologna, 1891); and Giorn d. Lett., XX., 282 *seq.*

‡ D'ANCONA, Origini, II., 65 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, ed. 2; FLECHSIG, 25 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

Under Alexander VI. the taste for theatrical representations made great progress. Plays, for the most part of an extremely objectionable character, were a prominent feature in all court festivities, and also in the Carnival amusements, in which Alexander took a great interest. In 1502 the Pope had the Menaechmi performed in his own apartments.* Fortunately, the warlike tastes of Julius II. for a moment checked the stream, but under Leo X. it flowed freely again. He was not ashamed to be present at a sumptuous representation of Cardinal Bibbiena's immoral play, "Calandria," which was put on the stage for the first time at Urbino during the Carnival in 1513.†

Machiavelli's plays surpassed even those of Ariosto and Bibbiena in absence of decorum. His "Mandrágola" (the Magic Drink) is the worst. Nothing more detestable could be invented than the incident which he describes in his masterly prose. Unbridled passion and the lowest desires are the main theme of the play. In its clever and sparkling dialogue, adultery is held up to admiration. In this loathsome production, Machiavelli gave free vent to the

* Dispacci di A. GIUSTINIANI, I., 379, 404, 413; SANUTO, IV., 722, 767, 782; ADEMOLLO, Il Carnevale di Roma, 23 *seq.* (Firenze, 1891); FLECHSIG, 46 *seq.*

† PUNGILEONI, 288; VERNARECCI, in Arch. St. p. le Marche, III., 183 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 213 *seq.*; D'ANCONA, Origini, II., 77 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, ed. 2; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 18 *seq.*; FLECHSIG, 60 *seq.*; CELLI, in the Nuova Rivista Misena, VII.: Un carnevale a la corte d'Urbino e la prima rappresentazione della Calandria. As to the play itself see, besides these authorities, KLEIN, IV., 392 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 577 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 101 *seq.*; GRAF, Studii drammatici, 87 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 138; Preuss. Jahrb., XLVII., 15 *seq.*; R. WENDRINER, Die Quellen von B. Dovizi's Calandria (Halle, 1895), shews that Bibbiena, in writing Calandria, was more influenced by Boccaccio than by Plautus. CASTIGLIONE says that in the performance of Calandria some scenes "which perhaps would have been hardly admissible on the stage" were altered.

corruption of his own nature, and to his bitter hatred of the clergy. The piece is in the most striking contrast to Dante's noble indignation against the unworthy representatives of the Church. Machiavelli's aim in his caricature of Fra Timoteo is to pour contumely on the whole order. The avaricious and gluttonous monk insults and tramples on all that is most sacred in the Church, and cares for nothing but the pelf which is to reward his infamy.

His second comedy "Clizia," an imitation of one of Plautus' most scandalous pieces, is on a par with the first. In the Prologue he says that he hopes to have succeeded in avoiding anything that could appear objectionable; it is his business to make people laugh, and he has chosen lovers as his subjects, but has throughout expressed himself in such a manner that ladies may see and hear without blushing. In reality, there are passages in the play which no decent man could hear with patience.* Even the Humanist, Giglio Gregorio Geraldi exclaims "What times! what morals! All the vileness of the heathen drama which had been driven out by Christianity has returned again."†

In regard to the Drama there were two distinct worlds, the Court circle in which plays of this kind were admired and enjoyed, and the educated middle-classes which continued

* KLEIN, IV., 371 *seq.*, 422 *seq*; GASPARY, II., 579 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 118 *seq.*; GRAF, Studii drammatici, 131 *seq.*; Machiavelli als Komödiendichter in the Allg. Zeitung, 1881, Nr. 237, Suppl. SAMOSCH, Machiavelli als Komödiendichter (Minden, 1888); VILLARI, Machiavelli, III., 134 *seq.*, here, p. 136, are to be found his arguments to prove that Leo X. was not present at the performance of Mandrágola. GASPARY'S remarks on the Jesuits and this play carry their own confutation with them. There is no obligation laid on any one to know anything of the Religious Orders; but when a man takes upon himself to write about them, he is bound to have at least an elementary acquaintance with his subject.

† RUTH, II., 507.

to relish and cultivate the Sacred Drama, the influence of which was invaluable as a counter-check to the sensuous tendencies of the false renaissance. This, however, could not last; the movement towards the revival of the classical stage, inaugurated by the Humanists, swept steadily onwards, and in the course of time, the religious drama became extinct.*

In addition to the baneful effects of this corrupt literature, a custom which began to prevail in Italy about the middle of the fourteenth Century, exercised a very disastrous influence on the national morals. About this time, slaves began to be imported from the East, mostly women and girls, more rarely boys and youths.† Previously to the Turkish conquests, these women were mostly Tartars or Circassians, brought over, as a rule, by the Venetians and Genoese. Subsequently the majority were captives from Servia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania. Repeated enactments in the statute books, ever increasing in stringency, shew what abuses accompanied this traffic. It sounds strange in our ears to find this abomination referred to in the letters of eminently respectable persons quite as a matter of course, and the national characteristics and qualities of these slave-girls freely discussed.‡ It can be proved that slaves of both sexes were commonly held in nearly all the great cities in Italy, such as Venice, Florence, Mantua, Ferrara, Lucca, Naples and Genoa. The Italian

* D'ANCONA, II., 61 *seq.*, ed. 2; FLECHSIG, 6.

† ZAMBONI, Gli Ezzelini, Dante e gli schiavi, 242 *seq.*, 280 (Wien, 1870); BONGI, Le schiave orientali in Italia in the Nuova Antologia (1868) II.; BURCKHARDT, II., 78 *seq.*, ed. 2; ZANELLI, Le schiave orientali a Firenze nei sec. XIV., XV. (Firenze, 1885); REUMONT in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 51 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, 293 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, 411 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Buffoni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d'Isabella d'Este, 61 *seq.* (Roma, 1891); Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 91 *seq.*

‡ Lettere di Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, 475. Firenze, 1877.

Princes made it a point to have some Moorish male and female slaves, who were valued in proportion to the blackness of their skins, and, like the fool and the dwarf, were considered an indispensable appendage of a brilliant Court. The Court artists have immortalised some of these quaint figures in their frescoes.* Almost all the great families in Florence possessed female slaves. The evil custom brought its own retribution with it. "Often the peace of a household was destroyed by one of these slave women; legitimate and illegitimate children were brought up together. Thus, we see Carlo, afterwards Provost of Prato, the son of the elder Cosimo de' Medici and a Circassian slave bought in Venice, educated with the other children, while the mother of another member of the family, Maria, daughter of Cosimo's son Piero, is unknown." It is safe to say that in any house where there were female slaves, the morals of the male members of the family were sure to be far from exemplary. From private letters we learn that there was a great unwillingness to marry among the younger mercantile nobility. In reference to this, Alessandra Strozzi, writing of her sons, remarks that "the devil is not so black as he is painted."†

There is another distressing feature of the age which

* MANTEGNA in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castle at Mantua. Paolo Veronese at a later period frequently introduced black men in his pictures.

† REUMONT in Hist., Jahrb., VII., 57, and Kleine Schriften, 134 *seq.* In Siena, in the beginning of the 15th Century, the State found it necessary to take measures against the increasing prevalence of celibacy; see L. FUMI, Bando di prender moglie in Siena (Siena, 1878). In Lucca a decree was passed in 1454 debarring all unmarried men between the ages of twenty and fifty from any public office (see Giorn. Ligust., 1890, 188), an example which was followed by the municipality of Città di Castello in 1465. See MUZI, Mem. eccles. e civili di Città di Castello, I., 230, II., 28.

supplies a certain measure for its moral condition, and must not be overlooked by the historian of culture. Already, in the 14th Century, in the towns in Italy, the number of unfortunate women leading a life of shame had been very great. The 15th Century shows a notable increase in this class, even in small places like Orvieto and Perugia.* These women were tolerated to prevent worse evils. In great international centres, such as Venice, Rome and Naples, as years went on the state of things grew worse and worse. The chronicler Infessura, who, however, cannot be depended upon for accuracy, estimates the number of these unhappy creatures in Rome in the year 1490 at 6800.† In Venice, in the beginning of the 16th Century, their number was

* FABRETTI, Documenti di Storia Perugina, Vol. I. (Torino, 1887), cites decrees in 1424, 1436, 1478, 1486 and 1487 against these women, but all these enactments proved ineffectual. In 1488 a new edict was published, but equally with no result. The Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro tells the same story in regard to Orvieto, see pp. 166, 168, etc. For other cities (Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Siena, Viterbo, Faenza and Rome), see numerous statements in REZASCO'S Essay in the Giornale Ligustico, 1890, 161 *seq.* For Milan, see Arch. St. Lomb., XVIII., 1000 *seq.* For Genoa, BELGRANO, 429 *seq.* For Padua, LOVARINI, Die Frauenwettrennen in Padua (Berlin, 1892). For Turin, GABOTTO in the Giorn. Ligust., 1890, 316 *seq.* For Mantua, Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 472 *seq.* LUZIO-RENIER, Buffoni, 44, and BERTOLOTTI in Mendico A° V., N. 10. An **Edict of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, of June 6, 1475, against improper conduct in Courts of Justice (Municipal Archives, Pavia), supplies important information in regard to the state of morals in that city. In regard to the dissipated and lawless lives of the students in Rome, see Giorn. d. Lett., II., 134 *seq.*; and for the same in Pistoja, Arch. St. Ital, 4 Serie, VII., 114 *seq.*

† INFESSURA, ed. Tommasini, 260. For Rome see REUMONT, III., 1, 442 *seq.*; 2, 461 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 70; ARMELLINI, Censimento di Roma sotto Leone X. (Roma, 1882); VIOLLET (as opposed to Woker) in the Rev. Hist., XII., 444 *seq.*, and the special authorities cited *infra*, p. 130, note*.

not less than 11,000, out of a population of 300,000.* Here they enjoyed considerable freedom in comparison with most other cities where various restrictions were imposed upon them; but in spite of all such efforts, their numbers and their effrontery continued to increase.

Another circumstance which requires to be noted is that towards the close of the 15th Century, vice, keeping pace with the diffusion of culture, became itself more refined, and consequently more dangerous. "With the spirit of the Renaissance more and more pervading daily life, came a revival of the Hetaerae."

In this connection the gradual substitution about this time of the better-sounding name of "courtesan" for the old appellation "peccatrice," is significant of the change. Burchard's Diary of Alexander VI. shews that this appellation was already in common use in 1498.† The name was at once both an effect and a cause of efforts to correspond with it on the part of those who bore it. We find that these women cultivated music and poetry, and could write and converse with elegance; many of their letters are fluently and correctly expressed, and contain Latin quotations. During the 16th Century, many of the Hetaerae, especially in Venice and Rome, were prominent personages. They lived in great luxury in splendid houses, and were accompanied by a large circle of acquaintances when they went out walking, or to church. Poets wrote verses about them, and some were themselves poetesses.

* SANUTO, VIII., 414; MOLMENTI, 287; GRAF, 286, Leggi e memorie Venete sulla prostituzione sino alla caduta della repubblica. A spese del Conte di Orford (Venezia, 1870–72), and (G. TASSINI) Cenni storici e leggi circa il libertinaggio in Venezia (Venezia, 1886); Les Courtisanes et la police des mœurs a Venise. Bordeaux, 1886.

† Cortegiana, hoc est meretrix honesta. BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 442–4; *cf.* III., 167.

One of the most famous of the Roman courtesans who bore the proud name of Imperia, and was the mistress of the rich banker Agostino Chigi, had Strascino of Siena for her instructor in Italian poetry.* An early death saved Imperia from the fate of the majority of her companions, who, all their wealth having departed with their beauty, generally died in some hospital, or in a wretched garret.†

On the side of the Church, great efforts were made to stem the tide of evil, especially in the direction of ordinances relating to the marriage of these unhappy victims.‡ The mission preachers were unwearied in their labours, and often succeeded in checking it for a time.§ Special missions were sometimes given for the conversion of these

* *Cf.* in addition to GRAF'S exhaustive "Studie," 224 *seq.*: GASPARY, II., 508; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 138 *seq.*, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 281 *seq.*; CANELLO, Storia d. Lett. Ital., 15 *seq.* (Milano, 1880); SCHULTHEISS in the Allg. Zeit., 1892, Nr. 298; MINGHETTI, Raffaele, 94; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, as well as the following list of authors whose works refer mainly to the 16th Century: FERRAI, Lettere di Cortegiane del sec. XVI. (Firenze, 1884), and LUZIO in the Giorn. d. Lett., III., 432 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni straordinarie alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI. (Roma, 1878); ARULLANI, Appunti sulle cortegiane nel cinquecento in Bibl. d. scuole class. Ital., VI., 14 (1894); CIAN, Galanterie Ital. del. sec. XVI., in *La Letteratura* (Torino, 1887); RODOCANACHI, Courtisanes et Bouffons. Étude des mœurs Romaines au XVI. siècle (Paris, 1894), and CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXIV., 446 *seq.*

† The well-known poetess Tullia d'Aragona, *cf.* Nuova Antologia, IV., 655 *seq.* [1886]; CELANI, Le Rime di T. d'Aragona (Bologna, 1891); LUZIO in the Riv. St. Mantov., I. [1885], and BONGI in the Rev. crit. d. Lett. Ital., IV., 186 *seq.* [1887]), fell into such poverty that in her last years she kept a small wine-shop in the Trastevere where she died. See CORVISIERI, Il Testamento di Tullia d'Aragona (1556) in Fanfulla della Domenica, 1886.

‡ GRAF, 272.

§ Giorn. Ligustico (1890), 319.

women. The Mantuan chronicles mention one conducted by the famous preacher, Aegidius of Viterbo, during the Lent of 1508 in Rome.* Some were converted; and in their later years, the mistresses of Rodrigo and Cæsar Borgia, Vannozza de' Cattanei and Fiammetta, sought by charity and penance, to atone for their sins.† But in the main, things remained much as they were‡ in Rome, which was not surprising, considering the bad example set by so many of the clergy.§ The evil was not done away with till the time of the Catholic reformation.

But this was not the worst of the maladies which the false renaissance had brought upon Italy. The historian of these times cannot avoid touching upon a still more painful subject. There is unmistakeable evidence of the revival of the horrible national vice of the Greeks.|| It had

* A questi dì frate Egidio ha facto una predica per convertire tutte queste bagasse (bagascie) de Roma; quando furno alla presentia sua tutte volevano fare mirabilia et promessoli el partito molto largo; partite che furno a Lucha te vidi. Vero è che alcune per essere state assai in questo peccato se sonno convertite parte a le monache de ponte Sisto et in el monesterio de S. Giorgio. Cesar de Bechadellis (not Beccodelli as it is written by Bertolotti [*loc. cit.*, 8]) to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua, Rome, March 5, 1508. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† In regard to VANOZZA, see *infra*, p. 363. As to Fiammetta, after whom the street leading from the Maschera d'Oro to S. Apollinare is called Piazza Fiammetta, see ADINOLFI, Torre de' Sanguigni, 15 *seq.*; GRAF, 279 *seq.*, shews that even the courtesans had not wholly lost their Faith.

‡ *Cf.* GROSSINO'S account, Jan. 7, 1512; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 29, 30.

§ *Cf. infra*, p. 170 *seq.*

|| Besides the references given in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 26, n. * (Engl. trans.); see also for what follows: KNEBEL, II., 150; LANDUCCI, 251, 298; PLATINA, in Vairani, Mon. Cremon., I., 28. Cenni sul libertinaggio a Venezia (see *supra*, p. 129, note *), 17 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 219 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 24; PERRENS, II., 147; BELGRANO, 427 *seq.*; GUIDICINI, Miscell. Bologn., 43 *seq.*; MACHIAVELLI, Lettere familiari, p. p. c. di. E. Alvisi, Ediz. integra (not sold in the book trade), 233, 317, 321, 325, 335, 337. Florence, 1883.

been almost eradicated through the influence of the Church and the severe laws enacted at her instigation, punishing it and branding it with shame. Clothed in the graceful robes of Greek myths and lightly sung by Roman poets, it slipped noiselessly back into the modern world. In the beginning of the 15th Century, it was already to be found in Venice, Siena and Naples. In Naples, S. Bernardino of Siena publicly preached against it, and declared that "God would send fire from heaven and destroy the city as He destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha."* Of the later mission preachers, Roberto da Lecce, Michele da Milano, and Gabriele da Barletta were those who raised their voices most loudly against this growing curse.† In Venice, the State endeavoured by legislation and severe penalties to check this form of corruption, but in vain. The advocates of the false renaissance openly and unblushingly extolled the unnatural vices which had been the ruin of the ancient world. Some actually made a boast of such practices; others excused them on the ground that they were not condemned by the noblest men among the ancients, the models whom the Humanists made it the one aim of their lives to resemble. In his seventh satire Ariosto says that almost all the Humanists were addicted to the vice for which God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha.‡ This, no doubt, is an exaggeration, like many other wholesale accusations formulated in a scandalous age which did not spare

* VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 471 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† MICHAEL DE MEDIOLANO, Sermones, P. I., 65; P. II., 64; P. III. in fine; GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones de Sanctis, f. 78; ROB. de LITIO, Serm., 30. See also Arch. Veneto, fasc. 71, p. 237 *seq.*

‡ Senza quel vizio son pochi umanisti
Che fe' a Dio forza, non che persuase
Di far Gomorra e i suoi vicini tristi;

Satira, VII., 25 *seq.*

even Michael Angelo's character, and which should be taken only for what they are worth.* Still in regard to many of the Humanists, setting aside what may be only poetical embroideries, their own writings prove that it is not unfounded.† Pomponius Laetus, in answer to charges of this nature, cited the example of Socrates, and the poet Cosmico quoted a poem of Plato.‡ There can be hardly any doubt that the most distinguished Poet and Humanist at the Court of Lorenzo de' Medici, Angelo Poliziano,§ the Venetian Chronicler Sanuto,‖ and the Venetian Envoy in Rome in the time of Innocent VIII., Antonio Loredano,¶ were all guilty of this vice. Loredano was dismissed from his post in consequence of it.

The most serious part of it, as far as the nation was concerned, was that it made its way into the lower ranks also. At the time of the invasion of Charles VIII., a chronicler writes: the whole country and all the great cities, Rome, Florence, Naples, Bologna, Ferrara are infected.** Many preachers attribute all the misfortunes of the Italians, the wars, dearths and earthquakes, to the

* *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, I., 180–90, ed. 3, and JANSEN, Soddoma, 42 *seq.*

† NETZER, Leben des F. Baldi, 58 (Wien, 1790), shews that this was the case with regard to his hero.

‡ Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XIII., 144. In regard to P. Laetus, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 41 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

§ *Cf.* UZIELLI, 232 *seq.*, where also the proof is found that Poliziano held a Canonry. In regard to his life and writings see GRAESSE, II., 3, 711 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 213 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*; HOFFMANN, Lebensbilder berühmter Humanisten, I. (Leipzig, 1837); MÄHLY, A. Poliziano (Leipzig, 1864); C. CASTELLANI, A. Poliziano (Carrara, 1868); Vita Italiana, II., 1 *seq.*, and the treatise, In memoria di A. Poliziano (Siena, 1894). Del Lungo is preparing a comprehensive work on Poliziano.

‖ The proof is to be found in a hitherto unnoticed Despatch in LUZIO, P. Aretino, 11, note 1. Torino, 1888.

¶ Navagiero in MURATORI, XXIII., 1194.

** MURATORI, XXIV., 12; KNEBEL, II., 150.

wrath of God on account of this sin. When, in 1511, Venice was visited with a violent earthquake, the Patriarch told his terrified countrymen that this was a punishment from God because they would not give up their vices.*

The frequency of murders in churches is another mark of the blunting of the moral sense caused by the spirit of the classical renaissance; most of them were perpetrated by men who strove to emulate Brutus and Cassius, the two chief heroes of the Humanists.† Yet another was the growing practice of political assassination. In Venice especially, this was the most common way of getting rid of an enemy, either at home or abroad. These things were coolly discussed and determined in the Council, and assassination was freely employed by the Government as a political agency, so that Pontanus could say with truth that in Italy "nothing was so cheap as human life." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that duelling increased immensely and that brigandage was rampant in many places.‡

Moral corruption, such as we have been describing, could not fail to lead to religious indifference. Boccaccio's famous poem of the Three Rings, is a significant expression of this tendency.§ The Morgante Maggiore of

* SANUTO, XII., 84 *seq.*

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 308 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ In addition to the references given in previous volumes, see also MARINI, I., 277; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschrift, LII., 374 *seq.*, and NOLHAC, Erasme en Italie, 20. In regard to Brigandage, see BURCKHARDT, II., 220 *seq.*, ed. 3. On Duelling, CIAN, Cortegiano, 45.

§ BURCKHARDT, II., 265, 340, ed. 3. For what follows I had hoped to find valuable material in OWEN'S work, The Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance (London, 1893), but have been completely disappointed and thrown back on ZIMMERMANN'S indecisive pronouncement in the Handweiser (1893), 340 *seq.* That which SKAIFE, 131 *seq.*, says in regard to Florence is also quite inadequate.

Luigi Pulci, shews that a similar tone of thought was well received in Lorenzo de' Medici's circle. The poem is a romantic tale of chivalry divided into cantos, each of which begins by invoking the inspiration of God and the Saints, for a muse whose utterances are nothing but a tissue of buffoonery. In the second canto, the help of the crucified Jupiter is implored to bring the tale to a close. The fourth contains a parody of the *Gloria Patri* in a medley of Italian and Latin verses, and in another, there is a parody of the *Paternoster*. The more profane the song, the more solemn is the prologue which introduces it. Sudden conversions and baptisms are sarcastically described and attributed to the lowest motives. Sacred things are travestied and derided, and finally, the poet winds up with a declaration of faith in the goodness of all religions which, in spite of his professions of orthodoxy, evidently implies a purely theistic point of view.*

The temper and teaching of another section of the votaries of the false renaissance was perhaps even more objectionable than that of Luigi. These men frankly advocated the complete resuscitation of Pagan thought and ethics. Their programme is expressed in Lorenzo Valla's book on pleasure, published in 1431, which is nothing but Epicureanism pure and simple. With Valla, enjoyment and nothing else is the aim of life. The pleasures of the senses are our highest good, and the ancients who raised voluptuousness into a cult, and worshipped pleasure as a God, were happy.†

* RUTH, II., 142 *seq.*, 198, 202 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, II., 266, ed. 2; OWEN, 147 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*; SETTEMBRINI, Lez. di Lett. Ital., 330; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 44 *seq.*, ed. 2; GASPARY, II., 275 *seq.*; L. PULCI'S Sarcasms on Immortality in a sonnet in the Arch. St. Ital., N. T., IX., 49 *seq.*

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 13 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

Fortunately, face to face with the heathen stood the Christian Renaissance, and for a considerable time this school was still so powerful that Valla, in his theories, had no disciples.* In practice, however, and more and more as the century drew towards its close, his gospel of pleasure found an ever widening circle of adherents. Considerations of prudence led the paganising Humanists to avoid an open breach with the Church, and in addition to this, they were, for the most part, too indifferent on the subject of faith to occupy themselves with religious questions. Some, on account of their neglect of religion and reckless utterances against the Church, were commonly called "Atheists"; but such a thing as speculative and rationalistic Atheism was unknown, and no one would have dared to profess it."† Though the Church permitted a good deal of latitude in some directions, actual heresy was severely dealt with, as is proved by the fate of the Roman Academicians under Paul II.,‡ and the punishment of such men as Zanino de Solcia, Giovanni da Montecatini, Niccolò Lelio Cosmico and others. Heretics such as these were, however, rare. Setting aside the Waldenses and the Fraticelli, unorthodox teaching found very little sympathy in Italy during the Renaissance.§ However much worldliness and scepticism might

* GABOTTO, L. Valla e l'Epicureismo nel Quattrocento. Parte prima, 50 (Milano-Torino, 1889). The rest of this work has unfortunately not yet come out.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 272, ed. 3.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 51 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), and UZIELLI, 187 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 113 (Engl. trans.); UZIELLI, 212 *seq.*, and CANTÙ, I., 182 *seq.*; III., 699 *seq.* On the Paduan poet Niccolò Lelio Cosmico, see B. ROSSI'S excellent treatise in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XIII., 101 *seq.*, and the letter published in the same periodical, XXIII., 461 *seq.*, which shews that the accusations of heresy brought against this poet were not wholly groundless. On a heretic in Bologna

have done in weakening religious feeling,* such a thing as obstinate heresy hardly existed. Whatever rash or free-thinking language might on occasion be used, when it came to the point, a direct breach with Christianity and the Church was almost always avoided.† Even the most advanced Humanists, at the approach of death, returned to the faith of their childhood. Codrus Urceus, a professor in Bologna, used to tell his hearers that no one knew what happened to the soul or the spirit after death, and that all that was said about the next world was nothing but old wives' tales to frighten children. "When, however, he came to die, in his will he commended his soul to Almighty God, admonished his weeping scholars to fear God, and above all things hold fast their Faith in immortality and retribution after death; and received the last Sacraments with great devotion."‡ Even such men as Malatesta and Machiavelli, after spending their lives in estrangement from the Church, sought on their death-beds her assistance and consolations. Both made good confessions and received the Holy Viaticum.§ In this as in other things, we have evidence which proves how saturated with Christianity was the spirit of the Italian nation. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the confusion of contradictions of which life was made up in those days of transition. Another instance of this has lately been discovered in the story of Sigismondo Malatesta. This man, a professed votary of paganism and its vices, had an effigy of the skull

who maintained that Christ had not yet come, see BAPTISTA MANTUANUS, De Patientia, l. III., c. 13.

* *Cf.* Ant. de Vercellis' complaint in Sermones, f. 243.

† This is pointed out by von Bezold in SYBEL'S Zeitsch., XLIX., 212.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 274, ed. 3. *Cf.* MALAGOLA, Codro Urceo, 186 *seq.* Bologna, 1878.

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 28 (Engl. trans.).

of one of his ancestors carved in marble, in order, so the inscription runs, that he might never forget him, and daily pray for his soul.*

This sort of alternation during life, between free-thinking and the religion implanted in youth, to which, on their death-beds they definitively returned, was very general amongst the Humanists and men of letters.† The two Humanists, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano and Antonio Galatea, both southern Italians, are striking instances of this class.

Pontano's writings (1426—1503)‡ are saturated with paganism and pagan ideals. In combating superstition he attacks the Invocation of the Saints, and classes it with the worship of idols. He executed a scholarly copy of Beccadelli's poems, which are modelled on the licentious tone of the later Roman period, and which are, many of them, pervaded with the most repulsive cynicism. When quite an old man he wrote loose poems on the manners of the bathers of Baiae. The writings of his pupil Marullus were of a similar character. In his Hymns to nature he addresses the ancient Gods in terms which could only fitly be applied to a living Divine Person. "When Erasmus remarked that the poem was barely Christian, this was taken up as an insult to the Italians, and he was scornfully informed that a Christian muse meant a barbarous muse."§ Pontano was the centre of a learned circle in Naples, which was called the Academia Pontaniana. The members, like

* See a drawing of this skull, which is in the possession of M. Campori at Modena, in YRIARTE, Un Condottiere, 230.

† CARDUCCI, Studi Lett., 99; GASPARY, II., 275, and UZIELLI, 218.

‡ SARNO'S Biography (Napoli, 1761), and TALLARIGO (Napoli, 1874); and also GOTHEIN (references given below).

§ GOTHEIN, 34, 427 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 537 *seq.*, 594; and GASPARY, II., 299 *seq.*, 301 *seq.*, 307 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*

those of the Roman Academy of Pomponius Laetus, adopted Latin names. Pontano called himself Jovianus instead of Giovanni, and Sannazaro was turned into Actius Sincerus.*

Galateus, a member of this Academy, is the author of a remarkable dialogue entitled "Eremita." This composition contains vehement attacks upon the clergy and complaints against Rome, and the truths of the Faith are also assailed sometimes directly and sometimes with irony. Ridicule is poured upon the most venerated names in Biblical and Sacred history, and S. Jerome is held up to scorn for his denunciations of the heathen classics; and yet, this curious production concluded with a devout hymn to the Blessed Virgin.†

This man, after having in his Dialogue so bitterly attacked the Court of Rome, betook himself thither in the time of Julius II., in order to present to the Pope a copy of "the original Greek document" containing the gifts of Constantine.‡ Valla's treatise against this deed of gift was written at Naples,§ now a Humanist from Naples comes forward to defend it, while a little later Ariosto relegated it with various other fictitious things to a dwelling in the moon.||

* GASPARY, II., 301.

† See GOTHEIN, 462 *seq.*, who has made use of a MS. in the Library of Naples and "as the Dialogue is hardly likely to be published at present" gives a complete analysis of it. He is not aware that it was printed some time ago in the Collana di Scrittori di Terra d'Otranto, II., 1 *seq.* (Lecce, 1873); N. BARONE (Studi sulla vita di A. Galateo, 83), has overlooked Gothein's work. He thinks (36) that the Dialogue was composed about 1496.

‡ BARONE, Studi, 47 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 18 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

|| Orlando Furioso, XXXIV., 80. *Cf.* GABOTTO'S treatise quoted *supra*, p. 122, note *. The Venetian Ambassador spoke very sneeringly of this document to Alexander VI. *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 201.

If we look at the Humanists collectively, as a body of men, it cannot be denied that their craze for antiquity insensibly produced in many of them a weakening of the religious sentiment. "The eminent men, and to a considerable extent the institutions of classical times, were preferred to those of the middle ages, and the difference in religion seemed of no moment in the absorbing desire to emulate these heroes of ancient history." Christian dogma, and all that was the product of the mediæval spirit, appeared to the fanatical classicism of the Renaissance, barbarous and out of date. Regardless of the essential difference which the Church maintained between heathen and Christian ideas, they jumbled the two together, and delighted in disguising Christian thought in the language of the ancients. God is called Jupiter, even Dante goes so far as to call him "il Sommo Giove." Heaven is Olympus, the Saints are Gods, excommunication is spoken of as Dirae. Wherever the Humanists touch Christianity they paganise it.* The poet Publio Gregorio of Città de Castello, invokes the aid of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and the Muses, all in the same breath. He declares that "Mary opens and closes the doors of Olympus."† Pontano goes still farther. He calls a Saint not only Divus but Deus, he identifies the Angels with the ancient Genii, and his description of the state of souls after death can hardly be distinguished from the classical abode of the Shades.‡ The flippancy of some of these Humanists even went so far as to see nothing incongruous in linking sanctity with obscenity. A collection of poems in MS. of

* BURCKHARDT, II., 277–8, ed. 3; *cf.* 201 and I., 177, 201 *seq.*, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 498, ed. 3; PIPER, Mythologie, I., 280; GRUYER, 176, and SCHNEEGANS, 119 *seq.*

† GABOTTO, Publio Gregorio da Città di Castello, 25 (*ibid.*, 1890).

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 278, ed. 2.

the time of Alexander VI., contains a series of epigrams, the first of which are in honour of Our Lady and various holy women, after which, without a break or observation of any kind, they pass on to celebrate the most famous courtesans of the day. "The Saints of God and the votaries of Venus are calmly catalogued together as distinguished women."*

It is not too much to say that amongst the votaries of the false unchristian renaissance, the imitation of the ancients amounted to a mania. "The tyrant posed as Cæsar and Augustus, the republicans as Brutus, the captains of the mercenary bands strove to appear like Scipio and Hannibal, the philosophers aped Aristotle and Plato, the literati mimicked Virgil and Cicero."†

In common with many of the works of Art of that period,‡ the writings of Christian Humanists like Battista Spagnolo and Jacopo Sannazaro, present a most curious medley of Paganism and Christianity.§ Sannazaro, in the beginning of the first book of his famous poem on the birth of Christ, invokes the Angels and the Muses together. Heaven is usually called Olympus, the first person of the Holy Trinity, the Thunderer, the Ruler of Olympus and the King of the Gods. Christ is hymned as the Father of Gods and men, Mary as the Mother and Queen of the Gods. The poet indeed takes pains to point out that

* *Epitaphia clarissimarum mulierum que virtute, arte aut aliqua nota claruerunt. Cod. of Hartmann Schedel in d. Staatsbibl. von Munich; see GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 89 (96 in ed. 3).

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 22.

‡ See *infra*, p. 198 *seq.*

§ GABOTTO, Un poeta beatificato. Schizzo di Battista Spagnolo da Mantova (Venezia, 1892); La fede di J. Sannazaro (Bologna, 1891), and PIPER, Mythologie, I., 282 *seq.* In a future volume I shall have more to say about Sannazaro.

historical Christianity has cut away the ground from under the feet of the fables of mythology, but he perpetually introduces Pagan myths into his representations of Christian subjects. In describing the miracles of Christ, he declares that mortal diseases yield to His word, the wrath of Diana is assuaged, the furies of Tartarus are put to flight, and those possessed with devils are healed. Perhaps this infatuation is even stronger in another poet, Pietro Bembo. His epitaphs are purely heathen. In his hymn to S. Stephen, God the Father appears in His glory in the midst of Olympus, Christ is "the lofty Heros," Mary, a radiant Nymph. His letters are full of similar displays of bad taste; and he frequently expresses himself in the same manner even when writing as private secretary to Leo X.* The inscription on a tank in the Capitol, which was restored by the Conservators of Rome, reads like one of those of the olden times; "We have prepared the vessel; do thou, O Jupiter fill it with rain and be gracious to those who dwell by thy rock."† The increasing practice of choosing Greek and Roman names at baptisms, is another significant fact. Petrarch spoke of his friends as Laelius, Socrates, Simonides; and he himself liked to be called Cicero, and named his daughter Tullia. One of the Roman nobles christened his sons Agamemnon, Achilles and Tydeus, a painter named his son Apelles and his daughter Minerva. "Even the courtesans of Rome chose names which had been borne by their predecessors in old times, such as Lucretia, Cassandra, Porcia, Penthesilea. All the relations of life, and all offices and cere-

* PIPER, Mythologie, *loc. cit.*; GASPARY, II., 401; REUMONT, III., 2, 322 *seq.*; and CANTÙ, I., 189-90.

† FORCELLA, I., 32; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 272 *seq.*, ed. 3, where many other instances are to be found, especially of the time of Leo X., to which we shall recur in a future volume.

monies were classicised as far as possible."* Primarily, however, all this was merely an affair of fashion and dilettanteism which must not be judged too severely. Pedants delighted in calling Town Councillors "Patres Conscripti," Nuns, "Virgines Vestales," every Saint, "Divus" or "Deus." People of better taste, like Paul Jovius, followed the mode more or less because they could hardly help it. But Jovius does not obtrude it, and thus when we find in his writings Cardinals entitled "Senatores," the Cardinal Dean, "Princeps Senatus," excommunications, "Dirae," the Carnival, "Lupercalia," etc., we can bear it without annoyance. Indeed, his works are a proof how unjust in many cases it would be to infer an unchristian tone of thought from the use of this kind of phraseology.†

Nevertheless it was quite possible for these vagaries to assume dangerous forms. The most objectionable of these was the attempt to introduce the heathenism of the elegant Humanistic style into theologial science. We find such an attempt in the Compendium of Dogma published in 1503, by Paulus Cortesius, Secretary to Alexander VI., and later Apostolical Protonotary. Cortesius certainly takes his stand on the principles of the Church, and refutes the false conceptions of the heathen philosophers; but he is convinced that Christian Dogma cannot be rightly understood or explained without the aid of the wisdom of the ancient sages. Thus the pagan garment in which he wraps his Dogma is undoubtedly a source of peril. Christ is called the God of thunder and lightning, Mary the mother of the

* SCHNEEGANS, 119, and BURCKHARDT, I., 291, ed. 3. Here also are to be found various burlesques and productions of poetical Maccaronis, satirising the extravagant classicism of the Humanists. On all this, especially on Folengo, see a future volume.

† BURCKHARDT, I., 292–3, ed. 3. *Cf.* also PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 39 (Engl. trans.).

Gods, the departed souls, the Manes. S. Augustine is extolled as the God of theologians, and the Pythic seer of Theology, and S. Thomas Aquinas as the Apollo of Christianity. When he comes to the Fall of Man, he introduces the subject by announcing that now he is going to treat of the Phaethon of the human race. Hell is described as exactly like the ancient Tartarus with the three rivers Kocythus, Avernus and Styx.*

Another work entitled "On true Philosophy," and published in 1507 at Bologna by Adriano Corneto, forms a striking contrast to Cortesius and his humanistic tendencies. Aristotle, Plato, the Humanists and all human science and reasoning, are all included in one sweeping condemnation. According to Corneto, Holy Scripture is the only source of all faith and all knowledge. Faith must precede knowledge, without faith no true knowledge is possible, the human reason is incapable of apprehending Divine things; wisdom, happiness, and bliss, can only be obtained by a complete surrender to revelation. "None of the philosophers knew that pattern of Divine humility," Adriano declares, "which in the fulness of time was manifested to the world in Christ. I do not ask what the philosophers say, I ask what they do. The dialecticians, of whom Aristotle is the chief, are cunning in the spinning of webs, their art is the art of war, but the Christian must avoid them. We must reject dialectics, we must despise rhetoric and devote ourselves to the sober sincerity of Holy Writ. The interpretation of the Church can be understood by the whole human race, for the Church is not an Academy, but consists of the mass of the people. There is no use in knowing geometry, arithmetic and music; geometry and astrology do not lead to salvation

* PIPER, Mythologie, I., 287–9, and GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 71 *seq.*

but rather to error, and the withdrawal of the soul from God. God is more worthily praised by the homage of the heart than by music. Grammar and literature may be useful for this life in giving facility in expressing oneself, and enabling a man to distinguish between fact and falsehood; but the liberal arts have no right to their name, Christ alone can make man free. The works of the poets, the wisdom of the worldly, the pomp of rhetorical words, are the Devil's dainties; they enthral the ear, they cajole the heart, but yield no satisfying truth. Plato and Aristotle, the Epicureans and the Stoics are all in hell with the Devil; the philosophers are the Patriarchs of the Heretics. We should endeavour to know the Creator, not the causes, of things. Wise and holy simplicity teaches us to be fools willingly and not to admire the wisdom of the flesh."

At the same time, it is noteworthy that he admits that if we find in the writings of the philosophers, especially the Platonists, anything that is true and in harmony with the Faith, we need not be afraid of such things, but on the contrary should appropriate them, as unjustly gotten goods, to our own use; but there is very little of this in comparison to what we have in the Divine Scriptures. Towards the close of his book Corneto exclaims: "What shall I say about physics, ethics or logic? All the truths that man's tongue can utter are to be found in Holy Scripture. Its authority is greater than anything that the human intellect is capable of producing." Thus the pith of the whole work is summed up in the two following sentences. "All the science of the world is folly, in God alone is Wisdom and Truth. To attain to God and His wisdom, we do not need to know anything of philosophy, or any other method, nor to have studied the writings of Aristotle or Plato; we need nothing but a

firm faith in revealed religion as it is to be found in the Bible."*

This curious book is mostly made up of quotations from the great doctors of the Church, ruthlessly torn from their context, often inaccurately reproduced, and always selected to support the author's point of view.

Even though we may admit that he is not always wholly in the wrong, Corneto's views are far too extreme.† His blank rejection of philosophy and the sciences is in flat contradiction with the opinions of the Fathers of the Church of whom he thinks so much‡ and also with the teaching of the great mediæval theologians, and the attitude of the Church in general towards Science and the Renaissance in literature and the classics. The value of the latter especially as a means of intellectual culture, has always been recognised by the Church, even though she could not recommend them as an end in themselves or as supplying ideals for imitation. The position of the Church has always been clearly defined; the study of the classics is to be employed for the development of the natural intellectual powers, and so for the deepening of the specifically Christian consciousness, not for its emasculation or destruction.§ The extravagances of the votaries of the false renaissance on the one side, and zealots such as Adriano on the other, made it extremely difficult for the adherents of the Church to keep to that just middle course which she enjoined. She could not trust the

* GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 54–67.

† He is right in laying stress on the importance of the practical life and conduct of the teachers of philosophy, and also in his assertion that the Church in her doctrinal teaching will always be popular and easily understood by the people.

‡ GEBHARDT, 67 *seq.*

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 7 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

Humanists, and at the same time could not condemn the study of the heathen classics, which, besides being a valuable instrument of education, was indispensable to the right understanding of the whole body of patristic literature. The golden mean had to be preserved between due consideration for, and encouragement of, the movement for higher culture and the progress of Science and Art, and the maintenance of practical Christianity in dogma and precept. It was in the nature of things that however clearly the principles to be observed in the last resort might be understood, there would be considerable uncertainty in practice, since each case had to be decided on its own merits, as to what was permissible, or the reverse. The border line between the heathen and Christian Renaissance was often extremely difficult to define; the two tendencies touched each other at so many points, and indeed were often united in the same person. Besides which, with many it was a mere question of fashion.* The balance was not rightly struck till the time of the Catholic Reformation.†

One of the special dangers accompanying the rage for the antique in the age of the Renaissance was that many were drawn by it to adopt the superstitions of the ancient world. This danger was further enhanced by the influence of Arabic learning which had already begun to be very considerable in the time of the Emperor Frederick II.‡

* BURCKHARDT rightly lays stress on this, II., 291, ed. 3.

† In regard to this we shall enter into more detail in a future volume, in treating of Humanism in the time of Leo. X., and Clement VII.

‡ In corroboration of what follows see the very comprehensive investigations of BURCKHARDT, II., 279 *seq.*, ed. 3, and also the following works by GABOTTO in which much new documentary material is produced and new views advanced. (1) L'Astrologia nel Quattrocento in rapporto colla civiltà. Osservazioni e documenti inediti (Milano-Torino, 1889). (2) Nuove ricerche e documenti sull' Astrologia alla corte degli Estensi e degli Sforza, in the periodical *La Letteratura* (Torino, 1891).

The commonest form of superstition was Astrology, the pursuit of which was usually combined with Astronomy. Petrarch in his day opposed it to the utmost of his power, but without producing any impression. During the whole of the 15th Century and a part of the 16th, the belief that the future could be read by means of horoscopes of the relative positions of the planets in regard to each other, and to the signs of the Zodiac, was almost universal. A complicated system was developed, in which various attributes founded on more or less erroneous notions of the characters of the ancient gods, were ascribed to each of the planets. Men were firmly convinced that the destinies of each individual largely depended on the influence of the planets under which he or she was born, these latter being also controlled by the constellations through which they pass. Only a few of the most enlightened men, such as Pius II., were able to shake off these superstitions. In most of the Universities, side by side with the professors of Astronomy, there were professors of Astrology who propounded systems and wrote treatises on their special subject. Every little Court had its astronomer; sometimes as in Mantua there was more than one. No resolution in any important matter was taken without consulting the stars, and even trifling details such as the journeys of members of the family, the reception of foreign envoys, the taking of medicine, were

(3) Bartol. Manfredi e l'Astrologia alla corte di Mantova (Torino, 1891).
(4) Alcuni appunti per la cronologia della vita dell' astrologo Luca Gaurico (Napoli, 1892). See also CASANOVA, L'Astrologia e la consegna del bastone al capitano generale della rep. Fiorentina. Estr. d. Arch. St. Ital. (Firenze, 1895); MEYER, Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der Nächsten Jahrhunderte, p. 5 *seq.* (Basel, 1884); GALLARDO, Bibl. Española, II., 514 (Ital. Press for Astrological Works); J. GRÄSSE, III., 1, 936; CIAN, Cortegiano, 34; SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 87; UZIELLI, 214 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 221 *seq.*, shews that the Italian Jews also believed in Astrology.

all determined by Astrology. Dare-devil soldiers of fortune such as Bartolomeo Alviano, Bartolomeo Orsini, Paolo Vitelli, believed in it.* Amongst the Universities, those of Padua, Milan and Bologna were its special homes, but its influence is to be found everywhere in the calendar, in medicine and in all the current beliefs and popular prophecies.† "Things have come to such a pass," says Roberto da Lecce in one of his sermons, "that people hardly dare to eat anything, or put on new clothes, or begin the most trifling undertaking without consulting the stars."‡ Astrology was so bound up with Italian life that many even of the Popes, Sixtus IV., Julius II., Leo X., and still later Paul III. were influenced by the notions of their time.§ The famous Cristoforo Landini seriously hoped to forecast the future of Christianity by means of the science of the stars, the pious Domenico de' Dominichi pronounced a discourse in praise and defence of Astrology.|| The learned naturalist and physician Paolo Toscanelli, who lived the life of a saint, was Astronomer to the Medici and the Florentine Government.¶ It must be understood however in regard to him and other right-minded men that "it was only

* GABOTTO, L'Astrologia, 8.

† See VON BEZOLD'S interesting paper on "Astrology in the making of history" in QUIDDE'S Zeitschrift, VIII., 63. *Cf.* also GABOTTO, Notizie ed Estratti del poemetto inedito "de excellentium virorum principibus" di Antonio Cornazzano, 15 *seq.* Pinerolo, 1889.

‡ ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrag. de Peccatis, 43.

§ It is uncertain whether or not Paul II. tolerated Astrology. See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 60, note † (Engl. trans.).

|| VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 243 (German edition). MACHIAVELLI, I., 200; and SKAIFE, 145 *seq.* In regard to Domenichi, see PASTOR, *loc. cit.*

¶ UZIELLI, 214 *seq.* It was not till quite the close of his life that Toscanelli, in consequence of some of his observations, lost faith in Astrology. *Loc. cit.*, 222–3.

up to a certain point that they allowed themselves to be guided by the stars; a limit was assigned by religion and conscience which was not over-passed."* Many like Pontano "honestly believed that Astrology was a genuine experimental science and that the traditions derived from the ancients were as certain and well authenticated as Aristotle's observations in the natural history of animals. What Pontano sought for in Astrology was not to forecast the future, but a clearer understanding of the conditions of human life and the influence exercised upon it by nature. It was the conviction that there was an unbroken chain of cause and effect, binding all things both great and small in the universe to each other, and man among the rest, so that the powers of nature must bear their due part in his origin and destiny, which attracted so many even of the nobler intellects of that day to the study of Astrology."†

Astrological and astronomical ideas supplied congenial material to the artists of that time who delighted in representations of the signs of the zodiac and personifications of the stars and the planetary deities. The frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara and the Borgia apartments in the Vatican are well-known instances of these. The astrological teaching in regard to the offspring of the planets found definite expression in the time of the Renaissance in the so-called signs of the planets. A distinct type of these symbols appeared in the middle of the 15th Century. It probably originated in Florence, passed from Italy into the Netherlands, and thence into Germany, and held its ground well into the early part of the 16th Century.‡

* BURCKHARDT, II., 281, ed. 3.

† GOTHEIN, 446.

‡ LIPPMANN'S learned treatise "Die Sieben Planeten" describes the wanderings and transformations of this cycle of representations. (Published by the Internat. Chalcographical Association in the year 1895.)

One of the greatest merits of the mission preachers of that day was the determined war which they waged against Astrology. It would be impossible to stigmatise the evil effects of this superstition more incisively and directly than was done by such men as S. Bernardino of Siena, Antonio of Vercelli, Roberto da Lecce and Gabriele Barletta.* Many of the Humanists also set their faces against Astrology; † Paul II. wished to forbid the practice of it.‡ But of all the writings of that day directed against Astrology and also against the one-sided infatuation for classical literature, the work of Pico della Mirandola is by far the most striking and effective.§

From the date of this publication, the delusion began gradually to give way in Italy. It became possible for satirists like Ariosto in his "Necromanti" to heap ridicule on the charlatan dealers in the black arts.‖ The change of opinion began to find expression in painting. In the dome of the Chigi Chapel in Sta Maria del Popolo, Raphael represents the heaven of the fixed stars, and the deities of the planets as presided over by angels, and blessed from above by God the Father.¶

* GÜDEMANN, 222–4. Rob. da Lecce was specially severe against Alchemy: Quadrag. de Peccatis, 122. Savonarola deserves mention here also as a vigorous opponent of superstition. *Cf.* GEFFCKEN, 208. BAPT. MANTUANUS expresses himself very strongly against the Alchemists of his day: De Patientia, l. III., c. 2. *Cf. ibid.*, c. 12, against Astrologers.

† *Cf.* VOIGT, Wiederbelehbung, II., 492 *seq.*, ed. 2.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 60 (Engl. trans.).

§ BURCKHARDT, I., 244, ed. 3.

‖ RUTH, II., 526 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 81 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 418 *seq.*; GABOTTO, L'Astrologia, 39.

¶ BURCKHARDT, II., 288, ed. 3. In regard to Pico, *cf.* VON BEZOLD, Astrolog. Geschichtsconstruction, *loc. cit.*, 65, and UZIELLI, 223 *seq.* *Cf.* 220 *seq.* on Pico's opponent Lucio Bellanti.

Astrology, however, was only one of many other prevalent superstitions. Very many of the Humanists were amazingly credulous in regard to wonders and prophecies. Poggio was a firm believer in prodigies of the sort that are found in the classics. It was true that Oracles had disappeared, and that the Gods could not now be enquired of, but it became very much the fashion to open a page of Virgil at random and to interpret the lines which first met the eye as an omen. "The influence of the demonology of the later paganism can distinctly be traced in prevailing beliefs on that subject in the Renaissance. The printing of the works of Jamblichus or Abammon, on the Egyptian mysteries, in a Latin translation towards the end of the 15th Century, is a proof of this. Even the Platonic Academy in Florence was not wholly free from a hankering after these and similar neo-Platonic delusions of the decadent Roman Empire." There was a revival also of the belief in the possibility of subjecting demons and obliging them to work for human ends. Sixtus IV. found it necessary to direct a Brief against some Carmelites in Bologna who had maintained that there was no harm in asking for things from demons. Here also, however, the reaction was making itself felt. It is noteworthy that poets and novelists could count upon a sympathising public in turning all such things into ridicule. From the beginning of the 16th Century, belief in magic was perceptibly on the wane.*

Many of the errors into which the philosophers of the age of the Renaissance fell, were, like these superstitions, connected with the classical craze.† Gemistos Plethon, an

* BURCKHARDT, II., 291 *seq.*, ed. 3. *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 249. There is an interesting enumeration of all the various kinds of superstition in a Sermon, p. 162 *seq.*, by Antonius Vercelli. *Cf.* also ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrages., 44.

† Besides BURCKHARDT, II., 312, ed. 3, see RITTER, Gesch. der

enthusiastic disciple of Plato of the neo-Platonic school, ignored Christianity and in religion reverted to paganism. He hoped by the revival of his philosophy to create a universal religion.*

Cardinal Bessarion endeavoured to mitigate the dispute between Plethon and the Greek Aristotelians. In his famous Defence of Plato, he demonstrates the essential agreement between the two Attic Masters, while, at the same time pointing out the errors which separate both from Christianity.† The Platonic philosophy had in Marsilio Ficino, an even more devoted adherent than in Plethon. This gifted writer was deeply penetrated with the truth of the Christian religion, and entered Holy Orders in the year 1473. Personally, Ficino was throughout a blameless priest and a faithful Christian, but his endeavour to unite Platonism with Christianity was open to grave objections. Plethon wished to substitute a mixture of neo-Platonism and oriental religious doctrines for Christianity, Ficino, fascinated by the beauty of the ancients, sought to infiltrate Platonism into Christianity, without apparently perceiving the danger that the positive teaching of the latter might disappear in the process. His mysticism, enhanced by a strong leaning towards Astrology, laid him open to suspicion. In 1489 he was accused before Innocent VIII. of practising magical arts, and successfully disproved the charge; but he cannot be acquitted of that of having mixed up Platonism with

Phil., IX., 220 *seq.*; STÖCKL, Gesch. der Phil., III., 202 *seq.*; RIXNER, Gesch. der Phil., 194 *seq.*; HAFFNER, Gesch. der Phil., II., 678 *seq.* See also HEINRICH, Dogmatik, I., 95, 104.

* In addition to PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 322 (Engl. trans.), see also BURCKHARDT, II., 260, ed. 3, and STEIN, 126 *seq.*

† *Cf.* on Bessarion's work, PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 321 (Engl. trans.), nd HAFFNER, *loc. cit.*

Christianity to a dangerous extent. His infatuation for Plato was such that he actually addressed his hearers as "beloved in Plato" instead of "beloved in Christ." The great master was made by these fanatical admirers, the object of a veritable cultus, as though he had been a Saint, lamps were burned before his picture, he was ranked with the Apostles and Prophets, and feasts were celebrated in his honour. It was even seriously proposed to add extracts from his writings to the homilies which were publicly read in the churches on Sundays.*

Ficino's young friend Pico della Mirandola, deserves perhaps to be called the most brilliantly gifted of all the members of the Platonic Academy in Florence. Like his master he sought to demonstrate the fundamental agreement of all the heathen philosophers with each other, and with Christian scholasticism and mysticism. In his system however, the most prominent place is given, not to Plato, but to the fantastic esoteric doctrines of the Kabbala. This attempt to find, in Jewish mysticism, a better support for Christianity than in the old paths of the great theologians, can only be characterised as a mistake and a weakness. But whenever Pico's cabalistic and neo-Platonic ideas led him into anything palpably irreconcilable with the teachings of the Church, he never failed to draw back and submit to the divinely appointed authority.† In

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 25 *seq.*, ed. 2; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 310. ROCHOLL in Briegers Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XIII., 53 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 26 *seq.*; STEIN, 129 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*; FISCHER, I., 88 *seq.*, ed. 3; GASPARY, II., 166 *seq.*; GABOTTO, L'Epicureismo di Marsilio Ficino. (Milano, 1891.) *Cf.* Giorn. St. d. Lett., XVIII., 459 *seq.*

† HAFFNER, II., 681 *seq.*; Katholik, 1880, I., 192; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*; SCHRÖCKH, XXX., 441 *seq.*; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 9 *seq.*; RIXNER, 197 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 171 *seq.*; ROCHOLL, *loc. cit.*, 62 *seq.* VON BEZOLD in SYBEL'S Zeitschr., XLIX., 194 *seq.*; Antol. Ital., N. S. IX., 2, 21 *seq.*; X., 1, 3 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 32 *seq.*; DREYDORFF, Das System des Joh.

direct opposition to the Florentine Platonists were the Aristotelians, who were divided into Averroists and Alexandrians, and whose head-quarters were at Padua. At this University the nature and the immortality of the soul formed the chief topics of discussion. In the early part of the 16th Century, the disputes were so violent that the students refused to listen to each new professor until he had declared his views about the soul. The Aristotelians of the Renaissance had fallen into some very serious errors on this subject. Alexandrians and Averroists agreed that the personal immortality of the soul could not be philosophically demonstrated. The Averroists also maintained that the whole human race was animated by a single soul. Marsilio Ficino was foremost in shewing how dangerous these doctrines were. "The opinions of both Averroists and Alexandrians," he wrote, "are alike destructive of religion." The Aristotelians tried to shelter themselves behind the proposition that what was true in Philosophy might be false in Faith, and all of them professed their submission to the teaching of the Church.*

Patient and tolerant as Rome ever is, she could not allow such dangerous doctrines to pass unchallenged. On Dec. 19, 1513, at the eighth sitting of the Lateran Council, Leo X. issued a dogmatic constitution defending the immortality and individuality of the soul. The new distinction between

Pico (Marburg, 1858); *cf.* also HAGEMANN, in the Liter. Handweiser, 1868, Nr. 65. On the medical and astrological works of Marsilio Ficino see WEITENWEBER, Des Marsilius Ficinus Werk; De vita Studiosorum, in connection with his remarks on Hellenism. Prag, 1858.

* Besides the above mentioned works; *cf.* also WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, I., 531 *seq.* and 1750, ed. 2; LEA, III., 575. The highest honours have been awarded to Mabilleau's as yet unpublished work on the schools of Padua, of which his Études Hist. sur la philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie (Paris, 1881) is the introduction

truths of Philosophy and truths of Theology was also rejected, because truth is not twofold, and cannot contradict itself. Any proposition not in accordance with the true Faith, was pronounced false, and might not be taught. Professors at the Universities were moreover directed by the Council to be careful in their discourses on Philosophy, to point out the truth of the Christian religion, and to refute to the best of their power the heathen doctrines of the mortality or universality of the human soul, the eternity of the world, etc.*

In spite of this, in 1516, Pietro Pomponazzi, who had been summoned from Padua to Bologna, there published a treatise in which he defended the theory of the mortality of the soul, including the reason, and quoted Alexander Aphrodisias to shew that this was Aristotle's real meaning, and that it was impossible to prove its immortality on philosophical grounds.† The Minorites in Venice succeeded

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 586.

† In addition to FIORENTINO'S very inadequate monograph, Pietro Pomponazzi (Firenze, 1869), *cf.* Essays by FERRI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XV., 65 *seq.*; in La Filosofia delle scuole Ital., 1877; in the Giorn. Napolit. di Filosofia, VIII. (1878), 109–24, and in the Atti d. Lincei, Scienze Mor. S., II., III., 875–6; FRANCK in the Journal des Savants (May and July, 1869); RITTER, IX., 390 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 220 *seq.*; FISCHER, I., 79 *seq.*, ed. 3; FONTANA, Sulla immortalità dell' anima di Pietro Pomponazzi (Siena, 1869); PODESTÀ, Doc. sul. P. (Estr. d. Atti d. Romagna, Bologna, 1868); DAVARI, Lettere di Pietro Pomponazzi (Mantova, 1877); Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., VIII., 377 *seq.*; OWEN, 189 *seq.*; HAFFNER, II., 683 *seq.*; STÖCKL, III., 202 *seq.*; LEA, III., 575 *seq.*; RIXNER, 205 *seq.*; LANGE, Gesch. des Materialismus, 103 *seq.* (Iserlohn, 1866); CREDARO, Lo scetticismo degli Accademici, II., 320 (Milano, 1893); ARDIGÒ, Pietro Pomponazzi (Mantova, 1869); Opere Filosof., I. (Mantova, 1882); L. FERRI, La psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi secondo un manoscritto della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma (Comento ined. al De Anima di Aristotele), Roma, 1877; *cf.* ZARNCKE'S Centralblatt, 1877, p. 1209. The essay on the Materialism of Pietro Pomponazzi in the Katholik, 1861, I., 150 *seq.*, is highly instruc-

in getting the book publicly burnt, and it would have met with a like fate in Rome and Bologna if Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici had not intervened on Pomponazzi's behalf. It was quite possible to maintain that the philosopher had only stated Aristotle's theory of the soul historically, and not as agreeing with it himself. Besides Pomponazzi professed the most absolute submission to the Church. Many were deceived by this, but on June 13, 1518, Leo X., despite the powerful influence of Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici, called upon the philosopher to make a formal recantation.* Whether Pomponazzi did so or not, does not appear, but he retained his opinions. A recently discovered account of Pomponazzi's last days, supplies an additional proof that he really had, under the veil of an impartial statement of the theories of another, astutely put forward his own materialistic views. In a private letter to his father on May 20, 1525, Antonio Brochardo describes how the famous teacher, when his health had completely broken down, determined to meet death and have done with it once for all. He carried out this determination by steadily refusing either to speak or eat. Threats and even force were unavailing. Not till the seventh and last night did he break his resolute silence to say "I depart gladly." Some one asked him "Where are you going?" "Where all mortals go" he replied. Being asked again "Whither then do mortals go?" Pomponazzi answered "Where I am going and where all the others have gone." The bystanders made a last attempt to induce the dying man to eat. In vain, "Let me be, I wish to die" he angrily exclaimed, and with these words he

tive but little known; SPIEKER regards Pomponazzi's professed submission to the Holy See as a mere empty form. (Leben und Lehre des Pietro Pomponazzi. Münchener Diss., 1868, p. 8.)

* *Cf.* Document in RANKE, Popes, I., 48, note 1, ed. 6

passed away.* This account, based on the testimony of an eye-witness, reveals the fact so carefully kept back by Pomponazzi's admirers that the philosopher who had taught rank materialism under the mask of Christianity,† ended by taking his own life. This, happily, was a very rare occurrence at the time of the Renaissance.‡

The views advanced by Pomponazzi were so dangerous and so widely disseminated that it is cheering to note the energy with which they were opposed. Treatises in refutation of them were composed by the philosopher Agostino

* Brochardo's letter was published by CIAN, Nuovi documenti su Pietro Pomponazzi, 29 *seq.* (Venezia, 1887). Only thirty-seven copies of this work were printed, and it is consequently scarcely known in Germany. Probably the only reference to it is my own in the Hist. Jahrb., XII., 223 *seq.* As the matter is one of great importance, the original text is given below. Il valente philosopho . . . assai pativa da certo tempo in qua gravissimi dolori di fianco, ardore di vessica, doglia per cagione di preda et indispositione istrema di stomaco: laonde deliberando di non mille ma una volta sola morire qual vero philosopho disprezatore di morte si pose a non voler mangiare ne dire parola ad alcuno et ne per preghi, minaccie o forza che sieno state adoperate mai non ha voluto far altrimenti se non che la settima et ultima notte intorno alle sei o otto hore comincio a parlare et dire: Abeo letus, abeo: et questi da cui sono informato di queste cose gli rispose: Quo ergo vultis abire Domine? et egli: Quo mortales omnes. Onde costui un altra fiata gli disse: Et quo eunt mortales? Gli rispose: Quo ego et alii. Et in questa lo incominciorono a confortare et di novo a porzeli il cibo. Ma lo stoico indignato cominciò a gridare: sinite, volo abire. Et così gridando solvuntur frigore membra. Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. The clever epitaph given by BAYLE, Art. Pomp. Note D., is possibly a play upon this account of the philosopher's death: Hic sepultus jaceo; quare? nescio, nec si scis aut nescis curo; si vales bene est; vivens valui; fortassis et nunc valeo; si aut non? dicere nescio.

† *Cf.* Katholik, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* MOTTA, Suicidi nel quattrocento e nel cinquecento in Arch. St. Lomb., XV., 96 *seq.*, with CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 22. See also LANDUCCI, 277.

Nifo, who dedicated his book to Leo X., the Augustinian Ambrogio Fiandini, the Dominican Bartolomeo di Spina, Bartolomeo Fiera of Mantua, the Servite Jerome Amideus of Lucca, and a young Venetian noble, Gasparo Contarini. The latter writing to one who in earlier days had been his teacher, expressed himself in respectful and courteous terms. His arguments were mostly drawn from the philosophy of S. Thomas. Pomponazzi vouchsafed no reply to any of his opponents except Nifo and Contarini. His answer to Nifo is sharp and sometimes contemptuous in tone; to his old pupil he wrote courteously. Contarini in return composed a second and shorter treatise, in which with all deference to his former master he discusses and triumphantly confutes his opponent's arguments one by one.*

More reprehensible still were the conclusions which Niccolò Machiavelli, the most gifted representative of the false renaissance drew from the philosophy of the ancients.† Never perhaps has any man been so imbued with the spirit

* With the somewhat abstract dissertations of FIORENTINO, 41 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 192 *seq.*, *cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 585 *seq.*; see also DITTRICH'S excellent monograph on Contarini, 222 *seq.*; REUSCH'S account of this matter (Index I., 60) is inadequate. Reusch is not even acquainted with Fiorentino.

† MOHL, III., 519 *seq.*, gives a summary of authorities upon Machiavelli. *Cf.* MOHL, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissensch., IV., 1093. REUMONT'S reviews of books by Trendelenberg, VILLARI and NITTI in the Allg. Zeitung, 1877, No. 248 *seq.*, Supplement, and in the Bonner Litteraturblatt, 1872, p. 147 *seq.*, are valuable. For the deficiencies in Tommasini's work see Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1884, No. 8; *cf.* also SYBEL'S Zeitschr., LII., 554 *seq.* *Cf.* also OWEN, 162 *seq.*; GIERKE, Althusius, 299; Le Correspondant, 1873, 1877, and 1882; ELLINGER (Die antiken Quellen der Staatslehre Machiavelli's in der Zeitschr. für die Ges. Staatswissenschaften, XLIV., 1–58 [enlarged edition, Tübingen, 1888]) shews how Machiavelli borrowed from the antique. For criticisms on the new edition of Villari, *cf.* PELLEGRINI in the Rassegna Bibliogr. d. Lett., Ital., II., n. 12. Pisa, 1894.

of pagan antiquity as was this Florentine politician. Machiavelli's private life was regulated on pagan principles, and truly appalling are the glimpses into this, afforded by his letters to his friend and confidant, Francesco Vettori.* The two were kindred souls. Their interest in life was divided between politics and gallantry. Their fortunes indeed were very different. Vettori lived in considerable splendour as Ambassador in Rome. Machiavelli after the Florentine revolution of 1512, found himself condemned to an involuntary idleness, most distasteful to his restless nature. In characteristic fashion he sought consolation, on the one hand, in the study of the classics, and on the other, in low pot-houses and vile amours. These latter and the politics of the day are the principal subjects of his correspondence with Vettori. Not once does he allude to his wife or his three children (a fourth was born in 1514). Possibly Machiavelli exaggerated his love affairs, and told tales which are only partially true ; but all the same he must beyond doubt, have led a dissipated and immoral life.† He sought to drown his discontent in the tumult of the senses. "Although I am near 50," he writes, "Cupid's nets still enthral me. Bad roads cannot exhaust my patience nor dark nights daunt my courage. I have flung all serious thought to the winds ; I care no longer to read of the old, or to speak of the new. My whole mind is bent on love,

* N. MACHIAVELLI, Le lettere familiari, p. p. E. Alvisi (Firenze, 1883). By the kindness of Prof. Uzielli of Florence I obtained access to the editio integra of this work, which for decency's sake is withheld from the public. Repulsive as these documents are we cannot but regret that they are not published. They are essential to a true estimate of Machiavelli's character.

† *Cf.* Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., II., 176 *seq.*; VILLARI, II., 191 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 342–69, and Allg. Zeitung, 1875, No. 25, p. 362. For Vettori see also H. RÖSEMEIER, N. Machiavelli's erste Legation zu Kaiser Maximilian I., 40. Bückeburg, 1894.

for which I give Venus thanks.* Machiavelli describes many of these episodes in such vile language, as to disgust even his latest champion.† Several letters are so coarse that to this day no one has ventured to publish them. In the straits to which he was put for money, Machiavelli soon ceased to have the heart for this obscene jesting. He was not exactly poor, but he had not income enough to provide for his family. Accustomed to lavish expenditure he now saw himself obliged to count every farthing. In vain he sought to obtain some post which would have provided him with occupation and a salary, and his famous book the "Prince" was written to attract the attention of the Medici to his unfortunate position.‡

Every one, Machiavelli says, can see that it is more honourable for the private citizen in the daily intercourse of his home to keep his word and walk uprightly; nevertheless we learn by experience, that those who have done the greatest deeds, have by force or by cunning made other people their tools. To be honest and to act honestly in a public capacity is not only unnecessary but actually deleterious. A prudent man will learn to deceive and dissemble, so as to preserve an outward show of goodness;

* MACHIAVELLI, Lettere familiari, 361. *Cf.* preceding page, note *.

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 192; UZIELLI, 232.

‡ *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 522 *seq.*, who disproves, first, Ranke's opinion (Zur Kritik, 163*), that the "Prince" was written from the point of view of 1514; and secondly Villari's, that the book was not written till 1515. MACHIAVELLI'S letter of Dec. 10, 1513 (Opere, VIII., 96), shews that the work was then finished. The treatise is moreover couched in general terms and does not touch upon contemporary politics and passing events. It was not composed for any special political situation nor directly for the Medici, since after the completion of the book, Machiavelli consults a friend, whether or not to dedicate it to them; GEIGER, in the Zeitschrift für vergl. Literaturgesch., Neue Folge, II., 251, agrees throughout with Baumgarten.

but to act honestly under all circumstances would be to invite disaster. A man should be able to adapt himself to circumstances and be when necessary wicked, inhuman, brutal, now a fox, and now a lion. He who plays the fox best is always the most successful. A prudent man will avoid all parade of vice and scandal. If all men were good, such principles would indeed be wicked; but some are treacherous, and there is no need to keep faith with these; others again are such fools that they can only be ruled by tyranny; impostors will always find plenty of people who wish to be deceived. The only precaution which must never be omitted is always to turn the way of the wind and to take care to succeed. The rabble judges by appearances and results, and the world is mostly rabble.*

In excuse for Machiavelli it has been urged that his book was not meant to be a universal rule, but was intended to meet an exceptional state of things. This, from a Christian standpoint, is a lame excuse. The religion of the Incarnate Son of God knows only one law of conduct, universally applicable to high and low and in all imaginable cases, and that is, that a good end does not justify unlawful means.

Machiavelli's teaching is the exact opposite of this. In terse and admirably chosen language he advocates the complete severance of politics from the eternal principles of Christianity. Never were distinctive doctrines more plausibly and ably set forth, or with greater audacity. "Christianity has no place" in his conception of politics. God and divine justice are altogether left out. Hitherto

* MACHIAVELLI, Il Principe, c. 18; WEISS, Apologie, II., 623–4, ed. 2. The idea that a ruler is to be able to play the brute and be a fox or a lion, to which Machiavelli recurs again and again, is borrowed from Plutarch. See ELLINGER, in the Zeitschr. für die Geschichte Staatswissenschaften, XLIV., 50.

Christianity had been regarded as the bond of union between nations, as the basis of States, as that which made Europe one spiritual family. The Church was the soil in which all the nations and all their laws and constitutions were rooted. Machiavelli ignores the entire system of Christian government. It is not only his style which is classical, his whole tone of mind is pagan in the strictest and most unqualified sense of the word. Just as in ancient Rome, cunning and violence were the basis of power, and justice seemed a superfluous ornamental accessory, a mere trifle, so the fulcrum of Machiavelli's politics, is a combination of terrorism with craft. Justice is left out of his scheme and no wonder, since he regards States and Peoples, not in their relation to God, but simply as the material in which his designs are to be carried out.*

Machiavelli measures the present by the standard of antiquity, and indiscriminately holds up whatever was done by the Romans as an example to his "Prince," although their action applied to strange countries with which they had no intimate connection, and which in race, language and civilisation, were entirely foreign to them. He attempts to graft modern politics on to Roman antiquity, to build on old foundations, as if Christianity the solid basis of the modern world, the tie which unites all civilised nations, had never come into existence. He has no hesitation in recommending, as parts of his system, acts which are even more inhuman than the most ferocious deeds of contemporary tyrants. Cæsar Borgia murdered his old allies, but he certainly never destroyed whole cities—as the 5th chapter of the "Prince" advises should be done in certain cases. "Whoever is lord of a town accustomed to freedom," it says, "and who omits to destroy it, may rest assured that it will depose him." No passage in the whole book shews

* FR. SCHLEGEL, quoted by WEISS, Weltgesch., IV., 963.

more plainly that it cannot have been meant as practical advice to Lorenzo de' Medici. It is clear that Machiavelli was propounding an abstract theory, without any thought of its being literally put in practice.*

It is the same with the famous exhortation to the Medici in chapter xxvi., "to deliver Italy from tyrants," which was perhaps inserted later. "We see," it runs, "how Italy implores Almighty God to send her a deliverer, who would free her from this barbarous cruelty and wickedness. We see her ready and willing to follow any flag, if there were but a leader to carry it." Compare this with Machiavelli's confidential letters of 1513 and 1514. "As for Italian union," he expressly says, "the idea is laughable. First, because here, union in any good cause is out of the question, and even if the heads were of one mind, we have no soldiers but the Spaniards that are worth a farthing! Secondly, because the members would never agree with the heads."†

The whole passage in chapter xxvi. describing Italy as unanimous in her desire for freedom and calling for a leader, is only a fantastic episode and has nothing to do with the main drift of the "Prince." Machiavelli felt no "inward compulsion to justify his political opinions by pointing to some great patriotic act. Had he felt this necessity he would not have so carefully concealed the link between his politics and their purpose, that it has remained undiscovered for 300 years. His politics were the outcome of his own experiences and classical studies. He knew of no ruling power which did not rely on the unscrupulous use of force and intrigue. A State resting on

* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 531–2. The agreement here between Baumgarten and Schlegel is the more remarkable from the difference in their point of view.

† MACHIAVELLI, Opere, VIII., 75 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Geschichte Karls V., I., 531–2.

a moral basis was outside his sphere of thought, because morality did not enter into his conception of either public or private life. His 'Prince' systematises the political practices of his time in all their unvarnished hideousness, with the addition of a few touches borrowed from the antique, and he expected to make his fortune with the Medici by this undisguised confession of pure political heathenism."*

Views as objectionable as those in the "Prince" are expressed in Machiavelli's "Discourses on Livy." In the opening chapters the author makes excuses for Romulus who killed his own brother and murdered his colleague. "Wise men," says Machiavelli, "will forgive Romulus the ruthless deed, considering the end he had in view, and the result of his action." In another place he says "where it is a question of saving one's country, there must be no hesitation on the score of justice or injustice, cruelty or kindness, praise or blame, but setting all else aside, one must snatch at whatever means present themselves for preserving life and liberty."†

That the holder of such opinions must not only have stood aloof from the Church, but been in his heart an enemy of Christianity, is obvious. Machiavelli entertained a savage hatred of priests, and above all for the Popes. Any sort of attack on them, however criminal, was lawful in his eyes. He finds fault with Giampaolo Baglioni for throwing away the opportunity, in 1506, of getting hold of the Pope's person by treachery. "Baglioni out of cowardice did not see his chance, or rather did not dare to attempt what, had he done it, would have earned for him immortal fame; for all the world would have applauded his courage.

* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 535-6.

† Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio, I., c. 9; III., c. 41; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 260-6.

He would have been the first to shew those haughty prelates how little awe they inspire, because of the lives they lead. He would have succeeded in an enterprise, the greatness of which would have far outweighed any disgrace or danger that could have attended it." * Even pronounced enemies of the Papacy stigmatise this venomous passage as "revolting" on account of the utter want of moral sense which it displays.†

Machiavelli's hatred extended beyond the person to the cause. He acknowledges the importance, and the necessity of religion to the State, but in itself he believes it to be a pious fraud. To be perfect in his eyes, it should be simply a cult having a definitely political aim, that of fostering patriotism, the patriotism of the ancients. For this reason he thinks highly of Roman polytheism, and recommends it as the ideal of a State religion.‡ For him as for the ancients, it was a civil institution, a political instrument for keeping the masses in hand, and so he believed that each religion, having accomplished its predestined cycle, passed away like any other earthly thing.§ Christianity was a sealed book to him and he considers it dangerous for his ideal state. "The Christian religion," he says, "only teaches men to suffer, and thus the world seems to have been enfeebled and made the prey of scoundrels. The religions of antiquity raised none to their altars save those who achieved earthly fame, such as princes and successful generals; but the Christian religion extols humility and a contemplative life and seeks the highest good in meekness, self-denial and scorn of worldly honours. The

* Discorsi, I., c. 27.

† This is the opinion of BROSCH, Julius II., 128; GRIMM, Michel Angelo, I., 292, ed. 5; and GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 91 *seq.*

‡ OWEN, 166. *Cf.* ELLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 27.

§ HIPLER, 72.

ancients, on the other hand, prized only commanding intellect, physical strength and all those qualities which tend to make men powerful."*

Machiavelli, steeped in the worship of pagan antiquity, can only see the Church, her earthly head and her priesthood, as he sees the Christian religion, in caricature. "If Christianity," he writes with hypocritical disregard of patent facts, "had remained what its founders made it, things would have gone very differently, and mankind would have been far happier, but there can be no plainer proof that this religion is falling to pieces than the fact that the people who live nearest to Rome are the least pious of any."† In thus blaming the Church for what happened in her despite, Machiavelli was aware that he stood almost alone, and that few shared his animosity. "Since some," he says himself, "are of opinion that the Italian nation owes its prosperity to the Roman Church, I will here mention two of the chief objections to this view." One of these is a repetition of his former remark that in consequence of the evil example set them by the Roman Court, Italians had lost every vestige of religion and piety.‡ This statement is simply false;§ and it is hardly necessary to observe that an affectation of zeal for the cause of religion, sits ill upon a man who had declared Christianity to be dangerous to the

* Discorsi, II., c. 2; VILLARI, II., 265.

† Discorsi, I., c. 12; VILLARI, II., 262; HIPLER, 73. The injustice of making the Popes responsible for the distracted condition of Italy is shewn by WEGELE, Dante's Leben, 5 (Jena, 1879, ed. 3). *Cf.* the quotation in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 20 (Engl. trans.). See also HÖFLER, in the Hist. polit. Bl., XLVII., 424.

‡ La prima è, che per gli esempi rei di quella Corte, questa Provincia ha perduto ogni divozione ed ogni religione. Discorsi, I., c. 12.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 11 *seq.*; MAULDE (Origines, 125), reverses Machiavelli's statement and remarks that it was not the Court which corrupted Italy, but the corruption of Italy which infected the Court.

State. His second objection carries no more weight than the first; it is that the Papacy was the real cause of the weakness and disunion from which Italy was suffering.* Machiavelli as a historian might have seen that the Papacy "as the centre of the one Church founded by Christ, must of necessity have its seat in the ancient capital of learning, culture and power, and that Rome, in imposing the easy yoke of the gospel upon subject nations, was fulfilling an infinitely higher mission than the Pagan Empire which trampled them under its iron heel."† He failed to perceive that an absolute military monarchy would, besides destroying the municipal and provincial prosperity of Italy, and subjugating the inhabitants to the tyranny of a despot, have nipped in the bud the development of Art and Literature, and deprived Italy of the imperishable glory of the Renaissance.‡ For all this, Machiavelli, entangled in a web of classical dreams, had neither eyes nor ears. The Papacy for him was the root of all evil; it had ruined Religion and the State, and deserved in its turn to be annihilated. He was blind to the obvious truth that this would have entailed the destruction of both the religious and the political unity of the Italian race. His ultimate object however was something beyond the annihilation of the Papacy and of the Church of Rome. The State was in his eyes more important than religion or morals, and he aimed at nothing less than the secularisation of all religion. Consequently he could not but desire to place the religion of ancient Rome, or as he termed it, patriotism, in the place of Christianity, and the deified self-centred State on the throne of the Universal Church.§

* Discorsi, I., c. 12.

† HIPLER, 73.

‡ CANTÙ, I., 193, *cf.* 198 for a striking passage from Guicciardini. See also K. FISCHER, Gesch. d. Phil., I., 75, ed. 3.

§ A critic, who is by no means on the Catholic side, expresses him-

It is not surprising that the holder of such views, one who, in theory and practice, represented a mixture of the cynic and the epicurean,* should have come to be regarded even by his fellow-countrymen as a scoundrel. No one believed in his death-bed conversion. "The universal hatred felt for Machiavelli resulted," writes Varchi, "from his licentious tongue, his disgraceful conduct, and his book the 'Prince.'"† This work marks the culminating point of the pagan renaissance, which, had it succeeded, would have been the ruin of Italy.‡

Although we must reject Machiavelli's picture of the condition of the Church as a caricature, it is nevertheless indisputable that a considerable proportion of the Italian clergy, from the Mendicant Friars to the highest dignitaries, were participators to a large extent, in most of the evils that we have been describing. The more intimately the Church was bound up with the public and social life of the community, the more must the corruption of the world affect her, and its perils menace her members. Cupidity, manifesting itself in the prevalence of simony and the accumulation of benefices, selfishness, pride and ostentatious luxury were but too common amongst ecclesiastics. The extent of the corruption is seen in the complaints of contemporary writers, and proved by well authenticated facts.§

self in almost identical language: K. FISCHER, Gesch. d. Phil., I., 86, ed. 3. *Cf.* also HAFFNER, in the Katholik (1875) I., 234; GASPARY, II., 356 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 192 *seq.*, and CARRIERE, 217 *seq.*, for Machiavelli's exaggerated idea of the State.

* This opinion is expressed by REUMONT, Bonner Lit.-Blatt. (1872), 147.

† VARCHI, I., 150; BURCKHARDT, I., 82, ed. 3.

‡ GREGOROVIUS (L. Borgia, 124) is also of opinion that this Humanist culture was tottering on the edge of an abyss which must have swallowed it up.

§ Confining ourselves to the testimony of devout Catholics which is

Unhappily, the infection spread even to the Holy See. The corruption begins with Paul II.; it increases under Sixtus IV.* and Innocent VIII., and comes to a head in the desecration of the Chair of S. Peter, by the immoral life of Alexander VI.† The depravity of these times struck even such outside observers as the knight Arnold von Harff, with horror.‡

The lives of many cardinals, bishops and prelates, are a sad spectacle at a time when one man could hold any number of benefices,§ and squander unabashed the revenues derived from them in a career of luxury and vice. The serious corruption in the College of Cardinals, began under Sixtus IV.,‖ and during the reign of Innocent VIII.¶ it increased to such an extent that it became possible by bribery to procure the election of such a successor as Alexander VI. A glance at the lives of Ippolito d'Este, Francesco Iloris, Cæsar Borgia, and others, is enough to shew the character of the members admitted under this Pope into the senate of the Church.** It was not till the

doubly weighty, let us compare the words of Pius II., Nicholas of Cusa, and Domenico de' Dominichi, quoted in a previous volume (*cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, Vol. III., 269 *seq.*, Engl. trans.), with RODERICUS DE AREVALO, Speculum vitae, II., 20; BAPT. MANTUANUS, De calamitatibus temp. libri III., especially, p. 56 *seq.*, and the numerous denunciations of the preaching Friars, many of which have been collected by GÜDEMANN, 218 *seq.*

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 210–35 *seq.*, 413 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† For particulars see *infra*, Books I. and II.

‡ A. VON HARFF, Pilgerfahrt, 36–7.

§ Instances are given by ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 21; CANTÙ, I., 21, and in subsequent chapters in this history.

‖ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 409 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); BAPT. MANTUANUS, De Vita Beata, 182, complains that the most unsuitable persons tried to obtain bishoprics.

¶ See *infra*, Book I., c. 6.

** Details in regard to these persons will be given later. For Cardinal

reign of Julius II. that a partial improvement took place, and even he bestowed the purple on such worthless persons as Sigismondo Gonzaga and Francesco Alidosi.* Strict ecclesiastical discipline was not re-established in the College of Cardinals till the middle of the 16th Century.

It is not surprising when the highest ranks of the clergy were in such a state, that among the regular orders and secular priests, vice and irregularities of all sorts should have become more and more common. The salt of the earth had lost its savour. Moreover, where moral purity languishes, faith cannot fail to suffer; and thus when to this was added the influence of the false renaissance, many were led astray. It was such priests as these who gave occasion to the more or less exaggerated descriptions of the clergy given by Erasmus and Luther, who visited Rome during the reign of Julius II.;† but it is a mistake to suppose that the corruption of the clergy was worse in Rome than elsewhere; there is documentary evidence of the immorality of the priests in almost every town in the Italian Peninsula.‡ In many places, Venice,

Iloris, see PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 372. Of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, we are told that he hired assassins to put out the eyes of his natural brother Julius, because one of his mistresses had remarked that they were beautiful; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 72, ed. 3; CIAN, Cortegiano, 35; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 304 *seq.* For the extravagant expenditure of the Cardinals see, *inter alios*, GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, f. 87.

* Particulars of Alidosi's career will be given further on (PASTOR, Hist. Popes, VI., Book II., Engl. trans.). For the immorality of Cardinal S. Gonzaga, *cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 46–7. The state of things that prevailed even under Julius II., is shewn in the Ferrarese Ambassador's Report dated Rome, June 17, 1506, of the high favour which the courtesan Imperia enjoyed with several Cardinals. State Archives, Modena.

† NOLHAC, Érasme en Italie, 76–9.

‡ For a general description, *cf.* CANTÙ, I., 201 *seq.* For Genoa, *cf.* BELGRANO, 473 *seq.*; for Verona, Tüb. Quartalschrift, 1859, 16; for Fermo, LEOPARDI, N. Buonafede, 18; for Ferrara, SOLERTI, Vita

for instance, matters were far worse than in Rome.* No wonder that, as contemporary writers sadly testify, the influence of the clergy had declined, and that in many places hardly any respect was felt for the priesthood. Their immorality was so gross, that suggestions in favour of allowing priests to marry † began to be heard. Rodericus de Sancta Ella composed his treatise dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV. against a proposal of this kind.‡

Many of the monasteries were in a most deplorable condition. The three essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, were in some convents almost entirely dis-

Ferrarese in Atti d. Romagna, 3 Serie, X., 18; for Nepi, Diario Nepesino, 121, 131, 157; for Chieti, Hist. Jahrb., V., 347; for Pavia, *Mandate of the Duke of Milan to the Podestà of Pavia, dated Sept. 27, 1470, containing complaints of the priests who went about at night in secular attire. (Municipal Archives of Pavia.) Much scandal was also given by the clergy in Sicily. *Cf.* the *Brief of Sixtus IV. to the Abbots of S. Maria de Bosco and S. Placidimo, dated Rome, Nov. 4, 1475. *Ordinance of the Viceroy, dated Palermo, Oct. 26, 1500, on priests who kept concubines. Both documents are among the Archives at Palermo.

* *Cf.* BROSCH, in SYBEL'S Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVII., 309 *seq.*; Cenni sul libertinaggio, 22 *seq.*, 30, and INNOCENT VIII.'s **Brief of Oct. 31, 1487. (State Archives of Venice.) The clearest evidence of the state of things in Rome is to be found in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 240 *seq.*; II., 79 *seq.* See also **P. CANDIDUS, Venerab. fratri Antonio Ord. Jesuator., dat. Mediolani, 1453 Jun. 5 (Cod. J. 235 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan); a contribution by P. BARROCIUS, 1481, in the Anecdota Veneta, ed. Contarini, f. 202; *cf.* also Fl. AMBROSIUS, De rebus gestis ac scriptis operibus Bapt. Mantuani, 186 (Taurini, 1784); FREHER, III., 186; VOIGT, Pius II., III., 502 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 457 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 25 *seq.*

† *Cf.* GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, f. 35.

‡ Roderici de Sancta Ella (*cf.* GRAESSE, Trésor VI., 1, 143; HAIN, Rep., IV., 13 *seq.*, 31–2; MAZZETTI, Prof. Bol. [1847], 266 *seq.*), contra impugnatorem celibatus et castitatem presbyterorum ad Xistum P. M., a magnificent Renaissance-Codex. with the arms of Sixtus IV. Cod. Vat., 3639—Vatican Library.

regarded.* Too many regulars, says the Franciscan Roberto da Lecce, were monks in nothing but the name.† The painter Fra Filippo Lippi, and the novelist Bandello, though these men lived mostly at Court, are instances of the sort of characters to be found in some monasteries.‡ The discipline of many Convents of Nuns was equally lax.§

In the face of these scandals, however, we have undeniable evidence that there were, during the Renaissance, many faithful Generals of Orders, such as Aegidius of Viterbo,‖ holy bishops like SS. Antoninus and Lorenzo Giustiniani, and zealous Popes, unwearied in their efforts for reform.¶ A great deal was done to raise the tone of the religious houses. In the year 1412, the Benedictine congregation of S. Giustina was founded at Padua by the Venetian, Lodovico Barbo. The influence of this community had a lasting effect throughout Italy, both on public morals and in reviving the spirit of religion in convents.** New

* *Cf.* Cronica de Bologna, 736; MOLMENTI, 291; GÜDEMANN, 218 *seq.*; GHERARDI, Documenti, 69 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 205; REUMONT, Kl. Schriften, 19; Fl. AMBROSIUS, Bapt. Mantuanus, 190; MORSOLIN, L'Abate di Monte Subiaso, 4 *seq.*; Bollet. St. d. Suizz., Ital., VIII., 234.

† ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrag. de Peccatis, 53. The preacher also complains of the interference of the regulars with the parish priest in the cure of souls.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 9 *seq.*, and for LIPPI, *infra*. One great evil was that many persons entered religion who had no vocation, and were far too easily admitted. This is pointed out by ROB. DE LITIO, Serm., 35.

§ Examples are given in the Annal. Bonon., 897, and by BELGRANO, 477 *seq.*, 482. *Cf.* SANUTO, IV., 305, and the Giorn. Ligustico, XII., 37 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 65 *seq.*

¶ For the endeavours of the Papacy see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 104 *seq.*; III., 269 *seq.* (Engl. trans.) and *infra*, numerous passages. For a genera account, *cf.* WEISS, Vor der Reformation, 22 *seq.*

** *Cf.* Katholik (1859), II., 1361 *seq.*, and DITTRICH in Hist. Jahrb., V., 320 *seq.*

Houses were founded at Bassano, on Monte Agriano near Verona, in Genoa, S^to^ Spirito near Pavia, S. Dionisio at Milan, and in other places, and monks were sent to already existing monasteries to assist in reforming them. As time went on, many of the older Benedictine monasteries in Italy took up the movement, amongst others, S. Maria in Florence, S. Paolo in Rome, S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, S. Polirone in the Duchy of Mantua, S. Severino in the Neapolitan States, S. Pietro near Perugia, S. Proculo near Bologna, S. Pietro near Modena, S. Pietro de' Glisciate in Milan, S. Sisto near Piacenza. Unfortunately, many convents which had submitted to reforms, soon fell back into their former disorders, but this was not the case with the Benedictines.* The Dominican, Felix Faber of Ulm, who visited S. Giustina in 1487, gives a glowing account of the fervour and progress of this community, and the good that the example set by the Benedictines was doing amongst the other orders.†

A glance at the list of the great preachers of Penance, almost all of whom belonged to some order, affords further evidence that side by side with the corrupt and relaxed members, there were, even in the worst monasteries, many good and even fervent monks.

* Katholik, 1859, pp. 1360 *seq.*, 1489 *seq.*; 1860, 200 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*; DITTRICH, in the Hist. Jahrb., V., 320 *seq.*, where references to other books are given.

† F. FABRI, Evagatorium, ed. Hassler, III. (Stuttgardiae, 1849), 393. One of the sternest preachers of the day says: "Nonne videmus in hac vita multos religiosos et religiosas qui propter Deum mundum contemnunt, castitatem perpetuam et voluntariam paupertatem observant, quique rejecta propria voluntate usque ad sepulturam obedientiae praelatorum se submittunt." ANT. VERCELL., Serm., fol. 244.

III.

Amongst the characteristic features of the age of the Renaissance, one of the most remarkable is that of the preaching Friars. In every Italian city, great or small, their voices were heard admonishing, exhorting, and denouncing sin. The good done by these men has been hitherto but little studied. All that is as yet known of their labours, shews them to have been most successful. They were truly the benefactors and saviours of society in those days. They knew how to touch the consciences of their hearers. "Their discourses are purely moral, containing no abstract ideas, but full of practical application, driven home by the ardent devotion and ascetic spirit of the preacher. They dwelt but little on the terrors of hell and purgatory. The argument on which they relied was a vivid description of the "maledizione," the curse which sin brings with it, and which haunts the evil-doer on earth. The consequences of grieving Christ and His saints are felt in this life. It is only thus that souls steeped in passion, vindictiveness and crime, can be aroused and brought to repentance and conversion, which is the really important point."*

Some of the chief preachers at the time of the Renaissance were S. Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444); Alberto da Sarteano (d. 1450); Antonio da Rimini (about 1450); Silvestro da Siena (about 1450); Giovanni da Prato (about 1455); S. Giovanni Capistrano (d. 1456); Antonio da Bitonto (d. 1459); S. Jacopo della Marca (d. 1476); Roberto da Lecce (d. 1483); Antonio da Vercelli (d. 1483); Michele da Carcano (about 1485); Bernardino da Feltre (d. 1494); Bernardino da Bustis (d. 1500). All these were Franciscans,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 239-40, ed. 3.

but other religious orders produced equally distinguished preachers. We may mention as among the most prominent, the two Servites, Paolo Attavanti and Cesario de' Contughi, the Dominicans, Giovanni Dominici, Giovanni da Napoli, and Gabriele da Barletta, the Carmelite Battista Panezio, and the Augustinians, Aurelio Brandolino Lippi and Aegidius of Viterbo.*

We have seldom read anything more striking than these sermons, in which the evils of the period are ruthlessly laid bare, often with exaggeration.† The series, so far as any order is observed, follow that of the Commandments of God and the Church. The corresponding sins and vices are portrayed in instances taken from life, and denounced in scathing terms. Most of the arguments are drawn from Scripture or from the Fathers. The instruction of the people in the truths of the Faith was left to the parochial clergy. The preaching Friars aimed mainly at the conversion of their hearers, and found their best opportunities during the penitential seasons of the Church, such as Lent or Advent; when the cities were torn with factions or private feuds; when some glaring scandal had occurred; or in times of peril or plague. Then the preachers appeared, devoting themselves with indefatigable zeal to the task of

* To the list of works in note ‡ on p. 32 of PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., (Engl. trans.) should be added: TIRABOSCHI, VI., 2, 422 *seq.*; and GRÄSSE, Lehrbuch der Litteraturgesch., II., 173 *seq.* The printed sermons are enumerated by HAIN, as well as by GRÄSSE. An immense number have remained unprinted, the national library in Florence being especially rich in them. The registers of the various churches shew how diligent the preachers were. *Cf.* for instance: Nota de' predicatori che hanno predicato in S. Martino di Lucca de' quali si è conservata la nota nell' Archivio de' Signori Canonici from A. D. 1406 (MS. in the Library at Lucca); Aegidius of Viterbo will be mentioned again later, particularly in our next forthcoming volume where details will be given.

* See GÜDEMANN, 259.

converting sinners, encouraging the good, and strengthening the weak; while the part they had in the establishment of the Monte di Pietà shews their energy in the furtherance of such practical social reforms as came within their sphere of action. Occasionally, courses of sermons were given to promote the honour of some particular saint; thus, the two SS. Bernardino—both Franciscans,—in their time, gave a great impetus to the devotion to S. Joseph.* The preaching Friars tried to use the simplest language, such as would be most readily understood. They made use of anecdotes of daily life and personal experiences to fix the attention of their hearers. Sometimes they scolded or sternly rebuked the people, at others they talked to them in a friendly and familiar fashion.† Most of the preachers we have named were immensely popular, and the crowds which flocked to hear them shewed how exactly they hit off the taste of their audiences. Their appearance set the whole city and all the country round in commotion; the shops were closed as a rule, and they were often obliged to preach in the public squares, because the churches were not large enough to hold the vast concourse of people. Hour after hour the dense throng stood patiently hanging on their words, for the sermons were usually very long. It is recorded that 15,000 inhabitants of Perugia and its environs came to hear Roberto da Lecce preach in that city in 1448. All the places were occupied long before the sermon began, and it lasted nearly four hours.‡

* BEISSEL, in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach., 38, p. 284 *seq.*

† *Cf.* with BURCKHARDT, II., 240, ed. 3; TORRACA, Rob. da Lecce, in the Arch. St. Napolit., VII., 151 *seq.*

‡ GRAZIANI, 597 *seq.*, describes Roberto da Lecce's sermon. With this, *cf.* the account of S. Bernardino's appearance at Perugia, in the Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 5 *seq.*, and *ibid.*, 68 *seq.*, for the sermon by S. Jacopo della Marca.

These sermons by Roberto da Lecce in 1448, were accompanied by dramatic presentations of their subjects which enormously added to their effect. A procession with Christ in the centre bearing His Cross, issued from the Cathedral, Mary, robed in black, advanced to meet Him, and then the whole cortège advanced together to the foot of the preacher's tribune where the Crucifixion, the weeping women at the foot of the Cross, and finally, the Descent from the Cross were represented. Sobs and loud lamentations from the crowd filled the air while these scenes were being enacted. Similar representations are mentioned as accompanying the sermons of other Franciscan preachers.*

The first results usually achieved by the sermons were the release of insolvent debtors, and the burning of "vanities," that is, of dice, cards, masks, false hair, charms, indecent pictures, frivolous song books, and musical instruments. Things of this sort were piled in a heap in some open space, a figure of the devil perched on the top, and the whole set on fire. After this "the more or less hardened sinners began to come in. Men who had long absented themselves from confession approached the Sacrament of Penance, goods unjustly withheld were restored, injurious and insulting words taken back." Towards the end of the course, when all hearts were prepared and softened, the speaker would approach whatever, under the circumstances, seemed the most urgent evil of the moment. This, in those days of bitter party feuds, was generally some exasperated quarrel, or some cruel project of vengeance. The preacher, holding the Cross aloft, would call upon the people to forget and forgive. Chroniclers graphically describe the sounds of weeping and cries of "Jesu mercy!" that would burst from the crowd,

* CREIZENACH, I., 313-14; D'ANCONA, I., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2.

and how overtures of peace were made on the spot from quarters where peace had long been unknown. "Enemies who had been such for years embraced each other, and even blood-feuds were relinquished. Outlaws were allowed to return, to forgive and be forgiven. Reconciliations (*paci*) thus effected, seem, on the whole, to have been kept to, even after the excitement had subsided, and in such cases, the memory of the Friar was blessed by many generations; but now and again a crisis occurred, such as that in 1482, between the Roman families of Valle and Croce, in which the hatred was so violent that even the great Roberto da Lecce lifted up his voice in vain." However, on the whole, the preaching Friars were wonderfully successful in effecting reforms, both social and moral. Few epochs can boast such splendid records of conversions of whole towns and provinces as the age of the Renaissance.* The preaching Friars were frequently revered by the common people as saints. After the closing sermon had concluded with the benediction "Peace be with you," it was customary to hold a solemn procession, in which the whole population, including the city magistrates, took part. Sometimes, at the close of a mission, all the adults of the place, from the magistrates down to the craftsmen, received the Blessed Sacrament.† When the preacher was leaving the city, enthusiastic demonstrations of popular gratitude towards their spiritual benefactor would frequently occur.‡

We cannot but admire the manner in which high and

* In addition to the works mentioned in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 34, note * (Engl. trans.), amongst which BURCKHARDT, II., 240 *seq.*, ed. 3, is as usual foremost, see also BARZELLOTTI'S treatise, 55 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 34.

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 240–42, ed. 3. *Cf.* TORRACA, *loc. cit.*, 143 *seq.*, and Cronache di Perugia, ed. FABRETTI, II., 68.

low, Popes and Princes, submitted to the rebukes of these Friars; and equally admirable is the fearlessness displayed by the preachers in denouncing the sins and vices of all ranks and conditions.*

The more earnest of these men lamented, among other evils, the extravagances which some of their brethren allowed themselves in their discourses.† We hear of preachers whose sermons were overcharged with vain learning, or full of hair-splitting theological questions, and again, of others who condescended too much to the taste of the populace. The newly revived pagan philosophy was too often brought forward in the pulpit at the expense of Christianity. Passages from the works of heathen poets and teachers replaced the customary quotations from the Fathers. The glamour of the new learning obscured the old simple doctrines, and heathen Mythology was mixed

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 33-4, and IV., 389-90 (Engl. trans.); also BURCKHARDT, II., 244, ed. 3, and GÜDEMANN, 218-59. The most despotic Pope of that brilliant period, Julius II. was one of the most strenuous supporters of those bold preachers. Time after time he sent them out. *Cf.* Lib. brev. 25 f., f. 44: 1506, Dec. 20, Bonon. (A° 4°): fratri Martino Sennensi Ord. de Monte Carmelo. . . . . in ecclesia Cruciferorum Venetarum verbum Dei et doctrinam evangelicam iuxta traditam tibi a Deo facultatem festis nativitatis et quadragesimae proximae futurae praedicare. *Ibid.*, f. 117: 1507, Jan. 28, Bonon. (A° 4°): Timotheo de Medicis Lucensi Ord. S. Francisci, is sent as a Lenten preacher to Siena. The *Brief of Nov. 4, 1505, addressed to Aegidius of Viterbo, printed in the Appendix, proves the importance attached by Julius II. to the sermons to be preached by Aegidius in Rome (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The Augustinian Mariano de Cavi also preached in Rome during the reign of Julius II. Cardinal Gonzaga in a letter dated Rome, Jan. 20, 1508, commends the learning and exemplary life of this monk, whose preaching in Bologna, Florence, and Naples had produced great results. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* ROB. DE LITIO, P. II., Serm. 8; see also MICH. DE MEDIOLANO, P. III., S. 50. Others are referred to by GÜDEMANN, 258.

up with Christian dogma.* Equally objectionable was the conduct of those preachers who, instead of aiming at the conversion and edification of their hearers, thought only of making a name for themselves. Such men invented all sorts of miracles, sham prophecies and silly fables, painted exaggerated pictures of prevalent abuses, and gross ones of vices, recklessly attacked ecclesiastical dignitaries, even the Pope himself, and pronounced the Church to be utterly corrupt. Their sermons were full of omens and so-called revelations announcing the most appalling judgments, such as the destruction of Rome, the annihilation of the Church, and the coming of anti-Christ; dealing with politics and all sorts of worldly matters, and leaving out the one thing needful.†

Many of these characteristic qualities of the sermons of the day, both the good and the bad, were combined in the man who developed them to their fullest extent, and for a time made Italy ring with his name, Girolamo Savonarola. A mission sermon preached by an Augustinian monk, led this highly-gifted youth, a scion of an ancient family of Ferrara, to resolve, without his parents' knowledge, upon

* It was against this that the reaction of the Theatine fathers was afterwards directed. See Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift (1859), 12 *seq.*

† *Cf.* S. ANTONINUS, Summa Theol., P. III., tit. 18, c. 4, and *infra*, the provisions made by the Lateran Council. Previous to this Council there was doubtless a lack of due control, although, as a rule, only friars or priests were allowed to preach; but, as BURCKHARDT observes, I., 243, ed. 3, "It is difficult to draw any very sharp distinction in this matter, because the Church and the pulpit too, had so long been used to give publicity to all sorts of announcements, to acts of the legislature, for lectures, etc., and even at regular sermons, Humanists and laymen were sometimes allowed to speak." For the proceedings against a preacher at Milan in 1492, see GHINZONI, in the Arch. St. Lomb., XIII., 42 *seq.* These documents are unfortunately not explicit enough to indicate the precise offence of which the preacher was accused.

entering the Dominican Order. Savonarola (born Sept. 21, 1452) chanced to hear this sermon on his way to Faenza in 1474. A year later he was a novice in the Dominican monastery at Bologna. Amongst his papers, his parents found one "On contempt of the world," in which the young enthusiast paints a terrible picture of contemporary morals. For the good, of which so much remained, he seems to have had no eye. He could have known but little of the world, but he sees only the evil, which reminds him of Sodom and Gomorrah. Early in his monastic career, Savonarola composed his famous poem "The decay of the Church," in which again we find only the dark side of the life of the period. The Church appears as a chaste virgin, because her faith had remained pure. Savonarola asks her "Where are the teachers, where is the learning, the Christian charity and the purity of former days?" The maiden takes him by the hand and says "Seeing how pride and vain-glory entered Rome and corrupted her, I withdrew and hid myself here, where I spend my life in mourning." Then she shews him all the wounds which she has received from the malice and rage of men. Profoundly grieved, he bids the saints and martyrs weep for her; "The temple, the sanctuary of purity, is defiled." He asks whose fault it is, and the Church replies that it is caused by pride, and the lust of the flesh and of the eyes. "Oh that I could stem this tide of wickedness!" cries Savonarola. "Weep" she answers "and be silent, for this is the better part." *

Henceforth the young Dominican seeks relief in prayer and penance from the torturing spectacle of moral and religious depravity. In Bologna, Savonarola had only been entrusted with the instruction of novices, but in 1481 or 1482, he was sent by his superiors to preach in Florence,

* Poesie di Fra G. Savonarola, ed. Guasti, 10–15.

the very heart and centre of the Renaissance. The deep-seated corruption which encountered him in the capital of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the widespread immorality of the Florentines, and their scornful infidelity, caused him the most acute anguish. He overlooked, in his passionate indignation, the immense amount of good which remained; and seeing only the evil, he attacked it with a violence which turned many people against him. It was no wonder that his first sermons in S. Lorenzo met with no response. The speech and manners of this stranger were too rough and rude to please the Florentines, his Lombard accent too harsh, his expressions too homely, his gesticulations too vehement. They missed, too, the quotations from poets and philosophers, which they so much relished. Savonarola's reckless bitterness, the exaggerated severity of his fulminations against the immorality of his contemporaries, and their fanaticism for the classics, made him utterly repulsive to them. Their darling was Fra Mariano, a favourite of the Medici, whose sermons were so popular that the vast nave of S^to^ Spirito could hardly contain his audience. Angelo Poliziano praises Mariano's sonorous voice, his refined expressions, his well-turned sentences, the harmony of his cadences. "I never knew," he continues, "a more discreet and agreeable man. He neither repels his hearers by over severity, nor deceives them by too great leniency. Many preachers deem themselves lords of life and death, abuse their powers, look askance at everything, and weary men by perpetual admonitions. Mariano is moderation itself. A stern censor in the pulpit, he has no sooner quitted it than he becomes genial and courteous."* Savonarola was not discouraged by the coldness of his reception, but rather roused to a yet fiercer combat with vice. The stories of the heroes of both the Old and the New Testa-

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 390, ed. 2.

ments possessed his brain, the imagery of the Hebrew Prophets and of the Apocalypse became a living reality to him; "he thought one day that he had seen a heavenly vision, and had heard a voice bidding him to announce the afflictions which were to come upon the Church and the people. Thus assured of his divine mission, and having once entered the charmed circle of dreams and visions, he never emerged from it until after his imprisonment." *

The young Friar must have been glad when his Superiors sent him to preach the Lenten sermons for 1485 and 1486 in the small hill-side town of S. Gimignano near Siena. Here he could venture to unfold his prophetic programme; and here for the first time he uttered his three famous sentences. "The Church will be punished, then she will be purified,—and that soon." Preaching at Brescia in 1486, he expounded the Apocalypse, threatening divine vengeance, and calling to repentance. The response which these sermons elicited gave back to Savonarola the confidence which he had lost in Florence. "I am more determined than ever," he wrote to his mother on Jan. 25, 1489, "to devote body and soul and all the knowledge which God has given me, for the love of Him, to the good of my neighbour; and since I cannot do it at home I will do it abroad. Bid all men walk honestly. I depart to-day for Genoa." He returned the same year to Florence; † entered the pulpit of S. Marco on Aug. 1, 1490, to preach upon the Apocalypse, and at once achieved a triumph. The revulsion in his favour was as sudden as it was great. In consequence of the crowds who flocked to hear him, the cathedral pulpit was placed at his disposal during the Lent of 1491. For hours the close-packed throng would await the arrival of the small sallow-faced Friar with his

* SCHWAB, in the Bonner Literaturblatt, 4, 898.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 89 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

furrowed brow, aquiline nose, and piercing fiery eyes.* To the Florentines Fra Girolamo was an entirely new phenomenon, and his sermons were totally unlike those to which they were accustomed. "A parallel to him could only be found by going back to the old Hebrew prophets, whose spirit filled him, and whose traditions he sought to revive." † "He introduced an almost new method of preaching the Word of God," writes the Florentine chronicler Cerretani, "in fact, the method of the Apostles. His sermons were not divided into parts, there were no intricate questions, no cadences or rhetorical devices. His sole aim was to expound Holy Scripture, and restore the simplicity of the primitive Church." ‡ It is very remark-

* Next to the delicately cut gems of Giovanni delle Corniole, the portrait now exhibited in the convent of S. Marco is the most faithful rendering of the great man's features. It is a copy, not (as Woltmann, II., 602, and most recent critics think) the original picture by Bartolomeo della Porta, which is lost. *Cf.* RUBIERI, Il ritratto di Fra Girolamo (Firenze, 1855), and FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 94 *seq.* where more will be found about the other portraits and coins. The Dominican Fra BENEDETTO gives the following description of Savonarola in his epic poem, "The Cedar of Lebanon," edited by Marchese.

"Era parco di corpo, ma ben sano
Era di membra a modo delicato
Che quasi relucia sua santa mano.
Ilare sempre, e non già mai turbato;
Di sguardo desto e penetrante e bello:
Del occhio sufformato oscuro e grato.
Denso di barba e d'oscuro capello
La bocca svelta, e la faccia distesa
Arcato el naso alquanto aveva quello."

For the two medallions of Savonarola and Domenico da Pescia in the Vienna Museum, see Rivist. Ital. di Numismatica, 1892.

† PERRENS, Savonarola, 79.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 143, n. 1 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

able that this Friar should have steadily continued to rise in the esteem of the Florentines. While trampling with unsparing and often exaggerated scorn on all the predilections of this "race of artists, and worshippers of art," he told them that "their love of beauty was mere lust, the works of their painters immoral, and that even the pagan Aristotle had warned his disciples against indecent pictures, such as would corrupt the soul of youth. He described the whole of life in Florence as vain and frivolous, and merely sensual, in spite of all their intellect and wit." * Savonarola's manner in the pulpit was so impressive that his hearers accepted everything that he said, and frequently burst into tears. In the notes taken of his sermons, one constantly comes upon the remark "Here I began to weep, and could not continue." In reading these notes one cannot, of course, gain any adequate idea of the words as they were uttered; but "the phrases, even when written down, are so forcible in their simplicity and originality, as to have almost the effect of spoken words." † His vivid descriptions caught the lively fancy of the multitude, his awful threats of impending judgment were irresistible to an emotional people. Lorenzo de' Medici, who could never be satisfied until he had drawn whatever was remarkable or distinguished into his own circle, did all he could to attract this influential Friar, but in vain. Savonarola went out of his way to inflict a slight on the haughty magnate by omitting to pay him the customary visit after his election as Prior of S. Marco, a convent rebuilt by the Medici family; but Lorenzo had the prudence to take no notice of this. His attitude towards this most outspoken and even virulent opponent was that of a finished

* WEISS, IV., 231.

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 76.

man of the world and wise statesman. Never, under any provocation, was he betrayed into a rash step; bearing with proud indifference all the annoyances and insults which the passionate preacher heaped upon him.* At the last, when he felt that his end was near, Lorenzo even sought spiritual consolation in that dread hour, from his fearless censor.† Had Savonarola known how to be moderate, he might have exercised an incalculable influence over this Prince, who, with all his worldliness and frivolity, was open to religious impressions; but he let himself be carried away by his impetuosity, and in his efforts to effect that searching reform which was his ideal, he overstepped the bounds of what was prudent and possible.

Savonarola's influence was materially increased by the separation which Alexander VI. effected between the Tuscan and the Lombard congregations of his order. A stringent reform was instituted at S. Marco; the Prior being himself a living example of the precepts he enforced. He always wore the coarsest dress; his bed was the hardest, his cell the smallest and meanest.‡

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 396, ed. 2.

† In regard to the famous controversy as to whether Savonarola really made his absolution conditional on the restoration of the liberties of Florence, and whether Lorenzo refused this, *cf.* VILLARI, I., 146–149, 168 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2), and Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, I., 201 *seq.*; SCHWAB'S examination into this question in the Bonner Literaturblatt, IV., 899, was apparently unknown to Villari as also to Frantz; see Fra BARTOLOMEO, 75 *seq.* *Cf.* for the whole matter, PELLEGRINI'S observations in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., X., 246 *seq.* The latter justly remarks that Villari relies too much on the Pseudo-Burlamacchi. See also Rev. Hist., XXXVIII., 168; ARMSTRONG in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 448 *seq.*; and HARTWIG in the Hist. Zeitschr., LXIV., 181, 188 *seq.*

‡ VILLARI, *loc. cit.* I., 179. PERRENS, 110 *seq.* The entrance to

In 1493 Savonarola preached a course of Advent sermons in which with growing boldness and in very intemperate language he denounced the corruption of the clergy and the vices of the princes. The clergy he says "tickle men's ears with talk of Aristotle and Plato, Virgil and Petrarch, and take no concern of the salvation of souls. Why, instead of expounding so many books, do they not expound the one Book in which is the law and spirit of life. The Gospel, O Christians! ye should ever have with you; not merely the letter, but the spirit of the Gospel. For if thou lackest the spirit of grace, what will it avail thee to carry

Savonarola's cell was through an oratory, on the outer wall of which there is the following inscription :—

Leo X. P.M. die Epi ||
ph. MDXVI hoc ||
ora^{m} ingr^{us} X annos ||
et X quadr. fribus ||
totiens visitanti ||
bus concessit.

This oratory has, properly speaking, nothing to do with Savonarola, and it was irrespective of him that Leo X. granted Indulgences to those who visited it. It is only in recent times that it has been linked with the person of the great Dominican, owing to the monument erected there in his honour. Adjoining it are Savonarola's study and dormitory; both cells are very small, each only four paces square, with one narrow window about 2 feet in height and rounded at the top. See BRUNNER, Studien, I., 71. One was his sleeping apartment, the other the study. The first cell contains the "relics" of Savonarola, formerly preserved in the sacristy: his rosary, cloak, hair-shirt, under-garment, and a fragment of the stake at which he suffered. Two Bibles are also kept in S. Marco, with marginal notes attributed to Savonarola. VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 122, note (Engl. trans., ed. 2), disputes this, but believes the glosses in the two Bibles in the Bibl. Naz. and Riccardiana to have been really written by Savonarola. A Bible with copious marginal notes in Savonarola's handwriting was shewn me in 1888, among various treasures, by Count Paar, the Austrian ambassador to the Vatican.

about the whole book; and again still greater is the foolishness of those that load themselves with briefs and tracts and writings, so that they are like unto stalls at a fair Charity doth not consist in written papers! The true books of Christ are the Apostles and the Saints; the true reading of them is to imitate their lives; but in these days men are made books of the devil. They speak against pride and ambition, yet are plunged in both up to the eyes; they preach chastity and maintain concubines; they prescribe fasting and feast splendidly themselves. Those are useless books, false books, bad books, and books of the devil, for the devil hath filled them with his malice. These prelates exult in their dignities and despise others; these are they that would be feared and reverenced; these are they that seek the highest place in the synagogues, the chief pulpits of Italy. They seek to shew themselves by day in the public squares, and be saluted and called masters and rabbis, they make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the hem of their garments; they spit roundly; step gravely and expect their slightest nod to be obeyed." "See how in these days prelates and preachers are chained to the earth by the love of earthly things; the cure of souls is no longer their concern." "In the primitive Church the chalices were of wood, the prelates of gold; in these days the Church hath chalices of gold and prelates of wood."*

Savonarola's Lenten sermons in 1494 were still more startling. He now began to connect the impending judgments with the advent of a new Cyrus who would overrun Italy without opposition. In September he spoke again on the same subjects. Dim rumours of the French expedition were already afloat and the agitation increased in force. On the 21st September the excitement was at its height. The vast aisles of the Cathedral of Florence could

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 179–180, 182, 184 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

hardly hold the throng which for hours had stood waiting for the arrival of the preacher. At last Savonarola mounted the pulpit and gave out his text. "Behold I bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth. *Ecce ego adducam aquas super terram.*" The words fell like a thunderbolt; terror and dismay took possession of the multitude. So great was the alarm, writes the chronicler Cerretani, that sobs and lamentations burst from all, and the people went about the city in silence and only half-alive. Poliziano says that his hair stood on end.* A few days later the Medici were driven out and the French King entered Florence in triumph. So striking a fulfilment of Savonarola's predictions, together with his wonderful success in maintaining order in the city during the French occupation, of course enormously increased his prestige. The people regarded him as a true prophet, and in addition to this, he, and he only, had been able to mollify the French King previous to his entry into Florence, and it was he who had induced him to depart. Counsel, assistance, and even commands were now expected of him in the difficult task of remodelling the constitution.† Thus it was that circumstances forced the Friar of S. Marco into an unnatural position, and one full of peril. He justified his interference in politics on the plea that he found it necessary in order to save souls. "O my people!" he cries, "thou knowest that I have always refrained from touching on the affairs of State; thinkest thou that I would enter upon them at this moment did I not deem it necessary for the salvation of souls? Thou wouldst not believe me, but now thou hast seen how all my words have been fulfilled; that they are not uttered of my own will, but proceed from the Lord. Hearken ye, then, unto him that desireth nought but your

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 231 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† *Ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

salvation. Purify the spirit, give heed to the common good, forget private interests, and if ye reform the city to this intent, it will have greater glory than in all past times. In this wise, O, people of Florence, shalt thou begin the reformation of all Italy and spread thy wings over the earth to bear reform to all nations." This reform, he goes on to say, must begin with spiritual things, and all temporal good must be subordinate to moral and religious good. Cosimo de' Medici had said that States could not be governed by *Paternosters*, but this was the speech of a tyrant. If they wanted a good Constitution, everything must be referred to God—he would have nothing to do with politics conducted on any other principle. In regard to the Constitution to be established, in his sermon in the cathedral he insisted especially on four points: First, the fear of God and reformation of morals; secondly, zeal for the popular government and public welfare, in preference to all private interests; thirdly, a general reconciliation whereby the friends of the past Government should be absolved of all their crimes, their fines remitted, and indulgence shewn to all debtors of the State; fourthly, a form of universal government comprising all citizens who in virtue of the city's ancient statutes were entitled to a share in the State.* Savonarola, like many of his contemporaries, believed in the "great modern fallacy," that Constitutions can be manufactured, that a well-considered system of checks and counter-checks will produce a Government.† Incredible as it seems, the Friar of S. Marco succeeded. He introduced a democratic form of government, and the ideas which he had preached became law. The Great Council was founded at his suggestion, the system of taxation altered, usury suppressed by the insti-

* VILLARI, *loc. cit.* I., 262, 265.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 81, ed. 3.

tution of a Monte di Pietà, the administration of justice regulated, and the tumultuous meetings misnamed Parliaments, which had been the tools of the Medici were abolished.*

Political reform was only a part of the great task which Savonarola had set himself; his scheme embraced the renovation of social life, as well as science, literature, and art. Christianity was to reassert its sovereignty over the paganism of the false renaissance in every department of life. His "Evviva Christo" was to echo from lip to lip. Politics, society, science and art, were to have the commandments of God for their basis. Christ was to be proclaimed King of Florence and protector of her liberties.†

Savonarola had, however, another meaning also in thus entitling Christ the King of Florence. He claimed to be the organ of Divine messages and revelations. His poetic temperament, his ardent fancy steeped in the prophetic and Apocalyptic books of Scripture, and the predictions of Joachim and Telesphorus, at that time so much in vogue, combined to produce in him a firm conviction that he had direct intercourse with God and the angels. He imagined that he heard voices and saw faces. "Gradually the visions gained such mastery over his reflective consciousness that in the midst of an ordinary conversation he would see the heavens opened and hear voices, and it seemed impossible to him to doubt the reality of his immediate intercourse with the world of spirits." "That which I saw in the spirit and put into words was to me far more certain," he writes in the

* Savonarola, as the reformer of the Florentine constitution, *cf.* in addition to VILLARI, I., 269 *seq.*, 298 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2); FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 58 *seq.* See also GHERARDI, 323 *seq.* THOMAS, Les Révolutions Polit. de Florence, 348 *seq.* (Paris, 1881), and BERNON, in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., LXXXVIII., 563 *seq.*

† *Cf.* FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 74, 76-9; *cf.* PERRENS, 175 *seq.*

treatise on visions, "than first principles are to philosophers." An accidental circumstance confirmed him in his fancies, and induced him resolutely to shake off any lingering doubts. There was in the convent of S. Marco a Friar named Silvestro Maruffi, who happened to be a somnambulist, and had frequent visions. Savonarola believed in this man so blindly as even on one occasion to publish a vision of Maruffi's as his own, commanded, as he supposed, by angels to do so. In his judgment of other people's dreams and visions, Savonarola was inclined to be critical, but he never admitted the possibility of any mistake in regard to his own.* "I know the purity of my intentions," he declares; "I have sincerely adored the Lord; I try to follow in His footsteps; I have passed my nights in prayer and watching; I have renounced my peace; I have consumed health and strength for the good of my neighbours. No, it is not possible that God should have deceived me. This light is Truth itself; this light is the aid of my reason, the support of my charity."†

Too often in his fulminations against the growing corruption, for which the Medici were so largely responsible, the impetuous Dominican, carried away by the torrent of his own eloquence, allowed himself to be betrayed into very extravagant statements. In one sermon he said—"The only good that Plato and Aristotle did, was to provide a good many arguments which can be turned against heretics. They and the other philosophers are fast in hell. Any old woman knows more about Faith than Plato. It would be good for the Faith if many of these seemingly precious books could be destroyed." On another occasion he declared that only a very few should occupy themselves with

* BURCKHARDT, II., 247, ed. 3.

† *Cf.* VILLARI, I., 318 (Engl. trans., ed. 2). SCHWAB, in the Bonner Literaturblatt, IV., 903 *seq.*, and TOCCO, in La Vita Ital., II., 381 *seq.*

learning. All that was needed was a small body of intellectual athletes to refute heretical sophistries, the rest should confine their studies to grammar, good morals, and religious instruction.*

Language of this kind led to the belief that Savonarola was opposed to Art and Science, but recent investigations have proved the injustice of this accusation. It is certain that he made provision for study among his own friars, and wished them to learn Greek and Oriental languages with a view to missions, though not aiming at any great results in scholarship. It is also certain that Savonarola rescued the magnificent Medici Library for Florence. How then could he have been an enemy to science? We have his own defence of himself against the reproach of being an enemy of poetry and poets. "I have never been minded," he says, "to condemn the art of verse, but only the abuse made of it by many, although not a few have sought to calumniate me in their writings." He then proceeds to explain in what this abuse consists: "There is a false race of pretended poets who can do nought but run after the Greeks and Romans, repeating their ideas, copying their style and their metre; and even invoking the same deities, as if we were not men as much as they, with reason and religion of our own. Now, this is not only false poetry but likewise a most hurtful snare to our youth. Were this not already as clear as sunlight, I would labour to prove it, experience, the only teacher of all things, having so plainly manifested to all eyes the evils born of this false kind of poetry, that it is needless to pause to condemn it. And what shall we say on finding that even the pagans condemned poets such as these? Did not Plato himself, whom nowadays all extol to the skies, declare the necessity of making a law expelling from the

* BURCKHARDT, II., 249, ed. 3.

city all poets, who by the example and authority of most iniquitous deities, and the allurements of most shameful verse, filled the world with ignominious lust and moral destruction? Why do our Christian rulers make no sign? Why do they dissemble these ills? Why do they not pass a law banishing from the city not only these false poets, but even their works, and those of the ancient writers treating of vicious subjects, and in praise of false gods? It would be an excellent thing were such books destroyed, and only those inciting to virtue preserved." *

Savonarola held similar views in regard to painting. What he there rightly opposed, was the Pagan false renaissance. "It was not Art itself which he condemned, but its desecration, the introduction of earthly and even immodest sentiments and dress into sacred pictures. On the contrary, pious and genuinely religious art would have been an efficacious support in building up that ideal State which he dreamt of, and for a while even made a reality." Again and again Savonarola explains what he finds fault with in contemporary Art, and what he desires to put in place of it. For him edification is the main object of Art; he will tolerate none which does not tend to the service of religion. He denounces the delineation of the undraped human form as unchaste and demoralising, all the more so because for women and children the church pictures serve instead of books.† "His quarrel was with the tendency to emphasise the sensuous side of Art, to please the taste of

* VILLARI, II., 149, 150, 151 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† BODE, 223. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 227, 229 *seq.* and 237. That Savonarola was no enemy of Art is convincingly demonstrated by L. GRUYER, Les Illustrations des écrits de J. Savonarole publiés en Italie au XV. et au XVI. siècle, et les paroles de Savonarole sur l'Art (Paris, Didot, 1879); RIO, De l'Art Chrétien, II., 368; FRANTZ, II., 666; HETTNER, Italienische Studien, 145–53.

worldlings, and to ignore its true vocation, which is spiritual, and leads to God. Savonarola's fulminations against the nude in pictures were not directed against the study of the nude, nor the use of it in Art in general, but only on its use with the purpose of pandering to sensual thoughts." * His protest was against naturalism in Religious Art, although he admitted that all Art was based on the study of nature. His advice to artists was to dwell more on expression and ideal beauty, and less on perfection of form.

His endeavour was to eliminate the sensual taint from Art; but here, too, he generalised and exaggerated till he frequently overshot the mark. "Ye trick out the Mother of God in the frippery of a courtesan, ye give her the features of your paramours. Then these young men go about saying of this woman or that: Here is a Magdalene, here a Virgin, there a S. John. And then ye paint their faces in the churches, the which is a great profanation of divine things. Ye painters do very ill; and did ye know, as I know, the scandal ye cause, ye would certainly act differently. . . . Ye fill the churches with vain things; think ye the Virgin should be painted as ye paint her? I tell ye that she went clothed as a beggar." †

In contrast to this, Savonarola inculcated a severe and serious treatment of sacred subjects; "The figures should be larger than life, and thus be easily recognised as typical. Their drapery should be simple and correspond in its form with the age in which they lived."

Too many of Savonarola's criticisms on Art are certainly open to the charge of one-sidedness, harshness, and exaggeration; but his quarrel with the debasement of contemporary art was in many respects a just one. There is

* See AUG. REICHENSPERGER'S Essay: "Zur Charakteristik der Renaisance," in No. 347 of Köln. Volkszeitung, Dec. 16, 1881.

† VILLARI, II., 147 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

no denying the sensual pagan tendency which had crept into Italian Art towards the close of the 15th century,—a tendency which, even from an æsthetic point of view, was distinctly faulty. Again, a glance at many of the works of the period reveals a growing tendency towards realism, and an increasing delight in reproducing the hundred and one little accessories of daily life which pleased the eye of the painters and were dear to the Italian fancy. In Savonarola's time these two influences were doubtless "in the ascendant, and had become so prominent as on the one hand to obscure the typical meaning of the picture, and on the other, by an unintentional naturalism, seriously to detract from its influence as an aid to devotion."

The abuse of painting friends and acquaintances of the artist as Saints, grew apace during the latter half of the 15th Century. Donatello, in choosing a man like Poggio for a model of a prophet, was defying all sense of propriety. The same was, in a sense, true of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and in S. Gimignano, and of those painted by Ghirlandajo in Sta Maria Novella in Florence.* The dissolute Carmelite, Fra Filippo Lippi, did even worse, for his Madonnas reproduce again and again the features of Lucrezia Buti, his mistress.†

Though up to the close of the 15th Century the abuse of introducing mythological subjects and sensuous methods of presentation into sacred pictures was still comparatively rare, there were, nevertheless, many lamentable exceptions to the rule. Thus, before his conversion, Fra Bartolomeo

* Many as are the beauties of Ghirlandajo's frescoes in the Choir of Sta Maria Novella, we cannot but regard the introduction of twenty-one portraits of members of the donors' families as a profanation of sacred history. MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 230.

† GUHL, I., 24; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, III., 52 *seq.*

painted a picture of S. Sebastian which, Vasari tells us, had shortly to be removed from the church, in consequence of the evil effects which the fathers found it to produce.* Many of Mantegna's pictures and etchings are by no means immaculate.†

Luca Signorelli, in his "Last Judgment," at Orvieto, makes far more use of the nude than is allowable in a cathedral, and even introduces mythological characters. Sundry naked deities were painted by the same artist for the elder Lorenzo, and in the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci at Siena amongst others a Bacchante.‡ Another of his productions, "The Education of Pan," a group of naked gods, is in a private gallery in Florence.§ The frescoes painted by Correggio in the Camera di San Paolo at Parma are most indecent. These, however, belong to a later date, 1518. They were executed for Donna Giovanna, the abbess of a rich convent, a cultured lady of the Humanist school. The ceiling of the hall is painted to represent an arbour of vines, with genii and cupids hiding in its foliage. The sixteen lunettes contain figures in grey monochrome, the Graces, the Fates, Fortuna, sundry satyrs, and even an undraped Venus. On the wall of this bower of the gods Diana appears in diaphanous attire. The whole composition is mythological; there is nothing Christian about it.‖ There are pictures of Venus by Sandro Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo,¶ which are also extremely reprehensible. The

* VASARI, III., 1, 39 (ed. 1598).

† PIPER, I., 1, 326.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1, 322.

§ CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 1st half, 85 *seq.*

‖ WOLTMANN, II., 706; NAUMANN'S Archiv. für Zeichnende Künste, VII., 117 *seq.*; and RUMOHR, Drei Reisen nach Italien, 159 (Leipzig, 1832).

¶ PIPER, I., 1, 327.

so-called "Temple of Malatesta" at Rimini, a church built by Leon Battista Alberti, at the desire of this tyrant, is absolutely heathen. There is hardly a single Christian symbol or religious inscription in the whole of this magnificent structure. The statue of S. Michael is a portrait of Malatesta's mistress, the famous Isotta. In the Chapel of S. Jerome we find a nude Olympian group—Diana, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, and even Venus.* Again, the doors of the Cathedral at Como are decorated with classical figures purely mythological or historic. Centaurs bearing naked female figures on their backs, nymphs, and Heracles with Mucius Scaevola. These groups are partly borrowed from antique sarcophagi, coins and gems, and partly original. Similar mythological figures are to be seen in the arabesques framing the bronze doors, executed by Antonio Filarete in 1441–1447, for the old Church of S. Peter's.† Many of the monuments to the dead even bear no trace of Christianity. This is the case with Jacopo della Quercia's sarcophagus in the gallery at Florence,‡ and Verrocchio's tomb of Piero and Cosimo de' Medici in S. Lorenzo in the same city.§ No vestige of Christianity is discernible on the tomb of Rolando de' Medici in the Annunziata,‖ nor on that of Giovanni de' Medici by Donatello in S. Lorenzo.¶ Mythological allegories are freely used in the monument to Girolamo della Torre (d. 1506) and his son, executed by Andrea Riccio for the church of

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 118–119 (Engl. trans.).

† PIPER, I., 1, 292–4; PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 360 (Engl. trans.).

‡ Cupids, Tritons, and Centaurs mingle with Biblical scenes in the font designed by Quercia, in the Cathedral at Siena. *Cf.* PIPER I., 1, 292 *seq.*

§ MÜNTZ, I., 59.

‖ *Ibid.*, 424.

¶ *Ibid.*, 429.

S. Fermo at Verona. Even on the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV., erected by his nephew Giuliano della Rovere, we find that medley of Christian and Pagan ideas which marks the transition stage between the Christian conception, and that utterly mundane treatment which prevailed later.* On the whole, however, during the 15th Century the Popes kept the vagaries of artists within bounds, although in Florence their extravagances were already deplorable.†

These transgressions had not as yet become common, but were numerous enough to account for the severity of Savonarola's censures. Perhaps he was sometimes unnecessarily severe, but the justice of his rebukes was acknowledged by more than one painter. Indeed, the eloquent Dominican exercised great influence over many artists.

The miniature-painters Benedetto, Filippo Lapacino, and Eustachio were then employed in the convent of S. Marco, so were the painters Agostino di Paolo del Mugello, Agostino de' Macconi, Andrea of Florence, and, most important of all, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta ; so, too, were the architects Domenico di Paolo and Francesco di Prato, as well as two of the Robbia family. Outside the convent also, Savonarola reckoned many an artist among his followers. We will mention only Sandro Botticelli and Lorenzo di Credi, who, like Fra Bartolomeo, burnt their studies from the nude. Perugino must not be left out, nor the architect Cronaca, nor again the sculptors Baccio da Montelupo, Ferrucci, Baccio Baldini, Giovanni delle Corniola, and Michael Angelo. The tragic death of their master affected

* GREGOROVIUS, Die Grabmäler der Römischen Päpste, 101 (1857); 101 *seq.*; and PASTOR, Gesch der Päpste, II., 568, note 1, ed. 2.

† MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 224. "En thèse générale les papes montraient une réserve excessive vis-à-vis des beaux arts. On chercherait vainement à Rome ces compositions mythologiques, qui remplissaient dès-lors les palais de Florence.

both Fra Bartolomeo and Sandro Botticelli so profoundly, that the former ceased painting for a time, and the latter laid aside his brush and never resumed it. Savonarola's influence can be traced in many of the works of Art produced by his contemporaries,* notably in those of Giovanni della Robbia, representing the dead Christ in His mother's arms, with the other mourners. This incident, so graphically described in many of Savonarola's sermons, became at that time a more frequent subject of Florentine Art than at any previous or later period. Pietro Perugino during the last years of the 15th Century painted hardly any pictures but these "Pietà"—the immortal fresco of the Crucifixion in the chapter-house of S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, the Deposition from the Cross in the Palazzo Pitti, Christ on the Mount of Olives, Christ on the Cross, and the Pietà in the Academy at Florence, all belong to the years 1494–1497. About the same time Michael Angelo painted the "Deposition," now in the National Gallery in London, and Sandro and Filippino produced those in the Pinakothek in Munich. "The erection of the marble shrine containing a Pietà, from the hand of Andrea Sansovino, at S^to^ Spirito, and Filippino's commission to paint the great Descent from the Cross (in the Academy at Florence) belong to a somewhat later date. The latter work was finished by Perugino in 1504. About this time Fra Bartolomeo painted a fresco of the Last Judgment for Sta Maria Novella, and Michael Angelo carved the Pietà in S. Peter's at Rome, the crowning monument of this tendency in Art." †

The Art of the period shewed a dangerous tendency towards excessive naturalism, and a *baroque* style which was

* BODE, 222–3; WOLTMANN, II., 602; SCHULTZE, S. Marco, 61; P. MARCHESE, Memorie dei più te insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, I., 512 *seq.*, ed. 4; MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 231–2.

† BODE, 224.

apt to lose itself in irrelevant details. Thus the return to a more serious treatment of religious subjects, and to a greater simplicity of form and sobriety of colour, was in itself meritorious; but in the majority of these works we miss that freshness and originality, in short, that sincerity, which we admire in other 15th Century artists. In these painters there is a certain constraint of manner and an affectation of exaggerated solemnity.*

The tone of unreality in the Art influenced by Savonarola corresponds exactly with a certain extravagance and violence which characterised the whole of his teaching and work, especially in the matter of social reform.

His sermons, particularly those of 1495, had an effect in Florence which for the moment was almost miraculous. The whole aspect of the city was changed. Women laid aside their costly ornaments and flaunting manners, and were transformed into patterns of plain dressing and modesty. Roystering youths became suddenly decorous and devout. Deadly enemies were reconciled. Rich bankers and merchants hastened to restore ill-gotten gains. Feasting and amusements of all sorts were abandoned. Hymns took the place of licentious songs and carnival choruses. The churches overflowed, the number of communicants immensely increased, and the stream of alms had never been known to flow so abundantly. There were now 238 instead of 50 monks in the convent of S. Marco. Among the new comers were youthful sons of noble families, and men of mature age who had made names for themselves in literature, or science, or politics, such as Pandolfo Ruccellai, Georgio Vespucci, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, Pietro Paolo Urbino, Professor of Medicine, a Jewish tutor of Pico della Mirandola, and many more.†

* BODE, 225.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 344-5 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

A new life had begun in Florence. The great question was, would it last? Unfortunately, in combating the corruption encouraged by the Medici, the zealous Friar had not only overstepped the bounds of prudence, but even those of fairness and justice.

Savonarola introduced into the religious life a narrowness and scrupulosity hitherto unknown in the middle ages. Essentially a rigorist of the type of Tertullian, to him due moderation was impossible. Starting with the false impression that the whole community was corrupt throughout, he overlooked all the good which really existed. "The Renaissance was for him a foreign world, and he only knew it in its extremes."* To these he opposed an extreme of his own, of a sort which in Florence, of all places, could not possibly have held its ground for any length of time.

Savonarola, no doubt, was animated by the highest motives in his endeavours to purge the Church of all taint of worldliness; but, in his ardent zeal, he overlooked the fact that the Church, from her very nature and constitution, must remain in the world. He had never seen much of practical life, and now, in attempting to carry the spirit of a religious house into the every-day world and the relations of citizens with each other, he condemned many things that were quite permissible. The standing reproach of his enemies that he wanted to turn Florence into a cloister and all its inhabitants into monks and nuns was by no means without foundation. What the Church only inculcated as counsels of perfection to be embraced by a few chosen souls, he endeavoured to enforce as binding upon all. "A Dominican Friar," writes the Mantuan Envoy on November 17, 1494, "has so terrified all the inhabitants of Florence that they are wholly given up to piety; three days in the week they fast on bread and water, and two

* BÖHRINGER, 1033; STERN, I., 277.

more on bread and wine. All the maidens and many of the wives have taken refuge in convents, so that only men and youths and old women are ever to be seen now in the streets."* It actually became necessary to remit a portion of the taxes ordinarily paid by the butchers, as they were almost ruined. In direct contradiction with the rule of the Church, Savonarola permitted married women to enter convents, and even to separate from their husbands, against the wishes of the latter.† He forbade his penitents from joining in perfectly innocent amusements.‡ The fever of religious excitement stirred up amongst the Florentines by Savonarola§ made the city the laughing-stock of Italy. Those who held aloof from the movement expressed their annoyance at being supposed to take part in proceedings so palpably extravagant and often absurd, with such vehemence that even some of his adherents began to think that he was going too far, and he found it necessary to defend himself in a sermon. "Brother," he makes the objector complain, "thou hast brought us very low; all day long we are praying and fasting, and fasting and praying. We can endure no longer; we are the talk of all Italy. Our neighbours jeer at us. 'What,' they say, 'have they given up fasting in Florence? We are persecuted about our incessant fasts. They say Florence has put on a cowl; all her people have become monks. We can no longer endure the ridicule that our perpetual praying and fasting is bringing upon us.' Well, let us talk it over. Tell me, is

* Arch. St. Lomb., I., 331.

† PERRENS, 200 *seq.*, 203, 214.

‡ *Cf.* GASPARY, II., 199 and 664, where he cites a remarkable passage from D. Gianotti.

§ The followers of Savonarola—writes Piero Vaglienti—take everything he says for Gospel, and believe more in him than they do in S. Paul. Rivista delle Biblioteche dir. di G. BIAGI, IV., 52.

what you are doing good or bad? You cannot say that it is a bad thing to fast and pray. If, then, it is good, go on your way, and let people say what they will." *

It is impossible also to approve of some of the means by which Savonarola sought to carry out his reforms. The penalties he imposed were immoderate. Gamblers were to be punished with torture, and blasphemers were to have their tongues pierced.† He required servants to act as spies on their masters, and did not shrink from any violation of the privacy of domestic life, which in Florence was very jealously guarded. Every possible method of coercion, espionage, and delation was to be employed in order to enforce a standard of perfection in conduct, for which the citizens of Florence were by no means prepared. If anything were wanting to the proof that Savonarola was the last man who would have been likely to succeed in producing a permanent social reform,‡ it would be found in the fact that this tyrannical police of his consisted entirely of children, mere boys who had not yet attained the age of reason.

These inquisitors patrolled the whole city hunting out all evil-doers, and their jurisdiction extended even to girls and women. They made their way forcibly into houses, seized the cards and dice and even the money on the gaming-tables, and confiscated harps, lutes, perfumes, mirrors, masks, and poems, and carried them off to be burnt. The indignation aroused by this intolerable insolence

* PERRENS, 265-6.

† BÖHRINGER, 853-4.

‡ See BURCKHARDT, II., 249 *seq.*, ed. 3, who remarks: "The complete transformation of public and private life, which the iron-handed Calvin in later times could only succeed in producing in Geneva with the help of an external state of siege, was foredoomed in Florence to be no more than a futile attempt arousing the bitterest opposition."

increased from day to day, but Savonarola only laughed at it. When some of the citizens took to defending themselves with sticks against the incursions of these children, he provided them with men from the city-watch to protect them. Parental authority had no sanctity in his eyes when exerted in opposition to his wishes. He publicly preached disobedience; and when some parents spoke of sending their children to France, in order to withdraw them from his influence, he answered defiantly, "Send them where you please; they will soon come back again."* The fanaticism of these children grew to such a pitch that they threatened to stone any one who ventured to say a word against their Prophet, who was now exercising absolutely dictatorial powers; but Savonarola only saw in them the saintly citizens of the Florence of the future.† The waves of party spirit, which the leader of the people should have been striving to calm, rose higher and higher, and the situation became daily more and more unnatural and unbearable. Instead of the promised peace, discontent and dissensions reigned in every family in Florence. As far as this goes, the charges against Savonarola made later by his enemies were perfectly true.

"Every house," they said, "was divided. Husbands and wives, fathers and children, were at daggers drawn, so that one heard nothing but threats and angry words all day long. Mothers-in-law drove their sons' wives out of the house, and men their own wives; the only thing in which they were agreed was that they could not live together. Women wrote privately to Savonarola to inform him of their husbands' plots against him." Parents abandoned their children in order to go into convents. Half-distracted women rushed to the cathedral at midnight to argue with

* PERRENS, 206–9; BÖHRINGER, 857.

† SANUTO, I., 79.

the opponents of the Prophet, shrieking that he was the true light, and any one who did not believe in him was a heretic.* They were only repeating what he had said himself a hundred times in asserting his divine vocation.

From the very first there was often a want of dignity in Savonarola's way of speaking, that seemed difficult to reconcile with the inspiration which he claimed. "You live like swine," he said to the Florentines. He called the Princes who, he prophesied, were to invade Italy, barbers armed with gigantic razors; the distress which they would bring upon her was like a salad of borage, bitter in the mouth; the reform of manners, like a mill which would grind out the flour of wisdom. When they had been preached to in this style, his followers often behaved in strange ways, which they called being "fools for the love of Christ."† The "burning of vanities" also began to assume a fantastic and theatrical character. At the sound of a bell from the Palazzo Vecchio, the Signoria came out on the balcony, and, accompanied by the singing of hymns and the clang of trumpets, the solemn procession issued for S. Marco's to celebrate what Savonarola himself called the feast of the Higher Folly (*maggior pazzia*). Three circles were formed enclosing the pyre: the innermost consisted of the Friars of S. Marco, interspersed with boys dressed to represent angels; the next was of youths, clerical and lay; the outer one of old men, citizens, and priests. All were crowned with wreaths, and a solemn dance was executed round the pyre.‡

* PERRENS, 210. *Cf.* VAGLIENTI'S description in the Riv. delle Bibliot., IV., 53, 61; HASE, 35.

† HASE, 125; *cf.* 32.

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 251, ed. 3; PERRENS, 267 *seq.*; HASE, 84 *seq.* The ways of the followers of Savonarola seem very similar to those of the Salvation Army in the present day.

Savonarola was quite unable to see the absurdity of all this. He defended dancing by pointing to the example of David, and announced that stranger scenes than these would shortly be forthcoming.* It never struck him that such excitement of the religious sentiments must end by producing exhaustion, nor could he see that his violent methods of conversion were paving the way for an equally vehement reaction. Another unsatisfactory side of the behaviour of Savonarola's disciples was, that they formed a church within the Church. This sort of separation was the first step towards the institution of a National Church, which would have been an inevitable result of the movement had it continued long enough.†

The same unhealthy extravagance and narrowness of vision characterised Savonarola's action when, as very soon happened, he passed on from the field of morals into that of politics. Here also he claimed Divine inspiration, and had no perception of incongruity when, in his prophecies, God was always made to adopt the Florentine point of view, whether the subjects were the French King, the greatness of the city, or victory over her enemies and the reconquest of Pisa. He even went so far as to apply the words of Christ, "no iota shall remain that shall not be fulfilled," to his own predictions. It must not be forgotten that these predictions were not concerning the growth of the kingdom of God or spiritual things, but had to do with purely external and political matters, such as the future of Florence, the conquest of Pisa, and the like. Such a method of prophesying seems almost blasphemous.‡

When Savonarola thus took upon himself the two functions of a divine prophet and a political leader, the result

* PERRENS, 268.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 246, ed. 3.

‡ BÖHRINGER, 881-6.

was not only to turn him aside from the straight path both of religious vocation and the work of the priesthood, but to drive him to the brink of the abyss in which he was destined finally to be engulfed. It cannot be denied that the Friar of S. Marco not only stirred up political passions in others, but became himself the victim of political fanaticism.*

Even the warmest admirers of Savonarola must admit that in the pulpit he frequently allowed himself to use language which was not befitting for one who should have been devoted to the cause of peace. Thus in his sermon against the tumultuous assemblies, misnamed parliaments, which the Medici encouraged to serve their own ends, he says: "If he that would summon a Parliament be of the Signoria, let his head be cut off; if he be not of it, let him be proclaimed a rebel and all his goods confiscated; . . . . should the Signoria seek to call a Parliament . . . all may cut them to pieces without sin." This sermon was preached on the 28th July, 1495, and a fortnight later Savonarola's proposals had become the law! When, in October, after Charles VIII. had left Florence, the Medici made an attempt to return, "Savonarola in the pulpit, crucifix in hand, openly and loudly counselled the citizens to put to death all who sought to re-establish tyranny." A few days afterwards a law was again passed putting a price on the heads of the Medici, which was virtually equivalent to a general summons to arms.†

The man who proposed and carried out measures such as these, claimed at the same time to be the direct interpreter of the Divine will in regard to the government of

* See SCHWAB, in the Bonner Theol. Literaturblatt, IV., 902; GRISAR, 396.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 292–3, and II., 17–18 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

the city. He aimed at establishing a theocracy in Florence. resembling that by which the Jews were ruled in the time of the Judges. Thus the religious idea took form in politics, and a monarchy was to be erected by the democracy, under the immediate guidance of God; Savonarola, as the Daniel of the Florentines, was to be the medium of the Divine answers and commands.* Florence, at the end of the 15th Century, was utterly incapable of enduring for any length of time such a theocracy as this, in which Savonarola, in the last instance as the interpreter of the Divine will, represented the monarchical principle, and claimed a sort of Infallibility. This was the weak spot in all his ecclesiastical relations in Florence. The promise of magisterial Infallibility is only given to the Church in the Sovereign Pontiff; by what right could Savonarola pretend to be the immediate organ of the will of God in matters that regarded the government of the city? The days were past in which the will of God was announced to His people by the mouths of prophets and judges. The fulness of truth has now been manifested in Christ and committed to His Church, ordained by Him for all time to be the one Fount of Salvation, and endowed with the gift of Infallibility in her teaching office.†

Savonarola's claim to be a prophet was a two-edged sword, which in the end turned against him, and brought about his ruin. Easy as it had been at first to win the confidence of the people, it was equally easy, when they found their hopes disappointed, to persuade them that he was an impostor, and that they had been betrayed.‡

After the tragic downfall of the great preacher, it soon became evident how feebly rooted his teaching had been in

* MARCHESE, I., 181.

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 88 *seq.*

‡ BÖHRINGER, 886.

the rocky Florentine soil.* The reform which he had inaugurated, only held its ground in restricted and isolated circles; the mass of the people fell back almost at once into their old ways. The revolution in manners had been carried into all sorts of trivial and harassing details, and was essentially a merely external one.† Even during his lifetime Savonarola had learnt by experience how ephemeral was the effect of his sermons. The moment he was silenced, vice and unbelief began at once to raise their heads again, and he broke forth into bitter invectives against the people whom he loved so dearly, threatening them with the wrath of God, and declaring that all the promised prosperity would be turned into judgments. But all his eloquence was powerless to extinguish the passion for politics which was ingrained in the character of the Florentines; and the breach between the prophet and his people was one that could not be healed. Savonarola in throwing himself into the revolution in politics was aiming mainly at the interests of religion; the State was to be the instrument for doing away with corruption and carrying out a thorough moral and religious reformation. The Florentines, on the other hand, cared only for reform in religion in so far as it carried with it political freedom. Hence arose the curious phenomenon that whenever in a sermon Savonarola made no allusion to politics, he failed to interest his hearers. Then he found himself obliged to declare Christ the King of Florence, and to announce from the pulpit that the Blessed Virgin desired the acceptance of the new constitution, and that the Lord had commanded that the Parliaments should be done away with. The hierarchy of the Angels and the seven days of Creation were made

* On the conflict between Savonarola and Alexander VI., and his end, see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., chap. 6 (Engl. trans.).

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 84; *cf.* 75, and MARCHESE, I., 292 *seq.*

to figure in the organisation of the constitution and the revolution in Florence. But it was all in vain. Savonarola could not eradicate the evil effects of the rule of the Medici. The religious and moral revival which he had evoked passed quickly away, a sudden flame which flared up for a moment and then went out.*

In Florence itself Savonarola had achieved a certain measure of success, but his wider schemes of universal reform, boldly conceived though somewhat vaguely formulated, failed entirely. In the first place his reliance on so frivolous and profligate a monarch as Charles VIII. was fatal to their success.† When this new Messiah quitted Italy, the French plans were wrecked, and the visionary hopes of his prophet melted away; but, possessed by the delusive theory that a General Council was superior to the Pope,‡ Savonarola set himself in opposition to the, doubtless unworthy, but still legitimate, occupant of the Chair of S. Peter, and thus not only ruined himself, but damaged the cause of true reform. This was not to be attained by revolutionary methods.

S. Catherine of Siena, writing to the Government of Florence, had said that even were the Pope a devil incarnate, he ought to be obeyed in obedience to God, whose vicegerent he is.§ Savonarola defied Alexander VI., disregarded his sentence of excommunication, and attacked the very foundations of ecclesiastical order by threatening the Pope with a Council.‖ The calling together of a

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 84–7 (Engl. trans. ed. 2); and GELLI, Fra G. Savonarola. App. alle Letture di Famiglia, 9 (Firenze, 1857).

† HÖFLER justly says, Rom. Welt., 226, that from the moment that Savonarola identified his cause with that of Charles VIII. of France, failure became inevitable.

‡ TOCCO in La Vita Ital., II., 391.

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 106 (Engl. trans.).

‖ For further details on the point see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I. chap. 1. (Engl. trans.).

General Council to deal with the reform of the Church was certainly in itself a most desirable thing; but a Council assembled without, or rather in opposition to, the Head of the Church, far from doing away with the evils that existed, would have enormously aggravated them.* The Synod of Basle, in the endless difficulties which it had raised, instead of the hoped for amendment had shewn what confusion the false doctrine of the supremacy of a Council over the Pope had introduced into the Christian world, and what disastrous consequences must necessarily attend the attempt to upset the natural constitution of any government, and most of all of that which was proper to the Church.†

Savonarola, in the state of nervous excitement produced in him by his imaginary visions and revelations, was not fully conscious of the meaning of the attitude which he adopted.‡ What kind of forces he had set in motion when he thus abandoned that submission to the supreme lawful authority which is the corner-stone of all reform in the Catholic sense, was destined soon to appear.§ After his death a violent persecution broke out against his adherents, in consequence of which many of them retired into the country;‖ but in a short time the Frateschi, as they were called, raised their heads again, and in March 1499 they had possessed themselves of all the public offices. The old veneration for the Friar flared up again, although the General of the Dominicans repressed it to the utmost of his power.¶ Towards the close of the year 1500, an

* See the Dominican P. MARCHESE (I., 254), a devoted adherent of Savonarola.

† PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, I., 235 *seq.* ed. 2.

‡ FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82.

§ RÖSLER, Dominici, 60.

‖ SANUTO, I., 969.

¶ RANKE, Studien, 328; MARCHESE, I., 305 *seq.*; GHERARDI, Doc., 329 *seq.*

eccentric popular preacher, Martino di Brozzi, appeared in Florence. His ragged garments and matted hair, together with the fearful prophecies of impending judgments which he incessantly poured forth, almost gave the impression of a maniac; but the inflammable populace of Florence were fascinated by the fool of Brozzi (Pazzo di Brozzi, which is a little village near Florence, on the road to Pisa). He gladly adopted the nickname. "God," he announced, "was going to punish Italy, Rome, and Florence for the death of Savonarola; they would not believe the wise prophet, and so God had sent them a fool." The authorities twice put him into prison, but did not succeed in silencing him.*

A little later it began to be known that a new and audacious attempt was being made to carry out Savonarola's notions of the constitution of the Church. "If any doubts yet lingered in men's minds as to the results which would follow if his ideas were pushed to their logical conclusions, the question was now decided. Not that this fact in any way justifies the proceedings of those who, by means of torture, extorted Savonarola's so-called confession; but it puts us in a position to form a just appreciation of the judgment pronounced upon him by the authorities of the Church." †

According to the account of the Florentine chronicler Cerretani,‡ twenty of Savonarola's disciples belonging to the lower classes formed themselves into a society, holding frequent meetings and electing a "pope," to whom they

* CAMBI, XXI., 168; MARCHESE, I., 310.

† HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände gegen Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts, 30.

‡ *Cf.* in the Appendix for the beginning of the year 1502, the text of this remarkable narrative, to which HÖFLER (Italienische Zustände, 30 *seq.*) was the first to draw attention. As, however, Höfler's transcript is in many places inaccurate and the account is extremely interesting, I have thought it necessary to publish it verbatim.

yielded implicit obedience in all things both spiritual and temporal. This "pope" was a citizen of Florence, of humble extraction, called Pietro Bernardino, aged twenty-five. He was small in stature, had dark eyes, a long nose, and a hoarse voice. He was absolutely illiterate but extremely cunning. This was the man who was to inaugurate a new series of "popes," who were to reign over the purified Church in opposition to the worldly successors of S. Peter.* By close attention to Savonarola's sermons, and diligent reading of his works, Bernardino had almost learnt the Bible by heart. Even during the Master's life-time, he had acquired a high reputation as a preacher to children and the poorer classes. On the death of the prophet he continued to exercise these powers in secret assemblies. His teaching was in the highest degree inflammatory and revolutionary. The Church, he said, must be purified by the sword; now that Savonarola was dead, there was not one just man left on the earth. Until the Church had been reformed, it was useless to go to confession, as there were no priests or religious who were worthy of the name. Bernardino himself assumed priestly functions, and anointed the rooms which the brethren used as churches, with oil. This he called the unction of the Holy Ghost. The new sectaries prayed in silence, did not hear mass, and dressed poorly. When they were at meals together, Bernardino would often stop suddenly and say, "The Holy Ghost desires us to pray." Then all would cease to eat, and keep silence in prayer until he gave the sign to resume their

* HÖFLER, 31, who observes that Bernardino's attempt recalls that of a similar prophet in Parma in the 16th Century, who under the pretence of a Divine Commission and special favour from the Holy Ghost, had attracted a large following, professing evangelical poverty and simplicity of life. Finally, the extreme licentiousness of his life obliged the authorities, both spiritual and temporal, to interfere.

meal. The new "pope" was venerated by his disciples as a prophet. All his words and actions were believed to be significant, and to presage either political changes by means of the French, the Germans, or the Turks, or else the overthrow of the Church.

The secret meetings of these sectaries could not permanently be concealed from the Inquisition and the Archbishop of Florence. On their information the Council of Eight forbade the meetings and arrested several of the members. "The new 'pope' told his followers that he had foreseen this, and advised them to leave Florence secretly." They betook themselves to Bologna, and thence to Mirandola, where they were kindly received by an ardent admirer of Savonarola, the learned Count Gian Francesco, nephew to the celebrated Giovanni of Mirandola. The Count was shortly afterwards besieged by his brothers Ludovico and Federigo, who claimed to be the heirs of Mirandola, and were supported by Ercole I. Duke of Ferrara, and Gianjacopo Trivulzi. Gian Francesco found himself in such difficulties that he lost courage and would have given way, but Bernardino's disciples assured him that it was the will of God that he should overcome his enemies. Fortified with this belief he continued the struggle, but was no match for his assailants, and was finally, in August 1502, driven out of his castle.* He barely escaped with his life, and the sectaries, who called themselves "the anointed ones," fell into the hands of the victors. Their lives were judged to be immoral and their doctrines heretical. In consequence Pietro Bernardino and some of his associates were burnt and the rest banished, or delivered over to the Florentine authorities.† "Such

* GUICCIARDINI, V., c. 4; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 397; Mem. di Mirandola, II., 53; BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 10.

† In the same year, 1502, Savonarola's followers had again been

was the unhappy end of another of these attempts, so often repeated in Italy, to set aside the means of Salvation provided by the Church and her system of Orders, and to found a new Ecclesiastical Society, in which laymen, unprepared and unauthorised, assumed the pastoral office; but owing to the increasing decay of discipline in the Church, this was by no means the last effort of the kind, and any person who pretended to have a special call to reform her, had no difficulty in finding followers."* Thus in Florence, where the veneration for Savonarola and the style of preaching on the reform and chastisement of the Church which he had inaugurated still survived,† a hermit, Hieronymus of Bergamo, appeared in 1508 and drew many after him. Tall, haggard, and pale, with a long beard, he preached in the Church of S^to^ Spirito and announced that Italy would be devastated, and Rome, Venice, and Milan destroyed by a nation hitherto unknown.‡ Other preachers in the same city held forth in a similar style, prophesying terrible visitations, and a purification of the Church.§

In the following years similar voices were heard in Rome itself announcing the downfall of priestly domination, and the humiliation and reform of the Church.‖ Under Leo X. these prophesying hermits and friars became so numerous that the ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to take the matter in hand. In the eleventh sitting of the

giving trouble in Florence, as we see from an ordinance issued by the General of the Dominicans, Bandello. See Docum., 335, in GHERARDI.

* HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 33.

† LANDUCCI, 285; CAMBI, XXI., 204, 256; VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 309 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

‡ HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 33. The "preacher from Bergamo" mentioned by SANUTO, VII., 409, is probably this Hieronymus of Bergamo.

§ LANDUCCI, 285.

‖ Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 133, and SANUTO, XII., 323.

Lateran Council (Dec. 19, 1516) it was decreed that no priest, whether secular or regular, should be allowed to preach until he had been carefully examined by his proper superior and found fit for the office by age, conduct, discretion, prudence, and knowledge. Wherever he intends to preach he must submit his credentials to the Bishop of the place. Preachers are required by the Council to preach the Gospel, and explain Holy Scripture in conformity with the interpretation of the doctors of the Church, taking away nothing and adding nothing of their own. They are especially forbidden to assign any date for impending judgments, the coming of anti-Christ, or the Last Day; for Holy Scripture declares (Acts i., 7) that times are not for us to know. "All who have done this," the Council goes on to say, are "liars and tend to throw discredit on other preachers who announce the word of God in simplicity. No one may attempt to predict future events either out of the word of God, or as having any private revelation, or with the help of vain divinations. Preachers are to obey the Divine command of preaching the Gospel to every creature, teaching them to eschew vice and practise virtue, and to follow peace and have charity one towards another in accordance with the will of the Saviour. All must beware of rending the seamless garment of Christ, and be careful to say nothing tending to disparage bishops, priests, or superiors, before the world." In regard to prophecies nothing must be publicly announced until it has been submitted to the Pope or the Bishop of the Diocese for his approval, for not every spirit is to be believed, and therefore the Apostle requires that they should be examined. Any one who disobeys these ordinances is to be suspended from preaching and incurs the greater excommunication from which the Pope only has power to release him.*

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 707, 708.

A glance at the preposterous things that were said and done in the earlier years of the reign of Leo X. by these preaching hermits and soothsaying friars will shew how necessary some such regulations as these had become.

Jacopo Pitti tells us that in the year 1513 twelve friars belonging to the order of Franciscan conventuals, agreed to divide Italy between them into twelve districts and thus traverse the whole country in order to announce coming events to the people.* One of these, Francesco da Montepulciano, preached during Advent in Sta Croce at Florence, and drew such an appalling picture of the doom which was to overtake the Italians generally, and the Romans and Florentines in particular, that his hearers almost went out of their minds. Cries of "misericordia! misericordia!" filled the church, and the whole city was stirred as the terrible tidings, no doubt not softened in any way in the telling, passed from mouth to mouth and penetrated into its most distant quarters. Savonarola's predictions were recalled and repeated with redoubled emphasis, and those who were discontented with the government began to stir so that the administration became alarmed. The Archbishop's Vicar summoned the preacher to appear before him and found his conduct blameless and only his judgment at fault. On S. Stephen's day Francesco predicted the downfall of Rome and of the priests and monks. None of the bad ones would be left alive. For three years there would be neither mass nor sermons. The land would be bathed in blood; nearly all the men would be slain and even women and children would not escape. All the bonds of social life would be loosed, mothers would destroy their own children. All these things were to happen when the

* PITTI, 112. This and the examples which follow shew that TOCCO (La Vita Ital., II., 395) is mistaken in supposing that prophesying ceased when Savonarola died.

King of France should lose his power, the son of King Federigo return to his kingdom, and a canonically elected Pope occupy the chair of S. Peter. The preacher concluded by exhorting his hearers to do penance. The congregation remained motionless when the sermon ended, petrified with terror. The government despatched a messenger to Rome to consult the Pope as to what should be done; but suddenly on December the 31st, 1513, Francesco died of inflammation of the lungs. The people came in crowds to kiss the dead man's feet as though he had been a saint. In consequence, the corpse was taken away and buried secretly at night. But once rekindled, the spirit of prophecy was not so easily extinguished. Other monks came forward and foretold terrible persecutions for the Church, that an anti-Pope would be elected, and there would be false Cardinals, false Bishops and false prophets. Presently nuns, bed-ridden women, young girls and peasants began to prophesy on all sides. Finally the Bishops in Council forbade under severe penalties any one to preach or hear confessions without permission from the local authority, and prohibited all prophesying, arbitrary interpretations of Holy Writ, secret religious assemblies, and the wearing of relics of Savonarola or his companions.*

In spite of these repressive measures the movement set going by Savonarola could not be arrested so quickly. For a whole generation after his death his followers lingered on in Florence as a hidden sect. Their views had developed into a system which aimed practically at forming a sort of national state religion for Florence. The prophet, in these circles, was looked upon as a saint. The power of working miracles was ascribed to his relics, and the fulfilment

* PITTI, 112, 113. On Francesco de Montepulciano, *cf.* also CAMBI, XXII., 37–39; LANDUCCI, 343–4; BURCKHARDT, II., 244 *seq.*, ed. 3; D'ANCONA, II., 163, ed. 2.

of his predictions, in regard to the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Florentine republic, was confidently expected. Even Michael Angelo appears not quite to have escaped the influence of these fancies. "In an old Florentine manuscript we find it recorded that in the year 1513, he saw a meteor in Rome of which he immediately made a sketch on a sheet of paper. It was a star with three tails, one directed downwards on Rome, the other towards Florence, and the third to the East. Any one might see the drawing at his house; and its meaning was clear. It evidently portended some fearful calamity for Rome, Florence and the Church, through the instrumentality either of the Sultan, or one of the great Christian powers. The barbarians would encamp in Rome and Florence, and things would be worse than when Prato was occupied in 1512." *

For many years Savonarola's prophecies of a reform in the Church, and a period of happiness and well-being for all Christendom, and especially a time of peace and freedom for Florence, were current amongst the lower classes in the city. Enthusiasts were always on the watch for the signs which were to be the harbingers of the great change. In the time of Machiavelli, a prophet of this sort appeared in the person of Francesco da Meleto,† the son of a citizen of Florence and a Circassian slave. Apparently he had gone to Constantinople in 1473, when quite a youth, on some commercial business, and there had frequent discussions with Jews whom he endeavoured to convert to Christianity. While residing in the city of the great enemy of Christendom, his mind seems to have been very much occupied with a strong desire to penetrate the future, and see how the

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, II., 30, 31, ed. 5.

† *Cf.* for what follows, the interesting essay by S. BONGI, in the Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, III., 62 *seq.*

world was to be delivered from the barbarity of the Turk. On his return to Florence he appears to have been drawn into the movement of which Savonarola was the leader. Later he devoted himself to the study of prophetical literature. Finally he came to believe that he had received from the Holy Ghost the gift of raising the veil which shrouded the future from the eyes of others. He embodied the result of his investigations, which were mostly founded on numerical calculations, in two treatises which he printed. The first of these, on the mysteries of Holy Scripture, was so well received as greatly to strengthen his belief in his prophetical mission. Thus encouraged, he ventured to dedicate his second work to the newly-elected Pope, Leo X., who received it graciously. In this second treatise he announced that the great revolution would begin in 1517, with the conversion of the Jews, and be completed in 1536, by the annihilation of the Turkish Empire. Meanwhile, these views had been widely diffused in Florence and proclaimed from the pulpit by several preachers. From the point of view of the Church this was evidently dangerous. The Florentine Provincial Council assembled in 1517, under the presidency of the Cardinal Bishop Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Clement VII.), decided to forbid the reading of Meleto's book, and also the preaching of his views. Leo X. confirmed their judgment, and the deluded prophet seems to have submitted at once, for we hear no more of him ; and his book is now so rare, that it is plain that all the copies of it that could be got hold of, must have been destroyed.

It is especially noteworthy that, at this decisive period, similar prophets appeared also in other parts of Italy.

In August 1516, at Milan after its second conquest by the French, a Tuscan recluse Hieronymus of Siena began to preach in the Cathedral without the permission of the Arch-

bishop. The appearance and demeanour of this prophet were so unusual, that soon the whole city flocked to see and hear him. Contemporary writers liken him to S. John the Baptist; they describe him as a tall, gaunt figure, bare-headed and bare-footed, and clad only in a single garment of coarse cloth, surmounted by a ragged mantle of the same stuff. His unkempt locks and long matted beard added to the stern, almost savage, effect of his appearance. He seemed about thirty years of age, and spoke with ease and fluency. At the close of all his addresses he used to prostrate himself before the altar of our Lady, and remain for a long time in prayer. Every evening he caused the Cathedral bell to be tolled to call the people together to recite the *Salve Regina.* His popularity with the common people increased from day to day. The extreme severity of his way of living produced a great impression. He ate nothing but bread and roots, drank only water, and slept on the bare ground. He accepted no alms for himself, whatever was given to him he exchanged for candles to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin, and for a lamp and altar to Our Lady, which he erected in the Cathedral. Such proceedings would have been impossible for a layman without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, had it not been that public affairs in Milan just at that time were in great confusion. But, even so, he could not fail in time to meet with opposition, especially as he was perpetually haranguing against priests, and still more against the Friars, and never preached without making some attack upon them. Meanwhile the people, especially the women, came to hear him in ever increasing numbers. When questioned as to his doings by the authorities, secular or religious, he answered curtly that he had come to proclaim the Word of God.

One day a monk in the Cathedral interrupted him and

told him roundly that he was incurring excommunication by preaching as he was doing, as only priests, deacons and sub-deacons had the permission of the Church to do this. Hieronymus replied that S. Paul, without being ordained, had converted the world ; and when against this it was urged that S. Paul had received the Holy Ghost, he answered that he too had been sent by God. At last, the annoyance caused by his attacks on the clergy, and the interruption of the ordinary services, became so great, that the doors of the Cathedral were closed against the preacher. Upon this, he left the city on December 28, and the excitement gradually died away.*

In the May of the same year, 1416, a still more troublesome and mischievous person appeared in Rome. This was a certain Fra Bonaventura, who announced himself as the long-expected Angelic Pope who was to be the Saviour of the World. In him too, probably, as with the other prophets, we have another result of the influence of Savonarola, whose views were quite in harmony with the ideas of the Joachimites and of Telesphorus. It is also a striking coincidence, and one that no doubt is not accidental, that in that same year the prophecies of Telesphorus were printed in Venice by an Italian Augustinian hermit.† Bonavenatura's followers were about 20,000 in number. They used to kiss his feet, considering him as Christ's Vicegerent. He wrote a paper addressed to the Doge of Venice, in which he called the Roman Church the scarlet woman of the Apocalypse. The title page of this began with the words " Bonaventura, chosen by God to be the Pastor of the Church in Zion, crowned by the hands of

* PRATO, Storia di Milano, in Arch. St. Ital., III., 357–359. *Cf.* BURIGOZZO'S Report, *ibid.*, 431, 432.

† *Cf.* GRAUERT, in the Deutscher Hausschatz, XVII., 710. In regard to Telesphorus see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 152–155 (Engl. trans.).

angels, and commissioned to be the Saviour of the World, sends greeting and his apostolic blessing to all believers in Christ." He goes on to excommunicate Leo X. and all the cardinals and prelates, and warns all the faithful to separate from the Roman Church. All Christian kings are admonished to support him. The Venetian government is specially recommended to stand by the King of France, because this monarch is the instrument designed by God for the reform of the Church and the conversion of the Turks. It is not surprising to find that this fanatic was imprisoned in the Castle of S. Angelo, whereupon his followers disappeared.*

The frequency of these phenomena shews the ferment that was going on in men's minds, and the urgent need that was felt of reform in the Church. The point upon which everything depended was, that this reform should not be the work of revolutionists and fanatics, but should be effected within the Church, on the right lines, and by her own divinely constituted authorities. Julius II. had at last put an end to the unfortunate procrastinations of his predecessors, and set to work in the best and only way to produce satisfactory results, by calling together the Lateran Council. Savonarola's adherents shewed how little in the way of true reform was to be expected from them, by choosing this decisive moment to throw all their weight on the side of the revolutionary mock synod at Pisa, supporting the purely political aims of the French King, as against the true Council of the true Pope, Julius II.† The death of this energetic Pontiff, just as the Council was approaching the most important question of the day, made the next Papal election a doubly important one.

* HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 36, 56–7. As early as the year 1491, a prophet had appeared in Rome and announced the speedy advent of the Pope of the Angels. See *infra*, Book I., Chap. 6.

† PERRENS, II., 480–81. VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 130.

The task that fell to the lot of the successor of Julius II. was the most difficult that could be imagined. The fate of all human things had overtaken the human element in the Church and in the Papacy. The inner kernel, the essence, was untouched, but the canker had gone very deep, not only in Italy, but also in nearly every other country in all Christendom. Almost everywhere ecclesiastical life was full of abuses and evils, and the prestige of the Papacy was seriously shaken.* In many directions masses of inflammable material lay heaped together, so that the slightest spark might at any moment set up a conflagration in which good and bad would be destroyed together. A catastrophe such as had been dreaded in the days of the Borgia,† such as in many countries, especially Italy and Germany,‡ had been announced in the form of terrible prophecies, or a schism, with which the Popes had been repeatedly threatened by the rulers of Spain, Germany and France, could only be averted by a fundamental reform in both head and members.§ Whether this would be possible, was the important question on which the future of the Church and the world depended.

* Further details on this subject will be found in a future volume of this History.

† The common belief that the coins struck by Louis XII. with the inscription "Perdam Babilonis nomen," belong to the time of Julius II. (GIESELER, II., 4, 191, note), is mistaken. The Envoy from Ferrara to Alexander VI., in a *Despatch dat. Rom. 1502, Aug. 11, says: Qui se he monstrato da diversi ducato novo facto stampare per la Maesta Christianissima, il quale da uno canto ha sculpita la testa de Sua Maesta, de l'altro ha li tri ziglii cum lettere che dicono: Perdam nomen Babilonis. Et pigliandosse universalmente Roma per Babilonia qui se ne fa varii iudicii. State Archives, Modena.

‡ See DÖLLINGER in the Hist. Taschenbuch, 1871, 281 *seq.* *Cf.* 358 *seq.* In a future volume we shall revert to these German prophecies.

§ In regard to these threats, see Vol. VI. of this work, Books I.-II. (Engl. trans.).

BOOK I.

INNOCENT VIII. 1484–1492.

CHAPTER I.

Disturbances in Rome during the Vacancy of the Holy See.—Election of Innocent VIII. and First Years of his Pontificate.

THE news of the death of Sixtus IV. which had taken place on the 12th August, 1484, set all Rome in commotion, and the most violent disturbances among the troops with which the city was scantily garrisoned, were the immediate result. A strong movement in favour of the Colonna and in opposition to the chief favourite of the late Pope, Girolamo Riario, soon made itself felt. With wild shouts of "Colonna, Colonna," the infuriated populace invaded the palace of Girolamo on the 13th August, and devastated it so completely that nothing but the bare walls remained; the rabble vented their rage even on the trees and shrubs of the adjacent garden.*

The compatriots and partisans of the Ligurian Pope fared no better than the nephew; on the very same day the granaries in Trastevere as well as two ships laden with wine which belonged to Genoese, were seized by the infuriated mob. No Ligurian property in Rome was now safe; even the Genoese Hospital was destroyed. The provisions which Caterina, the wife of Girolamo had stored up in Castel

* Report of G. Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 498. *Cf.* Report of Stefano Guidotti in CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 8 (line 25 read *soi* instead of *doi*, and line 27 *desfono* instead of *desono*). INFESSURA, 161. *Cf.* also the continuation of the Chronicle of Caleffini by G. MERENDA in Cod. I—I—4 of the Chigi Library.

Giubileo shared the same fate; they were either destroyed or carried off.* Caterina herself, full of courage, hastened to the Castle of S. Angelo, deposed the Lieutenant-Governor, and declared that she would give up the stronghold to no one except the newly-elected Pope.† The Cardinals, a number of whom assembled in the Palace of the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario, did their utmost to re-establish order in the city,‡ but for the present they were powerless before the prevailing excitement.

Girolamo Riario on hearing the sad news of the death of Sixtus IV., had immediately raised the siege of Paliano, and his retreat was so hurried as to bear all the appearances of a precipitate flight. Artillery, ammunition, tents and horses were left behind. On the Eve of the Assumption, Girolamo arrived with his troops before Rome, and by order of the cardinals encamped at Ponte Molle, where he intended to remain until the election was over. It was feared that the Pope's nephew would use force to ensure the nomination of a Pontiff of his own choice,§ and indeed the courage of the Count by no means failed him; he trusted in his army, in the power of the Orsini and the possession of the Castle of S. Angelo, Riario also expected to be supported by some members of the College of Cardinals.|| However, after two days, he deemed it advisable to retreat to Isola Farnese; the old castle, which was situated in the vicinity of the ancient Veii, belonged to Virginio Orsini.¶ This change of tactics

* INFESSURA, 161–3; Not. di Nantiporto, 1089.

† PASOLINI, I., 148.

‡ *Despatch of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 15. State Archives, Modena.

§ Despatch of L. LANTUS of 14th August, 1484, Arch. d. Soc. Rom. XI., 618. On the siege of Paliano, see PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, II., 565, ed. 2.

|| Report of G. Vespucci of 15th Aug., 1484, in THUASNE, I., 499–500

¶ Not. di Nantiporto, 1089; THUASNE, I., 502.

must be ascribed to the fact that the fortunes of his enemies were improving from day to day. The inhabitants of Cavi, Capranica and Marino had recalled the Colonna ; in Rome Cardinal Giovanni was received with enthusiasm. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna also returned there with a powerful army.* In a short time the city, to which all the armed vassals of both parties flocked in crowds, had become an open camp. Civil war threatened to break out every moment. All shops were closed ; no one could venture into the streets without endangering his life. The palaces of the Cardinals were changed into small fortresses ; according to the account of one of the ambassadors, the owners seemed to be prepared for an immediate attack. The Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia especially had filled their houses with troops, had erected outworks and provided themselves with artillery. In Trastevere bridges and gates were closed, so that all traffic was stopped. The Orsini had entrenched themselves in Monte Giordano, for they expected every moment to be attacked. The whole town was in arms and uproar.†

Such was the state of Rome when the obsequies of Sixtus IV. began on the 17th August, 1484. Only a few of the Cardinals were present. Giuliano della Rovere did not leave his strongly fortified palace on the heights of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The Cardinals Colonna and Savelli likewise refused to go either to S. Peter's or to the conclave in the Vatican, as long as the Castle of S. Angelo was in the hands of the energetic wife of Girolamo Riario. Not content with the number of their adherents who had flocked to Rome, they sent for troops from Aquila, Terni,

* INFESSURA, 164–5.

† *Cf.* Not. di Nantiporto, 1089–90, also the Sienese and Florentine reports in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 619–20, and in THUASNE, I. 502.

Amelia, and other Ghibelline cities. The majority of the Cardinals, especially Cardinal Cibò, shared the opinion of the former, that it was absolutely necessary to secure a safe place for the Papal election.* In the meanwhile, the excitement and confusion increased from day to day. A double election and an impending schism were already talked of,† when, owing to the energetic interference of Cardinal Marco Barbo, affairs assumed a more promising aspect. This prudent and universally esteemed prelate possessed the confidence of all, even of Giuliano della Rovere. He began by bringing about an agreement with Girolamo Riario. In return for the payment of 8000 ducats and other concessions, he obtained the surrender of the Castle of S. Angelo, which was entrusted to the Bishop of Todi, in the name of the Sacred College. It was further stipulated that Girolamo should repair to his own States, and Virginio Orsini with his adherents to Viterbo, whilst the Colonna were to evacuate the city, and Giacomo Conti was to give up the guard of the Palace; a truce was also concluded which was to begin on the Coronation-day of the new Pope and to last for a month.‡

When order had thus, to a certain extent, been re-established, it was possible to think seriously of making preparations for the Conclave in the Vatican. On the 25th August the obsequies of Sixtus IV. were finished, and on the day following, the 25 Cardinals present in Rome went into Conclave.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 207.

† *Cf.* the despatch of Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 502, 504, as also the Latin account in SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 377.

‡ INFESSURA, 164–5; SANUDO, Vite, 1235; PASOLINI, I., 156 *seq.*; THUASNE, I., 507, 510, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 622–3. Caterina made difficulties in the beginning, see PASOLINI, *loc. cit.*

§ PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI (I., 209) erroneously states Aug. 27th as the date on which the Cardinals

For many years the number of the electors had not been so considerable; at the Conclave of Nicholas V., Pius II. and Sixtus IV., only 18 Cardinals had been present; at that of Calixtus III. only 15; at the election of Paul II., 20. With regard to the different nationalities, the proportion was about the same as in 1471; the Italian Cardinals had a complete majority over the 4 foreigners,—2 Spaniards, Borgia and Moles; 1 Portuguese, Giorgio da Costa, and 1 Frenchman, Philibert Hugonet.

We have shewn in our account of the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. the disastrous effects of his having augmented the number of the worldly-minded Cardinals.* The Conclaves of 1484 and 1492 are among the most deplorable in the annals of Church History.

The first step taken by the Cardinals in Conclave was to draw up an election capitulation; in doing so, they openly disregarded the prohibitions of Innocent VI. This capitulation, which was signed by all the Cardinals on the 28th August, shews a notable increase in their demands; the monarchical constitution of the Church was to be changed into an aristocratic one, and the personal interests of the electors were the primary consideration. The first clause in the document provided that each Cardinal should receive every month 100 ducats from the Apostolic Treasury, unless he had a yearly income of 4000 ducats from his own benefices. The next regulation, a new

went into Conclave. The number of electors varies in different accounts. See NOVAES, 56 and CIACONIUS, III., 92, 103; however, all the authentic sources agree in the number of 25, see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 209 *seq.*; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, *loc. cit.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 24; Arrivabene in a *Report of 25th Aug., 1484 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Acta Consist., Arm. 31, T. 52, f. 69. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 409 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), and *supra*, Introduction, p. 170.

one, secured a complete indemnification for such Cardinals as might be punished by secular Princes for their vote, with the confiscation of their revenues. Not till these matters have been settled do the really salutary measures affecting the public welfare appear, such as the vigorous prosecution of the war with the Turks, the reform of the Church, the convocation of a Council, the suppression of nepotism. "It does not seem to have occurred to the Cardinals that the good election of a worthy Pope would have been a much more efficacious remedy against abuses than the most detailed election capitulation."*

There existed a great divergency of opinion as to who would be raised to the Pontifical dignity. The Mantuan Envoy reported on Aug. 15th that Cardinal Stefano Nardini had the best chance, because he was popular with the people of Rome, and favoured by a great number of the Cardinals. "Others mention the old Cardinal Conti who belongs to the party of the Orsini, a worthy man whose clever brother is held in high esteem. Cardinal Moles' Spanish descent is objected to, but as he is a good and venerable old man, and a stranger to all the intrigues carried on at Rome, many think that he stands a good chance of being elected. Marco Barbo is also spoken of as a candidate; he would make an excellent Pope, because of his noble character, his ability, and the general esteem in which he is held, "but," the Envoy adds, "he is a Venetian."† We have already mentioned the valuable

* DÖLLINGER, Kirchengeschichte, 357. For the original text of the Election Capitulation, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 28 *seq.*; ARETIN, Beitr. z. Geschichte, I., 6, 73 *seq.*; and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 33 *seq.*; in the same work, p. 62, is the confirmation by oath of these regulations, by the elected Pontiff. On the different clauses of this document, *cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 238, 288, 291.

† Report of Stefano Guidotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 15th, in CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 9.

services rendered by Barbo in the time of confusion after the death of Sixtus IV.; his election would no doubt have proved a blessing for the Church. Other contemporaries are of the same opinion. "All the courtiers," writes the Sienese Envoy, Aug. 22nd, "and those who are not blinded by passion, are anxious for the election of Barbo or Piccolomini in the interests of the Church. Piccolomini is supported by Naples, Barbo by Milan; Cardinal Borgia is zealously canvassing for himself."* The party of the Orsini, leagued with Count Girolamo, had exerted all their influence in favour of Borgia and eventually of Conti, ever since the death of Sixtus IV.†

Italian diplomacy was of course not idle. All the States which had been in alliance before and through the peace of Bagnolo,‡ joined hands to procure the Tiara for a friend of the Italian League, or at least for one who would be neutral. Venetians, Genoese and Ultramontanes (non-Italians), were to be excluded; but with regard to individual candidates, there was a great divergency of opinion among the allies. The personal ambition of the Cardinals also played an important part in the contest. Arlotti, the Envoy of Ferrara, says in a despatch of Aug. 26th: "The competition may possibly become so hot, that in the end a neutral candidate like Moles, Costa, or Piccolomini—all worthy men—may be elected."§ Alfonso, duke of Calabria and

* Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 623-4.

† Report of the Sienese envoy of 16th August, 1484, *loc. cit.* 618-19.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 385 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

§ *Per quelli da Milano se fa puncta per Novara o Milano, per la Mta del Re per Napoli o Vice-cancelliero. Per altri S. Marco o Malfeta. Et tanta poteria essere la concurrentia tra costoro che la sorte poteria achadere supra uno de questi tri Gerunda, Portugallo o Sena che sono tenuti neutrali, et persone digne. *Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, August 26th. State Archives, Modena.

Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Bari, Vice-regent of Milan, tried to influence the electors more directly by a letter sent to their ambassadors at Rome, August 26th. It contained express orders to request Girolamo Riario and Virginio Orsini to use all their influence to oppose the election of Cardinals Costa, Cibò, Savelli and Barbo, without, however, having recourse to violence. In this document, six other Cardinals are recommended; unfortunately, however, their names are not mentioned. On the same day a corresponding despatch was sent to the Cardinals Giovanni d' Aragona and Ascanio Maria Sforza, to be handed at the Consistory to all the Cardinals, and to be read there in public. If this document had arrived in time, we should have the first instance of a formal interference, both exclusive and inclusive, by a Government in the Papal election.*

The real leader of the Cardinals who sided with the league, was the Vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia. All the reports agree in stating that this ambitious prelate was trying his utmost to obtain the Tiara. As early as August 18th, 1484, the Florentine Envoy reports that Borgia was working hard for his own election, and that he had promised the post of Vice-chancellor and his own palace to Cardinal Giovanni d' Aragona, and 25,000 ducats and the Abbey of Subiaco to Cardinal Colonna, and that he had held out similar bribes to Cardinal Savelli.† "Rodrigo Borgia certainly is one of the most active competitors," says the Envoy from Ferrara, three days later; "however, it is impossible to give a decided opinion as yet, as to what his chances are." The Envoy then recalls the Roman proverb, which is here perhaps mentioned for the first time in writing. "He who

* THUASNE, I., 512–13; GENNARELLI, 55; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 308 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 104–5.

† THUASNE, I., 503.

enters the Conclave a Pope, leaves it a Cardinal."* Giovanni d' Aragona, the son of Ferrante of Naples, Ascanio Sforza and the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario were entirely on the side of Borgia; the latter counted with such certainty on success, that he had made all necessary preparations for protecting his magnificent palace against the pillage which generally followed the election.† However, in spite of all his promises of money, lands and benefices, he was unable to obtain the decided majority. "Borgia has the reputation of being so false and proud," the Florentine Envoy writes, August 21st, "that there is no danger of his being elected."‡ He had given them a specimen of his faithlessness immediately after the death of Sixtus IV. Hitherto he had always sided with the Colonna, he now went over to the Orsini through whose help he hoped to secure his election; § but at last he recognised the impossibility of attaining his object; he therefore began to promote that of his countryman Moles, whose age and infirm health would probably soon entail a fresh Conclave.‖ The head of the opposition party, Giuliano della Rovere, found himself in a similar position. He could only count with certainty on the Cardinals Savelli, Colonna, Cibò and the two La Rovere. The weakness of both parties became apparent in the first scrutiny on the morning of the 8th August: Cardinal Barbo obtained ten, or according to other accounts eleven or twelve votes. Jakob Burchard, the master of ceremonies reports that for fear of Barbo

* Sopra tutti piu forza de pratica fa el Vice-cancelliero per se, ma certamente perfin a qua non se può firmare el iudicio. Anche è qua proverbio, che per opinione intra papa in conclave usisce fuora cardinale. *Report of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 21. State Archives, Modena.

† Not. di Nantiporto, 1091; THUASNE, I., 519.

‡ THUASNE, I., 507.

§ SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 377.

‖ *Cf.* Reports of the Envoys in THUASNE, I., 512, 516, 518.

obtaining the necessary seventeen votes it was resolved that in the first scrutiny there should be no *accessit.**

Giuliano now began to bestir himself in earnest. His candidate was a man who owed everything to him: Giovanni Battista Cibò, Cardinal of S. Cecilia and Bishop of Molfetta. He threw himself into the contest with all the unscrupulous energy of his nature and did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery in order to attain his object.† The worldly-minded Cardinals were all the easier now to win over, because they were afraid that he might ally himself with the Venetians, in which case Barbo, whose principles in morals were very strict, would have ascended the chair of S. Peter. Giuliano succeeded first in gaining the Cardinals Orsini, Raffaele Riario, then Ascanio Sforza. Sforza was followed by Borgia, and the latter persuaded Giovanni d'Aragona to join their party.‡ Jakob Burchard, who took part in the Conclave, relates that Cardinal Cibò won the votes of his future electors by signing petitions for favours which they presented to him during the night in his cell.§

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 56–57. In the *Mandati of Innocent VIII., Vol. I. (1484–86), we find entered 28th Sept., 1484, a sum paid to Joanni Burkardo, clerico cerimoniar. State Archives, Rome.

† The statements of the Envoys referring to this matter can nearly all be proved correct. *Cf.* HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 14–15.

‡ *Cf.* Reports of Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 516 *seq.*; also INFESSURA, 170 *seq.*, and SÄGMÜLLER, 108 *seq.*; B. Arlotti reports, 1st Sept., 1484, to his master: *Como sia proceduta questa ellection seria un lungo dire, ma questa è la verita che San Piero ad vincula è quello che lo ha facto papa et li rev^{mi} car^{li} Aragona et Visconti l'hano seguito. Perche altramente tocavano cum mane, che San Piero ad vincula se seria inteso cum li cardinali Venetiani el seria ne caduta la sorte in el car^{li} S. Marco, el qual nel primo scrutinio hebbe più voce cha niuno altro et per questo la seguente nocte fuo voltata tutta questa pratica in modo che costui è papa et chiamase Innocentio ottavo. State Archives, Modena.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 61. I agree with SÄGMÜLLER, 110 *seq.*, against HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 8 *seq.*, in the interpretation of this passage.

The negotiations had lasted through the whole night: by the morning of 29th August, 1484, Giuliano della Rovere had secured eighteen votes for Cibò. The opposition party now gave up all resistance as useless. At 9 o'clock a.m. Cardinal Piccolomini was able to announce to the crowd assembled outside the Vatican, that Cardinal Cibò had been elected and had assumed the name of INNOCENT VIII. The people burst forth into acclamations, the bells of the palace of S. Peter's began to ring, and the thunder of cannons resounded from the Castle of S. Angelo.*

The newly-elected Pontiff, who, for the first time, again assumed a name borne by a Pope during the Schism, was 52 years old. He was above middle size, strongly built, and his face was full, his complexion strikingly fair, and his eyes weak.† He was descended from a Genoese family of good position, who were related to the wealthy Doria.‡ In the accounts of his genealogy there is much that is legendary, and it remains uncertain whether the Cibò are of Asiatic origin, or whether they are connected with the Tomacelli, the family of Innocent VII.; but Aran Cibò is mentioned in Genoese documents of 1437 as having been made *Anziano* in that city, and employed for some time both in the government and the administration of justice

It can hardly be doubted any longer that the election of Innocent VIII was simoniacal.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 62; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106.

† *Cf.* Reports in THUASNE, I., 517; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37. Portrait of Innocent VIII., on the papal coin in FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 227.

‡ For an account of the family of Cibò see STAFFETTI, I., 5 *seq.* Arrivabene specially mentions the relationship of the Pope with Lazzaro Doria in a *Report dat. Rome, 1485, May 10th: He says, L. Doria è molto intimo al Papa; è lo più riccho citadino di quella cita. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

at Naples, and also as having been a Roman senator in 1455.* He married Teodorina de' Mari, a Genoese lady of patrician birth; Giovanni Battista Cibò, born in 1432, was the issue of this marriage. He studied at Padua and at Rome, and in his youth had no intention of taking Orders, and his life at the licentious court of Aragon was no better than that of many others in his position. He had two illegitimate children, a daughter, Teodorina, and a son, Franceschetto.† It is characteristic of Cardinal Giuliano, that he did not scruple to help in promoting a man of such antecedents to the supreme dignity. However, it is certain

* VIANI, Memorie d. famiglia Cibò (Pisa, 1808); Atti Mod., VII., 309 *seq.*, 319; CIACONIUS, III., 104; MARINI, I., 228; REUMONT, Beiträge, IV., 192 *seq.*; VITALE, Storia de' Senat. di R., II., 430. The statements of CERRI, 59 *seq.*, are mostly unreliable.

† The accusation brought against him by INFESSURA (p. 175) of his having violated his "votum castitatis" when a priest, is false, for SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI says expressly (II., 33): Habuit Innocentius Franciscettum et Theodorinam filios ante sacerdotium. But the statement that these children were the offspring of a legitimate marriage is equally incorrect, for Sigismondo adds immediately after: non ex uxore susceptos; *cf.* also II., 37, and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 321, as well as the authors there quoted. It is doubtful whether there were any other children besides these, although this might be inferred from the Envoy's Reports in THUASNE, I., 517–19; see CREIGHTON, III., 120. The statements of Infessura and of the poet Marullus who speak of seven or sixteen children are exaggerations. In a matter of such weight an epigrammatist is as doubtful an authority as Infessura, whose untrustworthiness we have proved above. The epigram of Marullus:

> "Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas
> Hunc merito potuit dicere Roma patrem"

which has often been literally interpreted, is clearly a mere play of words. In 1883 the Museum of Berlin bought a more than life-size bust of Teodorina Cibò, with the following inscription on the pedestal: Teodorina Cibò Inno. VIII., P. M. f. singul. exempli Matrona formaeque dignitate conspicua.

that from the moment Giovanni Battista entered the ecclesiastical state, all the accusations against the purity of his private life cease. The fact also that the irreproachable Cardinal Calandrini took him into his service seems to indicate a reform in his morals. In April 1469, Paul II. bestowed on him the bishopric of Savona, which he exchanged under Sixtus IV. for that of Molfetta (situated near Bari on the Adriatic).* Cibò formed a close intimacy with Giuliano, the nephew of Sixtus IV., and to him especially he owed his speedy promotion. The Pope liked the Bishop of Molfetta because of his gentle amiable character; he made him his Datary, and gave him the Red Hat on the 7th May, 1473.† Cibò was generally called Molfetta from the name of his bishopric.

In the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry, Cibò gained great popularity. "Nobody left him without being consoled," says a contemporary, "he received all with truly fatherly kindness and gentleness; he was the friend of high and low, of rich and poor."‡ Sixtus IV. thought so highly of him, that at his departure from Rome in June 1476, he left him behind as Legate. Cibò filled this post, an extremely thorny one in the state of affairs at that time, to the complete satisfaction of the Pope.

* GAMS, 822, 898, and UGHELLI, IV., 741; I., 918; Jacob. Volaterranus in MURATORI, XXIII., 119.

† B. Arlotti writes 1st Sept. 1484 to his Duke: *That he knew the new Pope very well when he was a Cardinal, but honores mutant mores, ma certamente la benignita et afabilita l'ha tanto innata et abituata ch' ogniuno sta in ferma speranza che habiamo un bon Papa. (State Archives, Modena.) Aegidius of Viterbo says of Innocent VIII.: *Qui cum omnium mortalium humanissimus ac comis maxime atque urbanus esset, Sixto carus effectus datarius ac tandem cardinalis est factus. Hist. viginti secul., Cod. c. 8, 19, f. 314. Angelica Library at Rome.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 211–12; THUASNE, I., 517–19; and also GOTTLOB, in the Historische Jahrb., VII., 316.

All accounts agree in praising the kindness, the benevolent and amiable disposition of the newly-elected Pope, but they are equally unanimous in condemning his want of independence and weakness. "He gives the impression of a man who is guided rather by the advice of others than by his own lights," says the Florentine Ambassador of him, as early as Aug. 29th, 1484, and he also speaks of him as wanting in solid education and experience in political affairs.* It is not surprising that Giuliano della Rovere, to whom Cibò owed his promotion to the dignities both of Cardinal and Pope, obtained an unbounded ascendency over a character of this kind. "While with his uncle he had not the slightest influence, he now obtains whatever he likes from the new Pope," remarks the Envoy from Ferrara, Sept. 13th, 1484. "Send a good letter to the Cardinal of S. Peter," the Florentine Envoy writes to Lorenzo de' Medici, "for he is Pope and more than Pope."† The practical result of these relations was that Cardinal della Rovere came to reside in the Vatican, while his brother Giovanni, already Prefect of Rome, was named Captain-general of the Church, in December.‡

* FABRONIUS, II., 257, 259; THUASNE, I., 517; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 200, ed. 2.

† See FABRONIUS, II., 259, and BROSCH, Julius II., 308. The Genoese Envoy at Rome, Lazzaro Doria, remarks in a *Report of 23rd Aug., 1485, that it was the same thing to treat with the Pope or with Giuliano della Rovere: che è tutto uno effecto. State Archives, Genoa.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 71, 124; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093; and CAPPELLI, Carteggi, I., 277. Innocent VIII. had communicated the news of his election to Giovanni della Rovere on the day itself, and had added an invitation to come to Rome. (*Lib. brev. 18, f. 2b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Sept. 13, says: Madama. Se la V. S. J. ha inteso de la gran bona gratia ha cum el novo papa tra et sopra l'altri el r. carle Sanpiero ad vincula l'ha inteso

Immediately after his election, Innocent VIII. had pledged his word to the magistrates to bestow all civic offices and benefices on Roman citizens only. It was his failure in keeping this promise, which so incensed Infessura, the secretary of the Roman Senate, that he composed a series of caustic epigrams against him.* In judging this matter we must consider, however, that it was very hard for the Pope "to keep his promise in the face of the claims of the greedy prelates." † The electors and their adherents had to be rewarded, personal relations and friends to be considered; but the just complaints against this unpromising beginning of his Pontificate were kept in the background for the time being, by the brilliant festivities of the Coronation and the *possesso*.

On Sept. 11th, all the preparations for the Coronation, in which artists like Perugino and Antoniasso Romano were engaged, were completed.‡ The ceremony itself took place on the following day. In the morning the Pope went to S. Peter's, celebrated High Mass there, and gave his benediction to the people. Then Cardinal Piccolomini crowned him outside the Basilica. After a short interval, he went in solemn procession to take possession

molto ben el vero; et la causa è nota che Sanpiero ad vincula lo fece far vescovo (but only of Molfetta); et poi cardinale et novissimamente li ha durato fatica assay et havuto bona parte a farlo papa et S.S. vole li stia apresso et alogia in pallatio. (State Archives, Modena.) Innocent VIII. had proposed the nomination of Giovanni della Rovere in a Consistory held Nov. 26th, and all the Cardinals had agreed to it. *Letter of A. Sforza written on this day. State Archives, Milan.

* INFESSURA, 174.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 272, ed. 3.

‡ SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 371. In the *Mandati, 1484–86 we find entered for the 28th September, 1484, payment for XIII. tibianis qui interfuerunt coronationi S.D.N. On the 19th January, 1485, there are still several sums entered pro festo coronationis. State Archives, Rome.

(*possesso*) of the Lateran Palace. The homage of the Jews usual on such occasion took place in the interior of the Castle of S. Angelo; the object of this arrangement was to protect them against ill-usage from the populace. Burchard gives a minute description of the magnificent procession to the Lateran, and there exist several other accounts of it in Italian, and one in German, so that we possess ample information in regard to all its details. An immense crowd of people thronged the streets, which were decorated with green boughs and gorgeous hangings and carpets. Sixteen noblemen carried "the canopy, under which the Pope rode on a white horse richly caparisoned in white and gold. He had on his head a golden crown, and over his shoulders the pallium; and wore round his neck a costly amice, and a cross of gold on his breast, and blessed the people as he passed."*

Innocent VIII., whose affability is highly praised by the Envoy from Ferrara,† had all the more cause for being satisfied in so far that the day and all the ceremonies had passed over without any hitch or disturbance worth mentioning.‡ On the same day the solemn Bulls were

* CHMEL, Materialien zur Oesterreich. Gesch., II., 358 (Wien, 1838). The above account taken from the Archives of Riedeck has been overlooked both by Reumont and Gregorovius. *Cf.* also especially BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 90 *seq.* (see CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 46 *seq.*; BERLINER, II., 75); letter of Vespucci of Sept. 13th, 1484, in GENNARELLI, 48; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106, and the *Report of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Sept. 13th. State Archives, Modena.

† For the *Report quoted see *supra*, p. 242, note ‡.

‡ The Duke of Milan wrote to his envoy F. A. de Talentis, Sept. 19th, 1484, that he learned with very great pleasure from his letter of the 14th, that the Coronation of the Pope had taken place con tanta solemnita et quiete de quello populo quanto desyderare se fosse potuto. (State Archives, Milan.) *Cf.* also Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 629.

drawn up which acquainted all Christian Princes and States with the accession of the new Pope, and asked their prayers for a prosperous Pontificate.*

Prayers were certainly greatly needed, for Innocent VIII. entered upon the government of the Church and the Pontifical States under circumstances of great difficulty, aggravated by the deplorable state of the finances of the Holy See.† It cannot be denied that the newly-elected Pontiff was full of good intentions. Three things, he repeated on his Coronation-day, he was resolved to pursue with the greatest zeal; peace, justice, and the welfare of

* The Pope had informed some princes and prelates of his election, before his Coronation. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 46 *seq.* The official *Bull Salvator noster, dat. prid. Id. Sept., has been preserved in the Archives of Florence, Cologne and Mantua. From ENNEN, III., 880, it appears that a similar Bull had been sent to the Universities of Cologne, however this Bull no longer exists, though the one addressed to the University of Cracow is still extant, see Monum. Pol., XI., 306. The Universities of Paris and of Heidelberg were also informed of the election by a special letter, see GUETTÉE, VIII., 60; HAUTZ, I., 354. The cities of the Papal States (*cf.* Cod. C., IV., 1, of the Library of the University of Genoa) and the chief prelates and archbishops received likewise a special notice. *Cf.* the Regest. of the Bull addressed to the Archbishop of Salzburg in the Archives of the Imperial and Royal government of Salzburg, Rub. I., fasc. 4ª. The numerous Embassies of Obedience are all entered in Burchardi Diarium. Of the Envoys' addresses of congratulation to the new Pope, many of which were printed at the time, those of Tito Vespasiano Strozza (*cf.* the monographs of Albrecht [Dresden, 1891] 36), and of John von Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, were the most admired; the latter was considered a wonderful production for a German; the fact that it passed through two editions in Rome proves how highly thought of it was. *Cf.* MORNEWEG, Joh. v. Dalberg, 95–99. Heidelberg, 1887.

† Breve regibus Hispanie, dat. ut s. (7 Dec., 1484): Invenimus in hac nostra ad apostolatus apicem assumptione aerarium camere apostce non modo pecuniis exhaustum, sed debitis etiam magnis gravatum. Lib. brev. 18, f. 74, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the city.* Accordingly, he provided for a stricter surveillance and administration of justice in Rome, and commissioned some of the Cardinals to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between the Colonna and Orsini.† Even beyond the boundaries of his own territory, Innocent was anxious to extend the blessings of peace. He was especially desirous of putting an end to the prolonged dispute about Sarzana. On the 17th Sept. he had entered into negotiations on this subject with the Envoys of Naples, Florence and Milan. In accordance with the recent understanding, the Pope said on this occasion, he considered it a supreme duty of his Apostolic office to bring about this peace, so that all Italian States might enjoy its happy results, and might recover from the heavy expenses which had left the Holy See burdened with a debt of more than 250,000 ducats. The dispute about Sarzana, complicated by the attack of the Florentines on Pietrasanta, caused him great anxiety, because of the character of the Genoese, who would not hesitate to set the world on fire, and who had already brought foreigners to Italy on other occasions. Genoa had applied to him to settle the affair by a judicial pronouncement. He knew that his predecessor had failed in his attempt to do this, but, being a Genoese himself and in a more favourable position than Pope Sixtus, he hoped to attain his object, especially as he felt sure that the Signoria of Florence would do their utmost to smooth the way.‡

* *Che ad tre cose vole attender cum studio et efficatia: a pace, iustitia, et abundantia. * Report of B. Arlotti of 13th Sept., 1484. Arlotti had already reported, Sept. 1st, that the dispositions of the Pope were extremely pacific. (Both *Letters in the State Archives, Modena.)

† INFESSURA, 177, and Ambassadorial Report in Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 631. On the deputation of Cardinals *cf.* * Letter of Card. A. Sforza dat. Rome, Sept. 26, 1484. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Report of Vespucci of 18th Sept., 1484, in GENNARELLI, 51 *seq.*;

A few days later, 22nd September, the names of the new Cardinal-Legates were published. Nardini was to go to Avignon, Moles to the Campagna, Savelli to Bologna, Orsini to the March of Ancona, and Ascanio Sforza to the Patrimony of S. Peter. Arcimboldi was confirmed as Legate of Perugia.* Existing circumstances made it a matter of especial urgency that a Legate should be sent at once to Avignon,† however, neither Nardini nor Moles ever entered upon the duties of their office; the former died October 22nd, the latter, November 21st, 1484.‡

The Pope himself had fallen ill in October 1484.§ Soon it became evident that in spite of his good resolutions, he had neither energy nor prudence enough to be successful in his mediation between the jealous and quarrelsome States of Italy. His interference in the dispute about Sarzana had no effect. In the Spring of the following year, Innocent again fell sick, and at the same time the feud between the Orsini and Colonna broke out afresh. Sigismondo de' Conti tells us, that on the 12th March, 1485, the Pope was seized with a violent fever, which kept him in bed for three months; and he was in such a critical state

REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 208, *cf.* 197, 232 *seq.*, ed. 2. See also the very rare treatise of GIACOMO DA FIENO, Della legazione a Roma di Lazzaro Doria il 1485: Saggio di studi sulla diplomazia Genovese. (Sampierdarena, 1863), which Reumont has overlooked.

* In BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 125, it is stated, without date, that this took place in the second Consistory. The date given above is taken from a ** Report of A. Sforza of Sept. 22nd, see Appendix, N. 1. State Archives, Milan.

† *Cf.* on this point the * Brief to the King of France of Oct. 16th, 1484. Lib. brev. 18, f. 36. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 113, 115; * Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 24th. State Archives, Milan.

§ "Last night the Pope fell ill," Cardinal Ascanio Sforza reports in a *Letter, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 9th. State Archives, Modena.

that one day it was rumoured that he was dead. The Protonotary, Obbietto Fieschi, sent word at once to the Orsini that the Pope had expired. They immediately posted troops on the Ponte Molle and all the bridges of the Anio in order to secure free communication with the city; but they had soon to repent of this manœuvre, for the report of the Pope's death proved false. The skilful treatment of the famous physicians, Podocatharo and Giacomo da Genesio, had saved the life of Innocent VIII. The Pope, who had always favoured the Colonna, now grew more partial to them than ever. The fortune of war also seemed to smile on them in the beginning; in two days they took Nemi and Genzano, but they were afterwards defeated by the Orsini.*

These endless disputes, which Innocent VIII. tried in vain to allay, were seriously aggravated by the estrangement between the Pope and the King of Naples, which continued to increase from day to day.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 218–20; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 142; INFESSURA, 178; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093. In a *Letter dated 1485, April 5th, Cardinal A. Sforza specially mentions the weak state of the Pope after his illness. State Archives, Milan.

CHAPTER II.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND FERRANTE OF NAPLES (1484–1487).—THE CIBÒ AND MEDICI FAMILIES ALLIED BY MARRIAGE.

ALTHOUGH King Ferrante of Naples had done his best before the Papal election to exclude Cardinal Cibò, he now made a great show of cordiality, and immediately sent him a letter of congratulation. Innocent lost no time in sending his thanks, and reminding him of his former relations with Naples, assured him that he would do for him all he conscientiously could, but he added, that he hoped Ferrante on his part would shew himself a true Catholic Prince.*

The first note of discord in the relations between Rome and Naples was struck by the King's son, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. He came to Rome on the 20th October, 1484, on his return from Ferrara, and was received by the Pope with all possible marks of honour and friendship;† but when the Duke demanded the incorporation of Benevento, Terracina, and Ponte Corvo, with the territory of his father, Innocent VIII. refused to accede to his request. It is said that Alfonso replied in a menacing tone, saying, that before long he would make the Pope beg for the annexation, of his own accord. In consequence of this collision,

* RAYNALDUS, ad. an. 1484, n. 47.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 111; LEOSTELLO, 43 *seq.* The Pope received Alfonso on Oct. 22nd; after that Cardinal Borgia gave a splendid banquet in his honour, see Appendix, N. 2, letter of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza of Oct. 22nd, 1484. State Archives, Milan.

it seemed doubtful whether the Neapolitan Embassy of Obedience would be sent to Rome. To bring this about, the Pope had recourse to a very strange expedient. Bulls were drawn up annexing the cities as demanded, but these, instead of being handed over to the King, were entrusted to the keeping of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, while Innocent VIII. made a declaration before a notary, that the documents were only intended for show, in order to appease the impetuous King for the moment. It was not at all his intention to give up his claim to the cities, and he was resolved, if necessary, to meet force with force. As Alfonso drew up troops on the borders of the Papal States, the Pope also began to collect an army and to look out for allies.* Above all, Innocent VIII. tried to gain Venice. On February 28th, 1485, the canonical penalties imposed by Sixtus IV. upon the Venetians were withdrawn, and the Signoria responded by sending their Embassy of Obedience.† Tommaso Catanei, Bishop of Cervia, was sent to Venice, to arrange for the transference of Roberto Sanseverino, the captain of the mercenary troops, to the Papal service.‡

The relations between Rome and Naples became more and more strained, owing to the conduct of Ferrante, who not only refused to pay the tribute for his fief, but interfered unjustifiably in purely ecclesiastical matters, de-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 216.

† The Bull of Absolution in RAYNALDUS., ad an. 1485, n. 45; *cf.* NAVAGIERO, 1192; MALIPIERO, 301. *Brief to the Doge G. Mocenigo, of March 2nd, 1485 (State Archives, Venice). *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Feb. 28th (State Archives, Milan), and *Despatch of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, March 26th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the Obedience, see BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 148-9; *June 29th, Innocent VIII., thanked the Doge for it; see Lib. brev. 18, f. 207 b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI I., 217.

spoiled the clergy by arbitrary taxes, and openly sold his bishoprics to utterly unsuitable persons.* In the Summer of 1485 the two Courts came to an open rupture. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the Neapolitan Envoy appeared with the customary white horse but without the tribute. It was impossible for the Pope to accept the lame excuse that the King was not able to pay because of his expedition against Otranto, as several years had passed since this event. When Innocent refused to accept the palfrey without the money, Ferrante's ambassador entered a formal protest.†

Nearly at the same moment the Barons' war broke out at Naples. This, "the most appalling of all the tragic dramas of the 15th Century," was caused by Alfonso of Calabria. This "overbearing, faithless and cruel" Prince persuaded his father to attempt to put down the discontented nobles by a sudden and treacherous attack. In the Summer of 1485 he found an opportune moment. Count Montorio, who was Governor of the rich town of Aquila, was enticed to come to Chieti, and there taken prisoner; the citadel of Aquila was immediately occupied by Neapolitan troops.‡ The Barons soon saw that the same fate awaited them which Louis XI. had prepared for his nobles; they determined not to submit to the tyranny of the house of Aragon, but to take measures to defend themselves. In the autumn of 1485, the inhabitants of Aquila expelled the Neapolitan garrison and planted the banner of the Church on their walls.§ Their example

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 226 *seq.* *Cf.* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 217, ed. 2; CHRISTOPHE, II., 311–12.

† GIANNONE, III., 350 *seq.*

‡ PORZIO, 59 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 217, ed. 2; GOTHEIN, Süditalien, 226.

§ Croniche di Napoli, in Arch. St. Nap., I., 57; NOTAR GIACOMO, 156,

was followed by several other Neapolitan cities and territories.*

Rome in July was visited with an outbreak of the Plague,† and at the same time the course of events in the neighbouring kingdom was watched with anxious attention. "Innocent VIII.," the Mantuan Envoy reports, July 18th, 1485, "is entirely taken up with the affairs of the Barons." They had already laid their complaints against Ferrante before the Pope on a former occasion; now again their messengers appeared in Rome to ask for help. Their language was that of men driven to desperation; they would rather suffer any extremity than submit to the tyranny of Ferrante or Alfonso; if the Pope did not help them, they would put themselves under the protection of some foreign power.‡

Thus we see that Innocent found himself forced into taking part in the war, and no great efforts were needed on the part of Giuliano, the sworn foe of the Aragonese, to bring him to a point. The danger was all the greater because both contending parties were capable of seeking aid from the Turks. It was evident which side the Pope would take. Ferrante's conduct in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the experience of former Popes of his violence and treachery, left no room

and RIVERA, La dedizione degli Aquilani ad Innocenzo VIII., in Bollett. d. Soc. patria negli Abruzzi, I., 36 *seq.* Aquila, 1889.

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 157; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 422.

† *Cf.* on this point the *Letters of A. Sforza, dated Rome, July 2, 11, and 22, 1485: many deaths—numbers are flying from the city (State Archives, Milan). On the 7th July, Arlotti mentions the number of deaths; on the 18th, he says that the Plague is spreading, and in October it was still raging. *Reports of the 7th, 8th, and 10th October, all in the State Archives, Modena.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 227-8. *Despatch of the Mantuan Envoy Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, July 18th. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

for doubt on this point.* At this moment Ferrante tried once more to avert the impending storm by sending his son, Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona as mediator to Rome; but the Plague was raging there, the Cardinal was stricken and died on October 17th.† Whilst Ferrante's son was on his death-bed, the Cardinals‡ discussed the affairs of

* *Cf.* LEBRET, VI., 345, and REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 218, ed. 2. As to Giuliano's motives, see BROSCH, Julius II., 34 *seq.*; and also CIPOLLA, 632. On calling in the Turks, see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 228.

† INFESSURA (ed. Tommasini, 186 *seq.*) makes out that Cardinal d'Aragona died of poison (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 927). The editor, Tommasini, does not mention Gennarelli's remark (72): Monumenta legationum Florentinorum ne verbum quidem faciunt de veneno. NOTAR GIACOMO, 153, does not speak of poison either; LEOSTELLO, 81, expressly states that the Cardinal succumbed to a fever. Infessura, who moreover does not give the correct date for the Cardinal's death, is contradicted besides by several *Reports of Ambassadors which I have discovered, so that even Tommasini will hardly maintain the accuracy of the chronicler in this case. The documents on which I rely are: (1) *Report of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, Oct. 17th: Questa nocte a le hore X., se ne morto lo card. de Aragona. (There is no mention of poison. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). (2) *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1485, Oct. 7th: Plague at Rome. Immediately after the arrival of Cardinal d'Aragona two of his companions died. The Cardinal himself is in bed. Oct. 8th: Numerous deaths in Rome. El qual cardinale (d'Aragona) sta pur cosi debile con la febre continua et doi proportionali (*sic*) benche mostrano esser legieri, pur questa sira ha preso una medicina de renbarbaro et prima per via del stomacale se li è facta in piu volte bone evacuation de sangue. S. S^ria^ R^ma^ spera ben de se et anche li medici non desperano. Oct. 10th: The Cardinal is better. Oct. 17th: In quest' hora el rev. et ill. quondam cardinale de Ragona vestro cugnato (the letter is addressed to Duke Ercole) expiravit. Con gran devotion et religione è passato. Panegyric of the deceased. Io de continuo me li sum trovato in la infirmita et in la morte. State Archives, Modena.

‡ The absent Cardinals were invited by *Briefs of Oct. 4th, 1485, to return speedily for the following Saturday. Briefs to this effect were

Naples with the Pope. The result was, that the Holy See warmly embraced the interests of the Barons, took Aquila under its protection, and declared war against the King.* The Bull drawn up to justify this step is dated October 14th, and was affixed to the door of S. Peter's ten days later.†

The King of Naples soon proved the insincerity of his proposals of peace to Rome, by openly declaring himself the protector of the Orsini who had a short time before rejected the offer of the Pope to act as mediator.‡ Ferrante's attempt to come to terms with his nobles completely failed, for nobody trusted him; the rebellion soon spread over the whole kingdom.

In order to intimidate the Pope, Ferrante now had recourse to the expedient generally adopted by those who

received by the Cardinals of S. Mark, Angers, Lisbon, and Naples. Lib. brev. 19, f. 12. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 222. The *Briefs to the episc. Balneoregien., dat. 1485, Oct. 18th. (Joy expressed at the return of Aquila to the Church), dil. fil. camerario et quinque artium civit. nostre Aquil., dat. ut s. (the latter Brief is now printed in Bollett. St. d. Soc. patria. negli Abruzzi, I., 42), Lib. brev. 19, f. 21; in the same place, see a *Brief of Oct. 26th, by which the immediate despatch of troops to Aquila is decreed; it is addressed to Giov. Franc. de Balneo, Hector de Forlivio, and other Papal captains. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Bull is in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 223–4. It is alluded to in the Report of Arrivabene, of Oct. 25th, 1485: Heri la Sta di N.S. fece attachar a le porte di S. Pietro la bolla piombata de la justificatione suoa circa questa impresa del Reame. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 227, is mistaken when he says the Bull was first published on the 1st November, which is also contradicted by the Report in CAPPELLI, 45.

‡ With INFESSURA, 180–83, *cf.* *Letters of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, July 3rd and 8th (State Archives, Milan), and the *Despatches of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1485, July 7th and 18th. State Archives, Modena.

had any quarrel with Rome; he renewed the question of convoking a Council. For this end he put himself in communication with Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary. The Neapolitan Envoy was instructed to ask Mathias to support his father-in-law by giving him material help, to dissuade Venice from taking the Pope's side, and to appeal to a Council against the greed and unbearable arrogance of Rome.* Mathias Corvinus agreed to these proposals, January 29th, 1486; he declared in a solemn assembly of the Hungarian prélates and magnates, and in presence of the Venetian and Florentine Envoys that he would not forsake the father of his wife. He threatened the Pope with the withdrawal of his allegiance and an appeal to a Council, and the Venetians with war. At the end of March, 800 Hungarian cavalry, and later on 200 cavalry and 700 infantry started for Naples. At the same time Mathias made an alliance with the Turks in virtue of which they were to prevent the Venetians from assisting the Pope.†

Milan followed the example of Hungary and declared for the King of Naples. The latter tried to gain Lorenzo de' Medici also. In order to hinder this, the Pope sent the Florentine Archbishop Rinaldo Orsini to Lorenzo. He explained to the Duke that "Innocent VIII. was determined to resort to arms; that for many months he had warned the King by the late Cardinal d'Aragona and through his brother Don Francesco; but that Ferrante had become more and more overbearing in his conduct, so that at last things must take their course." The mission of Orsini had no effect; Lorenzo declared for Ferrante.‡

The Pope now began to look for alliances and succeeded

* FERDINANDI Primi Instruct., ed. Volpicella (Napoli, 1861), n. 5. TALLARIGO, Giov. Pontano, I., 181. S. Severino-Marche, 1869–71.

† FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 228.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 222 *seq.*, ed. 2; CHRISTOPHE, II., 318.

in concluding one with Genoa through the mediation of Lazzaro Doria in November, 1485. He next tried to win the Venetians, as did also the Neapolitan Barons, but neither the Pope nor they could obtain anything from that quarter. The utmost that Venice would concede was permission to Roberto Sanseverino, whose services Innocent VIII. was extremely anxious to secure, to depart "if he pleased."*

The Pope was so impatient to see Roberto Sanseverino, that he ordered him to hasten to Rome without his troops, in order to arrange the plan of campaign.† Roberto entered the city on horseback, November 10th, 1485, through the Porta del Popolo and was ceremoniously received. On the same day Innocent VIII. sent word to Aquila of his arrival, adding that after consultation with Roberto, he would inform them of his plans.‡ During the following days, the Lord of Anguillara, Pierro Giovanni de Savelli, Francesco de Colonna and others were called to Rome, to take part in the Council of War.§ On November 30th, Roberto swore fealty to the Pope as Standard-bearer of the Church.‖ It was not a moment too soon, for the enemy was already at the gates of Rome.

Alfonso of Calabria had invaded the Papal territory with

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 43; ROMANIN, IV., 422 N. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 3, the *Brief from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See in Appendix, N. 4, the *Brief of 30th Oct., 1485 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 230.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 158, and the Brief of Nov. 10, 1485, in Bollett., St. d. Soc. patr. negli Abruzzi, I., 49.

§ *Lib. brev. 19, f. 46b: Dom. Anguillarie Pier Joh. militi de Sabellis, Paschali viceduci Gravine, dat. 13th Nov. [1485]; Francisco de Columna notario nostro, episc. Massan., dat. 14th Nov. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 166 *seq.* In SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 239, *read* Decemb. *instead of* Novemb.

twelve battalions, and had joined Virginio Orsini at Vicovaro. Florence sent a considerable force, Milan only 100 soldiers.* The enemy took possession of the Bridge of Nomentana and carried their raids to the very gates of Rome. The greatest disorder prevailed in the city. Amidst the general alarm and excitement there was one man only who kept his head on his shoulders, and that was Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. If Rome did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and if their hopes of help from within the city itself were disappointed, it was to the iron energy of that prelate that the Pope's thanks were due. Day and night he allowed himself no rest. In the cold December nights, he was to be seen with Cardinals Colonna and Savelli making the round of the guards of the gates and walls. The Vatican was turned into a fort, the house of the Neapolitan Ambassador was pillaged, the castle of the Orsini on Monte Giordano was set on fire. Virginio Orsini swore that he would have his revenge; that the head of Giuliano should be carried through the town spiked on a lance.†

The courage of the enemy rose from day to day as they discovered how feebly Rome was garrisoned. Roberto Sanseverino and Giovanni della Rovere had as yet no troops; the Colonna with all their men were at Aquila, so that in reality the city was only defended by the guards of the palace and a small force of artillery and cavalry.‡ In this extremity all criminals were allowed to return; this was done in order to reinforce the ranks of the defenders.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 238; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 223, ed. 2. As late as Nov. 1st, 1485, the Pope had sent *Briefs to Virginio and Paolo Orsini commanding them to desist from their depredations. Lib. brev. 19, f. 41. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 189 *seq.*, 192; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 239 *seq.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241.

It was not surprising therefore that robbery and murder became every-day occurrences.*

Virginio Orsini carried on the war with Rome with the pen as well as with the sword. He wrote pamphlets calling for the deposition of Cardinal Giuliano, whom he accused of the most horrible vices, and of Innocent VIII. The Romans were urged to rebel against the degrading tyranny of the "Genoese sailor," who was not even a true Pope. Orsini offered to assist in bringing about the election of a new Pontiff and new Cardinals, and threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber.†

Although the Romans did not respond to this invitation, the position of the Pope was very critical; none of the roads leading to the city were safe, travellers and even envoys of foreign powers were mercilessly plundered.‡ The distress in the city, which in reality was in a state of siege, was becoming intolerable, when at last the troops of Roberto Sanseverino arrived, December 28th, 1485. He at once presented his soldiers to the Pope and the Cardinals, and then marched against the enemy.§

The situation now began to change for the better. In December of the same year the bridge of Nomentana was taken by storm, and in January 1486 Mentana was wrested from the Orsini. After this, Cardinal Orsini surrendered Monte Rotondo and repaired to Rome to seek reconciliation with the Pope.‖ The desertion of Cardinal

* Not. di Nantiporto, 1097; INFESSURA, 190.

† INFESSURA, 192–3; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241–2.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241. *Cf.* INFESSURA, 196, and Not. di Nantiporto, 1099, on the spoliation of the Envoy of Maximilian of Austria by mercenaries of Roberto Sanseverino in 1486.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 171 *seq.*, and *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Dec. 27th. State Archives, Milan.

‖ Not. di Nantiporto, 1099; INFESSURA, 193; LEOSTELLO, 97 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 243 *seq.*; CAPPELLI, 49–50. On the

Orsini filled Duke Alfonso with dismay. He left his army and fled to Pitigliano. Paolo Orsini took the command of the troops thus abandoned by their leader and led them to Vicovaro.* Innocent VIII., who had been in a precarious state of health for several months of the preceding year, fell ill at this moment. On January 21, a rumour was started that the Pope was dead, and that Virginio Orsini had entered the city—which spread like wild-fire. An indescribable panic seized the inhabitants of Rome, for a general pillage was apprehended. The excitement lasted the whole day, and did not abate even when the Pope shewed himself in person at the window. In consequence of this false report Mentana rebelled, and Innocent VIII. ordered this fortress to be demolished.†

After the miserable fashion in which these wars were conducted in Italy at that period, the struggle dragged on through the following months without any definite result. The Papal States suffered severely, and there seemed no prospect of any end to the devastations.

As early as Jan. 30th, 1486, Innocent VIII. had despatched an Envoy to the Emperor to explain his position, and ask for help.‡ But more efficacious assistance might

engagement at the bridge of Nomentana, see also the *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Dec. 28. State Archives, Milan.

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 224, ed. 2.

† INFESSURA, 196–8; Not. di Nantiporto, 1099; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 240; CAPPELLI, 50; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 423 *seq.* See *Letter of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, Jan. 24th, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Anonymous Letter from Rome of Jan. 21, 1486, in the State Archives, Milan.

‡ See *Brief of Jan. 30th, 1486. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* *Brief to Basle of the same day. (City Archives, Basle.) On the attitude of Innocent VIII., with regard to the election of Maximilian I., in Feb. 1486, see ULMANN, in the Forschungen, XXII., 156. *Lib. brev. 19, f. 237, Secret Archives of the Vatican, confirms Ulmann's conjecture

be expected from the Spanish royal couple than from Frederick III. This rising power from henceforth began to take a more and more active part in the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand and Isabella tried to negotiate peace, for which service the Pope expressed his thanks, February 10th, 1486. Eight days later, Innocent VIII. replied to the Duke of Brittany who had exhorted him to make peace, by a detailed enumeration of all Ferrante's misdeeds, stating in addition that the tyranny of the King had driven the nobles to such desperation that they were prepared to call in the Turks if the Pope had refused to assist them.*

As no assistance could be hoped for from Venice, the Pope, or rather Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Cardinal de La Balue,† who, from the February of 1485, had been acting as Envoy of Charles VIII., and protector of French interests in Rome, had begun to turn their eyes towards René, Duke of Lorraine. This Prince had inherited from his grandfather, claims on Naples and Sicily, which Innocent VIII. now supported. The members of the Sacred College, however, were by no means unanimous on this point. On March 5th, 1486, the discussions in Consistory grew so warm, and La Balue and Ascanio Sforza came to such angry words, that the Pope had to silence them both.‡

In spite of this opposition La Balue and Giuliano managed to persuade Innocent to adhere to his former policy, and to apply to the French for help;§ on March 23rd, Giuliano

expressed in his note 1, with regard to the date of the Papal letter, that both letters (the one to the Emperor Frederick and the other to Maximilian I.) are dated March 9th, 1486.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 2, 3.

† *Cf.* the excellent monograph by FORGEOT, J. de La Balue, 125 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Letters of A. Sforza, in Arch. St. Ital., IV., 2, 66 *seq.*, and in Arch. St. Napol., XI., 759 *seq.*, and the **Report of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, March 6th, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ On March 10th, 1486, the Pope wrote to the French King to ac-

embarked at Ostia for Genoa, where he arrived at the beginning of April. To all appearances his mission was to proceed from thence to the Court of Charles VIII. of France, in order to induce the King to send assistance. However, the Cardinal remained at Genoa, where he occupied himself in negotiations with René's Envoy and in superintending the equipment of a fleet by the Genoese.*

On May 9th, Innocent VIII. addressed a letter of encouragement to the Neapolitan nobles, and assured them that he would do his utmost to continue the struggle.† About the same time Alfonso of Calabria defeated Roberto Sanseverino at Montorio.‡ The enemy again marched upon Rome. Not only the city, but nearly the whole of the Papal States were in the greatest danger. For months the Florentines had been secretly inciting Perugia, Città di Castello, Viterbo, Assisi, Foligno, Montefalco, Spoleto,

knowledge the receipt of his letter on the situation in Naples; the Brief concludes by praising the King. Lib. brev. 19, f. 240; *ibid.* *Brief of commendation of the same day to duci Borbonii; and f. 250, *Brief to the French King, of March 15th, as an acknowledgment of his good dispositions the Pope sent him some blessed candles. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See BROSCH, Julius II., 36 *seq.*, where, however, the departure of Giuliano is wrongly stated to have taken place at the "end of March." The date given above in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 182, and in CAPPELLI, 53 (Brosch was acquainted with both sources, but preferred to cull from them the unauthenticated rumours rather than the facts which they contain), is confirmed by the Report in cypher of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, March 23rd. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Concerning this matter, *cf.* also BUSER, Beziehungen, 246 *seq.*, and in the Appendix, N. 5, the *Brief to Giuliano of May 11th, 1486. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Principibus et baronibus regni Neapolit. Nobis et S. R. S. adherent, Lib. brev. 19, f. 361. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ PORZIO, Congiura de' Baroni, lib. II., c. 33 *seq.*; ROSMINI, Trivulzio, II., 143 *seq.*; CIPOLA, 637; Bollett. d. Soc. negli Abruzzi, I., 177.

Todi and Orvieto, to rebellion, and although these intrigues were not crowned with success, they had the effect of obliging the Pope to divide his forces.* In April 1486, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni seized the town of Osimo; † at the same time the news reached Rome, that Mathias Corvinus was sending an army to invest the important city of Ancona,‡ and that Turkish ships had been sighted on the coasts of the Adriatic. An exhausted treasury added to the difficulty of the situation; this is mentioned in several of the Papal Briefs.§

When Innocent VIII. saw how things were going, he began to repent of having taken part in the Neapolitan war trusting to the assistance of the faithless Venetians.‖ Cardinal Giuliano, who might be called the soul of the resistance to Ferrante, had hitherto always succeeded in overcoming the misgivings of the Pope, but he was now far from Rome. On the last day of May, the Envoys of the French King and of Duke René arrived in

* SISMONDI, XI., 289–90. The greater number of the cities remained faithful to the Pope. *Cf.* the * Briefs of commendation to Viterbo of Feb. 10th, and to Perugia of Feb. 28th, and of March 5th, 1486. Lib. brev. 19, f. 178, 215, 228b. We see how the Pope was obliged to divide his forces, from the * Briefs to Perugia, dat. Rome, 1486, Feb. 5th, 20th, and April 12th. Cod. C. IV., 1. of the University Library, Genoa.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 272 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 49 *seq.*; CECCONI, Carte dipl. Osimane, 71–2, and Boccolino Guzzoni, 50 *seq.*

‡ * Gubernatori Marchie. Ex quodam magnae fidei viro e partibus Segnie nuper accepimus regem Hungariae aliquas copias suas navibus versus Anconam transmittere decrevisse non tam uti regi Neapolit. auxilium ferat quam ut terris nostris damnum aliquod inferat. Then follows an injunction to oppose him and not to allow Ancona to fall away. Dat. Rome, 23rd April, 1486, Lib. brev. 19, f. 317. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ For proofs of this, see *infra* Chap. VI.

‖ CAPPELLI, 52; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 258

Rome * and entered into negotiations with Innocent about the affairs of Naples; but the Ambassador of Ferdinand of Spain, who was naturally anxious to prevent the French from establishing themselves in Italy, did his utmost to frustrate their efforts and to persuade the Pope to come to terms with Ferrante. The Spanish Envoys were supported by the Cardinals Borgia and Savelli; La Balue and Borgia had a violent altercation on the subject in the Consistory.† In Aquila a rebellion against the government of the Church broke out, whilst the army of Duke Alfonso made alarming progress. His victorious troops steadily gained ground; their skirmishers were almost at the gates of Rome. Disaffection was spreading so rapidly amongst the Pope's own people, that it seemed absolutely necessary to bring the war to a close. Treachery was the order of the day; only a small number of the Castellans could be trusted.‡ A far less irresolute man than Innocent VIII. might have made peace under such circumstances. Messages were sent to Cardinal Giuliano and to Duke René to the effect that, as they had delayed so long, it would be better now to postpone their arrival to a still later period, and that the ruin of Rome and of the Papal States could only be averted by a Treaty of Peace.§

Cardinal Micheli was entrusted with the negotiation of

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 204. On their journey, *cf.* *Lib. brev. 19, f. 386–7. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 202; SISMONDI, XI., 292; FORGEOT, J. de La Balue, 131–2. Concerning Aquila, see CAPPELLI, 55.

‡ INFESSURA, 206, 209, 210–14; LEOSTELLO, 110 *seq.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 260. He states, p. 259, that the Peace was concluded in August 1486, in order to prevent the French from reaping the fruits of the war and thus rousing the jealousy of the Spaniards, and possibly causing them to side with Ferrante. Giuliano returned to Rome, Sept. 12th, but found the Pope so little inclined for a new war with Naples, that he retired to Ostia. CAPPELLI, 59.

the conditions of peace. The agreement was concluded without difficulty, as Ferrante made great concessions out of fear of the French; the captain of his forces, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio and the Humanist Pontano, repaired secretly to the Vatican, where, in the night of 9th–10th August, 1486, the preliminaries were signed.* The principal clauses of the treaty, which was guaranteed by their Spanish Majesties, Milan, and Florence, were the following: —Ferrante recognised the Papal supremacy, and engaged to pay the customary tribute with arrears; the revolted nobles were to submit to the King, who promised a complete amnesty; Aquila was to take its choice between Rome and Naples; Virginio Orsini was to ask the Pope's pardon; and Innocent VIII. was to have the free disposal of all bishoprics and benefices.†

Looking at the conditions that Ferrante accepted, no one would have guessed that his was the victorious side. In this he can hardly have been actuated by the fear of France alone. The clue to his apparent amiability must rather be sought in his subsequent conduct, for his facility in making concessions on paper was more than counterbalanced by the skill with which he evaded the fulfilment of his engagements. The whole compact was as quickly broken as it had been concluded. There can hardly be

* *Cf.* the Letter of Trivulzio in ROSMINI, II., 149–50.

† INFESSURA, 214 *seq.*; SANUDO, Vite, 1238 *seq.*; PORZIO, 148; CIPOLLA, 638–9; in the same place, details of the fate of R. Sanseverino whose fidelity (according to Sigismondo de' Conti) the Pope had been led to suspect. *Cf.* also in Appendix, N. 6 the *Despatch of Arrivabene of Aug. 11th, 1486. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *The same Envoy announces in accordance with BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 208, on Sept. 12th, the publication of the Treaty which had not taken place till then. *Cf.* NOTAR GIACOMO, 160. An account of the festivities in honour of the Peace is to be found in GHIRARDACCI, Istoria di Bologna ad an. 1486. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

found in all the annals of history a more scandalous violation of a treaty. Before the end of September Ferrante had expelled the Papal troops from Aquila, murdered the Pope's representative, and taken possession of the city. Then came his revenge on the nobles. Not only the Barons themselves, but their wives and children also were thrown into prison, and all their property was confiscated, including even monies invested in foreign countries. When the Barons had been thus disposed of, the turn of the Pope came next. The payment of the tribute was refused, and benefices given away as before without any reference to the Holy See. "The hand of the King is heavier on the Church than ever."*

Not content with all this, Ferrante set himself to harass the helpless Pope by stirring up disturbances in the Papal States.† To this systematic policy of violence Innocent VIII. had nothing to oppose but the most abject irresolution and vacillation. By his feeble policy of groping about for alliances first in one direction and then in another, he had lost the confidence of all parties. In 1486, the Pope had entered into fresh negotiations with Venice, which resulted in a new Veneto-Roman league proclaimed at the end of February 1487; but before another month had elapsed he had swung round again and sided with Florence.‡ A project of a marriage between Lorenzo's second daughter Maddalena and Franceschetto Cibò was broached; but on account of the youth of the bride its celebration had

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 261; II., 30; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 228 *seq.*, ed. 2, and Rom, III., 1, 192; GOTHEIN, Süditalien, 527 *seq.*

† LEBRET, VI., 349 *seq.*

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 39. On the league with Venice which had greatly startled Lorenzo, see CAPPELLI, 63; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 281, 423 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 237 *seq.*; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 82.

to be postponed for a while. "In the meantime several events occurred of which Lorenzo might have taken advantage had not other circumstances tended to strengthen his desire of obtaining a footing in Rome, and his hopes of domineering over the feeble Pope."*

In 1487 Lorenzo de' Medici had already had an opportunity of laying the Pope under an obligation. In Osimo, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni had rebelled again and entered into communication with the Sultan Bajazet. It is a fact proved by letters which have been discovered, that this daring rebel was prepared to hand over the Marches to the Turks.† As the Sultan did not seem unwilling to accept the proposal, everything depended on prompt action. Innocent VIII. lost no time. In March 1487, Giuliano della Rovere was sent against Boccolino,‡ but was so crippled by want of funds that he found himself unable to achieve anything; and the Pope appealed to Milan for help. The Milanese in May sent Gian Jacopo Trivulzio, one of the ablest generals of the period, but he too was unable to take Osimo. In July, Giuliano asked to be recalled, and was superseded by Cardinal de La Balue. By the time the latter arrived before Osimo, Trivulzio had reduced the city to such extremity that it was on the point of surrendering.

By skilful management, the Florentine Ambassador succeeded in inducing Boccolino, "on the payment of 8000 ducats, to give up the city and to repair to Florence."§ The

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 240–42, ed. 2. *Cf.* Pandolfini's *Report on March 21, 1487. State Archives, Florence.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 273 *seq.* 310; SUGENHEIM, 361; BROSCH, Julius II., 41, 309–10; ROSMINI, II., 158 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 54 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 641 *seq.* See also MORUS, Bibl. Picena, V., 197, and CECCONI'S monograph, Boccolino Guzzoni, 74 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* the *Reports of Pandolfini of 2nd, 10th, and 11th March, 1487. State Archives, Florence.

§ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 238, ed. 2; and CECCONI, Boccolino

friendly relations of the Pope with the Medici were advantageous to the Orsini, for Lorenzo's wife was a sister of Virginio Orsini. To no one was this change more distasteful than to Cardinal Giuliano. On July 19th, 1487, he had returned from Osimo in very ill-humour, and when in August the Pope formally received the Orsini back into favour he left Rome and retired to Bologna; however, he soon made it up again with Innocent.*

Whilst the war at Osimo was dragging on without any decided result, Ferrante took advantage of the Pope's embarrassment to bring his dispute with the Holy See to a climax. In May 1487, Trojano de' Bottuni was sent to Rome, Florence and Milan, as Extraordinary Ambassador, with instructions coolly to repudiate all the stipulations contained in the treaty of August 11th, 1486.† "Towards the end of July 1487, Innocent VIII. held a Consistory to deliberate on Neapolitan affairs. The whole college of Cardinals agreed with him, that it was incompatible with the honour of the Holy See to remain passive any longer. It was resolved that letters should be sent to Spain, Milan and Florence, the co-signatories of the treaty, to inform them of its violation. A Nuncio was to be sent to Naples to remonstrate, and in case of any fresh breach of faith with

Guzzoni, 83 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 156, 164 *seq.*; FORGEOT, 142. In a * Brief of 16th Aug., 1487, Innocent VIII. thanked the Duke of Milan for having sent Trivulzio to take Osimo. (Original in the State Archives, Milan.) Innocent VIII. likewise thanked the Perugians in a * Brief of Sept. 1st, 1487, for subsidies sent. C. IV. 1 of the University Library, Genoa.

* INFESSURA, 227; Not. di Nantiporto, 1105; BROSCH, Julius II., 42. According to a * Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, July 19th, Giuliano returned on that day.

† FERDINANDI Instruct., L., 217 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 242 *seq.*, ed. 2.

the Barons to assist them in obtaining redress through the ordinary means." These resolutions were embodied in the instruction dated 24th July, 1487, to the Nuncio Pietro Vicentino, Bishop of Cesena.* The way in which the Nuncio was treated at Naples, is characteristic of Ferrante. He was denied an audience, whereupon he stopped the King at the gate of the palace when he was going out hunting, and forced him to listen to the demands of the Pope. Ferrante's reply was a flat refusal expressed in the most scornful terms. He had not forgotten the tribute, but he had spent so much on the Church that he had no money left. With regard to his interference in ecclesiastical affairs, Ferrante remarked that he knew his subjects, whereas the Pope did not; he would therefore continue to confer benefices on those whom he considered worthy, and Innocent VIII. must content himself with the right of confirming his nomination. When, finally, Vicentino reproached him with violating the treaty by imprisoning the Barons, the King reminded him of the arrest and subsequent release of the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli by Sixtus IV., and added: I choose to deal in the same way with my traitorous subjects. Then he ordered the bugles to sound, and rode off without even saluting the Nuncio.†

In face of Ferrante's insolence, Innocent VIII. seems to have completely lost his head. "Gian Jacopo Trivulzio," the Envoy from Ferrara writes 6th September 1487, "speaks of the pusillanimity, the helplessness, and incapacity of the Pope in the strongest terms, and adds that, if some spirit

* REUMONT, *loc. cit.* The text of the instruction is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1487, n. 10. On the Consistory, see CAPPELLI, 67, and a *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, July 19th. State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* the Modenese despatch in BALAN, 242, note 3, with INFESSURA, 229–30. See also NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 3.

and courage cannot be infused into him, the consequences will be very serious."*

Emboldened by the Pope's weakness, Ferrante's next step was to publish a solemn appeal to a Council.† A few days after the news of this had reached Florence, the Papal secretary Jacopo Gherardi arrived there, with secret instructions to endeavour to bring about a league between Milan and Venice against Naples; as, however, Lorenzo was determined not to fight, and dissuaded the Pope from pronouncing ecclesiastical censures, this came to nothing.‡ In Rome a rumour began to be bruited about in October, that Innocent was preparing a decree of excommunication, interdict, and deposition against Ferrante, but as negotiations with Milan and Florence continued to be kept up, it was inferred that these extreme steps might possibly be avoided and an accommodation arranged.§ Lorenzo had considerable influence with the Pope at that time, for the marriage of Franceschetto Cibò was just about to take place.

On November 13th, the bride entered Rome, accompanied by her mother. On the 18th, the Pope gave a banquet in honour of the bridal pair, and made them a present of jewels worth 10,000 ducats.|| At the beginning of his Pontificate, Innocent had refused to allow Franceschetto to reside in Rome;¶ now with almost incredible

* CAPPELLI, 68; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 247, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* the Reports in BUSER, Lorenzo, 85 *seq.*; and in CAPPELLI, 68, also BALUZE, I., 518 *seq.*

‡ TABARRINI in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VII., 2, 3 *seq.*; X., 2, 3 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 248 *seq.*, ed. 2; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 86 *seq.*

§ **Letter of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, Oct. 25th. State Archives, Modena.

|| BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 275; CAPPELLI, 69; STAFFETTI, 4.

¶ We have this from a very authentic source, viz. a *Letter from Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 12th. *Sono circa tre dì

weakness he celebrated the nuptials in his own palace. The marriage contract was signed on January 20th, 1488.* Lorenzo was vexed at finding that Innocent VIII. shewed no disposition to make an extensive provision for the newly married couple, but his annoyance was still greater at his delay in the bestowal of the Cardinal's Hat which had been promised to his second son Giovanni.†

The marriage of Maddalena with Franceschetto, who was by many years her senior, was not a happy one; though utterly rude and uncultured, Cibò was deeply tainted with the corruption of his time; he cared for nothing but money, in order to squander it in gambling and debauchery; but quite apart from this the alliance between the Cibò and Medici families was a most questionable proceeding. "This was the first time that the son of a Pope had been publicly recognised, and, as it were, introduced on the political stage."‡ Aegidius of Viterbo justly passed a very severe judgment on Innocent VIII. on account of this deplorable aberration.§

chel figliolo de N. S. è venuto qui con poca dimonstratione de S. Sta et sta molto privatamente et per quanto intendo vole parta da qui et vada stare a Napoli o altrove ne li lochi de la chiesa. State Archives, Milan.

* GREGOROVIUS, Archive of the Notaries of the Capitol, 503.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 359 *seq.*, ed. 2; who remarks: "The complaints in the letters addressed by the bride's relations to her father-in-law are more creditable to Innocent VIII. than to those who wrote them."

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 240 *seq.*, ed. 2; STAFFETTI, 5, 8 *seq.*

§ In the November of the following year Innocent VIII. celebrated also in the Vatican the marriage of his grand-daughter Peretta (daughter of Teodorina) with the Genoese merchant Gherardo Usodimare: the Pope himself sat at table at the banquet. See BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 320–22, he remarks: Res hec secreta non fuit, sed per totam urbem divulgata et prescita. Ego non interfui, sed fratre prefati Guillielmi camerarii secreti, qui interfuit, hec mihi referente, notavi, licet contra normam ceremoniarum nostrarum acta sint, que expresse prohibent

CHAPTER III.

Troubles in the Romagna.—Disputes and Final Reconciliation between Rome and Naples.

The Spring of the year 1488 witnessed the outbreak of serious disturbances in the Romagna. On the 14th April Girolamo Riario, who was hated for his brutal tyranny and cruelty, was treacherously murdered by three conspirators. The downfall of the Riario family now seemed inevitable; but Caterina, the courageous consort of the assassinated noble, held the citadel of Forli till it was relieved by the Milanese troops, and thus preserved the government for her young son Ottaviano.*

mulieres esse in convivio cum pontifice. The verdict of Aegidius of Viterbo in his *Hist., XX. saecul. (not complete in Gregorovius, VII., 271, ed. 3), runs thus: Primus pontificum filios filiasque palam ostentavit, primus eorum apertas fecit nupteas, primus domesticos hymeneos celebravit. Utinam ut exemplo prius caruit, ita postea imitatore caruisset (f. 315). On satires upon the nephews of Innocent VIII., see Luzio in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 89, and also Cod. 9846 of the Court Library, Vienna.

* Cipolla, 647; Pasolini, I., 199 *seq.*, 207 *seq.* Little is known of the relations between Girolamo Riario and Innocent VIII., who, soon after his election, had invested him with Imola and Forli. In regard to this matter a * Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, written partly in cypher, dated Rome, 1485, Sept. 17th, which runs thus, is of great interest (the passages in cypher are as follows), * Da bon loco sono avisato che el C. Hieronymo ha facto offerire al papa squadre dece de gente d'arme per la impresa del Reame et lo Papa le ha acceptate. (State Archives, Milan.) I do not know of any confirmation of this statement.

The conspirators had immediately applied to Lorenzo de' Medici and Innocent VIII. for help. The suspicion expressed by Checho Orsi, the real instigator of the conspiracy, that the Pope was implicated in the plot, is without foundation. Apart from the untrustworthiness of the testimony of such a man, Checho refuted himself by asking Lorenzo to act as mediator with the Pope, and to induce him to favour the enterprise.*

Part of the population of Forli eagerly desired to be under the immediate rule of the Church, and despatched envoys to Rome with a petition to the Pope to take the town under his protection. Innocent VIII. in consequence sent troops under the command of the protonotary Bernardino Savelli, from Cesena to Forli; they were, however, captured by the Milanese. Upon this the Pope gave up all further interference, although he had a perfect right to support the party which had formally offered the town to him. Although Girolamo had been most unfriendly to him during the reign of Sixtus IV., Innocent recommended his infant children to the people of Forli, and gave instructions in the same sense to his Envoy, Cardinal Raffaele Riario.†

Innocent VIII. had a special reason for abstaining from interference in the troubles in the Romagna, for just at that time the Neapolitan King was straining every nerve to stir up the cities of the Papal States to rebel against their

* Report of Stefano de Castrocaro in GENNARELLI, 101–3, and THUASNE, I., 521–4. It is also worthy of note that the other assassin, Lodovico Orsi, said in his evidence that no one in the world beside himself, Checho, and the third conspirator had any knowledge of the plot. *Cf.* also PASOLINI, I., 248; III., 116; CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 15, agrees with Pasolini, but he thinks the attitude of Innocent VIII. in regard to the troubles in the Romagna was similar to that of Sixtus IV. towards the Pazzi conspiracy.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 315–16.

rightful ruler. The revolt of the important city of Ancona, which had been apprehended for the last two years, now actually broke out. In the beginning of April 1488, the Council of Ancona hoisted the Hungarian flag on the belfry of the town hall and on the masts of the ships, as a sign that the city had placed itself under the protection of Ferrante's son-in-law, Mathias Corvinus.* If Innocent was not strong enough to retain his hold on his most important seaport on the Adriatic, how useless would it have been for him to think of taking Forli in hand. The reproaches showered upon him by the impetuous Roman chronicler Infessura on this subject, are quite unjust.† If the Pope had responded to the requests of the citizens of Forli, he would have had Florence as well as Milan to contend with. Lorenzo de' Medici said openly that he would rather see Forli in the power of Milan than under the rule of Rome. The Church, he said to the Envoy from Ferrara, was more to be feared at that moment than Venice itself, and this had decided him to assist King Ferrante against the Pope.‡

Innocent VIII. was once more alarmed by another piece of bad news from the Romagna. On the 31st of May Galeotti Manfredi, lord of Faenza, was killed through the jealousy of his wife. This led to disturbances, and for a time war between Florence and Milan seemed imminent. The Pope, through the Bishop of Rimini, did his best to maintain peace.§ In Perugia, also at that time sadly torn with party strife, Innocent laboured in the same cause, but

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 22 *seq.* In the same place the details of the rupture between Ancona and Hungary, which soon followed, will be found.

† INFESSURA, 232, whose "ut fertur," is noteworthy.

‡ CAPPELLI, 72 ; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 270 *seq.*, ed. 2.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 316.

without much success.* In December 1489 he appointed his own brother, Maurizio Cibò, Governor of that city.† This "able and honest" man attempted to bring about a peaceable settlement of these interminable quarrels, but his endeavours were as fruitless as those of Franceschetto Cibò, who was sent to Perugia in July 1488.‡ At the end of October the hereditary feud between the families of Baglione and Oddi broke out afresh, to the great grief of the Pope,§ and filled the unhappy city with rapine and murder. The conflict terminated in the expulsion of the Oddi, and as the Baglioni were expecting military assistance from Ferrante, Innocent VIII. thought it advisable to refrain from stringent measures against them. In November 1488 he sent Cardinal Piccolomini to Perugia, who, by his admirable tact and indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in pacifying and winning over the Baglioni, and thus preserving the city, which seemed on the point of being lost to the Holy See.‖

Cardinal Piccolomini also displayed great skill in adjusting the ancient dispute about the boundary line between Foligno and Spello, and thus freed Innocent VIII. from one cause of anxiety;¶ but, on the other hand, it must

* *Cf.* the * Brief to Perugia, dat. 1487, Januar. 10. Cod. C. IV., 1, of the University Library, Genoa.

† * Brief of 18th Dec., 1487, *loc. cit.* The vice-governor for M. Cibò, who did not go to Perugia till 22nd Feb., 1488 (GRAZIANI, 669), was Angelo da Sutri.

‡ *Cf.* the Papal * Briefs to Perugia, of 9th and 11th July and 22nd Sept. 1488, with GRAZIANI, 670 *seq.* *Cod. cit.* of the University Library, Genoa.

§ *Cf.* * Brief to Perugia of Oct. 31, 1488, *loc. cit.*

‖ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 317; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 279 *seq.*, ed. 2. Regarding the nomination of Piccolomini *cf.* GRAZIANI, 690 *seq.*, and a * Letter from Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1488, Nov. 9. State Archives, Modena.

¶ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 317.

be confessed that Ferrante's attitude of persistent and insolent hostility kept the Pope in a constant fever of alarm and perplexity. "When, in the Spring of 1489, the Spanish Court attempted a mediation, Ferrante did everything in his power to irritate the Pope by attacks on his person and his family, and seemed bent on bringing about an immediate rupture. His conduct can only be explained on the supposition that he thought he might now with impunity vent all his spite against his enemy, or that he wished to provoke a contest which might lead him with a victorious army to the gates of Rome, regardless of the risk that it might also lead a foreign power into Italy. The events of 1495, so fatal to Ferrante's dynasty and kingdom, were thus the results of his own conduct six years earlier It was through no merit of his or of his son, who was worse than himself, nor yet of the Pope, that the catastrophe was delayed for so long. Neither Ferrante nor Innocent had any inkling of what was coming; the one was blinded by his grasping tyranny and pride, the other by his short-sighted weakness. That the impending ruin was averted for the time being, was chiefly due to Lorenzo de' Medici,—a merit which would suffice to outweigh many shortcomings."*

The King of Naples received considerable support in his defiance of Rome from the Hungarian King, Mathias Corvinus, who at that time was trying to get the Turkish Prince Dschem into his own hands. Failing to obtain this through his Ambassador at Rome, Mathias threatened to bring the Turks into Italy. He felt himself bound in honour, he declared to the Papal Nuncio, not to forsake the King of Naples.†

The King of Hungary had not felt it inconsistent with

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 370–71, ed. 2.

† FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 262. On the subject of Dschem, see the following chapter.

his honour to seize Ancona, neither did it now prevent him from tampering with the vassals of the Pope and with the famous condottiere, Giulio Cesare Varano.* He hoped by stirring up a revolt in the Papal States to reduce the Pope to submission. Innocent defended himself as well as he could. In May 1489 he resolved to pronounce the extreme penalties of the Church against Ferrante.† On June 27th Niccolò Orsino, Count of Pitigliano was named Captain-general of the Church. Three days later Ferrante was threatened with excommunication if he did not carry out the stipulations contained in the Treaty of Peace within two months.‡ Ferrante shewed no greater inclination than before, either to pay the tribute, to release the Barons, or to abstain from interference in ecclesiastical matters; and Innocent VIII. thought the time had come to adopt decisive measures. He relied on the assistance of foreign powers, and was encouraged in this hope by Cardinal de La Balue.§ Charles VIII. of France and Maximilian of Austria had just concluded a peace at Frankfort-on-Main (July 1489). "Might not the two reconciled Princes combine together as loyal sons of the Church to restore order in Italy and then begin the crusade against the Turks? Might not one or other of these Princes, on behalf of Genoa or Milan, bring pressure to bear on Lodovico and oblige him to give up his ambiguous attitude towards the Pope and render him hearty and effective support against Naples? Could Ferrante still hold out if he saw the whole of Christendom ranged on the side of the Pope?" Anticipations such as these certainly corresponded very little with the real state

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 262–3.

† *Cf.* the letter of PIER VETTORI, Florentine Ambassador at Naples, of May 30th, 1489. Av. il princ., LI., n. 8. State Archives, Florence.

‡ INFESSURA, 245; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 360.

§ FORGEOT, J. Balue, 136.

of affairs, but were nevertheless cherished in Rome, especially by the sanguine Cardinal de La Balue and by some of the French Envoys.* From Spain Innocent VIII. also expected assistance.†

At the beginning of September 1489, the term assigned to the King of Naples had expired. On the 11th of that month, the Pope held a Consistory, to which all the Ambassadors at Rome were invited. In a lengthy discourse Innocent VIII. explained the historical and legal relations between Naples and the Holy See. He set forth in detail the behaviour of the two last Kings towards the Church, and especially Ferrante's refusal to pay the dues for his fief, and to fulfil his treaty obligations, and he enlarged on the consequences of these acts. Then the notary of the Apostolic Chamber read a document drawn up in the last Secret Consistory, which declared Ferrante to have forfeited his crown, and Naples to have fallen to the Holy See as an escheated fief. The Neapolitan Ambassador, who was present, asked for a copy of this document, and for permission to read a reply in defence of his master, to which the Pope consented. The defence explained the reasons why the King did not hold himself bound to pay the tribute, and stated that he

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 269–271; FORGEOT, *loc. cit.* Innocent VIII. had a claim on Maximilian's gratitude, having previously used his influence to release the King out of the hands of the rebels in Flanders; see Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, XXII., 158; MOLINET, Chroniques, ed. Buchon, III., 294. We can see from a despatch, in CAPPELLI, 70, overlooked by Ulmann, how the French were still intriguing at the Papal Court against Maximilian I.; this despatch confirms the historian's conjecture, that it was owing to French influence that Maximilian's confirmation was only conditionally granted by Rome on the Peace of Frankfort; *cf. infra.*

† LANFREDINI'S Report of Oct. 23rd, 1489, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XV., 296–7.

had already appealed to "the Council." According to him the right of convoking a Council had, on account of the Pope's opposition, devolved on the Emperor; consequently that of Basle having been illegally dissolved, was still sitting. It was no difficult matter for the Bishop of Alessandria to shew the untenability of King Ferrante's position, whereupon the Neapolitan Ambassador declined all further discussion, and the Pope closed the Consistory.*

War between Rome and Naples now seemed inevitable, for the only effect of the Pope's energetic proceedings was to make Ferrante still more obstinate and defiant. In October 1489 he had written to Charles VIII., who had tried to dissuade him from making war against Rome, that far from having any thought of taking up arms against the Holy See, his sentiments towards it were those of the most filial devotion and submission.† His conduct in the following years shewed how much these hypocritical declarations were worth. He tried ineffectually to turn Maximilian against Rome, by sending him a pamphlet in which the life of the Pope and of his Court were depicted in the darkest colours.‡ His language to Innocent VIII. himself was invariably scornful and menacing. In January 1490, he announced that he would send the palfrey to Rome, but not a farthing of the tribute money, and that he would not

* On the Consistory of Sept. 11, 1489, of which INFESSURA, 250, and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 364, give short and inexact accounts (Burchard says quite honestly: non interfui, etc.), I consulted a very detailed and as yet unpublished ** Report of the Ferrarese Envoy Arlotti, dat. ex urbe die 11th Septemb., 1489. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* in the same place a * Letter from Arlotti of Sept. 15, 1489, and a * Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 1489, Sept. 12th. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 12–13.

‡ INFESSURA, 256; LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest, N. 1415, 1417, 1419.

pardon a single one of his nobles.* In May a Neapolitan Envoy said at Florence, that his master would no longer put up with the overbearing and discourteous conduct of the Pope; if the latter persisted in his unjustifiable demands, the King would appear in Rome in person, with spur and lance, and answer him in a way which would make his Holiness understand his error.† All the great Powers seemed to have abandoned the Head of the Church, and this emboldened Ferrante to treat him in this shameful manner. The aged Emperor Frederick admonished the Neapolitans in March to make peace,‡ but like his son Maximilian, he was too much occupied with his own affairs to take an active interest in those of the Pope. In Italy no one stirred a finger to protect the Holy See against the insults which Ferrante so persistently heaped upon it, and Innocent VIII. complained bitterly of this to the Florentine, Pandolfini. "In deference to the representations of the Italian powers," he said "he had shewn great indulgence to Ferrante. The only result had been that the King became more and more insolent, while the Powers stood by and allowed him to insult the Pope as much as he pleased. If the Italians cared so little for his honour he should be driven to look abroad for protection. Never, Pandolfini adds, had he seen the Pope so moved. He did his best to calm him, and represented to him that his

* CHERRIER, I., 341.

† Report of the Ferrarese Envoy in CAPPELLI, 80. On the conduct of the Neapolitan Envoy, who threatened to determine his claim to precedence by force of arms, *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 410 *seq.*, and * Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1490, May 30th. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Emperor Frederick III. to King Ferrante, dat. Linz, 1490, March 29th. The original in the House, Court, and State Archives at Vienna, *Romana*, I., is not mentioned in CHMEL'S Regesten, nor in the Regesten of LICHNOWSKY, VIII., nor, as far as I can see, printed anywhere.

patience would be rewarded, and that he might count on the support of Florence, Milan, and Venice. But Innocent would not hear him out. He was perpetually put off with words, he exclaimed. Florence was the only power on whom he could reckon, Sforza's vacillation made Milan useless, and Venice would never do anything. He was resolved to make an end of this. He would excommunicate the King, denounce him as a heretic, and lay his kingdom under Interdict. He would call upon all the States of the League to bear witness that he had ample justification for what he was doing; and if Ferrante made war upon him, as he had threatened, and no one would help him, he would take refuge abroad, where he would be received with open arms and assisted to get back what belonged to him; and this would bring shame and harm on some people. Unless he could uphold the dignity of the Holy See, it was impossible for him to remain in Italy. If he were to be abandoned by the Italian States, it would be out of the question for him to resist Ferrante, on account both of the insufficiency of the resources of the Church and the disloyalty of the Roman Barons, who would be delighted to see him in trouble. He held himself to be fully justified in leaving Italy, if the dignity of the Holy See could be safeguarded in no other way. Other Popes had done this and had returned with honour."*

Thus a repetition of the exile of Avignon seemed imminent, for France was the country to which Innocent VIII. would have turned. The position of the Pope was indeed almost intolerable. Each day brought fresh alarms of hostile action on the part of Ferrante; in July came the news that Naples had induced Benevento to throw off its

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 377-8, ed. 2. The original text of Pandolfini's Report of July 28, 1490, is in FABRONIUS, II., 353-8.

allegiance.* A few months later, accounts arrived that Ferrante was intriguing with the Colonna, in order to win them to his interest.† Just at this time Innocent VIII., who had been far from well in August,‡ had an attack of fever, and was so seriously ill that he received the last Sacraments, which he did with great devotion. He rallied a little for a time, but grew worse again, and was given over by his physician.§ On the 26th September it was reported in Rome that the Pope was dead. The news seemed so certain that the Envoy from Ferrara sent a special messenger to Ferrara to announce it.‖ On the following

* *Die ultima Julii, 1490, L'è venuto lettere de Benivento che la terra è ribellata contra pontificem pro rege Ferdinando, tamen ancor non si crede. *Commiss. S. D. N. Pape ad episc. Tarvisin. Codex N. 90 (chart. saec. XV.), f. 32b. (Town Library, Verona.) *Cf.* also INFESSURA, 258, and LEOSTELLO, 351.

† DESJARDINS, I., 438, note 2.

‡ THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 273.

§ *Report of Giov. Lucido Cataneo, dat. Rome, Sept. 21, 1490 :— The Pope has febra continua e vehemente. Sept. 24: The Pope is better vero che la Sta S. ha habuto molto de sbatere e se communicho cum multa devotione tanto quanto dir se possa. Sept. 25 : There is an improvement in the Pope's condition, but he still has fever. Sept. 26 : The Pope is suffering an catarro e si tene da i medici per spiaciuto. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the precarious state of the Pope's health, *cf. supra*, pp. 247, 259, and (1) Arlotti's *Reports of Nov. 29, 1488. The Pope was ill. Dec. 8 : The Pope is well again. (2)* Card. A. Sforza, Rome, May 30, 1490 : The Pope is poorly. (State Archives, Milan.) (3) On the 15th Aug., 1490, the Venetian Envoy gives such a bad account of the condition of Innocent VIII. that the Government on the 20th send him instructions as to what he is to do in case the Pope dies. Mon. Hung., IV., 263.

‖ I found Arlotti's *Despatch on the subject, dated Rome, Sept. 26, 1490, in the State Archives at Modena. It is marked on the outside : Subito, subito ; cito, cito. *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 7 (Despatch of Sept. 26). The dates in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 289, ed. 3, and CREIGHTON, III., 136 (who quotes Infessura, 260), are therefore erroneous.

morning Rome was like a camp; every one armed in preparation for the disturbances which would probably follow. Franceschetto Cibò attempted to take advantage of the prevailing confusion to get hold of the papal treasure and of Prince Dschem, who was then residing in the Vatican, with the object of selling him by means of Virginio Orsini to Ferrante. Fortunately the Cardinals were on their guard, and the attempt failed. An inventory was drawn up of the papal treasures, and Cardinal Savelli was given charge of the monies.* The report of Innocent's death was soon found to be false. He had had something of the nature of a stroke which had brought him very near death, but on the 28th he had already begun to recover† and is said to have declared that he still hoped to outlive all the Cardinals. There did not seem, however, much likelihood of this, for his health continued very feeble. He hoped to find restoration in the bracing air of Porto d'Anzio and Ostia, but it was not to be. On his return to Rome on the 30th November, it seemed at first as if he had benefited a little from the change,‡ but a few days later the Mantuan Envoy writes that he has had a fresh attack of fever.§ In blaming Innocent VIII. for the vacillation and weakness of his conduct, allowances should be made for the state of his health, and also for the financial difficulties which hampered him through the whole of his Pontificate.‖

* *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in DESJARDINS, I., 484, n. 2 (the editor has erroneously placed it in the year 1491), and INFESSURA, 260–61. The accounts here given—of course with the observation *ut fertur*—of the great amount of his treasure are untrustworthy, and contradict all other reliable statements on the point; *cf. infra.*

† Arlotti's *Report, dat. Rome, Sept. 28, 1490. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Arlotti's *Letter, dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490. State Archives, Modena.

§ *El papa sta cum la quartana a modo usato hora mancho male hora piu, G. L. Cataneo, Rome, Dec. 3, 1490. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ *Cf. infra*, Chap. VI.

Under these circumstances active measures against Naples were out of the question. Ferrante was well aware of this, and calmly persisted in his outrageous conduct. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul this year, as in 1485, the palfrey was sent without the tribute, and was returned, in spite of the protest of the Neapolitan Envoy.* According to Sigismondo de' Conti the Pope at this time still hoped for support from Florence and Milan. It seems strange that he could have continued to cherish such futile expectations, but it appears that he was not finally undeceived until the conduct of these States, on the occasion of the disputes between Ascoli and Fermo, had made further illusions impossible. In 1487 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had done his best to restore order and make peace, but in vain, and the strife had been going on ever since from bad to worse. In the Summer of 1491 the people of Ascoli had attacked Offida; the Vice-Legate of the Marches was besieged and a Papal Envoy was murdered. In August, Innocent despatched Cardinal de La Balue and Niccolò Orsini of Pitigliano with a body of troops to punish this crime, and put an end to the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the district. They took Monte Brandone, and would soon have reduced the people of Ascoli to order, but for the intervention of Virginio Orsini at the head of a Neapolitan force. Innocent now applied to Venice, Milan, and Florence for help, but with absolutely no result. These powers were, on the contrary, determined to do everything in their power to hinder the pacification of the Papal State and weaken the power of the Pope.† Lorenzo's participation in these intrigues and also his action in securing the

* CAPPELLI, 81.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 32; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 415; BALAN, V., 250 *seq.* For Ferrante's unblushing denial of his implication in the Ascoli disturbances, see TRINCHERA, II., 1, 1 *seq.*

victory for the Baglioni in Perugia shew his character in a very unfavourable light, considering his relationship to the Pope, and the many favours that he had received from him.*

These painful experiences, reinforced by the entreaties of the Romans and the Cardinals, at last induced Innocent to consent to make direct overtures to Ferrante for an accommodation;† and the King, alarmed at the increasingly intimate relations which were growing up between France and the Holy See, in reply offered better terms than could have been expected. Gioviano Pontano came to Rome in December, and, though there were many difficulties to overcome, an agreement was at last effected, which was announced in a Secret Consistory on the 29th January 1492.‡ The conditions were that the imprisoned Barons were to be tried and judged by the Pope; that the King was to pay 36,000 ducats down for his fief, and for the future to maintain 2,000 horsemen and 5 triremes for the service of the Church, and to continue as before the annual present of the palfrey.§

From this moment Ferrante's behaviour towards the

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 31–3, represents Innocent's decision as having been determined by the conduct of the Italian powers in the affairs of Ascoli, and he is fully corroborated by the Reports of the Ferrarese Envoys in BALAN, V., 251, n. 1. Accordingly REUMONT, II., 380, ed. 2, who has entirely overlooked Balan's work, requires correction on this point.

‡ CAPPELLI, 82; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 442; TALLARIGO, Pontano, 234 *seq.* (Napoli, 1874); THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 289 *seq.*; NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 4 *seq.*, and a *Letter from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, Feb. 15, 1492. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The date in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 10, is incorrect.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 33; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 233; and THUASNE, *loc. cit.*, 293.

Pope underwent a complete transformation. Amidst effusive professions of gratitude and devotion he commenced negotiations for a family alliance between himself and Innocent VIII. He proposed that his grandson, Don Luigi of Aragon, should marry Battistina, a daughter of Teodorina and Gherardo Usodimare. Fear of France was the cause of the complete change of front; the wily King saw at once how dangerous the growth of this rising power must be to his kingdom; and, in addition to this, there was the other danger from the Turks. Ferrante despatched an Envoy to Innocent VIII. to discuss this subject.* On the 27th May, Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, son of Alfonso of Calabria and Ferrante's grandson, came to Rome and was received with royal honours.† A chronicler of the time says that he will not attempt to describe the splendours of this reception as no one would believe him,‡ and the contemporaneous reports of the Envoys corroborate his statement. A banquet, given by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, which lasted six hours, seems to have surpassed in sumptuousness anything hitherto imagined. Dramatic performances were included in the pleasures provided for the guests.§ The entertainment given in honour of the betrothal

* *Cf. infra*, Chap. 4.

† In addition to BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 477; and The *Chronicle of PARENTI (National Library, Florence), see also G. A. Boccaccio's *Report, dat. Rome, May 27, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

‡ INFESSURA, 273–4.

§ *El rev^mo Mons. Ascanio fa uno apparato quodammodo incredibile per honorare el dicto principe a casa soa ad uno pranso che sera tuto il giorno; fa cuprire tute quelle strade et cosi il cortillo com quello suo orto guasto dove se farà el pranso con uno apparato regale et dove se recitarano molte comedie et representacione; non se attende ad altro se non de fare una cosa singulare ali di nostri. Second *Letter of G. A. Boccaccio, on May 27. *Cf.* **Report of June 5, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

of Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò furnished an occasion for a fresh display of magnificence in the Vatican itself.* But all this time, side by side with these festivities, serious negotiations were going on. The object of Ferdinand's visit was to obtain for himself the investiture of Naples, and thus secure the succession for the family. This, the French Envoys, who were then in Rome on important business for the King of France, did their utmost to prevent. They had been sent thither on account of Anna, the heiress of the Duchy of Brittany, who had been betrothed by procuration to Maximilian, King of the Romans. Charles VIII., anxious to get possession of this important province, had carried her off, and now required a Papal dispensation to set her free from her betrothal; and other dispensations were also needed, as Charles was himself betrothed to Margaret of Burgundy, and was also related to Anna. These dispensations were granted, but privately, and disavowed by Innocent and the Ambassadors.†

The French King was encouraged by this success to hope that he might also be able to hinder the investiture of Ferdinand. In the Spring of 1492, the Master of the Horse, Perron de Baschi, came to Rome ostensibly on other business, but in reality for this purpose, and to request that it might be conferred on France.‡

But, accommodating as the Pope had shewn himself in regard to the dispensations, this was quite another matter, and Baschi's mission failed utterly. On the 4th June, in a Secret Consistory, a Bull was read regulating the Neapolitan succession. It provided that Ferrante's son Alfonso was to succeed him, and in the event of Alfonso predeceasing his

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 487–8.

† ULMANN, Maximilian I., I., 124 *seq.*, 139 *seq*; *cf.* also GRAUERT, Hist. Jahrb., VII., 451.

‡ BUSER, Beziehungen, 304, 531 *seq.*

father, the Prince of Capua.* The French Ambassador wished to enter a protest against this, but, by the Pope's orders, was refused admission to the Consistory.†

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 488; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 34; *PARENTI, Chronicle (National Library. Florence): RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492. n. 11–13; BORGIA, Dom. temp. nelle due Sicilie, 198–9. Roma, 1789

† TRINCHERA, I., 115–6.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.—THE TURKISH PRINCE.—PRINCE DSCHEM IN ROME. — THE FALL OF GRANADA. — DEATH OF THE POPE.

OF all the evil consequences produced by the disputes between Naples and the Holy See, which lasted throughout almost the whole of the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., the worst was their effect in checking the war against the Turks.

Disturbing news from the East was perpetually arriving. Just at the time of the Papal election the hordes of Sultan Bajazet had overrun Moldavia and conquered the two important strongholds of Kilia and Akjerman.* Deeply impressed by this event, and by further news of an increase in the Turkish navy, Innocent VIII., immediately after his election, issued an address to the Italian States and all the European powers, pointing out the magnitude of the danger which threatened the Church and western civilisation, and asking for immediate assistance to repel it. He summoned all the Christian States to send Ambassadors as soon as possible to Rome, provided with full powers to decide on the measures to be adopted, as the situation was so serious as to brook no delay.† This Encyclical is dated Nov. 21,

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 220.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 61, from the *Lib. brev. 18, f. 63, to which is added : *Similia regi Ferdinando, duci Mediol., Florent., duci Sabaudiae, duci Ferrariae, march. Mantuae, march. Montisferrati, card. et duci ac ant. Januen., imperatori, regi Franciae, duci Britaniae, duci Maxi-

1484, and on the same day a special letter was despatched to Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who was at war with the Emperor Frederick, admonishing him to put forth all his strength against the enemy of the Faith.* About the same time the Pope wrote to Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Castile, desiring him to protect Sicily, which belonged to him, and was threatened by the Turks.† He also exerted himself to have measures taken for the defence of Rhodes, and in February 1485 proposed to the King of Naples a detailed scheme for the protection of the Italian sea-board from the Turkish ships. A fleet of 60 triremes and 20 ships of burden would be necessary to defray the expense of this, Naples and Milan should contribute 75,000 ducats, Florence 30,000, Ferrara and Siena 6000, Montserrat and Lucca 2000, Piombino 1000. It boded no good for the success of this plan when Florence, with all her wealth, found a flimsy pretext for evading her share of the assessment. Plenty of money was forthcoming for the war with Genoa, but all the Pope's warnings as to the far greater importance of that against the Turks, on which the preservation of Italy and the Christian Faith depended, fell on deaf ears.‡ In the beginning of 1485, Innocent VIII. wrote again to Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile on the defence of the Sicilian coast, and meanwhile set a good example himself by taking energetic measures to strengthen the fortifications of his own ports on the Adriatic, and more

mil., regi Angliae, regi Hispaniae, regi Scotiae, regi Datiae, regi Portugalliae, regi Poloniae, duci Saxoniae, march. Brandeb., comiti Palat. Rheni, Joh. archiepisc. Treviren., Hermano archiepisc. Colon., Bertoldo archiep. Mogunt., ad confederatos, duci Austriae, duci Bavariae, Senensibus, Lucensibus. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 501–2; and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 62–3.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 67–8, *cf.* 69 and 71.

‡ *Ibid.*, ad an. 1485, n. 4.

especially of Ancona. The Legate of the Marches, Cardinal Orsini, the Governor of Fano, and finally the citizens of Ancona, all received stringent orders to this effect.* When, in April, more reassuring news arrived, according to which no attack was to be apprehended from the Turks in that year, the Legate was desired by no means to relax his efforts on this account.†

The disputes which arose between Rome and Naples in the Summer of 1485 had the effect of completely shelving the question of the Turkish war. The Pope was obliged to content himself with providing for the defence of his own sea-board and doing what he could to assist the numerous refugees who were fleeing northwards to escape the Turks.‡ From this time forward Innocent VIII. was always in such difficulties that he ceased to be able to give effective attention to these larger questions. The ink of the Treaty of Peace concluded between him and Ferrante in August 1486,

* *Legato Marchie, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Januarii 22): Varii rumores quottidie afferuntur de apparatibus Turci qui in Italiam venire meditatur et diverse etiam rationes extant ut id credatur. Measures were to be taken for the defence of the coast, and more especially of Ancona. Lib. brev. 18, f. 105; *ibid.*, f. 114; Anconitatis, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Febr. 1); *ibid.*, f. 115b; *Gubernatori Fani, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Febr. 4). (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 126 *seq.*

† *Bapt. Card. de Ursinis, legato Marchie, dat. Romae, vi. Aprilis, 1485. Lib. brev. 18, f. 163. In June of the following year some Turkish vessels appeared in the Adriatic, and a *Brief of June 12, 1486, warns the Governor of the Marches to watch the coast. Lib. brev. 19, f. 416. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* *Brief to the Legato Marchie Anconitane, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Oct. 18): Placet nobis admodum quod provideri feceris locis maritimis provincie ob Turcorum incursionem. Lib. brev. 19, f. 21. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* the resolution of the Senate of Loreto for protecting the church containing the Holy House, against the Turks, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 419 *seq.* On piracy, *cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 481 *seq.*; on Innocent VIII.'s pensioners, GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 63, 203.

was hardly dry before the King had violated all its provisions. In the following year Innocent had the distress of seeing the Lord of Osimo, Boccolino Guzzone, allying himself with the Sultan in order to incite him to attack the Marches.* Harassed as he was, however, the Pope still clung to the project of a Crusade. In December 1486, Raymond Peraudi (Perauld) was sent to the court of the Emperor Frederick, who at that time was not well disposed towards Innocent, and the Carmelite, Gratiano da Villanova, to that of Maximilian. Contrary to all expectation, both Princes were inclined to listen favourably to the Pope's proposals for a Crusade.† Upon this, Innocent on the 27th of May, 1486, published a Bull in which he described "the danger from the Turks," which menaced both Germany and Italy, and expressed his determination to leave no means untried whereby all Christendom might be roused and encouraged to resist them. He announced the willingness of the Emperor and other kings and princes to undertake a Crusade, and decreed that a tithe of one year's revenue should be levied for this purpose on all churches, incumbencies, and benefices, and all ecclesiastical persons of whatever rank, and whether secular or regular, throughout the provinces of the Empire. Raymond Peraudi and Gratiano da Villanova were nominated collectors-general of this tax, and endowed with the usual faculties and privileges.‡

* *Cf. supra*, p. 262.

† SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 10; and GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 450.

‡ GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 450 (drawn from Vatican sources). *Cf.* CHMEL, Reg., 8001. A Papal Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dated 1487, s. die, summoning him to assist in the Crusade, no doubt belongs to this time; unfortunately it is a good deal torn. The original is in the State Archives, Modena. Probably the embassy from Henry VII. of England—who was at that time on very good terms with Innocent—which arrived in Rome on May 8, 1487 (see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 182 *seq.*),

In Germany Peraudi made an excellent impression. Trithemius says that "he was a man of spotless life and morals, and of singularly blameless character, in every respect. He had an immense love of justice and a genuine contempt for worldly honours and riches. I know of no one like him in our day." Such praise seems almost extravagant; but all the German Princes and learned men with whom Peraudi came in contact, express themselves in similar terms.* He was burning with zeal for the Crusade, but here he was doomed to bitter disappointment. The political confusion throughout the Empire and the egoism of the States was too great; neither laity nor clergy were in a state of mind to be capable of apprehending any general interest. In this matter he accomplished very little.

On the 26th June, 1487, Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, and the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they begged to be exempted from the proposed tithe. They said it would be impossible for them to pay this in addition to the requisitions for maintaining the personal dignity of the Emperor. "We abstain," they say, "from mentioning the permanent charges which the Church has to bear, and which are by no means insignificant; but frequent wars, and the oppression and extortions which the Church and the clergy have had to endure for so long, have brought them so low that

had also to do with the Crusade. In 1487 and 1489 Henry VII. consented to the publication of Papal Bulls on the Crusade, but the Papal collectors had but small success, and got little help from the Court. See BUSCH, England, I., 243–388.

* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 1–2, where the original document is given. Florez speaks unfavourably of him, and calls him vain and garrulous (BROWN, State Papers, I., 191); but as he was an opponent, his opinion is not an impartial one. At any rate, even if he were not entirely devoid of vanity and a little too fond of talk, it is evident that Peraudi made a good impression in Germany.

neither in the churches nor personally are they able to maintain the splendour of former days, and it is to be feared that they will soon be completely ruined. Your Holiness can imagine of what men become capable when they are driven to such straits. They persuade themselves that all things are allowable, just or unjust, good or bad, for extreme need knows no law."*

According to Trithemius, the clergy in all parts of the Empire held meetings to deliberate on what was to be done, and finally resolved to appeal from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed.† The resistance was so great that Innocent was forced to give up the imposition of the tithe in Germany.‡ He did not give up the Crusade, and since next to nothing was to be got from Germany he now turned to France. On the 16th November, 1487, the Envoys to the French Court, Lionello Cheregato of Vicenza, Bishop of Traù, and a Spaniard, Antonio Florez, started from Rome.§ On the 20th January, 1488, Cheregato delivered a stirring address, in the Royal Palace at Paris,

* MÜLLER, Reichstagstheat. Friedr. III., 130 *seq.*; Gesch. d. Nuntien, II., 700–711; WEISS, Berthold von Henneberg, 12; GEBHARDT, 58. On the grievances which the Emperor at that time had against the Pope, *cf.* JANSSEN, Reichscorresp., II., 477 *seq.*, and Forsch. zur Deutschen Gesch., XX., 157.

† TRITHEMIUS, II., 529; WEISS, *loc. cit.*

‡ GROTEFEND, Quellen, I., 46.

§ GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 451, makes Nov. 13 the date of their departure; but Bonfr. Arlotti, who is always well-informed, says in a *Despatch of Nov. 17, 1487, that the Envoys to France had started "yesterday." (State Archives, Modena.) Here, as also in a Report in CAPPELLI (69), which has not hitherto been noticed by any historian, it is stated that the Envoys, besides the inauguration of the Crusade, were commissioned to endeavour to negotiate the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction. *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 22, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 184. THUASNE (174) erroneously puts off the departure of the Nuncios till the first days of December.

before Charles VIII., on the Turkish question. Referring to the glorious feats of arms accomplished by the King's predecessors and the Popes in the past times against the Turks, he contrasted in glowing terms those days with the present. "In the days of your forefathers, who went forth to fight against the Crescent and for the Christian Faith, who would have thought it possible that we should be coming here to-day to urge you to come to the rescue of Italy and the States of the Church from those same inhuman enemies of the Christian name?"

In order to shew how great the danger was, the Nuncio referred to Boccolino Guzzoni's attempted treason. Its failure had only made the Sultan still more eager to attack Italy. The Italian States were not strong enough to defend themselves single-handed, and therefore the Pope required assistance from the other Christian Powers. They would not be able to give this help unless they were at peace among themselves, and therefore Innocent urged the King to use his influence to put an end to the present deplorable divisions. As these wars were evidently a Divine chastisement brought upon nations through the faults of the Princes and people, now was the time for the King to reform the abuses which had crept into ecclesiastical affairs in France. The way in which Cheregato expressed himself on this subject confirms the statement, which we have from other sources, that he had instructions to endeavour to combat the anti-Roman spirit which found its chief expression in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction. Finally, he strongly urged that the well-known unfortunate Prince Dschem, who had been brought to France by the Grand Master of Rhodes in 1482, should be handed over to the Pope.*

* CHEREGATO'S speech was printed in Rome (probably by Steph. Plank) the same year, and was republished in the App. of SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 428 *seq.*

Later, the task of the Nuncios was rendered much more difficult by the course of events in Flanders, where, ever since the 1st of February, 1488, Maximilian had been a prisoner in the hands of his subjects. At the request of the Emperor, the Pope, through the Archbishop of Cologne, laid an Interdict on the rebels.* When the news reached the French Court, it was observed there that as Flanders belonged to France so severe a punishment ought not to have been imposed without consulting Charles VIII., and also that it was undeserved, as the Flemings had just grounds of complaint against Maximilian.† The anti-Roman party made great capital out of the event. "The Royal Advocate, Johannes Magistri, an enemy of God and of the Holy See," writes Cheregato from Tours on the 16th May, 1488, "is delighted at the Interdict, because it gives him an opportunity of calumniating the Holy See."‡ Later, Raymond Peraudi was sent to France to support Cheregato. Being a Frenchman, and having had great influence with Louis XI., he seemed the best person to make peace between Charles VIII. and Maximilian. From France Peraudi hastened back to Germany to promote the convocation of the States-General, which was to assemble at Frankfort-on-Main.§

The Assembly at Frankfort was opened on the 6th July, 1489. A Brief addressed to it depicts the extremity of the danger in eloquent language. "The Popes had made every possible effort to induce the Christian Princes and nations to unite together to repel their hereditary foe. Was all to

* *Cf. supra*, p. 277, note *, and also THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 405 *seq.*; and Frederick III.'s letter to the College of Cardinals, in VALENTINELLI, Lettere Lat. di Principi Austriaci. Venezia, 1856.

† Cheregato's Report in LJUBIČ, 51.

‡ LJUBIČ, 59.

§ SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 12–14.

be in vain? The matter admitted of no further delay, and Innocent urged the Princes to send Envoys as soon as possible to Rome, with adequate powers to agree together upon a plan of concerted operations. It was essential that all jealousies and disputes should be laid aside, and his Legates would do all in their power to bring this about. Not only would he devote all the resources of the Holy See to the expedition, but, if it were deemed advisable, he would himself accompany it. He had written in the same sense to all the Christian Princes, and hoped that they, as well as the Germans, would not refuse to attend to his paternal warnings and prayers."* These stirring words were ably seconded by Peraudi's diplomatic skill, and within ten days he had succeeded in inducing the King of the Romans and the French Envoys then in Frankfort, to come to terms.†

During the following months Peraudi was occupied in proclaiming the Indulgence for the Crusade in Germany, and assisting the Papal Nuncio to the Court of Hungary, Bishop Angelo d'Orte, in his negotiations to bring about a reconciliation between Mathias Corvinus and the Emperor. These were so far successful that, on the 19th of February, 1490, a truce was agreed to which was to last till the 8th of September.‡

* GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 452. The zeal of the Pope for the Crusade is also manifested in a *Brief to Lucca of April 12, 1489. State Archives, Lucca, Arm. 6, n. 429.

† DU MONT, III., 2, 237. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 362; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Lettres de Philippe de Commines, II., 68 *seq.*; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 14 *seq.*; ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 70. On Peraudi's Letter of Indulgence of the year 1489, see Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Feldkirch, 1860, p. 186 *seq.*; on another of the year 1490, Serapeum (1849) p. 330.

‡ SCHNEIDER, *loc. cit.*, 14–19; ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 82; FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 266.

Before the opening of the Assembly at Frankfort, Innocent had achieved a signal success in a matter which was very closely connected with the Crusade; he had obtained possession of the person of the man upon whom, according to the general opinion, the prospects of the whole enterprise would depend. This was the famous Prince Dschem, who, on account of disputes in regard to the succession, had been obliged to fly from his own country and had taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes.* He had arrived in the island in 1482. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, at once saw the use that could be made of the Prince for keeping the Sultan in check. He agreed with Bajazet to keep the Prince in safe custody in consideration of an annual payment of 45,000 ducats, and as long as friendly relations were maintained between the Sultan and himself.† Ever since then, Dschem had lived on a demesne belonging to the Knights in Auvergne. During this time Charles VIII. of France, the Kings of Hungary and Naples, Venice, and Innocent VIII. had all been endeavouring severally to get the Grand Turk, as he was called, into their own hands.

As early as the year 1485 the Pope had made great efforts in this direction;‡ but he had been unsuccessful, his enemy Ferrante having found means to counteract all his endeavours.§ At last, the Papal Nuncios in France, Lionello Cheregato and Antonio Florez, succeeded in obtaining possession of the Prince, but at the cost of large

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 4, and especially THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 3 *seq.* On one of Dschem's predecessors, see PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, II., 262, Anm. 4, 2te Aufgabe.

† THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 84 *seq.*; FORGEOT, J. Balue, 143.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 12; ZINKEISEN, II., 484; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 131 *seq.*

§ FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 221.

concessions on the side of Rome. The Grand-Master received a Cardinal's Hat for himself and important rights and immunities for his Order. The French King was won over by the elevation of the Archbishop of Bordeaux (afterwards of Lyons) to the Cardinalate, and apparently also a promise that, by delaying the granting of the necessary dispensations, a hindrance should be put in the way of the marriage of Anne of Brittany with the rich Alain d'Albret.* The treaty concluded between Innocent and the Knights of S. John, with the consent of Charles VIII., provided that "the Prince, for his personal security, should retain a body-guard of Knights of Rhodes, while the Pope was to receive the pension of 45,000 ducats hitherto paid to the Order for the maintenance of Prince Dschem, but to pledge himself to pay 10,000 ducats if he should hand over his charge to any other monarch without the consent of the King of France."†

The King of Naples was almost out of his mind with rage when he heard of the Pope's success, and meditated all sorts of impossible plans for seizing Dschem during the course of his journey from France to Rome.‡ Meanwhile the voyage was safely accomplished, and on the 6th of March, 1489, the Prince landed at Civita Vecchia, where, on the 10th, he was handed over to Cardinal de La Balue by his custodian, Guido de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne.§ On the evening of the 13th March the son of the conqueror

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 261–62; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 173 *seq.*; LJUBIČ, 56; CHERRIER, I., 187. On the nominations of the Cardinals, see *infra*, Chap. V.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 485. Other accounts make the Pension only 40,000 ducats. See HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 513, note 1.

‡ Mon. Hung., IV., 6; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 335; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 226; FORGEOT, 145 *seq*

of the Rome of the East entered the Eternal City by the Porta Portese. All Rome was astir; so large a crowd had assembled that it was with the greatest difficulty that a path could be cleared through the throng for the cortège. The mob were insatiable in feasting their eyes on the unaccustomed sight, and were penetrated with the belief that it betokened an escape from a great danger. A prophecy had been current throughout Christendom that the Sultan would come to Rome and take up his abode in the Vatican. Great was the relief and joy when it was seen to be so happily fulfilled in so unexpected a manner.*

By the Pope's orders Dschem was received with royal honours. At the gates he was met by a deputation of members of the households of the Cardinals (amongst whom, however, there were none of the rank of a Prelate), the Foreign Envoys, the President of the Senate, and Franceschetto Cibò. "The son of Mahomet disdained to vouchsafe them a single glance. With his head enveloped in a turban and his gloomy countenance veiled, he sat almost motionless on the white palfrey of the Pope." The only sign which he gave of being aware of the greetings of which he was the object was a slight inclination of the head, and he hardly noticed the gifts, consisting of 700 ducats and brocaded stuffs, which were sent to him by the Pope. He rode in stolid silence between Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The long procession, with the truly Oriental tokens of respect from the Envoy of the Sultan of Egypt, passed slowly across the Isola di S. Bartolomeo and along the Piazza Giudea and the Campo di Fiore to the Papal Palace, where the Prince

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 325; BUSER, Beziehungen, 262, erroneously makes the date of Dschem's arrival March 30. SIGISMONDO, *loc. cit.*, is equally mistaken in making it March 15.

was conducted to the apartments reserved for royal guests.*

The next day an open Consistory was held, at the close of which the Pope received the Grand Turk. Prince Dschem was conducted into the hall by Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The customary ceremonial was dispensed with, in order that nothing might be done which would dishonour the Prince in the eyes of his countrymen. Making a slight inclination and laying his right hand on his chin, Dschem went up to the Pope and kissed his right shoulder. He addressed Innocent VIII. through an interpreter, and informed him that he looked upon it as a great favour from God to have been permitted to behold him; when he could see the Pope in private he would be able to impart to him some things which would be advantageous to Christendom. The Pope in reply assured Dschem of his friendly disposition towards him, and begged him to have no anxiety, for that everything had been arranged in a manner suitable to his dignity. Dschem thanked him, and then proceeded to salute each of the Cardinals in order according to their rank.†

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 336 *seq.*, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 325, who were eye-witnesses. See further, INFESSURA, 241 *seq.*; and among modern writers, GREGOROVIUS, VII., 286 *seq.*, ed. 3, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 227 *seq.* to 422 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, March 14. State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 341, who in all essentials agrees with SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 326. The *Report of Arlotti, of the 14th March 1487, which differs from them, is not trustworthy. *Cf.* also SERDONATI, 66, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 233 *seq.* G. L. Cataneo, in a *Letter dat. Rome, March 17, 1489, says: *El fratello del Turcho hozi dè essere in audientia cum el papa. El dì che se ge apresentoe in publico [consistorio] non disse altro per interprete se non che li piaceria molto vedere S. B^ne per haver cosi desiderato longamente e se li prestava orechie li daria alchuni boni advisi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The numerous descriptions of Dschem's outward appearance that we find in contemporary writings, testify to the interest which he excited in Rome. The best known of these is that by the celebrated painter Mantegna, in a letter of June 15, 1489, to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. "The brother of the Turk," he writes, "lives here in the Palace, carefully guarded. The Pope provides him with pastimes of all sorts, such as hunting, music, banquets, and other amusements. Sometimes he comes to dine in the new palace, where I am painting, and behaves very well for a barbarian. His manners are proud and dignified; even for the Pope he never uncovers his head, nor is it the custom to uncover in his presence. He has five meals in the day, and sleeps awhile after each; before meals he drinks sugared water. He walks like an elephant, with a measured step like the beat of a Venetian chorus. His people speak highly of him, and say he is an accomplished horseman, but as yet I have had no opportunity of seeing whether this is true. He often keeps his eyes half-closed. His nature is cruel, and they say he has killed four people; to-day he has severely maltreated an interpreter. He is credited with great devotion to Bacchus. His people are afraid of him. He takes little notice of what passes, as if he did not understand. He sleeps completely dressed, and gives audiences sitting cross-legged, like a Parthian. On his head he wears thirty thousand (!) yards of linen; his trowsers are so wide that he can bury himself in them. The expression of his face is ferocious, especially when Bacchus has been with him."* Several of the traits, as here depicted, are

* BOTTARI, VIII., 22. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 193, and GUHL, I., 55–56. Reumont makes no comment on Mantegna's exaggerations. On Dschem's poems, see HAMMER-PURGSTALL, Gesch. der Osman. Dichtkunst, I., 145 *seq*

obviously caricatured, but most of the rest are corroborated by other accounts. His age at this time is variously computed by different writers. Guilleaume Caoursin makes it 28, while Sigismondo de' Conti speaks of him as 35 years old; the latter dwells upon the savage expression of his countenance, and his uncertain and cruel temper. In all other respects these two writers agree in their descriptions of him; they portray him as a tall, powerfully-built man, with a swarthy complexion, a hooked nose, and blueish, glittering eyes.* The Ferrarese and Mantuan Envoys, who were acquainted with the beautiful medals of the Conqueror of Constantinople, executed by Italian artists, mention the resemblance between the Prince and his father as very striking.†

To the Pope, Dschem was a valuable hostage for the good behaviour of the Sultan. At first Spoleto or Orvieto were talked of as places where he could be safely confined;‡ but finally, it was decided that he could be kept most securely

* G. Caoursin in THUASNE, BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 537; *cf.* M. BOSSUS' description, *ibid.* 527. See also Feuillet de Conches, Causeries d'un Curieux, IV., 461 *seq.* (Paris, 1868); LE BOUGY, in the Rev. Contemp., 1862; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 231 *seq.*, and Rev. des Quest. Hist. (1892, Juillet) p. 289.

† *Cf.* A *Letter from Arlotti of March 14, 1489 (State Archives, Modena); and G. L. Cataneo's *Report, dat. Rome, March 17, 1489: *Lui è del aspetto che ho significato et de anni circha trentacinque e assai si asimiglia a la faza del patre secundo le medaglie (impressions are given in HERTZBERG, 618, and FRAKNÓI, M. Corvinus, 97) si ritrovano. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Arlotti's *Report of March 14, 1489 (State Archives, Modena), and G. L. Cataneo's *Letter of March 17, 1489: *Esso Turcho ha facto pregare N. S^re^ lo toglia de mane a quelli da Rhodi e lo tenga a Roma. In summa S. Sta persevera in volerlo mandare a Orveto e nel tempo chel sta qui se li da ogni piacere lasarlo vedere el palazo vechio e novo e simile cose. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

in the Vatican. Here the Prince lived in sumptuously furnished apartments, commanding an extensive view of vineyards and gardens. His maintenance was provided for with the greatest liberality, costing 15,000 ducats a year. This, says Sigismondo, was a severe drain on the overtaxed resources of the Pope, but he submitted to it for the sake of the advantages which the whole of Christendom derived from the custody of the Prince.*

In the autumn of 1489, Innocent VIII. was busily occupied with the preparations for the Crusade.† The Sultan fully recognised the standing menace which the possession of Dschem constituted for him; and his anxieties were increased by the negotiations opened by the Pope with the Sultan of Egypt,‡ and his plan for assembling representatives of all the Christian Powers in Rome to deliberate on the Eastern question.§ In this difficulty Bajazet had recourse to an expedient, which, unfortunately, in those days was not unfrequently resorted to by European Powers also. He hired a renegade nobleman of the Marches of Ancona, by name Cristofano di Castrano (alias Magrino), to poison the Belvedere fountain, from which the table of

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 238, 240.

† FORGEOT, J. Balue, 147.

‡ *Cf.* ALLEGRETTI, 825; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1489, n. 4; MÜLLER, Relaz., 237; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 254; and WEIL, Gesch. d. Kalifen, V., 345, n. 1. Stuttgart, 1862.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328. In the beginning of 1490, the celebrated Callimachus appeared in Rome, sent by the King of Poland. He sought to dissuade the Pope from his plan of uniting all Christendom in a crusade against the Turks, and to shew that it would be far more advantageous for him to conclude a separate agreement with the King of Poland, who was quite prepared to undertake the war against the unbelievers, and possessed special facilities for doing so. ZEISSBERG, Poln. Geschichtschreibung, 369; Mon. Polon., XI., 521; CARO, V., 2, 953 *seq.*, 646 *seq.*

Dschem as well as that of Innocent VIII. was supplied; the poison would take five days to work its effects, and the assassin was promised Negroponte and a high post in the Turkish army. Apparently there were some accomplices in Rome who were aware of the plot. Magrino betrayed himself in Venice before he had even arrived in Rome, and was arrested, carried thither, and executed in May 1490.*

The Pope's letter of May 8th, 1489, proposing a Congress, met almost universally with a favourable response.† In consequence, Briefs were sent out in December appointing the 25th March, 1490, as the opening day in Rome.‡ Raymond Peraudi was indefatigable in his labours to promote it. In an eloquent letter to the King of Poland, he describes how "from the very beginning of his Pontificate, the mind of Pope Innocent had been incessantly occupied in devising means for the defence of the Christian Commonwealth, and how the possession of Prince Dschem, the Sultan's brother, renders the present moment a specially favourable one for action. Dschem has promised, if he

* INFESSURA, 254–6; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 39; and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 261 *seq.*, 269 *seq.* In *Commiss. S. D. N. Pape ad episc. Tarvisinum, we have the history of the strenuous efforts made by the Pope in December 1489, to get hold of this malefactor. (Cod. 90, of the Library of Verona, f. 5b–6.) The conspirator is here called Macrino Castracan: *Non vidi mai homo più apassionato del N. Sor per questo et delibera sapere che sono quelli de urbe che ano intelligentia cum Macrino; de lui non fa tanto computo quanto de li complici et fautori. The following passage out of the *Report of G. L. Cataneo of March 17, 1489, mentioned in note ‡ of p. 302, shews what fears were entertained of intrigues in Rome on the part of the Sultan in connection with Dschem: *Un Turcho che desmonto a Napoli capito in questa terra nel arivare del Turcho e per suspetto è sta carcerato. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 4.

‡ *Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dat. Rome, Dec. 6, 1489. (Original in the State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* the Brief of Dec. 7, 1489, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 251.

obtains the Caliphate through the Christians, to withdraw the Turks from Europe, and even to give up Constantinople. The Pope has therefore sent Legates to all the European Courts, to implore them to lay aside all private quarrels and to unite in a common Crusade. He had himself been to France and to Germany, and the result had been that Charles and Maximilian had made peace with each other. Peace was re-established also in Brittany, Flanders, and Brabant. He was now endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the Emperor and Hungary. He implored and adjured his Majesty by the mercy of Christ, that he too would shew himself to be a good Catholic and pious King by complying with the Pope's desires.*

At the request of Frederick III. and Maximilian, the Congress was put off till a little later. On the 25th March, Pietro Mansi of Vicenza, Bishop of Cesena, delivered a stirring address for the opening,† but the actual business did not begin till after Pentecost. Venice took no part in this assembly, in order to avoid disturbing her good relations with the Porte.‡

The history of the Congress is to be found in the pages of Sigismondo de' Conti; and elsewhere a series of documents serve to complete it.§ On the 3rd of June, all the Cardinals and the Envoys met in the Papal Palace. Innocent VIII. delivered a long address, retracing the history of his efforts up to the present time, to set on foot

* GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 453.

† Printed in the App. to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 413–23, and repeatedly published.

‡ THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 265.

§ Especially the *Report of the Envoy from Cleves and Juliers, Johann Nagell, to Duke William I., in the State Archives at Düsseldorf (section Jülich-Berg, Polit. Begebenheiten, I. A.), which is accompanied by formal documents, and of which Schneider has made use in his Türkenzugscongress, 1 *seq.*

an expedition against the Turks. He had taken infinite trouble and made large pecuniary sacrifices to obtain possession of the person of Dschem, which appeared to him to be a matter of great importance. The Sultan Bajazet was very much afraid of his brother, a party among the Janissaries and people being bent upon stirring up a revolt in his favour. It was their bounden duty not to permit this heaven-sent opportunity to pass without taking advantage of it. They had therefore to consider where and with what soldiers the attack should be opened; whether by land or by water, or by both at once; how large the army should be, how the fleet should be equipped, whether the land and sea forces should operate separately, or combined in detachments. They must also deliberate as to the number of generals, whether there should be one Commander-in-Chief, or several of equal rank; what money will be required, and how it is to be collected; whether there should be a reserve fund in case of mishaps; how long the war was likely to last; what amount of provisions and war material will be requisite; and how the expense of the whole is to be apportioned. The Cardinals ought also to consider all these questions so as to be prepared to give their advice when needed. Perhaps it would be well also to take counsel as to whether it might not be possible for the Pope to follow the example of Sixtus IV., and by his Apostolical authority impose a truce between all Christian Princes for the time being.*

As time went on, there was no lack of the usual disputes in regard to precedence; and the Envoys, divided into two parties, Germans and Italians, made but slow progress with the negotiations. At last, however, mainly thanks to the German, and especially to the Imperial Envoys, a reply to most of the questions proposed by the Pope was agreed

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 5–6.

to. The address was handed over in writing to the Pope and the Cardinals. It began by thanking God, first, that he had put such desires into the heart of the Pope, and next, Innocent himself for his exertions in the matter of Dschem, who was most valuable as a standing menace to the Sultan, and a means of breaking up his Empire. He should be carefully guarded in Rome for the present, and later on, counsel should be taken as to how he could be most advantageously employed in the campaign. As regarded the constitution of the army, the Envoys were of opinion that it should consist of three divisions: a Papal and Italian army, a German army, including Hungary, Poland, and the Northern States, and a third force made up of the French, Spaniards and English. In addition to the separate chiefs of these various corps, a single Commander-in-Chief should be appointed. The Germans considered that if the Emperor, or, failing him, the King of the Romans, personally took part in the Crusade, he should be, *ipso facto*, Commander-in-Chief. The other Envoys wished that the Generalissimo should be elected at the beginning of the war by the Princes and the Pope. They further expressed their opinion that it would be extremely desirable that the Holy Father should accompany the expedition. To provide for the expenses of the war they suggested that each Prince should levy a toll on his subjects, clergy and laity contributing alike. The duration of the war might be calculated at three years.

It was important that the troops should be collected simultaneously and as quickly as possible; the German contingent in Vienna, and the rest in Ancona, Brindisi, or Messina. The German troops were to march through Hungary and Wallachia; the fleet would attack the Peloponnesus and Eubœa; the French and Spaniards with the Italian horsemen were to concentrate in Valona and

thence bear down upon the enemy. A simultaneous attack should be directed against the Moors; but it seemed an essential preliminary to the whole undertaking that the Pope should endeavour to put an end to the disputes between the Christian powers, or, at any rate, secure an armistice for the time.

In his reply, Innocent thanked the Envoys for their approval of his plan of fighting the Turks by means of Prince Dschem. The question as to whether the Turkish Prince should accompany the expedition in a captive or active capacity, must be left to those who were best acquainted with the enemy and their country; but the decision of this point should not be long delayed. In regard to the assembling of the forces, the simultaneous commencement of the war, the route selected for the attack, and the pacification of Europe, the Pope agreed in all essentials with the views of the Envoys. The Commander-in-Chief must be either the Emperor or the King of the Romans, as they were the natural protectors of the Church. With regard to the expenses of the war, the levies from the laity should be collected by the Princes, while he would charge himself with the taxation of the clergy; but this subject might be further discussed. He thought that a force of 50,000 horsemen and 80,000 infantry would suffice; but the strength of the army and fleet would be a matter for future agreement between the Christian Princes. In regard to his personal participation in the Crusade, Innocent declared that he was prepared in everything to follow the example of his predecessors. The war must be counted as likely to last five rather than three years, and should be begun in the following year, when the Sultan of Egypt was expected to make an attack on the Turks. Referring to the hostile attitude of the King of Naples towards himself, Innocent further observed that it was one of the primary

duties of the Christian Princes to maintain order in the States of the Church. He insisted earnestly on the great importance of immediate action, as the main thing on which the chance of success depended.* In conclusion, he expressed his surprise that the Envoys declared themselves unable to come to any definite decision without further reference to their respective governments, seeing that he had expressly requested that they should be provided with full powers for this very purpose. He hoped, at any rate, that they would lose no time in obtaining them, lest the favourable moment for making use of Prince Dschem should be lost by further delay.† On the 30th July the

* "The recommendations of the Roman Court in regard to the conduct of the war," observes SCHNEIDER (Türkenzugscongress, 11), "betoken great prudence and knowledge of the subject; for the most part they agree with those of the Emperor's Envoys. No doubt they were to a great extent inspired by the military experience of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II." The Pope had also obtained much useful information on the internal condition of the Turkish Empire from Callimachus. See *supra*, p. 303, note §.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 1–4, and the documents from the Archives of the Capitol there printed in the App., 424–36. These latter are generally quoted; I discovered the following MSS., which, in part, contain better readings: (1) Collection in Codex, without signature, in the Altieri Library, Rome; (2) Cod. Ottob., 1888, f. 161–73, Vatican Library; (3) Cod. D., IV., 22, f. 202–17, of the Casanat. Lib., Rome; (4) Politicor. varia, VII., f. 330 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican; (5) State Archives, Düsseldorf. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 7–11, who, however, has overlooked the copy in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI in the State Archives, Venice, Cod. Miscell., 692. The Responsio Innocentii VIII., is in Codex 6, Plut. XIV. of the Capitoline Archives, as well as in the MS. in the Casanat. Lib., dat. die Iunae xxvi. Julii; the MS. in the Düsseldorf Archives and that in the Venetian Archives bears the same date. That in the Cod. Ottob. is dated lunae 16 Julii. As in 1490, the 26th and not the 16th July fell on a Monday—the former seems to be the correct date; N. FRANCO, however, appears to contradict this view, as, in giving an extract in his notes from the answer of the Pope, he

Congress was closed by the Pope, to be reopened when the Envoys had received the requisite full powers; but this never took place.*

According to the somewhat optimist view of Sigismondo de' Conti, the Crusade would really, in spite of all difficulties, have been carried through, had it not been for the death of the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, at the early age of 47, from an apoplectic stroke.† The blow to the Christian cause was all the greater because this event at once plunged that country into a bitter contest for the succession to the throne. Maximilian seized the opportunity to endeavour to recover his hereditary possessions in Hungary. On the 19th of August he marched into Vienna, where he was warmly greeted by the inhabitants. On the 4th of October he started from thence to make good his claim to the Hungarian throne by force of arms; but want of money and a mutiny amongst his retainers checked his otherwise victorious progress. As but little help could be got from the Empire, a Peace was concluded between him and King Wladislaw, on the 7th November, 1491, at Presburg. The Pope had done his best to bring this about; but now the final blow to the prospects of the Crusade fell in the revival of the quarrel between Charles VIII.

writes: *Die xii. Julii, 1490. Questa matina el N. S. in consistorio ha proposto questo et benche el sia piu diffuso, tamen sollicite collegi memoria. Cod. 90, f. 28b *seq.* in the Town Library, Verona. It should be noticed here that in 1490 the 12th July was a Monday. On the 31st July, 1490, Innocent VIII. wrote a *Letter to Frederick III., on the Congress for the Crusade. (State Archives, Vienna.) See Regest. in LICHNOWSKY, VIII., n. 1416.

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 11.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 4; FRAKNÓI, M. Corvinus, 270; see also LASCARIS, in the Serapeum (1849), 68.

and Maximilian, which broke out afresh with redoubled violence.*

While political affairs in the North were thus developing in a very unfavourable manner for the Crusade, the Pope, who was also suffering from serious illness,† was cruelly harassed by Ferrante. Venice, the greatest naval power in Europe, steadily pursued her huckster's policy of giving her support to whatever state of things seemed most advantageous for her commerce. Throughout the Congress, she kept the Sultan thoroughly informed of all its transactions.‡ Under such conditions as these, what chance could there be of a combined attack on the Crescent? We need to realise this hopeless state of things in order to understand how Innocent VIII. came to lend a favourable ear to the proposals made to him in November 1490, through a Turkish Envoy.

The Sultan Bajazet lived in perpetual terror lest Prince Dschem might be employed as a tool wherewith to attack him. His attempt to poison the Prince having failed, when the news of the Congress to discuss the question of a new Crusade reached him, he determined to try another expedient. He despatched an embassy to Rome, which arrived there on the 30th of November, 1490, bringing presents, and an unsealed letter to the Pope, written in Greek on papyrus. In this letter he requested Innocent VIII. to undertake the custody of his brother Dschem, in Rome, on the same conditions as had formerly been arranged with the Grand-Master of the Knights of Rhodes.§

* ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 97 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 295 *seq.*; KRONES, II., 484 *seq.*

† *Cf. supra*, p. 281.

‡ *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 11, note 4 and 12. The documents in MÜLLER, Relaz., 237, 288, shew what friendly relations subsisted between Florence and the Sultan in 1487 and 1488.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 23 *seq.*, whose report is confirmed

The Pope accepted the Sultan's gifts and permitted the Envoys to visit Prince Dschem and assure themselves of his well-being. In regard to the negotiations he considered the matter too important and affecting too many interests to decide it by himself, and therefore called a Council of all the Ambassadors then present in Rome to discuss it.

The Turkish Ambassador had at first promised that as long as Dschem was kept in safe custody his master would abstain from attacking any part of Christendom. Later, however, he restricted this promise to the coasts of the Adriatic, and expressly excluded Hungary, with the result that no agreement could be come to. The Envoy left

throughout by the letters of the Envoy. In addition to the reports from the Florentine State Archives, given by THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 276 *seq.*, I have made use of the following documents (*a*) **Report of Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490 (State Archives, Modena); (*b*) **Report of the Milanese Envoy (Jac. episc. Dherton. et Steph. Taberna), dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490 (State Archives, Milan). Here I found in the Series "Turchia" a contemporaneous Latin translation of the Sultan's letter; in substance it agrees with the account given of it by Sigismondo and Baluze; the translation differs a good deal from theirs, and they also differ from each other in the wording in many places. For comparison I here subjoin the beginning: Sultan Parazit Chan Dei gratia magnus imperator ac utriusque, &c., omnium christianorum patri et domino dom. Rom. eccles. antistiti dignissimo. Post condecentem et iustam allocutionem. Significamus Tue Divinitati intellexesse nos a r. card. magno magistro Rhodique domino germanum nostrum isthic degere ad presens, qui a nominati cardinalis proceribus istuc adductus nunc quoque sub illorum custodia est. Que res urbis quidem pergrata visa est admodumque letati sumus ipsum apud vos hospitari, etc. The translation in the Milanese State Archives differs from Sigismondo de' Conti and Baluze, Miscell., I., 517, in bearing the date May 16, 1490, instead of May 17. Many MS. collections contain translations of this letter, as, for instance, Cod. 511 of the Chapter Library at Lucca, also (date May 20) Cod. 716 of the Munich Library, and MS. 1238 of the National Library in Paris; see THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 277. The Greek text (*cf.* BRIEGERS Zeitschr, VII., 152), in Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1408, f. 29 a-b, is dated May 28, 1490.

the pension for Dschem, which had hitherto been paid to Rhodes, in Rome, and took back an answer from the Pope to the effect that no definite reply could be given to the Sultan's proposal until the views of all the Christian powers had been ascertained.* Sigismondo de' Conti reports that many men, whose opinion was not to be despised, thought it imprudent in the Pope to condescend so much to the Turkish barbarian, and out of desire of gain to conclude a sort of bargain with him; on the other hand he adds: Innocent had to consider that by this means Christendom might be saved from war, and he might also obtain from the Sultan some sacred relics which were in his possession.†

It may well be conceded to Innocent VIII. that the desire to obtain these relics for Rome and to shield Christendom from the attacks of the Turks was not an unworthy one, and also that under existing circumstances and considering the unwillingness of the majority of the Christian Princes to undertake a Crusade, a compact of this kind was probably the most advantageous arrangement then attainable;‡ but at the same time it is undeniable that the reception of this sort of subsidy from the Sultan, exercised a decided influence on the Pope's attitude towards the Turks.

While Bajazet was thus kept in check, and forced to pay a kind of tribute to the Holy See, by the fear that his most dangerous enemy might at any moment be let loose upon

* I am able to supply the date which is wanting in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 25-6, from a contemporaneous copy in the Milanese State Archives: it is 1490 tertio non. Januar. A. 7°.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.*; INFESSURA, 261. In regard to the Sultan's gifts see the Florentine report in THUASNE, 278 (*cf. ibid.*, 280, in his criticism of Infessura), and the **Report of Arlotti, quoted *supra*, p. 309, note †.

‡ ARTAUD VON MONTOR, Geschichte der Päpste, continued by Zaillar, IV., 172 (Augsburg, 1854); GRÖNE, II., 293.

him, Ferdinand the Catholic was dealing a crushing and final blow to the power of Islam in the West. Granada fell on the 2nd January, 1492, and the banner with the great silver crucifix, given by Sixtus IV., which had been borne before the army throughout the whole campaign, was planted on the Alhambra.* This event closed an episode in Spanish history which had lasted eight hundred years; the whole of Spain was now united into a single nation, strong enough to make its influence felt henceforth in the development of Europe and more especially in that of Italy. "In this last and decisive contest with Islam, Ferdinand had learnt by experience the utter faithlessness of his cousin, the King of Naples. Ferrante had secretly supported the Moors against him, and now it only depended on the course of events whether, instead of prosecuting the war along the north coast of Africa, the Spanish monarch should not fix his eyes on the island of Sicily as the Archimedian point by means of which Italy could be drawn, bit by bit, within the sphere of the influence of Aragon."†

The fall of Granada sent a thrill of joy through the whole of Europe; it was looked upon as a sort of compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Nowhere, however, was the rejoicing more heartfelt than in Rome, where for many years the conflict with the Moors had been watched with sympathetic interest.‡ In the night of February 1st the

* PRESCOTT, I., 402–3, 486; HEFELE, Ximenes, 23 *seq.*; SCHIRRMACHER, Gesch. Spaniens, VI., 712; G. VOLPI, La resa di Granata (1492), descritta dall' oratore di Castiglia e di Aragona presso la s. sede. (Lucca, 1889.) FLORIAN, Gonzalo de Córdoba ó la conquista de Granada; historia de las acciones heroicas, etc., escrita en francés y vertida al español por D. J. Lopez de Penalver. Paris, 1892.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 54–5.

‡ When, on the 17th June, 1485, the news of a victory of Ferdinand over the Moors reached Rome, a festa was organised at once to celebrate the good tidings. See *Letters of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, June 18 and

news arrived in Rome; Ferdinand had himself written to inform the Pope.* The rejoicings, both religious and secular, lasted for several days. Innocent VIII. went in solemn procession from the Vatican to S. James's, the national Church of the Spaniards, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated, at the end of which he gave the Papal Benediction. Cardinal Raffaele Riario entertained the Spanish Envoys with a dramatic representation of the Conquest of Granada and the triumphal entry of the King and Queen; while Cardinal Borgia delighted the Roman people with the novel spectacle of a bull fight, which had never before been seen in Rome.†

From the time that Ferrante concluded Peace with the Pope on January 22, 1492, he appears to have begun again to take an interest in the Turkish question, at least so his letters informing Innocent VIII. of the movements of the Turks would seem to indicate.‡ In May 1492, Pontano was sent to Rome to discuss what joint-measures could be taken to repel the common enemy.§ The Sultan, always

July 16, 1485 (Gonzaga Archives), and also a *Letter of Card. A. Sforza, dat. Rome, July 22, 1485. (Milanese State Archives.) In the year 1488, Ferdinand sent 100 captive Moors to Rome as a thank-offering to the Pope for his support in the war. See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 307–8.

* *In questa nocte passata circa le sette hore giunse la nova vera et certa de la intrata del Re de Spagna in Granata cum grandissimo triumpho et ordine segondo ha scritto S. Mta al papa. *Despatch of Boccaccio, dat. Rome, Feb. 1st, 1492. Modenese Archives.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 444 *seq.* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328, 374–5; TRINCHERA, II., 45, and the collection of authorities in THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 294 *seq.*, and also a *Letter from Boccaccio, Rome, Feb. 8, 1492 (Modenese Archives), and one from G. L. Cataneo, dated Rome, Feb. 15 and 17, 1492. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 57–8, 60, 79 *seq.*, 94, 101, 106 *seq.*, 124. On Alfonso's mission to Otranto, see *ibid.*, 128 *seq.*

§ NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 8

on the watch in his dread of mischief from Dschem, soon discovered the change in Ferrante's attitude, and sent fresh Envoys to Naples * as well as to Rome. The latter brought with them a precious relic,—the head of the Spear of Longinus, which had pierced the side of Our Lord. By order of the Pope the sacred relic was received at Ancona by Niccolo Cibò, Archbishop of Arles; and Luca Borsiano, Bishop of Foligno placed it in a crystal reliquary set in gold, and brought it to Narni. From thence it was taken by the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio Costa to Rome. Although Innocent was far from well at the time, he was determined to take part in its solemn reception. When, on May 31, 1492, the Cardinals arrived before the gates of Rome, the Pope went to meet them outside the Porta del Popolo, took the reliquary in his hands with the greatest reverence, and delivered a short address on the Passion of Christ. He then carried it in solemn procession to S. Peter's, the streets through which he passed being richly decorated in its honour. From thence he had it conveyed to his private apartments, where it was kept.† In the farewell audience given by Innocent to the Turkish Envoys on June 14, 1492, he desired them to inform the Sultan that, in case of an attack by the latter on any Christian country, he would retaliate by means of Prince Dschem. He also

* TRINCHERA, II., 1, 98–9, 102–3, 105–6.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 473 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 28–9; INFESSURA, 274; NOTAR GIACOMO, 175; Not. di Nantiporto, 1108; Bernabei, in CIAVARINI, Croniche Anconit., 204 (Ancona, 1870); BERNALDEZ, I., 307; also Boccaccio's *Report dat. Rome, May 27, 1492 (State Archives, Modena); and *Brognolus, dat. Rome, May 31, 1492 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the later history of this relic, and that of similar relics preserved in Nuremburg and Paris, *cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1419–22, ed. 2, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 298, where a number of new reports on the Turkish Embassy of 1492 have been made use of.

sent a private messenger of his own to Constantinople with the same message.*

The reception of the Holy Spear, says a contemporary writer, may be said to have been the last act of Innocent VIII. During the whole of his reign this Pope had been so harassed by war and the fear of war that he had never been able to accomplish his earnest desire of visiting Loreto or any of the more distant portions of his dominions. He hardly ever left Rome, and then only to go to Ostia or Villa Magliana.† In addition to the war difficulty, the feeble health of the Pope was also an obstacle to his travelling far.

In the autumn of 1490, as in that of the previous year, Innocent VIII. suffered from repeated attacks of fever, but recovered on each occasion; thanks to the skill of the famous physician Giacomo di San Genesio;‡ but from March 1492 the Pope's health began again to fail.§ Just at this time the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (April 8) seemed to threaten anew to disturb the peace of Italy; Innocent at once took measures to meet the danger,‖ as also in regard to the revolt

* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 302.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 29.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 36. *Cf.* LEOSTELLO, 398, and the Brief of Feb. 20, 1491, in LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Reg., No. 1510. On his illness in the autumn of 1490, see GRAZIANI, 737, and LEOSTELLO, 371.

§ *Report of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, March 19, 1492. During the last three days the Pope has been suffering from male di fianchi; April 12—the Pope is better: tutavia non se reha ne è per liberarsi cosi presto. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* *Letter from Card. A. SFORZA, April 16, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

‖ *Cf.* the *Letter from Cataneo, quoted in the previous note (in which he says that the Pope had written to Florence on the death of Lorenzo, et ha rasonato de far legato del patrimonio el carle de' Medici), with REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 422 *seq.*, ed. 2. The same Envoy states, on the 15th April, that the Pope had written to all the Italian Powers in support of the Medici interest. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of Cesena, which took place shortly after.* In spite of these anxieties the Pope's condition improved so much that he was able to take part in the solemn reception of the Holy Spear, and the marriage of Luigi of Aragon with Battistina Cibò. In the latter half of the month of June, Innocent was fairly well; after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul he thought of going somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rome, for change of air and to hasten his recovery;† but, on the 22nd or 23rd June, the abdominal pains returned, an old sore on his leg broke out again, and the feverish attacks came back. The physicians differed in their opinions, but the worst was feared.‡ At the same time the Pope felt still so strong that at first he made light of the apprehensions of his physicians. On the 30th June he was better. The fluctuations lasted on into the month of July, but the general opinion was that the Pope was slowly dying.§

The first effect of the hopeless state of the Pope's health was notably to increase the insecurity of life and property in the city. For a time it seemed as if all law and order would break down; hardly a day passed without a murder some-

* *Cf.* the *Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dat. Rome, June 21, 1492. Orig. in Modenese State Archives.

† *Letter from F. Brognolus, dat. Rome, June 17, 1492: El Papa sta pure asai bene. June 23: El papa Dio gratia sta pur asai meglio; fatto el dì di S. Pietro S. B^ne^ vol andare ad alcune terre qui contigue a Roma per pigliare un pocho di piacere con speranza de fortificarsi meglio. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* with SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37, a *Letter from F. Brognolus to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua: Io scrivo al vostro ill^mo^ sig. consorte de la Ex. V. come el papa sta molto male per una gran pasione che li da sei dì in qua in quella gamba dove la havuto male gran tempo; the worst is to be feared. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Letter from F. Brognolus to the Marquess of Mantua, dat. Rome, June 30, 1492: the Pope is better. July 12: El papa sta ora ben or male; a iudicio de ognuno el si va consumando a pocho a pocho. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

where. The Cardinals kept a stricter watch over Dschem. An inventory was made of the treasures of the Church, and the Vice-Camerlengo, Bartolomeo Moreno, thought it prudent to retire first to the Palazzo Mattei, and finally to the Belvedere. The disorders at last became so serious that several of the Barons, at the persuasion of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, agreed to waive their party feuds and combine with the Conservators of the city to maintain order. After this the town was quieter.*

The Pope's end was that of a pious Christian. On the 15th July he confessed, and received Holy Communion on the following day.† On the 17th it was thought that the last hour had come,‡ but his strong vitality resisted death for another week. The resources of the physicians were exhausted, and there was no hope of recovery.§ "All hope is abandoned" writes the Florentine Envoy on July 19; "the Pope's strength is so entirely exhausted that the spirit

* *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, I., 569 *seq.*; and INFESSURA, 274–6, where, however, the dates are inaccurate. The taking of the inventory is stated by Infessura to have occurred die lunae 16, dicti mensis; but F. Brognolus reports it in a *Letter of July 12, 1492. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Florentine Despatch of July 15, in THUASNE, I., 567.

‡ *Despatch of Brognolus, dat. Rome, July 17, 1492: nunc laborat in extremis. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ INFESSURA, 275-6, relates that Innocent VIII.'s Jewish domestic physician had three boys of ten years old killed, and brought their blood to the Pope as the only means by which his life could be preserved. On the Pope's rejecting this he fled. If this account were true (as GREGOROVIUS seems to suppose, VII., 297, ed. 3) it would establish the fact that the Jews were in the habit of using human blood in medicine; but, in the unprinted detailed despatches of the Mantuan agents, I can find no mention of anything of the sort; nor yet in Valori's reports. As these narrators minutely retail every drop of medicine that the Pope took (*cf.* THUASNE, I., 571), it is impossible that they should have omitted to mention a remedy so startling as this.

is all that is left of him; but he retains his full consciousness."* Except for his too great solicitude for his own relations, which occupied his mind to the last,† the death of Innocent VIII. was a most edifying one. Sigismondo de' Conti and the Florentine Envoys agree in relating how, although by that time speaking had become very difficult to him, the Pope summoned the Cardinals to his bed-side, asked their forgiveness for having proved so little equal to the burden which he had undertaken, and exhorted them to be united among themselves and to choose a better successor. He then desired an inventory to be taken in their presence by the Chamberlains of all the money and valuables in the Palace, and gave orders that the Holy Spear should be taken to S. Peter's. After this he dismissed the Cardinals and received the Holy Viaticum with tears of devotion.‡

After a death-agony which lasted five days,§ Innocent VIII. passed away on 25th July, 1492, about the 24th hour (9 o'clock in the evening).‖ His body was laid in S. Peter's.

* THUASNE, I., 569.

† *Ibid.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 36–7. According to this narrator all this took place pridie quam expiraret. As Sigismondo's dates are not always accurate, I prefer Valori's, who gives July 17 as the day of the Pope's address to the Cardinals. In everything else his account (though more concise) is in perfect agreement with Sigismondo's. See also the entry in FRANCESCHETTO'S autographic diary, preserved in the State Archives at Massa, in Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, XII., 152, n. 1.

§ *Letter from F. Brognolus, Rome, July 25, 1492. El papa è stato quatro o cinque dì quodamodo in transito. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* also RICORDI DI SACCHI, in N. di Tuccia, 426.

‖ *Despatch from Boccaccio, dat. Rome, July 25, 1492. The Pope died circa le 24 hore. (State Archives, Modena.) Brognolus' letter, mentioned in the previous note, gives a later date: La notte seguente venendo li 26 el papa passò di questa vita fra li cinque e sei ore di notte. NOTAR GIACOMO, 175: de iovedi venendo lo venerdi ad nocte ad hore

He has been in a sense more remembered than many greater Popes, because his tomb, executed in bronze by Antonio Pollajuolo, is one of the few monuments which have been transferred from the old to the new S. Peter's. It stands against one of the pillars in the left aisle of the nave. "The Pope, a colossal figure with massive drapery, sits on a throne, his right hand raised in blessing, and his left holding the Holy Spear; on each side of him, in shallow niches in the wall, stand the four cardinal virtues; on the hemicycle above, the theological virtues,—graceful figures, full of life and motion, are portrayed in low relief. Below, on an urn, is the recumbent form of the Pope on a bed of State. Apparently this was originally placed on the wide projecting cornice of the hemicycle, and the perspective of the whole design shews that it was meant to be seen from a much more level point of view. At the height at which it is now placed, much of its exquisite workmanship, especially in the decorative part, is quite lost to the spectator. For its originality, clearness of outline, and mastery of the technique of its material, this work deserves to be ranked amongst the masterpieces of Quattrocento Florentine Art." *

The inscription on the monument, which was added at a later date, contains a slight anachronism in regard to the discovery of America. It was not till August 3, 1492, that the Pope's great fellow-countryman Columbus set sail from the port of Palos to found a new world.

cinquo. INFESSURA, 276: sexta vel septima hora; RICORDI DI SACCHI, *loc. cit.*: tra le sette e l'otto hore; Valori, in THUASNE, I., 491, says the same as Boccaccio.

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 358–9; REUMONT, III., 1, 198, 423, and Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 367 *seq.* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 431 *seq.* The Oratio rev. dom. Leonelli episc. Concord. habita Rome in ecclesia S. Petri in funere fe. re. dom. Innocentii, pape VIII. coram

CHAPTER V.

Innocent VIII. as Patron of Art and Scholarship.

The disturbed state of Italy, the exhaustion of the Papal treasury, and the want of energy arising from the state of the Pope's health are quite sufficient to account for the poverty of the records of the reign of Innocent VIII. in the matter of Art and Scholarship as compared with that of Sixtus IV. At the same time, as regards Art, so many of the works of his time have been either destroyed or become unrecognisable that the creations in that department appear smaller than they really were. On investigation, we find that both in architecture and in painting a large number of important works were produced.

In the Vatican, Innocent went on with the works begun by Paul II., whose love for precious stones he shared.* He erected a noble fountain in the Piazza of S. Peter's in marble, with two large circular basins, one above the other; one of these now serves the drinking fountain on the right of the obelisk.† A good deal of work by way of repair was done

s. cetu rev. dom. cardinalium et tota curia die XXVIII. mensis Julii, 1492, was printed at the time. I found a copy of it in the Borghese Library, now alas! scattered to the winds. See also Beissel in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVI., 490 *seq.*

* Details in Pératé, 516. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 368 *seq.*, and Müntz, Hist. de l'Art, I., 102.

† Serdonati, 79; Gregorovius, VII., 639, ed. 3; Burchardi Diarium, III., 173. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 368, and Adinolfi, Portica, 123 *seq.*

in the time of Innocent VIII. Restorations were effected in the castle and bridge of S. Angelo, the Ponte Molle, the Capitol, the fountain of Trevi, the gates and walls of the city, and a large number of churches. Among these latter may be mentioned especially S. Agostino, Sta Croce, S. Giuliano de' Fiamminghi, S. Giovanni in Laterano, and S. Stefano in Cœliomonte.* Sta Maria della Pace was completed, Sta Maria in Via Lata rebuilt. With the strange indifference of those days to the preservation of Roman remains, the ruins of an old arch were demolished in the prosecution of this latter work.†

In S. Peter's, Innocent went on with the building of the Loggia, for the bestowal of the solemn Blessing, which had been begun by Pius II.; commenced a new Sacristy, and constructed a Shrine for the Holy Spear, which, together with the chapel built by Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, was destroyed in 1606.‡ The diligence with which Innocent VIII. prosecuted the continuation of the new streets begun by his predecessors, was of great advantage to the city. The carrying out of these works was entrusted to the Treasurer-General, Falcone de' Sinibaldi, who is so highly praised by Sigismondo de' Conti.§

Outside Rome, Baccio Pontelli was commissioned by the Pope to execute or set on foot architectural work in the

* MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 129 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*, 153, 156, 162; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 69; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 466 *seq.*; BORGATI, 88, and Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 177.

† ARMELLINI, 634; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 464 *seq.* On the destruction of Ancient Monuments, see MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 35 *seq.*

‡ STEVENSON, Topografia e Monumenti, 11; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 365 *seq.*, 456 *seq.* The remains of the Ciborium are still to be seen in the Vatican grottoes; JANNER, III., 579, mentions an impost levied for the works in S. Peter's.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 41; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 176. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 62 *seq.*, 363 *seq.*

town of Argnano, Corchiano, Jesi, Osimo, Terracina and Tolfa, and in the Papal Palaces at Viterbo and Avignon.* Innocent VIII. also assisted in the building of the Cathedral at Perugia.† The number of documents still extant, relating to works in the harbour and Citadel of Civita Vecchia, seem to indicate that they must have been somewhat extensive. These were, for the most part, managed by Lorenzo da Pietrasanta, who was frequently employed by the Pope.‡

In addition to the works already mentioned, Innocent VIII. also built the Belvedere in the Vatican, and the Villa Magliana in the Valley of the Tiber about six miles from Rome. He had begun the hunting lodge at Magliana while he was still a Cardinal. When he became Pope he proceeded to enlarge and decorate it as is shewn by the inscriptions over the windows. Unfortunately, it is now in a very dilapidated state. Magliana and Ostia were the

* MÜNTZ, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 466 *seq.*; *ibid.*, III., 296 *seq.*, is an important new document on B. Pontelli, discovered by Müntz. SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 344. Under the heading Pro fabrica Palatii Viterb., I found in the *Lib. brev. 17, f. 37, a document in which R[aphael] acting on an order from the Pope, desires S. Georgii Card. to make sundry payments on account of the building of the palatium quod modo ad habitationem presidii provincie patrimonii in civit. Viterbii extruitur. Dat. Viterbii in arce die XVIII. Maii, 1484. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Innocent VIII.'s *Brief to the government of Perugia, dat. Rome, Feb. 28, 1485 (Regesta. in Cod. C. IV., 1, in the Library at Genoa), and the *Bull of Sept. 16, 1486, in Capitular Archives at Perugia.

‡ MÜNTZ, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 61 *seq.* Müntz here refers to FRANGIPANI, Storia de Civita Vecchia, 124 *seq.*, a work that I have not been able to see; therefore I cannot say with certainty whether the Brief of Innocent VIII., to the thesaurarius provincie patrimonii, dat. Romae, XI. Sept., 1484, ante coronat., which contains the order for completing the harbour of Civita Vecchia, has been printed or not. *Lib. brev. 17, f. 37. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

only country places to which he could resort during his troublous reign; the state of Italy was such, that it was impossible for him to visit the cities in his dominions or to fulfil his vow of making a pilgrimage to Loreto.*

The interior of the summer residence built on the slope of the Vatican hill towards Monte Mario, which now constitutes the central point of the sculpture-gallery, underwent a complete transformation by command of Innocent VIII., in accordance, it is said, with a design drawn by Antonio Pollajuolo. The management of the work was entrusted to Jacopo de Pietrasanta. The building was a square with pinnacles connecting it with the round tower of Nicholas V. Infessura says that the Pope spent 60,000 ducats upon it.† This sum no doubt included the paintings with which the villa was decorated. The name of Belvedere was given to it on account of the splendid view which it commands of Rome and its neighbourhood, from Soracte to the Alban hills.

Unfortunately, the paintings executed for this villa by Pinturicchio and Mantegna have almost entirely perished.

According to Vasari, the whole of the Loggia of the Belvedere was adorned at the Pope's desire by Pinturicchio with views of various cities "after the Flemish fashion" which, being a novelty in Rome, was then very much in vogue; Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice and Naples were thus portrayed. The same writer also states that Pinturicchio painted a fresco of the Blessed Virgin in the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 29; *cf.* INFESSURA, 280. In a future volume we shall return to the subject of the Villa Magliana, on which it will be necessary to compare REUMONT, III., 1, 414 *seq.*, and L. GRUNER, Villa Magliana. Leipzig, 1847.

† INFESSURA, 279; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 458 *seq.*; Jahrb. des Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, V., 11.

Belvedere.* The poetical beauty of Pinturicchio's landscapes in his paintings in the Buffalini Chapel in Sta Maria in Aracoeli, enables us to conjecture the loss which the world has sustained by the destruction of the frescoes in the Belvedere. We may also gather from the fact that Innocent VIII. evidently recognised Pinturicchio's special gift for landscape painting, that this Pope was not so devoid of artistic feeling as he is often represented to have been.

More deplorable still is the loss of the frescoes of the other painter employed by Innocent in the decoration of this building. As early as the year 1484, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had commenced negotiations on behalf of the Pope with Gonzaga to obtain the services of Andrea Mantegna who already enjoyed a well earned celebrity in Mantua;† but it was not till 1488 that Mantegna at last came to Rome, with the sanction of the Marquess of Mantua, who bestowed on him the honour of knighthood on his departure. The work of painting the chapel in the Belvedere was at once entrusted to him. He spent two full years in Rome, endeavouring, as he himself says, with all possible diligence, to do honour to the illustrious house of Gonzaga, whose child he considered himself.‡ This makes it all the more to be regretted that these frescoes should have been destroyed when the new wing was built by Pius VI. Vasari bestows the highest praise on the delicate finish of these paintings which were almost like

* VERMIGLIOLI, Mem. di Pintur. (Perugia, 1837); CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 275 *seq.*, and SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 27 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*

† ARCO, Degli Arti in Mantova, II., 69 (Mantova, 1857). On Mantegna, *cf.* BASCHET, in Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XX., 318 *seq.*, 478 *seq.*; BRAGHIROLLI, in the Giorn. di Erudiz. Art., I., 194 *seq.*; and LUZIO-RENIER in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVI., 128 *seq.*

‡ BOTTARI, VIII., 25; GUHL, I., 52 *seq.*

miniatures. He says, that among other subjects the baptism of Christ was portrayed in the Chapel of S. John. In consequence of the Pope's financial difficulties, the artist had a good deal to complain of in the matter of remuneration. His discreetly mild observations on this subject are corroborated by Vasari. He relates that on one occasion Innocent, having asked the painter what one of the figures was meant to represent, Mantegna replied, "It is Economy" (discrezione), on which the Pope observed, "If you want a good pendant to it you had better paint Patience." On his departure, however, in 1490, Innocent VIII. seems to have done something to make up for this.*

Besides Pinturicchio and Mantegna, Filippino Lippi and Perugino were also employed in Rome. The latter was generously patronised by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere,† while Lippi was commissioned by Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa to decorate the Chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas, which was built by the prelate in the Dominican Church of Sta Maria sopra Minerva. These pictures are clever but somewhat superficial. There can be no doubt that the Cardinal himself arranged the scheme of the paintings. Numerous inscriptions explain the meaning of the frescoes, some of which are concealed behind the monument of Paul IV. The principal picture on the wall to the right of the entrance represents the victory of S. Thomas over heresies. In the lunette, Christ is painted on the Cross saying to the Saint, "Thou hast written well of me, Thomas, what shall I give thee in reward?" to which S. Thomas answers, "Nothing but Thyself, Lord." On the wall behind the Altar, Lippi has painted the Annunciation with the portrait of the founder. Here we see the hand of the master.

* CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, 87; GUHL, I., 54; REUMONT, III., I., 431; WOLTMANN, II., 255.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 21 *seq.*, 31 *seq.*

Nothing could be more beautiful than the joyous soaring angels.*

Pinturicchio was employed by several of the Cardinals. He executed paintings in Sta Maria del Popolo for Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio da Costa, and in Sta Croce for Carvajal.†

It is interesting in connection with the development of Art in the time of Innocent VIII. to note, that in 1484 he bought tapestries from some Flemish merchants, representing S. George accompanied by personifications of the liberal arts.‡ He encouraged art manufacturers by the bestowal of honorary distinctions, most frequently by the gift of a consecrated sword. One of these, still preserved in the Museum of Cassel, was presented in 1491 to the Margrave William I. of Hesse, who visited Rome in that year on his way home from the Holy Land.§

In the matter of scholarship and literature as in Art, Rome under Innocent VIII. compares most unfavourably with the Rome of Sixtus IV. Nevertheless it would not be correct to suppose that Innocent was entirely devoid of

* HETTNER, 144; WOLTMANN, II., 178.

† LÜTZOW, Kunstschätze, 423 *seq.*; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 273.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 432.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 439; and LESSING, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XVI., 117 *seq.* (1895). See here also much general information on consecrated swords supplementing what is to be found in ZALUSKI, Analecta de sacra in die natale Domini usitata caeremonia ensem, etc. benedicendi (Varsoviae, 1726); MORONI, Diz., and MÜNTZ, Les Épées d'honneur, in the Rev. de l'Art Chrétien (1889) 408 *seq.* (1890) 281 *seq.* On engravings and medals of the time of Innocent VIII., see MÜNTZ, l'Atelier Monét. de Rome. Doc. sur les graveurs et médailleurs de la cour pontif. depuis Innocent VIII. jusqu'à Paul III., in the Rev. Numismat., II. (1884), separate pub. (Paris, 1884), 5 *seq.* On the Mint, see REUMONT, III., 1, 281 *seq.*, and especially GARAMPI'S rare work, App., 202 *seq.*

literary tastes. He made it evident that this was not the case when, in the year 1484, Angelo Poliziano came to Rome with the Florentine embassy of Obedience. On that occasion, the Pope in presence of an illustrious company, ordered him to make a Latin translation of the historical works of the Greeks, referring to the exploits of the Romans, so that they might be more accessible to the majority of readers. In obedience to this flattering command, Poliziano selected Herodian for his translation, and endeavoured to make it read as it would have done had the author written it in Latin. Innocent VIII. rewarded the dedication of this work with a special Brief and a gift of 200 ducats, in order to set the translator free to devote himself more completely to work of this kind. Poliziano thanked the Pope in a beautiful Sapphic ode, in which both thought and language reflect the spirit of classical poetry.*

Innocent VIII. accepted dedications also from Tito Vespasiano Strozzi,† Peter Marsus,‡ and the celebrated physician, Gabrielle Zerbi ;§ he bestowed marks of distinction also on foreign Humanists such as Johann Fuchsmagen.||

* MEINERS, II., 35, 124 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 358 *seq.* There are two copies of this translation in the Vatican Library in Cod. Vat. 1836 (Bibl. Altemps), and 1859 (Bern. Caraffe prior. Neapolit. liber).

† The collection of poems dedicated by Strozzi to Innocent VIII., is to be found in the Dresden Library; see ALBRECHT, T. B. Strozzi (Dresden, 1891); and Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 166, 442.

‡ P. MARSUS, Panegyricus Innocentio VIII. P. M. dicatus in memoriam S. Joannis Evang. *s. l.* et *a.* (*ca.* 1485, printed in Rome by Plank).

§ The Pope raised the salary of this distinguished scholar from 150 to 250 florins, see MARINI, I., 310. On Sept. 25, 1484, he reappointed Franciscus de Padua to the post of Professor of Canon Law in Studio Romano. See *Brief on this day in the Lib. brev. 18, f. 16. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) This Brief is printed in RENAZZI, I., 290.

|| ZINGERLE, Beiträge, 114.

Innocent VIII. had for his secretaries, Gasparo Biondo, Andrea da Trebisonda, Giacomo da Volterra, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, Sigismondo de' Conti and Giovanni Lorenzi.* This latter, a distinguished Hellenist, was born at Venice in 1440, and came to Rome in 1472 as secretary to his fellow countryman Marco Barbo; Innocent VIII. made him one of his secretaries in 1484, and a librarian in the Vatican in the following year.† Financial difficulties prevented any additions worth mentioning from being made to the Vatican Library during this reign. It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest liberality continued to be shewn in regard to the use of manuscripts, which were frequently lent to students, even out of Rome. A considerable number were sent by Poliziano to Florence, at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici.‡ The numerous marks of favour bestowed by Innocent VIII. on Giovanni Lorenzi are an additional proof of the friendly disposition of this Pope towards the Renaissance.§

An event which occurred in Rome in the Spring of 1485, shews how powerful the Renaissance had become there in

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 40.

† NOLHAC, G. Lorenzi, in Mél. d'Archéol., VIII., 1 *seq.* (1888), where further details of his history are given, and also in regard to his eminence as a Humanist. Under Alexander VI. he fell into disgrace and was deprived of his post.

‡ MARINI, II., 255; MÜNTZ-FAVRE, La Bibl. du Vatican, 307–310. To complete the history of the Vaticana I think it well to draw attention to two * Despatches of the Ferrarese Envoy, Arlotti, which have escaped the notice of Müntz-Favre. On Jan. 3, 1488, he reports * Lo inventario de li libri de la bibliotecha apostolica è fornito e tengolo in casa consignatome da M. Demetrio [de Lucca, Custode of the Vaticana under Sixtus IV.; see MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.* 299, and PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 433 *seq.*, Engl. trans.]. On Dec. 16, 1488, Arlotti writes: * Demetrio nostro custode de la bibliotecha apostolica has been very ill, but is now better. State Archives, Modena.

§ NOLHAC, *loc. cit.*, 5.

the time of Innocent VIII. and how the movement had penetrated to the lower classes.*

Towards the end of April in that year some masons working in the Fondo Statuario belonging to the Olivetan Fathers of Sta Maria Nuova, came upon some ancient monuments. This property is situated in the midst of the well-known bed of ruins, about six miles from Rome on the Appian way, which is called Roma Vecchia. They found here two pedestals of statues with inscriptions belonging to the Praefectus praetorie Herennius Potens; the remains of a vault in which the freedmen of the *gentes* Tullia and Terentia were buried; and finally a sarcophagus without any inscription, containing a body in a marvellous state of preservation. This was evidently owing to the efficacy of the composition which had been employed in embalming it, and which consisted of a mixture of balsam, cedar oil, and

* The most trustworthy account of the discovery of the body of the Roman maiden in 1485, is to be found in the diary of the Notajo di Nantiporto, 1094. See also BARTH. FONTIUS to Fr. Sacchetti, published by JANITSCHEK, first, in the Gesellschaft der Renaissance, 120, and then, in a better version, in the Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft, VII., 239–40; also two other letters printed by HÜLSEN in the Mittheil. d. Œst. Instituts, IV., 435–38 (here too is the best criticism on the narratives). In addition to these *cf.* INFESSURA, 178 *seq.* (*cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom. XI., 532 *seq.*). SIGISMONDO DE CONTI, II., 44–45; ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO, Dies geniales, III., c. 2, and RAPHAEL VOLATERRANUS, Comment. urb., 954 (Lugduni, 1552). I found another, as yet unprinted, account in the *Protocollo Notarile of Paolo Benevieni (B. 494), entitled: Nuove Ricordo chome negli an. dom. 1485, del mese d' Aprile ci fu lettere da Roma chome in via Appia presso a S. Sebastiano luogo detto capo de bove in uno sepolcro marmoreo fu trovata una fanciulla morta integra nolle [= non le] manehava nulla ne naso ne capitelli [=capezzeli] (*cf.* Dizion. d. Crusca, ed. 4) ne labra ne denti ne lingua ne capelli imo piu che la carne cedeva e stemossi de circa 1700 anni fusse stata sotterra con una cuffia di filo d'oro all' ungheresca e per certi inditii che fusse Tulliola figliuola di Marco Tullio Cicerone. State Archives, Florence.

turpentine.* The body was immediately taken to the Palace of the Conservators, where it was exhibited to the public. The whole city seems, from the sensational character of most of the accounts, to have gone mad with joy and excitement. The antiquarians and Humanists were in ecstasy; the eager curiosity of the populace was insatiable. Rome was flooded with all sorts of contradictory reports and conjectures, many of them wild exaggerations or pure inventions. The extraordinary variations in the accounts, in which the few grains of personal observation or authentic history are largely outweighed by the matter supplied by the imagination of the narrator, betray the universal excitement. All are agreed as to the wonderful state of preservation of the body and as to its sex. They describe with enthusiasm the suppleness of the limbs, the blackness of the hair, the perfection and whiteness of the nails and teeth. Ornaments are also said to have been found on the head and fingers of the body.

The eager crowd which from morning till night beset the Palace of the Conservators to gaze on the dead Roman maiden could only be compared to the scene when a new Indulgence had just been proclaimed. This passionate enthusiasm about the body of a heathen seems to have aroused serious alarm in the mind of Innocent VIII., lest it should prove the harbinger of a paganisation of the lower classes which would have worse consequences than that of the men of letters. He gave orders to have the body, which had begun to turn black from ex-

* HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*, 89, quotes a botanist who thinks it most probable that the composition was mainly olive oil to which resin and aromatic substances were added. This conjecture is contradicted by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 44, who expressly states that the mixture was believed by experts who had examined it to consist of the ingredients mentioned in the text.

posure to the air, removed in the night and buried outside the Porta Pinciana.*

* The account given in the text is founded on HÜLSEN'S in the Mittheil. d. Œst. Instituts, IV., 433–49, which corrects and completes H. Thode's essay in the same periodical, p. 75–91. Thode's conjecture that the well-known head of a girl at Lille is a true portrait of this maiden is here shewn to be unfounded. H. GRIMM, in the Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, IV., 104–8, comes to the same conclusion; and HEYDEMANN, in Lützow's Zeitschr., XXI., 8 *seq.*, equally rejects this hypothesis. The Roman accounts describe long black hair, small ears, and a low forehead; whereas in the head at Lille the girl has auburn hair, the ears are remarkably large, and the forehead too high for beauty according to classical ideas. On this subject *cf.* also BURCKHARDT, I., 230, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 555–6; REUMONT, III., 1, 363; Courrier de L'Art (1883), 312; L'Art, XXXV. (1883), 1; Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, VI., 18. In regard to the date of the discovery, Hülsen has observed that it would be interesting to ascertain whether the English Envoys, whose arrival is mentioned by the Not. di Nantiporto concurrently with the finding of the body, did actually come to Rome on April 19. Since Hülsen wrote, "Burchardi Diarium" has appeared and solves this question, as (I., 145) the arrival of the Envoys, April 20, 1485, is mentioned in it.

CHAPTER VI.

Defence of the Liberties and Doctrines of the Church.—The Bull on Witchcraft, of 1484.—Moral Condition of the Roman Church. — Increase of Worldliness amongst the Cardinals.

It was not in politics alone that Innocent VIII. found his authority contemned and attacked; in purely ecclesiastical matters the case was no better. Next to Naples the Republics of Venice and Florence were the two States which gave him the most trouble by their persistent encroachments on the rights and independence of the Church. In the negotiations with Venice in connection with the removal of the ecclesiastical penalties imposed upon this city by Sixtus IV., Innocent had done his best to protect the Venetian clergy against arbitrary taxation and the interference of the State in appointments to benefices, but with little success.* As time went on, it became evident that the Signoria had no notion of giving up its pretensions to absolute control in ecclesiastical as well as in temporal matters. In the year 1485 the See of Padua fell vacant. Innocent VIII. gave it to Cardinal Michiel. The Venetian government nominated the Bishop of Cividale, Pietro Barozzi. Neither party would give way. The Pope sent a special Envoy to remonstrate with the Signoria, but he could make no impression; the Republic refused to yield, and finally had recourse to violence. The revenues

* Navagiero, 1192.

of all the benefices held by Cardinal Michiel within the Venetian dominions were confiscated, and on this the Pope and the Cardinal gave up the contest.*

The death of the illustrious Cardinal Marco Barbo, Patriarch of Aquileia, in 1491, was the occasion of a new and sharp contest between Venice and Rome. Innocent VIII. had on 2nd March bestowed this dignity on the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, the learned Ermolao Barbaro, who had accepted it without first obtaining the necessary permission from the Venetian government. For this the Signoria resolved to punish Barbaro severely. They had intended to obtain the Patriarchate for Niccolò Donato, Bishop of Cittanova, and that Barbaro should be forced to resign. The new Patriarch himself being out of reach, his father was threatened with severe pecuniary penalties, unless he could persuade his son to give way. On this Barbaro was anxious to resign; but, as the Pope would not permit this, the Signoria summoned him to appear within twenty days before the Council of Ten, under pain of banishment and the confiscation of all his Venetian benefices. Ermolao chose the latter alternative; he devoted the rest of his life to the pursuit of learning, and died in exile in 1493. During the life-time of Innocent VIII., the Patriarchate remained vacant, the Venetian government meanwhile absorbing its revenues; under Alexander VI. it obtained the nomination of Donato.†

Florence and Bologna did not fall far behind Venice in attacks on the rights and liberties of the Church. In Florence, Innocent was obliged to protest against the

* NAVAGIERO, 1192–3; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 36.

† MALIPIERO, 687–8; NAVAGIERO, 1200; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 35, 47; SANUTO, Diari, I., 746–7; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 2, 151 *seq.*; UGHELLI, V., 130–31; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, II., 1, 123 *seq.*; CECCHETTI, I., 309.

arbitrary taxation of the clergy; * in Bologna against the punishment of a priest by the secular tribunal, in contravention of the Canon-law.† He was equally forced more than once to make a stand against the Milanese Government in defence of the liberties of the Church.‡

Outside of Italy there was no lack of troubles of the same nature. Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, especially behaved towards the Church with a high-handed insolence that had to be resisted. In the year 1485 he promulgated a decree that no prelate who did not reside in Hungary, was to possess or draw the revenues of any benefice within the kingdom. He at once proceeded to put the law in force by intercepting one of the officials of the Cardinal Bishop of Erlau, taking from him 25,000 ducats which he was bringing to his master in Rome, and carrying the money back to Buda. In the same year he came into open collision with Rome by appointing Ippolito d'Este, a mere child, to the Archbishopric of Gran. In vain Innocent represented to the King that to entrust the government of a diocese to a child "was as unreasonable as it was wrong." Corvinus replied by maintaining that "on other occasions His Holiness had accepted less capable, and from an ecclesiastical point of view, more objectionable persons than Ippolito; and further declared, that whoever else the Pope might appoint, no one but his nominee should touch the revenues of the diocese;" and in order to give due emphasis to this declaration, he announced that 2000 ducats out of these revenues would be sent to Ferrara as "a foretaste." Finally, the King carried his point and in the

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 35.

† *Cf.* the * Briefs to Bologna, dat. Rome, Sept. 4 and Oct. 30, 1486, Feb. 9 and May 26, 1487. State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.

‡ See * Brief to Milan, dat. Rome, April 18, 1492. (Milanese State Archives.) Autog., III., and DESJARDINS, I., 536.

Summer of 1489 Ippolito came to Hungary and was installed in his Archbishopric.*

Though in this matter Innocent was forced to give way, he stood firm in insisting on the liberation of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, who had been put in prison by Mathias. Several Briefs having proved of no avail, in the Autumn of 1488, the Nuncio, Angelo Pecchinolli was sent to remonstrate by word of mouth. Mathias now said he was ready, pending the result of the proceedings against him, to hand over the Archbishop to the safe-keeping of the Papal Legate; but the promise was hardly made before it was withdrawn. Upon this the Legate calmly but firmly pointed out to the angry King the difficult position in which he was placed by this action on his part, he having already informed the Pope of the promise made by Corvinus. "If I now contradict what I have just stated," he said, "either His Holiness will think that I am a liar, or that your Majesty's word is not to be trusted." With great difficulty Pecchinolli at last prevailed upon the King to undertake to release the Archbishop from prison and send him, at the Legate's choice, either to Erlau or Visigrad, there to be kept under guard, and the promise was fulfilled.†

In France as in Hungary Innocent VIII. had to withstand most unjustifiable attacks on the rights of the Church. In 1485 we find him complaining that in Provence the secular authorities set at naught and ill-treated the clergy. Throughout the kingdom Church matters were often tyrannically dealt with, Parliament withheld its *placet* from the Pope's Bulls, obedience to his commands was frequently refused, and the Universities persisted in appealing from the Pope ill-informed to the

* FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 287 *seq.*, 289.

† *Ibid.*, 248, 258 *seq.*; THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 497, 508 *seq.* See also FRAKNÓI in the periodical Századok (1883), 489 *seq.*

Pope better-informed.* Innocent VIII. had to enter repeated protests against the Pragmatic Sanction; at the close of the year 1491 he endeavoured by means of a Concordat to place his relations with France on a better footing.† Similar encroachments on the part of the rulers of England and Portugal had to be resisted. Innocent succeeded in his energetic repudiation of the pretension of John II. of Portugal to make the publication of Papal Bulls and Briefs depend on a *placet* from the Government, and the Pope forced him to relinquish it.‡ In January 1492 he promulgated a general constitution in support of the immunities and liberties of the Church.§ Notwithstanding all this, Sigismondo de' Conti accuses Innocent VIII. of negligence in defending the rights of the Church. He adduces as instances of this negligence the Pope's acquiescence in the taxation of the clergy in Florence and other Italian States, and his toleration, after the treaty with Lorenzo de' Medici, of things in Perugia which were derogatory to the dignity of the Church.||

Perhaps he was really more to be blamed for the concessions which, on purely political grounds, he made to Ferdinand of Spain. In December 1484 he bestowed on him the patronage of all the churches and convents in Granada and all other territories conquered or to be

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 282.

† *Cf.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 184, 211 *seq.*, 287, 291 *seq.*, and *supra* Chap. IV.; and also BALUZE, IV., 28 *seq.*

‡ HARDUIN, Conc., IX., 1511 *seq.*; WILKINS, III., 617; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 286; BELLESHEIM, Irland, I., 572. In regard to Portugal, see SCHÄFER, II., 645 *seq.*, and the *Brief to the King of Portugal of Feb. 3, 1486, Lib. brev. 19, f. 162. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1491, n. 17.

|| SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 142.

conquered from the Moors.* To these he added later, extensive rights of provision in Sicily.†

Only one canonisation, that of the Margrave Leopold of Austria, of the Babenberg family, took place during the reign of Innocent VIII. The Emperor Frederick III. had already asked both Paul II. and Sixtus IV. for the canonisation,‡ and repeated his request to Innocent VIII. immediately after his election; in consequence the date of the ceremony was fixed for Christmas 1484.§ It actually took place on January 6, 1485.‖

Requests were made to Innocent VIII. from Sweden for the canonisation of Catherine, daughter of S. Bridget,¶ from the Grand-master of the Teutonic Order; for that of

* Colección de los Concordatos, 231; MORONI, 68, p. 112; PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 200.

† SENTIS, 102; *ibid.*, 108, on the Royal exequatur which was rigidly enforced in Sicily. In a *Document of Ferdinand's, dat. in terra Platiae, 1484, Dec. 13, it is decreed, quod facta discussione cum magna curia et fisci patrono non procedatur ad executorias alicujus bullae Apcae praenotatae per fratrem Marium de Patti de Abbatia S. Pantaleonis. (State Archives, Palermo: Regia Monarchia, I., 911.) In the same place is a *Bull of Innocent VIII.: Romanum decet pontificem, dat. Romae, 1485, Non. Maii, in qua papa confirmat privilegia facta in fundatione monasterii S. Salvatoris (close to Messina; ordinis S. Basilii) per Rogerium et alios successores, ex qua bulla,—says the compiler of this collection with marked emphasis — confirmatur monarchia considerata fundatione dicti monasterii.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 168 (Engl. trans.); KEIBLINGER, Melk., I., 637, and SCHLECHT, Zamometč, 46. *Cf.* Instructio nomine Ces. Maj. pro ven. dom. Petro Kuener, 1481, Kal. Oct. in the "Romana" of the House, Court, and State Archives in Vienna (so far as I know is yet unprinted).

§ *Brief to the Emperor Frederick III., dat. Sept. 25, 1484, Lib. brev. 18, f. 14b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ Bull., V. 299-303; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 31 *seq.*; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093; H. PEZ, Hist. S. Leopoldi, 125 *seq.* Viennae, 1747.

¶ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 61.

Dorothea of Marienwerder,* and from King Ferrante for Jacopo della Marca; † none, however, of these processes were concluded during his Pontificate.

Amongst the ecclesiastical acts of Innocent VIII. mention must be made of the much-contested privilege which he granted to the Abbot, John IX. of Citeaux, and to the Abbots of the four first Cistercian daughter-houses, of powers to confer sub-deacon and deacon's orders, the former on all members of the Order, and the latter on the monks in their own monasteries.‡ The Bulls of Innocent VIII., granting various privileges to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians are undoubtedly genuine.§ In consequence of the decrease of leprosy, which, towards the close of the 15th century, had become very rare, in 1490 Innocent dissolved the Order of Lazarists and united them with the Knights of St. John. But this Bull took effect in Italy only, and was not accepted by the French.||

* See THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 233. LÄMMER in Kath. Wochenblatt der Diöcese Culm, 1860, p. 44; WÖLKY, Urkundenbuch des Bisth. Culm, I., 574–5; and HIPLER, Joh. von. Marienwerder und Dorothea von M., 122 (Braunsberg, 1865); and Zeitschr. für Gesch. Ermlands, X., Heft, 2.

† TRINCHERA, II., 110–11.

‡ Bull of April 9, 1489, Exposuit tuae devotionis, printed in HENRIQUEZ, Regula et Privilegia Ord. Cist., 109 (Antverp., 1630); JANAUSCHEK, Orig. Cist., I., p. x. (Vindob., 1877); and especially PANHÖLZL, in the Stud. a. d. Benediktin., V., 441 *seq.*, are in favour of the genuineness of this Bull; they do not seem to have noticed the fact that precisely in that year, 1489, several Bulls were forged; *cf. infra*, p. 351.

§ See in SERDONATI, 20, the Bull Ord. Praedic., IV., 7, 12, 29, 32, 43; and KOLDE, Augustinercongregation, 206. Innocent also frequently exerted his authority in favour of the members of the various Third Orders and for their protection. *Cf.* his *Letters to the Town Council and the Bishop of Basle, both dated Romae, Non. Maii A° 2°. Franciscan Archives of Hall in the Tyrol.

|| Leo X., at the request of Charles V., endeavoured to revive the

Innocent VIII. shewed great zeal in the defence of the purity of the Faith against the numerous heresies which cropped up during his time in many different directions.* The Waldensian and the Hussite heresies were the two which occupied him most. In Dauphiné the Waldenses not only preached their false doctrines openly, but put to death those who refused to join them. In the Spring of 1487, Innocent sent Alberto de Cattaneo to Dauphiné who with the help of the King of France succeeded in almost entirely eradicating them in this province.† In Bohemia also, where Innocent recognised King Ladislaus' title, he

Order in Calabria and Sicily; and Pius IV. sought to secure freedom of election to its members, but unsuccessfully. The French knights of this Order, whose Grand-master ceased, from the time of Innocent VIII., to be recognised in Rome, lingered on till the reign of Henry IV. This king took possession of all the property that still remained to them,—estates, priories and benefices,—and handed it over to a congregation which he founded and called the Order of S. Lazarus of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which perished in the Revolution. See Hist.-Polit.-Blätter XXVIII., 625; HAESER, I., 862, ed. 3; III., 87; CIBRARIO, Les ordres religieux de St. Lazaire. Lyon, 1860.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 57; 1488, n. 7. (The *Brief here cited is dated Rome, May 10, 1488. *Lib. brev. 20, f. 34); BERNINO, 212. Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 552 *seq.*; GUETTÉE, VI., 61 *seq.*; Bull Ord. Praedic., IV., 5; LEA, II., 143, 266 *seq.*; III., 621; FULGOSIUS, De dictis lib. IX., c. 11. *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Archbishop of Mayence, dat. Rome, June 18, 1486, and to the Abbot of Weingarten, dated the same day. Lib. brev. 18, f. 203–4b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Besides the detailed Report of SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 302 *seq.*, *cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1487, n. 25; BERTHIER, Hist. de l'Église Gallic., lib. L., an. 1487; and especially CHEVALIER'S exhaustive work, Mém. Hist. sur les Hérésies en Dauphiné, 38 *seq.* (Valence, 1890). See also GUETTÉE, VIII., 64 *seq.*; and BENDER, Gesch. der Waldenser (Ulm, 1850), 81, and 125 on the persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont: as also HAHN, 744 *seq.*; and LEA, II., 159 *seq.*

was successful in effecting the reconciliation of a number of Hussites with the Church.*

The arrival in Rome of the famous Pico della Mirandola in the year 1486, brought to light the jealous care with which the integrity of the Faith was guarded in the Papal city. Many of the opinions put forth by this gifted but fanciful and impulsive philosopher were made up of a confused medley of Platonic and Cabalistic notions.† Brimming over with youthful ambition and conceit, Pico announced his intention of holding a public disputation in which he would produce no less than 900 propositions in "dialectics, morals, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, theology, magic and Cabalism" for discussion. Some of these would be his own; the rest would be taken from the works of Chaldean, Arabian, Hebrew, Greek, Egyptian and Latin sages. In regard to those that were his own, and which he purposed to defend by arguments worked out in his own mind, he expressly declared that he would "maintain nothing to be true that was not approved by the Catholic Church and her chief Pastor, Innocent VIII." He invited learned men from all parts of the world, offered to pay their travelling expenses, and confidently expected to score a brilliant triumph. The reverse, unfortunately, was what happened. Some experienced theologians declared several of the proposed theses to be tainted with heresy, and in conse-

* See PALACKY, V., 1, 303, *cf.* 381, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 19; 1486, n. 58; 1487, n. 24.

† TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., IV., 96 *seq.*; MEINERS, Lebensbeschreibungen, II., 1 *seq.*; RITTER, IX., 291 *seq.*; STÖCKL, III., 167 *seq.*; BERTI, in the Rivist. Contemporanea, XVI. (Torino, 1859); REUMONT, Lorenzo, VI., 80 *seq.*, 460, ed. 2. PFÜLF in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 1549 *seq.*, ed. 2; VILLANUEVA, XVIII., 43 *seq.*; TRIPEPI, in the periodical Il Papato, an. XVI., Serie 5, vol. XXI., p. 1 *seq.*, and 30 *seq.*; CALORI CESIS, Giov. Pico della Mirandola (Bologna 1872), and Gabotto's notice in Rassegna d. Lett. Ital. (1895) III., 202 *seq.*

quence the Pope refused to permit the disputation, and appointed a commission of bishops, theologians and canonists to examine them. This commission pronounced some of Pico's propositions to be heretical, rash, and likely to give scandal to the faithful; many contained heathen philosophical errors which had been already condemned, others favoured Jewish superstitions. The judgment was perfectly just, and was adopted by Innocent,* and though a great number of the propositions were acknowledged to be Catholic and true, the reading of the whole series was forbidden on account of the admixture of falsehood. Nevertheless, since the character of the theses was purely academic, and since the author had expressed his willingness to submit them to the judgment of the Holy See, and had sworn never to defend any similar assertions, no blame of any sort was to attach to Pico's reputation. The Papal Brief pronouncing this decision was dated August 4, 1486, but was not published till December.† Meanwhile Pico—so his enemies assert—in great haste "in twenty nights," composed an apology explaining his propositions in a Catholic sense, which he dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, and had printed in Neapolitan territory, antedating it (May 31), so as to avoid any appearance of defending what the Pope had condemned, after having previously declared his absolute submission to the judgment of the Church. Pico on his side maintained that he had not known of the Papal

* Some of the theses are undoubtedly irreconcilable with Catholic dogmas. One, for instance, asserts that Our Lord descended into hell only virtually and not in reality; that a mortal sin being limited by its relation to time cannot receive an eternal punishment; that the witness borne by magic and Cabalism to the divinity of Christ was as valid as arguments drawn from legitimate science; MEINERS, II., 24 *seq.* *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, Stor. d. Lett. Ital., VI., 1 32b.

† This is expressly stated by the Ferrarese Envoy in CAPPELLI, 70. The Brief is to be found in Bull., V., 327–9.

Brief, until told of it the 8th January, 1489, when he was on his way to France. This probably was literally not untrue; but it can hardly be supposed that when he wrote his apology he had no inkling of the contents of the Brief, which had been written on August 8.

Matters now became more complicated. Pico was charged with having broken his oath, and endeavoured to give greater publicity to his views. In consequence he was summoned to Rome, and efforts were made to have him arrested.* Thanks to the energetic mediation of Lorenzo de' Medici, Pico was permitted to retire to a villa in the neighbourhood of Florence. Meanwhile a complete change had been wrought in the young scholar's soul by the unexpected humiliation. Hitherto his life had been much the same as that of other young men of his rank and position. From henceforth he renounced all desire for fame and ambition, and gave himself up entirely to prayer, penance and works of mercy, except in so far as he still continued to prosecute his theological and philosophical studies with redoubled zeal. These resulted in the production of several exegetical and philosophical works; one of which, on the seven enemies of religion—unbelievers, Jews, Mahomedans, pagans, heretics, false Christians, and occultists (astrologers, magicians, etc.),—was never finished. By Savonarola's advice he resolved upon entering the Dominican Order, but his life of eager and unremitting toil was cut short by death, before he had time to carry out his purpose. He died November 17, 1494. In the previous year the new Pope, Alexander VI. had, in an autograph Brief granted him absolution, in case he might have indirectly violated his oath, and also the assurance, that neither by his apology nor in any other way

* *Cf.* the Bishop of Lucca's letter of Dec. 5, 1487, in CAPPELLI, 75, n. 3, and the Papal Letter of Dec. 16, 1487, published by FITA, in the Boletin de la R. Acad. de la Historia, XVI., 315–16 (1890).

had he ever been guilty of formal heresy. There is no mention in the Brief, as has been asserted by some writers, of the theses condemned by Innocent VIII.*

The Jews in Spain were a source of considerable trouble to Innocent VIII. They had become a real danger to the population by their usury and their proselytising. In 1484, the Pope took measures to counteract the evil; and in the following year he granted permission to several Jews and heretics to make their abjuration privately, but "in presence of the King and Queen."† About the same time disturbances broke out in Aragon on account of the introduction into that province of the Inquisition. The Jews who had submitted to baptism, called Maranos, opposed the measure by every means that they could. Money proving of no avail they determined to resort to assassination. On

* This disposes of the attempts of some Rosminians (see G. PAGANI, Giov. Pico della Mirandola, condannato da Innocenzo VIII., and prosciolto da Alessandro VI., in the periodical Il Rosmini, Vol. V., n. 4, p. 232–49, Milano, 1889), to represent the pronouncement of Alexander VI. as contradicting that of Innocent VIII. *Cf.* Civiltà Cattolica (1883), II., 616 *seq.*; (1889) II., 262 *seq.* Osservatore Cattolico (Milano, 1889), N. 91 and 93. Scuola Cattolica an. XVII., Vol. XXXIII., p. 560 *seq*; TRIPEPI, in the articles quoted *supra*, especially 37 *seq.* (where the Brief of Alexander is printed). See also REUSCH, Index, I., 59, wherein is to be found (p. 58) the Constitution of the Papal Legate, Niccolò Franco, of the year 1491, which contains the earliest known prohibition of any printed book (amongst others Pico's Theses appear in it). Reusch acknowledges that Pico was treated with the greatest consideration at Rome.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 80, 81; 1485, n. 21. On Innocent VIII. and the Spanish Inquisition see LLORENTE, I., 281 *seq.*, 289–91, 307 *seq.*; GAMS, Kirchengeschichte Spaniens, III., 2, 22 *seq.*; FITA, in Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Hist., XVI., 367 *seq.* (shews Llorente's inaccuracy); RODRIGO, II., 99 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 104; the Bull printed on p. 101 *seq.*, confirms the account given of the Spanish Inquisition in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 398 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

September 15, 1485, the inquisitor, Pedro Arbues, who has been quite groundlessly accused of extreme harshness, was attacked in the Cathedral of Saragossa, and mortally wounded.* This and other occurrences shewed that it was necessary to have recourse to severe measures. Crucifixes were mutilated, consecrated hosts profaned; in Toledo a plot was concocted by the Jews for obtaining possession of the city on Good Friday, and massacring all the Christians. Ferdinand finally determined to resort to a drastic remedy; on March 31, 1492, an edict was published requiring all Jews either to become Christians, or to leave the country by the 31st July.† Most of the Spanish Jews crossed over to Portugal; a good many went to Italy,‡ and to Rome, where they were treated with great toleration by the majority of the fifteenth century Popes.§ Many Spanish Jews who had been banished in former years had

* The Canonisation of P. Arbues in 1867 (*cf.* G. COZZA, P. de Arbues, Roma, 1867) gave rise to most violent attacks against the Holy See; REUSCH, Kleine Schriften 286 *seq.*, has shewn that the bitterest of these were written or instigated by Döllinger. In regard to Döllinger, *cf.* HEFELE, in the Deutschenvolksblatt, 1867, Nos. 121, 134, 173, 185; Civ. Catt., 6 Serie, XI., 273 *seq.*, 385 *seq.*; Hist.-Polit.-Bl., LX., 845 *seq.*; GAMS, Spanien, III., 2, 25 *seq.*, and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 599 *seq.* *Cf.* also ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 73 *seq.* At Döllinger's instigation (see MICHAEL, Döllinger, 236 *seq.* [1892]), Kaulbach composed his partisan sketch "Arbues." The unhistorical character of this work is acknowledged by REUSCH, *loc. cit.*, and LEA: The Martyrdom of S. P. Arbués, New York, 1889.

† HEFELE, Ximenes, 290 *seq.*; AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, Hist. de los Judios de España, III., 604 *seq.*, and FITA, Edicto de los Reyes Católicos desterrando de sus estades á todos los Judìos, in Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Hist., XI., 512–28 (1887). On the danger to Spain from the Jews see C. F. HEMAN, Die Historische Weltstellung der Juden, 24 *seq.* Leipzig, 1882, ed. 2.

‡ Rev. d'Études Juives, XV., 117.

§ *Ibid.*, VII., 228.

settled in Rome, and even contrived to insinuate themselves into various ecclesiastical offices; an abuse which Innocent took measures to prevent.*

Torrents of abuse have been poured forth against Innocent VIII. on account of his Bull of December 5, 1484, on the subject of witchcraft. It has been obstinately maintained that the Pope by this Bull authoritatively imposed on the German nation the current superstitions in regard to the black art, demonology, and witchcraft.† There could not be a greater distortion of facts than is involved in this assertion. All evidence goes to shew that long before the Bull of Innocent VIII. the belief in witchcraft had prevailed in Germany. The "Formicarius" of the Dominican inquisitor Johannes Nider, which appeared at the time of

* INFESSURA-TOMMASINI, 227. The Oratio passionis dominice habita coram Innocentio Octavo contra cervicosam iudeorum perfidiam of Ant. Lollius, *s.l.a.* et typogr. PANZER, IX., 183, has a certain connection with this.

† K. MÜLLER, Bericht üb. d. Gegenw. Stand d. Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vorreformatorischen Zeit, 56. The first person who accused Innocent of being the originator of the infatuation which gave rise to the whole body of proceedings against witchcraft, was the Protestant pastor J. M. Schwager (Gesch. d. Hexenprocesse, I., 39 [Berlin, 1784]). SOLDAN found himself unable to agree with this statement, as a large number of the trials for witchcraft had preceded the publication of the Bull. Nevertheless he vehemently accuses the Papacy of having by this "infallible pronouncement" raised the belief in witchcraft which hitherto had been condemned by the Church, into a dogma (I., 288 *seq.*). Döllinger reiterated this accusation (JANUS, 269, and Festrede der Münch. Akad., 1887). Although SAUTER (Z. Hexenbulle, 65 [Ulm, 1884]) and HELLER in the Kathol. Schweizerbl., VIII., (1892), 216 *seq.*, had so crushingly refuted it that no serious investigator ought ever to have mentioned it again. *Cf.* also MICHAEL, Döllinger, 257, 547 *seq.*, (Innsbruck, 1894, ed. 3), and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 609 *seq.* Against Buchwald's unhistorical assertions, *cf.* Hist.-Polit.-Bl., XCVIII., 312 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*; and KAYSER, in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 326.

the Council of Basle, shews what fantastic notions on the subject were current at the beginning of the 15th Century. Nearly all the delusions which appear in the later witch-trials are to be found here; though there do not seem to have been so many executions as in later times, it is plain that the process of trial for witchcraft was in use long before the Bull of 1484. But the secular authorities had been accustomed to interfere in these trials, whereas in the process by the Inquisition, the co-operation of the secular power was only invited when the trial was ended.*

What then did Innocent VIII. do?

The Bull of December 5th, 1495, begins by saying that he had lately heard "not without deep concern," that in various parts of upper Germany as also in the provinces, cities, territories, districts, and bishoprics of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen, many persons of both sexes falling away from the Catholic Faith, had contracted carnal unions with devils, and by spells and magic rhymes, with their incantations, curses, and other diabolical arts, had done grievous harm to both men and beasts. "They even deny with perverse lips, the Faith in which they were baptised." Two Dominican professors of theology, Heinrich Institoris in Upper Germany, and Jacob Sprenger, in many parts of the Rhine Country, had been appointed Papal Inquisitors into all forms of heresy; but as the localities named in the Bull had not been expressly mentioned in these inquisitors' faculties, several persons, clerics as well as laymen, inhabiting these places, had presumptuously taken upon themselves to deny that they had power there to arrest and punish these offenders.

* *Cf.* FINKE, in the Hist. Jahrb., XIV., 341 *seq.*, and JANSSEN-PASTOR, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Volkes, VIII., 495 *seq.*, 507 *seq.* It is to be hoped that my respected colleague H. Finke will continue and complete his work.

Hence in the plenitude of his Apostolical powers Innocent now commands that these persons are not to be hindered in the exercise of their office towards any individual, whatsoever may be his rank and condition. After this, in accordance with the old Catholic custom, the Pope goes on to exhort the inquisitors to quench superstition by seeing that the Word of God is duly preached to the people in the parish churches, and employing whatever means may seem to them best calculated to secure that they shall be well instructed. He specially commands the Bishop of Strasburg to protect and assist them, to inflict the severest penalties of the Church on all who resist them or put hindrances in their way, and if necessary to call in the assistance of the secular power.*

The Bull contains no dogmatic decision of any sort on witchcraft. It assumes the possibility of demoniacal influences on human beings which the Church has always maintained, but claims no dogmatic authority for its pronouncement on the particular cases with which it was dealing at the moment. The form of the document, which refers only to certain occurrences which had been brought to the knowledge of the Pope, shews that it was not intended to bind any one to believe in the things mentioned in it. The question whether the Pope himself believed in them has nothing to do with the subject. His judgment on this point has no greater importance than attaches to a Papal decree in any other undogmatic question, *e.g.*, on a dispute about a benefice. The Bull introduced no new element into the current beliefs about witchcraft. It is absurd to accuse it of being the cause of the cruel treatment of witches, when we see in the "Sachsenspiegel" that burning alive was already the legal punishment for a witch. All that Innocent VIII. did was to confirm the

* Bull., V., 296 *seq.*

jurisdiction of the inquisitors over these cases. The Bull simply empowered them to try all matters concerning witchcraft, without exception, before their own tribunals, by Canon-law; a process which was totally different from that of the later trials. Possibly the Bull, in so far as it admonished the inquisitors to be on the alert in regard to witchcraft may have given an impetus to the prosecution of such cases; but it affords no justification for the accusation that it introduced a new crime, or was in any way responsible for the iniquitous horrors of the witch-harrying of later times.*

Unfortunately, nothing of any importance was done under Innocent VIII. for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses.† At the same time Infessura's statement that the Pope had authorised concubinage in Rome is absolutely

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII., 507 *seq.*, where also details are to be found in regard to the witch-hammer.

† Besides renewing the Constitution of Pius II., against the abuse of clerical privileges (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1488, n. 21–22), Innocent VIII. gave various decisions against the abuse of Commendams (see Collecta quorundam privileg. ordin. Cisterciensis opera Johannis Abbatis Cistercii, Divione, 1491) and issued a number of enactments intended to introduce reforms in Italy (*cf.* Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 15, 39), Spain and Portugal (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 26; 1487, n. 19–22; 1488, n. 7), England (WILKINS, III., 632 *seq.*; MANSI, Suppl., V., 343 *seq.*), and other countries (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1490, n. 22; CHRISTOPHE, II., 366; Stud. aus d. Benediktinerorden, VIII., 532; THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 520–21; BUSCH, England, I., 239; Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 65). The date of the *Brief of Reform to the Portuguese Episcopate is 1488, May 8, Lib. brev. 20, f. 25b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Two Briefs of Innocent VIII., dated Nov. 2, 1487, and April 3, 1492, in Cod. IV., VI., 1, of the University Library at Genoa, refer to the reform of the clergy in Perugia. On reforms in the Bishopric of Ratisbon, see JANNER, III., 596, the Bull mentioned there is dated Romae, 1490, 18 Cal. Maji A° 6°. The copy is in the Diplomata of the Cathedral Chapter of Ratisbon, 1, 128 in the Episcopal Archives, Ratisbon. See also SINNACHER, Beiträge zur Gesch. von Brixen, VII., 6 *seq.* Brixen, 1830.

unfounded.* We have documentary evidence that in France, Spain, Portugal and Hungary, he punished this vice with severity.† No proof that he favoured it in Rome has yet been adduced. The mere assertion of an admittedly uncritical chronicler with a strong party bias and given to retailing without examination whatever gossip was current in Rome, could not be accepted in any case without further testimony. In this particular instance it is not difficult to find the probable origin of the calumny. In 1489 it was discovered that a band of unprincipled officials were carrying on a profitable traffic in forged Bulls. Neither entreaties nor bribes were of any avail to induce Innocent to abstain from punishing the crime with the utmost severity. Domenico of Viterbo and Francesco Maldente who were found guilty were hanged, and their bodies burnt in the Campo di Fiore.‡

Now it is notorious that some of the forged Bulls were to this effect,§ and the supposed permission accorded by

* It is characteristic of Infessura's latest editor H. TOMMASINI, that (p. 259) he lets this preposterous observation pass without any comment, whereas all sorts of trifling remarks are honoured with critical notes. He makes no mention of what Raynaldus, ad an. 1490, n. 22, says against Infessura.

† *Cf.* page 350, note †. See in the *Injunction to the Archbishop of Rouen to take measures against clerical concubinage : Nos igitur tales et tantos abusus equo animo tolerare nequeuntes. Lib. brev. 20, f. 167. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37 *seq.*; INFESSURA, 250. *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 357, and ZINGERLE, Beiträge, XXVII. On the burning of another forger of Bulls in May 1489, see LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest, No. 1251, and Mittheil. d. Oesterreich. Instituts, II., 615 *seq.* This forged Bull is still preserved in the Vienna State Archives.

§ One instance of such a forged Bull may be mentioned which called forth a protest from the Pope. The *Letter to the Archbishop of Rouen of June 10, 1488, mentioned in note † above (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad

Innocent VIII. to the Norwegians to celebrate Mass without wine was also a forgery.*

The existence of such a confederacy for forging Bulls, throws a lurid light on the state of morals in the Papal Court, where Franceschetto Cibò set the worst possible example. The increasing prevalence of the system of purchasing offices greatly facilitated the introduction of untrustworthy officials. The practice may be explained, but cannot be excused by the financial distress with which Innocent VIII. had to contend during the whole of his reign † and the almost universal custom of the time.‡

In the Bull increasing the number of the College of Secretaries from the original six to thirty, want of money, which had obliged the Pope to pawn even the Papal mitre, is openly assigned as the reason for this measure.§ Between them, the new and the old secretaries (amongst the later were Gasparo Biondo, Andreas Trapezuntius, Jacobus Volaterranus, Johannes Petrus Arrivabenus, and Sigismondo de' Conti) brought in a sum of 62,400 gold florins and

an. 1488, n. 7), states that the incumbent of St. Albin in Normandy asserted that he had obtained permission from the Pope to marry; the Archbishop is desired to institute legal proceedings against the delinquent both for the crime and the libel.

* Against this assertion made by Raphael Volaterranus (Geogr., l. VII.) see ASCHBACH, Kirchenlexikon, III., 461; and TRIPEPI, Religione e storia o tre pontefici e tre calumnie. Roma, 1872.

† *Cf.* CAPPELLI, 52; CECCONI, Boccolino Guzzoni, 140, 194 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 206 *seq.*, 213, 262; see *ibid.*, 232 *seq.*, for the expenses caused by the contest with Naples. Numberless Briefs deplore the terrible dearth of money. *Cf.* Hist. Jahrb., VI., 455; *Brief of Aug. 2, 1486 to Bologna (State Archives, Bologna); see also *Lib. brev. 19, f. 392, 406, 414. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) A document on the relations between the Fugger family and the Papal Court in the year 1487, in Mittheil. d. Ver. f. Gesch. v. Nürnberg, 1890.

‡ See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 48, ed. 3.

§ Bull., V., 330 *seq.*

received in return certain privileges and a share in various taxes. Innocent VIII. also created the College of Piombatori with an entrance fee of 500 gold florins. Even the office of Librarian to the Vatican was now for sale.* No one can fail to see the evils to which such a state of things must give rise. Sigismondo de' Conti closes his narrative of the increase in the number of secretaries with the words; "Henceforth this office which had been hitherto bestowed as a reward for industry, faithfulness, and eloquence, became simply a marketable commodity.† Those who had thus purchased the new offices endeavoured to indemnify themselves out of other people's pockets. These greedy officials whose only aim was to get as much for themselves as possible out of the churches with which they had to do, were naturally detested in all countries, and the most determined opponents of reform.‡ The corruptibility of all the officials increased to an alarming extent, carrying with it general insecurity and disorder in Rome, since any criminal who

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 248–49; INFESSURA, 230; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 39 *seq.*; TANGL, in Mittheil. d. Instituts, XIII., 75; Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XII., 15 *seq.*, and a *Letter from Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dat. Rome, Feb. 21, 1488: La Sta di N. Sre a questi dì per liberarse da certi debiti et interesse, premissa matura consultatione, ha venduto l'intrata del suo secretariato ch' è in expeditione de brevi et bolle che passano per camera cum certi altri menicoli adiuncti per 62m et 400 ducati partiti fra XXX. secretari novamenti creati. (State Archives, Modena.) In regard to the Auditors of the Rota the number of whom had been fixed by Sixtus IV. in 1472 at twelve, Innocent VIII. in 1485 decided that the office could not be held with a bishopric that was not *in partibus infidelium.* Thus the whole of the honorarium for this service was reserved for the members of the Roman Court; see HINSCHIUS, Kirchenrecht, I., 398–99. On the post of segretario intimo created by Innocent, see PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 4.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 40; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 221.

‡ DÖLLINGER, Kirchengesch., 357.

had money could secure immunity from punishment.* The conduct of some members of the Pope's immediate circle even, gave great scandal. Franceschetto Cibò was mean and avaricious, and led a disorderly life "which was doubly unbecoming in the son of a Pope. He paraded the streets at night with Girolamo Tuttavilla, forced his way into the houses of the citizens for evil purposes, and was often driven out with shame." In one night Franceschetto lost 14,000 ducats to Cardinal Riario and complained to the Pope that he had been cheated. Cardinal de La Balue also lost 8000 to the same Cardinal in a single evening.†

In order to obtain the means for the gratification of such passions as these, or worse, the worldly-minded Cardinals were always on the watch to maintain or increase their power.

This explains the stipulation in the election capitulation that the number of the Sacred College was not to exceed twenty-four. Innocent VIII. however did not consider himself bound to observe this condition, and already in 1485 we hear of his intention of creating new Cardinals. The College refused its consent,‡ and the opposition of the older Cardinals was so violent and persistent,§ that some years passed before the Pope was able to carry out his purpose.‖ In the interval as many as nine of the old Cardinals had

* *Cf.* INFESSURA, 237 *seq.*, 242 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 283 ed., 2., points out that all the other cities in Italy were in the same case.

† REUMONT, Rom, III., 1, 197 *seq.*; and LORENZO, II., 402, ed. 2.

‡ **Despatch from J. P. Arrivabene, dat. Rome, March 16, 1485. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Despatch of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, Feb. 17, 1486, *loc. cit.*

‖ On the negotiations regarding the creation of new Cardinals in the years 1487 and 1488, see BUSER, Lorenzo, 73 *seq.*, and a *Letter from Arlotti, dat. Rome, Nov. 29, 1488 State Archives, Modena.

died; in 1484, Philibert Hugonet (September 12),* Stefano Nardini (October 22), Juan Moles (November 21); in 1485, Pietro Foscari (September) and Juan de Aragon; in 1486, Thomas Bourchier (June) and the good Gabriel Rangoni (September 27); in 1488, Arcimboldi and Charles de Bourbon (September 13).†

Though, in one respect, these deaths facilitated the creation of new Cardinals, on the other, great difficulties were caused by the urgent demands of the various Powers for the promotion of their candidates.‡ In the beginning of March 1489 the negotiations were at last brought to a conclusion, and on the 9th of the month five new cardinals were nominated. Two of these, the Grand-Master of the Knights of St. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Andre d'Espinay, were absent. The three who were on the spot, Lorenzo Cibò (son of the Pope's brother Maurizio), Ardicino della Porta of Novara, and Antoniotto

* In a *Letter from G. A. Vespucci, of Sept. 13, 1486, which says *Heri da nocte morì el Rev^mo^ Car^le^ di Matiscon (State Archives, Florence, F. 39, f. 368), the date differs from that in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 90. There exists a rare contemporaneous impression, Oratio in funere domini r. Card. Matisconensis (*s. l. et a.* 4°) by A. Lollius.

† With BURCHARDI Diarium, I., passim, *cf.* PANVINIUS, 329 *seq.*, and CIACONIUS, III., 146, who, however, is not always accurate; see also BERNAYS, P. Martyr, 6, and BATTAGGIA, Fr. G. Rangoni, 21–26. Venezia, 1881.

‡ **Report of J. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, Dec. 17, 1488. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the insistence of the King of England that the Red Hat should be bestowed on his Lord Chancellor, John Morton, see BROWN, I., 537, and GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 6. In the beginning of 1490, Callimachus made great efforts to obtain the cardinalate for the sixth and youngest son of Casimir of Poland, who had been elected to the Bishopric of Cracow by the Chapter of that Cathedral in 1488, but he was unsuccessful; ZEISSBERG, Polnische Geschichtschreibung, 369. A later request to the same effect from Frederick III., also failed. *Cf.* LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest. No. 1598.

Pallavicini of Genoa, received their Red Hats at once. Three others, Maffeo Gherardo of Venice, Federigo Sanseverino (son of Count Robert), and Giovanni de' Medici were reserved *in petto*.*

Some of the new Cardinals, as Ardicino della Porta, were fit and worthy men,† which made it all the sadder that the natural son of Innocent's brother, and the boy Giovanni de' Medici should have been added to their ranks. Raffaele de Volterra severely blames this open violation of the prescriptions of the Church, and the Annalist Raynaldus rightly endorses his judgment.‡

Giovanni de' Medici, Lorenzo's second son, was then only in his fourteenth year; he was born December 11, 1475. His father had destined him for the Church at an age at which any choice on his part was out of the question, and confided his education to distinguished scholars such as Poliziano and Demetrius Chalkondylas.

At seven years old he received the tonsure, and the chase after rich benefices at once began. Lorenzo in his notes details these proceedings with appalling candour. In 1483, before he had completed his eighth year, Giovanni was presented by Louis XI. to the Abbacy of Font Douce in the Bishopric of Saintes. Sixtus IV. confirmed this

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 332 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 326 *seq.*; SANUDO, Vite, 1244 *seq.*; PANVINIUS, 328–9; CARDELLA, 229 *seq.*; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 236 *seq.*; *Ardicino della Porta writes, ex urbe 9 Martii 1489, to Lorenzo de' Medici: Nuntiamus eidem nos ambos (Ardicino and Giovanni de' Medici) hodie ad cardinalatus dignitatem assumptos fuisse. State Archives, Florence, F. 46, f. 557.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 327 *seq.*

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1489, n. 19. The evil effect of Giovanni's elevation was at once apparent in the efforts which from that moment the Ferrarese Ambassador began to make to obtain the purple for the youthful Ippolito d'Este. **Report from Arlotti, dat. Rome, March 14, 1489. State Archives, Modena.

nomination, declared him capable of holding benefices and made him a Protonotary Apostolic. Henceforth "whatever good things in the shape of a benefice, commendam, rectorship, fell into the hands of the Medici, was given to Lorenzo's son." In 1484 he was already in possession of the rich Abbey of Passignano, and two years later was given the venerable Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino *in commendam.** But even this was not enough for Lorenzo, who with indefatigable persistency besieged the Pope and Cardinals to admit the boy into the Senate of the Church. He did not scruple to represent Giovanni's age as two years more than it really was.† Innocent VIII. resisted for a long time, but finally gave way; and he was nominated with the stipulation that he was to wait three years before he assumed the insignia of the cardinalate or took his seat in the College. Lorenzo found this condition extremely irksome, and, in the beginning of 1490, instructed his Ambassador to do everything in his power to get the time shortened. The Pope, however, who wished Giovanni to devote the time of probation to the study of Theology and Canon-law, was inexorable, and Lorenzo had to wait till the full period had expired. When, at last, the day for his son's elevation arrived he was too ill to be able to assist at any of the ceremonial services.‡ The moment they were concluded the young Cardinal started for Rome,§ where great preparations were being made for his reception.|| On March 22, 1492, the new Cardinal Deacon of Sta Maria

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 361 *seq.*, ed. 2; TOSTI. Monte Cassino, III., 199; CAPPELLI, 65.

† ROSCOE, Leo X., App., 2 *seq.*; BUSER, Lorenzo, 73 *seq.*

‡ ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 37 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 400 *seq.*, ed. 2.

§ DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 278.

|| *Cf.* *Despatch from Boccaccio, dat. Rome, March 21, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

in Dominica entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo; on the following day the Pope admitted him, with the customary ceremonies, to the Consistory.* The General of the Camaldolese, Pietro Delfino, says that the bearing and demeanour of the young Cardinal made a favourable impression upon all present, and that he seemed more mature than could have been expected at his age.† Lorenzo at once wrote to his son an admirable letter of advice and warning, displaying not only great political sagacity and knowledge of human nature, but the Christian faith and sentiment to which he had returned at the close of his life. It is touching to read the earnest exhortations to the young man to lead "an honourable, exemplary and virtuous life" which seemed especially needed by one going to reside in a great city which had become "a very focus of all that was evil." There would be no lack of "bad counsellors, seducers and envious men," who would endeavour to "drag you down into the abyss into which they themselves have fallen. Counting upon your youth they will expect to find this an easy task. Thus it behoves you to set yourself to prove that this hope is unfounded, and all the more because the College of Cardinals is at this moment so poor in men of worth. I remember the days when it was full of learned and virtuous men, and theirs is the example for you to follow. For the less your conduct resembles that of those who now compose it, the more beloved and respected will you be. You must equally avoid the Scylla of sanctimoniousness and the Charybdis of

* See in addition to BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 454 *seq.*, the letter of Delfino, cited in the following note and that of Giov. de' Medici in ROSCOE, App., 17 *seq.*; J. L. Cataneo's **Report, dat. Rome, March 27, 1492, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Letter of P. Delfino, in ROSCOE, App., 16, and in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 557-9.

profanity. You should study to be moderate in all things, and avoid everything in your demeanour and in your words that might annoy or wound others, and especially not make a parade of austerities or a strict life. Your own judgment, when matured by experience, will instruct you better how to carry out my advice than any detailed counsels that I could give you at present.

"You will have no difficulty in understanding how much depends on the personality and example of a Cardinal. If the Cardinals were such as they ought to be, the whole world would be the better for it; for they would always elect a good Pope and thus secure the peace of Christendom. Endeavour, therefore, to be such that it would be well for all if the rest were like you. Be careful in all your intercourse with the Cardinals and other persons of high rank, to be guarded and reserved, so as to keep your judgments cool and unswayed by the passions of others, for many act irrationally, because their aims are illicit. Keep your conscience clear by avoiding in your conversation anything that could be injurious to others. I think this is of the first importance for you, for if any one from passion thinks he has a grudge against you, it is much easier for him to change his mind if there is no real ground of offence. It will be best for you, in this your first sojourn in Rome, to make much more use of your ears than of your tongue.

"To-day I have given you up entirely to God and to His Holy Church. Be therefore a worthy priest, and act so as to convince all who see you that the well-being and honour of the Church and the Holy See are more to you than anything else in the world. If you keep this steadfastly before you, opportunities will not be wanting for being of use both to this city and to our family; for to be united with the Church is advantageous to the city, and you must be the

bond of union between the two, and the welfare of our house depends on that of Florence. Though the future must always remain impenetrable, yet I am confident that if you are constant in generously pursuing the good of the Church, we shall not fail to find means to secure ourselves on both sides.

"You are the youngest member of the College, not only of the present College, but the youngest that has ever as yet been made a Cardinal. You should, therefore, in all that you have to do with your colleagues be observant and respectful, and keep yourself in the background in the Papal Chapels and Consistories, or in deputations. You will soon learn which among them are deserving of esteem. You must avoid both being and seeming to be intimate with those whose conduct is irregular. In conversation keep to generalities as far as you can. In regard to festivities, I think it will be prudent for you to keep rather under the mark than to run any risk of exceeding what is permissible.

"Spend your money rather on keeping a well-appointed stable and servants of a superior class than on pomp and show. Endeavour to lead a regular life, and gradually get your household into strict order,—a thing which cannot be done immediately where both master and servant are new. Silks and jewels are for the most part unsuitable for you, but you should possess some valuable antiques and handsome books, and your circle should be rather select and learned than numerous. Also, it is better for you to entertain your friends at home than to dine out often; but in this matter you should follow a middle course Let your food be simple and take plenty of exercise; many in your present position bring great sufferings on themselves by imprudence. This position is one which is both secure and exalted, and thus it often happens that those who have suc-

ceeded in attaining it become careless and think they can now do as they like, without fear of consequences, whereby both it and their health are imperilled. In regard to this point I recommend you to use all possible caution, and to err rather on this side than on that of over-confidence.

"Let it be your rule of life to rise early. Setting aside the advantage of the practice to your health, it gives you time to get through the business of the day and to fulfil your various obligations, the recitation of the office, study, audiences, and whatever else has to be done. There is another practice which is also very necessary for a person in your position, namely, always, and especially now that you are just beginning, to call to mind in the evening what will be the work of the day following, so that you may never be unprepared for your business. If you speak in the Consistory, it seems to me, considering your youth and inexperience, that it will be in all cases best and most becoming for you to adhere to the wise judgment of the Holy Father. You will be often pressed to speak to the Pope about this thing or that, and to make requests. Make it your rule in these early days to make as few of these as possible, so as not to be burdensome to him; for he is disposed by nature to give most to those who are least clamorous. It will be useful to be on the watch to say nothing that would annoy him, but rather to tell him things that will give him pleasure; while modesty in preferring requests corresponds best with his own disposition, and puts him in a better humour. Take care of your health."*

Lorenzo de' Medici's low estimate of the College of Cardinals in the time of Innocent VIII. was unfortunately only too well founded. There still remained, no doubt, some good men in the Senate of the Church, but they were

* FABRONIUS, II., 308 *seq.*; REUMONT, II., 406 *seq.*, ed. 2.

quite borne down by the worldly majority; Marco Barbo, one of the leaders of the nobler party, had died in the Spring of 1491; his death, says one of his contemporaries, was a great loss to the Holy See and to the whole of Christendom.*

Of the worldly Cardinals, Ascanio Sforza, Riario, Orsini, Sclafenatus, Jean de La Balue, Giuliano della Rovere, Savelli, and Rodrigo Borgia were the most prominent. All of these were deeply infected with the corruption which prevailed in Italy amongst the upper classes in the age of the Renaissance. Surrounded in their splendid palaces, with all the most refined luxury of a highly-developed civilisation, these Cardinals lived the lives of secular princes, and seemed to regard their ecclesiastical garb simply as one of the adornments of their rank. They hunted, gambled, gave sumptuous banquets and entertainments, joined in all the rollicking merriment of the carnival-tide,† and allowed themselves the utmost licence in morals; this was specially the case with Rodrigo Borgia. His uncle, Calixtus III., had made him a Cardinal and Vice-Camerlengo while he was still very young, and he had accumulated benefices to an extent which gave him a princely income. In the time of Sixtus IV. he was already, according to d'Estouteville, the wealthiest member of the College of Cardinals‡. One of his contemporaries describes him as a fine-looking man and a brilliant cavalier, cheery and genial in manner, and winning and fluent in conversation; irresistibly attractive to women. His immoral courses brought upon him a severe rebuke from

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 35.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 163, ed. 3. On the corruption amongst the upper classes, see *supra*, p. 114 *seq.*

‡ JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 130. After d'Estouteville's death he was certainly richer than any other Cardinal. See DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 279.

Pius II.* But nothing had any effect. Even after he had received priest's orders, which took place in August 1468, and when he was given the Bishopric of Albano, which he afterwards exchanged in 1476 for that of Porto, he still would not give up his dissolute life; to the end of his days he remained the slave of the demon of sensuality.

From the year 1460 Vanozza de Cataneis, born of Roman parents in 1442, was his acknowledged mistress. She was married three times; in 1474 to Domenico of Arignano; in 1480 to a Milanese, Giorgio de Croce; and in 1486 to a Mantuan, Carlo Canale, and died in Rome on the 26th of November, 1518, aged 76. The names of the four children whom she bore to the Cardinal are inscribed on her tomb in the following order :—Cæsar, Juan, Jofré, and Lucrezia.†

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 452 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), where also will be found some observations on Rodrigo's modern apologists. I have not mentioned the name of Nemeč amongst these, because he himself acknowledges (p. 38) that in his account of Rodrigo's manner of life he has relied entirely on Ollivier, who is now wholly discredited. Douais' article in the periodical La Controverse : Les débats récents sur la vie privée d' Alexandre VI., which agrees in all points with L'ÉPINOIS, Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXIX. (1881), 357 *seq.*, contains some very good remarks on Alexander's apologists.

† This inscription, originally in Sta Maria del Popolo, has disappeared from thence, like many others, but has been preserved in a collection of MSS. It is absurd to doubt its genuineness, as Ollivier does (REUMONT, in Bonner Literaturblatt, V., 690). It runs thus :—

Vanotiae Cathanae Cesare Valentiae Joane Cädiae.
Jofrido Scylatii et Lucretia Ferrariae ducib. filiis nobili
Probitate insigni religione eximia pari et aetate et
Prudentia optime de xenodochio Lateranen. meritae
Hieronymus Picus fideicomiss. procur. ex test. pos.
Vix. an. LXXVI. m. IV., d. XIII., obiit anno MDXVIII., XXVI. No.

FORCELLA, Iscriz., I., 335. Vanozza is the diminutive of Giovanna, as Paluzzo is of Paolo ; according to Jovius, in her later days she strove to make reparation for her sins by her piety. See, in regard to her,

Besides these, Cardinal Rodrigo had other children,—a son, Pedro Luis, certainly born before 1460,* and a daughter, Girolama, but apparently by a different mother.† Rodrigo turned to his Spanish home for the careers of these children, who were legitimised one after another. In 1485 he obtained the Dukedom of Gandia for Pedro Luiz; in the deed of King Ferdinand he is described as the son of noble parents, and he is stated to have distinguished himself by his military acquirements and to have rendered valuable services in the war against the King of Granada. Pedro was betrothed to the daughter of Ferdinand's uncle and major-domo, Donna Maria Enriquez; in 1488 he came to Rome, and in August fell sick there and died, certainly before the year 1491. He left all that he possessed to his brother Juan, the best of Rodrigo's sons, born in 1474, who eventually married his brother's intended bride.‡

The Cardinal's third son Cæsar, born in 1475,§ was

GREGOROVIUS, VII., 305 *seq.*, ed. 3, and Lucrezia, 10 *seq.*; HENRI DE L'ÉPINOIS, Alexandre VI., in Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXIX. (1881), 379 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, IX., 1, 80 *seq.*; XVII., 324 *seq.*, 510; and Arch. d. Soc. Rom, VII., 402 *seq.*

* This may be gathered from the deed of legitimation granted by Sixtus IV., Nov. 5, 1486, in which Pedro Luis is called "adolescens," and described as the issue de tunc Diacono Cardinali et soluta, and also from another document of the year 1483, according to which Pedro Luis must have been at least twenty years of age; THUASNE, Burchardi Diarium, III.; Suppl. à l'App., p. III. *seq.*; OLIVER, 108, thinks that P. Luis must have been born about 1458, *cf.* 429.

† CITTADELLA, Albero, n. 32 and p. 49 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 18; REUMONT, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 330.

‡ HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 50 *seq.*; OLIVER, 437 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*

§ REUMONT, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 327, places the birth of Cæsar in 1473; THUASNE, Burchardi Diarium, I., 420, thinks that he was born in 1475; while GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 12, and YRIARTE, I., 36, maintain that it was in 1476; L'ÉPINOIS, Alexandre VI., 371 *seq.*, shews that none of these dates are probable, and that 1475 seems more

from childhood, without any regard to his aptitude or wishes, destined to the Church. Sixtus IV. on 1st October, 1480, dispensed him from the canonical impediment for the reception of Holy Orders, caused by his being born out of wedlock, because he was the son of a Cardinal and his mother was a married woman.* At the age of seven years Cæsar was made a Protonotary, and was appointed to benefices in Xativa and other cities in Spain, and under Innocent VIII. to the Bishopric of Pampeluna.† Jofré also, born in 1480 or 1481, was intended for the Church‡; he is mentioned as a Canon, Prebendary, and Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Valencia. Lucrezia, born in 1478,§ seemed, like her brothers, destined to make her home in her father's native land, for in 1491 she was betrothed to a Spaniard.

The mother of these children, Vanozza de Cataneis, possessed substantial property in Rome, and a house on the Piazza Branca, close to the palace which Rodrigo Borgia had built for himself. This mansion, now the Palazzo Sforza-

likely to be the correct one; HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 53, is in favour of 1474–5; OLIVER finally decides on 1475. See 409, and *cf.* 420, 427, 434, and this agrees with a document dat. Aug. 31, 1492, which has been discovered in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Appendix, N. 15.

* De Episcopo Cardinali genitus et conjugata; L'ÉPINOIS, 373; OLIVER, 420.

† OLIVER, 427 *seq.*, and *infra*, Appendix, N. 15.

‡ *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 378, and the document of Aug. 31, 1492, which I found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Appendix, Nos. 17 and 19.

§ GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 12 (13 in ed. 3), considers it certain that Lucrezia was born in 1480. This view, which is shared by REUMONT in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 331, and LEONETTI, seems proved by L'ÉPINOIS, 376, to be incorrect. CITTADELLA also, Albero genealogico, e di memorie sulla famiglia Borgia, 34, and the Civ. Catt., 3 Serie, IX., 724, hold to the year 1478.

Cesarini, was considered the finest, not only in Rome, but in the whole of Italy.*

In the reign of Innocent VIII. Jacopo da Volterra writes of Cardinal Borgia: "He has good abilities and great versatility, is fluent in speech, and though his literary attainments are not of the first order, he can write well. He is naturally shrewd, and exceedingly energetic in all business that he takes in hand. He is reputed to be very rich, and his influence is great on account of his connections with so many kings and princes. He has built for himself a splendid and commodious palace midway between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Campo di Fiore. His revenues from his numerous benefices and abbeys in Italy and Spain and his three bishoprics of Valencia, Porto, and Cartagena are enormous; while his post of Vice-Camerlengo is said also to bring him in 8000 gold ducats yearly. He possesses immense quantities of silver plate, pearls, hangings, and vestments embroidered in gold and silk, and learned books of all sorts, and all of such splendid quality as would befit a king or a pope. I pass over the sumptuous adornments of his litters and trappings for his horses, and all his gold and silver and silks, together with his magnificent wardrobe and his hoards of treasure.†

We obtain a highly interesting glimpse into the amazing luxury of Cardinal Borgia's palace from a hitherto unknown letter of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, dated 22nd of

* Gasp. Veronen. in MURATORI, III., 2, 1036; ROSMINI, Storia di Milano, IV., 32; CANCELLIERI, in Effem. Lett., 1821; RATTI, I., 84 *seq.*; and LEONETTI, I., 151 *seq.* Gregorovius is mistaken in saying that the Borgia Palace was not built till 1482. The authorities cited above shew that it was completed essentially in the reign of Paul II. *Cf.* the document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 13.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 130; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 17, who both here and in his 3rd ed. confounds Chartaginensis with Carthago.

October, 1484.* On that day Borgia, who, as a rule, was not a lover of the pleasures of the table, gave a magnificent banquet in his palace, at which, besides Ascanio, three other Cardinals were included amongst the guests, one of these being Giuliano della Rovere. The whole palace was splendidly decorated. In the great entrance-hall the walls were covered with hangings representing various historical events. A smaller room opened into this, also hung with exquisite Gobelin tapestry. The carpets on the floor were selected to harmonise with the rest of the furniture, of which the most prominent piece was a sumptuous state-couch upholstered in red satin, with a canopy over it. This room also contained the Cardinal's credenza, a chest surmounted by a slab, on which was ranged for exhibition an immense quantity of table plate and drinking vessels in gold and silver, while the lower part was a marvel of exquisitely finished work. This apartment was flanked by two others, one of which was hung with satin and carpeted, the divan in it being of Alexandrian velvet; while in the other, still more splendid, the couch was covered with gold brocade and magnificently decorated. The cloth on the central table was of velvet, and the chairs which surrounded it were exquisitely carved.†

Ascanio Sforza, created a Cardinal from political motives in 1484, by Sixtus IV. and loaded with benefices, came next to Rodrigo in wealth and love of show. He was an ardent sportsman, and "Rome stood amazed both at the splendour of his Court and the number of horses, dogs, and

* See the text in Appendix, N. 2, from the original which I found in the Milanese State Archives.

† This picture of the culture of the age has the advantage over GREGOROVIUS' description in Lucrezia, 15 *seq.*, of the house of Vanozza. It is the account of an eye-witness, and not the more or less fanciful composition of a writer living four hundred years later.

hawks, which he kept. The enormous income which he drew from his many benefices and large temporal possessions, hardly sufficed to meet his boundless expenditure. The Roman annalist says he dares not attempt to describe the feast which Ascanio gave in the latter days of Innocent VIII. in honour of Ferrantino the Prince of Capua, Ferrante's grandson, lest he should be mocked as a teller of fairy tales." His friends justly praised his talent for diplomacy and politics. He had also a taste for literature and art, wrote Latin and Italian poems, and was a generous patron of learned men. It should also be mentioned that Ascanio, in dispensing his gifts, was not unmindful of the poor.* From a moral point of view Cardinal Federigo Sanseverino† and the wealthy Battista Orsini,‡ were not much better than Rodrigo Borgia.

Another of the worldly-minded Cardinals was the astute and ambitious La Balue who, since 1485, had returned to reside in Rome. His two master passions were politics and the accumulation of riches. In spite of all the vicissitudes of his tempestuous life, when he died in 1491 he was worth 100,000 ducats.§

Equally worldly was Giuliano della Rovere, undoubtedly the strongest personality in the College of Cardinals. Politics and war were the main interests in his life. He "bore the stamp of the 15th Century to which he belonged,

* REUMONT, III., 1., 199 *seq.*, 263 ; Arch. St. Lomb., II., 379 *seq.* ; RATTI, I., 78 *seq.*, gives way too much to his tendency to take a favourable view.

† *Cf.* Costabile's *Despatch dat. Rome, 1508, March 4. State Archives, Modena.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 264. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustiniani, I., 309.

§ *Cf.* the very complete monograph of FORGEOT, 125 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, in which the Cardinal's character is impartially and correctly estimated.

and carried into the next age its strength of will, its impetuosity in action, and its largeness in aim and idea. He was proud, ambitious, self-confident and hot-tempered, but never small or mean.* He paid no more regard to his vow of celibacy than the majority of his colleagues; but through all his worldliness there was in him a certain seriousness, a capacity for something better, which was destined to shew itself in later years.† He was a noble patron of Art, and maintained his interest in it through all the stormiest episodes of his life.‡

Between the wealth acquired by the accumulation of benefices and foreign bishoprics, and their connections with so many powerful kings and princes, the influence of the Cardinals had become so great that there was manifest danger of the subjection of the Papacy to the Sacred College. The power of Giuliano della Rovere, during the reign of Innocent VIII. and the high-handed manner in which he exercised it, went quite beyond the bounds of what was permissible. During the war of the Neapolitan Barons, he, on his own authority, had a Courier sent by the Duke of Milan, arrested, and his papers taken from him. The Milanese, Florentine, and Ferrarese Ambassadors of that day complained that two Popes were more than they could do with; one was quite enough.§

These too-human princely Cardinals are likened by a

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 19 *seq*, ed. 3.

† Giuliano della Rovere had three daughters (see LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 159), also SANUTO, VII., 32 and a *Despatch from the Mantuan Ambassador, dat. Rome, Jan. 25, 1506. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The other accusations brought against him by his bitterest political opponents are not proved. See SYBELS Hist. Zeitschrift, XXXVII., 305, and our Vol. VI., Book 2 (Engl. trans.).

‡ MÜNTZ, Raphael, 269 *seq*.

§ Concerning this influence, see *supra*, p. 242. For the Ambassadors' remonstrance, see CAPPELLI, 48.

modern historian to the old Roman Senators. "Most of them, like the Pope, were surrounded by a Curia of their own and a circle of nephews. They went about in martial attire and wore swords elaborately decorated. As a rule, each Cardinal had several hundred servants and retainers living in the Palace, and their number might be on occasion augmented by hired *bravi*. This gave them a following among the populace who depended on the Cardinals' Courts for their livelihood. Most of these Princes of the Church had their own factions, and they vied with each other in the splendour of their troops of horsemen, and of the triumphal cars filled with masques, musicians, and actors, which paraded the streets during the Carnival, and on all festal occasions. The Cardinals of that day quite eclipsed the Roman nobles."*

The encouragement which they gave to Literature and Art, the patronage of which was looked upon as an indispensable adornment of greatness in the age of the Renaissance, is the one redeeming spot in the lives of these Princes of the Church, which in all other ways were so scandalously out of keeping with their spiritual character. It was not strangers only who were scandalised by the behaviour of these unworthy priests;† many born Italians, especially the mission preachers,‡ complain bitterly of them. The most energetic and outspoken of all was the Domini-

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 280, ed. 3; ARTAUD, 166. The passage about the Carnival revels is on p. 265, in the new edition of INFESSURA.

† Men were not wanting to whom these shameful courses became an occasion for altogether rejecting the institution of the Papacy. A Canon of Bamberg, Dr. Theodorich Morung, who had gone to Rome on some affairs of the Diocese in the spring of 1485, on his return home expressed himself in this sense, see KRAUSSOLD, Th. Morung, II., 76 (Bayreuth, 1878), and Suppl., VII.; also J. SCHNEIDER, in the Archiv für Gesch. v. Oberfranken, XVII. (1888), 5 *seq.*

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 175.

can, Girolamo Savonarola. In his sermons, but more especially in his poems, he paints a gruesome picture of the corruptions in the Church, and prophesies terrible manifestations of the wrath of God in the near future.*

Anticipations of impending judgments prevailed widely during this period. Many prophets appeared, and predictions of the complete overthrow of all existing institutions, and the condign punishment of the corrupt clergy, were passed from mouth to mouth.† One appeared in Rome in 1491.

A contemporary writer describes the preacher as poorly clad and only carrying in his hand a small wooden cross, but very eloquent and well educated. He collected the people in the public squares and announced in prophetical tones that in the current year there would be much tribulation, and Rome would be filled with the sound of weeping. In the year following the distress would spread over the whole country; but in 1493 the Angel Pope would appear (Angelicus Pastor), who would possess no temporal power, and would seek nothing but the good of souls.‡

The prophecies of Savonarola, however, produced far more impression than any of these, and the extraordinary influence of his sermons and writings is, for the most part, due to them. Many of them had their origin in visions, which he thought had been granted to him. In the Advent of 1492 he had a dream which he firmly held to be a Divine revelation. "He saw in the middle of the sky a hand

* SAVONAROLA'S poem De ruina ecclesiae (1475), to be found in an edition by Guasti, of only 250 copies, entitled Poesie di Fra G. Savonarola, 10–15 (Firenze, 1862), is full of appalling descriptions. *Cf. supra*, p. 182.

† *Cf.* MALIPIERO, 372. The verses here given are older. The text in a Vatican MS. is not the same. See BERGER, in the Bibl. de l'École d'Athènes et de Rome, VI., 1–2 (1879).

‡ INFESSURA-TOMMASINI, 264–5.

bearing a sword, on which these words were inscribed—Gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter." He heard many clear and distinct voices promising mercy to the good, threatening chastisement to the wicked, and proclaiming that the wrath of God was at hand. Then, suddenly the sword was turned towards the earth; the sky darkened; swords, arrows and flames rained down; terrible thunderclaps were heard; and all the world was a prey to war, famine and pestilence." *

* VILLARI, Savonarola, 165-6 (Engl. trans.).

BOOK II.

ALEXANDER VI. 1492–1503.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CORONATION OF ALEXANDER VI.—BEGINNINGS OF NEPOTISM.—DISPUTE WITH FERRANTE OF NAPLES, AND RECONCILIATON.—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS IN SEPTEMBER, 1493.

DURING the long sickness of Innocent VIII., there had been much disorder in Rome, and the approaching vacancy of the Papal throne was anticipated with some apprehension;* but the stringent precautionary measures adopted by the Cardinals and the Roman Magistrates proved sufficient, and all went off quietly enough.† One of the Envoys reports, August 7, 1492, "It is true that a few were killed and others wounded, especially during the time that the Pope was *in extremis*, but afterwards things went better."‡ Nevertheless the situation was sufficiently critical to make the Cardinals anxious to get the funeral over as soon as possible. During the interval Raffaele Riario, as Camerlengo, was an able and energetic ruler. Jean Villier de La

* *La parte Orsina e Colonnese tutta in arme si levo secondo l'usanza a guardia di Roma e per defender ciascuna se seguiva alcuna occisione. PARENTI, Cod. Magliabech., XXV., 2, 519, f. 133b. (National Library, Florence.) See SANUDO, 1249; L. Chieregato in Sigismondo de' Conti, II., 94, and Atti Mod., I., 429. Against Infessura, see CIPOLLA, 671, n. 1.

† See Florentine Despatches in THUASNE, I., 570 *seq.*, 573 *seq.*, 575.

‡ *Vero è che le (l'è) stato amazato qualche persona e feriti alcuni altri maxime in quello tempo chel papa era in quello extremo: poi le cose tuta via sono asetate meglio. Despatch of Brognolo, dat. Rome, 1492, August 7. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Grolaie, Abbot of St. Denis, for whom a few years later, Michael Angelo carved his Pietà, was then Governor of Rome.*

The question at once arose whether the two Cardinals, Sanseverino and Gherardo, nominated but not proclaimed by Innocent VIII., would be admitted to the Conclave. The first arrived in Rome on the 24th July and was immediately received into the Sacred College.† Gherardo, who arrived on August 4th, bringing with him a strong letter of recommendation from the Venetian Council of Ten, was acknowledged as Cardinal on the following day. Many prophesied that his white Camaldolese habit would be a passport for him to the supreme dignity.‡

Immediately upon the conclusion of the obsequies § on August 6th, the Conclave began; twenty-three Cardinals

* See *supra*, Introduction, p. 79.

† INFESSURA, 278, and *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, July 26, 1492. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Acta Consist. Alex. VI., Pii III., Jul. II., Leon. X., f. 1. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) This unsigned volume will in future be simply cited as Acta Cons. Besides this, in the Consistorial Archives for the reign of Alexander, are (1) a vol. signed C² Acta Consist. 1489–1503, corresponding in all essentials to the one just quoted; (2) another similar vol. marked No. 88: Ex libro relat. Consist. ab initio pontif. Alex. VI.; (3) another giving much fuller details, but only embracing a short period, marked C 303: Liber relat. Consistorii tempore pontificatus f. re. Alex. PP. VI. a die XII. Nov., 1498, usque in diem V. Julii, 1499. INFESSURA, 278, erroneously gives Aug. 1, as the day of Gherardo's arrival. The recommendation from Venice is in BROSCH, Julius II., 312; the prophecy is mentioned by *PARENTI, *loc. cit.* National Library, Florence.

§ The expense of these was considerable. In the Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, we find on the 30th March 1493; *Diversis mercatoribus (Medici, Sauli, Marcelli, Ricasoli, Gaddi, Rabatti) 16,033 ducat. de camera 58 Bolog. pro totidem expositis in pannis et cera et aliis rebus in exequiis pape Innocentii VIII. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

were present in the Sistine Chapel.* The usual address was spoken by the Spanish Bishop, Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. He drew an impressive picture of the melancholy condition of the Church, and exhorted the Assembly to make a good choice and to choose quickly. The foreign Ambassadors and a number of noble Romans undertook the guardianship of the Conclave.†

In view of the failing health of Innocent VIII., the Cabinets of the Italian Powers had for some time been occupied with the probability of a Papal election. In the Milanese State Archives there is an undated memorandum from an Envoy of Sforza, which probably belongs to the beginning of the year 1491, and gives much interesting information. According to it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza seems to have believed that he could reckon with security on seven of the cardinals and probably on four more. His rival, Giuliano della Rovere, had nine on his side; neither, therefore, possessed the necessary majority of two-thirds. The writer of this account thought that Cardinal Ardicino della Porta or the Portuguese Cardinal Costa, most probably the latter, had the best chance.‡

On July 25, 1492, when the death of Innocent VIII.

* HERNGERÖTHER, VIII., 302; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 50, and GREGOROVIUS give respectively 20 and 25 as the number of Cardinals, both wrongly. The number given in the text, in which PAGI, V., 325, NOVAES, VI., 81, HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 15 *seq.*, and SÄGMÜLLER, 116, agree, is placed beyond doubt by the *Acta Consist. of the Consistorial Archives.

† Atti. Mod., I., 429, and ZURITA, V., 14b. Speech of Carvajal in MARTÈNE, Thes., II., 1775 *seq.*; *Cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 27, 9–32. *Regest, 867, f. 73, Secret Archives of the Vatican, shews that J. Burchard also took part in the Conclave.

‡ See Appendix, N. 8, Milanese State Archives. See DESJARDINS I., 549, on the negotiations concerning the Papal Election in May 1492.

was hourly expected, the intrigues in regard to the election were at their height. After Costa and Ardicino della Porta, Caraffa and Zeno were most spoken of. Some were for Piccolomini and some again for Borgia. The Florentine Envoy writes, "In regard to these intrigues I will not attempt to enter into details which would only serve to bewilder you and myself, for they are innumerable and change every hour."* The same Envoy, on the 28th July, mentions strenuous efforts on the part of the Roman Barons to influence the election,† and the foreign Powers were equally active. It was currently reported that Charles VIII. of France had paid 200,000 ducats into a bank, and the Republic of Genoa 100,000, in order to secure the election of Giuliano della Rovere.‡ On the strength of this they fully expected that their countryman would be chosen.§

As soon as it became known that the Pope was seriously ill an eager interchange of communications at once commenced between the Italian Powers, but they were unable to come to any agreement. Naples and Milan were at daggers drawn.|| The King of Naples, made doubly cautious by defeat, was anxious to conceal his views on the important subject as far as possible. On the 24th of July, the Milanese Ambassador at Naples reports that the King had declared that he would not meddle in any way with the Papal election; he had seen what came of that at the making of the last Pope, and would let things take their

* THUASNE, I., 572 *seq.*, 575.

† *Ibid.*, I., 577.

‡ Report of Cavalieri to Eleonora of Aragon, August 6, 1492, in Atti Mod., I., 429.

§ *Anonymous letter dated Genoa, 1492, July 24. Milanese State Archives.

|| PETRUCELLI, I., 343, and SÄGMÜLLER, 227.

course at Rome, as far as he was concerned.* All the same, the Ambassador was convinced that Ferrante was busily occupied with the approaching Conclave. In his opinion the King would favour the election of Piccolomini, and Camillo Pandone would be sent to Rome to win over Giuliano della Rovere to his side. Ferrante's letters to his Ambassador, Joviano Pontano, which however have not yet been fully known, throw somewhat more light upon this subject.

From the first of these, dated July 20, it appears that the King favoured the election of Giuliano della Rovere; he commissioned Virginio Orsini, who was in his pay, to promote it, and desired Fabricio and Prospero Colonna secretly to approach Rome.† The second letter in cypher to Pontano bears date July 22. The King here pronounces against the election of Costa and prefers Pietro Gundisalvo de Mendoza; Pontano is told to inform Cardinal Giuliano of this.‡ Giuliano seems to have had the King's entire confidence, and the election of Zeno was only contemplated as an alternative in case that of Giuliano could not be secured. Naples and France, though preparing for a final and decisive hostile encounter, supported meanwhile the same candidate for the Papal Chair.§

Giuliano della Rovere did not want for rivals. An extremely interesting, as yet unprinted report of Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to Eleonora, Duchess

* **Report of A. Stangha, dat. Naples, July 24, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 143.

‡ This letter, which is wanting in Trinchera, is found in NUNZIANTE, Lettere da Pontano, 26–27.

§ SÄGMÜLLER, 116; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56, says expressly: Ferdinandus post Innocentii obitum omnibus machinis est annixus, ut Alexandrum spe pontificatus deiiceret; totus namque incubuit in Julianum Card. S. Petri ad vincula, etc.

of Ferrara, gives Ardicino della Porta, of the party of Ascanio Sforza, and universally popular on account of his kindly disposition, as the first of these. He puts Caraffa in the second place, Ascanio Sforza in the third, Rodrigo Borgia in the fourth. Of this latter he says, that on account of his connections he is extremely powerful, and able richly to reward his adherents. In the first place, the Vice-chancellorship, which is like a second Papacy, is in his gift; then there are the towns of Civita Castellana and Nepi, an Abbey at Aquila, with a revenue of 1000 ducats, a similar one in Albano, two larger ones in the kingdom of Naples; the Bishopric of Porto, worth 1200 ducats, the Abbey of Subiaco including twenty-two villages, and bringing in 2000 ducats. In Spain he possesses upwards of sixteen bishoprics, and a number of abbeys and other benefices. Besides these, the Bishop mentions as aspirants to the Supreme office the Cardinals Savelli, Costa, Piccolomini, and Michiel, and many also, he adds, speak of Fregoso, Domenico della Rovere and Zeno. All these Cardinals had dismantled their palaces, for on such occasions it often happens that false reports are started to provide an excuse for plundering the house, as is customary when any one is elected Pope. Besides all these, continues the Ferrarese Envoy, the name of Cardinal Giuliano is whispered in secret, and yet after all, only one can be chosen, unless indeed there should be a schism.* A despatch dated August 4, from the Milanese Ambassador, confirms the statement that Ardicino della Porta had good prospects. It says that Giuliano sees that neither he nor Costa are likely to succeed, and that he must therefore support some adherent of Ascanio, and among these Ardicino della Porta is the only satisfactory one. He will

* See the text of this important *Document (which I found in the State Archives at Modena) in the Appendix, N. 9.

not have Borgia at any price, and Piccolomini is an enemy of his; Ferrante's opposition makes Caraffa impossible; there is a chance, however, that Cardinal della Rovere may prefer Zeno to Ardicino della Porta. The same Ambassador also mentions an interview on the 4th of August between della Rovere and Ascanio in the Sacristy of S. Peter's, in which the former was supposed to have offered the Milanese Cardinal his personal support and that of his friends.*

The situation on the eve of the Conclave seemed to be that Giuliano della Rovere, who was hated for the influence he had exerted over the late Pope and for his French sympathies, had no chance whatever, while the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Ascanio Sforza, favoured by Milan, had good reason to hope for success. The chances were against Borgia because he was a Spaniard, and many of the Italian Cardinals were determined not to elect a foreigner;† but the wealth of the Spanish Cardinal was destined to turn the scales in the Conclave, as the shrewdness of the Ambassador had foreseen.

The Conclave began on August 6th. An election Capitulation was drawn up,‡ and then the contest began. For a long time it remained undecided. On the 10th of August the Florentine Ambassador, who was one of the guards of the Conclave, writes that there had been three scrutinies without result; Caraffa and Costa seemed to have the best chance.§ Both were worthy men, and one, Caraffa, was a

* **Letter of S. Taberna, dated Rome, August 4, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

† CORIO, III., 463. This passage shews that Gregorovius, VII., 300, ed. 3, is wrong.

‡ Florentine Despatch of August 6, in THUASNE, I., 577; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 31, and Cod. XXXII., 242, in the Barberini Library in Rome.

§ I give in Appendix, N. 10, this *Despatch (which strange to say

man of distinguished abilities. The election of either would have been a great blessing to the Church.* Unfortunately a sudden change came over the whole situation. As soon as Ascanio Sforza perceived that there was no likelihood that he would himself be chosen, he began to lend a willing ear to Borgia's brilliant offers. Rodrigo not only promised him the office of Vice-Chancellor with his own Palace, but in addition to this the Castle of Nepi, the Bishopric of Erlau with a revenue of 10,000 ducats, and other benefices.† Cardinal Orsini was to receive the two

is wanting in Thuasne), from the original in the Florentine State Archives.

* SÄGMÜLLER, 115; as to Caraffa, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, Vol. IV

† According to INFESSURA, 281, Borgia's Palace was to be given to Orsini, and Nepi to Sclafenati; HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 20 *seq.*, has shewn both these statements to be false; Tommasini, who upholds Infessura in all his misstatements, entirely ignores this; Valori, in his important Despatch of the 12th August 1492, in THUASNE, II., 610, states that A. Sforza received what I have mentioned; *cf.* also Manfredi's Despatch of August 16, in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 26. Valori's statements are corroborated from other sources, as is shewn by HAGEN, 20 *seq.* As, however, the simoniacal character of Alexander's election has of late been frequently questioned (see CERRI, 94, NEMEČ, 81 *seq.*; LEONETTI, and following him, TACHY, in the Revue des Sciences Ecclés., XLV. [Amiens, 1882], 141 *seq.*), or entirely denied (see R. DE SORAGNA in the Rass. Naz., X., [1882] 133), it seems advisable to draw attention to some original documents hitherto unknown. The first of these is Brognolo's *Despatch of Aug. 31, 1492, printed in Appendix, N. 18, in which it is true that A. Sforza is not named. But in FRAKNÓI in the Erlauer Diöcesanblatt, 1883, No. 20, the appointment of Ascanio Sforza to the Bishopric of that place appears [Fraknói is mistaken in regard to the date; according to the *Acta Consist. it took place on Aug. 31, and this agrees with the deed of nomination in *Regest. 772, f. 201b: Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept.] and the other gifts can equally be substantiated. Thus the appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship appears from *Decret Eximia tue Circ. industria, dat. Rom, 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. *Regest. 869, f. 1. See also Cod. XXXV., 94, in the Barberini Library which reads (p. 269b) Lecta et publicata fuit suprascripta Bulla Romae in conc. apost.

fortified towns of Monticelli and Soriano, the legation of the Marches and the Bishopric of Carthagena; * Cardinal Colonna, the Abbacy of Subiaco with all the surrounding villages; † Savelli, Civita Castellana and the Bishopric of Majorca; ‡ Pallavicini, the Bishopric of Pampeluna; §

die lunae 27, mensis Aug., 1492. As to the handing over of the Palace, see Appendix, N. 13. The grant of Nepi is certain, see LEONETTI, I., 61; RATTI, I., 86, whose apology for Ascanio is quite futile. Besides this, Ascanio received (*Regest. 773, f. 15b) two Canonries (dat. Laterani 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. A° 1°); f. 45: the Priorate of a Convent in the Diocese of Calahorra, which belonged to Alexander VI. (D. ut S.); f. 167: an Abbey (D. ut S.) and various other favours, f. 187, 260 and 295, all dated, VII. Cal., Sept. 1492. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See Brognolo's *Despatch of Aug. 31, 1492 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in the Appendix, N. 18; THUASNE, II., 610, and *Regest. 772, f. 88b; Bapt. S. Maria Novae diac. Card. de Ursini creatur in provincia Marchiae Anconit. ac civit., terris, castris et locis Massae Trebariae, etc., nec non Asculi ap. sedis legatus ac pro S. P. et R. E. in temp. et spirit. vicarius generalis. Dat. Romae, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. A° 1°. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) As to Monticelli see HAGEN, 23. Hagen is mistaken in regard to Carthagena, for it appears from *Regest. 772 f. 31, that Orsini obtained the Bishopric as administrator in 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. This is confirmed by the *Acta Consist., 1492, ult. Aug., in the Consistorial Archives.

† See Appendix, N. 18 (*Despatch of Aug. 31), and THUASNE, II., 611.

‡ The Florentine Ambassador merely remarks: Al card. Savello s'è dato Civita Castellana et qualche altra cosa, while Infessura (281) adds, ecclesia S. Mariae Majoris; Tommasini does not perceive that this cannot be true; Hagen explains it by saying he was made Arch-priest of this church, but this also is incorrect; Majoris should be read, Majoricensis. This appears from the *Acta Consist. and from Regest. 772, f. 157, where we find that Joh. Bapt. Card. s. Nic. in carcere received the ecclesia Majoricensis which hitherto had been retained by the Pope, dat. 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept.; *ibid.*, f. 4; grant of a monastery to Card. Savelli on the same day. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See also Appendix, N. 18, *Despatch of Aug. 31.

§ *Regest. 772, f. 27 (1492, *s. d.*) and *Acta Consist. 1492 ult. Aug. Consistorial Archives.

Giovanni Michiel the suburban Bishopric of Porto;* the Cardinals Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario and Domenico della Rovere, rich abbacies and valuable benefices.† By these simoniacal means, counting his own vote and those of the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Conti who belonged to the Sforza party, Borgia had thus secured 24 votes, and only one more was wanting to complete the majority of two-thirds. This one however was not easy to obtain. The Cardinals Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini and Zeno were not to be won by any promises however brilliant; and the young Giovanni de' Medici held with them.‡ Cardinal Basso followed Giuliano della Rovere, who would not hear of Borgia's election. Lorenzo Cibò also held aloof from these unhallowed transactions.§ Thus

* *Acta Consist., 1492, ult. Aug. and *Regest. 772, f. 55b: Joh. Michaelis received ecclesia Portuen., which hitherto had been retained by the Pope, dat. Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. A° 1°. Thus LEONETTI, I., 61 and HAGEN, 27, require correction. In *Regest. 869 we also find (f. 39): Joh. Episcopo Portuen., commendatur cantoria, dat. Rom, 1492, IV., Non. Sept. A° 1°; *ibid.*, 41; Joh. etc., reservatur can. et praeb. eccl. Feltren., dat. Rom, 1492 (=1493) Prid. Id. Feb. A° 1°.

† Sclafenati, whom HAGEN, 27, could not find to have received any reward, was given the Cistercian Abbey of Ripolta (*Regest. 772, f. 104, dat. 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. See also TRINCHERA, II., 1, 161–162); Sanseverino (VALORI, *loc. cit.*), was given "la casa del Cardinale che fu di Milano con qualche altra cosa." I am able to add a supplement to this from *Regest. 773, f. 206: grant of an Abbey to Sanseverino, dat. Rom, 1492, XIV. Kal. Nov. In the same document, p. 230, there is mention of a favour bestowed on R. Riario (dat. Rom, 1492, tertio Id. Octob.), and *Regest. 772, f. 40b and 43: grant of benefices to R. Riario, dat. Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. (see HAGEN, 26). D. della Rovere received a Benedictine Abbey in the Diocese of Turin, dat. 1492, tertio Cal. Octob. *Regest. 772, f. 187. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ JOVIUS, Vitae, II., 39, and HAGEN, 18.

§ HAGEN, *loc. cit.*; WAHRMUND'S view (p. 58) namely that Rovere did not come out empty-handed and was instrumental in securing Borgia's election, is contradicted by all authentic sources.

Gherardo, now in his ninety-sixth year and hardly in possession of his faculties, alone remained, and he was persuaded by those who were about him to give his vote to Borgia.* The election was decided in the night between the 10th and 11th August, 1492, and in the early morning the window of the Conclave was opened and the Vice-Chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia, was proclaimed Pope as Alexander VI.† The result was unexpected;‡ it was obtained by the rankest simony. Such were the means, as the annalist of the Church says, by which in accordance with the inscrutable counsels of Divine Providence, a man attained to the highest dignity, who in the early days of the Church would not have been admitted even to the lowest rank of the clergy, on account of his immoral life. The days of distress and confusion began for the Roman Church;§ the prophetic words of Savonarola were fulfilled; the sword of the wrath of

* See SANUDO, Duchi di Venezia, 1250 (also HAGEN, 28) and the *Despatches of Vicomercatus of the 18th Aug. 1492 (Milanese State Archives), and of Trotti, 28th Aug. 1492 (State Archives of Modena), which are in Appendix, Nos. 12 and 14.

† Despatch of A. SFORZA, to his brother, Rom, 1492, Aug. 11: Me congratulo cum la Ex. V. (Milanese State Archives, Cart. Gen.) The notary Pietro Merili, says that the election took place: Summo mane ante ortum solis (GORI, Archivio, IV., 242). The Ricordi di Sacchi in TUCCIA, 426, say "All' Aurora." Valori (in BURCHARDI Diarium, ed. Thuasne, II., 1-2), mentions the 10th hour. The Acta Consist., f. 1b say: De mane circa horam undecimam. Consistorial Archives.

‡ Letter of FRANC. TRANCHEDINUS ex Bononia, Aug. 12, 1492: In questa nocte passata circa le VII. hore è portata qui la nova de la creation del moderno pontefice quale è per sorte venuta in lo rmo Monre Vice-cancellero, preter omnium fere opinionem. (Milanese State Archives Cart. Gen.) See PARENTI, *loc. cit.*, National Library, Florence.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1456, n. 41; 1492, n. 26; also DÖLLINGER, 353-7, and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirchengeschichte, II., 1, 130. In regard to Alexander VI.'s former life, see *supra* p. 362 *seq.*

God smote the earth and the time of chastisement had arrived.*

However just in itself this view of the matter may be, it must not be supposed that the general feeling of the time was unfavourable to the election of Alexander VIth. On the contrary Rodrigo Borgia was looked upon as the most capable member of the College of Cardinals. He seemed to possess all the qualities of a distinguished temporal ruler; and to many he appeared to be just the right man to steer the Papacy, now more than ever the fulcrum on which all the politics of the time were balanced, through the complications and difficulties of the situation. That this was considered enough to outweigh all objections from the ecclesiastical point of view is significant of the tendencies of the time.† One of his contemporaries in describing him only says, he is an ambitious man, fairly well-informed and ready and incisive in speech; of a secretive temperament; singularly expert in the conduct of affairs.‡ Sigismondo de' Conti who had opportunities of getting to know Borgia well, characterises him as an extremely accomplished man, uniting to distinguished intellectual gifts a thorough knowledge of business and capacity for it. "It is now thirty-seven years" he continues "since his uncle Calixtus III. made him a Cardinal, and during that time he never missed a single Consistory unless prevented by illness from attending,

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 165 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† *Cf.* similar appreciations in REUMONT, III., 1, 201; LANGE, 33; and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 303–8, ed. 3, and Lucrezia Borgia, 9, who all justly observe that nothing can be more false than the ordinary conception of Borgia as a morose and inhuman monster. At the same time it is right to mention that the chronicler SCHIVENOGLIA, p. 137, for the year 1459, says of him: De uno aspecto de fare ogni male. This is, however, the only expression of the kind.

‡ Opinion of JACOPO DA VOLTERRA. See *supra*, p. 366 *seq.*; and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 303, ed. 3.

which very seldom happened. Throughout the reigns of Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII., he was always an important personage; he had been Legate in Spain and in Italy. Few people understood etiquette so well as he did; he knew how to make the most of himself, and took pains to shine in conversation and to be dignified in his manners. In the latter point his majestic stature gave him an advantage. Also he was just at the age, about sixty, at which Aristotle says men are wisest; robust in body and vigorous in mind, he was admirably equipped for his new position." Further on the same writer completes the picture, adding, "He was tall and powerfully built; though he had blinking eyes, they were penetrating and lively; in conversation he was extremely affable; he understood money matters thoroughly."* The Spanish Bishop Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, in 1493 speaks in enthusiastic terms of the physical beauty and strength of the newly elected Pope.† Still greater stress is laid upon his imposing

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 53, 270; *cf.* also 268. The age of the Pope is wrongly given by some of his contemporaries, *e.g.*, SCHIVENOGLIA, 137, Porzio (THUASNE, II., 425), and Hieronymus Donato in SANUTO, II., 836. Alexander himself told the Cardinals in Burchard's presence that he was born Jan. 1, 1431; see BURCHARD-THUASNE, II., 425; III., 228. HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 56, says erroneously that Alexander VI. was fifty when he was elected.

† ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 35. As to the portraits of Alexander VI., which all agree in giving him a crooked nose, see YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 79 *seq.* The medal here reproduced represents coarse and, to our taste, far from beautiful features; it does not quite correspond with the fresco by Pinturicchio in the Appartamento Borgia, of which he also gives a copy, and which he considers "presente au point de vue de l'ensemble un aspect de grandeur incontestable." A much better example of this portrait is to be found in the Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto vaticano, quae Romanor. Pontif. erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Chr. Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta. (Typis Vaticanis, 1893, published

presence, a quality that has always been highly valued by the Italians, in the description given of him by Hieronymus Portius in the year 1493: "He is tall, in complexion neither fair nor dark; his eyes are black, his mouth somewhat full. His health is splendid, and he has a marvellous power of enduring all sorts of fatigue. He is singularly eloquent in speech, and is gifted with an innate good breeding, which never forsakes him.*

In all these descriptions nothing is said about Borgia's moral character; but it must not be inferred from this that it was unknown, but rather that public opinion in those days not only in Italy, but also in France and Spain, was incredibly lenient on that point.† Among the upper classes a dissolute life was looked upon as a matter of course; in Italy, especially, the prevailing state of things was deplorable. The profligacy of the rulers of Naples, Milan, and Florence of that time was something almost unheard of.‡ The fact that the lives of many princes of the Church were no better than those of the temporal rulers gave little or no scandal to the Italians of the Renaissance. This was partly due to the general laxity of opinion in regard to morals, but the habit of looking upon the higher clergy mainly as temporal governors, had also something to do with it.

by J. C. Heywood, and dedicated to Pope Leo XIII., but unfortunately the edition consists of only 25 copies). On Caradosso's medals which give the head of Alexander, *cf.* Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsamml., III., 38. On the busts said to be of this Pope in the Berlin Museum, see Preuss. Jahrb., LI. (1883), 408; BODE, Porträtsculpturen, 19, 42; and GRIMM, Michel Angelo, I., 547 *seq.* ed. 5.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 8. *Cf.* also CHRISTOPHE, II., 375; and Lord ACTON'S description of him in the "North British Review," October, 1870, January, 1871.

† CIPOLLA, 672. In regard to Spain, see HÖFLER, Aera der Bastarden, 54.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 114 *seq.*

At the same time, while the irregularities of the Cardinal's earlier life were apparently easily forgiven, much indignation was aroused by the shameless bribery by means of which he had secured his election. There is a stinging irony in Infessura's words; "Directly he became Pope, Alexander VI. proceeded to give away all his goods to the poor," which are followed by the enumeration in detail of the rewards bestowed on each of the Cardinals who voted for him.* In speaking of this simoniacal election, the Roman notary Latinus de Masiis exclaims: "Oh, Lord Jesus Christ, it is in punishment for our sins that Thou hast permitted Thy vicegerent to be elected in so unworthy a manner!"†

Nevertheless, it is a fact that Borgia's election was hopefully welcomed by many both in Italy and abroad. On the 16th of August, 1492, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander VI. which is full of sanguine anticipations.‡ In Rome it was said that the election of so distinguished and genial a Pope, whose good looks and dignified bearing also won the hearts of the common people, augured a brilliant Pontificate.§ As early as August 12 the conservators with some of the most notable of the citizens, 800 in all, came in procession on horseback with lighted torches to the Vatican to greet

* INFESSURA, 281.

† GORI, Archivio, IV., 242. On the other hand, Alexander's simoniacal election is mentioned in the Chronicle of NOTAR GIACOMO, p. 176, without a word of blame.

‡ See the interesting document by which Pico prepared the way for his reconciliation with the clergy in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXV. 360–61.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 308, ed. 3. The speech of G. Maino here quoted, which is taken from a MS. in the Chigi Library, has often been printed; see HAIN, n. 10,975–78; and GABOTTO, Giason del Maino. 162–3.

the new Pope. Bonfires blazed in all directions throughout the city.*

The coronation on August 26 was unusually splendid. Both the Florentine and the Mantuan Ambassadors agree in declaring that they had never witnessed a more brilliant ceremony.† Innumerable multitudes flocked into Rome; nearly the whole of the nobility of the Patrimony was assembled. The streets were decorated with costly hangings, exquisite flowers, garlands, statues and triumphal arches. All the grace and beauty of the Renaissance was displayed, but its darker side was not absent. The Roman epigraphists and poetasters, who some years later were remorselessly to load the name and memory of this Pope with opprobrium, surpassed themselves in the ingenuity and rank paganism of their compliments. It would be impossible to exceed the profanity of some of their productions, of which the following distich is a specimen ‡:—

> "Rome was great under Cæsar, greater far under Alexander,
> The first was only a mortal, but the latter is a God."

* *Cf.* the account in BURCHARD, ed. Gennarelli, 206, and a *Letter from the senator Ambrogio Mirabilia to Barth. Calchus, dat. Rom, 1492, Aug. 13. (Milanese State Archives.) On the rejoicings in Bologna, see GHIRARDACCI, lib. 36, Cod. 768 of the University Lib. at Bologna.

† See THUASNE, II., 615, in the Appendix, N. 18, *Brognolo's Report. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Corio's description reprinted in THUASNE, II., 615 *seq.*, is very fascinating. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 51 *seq.*; Atti dell' Emilia, III., 2, 250; CHRISTOPHE, II., 377 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 187–93. On the beautiful coronation medal, probably designed by Caradosso, see Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunsts., III., 141. In the *Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 524, f. 147, we find entered: Nov. 24, 1492 solvit [thesaurarius Camerae Apost.] ducat. 12,000 (=15,087 de cam. 36 bol.) pro pannis diversarum sortium datis officialibus urbis et aliis personis pro die coronationis. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94, I., Bulletar., 29 Aug. 1492: Alme urbis conservatoribus duc. quinquaginta pro emendis pannis ad coperiendas vias papales. State Archives, Rome.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 202–3.

It is not surprising that good men such as Delfini, the General of the Camaldolese, were scandalised at such unmeasured adulation. "An incident which I saw with my own eyes," writes Delfini to a friend, "forcibly reminded me of the instability of all human things. In the Lateran Basilica the Pope suddenly fainted, and water had to be dashed on his face before he could recover consciousness." * Indeed, at the end of the great day the whole Court was utterly worn out with fatigue, aggravated by the heat and dust. "Your Highness can imagine," writes Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy, "what it was to have to ride from eight to ten miles at a stretch in such a crowd." † Thus the statement of Guicciardini, a bitter opponent of Alexander, that the news of his election filled all men with dismay is proved entirely false. On the contrary, it was hailed with the greatest satisfaction by several of the Italian Powers, notably by Milan. An Envoy reports that Duke Ludovico il Moro was in the highest spirits at the success with which his brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's efforts had been crowned.‡ He had good reason to rejoice. Senator

* THUASNE, II., 4.

† See Appendix, N. 18 (*Report, Aug. 31). The letters in which Alexander VI. announces his election and begs for prayers for the prosperity of his reign, are all dated from the Coronation-day (see CIACONIUS, III., 156–7; SANTAREM, X., 110–11; LEONETTI, I., 312–3; a similar letter in MS. in Cod. 1461 of the Library at Grenoble; another to the Archduke Sigismund in the State Archives at Vienna). In the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94 (cited *supra*, p. 390, note †) we find among the expenses, f. 1, an entry on Sept. 10, 1492 (*cf.* f. 4), septem mazeriis euntibus cum litteris assumptionis in Franciam, Hispaniam, Angliam, Alamaniam, Neapolim, Mediol., Venet. State Archives, Rome.

‡ Trotti's *Despatch, dat. Milan, 1492, Aug. 13: Lo ill. S. Ludovico per il singular honor chel pretende che in questa creatione del pontefice habia havuto et guadagnato il rev^mo Mons. Aschanio supra et ultra modum ne jubila. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also PISTOJA'S Sonnet, quoted by V. Rossi in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV. 209. Hence it is clearly untrue

Ambrogio Mirabilia writes on August 13, that Cardinal Ascanio is the man who made Alexander VI. Pope, consequently it is impossible to exaggerate the power and influence that he possesses; indeed, he is held to be as much Pope as Alexander himself.*

In Florence as in Milan the election was received with public rejoicing and ringing of bells. Before the coronation festivities both Sforza and Alexander himself had written letters to Piero de' Medici, assuring him of their friendly dispositions;† and indeed, the son of Lorenzo had reason to expect kindness from the new Pope. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John was convinced that the wisdom and justice of Alexander VI. would rid the East of the tyranny of the Turks.‡ It is not surprising that in various parts of Italy there should have been some who were dissatisfied with the result of the Conclave. Some such malcontents were to be found even in Genoa, where grateful memories of Calixtus III. caused the majority to hail the elevation of his nephew with joy,§ and when Guicciardini says that Ferrante, King of Naples, wept when he heard that Borgia had been elected, we must not accept the statement too literally.‖ In the

to say, as VILLARI does in Savonarola, I., 164 (Engl. trans., ed. 2): L'Annunzia della sua elezione fu ricevuto in tutta Italia con rammarico universale.

* See in Appendix, N. 11., the *Text from the original in the Milanese State Archives.

† LANDUCCI, 66; THUASNE, II., 113; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 27.

‡ LAMANSKY, 289.

§ SENAREGA, 532, and *Report of C. Stangha, dated Genoa, Aug. 15, 1492, Milanese State Archives.

‖ GUICCIARDINI, Storia d'Italia, I., 1. Although GREGOROVIUS, VII., 316 (310, ed. 3), doubts the correctness of this statement, VILLARI (Savonarola, I., 164, Engl. trans., ed. 2) holds to it; as, nevertheless, in his work on Machiavelli, I., 207, he seems to lean to the opinion of Gregorovius.

King's letters there is nothing to support it, nor was he the sort of man who would have been likely to shed tears on such an occasion; at the same time, Borgia's elevation, which he had throughout strenuously opposed* could not have been agreeable to him; but Ferrante had quite wit enough to conceal his sentiments. He immediately despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander,† couched in the most friendly terms; and on the 15th of August desired Virginio Orsini to assure the Pope of his devotion "as a good and obedient son."‡ Ferrante may at that time have thought it possible to win Alexander VI., though, considering the existing relations between Naples and Rome, which were such that open war might be declared at any moment, the task was not an easy one.§

At the Spanish Court the tension between Rome and Naples excited serious apprehensions. In Spain, Alexander's enterprising disposition was well-known, and he was credited with an ardent desire to accomplish something that should be remembered. While only a Cardinal he had founded the Dukedom of Gandia; and now that he was Pope, what might he not attempt for the aggrandisement of his family? ||

The Venetians made no secret of their displeasure at Alexander's elevation. Their Ambassador at Milan, spoke very plainly to the Envoy from Ferrara of the means by which the election had been carried. It had been obtained,

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56; and DESJARDINS, I., 439.

† Report of the Milanese Envoy, dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 147–8.

§ See TRINCHERA, II., 1, 148, on the conduct of the Papal Governor of Benevento at that moment. Also, Alexander did not so easily forget the King's opposition to his election. See DESJARDINS, I., 439.

|| ZURITA, V., 15; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 58.

he said, by shameless simony and fraud; and France and Spain would certainly withhold their obedience when they became aware of this abominable crime. Many of the Cardinals had been bribed by the Pope, but there were ten who had received nothing, and who were thoroughly disgusted;* the hope here insinuated that a schism would ensue was not realised, for almost all the Powers hastened to profess their obedience to the new Pope in the most obsequious terms. Lodovico il Moro had proposed that all the Envoys of the League,—Milan, Naples, Ferrara, and Florence,—should present themselves in Rome together; but the vanity of Piero de' Medici, who was bent on coming to Rome and making his entry with great pomp at the head of the Florentine mission, upset this plan.† After the Florentines, followed the representatives of Genoa, Milan, and Venice. According to the custom of the time, these delegates were chosen from the ranks of the most distinguished Humanists and scholars. Thus Florence was represented by Gentile Becchi, and Milan by the celebrated Giason del Maino.‡ The addresses delivered on this occasion were admired as master-pieces of humanistic eloquence, and extensively disseminated through the press. They were crammed with quotations from the classics; but, "though the great qualities of the newly-elected Pope were eulogised in borrowed terms, a real underlying conviction that his gifts were of no common order can be plainly traced."§

* *Letter from Trotti, Aug. 28, 1492, in Appendix, N. 14. State Archives, Modena.

† GUICCIARDINI, I., 1; SISMONDI, XII., 81; BUSER, Beziehungen, 308; DESJARDINS, I., 434.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 8 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*; GABOTTO, G. del Maino, 159 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 310, ed. 3; *cf.* Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 353. Nearly all the congratulatory addresses delivered before Alexander VI.

In foreign countries a high opinion was entertained of the new Pontiff. The German chronicler, Hartmann Schedel, wrote soon after he came to the throne that the world had much to hope for from the virtues of such a Pope. The new Pope, he says, "is a large-minded man, gifted with great prudence, foresight, and knowledge of the world. In his youth he studied at the University of Bologna, and obtained there so great a reputation for virtue, learning, and capability that his mother's brother, Pope Calixtus III., made him a Cardinal; and it is a further proof of his worth and talents that he was called at such an early age to a place in this honourable and illustrious assembly, and was also made Vice-Chancellor. Such things being known of him, he was quickly elected to govern and steer the barque of S. Peter. Besides being a man of a noble countenance and bearing, he has, in the first place, the merit of being a Spaniard; secondly, he comes from Valentia; thirdly, he is of an illustrious family. In book-learning, appreciation of Art, and probity of life he is a worthy successor of his uncle, Calixtus of blessed memory. He is affable, trustworthy, prudent, pious, and well-versed in all things appertaining to his exalted position and dignity. Blessed indeed therefore is he adorned with so many virtues and raised to so high a dignity. We trust that he will prove most serviceable to all Christendom, and that in his pilgrimage he will pass safely through the raging surf and the high and dangerous rocks, and finally

were printed in Rome by N. Plank, 1492–93. The Borghese Library, sold by auction in 1893, contained a great number of contemporaneous works of this description. Many printed addresses of congratulation are also to be found in Clarorum hominum orat. (Coloniae, 1559); also in the Orationes gratulatoriae in electione pontif. imperat., etc. (Hanoviae, 1613) as well as in LÜNIG, Orationes procerum Europae, I., 113 *seq.* Lipsiae, 1713.

reach the steps of the heavenly throne." * The Swedish Chancellor, Sten Sture, sent a present of horses and costly furs to Rome as a token of good-will.†

The new Pope began his reign in a manner which tended to confirm these good opinions. He at once took measures to secure a strict administration of the laws. This had become exceedingly necessary, as in the short time which had elapsed between the commencement of the illness of Innocent VIII. and Alexander's coronation, two hundred and twenty murders had been committed in Rome. Alexander VI. ordered a searching investigation into these crimes; he nominated certain men to visit the prisons, and appointed four commissioners to hear complaints in Rome; and on Tuesdays he himself gave audiences to all who had any grievance to bring before him.‡ He endeavoured by the strictest economy to repair the disordered state of the finances, as is proved by the household accounts. The whole monthly expenditure for housekeeping was only 700 ducats (£140 sterling). His table was so plain that the Cardinals, unaccustomed to such simple fare, avoided invitations as much as possible. The Ferrarese Envoy, writing in 1495, says, the Pope has only one course at dinner; he requires this to be of good quality, but Ascanio Sforza and others, such as Cardinal Juan Borgia and Cæsar, who, in former days, often dined with him, by no means relish this frugality, and avoid being his guests as much as they can."§

* SCHEDEL, Chron. Chronicar (Nürnberg, 1493), f. 257b. *Cf.* LANGE, 47 *seq.*

† These presents (nonnullus equos ac certas foderaturas de hermelinis et marta) are mentioned in the *Littera passus, dat. IV., Non. Mart., 1492, A° 1° Regest. 879, f. 100. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ INFESSURA, 282–3. *Cf.* Constitution of April 1, 1493, in Bull., V., 359 *seq.*, and DAL RE, 92; see also LEONETTI, I., 321 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 87–8; and SYBELS Histor-Zeitschr.,

In other points also the new Pope made a favourable impression. He said to the Florentine Envoy on the 16th of August, that he would do his utmost to preserve peace and to be a father to all without distinction.* The Envoy from Ferrara reports that Alexander means to reform the Court; there are to be changes in regard to the secretaries and officials connected with the press; his children are to be kept at a distance.† The Pope told the Milanese Ambassador that he was resolved to restore peace to Italy, and to unite all Christendom to withstand the Turks; his uncle Calixtus had set him an example on this point which he was determined to follow.‡

It is probable that there was a moment in which Alexander really entertained the idea of restraining his family ambition and devoting himself to the duties of his office.§ Unfortunately these good intentions were but short-lived; his inordinate attachment to his family soon burst forth again. To establish the power of the house of Borgia on

XXXVI., 158, *cf.* 161 *seq.*, and also CHABAS' Spanish periodical, El Archivo Revista de ciencias hist., VII., 90 (Valencia, 1893); GEBHART'S description, 183–4 is misleading.

* THUASNE, II., 613.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 27.

‡ *Report of the Milanese Ambassador, dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

§ GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 46, who draws attention to the fact that Alexander did not permit Cæsar to come to Rome immediately. In October 1493, he began to take measures for an expedition against the Turks who at that time were assuming a very threatening attitude (see HAMMER, II., 305); but the state of things in Italy almost immediately drove these plans into the background. *Cf.* the Briefs of Oct. 20, 1493, to Giangaleazzo and L. Moro (in the Notizenblatt, 1856, p. 421) and to Ferdinand of Spain (Orig. in the National Library, Paris: Espag., 318, f. 1); A. Sforza, in a *Letter dated Rome, Oct. 19, 1493, states that the result of the consultation on the Turkish question was a resolution that a tithe should be levied. Milanese State Archives.

secure and lasting foundations became the one purpose of his whole life. Even in the Consistory of the 31st August, in which the rewards to the electors were dispensed, Alexander gave the Bishopric of Valencia, which was worth 16,000 ducats, to his son Cæsar, although Innocent VIII. had already bestowed on him that of Pampeluna.* In the same Consistory he made his nephew Juan, the Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal of Sta Susanna.† Six Legates were also either appointed or confirmed at this Consistory: Giuliano della Rovere to Avignon; Fregoso to Campania; Savelli to Spoleto; Orsini to the Marches; Sforza to Bologna; and Medici to the Patrimony.‡

Unfortunately for Alexander, as had happened with Calixtus, all his relations immediately flocked to Rome, fully and recklessly determined to make the most of the golden opportunity. Not only his near relations, but all who could in any way claim kinship or friendship with the new Pope, trooped thither to seek their fortunes. Gianandrea Boccaccio, writing to the Duke of Ferrara, declares that "ten Papacies would not have sufficed to provide for all these

* The date of this Consistory has been variously given; FRAKNÓI (see *supra*), and HAGEN, 24, make it Aug. 30; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 312, ed. 3, gives Sept. 1; in the *Acta Consist. 1489–1503, C², f. 44 of the Consistorial Archives, it is expressly mentioned as die Veneris ultima, Aug. 1492, and the *Collation-records of the Bishopric of Valencia (Secret Archives of the Vatican), printed in Appendix, N. 15, and the **Report of Boccaccio, dat. Rome, Aug. 31, 1492 (State Archives, Modena), agree with this; GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 45, is quite wrong in assigning the 26th of Aug. as the date of the gift of the Bishopric of Valencia. According to the *Acta Consist., Cæsar also at the same time received *in commendam* to the Monasterium Vallisdegnae Cist. Ord. Valent. dioec.; Regest. 772, f. 1^b^, Secret Archives of the Vatican corroborates this.

† *Cf.* Appendix, N. 16, *Nomination-Brief, August 31, 1492. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Acta Consist., Alex. VI., Pii III., Jul. II., Leon. X., f. 2^b^ in the Consistorial Archives.

cousins."* The motive which only too soon brought about a complete and unfortunate revolution in Alexander's conduct, was in itself not an ignoble one, namely, his affection for his family, and more especially for his children, Cæsar, Jofré, and Lucrezia.† The latter whose name has become historical, was her father's greatest favourite. "Chroniclers and historians have conspired with the writers of epigrams, romances, and plays to represent Lucrezia Borgia as one of the most abandoned of her sex, a heroine of the dagger and poison-cup. The times were bad, the Court was bad, the example of her own family detestable, but even if Lucrezia may not have been wholly untainted by the prevailing corruption, she by no means deserves this evil reputation. The most serious accusations against her, rest on stories which, in their foulness and extravagance, surpass the bounds of credibility and even of possibility, or on the lampoons of a society famed for the ruthlessness of its satire. Numbers of well attested facts prove them to be calumnies."‡ All that is known also of Lucrezia's personal appearance is out of harmony with such a character.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 47.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 363 *seq.* MÖHLER, II., 523, says with great justice: "The ruin of this Pope was his family, and it was also the ruin of the Church."

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 204. *Cf.* p. 206: "Lucrezia must be acquitted of the great majority of the charges brought against her." See also REUMONT in the Bonner Literaturblatt, V. (1870), 447 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS omits all mention of Reumont, but in his investigation into the charges against Lucrezia (p. 159 *seq.*), comes to the same conclusion. "No one can suppose that Lucrezia Borgia in the corrupt atmosphere of Rome and of her own personal surroundings, was likely to have kept herself absolutely blameless; but, on the other hand, no impartial judge would venture to maintain that she was guilty of the horrible crimes of which she is accused." In a critique in HILDEBRAND'S Italia, I., 317, the result of Gregorovius' investigations is summed up in the words:

All her contemporaries agree in describing her as singularly attractive with a sweet joyousness and charm quite peculiar to herself. "She is of middle height and graceful in form," writes Nicolò Cagnolo of Parma, "her face is rather long, the nose well cut, hair golden, eyes of no special colour; her mouth rather large, the teeth brilliantly white, her neck is slender and fair, the bust admirably proportioned. She is always gay and smiling." Other narrators specially

"There was nothing to be discovered against Lucrezia. One would have thought that the learned writer might have contented himself with this sufficiently significant result; but instead of this he goes on to read between the lines, to fill up gaps with hypothetical descriptions and quite superfluous sentimental observations of the kind which the French call 'rapprochements,' and which are often in very questionable taste." When we find that Gregorovius can exactly describe Vanozza's Salon (p. 15–16), and even tell us what were her prayers during the Conclave (p. 42), we perceive that this criticism is not unwarranted. For Reviews of the work of Gregorovius see also Hist.-Pol., Blätter LXXVII., 577 *seq.*; BLAZE DE BURY in Rev. des deux Mondes, XX. (1877), 243 *seq.*, and S. MÜNTZ in the English Hist. Review, VII., 699. GREGOROVIUS, 159 *seq.*, connects this investigation into the charges against Lucrezia with the statement of an agent of the d'Este at Venice (dat. 15th March, 1498) that about this time she had borne an illegitimate child. He adds here that no persons except Malipiero and P. Capello "had been mentioned by name as lovers of Lucrezia's." This is not the case. An unprinted letter, from Cristoforo Poggio, Bentivoglio's secretary, to the Count of Mantua, dat. Bologna, March 2, 1492, contains the following passage which, coming at the same time, confirms the story of the agent. *Dopo le altre mie per non ci esser cavalcata da Roma non ho altro di novo di là, se non che quello Peroto (he is the same man whose death is shrouded in mystery, of which more presently) camariero primo di N.S., quale non se ritrovava, intendo essere in presone per haver ingravidato la figliola de S. Sta Ma Lucretia. This rather important document is to be found in a hidden corner in the Bolognese correspondence in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. It makes the opinion of R. DI SORAGNA (Rassegna Naz., X. [1882],124), and those who agree with him that Lucrezia was entirely blameless, untenable.

praise her long golden hair.* Unfortunately we have no trustworthy portrait of this remarkable woman;† at the same time we can gather from some medals which were struck at Ferrara during her stay there, a fair notion of her features. The best of these medals, designed apparently by Filippino Lippi, shews how false the prevailing conception of this woman's character, woven out of partisanship and calumny, has been. The little head with its delicate features is rather charming than beautiful, the expression is maidenly, almost childish, the abundant hair flows down over the shoulders, the large eyes have a far-off look. The character of the face is soft, irresolute and gentle; there is no trace of strong passions; and rather it denotes a weak and passive nature incapable of self-determination.‡ Thus Lucrezia's fate was entirely in the hands

* ANTONELLI, L. Borgia in Ferrara, 39 (Ferrara 1867). *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, 226.

† This is the opinion of Crowe-Cavalcaselle, Gregorovius and Campori; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 115 *seq.* tries to prove, "qu'à défaut d'originaux incontestables dûs à la main de quelque grand artiste du temps, il existe au moins trois copies d'un même portrait de L. Borgia"; but he does not succeed in establishing his point.

‡ *Cf.* BLAZE DE BURY in Revue des deux Mondes, XX. (1877), 248, and *ibid.* GEBHART, LXXXVI. (1888), 142; the medal is described in FRIEDLÄNDER, Berl. Blätt. f. Münzkunde (1866), No. 8; GRIMM, Uebei Künstler und Kunstwerke, II., 81 *seq.*; ANTONELLI (*loc. cit.*), in GREGOROVIUS and in YRIARTE, 118; in this latter also a second medal, p. 117. See also Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunsts., III., 34 *seq.* On the character of Lucrezia, HILDEBRAND, II., 47, remarks: "History does not record a single deed or word of Lucrezia's; she submits to everything, never resists, adapts herself with marvellous rapidity to each fresh situation imposed upon her by her father or her brother. Her letters, which remain to us, reveal no personality; they are correct, colourless, without passion, wit or observation, strangely contrasting in their utter emptiness with those of her correspondent and sister-in-law, the beautiful, clever and lively Marchesa Isabella Gonzaga, who so well understands how to

of her relations. At eleven years old she was betrothed to a Spanish grandee, Juan de Centelles, and later to Don Gasparo, Count of Aversa. Both of these engagements were broken off. The all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, then proposed an alliance with a member of his own family, Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotignola and Lord of Pesaro, a brilliant offer which Alexander gladly accepted.*

manipulate the dry formality of the epistolary style of the day, so as to let her fascinating self peep out." In regard to her marriage, HILDEBRAND, II., 49, says "Naturally, she was not consulted, any more than other Princes' daughters were."

* GREGOROVIUS, 39 *seq.*, 47 *seq.* *Cf.* Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad., Hist. Kl. (1872) 505 *seq.* As to G. Sforza, see RATTI, I., 163 *seq.* In regard to the Roman period, the darkest time in Lucrezia's life, Foucard has found some new documents in the Archives in Modena and inserted them in the second edition of Gregorovius (published 1876). They make no important change in the estimate of her character. The case is otherwise in regard to the letters mentioned *supra*, from the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, which confirm the statement made by an agent of the d'Este at Venice that Lucrezia had had an illegitimate child. Since this document has been discovered, I think it quite on the cards that others also may turn up, which may make it possible to arrive at a final and decisive judgment in regard to Lucrezia. The MS. materials for Lucrezia's biography which were collected by Baschet must now be in the hands of Yriarte, and we may hope that he will be more careful than Gregorovius in the editing of these documents. LUZIO, Precettori d'Isabella, 42, has already pointed out that the letter of Lucrezia given by Gregorovius in fac-simile No. 62 is not addressed to Isabella d'Este, but to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, as is evident from the beginning, Illmo S^or^ mio. Many documents in Gregorovius are disfigured by glaring mistakes, as may be seen by comparing them with the originals in the Gonzaga Archives in Mantua. Thus in the Report of El Prete of Jan. 2, 1502, printed in Appendix, N. 35, "zoia" should be read *instead of* "zove," "uno cosino" *instead of* "so cosino," "strete de uso" *instead of* "strele"; "tanti alle colti" *instead of* "tanti colti." In Troche's letter (App., No. 42), "cose" should be read *instead of* the unintelligible "ase." In the letter of the Marquess of Mantua of Sept. 22, 1503 (App., No. 49), "del respiro" *should be* "ch'el spiri"; "cossi" *instead of* "assi"; after

Cæsar Borgia shared with his sister Lucrezia the smiling countenance and ready laugh which both inherited from their father, however little resemblance there may have been in their characters either to him or to each other. "Cæsar possesses distinguished talents and a noble nature," writes the Ferrarese Envoy in 1493, "his bearing is that of the son of a prince; he is singularly cheerful and merry, and seems always in high spirits. He never had any inclination for the priesthood; but his benefices yield more than 16,000 ducats.* He was well-versed in the culture of the time, loved Art, and associated with poets and painters and had a poet attached to his court. Personally, however, his taste was rather for war and politics. He combined unusual military and administrative talents with an iron will. Like most of the princes of the day his one aim was to obtain power, and no means were too bad for him provided they would serve his end. When he had got what he wanted he shewed his better side.† He was a first-rate Condottiere, excelled in all knightly arts, and surpassed the best "Espadas" in a bull-fight; with one blow he completely severed the head of a powerful bull from the trunk. His complexion was swarthy, in his latter years his face was disfigured with blotches. The expression of his eyes which were deep-set ano penetrating, betrayed a sinister nature, voluptuous, tyrannical and crafty.‡ All

"in contra" there should be a stop, etc. Count Malaguzzi-Valeri told me at Modena that the documents in Gregorovius, copied from the Archives of that city, also need many corrections.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 54. *Cf.* also P. CAPELLO'S description in his relation of 1500 in SANUTO, III., 846. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61, calls Cæsar adolescentem spei magnae et indolis optimae.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 17. *Cf.* HILDEBRAND, II., 45, who asserts that Cæsar was "not much worse" than Louis XI. of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Henry VII. of England.

‡ JOVIUS, Elogia vir. illustr., 201–2 (Basiliae, 1575). It is now universally

the members of Cæsar's household, his servants, and latterly his fighting men and even his executioner were Spaniards; he and his father usually spoke Spanish to each other.*

Ferrante had already taken umbrage at the project of an alliance between Sforza and Cæsar's sister;† and soon, other events occurred which further disturbed the relations between Rome and Naples. King Ladislaus of Hungary had announced that he did not consider his betrothal to Ferrante's daughter binding, and there was reason to believe that the Pope would decide in his favour.‡ In addition to this family affair, the ambitious projects of Lodovico il Moro were a still more serious cause of apprehension to the King of Naples. Lodovico was bent on dethroning his nephew Giangaleazzo of Milan, who was married to a granddaughter of Ferrante. France was already on his side and he further hoped to secure the assistance of

admitted that the well-known picture lately transferred from the Borghese Palace to Paris, is a contemporary portrait of Cæsar, whether or not it be from the hand of Raphael. According to YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 113, the woodcut in Jovius is taken from a contemporaneous portrait; a copy of the one which he possessed is in the Uffizi Gallery. YRIARTE, 112–13, published a likeness of Cæsar which is in the collection of Count Codronghi at Imola, and which he holds to be the most authentic of all his portraits. PASOLINI, II., 227, disregarding the observations of Lermolieff (Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst., X., 102) is mistaken in setting too high a value on a portrait of Cæsar ascribed (on no sufficient grounds) to Giorgione or Palmeggiani, in the Gallery of Forli. Dr. Vischer-Merian of Basle kindly sent me a hitherto unknown picture of Cæsar which is in the Albani gallery at Urbino. Dr. Vischer looks upon this picture, which differs from Yriarte's, as the most genuine likeness; other similar portraits are also to be found elsewhere in Umbria, *e.g.*, one in the possession of Signor Giov. Bocchi at Pennabilli.

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 104, ed. 3.

† Report of the Ferrarese Envoy in GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 48.

‡ *Cf.* OVARY'S Essay in Szàzadok, XXIV., 761 *seq.* See also EHSES, Documente z. Gesch. d. Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII., 60, n. 1.

the Pope through his brother Ascanio Sforza, whose influence in Rome was unbounded. Hence the King awaited with feverish anxiety the result of the visit of his second son, Federigo of Aragon, Prince of Altamura, to Rome. He had gone there on the 11th November, 1492, to profess obedience in his father's name, and to persuade the Pope to enter into an alliance with Naples.* Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had prepared a handsome apartment for him in his palace.† Federigo proffered his obedience on the 21st December, and on Christmas Day received from the Pope a consecrated sword. On the 10th January, 1493, he left Rome without obtaining anything.‡ There was no chance of an alliance, and in the matter of the betrothal the Pope was not encouraging. Nor indeed was this at all surprising, for just at this moment Alexander had received information of an intrigue against the States of the Church which the King had been carrying on.

After the death of Innocent VIII. Franceschetto Cibò had fled to his brother-in-law Piero de' Medici, and from thence endeavoured to sell his property in the Romagna. On the 3rd September, 1492, an arrangement was entered into through the mediation of Ferrante and Piero by which in consideration of a payment of 40,000 ducats, Virginio Orsini became lord of Cervetri and Anguillara.§ It was clear Virginio could never have produced so large a sum without the assistance of Ferrante. Alexander VI. was completely taken by surprise, and fully determined when

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 14 *seq.* *Cf.* also NOTAR GIACOMO, 176.

† See the **Report of Brognolo, Nov. 29, 1492. Gonzaga Archives Mantua.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 22 *seq.*, 26, 33 *seq.*, and *Letter of a Milanese agent (Sebastianus), dat. Rome, Jan. 14, 1493, Milanese State Archives.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 313–14, ed. 3 (320–21, ed. 4); GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 227; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 309, and Arch. de Soc. Rom, X., 269.

he heard of the sale, that this important domain should not remain in the hands of a man who had once threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber. Virginio Orsini was Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army, and altogether on intimate terms with both Naples and Florence. Thus the Pope had good reason to suspect that his neighbours had a hand in the transaction by which the most powerful of the Roman barons obtained an important accession of strength. There was no need of those machinations on the part of Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio of which Ferrante complained; the danger to Rome of a power like that of the Prefects of Vico springing up in its near neighbourhood must be patent to every one.* When the Pope heard that Virginio's troops had already occupied these cities, he entered a protest before the Cardinals in Consistory, and a formal complaint against Giuliano della Rovere who had favoured the acquisition of this important territory by an enemy of the Holy See. Giuliano replied that it would have been a worse evil to have allowed these cities to fall into the hands of a relation of Cardinal Ascanio.† As in the Conclave, so now in the Consistory, Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere stood in bitter opposition to each other; the latter could count on the support of Naples and the Orsini and Colonna. Nevertheless he did not feel himself secure in Rome, and retired towards the end of the year to the fort which Sangallo had built for him in Ostia.‡

* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 57; GUICCIARDINI, I., 1; and Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XIV., 390. In his Storia di Firenze, GUICCIARDINI (p. 99) says that these domains were intended to be "un osso in gola" to the Pope. *Cf.* also REUMONT in Sybels Zeitschr., XXIX., 322.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 55. In order to weaken Ascanio's influence Card. G. della Rovere had secretly supported the nomination of Juan Borgia to the Cardinalate. See *Letter of Boccaccio, Aug. 31, 1492 (State Archives, Modena); this confirms BROSCH'S view, Julius II., 53.

‡ INFESSURA, 284, and THUASNE, II., 622 *seq.*

Ferrante approved of this step and promised his protection to the Cardinal.* At Ostia, Giuliano received Federigo of Aragon on his return journey from Rome, and soon after also Virginio Orsini, who promised to support him in every way. The Envoy who relates this adds that Ostia is thoroughly defensible.†

The fort of Ostia was in those days supposed to be impregnable; it commanded the mouth of the Tiber, Giuliano's action in entrenching himself there was a direct menace to the Pope. An incident related by Infessura shews how much alarmed Alexander was. One day he had gone over to the villa Magliana intending to spend the day there; on his arrival a cannon was fired off as a salute which so terrified him that he at once returned to the Vatican; he apprehended an attack from some of Giuliano's adherents and thought the shot was a preconcerted signal.‡

At this time Civita Vecchia was fortified by his orders, which is another proof that he was thoroughly frightened.§ Disturbances also began to appear in the States of the Church, in which Ferrante and Piero de' Medici seemed to have a hand, and this further inclined the Pope to look

* TRINCHERA, II., 1, 252–3.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56 and *Report of Sebastianus, dat. Rome, Jan. 19, 1493: El S. Virginio è stato ad Hostia et dicto al Carle che non dubiti che per luy vole mettere il stato et la vita, cosi dicono Colonesi. Se terranno fermo cosi anche il Re Ferrando Ostia non ponno haver li adversarii; è ben munita et fornita di tutto. Milanese State Archives.

‡ INFESSURA, 284. For the same reason when the Pope went in February to Sta Maria Maggiore, he was accompanied by an armed escort. BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 45.

§ On the 21st February, 1493, there is an entry of payments pro munitione arcis Civitevetulae in the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94, Bullet., I. (State Archives, Rome.) In May 1493, Alexander's expenses for military purposes rose to 26,383 ducats; see Hist. Jahrb., VI., 444 (1493 should be read, *instead of* 1492).

favourably on a proposal suggested by Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico il Moro, for entering into a defensive alliance with Venice.* The King of Naples now became uneasy and put forth all his diplomatic skill to prevent this. In March 1493, he sent the Abbot Rugio to Rome, to settle the dispute about Cervetri and Anguillara, and other Envoys to Florence and Milan with the same object. Overtures were made for a marriage between Cæsar Borgia, who wished to return to secular life, and a daughter of the King; later, negotiations were begun for a marriage between Cæsar's younger brother Jofré and a Princess of the house of Aragon. This proposal was eagerly accepted by Ferrante; but both projects soon fell through;† probably Ascanio had a hand in bringing this about. Ferrante complained bitterly; "the Pope ought to consider," he wrote, "that we have come to years of discretion, and have no notion of allowing him to lead us by the nose." At the same time he kept up close communications with Giuliano della Rovere and threw troops into the Abruzzi.‡ The treaty between Alexander, Venice and Milan was now concluded. On the 25th April, 1493, the new League, in which Siena, Ferrara, and Mantua were included, was announced in Rome; Milan and Venice engaged at once to send several hundred men to help the Pope against Virginio Orsini.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 57.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 317 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 330, 338, 343, 344 *seq.*, 348, 351, 355 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 316, ed. 3, and the Florentine Reports in YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 322–3. Jofré was originally intended for the Church; this fact, hitherto unknown, is to be gathered from the *Documents printed in Appendix, N. 17, from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 360, 369 *seq.*, 382; REUMONT, III., 1, 209.

§ INFESSURA, 284–5; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 67 *seq.*; Arch. Napolit., IV., 774, 776–7; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 312; SIGISMONDO

Meanwhile Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere still remained at Ostia. A Milanese Envoy reports on the 7th of March, 1493, that he never went out of the Castle without a strong escort.*

Later, Giuliano asked Ferrante's advice as to some other strong place to which he might retire. All this time the Neapolitan King was doing his utmost to stir up the other Cardinals who sided with Rovere, and urge them on to resist the Pope's project of creating new Cardinals. In June he privately informed them that his troops were ready, in case of need, to support them against the Pope.† At the same time, Ferrante despatched a letter to Antonio d'Alessandro, his Envoy at the Court of Spain, vehemently protesting his innocence, and accusing the Pope of being the only true disturber of the peace. Alexander's main object in all his policy, he said, was to stir up scandals and strife in Italy; his purpose in his nomination of new Cardinals, was merely to raise money in order to attack Naples. "Alexander VI." he writes, "has no respect for the holy Chair which he occupies, and leads such a life that every one turns away from him with horror; he cares for nothing but the aggrandisement of his children by fair means or by foul. All his thoughts and all his actions are directed to this one end. What he wants is war; from the first moment of his reign till now, he has never ceased

DE' CONTI, II., 58. A *Brief to G. Sforza, dat. April 22, 1493, desires him to hold a solemn Procession in thanksgiving for the conclusion of the League. (Florentine State Archives, Urb. Eccl.) On the same day Briefs were despatched to the Governors of Perugia, Todi, etc., commanding them to publish the League. The publication was notified to the Doge on April 25; the *Brief begins with the words: Quod felix faustumque div. M^tas^ esse velit, hodie, etc. State Archives, Venice.

* **Report of Stef. Taberna, dat. Rome, March 7, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 369 *seq.*, 383; 2, 48 *seq.*, 50, 51, 68 *seq.*

persecuting me. There are more soldiers than priests in Rome; the Pope thinks of nothing but war and rapine. His cousins (the Sforzas) are of the same mind, all their desire is to tyrannise over the Papacy so that when the present occupant dies they may be able to do what they like with it. Rome will become a Milanese camp."*

A few months later, Ferrante entered into the closest relations with this same much abused Pope. Of course there can be no doubt that the charges against Alexander's conduct were well-founded. The proof is not far to seek. On the 12th June, 1493, the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro was celebrated at the Vatican with great pomp, in the presence of Alexander VI. At the wedding feast the Pope and twelve Cardinals sat down at table with the ladies who were present, among whom was the notorious Giulia Farnese. "When the banquet was over" says the Ferrarese Envoy, "the ladies danced, and as an interlude, we had an excellent play with much singing and music. The Pope and all the others were there. What more can I say? my letter would never end were I to describe it all; thus we spent the whole

* TRINCHERA, II., 41–48. "This letter," says REUMONT (Hist. Zeitschr., XXIX., 337) "is an act of accusation against the Papacy, especially against Alexander VI. When we consider how anxious, only three months before, the King had been to connect his own family with that of the Pope, and how eventually he actually accomplished this, we cannot attach much importance to it from a moral point of view, as far as his personal motives are concerned. But as an historical document, bearing witness to the decay of morals in high places at the close of the 15th Century, it possesses a painful interest. The King knew that the Court was full of Spaniards who thought of nothing but their own interests and would be very ready to injure him with their Sovereign; thus he endeavoured to be beforehand with them in describing the state of things in Rome. The Datary Juan Lopez undertook the task of defending the Pope against Ferrante's accusations;" see Bolet. d. Acad. d. Madrid (1885) p. 438 *seq.*

night, whether well or ill, I will leave to your Highness to determine." *

Directly after these festivities, Diego Lopez de Haro, Ambassador of Ferdinand the Catholic, arrived in Rome to tender his obedience. According to Infessura, Lopez availed himself of this opportunity (June 19, 1493), to express the dissatisfaction of the King, who lived in internecine conflict with the infidels, at the breaches of the peace in Italy, and to require that the Marani (crypto-Jews) who had been allowed to establish themselves in Rome, should be expelled. According to the same authority, the Ambassador also demanded the surplus revenues, amounting to over 100 ducats, from the Spanish benefices, for the King, to assist him in his war with the infidels; if this were refused, the King would find means to take it without leave. He adds, that Diego Lopez complained of the simony which prevailed in Rome, and warned the Pope not to give away anything of more value than a parish benefice. The rest of his observations in regard to the reform of the Church, says Infessura, I pass over. On the other hand, not a word of all this is to be found in Burchard, who was present at the Ambassador's audience. As it is in itself extremely improbable that an Ambassador sent to tender obedience should have exceeded his commission in this way, grave doubts must rest upon this story of Infessura.† The statement of the Spanish historian Zurita, who only says that Lopez told the Pope that the King looked upon

* Tagebuch Burchards, herausgeg. von PIEPER, 21 *seq.*; INFESSURA, 287 (for remarks on this, see RATTI, I., 166 *seq.*, and PIEPER, 9); GREGOROVIUS and BORGIA, 57; Appendix, N. 9 and 10, for the marriage contract of Feb. 2, 1493. *Cf.* ALLEGRETTI, 827; Arch. St. Lomb. (1875) 180. A *Bull of May 29, 1494, confers sundry spiritual privileges on the young couple. Florentine State Archives, Urb. Eccl.

† Tagebuch, *loc. cit.*, 9–10, 27–28.

the affairs of Naples and of the House of Aragon as his own, is probably nearer to the truth.*

Ferrante was naturally greatly rejoiced at this declaration on the part of the Spanish Ambassador.† He saw clearly, however, that there was nothing in this to warrant any relaxation in his efforts to counteract Lodovico il Moro's plans, for obtaining through the mediation of his brother Ascanio, the investiture of Naples from the Pope for the King of France,‡ and continued to labour with feverish energy to avert this danger. Towards the end of June he again sent his second son, Federigo of Altamura, to Rome to endeavour to arrange the affairs of Anguillara and detach the Pope from the League. He now adopted a menacing attitude. Federigo joined the party of the Cardinals of the opposition, attaching himself especially to Cardinal della Rovere, while Alfonso of Calabria with his troops threatened the frontier of the States of the Church. The immediate effect of these measures, however, was to increase the influence of Ascanio Sforza.§ Ferrante then resolved to try other tactics. Federigo, who was at Ostia negotiating with the Cardinals of the Opposition, della Rovere, Savelli and Colonna, desired to return to Rome, at any price, to get the Orsini affair set to rights, to promise the payment of the investiture tribute without delay, and to conclude a family alliance with the Borgia before the French Ambassador Perron de Baschi could arrive in Rome. The matrimonial projects for Jofré Borgia again came to the fore. He was to marry Sancia a natural daughter

* INFESSURA, 288; ZURITA, V., 26–7; HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 61 (in which Burchard and Infessura are interchanged); ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 33 *seq.*

† TRINCHERA, II., 2, 77.

‡ ZURITA, V., 27.

§ TRINCHERA, II., 2, 72, 79 *seq.*, 84, 86.

of Duke Alfonso of Calabria, and to receive with her the principality of Squillace and the countship of Coriata; the engagement was to be kept secret till Christmas.* At the same time the Spanish Ambassador proposed a marriage between Juan Borgia, second Duke of Gandia, and Maria, daughter of King Ferdinand's uncle.†

It was not in Alexander's power to withstand the bait of such advantageous offers for his belongings. At the same moment, also his allies in the League, Venice and Milan, adopted an attitude which seemed to threaten ultimate desertion, and this made him all the more ready to lend a willing ear to these proposals.‡ The only remaining difficulty now was to come to a satisfactory arrangement with Virginio Orsini and Giuliano della Rovere. After much discussion the former agreed to pay 35,000 ducats to the Pope, and in return received from him the investiture of Cervetri and Anguillara. At the same time a reconciliation between Giuliano della Rovere and Alexander was effected. On the 24th July, Cardinal della Rovere and Virginio came to Rome, and both dined with the Pope. On the 1st August, Federigo was able to announce to his father that Alexander had signed the articles of agreement.§ On the 2nd of August his much-loved son Juan, Duke of

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 113 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 141 *seq.*, and an **Anonymous Report, dat. Rome, Aug. 13, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† HÖFLER, R. de Borgia, 62–3.

‡ CIPOLLA, 678.

§ INFESSURA, 292; THUASNE, II., 641 *seq.*; TRINCHERA, II., 2, 198. The stipulation that A. Sforza should leave the Vatican was finally dropped by Federigo and G. della Rovere—see TRINCHERA, II., 2, 189 *seq.*; BROSCH, 53; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVI., 392–3. The second of the three payments of the Neapolitan Investiture Money, 10,823¼ florins sterling, was paid into the Apostolic Treasury on Aug. 31, 1493. GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 233.

Gandia, gorgeously equipped, set out for Spain to be united to his Spanish bride." *

A few days later Perron de Baschi arrived in Rome to demand the investiture of Naples for Charles VIII. The Pope sent an answer couched in vague terms, and in the subsequent private audience his language was equally indecisive. The French Envoy had to depart on the 9th August without having accomplished his mission.†

Ferrante now flattered himself that the dreaded storm had blown over. He wrote in high spirits to his Envoy in France. "When Perron de Baschi gets back to France, many projects will have to be given up, and many illusions will be dissipated. Be of good cheer, for perfect harmony now reigns between me and the Pope." ‡ On the 17th of August the deed of investiture was ready for Virginio Orsini; on the previous day Jofré Borgia had been married by procuration to Sancia the daughter of Alfonso of Calabria.§ Alexander communicated the arrangement in regard to Cervetri and Anguillara to Lodovico il Moro on

* *Cf.* in HÖFLER (Rodrigo de Borja, 62 *seq.*), the Documentos ineditos de Alejandro VI. in Soluciones Católicas, I., 52 *seq.* (Valencia, 1893), and Alejandro VI. y el Duque de Gandia. Estudio sobre documentos Valencianos in the periodical El Archivo: Revista de ciencias historicas, VII., 85 *seq.* (Valencia, 1893). Here the date of the Duke's departure wrongly given in Gregorovius and Höfler, is corrected.

† *Letters of A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Aug. 11, and 13, 1493. (Milanese State Archives.) DELABORDE, 283, knows only the second letter, the first, in a later copy, is in the Cart. Gen., wrongly placed in August, 1492.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 2, 205.

§ Florentine Report in THUASNE, II., 641 *seq.* On the document from the Orsini Archives cited by Gregorovius VII³., 325 (332 ed. 4.), compare *Regest. 869, f. 88, and 90, dat. Romae, 1493, sexto dec. Cal. Sept. A°. I°. On the same day (Aug. 17) V. Orsini was absolved from all censures—the *Bull, Consuetam Sedis Ap^e clementiam, is in *ibid.* f. 98, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the 21st of August.* Eight days before this a Milanese Envoy had written home "Some people think that the Pope has lost his head since his elevation; as far as I can see, the exact contrary is the case. He has negotiated a League which made the King of Naples groan; he has contrived to marry his daughter to a Sforza, who, besides his pension from Milan, possesses a yearly income of 12,000 ducats; he has humbled Virginio Orsini and obliged him to pay; and has brought King Ferrante to enter into a family connection with himself. Does this look like a man whose intellect is decaying? Alexander intends to enjoy his power in peace and quietude." As to Cardinal Ascanio, the writer believes that he will not lose his influence, in spite of the favour which Giuliano della Rovere now enjoys.† He was mistaken in this, however, for the immediate result of the Pope's reconciliation with Ferrante, Giuliano and the Orsini, was the temporary disgrace of the hitherto all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio who was forced to leave the Vatican.‡

* Exemplum brevis ap. Jo. Galeacio duci Mediolani et Lud. Moro duci Bari. Copy in the Milanese State Archives (has been placed by mistake in 1495).

† Molti vogliono dire chel papa da poi che le papa non ha piu ingegno soleva havere. A me pare chel ne habia anchora piu che da poi chel era papa e capellano del Re ha saputo fare una liga con la quale da secore da sospirare al Re. Ha saputo maritare sua figlia in casa Sforzescha in uno S^re^ chi ha 12 mila duc. d'intrata l'anno senza el soldo che li da il duca di Milano. Ha saputo tochare dal S. Virginio [35,000] duc. et factolo venire piacevole et ha saputo cum la reputatione de questa liga condurre el Re ad aparentare cum lui et darli un tal stato con tal conditione per el figliolo. Non so se queste siano cose da homo chi non habia cervelo et ultimamente vole lui vivere et godersi el papato in pace et quiete. Report of an anonymous writer, dat. Rome, Aug. 13, 1493 (wrongly placed in 1495). Milanese State Archives.

‡ There are two, unfortunately mutilated, *Reports by the anonymous author, relating to this subject, dat. Rome, Aug. 26, 1493 (wrongly placed in 1492). Milanese State Archives.

Meanwhile, the relations between Alexander VI. and Ferrante had, very soon after their reconciliation, been again disturbed, had then improved for a short time, but quickly changed anew for the worse. In any case it must have disagreeably affected Ferrante to find that in the nomination of the new Cardinals on September 20th, 1493, his was the only important State which was not represented.*

Raimondo Peraudi was recommended by Maximilian of Austria; Charles VIII. asked for Jean de la Grolaie, Ferdinand of Spain for Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. A Cardinal was given to England in the person of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Venice had the eminent theologian, Domenico Grimani; Milan, Bernardino Lunati; Rome was represented by Alessandro Farnese (hitherto head of the Treasury) and Giuliano Cesarini; Ferrara had Ippolito d'Este. The Archbishop of Cracow, Frederick Casimir, was made Cardinal at the request of King Ladislaus of Hungary, and King Albert of Poland. Alexander added Cæsar Borgia, and Giovanni Antonio Sangiorgio, Bishop of Alessandria, noted for his great juridical learning and the blamelessness of his life.

In these first nominations of Alexander there is in the main, nothing to find fault with; the various nationalities

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 208, 211, 221, 233, 235, 241, 244, 260, 271, 280, 309 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61; SENAREGA, 534; ALLEGRETTI, 827. On the Creation of the 20th Sept. (ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 36, erroneously gives the date Aug. 20; CARDELLA, 249, Aug. 21) 1493. See *Acta Consist. f. 3 (Consistorial Archives). According to the same authority, the date of the Assignatio titulorum was Sept. 23. *Cf.* also S. Taberna's *Report of Sept. 24, 1493. (Milanese State Archives.) A *Report of the Mantuan agent Brognolo, dat. Rome, Sept. 23, 1493, agrees with this. The same agent had written on June 24 that the nomination of Cardinals had been put off. Both *Reports are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

were all considered, and many both able and worthy men are to be found among the new Cardinals.* The elevation of Ippolito d'Este aged only fifteen, and that of Cæsar Borgia who was far more fit to be a soldier than an ecclesiastic, cannot of course be defended.† Sigismondo de' Conti says that Alessandro Farnese was nominated at the request of the Romans, while other writers speak of an unlawful connection between Alexander VI. and Farnese's sister Giulia (*la bella*). "If this was the case, Farnese's personal worth was such as to give him the means of causing this questionable beginning to be soon forgotten."‡

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61–62; RATTI, II., 258; BUSCH, England, I., 387; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3, 330 (ed. 3). Sigismondo's account of Peraudi's election is corroborated by the *Acta Consist., where in reference to Peraudi we read: instante S. Romanor. imperatore. According to the same authority there is an error in SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 33, where he says that Peraudi was made Cardinal on April 21, 1494. According to the *Acta Consist., Peraudi came to Rome on April 22, and was received in Consistory on the following day. The reason that the Red Hat was not sent to him or to his Polish colleague is explained in a *Letter of A. Sforza, dat. Orvieto, Nov. 26, 1493, in which he says the Pope's object was, "che questi dui cardinali per desiderio di haver il capello procurasseno che quelli signori mandasseno la obedientia et per honorarla venesseno cum epsa ad pigliar il capello." Milanese State Archives.

† Cæsar received minor orders and the sub-diaconate on March 26, 1494, at the same time, with his brother Juan (BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 99). He never received priests' orders.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 267; INFESSURA, who indeed in the spirit of a partisan represents this whole Creation of Cardinals of Sept. 20, 1493, as a pecuniary speculation, calls (p. 293) Giulia, Alexander's concubine; and MATARAZZO in his pamphlet, p. 4, and SANNAZAR, Epigr., 1, 2, both use the same term. A stronger proof is to be found in a letter of Alexander to Lucrezia Borgia, dated July 24, 1494, in which he expresses his annoyance at Giulia's departure, UGOLINI, II., 521–2. Any further doubt in regard to these relations, which began while he was still a Cardinal, is dispelled by the letters of L. Pucci of the 23rd and 24th December, 1493,

The creation of these Cardinals on 20th September, 1493, was a great addition to Alexander's power and a terrible blow to the Cardinals of the opposition. They could not contain themselves for rage, while the crafty Ferrante, with an eye to the future, took pains to conceal his annoyance.* Giuliano della Rovere especially was furious, and now quarrelled again with the Pope. When the news was brought to him at Marino, he uttered a loud exclamation, and fell ill with anger. The Milanese Envoy writes in great delight, 24th September: "Words would fail me to describe the honour which this success has brought to your Highness and Cardinal Ascanio." † On the 28th September the latter informs his brother: "The Cardinals of the opposition continue their demonstrations against the Pope. Cardinal Caraffa keeps away from

published by GREGOROVIUS in his Lucrezia Borgia, App. N. 11. *Cf.* also L'ÉPINOIS, 397 *seq.*, and PIEPER, Burchards, Tagebuch, 16–22. Rumours of this scandalous connection penetrated into Germany. See GREGOROVIUS, VII., 328, ed. 3 (334 in ed. 4); and, later, it came to be so universally believed that Paul III. was openly taunted with the way in which his Cardinalate had come to him. See letter in Rivist. Cristiana, II., 261; and Soranzo's Report in ALBERI, VI., 3 Serie, 314. Alessandro Farnese (born 1468) was a pupil of P. Leto and was made Protonotary Apostolic and Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto by Innocent VIII. Shortly after his election Alexander VI. made him Treasurer-General; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 21, 87, 275. In regard to the creation of Cardinals of Sept. 1493, Infessura says further, in the place mentioned above: In eorum creatione consenserunt tantum septem cardinales, reliqui dissenserunt. MARIANA, Hist. Hisp., c. XXVI., asserts on the contrary: Contra hiscere nemo cardinalium, cum quibus rem communicavit ausus est. On the Festa at Ferrara in honour of Ippolito's elevation, see *Caleffini, f. 312, in Cod. I., 1–4 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 261, 266, 319, 346 *seq.* See also **Letter of A. Sforza, to L. Moro, Sept. 24, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† See Appendix, N. 20 for Report of Stef. Taberna, Sept. 24, 1493. Milanese State Archives. See also App., N. 22.

Rome. Costa intends to retire to Monte Oliveto. Giuliano is as he was; Fregoso and Conti follow him. Nothing is to be heard of Piccolomini. Such being the state of things, the Pope fears there may be disturbances, and would be glad of your Highness's advice." *

* See Appendix, N. 21 for Reports of A. Sforza, Sept. 28, 1493.

CHAPTER II.

Alliance between Alfonso II. of Naples and Alexander VI. — Flight of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to France.—Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.

As the year 1493 drew to its close, signs of a fresh rupture between Ferrante of Naples and Alexander VI. began to appear. On the 5th December, Ferrante complained of the too amicable relations between the Pope and the King of France; and on the 18th he wrote a letter to his Envoy in Rome, in which the facts of the case are somewhat distorted. "We and our father," he says, "have always been obedient to the Popes, and yet, one and all, they have invariably done us as much mischief as they could; and now, although this Pope is a countryman of our own, it is impossible to live with him a single day in peace and quietude. We know not why he persists in quarrelling with us; it must be the will of Heaven, for it seems to be our fate to be harassed by all the Popes." * All the latter correspondence of the King is filled with complaints against Alexander VI., who, he says, breaks all his promises, and does nothing to hinder the designs of the French against Naples. Through all the bluster, however, we detect a secret hope, which he never relinquishes, of eventually winning Alexander's friendship.†

* Trinchera, II., 2, 322 *seq.*, 348 *seq.*

† Trinchera, II., 2, 378 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*, 390 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*

Ferrante instinctively felt that the catastrophe could no longer be averted, and that the kingdom which he had built up at the cost of so much bloodshed was doomed. The marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Bianca Sforza* was to him an additional reason for being on his guard against Lodovico il Moro. The last months of Ferrante's life were full of care and anxiety. On the 27th of January, 1494, the news of his death reached Rome.†

The question of the moment now was, what line the Pope would adopt in regard to the new King, Alfonso II. Charles VIII. at once despatched an embassy to Rome. If Alexander seemed inclined to be favourable to Alfonso, he was to be threatened with a General Council. At the same time the French King entered into communication with Giuliano della Rovere, whose friendship with the Savelli, the Colonna, and Virginio Orsini, made him one of the most dangerous enemies of the Holy See.‡

Meanwhile, in the Pope's cabinet the Neapolitan question was already decided. Alfonso had done everything in his power to win Alexander; he not only paid the tribute about which his father had made so many difficulties, but

* Alexander VI. congratulated Lodovico on the 15th Nov., 1493. See Notizenblatt (1856), 422–3. A consecrated sword was sent to Maximilian I. See Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Sammlung des Œsterreich. Kaiserhauses, (1883), S. XXXII.; LESSING in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlung (1895), XVI., 113 *seq.*; and *Despatch of Stef. Taberna, dat. Rome, March 14, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

† *Qui è nova della morte del Re de Napoli, Despatch from Cataneo, dat. Rome, Jan. 27, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the same day A. Sforza wrote to his brother that Alfonso had announced his father's death to the Pope, and that Alexander would send him a letter of condolence, in which he would address Alfonso as King. (Milanese State Archives.) *Cf.* A. Sforza's letter of the 29th Jan., 1494, in Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 695.

‡ DELABORDE, 306.

undertook to continue it in the future, and persuaded Virginio Orsini to promise complete submission to the Pope.* As early as the first week in February, Alexander warned the French Envoys against any attack upon Naples, and at the same time wrote a letter to the King, in which he expressed surprise that Charles should entertain designs against a Christian power when a close union between all European States was indispensable in order to resist the Turks.† To mitigate this rebuff, the Golden Rose was sent to him on the 8th March, 1494. On the 14th the Neapolitan embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Naples, Alessandro Caraffa, the Marquess of Gerace, the Count of Potenza, and Antonio d'Alessandro arrived and made their obedience privately on the 20th.‡ Two days later a Consistory was held, at which a Bull was read containing the Pope's formal decision in favour of the House of Aragon. Innocent VIII. had already granted the in-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 62.

† BALAN, V., 305; DELABORDE, 306–7, who, however, had failed to notice the statement of Balan. The Brief to Charles VIII. is (undated) in MANSI-BALUZE, III., 122 *seq.* I found a contemporaneous copy of this Brief in the Milanese State Archives, and here the date, 3rd Feb., 1494, is given. On the King's annoyance, see DESJARDINS, I., 280. All modern historians, from CHERRIER (I., 346–84) to GREGOROVIUS, VII., 332 *seq.*, ed. 3 (339, ed. 4), have cited as a proof of Alexander VI.'s duplicity, a Bull of Feb. 1, 1494, in which he agrees to Charles VIII.'s invasion of Italy, and grants a free passage through the States of the Church to the troops he is sending against the Turks. This is printed in MALIPIERO, 404. DELABORDE, in the Bibl. de l'École des Chartes (1886) 512 *seq.*, has convincingly shewn that this Bull belongs to the year 1495. GREGOROVIUS, ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 41, and CREIGHTON, III., 177, prove their superficiality by taking no notice of this demonstration. The most cursory perusal of the Bull makes it clear that it could not belong to 1494.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 93–7 *seq.*, and *Letter of A. Sforza, dat. Rome, March 14 and 20, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

vestiture of Naples to Alfonso as Duke of Calabria, and now this could not be revoked.* When Alfonso also complied with Alexander's demands in regard to the Duke of Gandia and Jofré Borgia, a further step in his favour was taken. At a Consistory on the 18th of April, the Pope commissioned Cardinal Juan Borgia to crown Alfonso at Naples. The Consistory lasted eight hours; the Cardinals of the opposition protested vehemently; the French Envoy threatened a General Council.† All was in vain. On the same day the Bull appointing the Legate for the Coronation was drawn up.‡

Great was the astonishment and dismay at the French Court at Alexander's defection. Letters came from them announcing that Charles VIII. would withdraw his obedience, and that all French benefices would be taken away from the Cardinals who sided with the Pope, and given to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.§

Another danger for Alexander was to be feared from the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. Already, on March 8, in a despatch in cypher of the Milanese Envoy, Taberna, the possibility is suggested of detaching this Cardinal from

* *Letter of Ascanio of March 22, partly in ROSMINI, II., 201, and DELABORDE, 308–9. *Cf.* *Letter of Alexander VI. to Franc. de Sprats, March 22, 1494, in Appendix, N. 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 296; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 108; *Acta Consist. in the Consistory Archives; and *Report of Brognolo, April 19, 1494, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Unfortunately the key is wanting to the cypher of A. Sforza's *Letters of the 18th and 23rd April, 1494, in the Milanese State Archives.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 3–4. On the arrival of the Legate in Naples, and the Coronation, see Despatches of the Milanese Envoys in Naples, in Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 712 *seq.*

§ BALAN, 307–10. Ascanio had wished to leave Rome at the beginning of April, but the Pope refused to give him leave. *Cf.* his **Letter, dat. Rome, April 6, 1494, in the Milanese State Archives.

Naples and winning him over to the French cause, and thus attacking the Pope from the ecclesiastical side.* Secret negotiations in this direction were begun.† On the 26th of March Giuliano came to Rome; but even before the Consistory of April 28 he again betook himself to Ostia, whence he proceeded to enter into close relations with the Colonna.‡ "If Cardinal Giuliano can be got to ally himself with France," writes Taberna on the 2nd May, "a tremendous weapon will have been forged against the Pope." § And this was accomplished.

On the 24th April, 1494, the news was brought to Alexander that Giuliano had fled on the preceding night in a ship, with a retinue of twenty persons, leaving the fort of Ostia provisioned for two years, under the charge of the prefect of the city, Giovanni della Rovere. The Pope immediately sent to the Neapolitan Envoy to request the King's help to enable him to recover this important post, which commanded the mouth of the Tiber. A similar command was despatched to the Orsini and the Count of Pitigliano, who arrived on the evening of the 25th. "Ammunition and troops," says the Mantuan Envoy on the following day, "are being collected in all directions to act against Ostia." ‖ Strong as it was, the fort did not hold out

* See Appendix, N. 23. Milanese State Archives.

† DELABORDE, 347.

‡ BROSCH, 55 *seq.*, proves this; but GREGOROVIUS, VII., 333, ed. 3 (339, ed. 4), takes no notice of his statement. Brognolo announces Giuliano's return (yesterday evening) in a *Despatch of March 27, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ DELABORDE, 346.

‖ *Cf.* a *Report of Brognolo, April 26, 1494 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a *Letter in cypher of A. SFORZA, dat. Rome, April 24, 1494 (Milanese State Archives), in Appendix, N. 26, with INFESSURA, 296, and ALLEGRETTI, 829. See Appendix, N. 25. See also Arch. St. Napol., XI., 546 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 42, announces that Giuliano has

long. By the end of May it had capitulated through the mediation of Fabrizio Colonna. "The conquest of this fortress was of the highest importance to the Pope. Ostia was the key to the Tiber, and communication by sea was absolutely necessary to the security of the alliance with Naples." *

Alfonso was crowned in Naples by Cardinal Juan Borgia on the 8th of May. On the previous day the marriage of Jofré Borgia with Sancia had been solemnised. Jofré became Prince of Squillace, with an income of 40,000 ducats; his brothers Juan and Cæsar were not forgotten. The former received the principality of Tricarico and the latter sundry valuable benefices.†

Cardinal Giuliano had in the first instance fled to Genoa, from whence Lodovico il Moro enabled him to proceed to France.‡ He went first to his episcopal palace at Avignon, and then to the camp of Charles VIII., who had already, on the 17th of March, announced his intention of starting for Italy, long before the arrival of Giuliano, which did not take place till the 1st of June. The Cardinal's vehement representations, now added to the entreaties of the Neapolitan refugees and the intrigues of Lodovico il Moro, materially contributed to hasten the French invasion.§

fled to save his life from an attack of Alexander; BROSCH, 57, says the story does not sound probable, and is nowhere else mentioned. See also the Ambassador's Reports in BALAN, 316, and DESJARDINS, I., 399.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334, ed. 3 (340, ed. 4); MALIPIERO, 318, and in Appendix, N. 27, the Brief of May 24, 1494. Colonna Archives, Rome.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 129 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 36; ALLEGRETTI, 829, who all give May 8 as the date. In GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334, ed. 3 (341, ed. 4); CREIGHTON, III., 178; and REUMONT, III., 1, 212, the date is wrong; and also in Caraccioli in MURATORI, XXII., 116.

‡ BALAN, 310.

§ CIPOLLA, 690; CHERRIER, I., 406; DELABORDE, 320. BROSCH, 51,

This alliance between Giuliano and the French King threatened a serious danger for Alexander VI. From the beginning the enemies of the Pope had counted upon the Cardinal to carry the war into the purely ecclesiastical domain. Accordingly, the King at once informed Rovere that he desired to have him at his side at his meeting with the Pope, when the question of the reform of the Church would be broached. Giuliano himself openly declared the necessity of calling a Council to proceed against Alexander VI.* There could be no doubt of the effect this must produce upon the Pope. "His simoniacal election was the secret terror of his whole life. He dreaded above all things the use that might be made of this blot in his title to the Papacy, by the Cardinals of the opposition and his other enemies to bring about his downfall, in view of the universal feeling of the crying need of reform in the Church."† In addition to this, the Gallican tendencies in France threatened the power of the Church, both materially and spiritually. Hence, when Ascanio Sforza, in a letter in cypher to his brother on the 18th June, says that the Pope is in the greatest alarm at the efforts of Cardinal Giuliano to support the calling of a Council and the Pragmatic Sanction, his statement is in all probability perfectly true.‡ Alexander's dismay could not be concealed, when in May Charles's Envoys arrived in Rome, to assert the right of their master to the throne of Naples and demand his investiture. By

has confused the chronological sequence of events. On Charles VIII.'s reception of Cardinal Giuliano, see the Report in DESJARDINS, I., 299 *seq.*, 307, 310, 312. *Cf.* 392.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 423 (Despatch of March 8); and also DELABORDE, 348, and DESJARDINS, I., 399, 451.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334 *seq.*, ed. 3; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

‡ S. Sta. sta in infinito per temere supra modo del card S. P. in v. lo concilio e la pracmatica. *Despatch in cypher of A. Sforza, dat. June 18, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

his orders they were treated with all possible consideration. In his reply the Pope spoke of reconsidering the evidence in favour of the rights of the King.* The Envoys, however, saw plainly that Alexander meant to adhere to his alliance with Naples, and occupied themselves with preparing the way in secret for stirring up troubles in the States of the Church by subsidising Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna as well as other Roman nobles.† It was Ascanio Sforza who had brought about the defection of the Colonna; on the 28th of June be betook himself to their strongholds. The Pope had an enemy in his own house, says Sigismondo de' Conti; his army was insignificant, and he could not expect any effectual help either from the King of the Romans or from any other European power. The loyalty of the more distant parts of the States of the Church, such, for instance, as Bologna, was very doubtful.‡ It was not surprising, therefore, that the Pope's alarm almost bordered on despair, and the steps which he took to defend himself betrayed these sentiments.

His ally, Alfonso, was already on friendly terms with the

* DELABORDE, 366; BUSER, Beziehungen, 333, where, however, the date of Card. Peraudi's letter must be wrong. *Cf.* also SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 37; BALAN, 312; and *Letter of A. Sforza, May 25, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

† DELABORDE, *loc. cit.* In regard to the disposition of the Pope, the Florentine Envoy writes on the 13th June, 1494: *"Mostro un fermo proposito et una constanta fede et intentione verso la M^ta^. del Re Alphonso, al quale non era per manchare, ma volea mettere la vita et il sangue per la defensione sua." State Archives, Florence.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 65; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 180. Cardinal Fregoso also at this juncture fled from Rome. See BALAN, 314. Ascanio writes on the 6th July from Frascati; on the 15th July, and the 13th, 22nd, and 25th August from Genazzano; on the 22nd September again from Rome. All these *Letters are in the Milanese State Archives. In regard to the state of things at Bologna, see SANUDO, Spediz., 55 *seq.*; and DESJARDINS, I., 489.

Sultan Bajazet. The Pope made no objection to this, and on May 12th wrote a letter to Bajazet, bespeaking his goodwill for Naples.* In June, Alexander requested Bajazet to send the accustomed yearly payment (40,000 ducats) for Dschem, as the money was needed to enable him to defend himself against Charles VIII. His messenger, the Genoese, Giorgio Bocciardo, was commissioned to inform the Sultan that the French King intended to get Dschem into his hands, in order, when he had conquered Naples, to set him up as sovereign at Constantinople. Bocciardo was also to beg the Sultan to persuade Venice to abandon her attitude of strict neutrality, and take an active part in withstanding Charles.† Later, the Pope made another

* The original minute of this letter is to be found among the papers of the Papal Secretary, L. Podocatharo, in the Library of S. Mark at Venice. GREGOROVIUS quotes it, VII., 341, ed. 3; the whole is given in THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 326. From the beginning of his reign there were friendly relations between Alexander VI. and the Sultan on account of Dschem. *Cf.* Burchard's interesting report of the audience of the Turkish Envoy on the 12th June, 1493, published by PIEPER, 19 *seq.* BURCKHARDT, Cultur., I., 88 *seq.*, ed. 3, points out that almost all the Italian States of that time had no scruples against being on the most cordial terms with the Turks; the novelty was that a Pope should be found following in the same track.

† When Bocciardo (*cf.* PIEPER, Tagebuch Burchards, 19, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 320) was returning home, in November 1494, accompanied by a Turkish Envoy, both were in accordance with a plan concocted in June by Alexander's enemies (see MAKUSCEV, II., 202 *seq.*), attacked about ten miles from Ancona and robbed of their despatch boxes. The Turkish Envoy, who was bringing the money for Dschem to Alexander, succeeded in making his escape, by yielding up his 40,000 ducats, but Bocciardo was made prisoner by the chief of the attacking party, Giovanni della Rovere, prefect of the town of Sinigaglia, and detained there. Giovanni at once wrote to his brother, Cardinal Giuliano, to announce this important event. (*Cf.* the Ambassadors' Despatches, in Atti Mod., IV., 334.) The captured documents were forthwith published by the opponents of the Pope. BURCHARD (II.,

attempt, through his Legate in the same direction, but in

202 *seq.*) and SANUDO (Spediz., 42 *seq.*), in their histories, accept them all as genuine. Modern critics consider the instructions to Bocciardo as undoubtedly authentic; but reject the letter of the Sultan to Alexander, of the 12th or 15th September, 1494, in which he proposes that the Pope should make away with Dschem, promising 300,000 ducats for the corpse. (In regard to the printed copy, see the collection in HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 519–20. In MS. it is also in the *Informat. Polit., in the Berlin Library, see ZINKEISEN, 491, and in a vol. of collections in the Library at Aix in Provence, M. No. 835, f. 285 *seq.*, and in Cod. 124 [from S. Andrea della Valle] in the Vittorio Emanuale Library in Rome. First DU BULAIS, and later, RANKE (Zur Kritik [ed. 2], 99, and Rom. und Germ. Völker [ed. 2], 52), and BROSCH (Julius II., 62) have pronounced this letter of the Sultan's to be a forgery. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 341, ed. 3, thinks the letter appears to be "unauthentic in form, but possibly not in its contents." HEIDENHEIMER (Correspondenz, 531 *seq.*), p. 524, mistakenly supposes that Raynaldus had Burchard in the original before him. Burchard's Diarium, of the times of Alexander VI., is not to be found in the original, either in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, nor yet in the Vatican Library. Even in a not easily accessible collection of MSS. in the Archives of the Ceremonieri in the Vatican, which would be the most likely place, there are only later copies to be found, as I had the opportunity of ascertaining in the spring of 1893. A portion of the original of Burchard's Diarium, extending from August 1503 to May 1506, is, however, preserved in the Vatican Archives, and has been recently described by PIEPER in the Römischen Quartalschrift, VII., 392 *seq.* In this exhaustive work, the best that has as yet been written on Burchard, the genuineness of the letter is strongly maintained. CREIGHTON, III., 301 *seq.*, agrees with Pieper, and produces some new evidence. THUASNE also, Djem-Sultan, 338, holds the same view. Against Heidenheimer, HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 315, observes: "That Charles VIII., in his manifesto of Nov. 22, 1494, appears to have been acquainted with this letter proves nothing; the whole thing was a manœuvre of the French party." CIPOLLA, 692, also is inclined to agree with Brosch. He remarks: "Fosse pur vera la lettera di Bajazet, essa non aggraverebbe punto la colpa del Borgia, il quale ad ogni modo non ricevette i promessi ducati, nè per questi fece morire Gem." GREGOROVIUS, in his 4th ed., VII., 348, says, in reference to this letter, that while "the form

vain.* Alexander and the King of Naples found themselves completely isolated in presence of the French invasion. They met at Vicovaro on the 14th July, to arrange their plan of operations. It was agreed that Alfonso, with a portion of his forces should occupy Tagliacozzo, while Virginio Orsini was to remain in the Campagna, to hold the Colonna in check. The mass of the Neapolitan and Papal troops, supported by the Florentines under Alfonso's eldest son, Ferrantino, Duke of Calabria, were to march into the Romagna, and from thence threaten Lombardy;

does not seem genuine, the contents produce the contrary impression. Heidenheimer has endeavoured to establish its authenticity." Neither Heidenheimer nor Creighton are acquainted with P. Ferrato's rare work, Il Marchesato di Mantova e l'impero Ottomano alla fine del secolo XV., Mantova, 1876. Here, p. 3-5, there is a letter of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga to the Sultan, dated Jany. 9, 1495, describing the attack near Ancona, and how the writer had succeeded in saving the Turkish Envoy, Cassim Bey. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, 555. When Heidenheimer (Correspondenz, 518) remarks "that this letter, if authentic, is to a certain extent an evidence of the estimate of Alexander's character formed by the Sultan in his distant home," we must remember that in those days political assassinations were planned by all sorts of States. Venice, for one, may be taken as an instance, as we see from LAMANSKY, Secrets d'État de Venise, St. Pétersbourg, 1884. In connection with this question, which possibly may never be decided with certainty (BRIEGERS Zeitschrift, VII., 152 *seq.*, contains an appeal for further investigation); a *Despatch from the Mantuan agent in Rome, G. Brognolo, Dec. 2, 1494, is interesting. In it he says: "*Ho inteso per bona via come ne le robe che sono state tolte a lo oratore del Papa che portava li 44^{m} ducati sono stati ritrovati certi capituli che havea sigillati esso oratore col Turcho, dove el Papa si obligava a darli la testa del fratello dandoli esso Turcho duc. 400^{m} et cussi erano dacordo et si iudica ch' l Papa facesse questo per poder sostenere questa impresa in favore del Re, al quale fin qui se tochato cum mano che le andato sincerissimo, etiam che tutta Roma habia sempre predichato in contrario." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DESJARDINS, I., 506 *seq.*

Federigo of Aragon, the King's brother, was Admiral of the fleet which was intended to conquer Genoa.

If this plan had been quickly and resolutely carried out, it might have succeeded.* But from the very beginning the reverse was the case. The attitude of the Bolognese caused the Pope great anxiety;† and that of his own immediate surroundings, many of whom had been tampered with by Charles VIII., was even more unsatisfactory. At the end of August he commanded the Cardinals who had fled from Rome to return under pain of losing their benefices, but without effect. Ascanio Sforza remained with the Colonna, and Giuliano della Rovere with the French. Both said openly that Alexander had not been lawfully elected, and must be deposed.‡

Charles VIII., secure of the friendship of Lodovico il Moro and of the neutrality of Venice, had advanced, on August 23, 1494, as far as Grenoble. Shortly before this he had commanded all French prelates to leave Rome, and had strictly forbidden any money to be sent thither. On the 29th August he took leave of the Queen, and on the 3rd September he crossed the frontier between France and Savoy, with the avowed object of making good by force of arms the old, but unjustifiable, claims of the House of Anjou to the Crown of Naples.§

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 180 *seq.*; *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives; GUICCIARDINI, I., c. 2; Arch. St. Napolit., XIV., 180 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 522; DELABORDE, 369; CREIGHTON, III., 182. *Cf.* also the *Briefs to G. Sforza, July 22 and 29, 1494. State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.

† The Pope was actually obliged to forbid the Bolognese to harbour Milanese troops and allow them to pass through their territory. *Cf.* the *Briefs of August 19 (Milanese State Archives, Autogr., III.) and September 2, 1494, in the State Archives, Bologna.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 64; BALAN, 315.

§ DELABORDE, 388, 391, 397. *Cf.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 328.

The strength of the French army, which included several thousand Swiss, has been much exaggerated.* A careful investigator estimates the land forces at 31,500 men, with 10,400 on board the ships, and, for the Italy of those days, a considerable force of artillery.† The young commander of this army was a small and weakly man, with a large head and puny limbs. "The French King," wrote the Venetian ambassador, Zaccaria Contarini, "is insignificant in appearance; he has an ugly face, large lustreless eyes, which see badly, an enormous hooked nose, and thick lips which are always open. He stutters and has a disagreeable, convulsive twitching in his hands, which are never still."‡ The hideous head of this ungainly little man, whose physical defects made him doubly repulsive to the artistic temperament of the Italians,§ was teeming with the most ambitious projects. He proposed to conquer the kingdom

HAEGHEN, in the Rev. Hist., XXVIII., 28 *seq.* has clearly shewn that Clement IV.'s Bull in favour of Charles of Anjou contains nothing which could justify Charles VIII. in this enterprise.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 339, ed. 3 (345, ed. 4), gives 90,000 men; VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 219, ed. 2, 60,000 men.

† DELABORDE, 324 *seq.*; MÜLINEN, 128.

‡ ALBERI, 1 Serie, VI., 15. See also BASCHET, Dipl. Vénet., 325. *Cf.* Charles VIII.'s portrait after a bust in terra-cotta in the Florentine National Museum, in Delaborde's work, and again, on p. 241 of the same, a still more unpleasing representation from the National Library in Paris. The effects of the nervous twitching in the hands, mentioned by Contarini, are visible in Charles's signature; fac-simile in DELABORDE, 245.

§ "Lo Rè di Francia," writes Sebastiano da Branca de' Talini, "era lo piu scontrofatto homo che viddi alli dì miei, piccolino, ciamaruto, lo piu brutto viso che havesse mai homo." CREIGHTON, IV., 292; and III., 191, note 1 of the same, contains similar remarks from other Italians. Charles VIII., from a physical point of view, was the complete opposite of Philip the Fair, who is called by VILLANI, IV., 4, "il piu bello Christiano che si trovasse al suo tempo."

of Naples, "to possess himself of the Italian peninsula between the new French state and the continent; to attain imperial dignity, whether in the East or the West, remained for the present undetermined; to make the Papacy again dependent on France, and himself the master of Europe." It is difficult to believe that he could have entertained any serious hopes of conquering Jerusalem in the course of his intended expedition against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the attack upon Italy, always such a tempting object to a conqueror, was entirely his own doing. Charles encountered nothing but opposition and discouragement from his councillors and generals, who had not the slightest desire to embark in a bloody war of subjugation; but the King carried his purpose, and commenced an undertaking, the result of which was to effect a complete alteration in the relations which had hitherto obtained between the southern and south-western states of Europe.*

* HÖFLER, Joh. v. Brandenburg, 7; and Markgraf, in SYBELS Hist. Zeitschr., LXV., 552. See also FUMI, Alessandro VI., 17.

CHAPTER III.

VICTORIOUS MARCH OF CHARLES VIII. ON ROME THROUGH LOMBARDY AND TUSCANY.—DISMAY AND HELPLESSNESS OF ALEXANDER VI.—OSTIA IN THE HANDS OF THE COLONNA.—DEFECTION OF THE ORSINI.—THE FRENCH BEFORE ROME.

Presto vedrai sommerso ogni tiranno,
  E tutta Italia vedrai conquistata
  Con sua vergogna e vituperio e danno.
Roma, tu sarai presto captivata ;
  Vedo venir in te coltel dell' ira,
  E tempo è breve e vola ogni giornata.

. . . . . .

Vuol renovar la Chiesa el mio Signore
  E convertir ogni barbara gente,
  E sarà un ovile et un pastore.
Ma prima Italia tutta fia dolente,
  E tanto sangue in essa s'ha a versare,
  Che rara fia per tutto la sua gente.

THESE lines by Fra Benedetto are a summary of the prophecies of his master, Savonarola. In his Lent sermons of the year 1494, the great preacher had announced the coming of a new Cyrus, who would lead his army in triumph through the whole of Italy, without breaking a lance or meeting with any resistance.*

This "resuscitated Cyrus" made his entry into Turin on September 5, 1494. Had he been the acknowledged sovereign of Savoy, his welcome could not have been more brilliant or joyous. Throughout the whole country he was

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 134. *Cf. supra*, p. 189.

equally well received. At Chieri the children came out to meet him, carrying banners bearing the French arms; and at Asti he was greeted by Lodovico Sforza, Ercole of Ferrara, and Giuliano della Rovere. The French King, on his side, did his best to impress the lively imagination of the Italians, and the white silken standard of the army bore the mottoes *Voluntas Dei*, and *Missus a Deo* interwoven with the Royal arms.*

During his stay at Asti the news arrived of the victory of his brother-in-law, Louis of Orleans, at Rapallo, over Federigo of Aragon; the moral effect in Italy of this success was immense. At that moment the progress of the expedition was temporarily checked by the sudden illness of Charles. He soon recovered, however, and it was plain that he had not relinquished his plans. On the 14th October, he entered Pavia in triumph; on the 18th he was in Piacenza, where an Envoy from the Pope made vain endeavours to come to an agreement on the Neapolitan claim. At Piacenza he heard of the death of the unfortunate Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan. By this event Lodovico il Moro obtained the Ducal throne of Milan, which had been for so long the object of his desires.† Shortly after, the news arrived that Caterina Sforza and her son Ottaviano had declared for France. This was the beginning of troubles for Alexander and Alfonso in the Romagna itself. About the same time the French troops crossed the Apennines by the Col de la Cisà, and encamped before the

* DELABORDE, 397, 420; BALAN, R. Boschetti, I., 24.

† The rumour which was at once set afloat (MALIPIERO, VII., 320) that Lodovico il Moro (as to his character, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 216 *seq.*, 273) had poisoned his nephew, is apparently unfounded, as MAGENTA, I., 535 *seq.*, has shewn. Alexander VI. sent his condolences to Lodovico on the 9th November, 1494. See Notizenblatt (1856), 444 *seq.* On Lodovico's investiture with Milan by Maximilian I., see ULMANN, I., 225 *seq.*

Florentine fortress of Sarzana.* As the news spread of this irresistible stream of foreign barbarians pouring unchecked into Italy, it created indescribable consternation throughout the country. The Italians were used to the game of brag played by the mercenary troops; but now they found themselves face to face with war in earnest, with all its horrors and bloodshed. Rumour magnified the army into a host that could not be counted, and told tales of giants and savages, and invincible weapons.† In Rome the alarm was aggravated by the revolt of the Colonna and Savelli instigated by Ascanio Sforza. On the 18th of September Ostia was treacherously handed over to the Colonna, who immediately hoisted the French flag.‡ French galleys soon began to appear at the mouth of the Tiber, which made the occupation of Ostia still more serious for Alexander. In dread lest he should lose more cities in the States of the Church,§ the Pope, after a consultation with Virginio Orsini, determined to declare war against the rebels.|| On the 6th October an ultimatum was sent to them, commanding them to lay down their arms; troops

* DELABORDE, 400 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 420, 427, 431–432. *Cf.* Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 786 *seq.*

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 203, ed. 2; GASPARY, II., 339 *seq.*—and 337 *seq.* on the echoes of this great national calamity in the poetry of the time. The cruelty of the French after the conquest of Rapallo made a great impression. *Cf.* F. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 4–5.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 65, who says of the fort of Ostia: a qua urbs Roma propter comeatum quasi spiritum ducit. *Cf.* also BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 186; BALAN, 317; and Brognolo's **Report, dat. Rome, Sept. 22, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On Sept. 22, 1494, Alexander VI. wrote to the Doge complaining of the perfidia et insolentia of the Colonna and Orsini, and begged for support; on the 28th he requested assistance from Spain to enable him to recover Ostia. These *Briefs are in the State Archives at Venice.

§ *Cf.* Brief of Sept. 21, 1494, to Orvieto in FUMI, Alessandro VI., 73.

|| Brognolo's **Report of Sept. 22, 1494, *loc. cit.*

were collected, and it was decided that Cardinal Piccolomini should be sent to Charles VIII. The French King, in a letter to his Envoy at Rome, announced that the Colonna were under his protection; and at the same time informed the Pope that he had bound himself by a vow to visit the Holy Places in Rome, and hoped to be there by Christmas.*

It was fortunate for Alexander that the Colonna had but few fighting-men; there was no want of will on their part to do him as much mischief as possible. A conspiracy was discovered which aimed at nothing less than the seizure of Dschem, a revolution in Rome, and the imprisonment of the Pope; simultaneously with this there was to be a rising in the southern parts of the States of the Church. Alexander and Alfonso took measures to protect themselves; Dschem was shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, the Colonna were outlawed and troops sent against them. Although they were not powerful enough to carry out their plans in their entirety, their revolt had the effect of preventing the King of Naples from employing all his forces against the French in the Romagna.†

Meanwhile Charles VIII. had entered Tuscany. There was so little attempt at resistance that the French were amazed at their good fortune. Commines repeatedly exclaims that God himself was with them. The veil of æsthetic culture which had hitherto partially concealed the moral and political corruption of Italy was rent asunder, its utter disunion, and the shortsighted selfishness of the various states became glaringly apparent. Piero de' Medici,

* DELABORDE, 419–420; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 329.

† DESJARDINS, I., 457–458, 463–465, 467 *seq.*, 475. GHIRARDACCI, Storia di Bologna, says of the year 1494: Il Papa promette di fare cardinale Antonio Galeazzo figliolo del Sig. Giovanni con patto che non si dia il passo al Re di Francia. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

on the 26th October, presented himself at the French camp and quietly yielded up all his fortified cities to the conqueror without ever drawing a sword. This dastardly act, however, instead of saving him, proved his ruin. "The sword has arrived," cried Savonarola, on the 1st November, from his pulpit in the Cathedral in Florence; "the prophecies are on the eve of their fulfilment, retribution is beginning; God is the leader of this host." To the eloquent Dominican it was due that, in spite of the universal excitement, so few excesses were committed in Florence, and the inevitable overthrow of the Medici was so quietly effected. On the 9th of November the Florentines rose with the war cry, "The people and liberty, down with the Balls" (the Medici arms). Piero and his brother, the Cardinal, fled, and their palace, with all the art-treasures which it contained, was plundered by the populace.*

Charles VIII. entered Lucca on the 8th November, and it was here that Cardinal Piccolomini, who had been sent by Alexander VI. to endeavour to come to terms, found him;† but the French King refused to see him, saying that he was coming to Rome in order to treat with the Pope

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 224 *seq.*, ed. 2; PERRENS, Hist. de Florence, II., 69 *seq.*, 84 *seq.* On the pillage of the Medici Palace, see DELABORDE, 445 *seq.*; and also SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 72.

† Piccolomini had been nominated Legatus de latere for the French King on Oct. 1, and had set out to meet him on the 17th. (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.) According to this DELABORDE, 447, requires to be corrected. The decree for Piccolomini of the 8th Oct. is to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 16. Alexander sent a Brief to Charles VIII. to announce Piccolomini's mission on Oct. 14. (State Archives, Venice.) The *Littera passus for Cardinal Piccolomini, ad car. in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Francor. regem ill. in presentiarum in partibus Italiae constitutum et ad universam Italiam ad quecunque ipsius Italiae loca, ad que eum declinere contigeret. Dat. Romae, 16 Cal. Nov., 1494, is in Regest. 879, f. 294. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

himself.* Alexander could have no illusions as to what this meant. On the 4th November Piccolomini had written to him from Lucca that the French proclaimed that their King was coming to Rome "to reform the Church."† On the 9th November Charles was welcomed at Pisa by the citizens, as their liberator from the tyranny of Florence. Here he received Savonarola and the Florentine deputation. Savonarola greeted him as the most Christian King, the messenger of God sent to deliver Italy out of her distresses and to reform the Church. At the same time, he warned Charles that he must be merciful, especially towards Florence, otherwise God would punish him severely.‡

On the 17th November, the French army entered Florence, which was decked in festal array to receive it. The mob shouted "Viva Francia"; at night the city was illuminated. After the festivities came the negotiations, which were not easy to arrange. After a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that Charles should be given the title of protector and restorer of the liberties of the Florentines, and should receive 12,000 golden florins. He was not to retain the fortified places which Piero had yielded for more than two years, and was to deliver them up before that time if the war with Naples were concluded earlier. The Medici were to remain in exile.§

* SANUDO, Spediz., 110; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 71; ALLEGRETTI, 830.

† Aiunt etiam multo vulgo inter illos iactari, regem Romam venturum et statum Romanae ecclesiae reformatorum. Card. Piccolomini to Alexander VI., Dat. Lucca, Nov. 4, 1494; Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 354, n. 5. The *Brief is in the S. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 239 *seq.*, ed. 2; DELABORDE, 447, 450; PERRENS, Savonarola, 143 *seq.*, and Hist. de Florence, II., 81 *seq.* On the relations between CHARLES VIII. and Pisa, see FANUCCI, Le Relazioni di Pisa e Carlo VIII., Pisa, 1892.

§ LANDUCCI, 80 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 133 *seq.*; F. RICCIARDI DA

It was about this time that Cardinal Giuliano's brother fell upon Bocciardo, who was on his way home accompanied by a Turkish Envoy bringing the annual pension for Dschem, ten miles before they reached Ancona, and succeeded in getting possession of all his letters and the money.* The manifesto to all Christian nations, written in the style of an Emperor and Pope rolled into one, which Charles VIII. issued on the 22nd of November, has been connected with this occurrence. In this document he declared that the object of his expedition was not conquest, but simply following in the footsteps of his predecessors, the overthrow of the Turks and the liberation of the Holy Land. He only desired to recover possession of his Neapolitan kingdom in order to accomplish this. He asked nothing from the Pope but a free passage through the States of the Church, and supplies for his troops on their march; if this were refused, he would take it without leave. He protested beforehand against being held responsible for any ill consequences that might ensue, and, if necessary, would renew this protest before all the princes in Christendom, whom he purposed to summon to join him in his expedition against the Turks. This manifesto was published in Latin and French, and soon after translated into German, and disseminated through the press.†

PISTOJA, Ricordi, 13 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 457 *seq.*; PERRENS, Hist. de Florence, II., 95 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 1 Serie, I., 362–375; IV., 2, 47 *seq.*; Revue d'Hist. Dipl. (1887), I., 593 *seq.* REUMONT, in the Allg. Zeitung (1875), No. 103, Supp., has pronounced against RANKE, who (Zur Kritik, 17, 41) throws doubt on the well-known encounter between Capponi and Charles's private secretary. DELABORDE, *loc. cit.*, and REINACH, in the Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs de France, X., XLVI. (Paris, 1893), think that Guicciardini exaggerated the incident.

* See *supra*, p. 428, note †.

† The manifesto begins like a Bull (sous la forme d'un bref, says

Charles's manifesto contained for Alexander a hardly-veiled threat of a Council and deposition. It was the strongest pressure that the King could put upon him; and Charles, knowing how apprehensive he was on this point, had good reason to hope that it would prove effectual.

The Pope had completely broken down before the rapid progress of the French, and the extreme improbability of help being forthcoming, either from Venice or from any other quarter.* The King of Naples urged him to proceed against Charles and Lodovico il Moro with spiritual weapons, but Alexander could not make up his mind to this. Alfonso complained to the Florentine Envoy of the Pope's niggardliness and nepotism, and of his cowardice.† It is easy to see from the reports of this Ambassador that the King no longer felt secure of the Pope's support. Alexander was, indeed, in great difficulties. The rebellion

PILORGERIE, 101. See MALIPIERO, VII., 325–7, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 73–6—the latter not quite agreeing with Malipiero), with the words: Carolus Dei gratia Francorum rex universis Christi fidelibus praesentes litteras inspecturis zelum catholicae fidei et salutem in domino sempiternam. Considerantes attentius, etc. *Cf.* DELABORDE, 480–81 (who, however, looks upon the whole thing as a forgery), and HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 541 *seq.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 340, considers it a mistake to imagine any connection between the manifesto and the captured letters.

* In a *Brief of the 5th July, 1494, Alexander announced the mission of the Bishop of Calahorra; and on the 22nd September made a direct request for assistance (see *supra*, p. 436), but without success. See DESJARDINS, I., 517. The documents published by PERRET, La mission de Péron de Baschi a Venise, Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, LII., 285–98, shew how careful, even in 1493, the Venetians were to avoid doing anything against Charles VIII.

† DESJARDINS, I., 466, 472, 477, 481, 483. Taberna speaks of the Pope's projects for getting hold of the possessions of the Colonna and giving them to his family, in a *Letter dat. Rome, July 5, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

of the Barons made the neighbourhood of Rome thoroughly insecure; French ships were continually bringing reinforcements to the defenders of Ostia, and to the Colonna and Savelli. All the Pope's enemies were unwearied in proclaiming that the French King was going to summon a Council and have the Pope deposed. The manifesto of November 22nd shewed what Charles's dispositions were; and at his side stood Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to bear witness, as no one better could, to the simony by which his election had been secured. His heart sank within him at the future that lay before him. Sanudo expressly mentions this terror of his, lest Charles should determine to depose him and set up an anti-Pope.*

Under these circumstances it appeared not impossible, even at the last moment, to win Alexander over for France. Two attempts were made in this direction. On the 2nd of November, Ascanio Sforza came to Rome and had several long conversations with the Pope; the first lasted five hours, and did not conclude till midnight. Ascanio enumerated all the dangers that were to be feared from the French King, and tried to persuade Alexander to adopt a neutral attitude. The Pope is said to have replied that he would rather sacrifice his crown, his dominions, and even his life, than abandon Alfonso. It is certain that at that time he thought of making his escape from Rome, and enquired at Venice whether he might hope to find a refuge there. Some people thought they perceived an air of satisfaction in Ascanio's demeanour when he was leaving Rome, which convinced them that he had come to an understanding with the Pope.† This, however, was not the case. A few days

* SANUDO, Spediz., 115.

† SANUDO, *loc. cit.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, ed. Thuasne, 194 *seq.*, 646 *seq.* A **Brief of Alexander VI. to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Oct. 26, 1494, belongs to this time. Milanese State Archives.

later Pandolfo Collenuccio, acting on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara, made another attempt to persuade Alexander to side with France; but he emphatically declared that he would rather leave Rome, and even give up both life and crown than become the slave of the French King, who was bent on being master of the whole of Italy.* When the news arrived, on November 14, that Charles had refused to receive Piccolomini, the French Cardinal Peraudi was immediately appointed Legate, and despatched to the King.† He was commissioned to inform Charles VIII. that Alexander would come to meet him, in order to consult with him about the proposed Crusade; but the crafty King declined this great honour, saying that he wished to do homage to the Pope in the Holy Father's own palace. At the same time, he succeeded in talking over Cardinal Peraudi, who was really eager for the Crusade, and winning him to his side. Thus Alexander found his policy defeated

* In regard to the mission of P. Collenuccio, see Reports from the State Archives at Modena in BALAN, V., 323, and "I Papi ed i vespri Siciliani con doc. inediti" (Terza ediz., Roma, 1882), 95. An Ambassadorial *Report, unfortunately without a date, apparently belongs to this time, in the postscript of which we find: Non mi pare anche tacere che presente lo ambax^re^ Spagnolo la Sta Sua dixe chel Re de Franza la menazava de concilio et altre cose et quando se venesse a questo deliberava anche intendere se la muliere ha la Christ^ma^ M^ta^ Sua è vera muliere o femina e che procederia alle censure etc. Al che io rispose (*sic*) che la Sta Sua volesse abstenirse da simile parole perche la doveva sapere che papa Innocentio provedete a questa cosa talmente che la Christ^ma^ M^ta^ Sua po tenere sanctam^te^ la regina per sua vera consorte et che iterum la pregava ad non farne parola. Milanese State Archives

† *Die Novembr. 14, 1494, litteris r^mi^ d^ni^ Card^lis^ Senensis ad pontificem sacro senatui constitit, christianiss. regem Franciae se legatum noluisse admittere; ea de causa eo die Car^lis^ Gurcensis (MS. Cruccensis) regem adivit. Ex manuscriptis manu propria Juliani Secundi diaconi Card^lis^ Caeserini temp. Alex. VI. et Julii II. S. P. Cod XXXIII., 48. Barberini Library, Rome.

on every side.* As a last resource he sent a third Legate, Cardinal Sanseverino, who had been in France, and belonged to the party of Ascanio, to arrest if possible the onward march of the French. But Charles informed him that he had resolved to keep Christmas with the Pope in Rome, and there to treat with the Holy Father in person. In great haste Sanseverino hurried back to Rome—he only took 36 hours to accomplish the 100 miles from Siena—to bring this news to the Pope.† Soon after, came the alarming announcement that Viterbo had opened her gates to the enemy, the Papal governor had fled, and Virginio Orsini with his troops had arrived too late. The advance of the French was so rapid and unexpected that Giulia Farnese, who was travelling, fell into the hands of the enemy, but was soon released at Alexander's request. The Envoy who relates this closes his report with the words: "The French King will not meet with the smallest resistance in Rome."‡

The Pope continued to cast about on all sides to find some one who would deliver him from this terrible "Pilgrim." On the 24th November he sent for Maximilian's Ambassador, the Prince of Anhalt. Charles VIII., he said, not only aimed at the conquest of all the Emperor's possessions in Italy, but at obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. Even with the knife at his throat he, the Pope, would never consent to this. Hence he desired the Ambassador to urge

* DELABORDE; 478, *ibid.*, 403, on Peraudi's zeal for the Crusade. *Cf.* also SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 35 *seq.*, and Hist. Jahrb., VI., 456 *seq.* As to Peraudi's itinerary, *cf.* a *Letter of Card. Piccolomini to Alex. VI., dat. Siena, Nov. 20, 1494. Card. Piccolomini in this expresses his satisfaction that Peraudi has been sent, and remarks: Heri vesperi hanc urbem ingressus est rev. Cardlis. Gurcens. I found the original of this letter in the valuable Cod. X., 174, of St. Mark's Library of Venice.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 146–7.

‡ See Appendix, N. 28, *Report of Brognolo, Nov. 29, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the King of the Romans to come forward as the protector of the Church.* He also implored the Venetian Envoys to stand by him.†

The excitement in Rome increased from day to day. The city was blockaded on the sea-side by Ostia and on the land by the Colonna, and food was already beginning to become scarce.‡ The gates of the city were closed with chains and some were walled up; S. Angelo was put in a state of defence. It was said that Alexander would fly to Venice or Naples, to escape being deposed by the French. Cardinal Sanseverino advised the Pope to try for a reconciliation with Ascanio Sforza, who was on the most intimate terms with Charles VIII.§ This was attempted, and on the 2nd December, Ascanio again came to Rome; Cardinals Sanseverino and Lunati conducted the negotiations, in his name with Juan de Lopez, the Pope's confidant; they seemed to be on the point of coming to an agreement, in accordance with which Sforza and Prospero Colonna were to march against Viterbo. When, on the 9th December, Sforza and Colonna were preparing to depart, they, together with the two Cardinals, were arrested and put in prison by the Pope's orders; and the French Ambassador was informed that passage through the States of the Church could not be granted to Charles VIII.‖ What could have induced

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 198–9.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 149.

‡ BALAN, V., 330.

§ In a *Letter dated from Marino, Nov. 12, 1494, A. Sforza expresses his satisfaction to the French King at the news contained in a letter from the latter announcing his arrival in Siena. Nothing has given him so much pleasure as videre et venerari Maj^tem Vest. Milanese State Archives.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 199 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 149 *seq.* In the Notizenblatt for 1856, 445–6, the Pope's appeal for help to L. Moro of Dec. 4, 1494, with a postscript in his own handwriting, in which the

Alexander to act in this manner? The reason is not far to seek. The Duke of Calabria, Giulio Orsini, and the Count of Pitigliano were encamped with the Neapolitan army before Rome. On the 10th December they entered the city.* Alexander hoped, through the imprisonment of Prospero Colonna and the Cardinals, to regain his power over Ostia, and to induce the inhabitants of the Campagna to rise against the French. Neither of these hopes were realised. Charles VIII. steadily advanced, meeting with no serious resistance anywhere, and favoured by the unusual mildness of the winter.†

The more the Pope saw of the Neapolitan army the more convinced he became that it was no match for the French. Consequently, the more distinguished Germans and Spaniards in the city were requested to undertake the military organisation of their countrymen; Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies at the Papal Court, called the Germans together at the Hospital of the Anima. The assembly resolved not to comply with the Pope's wish, because the German corps would have to be under the orders of the city authorities.‡ Alexander grew more and more helpless from hour to hour. "At one moment he wanted to defend himself, the next to

negotiations with A. Sforza are mentioned, Zurita, 50b *seq.*; Ambassadorial Reports in DELABORDE, 495 *seq.*; and BALAN, V., 330 *seq.* *Cf.* also Brognolo's **Report, dat. Rome, Dec. 11, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See further, ** Sommario de le lettere di Steph. Taberna et M. Mapheo de Trivilio a Nepe a di 17 Decemb., 1494. Milanese State Archives.

* In questhora el duca de Calabria è entrato dentro (di) Roma col. S. Virginio et Conte da Pitiliano. *Despatch from Brognolo dat. Rome, Dec. 10, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 348, ed. 3 (354, ed. 4).

† DELABORDE, 500.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 201 *seq.*

come to terms; then, again, he thought of leaving the city." On the 18th December Burchard relates that everything in the Vatican, down to the bedding and table service, was packed for flight; all valuables had been sent to S. Angelo; the Cardinals' horses were standing ready to start.* On the same day, the Milanese Envoy writes that he is convinced that Alexander intends to fly from Rome that night, taking the imprisoned Cardinals with him.† After all the Pope did not fly, probably because now, flight was hardly possible.

On the 17th December, Civita Vecchia was taken by the French;‡ and on the same day a still more disastrous event occurred; the Orsini went over to the French King and admitted him to their strong castle of Bracciano, where he set up his head-quarters.§ It was on the 19th also that the first French outposts appeared on Monte Mario. From the windows of the Vatican the Pope could see the enemy's cavalry galloping their horses in the meadows under S. Angelo.‖ Cardinal Sanseverino was now released, in order to treat with Charles VIII. Meanwhile the scarcity in Rome was becoming intolerable. The Romans sent word to the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 211; REUMONT, III., 1, 215.

† *Per duplicate mie V. S. Ill. havera inteso la detentione del ill. suo fratello. Al presente quella sera avisata come è publico et certo nome chel papa [e] el duca de Calabria partiranno questa nocte et menaranno cum se Mre Ascanio, S. Severino et S. Prospero per haver mandato questa nocte passata circa doe squadre ad preparar et assecurare el camino de Tibuli et evacuato tucte le robbe de palazo insino a la sacristia. F. de Curte to Lodovico il Moro, dat. Rome, Dec. 18, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

‡ **Report of Stef. Taberna and M. de Trivilio, Dec. 17, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 84.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 211. In regard to Gothein's (108 *seq.*) false account of Peraudi's behaviour at this time, see SCHNEIDER, 42 *seq.*

Pope that if he did not come to terms with Charles within two days, they would themselves admit him into the city.*

The Duke of Calabria advised Alexander to fly to Naples, and promised him 50,000 ducats a year and the fortress of Gaeta. To give effect to this proposal a deed was drawn up and was only awaiting the Pope's signature,† when, at the last moment, he again changed his mind. He determined to release Cardinal Sforza, to give up resisting and irritating the French King, and permit him to enter the city. On the morning of Christmas-day he informed the Cardinals and the Duke of Calabria of this decision. Charles VIII. granted to the latter a letter of safe conduct,‡ with which the Duke and his troops left Rome the same day, going in the first instance to Tivoli and then to Terracina.§ During the night three French Envoys had entered Rome; their suite coolly took possession of the places in the chapel reserved for the prelates. The pedantic Prefect of Ceremonies, Burchard, wanted to turn them out; but the terrified Pope prevented him, angrily exclaiming: "You will cost me my head; let the French put themselves wherever they please." ||

The Pope and the King found it extremely difficult to

* *Caleffini's Chronicle, Cod. I.—I. 4, f. 327b in the Chigi Library, Rome.

† This deed is in THEINER, Cod. Dipl., III., 510–11.

‡ DELABORDE, 505.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 214 *seq.* SANUDO, Spediz., 161. *In questa hora che sono circa XV. lo illmo Sr Ducha de Calabria è ito in palazo armato per pigliare licentia da N. Sre, poi si aviarà cum tutta la comitiva sua per andare nel Reame. Farrà la via de Tivoli et porta cum si victualie per dui zorni; credo che hora el Re de Franza verrà a Roma. Tutto el di de heri se atese ad altro che a portare robba fora de palazo, dove si stimma chel pto Re debba alogiare, et chel Papa debba ridursi in castello; pur non do questo per certo a la Ex. V. Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua, Rome, Dec. 25, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

|| BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 215.

come to an understanding, because Charles demanded that Dschem should be at once delivered over to him, while the Pope was not prepared to do this until the Crusade had actually begun. This point was left undecided for the present. Charles promised to respect all the Pope's rights, both temporal and spiritual; the whole of the city on the left bank of the Tiber was given up to be occupied by his troops. A Commission was appointed to arrange for the billeting of the French, who, since the 27th of December, had been arriving in detachments, while the Pope's army (consisting only of 1000 horsemen and a few foot soldiers) occupied the Borgo. Alexander shut himself up with his Spanish body-guard in the Vatican.*

* SANUDO, Spediz., 162; *cf.* 165; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 85; DELABORDE, 505-6; CHERRIER, II., 71.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES VIII. IN ROME AND NAPLES.—THE HOLY LEAGUE OF MARCH 1495.—FLIGHT OF THE POPE.—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY.

THE French King decided to make his formal entry into Rome on S. Silvester's Day which had been declared auspicious by the Astrologers. Early in the morning the Pope sent Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies, to meet him at the village of Galera, and to arrange the details of the reception. Charles told him that he wished to make his entry quietly and without pomp. To the address of the delegates of the Roman citizens who accompanied Burchard, he gave a short and colourless reply. "The King made me ride by him" says Burchard, "and in the course of our journey of four miles asked me so many questions about the customary ceremonial, the Pope, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, and other things, that it was all I could do to give satisfactory answers to them all." *

At the Borghetto, Cardinal Sforza came to meet the King, at the Ponte Molle, he was received by Cardinal Cibò. At the Porta del Popolo, the keys of all the city gates were handed over to the King's Grand-Marshal. The entry of the troops lasted from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till 9 in the evening, amid cries from the mob of Francia, Colonna, Vincoli (Giuliano della Rovere). The Via Lata, now the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 216; SANUDO, Spediz., 163 *seq.* The preparations for the reception of Charles cost 500 flor. auri de cam. *Exitus 527, f. 192. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Corso, was lighted with lamps when darkness came on, and crowded with spectators.

A long file of mercenaries, Swiss and German, headed the march, powerful men and splendid soldiers, keeping line and time perfectly, to the sound of their trumpets. Their uniforms were short, many coloured and close-fitting; some had plumes in their helmets. They were armed with short swords, and spears ten feet long, made of oak and pointed with iron; a fourth part of them, instead of spears, carried strong halberds fitted for striking as well as thrusting. Five thousand Gascons, mostly cross-bow men, followed the Swiss and Germans, forming a strong contrast to them by their small stature and sober uniforms. Next came 2500 heavy cavalry with sharp lances and iron maces, and amongst them rode the flower of the French nobility in gorgeous silk mantles and costly helmets with gilt chains. Each knight was followed by three horsemen, his esquire and two grooms, all armed. The horses were large and powerful, with close cropped ears and tails, according to the fashion of those days in France. Attached to these were about 5000 light cavalry, armed with English long-bows and long arrows which carried far. Some of these also had daggers with which to stab those who had been ridden down by the dragoons. The arms of their chiefs were embroidered in silver braid on their cloaks. Four hundred archers, of whom one hundred were Scots, came next to the King, whose body-guard was formed of two hundred of the noblest of the French knights, on foot. They carried iron maces like heavy axes on their shoulders; but when on horse-back they were armed like the Dragoons, and only distinguished by their finer horses and magnificent accoutrements.

The Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere rode beside the King, and behind him Cardinals Colonna and Savelli. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna and the other

Italian generals rode amongst the French nobility. The men and horses and banners of the French loomed larger and more numerous even than they were, in the uncertain light of the torches, and struck terror into the hearts of the Romans; but the climax of fear and wonder was reached when the artillery appeared on the scene, more than 36 bronze cannons rattling over the pavement at a rapid trot. Each of these guns was eight feet long, weighed six thousand pounds, and had a bore of the size of a man's head. In addition to these there were field-pieces half as long again, and falconets, the smallest of which discharged shot as large as a pomegranate.*

Besides those already mentioned, the Cardinals Jean de la Grolaie, Peraudi, Sanseverino and Lunati were also in the King's train, and accompanied him to his residence, the Palace of San Marco. All the important points of the city were occupied that same evening by detachments of French soldiers. A portion of the artillery was stationed in front of the King's palace.†

All the Cardinals except Caraffa and Orsini came to pay their respects to Charles, who received them haughtily and without the usual honours. The only exception that was made was in favour of Cardinal Cesarini.‡ Charles

* JOVIUS, II., 41b–42b; SANUDO, Spediz., 162 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 217; PILORGERIE, 143 *seq.*; Sebast. de Branca de' Talini in CREIGHTON, IV., 291. The entry is briefly mentioned in the * Acta Consist.: * Die ultimo Decembris, 1495 (*sic*) hora prima noctis, Ser. D. Carolus Francorum rex per portam b. Mariae de populo intravit urbem cum exercitu suo et hospitatus est in palatio S. Marci. Consistorial Archives.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86; SANUDO, Spediz., 164 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 508; CALAFFINI, f. 328 (error in date). Chighi Library, Rome.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 217–18. * Ego, 2 Januarii, 1495, post prandium immediate Suam Mtem conveni et in S. Marci palatio descendent mihi dominus de Albeny se obviam dedit; regi postmodum

required from the Pope that the Castle of S. Angelo and Prince Dschem should be delivered over to him, and that Cæsar Borgia should accompany him to Naples. On the 5th January, a Consistory was to have been held to deliberate on these points, but had to be postponed till the following day, the Pope having had a fainting fit. The result was a resolution that all three demands should be refused. When the Cardinals, who had been charged with the negotiations, informed the King of this decision he replied "My Barons will acquaint the Pope with my will."* Alexander then expressed his readiness to give up Civita Vecchia, but not S. Angelo at any price. The Envoys were greatly alarmed as to the possible consequences of this reply.†

me advenisse pronuntiavit qui per passus circiter quindecim mihi recurrit et complexus est non minus ac ego capite detecto, quod paucis aliis effecit. Ego regem alloquutus, cardles S. Petri ad vincula, Gurcensem, Columnam, Sabellum, qui regi astabant, amplexus sum. Sequenti post die cardlem S. Petri ad vincula visitavi, quo factum est, ut mihi pontifex retulerit, dictum sibi fuisse a tribus cardinalibus, me meum votum ipsi cardinali obtulisse, quod non cederet; Suam Beatnem quietavi etc. Ex manuscriptis Juliani Card. Caesarini, Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 17, in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* As a supplement to SANUDO, Spediz., 170 and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219, *cf.* Card. CESARINI'S *Notes for which I have to thank Dr. Gottlob. We find here: *Die 5 Januarii post vesperas Epiphaniae exutus pontificales vestes Papa in camera pistacci volens se iam reducere, subito quodam accidenti defecit (Alexander VI. was liable to frequent fainting fits; see *supra*, Chap. I.) quem S. Severini Cardlis et ego ad cameram audientiae pedibus non subsistentem reduximus, ubi maximis stomachi doloribus vexatus est; postea ad cameram quietis portavimus . . . Eo vesperi regis Francorum oratoribus S. D. N. responsum daturus erat, sed praepeditus ad diem sequentem distulit post missam cappellae; after mass the three demands of Charles were considered. Omne tria sacer senatus denegavit atque reiecit. Cod. Citat. of the Barberini Library, Rome.

† See Appendix, N. 29, *Report of Brognolo, dated 4th of Jan., 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

In the city the panic was so great that the inhabitants buried all their valuables.* "The discontent of the people is at its height" says Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy on January 6th, 1495, "the requisitions are fearful, the murders innumerable, one hears nothing but moaning and weeping. In all the memory of man the Church has never been in such evil plight." "It is impossible" he writes two days later "for so large an army to remain long in Rome, both provisions and money are beginning already to fail. To-day, in consequence of a paltry quarrel between the French and the Swiss, all the troops were called out and the streets swarmed with armed men."† Although the King had gallows erected in the public squares, the disorders amongst the soldiers continued.‡ On the 7th January the Pope, accompanied by six Cardinals (Caraffa, Orsini, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Pallavicini, Juan and Cæsar Borgia), fled through the underground passage to the Castle of S. Angelo.§ It was not only his personal security which was now in danger, but his actual existence as Pope. The five Cardinals (G. della Rovere, A. Sforza, Peraudi, Savelli

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 357, ed. 3 (363, ed. 4).

† See Appendix N. 30 and 31, Brognolo's *Reports of the 6th and 8th Jan., 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219 *seq.*; ALLEGRETTI, 838; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 43. DELABORDE, 509, endeavours to exonerate the French from all blame as much as possible. It is, however, quite clear that their occupation both of the city and the States of the Church was most oppressive. *Cf.* with the Reports of the Mantuan Envoys printed in the Appendix, MALIPIERO, 330; Diario di S. Tommaso di Silvestro, 25; Trotti's Despatch in BALAN, 334, n. 6, and also Boccaccio's Report in Arch. St. Napol., IV., 792, 794. Brantôme bears witness to the evils connected with the French army, which are also brought up by CANTÙ in Arch. St. Lomb., XV., 337–8 against Delaborde. *Cf.* also LUZIO-RENIER, F. Gonzaga alla batt. di Fornovo, 9–10.

§ SANUDO, Spediz., 171; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220.

and Colonna), who had constant access to Charles VIII.,* were unwearied in urging him to call a Council in order to depose the simoniacal Pope, and reform the Church. "Reform" was only a pretext, as Commines himself, though a Frenchman, acknowledged. The accusation of simony at the election, he observes, was true; but the man who preferred it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, was the one who of all others had received the highest pay for his vote at the Conclave. In a later account he says that the draft of the decree for Alexander's deposition was already on paper at that time; but it was not Charles's intention, nor would it have been for his interest, to proceed to this extremity.†

Briçonnet, writing about this time to the Queen of France says, "the King desires the Reform of the Church but not the deposition of the Pope."‡ The French King has recently been severely blamed for not having followed up his victory and destroyed his opponent. Such a judgment betrays a complete misapprehension of the circumstances of the case.

Only those who, like the Germans, knew nothing personally of Charles VIII. could have supposed that the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86.

† COMMINES, VII., 15. The account of the decree of deposition is in a *Despatch from B. Navagero, of May 21, 1577 (MS. Foscarini, 6255, in the Court Library, Vienna), quoted by Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.*, 355. The passage runs as follows:—Sua Sta (Paul IV.), entro a deplorar le miserie d'Italia et narrò l'historia dal principio che fù chiamato Rè Carlo in Italia da Ludovico Moro et Alfonso d'Aragona con li particolari del parentado fra questi due, la causa dell' inimicitia, il passar Rè Carlo per Roma, la paura di papa Alessandro di esser deposto, come publicamente dicevano li cardinali che vennero co'l Rè tra quali erano S. Pietro in vincola, che fù poi Giulio secundo; che furno fatti li capitoli della privatione da un Vicentino vescovo di [*illegible*] all' hora auditor della Camera. .

‡ PILORGERIE, 135.

young and pleasure-loving King could be seriously anxious for the reform of the Church. Commines remarks that "the King was young, and his surroundings were not of a nature to fit him for so great a work as the reform of the Church."* Lodovico remarks with a sneer that the French King would do well to begin by reforming himself.† As regards the deposition of Alexander, Charles must have felt that the great powers of Europe, already jealous of his successes, would not have stood quietly by had he attempted to take such a step as this; Maximilian, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Venice, would all have supported the Pope. He must also have been aware that he would have had to face opposition among his own subjects whose veneration for the Head of the Church would have recoiled from such an extreme measure.‡

Apart, however, from all this, what would Charles have gained by substituting Giuliano della Rovere or Ascanio Sforza for Alexander? was he not far more likely to get what he wanted from the timid and vacillating Borgia.§ As a matter of fact the policy which he pursued was that

* COMMINES, VII., 15.

† ROMANIN, V., 56. As to opinion in Germany; see CHMEL, Urkunden zur Gesch. Maximilians I., 56; Briçonnet's asseverations in Florence in regard to the readiness of Charles to reform the Church, may be seen in CAPPELLI, 46–7. Even Delaborde is obliged to admit the disorderliness of his life; CIPOLLA, 720, says: un animo leggero ed effeminato quale era quello di Carlo VIII., diveniva perfino ridicolo mettendosi a predicar la morale. On this point RANKE, Studien, 223, needs correction.

‡ ULMANN, Maximilian I., I., 278 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 515, 528 *seq.*, 533. As to the reverence of the French for the Pope, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219, and the remarkable passage—interesting also in other respects—in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86. See also Hist. Jahrb., VII., 320. Against the hypotheses of GREGOROVIUS, VII., 359 *seq.*, ed. 3, *cf.* BALAN, 333 *seq.*

§ DELABORDE, 515.

of squeezing as much as possible out of Alexander by playing upon his fears. Threat followed upon threat. Commines relates that the French artillery was twice got ready for action.* If Alexander had hitherto believed that the Castle of S. Angelo was capable of standing a siege he was undeceived on the 10th January, 1495; during that night a considerable piece of the wall of the fort fell down of its own accord. There was nothing for it but to give way. "Although the terms were hard in the extreme" writes Sigismondo de' Conti "the Pope agreed to everything for fear of being attacked."†

The terms of the agreement of January 15th, 1495, were the following; Cæsar Borgia was to accompany the army as Cardinal Legate (really as a hostage) for the next four months. Dschem was to be handed over to Charles during the expedition against the Turks; the Pope notwithstanding, still to receive the 40,000 ducats for his pension. The Cardinals, Barons, and Cities, with their Prefects, who had joined the French, were to receive a complete amnesty. Cardinal Giuliano was to retain Ostia, the Legation of Avignon, and all his other possessions and benefices. Cardinal Peraudi was to be confirmed in his Bishopric, and Cardinal Savelli reinstated in the Legation of Spoleto. In future all Cardinals were to be free to leave Rome whenever they pleased. The Pope granted a free passage to the French army through the whole of the States of the Church, and gave up Civita Vecchia to the King. Governors,

* COMMINES, VII., 15. ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 43, questions this statement in Bernaldez, but without reason. Commines' authority for what he says, was probably Charles VIII. himself. See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Lettres et négociations de Ph. de Commines, II., 208. Bruxelles, 1868.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 92; *cf.* ZURITA, V., 54. On the falling in of the wall, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220; SANUDO, Spediz., 171, and Diario Ferrarese, 290.

acceptable to the King, were to be appointed to the cities in the March of Ancona and the Patrimony, and a similar condition was to be observed in regard to the Legates of the Campagna and Maritima during the expedition against Naples. The Pope was to keep the Castle of S. Angelo, and, on Charles' departure, the keys of the city were to be restored to Alexander. Charles was to profess obedience to the Pope, to impose no constraint upon him either in things spiritual or temporal, and to protect him against all attacks. In regard to the election capitulation, the King and the Pope were to come to terms.*

The agreement contains nothing about the investiture with Naples; Alexander had been as firm on this point as on that of the Castle of S. Angelo. It was also an important gain for the Pope to have managed to avert the attack on his spiritual power. The vexation of the Cardinals of the opposition was intense. Ascanio Sforza and Lunati left Rome at once. Peraudi is said to have gone to Alexander and rated him soundly to his face; but of all the irreconcilables, Giuliano della Rovere was the worst.† Charles VIII. twice personally endeavoured to mollify him, but without success. He absolutely refused to trust Alexander, even when the Pope in an autograph Brief

* MOLINI, I., 22-28; THUASNE, II., 661 *seq.* SANUDO, Spediz., 185 *seq.* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 88 *seq.*, the speech given here can hardly be authentic, but the passage which follows is important: Inflexit animum regis sapiens et vera oratio; sed multo magis largitio Alexandri qua penitiores regis amicos corruperat. *Cf.* DELABORDE, who (p. 518) misunderstands the arrangement about the election capitulation; see also HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 560 *seq.*; FOUCARD, Carteggio Dipl., 44 (Napoli, 1879), and BALAN, 336.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 233, with the saving clause: si sui verum mihi retulerunt. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 44 *seq.*, and HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 567. See also Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 16, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 791.

assured him that he should not be molested on any pretext. He remained with the King.*

On the same day, 16th January, 1495, that the Cardinals Sforza and Lunati left Rome, the French King accepted the Pope's invitation to take up his abode in the Vatican, where the so-called apartment, *stanze nuove*, had been prepared for him. Alexander VI. came through the covered way from S. Angelo to receive the King, who on his part hastened to forestall the Pope. They met at the garden entrance of the tunnel, and the moment the first salutations were over Charles asked for the Red Hat for his friend and favourite, Briçonnet. The request was granted on the spot, and all possible honour in every way was shewn to the King.† On the 18th January the agreement was officially ratified, and on the following day Charles presented himself in the Consistory to make his obedience to the Pope. After the three prescribed genuflections he kissed the Pope's foot and hand, who then raised and embraced him. The President of the French Parliament, de Ganay, then said that the King had come to profess his obedience, but that first he had a favour to ask, namely, the investiture with

* SANUDO, Spediz., 196; BROSCH, Julius II., 68. There is also a Papal *Declaratio super benef. obtenta for Giuliano della Rovere, dated Jan. 28, 1495, in Regest. 869, f. 239; *ibid.*, 235, Jo. Bapt. S. Nic. in Carcere et Jo. S. Mariae in Aquiro cardinalibus datur absolutio for absence without permission from the Court, dat. 1494 [st. fl.], Cal. Feb. A° 3°, f. 246b. There is a similar absolution for Card. A. Sforza, dat. Rome [st. fl.], prid. Cal. Feb. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 222 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 185 *seq.*; SENAREGA, 545. *Acta Consist., in the Consistorial Archives and Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 16, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 791–2. On Briçonnet's aspiration to the Cardinalate, see DELABORDE, 274 *seq.*, 294, 330. Briçonnet left a memorial in Rome in the Church of SS. Trinità de' Monti for which he gave the marble; *cf.* CARDELLA, 268 *seq.*

Naples. Alexander answered evasively; but nevertheless Charles proceeded to make his obedience, pronouncing in French the prescribed formula. "Holy Father, I am come to offer obedience and homage to your Holiness, as my predecessors the Kings of France have done before me." When Charles had ceased speaking, de Ganay added that his master acknowledged Alexander as the true Vicar of Christ, and successor of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul.*

Alexander had now surmounted his greatest danger; he had obtained the recognition of the ruler of France and conqueror of Italy. He shewed his gratitude by making the King's cousin, Philip of Luxemburg, a Cardinal on January 21st.† On the 25th of January, the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, the Pope and the King proceeded together in state, accompanied by the Cardinals and Ambassadors, from S. Peter's to S. Paul's as a public manifestation of their friendship.‡ "Alexander VI.," says the Mantuan Envoy, "endeavours to gratify the French in every way; all possible expectancies, reservations and favours of all sorts are bestowed on them."† The Ferrarese Envoy was convinced that Charles had received the investiture of Naples, and been named Emperor of Constantinople. Similar rumours were circulated through-

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 226 *seq.*, and Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 14, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 793.

† PANVINIUS, 334, erroneously places the nomination in the year 1497; and CARDELLA, 270, in 1496. The date given above is the one mentioned in BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 233; in Brognolo's *Despatch of the 22nd Jan., 1495 (Appendix, N. 32), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and in the *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 234; and Brognolo's **Report of Jan. 28, 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Appendix, N. 32, *Report of Brognolo, Jan. 22, 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

out Italy and Germany. In reality, beyond the agreement of January 15th, the King had obtained nothing except the nomination of two Cardinals.*

The commissariat for the French army in Rome became daily more and more difficult, and the disputes between the citizens and the soldiery were incessant. Charles could have had no motive for lingering there any longer, unless it were that he still hoped to obtain the investiture of Naples. If so, he was mistaken. When at last he took leave of the Pope on January 28th, the only document that he received was the Bull granting free passage to his army through the States of the Church.†

In splendid weather, Charles VIII. set out to attack Naples, along the same Roman road which had been selected by Charles of Anjou, 229 years before. Giuliano della Rovere and Peraudi awaited him in Marino, and it was here that he was informed of Alfonso II.'s abdication. So abject was the terror of the despotic ruler of the two

* *Cf.* MALIPIERO, VII., 1, 329; SANUDO, Spediz., 188; FOUCARD, Carteggio, 46, and Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 792–4; DELABORDE, 522–33 Maximilian had in a letter apparently written in December 1494, protested against Charles' supposed intention of assuming the title of Imperator Graecorum; Peraudi was asked to dissuade him from doing this; (see ULMANN, I., 272). It was Peraudi who on the 6th September, 1494, had obtained from Andreas Palæologus, who was then living in Rome, the transference of his rights over Byzantium to Charles VIII. FONCOMAGNE has published the original draft of this act of cession which is in the Library of Paris. See Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscript., XVII., 539–78 (Paris, 1751); DELABORDE, 405, gives a portrait of Charles, adorned with Imperial Insignia, out of the Coll. Gaignières d. Bibl. Nat.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 226 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 192 (with a wrong date for the leave-taking from the Pope), and 195; *cf.* DELABORDE, 526, who draws a veil over the excesses of the French; on this point, *cf.* the Despatch of Jan. 22, in BALAN, 337, n. 5; Brognolo, in his **Letter of the 28th Jan., 1495, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, states that Charles took leave of the Pope on that day.

Sicilies, that he would start up in his sleep crying that "he heard the French coming, and all the trees and rocks calling France." He fled to Sicily, leaving to his youthful son Ferrantino a ruined kingdom with the enemy at the gate.*

At Velletri, Charles met with a significant token of the change in the temper of the Great Powers of Europe which had been wrought by his conquests in Italy. The Envoys of Ferdinand the Catholic, expressed the displeasure of their King at his disrespectful treatment of the Pope, his occupation of the strongholds in the States of the Church, and, finally, of this expedition against Naples; they reminded him of the conditions in the treaty of Barcelona, which conferred on their King the right to defend the Church, and they demanded that Ostia should be restored, Cæsar Borgia released, and the attack upon Naples relinquished. Charles refused, and high words passed between them.†

Another unpleasant surprise befell Charles at Velletri; Cæsar Borgia suddenly disappeared. The King complained to the Pope, who professed utter ignorance of the whereabouts of the missing Prince, and expressed his regret, but did not send any other Cardinal.‡ Charles however, still continued his southward march, lured on by easy victories, for everywhere the party of Anjou rose to meet his troops. On the 27th January, Ferrantino himself announced to his Envoy "Aquila has raised the standard

* HAVEMANN, I., 78–9; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 18 *seq.*

† ZURITA, V., 54b; SANUDO, Spediz., 196, 204 *seq.*; PRESCOTT, II., 29 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 542 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Don Rodrigo de Borja, 65; BERNAYS, P. Martyr, 74, note 2; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 447.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 101 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 197 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 293; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 44; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 238 *seq.*; ALVISI, 18–19.

of France, Sulmona and Popoli have followed suit; in the Abruzzi all is lost as far as Celano."*

To please the Colonna, Charles permitted the storming of the fastnesses of the Conti, although these were within the States of the Church. The Fort of Monte S. Giovanni, close to the Neapolitan border, fell at the first onslaught, and was set on fire, while nearly all its inhabitants were cut to pieces. The destruction of this stronghold which had been supposed impregnable, and the barbarity which accompanied it, so terrified the Neapolitans that they retired without striking a blow. The French found the fortified cities, the passes, and even the important post of S. Germano, undefended. Even the weather seemed to be on their side. The February of that year was unusually mild; the fields were brilliantly green and studded with spring flowers. On the 16th February Gaëta fell. Capua had opened her gates on the 13th to the French. Ferrantino waited in vain for help from Spain and the Turks. On the 22nd February he fled to Ischia, while Charles VIII. enthusiastically welcomed by the populace, entered Naples in triumph. Cæsar's boast "I came, I saw, I conquered," wrote Sigismondo de' Conti, "was surpassed."† "In the short space of a few weeks," remarks another contemporary writer, "the French conquered as by a miracle, a whole kingdom, almost without striking a blow." ‡ "The French,"

* FUSCO, Intorno alle zecche ed alle monete battute nel reame di Napoli da Re Carlo VIII., 132 (Napoli, 1846); REUMONT, Carafa, I., 25.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 102 *seq.*, 109; SENAREGA, 546; JOVIUS, II., 50 *seq.* Diario di S. Tommaso di Silvestro, 37; SANUDO, Spediz., 208 *seq.*, NOTAR GIACOMO, 187 *seq.*; PILORGERIE, 176 *s q.*; HAVEMANN, I., 81 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 547 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 715. The Diario Ferrarese, 289, also alludes to the extreme mildness of the whole winter of 1494–95.

‡ FR. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 23; *cf.* Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 39.

said Alexander VI., "came in with wooden spears and found they had nothing to do but the quartermaster's work of marking the doors with chalk."*

There was nothing now to delay the Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, which had been so solemnly announced by Charles, and within his own immediate circle voices were not wanting to remind him of the fact. One of the most urgent of these was that of Cardinal Peraudi, whose whole life had been devoted to this cause. There are clear indications that Charles VIII. at this time was seriously considering the project of the war against the Turks, for which Alexander VI. had promulgated a Bull in February;† but he never got so far as to take any action in the matter. He preferred to remain in Naples and revel in the delights of the earthly paradise which had been so easily won; the prowess of the zealous champion of Christendom and reformer of the Church expended itself in enterprises of a very different character.‡ This, however, did not prevent the French from threatening Alexander with a Council which was to reform both the Pope and the Church.§

* COMMINES, VII., 14.

† This document, to be found in MALIPIERO, 404, was formerly universally ascribed to the year 1494, and brought forward as a proof of Alexander's duplicity; DELABORDE, however, has proved that the Bull belongs to the year 1495, thus dispersing all accusations founded on this supposition. *Cf. supra*, Book II., chap. 2, p. 422.

‡ *Cf.* SANUDO, Spediz., 261–2; DELABORDE, in his narrative assumes far too readily that the King was really in earnest about the Turkish war; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 47, takes the opposite view and doubts whether the King had ever seriously contemplated undertaking it. In fact, this opinion is the more correct one; it seems very doubtful that Charles took any real interest either in the Crusade or the reform of the Church. *Cf.* MARKGRAF in Sybels Hist.-Zeitschr., LXV., 552, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 17.

§ *Cf.* the Ferrarese Despatches in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 45–6.

Dschem's death which took place February 25, 1495, was a severe blow to the King, but not more so than to the Pope. In those days, all cases of sudden death were invariably attributed to poison; and the enemies of Alexander at once accused him of the crime, but without the smallest ground. It is clear that Dschem died a natural death; probably the result of his disorderly life.* According to Sigismondo de' Conti, it was in consequence of his death that the King gave up all thoughts of the Crusade.†

To the French army the prolonged stay in Naples was most disastrous. Bacchus and Venus reigned paramount among the soldiers.‡

While Charles VIII. was thus revelling in the delights of the South, a storm was gathering against the "foreign barbarians" in the North. The "unexampled good fortune" of the French aroused an alarm in Italy which was shared by the Cabinets of foreign powers. It seemed as if France was on the point of obtaining that imperial power and world-wide domination at which she had so long been aiming. The opposition of Spain has already been mentioned. Upon the first successes of Charles, Maximilian I. had entered into an alliance with Venice, where many were already beginning to perceive the consequences of the neutrality of the government; but the negotiations pro-

* To the printed testimony and opinions brought forward by L'ÉPINOIS, 412 (*cf.* CIPOLLA, 719, and FORGEOT, 146), there is now to be added the following unprinted documents, which would no doubt have led THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 375, to alter his opinion (he leaves the question undecided); Brognolo on March 3, writes from Rome to the Marquess of Mantua: *Illmo Sr mio. Ali 25 del passato morì in Napoli el fratello del Gran Turcho; credo di sua morte, benche molti dicano che li sia stato dato da bevere: questo hè vero che l'era disordenatissimo de ogni cosa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 111.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 240.

ceeded but slowly, until the fall of the Aragonese kingdom startled them into brisker life.* Lodovico il Moro, who had long ceased to be friends with the French King, in telling the bad news to the Venetian Envoy, added that now there was not a moment to lose. In Venice the consternation was so great that Commines compares it to that which was caused in Rome by the news of the battle of Cannæ.† Secret negotiations were at once set on foot. From the unsatisfactory answer to the request made at the end of March by the French Envoy for the investiture with Naples, Charles could easily guess that the Pope was aware of what was going on. Alexander openly alluded to the League which he had been requested to join, and sent the golden Rose to the Doge.‡ By the time his messenger had got to Venice the coalition against France was well started.

On the 31st March, 1495, a Holy League for 25 years was concluded between Venice, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Maximilian I., Lodovico il Moro, and the Pope, for

* *Cf.* ULMANN, I., 282 *seq.*, and the rectifications in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1885) I., 336 *seq.*

† COMMINES, VII., 20; ROMANIN, V., 66; DELABORDE, 583 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 340 *seq.* For a criticism of the Pope's policy, see also MAURY, in the Rev. Hist., VIII., 84.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 277–80 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 248 *seq.*; MALIPIERO, 334-8. *Brief of commendation for the bearer of the Golden Rose, April 10, 1495. (Florentine State Archives.) CIPOLLA, 720; DELABORDE, 588 *seq.* Alexander VI., who was aware of Giuliano della Rovere's plans for getting him deposed (SANUDO, 267), thought for a moment at this time of fleeing from Rome; but A. Sforza who since February had been reconciled with him (see *Letter of A. Stangha, Feb. 23, 1495, Milanese State Archives), dissuaded him; *cf.* BALAN, V., 343. With regard to Giuliano, Joh. Bapt. Brocchus reports from Rome, Feb. 23, 1495: *S. Pietro ad vinc. ha scripto alli soi di Roma che li mandino per mare a Napoli li soi argenti et sue tapezarie; barbugli et trame ogni modo ci saranno. Milanese State Archives.

the defence of Christendom against the Turks, and for the preservation of the dignity of the Chair of S. Peter and the rights of the Holy Roman Empire. The members of the League engaged to defend each other's dominions against all attacks of foreign powers who, at the present time, had possessions in Italy, and this was to hold good even though such powers should have lost the territories that now belonged to them. Each member was to furnish 8000 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers, the Pope to provide half this number, but with the condition that he should use his spiritual powers.*

On Palm Sunday, April 12th, the League was solemnly announced in the various States which had joined it. The Pope ordered the Vicars and Governors in the States of the Church to have the event solemnly celebrated in their Vicariates and cities.† On the 5th of April the Venetian Envoy officially informed Charles of the conclusion of the League. He was furious at the news; Cardinal Giuliano endeavoured in vain to calm him.‡

The only chance of salvation now lay in a rapid retreat

* LÜNIG, Cod., I., 1, 1, 115 *seq.*; SANUDO, 284, mentions secret articles, details of which are given by GUICCIARDINI, lib. 2. Even though these latter may, as ULMANN, I., 286 *seq.* has shewn, be unauthentic, still HUBER, III., 342, is certainly right in maintaining that "it stands to reason that there must have been secret articles" on the expulsion of the French from Italy. See also PORTIOLI'S rare work, La Lega contra Carlo VIII., nel 1495 (nozze del Vecchio-Norsa). Mantova, 1876. RANKE, Germ. und Roman. Völker, 51, erroneously gives March 29, as the day on which the League was concluded.

† SANUDO, 305 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 250 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 298; MALIPIERO, 337; PORTIOLI, *loc. cit.*; FUMI, Alessandro VI., 27, 79; AMIANI, II., 74; BERGENROTH, I, 57; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 369, n. 1, ed. 3 (375, n. 1, ed. 4). *Brief to G. Sforza, April 7, 1495. State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 294; BROSCH, Julius II., 316; CIPOLLA, 721.

before the allies should have time to collect their forces. Instead of this, the French King, with incomprehensible fatuity, wasted the precious moments in endeavouring by alternate entreaties and menaces to induce the Pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. When he saw that the case was hopeless, he proceeded on May 12th, to the Cathedral of Naples, crowned, carrying the Imperial Orb in his left hand and the Sceptre in his right, and accompanied by a splendid retinue, to assert his claim before all the world both to the Kingdom of Naples and the Empire of the East. The strange procession elicited no demonstration of any sort.* Not till May the 20th, did the King with the half of his army commence his retreat; the rest of the troops remained under the command of Montpensier to hold the conquered kingdom.

To Alexander this meant a renewal of the perilous situation of the previous December. In the beginning of May he complained to the Envoys of Spain, Venice, and Milan, that Venice was the only member of the League which had sent him any troops; could not the Powers see, he said, that he would have to bear the first brunt of the attack; he did not wish to lose his tiara.† On May 3rd, a consultation was held in Consistory as to whether the Pope should leave Rome. The general opinion was in favour of his remaining; especially as the Romans were confident of their ability to defend the city; but on the 4th, Alexander informed the Cardinals that, as the presence of the French was likely to cause disturbances in Rome, he

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 190 *seq.* Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 797-8; PILORGERIE, 272 *seq.*; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 51; THUASNE, 291-2, and *Report of G. Tuttavilla to A. Sforza, dat. Naples, May 13, 1495. State Archives, Modena, used by BALAN, 346.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 326; ALLEGRETTI, 844, mentions the recall of the Papal troops to Rome.

intended to retire to Orvieto.* On the 6th of May, Charles despatched a tranquillising letter to the Pope; he pledged his Royal honour that during his stay in Rome he would undertake nothing to the disadvantage either of Alexander or the Romans. The Pope replied that he and the Sacred College could not sanction the King's project of coming to Rome, let him choose some other meeting-place, Orvieto or Spoleto; two Legates would be sent to conduct him through the States of the Church.† Accordingly, on May 11th, Cardinals Morton and Carvajal were selected in Consistory for the office.‡ At the same time, Rome was put in a state of defence, and entrenchments were thrown up before the Castle of S. Angelo. On the 19th of May, fresh Envoys arrived from the King, Cardinal de la Grolaie, M. de Bresse, and François de Luxemburg. They offered in the name of the King a yearly tribute of 50,000 ducats, and the payment of the 100,000 ducats still owing from Alfonso and Ferrante, if the Pope would grant him the investiture of Naples; in regard to the Turkish war, Charles would personally arrange with Alexander. The Pope refused, although the Envoys spoke in a menacing tone.§

The excitement in the city meanwhile increased from day to day. "People are in terror" writes an Envoy on the 20th May "not only for their property, but for their lives also. During the last hundred years Rome has never been so entirely cleared of silver and valuables of all sorts. Not one of the Cardinals has plate enough to serve six persons; the houses are dismantled. Every day fresh

* SANUDO, Spediz., 327 *seq.*, and the *Notes of Cardinal Cesarini, Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 31, in the Barberini Library, Rome, already referred to, *supra*, p. 453, note *.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 370, n. 2, ed. 3 (376, n. 2, ed. 4); BALAN, 347.

‡ *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.

§ SANUDO, Spediz., 337, 343, 347; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 47.

troops come in; bastions have been erected at four of the gates." Some days earlier the same writer had announced that the Pope meant to fly without waiting for any more communications with the King.* This intention was carried out. On the 27th, Alexander left Rome accompanied by his body-guard, some Venetian and Milanese mercenaries, and twenty Cardinals, and went by Civita Vecchia to Orvieto.† In the Consistorial Acts, it is stated that the Pope left Rome in order to avoid disturbances which might arise during the passage of the King's army, in consequence of the different nationalities comprised in the Papal and French troops.‡

On the 1st of June Charles VIII., accompanied by the Cardinals Giuliano, Fregoso, and La Grolaie, arrived at the gates of Rome. By the Pope's orders, Cardinal

* **Litterae Zambeccarii ad Nestorem Palliotum, dat. Rom, Maii 19 and 20, 1495. State Archives, Milan.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 356 *seq.* Brief of June 1, in Notizenblatt (1856), 448; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 55 *seq.*; MALIPIERO, 342 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*; BALAN, 348. Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 40; *Despatch of Brognolo, May 31, 1495 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); CIPOLLA, 722. In regard to Alexander's stay at Orvieto, see Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto, 76 (Roma, 1791); and FUMI'S valuable work, Alessandro VI., ed. il Valentino in Orvieto, 27, 28. *Cf.* also, D. DAL RE, 123 *seq.*

‡ *Causa autem huius discessus fuit ad evitandum scandala quae verisimiliter exoriri potuissent in adventu christ. Francorum regis cum exercitu e Neapoli redeuntis per urbem transituri attenta hominum et morum varietate praesertim gentium armigerorum diversarum nationum et factionum quae pro securitate eius Sancttis et status ecclesiae per ill. d. Venetos et Mediol. ducem destinata fuerant. (*Acta Consist.) The names of the 20 Cardinals who accompanied the Pope are given here: 1, Neapolit.; 2, S. Angeli; 3, Ulixbon.; 4, Recanat.; 5, S. Clementis; 6, Parmen.; 7, Benevent.; 8, Ursinus; 9, Montisregalis; 10, Alexandrin.; 11, Cartagin.; 12, Senen.; 13, S. Georgii; 14, Valent.; 15, De Caesaris; 16, Ascanius; 17, S. Severini; 18, Grimani; 19, Farnesio; 20, Lunati. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Morton, the Legate who had been left behind,* invited him to take up his residence in the Vatican. The King declined this, and after a visit to S. Peter's, established himself in the Palace of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere in the Borgo. The garrisons were now withdrawn from Terracina and Civita Vecchia, but that of Ostia remained. The King, anxious to give no handle of accusation to his enemies, enforced the strictest discipline. The Swiss soldiers were not allowed to enter the city. Except for one or two isolated cases of robbery, the French occupation this time passed off without disorder. On the 3rd of June Charles moved on to Baccano.†

Charles VIII. still hoped that the Pope and he might meet, and sent an embassy to Orvieto to endeavour to bring this about. Even Cardinal Sforza on the 1st of June still believed that Alexander would see the King; but the Pope could not bring himself to trust the French, and on June 5 he hurried away to Perugia with his Cardinals and the Envoys.‡ Now at last, Charles became

* The Decree nominating Cardinal Morton *legatus de latere* in Rome, is wrongly dated in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 21: VIII. Cal. Januarii. Mansi's correction is equally erroneous. The Decree is dated: R. 1495, octavo Cal. Junii, A° 3°, *Regest. 869, f. 269. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 371, note 3, ed. 3 (377, note 3, ed. 4), thinks from a note in the book of the Confraternity of S^to^ Spirito that Charles was still in Rome on June 4. All other authorities, however, name the 3rd as the day of his departure; see SANUDO, Spediz., 366; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 114 *seq.*; the Reports in BALAN, 348; the letter of the Conservators in Arch. Rom., XI., 692. *Acta Consist. and the *Memorandum by Card. Cesarini; Barberini Library, Rome. (See *infra*, p. 474, note †); *cf.* MANFREDI'S Despatch in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 55, 57.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 367; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 42; Cronache di Perugia, 113; FUMI, Alessandro VI., 29; A. Sforza declares in a *Letter, dated Orvieto, June 1, 1495, that an interview between Charles and Alexander would take place. State Archives, Milan.

convinced that there was no chance of a meeting. When his scouts announced that the Venetian and Milanese troops were on their way to join each other at Parma he hastened his retreat.*

On the 13th June the French King reached Siena, and soon after arrived at Poggibonzi, where Savonarola came to meet him. "Most Christian Prince" he said "you have incurred the wrath of God by neglecting that work of reforming the Church which, by my mouth, He had charged you to undertake, and to which He had called you by so many unmistakeable signs. This time you will escape from the danger which threatens you; but if you again disregard the command which He now, through me His unworthy slave, reiterates, and still refuse to take up the work which He commits to you, I warn you that He will punish you with far more terrible misfortunes, and will choose another man in your place." †

Charles succeeded in crossing the Apennines in safety with all his artillery.‡ It was not till he reached the Taro at Fornuovo that he came across the army of the allies under the command of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga. On the 6th of July they fought; the battle was sharp but short.§ Charles plunged into the thickest of the fray, nor

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 115.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 11 (Engl. trans.).

‡ On the heroic conduct of Charles' soldiers, especially the Swiss, *cf.* MÜLINEN, Schweizer Söldner, 138 *seq.*

§ Scardovelli's La battaglia di Fornovo (Mantova, 1889), is of little value. LUZIO-RENIER'S work, Francesco Gonzaga alla battaglia di Fornovo, secondo i documenti Mantovani (Firenze, 1890), is excellent in every respect. It not only contains an exhaustive summary of the numerous authorities and recent literature on the subject (BALAN, R. Boschetti, I., 28 *seq.*; and MÜLINEN, Schweizer Söldner, 140 *seq.*, are all that require to be added), but also an extremely careful résumé of the notices of the battle in the poetry of the time. From the military point

was the Marquess Gonzaga behind-hand in daring; he had three horses killed under him. The King's army might have been practically annihilated, if it had not been for the undisciplined Bohemians who formed part of the Italian force, and who at once began to ransack the enemy's baggage. This enabled the French to cut their way through, though not without severe loss. The booty was large and valuable, consisting of all the plunder which had been gathered during the course of their victorious progress through the unfortunate country which had been so easily mastered. There were innumerable chests filled with jewels and gold and silver plate, two banners, Charles's helmet and sword, and his golden seal, together with a book containing the portraits of many fair ladies whose favours the gallant monarch had won in the various cities through which he had passed. It was not wonderful that the Italians should have claimed the victory, although the object of the battle had not been attained. The beautiful Madonna della Vittoria, which was painted by Mantegna by order of the Marquess of Mantua, remains as a standing memorial of this claim. It is now in the Louvre in Paris.*

The patriotism of the Italian poets burst into flame over the success of their arms at Fornuovo, and they are almost unanimous in singing of it as a brilliant victory.† Antonio

of view see RICOTTI, Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura in Italia, III., 304 *seq.* (Torino, 1845). For the topography see SYMONDS, New Italian Sketches, 240 *seq.* Leipzig, 1884.

* *Cf.* PORTIOLI'S interesting work, La chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria (Mantova, 1883); CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 432 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 601 *seq.*; Engraving in DELABORDE, 650. *Cf.* also HEISS, Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance; Sperandio de Mantoue, 45 (Paris, 1886); and LUZIO-RENIER, *loc. cit.*, 25, for notices of Sperandio's medal which bears the boastful inscription "Ob restitutam Italiae libertatem."

† On the influence of the political and military events of that time on Italian Poetry, see LUZIO-RENIER, *loc. cit.*, 34 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*; and

Cammelli is the only one who, with a calmer and clearer insight than the rest of his countrymen acknowledges that.*

Passo il Re franco, Italia, a tuo dispetto
Cosa che non fe mai 'l popul romano,
Col legno in resta e con la spada in mano
Con nemici a le spalle e innanti al petto
Cesare e Scipion, di lui ho letto,
I nemici domâr de mano in mano:
E costui, come un can che va lontano
Mordendo questo e quel passò via netto.

Not till the 15th July, when he reached Asti, was Charles able at last to give a little well-earned rest to his jaded troops. Fortune seemed now to have entirely abandoned the French. The expedition against Genoa was unsuccessful, and Ferrantino drove Charles' troops out of Naples and forced them to retire to Castelnuovo.

The Pope had returned to Rome on the 27th June.† A

GABOTTO, Francesismo e anti Francesismo in due poeti del quattrocento in the Rassegna Emiliana, I. Pending the publication of Marino Sanudo's important collection of poems in S. Mark's Library at Venice (it. IX., 363), a comprehensive view of this subject is not as yet attainable. Valuable extracts from this work are to be found in the Poesie storiche sulla Spedizione de Carlo VIII. in Italia, pubblicate da Vitt. Rossi per le nozze Renier-Campostrini (Venezia, 1887). The publication consisted of only 35 copies. *Cf.* also V. ROSSI, in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 207 *seq.*; H. UNGEMACH, La guerra de Parma; an Italian poem on the battle of Fornuovo, 1495, published from an old letter-press copy; SCHWEINFURT, Programm des Gymnasiums, 1892, and Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XX., 468-9.

* REUMONT, Italienische Sonette, 10 (Archen, 1880). There is a good edition of A. Cammelli's Sonnets published by Renier (Torino, 1888), in which the one here quoted is on p. 324. In CAPPELLI-FERRARI'S edition it is on p. 5. See also Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 218.

† *Cum ingenti pompa et triumpho ivit ad palatium. (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.) Cardinal Cesarini, in his notes says *Rex

few days later he forbade the Swiss mercenaries to take part in the war against the allies.* Stronger measures soon followed. At the request of the Venetians on the 5th of August a monition was issued threatening Charles with excommunication;† but the most pressing danger for the King was the impending double attack upon France from Ferdinand of Spain on one side, and the Emperor Maximilian on the other. It was imperatively necessary to get home as soon as possible. He was fortunate enough by the conclusion of a separate peace with Ludovico Sforza at Vercelli on the 9th October, to withdraw that vacillating Prince from the League, and soon after re-entered his own dominions. All his lofty projects had failed and the shock which had been given to international relations in the South of Europe had rendered the prospect of the Crusade, of which the expedition to Italy was to have been the prelude, more gloomy than at any previous period.

This disastrous year, which had twice seen Rome at the mercy of the French, closed with one of the most destructive inundations that had ever been known in the Eternal City. Mementos of the high-water marks of 1495 are still to be

ab urbe die Junii 3a pacifice recessit et per suos oratores alloqui Pontifici supplicavit, quod Pontifex futura scandala praecavens denegavit; sequentique die Perusiam versus abscessit, ubi aliquantisper moratus est, et post Regis a patrimonio Ecclesiae abscessum Papa cum Sacro Collegio Romam reversus magna populi applausu atque laetitia. Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 32, in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* *Brief of June 30, 1495. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 5th August Alexander VI. repeated the prohibition (Notizenblatt, 1856, 468) but ineffectually; see DELABORDE, 568 *seq.*

† MALIPIERO, 383 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*, 409. *Letter of A. SFORZA, dat. Rome, Aug. 14, 1495. (State Archives, Milan.) *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 131; ROMANIN, V., 82. Charles VIII. answered in a defiant tone, see SANUDO, Spediz., 181. On further steps taken by the Pope, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 17, 35.

found in places.* On November 25, 1495, the weather was exceptionally cold. On December 1st it snowed a little and then the temperature rose suddenly and torrents of rain fell. When this had lasted for two days and a half, on the 4th, the sky cleared and fine weather set in. Presently, the Tiber began to rise with extraordinary rapidity, and submerged all the lower part of the city. Just as the Cardinals were coming out of a Consistory, the flood reached the streets round the castle of S. Angelo, and in a moment turned them into a swirling sea. They only just succeeded, with great difficulty, in getting across the bridge. Cardinal Sclafenati found it impossible to reach his palace; when he turned his horse the water was up to the saddle. "After dinner," says one of the Venetians, "our Ambassador Girolamo Zorzi rode out to look at the inundation. We made our way towards the street by the river bank (called Canal del Ponte because it was so frequently flooded), and found the whole place under water; the Ponte Sisto was almost covered and the river

* The chief authorities on this subject are the letters of two Venetians from Rome, between the 4th and 8th Dec., 1495, in MALIPIERO, 409–15. *Cf.* also ALLEGRETTI, 854; SENAREGA, 558; Diario Ferrarese, 316; LANDUCCI, 120; CARPESANUS, 1205; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 271; BOLLET., St. di Suizz. Ital., VII., 97. For the notice of P. Martyr, see GERICK, 45, and BERNAYS, 102, note 3. For the impetratory processions, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 252 *seq.* The high-water marks with inscriptions on the house of the Venetian Ambassador, Via del Paradiso, and on the façade of Sta Maria sopra Minerva, are given by REUMONT, III., 1, 538, 574; for others on the Castle of S. Angelo and elsewhere, see BORGATI, 101; J. CASTIGLIONE, Trattato dell' inondatione del Tevere, 36–37 (Roma, 1599); and CARCANO, Il Tevere e le sue inondazioni (Roma, 1875). See also BRIOSCHI, Le inondazioni del Tevere (Roma, 1876), and NARDUCCI, Bibliografia del Tevere (Roma, 1876). The rivers in Lombardy, and the Rhone also overflowed their banks at the same time. See Diario Ferrarese, *loc. cit.*; CARPESANUS, *loc. cit.*; and FURRER, II., 25.

was still rising, roaring fearfully and full of the wreckage of mills, wooden bridges, and cottages. We tried to go to Sta Maria del Popolo but that was out of the question. The sight of the falling houses, and the wretched fugitives escaping from them, was so heart-rending that we could bear it no longer and resolved to go home. The water was up to the saddles of our horses. At one in the morning the flood reached our own street. We did our best to dam up the doors and windows in the basement so as not to lose the wine in the cellars, but in vain, the water burst up through the floor, and had not the servants taken the casks on their shoulders and carried them up to the story above, we should have had none left. Presently the rising waves washed away our barricades, and in a moment the court-yard was a lake; the servants in the cellars had to fly for their lives. Our neighbours the Flemings were also forced to fly, lamenting the loss of all their goods, which they had to leave behind. Our landlord Domenico de' Massimi strove in vain to rescue the costly comestibles with which his shop was stocked. The water came pouring down in conflicting streams through the various streets, and everything was washed away. His shopmen could only save themselves by swimming, and he and his servants had to wade through the water breast-high. His loss is estimated at 4000 ducats. We provided him and all our neighbours with wine, while he supplied us with bread. The water continued to rise till the evening of Saturday. In our court-yard it was seven feet deep and ten feet in the street. Nearly all the city was in the same plight. People went about in boats, reminding us of our own lagoons, carrying provisions to the imprisoned inhabitants of the houses." In many places the water rose so rapidly that the people were drowned in their beds. Many lost their lives, and a still greater number all that they possessed.

All night long cries of distress were to be heard from those who had been overtaken by the waters. For three hours a terrific storm raged; it seemed as though we were at sea.

The distress in many quarters of the city was extreme in consequence of the destruction of the food supply and of the wells. "Though we were surrounded with water" writes the Venetian narrator, quoted above, "many are perishing with thirst even at this moment. In Trastevere it is feared that all the bridges will be destroyed. Many houses and palaces have fallen and their inhabitants have been buried under the ruins. The Mosaic pavements in the churches are broken up, the tombs are burst; all the food in the city is spoilt. Almost all the cattle in the neighbourhood have been drowned; the herds took refuge in the trees; many died of hunger and cold, others contrived to reach the city by swimming with the help of uprooted trees or branches, and arrived half-dead. It is feared that no crops can be grown next year where the water has been. There were great floods in the reigns of Popes Sixtus IV. and Martin V. but never one like this. Many are filled with terror, and think there is something beyond nature in it; but it is not for me to say anything on this point. There is every reason to fear that there will be great mortality among the cattle, as has always been the case after calamities of this sort. These parts of Rome have suffered so much that it makes the heart ache to see it. The Pope has ordered processions to implore the mercy of God. Rome, December 4, 1495."

On the night of Saturday to Sunday* the flood slowly

* 5th to 6th December. The flood did not last 5 days as LANGE, 16, supposes, from the date (Tuesday, Dec. 8), of the Venetian account; Petrus Delphinus, however, says expressly, per sex et triginta horas quarta videlicet quintaque huius mensis—the water had continued to rise; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 38.

began to subside. "Yesterday morning" writes a Venetian to his friends at home "the water had receded out of the streets, but the court-yards and cellars are filled with dead animals and filth of all sorts; it will take more than three months to cleanse them. The damage done to the city is incalculable; a quarter of a century will hardly suffice to repair it. The boats on the Tiber, the mills and all the old houses are destroyed, and all the horses that were in the stables have been drowned. In consequence of the destruction of the mills there will soon be no bread to be had. Thank God all our own people are safe. Many of the prisoners in Torre di Nona were drowned. The moats surrounding the Castle of S. Angelo are still as full as they can hold of water. Many of the labourers in the vineyards have perished, and nearly all the herds of cattle in the flooded districts. On Friday evening a poor fellow was fished out of the river at the Ripa Grande, more dead than alive, clinging to the trunk of a tree; he had been caught by the water at Monte Rotondo, eleven miles from Rome, and carried down all that way. The brothers of S. Paolo came to see our Ambassador yesterday evening; they said the water in their church was up to the High Altar; you know how high that is, and can imagine what it must have been in other places. The havoc that the Tiber has wrought on this occasion is incredible. I could fill a quire of paper with marvels and with the account of the damage the city has sustained. I beg your Excellency to forward this report to Marino Sanudo; in very truth since Rome has been Rome, such a flood as this has never been secn. Rome, December 8, 1495." The Venetian Annalist who has preserved this letter estimates the damage to the city at 300,000 ducats.

We cannot be surprised to find that the popular imagination was vividly impressed by such a calamity as this.

The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah was recalled; the Venetian letter of December 8, already quoted, speaks of a belief in many minds that "the judgments of God were about to burst on the city, and that it would be entirely destroyed." The prevailing excitement found vent in portentous stories, which were widely circulated and believed. One of those which was most highly credited was told of a monster said to have been found on the banks of the Tiber in January 1496. The Venetian Envoys describe it as having "the body of a woman and a head with two faces. The front face was that of an ass with long ears, at the back was an old man with a beard. The left arm was human; the right resembled the trunk of an elephant. In the place of a tail it had a long neck with a gaping snake's head at the end; the legs, from the feet upwards and the whole body, were covered with scales like a fish."* The Romans looked upon this and other reported marvels of a similar character as omens announcing fresh disasters,—war, famine and pestilence. In other parts of Italy the same feeling prevailed. Thus, the strange beast which was found at the door of the Cathedral of Como was thought to portend the approach of evil times.† On all sides men's minds were filled with gloomy forebodings.

* MALIPIERO, 422; LANGE, 18. Lange appears unacquainted with Franc. Rococioli's work, De Monstro in Tyberi repert., Mutinae *s. a.* (Ad ill. ac eccell. principem divum Herculem Fr. R. Mutinensis libellus de monstro in Tyberi reperto A.D. 1495 [st. fl.]). A copy of this work from the Bibl. Manzoniana was sold by auction in 1893. I have sought in vain, in the State Library at Munich and elsewhere, for a copy of this rare book.

† LANGE, 42–3, see also p. 49 *seq.*, on a poem by the German Humanist, Jacob Locker, on the inundation. He regards the flood as a Divine warning to Maximilian that he should go to Rome; Sebastian Brant, who wrote an elegy on the inundation, takes the same view. On the insanitary condition of Rome in January 1496, see

The mighty voice of Savonarola in Florence thundered prophecies of woe upon woe. "I announce to you" he cried in his Lent sermons of the year 1496, "that all Italy will be convulsed, and those who are most exalted will be most abased. O Italy! trouble after trouble shall befall thee; troubles of war after famine, troubles of pestilence after war, trouble from this side and from that. There will be rumours upon rumours—now rumours of barbarians on this side, then rumours of barbarians on that. Rumours from the East, from the West; from all sides rumour after rumour. Then men will yearn for the visions of the prophets, and will have them not; for the Lord saith, 'Now do I prophesy in my turn.' Men will lean on astrology, and it will profit them nothing. The law of the priesthood shall perish, and priests be stripped of their rank; princes shall wear hair-cloth; the people be crushed by tribulation. All men will lose courage, and as they have judged, so shall they themselves be judged."*

SANUDO, I., 6. Even before this, from the autumn of 1493 to that of 1494, Rome had been visited by a pestilence; see PIEPER; BURCHARD'S Tagebuch, 29; and HAESER, III., 235-6, ed. 3. Alexander VI. had left Rome on the 26th Oct., 1493, in consequence of the epidemic, and did not return till Dec. 19. See PIEPER, 10, 29-30; RICCORDI DI CASA SACCHI, 427, and *Caleffini, f. 312 of Cod. I.-I.-4, in the Chigi Library Rome.

* VILLARI, II., 60 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* also P. Delphinus' collection in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 38.

CHAPTER V.

Expulsion of the French from Naples.—Expedition of Maximilian I. to Italy. — Unsuccessful Contest of Alexander VI. with the Orsini. — Murder of the Duke of Gandia.—The Pope's Schemes of Reform.

The withdrawal of Charles VIII. from Italy was far from including the complete liberation of the Peninsula from French occupation. His troops still held the important frontier fortress of Asti and the Florentine castles, to keep the road across the Apennines open, while ten thousand French soldiers yet remained in the Neapolitan territory. Charles VIII. himself spoke openly of returning, and the Florentines were doing their best to enable him to do so.* Thus it was of the highest importance that the French should be got out of the kingdom of Naples as quickly as possible; but although Ferrantino was supported by a contingent of Papal and Spanish troops under the celebrated Gran-Capitano Gonsalvo de Cordova, it seemed far from certain that he would succeed in accomplishing this. They still held their ground in Calabria, a portion of the Abruzzi, and in Terra di Lavoro; Tarento, Salerno, Gaeta, and other strong places were in their hands. In the beginning of the year 1496, provisions were introduced into Gaeta by French ships, together with a reinforcement of 2000 men and a store of ammunition. In spite of remonstrances from the Pope, Virginio Orsini gratified his spite against

* Delaborde. 674 *seq.*; Ulmann, I., 408.

the Colonna, who were fighting on Ferrantino's side, by taking service with the French, who achieved some successes in the Abruzzi.*

A change for the better in Charles' fortunes was by no means impossible. The Pope shewed his consciousness of the danger by expending a large sum on the fortifications of S. Angelo, and he often personally inspected the works during their construction. The pecuniary loss to the Court, now that no French ecclesiastics ever came to Rome for their benefices, was very considerable. "In spite of all, however," says Sanudo, "the Pope still held fast by the League."† The Briefs of those days shewed that he was doing his utmost to uphold Ferrantino. It was about this time that the Papal Nuncio, Lionello Cheregato, begged Maximilian I. to come to Italy.‡

The first reverse sustained by the French in Naples was consequent upon the arrival of assistance from Venice, for which Ferrantino had paid by handing over Brindisi, Otranto, and Trani to the Republic. The French general, Montpensier, now saw plainly that all was lost unless he could obtain efficient help from the King. By the month of April 1496, the French had hardly any footing left in Calabria, Apulia, and Terra di Lavoro.§ Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, who would have been well pleased to see the Pope turning his attention to the conquest of Virginio

* SANUDO, Diari, I., 8, 15, 34, 50.

† *Ibid.*, 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, 3, 6, 23–9; and GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 186. *Cf.* the **Briefs to Cardinal Colonna, dat. Rome, Nov. 17, 1495, and Jan. 16 and 20, 1496. (Colonna Archives.) On the mission of L. Cheregato, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 15 *seq.* In a *Brief, dat. Rome, Oct. 26, 1495, Alexander VI. desires Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, to support the Papal Legate. State Archives, Düsseldorf, Geistl. Archiv.

§ *Ibid.*, 12, 18, 133; DELABORDE, 677.

Orsini's possessions,* was taken into the pay of the League in May. By the end of June, the rest of the French army, with Montpensier and Orsini, were shut up in Atella, situated in the Basilicata, and a month later they were forced to capitulate.†

The success of the League was complete; and when, on its renewal on July 18, 1496, England also joined it, it became a European coalition.‡ Shortly afterwards Maximilian I. appeared in Upper Italy, and was welcomed at Mende, near Milan, on August 31, by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Carvajal.§ The entire force of the King of the Romans numbered only 4000 men; not one of the German Princes put in an appearance. In the matter of funds his

* SANUDO, I., 82, 141-3.

† *Ibid.*, 253 *seq.*, 264; and also RACIOPPI, La Capitulazione di Atella in the Arch. St. Napolit., XVI., 863 *seq.* In the deed of capitulation, Gonsalvo first appears with the title of Gran-Capitano, under which the French wrote Capitan-Général. See Quidde's Zeitschr. für Gesch., III., 412 *seq.* The book of the Exchequer of Alexander VI. shews that he was still supporting Naples in the autumn of 1496. See GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 234.

‡ LANZ, Actengesch. zur Gesch. Karls V., Introduction, p. 38; ULMANN, I., 415; BROWN, Stat. Pap., I., 247; BUSCH, England, I., 133, 387.

§ ULMANN, I., 465 *seq.* *Cf.* 443 *seq.* on the energetic action of L. Cheregato. See on this Nuncio, LJUBIČ, Dispacci di L. de Tollentis et di L. Cheregato, 9 *seq.* Carvajal, who was appointed Legate, July 6, 1496 (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives and RAYNALDUS ad an. 1496, n. 3-4), was commissioned at the same time to threaten Charles VIII. with Papal censures, unless he desisted from the war against Italy. Brief—cum nos hodie—partly in Raynaldus ad an. 1496, n. 5; the whole in *Regest. 873, f. 387 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 389 *seq.* Faculties for Carvajal, also dat. Rome, 1496, Prid. Non. Jul. A° 4°. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See Appendix, N. 35, Brief of July 24, 1496. (State Archives, Milan.) On Carvajal's departure, July 29, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 291 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist. In regard to the whole history of the Legation, *cf.* ROSSBACH, 45 *seq.*

case was even worse, Venice failing to produce the promised subsidies. The Venetian government knew from trustworthy sources that Charles had no real intention of resuming the war in Italy, and by no means welcomed the arrival of the Emperor, whom they had invited under very different circumstances. His well-chosen plan of operations added still more to their disgust, as it would have effectually barred the way to the accomplishment of their designs on Milan. He purposed to force Savoy and Montferrat to join the League, and to wrest Asti from the French, in which case it would naturally have returned to Lodovico il Moro.* They adhered to their policy of tacit opposition in spite of stringent remonstrances from the Pope. "We do not consider," Alexander wrote on the 4th September, 1496, to the Doge, "that the French ought to be left alone because for the moment they are not attacking us. As long as they refuse to evacuate Naples and Ostia, and to withdraw the declaration of war against Italy, and continue daily to pour troops and ammunition into the country, to send war-ships to Gaeta, and to forbid the customary missions to Rome,—in short, to do all the things that are done in time of war, so long must we look upon them as enemies. They want not the will to do worse things, but only the power. We see all the signs of war and none of peace. In going on with the war and occupying the passes we are not attacking them, but merely defending ourselves." †

* ULMANN, I., 449.

† SANUDO, 295-7. Charles VIII., so far as French benefices were concerned, set himself resolutely to resist all patronage through the Roman Court, and to prevent any money payments passing from France to Rome. In June 1496, it was currently reported in France that he intended to have Cardinal Giuliano elected as the new Pope. See BROSCH, Julius II., 73. On the relations of Maximilian I. with Alexander VI., see SANUDO, I., 422, 448, and ULMANN, I., 468 *seq.*, 481. On

All his remonstrances, however, were ineffectual, and Maximilian found it impossible to carry out his plans. He therefore now resolved to endeavour to force the Florentines to relax their hold on Pisa, and to relinquish the French alliance, by possessing himself of their port at Leghorn. But here, too, he failed mainly for want of the promised and indispensable help which Venice and Milan still withheld. Towards the end of the year he returned to the Tyrol thoroughly disgusted with the faithless allies who had so meanly failed to keep their engagements.*

Meanwhile, Alexander VI. was busily occupied in taking advantage of the altered conditions in the Neapolitan kingdom to carry out his own purposes. "By the expulsion of the French from Italy he was now relieved from the danger which had hung over him for so long," † and he at once set to work to crush his disloyal nobles. "The French invasion had brought to light the utter untrustworthiness of the Papal feudatories. The great majority of them, and especially those who were most powerful, had faithlessly abandoned the Pope in the hour of danger. Some, regardless of their oath of fealty, had simply gone over to the enemy; others had made separate terms with him, leaving their sovereign helpless and defenceless." ‡

the anxieties and apprehensions of Alexander, see HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 66. *Cf.* a *Letter from Card. A. Sforza, Sept. 15, 1496, which says: *N. Sre sta in grande suspensione de questi modi de la Ces. Mta li quali non pareno alla B. Sua che siino cum quella prudentia et misura che recercharia il bisogno commune et la qualita de questi tempi periculosi. State Archives, Milan.

* ULMANN, I., 473 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 518–9; HUBER, III., 345 *seq.*, CIPOLLA, 739 *seq.*

+ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 165.

‡ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 278, who justly observes: "It was absolutely necessary for Alexander to take measures to assert his authority as a temporal prince, if he meant to preserve his territory from a series of

The most guilty of all were the Orsini; it was their defection which had practically delivered the Pope into the hands of the French; it was right that the first blow should be aimed at them. Already, in February 1496, Virginio Orsini had been proclaimed a rebel;* as he and his family still held to the French, on the 1st June the extreme censures of the Church were pronounced against them, with confiscation of all their possessions.† Alexander VI. no doubt intended to bestow their property on some of his relations.‡

The task of chastising the Orsini was assigned to Juan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Alexander's son, who was married to the first cousin of King Ferdinand the Catholic, and who was summoned from Spain to Rome for this purpose.§ The Pope had a mistakenly high opinion of the military talents of this Prince. When he arrived in Rome, on August 10, the French garrison at Atella had already been

volcanic explosions, which would have ended in the total annihilation of his powers, both temporal and spiritual." *Cf.* BALAN, 370; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 85; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 374.

* See *Brief to the Duke of Milan, dat. Rome, Feb. 6, 1496. State Archives, Milan, Autogr., III.

† See *Bulle Sacri apostolatus ministerio, dat. Romae, 1496, Cal. Junii, A° 4°, Regest. 873, f. 246 *seq.*, 341 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Only a part of this Bull is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 16.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, VIII, 382, ed. 3 (388, ed. 4). As a supplement to what is here said of Cardinal Farnese, it seems well to observe that on July 16, 1496, a *Brief was despatched to Viterbo desiring the citizens to accord a favourable reception to the Cardinal as Legate for the Patrimony. While a second *Brief, dated Sept. 15, 1496, announces the appointment of Juan Borgia as Governor of Viterbo, with Farnese's approval. Both *Briefs are in the Neapolitan State Archives. Perg. dell. Arch. Farnese; Curia Eccl., n. 17, 18.

§ I found the first mention of the Pope's wish that Gandia should come to Rome in a *Report in cypher from Card. A. Sforza, dated March 5, 1496. State Archives, Milan

forced to capitulate. The effect of this was to hand over Virginio Orsini and his son Giovanni Giordano to Ferrantino, who, by the Pope's orders, kept them shut up in prison. Thus the Orsini were deprived of their ablest leader and chief.*

This was an opportunity too precious to be lost. Extensive preparations for the expedition against the Orsini were at once commenced, and the Duke of Urbino was also summoned. The Duke of Gandia had already in September been chosen Legate for the Patrimony, and was, on the 26th October, in S. Peter's, appointed Commander-General of the Papal troops. Besides the Duke of Urbino, he was to be accompanied by Cardinal Lunati as Legate. On the following day the expedition started to conquer the strongholds of the Orsini. At first all went well. Scrofano, Galera, Formello, and Campagnano were rapidly subdued, one after the other. Anguillara opened its gates without making any resistance.†

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 234–5 ; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 67–8.

† *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 166 *seq.* ; DESJARDINS, I., 696 ; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 336 *seq.* ; and SANUDO, I., 372 *seq.* *Cf.* also BALDI, I., 163 *seq.*, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 88 *seq.* A *Brief of Nov. 2, 1496, commands A. Sforza to take part in the war against the Orsini. (State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.) On the 11th November, 1496, A. Sforza writes to his brother from Rome: *Si è inteso chel card. Ursini era cum alchuni pochi cavalli in quello stato de Perosa et poi si era partito, ne sin ad hora si sa quale camino habia piliato. (State Archives, Milan.) The undated *Decree, in virtue of which Joh. de Borgia, dux Gandie et Suesse, "habita . . . . cum venerab. fratribus nostris eiusdem S. R. E. deliberatione matura" is appointed omnium gentium armigerar. nostrarum et S. R. E. capitaneus generalis, is to be found in Regest. 873, f. 463. *Cf.* Regest. 875 (Alex. VI., offic.), f. 28. *Die XXVI. Octob. 1496, ill^{mus} dominus dom. Joh. de Borgia Guandiae Suessae, etc., dux ac S. R. E. capitaneus generalis constitutus ad presentiam S. D. N^{ri} pape assistentibus pluribus r^{mis} dom. S. R. E. Cardinali-

The next step was to proceed to lay siege to the family Castle of Bracciano. This majestic fortress, with its five round towers, still crowns the height above the blue lake in grey and massive grandeur. Here the whole clan, with all their forces, was assembled. The youthful Alviano, with his high-spirited consort Bartolomea, Virginio's sister, commanded the defenders. The French flag floated over the towers, and the war cry was 'France.' At the beginning of the siege the Duke of Urbino was wounded, and thus the leadership devolved on the inexperienced Duke of Gandia,* who from the first was far from successful. Simultaneously with Bracciano, Trevignano, on the other side of the lake, had also been invested, but without result. No progress was made until the end of November, when the guns which the Pope had borrowed from the King of Naples arrived, and then first Isola, and soon after Trevignano, fell; but Bracciano still held out.† The troops suffered much from the bad weather and rain;‡ when winter began in earnest it was still more difficult to keep the field. The besieged made numerous sorties; detachments appeared even close

bus plurimisque episcopis et prelatis in ecclesia principis apostolor. finita missa sollemni S. Spiritus de huiusmodi capitanentus officio fideliter exercendo et administrando in manibus prefati S. D. N. pape debitum prestitit in forma solita iuramentum vexillumque S. R. E. . . . . per manus ejusdem S. D. N. traditum servatis solitis sollemnitatibus recepit actualiter et alia solita insignia ut est moris. Steph. de Narnia, Cam. Ap. not. rogatus. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* SANUDO, I., 376.

† *Ibid.*, 419; BALAN, V., 371.

‡ *Lo exercito quale è in la impresa de li Ursini si trova anchora ad Trivigliano non essendo possuto prima che heri arivare l'artigliaria regia in campo, la quale facendo lo effecto si spera expugnara in brevi quello loco et N. S. fara procedere alla impresa etiam che fin qui siino tempi pluviosi et pessimi. A. Sforza to his brother, dat. Rome, Nov. 22, 1496. State Archives, Milan.

under the walls of Rome, where the party of the Orisini began to stir in a very disquieting manner. The Pope was beside himself; his illness on Christmas Day was attributed to vexation at the ill-success of his army. Reinforcements were despatched to Bracciano, and it was hoped that at last, either by force of arms or starvation, the garrison would be compelled to yield.* It certainly could not have held out had it not been relieved by the force which Vitellozzo, the tyrant of Città di Castello, and Carlo and Giulio Orsini, with the help of French gold, were able to send to its assistance. The approach of these troops obliged the Papal army to raise the siege and withdraw the artillery to Anguillara for security, while the rest of the forces went forth to encounter the new enemy. They met at Soriano on January 25, 1497, and the battle ended in the total defeat of the Papal troops. Guidobaldo was taken prisoner, Gandia was wounded, and their army completely routed; the Orsini were now masters of the Campagna.†

Alexander VI. now made peace as quickly as possible (on the 5th of February). All their castles were restored to

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 169; SANUDO, I., 404 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 344 *seq.* The Pope's indisposition is mentioned by A. Sforza in a letter dated Rome, Dec. 21, 1496. State Archives, Milan.

† SANUDO, I., 451 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*, 464 *seq.*, 468, 472 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 490 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 171 *seq.*; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 79 *seq.*; and, amongst modern writers, HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 71. See also BALDI, I., 175 *seq.*, 180, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 89, 90. The day of the battle is variously given by different writers. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 383, ed. 3 (389, ed. 4), names Jan. 23; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 353, Jan. 24; BALAN, 371, the 26th; SANUTO, *loc. cit.*, the 25th. In SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 195, the site of the battle is mentioned as 'proelium Bassanense' instead of the name now in use.

the Orsini on payment of 50,000 golden florins, the Pope only retaining Anguillara and Cervetri. The Duke of Urbino was not included in the treaty, and remained in prison in Soriano; he had later to ransom himself.*

The Pope's unfortunate attack upon the Orsini left him in an extremely isolated position. The only friend whom he could now trust was Gonsalvo de Cordova, the General of the Spanish sovereigns, on whom he had recently bestowed the title of "Catholic."† On the 19th February Gonsalvo came to Rome, and after a brief sojourn of three days, proceeded with 600 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers to attack Ostia, which, still in the hands of the French, was a standing menace to the Pope. On the 9th March it was forced to yield.‡ About the same time the Pope decided, by his own personal authority, to deprive Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere of his benefices, and his brother Giovanni, who had sided with Vitellozzo, of the Prefecture of Rome.§

On the 15th of March, 1497, Gonsalvo de Cordova and the Duke of Gandia, "the one an able general and statesman, the other a mere stage prince bedizened with ornaments and tinsel," returned to Rome.‖ Modern writers assert that the Spanish leader seriously remonstrated with

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 172; MALIPIERO, 484–5; SANUTO, I., 506, 527, 547, 556, 576, 625; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 355; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 384, ed. 3 (390, ed. 4).

† SANUTO, I., 424; II., 424 (*cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 327). The date given by PRESCOTT, II., 28, is wrong.

‡ How difficult the French at Ostia had made the provisioning of Rome, may be seen in the Diario Ferrarese, 320. On the taking of Ostia, see SANUTO, I., 539, 547, 555–6; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 359; BALAN, 372; Bernaldez in HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 72.

§ SANUTO, I., 555.

‖ HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 73; *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 358 *seq.*

Alexander on his nepotism and his misconduct; but there is no mention of this in contemporaneous authorities.*

There was certainly occasion enough for such remonstrances, considering the life Alexander was then leading and his partiality towards his family. It was about this time that Cardinal Peraudi said to the Florentine Envoy, "When I think of the lives of the Pope and some of the Cardinals, I shudder at the idea of residing at the Court; I will have nothing to say to it unless God reforms His Church." † In Rome also Alexander was extremely unpopular, mainly because he had surrounded himself almost exclusively with Spaniards.‡ Since February 1496 the Spanish party in the College of Cardinals had received a great accession of strength; on the 19th Alexander had added four, namely —Juan Lopez, Bartolomeo Martini, Juan de Castro, and his sister's son Juan Borgia, to the five which it already contained.§ In May 1497 Juan Borgia was made Legate

* CREIGHTON, III., 252, n. 2; BROSCH, Julius II., 77, doubts this, which PRESCOTT, II., 69, stated as a fact.

† THUASNE, II., 668. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 48. On Alexander's immoral life, SANUTO I., 369, relates appalling things; this passage has already been cited in Civ. Catt., March 1873, p. 727, and in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 88; no doubt, in all such tales there is an element of scandalous exaggeration, still enough remains that is unquestionably true. *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 746.

‡ *Cf.* Report of A. von Harff (33–34), who was in Rome at Easter, 1497.

§ *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives (with a wrong date, Febr. 29). BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 264; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 39 *seq.*; SANUTO, II., 31, 52 *seq.*; PANVINIUS, 334; CARDELLA, 271 *seq.* On Card. Colonna's vote, see Brief of Febr. 15, 1496 (Colonna Archives), in Appendix, N. 33 and N. 34 (Decree in Secret Archives of the Vatican). According to Panvinius, in the same year, Alexander published Luigi d'Aragona, who had already been created *in petto*, as Cardinal Deacon of Sta Maria in Cosmedin. CARDELLA, 274, places the publication in the year 1497, and gives further particulars regarding this Prelate.

of Perugia.* On the 7th June a secret Consistory was held, in which the Duchy of Benevento and the cities of Terracina and Pontecorvo were granted to the Duke of Gandia and his legitimate male descendants. Out of the 27 Cardinals who were present, Piccolomini was the only one who raised his voice against this alienation of these Church lands, and his remonstrance was unavailing. According to the Spanish historian Zurita, the Ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella had also endeavoured to prevent it, on the ground that it was an injury to the Church and to Christendom.†

These distinctions, conferred at the cost of the Church on a man who had shewn himself such an incapable commander in the field, were made all the more scandalous by the Duke's notorious immorality. On the 8th of June the Pope appointed Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, Legate for Naples where he was to crown the new King Federigo.‡

On the 14th June a banquet was given in the vineyard of Vanozza, close to S. Pietro in Vincoli, at which the Duke of Gandia and his brother Cæsar, with many of their friends, and among them Juan Borgia, were present. It was somewhat late in the evening when the two brothers, with Cardinal Juan, mounted their mules in order to return to the Papal palace. Close to the Cesarini palace, where Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was then residing, the Duke of Gandia took leave of his companions, saying that he was

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 368; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 39–41; and MATARAZZO, 89.

† SANUTO, I., 650; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 386 *seq.*; ZURITA, V., 123 *seq.*; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 430; CONTATORE, Hist. Terrac., 127.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 9 *seq.*; SANUTO, I., 650, here mentions opposition from the Cardinals. See, on the other hand, Arch. St. Napolit., XV., 226.

going to pay a visit which he wished to make unattended. The others endeavoured to persuade him to take an adequate number of servants with him, but he refused, and disappeared into the darkness, accompanied by only one groom and a man in *domino*, whom he had brought with him to the feast, and who for the last month had visited him daily. When he got to the Piazza degli Ebrei he dismissed the groom, also desiring him to wait an hour for him, and if he did not return by the end of that time to go back to the palace. Then he took the *domino* up on the mule behind him and rode off, whither no one knew.

When, on the following morning (June 15), his confidential servants found that he did not return, they sent word to the Pope. Alexander was a good deal disturbed, but both he and the servants consoled themselves with the probability that the Duke might be engaged in some gallant adventure, and was afraid of compromising himself if he were seen to leave the house. When, however, night came on, and still the Duke was missing, the Pope's distress became acute, and he commanded that every possible effort should be made to discover what had happened to him. All Rome was filled with dismay and apprehension; many of the citizens closed their shops and barricaded their doors; there was no knowing what the enemies of the Borgia might do. Excited Spaniards went about the streets with drawn swords. The Orsini and Colonna called their troops together. At last the groom was found badly wounded and unable to give any information; and soon after, the Duke's mule was caught, the stirrups bearing traces of a struggle; but of the Duke himself nothing could be heard. At length, on the 16th June, the searchers were put on the right track by a Slavonian timber merchant, whose yard was close to the Hospital of his nation, on the banks of the Tiber. He

was in the habit of keeping watch at night over his property, and deposed to having seen on Thursday, "about two o'clock in the morning, two men come out of the street to the left of the Hospital and return again, after having looked round cautiously in all directions, as though to see if the coast were clear. Soon after, two other men appeared from the same place, and after looking about in a similar manner, and seeing no one, made a signal. Upon this a horseman issued from the lane, riding a white horse, and carrying a corpse in front of him, the trunk and legs hanging on either side of the horse, being supported by the two men whom he had seen at first. The other two carried dark lanterns, and when the ghastly cortège had reached a place on the bank where rubbish was shot into the river, the men took the body and hurled it into the water, flinging it as far as they could. The horseman asked if they had thrown it well in, to which they replied, 'Right well, Signor,' and then the five men disappeared down the street which leads to the Hospital of S. James." When the man was asked why he had not informed the authorities, his answer was significant of the state of Rome under the Borgia. "In the course of my life," he said, "I have seen more than a hundred bodies thrown into the Tiber at this spot, and never heard of any one troubling himself about them."

Men were immediately set to work to drag the river, and about mid-day of the same day, a body was found not far from Sta Maria del Popolo, and close to a garden belonging to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. It was that of the Duke of Gandia. The throat had been cut, and it bore nine ghastly wounds. His purse, containing 40 ducats, and his rich garments were untouched. Robbery, therefore, had had nothing to do with the murder. The corpse was taken at once to S. Angelo and there washed and clothed in ducal robes, and then taken on an open bier to lie in state at

Sta Maria del Popolo. In addition to the Duke's suite and the Spanish and Milanese Envoys, many prelates and other persons joined the procession.*

"When Alexander VI. heard that the Duke had been murdered and his body thrown like carrion into the Tiber, he was perfectly overcome; he shut himself up in his room, overwhelmed with grief, and wept bitterly. From Wednesday evening until Sunday morning he neither ate nor drank, nor had he a moment's sleep from Thursday morning till Sunday." So says Jakob Burchard, though we seek in vain for any account of the murder itself in his pages.† There were many indications that the crime had been

* The above is taken from BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387–90, which in all essential points agrees with the Venetian Report in SANUTO, I, 651; the Mantuan Report in Arch. St. Rom, XI., 309 *seq.*; the extract from the letter of a Venetian ambassador in SANUTO, I., 651–52 (the date June 15, cannot apply to the whole of the letter, as the finding of the body, which did not take place till the 16th, is mentioned); the letter in MALIPIERO, VII., 1, 489–91, and, with some variations, in SANUTO, I., 658–59; Hugolinus Mathäus' letter in SANUTO, I., 657–58; and a *Despatch of the Ferrarese chronicler Carissimi, dated Rome, June 16, 1497, in the State Archives, Modena. The fisherman who found the body received 10 ducats; *cf.* the entry in the Roman State Archives in YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 121. In regard to the discovery of the corpse, P. Bilia, on June 16, 1497, writes as follows to the Duke of Milan: "El corpo del S. duca de Gandia fo trovato hogi a mezodi nel Tevero verso S. Maria del populo et non molto discosto dal giardino de Mons. Rmo Haveva ferita nela gola, nel pecto et in una cossa assai disconcie et era vestito del sayo suo con il cincto et il pugnale. Subito fo portato in castello dove è stato tenuto fin passata le 23 hore, et la si è dicto che ando N. S. per vederlo. Al hora predicta fo levato vestito alla ducale et accompagnato dali mri oratori Hispano et de V. Ex. con molti prelati et grande numero de altre persone et con molti frati inante. L'hano portato al populo a sepellire. Non ho anche inteso se li farano altre exequie; facendosi faro l'officio debito a me." This letter is erroneously placed in the year 1498 in the Milanese State Archives.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 390–91.

planned long before and carried out with great skill.* The only person who could have told in which direction the Duke had gone was the groom, and he had been rendered incapable of saying anything. The time that had elapsed before the body was found was a great advantage for the murderers, enabling them to obliterate all traces which might have led to their discovery.† In Rome all sorts of wild rumours were flying about, which rapidly developed into still wilder tales. The consternation and distress in the Papal palace were unexampled.‡ The complete failure of the police to discover anything left a free field for the invention of any amount of myths. Suspicion fell first upon the Orsini and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had a short time before had a violent quarrel with the Duke. This, however, did not prevent many others from being suspected, amongst whom were Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, brother-in-law of the murdered Prince, Cardinal Sanseverino, the Duke of Urbino, the rebels of Viterbo, and Count Antonio Maria della Mirandola. Many believed that the Duke had fallen a victim to the jealousy of some Roman husband.§

On the 17th of June, the Governor of the City received

* In ogni modo si crede sia stato gran maestro, says the Florentine Envoy on the 17th June. See THUASNE, II., 669.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77, rightly lays great stress on this point.

‡ *La corte è sottosopra, *Letter from Carissimi, June 16, 1497. State Archives, Modena.

§ See, in addition to letter already referred to above, the Diario Ferrarese, 345; the Florentine Report in THUASNE, II., 669; and the *Report of P. Bilia to the Duke of Milan, Rome, June 16, 1497: *Qua appresso el vulgo è stato qualche oppinione che Mon^re^ R^mo^ non habb facto fare questo, che è fora de omne rasone et verita; et il rispecto che li moveva era la ingiuria quale fu facta proximamente alla R. S. Sua de esserli impiccati alcuni servitori suoi. (*Cf.* SANUTO, I., 843.) Poi suspicono del R^mo^ S. Severino che credo sia medesimamente falso. State Archives, Milan.

orders from the Pope to have all the houses on the banks of the Tiber thoroughly searched up to Sta Maria del Popolo. The Palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who on the previous day had sent a confidential account to his brother in Milan of the event, was included in the investigation.* The Cardinal commended the action of the Pope, and remarked that he would have been still better pleased if the examination had been made the day before; he begged that the Governor would begin with his house. Out of considerations of personal dignity he absented himself from his palace for the time; he told the Milanese Envoy that the Governor of the City had informed him that amongst the Duke's papers, letters had been found from Fabrizio Colonna earnestly warning him against a Roman citizen in whom Gandia had great confidence.† On the 20th June, Cardinal Ascanio wrote to his brother: "Although all possible pains have been taken, as yet nothing certain has been discovered either as to the place of the murder or the person who did it. The Duke was last seen that night close to the cross in the street leading to Sta Maria del Popolo; it is thought that the crime was committed somewhere near this cross, because both horsemen and others on foot were seen there. The uncertainty which prevails has given rise to many different conjectures. Some think it had to do with a love affair; the Duke of Urbino, the Orsini, and Cardinal Sanseverino have also been suspected. Again, it is said that some of my people

* This letter (to be found in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 390, n. 1, ed. 3; 396, n. 1, ed. 4) gives essentially the same account as that in the narrative in the text; though, as KNÖPFLER, Tod des Herzogs von Gandia, 449, justly observes, Ascanio was not likely to display any consideration towards the Vatican, his relations with the Papal court being at that time far from friendly.

† **P. Bilia to the Duke of Milan, Rome, June 17, 1497. State Archives, Milan.

may have done it on account of the recent quarrel with the Duke. Finally, it has been asserted that either Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro or his brother Galeazzo is the murderer." At the end of his epistle Ascanio refers to letters from his brother saying that Giovanni Sforza had come to Milan, and that his brother Galeazzo had never left Pesaro. "Although it is incredible," he continues, "that either of them should have been guilty of such a cruel act, still I am glad that Giovanni has written here to prove that he and his brother are innocent. Now that it is known that he had gone to Milan and that Galeazzo had not left Pesaro, people here are starting fresh hypotheses, and seeking in all possible ways to find out the truth."*

In corroboration of this, there is a letter to Giovanni Bentivoglio of June 20th, 1497, which says "two days ago the brother of the Lord of Pesaro was openly spoken of as the assassin; now this is no longer believed. All sorts of contradictory opinions are held. But since every word and every judgment connected with this affair is beset with doubt and danger, I leave the matter to those whom it concerns. The Pope is deeply distressed at the loss he has sustained, and is minded to change his life and become a different man. He has gone to S. Peter's and intends to erect the Tribune for the High Altar there, according to the design of Nicholas V., which will cost 50,000 ducats; in Sta Maria Maggiore there is also to be a

* See Appendix, N. 39, where this hitherto unknown *Letter is printed. I found it among the unclassified papers in the Milanese State Archives, which Gregorovius has almost completely neglected. Thus, a Venetian Report of the 17th June is entirely false, which states that Giovanni Sforza was in Rome, accompanied the Duke into a vineyard, there strangled him, and then threw the body into the Tiber, the motive being jealousy of Lucrezia. MALIPIERO, 490. This story is further developed by MATARAZZO, 71. *Cf.* KNÖPFLER, Death of the Duke of Gandia, 445 *seq.*

new Tribune for the Papal Benediction, and already 2000 ducats have been set apart for this. Moreover yesterday in the Consistory he promised a reform of the Church, both in temporal and spiritual matters, and appointed a commission of six Cardinals and three Prelates for this purpose. Finally he announced his intention of equipping forty squadrons, but will have no Roman Barons among them. It is thought that he will give the command to Gonsalvo de Cordova, who is a truly able and worthy man. He has also promised many other excellent things; time will soon shew whether he is in earnest." *

In regard to the proceedings at the Consistory of June 19th, we have a detailed report of the Venetian Ambassador and a letter from Ascanio Sforza. It was attended by all the Cardinals in Rome, excepting Ascanio, and, in addition to the representatives of the League, by the Ambassadors of Spain, Naples, Venice and Milan. After the Cardinals had each severally offered their condolences, the Pope addressed them in a speech in which he freely gave vent to his grief. "The blow which has fallen upon us" he said, "is the heaviest that we could possibly have sustained. We loved the Duke of Gandia more than any one else in the world. We would give seven Tiaras to be able to recall him to life. God has done this in punishment for our sins, for the Duke had done nothing to deserve this mysterious and terrible death. It has been said that Giovanni Sforza is the criminal. We are convinced that this is not the case, and equally so, that neither his brother nor the Duke of Urbino are guilty; may God forgive the murderer. We, on our part, are resolved to amend our own life and to reform the Church. The reform of the Church will be put into the hands of six Cardinals and two

* See Appendix, N. 38. The levy of troops was rendered necessary by the threatening attitude of the Orsini and Colonna. *Cf.* SANUTO, I., 663.

Auditors of the Rota. From henceforth benefices shall only be given to deserving persons, and in accordance with the votes of the Cardinals. We renounce all nepotism, We will begin the reform with ourselves and so proceed through all ranks of the Church till the whole work is accomplished." Six Cardinals were appointed on the spot to constitute the Commission of Reform.

When the Pope had finished his speech, the Spanish Ambassador Garcilaso della Vega stood up to apologise for the absence of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The Cardinal, he said, desired him to entreat his Holiness to give no credence to the reports that were going about that he was the murderer, and had assumed the leadership of the Orsini party. If the Pope permitted, he would come forward and defend himself. He had only kept away from to-day's Consistory out of fear of the Spaniards. The Pope replied "God forbid that I should harbour any such horrible suspicions of the Cardinal. I have always looked upon him as a brother and he will be welcome whenever he comes."*

On the same day, 19th of June, the death of the Duke of Gandia was officially announced to the Italian and foreign Powers. "We do not know," the letter says, "by whom the murder was committed, or what was its cause."† The loss of one whom he loved only too dearly was, he considered, a visitation from God and a warning to him to amend his life. The Powers replied at once with letters of condolence. The Emperor Maximilian expressed a hope that the Pope would persevere in his good resolutions and carry

* See the Report of the Venetian Ambassador printed in BROWN, I., 74–6, and in the new edition of SANUTO, I., 653–4; also in the Appendix, N. 37, a *Letter of Card. A. Sforza to the Duke of Milan, dat. Rome, June 19, 1497; and N. 40, a *Letter of P. Bilia of June 21, both in the Milanese State Archives.

† Brief to Venice in SANUTO, 661–2, and also to Milan, *ibid.*, 660–61.

them out. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, between whom and the Pope negotiations for a reconciliation were in process,* and Girolamo Savonarola also expressed their sympathy.† In the anguish of the first shock Alexander had written to the King of Spain that he was thinking of resigning the Tiara. Ferdinand, who knew the Pope well, advised him to do nothing in a hurry and spoke of the healing hand of time. ‡

On the 26th June, 1497, the Pope received the Envoys of the League and of Federigo of Naples; he assured them that he was anxious to do everything that was possible in the cause of peace and the well-being of Italy.§ On the following day, the Milanese Envoy wrote home that Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was much disturbed at the suspicions of which he was the object; he declared that nothing worse could have happened to him than the death of the Duke, which had put a stop to important negotiations which were just approaching completion. The

* BROSCH, Julius II., 77, doubts the statement of the Venetian Ambassador, who says that the project of a reconciliation between Alexander VI. and Giuliano was already on foot as early as June. The Ferrarese Envoy, however, also announces in a *Despatch dat. Rome, June 8, 1497: S. P. ad vinc. rev^mo s' è acordato con il papa; and would return to Italy. (State Archives, Modena.) In any case Gregorovius is mistaken (VII., 394, ed. 3, or in 400, ed. 4), in supposing that Giuliano's letter of condolence was the first step in these negotiations.

† The Venetian letter is in SANUTO, I., 662–3; *Letter of Maximilian, dat. Imst., July 24, 1497, in the Venetian State Archives (also in part in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 394, ed. 3, note 1); Savonarola's letter in PERRENS, App., n. 9; that of G. della Rovere in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, App., n. 14. I saw the draft of the *Letter of condolence from L. Moro, dat. Milan, July 1, 1497 (In summo dolore) in the Milanese State Archives.

‡ ZURITA, V., 125b.

§ **Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 20, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

Envoy adds in cypher that indications had at last been discovered which pointed to the Orsini as the authors of the murder, these were being followed up with all possible energy ; the clearer they became, the greater the Pope felt was the necessity for caution, lest anything should transpire prematurely. In the same letter he mentions that Alexander was beginning to doubt whether it would not be better to send Cardinal Ascanio to Naples as Legate for the Coronation, instead of Cæsar.* Coupled with this, the fact that on June 21st, he had a long conversation with the Pope,† seems to prove that Alexander really did not believe in his guilt. On the other hand, all this may have been merely a blind. In any case the Pope soon changed his opinion. Venetian reports announce in July that Sforza and Alexander were now bitterly estranged, because it became certain that the former was the Duke's murderer. The Cardinal, on account of the strong feeling against him amongst the Spaniards, thought it prudent to leave Rome. He went first to Frascati and then to Grottaferrata and Genazzano. The Venetian Envoy thinks that he is now turning to the Colonna because the Orsini are trying to make friends with the Pope. The same writer reports that in August he came to Rome to attend the funeral of his friend Cardinal Lunati, and had a long interview with the Pope, and that every one believes Ascanio to have been the murderer of the Duke.‡

In a letter, partly in cypher, from the Cardinal to his brother, dated Genazzano, July 26th, 1497, the former refers to a previous communication of July 6th, in which he had

* **Letter of Stef. Taberna to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 21, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

† See in Appendix, N. 40, *Report of P. Bilia, June 21, 1497 *Cf.* Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, II., 672.

‡ SANUTO, I., 686, 689, 695, 710.

told him of Alexander's expressed suspicions of the Orsini, on whom he would avenge himself if they proved to be well-founded. Some new results of the investigations would be communicated to the Duke of Milan, and the Pope would do nothing without his advice.* Later, in August, the Venetian Ambassador announces that Ascanio is in Rome and the Pope displays no hostile feeling against him, although it is held for certain that he had murdered the Duke of Gandia.† Alexander VI. could not have shared this opinion, for when he and Ascanio fell out in December 1498, this accusation does not appear in the violent recriminations which they hurled at each other, and it was not till July 1499, and for reasons quite unconnected with the tragedy of 1497, that the Cardinal finally left the Court.‡ In June 1498 he wrote to his brother that the new accusation lately raised against him, of his having been the intermediary between Prospero Colonna and Giovanni Sforza in the matter of the Duke's assassination, troubled him very little; which looks as if his conscience was clear.§ The charges made against the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza of

* **A. Sforza to L. Moro, July 26, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

† SANUTO, I., 737. This statement reappears in June 1498, though with an *ut dicitur*; SANUTO, I., 994. When Ascanio went to Loreto in September, it was said that he would retire to Milan; but in fact he returned to Rome; SANUTO, I. 796, 802. From a *Letter in cypher of Ascanio, dated Rome, 1497, Dec. 24 (State Archives, Milan), which will be again referred to shortly, we gather that he was in Rome and on very confidential terms with the Pope. KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 467, is evidently not acquainted with these documents, which shew that he is mistaken in supposing that Ascanio definitively left the Roman Court in September 1497, and consequently upset his inference. "These facts and Ascanio's voluntary exile, give grounds for suspecting that his hands were not clean from the blood of Gandia."

‡ See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

§ **Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, Rome, June 5, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

having been implicated in the bloody deed seem much more likely to be true.*

Since the Spring of the year, the Tyrant of Pesaro had become completely estranged from Alexander on account of his refusal to agree to the dissolution of his marriage with Lucrezia, which the Pope desired.† In March he fled from Rome to Pesaro.‡ According to a Venetian account he had come secretly to Rome just at the time of the murder, but a Milanese letter states that he was then staying with Lodovico il Moro. On the other hand he had plenty of grievances both personal, and probably also political, and might very well have employed hired assassins; and "his violent conduct in Pesaro, in 1503, shewed him to be quite capable of such a deed."§ At the same time the fact that on the 19th June, Alexander VI. formally dismissed the charge against him, and that from that time he was held to be clear of suspicion, speaks in favour of his innocence.¶ In the whole course of the long negotiations about the dissolution of his marriage, while

* See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 95 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, I., 569, this had been already printed by BROWN, I., 65. A report of June 14, in SANUTO, I., 656, says that Lucrezia had quarrelled with her husband and retired to the Convent of S. Sisto in the Via Appia. This shews that BALAN, 372–3, is in error when he says that Lucrezia did not leave the Vatican till after the murder of the Duke of Gandia. A *Letter from a Ferrarese Envoy, June 8, 1497, shews that this had already taken place, and that she was not on good terms with her father. He says *Madona Lucretia, figlia del papa, e moglie del S. de Pesaro s'è partita di palazo insalutato hospite et essene andata in uno monasterio de moneche chiamato S. Sixto et la se sta; alcuni dicono che vole esse monacha et etiam alcuni dicono molte altre cose que non sunt credenda litteris. State Archives, Modena.

§ KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 464–5. *Cf.* also HÖFLER, Don Rodrigo de Borja, 77–78.

¶ *Cf. supra*, p. 500.

many other evil things were said of Giovanni Sforza, he was never accused of the murder.

On the other hand, the charge of being the chief instigators and contrivers of the crime was openly and persistently preferred against the Orsini.* "The Orsini certainly had ample cause for hating the Pope and the Duke. They had been the first to be attacked by Alexander in order to carve out of their estates a principality for his son, and found the House of Borgia. Their reply had been the victory of Soriano, and the peace in the end was a far from dishonourable one for them; but the relations on both sides remained hostile, and the Orsini could not but be aware that whenever a good opportunity presented itself the contest would be resumed. If the Duke, who was the chief cause of the attack upon them, were put out of the way, they might hope to be secure against the probability of its renewal." What happened was the exact contrary: Alexander, convinced that they were responsible for the murder, was bent on revenge. In December it was known that the destruction of the Orsini had been determined on; but at this point Venice intervened and compelled the Pope to desist from his purpose. He did not, however, relinquish it, and indeed could not, considering their attitude towards him. In February 1498, it was reported that they were plotting against his life. From Alexander's later action we gather that in pursuing the Orsini he believed that he was executing a just vengeance on the murderers of his son, and contemporary accounts from Rome fully confirm the truth of this view.†

* *Cf. supra*, p. 497, and CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 89.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 468–9. In his edition of ROHRBACHER, Kirchengesch., KNÖPFLER (279) considers it certain that the Orsini had determined on putting the Duke of Gandia out of the way. "This plan was so admirably carried out, that the hand that did the deed

We do not possess the requisite materials for attaining to perfect certainty in regard to the guilt of the Orsini, and it always remains a possibility that the assassination had nothing to do with politics. The dissolute life of the Duke of Gandia was notorious in the city, and at first, it was very commonly believed that he had come by his death in some intrigue. It is quite probable that this natural explanation is the true one.* The investigations were pro-

was never discovered, and the guilt of it was fastened as a perpetual stain on the reputation of the family of the hated foe." HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77, draws attention to the mysterious death of Virginio Orsini in the prison of the Castel del Uovo in Naples and goes on to say: "His body was brought from Naples to Rome on the 26th April and thence taken to Bracciano (BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 365). It may be well imagined that this occurrence revived the hatred of the Orsini to the Borgia, and when they made away with the Duke of Gandia, their bitterly despised foe, they well knew who would be hardest hit by the stroke." In another place (81–82) he remarks "The question as to who plunged the dagger of the assassin that night into the heart of Alexander VI.'s favourite son is unmistakeably answered by the report of MARINO SANUTO in the following December (I., 827). Here he says distinctly that "the Pope had acquired the certainty that the Orsini had murdered his son." The Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, Dec. 22, 1497, in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 100, says the same thing. The epigram affixed to the Papal Palace, on the reconciliation between the Orsini and Colonna in 1498, which recommends the drowning of Alexander's offspring in the Tiber, was evidently a play upon the death of the Duke of Gandia, and an encouragement to proceed further along the same path. (See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.) In a **Report dated Rome, June 15, 1498, and written in cypher, A. Sforza informs his brother of the Pope's intended proceedings against the Orsini: essendo la Sta Sua tanto accesa ad questa vindicta che piu non saria possibile dire. State Archives, Milan.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 494, and CREIGHTON, III., 258; HÖFLER (Rodrigo de Borja, 78), says "The detailed account of the murder given by André Bernaldez is very interesting, although the date May 29 is wrong. He expressly mentions the quarrel between Sforza and Don Juan, calls the

longed for more than a year,* but brought to light nothing new. In consequence, the air was thick with rumours. Nothing stimulates the imagination so much as a mystery, and where no one knows the truth the most impossible things are believed. Every one who could in any conceivable way be supposed to have an interest in the Duke's death was suspected; amongst the names mentioned were not only the Orsini, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Giovanni of Pesaro, but even Gandia's brother Jofré. In the Consistory of June 19th, the Pope at once put aside all the other names, but made no remark when the Orsini were spoken of. This is certainly significant.† Probably the actual history of this ghastly tragedy will never be completely unveiled, but the more we study the facts, both preceding and subsequent to it, the more do they seem to tend towards the implication of this family. It may very well be that knowing the Prince's character, they sought and found in some love adventure the easiest and safest means of putting him out of the way; but the evidence against them is not strong enough to justify anything more definite than a well-grounded suspicion.

In all the reports written at the time, as far as they are known, there is not the slightest hint to be found of that which came a few years later to be almost universally believed, namely, that Cæsar Borgia was the assassin. The earliest accusation against him was started nine

mistress of the latter, Madama Damiata, designates the man in the domino as a go-between, and thinks that he endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from keeping the tryst which the latter with drunken persistency refused to relinquish."

* This is plain from the *Report in cypher from A. Sforza, to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 15, 1498, which shews that GREGOROVIUS, III., 395–6, ed. 3 (402, ed. 4), is mistaken.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 468; and HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79, have rightly noticed this.

months later, and is found in a Report of the Ferrarese Envoy to Venice, which fact is noteworthy.* Many of the Orsini, and Giovanni Sforza who had been so deeply injured by Cæsar, had taken refuge in Venice, and the news soon spread from thence. Paolo Capello repeated it in his Report of September 1500, and Silvio Savelli in his pamphlet of November 1501. Even at that time, however, it had not yet acquired a very wide circulation. The Neapolitan poets, writing before 1500, though ascribing every imaginable vice to the Borgia do not mention fratricide in the lists; and even later the murder is ascribed to many other persons besides Cæsar; but the belief in his guilt continued to strengthen with time, until at last it came to be accepted as a certainty. When we remember the intense and universal hatred which Cæsar Borgia eventually aroused against himself, both in Rome and in the whole of Italy, we cannot be surprised that "one undeserved accusation should be added to the many which he so richly merited; and considering what the times were, it is equally easy to understand that it should be widely believed. Also, in those days court scandals passed quite as rapidly from one court to another as they do in our own day, and thus the rumour soon reached Spain, and there too, found many to credit it."† It was not, however

* The passage is printed in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 161, note 1; and in ALVISI, 44, n. 1. In the Annal. Bonon., which extend to Oct. 1497, no mention is made of Cæsar, they agree with the Diario of S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 103, and numerous other contemporaneous reports, in representing the murder of the Duke as a result of his immoral life.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 470–75; REUMONT, III., 1, 225; ALVISI, 44–5; BROSCH, Alexander VI., 370–72; NEMEČ, 124 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79, very justly observes that probably the belief in Cæsar's guilt "has its root in the fact that, under quite different circumstances, and in order to make himself master of the Romagna, he

generally adopted in Spain. Bernaldez, in his Chronicle narrating the murder of the Duke, naturally mentions the Cardinal, but does not in any way connect his name with the crime.*

There does not seem any sufficient reason which could have induced Cæsar to commit this unnatural crime at this particular juncture "when he was about in a signal manner to participate in the honours and dignities which the Pope was preparing for the Borgia family, by crowning the King of Sicily. In order to excuse or account for the atrocity which filled Spain and Portugal with horror, it has been said that Cæsar disliked and wished to escape from his ecclesiastical position, and that Don Juan stood in his way; but it is plain that on the Duke of Gandia's death, his son and not Cæsar would succeed to the title. It would also be necessary to shew that Don Juan was really an obstacle to his brother's plans, and that these could only be realised by getting rid of him. No proof of this, however, is forthcoming." On the contrary, it may be justly asked how could the Duke of Gandia, whose military incapacity had just been made patent in the campaign against the Orsini, in any way compete with such a man as Cæsar. His conduct also after the murder seems to prove his innocence. "He remained quietly in Rome and only left

contrived to have several of the smaller tyrants put out of the way." The terror inspired by Cæsar is mirrored in a remarkable letter from the Marchioness Isabella to her husband on July 23, 1502, in which the accusation of fratricide is mentioned. It is printed in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 137. There is also an ironical allusion to it in some poems edited by Renier, see Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, V., 140 *seq.* In the copy of the Comment. urb. of Rafael Volaterranus in the Innsbruck Library a 16th Century hand has added (f. CCXXXV^{b}) at the end of the account of the murder of the Duke of Gandia the words: Fuit autem Caesar frater.

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 78.

it on the 22nd July, to accomplish his mission at Naples. Thus he was present throughout all the proceedings there from the 14th June to the 22nd July, and nothing in his actions or demeanour could be adduced to justify any suspicions against him. It is also incredible that the Pope, if he had believed him guilty, could have made him his brother's executor, and thus forced Donna Maria, the King of Spain's cousin, into close and frequent intercourse with her husband's murderer." *

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79–80, who adds "when Gregorovius asserts that Roscoe's exculpation of Cæsar on such flimsy grounds does honour to the author's heart, but can only bring a smile to the lips of a judge, he seems to forget that a proof of guilt can hardly be sought in a moral impossibility, and that a judge, even admitting that this office is within the historian's province, is not justified in pronouncing a verdict of guilty in regard to so horrible a crime, unless the evidence is absolutely unimpeachable. We have to ask therefore what advantage Cæsar can be shewn to have derived from the murder of his brother that could not have been much more cheaply obtained? The question simply comes to this—is it conceivable that Alexander, who at that time depended entirely for support both in Spain and in Naples, on the House of Aragon, could have put such an insult on King Ferdinand as to force his cousin, the mother of the murdered Duke's children, into the most intimate business relations with her husband's murderer? Further can we believe that the Pope who was then on the best possible terms with King Frederick of Sicily (Don Fadrique de Aragon) should have equally insulted the other branch of that House by sending as *legatus a latere* to crown him at Naples, a man who had just been guilty of fratricide? We cannot imagine Alexander VI. to have been capable of such effrontery as this, nor that the proud monarch of Spain, at that time on very friendly terms with the King of the Romans, and Don Fadrique would have been mean enough tamely to endure it, had there been the slightest suspicion of such a thing." See also the remarks of the same writer on p. 81–2, and in Die Katastrophe der Borjas von Gandia, 13. Unfortunately Höfler has overlooked KNÖPFLER'S Essay, Tod des Herzogs von Gandia, in which, especially on p. 455 *seq.*, several other weighty arguments against Gregorovius' view are put forward. Gregorovius'

Whether the Duke of Gandia fell a victim to the revenge of the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza, or to his own profligacy, or to both, it is certain that Cæsar was not implicated in this crime. "But for Alexander VI.—the death of the son, the one whom he so dearly cherished, on whom all his hopes were concentrated, torn from him in such a horrible manner—the blow came as an unmistakeable summons to stop short in the course he was pursuing, and to change his life. In the first moments of anguish he seriously and earnestly resolved to take measures at once for the reformation of the Church, and the amendment of his own life; and in order to carry out the first of these intentions he appointed a Commission of six Cardinals, on the 19th of June. This was the turning point in his career. If he meant to fulfil the resolutions embraced in the hour of sorrow, to look upon himself as the Steward,

"Gründe der Wahrscheinlichkeit," are also here convincingly refuted. Even since the appearance of the 3rd and amended edition of Knöpfler's Essay, three years since, Gregorovius (396 *seq.*, and in the 4th ed., 404) has repeated his former statements without taking the slightest notice of Knöpfler's counter arguments. Nor does he mention BROSCH, Alexander VI., 370–72, who also brings forward strong reasons against accepting it. Brosch, who was certainly no apologist of the Borgia, here says "If we carefully examine all the arguments for and against, and lend an impartial ear to all the witnesses, we are forced to come to the conclusion that in the present state of our knowledge we can arrive at no decision." Long before this, REUMONT, III., 1, 225, had said the same thing. CREIGHTON, III., 258, knowing nothing of either Knöpfler or Brosch, arrives at a similar conclusion. Quite independently of these German historians, ALVISI, 44 *seq.*, LEONETTI, II., 234, and BALAN, 372, all agree in exonerating Alexander on this point; LUZIO (see *supra*, p. 509, note †); as also the French historians, MAURY, in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 87, and L'ÉPINOIS, 403, who express themselves in a similar sense. Amongst more recent historians no one, with the exception of GEBHART (Rev. des Deux Mondes, LXXXIV., 1887, 918), shares Gregorovius' opinion.

and not the Lord of the Church, to put an end to simony, and to no longer make the advancement of his children the one aim and purpose of his Pontificate, if he in reality meant, as he had declared in that first moment, to be the Father of Christendom and live up to his exalted vocation, he had now received a stern warning to make no further delay. It was still possible for him, supported by the general demand for reforms, by a consistent course of eradicating abuses, above all that formed by the official sale of benefices in Rome, to set the current flowing in a better direction. The reform, however, would have to be steadily carried out step by step. It must begin with the Pope himself, and so pass on to the College of Cardinals, and gradually embrace the bishops and prelates, the priests and monks, and finally the whole of the laity."*

There is no doubt that in those sorrowful days of the Summer of 1497, Alexander VI. sincerely desired and intended to institute searching reforms. "The Reform Commission sits every morning in the Papal Palace," writes the Florentine Envoy on the 22nd June.† In July the Venetians were lost in amazement at the accounts which reached them of the proposed changes in Rome.‡ Such men as the pious General of the Camaldolese, Peter Delphinus, were full of joyful hopes that this terrible event might pave the way for a real amendment.§ In August it was reported that Alexander had commanded Jofré and his wife to leave Rome and take up their abode in the

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77–82.

† THUASNE, II., 670; GHERARDI, 171.

‡ SANUTO, I., 655, 844. The account on p. 654 is certainly false and obviously a later interpolation; that on p. 686 is equally incorrect. *Cf.* also MALIPIERO, 494.

§ See Delphinus' letter in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 5, 6; *cf.* MARTÈNE, Coll., III., 1158.

Castle of Squillace, which belonged to the Prince ; and on the 7th of the month the order was obeyed. It was also understood that for the future the Pope was resolved not to permit either his children or nephews to reside in his neighbourhood, and that even Lucrezia would be sent to Valencia.* Other councillors were added to the original six Cardinals, and those belonging to the Court who were absent were summoned to meet in November in order to deliberate on measures of reform.†

The amount of preparatory work done by Costa and Caraffa shews how thoroughly in earnest the Cardinals of the Commission of Reform were. On the one hand, the decrees and various schemes of reform of earlier Popes were collected, on the other, opinions were taken on the abuses to be remedied, especially those in the Papal Chancery Proposals founded on the data thus obtained were then put forward, carefully worked out, and finally formulated into resolutions.‡ At last a comprehensive Bull of Reform was drafted,§ which began with the following words :

* *Heri se partite de qui il principe de Squilazo con la principessa per andare ad habitare al loro principato et se dici che la S. del papa non vuole piu tenirsi apresa [*sic*] figlioli on [*sic*] nepoti alcuni et che in brevi mandara etiam madona Lucretia, mogliere del Sig. de Pesaro ad habitare ad Valentia. Letter from Lod. Carissimi, dat. Rome, Aug. 8, 1497. State Archives, Modena.

† The authority for this fact, hitherto unknown, is an original *Letter from Cardinal Ippolito d'Este to the Pope, dat. Ferrara, Sept. 28, 1497 : *Volentem impulit et currenti calcar adiecit. Stas V. superioribus diebus cum per breve suum debita a me reverentia susceptum et osculatum praecepit ut pro reformatione Romanae Curiae Kal. his Novemb. ad urbem me conferrem, etc.—he says he will come, but begs to be allowed to wait until the affair of the Archbishopric of Gran is settled. Cod. Lat. Cl. X., 177. Library of St. Mark, Venice.

‡ Details may be found in TANGL, 361 *seq.*

§ See in Appendix, N. 41, extracts from the document, of which I found two copies in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

"By the providence of God we have been raised on the Watch-tower of the Apostolic See in order that in one measure we should exercise our pastoral office by removing what is bad and promoting what is good. Therefore with our whole soul we desire an amendment in morals, having observed a gradual deterioration in this respect. The ancient and salutary decrees by which Councils and Popes had endeavoured to stem the tide of sensuality and avarice have been violated. Licentiousness has reached an intolerable pitch; for the nature of man is prone to evil and will not always obey reason, but holds the spirit, in the words of the Apostle, captive under the law of sin. Even when we were only a Cardinal under Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., we strove to accomplish something in this direction, and also at the commencement of our Pontificate we desired to attend to this matter, but the very grave position in which we were placed by the arrival of Charles VIII. of France, obliged us to lay it aside until now. We mean to begin with the reform of Our own Court, which is composed of members of all Christian nations, and should be an example of virtue to all. For the inauguration of this most necessary and long desired work, we have selected six of the best and most God-fearing of the Cardinals; namely, Olivero Caraffa, Giorgio Costa, Antoniotto Pallavicino, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Francesco Piccolomini, and Raffaele Riario. With their assistance, after a careful review of the enactments of our predecessors and due consideration of the needs of the present day, in the plenitude of our Apostolic power we publish the following ordinances, to be binding for all time. We command that they be inviolably observed; but without prejudice to the validity of the decrees of our predecessors on the same subjects."

The Bull begins with various ordinances relating to the Pope himself and his Court. Regulations on sacred Liturgy in the Papal Chapel then follow, which contain strict injunctions in regard to silence during the Offices ; and the morals generally of the singers and other court officials are dealt with.

The enactments which follow against simony and reservations are still more stringent. A special section is directed against the alienation of any portion of the States of the Church. The Pope is also forbidden to give away any Church territories under the title of a Vicariate. All decrees contravening these enactments in any way are null, unless they have received the consent of the Cardinals. This section also includes regulations dealing with governors and castellans within the States of the Church, and in the same connection there is an important clause prohibiting promises to Princes of presentations to Bishoprics. In regard to the deposition and translation of Bishops, the existing legal provisions are strengthened.

The Bull then proceeds to the reform of the College of Cardinals. The most important points are that no Cardinal shall possess more than one Bishopric or draw an annual revenue from benefices exceeding 6000 ducats. Cardinals are not to retain Legations for more than two years, so as to fulfil their obligation of residence in Rome with punctuality. Stringent enactments are drawn up against simoniacal practices at Papal elections and against the worldly lives of the Cardinals. The canonical prohibitions against gaming and field-sports are confirmed. Visits to the Courts of secular Princes without a written permission from the Pope are also forbidden, together with any entanglements in the worldly affairs of Princes, taking part in tournaments or carnival sports, or attending representations of the Pagan drama. The households of Car-

dinals are not to consist of more than eighty persons, of whom at least twelve must be in Sacred Orders, and they are not to keep more than thirty horses. Conjurors, strolling comedians and musicians must not enter their palaces; nor may they employ boys and youths as body servants. Residence at the Court was to be more strictly enforced. No funeral obsequies were to cost more than 1500 florins.

These regulations are in themselves enough to shew what abuses had crept into the College of Cardinals, but a deeper insight into the prevailing corruption is furnished by those relating to the papal officials, more especially such as had been guilty of extortion in the collection of taxes. The sale of offices was to be done away with. Detailed instructions are given in regard to the maintenance of the fabric of S. Peter's and the staff for architectural works.

The provisions dealing with expectancies and reservations, and those regarding concubinage reveal the prevalence of serious evils. Respecting the latter it is decreed that all priests of whatever degree must conform to the enactments of the Bull within ten days of its publication; failing this, at the end of a month the culprit will be deprived of his benefices and pronounced incapable of holding any others.

The Bull then goes on to forbid wharf-dues, and to regulate the corn supply of the city, but soon returns to ecclesiastical affairs. Amongst other things, solemn vows taken by children are pronounced invalid. Further rules are laid down in regard to the granting of tithes to secular Princes, the abuse of *commendams*, and irregularities in religious houses of men and women. The reform of the Apostolic Chancery is dealt with in great detail. The grave and manifold abuses in this department were to be put

down with a strong hand. A secretary for example was not to accept anything beyond the prescribed fee however freely it might be offered. If he had done so he must either return the money or give it to the poor. Anything of the nature of bribery was strictly forbidden.

We see in all these prescriptions the result of Alexander's long experience in the vice-chancellorship. He knew what bitter feelings had been aroused in all parts of the world by the corrupt practices of the secretaries of the Court with which the whole of Christendom was in constant communication. The concluding part of the document was devoted to the reform of the Penitentiary.

Unfortunately, the Bull which contained all these excellent provisions never got beyond the draft stage. The work of reform was put off at first, and then forgotten.* Meanwhile, his distress and compunction had subsided, and it became evident that Alexander "did not possess the moral strength to give up his licentious habits. In such a case, where salvation could only be found in setting a noble example of a complete transformation of life, a passing resolve adopted in a moment of anguish and horror and quickly forgotten, was of no avail. The only alternative to the cloister would have been to have entirely broken with the past and, what was perhaps still more difficult, with his whole surroundings in the present; but he would not have been Rodrigo Borgia, he would not have been Pope Alexander† had he had the courage to make such a change." The old spirit of nepotism gradually revived and grew stronger than ever, and all desire for better things was stifled by the demon of sensuality. The latter state became worse than the former.

* ZURITA, V., 126; and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 270.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 83. *Cf.* Die Katastrofe der Borjas, 15, and Aera der Bastarden, 55.

The Pope now fell more and more under the influence and control of Cæsar Borgia.*

On the 22nd July, Cæsar had left Rome for Naples as Legate for the Coronation, with a large retinue.† There, his demands for money and favours of all sorts were so importunate that the Florentine Ambassador wrote "It would not be surprising if the poor King were driven to throw himself into the arms of the Turks to escape from his tormentor."‡ In the beginning of September, the Cardinal returned to Rome.§ Jakob Burchard says that at his reception in the Consistory, the father and son did not speak a word to each other.‖ It soon became known that Cæsar intended to resign his cardinalate and to marry.¶ It would appear that in December Alexander had not yet given

* In Feb. 1498, the Venetian Ambassador writes: El pontefice fa tutto nè in altro vigila che in dar stato a' soi fioli, zoè a questo Valenza e a don Jufredo. A remarkable report in ZURITA, 159–60, shews how completely the Pope in 1499, was under Cæsar's power. According to this author, who evidently had access to the Reports of the Spanish embassy, the Pope said, referring to Cæsar's journey into France, "that he would give a fourth part of his Papacy to prevent him from ever returning"—and then shortly after, when Alexander thought himself aggrieved, he said "that he would have taken other measures if only Cæsar had been there." *Cf.* RANKE, Germ. und Roman. Völker, 135; and Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 363.

† SANUTO, I., 698, and a *Letter from A. Sforza, dat. Genazzano, July 22, 1497. (Milanese State Archives.) In the *Exitus, 529, f. 211, there is an entry on July 18, 1497: solvit duc. 3000 auri de cam. Rmo dño. Cardli Valentino Legato ad coronationem Illmi Regis Frederici pro suis expensis. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 234.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 398, ed. 3 (404 in ed. 4), incorrectly names Sept. 4 as the date of his return; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 402, and the *Acta Consist. states the 5th or 6th. *Cf.* also a *Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Sept. 9, 1497. Milanese State Archives

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 404.

¶ SANUTO, I., 787–92. See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

his consent to this step ; or, if he had done so, it seems impossible to understand his having in that month bestowed on Cæsar the benefices, bringing in a revenue of 12,000 ducats which had been held by Cardinal Sclafenati who had just died. Nevertheless, the Venetian Ambassador, writing at this time, says that it was proposed to bestow on him the lordships of Cesena and Fano.* On December 24, 1497, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza announces to his brother in a report in cypher "I and King Federigo and your Highness's Envoys had a conversation with the Pope which lasted more than four hours. Briefly, the subject was the daily increasing efforts which Cæsar is making to obtain leave to resign his seat in the College of Cardinals. The Pope is anxious, if this is to be, that it should be carried out under the best pretext that can be found, and in such a manner as to give as little scandal as possible."† In this conversation another topic was also touched upon which was equally calculated to provoke unfavourable comments, and do no good to Alexander's reputation, namely, that of the annulling of Lucrezia's childless marriage with Giovanni Sforza.

The negotiations concerning this disgraceful affair had been going on ever since the Spring of 1497. At first Lucrezia seems to have stood by her husband ; but on the 14th of June we hear of a complete breach between the pair. At that time, the Pope, supported by Cæsar and the Duke of Gandia, declared that Lucrezia must not be permitted to remain in the hands of such a man ; the marriage they said had never been consummated and could and should be annulled.‡ Even the murder of the Duke of Gandia

* SANUTO, I., 832–33.

† **Extractus zifre rev. dom. Card. Sfortie ad ill. ducem Mediolani, dat. Rome, Dec. 24, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

‡ I have taken this hitherto unknown fact from a **Letter from Car-

produced no abatement in the energy with which the case was prosecuted.* Accordingly, in August a new marriage was already in contemplation for Lucrezia;† but up to the end of December Giovanni Sforza offered a most determined resistance. At last, however, yielding to the strong pressure put upon him by his kinsmen Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio, he consented to declare in writing that the marriage with Lucrezia had never been consummated. On the 20th of December the dissolution of the marriage was formally pronounced and Sforza was required to return his wife's dowry to the amount of 31,000 ducats.‡ The injured man took his revenge by attributing to Alexander the worst possible motives. The annulling of this marriage gave so much scandal that people were prepared to believe anything that could be said by the enemies of the Borgia, and credited them with crimes "which the moral sense shrinks from putting into words."§

dinal A. Sforza, to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 14, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

* *Cf.* Appendix, N. 37, *Letter from A. Sforza, of June 19, and a *Letter from the same Cardinal of June 26, 1497, both in the Milanese State Archives.

† *Zifra d. Vice-cancellarii (A. Sforza), dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1497 : *Io presento tractarsi certa pratica fra N. S. et il principe di Salerno per dare dona Lucretia, fiola de S. Sta, al fiolo del principe cum certe conditione le quale quando fossero vere et se mittessero in effecto non credeva fosseno ad alcuno bono proposito ne de la Mta R. ne de Italia. Milanese State Archives.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 101.

§ GREGOROVIUS, *loc. cit.*, 101. In regard to the passage here quoted from the Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Costabili, CREIGHTON, III., 261, note 1, remarks : It will be observed that Giovanni did not accuse Alexander VI. in the past, but imputed a motive for his conduct in the future. This motive was shewn to be false by the fact that the Pope instantly set to work to provide a new husband for Lucrezia. Hillebrand also, who was no friend of the Borgia, says, "There is no proof

At the same time, Alexander VI. cannot be acquitted of the charge that his conduct was such as to shock the public opinion of a profoundly corrupt age, to a degree hitherto unexampled. There seemed no end to the accumulation of scandals in the Borgia family. First there was the flight of Sforza from Rome; then came the mysterious assassination of the Duke of Gandia, next the dissolution of Lucrezia's marriage securing obvious political advantages, then Cæsar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and finally the abandonment of the scheme of reform, and the return of the Pope to his old way of living. Can we wonder that where the Borgia were concerned nothing was thought too horrible to be believed.* "I will make no comment on these matters" writes the Venetian Envoy in September 1497, alluding to the scandalous reports then current in Rome, "but it is certain that this Pope permits himself things that are unexampled and unpardonable."†

Meanwhile, the sensational tales of the doings of the Borgia family which amused the profligate upper classes, led the populace to believe that demoniacal agencies were at work. On the 14th June, 1499, strange noises were said to have been heard in S. Peter's and torches carried by no human hands appeared and vanished in all parts of the building; a seeress declared the bearers to be the prince of hell and his myrmidons. On December of the year following, the ghost of the Duke of Gandia was supposed to have appeared in the Castle of S. Angelo, moaning fearfully.‡ When, on the 29th of October, 1497, the powder

that they were guilty of the infamous crime of which they were accused." See Vol. VI., chap. 5 of this work.

* CREIGHTON, III., 261.

† SANUTO, I., 792–93.

‡ SANUTO, I., 656–57, 842.

magazine in the Castle was struck by lightning, the alarm became more intense. The explosion destroyed the upper portion of the fortress, shattered the marble angels and hurled large stones across the water as far as the Church of S. Celso. "The reign of Pope Alexander," writes the Venetian chronicler Malipiero, "is full of startling and portentous events; his antechamber was struck by lightning, the Tiber overflowed and flooded the city; his son has been horribly murdered, and now the Castle of S. Angelo has been blown up." *

* MALIPIERO, 497; SANUTO, I., 814–15; Annal. Bononiens., 916; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 133; LANDUCCI, 159; and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 411–12. See also LANGE, 27, 28.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

My purpose in this Appendix is to corroborate and supplement the text of my book: it has not been my intention to provide an original collection of authorities. In each number the sources are indicated with as much precision as possible. In order to economise space my explanatory notes are necessarily scanty. So far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, retained the original spelling of the Documents and Letters, which, for the greater part, I have before me in the original. I need not apologise for changes in the use of capital letters and punctuation. Whenever emendations have been made I have always mentioned the fact, but trivial mistakes and obvious errors in spelling have been corrected without remark. Whatever I have added of my own is indicated by brackets; incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a point of interrogation or a *sic.* Those parts which I have omitted when either copying or preparing for the press, as irrelevant to the matter in hand, are marked by dots (. . . .).

1. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.*

1484, Sept. 22, Roma.

. . . . Questa matina . . . . la S. de N. S. ha pronunciato et solennemente publicato li infrascripti legati videlicet li rev^mi sig.

Card^le de Milano, legato in Avignone.
el Card^le de Girona, ,, Campagna.
el Card^le Savello, legato in Bologna.†
el Card^le Ursino, ,, la Marcha.

et io legato nel patrimonio.

[The original is in the Milanese State Archives, under the heading "Roma."]

2. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.‡

1484, Oct. 22, Roma.

Many cardinals have to-day visited the Duke of Calabria. Afterwards he remained for an hour with the Pope. Io con Parma andassimo de la Sua S. dove era el card. Ragona et poco poso supragionse el vice-cancellero§ et S. Petro in Vincula|| et tutti inseme andassimo ad casa del vice-cancellero che ne dedi

* See *supra*, p. 247, note *, on Burchard's inexact information. This letter solves the question raised by Hagen, Papstwahlen, 10. Arlotti announces the nomination a day earlier in a *Despatch dated Rome, 1484, Sept. 21. *Questa matina sono stati publicati legati el card. Savello di Bologna, el card. Ursino de la Marca, el Vesconte del patrimonio, Milano d'Aviniono, Novara de Perusa, Geronda de Campagna. (State Archives, Modena.) According to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arcimboldi left Oct. 11 and Orsini on Dec. 22 for their respective posts.

† Innocent VIII. in a *Brief dated Rome, 1484, Sept. 25, informed the Bolognese of Savelli's nomination as Legate to their city. (The original is in the State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.) In the following year Savelli was superseded by Ascanio Sforza. See the *Brief to Bologna of Aug. 19, 1485. *Lib. brev. 18, f. 252. Secret Archives of the Vatican and State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.

‡ See *supra*, p. 249, 367 *seq.*

§ Card. Borja.

|| Card. Giuliano della Rovere.

[*sic*] cena,* la quale fu honorevole et ben ordinata et sumptuosa. La casa era apparata molto superbemente et haveva la prima sala tutta ornata de tapezarie historiate in cercho et Areto. Ad la sala uno altro salotto circondato tutto de altra tapazaria [*sic*] molto bella con tapedi in terra ben correspondenti ali altri ornamenti con uno lecto et cap[o] celo tutto parato de raso cremesile et qui haveva una credenza tutta piena de vasi de argento et oro, molto ben lavorati ultra li altri piati, scudelle et altri vaselli che erano in grandissimo numero et cosa molto bella da vedere; et subsequente ad questo li erano due altre camere, l'una parata de nobilissimi razi et tapedi in terra con uno altro lecto et cap[o] celo de veluto Alexandrino et l'altra molto piu ornata de le predicte con uno altro lecto coperto de brochato d'oro et la coperta fodrata de sibilline et franze d'oro tanto ornato quanto fusse possibile con una tavola in mezo coperta de veluto Alexandrino et scrane † ornatissime ben correspondente a le altre cose.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan; Cart. gen. fasc. 1483–1490.]

3. Innocent VIII. to C. Bandinus. ‡

1485, Oct. 12, Romae.

Cesario Bandino de Castro Plebis commissario nostro. Confisi de prudentia et diligentia et fide et in multis rebus probata industria te commissarium nostrum mittimus ad conducendum dilectum filium nobilem virum Robertum de Sancto Severino et eius copias que per loca S. R. E. transiture sunt. Dat. Romae XII. Octob. 1485, Pontif. nostri anno secundo.

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 17 b. § Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* This is also mentioned by Leostello, 43.

† Sedie.

‡ See *supra*, p. 256.

§ At the same place are also to be found the following Briefs referring to the same subject:—f. 18 b.: Gubernatori Cesenae, dat. ut. s. (Oct. 12) is to meet Roberto Sanseverino and provide for his troops; f. 20: Roberto de Sancto Severino, dat. ut s. (Oct. 16): Nicolaus Bucciardus noster sec. carn. affinis will tell him some news—he may trust him; f. 32: Duci Ferrarie dat. ut s. (Oct. 28): thanks him for having granted a free passage through his dominions to Rob. Sanseverino; f. 33 b.: Roberto de Sancto Severino, dat. ut s. (Oct. 29): Nerius Acciaiolus will give him some information.

4. Innocent VIII. to Roberto Sanseverino.*

[1485, Oct. 30, Rome.]

From Roberto's letter the Pope gathers that he has arrived at Cesena†: de quo vehementer sumus letati. Et quoniam dicis te per unum diem velle ibi commorari et quiescere, deinde raptim venire ad Nos, hortamur nobilitatem tuam quanto possumus studio ut statim huc venias quia hoc adeo importat, ut nihil supra.

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

5. Innocent VIII. to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.‡

1486, May 11 [Rome].

The Pope praises the Cardinal's energy. Here in Rome nothing has happened: mediocriter omnia se habent: quid futurum incertum habemus. The Duke of Lorraine has not yet arrived. He asks the Cardinal to persuade the Duke to come

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 363. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

6. J. P. Arrivabene to the Marquess of Mantua.§

1486, Aug. 11, Roma.

In questhora IIII de nocte s' è conclusa e stipulata la pace in presentia de li r^mi^ Mons. de Napoli, Milano, S. Angelo, e Vesconte col mandamento solum de esso Cardinale Vesconte quanto sia per lo stato de Milano.‖

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 256.

† See Sigismondo de' Conti, I., 238.

‡ See *supra*, p. 261.

§ See *supra*, p. 264.

‖ See The *Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1486, Aug. 12: Io non dico altro per questa excepto che questa nocte passata a hore quatro fu conclusa la pace. Deo laus. State Archives, Modena.

7. Bonfrancesco Arlotti to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara.*

1490, Sept. 26, Roma.

Illmo mio Sre. In questa hora xxi. s' è levato rumore subito et insperato chel papa è expirato licet est in expirando per cataro sopravenuto, essendosse prima ditto hyeri a questa matina chel staseva ben et ami per bocha del cardinale Beneventano, el qualle cussi credeva, ymo diceva lo dovesse per parte scrive[re] a V. Exa Hora questo accidente ha inganato la brigata et in gratia de V. Illuma S. me recomando. Raptissime. El conte de Pithilgiano è venuto et alogiato ala campagna qui fuora de Roma. Per lo simile li cardinali veneno a fuora. Scrivendo limbasiatore Veneto me fa dire ut supra et che se tene non serra vivo de matina; dio ce aiuti quia angustie sunt undique.

26 Settembre, 1490.

E. V. Illu. D.D.

Servulus B. Episcopus Regiensis
propria manu.

[A tergo :] Illmo principi et exmo Dno D. Herculi Estens. duci Ferr. etc. Dno meo colmo.

Orator ducis Ferrarie faciet diligentiam,
subito, subito. Ferrarie.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

* See *supra*, p. 281.

[8. Report

8. Report from Milan on the balance of parties in the College of Cardinals.*

[Beginning of year 1491, Rome.]

Nomina Cardinalium:

Episcopi:	Vicecanc.[1]
	Napoli.[2]
	S. Marco.[3]
	Balua.[4]
	S. Petro ad vincula.[5]
	S. Maria in porticu.[6]
Presbyteri:	Ulixbona.[7]
	S. Angelo.[8]
	S. Clemente.[9]
	Rechanate.[10]
	Conti.[11]
	Parma.[12]
	Benevento.[13]
	Aleria.[14]
	S. Anastasia.[15]
	Zenova.[16]
Diaconi:	Sena.[17]
	S. Georgio.[18]
	Savello.
	Collona.
	Ursino.
	Aschanio.

Voces qui adherebunt Aschanio:

Vicecanc.[1]	Questi li metto per certi.
Napoli.[2]	
Conti.[11]	
Parma.[12]	
Aleria.[14]	
Savello.	
S. Maria in porticu.[6]	
S. Anastasia.[15]	De questi ne credo bene, pur non affirmo.
Sena.[17]	
S. Georgio.[18]	
Ursino.	

Voces S. Petri ad Vincula:

S. Marco.[3]
Balua.[4]
Ulixbona.[7]
S. Clemente.[9]
Rechanate.[10]
Zenova.[16]
S. Angelo.[8]
Benevento.[13]
Collona.

* See *supra*, p. 377.

[1] R. de Borja.

[2] Caraffa.

[3] M. Barbo died March 11, 1491. (See Contelorius, 61.) I therefore assigned this memorandum to the beginning of the year 1491, at which time the Pope was in ill health; see *supra* p. 281. It, however, might equally have been written some time in the autumn of 1490 when the Pope was also ill, or, if it is thought necessary to insist upon the allusion to Card. G. de Medici it may have been drawn up at the beginning of 1490.

[4] de La Balue.

[5] Giuliano della Rovere.

[6] Batt. Zeno.

[7] Costa.

[8] Michiel.

[9] Domenico della Rovere.

[10] Basso della Rovere.

[11] Joh. de Conti.

[12] Sclafenatus.

[13] L. Cibò.

[14] Ardicino della Porta.

[15] A. Pallavicino.

[16] Fregoso.

[17] Piccolomini.

[18] Raffaele Riario.

Lo figliolo de Lorenzo * non credo habii ad intrare in conclave: assay sera che l'admettano per Cardinale. La sorte per quello che io posso iudicare sera sopra Ulixbona † o vero lo Card^le de Aleria ‡ et piu presto de ambe dui verra sopra Ulixbona per molte ragione salvo se il caldo de q[uest]o ill^mo stato non aiutasse Aleria.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. Collection of documents without a date. A later hand of the 19th Century has written on this one: 1490–1500.]

9. Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to the Duchess Eleonora of Ferrara.§

1492, Aug. 4, Rome.

Illustrissima Madama mia . . . A questo pontificato molti concorrono et per lo primo Aleria ‖ per la parte de Ascanio, et certamente etiam per luniuersale et omnium desiderio per la summa bonta soa; ¶ item Neapolitanus ** abenche il Re li obsta molto, nisi sit fictio, ad cio che qual' chuno declina in lui per indignatione concetta contra sua Maesta che voglia dare lege in electione suprema; quando pur se intenda esser il vero chel Re non voglia Napoli, molti che haveuano drizate il pensiero in altri lo convertirano in lui; quid dicam nescio, vulgo et scripto dicitur chel homo è una mala bestia. Heri publice se disse che' Ascanio se voleva fare papa com pregare ciascuno seorsum che li volesseno dare la voce soa morta id est dopoi la prima, et il signore Ludouico hauere scritto per Tottavilla al castellano de Sancto Angelo con grandissime promissione de capello rosso et altre buone conditione, chel volesse fare del castello la volunta del dicto Ascanio; plena est tota civitas et Romana curia hoc rumore seu fama, non se crede pero per li gravi, tutavia non se discrede. Il vice-cancellero segui per potentia de partidi, il può contentare la brigata de molte digne cose: primo com la cancellaria, ch'è uno altro papato, la temporalita chel ha de doe cita videlicet cita Castellana et Nepe com rocha Suriana, ch'è una aquila fra le terre de la chiexia, una abbatia a l'Aquilla de valuta de 1000

* Giov. de' Medici, see *supra*, p. 356.
† Costa.
‡ Ardicino della Porta.
§ See *supra*, p. 380.
‖ Ardicino della Porta.
¶ See Thuasne, I., 577.
** Caraffa.

ducati, ad Albana appressa a Roma una altra simile, in nel Reame due magiore, il veschovato de Porto 1200, l'abbatia de Sublacho pur in le porte de Roma com 22 castelli de valuta de 2000. In Spagna sine fine dicentes XVI. veschovati dignissimi et optimi li ha senza le abbatie et molti altri boni et degni bene ficij; primo li ha il veschovato de Valenza de valuta de XVI^{m} ducati, quello de Cartagina VII^{m}, quello de Maiorcha VI^{m}, labbatia de Valdina appressa a Valenza com molti et molti vassalli 2000. Segui etiam la concurrentia il Savello, Ulisbona * inter primos, item Siena, † et nunc Sancto Angelo; ‡ aliqui loquuntur de Januense § chenon cade in mente a la brigata et ancha se parla molto et tutavia de San Clemente,|| et cosi de Sancta Maria in portico; ¶ tuti questi se sono molto armati in casa loro, ne vana voce le case loro fossono poste a' saco come gia è stato facto, idest de quello è facto papa interdum maliciose se cridara papa il tale et non è il vero se fa ad effectum per havere piu preda: et demum unus accipiet bravium. Et potria essere forte Spiritu Sancto chel tocharia al patriarcha de Venetia,**el qual entro heri, et hodie post missam exequiarum il fu receuto dal sacro collegio come cardinale; il Savello et Columna li andorno obviam in questa matina a la casa soa a condurlo a San Pedro. In secretis se parla anche de San Pedro in vincula †† et come ho dicto solum unus ex tot concurrentibus accipiet bravium, nisi cadat ex scissura et per scissma inter plures, come già è stato fatto, et quasi temporibus nostris; ordinato è che la nova del futuro pontifice debia esser a Milano fra XL. hore, farò la diligentia mia, si aliter erit non mea culpa. . . . Romae, 4 Augusti, 1492.

Excellentissime dominationis vestre humiliter servus

JOANNIS ANDREAS Episcopus Mutinensis.

[A tergo:] Illustrissime ac excellentissime domine domine Eleanore da Aragonia ducisse Ferrarie mihi domine singularissime.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena; Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci degli Oratori Estensi a Roma.]

* Costa.
† Piccolomini.
‡ Michiel.
§ Fregoso.
|| Domenico della Rovere.
¶ Zeno.
** Gherardo; see *supra*, p 376.
†† Giuliano della Rovere.

10. Valori to Florence.*

1492, Aug. 11 [Rome].

Magnifici domini mei observandissimi etc. Le S. V. per la mia de VI. haranno inteso come e s^ri^ car^li^ intrarono in conclave. Dipoi non ho scripto alle S. V. aspectando ad ogni hora di havere nuovo pontefice; et vedendo soprastare alla electione più che il consueto, mi è parso spacciare la presente chavalcata benchè pocco habbia da dire. Da poi che e s^ri^ car^li^ intrarono in clausura per qualche inditio si è inteso come hanno facto due squittini mercoledì et giovedì mattina et stamani hanno facto il terzo, et benchè sia difficil cosa intenderne il vero, pure si ritrahe che tra loro sono in discordia non pichola; et non di mancho il car^le^ di Napoli et di Lisbona hanno più voti che nessun altro. Questo è quanto partichulare si intende. Il conclave, come sanno le S. V. è secretissimo et con grandissimo ordine è ghovernato. Hoggi si è cominciato ad extremare loro il victo nè si darà più che una sola vivanda et da lunedi in là, in caso non habbino facto la electione, non si darà loro altro che pane, vino et acqua, secondo che è ordinato per i sacri canoni. Et i prelati, noi ambasciatori et baroni et cittadini Romani che siamo alla custodia del conclave seguiremo questo ordine, nè per alchuna spetie di discordia sia intra loro car^li^ haviamo guirato mai mutare sententia, et l'autorità che in questo caso haviamo sopra e car^li^ useremo come ci è concessa; et in questo modo saranno constrecti provedere di nuovo pastore sanza molto indugio. La terra è quietissima, nè se intende nè vede cosa da fare tumulto et questi s^ri^ baroni, maxime il S. Virginio, sino a qui non si potrebbono portare meglio, nè mostrarsi più uniti alla conservatione di queste cose. Il palazo et il borgho di San Piero sono benissimo guardati: nel borgho continuamente stanno armate alla guardia due squadre di gente d'arme, oltre a l'altre fanterie, et ogni x. hore si mutano. Il Conte di Pitigliano et li altri conductieri della Chiesa sempre sono a cavallo; et però non è da dubitare d'alcuna alteratione in questo tempo del conclave. Due giorni fa arrivorono ad Hostia cinque ghalee Genovesi, le quali per quanto mi habbi decto il mag^co^ m. Stephano Taverna, ha mandate il S. Lodovico

* See *supra*, p. 381.

a stanza del r^mo^ Mon^re^ Ascanio per potersene servire in ogni suo caso; per non esservi su molto numero di fanti, qui ne è tenuto poco conto. Dicemi ancora il p^to^ M. Stephano che per aventura decte ghalee anderanno ad unirsi con la armata della M^tà^ Reg^a^, non ne essendo di bisognio qui. Non voglio lassare di dire alle S. V. che il dì inanzi che e car^li^ intrassino in conclave cavorono della heredità del papa argenti per XII^m^ duc. e quali si distribuirono fra XIII. card^li^ che dovevono havere dalla Chiesa per diverse cagione. M. Camillo Pandoni mandato dalla M^tà^ del Re arrivò qui due giorni sono, nè per ancora escie di casa perchè è alquanto indisposto d'una gamba. Com questa sarà un piegho di lettere di M. Piero Alamanni. Altro non ho da dire alle S. V. alle quali del continuo mi raccomando.

Ex custodia conclavi die X. Augusti, 1492, hora XV^ta^.

servus PHY. VALORIUS or.

Magnificis dominis octoviris practice reipublice Florentine, dominis meis osservand.

Florentie.

[The original is in the State Archives, Florence. Riformagioni. Otto di Pratica. Carteggio. Responsive. No. 8, f. 428.]

11. AMBROSIUS MIRABILIA* TO BARTHOLOMÆUS CALCHUS.†

1492, Aug. 13, Rome.

He has received from the new Pope la referma di questo officio for six months more per la via del . . . . Mons. Ascanio, quale è stato causa luy solo de farlo papa‡ como sono certo la V. M ne sia pienamente informata et per tale cosa la Sua Ill. et R^a^ S^ria^ ne ha acquistato tanto credito et reputatione ch'el non se poterebe dire ne scrivere in modo che è reputato non solum il primo apresso alla Sua Sta, ma è reputato come papa. Last night the conservators and 800 citizens on horseback, carrying torches went in procession to the Pope. Yesterday the whole town was piena de fochi et altri falodi. §

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

* "Eques ac alme urbis senator." † "Ducalis primus secretarius."

‡ See *supra*, p. 390, and also SANUDO, Spediz., 57, and PISTOJA'S sonnet in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 209.

§ See *supra*, p. 392.

12. Thadeus Vicomercatus to Milan.*

[1503], Aug. 18, Venice.

A messenger has arrived from Rome: Poi disse chel se diceva per Roma anchora publicamente che la voce del r^mo^ mons^re^ el patriarcha † di questa terra era stata causa chel p^to^ mons^er^ r^mo^ vice-cancelliere fosse electo in papa et che ad dare la voce sua al vice-cancelliere era inducto per via de tributi da quelli mando questa S^ria^ seco et maxime dal secretario di questa S^ria^ havendo lhori operati in questo acto tutto el contrario de quanto havevano in commissione da lei. A council was held upon this yesterday.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

13. Pope Alexander VI. to the Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.‡

1492, Aug. 26, Rome.

Pope Calixtus III. required money to carry on the war against the Turks. To obtain this he sold to him (in minoribus) then Card. Vice-Chancellor, domum seu domos positas in urbe in regione pontis prope ecclesiam S. Blasii, in qua vel quibus publica secca § ab antiquo tempore teneri et exerceri consueverat et que manifestam ruinam minabantur, cum suis confinibus ac curia, aula, cameris, terrenis, orto, puteis et cisternis. The price was 2000 flor. auri. Et deinde cum sicut evidentia facti notorie demonstrabat refectione ipsius domus, quam a fundamentis de novo quasi per totum reedificaverimus, maximum sumptum feceramus et in apparatu classis maritime, quam Pius II. . . . contra Turchos movere intendebat, unam galeam optime dispositam et armatam expensis nostris in eadem classe mittendam paraveramus,|| thus Pius II. ratified Calixtus III.'s sale. Paul II. did the same q[uia] nos domum predictam sublimi et egregio opere reedificari feceramus et in hiis magnam pecunie quantitatem exposueramus. Innocent VIII. also confirmed it. He (Alexander VI.) now gives this palace to Card. A. Sforza: attendentes quod tu in dicta urbe nullam propriam habitationem habes et con-

* See *supra*, p. 385.
† Card. Gherardo.
‡ See *supra*, p. 382.
§ Zecca, *i.e.* Mint.
|| See Pastor, Gesch. Päpste, II., 247, ed. 2 (German).

siderantes quod propter tuam erga personam nostram precipuam devotionem ac singularia per te nobis impensa obsequia plurima a nobis meruisti volentesque propterea vicem gratitudinis impendere. Dat. Laterani, 1492, Sept. Cal. Sept. P. N. A. I°.

[Conc. Regest. 869, f. 35. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

14. Giacomo Trotti to the Duke Ercole of Ferrara.*

1492, Aug. 28, Milan.

I have seen the Venetian Envoy to-day, who is dissatisfied with the Pope's Election. Venice is not pleased with the Election; at the same time it does not blame the Venetian Cardinal Gherardi, to whose efforts the success of Alexander was due (il suo car^le patriarcha è stato quello che l'ha facto pontefice) asserendo che cum simonia et mille ribalderie et inhonestate si è venduto il pontificato, che è cosa ignominiosa et detestabile † et che Sua Mag^tia se persuade che quando Franza et Spagna intenda tale exhorbitantie recusara darli la obedientia et che bene Sua B^ne cum presenti ha gratificato multi cardinali che etiam gli ne sono rimasti dece senza gratification alcuna et malcontenti.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

15. Pope Alexander VI. gives the Bishopric of Valencia to Cæsar Borja.‡

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Dilecto filio Cesari electo Valent. He, the Pope, had till then held the see of Valencia. Since, by his election, it had become vacant, he thought of Cæsar, the electus Pampilonen. quem tunc in decimo septimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutum f. rec. Innocentius, papa VIII. predecessor noster ecclesie Pampilonensi ord. S^ti Augustini . . . administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus . . . constituit et deputavit ac quam primum dictum vicesimum septimum annum attigisses ex tunc eidem ecclesie Pampilonensi de tua persona providit teque illi prefecit

* See *supra*, p. 385, 394.

† The words from "cum" to "detestabile" are from Gregorovius, Lucrezia, 43.

‡ See *supra*, p. 398.

in episcopum et pastorem. . . . Having discharged laudabiliter, the charge of the above-named Bishopric, and being about eighteen years old (et ad presens in decimo octavo vel circa * tue etatis anno constitutus), he gives to him the Bishopric of Valencia. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Sept.

[Conc. Regest. 772, f. 158. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

16. Pope Alexander VI. nominates Juan Borja to the Cardinalate.†

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Dil. filio Joh. tit. S. Susannae presbytero cardinali. He reminds him of the stipulation in the election-capitulation in regard to the creation of new Cardinals, that only truly virtuous men were to be elected: attendentes quod tu, qui ecclesie Montis regalis ordinis S. Benedicti hactenus laudabiliter praefuisti . . . habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris deliberatione matura de illorum unanimi consilio et assensu he nominates him to the Cardinalate. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Septemb.‡ P. N. A. I°.

Signed by:—

Ego Alexander catholicae ecclesiae episcopus manu propria.

Ego Oliverius episcopus Sabinen. S.R.E. card. Neapolit.§ manu propria.

Ego Joh. episcopus Portuen. card. S. Angeli.‖

,, G. episcopus Alban. card. Ulixbon.¶

,, Hier. episcopus Prenest. card. Rachanat.**

* This word "about," of course, makes this passage useless for determining the exact date of Cæsar's birth; but, on the whole, it seems to favour the year 1475—given *supra*, p. 364, note §, rather than that of 1476.

† See *supra*, p. 398.

‡ See *supra*, p. 398. Raynaldus, who made use of the same volume of Registers as I do, erroneously gives ad an. 1492, N. 30, the date as "Cal. Septemb." in quoting a passage from the Decree. The original clearly gives it as "Pridie Cal. Sept." Not only the extracts in Cod. XXXII., 242 of the Barberini Library, Rome, but also the **Report of Boccaccio of Aug. 31, 1492, state that the nomination did really take place on the 31st of Aug. State Archives, Modena.

§ O. Caraffa.

‖ Giov. Michiel.

¶ G. Costa.

** Girolamo Basso della Rovere.

Ego D. tit. s. Clementis.*
,, P. ,, s. Sixti.†
,, Jo. ,, s. Vitalis.‡
,, Jo. Ja. card. Parmen.§
,, L. tit. s. Cecilie.‖
,, A. ,, s. Prax.¶
,, F. Card^lis Senen. ** manu propria.
,, R. tit. s. Georgii camerarius.††
,, Jo. B. card. Sabellis.
,, Jo. card. de Columna.
,, B. ,, de Ursinis.
,, As. Mar. vice-cancell.
,, F. card. Sanseverinus.

Collationata L. Podocatharus.
vis. M. de Thebaldis.

P. Tuba.

[Conc. Regest. 869, f. 51. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

17. Pope Alexander VI. to Jofré Borja.‡‡

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Ganfrido de Borgia clerico Romano notario. The Pope gives to Jofré Borja then about twelve years old (in XII. anno etatis vel circa constitutus) the parrochialis ecclesia de Incha, Maioricen. dioc., quam dil. filius Caesar electus Valentinus, quem hodie administratorem ecclesiae Valentinae per assumptionem nostram . . . vacantis in spiritualibus et temporalibus usque ad certum tempus de fratrum nostrorum consilio constituimus et deputavimus ac deinde de persona sua illi providimus, ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica in commendam obtinebat. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Sept.

[Conc. Regest. 772, f. 57b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* Domenico della Rovere.
† P. Fregoso.
‡ G. Conti.
§ Sclafenati.
‖ Lorenzo. Cibò.
¶ A. Pallavicino.
** Fr. Piccolomini.
†† Raffaele Riario.
‡‡ See *supra*, p. 365, 408.

18. Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Illmo Sr mio. Domenica passata fu coronato nostro Sre cum mazor pompa e cum mazor triumpho che sia mai stato coronato pontifice a nostri tempi. Tute le strade per le quale andò Sua Stà erano coperte di panni et aparate de panni de razo, che durò circa dua miglia; per le strade furono fatti di molti archi triumphali molto sumptuosi e belli cum canti e soni; fu a questa coronatione tuti li baroni de Roma, El Sr de Camerino, li Baglioni, quasi tuti li principali da Perusa. La Matina Sua Stà disse la messa a bona ora in Sancto Pietro, poi procedette a la coronatione secondc usanza e fu consumato tuto quello dì in canti soni et altre feste; e Sua Stà dette de molti denari segondo el consueto. La sera circa due ore di notte Sua Stà tornò a palazo acompagnato quasi da tuti li Cardli cum infiniti dopieri: e cosi fu finita la festa; ma so ben dire a la Extia V. che tuta la corte era morte [*sic*] di stracchà per haver havuto tuto quello di molte incommodità da polvere, sole et altri fastidii; pensi la Exia V. che cose hè a cavalcare otto o diece milia cavalli tuto uno dì per una terra stretti a quello modo. El Cardle Ursino a havuto la possessione de Suriano, forteza de le piu importante che sia in questo stato. El Cardle Colonna a havuto la possessione de la abatia de Sublaco, che a 14 forteze fra le terre sue e vicine a Roma. El Cardle Savello per ancora non a havuto la possessione de Civita Castellana, forteza etiam importantissima, che li era stata promessa, et quasi ognuno crede non la debba più havere; de le altre cose li erano state promesse fin qui pare non ne venga alcuna a luce: una abatia che li era stata promessa nel Reame o inteso chel Re a scritto chel non li darà mai la possessione; ne di quella ne di altra cosa chel habia nel paese suo; uno episcopato li era stato promesso in Spagna, e parmi pure che li oratori del re habiano ditto che la Mtà Sua non li darà mai la possessione; in summa finqui non intendo che Sua S. habia havuta cosa alcuna. Io non scriverà altrimente a la Exia V. quello habiano havuti il altri Cardli perche seria una cosa infinita; molte altre forteze sono state distribuite fra loro, ma

* See *supra*, p. 390, 391, and Hagen, Papstwahlen, 23 *seq.*

non essendo Romani post mortem suam tornaranno a la sede apostolica . . . . Rome ultimo Augusti, 1492.

E. Ex. V. ser^or^ FLORAMONTUS BROGNOLUS.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. POPE ALEXANDER VI. TO JOFRÉ BORJA.*

1493, Aug. 6, Rome.

Dil. filio Janfrido de Borgia, domicello Romano: Illegitime genitos. . . . Attendentes igitur quod sicut habet fide dignorum assertio nosque etiam novimus tu, qui defectum natalium pateris de nobis tunc episcopo Portuen. S. R. E. vice-cancellario genitus et de muliere vidua, defectum huiusmodi honestate morum et vite aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter recompensas, he legitimates him *motu proprio.* Dat. Romae, apud S. Petrum, 1493, octavo idus Augusti, P. N. A. I.°

[Conc. Regest., 869, f. 85b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. STEFANO TABERNA † TO MILAN.‡

1493, Sept. 24, Rome.

. . . Si intende che S. P[ietro] in V[incula], quale è a Marino et giucava quando hebbe la nova de la creatione demonstrò grave commotione di animo et nondimeno volse fare prova de perseverare al giocho, ma la perseverantia fu di brevissimo spatio et levandosi si ridusse et recluse solo in la camera sua et cominciò ad exclamare et mugire, et l'altri heri li sopravenne la febre, de la quale era stato libero alchuni giorni et cominciava ad rihaversi, de la quale febre non si è poi mundato. Napoli anche demonstrò mirabile alteratione de animo, ma la coperse meglio. S. Angelo sta pur grave et non li fu lassato intendere la creatione. Da Genova et Conti, quali erano qui et seguirono la dureza de Napoli, si tiene cosi poco conto in questa corte che de la actione

* See *supra*, p. 365.

† Taberna sprang from a noble family in Milan; he was from 1495–1499 Bishop of Parma; died 1499. See UGHELLI, II., 135; Arch. Stor. Ital., XVIII., 2, 28.

‡ See *supra*, p. 418. This report is of great importance in regard to the Creation of Sept. 1493; BROSCH, 55, has not realised its significance.

oro non si è parlato. Non si sa anche* . . . de la mente cum la quale stano li cardinali absenti, quali sono stati oppositi, ma si conjectura che li sera molto doluto la perdita et maxime ad Ulisbona et Siena, qual aspirano al papato, possendo conoscere assay al loco, dove si trovano, se misurerano la perdita loro et la victoria che li oppositi soy; è veramente cosa da non possere ben scrivere la reputatione et la gloria quale ha portato in corte questo prospero successo alla Cels. V. et Mons^re^ R^mo^. . . . Lo Arcivescovo et Cardinale de Valentia è ancora fora di Roma et N. S ge lo lassa ex industria perche li cardinali novi lo visitino de fora infra li quali il Farnesio ha facto principio questa mattina essendo andato a Caprarola . . . per visitarlo. The others will also visit him, possibly also A. Sforza.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. By mistake the report has been placed amongst the papers of the year 1495.]

21. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.†

1493, Sept. 28, Rome.

. . . Questi cardinali oppositi continuano pur in segni de malo animo verso N. S^re^ et Napoli non si reduce benche la Sua Sta servi verso lui modi mansueti perche si reconoscha. Ulisbona ha licentiato molti de la famiglia sua et si dice che si vole segregare et andare ad stare a Monte Oliveto in Toschana. S. P[ietro] in vinc[ula] è del animo consueto. Genua et Conti li seguano. Di Sena non si ha altra noticia. Queste cose fano pur star N. S^re^ in qualche suspensione et dubio che le potesseno reuscire ad qualche schandalo et pero la Sua Sta sta in expectatione de intendere sopra epse el consilio et iuditio de la Ex. V.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

22. Stefano Taberna to Milan.‡

1493, Sept. 28, Rome.

Report on the Cardinals of the opposition. S. P[ietro] in vinc[ula], quale al nuntio de la creatione si infirmò de febre, non

* Obliterated. † See *supra*, p. 419. ‡ See *supra*, p. 418.

è ancora libero. Ad Napoli è venuto uno [*sic*] febre intensa talmente che . . . non è senza periculo. Di Ulisbona si affirmo ogni hora più che anderà ad Monte Oliveto. Ascriveno la causa de questa loro secessione a la promotione de lo arcivescovo di Valentia et al essere stati neglecti dal papa.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

23. Stefano Taberna to Milan.*

[1494], March 8, Rome.

. . . Quanto alle cose occurente la Cels. Vest. vederà in le lettere de Mons^re^ Illmo† il discorso havuto per la Sua Sig. Rev. cum N. S. et la resolutione de S. Sta; li rimedii opportuni pareno ‡ *il stringer la pratica de S. Petro in vincula col re de Franza et vedere se è bene che se* cominci ad parlare de fare demonstratione sopra il *spirituale.*

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

24. Alexander VI. to Franciscus de Sprats, Papal Envoy to Spain.§

1494, March 22, Rome.

Sicut per alia brevia nostra tam ad. . . . Hispanie reges . . . quam etiam ad te . . . scripsimus, nos accepimus responsum a car^mo^ . . . Carolo Francorum rege christianissimo ad breve nostrum Sue Maiestati directum super negotio Turchorum et bello Neapolitano, cuius etiam responsi copiam cum instructionibus ad oratores suos destinatis in prefatis brevibus nostris inclusum tibi misimus. Eodem igitur responso in consistorio nostro cum ven. fratribus nostris S. R. E. cardinalibus communicato, de unanimo ipsorum consilio denuo per aliud breve nostrum rescribimus ipsi christianissimo regi, ut intendat nobiscum institute expeditioni in infideles, ommisso bello Neapolitano . . . , suadentes non minus, ut si quid ius in eo . . . pretendat, illud via iusticie et non armis prosequatur, sicut videbis ex tenore ipsius brevis nostri, cuius exemplum presentibus inseruimus. Id etiam istis seren^mis^ regi et regine per

* See *supra*, p. 424. † Asc. Sforza.

‡ The words printed in italics are in cypher.

§ See *supra*, p. 423. On Sprats, see also Pieper, Nuntiaturen, 44.

alium [*sic*] alligatum breve significamus . . . , ut omnia, que hic aguntur in hoc negotio, suis maiestatibus innotescant. Eis itaque exhibito dicto brevi, quanta poteris instancia et dexteritate illas nomine nostro rogabis, ut in hoc velint pro suo catholico animo nobis adesse et apud christianissimum regem prefatum oportunis modis partes suas interponere, ut idem rex Francie acquiescat monitis nostris. . . .

[Conc. A loose sheet in Minute Brevium, Tom. I. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.*

1494, April 24, Rome.

Extractus zifre vice-cancellarii. Rome, 1494, Aprile 24.

La V. Ex. ha inteso questi giorni la praticha facta cum S. P[ietro] in V[incula]. In questhora il S. Prospero Colonna me è venuto ad trovare et factome intendere de S. P. in v. li ha mandato ad dire per M. Facio suo fidatissimo servitore che heri sera ad 4 hore de nocte montato in uno brigantino bene armato et se è partito per andare in Francia per fare quanto el Re de Francia et V. Ex. vorano et che lassa Hostia et tutte le altre sue cose in mano del suo sig. Prospero et sig. Fabritio per disponerne como io ordinarò cum animo deliberato de volere fare quanto saperò ricercare et molte altre parole cordiale el amorevole verso la Ex. V. et me de la qual cosa essendo del supremo momento et importantia che a me è parso volando con la celerita de la stafeta pagata avisarne la Ex. V. la quale prego che senza dilatione voglia respondere che provisione se harano ad fare che Hostia non sii pigliata. . . . Ultra cio me pare che la Ex. V. volando mandasse ad Genoa o vero in altro loco dove S. P. in v. potesse desmontare et farli fare ogni amorevole demonstratione et offerirli con quelli boni modi et termini che V. Ex. sapera fare. . . . All this has hitherto been kept most secret; it is to continue so. Romae, 24 Aprile, hora 22, 1494.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.; erroneously placed in the Fasc. August, 1492.]

* See *supra*, p. 424.

26. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1494, April 26, Rome.

. . Zobia prox^a passata † circa a le xxii. hore nostro S^re fu avisato chel p^to San Pedro in vincula la nocte precedente era partito da Hostia in uno bregantino cum vinti persone, lassata essa Hostia ben fornita de homeni, arteliarie, victualie et altre cose necessarie in modo chel si intende inter cetera che li homeni che sono drento da la rocha hanno da vivere per dui anni. La S^tà de Nostro S^re inteso questo subito mandò per li oratori regii, a li quali dette comissione che ne scrivessero a la M^tà del Rè, preghandola a volerli essere favorevole a levare questa terra de mano de questi inimici, alegando quanto disturbo la ge porria dare. Fu scripto etiam al Conte da Pitiliano che senza dimora venisse qua, dove giunse heri sera al tardo; tutta via se mette a ordine arteliarie et gente lezere per mandare a Hostia. . . Rome xxvi. Ap^is, 1494.

Ex. V. ser^or Georgius Brognolus.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. Pope Alexander VI. to Fabricio Colonna.‡

1494. May 24, Rome.

Alexander PP. VI.§ Dilecte fili, salutem et apost. benedict. Quoniam tua cura et opera arx nostra Ostien. nobis restituta est, juxta promissionem per te nobis factam et conventionem inter nos initam tenore presentium tibi promittimus nihil innovare contra te super Gryptaferatta, sed quod possis eam tenere eo modo quo

* See *supra*, p. 424. Delaborde, 347, n. 5, writes: "La date de la fuite de La Rovère doit être antérieure à celle que l'on trouve dans Sanuto et dans la plupart des historiens. Elle était, en effet, déjà connue de Ludovic le More le 23 Avril. Ludovic à D'Aubigny et aux autres ambassadeurs français. Vigevano, le 23 Avril, 1494, Arch. de Milan." I however still believe the night of April 23rd to be the true date, this being the one given, not only in the above despatch and elsewhere (*e.g.* Allegretti, 823), but also in the letter in cypher of Sforza to L. Moro cited *supra*, No. 25. The fact, that L. Moro, in the letter quoted by Delaborde, mentions the flight on the 23rd April, can be easily explained by supposing him to have had earlier secret information.

† 24th April.

‡ See *supra*, p. 425.

§ On the left is the autograph: "Alexander ppa. manu propria."

impresentiarum tenes, etiam si quod absit ven. frater noster car^lis S. Petri ad vincula contra nos malignaret dummodo tu malignationis ipsius particeps non fueris. Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscat. die. XXIIII. Maii, 1494, Pont. nostri anno secundo. Lapsu termini in conventione contenti non obstante.

B. FLORIDUS.

[A tergo:] Dil. filio nob. viro Fabritio de Columna domicello Romano.

[The original is in the Colonna Archives, Rome. Collection of Briefs, N. 41.]

28. GIORGIO BROGNOLO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1494, Nov. 29, Rome.

Ne la ultima mia de XXIV. presentis scrissi a la Ex. V. quanto mi occorse et maxime circa el progresso de questi Franzosi li quali ogni dì si vanno piu aproximando in qua ne fin qui li è stato facto una resistentia al mondo; vero è chel S^re Virginio parti de qui quatro zorin fa cum le gente sue per andarsene a Viterbo de comissione del Pontefice, ma o sia stato per volunta o per impotentia o per qual si voglia altro rispecto Sua Si. ha tardato troppo, perche la nocte inanti che quella dovesse giungere introrono dentro da Viterbo gran numero de Franzosi: chi dice II^m cavalli: chi piu chi mancho, in summa el p^to S. Virginio è restato a Sutrio insieme col car^le dal Frenese el quale anche non è sta [*sic*] voluto acceptare dentro da Viterbo cum le fanterie. El Pontefice havea posto dentro de la rocha de Viterbo el s^re Jacobo Conte,† el quale intendendo la venuta de Franzosi non li ha voluti aspectare et se ne fugito et abbandonata essa rocha. E seguito un altro caso, el quale benche non habia quel fondamento ch'io iudicai al principio nientedimeno non è passato senza gran scorno del Pontefice: non heri l'altro venendo Mª Hadriana et Mª Julia cum unaltra sua sorella da uno suo castello nominata Capo de Monte per andare a Viterbo dal car^le suo fratello essendo vicini a la circa uno miglio si incontrorono in una frotta de Franzosi a cavallo et da essi furono prese et conducte a Montefiaschone cum tutta la compagnia loro, che erano perho da XXV. a XXX. cavalli; el papa subito che hebbe la novella mandò uno

* See *supra*, p. 444, and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 358, ed. 2.

† Thus SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, 81, requires correction.

suo camarero fidato a Marino per dolersi de questo caso cum Aschanio, et quale subito ritorno cum tal commissione che hozi se inteso le p^te^ m^e^ cum tutta la comitiva loro esser' state relaxate senza che li sta usato una desonestà al mondo, cussi ne la robba come ne le persone. Questa relaxatione cussi subita arguissi che questo sia stato uno caso fortuito et non pensato come la brigata dubito al principio. Io sone [*sic*] de parere che fra pochi dì questa terra habia ad essere piena de Franzosi; vero è che dentro da Roma si ritrova fina adesso circa 150 homeni darme et tutta via ne veneno de li altri; dicono fin a la summa de xv. squadre et dua miglia fanti; nientedimeno ogni uno conclude che aproximandosi la M^ta^ del Rè in qua cum la persona et gente, sue che non li habia ad esser, uno obstaculo al mondo.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

29. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1495, Jan. 4, Rome.

. . . La M^ta^ Sua come scrissi alhora è alogiata in San Marcho, dove è sempre stata fin a questo dì: ne mai è andata dal Papa, el quale sta pur in palazo et spesso va dal palazo al Castello per la via coperta dove attende a fortificarsi più ch'l po havendo totalmente deliberato de non darlo a la M^ta^ del Re p^to^ come fin qui ge ne stato facto una mirabile instantia et tutta via si fa, credo bene per opera de quelli che vorriano vedere più focho cha [*sic*] legna; el Papa è conducto a questo che le contento de dare al p^to^ Re per segureza sua Civitavechia, la quale ha porto et è loco important^mo^, ma de Castello Sanctangelo non vole sentire. Se questa dureza et pertinacia persevera da lun canto et dal altro ic dubito che in fine desordine habia a seguire.†

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

30. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.‡

1495, Jan. 6, Rome.

. . . Tutto questo populo di Roma è tanto mal contento quanto si potesse dire: grandissime extorsione si fanno, homi-

* *See supra*, p. 453.

† The text is in Gregorovius, VII., 369, ed. 2.

‡ See *supra*, p. 454; and Balan, 334, n. 6.

cidij infiniti, ne si sente altro che stridi et lamenti: et quando la cosa resti qui la brigata se ne harria a contentare, ma certamente io vedo questa chiesia in pegior termini che forsi la fusse mai per ricordo de homo vivente. Altro non mi occorre, etc. Roma, 6 Januarij, 1495.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1495, Jan. 8, Rome.

. . . Questo affirmo bene a la Ex. V. che le impossibile che uno exercito cussi grosso possi stare longamente dentro da Roma dove cominza à mancare la robba ne se ne trova per denari. Hozi per uno pocho de differentia che è stata fra alcuni Franzosi et Suiceri tutto el campo del Re è posto in arme in modo che lera una cosa stupenda a vedere tanto numero de persone armate che erano per tutte le strade.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

32. Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1495, Jan. 22, Rome.

Illmo S^{r} mio. Per lultima mia di 16 di questo la Ex. V. haverà inteso lacordo seguito fra N. S. e la M^{tà} re del Franza, e cosi pare che tuta via el Pontifice si sforzi di satisfare universalmente a tuti questi Franzosi, perche expectative, riserve, indulgentie e tute le gratie sono poste a mano, in summa tute le gratie sono le loro; non se intende ancora per certo la partita de la prefata M^{tà}. Heri matina N. S. publicò card^{le} uno cusino di Monsr de Ligni, el quale di continuo sta apresso a la M^{tà} del Re et ha grandis^{o} credito; poi Sua S^{tà} fornito el concistorio cantò una messa solenniss^{a} in sancto Pietro, dove intervenne la M^{tà} del Re e tuti questi s^{ri} Franzosi, poi li fu mostrato la Veronica, el ferro de la lanza che feri Cristo et la testa di S^{to} Andrea, preterea il Papa dette la benedictione solenne, come si fa a la pasqua et li altri di ordinarii. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 454. † See *supra*, p. 460.

33 Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.*

1496, Febr. 15, Rome.

Dilecto fili etc. Quia intendimus Deo concedente inpresentiar. creare cardinales dilictum filium Ioannem de Borgia electum Melfiensem nepotem et legatum nostrum Neapoli existentem et aliquos prelatos domesticos antiquos familiares nostros : postquam circumspectio tua cuius presentiam valde optaremus est absens, rogamus illam ut circa huiusmodi creationem cardinalium votum tuum aut in pectore nostro aut in aliquo cardinale ut † . . . vice-cancellario de quo confidere possis per tuas litteras remittere velis, in qua re circumspectio tua nobis vehementer complacebit. Et hac de causa mittimus ad te presentem tabellarium quem statim cum opportuno responso ad nos remittas. Dat. Romae ap. S. Petrum sub. annulo pisc. die xv. Februarii, 1496, Pont. nostri anno quarto.

B. Floridus.

[A tergo :] Dil. fil. nostro Jo. sancte Marie in Dominica diacono Car^li de Columna.

[The original is in the Colonna Archives, Rome; Collection of Briefs, N. 34.]

34. Pope Alexander VI. creates four new Cardinals.‡

1496, Febr. 19, Rome.

Bulle "Romana ecclesia." The Pope habita super hiis cum venerab. fratribus deliberatione matura de illo[rum] consilio, peritia et assensu nominates Bartolomeo Martini, Bishop of Segovia; Juan de Castro, Bishop of Girgenti; Juan Lopez, Bishop of Perugia; and Juan Borja, "electus [episc.] Melfitensis," who is at present Nuncio at Naples, to be Cardinals. Dat. Romae, 1495 [st. fl.], XI. cal. Martii, Pontif. nostri A° 4°.

Ego, Alexander, Cath. Ecclesiae Episcopus.[1]

Do. s. Clementis.[2]

Io. Ia. card. Parmen.[3]

* See *supra*, p. 492. † What follows is destroyed. ‡ See *supra*, p. 492.

[1] I give the names of the Cardinals as found in the Registers, although there the usual order has not been observed.

[2] Domenico della Rovere. [3] Sclafenati.

L. s. Cecilie.[4]
A. card. s. Praxedis.[5]
Io. „ Montisregalis.[6]
Io. s. Sabine card. s. Dionysii.[7]
Io. Ant. card. Alexandr.[8]
B. card. s. + in Jerusalem.[9]
O. episc. Sabinen. card. Neapolit.[10]
Io. „ Portuen. „ s. Angeli.[11]
G. „ Alban. „ Ulixb.[12]
H. „ Prenest. „ Rachanat.[13]
F. card. Senen.[14]
R. s. Georgii Camerarius.[15]
As. Ma. card. Sfortia.
F. card. de Aragonia.
C. s. Marie nove diac. card. Valen.[16] Manu propria subscripsi.
Iul. s. Sergii et Bachi.[17]
D. s. Nicolai inter imag.[18]
A. s. Cosme et Damiani.[19]
B. s. Ciriaci.[20] Collat. L. Podocathar.

[Conc. Regest. 873, f. 361–64. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[4] Lorenzo Cibò.
[5] Ant. Pallavicino.
[6] Juan Borja.
[7] Jean de la Grolaie.
[8] Giov. Antonio Sangiorgio.
[9] B. Carvajal.
[10] O. Caraffa.
[11] Giov. Michiel.
[12] G. Costa.
[13] Girol. Basso della Rovere.
[14] Fr. Piccolomini.
[15] Raffaele Riario.
[16] Cesare Borja.
[17] Giul. Cesarini.
[18] D. Grimani.
[19] A. Farnese.
[20] B. Lunati.

35. Pope Alexander VI. to Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.*

1496, July 24, Rome.

Ut nihil intermitteremus, quod ad Italicam quietem et communia pericula propulsanda pertineret . . . intelligentes car^{mum} in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum Romanorum regem in Italiam adventare, de venerab. fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium consilio dil. filium nostrum B[ernardinum] tit. S. Crucis

* See *supra*, p. 484.

in Hierusalem presbyterum cardinalem nostrum et Apost. Sedis legatum de latere ad prefatum regem destinandum duximus et nunc proficiscenti iniunximus, ut primum nobilitatem tuam adeat sibique quemadmodum federis nostri necessitudo requirit per nos commissa aperiat aliaque nomine nostro eidem nobilitati tuae referat. He may fully trust this Legate.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

36. Letter from an unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio.*

1497, June 17 [Rome].

Heri scripsi alla S^ria^ V. del sinistro caso de la morte del Duca de Gandia, l'autore de la quale fin qui non si sa, ma si conclude luy esser stato gabato da uno che prima parechie volte camufato et scognosciuto li haveva parlato sotto specie come se stima de far li haver qualche cosa electa et che meritasse el pretio alla quale bisognasse andar solo et secreto. . . . El papa in tutto el di de heri non dete audientia a persona, ma stetese solo et serrato in camera. . . .

[Copy in the State Archives, Milan.]

37. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.†

1497, June 19, Rome.

Ill^me^ etc. N. S^re^ ha facto questa mattina consistorio in lo quale cum sapientiss^o^ et gravissimo discorso ha dimonstrato che quantunche il caso del duca di Candia li sia de extremo dolore per la perdita facta et per la qualita de la morte et per lo amore immenso quale gli portava, il quale era magiore che a tucte le altre cose sue coniuncte insieme, nondimeno era per tollerarlo cum paciencia et ringratiare N. S. Dio del tucto existimando che questo successo fusse per il miglio et che N. S. Dio havesse cum questo flagello grandissimo voluto casticare la Sua Sta et advertirla de la fragilita humana et attendere cum paterna cura allo offitio suo pastorale havendoli levato questo, il qual teneva lo intellecto de la B^ne^ Sua offuscato et lo distraheva in diversi desiderii, li quali

* See *supra*, p. 409. † See *supra*, p. 521.

cum questa morte erano tucti finiti in Sua Sta et confessava che la non havea piu carne ne sangue ne parenti ne affecto et che la non curava piu cosa alchuna humana et era proposito suo firmissimo de recognoscere cum le bone opere la visitatione, quale gli havea facto N. S. Dio et attendere cum summo studio et vigilantia al bene de la religione christiana et al honore de questa s. sede et al offitio de bono pontefice ne essere per desiderare o ricerchare piu da li principi o dal sacro collegio cose non juste, honeste et sancte ordinando et comandando alli r^{mi} s^{ri} cardinali che non gli consentessero ne la obedissero mai se non in cose bone et sancte et che similm^{te} non voleva essere ricerchata ne pregata de cose se non licite et honestiss^{e} subgiungendo che per dar principio cum effecto alla bona mente sua la deliberava de attendere cum summa diligentia alla reformatione delle chiesa et allo asetto de lo stato suo temporale per contenerlo in quiete et removere tucti li scandali, alli quali effecti la B^{ne} Sua fece ellectione de sei r^{mi} car^{li} di omne ordine, cioe de doi episcopi li quali sono Napoli et Ulisbona, et di doi preti, quali sono S. Praxeda et lo Alex^{o}, et doi diaconi, quali sono Sena et S. Giorgio, alli quali impose che convenissero sollicat^{te} in palatio et examinassero cum omne solertia tucte quelle cose che ad una sancta reformatione de la chiesa et allo asetto del stato temporale ecclesiastico apartenesse et che la Sua Sta voleva esser la prima reformata ne recusaria alcuna qualita de reformatione et cusi intendeva reformar li altri ne lassare questa reformatione senza una perfecta conclusione et effecto como alchuni altri pontefici, li quali li haveano dato principio et l'haveano lassata et che per lo asetto et pace del stato temporale examinassero tucte le cose necessarie et q^{te} gente darme bisognava tener per che la Sua Sta non mancharia in alchuna parte et expedissero presto il tucto usando molte altre sapientiss^{e} et religiosissime parole de la substantia predicta. Propose poi in fine S. Sta il facto del matrimonio del S. de Pesaro cum la fiola monstrando che li dolesse haverne causa de parlare perche haveria desyderato questo matrimonio fusse stato perpetuo et tochando la Sua Sta che non era consumato epso matrimonio per im[potentia] et obstando anche il matrimonio p^{o} de la fiola ne parendoli che alchu[na] honesta volesse che la cossa stesse in questi termini ne anche parendoli honesto che la Sua B^{ne} ne fusse judice ne havea voluto parlare al sacro

collegio et voleva commectere la causa de iustitia ne la quale se havesse ad procedere sinceram^te^. Alla Ex. V. sempre me racommando. Romæ, XIX Iunii, 1497.

Fr[ater] filius et s^or^ As. Ma. Car^lis^
Sfor. vicec[omes] S. R. E. vice-cancell. etc.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan; erroneously placed under date 1498.]

38. An unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio.*

1497, June 20, Rome.

. . . Sono duy giorni che publicamente se dice l'auctor di questa cosa,† esser stato el fratello del S. de Pesaro; hora non pare chel si creda et sono ci diverse opinione, ma perche ogni discorso et iuditio in questa materia è difficile et periculoso ne laxaro el pensero a chi tocha. El papa in su questo caso dimonstro essersi molto resentito et in tuto disposto ad volere mutare vita et essere un altro homo da quello è stato; è andato in S. Piero et ha disignato di volere fare la tribuna del altare magiore secondo el designo de papa Nicola, ove spenderia meglio de 4^m^ duc^ti^; similmente vol fare uno bel palco a S. Maria Magiore et gia ha sbursati 2^m^ ducati. Preterea heri in consistorio dixe de volere reformare la chiesa nel temporale et spirituale et ad questo effecto elesse VI. cardinali che havessero ad veder le cose reformande et come se havessero ad reformare, li quali furno duy primi vescovi cardinali cioè el card. di Napoli et el card. di Ulixbona, duy primi preti cioè el card. de S Anastasia et el card. Alexandrino, duy primi diaconi cioè el card. de Sena et el card. de S. Giorgio, duy auditori de Rota cioè M. Felino de Ferrara et M. Guglielmo de Pereriis et lo vescovo de Capazo suo secretario, li quali questa matina hano cominciato fare congregatione per questo ad palazo. Preterea luy dixe nel dicto consistorio come luy voleva fare gente darme infin in XL. squadre el non voleva si conducesse nessun barone Romano. Stimasi che fara capitano Gonsalvo Ferrando volenthuomo et veramente da bene e promette de fare molte altre cose laudabile et virtuose; se sia simulatione o inspiratione lo demonstraranno li effecti et l'opere subsequente.

[Copy in State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 500. † Murder of the Duke of Gandia.

39. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.*

1497, June 20, Rome.

Ill^{me} etc. Essendo stata usata diligentiss^{a} investigatione sopra il caso del duca di Candia de bo. memoria non si è sino adhora trovato cosa alcuna certa ne del loco dove sia stato extincto ne per chi mane sia facto. Fu veduto lultima volta passati le 3 hore de notte in uno loco, dove è una croce sopra la via, quale va ad S. M^{a} del populo et ha . . .† uno in croppa col quale era etiam stato veduto in altro loco et credesi si . . . † sotto qualche fictione fraudolente lo habii conducto alla morte . . † si crede sia facta in qualche loco salvaticho propinquo alla croce predicta, perche furno etiam in quelle circumstantie vedute homini a cavallo et a pede quali se tene facessero leffecto; la incertitudine del caso ha generato diverse conjecture essendo stato dicto chel porria esser proceduto de persone offese per causa de femine et anche [è] stato parlato delo ill. duca de Urbino per le cause successe quando se fece lo accordo et è stato dicto delli Ursini per le guerre passate; ci à anche stato nominato el rev car^{le} S. Sanseverino per rispecto delle cose delli Ursini et anche è stato dicto che possevano essere stati homini de casa mia per quello che successe li dì passati della morte de uno homo del duca di Candia et de uno mio balestrero quale fu impiccato; ultimamente fo dicto con qualche affirmatione che era stato lo ill. S. de Pesaro o vero il fratello et che uno depsi doveva esser stato veduto con alcuni cavalli longo da qui XX. miglia et essendo una consuetudine in Cathalonia presertim in Barzelona et Valentia che quando è ferito o morto uno li parenti di quello vano ad ferire et amazare li parenti di quello che ha offeso etiam che in epsi non fusse saputa ne colpa alcuna del delicto et essendo fra el S. de Pesaro et casa nostra el parentato che è, sono proceduto con qualche respecto doppo il caso acio che li parenti et servitori del duca in la acerbita del dolore non havesseno commisso qualche sinistro effecto. Il perche N. S. mi ha facto parlare da alcuni r^{mi} s^{ri} car^{li} con molte paterne et affectionate parole demonstrative del amore che la Sua Sta mi porto et de la cura quale ha havere del bene et salute mia et che da nessuno deli soi, quando bene il caso fusse proceduto dal S^{or} de

* See *supra*, p. 499. † Missing.

. . .* dal fratello, non mi havesse pero ad essere facto se non honore . . .* che venuto ad parlare il mag^co Garcilasso et dicto che per provedere in tucti li modi che la consuetudine de Cathelonia non mi potesse in omne evento far prejudicio li pareva de dovere essere da N. S. et tore la fede de la Sua Sta et come ambasciatore obligarmi anchora la fede deli soi S^mi Re che da nissuno parente ne servitore del duca mi sara facto se non honore, il qual modo è stato adimpito questa matina et se li sono trovati presenti li amb^ri della S^ma lega et del S^mo Re Federico, li quali erano andati per visitare N. S. e questo modo è stato judicato el piu expediente existimandose che quando se intenda la fede de N. S. et delli S^mi Reali de Hispania mi sia obligata, nissuno sia si ardito che facesse desordine dal quale mi pare anche, dovere stare con lo animo piu quieto perche sono poi venute le lettere della Ex. V. et dal r^mo legato, le quali significano come il p^to S. de Pesaro era venito a quella et anche se ha qualche aviso chel fratello non debbe esser partito da Pesaro e benche sia cosa incredibile che ne dal uno ne da laltro fusse reuscito uno facto tanto crudele, nondimeno laudo che epso S^re scrivendo qua demonstri la sincerita sua et del fratello et quanto siano alieni da cose de simile natura significando alla Ex. V. lo esserse intesa la venuta del p^to S^or de la et che il fratello non debbe esser partito da Pesaro ha facto renovare la varieta de le conjecture da unde possi esser nato questo [caso] terribile et tutavia se investiga per trovare il vero. A[lla Ex. V. mi ricoman]do Romae, XX. Junii, 1497.

ASC[ANIUS].

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

40. PAULUS BILIA TO LODOVICO MORO, DUKE OF MILAN.†

1497, June 21, Rome.

Illmo, etc. Heri ‡ N.S. contra la opinione de ogniuno hebbe concistorio dove intervenero tutti li s^ri car^li excepto el s. Vicecancellero. Quello che in epso fu trattato secundo se è inteso è che la Sta Sua con certo preambulo del amore suo cordiale verso el duca de Candia et quanto li havesse passato el core

* Missing.

† See *supra*, p. 503.

‡ More accurately, the day before yesterday, June 19.

questo suo accerbo caso dimonstro ricognoscere le vicisitudine humane et ringratiando Dio de tale cognosimento disse che la dispositione sua era de reformare insieme con la vita sua etiam le cose de la chiesia et attendere in lavenire con summa cura a satisfare al peso qual sustene e per dare principio a questo effecto forno electi sei de li s^ri^ car^li^ cioe Napoli, Ulisbona, Sena, S. Zorzo, Alexandrino, et S. Anastasia et con loro M. Philino et uno altro de li auditori de rotta quali insiemi [*sic*] habbino ad examinare diligentemente tutto quello che a bono et optimo pastore è conveniente et sopra tutto in le cose de iusticia ha dicto volere havere precipua consideratione. El s. Vice-cancellero non ando a questo concistorio per le stranee parole et de mala natura quale erano reuscite da quelli de casa de N.S., del duca et de Valentia e havendone la S. Sua R^ma^ facto fare querela con N. S. excusando el non esser andato sopra questo la Sta Sua dimonstro sentirne displicentia grand^ma^ et cossi fece Valentia et mandorno a pregare Mons. R^o^ chel non volesse risguardare a parole de gente senza rasone et quali sono vincte da passione et dolore. Finito el concistorio vene el rev^mo^ S. Severino et stete circa una hora con el S. V^ro^ fratello. Dopoi venero li m^ci^ oratori Hispano et de V. Ex. quali fecero intender alla R^ma^ S. Sua che N.S. desiderava vederla et parlarli et cossi per satisfarli se prese ordine de andarli hogi, como poi si è facto circa le 19 hore in la quale epso R^mo^ Mon^re^ Vice-cancellero se transferse a palatio accompagnato da tutti li m^ci^ oratori salvo el Venetiano che non cera; arrivati alla camera dove era il pontefice Mons. intro solo et noi altri expectassimo in lanticamera ne prima uscite Mons. che alle 24 hore et con la S^ria^ Sua uscirno li r^ml^ Valentia et Perosa et essendo poi per descender scontro el Borgia col quale Mons. stete etiam un pezo in rasonamento. Arrivati a casa la R^ma^ S. Sua me domando et disse che li rasonamenti havuti con N.S. erano stati longhi ma per la magior parte in lamenti singulti et expressione de excessivo dolore quale sustene N.S per el caso del duca et che havendosi la Sta Sua firmato ne la mente sua de fare reuscire per qualunche modo el divortio tra el S. de Pesaro et mad. Lucretia lo haveva caricato et pregato chel volesse scrivere alla Ex. V. acio che lei sia quello che trovi qualche bone expediente a questa cosa de la quale separatamente Valentia li ha etiam parlato instantissimamente dimonstrando che

senza questo effecto nisuno de loro sia per rippossare mai de animo con dire che facto el divortio el papa la mandara in Hispania, como credo che largamente dovera havere scripto la Sua R. S^ria^. Questo è quanto heri et hogi è accaduto etc. Romae, die XXI Junii, 1497.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

41. Scheme of Reform of Pope Alexander VI.*

[1497, June–July.]

In apostolice sedis specula divina dispositione locati, ut iuxta pastoralis officii ministerium evellenda vellamus et plantanda plantemus, circa reformationem morum toto mentis versamur affectu. Animadvertimus enim mores ipsos sensim ab illa veteri disciplina defluxisse et perfractis sacrorum conciliorum sum-

* See *supra*, p. 514 *seq.* Raynaldus seems in 1497 to have been acquainted with the above document: he, however, makes no precise mention of it. The proposals contained in the scheme for the Reform of the Cardinals were widely circulated in MS.; they may be found in Cod. Capponi, LXXXII, n. 26 (National Library, Florence); in Cod. I. 41 of the Borghese Library (now in the Secret Archives of the Vatican); in Cod. Ottob., 2519 (Vatic. Library); and elsewhere, and they were published by Chr. G. Hoffmann, Nova script. ac monument. collectio, I., 520–522 (Lipsiae, 1731). In 1880, Leonetti, III., 245 *seq.* (*cf.* 213) gave from "un codice della Vaticana," a more precise but by no means adequate account of the whole scheme. By this, no doubt, Cod. Vatic. 3884, f. 73 *seq.* is meant, from which Tangl, 402 *seq.* gives the preface and the proposals in regard to the Chancery. Leonetti has overlooked Hoffmann's publication, and Tangl has failed to notice both Hoffmann's and Leonetti's. Tangl, 402, remarks on the Cod. Vatic. 3884 (which was written at the time of Julius II., see Tangl, p. lxxiii): "The manuscript is often faulty, and in parts is so much injured as to be unintelligible. In such cases the constitutions of former Popes have been used to reconstruct the text, and also parts of the Conclusa from Cod. Vatic. Lat. 3883, may have been employed." I found a much better, possibly the oldest copy of the Scheme of Reform, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Arm. XI, vol. 88, under the title: Reformatio officialium Ro. cur. per Alex. VI. In this volume the pages are not numbered, and it contains a duplicate copy with a few insignificant variations. The concluding formulas and the date are also missing here as in Cod. Vatic. 3884. I reserve the main part of the paper for a future publication, which will be founded on the MS. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and I only give here the interesting introduction which often is quite incomprehensible in Tangl, with the titles of the different parts.

morumque* pontificum priscis et salubribus institutis, quibus libido et avaritia erat cohercita, in licentiam prorupisse non amplius tolerandam; in malum enim prona est natura mortalium et appetitus non semper rationi obtemperat, sed iuxta apostolum mentem captivam populumque ducit in legem peccati. Semper quidem optavimus, ut huiusmodi licentia novis constitutionibus restringeretur, sepe apud felicis recordationis Pium II., Paulum II., Sixtum IIII., et Innocentium VIII., nostros predecessores, dum in minoribus essemus et cardinalatus fungeremur honore, operam dedimus, in principio quoque nostri pontificatus hanc curam cunctis aliis voluimus anteponere; sed difficillimis ex adventu in Italiam carissimi in Christo filii nostri Caroli regis Francorum Christianissimi [cum] exercitu potentissimo negotiis involuti in hunc diem differre coacti sumus. Cepimus autem reformationem a curia nostra Romana, que ex omnibus nationibus Christiane professionis coadunata benevivendi exempla aliis prebere debet. Rem igitur tam sanctam, tam necessariam longo tempore a nobis optatam ad effectum perducere cupientes de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium collegio sex delegimus probatissimos et in primis Deum timentes Oliverium videlicet Sabinensem et Georgium Albanensem episcopos, Antoniottum tituli s. Praxedis et Johannem tituli ss. Nerei et Achillei, presbiteros, Franciscum quoque s. Eustachii et Raphaelem s. Georgii diaconos cardinales, quorum ministerio adiuti consilioque et prudentia freti recensitis omnibus temporum superiorum constitutionibus rerumque et temporum qualitate diligenter pensatis constitutiones et ordinationes infrascriptas, quas constitutionis perpetue vigorem obtinere volumus ac decernimus, auctoritate apostolica edidimus, quas iubemus inviolabiliter observari, ceteris tamen constitutionibus predecessorum nostrorum super his editis in suo robore permansuris.

De summo pontifice et eius familiaribus.
Sermones in capella.
Cantores.
Silentium in capella.
Magistri caeremoniarum.
Servientes episcopo in capella celebranti.

* In the text "sacrorumque" (in both copies).

De honestate cantorum.

Contra magistrum capellae negligentem.

Censor supra palatinos et monitio ad ipsos.

De relationibus consistorialibus pro provisionibus ecclesiarum.

Invocatio Eugenianae et Paulinae contra simoniacos.

Reservationes non dentur.

Coadjutoriae non dentur.

Papa non alienet bona ecclesiae.

De gubernatoribus et castellanis terrarum et arcium ecclesiae.

Pro ecclesiarum provisionibus nihil promittatur principibus.

Episcopus neque privetur neque transferatur contra jura.

De cardinalibus et eorum redditibus.

Dimittant terras et arces ecclesiae.

Invocatio constitutionum Egidii in terris ecclesiae.

Legati resideant et sint biennales.

In conclavi nulla corruptio.

Cardinalis domino temporali veresimiliter affecto non det pro eo votum.

Ludus et venatio cessent.

Familiares LXXX., equitaturae XXX.

Propinae cardinalibus honestae [in the second copy "propinae pro Card. honestae"].

Musici, histriones, adolescentes procul.

Cardinales stent in curia.

Funus cardinalis.

De secretariis. Brevia habeant signaturam in gravibus.

Secretariorum taxa moderata.

Bullae per cameram non passim expediantur.

Datarius non fiat ante data.

Compositiones.

Supplicationes simul signatae [in the second copy "mittantur" is added].

Si est signata alterius supplicatio datarius et referendarius non petant.

Solum datet.

Non extrahantur ex fillia.

Generalia de officialibus. Nihil ultra taxam exigatur.

Laicis non dentur officia rem divinam concernentia.

Officia rem divinam concernentia [in the second copy "non vendantur" is added].

Officiales palatii testificentur libere.

Officia inutilia.

Gubernator.

Auditor camerae.

Ordinationes in curia.

Notarius ordinantis.

Ordinandus.

Supplicationes ordinandorum.

Fabrica basilice principis apost.

Non passim absolvendos violatores ecc^cae^ libertatis.

Expectativae.

Reservationes superius dictae contra episcopos desertores.

Contra concubinarios.

Bona naufragii nemo occupet.

Annona urbis copiosa.

Contra extractiones frumentarias.

Religiones.

Contra apostatas.

Graduationes de licentia.

Professio infantium nulla.

Cardinalis non sit consiliarius principum.

Oratores annales.

Officiales non sit oratores.

Decimae principibus non concedendae.

Paenae juris in premissis salvae.

Regulae signaturae gratiae.

Ad incompatibilia et uniones.

Commenda.

Monasteria.

Uniones perpetuae.

Derogatio juris patronatus.

Regulae immobiles.

Testamenta pia non mutentur.

Stent requisita a fundatoribus.

Fructus in absentia.

Cum illegitimi. [Cum illegitimis scil. filiis presbyterorum et aliis illegitime natis nunquam dispensetur nisi. . . .]

Nulli detur altare portatile nisi sit qualificatus et tunc per bullam.

Facultas absolvendi in casibus episcopis reservatis omnibus firmiter denegetur.

Pensiones.

Monasteria non extinguantur.

Observantia non sit coacta.

Pro volentibus apostatare nihil detur, neque * monialibus claustrum horrentibus.

Gratificatio nulli neque regressus.

Coadjutoriae.

Regulae signaturae justitiae.

Commissiones beneficiales Rota tantum.

Commissio rejecta non reproponatur.

Extra signaturam non porrigantur papae commissiones.

Quatenus tollatur jus quesitum.

Proemium cancellariae cum membris suis.

Constitutionum innovatio.

Exordium ad X. additiones Alexandri VI.

Innovatio constitutionum rotae.

De auditoribus qui vel patres sunt vel fratrem seu patrem habentibus.

Per episcopatum desinat esse auditor.

Auditores non sint oratores.

Favoribus non assumantur [scil. auditores]

Stipendia auditoribus.

Non tarda subscriptio neque propinae inhonestae.

Registra custodiantur.

Registra non edantur, scribant notarii.

Stent auditores domi.

Commendationes potentum postergent.

Auditores non litigent.

Contra rapinas notariorum et eos qui causas venantur.

Merces tabelliorum moderata.

Scribant per se ipsos notarii.

Juramentum paupertatis.

Notarii Rotae resideant.

Non paciscantur pro quota litis emendo causas.

* At "neque," a new heading.

Sine licentia Rotae nullus in ea procuret.
Registrum Supplicationum.
Additiones Alexandri VI.
De officio custodis cancellariae.
Corrector cancellariae.
Protonotarii participantes.
Abbreviatores de prima visione.
Abbreviatores de parco maiori.
Scriptores cancellariae.
Sollicitatores.
Magistri registri bullarum.
Magistri plumbi.
Barbati.
Secretarii cardinalium et vice-cancellarii.
Conservator constitutionum cancellariae.
Poenitentiaria.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. V.

Acciaiuoli, Zanobi, 202.
Adorno, Caterina Fieschi, St., 88.
Aegidius of Viterbo, 131, 173, 270.
Agazzari, Stefano, St., 86.
d'Albergati, Niccolò, Cardinal, Bishop of Bologna, 84, 86.
Alberici, Maria degli, St., 87.
Albert, King of Poland, 416.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 17, 72, 73, 104, 113, 120, 199.
,, Niccolò degli, 61.
Alberto de Cataneo, 341.
,, da Sarteano, 175.
d'Albret, Alain, 298.
Albrici, Maddalena, St., 87.
Alemannus, Jacopo, St., 88.
d'Alessandro, Antonio, 409, 422.
Alexander VI., Pope, 4, 42, 44, 54, 63, 85, 90, 98, 124, 170, 187, 212, 231, 235–238, 263, 315, 335, 362, 365–367, 378, 383–385, 385–398, 402, 405–431, 435–438, 450, 453, 454, 457–461, 464–471, 474, 475, 482–487, 490–508, 512–514, 518–522.
,, Bishop of Forli, 55.
Alfonso of Calabria, King of Naples, 116, 235, 249–252, 256, 259, 261, 263, 286, 412, 421–423, 425, 427, 430, 435, 437, 441, 442, 461, 462, 469.
Alidosi, Francesco, Cardinal, 171.
Allegretti, Allegretto, 89.
Allosio, Enrico de, Cardinal, 84.
d'Alviano, Bartolomea, 489.
,, Bartolomeo, 149, 489.
Amadeo, B., 87.
Amideus, Jerome, 159.
Andrea of Modena, St., 87.
,, Montereale, B., 87.
,, Peschiera, B., 87.
,, Trebizond, 330.
Angela Felix, B., 87.
Angelico da Fiesole, B., 81, 87, 98.
Angelina, B., 86.
,, di Corbara, St., 58.
Angelo of Chivasso, B., 88.
,, d'Orte, Bishop, 296.
Anhalt, Prince of, 444.
Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, 286, 298.
Antoniasso, Romano, 54, 243.
Antoninus, St., Archbishop of Florence, 28, 29, 34, 40, 57, 84, 87, 98, 112, 113, 173.
Antonio ab Ecclesia, B., 87.

Antonio of Bitonto, 175.
,, Rimini, 175.
,, Stronconio, B., 87.
,, Vercelli, 102, 151, 175.
d'Aragon, Francesco, 255.
,, Giovanni, Cardinal, 236–238, 253, 355.
,, Luigi, 285, 286, 318.
Arbues, Pedro, St., 346.
Archangelo of Calatafimi, B., 87.
Archimboldi, Cardinal, 247, 355.
Ariosto, 120–123, 132, 139, 151.
Arles, Archbishop of, *see* Cibò, Niccolò.
Arlotti, 235, 236.
Arrivabene, Giov. Pietro, 330, 352.
Attavanti, Paolo, 176.
d'Aubusson, Pierre, Cardinal, 297, 298, 355.
Aversa, Gasparo, Count of, 402.

Babenberg, St. Leopold of, 339.
Baccio da Montelupo, 200.
Baglione, Giampaolo, 114, 165.
,, Family of, 274, 284.
Bajazet, Sultan, 289, 291, 294, 297, 303, 311, 313, 316, 428.
Baldini, Baccio, 200.
Balue, Jean de La, Cardinal, 260, 263, 268, 276, 277, 283, 298, 354, 362, 368.
Bandello, 119, 173.
Barbaro, Ermolao, 335.
,, Francesco, 30.
Barbo, Ludovico, 173.
,, Marco, Cardinal, 85, 232, 234–238, 330, 335, 362.
Barletta, Gabriele, 106, 132, 151, 176.
Barotti, Odino, B., 86.
Barozzi, Pietro, Bishop of Cividale, 84, 334.
Bartolomeo di Spina, 159.
Baschi, Perron de, 286, 412, 414.
Bassand, Giovanni, 87.
Basso, Girolamo della Rovere, Cardinal, 384.
Beccadelli, 119.
Becchi, Gentile, 394.
Becchietta, 7.
Belcari, Feo, 14, 15, 47, 51, 52.
Bellacci, Tommaso, 86.
Bellini, Gentile, 37.
,, Giovanni, 79.
Bembo, Pietro, 142.
Benedetto, Fra, 200, 434.
,, da Majano, 7, 73.
,, da Rovezzano, 75, 76.
Benincesa, St., 86.
Benivieni, Girolamo, 47.
Bentivoglio, Giovanni, 90, 110.
Bernaldez, André, 510.
Bernardino, Pietro, 215, 216.
,, of Bustis, 175.
,, da Feltre, B., 41, 88, 109–111, 175, 177.
,, of Siena, 86, 101, 106, 112, 132, 151, 175, 177.
,, di Mastro, Antonio, 54.
Bernardo of Scammaca, B., 88.
Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, 292.
Bertini, Antonio, 84.
Bertoni, Giacomo Filippo, B., 87.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 84, 153.
Bibbiena, Cardinal, 124, 157.
Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 12, 19, 31, 108.
Biondo, Gasparo, 330, 352.
Boccaccio, G., 119, 134.
,, Giov. Andrea, Bishop of Modena, 379, 398.

Bocciardo, Giorgio, 428, 440.
Bojardo, 120.
Bolognini, Antonio, Bishop of Foligno, 47.
Bon, Bartolomeo, 38.
Bonaventura, Fra, 224.
Boniface IX., Pope, 59.
Bonimperto, Matteo, 84.
Bonvisi, Giovanni, B., 13, 87.
Borgia, Family of, 114, 521, 522.
,, Cæsar, Cardinal, Bishop of Valencia, 4, 98, 101, 163, 170, 363–365, 396, 398, 399, 403, 404, 408, 414, 416, 417, 425, 450, 453, 454, 457, 462, 493, 503, 508–512, 519, 520.
,, Girolama, 364.
,, Jofré, 363, 365, 399, 408, 412, 423, 425, 508, 513.
,, Juan, Duke of Gandia, 363, 413, 414, 425, 487–491, 493–512, 520, 522.
,, Juan, Cardinal, Archbishop of Monreale, 396, 398, 423, 425, 454.
,, Juan, Cardinal, 492, 493.
,, Lucrezia, 91, 363, 365, 399–402, 410, 505, 514, 520–522.
,, Pedro Luis, 364.
,, Rodrigo, Cardinal, *see* Alexander VI.
Borsiano, Luca, Bishop of Foligno, 316.
Botticelli, Sandro, 198, 200, 201.
Bottuni, Trojano de', 267.
Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal, 355.
Bourchier, Thomas, Cardinal, 355.
Bourdeilles, Elias de, Cardinal, 85.
Bramante, Donato, 74, 76.
Bresse, M. de, 469.
Briçonnet, Cardinal, 455, 459.
Brochardo, Antonio, 157.
Brognolus, F., 391, 454.
Brunellesco, 52, 61, 62, 69–71.
Buggiano, 71.
Buonarotti, *see* Michael Angelo.
Buonfigli, Benedetto, 39.
Burchard, Jakob, 129, 237, 238, 411, 446, 448, 450, 496, 519.
Buti, Lucrezia, 197.

Cagnalo, Niccolò, 400.
Cajetani, Francesco, 84.
Cajetano, Cardinal, 85.
Calafata, Eustochia, 88.
Calandrini, Filippo, Cardinal, 241.
Calixtus III., Pope, 64, 84, 233, 362, 392, 395, 397.
Cambi, Ser., 119.
Cammelli, Antonio, 474.
Canale, Carlo, 363.
Caoursin, Guilleaume de, 302.
Capello, Paolo, 509.
Capistrano, Giovanni, St., 87, 175.
Capranica, Angelo, Cardinal, 85.
,, Domenico, Cardinal, 84.
Caraffa, Alessandro, Archbishop of Naples, 84, 422.
,, Giovanni Pietro, 84.
,, Oliviero, Cardinal, 85, 327, 378–381, 384, 418, 452, 454, 514, 515.
Carpaccio, 38.
Carrieri, Matteo, B., 87.
Carvajal, Bernaldino Lopez de, Cardinal, 84, 328, 377, 387, 416, 469, 484.

Castellani, Castellano, 47.
Castellano, Pierozzo, 52.
Castiglione, Baldassaro, 32, 116, 120.
Castro, Juan de, Cardinal, 492.
Catanei, Tommaso, Bishop of Cervia, 250.
Cataneis, Vanozza dei, 131, 363, 365, 493.
Caterina of Pallanza, B., 87.
Catherine of Bologna, St., 87.
,, of Siena, St., 59, 90, 212.
,, of Sweden, St., 339.
Cattaneo, Alberto de, 341.
Centelles, Juan de, 402.
Cerretani, 190, 214.
Cerveriis, Bartolomeo de, B., 87.
Cesarini, Giuliano, Cardinal, 84, 416, 452.
Charles VIII., King of France, 5, 190, 212, 260, 261, 276, 278, 286, 294, 295, 297, 298, 310, 378, 414, 416, 421–423, 425–428, 431–453, 455–472, 474, 475, 482, 515.
Cheregato, Lionello, Bishop of Traù, 293–295, 297, 483.
Chigi, Agostino, 130.
Cibò, Family of, 239, 270.
,, Aran, 239.
,, Battistina, 285, 286, 318.
,, Franceschetto, 240, 265, 269, 270, 274, 282, 299, 300, 352, 354, 405.
,, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, *see* Innocent VIII.
,, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 323, 355, 384, 450.
,, Maurizio, 274.
,, Niccolò, Archbishop of Arles, 316.
,, Teodorina, 240, 285.
Ciuffagni, 70.
Civitali, 73–75.
Clement VII., *see* Medici, Cardinal Giulio de'.
Coleta, St., 86.
Collenuccio, Pandolfo, 442, 492.
Colomba of Rieti, B., 59, 88.
Colonna, Family of, 229, 232, 237, 246–248, 257, 281, 406, 421, 427, 430, 431, 436, 437, 441, 445, 463, 483, 494, 503.
,, Fabrizio, 231, 379, 425, 427, 451, 498.
,, Francesco de, 256.
,, Giovanni, Cardinal, 231, 236, 237, 257, 268, 383, 412, 451, 455.
,, Prospero, 231, 379, 427, 445, 451, 504.
,, Vittoria, 33.
Columbus, Christopher, 57, 321.
Commines, Philippe de, 116, 437, 455–457, 466.
Conradino, B., 86.
Contarini, Antonio, 117.
,, Gasparo, 159.
,, Zaccaria, 432.
Conti, G., Cardinal, 234, 235, 384, 419.
,, Giacomo, 232.
,, Sigismondo de', 247, 283, 302, 305, 310, 313, 320, 323, 330, 338, 352, 386, 417, 437, 463, 465.
Contughi, Cesario de', 176.
Corneto, Adriano, 144–146.
Corniola, Giovanni delle, 200.
Correggio, 198.
Cortesius, Paul, 143.
Corvinus, Mathias, King of Hungary, 255, 262, 273, 275, 289, 296, 310, 336.
Cosmico, Niccolò, 133, 136.
Costa, Giorgio, Cardinal, 235, 236, 316, 328, 377–381, 384, 419, 514, 515.

Credi, Lorenzo di, 200.
Cristoforo di Castrano (*alias* Magrino), 303, 304.
,, of Milan, B., 87.
Croce, Giorgio de, 363.
Cronaca, 200.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 84.

Daniello da Venezia, B., 86.
Dante, 57.
Dati, Agostino, 30.
,, Antonio, 54.
,, Giuliano, 52.
Datini, Francesco, 13.
Delfino, Pietro, 358, 391, 513.
Demetrius Chalkondylas, 356.
Domenica of Urbino, B., 88.
Domenichi, Domenico dei, 149.
Domenico of Arignano, 363.
,, of Viterbo, 351.
Dominic, St., 112.
Dominici, Cardinal, 47.
,, Giovanni, B., 13, 25–29, 86, 120, 176.
Donatello, 69–71, 197, 199.
Donato, Niccolò, 335.
Doria, Lazzaro, 256.
Dorothea of Marienwerder, 340.
Dschem, Prince, 275, 282, 294, 297–304, 306–313, 317, 428, 437, 448, 453, 457, 465.
Duglioli, Elena dall' Olio, B., 88.

Eck, John, 65.
Erasmus, 138, 171.
Ercolano of Plagario, B., 86.
Eroli, Bertrand, Cardinal, 85.
Espinay, André de', Cardinal, 355.
d'Este, Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, 115, 123.
,, Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, 115, 122, 216, 434, 442.
d'Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, Bishop of Gran, 115, 170, 336, 337, 416, 417.
,, Isabella, 123.
d'Estouteville, Cardinal, 362.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 42, 43, 58, 62, 84, 94.
Eustachio, Fra, 200.

Faber, Felix, 174.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul III.), 416, 417.
,, Giulia, 410, 417, 444.
Fedele, Cassandra, 33.
Federigo of Aragon, King of Naples, 405, 407, 412, 413, 431, 435, 493, 495, 519.
Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, 260, 263, 289, 314, 315, 338, 346, 411, 416, 456, 462, 466, 475, 502.
,, of Aragon, Prince of Capua, 285–287, 430, 446–448, 462, 463, 474, 482, 483, 488.
Ferretti, Gabriele, 87.
Ferrante, King of Naples, 4, 115, 249–255, 264, 265, 267–269, 272–286, 290, 298, 311, 314, 315, 340, 378, 379, 381, 392, 393, 404, 405, 407–410, 412, 414–416, 418, 420, 421, 469.
Ferrucci, 75, 200.
Fiammetta, 131.
Fiandini, Ambrogio, 159.
Ficino, Marsilio, 153–155.
Fiera, Bartolomeo, 159.
Fieschi, Obbietto, 248.
Filarete, Antonio, 62, 199.

Filippino, Fra, 81, 201.
Filippo d' Aquila, St., 87.
Florez, Antonio, 293, 297.
Foppa, B., 7.
Foresta, Bartolomeo, B., 88.
Foscari, Pietro, Cardinal, 355.
Francesca of Mantua, B., 88.
,, Romana, St., 59, 86.
Franceschi, Piero degli, 38.
Francesco of Caldarola, B., 88.
,, da Meleto, 221.
,, da Montepulciano, 219, 220.
,, di Paolo, St., 88, 98.
Francia, Francesco, 90.
François de Luxemburg, 469.
Frederick III., Emperor, 260, 279, 289, 291, 296–305, 339.
Frederick Casimir, Cardinal, Archbishop of Cracow, 416.
Fregoso, Paolo, Cardinal, 380, 398, 419, 470.
Fuchsmagen, Johann, 329.
Fulcheri, Damiano, B., 87.

Galateo, Antonio, 138, 139.
Gambacorti, Chiara, B., 86.
,, Pietro, B., 86.
Gambara, Veronica, 33.
Ganay, M. de, 459, 460.
Garibi, Girolamo, B., 88.
Gemma of Sulmona, B., 86.
Gerace, Marquess of, 422.
Geraldi, Giglio Gregorio, 125.
Geremia, Pietro, B., 87.
Gherardi, Jacopo, 269.
Gherardo, Maffeo, Cardinal, 356, 376, 385.
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 69–72, 96.
,, Vittorio, 72.
Ghirlandajo, 197.
Giacomo da Volterra, 330.
,, di San Genesio, 248.
Giorgio, Giovanni Antonio de S., Cardinal, 416, 454, 515.
Giorgio de Croce, 363.
Giovanna, Abbess, 198.
Giovanni da Empoli, 23.
,, ,, Montecatini, 136.
,, ,, Napoli, 176.
,, ,, Prato, 175.
,, di Bartolo, 70.
Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio, 125.
Giuliano da Majano, 72, 73.
Giulio Romano, 45.
Giustiniani, Lorenzo, St., Patriarch of Venice, 41, 47, 84, 87, 173.
Gonsalvo de Cordova, 482, 491.
Gonzaga, Family of, 116.
,, Cecilia, 33.
,, Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, 301, 326, 472, 473.
,, Sigismondo, Cardinal, 171.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 7, 197.
Gratiano da Villanova, 291.
Griffi, Pietro, Bishop of Forli, 84.
Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal, 416.
Grolaie, Jean Villier de la, Cardinal, 376, 416, 452, 469, 470.
Guicciardini, 4, 392.
Guido de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne, 298–300.
Guidobaldi, Duke of Urbino, 483, 488–491, 497, 498.
Guzzoni, Boccolino, 262, 266, 291, 294.

Harff, Arnold von, 55.
Haro, Diego Lopez de, 411.
Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, 295.
Hieronymus of Bergamo, 216.
,, Siena, 222–224.
Hugonet, Philibert, Cardinal, 355.

Iloris, Francesco, Cardinal, 170.

Imperia, 130.
Infessura, 243, 325, 350, 359, 389, 407, 411.
Innocent III., Pope, 42, 43.
„ VI., „ 233.
„ VII., „ 58, 239.
„ VIII., „ 42–43, 54, 55, 93, 98, 111, 112, 123, 153, 170, 232, 236–242, 243–254, 258–270, 272–291, 293, 297–300, 303–313, 315–332, 336–343, 345, 347–350, 352–355, 357, 358, 365, 375, 376, 387, 422.
Institoris, Heinrich, 348.
Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Spain, 260, 456, 466.
Ivani, Antonio, 30.

Jacopo da Bergamo, 12.
„ da Bitetto, B., 88.
„ da Pietrasanta, 325.
„ da Volterra, 352, 366.
„ della Marca, St., 87, 175, 340.
James of Portugal, Cardinal, 84.
John II., King of Portugal, 338.
„ IX., Abbot of Citeaux, 340.
Jovius, Paul, 143.
Julius II., *see* Rovere, Cardinal Giulano della.

La Balue, *see* Balue.
Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, 310, 341, 404, 416.
La Grolaie, *see* Grolaie.
Lamberti, Niccolò, 69.
Landini, Cristoforo, 149.
Landucci, Luca, 19–21.
Lapaccino, Filippo, Fra, 200.
Lendinari, 73.
Leo X., *see* Medici, Cardinal Giovanni de'.
Leonardo da Vinci, 80.
Leopold, St., *see* Babenberg.
Licci, Giovanni, B., 88.
Lippi, Aurelio Brandolino, 176.
„ Filippino, 327, 401.
„ Filippo, Fra, 173, 197.
Lombardi, Natulo, 84.
Lopez, Juan, Cardinal, 445, 492.
Loredano, Antonio, 133.
Lorenzi, Giovanni, 330.
Lorenzo da Pietrasanta, 324.
Louis of Orleans, 435.
Louis XI., King of France, 94, 251, 356.
Lucia of Narni, B., 59.
Lunati, Bernardino, Cardinal, 416, 445, 452, 458, 459, 488, 503.
Luther, Martin, 65, 171.

Macconi, Agostino dei, 200.
Machiavelli, 4, 23, 98, 100, 124, 125, 137, 159–169, 221.
Macinghi-Strozzi, Alessandra, 12, 105, 127.
Maggi, Sebastiano, B., 88.
Magistri, Johannes, 295.
Magrino, *see* Cristoforo di Castrano.
Maino, Giason del, 394.
Malatesta, Family of, 114.
„ Roberto, B., 86.
„ Sigismondo, 98, 101, 137, 199.
Maldente, Francesco, 351.
Malipiero, 523.
Manfredi, Family of, 114.
„ Galeotto, 273.
„ of Riva, Hermit, 86.
Mansi, Pietro, Bishop of Cesena, 305.

Mantegna, Marquess of, 473.
„ Andrea, 7, 198, 301, 325–327.
Marco of Modena, B., 88.
Margaret of Burgundy, 286.
Margherita of Ravenna, B., 88.
„ of Savoy, B., 87.
Mari, Teodorina de', 240.
Maria Enriquez of Aragon, 364, 413, 511.
Mariano, Fra, 183.
Marsciano, Angela di, St., 86.
Marsus, Petrus, 329.
Martin V., Pope, 58, 62, 84, 94, 111.
Martini Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 492.
Martino di Brozzi, 214.
„ of Vercelli, B., 88.
Maruffi, Silvestro, Fra, 193.
Marullus, 138.
Masaccio, Angelo, B., 87.
Masiis, Latimus de, 389.
Massimi, Domenico de', 477.
Masuccio, 119.
Matteo da Girgenti, B., 86.
Maximilian I., Emperor, 276, 278, 279, 286, 291, 295, 296, 305, 310, 311, 416, 421, 427, 444, 456, 465, 466, 475, 483, 484–486, 501.
Mazzoni, Guido, 79.
Medici, Family of, 19, 116, 190, 195, 209, 270, 438, 439.
„ Cosimo de', 92, 191.
„ Giovanni de', Cardinal (afterwards Leo X.), 44, 45, 58, 63, 85, 112, 124, 149, 155, 157, 217, 219, 222, 225, 270, 356–358, 384, 398, 438.
„ Giulio de', Cardinal (afterwards Clement VII.), 45, 157, 222.
Medici, Lorenzo de', 4, 20, 33, 47, 51, 52, 92, 105, 111, 116, 135, 164, 186, 187, 255, 266, 269, 270, 272, 273, 275, 283, 317, 330, 338, 343, 356–361.
„ Maddalena de', 265, 270.
„ Nannina de', 105.
„ Piero de', 392, 394, 405, 407, 437, 438, 439.
Mendoza, Pedro Gonzales (Gundisalvo) de, Cardinal, 85, 379.
Mari, Teodorina dei, 240.
Michele da Carcano, 175.
„ da Milano, 102, 106, 132.
Michael Angelo Buonarotti, 76, 79, 133, 200, 201, 221, 376.
Michele di Barga, B., 87.
Michelozzo, 71, 72.
Micheli, Giovanni, Cardinal, 263, 334, 335, 380, 384.
Mino da Fiesole, 73, 74.
Mirabilia, Ambrosius, 392.
Mirandola, *see* Pico della.
Mocenigo, Pietro, Doge of Venice, 117.
Moles, Cardinal, 234, 235, 237, 247, 355.
Montefeltre, Family of, 116.
Montorio, Count, 251.
Montpensier, 468, 483, 484.
Morelli, Giovanni, 15–17.
Moreno, Bartolomeo, 319.
Morton, John, Cardinal, 416, 469, 471.
Mugello, Agostino di Paolo del, 200.

Nanni d' Antonio di Banco, 69.
Nardini, Stefano, Cardinal, 85, 234, 247, 355.

Neyrot, Antonio, B., 87.
Nicholas V., Pope, 19, 58, 63, 95, 233, 499.
Nider, Johannes, 347.
Nifo, Agostino, 159.
Nogarola, Isotta, 33.

Oddi, Family of, 274.
Ogliati, Girolamo, 100.
d'Oldo, Jacopo, 86.
Oliva, Alessandro, Cardinal, 85.
Orsi, Checho, 272.
Orsini, Family of, 230, 231, 235–237, 246–248, 254, 267, 406, 407, 424, 447, 487–491, 494–497, 498, 503–512.
,, Bartolomeo, 149.
,, Battista, Cardinal, 238, 247, 258, 290, 362, 368, 382, 398, 452–454.
,, Carlo, 490.
,, Giovanni Giordano, 488.
,, Giulio, 446, 490.
,, Niccolò, Count of Pitigliano, 276, 283, 424, 446.
,, Paolo, 259.
,, Rinaldo, Archbishop of Florence, 255.
,, Virginio, 230, 232, 236, 257–259, 264, 267, 282, 283, 379, 393, 405–408, 413, 415, 421, 422, 430, 436, 444, 482, 484, 487, 488.
Orsolina da Parma, B., 86.
Osanna of Mantua, B., 59, 88.

Pacifico da Ceredano, B., 87.
Polazzi, Lazzaro de', 62.
Pallavicini, Antoniotto, Cardinal, 356, 383, 454, 515.
Pandolfini, Niccolò, 84, 279.
Pandone, Camillo, 379.
Panezio, Battista, 176.
Paolo, Domenico di, 200.
,, Romano, 72.
Particappa, Mariano, 54.
Passarella, Jacopo, 84.
Paul II., Pope, 43, 85, 94, 109, 112, 136, 151, 170, 233, 241, 322, 339, 387.
Paul III., 149.
Pechinolli, Angelo, 337.
Peraudi, Raymond, Cardinal, 85, 291, 292, 295, 296–304, 416, 443, 452, 454, 457, 458, 461, 492.
Perugino, 7, 200, 201, 243, 327.
Petrarch, 99, 142, 148.
Petrucci, Antonello, 115.
,, Pandolfo, 114, 198.
Philip of Luxemburg, Cardinal, 460.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius, *see* Pius II.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 235, 243, 274, 378–381, 384, 436, 438, 493, 515.
Pico della Mirandola, Antonio Maria, 497.
,, Federigo, 216.
,, Gian Francesco, 216.
,, Giovanni, 151, 154, 342–344, 389.
,, Lodovico, 216.
Piero di Cosimo, 6, 198.
Pietro Lombardo, 74.
,, of Molino, B., 88.
Pinelli, Battista, 84.
Pinturicchio, Bernardino, 325–328.
Pitigliano, Count of, *see* Orsini, Niccolò.

Pitti, Jacopo, 219.
Pius II., Pope, 43, 58, 84, 93–95, 109, 112, 114, 148, 233, 323, 362, 387.
„ III., Pope, 98, 149.
„ VI., „ 326.
Plethon, Gemistos, 152, 153.
Podio, Auxias de, Cardinal, 85.
Podocatharo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 248.
Poggio, Antonio, 119, 152, 197.
Poliziano, Angelo, 133, 183, 190, 329, 330, 356.
Pollajuolo, Antonio, 7, 321, 325.
Pomponazzi, Pietro, 156–159.
Pomponius Laetus, 122, 133, 139.
Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, 115, 120, 134, 138–140, 150, 264, 284, 315, 379.
Pontelli, Baccio, 73, 74, 323.
Porcaro, Stefano, 100.
Porta, Ardicino della, Cardinal, 355, 356, 377, 378–381, 384.
„ Fra Bartolomeo della, 81, 197, 200, 201.
Portius, Hieronymus, 388.
Potenza, Count of, 422.
Prato, Francesco de', 200.
Publio, Gregorio, 140.
Pulci, Antonia de', 33.
„ Antonio, 52.
„ Bernardo, 52, 99.
„ Luigi, 117, 135.

Quercia, Jacopo della, 69, 70, 199.

Rangoni, Gabriele, Cardinal, 85, 355.
Rappaccioli, Benincasa, B., 86.
Raphael Sanzio, 7, 79, 80, 96, 151.
Raffaele da Volterra, 356.
Ravida, Lodovico, B., 88.
Renata of Valois, 123.
René, Duke of Lorraine, 260, 263.
Riario, Family of, 271.
„ Caterina, 229, 230, 231, 271.
„ Girolamo, 229, 230, 232, 235, 236, 271, 272.
„ Ottaviano, 271.
„ Pietro, Cardinal, 105.
„ Raffaele, Cardinal, 123, 230, 232, 237, 238, 272, 315, 354, 362, 375, 384, 515.
Riccio, Andrea, 199.
Rienzo, Cola de', 100.
Rita di Cascia, B., 87.
Robbia, Giovanni della, 201.
„ Luca della, 62, 71, 72.
Roberto da Lecce, 84, 101, 106, 113, 132, 149, 151, 173, 175, 177–179.
Rodericus de Sancta Ella, 172.
Rosellino, Bernardo, 71.
Roverella, Cardinal, 85.
Rovere, Domenico della, Cardinal, 237, 380, 384, 471.
„ Giovanni della, 237, 242, 424, 491.
„ Giuliano della, Cardinal (afterwards Julius II.), 43, 44, 45, 58, 85, 96, 98, 112, 124, 139, 141, 171, 200, 225, 231, 232, 237–242, 250, 252, 257, 260–263, 266, 267, 283, 316, 319, 326–328, 362, 367–369, 377–381, 384, 398, 405–409, 412, 413, 415, 418, 419, 421, 423–426, 431, 432, 434, 442, 451, 454, 456–458, 461, 467, 470, 491, 502.
Rucellai, Bernardo, 19, 105.

Rucellai, Giovanni, 17–19.
„ Pandolfo, 19, 202.
„ Rugio, Abbot, 408.

SALUTATI, Benedetto, 105.
Sancia, Daughter of Alfonso of Calabria, 412, 414, 425, 513.
Sandonius, Niccolò, 84.
Sanese, Matteo, 70.
Sangallo, Antonio da, 45, 63.
„ Giuliano da, 74, 75, 406.
Sannazaro, Jacopo, 139, 141.
Sanseverino, Federigo, Cardinal, 356, 368, 376, 384, 444, 445, 447, 452, 497, 498.
„ Roberto, 250, 256–258, 261.
Sansovino, Andrea, 201.
„ Jacopo, 76.
Sanuto, 133, 442, 483.
Santa Croce, Family of, 179.
Sarto, Andrea del, 39.
Savelli, Family of, 421, 436, 441.
„ Bernardino, 272.
„ Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, 231, 236, 237, 247, 257, 263, 268, 282, 362, 380, 383, 398, 412, 451, 454, 457.
„ Piero Giovanni de', 256.
„ Sylvio, 509.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 81, 93, 94, 111, 181–197, 200–214, 371, 434, 438, 439, 472, 481, 502.
Schedel, Hartmann, 395.
Sclafenati, Cardinal, 362, 384, 476, 520.
Scopelli, Giovanna, B., 88.
Serafina of Pesaro, B., 87.
Sermini, Gentili, 119
Sforza, Ascanio, Cardinal, 236–238, 247, 260, 285, 362, 366–368, 377, 380–382, 391, 392, 396, 398, 402, 405, 406, 408–412, 415, 418, 423, 426, 427, 431, 436, 442, 445, 448, 450, 451, 454–456, 458, 459, 471, 493, 497–504, 508, 520, 521.
„ Bianca, 421.
„ Caterina, 91, 435.
„ Francesco, Duke of Milan, 4.
„ Gabriele, 84.
„ Galeazzo, 499.
„ Giovanni of Pesaro, 402, 410, 497, 499, 504–506, 508, 509, 520–522.
„ Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, 110, 404, 435.
„ Lodovico il Moro, 4, 236, 276, 280, 391, 394, 404, 406, 408, 412, 414, 421, 425, 431, 434, 435, 441, 456, 475, 521.
„ Ottaviano, Bishop of Lodi, 435.
Signorelli, Luca, 198.
Silvestro da Siena, 175.
Sinibaldi, Falcone de', 323.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 42, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 85, 93, 109, 112, 149, 152, 170, 172, 229, 231, 232, 233, 235, 241, 250, 268, 314, 334, 339, 356, 365, 367, 387.
Soranzo, 117.
Spagnolo, Battista, 141.
Sprenger, Jakob, 348.
Strasciano da Siena, 130.
Strozzi, P., B., 329.

Sture, Sten, 396.

Taberna, Stefano, 423.
Tavelli, Giovanni, B., Bishop of Ferrara, 86.
Tintoretto, 38.
Titian, 38.
Tomacelli, Family of, 239.
Tornabuoni, Lorenzo, 21.
,, Lucrezia, 33, 47.
Torquemada, Cardinal, 41, 43, 84.
Toscanelli, Paolo, 149.
Trapezuntius, Andreas, 352.
Trithemius, 292, 293.
Trivulzio, Gianjacopo, 216, 264, 266, 268.
Turini, 71, 72.
Turriani, Antonio, B., 88.
Tuttavilla, Girolamo, 354.

Urbino, P. Paolo, 202.
Urceus, Codrus, 137.
Usodimare, Gherardo, 285.

Valentini, Elena, 87.
Valla, Lorenzo, 98, 119, 135, 136, 139.
Valle, Family of della, 179.
Varano, Giulio Cesare, 276.
Varchi, 61, 169.
Vasari, 198, 325–327.
Vecchietta, 71, 73, 74.
Vega, Garcilasso de la, 501.
Vegio, Maffeo, 30.
Veronica da Binasco, St., 88.
Verrocchio, 73, 74, 199.
Vespucci, Giorgio, 202.
Vettori, Francesco, 119, 160.
Vicentino, Pietro, Bishop of Cesena, 268.
Vincenzo of Aquila, B., 88.
Visconti, Cristina, B., 87.
Vitale of Bastia, B., 88.
Vitelli, Paolo, 149.
,, Vitellozzo, 91, 490.
Viti, Timoteo, 29.
Vittorino da Feltre, 29.

William I., Margrave of Hesse, 328.

Ximenes, Francis, Cardinal, 85.

Zacchi, Gasparo, 84.
Zanino de Solcia, 136.
Zeno, Battista, Cardinal, 378, 381, 384.
Zerbi, Gabrielle, 329.
Zorgi, Girolamo, 476.
Zurita, 411, 493.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii–xxvi
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xxvii–xxx

BOOK I. ALEXANDER VI., 1492–1503.

Savonarola and Alexander VI.	3–54
Alexander VI. and Louis XII.	55–69
Louis XII. in Milan	70–84
Alexander VI. and the War against the Turks	85–102
The States of the Church and the Borgia	103–141
Alexander VI.'s action in the Church	142–164
Alexander VI. as a Patron of Art	165–181

BOOK II. PIUS III., 1503. JULIUS II., 1503–1513.

The Conclaves of September and November, 1503	185–231
Disputes with Venice	232–258
Subjugation of Perugia and Bologna	259–289
The Political Situation between 1507 and 1509	290–320
Wars in Italy	321–365
The Holy League	366–404
Annihilation of the Power of France in Italy	405–454
Julius II. and Art	455–502
Julius II. and Michael Angelo	503–539
Raphael and the Vatican Stanze	540–607
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	611–659
Index of Names	661–670

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

SAVONAROLA AND ALEXANDER VI.

A.D.		PAGE
1495	The hope of reform centred in Savonarola	3
	The moral revolution in Florence	3
	His sermons become more political	4
	His numerous enemies in Florence	4
	His passionate advocacy of the French alliance	4
	And denunciation of the Medici and their adherents	5
	The Pope summons Savonarola to Rome	5
	He excuses himself from coming on the ground of expediency	6
	The Pope forbids Savonarola to preach	6
	And orders the Convent of S. Marco to be reunited to the Lombard Congregation	6
	Savonarola acknowledges the duty of submission	6
	But defends himself, especially as to the reunion with the Lombard Friars	7
	The Pope yields this point, but forbids Savonarola to preach	8
	Piero de' Medici attempts to return to Florence	9
	Savonarola's sermons against him, before the arrival of the Pope's Brief	9
	His negotiations with the Duke of Ferrara	9
	The Signoria fail to obtain permission from the Pope for Savonarola's preaching	10
1496	Savonarola resumes his sermons by their command	11
	His first Lenten sermon, in defence of his conduct	12
	His following sermons, against the vices of Rome	12
	Moderation and patience of Alexander VI.	13

A.D.		PAGE
1496	The violence and terrorism exercised by Savonarola	14
	The Pope proposes a new Dominican Congregation under Cardinal Caraffa	15
	Unconditional refusal of Savonarola	15
1497	The Pope endeavours to detach Florence from the French alliance	16
	Savonarola's Lenten sermons in 1497	17
	His friends alienated by their violence	17
	Disturbances in Florence	18
	Savonarola's letter to the Pope	18
	Excommunication of Savonarola by the Pope	19
	Efforts of the Florentine Ambassador to obtain the withdrawal of the Brief	21
	Savonarola's letter of defiance	22
	The Pope determines to persevere in the excommunication	23
	Disobedience of Savonarola, who celebrates Mass on Christmas Day	23
	And determines to resume his sermons	24
	Which the Vicar of the Archbishop tries in vain to prevent	25
1498	Savonarola preaches in defence of his disobedience	25
	His attacks upon the Roman clergy	27
	The Pope's Brief to the Florentines	29
	He threatens them with an Interdict, if disobedient	30
	But promises to absolve Savonarola if he will obey	30
	The Signoria defend Savonarola	31
	The Pope insists that he shall be shut up or sent to Rome	32
	Letter of the Florentine Ambassador to his Government	32
	The Pope embittered by the conduct of the Signoria	33
	Who finally forbid Savonarola to preach	34
	The Pope insists on the vindication of his authority	34
	Savonarola appeals to the Christian Powers to convoke a Council	35
	His friendship and intrigues with Charles VIII.	36
	The knowledge of which exasperates the Pope	37
	Savonarola begins to lose his influence in Florence	38
	General disbelief in his prophecies	39
	His enemies in the Council insist on obedience to the Pope	39
	Savonarola challenges the ordeal by fire	41
	The challenge taken up by Francesco of Apulia	41
	Savonarola refuses to take up the challenge in person	42
	Fra Domenico accepts it for him	42

A.D. PAGE
1498 Conditions imposed by the Signoria 43
Disapproval of the Pope 43
Failure of the ordeal by fire 44
Anger of the populace 45
Who lose faith in Savonarola 46
Disturbances in Florence. Murder of Francesco Valori 47
The Convent of S. Marco stormed. Savonarola imprisoned 47
Savonarola to be tried in Florence 48
Savonarola deserted by his disciples 49
He is condemned to death with Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro 50
His degradation and execution 50
His political fanaticism and insubordination to the Holy See 51
His sincere belief in his own mission . . . 53

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER VI. AND LOUIS XII.

1498 Death of Charles VIII. 55
Louis XII. claims the Dukedom of Milan . . . 55
Alexander VI. sends Envoys to France . . . 56
Dissolution of the marriage between Louis XII. and Jeanne of Valois 57
Marriage of Louis XII. with Anne of Brittany . . 57
Cæsar Borgia desires to return to a secular life . . 57
Projects of marriage for Cæsar and Lucrezia Borgia . 58
Marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Alfonso of Bisceglia 58
Proposed marriage of Cæsar Borgia with Carlotta of Aragon rejected by the King of Naples . . 58
League of the Orsini and Colonna against the Pope . 59
Cæsar Borgia resigns the Cardinalate . . 60
He sets out for France 60
He is created Duke of Valentinois . . 61
His reception in France 61
Breach between the Pope and the Sforza . . . 62
Remonstrances of the Portuguese Envoys with the Pope 63
Reproaches of Ascanio Sforza 63
Arrival of the Spanish Envoys in Rome . . . 64
They threaten the Pope with a Council . . . 64

A.D. PAGE
1498 Alarm of Alexander VI. 65
1499 Failure of the projected marriage of Cæsar Borgia . 66
Treaty between Louis XII. and Venice for the partition of Milan 66
Louis XII. offers the hand of Charlotte d'Albret to Cæsar Borgia 67
Critical position of Alexander VI. . . . 67
He makes concessions to Spain 67
Marriage of Cæsar Borgia with Charlotte d'Albret . 68
Cardinal Ascanio Sforza leaves Rome . . . 68
Lucrezia and Jofré Borgia leave Rome for Spoleto . 69

CHAPTER III.

LOUIS XII. IN MILAN.

Invasion of Milan by the French 70
Flight of Lodovico Moro 70
Delight of the Pope at the success of the French . 71
Renewed threats of a Council by the Portuguese . 71
The Pope and Louis XII. plan the conquest of the Romagna by Cæsar 72
The fall of Imola and Forli 72
Cæsar suspected of poisoning his nephew, Cardinal Juan Borgia 73
1500 Lodovico Moro recovers Milan 73
Triumphal reception of Cæsar Borgia in Rome . . 74
French victory at Novara, Lodovico taken prisoner . 74
Cardinal Ascanio Sforza imprisoned in France . . 75
Rejoicings in Rome 75
Insecurity of life and property in the City . . . 75
Alfonso of Bisceglia attacked and wounded . . 76
He attacks Cæsar Borgia, and is murdered by his orders 77
Narrow escape of the Pope from death . . . 78
Cæsar resumes his plans against the Romagna . . 80
1501 His first successes. The siege of Faenza . . . 81
Cæsar is created Duke of Romagna 82
Terms of peace made with Florence 82
Treaty between the Pope, France, and Spain for the partition of Naples 83
The French invade Naples; flight of King Frederick 84
France and Spain divide Naples . . . 84

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER VI. AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

A.D.		PAGE
1498	The Pope's nepotism hinders efforts against the Turks	85
	But he endeavours to organise a Crusade . . .	85
	Attacks of the Sultan on Christian countries . .	86
	Hostilities between the Turks and Venice . .	87
	Successes of the Turks—fall of Lepanto . . .	87
1499	The Pope endeavours to form a League against the Turks	88
	Indifference of the Christian Powers to the fate of Venice	89
1500	Issue of a Crusade Bull by the Pope . . .	90
	Papal Brief to the King of France	90
	The Cardinals taxed for the war. List of contributions	91
	Sincerity of the Pope's support of Venice . . .	93
	Successes of the Turks against Venice—fall of Modon	93
	Efforts of Alexander against the Turks . . .	94
	Indifference of the Christian Princes . . .	95
	Peraudi undertakes the mission to Germany . .	95
	Maximilian refuses him entrance to the empire . .	96
1501	Peraudi comes to an agreement with the Diet at Nuremberg	96
1502	And preaches the Crusade throughout Germany .	97
	The King of England refuses material help . .	97
	Invitation of the French clergy	98
	Objections to the Crusade in Hungary . . .	98
1500	Thomas Bakocs, the Primate, concludes an agreement	98
1501	Conclusion of the League between Hungary, Venice, and the Pope	99
	Alternative successes and failures of the fleet . .	99
	Conquest of Sta Maura by Bishop Giacopo da Pesaro	100
1503	Peace concluded between Venice, Hungary, and the Turks	101
	Pecuniary assistance given by the Pope to Hungary .	101

CHAPTER V.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH AND THE BORGIA.

1501	Alexander VI. and the Colonna	103
	Confiscation of the possessions of the Colonna and Savelli	104

A.D.		PAGE
1501	Their distribution among the Borgia	104
	Legitimation of Juan Borgia	105
	Marriage of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso d'Este	107
	Her popularity as Duchess of Ferrara	110
	Character of Lucrezia Borgia—her charity	111
	Position of Cæsar Borgia in Rome	112
	Pamphlet against the Borgia	113
	Indifference of the Pope to such attacks	115
	Development of epigrammatic satire in Rome	115
	The erection of the statue of Pasquino	116
1504	Which becomes the centre of witty epigrams	117
1509	Loss of the caricatures attached to comic poems	118
1502	Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia visit Piombini	118
	Plans of Cæsar Borgia against Tuscany	119
	He takes possession of the Duchy of Urbino and Camerino	120
	Camerino given to the infant Juan Borgia	121
	Interference of Louis XII. with Cæsar's plans	121
	Cæsar comes to terms with the King of France	121
	Conspiracy of the mercenary troops against Cæsar	122
	Who receives help from France	122
	And breaks up the conspiracy	123
	Cæsar takes Sinigaglia. Flight of Andrea Doria	123
	Murder of the chief conspirators at Sinigaglia by Cæsar	124
1503	Further successes of Cæsar Borgia	124
	The Pope proceeds against the Orsini	125
	Confiscation of the palace and property of Cardinal Orsini	125
	Jofré Borgia attacks the Orsini strongholds	125
	The Orsini attack Ponte Nomentano. Alarm of the Pope	125
	Death of Cardinal Orsini—suspicion of poison	126
	Cæsar Borgia advances against the Orsini	126
	Reverses of the French in Naples	127
	The Pope raises money by the sale of new offices	127
	Death of Cardinal Michiel, probably by poison	128
	Simoniacal creation of new Cardinals	128
	The Borgia policy inclines towards Spain	129
	Negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor	130
	Occupation of Perugia by the troops of Cæsar Borgia	130
	Sickness in Rome—depression of the Pope	131
	Illness of the Pope and of Cæsar Borgia	132
	Death of Alexander VI.	134
	The suspicion of poison ungrounded	135
	Funeral of Alexander VI.	137

A.D. PAGE
1503 Severe judgment of his contemporaries . . . 138
Partly modified by modern research . . . 138
Worldliness of Alexander VI. 139
Its disastrous effect upon the Papacy . . . 139
But the purity of the Church's doctrine maintained . 140
Distinction between the Pope and the man . . 141

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VI.'S ACTION IN THE CHURCH.

Alexander VI. supports the religious Orders . . 142
Especially the Dominicans and the Hermits of S. Augustine 143
He defends the liberties of the Church in the Netherlands 144
He promotes devotion to the Blessed Virgin . . 145
1500 And restores the ringing of the Angelus . . . 145
1499 Preparations for the Jubilee of 1500. . . . 147
1500 The opening of the Jubilee by Alexander VI. . . 148
Crowded Pilgrimages to Rome for the Jubilee . . 149
Distinguished Pilgrims in Rome 150
The receipts from the Jubilee given to Cæsar Borgia 152
Serious inundation in Rome 152
The Jubilee extended to the whole of Christendom . 153
Disposal of the Jubilee alms 153
Resistance to the Jubilee Indulgences in Switzerland and Germany 154
Cardinal Peraudi's efforts for reform in Germany . 154
1501 Alexander VI. and the Censorship of Books . . 154
1500 His repression of heresy in Lombardy and Bohemia . 156
His tolerance of the Jews due to political motives . 157
1493 Proceedings against the Marañas (crypto-Jews) . . 157
1492 Propagation of the Faith in Greenland . . . 158
The discovery of the New World 159
Arbitration of Alexander VI. between Spain and Portugal 160
1493 Definition of the boundaries between them . . 161
Evangelisation of the New World 163

CHAPTER VII.

ALEXANDER VI. AS A PATRON OF ART.

Improvements in the Leonine City 165
1499 Making of the Borgo Nuovo for the Jubilee of 1500 . 166

A.D. PAGE
1499 Alterations in the Castle of St. Angelo . . . 168
Discoveries made during the alterations . . . 169
Other improvements in the Trastevere . . . 170
Works at the Vatican. The Appartamento Borgia . 171
The decoration of the Appartamento . . . 172
Restorations in Roman Churches 177
Building by Alexander VI. outside Rome . . 178
Patronage of Art by the Cardinals 179
1499 Bramante's work in Rome 180
Churches erected in the reign of Alexander VI. . 180

BOOK II.

Pius III.—1503.
Julius II.—1503–1513.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVES OF SEPTEMBER AND NOVEMBER, 1503.

1503 Danger of the situation in Italy 185
Predominant influence of Cæsar Borgia . . . 186
He swears obedience to the Sacred College . . 187
And consents to withdraw from Rome . . . 188
He places himself under the protection of the French 188
The obsequies of Alexander VI. 189
Efforts of Cardinal d'Amboise to obtain the Tiara . 191
Opposition of the Spanish Cardinals 191
Arrival of Giuliano della Rovere in Rome . . 192
Divisions among the Italian Cardinals . . . 192
Beginning of the Conclave 193
A new Election Capitulation drawn up . . . 194
Position of Cardinal d'Amboise 195
The balance of parties among the Cardinals . . 196
Selection of Cardinal Piccolomini as Pope . . 197
Who takes the name of Pius III. 198
Character of Pius III. 198
His piety and regular life 199
Peter Delphinus on Pius III. 200
Zeal of Pius III. for the reform of the Church . . 201
His peace-loving disposition 202
The Pope allows Cæsar Borgia to return to Rome . 203
Coronation of Pius III. 203
Cæsar Borgia's army to be disbanded . . . 204

A.D. PAGE
1503 Reconciliation between the Orsini and the Colonna . 204
Perilous position of Cæsar Borgia 205
Illness of the Pope 205
Death of Pius III. 206
Giuliano della Rovere comes to terms with the Spanish Cardinals 208
Prospects of the Election 209
Election of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere . . 210
Who takes the name of Julius II. 210
Terms of the Election Capitulation 211
Appearance and character of Julius II. . . . 212
His courage and strength of will 215
He devotes himself to the restoration of the States of the Church 216
His freedom from nepotism 217
Contrast between Julius II. and Alexander VI. . . 218
Julius II. and his relations 218
Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere 219
Creation of Cardinals by Julius II. 220
1508 Death of Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere . . . 222
Economy of Julius II. 223
His ways of raising money 224
And financial ability 225
Order maintained in Rome by the Swiss Guards . 226
Reorganisation of the coinage 226
Storage of provisions in Rome 227
Improvement of agriculture in the Campagna . . 228
System of administration of the States of the Church. 228
Government of the Papal States by Julius II. . . 229
Justice and popularity of the Pope . . . 230

CHAPTER II.

DISPUTES WITH VENICE.

1503 Difficulty of the Pope's position 232
Anarchy in the States of the Church. 232
Encroachments of Venice in the Romagna . . 233
Legations given to Cardinal d'Amboise . . . 234
Julius II. and Cæsar Borgia 235
The Pope remonstrates with Venice 236
And resolves to recover the Romagna . . . 237
Discouragement of Cæsar Borgia 238
Faenza and Rimini fall into the hands of Venice . 239

A.D. PAGE
1503 Cæsar Borgia refuses to deliver up the forts of the Romagna 239
Arrest of Cæsar Borgia 239
His imprisonment and the confiscation of his property 240
1504 Agreement between the Pope and Cæsar Borgia . 241
Who remains under surveillance at Ostia . . . 242
Cæsar goes to Naples, where he is again arrested by Spain 243
Forli given up to the Pope 244
Cæsar Borgia imprisoned in Spain 245
1506 His escape from Spain, and death in battle in Navarre 245
His heritage in the Romagna falls to the Church 246
Relations of Venice and Julius II. 247
1503 The Pope insists on the restoration of the Romagna . 248
His relations with the Venetian Ambassador . . 249
Remonstrances of Julius II. 251
His resolution to recover the Romagna . . . 252
1504 Brief of Julius II. to the Doge 253
Venice refuses to give way 254
The Pope seeks help against Venice 255
His negotiations with Maximilian and Louis XII. . 255
Unfriendliness of Ferdinand towards the Holy See . 256
Conclusion of the agreement of Blois against Venice . 257
1505 Venice begins to give way 257
Failure of the agreement of Blois 257
The Pope receives the Venetian profession of obedience 258

CHAPTER III.

SUBJUGATION OF PERUGIA AND BOLOGNA.

1505 The Pope makes family alliances with the Roman Barons 259
1506 Marriage of Felice with Giovanni Giordano Orsini . 260
And of Marcantonio Colonna with a niece of the Pope 260
Rule of the tyrants in Bologna and Perugia . . 261
The Pope determines to recover them . . . 261
And to head the expedition himself 262
Opposition of Venice to the undertaking . . . 262
Alliances concluded with other Italian States . . 263
Uncertain attitude of France and Venice . . . 263
Unsatisfactory conduct of Cardinal d'Amboise . . 263
Ecclesiastical disputes with France 264
Negotiations concerning Perugia and Bologna . . 265
The Pope sets out for Bologna 265

A.D. PAGE
1506 His reception at Viterbo 267
Entry of the Pope into Orvieto 268
Submission of Giampaolo Baglione 269
Entry of Julius II. into Perugia 270
He plans a Crusade against the Turks 271
Restoration of the liberties of Perugia 273
Reception of the Pope at Urbino 273
Mission of Antonio da Monte San Savino 274
Bentivoglio appeals to a General Council 274
The Pope endeavours to conciliate Venice . . . 275
Arrival of the Envoys from Bologna 275
Death of Philip of Castile 276
Bologna placed under an Interdict 277
The Pope marches upon Bologna 277
Flight of Bentivoglio from Bologna 279
Submission of Bologna to the Pope 280
His triumphal entry into the city 281
Reorganisation of the Government of Bologna . . . 283
Conditions of the assistance of France 284
Creation of three French Cardinals 284
Dissensions between Louis XII. and the Pope . . . 285
1507 The Pope leaves Bologna 286
His triumphal entry into Rome 287
The address of Cardinal Riario 288

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION BETWEEN 1507 AND 1509.

Enhanced prestige of the Papacy 290
Threatening attitude of France and Spain . . . 291
Reconciliation between Ferdinand and Louis XII. . 291
Large number of Cardinals at the French Court . 292
Mission of Cardinal Pallavicino to the French camp . 292
Louis XII. refuses to give up the Bnetivogli . . 293
The reform of the Church discussed by Ferdinand and Louis XII. 294
The Pope dissuades Maximilian from coming to Rome 295
Cardinal Carvajal sent as Legate to Germany . . 295
1508 Proposals for a League against Venice . . . 296
Maximilian assumes the name of "Emperor-elect of Rome" 296
Brief of Julius II. to Maximilian 297
Defeat of Maximilian by the Venetians 298

A.D.		PAGE
1508	Conclusion of the League of Cambrai	299
	Imprudence of Venice in dealing with Julius II.	300
	Encroachments on the Pope's supremacy	301
	Disputes about the appointments to Bishoprics	301
	Insolence of Jacopo Dandolo	302
1507	Difficulties in Bologna—recall of the Papal Legate	303
	Intrigues of the Bentivogli	304
	Cardinal Alidosi sent as Legate to Bologna	305
1508	Venice persists in her unreasonable demands	306
	Insolence of the Venetian Envoy to the Pope	308
1509	Julius II. joins the League of Cambrai	310
	The Venetians intrigue with the Orsini and Colonna	311
	Bull of Excommunication pronounced against Venice	311
	The Venetians appeal to a General Council	312
	Ferrara and Mantua join the League of Cambrai	312
	Defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello	313
	Machiavelli on the character of the Venetians	314
	The Venetians surrender the Romagna	315
	And send Envoys to Rome to sue for peace	316
	Crushing conditions proposed by the Pope	317
	Successes of the Venetians in the war	317
	Negotiations with the Pope broken off	318
	Julius II. fears the increase of the power of France in Italy	318
1510	And concludes peace with Venice	319
	Absolution of the representatives of Venice at Rome	319

CHAPTER V.

WARS IN ITALY.

The Pope determines to deliver Italy from the French	321
Vacillation of Louis XII.	322
Death of Cardinal d'Amboise	323
Failure of the Pope's negotiations with Germany and England	323
He concludes an alliance with the Swiss	324
Through the assistance of Cardinal Schinner	325
Imprisonment of Cardinal Clermont	326
Ecclesiastical disputes and rupture with Louis XII.	327
The Pope's plan of campaign against Ferrara	327
Disobedience of the Duke of Ferrara	328
Who is excommunicated by the Pope	328
Louis XII. summons a Synod to assert the Gallican liberties	329

A.D.		PAGE
1510	Subservience of the Synod to the French King	330
	Irresolution and procrastination of Louis XII.	331
	Decision and energy of Julius II.	331
	He sets out for Ferrara	332
	Difficulties of the journey	333
	The Marquess of Mantua, Standard-bearer of the Church	334
	Schism in the Sacred College	335
	Oppression of the Bolognese by Cardinal Alidosi	335
	Who succeeds in deceiving the Pope	336
	The French army before Bologna	336
	Illness of the Pope	336
	He gives his blessing to the Bolognese	337
	Arrival of the Venetian and Spanish troops	338
	Retreat of the French army	338
	Conquest of Concordia	339
	Recovery of the Pope	340
1511	Who joins the army before Mirandola	341
	Capitulation of Mirandola	343
	The Pope endeavours in vain to come to terms with the Duke of Ferrara	343
	He goes to Bologna and Ravenna	344
	Arrival of Matthæus Lang as Envoy of the Emperor	344
	His reception by the Pope at Bologna	345
	Failure of the negotiations	346
	Trivulzio succeeds Chaumont as Commander of the French army	347
	Bologna taken by the French and given up to the Bentivogli	349
	Murder of Cardinal Alidosi by the Duke of Urbino	350
	Cardinal Isvalies Legate of Bologna	351
	The Council of Pisa called by the Emperor and the King of France	352
	Julius II. summoned to take part in it	352
	Proposed objects of the Council	353
	Which is supported by the Emperor and the King of France	354
	Anti-Roman spirit in Germany	354
1510	Anti-Papal proposals of the Emperor	356
	Who desires a Permanent Legate for Germany	357
	He endeavours in vain to force the Pope to join the League of Cambrai	357
1511	And in revenge joins in the plans of Louis XII.	357
	A French play directed against the Pope	357
	Jean Lemaire's pamphlet in favour of Gallicanism	359
	Answer of Julius II. to the citation to the Council	361

A.D. PAGE
1511 Return of Julius II. to Rome 362
He appeals to the King of Spain for assistance . . 363
Louis XII. makes overtures of peace . . . 363
Disunion among the schismatical Cardinals . . 363
Julius II. summons an Œcumenical Council . . 364
And condemns the Council of Pisa . . . 365

CHAPTER VI.

THE HOLY LEAGUE.

Julius II. forms an alliance with Spain . . . 367
Failure of the negotiations with Louis XII. . . 367
Formation of the Holy League against France . . 368
Dangerous illness of the Pope 368
His recovery despaired of 369
Ambitious schemes of Pompeo Colonna . . . 371
Sudden recovery of the Pope 372
Who resumes the negotiations for the League . . 372
Conclusion and promulgation of the League . . 373
Excommunication and deposition of the schismatical Cardinals 374
Unfavourable change in the Emperor towards the Council 375
His supposed desire to become Pope . . . 376
His letters on the subject to his daughter . . . 377
And to Paul von Lichtenstein 380
Negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor . 383
Hostility of the German Episcopate to the Council . 384
Louis XII.'s policy disapproved by the French clergy and people 384
Loyalty of the Italian clergy to the Pope . . . 385
Writings of Cajetanus against the Conciliar theory . 385
Which is advocated by Zaccaria Ferreri and Decius . 386
Character of Cardinal Carvajal 387
The Pope lays an Interdict upon Florence . . 388
Arrival of the schismatical Cardinals at Pisa . . 389
Opening of the Council of Pisa 390
Conflict between the Florentines and the Pisans . 392
The Council transferred to Milan 392
Where it is treated with contempt and disrespect . 393
Efforts of the Pope to equip a sufficient army . . 395
Failure of the Swiss attack upon Milan . . . 395
1512 Cardinal Schinner appointed Legate to Lombardy and Germany 395

A.D. PAGE
1512 Deprivation of Cardinal Sanseverino 396
Bologna and Brescia invested by the armies of the League 397
Fall of Brescia to the Venetians 397
Gaston de Foix raises the siege of Bologna . . 397
And recovers Brescia for the French 397
Troubles in Rome, and withdrawal of the Pope to St. Angelo 398
The battle of Ravenna 399
Victory of the French 400
Death of Gaston de Foix 401
Terror in Rome 401
Courage and resolution of the Pope 402
The Duke of Urbino offers assistance to the Pope . 403
The Pope begins negotiations with France . . 403
He wins the Colonna and overawes the Orsini . . 404

CHAPTER VII.

ANNIHILATION OF THE POWER OF FRANCE IN ITALY.

Arrogance of the schismatic Council at Milan . . 405
Submission of the Milanese to Cardinal Medici . 405
Preparation for the Lateran Council 406
Opening of the Council in the Lateran Basilica . 406
Sermon of Aegidius of Viterbo, General of the Augustinians 407
The Pope's address to the Council 408
First sitting of the Council 409
The Council of Pisa pronounced null and void . . 410
Sermon of Cajetanus, General of the Dominicans . 410
The King of England joins the League against France 412
The Emperor concludes an armistice with Venice . 413
Arrival of the Swiss in Italy 413
Evacuation of the Romagna by the French . . 414
Capitulation of Pavia to the Swiss 414
Flight of the schismatics from Milan. End of the Council 415
Recovery of Bologna by the Pope 415
The French driven out of Italy 416
Rejoicings in Rome. The Pope at S. Pietro in Vincoli 417
Rewards bestowed upon the Swiss by Julius II. . 418

A.D.		PAGE
1512	The Duke of Ferrara in Rome	419
	He refuses the Pope's conditions of peace	420
	A Congress of the League held in Mantua	420
	Restoration of the rule of the Medici in Florence	420
	The Duchy of Milan given to Massimiliano Sforza	421
	Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio included in the Papal States	421
	Dissatisfaction of the Emperor and the King of Spain	422
	Efforts of the Pope to win Maximilian. Matthæus Lang in Rome	423
	Magnificence of his reception	424
	Failure of the Emperor's negotiations with Venice	425
	An alliance formed between the Pope and the Emperor	425
	Matthæus Lang created a Cardinal	425
1513	The Venetians ally themselves with France	426
1512	Announcement of the alliance with the Emperor at the Lateran Council	428
	The Pragmatic Sanction in France condemned by the Lateran Council	428
	Address of the Apostolic Notary, Cristoforo Marcello	429
	Preponderance of Spain in Italy. Anxiety of the Pope	430
	Failure of the Pope's health	431
	Last illness of Julius II.	432
1513	His last address to the Cardinals	435
	Death of Julius II.	436
	Sorrow in Rome. Popularity of Julius II.	437
	His character—injustice of Guicciardini	438
	His faithfulness to his ecclesiastical obligations	439
1505	His Bull against simony in Papal elections	440
1511	His zeal for the missions in America and the East	441
	His repression of heresy	442
	He opposes the severity of the Spanish Inquisition	443
	And resists State encroachments upon the rights of the Church	443
	Julius II. and the religious Orders. His reforms	444
	His ecclesiastical acts and reforms	446
	His foundation of the Capella Giulia at S. Peter's	447
	His ecclesiastical concessions for political reasons	447
	Reform of the Roman Court, the object of the Lateran Council	449
	Justification of the wars of Julius II.	450
	Necessity of the temporal power	451
	Julius II., the Liberator of Italy	453
	His title of "Saviour of the Church" well deserved	454

CHAPTER VIII.

JULIUS II. AND ART.

A.D.		PAGE
1503	Julius II. the Mæcenas of the Arts	455
	He continues the work of Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV.	456
	Difference between the spirit of Nicholas V. and Julius II.	457
	Julius II.'s appreciation of men of genius	458
	The home of Art transferred from Florence to Rome	459
	Architecture under Julius II. Giuliano da Sangallo	459
1505	Michael Angelo and Sansovino in Rome	460
	Julius II. and Donato Bramante	461
	To whom is entrusted the rebuilding of S. Peter's and the Vatican	461
	Development of the idea of the rebuilding of S. Peter's	464
	Grandeur of Bramante's original design	465
	The loss of the old S. Peter's to be deplored	468
	Opposition to the rebuilding of S. Peter's	469
	Satirical dialogue of Andrea Guarna	469
	Dangerous condition of the old S. Peter's	471
1505	The Pope provides money for the rebuilding	472
1506	The laying of the foundation-stone	473
	Bramante master of the works	474
1507	Diligent prosecution of the rebuilding	475
	Disregard shewn to the old S. Peter's and its relics	477
	Destructiveness of Bramante towards ancient buildings	478
	His proposal to move the tomb of the Apostles	479
	Julius II. refuses his consent	480
	Zeal of Julius II. for the interests of religion	480
1508	Progress of the works	481
1510	Collection of funds throughout Christendom	482
1513	State of the works at the death of Julius II.	483
	Designs of Bramante for the Vatican	484
	Later alterations by Sixtus V.	485
	Extension and decoration of the Belvedere	485
	Beginning of the Vatican sculptures	486
1506	Discovery of the Laocoon	488
	Arrangement of the statues in the Belvedere	490
1507	Demand for antiquities in Rome	491
	Michael Angelo and Sansovino in the service of Julius II.	492
1505	Improvements in Rome under Julius II.	493
	Formation of the Via Giulia	494

A.D. PAGE
1505 Julius II. and the Churches of Rome . . . 496
He strengthens the fortresses of the Papal States . 497
His Church-building at Perugia, Orvieto, and Bologna 498
Bramante's work at the Holy House at Loreto . . 498
Decoration of the Cathedral at Savona . . . 499
Strengthening of the Castle of St. Angelo . . . 500
Sanitary improvements in Rome 500
Francesco Albertini's guide to Rome . . . 501

CHAPTER IX.

JULIUS II. AND MICHAEL ANGELO.

1505 Michael Angelo invited to Rome by Julius II. . . 503
Who gives him a commission for his own tomb . . 504
1506 Julius II. gives up the idea of the tomb . . . 505
And refuses to see Michael Angelo 506
Who leaves Rome and refuses to return . . . 506
Sangallo endeavours to make peace 507
Soderini remonstrates with Michael Angelo in vain . 509
Michael Angelo's reconciliation with the Pope . . 510
Julius commissions him to make a statue of himself . 511
1508 Completion and erection of the statue at Bologna . 512
It is destroyed by the party of the Bentivogli . . 513
Michael Angelo commissioned to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel 513
Agreement between him and Julius II. . . . 514
Relations between the Pope and Michael Angelo . 515
Impatience of Julius II. 516
Difficulties and delays in payment 517
1510 Completion of the ceiling, its difficulty . . . 517
1511 Unveiling of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel . . 519
1512 Completion of the whole work 520
The Pope celebrates Mass in the Chapel . . . 521
The architectural painting of the roof . . . 522
The three periods of the frescoes according to the Plan of Salvation 522
His treatment of the Creation, culminating in Adam . 523
The Fall of Man and the Deluge 525
The series of the Prophets and Sybils . . . 526
Series of the Ancestors of Christ 529
And of the Deliverances of Israel 529
The ornamental figures employed in the roof . . 530
Spiritual conception of the paintings 532
Michael Angelo again employed on the Pope's tomb . 533

A.D. PAGE
1512 Design of the tomb of Julius II. 533
1513 Death of Julius II. during the execution of the work . 534
Agreement between Michael Angelo and his executors 535
Curtailment of the design and anger of Michael Angelo 537
Grandeur of the statue of Moses 537

CHAPTER X.

RAPHAEL AND THE VATICAN STANZE.

Character and early life of Raphael 540
1508 He settles in Rome 540
1507 Julius II. leaves the Appartamento Borgia . . 541
1508 Decoration of the Stanze 542
Different artists employed at first 543
But are all dismissed in favour of Raphael . . 544
The Camera della Segnatura 544
The four allegorical figures in the ceiling . . . 545
The wall frescoes in connection with them . . 547
The fresco of the "School of Athens" . . . 550
Interpretation of the fresco 555
No opposition between Theology and Philosophy . 559
The "Disputa del Sacramento"—faith as distinct from reason 560
No idea of controversy in the "Disputa" . . . 561
The upper part of the fresco, the Heavenly Paradise . 564
The Divine Persons and the series of the Elect . . 565
Relation between the Heavenly Paradise and the Church 569
Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament on earth . . 570
The Holy Eucharist, the bond of union between heaven and earth 575
Interpretation of the picture 578
The preliminary studies for the fresco . . . 579
Humanistic conceptions seen in the Parnassus . . 580
The Dominican spirit seen in the "Disputa" . . 581
The Camera della Segnatura intended for the Pope's library 582
The frescoes not an expression of Humanistic free thought 584
Contrast of the two frescoes 586
The *Grisailles* illustrate the attitude of the Papacy to the new learning 588
The frescoes show the relations between the Church and culture 589

A.D. PAGE

1511 Completion of the Camera della Segnatura . . 590
The Stanza d'Eliodoro entrusted to Raphael by the Pope 591
His easel-paintings, the Madonna of Sta Maria del Popolo 591
And the portrait of Julius II. 591
The Madonna di Foligno and del Pesce . . . 592
The Stanza d'Eliodoro. The ceiling decorated by Peruzzi 594
The miracle of the Mass of Bolsena 594
The Cathedral of Orvieto built to enshrine the relic . 596
Veneration shewn to it by Julius II. . . . 596
Raphael's representation of the miracle in the Stanza d'Eliodoro 597
The picture the key-note of the Stanza d'Eliodoro . 599
Which represents God's care for His Church . . 599
Its reference to the events of the reign of Julius II. . 600
The picture of the expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple 600
The picture of the meeting of Leo I. with Attila . 603
The picture of S. Peter's deliverance from prison . 604
Its supposed reference to the escape of Cardinal Medici 605
But it more probably refers to Julius II. . . . 606
The triumph of the Church, the fundamental idea of the Vatican pictures 606

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to the Duke of Milan	611
II.	" " "	611
III.	Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua	612
IV.	Extract from the Letter of an Unknown Person	612
V.	Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua	613
VI.	Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere	614
VII.	Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua	614
VIII.	Report of the Florentine Chronicler, Bartolomeo Cerretani, on the Anti-Pope Pietro Bernardino, a Disciple of Savonarola	615
IX.	Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara .	617
X.	Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua	618
XI.	" " "	618
XII.	Ghivizano to the Marquess of Mantua . .	619
XIII.	" " . .	619
XIV.	" " . .	620
XV.	Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo, to Pius III.	620
XVI.	Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara .	621
XVII.	" " " .	621
XVIII.	Ghivizano to the Marquess of Mantua . .	622
XIX.	Julius II. to Florence	622
XX.	" to Forli	622
XXI.	" "	622
XXII.	" to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice .	623

		PAGE
XXIII.	Julius II. to Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal .	623
XXIV.	„ to Florence	624
XXV.	„ to Giovanni di Sirolo, Archbishop of Ragusa, and to Petrus Paulus de Callio . . .	624
XXVI.	„ to Forli	624
XXVII.	„ to Philip, Count Palatine on the Rhine	625
XXVIII.	„ to Gonsalvo de Cordova . .	626
XXIX.	„ to Anne, Queen of France . .	627
XXX.	„ to Louis XII., King of France .	627
XXXI.	„ to Forli	627
XXXII.	„ to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice .	627
XXXIII.	„ „ „ „	629
XXXIV.	„ „ „ „	630
XXXV.	„ „ „ „	630
XXXVI.	„ to Ludovico Bruno, Bishop of Acqui, and to Francesco de Monte, Imperial Envoy at Venice	631
XXXVII.	„ to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice .	631
XXXVIII. & XXXIX.	„ to the German Electors . .	632
XL.	„ to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice .	633
XLI.	„ to Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo	633
XLII.	„ to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice .	633
XLIII.	Floramente Brognolo to Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua	634
XLIV.	„ „ „	634
XLV.	Julius II. to the Marquess of Massa . .	635
XLVI.	„ to the Augustinian Hermit, Aegidius of Viterbo	635
XLVII.	„ to Queen Anne of France . .	636
XLVIII.	Girolamo Arsago to the Marquess of Mantua	636
XLIX.	Julius II. to Queen Anne of France . .	636
XLIXa.	„ to Henry VIII., King of England	636
L.	Girolamo Arsago to the Marquess of Mantua	638
LI.	Julius II. to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua	638
LII.	„ „ „ „	639

PAGE

LIII. Julius II. to the Marquess of Mantua and Niccolò Buonafede, Bishop of Chiusi 639
LIV. „ to Cardinal Giov. Antonio di S. Giorgio 639
LV. „ to Cesena 640
LVI. „ to Ferdinand the Catholic . . 640
LVII. „ to Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice 640
LVIII. „ „ „ „ 641
LIX. „ to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese . 641
LX. „ to Ferdinand the Catholic . . 641
LXI. „ to Louis XII., King of France . 642
LXII. „ to Cardinal George d'Amboise . 642
LXIII. „ to Gonsalvo de Cordova . . 642
LXIV. „ to M. de la Trémoïlle . . . 642
LXV. „ to Pierre le Filleul, Archbishop of Aix 643
LXVI. „ to Ascoli 643
LXVII. „ to the Legate of the Marches . . 643
LXVIII. „ to the Governor of Spoleto . . 643
LXIX. „ to the Governor of Cesena . . 644
LXX. „ to P. Ferreri, Governor of Imola . 644
LXXI. „ to Cardinal Antonio Ferreri . . 644
LXXII. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara 644
LXXIII. Cardinal Scipio Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua 645
LXXIV. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara . 646
LXXV. Julius II. to Louis XII., King of France . 646
LXXVI. „ to Maximilian I., German Emperor-Elect 647
LXXVII. Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua 649
LXXVIII. „ „ „ 650
LXXIX. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara 650
LXXX. Julius II. to Bologna 650
LXXXI. „ to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara . . 651
LXXXII. Lodovico de Fabriano to the Marquess of Mantua 651
LXXXIII. „ „ „ 652
LXXXIV. Julius II. to Cardinal Franc. Alidosi . . 652
LXXXV. „ to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este . . 653
LXXXVI. „ to Cardinal Franc. Alidosi and the Magistrates of Bologna . 653

PAGE

LXXXVII. Julius II. to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua 654

LXXXVIII. Giuliano de' Medici to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua . . . 654

LXXXIX. Report of Aegidius de Viterbo on Julius II., Bramante, and the rebuilding of S. Peter's 655

XC. Emperor Maximilian to Paul von Lichtenstein 656

BOOK I.

ALEXANDER VI. 1492–1503.

CHAPTER I.

Savonarola and Alexander VI.

As it became more and more evident that nothing in the way of reform was to be hoped for from Alexander VI., the eyes of many in Italy began to turn towards the eloquent Dominican, who seemed to concentrate in himself all the elements of resistance to the anti-Christian Renaissance and the secularisation of the Church, personified in the Pope, which the country contained.*

In Florence, corrupted as it had been by the Medici, and made into a nest of "heathen philosophers, voluptuaries, dilettanti, money-lenders and traders, intriguing politicians and sharp-witted critics,"† Savonarola had, at least for the moment, succeeded in bringing about an amazing moral revolution. There seemed reason to hope that the reform of Rome might be achieved by the same hand, especially as in his preaching he dwelt so much on the vocation of Florence as "the heart of Italy" to diffuse the renovating lights throughout the whole world.‡ In his sermons he incessantly insisted, with ever-growing vehemence, on the absolute necessity of a complete reformation of Rome, the Pope, and the Court. At that time this sort of plain

(Chapter I. of this volume is, in the original edition, Chap. VI. of Book II.—F. I. A.)

* Frantz, Sixtus IV., 56. See Vol. V. of this work, pp. 170, 181.

† Gregorovius, VII., 404, ed. 3 (410, ed. 4).

‡ Guicciardini, Stor. Fiorent., 138.

speaking gave little or no offence there. Alexander was extremely indifferent to strictures of that kind ; no doctrine of the Church was assailed, and he had no desire to curtail the orator's liberty of speech. Had Savonarola confined himself to the subjects proper to his vocation as a preacher and a religious, he would probably never have come into serious collision with the Pontiff; but as, on the contrary, his passionate zeal drove him in his discourses to trench more and more on political ground, they soon provided his enemies with a good excuse for calling on the Pope to intervene.*

Savonarola's growing influence threatened to make him the virtual "King of Florence," and his enemies were both numerous and powerful. Foremost amongst them was Piero de' Medici with his adherents, and next to them came those who disliked and resented the democratic and theocratic ideals and the stern moral discipline which he wished to introduce into the constitution of the State. This party was known as the Arrabiati, while the followers of the Friar were called Frateschi or Piagnoni (mourners over the corruption of the times). Finally, there were the anti-Gallican Italian States. Florence was the only Italian power which withstood the Pope on this point, and Savonarola was the indefatigable and passionate advocate of the French alliance. The Divine commission, which he persistently claimed for himself, emphatically included this advocacy. From first to last he believed the frivolous, dissolute King of France to be God's chosen instrument for the reformation of the Church. He predicted that Charles would be always victorious, and that Florence, if she remained faithful to him, would regain all her lost possessions. In almost every one of his sermons he insisted on the necessity of joining

* *Cf.* COSCI, Savonarola, 437, and especially PELLEGRINI, in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 710.

France.* He reiterated again and again that "Charles VIII. would certainly reform the Church."†

When we call to mind that the King of France had repeatedly threatened the Pope with a so-called Reformation Council,—in other words, a Council to depose him,—it cannot seem strange that Savonarola should gradually come to be regarded with more and more suspicion in Rome; and all the more so as it was notorious that the one thing that the Pope had most at heart, namely, that Florence should join the League, had no more determined opponent than the Friar. Savonarola felt himself perfectly secure in the favour of the people; all accounts agree in describing his influence as unbounded. "He is invoked as a Saint and revered as a prophet," writes the Ferrarese Envoy;‡ the Florentine chronicler Landucci says that "many were so infatuated with the new prophet that they would have had no hesitation in going to the stake for him." Encouraged by the enthusiastic support of his followers, the hot-blooded Dominican embarked in a general war of extermination against his opponents. In one of his sermons he went so far as to demand, crucifix in hand, that all who attempted to bring the tyrants back to Florence should be punished with death.§ At last Alexander VI. felt it necessary to take some steps; but he proceeded with the greatest moderation.‖ On the 25th of July, 1495, a Brief couched in very friendly terms, summoned Savonarola, "in the name of holy obedience," to come at once to Rome to give an account of

* MEIER, 93, and RANKE, Studien, 258.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 52.

‡ *Ibid.*, 41, 51, 52, 56, 63.

§ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 209.

‖ RANKE, in his Studien, 246, acknowledges this; but VILLARI, even in his last edition, I., 392, ed. 2, speaks of the wrath of the Pope as bursting at once into flame.

the prophecies for which he claimed Divine inspiration. On the 30th the Friar sent his reply; while acknowledging the duty of obedience, especially in a religious, he excused himself from coming, on the ground of the state of his health, and his conviction that his enemies would throw the whole city into confusion if he left Florence at this moment.*

Upon this a second Brief was sent in September addressed to the friars of Sta Croce, who were on bad terms with those of S. Marco. In this Brief, Savonarola was described as "a certain Fra Girolamo" who gave himself out to be a prophet without being able to prove his claim either by miracles or direct evidence from Holy Scripture. The patience of the Pope, it continued, was now exhausted. Savonarola must abstain from preaching of any kind, and the Convent of S. Marco was henceforth to be reunited to the Lombard congregation, to whose Superior the Friar must now render obedience. All recalcitrants were declared, *ipso facto*, under the ban of the Church.†

This command of the Pope marked the turning point in Savonarola's life. As a priest and Friar he had sworn obedience to the Head of the Church. Alexander's personal character and the political motives by which he was actuated in no way affected this obligation. In issuing the ordinance contained in the Brief of September 8, the Pope was clearly acting within his canonical rights. Savonarola did not deny this. Writing to a brother of his Order in Rome on 15th September, he says: "I know the root of all these plots, and know them to be the work of evil-minded citizens who would fain re-establish tyranny in Florence. . . . Nevertheless, if there be no other way of saving my conscience

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 24 *seq.*, 29 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† See GHERARDI, 388.

I am resolved to make submission, so as to avoid even a venial sin."* His answer to Alexander, sent on 29th September, was not quite so clear or decided. In it he lamented that his enemies should have succeeded in deceiving the Holy Father. . . . "As to my doctrines," he continued, "I have always been submissive to the Church; as regards prophecy, I have never absolutely declared myself a prophet, although this would be no heresy; but I have undoubtedly foretold various things, of which some have been already fulfilled; and others, that will be verified at some future time. Moreover, it is known to all Italy that the chastisement hath already begun, and how solely, by means of my words, there hath been peace in Florence, the which failing, all would have suffered greater woes." . . . "As to leaving our case to the decision of the Lombard Vicar, this implies making our adversary our judge, since the quarrels between the two congregations are publicly known." In separating themselves from this congregation they had only passed from a laxer to a stricter rule, which all authorities agree may lawfully be done. "Our reunion with the Lombard Friars at this moment would only deepen the rancour already, unhappily, existing between the two congregations, and give rise to fresh disputes and fresh scandals. And finally, inasmuch as your Holiness declares that you desire this union in order to prevent others from lapsing into my errors, and inasmuch as it is now most plain that I have not lapsed into error, the cause being non-existent, neither should its effect remain. Having therefore proved the falsity of all the charges brought against me, I pray your Holiness to vouchsafe a reply to my defence and to grant me absolution. I preach the doctrine of the Holy Fathers . . . . and am

* Published by PERRENS, 534–538. *Cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, II. 34, 35 (Engl. trans.).

ready if I should be in error . . . . to avow it publicly, and make amends before the whole people. And now again I repeat that which I have always said, namely, that I submit myself and all my writings to the correction of the Holy Roman Church." *

In his next Brief, despatched on the 16th of October, Alexander displayed admirable moderation and prudence. With "great consideration" it yielded the most important point, that of the reunion of the Convent of S. Marco to the Lombard Province, only insisting that Savonarola should absolutely abstain from preaching. In fact, for the Friar of S. Marco, politics and preaching were almost synonymous. The Brief began with a review of the action of Rome up to the present moment. In the beginning the Pope had expressed his disapproval of the disturbances in Florence, which had been in a great measure caused by Savonarola's preaching, because, instead of directing his sermons against the vices of the Florentines, he had filled them with predictions of future events, which, he said, had been revealed to him by the Holy Ghost. Such preaching was full of danger for many souls and could not fail to engender strife. Therefore, after mature deliberation, he had decided to summon Savonarola to Rome, there to give an account of his doings. Now, however, to his great joy, he gathered from the letter which he had lately received, and from what he had been told by others, that the Friar was ready, as a good Christian, to submit to the Church in all things. Hence he would willingly believe that Savonarola had erred rather through excess of zeal than with any evil intent. The matter, however, was too important to be passed over lightly, and therefore he determined to write to him again, commanding him in the name of holy

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 35, 36 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* PERRENS, 326–329.

obedience to abstain from all preaching, either in public or privately, until he was able, conveniently and safely, to appear himself in Rome, or until a commission had been sent to Florence. If he obeyed this command, the former Briefs would be rescinded.*

Meanwhile, on the 11th of October, Savonarola, seeing Florence in imminent danger from Piero de' Medici, had thrown all other considerations to the winds and re-ascended the pulpit, in order to rouse his fellow-citizens to a strenuous resistance. Again he called for the death of all who attempted to bring back the Medici. "They must be treated," he cried, "as the Romans treated those who wished to bring Tarquinius back. You would rather let Christ be struck than strike a fellow-citizen. Let justice take its course. Off with the head of the traitor, were he even the chief of the first family in the city. Off, I say, with his head."† Similar expressions recur in the sermons of 16th and 26th October. For some hitherto unexplained cause, the Bull of 16th October did not arrive till after this latter date. Savonarola had by this time succeeded in baffling Piero de' Medici's attempt; but he must have been forced to own to himself that he had violated his pledge of the 16th September, and acted in direct opposition to his Superiors, from whom alone his mission as a preacher was derived. The Brief must have caused him the greatest embarrassment. One fact, which is certainly not to his credit, shews that, in his excitement, he did not at all expect such lenient treatment. Through the Florentine Envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, he had secretly entered into relations with that Prince, and asked for his assistance in case the Pope should not accept his excuse and proceed

* MEIER, 115, 359–360, with a wrong date; GHERARDI, 390–391, has the correct one.

† See Vol. V. of this work, p. 209.

further against him.* Now that Alexander had shewn himself so placable and ready to make concessions, and since also the chief object of his sermons, the frustration of Piero de' Medici's enterprise, had been achieved, to abstain from preaching during Advent entailed no very great sacrifice on Savonarola. And in addition to this, his party were gaining more and more the upper hand in the city.† A loyal and lasting submission was never contemplated by him; on the contrary, he brought every influence that he could control to bear upon the Pope to induce him to withdraw the prohibition. The Government of Florence interested itself strongly in this direction, and addressed itself especially to Cardinal Caraffa, the Protector of the Dominicans in Rome. Florentine reports from Rome went so far as to assert that the Cardinal had, in a conversation with Alexander, persuaded the latter to permit Savonarola to preach again, provided he confined his sermons to matters of religion. The Friar himself, however, never ventured to maintain that any such permission had been granted. The attitude of the Signoria in Florence also shews clearly that nothing was even said by the Pope that could be so construed;‡ of course, no Brief to that effect was forthcoming. They decided, on 11th February, 1496, to command Savonarola, under pain of their indignation, to resume his sermons

* Despatch of 26th Oct. in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 69. It is plain from this document that the Brief of 16th Oct. had not reached Florence at this date.

† RANKE, Studien, 252.

‡ See COSCI, 431–432; CIPOLLA, 735. Savonarola's letter to Antonio de Olanda of 2nd Feb., 1496 (*cf.* VILLARI, II., cxiv., ed. 2), is significant in this connection. In it he says:—"Si impetrabitur licentia praedicandi pro me a Summo Pontifice, dabo vobis in praedicatorem Fr. Dominicum de Piscia. Excitate ergo fratres et alios devotos ad orandum pro hac causa, quia res habet difficultatem."

in the Cathedral.* The Friar, who had found so many excuses for evading the commands of his spiritual superiors, lost no time in obeying the order of the secular power.

On 17th February Savonarola again ascended the pulpit, and preached regularly throughout the whole of Lent. His first sermon shewed that he had already entered on the devious paths which henceforth he was to follow. Like Huss in earlier times, he saw nothing incongruous or unbecoming in making his own subjective convictions the standard of the duty of ecclesiastical obedience. "The Pope," he said, "cannot command me to do anything which is in contradiction to Christian charity or the Gospel. I am convinced that he never will; but were he to do so, I should reply: 'At this moment you are in error and no longer the chief pastor or the voice of the Church.' If there can be no doubt that the command of a superior contradicts the Divine precepts, and especially the law of Christian charity, no one ought to obey it. If, however, the matter is not perfectly evident, so that no doubt is possible, we ought to submit." † He declared that he had

* GHERARDI, Documenti, 129 *seq.* From the documents given here, p. 136 *seq.*, we gather that even then the citizens were not unanimous in their approval of this step.

† This important declaration is to be found in the Prediche di frate Hieronymo da Ferrara. Firenze, 1496 (st. fl.). Against VILLARI, II., 55 (Engl. trans.), who says that this Hussite doctrine of Savonarola's was "entirely Catholic, and differing in no respect from that laid down by S. Thomas Aquinas and many doctors and fathers of the Church;" *cf.* SCHWAB, in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 904, and specially FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 79 *seq.*; *cf.* 182. The latter remarks that Bayle had already pointed out that if Savonarola rested his conduct on the principle that we ought to obey God rather than man, he was acting inconsistently when he gave up preaching at the command of the Government. Frantz also shews, *loc. cit.*, 80, that the case supposed by S. Thomas, "in which

earnestly examined all his ways and found them pure; for he had always submitted his teaching to the doctrines of Holy Church. Though convinced that the Briefs sent from Rome were invalid, inasmuch as they were solely inspired by lying reports, he had yet resolved to be prudent. Thus he had so far kept silence, but when he saw many of the good growing lukewarm, and the wicked more and more bold, he felt himself constrained to return to his post. "First of all, however, I sought the Lord, saying: I was rejoicing in my peace and tranquillity, and Thou drewest me forth by showing me Thy light. . . . I would fain repose, but find no resting-place—would fain remain still and silent, but may not, for the word of God is as a fire in my heart, and unless I give it vent, it will consume the marrow of my bones. Come then, O Lord, since Thou would'st have me steer through these deep waters, let Thy will be done." * He seemed to have already forgotten that it was the secular power which had commanded him to preach, and launched him forth again on these "deep waters."

Savonarola's second sermon was directed mainly against the vices of Rome. He began with a curious application of the passage in Amos, iv. 1. "Hear this word, ye fat kine, that are in the mountains of Samaria." "For me," he said, "these fat kine signify the harlots of Italy and Rome. . . . Are there none in Italy and Rome? One thousand, ten thousand, fourteen thousand are few for Rome; for there both men and women are made harlots." And pursuing this strain, he describes the vices of Rome in terms scarcely to

the flock was abandoned and left entirely without preaching or administration of the Sacraments," was quite different to that of Savonarola, as at S. Marco there were many other good preachers, and the spiritual needs of the people were amply supplied.

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 55 (Engl. trans.).

be repeated at the present day.* The preacher seemed utterly regardless of the fact that his audience included hundreds of innocent children, for whom a special gallery round the walls of the Church had been provided.

This discourse, on the second Sunday in Lent, was by no means an isolated outburst of passion ; the whole course of sermons teemed with these extravagant diatribes against the sins of Rome. Politics were frequently touched upon, but every topic led back in the end to declamation against the Curia. "Flee from Rome," he cried out, "for Babylon signifies confusion, and Rome hath confused all the Scriptures, confused all vices together, confused everything." In his last Lenten sermon in 1496, Savonarola emphatically repeated his new theory of what constituted obedience to the Church, which, had it prevailed, must have overthrown all order and discipline. "We are not compelled," he said, "to obey all commands. When given in consequence of lying report they are invalid; when in evident contradiction with the law of charity, laid down by the Gospel, it is our duty to resist them."†

Even in the face of all this provocation, Alexander VI. still maintained an attitude of great moderation and patience.‡ He allowed more than six months to elapse before taking any action, so that Savonarola had ample time for consideration. Meanwhile, however, in Rome, the conviction that further steps must be taken continued to strengthen. On the one hand, from the ecclesiastical point of view, it was impossible permanently to tolerate his open

* VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, 58. This is the judgment of an enthusiastic admirer of Savonarola.

† *Ibid.*, 68, justly remarks that these ideas were equivalent to a declaration of war.

‡ PELLEGRINI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 713. See also CREIGHTON, III.,

defiance of the Brief forbidding him to preach, the abusive tone of his sermons, and finally, his unauthorised assumption of the office of a prophet.* On the political side, his efficacious advocacy of the French alliance in Florence, threatened the Pope with a repetition of the French King's invasion of Italy, involving possibly his deposition and a schism.

As time went on, the excitement of the contending parties in Florence continued to increase, and Savonarola's preaching added fresh fuel to the flames.† The accounts from Florence declared that he railed at the Pope as worse than a Turk, and the Italian powers as worse than heretics. His fulminations soon found their way abroad; and he often said that he had received letters of sympathy even from Germany. It was reported that the Sultan had caused his sermons to be translated into the Turkish language.‡ There was certainly quite enough in all this to cause Alexander to bestir himself, without needing any further stimulus from the League or from Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The terrorism exercised by Savonarola and his adherents grew daily more and more intolerable. The prophet declared that no one could be a good Christian who did not believe in him. His most zealous disciple, Fra Domenico da Pescia,

* GHERARDI, 141.

† PERRENS, 261, points out that if Savonarola had really possessed that humility which is one of the first virtues that ought to characterise a religious, and which he so ostentatiously professed, he would have left Florence, or at any rate abstained from preaching. However convinced he might be of the truth of his views, a priest should have shrunk from securing their success at the cost of bloodshed, and from being a cause of embittered divisions amongst his fellow-citizens. But to his excitable temperament the stir of battle was a necessity of life. "I cannot live," he said, "unless I preach."

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 87 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 255, and PERRENS, 236.

went so far as to say that earth and sea and heaven would pass away, the Cherubim and Seraphim, our Lady and even Christ Himself, sooner than any of Savonarola's teaching.*

On the 7th November, 1496, the Pope despatched a new Brief with the object of putting an end to these scandals and removing Savonarola, who was the soul of the French party, from Florence, while sparing him as much as possible. The plan of uniting S. Marco with the unfriendly congregation of Lombardy was entirely dropped. Instead of this the Pope proposed to form a new congregation out of the Dominican Convents in the provinces of Rome and Tuscany, with a separate Vicar to be elected in conformity with the statutes of the Order by the several Priors of the monasteries every two years. For the first two years Cardinal Caraffa, who had always been friendly to Savonarola, was appointed vicar.†

This time the prophet's answer to his Superiors was an unconditional refusal. The reasons which he gave in justification of this were peculiar. In his "Apology for the Congregation of S. Marco," he says: "The union with the new congregation does not depend on my decision alone, but needs the consent of 250 other monks, who have all written to the Pope protesting against it; and I am neither able nor willing to oppose their wishes on this point, since I hold them to be honest and just." After explaining the reasons against it, he continues: "This union is therefore impossible, unreasonable, and hurtful; nor can the brethren of S. Marco be bound to agree to it, inasmuch as Superiors may not issue commands contrary to the rules of the Order, nor contrary to the law of charity and the welfare of our souls.

* See Parenti in RANKE, Studien, 265.

† This Brief from Cod. 2053 in the Riccardi Library, is in VILLARI, I., ed. 2, CXLII.–CXLIV. (Italian); also in the Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 124–125.

We must therefore take it for granted that our Superiors have been misled by false information, and resist meanwhile a command that is contrary to charity. Neither must we allow ourselves to be cowed by threats nor excommunications, but be ready to face death rather than submit to that which would be poison and perdition to our souls." At the same time, Savonarola preached frequently, descanting much on his prophetical gifts, and still more on politics.

All this, retailed with exaggeration by his enemies in Rome, was naturally extremely irritating to Alexander VI. Nevertheless, with that practical statecraft which his contemporaries so highly praise in him, the Pope still held back from plunging into a direct conflict with the Friar. He resolved first to try another expedient. In order to detach the Florentines from the French alliance he promised to give them Pisa, and requested them to send an Envoy to negotiate on this subject. Accordingly, on the 4th March, 1497, Alessandro Bracci was despatched for this purpose by the Signoria to Rome. On the 13th he had an audience from the Pope. Alluding to Lodovico Moro, Alexander said:—"May God forgive him who invited the French into Italy; for all our troubles have arisen from that." He then endeavoured to persuade the Florentine Ambassador to renounce the alliance with France. "Keep to us," he exclaimed; "be loyal Italians, and leave the French in France! I must have no more fine words, but some binding security that you will do this." It was in vain for the Ambassador to point out the reasons which determined his Government to hold still with France; the Pope held to his point, and insisted that Florence must change her policy. He knew very well, he said, that this conduct, so unworthy of an Italian power, was prompted by the belief of the Florentines in the predictions of a fanatic. He was deeply wounded at the way in which the Government of Florence

permitted this Friar to attack and threaten him and hold him up to scorn *

There was ample justification for these complaints on the part of the Pope, for accusations against Rome again constituted the principal theme of the Lent sermons of the year 1497. The language of the preacher became more and more violent. "Come here, thou ribald Church," he cried out. "The Lord saith, I gave thee beautiful vestments, but thou hast made idols of them. Thou hast dedicated the sacred vessels to vainglory, the sacraments to simony; thou hast become a shameless harlot in thy lusts; thou art lower than a beast, thou art a monster of abomination. Once, thou felt shame for thy sin, but now thou art shameless. Once, anointed priests called their sons nephews; but now they speak no more of their nephews, but always and everywhere of their sons. Everywhere hast thou made a public place, and raised a house of ill-fame. And what doth the harlot? She sitteth on the throne of Solomon and soliciteth all the world; he that hath gold is made welcome, and may do as he will; but he that seeketh to do good is driven forth. . . . . And thou, O prostitute Church, thou hast displayed thy foulness to the whole world, and stinkest up to Heaven." †

Language such as this was calculated to alienate many who had hitherto favoured the Florentine prophet. The General of his Order and Cardinal Caraffa now ceased to defend him; and in Rome his cause was practically lost, while in Florence, also, public opinion was beginning to turn against him. His irreconcilable opponents, the Arrabiati and the Compagnacci (boon companions and lovers of the table), began to get more and more the upper

* GHERARDI, 149 *seq.*; COSCI, 440 *seq.*

† VILLARI, II., 165–166 (Engl. trans.), who justly observes that the passage about the sons of priests was directly aimed at Alexander VI.

hand. The excitement became so great that at last the Signoria issued a decree forbidding all monks of all Orders to preach after Ascension Day. On this day (4th May) Savonarola once more stood up in the Cathedral pulpit and boldly repeated his former assertion, that all who persecuted him were fighting against God; Italy, and especially Rome, would be terribly chastised, and then would come the reformation of the Church. It was untrue to say that he ought not to have preached that day because his preaching might give rise to disturbances; the Signoria might forbid preaching, but all the same there would be strife to determine whether such tyranny ought to be endured. At this moment a tumult began in the Church which soon spread into the streets. A regular pitched battle between the opponents and adherents of Savonarola seemed imminent.* An Envoy in Florence writes: "We have got back to the days of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines." † The authors of these disturbances remained unpunished, and the preacher could not fail to see that his party had lost its ascendency. Under these circumstances he resolved to make an attempt to avert the storm that was gathering against him in Rome. On the 22nd May he wrote a letter to the Pope, beginning with the words, "Why is my lord so wroth with his servant?' He had never, he declared, made any personal accusations in his sermons against any one, least of all against the Vicar of Christ—further, he asserted that he was always ready to submit himself to the judgment of the Church, and preached no other doctrine than that of the Holy Fathers, as would soon be proved to the whole world in his forthcoming work, *The Triumph of the Cross.* ‡

* RANKE, Studien, 274 *seq.*

† Somenzi in his Report, May 4, in the Arch. St. Ital., XVIII., 2, 19.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 188 (Engl. trans.)

While Savonarola was penning these words, judgment had been already pronounced against him in Rome. Even his former friend and supporter, Cardinal Caraffa, had now become convinced of the necessity for this step. Savonarola had invented all sorts of flimsy pretexts for evading the examination into his prophetical gifts which Rome was bound to require, and to which it was his clear duty to submit. What would become of the authority of the Holy See if every one were to follow his example? At the same time, while withholding from his Superiors that submission to which his vows had bound him, he claimed unquestioning obedience to his own commands, as Divine revelations! *

On the 12th May, 1497, Alexander attached his signature to the Brief of Excommunication. He had delayed his action as long as he could, and given the hot-headed Friar ample time to come to a better mind. Referring to the complaints brought to Rome of Savonarola's proceedings, the Florentine Envoy expressly says that Alexander had let it be clearly seen that he "was not inclined to make use of all the weapons that he had in his hand." But Savonarola's obstinate refusal to carry out the orders of the Holy See, in regard to the union of the Convent of S. Marco with the newly-erected Tuscan and Roman congregation, and his persistent disregard of the prohibition against his preaching, displayed an amount of insubordination towards the Papal authority that could not be left unchallenged. In addition to this, there were his incessant diatribes against Rome, and the assumption of prophetical authority on which these were founded;† and no doubt political motives tended in the same direction,

* PERRENS, 230 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the Despatch of the Florentine Ambassador in Rome, in GHERARDI, 141.

since Alexander was making every effort to detach Florence from France, and Savonarola was in this his strongest antagonist. However, the Friar's persistent insubordination was certainly the main determining factor in the final decision against him. "It was impossible for even an Alexander VI. to tolerate a prophet overriding the Hierarchy." *

The Brief of Excommunication runs as follows: "We have heard from many persons worthy of belief, that a certain Fra Girolamo Savonarola, at this present said to be Vicar of S. Marco in Florence, hath disseminated pernicious doctrines to the scandal and great grief of simple souls. We had already commanded him, by his vows of holy obedience, to suspend his sermons and come to us to seek pardon for his errors; but he refused to obey, and alleged various excuses which we too graciously accepted, hoping to convert him by our clemency. On the contrary, however, he persisted still more in his obstinacy; wherefore, by a second Brief (7th November, 1496), we commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to unite the Convent of S. Marco to the Tuscan-Roman Congregation recently created by us. But even then he still persisted in his stubbornness, thus, *ipso facto*, incurring the Censure. Wherefore we now command you, on the feast days and in the presence of the people, to declare the said Fra Girolamo excommunicate, and to be held as such by all men, for his disobedience to our apostolic admonitions

* GRISAR, in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 397; BALAN, 379; and RANKE, Studien, 278, who assigns correct limits to the influence of political motives. He remarks: "The principal motive, however, was the vindication of the supremacy of the spiritual authority, which at that time could count upon a party in the city prepared to support it." On the co-operation of Card. Caraffa in regard to the Brief, see GHERARDI, 160 *seq.* *Cf.* also PELLEGRINI, in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 717.

and commands; and, under pain of the same penalty, all are forbidden to assist him, hold intercourse with him, or abet him either by word or deed, inasmuch as he is an excommunicated person, and suspected of heresy. Given in Rome, 12th May, 1497." *

In order to spare the Florentines as much as possible, the Brief was not sent to the Government but to the several convents. It was not solemnly published until the 18th June.† Meanwhile the Florentine Envoys in Rome were working hard to obtain from the Pope the withdrawal, or at least the suspension, of the sentence. Savonarola's letter of 22nd May had arrived in the interim and produced a softening effect on Alexander, who from the first had been doing his best to avoid extreme measures. It seems most probable that at this juncture, in spite of the intrigues of the enemies of the Friar, it would have been possible to have obtained a suspension of the Brief. Alexander VI. was cut to the heart by the murder of the Duke of Gandia, and frightened also, as the assassin could not be discovered.‡ So prudent a statesman could not have desired to aggravate the tension of the situation just then by embarking in a new conflict. The fact that he put Savonarola's case into the hands of the newly-appointed commission for the reform of the Church, for further consideration, seems to prove that a pacific solution of it was quite within the bounds of possibility.§

At this critical moment it was Savonarola's own incon-

* See DEL LUNGO in the Arch. St. Ital., N. Serie, XVIII., 1, 17 *seq.*, and VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 189–190 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* SANUTO, I., 632 *seq.* Even Protestant historians, *e.g.*, KRABBE, Savonarola, 56 (Berlin, 1862), admit that the excommunication was merited.

† LANDUCCI, 152–153.

‡ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 496.

§ See PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 719.

siderate violence which effectually crushed this last chance of a reconciliation. On the 19th June he wrote in great haste an "Epistle against the surreptitious Excommunication addressed to all Christians and friends of God." In it he endeavoured to defend himself against his opponents, and repeated his claim to a Divine mission. At the close he says: "This Excommunication is invalid before God and man, inasmuch as it is based on false reasons and accusations devised by our enemies. I have always submitted, and will still submit, to the authority of the Church, nor will ever fail in my obedience; but no one is bound to submit to commands opposed to charity and the law of God, since in such a case our Superiors are no longer the representatives of the Lord. Meanwhile, seek by prayer to make ready for that which may befall you. If this matter is pursued further, we will make the truth known to all the world."* This theory is in direct contradiction to the teaching of the Church, which enjoins obedience even to an unjust Interdict, and would obviously destroy all discipline.† Savonarola was bound to obey the Holy See, however it might be desecrated by such an occupant as Alexander VI.

The Pope had no choice but to treat this step as a declaration of war. On the 26th June he told the Florentine Envoys that he was determined to proceed against the disobedient Friar, in the manner prescribed by the Church for dealing with rebels and those who contemned her authority. The Florentines still hoped by diplomacy to avert the catastrophe, especially as Alexander declared that, if Florence would give up the French alliance, he

VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 193–194 (Engl. trans.); MEIER, 135 *seq.* Savonarola's replies were always printed at once; *cf.* SANUTO, I., 634, who observes that for this reason he does not insert them, also because they are so lengthy, and "per esser cosa fratescha."

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82

would do everything in his power to meet all the wishes of the Republic. The Florentine Envoy was also indefatigable in exerting himself to influence the Cardinals in favour of Savonarola, and not entirely without result, for some members of the commission recommended that the Censure should be suspended for two months, and the Friar induced meanwhile to come to Rome. But these views did not prevail. The commission of Cardinals agreed with the Pope that it was out of the question to comply with the request of the Signoria, unless Savonarola would first consent to yield obedience to the commands of the General of his Order and of the Holy See. People began to say that the Interdicts would be extended to the city itself. Still the Florentine Envoy refused to relinquish all hope, but was forced on the 12th February, 1498, to confess, after months of toil, that the case presented extraordinary difficulties.*

Meanwhile Savonarola, more than ever convinced of his divine mission,† did everything that in him lay to increase these difficulties and to exasperate the Pope and make a reconciliation impossible.

Hitherto, even during the Plague, he had abstained from attempting to exercise any sacerdotal functions; he well knew that to do so while under a formal sentence of Excommunication would be a sacrilege.

At the end of the year 1497 he changed his mind on this point. On Christmas Day he celebrated three masses and gave communion to all his religious and a large number

* GHERARDI, 172, 174–176. *Cf.* the Ferrarese Despatch in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 89 *seq.*, who at the same time reports that Savonarola continues irreconcilable.

† *Cf.* the Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, in Aug. 1497, of his conversation with the "prophet," who explained that he was only an instrument in the hands of God, and therefore had no fear of the result, as God must certainly conquer. CAPPELLI, 90, *cf.* 98–99, on Savonarola's firm determination not to yield obedience to the Pope.

of the laity. Many of his partisans even disapproved of this sacrilegious act.* Presently it was announced that he intended to begin again to preach. The excommunication, he explained to the Ferrarese Envoy, was unjust and had no power to bind him; he did not mean to take any notice of it; see what a life Alexander VI. was leading; nothing should hinder him from preaching, "his commission came from One who was higher than the Pope, higher than any creature."† The Vicar of the Archbishop of Florence

* NARDI, I., 120, says: con gran maraviglia d'ognuno e dispiacimento non piccolo de' suoi divoti. Savonarola had resumed his spiritual ministrations.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 102. RANKE is of opinion (Studien, 289 *seq.*) that "the Friar's action in permitting himself to resume his preaching outside the walls of S. Marco was far more important (than his exercise of sacerdotal functions); for this was an open defiance of the papal commands and the announcement made to him in the previous June of his Excommunication. This must not be regarded as an isolated act of disobedience; it is plain that it implied an attack on the whole system of the Church. The supreme authority of the Pope and his infallibility are called in question by it. . . . Savonarola, in resisting the Excommunication, was preparing the way for the Reformation." VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 246, n. 4 (Engl. trans.), and PELLEGRINI in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XII., 258, n. 2, justly dispute this latter assertion, but the error contained in the opening sentences of this passage is much greater. Ranke's Studien on Savonarola has the merit of being an impartial view of the "prophet," undistorted by the Dominican legends by which Villari has been far too much influenced. But this makes such remarks as those in the sentences quoted above all the more regrettable. When Ranke betakes himself to the domain of Catholic theology, his utter ignorance leads him into serious error. Thus he says (p. 327) that Savonarola distinctly taught the doctrine of justification by faith only! The parallel drawn between the Friar and Luther and Calvin on p. 331 is only partially true. Ranke says here that Luther "took up his position outside the hierarchy of the Church, while Savonarola still held to it." But if so, on what grounds does he, on p. 6, call Savonarola "a precursor of the Reformation of the 16th Century"?

tried to prevent this by issuing a mandate forbidding all from being present at the sermons, and desiring the parish priests to explain to their flocks that the excommunication was perfectly valid, and that any one attending Savonarola's preaching incurred the same penalty himself, and would be cut off from the Sacraments and from Christian burial. The Signoria, however, made short work of this proclamation, threatening the Vicar with the severest penalties if he did not withdraw it at once.*

On Septuagesima Sunday, 11th February, 1498, Savonarola again entered the pulpit of S. Marco under the ægis of the secular power and in open defiance of the commands of his spiritual superiors. In burning words he defended his disobedience. "The righteous prince or the good priest," he declared, "is merely an instrument in the Lord's hands for the government of the people, but when the higher agency is withdrawn from prince or priest, he is no longer an instrument, but a broken tool. And how, thou would'st say, am I to discern whether or no the higher agency be absent? See if his laws and commands be contrary to that which is the root and principle of all wisdom, namely of godly living and charity; and if contrary, thou may'st be truly assured that he is a broken tool, and that thou art nowise bound to obey him. Now tell me a little, what is the aim of those who, by their lying reports, have procured this sentence of Excommunication? As all know, they sought to sweep away virtuous living and righteous government, and to open the door to every vice. Thus, no sooner was the Excommunication pronounced, than they returned to drunkenness, profligacy, and every other crime. Thus, I will not acknowledge it, for I cannot act against charity. Any one who gives commands opposed

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 247–248 (Engl. trans.), Appendix, LI.; PERRENS, 333; MEIER, 140 *seq.*

to charity is Excommunicated by God. Were such commands pronounced by an angel, even by the Virgin Mary herself and all the saints (which is certainly impossible), *anathema sit.* If pronounced by any law, or canon, or council, *anathema sit.* And if any Pope hath ever spoken to a contrary effect from this, let him be declared excommunicate. I say not that such a Pope hath ever existed; but if he hath existed he can have been no instrument of the Lord, but a broken tool. It is feared by some that, though this excommunication be powerless in Heaven, it may have power in the Church. For me it is enough not to be interdicted by Christ. Oh, my Lord, if I should seek to be absolved from this excommunication, let me be sent to hell; I should shrink from seeking absolution as from mortal sin."

"The Pope may err," Savonarola asserted in his sermon on 18th February, "and that in two ways, either because he is erroneously informed, or from malice. As to the latter cause we leave that to the judgment of God, and believe rather that he has been misinformed. In our own case I can prove that he has been falsely persuaded. Therefore any one who obstinately upholds the excommunication and affirms that I ought not to preach these doctrines is fighting against the kingdom of Christ, and supporting the kingdom of Satan, and is himself a heretic, and deserves to be excluded from the Christian community." *

These and similar utterances which occur in all his sermons were the result of Savonarola's unfortunate conviction derived from his visions, that he had a mission from God, and his attacks on the Italian, and especially the Roman

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 248 *seq.* (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* MEIER, 141 *seq.*, and PERRENS, 335 *seq.*; the latter justly observes that Savonarola's theory paves the way for all kinds of insubordination. See also FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82.

clergy, became more violent than ever. "The scandals," he says, "begin in Rome and run through the whole of the clergy; they are worse than Turks and Moors. In Rome you will find that they have, one and all, obtained their benefices by simony. They buy preferments and bestow them on their children or their brothers, who take possession of them by violence and all sorts of sinful means. Their greed is insatiable, they do all things for gold. They only ring their bells for coin and candles; only attend Vespers and Choir and Office when something is to be got by it. They sell their benefices, sell the Sacraments, traffic in masses; in short, money is at the root of everything, and then they are afraid of excommunication. When the evening comes one goes to the gaming table, another to his concubine. When they go to a funeral a banquet is given, and when they ought to be praying in silence for the soul of the departed they are eating and drinking and talking. They are steeped in shameful vices; but in the day-time they go about in fine linen, looking smart and clean. Many are absolutely ignorant of their rule and where to find it, know nothing of penance or the care of souls. There is no faith left, no charity, no virtue. Formerly it used to be said, if not pure, at least demure. Now no one need try to keep up appearances, for it is considered a disgrace to live well. If a priest or a canon leads an orderly life he is mocked and called a hypocrite. No one talks now of his nephew, but simply of his son or his daughter. The . . . go openly to S. Peter's; every priest has his concubine. All veils are cast aside. The poison is so rank in Rome that it has infected France and Germany and all the world. It has come to such a pass that all are warned against Rome, and people say, 'If you want to ruin your son make him a priest.'"*

But the scene which Savonarola permitted himself to

* MEIER, 143 *seq.*

enact on the last day of the Carnival, was even more outrageous than his language. He began by saying mass in S. Marco and giving communion to his monks and a large number of laymen. Then he mounted a pulpit which had been erected before the door of the Church, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, and, almost beside himself with excitement, blasphemously exclaimed, "Oh Lord, if my deeds be not sincere, if my words be not inspired by Thee, strike me dead this instant."*

"O ye priests," Savonarola cried out from the pulpit on the 1st March, "you have surpassed the pagans in contradicting and persecuting the truth of God and His cause. O my children, it is evident now that they are worse than Turks. Now must we resist the wicked as the martyrs resisted the tyrants. Contend ye evil-doers against this cause like pagans; write to Rome that this Friar and his friends will fight against you as against Turks and unbelievers. It is true that a Brief has come from Rome in which I am called a son of perdition. Write that he whom you thus designate says that he has neither concubines nor children, but preaches the Gospel of Christ. His brethren, and all who follow his teaching, reject all such deplorable things, frequent the Sacraments, and live honestly. Nevertheless, like Christ Himself, we will somewhat give way to wrath, and thus I declare to you, that I will preach no more from this pulpit except at the request of those who desire to lead a good life. I will preach in S. Marco but to men only, not to women; under the present circumstances this is needful."†

* LANDUCCI, 163, who describes this appalling scene, adds: Eravi venuto grande popolo, stimando vedere segni: e tiepidi si ridevano e facevano beffe e dicevano: Egli è scommunicato e communica altri. E benche a me e' pareva errore, ancora che gli credessi; ma non volli mettermi mai a pericolo andare a udirlo, poichè fu scommunicato.

† MEIER, 146.

Nothing could have pleased Savonarola's enemies better than this aggressive tone. His friends were in the greatest embarrassment. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome knew not what reply to make to the Pope's complaints of the intemperate sermons of the Friar and the obstinacy of the Florentines in clinging to their prophet and to the French alliance. On the 25th February, 1498, Alexander told the Envoys that "even Turks would not endure such insubordination against lawful authority," and threatened to lay an Interdict on the city.* A few days later he attached his signature to a Brief to the Florentines, which ran thus: "On first receiving notice of the pernicious errors diffused by that child of iniquity, Girolamo Savonarola, we required him to abstain entirely from preaching, and to come to Rome to implore our pardon and make recantation; but he refused to obey us. We commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to join the Congregation of S. Marco to the new Tuscan-Roman Congregation, and again he refused to obey, thus incurring, *ipso facto*, the threatened excommunication. The which sentence of excommunication we caused to be pronounced and proclaimed in your principal churches, likewise declaring that all who heard, or addressed, or held intercourse with the said Girolamo would incur the same penalty. Nevertheless, we now hear that, to the grave hurt of religion and the souls of men, this Friar still continues to preach, despises the authority of the Holy See, and declares the excommunication to be null and void. Wherefore we command you, by your duty of holy obedience, to send the said Fra Girolamo to us, under safe custody; and if he return to repentance, he will be paternally received by us, inasmuch as we seek the conversion, not the death, of the sinner. Or at least put him apart, as a corrupt

* GHERARDI, 180 *seq.* *Cf.* PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 721.

member, from the rest of the people, and keep him confined and guarded in such wise that he may have speech of none, nor be able to disseminate fresh scandals. But if ye refuse to obey these commands, we shall be forced to assert the dignity of the Holy See, by subjecting you to an Interdict and also to other and more effectual remedies." *

This Brief, therefore, does not contain the Interdict itself but only threatens it. In a second the Canons of the Cathedral are enjoined not to allow Savonarola to preach on any pretext whatsoever. Thus the Pope still abstained from doing anything more than that which was absolutely necessary, and demanded nothing that was not strictly within his rights. According to the ecclesiastical laws of that time Savonarola was unquestionably a delinquent, and being a religious, Alexander had a right to require that he should be handed over to the Holy See for judgment. It is quite true that, from the beginning and throughout, the fact that the Friar was the soul of the French party in Florence was one of the weights in the scale, and not a light one; but it is an exaggeration to assert that Alexander's only motive in his proceedings against Savonarola was to induce Florence to join the Italian League against France; at this moment it is clear that in the Pope's mind the vindication of the authority of the Church was the foremost consideration.† "If the monk will prove his obedience," he said on 27th February to the Florentine Envoy, "by abstaining from preaching for a reasonable time, I will absolve him from the censures which he has brought upon himself; but if he persists in

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 262, 263 (Engl. trans.). The whole text is in the Italian, II., ed. 2, App., LXVI.–LXVII.

† GRISAR in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 397. *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 78.

his disobedience we shall be obliged to proceed against him with the Interdict and all other lawful punishments, to vindicate our own dignity and that of the Holy See." * The Pope again expressed himself in similar terms when, on the 7th of March, the Florentine Envoy presented the reply of his Government to the Brief of 26th February. The reply pointed out that Savonarola had never entered the pulpit in the Cathedral since the arrival of the Brief, defended him warmly on all points, declaring that he had been calumniated, and said that the Government was unable to comply with the Pope's request. Alexander, however, was well aware that Savonarola continued to preach and abuse him in S. Marco in exactly the same manner as he had done in the Cathedral. "This is a sorry letter," he said to the Florentine Envoy on the 7th March, "that your Government has written to me. I am not misinformed, for I have myself read the sermons of this Friar of yours, and conversed with people who have heard them. He despises the censures and has had the insolence to call the Pope a 'broken tool,' and to say that he would sooner go to hell than ask for absolution." With growing irritation Alexander went on to complain that the Signoria still permitted Savonarola to preach. More than once it had been at their express desire that the Friar had re-entered the pulpit at S. Marco; the Pope demanded that he should be absolutely silenced, otherwise he would lay the city under Interdict. The Envoy strove to mollify the Pope by pointing out that there was nothing reprehensible in Savonarola's teaching. Alexander replied that it was not the Friar's doctrines that he condemned, but his conduct in refusing to ask to be absolved from the excommunication, declaring it to be null and void, and continuing to preach in spite of his express prohibition. Such an example of open defiance of

* GHERARDI, 183.

his and the Church's authority was most dangerous.* This declaration was endorsed by a new Brief dated 9th March, again denouncing in the strongest terms Savonarola's disobedience in preaching and exercising sacerdotal functions, notwithstanding his excommunication, and in disseminating through the press his denial of the validity of the Papal censures, and other subversive doctrines. "Does the Friar think," it said, "that he alone was excepted when our Lord conferred the power of binding and loosing on our predecessor S. Peter? . . . Our duty as Pastor of the flock forbids us to tolerate such conduct any longer. We therefore once more command you either to send Savonarola to Rome, or to shut him up in some convent where he can neither preach nor speak to any one until he comes to himself and renders himself worthy to be absolved. If this is not done we shall lay Florence under Interdict; all that we require is that Savonarola shall acknowledge our supreme authority."†

The numerous letters of the Florentine Ambassador shew the extremely embarrassing position in which he was placed by the perfectly legitimate demands of the Pope. From Florence he received nothing but fair words excusing Savonarola, while Alexander VI. insisted on deeds. On the 16th of March, in a very outspoken letter, he again explained the true state of things to his Government. The Pope, he says, absolutely requires that Savonarola shall be silenced; if not, the Interdict will certainly be pronounced. They may spare themselves the trouble of any more fair words and apologies for the Friar; they make no impression on any one. On the contrary, every one laughs at their notion that Savonarola's Excommunication can be set aside.

* MARCHESE in Arch. St. Ital., VIII., 167 *seq.*

† GHERARDI, 194 *seq.*; *cf.* PELLEGRINI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 723.

The power of pronouncing censures is by no means an insignificant part of the authority of the Holy See. They need not fancy that they will be permitted to question it. "I repeat once more," he adds, "what I have so often written to you, if the Pope is not obeyed, the Interdict will be laid on the city. Consider, moreover, how you yourselves would act if one who owed you obedience not only frankly acted against your commands, but flouted you into the bargain." *

A few days later the Ambassador announced that the Pope had received further accounts of the abuse showered upon him, the Cardinals, and the whole Roman Court by Savonarola in his sermons. The result of a consultation with several of the Cardinals was that to forbid his preaching was not enough, he must be sent to Rome; otherwise, not only would an Interdict be laid upon Florence, but all Florentines residing in Rome would be arrested and put in prison and their property confiscated.†

It was so obviously the fault of the Signoria that matters should have been brought to such a pass as this, that their conduct has been suspected of having been due to the intrigues of Savonarola's enemies, whose influence was growing from day to day. The Milanese Ambassador in Florence wrote to his Government on the 2nd March, 1498, that the Signoria were endeavouring to irritate the Pope to the utmost, in order to provide themselves with a plausible pretext for taking proceedings against the Friar.‡ It is not necessary to determine whether this view is correct or not, but the fact remains that the behaviour of the Signoria

* GHERARDI, 198–201, has been the first to publish this highly interesting report of the Ambassador. Villari did not know of it.

† GHERARDI, 204.

‡ This report is quoted by VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 267 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XIII., 186, and PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 722 *seq.*; *cf.* 724 *seq.*

did necessarily greatly embitter Alexander against Savonarola. The Pope complained of the Friar's disobedience and of his being permitted openly to set his authority at defiance. The Signoria replied that the preacher was doing a great deal of good and was a true reformer, and that therefore they could not comply with Alexander's commands. When the accounts from Rome became more menacing, they gave way so far as to forbid him from preaching;* but allowed his followers, Fra Domenico and Fra Mariano Ughi, to go on declaiming against Rome in their sermons as freely as ever. The Pope complained of this in a conversation with the Florentine Ambassador on the 23rd of March and demanded an answer to his Brief. "I do not require," he said, "that the friars should be prevented from preaching, but these attacks on the authority of the Church and abusive language against myself must be put a stop to." Referring to Savonarola, he added: "If he would be obedient for a while and then ask for absolution, I would willingly grant it, and permit him to resume his sermons, but he must cease from abusing the Holy See, the Pope, and the College of Cardinals; for I do not object to his doctrines, but only to his preaching without having received absolution, and to his contempt of myself and of my censures; to tolerate this would be to give away my apostolic authority."† These words are remarkable as

* In his last sermon on 18th March, Savonarola said that the only resource now left was an appeal to the highest tribunal. "We must turn from the earthly Pope to Christ, the heavenly Pope." He declared that he had never set himself against the true authority of the Church, "but if the power of the Church is corrupted, it ceases to be that of the Church, and becomes the power of Satan. When it encourages concubines, knaves, and thieves, and persecutes the good, and hinders those who desire to lead Christian lives, I tell you then it is a devilish power that must be withstood." See MEIER, 150.

† Bonsi's Despatch of 23rd March, 1498, in GHERARDI, 209; *cf.* 210.

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clearly proving that at this time the vindication of the Church was the first consideration.

Could the proud Friar at this juncture have made up his mind to humble himself before the Pope and ask for absolution, possibly the storm which was ultimately to overwhelm him might, even at the last moment, have been averted. But nothing could have been further from his thoughts; blinded by his false theory, that a Council is superior to the Pope,* he obstinately persisted in pushing matters to an extreme. On the 13th March he addressed an angry letter to Alexander, accusing him of having "made a compact with his enemies, and let loose savage wolves upon an innocent man."† Then, following in the way of all other rebels, he urged that a Council should be held to depose the Pope as "guilty of simony, a heretic, and an unbeliever." Savonarola's friends pressed the Florentine Envoy in France and Spain to support this plan; he himself addressed a letter to all the great Christian Princes, to the Kings of France, Spain, England, and Hungary, and the Emperor of Germany, strongly urging them to convoke an anti-Papal Council. "The hour of vengeance has arrived," he wrote in this document, "God desires me to reveal His secret counsels and to announce to all the world the dangers to which the barque of Peter is exposed in consequence of your slackness. The Church is steeped in shame and crime from head to foot. You, instead of exerting yourselves to deliver her, bow down before the source of all this evil. Therefore, the Lord is angry and has left the Church for so long without a shepherd. I assure you, *in verbo Domini*, that this Alexander is no Pope at all and should not be accounted such; for besides having attained to the Chair of S. Peter by the

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 212.

† MEIER, 148 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*

shameful sin of simony, and still daily selling Church benefices to the highest bidder; besides his other vices which are known to all the world, I affirm also that he is not a Christian, and does not believe in the existence of God, which is the deepest depth of unbelief." After this introduction, he required all Christian Princes to unite in convoking a Council as soon as possible in some suitable and neutral place. On his side he not only bound himself to substantiate all his charges with irrefragable proofs, but also assured them that God would confirm his words by miraculous tokens.*

The agitation in favour of a Council acquired a real force and extension from Alexander's growing unpopularity. The way in which he had given up the projects of reform which he had announced before the death of the Duke of Gandia, and his unblushing nepotism necessarily aroused bitter feelings against him, both in Italy and abroad. There was fermentation on all sides. The greatest danger seemed to lie in Savonarola's friendship with the French King Charles VIII. who had already, on 7th January, 1497, obtained a pronouncement in favour of his plans for calling a Council from the Sorbonne.† Alexander had got to know of these intrigues, either through intercepted letters or through some unwary speaker. He now thought that he had good reason to fear that Savonarola's mysterious threats, such as "Some day I will turn the key," or "I will cry, Lazarus, come forth," were more than mere empty

* The draft of this letter is to be found in MEIER, 349 *seq.* This document is pronounced to be genuine, not only by MARCHESE in Arch. St. Ital., VIII., 86 *seq.* (*cf.* SCRITTI, I., 254 *seq.*), but also by RANKE, Studien, 307 *seq.*, who also, in the same place, expresses his belief in the statements made by Savonarola in his trial.

† DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, Coll. Judic., T. I., P. II., pp. 335-336; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 333.

words. No doubt he recalled to mind Andrea Zamometič's attempts to bring about a Council, and especially dreaded combinations between the Friar and Princes or Cardinals who were hostile to him, with the object of getting him deposed by a Council. "From henceforth all his moderation and gentleness vanished." At the same time the tempest burst upon Savonarola from another quarter.*

* SCHWAB, in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 906; *cf.* PELLEGRINI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 726. ARMSTRONG, in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 455, strongly condemns the passionate partisanship with which Villari, even in his latest edition, and in contradiction to all the best authorities, describes the conduct of Alexander VI. in regard to Savonarola. This author, a Protestant, remarks among other things: "Even a Pope has some rights of self-defence, and had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the Friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible. Until the last act of the drama, he seems to have behaved with singular moderation, and the changes which the author ascribes to malevolent cunning were clearly due to a real difficulty in taking stringent measures against a man for whose life and moral teaching he had considerable respect. If the Pope had a right to separate the Tuscan from the Lombard congregation against the will of the latter, he certainly had the right to unite it to the Roman against the will of the former. Professor Villari is never weary of assuring his readers that Savonarola's opposition was directed not against the Papacy but against the Pope, and that no taint of heresy lingers round his memory; but it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between doctrine and discipline, and the head of the Church would appear to have an even stronger claim to enforce his views of discipline than of doctrine." In another place (p. 459), Armstrong says that Villari's biography is a panegyric and an apology. Before him, GASPARY (II., 664) had also taken exception to Villari's point of view. HARTWIG, in the Zeitschr., LXIV., 178 *seq.*, endeavours to defend Villari against his critics, but has to admit that he had undertaken to glorify Savonarola (p. 179), and that he is prejudiced in favour of his hero (187). In introducing into this question the definition on Infallibility of 1870 (179), Hartwig only shews that he has not understood this dogma. I see in GOTHEIN'S work, Ignatius von Loyola, which has just appeared (782), that he also considers Villari's point of view "unsatisfactory."

At the very moment that the Friar was thus attempting to stir up a revolt amongst the Princes of Europe his standing ground in Florence was slipping away from under his feet.

The days in which Savonarola was the guide and ruler of almost the whole of Florence had long gone by. The turning point for him came in the year 1497 with the failure of Piero de' Medici's attempt to make himself master of the city, and the execution of five of his adherents. Their relations set themselves as avengers of blood to hunt Savonarola down,* and the influence of the Arrabiati became so great that from that time his followers had to fight hard to hold their ground. The position of the Frateschi naturally was very much damaged when, on the top of this, the excommunication also came, for it produced a great impression in the city, and many held it to be binding.† The disputes on this point and on the guilt or innocence of the Friar grew more and more vehement. The revolutionary character of Savonarola's attitude ‡ was severely stigmatised by the Franciscans of Sta Croce. When he was silenced by the Government they redoubled their attacks upon him. The Dominicans were unwearied in defending him; their chief argument was his Divine mission. In his sermons he had repeatedly asserted that supernatural tokens of the righteousness of his cause would not fail to be forthcoming if the natural evidence were insufficient.§ For a time the moderation of his conduct and the fact that many of his prophecies came true had caused him to be

* See HASE, Savonarola, 53.

† LANDUCCI, 162, reports that many were saying that, whether it were just or unjust, the Excommunication was a serious matter. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., III., 167, and ARMSTRONG, *loc. cit.*, 456.

‡ CREIGHTON, III., 238, considers it such.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 28, and Arch. Veneto, VIII., 77.

widely believed. Gradually people became more and more sceptical, and he found himself more and more obliged to stand on the defensive against the cavillers who disbelieved in his prophecies. The very palpable disadvantages consequent on the state of tension between Florence and Rome which was the natural result of her championship of an excommunicated religious, and especially the Pope's refusal to consent to the levying of a tithe on Church property, had a considerable effect in increasing the number of sceptics. The deliberations of the Council in March 1498, on the course to be pursued in their relations with Rome, shew how far matters had gone in this respect. Francesco Valori, Savonarola's confidential friend, and others, stood up for him, but they were strongly opposed.

His enemies took pains to point out, in addition to higher considerations, the material inconveniences that must attend persistence in the course which Florence had hitherto been pursuing. Giovanni Conacci observed that the Pope's jurisdiction was universal, and he ought to be allowed to have what rightly belonged to him. Giuliano Gondi reminded the Florentines of their profession of obedience; in refusing to obey the Pope they were breaking a solemn oath. The result of Savonarola's preaching, denying that Alexander was a true Pope and vilifying his person, would be that a sect would be formed in Florence. It was not worth while to make enemies of the Pope and all the Italian powers for the sake of such a man; in the end the Florentines would be declared rebels against the Church, and would be treated as such. Giovanni Brunetti remarked that however good and learned Savonarola might be, he was still not infallible. Guid' Antonio Vespucci said that, looking at the case on all sides, he thought it would be better to obey the Pope. "You have got an envoy in Rome," he said, "who is commissioned to request the Pope to restore

his consent to the tax on the clergy, without which the city cannot exist. For this end he is charged to do all he can to conciliate the Holy Father; there is no sense in contradicting a man from whom you are seeking to obtain a favour. Whether Savonarola be innocent or guilty is of no moment; the Holy See holds him to be guilty, and unless we satisfy the Pope on this point we shall certainly get nothing from him, and it is much to be feared that the Interdict, with all its disastrous consequences, will come upon us. Stress has been laid on the harm that will be done by silencing the Friar; but since his own Superiors have forbidden him to preach it is not at our doors that the sin will lie. For Rome the matter is far from being so unimportant as some would make it out. Censures are the weapons of the Apostolic See; if it is deprived of these, how can it maintain its dignity and authority? This is perfectly understood in Rome. It is said that we ought to consider God and His honour. I agree; but the Pope is Christ's Vicar on earth, and derives his authority from God. It is therefore more meritorious to accept his censures, whether they be just or unjust, than to defend the Friar. No doubt if we could be sure that Savonarola was sent by God it would be right to protect him against the Pope; but as we cannot be certain of this, it is more prudent to obey Rome." *

Meanwhile Savonarola unflinchingly maintained the supernatural origin of his prophecies, and asserted that if necessary they would be confirmed by a miracle. On the last day of the Carnival of the year 1498, before all the people, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, he prayed, "O God, if my words are not from Thee, I entreat

* See the report of these transactions in the documents published by LUPI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, III., 1, 33–53. *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 300 *seq.*; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 71 *seq.*; and HASE, 61.

Thee to strike me down this very moment." * On Quinquagesima Sunday of the same year, in his sermon he cried out, "I entreat each one of you to pray earnestly to God that if my doctrine does not come from Him, He will send down a fire upon me, which shall consume my soul in hell." In other sermons he had repeatedly told stories to his audience of cases in which the truth was not recognised until manifested by some direct token from God, and offered himself to pass through the fire in order to prove the reality of his mission.† After such utterances as these it was not surprising that on 25th March, 1498, the Franciscan, Francesco of Apulia, in a sermon in Sta Croce, should have taken up the challenge, and undertaken to submit to the ordeal by fire with Savonarola. "I fully believe," Francesco said, "that I shall be burnt, but I am ready to sacrifice myself to free the people from this delusion. If Savonarola is not burnt with me then you may believe him to be a prophet." ‡

Savonarola meanwhile shewed no great inclination to prove his mission by the ordeal, but it was otherwise with his followers. Not only the enthusiastic Fra Domenico da Pescia but also many other Dominicans, and even several laymen and many women, announced their readiness to undergo it. "It is wonderful," writes a Florentine to his friend on 29th March, 1498, "to see how many here are ready to go through the ordeal as joyfully as if they were going to a wedding." §

* "The test was somewhat cheap," says BÖHRINGER, 974, "and the Arrabiati were quite justified in saying that Savonarola would have done better if he had promised a miracle if God were for him, than if He were against him; for a negative proves nothing. But all that was needed was to set afloat the idea of a Divine manifestation."

† PERRENS, 361; BÖHRINGER, 988.

‡ *Cf.* LANDUCCI, 166–167, and GHERARDI, 216.

§ GHERARDI, 216. RANKE Studien, 310, says that this "strange

Savonarola's enemies recognised at once that the question thus started might, and possibly must, entail the destruction of their hated foe. "If he enters the fire," they said, "he will be burnt; and if he does not, he will forfeit the faith of his adherents, and it will be easy to stir up a riot, during which he may be arrested." They therefore resolved to do their best to have the trial by ordeal carried out. For this it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Government; and here there was considerable opposition from many who recognised the scandalous nature of the proposal; also Savonarola's refusal to take up the challenge in person was embarrassing. However, the majority agreed that all possible means must be tried, including the ordeal if necessary, to heal the divisions in the city. Savonarola's party were the most eager advocates of the ordeal. Again and again their master had told them that one day his words would be miraculously confirmed and his enemies destroyed, and now it seemed as if the day had come. With fanatical confidence they clamoured for the ordeal; convinced that when the decisive moment arrived, the master would no longer be able to restrain himself, he would plunge into the flames, and then would come the miracle.*

The propositions, the truth of which Domenico da Pescia hoped to establish by means of the ordeal by fire, were those which were most contested by Savonarola's opponents. They were the following:—"The Church of God is in need of reform; she will be chastised first and then renovated. Florence also will be chastised and afterwards restored and flourish anew. All unbelievers will be converted to Christ. These things will come to pass in our own time. The

duel" was proposed because "no ecclesiastical authority existed which was acknowledged by both parties."

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 307 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 311 *seq.*

Excommunication pronounced against our revered father, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, is invalid and may be disregarded without sin."

The attitude of the Government towards the ordeal should have caused Savonarola and his followers to pause; but common-sense had long been thrown to the winds by the Friar's party, to make way for a blind belief in the somnambulistic oracles of Fra Silvestro Maruffi. On the 30th March, the Signoria had decreed, in regard to the ordeal, that the party whose champion succumbed must immediately leave the city; that if either of the combatants refused to enter the fire, he would incur the same penalty; that if both were burnt, the Dominicans would be considered the vanquished party. In a new decree on 6th April there was no longer any mention of a penalty for the Franciscans; it simply announced that if Fra Domenico perished, Savonarola would have to leave Florence within three hours.*

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, Alexander at once expressed his disapprobation. The Florentine Ambassador endeavoured in vain to obtain his sanction for the ordeal. He condemned it in the strongest terms, as did also the Cardinals and the whole Roman Court. The Ambassador insisted that the only way of preventing it would be for the Pope to absolve Savonarola, an obviously impossible alternative.†

Meanwhile the 7th of April, the day fixed for the ordeal,

* This decree is in VILLARI, Savonarola, II., ed. 2, XCI.–XCIII.

† In the face of the documents published by GHERARDI, 217 *seq.*, Villari's assertion, in which he persists even in his second edition, II., 145, that Alexander had approved of the ordeal by fire, is absolutely untenable. CREIGHTON, III., 240; PELLEGRINI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 727; and ARMSTRONG in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 458, all rightly agree in rejecting Villari's theory. *Cf.* also CHRISTOPHE, II., 503, n. 1, and CIPOLLA, 755, n. 2.

had arrived. Savonarola's misgivings had been dissipated by a vision of angels which had been vouchsafed to Fra Silvestro. On the morning of the appointed day he said mass and delivered a brief address to those who had attended it. "I cannot promise you," he said, "that the ordeal will take place, for that does not depend upon us; but, if it does, I have no hesitation in assuring you that our side will triumph." Then he set out for the Piazza accompanied by all his friars singing the Psalm, "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered," as they walked in procession. The Franciscans, who had come quietly, were already there. An enormous multitude had assembled and were eagerly awaiting the unwonted spectacle. The Signoria had taken every precaution to secure the preservation of order. Two piles of faggots forty yards long and saturated with oil and pitch were prepared, divided by a space wide enough to allow a man to pass between them. It had already struck twelve when the Dominicans and their adherents, walking in solemn procession (Savonarola carrying the Blessed Sacrament), reached the Piazza. The Franciscans had come earlier, simply and without any demonstration, and now stood in silence on their side of the Loggia, while the Dominicans prayed aloud. All was ready. But now a difference arose between the two parties as to what each of the champions should be allowed to take with him into the flames. Fra Domenico insisted on taking the Crucifix, and this the Franciscans refused to permit. While this question was being discussed, a heavy shower came on, threatening to drive the spectators away, but they were too eager to be easily scared and it ceased in a few minutes as suddenly as it had begun. Fra Domenico persisted in his determination not to lay aside the Crucifix. At last he said that he would be willing to take the Sacred Host instead. Against this not only the Franciscans but the whole body

of spectators energetically protested, rightly judging that such a proceeding would be nothing less than an outrage on the Blessed Sacrament. Savonarola and Fra Domenico were of a different opinion ; later, Fra Domenico acknowledged that the reason he refused to give way on this point was, that Fra Silvestro's angel had expressly ordered him to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the fire. The only possible explanation of Savonarola's persistence in this matter was the influence exercised over his mind by this friar. As a priest he must have known that to introduce the Sacred Host in such a manner into a personal experiment was absolutely forbidden by Canon Law. He seemed to have entirely forgotten that in the Church the only purposes for which the body of the Lord can lawfully be used are for the adoration of the faithful, or for their food. He maintained that only the species could be burnt, and that the Host itself would remain untouched, and quoted a number of doctors of the Church in support of his view, which the Franciscans as resolutely contested.* Meanwhile it was growing dark and Savonarola's opponents were becoming more and more violent. The only course now open to the Signoria was to command both parties to withdraw. The mob, disappointed of the spectacle to which they had been so eagerly looking forward, were furious. Their wrath naturally was directed against the Dominican, "whose proposal of carrying the Sacred Host into the fire was looked upon as an insult to the Blessed Sacrament." The bad impression produced by this was all the stronger because

* BÖHRINGER, 999, remarks, "If Savonarola believed in the certainty of a miracle in his favour, why then should he carry the Sacred Host into the fire? Or if, on the other hand, It was to serve as a sort of talisman to protect Fra Domenico, would it not have had the same effect if Rondinelli also had insisted on carrying it, and thus reduced the whole ordeal to a farce?"

the Franciscan had been ready to enter the fire without any more ado and without expecting any miraculous interposition. The conduct of Savonarola and his party was universally condemned, especially after having so confidently announced that a miracle would take place in their favour; "the idea that the whole thing was a fraud gained ground from moment to moment."* If Savonarola was so confident that God would protect him, it was said, why did he shrink from himself undergoing the ordeal? Also, why did he insist on Domenico's being allowed to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the flames? Even those who believed in the prophet said that if the proof of his Divine mission were to be held as really incontestable, he ought to have entered the fire alone. Thus, in a single day, Savonarola by his own act had dissipated the prophetic halo which had hitherto surrounded him in the eyes of the people.† His fate was sealed. "He had himself led the populace to look for, and believe in, such tokens as the ordeal would have been, and whenever the masses find themselves disappointed in their expectations, and think themselves cheated and insulted, their resentment is bitter and ruthless."‡

* RANKE, Studien, 313–314 (*cf.* 352 *seq.*); he cites Cerretani and the Report of the Milanese Envoy, Somenzi, in the Arch. St. Ital., XVIII., 2–31 *seq.* Ranke rightly follows Cerretani's impartial account and rejects Violi and Burlamacchi's Dominican Legend, which Villari reproduces in all essential points. A fresh authority, overlooked by Villari, has now come to light in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI (II., 194), who is all the more trustworthy because he fully recognises Savonarola's great qualities. PELLEGRINI in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XII., 262 *seq.*, also points out the strong bias in Villari's account of the ordeal by fire.

† Il popolo si conturbò tutti quasi perdendo la fede del Profeta, writes LANDUCCI, 169. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, II., 242; COSCI, 456; and PERRENS, 378 *seq.*

‡ FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 80.

On the following morning, Palm Sunday, Savonarola still further damaged his position by again preaching in S. Marco in direct contradiction to the command of the Signoria. On the same day his banishment was decreed; but this sentence was not carried out.* The Compagnacci resolved to take advantage of the anger and disappointment of the populace in order once for all to crush the Frateschi. Before Palm Sunday was over the two parties into which the city was divided had come to blows. The sermon of a Dominican friar who was preaching in the Cathedral was violently interrupted. Francesco Valori, Savonarola's chief supporter, was murdered, and the Convent of S. Marco was stormed. At first Savonarola thought of defending it, but when the city officials presented themselves and summoned him to appear before the Signoria, he followed them. By torchlight he and Domenico da Pescia were led to the palace through the seething crowd, which hooted and jeered at the prophet as he passed.†

The Signoria lost no time in acquainting the Pope and the various Italian powers with what had taken place. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome was also charged to beg for a general absolution from all Church penalties that might have been incurred by having allowed the Friar to go on preaching for so long, or by proceedings against ecclesiastical persons. In addition they asked for powers to try the religious who had been arrested, and also again

* The Decree is in VILLARI, II., ed. 2, XCIV. *Cf.* PORTIOLI in the Arch. St. Lomb., I., 351 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Cerretani and Parenti's reports in RANKE, 314 *seq.* "So great was the rage of the people," says the chronicler VAGLIENTI, "that Savonarola, if he had not had the Blessed Sacrament with him, would have been torn to pieces." See Riv. d. Biblioteche dir di G. Biagi, IV., 60. See also JACOPO PITTI, Ist. Fior., in the Arch. St. Ital., 152, and the letter of a Mantuan Agent in the Arch. St. Lomb., I., 347 *seq.*, and also COSCI, 457 *seq.*

approached the question of the tax on the clergy. Alexander VI. expressed his satisfaction that the scandal caused by the excommunicated Friar was at last put an end to; he willingly granted the absolution, but desired that the prisoners should be sent to Rome. Although this request was afterwards repeated with considerable urgency, no attention was paid to it in Florence. To send the delinquents to Rome was held not consistent with the dignity of the Republic; the sentence ought to be carried out where the crime had been committed. It was finally decided that two Papal Delegates were to assist in the trial, and on May 19th the General of the Dominicans, Gioacchino Turiano, and Francesco Romolino, Bishop of Ilerda, came to Florence in this capacity. But long before they arrived the trial had begun, and it was evident that Savonarola's opponents were now complete masters of the city and were prepared to employ any amount of torture and falsification of evidence to ensure his destruction.

It is plain that Savonarola's statements, forced from him by torture and further distorted by interpolated sentences and omissions, cannot be accepted as proofs of anything. Thus the justice of his sentence can never be either proved or disproved; but the excitement of Florence was so great that the Government believed that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the Friar's proceedings. No doubt Alexander VI. was urgent in his demands that the rebel who had intended to call in the help of the secular powers to achieve his dethronement should be punished. Nevertheless the responsibility for the severity with which he was treated must rest on the rulers of Florence. It has been truly said, in excuse for this, that the Republic was at that time in such a critical position, both externally and internally, that the Government were convinced that this was a case for the application of the old Roman maxim,

"the good of the State before everything else," and that they were bound to adopt any measures, however extreme, that seemed expedient for its defence.*

What was given out as Savonarola's "Confessions" was of a nature to shake the faith even of his most trustful disciples in his Divine mission and his prophetic character, and the mass of his disciples began rapidly to fall away. "On the 29th April, 1498," writes the loyal Luca Landucci in his Diary, "I was present at the reading of the depositions at the trial of Savonarola, whom we had all believed to be a prophet. He confessed that he was no such thing and that his prophecies were not from God. When I heard this I was filled with amazement and confusion. My soul was pierced with anguish when I perceived that the whole of the edifice which my faith had reared was founded on lies and was crumbling away. I had thought that Florence was to be a new Jerusalem, out of which would proceed the law of holy life, the reformation of the Church, the conversion of unbelievers, and the consolation of the good. Now all this has vanished. My only comfort is in the word: *In voluntate tua Domini omnia sunt posita.*" † The majority even of the friars of San Marco now abandoned their master. On the 21st of April they sent a letter of apology to Alexander. "Not merely ourselves," they said, "but likewise men of far greater talent, were deceived by Fra Girolamo's cunning. The plausibility of his doctrines, the rectitude of his life, the holiness of his manners; his pretended devotion, and the good results he obtained by purging the city of immorality, usury, and every species of vice; the different events which confirmed his prophecies in a manner beyond all human power and imagination, were such that had he not made retractation

* Cosci, 460, *cf.* 462.

† Landucci, 173.

himself, declaring that his words were not inspired by God, we should never have been able to renounce our faith in him. For so firm was our belief in him that we were all most ready to go through the fire in support of his doctrines." *

As every one had foreseen, the trial resulted in the sentence of death being pronounced upon Savonarola, Fra Domenico, and Fra Silvestro, "for the monstrous crimes of which they had been convicted." On the following day the sentence, death by hanging, was executed.

All three met their fate courageously and calmly. Before being delivered over to the secular arm, they were degraded from their priestly dignity as "heretics, schismatics, and contemners of the Holy See." † One of the spectators is said to have called out to Savonarola, "Now is your time, Prophet, let us have the miracle." When life was extinct

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 375 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* PERRENS, 597 *seq.*

† For those readers who are unfamiliar with ecclesiastical terminology, I think the following remarks will not be superfluous. It was not only the Papal Commissioners but Alexander VI. himself who charged Savonarola with disseminating "falsa et pestifera dogmata" (see the Brief of 12th March, 1498, in GHERARDI, 267). But by this phrase, according to the ordinary language of the time and the legal points of view, which was also that of the Inquisition during the following centuries, we are not to understand the teaching of erroneous dogma. Under certain circumstances, as GRISAR in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, 398, justly points out, teaching, the tendency of which was practically schismatic or unecclesiastical, was so designated. "Thus, any one who was guilty of insordescentia in excommunicatione made himself 'suspect of heresy' in the eye of the law, by seeming to deny the right of the Church to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, or the necessity of membership with the Church." And Savonarola's claim of being a divinely commissioned prophet would fall under the same category. *Cf.* the Letter of the Papal Commissioners of the 23rd May, 1498, in RUDELBACH, 494–497, from which it is evident that the charge of heresy in this case is to be understood in the constructive and not in the strict sense.

the bodies were taken down and burnt; a gust of wind for a moment blew the flames aside, and many cried, "A miracle, a miracle"; but in another moment the corpses were again enveloped. The ashes were thrown into the Arno so as to leave no relics of the prophet for his disciples to venerate.*

Such was the end of this highly gifted and morally blameless, but fanatical, man. His greatest faults were his interference in politics and his insubordination towards the Holy See. His intentions, at least in the earlier years of his active life, were pure and noble; later, his passionate nature and fanatical imagination carried him far away and led him to overstep the bounds of what was permissible in a religious and a priest. He became the head of a political party and a fanatic, openly demanding the death of all enemies of the Republic; this could not fail in the end to bring about his destruction.

In theory Savonarola remained always true to the dogmas of the Catholic Church; but in his denial of the penal authority of the Holy See, and in his plans for calling a Council, which, if they had succeeded, must inevitably have produced a schism, his tendencies were practically uncatholic.†

* LANDUCCI, 177–178; *cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., ed. 2, 243 *seq.* See also F. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 51–52, and Un testo oculare del supplizio del Savonarola, in the periodical Zibaldone of 1st Jan., 1888.

† The old Lutheran view, that Savonarola was a precursor of the Reformation, and taught the doctrine of justification by faith alone, can no longer be held by any serious historian; *cf.* GUERZONI, Rinascimento, 80, and the Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft, I. (1878), 325, 360. Next to MARCHESE, I., 193 *seq.*, Villari has undoubtedly rendered great services in exposing the unhistorical character of this view, of which Rudelbach is one of the principal supporters; though, from his imperfect acquaintance with Catholic theology and philosophy,

It may justly be urged in Savonarola's defence that in Florence and in Rome, and indeed throughout Italy, a

he has not been able to avoid falling into some contradictions and errors. SCHWAB in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 897, and FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., XV., pp. 91–93, have pointed these out, but Villari, against his own interest, has refused to notice them. The absurd notion of introducing Savonarola, who in his "Triumph of the Cross" places defection from the Catholic Church in the same category with defection from Christ (Qui ab unitate Romanae Ecclesiae doctrinam dissentit, procul dubio per devia aberrans a Christo recedit, sed omnes haeretici ab ea discordant, ergo ii a recto tramite declinant neque Christiani appellari possunt. Lib. IV., c. 6) into the Luther memorial at Worms, has set a number of Catholic pens to work to prove his orthodoxy. Amongst these are: (1) Das Lutherdenkmal zu Worms im Lichte der Wahrheit (Mainz, 1868, 2nd ed., 1869); (2) ROUARD DE CARD, H. Savonarola und das Lutherdenkmal zu Worms ins Deutsche übersetzt. (Berlin, 1868). See also SICKINGER, Savonarola, Eine historische Studie (Wurzburg, 1877); FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 80 *seq*; CIPOLLA, 760; DITTRICH, Contarini, 478 *seq.*; CANTÙ, Eretici, I., 232, and Ital. Ill., III., 640 *seq.*; CAPPONI, Gesch. der Florent. Republik, II., 229; American Catholic Quarterly Review, XIV. (1889), 36 *seq.*; and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 335. The latter says of him: "He certainly was not a formal heretic or a precursor of the so-called Reformation, unless the mere fact of being in opposition to Rome is enough to constitute him such. His teaching was thoroughly Catholic, and, with the exception of a few which have been put into the Index, his writings have held their ground unquestioned in the literature of the Church." In the reaction against this unhistorical point of view, a Dominican, E. Bayonne, went so far as to write a book (Étude sur J. Savonarola d'après des nouveaux documents, Paris, 1879) with the object of preparing the way for his canonisation. The "New Documents" have been published by Gherardi, but contain nothing to justify such a proposal; nor can the reverence and esteem entertained for him by S. Philip Neri and S. Cath. Ricci be considered enough to support it. The legend that Benedict XIV. "inscribed the name of Savonarola in the Catalogue of the saintly and blessed servants of God" is entirely false. See GRISAR, in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 392 *seq.* Bayonne's pretension is in contradiction also with the old tradition of his Order. The documents in GHERARDI, 329 *seq.*, shew that the Dominican Superiors for a

deplorable corruption of morals prevailed, and that the secularisation of the Papacy in Alexander VI. had reached its climax; but in his burning zeal for the reformation of morals he allowed himself to be carried away into violent attacks on men of all classes, including his superiors, and he completely forgot that, according to the teaching of the Church, an evil life cannot deprive the Pope or any other ecclesiastical authority of his lawful jurisdiction He certainly was quite sincere in his belief that he was a prophet and had a Divine mission, but it soon became evident that the spirit by which he was led was not from above, for the primary proof of a Divine mission is humble submission to the authority which God Himself has ordained. In this, Savonarola was wholly wanting. 'He thought too much of himself and rose up against a power which no one can attack without injuring himself. No good can come of disobedience; that was not

whole century combated the tendency to the veneration of Savonarola among their subjects, and that it was forbidden to have any picture of him, or even to mention his name. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 214, on a heretical development of Savonarola's tendencies. It is well-known that in the 16th Century, during the disturbances of 1527–1530, and at the time of the opposition to the Grand Duke Alessandro Medici, Savonarola's views and methods were revived, and exercised considerable influence. In this connection it is useful to compare MARCHESE, Scritti, I., 307 *seq.*, with the documents in GHERARDI, *loc. cit.* REUMONT, III., 1, 154, thinks that there has been some exaggeration in the description and estimation of Savonarola's influence on the Florentine clergy of that time. In the present state of our knowledge this question cannot be certainly determined; but a careful investigation of the subject would be very valuable. I should wish to draw the attention of any one who felt disposed to undertake this, to an apparently unprinted paper written on the 7th June, 1578, at Fiesole. I found this panegyric of the virtues of Savonarola (with the text: Credidi propter quod locutus sum) in the Varia Polit., 47, f. 447 *seq.*, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the way to become the apostle of either Florence or Rome." *

* CARDINAL NEWMAN'S judgment in WEISS, IV., 246 (VII. 532, ed. 3); *cf.* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 277. CESARE BALBO, Storia d'Italia (ediz. decima, Firenze, 1856), has the following passage (p. 276) on the Friar of San Marco : Di Savonarola chi fa un Santo, chi un eresiarca precursor di Lutero, chi un eroe di libertà. Ma son sogni : i veri Santi non si servon del tempio a negozi umani ; i veri eretici non muoion nel seno della Chiesa, come morì, benche perseguitato, Savonarola ; e i veri eroi di libertà sono un po' più sodi, non si perdono in chiasso come lui. Fu un entusiasto di bon conto ; e che sarebbe forse di buon pro, se si fosse ecclesiasticamente contentato di predicare contro alle crescenti corruttelle della spensierata Italia.

CHAPTER II.

CÆSAR BORGIA RESIGNS THE CARDINALATE, AND BECOMES DUKE OF VALENTINOIS.—CHANGE IN THE PAPAL POLICY.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALEXANDER VI. AND LOUIS XII.

ONLY a few weeks before Savonarola's execution the Prince on whom the visionary Dominican had hung such strangely baseless hopes for the reformation of the Church and the salvation of Italy, had passed away. Charles VIII. died suddenly in the prime of life on the 7th April, 1498.* He was succeeded by Louis XII. The new ruler shewed at once what Italy had to expect from him by assuming not only the title of King of Jerusalem and the two Sicilies, but also, as descendant of one of the Visconti, that of Duke of Milan.

These pretensions were hailed with satisfaction in Florence, and still more so in Venice, the Republic having fallen out with Milan about Pisa. Louis lost no time in securing the services of the turbulent Gian Giacomo Trivulzio,† and Venice, in the same breath with her congratulations on his accession, proposed an alliance.‡ The

* On Charles' latest project and his promises to Alexander VI., see DELABORDE, 684.

† SANUTO, I., 963; CIPOLLA, 761; BALAN, 386. *Cf.* PÉLISSIER, La politique de Trivulce au début du règne de Louis XII. (Paris, 1894). Louis XII. sent an Envoy to Siena to induce that city to enter into an alliance with France and Venice. See PÉLISSIER, Lettre de Louis XII. à la Seigneurie de Sienne. Siena, 1894.

‡ ROMANIN, V., 101–102; SANUTO, I., 1012.

French King had announced his accession to the Pope in remarkably friendly terms.* Alexander hastened, on the 4th of June, to respond to these advances by sending persons of unusual distinction, the Archbishop John of Ragusa, the protonotary Adrian of Corneto, and Raimondo Centelles, as Envoys to France.† They were charged, first of all, to congratulate the new King on his accession, and to call his attention to the war against the Turks; in the next place, they were to say that the Pope would investigate certain claims made by Louis in regard to the Neapolitan question; and to warn him against making any attack upon Milan. They were to ask him to endeavour to obtain the restitution of Pisa and Florence. Finally, they were to require him to give up the alliance with the Orsini and Colonna, and to abstain from taking the banished ex-Prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere, under his protection.‡ On the 14th June the Envoys were again desired to impress upon the King that nothing must be done against Milan.§

* *Cf.* PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 310.

† SANUTO, I., 979; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 474. *Letter of Card. A. Sforza, dat. June 4, Rome, 1498: Hoggi N. S. ha inviato per soi oratori al ser^mo Re de Franza el rev. Arcivescovo de Ragusa, M. Hadriano da Corneto prothonotario et secretario de S. Sta et M. Santigles Spagnolo prothonotario antiquo servitore de Sua B^ne. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Instruction is to be found in MAULDE, Procéd. Polit., 1106 *seq.*, taken from Cod. XXXIII., 170 f., 411^b, of the Bibl. Barberini; and in THUASNE, II., 673 *seq.*, printed from a MS. in the Papal Archives. Maulde and Thuasne, however, and also GREGOROVIUS, VII., 409, ed. 3 (ed. 4, 415), are not aware that this document had been published long ago by FERRI (Comment. de rebus gestis Hadriani Castelli. Faventiae, 1771 M. X.). *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Adrian, 9, where the reference to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 200, is wanting. On R. Centelles, see DAL RE, 136 *seq.*; and on the journey of the Envoys and their arrival in the French Court, PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 323 *seq.*

§ Alex. VI. ven fratri Jo. Archiepisc. Ragusin ac dil. filiis Hadriano

About the same time an Envoy from Louis XII. appeared in Rome, asking for the dissolution of his marriage with his consort Jeanne, to which he had been constrained in earlier days by Louis XI. The King swore that he had never consummated the marriage. The Pope, on the 29th July, 1498, appointed a judicial commission to examine into the case, and in December they decided in favour of the dissolution. On the 13th of September Alexander had already granted a dispensation to Louis to contract a fresh marriage with Anne of Brittany, the widow of his predecessor, stipulating at the same time that something was to be done for his beloved Cæsar.* The advances made to France, formerly so energetically repelled, though only begun in June, soon developed into a firm friendship. Many causes, besides those already mentioned, conduced to this result, and especially the conduct of Naples.

Ever since the Autumn of 1497 Cæsar Borgia, who was only in minor orders, had been seeking to return to the secular state,† to obtain a principality, and to marry a Princess. The Pope at first seems to have been averse to these projects; but Cæsar had little difficulty in overcoming this feeling, and Alexander's ambition began forthwith to

Castellen. cam. ap. clerico et secret. nostro et Raymundo Centell thesaur. Perusin. protonotariis, oratoribus nostris. Dat. Rom., 1498, Juni 14, A° 6°. State Archives, Milan.

* SANUTO, I., 998 *seq.*, 1019, 1030, 1047. *Cf.* BALAN, 387; GUETTÉE, VIII., 83 *seq.*; PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 335 *seq.*; and, especially, MAULDE, Procéd. Polit., 789 *seq.*, 812 *seq.*, 945 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 519; the Ferrarese Despatch in BALAN, 376; and the *Report (in cypher) of A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1497, Aug. 20: "Questi di passati è stato rasonato di fare il carle de Valenza seculare et darli la principessa de Squillace per mogliere col stato chel principe ha nel reame il qual per quello se intende non ha fin qui tocato carnalmente la principessa et in questo caso si dariano ad epso principe li beneficii del pto carle." Milanese State Archives.

busy itself with a plan for obtaining the throne of Naples for the house of Borgia by means of an Aragonese alliance.*

Cæsar was to marry Carlotta, the daughter of the Neapolitan King, and receive the principality of Tarento. The Mantuan Envoy states expressly that this was the Pope's real object in bringing about the marriage between Lucrezia and Alfonso, the natural son of Alfonso II., and now Prince of Bisceglia and Quadrata.† On the 15th July Alfonso came incognito to Rome, and was cordially received by Alexander and Cæsar.‡ On the 21st the marriage itself took place very quietly, but was celebrated on the following days with great festivities, in which Alexander took part with boyish gaiety. On this occasion a sharp encounter took place between Cæsar's retainers and those of the Duchess, not a good omen for the future. Alfonso's good looks are much vaunted by one of the chroniclers, and this marriage of Lucrezia's was a happy one.§ On the other hand, Cæsar's alliance with Carlotta, who had been brought up at the French Court, fell through. She herself refused, and her father was even more opposed to it than she was. On the 24th July, writing to Gonsalvo de Cordova, he said that the Pope was insatiable, and that

* BROSCH, Julius II., 319–320; SANUTO, II., 250. Cæsar's famous sword (now in the possession of the Duke of Sermoneta) bears witness to his plans and aspirations. The engraved designs with which it is covered contain many plays upon his name with appropriate mottoes, *e.g.*, Cum numine Cesaris omen. It was first described by Ademollo, and later with admirable illustrations by YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 143 *seq.*

† See Appendix N. 3, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, 8th Aug., 1498. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See Appendix N. 1 and 2, *Letters from A. Sforza of 15th and 17th July, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 493 *seq.*; SANUTO, I., 1030, 1042; and in Appendix N. 3, Cataneo's *Despatch of 8th Aug., 1498, with GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 104 *seq.*

he would rather lose both his kingdom and his life than consent to this marriage. In this remarkable letter the King confesses the extreme weakness of his Government.* The Pope was perfectly aware of all this, and the knowledge made him still more desirous of entering into closer relations with the growing power of France. Yet another motive was added by the conflict between the Orsini and Colonna, which had broken out afresh. The Orsini, in spite of their union with the Conti, were completely defeated at Palombara on the 12th April, 1498.† The Pope's efforts to bring about even a truce between the contending parties were unsuccessful.‡ It seemed as if both sides were bent on continuing the contest until one or other was destroyed, when suddenly, on 8th July, they came to an agreement to place the decision in regard to Tagliacozzo and Alba in the hands of King Frederick of Naples.§ This mysterious reconciliation meant a combination against the Pope. In his own palace, one day, a set of verses were put up, urging the Colonna and Orsini to come forward bravely to the rescue of their afflicted country; to slay the bull (a play upon the Borgia arms) which was devastating Ausonia; to fling his calves into the raging Tiber, and himself into hell ||

* Arch. St. Ital., XV., 235 *seq.* *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 79; SANUTO, I., 988; and PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 307 *seq.*

† SANUTO, I., 940, 965, 988, 998, and 1007; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 175 *seq.*; and the Report in BALAN, 373 *seq.*, 376.

‡ *Letter from A. Sforza, Rome, 2nd May, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

§ *Heri che fu alli 8 è stata conclusa la pace tra Sr Colonesi et Ursini comprendendosi in epsa li Savelli et Conteschi. Letter from A. Sforza, Rome, 9th July, 1498. (Milanese State Archives.) See SANUTO, I., 1014, 1015; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 409 *seq.*, ed. 3 (415 ed. 4); and BALAN, 377. On 3rd Feb., 1499, Frederick awarded Tagliacozzo, Alba, and Carsoli to the Colonna. See COPPI, Mem. Colonn., 236.

|| MALIPIERO, 508, says these verses were affixed to the door of the

Alexander VI. and Cæsar meanwhile had succeeded in obtaining what they wanted,* and on the 17th of August Cæsar resigned his Red-hat with the consent of all the Cardinals.† Sigismondo de' Conti calls this a new and unheard of proceeding; but at the same time dwells on the fact that Cæsar was naturally a warrior, and unsuited for the priesthood. Sanuto, in his Diary, is much more severe in his judgment. He says: "When Cardinal Ardicino della Porta wished to resign the Cardinalate in order to become a monk, many in the Consistory were against it, while all gave their consent to Cæsar's plan; but now in God's Church everything is topsy-turvy."‡ The disposal of Cæsar's benefices, which were worth 32,000 ducats, was left with the Pope, who later gave the Archbishopric of Valencia to Cardinal Juan Borgia.§

On this same 17th August the French King's Envoy, Louis de Villeneuve, arrived in Rome in order to accompany Cæsar to France. The preparations for the journey took so long that they did not start until the 1st of October.‖ A few days earlier Alexander addressed an

Libraria del Papa; SANUTO, whose version is a little different (I., 1016, 1017), that they were found: in su una collona nel palazo dil papa.

* In the postscript of a *Letter from Card. A. Sforza to his brother in July, 1498, we read: Come piu volte ho scripto alla Ex. V. io extimo che N. S. non sia per riposare fin che non habia dato assetto alle cose del rev. card. de Valenza. Milanese State Archives.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 412, ed. 3 (418, ed. 4); CIPOLLA, 764; REUMONT, III., 1, 228; and BALAN, 388, give a wrong date—13th Aug. That in the text is the date in BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 492.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 201; SANUTO, I., 1054. *Cf.* also Diario Ferrarese, 390; NOTAR GIACOMO, 225; CARPESANUS, lib. III., 6; and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 34, in connection with Mansi's note.

§ SANUTO, I., 1110; II., 67, 629; and *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 8. Consistorial Archives.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 493; PÉLISSIER, 344 (of course it is

autograph letter to Louis XII., in which he commended Cæsar to him as one who was more dear to him than anything else on earth.* In this Brief Cæsar is called Duke of Valentinois; thus this principality must have been already bestowed upon him, although the formal investiture did not take place till later.† It is a curious coincidence that the former Archbishop of Valencia should have become Duke of Valentinois, so that he still retained the appellation Valentinus, which could stand for either.

The new Duke set forth on his journey in royal state; 100,000 ducats were said to have been spent on his outfit. He was clad in silk and velvet and bedizened with gold and jewels. The equipment of his suite corresponded with his own. The trappings of his horses were mounted in silver, and their saddle-cloths were embroidered with costly pearls.‡ French galleys were waiting for him at Civita Vecchia. On the 3rd of October he embarked for Marseilles, where on the 19th he was received with royal honours.§ In Avignon, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who was now completely reconciled with the Pope, and in August had been reinstated in Ostia, also gave him a splendid reception.‖ Slowly, and with great pomp, the

Oct. 1 instead of Nov. 1); *Acta Consist., Oct. 1, 1498, in the Consistorial Archives. *Exitus, 531, f. 151: 28th Sept., 1498, Joh. Cardona missus in Franciam cum card^li Valent. with 9 armigeris and several comestabiles. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Brief of 28th Sept., 1498, in MOLINI, I., 28, and also in PÉLISSIER, 344.

† See SANUTO, I., 1095; II., 154.

‡ SANUTO, I., 1111; II., 15, 320; Branca de Telini in GORI, Arch., II., 113 *seq.*; CAMBI, XXI., 135; YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 157 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, II., 3 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, II., 25; PÉLISSIER, 345.

‖ *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 502, on Alexander's reconciliation with Giuliano. See further, GREGOROVIUS, VII., 421, ed. 4; BROSCH, Julius II., 79; CREIGHTON, III., 265. See also SANUTO, I., 1091; II., 158;

proud Duke pursued his journey through Lyons to the Royal camp, which was then at Chinon. On the 19th of December (according to other accounts, the 20th) he made his entry there with a splendour hitherto unknown in France. He brought to the King the Bull of dispensation for his marriage, and a Red-hat to the Archbishop of Rouen, George d'Amboise. At this time Louis spoke openly of his designs on Milan, in which he expected the Pope's support.*

The closer relations with France caused a breach between the Pope and Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico Moro. As early as September, 1498, we find this mentioned in the Envoy's reports. The Colonna and Frederick of Naples were on the side of Ascanio Sforza. Their attitude was so menacing that on All Saints' Day the Pope appeared in the Church with a strong guard; and later this occurred again several times.†

Even when the Portuguese Envoys, on 27th November, came for their audience, they found a large guard in the ante-chamber. If, as many thought, this was intended to overawe the Envoys, it quite failed in its effect. On the

and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 201; and on the festivities at Avignon, G BAYLE'S paper in the Mém. de l'Acad. de Vaucluse, Vol. 7.

* FERRATO, Entrata del Valentino nel 1499 a Cinone (Venez., 1868); SANUTO, II., 39, 175, 317, 320, 347 *seq.*, 367–368; SIGISMONDO DE CONTI, *loc. cit.*; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 318. On the dissolution of Louis XII.'s marriage, see LEONETTI, III., 251; CIPOLLA, 764; and EHSES, Documente zur Gescht. der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII., 56, note 1. PANVINIUS, 334, and CARDELLA, 275, erroneously place d'Amboise's nomination on the 12th of September. See, against this, BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 516, and *Acta Consist., where the 17th September is distinctly mentioned as the day of nomination. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, C. 2.) Upon d'Amboise, see NOVAES, VI., 100; MIGNE, *s. v.*; and DE MONTBARD'S work, Le Card. G. d'Amboise, Ministre de Louis XII. Limoges, 1879.

† SANUTO, I., 1111; II., 102, 113, 186. *Cf.* PÉLISSIER, 353 *seq.*

contrary, they remonstrated in unsparing terms with Alexander on his nepotism, his simony, and his French policy, which, they said, endangered the peace of Italy, and, indeed, of the whole of Christendom. If the Pope persevered in this they openly threatened a Council. "The demeanour of the Portuguese Envoys," Ascanio Sforza wrote on 3rd December, "is all the more unpleasant to the Pope in that he believes their Spanish Majesties to be at the bottom of it, and that the Spanish Envoys, who are daily expected, will say the same things, or worse. He thinks the King of the Romans also has a hand in it, as he has made similar representations."* Under these circumstances Alexander VI. awaited with keen anxiety the announcement from France, which, he hoped, would bring the assurance of the French alliance.†

In the Consistory, in December, the Pope and Ascanio Sforza came to a sharp passage of words. The testy Cardinal declared that Alexander, in sending Cæsar to France, was bringing ruin on Italy. "Are you aware, Monsignore," replied Alexander, "that it was your brother who invited the French into Italy?" The Venetian Envoy, who reports this incident, adds that Ascanio intended, with the help of Maximilian I. and King Ferdinand of Spain, to get a Council summoned to dethrone Alexander. We can understand with what misgivings the advent of the Spanish Envoys was awaited.‡

They arrived on the 19th December. On the same day Cardinal Borgia started for Viterbo, in order to quell the

* Report in cypher from Card. A. Sforza of 3rd Dec., 1498, taken from the original in the Milanese Archives, now printed in the Bollet. St. d. Suizz. Ital., VII., 202–204.

† SANUTO, II., 157, 249.

‡ SANUTO, II., 217, 250. *Cf.* LANZ, Actenstücke zur Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 47.

disturbances which had broken out there.* Three days later they appeared before the Pope with that display of anxious concern for the welfare of the Church which Ferdinand's successors were so apt at employing,† while, in fact, their aims were entirely political. Ferdinand of Spain dreaded, above all things, an alliance between Rome and Louis XII., which would give to France the predominance in Italy, and frustrate all his designs in regard to Naples. Consequently, he had charged his Envoys to threaten Alexander with a Council and reform. They began by telling the Pope to his face that the means by which he had obtained the Pontificate were notorious. Alexander interrupted them with the remark that, having been unanimously elected Pope, his title was a far better one than that of their Spanish Majesties, who had taken possession of their throne in defiance of all law and conscience. They were mere usurpers, and had no right whatever to their kingdom. The rest of the audience corresponded with this beginning. The Envoys reproached Alexander with his simony and his nepotism, and threatened a Council. The Pope justified himself, and accused the Spanish Ambassador, Garcilasso de la Vega, of concocting false reports. When the Envoys spoke of the death of the Duke of Gandia as a Divine chastisement, he angrily replied that the Spanish monarchs were more severely punished than he was, for they were without direct successors, and this was doubtless on account of their encroachments on the rights of the Church. ‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 500, and *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 9 *seq.* Consistorial Archives.

† HAVEMANN, II., 15.

‡ SANUTO, II., 279; *cf.* 836, and ZURITA, V., 159b–160. *Cf.* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 83; WIFFEN, Life of Juan Valdes, 25 (1885); MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Ref., 379.

Louis XII. endeavoured to tranquillise the Pope by informing him that he had an agreement with Ferdinand, and consequently there was nothing to fear from him.* Meanwhile, Alexander became more and more disturbed, as he found the Portuguese and Spanish Envoys making common cause and combining to threaten him with a Council.† In January 1499, the Ambassadors of Portugal and Spain presented themselves together before the Pope. In presence of Cardinals Costa, Ascanio, Carvajal, de S. Giorgio, and Lopez, one of the Envoys told the Pope to his face, that he was not the lawful Head of the Church. Alexander in his anger threatened to have him thrown into the Tiber, and retorted by attacking the conduct of the Queen of Spain, and complaining of the interference of both King and Queen in matters concerning the Church. The Venetian Ambassador thought he perceived that the Pope, in his alarm, was beginning to repent of his alliance with France and to wish to be friends again with Ascanio.‡ To add to his annoyance, news came from France that, in spite of all Giuliano della Rovere's persuasions, the daughter of the King of Naples persisted in her refusal to marry

* SANUTO, II., 280 (*cf.* PRESCOTT, II., 219), and *Acta Consist., C. 303: 9th Jan., 1499 . . . Per rev. D. Sanseverinat. lecte sunt littere Christ. Francor. regis ad s. Collegiam idiomate Gallico date ex oppido Chinon XX. Decemb. 1498 quibus significabat se de present ietiam ad S. D. N. scripsisse. (Consistorial Archives.) An account, written by Mattia del Canale on 3rd Jan., 1499, of Alexander's interests in the Carnival festivities in ADEMOLLO, Alessandro VI., 24, curiously illustrates the frivolity of his nature. The Ferrarese Envoy, Manfredi, on 8th Jan., 1499, reports: *Le oratori spagnoli tengono et prefato N. S. multo svegliato et tocco suso el vivo. State Archives, Modena.

† SANUTO, II., 343.

‡ SANUTO, II., 385; *cf.* 343, and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 506–507. See also ZURITA, V., 160, and S. Pinzoni's *Despatch of 1st Jan., 1499 State Archives, Modena.

Cæsar.* Alexander laid the blame of this on Louis XII. In a letter of 4th February, 1499, to Giuliano della Rovere, he complained of the King's faithlessness, which had made him the laughing-stock of the world; as every one knew that, but for this marriage, Cæsar would never have gone to France.† On the 13th of February he spoke in a similar strain to Ascanio, and begged him to endeavour to persuade the King of Naples to agree to the marriage. Ascanio, however, replied that this was impossible. The Cardinal thought that the Pope was very much afraid of Spain and thoroughly mistrustful of France.‡ Just at this time Louis XII. concluded his treaty with Venice for the partition of Milan, leaving it open to the Pope to join in the League if he pleased.§ At this juncture it seemed extremely unlikely that this would take place.‖ If Cæsar had not been in France, the Venetian Envoy, in a report of 12th March, says he believes that Alexander would have allied himself

* SANUTO, II., 412, where, however, the date should be the 19th instead of the 18th Jan. Giuliano's letter was discovered by BROSCH, Julius II., 79. *Cf.* also PÉLISSIER, 369 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 416–417, ed. 3 (423, ed. 4).

‡ Notizenblatt (1856), p. 587.

§ In regard to the League of 9th Feb., 1499, which was published in Blois on the 15th April, and Giuliano della Rovere's part in it, see BROSCH, Julius II., 80. In the *Acta Consist., C. 303, we find (f. 36), Feb. 27, 1499: S. D. N. legit litteras rev. d. S. Petri ad Vinc. quemadmodum Veneti die 9 Febr. confederati forent cum rege christ. dixitque etiam oratorem Venetum hac de re litteras habuisse ac locum Sue S^ti^ reservatum esse. Consistorial Archives.

‖ Giuliano della Rovere was the person counted on to bring the Pope round. In the *Report of an anonymous person, dat. Lyons, 28 Mar., 1499, we find the following passage on Giuliano's journey, which may serve to fill up the gap in BROSCH'S Julius II., 80: Ali XXIV. de questo arrivo qua lo card. de S. Petro. Yesterday he went on to Avignon: se stima vulgarmente per tirar el papa in la liga. State Archives, Modena.

with Milan.* Perhaps that was too much, but it is certain that at that time Alexander was extremely dissatisfied with France, and was still in the same mood when Louis XII. offered the hand of the charming Charlotte d'Albret to Cæsar.†

Alexander's position was an extremely critical one. In Rome, the probability that Germany and Spain would renounce their obedience was freely discussed.‡ There can be no doubt that in both these countries there was a strong party hostile to Rome. This explains why Christopher Columbus, when on 26th February, 1498, he settled his estate upon his son Diego, commanded him to employ his wealth in the support of a crusade, "or in assisting the Pope if a schism in the Church should threaten to deprive him of his seat or of his temporal possessions."§ The danger from Spain was pressing. In order to remove at least one of that country's grounds of complaint, Alexander resolved, on the 20th of March, 1499, to take Benevento away from the heirs of the Duke of Gandia and restore it to the Church.‖ In May, Alexander promised to

* SANUTO, II., 530. The following note in the *Acta Consist., C. 303, 8 Aprilis, 1499, is interesting: Cum ego vicecancellarius dixissem oratorem ill. ducis Mediolani ad S. D. N. hodie ingressurum esse in urbem, statuerunt rev. d. cardinales cum honore suscipiendum esse licet fuerit dictum consuetudinem fuisse non mittere obviam oratoribus praeterquam venientibus ad praestandam pontifici obedientiam. Consistorial Archives.

† SANUTO, II., 562, 617, 640.

‡ The Ferrarese Envoy, Manfredi, in a *Report, dat. Rome, 1st March, 1499, announces: La obedientia si è levata al papa in le terre del imperatore; el simile seguira in Spagna secundo il commune credere. State Archives, Modena.

§ NAVARRETE, Colecion, II., 260. *Cf.* BÜNDGENS, Was verdankt die Länder- und Völkerkunde den mittelalterlichen Mönchen und Missionären? p. 49. Frankfort, 1889.

‖ *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 46. Consistorial Archives in the Vatican.

send his children away from Rome and to carry some reforms into effect; he granted powers for the adjustment of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain, and made large concessions to the King and Queen in regard to their control. In consequence, his relations with Spain became more friendly.*

Alexander had nearly given up all hope of the realisation of Cæsar's marriage with the French Princess,† when an autograph letter from Louis arrived announcing that it had taken place. On the 24th of May Cardinal Sanseverino read the letter in the Consistory.‡ This event created a complete revolution in the Pope's dispositions; he now openly embraced the French side and that of Venice, and announced that the Milanese dynasty must be done away with.§ Cardinal Ascanio Sforza saw that Rome was no longer the place for him; on the 14th July he quitted

BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387; SANUTO, II., 562; and *Despatch from Manfredi, Rome, 23rd March, 1499. State Archives, Modena.

* *Cf.* the Ambassadorial Report of 29th May, 1499, in the Notizenblatt of 1856, p. 593 *seq.* (not correctly printed), and PRESCOTT, II., 221; see here, p. 201, for Alexander's Bull of 16th Nov., 1501, empowering the Spanish Government to levy all tithes in the Colonies.

† See the Ambassadorial Report, Notizenblatt (1856), p. 592.

‡ *Per eund. r. d. Sanseverinatem lecte fuerunt in Sacro consistorio littere eiusdem christ^{mi} regis sua manu Gallico idiomate ad S. D. N. scripte in monticulis Blesis die XIII. Maii 1499 de matrimonio scilicet inter D. Cesarem Borgiam et dominam Carolam de Labreto die X. Maii contracto ac XII. consumato. Lecte fuerunt et in s. consistorio littere ipsius dominae de Labreto sua manu ad S. D. N. sine ulla data exarate in quibus cum placuisset christ^{mo} regi et ill. genitori suo ut domino Cesari Borgiae nuptui traderetur sibi quoque talem virum placuisse ferebit futurumque perpetuo gratum atque jocundum sperare et se bonam filiam fore semper venturamque brevi ad osculandum pedes S^{e} B^{nis} polliceri. Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 54. (Consistorial Archives.) *Cf.* *Letter from A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 18th May, 1499. (Milanese State Archives.) BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 532; SANUTO, II., 759; and YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 168 *seq.*; II., 324 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, II., 799, 826, 923, 958, and Notizenblatt (1857), p. 7.

the city, taking all he had with him. In the first instance he went to the Colonna at Narni, and thence sailed in a Neapolitan ship to Genoa, whence he fled to Milan. Thither he was afterwards followed by the Cardinals Colonna and Sanseverino,* and Alfonso, Lucrezia's husband. Lucrezia was, on the 8th August, made Regent of Spoleto, and went there at once, accompanied by her brother Jofré.

Alexander's children had all now been removed from Rome;† but this had no effect on his nepotism. Nepi was soon bestowed upon Lucrezia, and the governor left there by Ascanio Sforza had to hand it over;‡ meanwhile, the plans for Cæsar's advancement were maturing.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 546, 549; SANUTO, II., 933, 958, 959, 1017. See in the Notizenblatt (1857), pp. 8–9, Milanese Report and Letter of A. Sforza.

† *Dice el papa vole monstrar al Re chel sa viver senza li soi. Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 9th August, 1499. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 108 *seq.* *Cf.* DAL RE, 139, and SANUTO, II., 1049, 1075. On the banishment of Sancia, Jofré Borgia's consort, whose reputation was none of the best, *cf.* SANUTO, II., 1089.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH IN MILAN.—CÆSAR BORGIA CONQUERS IMOLA AND FORLI. — RESTORATION OF LODOVICO MORO. — LOUIS XII. CONQUERS MILAN A SECOND TIME.—ANARCHY IN ROME.—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BISCEGLIA. — FRIVOLITY AND NEPOTISM OF ALEXANDER VI.—PARTITION OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN.

BY the month of July of the year 1499, a French army had already crossed the Alps, and fortress after fortress went down before the "rush of the Swiss and the French." Venice would have chimed in from the eastern side had not her hands just then been over full with the war against the Turks.* Lodovico Moro had hoped that the German Emperor and Frederick of Naples would have come to his aid, but Maximilian was fully occupied in fighting the Swiss. Frederick was to have declared war against the Pope; but when Alessandria fell into the hands of the French, he gave up all thoughts of this.† Thus Lodovico was left to face the French entirely alone. Seeing that the situation was hopeless, on the evening of 1st September he fled to the Tyrol, to put himself under Maximilian's protection. Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Sanseverino followed him.‡ The moment he was gone the Milanese opened their gates to the French; on the 6th September

* HAVEMANN, II., 49; ZINKEISEN, II., 529 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 205.

‡ CIPOLLA, 770; HAVEMANN, II., 56 *seq.*; MAGENTA, I., 554, places the date of his flight on 2nd September.

Trivulzio entered the city, and the fort surrendered almost immediately. A few days later Cremona submitted to the Venetians.* Upon this Louis XII. hastened to Italy to enjoy his triumph. On the 6th October he entered Milan, and was greeted with acclamations by the populace. The King was accompanied by the Marquesses of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo, the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy. Cæsar Borgia, the Cardinals d'Amboise and Giuliano della Rovere, as well as the Envoys from Genoa, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa.†

Alexander VI., now that the alliance with Louis XII. was turning out so favourably for his beloved Cæsar, hailed the success of the French arms with unconcealed delight, quite regardless of the scandal he was causing throughout the whole of Europe. On the 24th of August, 1499, two Portuguese Envoys arrived in Rome and at once asked for an audience. On the part of their Government, they animadverted strongly on the Pope's nepotism, on Cæsar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and on the French alliance, which was fatal to the peace of Europe. If he persisted in these paths, the result would be the calling of a Council.‡ Alexander was annoyed and troubled at these new threats, but did not make any change in his proceedings. On the 25th September he went to Lucrezia at Nepi.§ Here it

* SANUTO, II., 2210; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 206; GUIDI, Sommi Picenardi, Cremona durante il dominio de' Veneziani, 8. Milano, 1866.

† SANUTO, III., 24–25; Diario Ferrarese, 370; ALVISI, 60–61. On the complete reconciliation of the Pope with Giuliano della Rovere, who now cordially supported Cæsar, see BROSCH, Julius II., 81 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* the Report of the 3rd September, 1499, in the Notizenblatt for 1857, 54–55.

§ Lucrezia's husband, Alfonso, had returned to his wife at the command of the Pope. On the 14th October she went back to Rome, and on the 1st November gave birth to a son, who was called Rodrigo.

was arranged that Cæsar was to conquer the Romagna. The King of France manifested his gratitude by placing a portion of his army at the Duke's disposal.* "It was not difficult to make the expedition appear as though undertaken for the interests of the Church, though in reality the interests of the family were the first consideration. The relations between the rulers of the cities of the Romagna and their feudal Lord were so variable, and often so unsatisfactory, as easily to afford a handle for proceeding against them to any Pope who wished to do so. Alexander resolved to make use of this opportunity to strike a crushing blow."† Bulls were issued declaring the Lords of Rimini, Pesaro, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Urbino, and Camerino to have forfeited their fiefs by the non-payment of their dues. Louis XII. arranged that proceedings should only be taken against those who belonged to the party of the Sforza, and this plan had also the advantage of satisfying the susceptibilities of the Venetians.‡

In the middle of November Cæsar began the campaign by attacking Caterina Sforza and the sons of Girolamo Riario. Imola opened her gates of her own accord, and the fort fell in the early part of December. In Forli, also, the inhabitants offered no resistance, but the citadel here was far stronger and was bravely defended by the high-spirited Caterina herself; yet on 12th January, 1500, it was forced to capitulate.§

On the 10th Aug., 1500, Lod. Borgia, Archbishop of Valencia, was made Lieutenant-governor of Spoleto. See SANSI, Documente dall' Arch. Comm. di Spoleto, 81. Spoleto, 1861.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 209.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 229. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 223; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 422, ed. 3 (428, ed. 4); and CREIGHTON, IV., 4. In September the Pope had thought of getting the Dukedom of Ferrara for Cæsar, but Venice objected. See Hist. Zeitschr., XXXIII., 380.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 570; BALAN, V., 394, n. 3; ALVISI, 67.

§ SANUTO, III., 56, 84; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 209 *seq.*;

When Cæsar's nephew, Cardinal Juan Borgia, heard at Urbino the good news of the fall of Forli, he set out on horseback, although suffering from fever, to offer his personal congratulations, but was prostrated by a fresh attack of the malady before he could get beyond Fossombrone. Later, an utterly groundless story was concocted of Cæsar's having poisoned his nephew.*

Just as Cæsar was preparing to proceed against Cesena and Pesaro,† an event occurred which deprived him of his French troops and brought the whole campaign to a standstill. The Milanese rose against the extortions of the French, while Lodovico Moro appeared in Como at the head of a body of Swiss and German troops; and on the 5th of February, 1500, re-entered the city in triumph. The French lost the whole of Lombardy as quickly as they had won it.‡ Without the help of the French troops, which had now been sent against Lodovico Moro, it was impossible to go on with the conquest of the Romagna, the more so as Venice had grown jealous and now strongly supported

Diario Ferrarese, 374, 375, 377; ALVISI, 63, 70 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 395; see here also on supposed plots of some inhabitants of Forli for poisoning the Pope. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 579. See also YRIARTE'S recent work, César Borgia, 21 *seq.*; and especially PASOLINI, II., 134 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, and CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 28 *seq.*, where the history of Caterina's fate is given in detail.

* See ALVISI, 83 *seq.*; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 60–91. *Cf.* also KINDT, Die Katastrophe L. Moro's in Novara, 80 *seq.*, and in Appendix, N. 4, the *Letter of 23rd Jan., 1500. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BALAN, V., 395, n. 3; YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 200 *seq.* On the assistance sent him by the Pope, see DAL RE, 122.

‡ SANUTO, III., 103; BALAN, V., 396; Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1890), 43 *seq.*; DIERAUER, II., 384; LUZIO-RENIER, Relaz. di Isabella d'Este, 157–158 (at p. 154 read 5th instead of 4th February). PÉLISSIER, La politique du Marquis de Mantoue, in the Annal. de la fac. des Lettres de Bordeaux (1892), 104.

the Lords of Faenza and Rimini.* Cæsar, therefore, returned to Rome and made his triumphal entry into the city on the 26th February, clothed in black velvet and with a gold chain round his neck; all the Cardinals and Envoys came to meet him. Alexander VI. was beside himself with joy; he wept and laughed in the same breath.† Amongst the Carnival-plays the triumph of Julius Cæsar was represented in the Piazza Navona. On Laetare Sunday (29th March), the Duke received from the hands of the Pope the insignia of a standard-bearer of the Church and the Golden Rose.‡ The power of the Duke of Valentinois was now almost unlimited. Even on the 23rd of January a report from Rome announced that, at the approaching nomination of Cardinals, Cæsar's influence would be decisive: he was the person to apply to. No Castellans were appointed to any of the strong places within the Papal States but such as were devoted to him; the governorship of the Castle of St. Angelo was given to one of his retainers.§

Meanwhile the state of affairs in Lombardy had again completely changed. Louis XII. had lost no time in sending a fresh army across the Alps, and the battle at Novara proved a decisive victory for France. The Swiss refused to fight against their kinsmen in the French army, and abandoned Lodovico, who was taken prisoner (10th April, 1500).|| Louis XII. shut him up in the fortress of Loches

* See in Appendix, N. 4, the *Letter of 23rd Jan., 1500. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, III., 140–141; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 19 *seq.*

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 22, 26 *seq.*; SANUTO, III., 198; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 228; *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ See Appendix, N. 4.

|| See RUSCONI, Lod. il Moro e sua cattura in Novara (Novara, 1878); KINDT, Die Katastrophe L. Moro's in Novara; and DIERAUER, II., 386–387. See also KNUTH, Jean d'Auton, 37 *seq.*

in Touraine; Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who fell into the hands of the Venetians, was delivered over to the French and imprisoned in Bourges;* thus reaping the reward of his unprincipled conduct at Alexander's election.

On the evening of the 14th of April, 1500, the news of Lodovico's catastrophe reached Rome; the Pope is said to have given 100 ducats to the messenger who brought it; the Orsini lighted bonfires everywhere, and Rome resounded with cries of "France and the Bear" (=Orsini).† This occurred in the midst of the Jubilee festivities, which had filled the city with pilgrims from foreign parts. "The events of the year and the state of Rome were anything but suitable however to a religious celebration." In spite of the precautions taken by Alexander, even in the previous year, the insecurity of both life and property in the city was frightful; murders occurred nearly every day. The severest punishments effected no improvement in its condition, which indeed was not worse than that of most of the other Italian cities;‡ but the events which took place

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 41, 46, 141. On the imprisonment of Card. Sforza, see KINDT'S investigation, Katastrophe, 73 *seq.* It seems very doubtful whether Alexander's mediation to procure Ascanio's liberation (see MARINI, I., 304) was meant to succeed; for the Pope promptly took possession of Ascanio's art treasures, and gave away his benefices; Giuliano della Rovere obtained one of these latter. See the *Deed in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 6. Ascanio Sforza was not released until the 3rd Jan., 1502, through the good offices of Card. d'Amboise. He accompanied his benefactor to the Conclave in Rome which elected Pius III., and died there at the end of May, 1505, not of poison but of the Plague; see BALAN, 398; RATTI, I., 87 *seq.* His splendid monument by Andrea Sansovino in Sta Maria del Popolo is world-famed. See MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 347, 493 *seq.*, and SCHÖNFELD, A. Sansovino and s. Schule. Stuttgart, 1881.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 35.

‡ Compare what SUGENHEIM, 380 *seq.*, says of Perugia.

in the Borgia family attracted more attention than any of these deeds of violence.*

Next to Cæsar, Lucrezia at that time again stood highest in the Pope's favour. In the Spring of the year 1501 Sermoneta, which had just been snatched away from the Gaetani, was added to Spoleto and Nepi, which had already been bestowed upon her.† As she was on excellent terms with her present husband, there seemed nothing now to mar her happiness. It was, however, not destined to last long: on the evening of the 15th of July, as Alfonso was returning from the Vatican he was set upon by five assassins in the Piazza di San Pietro. Though badly wounded he succeeded in making his escape. He was so much afraid of poison that he refused all medical help, and sent word to the King of Naples that his life was in danger, as his own physician had endeavoured to destroy him by this means.‡ A report was immediately circulated that the attempt originated from the same quarter as the murder of the

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 39–42 *seq.*, 45; SANUTO, III., 319; Letter from Brandolinus in BROM, 190 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 232. On the precautionary measures of the Pope, see, specially, *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. In the library at Siena, A. III., T., f. 15, is an unprinted Bando against the Corsi in Rome and the States of the Church.

† *Alexander VI. vendit Sermonetam et alia loca sublata a Caietanis praetextu rebellionis Lucretiae Borgiae. Dat. Rom., 1499 (st. fl.), 7 Id. Mart. Cod. Ottob., 2504, f. 287 *seq.* (Vat. Library.) *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 421, ed. 3 (427, ed. 4), and L. Borgia, 114; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 238; and BALAN, 393–394.

‡ Besides the notice in SANUTO, III., 521, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 69., *cf.* Brandolinus' Letter in BROM, 185; the Florentine Report in THUASNE, III., 437 *seq.*; and especially the Report of B. Calmeta, which has been strangely overlooked by Gregorovius, although there is a triple copy of it in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. I had intended to give it in the Appendix, but can now refer the reader to LUZIO-RENIER, who has printed it in his work, Mantova e Urbino, 103.

Duke of Gandia.* All the probabilities of the case point to the Orsini, who believed that Alfonso was intriguing against them with the Colonna, who were allied with the King of Naples. It is most unlikely that Cæsar had anything to do with it.† Nevertheless, Alfonso was convinced that his brother-in-law was the author of this foul deed, and the moment he felt himself recovering he was bent on revenging himself. Lucrezia and Sancia strove to make peace, and the Pope posted a guard at the door of the sick-room, but all was in vain. In a despatch of 18th August, which was forwarded at once, Paolo Capello, the Venetian Ambassador, writes that on that day Alfonso, looking out of the window, saw Cæsar walking in the garden. In a moment he had seized a bow, and discharged an arrow at his detested enemy. Cæsar retaliated by having Alfonso cut to pieces by his own body-guard.‡ Lucrezia, who had

* P. Capello's Despatch in SANUTO, III., 532.

† CREIGHTON, IV., 11.

‡ Despatch from the Venetian Envoy, P. Capello, of 18th Aug., in SANUTO, III., 671. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 12, 257 *seq.*, whose remarks supply the necessary criticism on P. Capello's narrative of 28th Sept., 1500 (to be found in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 3–14, and SANUTO, III., 842 *seq.* *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, III., 5*–6*). Unfortunately Hagen's careful paper on Alexander VI., "Cäsar Borgia und die Ermordung des Herzogs von Biselli," in Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theolog., X., 313 *seq.*, has escaped Creighton's notice. This writer comes to the conclusion that much stronger evidence of the Duke's guilt is furnished by Capello's Despatches, and especially by that of 23rd Aug., than by the personal convictions of Burchard and the Florentine Envoy. (See p. 78, note ‡.) "There is no formal argument," says Hagen, "to contradict these statements. We must therefore hold them to be true, whatever general doubts may rest on his report, and especially on his narrative." CIPOLLA, 778, is also against Alvisi's defence of Cæsar, 109 *seq.* On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Capello's account of the murder of the Pope's servant, Pierotto, is false, although Gregorovius and Ranke uphold it. *Cf.* HAGEN, *loc. cit.*, 317; REUMONT, III., 1, 207; and BROSCH in Sybels Zeitschr., XXXIII., 370.

been herself nursing her husband with the tenderest care, was inconsolable. Overwhelmed with grief she went back to Nepi to hide herself in its solitude. Some of Alfonso's Neapolitan servants were arrested on a charge of having planned an attempt on Cæsar's life, but nothing of any importance was extracted from them.* When the Neapolitan Envoy heard what had happened he at once took refuge in the palace of the Spanish Ambassador.† Alexander told the Venetian Envoy, who came to see him on the 23rd August, that Alfonso had tried to kill Cæsar. Beyond this nothing on the subject was allowed to transpire; a few conjectures were whispered about, but no one dared to speak above his breath. Evidently Alexander VI. thought it prudent to hush up the whole affair as much as possible; no doubt he too was afraid of Cæsar.‡

Shortly before the murder, Alexander's own life had been in great danger. In the ninth year of his reign, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Sigismondo de' Conti relates, just as the Pope was about to give his audience, the sky being clear, suddenly, with no warning, a tornado of wind sprung up and tore off the very solid roof of the upper part of the Sala de' Papi as though it had been made of straw. In consequence, that portion of the roof under which the Pope was sitting also gave way, but the balcony over his head, still remaining attached to the wall, protected him from the falling masonry, and the gold embroidered hanging over his throne from the smothering dust. Half an hour elapsed before his servants could make their way through the wind

* Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, III., 438, and in Appendix, N. 5, a Letter from G. L. Cataneo, of 19th Aug., 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On Lucrezia at Nepi, see GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 154 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, ed. 3.

† See Appendix, N. 5.

‡ Despatch from P. Capello, 23rd Aug., in SANUTO, III., 685; CREIGHTON, IV., 12.

and dust to the place where he lay, bleeding and apparently hardly alive. He was carried into the adjoining hall and there soon recovered consciousness. His physicians found that two fingers of the right hand had been injured, and he had a wound in his head. The first night he was very feverish, but soon began to get better.* "If nothing unforeseen occurs," the Mantuan Envoy writes on the 2nd July, "he will recover." This Envoy states that on the previous day also Alexander had a narrow escape of being killed by a heavy iron chandelier, which fell just in front of him.† Any other man would have been led to look into himself and consider his ways by such a series of narrow escapes; but Alexander was a true Borgia, he thanked God and the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul for his preservation,‡ and lived on as before. Writing of Alexander

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 269. *Cf.* the Papal Briefs of 3rd and 4th July, 1500, in BALAN, 398-9, and SANUTO, III., 477-479; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 65 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 433 *seq.*; the Report of P. Capello; LANDUCCI, 211 *seq.*; NOTAR GIACOMO, 235; *Letters from G. L. Cataneo of 28th June and 2nd July, 1500 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and one from Brandolini in BROM, 183-185. All these authorities agree in giving the date of the catastrophe as 29th June, and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 434, ed. 3 (in the 4th ed., 440, the true date is given), and CREIGHTON, IV., 9, require to be corrected in accordance with them. SANUTO, III., 455, contains an account from the Venetian Envoy of the accident, the date of which must be 29th June, 1500, instead of 29th May, 1501, as there given. In France it was thought that the Pope would die, in which case the Tiara was to be secured for Giuliano della Rovere. See BROSCH, Julius II., 85. On a poem relating to this incident, see ZINGERLE, XXXII.

† G. L. Cataneo's **Reports, dat. Rome, 2nd July, 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Details in regard to the Pope's health after this time are to be found in the Reports in THUASNE, III., 434 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, III., 469. In the Spring the Pope had had an attack of fever: this was the date of the Dialogus mortis et pontificis laborantis febre, preserved in SANUTO, III., 277.

‡ SANUTO, III., 478. He re-enacted the ordinance of Pope Calixtus III.

in September 1500, Paolo Capello says: "The Pope is now seventy years of age; he grows younger every day, his cares never last the night through; he is always merry and never does anything that he does not like. The advancement of his children is his only care, nothing else troubles him." *

In Cæsar's eyes this accident was a warning to carry out his plans with as little delay as possible. His campaign against the Tyrants of the Romagna required a considerable sum of money and the acquiescence of Venice, where, since the month of May, a Papal Nuncio, Angelo Leonini, had been permanently residing.† He succeeded in obtaining both money from the creation of Cardinals of 2nd September, 1500,‡ and the consent of Venice in return

on the ringing of the Angelus, about this time. See Vol. II. of this work, p. 400, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 4.

* SANUTO, III., 846–847. In a hitherto unnoticed Report of C Guasco of 14th Aug., 1499 (Notizenblatt, 1857, p. 55), we find: Madonna Julia [Farnese] è ritornata a la S. de N. S. The Venetian Envoy paid a visit to the Pope on 3rd July, 1500, and says: Era con S. Sta Madona Lugrecia la principessa e so marito, e una soa damisella sta con Madona Lugrecia, ch' è *favorita del papa.* SANUTO, III., 469; *cf.* also Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 100, 295. SANUTO mentions, I., 375, the fall of a wall in the Vatican in Nov. 1496, struck by lightning, and III., 909, on 5th Oct. 1500, that Alexander was attacked by an angry fallow-buck and was in considerable danger.

† According to PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 35 *seq.*, this is the first instance that can be traced with certainty of a permanent Nuntiature at any Court.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 855, 857, 878, 879, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 77, who gives the sum that each Cardinal had to pay. The twelve nominated, of whom six were Spaniards, were: (1) Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; (2) A. d'Albret; (3) Lod. Borja; (4) Jacopo Serra; (5) Pietro Isvalies; (6) Francesco Borja; (7) Giovanni Vera; (8) Lodovico Podocatharo; (9) Gianantonio Trivulzio; (10) Giambattista Ferrari; (11) Thomas Bakocs; (12) Marco Cornaro. *Cf.* PANVINIUS, 335; CARDELLA, 279 *seq.*; and *Acta Consist; in fol. 9 are also the names of the thirteen

for the help against the Turks given them by Alexander.*

On the morning of the 1st of October, 1500, Cæsar set out from Rome at the head of an army of 10,000 men. He had in his pay some Roman Barons of the houses of Orsini and Savelli, Giampolo Baglione of Perugia, Vitellozzo Vitelli of Citta di Castello, and other chiefs, who, frightened at the alliance with France, thought there was less danger in siding with the dreaded foe than in resisting."† The Lords of Pesaro and Rimini, Giovanni Sforza and Pandolfo Malatesta, made no attempt to defend themselves and sought safety in flight. Faenza was not so easily conquered; its ruler, Astorre Manfredi, was beloved by all his subjects, and was supported by the Florentines and by his maternal grandfather, Giovanni Bentivoglio. The citizens defended themselves with resolution, and when winter came on, the siege had to be raised. When the Spring returned, Cæsar again invested the city (7th March, 1501) and on the 25th April it was forced to capitulate.‡ Astorre Manfredi was faithlessly carried off

Cardinals who consented to the creation. (Consistorial Archives.) On the lives of the several Cardinals see, besides Ciaconius and Migne, GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 275 *seq.*; and MARINI, I., 263, on Francesco Borja, who had till then been Treasurer-General; FRAKNÓI'S Monograph, 79 *seq.*, on Bakocs; and MARINI, I., 218 *seq.*, and Anecd. Litt., I., 279 *seq.*, on Podocatharo.

* CREIGHTON, IV., 13.

† *Cf.* ALVISI, 124 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 23; and G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 1st Oct., 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the 5th Oct. the *Legati de latere* were nominated: Peraudi to Maximilian (see SCHNEIDER, 55); P. Isvalies to Hungary (see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 248); and Giov. Vera to Spain, Portugal, and England.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 228 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 390 *seq.*; SENAREGA, 570; *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna; ALVISI, 172 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*; TONINI, V., 437; BALAN, V., 399; YRIARTE, Rimini, 360; SUGENHEIM, 371;

to the Castle of St. Angelo where, in January 1502, Cæsar had him and his younger brother put to death.* Next came the punishment of Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had supported Faenza in its resistance. When several castles had been taken, he sued for mercy, gave up Castel Bolognese also, and promised to supply Cæsar for five years with 300 horsemen.† Alexander now bestowed on Cæsar the title of Duke of Romagna, "thus making the largest province of the Church hereditary in the Borgia family, in utter indifference to the probability that this might easily entail on the Church the loss of all these States."‡

Encouraged by these rapid successes, Cæsar now turned his attention to Florence, at that time seriously weakened by the war with Pisa. In great alarm the Florentines purchased peace by granting him for three years a subsidy of 36,000 ducats, and promising not to help Piombino. The Lord of this principality, Jacopo d'Appiano, lost in a very short space of time the greater part of his possessions.§

CIPOLLA, 778–779. G. L. Cataneo announces, 6th March, 1501: *El papa manda ogni di molto denari a Valentino. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 232. I cannot accept Alvisi and Maury's defence of Cæsar in the Rev. Hist., VIII., 94, in the face of the explicit testimony of a historian who was by no means hostile to the Borgia family. *Cf.* also BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 208; LANDUCCI, 244; and Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 18. Here the story of the murder (è stato detto) is told on 6th June, while G. L. Cataneo, on the 7th June, 1502, writes home: *El Sig. gia de Faenza e lo fratello qual erano qua in castello benche alquanto largi ma guardati sono stati conducti fuora d'esso ne se sa dove siano; tamen credesi siano condutti a Piombino per don Micheloto primo homo in l'arme del ducha pto. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† ALVISI, 496 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 401; SUGENHEIM, 372; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 16; CIPOLLA, 779.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 439, ed. 3 (446, ed. 4); ALVISI, 181; THUASNE, III., 131, n. 2.

§ ALVISI, 192 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 373.

After this the Duke returned to Rome, where he was wanted on account of the state of affairs in Naples. Highly important decisions were come to in relation to this kingdom in the next few weeks. Hitherto it had been a constant tradition of Roman policy that no foreign power was to be allowed to obtain a footing in Naples. Now Alexander VI. abandoned this principle.*

Soon after Cæsar's arrival on the 25th June, 1501, a Bull was drafted assenting to the secret treaty of 11th November, 1500, between France and Spain for the partition of Naples between them. Louis XII. was to be King of Naples and to possess Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzi; Ferdinand was to take Apulia and Calabria with the title of Grand Duke. Both were to hold their lands in fief from the Church. The way in which the King of Naples had been dallying with the Turks served as the pretext for his deposition.† One motive which strongly inclined Alexander VI. to agree to the plan was the blow that it would deal to the rebellious Roman Barons, who would now be deprived of all support. On the 27th June, 1501, the League with France and Spain was announced, and the French army, which was already encamped near Rome, began its southward march.‡ On the 4th July Cæsar joined it with his troops.§

Frederick of Naples had had no suspicion of Ferdinand's perfidy, and knew nothing of it until the Papal Bull was

* *Cf.* the very interesting summary in Trinchera's collection of documents in the Allg. Zeitung of 1870, No. 46. See also TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 327.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 53–72.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 149–150; SANUTO, IV., 61, 82; Arch. St. Nap., II., 659 *seq.*; and G. L. Cataneo's *Letter of 30th June, 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Report of G. L. Cataneo, 5th July, 1501. (Gonzaga Archives. Mantua.) According to this, ALVISI, 209, requires correction.

published. The French reached Capua, destroying the villages of the Colonna on their way, almost without resistance, and successfully stormed and sacked that city before the end of July.* Gaeta now also capitulated, and the French army under d'Aubigny appeared before Naples. Frederick fled to Ischia and surrendered to the French King, who gave him the Dukedom of Anjou and a yearly pension. France and Spain divided his kingdom between them.†

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 239; SANUTO, IV., 76–78; BALAN, V., 404–405; HAVEMANN, II., 120 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 781. In regard to the accusations against Cæsar, see his defence in ALVISI, 209 *seq.*; LEONETTI, II., 455; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 96 *seq.*; and R. di SORAGNA in the Rassegna Naz., X. (1882), 364, who do not here go too far. *Cf.* BROSCH in Hist. Zeitschr., XLIV., 542.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 248; Brandolinus' Letter in BROM, 147 *seq.*; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 33 *seq.*; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 142 *seq.*, 149 *seq.* Although Louis XII. was excused his tribute by Alexander VI. on 27th Aug., 1501, on account of the Turkish war (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 75; GOTTLOB, 234–235), he did very little in this direction. Ferdinand was excused on the 15th May, 1502, from the duty of appearing personally in Rome to receive his fief; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1502, n. 16; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 384. He lost no time in manifesting his gratitude to the Borgias; see HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander VI. and the War against the Turks in the years 1499–1502.

Alexander's unabashed nepotism and wholly worldly aims in politics cast their baneful shadows also over the resistance to the Turkish advance during his reign.* The Pope's nepotism repeatedly acted as a direct hindrance to efforts against the Turks, but its indirect effects were perhaps still more injurious; for no one trusted him, and whatever he put his hand to was believed to have, for its ultimate object, nothing but the aggrandisement of the house of Borgia. Nevertheless, even such a man as Alexander could not remain entirely inactive in presence of the danger from the East. The noble generosity of his predecessors in assisting the refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks was continued under his rule, and towards the close of the century he appeared to be thoroughly in earnest in his efforts to organise a Crusade.†

Prince Dschem, in the hands of the Christians, acted to

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, pp. 397, 428. Malipiero, 161, mentions another later convention between Alexander and the Sultan which was negotiated by Ascanio, but very soon given up by the Pope. On his relation to the question of the Crusade in 1498, see also Maulde, Procédures Polit., 1106 *seq.*, and Dipl. de Machiavelli, I., 72.

† *Cf.* Reumont in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 489, ed. 2, and Gottlob in Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459. On Ferdinand's suspicions as to the application of the Crusade money by Alexander, *of.* Bergemoth, I., 266.

a certain degree as a check upon the Sultan; but after his death fresh attacks on Christian lands recommenced almost at once. In Bosnia, in the year 1496, a number of small fortresses, still occupied by the Hungarians, were invested by Turkish troops and many of them conquered. In Moldavia the inroads of the Turks, beginning in the same year, were of a more serious character. In 1498 a band of Turks and Tartars, combined with Moldavians, swooped down on Poland itself. Far and wide they ravaged the country; "the land was strewn with corpses. All the towns on the hills and plains round Lemberg and Przemysl as far as Kanczug were plundered and burnt; the harpies encamped in the fields for a short time and then returned whence they came, loaded with booty."*

Already in the previous year the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between Venice and the Porte had been sharply disturbed. The Turks had for some time past been busily occupied in strengthening their armaments, and especially their navy. The object of these preparations was kept a profound secret, and the Venetians, with all their sagacity, were completely deceived.† When the preparations were completed, the Sultan, without any declaration of war, began hostilities by arresting all the

* CARO, V., 2, 751; ZINKEISEN, II., 507 *seq.*

† *Ex litteris abatis Gondulae, 1499, Juli xxiii.: Che le cose del Turco vanno tanto secretamente che non se po intendere ne sapere ne pensare la soa deliberatione. (State Archives, Milan, Turchia.) Barthol. Sfondrato had, however, correctly guessed what the Turks were about; *cf.* his Report of 18th June, 1499, in MAKUSCEV, II., 108. He says: Tutto il Levante trema. . . . Et ben che le cose del dicto Turcho siano passate et passano secretissime, tamen ad me, me pare comprehender che quantunque dal principio la fama si e stata contro Rhodo et contra Puglia, tamen el suo disegno è stato de rumpere guerra ad S. Venetiani. In Ragusa, however, it was firmly believed in the middle of July, 1499, that the Turks were going to attack Rhodes. MAKUSCEV, II., 194.

Venetians in Constantinople. Venice was plunged in dismay and distress, and, to make matters worse, the finances of the Republic were at that moment at a very low ebb. To meet the heavy expense of fitting out a fleet it was necessary to raise all tolls and taxes and to impose new ones All the officials of the republic were required to surrender the half of their salaries to the State, and the clergy had to contribute a third of their revenues, this with the Pope's consent. By dint of these exertions an imposing fleet of 130 sails was equipped. But even this was quite insufficient to cope with that of the Turks, which numbered 270. On the 26th of August, Lepanto, the only important sea-port in the Gulf of Corinth that still remained in the hands of the Venetians, fell.* At the same time 10,000 Turkish horsemen from Bosnia made a successful raid on the mainland of Venice. The whole district on one side to Tagliamento and even near Vicenza, and on the other as far as Drau, was devastated with fire and sword, and all the inhabitants slain or carried into captivity.†

In the Summer of 1499 the Turkish question was re-

* ZINKEISEN, II., 527-531 ; ROMANIN, V., 134 *seq.* ; HEYD, II., 330 *seq.* ; HOPF, 167.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 532. *Cf.* also BALAN'S concluding vol. of Addenda, p. xvii., and MAKUSCEV, II., 109 ; LANDUCCI, 203. A detailed account of the Turkish raid on Friuli in 1499 is to be found in the Cronaca di Nicolo Maria di Strassoldo, anno 1469-1509 (Nozze Strassoldo-Gallici. Udine, 1876). The sea-board of Southern Italy was harried by the Turks at the same time. In the *Avisi de Nicolo Gondula de lettere, 16th, 17th, and 20th June, 1499, I found the following memorandum which belongs to this period. *Che circa XI. Giorni inanti introrno XIIII. fuste de Barbaria nel golfo de Taranto et IIII. de epse so apresentorno a capo de Ottranto dove preheseno una naveta Ciciliana carica de frumento et zuchari et una sagitia Lipariota. Milanese State Archives, Turchia.

peatedly discussed in Consistory. It was then thought, from the report of the Grand-Master of Rhodes, that the attack was to be directed against that island.* While the deliberations on the help to be sent to Rhodes were going on, the news came of the descents on Venetian territory. In the beginning of August, letters from the French Envoy in Venice to a French Cardinal came to hand, accusing the Milanese Government of having instigated the Turkish attack. The Milanese Envoy in Rome defended the conduct of his master in view of the hostile attitude of the Venetians, and declared openly that Milan would not scruple to use the Turks and the Moors in self-defence.† It never came to this, however, for in the Autumn of that year Lodovico Moro was driven out of Milan.‡

In consequence of the increasingly menacing reports which continued to arrive from the East, Alexander, in the late Autumn of 1499, issued an invitation to all the Christian Princes to send representatives to Rome in the ensuing March to deliberate on the formation of a League against the Turks.§ This invitation met with so little response that in February 1500, it was found necessary to repeat it.|| Even this produced but little result. On the

* Protocols of the Consistories of the 10th, 14th, and 26th June, and 5th July, 1499. *Acta Consist., C. 303, in the Consistorial Archives.

† See the Milanese Ambassadorial Reports in the Notizenblatt (1857), pp. 21–22, 38–39.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 70.

§ *Cf.* the Brief of 12th Nov., 1499, to King Emanuel of Portugal in SANTAREM, X., 120.

|| See the identical Briefs of 3rd Feb., 1500, to Florence (MÜLLER, Relaz., 245) and to Francesco Gonzaga; the original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The King of Portugal received Briefs of commendation for his zeal in regard to the war against the infidels on the 10th and 16th Feb., 1500; in the last of these the 1st of March is mentioned as the day on which the deliberations were to begin. SANTAREM, X., 121.

11th March a secret Consistory was held, to which all the Envoys in Rome were invited. These consisted of the representatives of Maximilian, Louis XII., Henry VII. of England, and Ferdinand of Spain, besides those of Naples, Venice, Savoy, and Florence. Alexander VI. put before the assembly the great danger now threatening Europe from the Turks, and expressed his regret that his summons of the previous Autumn had met with so little attention. He went on to say that Venice was the bulwark of Christendom and that it was the duty of all Christian powers to support her. The answers of the Envoys were so unsatisfactory that the Pope made no secret of his displeasure with Germany, France, and Naples; Spain was the only Government to which he awarded unqualified praise.* In the beginning of May, Alexander VI. proposed in Consistory that a Legate should be sent to Hungary and that a tithe should be levied on the clergy of France, Germany, and Hungary; also that the Cardinals should be taxed, beginning with himself. Many of the Cardinals objected, but the Pope stood firm. In spite of all this the Venetian Envoy still refused to believe in Alexander's sincerity, which is significant of the prevailing opinion in regard to him.† These doubts were dissipated by his later acts.‡

A Bull, dated 1st June, 1500, was addressed to all

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 24, and, in more detail, ZURITA, V., 175 *seq.* Towards the end of February a Turkish Envoy had arrived in Rome with the object of averting the war. This brought Card. Peraudi back, in hot haste and without leave, in order to counteract these efforts, which he succeeded in doing. See SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 53–54. On the policy of France, see LANZ, Actenst. zur Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 56.

† SANUTO, III., 309, 342, 343, 355. *Cf. ibid.*, 255, 385, and 426, on the sending of the Legate to Hungary and the support to be given to that country.

‡ *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459.

Christendom, setting forth the fury and cruelty of the Osmanli and their hatred of the Christian name, and urging all to unite against the common enemy. The purpose of the Turks, it affirmed, was, first to conquer Rome, and then to subjugate all the Christian populations. Consequently, the Roman Church had now formally declared war against the hereditary foe. To meet the expenses of the contest, a tithe was to be levied on all ecclesiastical benefices without exception, and on all the officials in the States of the Church. All who resisted the impost were threatened with Excommunication. This Crusade-Bull was to be publicly read, in the vulgar tongue, on some feast-day in all the dioceses of the world. The Jews were required to contribute a twentieth of their property.* At the same time a Brief was drawn up addressed to the King of France. In it the Pope said that Envoys had been summoned to Rome in March, in order to take counsel on the war against the Turks. Many had not come, and those that had appeared were not provided with sufficient powers. Although the summons had been repeated, as yet the Pope had received nothing from the Princes but fair words. Hence he now once more turned to the King of France, who, now that he was ruler of Milan, was doubly bound to come forward to protect Italy from the Turks, and requested him to send representatives at once. Spain and Venice were full of zeal, thus there was a good prospect of success. For his own part, he had imposed a tithe upon all the inhabitants of the Papal States and on the clergy throughout the world, and was prepared to make even greater sacrifices.† A further proof that Alexander was then in earnest in regard to the war is given by the fact that at the end of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 7–9, and in a more complete form in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 46–56.

† SANUTO, III., 435–348.

June he recalled Cardinal Peraudi, the eager advocate of the Crusade, to the Court, and in the Spring of the following year began to collect the contributions of the Cardinals, out of which a fleet was to be equipped.* The tax-list, which has been preserved, and is interesting as giving the incomes of the different Cardinals, is as follows:—

			Ducats.		*Ducats.*
Card.	Caraffa . .	On income,	10,000	To pay	1000
„	Giuliano della Rovere .	„	20,000	„	2000
„	Zeno	„	15,000	„	1500
„	Giovanni Michiel .	„	12,000	„	1200
„	Giorgio Da Costa .	„	7,000	„	700
„	Girolamo Basso . .	„	11,000	„	1100
„	Domenico della Rovere	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Cibò	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Pallavicino . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Juan Borgia . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Orsini . . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	S. Giorgio . . .	„	8,000	„	800
„	Carvajal . . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Peraudi . . .	„	3,000	„	300

* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 54, looks upon these measures as mere feints hung out to encourage the liberality of the faithful. But in that case would the Cardinals, of whom many were far from anxious for the war, have consented to pay? This argument applies also against LANZ, Actenst. z. Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 58 *seq.* Even though Lanz may be quite justified in saying that Alexander took advantage of the distress of Venice for Cæsar's advancement, this does not by any means prove that the whole Crusade was nothing but a sham. Lanz relies entirely on the Venetian documents, which are certainly exceedingly one-sided. Dr. GOTTLOB, with whom in this matter I hold (see *supra*, p. 85, note †), agrees with Reumont in taking a more favourable view of Alexander's intentions. It is to be hoped that the able author of the Cam. Ap. will shortly publish all the materials belonging to this subject from the numerous documents collected by him; till this has been done the question must remain undecided.

			Ducats.		*Ducats.*
Card.	De Castro . .	On income,	2,000	To pay	200
„	Lopez . . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Grimani . . .	„	7,000	„	700
„	Serra . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Isvalies . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Francesco Borgia .	„	3,000	„	300
„	Vera	„	3,000	„	300
„	Podocatharo . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Ferrari . . .	„	3,000	„	300
„	Piccolomini . .	„	9,000	„	900
„	Sansoni . . .	„	18,000	„	1800
„	Colonna . . .	„	3,000	„	300
„	Ascanio Sforza . .	„	30.000	„	3000
„	de' Medici . . .	„	6,000	„	600
„	Sanseverino . .	„	13,000	„	1300
„	Iippolito d'Este . .	„	14,000	„	1400
„	Cesarini . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Farnese . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Lodovico Borgia . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„	Cornaro . . .		no income	„	nil
„	Briçonnet . . .	„	12,000	„	1200
„	Philippe de Luxembourg	„	9,000	„	900
„	d'Amboise . . .	„	9,000	„	900
„	d'Albret . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„	Mila	„	8,000	„	800
„	Mendoza . . .	„	14,000	„	1400
„	d'Aragona . . .	„	2,000	„	200
		Total	. .	.	34,300
From the tax on Roman officials and Hospitals				.	11,076
		Total	. .	.	45,376*

* Cardinales Rhodianus, Polonus, Strigoniensis, quia in bello existunt, were exempted. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 9, from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 56 *seq.* (where Macloviensis should be read *instead of* Madrutiensis). The list is placed in June, which is a mistake, as its mention

In the beginning of September, the Venetian Envoy in Rome wrote that the Pope had been doing all he could throughout the Summer for the support of Venice and Hungary, and had given peremptory orders to the commander of the Spanish fleet to join that of Venice; that his dispositions in regard to the Crusade were excellent, if he only carried out the half of what he had promised it would be quite sufficient.* The doubt again implied in these words was not deserved; a few days earlier Alexander had despatched various Briefs, the contents of which amply prove his sincerity; and he was exerting himself to the utmost to bring about the union of the Spanish fleet with the Venetian.†

Soon after this the Venetian Envoy received the sad tidings that Modon had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and the loss of Navarino and Koron followed almost immediately. Since the fall of Negroponte such consternation and dismay as now prevailed in Venice had not been caused by any of her other disasters. The possession of these old and important colonies was held to be so essential to the maintenance of her navy, both for commerce and for war, that the Council of Ten declared that all her sea-power depended upon them. This terrible blow was formally announced by the Signoria to all the powers of Europe. "On the 10th of August," writes Raphael

of Cardinals who were not nominated till the 28th Sept., 1500 (see *supra*, p. 80), shews that it was not drawn up till the Autumn. Their publication in the Spring of 1501 (BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 113-118; *cf.* BALUZE, III., 124 *seq.*), probably followed the assessment. GOTTLOB, Hist. Jahrb., VI., 445, promises to give a schedule of the sums actually paid by each Cardinal. According to the documents which he has investigated, the Cardinals were bound to contribute 34,900 ducats annually for the years 1501, 1502, and 1503. *Cf.* also Cam. Ap., 66.

* SANUTO, III., 475, 521, 577, 589, 714.

† *Ibid.*, 752-753.

Brandolinus Lippi from Rome to a friend, "the unhappy city of Modon was conquered. The few inhabitants who fell into the hands of the Turks were all barbarously impaled; not one was spared. This is what we have come to through the troubles in Italy! To this have we been brought by our internal dissensions! The eloquent Venetian Envoy, Marinus Giorgius, delivered such a splendid oration on the Turks that his Holiness and the whole College of Cardinals were deeply stirred. Now at last we may hope that the Pope will insist on the formation of a League for the destruction of the Turks."*

Vain hope! Eager as the "Christian" powers were to avenge the smallest indignity inflicted on themselves, they were utterly indifferent where only the honour of the Christian name was concerned.† But on this occasion it was not Alexander's fault that so little was done to check the enemy's advance.‡ On the 11th of September, 1500, it was decided in Consistory that two things must be done: first, every possible effort must be made to bring the Spanish fleet to bear against the Turks; secondly, Legates must be sent to Hungary, France, and Germany. On the 5th October the new Legates were chosen: Giovanni Vera for Spain, Portugal, and England; Petrus Isvalies for Hungary and Poland; Peraudi for Germany and the northern kingdoms.§ At the same time a Brief was sent to Gonsalvo de Cordova ordering him to join the Venetian

* BROM, 189-190; *cf.* SANUTO, III., 750, 788; HEYD, II., 331; HOPF, 168; HERZBERG, Griechenland, III., 15.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 11.

‡ REUMONT in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 489, ed. 2. *Cf.* also MICHAUD, VI., 283-284.

§ *Acta Consist., C. 2, in the Consistorial Archives; see also the Florentine Despatches in THUASNE, III., 76; SANUTO, III., 789, 892-893. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 55, and GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459-460.

fleet with his ships as quickly as possible; and the Cardinals were asked for their tithe.* In spite of all this the Venetian Ambassador was not satisfied, and continued to question the sincerity of the Pope's assurances that he would do all that could be done.† However true it may be that if Alexander had completely given up his policy of nepotism, more especially his plans for Cæsar Borgia's aggrandisement, he might have accomplished more in this direction, still it must be admitted that he did a great deal. It was the fault of the "Christian" Princes, not of the Pope, that all his efforts produced so little result. Hardly anywhere was any enthusiasm to be found or willingness to make any sort of sacrifice. At that very time it had been resolved at the Diet at Augsburg that the Pope should be required to refund a portion of the money which had flowed into Rome for Jubilee Indulgences and annates, for the assistance of the administration, because "the empire had thereby been too much impoverished and drained of its coin."‡ It required indeed a zeal no less fervent than that which burned in Peraudi's heart to undertake the German Legation under such circumstances as these. Though suffering from gout he set out on the 26th October, full of hope that he would succeed in effecting a reconciliation between Maximilian and the German Princes and the King of France. But even on the frontier he was met "by serious difficulties in all influential quarters." Although Alexander had expressly commanded that all moneys brought in by the Jubilee from Germany should be exclusively devoted to the Turkish war, neither at Court nor throughout the

* See *supra*, p. 91 *seq*. The Brief to Gonsalvo is in SANUTO, III., 824. *Cf.* BALUZE, III., 423 *seq*.

† SANUTO, III., 856, 879, 939, 977.

‡ MÜLLER, Reichstags-Theatrum, 117 *seq*; SCHNEIDER, 55.

Empire was it believed that this would be carried out. Maximilian went so far as to refuse permission to Peraudi to enter the Empire. It is probable that Lodovico Moro then there in exile, had a hand in this decision. His chances would have been unfavourably affected by a reconciliation between the Christian powers and a Crusade; but Peraudi would not lose heart. At Roveredo he spent his "days and nights in writing letters to all the German, Danish, and Swedish Princes and prelates, admonishing them to make peace with each other and combine in turning their arms against the Turks. In his zeal for the Crusade, he was prepared to defy the Royal prohibition, go straight to the Diet, and there, if necessary, in virtue of his apostolic powers, pronounce the Ban of the Church against the King of the Romans and some of the Princes; like the Carthusian Thomas he thought nothing of death if it were in defence of the Christian faith." After keeping him the whole winter in Roveredo, Maximilian at last came to a better mind, and allowed him to enter the Empire. Here he met with the greatest difficulties in dealing with the administration, although he was able to give the most positive assurances that the Pope and Cardinals had decided to leave all moneys coming in on account of the Jubilee Indulgences and other privileges absolutely untouched, in the keeping of the Empire, for the Crusade. It was not till the 11th of September, 1501, at the Diet at Nuremberg, that he at last succeeded in coming to an agreement with the assembly and the Imperial Government; and this convention was loaded with vexatious and obstructive conditions for the Legate.

Maximilian, on his side, for political reasons, deferred his permission for preaching the Indulgences until January, 1502. Thus more than a year had passed away before

Peraudi was able to begin to execute his mission. In spite of the unfavourableness of the season, in the early months of the year 1502 he travelled with astonishing rapidity through the whole of South-Western Germany, and preached the Indulgence in the Dioceses of Constance, Augsburg, Strasburg, Spires, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. Towards the end of the year he visited the North-Eastern part of the Empire to announce the Jubilee there, and make peace between Lübeck and Denmark. During this journey the weather was very bad, and in consequence Peraudi was repeatedly confined to his bed from attacks of gout. This, and still more the "hopeless indifference to the Crusade which confronted him among all classes of people, princes, townsmen, and clergy, so discouraged him," that more than once he entreated the Pope to recall him.*

Gasparo Pons had been sent to England by Alexander VI., in order to collect the tithe from the clergy, and announce the Jubilee Indulgences, the proceeds of which were to go to the Crusade. The clergy paid the tithe, and the King, Henry VII., contributed £4000, but absolutely refused to send any assistance in the shape of men or ships. It was right and good, he said, that the Pope should endeavour to induce the Princes of Christendom to be reconciled with each other and combine for this holy purpose. He himself, thank God, had long been at peace with all men; he could not, however, send material help; that should be done by France and Spain, and equally by Hungary and Poland.†

* SCHNEIDER, 58–81; ULMANN, II., 43 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 63 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 360 *seq.*, where there is also other literature on the subject. The accounts of the sums collected are so contradictory, that ULMANN, II., 66, declares himself unable to come to any certain conclusion as to their amount.

† BUSCH, England, I., 242.

The King of France was occupied with plans which had no connection with the war against the Turks. The French clergy were extremely irritated against Alexander for having imposed the tithe without previously acquainting them of his purpose and asking their consent. "Many openly opposed it and appealed to a General Council against whatever censures they might thereby incur. On the 1st April the Theological Faculty of Paris pronounced that censures inflicted after an appeal had been already made to a Council, were invalid, and that the appellants therefore need not pay any regard to them and need not abstain from celebrating mass and exercising other ecclesiastical functions."*

Amongst the Hungarian prelates the spirit of sacrifice was almost entirely absent. The secular nobles were not so averse to the war, but they too made difficulties. "They were not content with the Pope's offer to hand over to the King the Jubilee Indulgence moneys, the tithe on Church property in Hungary, and a Crusade-tax. They thought the income to be derived from these sources uncertain, or that the burdens would all fall on their shoulders." As Venice was bent on beating down the demands of the Hungarians, the negotiations dragged on for a long time, and it was mainly due to the exertions of Thomas Bakocs that an agreement was at last arrived at. This high principled and able man had been appointed Primate of Hungary in the year 1497, in the place of Ippolito d'Este, in order to satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians, who objected to the highest spiritual office in the kingdom being held by a foreigner. Bakocs was made a member of the Sacred College by Alexander VI. on the 28th of

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 342–343; DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, I., 2, 34[illegible]. The Jews in Avignon also resisted the Crusade-tax, but they were forced to comply. See Rev. d'Études Juives, VI., 21.

September, 1500, as a reward for his diligence in this matter. At the end of May in the following year, a League was at last concluded between Hungary, Venice, and the Pope. Alexander VI. bound himself to contribute 40,000 ducats annually as long as the war should last. Venice promised 100,000 ducats and the prosecution of the war at sea, while Hungary undertook to attack the Turks by land. Unfortunately, Hungary only contributed a few "freebooting expeditions on an extensive scale."* Meanwhile, at sea some slight successes were achieved. The new Venetian Admiral Benedetto Pesaro, "an experienced and resolute sailor," late in the Autumn of 1500 made an expedition into the Ægean sea and reconquered Ægina. He was at last joined, in tardy compliance with the Pope's commands, by the Spanish fleet of 65 sail, under the famous Admiral Gonsalvo de Cordova. The combined fleets succeeded before the close of the year in wresting the island of Cephalonia from the Turks and thus obtaining a new point of vantage in the Ionian Sea.†

The year 1501 was spent in "alternations of successes and failures." Alessio was won but Durazzo was lost. In the Spring of the following year the Papal fleet, consisting of 13 galleys and 2500 men, was ready to sail.‡

Bishop Giacopo da Pesaro was appointed by Alexander to the command of the fleet. His portrait is familiar to all lovers of art in Titian's altar-piece representing the Pesaro family venerating the Blessed Virgin and the Divine Child.

* HUBER, III., 427-428; ROMANIN, V., 151; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 141. *Cf.* also the Hungarian monograph on Bakocs by FRAKNÓI, cited *supra*, p. 91. Nothing was done for the Crusade in Poland. The money intended for it was used for other purposes. CARO, V., 2, 814.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 537; HERZBERG, III., 15.

‡ *Cf.* BEMBUS, Op., 210, and especially GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra de' Pirati, I., 9 *seq.*

In this picture, by the side of the Legate, his brother is represented in full armour, holding aloft in one hand the Papal banner of the Crusade, and with the other leading two Turkish captives who follow him.* Pesaro's first step was to join Benedetto, who was waiting for him at Cerigo with 50 Venetian ships. Together they sailed at once for the island of Sta Maura (the ancient Leukadia), and in spite of a desperate resistance on the part of the enemy, they succeeded towards the end of August in making themselves masters of this, from a strategic point of view, very important place. In this battle the Papal Legate Giacopo greatly distinguished himself, and at last planted the Papal banner with his own hands on the battlement of the conquered fort.† It was not destined to float there. Both Venice and Constantinople had begun to weary of the war. The Porte found itself threatened in Asia by the new Persian empire, and the finances of Venice were nearly exhausted, while her trade was suffering severely. The Hungarian alliance had proved of little value, the war being very feebly carried on by King Lladislaus. In consequence,

* This grand picture of Titian's (there is an excellent engraving in LUTZOW, Kunstschätze, 30) is still in the Church of Sta Maria dei Frari in Venice, which also contains Pesaro's monument. Pesaro had already, probably immediately before his departure for the Crusade, had his portrait taken by Titian. This picture is now in the museum at Antwerp. In it Pesaro is represented kneeling before the throne of S. Peter with the Papal banner in his hand. A helmet is on the ground before him, indicating his call to military service. Alexander VI. commends him to S. Peter on the right, in the background are the forts of a harbour. *Cf.* CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, Titian, I., 64 *seq.*, 252 *seq.* On the picture in Venice, see A. Wolf's essay in the Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, XII., 9 *seq.*; it is a pity that he occupies himself with the "worship of the Madonna."

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 278–79. *Cf.* SANUTO, IV., 313 *seq.*, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1502, n. 29; GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra de' Pirati, I., 31 *seq.*, 42 *seq.*

the Republic lent a willing ear to the Turkish overtures for peace and Sta Maura was hardly conquered before it was again restored to the Sultan.

On the 14th of December, 1502, a temporary agreement was arrived at in Constantinople, which paved the way for the formal Peace which was announced by Venice on the 20th May, 1503.* Without the support of Venice, Hungary was far too weak to face the Turks. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding King Lladislaus also laying down his arms. On the 20th of August, 1503, he concluded a truce with the Porte for seven years.† While the war lasted Hungary received very large sums from Rome. The account books prove that, in the years 1501 and 1502, Lladislaus received from the Cardinals 6851 ducats; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6686 ducats and 6 solidi; 6666 ducats; 3587 ducats and 10 solidi; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6700 ducats; 222 ducats; 51,687 ducats; 2328 ducats and 12 solidi; 2534 ducats; 13,333⅓ ducats; finally, 2325 ducats and 16 solidi.‡ To all this must be added the pensions given to the numerous refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks, and to the widows and children of those who had fallen in the war.§ Putting all this together, and taking into account

* ROMANIN, V., 152–154. *Cf.* HEYD, II., 331; HOPF, 168.

† Magyar történelmi tar., XXIV., 31; HUBER, III., 429–430.

‡ GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 444.

§ Gottlob intends to publish (Hist. Jahrb., VI., 443) a complete list of all who received assistance from the funds of the Crusade. From my own investigations I derive the following: *Divers. Alexander VI., 1492–1500. The volume begins with payments to Andrea de Paleologo, despota Moreae; it contains further entries of sums disbursed for Leonardo de Tocco, Constantino de Morea, Theodorino de Maro, and numberless other refugees, male and female, from the East, *e.g.*, Maria de Gurga de Candia. A *Private Account-book of Alexander without a title, contains for September 1500, monthly payments to the

the difference between the value of money then and in our own day, it must be admitted that Alexander was not as remiss in regard to the Crusade as has been represented by the enemies of the House of Borgia. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Pope could have accomplished a great deal more if he had given up his gross nepotism and thought less of Cæsar's advancement. A glance at the state of things in the States shews how far he was from doing this in any way.*

Despota Moree, the Despota de l'Arta and others. State Archives, Rome.

* *Cf.* Chapters III. and V.

CHAPTER V.

War against the Colonna.—The States of the Church in the Possession of the Borgia.—Marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Alfonso of Ferrara.—Cæsar Borgia Governor of Rome and Duke of the Romagna.—Conspiracy of the Condottieri against Cæsar; their Betrayal and Destruction.—Oppression of the Orsini.—Tension between the Pope and France.—Cæsar's Plans upset by the Death of Alexander VI.

One of the immediate results of the Neapolitan war had been the downfall of the Roman Barons. Ever since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. the Colonna had leant for support upon the House of Aragon. When the agreement between Spain and France had finally sealed the fate of this family they sought to shelter themselves from the coming storm by proposing to give up the keys of their fortresses to the College of Cardinals; but Alexander required that they should be delivered to him, and in June, 1501, he succeeded in obtaining this.* On the 22nd of the month Francesco Borgia started from Rome in order to take possession in the Pope's name of Rocca di Papa and the other castles belonging to the Colonna. On the following day about twenty of the vassals of the family came to Rome, and swore fealty to the Pope.†

On the 27th of July Alexander went to Castel Gandolfo

* Burchardi Diarium, III., 143, and *Report of G. L. Cataneo of 23rd June, 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Ibid.*, III., 146, 148; Sanuto, IV., 61.

and Rocca di Papa and thence to Sermoneta. He had the effrontery to hand over the Regency of the palace to Lucrezia Borgia during his absence, with power to open his correspondence.* Soon after his return from this expedition a Bull was drawn up in which the Colonna and Savelli were declared to be rebels on account of their league with Federigo of Naples, and were excommunicated, and their property confiscated.† Out of the possessions of the Colonna, Savelli, and Gaetani the Pope carved two Dukedoms for his family; a few of the forts and villages belonging to the Savelli were given to Giovanni Paolo Orsini;‡ but all the most beautiful and fertile districts fell into the hands of the Borgia. A Bull of 17th September, 1501, gave to Rodrigo, the son of Lucrezia and Alfonso, then two years old, the Dukedom of Sermoneta with Ninfa, Cisterna, Nettuno, Ardea, Nemi, Albano, and other towns. The Dukedom of Nepi, which included Palestrina, Olevano, Paliano, Frascati, Anticoli, and other places, was bestowed on Juan Borgia, also an infant.§ This child was legitimised by a Bull on 1st September, 1501, as the natural offspring of Cæsar, and his age incidentally mentioned as about

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 153–154, 164. When the Pope went to Nepi in the autumn the same arrangement was made for the time of his absence (from 25th Sept. to 23rd Oct.). Of course Lucrezia was only Regent in regard to secular affairs, but such a thing had never been done before, and was a startling breach of decorum.

† The Bull of 20th Aug., 1561, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 18–20 (a contemporary copy of it is in the State Archives, Turin). It was not published till the Consistory of 24th Sept. See BALAN, 406, n. 3.

‡ *Cf.* the *Brief to Joh. Paulus de Ursinis domic. Rom. in nostris Aspra, Montedasula, et Rochetta castris pro nobis et R. E. in temp. vicar. Dat. Rom. 1501, XVII. Calend. Nov. Regest. 868, f. 183. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also the App. in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 447.

§ RONCHINI, 42 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*

three years.* A second Bull of the same date legitimised this same Juan as Alexander's own son.† These un-

* According to a *Bull of Leo X. of the 30th April, 1515, Juan was a year older, as it is here said that on the 2nd Sept., 1502, Camerino was bestowed on cuidam Johanni Borgia tunc in quinto vel circa seu etatis anno constituto. Arm. 35, T. 42, f. 23b–30b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† These two Bulls are to be found in the State Archives at Modena. The first is a copy, the second the original. GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, App., 76–85 (90, ed. 3), was the first to publish them. Another original draft of the second Bull is to be found, according to THUASNE, III., App., p. xiv, in the Archives of the Duke of Ossuna, part of which is published in the Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Historia, IX., 440–441 (Madrid, 1886). In view of possible future apologists in the style of Ollivier, it may perhaps be well to observe that I found both Bulls in the Secret Archives of the Vatican in the official *Regesta of Alexander's reign: the first in Vol. 868, f. 153b–157b, the second in f. 176–176b. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 459 (ed. 1 and 2), has fallen into a curious error in regard to the second Bull. He read in a copy in the Barberini Library: Cum autem tu defectum praedictum non de prefato duce, sed de nobis et de dicta muliere patiaris quod bono respectu in litteris predictis specifice exprimere *voluimus*, and concluded from this that Alexander had openly and shamelessly legitimised Juan as his own son; whereas the context of the Bull shews that the word should be *noluimus*, and Gregorovius in his own copy has given the correct rendering. But in the 3rd ed. of his 7th vol. he gives the false one with the conclusion drawn from it, and this is, strange to say, repeated in the monograph on Lucrezia Borgia, 174 (194, ed. 3). Here, p. 175 (195, ed. 3), Gregorovius hazards a conjecture that both Bulls were issued on the same day, "because the Canon Law forbids a Pope to acknowledge a son of his own." I know of no Canon Law to this effect, and experienced canonists have told me that none such exists. CREIGHTON, IV., 19, supposes that Alexander, in his anxiety to secure the position of Cæsar's bastard son, accused himself in the second Bull of a fault which he had not committed; but from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 170, and especially from SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 253, who is always trustworthy, it is plain that Juan, who seems to have been born on the 18th June, 1497, really was Alexander's son. *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 400 *seq.*; Civ. Catt., 15th March, 1873, p. 727 (the extract here quoted from the Report of the Venetian Envoy

doubtedly genuine documents nullify all attempts to rebut the accusations against the moral conduct of the Pope.

is now printed in SANUTO, I., 369); and RONCHINI, 41, n. 1. The last-named historian has rightly pointed out that the second Bull was to be kept secret until a necessity arose for divulging it; thus it is incorrect to speak, as Gregorovius does, of open and shameless legitimation. The words in the first Bull, which declare that it is to be taken as valid proof of Cæsar's paternity in case any one should assert that Juan's father was some other person, either ecclesiastical or secular, etiam cuiuscunque dignitatis et excellentie mundane vel *ecclesiastice etiam supreme*, are remarkable, and destructive of Creighton's hypothesis. They distinctly hint at the contents of the second Bull. This document was at first, as may be gathered from the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 109, quite successfully concealed; Leo X. says in 1515 that Alexander gave Camerino to cuidam Joh. Borgia. (See Regest. Leonis X., n. 15,241.) It was not till later, in the 16th Century, that we begin to find copies of the document, of which there is one not only in the MS. already mentioned in the Barberini Library, but also in Cod. Ottob., 2528, p. 78, with the superscription, Narratur legitimatio et habilitatio pro eodem Joh. Borgia eumque Papa ex se natum agnoscit. (Vatican Library.) On Juan's guardians, see *Regest. 871, f. 196 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and RONCHINI, 44 *seq.* An inscription in which Franciscus Card. Cusentinus is called Juan's guardian has been published in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 403; and also IV., 90, in opposition to Ademollo's hypothesis that Juan was the child of Alexander and Lucrezia (GORI, Archivio, II., 94 *seq.*). In the last-named place, DAL RE observes: Storici autorevoli, quali il Roscoe, il Campori, l'Antonelli, il Cittadella ed il Gregorovius in particolare, hanno già addotto le ragioni per cui l'accusa d'incesto con la propria figlia Lucrezia messa fuori a vituperio di Alessandro VI., dai poeti Sannazzaro e Pontano, dagli storici e politici Matarazzo, Marco Attilio Alessio, Guicciardini ed altri, debba qual mera calumnia esser rigettata. DAL RE, *l.c.*, 90, 280, shews that it is impossible that the Bull of 15th Oct., 1501, in which Ademollo in his treatise, Lucrezia Borgia e la verita, in Archiv. Storico, Vol. II., fasc. I., ed. Gori (Rome, 1877), finds an admission that Juan was Lucrezia's son, can have had any such meaning. On the contrary: Manca ogni fondamento di certezza per poter affirmare che Giovanni sia la nefanda prole di Papa Alessandro e di Lucrezia; però che abbiamo due bolle, tutte e due di 1° Settembre, 1501, in cui s'afferma nell' una la paternità del Valentino, nell' altra quella del papa stesso per

"Almost the whole of the States of the Church were now the property of the Borgia; the Romagna and other territories belonged to Cæsar, and another member of the House possessed the hereditary estates of the Roman Barons. This was something entirely new in the annals of the Church."* Meanwhile, Lucrezia Borgia was not forgotten. By a marriage with Alfonso, the heir-apparent of Ferrara, she was to enter one of the noblest and oldest families in Italy, and at the same time secure Cæsar's sovereignty in the Romagna, and help forward his designs on Florence and Bologna. At first both Alfonso and his father, Ercole, refused to listen to the project, and Maximilian I. was equally against it. But Louis XII., Alexander's ally, intervened, and when the Pope had engaged himself to grant a relaxation of feudal rights and a reduction of fief dues, the betrothal took place in September, 1501.† Lucrezia was wild with delight.‡ Still young and beautiful, all her sorrow for Alfonso was forgotten in the brilliant prospect of high position and gratified vanity that opened out before her. The Ferrarese Envoys gave feast

rispetto a quel fanciullo. Ma mentre nè nell' una nè nell' altra si tien parola alcuna della madre di lui, quello che è certo si è che nella bolla del 15 Ottob. l'infante Giovanni Borgia vien citato in modo da volerlo affatto distinguere dal noto della Lucrezia, Roderico di Biselli. Finally, it may be well to recall the fact that in an official deed of the 19th Jan., 1518, Juan is called the *brother* of Lucrezia (Johannes Borgia frater ill. dom. Lucretiae minor annis 25, maior tamen 18). *Cf.* CITTADELLA, Albero, 48, and REUMONT in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 330, and that Burchard speaks of Juan's mother as quaedam Romana. *Cf.* also MASI in the Rassegna settiman, VI., 120.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 449, ed. 3 (455–456, ed. 4); *cf.* R. DI SORAGNA in the Rassegna Naz., X. (1882), 126.

† QUIDDE, Zeitschr., I., 169 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 152 *seq.*; Corp. dipl. Portug., I, 8, 165 *seq.*, 168; GILBERT, I., 83 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 230; THEINER, Cod. dipl., 511 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Brandolinus' Letter of 10th Sept., 1501, in BROM, 203.

after feast in her honour. One evening she so overfatigued herself with dancing that she was laid up with fever the next day.* The bride's outfit was truly royal. Alexander told the Ferrarese Envoys that he meant Lucrezia to have "more beautiful pearls than any other Italian princess."† At the same time, regardless of the duty imposed upon him by the dignity of his office, the Pope permitted himself to be present at scandalous dances of a similar character to those which had drawn on him the rebuke of Pius II. in former days. Society at that time was so corrupt that even this gave but little offence; everything bad was believed, but no one thought much of anything.‡

On the 9th of December the bridal escort, consisting of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and four other members of the

* See Appendix, N. 7, *Letter from G. L. Cataneo, of 24th Sept., 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 189 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 239.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 167, and the very compromising letter about Alexander VI. of two Florentines cited in the note. *Cf.* also CREIGHTON, IV., 50; Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol., X., 203; L'ÉPINOIS in the Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXXVII., 631; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 40. On Pius II.'s rebuke, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 452 (Engl. trans.). The account, De convivio quinquaginta meretricum, which GREGOROVIUS, VII., 456, ed. 4, passes over as mere "scandalous gossip," is not a later interpolation (see PIEPER in the Römisch. Quartalschrift, 1893, p. 346), but is to be found in most of the MS. copies of BURCHARDI Diarium Alexander VI., and in that which is in the Archives of the Ceremonieri in the Vatican. *Cod. A—6, f. 527. (A later hand has drawn a penstroke through the passage; but it corresponds word for word with the printed text.) In the present state of the materials it is not possible to formulate a critical judgment as to the correctness of all the details of the Convivium in Burchardi's narrative; no doubt there is a good deal of exaggeration. But, especially taking into account the Florentine letters mentioned above, there can be no question that there was dancing of a very reprehensible character. PIEPER'S arguments (*loc. cit.*, 396-397) against the trustworthiness of Burchardi's text do not seem to me convincing.

ducal family, with a retinue of 500 persons, started from Ferrara. It reached Rome on the 23rd, and on the same day the Ferrarese Envoy, writing to his master, expresses the favourable impression produced on him by Lucrezia. "She is singularly graceful in everything she does, and her manners are modest, gentle, and decorous. She is also a good Christian, and more, she is going to confession and to communion on Christmas Day. As regards good looks she has quite sufficient, but her pleasing expression and gracious ways make her seem even more beautiful than she is. In short, she seems to me to be such that there is nothing to fear, but rather the very best to be hoped, in every way from her."* On the 30th December Lucrezia's marriage with Alfonso, by procuration, was celebrated with great splendour in the Vatican. The bride's dress was of "gold brocade and crimson velvet trimmed with ermine. The hanging sleeves touched the ground, and her long train was borne by maids of honour. A black band confined her golden hair, and she wore on her head a light coif of gold and silk. Her necklace was a string of pearls with a locket consisting of an emerald, a ruby, and one large pearl." From thence until the day of her departure (6th January, 1502) one entertainment succeeded another in a perpetual round of gaiety. Plays, among others Plautus' Menaechmi, balls, and allegorical representations alternated with races, tournaments, and bull-fights.†

* Report of El Prete da Correggio in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 194–5. *Cf.* LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 113, and NICCOLÒ DA CORREGGIO in Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital. (1893), XXII., 66 *seq.* On the bridal escort, see also SANUTO, IV., 195 *seq.*, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 585–586.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 197, 199 *seq.*; SANUTO, IV., 211. *Cf.* DAL RE, 104 *seq.*; RICCI SIGNORINI, Il passagio di L. B. per Cesena (Cesena, 1889). On the festivities at Forli on Lucrezia's passage through that place see Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X. (1892), 280–301 On

Lucrezia's marriage with the heir of Ferrara was the turning point in her life. In spite of all the investigations of recent times much in the Roman life of this remarkable woman remains shrouded in darkness; but this is not the case in regard to its closing period in Ferrara.* During this time Lucrezia, who was Duchess of Ferrara from 1505 till 24th June, 1519, when she died in her confinement, not only won the love of her husband, but also that of her people. All accusations in regard to her conduct, which no doubt were not entirely groundless,† from henceforth wholly cease. Lucrezia is only heard of as a faithful and loving wife, and the consoler and advocate of all who were poor or oppressed. Her beauty, added to her sweetness and kindness, captivated the hearts of all. She encouraged arts, and was surrounded and praised by cultivated men such as Ariosto, Bembo, Strozzi, and others.

> Lucrezia Borgia di cui d'ora in ora
> La beltà, la virtù, e la fama honesta,
> E la fortuna, va crescendo non meno
> Che giovin pianta in morbida terra;

the bull-fights in Rome, *cf.* ADEMOLLO, Carnevale, 37-45 *seq.*; LUZIO, Fed. Gonzaga, 49; CIAN, Cortegiano, 48.

* In addition to ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 378 *seq.*, SABBATINI in Educatore Storico, A° III., Disp. 5ª (Modena, 1845); CAMPORI in the Nuov. Antolog. (1866); ANTONELLI in the Arch. Venet., II. (1871), 429 *seq.*; ZUCCHETTI, L. B. Duchessa di Ferrara (Milan, 1869); *cf.* especially GILBERT, II., 97 *seq.*, and GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 209 *seq.* Gilbert's representation is very inadequate (see REUMONT in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, V., 476). In regard to Gregorovius, see Vol. V., p. 399, Antonelli's work, L. B. in Ferrara (Ferrara, 1867), contains nothing but extracts taken from the Ferrarese Chronicle of Bernardino Zambotto and Niccolò of Parma's narrative of the bringing of Lucrezia from Rome, and the festivities at Ferrara on her arrival. On the relations between Lucrezia Borgia and Isabella d'Este, see LUZIO, I Precettori d'Isab. d'Este (Nozze Renier-Campostrini. Ancona, 1887), 42, in which Gregorovius' mistaken statement is corrected.

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 399, note ‡.

is the description of her in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (XIII., 19). Without giving credit to every flattering word that may occur in the strains of a Court-poet, we may fairly assume that he would not have written anything that was in flagrant contradiction with the general opinion. "The art of flattery has its laws and its limits; he who would praise a royal personage for qualities in which he or she was notoriously deficient, must be utterly unacquainted with the world and the usages of society. Such praise would practically be satire, and the foolish courtier would certainly not be rewarded."* The poets, however, are not the only witnesses in her favour. Scholars, statesmen, and historians all agree in pronouncing the same verdict, so that the latest biographer of the Duchess says at the close of his work: "This at least is certain, that during her life at Ferrara she was regarded as a pattern of womanly virtue."† More

* CAMPORI *loc. cit.*; JORRY, 182 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 205. GEIGER, also, in the Zeitsch. für vergleich. Literaturgesch., N. F. II., 154, says: "If we are not to brand such men as Ariosto, Strozzi, etc., as liars, or at any rate as guilty of the most fulsome adulation, we must believe in a real conversion of heart and change of life in Lucrezia."

† GREGOROVIUS, 281. On the relations between Bembo and Lucrezia, this historian says, p. 277: "There can be no doubt that Bembo was passionately in love with Lucrezia, but it were vain to attempt to prove that there was anything which went beyond the limits of what was permissible in the marks of friendship bestowed on him by that beautiful woman." MAZZUCHELLI (see JORRY, 176) and THAUSING in the Vienna Deutsch. Zeitung (1883), N. 3954, pass a similar judgment. With HILDEBRAND (II., 53), I will not attempt to decide whether or not GILBERT (II., 127 *seq.*) has been successful in proving that the famous lock of fair hair which is shewn in the Ambrosiana at Milan with Lucrezia's letters to Bembo, was not hers. "But in any case," Hildebrand says, "Gilbert is right in holding that the 'desiderosa gratificarvi' with which one of her letters concludes does not give the smallest right to infer any return of love on her part. Any one who knows Italian is familiar with this phrase as the commonest expression of complimentary affability

especially in times of scarcity she shewed herself a "Mother of the people"; and actually pawned her jewels in order to help the poor. Jovius tells how completely she renounced all the luxury to which she had been accustomed from her youth, and lived a simple, religious life. He lays special stress on her solid practice of virtue; her religion was no mere show. As a proof of her practical charity he states that she founded a convent and chapel for well-born ladies out of her own private purse.*

After Lucrezia's departure from Rome, Cæsar's influence became absolutely unbounded. He was the real master; in almost everything the Pope conformed absolutely to the iron will of this man, the most terrible of all the cruel offspring of the Renaissance. Cæsar was the tyrant of Rome, which he filled with his spies and minions. A word against him was a crime of high treason. A man who had made too free with his name when in domino had his hand and his tongue cut off and fastened together.† The Venetian Ambassador was unable to protect one of his countrymen who was supposed to have circulated a pamphlet which contained reflections on Alexander and his son. He was murdered and his body cast into the Tiber. The Pope himself, though callous as a rule about such things, blamed his son for this. "The Duke," he said to the Ferrarese Envoy, "is a good-natured man; but he cannot tolerate an insult. I have often told him that Rome is a free city, and that here every one has a right to

from a Prince to an inferior in rank." For a criticism on Gilbert's work, see especially REUMONT in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, V., 476 *seq.*

* JOVIUS, Vitae clar. vir., I., 187. *Cf.* ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 395; JORRY, *loc. cit.*; GREGOROVIUS, 304. See also the testimony of B. PISTOFILO in the Atti Mod., III., 493.

† See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 172. Punishments such as this were then quite usual. See MAURY, Rev. Hist., XIII., 98 *seq.*

write and say what he likes. Plenty of things are said of me, but I take no notice. The Duke replied, That may be all very well for Rome, but I will teach such people to be sorry for what they say." Finally the Pope reminded his son how many of the Cardinals, whom Charles VIII. had himself acknowledged to have been traitors to their master, had been forgiven by him. "I could easily," he said, "have had the Vice-Chancellor and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere killed; but I did not wish to harm any one, and I pardoned fourteen of the nobles." * A short time before this Alexander had proved that this was not mere palaver.

At the close of the year 1501 a pamphlet against the Borgia had appeared which surpassed all former attacks in virulence. It was in the form of a letter to one of the exiled Roman Barons, Silvio Savelli, then living at the Court of Maximilian I., and was dated from the Spanish camp at Tarento, 15th November, 1501. "You are mistaken, my dear friend," it said, "if you think that you ought to attempt to come to terms with this monster. He has betrayed you, banished you, and resolved on your destruction, simply out of greed and faithlessness, and for no other reason. Therefore you should repay an enmity that will never cease with an unalterable hatred. You must choose a different path and disclose the misery of Rome to the true physician. Lay before the Emperor and the other Princes of the empire all the evil that has proceeded from this cursed beast for the perdition of Christendom; narrate the abominable crimes by which God is set at naught, and

* From a *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, Beltrando Costabili, of 1st February, 1502, in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 453–454, ed. 3 (460–61, ed. 4). *Cf.* Lord ACTON, 364. Another Ferrarese Envoy describes in a *Letter, dat. Rome, 30th October, 1501, that Cæsar never goes out without being masked. (See Vol. V. of this work, p. 403.) El resto del tempo he remains shut up in quelle sue camere. State Archives, Modena.

the heart of religion pierced through. Describe these horrors in detail before the Diet, and take care that they shall be disseminated from mouth to mouth. It is idle for Christendom to groan over the nations which are torn from her arms by her old enemy the Turk, while this new Mahomet far surpasses the old one in the havoc he causes in what yet remains of faith and religion by his filthy crimes. These are the days of Antichrist, for no greater enemy of God, Christ, and religion can be conceived." It goes on to accuse all the Borgia, Alexander, Lucrezia, and Cæsar, of every imaginable crime and vice. All that could be invented by political hatred in Milan, Venice, and Naples, and all the venom that Roman satire could hatch, is heaped together and poured forth in unmeasured language. "There is no sort of outrage or vice," it says in one place, "that is not openly practised in the Palace of the Pope. The perfidy of the Scythians and Carthaginians, the bestiality and savagery of Nero and Caligula are surpassed. Rodrigo Borgia is an abyss of vice, a subverter of all justice, human or divine. God grant that the Princes may come to the rescue of the tottering Church, and steer the sinking barque of Peter out of the storm and into the haven! God grant they may rise up and deliver Rome from the destroyer who was born to be her ruin, and bring back justice and peace to the city!" *

This diatribe, brimming over with political hatred and the spirit of revenge, cannot, of course, be regarded as historically trustworthy. But it shews what dangerous

* The whole letter is to be found in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 182–187 (on p. 183 read conventibus *instead of* convenientibus, and on p. 187 labanti *instead of* labenti). The author was evidently a Humanist, or connected with the Humanists. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 460, ed. 3 (467, ed. 4), conjectures that he may have been one of the Colonna.

weapons the disgraceful conduct of the Borgia put into the hands of their enemies.*

Alexander had this libel read to him; but, indifferent as he was to public opinion, it never occurred to him to attempt to curtail the liberty of speech or writing in Rome. We hear nothing of any measures to check the circulation of the pamphlet, or any attempt to prosecute its author. Silvio Savelli, in whose interest it was professedly written, was allowed later to return to Rome and was received in audience by the Pope.†

Alexander paid heavily for his indifference to all these attacks and accusations.‡ Writings like these exercised a lasting effect on the judgments regarding him, both of his contemporaries and of later times.

The longer this "incredible liberty" in the expression of opinion lasted in Rome the more freely was it taken advantage of by the enemies of the Borgia. "Sannazaro certainly wrote his epigrams in a place of comparative security, but others said the most hazardous things at the very doors of the Court."§ Epigrammatic satire developed enormously in literary circles in Rome. Literary men vied with each other in producing the most melodramatic and unheard of accusations, and spicing them with the most caustic wit.‖

* CREIGHTON, IV., 22. *Cf.* ALVISI, 223-224.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 182; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 309.

‡ "Alexander," says LANGE, 32, "as a Sybarite who cared nothing for the opinion of the world, bore these attacks with perfect equanimity, and unless they contained actual threats never took any measures in regard to them. He looked upon Rome as a privileged place where every one should be left free to speak and write as he pleased."

§ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 309, ed. 3; *cf.* 152 *seq.*

‖ LUZIO in the Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 89 *seq.*, has collected a multitude of satires and epigrams mostly drawn from printed sources. *Cf. Ibid.*, XVII., 296, note, and XIX., 455. See also FUMI, Alessan. VI.,

Alexander was often now loaded with vituperation by the very same persons who had formerly "praised him to the skies."* Just at this time (1511) Cardinal Caraffa had had an ancient statue, supposed to represent Hercules strangling Geryon, placed on a pedestal just outside his palace, which was situated in one of the most frequented thoroughfares of Rome.† Burchard relates how, in August

102 *seq.*, and Doc. intorno Pio II. e III., 16 *seq.* The number of MS. epigrams is even greater, the majority of which were not written until after the Pope's death, and later. (*Cf.* PIEPER in the Römischen Quartalschrift, 1893, p. 393.) I can only mention a few. Thus, see Cod. 9846 in the Court Library at Vienna; Cod. Lat. 428, f. 265, in the State Library at Munich; Cod. Vatic. 3351, in the Vatican Library; poems of FAUSTO, Maddaleno de Capodiferro, f. 68 (In Alexandrum VI., P. M., f. 74: In edictum contra lenones Alex. VI., f. 90; Contra Alexandrum VI., and specially f. 77; De vitiis Alexandri VI., P. M. Then also against others of the Borgia family, *e.g.*, f. 55[b]: De Dorothea a Caesare Borgia rapta). Cod. Hamilton, 561, formerly in the possession of one of the Rovere Cardinals, contains, f. 9, atrocious verses against Alexander, *e.g.*:

> Heredem certum ut possit sibi linquere Sextus
> Ex nota prolem suscipere instituit.

(Royal Library, Berlin.) The same detestable accusation is to be found in Protestant polemics of the 16th Century (*e.g.*, L. OSIANDER, Sieben Predigten gegen Feucht und Pistorius, 1589, pp. 38–39), in the verses:—

> Conditus hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
> Thais, Alexandra filia, sponsa, nurus,

which are quoted as true. It has been clearly proved, *supra*, p. 105, note †, that these charges are calumnies. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 520. Burchard's silence, from which GOTHEIN, 461, note 2, infers their truth, is no proof whatever; as L. GEIGER has shewn in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung (1888), p. 1751.

* TOMMASINI, Evangelista Maddaleni de Capodiferro, in the Atti dei Lincei, 4 Serie, Cl. di scienze mor. storiche, X., 9. Roma, 1893.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 561 where also the older literature relating to Pasquino is given.

1501, on the pedestal of this antique fragment, which then went by the name of Pasquino (it is now thought to be Ajax with the body of Achilles), a prophecy of the death of the Pope was affixed, which was quickly circulated throughout the whole of Rome. This prediction, he adds, was posted up in several other parts of the city:* in the Campo di Fiore, the Bridge of St. Angelo, the doors of the Vatican Library, and the gates of the Papal Palace. The number of places here mentioned proves that at that time the popular and courtly epigram was not yet a fixed institution in Rome. Up to the time of Leo X. the statue of Pasquino is only occasionally mentioned as the place on which epigrams were posted. It had not yet acquired any special distinction in this respect. It was in his reign that it first became the recognised place for affixing all the epigrams and witticisms of the Roman satirists.† It seems thus equally clear that the origin of the Pasquinade literature, centred here, was scholarly rather than popular. From the year 1504, on the Feast of S. Mark (25th April), this figure was dressed up in masquerade as Minerva, Jupiter, Janus, Apollo, Flora, etc., while the members of the literary circles covered its pedestal with witty epigrams. For the rest of the year Pasquino relapsed into silence; as yet he was still in the youthful, academic stage of his existence.‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 157.

† *Cf.* LUZIO in the Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 94-95; G. A. CESAREO in the N. Antologia, CXXXV. (1894), 537 *seq.*; and Pasquino e la Satira sotto Leone X. (Roma, 1894). For a review of this work see also Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XXIV., 473 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GNOLI and LUZIO in the Nuova Antologia (1890); GENNAIO, 2, 16; AGOSTO, 16. See also ERRERA in Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X., 176 *seq.*, and CIAN in Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 295 *seq.* MORANDI'S contention in the Fanfulla della Domenica, XII., 52, against Luzio is not convincing. *Cf.* Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 151. The

There can be no doubt that the comic poems of that time in Rome were often accompanied by caricatures. When later (in the year 1509), collections of these Pasquinades began to be made, the pictures were thrown away, and only the epigrams were kept. Thus valuable materials for the history of culture have been lost and we can never hope to recover them. Even such things as abortions like, for instance, the monster that was said to have been found in January 1496, at the time of the overflow of the Tiber,* were, as Alexander's misgovernment grew worse and worse, caught hold of by the enemies of the Borgia, and interpreted in their own sense.†

Five weeks after Lucrezia's departure, Alexander and Cæsar, accompanied by six Cardinals, set out for Piombino, which had surrendered in the previous September. The object of their journey was to inspect the fortifications which were being constructed there, apparently under the direction of Leonardo da Vinci.‡ On the 17th February, 1502, they set out by way of Civita Vecchia and Corneto, and after Piombino the island of Elba was also visited. The return journey was begun on the 1st of March, but a violent storm came on, and they did not succeed in reaching Porto Ercole till the 4th. Although the gale had by no means subsided, the voyage was pursued as far as Corneto; but when they got there the sea was running so high that

view given in the text is corroborated by a scarce work in the Court Library at Munich (Po. Lat., 861): Carmina apposita Pasquino Paci Anno 1520 (Printed at Rome in 1520). In Mazzochi's Dedication to the Card. del Monte, dat. Romae, Kal. Maii 1520, we find: Solent namque juvenes hic . . . . geniam quotannis musis exerceri, accendique ad virtutem, magna principis, magna tua, magna caeterorum omnium delectatione.

* See Vol. V. of this work, p. 480.

† LANGE, 32, 43; *cf.* 39.

‡ *Cf.* ALVISI, 244.

it was impossible to land. As the storm still continued to increase, the terrified crew threw themselves on their faces on the deck, the Cardinals wept, the Pope alone remained perfectly calm. In the evening they were obliged to return to Porto Ercole, and from thence Alexander travelled back to Rome by Corneto and Civita Vecchia, and arrived there on the 11th of March.*

There was a political reason for this expedition. Piombino was to form the basis of Cæsar's operations against Tuscany, where the enmity between Florence and Siena, and the war against Pisa, created a favourable situation for him.† In other directions, also, the moment was opportune. The King of France was thought to be safe, as he required the help of the Pope in the coming struggle with the Spanish League. The Roman Barons had been crushed, and all was quiet in the Romagna. Ferrara was an ally; Venice was too busy with the Turks to interfere; there was nothing to fear from Germany.‡ Such a happy combination of circumstances called for prompt action, and all possible speed was made in the preparations. The artillery of the dethroned King of Naples was purchased for 50,000 ducats.§ The fact that Cæsar alone, in May, 1502, drew the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 192–196, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 269; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 454–455, ed. 3 (461, ed. 4). *Cf.* also *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives, and a **Letter of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 17th Feb., 1502. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 241. *Cf.* G. L. Cataneo's **Letter of 17th Feb., 1502. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ G. L. Cataneo's **Letter of 17th Feb., 1502. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 25 *seq.* On the pacification of the Romagna by Cæsar, see REUMONT, III., 1, 240, and ALVISI, 246 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, 261. The last named historian shews that Cæsar displayed great administrative capacity in his government of the Romagna, and was a generous patron of Art.

§ The Portuguese Envoy names a lower sum. See Corp. Dipl. Port.,

sum of 54,000 florins out of the Papal treasury, shews what large demands were made upon it by the Pope's nephews. This did not include the cost of weapons and ammunition. Between 10th May and 12th July the Apostolical treasury paid for 83,098 pounds of powder (each 1000 pounds cost 40 ducats). A separate register was kept in the Secretariat for the ordnance expenses.*

On the 13th June Cæsar left Rome at the head of his army. No one, says Sigismondo de' Conti, knew whither he was bound, but all the inhabitants of the States of the Church trembled at the approach of his troops, who in their violence and exactions behaved as though they were in an enemy's country.†

The Duke proceeded to Spoleto, and from thence entered the Duchy of Urbino. By dint of fraud and treachery he succeeded in making himself master of the whole country, its deluded ruler, Guidobaldi, barely escaping out of his hands by a timely flight.‡ In the following month he took Giulio Cesare Varano, the murderer of his brother Rudolf, prisoner, and conquered Camerino.§ He now received the

I., 34; but Dr. Gottlob states that the sum in the text is that which is found in the disbursements mentioned in Cod. XXXII., 242 (at the end), in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 229.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 251. Alvisi has shewn that Cæsar endeavoured to check the rapacity of his soldiers, but the testimony of such a well-informed contemporary witness can hardly be set aside. In this, as in several other points, Alvisi seems to me to go too far in his desire to take an unprejudiced view of Cæsar, and reject the calumnies of his contemporaries. How "barbarous" was his treatment of Fossombrone is clearly shewn by GIAC. LAURO, *Storia de Fossombrone. MS. in the Plattner Library in Rome.

‡ DENNISTOUN, I., 385; UGOLINI, II., 89 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 374; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 158 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 784; ALVISI, 528 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 124 *seq.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 253; SUGENHEIM, 375 *seq.*; BALAN,

title of Cæsar Borgia of France, by the Grace of God Duke of the Romagna and of Valencia and Urbino, Prince of Andria, Lord of Piombino, Standard-bearer and General-in-Chief of the Church.*

When the Pope heard of the conquest of Camerino he was "almost beside himself with joy," writes the Venetian Envoy, Antonio Giustinian. "He could so little contain himself that, to give some vent to his feelings and mark the importance of the news, he got up from his chair and went to the window, and there had the letter of his Duke of 20th July from Urbino read aloud."† Camerino was given to the infant Juan Borgia,‡ while Cæsar's plans took larger and larger scope. He was, in fact, on the high road to become King of the whole of Central Italy. He was already beginning to think of turning his arms against Bologna when Louis XII. came forward, in connection with Neapolitan relations with Asti, and gave it to be understood that he would not permit any further developments.§ All the enemies of the Borgia were besieging the King with complaints of, and warnings against, the Duke of the Romagna. Cæsar's resolution was promptly taken. Disguising himself, he hastened to the royal camp at Milan, and arrived on the 5th of August. He was successful in winning Louis by the promise of help in Naples, in return for which the King engaged to support him in his attack on Bologna and the Orsini.‖

407 *seq.*, 409, 411 *seq.* The excommunication of G. C. Varano is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 17.

* VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 333; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 457–458, ed. 3 (464, ed. 4).

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 64; *cf.* 76.

‡ RONCHINI, 46 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*

§ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 333 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 785; and on the fresh rupture between Giuliano della Rovere and the Pope, BROSCH, 88 *seq.*

‖ ALVISI, 300 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*

At this moment a conspiracy against Cæsar was formed amongst the chief captains of the mercenary troops under his command. "They were afraid that the dragon was preparing to swallow them one by one." * On the 9th of October the conspirators met at La Magione, not far from the Lake of Thrasimene. Many of the Orsini came, the Cardinal, the Duke of Gravina, Paolo, and Franciotto, besides Hermes, the son of Giovanni Bentivoglio, as the representative of his father, Antonio da Venafro, representing Pandolfo, Petrucci, Gentile, and Giampaolo Baglione, and Vitellozzo Vitelli.† They proceeded at once to action, and on the 15th of October Paolo Orsini entered Urbino, and Guidobaldi immediately joined him there. Without the help of France, Cæsar would have been lost, and he exerted himself to obtain the support of Venice and Florence also. It was at this time that Machiavelli was sent as Envoy to Cæsar at Imola, and gave the first indication of his genius as a political historian by his judgments of the "inscrutable Duke who hardly ever spoke, but acted."‡

Ferrara promised to send troops to Rome if the Pope should require help against the Orsini.§ Actually, however, the only help received by Cæsar came from France alone; but that sufficed, for in the meanwhile his opponents lost time in negotiations, and split among themselves.

The Duke exerted all his craft to break up the League, and fool the conspirators; and they on their part walked

* So writes G. P. Baglioni on the 11th Oct. See VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 334.

† VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, 334; SUGENHEIM, 385; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 160; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 257 *seq.*, says that Cardinal Orsini was the prime mover in the Confederacy.

‡ *Ibid.*, 339 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 463, ed. 3 (470, ed. 4).

blindly into the net that he had laid for them.* Antonio da Venafro and Paolo Orsini came to Imola and concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Duke, by which they bound themselves to recover Urbino and Camerino for him. Bentivoglio entered into separate negotiation with Cæsar; and on the 2nd of December they came to terms.† Soon after Urbino and Camerino were restored to him.

On the 10th December Cæsar, who a short time before had received considerable sums from the Papal treasury,‡ proceeded with his troops from Imola to Cesena. "No one knew or could guess the object of the movement," writes Machiavelli, "for this Signor never speaks of his intentions until he carries them out, and he carries them out at the proper moment."§ Soon, however, it became evident that the Duke's purpose was to take Sinigaglia. Andrea Doria was in command of the Castle. When he found that Cæsar was hurrying towards the city, and already preceded by the troops of Vitellozzo and the Orsini, he fled to Venice. The commander whom he left in charge declared that he would give up the citadel to Cæsar but to no one else.|| The Duke arrived on the 31st of December, and was joined at the gates by Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsini, the Duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto of Fermo. He re-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 262.

† Besides VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, I., 343 *seq.*, *cf.* also CIPOLLA, 788, and ALVISI, 547 *seq.*, 550 *seq.*

‡ *Die III. Decemb. [1502] recepi ducat. 9000 auri in auro . . . . A. S. D. N. munerata in camera Susanne . . . . mittenda in summa duc. 15,000 ill. duci Valentino, que recepi in duobus sacculis. *Intr. et exit., 532; at the end of a loose sheet tacked on f. 4. The further entries in this vol. shew that Cæsar drew enormous sums for military purposes. In Perugia he had 600 German mercenaries. See *Intr. et exit., 533, f. 201. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Letter of 28th Dec. See VILLARI, I., 352.

|| VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 353.

ceived them in the friendliest manner, and they entered together; but no sooner were they within the walls than he had them arrested, and their people disarmed. That very same evening Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were ruthlessly put to death.* The Orsini soon after met with the same fate.† In justification of these murders it was said later that those chiefs had agreed to rise against the Duke and assassinate him. No proofs of this are to be found; but it is not unlikely that it may have been true.‡

Cæsar now turned with lightning-like rapidity on his other foes. On 1st January, 1503, he set off for Perugia on his way to Siena. "At his approach all the smaller despots (such as the Vitelli of Città di Castello, Giampaolo Baglione of Perugia, etc.) fled as from that of a hydra."§

The Duke's "extraordinary good fortune and super-

* On the tragedy of Sinigaglia, in addition to Machiavelli's cold-blooded account (*cf.* VILLARI, I., 354 *seq.*), see also a Letter from Isabella d'Este to her husband, of 10th Jan., 1503 (Arch. St. Ital., Serie 1, App., II., 262 *seq.*), and Giustinian's Despatch of 4th Jan., 1503 (Dispacci, I., 304 *seq.*). A Letter of Cæsar's of 1st Jan., 1503, in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 133, is also interesting in this connection. Amongst recent authors, see CIPOLLA, 789 (good against Leonetti, and on the question of Alexander VI.'s complicity in this deed); L'ÉPINOIS, 415; ALVISI, 388 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 256 *seq.* Machiavelli tells the story of this execution (for Cæsar's contemporaries regarded it as an execution) over again, but with fewer details, in his well-known "Descrizione del modo tenuto dal duca Valentino nell' ammazzare Vitellozzo," etc. GASPARY, II., 345, conjectures that some alterations were purposely introduced into this second narrative "with a view of setting the Duke's sagacity in a more brilliant light, for Machiavelli was never scrupulous in regard to strict historical accuracy when he had a political doctrine to illustrate." Alexander VI. bestowed Fermo on Lucrezia's son, Don Rodrigo. See FULVI, Docum. d. Storia de Fermo. Fermo, 1875.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 356 *seq.*

‡ CIPOLLA, *loc. cit.*

§ VILLARI, I., 356 *seq.*

human sagacity," to use Machiavelli's words, so encouraged the Pope, that he determined to proceed now himself against the Orsini. On the 3rd of January, 1503, Cardinal Orsini, now blind, but still spending his nights in play and feasting, was arrested in the Vatican, and taken first to Torre di Nona and then to St. Angelo.* At the same time, Rinaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence, Giacomo Santa Croce, and other adherents of the family were put in prison. Cardinal Orsini's palace and all his property were confiscated by Alexander VI. The other Cardinals interceded for him, but without effect. The Pope declared that his treachery and participation in the captains' conspiracy could not be left unpunished.† In Rome the numerous arrests created quite a panic. Many fled from the city, so that at last Alexander found it necessary to send for the Conservators, and assure them that all the guilty persons had now been disposed of; the other citizens were to remain in Rome and enjoy the Carnival. In the latter respect he himself set them the best example.‡

On the 5th of January, Jofré Borgia set out to occupy Monte Rotondo and the other strongholds of the doomed family. This was the signal for a final effort to avenge themselves on the part of the remains of the Orsini party in combination with the Savelli and a few of the Colonna. They entrenched themselves in Cere and Bracciano, and on the 23rd January attacked the Ponte Nomentano. The attack was repulsed; but the Pope was so much alarmed

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 230, and *Report of the Mantuan Envoy of 4th Jan., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 301 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, according to which the Cardinal fully expected that he would be put to death. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 232.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 313 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*, 322, 324. *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, 27.

that he had the Vatican barricaded and commanded Jofré to return at once.*

On the 20th February, 1503, the Pope advi ed the Cardinals to fortify their palaces, for there was fear of an attack from the Orsini.† Two days later Cardinal Orsini died after an illness of twelve days. The report that he was poisoned by the Borgia was widely circulated, but the truth of this is doubtful. Such was the death of the man who, next to Ascanio Sforza, had the greatest influence in procuring the election of Alexander VI.‡

Meanwhile Caesar had advanced against the Orsini from Umbria, and, devastating the country as he went along, had made himself master of all the places belonging to Giovanni Giordano Orsini with the exception of Cere and Bracciano, which last was their chief stronghold.§ A short time after,

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 342, 349; SANUTO, IV., 654 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 467 *seq.* (474 *seq.*, ed. 4).

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 237, and Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 403.

‡ L'ÉPINOIS is strongly against the hypothesis of poison. He says, p. 416: Giustinian si attaché aux Orsini et si au fait de ce qui se passait à Rome, avait écrit, dès le 15 Février, 1503, que le Cardinal donnait des signes de frénésie: il parla bien des bruit émis sur cette maladie, en laissant à la sagesse du doge le soin de les apprécier; mais, le 22 en annonçant que le Cardinal Orsini était à l'extrém té et que les médecins désespéraient de le sauver, il ne dit rien qui pût faire soupçonner un crime. Le 23 Février le Cardinal expira. L'ambassadeur de Florence, Soderini, dans se dépêche et Brancatalini dans son Diarium mentionnent simplement la mort du Cardinal sans dire un mot du poison. At the same time, the remark in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238: ego nolens plus sapere quam oportet, non interfui (at the funeral) neque aliquo modo me intromisi, is certainly noteworthy. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER in the Grenzboten, III. (1879), 185.

§ *La Ex. del ducha sarà qua lo jovedi grasso perche tutte le terre di Jo. Jordano ha habuto d'accordo excepto Brazano che è lo capo dove è la molie, etc. Report of G. L. Cataneo, 21st Feb., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

it was said that the Duke had been seen in Rome; but no one could be sure, as he always wore a mask when he went out.*

Meanwhile the war against the Orsini dragged on. Cere did not fall until the beginning of April; 6000 cannon balls had been discharged at this fortress.† Upon this Giovanni Giordano Orsini concluded an armistice (4th April)‡ and betook himself to his protector, the King of France, for aid in the negotiation to follow. Louis at that moment was greatly disturbed at the unfavourable turn taken by events in Naples. In April the Spaniards, under Gonsalvo de Cordova, had opened the campaign with a brilliant victory over the French. On the 16th of May the Spanish General entered Naples in triumph. Louis XII., however, was not disposed to relinquish this noble possession without a struggle, and a new army was immediately equipped.§

The French reverses in Naples were of great advantage to Cæsar. He could now ask a high price for his assistance, and it was not necessary to consider France so much as heretofore in shaping his plans. The important point now was to get money so as to have as strong an army as possible wherewith to control the impending disturbances. Even on the 29th March the Venetian Ambassador reports that in the Consistory of that day it had been resolved by the Cardinals that a Bull should be issued to create eighty new offices in the Court; the price of each was to be 760 ducats. "I leave it to your highness to count how much money the Pope has secured."‖

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 412 *seq.*, and Beltrando's Report in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 473–474, ed. 3 (481, ed. 4).

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 266–267; *cf.* 450 *seq.*

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 475, ed. 3; (482, ed. 4); and App. to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 452.

§ HAVEMANN, II., 169 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 38.

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 453.

These were innocent expedients in comparison with others adopted by the man before whom all Rome, not excepting the Pope himself, trembled. In the night of the 10th of April the wealthy Cardinal Michiel died after two days of violent vomiting. Recent investigations have had the effect of acquitting Cæsar of many crimes laid upon him by the hatred of his contemporaries, but the death of Cardinal Michiel is not one of these. It is extremely probable that Cæsar poisoned the Cardinal in order to obtain the money that he wanted.* Still, however, there was not enough. On May 31 the Venetian Envoy, A. Giustinian, writes: "To-day there was a Consistory. Instead of four new Cardinals, as people expected and as the Pope had said, nine were nominated. Five of these are Spaniards, Giovanni Castelar of Valencia, Francesco Remolino, Francesco Sprats, Jacopo Casanova, and Francesco Iloris; three are Italians, Niccolò

* Despatch of A. Giustinian of 11th April, 1503. VILLARI, I., 574: El ditto (Michiel's nephew) me ha riferito che da due zorni in qua li era zonto un destemperamento de stomego con gran vomito, et anche un poco di flusso: el sospetto è grande ch' el sia sta' avelenato e non mancano evidente conietture. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 259, and Tiara Veneta, 38; Michiel's Epitaph in FORCELLA, Iscriz., II., 304. It has been shewn, in Vol. V. of this work, p. 510, and *supra*, p. 68, that Cæsar was not the murderer either of the Duke of Gandia or of Juan Borgia; ALVISI, 53 *seq.*, has also disproved another false charge against Cæsar. Machiavelli asserts that Cæsar had had the Bishop Ferdinando d'Almeida killed because he had prematurely informed Louis XII. of the granting of the marriage dispensation mentioned *supra*, p. 57, for which the Duke had intended to have exacted a large sum from the King. Alvisi shews that the "murdered" Bishop died two years later, and that the dispensation had been made public some time before the date of his supposed indiscretion. P. Capello's dramatic narrative relating how Cæsar stabbed Pierotto in presence of the Pope, is another story that will not bear examination; see *supra*, p. 77, note ‡. The poisoning of the avaricious Cardinal Ferrari (*ob.* 20th July, 1502) by Cæsar is very doubtful. *Cf.* Atti Mod., VIII., 39 *seq.*, and TANGI., 388 *seq.*

Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, Francesco Soderini, and Adriano da Corneto; one is a German, Melchior Copis von Meckau, Bishop of Brixen. Most of them are men of doubtful reputation; all have paid handsomely for their elevation, some 20,000 ducats and more, so that from 120,000 to 130,000 ducats have been collected. If we add to this 64,000 ducats from the sale of the offices in the Court, and what Cardinal Michiel left behind him, we shall have a fine sum. Alexander VI. is shewing to the world that the amount of a Pope's income is just what he chooses."*

There was another side also to this creation of Cardinals on 31st May. It indicated a change in the Borgia politics, an inclination to draw nearer to Spain and retire from France consequent on the latter's humiliation. But no decision was come to as yet. "The reversal of a policy which had now been followed for some years was in itself a thing not to be done hastily, and the objections to it were heightened by the approach of a large French army destined for the reconquest of Naples, and which was now

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 29–30; *Despatch of G. L. Cataneo of 31st May, 1503: 5 spagnuli e alcuni a pena conoscite e tre taliani (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* PANVINIUS, 336, and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives in the Vatican), where are the names of the twenty-two Cardinals who consented to these nominations. Giustinian's statement that only four nominations were expected is not correct, and, generally, the accounts of this Venetian must be accepted with caution (*cf.* BROSCH in Sybels Zeitschr., XXXVII., 312, and ALVISI, *passim*); but the bribes given at this creation of Cardinals are corroborated from other sources. (*Cf.* BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 313.) In regard to the simony practised at the nominations of Cardinals under Alexander VI., see the interesting documents in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 130 *seq.* See also G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 6th March, 1503: *Al presente se parla de fare duodeci carli, otto ultramontani cioe sette spagnuoli e uno todescho e quatro taliani . . . *e tutti questi sono apti a pagar denari assai.* (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the nomination of Melchior von Meckau, see SINNACHER, Beiträge, 97 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*

close to the Papal frontier. Thus all was tension and uncertainty."* One thing, however, is clear, and that is, that at this time Alexander and Cæsar were preparing to fly at higher game. The Pope was in robust health and felt as young as ever; they both looked forward to a prolonged Pontificate.† Consequently Cæsar now began to look forward with confidence to the Lordship of the whole of Tuscany. The Ferrarese Envoy reports on the 10th of August that negotiations were going on between the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain for the Duke the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca. At the same time Cæsar's troops had occupied Perugia and there awaited his orders.‡ At this point a higher hand intervened; the forbearance of God had reached its appointed term.

* REUMONT, III., 1, 246. On the undecided plans and double-faced policy of the Borgia during the last months of Alexander's reign, see, in addition to A. Giustinian's Despatches, the Ferrarese *Report in the State Archives, Modena, portions of which are in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 479 *seq.*, ed. 3 (486 *seq.*, ed. 4), and BALAN, V., 422 *seq.* See also amongst recent authors, RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 168 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 793; ULMANN, II., 87 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 106 *seq.*, ed. 3; Lord ACTON, 365; and VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 377 *seq.*, where also there are particulars about Troche, the favourite and secretary of Alexander VI., who was supposed to have betrayed the negotiations with Spain to the French. Troche fled on 19th May, 1503, but Cæsar succeeded in capturing him. He was brought back to Rome and executed on the 8th June, the Duke being secretly present. See the Ferrarese Envoy's Report of 11th June in VILLARI, I., 486.

† *Cf.* the quotation in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 476, note 2, ed. 3 (483, ed. 4), from Beltrando Costabili's Despatch of 17th April, 1503; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 267; and the *Report of an anonymous person, dat. Rome, May 1503: il papa sta benissimo, and Cesare the same Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 794; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 482, ed. 3 (489, ed. 4); RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 170; ULMANN, II., 89. See also SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 267.

The heat and drought of August had caused the malaria that year to be worse than usual, and it claimed a greater number of victims than was its wont. On the 5th of the month Juan Borgia, Cardinal of Monreale, died suddenly.* The Envoys mention a great deal of sickness, which was not, they say, caused by the Plague, but by a specially virulent form of Roman fever, which was very speedily fatal.† When the Venetian Ambassador was with the Pope on the 7th of August he found him in low spirits. Alexander told him that the sickness and many deaths in Rome alarmed him, and that he meant to take great care of himself. His depression was increased by the approach of the French troops.‡

The 11th of August was the anniversary of the Pope's election. Alexander appeared at the celebration in the chapel, and the Ambassador was again struck by his air of depression in contrast with the gaiety which was habitual to him on all such occasions. After Mass he conversed with the Ambassador on the critical situation in regard to politics. "See," he said, "how disastrous it has been that no understanding should have been arrived at between your Signoria and ourselves." § Some days before, Alexander had watched from his window the funeral procession of Juan Borgia, who like himself had grown very corpulent. As it passed the Pope exclaimed, "This month is a bad one for fat people." The next moment an owl flew in and

* A. GIUSTINIAN in this case also ascribes the death to poisoning by Cæsar: Dispacci, II., 94. *Cf.* against this CREIGHTON, IV., 265.

† G. L. Cataneo, in reporting the death of Card. Juan Borgia, adds: *el era de anni 50, grasso; se ne morto in un subito et molti ge sonno infermi, ma non ge peste alcuna, solum febre qual spaciano presto. Despatch of 5th Aug., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 99, 102.

§ *Ibid.*, II., 103 *seq.*

fell at his feet. "A bad, bad omen," he cried out and hastily retired into his bed-room.*

On the morning of Saturday, 12th August, the Pope felt unwell; in the afternoon vomiting and fever came on and lasted throughout the night.† At the same time Cæsar, who was on the point of starting to join his troops at Perugia, also sickened.‡ "The cause," writes the Venetian Envoy on 13th August, "seems to have been that a week ago (therefore on the 5th or 6th of August) both Alexander and Cæsar dined at a villa belonging to Cardinal Adriano da Corneto and remained there till after nightfall. All who were there fell ill, Cardinal Adriano first, who on Friday had a severe attack of fever, which was repeated on the two following days." §

August is well known to be the most dangerous month in Rome, and at that season it is especially perilous to be out of doors about nightfall. The malignant form of ague, often brought on by an imprudence of this sort, is called *Malaria perniciosa:* in a few hours the temperature may rise to above 106 and the strongest constitution may succumb to the violence of the poison. The neighbourhood

* This is SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI'S story, II., 267, but there is some confusion in the dates.

† GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 107. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238. There are a great number of MS. copies of Burchard's narrative of the death of Alexander VI. and the election of his successor, in Latin (in many of the Vatican MSS. and Roman Libraries, and also in a Cod. of the Capelupi Lib. in Mantua), as well as in Italian (*cf.* Atti della R. Acad. dei Rozzi di Siena, I. [1871], 26 *seq.*). It was also in the hands of the author of the well-known book, Conclavi dei Pontefici Romani. A German translation in the Kathol. Schweizerbl. (1891) 496 *seq.*

‡ G. L. Cataneo, in a *Despatch of 8th Aug., 1503, announces: el ducha ogni modo parte questa notte. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 108. *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, III., 449.

of the Vatican is one of the quarters in which malaria is especially prevalent. An Envoy on the 14th of August remarks that no one can be surprised that Alexander and Cæsar were ill, as the bad air in the Papal Palace had caused much sickness there.*

On the 13th of August † the physicians endeavoured to relieve the Pope by copious bleeding, a favourite remedy in those days. During all that day he was more comfortable and played at cards;‡ but after a fairly good night another attack of fever supervened on the 14th, resembling that of the 12th, so that those about him became very anxious. Although it seemed a risk to repeat the bleeding of a patient of seventy-three, this was done.§ The Pope felt somewhat better on the 15th and had no fever, but on the 16th it returned.||

Cæsar also grew worse, the fever fits succeeded each other more and more rapidly. This, and his political anxieties, acted injuriously on the Pope's health.¶ The physicians considered his case very serious, but the details

* B. Costabili in GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459. G. L. Cataneo, in a *Despatch of 13th Aug., 1503, mentions the serious illness of two Cardinals. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† This date is given in Costabili's Despatch in GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459; in the latter, p. 108, we find the morning of 14th Aug.

‡ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459.

§ *Ibid.*, 108, 459. (Despatch of Costabili of 14th Aug.) G. L. Cataneo reports on 14th Aug.: *El papa è alterato e se ha fatto cavar sangue il che in furia de questi tempi e in tal eta lassol iudicar ali medici. El ducha ha la febre cum vomito. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

|| Costabili's Despatch of 16th Aug., 1503: Yesterday the Pope was assai bene; hoggi è ritornato el parosismo; he is in bed with fever. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 111.

¶ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 111, 112. BURCHARDI, on the contrary, says (Diarium, III., 239) that throughout his illness Alexander never once mentioned either Cæsar or Lucrezia. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 487, ed. 3 (494, ed. 4), unfairly lays much stress on this.

were kept as secret as possible; even Beltrando Costabili, the Ferrarese Envoy, could find out but little. According to a report of his the whole of the next day (17th) Alexander was more at ease and quieter, so that Costabili's agent hoped that the fever might not return the following day, or only slightly. Here the Pope's illness is distinctly designated as the well-known *Terzana;* it was feared that it might develop into a *Quartana.** On the 18th he had a bad night, the fever returned with greater violence than before, and the case was felt to be hopeless. Alexander made his confession to the Bishop of Carinola and received Holy Communion.† In the Palace the greatest excitement prevailed; many lost no time in removing their property to a place of security.‡ On the 18th Cæsar Borgia was better; the younger man had strength to battle against the malady, but for Alexander, at seventy-three, the last hour had struck. About 6 o'clock in the evening he had a fit of suffocation and became unconscious; for a moment he came to himself again, but immediately after passed away, about the hour of vespers.§

* See Appendix, N. 9 and 10, *Despatches of B. Costabili of 18th Aug., 1503 (State Archives, Modena), and of G. L. Cataneo of the same date. Also BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238, speaks of febris tertiana.

† See Appendix, N. 9, *Despatch from B. Costabili, of 18th Aug., 1503. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 268, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 483–84, ed. 3 (490–91, ed. 4), following a clerical error, Culmensis, in RAYNALDUS, XXX., 391, speaks of a Bishop Peter of Culm who never existed.

‡ See Appendix, N. 9, 10, *Despatches of the Ferrarese and Mantuan Envoys of 18th Aug., 1503.

§ See GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 119 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 239; and in the Appendix, N. 11, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo of 19th Aug. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) According to JEAN D'AUTON (Chroniques, ed. Jacob, II., 357 Paris, 1834–1835), the news of Alexander's death was received by Louis XII. only four days after the event. That of the election of Pius III. reached him at the same time.

In consequence of the simultaneous illness of both the Pope and his son, and the rapid decomposition of the body, which, considering the heat of the weather, was perfectly natural, the cry of poison was raised at once; but on the 19th of August the Mantuan Envoy writes that there was no sort of ground for supposing this.* All the best informed contemporary writers are here agreed; neither the Venetian Ambassador Giustinian nor Jakob Burchard say anything of poison. These men were in Rome at the time of Alexander's death, which Guicciardini, Bembo, Jovius, Peter Martyr, and Sanuto were not. The narrative of the latter is self-contradictory in many places and must obviously be relegated to the realm of fiction.† It is clear

It appears that there was a regular post between Rome and the French camp. See KNUTH, 26.

* See Appendix, N. 11, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, of 19th Aug., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* GEBHARDT'S critical investigation in Adriano von Corneto, 11–14, which is specially directed against Ranke, who adheres with a strange pertinacity to the theory of poison. (Päpste, I., 35, ed. 7, and III., 6*-7*, ed. 7; and also Rom. und Germ. Völker, 170. In the 2nd edition the 17th of August is given as the date of Alexander's death.) Among recent historians very few of any note still maintain this untenable theory. CARO, V., 958, and LAMANSKY, Secrets d'État de Venise, Pt. 2, No. XI., where Alexander is said to have been poisoned by Adriano da Corneto, who had an understanding with the Venetian Government, may be mentioned. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 11, had already declared against this theory; later Voltaire, then MARINI, I., 250; NOVAES, VI., 119 *seq.*; ASCHBACH, I., 140; NEMEČ, 218 *seq.*; JORRY, 154 *seq.*; Rev. Hist., I., 310; REUMONT, III., 1, 247, Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 488, ed. 2; and Hist. Jahrb., V., 627 *seq.*; VILLARI and SALTINI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XXVI., 448; VILLARI in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., p. XLII., and Machiavelli, I., 386 ALVISI, 402 *seq.*; Lord ACTON, 367; MAURY in Rev. Hist., XIII., 101; GEBHARDT in Rev. des Deux Mondes, LXXXVI. (1886), 168 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 420; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 388; CIPOLLA, 794; CREIGHTON, IV., 43, 44. GARNETT, Engl. Hist. Rev., IX. (1894), 335–339, is the latest writer who

that Alexander succumbed to the well-known Roman fever; one of the physicians thought the actual death was caused by a fit of apoplexy.* The interval of seven or eight days between the dinner and the first appearances of illness, and the periodical character of the fever fits, quite excludes the hypothesis of poison.†

has dealt with this question. He thinks it possible that the Pope may have been poisoned by one of his enemies, but rejects, as unproved, the statement that Alexander died of a poison prepared by himself for another man. The reason that the English historian has been unable to come to a definite conclusion may be that he has not followed the story of the course of the malady in detail, as we have endeavoured, for the first time, to do. If he had, he would have apprehended the true explanation of what Jovius says about Cardinal Adriano Castellesi's skin coming off, which no doubt was that peeling which takes place in so many infectious diseases; and which is not one of the symptoms of any kind of poison.

* GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 119. On other physicians of Alexander, see HAESER, III., 240–243, ed. 3.

† HOFFMANN, Lehrbuch der gerichtlichen Medicin, 616 *seq.*, ed. 4, writes: "The first symptoms of poisoning by no means immediately follow in all cases on the swallowing of the noxious substance. Only the strongest corrosive poisons act instantaneously. . . In regard to all others a certain time elapses, which varies between a few minutes and many hours. . . . . In acute poisons and those which kill by lethargy, as a rule the symptoms go on from the moment of their first appearance, steadily increasing in intensity until death supervenes. It is very exceptional that temporary relaxations of them are found to occur. . . . . In mineral poisoning such cases are very rarely observed, but more frequently where the poison is a narcotic." According to FLANDIN (Traité des poisons; *cf.* Rev. d. Deux Mondes, XX. [1877], 276), if the slow poison used by the Borgia were some form of acide arsénieux, its action would be, in its acute form, either a violent inflammation of the stomach resembling cholera, and causing death in from 5 to 26 hours, or else a cerebro-spinal affection (delirium, convulsions, paralysis), death ensuing in from 1 to 12 hours. In its sub-acute form it would manifest itself in general derangement of the digestion, with muscular weakness, icterus, inflammation of the kidneys; *cf.* HOFFMANN, *loc. cit.*, 660 *seq.* Alexander's symptoms had no resemblance to any of these forms. I am

In accordance with Roman usage, Alexander was buried at the end of twenty-four hours in the Church of S. Andrea, then called Sta Maria della Febbre, adjoining S. Peter's.* The funeral was of the simplest character; the enemies of the Borgia made no secret of their joy; they loaded the dead man with abuse, and circulated a story of the devil's having come to fetch his soul.†

Although some friends were not wanting who strove to draw attention to Alexander's better qualities,‡ the general judgment on the life and career of this unhappy man was a most unfavourable one.§ When Julius II., who was an implacable enemy of the Borgia, occupied the Papal Chair, it became usual to speak of Alexander as a "Maraña" and

indebted to my esteemed friend, Dr. A. Tschermak of Vienna, for these particulars.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 243. In the year 1610 Alexander's remains were transferred to the Sacristy of the Church of Sta Maria di Monserrato, where quite recently a marble monument has been placed at the end of the right aisle in memory of Alexander VI. and Calixtus III. NOVAES, V., 193, note c.; LEONETTI, III., 389; and Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Hist. (1891), fasc. 2.

† *Cf.* MATARAZZO in the Arch. St. Ital., 1 Serie, XVI., 2, 222–223, and the Letter of the Marquess of Mantua, of 22nd Sept., 1503, in the App. to GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 122–123. See also a poem printed in Venice in 1508, in Arch. St. Lomb., II., 17 *seq.*

‡ See the Bishop of Gallipoli's address, 16th Sept., 1503, to the Cardinals before they entered the Conclave, from the only known copy, now in the British Museum, published by GARNETT in the Engl. Hist. Review, VII. (1892), 311 *seq.* Garnett, in his judgment of Alexander, allows far too much weight to this speech.

§ *Cf.* CAMBI, XXI., 195 *seq.*; NOTAR GIACOMO, 261. A contemporary in Bologna, on receiving the news of Alexander's decease, wrote: et sepultus in inferno. Atti d. Romagna, VIII. (1890), 179. GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 320 *seq.*, points out how, as time went on, Sigismondo de' Conti's opinion of Alexander grew steadily worse, and we equally find the judgment of Peter Martyr growing more and more severe. See BERNAYS, 99.

the impersonation of all that was horrible and bad. The noble Marcantonio Altieri openly expressed his satisfaction that now "all the Borgia had been uprooted from the soil and cast out as poisonous plants, hated by God and noxious to man," and this was by no means the worst of the things that were said.* He was universally described as a monster and every sort of foul crime attributed to him.†

Modern critical research has in many points judged him more fairly and rejected some of the worst of the accusations against him.‡ But even though we must beware of accepting without examination all the tales told of Alexander by his contemporaries, "even serious and honest historians are not wholly free from bias"; and though the bitter wit of the Romans found its favourite exercise in tearing him to pieces without mercy, and attributing to him in popular pasquinades and scholarly epigrams a life of incredible foulness,§ still so much against him has been clearly proved,‖ that we are forced to reject the modern attempts at whitewashing him as an unworthy tampering with truth.¶ "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven

* See Li Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri, ed. Narducci (Rome, 1873). This work was begun between 1506 and 1509, and probably finished during the first years of Leo X. See REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitg. (1874), N. 358, Supp.

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 522, and *supra*, p. 115. On Guicciardini's verdict in regard to him, see RANKE, Zur Kritik, 55*. Vettori's judgment, in REUMONT, III., 1, 498, though extremely severe, contains the remark: "When a Prince has got himself thoroughly hated, every one casts a stone at him, and there is no crime with which he is not charged."

‡ *Cf.* specially *supra*, p. 110, note, and *infra*, p. 174.

§ REUMONT in the Bonner Theol. Literaturbl., V. (1870), 686.

‖ See *supra*, p. 104 *seq.*

¶ This applies especially to the writings of Ollivier and Nemeč. See

years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism, lastly, on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life, which made every sort of accusation credible, and brought the Papacy into utter discredit, while its authority still seemed unimpaired. Those better qualities which Alexander undoubtedly did possess shrink into nothing in the balance when weighed with all this." *

From a Catholic point of view, it is impossible to blame Alexander VI. too severely, and, indeed, he has met with his deserts from Ægidius of Viterbo in his reign of Leo X., and later, from the Annalists of the Church, Raynaldus and Mansi.† It was the very first duty of a Pope in those days of growing worldliness to make every effort to stem the tide of corruption; but Alexander, like any secular Prince, cared for nothing but the advancement of his

Vol. II. of this work, p. 452, note *. Chantrel's attempts to deny Alexander's immoralities both before and after his elevation to the Papal throne are no better. Bernacchi follows Chantrel in the Arch. dell. Ecclesiastico, III., 483 (Trento, 1865). Leonetti also goes often too far, and Tachy with him, in the Rev. des Sciences Ecclés. Amiens, 1882.

* REUMONT in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 488 *seq.*, ed. 2. *Cf.* Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III., 1, 247 *seq.*, and the Bonner Theol. Lit.-Bl., V. (1870), 477 *seq.* On the discredit brought on the Papacy in the eyes of many of the Germans, see *infra*, p. 151, note ‡.

† Aegidius of Viterbo's judgment is in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 494, ed. 3 (501–502, ed. 4). That of Raynaldus has been already quoted. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 385. MANSI expresses himself still more energetically in a note to Raynaldus, XI., 415. The Jesuit KOLB in Series Roman. Pontif., p. 296 (Aug. Vind., 1739) makes no attempt to defend Alexander from a moral point of view, nor does DAMBERGER in his Fürstenbuch, 340 (Regensburg, 1831). Equally against modern apologists, the Jesuits in the Civ. Catt., 3 Serie, IX., 722, 727, are in accordance with Matagne (see Vol. II. of this work, p. 452 *seq.*, note *, as to the impossibility of rehabilitating this Pope.

family.* Even when the shock of his son's death recalled him for a moment to the sense of his true vocation, his repentance was of the shortest duration, and he very soon returned to his old ways and lived the immoral life of the secular sovereigns of his day.

Thus he who should have been the guardian of his time, saving all that could be saved, contributed more than any other man to steep the Church in corruption. His life of unrestrained sensuality was in direct contradiction with the precepts of Him whose representative on earth he was;† and to this he gave himself up to the very end of his days, but it is noteworthy that in matters purely concerning the Church, Alexander never did anything that justly deserves blame; even his bitterest enemies are unable to formulate any accusation against him in this respect.‡ Her doctrines were maintained in all their purity. It seemed as though his reign were meant by Providence to demonstrate the truth that though men may hurt the Church they cannot harm her.

In the Church there have always been unworthy priests as well as bad Christians; and that no one might be scandalised by this, our Lord Himself has foretold it. He likens her to a field in which the tares grow up with the wheat; to a net in which are both good and bad fish; even amongst His disciples he endured a Judas.

Just as the intrinsic worth of a jewel is not lessened by an inferior setting, so the sins of a priest cannot essentially affect his power of offering sacrifice or administering Sacra-

* HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 15. See also his treatise on the Aera der Bastarden, 56 *seq.*

† Even his contemporaries pointed out this. See the satirical letter of 1502 in SANUTO, IV., 220–221.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 247 *seq.* *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 424 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 389. See also CREIGHTON, IV., 45.

ments or transmitting doctrine. The personal holiness of the priest is, of course, of the highest importance for the lives of the faithful, inasmuch as he constitutes a living example for them to follow, and compels the respect and esteem of those who are outside. Still the goodness or badness of the temporary minister can exercise no substantial influence on the being, the divine character, or the holiness of the Church; on the word of revelation; on the graces and spiritual powers with which she is endowed. Thus, even the supreme high priest can in no way diminish the value of that heavenly treasure which he controls and dispenses, but only as a steward. The gold remains gold in impure as in pure hands. "The Papal office belongs to a higher sphere than the personality of its occupant for the time being, and can neither gain nor lose in its essential dignity by his saintliness on one side, or his unworthiness on the other."* Even the first Pope, S. Peter, had sinned deeply in denying his Lord and Master; and yet the office of Supreme Pastor was given to him. In the words of the great S. Leo: *Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit.*†

* Kirche und Protestantismus, 136–137.

† Sermo de Nat. ips., III.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VI.'S ACTION IN THE CHURCH.—THE GREAT JUBILEE OF THE YEAR 1500.—EDICT FOR CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA AND AFRICA.—PAPAL DECISION IN REGARD TO THE COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the predominance of secular interests throughout the whole of the reign of Alexander VI., this Pope was not inactive in matters regarding the Church. In all essentials, in spite of abuses, the government of the Church was steadily carried on; no doubt, however, this was partly owing to the marvellous perfection of her organisation.

Like his predecessors, Alexander gave a hearty support to the monastic orders, enriched them with many privileges and did all he could to secure and promote their well-being and their work. Innocent VIII. had in 1490 granted to the Church of the Augustinians the same indulgences as could formerly only be gained by visiting the stations in Rome. Alexander VI. in 1497 bestowed on this order, permanently and exclusively, the office of Sacristan of the Chapel of the Papal Palace. From that time a special prayer for the Pope was ordered to be said in all Augustinian Churches and Convents.* Thus the Order,

* EMPOLI, Bull. Ord. Erem. Aug., 37, and KOLDE, Die Deutsche Augustinercongregation, 207. See also Cod. dipl. Sax., II., Vol. IX., 348 *seq.*

from which the most violent and powerful foe of Rome was to proceed, was bound to the Holy See by the closest ties.

The Dominicans were not only confirmed in their inquisitorial powers, but also favoured in many other ways. The Pope punished those who laid hands on the property of the Order, encouraged devotion to S. Thomas Aquinas, promoted the reform and foundation of Dominican convents, and granted to the Dominicans equal privileges with those of the other mendicant orders, and the right of establishing confraternities of the Rosary.* The old and very extensive privileges of the Franciscans were also confirmed afresh by him.† Substantial favours were bestowed upon the Congregation of Canons Regular of S. Saviour by Alexander ‡ and on the Gesuati.§ The protection of the Pope was also extended to the Congregation of Augustinian Hermits in Italy, who were known by the name of Apostolic Brothers. Innocent VIII. in 1484 had bestowed on this body a more solid organisation by binding them to observe the rule of the Hermits of S. Augustine and giving them a habit. Alexander VI. completed the work of his predecessor in a Bull of the year 1496. Among other things it was ordained that in future they might take solemn vows according to the rule of the Augustinian Hermits, and enjoy all their privileges. Their General resided at S. Rocco in Genoa.‖ In the year 1497 he united the Cistercian convents of Upper

* These authorisations are to be found in the Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 44, 99, 101, 115, 116, 120, 122, 133, 166, 190.

† In a Bull dat. Rome, 5th Feb., 1501, which is to be found in MS. in the Library of the Order at S. Gall, but doubtless has also been printed.

‡ Bull. Canonic. regul. Cong. s. Salvatoris (Romae, 1733), f. 105 *seq.*

§ Bull., V., 376 *seq.*

‖ *Ibid.*, 366 *seq.*; TAMBURINI, De jure abbat., II., 338; WETZER und WELTE'S Kirchenlexikon, I., 1111, 1112, ed. 2.

and Central Italy into one congregation, to which he gave the name of the Congregation of S. Bernard.*

In 1494 the Order of the Knights of S. George, and in 1501 the Order of Nuns founded by S. Jane of Valois for the closer imitation of the Blessed Virgin, received the Papal approbation.† A more important approbation was that bestowed by him on the Order of S. Francis of Paula in 1493, and in 1505 on his Tertiaries, to whom he granted many privileges.‡ In the year 1496 the Pope reconstituted the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.§ Alexander VI. frequently came forward as the protector of convents against their oppressors, whether ecclesiastical or secular,|| and energetically withstood encroachments on the liberties of the Church.

In this respect Alexander's attitude in regard to the absolutist pretensions of the authorities in the Netherlands is especially interesting. In spite of the supineness of the clergy in that country, who took no notice of the infringements of their privileges and immunities, the Pope acted with the greatest decision. Quite at the beginning of his reign he threatened the magistrates of Brabant with excommunication, but they refused to desist from their encroachments on the rights of the Church. Immediately he addressed himself to Duke Philip of Burgundy, point-

* Bull., V., 371 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 41 ; 1501, n. 24 *seq.*

‡ Bull., V., 352 *seq.*, 380 *seq.* Application had already been made under Innocent VIII. to obtain the approval of the Holy See for the Order. This appears from *Lib. brev. 18, f. 214. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ MISLIN, Heilige Orte, II., 309, and "Das Heilige Land," the organ of the Verein vom H. Grabe, XII., 33. Köln, 1868.

|| The *Bulls of 16th Aug., 1497, in the State Archives at Florence (S. Chiara di Cortona), and of 15th Dec., 1497, in the Archives of the Prince-Bishop of Brixen, are instances of this.

ing out how the liberties of the Church were violated in his dominion, especially in Brabant, and calling upon him to put a stop at once to these proceedings. A Brief was despatched to the Bishop of Liège, sharply rebuking him for having neglected the defence of the rights of the Church, and for not having informed the Holy See, and commanding him, under pain of suspension and Interdict, to repair his negligence without delay. Similar letters were written to many other persons who were in a position to have influence in the Netherlands.*

Alexander took pains on many occasions to promote devotion to S. Anne † and the Blessed Virgin. In regard to the latter, the ordinance restoring the ringing of the Angelus in August 1500, was an act of wide and lasting importance.‡ No canonisations took place during this Pope's reign, but several causes were introduced, and the investigations in regard to conduct and miracles were conducted with great care and circumspection. Papal instructions on these points are to be found in connection with Bishop Benno,§ Henry VI. of

* Particulars are to be found in CAUCHIE, Mission aux Archives Vaticanes, 18–23. Bruxelles, 1892.

† See SCHAUMKELL, Der Cultus der hl. Anna, 21, 25, though it contains serious misapprehensions. *Cf.* SCHMITZ in the Katholik (1893), II., 251 *seq.*, and the Sonntagsblatt of the Berlin Germania (1893), No. 10. On the veneration of S. Anne in the 15th Century, see also FALK in the Katholik (1878), I., 60 *seq.*

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 72. See *supra*, p. 79.

§ *Cf.* the Brief of Alexander VI. to the Bishop of Naumburg and the Abbots of Altzelle and Buch in Cod. Dipl. Sax., 2 H. th., Vol. III., 288–289. The editor, Gersdorf, misplaces this Brief, dating it 4th Apl., 1492, before the election of Alexander VI. But the title in the copy used by Gersdorf is : die 4 Aprilis, MCCCCLXXXXII p. n. anno septimo, which would carry it on to the year 1499, and this agrees admirably with the following extract in the *Acta Consist.: Romae, 4 Martii, 1499. R. D. Senen legit summam quarundam litterarum ducum Saxonie, prelator., v. episcoporum

England,* and S. Frances of Rome.† Amongst other ecclesiastical acts of Alexander VI. should be mentioned his confirmation of the Bull of Sixtus IV. on the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady,‡ and in the year 1501, his affirmative decision of the question as to whether it was allowable for the Bishop Albert of Wilna to take up arms to defend himself against the Tartars. On the 20th of August of the same year, he declared the form of baptism in which the passive mood is used (which is customary amongst the Ruthenes in Lithuania and others of the Greek rite) to be valid, and forbade the reiteration of the Sacrament; grounding his decision on that of Eugenius IV.§ On the 8th of June, 1451, he wrote to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, admonishing him to do everything in his power to persuade his consort to "abjure the Russian religion, and accept the Christian Faith."‖ In the year 1496 Constantine, Prince of Georgia, sent the Basilian monk Nilus to Rome with overtures for a reunion in religion and an alliance against the Turks.

et abbat. et nobil. illar. partium quemadmodum alias frequenter scripserunt pro canonizatione beati Bennonis quondam episcopi Misnens. quem dicunt miraculis corruscare. Et cum semper remissi fuerint ad partes pro interponenda mora, prout in similibus arduis causis fit, novissime omnes rescripserunt instantissime supplicantes ut causa canonizationis vel saltem informationis rerum illarum committeretur. S. D. N. omnibus intellectis statuit quod fieret commissio per breve duobus episcopis et duobus abbatibus pro gravitate rei ut illi de narratis se informarent et suis litteris S^e S^ti postea referrent. Liber relat. Consistorii, fig. C. 303, f. 38. Consistorial Archives in the Vatican.

* WILKINS, III., 640; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 364.

† The examination of the cause was entrusted to three Cardinals on 4th March, 1499. See Cod. in Consistorial Archives cited in previous note.

‡ LEA, III., 602.

§ For documents on this point, see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 391.

‖ THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 289; PICHLER, II., 58.

Alexander in reply sent him the Decree of the Council of Florence and other information on the subject.*

In accordance with the decree of Paul II., that each twenty-fifth year should be a Jubilee, the year 1500 was so kept under Alexander VI., and preparations for it were begun in 1498.†

On the 28th March, 1499, the Jubilee Bull was discussed in Consistory, and it was decided that all other indulgences and faculties should be suspended during this year.‡ All the Cardinals gave their assent to this last resolution, which in many places, and especially in Germany, gave considerable dissatisfaction,§ and on the same day the Bull was published‖. On the 22nd December a similar Bull was brought out in Rome in Latin and Italian, granting special

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 21, 22 ; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 390.

† The first thing that was done was to attend to the improvement and putting in order of the streets and bridges in Rome. For particulars, see the following Chapter.

‡ *Romae in die jovis sancti XXVIII. Martii, 1499 : Cum S. D. N. fecisset verbum de publicatione bulle pro anno jubilaei centesimo proxime futuro cum suspensione omnium aliarum indulgentiarum plenariarum, facultatum et concessionum quibusvis locis et personis ubique terrarum quibusvis causis et rationibus ante hac concessarum ac etiam litterarum desuper confectarum usque ad annum finitum ipsius jubilaei ut magna cum frequentia undecunque personaliter christifideles ad ipsum celebrandum accedant, fuit ab omnibus commendatum ut fieret. Lib. relat. Consist. tempore pontif. Alexandri VI. in die XII. Nov. 1498, usque in diem V. Iulii 1499, fig. C. 303, f. 48. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ Geiler von Kaisersberg was one of those who were displeased at this, on account of his great devotion to Indulgences ; *cf.* Hist.-Pol. Bl., XLVIII., 394 *seq.* The writer of this article says he is unable to say whether or not Alexander VI. was the first to decree this suspension. It will be seen from PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 481, ed. 2 (German ed.), that it was not a new thing. Venice endeavoured to obtain an exemption from its operation. See SANUTO, I., 490 *seq.*

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 518, 591 *seq.*

privileges to the Penitentiary of S. Peter; and all the clergy of the city were invited to the opening of the Jubilee.*

The Pope himself performed this ceremony on Christmas Eve, 1499, having taken pains to settle all the details beforehand with his Master of Ceremonies. The ceremonial observed on these occasions was no modern invention, but, as the Bull of indiction expressly says, was founded on ancient rites and full of symbolic meaning. The Pope was carried to S. Peter's arrayed in full pontificals, holding a gilt lighted candle in one hand and blessing the people with the other. All the Cardinals and Prelates who accompanied him also carried lighted candles. The procession stopped in front of the Church, and the Papal Choir began the usual Antiphons. Then the Pope proceeded on foot to the so-called sacred door, where a hammer was put into his hand in token of the power entrusted to him, in virtue of which he "openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth" (Apoc. iii. 7). With a few blows of the hammer he made a breach in the wall with which this door is closed, the bricks having already been loosened, and the rest was cleared away by workmen. This part of the ceremony occupied about half an hour. Then the Pope, holding the lighted candle in his left hand, entered first, the rest following, while the Te Deum was intoned; after which Vespers were sung immediately.†

On the 14th of April the Pope visited the four principal churches in order to gain the Jubilee Indulgence. On Easter Day he celebrated the High Mass in S. Peter's, and afterwards gave the solemn blessing and absolution.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 584 *seq.* *Cf.* *Despatch of G. L. Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua, Rome, 25th Dec., 1499. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 598 *seq.*

According to Burchard, the crowd which assisted at these solemnities numbered 200,000 persons.* Although this may be an exaggeration,† still it is certain that, in spite of the troubles of the times and the insecurity in Rome itself, the numbers attending this Jubilee were very large. Even in December a vast crowd of pilgrims passed through Florence.‡ A Bull to provide for the safety of the wayfarers on their journey was issued in February; § and many precautionary measures were adopted to maintain order in Rome,|| though they failed to prove completely effectual. Nevertheless visitors still continued to arrive. A pious Camaldolese monk was greatly consoled by the sight of so many thousands who had not perished in Sodom. "God be praised," he exclaimed, "who has brought hither so many witnesses to the Faith."¶ "All the world was in Rome" (orbis in urbe), writes Sigismondo de' Conti.** No difficulties or dangers seemed capable of checking the inflow of pilgrims, shewing how deeply rooted the Faith still was in the hearts of the various nations. Not a few succumbed to the Plague which was raging in many parts of the States of the Church.†† Those who came by sea were in danger of being captured by pirates, and Alexander stationed a cruiser at Ostia for their protection. By land, the Italians especially suffered much from the hated French troops, nevertheless a great number appeared.‡‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 34, 37.

† This seems probable, as BURCHARD, III., 36, only mentions 100,000 pilgrims.

‡ LANDUCCI, 205.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 16 *seq.*

|| *Ibid.*, III., 42 *seq.*

¶ Petrus Delphinus in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 1.

** SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 218.

†† *Cf.* Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, 235 *seq.*

‡‡ GUGLIELMOTTI, Marina, II., 496; MAULDE, Origines, 52–54.

Thousands arrived from Germany, the Netherlands, and Hungary. "Men and women, widows and maidens, monks and nuns," says Trithemius, "came flocking to Rome to gain the Indulgence."* In the Confraternity-book of the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito in Rome in the month of January, 1500, not less than 150 Hungarian pilgrims are entered, and in the course of the year they numbered more than 500.† Nor were the Italians behindhand. The Neapolitans had a procession of their own, in which the venerated picture of Sta Maria del Carmine was carried, many scourging themselves as they walked till the blood came.‡ The fact that the deaths of foreigners in Rome between Christmas and S. John's Day were estimated at 30,800, shews how large the number of pilgrims must have been.§

Amongst the celebrities who made this pilgrimage, the first to be mentioned is Nicholas Copernicus, who arrived in Rome about Easter, and remained there a whole year. He lectured then, but not, as is almost universally supposed,

* TRITHEMII, Chronicon Hirsaug., II., 579 (S. Galli, 1690). *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 135. Many undertook the pilgrimage for the benefit of the Souls in Purgatory. A large number of sums left in wills to defray the expenses of pilgrimages to Rome are mentioned in the **Testamentarbuch* of the Imperial free city of Pressburg, Vol. I. (1427–1529). There is hardly a Will which does not contain a bequest for this purpose. In 1493 there are 7 such; in 1494, 1; 1495, 2; 1496, 2; 1498, 1; 1499, 1; 1500, 1; 1501, 3; 1502, 3; 1503, 2; 1504, 3; 1505, 1; 1506, 3; 1508, 1; 1511, 3; 1512, 2; 1513, 2; 1515, 2; 1516, 1; 1517, 3; 1518, 2; 1519, 2; 1520, 1; 1523, 1. After this they disappear, owing to the rise of Lutheranism. State Archives, Pressburg.

† Mon. Vatican. hist. regni Hungarici illustrancia, Series prima, t. V. Liber Conf. S. Spiritus de urbe (Budapestini, 1889). *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 135.

‡ LANDUCCI, 210. *Cf.* Arch. St. Napolit., VII., 105; VIII., 530.

§ STUMPF, 452; HAVEMANN, II., 104. An aged pilgrim, Lucas of Thorn, apparently a relative of Coppernicus, died in the Hospital del Anima in 1500. See HIPLER, Anal. Warm., 169.

in the capacity of a mathematical professor at the High-school, but as a private teacher, giving the lectures freely, according to the custom of the time. Amongst his hearers were many distinguished and learned men. Michael Angelo and Alessandro Farnese (afterwards Paul III.) are supposed to have been amongst them.* Of Italian pilgrims one of the most notable was Elizabetta Gonzaga, the wife of Guidobaldo of Urbino. It was a perilous enterprise, as at that time Cæsar Borgia was planning his attack on Urbino, but in spite of the dissuasions of her brother she insisted on undertaking it. She went incognita with one or two attendants, and only remained a few days, merely long enough to gain the Indulgence.† This lady, and numbers of other women, were only brought to Rome, where they must have seen so much to grieve them, by genuine piety.‡

* PROWE, Coppernicus I., 279 *seq.* (Berlin, 1883); HIPLER in the Lit. Rundschau (1884), p. 205; LOHMEYER in Sybels Zeitschr., LVII., 20 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 129 *seq.*; PASOLINI, II., 246; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 104 *seq.* Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, was also purposing to come to Rome for the Jubilee, but was prevented by a fall from his horse. See *Letter from the Duke to G. B. Ferrari of 12th Jan., 1500. State Archives, Modena.

‡ What the German knight, A. von Harff, thought, in the year 1497, of the Rome of the Borgias has already been told. A similar impression is conveyed in the words of a Rhinelander who had been in Card. Briçonnet's service, retailed by Vettori. "If you ask me why I left Rome, I answer that we Rhinelanders are good Christians, and have read and heard that the Christian faith has been founded on the blood of the martyrs, and good morals, and many miracles, so that it would be impossible for any one who lived here to become an unbeliever. But I spent several years in Rome and saw the lives led by the Prelates and dignitaries, and had I stayed there any longer I should have been in danger not only of losing my faith, but of becoming an Epicurean and doubting the immortality of my soul." See VETTORI, Viaggio in Alemagna, 25–26 (Paris, 1837). The following, being derived from the narratives of the Jubilee pilgrims themselves, is still more interesting: "In that same golden year (1500), on SS. Peter and Paul's day (June 29),

Even those who, like Sigismondo de' Conti, were far from being hostile to the Borgia, could not conceal their disapproval of Alexander's unrestrained nepotism. Cæsar was incessantly asking for money to carry out his enterprises in the Romagna, and his father, without another thought, handed over to him all the receipts from the Jubilee, which, as Sigismondo says, former Popes, such as Nicholas V. and Sixtus V., had employed in restoring and adorning the churches of Rome.*

Towards the end of the Jubilee year Rome was visited by a great calamity. On the 1st November, an eye-witness writes, after several days of rain the Tiber began to overflow, and the houses along its banks were flooded. In two more days the Vatican was cut off from the rest of the city, and on the 4th the waters rose to such a height that many churches and houses were flooded. This high water

there was a fearful storm in Rome, so terrible that people thought the city and all its inhabitants would be destroyed; and the Pope's palace was struck by lightning and he himself wounded in the arm. This same Pope had at that time a daughter (Lucrezia Borgia) in Rome, who lived in great pomp and was seen by the pilgrims, and they could tell many things of her. He had allowed her to take, and had himself given her to, a third husband (Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara), although her two first husbands (Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, and Alfonso of Aragon, natural son of the King of Naples) were still alive; if one does not please her she asks for another. One of these forsaken former husbands of hers revenged himself on the Pope's son, who, being gone out on a love adventure, the other watched for him and cruelly stabbed him, and threw him into the Tiber. It was commonly said amongst the pilgrims that this Pope was not in great favour with the citizens of Rome." Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen, XV., 1. (Halle, 1880.) (V. Chronicalische Aufzeichnungen zur Gesch. der Stadt Halle vom Jahre 1464–1512. Von Dr. WACHTER in Breslau), pp. 122–123.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 218. On Jubilee coins, see NÖTHEN, 81; on the Pilgrimage literature, see FALK, Druckkunst, 57–107.

lasted fifteen hours, after which the inundation subsided; but the streets were smothered in mud and hardly passable. People consoled themselves as best they could by saying it was not as bad as that of five years before.*

In December the Jubilee in Rome was prolonged until the Feast of the Epiphany and extended first to the whole of Italy and then to the whole of Christendom. According to these Bulls, all Christians living at a distance from Rome might, in the following year, gain the great Indulgence without visiting the city, by fulfilling certain conditions and paying a certain sum.† The Pope left all moneys collected in Venetian territory in the hands of the Republic for the war against the Turks.‡ The same thing was done in Poland, though there the money was not employed for the purpose specified.§ In Italy, Cæsar had the effrontery to appropriate the Jubilee moneys on his own authority. The Florentine historian Nardi relates how his emissaries appeared in Florence and demanded the money in the Jubilee chest, "to enable him to pay the soldiers who were plundering us, and it was no small sum."‖ The knowledge that these things were done goes a good way towards

* Letter from Brandolino in BROM, 195 *seq.* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 84 *seq.*, and SANUTO, III., 1048, 1063. The date in REUMONT, III., 1, 234, is inaccurate.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 88 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*; Diario di Tommaso di Silvestro, 249; LANDUCCI, 218; NOTAR GIACOMO, 237; Atti Mod., 8 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*; NÖTHEN, 80 *seq.* In *Alex. VI. Secret. lib. V. (Regest. 871), f. 1, is a Bull dat. Romae, 1501, Id. Iuli A° 9°, which grants a prolongation of the Jubilee to the city of Faenza. Also *ibid.*, f. 146, is a Bull omnibus Franciae regnis de renovatione indulgentiar. Jubilei, dat. Romae, 1501, quartodecimo Cal. Febr. A° 10°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ COPPI, Discorso sopra le finanze di Roma nei secoli di mezzo, 23. Roma, 1847.

§ CARO, V., 2, 813 *seq.*

‖ NARDI, Ist. Fior., lib. IV.

explaining the resistance which those who were commissioned to preach the Jubilee Indulgences met with in Switzerland* as well as in Germany. Cardinal Peraudi had to put up with all sorts of harassing restrictions in the empire, and to undertake that all the money there collected should be handed over untouched to the administration for the Crusade.†

This Cardinal took advantage of his visit to Germany to endeavour to do something for the revival of religion amongst the people, taking up to some extent the work of Nicholas of Cusa. He himself preached to the common people, though he had to employ an interpreter. He devoted himself especially to the reform of the convents, many of which had become sadly relaxed. He also laboured to put down concubinage amongst the clergy, and, on the other hand, to defend their privileges and the liberty of the Church.‡

If Alexander VI. did nothing towards the reform of the Church, yet he was not wanting in earnest care to preserve the purity of her doctrine. His Censorial edict for Germany, dated 1st June, 1501, is a very important document in this respect.

In this, which is the first Papal pronouncement on the printing of books, it is declared that the art of printing is extremely valuable in providing means for the multiplication of approved and useful books; but may be most mischievous if it is abused for the dissemination of bad

* *Cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 104. Cæsar's remark on this subject, given there on Reisner's authority, is a later story.

† See *supra*, p. 97.

‡ Particulars in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 361. Card. Peraudi issued a proclamation which, as far as I know, has never been printed, dat. 25th March, 1503, announcing that Alexander VI. had empowered him to undertake a general visitation of the Convents in his Legation. Frankf. City Archives, Crypt. A. Urk., n. 30.

ones. Therefore measures must be taken to restrain printers from reproducing writings directed against the Catholic Faith or calculated to give scandal to Catholics. The Pope has been credibly informed, that in many places, especially in the Dioceses of Cologne, Mayence, Trèves, and Magdeburg, many books and pamphlets have been, and still continue to be, printed, containing various errors and perverted doctrines. "Since," the Bull goes on to say, "we desire to put a stop to so detestable an evil without any delay, in accordance with the duty imposed upon us by our pastoral office, we hereby, in virtue of our apostolical authority, forbid all printers and their assistants residing in the above named Dioceses, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, and a fine to be imposed by the Archbishops of Cologne or their Vicars-General or other officials, and paid into the Apostolic Chancery, from henceforth either to print or cause to be printed, any book, pamphlet, or work of any sort, without first submitting the same to the above named Archbishops or their Vicars-General or officials, and obtaining their express permission, gratuitously given. Further, we lay it upon the Archbishops and their Vicars and officials as a duty of conscience, not to grant this permission without examining the books in question, or causing them to be examined by capable and Catholic persons, so as to prevent anything from being printed that is contrary to the Catholic Faith or ungodly or capable of causing scandal. And because it is not enough to guard against the future printing of bad books without providing that those already printed shall be suppressed, in virtue of our authority we charge the said Archbishops, Vicars and officials to command all printers and other persons residing in their respective Dioceses, whatever may be their dignity, position or condition, within a certain fixed time, to notify all printed books in their

possession to the said Archbishops, Vicars or officials, and without prevarication of any kind, to deliver up whatever books or treatises shall be judged by them to contain anything contrary to the Catholic Faith, or ungodly, or capable of causing scandal, or ill-sounding in any way, equally under pain of excommunication and a fine to be determined as aforesaid."*

In Italy Alexander VI. energetically repressed the heretical tendencies which were especially prevalent in Lombardy.† On the 31st of January, 1500, two inquisitors were sent by him with letters of recommendation to the Bishop of Olmütz, to proceed against the very numerous Picards and Waldensians in Bohemia and Moravia, who led extremely immoral lives.‡ Ever since the year 1493 Alexander had been taking great pains to win back the Bohemian Utraquists; but these efforts had failed completely.§ When in the year 1499 some of the more moderate Utraquists shewed an inclination to be reconciled with the Church, Alexander had the matter discussed in Consistory and bestowed special powers on the clergy in Prague.||

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 36; REUSCH, Index, I., 54–55. *Cf.* FESSLER, Vermischte Schriften, 147 *seq.*; KAPP, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Buchhandels, 530 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1886); Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Buchhandels, XIII., 246.

† *Cf.* Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 102, 190; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 42; BERNINO, IV., 216 *seq.* On Alexander's action in regard to S. Patrick's "Purgatory," see MOLL in the Studien en Bydrogen ap't gebied der hist. Theologie, II., 361 *seq.* Amsterdam, 1871.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 60 *seq.* *Cf.* LANGE, Papstesel, 62 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*, 72–74, on the Waldensians in Rome. *Cf.* also CANTÙ, Storia di Como, I., 106.

§ PALACKY, V., 1, 381 *seq.*

|| RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1499, n. 30. This was dealt with in the Consistory of 5th July, 1499. See *Liber relat. Consistorii, Sig. C. 303, f. 70. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

In common with most other Popes of the 15th Century, Alexander VI. shewed great toleration to the Jews; he protected them both in Rome and Avignon.* At the same time, he forbade the Spanish Dominicans to receive converted Jews into their Order.†

The indulgence shewn to the Jews was, however, in a great measure connected with politics; and the concessions granted by Alexander VI. to the Spanish Monarchs in regard to the Inquisition, which went far beyond what was allowable, were equally due to political motives.‡

The judicial proceedings against the crypto-Jews or Maraña in the States of the Church, instituted by Alexander VI. in 1493, were also motived by Spanish influence.§ When, later, he discovered that they had made their way into the Court he was unsparing in his determination to root them out. Peter d'Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, and his bastard son, who had obtained the office of Protonotary, were tried in the year 1498, degraded, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. They were accused of denying the doctrines of the Trinity, the sufferings of Christ, Hell, Purgatory, and Indulgences. Forty crypto-Jews in all were brought before the Court, the majority of whom abjured their errors.||

Alexander exerted himself not only to maintain the purity of the Christian faith, but also to provide for its

* See Revue des Études Juives, VI., 21; VII., 228; and LÉMANN, L'entrée des Israélites dans la Société Franç. et les états Chrétiens, 193, Paris, 1886.

† Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 125.

‡ *Cf.* GAMS, III., 2, 50 *seq.*, 56 *seq.* See also RODRIGO, I., 409 *seq.*; II., 99, 104.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1493, n. 32.

|| RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1498, n. 22; SANUTO, I., 949 *seq.*, 1014; *Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Carissimi, dat. Rome, 21st April, 1498 (State Archives, Modena); HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 345.

propagation. The magnificent discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards offered a wide field to the Church in this direction. It is consoling to note how much, even under Alexander VI., was done in the way of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel amongst the heathen.

Greenland, being that part of America which was in earliest communication with Europe, was naturally also the first to profit by the pastoral care of the Popes. According to the Scandinavian Sagas, Christianity was introduced into Greenland by S. Olaf II., King of Norway, between A.D. 1015–30. This account is confirmed by a letter of Nicholas V. of 22nd September, 1448, addressed to the Bishop of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland.*

The occasion of this letter was a request from the Greenlanders to the Pope to send them new priests and a Bishop. In the first decade of the 15th Century the heathen pirates from the neighbouring coast had swooped down upon their country, slaughtered the greater part of the Christian inhabitants and carried off the rest into slavery. The churches were all destroyed excepting nine, which were situated in remote places, difficult of access. In the course of time some of the captives managed to make their escape and return to their homes, where they now found themselves destitute of all spiritual aids, as the churches that still remained were in places inaccessible to many of them, and now the few priests who were left had all died. Nicholas V. desired the Bishops to supply their needs.

His letter, however, does not seem to have reached its

* Published by L. JELIČ, L'Évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb, in Compte rendu du Congrès Scientif. international des Catholiques, 182–183 (Paris, 1891). PESCHEL-RUGE, Gesch. der Erdkunde, 162, note, ed. 2 (München, 1877), give a wrong date—20th Sept.

destination, and in the reign of Innocent VIII. the Greenlanders again addressed Rome. They described their sad plight in touching words. The sea surrounding their inhospitable coast was so blocked with ice that in the course of eighty years no foreign vessel had anchored there. Left without a Bishop and without priests, many had forgotten the Faith of their fathers and relapsed into heathenism. The only relic which remained to those who still cherished it was the corporal with which the last priest had celebrated his last Mass. This was brought out once a year and publicly venerated. In response to this appeal Innocent VIII., at the close of his reign, appointed the zealous and self-sacrificing Benedictine monk Mathias, Bishop of Gardar or Greenland. Alexander in the year 1492 or 1493 confirmed this appointment, and commanded that the Bishop should receive all his nomination papers tax free.*

Just at the time that the Bishop of Greenland was receiving his powers at Rome an event had occurred which was destined to make large demands on the pastoral care of the successor of S. Peter: Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World. A hot dispute arose almost immediately between Spain and Portugal as to the possession of the newly-found territory, and the Pope was called upon to mediate between them. The Holy See was still regarded by all Christian Princes and nations as the international arbiter, the highest tribunal for the decision of all national rights and important political questions. Acting

* See JELIČ, *loc. cit.*, 183-184. *Cf.* HEYWOOD, Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto Vaticano, quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Christ. Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta. Typis. Vatic., 1893, n. 10, pp. 12, 13; and EHRLE, Der hist. Gehalt der päpstl. Abtheilung auf d. Weltausstellung von Chicago in den Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVI. (1894), 367.

on this principle, the Portuguese had turned to the Popes to obtain security in their rights over their discoveries along the West Coast of Africa. It was Calixtus III. who, in one of these most useful decisions, granted to Portugal the exclusive rights of trading and founding colonies on the coast between Cape Bojador and Guinea. In the year 1479 Spain had acquiesced in this award at the peace of Alcacevas. No sooner had Columbus, who had been rejected by Portugal, returned from his famous voyage than King Emmanuel set up a claim to the newly-found lands on the ground of this treaty. The relations between the two countries soon became such that war seemed imminent. Justly estimating the importance of obtaining a decision from the Holy See, the astute King Ferdinand at once addressed himself to Rome. His confidential agent there was the Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, who, in a very short time, achieved a marked success. On the 3rd and 4th May, 1493, Alexander put his signature to three highly important documents. The first, dated 3rd May, confers on Spain an exclusive right of possession over all the islands and countries now discovered by Columbus and all future discoveries of his, on condition of propagating the Christian Faith in them, and provided such lands are not already occupied by a Christian power. Thus Spain received exactly the same rights and privileges as those which had been bestowed upon Portugal for her colonies on the West Coast of Africa. The second, dated the same day, described these rights in detail; while the third, dated 4th May, defined the limits of what we should now call the spheres of influence of Spain and Portugal. The boundary line between the two powers was drawn from the North to the South Pole, 100 Spanish leagues to the West of the most westerly island of the Azores: all that was East of the line belonged to Portugal, and all that was West of it

to Spain.* A later document of 28th September, 1493, added some further complementary details, amongst other things, granting all new discoveries, consequent on westerly or southerly voyages, to Spain.†

The line of demarcation fixed by Alexander VI., which was pushed 270 leagues further to the West by the Treaty of Tordesillas on 7th June, 1494, formed the basis of all negotiations and agreements between the two great colonising powers in regard to the partition of the New World. The peaceful settlement of a number of thorny boundary questions between Spain and Portugal was entirely due to Papal decisions, and should therefore justly be regarded as one of the glories of the Papacy. Nothing but complete misunderstanding and blind party spirit could turn it into a ground of accusation against Rome.

It is simply absurd to speak of Alexander VI. as having given away what did not belong to him, and taken no account of the liberties of the Americans.‡ The word "grant" here

* NAVARETTE, II., 29 *seq.*; Bull., V., 361–364; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1493, n. 18 *seq.*; and HEYWOOD, *loc. cit.* Navarette has some incorrect readings; thus in the Bull of 4th May, p. 38, nobis evidently *should be* vobis, and the same mistake occurs in the Bull of 3rd May. The account given above is chiefly taken from EHRLE'S very able paper in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach of 1894. Amongst other works should be mentioned: PESCHEL, Die Theilung der Erde unter Alexander VI. und Julius II. (Leipzig, 1871); BAUM, Die Demarcationslinie Alexanders VI. (Köln, 1890); E. G. BOURNE, The Demarcation line of Alexander VI. (Extract from the Yale Review, 1892). *Cf.* Engl. Hist. Review, VII., 766 *seq.*

† NAVARETTE, II., 449 *seq.*, in Spanish. Against KOHL'S view as to the interpretation of the document (Die beiden ältesten Generalkarten von America [Weimar, 1860]), see KUNSTMANN in the Hist.-Polit. Bl., XLVII., 768 *seq.* BAUM, p. 10, has overlooked this treatise.

‡ ROBERTSON, Hist. America, II.; BUSCHING, Erdbeschreibung, XXXI.; MARMONTEL, Les Incas, préf., p. XXVII. *seq.*; Allg. Zeitung (1870), No. 9 Suppl.

signifies nothing more than the confirmation of a title legitimately acquired; and was understood in that sense by contemporary and later theologians, and by the Spaniards themselves.* How little such grants were looked upon as controlling the liberties of even heathen nations is shewn by the fact that, in a similar concession to Portugal in 1497 the same word "grant" is used, with the condition appended of the free consent of the inhabitants.† If this formula is wanting in the document of 1493, it is merely because it was understood as included in the title itself. In all these deeds the grant refers to the other European Princes and not to the populations of the New World. "These privileges conferred on the monarchs who received them a right of priority in regard to the territories discovered by them. As nowadays patents are given for inventions and copyrights for literary productions and works of art, so in former times a Papal Bull, enforced by the censures of the Church, protected the laborious discoverer from having the hard won fruits of his toil wrested from him by a stronger hand."

As the choice by the Catholic Sovereigns of Alexander as arbiter was grounded in the first instance on the authority which he possessed as Pope, and their respect for the dignity of the Head of the Church, he was empowered to add to the perfect freedom of his decision, grounded on a full knowledge of the facts, the sanction of that apostolic authority which was their reason for selecting him as umpire in these important matters.‡ He had power, and indeed was bound, to decide with the authority of the

* See HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 341.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 33.

‡ HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 337–344, who also exposes the absurdity of fixing on the Papal Briefs the responsibility for the tyranny of the Spaniards in their dealings with the American nations.

Church on these questions, which concerned the avoidance of bloodshed between Christian powers and the propagation of the Christian religion in those newly-discovered countries. All grants were accompanied by the condition that the Spanish monarchs should bind themselves to promote the spread of Christianity.

In the preparations for Columbus' second voyage, both Ferdinand and Isabella and Alexander took pains to provide missionary priests for the evangelisation of the native races. Their choice of a leader for the band of preachers shews with what care the selection was made. A friend of S. Francis of Paula, the Benedictine Bernard Boyl, was the first apostle of the New World.* In a Brief of 25th June, 1493, Alexander VI. conferred upon this distinguished and in every way most competent man and his twelve companions, all the powers and privileges which they needed for the success of their holy enterprise.† Amongst his companions may be mentioned the celebrated Bartolomeo Las Casas, Fray Jorge, Commander of the Knights of Santiago, and Pedro de Arenas, who is supposed to have said the first Mass ever celebrated on the newly-discovered islands.‡ In the Instruction which Columbus received from the Spanish monarchs for his second and third voyages, the conversion of the new countries to Christianity is put before him as the consideration which should lie nearest to his heart. How rapidly the numbers of religious and converted Indians

* P. FITA has the merit of being the first to give a clear account of Boyl's life. See his paper in the Bolet. de l. R. Acad. de la Historia (Madrid, 1891–1892), XIX., 173–233, 234–237, 354–357, 377–446, 557–561; XX., 160–177, 179–205, 261–300, 573–615. *Cf.* also QUADRADO in the same periodical, XX., 113–123, and EHRLE, *loc. cit.*

† The Brief is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1493, n. 24, and, corrected, in the Bolet., XIX. (1891), 187 *seq.*

‡ FITA, La primera misa en América, in the Bolet., XVIII. (1891), 551 *seq.*

increased in Española (Hayti) may be seen from the fact that in 1501 negotiations were already begun in Rome for the establishment there of a separate hierarchy.* At the instigation of the great Cardinal Ximenes in 1502 a number of Franciscan missionaries were sent to America.†

Alexander equally exerted himself to promote the spread of Christianity in the countries beyond the sea which had been discovered by the Portuguese;‡ their enterprises were regarded in Rome as Crusades for the Propagation of the Faith.§

* EHRLE, *loc. cit.*

† WADDING, XV., 247. *Cf.* HEFELE, Ximenes, 483 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* SCHÄFER, Gesch. v. Portugal, III., 83; SANTAREM, X., 120.

§ A **Bull of Alexander VI., beginning with the words Catholice fidei propagationem, and dated Romae, Dec. 1501. Cal. Nov. A° 10°, Regest. 868, f. 117b, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which, as far as I know, has not as yet been printed, is very interesting from this point of view.

CHAPTER VII.

Alexander VI. as a Patron of Art.

It is with a sense of relief that the historian now turns from all the moral miseries of the reign of Alexander VI. to another region in which some things that were really great and beautiful were achieved.

Judging from the magnificent palace which he built for himself, while yet a Cardinal only, we should expect to find in Alexander a liberal patron of Art; and in fact, in spite of all the turmoil and confusion of his reign, his name is immortalised by its association with many splendid monuments in this domain.*

The Pope's attention was especially directed to the Trastevere, the northern half of Rome, the Leonine city, which had grown up out of ecclesiastical foundations and the various national hospitals, and become the most important division of the city. Containing the Church of S. Peter and the Castle of St. Angelo, and being, in the 15th

* Setting aside the rebuilding of the University, which will be mentioned later, Alexander, though as Cardinal he had made some essays in literature (*cf.* Bibl. Pontif., 13 *seq.*; Schulte, Quellen, II., 407 *seq.*), did little or nothing for learning. He accepted dedications of any number of poems; there was even a "Borjade" in hexameters; but, as Burckhardt, I., 268, ed. 3, says, he was too occupied with other things to bestow much attention on poetical philologists. Nor did he make any additions to the Vatican Library. See Müntz-Favre, 311 *seq.* On Alexander's Court-poets see Yriarte, Autour des Borgia, 64 *seq.*

Century, the principal seat of the Court and of the Cardinals, it became the central point of the city, and by him was transformed into the handsomest quarter of Rome, a distinction which it retained until the reign of Clement VII. "These were the days of pageants, of ecclesiastical and secular processions and cavalcades, carnival-races, tournaments and bull-fights, the days in which the retinues of Lucrezia and Cæsar Borgia were numbered by hundreds when they rode forth in state, and Cardinals, the scions of royal houses, vied with Princes in the splendour of their equipages when they went to the Vatican, days in which ecclesiastical decorum was trampled under foot by worldly vanity and profane pomp." *

The great increase of street traffic in the Leonine city owing to the numbers of Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court who lived there, had already induced Sixtus IV. to make a wide street, originally called by his name (now Borgo St. Angelo), running from the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo to the gate of the Papal Palace.† Alexander VI. added a second one parallel with this and called it the Via Alessandrina (now Borgo Nuovo and the main thoroughfare of this quarter).

This street was planned primarily on account of the Jubilee. In the Consistory of 26th November, 1498, the Pope spoke of the necessity of making room in the streets for the concourse of pilgrims that was to be expected, and desired Cardinal Raffaele Riario, who understood architecture, to confer with other experts in these matters and see what would be required in the way of thoroughfares and bridges.‡ In January 1499, this Cardinal was put in

* REUMONT, Die Leostadt, in the Allg. Zeit. (1870), n. 286 Suppl.

† See Vol. IV., 455, of this work.

‡ *Romae die lunae XXVI. Nov., 1498 : [S. D. N.] fecit etiam verbum de anno jubilei proxime instantis et de viis et de corsicis. Multa super

charge of the new approaches to the Vatican.* In April the work was begun † and carried through so rapidly that the new street was opened with the Jubilee year on the 24th of December, 1499.‡ Unfortunately, one result of the Via Alessandrina was the complete destruction of an interesting ancient monument, the so-called Meta. Mediæval antiquarians thought it to be the tomb of Scipio Africanus; some went so far as to say it was that of Romulus. Some time before it had been divested of its marbles and transformed into an outwork of the Castle of St. Angelo, and now was done away with altogether to make room for the opening of the new street.§

his fuerunt dicta. Sua Stas mandavit r. d. Sti Georgii ut haberet apud se conservatores vel alios qui sunt consueti huiusmodi rerum curam habere et se diligenter informarent quid facto opus esse tam circa vias et pontes quam reliqua necessaria ut peregrini et viatores commode et tute ire ac redire possent, ut re bene cognita possit oportuna provideri. *Lib. relat. Consistorii tempore pontif. Alexandri VI. a die XII. Nov., 1498, usque in diem V. Julii, 1499. Sig. C. 303, f. 9. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* *Romae die veneris XVIII. Jan., 1499: Cum facta esset mentio de nova via fienda al palatium dixissetque r. d. de Ursinis ambas illas vias vid. sanctam et equorum dum esset in minoribus dispositas fuisse impensa ut plurimum officialium; tum S. D. N. commisit r. d. S. Georgii ut invenirit taxam illam et intelligeret quid alias factum sit dicens pro rata et portione sua se libenter expositurum. Romae die merc. XX. Feb., 1499: Mandavit S. D. N. r. d. Sti Georgii ut a magistris viarum et architectis quantum foret impense ad dirigendam viam a porta castri ad palatium usque intelligeret ac sibi postea referret. *Lib. Consistorii, f. 29, 35.

† *Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Manfredi, dat. Rome, 8th April, 1499. *El papa ha facto dare principio ad una strata che da la porta del palacio se ne va a filo a la porta del castello che sera una bella cosa, quando sera fornita. State Archives, Modena.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 601.

§ REUMONT, III., 1, 415 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 642 *seq.*, ed. 3 (656 *seq.*, ed. 4); ADINOLFI, Portica, 48 *seq.* A Brief of Julius II. of

The completion of the Via Alessandrina entailed other changes in its neighbourhood, and especially in the portion of the Castle of St. Angelo nearest the bridge.

During the course of his reign Alexander VI. made extensive alterations in the Castle. The whole building was completely fortified in the best style of the day with parapets and towers, and surrounded by a wall and ditch.* These works were begun immediately after his accession, and hurried on in consequence of the approach of the French, and afterwards prosecuted with energy and more methodically. This is proved by inscriptions as well as by the entries of disbursements in the account-books. Antonio da Sangallo, Giuliano's brother, was the architect and master of works. Substantial changes were made in the edifice, both internally and in its exterior. The old Porta Aenea in the wall of St. Angelo was thought too small and closed up, and a new gate built. The adjoining houses and vineyards were removed and the Piazza enlarged and paved to form the opening of the Via Alessandrina. A strong tower made of blocks of Travertine was erected by Sangallo, to command the bridge, which remained standing till

July 1512 (in MÜNTZ, Antiquités de Rome, 21), shews that it was at this time that the last remnant of the Meta disappeared. On the reckless destruction of ancient monuments by Alexander, see also MÜNTZ, Les Monuments Antiques de Rome au 15me siècle, p. 18, and BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lombardi, I., 33. In the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1501-1503 (Bullet., IV.), I found, f. 69b, an entry of a payment from Raphael, tit. S. Georgii mag. Stephano muratori duc. 50 pro aptanda via a palatio usque ad castrum S. Angeli, dat. Romae, XXII. Oct., 1501, A° 10°. State Archives, Rome.

* *Cf.* BORGATI, 100 *seq.* (whose description, however, is not perfectly clear); GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 100; and MÜNTZ'S important contribution in Antiquités, 59 *seq.*, 62. Müntz has ignored Borgati, and in consequence made several mistakes. *Cf.* also LANGE, Papstesel, 28–29.

the reign of Urban VIII. The outworks of the Castle were considerably strengthened and the ditch made broader and deeper. It was thought that the main stream of the Tiber was to be diverted so as to flow through it. Sanuto reports in January 1496, that the cost of the works was estimated at 80,000 florins. The Pope frequently inspected them in person. He also secured to himself, by a special agreement, the possession of whatever might be found in the course of the excavations.*

This precaution, which bears witness to the growing interest in the relics of antiquity, proved well-judged. In constructing the earthworks the colossal bust of Hadrian which now adorns the Rotunda in the Vatican was disinterred. In the interior a new staircase with shallow steps was put in, and a military magazine, water tanks, and five subterranean dungeons were constructed. Coins were struck to commemorate these works.† After the gunpowder explosion of 1497, the upper rooms which had been destroyed, were rebuilt and decorated by Pinturicchio in the antiquated style then in vogue (the so-called *grotesque*). According to Vasari, the same master painted in a lower tower (probably that adjoining the bridge) a series of pictures representing the principal events in the first years of Alexander's reign and containing many portraits. Unfortunately, not a trace remains of these paintings. The only indications of their existence are to be found in the inscriptions of the frescoes: these were written by the German, Laurent Behaim, who for twenty-two years was Maggiordomo to Rodrigo Borgia; they are in Hartmann Schedel's collection. They included the meeting between Alexander VI. and Charles VIII.,

* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 64 *seq.* BORGATI'S statements, 207 *seq.*, are incorrect.

† ARMAND, Médailleurs, II., 63; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*

and the profession of obedience and departure of this monarch.*

The prison of Torre di Nona on the left bank of the Tiber was also fortified anew.† These two strongholds completely commanded the stream, and, by their artillery, the greater part of the city

The Arcade, which leads from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, was not built by Alexander as has been supposed by many; it was already in existence; but the Borgia arms affixed in many places shew that it was extensively restored by him. One of these shields over the door of the court of the Swiss Guards bears the date 1492, and shews in what direction the Pope's earliest apprehensions lay.‡ We learn, from a report of the Ferrarese Envoy of 8th April, 1499, that work was going on in the Arcade at that date.§

A Bull of the year 1500 bestowed certain privileges on all who assisted in building the houses in the new Via Alessandrina.||

The Porta Settimiana which closes the Via della Lungara was rebuilt and has remained unaltered up to the present day. Cardinal Juan Lopez de Valencia, a former secretary of Alexander, was commissioned by him to erect a fountain in the Piazza of Sta Maria in Trastevere. That of Innocent VIII. in the Piazza of S. Peter's, which had also been newly paved, was adorned by Alexander with four gilt Bulls, the Borgia arms. Nor was the Vatican itself and

* ALVISI, 14; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 63 *seq.*

† BORGATI, 100.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220; ADINOLFI, Portica, 219 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Les Arts, III., 172, and Antiquités, 59; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 34.

§ Original in the State Archives, Modena.

|| Bull., V., 377 *seq.* *Cf.* MARINI, I., 317, N. e.

its surroundings neglected. The Loggia used for the Papal Blessing was completed in the form depicted in Raphael's fresco of the "Fire in the Borgo." Within the Vatican a large number of nobly conceived works were executed.* The architectural designs of Nicholas V. were carried out and the decoration of the Pope's private apartments was entrusted to Pinturicchio, who had already before that time been painting in Rome. Till quite lately these rooms had been used for keeping the engravings in the Vatican Library and were only accessible to a few privileged persons.† In the year 1889 the present Pope ordered this part of the Vatican to be restored, and when this is completed it is to be turned into a museum for objects of art of the mediæval and Renaissance periods.‡

The dwelling rooms of Alexander VI. (Appartamento Borgia) are on the ground floor of that part of the Vatican which lies between the Court of the Belvedere

* REUMONT, III., 1, 416, and FERRI, L'Architettura in Roma, II., 31. On the decoration of the fountain of Innocent VIII., *cf.* Registro delle fabbriche di P. Alessandro VI. in the Cod. Barb., XXXII., 242; in GORI'S Arch. St., IV., 141, and the disbursements in *Divers. Alex. VI., 1501–1503 (IV. Bull.), f. 71, vouchers of payment made by Raphael tit. S. Georgii, etc., Magistro Alberto de Placentia prefati S. D. N. comestabili et architecto . . . pro opere fontis platee S. Petri de urbe, XIII. Octob., 1501, A° 10°; *cf.* f. 79, 83^{b}, 93^{b}, etc.; entries of payments made to the same for the fountain on the Piazza of S. Peter's, 23rd Nov., 1501, and 1st and 23rd Dec.; 20th Jan., 1502 (Alb. de Placentia qui confecit fontem platee S. Petri de urbe); these entries go on into the month of Feb. State Archives, Rome.

† I saw them for the first time in the Spring of 1883, through the kindness of P. Bollig, who has since died, and once again in April, 1893. They were assigned to the use of the Library in the time of Gregory XVI., who did not care about keeping up the Borgia apartments. *Cf.* the Viennese Abendpost (1892), N. 262.

‡ Professor L. Seitz (not Zeit as YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 75 *seq.*, persistently writes the name) has the charge of this restoration.

and the little Cortile del Papagallo. This portion was built by Nicholas III., and restored and enlarged by Nicholas V. It contains six rooms, the first is a spacious hall into which three nearly square smaller chambers open; these apartments are exactly under the famous Stanze which contain Raphael's frescoes. The new part built by Alexander consists of a square tower (Torre Borgia), the upper storey of which, where the frescoes in memory of Pius IX. now are, was the Pope's private chapel, while the lower floor, divided into two rooms and connected with the older part by a short staircase, closes the Appartamento Borgia on that side.*

Almost immediately after his accession Alexander set to work at the renovation of these rooms and the erection of the Tower. Their decoration was intrusted to Pinturicchio. He accomplished his task with a celerity which could only be explained by supposing that he largely availed himself of the help of others. A close inspection of the paintings makes it only too clear that this was the case. Pinturicchio by no means overworked himself; in fact in 1494 he slipped away to Orvieto and had to be recalled by a Brief from the Pope! However, both in their drawing and still more in their composition, the greater part of these paintings are certainly his work. "As a whole the work should justly be ascribed to him, and deserves the highest praise for the evenness of its execution, and the careful schooling and sagacious selection in regard to the parts assigned to them, of the pupils whom he evidently employed."†

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 34 *seq.*; WOODHOUSE in the "Builder" of Jan. 1887; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 33 *seq.* (with engravings); VOLPINI, L'Appartamento Borgia nel Vaticino. Rome, 1887.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 61.

The large hall through which the apartments were entered was used as an audience chamber, and called, on account of the portraits which it contained, the hall of the Popes. It was here that in the Summer of 1500 Alexander so narrowly escaped being killed by the falling in of the roof.* Pinturicchio's share in the paintings in this hall cannot be ascertained, as Leo X. caused the whole of it to be decorated afresh in the style of the antique frescoes in the baths of Titus, by two pupils of Raphael, Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine.†

The three rooms which open into the Sala dei Papi remain in all essentials exactly as they were in the time of Alexander. Each of these chambers is lighted by one window looking into the Belvedere Court. The ceiling, consisting of a double-cross vault, was intersected lengthwise by a broad arch resting on two pillars, thus forming two spans on the side-walls bounded by pointed arches; and on those facing, and containing the window, lunettes double the breadth of these. On these spans, paintings were executed under Pinturicchio's direction, and all the rest was richly decorated with gold and stucco-work in which the Borgia arms, the Bull, repeatedly appears.

The subjects of the pictures in the first of these rooms are exclusively religious, taken from the lives of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin. In the arches of the ceiling the Kings David and Solomon, and the prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Malachias, Sophonias, Micheas, and Joel are represented in half-length figures.‡ The most striking of

* *Cf. supra*, p. 78.

† PLATTNER, II., 1, 298 *seq.*

‡ PLATTNER, II., 1, 300; SCHMARSOW, 51 *seq.*; and YRIARTE, 53 *seq.*, with some, but unsatisfactory, illustrations. A good reproduction of the ceiling paintings in the room is given in DOLMETCH, Der Ornamentschatz (Stuttgardt, 1881), Part 49, No. 5.

the wall-paintings is the one of the Resurrection of Christ, before whom a Pope, unmistakeably Alexander VI., kneels in adoration, in full pontificals, but bare-headed, with the Tiara on the ground beside him. This admirable portrait and that of another ecclesiastic in the picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, are evidently from the hand of Pinturicchio himself, while the other paintings were probably executed by his pupils.*

This picture is not only highly interesting as a portrait of the Pope in his prime, as his contemporaries knew him, but is noteworthy also because it explodes a story which, first set afloat by Vasari, has been repeated again and again. Vasari says that Pinturicchio painted over the door of one of the rooms in the palace a picture of the Virgin Mary, which was a portrait of Giulia Farnese, and in the same painting a likeness of Pope Alexander adoring her. In reality the only picture in which Alexander appears is that of the Resurrection of our Lord. There is a representation of the Madonna, but it is in the next room, and the Pope is not in it, nor is there any other picture in any of the rooms which corresponds with Vasari's description. Evidently he had never been inside the Appartamento Borgia.†

* SCHMARSOW, 53 *seq.* The coloured copy of the portrait of Alexander VI. in YRIARTE, 73, is unsatisfactory. The photograph in Heywood's work, see Vol. V., p. 387, note †, is much better, but is unfortunately not on sale, having been privately printed.

† YRIARTE, 35, 72. HUBER in Hist. Taschenbuch (1875), p. 53; and even GREGOROVIUS, VII., 669, ed. 3 (685, ed. 4), repeat Vasari's fable without examination (and Gregorovius adds that the Pope is worshipping the Madonna!). They have evidently never seen the picture. For criticism of Vasari see generally FREY, Vita di Michelangelo (Berlin, 1887), XXI. *seq.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 301, tries to save Vasari's story by hazarding the conjecture that "the head of the Pope, now no longer there, was for obvious reasons painted out of the picture."

The next room contains scenes taken from the lives of S. Catherine of Alexandria, S. Antony, and S. Sebastian, a picture of the Visitation and the story of Susanna. On the ceiling there are curious mythological representations of the history of Osiris and Io, probably plays on the Borgia arms, which a study of the poems of the Humanists of Alexander's Court might elucidate. It is overloaded with small figures and arabesques in stucco gilt, but many of the details are strikingly beautiful, and the pomp and richness of the decorations in this room have caused it to be looked upon as the masterpiece of the whole. The third room, like the first, is simpler. In the lunettes, personifications of Mathematics, Dialectics, Jurisprudence, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astronomy are painted, each accompanied by charming subsidiary figures. This room was probably the Pope's study. Perugino is supposed to have had a hand in the painting of the frescoes.* From this room the chambers in the Borgia Tower are reached by a marble staircase. According to the inscription the

The present Prefect of the Vatican Library, my esteemed friend P. Ehrle, had the kindness to make a thorough examination of the picture of the Madonna for me. He was assisted by Prof. Seitz and the painter Fringoelli (custodian of the Lateran Museum), who are executing the restoration of the Appartamento, and who removed, wherever it seemed desirable, any later washes that had been applied. The following is the conclusion arrived at:—"*It is utterly impossible that the picture of the Madonna could have included a figure of Pope Alexander. The attitude of the Virgin and the direction in which she and the Divine Child are looking, the circular pasteboard mount, and the ornamentation and lines surrounding it absolutely exclude such a supposition.*" It is to be hoped that for the future this fable will cease to appear in books of history.

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 300 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 36, 39 *seq.*, 45 *seq.* (Schmarsow has not observed that Plattner had already, p. 301, recognised the one picture as Susanna). YRIARTE, 56 *seq.*, here gives better illustrations than Pistolesi, to whom hitherto students have been referred.

Tower was finished in 1494. The first room contains the figures of the twelve apostles and twelve prophets; each carries a scroll on which a sentence from the Creed or one of the prophets is written. The last, which is almost square and was probably the Pope's bed-chamber, has mythological representations of the planets on the ceiling. In each of the twelve lunettes a prophet and a sybil converse together. As in the former chamber, they carry scrolls containing prophecies of the kingdom of Christ.*

In spite of the many faults that may be found with the separate paintings, the decoration of the Appartamento Borgia is, as a whole, an eminently harmonious and pleasing work.†

Pinturicchio left Rome on account of the disturbances there caused by the invasion of Charles VIII.; later he returned and painted the series of historical pictures of the events of the Pope's life in the Castle of St. Angelo, which have already been mentioned,‡ and executed the decorations in the grotesque style there which have also been mentioned before, and by which this new form of Art was

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 301 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 35 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 58; YRIARTE, 66 *seq.* The tradition is that Alexander died in the "Liberal Arts" room.

† SCHMARSOW, 95. H. GRIMM (Fifteen Essays, 4th Series [Gütersloh, 1890]), p. 274, praises the bright and agreeable effects of the paintings, and pronounces this to be the "most beautiful of all Pinturicchio's productions." See also BEISSEL in the Zeitschr. f. Christl. Kunst, V., 69, who, however, praises the App. Borgia beyond their deserts. On Pinturicchio's honorarium, see GORI, Arch. St., IV., 18 *seq.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 169. *Cf.* VERMIGLIOLI, App., XII.; SCHMARSOW, 63. Pinturicchio was employed also by Cæsar Borgia; see Kunstbl. (1850), p. 374. On the assistance given by Cæsar towards the building of the Church of the Madonna del Piratello at Imola, see GRAUS in the Grazer Kirchenschmuck, XXI. (1890), 114 *seq.*

introduced in Rome.* This bright and fantastic style of Art was especially congenial to the taste of the age of Alexander VI. The serious and sculpturesque manner which belongs to fresco painting jarred on the sensuous frivolous habit of mind of the Borgia and their courtiers, in whom the æsthetic sense was so largely bound up with vanity and display. Continued development in this direction would have been fatal to Art.† Thus it was most fortunate that the stern influence of Julius II. recalled the painters whom he employed to a severer style.

In Rome itself Alexander completed the roof of Sta Maria Maggiore which had been commenced by his uncle Calixtus. Tradition says that the first gold brought from America was used for the decoration of the panels there, which are the most charming of all Roman works of this kind. In April 1498, the Pope visited this church to inspect the work on its completion.‡

Restorations were executed by this Pope in S. Peter's, in his own former titular Church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, in that of the SS. Apostoli § and on the city walls.|| Gratitude is due to Alexander for the rebuilding of the University; in its present form it dates from Alexander VII., who belonged to the Chigi family.¶

* On the "grotesque" see CIAN, Cortegiano, III., and SCHNEEGANS, 29.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 87; see p. 78 *seq.*, for particulars of Pinturicchio's work in Siena for Card. Piccolomini. *Cf.* Raffaele und Pinturicchio in Siena (Stuttgart, 1880), by the same writer.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 459; REUMONT, III., 1, 416; ARMELLINI, 387; engraving in MÜNTZ, L'Art, II, 333.

§ ARMELLINI, 476; Arch. d. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 178; REUMONT, III., 1, 416.

|| Rev. Archéol., VII., 132; NIBBY, Le Mura, 290, 374.

¶ See ZAHN in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 178; RENAZZI, I., 281, and *Divers. Alex. VI., III., Nov. 1502, A° XI°; 400 duc. gub. et rectori

For jewellery and metal work but little was done by Alexander beyond the regular necessary orders for the golden roses, swords of honour for princes, chalices for churches, and medals. Beyond these the only large order for goldsmith's work was that for the statues of the twelve Apostles in silver gilt, which were destined for his private chapel.* Outside as well as inside Rome, Alexander did a great deal in the way of building. He spent 9000 ducats on the Castle of Subiaco, and extensive works were executed in the citadels of Tivoli, Civitella, Civita Castellana, Nepi, Osimo, and Civita Vecchia;† the erection of a tower at Viterbo,‡ and of dwelling-rooms in the citadel at Ostia.§ He also contributed to the building of the Cathedral at Perugia,‖ and helped in the erection of the shrine of S. Anthony at Padua.¶

studii almae urbis pro reparatione ipsius studii. Further payments for the same object follow. State Archives, Rome.

* PÉRATÉ, 519. On the sword given by Alexander VI. to the Duke Boguslaw X. of Pomerania, see LESSING in the Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XVI., 121 *seq*. On Alexander's Livre d'heures (containing fifty-eight miniatures by a Flemish painter), see PAWLOWSKI in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 3rd Series, V., 511 *seq*.

† *Cf.* the Registro delle fabbriche di P. Alessandro VI. in GORI'S Arch. St., IV., 141; GREGOROVIUS, Wanderjahre, II., 17 *seq*.; GORI, Viaggio da Roma a Tivoli, I., 17 (Roma, 1855); Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 177, 178; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 436; REDTENBACHER, 103. On the building done at Subiaco while Alexander was still a Cardinal, see Cronaca Sublac., 519.

‡ See the *Document of 6th November, 1497, in *Lib. brev. 17, f. 194. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Despatch of Stefano Taberna, dat. Rom, 14th Oct., 1497. The Pope is going to Ostia to see Alchune habitatione quale fa fare in quella fortezza. State Archives, Milan.

‖ *Bull of Alexander VI. of 28th Jan., 1500, in the Capitular Archives at Perugia.

¶ MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, Il Romano Pontificato, II., 725. Firenze, 1886.

The architectural energy displayed by Alexander had a stimulating effect upon the rest of Rome. New churches and palaces arose in all directions and quite changed the aspect of the city. The two greatest patrons of Art were the wealthy Cardinals Riario and Giuliano della Rovere.* The latter built a palace for himself close to S. Pietro in Vincoli; his architect was Giuliano da Sangallo. Riario's palace, the famous Cancellaria which had been begun by Alexander VI., was finished in his reign. This magnificent building, with its exquisite pillared halls, was for a long time attributed to Bramante. Recent research has shewn that this view is untenable. The Cancellaria is, on the contrary, one of the last productions of the Tuscan style which was superseded by Bramante. For the same reason Cardinal Castellesi's splendid palace in the Borgo (now Giraud—Torlonia), the architecture of which is similar in character, cannot be the work of the author of the revival of the classical style in Rome.†

Bramante came to Rome in the year 1499, and is supposed to have been employed by Alexander VI. in the erection of the fountains mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.‡ The remains of the ancient city which he then saw, inspired him with such enthusiastic admiration that, though already in his fifty-sixth year, he succeeded in an amazingly short time, in making the spirit of classical architecture completely his own. The result appeared in the famous Tempietto in the court of the Franciscan

* *Cf.* WOLTMANN, II., 239, on Perugino's work for Giuliano. Pinturicchio painted for Card. Piccolomini in Siena from the year 1502. See *loc. cit.*, II., 252 *seq.*, 623.

† GNOLI, La Cancellaria, 11 *seq.* The present Pope is thinking of having the Cancellaria restored. On the fate of Card. Castellesi's palace, see M. BRADY, Anglo-Roman Papers. London, 1890.

‡ *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, 68 *seq.*, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 380.

Convent near S. Pietro in Montorio, erected by him for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Prince of the Apostles. It was finished in the year 1502, and marks the change from the Lombard to the Roman Bramante, and the division between the arts of two centuries. It was no longer a mere imitation of classical forms, but a new creation so completely in the spirit of the old architecture that nothing in the building indicated its recent origin, and it was studied and measured by the architects of the day as though it had been a newly-discovered monument of classical times.*

There are equally no grounds for connecting Bramante's name with the Church of the German Hospice of Sta Maria dell' Anima, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Matthæus Lang, the Ambassador of the German Emperor, on the 11th of April, 1500. The church was consecrated in 1511, and, according to the inscription, the façade completed in 1514.† The somewhat Gothic interior must undoubtedly be ascribed to a German architect.‡

The list of churches erected in the reign of Alexander VI. includes, besides the German National Church, that of SS. Trinità de' Monti on the Pincio, founded by Cardinal

* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 18. On the Tempietto, *cf.* especially GEYMÜLLER, 65 *seq.*

† KERSCHBAUMER, 22 *seq.*; GRAUS, Sta Maria dell' Anima, in the Grazer Kirchenschmuck (1881), No. 3 *seq.* GEYMÜLLER writes, p. 68, "Bramante's influence may possibly be traceable in the ground-plan of Sta Maria dell' Anima but only in that. . . . . To us it seems very probable that the graceful tower was built by a German architect after a drawing by Bramante. Certainly Bramante, and probably G. da Sangallo, are quite guiltless of the somewhat incoherent façade which was added in 1514." In the Archives of the Anima I found an interesting note in which Burkardus Arg. Magist. caeremon. 1499, is said to have been praefectus fabricae.

‡ REDTENBACHER, 179.

Briçonnet at the instigation of S. Francis of Paula, S. Rocco on the quay of the Ripetta, S. Maria di Loreto, a Confraternity-church not completed until the 17th Century, the Church of the Guild of the Bakers of Rome, and Sta Maria di Monserrato, the Spanish National Church.*

* REUMONT, III., 1, 420, 438; ARMELLINI, 412, 578.

BOOK II.

PIUS III. 1503.

JULIUS II. Restorer of the States of the Church and Patron of the Fine Arts. 1503–1513.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclaves of September and November, 1503.—Pius III. and Julius II.

In a Despatch of 15th August, 1503, when the condition of Alexander VI. was rapidly becoming hopeless, the Venetian Ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, reports that Cardinal Caraffa had said to him in conversation, "There is every prospect of war. I greatly fear that the coming Conclave will result in an appeal to arms, and prove most disastrous for the Church."* A sonnet, published in Florence about that time, describes the divisions in the Sacred College, the machinations of the Kings of France and Spain to secure the election of their respective candidates, and the probability of a simoniacal election, and even of a schism.†

The situation was, indeed, fraught with peril on all sides. In the North the French army under Francesco Gonzaga lay at Viterbo, the Spaniards under Gonsalvo de Cordova were advancing from the South, Rome resounded with party cries, Orsini, Colonna, and Borgia. Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo says "the whole city was in a ferment; the confusion was such, that it seemed as if everything was going to pieces."‡ Under such circumstances it was obvious that

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 110.

† Sonnet, "Antequam creatur novus Pontifex," printed in the Docum. intorno Pio II. e III., 29–30, and in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 296 *Cf.* Nuova Antologia (1894), Vol. 135, 93–94.

‡ Gregorovius, VIII., 7, ed. 3.

Cæsar's presence in Rome could not be a matter of trifling importance. The Spanish Cardinals were as absolutely subservient to him "as if they had been his chaplains," and he had under his command an army of not less than 12,000 strong. It was certainly quite in his power to force another Rodrigo Borgia on the Church.

One cannot but regard it as a direct interposition of Providence that precisely at this critical time he was crippled by a serious illness, from which he was only beginning to recover. He said himself afterwards to Machiavelli, "I had counted on the death of my father, and had made every preparation for it, but it never occurred to me that I should have at the same time to fight with death myself." *

But the fact that both France and Spain, who had quarrelled with each other over the Neapolitan spoils, were trying to secure his friendship, shews what was the strength of Cæsar's influence in spite of his bodily weakness. They evidently thought that the result of the coming election depended largely upon him. It was only natural that the Duke should exert himself to the utmost to control it. The unexpected death of Alexander VI. had been the signal for a general uprising of all the enemies of the Borgia family, and his very existence depended upon the outcome of the election. The Venetian Ambassador writes on 21st August: "I am assured on the best authority that last Sunday no less than eleven Cardinals swore to Cæsar to have Cardinal Giovanni Vera elected, or else to bring about a schism. They are also trying to win over the Cardinals Caraffa, Raffaele Riario, and Pallavicino to their side, and I myself know for certain that the Duke has taken precautions to prevent the arrival of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, either by sea or land."†

* MACHIAVELLI, Principe, cap. 7.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 138; *cf.* 130, 137. See also Atti

However, it soon became evident that Cæsar's power was over-estimated. He himself felt his inability to withstand the popular hatred, or to make headway against the Barons, who were threatening him with vengeance, while all his efforts to obtain possession of the Castle of St. Angelo by bribery failed to overcome the integrity of its custodian, Francesco Roccamura.*

Hitherto he had but to command and be obeyed, but now he found himself obliged to enter into a treaty with the Colonna faction and with the Cardinals. Burchard notes with surprise his submissiveness towards the Sacred College, to whom he swore obedience on the 22nd of August. In consequence, he was allowed to retain his appointment as a Captain-General of the Church until the new Pope had been elected; but the unanimous decision of the Cardinals to hold the Conclave in the Castle of St. Angelo plainly shews how little they trusted him.† Even there, however, many did not consider themselves safe, for Cæsar continued to exert himself to the utmost to secure the election of a Spanish Pope who would be favourable to him.‡

If the election was to be free, it was absolutely necessary to get the Duke out of Rome. The Cardinals, especially

dell' Emilia, VII., 2, 169; M. LEOPARDI, Vita di Niccolò Bonafede, 49 *seq.*; and CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 134.

* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 289, and the MS. in THUASNE, III., 449. RANKE in Rom. und Germ. Völker, 171, says erroneously that Cæsar had possession of the Castle of St. Angelo. The letters quoted by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 7, ed. 3, from the Gaetani Archives, as hitherto unprinted, and which confirm Guicciardini's statements about Cæsar's treaty with the Colonna, were printed long ago by CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 133-134.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 245 *seq.*

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 157; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 442

the Italian Cardinals, laboured assiduously to effect this, and were supported by the Ambassadors of Germany, France, Spain, and Venice. The negotiations lasted from the 25th August to the 31st September, when Cæsar finally consented to withdraw from Rome within three days, the Cardinals on their side engaging to protect him against all attacks, and granting him a free passage through the States of the Church. They also promised to warn Venice against any attempts to get hold of his possessions in the Romagna. The Ambassadors of Maximilian and Ferdinand pledged themselves that neither Cæsar, the Spanish army, nor the Colonna should approach from within 8 to 10 miles of Rome as long as the Papal Chair remained vacant, and those of France and Venice entered into a similar engagement in regard to the French army and the Orsini.*

On the following day a part of the Duke's artillery left Rome by the Trastevere; the news had just reached him that Piombino, Rimini, and Pesaro had thrown off his yoke. He himself was carried in a litter from the Vatican to Monte Mario; at the Porta Viridaria, Cardinal Cesarini wished to speak to him, but was told that "the Duke gave no audiences." †

It soon became known that Cæsar had placed himself under the protection of the French army at Nepi. He had already, on the 1st of September, entered into a secret agreement with the representatives of Louis XII., in which he promised to place his troops at the disposal of the King, and to behave towards him as an obedient vassal and help him against all his enemies, the Church

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 255.

† *Ibid.*, III., 257. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 171; SANUTO, V., 80-81; and the *Despatch of the Mantuan Envoy, dat. Rome, 2nd Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

only excepted; Louis on his part guaranteed to Cæsar all his present possessions and engaged to assist him to recover those which he had lost at the death of Alexander VI.*

The maintenance of order having been already secured by the hire of a sufficient force in the pay of the College of Cardinals, they could now proceed to make arrangements for the Conclave. Under these more favourable circumstances it was decided that it should be held in the Vatican.

Public opinion was very much divided as to the probable result of the election. Antonio Giustinian writes on 19th August: "The better minded would like to have Caraffa or Piccolomini, though Costa would make an excellent Pope; only his age and his Spanish name are against him." A few days later Pallavicino and Podocatharo were also mentioned; of the latter it was said that he would have the votes of all the Spaniards.†

On the 4th September‡ the obsequies of the late Pope began and lasted nine days. Meanwhile many of the absent Cardinals had arrived in Rome. Soderini came on the 30th of August, Cornaro on the 1st of September, Trivulzi and Giuliano della Rovere on the 3rd (the latter had been an exile for nearly ten years). On the 6th Colonna arrived, on the 9th Riario, and on the 10th George S. d'Amboise, Luigi d'Aragona, and Ascanio Sforza.§

* App. to the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 462–463.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 126; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 447; and the Sonnet quoted *supra*, p. 185, note †: "Antequam," etc.

‡ Not on the 3rd Sept., as stated by VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 387, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 10, ed. 3. See *Acta Consist., f. 14, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ Cardinal d'Este had broken his leg in the hurry of the journey and

The latter had led Louis XII. to believe that if he would allow him to take part in the Conclave he would vote for the French candidate, Cardinal d'Amboise.*

Through their treaty with Cæsar Borgia the French party thought they could count on the support of the eleven Spanish Cardinals,† and d'Amboise himself did not scruple to use every means in his power, flattery, promises, and even covert threats, in order to win over the remainder.‡ In employing the latter he counted, of course, on the influence which the proximity of the French troops must exert. In case of need, as the Mantuan Ambassador said, it had been decided to have recourse to arms.§ No means were to be rejected that could possibly obtain the Tiara for the favourite of the King of France, and thus secure French ascendency in Italy and the world.

in consequence did not arrive in time. SANUTO, V., 77; *cf. ibid.*, 81, on the very hurried journey of Cardinal d'Amboise.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 290.

† *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 449.

‡ *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 175, 190, 196. As in the whole College of Cardinals there were only two who were Frenchmen by birth, it seemed to the French party that they could not afford to neglect any means of ensuring success; they could really only count upon six votes. See SANUTO, V., 82. The Mantuan agent, Ghivizano, in writing to the Marquess of Mantua from Rome on 12th Sept., 1503, reports of Cardinal d'Amboise: Hieri ale 22 hore parlai cum mons. de Rohano . . . me dise io dovesse in nome vostro parlare al rev^mo card. S. Prassede et pregarlo a darli la voce sua promettendoli che tuto quelo li sarà promiso li sarà atteso et retificato per la Ch^ma M^ta e di questo vole la Ex V^a li facia piena segurta, il che a me non ha parso fare senza licentia di quela, la quale sapia come a le XX. hore hoe lordine de andare a parlare a S. Prassede; al. card. de Rohano ho promeso fare quanto la Sua S^ria me a comandato e cosi farò non havendo altro in contrario. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Appendix, N. 12, the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 12th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Ferdinand of Spain was naturally the chief opponent of these plans. From the very beginning his Ambassadors were doing their utmost to secure the election of a Spanish Pope. His candidates were Piccolomini, Castro, and Carvajal; the one whom above all he wished to exclude was Giuliano della Rovere, whom he regarded as a partisan of France.*

As long as Cæsar Borgia had remained in Rome he had exercised a strong influence on the Spanish Cardinals. As soon as he had left the city and was known to have gone to the French camp, this was of course at an end. Bernardino Carvajal became the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, and they held together as closely as possible, knowing that they had all the detestation which the Borgia had brought upon themselves on their shoulders.† In the face of the storm of hatred which had burst forth from the populace of Rome on the death of Alexander the election of a Spaniard was out of the question.‡ The reaction against the late Pope was too strong. This made the loss of the eleven Spanish votes all the more vexatious for the French. Their prospects declined at once. The Mantuan Ambassador, writing on the 12th of September, to a vivid description of the excitement amongst the electors, "who are running hither and thither like bees and intriguing in all directions," adds significantly, "but d'Amboise will not be Pope."§

* *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 150 *seq.*; ZURITA, V., c. 47; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 446; BERGENROTH, Calendar, I., n. 372; SÄGMÜLLER, 127 *seq.*; HÄBLER, Streit Ferdinands d. Kathol. und Philipps, I., 19; ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 59 *seq.* (incorrect in places).

† *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 179-180; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 450.

‡ See SANUTO, V., 81-83.

§ See Appendix, N. 12, *Despatch of Ghivizano, 12th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Giuliano della Rovere, however, was for the French the most dangerous of all their opponents. It was he who made it plain to all the world how disastrous would be the consequences if the man who was Louis' all powerful minister, and had been Cæsar Borgia's friend, were elected.*

Giuliano's arrival in Rome completely changed the whole state of affairs. He was as outspoken as if his election were already an accomplished fact. On the 5th September he said to the Venetian Ambassador: "I have come here on my own account and not on other people's. I shall not vote for d'Amboise. If I fail to obtain the Tiara myself, I hope whoever succeeds will strive to maintain peace in Italy, and to promote the interests of religion." He took pains to point out to the Cardinals that if a French Pope were elected it was extremely probable that the seat of the Papacy would again be transferred to France. These representations naturally carried great weight with the Spanish and Italian members of the College.† As the Italians were largely in the majority (they were twenty-two out of thirty-seven) they could easily have made Giuliano Pope had they been unanimous. This, however, was far from being the case. Some were for Caraffa, others for Pallavicino, others again for Giuliano. Cardinal Giovanni Colonna held with the Spaniards, while the Florentine Cardinals, Medici and Soderini, were on the French side.‡

The divisions among the Italian Cardinals threw the casting vote into the hands of the united Spanish party. Giuliano saw this at once and consequently from the first

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 200.

† *Ibid.*, II., 180-182.

‡ ZURITA, 299; GUICCIARDINI, Opere inediti, III., 306; SAG-MÜLLER, 126.

devoted himself to the work of winning the Spaniards.* On the 12th September the Mantuan Envoy writes: "Neither d'Amboise, Giuliano, Caraffa, nor Riario will be Pope; Podocatharo, Piccolomini, or Pallavicino have the best chance, for they are favoured by the Spaniards; but the common opinion is that the Cardinals will not be able to agree." †

Thus, from the very beginning of the Conclave, the representatives of the three great Latin nations stood opposed to each other. Not one of the few representatives of the non-Latin nationalities was in Rome,‡ when, after the Chair of S. Peter had been vacant for thirty days, the Conclave at last began on 16th September. The number of Cardinals § who took part in it, thirty-seven,‖ was much

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 185.

† See Appendix, N. 12, *Despatch of Ghivizano, 12th Sept., 1503, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ These latter could only act through their Envoys. See ULMANN, II., 135, on the proceedings of Maximilian's Ambassador. *Cf.* also Ghivizano's *Despatch of 15th Sept., 1503 (Gonzaga Arch., Mantua), in Appendix, N. 13.

§ At former elections the number was much smaller. At the Conclave of Nicholas V. there were 18, for Calixtus III. 15, for Pius II. 18, for Paul II. 20, for Sixtus IV. 18, for Innocent VIII. 25, for Alexander VI. 23. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 11, 320; III., 5; IV., 4, n. 3, 201 (Engl. trans.).

‖ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 269 *seq.*; SANUTO, V., p. 100 *seq.*; and the *Despatch of Costabili, dated Rome, 16th Sept., 1503, in the State Archives, Modena. Both ancient and modern writers vary very much in their statements as to the number that took part in the Conclave. Raphael Volaterranus, Raynaldus, REUMONT, III., 2, 7, and RÖHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 285, give the number as 36; while GUICCIARDINI, VI., cap. 1, the epitaph of Pius III., and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 12, ed. 3, say 38. Both numbers are erroneous. Thirty-seven electors took part in it, as stated by Burchard, the Mantuan Ambassador, in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 16th Sept., 1503, as also an *Account of the beginning of the Conclave by Ghivizano, dated 17th Sept., and, what is

larger than had been present at any former Conclave. Even as late as the 12th of September there had been protracted discussions whether it should not be held in S. Marco under the protection of the Roman people, but the final decision was in favour of the Vatican. Immediately before the opening of the Conclave, d'Amboise decided to pay visits to his two rivals, Caraffa and Giuliano della Rovere. The Mantuan Envoy, who reports this, adds, there was no exchange of visits between d'Amboise and Piccolomini, Pallavicino, and Podocatharo. The Tiara will fall to one of these three; if to the last, because he is a good man, if to either of the others, because they are neutral and favoured by the Spaniards. Four days later the Venetian Ambassador says that Piccolomini or Pallavicino will probably be elected.*

The first thing the Cardinals did, was to draw up a new Election-capitulation to supersede that of 1484. One of its provisions was that the Pope should summon a Council for the reform of the Church within two years after his election, and that then a General Council should be held every three years.†

On the 17th of September d'Amboise had proclaimed, in his usual swaggering manner, that either he or another Frenchman would certainly be chosen. Five days earlier he had told the Venetian Envoy what he really thought. He said, "I have heard that several Cardinals have bound themselves by an oath not to elect any Cardinal who is a Frenchman or a friend of the King of

quite decisive, the *Acta Consist., fol. 14. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 196–198, and in Appendix, N. 13, Ghivizano's *Despatch of 15th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 272 *seq.*; ZURITA, 202; GATTICUS, 287, n. 1; BERGENROTH, I., p. LVIII., n. 371.

France. This has greatly incensed me. I see no reason why the French nation should be shut out from the Papacy, and if my King, who is the first-born son of the Church, and has done more than any other Prince for the Apostolic See, is trying to promote the election of a French Pope, I do not think he can be blamed, when he has seen how unworthily one Spaniard and two Italians have ruled her. Our generals are aware of these intrigues, and will not patiently endure such a slight to their King." Then he complained of various simoniacal negotiations, and added: "If I perceive anything of this kind you may be sure that I shall not let it pass; and my protest will be such that none shall fail to hear it." "Evidently," the Envoy continues, "the Cardinal sees that his cause is lost. He already says that he has been betrayed. He has just found out that Ascanio Sforza, far from troubling himself about him, is working hard to secure his own election."*

Such indeed was the case. On the 13th of September the Venetian Ambassador writes, "Ascanio Sforza makes no secret of his intentions; he says he had promised his vote to d'Amboise and he shall have that, but nothing else."† The acclamations with which Ascanio had been greeted when he entered Rome had naturally encouraged him to think well of his chances. Burchard, after narrating the hearty welcome he had received, adds in his Diary, "God alone knows what these cries were to Ascanio."‡

The hopes which d'Amboise had built on Cardinal d'Aragona were equally doomed to disappointment. He,

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 195–196, 198.

† *Ibid.*, II., 193. *Cf.* PRATO, 256. It is interesting to find from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 274, that Ascanio did vote for d'Amboise.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 263.

like Ascanio, was not disposed to seal the ruin of his house by forwarding the election of a French Pope.*

But, though forced to give up all hopes for himself, d'Amboise none the less did his best to secure the election of one or other of the French candidates. All his efforts, however, were in vain, owing to the firm front presented by the Spanish Cardinals, none of whom could be won over.†

The prospects of Giuliano della Rovere rose in proportion as those of d'Amboise declined. At first we are told he wanted but two votes to make up the two-thirds majority. But at the last moment he found himself foiled by his old enemy Ascanio.‡

The strength of the various parties, and also their inability to bring matters to a conclusion, were manifested in the vote that was taken on the 21st September.§ Giuliano della Rovere had the highest vote, fifteen (still far below the requisite majority of two-thirds); Caraffa came next with

* So says GUICCIARDINI, VI., c. 1

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 196, 197–201

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 200; SANUTO, V., 92; ZURITA, V., c. 47; and Costabili's *Despatch to Card. d'Este of 28th Sept., 1503: Et per Ascanio se he facto grande opera per questa electione. Prima S. Praxede se aproximo al pallio e fu disconcio per S. Petro in vincula. Dopoi corendo molto S. Petro in vincula fu disconcio per Ascanio. State Archives, Modena.

§ According to Roman letters quoted by SANUTO, V., 92, there were three scrutinies. Burchard speaks only of two. Sanuto says: non fu fato scrutinio fino el zuoba (*i.e.*, 21st Sept.) e fu fato uno e S. Praxede fo mejo e S. Piero in vincula li manchava do voti. Ghivizano, the Mantuan Ambassador, says on the contrary that the first scrutiny took place on the 18th; he refers to a communication from the English Ambassador who professed to have had his information from Venice; but Giustinian says nothing about it, at any rate nothing in those of his despatches which reached their destination, and this throws doubt upon the point. Ghivizano's *Despatch of 19th Sept. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Appendix, N. 14.

fourteen, d'Amboise had thirteen, Carvajal twelve, Riario eight.*

Thus no party was in a position to carry the election, and yet the situation was one that demanded a speedy settlement. Both Burchard and the Venetian Ambassador agree in saying that, under these circumstances, Cardinal d'Amboise preferred a candidate whose age and weakness marked him out as a temporary Pope. Antonio Giustinian writes, "As soon as d'Amboise perceived that his own election was out of the question, he determined at any rate to prevent the election of any one not of his choice." Like a prudent man, he swam with the stream,† and on 21st September, acting in concert with Ascanio Sforza, Soderini, and Medici, he proposed the name of the old and ailing Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini.

As the Spanish Cardinals agreed to support him, the matter was decided at once. On the following morning

* There are two lists of the vote taken on 21st Sept. in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 273 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*, and one in SANUTO, V., 93-94, to which may be added that in the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 201. It has not hitherto been noticed that the two lists given by Burchard, the second of which is evidently derived from the first, do not agree with one another, either in the names or the number of votes. There are discrepancies also in the accounts of Sanuto and Giustinian. In BURCHARD, I., Caraffa has fourteen votes; in BURCHARD, II., thirteen. Sanuto and Giustinian give him fourteen. Giuliano della Rovere had, according to BURCHARD, I., fourteen votes; according to BURCHARD, II., Sanuto, and Giustinian, fifteen. All four lists coincide in regard to Carvajal and d'Amboise. Giustinian and Sanuto agree in giving Castro thirteen votes. It is remarkable that Burchard's first list gives Castro eleven votes, and the second none at all! It is possible that the second list given by Burchard is a later interpolation, and this is the more probable, since there is no such second list given for the scrutiny of 22nd Sept., or, later, for the election of Julius II.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 201; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 276.

(22nd September) the election took place,* and Piccolomini was made Pope, taking the name of Pius III. in honour of his uncle.†

"It is impossible to express the joy of the people of Rome at Piccolomini's election," writes the Mantuan Envoy on the 22nd September, and the representative of Venice says, "The previous life of the new Pope, marked by numerous deeds of kindness and charity, lead the people to hope that his Pontificate will be the exact opposite to that of Alexander VI., and thus they are beside themselves with joy."‡ This general rejoicing was fully justified. All his contemporaries agree in saying that the personal character and abilities of the new Pope were of the highest order. He was made a member of the Sacred College in 1460, at an early age, by his uncle Pius II., and the Cardinal of Siena, as Piccolomini was then called, had always distinguished himself by his cultivation of mind, his great ability, and his blameless life. Under Pius II. he had successfully governed the March of Placentia, and in the time of Paul II. had filled the difficult post of Legate in Germany with consummate tact, to the great satisfaction of the then

* The charge of simony is unfounded. *Cf.* CAMBI, XXI., 197; also PICCOLOMINI, Doc. intorno a Pio II. e III., 19, and SÄGMÜLLER, 129.

† See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 276–277; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 199 *seq.*; *cf.* p. 204 on the influence of the Spanish Cardinals in the election. SANUTO, V., 93; ZURITA, 302; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 452; *Report of Ghivizano, dated Rome, 22nd Sept. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The Ferrarese Ambassador, Costabili, in his *Account of the election, makes the remark: "It is to be hoped that the new Pope will prove as satisfactory as we have reason to think." See also *P. S.*: El suo nome è Clemento sexto. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 200, and the *Report of Ghivizano, dated Rome, 22nd Sept., 1503: Quanto sia stata la universale alegreza di tuto questo popolo e corte non saria possibile a dirlo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Pope; the knowledge of German which he had acquired while living in the household of Pius II. being naturally of great assistance to him there. Afterwards, when, owing to the influence of the nephews of Sixtus IV., a worldly spirit predominated at the Court, he, like others of a pious and serious turn of mind, kept away from Rome as much as possible, and still more so in the time of Alexander VI. Like his uncle Pius II., Cardinal Piccolomini was tormented with gout, and was prematurely old and decrepit, although he had led a very regular life. Sigismondo de' Conti especially praises his scrupulous love of order. "He left no moment in the day unoccupied; his time for study was before day-break, he spent his morning in prayer, and his mid-day hours in giving audiences to which the humblest had easy access. He was so temperate in food and drink, that he only allowed himself an evening meal every other day."*

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 291–292. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 295; IV., 4, 180–181, 414 (Engl. transl.). On the taste for Art displayed by Cardinal Piccolomini, see *supra*, p. 179, note *. As all contemporary authorities agree in representing Pius III. as universally held in the highest esteem as a rule, no modern writer has attempted to impugn his character (for example, see the favourable opinions of historians who do not readily praise a Pope, *e.g.*, SCHRÖCKH, XXXII., 444, and VOIGT, Pius II., I., 531). To his own discredit GREGOROVIUS alone, in Lucrezia Borgia, 270, states that Pius III. is "the happy father of no fewer than twelve children, boys and girls," but he gives no vestige of proof for his assertion. Against Gregorovius, G. PALMIERI NUTI, Lettera di Sigismondo Tizio, remarks in 1877: à propos of Tizio's observation that Pius III. had not squandered the patrimony of S. Peter on war or bastards: E a proposito di questi non so astenermi dallo esternare il dubbio che, forse prestando troppa fede a dicerie referite da cronisti, l'illustre Gregorovius nella sua recente pubblicazione intorno a Lucrezia Borgia abbia attribuito addirittura una dozzina di figli a questo cardinale Piccolomini, assicurando che di ingrandirli e arrhichirli mancò a lui, fatto pontefice, il tempo, non

It is therefore not surprising that all good men were filled with the brightest hopes. "A new light has shone upon us," writes Peter Delphinus, the General of the Camaldolese, "our hearts rejoice, and our eyes are filled with tears because God our Lord has had mercy on His people and has given them a Chief Shepherd who is a holy man, innocent, and of untarnished name. Our deep sorrow has been turned to joy, and a day of sunshine has followed a night of storm. We are all filled with the highest hopes

l'intenzione. Il Tizio, contemporaneo, intimo della famiglia, un po' gattiva lingua (as he says of himself) e certo non troppo parziale di papa Pio, perchè, lo dice da sè, dovè partirsi di casa Piccolomini per suo respecto, qui gli dà lode di non essersi tinto di tal pece, a quei tempi, con scandalo universale, pur troppo commune. In spite of this, BROSCH, Julius II., 93, and, following him, CREIGHTON, IV., 57, disregarding altogether the testimony of Tizio, have no scruple in repeating the serious charges made by Gregorovius without troubling themselves about evidence at all! In the face of such injustice it will not appear superfluous to refer the reader to the numerous passages testifying in favour of Cardinal Piccolomini that are to be found in AMMANATI'S letters (Epist. 462, in Pii II. Comment. [Francof., 1614], pp. 776-777); in SENAREGA, 578, and in the words used by GASPAR VERONENSIS (1030), who certainly is not behindhand as a rule in bringing charges against Cardinals, but speaks of Cardinal Piccolomini as *moribus senex*. *Cf.* also the expressions of his contemporaries, cited on opposite p., as well as the testimony of the Venetian Envoy, H. Donato, in the year 1499 in SANUTO, II., 836. The stern moralist, CAMBI, XXI., 197, calls him, "Uomo di bona fama." So GUICCIARDINI in his St. Fiorentini (Op. ined., III., 306), calls the Pope "uomo vecchio e di buoni costumi qualità." Aegidius of Viterbo, the stern censor of all worldliness, says of Pius III.: Sacri senatus lux et gloria diu habitus. Hist viginti saecul. (Cod., c. 8, 19, fol. 312, in the Angelica Library in Rome). In order to be sure on this point I have, through my friend A. Giorgetti, asked the opinion of M. Bandinelli Piccolomini at Siena, the best authority on the family history of the Piccolomini. He assures me there is no evidence whatever for the assertion of Gregorovius; on the contrary, he has found in the State Archives of Siena numberless letters of contemporary writers all attesting the blameless reputation of Pius III.

for the reform of the Church, and the return of peace." "God be thanked that the government of the Church has been entrusted to such a man, who is so manifestly a storehouse of all virtues and the abode of the Holy Spirit of God. Under his care the Lord's vineyard will no more bring forth thorns and thistles, but will stretch out its fruitful branches to the ends of the earth."*

"The misery of the past, the marred countenance of the Church, the scourge of God's righteous anger, are still before my eyes," writes Cosimo de' Pozzi, Bishop of Arezzo, on the 28th of September, 1502, to the newly-elected Pontiff. "When all hope of release seemed shut away, God has given us in you a Pope whose wisdom, culture, and learning, whose religious education and virtuous life, has filled all good and God-fearing men with consolation. Now we can all hope for a new era in the history of the Church."†

The earliest acts of Pius III. corresponded with these expectations. In an assembly of the Cardinals, which took place on the 25th of September, he made it clear that his chief aim was to be the reform of the Church and the restoration of the peace of Christendom. He said the reform must extend to the Pope himself, the Cardinals, the whole Court and all the Papal officials, and that the Council must be summoned to meet at the earliest date possible. The news soon spread through all the countries of Europe, and in Germany encouraged the Archbishop of Mayence, Berthold von Henneberg, to draw up a memorial, setting forth the reforms that he considered necessary for the Church in that country.‡ The Pope also made excellent regulations

* *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, and P. DELPHINI, Oratiunculae, p. XI.

† See Appendix, N. 15, for the original of this letter, which I found in the Library of S. Mark at Venice.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, 208; ZURITA, V., c. 47; BURCHARD

for the better government of the immediate possessions of the Holy See, and was extremely economical in his expenditure.*

Pius III. was eager to secure peace at any cost, and precisely for that reason he did not succeed in doing so. The inheritance bequeathed to him by the Borgia was of a nature to frustrate all his endeavours. On the 26th of September the Pope said to the Venetian Envoy, "In consequence of the pressure put upon me by the Spanish Cardinals, I have been compelled to issue some Briefs in favour of Cæsar Borgia, but I will not give him any further help. I do not intend to be a warlike, but a peace-loving Pope."† He certainly had no sympathy for the Borgia family, especially for Cæsar, and he found that the Vatican had been robbed on all sides, and that the Apostolic Treasury was grievously in debt. But hatred was utterly foreign to his mild and gentle temper. "I wish no harm to the Duke," he said, "for it is the duty of a Pope to have loving-kindness for all, but I foresee that he will come to a bad end by the judgment of God."‡

He was not wrong in his forecast. The whole power of the Borgia family, built up by cunning, treachery, and bloodshed, which threatened at one time to swallow up the States of the Church, came to an untimely end.

With the departure of the French army for Naples, Cæsar lost his last refuge. Bartolomeo d'Alviano was hurrying from Venice with fierce threats of vengeance,

Diarium, III., 279. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 17, and WEISS, Berthold von Henneberg, 20.

* See *Despatches of the Mantuan Envoy, dated Rome, 5th and 9th Oct., 1503. In the first of these he says: "Alla Sta di N. S. è a core che le cita e terre quale sono restate alla Sede Ap. siano bene gubernate et con justitia et integritate." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 208–209; *cf.* ULMANN, II., 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 207.

and the Orsini and Savelli were preparing to close upon him at once. He saw that it was impossible for him to remain at Nepi. Not yet completely recovered from his illness, he entreated the gentle Pius to allow him to return to Rome. "I never thought," said the Pope to the Ferrarese Envoy, "that I should feel any pity for the Duke, and yet I do most deeply pity him. The Spanish Cardinals have interceded for him. They tell me he is very ill, and wishes to come and die in Rome, and I have given him permission."* When Cæsar arrived there on the 3rd of October his entire army had dwindled down to 650 men. The state of his health was certainly not satisfactory, but by no means so bad as had been represented to the Pope. Many people in Rome, especially the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Riario, were exceedingly dissatisfied with Pius for having allowed him to come back. On the 7th of October, speaking to the Venetian Envoy, the Pope apologised for his leniency by saying, "I am neither a saint nor an angel, but only a man, and liable to err. I have been deceived."†

The date of the Coronation of the new Pope was fixed for the 8th of October; it was attended by a vast concourse of people.‡ Before the Coronation, Pius, who hitherto had only been a deacon, received priestly and episcopal Orders. The long ceremonies were a great strain on the strength of the Pope, who was suffering from gout, and had only lately undergone a painful operation on his leg. He said Mass sitting, and on account

* Despatch of Costabili of 2nd Oct. in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 13, ed. 3. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 218.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 226; *cf.* 219, 221, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 279.

‡ So Costabili reports in his *Letter of 8th Oct., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

of his weakness the formal entry into the Lateran was put off till later.*

Although the state of the Pope's health in the next few days got rather worse than better, he still held numerous audiences, took counsel on the 9th of October with the various Ambassadors, as to the measures to be adopted in case of an invasion of the States of the Church by Bartolomeo d'Alviano, and held a long Consistory on the 11th of October, in which he went carefully into the questions of the appointment of new Cardinals and the unquiet state of the city.† Bartolomeo d'Alviano, Giampaolo Baglione, and many of the Orsini were there, and, together with the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Riario, were insisting on the disbandment of Cæsar's army; otherwise, they said, they would take up arms themselves.‡ Overtures to the Orsini were made both by the French and the Spaniards. With the single exception of Giovanni Giordano they decided, out of hatred to the Duke, to treat with the Spanish party, and allied themselves with the Colonna. On the 12th of October the reconciliation between these two houses, hitherto always at enmity, was openly announced.§ Cæsar was now at the end of all his resources. It was rumoured that he had fled with Cardinal d'Amboise, but the latter shewed no inclination to

* On the idealised coronation of Pius III., represented later in a fresco by Pinturicchio in Siena (*cf.* the inscription by FALUSCHI, 15), *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 280 *seq.*; *Despatch of Costabili, 10th Oct., 1503 (State Archives, Modena); *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives. On the operation that the Pope had undergone, see Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 212, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 292.

† See Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 226, 228, and 251, and the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 11th Oct. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 237.

§ *Ibid.*, III., 237, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 284.

draw down on himself the hatred attached to the Borgia family, and on the 15th of October, forsaken by all, he attempted to flee from Rome to escape the vengeance of the Orsini. Hardly, however, had he left the precincts of the Vatican when the greater part of his men deserted him, and with a following of not more than seventy he had to return to his house. The Orsini demanded that the Pope should have him arrested, in order that he might not elude the results of the legal proceedings about to be instituted against him. The Venetian Ambassador describes Bartolomeo d'Alviano as raging like a mad dog; he had set a guard at every gate that the Duke might not escape him.*

But the Pope was not in a state to comply with the demands of the Orsini, for on the 13th of October he was lying on his death-bed.† Hence the Orsini determined to take the matter into their own hands, and arrest him themselves. Cæsar fled, by means of the secret passage, to the Castle of St. Angelo as they were storming the Borgo. The Spanish Cardinals had planned his escape disguised as a monk, but the Orsini had completely invested the Castle. Here where once his enemies had trembled before him, sat the man whose hand, a few months earlier, had been almost within grasp of the crown of Central Italy, cowering in hopeless terror with only two or three servants by his side.‡

In the meantime the Pope's end was approaching. On the 15th of October the doctors had thought his case serious, on account of his weakness and his great age. As the fever never for an instant left him, by the 17th his condition was hopeless.§

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 237, 244–245.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 284; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 240.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 249.

§ In addition to Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 243, 249, *cf.* the

His faculties remained clear, and his mind calm. Although he did not himself believe the end to be so near, yet he received the Viaticum on the 17th of October for the second time during his illness, and on the following night the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. All who surrounded him were touched and edified by his devotion.* Tranquil and resigned, he fell asleep on the evening of the 18th of October.†

*Reports of Costabili of Oct. 16th (la febre non lascia el papa da veneri n qua in modo che della vita di S. Sta se ne dubita per le medici grandemente) and 17th (State Archives, Modena), and G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 16th Oct. (El papa è pegiorato), as well as two *Despatches from him of the 17th Oct. (El papa è abandonato in tuto de salute, and El papa è abandonato da tuti de la vita sua). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 252; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 285.

† Authorities differ as to the exact hour of his death. Ghivizano and G. L. Cataneo in their *Despatches of 18th Oct. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) say eight o'clock. Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 253; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 285, and the Notar de Masiis in GORI, Archivio, IV., 244 (with a wrong date), say ten o'clock. The statement of MALAVOLTI, Istoria de' Sanesi, VIII., 3, that Pope Pius III. was poisoned by Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena, is given also in a contemporary Chronicle, Cod., LIII., 12, in the Barberini Library in Rome, but without the name of the murderer. NOVAES, VI., 130, is inclined to give credit to this, but against it we have the fact that none of the Ambassadors who were in Rome at the time mention it. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 455. Pius III. was buried next to Pius II., near the Chapel of S. Andrew in S. Peter's. His brothers Giacomo and Andrea had a dispute about the funeral expenses. (*Cf.* the document in PICCOLOMINI, Documenti, 39-43.) When the Basilica was rebuilt under Paul V., Cardinal Alessandro Montalto had the tomb removed to S. Andrea della Valle, where it was placed opposite to that of Pius II. (SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 293-325; MAI, Spicil., IX., 263.) The pompous inscription is of a later date. In his will Piccolomini had left a very simple and modest epitaph. See PICCOLOMINI, Documenti, 41, n. 2. Also see p. 20 about the beautiful ring possessed by Pius III. which now belongs to Prince Corsini and is preserved in the National Museum at Florence.

"The death of this Pope," wrote the Ambassador of Ferrara on 19th October, "will be lamented at all the courts of Europe, for he was by universal consent held to be good, prudent, and pious. In spite of the rainy weather at the time all Rome hastened to kiss the feet of the dead Pope, whose features were quite unaltered. People think that he died of the labours of the Pontificate, which were too heavy for his already enfeebled health. The night before his election he did not sleep at all, and since then he has had no rest. He was continually giving audience to the Cardinals; then came the fatiguing ceremonies of his consecration and coronation. On the previous Wednesday a long Consistory was held, the Pope remaining conscientiously to the end. On the Friday he gave some very long audiences; kept the abstinence and ate fish, although he had taken medicine only the day before. Then he got the fever, which never left him till he died." * As the Siennese, Sigismondo Tizio, says, "The death of Pius III. was a great loss to the Church, to the city of Rome, and to us all, but perhaps we deserved no less for our sins." †

"We hear of nothing but the election of the new Pope," wrote the Mantuan Ambassador on the day of Pius III.'s death, "but it is very difficult to say which name will come out of the urn." ‡ Eight days later the question was decided.

He left 100 ducats, 300 volumes of his library, and the chalice which when Pope he had used every day, to the German Hospice del Anima. KIRCHBAUMER, 19–20.

* See Appendix, N. 16, the *Report of Costabili of 19th Oct., 1503, in the State Archives, Modena. *Cf.* also the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 15th Oct., 1503. Every one at the Court lamented la morte e perdita de un tanto homo dal quale si sperava grand^{m} bene per s^{ta} chiesa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† NUTI, Lettera di Sigismondi Tizio, 15.

‡ Qui non si attende altro cha a le pratiche del nuovo pontefice; mal

Burchard relates that one Sunday, the 29th of October, 1503, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and the other Spanish Cardinals with Cæsar Borgia assembled in the Papal Palace, and drew up an Election-capitulation in which, among other things, Cardinal Giuliano undertook if he were made Pope to appoint Cæsar standard-bearer to the Church, and to allow him to retain all his possessions, Cæsar on his part undertaking to support the Pope in all things. All the Spanish Cardinals promised to vote for Giuliano at the election.*

Thus, by means of Cæsar's help, against whom the Orsini now no longer dared to attempt anything, and supported by the Spanish Cardinals, Giuliano, according to the best informed diplomatists, was nearer than ever to attaining the highest dignity.† All that was now needed was to

se po indicare in che mon il debba caschare. Hozi questi rev^mi cardinal fanno congregatione in S. Petro; se extima se afrezarano presto per far un novo papa. Despatch of Ghivizano, Rome, 18th Oct., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 293. See also the Despatch of Machiavelli of 4th Nov., 1503. *Cf.* Opere ed. Passerini, II., 214; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 271; and LEOPARDI, Bonafede, p. 58 *seq.* The *Despatches of the Ferrarese Envoy Costabili are also interesting. On 21st Oct., 1503, he writes: "The Spanish Cardinals do not intend to be poor when they come out of the Conclave." On 24th Oct.: "Va crescendo la opinione per S. Petro in vincula il quale fa ogni cosa per havere per se Spagnoli. Napoli anchora è in miglior opinione al presente del solito. De Ascanio ancora se judica bene. Tutta volta qui se dice per proverbio: Chi intra in conclavi papa, ne esce cardinale." On 26th Oct.: Attendono ale pratiche del papato maxime Rohano, Napoli. S. Petro, S. Praxede Ascanio. (State Archives, Modena.) Ghivizano writes on 29th Oct., 1503: *Il rev. S. Petro ad vincula me pare anchor lui esser in bonissima disposition, ma starsene pare piu sobrio e cum animo piu altero secondo il solito suo. And in a second letter on the same day, *Domani intrano in conclavi; extimase S. Petro ad vincula intrarli papa, se non lui S. Praxedia. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 271. Costabili also says in a

secure the majority of two-thirds. Giuliano, whom the popular voice seemed to indicate as the only possible Pope, was as unscrupulous as any of his colleagues in the means which he employed.* Where promises and persuasions were unavailing, he did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery.†

Before the Conclave began Giuliano already had on his side the majority of the Italian Cardinals, the Venetians in compliance with the wishes of their government, Cæsar Borgia, and the Spaniards, and, what was still more important,‡ the French party and d'Amboise with them, who before had threatened to create a schism, yet now, like Ascanio Sforza, turned to adore the rising sun.§

*Despatch of 30th Oct., 1503, "Giuliano will certainly be Pope, for he has gained the Spaniards." State Archives, Modena.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 255, 262, and Machiavelli's Despatch of 30th Oct. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, 14.

† SÄGMÜLLER, 133, says it seems probable that the election of Julius II. was simoniacal; I should say rather it was certain. The Ferrarese Envoy Costabili, in his *Despatch of 1st Nov., 1503 (State Archives, Modena, French translation in PETRUCELLI, I., 464), makes this more clear than A. Giustinian and Machiavelli, as he furnishes the exact amounts of the bribes given to the different electors. *Cf.* also the *Despatch of Costabili of 30th Oct., cited *supra*. There is no doubt that what Priuli says of the bribing of the Spanish Cardinals is true. See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 17, ed. 3, also *supra*. But the report of Cardinal Adriano da Corneto to Henry VII., 4th Jan., 1504 (GAIRDNER, II., 112), which says that very few of the electors were quite unimpeachable in the matter, is more universally received. Of the innumerable promises made by Giuliano, Costabili writes in a *Despatch (partly in cypher) of 8th Nov., 1503, (Rohano) poi me subiunse formaliter credo che S. Sta (in cypher) habi promesso tanto in questa sua electione (cypher) che h' haria da fare asai ad observalo. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 276. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, 288.

§ *Cf. Ibid.*, II., 258, 271, and, corroborating him, Machiavelli. See HEIDENHEIMER, 12.

When, on the 30th of October, the Orsini and Savelli had been induced to withdraw from Rome, the preparations for the Conclave were complete and it began on the following day. On the 31st of October, Giuliano, with thirty-seven other Cardinals,* entered it, practically as Pope-elect.† Not many hours later his election was an accomplished fact, and on the following morning, 1st November, the decision of the Conclave, which had been the shortest known in all the long history of the Papacy, was formally announced.‡

Contemporary writers without exception express the greatest astonishment at the almost unanimous election of one who, like Giuliano, was hated by many and feared by all.§ Sigismondo de' Conti notices as a curious fact that the second successor of Alexander VI. was a Cardinal who had been persecuted by the Borgia.‖ The Roman people accorded a hearty welcome to the new Pope, who took the title of Julius II., and still greater was the rejoicing

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 291. According to this, REUMONT, II., 8, and VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 388, who give thirty-five, are in error, as also CIPOLLA, 796, and BROSCH, 97, who give thirty-six as the number.

† Tommaso Foschi writes in a *Letter, dated 31st Oct., 1503: Quella si tegno per firmo che sel conclavi dura oltra dui di le cose del Vincula haveranno garbuglio perche del mo[mento] che lo è intrato in conclavi ogni homo tenue per certo che al primo scrutinio lo habbia ad esser electo et bene valeat Ex. V. State Archives, Modena.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 294 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 294 *seq.*; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 273-275; and *Acta Consist., f. 16. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) All the Envoys forwarded their reports on 31st Oct.; both Giustinian and Ghivizano wrote to the Marquess of Mantua The latter says: *A questhora che sono cinque S. Petro in vincula he stato publicato papa Julio secondo el quale intro fato in conclavi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ P. DELPHINI, Oratiunculae, XVIII., should be added to the list in HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 13–14.

‖ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 293.

in Liguria, his native province.* Francesco Guidiccioni, writing on 2nd November, 1503, from Rome to Ferrara, says: "People here expect the reign of Julius II. to be glorious, peaceful, genial, and free-handed. The Roman people, usually so addicted to plunder, are behaving so quietly that every one is in astonishment. We have a Pope who will be both loved and feared."†

After his election the Pope confirmed once more the Election-capitulation. Amongst its conditions were the prosecution of the war against the Turks, and the restoration of discipline in the Church. To this end it stipulated that a General Council should be summoned within two years, that the Pope should not make war against any of the Powers without the consent of two-thirds of the Cardinals, and that the Sacred College should be consulted on all important occasions, especially in the choice of new Cardinals. In order to secure the freedom and safety of the next Council the place of meeting was to be determined by the Pope and two-thirds of the Cardinals, and in case any hindrance to its meeting should be alleged, this must be proved to the satisfaction of a similar majority.‡

The motives of the Cardinals in framing this capitulation, which so unduly and unlawfully limited the rights of the

* SENAREGA, 578; OLIVIERI, Carte, p. 1, Stor. Genovese, 9; Atti di Soc. Savon., I., 437 *seq.*, 452. See also p. 434 *seq.*, 440 *seq.*, 448 on the Pope's affection for his native province.

† *Vienne extimato sara lo suo pontificato molto glorioso, pacifico et ameno et non meno liberale. Questo populo assueto ad latrocinii et rubarie tanto modificatemente se ne è deputato che è una maraviglia. Lo ameranno et temeranno parimente. State Archives, Modena.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 3-9; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 396. SCHEUERL, in his Chronicle, states that the Election-capitulation was communicated to all the Princes of Christendom. HÖFLER, Zur Kritik, II., 59.

Pope, were no purer than formerly.* Certain of its provisions, as for example the one requiring the consent of two-thirds of the Cardinals before a declaration of war, were utterly unreasonable and impracticable, as a glance at the political state of Italy at the time will shew. In the South, Spain had taken possession of Naples and Sicily; in the North, France was constantly struggling to extend her influence, while Venice at the same time was attacking the possessions of the Holy See in the Romagna. "Both as a Pope and as an Italian, Julius II. found himself in a most difficult position. To remain a passive spectator of this scene of seething confusion would have been a clear dereliction of duty in a ruler and still more in a Pope. To prevent himself from being overwhelmed by circumstances and falling helplessly into the clutches of one or other of the great Powers, it was indispensable that Julius should act at once and with decision, and if necessary take the sword into his own hands;" † and for this he was admirably fitted.

The Pope's countrymen were wont to say that he had the soul of an Emperor,‡ and his outward appearance was distinguished, grave, and dignified. The deep-set eager eyes, compressed lips, pronounced nose, and massive, rather than handsome head, denoted a strongly-marked and powerful personality.§ His scanty hair was nearly white, but the fire of youth glowed beneath the snows of age. From his florid complexion and erect carriage, no

* *Cf.* Vol. IV., 9–10, of this work.

† ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287.

‡ Caesareus animus, he is called, in the Letter of congratulation on his election from Genoa, printed in the Atti d. Soc. Sav., I., 437.

§ On the medal portraits of Julius II., see Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, II., 8–9; III., 140. There are excellent reproductions of the medal of Caradosso in "Le Vatican." On the portrait by Raphael, see *infra*, Chap. 10.

one would have guessed that the new Pope was already on the threshold of old age. Still less was there any trace of declining years in his general demeanour. Restless, and ever in motion,* ceaselessly active and perpetually occupied with some great design, self-willed and passionate† to the highest degree, he was often extremely trying to those who were brought in contact with him.

The Venetian Ambassadors speak of the Pope as extremely acute, but terribly violent and difficult to deal with. "He has not the patience to listen quietly to what you say to him, and to take men as he finds them. But those who know how to manage him, and whom he trusts, say that his *will* is always good. No one has any influence over him, and he consults few, or none.‡ One cannot count upon him, for he changes his mind from hour to hour. Anything that he has been thinking of overnight has to be carried out immediately the next morning, and he insists on doing everything himself. It is almost impossible to describe how strong and violent and difficult to manage he is. In body and soul he has the nature of a giant.§ Everything about him is on a magnified scale,

* See Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 38.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, II., 730; VII., 32; PARIS DE GRASSIS, 280, ed Frati. Ariosto, who was in danger of being included in the wrath of Pope Julius II. against the Duke of Ferrara, playfully alludes to this in the well-known verses of his first satire:—

> Andar più a Roma in posta non accade,
> A placar la grand' ira di Secondo.

‡ P. Capello in his narrative of the year 1510 in SANUTO, X., 73. *Cf.* GRUMELLO, 130.

§ See the extracts from the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador, G. Lippomano, and of P. Capello in SANUTO, XI., 722, 725, 729, 730, 741, 746, 772-773, 781, 843; XII., 12, 32; XIV., 482. *Cf.* the Report of the Orvieto Envoy in FUMI, Carteggio, 151, and D. Trevizano's

both his undertakings and passions. His impetuosity and his temper annoy those who live with him, but he inspires fear rather than hatred, for there is nothing in him that is small or meanly selfish."* Everything had to bow to his iron will, even his own poor gout-tormented body. "He had no moderation either in will or conception; whatever was in his mind must be carried through, even if he himself were to perish in the attempt."†

The impression produced on his contemporaries by this mighty scion of the Renaissance is summarised by them in the Italian word "terribile," which could only be rendered in English by a string of adjectives.‡ Julius II. applied

narrative of the year 1510, modernised and not always quite accurate, in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 29 *seq.* It is better given in SANUTO, X., 77 *seq.* The description of Julius II. here is: "Il papa è sagaze, gran pratichon, a anni 65, a mal vechio, e gote tamen è prosperoso, fa gran faticha, niun pol con lui, alde tutti, ma far quello li par. È venuto (*sic*) e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu moderato. Instead of è venuto Alberi writes, *è ritenuto*; RANKE (Lives of the Popes, Vol. III., App. 8, ed. 6). *È tenuto*, as he remarks, "I understand that people think it would be better if he were more moderate in eating and drinking and in every other respect."

* SPRINGER, Rafael und Michelangelo, 101. *Cf.* Inghirami in FEA, Notizie, 54.

† MOCENIGO, Lib. IV.; HAVEMANN, II., 349. On his gout see PARIS DE GRASSIS, 369, ed. Döllinger.

‡ The common translation of "terribile," "fearful" (given in REUMONT, III., 2, 388) is not correct. GRIMM, Michaelangelo, II., 532, ed. 5, says truly that Vasari in the adjective *fiero* means to give the impression of something out of the common; "there is no question of good or bad in the matter, but just as with the word *terribile* used by him with the same meaning, and really as the superlative of *fiero*, he intends to imply that which creates astonishment by its mighty individuality." *Cf.* VISCHER, Signorelli, 200 *seq.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 110, ed. 3, had already remarked, "This Pope is, as a man, one of the most original figures in the Renaissance period, so rich in powerful personalities." "The word Italians have for such natures is *terribile*. It is *magnanimo* with the

this term himself to Michael Angelo, but it suits the Pope quite as well as the painter. Both were extraordinary and Titanic natures, in stature beyond that of ordinary men, and such as no other age has produced. Both possessed an unusual strength of will, indomitable courage and perseverance, and great strategic abilities.

The life of Julius II. had hitherto been one of incessant combat and hard work, and these things had become necessary to him. He belonged to that class of men who cannot rest, whose natural element is perpetual activity. At the same time, he was by no means unsusceptible to feelings of a gentler kind. He was deeply affected and shed tears as he watched the funeral procession of his sister Lucchina in May, 1509.*

Julius II. can only be called a diplomatist by using the word in a very restricted sense. If he did not altogether despise the arts of statecraft so universally practised in his day, and could at a pinch resort to dissimulation,† he was by nature sincere and plain-spoken, and often his language overstepped all due bounds in its rudeness and violence. This fault increased perceptibly as he grew older.‡ In the beginning of his Pontificate he was able to restrain his expressions within the limits of diplomatic form; later on, in speaking of the Emperor Maximilian, he permitted himself to use the most contemptuous and injurious terms without the least reserve.§ Disguise of any kind was

added meaning of strong personality." I found the expression *terribile* used of Julius II., and most frequently in the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador, G. Lippomano, in SANUTO, XI., 725 (a cuor e animo terribile), 772 (a cuor terribile in ogni casso), 778 (non stima ni fredo ni neve; natura terribile).

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, 390, ed. Döllinger; *cf.* 386.

† *Cf. infra*, Chaps. 2 and 7.

‡ MAULDE, La Diplomatie, III., 21 *seq.*

§ See the Venetian Reports in SANUTO, X., 79 (l'imperador lo stima

contrary to his nature. Any idea which laid hold of his mind engrossed him entirely; you could see it in his face, his lips quivered to utter it. "It will kill me," he would say, "if I don't let it out."*

Paris de Grassis, his Master of Ceremonies, who has handed on to us so many characteristic features of his master's life, says that he hardly ever jested.† He was generally absorbed in deep and silent thought, and thus Raphael has painted him. The plans concocted in these uncommunicative hours were announced with volcanic abruptness and carried out with iron determination. His bitterest opponents could not deny his greatness—he was a man of spontaneous impulses carrying everything before them, himself and others, a true Roman.

Doubtless such a nature was in itself more suited to be a King or a warrior, than a priest, "but he was the right Pope for that time, to save Rome from becoming a second Avignon with all its disastrous consequences for the Church."‡

To Julius II. the restoration, consolidation, and extension of the temporal possessions of the Church presented itself as the prime necessity of the moment, and to this he devoted himself with all the energy of his choleric temperament and strong practical genius. A new monarchy must be created which should command respect abroad, be the rallying point of the Italian States, and secure the freedom and independence of the Church. The Pope must no longer be dependent upon

infantem nudum) and p. 72 (dice è una bestia, merita piu presto esser recto e rezudo che rezer altri).

* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 214, to which we may add the powerful description of him by CARPESANUS, V., 19.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 261.

‡ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287.

the support of this Power or that, but must be able himself to control the political situation.*

The aim which he set before himself from the first was to revive the temporal power of the Papacy, and to establish the independence of the Holy See on a firm basis by the creation of a strong ecclesiastical State. Fearlessly confronting the hindrances which the evil rule of the Borgia had put in his way, shrinking from no sacrifices, and ready to employ any means, he threw the whole strength of his will into this one endeavour. This he pursued with unwearied persistence and clear insight to his very last breath, and thus became the "Saviour of the Papacy." †

Even Guicciardini, much as he hated the state policy of Julius II., is forced to admit that he had no private or selfish desires.‡ "Although in his youth he had lived very much as the other prelates of that day did, and was by no means scrupulous, he devoted himself to the exaltation and welfare of the Church with a whole-heartedness and courage which were very rare in the age in which he was born. Without neglecting his relations, he never sacrificed the interests of either the State or the Church to them, or carried his nepotism beyond due bounds. In all his ways and aims, as well as in his stormy and fervid character, he was the exact contrary of the Borgia." §

His dislike of this family was so strong that on the 26th of November, 1507, he announced that he would no longer inhabit the Appartamento Borgia, as he could not

* Il papa vol esser il dominus e maistro dil mondo, says Trevisano in his narrative of the year 1510 in SANUTO, X., 80.

† See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 111, ed. 3.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XI., c. 4.

§ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 389. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 101

bear to be constantly reminded by the fresco portraits of Alexander of "those Marañas of cursed memory."* The Bull in which, in the year 1504, Julius II. took the Duchy of Sermoneta away from Rodrigo Borgia and restored it to the Gaetani, contains even more severe language than this in condemnation of his predecessor. In the same year he reinvested Giovanni Sforza, who had returned to Pesaro immediately after Alexander's death, with the fiefdom of that place. He also gave back their castles to the Colonna and Orsini.†

The contrast between Julius II. and Alexander is equally manifest in the way in which the former treated his relations. He wholly repudiated the system of nepotism, and though he was not free from a natural partiality for his own blood, comparatively speaking he did very little for them. Even on his death-bed he steadily refused to admit a near kinsman to the College of Cardinals, whom he did not consider worthy. "His nephew Francesco Maria was heir presumptive of Urbino and to him he granted, with the consent of the College of Cardinals, the Vicariate of Pesaro, formerly a fief of the Sforzas (Giovanni Sforza died in 1510), and this was the only portion of the States which he ever withdrew from the immediate rule of the Holy See."‡ On the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, 383, ed. Döllinger. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Les Historiens de Raphael, 131-132. YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 72, thinks that De Grassis lays too much stress on this incident.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 397-398, ed. 3, with the correction in BALAN, V., 442. See also RATTI, I., 164.

‡ REUMONT, III., 2, 44; RATTI, I., 169 *seq.*; *cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 71. MACHIAVELLI says of Julius II. (Principe, c. 11): fece ogni cosa per acrescere la Chiesa, non alcun privato. Brosch does not altogether exonerate Julius II. from nepotism, but here again he exaggerates. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 323. Besides, Brosch admits in another place (p. 113) that Julius was more moderate in the favours shewn to his

2nd of March, 1505, Francesco Maria was married by procuration to Leonora, daughter of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga. Julius took no part in the wedding festivities at the Vatican, excusing himself on the ground of decorum.*

Out of the twenty-seven Cardinals whom Julius II. created, only a very small number were relations of his own, and none of these had any influence, although the Pope was extremely fond of Galeotto della Rovere. This Cardinal was a man of refined culture, the son of the Pope's sister Lucchina by her first marriage with Franciotto of Lucca. He was raised to the Cardinalate on the 29th of November, 1503. At the same time François Guillaume de Clermont, Archbishop of Auch, Juan de Zuniga, and Clemente Grosso della Rovere were nominated.† Galeotto, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1505, held a large number of benefices in accordance with the evil custom of the times, "but he made a noble use of his large revenues." Artists and men of learning found in him a most generous patron.‡ "He understood

relations than was customary at the time. In contradiction to the exaggerations of Brosch, his critic in the article in the Allg. Zeitung (1878), No. 73, Suppl., remarks justly that Julius II. always acted primarily in the interests of the Papal Chair.

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 39, ed. 3; *cf.* LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 157, 164.

† On the creation of Cardinals of 29th Nov., 1503 (not 22nd Nov. as Paris de Grassis says in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 20), see *Acta Consist., f. 16 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 309, 311; CARDELLA, 307 *seq.* With the *Letter of Francesco Guidiccioni, dated Rome, 29th Nov., 1503, *cf.* the *Report of Costabili of 4th Dec., 1503, both in the State Archives, Modena. The Cardinal's hat was given to Zuniga on the 24th of Feb., 1504. See the *Brief of that date to him in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 25. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 40, ed. 3 *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 252 *seq.*;

how to soothe his uncle in his violent moods by his tact and gentleness." He was an intimate friend of Cardinal Medici (afterwards Leo X.), whose tastes were similar to his own, and who, even as Cardinal, was lavish in his liberality to artists and scholars.*

The second nomination of Cardinals under Julius II. was preceded by tedious negotiations, for the majority of the College, from self-interested motives, did not wish their number to be increased.† The Pope, however, insisted, and the Cardinals then endeavoured to persuade him at least to defer it.‡ But Julius held that it was absolutely necessary to fill up the vacancies, as in the year 1504 alone six had died § The College still continued its resistance, but the Envoys were convinced that the Pope would conquer. They thought the creation would take place on the 28th of November, 1505.||

On the 1st December, after a long and stormy discussion, the Consistory having lasted eight hours, Julius carried his point so far as to have it arranged that in the approach-

L. DE VILLENEUVE, Recherches sur la famille de la Rovere. Contribution pour servir à l'histoire du P. Jules II., 42 *seq.*, 68 *seq.* (Rome, 1887); AMBROSIUS, B. Mantuanus, 78; CIAN, Cortegiano, 180; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IX., 115. The lucrative and important office of Vice-Chancellor (see Vol. III. of this work, p. 459) was given to Galeotto after the death of Ascanio Sforza in June 1505. See *Lib. brev. 22, f. 330b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Galeotto was also made Legate of Bologna. *Cf.* the *Letter of Julius II. to Bologna, dated Rome, 26th May, 1504. State Archives, Bologna.

* ALBERTINI, VIII.–IX., ed. Schmarsow. Further particulars of Leo X. as a patron of Art will be found in our forthcoming vol.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 287, 305, 309, 413, 462.

‡ See *Consistoralia Raph. Riarii Card. s. Georgii in Cod. J., III., 89, f. 77, in the Chigi Library.

§ PANVINIUS, 348, 349.

|| Brognolo's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 28th Nov., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ing Ember week nine out of ten candidates whom he had proposed should receive the Red-hat.* The official nomination and publication took place in the Consistory of the 12th of November.†

The new Cardinals were: Marco Vigerio, Bishop of Sinigaglia; Robert Challand, Bishop of Rennes, and French Ambassador in Rome; Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, the brother of Cardinal Clementi; Antonio Ferreri, Bishop of Gubbio; Francesco Alidosi, Bishop of Pavia; Gabriello dei Gabrielli, Bishop of Urbino; Fazio Santori, Bishop of Cesena; Carlo Domenico di Carretto, Count of Finale; and Sigismondo Gonzaga. With the exception of the last

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 408 *seq.*; Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 41–42, and DÖLLINGER'S edition, 368 *seq.* See also, p. 371, the story of how J. Burchard tried by trickery to get made a Cardinal. Grassis is, however, so very bitter against Burchard (*ob.* 26th May, 1506), and speaks against him so much, that what he says is not to be trusted. See, further, *Acta Consist., f. 18, here the names are given of the twenty-five Cardinals who at last gave their consent to the new creation. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, VI., 252, 262, 265 *seq.*, 268, 269; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 342 *seq.*; Report of the Ferrarese Embassy, Rome, 4th Dec., 1505 (State Archives, Modena); SCHEURL, Briefbuch,, 11 *seq.*; Alidosi's Letter in FANTI, Imola, 12–13. Girolamo Arsago in a *Letter dated Rome, 24th Nov., 1505, privately sent to F. Gonzaga a list of those who were to be made Cardinals at Christmas. Brognolo in a *Despatch of 1st Dec., mentions the nomination of Sigismondo Gonzaga. (Both letters are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) There is also a *Letter of congratulation from "Cardinal S. Praxedis" to the Marquess, dat. Romae in aedibus nostris Campi Martii, 1st Dec., 1505. The Pope himself, in a *Letter written on 1st Dec. to the Duke of Urbino, mentions the nomination of Sigismondo. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 410. *Cf.* also Appendix, Nos. 47, 49, the two *Briefs of 1st and 24th Dec., 1505, to Queen Anne of France. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 43; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 409 *seq.*; *Acta Consist., f. 18. CARDELLA, 311, says 11th of Dec.

named, they were all in Rome at the time, and on the 17th of December they each received their hats and titular churches.* The ascendency of Julius II. over the Cardinals was now secured, although all opposition was not wholly overcome till somewhat later.†

To the great grief of the Pope and the Roman people, Galeotto della Rovere died on the 11th September, 1508. Julius transferred his Cardinal's hat and all his benefices to Sixtus Gara della Rovere,‡ Galeotto's half-brother, who unhappily was far from resembling him in character, either intellectually or morally.§

Besides these three creations, Julius II. in the year 1507 nominated four Cardinals, eight in 1511, and one in 1512, but none of these were in any way related to him.‖ Thus the historian of the city of Rome only states the exact truth when he says, "Alexander VI. aimed at nothing but the aggrandisement of his children; the one care of Julius II. was to build up the States of the Church, he spent nothing on his nephews."¶ He was also moderate in his personal

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 410 *seq.*; SANUTO, VI., 272; *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Undoubtedly, S. Gonzaga (see Vol. V. of this work, p. 171) and F. Alidosi were unworthy of the dignity conferred on them. G. de Gabrielli, on the contrary, was an excellent man. See AMIANI, II., 93 *seq.*

† Il papa si fa temer e la fa imperiose, writes the Venetian Ambassador. SANUTO, VI., 269.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, 385–386, Döllinger's edition; SANUTO, VII., 629, 632, 639; CARDELLA, 339 *seq.*; and in Appendix, N. 79, Costabili's Report of 11th Sept., 1508. State Archives, Modena.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 41, ed. 3.

‖ The particulars of these nominations will be found *infra*, in Chaps. 3 and 5. On the further development of the rights of option of the Cardinals since the time of Julius II., see O. PANVINIUS, De episcopalibus titulis et diaconiis cardinalium, 42 *seq.* Paris., 1609.

¶ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 41, ed. 3. *Cf.* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287–288.

expenditure, though he kept a better table than Alexander VI.; the monthly bill for this was between 2000 and 3000 ducats, that of his successor was 8000.* His expenditure for plate was by no means extravagant.†

Julius II. was so economical in his house-keeping ‡ that he was, quite unjustly, accused by many of being a miser.§ It is quite true that he was very careful to keep his treasury always well filled.|| He quite realised the futility of any pretensions that had not physical force to back them, and knew that an efficient army meant plenty of money.¶ In the beginning of his reign, Julius II. had great financial difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the extravagance of his predecessor. He had to borrow money, and to pay Alexander's debts, even down to the medicine which he had required in his last illness.**

* For particulars on this point see GREGOROVIUS in SYBELS Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVI., 158, 162 *seq.*, founded on the account-books in the Roman State Archives. I found here disbursements for wine, which seldom appear in the household expenses of the earlier Popes. He preferred foreign wines, Levantine and Corsican. That he was addicted to drink is an invention of his political enemies.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 48.

‡ SANUTO, X., 80.

§ When it was a question of Art or of the dignity of his position, Julius II. never grudged expense. On his very costly mitre, see PARIS DE GRASSIS, 415, ed. Döllinger, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 21.

|| On the financial policy of Julius II., *cf.* COPPI, Discorso sulle finanze dello stato ponteficio dal sec. XVI., etc. (Roma, 1855 [Opusculi, II.]), 1 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 47 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 276 *seq.*; RANKE, I., 268 *seq.*, ed. 6.

¶ CREIGHTON, IV., 73.

** Paulus Sauli (depositarius) lent to the Treasury sede vacante per obitum Pii III. on a bond from the notary of the treasury, Bonif. de Montefalco, endorsed by the Cardinals Neapolitanus, Alexandrinus, and the Treasurer, 7289 duc. de camera, 64 bol. *Introit. et exitus, vol. 535, f. 156. Heinricus Fucher (Fugger) et fratres mercatores alamanni had

Some of the means which he adopted for the replenishment of his treasury were of a very objectionable kind. His subjects were certainly not oppressed with taxation, but it cannot be denied that he not only sold offices,* but also benefices.† This formed a serious hindrance to the reform which was so much needed; for if that were carried out, it would mean the abolition of all such sales. It is true that under Julius II. the money was employed for the interests of the Church, and not for the enrichment of his family; but this is no justification for persistence in simony. The complaints of contemporaries both in Italy and abroad shew how strongly this abuse was resented.‡ Another great evil was that grants of occasional Indulgences were so often employed as a means of obtaining money. In the

lent in assumptione Pii III. universis conclavistis 2570 duc. auri. On 7th March, 1504, they received from the Apostolical Treasury, 3480 duc. de camera, 13 bol. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 167. Julius II. on the day of his Coronation gave to "diversis personis" 56 duc. 68 bol., and again 747 duc. 36 bol., which he borrowed from the Treasurer, Raffaele Riario. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 155b. "Pro suis et sedis apostolice necessitatibus," he took from the Treasury on 19th January, 1504, 5416 duc. 48 bol., on 1st February, 20,312 duc. 36 bol., on 29th June, 1814 duc. 42 bol., etc. (see *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 158b, 161, 201), and also in the following years large sums under the same title. At first there are many entries for the discharge of debts, later for troops. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 182: Dicta die (scil. 14 Mai, 1505) solvit (scil. thesaurius) floren. centum septuaginta sex . . . . Lucretie uxori Francisci de Montepulciano aromatario (!) pro diversis aromatis et medicis (!) datis fe. re. pape Alexandro, ut apparet ex computo dato in camera apostolica. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 250 *seq.*; RANKE, I., 263 *seq.*, ed. 6; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 263 *seq.*

† BROSCH, Julius II., 124. On the bribery which prevailed in the Roman Court under Julius II., see the Swiss Ambassadorial Report in the Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1892), 373.

‡ *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 157; Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad., X., 402.

case of the Jubilee Indulgences, powers for which were conceded by the Pope to the German Orders, the Chapter of Constance, and the Augsburg Dominicans, the half of the proceeds were to be handed over to Rome.*

The Pope's fixed income in the year 1510 was estimated by the Venetian Ambassador at 200,000 ducats, and his floating income at 150,000, a very small sum for one in the position of Head of the Church.† The accounts of the treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo during the reign of Julius II. are of such a nature that it is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion as to the exact amount; but we know that at his death it was more than had been left by any previous Pope since John XXII.‡

By his good management in matters of finance, Julius II. was enabled not only to carry on his wars for the reconstruction of the States of the Church, and to carry out many noble artistic undertakings, but also to be very generous in the matter of alms-giving,§ and amply to provide for all

* PAULUS in the Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 37 *seq.* Julius II.'s Brief of Indulgence for King Maximilian I., published in the Römisch. Quartalschrift, IV., 278, by Schlecht, is interesting, because it affords a clear definition of the doctrine of the Church in regard to Indulgences, shortly before the outbreak of the great theological disputes on that subject.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 282; RANKE, III., 8*, ed. 6.

‡ FEA, Notizie, 60; BROSCH, 273.

§ From the *Divers. Julii II., 1507-1513 (State Archives, Rome), we find that the Pope not only assisted the refugees from the East, but did a great deal for other needy persons, and especially for poor convents. In f. 66 we find in July 1512, an entry of alms pro monialibus S. Cosmatis, Turris pendentis, montis Magnanapoli, S. M. Annunc. di Firenze, S. Cath. de Senis; in f. 130, under the head of Subventiones, Januarii 1509, and f. 133, mensis Decemb. A° Julii II. sexto, many of the same names recur, but with the addition of others. In f. 138 there is a payment on 23rd July, 1511, for the hospital of S. Maria in porticu de urbe. Also numerous disbursements for the Papal Swiss Guards; *cf. infra*, p. 226, note †. On the assistance given by Julius II. to the hospital of

necessary works in the city and in the States of the Church. Perfect order reigned in Rome under the strong hand of Niccolò de' Fieschi of the family of the Counts of Lavagna, who was Captain of the Watch. The murderous outrages which had become so frequent in the reigns of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. had entirely ceased. The streets of Rome, which the Pope was constantly widening or embellishing, could now be traversed in peace and security.* Raphael's fresco of the Mass of Bolsena has made us familiar with the outward appearance of the Swiss Guards; they numbered 200 men, upon whom the Pope could absolutely depend. They also formed a permanent central body, serving as a nucleus for a larger army when more troops were needed, and their officers brought the best families in Switzerland into close and confidential relations with Rome.† The regulations of Julius II. defining the authority of the Judges of the Capitol, and also of the Vicar, Governor, and Senators, in cases of disputes and quarrels within the city, were of great service.‡ Still more valuable was the work of reorganising the coinage which he carried through,

S^to Spirito, see *Brief to Laur. de Anguillara, dat. 31st Octob., 1504. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 48. *Cf.* also *infra*, Chap. 8, on the embellishment of the streets. We see from the *Brief to Alex. de Neronio famil. et comiss., dat. 1505, Jan. 6, in which he is commanded to demolish the houses of some turbulent persons as an example to others, how severely Julius II. punished the disturbers of the peace. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 244. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† LÜTOLF, Die Schweizergarde zu Rom, 4 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1859). *Cf.* NOVAES, VI., 50, note. Caspar Sillinus, Capitaneus Elvetiorum custodie palatii apost., received, pro suo et suorum salariis, every month, 1151 duc. 63 bol. Kindly communicated to me by Dr. Gottlob out of *Introit. et exit. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Bull., V., 533 *seq.*, 511 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 536. On the Roman magistracy and Julius II., see Atti dei Lincei, Scienz. moral., 4 Serie, III., 169 *seq.*; X., 10.

correcting the discrepancies between the nominal and real value of the different kinds of money, and introducing into the currency the silver coins, originally called *Giuli*, but afterwards known as *Paoli*. Both trade and the revenue were immensely benefited by these operations.* The Jewish coiners of counterfeit money were put down by him with a strong hand.†

The misrule in the Campagna, where the turbulent Barons and landowners made it impossible for the farmers to cultivate their fields, repeatedly caused a great scarcity of corn in Rome, especially in the years 1504 and 1505. Julius II., always careful that the city should be well supplied with provisions, at once came energetically to the rescue. In 1504 the dearth was so great that he had not only to apply to Ferdinand of Spain for leave to import grain from Sicily, but also to obtain a similar permission from the Kings of France and England.‡ The purchaseable office of agent for the importation of grain was created by this Pope.§

* REUMONT, III., 2, 282. *Cf.* SENAREGA, 606; MORONI, XLVI., 117; NOVAES, VI., 152; RANKE, III., 8*, ed. 6; GARAMPI, App., 224 *seq.*, 230 *seq.* In MÜNTZ, L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, 12 *seq.* (Paris, 1884), there are interesting new documents relating to the coins of Julius II., and also particulars about the celebrated Caradosso. See also Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, III., 136 *seq.*

† *Cf.* his *Brief to the Marquess of Mantua, 28th Dec., 1505, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, on Jew coiners in the vicinity of Rome. Draft in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 43 *seq.* See *Brief Petro de Valentibus leguin doctori, dat. 13th Nov., 1505: Jewish coiners in Benevento must be punished. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 391. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* *Lib. brev. 22, f. 116, to King Ferdinand of Spain, 19th July, 1504; f. 119 to the same, 13th July, 1504; f. 157[b]: Regi Francorum, 13th Aug., 1504 (*cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 222). The *Brief to the Conservators of Rome in f. 281, 10th April, 1505, Secret Archives of the Vatican, is also worth noticing.

§ GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 251. On Julius II.'s operations in regard to

The dangers which in those days beset the channels of traffic, whether by land or sea, explain the anxiety of all the Popes to promote tillage in the Campagna, in spite of manifold hindrances, in order to depend as little as possible on imports for the necessaries of life. Julius II. achieved considerable success in this direction. Under him the conditions of life in the Campagna improved so much that agricultural operations could be carried on steadily and methodically. He found means to prevent the passage of large bodies of troops through the country in the neighbourhood of Rome, and greatly to moderate the feuds of the Barons. Under those more favourable circumstances, the ordinances of Sixtus IV. were revived with much better effect, and the amount of land under cultivation increased. He also inflicted severe penalties on all landowners who in any way hindered the cultivators from carrying whatever grain they could spare to the Roman market.*

The commencement of a stable and uniform system of administration in the States of the Church dates from the reign of Julius II., though, of course, it would not bear, at that early period, to be judged in these respects by a modern standard.† A Brief of 22nd July, 1506, dealing very severely with all malversations or acts of oppression on the part of either secular or ecclesiastical authorities within these provinces, and requiring all state or communal

the corn trade, and on his coinage, see, in general, PFEIFFER-RULAND, Pestilentia in nummis, 13 *seq.* (Tüb., 1882). See also LAURENT. PARMENIUS, 309, and RODOCANACHI, Corporations, I., 69, and, in regard to the Annona, the works cited in Vol. IV. of this work, 426, note *.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 289; HILLEBRAND, Italia, II., 162. *Cf.* also ARDANT, Papes et Paysans, 44 (Paris, 1891), and GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrbuch (1895), XVI., 131 *seq.*

† GOTTLOB in Bruders Staatslexikon, III., 795.

officials to submit their accounts annually to the Commissioners of the Roman Treasury for revision, was an important step in this direction.*

Constantly harassed as he was by political or ecclesiastical anxieties, Julius II. always found time to attend to the government of his States. In 1511, in spite of the war, and in detestable weather, he went to Cervia, to see for himself how the salt works there were going on.† Whenever he had the power he looked after the welfare of his subjects, put down abuses and oppression, and did all he could to improve the administration.‡ Nothing escaped his notice; he issued enactments against thefts of wood and cattle,§ against the exactions of the judges,‖ faction fights,¶ pirates,** robbers,†† and murderers; ‡‡ he endeavoured to adjust long standing boundary disputes §§ and promoted public works,

* Bull., V., 418; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 120 *seq.*, 145, 170, on other measures of reform.

† SANUTO, XII., 89, 93.

‡ *Cf.* Appendix, Nos. 55, 59, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, *Briefs of 10th Dec., 1506, and in 1507, January 1, 6, 23, and 27, February 21 and 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See *Briefs of 3rd and 4th Dec., 1506. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 31 and 33b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ See Appendix, No. 67.

¶ *Cf.* the **Brief to Ferdinand of Spain concerning Benevento, Bologna, 1st Feb., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 167c. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

** *Cf.* the *Brief of 20th Feb., 1507, in *Lib. brev. 25, f. 188b.

†† *Cf.* the *Warrant against Alexander Membrini de Corchiano, dated Rome, 22nd April, 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 280; *ibid.*, 273b, a Warrant, dated Rome, 31st May, 1507, against Augustinus Symonis de Fiano notorius homicida.

‡‡ *Brief to "Joh. Feltria de Ruvere," dated Rome, 10th Mar., 1505 *Lib. brev. 22, f. 274. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§§ As, for instance, in the Marches of Ancona; see *Brief to Thomas, Bishop of Forli, Vice-Legate of the Marches, Rome, 24th April, 1504. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 276b.

such as the building of bridges* and the control and utilisation of rivers.†

Like the great mediæval Popes, such as Gregory IX., whose last Brief was written for the protection of a poor Polish peasant, Julius II. was always on the alert to shield the humblest of his subjects from oppression. Thus, on the 7th January, 1507, a time when he was heavily burdened with political cares, we find him writing to the governor of Cesena and Bertinoro: "A citizen of Bertinoro has complained to the Pope that the Castellan has taken wood from him and injured him in other ways. Let the Castellan and his abettors be punished without fail, and take care that no harm comes to the complainant." ‡

In order to form a just estimate of the merits of Julius II. in regard to the government of the States of the Church, it is necessary to realise the state of utter confusion in which he found these provinces when they came into his hands. It required a man of first-rate powers to bring order into such a chaos. Julius II. has been justly likened to Virgil's Neptune overawing and calming the turbulent waves by his majestic countenance. § He won the devoted affection of the whole population. He granted large liberties to the municipalities in the towns. ‖ "The Pope," says Guicciar-

* *Cf.* the *Brief for Nicolaus Calcaneus provincie Marchie Anconitan. Thesaurarius et eius in officio successoribus. Grant of 250 ducats for the repairs of a bridge. Bologna, 30th Dec., 1506 (A° 4°). Lib. brev. 25, f. 15. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Brief to the Mayor and Council of Spoleto, dat. Bologna, 2nd Jan., 1507: severe penalties, if within twenty days the banks of the river are not in proper order. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 81. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On the works for the improvement of the water-highway on the Tiber and the Anio, see ALBERTINI, 52.

‡ *Lib. brev. 25, f. 86b.

§ T. Inghirami in FEA, Notizie, 57.

‖ RANKE, Päpste, I., 37, 251, ed. 6; FANTI, Imola, 3 *seq.* The

dini, "took pains to attach the people to the representatives of the Church, so that when the oath of fealty was taken at Bologna, the change was described as a passing out of the state of serfdom under the Bentivogli into that of a free commonwealth, in which the citizens had their share in the government, and in the revenues." * In spite of some mistakes which Julius made in the selection of his Legates,† the conditions of life in the States of the Church were such, that even such a bitter foe of the temporal power of the Papacy as Machiavelli is forced to admit that the inhabitants had no desire to throw off its yoke.‡

Original of the *Bull of Julius II., dat. Rom, 4th Nov., 1504, confirming the privileges and liberties of the town of Imola, is to be found in the Arch. Comunale of Imola, which is rich in interesting documents.

* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1; IX., c. 5; DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 530.

† For further particulars, see *infra*, 303 *seq.*

‡ Principe, c. 11; DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 531.

CHAPTER II.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE POSITION OF JULIUS II. ON HIS ACCESSION —FALL AND DEATH OF CÆSAR BORGIA.—DISPUTES WITH VENICE.

THE position in which the new Pope found himself on his accession was one of singular difficulty. Disorder and confusion prevailed on all sides and he had no money and no army worth mentioning.*

In the Patrimony itself the state of things was so bad that on the 8th of November, 1503, Julius was obliged to issue a severe edict against Barons and municipalities who did not put down robbery and brigandage in their districts. The States of the Church were hardly anything more than a name.† On all sides the towns were in revolt, and the old dynasties which had been driven out by the Borgia were returning. In the South, war was raging between the Spaniards and the French, and in the North, where their policy had completely upset the relations hitherto subsisting, Venice was taking advantage of the confusion to enlarge her borders at the expense of the possessions of the Church.

Even during the short reign of the gentle Pius III., she had

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 78. The Pope did not get possession of the Castle of St. Angelo until the 12th November, 1503; see Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 292. Costabili in a *Despatch of Nov. 11, 1503, mentions the joy of Julius when this was achieved. State Archives, Modena.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 10; *cf.* FEA, Notizie, 56 *seq.* The Edict of 8th Nov., 1503, is in Bull., V., 399-400

already contrived, partly by force and partly by diplomacy, to obtain possession of Bertinoro, Fano, Montefior, and other places. It soon became evident that the Venetians were forming connections in all quarters throughout the Romagna, with a view to getting the whole province under their power.* If they succeeded in this, Cæsar would soon be a landless Duke. Already things had gone so far that the only castles still remaining in the hands of his captains were those of Forli, Cesena, Forlimpopoli, and Bertinoro. Everything depended on the attitude taken up by the new Pope, whose coronation took place with great pomp on 28th November, 1503.†

* BROSCH, Julius II., 94.

† Ghivizano relates in two *Letters of 3rd November, 1503, that the preparations for the Coronatio· were begun during the public rejoicings over the election. The same authority tells us that the Pope had given orders that it was to cost from fifty to sixty thousand ducats. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also Appendix, N. 18, *Desp. of Nov. 20. On the Coronation itself, the day for which had been fixed in accordance with the horoscope taken by the astrologers (Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 295), *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 307–309; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 312–314; Arch. St. Napolit., I., 75; *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; *Report of F. Guidiccioni, Rome, 26th Nov., 1503; *Report of Costabili of the same date, which describes the illuminations (State Archives. Modena); and a characteristic *Letter from Ghivizano, dated Rome, 26th Nov., 1503. "Hogi se fata la Coronatione del Papa in S. Petro a la quale non he intervenuto molta gente, etc. Dat. ha tre hore senza mangare e senza bere in modo mai piu volio vedere Coronatione di Papa." A *Report, dated 27th Nov., from the same Envoy repeats that there were not many people present at the ceremony (probably on account of the previous rainy weather and the uncertain state of affairs), and adds: *Zobia se farà omnino la processione a Laterano la quale se stima deba esser pomposissima. (Both *Reports in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the inscriptions put up in Rome at that time, see Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, XXIII., 103. Most of the letters in which Julius II. announced the fact of his election are dated from the day of Coronation, *e.g.*, those to Florence (copy in the State Archives,

Unfortunately, Julius II. was greatly indebted to Cæsar Borgia and Cardinal d'Amboise, as well as to the Republic of Venice, for his election, and this still further complicated the situation.* He satisfied the claims of d'Amboise by bestowing on him, in spite of the opposition of many of the Cardinals and of the citizens of Rome,† the legations of Avignon, Venaissin, and France,‡ and a Cardinal's hat on one of his relations, François Guillaume de Clermont.§

Florence), to F. Gonzaga (original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), to the King of Poland (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 12), to Fabrizio Colonna (original in the Colonna Archives, Rome, Bull, n. 58). He had already on the 6th of November sent a notice of his election to the Doge of Venice, and thanked him for the support that the Venetian Envoys had given him. See SANUTO, V., 292–293. He also sent a notice of his election to the Genoese, as his countrymen, before the Coronation. See Atti d. Soc. Savon., I., 438. The *Possesso*, which was separated from the Coronation for the first time by Julius II., did not take place until Dec. 5. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 312 *seq.*; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 329 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 56 *seq.*; and NOVAES, VI., 135. See also the *Letter of Don Ferrante d'Este to the Duke of Ferrara. dated Rome, 6th Dec., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

* BROSCH, 105.

† Costabili relates in a *Report dated 27th Nov., 1503, that Cardinal S. Giorgio had instigated the Conservators to go to the Pope and entreat him not to give the French legation to d'Amboise : per lo interesse di questa cita. S. Sta ha risposto essere necessario compiacere Rohano et postponere tutti li altri rispecti a questi tempi che la Sta Sua ha bisogno del Re di Francia per li portamenti di Venetiani li quali quando Sua Sta non fusse adiutata dal Re di Francia se insegnoregiariano di tutta la Romagna el che la non ge vole comportare. (State Archives, Modena.) F. Guidiccioni, in a *Document of 27th Nov., 1503, also states that d'Amboise was certain to be made French Legate. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 23. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 276, 281, and FANTONI, 351.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 219.

The Pope hoped by this means to secure France as a reserve force against Venice.*

To shake off his connection with Cæsar Borgia was, however, a more difficult matter. Heartily as Julius II. hated the Borgia, he did not wish openly to break through the engagements he had made with the Duke, nor did it seem wise "to throw away, unused, so valuable a tool as Cæsar could be, while the Holy See in the Romagna was in such danger from her powerful neighbour, that the most unsatisfactory Vicariate would be preferable to the present situation."†

At first it seemed as if the Pope had quite forgiven the Borgia. "Cardinal Borgia," writes Costabili on November 1st, "has been given the Penitentiary. I understand, too, that one of the Rovere family is to marry Cardinal Borgia's sister. All the other Spanish Cardinals have been rewarded, and they seem for the moment to stand in higher favour than ever."‡ In his relations with Cæsar himself the Pope maintained considerable reserve, but in such a way as not to deprive him of all hope, while still allowing him to feel that his position was precarious.§

The first and greatest danger to the States of the Church

* *See* below, note ‡. See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 317, and *Report of Costabili, 8th Dec., 1503, on the departure of d'Amboise. State Archives, Modena.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 12.

‡ *Despatch of Costabili, 1st Nov., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also Ghivizano's Report of 3rd Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 283; *cf.* 286 *seq.*, and the *Report of Costabili, dated Rome, 6th Nov., 1506: El Duca spera multo in N. S. per haverlo multo servito ne la assumptione del ponteficato de S. Bne. (State Archives, Modena.) On the 17th Nov., Julius II. addressed a *Brief in favour of Jofré Borgia to F. Maria della Rovere. State Archives, Florence.

came, not from Cæsar, but from Venice, which was trying to obtain the same command of the Italian sea-board as she had of that of Dalmatia. The gravity of this danger was brought forcibly home to Julius II. by the tidings of Venetian intrigues which reached him on 7th November, 1503, through his old friend Gabriele da Fano. He at once sent a strong remonstrance to the Republic, and declared that he had no intention of permitting territories which were properly in immediate subjection to the Church, and had now returned to their obedience, to be filched away from her. On the 10th of November Machiavelli reports that Julius had said to Cardinal Soderini, "I always have been, and still am, a friend of the Venetians, as long as they do not hanker after things to which they have no right. But if they persist in robbing the Church of her property, I shall take the strongest measures, and call upon all the Princes of Christendom to help me in resisting them." On the following day, he spoke in a very friendly manner to the Venetian Ambassador and expressed great affection for the Republic, but at the same time repeated that he was determined to restore the dominion of the Church in the Romagna.*

On the 18th of November the Venetian Ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, had a long conversation with the Pope, chiefly about the Romagna. Julius, in language which left nothing to be desired in the way of directness, announced his firm determination to restore to the Church all the possessions there which she had lost; they must not remain under the power of Cæsar or of any one else, and it was for this purpose that he had on the previous day sent the

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 285–289 *seq.*; MACHIAVELLI, Letter XI., dat. 10th Nov., 1503. The Ferrarese Envoy and d'Amboise stirred up the Pope against Venice. *Cf.* Costabili's *Letter partly in cypher, dat. Rome, 8th Nov., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

Bishop of Tivoli, Angelo Leonini, as Nuncio, to Venice. "Words fail me," adds Giustinian, "to describe with what resolution he spoke, and that not once, but again and again." Nevertheless the Ambassador did not give up the attempt to change the Pope's mind. It was not from the Church, he represented, but from an enemy of hers, and a bitter enemy of the Pope and of the Republic, that Venice had taken these places. His Holiness must see that it would be impossible for the Church herself to administer this territory; he would have to give it to some one else. This would be hard upon Venice, and she had not deserved to be so treated. When the Pope was a Cardinal, he had himself encouraged the Republic to undertake an expedition against the Romagna. Julius replied that this was against Cæsar Borgia, not against the Church; with all his love for the Republic, he said, he could not in honour consent to any curtailment of the States of the Church.*

However strongly the Pope might feel about the Venetian encroachments, in his present helpless state, as Machiavelli well knew, he could only temporise.† This was equally the case in regard to Cæsar Borgia. He had sent the promised Briefs in the Duke's favour to the cities of the Romagna, but with a secret hope that they might arrive too late,‡ and did not bestow on him the coveted

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 297, 300. *Cf.* *Report of the Mantuan Envoy, Rome, 19th Nov., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the Nunciature of Leonini, *cf.* *Exitus, 535, f. 151[b]: 20th Nov., 1503. Solvit duc. 100 auri de camera domino Angelo episcopo Tiburtino nuntio apud Venetos pro eius porvisione unius mensis incep. 19 praesentis mensis Novembris. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Letters from Machiavelli, 21st Nov. and 1st Dec., 1503. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 18 *seq.*, 32; ALVISI, App., 95; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 196.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 281; BROSCH, Julius II., 99 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 292.

post of Standard-bearer to the Church. This disappointment, together with the bad news from the Romagna, seem to have produced an extraordinary effect on Cæsar; he was completely altered. The Envoys found him utterly dispirited and broken. Machiavelli describes his vexation and despair. The Pope told the Venetian Ambassador that he had become so changeable and incomprehensible, that he could not say anything for certain about him. Cardinal Soderini found him irresolute, petulant, and feeble; he thought he had been stunned by the disasters of the last few weeks. The Spanish Cardinal Iloris, said the Duke, seemed to him to have lost his senses; he did not know what he wanted, and was confused and uncertain. In Rome all sorts of strange reports were current about him. Every one agreed that he was ruined; "not from any faithlessness on the part of the Pope, but by the force of circumstances which no one could alter." Julius would not do anything against Cæsar while the fate of the Romagna was still pending, but he was determined, when he could, to place these territories under the immediate government of the Church.* Cæsar held frequent conversations with Machiavelli, the representative of Florence in Rome; and on the 18th of November he despatched an Envoy to that city, offering his services as a captain, and begging them to supply him with troops for the conquest of the Romagna; he would come to Leghorn to complete the negotiations.† With the permission of the Pope, who was only too glad to get him out of Rome, he started for that place on the 19th November. He embarked before day-break, "to the joy of

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 281, 297; Letters from Machiavelli, 14th and 18th Nov., 1503. *Cf.* REUMONT in the Allg. Ztg. (1877), No. 277, Suppl., and in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 844.

† SANUTO, V., 482, 497–499. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 22 *seq.*

every one," in a boat on the Tiber, and went down to Ostia, whence he intended to sail.*

Shortly afterwards the news arrived that another important town, Faenza, had surrendered to the Venetians. Julius II., already unable to sleep from anxiety, became violently excited, and sent the Cardinals Soderini and Remolino to Cæsar, to require him to deliver up all the other strong places in the Romagna to him, so as to prevent any more from falling into the hands of the Venetians. This the Duke resolutely refused to do.†

Meanwhile, tidings reached Rome that Venice had also got possession of Rimini by an agreement with Malatesta.‡ Evidently the only chance of saving what remained lay in prompt action. The Venetians declared that their only object was to get rid of their enemy Cæsar.§ On this the Pope resolved to compel him to relinquish the forts of Forli and Cesena. He sent orders that the Duke should be arrested and brought to Rome.‖ Cæsar appeared utterly overwhelmed; the Mantuan Envoy reports that he wept.¶

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 302. *Cf.* Appendix, N. 18, Ghivizano's Report, 20th Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 305, 307–308; Letter from Machiavelli, 22nd Nov., 1503. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 24 *seq.* In a *Brief of the 8th Dec., 1503, the Pope himself directly addressed Cæsar, commanding him to deliver up the fortresses. I found this Brief in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 2. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ ROMANIN, V., 165; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 310.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 14, says: "With every fortress that Cæsar lost in the Romagna the necessity for the Pope's intervention became more and more imperative." Even BROSCH, Julius II., 99, says that the Pope was obliged to proceed against Cæsar.

‖ *Cf.* ALVISI, 433 *seq.*, and Ghivizano's Report, Rome, 24th Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¶ *Cf.* Cataneo's Despatches, 22nd Dec., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 152, where, however, the concluding words after "Torre Borgia fatta da so patre Alexandro: qual è

He "had every reason to expect a dungeon and death, and in fact Guidobaldi of Urbino and Giovanni Giordano Orsini advised the Pope to put an end to him" *

Julius II. scorned these counsels. Cæsar was treated with the greatest consideration, and apartments in the Vatican were assigned to him. The Pope hoped by this means to obtain the peaceable surrender of the keys from his governors. Cæsar apparently sent the requisite orders, but, according to Sigismondo de' Conti, this was only a feint. Though there is no proof of it, it seems very probable that he was endeavouring to hoodwink the Pope, who had broken his promises to him. At any rate the governor of Cesena declared that he would not take any orders from Cæsar while he was a prisoner, and detained the Papal messengers. When Julius heard this, his first thought was to throw the Duke into one of the dungeons in St. Angelo, but yielding to the Duke's urgent entreaties, he sent him to the Torre Borgia instead. All his property, however, was confiscated. A contemporary remarks that the Divine justice, no doubt, decreed that he should be imprisoned in that very chamber which he had stained with the blood of his brother-in-law Alfonso. All the adherents of the Borgia were filled with terror, expecting that the vials of the Pope's wrath would be poured out upon them also. The Cardinals Remolino and Lodovico Borgia fled from Rome on the night of the 20th December.†

in lo palatio a la parte retro confine a le camare dove dorme el Papa," are wanting.

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 24, ed. 2; Costabili's *Report. State Archives, Modena.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 336–337; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 318, 327–328, 332–333, 340 *seq.*, 350–351; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 320–321; ROSSBACH, 69, 77; ALVISI, 442 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 229, note. See also Cataneo's *Despatch, 22nd Dec., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the flight of the Cardinals and the Pope's

The succeeding weeks were occupied with negotiations between Julius and Cæsar, which, owing to the well-founded distrust which prevailed between the two parties, were extremely complicated. In the beginning of the new year the Pope began to think of possessing himself by force of Cesena.*

On the 3rd of December, 1503, Machiavelli had said that Cæsar was nearing the edge of the precipice. At this juncture an event occurred which at once immensely raised the prestige of the Duke's friends, the Spanish Cardinals. On the 28th of December, Gonsalvo de Cordova obtained a complete victory over the French at Garigliano. On the first day of the new year Gaeta capitulated, and on the 4th the news reached Rome.† The French had lost Naples.

Under the influence of this occurrence, on the 29th of January, 1504, the negotiations between Julius and Cæsar were at last brought to a conclusion. It was agreed that the Duke was to surrender the Castles of Cesena, Forli, and Bertinoro to the Pope within forty days. When this condition was fulfilled, he would be free, but till then was to remain at Ostia under the surveillance of Cardinal Carvajal; if he failed to carry out his agreement he was to be imprisoned for life.‡

annoyance at it (maxime de Borja), *cf.* F. Guidiccioni's *Letter, dat. Rome, 22nd Dec., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) On the 2nd Jan., 1504, Julius addressed a very friendly *Brief to Cardinal Borgia, telling him to return to Rome as soon as possible. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 5b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Cf.* the Brief of 5th Jan., 1504, in ALVISI, App., n. 100 which, however, has been already printed in GOZZADINI, XCIII.), and the *Brief to Joh. Sforzia de Aragonia. Lib. brev. 29, f. 17b (Secret Archives of the Vatican), which is undated, but evidently, both in time and purport, belongs to this episode.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 326.

‡ *Ibid.*, III., 331; ROSSBACH, 72 *seq.*; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II. 204 *seq.*

On the evening of the 16th February, while the Carnival was being celebrated in Rome,* Cæsar Borgia, accompanied by only a few servants, embarked in a boat from the Ripa Grande, and was taken down to Ostia.†

The negotiations for the surrender of Cesena, Bertinoro, and Forli caused the Pope a great deal of vexation, and the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo, was sent to the Romagna to hasten their conclusion.‡

The governors of Cesena and Bertinoro at first insisted on Cæsar's liberation. The Pope in a rage drove the bearers of this message out of his room; in the end, how-

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 382. Marius Bonaventura reports, ex urbe, 14th Jan., 1504: *La Sta di N. S. ha decreto se faccia delle representatione et ludi nostri soliti. Petrus Gentilis writes from Rome, 18th Feb., 1504: *Hogi sono corso li palii. These *Letters are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† ALVISI, 446, in his otherwise extremely careful work, wrongly gives the 14th as the date; YRIARTE, I., 205, the 13th Feb. The latter date is taken from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 332. It is clear, however, from the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 437–438, 440, that Cæsar bade the Pope farewell in the Castle of St. Angelo on the 14th, and left Rome on the night of the 16th. This practically agrees with Cataneo's statement that Cæsar was brought to the Castle on the 13th, and taken to Ostia on the 15th. (*Letters of 13th and 15th Feb., 1504, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) I am induced to decide against ROSSBACH, 74, and in favour of the 16th, by GIUSTINIAN, 440, and the *Brief of Julius II. to Card. Carvajal of 16th Feb., 1504, desiring him, dux Valentinus ita facere custodiri, so that it may be possible either to set him free or to remove him, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement contained in a certain Bull. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 19. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Carvajal left Rome on the 17th Feb.: *Heri si partite el cardle de S. Croce e andò ad Ostia, dove prima fa conducto Valentino et mo non è in mane del papa ma del dicto cardinale. G. L. Cataneo's *Report, dat. Rome, 18th Feb., 1504. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 338. There are a large number of *Briefs in the Lib. brev. 22 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), referring to the Mission of G. di Sirolo. *Cf.* Appendix, Nos. 19, 20, 21, 24, 25.

ever, he found himself compelled to come to terms with them. On the 10th of March, 1504, he concluded a new agreement with the Duke, by which Cæsar bound himself to obtain the evacuation of Bertinoro and Cesena, and made himself responsible for a sum of money which the Castellan of Forli demanded as the price of his surrender. As soon as these conditions had been fulfilled, and Bertinoro and Cesena delivered over to the Pope, Carvajal allowed his prisoner to depart, on the 19th of April, without asking any further leave from Rome.*

Cæsar had already provided himself with a letter of safe conduct from Gonsalvo de Cordova, and hastened to Naples, to the house of his uncle, Lodovico Borgia. Here it soon became evident that he had by no means relinquished all hope of eventually recovering his possessions in the Romagna. Gonsalvo received the Duke with all due marks of respect, apparently entered into his plans, and even agreed to furnish him with troops. In this way he managed to keep his dangerous guest quiet until he had received instructions from King Ferdinand. Then, however, he acted promptly. On the 27th of May, 1504, Cæsar was arrested and taken to the Castle of Ischia. The Spaniards announced that they intended to keep this firebrand in their own hands. So says the Spanish historian Zurita, and Guicciardini corroborates him.† According to Jovius, Julius II. had advised that Cæsar should be imprisoned to prevent him from invading the Romagna.‡ This is confirmed by documents in the Secret Archives of

* ALVISI, 447–448; BROSCH, Julius II., 103–104; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 68–69, 509; ROSSBACH, 75; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 207–208. See also the *Brief to Carvajal, Appendix, N. 23.

† ZURITA, V., c. 72; GUICCIARDINI, VI. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 295, and HÖFLER, Bastarddynastien, 58.

‡ JOVIUS, Vitae, I., 274.

the Vatican. There is a letter there from Julius II. to Gonsalvo de Cordova dated 11th May, 1504, in which the Pope requests the Spanish General to keep guard over the Duke, so as to hinder him from undertaking anything against the Church, and to induce him to give up the Castle of Forli.*

On the same day Julius wrote a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella complaining of the conduct of both Carvajal and Gonsalvo; the former had let Cæsar go free on his own responsibility and not in the manner agreed, the latter was allowing him to hatch plots against the Church in Naples. He accused the Duke himself of having sent money to the Castellan of Forli and encouraged him to go on holding the castle. This remarkable letter closes with a request that their majesties would not permit a person who was under their control to disturb the peace of the Church.† In regard to Forli the appeal to Spain was effectual, and Julius II. at last obtained possession of the fortress.‡ Gonsalvo promised Cæsar that he would release him if he would order the Castellan to hand it over to the Pope's Lieutenant. Upon this the Duke yielded, and on the 10th of August the castle was given up. But now it was Gonsalvo's turn to break his word; and instead of regaining his liberty, Cæsar was sent off to Spain on the 20th of August.§

* See Appendix, N. 28, the *Brief of 11th May, 1504, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† This Brief, of which unfortunately we only possess a fragment, was first published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 12. The copy in ALVISI, App., 102, is not quite accurate.

‡ On the 8th of June, 1504, the Pope wrote to Carolus marchio Finarii elect. Theban., that Cæsar was a prisoner and that L. de Ordelaffi had lately died in Ravenna, quibus ex rebus speramus nos arcem Forlivii per pactionem facilius recepturos. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 76. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 26, 31.

§ ALVISI, 450–451. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 230, note.

From this moment Cæsar Borgia vanishes from the stage of Italian history, and by the beginning of May most people in Rome seemed to have quite forgotten him.* Ferdinand sent him first to the Castle of Chinchilla † and then to that of Medina del Campo. Here the former lord of Rome, bereft by his political shipwreck of all his luxuries, was kept in close confinement in a room in the tower, with only one servant. No one was allowed to see him. "All his plans had failed, nothing remained of all that he had sought to achieve by his crimes, his cruelties, and his murders." In this miserable life his only occupation consisted in flying his falcons, his only joy was to see them catch a helpless bird and tear it to pieces with their talons.‡ In spite of the strict guard kept over him, on the 25th of October, 1506, Cæsar succeeded in escaping from his prison and fled to his brother-in-law, Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre. Julius II. was greatly disturbed when the news reached him, for he was well aware that the Duke still had many adherents in the Romagna.§ But his anxiety was not destined to last long, for on the 12th May, 1507, Cæsar died "honourably, a soldier's death" at Viana in Navarre, fighting for his brother-in-law against the Count of Lerin. He was only in his thirty-second year.‖ The

* *Cf.* *Report of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 3rd May, 1504 (Dil Valentino non si parla piu). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Not, as GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 274–275, and HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 17, have it, to Seville.

‡ See HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 23. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 207, 268, 410–411.

§ ZURITA, VII., c. 23.

‖ REUMONT, III., 2, 16; ALVISI, 453–454. We have the fullest accounts of his residence in Spain and his death in YRIARTE, II., 215–277; *cf.* also 328 *seq.* *Cf.* HÖFLER, Bastarddynastien, 61 *seq.*, and Katastrophe, 23 *seq.* There is a picture of the castle in Yriarte and in GRAUS, Rundreise in Spanien (Würzburg, 1894); see

greatness of the House of Borgia had come and gone like a meteor flashing across the sky.*

There is no contemporaneous account of the effect produced on Julius II. by the tidings of Cæsar's death;† but he must have rejoiced to find himself relieved of an enemy who still could have been extremely dangerous to him and to the Church. Cæsar had many faithful adherents in the cities of the Romagna, and he could never have felt quite secure there while the Duke still lived.

It is a curious coincidence that the man who, if Alexander VI. had lived, would have done the most of all others to secularise the States of the Church, and with whom Machiavelli in consequence was secretly in full sympathy,‡ should, unintentionally of course, have been the founder of the revival there of the Papal authority. Most people are familiar with Machiavelli's opinion on this point expressed in the *Prince*, where he says: "The Duke by no means wished to exalt the Church. Nevertheless all that he did tended to her advantage; when he was gone, his heritage fell to her." That this was the case was no doubt greatly due to the character of Julius II., who never for a moment lost sight of the one object that he had proposed to himself, and made use of every means that came to hand for attaining it. When, on the 11th August, 1504, the news of the

also J. M. QUADRADO, Recuerdos y Bellezas de España. Barcelona, 1861.

* HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 27.

† The Ferrarese Envoy Costabili only says in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 4th Apr., 1507, that the news of his death was held to be certain. (State Archives, Modena.) On the arrival of the tidings at Venice and Ferrara, and how Lucrezia took them, *cf.* SANUTO, VII., 47, 50, 51, 54, 56. These authentic accounts relegate "Lucrezia's tears" (see F. GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 293) to the region of the author's fertile imagination.

‡ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 167.

surrender of Forli at last arrived, and he was asked whether orders were to be given for the public demonstrations of joy usual on such occasions, his reply was characteristic. "No," answered the Pope, so the Florentine Ambassador reports, "we will put off all rejoicings until we have much more important and difficult successes to celebrate." "Julius meant," the Ambassador adds, "the reconquest of Faenza and Rimini."* The relations between Venice and Rome had from month to month been growing more and more unsatisfactory owing to the obstinate refusal of the Republic to give back these cities which had been taken by force from the Church. The conduct of the Venetians on this occasion shews that the invariably astute diplomacy of the Republic was utterly at fault in regard to the character of Julius II.

As Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had always been friendly to Venice, and the Venetians, out of dread of a French Pope, had heartily supported him in the Conclave, they fully believed that he would in return leave them a free hand in the Romagna. This of course was an utter delusion, as from the first Julius was firmly determined not to permit the Church to be despoiled of a single rood of her possessions.† He never for a moment gave

* G. Acciaiuoli's Despatch of 13th August, 1504, in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 198, n. 1. In a *Bull of the 30th August, 1504, Julius II. deprived Cæsar of the governorship of the Citadel of Bologna and restored it to the municipality of the city. State Archives, Bologna.

† ULMANN, Maximilian, II., 139, characterises the proceedings of Venice as a plundering of the Church. In regard to the question of legal rights the term is perfectly correct. (*Cf.* also REUMONT in Gött. Gel. Anz., 1876, II., 846.) BROSCH, Julius II., 105 *seq.*, evades this point; he takes the Venetian side from the first, relying for the most part entirely on Venetian authorities and suppressing almost all others. The annexations of Venice are always justifiable in his eyes; even when

the Republic any reason for doubting that he meant to insist on the restoration of the stolen property of the Church in the Romagna.* Nevertheless the Venetians thought they could do as they liked and need not be afraid of a Pope who had neither money nor troops.† "Ambition and greed of land," says the contemporaneous Venetian chronicler Priuli, "were so strong in them that they were resolved at any cost to make themselves masters of the whole of the Romagna."‡ When, on the 22nd of November, 1503, the news of the investment of Faenza arrived in Rome, the Pope at once sent for the Venetian Ambassador and repeated that all the Church's possessions must come back to her, and that he hoped the Republic would not carry matters to extremes.§ Three days later the report was current in Rome that Rimini also was in the hands of the Venetians. The Ambassador was in despair, for his government had given stringent orders that this should be kept secret. "Thus, even before his Corona-

the Venetians repudiated their sworn agreement with the Pope, he sees in this proceeding only "a vindication of that prescriptive right of self-preservation without the exercise of which it is impossible to conceive any independent State being able to maintain its existence" (p. 193). On the other hand, where Julius II. is concerned, he becomes the strictest of moralists. The ordinary evasions of diplomacy, even things which are understood as such by all diplomatists, are stigmatised as criminal duplicity when they come from Julius II. Even his friends (see Allg. Zeitung., 1880, N. 83, Suppl.) blame the violence of his language. On the spirit of partisanship displayed by Brosch, see Vol. IV. of this work, p. 322, n. ‡, 354, n. *. See also Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 177.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 235, and REUMONT in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 845.

† *Cf.* Fr. Guidizonus' *Report, dated Rome, 25th Nov., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

‡ REUMONT, III., 2, 12; ROMANIN, V., 164.

§ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 305–306. On the 23rd Giustinian reports fresh complaints from the Pope, *loc. cit.*, 306.

tion, Julius saw two of the jewels with which he desired to adorn the Tiara snatched away by the Signoria." * On the 28th November, at a meeting of the Cardinals, he complained of the proceedings of the Venetians; on the 29th a Consistory was held. The Venetian Ambassador reports that "the Pope spoke very angrily of the Republic in Consistory; he had previously told Cardinal Cornaro that he meant to appeal to France and Spain for the protection of the interests of the Holy See." † In a conversation with the Venetian Ambassador on the 30th of November Julius spoke more gently, and dwelt on the friendly feelings he entertained towards the Republic; ‡ for he was well aware of his weakness, and for that reason most anxious for a close union with France.§ On the 10th of December he again remonstrated with the Ambassador against the proceedings of Venice in the Romagna.‖ The tidings which came from Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, who had been sent to Venice, only increased the Pope's displeasure. Leonini was commissioned to demand the withdrawal of all the Venetian troops from the Romagna and that the Republic should desist from any further conquests from Cæsar Borgia, as the whole of his possessions belonged to the Church. "The answer was far from satisfactory. Venice promised to make no further acquisitions in the Romagna, but she would not withdraw her troops." She was determined

* BROSCH, Julius II., 106, and *supra*, p. 239.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 318. Brosch abstains from mentioning this; if he had done so, he could not have expressed himself as so much scandalised at what the Pope said to Machiavelli.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 321. I am far from wishing to defend the Pope's conduct in every respect; but Brosch distorts the words of Julius in a most unfair manner.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 234 *seq.*

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 335.

to keep Faenza, Rimini, and all the other places on which she had so unjustly laid hands.*

The Venetian Envoy Giustinian said everything he could to induce the Pope to see things in a different light. He proposed that the conquered territories should be bestowed on Venice as a fief. To this Julius II. replied that the governorships in the Romagna had always been bestowed on captains who had deserved well of the Church, but not upon powerful chiefs; it was impossible to put Venice in this position, she would never let them out of her hands again. He would rather not be Pope at all than endure such a curtailment of the States of the Church at the very beginning of his reign. Giustinian made no answer to these sort of expressions, talked vaguely of false reports circulated by the enemies of the Republic, and avoided as far as possible all direct negotiations in regard to the evacuation of the conquered territories. He seems to have been possessed with the delusion that Venice had no cause to apprehend any serious resistance from the new Pope;† and not in the least to have understood the character of the man with whom he was dealing. He was incapable of conceiving a Pope devoid of selfish ambition and really aiming at nothing but the exaltation of the Church, and had no suspicion of the dangers of the game that his Government was playing.‡ On the contrary, he flattered himself

* BROSCH, Julius II., 108; the Brief of 17th Nov., 1503, on Leonini's mission is in SANUTO, V., 480. Leonini (*cf.* MARINI, I., 303 *seq.*) was considered by his contemporaries an excellent diplomatist. Machiavelli calls him a truly right-minded prelate, a prudent man and experienced in state affairs. None of this appears in Brosch's account.

† BALAN, V., 435.

‡ TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 290.

that he could easily succeed in mollifying Julius II. with fair words and promises.

The Ferrarese Agent understood the situation far better. "The Pope," he reports on the 25th November, 1503, "is far from satisfied with the way things are going in the Romagna; where he had hoped to see light, he finds nothing but darkness. I know his nature and am well assured that he will not submit patiently to this; though other people imagine that they will be able to deceive him." * Giustinian ought to have been able to see how impossible this would prove. When, on the 23rd of December, he again repeated his tale of slanderous reports set afloat by the enemies of Venice, the Pope replied, "My Lord Ambassador, you always bring me fair words, and the Signoria foul deeds. We have accurate information of all that goes on in the Romagna, and know how, one after another, places are being occupied that have hitherto always been under the direct rule of the Church; to-day we have heard that the Venetians are endeavouring to induce Cesena to submit to them, and have occupied Sant' Arcangelo. Can we be expected to look quietly on when those who ought to be supporting us are daily robbing us? At present we have not the means to defend ourselves by arms and can only remonstrate; but we mean to turn to the Christian Powers for aid, and trust that God will protect us."

The Ambassador had no answer to give except that this was unnecessary; if Cesena wished to put herself under Venetian rule it was because the government of the Republic was just and beneficent. As to Sant' Arcangelo, the Pope had nothing to complain of, as that

* F. Guidizonus' **Report, dated Rome, 25th Nov., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 17.

place was already in the hands of Venice before Leonini was sent.*

Three days later Julius II. again sent for Giustinian and said to him: "We have still to complain of the state of things in the Romagna. Letters arrive daily telling us of the intrigues of your agents in Cesena, Imola, and other places. Throughout the whole country efforts are being made to seduce the people from their obedience to the Church and persuade them to place themselves under the rule of Venice. Our worst enemy could not do more against us. When we ascended the Chair of S. Peter we did so with the full purpose of being a father to all as a Pope should be, and observing strict neutrality; but we now fear that we shall find ourselves forced to entertain other thoughts."

The Ambassador tried to make the usual excuses for his government, but could not conceal in his report the fact that they were not accepted. It ends with the words: "Julius II. requires that all the places that have been occupied in the Romagna shall be restored to him. Possibly events might occur which would induce him and the Sacred College to leave Faenza and Rimini in the hands of the Republic, but he will not consent to anything until all the other places are evacuated."†

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 339, 347, 356-357. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 13, and G. CASTELLANI, La dominazione veneta a Sant' Arcangelo. Sant' Arcangelo, 1895. (Only 100 copies of the work have been printed.)

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 360-363. Even after all this, Giustinian still flattered himself that success was possible. On New Year's Day he presented himself before the Pope and requested "with courteous importunity" that as on that day it was customary to make presents to one's friends, Julius would gratify the Republic, which was so devoted to him, with the gift of Rimini and Faenza. The Pope smiled, but answered that Venice must begin by restoring

On the 10th January, 1504, Julius addressed the following letter to the Doge :—

"To our beloved Son,—Greeting and apostolical benediction: Through Our Reverend brother the Bishop of Tivoli and by various letters We have announced to your Serene Highness Our firm resolution to demand the restoration of Our cities of Faenza and Rimini, together with their castles and the other places which your Highness has occupied since the death of Alexander VI.; and We have repeatedly made the same demand to your Ambassador. Therefore We cannot sufficiently express Our surprise at not having yet received any definite answer. Since We now learn from the aforenamed Bishop, Our Envoy, that the subject is again to be laid before the Senate, it will be plain, We trust, to your own wisdom and that of the assembly, that it is not permissible to keep unlawful possession of that which belongs to the Holy Roman Church, and that We are bound to use all the means in Our power to obtain its restoration. From the beginning of Our reign it has been Our steadfast purpose to restore to the Church the territories of which she has been despoiled; to this We hold fast, and ever shall do so. If your Highness's Ambassador or any one else has written anything different to your Highness or held out any hopes that We shall come to an agreement on this point, he has written falsely; for it is Our duty not to permit such an injury to be done to God and to the dignity of Our position. We have always entertained a just love and esteem for your Highness and the Republic, in the belief that, especially during Our Pontificate, you would prove the defenders and not the usurpers of the rights of the Church. Now, since nothing shall induce Us to desist from demanding the restitution of these places, since God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has committed the care of His Church to Us, and Our office, impose this duty upon Us, We declare that any one who writes or thinks otherwise, writes and thinks falsely. Therefore We again admonish your Highness with all paternal kindness, and command you in the name of the Lord to do freely and at once that which in justice you are bound to do."*

Tossignano; after that, negotiations in regard to the other places might be entered upon. See BEMBUS, 258; HAVEMANN, II., 215.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 1; SANUTO, V., 733, *cf.* 732, 736.

All was in vain; the Venetians were determined not to part with their spoils. Secure of their strength, they mocked at the Pope's threats.* Sooner or later, the battle would have to be fought out.

In Venice there were stormy passages of arms between the Papal Nuncio Leonini and the Doge. The French Envoy vainly tried to act as a peacemaker.† In Rome Giustinian continued with his "courteous importunity" to press the Pope to bestow the unjustly gotten lands on Venice as a vicariate. The exasperation of Julius at this persistence increased from day to day, especially as he now thought he perceived that the Republic was beginning to aim at Forli also.‡ The Doge in conversation with Leonini denied this, but admitted that the Venetians would never give up the territories that they had once occupied. They would sacrifice everything they had, sooner than do this.§ In Rome, Julius said plainly to the Venetian Ambassador that he would never rest till he got back his lost possessions, and as he was not strong enough to conquer them himself, he would seek for help abroad.‖

He kept his word; but he was well aware that, beset and unarmed as he was, there was great risk of finding himself

* *Cf.* *Cataneo's Report, dated Rome, 25th Jan., 1504, which says: *Venetiani persisteno in tenire che hanno in Romagna ne stimano chel papa tenti tirarli ruina a le spalle cum ajuto de questi Rè che sperano uscirne cum honore. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, V., 805, 835, 847. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 22, the *Brief to Leonini, of the 7th Feb., 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 23, the *Brief to Carvajal, of the 28th Feb., 1504. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 427 *seq.*, and *Cataneo's Report of the 5th Feb., 1504. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ SANUTO, V., 847; DE LEVA, I., 83.

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 415.

under galling bondage to the allies whom he might call in against Venice.* Still he trusted to be able to find means to escape, and he was convinced that there was no other way open. A State so powerful and unscrupulous as Venice could only be mastered by a coalition; and from the Spring of 1504 the Pope directed all his efforts to bringing this about. He addressed himself to Louis XII. of France,† and to Maximilian, as King of the Romans and Protector of the Church. On the 2nd of March 1504, Mariano Bartolini of Perugia was sent to the German Court. The Nuncio was charged to urge Maximilian to help the Church against Venice, because it would be impossible for the Pope to refrain any longer from laying the Republic under ban.‡ The instructions of the Nuncio in France, Carlo de Carretto, Marquess of Finale, dated 14th May, 1504, were of wider scope. He was to propose the formation of a League between France, Maximilian, and the Pope.§ In the early spring Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 66; *cf.* 277.

† *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 4.

‡ *Instructio data dil. filio magistro Mariano de Bartolinis de Perusio causarum palatii apost. auditori nuntio et oratori nostro. Dat. Rom. die 22 Febr., 1504, not only in Cl. IX., Cod. 42 in the S. Mark's Library, Venice (see VALENTINELLI, V., 231, and BROSCH, Julius II., 112, 326), but also in Cod. Urb., 864, in Ottob. 1888 in the Vatican Library; in Cod. LV. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (*cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 45); and in Cod. 818 in the Corsini Library, Rome. Concerning the mission of M. de Bartolinis, *cf.* Nuntiaturenberichte, I., XLI. *seq.*; PIEPER, *loc. cit.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 5–6, 24; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 178; and in Appendix, N. 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, the *Briefs of the 26th April, 10th and 28th July, 12th Sept., 1st, 17th and 28th Oct., 1504 Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ BROSCH in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 302 *seq.*, and Julius II., 112, 326, was the first to make use of Carretto's *Instruction, dat. Rom., 14th May, 1504, out of the Codex in the Lib. S. Marco. The Instruction is also in Cod. LV. of the Varia Polit. (Secret Archives of the

of Arezzo, had been sent to Spain, but his mission proved a total failure.* Ferdinand refused to receive him on the ground that he was a Florentine and a partisan of France, so that Julius II. was obliged to recall him in November, 1504.† How unfriendly Ferdinand's sentiments towards the Holy See were at that time, may be gathered from the fact that in the Spring of 1504 his representative in Rome made overtures to the Venetians for an alliance with them.‡ Julius II. also endeavoured to induce Hungary to put a strong pressure upon Venice to constrain her to give up her booty.§

Vatican); in Cod. Urb., 864, Ottob. 2515; and in Cod. 115 in the Capilupi Library, Mantua. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 29, 30, the *Brief to Queen Anna, of the 16th May, and to Louis XII. of the 8th June, 1504. In a *Brief to C. de Carretto, which unfortunately bears no date, we find: *Ages etiam gratias Cil. fil. nostro G[eorgio] card^li Rothomagen.; ejus auctoritate et benignitate a rege et regina christianissimis omnia facilius impetrabis in quo nos praecipuam fiduciam gerimus cognita eius in nos et ad honorem s. apost. sedis tam prona constantique voluntate. *Lib. brev. 29, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *Instructiones dat. r. episc. Aretino praelato domestico ad regem et reginam Hispaniae, dat. Rome, 14th March, 1504; *cf.* the Codex in the Library of S. Mark (BROSCH, Julius II., 113 *seq.*, 326); Cod. 818 in the Corsini Library, Varia Polit., 55, f. 420–433, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; and Cod. Urb. 864 in the Vatican Library. A *Brief from Julius II. to Louis XII., dat. 20th Feb., 1504, is extant, in which Cosmus episcopus Aretinus quem in Hispanias cum pot. legati de latere mittimus is recommended to him as a trustworthy man: *Lib. brev. 22, f. 26b. In the same place, f. 39b, a similar *Brief to Florence, dated Rome, 22nd March, 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† In regard to C. de' Pazzi's mission, BROSCH, 113, is so confused that he expresses a doubt as to whether he ever actually started. Here, as elsewhere, he has overlooked RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 21. The *Brief recalling him, 29th Nov., 1504, is in Appendix, N. 41. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 505 *seq.*

§ See THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 558–560, and in Appendix, N. 32,

Meanwhile the missions to France and Germany had produced some good results. On the 22nd of September, 1504, an agreement directed against Venice had been concluded at Blois.* In Rome, in November, it began to be said that the Pope was going to pronounce the censures of the Church on the Republic. It was quite true that he was fully determined to cut the claws of the Lion of S. Mark. On the 4th of December he put a long list of grievances before the Consistory, and remarked that, all else having failed, it would be necessary to have reccurse to spiritual weapons.†

Alarmed by the clouds which now seemed gathering on all sides, the Venetians at last made up their minds to give way to a certain extent. Hitherto they had "put off the Pope with words and nothing else," now they endeavoured to conciliate him "by some concessions which were of real practical value." ‡ Meanwhile it was of great advantage to them to have been able to procrastinate for so long. The agreement of Blois broke down, Spain was not to be won, Maximilian and Louis XII. fell out with each other. In March 1505, Venice at last withdrew from several of the towns in the Romagna, amongst others from Sant'

37, 42, the *Briefs to Leonini of the 10th July, 17th Oct., and 17th Dec., 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* HUBER, III., 359; ULMANN, II., 155 *seq.*; HÖFLER, A. del Burgo, 457 *seq.*

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 324. *Cf.* Costabili's *Despatch of the 21st Aug., 1504 (State Archives, Modena), from which there is an extract in BALAN, V., 437; the Briefs in THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 560–562; and in Appendix, N. 42, the *Brief to Leonini of 17th Dec., 1504. On the 29th Dec. Julius addressed a *Letter to the Ant. Surianus elect. Venetiar., in which he complained bitterly of the retention of Faenza and Rimini by the Republic. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 248. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 118.

Arcangelo, Montefior, Savignano, Tossignano, and Porto Cesenatico. The Duke of Urbino assured the Doge that the Republic would not be troubled any more about Rimini and Faenza. "No doubt," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "the Duke wished that this might be the case; but he had little knowledge of the mind of Julius II., who had no notion of relinquishing these places."*

In recompense for this act of partial restitution effected in March 1505, Julius now consented to receive the Venetian profession of obedience, but still only under protest (May 5, 1505).† Hieronymus Donatus pronounced the oration; it was full of the usual extravagant phrases of the new style of oratory. The Pope's reply was brief and formal.‡

The Venetian Envoys for the profession of obedience entered Rome with great pomp, and flattered themselves with the hope of persuading Julius to consent to the retention by the Republic of Faenza and Rimini, but had not the smallest success. "The Pope," writes the Florentine Envoy, "holds fast to his rights, and every one thinks that he will get them." §

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 340. *Cf.* BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, and TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 326.

† *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 366. BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 387; and SANUTO, VI., 160 *seq.*, 164, 165 *seq.*, 168, 171 *seq.*

‡ Giov. Acciaiuoli's Report in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 542. Donato's speech was printed at the time and is to be found with other obedience-orations addressed to Julius II. in an old large octavo volume in the Library of S. Peter at Salzburg: Hieronymi doctoris apud Julium II. P. M. oratoris Veneti in obedientia oratio. 8 folio leaves.

§ G. Acciaiuoli's Despatch of the 15th May, 1505, *loc. cit.*, 543.

CHAPTER III.

Subjugation of Perugia and Bologna.—Downfall of the Baglioni and Bentivogli.

Julius II. was not so absorbed in his efforts to regain all that the Church had lost in the Romagna, as to neglect the equally necessary work of restoring her authority in the other provinces. In February 1504, he induced the Fiorentines to give back Citerna in the neighbourhood of Perugia, which they had occupied after the death of Alexander VI.* In May of the following year Anticoli and Nepi were again brought under the immediate rule of the Church;† but the reconstitution of the States of the Church could never be solidly effected until the feuds of the Roman Barons were appeased and their adhesion secured. This Julius II. sought to accomplish by means of family alliances.

In November 1505, Niccolò della Rovere, a younger brother of Galeotto, was married to Laura Orsini, only

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 299.

† *Julius II. Joh. Antonio de Forlivio, provinciae Campaniae et Maritimae gubernatori, dat. 29th Maii, 1505. Rediit ad immediatam curam oppidum Anticoli; in consequence of the death of Card. A. Sforza, he is to occupy Anticoli in the Cardinal's name. Similar orders in regard to Nepi were given on the same day to Alexander of Neronibus. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 295. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) In Sept. 1505, Julius II. made a short tour through the States of the Church, in the course of which he visited Nepi; see Burchardi Diarium, III., 400 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist., f. 18. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

daughter and heiress of Orso Orsini and Giulia Farnese.* A month later the Mantuan Agent announces the approaching betrothal of Madonna Felice, natural daughter of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, with the youthful Marcantonio Colonna.† This project, however, as well as some others of the same nature, was given up.‡ On the 24th of May, 1506, Felice was married to Giovanni Giordano, the head of the Orsini of Bracciano, in the Vice-Chancellor's Palace.§ The Venetian Ambassador remarks on the contrast between the ways of Julius II. and those of Alexander VI. on this occasion. The wedding was privately celebrated, all public tokens of rejoicing being forbidden; the wedding festivities were deferred till the arrival of the young couple at Bracciano, where they spent their honeymoon.|| Felice's dowry also was by no means a large one.¶ Two months later, another alliance between the Colonna and Rovere families took place, in the marriage of Marcantonio Colonna to a niece of the Pope's. Frascati was given to Marcantonio, together with Julius II.'s former Palace of the SS. Apostoli.** By these means Julius trusted that he had

* GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 128 *seq.*

† *Brognolo's Report, dated Rome, 12th Dec., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ SANUTO, V., 771, 784, 798, 935; VI., 128. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 334 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 390, 393, 409 *seq.*, 437 *seq.* On Card. Giuliano's daughters, see Vol. V. of this work, p. 369, note †.

§ On Orsini's eccentricities, for which he was called "pubblico pazzo," see LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 178 *seq.* On the Pope's intervention with Ferdinand of Spain in favour of G. G. Orsini, see in Appendix, N. 60, 65, the *Brief of Jan., 1507. In regard to Madonna Felice, *cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 318.

|| SANUTO, VI., 347, 359.

¶ It is most frequently estimated at 15,000 ducats. G. Arsago, in a *Report on the marriage, dat. Rome, 24th May, 1506, makes it 20,000 ducats, of which 12,000 came from the Pope. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

** COPPI, Mem. Colonnesi, 251; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 44, ed. 3.

now secured the loyalty of the most powerful of the Roman families, and could turn his attention without danger from that quarter to the restoration of the authority of the Holy See in Bologna and Perugia.

Without any legal title, and simply by force of arms, the Baglioni had made themselves masters of Perugia, and the Bentivogli of Bologna; the only trace of the Pope's authority that still remained was an insignificant toll on the revenues of these two wealthy cities. In Bologna especially, which was the largest city but one of the States of the Church, and its bulwark on that side, all power was practically entirely in the hands of Giovanni Bentivoglio. His government, though not so bad as that of the licentious Giampaolo Baglione in Perugia, was anything but satisfactory. His haughty consort, and more especially his four sons, had made the name of Bentivoglio thoroughly detested in the city by their tyranny and violence. Numbers of exiles from Bologna and Perugia, who had taken refuge in Rome, were perpetually urging the Pope to intervene and deliver their cities from the tyrants who oppressed them.* Julius II. listened to all their representations, but took his time. He made his preparations quietly, collecting money and troops. At last, when a favourable turn in the political situation seemed to promise success, he resolved to make the attempt.†

* *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1; SUGENHEIM, 393, 395; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 333, 335. On the cruelties of the Baglioni, see ALFANI, 248; *cf.* FABRETTI, III., 129 *seq.*, 233. On the Bentivogli, see JOVIUS, Elog., lib. V., 171; *cf.* also RATTI, II., 148 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Memorie per la vita di Giovanni II. Bentivoglio (Bologna, 1839), 152 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 67 *seq.* On the importance of Bologna, see *Letter to Thomasino Barbiero macciero de N. S. papa to the 40 presides libert. Bonon., dated Rome, 4th May, 1507. Here Bologna is called la piu florida et triomphante citta de Italia. *Lettere di ambasciatori e diversi da Roma. State Archives, Bologna.

† LANZ, Einleitung, 86.

It was not till March 1506, that news first reached Venice that the Pope was seriously considering plans for bringing Perugia and Bologna back again under the direct government of the Church. At first this was not believed; but later accounts left no room to doubt its truth. It appeared that Julius II. expected the co-operation of France, and counted on a neutral attitude on the part of the Republic. The Signoria did their best to dissuade him from this undertaking, repeatedly urging the danger that Maximilian might enter Italy, a possibility that had been already a good deal talked of.* In Rome several of the Cardinals, and especially Caraffa, were against it;† but the Pope was not to be moved. It seemed to him that the favourable opportunity had now arrived for getting rid of the Bentivogli, who had given him much cause to complain of them when he was Bishop of Bologna. "Rome," says Paris de Grassis, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, "was quiet, the preparations for war were completed. Julius II. himself headed the expedition, accompanied by all his Court and nearly all the Cardinals; only such members of the Sacred College as were incapacitated by age or sickness were permitted to remain behind. The Legation of Rome was given to Cardinal S. Giorgio." ‡

In order to be prepared for all contingencies, Julius II.

* SANUTO, VI., 322, 349, 377, 385–386, 394; *cf.* Appendix, N. 50, *G. Arsago's Report of 15th Aug., 1506. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, VI., 394, 407.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 3–4; *cf.* 20–21. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 44, ed. 3; REUMONT, III., 2, 20; and CREIGHTON, IV., 87, are mistaken in their statement that B. Cibò was left behind as Regent. S. Giorgio is named as Regent, not only by P. de Grassis but also by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348, and Arsago in a *Letter, dated Rome, 20th Aug., 1506. The latter says that only the Rota remained in Rome; all the auditors have gone with the Pope; to-morrow 200 Albanian mercenaries are coming from Naples. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

had concluded alliances with Florence, Siena, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino.* Still the expedition was "a bold undertaking, and would be a master-stroke if it succeeded. Now that the Papacy was hemmed in on the South by Spain in Naples, it was essential to provide for greater expansion on the northern side; the fulcrum of politics for the States of the Church was pushed upwards into Central Italy; and Umbria, Tuscany, and the Romagna acquired a new importance for the Holy See."†

The hazards of the enterprise were increased by the attitude of Venice and France, from neither of whom could the Pope obtain any certain answer.

In France the difficulties came chiefly from Cardinal d'Amboise. Julius II. had hoped to conciliate his former rival by making him, soon after his election, not only Legate of France, but also of Avignon and Venaissin; he trusted by this means to put an end to the perpetual wranglings between the vassals of the Papacy and those of France. But the conduct of d'Amboise as Legate was far from satisfactory; he embezzled the money that he had to collect, and took no pains to conceal that he wished and hoped to be the next Pope.‡ Julius II. was well aware of all this, but in his present position he could not afford to engage in an open conflict with the all-powerful minister, or his master. He continued, therefore, on friendly terms with both, and endeavoured to meet their wishes in everything, as far as he could.§ But it was not possible

* SUGENHEIM, 393. In a *Brief, dated Rome, 19th April, 1506, Julius II. promised the Sienese, in return for their faithfulness, to protect the liberties of their city both by arms and censures. State Archives, Siena, Cassa della Lupa.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 23; 1505, n. 13; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 402.

§ *Cf.* the *Brief to d'Amboise, dated Rome, 16th May, 1505, in which

that this state of things should be of long duration. In the Summer of 1505 serious differences with France arose in connection with the allotment of the benefices which had been held by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and to these were added disputes about appointments to Bishoprics.* The creation of Cardinals which took place on the 12th of December, 1505, in which the Ambassador of Louis, Robert Chaland, received the purple, gave rise to new misunderstandings. The King was extremely annoyed because the Archbishop of Auch and the Bishop of Bayeux had not also been admitted into the Sacred College. Alluding to the dangerous illness which he had had in the Spring he exclaimed, "In Italy they think I am dead; but I will shew the Holy Father that I am still alive." To revenge himself, he confiscated the revenues of all benefices belonging to the Pope's nominees in the Milanese.† Julius II., whose position in the States of the Church was still very insecure, was obliged to control himself. He tried to conciliate the King, and on Christmas Day sent him a consecrated sword by the hands of Pierre le Filleul, Bishop of Sisteron.‡ This accomplished diplomatist succeeded in establishing better relations between Rome and France. In matters

the Pope expresses his satisfaction at the recovery of Louis XII., and his willingness to comply with the wishes of the King and the Cardinal in regard to the Bishopric of Clermont. On the 19th May he writes a *Letter expressly for the purpose of congratulating the French King on his recovery. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 288, 307, 309. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The Pope composed besides special prayers of thanksgiving on this occasion. See the Bull of the 16th May, 1505, in the Arch. du Puy-de-Dôme, MAULDE, Origines, 318–319.

* SANUTO, VI., 176, 228; DESJARDINS, II., 103.

† DESJARDINS, II., 153–154; SANUTO, VI., 275.

‡ SANUTO, VI., 279, 282. *Cf.* Appendix, N. 48, the *Report of the Mantuan Envoy, dated Rome, 24th Dec., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

concerning the Church, Louis XII. gave in to the Pope, and in April 1505, negotiations commenced for obtaining the assistance of France in the expedition against Perugia and Bologna.* The King began by endeavouring to persuade Julius to relinquish his plans, and tried, in June, to take advantage of the situation by requesting that two French prelates should be made Cardinals.† The negotiations dragged on interminably, without any result, and the patience of the Pope was sorely tried. Venice reiterated her warnings against the expedition in a menacing tone. At last the brave old Pontiff determined to try the effect of the accomplished fact. The step he took "furnished Machiavelli with a proof of his thesis, that what never could have been accomplished by ordinary means, is often achieved by precipitation and daring." "The Pope," writes the famous Florentine politician, "knew that it was impossible for him to drive the Bentivogli out of Bologna without help from France and neutrality on the part of Venice. When he saw that he could get nothing from either but uncertain and evasive answers, he resolved to bring both to the point by giving them no time to deliberate. He started from Rome with as many soldiers as he could collect, sending word to the Venetians that they were not to interfere, and to the King of France that he must send troops to support him. Thus they had hardly any time to consider, and as it was plain that if they hesitated or refused the Pope would be extremely angry, they did what he wanted; the King of France sent him help, and the Venetians remained neutral."‡

* DESJARDINS, II., 164 *seq.*; SANUTO, VI., 311.

† SANUTO, VI., 351.

‡ Disc. sopra la I. Deca di T. Livio, III., c. 44; BROSCH, Julius II., 127. On the astonishment produced by this bold action on the part of the Pope, *cf.* the Report of the Florentine Ambassador at the French

In a Secret Consistory on the 17th August, 1506, Julius II., after enumerating the crimes of Giovanni Bentivoglio, mentioned for the first time his intention of taking the field in person against him. On the 21st it was decided that the expedition should start from Rome on the 24th. On the following day Briefs were despatched to the allied Princes of Mantua and Urbino, desiring them to join the Papal army on its march.* Eventually its departure was put off to the 26th.†

To avoid the mid-day heat the start was made before sunrise. The Pope first heard a low Mass, and gave his parting blessing to the people at the Porta S. Maria Maggiore. He was accompanied by nine Cardinals and 500 fully

Court in DESJARDINS, II., 179. From the documents here published, p. 182, we see that as late as the middle of September the King had denounced the expedition.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 4, 20. See Appendix, N. 51, the Brief to Fr. Gonzaga of the 22nd August, 1506. On the 15th of August the Mantuan Envoy stated in his Report that the Pope would set forth without fail in eight days. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The *Brief to the Duke of Urbino, dat. Aug. 22, says that the Pope hopes to see him in Perugia on the 2nd or 3rd of Sept. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 548. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† This date is often given incorrectly. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 215, names the 20th; REUMONT, III., 2, 20, the 23rd; GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 70, the 27th August. Even in contemporary writers it is often inaccurate, *e.g.*, SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348, says the 28th August; the chronicle in the Varia Polit., 50, f. 61 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), the 25th August; and SANUTO, VI., 407, the 2nd August. But the 26th is established as the true date by PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 21; Cardinal Adriano di Corneto's poem on the Pope's expedition (Iter Julii Pont. Ro. per Hadrianum Card. S. Chrysogoni as an appendix to the work De sermone latino [Basle, 1518], in CIACONIUS, III., 235 *seq.*, and ROSCOE, I., 519); and the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) On the dissatisfaction in Rome at the Pope's departure owing to the fears entertained that it might entail a new Avignon, see SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 28.

armed knights, who, with their retainers, made up a much larger force than the number mentioned.* Their first halting-place was Formello, where the Pope was received by Giovanni Giordano Orsini and his wife. On the following day Julius went on to Nepi, where three more of the Cardinals joined him. The march was always begun before sunrise. On the 28th August they arrived at the little town of Civita Castellana, which possesses a noble castle with which Julius was delighted. Here a halt was made on account of the Feast of S. John the Baptist; and Machiavelli, then Florentine Envoy, promised the support of his government towards the subjugation of Bologna. On the way from Nepi to Civita Castellana good news had arrived from the French Court, which greatly rejoiced the Pope. On the other hand, he also heard that Giovanni Bentivoglio was determined to resist.†

It was still quite dark when on Sunday, the 30th August, after hearing Mass, the Pope set off for Viterbo. At Fabrica refreshments were provided by Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere. In the evening a solemn entry was made into Viterbo, which was decorated for the occasion. According to the usual custom the Blessed Sacrament was carried before the Pope, who was attended by seventeen Cardinals. During his stay in this place Julius II. drew up further regulations for the maintenance of the reconciliation between the contending parties there which he had succeeded in effecting in the previous year. The Legation was given to Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere. At the same time the Archbishop of Siponto was despatched as Nuncio to Bologna with a stern message, and the Arch-

* GRIMM, I., 291, ed. 5.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 21 *seq.*; Machiavelli's Letter of the 28th August, 1506; and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

bishop of Aix to Milan, to lead the French army of assistance against Castelfranco; the Pope also sent money for the hire of a troop of Swiss foot-soldiers.*

On the 4th September Julius II. hurried on to Montefiascone, where he inspected the castle and stopped for the mid-day meal.† The house in which this was provided was in such a rickety condition that the floor had to be supported with props. With a playful allusion to the famous wine of the place, Julius II. observed, "These are wise precautions lest we should fall through, and people might say we had had too much Montefiascone." On the 5th he set off again for Orvieto, as usual two hours before sunrise.‡ It was so dark, says Paris de Grassis, who accompanied the expedition as Grand-Master of Ceremonies, that nothing could be distinguished. A number of people had spent the night in the open air in hopes of seeing the Pope, who had to have torches carried before him. Orvieto gave him a festive reception. An oak tree, to correspond with the arms of his family, adorned the principal square. Instead of acorns, little boys dressed as angels were perched on the extremities of its branches and on its topmost boughs. Orpheus leant against the trunk and recited Latin verses in praise of the Pope, to which the angels responded in chorus. A girandola was lighted to greet him on his return from the Cathedral, whither he had gone to venerate the famous Corporal and give his blessing to the people. Here also an immense crowd from the neighbourhood had

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 27–30; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348; and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† In the Frati ed. the text of Paris de Grassis has: Die 6 Veneris. But the Friday in 1506 fell on the 4th, and that is the date also given in the *Acta Consist.

‡ Here, too, the text of PARIS DE GRASSIS in Frati, 32, is incorrect: in die Sabbati septimo Septemb. The right date is in *Acta Consist. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

assembled to receive his blessing. The Duke of Urbino and Antonio Ferreri, the Legate of Perugia, arrived at Orvieto on the same day as the Pope.* Both had been negotiating with Giampaolo Baglione, who had hesitated for some time as to whether, considering the strength of his citadel and the troops that he had with him, it might not be worth while to resist. But he had little confidence in the loyalty of the citizens, who, he knew, preferred the Papal government to his, and also feared the hostility of the Oddi party. He knew, too, the character of his adversary and that he was not one to do anything by halves.† Hence he finally resolved to accept the conditions proposed by the Papal Envoys and to submit. He came himself to Orvieto and promised to hand over all the defences of Perugia and the fastnesses in the neighbourhood to the Papal commanders, to recall most of the exiles, to send his two sons to Urbino as hostages, and finally to join the expedition against Bologna with 150 men. On the 8th September he returned to Perugia, accompanied by the Legate and the Duke of Urbino, to prepare for the entry of the Pope.

On the following day Julius II. left Orvieto. On his journey he received a letter from the Marquess of Mantua announcing that he would arrive at Perugia on the 12th of September and take part personally in the expedition against Bentivoglio.‡ When they came to the little village of Castiglione on the Lake of Thrasimene, which contained neither accommodation nor food enough for the Pope's

* Julius had announced Ferreri's nomination to the Perugians on the 4th April, 1506. See the *Brief of that date in the City Archives, Perugia.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 20, and SUGENHEIM, 393.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 36, and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 52, the Brief to F. Gonzaga of the 10th Sept., 1506. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

retinue, to the dismay of his suite he announced his intention of remaining there some days. He did this, Paris de Grassis says, in order to give Baglione time to organise his men. But the commissariat at Castiglione presented such difficulties that on the 11th Julius was obliged to move on across the lake to the Isola Maggiore, and thence to Passignano.

On the 12th they proceeded to Corciano. They were joined on the way thither by the Condottiere Giovanni Soffatelli with 700 men. At Corciano Cardinal François Guillaume Clermont arrived with a letter from Louis XII. about Bologna.* It was soon known that he was charged with the hopeless task of trying to persuade Julius to give up his enterprise.†

On Sunday, the 13th September,‡ Julius made his entry into Perugia with great pomp. The eight Priors in gala dress met him at the Porta San Pietro with the keys of the city. All the bells were rung, the streets were thronged with people and decorated with triumphal arches. Twenty Cardinals, the Duke of Urbino, Giovanni Gonzaga, and many of the Roman Barons accompanied the Pope. He went first to the Cathedral, where the Papal choir sang the Te Deum, which was followed by the solemn Benediction of the people and the proclamation of an Indulgence.§ Julius II.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 37–39, and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letters of the 13th and 14th Sept., 1506.

‡ Not on 12th Sept. as GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3, states.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 40 *seq.*; *cf.* ALFANI, 249 *seq.* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1, says: il pontefice entrò in Perugia senza forze ed in modo che era in potesta di Giampagolo di farlo prigione, etc. Machiavelli, in his letter of 13th Sept., remarks that the Papal troops were stationed close to the Gate, and those of Baglione at a short distance from it, so that the Pope and Cardinals were completely in the power of the latter. Later, in his speech on the first Decas of Livy, Machia-

took up his abode in the Palace of the Priors. On the 17th, the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga arrived. Three days later the Pope celebrated a solemn High Mass in the church of the Franciscans; he had commenced his studies in early youth as a poor scholar in this convent; now he wished to thank God and S. Francis for his elevation to the highest dignity in the world.*

The Pope was so much inspirited by the success which had thus far attended his expedition that his thoughts soared now to higher flights. He began to talk of setting forth to deliver Constantinople and Jerusalem out of the hands of the unbelievers as soon as things had been set in order in Italy; not of course, however, until the Church had got back her States—that, he said emphatically, was an indispensable preliminary. He commanded the celebrated preacher Aegidius of Viterbo, of the Order of the Hermits of

velli blamed Baglione and accused him of cowardice for not having the courage to make himself master of the Pope's person. (See Vol. V. of this work, p. 165.) It is, however, evident, from the clear account given by Paris de Grassis, who was an eye-witness, from the words of Aegidius of Viterbo (in HÖFLER, 384), and the description in the Annal. dec. (cum maximo gentium armorum et aliorum numero, in FABRETTI, III., 194) that Julius was far from having entered Perugia unarmed, and that his troops practically occupied the city. The risk for him cannot therefore have been so great as it is made out to be by Guicciardini and Machiavelli; their statement that he came in without troops is simply false. The Venetian Envoy (SANUTO, VI., 421) reports 2000 armed men entered the city with the Pope, though he adds: et à frato intrar in la terra 500 fanti di note per dubito. Naturally, the troops were for the most part quartered outside the city. No doubt Julius shewed some courage in acting as he did; but he was not as rash as Machiavelli makes him appear. F. Cubello also in a *Letter to F. Gonzaga, dated Perugia, the 14th Sept., 1506, reports: *Hieri il papa intro in pompa con tuta la corte in ordine et tute le gente d'arme in ordine cum 150 stradioti, etc. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 44. *Cf.* FABRETTI, III., 200 *seq.*

S. Augustine, to deliver a sermon on this subject while he and the Cardinals were at Perugia; and again later at Bologna he desired him to preach in a similar sense. In his review of the reign of Julius II. Aegidius says that it was generally thought that the Pope would have carried out this project if he had not been hindered by the blindness of men.*

Julius remained eight days in the newly-won city. He spent this time in labouring earnestly to bestow on its unfortunate inhabitants the blessings of a settled peace.†

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3, is mistaken in supposing that the report of Aegidius has never been printed; it has been published by HÖFLER, p. 387. CERRI, 176, also quotes it, and his sermons on the Turkish question are mentioned by SANUTO, VI., 427. Aegidius was also to have delivered a discourse on peace at Perugia, but, to the great annoyance of Julius, preached a panegyric on the Pope instead. See PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 46. ALBERTINI, XXIII., also alludes to the crusading projects of Julius. ZINKEISEN, Oriental. Frage, 554, though unacquainted with these authorities, is of opinion that he had the war against the Turks very much at heart. *Cf.* also PICHLER, I., 503, and FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 11 *seq.*, 23 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*, 54 *seq.* But though numerous Briefs in Raynaldus shew that the attention of Julius II. was repeatedly turned towards the defence of Christendom against the Turks (*cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS' Report, ed. Döllinger, 390), still Zinkeisen and Pichler appear to judge him too favourably in this respect. He was too much engrossed with Italian affairs to be able to give the Turkish question anything but quite a secondary place in his thoughts At the same time, until Dr. Gottlob's Monograph of Julius II. has come out, it will be right to suspend our judgment on this subject. The energetic support given by this Pope to King Emmanuel of Portugal's naval enterprises, which were regarded as crusading expeditions, appears in a great number of Briefs and Bulls, some of which are dated from Perugia at this very time. See Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 61 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*, 119 *seq.* A letter from Rome of 15th Oct., 1509, in the Acta Tomic., I., 49, which has hitherto been overlooked, reports later projects of Julius II. for a Crusade.

† On the 14th Sept. F. Cubello reports to F. Gonzaga: "El N. S.

The baneful and detested rule of the Baglioni was at an end. From henceforth the beautiful city was again to enjoy its municipal liberties and republican constitution under the sovereignty of the Church. The exiles were allowed to return, with the exception of those only whose hands were stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. The magistracy of the Ten was abolished. Julius left the old liberties untouched. Cardinal Antonio Ferreri was appointed Legate.*

The ardent spirit of the Pope was too much occupied with Bologna to remain any longer in Perugia.† On the 21st of September he started for Gubbio, which he reached on the 22nd; on the 23rd he was at Cantiano, and on the 25th entered Urbino, crossing the Appenines by the pass of Furlo. The gates were taken down by the Duke, while the Prefect presented the keys of the city to the Pope.‡ Julius, from the artistic side of his nature, was charmed with the Palace of Montefeltro; but his mind was too full of the negotiations with Bologna and France to give much attention to anything else.

attende cum ogni diligencia ordinar le cose di Perosa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 394; LEO, V., 183; FABRETTI, III., 302; RANKE, Päpste, I., 251, ed. 6. In the following year fresh disturbances broke out in Perugia (MARIOTTI, III., 564), in consequence of which Card. Ferreri was recalled and Card. Leonardo della Rovere sent in his place. Julius II. informed the citizens of these changes in his *Briefs of the 1st and 2nd Feb., 1507 (City Archives, Perugia), and in Cod. C., IV., 1, of the University Library, Genoa.

† *Cf.* the Brief of 14th Sept., 1506; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 24.

‡ DUMESNIL, 66, incorrectly gives the 23rd as the day of the entry, and there are other mistakes also in his Itinerary of the Pope. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 50, and *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Among recent writers see UGOLINI, II., 137 *seq.*, and LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 172 *seq.*

He had sent Antonio da Monte San Savino, Archbishop of Manfredonia, to Bologna to endeavour to arrange terms for its return to its allegiance to the Church,* but Giovanni Bentivoglio had anticipated the Archbishop and completely frustrated his mission. At first, Sigismondo de Conti says, he had been disposed to submit, but the consciousness of his many misdeeds led him eventually to change his mind. He succeeded in cajoling the citizens into assuring the Papal Envoy that their Prince was no tyrant, but a true father to his people. All the Archbishop's kindly admonitions proved unavailing, and when at last he threatened them with the censures of the Church, Bentivoglio and the magistrates appealed to a General Council.†

The Pope had intended to await the result of the Archbishop's mission at Urbino, but the moment he heard that he was on his way back, in spite of the dissuasions of the Duke and others, he determined to set out to meet him.

In the early morning of the 29th September he started for Macerata.‡ The roads were mere bridle paths, the weather had broken, and the hills were covered with snow, so that it was not possible on the 30th to set out till after mid-day. The rain fell in torrents and the sumpter-mules stumbled and fell on the slippery paths, but the Pope struggled on with passionate haste towards San Marino. He halted for the night in the suburb of Borgo, and here a letter reached him from the King of France promising to send troops and announcing his intention of coming himself in Advent to Bologna, where he hoped to meet the

* SANUTO, VI., 421–422.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 349–350. *Cf.* also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 26 *seq.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI wrongly gives the 30th (II., 351). *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 53; Letter of Machiavelli of 1st Oct., 1506, and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Pope.* This set Julius II. free from his greatest anxiety. The support of the French Government had been delayed as long as possible, but now that he was assured of this the fall of Bentivoglio was certain.† There was nothing now to fear from Venice. Nevertheless, "he still felt it prudent to take pains to conciliate the Venetians." He proposed to the Signoria to permit them still to retain Faenza and Rimini as a fief. Though this offer was refused, he still continued to treat the Republic with all possible consideration. "He strictly forbade his troops, in their necessary march through Venetian territory, under pain of death to take anything from the inhabitants, and emphatically assured their Envoy D. Pisani, that the Signoria had nothing to fear from him. He was most anxious not to afford the least shadow of excuse to Venice for her conduct." ‡

Instead of taking the high road from San Marino to Rimini Julius chose the more difficult mountain way, in order to avoid passing through the country occupied by the Venetians. On the 1st October he spent the night in the miserable little village of Savignano, and on the following day crossed the Rubicon and entered Cesena, where he took up his quarters for the night in the castle. Meanwhile the Bolognese Envoys had arrived. They besought him "not to throw a peaceful city, which was thoroughly loyal to the Church, into confusion by demanding novelties." Julius answered, "I know that what you are now saying is not what you really think; you cannot be so foolish as to prefer the rule of a cruel tyrant to mine." §

On the 5th of October a Consistory was held, at which

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 54. On the precise moment when the King changed his mind, see BROSCH, Julius II., 331.

† *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letter of the 3rd Oct., 1506.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 129. *Cf.* SANUTO, VI., 453.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 351. The answer of Julius II. is some-

there were twenty Cardinals present. During the mid-day meal the news arrived that the French troops were on the road with sixteen cannon and would be at Modena on Saturday. The following day brought tidings of the death of King Philip of Castile.* On the 7th October it was determined in a Secret Consistory that an Interdict should be laid on Bologna. A review of the troops took place in Cesena; the army consisted of 600 horsemen, 1600 foot-soldiers, and 300 Swiss.†

The persistent rain had made the roads almost impassable; but Julius would brook no delay. Early on the 8th October he moved onwards from Cesena to Forlimpopoli, and on the following day to Forli. In entering the city, he and his suite had a taste of the wild character of the people of the Romagna, who forcibly possessed themselves of the Pope's mule and baldacchino.‡

Meanwhile there could no longer be any doubt that Bentivoglio had no intention of relinquishing his usurped authority without a struggle. "He trusted in the strength of the city, the number of his adherents, his high position, and his stalwart sons." According to Sigismondo de' Conti, Bentivoglio demanded that the Pope should enter Bologna without troops, and make no change in anything.§

what differently stated in Machiavelli's letter, cited *supra*, note † on preceding page. According to him the Pope said amongst other things: circa i capitoli non curava ne quello aveva fatto gli altri papi, ne quello aveva fatto lui (*cf.* THEINER, Cod., III., 515) perche gli altri papi e lui non avevan possuto fare altro e la necessità e non la volontà gli aveva fatti confermare.

* Philip died of a fever on the morning of 25th Sept. See HÄBLER, 130–131; SANUTO, VI., 442.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 58 *seq.*; Machiavelli's Letter of the 5th Oct., 1506; and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 60, and *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 351; REUMONT, III., 2, 23.

These pretensions so enraged Julius that he at once proclaimed the excommunication of Bentivoglio and an Interdict on Bologna unless the city returned to its obedience within nine days. On the 11th of October these Bulls were affixed to the doors of the Cathedral of Forli.* The Bolognese were thoroughly frightened, says Sigismondo de' Conti, but Bentivoglio was not yet subdued. He had sent large bribes to the French commanders, and in their greed of gain they tried for a time to play fast and loose between him and the Pope. Julius, however, threatened Louis that if he did not keep his word he would publish his faithlessness to the whole world; and at last the King commanded his generals to advance. The alarm produced by their approach in Bologna determined the Pope to begin his march from Forli; but instead of taking the easy road through the fertile country of the Æmilia, he chose for his own party the one which led across the mountains. This, Sigismondo de' Conti says, was partly because he did not trust the Venetians,† and partly because he could not endure to look upon Faenza, torn away from the Church as it now was. Thus, leaving the bulk of the army and the Cardinals to take the direct road by that place, he with a small retinue turned aside to the left towards

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 61–62; LÜNIG, IV., 194; and Machiavelli's Letter of the 10th Oct., 1506. Portions of the Bull of Interdict, dated 10th Oct., 1506, taken from the Regest. in the Papal Secret Archives, are to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 25 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, G. Bentivoglio, App., XCIII. *seq.*, and also in Frati's ed. of PARIS DE GRASSIS, 177–186. The Bull excommunicating Bentivoglio, also dated 10th Oct., 1506, was printed the same year in Rome. Copies of it are, however, rare, as Bentivoglio had as many as he could obtain destroyed. I saw one in the State Archives at Modena.

† The Brief of the 15th Oct., 1506, printed in Appendix, N. 53, refers also to this. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Castrocaro, a place which had once belonged to the Church but was now in the hands of the Florentines. This was on the 17th October.* Beyond Mutilano the road became extremely difficult; ten times it was crossed by a mountain torrent; in one place the Pope had to dismount and clamber up the steep ascent for a mile with the assistance of his servants. He was half-dead with fatigue when in the evening he arrived at the little village of Marradi in the valley of Lamone, but he only allowed himself a short night's rest, and was off again before daybreak to Palazzuolo. There he halted for a light meal in the afternoon, and then hurried on to Tossignano, which he reached in the evening. This place belonged to the States of the Church; still he would not tarry, but went on at once to Imola.†

Though the Pope was now sixty-four years of age, and suffering at the time from gout, he had borne the fatigues of the mountain journey as if he had been quite a young man.‡ His attendants had to follow him whether they liked it or not. Paris de Grassis, the Master of Ceremonies, travelled by the easier road by Faenza, but before they parted Julius II. made him hand over to him his costly cope, and his mitre and pectoral cross, "For fear," he said, "they should be stolen by the Venetians or the people of Faenza."§ When his followers were almost

* SANUTO, VI., 451, and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 352–353. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS ed. Frati, 64–65; LAUR. PARMENIUS, 313; Machiavelli's Letters of the 16th and 19th Oct., 1506; and *Acta Consist.

‡ "Imus praecipites per mille pericula rerum
Turrigerasque arces, rupes et inhospita saxa."

See Card. A. Castellesi's poem mentioned *supra*, p. 266, note †.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 64–65.

in despair at the difficulties of the road to Tossignano, the Pope smilingly quoted Virgil's lines:

> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
> Tendimus in Latium.
>
> —*Æneid*, I., 204, 205.

In the little town of Imola, which they reached on the 20th* October, and where they were received with festal honours, it was impossible to accommodate the whole of the Pope's suite. In consequence, all the officials and many members of the Court remained at Castro Bolognese, and the army (2000 men) was encamped in the neighbouring country. The Duke of Urbino being laid up with an attack of gout, Francesco Gonzaga was appointed Commander-in-Chief on the 25th October. On the same day Julius received a visit from the Duke of Ferrara. On All Souls' Day, just as the Pope was going to Mass, the tidings of the flight of Bentivoglio arrived.† The tyrant now saw the impossibility of making a defence, as he had made himself utterly detested by his subjects. He therefore entered into a compact with the French Commander-in-Chief, Chaumont, and fled to Milan with a safe conduct from him. According to Sigismondo de' Conti, as soon as the Interdict was laid upon Bologna, the citizens completely deserted him. One by one, all the priests left the city, and even his most trusted friends began to say that the Pope was in the right. But Bentivoglio still held

* Not on the 21st as stated by VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 425. See SANUTO, VI., 425; FANTI, Imola, 17 *seq.* (here the particulars in regard to the rejoicings are to be found); and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 66–80. The Brief on F. Gonzaga's appointment is in DUMONT, IV., II., 89, inaccurately given in GOZZADINI, Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, Appendix, XCVIII. *seq.*, translated in EQUICOLA, Storia di' Mantova (1610), 247–248.

out until he heard that Charles d'Amboise had actually arrived at Modena with an army of 600 lancers, 3000 horsemen, and a large number of guns.

The Bolognese now sent Envoys to the Pope, begging for the removal of the Interdict, and protection against the French army. The French troops were already under the walls, and the soldiers were hoping for a rich booty from the pillage of the city; they were encamped along the canal which conducts the water from the Reno into the city. The citizens had taken up arms to defend themselves, and had flooded the French camp by opening a sluice, which forced the enemy to retire, leaving their baggage and heavy artillery behind them. They were furious, and bent on vengeance; the city was only saved from being sacked by the prompt action of the Pope, who bought them off with a present of 8000 ducats to the generals and 10,000 to the soldiers. Thus the splendid reception, which was accorded to him when he entered Bologna, was well earned.* The triumphal entry was to take place on the Feast of S. Martin.

But it was not in Julius II. to endure such a long delay. "On the 10th of November," says the Master of Ceremonies, "his Holiness commanded me to look for a suitable and safe residence for him within the city. This I found in the house which had formerly belonged to the Templars, which was only a stone's throw from the gate, and the Pope took possession of it at once, bringing only a small number of his suite with him. He would not listen to

* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. I.; LAURENTIUS PARMENIUS, 314 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 354-355. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 83, gives a somewhat different account, evidently coloured so as to shew his countrymen to the best advantage. *Cf.* also FLORUS, De expedit. Bonon., 20 *seq.*; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 35, 36, 37; SUGENHEIM, 396-307; and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 74 *seq.*

the dissuasions of the astrologers, despising their science, and saying, 'We will go in in the name of God.' Meanwhile it became known in the city that the Pope was within its walls, and the ringing of bells and thunder of cannon soon announced the news to the whole country round." *

The triumphal procession to San Petronio, the Cathedral of Bologna, took place on the 11th November in lovely summer-like weather; the roses were still in bloom.† The pageant was of unusual magnificence, a perfect specimen of the festive art of the Renaissance.‡ The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, has described all its details in his own pedantic fashion; § other contemporaries, such as the Venetian Envoy, Francesco Albertini, and the Bolognese chronicler Ghirardacci, have painted it in a broader style.|| Cardinal Adriano of Corneto celebrates it in a Latin poem.¶ The Pope's humanistic secretary, Sigismondo de' Conti, gives a very good description of it in his great historical work. "Thirteen triumphal arches," he says, "were erected, bearing the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 84–85.

† ALBERTINI, p. XXII.

‡ On the pageantry and festal-art of the Renaissance in general, see BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 143 *seq.*, ed. 3.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 85–96.

|| ALBERTINI, pp. XXI–XXII. The Report of the Venetian Envoy is in SANUTO, VI., 491 *seq.* Erasmus, who was present, gives no description, but laments its pomp. To give greater weight to his strictures, he says that he had also seen the entry of Julius II. into Rome. This is untrue, though GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 50, ed. 3, maintains it; *cf.* NOLHAC, Érasme en Italie, 17. Ghirardacci's account is in Lib. 38, Cod. 768, of the University Library, Bologna. *Cf.* also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 34, 39, and LAURENTIUS PARMENIUS, 315.

¶ *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 114–115; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3.

inscription in large letters: 'Julius II., our Liberator and most beneficent Father!' A hundred young noblemen formed a cordon to keep the people back. First came a number of horsemen as outriders to clear the way, then the light cavalry, the infantry in glistening armour, the baggage of the Pope and the Cardinals, and finally the bands of the regiments. These were followed by sixteen Bolognese and four Papal standard-bearers with their banners, the ten white palfreys of the Pope with golden bridles, and lastly the officials of the Court. Next to these came the Envoys, Duke Guido of Urbino, the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, Francesco Maria, the Prefect of Rome, Costantino Areniti, the Duke of Achaia and Macedonia, fourteen lictors with silver staves to keep the crowd back, and the two Masters of Ceremonies, the first of whom, Paris de Grassis, was the organiser of the whole pageant. The Papal Cross was carried by Carlo Rotario; he was closely followed by forty of the clergy with lighted candles and the Papal choir accompanying the Sacred Host. The Cardinals walked immediately in front of Julius II., who was carried in the *Sedia Gestatoria*; his purple cope, shot with gold thread and fastened across the breast with the *formale pretiosum* set with emeralds and sapphires, was a splendid work of art. On his head he wore an unusually large mitre glistening with pearls and jewels. He was accompanied by his two private chamberlains, his secretary Sigismondo de' Conti, and his physicians, the Roman Mariano dei Dossi, and the Sienese Arcangelo dei Tuti. He was followed by the Patriarchs, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Protonotary, the ecclesiastical Envoys, the Abbots and Generals of religious orders, the Penitentiaries and Referendaries. The whole procession was closed by a body of the Papal guard. It moved very slowly, owing to the immense concourse

of spectators, all decked in holiday garb, who had come in from the country round to receive the Pope's blessing. Gold and silver coins, struck for the occasion, were scattered by servants amongst them. At the Cathedral the Pope first made his act of thanksgiving and then solemnly blessed the people. It was dusk before he got back to the palace, now attended by the magistrates of the city, who joined the procession after it left the Cathedral." *

The work of reorganising the Government of the city was begun by Julius II. as soon as possible after his arrival. "He was anxious to make the government of the Church popular at Bologna, and for this end he confirmed their ancient liberties and gave them a new constitution which left a large measure of autonomy to the municipality, and also considerably lightened the burden of taxation which had pressed on them so heavily of late." † The Council of Sixteen was abolished, and on the 17th of November a Senate, consisting of forty members, chosen for the most part from amongst the best burgher families of Bologna, was appointed in its place. This Senate was to act as the Legate's Council, "but was granted far greater and more independent powers by Julius II. than the city had ever enjoyed under the Bentivogli"; and he also diminished the taxes. "He wished to create a really free city which should be loyal to him out of gratitude for his protection." ‡ On

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 358–362. The inscription on the coins was: Bon[onia] p[er] Jul[ium] a tirano liberat[a]; *cf.* FRATI, Delle monete gettate al popolo nel solenne ingresso in Bologna di Giulio, II. (Bologna, 1885). See also Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, III., 44 *seq.*

† SUGENHEIM, 397. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 99 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 360 *seq.*

‡ RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 217. On the reduction of the Taxes, see SANUTO, VI., 521, and FLORUS, 23.

the 26th of November the anniversary of the Pope's Coronation was celebrated with great pomp. On this occasion, by his special desire, his favourite nephew, Galeotto della Rovere, was the celebrant at the High Mass.

Louis XII. and his minister d'Amboise demanded an exorbitant price for the assistance they had rendered. In addition to a large payment in money, they demanded the right of appointing to benefices throughout the Milanese territory, the confirmation of Cardinal d'Amboise's Legation, and the nomination of three French Cardinals, all near relations of his.* The last condition was the hardest for the Pope; for the Cardinals strongly objected to this increase of French influence in the Sacred College, with the consequent enhancement of d'Amboise's prospect of some day obtaining the Tiara, and the danger of the Court being transferred to Avignon.† This creation, the third in the reign of Julius II., took place on the 18th December, 1506, in a Secret Consistory and was not published at first.‡ The three Cardinals were: Jean François de la Trémoïlle,

* SANUTO, VI., 452; GOLDAST, 278; HAVEMANN, II., 233.

† *Ibid.*, 507.

‡ This is the reason of the variations in contemporaneous statements on this subject. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 119, says: Die veneris 18 (Dec.) papa fecit consistorium pro novis cardinalibus creandis, licet postea nihil fecerit; and 133: Die 4 Januarii, 1507 . . . . creavit secrete cardinales Franciae nonnullos. On the other hand, a Report in SANUTO, VI., 518, unfortunately without a proper date, says the nomination had already taken place in December. My chief reason for believing that, in spite of OLDOIN'S (III., 261) correction, Ciaconius is not mistaken and that CARDELLA, 323, is right in holding to the year 1506, while I reject the date of 14th Jan. given by CONTELORIUS, 109 (PANVINIUS, 345, who says 3rd Sept., is utterly wrong), is that I find 18th Dec., 1506, expressly mentioned in the official *Acta Consist., f. 23. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Archbishop of Auch ; René de Prie, Bishop of Bayeux ; and Louis d'Amboise, Archbishop of Alby. They were not published until the 17th May, 1507, after the Pope's return to Rome, and at the same time as the nomination of Cardinal Ximenes to the Sacred College.*

In spite of these concessions sharp dissensions, principally on account of the affairs of Genoa, soon broke out between Louis and the Pope. "It was an open secret in Rome that d'Amboise was working to obtain the Tiara at any cost, while, on the other hand, at the Court of France every one said that the Pope was privately encouraging and even helping the Genoese in their resistance to Louis XII."† In the middle of February, 1507, the King said to the Florentine Envoy: "I have sent word to the Pope that if he takes up the cause of the Genoese I will put Giovanni Bentivoglio back in Bologna. I have only to write a single letter in order to effect this, and Bentivoglio will give me 100,000 ducats into the bargain. The Rovere are a peasant family: nothing but the stick at his back will keep the Pope in order."‡

When there could no longer be any doubt that Louis XII. was coming to Italy, Julius II. felt that it would be better to leave Bologna and so avoid a meeting. The French King was collecting such a large army that it was impossible to think that its only employment was to be the reconquest of Genoa. The Pope apprehended that there might even be personal danger for him in remaining at Bologna, and

* *Cf.* Card. Gonzaga's *Letter to his brother, the Marquess of Mantua, dat. Rome, 17th May, 1507 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); the Venetian Report in SANUTO, VII., 82, and Costabili's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 20th May, 1507. (State Archives, Modena.) See also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 23, 39. On Card. de la Trémoïlle, see LA PLAQUE BARRIS in the Rev. de Gascogne, 1878.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 136 ; GRIMM, I., 303, ed. 5.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 220 ; *cf.* 224 *seq.*

therefore at last decided on returning to Rome, to the great satisfaction of his Court. On the 12th of February, 1507, he informed the Cardinals in a Secret Consistory of his intention. The Bolognese were completely taken by surprise when they heard of this unexpected decision, and at first extremely dissatisfied, as the work of reorganising the affairs of the city was not by any means concluded. This feeling, however, was soon dissipated when they found that the Pope was prepared to confirm the liberties granted to the city by Nicholas V., and to divide the executive power between the Legate and the Council of Forty.* Nevertheless he had so little confidence in the unruly citizens that he ordered a new fort to be built at the Porta Galiera. On the 20th of February he laid its first stone. The day before this he had appointed Antonio Ferreri, Legate of Bologna; an unfortunate selection, as soon appeared. Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere took Ferreri's place in Perugia, and was succeeded in Viterbo by Francesco Alidosi.†

On the 22nd February, 1507, as soon as the Bull appointing the Council of Forty had been published, the Pope left the city to the great regret of the Bolognese, and on the same day the new Legate entered it.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 138–142. *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 364, who does not give the real reason for the Pope's departure; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 76–77.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 147–148. *Cf.* SANUTO, VI., 536, 551–552; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 79 *seq.*; *Ghirardacci for the year 1507, Cod. 768 of the University Lib. at Bologna. On the laying of the foundation-stone of the fort, see GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 62. The Bull nominating A. Ferreri, dat. Bologna, 20th Feb., 1507, which, as far as I know, has not been printed, is in the State Archives, Bologna.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 149, 151 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 364; and *Acta Consist., f. 28, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Julius II. stopped first at Imola to make further arrangements for the maintenance of peace in that city. He then proceeded to Forli and Cesena, again avoiding Faenza, visited Porto Cesenatico, Sant' Arcangelo, and Urbino, and made his way back to Rome by Foligno, Montefalco, Orto, Viterbo, and Nepi.* On the 27th of March, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, he reached the Tiber at Ponte Molle, where he was welcomed by a crowd of people. He spent the night in the Convent of Santa Maria del Popolo. On Palm Sunday he celebrated High Mass in that church, and this was followed by his triumphal entry into the city and procession to the Vatican.

Rome had adorned herself for the occasion in that curious mixture of Christian and Pagan styles which characterised the taste of the period. The streets were profusely decorated with hangings and garlands, and bristling with inscriptions in praise of the victor. Triumphal arches, covered with legends, were erected in all directions; some of these, as for instance the one put up by Cardinal Costa on the Campo Marzo, were also decorated with statues and pictures. Opposite the Castle of St. Angelo was a chariot with four white horses and containing ten genii with palms in their hands, welcoming the Pope; on the prow of the chariot a globe rested, from which sprang an oak bearing gilt acorns and rising to the height of the Church of Sta Maria Traspontina. In front of the Vatican a copy of the Arch of Constantine was erected representing the whole history of the expedition. By order of the Legate, Cardinal S. Giorgio, an altar was prepared before every church

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 152–169; SANUTO, VI., 553; *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* On the 27th Feb., 1507, Julius took Alberto Pio of Carpi and his State under his special protection, an act which was directed against the Duke of Ferrara. See Mem. Stor. di Carpi, II., 331 *seq.*; SEMPER, Carpi, 7.

along the route of the procession, attended by the clergy and choir, that the religious element might not be eclipsed by all the worldly pomp. An eye-witness says that this triumphal entry was even more magnificent than the coronation. Twenty-eight Cardinals accompanied the Pope, the procession took three hours to pass from the gate of the city to S. Peter's. The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, says that Julius knelt longer than was his wont at the tomb of the Apostles, and as he entered his apartment he said: "Since we have returned in safety, we all have indeed good cause to chant the Te Deum." *

In truth Julius II. had achieved a great success. It was enthusiastically celebrated by the poets of the time.† In his address in the Consistory, Cardinal Raffaele Riario said: "When your Holiness first announced your project of bringing Bologna back to a true obedience under the Holy See, the excellence of the object that you had in view was plain to us all. Hence we rejoice with our whole hearts now that this noble and glorious end is attained. The success of your Holiness has immensely increased the honour and consideration in which the Holy See is held, and covered your own name with a glory that will never perish. Your Holiness has deserved to be ranked among those illustrious Popes who, casting aside all personal considerations or family interests, proposed no other end to

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 172–176. *Cf.* ALBERTINI, pp. XXII–XXIII; SANUTO, VII., 43, 63–65. (Many of the inscriptions are very characteristic of the period.) *Cf.* also LAUR. PARMENIUS, 316, and the *Report of Giov. Gonzaga, Rome, 28th March, and that of Cardinal Gonzaga of the 29th March (see Appendix, N. 73), in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and in Appendix, N. 72, Costabili's *Report, the 28th March, 1507. State Archives, Modena.

† Fr. AMBROSIUS, Comment. de rebus gestis Bapt. Mantuani, 80. *Cf.* PIPER, Mythologie, I., 366 *seq.*

themselves but the care of preserving and augmenting the authority and majesty of the Holy See."*

* *Sicut ab initio S. V. fecit verbum de rebus Bononiensibus comprobatum fuit, nihil posse praestantius cogitari quam urbem hanc redigere ad veram obedientiam Sedis apostolicae, ita nunc toto corde gaudere et exsultare debemus, quod S. V. consecuta fuerit illum optimum et gloriosum finem, quem in animo suo, Deo et justitia inspirantibus praeconceperat. S. V. mirum in modum corroboravit et ampliavit existimationem status ecclesiastici et auxit immortalitatem famae et nominis sui ita, ut merito jam fuerit sortita locum inter illos clarissimos pontifices, qui posthabitis humanis affectibus, etiam sui proprii sanguinis, nullum alium finem sibi proponebant quam solam curam et vigilantiam conservandi et amplificandi auctoritatem et majestatem Apostolicae sedis. *Consistorialia Raph. Riarii card. S. Georgii, Cod. J. III., 89, f. 219, in the Chigi Library, Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

Changes in the Political Situation in Europe between 1507 and 1509.—Julius II. threatened by Spain and France.—The Venetians seek to Humiliate the Papacy both Ecclesiastically and Politically. — Resistance of Julius II. — League of Cambrai and War against Venice.—The Pope's Victory.

The rapid subjugation of two such important cities as Bologna and Perugia to the government of the Church had immensely enhanced the prestige of Julius II. in the eyes of his contemporaries;* but he had no notion of resting on his laurels, knowing how far he still was from the goal which, from the first moment of his elevation, he had proposed to himself. The "largest and by far the most difficult portion of his task, the wresting from Venice of the towns and territories belonging to the States of the Church which she had appropriated, lay still before him."†

The settlement of the year 1505 was of such a nature as, in the words of one of Julius II.'s bitterest opponents, to set a seal on the helpless condition of the Papacy.‡ Even a less energetic ruler than this Pope would have been driven to strive for the evacuation of the Romagna.

But meanwhile other events occurred which forced all Julius II.'s plans for repelling the usurpations of the Vene-

* Villari, Machiavelli, I., 436.

† Sugenheim, 397.

‡ Brosch in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 304.

tians into the background. He found himself seriously threatened by both France and Spain.

The first dispute between the Pope and King Ferdinand of Spain arose out of the suzerainty of the Holy See over Naples and the feudal dues; to this, others were soon added by the encroachments of the King on the right of the Church in the appointments to Bishoprics in Castile.* The tension produced by their differences went on increasing, although on the 17th May, 1507, Julius had bestowed the Red-hat on the King's trusted minister Ximenes, the distinguished Archbishop of Toledo, who was also an ardent advocate of reform.† When, in June, 1507, Ferdinand was on his way from Naples to Savona, Julius hastened to Ostia in hopes of obtaining an interview; but the King discourteously sailed past Ostia without stopping.‡ At Savona, towards the end of June, he met Louis XII., and there a reconciliation between the two Kings took place.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 324, 332; ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 86; LANZ, Einl., 96.

† GOMEZ, 1003; HEFELE, Ximenes, 255. In the *Acta Consist., f. 24 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), the date of Ximenes' nomination is wanting, but it can be determined with certainty from the Brief of Julius II., given by GOMEZ, *loc. cit.* The subject of Card. Ximenes' zeal in the cause of reform will be dealt with further on. *Cf.* HEFELE, and also HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 26 *seq.*

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 140–142.

§ What passed at this meeting at Savona is not yet fully known: LANZ, Einl., 89 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 4; BROSCH, 142; and, recently, G. FILIPPI, Il convegno di Savona (Savona, 1890), who cites many Florentine Ambassadorial Reports, have cleared up a great deal, but not all. There seems to be no doubt that an alliance against Venice was seriously discussed, and that in a certain sense the ground was prepared for the League of Cambrai. *Cf.* new particulars drawn from the Simancas Archives by MAULDE in the Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., IV., 583–590, and FILIPPI in his treatise, Ancora del convegno di Savona, in the Atti e Mem. d. Soc. Stor. Savonese, II., 729 *seq.* Still it is by no means certain

The disproportionate strength of the army sent by the French King to quell the rebellion in Genoa made the understanding between the two great powers appear all the more ominous for the Pope, since it seemed to point to some further design. Another remarkable thing was the number of Cardinals at his Court. First, there were the three French Cardinals (including d'Amboise), then the Cardinal d'Aragona, who had been on the French side ever since the death of Alexander VI., and Cardinal Sanseverino, who afterwards lapsed into schism.* In May 1507, Julius II. had sent Cardinal Antonio Pallavicino, a Genoese, to the King's camp and he too was now in Savona. The object of this Legation, according to Sigismondo de' Conti, was to persuade Louis to deal leniently with the Genoese, and to disband his army.† The magnitude of the French force

that the agreement of the 30th June, 1507, contains the whole of the arrangements entered into by the two parties, and Maulde does not conceal from himself that he is not in a position to furnish an exhaustive statement of the results of the interview. Until some new documents have been discovered, we cannot get beyond this.

* LEHMANN, 3.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 375; SANUTO, VII., 73, 76, 82, 88, 94, 96, 98, 100, 104, 113, 114, 119, 132, 133. The nomination of Pallavicino as Legate to the French Court followed in a Consistory on the 5th May, 1507; *cf.* *Cardinal Gonzaga's Letter to his brother, dated Rome, 5th May, 1507 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Costabili's Report, Rome, 6th May, 1507. (State Archives, Modena.) Cardinal Pallavicini sailed on the 19th May (*Intravimus mare cum max. difficultate, in the Itinerarium. On the 20th the Pope wrote the Brief to Louis XII. given in Appendix, N. 75), and after his return on the 18th Aug. read a Report of his mission in Consistory. He died soon after (SANUTO, VII., 150). The account of the journey, etc., probably by some one who had accompanied him, is in *Itinerarium Card^lis S. Praxedis ad Ludovicum XII. in Cod. Borghese, I., 128, f. 1–25, and Bibl. Pia, 61, f. 117–149. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) No information in regard to the purport of the Cardinal's mission is to be obtained from this document (JEAN D'AUTON, Chroniques, ed. Jacob, IV., 105, admits his ignorance on

had aroused alarm in Germany as well as in Italy, as we see from the resolutions of the Diet of Constance.

According to the statements made by Pallavicino to the Florentine Envoy in Savona, his instructions were, first, to defend the Pope against the false accusation of having invited Maximilian to invade Italy, and here, it seems, he was successful. In the second place, he was to ask that the Bentivogli should be delivered over to Julius II., and here he failed. Louis XII. denied that Giovanni and Alessandro Bentivoglio were implicated in the plot against Bologna; and said he could not in honour give them up.* From expressions let fall by one of the Cardinals who was present it appeared that Pallavicino had several long conversations

this point; *cf.* KNUTH, 29.) It merely describes the Legate's journey, and the ceremonial observed at his reception by Louis XII., and at the meeting of the two Kings at Savona. In politics it keeps entirely to externals:—f. 131: Milan, 7th June: Legatus et Rothomagensis habuerunt colloquium secrete; f. 132: Milan, 10th June: Reception of the Legate by the King. Rex dedit legato dexteram et iverunt in cameram regis cum dictis cardinalibus [Rothomag., Narbon., Esten.], et secrete sunt loquuti per spatium duarum horarum; f. 137: Savona, 25th June: Legatus et Rothomagensis loquuti sunt secrete cum rege per duas horas. The occasion of this was the arrival of a messenger from Rome with the Red-hats for Cardinals Auximanus and Baiocensis, the first of whom had died in Milan a few days before, while the second was lying seriously ill in the same place. Finita loquutione cum rege legatus et Rothomagensis . . . . venerunt ad cameram Rothomagensis, in qua ambo secrete sunt loquuti per horam. De quibus materiis loquuti sunt, non est meum quaerere; f. 147: Savona, 1st July: The two Kings invited the Legate to come to them, quia erant secum loquuturi . . . . Legatus ivit ad cameram, ubi reges erant; per duas horas stetit cum illis et cardinali Rothomagensi. The Itinerarium then describes the departure of the King of Spain from Savona on the 2nd July, that of the King of France on the 3rd; the embarkation of the Legate on the 7th of that month, and his reception in the Consistory on the 18th Aug.

* Florentine Report, dated Savona, 4th July, 1507, in the Atti d. Soc. Sav., II., 19–20.

with Louis XII. and d'Amboise, in the course of which he met with but scant courtesy, especially from the latter.*

In connection with the meeting of the Kings at Savona, some things soon transpired which led the Pope to apprehend that an attack on his spiritual power was contemplated. Ferdinand himself admitted that the reform of the Church had been discussed. It is also certain that here again, as formerly, he encouraged d'Amboise in his aspirations after the Tiara.†

Guicciardini says that Julius II., in his extreme need, turned for help to Maximilian. This is not confirmed by any recent investigations. "On the contrary, it is demonstrable that the primary object of his policy was to effect a reconciliation between Maximilian and Louis XII. and to unite their forces against Venice. From the end of the

* The Itinerarium mentioned above gives a similar impression. In f. 139 it says of d'Amboise : ipse est vere rex Franciae. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† LEHMANN, 4, who also refers to Ferdinand's menace in May 1508, that he would withdraw all his States from the allegiance of the Holy See. The letter which contains this threat is addressed to the Viceroy of Naples, and in it he is desired, without more ado, to hang any one who brings a Papal Bull which has not received the Royal *placet* into the kingdom. It was first published by F. DE QUEVEDO, Obras, XI. (Madrid, 1792–94), 3–9, and afterwards in the Lettres de Louis XII., I., 109–114. B. de la Fuente erroneously supposes this letter to be a Protestant invention of the end of the 16th Century. The text leaves no doubt as to its origin, and the contents perfectly correspond with Ferdinand's policy and with the peculiar views of his royal rights which he entertained. Ferdinand simply vetoed Papal Bulls again and again. On the 31st Aug., 1509, he issued a decree punishing with death any person who should obtain, either from the Pope or his Legate, any Bull or document against the Spanish Inquisition. LLORENTE, I., 368–369 ; GAMS, III., 128 *seq.*, 140–142. Ferdinand and his Envoys (*cf.* PRESCOTT, II., 201) were perfectly indefatigable in Rome in demanding concessions, especially in regard to money matters. *Cf.* Costabili's *Report, Rome, 15th Aug., 1508. State Archives, Modena.

year 1506 Costantino Areniti had been working by his orders in this direction."*

The Pope's anxiety in regard to Maximilian's proposed visit to Rome is a clear proof how far he then was from thinking of applying to him for assistance.† When in the Summer of 1507 it was announced on all sides that Maximilian was certainly coming to Italy, Julius resolved to send a Cardinal as Legate to Germany.‡ He selected a man who was one of Maximilian's most faithful friends at the Roman Court, Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal. Furnished with ample powers, the Cardinal left Rome on the 5th of August, 1507, and passing through Siena met the King at Innsbruck in the middle of September.§

Carvajal was charged to endeavour to dissuade the King from coming to Italy with an army, and to propose instead that he should be crowned Emperor in Germany by two Cardinals who would be sent for this purpose.‖ Besides

* ULMANN, II., 306, following BROSCH, 138, 332 *seq.*

† ULMANN, Max. I. Absichten, 10–11, shews what pains France took to increase the Pope's distrust of Maximilian. The King had already in a Letter to the Pope in Aug. 1506, announced his intention of making an armed pilgrimage to Rome. (See, in Appendix 50, Arsago's *Letter of 15th Aug., 1506.) State Archives, Mantua.

‡ On the 8th July, 1507, Card. Gonzaga wrote to his brother, *Si tiene per certo la venuta del Re de Romani. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ SANUTO, VII., 132, says on the 10th; ROSSBACH, 92, the 8th; the *Acta Consist., f. 24, the 4th Aug. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) The authentic information which we seek for in vain in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 8, is to be found in the *Diarium of PARIS DE GRASSIS, 16 Julii, 1507: Cardinalis s. Crucis D. Bern. Carvaglianus creatus est legatus ad partes Germaniae obviam Imperatori venturo in Italiam.—4 Augusti fuit consistorium publicum. The Pope offered the usual prayers for the new Legate, who then retired to the Convent of Sta Maria del Popolo. Ibi fecit prandium et in aurora sequenti arripuit iter. Cod. Lat. 140, f. 113a, 114b, of the Court and State Library, Munich.

‖ MACHIAVELLI, Opere, ed. Passerini, V., 247, and SANUTO, VII.,

this, he was to make two other propositions to the King, one for a universal League amongst all Christian Princes against the Turks, and the other for a special alliance between him and the Pope against Venice. The first proposal was rejected but the second was accepted.* This success, however, was of little use to Julius II. as long as Maximilian persisted in rejecting all overtures for a reconciliation with France. Carvajal, however, remained with the King, and did not relinquish his purpose. When he found that the Venetians obstinately persisted in refusing to allow him to pass through their territory on his way to Rome, Maximilian began to lend a more favourable ear to the persuasions of the Legate. "In February, 1508, he made secret overtures for an offensive and defensive alliance against Venice to the Court of France, which corresponded in all essentials with the future League of Cambrai."†

At this time Maximilian did a thing which was completely at variance with all previous mediæval custom.‡ On the 4th February, 1508, through his counsellor Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, he solemnly proclaimed in the Cathedral of Trent that he had assumed the title of "Emperor-elect of Rome." He took pains to explain, however, in a letter to the Empire, and by his Envoys at Rome, that this proceeding was not in any way intended to

119; BROSCH, 138, 145; ULMANN, II., 333. HERGENRÖTHER'S counter arguments, VIII., 444–445, do not seem to me convincing.

* So says ZURITA, VI., 152 *seq.*, who had trustworthy information and whose statement Brosch has overlooked. *Cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 93 *seq.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI'S account, II., 38, is incomplete. The Briefs in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 9, and the *Brief of 12th Feb., 1508, printed in Appendix, N. 76, refer to the Crusade. Kreisarchiv in Würzburg.

† ULMANN, II., 334–335; BROSCH, Julius II., 154 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*

‡ BRYCE, in his Holy Roman Empire, quite oversteps the mark in saying that the assumption of this title signified "the separation of Germany from Rome."

contravene the Pope's rights in regard to his Coronation. On the contrary, he was as determined as ever to come to Rome to be crowned there by Julius II. as soon as he had conquered the Venetians.* The explanation thus given, safe-guarding the right of the Holy See, enabled Julius II. to declare himself perfectly satisfied, as in fact he had reason to be, with an act which, at any rate, put off for a time the dreaded visit to Rome. On the 12th of February, 1508, he addressed a Brief to "Maximilian, Emperor-elect of Rome," in which he recognised and praised the correctness of his attitude towards the Holy See, and added that, as the Church already prayed for him on Good Friday as Roman Emperor, he was fully justified in assuming the title. The remaining contents of this Brief lead us to infer that the Pope's affability was not quite unmotived. It impressed upon Maximilian the expediency of coming to terms with France, and of making his visit to Rome without the accompaniment of an army.†

* *Cf.* the Report in Forschungen z. Deutsch. Gesch., I., 71; in JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 742–744; and Maximilian's Letters in DATT, De pace publica, 568–570. *Cf.* HUBER, III., 368, and Mittheil. d. Œsterreich. Instituts, XI., 44. See also the Riporto di uno esplorator in SANUTO, VII., 293–295, which also says that Card. Carvajal remained at Botzen. *Cf.* also RANKE, Deutsch. Gesch., VI., 90 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 411 *seq.*; HEIDENHEIMER, P. Martyr, 173 *seq.*; and ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 95, who gives Meran instead of Botzen. A letter of grace despatched by him on 4th Feb., 1507 (st. fl.), from Botzen, and preserved in the Archives of the monastery at Gries, proves that he was certainly staying there on that day. KIEM, who, in the Zeitschr. d. Ferdinandeums (1892), 334 *seq.*, publishes a portion of this letter, puts it by mistake in the year 1507, instead of 1508. Carvajal did not come back from Germany until the 12th Jan., 1509. *Acta Consist., f. 24. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† See the *Brief in Appendix, N. 76, after a copy in the Kreisarchiv in Würzburg, and also in Appendix, N. 77 and 78, Card. Gonzaga's *Letters of the 12th and 24th Feb., 1508, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

On the day after his proclamation, Maximilian commenced hostilities against Venice, and his troops at first achieved some successes. On the 1st of March he wrote in the highest spirits to the Elector of Saxony: "The Venetians portray their Lion with two feet in the sea, one on the plain country, and one on the mountains. We have all but conquered the foot on the mountains; one claw only holds fast, which will be ours, with the help of God, in a week. Then we hope to tackle the one on the plain."* But in a very short time the tables were turned. Supported to the great annoyance of Julius II.,† by the French, the Venetians carried everything before them. The victorious army overran Tivoli and Istria; in May they conquered Trieste and Fiume, and by the beginning of June they had penetrated into Carniola. On the 5th June the Emperor was only too glad to conclude, through Carvajal's mediation a truce for three years, which left to Venice nearly everything that her arms had won.‡ The Venetians, quite unaware of the dangers of the path they were treading, were full of joy and triumph.

The land-hunger of the Republic is described by Machiavelli in his verses:

San Marco impetuoso, ed importuno,
Credendosi aver sempre il vento in poppa,
Non si curò di rovinare ognuno;
Ne' vide come la potenza troppa
Era nociva: e come il me' sarebbe
Tener sott' acqua la coda e la groppa.

Asino d'Oro. §

* RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, I., 176, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* Ludovico da Campo Sampiero's *Letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 17th March, 1508. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* HUBER, III., 370 *seq.*, where all the literature on the subject is carefully indicated and criticised.

§ MACHIAVELLI, V., 400. *Cf.* also TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 296. See also the complaints of the Florentine chronicler, LANDUCCI, 291.

In consequence of this "land-hunger," by this time there was hardly one of the great powers which had not something to demand back from the Republic, and this it was which brought about her ruin. Greedily anxious to come to terms with the Emperor, the Venetians, in their haste, had taken no heed of the interests of their ally. This produced a complete revolution in the policy of France.

Towards the close of November, Maximilian's confidential counsellor Matthæus Lang, one English and one Spanish Ambassador, Louis XII.'s all-powerful minister d'Amboise, and the Emperor's daughter Margaret met together at Cambrai.

On the 10th of December, 1508, the compact known as the League of Cambrai was here concluded. The only portion of it that was destined for publication was the treaty of peace between the Emperor and the King of France, which, among other things, bestowed Milan as a fief on Louis XII. and his descendants. The object of the League was ostensibly the Crusade against the Turks; but before this could be commenced Venice must be constrained to give back her spoils. A second and secret treaty, to which the Pope and the King of Spain might be parties if they chose, was drawn up, binding the contracting powers to oblige the Republic to restore all the cities of the Romagna to the Pope; the Apulian sea-board to the King of Spain; Roveredo, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Friuli to the Emperor; and Brescia, Bergamo, Cremo, Cremona, Chiara d'Adda, and all fiefs belonging to Milan to the King of France. If the King of Hungary joined the League he was to get back all his former possessions in Dalmatia and Croatia; equally the Duke of Savoy was to recover Cyprus, and the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquess of Mantua all the territories wrested from them by the Venetians if they too joined the League. France was to

declare war on the 1st of April, the Pope was to lay the ban of the Church and an Interdict on Venice, and to call on Maximilian, as the lieutenant of the Holy See, to come to his assistance. Thus, at the end of the forty days, the Emperor would be released from his treaty obligations towards the Republic, and able to join the French.*

Even down to the present day Julius II. continues to be blamed in unmeasured terms for having brought the foreigner into Italy. As a matter of fact at this decisive moment the Pope held back, and "it was Venice herself who drove him into joining the League, which he cordially disliked, angry as he was with the Republic. He knew France and her King well, and thoroughly mistrusted both, and this feeling was amply reciprocated by Louis XII. and d'Amboise, even while the League of Cambrai, in which no Papal plenipotentiary took part, was being negotiated."†

Julius II. did not join the League till the 23rd March, 1509, after he had exhausted all other means of inducing Venice to acknowledge his temporal and spiritual authority. In her dealings with Rome the foresight and penetration which usually characterised the policy of the Republic seemed to have completely forsaken her; she appeared not to have the faintest presentiment of the storm which her high-handed conduct was conspiring to raise up against her.

It was not only in her policy in the Romagna that

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 109 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 225 *seq.*; LANZ, Einleitung, 93 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 374 *seq.* *Cf.* also Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, IV., 1, 126 *seq.*

† REUMONT, III., 1, 26. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, VIII., c. 1.; HAVEMANN, II., 276, 280; and ULMANN, II., 365. The Brief addressed by Julius II. to d'Amboise on the 28th Dec., 1508 (in MOLINI, I., 54-55), merely congratulates him on the conclusion of peace between France and the Emperor; it is couched in the most flattering terms, but there is not a word in it about Venice.

Venice persistently trampled on the clear rights of the Pope.* Following her traditional practice she arrogated to the State in purely spiritual matters a supremacy which would have made the government of the Church by Rome an impossibility.† The Government repeatedly forbade and even punished appeals to Rome in ecclesiastical matters; ecclesiastical persons were brought before secular tribunals without the permission of the Pope; for this the deplorable corruption of many of the clergy might have afforded some excuse. But there could be no justification for the conduct of the Senate in giving away benefices and even Bishoprics on their own authority.‡ Even staunch friends of the Republic blamed these outrageous violations of Canon-law, which no Pope could afford to tolerate.§ The consequence was a never ending series of misunderstandings and disputes on ecclesiastical matters between Rome and Venice. One of the most serious of these was that about the appointment to the Bishopric of Cremona, which had been held by Ascanio Sforza. After his death, in the Summer of 1505, the Senate immediately selected a devoted adherent of their own, a member of the Trevisano family. Julius II. refused to confirm this appointment, as he had intended to give it to the excellent Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere. The Venetians maintained that it had always been customary for the Senate to elect the Bishops for all the important

* See REUMONT in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 846.

† See Vol. IV. of this work, 92 *seq.*

‡ See, besides Julius II.'s Bull of 27th Apr., 1509, which will be cited further on, A. GIUSTINIAN'S Dispacci, II., 439; III., 288; and BROSCH'S (of course very one-sided) statements in SYBELS Zeitschr., XXXVIII., 308 *seq.*, as well as the Briefs of the 16th and 18th Dec., 1506, in Appendix, N. 57 and 58. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Cf.* the remarkable statements in LUIGI DA PORTO, 29, who observes: Di modo che il papa per queste ed altre cose ancora non è in tutto papa sopra di essi.

cities in their dominions and for Rome to confirm their choice,* as if the Holy See was bound in all cases to accept their nominations. The negotiations on this subject dragged on for two whole years, until at last Julius II. yielded, a sum of money being handed over to the Cardinal as compensation.† This dispute had hardly been settled when a new and more violent one arose over the Bishopric of Vicenza, rendered vacant by the death of Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere. Julius II. had given Vicenza, together with all the other benefices which had been held by the deceased Cardinal, to Sixtus Gara della Rovere, while the Venetian Senate determined to appoint Jacopo Dandolo. In spite of the Pope's refusal to confirm his nomination, Dandolo took possession of the See and had the insolence to style himself "Bishop-elect of Vicenza by the grace of the Senate of Venice."‡ He answered the Pope's citation with a defiant letter, knowing that he had the support of the Republic.§

It will be seen that the Venetians were steadily pursuing their aim of making the Pope, as Machiavelli puts it, "their chaplain,"‖ while Julius II. as resolutely resisted. He told the Venetian Ambassador that if necessary he would sell his mitre rather than relinquish any of the rights that appertained to the successor of S. Peter.¶

Side by side with these incessant ecclesiastical difficulties

* ROMANIN, V., 178.

† SANUTO, VI., 177, 188, 194, 327, 335, 347; VII., 126. *Cf.* BALAN, 443 *seq.*, and BROSCH, 161 *seq.*, who, however, gives the name of the Venetian Cardinal incorrectly. UGHELLI, IV., 614, curiously, does not mention this dispute at all.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, VIII., chap. I.

§ BALAN, V., 450.

‖ MACHIAVELLI, Opere, ed. Passerini, IV., 334. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. GIUSTINIAN, III., 179, and TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 298, 324.

¶ SANUTO, VII., 643; *cf.* 580, 678, 694, and UGHELLI, V., 1066.

the political ones still remained unaltered. Julius II. did everything he could to bring about an amicable solution. Towards the end of the year 1506 he sent the celebrated Augustinian Aegidius of Viterbo to Venice to offer, if the Venetians would give up Faenza, to say no more about their other conquests. But this proposal was also rejected. Then, replied the Pope, since the Venetians refuse my request for one city only, they shall now be obliged by force of arms to give back all they have taken. He took no pains to hide his indignation from the Venetian Ambassador.* The Republic, however, still persisted not only in defying the Pope but in irritating him as well.

In the insolence of their triumph after the defeat of Maximilian, the Signoria went out of its way to make troubles in Bologna, the place of all others about which Julius would be most sensitive.

The position of the Legate there was a difficult one, as the Bentivogli, favoured by France, never ceased conspiring against the Government. Ferreri kept them down with an iron hand, and, in addition to this, behaved in so greedy and extortionate a manner to the Bolognese, that they appealed to Rome against his exactions.† Julius II. had enquiries made, and finding that the Legate was in fault, at once acted with his wonted energy. On the 2nd of August, 1507, Ferreri, on whom larger powers

* The mission of Aegidius of Viterbo is only briefly mentioned in SANUTO, VI., 528. AEGIDIUS himself, in Höfler's ed., 384, gives more details. *Cf.* also the extracts from the Ferrarese Despatches in BALAN, V., 443 *seq.* On the obstinacy of Venice in regard to the alum monopoly, see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 303.

† GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 81 *seq.*, who, however, has curiously not made much use of the Briefs in the State Archives at Bologna. Amongst these I found a *Brief of 30th April, 1507, announcing that 15,000 gold ducats are being sent from Rome to enable the Legate to defend the city against the rebels and tyrants.

had been conferred in the previous month of May, was deprived of his post and recalled to Rome.* Meanwhile the discovery had been made that Ferreri had employed illegitimate means to obtain the increase of his powers in May, and in consequence he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, and afterwards interned in the Convent of S. Onofrio (he died in 1508).†

The government of Bologna was then carried on by the Vice-Legate Lorenzo Fiesco, while the Bentivogli continued to prosecute their intrigues. In September it was discovered that they had been plotting to have the Pope poisoned. Julius II. sent the documentary evidence of this conspiracy by Achilles de Grassis to Louis XII., begging him to withdraw his protection from this family.‡ On the 20th of September he sent 5000 ducats to the Bolognese to help them to defend themselves against the Bentivogli.§ In the beginning of 1508 one of the family made a fresh attempt to get possession of the city. Julius burst into a violent rage when he heard the news. ||

* The *Brief conferring fuller powers is dated 26th May, 1507. On his recall, see GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 149, and the *Brief of the 2nd Aug., 1507. Both Briefs are in the State Archives, Bologna. In a *Brief to Ferreri, dated Rome, 5th April, 1507, Julius II. gave the ecclesia S. Blasii de Sala plebania nuncupata, which had hitherto been held by Ant. Galeat. de Bentivolis, to Joh. Anton. de Rubeis. Lib. brev. 25, f. 292b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 319; *cf.* Döllinger's ed., 380, 383, 384–385.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 22; Nuntiaturberichte, I., XLIII; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 42.

§ *Brief of the 20th Sept., 1507. State Archives, Bologna.

|| GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 95 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 449. *Cf.* the *Report of Lodovico da Campo Sampiero to Fr. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 31st Jan., 1508: *La Sta del papa sentendo tal nova [that A. Bentivoglio had endeavoured to make himself master of Bologna] cominciò

He failed,* but tried again in the Autumn of the same year. Meanwhile Cardinal Alidosi had been made Legate of Bologna.† Alidosi's ruthless severity had caused great irritation in Bologna of which the Bentivogli sought to take advantage; but their main hopes were founded on the support of Venice. However, they were again unsuccessful.‡ Julius II. indignantly remonstrated with the Venetian Government for harbouring in their territory

a mugiar che pareva un toro e non tanto la Ex. V. minaciva ma ancora el cielo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Alfonso of Ferrara helped to put down the attempt. *Cf.* the *Brief of Julius II. to Joh. Luca de Pozzo, Archbishop of Reggio, dated Rome, 24th Jan., 1508. (State Archives, Modena.) In a *Brief of the same date, Julius thanked Cardinal d'Este also for the assistance given against the Bentivogli. *Lib. brev. 28, f. 634, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 158–160, publishes a letter from the Council of Forty to their Envoy in Rome, dat. Bononiae die XII. Maii, 1508, in which they acknowledge the receipt of the letter announcing Alidosi's nomination on the XVIIII. del presente. The editor, whose work is altogether very one-sided and imperfect, is not in any way troubled by this contradiction. It is evident that XXII. should be read instead of XII. I found the *Brief on Alidosi's nomination, which is not mentioned by Gozzadini, in the State Archives at Bologna. I found also in the same place a *Brief of 22nd May, 1508, on the faculties granted to Alidosi; *another of 26th May, informing the Anziani of his appointment; and *another, dat. Ostia, 1st June, 1508, with additional faculties for the Legate. The following communication from Lod. da Campo Sampiero to Fr. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 17th March, 1508, is interesting: Credo Pavia vero legato a Bologna per aver mendicato quela legacione et al presente recede e non la voria perche el conose apertamente la roina sua andandoli. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BALAN, V., 450; GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 114 *seq.* Fr. Gonzaga sided also at that time with the Bentivogli. *Cf.* the complaining Brief of the Pope to him, "dat. Romae" (preceded by a fragment of 27th Sept., 1508, also no doubt belonging to this time), in Lib. brev. 28, f. 468. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) In a *Brief, dat. Rome, 10th Oct., 1508, Julius II. desired the Legate to employ the confiscated property of the Bentivogli in building the citadel at Bologna. State Archives, Bologna.

the rebels whom Louis XII. had expelled from Milan, and "looking on with folded arms while these men endeavoured to undermine the Papal authority in Bologna and made war upon the Church." The Venetians' answer sounded like a gibe. They said that, far from harbouring the refugees, they had done their best to get rid of them; but they hid themselves in the convents, and the Republic, of course, was powerless against the Church's right of asylum. To do away with this pretext the Pope on the 22nd August despatched a Brief to the Patriarch of Venice, desiring him to issue strict orders to all the convents in Venetian territory to refuse shelter to all bandits and rebels; all such evil-doers must be driven from the gates.*

In spite of all that had happened, even now, at the last hour, an accommodation between Rome and Venice might still have been possible if the Republic had not obstinately persisted in all her most unreasonable demands. In the Autumn of 1508, when the alienation of France had already definitely begun, and the anti-Venetian League was under consideration, the Pope still held aloof. The selfish aims of France and the ever increasing con-

* BROSCH, Julius II., 163–164, even here blames the Pope, and says that "for Julius II. the end of driving the Bentivogli out of Venetia sanctified the means, which was a curtailment of the Church's right of asylum." Here he poses as the defender of this right, which elsewhere he condemns in the strongest terms. The Brief of 22nd Aug. is now printed in SANUTO, VI., 624. Julius II. heard of the attempts of the Bentivogli on 11th Aug., and on the 20th complained to the Ferrarese Envoy of the conduct of the Republic. *La Sta Sua dopoi mi tenne longamente et cum me multo se extese circa le cose da (*sic*) li Bentivogli communicandomi el tutto li accade de presente pigliata occasione da li Bentivogli et altri suoi rebelli a li quali per Venetiani se da recepto. Both Costabili's *Letters of the 11th and the 20th of Aug., 1508, are in the State Archives, Modena.

cessions that she demanded were no doubt the cause of this.*

It was far from desirable in the eyes of Julius II. that the power of the King of France should increase, or that the Emperor should obtain a footing in Italy. He would have gladly come to terms with Venice if she would have withdrawn her unjust pretensions in both temporal and spiritual affairs. Bembo says that the Pope privately sent Costantino Areniti to Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to tell him of the formation of the League of Cambrai, and to propose an arrangement if Venice would restore Faenza and Rimini to the Church. Badoer at once wrote to inform the Council of Ten, but received no answer.† The whole influence of the numerous class of needy nobles whose interests were involved in keeping the conquests in the Romagna was against their restitution, and this prevailed.‡ The Venetians trusted that a League composed of such heterogeneous elements would not last long.

This view was conceivable; but the infatuation of Venice in still continuing at this critical juncture to flout and irritate the Pope in every possible manner in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, is truly incomprehensible. "Those even who are friendly to Venice blame her insolent and domineering behaviour towards the Holy See, not only in regard to the cities of the Romagna, to which she has not the smallest right, but also in matters concerning benefices and ecclesiastical jurisdiction." §

* *Cf.* the interesting *Report of Costabili of the 5th Oct., 1508. State Archives, Modena, an extract in BALAN, V., 451.

† BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 298.

‡ *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386, and PRIULI in Cicogna, I., 165.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 27, referring to the extract from LUIGI DA PORTO, 29, cited *supra*, p. 301, note §

The manner in which the testy Venetian Envoy Pisani answered Julius II.'s complaints on these subjects is something quite unique in the whole history of diplomacy. When the Pope protested to Pisani against the encroachments of the Republic on his ecclesiastical rights, and added that the Signoria would some day have cause to repent of their conduct, the Envoy replied: Your Holiness must grow a little stronger before he can expect much from the Republic. Naturally incensed, Julius answered, "I will never rest until you are brought down to be the poor fishermen that you once were." "And we," said Pisani, "will make a priestling of the Holy Father unless he behaves himself." *

Such was the manner in which the Venetian Envoy thought fit to behave towards the Pontiff in whose power it lay to have stifled the League of Cambrai at its birth. Even yet the Pope did not permit himself to be goaded into any hasty action. He still hoped to succeed in "alarming the Venetians enough to induce them to comply with his demands," and then to break up the dangerous League.† Pisani fully realised the Pope's apprehension in regard to Louis XII. and Maximilian, and saw clearly that greater forbearance on his part might have prevented Julius from joining the League. Yet he continued to behave as before.

When in February, 1509, the question of the Bishopric of Vicenza had reached the point at which a definite

* LUIGI DA PORTO, 29–30. *Cf.* BALAN, V., 452, who in the same place refers to *Costabili's Report, 10th Nov., 1508 (State Archives, Modena), which I also have seen, and in which Costabili says of Pisani: Ognuno chel conosce li da voce de homo molto colerico et pensase chel sia stato mandato tale perche lo habii a giostrare col papa. Also BEMBUS, 299, describes Pisani as morosi admodum ingenii.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 55–56, ed. 3; *cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 103.

answer could no longer be deferred, that which the Pope received sounded like a sarcasm.* "The contemptuous insolence of the language employed by the Venetians requires to be known in order fully to understand the injustice of those who reproach Julius II. with his participation in the League of Cambrai. It was not until every means of persuasion had been tried, and the last hope of an amicable settlement had vanished, that he made up his mind to join it."†

The change in the Pope's mind was probably finally caused by the fear lest France should unite with Venice to overpower him.‡ His decision was taken soon after a conversation which he had with Pisani in the middle of March at Civita Vecchia. It was a lovely spring day; all nature seemed to breathe nothing but peace and harmony, and the clear blue sea was like a sheet of glass. The Pope, who was very fond of sailing, was on the water, accompanied by Pisani, and turning to the Envoy, "How would it be," he said, "if you were to advise the Signoria to propose to me to grant Faenza and Rimini as a fief to one of your citizens? That would set everything right." Pisani answered coldly, "Our State is not in the habit of making kings of any of her citizens." The Pope's proposal was never mentioned either to Pisani's gentler colleague, Badoer, or to the Senate.§ Immediately after his return from Civita Vecchia, Julius joined the League.

* *Cf.* SANUTO, VII., 719, 724, 738, 760, 763, 780; VIII., 10.

† ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 290. *Cf.* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 236, and ERSCH-GRUBER, 2, Section XXVIII., 335.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 103.

§ BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 299–300. *Cf.* RANKE, *loc. cit.* Brosch makes no mention of either of the two conversations between Julius II. and Pisani. If the Pope had been animated by that implacable hatred against Venice which this writer ascribes to him, he would certainly not have made this overture, nor would he afterwards have exerted himself

On the 22nd of March a Consistory was held, to which the Venetian Cardinals Grimani and Cornaro were not summoned.* On the following day Julius II. signed the Bull announcing his adhesion to the League, but with the condition that he was to do nothing against Venice until after hostilities had been commenced by France.† Meanwhile the Venetians had begun to see that they had been premature in their hopes that the League would dissolve itself. On the 4th of April they determined to give up Faenza and Rimini, but this offer, which was made to the Pope on the 7th, came too late; to have accepted it now

so earnestly to preserve the Republic from utter ruin. After the manner of the Humanists, Bembo puts no date to his narrative, but I think I can supply this from the Venetian Reports in Sanuto. Pisani wrote on the 13th from Civita Vecchia: Il Papa va a piacer per mar, pescando . . . . Item che hessendo in batello con cardinali et oratori, tra i qual il nostro, S. Sta lexe uno capitulo di letere auti di Portogallo; and again on the 16th: The Pope va a peschar e piacer. SANUTO, VIII., 23–24, 26. From these Reports we also gather that Pisani never forwarded the Pope's proposal to Venice at all. It must therefore remain doubtful whether the narrative dated 19th March in SANUTO, VIII., 30, corresponds with facts. Pisani was working for a rupture between Rome and Venice, and therefore may very well have put the assurance that he would not sign anything against the Republic into Julius's mouth, in order to embitter the feeling there against him, when it was found that he had signed the League.

* SANUTO, VIII., 37. Many of the Cardinals were in favour of peace (*cf.* *Consistorialia Raph. Riarii card. S. Georgii in Cod. J., III., 89, f. 18b, of the Chigi Library, Rome); but peace was only possible by submitting to the humiliation of the Church and sacrificing her most important interests.

† This Bull, dat. X. Cal. April (23rd Mar.), 1508 (st. fl.), is given by DUMONT, IV., 1, 116; Creighton is wrong in dating it 25th March. *Cf.* also *Pozzi's Report, 25th Mar., 1509 (State Archives, Modena), which gives 23rd Mar. as the date on which the Pope joined the League. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 56, ed. 3, must have read the Bull very carelessly to have said, as he does, that Venice is not mentioned at all in it.

would have involved him in a war with the allies.* The adherents of the Republic in Rome now allied themselves with the Colonna and Orsini, and tried to induce them to rise against the Pope by offers of money to both, and by promising Urbino to the Colonna. When Julius heard this, he threatened to excommunicate the Orsini, and sent word to Pisani, who had been stirring them up to revolt against the Church under his very eyes, that he would thrust him into the deepest dungeon in Rome. The situation appeared so menacing that the Palace guard was doubled. Meanwhile Felice Orsini succeeded in breaking off the bargain between Venice and the family.†

On the 27th of April the greater excommunication was pronounced against Venice unless within twenty-four days all the possessions of the Church in the Romagna, and the revenues derived from them, were restored to her. This document was drawn up in the clearest and strongest terms, describing the outrageous proceedings of the Republic in both temporal and spiritual affairs, and 600 copies were at once printed and circulated.‡ The Venetians forbade the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386. *Cf.* SANUTO, VIII., 80. See also ROMANIN, V., 198, and BROSCH, Julius II., 169, 341, who, however, represents the whole matter in a false light, ignoring Pisani's obstinacy and the studied insolence of his words and conduct, as well as the position of the Pope and the real motives of the Republic, which are clearly set forth by Sigismondo de' Conti.

† SANUTO, VIII., 41, 72, 89, 96 *seq.*, 118, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 171, 183. *Cf.* the authorities cited by SISMONDI, XIII., 478, and in Appendix, N. 82, the *Report of Lodovico de Fabriano, 24th April, 1509. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The personal courage displayed by the Pope during those trying days appears from the *Brief to Bologna of 12th April, 1509 (State Archives, Bologna), which is printed in Appendix, N. 80.

‡ Portions of this Bull (monitorium) are given in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1509, n. 6–9, and the complete document is in SANUTO, VIII., 187–204. A contemporaneous (Latin) printed copy is cited by SORANZO,

ublication of the Bull in their dominions under stringent penalties. They had already prepared an appeal to a future Council. This was now posted during the night on S. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo; the Pope had it torn down at once.* The appeal was sent in the beginning of May to the ambitious Cardinal Archbishop of Gran and Patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Bakocs, as one of those Princes of the Church who was entitled under the old, though now obsolete, constitutions to join in the summoning of a General Council. The Hungarian Primate was, however, too prudent to respond to this invitation.†

Meanwhile the war had been begun by the members of the League, which was now joined by Ferrara and Mantua.‡ The Venetians had, at an enormous cost, got together an army of 50,000 men, a large force for those times; their war-cry was "Italy and Liberty."§ The Republic bent her-

Bibliogr., 79. The fact that an Italian translation of the Bull was printed at that time in Rome has escaped the notice of this learned bibliographer. Examples of it are very scarce, but I saw one in the collection of the Florentine antiquary, Grazzini (*cf.* his Catalogue for 1890, No. IX.), and a second in the State Archives, Modena. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 83, the *Report of L. de Fabriano of the 24th April, 1509. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) SANUTO, VIII., 169, 204-205, also the *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, of the 27th April, 1509. State Archives, Modena.

* SANUTO, VIII., 161.

† FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 8.

‡ Duke Alfonso of Ferrara was appointed Gonfalonerius sive Vexilliferus S. R. E. on the 20th April, 1509; see *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) According to the *Brief printed in Appendix, N. 81, the appointment took place on the 19th April. State Archives, Modena.

§ ROMANIN, V., 205-206, shews that the proposal of inscribing 'Defensio Italiae" on the banners and adopting the war-cry mentioned in the text was rejected. But we find from Sanuto that the war-cry was actually used by the soldiers. *Cf.* SENARECA, 596. The inscription on the banners is incorrectly stated as a fact by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386, who here, as elsewhere, is unable to conceal his strong national

self bravely to the task of resisting the enemy, overmatched as she was; but the traditional pride of her citizens high and low sustained her. The ban of the Church, it was maintained, had lost much of its power; it was no longer so dangerous as it used to be. Ferdinand of Spain had been forced to join the League against his will; the Emperor had no money; the Pope's mercenaries were of no account; the League was too numerous, the interests of its various members were too divergent for it to hold together for long; the Republic would ride safely through the storm this time, as she had ever done.

But one day sufficed to annihilate all the proud hopes of the Venetians, and nearly all their power upon the mainland. The decisive battle was fought on the 14th of May on the plain of Agnadello near Vailate in the province of Cremona; it ended in the complete rout of their army. The undisciplined mercenaries of the Republic were scattered like chaff. While the French pursued the fugitives, the Papal troops, under the Duke of Urbino, overran the Romagna. All the country up to Verona, including that strongly fortified city itself, was subdued; town after town fell into the hands of the conquerors.*

The Venetians now no longer scorned the Pope's excommunication. A contemporary writer compares the battle of Agnadello with the defeat of the Romans at Cannae.† The position of Venice was rendered still more

feeling and his predilection for Venice. *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 322 *seq.*, though this writer has overlooked the interesting remarks of the Venetian Envoy on Sigismondo in BROSCH, 289.

* See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 388–390, who draws his narrative from a Report of Sermonino da Vimercate; Pandolfini's Letters in DESJARDINS, II., 327 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, VIII., 249 *seq.*; LUIGI DA PORTO, 53 *seq.*; ANSHELM, III., 200; SISMONDI, XIII., 491 *seq.*

† SENAREGA, 597. *Cf.* also LUIGI DA PORTO, 62 *seq.*, and Vol. V. of this work, p. 90.

critical by the blow which the recent development of maritime enterprise had inflicted upon her commerce.* If in this particular the disadvantages with which they had to contend were not of their own making, so much cannot be said of the causes which mainly contributed to bring about their discomfiture on the mainland. Machiavelli's penetrating glance discerned, and has described, these with admirable insight and clearness.† He takes as the text for his criticism the saying of Livy, that the Romans were never depressed by misfortune or elevated by success. "The exact reverse of this," he writes, "was the case with the Venetians. They imagined that they owed their prosperity to qualities which, in fact, they did not possess, and were so puffed up that they treated the King of France as a son, underrated the power of the Church, thought the whole of Italy too small a field for their ambition, and aimed at creating a world-wide empire like that of Rome. Then when fortune turned her back upon them, and they were beaten by the French at Vailate, they not only lost the greater part of their territory by the defection of their people, but, of their own accord, out of sheer cowardice and faint-heartedness, they gave back most of their conquests to the Pope and the King of Spain. In their discouragement they even went so far as, through their Envoy, to offer to become tributaries of the Emperor, and to try to move the Pope to compassion by writing to him in a tone of craven submissiveness. This reverse befell them when the war had only lasted four days, and the battle itself was only half-lost; for only half their troops were engaged and one of their Proveditori escaped. Thus, if there had been a spark of energy or enterprise in Venice, they might have marched on Verona with 25,000 men to try their fortune

* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 244.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 172 *seq.*

again, and await any favourable turn that might give them a chance of victory, or at any rate of a less ignoble defeat, and of obtaining honourable terms; but by their unwarlike spirit, the natural result of the absence of all military organisation, they lost both heart and land at a single throw. The like fate will befall all such as behave themselves as they have done, for this arrogance in prosperity, and cowardice in adversity, are the effect of the spirit in which a man lives and the education he has received. If these are vain and frivolous he will be the same; if the reverse, the man will be of a different stamp, and will know enough of the world not to be over-elated when good befalls him, or too much cast down when he meets with reverses. And what holds good in regard to individuals also holds good in regard to those many individuals who live together in the same Republic; they will attain to that measure of perfection which the life of the State, as a whole, has attained. It has often been said before, that the chief support of all States consists in a strong army, and that no system of laws and no constitution can be called good which does not provide for this, but I do not think it superfluous to repeat it; for all history proves its truth, and shews also that no army can be strong that is not well disciplined, and that it is impossible to secure good discipline unless the State is defended by her own subjects." The Venetian aristocracy had purposely abstained from giving military training to the people; they expected to conquer Italy with hired troops.

The first thing which the Venetian Government did when the news of their defeat at Agnadello arrived, was to evacuate all the places which they had occupied in the Romagna. Ravenna, Cervia, Rimini, Faenza, and several smaller places were at once handed over to the Legate of the Romagna and the Marches to Cardinal Francesco

Alidosi.* The cities on the Apulian coast were also restored to the Spaniards.† They were anxious beyond everything else to win the Pope, and now wrote in the humblest and most submissive terms. On the 5th of June the Doge wrote an appealing letter to Julius II., "The hand that struck," he said, "could heal if it would."‡ At the same time, six Envoys were sent to Rome to sue for peace. Being excommunicated, they could only enter the city at night.§ After all that had happened, they were not likely to find men's minds in Rome very favourably disposed towards them. "If the rebellious children who, a few weeks before, had been insultingly defying the Pope to his face, and now came to proffer obedience only under the stress of extreme need, asked to be received at once with open arms, the request could only be deemed diplomatically permissible because the person to whom it was addressed was the Holy Father."‖

On the 8th of July one of the Envoys, Girolamo Donato, whom the Pope had known in former days, was personally absolved from excommunication and granted an audience.

* BROSCH, Julius II., 175. In order to conciliate the citizens of Ravenna, Julius II. not only confirmed their ancient municipal constitution, but also exempted them from all tribute for the next ten years. FANTUZZI, V., 433 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 394. "El Principe de Melfi," on the 17th June, 1509, wrote from Barletta to congratulate the King of Spain on the recuperacione de Trane con speranza fra poco tempo posserne gratulare non solo de la recuperacione de dicta cità, ma ancora de tutti li altri lochi tenea la Sria de Venetia in questa marina de Puglya. I found the original *Brief in F. Espag., 318, f. 114, of the National Library, Paris.

‡ SANUTO, VIII., 370–372, and SENAREGA, 597–598. There is a Spanish translation with a wrong date (2nd June) in BERNALDEZ, II., 338–340.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 400.

‖ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 291.

Julius, deeply incensed at the appeal of the Venetians to a General Council which had just been published,* proposed crushing conditions. The Republic must make complete restitution of all her spoils, she must give up Treviso and Udine to the Emperor. "She must renounce her possessions on the mainland, and all pretensions to interfere in matters connected with benefices, or to impose taxes on the clergy. She must equally renounce her claim to exclusive rights of navigation in the Adriatic, which from Ravenna to Fiume she had hitherto regarded as a Venetian lake. When she had agreed to these things he would begin to speak of absolution."† The Senate was furious when these demands were communicated to it. The Doge exclaimed that "he would rather send fifty Envoys to Constantinople to beg for help from thence, than comply with them." In fact the Sultan was asked whether the Republic might count upon his assistance.‡

Just at this time events on the scene of the war began to take a more favourable turn for the Venetians. Padua was recovered on the 17th of July, and a month later news came to Rome that they had captured the Marquess of Mantua. The Pope was deeply moved with vexation, and gave passionate vent to his feelings.§ When, later in the Autumn, they had also been successful in repelling Maximilian's attack on Padua, their old arrogance began to revive. It was decided to break off the negotiations with Julius. "All the Venetian Envoys, with the ex-

* On the 1st July he had proclaimed anew the censures formulated by Pius II. against such appeals, and laid an Interdict on Venice. Bull., V., 479–481.

† SANUTO, VIII., 511; BROSCH, Julius II., 177.

‡ BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 348 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 177, 343; HOPF, 168.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 343.

ception of Donato, who was still to remain at the Court, were recalled. When the Pope heard of this (Cardinal Grimani applied on the 5th November for permission for departure of the five to leave Rome), he exclaimed: All the six may go home; if the Republic wants to be released from the ban, she must send twelve."* Such and similar things were said in moments of excitement; in calmer seasons, Julius must have said to himself that it would be necessary to come to terms with the Republic; Louis XII. and Maximilian could not be allowed to carry the war to a point that would involve her destruction. If Venice were annihilated, not only the freedom of Italy, but also the independence of the Holy See would fall with her.† The enormous preponderance which the course of recent events had conferred on the King of France shewed that it was absolutely necessary that the Republic should be rehabilitated. Louis XII. was absolute master of Northern Italy, Ferrara and Florence were his allies, he was sure of the Emperor, and the King of Spain having got what he wanted from the League, would be satisfied now to stand aside and let things take their course.‡

Just about that time, in the month of October, the King of France had made the Pope painfully sensible of his power by obliging him by force to give way in a dispute about a Bishopric.§ In addition to these considerations, Julius was at heart an Italian patriot, and keenly felt, from this point of view, the disgrace of foreign domination. Hence he was bent on a reconciliation with Venice, and all

* BROSCH, Julius II., 181.

† See DESJARDINS, II., 388; BEMBUS, 343 *seq.* *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 817; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 423; and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 292.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 185.

§ *Ibid.*, 184–185 *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 415 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 7, where the agreement of Biagrassa is correctly characterised.

the efforts of the new French Ambassador, Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, and of the French Cardinals to hold him back were unavailing.* After a long struggle with difficulties of the most various kinds, the peace negotiations were at last brought to a successful issue on the 15th February, 1510. Venice withdrew her appeal to a Council, admitted the right of the Pope to pronounce ecclesiastical censures, the immunity of the clergy from taxation, and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, recognised the liberty of the Church in regard to appointments to benefices, renounced all pretensions to interfere in the affairs of Ferrara, and granted free navigation in the Adriatic to all the Pope's subjects and to the Ferrarese; she also repudiated all treaties concluded with towns belonging to the Pope, and promised not to afford protection to rebels against the Church, and to restore all goods that had been wrested from religious associations.†

The solemn absolution of the representatives of Venice, shorn of most of the customary humiliating adjuncts, took place in the Court of S. Peter's on the 24th February. The Pope himself held the Gospel, the Envoys laid their hands on it and swore to observe all the conditions of the treaty. In Rome demonstrations of joy were universal ‡ and in Venice also public thanksgivings were celebrated; but on the 15th February the Council of Ten had secretly

* *Cf.* ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 34. Carpi had been French Ambassador in Rome since Jan., 1510. See MAULDE, III., 437.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 1–6; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 422 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 186–191. The "Don Sigismondo" here mentioned as concerned in the negotiations is Sigismondo de' Conti. *Cf.* his Report, II., 400 *seq.*

‡ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 7–11; *cf.* also the Despatch of the Venetian Ambassador in BROSCH, 288–289, and SANUTO, X., 9–13. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 249, even in his last edition, misdates the absolution, and places it on Feb. 20.

drawn up a protest against the conditions of the absolution, declaring them null because the Republic had been driven by force to sign them.*

The Venetians, however, found means to revenge themselves on the Pope who had so humbled them and had forced them to yield on all the important points. They began to disseminate pamphlets and libels against Julius II. The first of these, in the form of a letter from Christ to the Pope, was still couched in fairly temperate language: it mourned the horrors of the war, as if Julius, in merely demanding what was, by every title, simply his own from Venice, was responsible for these.†

* The text of this disgraceful document is in BROSCH, Julius II., 290–293. ROMANIN (V., 241), however, already knew it. Brosch's defence of this piece of perjury is commented upon, *supra*, p. 247, note †. On the thanksgiving services in Venice, see BEMBUS, 409.

† Lettera fenta che Jesu Cristo la manda a Julio papa II. in questo anno 1509, in SANUTO, X., 567–570; *cf. ibid.*, VI., 444, 463, on a satirical poem against the Pope. The accusations against Julius, of being addicted to Greek vices, came in part from Venice. The Despatches of the Envoys in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which retail every sort of scandal, contain nothing to justify this charge. The Pope's liking for, and notice of, the young and good-looking Federigo Gonzaga, who resided in Rome for some time as a hostage, might well in those corrupt times have given rise to unfavourable comment (see LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 12, 20, 21, 23, 24, 32, 35), but nothing of the sort can be found. *Cf. infra*, Chap. V., p. 351, note *.

CHAPTER V.

WARS OF JULIUS II. TO SECURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY SEE AND TO DELIVER ITALY FROM THE FRENCH.—ALLIANCE WITH THE SWISS, AND WAR WITH FERRARA.—SCHISM IN THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.—SICKNESS OF THE POPE AND PERILOUS SITUATION IN BOLOGNA.—HIS WINTER CAMPAIGN AGAINST MIRANDOLA.—LOSS OF BOLOGNA. — ATTEMPTS OF LOUIS XII. AND MAXIMILIAN I. TO CREATE A SCHISM.—PSEUDO-COUNCIL AT PISA AND GENERAL COUNCIL IN ROME.

THE Peace concluded by Julius II. with Venice, consequent on the danger to the independence of the Holy See and the freedom of Italy caused by the increasing preponderance of France in the Peninsula, brought the Pope at once into collision with Louis XII. and Maximilian I., who both desired the complete ruin of the Republic. The estrangement between him and these two powers was further intensified by his determination to resist all their efforts to increase their possessions in Italy. He now addressed himself with characteristic energy to the second great task of his Pontificate: that of shaking off the yoke of France which pressed so heavily on the Holy See and on his native land, and driving the foreigner, "the barbarians," out of Italy. "His great soul was filled with plans for the welfare of his country." *

The difficulties and dangers of the undertaking were

* See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 249. In regard to Venice, Julius himself said to Trevisano: Si quella terra non fusse, bisogneria farne un' altra. SANUTO, X., 82.

plain enough. Julius had understood from the first that it would be no easy task to lay the spirits which he had invoked in his time of need. His thoughts were perpetually occupied in devising ways and means for freeing Italy from the French; * he knew well enough both the strength of France and her love of glory. He saw her influence paramount in Florence and Ferrara, Milan subjugated, a new fortress erected in the midst of his own Genoa to hold her down, Venice humbled to the dust at a single stroke. "Had he not cause enough to tremble for the See of Rome, which certainly could not be saved if Italy were subdued?" †

From the first moment that Julius II. recognised the necessity of breaking the power of France in Italy, he gave his whole mind to the task with the inflexible will and indomitable courage that characterised him and all his actions; it was not in his nature to hesitate or delay. Thus in the eyes of Italian patriots he is the hero of his century.‡

From the outset Julius had one great advantage over his opponent in the swiftness with which he saw and resolved upon the measures to be adopted. On one day Louis XII.

* Julius II. said to the Venetian Envoy, Donato, on the 14th May, 1510: Questi francesi mi à tolto la fame e non dormo e questa note mi levai a pasizar per camera che non poteva dormir, il cor mi dice bene, ho speranza di bene, son stato in gran affanni per il passato, concludendo è volonta di Dio di castigar el ducha di Ferrara e liberar Italia de' man de Francesi: SANUTO, X., 369. FUMAGALLI, Chi l'ha detto (Milano, 1894), has not succeeded in proving that Julius II. ever actually uttered the well-known and often quoted exclamation, "Away with the barbarians." But there can be no doubt that he said something of the kind. Many passages in Sanuto corroborate this, and Guicciardini says that he used to say again and again how he wished that Italy rimanesse libera die barbari. *Cf.* JOVIUS (Vita Leonis X., lib. III., p. 59), who is another contemporaneous writer.

† JOVIUS, Vitae, II., 31; HAVEMANN, II., 323.

‡ *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 202–203.

would break out into violent diatribes against the Pope, who, in the words of the French Cardinal, had plunged a dagger into his heart by making peace with Venice,* and on the next he would again talk of a reconciliation with Rome. On the 25th May, 1510, Cardinal d'Amboise, Louis' ablest councillor and the most dangerous enemy of Julius, whom he was burning to supersede, died.† The effect of his death was greatly to increase the vacillations of the French King.‡

For Julius this event was a fresh incentive to pursue with redoubled energy the noble aim "which it is his greatest glory to have succeeded in achieving even partially."§ The first necessity was to find coadjutors interested like himself in checking the predominance of France in Italy.‖ The Pope sent out feelers in all directions and entered into relations with Maximilian, with Henry VIII. of England, with the King of Spain, and with the Swiss. He met with many bitter disappointments. The negotiations with Germany and England failed completely. He had counted on securing the open support of the King of Spain by bestowing on him in the beginning of July, 1510, the investi-

* See Relazione di D. Trevisano (1510) in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 34.

† Il papa vuol essere il signore e maestro del ginoco del mondo, writes Trevisano, in the Relation referred to in the preceding note, teme di Francia per Roano, il quale certo sarà papa, per i voti che poi avrà, se non fa altri cardinali italiani. On d'Amboise's plans for securing the Tiara, see *supra*, pp. 263, 294. On d'Amboise (whose splendid tomb is in the Cathedral at Rouen), see the monographs by SIRMOND (Paris, 1631), BAUDIER (Paris, 1634), LEGENDRE (Paris, 1723, Rouen, 1724, 2 vols.), SACY (London, 1776), and GOYON D'ARSAC (Montaub., 1784), though these even all together do not by any means exhaust the results of modern research in regard to him. A new biography of this remarkable man is much to be desired.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 513. Cardinal Chaland became Legate of Avignon upon the death of d'Amboise. See FANTONI, 352.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 202.

‖ *Ibid.*, 185.

ture of Naples without any regard to the claims of the Valois,* but here, too, he was unsuccessful at first. On the other hand, he was successful in obtaining the help of the Swiss. Here Louis XII.'s want of tact in his conduct towards the Swiss Federation came to his assistance, and also the exertions of the Swiss Bishop of Sitten, Matthæus Schinner, who had always been a determined opponent of the French policy. This remarkable prelate had great influence over his fellow countrymen on account of his blameless life and his strictness in all ecclesiastical matters. He was a man of immense energy, one of the greatest his country has ever produced. "His eloquence stirred all hearts in a wonderful way." † His love for the Church and her visible head was the mainspring of his life, which was in great part devoted to persevering efforts to enlist the whole martial spirit and power of his nation in her defence. He always disliked the French; in the year 1501 he preached with such vigour and effect against France that those who belonged to that party tried to have him silenced. He was penetrated with the old mediæval idea of the two swords: the spiritual sword wielded by the Pope, Christ's

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 24 *seq.* *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 196–201. CREIGHTON, IV., 118, erroneously makes the date of the investiture 17th June, and SISMONDI, XIV., 71, July 7th. The Bull which contains the clause precluding the King of Naples from the imperial crown, and from ever combining the lordship of Tuscany and Lombardy with that of Naples, is dated 3rd July. It was not, however, communicated to the Cardinals till the Consistory of 5th July (see Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and this is corroborated by SANUTO, X., 727, 745–746. Later, Ferdinand also obtained the remission of the fief dues in return for the annual gift of a white palfrey, and an engagement to supply 300 soldiers for the defence of the States of the Church if they should be attacked. PRESCOTT, II., 501, note 16. On the 8th April, 1510, the Golden Rose was sent to Henry VIII., in hopes of gaining his support. See WILKINS, III., 652.

† DIERAUER, II., 401.

Vicar on earth, and the temporal by the Head of the Holy Roman Empire, the protector of the Church. Thus he considered that it was the first duty of Switzerland, and would be the path of glory for her, to stand by the Emperor in defending the Roman Church against France, whose predominance in Italy was a permanent danger to the freedom and independence of the Holy See.*

Julius II. quickly recognised the valuable qualities of the Swiss prelate, and on the 10th September, 1508, made him a Cardinal, though his proclamation was deferred for the present.† The Swiss had withdrawn from the League with France in the Summer of 1509, and now Julius turned to Schinner for assistance. In the close of that year the Bishop, not without personal risk, hastened to Rome to arrange the details of an agreement between the Pope and the Swiss Federation.‡ In February, 1510, as Papal Legate, he laid the proposals of Julius II. before his countrymen at Schwyz, and then at Lucerne on the same day. His enthralling eloquence overcame all objections. On the 14th of March, 1510, the district of Wallis and all the twelve Cantons ratified a treaty for five years with the Pope. "The Federation undertook the defence of the Church and of the Holy See. They

* FUCHS, Mailändische Feldzüge, II., 18, 19 (*cf.* JOLLER, 52). Schinner's *Letter to the Castellan of Sitten, dat. 28th April, 1506, is very interesting, as shewing how he regarded the Holy Roman Empire, "out of which," he says in it, "all our liberties, both in Church and State, have sprung." (State Archives, Sitten.) The Emperor Maximilian met Schinner at the Diet of Constance, and there became personally acquainted with him. See DIEBOLD SCHILLING, Chronik, 173.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 25.

‡ On 6th Jan., 1510, Julius wrote to Uri to announce Schinner's mission (Letter in LANZ, Grundriss, I., 759), and another letter on the same day to the Abbot of Dissentis. See MOHR, Regesten von Dissentis, N. 664; *cf.* FUCHS, II., 155.

promised, whenever the Pope should require their help, to furnish 6000 men to meet the foe, provided they were not themselves engaged in war. Further, for the term of their agreement they engaged not to ally themselves with any third power without the Pope's permission, nor to supply any other power with troops. The Pope on his part bound himself to consult the interests of the Federation in any treaties of peace or alliances that he might make, to defend them with his spiritual weapons against their enemies, to pay to each Canton and to Wallis a yearly sum of 1000 florins, 6 francs monthly to each soldier in the army, and twice that sum to each officer."*

Trusting to his alliance with the Swiss and to the support of Venice, Julius II. made no secret of his intention of going to war with France. "These French," he said on the 19th June to the Venetian Ambassador, "are trying to reduce me to be nothing but their King's Chaplain: but I mean to be Pope, as they will find out to their discomfiture." He spoke in similar terms to the Florentine Envoy.† Cardinal Clermont, who attempted against the Pope's wishes on the 29th June to escape to France, was arrested and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo. Other Cardinals who were, as Julius II. knew, secretly working on the French side, were threatened with a similar fate. When the Cardinals Briçonnet, Louis d'Amboise, de Prie, and Sanseverino interceded with the Pope for his release, he told them to their faces that it looked as if they too wished to be provided with lodgings in St. Angelo.‡

* DIERAUER, II., 402–403.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 203–204, 348. The exact words to the Florentine Envoy are in *Cerretani, Cod. II., III., 76, f. 344, of the National Library, Florence.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, X., 565, 696, 700, 720, 725, 728, 732, 734, 746–747, 761, 803, 806, 856, 857, 871; see *Cerretani, *loc. cit.*, f. 348. The *Acta

At the same moment Louis XII. attacked the Pope in his spiritualities by reviving a considerable number of the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, especially those relating to benefices.* In the beginning of July a sharp exchange of high words took place between Julius and the French Ambassador. Carpi remonstrated with the Pope on his intention of helping the Genoese to shake off the yoke of France, which he said was a line of conduct on the part of Julius that his King had not deserved. The Pope replied, "I look upon your King as my personal enemy, and do not wish to hear anything more." The Ambassador was shewn to the door and Julius refused to hear any further explanation.† The rupture with Louis XII. was now definitive. The Venetian Envoy writes that "the French in Rome stole about looking like corpses."‡

The Pope's plan was to attack the French in Italy on all sides at once; in Genoa, Verona, Milan, and Ferrara. The Venetians were to throw themselves on Verona, the Swiss to invade Milan, the Fregosi in Genoa, supported by Papal and Venetian troops, were to rise against France, and Francesco Maria della Rovere, also in combination with Venice, was to march against Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.

Julius II. was especially exasperated against the Duke of Ferrara, who had thrown himself completely into the arms of France and continued to harass Venice in spite of the Pope's repeated commands. The Prince was not

Consist., f. 27, mention Clermont's imprisonment: *Dicta die (29th June) R. D. F. card. Auxit. cum uno ex suis et sine habitu cardinalitio extra domum suam per urbem a Barizello captus et per Tyberim ad castrum S. Angeli introductus et ibi detentus. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* MAULDE, Origines, 135.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 206, 349–350. *Cf.* MAULDE, III., 459.

‡ SANUTO, X., 829.

only his own feudatory vassal, but was also bound to him by ties of gratitude for quite recent services. During the past Winter he had restored Comacchio to Alfonso, and prevented the Venetians from attacking him. Now, protected by Louis XII., in defiance of that monarch's treaty with Julius II.,* the Duke went on with the war against Venice, and did everything in his power to injure the Holy See. He harried the inhabitants of the States of the Church, ignored the Pope's authority even in ecclesiastical matters, and persisted in working the salt marshes of Comacchio to the detriment of the Papal monopoly at Cervia, asserting that he held this town in fief from the Emperor and not from the Holy See. All the Pope's demands were either "evaded or met by a direct refusal or an evasion; Alfonso was determined not to obey him." † Finally Julius II. commenced legal proceedings against his insubordinate vassal. A Bull of 9th August excommunicates Alfonso as a rebel against the Church, and declares him to have forfeited all his dignities and fiefs. In it he is severely blamed ‡ for his adhesion to Cardinal d'Amboise, who, it says, was plotting to obtain the Tiara during the lifetime of the lawful Pope, and sowed dissension between France and Rome.§

* LANZ, Einleitung, 109.

† See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 251. *Cf.* the authorities referred to here and in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 424 *seq.* See also BALAN, V., 472, and ROB. BOSCHETTI, II., 46 *seq.* *Cf.* also in Appendix, N. 84, the *Brief of the 5th June, 1510. (State Archives, Modena.) A *Brief from Julius II. to Alfonso, unfortunately undated, but apparently belonging to the end of 1507, contains complaints of outrages committed by Ferrarese officials on the inhabitants of various places named in it, which now belonged to the Holy See. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 20b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See P. MARTYR, XXIII., N. 443.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 13 *seq.* *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 27, and

The Pope's attempt to wrest Genoa from France was violently resented by Louis XII. Machiavelli, who was then an Envoy at the French Court, describes the exasperation of the King and his courtiers. "As regards the Pope," he writes from Blois on the 21st July, "you can imagine what is said of him; obedience is to be renounced and a Council hung upon his neck. The complete annihilation of his power, both temporal and spiritual, is the least of the penalties with which he is to be visited. Louis is determined to vindicate his honour even if he loses everything he possesses in Italy." Machiavelli gratified his hatred of Popes by fanning the flame with all his might. He advised the King to set the Roman Barons on Julius; he would then be fully occupied at home and have to let the King of France alone.

Fortunately for the Pope, Louis did not follow this advice, but resolved to attack his enemy just where he was invincible—in his purely spiritual power.* This Pope, who was such an obstacle to French domination in Italy, was to be hurled from his throne by means of a Synod creating an ecclesiastical revolution. Thus, "the great tournament of the European powers was transferred from the field of battle and the realm of diplomacy to that of the life of the Church."†

On the 30th of July, Louis XII. issued a summons to all the Bishops in his kingdom to send representatives of their Dioceses in September to Orleans, there to meet

SANUTO, XI., 108 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 114 *seq.* I saw a contemporaneous printed copy of the Bull (impressum Bononiae 1510, die XXIII.) in the State Archives at Modena. There is also here a notice that the Bull was posted in the church of S. John Lateran on the 13th Aug.

* BROSCH, Julius II., 208. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 504 *seq.*; CREIGHTON, IV., 121.

† FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 85.

together and hold a consultation on the liberties and privileges of the Gallican Church.* By a royal ordinance of 16th August, 1510, all French subjects were forbidden to visit the Court of Rome.† The Assembly met at the appointed time, not, however, at Orleans but at Tours, whither Louis also betook himself, forbidding the Papal Nuncio Leonini to follow him.‡ The French Court-Bishops answered the questions set before them in the sense desired by their master. The Pope did wrong in making war on any Prince who was not one of his vassals, and such a Prince had a right to defend himself with arms, and even to invade the States of the Church if necessary, and to withdraw his kingdom from its obedience to such a Pope. The term at which the renunciation of obedience should take place must be decided by ancient custom and the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, founded on the decrees of the Council of Basle. It was further declared that a King when thus attacked had a right to protect his allies against the Pope, and to hold all his censures as null and void. At the same time it was agreed that before taking any further steps the Gallican Church should send Envoys to the Pope to warn him not to proceed in his present conduct, and to demand a General Council. When this had been done, they would have a right to take other measures. Finally they granted a considerable subsidy to the King for the prosecution of the war in Italy.§ On that point Louis XII.'s plans were of a very extensive character.

* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 427–428. *Cf.* MAULDE, Origines, 134, 325.

† MAULDE, Origines, 135.

‡ *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 42–43

§ LEHMANN, 8–9; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 432 *seq.*; GUETTÉE, VIII., 108 *seq.*; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 29, 46 *seq.*; GIESELER, II., 4, 183 *seq.*

"He intended to create a new heaven and a new earth in Italy." He proposed to lead an army to Rome and himself depose the Pope.* "But his mood varied from day to day; one day he seemed quite determined to begin at once, the next he shrank back alarmed at some apprehended danger, or at the expenses of the war. The Ferrarese Envoy complained that he changed his mind every morning. He allowed the precious time in which action was possible to slip away, while he amused himself with the fatuous contemplation of the power which he possessed, but did not know how to use." Finally he decided upon waiting till the Spring, and till he could be sure of Maximilian and Henry VIII.†

Not so Julius II. He knew nothing of fear or irresolution, and difficulties only roused him to greater exertions. His character corresponded curiously with his family crest, which was the unbending oak,—the resolution which he now formed was in complete harmony with his fearless and eager temperament. Though he was far from well he determined to accompany his army in the campaign against Ferrara, the most advanced outpost of the French in Italy, and thus hold his untrustworthy and irresolute generals to their work. By superintending the whole enterprise in person he hoped "to decide everything himself, and get his decisions promptly carried out, and to be again as successful as when he had boldly taken his own line against the Bentivogli, and refused to be intimidated by any warnings or prognostications of evil. He had no presentiment that he was going forth to meet one of the most terrible trials of his whole life." ‡

* *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letters of the 21st July and the 18th Aug., 1510.

† LEHMANN, 9. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 120; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 256.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 209.

The Pope's irritation with Louis XII. increased from day to day. He began to talk of excommunicating the King, and the Cardinals of the French party were threatened with the severest penalties if they took any part in the calling of an anti-Papal Council. Cardinal Clermont was kept in strict confinement in St. Angelo, and Cardinal de Prie only escaped the same fate by swearing, at the Consistory of 18th August, not to leave Rome; if he did, he would at once be deprived of his cardinalate. These severe measures seemed to be rendered necessary by the conduct of Cardinal d'Este, who, though summoned on the 27th July, with all the other absent Cardinals belonging to the Court, to return to Rome, had not come back.* On the 17th of August the Pope went down to Ostia † and thence to Civita Vecchia, where he inspected the ships destined for Genoa, and celebrated the conquest of Modena.‡ All the Cardinals, with the exception of the aged Caraffa, were summoned to join him at Viterbo, but Briçonnet and de Prie took no notice of the command.§ From Viterbo Julius went to Montefiascone, and started from thence for Bologna with 400 men on the 1st September, making his way to Ancona through Orvieto, Assisi, Foligno, Tolentino, and Loreto, where he said Mass on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8th September).‖

* SANUTO, XI., 143, 189, 192, 198. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, III., 392, and ed. Frati, 197–198; also RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 18–19. The *Brief to Cardinal d'Este of the 27th July, 1510, in Appendix, N. 85. State Archives, Modena.

† *Acta Consist., f. 27. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* SANDONINI, Modena, II, 139 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, XI., 220, 263.

‖ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 189 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* From Ancona, on the 9th Sept., the Pope despatched a *Brief to the Bolognese saying that he had heard how much they had suffered from the enemy, and would compensate them. On the 7th May he had sent

At this place some attempts were made by Cardinal Fiesco and Lionello da Carpi to persuade him to enter into diplomatic relations with France, but were angrily repulsed.* From Ancona, Julius II. proceeded to Rimini † by water, and thence pressed on to Cesena by the ancient Via Emilia, in spite of the rain which poured down like a waterspout. Paris de Grassis, who travelled with the Pope, says, "When the people saw our train toiling along in such weather, they burst out laughing, instead of greeting the Pope as they ought to have done. Although the following day was just as bad, he insisted on going on to Forli, whither the rain perseveringly accompanied us." Here they only spent the night, and then proceeded at once to Bologna, which they entered on the 22nd of September. Everywhere along the road ample provision was made by the inhabitants for the wants of the Pope and his people; at his desire all remains of food were distributed to the convents and the poor.‡

a *Brief praising the fidelity and obedience of the Ancients of Bologna, and in a second *Brief, dat. Rome, 19th May, 1510, he again praises the Magistrates for their loyalty, and assures them that he has such powerful allies that he has no apprehensions. All these *Briefs are in the State Archives, Bologna, Q., lib. 5.

* SANUTO, XI., 336; BROSCH, Julius II., 209.

† From here Julius II. sent the Bishop of Monopoli, Michiel Claudio, to Venice as permanent Nuncio. See SANUTO, XI., 449; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 37 *seq.*

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 191 *seq.* *Cf.* FANTI, Imola, 24. The entrance into Bologna is wrongly dated the 20th by GOZZADINI, Alcuni Avvenimenti, VII., 169. Also the *Acta Consist. say the 22nd, and describe it as: magno apparatu receptus. In a *Brief, dat. Pesaro, 15th Sept., 1510, Julius announced his arrival to the Bolognese; he sent two Commissarii to make all necessary preparations. (State Archives, Bologna, Q., lib. 5.) On the 19th Sept. a letter of thanks was sent to Perugia for the promise of 400 men to help against Ferrara. City Archives, Perugia, and Cod. C., IV., 1, of the University Library, Genoa.

Even during the course of his hurried journey, tidings had reached Julius which filled him with anxiety; he heard from Verona that the expedition against Genoa seemed likely to break down. In Bologna itself he found great dissatisfaction with Alidosi's government. He was already suffering from fever, and found it hard to bear up against all these cares; but anything in the way of better news revived him at once, and his resolution never failed for a moment, not even when there could no longer be any doubt that the King of France meant to summon a Council,* and the Swiss, after having come as far as Chiasso, yielding to French and imperial intrigues, suddenly turned back and gave up the campaign.† But still worse news was yet to come. On the 30th September he had made the Marquess of Mantua Standard-bearer to the Church,‡ and on the 14th October had excommunicated the French general.§ Now, on the 17th, tidings arrived from Florence that the Cardinals Carvajal, Francesco Borgia, Briçonnet, René de Prie, and Sanseverino, instead of obeying the Pope's command to join him at Bologna, had betaken themselves

* *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

† SANUTO, XI., 425, 427, 455, 457, 466. *Cf.* the Portuguese Report from Rome of the 15th Oct., 1510, in the Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133. The unexpected defection of the Swiss (*cf.* DIERAUER, 405) disturbed the Pope more than anything else, as his *Brief of 30th Sept., 1510, shews. This Brief is printed in the Eidgenöss. Abschieden, III., 2, 519–520, and in German in ANSHELM, III., 229–231. TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 704–705, who has reprinted it, and CREIGHTON, IV., 120, have overlooked this. The Latin text of the Letter from the Federation, dat. Lucerne, 14th Sept., 1510, with which FUCHS, II., 200, is not acquainted, and to which the Brief was an answer, is to be found in Cod. Regin., 557, f. 115b, in the Vatican Library.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 195; SANUTO, XI., 486. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 8, who shews that it was the Pope who had released the Marquess from his imprisonment.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 16.

to the camp of the enemy in Milan. For various reasons these men were all dissatisfied with Julius II. and his policy. They cared for nothing but their own aggrandisement,* and hoped to secure that by helping the King of France to depose the Pope, whom he rightly considered the chief obstacle to the establishment of his supremacy in Italy. "Thus a schism in the Sacred College was added to Louis' threatened Council."† Julius had long been mistrustful of the French Cardinals; but it was a terrible blow to him when the two Spaniards, especially Carvajal, who was so highly thought of, went over to the French; nevertheless he still by no means lost heart.

At this critical moment, when nothing but the greatest prudence could have saved him, the Pope committed a fatal error in allowing himself to be completely deceived by Cardinal Alidosi. This worldly and greedy prelate was accused by his enemies of the worst vices—whether justly or not we have no means of determining.‡ He had cruelly oppressed the Bolognese and was suspected of conspiring with the French.§ In consequence, the Duke of Urbino had him arrested as a traitor and carried in chains from

* *Cf.* MORONI in the Miscell. di storia patria, II., 179.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 197; GUICCIARDINI, IX., 3; LE GLAY, I., 372; BROSCH, Julius II., 211; LEHMANN, 27–28; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 435 *seq.* The beginning of the tension between Julius II. and Carvajal dated from the liberation of Cæsar Borgia (*cf. supra*, p. 242). Later Carvajal, who was both passionate and ambitious, had been far from respectful in his conduct towards the Pope. Nevertheless the latter continued to treat him with great consideration, appointed him to honourable posts, and gave him valuable benefices (*cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 84, 89, 90). Even now Carvajal and F. Borgia were treated with greater leniency than the others. See GUICCIARDINI, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* FANTI'S investigations, Imola, 10 *seq.*, which have not been noticed by any modern writer. See also *infra*, p. 350, note †.

§ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 199. *Cf.* SANUTO, IX., 253, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 171 *seq.*

Modena to Bologna on the 7th of October. The Bolognese now hoped that their hated tyrant would pay for his misdeeds with his life. But in his very first conversation he contrived, by insinuating manners and plausibility, so to get round the Pope that not only was he at once released, but very shortly after, on the 18th October, made Bishop of Bologna.* The citizens, irritated to the highest degree, were preparing to give vent to their anger, when suddenly the French army under the command of the excommunicated Chaumont† appeared at the gates of the city, which was inadequately garrisoned with only 900 men. With the French were the Bentivogli, thirsting for revenge. The people now, says Paris de Grassis, took up arms, not to defend the Legate or the Pope, but their own liberty.‡ Alidosi thought of nothing but his personal safety, and said openly that he was arming his people not against the French but to protect himself against the Bolognese.

To make matters worse and add to the general confusion, Julius II. now broke down under the long continued strain, and, as the astrologers had predicted,§ fell seriously ill of fever; so seriously that negotiations for the supposed impending election were set on foot.‖ Now at last for a moment his indomitable spirit seemed to falter. On the

* Contemporaneous writers seem utterly at a loss to explain this event. *Cf.* the conjectures of P. DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 201.

† The Bull of Excommunication of the 14th Oct., 1510, in the Bull. Rom., ed. Luxemb., X., 12–14. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 16; Lettres de Louis XII., I., 282; and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 426 *seq.*

‡ The text of P. DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus (populus arma capit pro pontificis tutelaque sua) is inaccurate throughout. In FRATI, 201, it does not make sense. The correct text in DÖLLINGER'S edition runs thus: populus arma capit non utique pro legato nec tam pro pontificis tutela quam sua ipsorum defensione.

§ *Cf.* the Portuguese Report in the Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

‖ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 204; *cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 350 *seq.*

19th of October he sent for the Venetian Ambassador and told him that if the troops of the Republic had not crossed the Po within twenty-four hours, he would come to terms with Chaumont. The Ambassador relates how, on the following night, tossing on his sleepless bed, he declared in his feverish wanderings that he would rather kill himself than fall into the hands of the French.* With the dawn of the 20th October the fever subsided, and the sick man recovered his self-command with a celerity which shews the extraordinary elasticity of his temperament. When he heard that the armed citizens were calling his name he sprang from his bed and had himself carried out on one of the balconies of the palace, from whence he gave his blessing to the people, whose temper, owing to a variety of circumstances, had undergone a favourable change during the preceding days.

Paris de Grassis, as an eye-witness, narrates how Julius, after having blessed the people, crossed his arms upon his

* *Cf.* the extracts from the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador in SANUTO, XI. Here on the 26th Sept. it is said that the Pope is in bed con terzanella (p. 467); on 2nd Oct. that he is ill of fever: li medici dubita non si buti in quartana (p. 494); on 18th Oct.: il papa à pur febre, quasi ogni giorno uno pocho, e como l'ha qualche bona nova, l'ha mancho, e come l' à cativa, el sta in letto (p. 546); on the 19th, the declaration to the Ambassador mentioned in the text. On the 20th, it has been decided to come to terms with the French. El papa è in letto con la febre; it is thought that he cannot live. Tuta questa note il papa rasonando diceva: Morirò, morirò, orsù, voglio morir! Poi diceva: Andarò presone de' Francesi, de' Francesi! Questo non serà vero. Torò il veneno da mi, torò il veneno al tutto! E cussi tuta questa notte su queste pratiche ha rabiato, non à mai dormito tutta questa notte (pp. 548–550). BROSCH, Julius II., 202, in his usual fashion, quotes these words so as to produce a misleading impression, suppressing what the Ambassador says of the severity of the fever, and anticipations of the death of the Pope. The word "rabiato" indicates mental disturbance, so that CREIGHTON, IV., 123, correctly makes use of the term delirium.

breast, as though confiding his person to their honour and care. The action met with a sympathetic response, and a shout went up from the crowd with a promise to stand up against the foe as one man. "Now," exclaimed the Pope, as they carried him back to his bed, "we have conquered the French." *

The hopes of Julius II. were justified by the conduct of the French commander, who, instead of pressing forward at once, began to negotiate,† and thus gave time for the Venetian and Spanish troops to arrive. Soon the French army, encamped on the Reno three miles from the city, began to suffer severely from want of provisions and the inclemency of the weather, and was forced to retire to Castelfranco. Julius, who had broken off his negotiations with Chaumont, was now anxious that his troops should sally forth and fall upon the French, who were retiring slowly, plundering as they went. His vexation at not being able to get this done was so great that it brought on a dangerous relapse on the 24th. Again the worst began to be feared, but again also his iron constitution was victorious. In two days he began to improve, and by the end of the fourth day the danger was over. His recovery, however, was retarded by his obstinacy in refusing to spare himself in any way or to follow the advice of his physicians. In consequence, he had many relapses. "The Pope's constitution," writes the Venetian Ambassador on the 25th November, "is marvellous; if he would only take care of himself he would soon be able to get up."‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 202, 203; *cf.* 333. SANUTO, XI., 551 *seq.*

† SEMPER, Carpi, 7. On Chaumont's motives, *cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 346.

‡ SANUTO, XI., 634; *cf.* on the various phases of his sickness and his behaviour, 554, 556, 568, 569, 583, 586, 601, 603, 633, 642, 668, and PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 204 *seq*

Far from attending to his health, the mind of the Pope was occupied day and night with his plans for subduing Ferrara and driving back the French. He caused a circular letter to all the Christian Princes of Europe to be drawn up, in which he accused Louis XII. of thirsting for the blood of the Roman Pope and sending his army to Bologna to destroy him. He declared that until Ferrara had capitulated he would listen to no more overtures. He urged the Venetians with redoubled energy to join their forces to his and at once commence the siege of that city. But his impatience was doomed to disappointment. The union of the two armies took place in due course, but the combined forces waited in vain for the Marquess of Mantua. At the same time the Venetian fleet met with a reverse.* Julius II. had on the 11th December appointed Cardinal Marco Vigerio, Legate of the Papal troops; eight days after, news came of the conquest of Concordia.† His Master of Ceremonies reports that on the 15th December he had so far recovered as to be able to leave the house of his friend, Giulio Malvezzi, where he had been staying since the 6th November, and return to his own palace. Externally he was very much altered in appearance, as during his illness he had grown a long beard.‡ At Christmas he was able to

* GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 3.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 211 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, XI., 681, 689. and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 184.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 213, 241. A Bolognese chronicler (in GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 182) reports: Portava la barba per vendicarsi et diceva che non la voleva più rasar per insino a tanto che non aveva anco fuora scazato el re Ludovico de Franza d'Italia. See PETRUS MARTYR, Lib. XXIV., ep. 451. *Cf.* also LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 65. For several centuries no Pope had ever worn a beard, and at the Conclave of 1455 even Bessarion's oriental beard had been blamed by some. (See Vol. II. of this work, p. 323.) See generally on the wearing of beards during the Renaissance period, MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'A., III.,

say Mass, but only in his private chapel and sitting. On S. Stephen's Day he wished to attend the High Mass at the Cathedral, but heavy snow and a slight return of fever obliged him to give up his intention.* It can therefore be imagined what the amazement of his Court must have been when he informed them on the 29th of December that he intended to join the army before Mirandola, in order to see why his troops were putting off their attack in spite of his repeated commands. Although every one, the Cardinals, the Prelates, the Bolognese, and, at first, even the Venetian Envoys, did their utmost to dissuade him, they could not alter his determination; he was convinced that nothing but his presence in person could defeat the machinations of those who were hindering the progress of the campaign.†

On the 2nd of January, 1511, the world was called upon to witness the strange spectacle of a Pope, regardless of his dignity, his advanced age, his health, and the rigours of an unusually severe Winter, setting forth to join his army in their camp before Mirandola. Amongst those who accompanied him were the Cardinals Isvalies, d'Aragona, and Cornaro, and the famous architect Bramante.‡ The Venetian Envoy, Girolamo Lippomano, who had attached himself to the Papal train, gives utterance in his Reports to the universal astonishment. "Julius II.," he writes on the 6th January, "has appeared, contrary to all expectation.

156 *seq.* It was, however, "quite in character for Julius II. to be the first to assume this note of virility." GREGOROVIUS, Grabdenkmäler, 124. See also NOVAES, VI., 136.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 223.

† SANUTO, XI., 712 *seq.*, 719. From a Portuguese Report of 15th Oct., 1510, it appears that even in the Autumn the Pope had expressed his intention of personally taking part in the war. Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

‡ *Cf.* SEMPER, Carpi, 8.

He hates the French worse than ever. Apparently he has quite recovered; he goes about in all the wind and weather, and watches the clearing away of the snow from his balcony; he has the strength of a giant. Yesterday and to-day the snow has been falling without intermission, and is half the height of a horse, and yet the Pope is in the camp. Our Republic is being splendidly served. His Court, who have no heart for Italy, and think of nothing but their money, are dying to get back to Rome; but they are quite helpless; Julius II. thinks, dreams, and talks to satiety of nothing but Mirandola." * In a Report on the following day he says, "To-day the Pope reviewed the troops in the snow. His spirit and courage are marvellous, but he is not supported by his people." The consciousness of this sometimes angered him almost to madness, and he would storm and rave at his generals for their tardiness.†

At first Julius II. had taken up his abode in a farm-house; when the batteries opened fire, he withdrew to Concordia, but his impatience soon became so great that in a few days he returned to take up his quarters in the Convent of Sta Giustina, which was quite close to the battery and nearer to the fortress than the farm-house. His Court were lost in wonder: "His Holiness lives in the kitchen of the Convent," writes the Venetian Paolo Capello on the 13th January, "and I inhabit an open stable that

* SANUTO, XI., 722–723; *cf.* 721. See also the interesting Mantuan Despatch in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 65 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 225; GRUMELLO, 134 *seq.*; and CARPESANUS, V., N. 2. On the unusual severity of the Winter of 1511, *cf.* LANDUCCI, 306, and CAMBI, XXI., 251, who are, not without reason, scandalised at the Pope's conduct in joining the camp. His armour is still preserved in the Vatican, and will be placed in the new Museum in the Appartamento Borgia.

† SANUTO, XI., 724, 725, 726; *cf.* 729, 730, 731, 732, 740. See further, the Mantuan Despatches in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 66, and the Report of the Envoy from Orvieto in FUMI, Carteggio, 134–135.

anywhere else would not be thought fit even for a servant; but here it is so much prized that Cardinals Cornaro and d'Aragona have been asking for it. The weather is detestable; to-day we have a furious snow storm, and yet the Pope has gone out. His health and spirit are superhuman, nothing seems to hurt him." The Venetian Envoy Lippomano said to Cardinal Alidosi, who was also in the camp, "It ought to be recorded in all histories that a Pope, only just out of his sick-bed, has taken the field himself in January and in the midst of such snow and cold. The rivers are all frozen; it is Winter with a vengeance." A report of the 17th January states that on that day a cannon-ball had entered the room where the Pope was lying asleep, and had wounded two of his servants. After this Julius moved into the house of Cardinal Isvalies. But here too he found that shots were occasional visitors, and so, in spite of the remonstrances of his people, he returned to his former quarters. "The Pope displays extraordinary courage," writes the Venetian Envoy. "He is burning with impatience to march on Ferrara." The long sustained resistance of the defenders of Mirandola so enraged Julius that he rated his own generals in violent terms, and talked of giving the town over to pillage.* When at last, on the 20th of January, it capitulated, his people succeeded in persuading him to grant milder terms. He was in such a hurry to set foot in his new conquest that he would not wait to have the gates unbarred, but clambered in through the breach on a wooden ladder. On the following day he declared that he would at once proceed to Ferrara, and

* SANUTO, XI., 740, 741, 743, 744, 746, 747, 750, 755. *Cf.* GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 197 *seq.*; Mem. della Mirandola, II., 179 *seq.*, 183; and BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 12 *seq.*, 14. Julius sent the cannon-ball to the Sanctuary of Loreto, where it is still preserved. *Cf.* GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, VII., 198, and TURSELLINUS, 169 *seq.*

appointed Count Gianfrancesco Pico, Lieutenant of the conquered fortress.*

His personal experience of the difficulties which he would have to encounter in subduing Ferrara induced Julius to enter into communication with Alfonso in order to persuade him to abandon his alliance with France. He also endeavoured to detach Maximilian from Louis XII., by handing Modena over to the imperial commander.† The Duke of Ferrara let the Pope know through an indirect channel that he would not treat with him, and so the war had to go on.

For a time Julius still clung to his purpose of personally pursuing the campaign; but the representations of his Court, and his dread of being taken prisoner by the French, induced him for the present to return to Bologna until he could collect a larger army. When he found that his return to Bologna (on the 6th-7th February) had at once encouraged the French to advance again, he proceeded on the 11th by Imola to Ravenna in order to attack Ferrara from that side.‡ In Ravenna, which he reached on the 18th of February, the Pope on the 10th of March created several new Cardinals, "to strengthen himself against the schismatics and to fulfil his engagements to certain

* SANUTO, XI., 760, 763, 765, 766, 770, 772, 773, 776, 778, 787. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 66; Mem. della Mirandola, II., 185 *seq.*; BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 15 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 200 *seq.*, where all particulars about the ring (now in the Museum at Modena) which Julius gave to the inhabitants of Mirandola may be found.

† In January, 1511. See SANDONINI, Modena, 141.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 234 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XI., 795, 800, 801, 805, 813, 821, 831, 832, 838, 843; FUMI, Carteggio, 138, 139, 140–141; FANTI, Imola, 24–25. *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 216 *seq.* On the day that he left Bologna, the Pope wrote to M. Lang asking him to come to him. See Lettres de Louis XII., II., 112–113.

powers."* Two of those nominated were ultramontanes, the Englishman Bainbridge and the Swiss Bishop, Matthæus Schinner, the other six were Italians: Antonio Ciochi di Monte Sansovino, Archbishop of Liponto; Pietro Accoli of Arezzo, Bishop of Ancona; Achilles de Grassis of Bologna; Francesco Argentino of Venice; Bandinello Sauli of Genoa; and Alfonso Petrucci of Siena.

The College of Cardinals had strenuously resisted these fresh nominations, but, as the Venetian Envoy had predicted, Julius carried his point. The same Envoy says that some of the new Cardinals had to pay large sums for their elevation. The nomination of de Grassis was obviously made to please the Bolognese; the English Cardinal Bainbridge was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops, which caused great surprise.†

Besides these eight Cardinals another was nominated, but reserved *in petto.* This was Maximilian's confidant, Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, who just at this time had arrived in Mantua, where the Envoys from England, France, and Spain were also present. He brought proposals of peace from his master.

Julius II. wished to treat with Lang personally. As Ravenna was too insignificant a place to make it possible there to receive the representative of the Emperor with fitting honours, the Pope, though extremely dissatisfied with the slackness of his generals in their way of carrying on the war, had to leave that city on April 3 and return to Bologna, which he reached on the 7th of April,

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 68, ed. 3. On this creation, *cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 242 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 388; FUMI, Carteggio, 143, 145–146; CARDELLA, 340 *seq.*; and *Acta Consist., f. 28. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† SANUTO, XII., 25, 55–56, 69, 87 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 251.

1511.* On the 10th of the month, Matthæus Lang and Giovanni Gonzaga, as Envoys from the Emperor, and James Conchilles representing Ferdinand of Spain, entered the city in state, having previously had a private audience with the Pope.† It was observed with dissatisfaction that even in this procession Lang appeared in secular dress. The pedantic Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, characteristically relates: "I entreated Lang in vain to attire himself as an ecclesiastic, especially in view of his approaching admission to the Sacred College, but he put me off by saying that he would appear in the garb which he wore when the Emperor sent him. When I asked the Pope about it he said that it was his wish that I should let the matter rest, and this I did, although many were displeased with me on this account, and still more with Lang." ‡

When, on the following day, the Envoys had their public audience, Lang, at the Pope's express command, was given the place of honour immediately below the Cardinal-Deacons. This and other marks of distinction were received by the Envoy with such unmannerly arrogance, that he appeared to the courteous Italians a perfect savage. "He is a barbarian," de Grassis writes in his Diary, "and behaves

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 260; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 68, ed. 3; and BROSCH, Julius II., 219, make 30th Mar. the day of the Pope's departure from Ravenna. Both have read de Grassis very superficially. The extract naturally begins with the title Discessus pontificis ex Ravenna ad Bononiam, immediately followed by the words, Die Dominica 30 Martii, but if they had only read a few lines more they would have found that the decision to leave Ravenna was adopted on that day, and that de Grassis then goes on to say: Itaque die Jovis tertia Aprilis inde movit.

† *Ibid.*, 263; ULMANN, II., 426, erroneously puts off the private audience to the 11th of April. *Cf.* Lettres de Louis XII., II., 139.

‡ *Ibid.*, 265.

like a barbarian." At the audience he curtly explained that Maximilian had sent him to Italy because he preferred to obtain his rights by peaceful means rather than by war, but that the only conditions under which he would treat were, that the Venetians should restore everything that they had taken on any title whatever, whether these lands belonged to the Empire or were hereditary possessions of Austria. When three Cardinals were deputed by Julius II. to carry on the negotiations, Lang declared it to be beneath his dignity to deal personally with any one but the Pope himself, and commissioned three of the nobles who accompanied him to meet the Cardinals. Julius had hoped to win him by bestowing on him the highest dignity and rich benefices, but all these favours seemed only to encourage him to greater insolence. He behaved as though his imperial master had already donned the Tiara. The Venetian Envoy reports with amazement with what pomp the Bishop of Gurk surrounded himself, and how seldom he visited the Pope. "At the audience he conducted himself as if he were a King rather than an Ambassador, and claimed the right of conversing with the Pope, sitting, and with his head covered." It is not surprising that these never very promising negotiations should have come to nothing. On the 16th April all Louis XII.'s adherents had been excommunicated,* and the views and desires of both the parties concerned were diametrically opposed to each other.†

* The Bull in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 50. Lang aimed, "in accordance with his master's wishes, at reconciling the Pope with France, and thus completely isolating Venice and renewing the League of Cambrai in its earlier form, perhaps with the addition of England. On the other side the Pope and Venice sought to win the Bishop, and through him the Emperor, to combine with them in attacking France." HUBER, III., 389–390.

† SANUTO, XII., 126–129, 139, 140, 147, 160; Lang's letters in Lettres de Louis XII., II., 107 *seq.*, 139, 182, 205 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS,

On the 25th of April the Bishop of Gurk* left the Papal Court suddenly, "almost without taking leave, and with an angry mien." The Venetian Envoy reports that Lang's followers cried out as they were passing through the city gates, "Long live the Emperor, long live France, long live the Bentivogli." It is not wonderful that it was commonly said in Bologna that the Pope was at daggers drawn with all the Powers, and that he was to be called before a Council and deposed.†

Lang's threats were something more than empty words, for the French, who had suspended their hostile operations while the negotiations were going on, at once recommenced them. It now became plain that Chaumont's death, which took place on the 11th February, was a godsend for them. He had allowed Modena to fall into the hands of the enemy, had not attacked Bologna in time, and had not relieved Mirandola. On his death the command was assumed by the veteran Trivulzio. The first thing he did

ed. Frati, 265 *seq.*, 271–272 (here the printer's error, 27 Aprilis, *should be* the 25th). COCCINIUS, De bellis italicis (in FREHER, II., 542 *seq.*); GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 5, who observes: La quale indegnita divorava insieme con molto altro il pontefice, vincendo la sua natura l'odio incredibile contro ai Francesi; LE GLAY, I., 394 *seq.*; BREWER, State Papers of Henry VIII., I., 168. *Cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 358 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 220, 353; ROMANIN, V., 256; ULMANN, II., 426 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 389–391; CREIGHTON, IV., 127–128, and in regard to the description in Coccinius, KRIEGER'S investigations, Ueber die Bedeutung des vierten Buches von Coccinius' Schrift De bellis Italicis, p. 27 *seq.*, which, however, are inadequate and even partially incorrect, as *e.g.*, on p. 32 we find: "Coccinius' statement that Lang had been fourteen days in Bologna is erroneous. He arrived on the 8th April, and went away again on the 15th," in confirmation of which he cites Lettres de Louis XII., II., 205. Here, however, we find that Lang left on the 25th. Thus it is Krieger rather than Coccinius who needs correction.

* Not Archbishop, as GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., ed. 5, designates him.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 272; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

was to reconquer Concordia, and the next, to advance against Bologna. As soon as Julius heard this, he started in haste for the camp, in order to stir up his generals and set the army in motion. He meant to have slept the first night at Cento, but was obliged to stop at Pieve, as a troop of 1000 foot soldiers who were encamped in the former place refused to leave it until they were paid. He was so much annoyed at this, that on the following day he returned to Bologna; but it was evident that if he remained there, he would again run the risk of being captured by the French. He resolved therefore to return to Ravenna. Before his departure he called the Council of Forty together, laid before them all the advantages which Bologna had derived from belonging to the Church, and admonished them to remain faithful to him. On their solemn promise to be always true to him, he confided the defence of the walls and gates to the citizens.*

The fate of Bologna after the Pope's departure, which took place on the 15th May,† did not depend so much upon the conduct of her citizens as upon that of Alidosi and the Duke of Urbino, who, with his army, lay encamped before the city. The enmity between these two made all co-operation between them impossible; the hatred which Alidosi had drawn upon himself, and the consequent disloyalty of the inhabitants, did the rest. The moment the Pope was gone, the Bentivogli party began to stir and was

* COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* On his account, which differs in part from that of Guicciardini, see KRIEGER, 33 *seq.* The speeches in Guicciardini are certainly invented—Julius was by no means a ready speaker. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS in Ch. G. Hoffmann, Nova collectio scriptor., I., 450 (Lips., 1731). On the danger for Bologna, see FUMI, Carteggio, 147.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 274; SANUTO, XII., 183; *Acta Consist., f. 28. The *Brief addressed by Julius II. on the 16th May, 1511, to Alidosi and the Bolognese shews how little he apprehended the blow that was about to fall.

joined by all who disliked the government of the Church. The city was soon in a turmoil, and Alidosi, without striking a blow, at once fled in disguise, first to the fort, and then, when he heard that the Sanfelice gate had been traitorously given up to the Bentivogli, to Castel Rio near Imola. The Duke of Urbino behaved no better. When the news reached him of what was going on in Bologna he gave the signal for a retreat which soon degenerated into a flight. All the artillery, and most of the baggage and colours, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 23rd May Trivulzio entered Bologna, and the Bentivogli resumed the government of the city.* They at once began, with brutal vandalism, to destroy all reminiscences, however valuable, of the Papal occupation. The bronze statue of the Pope, a splendid work of Michael Angelo's which was placed over the doorway of the Cathedral in 1508, fell a sacrifice to this bitter spirit.†

The loss of Bologna, which, next to Rome, was the most beautiful and the wealthiest of all the cities in the States of the Church, was "the hardest blow of fate which had ever fallen upon Julius II. He now found himself in the eighth year of his Pontificate and the sixty-eighth of his life with all his hard-won conquests torn from his grasp and everything that he had built up thrown down."‡ Nevertheless, when the news came, he received it without losing his self-command for a moment. In a brief address, he informed the Cardinals that the place had been lost through

* COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* KRIEGER, 34–36; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 275 *seq.*; ALFANI, 257; PRATO, 284; NARDI, I., 398 *seq.*; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 233–235, 243 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*; SANUTO, XII., 190. *Cf.* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 160 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, II., 363 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 215 *seq.*

† More on this subject will be found in Chap. IX.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 222.

the treachery of the citizens and of the Duke of Urbino, who should pay for it with his life. He then at once gave the necessary orders for the concentration and reorganisation of the army.*

Alidosi and the Duke of Urbino, perhaps with equal justice, each laid the blame on the other; both hastened to the Papal Court to justify themselves. Alidosi's friends had done their best to strengthen the Pope's conviction that the fault lay with the Duke, and he overwhelmed his nephew with violent reproaches. As he left his uncle's presence, furious and smarting, under these, he met Alidosi, who was on horseback, coming to visit the Pope. The Cardinal saluted him smilingly, but the young Duke, with the passionate blood of the South boiling in his veins, drew his sword, and exclaiming, "Traitor, art thou here at last! Receive thy reward!" stabbed him mortally, and fled. Alidosi only lived an hour: his last words were, "I reap the reward of my misdeeds."†

The fact that every one except Julius II. rejoiced at the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 277. *Cf.* SANUTO, XII., 191, and AEGIDIUS VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 386.

† COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* KRIEGER, 36–37; PARIS DE GRASSIS ed. Frati, 278 *seq.* (The punctuation in Döllinger's ed., 406, is better; the text in CREIGHTON, IV., 271, is worse than that which had been printed previously.) SANUTO, XII., 198 *seq.*; BEMBUS, 472; CARPESANUS, V., 5, pp. 1273–1274; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 246; BELCARIUS, 365; LANDUCCI, 308–309; GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 5. On Alidosi, *cf.* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., Lib. II., p. 34, and Elogior., Lib. IV., p. 134. See also SUGENHEIM, 406 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 106 *seq.*, 227 *seq.*; *cf.* 231 *seq.* FANTI, Imola, 10 *seq.*, has recently endeavoured to defend Alidosi. Many of his arguments deserve consideration, though he carries the inferences from them too far. But the last word about Alidosi has not yet been spoken. A tablet was inserted in the wall in the Via S. Vitale in 1863 to mark the spot where the murder took place. Alidosi's skull is preserved in the Bibl. Classense at Ravenna. See GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 228–230; FANTI, Imola, 13–14.

Legate's death shews how universally detested he had made himself. He was regarded by all as a traitor, and the person who was really responsible for the fall of Bologna. "Most righteous God," writes Paris de Grassis in his Diary, "how just are Thy judgments! Thanks are due to Thee from all for having punished this traitor as he deserved. The hated villain has indeed been removed by a human instrument, but not, as we believe, without Thy concurrence, and for this again we thank Thee."*

At the very time that the crime was committed, a meeting of the Cardinals was taking place, at which Cardinal Isvalies, who was universally beloved, had been appointed Legate of Bologna. To add to the sorrow caused by the murder of his favourite, Julius II. deeply resented the outrage committed against the highest dignity in the Church.† He left Ravenna at once ‡ and went to Rimini.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 278; *cf.* 319. Julius II.'s obstinate confidence in Alidosi has been made to serve as a ground for the very worst accusations of immorality against him. In relation to this, BROSCH (224), one of Julius II.'s most violent critics, remarks: "Italy during the Renaissance could not have been, as Burckhardt describes it, such a school of vice as the world had never before seen, if such relations between a distinguished but thoroughly worldly Pope and a dissipated Cardinal had not furnished matter for the worst insinuations. The revolting charges which have been heaped upon Julius II. recoil on the scandal-mongers of the time, and are, no doubt, the echo of their talk, but their truth is extremely doubtful." CREIGHTON, IV., 130, writes: It is hard to account for the infatuation of Julius II. towards Cardinal Alidosi, and we cannot wonder that contemporary scandal attributed it to the vilest motives. "Il papa era molto vitioso e dedito alla libidine Gomorrea," says a relazione of Trevisan, printed by BROSCH, Julius II., 296. The charge was often repeated with reference to Alidosi. It was a rude way of explaining what could not be explained. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 320, note †.

† See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 61.

‡ RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 261, incorrectly says 28th May

There another, and perhaps a still more painful, surprise awaited him. On the 28th of May a citation to the Council of Pisa, to be opened on the 1st of September, was found affixed to the door of the church of S. Francesco, close to the Pope's residence. The document was dated 16th May, 1511. It stated that the delegates of the Roman and German Emperor and the most Christian King proposed to summon a universal Council. This action on their part had become necessary in order to comply with the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Constance, owing to the negligence of the Pope, who had not kept the oath which he had sworn to in the Conclave. They declared that Julius II.'s opposition to the Council fully justified the Cardinals in thus taking the matter into their own hands. They also declared that the majority of the members of the Sacred College who were free to do so, supported their action, and entered a protest beforehand against all censures that he might pronounce upon them. The Pope was requested to give his consent to the calling of this Council and also to attend it either personally or through a representative. All Cardinals, Bishops, Chapters, and Universities, as well as all secular Princes, were summoned and invited to take part in it. Meanwhile the Pope was not to create or promulgate any new Cardinals, to abstain from instituting proceedings against any of the older Cardinals or the Prelates who favoured the Council, and also from doing anything to hinder it from meeting, and further from any alterations or alienations in regard to the possessions of the Roman Church; any such acts would be invalid. As the Pope gave no safe-conducts, and often resorted to force, the publication of the summons in Modena, Parma, and Reggio must be deemed sufficient.

Cf. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 280; *ibid.*, 319 *seq.*, on the popularity of Isvalies.

The Council was to be convoked in the names of Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, Philip of Luxemburg, Francesco Borgia, Adriano da Corneto, de Prie, Carlo del Carretto, San Severino, and Ippolito d'Este.* The summons was to be published "throughout the four nations"; on the 23rd of May letters were sent to each of the several Princes calling upon them to send their Ambassadors and Prelates to the Assembly.†

"The objects of the Council or, more correctly, the banners under which the forces of hypocrisy and ambition were to be marshalled, were the pacification of Christendom, a crusade against the infidels, and the reform of the Church in its Head and in its members."‡

The convocation of a Council under these futile pretexts§ by a body of schismatic Cardinals was an act of open rebellion, a daring attack upon the most indisputable prerogative of the Supreme Head of the Church. At first no one ventured to tell the Pope, but of course it was not a matter of which he could long be kept in ignorance. From the Report of the Venetian Ambassador we can see how deeply he felt this blow.‖ Bereft of almost all his political power—for the States of the Church were lying open at the mercy of the French army—he now saw his spiritual authority threatened and in the greatest danger; for behind the disloyal Cardinals stood not only the King of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 61; MANSI, V., 349–353; SANUTO, XII., 250–254; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 437 *seq.*

† GOLDAST, 1196; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 235–241.

‡ See LEHMANN, 12. *Cf.* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 440 *seq.*, and on the motives of Cardinal Sanseverino, ULMANN, Absichten, 20.

§ *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 438 *seq.* LEHMANN, 29, observes: "It is superfluous to say anything of the legal status of the Council; its promoters had no legal standing ground whatever."

‖ SANUTO, XII., 203, 218, 223; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 281 *seq.*

France, but also the Emperor, both bent on completely crushing his power and annihilating Venice.* The ill-success of the war against Venice had thrown Maximilian into the arms of Louis XII.† Since then he had sought his fortune, both in secular politics and in his dealings with the Church, in those "tortuous foreign ways" which had formerly been so distasteful to him. In many circles in Germany a distinctly anti-Roman spirit reigned and vented itself in constant complaints of the conduct of the Roman Court, both in politics and in Church affairs.‡

* From the year 1503 the aim of Maximilian's policy had been to secure for himself a preponderating influence in Rome, and, if possible, to place a Pope in the Chair of S. Peter who should be dependent upon him. In that year, his fear that d'Amboise might be elected was so great, that he directed his Envoy in Rome not to shrink from any measures that might be necessary to prevent this, not even from creating a schism. (Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, XXXI., 70; Arch. Veneto, I., 85 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 459; ULMANN, I., 136 *seq.*) When again, in the following years, Louis XII. was doing all he could to obtain the Tiara for d'Amboise, Maximilian naturally strained every nerve to frustrate these efforts. It is easy, therefore, to understand what he meant by saying in his letter of 10th June, 1507, to George of Neideck, Bishop of Trent, that he meant to come to Rome to have himself made Pope as well as Emperor (a portion of this document, which has been since 1830 in the Court Library at Vienna, is given in the periodical, Ferdinandeum, IX., 55-56); of course, as a married man, he could not think of obtaining the Tiara for himself personally. A report was widely circulated that he was eager to add the States of the Church to his possessions, but this is extremely unlikely; it is far more probable that this notion was a spectre conjured up by the apprehensions of the French, Spaniards, and Italians. "The truth underlying all fancies was that it was Maximilian's most ardent wish to be crowned Emperor at Rome, and to revive the supremacy of the Empire and its ancient rights over the whole of Italy, to the exclusion of French influence." (SÄGMÜLLER against Ulmann in the Literar. Rundschau (1889), p. 242.)

† HUBER, III., 383 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 58 *seq.*

As long ago as the year 1495, shortly before the Diet of Worms, inspired by a somewhat groundless fear that Alexander VI. was purposing to bestow the Imperial Crown on Charles VIII. of France, Hans von Hermannsgrün, a Saxon nobleman, published a pamphlet which aptly mirrors the ferment of the time. He proposes, in case the Pope should take this step, to make a formal renunciation of obedience for the time, to appoint a German Patriarch in his place, and to arrange with Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary to summon a Council and cite the Pope to appear before it.*

The Emperor gave vent to his grudge against Julius II. for having made peace with Venice, by following the example of France and attacking the Pope on the spiritual side.† In September, 1510, at the same time that Louis XII. was consulting his courtier Bishops, Maximilian sent his Secretary Spiegel with a copy of

* ULMANN, Der Traum von Hans von Hermannsgrün in the Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, XX., 69 *seq.* Here is also to be found, p. 18 *seq.*, the Memorial which DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 91 *seq.*, afterwards published with a wrong date and a faulty text. GRAUERT in his interesting essay, "Alte Prophezeiungen über Kaiser und Reich," in Deutschen Hausschatz Jahrg., XVII., No. 45, suggests that possibly the occasion of Hermannsgrün's pamphlet may have been a work written by the Catalan Hieronymus Paulus, contesting the right of the Germans to elect the Emperor. Paulus was a member of the Papal Court under Alexander VI. He says that it would be much better, both for the Empire as well as for the Church, if one were chosen not in Germany alone, but from amongst all the Christian Princes, whom all should be bound to obey, and who would be powerful enough to subdue the barbarian and heathen nations. Italy more especially needed a single temporal ruler, and a strong one, for the country was torn to pieces by tyrants and factions, and in constant danger.

† ULMANN, Absichten, 15, rightly concludes from a *Despatch of Pandolfini of 30th Sept., 1510 (State Archives, Florence), that the example of France had a great effect on Maximilian.

the French Pragmatic Sanction to the learned Jakob Wimpheling. Spiegel's instructions state that the Emperor is resolved to take measures to deliver Germany from the tyranny of the Roman Court, and to prevent large sums from being sent to Rome which are employed by the Pope merely in injuring him. Wimpheling is to give his opinion on three special points: the best way of defeating the quibbles and tricks of the Roman Court officials, the abolition of Annates, and the appointment of a permanent Legate, who should be a native of Germany, to adjudicate on all affairs and grievances there, and the advantages that would accrue from such an appointment.*

The Emperor's last proposition was a very far-reaching one, and went beyond anything that had been thought of in France. The appointment of a permanent Legate for Germany meant "a permanent change in the organisation of the Church, a sort of national independence for the German Church."† This plan, in combination with the introduction of a Pragmatic Sanction, was the first step towards a severance of the German Church from Rome, in other words, towards a schism. Wimpheling, who was a loyal son of the Church, at once recognised this; his answer was prudent and reserved. He gave his opinion distinctly against the introduction of the Pragmatic Sanction, and in regard to the Legate, he spoke mistrustfully and doubtingly. On the other hand, he laid great stress on the necessity for an improvement, on conservative lines, in the relations of the German Church with Rome. He enlarged on the

* ULMANN, Maximilians Kirchenreformplan, 204 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 67.

† *Ibid.*, 208. *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, 99, where, however, the fact that political considerations were the mainspring of all Maximilian's proceedings is not made sufficiently clear. *Cf.* ULMANN, *loc. cit.*, 203, and GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 76.

injuries inflicted on Germany by the members of the Roman Court, and recapitulated, with some alterations, the well known *gravamina* of 1457. He dwelt principally on the financial side of the question, "and from his point of view he had every right to believe that a thorough administrative reform would do away with the necessity for a Council and probably make it possible to diminish pleadings before Roman Courts and improve the inner life of the Church." *

But at that time the Emperor took very little interest in the reform of abuses; his only object was the political one of forcing Julius II. to join the League of Cambrai. Every means was tried, negotiation, threats of schism and of a General Council.† In regard to the Council, at first, in January 1511, Maximilian stipulated that the consent of the Pope and Cardinals must be obtained; but when the negotiations with Lang had proved a failure, and Louis XII. in his anger had issued his citation, the Emperor, on the 5th of June, 1511, threw himself unreservedly into the French plans.‡ Soon after, he forwarded the letter of invitation to the Queen of Hungary and Poland, begging her to send representatives to the Council and enable her Prelates to attend it.§

In the year 1511 Louis carried his hatred against Julius II. so far as to permit the representation on the stage of a satirical play directed against the Head of the Church. One of his political pamphleteers, Pierre Gringoire, composed a burlesque, for the production of which in the

* GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 69.

† ULMANN, II., 419 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 451.

‡ GOLDAST, 411, 428 *seq.*; ULMANN, II., 434–435. *Cf.* also JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 840, and BIANCHI, Materie polit. degli Archivi Piemontesi, 200. Bologna, 1876.

§ Acta Tomiciana, I., 205, 212; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 85–86.

principal market place in Paris (Aux Halles) a Royal privilege was granted. The Prince of Fools appears on the boards with his Court, fools of all sorts, current events are discussed, the disputes with England, the conflict with the Church, and one of the fools assures the public that

> Le Prince des sotz ne prétend
> Que donner pa x à ses suppotz,

to which another replies:

> Pource que l'Église entreprent
> Sur temporalité et prent
> Nous ne pouvons avoir repos.

Amongst the courtiers is the Général d'Enfance. He prances on to the stage on a hobby-horse brandishing a mock battle-axe, and shouting, "Hon, hon, men, men, pa, pa, tetet." When the council are all assembled, the Prince appears, and the Seigneur de la Joie gives the password:—

> Arrière bigotz et bigottes,
> Nous n'en voulons point, par ma foy.

La "Sotte commune," supposed to represent the views of the mass of the people, is allowed to take part in the council, but gets nothing but jibes and jeers from the fine gentlemen. When she complains that they are always interfering and manage everything, while she has to suffer and pay, they simply laugh her down.

Suddenly a new figure appears on the scene, a woman in ecclesiastical attire and calling herself Mother Church. She is accompanied by two other female fools, "Confiance" and "Occasion," the latter of whom specially supports and aids her. The great lady is very truculent, flings curses and anathemas at every one, and declares

> Bien sçay qu' on dit que je radotte,
> Et que suis fol en ma vieillesse;
> Mais grumeler vueil à ma porte
> Mon fils le Prince, en telle sorte,
> Qu' il diminue sa noblesse.

She tries to get the nobles and prelates on her side and to persuade them to desert the Prince. The prelates follow her, and finally they come to blows in which the Sotte Commune gets the worst of it. In the mêlée Mother Church's mantle is torn off, and she is discovered to be an impostor. She is not the Church at all, but only la Mère Sotte, and is deposed and driven out with indignity.

The meaning of this was plain, but the after-piece made it still clearer. The French and Italian nations appeared on the stage, and with them "l'homme obstiné" with two female companions, Simony and Hypocrisy. L'homme obstiné was Pope Julius II., "the sword of divine justice was hanging over his head, he consorted with robbers and murderers, and could not refrain from crime and rapine."*

In May 1511, at Louis XII.'s desire, a pamphlet was written to pave the way for the Council. Its title was: "The difference between divisions in the Church and Assemblies of the Church, and the advantages of Synods of the Gallican Church." The writer was a Belgian, Jean Lemaire.† He endeavours to prove that all divisions are caused by the Popes, and all dissensions healed by means of general assemblies convoked by secular Princes. It was divided into three parts. The first tries to shew that the donations of temporal possessions have been the source of all those corruptions in the Church which had necessitated the calling of the earlier Councils to remedy them.

* See F. LOTHEISSEN, Politik auf der Bühne, in the Frankf. Zeitung of the 3rd Jan., 1880 (morning edition); Allg. Zeitung (1870), N. 168, Suppl. ("Zur Rabelaisliteratur"); and CHAMPFLEURY, Hist. de la Caricature sous la réformat., 3. Paris, *s. a.*

† *Cf.* BECKER, Jean Lemaire der erste humanistische Dichter Frankreichs, 162 *seq.* (Strassburg, 1893), from whose account what follows is taken. *Cf.* also MAULDE, Origines, 272.

The second is devoted to pointing out the great services rendered to the Catholic faith by the Synods of the Gallican Church. The third treats of the divisions in the Church in general, and the coming schism, which, according to prophecy, is to be the worst of all. These things, Lemaire says, have injured the Church more than anything else; the desire for power, which is the mother of greed, the neglect of Councils, and the compulsory celibacy of the priests of the Latin Church.

Lemaire is never weary of denouncing the arrogance, greed, and wickedness of the bad Popes. He is unsparing in his satire of the "present Pope, who rigs himself out in martial attire, and tries to pose as a warrior, but only looks like a monk dancing in spurs. All the same he will not succeed in creating the new and abnormal world that he hopes for, for pigs will always eat acorns, and oaks will shed their leaves at the proper time, and where wood is wanted, wood will be used." The pamphlet contains many other similar passages all directed against Julius II. It was written in the vulgar tongue with the object of giving it as wide a circulation as possible.

Louis accepted the dedication of the work, and also permitted the publication of caricatures of the Pope. One of these represents him standing surrounded by corpses with his flag lying on the ground. Close by is the empty Papal throne, over which France, depicted as a crowned warrior, keeps guard. The figure holds a banner with the oriflamme and the inscription, "Louis is master."* Another picture, in a book in the private library of the King, represents the Church as a desolate woman in a Basilica; not far off is a figure wearing a Tiara with the inscription "Dissolution," who is knocking down a pillar so that the roof seems in danger of falling. Another

* LACROIX, Louis XII. et Anne de Bretagne, 497.

figure, "Charity," lays her hand on the shoulder of the King of France, who is supporting the tottering edifice.* Thus the French painters and the pamphleteers, such as Lemaire, Jean d'Auton, de Seyssel, and others, who were in the pay of the King, all combined to tell the same story; Louis was to be the reformer of the Church, and that without delay.†

Though thus attacked and threatened with a schismatic Council by the two chief powers of the West, while in addition France and the revolted Cardinals were doing their utmost to obtain the adhesion of Henry VIII. of England and the King of Hungary, Julius II. did not lose heart. On the contrary, misfortune seemed only to stimulate his powers and rouse all his energies. He saw at once the weak points in the citation, and before he left Rimini he had issued a declaration exposing it.‡ The schismatical Cardinals had had the audacity to issue the summons in the name of the Sacred College, and on their own authority to affix to the document the names of several absent members. Julius affirmed that two of these latter had expressly told him that this had been

* Musée de l'Erémitage in Petersburg; MAULDE, Origines, 273, 358.

† MAULDE, *loc. cit.*, 273. A curious error is to be found in this author, pp. 117–118, in regard to an ordinance of Louis XII., promulgated in 1512, commanding that the stanza, "O salutaris Hostia," for peace should be sung in all churches after the elevation at Mass. Maulde observes, "La liturgie, comme on sait, a conservé l'usage de ces deux versets qu'elle interprète au point de vue mystique, mais qui originairement serviraient solliciter l'appui céleste contre les excès du pape Jules II." The hymn is well known to have been composed by S. Thomas Aquinas! *Cf.* Bull. Crit., XI. (1890), 159.

‡ *Cf.* the Brief from the MS. Vitellius, B. II., in the British Museum, in CREIGHTON, IV., 289–291. In regard to Hungary, which, under the influence of the wily Bakocs, at first remained neutral, see FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

done without their sanction. To this serious charge Carvajal and his associates significantly answered that their powers without the others were amply sufficient to make the act valid.*

Bowed down with sickness and anxiety, Julius II. left Rimini on the 3rd June, 1511. On the 5th he was at Ancona, on the 11th he arrived at Loreto, on the 20th at Terni, where to his great vexation he witnessed a fight between its inhabitants and those of Spoleto. Torrents of rain forced him to halt for a time at Civita Castellana. Here a deputation arrived from the people of Rome begging him to return without delay. On the 26th of June he entered the city by the Porta del Popolo and on the following day under a burning sun proceeded in full pontificals to S. Peter's, where he arrived completely exhausted. "This was the end of our toilsome and useless expedition," writes Paris de Grassis.† An utterly broken man, both in health and in power, Julius returned to the palace from which he had started nine months before full of brilliant hopes and confident that the French would be driven out of Italy. The Papal and Venetian troops were now completely dispersed and there was nothing to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the Papal States and of Rome, and deposing him.

In this extreme need, with no one to rely on but himself, Julius again shewed how immensely superior he was in genius and character to his enemies. While they were "hesitating, irresolute and divided, he, fully knowing his

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 7; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 453.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 284–293; SANUTO, XII., 231, 243, 257, 273; and *Acta Consist., f. 29 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and the *Chronicle in Varia Polit., 50, f. 61. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienz. Mor., X., 15.

own mind, firmly refused to give himself up for lost."* His chief hopes of assistance rested on the King of Spain, to whom a special Envoy was sent with a long letter.†

Guicciardini writes that Italy and the whole world were watching with trembling anxiety to see what use Louis XII. was going to make of his victory. Julius II. had absolutely nothing to protect him except the dignity of the Papacy. Whether from religious awe or from the fear of rousing the whole world against him, the King of France resolved not to go all lengths. He desired Trivulzio to retire on Milan and made overtures of peace to the Pope; if Julius would pardon the schismatical Cardinals he would give up the proposed Council; and he induced Bentivoglio to declare that he had never thought of wishing to throw off the suzerainty of the Church.‡

The schismatical Cardinals were equally wanting in that resolution and union amongst themselves which alone could have secured a victory. For one thing Cardinals Philip of Luxemburg, Adriano da Corneto, and Carlo del Carretto, whose names had been affixed to the citation without consulting them, protested loudly against the unwarrantable proceeding, and declared they would have nothing to do with the anti-Papal Council.§ Cardinal

* BROSCH, Julius II., 225. On the passionate resentment of the Pope against the faithless Bolognese, see FUMI'S Report, Carteggio, 150.

† HEFELE, Ximenes, 434.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, X., Chap. 1; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 250; LEHMANN, 13.

§ SANUTO, XII., 218; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 437–438; GEBHARDT, Adriano von Corneto, 21–22. Here also, p. 17 *seq.*, are some particulars about the mysterious flight of Card. Adriano in 1507 from Rome. Gebhardt has not availed himself of a *Brief of Julius II. to the King of England (unfortunately undated, but certainly belonging to this time, as the preceding paper is of 4th Nov., 1505) about Card. Adriano, in which

d'Este adopted an ambiguous attitude which finally led to his reconciliation with the Pope.* Cardinal Gonzaga, whom the schismatics had made great efforts to win, had already joined Julius II. at the end of May.† The Venetian Envoy, a man of considerable penetration, wrote on the 3rd of July, 1511, that the Council of Pisa was at an end.‡

While the negotiations with France were going on, Julius II. determined to deprive the revolted Cardinals of all pretext for keeping up the schism by turning their own weapon against them. On the 25th of July, 1511, a Bull dated the 18th was affixed to the doors of S. Peter's summoning a universal Council to assemble in Rome on the 19th of April, 1512. In the preamble the Pope set forth the supreme dignity of the Roman Church, sanctified by the blood of martyrs, preserved from all error, and endowed with the primacy over all other Churches, which entailed upon her and her Head the duty of withstanding all schismatical attempts to destroy her unity. He then described the proceedings of the revolted Cardinals, denying their statements, and refuting their arguments; he declared that, both as Cardinal and Pope, he had done his best to further the assembling of a Council, and it had not been his fault that it had been so long delayed. The Bull goes on to emphasise the point that a Council can only be lawfully summoned by the Pope. Any that is not so called must be held of no account. This was especially the case in regard to the pretended Council

he says: Card^lis predictus apud nos nunquam honori tuo detraxit. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 256. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* In Oct. 1511, Ippolito joined his brother at Ferrara, with the Pope's consent; LE GLAY, I., 441.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 283.

‡ SANUTO, XII., 267.

at Pisa; the mere impossibility of its assembling within the specified term (September 1st) deprives it of all authority.

The Pope then declares that, in order to withstand these dangerous schismatical tendencies and defend the rights of the Holy See, he, with the approval of the Cardinals and in the plenitude of his apostolic power, pronounces the edict of convocation dated Milan, 16th May, 1511, to be in both its contents and effects illegal, null and void; all who adhere to it bring upon themselves the severest penalties of the Church, its authors and their abettors are deprived of all their dignities, and all cities and districts which harbour and support them are laid under Interdict. On the other hand, the Pope, desirous of fulfilling his engagements, and further, wishing to make a complete end of heresy, and stifle the beginnings of schism, to bring about a reform of morals both in the clergy and laity, union and peace in Christendom, and a holy war against the Turks, now calls an Œcumenical Council to meet in Rome at the Lateran Church after Easter, on the 19th April of the year 1512.*

* See the Bull in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 9–15; Bull., V., 499 *seq.*; LABBÉ, XIX., 681 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 454 *seq.* *Cf.* FUMI, Carteggio, 151–152, and SANUTO, XII., 304, 321, 332 *seq.*, 330, 362, 371. According to the *Acta Consist., f. 29, the Bull of the Council was read in a Secret Consistory on the 18th July, 1511. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

CHAPTER VI.

JULIUS II. FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN.—HIS DANGEROUS ILLNESS.—HIS RECOVERY.—THE HOLY LEAGUE OF 1511.—DEPOSITION OF THE SCHISMATICAL CARDINALS.—MAXIMILIAN ENDEAVOURS TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE TIARA.—FAILURE OF THE FRENCH PRETENCE OF A COUNCIL AT PISA.—THE BATTLE OF RAVENNA ON EASTER SUNDAY, 1512.

JULIUS II., by issuing his summons for a General Council, had effectually checkmated the schismatical Cardinals even before they had begun their game. This bold stroke was entirely the Pope's own idea. From the reports of the Venetian Envoys we find that the plan was already in his mind when he was at Bologna in the Spring of 1511, and the resolution to carry it out was taken at Rimini on the appearance of the citation of the Cardinals.* During his journey to Rome the details of the plan were thought out and discussed with Cardinal Antonio de Monte and the Dominican, Thomas de Vio.† A report from Tolentino of the Venetian Envoy on 14th June, 1511, says that the draft of the proclamation had already even then been laid before the Consistory, and the posting up of the schismatical citation in Rome on the 9th June naturally only had the effect of strengthening his resolve.‡ But he was determined to do nothing hastily; and the Bull was not allowed to appear till the 18th of July, when it had been thoroughly considered

* SANUTO, XII., 166, 219.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 457.

‡ SANUTO, XII., 243, 267.

and thought out in substance and in form. Whatever successes might be achieved in this direction would, however, have no effect on the other, and equally serious, danger arising from the preponderating power of France in Italy. Here, for Julius II., everything depended upon the interest which Spain had in checking this power.

The Pope's confidence in Ferdinand's perception of what the situation required was not disappointed. In this case, where the King's interest coincided with that of the Church, he was perfectly willing to accept the honour of posing as the defender of the Holy See. With the consent of his Grandees and with the approval of Cardinal Ximenes summoned to Seville, it was decided to suspend the military operations in Africa, and send the army that had been employed there to Italy. In compliance with the Pope's request, the rebellious Cardinal Carvajal was deprived of the Bishopric of Siguenza; and a considerable sum of money was forwarded to Rome in aid of the war.*

Immediately after Julius's arrival in Rome the Spanish Ambassador was desired by Ferdinand to offer him the assistance of Spain for the reconquest of Bologna. He also offered to endeavour to influence England to join in an alliance against France, and this Louis knew.†

It appears, however, that it was only with much hesitation and against his will that Julius II. finally brought himself to accept the alliance with Spain. He continued his negotiations with Louis XII. as long as he could, and only broke them off at last when the King refused to comply with the indispensable condition that the revolted Cardinals should obey their citation to Rome.‡ In the early part of

* HEFELE, Ximenes, 434 *seq.*; GAMS, III., 2, 142.

† SANUTO, XII., 273–274, 330. *Cf.* BREWER, Henry VIII., I., 17, n. 4. See also FUMI, Carteggio, 151.

‡ See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 267. BROSCH, Julius II.,

August the provisions of the League between the Pope, Venice, Spain, and England were substantially agreed upon, and all that was wanting to its conclusion was the arrival of the necessary powers from England and Spain.* The Swiss were also being approached to obtain help from them. At this moment an event occurred which seemed likely to upset everything.

Entirely absorbed in the labour and cares of the last few months, the Pope had wholly neglected the most ordinary care of his health. He trusted to his iron constitution without considering that there is a limit to everything. Since the end of July he had been incessantly at work, preparing for the Council, sending Briefs and Nuncios in all directions; he had begun legal proceedings against the Duke of Urbino and gone on personally conducting the negotiations with Spain and England in spite of an attack of fever in the beginning of August. On the 17th he had another, but would not desist from his work, and saw the

226–227, thinks it is certain that the Pope was not in earnest in the negotiations with France, because he employed G. Giordano Orsini, a man who had had no experience and was unskilled in political affairs, to carry them on. He also, and still more positively, infers the same thing from the conditions proposed. On this point he says: "The proposals in regard to Ferrara and Bologna might perhaps have been accepted, or at any rate have formed a basis for negotiations, but the King's honour forbade any answer but a refusal to the demand that he should give up the Cardinals." But neither of these arguments is really convincing. Secular Princes have never had much scruple in throwing away their clerical tools when they have served their purpose; and it was impossible for Julius, without completely abdicating his authority, to relinquish his claim to have the Cardinals sent to Rome. The true cause of the failure of their negotiations is stated later by Brosch himself; it was plain that Louis intended to resume the war as soon as the conditions became more favourable. On the citation of the Cardinals, see SANUTO, XII., 321–322.

* SANUTO, XII., 372–373.

Ambassadors while in bed. On the 20th it came on again with such violence that his physicians declared that the next attack must prove fatal. The news spread like lightning throughout Rome that the Pope was dying. The Cardinals began at once to prepare for the approaching Conclave. The Spanish Envoy summoned the Colonna to Rome, saying that the Pope was in extremity and that there was great danger that the Orsini, supported by France, would get possession of the city. On the 23rd of August the Venetian Ambassador Lippomano reports that "the Pope is passing away; Cardinal Medici tells me he cannot live through the night. Medici is trying for the Tiara, but it is thought that it will fall to one of the French party. Raffaele Riario and Fiesco are named. The city is in a turmoil; every one is armed." On the 24th Julius received the Holy Viaticum, removed the Interdict from Ferrara and Bologna, absolved the Duke of Urbino, and made all his dispositions for death.* Paris de Grassis writes: "I think I may close my Diary here; for the Pope's life is coming to an end through his obstinacy in refusing to follow the advice of his physicians. He has commended his servants to Cardinal Raffaele Riario and given him 34,000 ducats to divide amongst them. After he had taken a little food he seemed better. But on Monday the 25th he refused all nourishment, he had a relapse and his condition became hopeless. On Wednesday there was still no change; and as he had eaten nothing for four days, every

* SANUTO, XII., 330, 362, 370, 371, 395, 398, 403 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*, 441, 449; *cf.* 484. See also FUMI, Carteggio, 157, 158–159, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 22. Philip Bervald the younger, who defended the Duke of Urbino, succeeded in convincing the Pope of Alidosi's treason, and Alfonso was absolved and reinstated in all his dignities. *Cf.* in DENISTOUN, II., 328, the notice in the *Acta Consist. of the 22nd Aug., 1511. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

one, including his physicians, gave him up. The doors of his chamber were opened and some of the people made their way to his bed-side. He lay on his couch with closed eyes and seemed barely alive. Disturbances began in the city, many outlaws returned, confusion prevailed everywhere. All the public officials, even those in the courts of law, left their work, the Governor of the city took refuge in the Palace, and the Minister of Police in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Sacred College met and desired me to make arrangements for the funeral obsequies and for the Conclave. Then it occurred to the Pope's relations and servants to send for a very indulgent physician* and suggest to him that he should give him permission to eat whatever he liked. By agreeing to this he succeeded in persuading his patient to consent to take some food. The Pope asked for peaches, nuts, plums, and other fruits, which he chewed but did not swallow. After that he had small onions and strawberries, which he likewise only chewed. But presently he swallowed several peaches and plums and then fell into

* From BERLINER, Gesch. der Juden, II., 81, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 76, ed. 3, one would be led to believe that this was the Jewish physician Samuel Zarfati (*cf.* MARINI, II., 249 *seq.*, and *Introit. et exit., 536, f. 148, where it says: magister Samuel Ebreus, "medicus S. D. N.," who, on the 14th July, 1505, received 125 flor. auri largi, ad bonum computum pro eius provisione. Mag. Joh. de Vico was chirurgus to the Pope. [Secret Archives of the Vatican.]). But, from the Venetian Report in SANUTO, XII., 449, which those authors have overlooked, it seems clear that this could not have been the case, as at that time the Rabbi was very much out of favour with the Pope. And in the Report of 26th Aug., we find: Marco Scipio heri li lasso mangiare uno persicho; parve stesse meglio. The date here certainly does not agree with de Grassis, but JOVIUS, Vita Pomp. Col., 240, expressly says: Medicus qui Julio poma, persica obtulit, fuit Scipio Lancelotus. MARINI, I., 299, has overlooked this passage, as well as the one in Sanuto. In regard to Jewish physicians employed by Popes, see besides MARINI, I., 292 *seq.*, GÜDEMANN, 237.

a light sleep. This state of things went on for two days, during which those who attended him alternately hoped and despaired. Great apprehension was felt for the future; dangers of all sorts seemed hanging over our heads, disturbances, war, and scarcity."* The reports of the Envoys then in Rome shew that the account of the Master of Ceremonies is not by any means exaggerated.

"Never," writes the Venetian Ambassador Lippomano, "has there been such a clang of arms round the death-bed of any former Pope; never has the danger been greater than it is now. May God help us."† Some of the nobles endeavoured to take advantage of the turmoil in the city to bring about a rising against the Government of the Church. The ambitious Pompeo Colonna, whose relations had forced him into Holy Orders against his will, was at the head of the revolutionary party. Not content with the dignities of Bishop of Rieti and Abbot of Grottaferrata and Subiaco, Pompeo aimed at the purple and felt confident of obtaining it after the deaths of Cardinals Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, and Cesarini. But he was disappointed, and was now bent on making Julius II. pay for this neglect of a member of one of the great Roman families. He hastened to the Capitol and from thence harangued the mob, urging them to cast off the domination of the priesthood and restore the republican constitution and liberties. It was resolved at the next election to demand many concessions from the new Pope, and amongst others insist on the nomination of a Roman Cardinal.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 411–412. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 22–23.

† SANUTO, XII., 449; *cf.* LUZIO, 22.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita P. Columnae; GUICCIARDINI, X., Chap. 1; SANUTO, XII., 482; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 23. Gregorovius' account of this attempted revolt is in some points incorrect, as has been pointed out

Julius now began to recover from his state of death-like prostration. The free use of fruit and liquids, which it had been supposed would have killed him, had really been his salvation. The fever was gone and by the 28th he was completely convalescent.*

Deadly fear seized upon all those who had been reckoning on his death, the Cardinals who had been busy about the Conclave, and the Roman revolutionists. On the 28th the nobles assembled in the Capitol, and there, in order to make their former proceedings appear innocent, concluded one of those pacific conventions which were so familiar and so transitory. Then they parted: Pompeo Colonna fled to his fastness in Subiaco, the others to France; for the Pope who had been thought to be dead began at once to talk of retribution.†

The recovery of Julius was somewhat retarded by his perverseness in the matter of diet, but he at once turned his attention to the resumption of the negotiations for the League against France. An alliance of all the Christian Princes was to be formed, to take the Pope, the Council, and Rome under their protection.‡ The intrigues of the schismatical Cardinals, the refusal of Louis XII. to dissociate himself from the Bentivogli, and his threats of setting up

by REUMONT in a dissertation in the Allg. Zeit. (1874), No. 358, Suppl., on the Nuptiali di Altieri, published by Narducci. As GREGOROVIUS, in his 3rd ed. in 1881 (VIII., 78 *seq.*), has taken no notice of this, it will not be superfluous to mention it again. *Cf.* also L. PASSARINI, Memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini, 219. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 174, shews that even in the year 1507 many of the Romans were unfriendly to Julius II.

* SANUTO, XII., 455, 481, 482–483. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 412.

† SANUTO, XII., 483; FIORAVANTE, Denarii, 161 *seq.*; COPPI, Mem. Colonnesi, 257 *seq.*; MAZIO, Saggiatore, IV., 13, 21.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 121.

an anti-Pope filled Julius II. with anxiety. On the 1st of October he had appointed Cardinal Medici, Legate of Bologna and the Romagna,* and now he awaited with trembling impatience the definite formation of the League which was to protect him from his enemies and recover the lost States for the Church.†

The League was finally arranged and signed on the 4th October, 1511, and on the following day was solemnly announced in Rome in Sta Maria del Popolo. The primary contracting parties were Julius II., Ferdinand of Spain, and the Republic of Venice, but it was expressly provided that the Emperor and the King of England were at liberty to join it if they wished. "Europe was invited to rally round the Pope, and all Kings and Princes were asked to unite for one common object, namely, the preservation of the unity of the Church and of the integrity of her patrimony." ‡ The adhesion of Henry of England, which actually followed on the 17th November, was regarded at that time as certain,§ and the Swiss could also be counted upon to invade Milan.‖

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 299; Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 137.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XII., 488, 500, 536, 538, 545.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 122.

§ DUMONT, IV., 1, 137; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 34; THEINER, Cod., III., 578 *seq.*; Mittheil. d. Œsterreich. Instituts (1884), p. 618 *seq.*, Lettres de Louis XII., III., 60 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*; Opere ined. di F. Guicciardini, VI., 21 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 412. *Cf.* Mem. stor. di Mirandola, I., 197 *seq.*; SEMPER, Carpi, 8; the Portuguese Report of Franc. Juzarte to King Manuel in Corp. dipl. Portug. I., 137, 138–139; LEHMANN, 15 *seq.*; and on the adhesion of England, BREWER, State Papers, I., N. 1980; *Acta Consist., f. 35 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, XIII., 75 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*; *cf.* 130 *seq.*, 201.

‖ *Cf.* DIERAUER, II., 407. A Brief of Julius II. to the Swiss, of the 27th October, 1511, in the Abschieden, III., 2, 586; a duplicate to the

Now that his position was so far secured, Julius II. was able to take the last step in regard to the schismatical Cardinals. When the term appointed in the letter of citation had expired, in an open Consistory held on 24th October, at which there were eighteen Cardinals present, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition on Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, Francesco Borgia, and de Prie, as rebels. Cardinals Sanseverino and d'Albret were threatened with the same punishment if they continued disobedient.*

"Thus before the Council had met, the Cardinals who had convoked it had been deposed. It is true that the day fixed for its opening had been the 1st of September, but they had themselves put off their arrival."† Their prospects were about as bad as they possibly could be. Spain and England would have nothing to say to them, and in Italy and Germany the Council called forth no enthusiasm. Even in France they met with so little sympathy that on the 20th of September Cardinal de Prie wrote to Louis XII. to say that, unless he would exert his

Mayor and Council of Basle, dat. 28th Oct., 1511, in the Basle Archives, n. 2673.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 33, 35, 36; PARIS DE GRASSIS, Döllinger's ed., 412–413; *cf.* 414, the striking remarks on the position of the schismatical Cardinals; SANUTO, XIII., 177, 178, 201 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, II., 571, N. 1; LEHMANN, 15; Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienz. mor., X., 15. *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 34b–35. It is here stated that in a Secret Consistory on 22nd Oct., Sigismondo de Conti read the judgment to the Cardinals, and they agreed to it. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) On the 24th Oct. the deposition of the Cardinals was announced to all the Princes of Europe. See the State Archives in Turin. Mazzo 18, N. 26. A copy of the announcement sent to Maximilian, dat. Rom., 24th Oct., is in the State Archives, Bologna.

† LEHMANN, 15.

royal power in favour of the assembly at Pisa, it would be a complete failure and effect nothing. "Thus at its very inception the free Council was to owe its existence to State despotism."* On the 1st September the number of those who were prepared to attend it was so small that it had to be put off till the 1st November.

From the first even its originators had no confidence in the success of their undertaking. In the beginning of September, the Spanish Cardinals knowing the position that their King was taking up, were prepared to repudiate it if the Pope would have allowed them to remain at Siena.†

To the hostile attitude of the King of Spain was now added an unfavourable change in that of Maximilian. From the first the Emperor had disapproved of the choice of Pisa as the place for holding the Council. In July he said very decidedly that it could only be held in some town belonging to the Empire; Verona and Constance were mentioned.‡ Also, not only Hungary and Poland but the Empire itself hung back from committing itself to an anti-Papal Council,§ and the Emperor received letters from various quarters warning him against it, amongst others from his daughter Margaret and from the learned Abbot Trithemius. The latter strongly urged him to have nothing to do with an assembly which was unlawfully convoked and must necessarily lead to a schism, and assured him that

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 8; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 480

† MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 15.

‡ LE GLAY, I., 417; Acta Tomiciana, I., 211: ZURITA, 248b; FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 86 (note 1), 92; ULMANN, II., 436 *seq.*, who justly remarks that the proposal in the Emperor's instructions to his secretary Pigello Portinari, that the Council should be held in Florence, was mainly a pecuniary speculation. Ulmann is mistaken in thinking that this instruction has not been printed. It is published by TOMMASINI in his Machiavelli, I., 702-703.

§ ULMANN, II., 435.

Germany would not follow him in this path.* The attitude of the German clergy shewed that the Abbot of Sponheim was not mistaken on this point; and in addition to all this there was the difference between him and the King of France as to the place of meeting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Emperor's interest in the Council began to slacken.

When Julius II. was so dangerously ill in August 1511, Maximilian, like every one else, supposed the Pope to be dying.† He at once nominated three Envoys for the Conclave, and also intended to send his trusty Lang to Rome to unite with Cardinal Adriano Castellesi in looking after his interests in the new election. He told the English Ambassador that this Cardinal was his candidate. At the same time, Carvajal also hoped this time to attain the object of his ambition.‡

At first no one at the Imperial Court could believe in the reality of the Pope's sudden and rapid recovery. They were still convinced that his days were numbered, and it was in this conviction that Maximilian wrote those much discussed letters in which he expressed his visionary notion of adding the Tiara to the Imperial crown.§ In one of

* TRITHEMIUS, Annal. Hirsaug., II., 669 *seq.*

† *Cf. supra*, p. 368 *seq.*; also FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 108 *seq.*

‡ ULMANN, Absichten, 22, and Maximilian, II., 440.

§ Maximilian's aspirations to the Papacy have produced an extremely extensive literature. A. JÄGER has collected the earlier writings on this subject in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna, XII., 199 *seq.* (1854). This writer justly holds the authenticity of these letters to be beyond doubt (Maximilian's Instructions to George of Neideck of 10th June, 1507, mentioned *supra*, p. 354, note *, in a sense corroborate his view.) At the same time he thinks it is a mistake to interpret the letters too strictly in a literal sense, while, on the other hand, he combats the view that they are not to be taken seriously at all. Jäger, relying very much on SCHRECK (Biografia del Card. Adriano [Trento, 1837]),

these letters addressed to his daughter Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, and dated 18th September, 1511, he

solves the problem by giving the letters an allegorical meaning, and considers that the purpose of the Emperor in them was to signify his intention of obtaining the Tiara for Card. A. Castellesi, who had taken refuge in the Tyrol and was completely devoted to him. Against Jäger, LANZ, 118, and BÖHM and HUBER, III., 394, have pointed out that the plain sense of the words will not admit of such an interpretation, especially in the letter to P. von Lichtenstein. In spite of Jäger, most historians continue to think that Maximilian really aimed at uniting the dignities of Emperor and Pope in his own person. BROSCH (p. 335) brought forward a proof from the Venetian Archives that in December there had been negotiations on the subject between Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain ; he speaks very contemptuously of Jäger's work. In consequence, however, of further researches by Gebhardt and Ulmann, Jäger's theory, though in some points his investigations are wanting in thoroughness, came, to a certain degree, into favour again. GEBHARDT (Adrian v. Corneto, 23 *seq.*) discovered a Report from the English Ambassador at the Imperial Court of 4th Sept., 1511, in which he says that Maximilian wished to obtain the Tiara for Card. Adriano in the place of Julius II., who was hopelessly ill. Maximilian's biographer, Ulmann, in 1888 published a treatise dealing with this question alone. Although we are not in possession of the complete text of the Imperial Instruction of 1507, Ulmann, unlike Böhm, considers this document of the first importance in deciding the question. In that year the Empress was still living, consequently, so this author argues, Maximilian could not then have had any thought of himself becoming Pope Since in 1511, after the Empress' death, he expresses himself in exactly the same terms as are employed in the Instruction, Ulmann infers "that his meaning must also have been the same, and that therefore the true kernel of his project could not have been a personal occupation of the Chair of S. Peter." Ulmann thinks he finds this "true kernel" in the Emperor's favourite idea of the secularisation of the States of the Church. As this would be incompatible with his being himself the wearer of the Tiara, all this seems to imply that it is to be taken as a diplomatic circumlocution. The one thing that is certain is "that in the years from 1507–1511 he cannot have dreamt of obtaining the Papal Crown for himself, whether as Papal and Imperial Sovereign, or, laying aside the pomp of Empire, as real spiritual Head of the Church ; the thing he aimed at

says: "To-morrow I am going to send Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, to Rome, to arrange with the Pope about

was to arrogate to himself the 'dominium temporale' of the Papacy. . . . . The possession of Rome would secure to him the mastery in Upper Italy, and at the same time, by making him Suzerain of Naples, protect him against injury from Spain on the southern side of the States of the Church. If I am right in my view, he intended to issue a summons from Rome to the whole of Christendom to range itself under the Imperial standard for a Crusade against the Turks" (pp. 47–49). This theory has found unconditional acceptance from very few scholars. ULMANN himself, however, while acknowledging it to be only a hypothesis (II., 441), still holds firmly to it in the 2nd Vol. of his Biography of Maximilian. SÄGMÜLLER, in the Literar. Rundschau (1889), p. 242, agrees with Ulmann that Maximilian had not thought of being Pope as well as Emperor, but sees objections to the view that he aimed at possessing himself of the temporal power of the Papacy. J. BERNAYS, on the contrary, looks upon this latter point as proved from the Instruction of 1507, but holds that in Sept., 1511, Maximilian aspired also to the Papal dignity itself (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1888, pp. 1023–1024). One of Bernay's objections in regard to the suzerainty is answered beforehand by ULMANN, II., 440; but that does not affect his view of the Imperial letter of the 18th Sept. Quite independently of Bernays, G. SULIGER decisively rejects both the reasoning and conclusions in Ulmann's work while fully recognising the clear insight into the political situation which it displays. "The reports of a Florentine living in the French camp," he observes, "on which Ulmann mainly depends, cannot be of greater authority than the Emperor's own words. In the endeavour to fathom his secret intentions they must be our first guide, and their clear, literal meaning cannot be ignored" (Deutsche Literaturztg., 1888, p. 1607). L. G[EIGER] in the Suppt. to the Allg. Zeit. (1888), No. 320, says that he cannot agree with Ulmann, and brings forward some notable objections to his hypothesis. Both ULMANN (p. 32) and Geiger might have avoided the mistake of translating "adoratio" by the word "worship" if they had possessed even a slight knowledge of Catholic doctrine. A letter from Card. S. Gonzaga to the Marchesa Isabella, dat. Macerata, 2nd Oct., 1511, is valuable as evidence on this question, certainly much more so than the documents cited by Brosch. It says: S. B^ne voleva mandare un monitorio al rev^mo Card. di S. Severino et a Labretto, che comparessero personalmente dinanzi a lei infra certo termine sotto pena de

choosing me as his coadjutor with the reversion of the Papacy on his death, and allowing me to take holy orders, so that I may possibly be canonised and you may have to revere me as a saint after my death, which I should value much. I have sent an Envoy to the King of Spain, asking him to support me; which he has willingly promised to do on condition of my abdicating the Imperial crown in favour of my grand-son Charles, to which I cordially agree. The people and nobles of Rome have entered into a compact with each other against the French and Spaniards; they can arm 20,000 men, and have assured me that they will never consent to the elevation of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Venetian, but will choose a Pope who shall be dependent on me and acceptable to the German nation. I am already beginning to canvass the Cardinals, for which purpose from 200,000 to 300,000 ducats would be very useful. The King of Spain has sent word to me through his Envoy that he will desire the Spanish Cardinals to support my candidature. I beg you to keep all this profoundly secret, although I fear that in a very short time the whole world will know it, as too many people have to be employed in the business and too much money is required. I commend you to God. Written by the hand of your good father, Maximilian, future Pope. September 18th.

"*P.S.*—The Pope has had a return of fever; he cannot live much longer." *

la privatione *et questo faceva per essersi inteso che havevano proposto allo Imperatore de farlo papa, cosa non mai vista et inaudita.* I found the original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and it has now been published by MORSOLIN in L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 14. Morsolin thinks he detects a squib on Maximilian's plan of becoming Pope in a satirical medal of the 16th Century. See Riv. Ital. di Numismatica A°, VIII., fasc. 2.

* After the original in the Archives at Lille in LE GLAY, II., 37;

This letter might quite possibly have been meant as a playful refusal of a project for a fresh marriage presented to him by Margaret, as he had been a widower since the 31st of December; for he was fond of writing jesting letters to her.* But another addressed to the Tyrolese Land-Marschall, Paul von Lichtenstein, and dated 16th September, 1511, cannot be thus humorously interpreted. Maximilian writes:—

"Most noble, beloved, and faithful friend! We do not doubt that what we have imparted to you at various times as to our reasons for intending and desiring to obtain the Papacy is still fresh in your memory; as also we ourselves have never ceased to keep this purpose in mind. Moreover we feel in ourselves, and in fact it is so, that there can be no aim more noble, loftier, or better than that of attaining to the said dignity.

"And as the present Pope Julius has lately been dangerously ill, so much so that, as our Court Chancellor for the Tyrol, Cyprian of Serentin, has informed us, every one in Rome thought that his last moment had come, we have resolved to take the necessary measures for carrying out our intention, and to act in such a manner as shall win for us the Papacy. Consequently we have laid these matters before Cardinal Adriano who, as you know, has been for some time past with us in Germany; who, when he heard it, wept for joy, and advised us strongly to proceed, and thinks that there are many Cardinals who will be of the same mind. And since, as you yourself also must see, it is very likely that the Pope will die (for he eats little, and that nothing but fruit, and drinks so much

cf. 407, 541. The date of the year is wanting in the original, but it must be 1511. *Cf.* BÖHM, 14 *seq.*

* ULMANN, Absichten, 31 *seq.*, and BERNAYS in Gött. Gel. Anz. (1888), p. 1021.

more that his life has no substance in it), if he does die, we have prepared the Bishop of Gurk to post at once to Rome to help us in this affair of the Papacy; but, as this cannot be done without a considerable sum of money which we must provide, we have promised the Cardinals and several other persons, to expend 300,000 ducats for the needs of our undertaking and to arrange that this money shall be obtainable from the Fugger Bank at Rome. As you know, at the present time we have no money, and the only way in which it will be possible for us to satisfy Fugger in regard to this sum will be by pledging our jewels."

The Emperor then proceeds to give detailed instructions as to the negotiations for the loan; the jewels that are to be pledged, to which the feudal mantle worn by Charlemagne is to be added, which, he says, does not belong to the Empire, but is an Austrian heirloom, the property of the Hapsburgs, and will be no longer wanted by him when he is Pope; the manner in which, and the persons to whom, the money is to be paid, and how and when the articles pledged are to be redeemed. Von Lichtenstein is admonished to use all possible diligence to get the matter arranged quickly and secretly, to take no denial, but persist, even if at first he is met by a refusal, and to keep the Emperor thoroughly informed of every step in the proceedings, and is assured that his faithful service will be remembered and amply rewarded.

In the concluding paragraph the Emperor says: "We also wish you to know that to-day we have heard by a private post from our secretary John Colla, that the Orsini, Colonna, and the populus Romanus are quite resolved, and have engaged, not to accept any Pope who is a Frenchman or a Spaniard, or a candidate of either of these nations. And they have sent an Envoy privately to ask us not to fight with the French, so that they may

be induced to remain neutral in regard to the Papal election. Given at Brixen, September 16, Anno 1511."*

There can be no doubt that "in the letter there is no trace of banter of any sort. Also, it is not conceivable that Maximilian should have amused himself by mystifying his confidential servant, to whom he had quite lately given instructions in regard to his purposes, and whom he habitually employed in conducting his political affairs in Italy. The letter must be understood in its plain meaning."†

It is true that we are confronted here by another difficulty which cannot be held to be unimportant. The original letter to Lichtenstein has never been found, and the historical trustworthiness of the author who published it a hundred years after the Emperor's death without indicating the source from which he obtained it, is open to grave doubts.‡

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say with certainty that Maximilian did seriously think of uniting the Imperial and Papal crowns in his own person, and thus realising his aspirations after complete sovereignty in Italy. Many things seem to indicate that

* GOLDAST, Polit. Reichshändel, 428–429 (Frankfurt, 1614); and ULMANN, Absichten, 24 *seq*. The text of the Letter on account of its great length, has been placed in the Appendix, N. 90.

† BERNAYS, *loc. cit.*, 1023; *cf.* DE LEVA, I., 124.

‡ BÖHM, 7 *seq.*, and ULMANN, 2 *seq.*, think the letter genuine (see Appendix, N. 90), but the latter expressly observes that the source from which it comes does not guarantee its accuracy in details. Some portions are evidently incorrect; *cf.* those which I have indicated by parentheses. But the letter contains details which, as ULMANN points out, Absichten, 2, note 4, could hardly have been known by a forger. My honoured colleague, Prof. Seemüller, had the kindness to investigate this document for me from a philological point of view, and can find no warrant for supposing it to be a forgery. On Goldast, *cf.* WEGELE, Historiographie, 368; Allg. Deutsch. Biographie, IX., 329; JANSSEN-PASTOR, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Volkes, V., 546, 578 *seq.*, 13th and 14th ed.

this dream did actually cross his mind for a short time as a practical possibility;* but all plans founded on the expected vacancy of the Chair of S. Peter were soon dissipated by the complete recovery of Julius II.

Maximilian was growing daily more and more dissatisfied with the conduct of Louis XII., and alarmed at his increasing preponderance in Italy,† and the Pope now strove to win him to his side by the offer of an advantageous peace with Venice. He was not, however, immediately successful, for "on the 21st of October, 1511, the Emperor desired the Papal Envoys who were on their way to several of the electoral Princes to be stopped at Innsbruck and other places; but when, in November, England also definitely joined the League for the protection of the Church and her possessions, Maximilian began to change his policy." On the 12th, at the instigation of the King of Spain, he asked Julius to act as intermediary between him and Venice.‡ He began also to cool towards the anti-Papal Council. No doubt

* In addition to the letter of Card. S. Gonzaga, which has been already cited, it seems to me that ZURITA'S testimony (IX., c. 37, 38, 40, 43) is very important in regard to Maximilian having really cherished the thought of becoming Papal coadjutor and eventually Pope himself. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 284, and BÖHM, 16, also LEHMANN, 20 *seq.*, attach great weight to the statements of the Spanish historian, and with reason, for, as a rule, wherever they have been tested they have proved singularly trustworthy.

† *Cf.* MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 14.

‡ ULMANN, Maximilians Absichten, 46. L. Trevisano reports on the 25th–26th November, 1511, from Rome: Et è da saper, che quando fo fata la liga, fo dato al Papa una corniola anticha ligata in argento, ch' è uno caro tirato da doy galli e sopra il caro era una aquila, qual havia una bacheta in man, zoè in le zaffe e bateva li galli, la qual auta il Papa la mandò a l'Imperador dicendoli questa esser profetia e lui come difensor di la Chiexia doveva intrar in liga e bater francesi ch' è nemici di la Chiexia, maxime questo presante Re. SANUTO, XIII., 285–286.

the adverse attitude of the German Episcopate had much to do with this. The Bishop of Brixen refused to act as Imperial representative at the Council, on the ground that he was more bound to the Pope than to the Emperor The Archbishop of Salzburg declared himself precluded by his ecclesiastical oath from sending even one of his Counsellors to it.* Now that England and Spain also had pronounced against it,† while Hungary held aloof for the present from the opponents of the Pope,‡ the schismatics had no power but France to support them. The Court Bishops, of course, followed the King; but "all who could, as the Flemish clergy, who, in spite of Louis's complaints never appeared at Lyons, tried to keep clear of the Council. The French disliked the Italian policy of their King, the people and the nobles objected to the cost of the war, and the Queen implored her husband to withdraw from a conflict with the Pope which might be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the future heir to the throne."§

* ULMANN, II., 435–436. Dr. Mayr has sought in vain throughout the Statthalter's Archives at Innsbruck for M. von Wolkenstein's Report to Maximilian which is here cited. It is a pity that Ulmann hardly ever gives the numbers of the Documents he quotes.

† Ferdinand had caused the Bull of Indiction for the Lateran Council to be solemnly announced at Burgos on the 16th Nov., 1511, and desired the Bishops to meet for consultation on it. HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 463 *seq.*, gives a full account of the proposals for Reform which were to be laid before the Council, drawn from the documents published (some of them very carelessly) by DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 200 *seq.*, out of the Simancas Archives.

‡ FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 92 *seq.*

§ LEHMANN, 31. Girolamo Aleandro, who had been chosen by his colleagues to represent the High School of Paris at the Council of Pisa, refused the dangerous honour. See Nuntiaturberichte, III., Einl., 31. Lehmann has not observed that the Rector's declaration had been already published by HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 488–489.

The Italian clergy as a body were faithful to the lawful Pope. The exceptions consisted only of a few such men as the restless Abbot Zaccaria Ferreri and Cardinal Sanseverino, who was so deeply compromised. Many warning voices were heard from amongst them. The pious hermit Angelo of Vallombrosa adjured Carvajal not to rend the unity of the Church; what he was doing, he said, was like the crime of Lucifer and would draw down God's judgments upon him.* Angelo, like many other Italians, as Francesco Poggio,† was diligent with his pen in defence of the rights of the Holy See against the schismatics. The most eminent of these writers were Domenico Jacobazzi ‡ and the celebrated theologian and philosopher, Thomas de Vio of Gaeta, better known as Cajetanus, who, since 1508, had been General of the Dominicans. In several works which obtained the honour of being publicly burnt by Louis XII., Cajetanus dealt in a masterly and classical style with the false Conciliar theory of which the Council of Pisa was the latest offshoot. He maintained that the power of the Pope in the Church was supreme and monarchical, demonstrated the difference between the authority of Peter and that of the other Apostles, denied the superiority of Councils over the Head of the Church, and refuted the objections drawn from the Councils of Constance and Basle. The theses which he defended were the following:—(1) A Council does not derive its authority immediately from Christ. (2) It does not represent the whole Church unless it includes the Pope. (3) A doubtful Pope, such as the one

* Angelo also addressed Louis XII. himself. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 30, 31.

† De potestate papae et concilii liber, *s. l. et a.* (probably Romae, 1512). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 19.

‡ Particulars concerning his Tract. de Concilio (written 1512, printed 1538) are to be found in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 438 *seq.*, 476 *seq.*

who presided at Constance, holds a very different position from one whose legitimacy is certain.*

In Italy the only writers who advocated the schismatic Council and the oligarchical revolution in the constitution of the Church at which it aimed, were the Milanese jurist Decius † and Zaccaria Ferreri. This latter, a learned but restless and changeable man, had first been a Benedictine monk, and then joined the Carthusians. Here too, he could not bear the quiet of the cloistered life, and threw himself eagerly into politics, labouring to enlist public opinion in support of the League of Cambrai and turn it against the Venetians, whom he hated, and continued to oppose even after the Republic had been absolved. He wrote poems in praise of the French and was thus brought into connection with Marshal Trivulzio, and initiated into the anti-Papal plans of Louis XII. As Carvajal and he had always been close friends, he was now completely drawn into the schismatical camp. Later he fought so energetically by letters, addresses, and tracts on the side of the mock Council, that he came to be regarded as its chief literary champion.‡

* This summary is taken from HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 474. MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105, says, referring to Cajetanus, "It may be truly said that the Court party had the best of the encounter from a literary as well as from a historical point of view."

† GOLDAST, Monarchia, II., 1167 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 471. On Decius, *cf.* SAVIGNY, Gesch. d. Römischen Rechts, VI., 374 *seq.*, and SCHULTE, Quellen, II., 361 *seq.*

‡ Ferreri's career was described a hundred years ago by TIRABOSCHI, Della vita e delle opere di Z. Ferreri (Modena, 1799), next by MORSOLIN in a (scarce) monograph which appeared at Vicenza in 1877, and again in his valuable work, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 3 *seq.* *Cf.* also MORSOLIN, Un Latinista del Cinquecento imitatore del Dante (Venezia, 1894), and Apologia del popolo Vicentino di Z. Ferreri (Venezia, 1895). Ferreri's important influence on the Council of Pisa has been quite overlooked by Lehmann, and also by MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105 *seq.*

The character of Carvajal very much resembled that of Ferreri. He had early adopted the false theory of Councils;* in addition to which he could not forget that he had once very nearly obtained the Tiara. "He had been forced to yield to Julius II., but he did not relinquish his ambitious plans." Especially since the death of d'Amboise, he had become more engrossed with the hope of attaining the highest dignity. He threw himself into the French movement entirely, because he thought it might be serviceable to him. He had long ago quarrelled with the Pope; he loved pomp and show, and cared for reform as little as his associates did. Like Ferreri he was utterly untrustworthy. Zurita relates that he simultaneously asked Ferdinand for a safe-conduct for Naples, wrote to the Spanish Envoy in Germany to use all his influence to prevent any German prelates from coming to the Council, and begged the Emperor to send them. "He was sincere in nothing, and it was this hypocrite who was the President of the Council, to which he was only held by the impossibility or extreme peril of drawing back."† He was so much alarmed at the small amount of sympathy which the Council had evoked, that even at the last moment he made an attempt to be reconciled with the Pope. He had broken with Cardinal Briçonnet, whose heart like his own was set on obtaining the Tiara; but both he and his companions were too ambitious and too proud to bring themselves to comply with the stern requisitions of Julius II., who insisted on their coming to Rome and asking for absolution.‡ The

* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 15 *seq.*, which unwarrantably brands the elder Carvajal as an adherent of the false Conciliar theory; on the errors in this book, *cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, II., 376 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† LEHMANN, 26–29, who gives his proofs. On Carvajal's nepotism and ostentation, see ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 100 *seq.*

‡ MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 17 *seq.*

prospects of the schismatics, "not one of whom possessed the support of a genuine conviction," * were rendered still more gloomy by the behaviour of the Florentines. Florence had for many years been the ally of France and at first agreed to the choice of Pisa as the meeting place for the Council, but very soon she began to hesitate. Machiavelli was commissioned to persuade the schismatical Cardinals to delay, and to represent the true state of things to the French. His instruction of the 10th December says: "No one seems to wish to attend the Council; it therefore only serves to set the Pope against us, and we must consequently request that it may either not be held in Pisa, or at least may be put off. Not a single prelate is coming from Germany and only a few from France, and these are lingering on the way. People are surprised at the announcement of a Council consisting of only three Cardinals, while the others who were given out as supporting them hide themselves and do not appear." Louis XII. was, however, determined to have the Council at Pisa, and the Florentines were forced to yield, though much against the grain. Meanwhile their vacillating conduct did not satisfy France, and incensed the Pope. He laid an Interdict on the city, against which the Florentines appealed to a Council, but did not make it clear whether to that of Pisa or of Rome.†

It was not till the middle of October that some Frenchmen began to appear at Pisa, as yet they were not the Bishops, but only the Bishops' officials. They found the popular feeling so much against them that no one would let lodgings to them and they had to seize their quarters by force.‡

* LEHMANN, 29–30.

† CAMBI, XXI., 266; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 133–135; PERRENS, II., 481; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 540 *seq.*; FREY, Regesten, 101; the Instructions MACHIAVELLI in the Opere, ed. Passerini, I., 132 *seq.*

‡ MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 20–21.

Further difficulties arose when the Cardinals proposed to come to Pisa escorted by French troops. Florence now announced that if they came with armed men they would be treated as enemies. Upon this they consented to be satisfied with a small company of archers commanded by Odet de Foix and Châtillon.* It was on the 30th October that Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, de Prie, and d'Albret arrived in Pisa with this small escort, and in pouring rain. They were provided with powers from Francesco Borgia, Sanseverino, and, they asserted, from Philip of Luxemburg. The proxy for Borgia lapsed almost immediately through his death.†

In the course of their journey the schismatical Cardinals had encountered so much hostility on the part of the population, that they arrived much discouraged and with little confidence in the success of their undertaking.‡ "In Prato and in Pistoja," the Florentine chronicler Cerretani says, "they found the churches and inns closed, every one fled from them. In Pisa itself they could only get lodgings at the command of the Florentine Commissioners." §

On the 1st November the Council ought to have commenced its sittings in the cathedral, but in accordance with the Pope's commands the Canons had locked all the doors.

* VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 137. In consequence of this action on the part of the Florentines, the Pope suspended the Interdict for fourteen days. See LANDUCCI, 312 and 315, on further suspensions.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 483; MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 22.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 541.

§ *In questo tempo che fu al fine d'Ottobre giunsono li cardinali del concilio in Pisa con 300 cavalli in loro compagnia alli quali in Prato, in Pistoja fu serrato le chiese e negato loro il mangiare e ciascuno gli fuggiva et in Pisa se non s'interponeva il commandamento de commissarii mandato dalla Signoria non erano accommodati ne di vettovaglie ne di allogiamenti. Cerretani's Chronicle in Cod. II., III., 76, f. 376, of the National Library, Florence.

They therefore betook themselves to the Church of S. Michele, close to which Carvajal was lodged. It was a small building, but contained room and to spare in it for the accommodation of the "General Council." The assembly consisted of the four Cardinals, the Archbishops of Lyons and Sens, fourteen French Bishops, five Abbots, all French except Ferreri, and a small number of theologians and jurists. The citizens of Pisa held almost entirely aloof; according to an eye-witness there were not more than ten present. Ferreri delivered an address on the necessity that a General Council should be held for the reform of the Church, and announced at its close that the proceedings would begin on the 5th of November. All who failed to present themselves were threatened with the censures of the Church. Finally an individual who announced himself as the Procurator of the King and the Emperor came forward as notary to execute the deed of constitution. The whole city was searched in vain for two citizens to act as witnesses; none would consent to officiate, and two unknown persons had to be taken.*

Meanwhile orders had been sent from Florence that the use of the cathedral was to be granted to the Council, but that none of the clergy need attend if they were not so inclined.† Thus the General Council was opened in the cathedral as announced, on the 5th November, in the presence of the four Cardinals and about eighteen Bishops and Abbots. Of the inhabitants of Pisa, about fifty appeared. The ceremonies were well carried out, we

* In addition to the important ambassadorial Reports in MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 37 *seq.* (in the deed, p. 38, line 32), a comma should be inserted after "Franzesi," and the two points after "cipta" should be erased; *cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 330. See also SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 436 *seq.*

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 137.

are told by an eye-witness, but the attendance of Prelates was so miserable, that many who had hitherto been sanguine of its success, now gave up all hope. Carvajal said the Mass, and then, as President of the assembly, seated himself on the semi-Papal throne prepared for him. Odet de Foix was declared Custos. It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is a fact, that this gathering had the audacity to declare solemnly that it was a lawfully convoked General Council and to proclaim all the censures and measures taken against it by Julius II. to be null and void.* In the second sitting on the 7th of November a resolution was passed which sheds a curious light on the amount of confidence which the schismatics entertained in each other. It was decided that the Council could not be dissolved by the withdrawal of any individual Prelates whoever they might be.†

The hopes cherished by some that the Council might, as time went on, increase in numbers were not fulfilled, and Cardinals d'Este and Sanseverino gave no sign.‡ However earnestly the Pisan assembly might contend that it was the "salt of the earth, and the light of the world," history had accustomed Christendom to see the Church represented after a very different fashion.§ The indifference of all from whom they hoped for support, including the Florentines, their unprotected situation in Pisa, and the marked hostility of the population had from the first

* Report of Joh. Borromeus in MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 40 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 233, 330 *seq.*, and on the Florentine Reports, VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 138. *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 484 and 480, note 1, for details concerning the acts of the mock Council.

† *Ibid.*, 42 *seq.*; SANUTO, XIII., 234, 331 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 32; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 484 *seq.*

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi; the Duke of Ferrara persuaded his brother not to attend the Council.

§ HAVEMANN, II., 376.

seriously alarmed the schismatics. Now, in addition to this, on the 9th of November a sanguinary conflict broke out between the Florentine troops combined with the Pisans on one side, and the French soldiers and the servants of the Cardinals on the other. A crowd assembled under the windows of the palace inhabited by the President of the Council, where the schismatics were gathered together, shouting "kill them."* The terrified reformers held a hasty sitting on the 12th instead of the 14th, which had been the day appointed for the next meeting, and passed three resolutions:—(1) The Synod was not to be dissolved until the whole Church had been reformed in faith and morals, in its head and members, all heresies and divisions purged away, and all impending strife between Christian Princes appeased. (2) The decrees of the fifth sitting of the Council of Constance were to be confirmed and made more stringent (though they did not apply to the present situation, as there was no question of the legitimacy of the Pope, nor, strictly speaking, any schism). (3) The Synod, without being dissolved, was to be removed from Pisa, where a hostile spirit has been displayed and it has not the requisite security, to Milan, where its fourth sitting was to be held on the 13th of December.†

* Mantuan Despatch of the 9th Nov., 1511, in MORSOLIN, 44; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 138. *Cf.* also the account in CAMBI, XXI., 276, and *Cerretani, Cod. II., III., 76, f. 377. National Library, Florence.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 485–486; *cf.* MORSOLIN, 45, and SANUTO, XIII., 332. A *Letter without address, signature, or date, apparently belongs to this time, it says: S. Severino e S. Croce in Pisa ogni giorno visitati per ambasciatori da Sri Fiorentini e dal magco Juliano et da loro presentati. Domani se expectano qua e cossi a quest' hora m'ha affirmato el pto magco Juliano. Da voce populare hogi se dicto il summo pontefice esser sta com pericolo de veneno quale gli debbe havere exhibito alcuni cardinali. (State Archives in Milan.) In Rome, at first, a report was

In Milan, even under the shelter of the French cannon, the same general dislike of the Council was displayed as in Pisa; both people and clergy kept away and could not be constrained to receive the schismatics with any tokens of respect. When they made their entry into the city on the 7th of December no Bishop or Prelate of any importance appeared on the occasion.* In spite of the threats of the French Governor, the majority of the clergy observed the Interdict and the populace openly jeered at the "Anti-Papal masqueraders."† Nevertheless, these latter, if less confidently, still obstinately persevered in their enterprise. The ambition of the Cardinals and the fanaticism of Ferreri seemed proof against all rebuffs. Neither the scorn of the Milanese, nor yet a fresh and sterner admonition from the Pope on the 3rd of December,‡ nor even the abstention of a large portion of the French Episcopate, could make them pause or consider. They still continued to call themselves a General Council, hoping everything from the victorious arms of France and the strong hand of Louis XII. A letter from Cardinal de Prie, of 12th January, 1512, to the King asking him to confiscate the revenues of all the "papistical" Bishops, is very significant of this attitude.§ At the same time the

circulated that the *Conciliabulum* was to adjourn to Vercelli. Julius II. endeavoured to prevent this by *Briefs addressed to the Chapter at Vercelli and Duke Charles of Savoy, on the 27th Nov., 1511. On the 17th Dec., 1511, he wrote to Francesco Gonzaga, that if the schismatical Cardinals entered his territory, he was to have them arrested. (See Appendix, N. 87.) I found all these *Briefs in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DESJARDINS, II., 545–546. *Cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 352; PERRENS, II., 487 *seq.*

† PRATO, 285–287.

‡ MANSI, V., 356–362.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 2. On the sittings of the pseudo-synod, *cf.* LEHMANN, 33, and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 486. The phrase with

French members of the Council also addressed Louis, claiming the reward of their services in cash. He does not seem to have had much confidence in the honesty of the reformers, for he refused to pay without a voucher attesting that they had been present both at Pisa and Milan.*

The piteous failure of the pseudo-Council, which from the first seemed at the point of death from sheer anæmia,† was an immense gain for the spiritual authority of Julius II. It was universally recognised that the motives of the schismatical Cardinals were purely personal and ambitious,‡ and that in combination with the French Court Bishops it was the interests of Louis XII. and not those of the Universal Church that they were serving.§ "The Pope could afford to wait without any great anxiety" for the inevitable collapse of this little band of "ambitious hypocrites, in whom no one believed and whom no one respected, thus masquerading before the world while in daily fear for their lives."‖ "But he shewed his penetration and prudence in not over-prizing the success which their wretched failure had prepared for him. This triumph was only a negative one; to turn it into a real victory, it was necessary to oppose to this effete assembly a Council at the Lateran which should be universally recognised as truly œcumenical. To this achievement the Pope devoted himself with all his might, and in the

which the Milanese chronicler, PRATO, 287, passed over the resolutions adopted at the fourth sitting is very significant: Li quali io per aver poco inchiostro non mi curo di raccontare.

* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 446, calls attention to this voucher, to be found in the National Library, Paris, MS. Lat. 1559, f. 16.

† MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 104.

‡ Guicciardini says that the Cardinals were quite as much in need of reform themselves as the people they proposed to set to rights.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 236.

‖ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 84, ed. 3.

wisest and most practical manner." To meet the pressing need of the moment it had to give way to the political and military measures which claimed immediate attention. No effort was spared to equip a sufficient army. Julius II. strained his financial resources to their utmost limit to accomplish this, but his efforts to be ready in time were frustrated by the "tardiness of the Spaniards, which made it impossible for him to strike at the right moment."* As Venice, also, was too late, and allowed the opportunity to pass, the French succeeded in repelling the attack of the Swiss on Milan. The hardy mountaineers, however, whom Louis had treated with the utmost contempt, announced their intention of returning in the Spring. They had got the French into Italy, they said, and they would drive them out of it.† On the 7th January, 1512, Julius nominated Cardinal Schinner as Cardinal-Legate for Lombardy and Germany with extraordinary powers. In an open Consistory he gave him his Legate's-cross with the words, saying, "In this sign of the Holy Cross mayest thou begin, prosper, and vanquish."‡

In the same month the Pope decided on taking further measures against the rebellious Cardinals — "the sect of Carvajal," as they were called. Almost anything might be apprehended from the sort of blind fury which possessed these Cardinals, and it was seriously feared in Rome that they might set up an anti-Pope. On the 30th of January a Consistory was held, at which Cardinal Bakocs was not present, though he had lately arrived in Rome. At this meeting the deprivation of Cardinal Sanseverino, who still persisted in his revolt, and had even sent agents to Rome to endeavour to stir up an insurrection there, was

* BROSCH, Julius II., 237–240.

† RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 271.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 4.

pronounced. In February several of his benefices were given to others, Cardinal Schinner received the Bishopric of Novara. On the 13th of February, Zaccaria, Ferreri, and Philip Decius were also condemned as schismatics.*

At the end of January the League at last commenced

* SANUTO, XIII., 445, 446, 447, 470, 471, 490. *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 35 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and the *Chronicle in Varia Polit., 50, f. 61. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On Bakocs' journey and his pompous entry into Rome, *cf.* FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 111 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*; see also Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienza mor., X., 15. Card. Schinner had been forced in July, 1511, to give way to his enemy, the "bold demagogue" (DIERAUER, II., 384), Jörg auf der Flüe (Georg Supersaxo). He fled disguised as a leper (FUCHS, II., 247) to Venice and then to Rome, where in Aug. 1511, he received his Cardinal's-hat and impeached Supersaxo as a traitor. A narrative of the disputes between Schinner and Supersaxo is to be found in the house of the late Pfarrer Joller (to whose kindness I owe my acquaintance with this document) at Glis near Brieg in Switzerland. It is the work of a bitter partisan, representing Supersaxo as an innocent and persecuted man, and painting the Cardinal in the blackest tints as a tyrant and a man to whom nothing is sacred. It is the source from which Boccard, temperately, and Furrer, intemperately and uncritically, have taken the material for their accounts of the conflict between Supersaxo and Schinner. But is it a trustworthy source? far from it! It is drawn up in a tone of venomous hatred, and entirely based on the accusations of Supersaxo's party. It denies many undoubted facts, contradicts contemporaneous authorities, and a considerable portion of it was written after Supersaxo's death. This part cannot have been composed till after 1574, as Josias Simmler's Comment. is mentioned in it. Schinner was a man of strong temper (*cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 258), and may have been faulty in his manner of dealing with his opponents, but in substance he was in the right, for they were rebels against his rightful authority, both temporal and spiritual. A biography of Schinner is much to be desired. Joller (see Bücherverzeichniss) and G. Blösch in a lecture delivered at Berne in 1890, but unfortunately not published, have collected valuable materials for such a work. Schinner's name appears in the list of the benefactors of the Collegiate Church at Domodossola, the building of which was begun in 1512. His coat of arms is still to be seen there.

operations, attacking simultaneously in different places. On the 25th of January the Venetians appeared before Brescia, and on the 26th the combined Spanish and Papal army, commanded by Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, invested Bologna. On the 2nd of February Brescia fell, and it seemed as if Milan would be lost to France.* At this critical moment Louis's nephew Gaston de Foix appeared on the scene as the saviour of the French. Young as he was in years he was already an experienced general. With that marvellous promptitude which won for him the sobriquet of "foudre de l'Italie," he swooped down, not upon Modena where the enemy was waiting for him, but seawards on Finale. By forced marches he led his troops through deep snow and over frozen marshes and streams to Bologna, in a space of time hitherto unparalleled for shortness. In the night of 4th–5th February, under cover of a snowstorm, he slipped into the city unobserved by the enemy. On hearing that he and his troops were actually within the walls the besiegers broke up their camp. Gaston immediately took advantage of this to march rapidly on Brescia, which, after a sanguinary conflict in the streets, was taken on the 18th of February.†

Bembo says that the Pope flew into a violent rage when he heard of the withdrawal of the troops from before Bologna, but was calmed by the news of the taking of Brescia. Though the night was cold and stormy, he immediately sent for the Venetian Ambassador and kept him in conversation for two hours, shedding tears of joy.‡ How great therefore must have

* HAVEMANN, II., 384 *seq.*; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 272.

† *Ibid.*, II., 388–396. *Cf.* KRIEGER, 49; FUMI, Carteggio, 160–161; ANDUCCI, 313.

‡ BEMBUS, 516–517; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 187; HAVEMANN,

been his distress when he heard of its loss only a few days later.* To add to his vexation at the torpor of the Spaniards, fresh troubles now sprung up in Rome itself.† The intrigues of Cardinal Sanseverino amongst the Roman Barons found the soil only too well prepared, and set up a ferment which seemed likely to become very dangerous. Julius II. was most afraid of the Orsini party who were devoted to France. He strengthened the city guard at the gates, and himself withdrew for a time to the Castle of St. Angelo. Many arrests were made, and it was said that a plot had been discovered for getting possession of the Pope's person.‡ But there was worse to come.

Louis XII. saw that everything depended on striking such a blow as would paralyse the Papal and Venetian army before the Swiss had time to invade Milan, and King Ferdinand to attack Navarre, and before Henry VIII. could land in Normandy, or the Emperor distinctly declare against him. A victory should be immediately followed up by the dethronement of the Pope, the

II., 389. Bembus as usual gives no date for the arrival in Rome of the good tidings from Brescia. From SANUTO, XIII., 490–491, we gather that it was on the 10th Feb.; he also gives details of the rejoicings in Rome. On the 14th and 15th Feb. Julius II. addressed three *Briefs to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua pro transitu gentium armigerorum militum favore ecclesiae pro tuenda civitate Bononiae contra Gallos. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* On the passionate grief of Julius II., see Lettres de Louis XII., III., 188; SANUTO, XIV., 7–8, 11; and DESJARDINS, II., 567. On the 25th Feb., 1512, the very day on which the disastrous tidings reached Rome, Julius II. had addressed a *Brief to universis civibus ac populo dilect. civit. nostrae Bononiae, warning them against coming to terms with the enemy and the Bentivogli, and commanding them to return to their allegiance to the Holy See. State Archives, Bologna, Q., Lib. 5.

† *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 568, 571.

‡ SANUTO, XIII., 490; XIV., 7–8; BROSCH, Julius II., 241 *seq.*, 357.

occupation of the Papal States by Cardinal Sanseverino, and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples.* At the end of March, Gaston de Foix left Brescia and began to march southward on the Romagna.† Raymond of Cardona prudently retired before his too able adversary, but the latter succeeded in forcing a battle by turning aside to besiege Ravenna. At any cost this city, which contained the magazines for supplying the army, had to be defended. Thus, on Easter Sunday, the 11th of April, 1512, the two hosts met on the banks of the Ronco about two miles from Ravenna. "This battle was the most sanguinary that had been fought on Italian soil since the days of the Huns and Goths."‡ Gaston's infantry

* DESJARDINS, II., 576; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 85, ed. 3.

† On his campaign of 1512 see ADAMI and LUCIANI'S papers in the Riv. Milit. Ital., 1890-91.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 244; *cf.* 357. On the battle of Ravenna, *cf.* in the first place the numerous contemporary reports in SANUTO, XIV., 126 *seq.*, 132, 145, 148, 151, 154 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*; J. Guicciardini's letter printed in the Arch. St. Ital., XV., 308 *seq.*; FR. GUICCIARDINI, X., c. 4; Fr. Pandolfini's Report in DESJARDINS, II., 581 *seq.*; COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* (see KRIEGER, 52 *seq.*); Mémoires de Fleurange (Robert de la Marck), p. XXIX.; PETRUS MARTYR, XXV., c. 483-484; JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi Ferrar., Leonis X., Davali Pescarae; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 227 *seq.*; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 86 *seq.*; LUIGI DA PORTO, 296 *seq.*; the Portuguese Report of the 23rd April, 1512, in Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 164 *seq.*; Guido Postumo Silvestri's Report, published by Renier on the special occasion: Nozze Cian-Sappa-Flandinet (Bergamo, 1894), 244 *seq.*; Colec. d. documentos inedit., LXXIX., 231-299 (Relacion de los sucesos de las armas de España en Italia en los años de 1511 a 1512 con la jornade de Rávena); finally, Giov. da Fino's Report from Cod. Vat. Urb. 490, in TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 706-708. I also saw this Report in the Cod. Urb. 1512, f. 58-60, of the Vatican Library. Here, and in GUICCIARDINI and LANDUCCI, 315, the number of the slain is stated as in the text; in some other writers it is still higher. But the lowest figure gives a much larger comparative loss than is found even in modern battles. Cardinal Cesi

was composed of German and Italian as well as French soldiers; his army numbered about 25,000, that of the League 20,000.

The fight was begun by the artillery, the Duke of Ferrara's guns especially doing splendid service. Jacopo Guicciardini, writing to his brother Francesco, then Florentine Envoy in Spain, says: "It was horrible to see how every shot made a lane through the serried ranks of the men at arms, sending helmets and heads and scattered limbs flying through the air. When the Spaniards found themselves thus being blown to pieces without breaking a lance they dashed forward, and then the hand to hand fight began. It was a desperate one, and lasted four hours. When the first onset of the men at arms had been repulsed and those behind them had suffered severely, the rest turned and fled with the light cavalry. The Spanish foot soldiers held their ground alone and made a stubborn resistance, but they were for the most part ridden down by the heavy cavalry. On the French side the men of Gascony and Picardy fought badly, the Germans very well."*

The battle lasted from 8 a.m. till 4 p.m. and was finally won by the Ferrarese artillery and the steady endurance of the German troops. Of the 10,000 corpses left on the field, one-third belonged to the French army, and the other two-thirds to their enemies. The Papal Legate, Giovanni de' Medici, and two generals, Fabrizio Colonna and the Marquess of Pescara, were taken prisoners, and the whole army train of the League with their artillery and banners was captured. But the shouts of triumph from the French

in 1557 erected the well-known Colonna dei Francesi on the bank of the Ronco in memory of this fight. On the picture of it in the Palace of the Signoria at Florence, see VASARI, Opere (Florence, 1832 *seq.*), 1370 *seq.*

* Arch. St. Ital., XV., 308 *seq.*

ranks were quickly silenced when it became known that Gaston de Foix had fallen on the battlefield. The corpse of the young hero was brought into Ravenna on the following day; eighteen captured banners were borne before it.* In a few more days the whole of the Romagna was in the hands of the French. The warlike Cardinal Sanseverino entered Flaminia bent on the conquest of Rome and the deposition of Julius II.† The coalition against France, from which such great things had been expected, had utterly broken down. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the whole of Italy. It was said that various monstrous births had taken place in Ravenna, which were supposed to denote that the French had been sent into Italy by God as a punishment for the sins of the Italians.‡

On the 14th of April the news of the disaster at Ravenna reached Julius II.; when it became known in Rome the whole city was terror-stricken. Every one knew that Gaston had threatened to conquer Rome and have a new Pope elected, and it seemed as if the enemy might at any

* Ravenna was cruelly plundered; see RICCI, Ravenna dopo il sacco del 1512 (Bologna, 1883). In 1515 Francis I. ordered a splendid monumental tomb to be erected in honour of Gaston de Foix, but it was never completed, and portions of it are now scattered over the world in various places. See MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 550 *seq.* The famous, delicately finished statue of Gaston by Agostino Buste is in the Museo Archeol. Milan. *Cf.* BOSSI, Monumento di Gastone di Foix (Milano, 1852). The young hero is represented in a peaceful sleep, a touch of triumph in the expression of the face recalling his victory, as Vasari says.

† *Cf.* Morone's Letter of the 21st June, 1512, in the Lett. di G. Morone, ed. PROMIS-MÜLLER, Miscell. di storia Ital., T. II. Torino, 1863.

‡ LANDUCCI, 314, 315; BERNALDEZ, II., 372 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 24.

moment appear at the gates, for all had heard of the lightning-like swiftness of his movements. The Florentine chronicler Cerretani states that it was feared that Rome would be sacked and the Prelates murdered.* For a moment, even the Pope's courage gave way and he talked of flight, which the Spanish Envoy strongly advised.† But while the terror of the Cardinals and Romans continued and could not be tranquillised, Julius II. recovered himself immediately and shewed his usual resolution and the resourcefulness which he always displayed under misfortune. On the 15th of April he told the Venetian and Spanish Ambassadors that he would spend 100,000 ducats and pledge his crown to drive the French out of Italy. Orders were at once issued for the equipment of fresh armaments.‡ The news brought to Rome on the 15th April by the Knight of S. John, Giulio de' Medici, who had been sent thither with a French safe-conduct by the captive Cardinal Legate, had no doubt much to do with the "marvellous elasticity" displayed by Julius II. after such a crushing blow.§ Giulio reported that the French loss had been enormous and that the army was completely demoralised by the death of its ablest leader. The new commander, La Palice, was not in the King's confidence and was at daggers drawn with the

* *Cerretani in Cod. II., III., 76, f. 381, of the National Library, Florence.

† So says the Venetian Envoy, an abstract of whose Despatch is preserved in SANUTO, XIV., 158–159. The speeches of the Spanish and Venetian Envoys in GUICCIARDINI, X., c. 5, which are repeated by most modern writers, can hardly be authentic. *Cf.* also Lettres de Louis XII., III., 230, 240, 244.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 124. *Cf.* SENAREGA, 613; JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., II., 47; AEGIDIUS OF VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 386–387; and the Portuguese Envoy's Report of 16th April, 1512, in Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 161–163, which has hitherto escaped notice.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 92–93, ed. 3.

haughty Cardinal Sanseverino. It would be quite out of the question for the French to march immediately upon Rome and there was a rumour that the Swiss were on their way to Italy. It was becoming more and more evident that the battle of Ravenna was a Pyrrhic victory for France. It was significant of the change in the situation that the Duke of Ferrara had retired into his own territory and the Duke of Urbino had offered to send troops to the Pope.* In compliance with the wishes of the Cardinals, who still continued to urge the Pope to make peace, he commenced negotiations with the French; but it is hardly conceivable that a statesman like Julius II. could be seriously anxious to come to terms just then when he would have had to purchase peace at the highest price.† He himself admitted that his only object in these negotiations was "to quiet down the French."‡ If Spain and England remained faithful he had still resources enough to prosecute the war, and every motive for desiring to do so, against an enemy who had wounded him both on the temporal and spiritual side where he was most susceptible, and mocked him on the stage and in satirical poems.§

At the same time the Pope's difficulties at this particular time were increased by the unsatisfactory state of his immediate surroundings; but Julius II. faced this additional peril with unflinching courage, and in a wonderfully short

* GUICCIARDINI, X., chap. 5. The rapid revulsion of feeling in Rome is shewn in the very cautious letter of the Envoy from Orvieto of the 18th April, 1512, in FUMI, 161–162. There is a markedly resolute ring in the **Brief to Cardinal Gonzaga of the 29th April, 1512 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Such is the opinion expressed in almost identical terms both in REUMONT, III., 2, and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 299.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 185; *cf.* 189.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 358 *seq.*

space of time succeeded in winning one-half of the Roman Barons with the Colonna, and overawing the others, as was the case with the Orsini.*

* BROSCH, Julius II., 247. The bitter hostility of many in Rome to the authority of the Church may be gathered from *Cerretani, *loc. cit.* National Library, Florence.

CHAPTER VII.

ARROGANCE AND DOWNFALL OF THE SCHISMATICS.—SUCCESS OF THE FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT THE LATERAN.—THE SWISS AS THE SAVIOURS OF THE HOLY SEE.—ANNIHILATION OF THE POWER OF FRANCE IN ITALY.

THE issue of the battle at Ravenna gave fresh courage to the schismatics at Milan. While the fortunes of war seemed still hanging in the balance they had been chary of carrying their proceedings against the Pope too far. Now, on the 21st April, 1512, it was resolved that he should be suspended from all spiritual or temporal administration and threatened with further punishments. His powers were held to have lapsed to the "Holy Synod." "But even the magic halo of victory which now encircled the French arms had not power enough to infuse life into the still-born offspring of the schismatics."* The aversion and scorn of the Milanese was not lessened, and even Louis XII. admitted to the Spanish Envoy that the Council was a mere farce, a bogey set up to intimidate the Pope.† The schismatics had to endure the humiliation of seeing the Milanese in troops throwing themselves on their knees before the captive Cardinal Medici, and imploring him to absolve them from the censures they had incurred by their participation in the war against the Pope.‡

* BROSCH, Julius II., 249; LEHMANN, 33; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 486 *seq.*

† GARNIER, Hist. de France, XXII., 358. Paris, 1788.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 2; ROSCOE, I., 510.

Meanwhile in Rome Julius II. pursued his task with unwearied energy and undaunted courage. The preparations for the Œcumenical Council * were never interrupted even for a moment by all the alarm and anxiety caused by the disaster at Ravenna. The war had obliged him to put off its opening to the 3rd May,† and although the situation was still full of difficulties, it took place at the appointed time.

The Lateran Council forms a landmark in the history of the world. More than eighty years had elapsed since the opening of that of Basle, which, instead of effecting the hoped-for reforms in the Church, had proved a source of revolutionary movements and endless confusion throughout all Christendom. Now another lawful Council was assembling in Rome, in the first place to defend the liberties of the Church against the revolutionary pretensions of France, and after that to deal with the great questions of the century, the reform of the Church and the war against the Turks.

A triduum of impetratory processions was held on the preceding days, and on the evening of the 2nd May the Pope went in solemn state, surrounded by the Swiss guards and with a strong military escort, to the Lateran Palace, where he spent the night. As disturbances from the French party were apprehended, the whole of the neighbourhood was occupied by a detachment of troops. On the following day, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Council was formally opened in that venerable Basilica which bears the honourable title of "Mother and Queen of all Churches." Besides the Pope, 16 Cardinals (two had been prevented from attending by sickness) were present,

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 416 *seq.* *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 574 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 28–30.

100 Prelates (mostly Italian), of whom 70 were Bishops, 12 Patriarchs, and 3 Generals of religious Orders; in addition to these were the representatives of Spain, Venice, and Florence, and of the Roman Senators and Conservators, and finally a number of the Roman nobles. The office of guard of honour to the Council was undertaken by the Knights of Rhodes. They formed an imposing body in their splendid uniform, embroidered with gold and silk and with the white cross on their breasts. An immense crowd filled the church.* The Mass of the Holy Ghost was said by Cardinal Riario; after which an address in classical Latin was delivered by the General of the Augustinians, Aegidius of Viterbo, which was universally admired. He began with a frank exposition of the great evils prevailing in the Church, and the benefits to be derived from General Councils. The preacher explained the overthrow of the troops of the League at Ravenna as a Divine providence, intended, by allowing the Church to be defeated when she trusted in alien arms, to throw her back on her own weapons, piety and prayer, the armour of faith and the sword of light. With these she had conquered Africa, Europe, and Asia; since she had taken up with strange adornments and defences she had lost much It was the voice of God which had summoned the Pope to hold the Council, to renovate the Church, to give peace to the nations, to avert further blows and wounds in the future. "Thou," said the Lord to Peter, "being once converted confirm thy brethren" (St. Luke, xxii., 32). "Hear ye this, most illustrious Princes of the Apostles, protectors and defenders of the city of Rome. Hearken to the sighs and moanings of the Church which You founded with your blood, which now lies prostrate, overwhelmed

* SANUTO, XIV., 203 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 417. See also Cerretani's *Report in Cod. II., III., 76, of the National Library, Florence.

beneath a flood of calamities. Have you not seen how in this very year the earth has drunk more blood than rain? Bring us help and lift her up out of the waves under which she is submerged. Hear the supplications of all the peoples of Christendom, prostrate at your feet. The Pope unites with the Fathers, the Senate and the whole world to implore your assistance for himself, for the Church, the city of Rome, these temples, these altars which enshrine your sacred relics, this Council which is taking up arms with the support of the Holy Ghost for the salvation of Christendom. We beg of you to obtain the reconciliation of all Christian Princes with each other, so that all may turn their swords against Mahomet the enemy of Christ, and that the charity of the Church, instead of being extinguished by all these waves and storms, may, through the merits of the Holy Cross and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which are commemorated together in the festival of to-day, be cleansed from all stains and glow again in all its pristine purity and splendour."*

When Aegidius had concluded, the Pope, having taken his place with the Cardinals in the Choir of the Basilica, bestowed the solemn Benediction and announced a plenary indulgence. He then intoned the first line of the "Veni Sancte Spiritus" and proceeded to the tribune for the Council which was erected in the nave. There the Litanies of the Saint were sung with the usual prayers, and the Cardinal-Deacon Luigi d'Aragona read the Gospel which narrates the sending forth of the disciples. To spare the Pope's failing strength, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese read his address for him. In it he briefly set forth the reasons for summoning the Council and the advantages that were to be hoped for from its assembling. He had long been

* LABBE, XIV., 18 *seq.*; HARDOUIN, IX., 1573 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 501 *seq.*; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 413 *seq.*

desirous, he said, of calling a Council, but had deferred it on account of the incessant wars between the Christian Princes; now, however, the need for it seemed to him to have become urgent, in order to prevent the division which Satan had caused in the House of God from spreading further and infecting the whole flock of Christ. He prayed that all might have the fear of the Lord before their eyes, express their opinions freely, and seek rather to please Him than man. He hoped that, with the assistance of Almighty God, all evil customs might be amended, peace be re-established among Christian Princes, and, under the banner of the Cross, all the artifices of the ancient enemy be brought to naught. He now declared the Council opened and fixed the 10th of May for its first sitting.*

When the ceremonies were concluded the Pope made his thanksgiving in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. He was delighted at the way in which the solemnities had been carried through, referred laughingly to his anxiety beforehand lest there should be disturbances, and promised de Grassis a Bishopric as a reward for the admirable way in which he had organised and conducted the whole function.†

The first sitting took place as arranged, under the presidency of the Pope, on the 10th of May. Cardinal Grimani sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and Bernardino Zane, also a Venetian, was the preacher. In his sermon he first touched briefly on the Turkish danger and then proceeded to treat of the unity of the Church. This he defined as consisting: (1) in the union of the members with each other; (2) in their subordination to the Head, the Vicar of Christ; hence all who do not obey the Head, and who

* SANUTO, XIV., 203 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 35–39; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 506–507.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 418.

separate themselves from the other members of the body, are schismatics. As it is a law of justice, both human and divine, that offenders should be punished according to the nature of their offences, schismatics fall under a double penalty; they are cut off from the communion of the faithful, and they lose all their apostolical privileges, offices, and dignities. It is the duty of the Pope and the Fathers in Council to suppress heretics and schismatics, and render them powerless to do harm, so that the evil may not spread nor the spark burst into a flame. The Pope then delivered a short address, reminding those present of what were the objects of the Council. He described these as the rooting out of schism, the reform of the Church, and the Crusade. Then the Bulls of July 1511, and April 1512, were read, and the officers of the Council appointed and sworn in by the Pope himself.*

The second sitting, at which the Council of Pisa was pronounced null and void, was held on the 17th. Over 100 Prelates were present at it.† The High Mass was sung by the Hungarian Cardinal, Thomas Bakocs. The sermon, preached by the General of the Dominicans, Thomas de Vio (Cajetanus), was a very remarkable one. The subject was the Catholic doctrine regarding the Church and Synods. He described the Church as the Holy City of Jerusalem seen by S. John (Apoc., xxi., 1 *seq.*) with her healing powers (the Sacraments), her apostles, pastors, teachers, and gifts, and the close mutual union subsisting between her inhabitants, like that between all the members of the same body. He pointed out how the Church was a city, how she was holy, the city of peace, Jerusalem, how, unlike the synagogue, she remains ever new and strong, how she has come down from Heaven and is built after the pattern of the heavenly

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 507–514; SANUTO, XIV., 224, 228.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 419.

kingdom. This Church, he went on to say, is governed by the Vicar of Christ, to whom all the citizens owe allegiance, not only each individually but as a body. The Pisan Synod possessed none of the notes of the true Church, and appeared rather to have risen up out of Hell than descended from Heaven. It represented only one nation and that but partially, was not universal, could not claim to be the city to which the strength of the Gentiles had come, or the multitude of the sea had been converted (Isaias, lx., 5). This assembly was neither holy nor lawfully convened, was stained with error, subordinated Peter to the Church, the Pope to the Council, set the members above the head, and the sheep before the shepherd. It cannot be called Jerusalem, for it possesses neither peace nor order, but on the contrary aims at undermining the noble order of the Roman Church and wages war against her; and is like the city and tower of Babel, generating nothing but confusion. She is new, but in a very different sense from the newness of the true Church; she is the offspring of Constance and Basle. The Pope should be the mirror of the Power, the Perfection, and the Wisdom of God. He manifests the power of God when he girds himself with his own sword, for he possesses two swords, one which he shares with temporal princes and another which is reserved to him only. This latter is the sword of the spiritual power for the destruction of errors and schisms. The power of the Pope should be combined with the image of the Divine Perfection, which consists in loving-kindness. To this must be added wisdom, and this wisdom is specially displayed in the calling of the present Council, which should manifest it more and more by realising the hopes that are entertained of it and making the Church such as the spirit shewed it to the beloved disciple.*

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 514–516.

It is significant of the change which had come about in the views of the majority of theologians at that time, that this outspoken condemnation of the false Conciliar theory called forth no contradiction.* The evils which this theory, the offspring of a period of almost boundless confusion, had brought upon the Church and the world had come to be very widely recognised. The weakness of the schismatics and the success of the Lateran Council shewed how completely the Catholic view, that no Council could be salutary for the Church that was not held with and under the Pope, had gained the upper hand.

At the conclusion of Cajetan's address, a letter from the King of England on his alliance with the Pope was read; and then another from the King of Spain, accrediting his Counsellor, Hieronymus de Vich, as Envoy from himself and his daughter Joanna, Queen of Castile, to act as their representative at the Council, and support Julius, the rightful Pope, against the schismatics. Next followed the reading of the Papal Bull confirming and renewing the censures pronounced against the pseudo-Council. At the same time, in view of the political situation, and the probability that representatives of other nations might be expected later, and also the coming Summer heats, the next sitting was adjourned to the 3rd of November.†

While England had now definitely joined the League against France, the Emperor of Germany also was gradually drawing nearer to the Pope, who held out hopes of an

* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, 107. *Cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 423–424. On Cajetan, *cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, II., 1675 *seq.*, ed. 2. At the same time, the resolutions of the Castilian Royal Council, amongst other things, in DÖLLINGER, III., 200 *seq.*, shew that the Conciliar ideas still survived to a considerable extent.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 516–517; *cf.* SANUTO, XIV., 242 *seq.* 267.

advantageous peace with Venice. That Julius should have been successful in persuading Maximilian to conclude an armistice with the Republic for ten months "was a great step in advance. The Emperor did not join the League, and his friendship with France remained ostensibly intact; but the position he now took up was unfavourable to her and advantageous for the allies." In April, through Cardinal Schinner,* he gave permission to the Swiss, who were marching to help the Pope, to pass through his dominions and supplied them with provisions.†

At the end of May, the Swiss contingents, numbering in all 18,000 men, met in Verona, where Cardinal Schinner presented to his countrymen, "as loyal and chivalrous defenders and protectors of the Holy Church and the Pope," a cap of honour adorned with gold and pearls, and an ornamented sword, as gifts from Julius II. and symbols of the political independence of the Confederation.‡ This acknowledgment was well-deserved, for it was reserved to these brave mountaineers to strike the final blow which

* The Brief addressed by Julius II., on 18th April, 1512, to Schinner, and which the latter forwarded to the Confederation, is to be found in German in FUCHS, II., 331. The original is in the State Archives, Zurich.

† HUBER, III., 396; ULMANN, II., 447; GISI, 46 *seq.* Hitherto it has been supposed that the Papal diplomatist, Ennio Filonardi, had been sent by Julius II. to Switzerland. WIRZ, E. Filonardi (Zurich, 1894), shews that he did not go there till 1513, when he was sent as Nuncio by Leo X.

‡ DIERAUER, II., 412 *seq.*; GISI, 63 *seq.* The hat and sword were, in accordance with a resolution of the Diet of Baden, left at Zurich, and are still preserved in the City Library there. They are engraved and described by G. v. WYSS in the Neujahrsblatt for 1859 of the City Library at Zurich, "Die Geschenke Papst Julius II. an die Eidgenossen." The sword is also reproduced in the work, Zürich und das Schweizerische Landesmuseum (1890), plate 21. See also DÄNDLIKER, Gesch. der Schweiz, II., 313.

decided the issue of the war in Italy; they were the saviours of the Holy See. Though, no doubt, political and financial considerations had their weight in determining this expedition, a spirit of very genuine religious enthusiasm was by no means wanting amongst the Swiss.* Zwingli, the open-air preacher of Glarus, writing to his friend Vadian in Vienna, says: "The Swiss have seen the deplorable state to which the Church of God, the mother of Christendom, has been reduced, and they think it both wrong and dangerous to permit this rapacious tyrant to remain unpunished." †

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Swiss in Italy, Maximilian recalled the German foot-soldiers, which formed practically the core of the French army, and had materially contributed to its victory at Ravenna. At the very moment that it was thus weakened it found itself threatened by four armies at once—the Papal troops under the Duke of Urbino, and the Spaniards, Venetians, and Swiss. No reinforcements could be hoped for from France, as the army at home had not a man to spare from the defence of the frontiers against the attacks of England and Spain. Since the death of Gaston de Foix, the French force in Italy had been left without organisation, spirit, or plans. The Romagna was first evacuated, and soon Upper Italy was also abandoned. On the 14th June the Swiss sat down before Pavia, which capitulated after a short siege. Upon this the whole Duchy of Milan rose against the French, who had made themselves universally hated.‡

Now that it was becoming more and more evident that the battle of Ravenna had been but a Pyrrhic victory, the

* GISI, 48, and DIERAUER, II., 413.

† ZWINGLII Opera, ed. Schuler et Schulthess, IV., 169 (Turici, 1841). *Cf.* HEER, U. Zwingli als Pfarrer von Glarus, 22 *seq.* (Zürich, 1884) DIERAUER and GISI, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* GISI, 53 *seq.*

schismatics found their position untenable. On the 4th of June they decided to remove to Asti. Their departure was more like a flight than anything else, and gave Cardinal Medici the opportunity of escaping.* But even at Asti they found it impossible to remain, and soon had to move on to Lyons. Here the only act of the assembly was to demand a subsidy from the French clergy and the University of Paris, and thus "without any formal dissolution, the French Council disappeared from the scene." †

Genoa also had cast off the yoke of France, chosen Giovanni Fregoso as Doge, and declared herself independent.‡ Rimini, Cesena, and Ravenna returned to their allegiance to the Pope. On the 13th of June the Duke of Urbino took possession of Bologna in the name of the Church.§ The Papal troops now turned back to subdue Parma and Piacenza, which Julius II. claimed as heir to the

* On the 3rd June to Pieve del Cairo on the Po. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 59; LEHMANN, 34; CREIGHTON, IV., 152; and Arch. St. Lomb., X., 381–395 (with Doc^ts of Leo X.). Their flight is painted by Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; there is also a picture in Pieve which has reference to this event. In my opinion, it is a mistake (*cf. infra*, Chap. 10) to connect Raphael's picture of the deliverance of S. Peter in the Stanze with this occurrence.

† MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 518–520; LEHMANN, 34; SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 453; MAULDE, Origines, 135, 325–326. The report of a correspondent in France which reached Venice on the 11th Sept., 1512, says ironically: Papa Bernardin [=Carvajal] stava mal in tal modo che credo ch' el lasserà la mitria. On Papa Bernardino, see also GRUMELLO, 138.

‡ *Cf.* Giov. Fregoso's triumphant **Letter to King Ferdinand, dat. Genoa, 6th July, 1512. I found the original in Fonds Espagn., 318, of National Library, Paris.

§ On the 15th of June, 1512, Julius II. granted faculties to the Card. Leg., Giov. de' Medici, for absolving the city of Bologna from all the Church censures, only excepting the adherents of the Bentivogli. Lib. Q. 5. State Archives, Bologna.

Countess Matilda. On the 20th, Ottaviano Sforza, Bishop of Lodi, entered Milan as the Pope's lieutenant.* On the 28th, La Palice, with the remnants of his army, arrived, broken and hopeless, at the foot of the Alps. Thus Louis XII., after having stirred up a schism and striven to annihilate the Pope, ended by losing in ten weeks not only all the fruits of his victory at Ravenna, but also all his possessions in Italy, including even Asti, which belonged to his own family. "The soldiers of Louis XII. have vanished like mist before the sun," writes Francesco Vettori, without having fought a single battle, and almost without having defended a single town.† That which Julius had been striving with all his might for years to achieve, was now brought about by a sudden turn of events, so unexpected, that Raphael in his fresco in the Vatican has symbolically represented it as a miracle.‡

It was on the 22nd of June that Julius II. received the first detailed account of the rout of the French in a letter from Pavia from Cardinal Schinner. He read the whole letter through first in silence; then, turning with a beaming countenance to the Master of Ceremonies, "We have won, Paris," he exclaimed, "we have won!" "May God give your Holiness joy of it," answered de Grassis, to which the Pope immediately added, "And to all the faithful souls whom He has at last deigned to deliver from the yoke of the barbarians." Then he unfolded the letter again and read it from beginning to end to all who were present. Immediately afterwards he announced his intention of going on the following day to his former titular Church, S. Pietro in Vincoli, to give thanks there to God. Though

* DIERAUER, II., 414; GISI, 56 *seq.*

† VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 287. See also PARIS DE GRASSIS' diatribes against the French, Döllinger's ed., 420, and GISI, 62.

‡ See on Raphael's picture, *infra*, Chap. 10.

far from well, he had himself carried thither on the 23rd and remained for a long time absorbed in prayer before the High Altar. How wonderfully everything was changed. S. Peter's chains were indeed broken; the Italian poets sang of Julius as the liberator of Italy.* On the 27th he received four delegates from Bologna, who had been sent to sue for pardon.† In the evening the whole city suddenly burst into a flood of light. This was to celebrate a fresh victory, the liberation of Genoa, his own native city. Cannon thundered from St. Angelo and fireworks blazed all over the city. The Pope returned to the Vatican in a solemn triumphal procession, accompanied by his whole Court and all the officials, carrying torches. The cry of "Julius, Julius," rose on all sides. "Never," says the Venetian Envoy, "was any Emperor or victorious general so honoured on his entry into Rome as the Pope has been to-day." A universal amnesty was proclaimed and alms distributed to all the convents. "Now God has left us nothing more to ask from Him," he said, "we have only to pour forth our gratitude for the splendour of our triumph."‡

Commands were issued for a triduum of processions of thanksgiving and other rejoicings to be held throughout the States of the Church as well as in Rome. On the same day, 27th June, Briefs were despatched to all parts of Christendom desiring the faithful to celebrate the liberation of Italy and of the Holy See. As a lasting memorial of these events the Pope presented to the Church of S. Peter some splendid vestments and a golden

* ROSCOE, Leo X., II., 404 *seq.*

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 321, 323–327, which contradicts Guicciardini's statement that Julius wanted to destroy Bologna. On earlier accounts of the victory, see SANUTO, XIV., 401, 404.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 450, 453, 457–458; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 327–330.

altar-frontal with an inscription, saying that it was a votive offering to God and the Princes of the Apostles in thanksgiving for the "liberation of Italy."* At the same time Julius was far from forgetting to whom next to God he was most indebted for his victory, and showered rewards on the stalwart Swiss. In a Bull of 6th July, 1512, he bestowed on them in perpetuity the title of "Protectors of the liberty of the Church," and also sent them two large banners.† One of them bore the Papal tiara with the keys and the inscription, "Pope Julius II., nephew of Sixtus IV., of Savona"; on the other the family arms of the Pope were depicted with the keys and the motto: *Dominus mihi adiutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo* (The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man can do unto me). Every township which had sent a contingent to the army received a silken banner, with the arms of the place and a religious picture, the subject of which they were permitted to choose, embroidered or painted upon it. These gifts admirably corresponded with the character of the people, at once martial and pious. Many of these banners have been preserved to the present day.‡ In addition to these marks of honour, Julius

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 330-331. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 97, ed. 3, gives a fragment of the Brief to the Florentines; they permitted the clergy to hold the processions, but refused to allow any other festivities. NARDI, I., 431. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, I., 574. On the 26th of July a deputation from Piacenza came to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and a similar one from Reggio arrived in September. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 70-71.

† Brief of the 5th July in Eidgenöss. Abschiede, III., 2, 632-633. *Cf.* ANSHELM, IV., 260; new edition, III., 327 *seq.*, and OECHSLI, Quellenbuch, 259.

‡ *Cf.* BRIDEL, Drapeaux donnés par les Papes aux Suisses. Conservateur Suisse, III. (1813), 344 *seq.*; GISI, 239 *seq.*; VÖGELIN, Gesch. der Wasserkirche und d. Bibl. zu Zürich, 120; Züricher Neujahrsblatt (1859), p. 6 *seq.*; DIERAUER, Das Toggenburg unter äbtischer Herrschaft, St.

granted several spiritual favours to the Swiss, and bestowed the Countship of Vigevano on Schinner.*

To no one was the complete discomfiture of the French so crushing a blow as to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara. It left him absolutely helpless at the mercy of the Pope whom he had treated with such insolence. Trusting to the friendship of the Colonna and of his brother-in-law Gonzaga of Mantua, and also armed with a safe-conduct from Julius, he came to Rome on the 4th of July to endeavour to save what he could. The Pope willingly absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures, but insisted on his giving up Ferrara and accepting Asti instead. The Colonna strove in vain to mediate in his favour; and soon he began to feel that he was not safe in Rome. In this he was not mistaken, for Julius would have had no scruple in detaining and imprisoning him. He resolved, therefore, to

Galler Neujahrsblatt for 1875 (here there is an engraving of the Toggenburg banner); FRICKER, Ein Panner Julius II. in Baden, Anz. für Schweiz. Gesch. (1874), p. 45; J. MEYER and H. STÄHELIN, Die päpstl. Fahne der Stadt Frauenfeld, in d. Thurg. Beiträgen, XXVII. (1887). The corner-pieces of the banner sent by the Pope to Berne were discovered and are described by PFARRER J. STAMMLER, Der Paramentenschatz im Hist. Museum zu Bern, 129 *seq.* (Bern, 1895). Also the banner belonging to the district of Saanen with its puzzling inscription, which I think has been correctly interpreted by STAMMLER in the Anz. für Schweizer. Alterthumskunde (1895), No. 3, is in the Museum at Berne. In a Brief of the 20th Dec., 1512 (to be found, as H. Jos. Joller kindly informs me, in the Niederwald Archives at Wallis), Julius II. bestowed a decoration on the Niederwald flag. On the favours granted to Basle see DESIMONI, Fiorino d'oro di Basilea al nome di Papa Giulio II. dell' anno 1513, in Atti d. Soc. Sav., II., 691 *seq.*, and Julius II.'s Letters of the 10th Sept. and the 20th and 29th Dec., 1512, in the City Archives, Basle. On the origin and significance of Papal gifts of honour, such as the Rose, Hat, Swords, etc., see R. DOWLING in the Dublin Review (1894), p. 619 *seq.*

* GISI, 63, 240.

fly, and with the help of the Colonna succeeded in getting away on the 19th of July. The Pope was extremely indignant and instituted proceedings against him as a rebellious vassal.*

A Congress of the interested powers was held in Mantua in August for the reorganisation of political relations which the war had left in utter confusion. Here it soon became plain that victory had sown dissension amongst the members of the League. There was only one point upon which all the allies were agreed, and that was that Florence must be punished for holding to France as she had done and refusing to join the League, and for harbouring the schismatics. It was resolved that the Medici should be restored, and a combined Papal and Spanish army was despatched to effect this. On the 30th August the Spaniards conquered Prato, and cruelly sacked it. Upon this the Florentines yielded, and in September the Medici returned, first the gentle and attractive Giuliano, later the Cardinal, and took the government of the city into their hands.† The question

* SANUTO, XIV., 479, 480–482, 484–485, 491, 509, 510, 511, 514, 524, 538, 570, 594; XV., 34, 76–77; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 299 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 71 *seq.*; and CREIGHTON, IV., 273–274; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 98; CARPESANUS, 1286; Letter of Alfonso's from Rome to Card. Ippolito on Julius' demands in CAPPELLI, Lettere di L. Ariosto (Bologna, 1866), p. CXLIII; GISI, 57; BROSCH, Julius II., 255 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 37, n. 2; SEMPER, Carpi, 9. Alfonso's flight is mentioned in the *Acta Consist., f. 36. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) The original of the letter of safe-conduct for Alfonso, in which Julius explains that it is only for the Duke's person and not for his State (SANUTO, XIV., 455), is in the State Archives, Modena, Bolle.

† *Cf.* VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 151 *seq.*; PERRENS, II., 497 *seq.*; GUASTI, Il Sacco di Prato (Bologna, 1880), 2 vols. On Julius II.'s dissimulation in regard to Card. Soderini, see VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 290. See also the Report in SANUTO, XV., 29 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 101, 105

as to who should have the Duchy of Milan was decided at the Congress of Mantua. Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian desired to secure it for their grand-son Charles, but the Swiss and Julius II., who did not wish to see any foreign power established in Lombardy, succeeded in arranging that it should be bestowed on Massimiliano Sforza, the son of Lodovico Moro; who became a fast friend of the Swiss Confederation.* On the 8th of October, however, Parma and Piacenza were separated from the Duchy and included in the States of the Church. Reggio had already, on the 4th of July, submitted to the Pope; and sent Envoys later to Rome to make their profession of obedience, expressing themselves in very humble terms. A contemporaneous historian remarks that this was the first time since the donation of King Pepin that a Pope had possessed this city.†

But in spite of all these successes there was still a reverse side to the medal. "With the exception of the Pope and the Swiss none of the allies were completely satisfied. The Emperor, whose chief object had been to push a formidable rival out of Italy, now realised with dismay that he had only succeeded in substituting the Pope for France." ‡ The appropriation of Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio by Julius

seq., 123, 141 *seq.*, and in Appendix, N. 88, *Giuliano de' Medici's Letter of the 31st Aug., 1512. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DIERAUER, II., 418 *seq.*; GISI, 67 *seq.* Julius II. congratulated M. Sforza in a Brief of 19th Aug., 1512, printed in Lettres de Louis XII., III., 308–309.

† CARPESANUS, 1288; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 102, ed. 3; ROSCOE, II., 401 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 39. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 252. On the submission of Reggio see *Riformag., 1512, July 4. (Archives in Reggio.) *Cf.* L. CHIESI, Reggio nell' Emilia sotto Giulio II., Leone X., Adriano VI., 11 *seq.* (Reggio, 1892). Here also are the particulars of the mission from Reggio.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 263. *Cf.* GISI, 66 *seq.*

was felt as a blow at the Imperial Court, and it is not surprising that Maximilian's attitude was far from friendly when the Pope's further wishes came to be dealt with. The feeling in Spain was very much the same as in Germany. Under these circumstances Ferrara had to be left alone, especially as the behaviour of the Duke of Urbino did not inspire confidence in his intentions.* The power of the Swiss also somewhat weighed on the Pope; but his greatest anxiety was the uncertainty as to the intentions of King Ferdinand. He heard with alarm that the Spanish army was marching from Tuscany towards Lombardy. "If, as rumour now whispered, and as indeed became partially the fact afterwards, he was going to embark in a private war of acquisition here without troubling himself about the rights of the League or the claims of Venice, he would then obtain a point of vantage in the north of the peninsula from which, in combination with his legitimate claims in the south, he could stretch out his arms over the whole, and have the Holy See entirely at his mercy." † This made it of the highest importance for Julius to be on the most friendly terms with the Emperor in order to counterbalance the power of Spain. To ensure the complete success of the Lateran Council, also, the co-operation of the Emperor was most necessary. The majority of the Christian Princes (Spain, Portugal, England, Scotland, Hungary, Norway, and Denmark)‡ had all declared in its favour, and France had been laid under Interdict in August; § but to complete her isolation and that of the

* LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 206.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 263. *Cf.* LEO, V., 260. The Brief of 1st Oct., 1512, in which Julius II. warns Card. Schinner against Spain, is in SANUTO, XV., 217 *seq.*

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 53, 82–84; Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 154, 173 *seq.*; SANUTO, XIV., 56 *seq.*

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 97, and SANUTO, XV., 9, 32.

Council of Lyons, the adhesion of the Emperor was essential.* Thus, when in the late Autumn of 1512 Matthæus Lang, Maximilian's most trusted and influential adviser,† appeared in Rome, the Pope's joy knew no bounds. The haughty prelate assumed the air of an emperor, but every effort was made to satisfy and win him.‡ In all the cities of the States of the Church he was received with honours, and the Pope gave special orders to his Master of Ceremonies that in Rome his entry should be accompanied with every possible manifestation of consideration and welcome.§

Lang is described by contemporary writers as a handsome man with fair hair, looking about forty years of age.‖ He arrived in Rome on the evening of the 4th November, and sent his people to the apartments prepared for them, while he himself went at once incognito to the Vatican, where Julius II. was burning with impatience to meet him. That no manifestation of regard might be wanting in the welcome of the man upon whom so much depended, the Pope came out as far as the first antechamber to receive him. On the same evening they had a long private interview, and Lang spent the night in the Vatican. On the following day he made his official entry into Rome with

* CREIGHTON, IV., 160; HUBER, III., 398.

† VETTORI, 296, remarks that Gurk ruled the Emperor: lo governava come voleva e si usava dire in quel tempo, non che il primo uomo che avesse in corte sua lo Imperatore fusse il vescovo (Gurgense), ma che il primo Re avesse il vescovo appresso di se, era lo Imperatore. As yet, unfortunately, we have no satisfactory biography of Matthæus Lang; A. SCHOPF'S work, Ein Diplomat Kaiser Maximilian's (Wien, 1882), is quite inadequate. *Cf.* REUMONT in the Hist. Jahrb., III., 501 *seq.*

‡ SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 112.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 424; SANUTO, XV., 307, 318; LANDUCCI, 331; and GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., VI., 147.

‖ SANUTO, XV., 327.

all possible pomp. "During my whole term of office," writes the Papal Master of Ceremonies, "I have never seen a more splendid pageant: it was like a triumphal procession." At first it was proposed that the College of Cardinals and the whole of the clergy should meet him outside the gates. But the majority of the Cardinals objected to this as an honour which had never been accorded to any but crowned heads; but in every other particular his reception was that of a King. Cardinals Bakocs and Leonardo Grosso della Rovere met him at the foot of Monte Mario, and placed him between them, a token of respect which he at first declined with affected humility. At the Ponte Molle the Senator of Rome and his officials awaited him. At the Porta del Popolo, in accordance with the usual etiquette, the Cardinals took their leave, and were replaced by the Governor of Rome and the Maggiordomo of the Palace. The streets were lined with spectators, all the Envoys took part in the procession, and the guns of St. Angelo shook the old building to its foundation with their noisy welcome. Night had fallen before the procession reached the Vatican, which was illuminated, and where Lang's official reception by the Pope now took place.*

The principal difficulty in the negotiations of the first few days lay not in the relations between the Pope and the Emperor, but in those of the latter with Venice. Throughout the Summer Julius had been labouring to induce the Venetians to yield as far as possible to the Emperor. But the negotiations had all failed, for Maximilian required the Republic to give up Verona and Vicenza, and to pay down a

* Pierius Valerianus in FREHER, II., 292 *seq.*, and the Venetian Envoys in SANUTO, XV., 325 *seq.*, describe Lang's arrival and entry as eye-witnesses. Sanuto gives the 3rd as the day of arrival, while Pierius Valerianus and the *Acta Consist. name the 4th. *Cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 424.

sum of 250,000 ducats for the fiefship of Padua and Treviso, with the addition of a yearly toll of 30,000 ducats. The Venetians refused to accede to these terms, and demanded the retrocession of Verona, for which, however, they were willing to pay an annual tribute to the Emperor during his life. When, on the 7th November, the Venetian Envoys gave to the Pope, who had acted as intermediary between them and Maximilian, their final answer declining to accept his terms, Julius II. for the third time reversed his political course. In spite of the urgent remonstrances of the representatives of the Republic and many of the Cardinals and the efforts of the Spanish Envoy, who tried to induce him to defer his decision, the Pope determined at once to conclude a close alliance with the Emperor. He was firmly convinced that both ecclesiastical and political considerations imperatively demanded this measure, and on the evening of the 29th of November the agreement between Julius II. and Maximilian was signed. The Emperor engaged to defend the Pope against all attacks, repudiated the schismatics, acknowledged the Lateran Council, washed his hands of the Duke of Ferrara and the Bentivogli, and handed over Reggio and Modena for the present to the Pope. Julius II. promised to support Maximilian against Venice with both spiritual and temporal weapons if she persisted in her refusal to relinquish Verona and Vicenza, and to pay tribute for the other imperial fiefs; to assist him with spiritual arms against the Flemings, and to grant him in Germany a tax of a tenth on the clergy if the electors would also consent.*

On the same day, in a Secret Consistory, Lang was admitted into the College of Cardinals; but, at his own express wish, his nomination was not yet published, and

* SANUTO, XV., 333, 336, 337, 339, 350, 384 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 513 *seq.*; LANZ, Einl. 128 *seq.*; GISI, 80 *seq.*

the Pope also dispensed him from the obligation of wearing a Cardinal's dress. On the 24th of November an open Consistory was held, at which the Swiss Envoys were received, and Lang's elevation to the Cardinalate was also announced, although he still refused to assume the insignia of his rank. The reason which he gave for this was that he was anxious "that the object of his mission should not be misunderstood." * On the 25th of November the new alliance was formally announced in Sta Maria del Popolo.† Ferdinand of Spain also promised to help against Venice if she refused to yield.

The answer of the Republic consisted in entering into close relations with France, which led, in March 1513, to a definite alliance. The Pope had been anxious to prevent this, and in consequence had not as yet pronounced the censures of the Church against Venice. The result of this union with France was again to prevent the allies from doing anything against Ferrara.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 425 *seq.*; SANUTO, XV., 361; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 90; LE GLAY, I., 515; and LANDUCCI, 332; also J. DEL BADIA. According to this passage, ULMANN'S statement, II., 454: "Gurk successfully resisted the publication of his elevation to the Cardinalate, which took place in the Secret Consistory," is not quite correct. ULMANN cites elsewhere, *loc. cit.*, a Letter from Lang to Maximilian of 24th Nov., 1513 (Archives, Vienna), which makes it appear as if he had not accepted the Red-hat until then. In the *Acta Consist., f. 36, there is no mention of Lang's nomination; on the 3rd Dec. he is still called *electus Gurcensis.*

† *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 266 *seq.*; LANZ, Einl., 129. On the announcement of Treaty on the 25th, see SANUTO, XV., 380, 383 *seq.* The address delivered by Aegidius on that occasion appeared in a (scarce) contemporaneous tract of which I found a copy in the Manzoni Library, which, alas! has since (1892) been scattered to the winds: Oratio habita post Tertiam Sacri Lateran. Concilii Sessionem: in Ecclīa diue Marie uirginis de Populo: per Fratrem Egidiū Viterbien. Ordinis sancti

The price which Julius II. consented to pay in order to secure the adhesion of Maximilian to the Council, shews how far this Pope was from being the mere politician that many have tried to make him out. Any one who had counted on finding him so absorbed in politics as to be indifferent to the intrigues of the schismatics, would have been utterly mistaken. On the contrary, there is no doubt that the revolt in the Church was a heavier blow to Julius II. than any of his political reverses. Although it was plain that the attempts of the schismatics had completely failed, he could not be satisfied till the movement was entirely extirpated.*

The winning over of the Emperor was the crowning victory in the rapid succession of the Pope's triumphs, and was to be published to all the world. The third sitting of the Council was held on the 3rd of December. Though the Pope had long been ailing, and the weather was stormy and rainy, he was determined to be present at it. One hundred and eleven members attended it. The High Mass was sung by Cardinal Vigerio and the usual sermon preached by the Bishop of Melfi, the subject being the unity of the Church. After this the Secretary of the Council, Tommaso Inghirami, then read the letter from the Emperor accrediting Lang as his plenipotentiary and procurator at the Council, and denouncing the *Conciliabula* set up by the King of France at Tours and at Pisa. Lang, who appeared in lay attire, read a declaration from the

Augustini Eremitar. Generalē: de Federe inito inter Iuliū Secūdū Pont. Max. et Iil'. Maximilianū Imperatorem. *s. a. et l.* (probably Rom., 1512), in 4°.

* It appears from the Reports of the Venetian Envoys in the beginning of December, in SANUTO, XV., 411, that Julius still feared that a French Anti-pope might be set up. The same Reports also shew (*loc. cit.*, 344–350) that his first object in allying himself with Maximilian was to secure a complete victory over the schismatics.

Emperor repudiating the schism of Pisa, and announcing his adhesion to the Lateran Council, and at the same time made his profession of obedience to the Pope in his own name and that of his colleague Alberto da Carpi. At the close of the proceedings the Bishop of Forli read a Papal Bull again declaring all the acts of the Pisan Council null and void, laying France under Interdict, and appointing the 10th of December for the next sitting.*

Encouraged by his recent successes, the Pope now determined to lay the axe to the root of the schismatic movement in France. It was decided that proceedings should be commenced against the Pragmatic Sanction. It had, in fact, become urgently necessary to do away with this law, which had been revived by Louis XII. No lasting triumph of the Church over these schismatic tendencies was possible as long as it remained in force.†

The fourth sitting of the Council was held under the presidency of the Pope himself on the 10th of December. Nineteen Cardinals, 96 Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, 4 Abbots, and 4 Generals of religious Orders were present, besides the representatives of the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Florentines, and the Swiss Confederation. The first business was the reading of the letter from the Venetian Government of 10th April, 1512, accrediting Francesco Foscari as their representative at the Council; and after this Louis XI.'s letter of 27th November, 1461,‡ on the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Upon this a monition was issued, summoning all upholders of the

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 525 *seq.* The Report in SANUTO, XV., 359 *seq.*, 384 *seq.*, should be added to the references there given. Lang had another conversation with the Pope after the sitting, and then, without returning to his residence at the Orsini Palace on Monte Giordano, started at once for Milan. *Loc. cit.*, 384.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 528.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 138 *seq.*

Sanction in France, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, to appear before the Council within sixty days to give an account of their conduct. The fifth sitting of the Council was fixed for the 16th February, 1513, at the close of this term, and at it the Pragmatic Sanction would be dealt with and resolutions in regard to it adopted, in accordance with Canon Law. A special commission was appointed to institute the necessary preliminary investigations. Then a Bull was read confirming former Papal decrees on the Pragmatic Sanction, the nullity of the acts of the Pisan Council, and the reform of the Court officials. The address at this Council, the last at which Julius II. was present, was delivered by the Apostolical Notary Cristoforo Marcello of Venice. It substantially consisted of an enthusiastic panegyric on the Pope. "Julius II.," the speaker said, "in a most just war against an enemy far stronger than himself, had personally undergone the extremes of heat and cold, all sorts of fatigues, sleepless nights, sickness, and even danger of death without flinching. At his own expense, with unexampled generosity, he had equipped an army, liberated Bologna, driven the enemy (the French) out of Italy, subdued Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, brought joy and peace to his country, and earned for himself an immortal name. Still greater was the glory that awaited him at this present time in the works of peace, the reform and exaltation of the Church, which was groaning under so many evils and threatened by traitors within and enemies without; which had brought up children who despised her, and had so often poured forth her complaint in mournful chants, but now raised her eyes full of joy and hope to the bridegroom who had come to deliver her. The Pope would be her physician, pilot, husbandman, in short, her all in all, almost as though God were again on earth." *

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 528–531, in referring to Marcello's con-

Certainly Julius II. had good cause to be satisfied with the splendid successes of the last half-year. Nevertheless, both as an Italian and as a Pope, the preponderance of Spain in Italy could not but fail to be a source of anxiety and vexation to him. The knowledge that this was "largely due to his own action must have made the trial all the greater, and the prospect for the future was not improved by the fact that the heir-presumptive of the King of Spain was also heir-presumptive of the Emperor in whose hands so large a portion of Venetian territory was now gathered."* In his near surroundings on all sides Julius could not escape from the consciousness of Spanish influence. He felt it in his dealings with the Colonna, at Florence, in Siena, and in Piombino, and an utterance of his, preserved by Jovius, shews how it galled him. Cardinal Grimani, in conversation with him one day, made an allusion to the foreign sovereignty in Naples, and the Pope, striking the ground with his stick, exclaimed: "If God grants me life I will free the Neapolitans from the yoke which is now on their necks."† No doubt his restless spirit was again

cluding words, remarks: "This phrase, which had already been employed by Gregory II., Ep. I. ad Leon. Isaur., in speaking of S. Peter, is an oratorical figure borrowed from the language of Scripture (Ps. LXXXI., 1; St. John, X., 10, 34, 35). *In terris* adjoining *Deus* indicates the limits of its application." On this *sitting*, *cf.* also SANUTO, XV., 411 *seq.*, and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 423 *seq.* The truly Catholic Duke George of Saxony, although not invited to the Council, fully realising that the reform of the Church could only be effected in the closest union with its centre, appointed the General of the Dominicans, Thomas de Vio (Cajetan), to act as his Procurator there (the 9th Feb., 1513); see BRIEGER'S Zeitschr., III., 603, 606 *seq.*; BUDDEE, Nik. von Schönberg, 3.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 43.

† JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi. SANUTO, XIII., 319, 349, shews how much the power of Spain was dreaded in Rome, even at the end of 1511. *Cf.* also GISI, 89 *seq.*

meditating new efforts and enterprises when the body at last finally broke down.

For a long time past Julius II. had been ailing. He had never wholly recovered from his serious illness in August 1511, although his iron will enabled him to conceal his sufferings so effectually that even those who were constantly in contact with him were for some time deceived. At last, however, he had to confess to himself that his days were numbered. On the eve of Pentecost, 1512, he felt so weak after Vespers that he told his Master of Ceremonies that in future he would not attempt to officiate in solemn functions, he had not strength enough to go through the ceremonial. When some of the Cardinals congratulated him on the freshness of his complexion and said he looked younger than he had done ten years earlier, he said to de Grassis: "They are flattering me; I know better; my strength diminishes from day to day and I cannot live much longer. Therefore I beg you not to expect me at Vespers or at Mass from henceforth." All the same he took part in the procession on Good Friday. On the eve of the Feast of S. John the Baptist he made a pilgrimage to the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which brought on an attack of fever.*

At the end of November he paid one of those short visits to Ostia† which he always thoroughly enjoyed, and returned so much refreshed that he was able to attend the third and fourth sittings of the Lateran Council. But even then it was observed that the Pope was singularly restless. On the second Sunday in Advent he went to his Palace at S. Pietro in Vincoli because he could go out

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 419 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 417.

† Julius II. went down to Ostia with Lang and some of the other Envoys on the 27th Nov., 1512, returning to Rome on 1st Dec. *Acta Consist., f. 36. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

walking there with greater freedom; but from that time forth he changed his residence almost daily. One day he went to S. Croce, the next to Sta Maria Maggiore, then back to S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, or S. Eusebio; striving in vain to escape from the sense of distress which always pursued him. On Christmas Eve, when Paris de Grassis came to tell him that it was time for Vespers, Julius said: "You had better tell the Sacred College and the Sacristan of the Palace to bring me the holy-oils, for I feel very ill. I shall not live much longer."* The Master of Ceremonies could not believe that he was so ill as he thought himself, but others, as the Venetian Envoy, saw plainly that his condition was serious, though his strong will upheld him and enabled him still to attend to affairs as usual. At the end of December one of the Captains of the Swiss Guards predicted that the end was not far off.† The health of the aged Pontiff was no doubt unfavourably affected by the constant vexations and anxieties caused by the Spanish preponderance in Italy. After Christmas he was unable to leave his bed. He could not sleep and disliked all food. He was attended by eight physicians considered the ablest in Rome, but none of them could find out the cause of his malady.‡ "The Pope is not exactly ill," writes the Venetian Envoy on the 16th January, 1513, "but he has no appetite; he eats nothing but two eggs in the whole day; he has no fever, but his age makes his condition serious; he is harassed with anxieties." In

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 426–427.

† SANUTO, XV., 412, 449.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 427. Here it is distinctly stated that the Pope had been ill, and kept his bed ever since Christmas; thus BROSCH, Julius II., 273, is completely in error in writing, "In the last days of January, 1513, the Pope. then seventy years old, sickened."

addition to his uncertainty as to what King Ferdinand meant to do, Julius II. had reason to fear that the Swiss were preparing to ally themselves with France.*

All the efforts of the physicians failed to relieve the sleeplessness and want of appetite. Though they recommended as much rest as possible, the Pope, trusting in the strength of his constitution, would not give up his work, and received both Cardinals and Envoys while in bed; † but he did not conceal the truth from himself that he was slowly passing away. On the 4th of February he called Paris de Grassis to his bed-side and told him with great seriousness and resignation that his end was very near; he put himself into God's hands, recovery was out of the question; he thanked God for not taking him away suddenly, as had been the case with so many of his predecessors, and giving him time to recollect himself and die like a Christian and make his dispositions for time and eternity. He had confidence, he said, in de Grassis and believed that he would faithfully carry out all his wishes. In regard to his funeral, he desired that it should not be penurious, but at the same time that there should be no pomp or display. He did not deserve honours, for he had been a great sinner; but, nevertheless, he wished to have all things ordered decently and not to be treated in the unseemly manner that some of his predecessors had been. He would trust all these matters to the discretion of his faithful servant. He then gave orders on all

* SANUTO, XV., 501, 503–504. Bembo also says that his apprehensions in regard to the course of events in Italy hastened Julius's death.

† SANUTO, XV., 531–532; *cf.* 547; FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 128. See also the Portuguese Report in Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 187, and Ludovicus de Campo Fregoso's *Letter to the Doge of Genoa, dated Rome, the 22nd Jan., 1513. (State Archives, Genoa.) Roma, Lettere, Mazzo, 1.

necessary affairs, entering into the minutest details, and bequeathed a sum of money to be given to needy priests to say Masses for his soul.*

On the 10th November the Venetian Envoy reports that "the Pope has shivering fits, and negotiations are already beginning for the choice of his successor." The city was in a ferment, but the Cardinals took stringent precautions to preserve order. In the following days the Pope grew worse, but still did not quite give himself up.† He was able to give orders for everything which concerned the fifth sitting of the Council (on the 16th February), and made it a special point that in this sitting the ordinances for the prevention of simony in Papal elections should be re-enacted and made more stringent. On the 19th de Grassis came to him to learn his wishes as to the date of the next sitting. "I found his Holiness," he says, "looking quite well and cheerful, as if he had had little or nothing the matter with him. When I expressed my surprise and joy at this, and congratulated him, he answered smiling, 'Yesterday I was very near dying, to-day I am well again.' He replied to all my questions as far as he could. He was anxious that the Council should be held on the appointed day, whatever might happen, in order not to put off the term fixed for the submission of the King of France and his adherents; but the Assembly was not to deal with any matters except those which had been arranged for at the preceding session. Cardinal Riario was to preside as Dean of the Sacred College. He then granted Indulgences to me and mine, and, to shew me how well he felt, asked me to drink a glass of Malvoisie with him. When I told this to the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 428.

† SANUTO, XV., 554, 555. On the excitement in the city, see the Report of the Swiss. P. FALK in Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1892), p. 375.

Cardinals, who were weeping, thinking him at the point of death, they could hardly believe me."*

The improvement, however, was only transitory, and the faithful de Grassis now rendered to his master the last and kindest of services. Hitherto the Pope's attendants, in dread of alarming him, had put off sending for the Holy Viaticum. De Grassis now insisted that this should be done, and he relates how the Pope, having previously made his confession, received the Holy Eucharist on the 20th of February with the greatest devotion.† After this, Julius II. had all the Cardinals summoned to his bed-side, and begged for their earnest prayers as he had been a great sinner and had not ruled the Church as he ought to have done. He admonished them to fear God, and observe the precepts of the Church. He desired them to hold the election in strict accordance with the law and the prescriptions in his Bull on the subject. The election belonged to the Cardinals only, the Council had nothing to do with it. All absent Cardinals, with the exception only of the schismatics, were to be invited to take part in the Conclave. In his own person he forgave these latter with his whole heart, but as Pope it was his duty to exclude them from the Conclave. He said all these things in Latin, in a grave and impressive manner, as though he were addressing a Consistory. Then, in Italian, he expressed his wish that the Vicariate of Pesaro should be granted in perpetuity to the Duke of Urbino. After this he bestowed his Blessing

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 429–430. There is a confusion here in the chronological order.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 431–432. The Portuguese Report, though essentially in agreement with that of the Master of Ceremonies, differs slightly in saying that Julius at first refused the Viaticum, but afterwards, on Sunday, 20th February, asked for It himself. He also says that he communicated with great devotion ; Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 189–190. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 560, 565.

on the Cardinals; all were in tears, including the Pope himself.* He met death with wonderful calmness and steadfastness of soul.† He refused to accede to some other wishes expressed by his relations; thinking only of the good of the Church. In his last hours his attendants gave him a draught containing a solution of gold, which had been pronounced to be an unfailing specific by one of the quacks of that day.‡ During the night of the 20th–21st February, 1513, his strong spirit passed away, clear and conscious to the last.§

The body was immediately laid out in S. Peter's, and afterwards placed beside the remains of Sixtus IV. We are told that the people flocked to S. Peter's in extraordinary numbers, and an eye-witness says that as much honour was paid to the corpse as if it had been the body of S. Peter himself.‖ "Rome felt that the soul which had

* PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1513, n. 7–8, and GATTICUS, 434–435. *Acta Consist., f. 37b. (Consistorial Archives.) The Testamentum Julii papae in the Acta Tomic., II., 192–193, in part directly contradicts some of de Grassis' statements, and is evidently a later compilation. The long speech in BERNALDEZ, II., 442 *seq.*, is also unauthentic. A. FERRONUS, Vita Ludovici XII., also adds a good deal of unhistorical embroidery to the last words of Julius II., a fact which GUETTÉE, VIII., 124 *seq.*, has not observed. For a good criticism on Ferronus, *cf.* RANKE, Zur Kritik, 140 *seq.*

† Venetian Report of the 21st Feb. in BROSCH, Julius II., 363, from SANUTO, XVI., f. 4. *Cf.* also SENAREGA, 618–619, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 51.

‡ See the Mantuan Report in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 107–108, ed. 3, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 51.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 432. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 557, 561; the contemporaneous notices in GORI, Archivio, IV., 244; Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 58; and *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‖ See the *Report of N. Gadio, 3rd March, 1513. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

passed from her had been of royal mould."* Paris de Grassis writes in his Diary: "I have lived forty years in this city, but never yet have I seen such a vast throng at the funeral of any former Pope. The guards were overpowered by the crowds insisting on kissing the dead man's feet. Weeping, they prayed for his soul, calling him a true Pope and Vicar of Christ, a pillar of justice, a zealous promoter of the Apostolic Church, an enemy and queller of tyrants. Many even to whom the death of Julius might have been supposed welcome for various reasons burst into tears, declaring that this Pope had delivered them and Italy and Christendom from the yoke of the French barbarians." †

The chronicler Sebastiano de Branca speaks of Julius in the same tone.‡ But it was not in Rome only that Julius II. was popular; the great services which he had rendered to the Holy See were largely appreciated in the States of the Church also, as may be seen from the enthusiastic praises bestowed on him by Bontempi of Perugia.§

At the same time, there were many who judged him very differently. A man who had played such an energetic and effective part in the affairs of his time could not fail to have bitter opponents, who, as was the custom of the day, assailed him after his death with stinging satires;‖ but setting

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 108, ed. 3.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 432, who has not found out that this passage had been printed long ago in GATTICUS, 435–436.

‡ CREIGHTON, IV., 297.

§ Fo ricordo con le lacrime agl' occhi e con gran dolore nel cuore come papa Giulio passò da questa vita presente, la cui vita quanto sia stata laudabile et onorevole alla Sedia Apostolica e a tutta la Cristianità, e la sua morte quanto sia perniciosa, mai dire si potria, e quanto abbia esultato la Chiesa di Dio e le città, quale lui ha ricuperato alla prefata Sede Ap. che a tutto il mondo è noto. Arch. Stor. Ital., 1 Serie, XVI., 2, 263.

‖ *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 561 *seq.*; ROSCOE, II., 39; N. Antologia (1894), pp. 135 *seq.*, 528 *seq.* The best known pasquinade on Julius II. is the

aside this and similar ebullitions of party hatred, there is no doubt that the verdict pronounced by many serious historians on Julius II. has been the reverse of favourable; while it is also extremely questionable whether this verdict has been well-grounded.

It is certain that the very general acceptance of Guicciardini's dictum, that Julius II. had nothing of the priest in him but the cassock and the name, is an injustice. When the Florentine historian made use of the phrase, he was telling the story of the Pope's winter campaign against Mirandola.* Undoubtedly at that time Julius II. was

work entitled: F. A. F. Poetae Regii libellus de obitu Julii P. M. Anno Domini 1513 (reprinted in HUTTENI, Opp., IV., 421 *seq.*). This work is evidently written from a French point of view; by many Hutten was supposed to be its author (*cf.* STRAUSS, Hutten, 75, ed. 2). Luther attributed it to Erasmus, who denies it in a letter to Campeggio. From this letter we gather that even then there was great uncertainty as to who had written it. "Some say," Erasmus writes, "*Hispanus quidam* composed it, others ascribe it to the poet Faustus Andrelini, others to G. Balbi"; he has made many enquiries, but can get no certain answer. Recent investigators have been equally unsuccessful. The anonymous translator of this Dialogue (Julius II. Ein Gespräch vor der Himmelsthüre; translated from the Latin of G. Balbi. Berlin, 1877) attributes it without any proof to the Bishop of Gurk, while Balbi's biographer, Retzer, concludes his examination with *Non liquet.* Geiger inclines towards Erasmus, who was believed by many of his contemporaries to have been the author: *see* Vierteljahrsschrift für Renaiss., II., 131. The most probable hypothesis seems to be that it was written by the poet Publio Fausto Andrelini, an ardent partisan of the French, with whose opinions the pasquinade agrees; see Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 188. FÖRSTER, Lucian in d. Renaiss., in the Archiv f. Litt.-Gesch., XIV., 344, 362 (Leipzig, 1886), thinks it certain. KNOD, Die Bibliothek zu Schlettstadt, 108 (Schlettstadt, 1889), is inclined to take the same view, but his arguments, as GEIGER in the Zeitschr. f. vergl. Lit.-Gesch., III., 489, points out, are not entirely convincing.

* GUICCIARDINI, IX., c. 4. The generalisation of the remark is mostly due to the passage in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 67, 108, ed. 3.

carried away by his eager temperament to violate the *decorum clericale* in a scandalous manner, and deserves grave blame for this as also for the violent outbursts of anger to which he so often gave way.* But to assert in a general way that Julius was "one of the most profane and unecclesiastical figures that ever occupied the Chair of S. Peter," that "there was not a trace of Christian piety to be found in him," and that he was so utterly worldly and warlike that he cared nothing for ecclesiastical obligations or interests, is quite unwarrantable and untrue.†

The Diary of his Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, who was by no means blind to his master's failings, shews in numberless places how faithfully Julius II. fulfilled his ecclesiastical obligations. As far as his health would allow he was regular in his attendance at all the offices of the Church; he heard Mass almost daily and often celebrated, even when travelling and when the start took place before daybreak. After his illness in 1510, when still unable to stand, he did not permit his weakness to prevent him from saying Mass on Christmas Day, and celebrated sitting, in his private chapel. However occupied he might be with political affairs, Church functions were never neglected.‡ In everything that regarded the government of the Church he was equally exact. His name is connected with a whole series of ordinances and admin-

* *Cf. supra*, p. 340 *seq.*, and p. 397. Julius also sinned from time to time against clerical decorum by going out hunting. But MAULDE, Machiavelli, II., 273, is wrong in supposing that fishing is also a forbidden recreation for the clergy.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 108, ed. 3; GISI, 92; and TSCHACKERT, 5. *Cf.* ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 213.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 23, 24, 27, 38, 42, 46, 58, 76, 78, 79-80, 98, 101, 103, 105, 108, 109, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 138, 143, 149, 151, 157, 158, 161, 166, 171, 190, 204, 207, 223, 227, 233, 241, 242, 256, 268, 270, 271, 281, 286.

istrative enactments, some of them of considerable importance.

Amongst them one that specially deserves mention is his severe Bull against simony in Papal elections, designed to prevent the repetition of the disgraceful practices which were resorted to at the election of Alexander VI. This document is dated the 14th January, 1505. It declares all simoniacal elections from henceforth null, and pronounces the severest penalties of the Church on all guilty of such practices. Further, it ordains that all intermediaries and agents, whether lay or clerical, and whatever their rank, whether Prelates, Archbishops or Bishops, or Envoys of Kings or States, who are implicated in a simoniacal election are to be deprived of their dignities, and their goods are to be confiscated. The Bull forbids all promises or engagements to be contracted by Cardinals or any other persons in connection with a Papal election and declares them null and void.* This Bull was not published till October 1510, from Bologna at the beginning of the war with France, and when it had been approved of by all the Cardinals then present: it was then sent to nearly all the Princes of Christendom.† At the Lateran Council it was again approved, re-enacted, and published as is stated in the Bull of 16th February, 1513.‡

In order to carry out more effectually the measures taken by Alexander VI. in 1501 for providing the new American

* Bull., V., 405 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 1 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 214 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 7 *seq.* PHILLIPS, V., 2, 839, erroneously places the Bull in the year 1506, although Mansi had already conclusively established its date as 1505. On the Theologians who drew up the Bull, see Innsbr. Zeitschr. f. Kathol. Theol., IV., 342 *seq.*; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, VI., 412; and The Month (March, 1895), p. 324 *seq.*

† SANUTO, XI., 530; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 533, note.

‡ Bull., V., 536 *seq.*

Colonies with Bishops, Julius II. in 1504 created an Archbishopric and two Bishoprics in Española (Hayti) and nominated prelates to these sees; but the fiscal policy of Ferdinand placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of the sending out of the newly-appointed Bishops, and after long delay and much tedious negotiation Julius at last gave way in order not to interrupt the work of conversion. By a Papal Brief of the 8th of August, 1511, the arrangements made in 1504 were cancelled, and two new Bishoprics erected in S. Domingo and Concepion de la Vega in Española, and in S. Juan in Porto Rico, and placed under the Archbishop of Seville, which was the seat of the administration for the colonies.* When in 1506 Christopher Columbus the great discoverer who had done so much to enlarge the sphere of the husbandry of the Church died, Julius II. interested himself in favour of his son Diego at the Court of Spain.†

The Pope equally took pains to promote the spread of Christianity in the regions discovered and acquired by the King of Portugal beyond the seas,‡ to which many missionaries were despatched. Preachers were sent to India, Ethiopia, and to the Congo. In the year 1512, Envoys from the latter place arrived in Rome.§ For a short time Julius II. cherished magnificent hopes of the conversion of Ismail the Shah of Persia, and tried to induce the King of Hungary to interest himself in

* *Cf.* Boletin de la R. Academia de Madrid, XX. (1892), 261 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, and EHRLE'S article, cited *supra*, p. 161. Julius confirmed the partition of this colonial possession agreed upon between Spain and Portugal in the Treaty of Tordesillas on the 25th Jan., 1506. See BAUM, 26.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 23; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 348.

‡ SCHÄFER, III., 83.

§ HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 405–406.

the question, but these bright dreams were soon dispelled.*

The Pope shewed his interest in the maintenance of the purity of the doctrines of the Church by appointing Inquisitors for the Diocese of Toul,† for the kingdom of Naples,‡ and for Benevento,§ and admonishing them to act with decision.

He interested himself in the conversion of the Bohemian sectaries, and to facilitate this permitted them to take part in Catholic worship. On the other hand, he took strong measures to put down the Picards.‖ A new doctrine, put forward by Piero de' Lucca, on the Incarnation of Christ, was carefully examined by the Pope's orders, with the result that it was solemnly condemned on the 7th September, 1511.¶ In Bologna in 1508 a heretical monk who had been guilty of sacrilege was burnt.** In Switzerland four Dominicans who had imposed on the people by false miracles were executed by his orders; and in Rome in 1503, and again in 1513, he took measures to repress the Marañas.†† In Spain and elsewhere he did his best to put

* ZINKEISEN, II., 557.

† Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 217.

‡ *Letter to Barnaba [Capograsso] ord. praedic. in regno Neapolit. heret. pravit. inquisit. Dat. u. s. (24th April, 1505). *Lib. brev. 22, f. 293. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* AMABILE, I., 96 *seq.*

§ *Letter to Bentivolus "commiss. noster," dated the 29th July, 1505. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 349. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 536, and PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 45.

¶ LEA, III., 603.

** SANUTO, VII., 393.

†† SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 313 *seq.*, and Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 187. *Cf.* also RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1509, n. 22, and on their hypocrisy JANSSEN, Kritiker, I., 17, and Deutsche Gesch., II., 52 *seq.*, ed. 15. SANUTO, XV., 216, mentions a heretical book which was examined by the Pope's orders. *Cf.* also FREDERICQ, Corp. Doc. Inquisit. (Haag, 1889), n. 411, and Rev. Hist., XLIII., 165, 169.

a stop to unjust or too severe proceedings on the part of the Inquisitors.*

In Sicily the Spanish Inquisition had been introduced in 1500, and in 1510 Ferdinand tried to establish it in Naples, but met with a determined resistance. Serious disturbances ensued; the nobles and citizens combined together in opposing it, and the King, not feeling himself strong enough to carry the matter through, gave way. Julius II. gladly agreed to this; in fact, the effect of the Spanish Inquisition was only to diminish his authority; and it is not certain that he may not have encouraged the Neapolitans in their opposition.† He resisted the encroachment of the State on the liberties and rights of his Church, not only at Venice,‡ but in many other places also, and in consequence came into collision with the Government in England, in the Netherlands with the Regent Margaret, in Spain with Ferdinand, with Louis XII. in France, and with the rulers of Hungary, Savoy, and others.§

Julius II. was by no means blind to the need for reform within the Church. On the 4th November, 1504, the subject

* See HEFELE, Ximenes, 316. *Cf.* the *Brief — Bertono Facino Lacco: The Inquisitors who have been endeavouring to extort an acknowledgment from the petitioner on a false suspicion, are forbidden to proceed further against him, as he is prepared to clear himself on oath. Dat. Bonon., 1506, Dec. 15, A° 4°. (*Lib. brev. 25, f. 40b.) *Cf.* also the *Brief of the 5th Nov., 1509, to Antonius archiep. Granat. et consil. consilii generalis inquisit. regnor. Castelle et Legionis. *Lib brev. 27, f. 730b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† AMABILE, Il Tumulto Napolitano dell' anno 1510 contra la s. Inquisizione (Napoli, 1888), and Il Santo Offizio, I., 93 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 118 *seq.* See also LEA, II., 287.

‡ See *supra*, 301 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* BUSCH, Tudors, I., 238; BROSCH, 162; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 50; *Lib. brev. 25, f. 42, 66, 67b, 210; also 28, f. 55. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also *Brief of 12th March, 1505, in the State Archives, Florence.

was discussed in Consistory, and a Commission of six Cardinals appointed to deal with it; but those who were behind the scenes were of opinion that the only practical point to which the Commission meant to give their attention was the prevention of any fresh creation of Cardinals!* The exceptional difficulties, both political and ecclesiastical, with which Julius was beset on all sides throughout the whole of his reign, drove the larger question of reform into the background; but they did not hinder him from instituting many useful and salutary changes in individual cases, especially in convents. The Pope shewed his strong interest in the Dominican Order by a series of enactments for the renovation of their convents in Italy, France, and Ireland.† He forbade Dominican and Franciscan friars who were pursuing their studies in Universities to reside out of their convents.‡ He established the Congregation of S. Justina on a new footing, which was of the greatest advantage to it. The venerable mother-house of the Benedictines, Monte Cassino, which had been bestowed *in commendam*, was returned to the Order during his Pontificate. In the year 1504 he ordained that the Congregation of S. Justina should from henceforth bear the name of Congregatio Cassinensis:§ and in 1506 he affiliated the Sicilian Congregation also to Monte Cassino.||

His plan for reuniting the separated branches of the Order of S. Francis into a single body was one which also tended in the direction of reform. The difficulties, how-

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 286; *cf.* 289, 299.

† Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 217, 219, 221, 225, 241, 254, 260, 263, 268. *Cf.* the *Brief to the vicarius generalis fratr. praedicat. dat. Bolognae, 1507, Jan. 28. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 133.

‡ Bull., V., 472 *seq.*

§ Katholik (1860), I., 203; Stud. a. d. Benediktinerorden, XI., 583.

|| Bull of 18th July, 1506, in the State Archives, Palermo. S. Martino delle Scale, n. 913.

ever, in the way of carrying this out proved so great, that he was forced to content himself with obliging all the smaller separate communities to unite themselves with one or other of the two main stems, the Conventuals or the Observantines. At the same time he expressly ordained that those which affiliated themselves to the Conventuals should have power to retain their stricter rule. Though most of the smaller communities very much disliked this measure still all finally submitted to the Pope's command.*

A Bull was issued on the 16th June, 1508, dealing with the reform of the Carthusians, and another on the 24th March, 1511, with that of the Italian Cistercians.†

In England Julius II. took measures for remedying the abuses connected with ecclesiastical immunities,‡ and in Basle he instituted proceedings against the Augustinian nuns of Klingenthal for immorality.§ Many enactments were issued to put a stop to the proceedings of unauthorised persons who went about demanding money in the name of the Church.‖ He also did what he could for the cause of morality in general, by the unfailing support and encouragement which he bestowed on the outspoken mission preachers, who did so much good amongst the mass of the people.¶

All the religious orders found in him a kind and helpful friend. The Order of S. John Gualbert of Vallombrosa,

* GRAMMER in Wetze und Welte's Kirchenlex., I., 670, ed. 2. *Cf.* also EUBEL, Gesch. d. Minoritenprovinz, 278.

† Bull., V., 469 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 404 *seq.*

§ In a *Brief of 28th March, 1505, to the Burgomaster and Council of Basle, Julius II. informs them that he has put the reform of Klingenthal into the hands of Bishop Christopher of Basle. Archives, Basle, 2540, A.

‖ *Cf.* Lib. brev. 25, f. 154, 294. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 180, note *.

the Benedictine Congregation of the Blessed Virgin of Monte Oliveto, the Augustinian Hermits and the Regular Canons of S. Augustine were specially favoured by him, and received many privileges. He confirmed the rule of the Franciscan Society of S. John of Guadelupe in Granada and the new Statutes of S. Francis de Paula, and settled many disputes between various religious congregations. He had a great liking for religious orders generally. During the Lateran Council many of the Bishops strongly urged him to take away some of their privileges, but this he steadily refused.*

Amongst other ecclesiastical acts of Julius II., we may mention here the revival of the constitutions of Boniface VIII., Pius II., and Innocent VIII. forbidding persons appointed to benefices to exercise any rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or administration until they had received their Apostolic Letters;† his ordinances against duelling;‡ and for promoting devotion to S. Anne,§ the Holy House at Loreto,‖ the Passion of Christ,¶ and the Blessed Sacrament;** and the introduction of the Processes for the Canonisation of Bishop Benno of Meissen and S. Francis de Paula.††

* For details see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 537. The enactments of Julius II. in regard to Orders of Chivalry are in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 6; 1507, n. 29.

† Bull., V., 408 *seq.*

‡ Bull., V., 474 *seq.*, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 29; 1509, n. 35.

§ See Katholik (1850), II., 137 *seq.*; (1878), I., 67; BEISSEL, Reliquienverehrung, 134 *seq.*; SCHAUMKELL, 24.

‖ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 26 *seq.*; TURSELLINUS, 160 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III., 241.

¶ See Cod. Dipl. Sax., II., 10, 367.

** *Cf.* PIAZZA, 442 *seq.*; MIGUEL ANTONIO ALARCÓN, Biografia de la S. Doña Teresa Enriquez, llamada "La Loca del Sacramento," 49 *seq.*, Valencia, 1895.

†† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 42; MAULDE, Origines, 67. Julius II.

Another work of his which was of great value in enhancing the solemnity and beauty of the Divine Offices in S. Peter's, was the endowment of the Papal Choir Chapel there, which from his time has in consequence been known as the Cappella Giulia.* "The motives which induced Julius II. to found the 'Cappella Giulia' were partly the desire not to depend on foreign talent, but to train native Romans as singers, and partly his wish to create a preliminary school in S. Peter's for the Papal Chapel, and finally, in order to ensure that the offices in that great sanctuary should be performed in a manner befitting its dignity."†

From all these things it is clear that the reproach that Julius II. was so absorbed in the building up of the external power of the Holy See as to pay hardly any attention to the internal affairs of the Church, is wholly unjust and untrue. But at the same time he cannot be exonerated from blame for having granted undue ecclesiastical concessions to various Governments under the pressure of political considerations. Such was the nomination of Cardinal d'Amboise as Legate for the whole of France in order to conciliate him and the King;‡

also gave orders for the examination of the miracles and virtues of Henry VI. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 33; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 408.

* *Cf.* SYBELS Hist. Zeitsch., XXXVI., 162, and F. X. HABERL in the Vierteljahrsschrift f. Musikwissenschaft, III., 235 *seq.* (1887), who remarks: Before the 20th Sept., 1870, whenever the Pope celebrated mass in any of the Roman churches, the music during the mass was sung by the Cappella Palatina, but the solemn processional chant on entering was that of the Cappella Giulia. And to the present day on solemn occasions, as in Holy Week, when strangers think they are listening to the Sistine Choir, the style and the chants are those of the Cappella Giulia.

† *Cf.* F. X. HABERL, *loc. cit.*, 249. He has made a mistake, however, in the date of the Bull on the Cappella Giulia, printed in the Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.*, putting 1512 instead of 1513.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 234 *seq.* MAULDE, Origines, 132 *seq.*, rightly points out

the granting to the Spanish Government the patronage of all the churches in the West Indies,* and to the King of Portugal the appointments to benefices in his kingdom.† Concessions of a different kind, but many of them far from unobjectionable, were granted to Poland,‡ Norway, § Scotland, || Savoy,¶ and the Swiss. At the same time Julius II. refused the extravagant demands of the Zurich Council, having warned the Swiss beforehand that though he was willing to grant them ecclesiastical privileges he could not go beyond what was right and fitting.**

As regards questions of reform it has been already demonstrated that Julius was by no means inactive in individual cases, and especially in dealing with convents. He was far too clear-sighted not to be aware that much more than this was wanted. The reform of abuses in all departments of the Church, and especially in the Roman

how unusual such a concession as that of making Card. d'Amboise *legatus a latere* for the whole kingdom was.

* Bull of 28th July, 1508; Coleccion de los Concordatos (Madrid, 1848); HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv. für Kirchenrecht. X., 15; PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 200. It is doubtful whether the supposed Bull of Alexander VI., dated 25th June, 1493, and granting to the Spanish Kings the patronage of *all* churches and benefices in the kingdom, really exists. See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, and PHILLIPS-VERING, *loc. cit.* On the extension of the rights of Provision granted by Innocent VIII. to the Spanish Government for Sicily to all benefices belonging to Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches, see SENTIS, 102.

† Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 104 *seq.*

‡ CARO, V., 2, 960 *seq.*

§ PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 240, 289; Hist. Polit. Bl., CVI., 346 *seq.*

|| See **Brief to Jacobus Archiep. Glasguen., dat. Romae, 1509, Juli 28. *Lib. brev. 27, f. 559. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ SCLOPIS, Antica legislaz. del Piemonte, 484; LEA, I., 425.

** *Cf.* Geschichtsfreund, XXXIII., 13 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1878), and ROHRER, on the so-called Concordat of WALDMANN in the Jahrb. f. Schweiz. Gesch., IV., 3–23.

Court, was the primary task of the Lateran Council, as the Pope himself in June 1511,* and again on other occasions, repeatedly declared. Previous to its opening in March 1512, Julius had nominated a Commission of eight Cardinals to deal specially with the reform of the Roman Court and its officials.† On the 30th March, 1512, a Bull was issued, reducing the fees in various departments, and intended to check abuses practised by officials of the Court.‡ The rest was to be settled by the Council. It is hardly fair to accuse Julius of indifference on this point, because he was interrupted by death just at the time that he was beginning to take the question seriously in hand.§ "It may, of course, be asked whether it would not have been better to have begun with the internal reformation of the Church, and then proceed to work for her external aggrandisement." The answer is obvious. The conditions created by the Borgia were such that, before the new Pope could do anything else, it was absolutely necessary to secure some firm ground to stand upon. How could a powerless Pope, whose own life even was not secure, attempt to attack questions of reform in which so many conflicting interests were involved? Julius II. saw plainly that his first official duty was the restoration of the States of the Church in order to secure the freedom and independence of the Holy See.

He was firmly convinced that no freedom in the Church was possible, unless she could secure an independent position, by means of her temporal possessions. On his

* SANUTO, XII., 243.

† See Brief, dat. 10th Mar., 1512, in DESJARDINS, II., 575; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 31; and Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 153 *seq.*

‡ A copy of this document is in the State Archives, Bologna.

§ In his last Bull of 19th Feb., 1513, the Pope mentions his plans of Reform. Bull. Vat., II., 349.

death-bed he declared that the whole course of his reign had been so thickly strewn with anxieties and sorrows, that it had been a veritable martyrdom.* This clearly proves that, as far as his wars were concerned, his conscience did not reproach him; he had no doubt of this necessity, and his motives were honest and pure.

It is, however, objected, the Vicar of Christ should not be a warrior. This objection completely ignores the two-fold nature of the position created for the Papacy by its historical development. Ever since the 8th Century the Popes, besides being Vicars of Christ, had also been temporal princes. As such they were compelled, when necessary, to defend their rights against attacks, and to make use of arms for the purpose. During the course of the Middle Ages the great Popes were again and again placed in this predicament. Even a Saint like Leo IX. betook himself to his camp without scruple. Of course it is taken for granted that the war is a just one, and for purposes of defence and not of aggression.† This was eminently the case in regard to the wars of Julius II. It is undeniable that when he ascended the Throne the rights of the States of the Church had been seriously violated, and that later the liberty of the Holy See was in the greatest danger from its enemies. At that time it was clearly a case of being "either anvil or hammer."‡ Thus it was possible for Julius II. not only openly to avow his intentions but also to maintain that his cause was just.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1513, n. 9.

† *Cf.* BELLARMINE'S treatise, De Potestate S. Pontif., c. II., printed in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1513, n. 12. See also NOVAES, IV., 162 *seq.*, and DE MAISTRE, Du Pape, 210 *seq.* Inghirami's contemporaneous remarks on the question are interesting; see FEA, Notizie, 59; JOVIUS, De Vita Leonis X., lib. II., 33.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3, with express reference to Julius II.

The world of that day appreciated the recovery of the States of the Church as a noble and religious enterprise.*

If the necessity of the temporal power is admitted, then the Head of the Church cannot be blamed for defending his rights with secular weapons;† but of course this necessity is denied, and was denied, though only by a small number, even in his own day. Vettori maintains that in the interests of religion the ministers of the Church, including her Head, ought to be excluded from all temporal cares or authority over worldly things.‡ The truth that the care and preservation of the States of the Church entails a danger of secularisation for the clergy lies at the root of this view. But though this danger exists, the perils and impossibilities for the Holy See and for the whole Church of the opposite situation are so great that no Pope would be justified in allowing her temporal possession to be taken away from her. Even such a man as Guicciardini, who on the whole in his judgment of Julius II. inclines to agree with Vettori,§ is found in another place to admit that, though in itself it would be a good thing if the Pope had no temporal sovereignty, still, the world being what it is, a powerless Head of the Church would be very likely to find himself seriously hampered in the exercise

* RANKE, Päpste, I., 37, ed. 6.

† Practically those who reproach Julius II. with his wars, do so because they contest the necessity of the temporal power. *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 110, ed. 3. The writer of a review of Brosch, in the Allg. Zeit. (1878), n. 73 Suppl., remarks: "The only point that one can blame in Julius II. is the end that he proposed, the founding (really the restoration) of the States of the Church, in fact, that he was more of a temporal prince than a spiritual ruler. But all in all he was a great man, and a unique figure in the series of the Popes."

‡ VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 304.

§ REUMONT, III., 1, 49.

of his spiritual office, or indeed reduced to absolute impotence.*

As a matter of fact this was a time in which no respect seemed to be paid to anything but material force, and the secular powers were striving on all sides to subjugate the Church to the State. Purely ecclesiastical questions were regarded merely as counters in the game of politics, and the Popes were obliged to consolidate their tempora. possessions in order to secure for themselves a standing ground from which they could defend their spiritual authority. As practical politicians they thought and acted in accordance with the views of one of the speakers at the Council of Basle, who made this remarkable confession: "I used formerly often to agree with those who thought it would be better if the Church were deprived of all temporal power. I fancied that the priests of the Lord would be better fitted to celebrate the divine mysteries, and that the Princes of the world would be more ready to obey them. Now, however, I have found out that virtue without power will only be mocked, and that the Roman Pope without the patrimony of the Church would be a mere slave of the Kings and Princes."† Such a position appeared intolerable to Julius II. Penetrated with the conviction that, in order to rule the Church with independence, the Pope must be his own master in a territory of his own, he set himself with his whole soul to the task of putting a stop to the dismemberment of the temporal possessions of the Holy

* GUICCIARDINI, Opere inedite, I., 389. It is worth noting that in this passage, the Florentine historian who has so little love to the Popes approaches Bellarmine's view; the latter writes · Propter malitiam temporum experientia clamat, non solum utiliter, sed etiam necessario ex singulari Dei providentia donatos fuisse Pontifici . . . temporales aliquos principatus. De Rom. Pontif., Lib. v., c. 9.

† DITTRICH, Contarini, 151 *seq.*, 298; DE LEVA, I., 303 *seq.* *Cf* Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, V., 90.

See and saving the Church from again falling under the domination of France,* and he succeeded. Though he was unable to effect the complete liberation of Italy, still the crushing yoke of France was cast off, the independence and unity of the Church was saved, and her patrimony, which he had found almost entirely dispersed, was restored and enlarged. "The kingdom of S. Peter now included the best and richest portion of Italy, and the Papacy had become the centre of gravity of the peninsula and, indeed, of the whole political world."† "Formerly," says Machiavelli, "the most insignificant of the Barons felt himself at liberty to defy the Papal power; now it commands the respect of a King of France."‡ The great importance of this achievement was made evident later in the terrible season of storm and stress which the Holy See had to pass through. If it would be too much to say that without its temporal possessions the Papacy could never have weathered those storms,§ it is quite certain that, without the solid support which it derived from the reconstitution of the States of the Church, it is impossible to calculate to what straits it might not have been reduced; possibly it might have been forced again to take refuge in the Catacombs. It was the heroic courage and energy of Julius II., which Michael Angelo thought worthy of being symbolised in his colossal Moses, which saved the world and the Church from some such catastrophe as this.

Thus, though Julius II. cannot be called an ideal Pope,

* HÖFLER, Roman. Welt, 256, rightly signalises this last as the greatest danger.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 105, ed. 3. *Cf.* AEGIDIUS VON VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 387, and JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. III., 55, and Vita Pomp. Col., p. 144.

‡ It is interesting to note that Inghirami speaks in a similar tone. See FEA, Notizie, 60.

§ This is what CREIGHTON, IV., 167, thinks.

he is certainly one of the greatest since Innocent III.* No impartial historian can deny that Julius II. in all his undertakings displayed a violence and want of moderation that was far from becoming in a Pope. He was a genuine child of the South, impulsive, passionate, herculean in his strength; but possibly in such a stormy period as was the beginning of the 16th Century some such personality as his was needed to be the "Saviour of the Papacy." This honourable title has been bestowed upon him by one who is not within the pale of the Catholic Church,† and no one will be inclined to dispute it. There still remains, however, another point of view from which Julius II. is a marked figure in the history of the world. He was the restorer not only of the States of the Church, but was also one of the greatest among the Papal patrons of the Arts.

* GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 125, calls him "the greatest Pope since Innocent III." SUGENHEIM, 391, also compares him to Innocent. ARTAUD-MONTOR, IV., 219, says of Julius II., that as a monarch he carried off the palm amongst all the occupants of the Chair of S. Peter, and though this may not make him one of the greatest (DE MAISTRE, 210), nevertheless, it certainly entitles him to rank as one of the great Popes. *Cf.* also Leo and Hase, in MÖHLER, Kirchengeschichte, II., 523. BROWNING also, in The Age of the Condottieri, 1409–1530 (London, 1895), speaks very appreciatively of Julius.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 111, ed. 3, and REDTENBACHER, 4, agree with him. DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 521, calls Julius, "after Innocent III. and Albernoz, the third founder and restorer of the States of the Church."

CHAPTER VIII.

JULIUS II. AS THE PATRON OF THE ARTS.—THE REBUILDING OF S. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN.—BRAMANTE AS THE ARCHITECT OF JULIUS II.—THE SCULPTURE GALLERY IN THE BELVEDERE AT THE VATICAN.—DISCOVERIES OF ANTIQUE REMAINS.—BUILDING IN THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—THE GLORIES OF THE NEW ROME CREATED BY JULIUS II.

NOTHING so impresses on the mind the sense of the real greatness of the Pontiff who occupied the Chair of S. Peter from the year 1503, as the amount of attention that he found time to bestow on Art. When we consider the incessant and harassing anxieties, both political and ecclesiastical, and all the labours of his reign, the quantity and quality of what he left behind him in Rome and elsewhere in this respect are really amazing. At the beginning of the 16th Century, Rome, representing as she did the art of antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, was already the most beautiful and interesting city in the world.* But it is to the patron of Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, to the Pope who, even as a Cardinal, was such a generous friend of artists, that she owes the proud position that she now holds of being the ideal centre of æsthetic beauty for all its devotees throughout the whole world.† It was under his rule that the foundations were laid for most of those magnificent creations of architecture, sculpture, and painting

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 261 *seq.*; CIAN, Cortegiano, 165.

† See Vol. V. of this work, pp. 328, 368, and *supra*, p. 165.

which constitute by no means the smallest part of the magic charm of the Eternal City, and are a source of never-ending delight to both thinkers and poets.

The aspirations of Julius II. were in perfect accordance with those of his great predecessors Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. He took up their work where they left it, and continued it on the same lines. He too aimed at embodying the religious, regal, and universal spirit of the Papacy in monumental works of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and vindicating the intellectual supremacy of the Church, by making Rome the centre of æsthetic development for the great Renaissance movement. As with Nicholas V., family or personal aggrandisement was nothing to him. The fruit of all his wars was to be reaped not by his relations but by the Church; and equally all that "he did for Art was done for the honour of the Church and the Papacy." Thus, though under Julius II. Roman, like all Italian art was under the patronage of a Court, the spirit of that patronage was wholly different from anything which prevailed elsewhere. The importance for art of these "Courts of the Muses" consisted not so much in their character, as a rule, as in their number. The encouragement of art and of artistic culture in general was merely an essential part of a princely style of living. In contrast to this, the artist in Rome at the Court of Julius II. was called upon to bear a part in the realisation, if only for a few years, of a magnificent dream, the perfect fusion of two ages, the antique and the Christian, into one harmonious whole. Bramante's S. Peter's, Michael Angelo's ceiling in the Sistine, Raphael's frescoes in the Stanze, all devoted to the idealisation of Christian worship and doctrine and the supremacy of the Vicar of Christ, are the undying memorials of the aim and purport of the reign of Julius II.*

* SPRINGER, 102, 103 (I., 142–43, ed. 2); *cf.* also in Appendix, N. 89,

In spite, however, of the close resemblance in their aims there is a considerable difference between the spirit of Nicholas V. and that of Julius II. While Nicholas V. patronised learning quite as much as art, with Julius even more than with Sixtus IV. art was the chief interest.* And in his

Aegidius of Viterbo's account of the Pope's *Declaration in regard to the building of S. Peter's. Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

* Julius II. was undoubtedly not a scholar. Both Nicholas V. and Leo X. did much more for literature and literary men than he did. FEA'S attempt, Notizie, 47, to rank him with Leo X. in this respect is quite a failure. See TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 266 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 319, 360 *seq.*; and MÜNTZ, Raphael, 273. Nevertheless Julius II. was far from disliking learning or learned men, as is shewn by his solicitude for the Universities of Perugia (RANKE, I., 251, ed. 6), Lisbon (Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 56 *seq.*), and Rome (see RENAZZI, I., 200 *seq.*; FEA, 68 *seq.*; and in Appendix, No. 54, *Brief of 5th Nov., 1507 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), as well as the patronage he bestowed on various scholars, and his friendly relations with them. The most distinguished of these were Sigismondo de' Conti (*cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, I., 71 *seq.*; XII., 265 *seq.*; and GOTTLOB in Hist. Jahrb., VII., 309 *seq.*), Tommaso Inghirami (see MARINI, I., 218 *seq.*; NOLHAC, Érasme, 68; Anecdot. Litt., II., 129 *seq.*), the Saxon Nic. von Schönberg (Prof. of Theology in the Roman University from 1510; he was frequently called upon to lecture in the Pope's presence; *cf.* BUDDEE, 3), Sermonino da Vimercate (see SIG. DE' CONTI, II., 390), Laurentius Parmenius (see *infra*), Theod. Gaza (see Anecd. Litt., IV., 368), Bembo, who was generously rewarded for succeeding in deciphering a MS. written in Tyrian characters (see Ep. famil., V., 8, and ROSCOE, II., 42 *seq.*). While still a Cardinal, and under great difficulties, Julius had taken considerable interest in the collection and copying of MSS. (MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatican, 5–6). From this one would naturally gather that as Pope it was unlikely that he should have added nothing to the Vatican library, though the lacunæ in the records in the Roman State Archives and the Secret Archives of the Vatican make it impossible to prove that he did. This seems all the more improbable, as ALBERTINI, 35, says that Julius II. adorned the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli and that of SS. Apostoli with paintings, and also decorated his own private library. See the Report of the Mantuan Envoy in Appendix, Nos. 43 and 44. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

patronage of art he also displayed the true Rovere spirit, confining his plans to what was possible and practicable, and not giving the reins to his imagination to the extent that his two predecessors had done.* Splendid as his projects were, he undertook nothing without providing ample means for carrying out his plans.†

It is undeniable that Julius II. was singularly happy in the time in which he lived, which produced such men as those whose services he was able to command. But this does not lessen his merit. He deserves lasting honour for his sympathetic appreciation of their genius, which enabled him to attract them to Rome, and to stimulate their powers to the utmost by the kind of work which he demanded from them — nothing small or trivial, but monumental creations corresponding to the largeness of his own nature.‡ Thus, the great masters found free scope for their genius in

Under Julius II., G. Maffei of Volterra, Archbishop of Ragusa (*ob.* 1510), and Tommaso Inghirami were Custodians and Prefects of the Vaticana, also Demetrio of Lucca and, after his death in 1511, Lorenzo Parmenio and Jean Chadel of Lyons; when the latter died in 1512, Romulus Mammacinus was his successor (MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 11 *seq.*). On Demetrio see CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IX., 450, note 4. The extreme liberality with which MSS., since the time of Sixtus IV., were lent for the use of scholars even outside Rome (see Vol. IV. of this work, 458 *seq.*) was still maintained with certain precautions. Julius found himself obliged to make some stricter rules in regard to the use of documents in the Archives of the Camera Apostolica, as the privilege had been seriously abused (see MUNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 15 *seq.*). On Julius's private library, *cf.* ROSCOE, II., 47; CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IV., 450; and *infra*, Chap. 10. On the coronation of a poet under Julius II., see LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40, and CREIGHTON, IV., 274–275.

* See Vol. II. of this work, 173 *seq.*

† SPRINGER, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 274; SPRINGER, 103; GSELL-FELS, Rom, I., 663. See also SYMONDS, Michelangelo, I., 128. (There was nothing of the dilettante about him.)

all its fulness, and nascent talent was fostered and developed. The home of Art was transferred from Florence to Rome. A world of beauty in architecture, painting, and the plastic art sprang up in the ancient city, and the name of Julius II. became inseparably united with those of the divinely gifted men in whom Italian art attained its meridian glory. "He began, and others went on with the work on the foundation which he had laid. The initiative was his; in reality the age of Leo X. belongs to him."* It was through him that Rome became the classical city of the world, the normal centre of European culture, and the Papacy the pioneer of civilisation.†

The resemblance between the spirit of Julius II. and that of Nicholas V. is most apparent in his architectural undertakings. The laying out of new streets and districts, the enlargement of the Vatican Palace, and the erection of the new Church of S. Peter, works which had been interrupted by the premature death of Nicholas V., were energetically resumed by him.

The Florentine architect, Giuliano da Sangallo, was one of Julius II.'s most intimate and congenial friends in his earlier days while he was still only a Cardinal. It was he who planned the magnificent structure of Grottaferrata, the buildings at Ostia, and the Palace at Savona. Giuliano shared his patron's voluntary banishment during the reign of Alexander VI., and during this time (1494) was introduced by the Cardinal to the French King, Charles VIII.‡

* REUMONT, III., 2, 383; *cf.* SPRINGER, 101; MINGHETTI, Raffaello, 106; and VON GEYMÜLLER, 344.

† *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 113, ed. 3, who observes, "The world-wide historical atmosphere, the monumental and ideal grandeur of the city banished every trace of provincialism from Roman art, and impressed on it the stamp of its own essential greatness."

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, II., 627, ed. 2, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, 407; J. DE LAURIÈRE, Giuliane de San Galle et les monuments

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, if when Julius II. became Pope, Sangallo soon appeared in Rome to recall himself to the memory of his old master, and to offer his services. He was first employed on some repairs in the Castle of St. Angelo, which the troubled times made urgently necessary, and on the 30th of May, 1504, he received an instalment of pay for this work, to be completed later by a larger sum.* After this, Julius continued to make use of him in various ways; in 1505 he made a drawing for a tribune for musicians (Cantoria),† and he seems to have been the Pope's chief adviser at this time in all matters of art. It was through him in the Spring of the year 1505 that Michael Angelo and Andrea Sansovino were invited to Rome.‡ Sansovino was called upon to erect a monumental tomb to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Sta Maria del Popolo; Michael Angelo's task was a tomb for the Pope himself. The plan which the great sculptor drew, and which Julius approved, was of such colossal dimensions that no church in Rome, not excepting the old S. Peter's, could contain it. Later, it was thought that the tribune begun by Rossellino for the new church of S. Peter might be adapted to receive this monument. But this had first to be finished and connected with the old building; and thus the work fell into

antiques du Midi de France, in Vol. 45 of the Mem. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France, and REDTENBACHER, 97, 102. All that now remains of the Palace of Savona besides the courtyard is the northern façade, entirely of white marble, and a portion of the offices at the back. See GAUTHIER, Les plus beaux édifices de Gènes et ses environs (Paris, 1850), Pl. 64, 65; REDTENBACHER, 102; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 199. See also SCHMARSOW'S Note on Albertini, 55.

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 74.

† The work was never carried out. See REDTENBACHER, 98 *seq.*; VON GEYMÜLLER, 74.

‡ SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 104 *seq.*; REDTENBACHER, 98

the hands of the architects.* At this moment the great master appeared on the scene to whom from henceforth almost all Julius II.'s architectural works were to be entrusted. This man was Donato Bramante, who had been working and studying in Rome since the year 1500.

In affording to "the most original architect of his time" the opportunity of putting forth all his powers, Julius II. rendered an inestimable service to Art. Bramante very soon came to occupy the position of a sort of minister of public works and fine arts at the Papal Court;† apartments in the Belvedere were assigned to him, as well as to the famous goldsmith, Caradosso;‡ the great architect accompanied Julius in all his journeys and planned all his fortifications; to him was entrusted the rebuilding of the Vatican and of the church of S. Peter, in which a suitable site was to be provided for the Pope's tomb.§

* SPRINGER, *loc. cit.*, 105; *cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 145 *seq.*, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 384.

† VON GEYMÜLLER, 24.

‡ *Cf.* Costabili's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 11th Aug., 1508, who reports that at that time alcuni maestri et architectori li quali sono Abramante et Caradosso were residing in the Belvedere. State Archives, Modena.

§ The account which follows is mostly, though not quite in all points, founded on the results of Geymüller's researches, which are extremely thorough, though in several particulars JOVANOVITS, 82 *seq.*, differs from him considerably. *Cf.* REDTENBACHER'S articles in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 261 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*; X., 247 *seq.*; XI., Suppl., 829 *seq.*; XIII., 124 *seq.* (against him JOVANOVITS, Zu den Streitfragen in der Baugeschichte der Peterskirche zu Rom. Wien, 1878); XIV., Suppl., 543 *seq.*; XVI., 161 *seq.* REDTENBACHER and also BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER (Renaissance, 125) agree with Geymüller in essentials. It is naturally impossible to enter into the details of these difficult and complicated controversies. Many points will be made clear when GEYMÜLLER'S 2nd vol. appears, in which he and MÜNTZ together will publish all the documents relating to the building of S. Peter's. Meanwhile, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Les Architectes de S. Pierre de Rome d'après des documents nouveaux,

It is impossible to determine with certainty when Julius II. adopted the plans for the new S. Peter's. A writer on architecture, who has made the study of the plans and projects for the church the special task of his life, believes that the design of rebuilding S. Peter's occupied the Pope's mind in connection with the restoration of the Vatican Palace as early as 1503.* This would quite correspond with what we know of the character of the new Pope; but as yet we have no contemporaneous testimony to support this view, and the extremely constrained and difficult position in which Julius found himself at the outset of his reign is against the probability of his having immediately contemplated such a work as this, though, considering his sanguine temperament, this would have been far from impossible. It is not till the year 1505 that unmistakeable signs appear that the thought of the new S. Peter's and its adjuncts had taken root in his mind.† According to Vasari the

in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIX. (1879), 353 *seq.*; XX., 506 *seq.* For earlier works see BONANNI, Hist. Templi Vaticani, 50 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI'S Vità di Bramante, and PLATTNER, II., 1., 136 *seq.*

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 81.

† In his zeal to defend Bramante from the suspicion of having ousted Sangallo from his post, von Geymüller goes so far as to say: "Bramante was already in the Pope's service before Giuliano arrived (in Rome), and consequently could not have taken measures to supplant him." But Redtenbacher justly remarks that as yet we have no proof that Bramante was in the service of Julius II. before Sangallo's arrival, and that on the 30th May, 1504, the latter was practically the Pope's architect. See LÜTZOW'S Zeitschrift, XVI., 162, and REDTENBACHER, Architektur, 182. Here again he very urgently remarks: "Even though Bonanni, on whom H. v. Geymüller relies, asserts that Julius had planned the Vatican buildings as early as 1503; in the first place Bonanni is not a very trustworthy authority (he ascribes Raphael's plan of S. Peter's to Bramante), and, secondly, even supposing that he is right, this does not necessarily involve that he had also fixed on Bramante

deliberations preliminary to the work constituted a sort of duel between the Umbrian and Lombard tendencies of Bramante and the Florentine spirit represented by Sangallo and his protégé Michael Angelo. It is not unlikely that there is some truth in this statement, as Vasari knew the son of Giuliano da Sangallo intimately; but, on the other hand, this author is often confused and inaccurate.* However this may be, it appears certain that as soon as Julius II. saw Bramante's magnificent plan for S. Peter's, he determined to put the work into his hands;† while everything else, even his own tomb, retreated into the background. Even for S. Peter's alone on this scale the means at his disposal were not sufficient. "And knowing his disposition, no one can be surprised that S. Peter's was the work that lay nearest to the

as the architect." To this I should like to add, that in his very meritorious work, VON GEYMÜLLER also more than once (pp. 81 and 345) cites MIGNANTI, II., 11, who there states that Julius II. determined, immediately on his accession to the Papacy, to rebuild S. Peter's. He believes that Mignanti "rests his assertion on unnamed documents"; but the existence of these documents is only a hypothesis, no one has seen them, and Mignanti gives no reference. In addition to this, as REUMONT, in 1867, in the Allg. Zeit., N. 266, has observed, historical criticism is not the strong point in this writer's book; in fact, it contains historical inaccuracies. The only thing that is certain is that the rebuilding had been determined upon in Nov. 1505 (see *infra*), and until some new documents turn up we must, as JOVANOVITS, 43, says, content ourselves with this.

* REDTENBACHER, 183, does not seem to have noticed this, for he speaks of Vasari's narrative as trustworthy throughout.

† Giuliano da Sangallo felt himself aggrieved and went back to Florence, but with liberal rewards from the Pope. An old German legend represents the Pope surrounded with a multitude of models for S. Peter's and laughingly begging that all these nuts might be cleared away as he had but one church to build, and had an excellent plan for that. B. Ochini, Apologen., Bk. I., Apol. 23, in BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, 112.

Pope's heart. His preference even in Art was always for the colossal. *Magnarum semper molium avidus* was said of him, and though Michael Angelo's design must have satisfied him in that respect, the tomb was only for himself, whereas the magnificent Basilica would be a glory for the whole Church. For Julius the larger aim, whether for State or Church, was always more attractive than anything that was merely personal." *

In the history of the building of S. Peter's in the time of Julius II. there are three distinct periods. The first idea (March, 1505) was to build a Chapel for the Pope's tomb. In the second period (before 11th April, 1505) the completion of the works commenced by Nicholas V. and Paul II. was contemplated; in the third (from the Summer of that year) it was finally determined that the building should be on entirely new lines, far more splendid and more beautiful. Even then, however, the idea of making use of the buildings already commenced by former Popes was not abandoned, and the attempt was frequently made, but they were only utilised in a fragmentary way as portions of a wholly new design.† The immense number of drawings for S. Peter's which are still extant, shew with what energy the work was undertaken. Some of these were executed by Bramante himself, then sixty years old; many others, from his instructions, by artists working under him; amongst these were the youthful Baldassari Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo.‡

* SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 106.

† VON GEYMÜLLER, 145 *seq.*, 373 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 157 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; *cf.* 98 *seq.* This writer thinks that the influence of the immense number of studies for S. Peter's made by Bramante between 1505–6 was so great, and the staff employed by him in his office or in the building so large, that in a very short time many young architects were capable of carrying out less important undertakings in the S. Peter's style of the master. "Thus we see the

For a long time all that was known on the subject was that the outline of Bramante's plan was a commanding central dome resting on a Greek Cross, with four smaller domes in the four angles. It is only quite recently that modern research has eliminated out of the immense mass of materials afforded by the collection of sketches in the Uffizzi at Florence (about 9000 sheets), a series of studies and plans for S. Peter's, from which Bramante's original design can be determined. With these sketches before us we begin to realise what the world has lost by the later changes in what, as originally conceived, would have been an artistic creation of perfectly ideal majesty and beauty.

The new Basilica, "which was to take the place of a building teeming with venerable memories, was to embody the greatness of the present and the future," and was to surpass all other churches in the world in its proportions and in its splendour.* The mausoleum of the poor fisherman of the Lake of Genesareth was to represent the dignity and significance, in its history and in its scope, of the office which he had bequeathed to his successors. The idea of the Universal Church demanded a colossal edifice, that of the Papacy an imposing centre, therefore its main feature must be a central dome of such proportions as to dominate the whole structure. This, Bramante thought, could be best attained by a ground-plan in the form of a Greek Cross with the great dome

young Antonio da Sangallo in the Church of S. M. di Loreto in the Piazza Trajana in 1507, and Peruzzi in the Cathedral of Carpi in 1514, and in part of the plans for the completion of S. Petronio in Bologna in 1521, introducing features in Bramante's style (not to mention Raphael's Church of S. Eligio). The same may very likely have been the case in Todi, as it certainly was in the Madonna di Macerato at Bisso."

* See Bull of Julius II. of 19th Feb., 1513, in Bull. Vat., II., 349.

in the centre, over the tomb of the Apostles. In the old Basilica, however, the tomb was at the end of the church, and this created difficulties which led to the adoption at first of a Latin Cross.* Bramante's contemporaries were enthusiastic in their admiration of his design, and the poets of the day sang of it as the ninth wonder of the world.† Bramante is said to have himself described his design as the Pantheon reared on the substructure of the Temple of Peace in the Forum (Constantine's Basilica); a truly noble thought, worthy of the great architect and his large-minded patron.‡

Two complete drawings,§ which are still preserved, exhibit Bramante's plan in detail; it consisted of a Greek Cross with apsidal ends and a huge cupola in the centre on the model of the Pantheon, surrounded by four smaller domes; pillared aisles led into the central space. In one design the arms of the cross are enclosed in large semicircular ambulatories; in the other these do not appear. They may be a reminiscence of the very ancient Christian Church of San Lorenzo in Milan, which was justly very much admired by Bramante, or they may have been intended to strengthen the great pillars which supported the cupola. In both designs the dome is of colossal proportions. "Bramante, borrowing the idea from older structures, designed with admirable effect immense niches corresponding with the

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 221. *Cf.* HOFFMANN, Studien uber Italien, 5 (Frankfurt, 1876), and JOVANOVITS, 33.

† PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 112.

‡ REDTENBACHER in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 304. BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3, says of this design that perhaps it was a manifestation of greater power than any other single mind had ever displayed. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 111, ed. 3, remarks: "The man who was capable of conceiving such a work of art as S. Peter's, and of beginning to execute it, deserves by that fact alone to live for ever in the memory of mankind."

§ Marked by Von Geymüller as B and D.

pillars, which would also ingeniously serve to suggest the curved outline for all spaces which is the predominant form in the whole scheme of building. The four smaller cupolas in the corners, the diameters of which are half that of the central dome, by dimming the light, were to prepare the eye for the vast central space; on the exterior, as Caradosso's medal shews, they were not to rise above the gabled roofing of the arms of the Cross." Four sacristies and chapels and bell-towers were to be distributed around the external angles. As this plan appears upon Caradosso's medals it must have been for some time the accepted one. The other plan, in which the arms of the Cross were encased in spacious ambulatories, would have occupied a still larger area. Here the drum of the central dome would have been encircled with pillars forming a crown over the tomb of the Apostles, which would have been bathed in light from the dome.* The victory of

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 222 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 244 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*; LÜBKE'S Review in the Allg. Zeit. (1882), N. 216, Suppl.; LÜBKE, Gesch. d. Architektur, II., 361 *seq.*, ed. 6 (Leipzig, 1886); BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Renaissance, 126. The medals with the inscription Templi Petri Instauracio, are reproduced in GEYMÜLLER, Pl. 2, and excellently in the handsome work, Le Vatican, 532. It appears that after the laying of the foundation-stone, the directors of the works changed their minds as to the form of the building, and decided, possibly for Liturgical reasons, to make it oblong. Semper thinks that the Cathedral at Carpi is a faithful copy of this second design of Bramante's. SEMPER had already expressed this opinion in 1878 in his Bramante, 46–47. In his magnificent work on Carpi, 54 *seq.*, he developed it in greater detail in opposition to VON GEYMÜLLER'S article in Lützow's Zeitschrift, XIV., 289 *seq.*; *cf.* also JOVANOVITS, 46 *seq.*; VON GEYMÜLLER, Notizen über die Entwürfe zu S. Peter in Rom, 26 *seq.* (Karlsruhe, 1868), and in the larger work, 220; and BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, 125. The passage out of Panvinius is in MAI, Spicil., IX., 466. On Caradosso's commemorative medals, see PIOT in the Cabinet de l'Amateur (3ie Année, 1863), 38.

Christianity over Paganism was to be represented by the Cross on the summit of the most beautiful creation of antique architecture.

The colossal dimensions of this majestic though singularly simple design, aptly symbolising the world-wide fold into which all the nations of the earth were to be gathered, will be realised when we find that Bramante's plan would have covered an area of over 28,900 square yards, while the present church on the plan of Michael Angelo, without Maderna's additions, occupies only a little more than 17,300, more than a third less.*

There is, however, one consideration which mars the pleasure with which we should otherwise contemplate Bramante's splendid conception, and this is the regretful recollection that its realisation involved the sacrifice of one of the oldest and most venerable sanctuaries in all Christendom. "These ancient walls had been standing for nearly 1200 years; they had, so to speak, participated in all the fortunes and storms of the Papacy; they had witnessed the rapid succession of its triumphs, its humiliations, and its recoveries; and again and again been the scene of epoch-making events, focussed in Rome, and stretching in their effects to the furthest limits of Christendom. The Vatican Basilica was scored all over with mementos of this long history. Though now falling to pieces and disfigured by the traces of the debased art of the period of its origin, it was an imposing building, and far more interesting from its age-worn tokens of the victory of Christianity over Paganism, than it could have been in the days of its pristine splendour. All that might be distasteful in the inharmonious jumble of its styles and materials was forgotten in retracing the ever-living memorials which recalled the times of Constantine, of S. Leo and S. Gregory the Great, Charles

* REDTENBACHER in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 308.

the Great, and Otho, S. Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III."*

This was strongly felt by many of Bramante's contemporaries, as it had been when the rebuilding of S. Peter's was contemplated in the time of Nicholas V., which we see from the words of the Christian humanist, Maffeo Vegio.† This time the opposition was even more serious, as nearly the whole of the Sacred College seems to have pronounced against the plan. Panvinius reports that people of all classes, and especially the Cardinals, protested against Julius II.'s intention of pulling down the old S. Peter's. They would have gladly welcomed the erection of a new and splendid church; but the complete destruction of the old Basilica, so consecrated by the veneration of the whole world, the tombs of so many saints, and the memorials of so many great events, went to their hearts.‡

The opposition to the rebuilding of S. Peter's continued even after the death of Julius II. In the year 1517 Andrea Guarna of Salerno published a satirical Dialogue between S. Peter, Bramante, and the Bolognese Alessandro Zambeccari. Bramante arrives at the gates of Heaven and S. Peter asks if he is the man who had demolished his church. Zambeccari replies in the affirmative, and adds, "He would have destroyed Rome also and the whole world if he had been able." S. Peter asks Bramante what could have induced him to pull down his church in Rome, which by its age alone spoke of God to the most unbelieving. The architect excuses himself by saying that it was not he

* REUMONT, III., 1, 451.

† *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 179 (Engl. trans.).

‡ FEA, Notizie, 41, was the first to bring to light this passage from PANVINIUS, De rebus antiquis eccl. basilicae S. Petri; it is to be found in MAI, Spicil., IX., 365–366. Panvinius expressly mentions here a model in wood by Bramante.

who pulled it down but the workmen at the command of Pope Julius. "No," answers S. Peter, "that will not serve, it was you who persuaded the Pope to take down the church, it was at your instigation and by your orders that the workmen did it. How could you dare?" Bramante replies, "I wanted to lighten the Pope's heavy purse a little." On S. Peter inquiring further whether he had carried out his design, he answers, "No! Julius II. pulled down the old church, but he kept his purse closed; he only gave Indulgences, and besides he was making war." Further on, the conversation becomes broader and more farcical. Bramante refuses to enter Heaven unless he is allowed to get rid of the "steep and difficult way that leads thither from the earth. I will build a new broad and commodious road so that old and feeble souls may travel on horseback. And then I will make a new Paradise with delightful residences for the blessed." As S. Peter will not consent to this, Bramante declares he will go down to Pluto and build a new hell as the old one is almost burnt out. In the end S. Peter asks him again, "Tell me seriously, what made you destroy my church?" Bramante answers, "Alas! it is demolished, but Pope Leo will build a new one." "Well, then," says S. Peter, "you must wait at the gate of Paradise until it is finished." "But if it never is finished?" Bramante objects. "Oh," S. Peter answers, "my Leo will not fail to get it done." "I must hope so," Bramante replies; "at any rate, I seem to have no alternative but to wait."*

Julius II. is still often blamed for having allowed the old church to be destroyed, but whether the reproach is just

* This curious and rare Dialogue appeared under the title of "Simia" at Milan in 1517. An extract from it, shewing that most people at that time did not believe that Leo X. would finish S. Peter's, was published by BOSSI, Del cenacolo da Lionardo da Vinci, 246, 249. Milano, 1810.

seems very doubtful. If even under Nicholas V. the old Basilica had become so unsafe that in 1451 the Pope could say it was in danger of falling—and we have trustworthy testimony to this effect *—no doubt its condition must have been considerably worse in the reign of Julius II.† In the well-known letter to the King of England on the laying of the foundation-stone of the new S. Peter's, the Pope distinctly asserts that the old church was in a ruinous condition, and this statement is repeated in a whole series of other Briefs.‡ The inscription on the foundation-stone also

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 179-180.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 458 *seq.*

‡ In his Briefs to the King of England, Julius says that he has laid the foundation of the new building firma spe ducti quod dominus et salvator Jesus Christus, cuius monitu *basilicam ipsam vetustate consumptam* augustiori forma et aedificio renovare aggressi sumus, meritis et precibus ipsius apostoli vires nobis tribuet, ut quod tanto fervore incoeptum est, absolvi et perfici possit ad laudam et gloriam Dei. In another *Brief, also dated 18th April, 1506, addressed to Abati et conventui monast. S. Augustini Ord. S. Benedicti : *Cum decreverimus basilicam b. Petri principis apostolorum de urbe *vetustate prope collabentem* dante Domino funditus reedificare atque novo et decenti opere instaurare nos hodie processionaliter una cum ven. fratribus nostris S. R. E. cardinalibus et magna prelatorum et populi multitudine propriis manibus nostris in eius fundamento primum lapidem . . . . posuimus . . . . He is resolved opus absque intermissione aliqua concedente Domino persequi, and admonishes him to contribute. Fuerunt expedita XXVIII. similia sub eadem data. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 489. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The Brief to the King of England in App., N. 49a, dated 6th Jan., 1506, is to the same effect. *Cf.* also the Encyclical in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 6, which says : Quis merito non admiretur coeptam a nobis ad omnipotentis Dei ejusque intactae genetricis Mariae ac principis apostolorum b. Petri honorem et laudem *necessariam basilicae eiusdem sancti iam vetustate collabentis reparationem et ampliationem.* Similar language is employed in the Encyclical written shortly before his death, already quoted from Bull. Vat., II., 349. If the old S. Peter's had not been in a dilapidated condition, he could not have so repeatedly and so

supports this opinion.* Well-informed contemporaneous writers, such as Lorenzo Parmino,† Custodian of the Vatican Library, and Sigismondo de' Conti, say the same.‡ It seems, therefore, that he cannot be accused of having wilfully pulled down the old Basilica.

Considering what the plans of the Pope and his architect were, it was clear that the rebuilding of S. Peter's would be very costly, and on the 10th of November, 1505, Julius commanded that the property left by a certain Monserati de Guda should be set apart for the building of S. Peter's.§ This is the first authentic document which shews that the work had been practically begun. On the 6th of January, 1506, Julius wrote to the King of England and also to the nobility and Bishops of that country begging them to help him in this great undertaking.‖ A money order for Bramante for the payment of five sub-architects is dated 6th April, 1506; on the 18th the Briefs announcing the

distinctly mentioned it as such. Most recent writers also think that it was in a ruinous state. See MICHELANGELO LUALDI, Romano, Canonico de S. Marco, in his *Memorie del tempio e palazzo Vaticano, II., f. 1b, 4b, in Cod. 31, D. 17, of the Corsini Library, Rome.

* See Paris de Grassis in THUASNE, III., 424 N.: Aedem principis apostolorum in Vaticano vetustate ac situ squallentem a fundamentis restituit Julius Ligur. P. M. A. 1506. According to BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 422, the Inscription was: Julius II. P. M. hanc basilicam fere collabentem reparavit A.D. 1506, pontif. sui anno 3. The third version in ALBERTINI, 53, refers, as the date shews, to the laying of the foundation-stones of the other pillars in April 1507; *cf.* BONANNI, 52–53.

† Tu divi Petri principis apostolorum aedem plurimorum annorum ictu *pene collabentem* instaurare in animum induxisti. L. PARMENIUS, 310.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344; *cf. infra*, p. 479.

§ ZAHN, Notizie, 178.

‖ See text of this *Document in Appendix, N. 49a, taken from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

laying of the foundation-stone by the Pope himself were sent out.* At this time Julius II. was preparing for the campaign against Perugia and Bologna.† It is certainly a striking proof of the courage and energy of Julius II., that at his advanced age, and in the face of such arduous political undertakings, he should have had no hesitation in putting his hand to a work of such magnitude as this.

We have two accounts of the laying of the foundation-stone, which took place on "Low Sunday" (18th April) in the year 1506; one is by Burchard, the other by Paris de Grassis.‡ The Pope, accompanied by the Cardinals and Prelates and preceded by the Cross, went down in solemn procession to the edge of the excavation for the foundation, which was 25 feet deep. Only the Pope with two Cardinal-deacons, some masons, and one or two other persons entered it. Some one who is called a medallist, probably Caradosso, brought twelve medals in an earthen pot, two large gold ones worth 50 ducats; the others were of bronze. On one side was stamped the head of Julius II., and on the other a representation of the new Church. The foundation-stone was of white marble, about four palms in length, two in breadth, and three fingers in thickness. It bore an inscription declaring that Pope Julius II. of Liguria, in the year 1506, the third of his reign,

* The Brief to the King of England in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 45, is the only one at present known; but similar Briefs must have been sent to most of the Christian Princes. *Cf. supra*, p. 471, note ‡.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 262.

‡ Both published by Thuasne in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 422 *seq.* In some details they differ from each other. *Cf.* also the *Brief in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344, quoted *supra*, p. 471, note ‡, and ALBERTINI, 53, with a wrong date both for the day and the year, which are copied by TSCHACKERT, 9. The *Diarium in V. Polit., 50, f. 61, only says: A. di XVIII. de Aprile, 1506, comincio papa Julio a murare in S. Pietro. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

restored this Basilica, which had fallen into decay. After the Pope had blessed the stone he set it with his own hands, while the masons placed the vessel with the medals underneath it. The ceremony concluded with the solemn Papal benediction, a prayer before the crucifix, and the granting of a Plenary Indulgence,* which was announced in Latin by Cardinal Colonna. After this the Pope returned to the Vatican.

Entries of disbursements in April 1506, shew that 7500 ducats were paid at that time to five contractors for the building of S. Peter's. These, as well as other sums, all passed through Bramante's hands, who signed the agreements with the builders in the Pope's name. Hitherto, no entry of any payment to Bramante for his own services has been found, although he undoubtedly acted as master of the works. He employed by preference Tuscan architects, and pushed on the work with energy.† Sigismondo de' Conti's statement that the building made but slow progress, not owing to want of funds, but from Bramante's supineness,‡ is unsupported by any other writer. It may possibly be due to personal spite. It comes from one who knew nothing of architecture, and is contradicted by authentic documents. It is quite possible that the work may have flagged to a

* On this spot the pillar was erected which now supports the loggia containing the head of S. Andrew.

† MÜNTZ in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIX. (1879), 363 *seq.*; XX., 506. The first mention of Bramante's name in connection with any payment occurs on 30th Aug., 1505, but, unfortunately, the nature of the work to which it related is not specified. The notice in SANUTO, VI., 327, is dated, like the other, in April 1506. This is the earliest statement relating to this subject in the excerpts from the Venetian Ambassadorial Reports in this author's compilation. Those which follow were not accessible to Müntz and Von Geymüller, and are used for the first time in the present volume.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 344.

certain extent in the year 1506, but not from any fault of Bramante, who, by the Pope's orders, accompanied his master to Bologna.* A document in the Secret Archives of the Vatican,† dated 15th December, 1506, and hitherto unknown, shews with what anxious care Julius strove to guard against any interruption in the progress of the building during his absence in that city. Many proofs are extant of the diligence with which it was prosecuted from the moment the Pope returned to Rome. In March, 1507, Giuliano di Giovanni, Francesco del Toccio, and others were at work on the capitals of the pillars of the new Basilica.‡ On the 7th of April the Modenese Envoy reports that the Pope is delighted with the new building and visits it frequently; it is evident that the completion of this work is one of the things that lie nearest to his heart.§ On the 12th, he writes, "To-day the Pope went to S. Peter's to inspect the work. I was there also. The Pope brought Bramante with him, and said smilingly to me, 'Bramante tells me that he has 2500 men at work; one might hold a review of such an army.' I replied that

* There is an entry on 29th Dec., 1506, of a payment to magistro Bramante, architectori S. D. N., pro expensis per eum cum sociis factis et faciendis Bononie et in reditum ad urbem in ZAHN, Notizie, 180.

† Brief dat. Bologna, 15th Dec., 1506. To the Archbishop of Tarento Henrico (Bruni), thesaurar. generalis. Redit Romam dil. fil. Nicolaus Nicius, beneficiatus basilice S. Petri apostolorum principis de urbe homo valde aptus ad excitandum fabros cementarios ut operi fabrice dicte basilice instent et opus ipsum sine intermissione continuent. Quare volumus ut eum huic negocio praeficias. *Lib. brev., Julii II., 25 f. 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VON GEYMÜLLER, 355; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, XX., 509.

§ La Sta del papa si demonstra tuta alegra e spesso v[a] su la fabrica de la chiesa de S. Petro demonstrando . . . . presente non havere altra cura magiore cha de finire la d [etta] fa[brica]. *Costabili's Despatch dat. Rome, 7th April, 1507. I found this and the other very interesting one (which follows it) in the State Archives, Modena.

one could indeed compare such a band with an army, and expressed my admiration of the building, as was becoming. Presently, Cardinals Farnese, Carvajal, and Fiesco came up, and the Pope granted them their audience without leaving the spot." * This report is in flat contradiction with Sigismondo de' Conti's statement. So far from idling over the work, Bramante can hardly be acquitted of the charge of vandalism in the ruthless haste with which he tore down the venerable old church.

It is certainly startling to find that apparently no expert was consulted, and no attempt made to find out whether it might not still be possible to retain and repair the old Basilica. We should have expected that before proceeding to destroy so venerable a sanctuary the opinion of some unbiassed person, not included in the circle of the enterprising architects eager for the fray, should have been sought, as to what could be done in the way of preserving at any rate some portion of the ancient building. We find no trace of any such attempt, and probably this is due to the extravagant admiration of the votaries of the Renaissance for their new style of architecture which led them to look down with utter contempt on all the productions of the preceding periods. From this point of view Sigismondo de' Conti's account of the rebuilding of S. Peter's is singularly significant. Christian humanist as he was, he betrays not the smallest trace of reverence for, or interest in, the Basilica of Constantine. Although he calls the ancient building grand and majestic, he adds immediately that it was erected in an uncultured age, which had no idea of elegance or beauty in architecture.†

* See the text of this *Report in Appendix N. 74.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344. In his interesting essay "Die alte Peterskirche zu Rom und ihre frühesten Ansichten" GRISAR remarks: "Our knowledge of the Basilica of Constantine, of its early

But what was still more inexcusable was that no inventory should have been taken of the inestimably precious memories which it contained, and also the way in which these venerable relics were treated. In truth, the men of the Renaissance had as little sense of reverence for the past as those of the Middle Ages; * not that they had any desire to break with the past; this would have been in complete contradiction to the whole spirit of the Papacy, for which more than for any other power in the world, the past, the present, and the future are bound together in an indissoluble union; but the passion for the new style stifled all interest in the monuments of former days.† In

Christian and mediæval decoration, its changes and its fortunes, is not nearly so full as might have been expected when we consider the important position that it occupied. Although this venerable building, with all its memorials of Christian piety in so many ages and so many countries, survived for a considerable period after the revival of art, and well into a time when hundreds of draughtsmen and painters were busily copying the antique buildings in Rome, we have hardly any representation of it. The artists of the Renaissance, in their one-sided enthusiasm for classical antiquity, had not a thought to spare for these sacred and touching mementos. Nothing seemed worthy of notice to them that was not dressed in their favourite garb." Röm. Quartalschrift, IX. (1895), 237–238.

* It would be unjust in blaming the Renaissance period for its reckless destruction of precious memorials, not to point out that the men of the Middle Ages were not one whit less indifferent; in the 13th Century, the famous tomb of S. Bardo at Mayence was demolished, and not a trace of it is left. When the western choir in the Cathedral there was built in 1200–1239, the old building was pulled to pieces. The Carolingian tombs at S. Alban near Mayence completely disappeared during the early mediæval times. In the 13th Century, the old cathedrals at Cologne, Spires, Worms, etc., were treated in a similar manner. The feeling that we designate as piety, reverence, seemed unknown in the Middle Ages.

† REUMONT in the Allg. Zeit. (1858), N. 67, Suppl. *Cf.* also, GREGOROVIUS' Essay on Roman inscriptions in the Allg. Zeit. (1867), N. 166, Suppl., and NOLHAC, Érasme, 81.

his strong consciousness of power, Bramante was more reckless than any of the other architects of his day in regard to ancient memorials, or even the creations of the centuries immediately preceding his own time. His contemporaries reproached him with this. Paris de Grassis says he was called the destroyer (*Ruinante*), because of his merciless destructiveness in Rome, as well as in other places for instance, in Loreto.* Michael Angelo complained to Julius II., and later, Raphael made similar representations to Leo X. in regard to Bramante's barbarism in knocking to pieces the noble ancient pillars in the old church, which might so easily have been preserved if they had been carefully taken down.† Artistic merit was no more regarded than antiquity, and Mino's beautiful later monuments, and even the tomb of Nicholas V., the first of the Papal Mæcenas, were broken to pieces, together with those of the older Popes.‡ There can be no excuse for such vandalism as this. Attempts have been made to lay the blame on the carelessness of the Papal Maggiordomo Bartolomeo Ferrantini, or on the sub-architects.§ No doubt, Ferrantini and Julius himself are partially responsible, but it is in consequence of Bramante's ruthless methods that Christendom and the Papacy have been robbed of so many venerable and touching memorials. Those which are preserved in the Crypt and the Vatican Grottos, far from exculpating him, only bear witness to the extent of his guilt. This magazine of defaced and dismembered monuments, altars, ciboriums, which formerly

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 287.

† CONDIVI in the Quellenschriften, VI., 49 (1874). *Cf.* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 381, ed. 5.

‡ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 428; GREGOROVIUS, VIII. 129, ed. 3, and Grabmäler, 31.

§ PUNGILEONI, Bramante, 35, 98 *seq.*

adorned the atrium, the porticos and the nave of the old Basilica, are the clearest proof of the barbarous vandalism which began under Julius II., and continued until the completion of S. Peter's.*

If we may believe Aegidius of Viterbo, who is usually well-informed, and was a contemporary, Bramante's destructive spirit actually carried him so far as to lead him to propose to move the Tomb of the Apostles. Here, however, Julius II., usually so ready to lend himself to all the great architect's plans, stood firm, and absolutely refused to permit any tampering with a shrine which, through all the changes during the centuries which had elapsed since the days of Constantine, had been preserved untouched on the spot where he erected it.† Aegidius narrates in detail the efforts made by Bramante to overcome the Pope's objections. He wanted to make the new Church face southwards, instead of to the east, as the old one had done, in order to have the Vatican Obelisk, which stood in the Circus of Nero on the south side of the Basilica,‡ fronting the main entrance of the new Church. Julius II. would not consent to this plan, saying that Shrines must not be displaced. Bramante, however, persisted in his project. He expatiated on the admirable suggestiveness of placing this majestic memorial of the First Cæsars in the Court of the new S. Peter's of Julius II., and on the effect that the

* REUMONT, III., 2, 380; see also his article in the Allg. Zeit. (1867), N. 266, on Mignanti's Hist. of S. Peter's. GRIMM, I., 381, ed. 5; and the very interesting remarks of GNOLI, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, II., 455.

† The fact has been recently placed beyond the reach of doubt by the researches of Fr. GRISAR, S.J., published in his valuable work, Le tombe apostoliche di Roma (Roma, 1892). Further particulars are to be found here also on the Pope's anxious care that the remains of the Prince of the Apostles should be preserved from all risks of desecration in any way.

‡ The spot where the obelisk (Guglia) stood is now marked by an inscription. *Cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, 719–720, ed. 2.

sight of this colossal monument would have in stimulating religious awe in the minds of those who were about to enter the church. He promised to effect the removal of the tomb in such a manner that it should be impossible that it should be injured in any way. But Julius II., however, turned a deaf ear to all his arguments and blandishments, and assured him that he would never, under any pretext, permit the tomb of the first Pope to be touched. As to the Obelisk, Bramante might do what he pleased with that. His view was that Christianity must be preferred to Paganism, religion to splendour, piety to ornament.*

In addition to this most interesting conversation between Julius II. and Bramante, we have other proofs that in all their undertakings, religious interests, and not his own glory, held the first place in his mind. One such is the Rule of 19th February, 1513, on the Cappella Giulia, which was the last official document issued by him before his death. In it he sums up the reasons which led him to found this institution. "We hold it to be our duty," he says, "to promote the solemnity of religious worship by example as well as by precept. While yet a Cardinal we partly restored and partly rebuilt many churches and convents in various places, and especially in Rome. Since our elevation to the Chair of S. Peter we have endeavoured to be more diligent and liberal in such works in proportion to our larger duties and responsibilities. The wise King Solomon, although the light of Christianity had not dawned upon him, thought no sacrifice too great to

* I found this passage in the *Historia viginti saecul. of Aegedius of Viterbo in the Bibl. Angelica in Rome, Cod. C., 8, 19. It has hitherto escaped the notice of all the historians of the new S. Peter's, including Von Geymüller and Müntz. In view of its great importance, I have given the original passage in App., N. 89. It also indirectly bears additional witness to the ruinous condition of the old church.

make in order to build a worthy House for the Lord of Hosts. Our predecessors also were zealous for the beauty and dignity of the sanctuary. This was especially the case with our Uncle, Sixtus IV., now resting in the Lord. Nothing lay nearer to his heart than to provide for the majesty of the Offices of the Church and the splendour of God's House." The Pope desired to follow in his footsteps.*

On the 16th of April, 1507, Enrico Bruni, Archbishop of Tarento, laid the foundation-stones of the three other pillars of the Dome. Various entries of payments and contracts, though, unfortunately, scanty and unconnected, mark the progress of the work. On the 24th of August, a Roman, Menico Antonio di Jacopo, undertook a contract for some capitals of pillars, and in another document, which only bears the date of the year 1507, the same sculptor joins with Giuliano del Tozzo, Franco, Paolo Mancino, Vincenzio da Viterbo and Bianchino, in an agreement for executing the capitals of the pillars and the balcony on the outside of the Tribune, and the cornice inside, after Bramante's designs. A contract with Francesco di Domenico of Milan, Antonio di Giacomo of Pontasieve and Benedetto di Giovanni Albini of Rome for the capitals of the large pilasters in the interior is dated 1st March, 1508.† In August 1508, the Venetian Envoy reports an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Pope to obtain the fourth part of the tithes granted by him to the King of Spain for the building of S. Peter's. In December, the same Envoy mentions the zeal of the Pope for this great work.‡ There are no accounts of the year 1509. On the 16th January,

* Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.* Provisions for the Cappella Giulia follow on this preamble.

† Von Geymüller, 355–356.

‡ Sanuto, VII., 606–678.

1510, Antonio di Sangallo received 200 ducats for preparing the centering for the arches of the Cupola. A similar payment is again entered on the 15th November.*

Julius II. was unwearied in his efforts to obtain funds for the building. A portion of the revenue of the Holy House at Loreto was assigned to this purpose, and commissioners were appointed everywhere for the collection of charitable gifts with power to grant Indulgences on the usual conditions to all contributors.† How large the sums thus obtained were, may be gathered from the report of the Venetian Envoy who says that one lay-brother alone brought back from his journey 27,000 ducats. Even then, in April 1510, it was plain that a long time must elapse before the work could be completed.‡ It was no doubt a beautiful thought that the whole of Christendom should bear a part in the erection of a worthy shrine for the Princes of the Apostles, but considering the hostile feeling in many places in regard to all such collections, and the bitter opponents who were always ready to misrepresent everything that the Popes did, there were serious objections to the attempt to carry it out. When Julius II. became involved in the great conflict with France it was asserted by many that money collected for the Church was spent in the war.§ When the pressure was very great this may have been the case; in the year 1511, a slackening in the work is observable; still even in that year there are entries of payments,‖ and the Venetian Envoy's Report in August 1511 shews that

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 356.

† *Cf.* BANGEN, 278 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 48; PAULUS, in the Hist. Jahrb., XVI. (1895), 38 *seq.* On the collection in Poland, see Acta Tomic., I., 56; in Hungary, THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 578 *seq.* On England, see *supra*, p. 473, note *, and BUSCH, Tudors, I., 244.

‡ SANUTO, X., 80.

§ Acta Tomic., I., 56.

‖ VON GEYMÜLLER, 356.

even in the most trying times Julius II. never forgot his Church.* The very last document to which the Pope put his hand, the day before he died, testifies to his zeal in this work.†

The disbursements for the payment of contractors and overseers for the works of S. Peter's in the time of Julius II., amount, according to the Papal registers, to 70,653 gold ducats, not too large a sum compared with those of succeeding Popes. In the period between the 22nd December, 1529 and the 2nd January, 1543, the building cost 89,727 scudi, and from the 9th January, 1543, to the 25th February, 1549, 160,774 scudi.‡

When Julius died, the four pillars for the Cupola, each of which was more than 100 paces in circumference at the base, with their connecting arches, were finished. These were strengthened by the introduction of cast-iron centerings, a method which Bramante had rediscovered. The choir, begun under Nicholas V. by Bernardo Rosselino, was utilised by Bramante in part for the posterior walls of the transept and in part for a choir, which, however, was only meant to be a provisional one. Besides these, the tribunes for the nave had been begun and an enclosure adorned with Doric pillars for the Pope and his Court at High Mass, which was finished later by Peruzzi, but eventually done away with. The high altar and the tribune of the old church were still in existence at that time,§ but by All

* SANUTO, XII., 362; *cf.* 370.

† Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.*

‡ PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 96; and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 387; FEA, Notizie, 32.

§ PLATTNER, II., 1, 136; JOVANOVITS, 33; VON GEYMÜLLER, 134 *seq.*, 175; especially on the Provisional Choir done away with in 1585, by which the Pope and Bramante tried to keep up a pretence of making use of the works of their predecessors. VON GEYMÜLLER also shews, p. 224 *seq.*, that the present pillars supporting the Dome are Bramante's

Saints' Day in 1511, the solemn masses were celebrated in the Sistine chapel, and no longer in the old church.*

Bramante had drawn out a wonderful design for the rebuilding of the Vatican Palace as well as for the church of S. Peter's. Here too, the plan, for both precincts and Palace, was practically a new building, but the death of Julius II. interrupted it. Still even then, what had been accomplished was so important that even in 1509 Albertini could say "Your Holiness has already made more progress with the Vatican than all your predecessors together have done in the last hundred years."†

Bramante's genius was not less admirable in secular architecture than in sacred. Every one knows the famous Cortile di Damaso. The design for this building, which so marvellously combines dignity in composition with exquisite grace and delicacy in detail, was his, though it was only executed in Raphael's time, and part of it even later.

A further project, and one that could only have come into such a mind as that of Julius II., was to connect the old Vatican Palace, a mere heterogeneous aggregation of houses, with the Belvedere situated on the rise of the hill about 100 paces higher up. Bramante drew a magnificent plan for this. In it two straight corridors lead from the old Palace to the Belvedere. The space between them, measuring about 327 yards by 70, was divided in two; the part next the Palace (now the great lower Court) was to form the arena of a theatre for tournaments or bull-fights; from thence, a broad flight of steps led up to a terrace and from that again a massive double staircase ascended to the upper half, which was laid out as a garden (now the Giardino della

(*cf.* JOVANOVITS, 36), and vindicates his title to the discovery of the cast-iron arch-centres.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 415.

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 19. *Cf.* LAURENT., Parmenius, 311.

Pigna). The two long sides of the theatre were broken by three Loggie, while the lower narrow side was occupied by a semi-circular amphitheatre for the spectators. The two upper Loggie joined the long sides of the garden above the terrace; its narrow end was closed by a colossal niche roofed with a half-dome and crowned by a semi-circular course of pillars and facing the amphitheatre.* It was a design which, had it been carried out, would certainly have been unrivalled in the whole world.† Although the work was energetically begun, the only portion that had been completed when Julius II. died was the eastern gallery. Later, so many alterations and additions were made that the original plan is hardly recognisable. It was Sixtus V. who cut the large Court in two by building the Vatican Library across it. The effect of the whole design was completely destroyed by this, and also that of the great niche which now looks monstrous, not having sufficient foreground.‡ He also walled up the open Loggie. The long corridor, commanding an exquisite view of Rome and the Campagna, is now used to contain the Vatican collection of Christian and ancient inscriptions.§ Under Pius VII. the Braccio Nuovo was built parallel with the Library to serve as a museum.

The extension and embellishment of the Belvedere was

* Bramante's whole design is in GEYMÜLLER, Plate 25; VASARI, IV., 155 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 31; REUMONT, III., 2, 375–376; BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, 52, 88, 97, 204, 256. VON GEYMÜLLER, 75 *seq.*, thinks it improbable that Bramante in any way considered Rosselino's plans; but he would naturally have arranged his design so as not to clash with the axis of S. Peter's. On bull-fights in Rome in the time of Julius II., see NOLHAC, Érasme, 75.

† See BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 199.

‡ SEMPER, Bramante, 41.

§ No one who has seen the Vatican Library can ever forget this corridor.

another of the works undertaken by Bramante to improve and put the Papal residence "into shape," as Vasari expresses it. A new two-storied façade was added to the whole building, looking southwards towards the garden, and having for its centre the gigantic niche already mentioned, which is about 80 feet high. From its exposed situation the Belvedere was often called the tower of the winds (*Tor de venti*). Adjoining the Belvedere, on the eastern side, was the tower-shaped hall through which Bramante's famous pillared spiral staircase led into the rampart garden. Baths and aviaries were also added to this building and decorated with views of all the principal cities in Italy.*

The Belvedere was destined soon to contain the most splendid collection of ancient sculptures the world then possessed. Julius II. was an ardent collector, and the nucleus was formed out of the numerous Roman remains which were discovered during his reign. No doubt, by the middle of the 15th Century Rome was already rich in ancient statues, but in Poggio's time only five of these had been publicly erected.† Paul II.'s valuable collection of antique gems, vases, etc., had been dispersed at his death. Sixtus IV. opened a museum of antique art in the Capitol, which was the first public collection of this kind in Italy, and, indeed, in Europe. It consisted for the most part of large bronzes. Innocent VIII. added some newly-found works in brass and the colossal head of Commodus.‡ The example of Sixtus IV. at first does not seem to have found any imitators. "During the lifetime of this Pope very few

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 77; MICHAELIS in the Jahrbuch des Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, V., 13; REUMONT, III., 2, 382. A drawing by LETAROUILLY, Le Vatican, Cour du Belvédère, Plate 5; *cf.* Plate 8, which shews what the Belvedere looked like at the time of Bramante's death.

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 589.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR Gesch. Päpste, II., 330 *seq.*, 628, ed. 2; and MICHAELIS, in Mittheil. d. Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäol. Instituts, VI., 11 *seq.*

in Rome seem to have taken any interest in the larger ancient marble sculptures, or made any attempt to form collections; whereas at the same period in Florence, where the opportunities were so much fewer, the famous Medicean gallery had long been in existence. It was not till the close of the 15th Century that the feeling for ancient sculpture awoke in Rome, but once started in such a fruitful soil it naturally developed rapidly." *

As Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the Pope was a diligent collector. In the time of Innocent VIII. apparently he succeeded in obtaining a newly discovered statue of Apollo, which he placed in the garden of S. Pietro in Vincoli.† It created quite a furore amongst all lovers of art, and soon acquired a world-wide reputation.‡

When he became Pope he transferred the statue to the Vatican and placed it in the Cortile di Belvedere. This Cortile about 100 feet square, was laid out as a garden with orange trees and running streamlets. Bramante designed semi-circular niches for the statues which adorned it. Besides the Apollo, an incomplete group, Antæus in the grasp of Hercules, and the Venus Felix, were placed here.§

* MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 9 *seq.*

† Not in SS. Apostoli as almost universally stated; see MICHAELIS, 10–11.

‡ A drawing of it in the sketch-book of an Italian artist of the latter decade of the 15th Century is in the Escurial; see MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 161. There can be little doubt that Dürer made use of a similar sketch for his Apollo with a sheaf of rays (before 1504); see WICKHOFF in the Mittheil. d. Instituts, I., 422; THODE, Die Antiken, 2; MICHAELIS, 11. In the Venetian Ambassador's Reports of 1523 in ALBÉRI, 2nd Series, III., 114, there is mention of the Apollo famoso nel mondo.

§ MICHAELIS, 13 *seq.*, who quotes from the earliest edition of the Antiquario of Julius II., out of Albertini's booklet, published in 1510. But here (Schmarsow's ed., 39), only the Laocoon is mentioned as having been placed in the Belvedere; of the Apollo and Venus it is merely said that the Pope had them taken to the Vatican. At the same

In the year 1506, a fresh discovery added another treasure to these marbles which, in the eyes of the art-lovers of that day, surpassed everything that had as yet been known. This was the Laocoon which was found in a vineyard belonging to a Roman citizen, Felice de' Freddi. The vineyard was situated in the so called baths of Titus,* which later proved such a veritable mine of art treasures. It was discovered on the 14th of January in that year, not far from the water-tower of the Sette Sale. The moment the Pope heard of it he sent Giuliano da Sangallo to see it. Michael Angelo and Giuliano's son, a boy of nine, accompanied him. The latter says: "We then set off together, I on my father's shoulders. Directly my father saw the statue he exclaimed 'this is the Laocoon mentioned by Pliny;' the opening had to be enlarged to get the statue out." †

The Pope had several rivals also desirous of purchasing the treasure, but finally on the 23rd of March, 1506, a few weeks before the laying of the foundation-stone of S. Peter's, he succeeded in obtaining it. The finder and his son Federigo received in exchange for their lifetimes a charge on the tolls of the Porta S. Giovanni to the amount of 600 gold ducats annually.‡

time we find in the Report of the Mantuan Envoy of 12th July, 1511 (in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 21): Il Papa ha fatto conzar in Belveder un Apollo, et judicato non manco bello di Laocoonte. Thus it does not seem certain which were first placed in the Belvedere, the three statues, or the Laocoon. Perhaps some other report may be found later, which will settle the question.

* According to Prof. Lanciani the ruins on the south-western slope of the Esquiline, which have hitherto been supposed to be the baths of Titus, are really only an off-shoot of the baths of Trajan; the true baths of Titus having only been discovered in 1895 quite close to the Colosseum.

† FEA, Miscell., I., 329 *seq.* MICHAELIS has enumerated all the other early witnesses of the discovery, p. 16, note 36.

‡ MARINI, Iscriz. Albane, 11, n. 2; Bull. d. Ist. Arch. (1867), p. 190 *seq.*; NAUMANN'S Archiv, XIII., 108; MICHAELIS, 17, note 40.

The Laocoon was installed in a niche in the Belvedere. It inspired the greatest enthusiasm in Rome: "it was felt to be the most perfect embodiment of the life and spirit of the ancient world that had yet been seen. It and the Apollo became from henceforth the most admired and most popular of works of art." *

While Sadolet and other poets sang the praises of the Laocoon in their lyrics the influence it exerted on the minds of contemporary artists was striking and important. Michael Angelo's painting of the execution of Haman on the roof of the Sistine was evidently inspired by this group.† In Raphael's Parnassus in the Camera della Segnatura there is a suggestion of the Laocoon in the head of Homer, and other figures in the same fresco are also taken from antique models.‡ Bramante commissioned several sculptors to make models in wax of the Laocoon for the mould of a copy to be executed in brass; he appointed Raphael judge of the competition; the young Jacopo Sansovino was awarded the palm. Federigo Gonzaga asked the famous goldsmith, Caradossa, to copy the Laocoon for him. Another interesting point about this group is that it was "the subject of the first attempt at antiquarian criticism." The question arose whether Pliny's assertion that it had been carved out of a single block of marble was true. Michael Angelo and Cristoforo Romano, "the first sculptors in Rome," were asked to decide the point. They found that it consisted of several pieces and shewed four joints in it, but so skilfully concealed that

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 136, ed. 3. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga. 21.

† *Cf.* JANITSCHEKS Repertorium, XIII., 146. GRIMM, I., 277, ed. 5, does not think that the arm with a snake twined round it, which now lies by the side of the group, is Michael Angelo's work.

‡ The Calliope which is taken from the statue of Cleopatra-Ariadne. MÜNTZ, Raphael, 594. *Cf.* also *infra*, Chap. 10.

it was not surprising that Pliny should not have remarked them.*

Hardly less interest was aroused by the discovery of another antique group, Hercules with the infant Telephus on his arm, which was found in May 1507 in the Campo di Fiore. The Pope lost no time in securing the statue, which he placed at the entrance of his museum with an inscription forbidding any to enter who had no sympathy with ancient art (*Procul este profani*).†

Subsequently the collection in the Belvedere was enlarged by the addition of the so-called Tigris statue and the reclining figure of Ariadne, which was supposed to be Cleopatra, and celebrated under this name in the poems of Capodiferro and Castiglione.‡ Finally, in January 1512, the great statue of the Tiber, found near the Minerva, was also brought to the Belvedere.§ The statues were artistically arranged either beside the fountains or on Sarcophagi ornamented with reliefs, so that the effect of the whole, with the orange grove in the centre, was rather that of a decorated garden than of a museum. "From the garden

* GRIMM, I., 276, ed. 5; MICHAELIS, 18; Arch. d. St. dell' Arte, I., 148 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40 *seq.*

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 39. *Cf.* MICHAELIS, 18, to whom this is the only report of the discovery known. There exists, however, a more detailed one in a letter of Georgius de Negroponto, dat. Rome, 19th May, 1507, which I saw in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and which has since been published by LUZIO, Lettere inedite di Fra Sabba di Castiglione, 6, note.

‡ MICHAELIS, 18 *seq.* Capodiferro's poems are in JANITSCHEKS Repert., III., 55. Castiglione's hexameters are still to be seen as an inscription near to the statue.

§ On the discovery of the statue of the Tiber, see the Mantuan Report in BERTOLOTTI, Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga, 70 (Modena, 1885), and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 30–32, which shew that Michaelis is mistaken in his view (also adopted by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 139, ed. 3) that this statue was found in the reign of Leo X.

it was only a step to the eastern balcony, with its exquisite view over the city and the wide plain to the encircling hills beyond. A spacious covered hall, enclosing the principal fountain, seems to have opened into the cortile, on the other side." Probably the statue of Hermes, now in the Uffizi Palace in Florence, and a sarcophagus of Meleander, which had been dug up from behind the church of S. Peter's, stood here.*

Each new discovery, as it stimulated the eagerness of the collectors, gave rise to fresh excavations and researches in Rome and the Campagna.† The demand for antiquities became so keen that the extreme difficulty of procuring them is often mentioned. George of Negroponte, writing from Rome in 1507, says, "The moment anything is found, innumerable bidders for it start up." From the same letter we gather that a flourishing trade in such things was carried on by speculators, the prices constantly rising and falling.‡ For some time past, many antiquities had been carried off by foreign dilettanti.§ In the beginning of the 16th Century the demand for collections

* MICHAELIS, 23. See *ibid.*, 9, the plan of the Court of Statues in the Belvedere, founded on LETAROUILLY'S Le Vatican, Cour du Belvédère, Plate 1.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 53. In the year 1506, Julius II. gave permission for excavations near S. Niccolò in Carcere : see Bullet. di corrisp. Archeol. (1867), p. 191. The rage for discoveries of course produced many forgeries inspired by vanity or desire for gain. The Dominican, Titus Annus of Viterbo, published imaginary writings, by no less than seventeen authors of his own invention, and also forged many inscriptions ; even Pomponius Laetus, the Principal of the Roman Academy, had several forged inscriptions in his collection. See J. MÜLLER, Alte u. neue Fälschungen, in Allg. Zeit. (1891), N. 111, Suppl., 14th May.

‡ LUZIO, Lettere inedite di Fra Sabba da Castiglione, 5-6, N. *Cf.* also Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 148.

§ On the exportation of Antiques, see, besides Bertolotti's rather inaccurate writings, MÜNTZ'S very valuable Antiquités, 54 *seq.*

in Rome itself was no less eager. Julius II. had to compete not only with Cardinals, such as Riario, Caraffa, Galeotto della Rovere, and, more especially, Giovanni de' Medici, but also with rich merchants such as Agostino Chigi, members of the Court, like the German Goritz, and finally, with the Roman nobles, who loved to fill their palaces with antiques. They set them up in their gardens and court-yards, and built inscriptions and even sculptures into their walls and staircases, a custom which still survives.*

The good effect of this "Pantheon of classical sculpture"† in the Vatican, was not confined to its results in stimulating research and the knowledge of antiquity; it also furnished the sculptors of that time with the noblest examples and models. The Pope himself encouraged the revival of this art by giving employment to its most distinguished masters. He took Cristoforo Romano,‡ Andrea Sansovino and Michael Angelo into his service. We shall deal fully in the next chapter with the commissions given by Julius to the greatest sculptor of modern times.§ Andrea Sansovino, who had been residing in Rome from the year 1504,‖ was charged with the erection of two marble tombs in memory of Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere, in the favourite church of the Rovere, Sta Maria del Popolo. Both were completed before the end of the year 1509. In his main design the master

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 140 *seq.*, ed. 3. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 590 *seq.*, and Hist. de l'Art, II., 105 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 134, ed. 3.

‡ It has not yet been discovered what precisely were the works on which Cristoforo was employed. All that is known is that the Pope desired him to make a medallion of himself in the year 1506. See Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 149.

§ See *infra* Chap. 9.

‖ SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 14.

adhered to the traditional form, but the composition is free, and the distribution of the parts broader and clearer. "The figures recline in peaceful slumber in a sort of a niche in the wall surmounted by a triumphal arch." *

In the year 1512, Sansovino carved a marble group of the Madonna and Child and S. Anne for the church of S. Agostino by order of the German Prelate, Johann Goritz, whose house was the rendezvous of all the best scholars and artists in Rome. "This is one of the most perfect productions of the new style." Its special characteristic is great tenderness and depth of expression, and the wonderful delineation of the three different ages which it represents.†

Our admiration of Julius II.'s indefatigable energy is still further increased when we turn to the numerous other works, which he undertook and carried out in Rome for the improvement of the existing streets, and the laying out and adorning of new ones. He connected all that he did in these directions with the works begun by Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. In April 1505, he determined to complete the Via Alessandrina; the cost of this work was divided between the Pope, the Cardinals, the officials

* LÜBKE, Gesch. der Plastik, 694; SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 14 *seq.*; SEMPER-BARTH, Bildhauerarchitekten d. Renaiss., 11 *seq.* (Dresden, 1880), and Plates 14 and 15; LETAROUILLY, Édifices, III., Pl. 239-242. According to VON GEYMÜLLER, 84, the tomb of Ascanio Sforza bears traces of Bramante's influence; indeed, he thinks it possible that the architectural part was after a design of his. The inscription on A. Sforza's grave is to be found in VAIRANI, II., 116 *seq.* Julius II. announces his intention of erecting a tomb for Ascanio in a *Brief addressed to Gundisalvo Fernandi duci Terrenove, dat. 12th June, 1505. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 327b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 385; LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, 695; SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 21 *seq.* On Andrea Galletti who was also employed by Julius II., see Appendix, N. 45.

of the Court, and the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito.* Many other streets, as the approach to the Lateran, the streets of S. Celso, Sta Lucia and many of the Piazza were embellished by Julius II.† Amongst the new streets which he made, and many of which still determine the ground-plan of the city, the Via Giulia bears his name up to the present day. Beginning at the Ponte Sisto it runs westwards in a straight line until it reaches the Tiber near the ruins of the old triumphal bridge. This latter was to have been rebuilt and was already spoken of as the Julian Bridge,‡ and so the whole would have formed a new and splendid approach to S. Peter's. The Via Giulia was then the broadest thoroughfare in Rome, and was to have been made the handsomest. We still see the trace of his plans in the now unfrequented street from which traffic has been diverted to other ways. Between the churches of San Biagio and del Suffragio we see the commencement, consisting of huge rough-hewn square stones, of the basement of an immense building which was intended to contain the Law Courts and Notarial Offices of the city, and also a handsome chapel. It was to have had four corner towers with a loftier one in the centre of the façade over the main entrance. If it had been completed, the Julian Palace "would have ranked as Bramante's greatest work

* 28th April, 1505. R^mus^ D. Card. S. Giorgii fecit verbum de via Alessandrina ut sterni posset et fuit conclusum quod S. D. N. et collegium rev. dominor. cardinalium solverent 600 ducatos et officiales 800 et hospitale S. Spiritus cum ecclesia S. Petri solverent 100 ducatos. (Acta Consist., f. 12 in Cod. T., 8, 12, in the Angelica Library, Rome.) CIACONIUS, III., 246, gives this memorandum ex antiquis MS. Vatic., with the date of 28th Aug., 1505. In Contelorius' extracts from the Acta Consist., the 26th of April is given. Arm. 37, T. 40, f. 296. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 42 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 50.

after S. Peter's and the Vatican. The immense blocks of travertine, the largest in Rome, shew on what a colossal scale the edifice was designed.*

The district lying between the Via Giulia and the Bridge of St. Angelo, which had been improved under Sixtus IV. was still further embellished by Julius. The church of S. Celso was restored, and not far from it the new Mint was erected.† The Banking-house of the wealthy and artistic Agostino Chigi, who was on such intimate terms with the Pope as financial adviser that Julius received him into the Rovere family,‡ stood in this quarter; and Galeotto della Rovere now inhabited the Cancellaria which had formerly belonged to Rodrigo Borgia. An inscription on marble, somewhat in the tombstone style, was put up in 1512 in the Via di Bacchi by the ediles Domenico Massimo and Hieronymo Pico, praising Julius II. for all he had done for the States of the Church and the liberation of Italy, and especially for having "made Rome the fitting capital of such a state by enlarging and embellishing her streets." The improvements effected in the Lungara, the street running along the right bank of the Tiber between the Leonine city and the Trastevere, quite altered the appearance of that district. The intention was to carry it on as far as the Ripa Grande as a parallel

* See Aegidius of Viterbo in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117, ed. 3. *Cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 57; Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst (1878), p. 244; ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 11, 22; REUMONT, III., 2, 376, 451; Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., I., 147.

† ALBERTINI, 49; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117, ed. 3.

‡ Concerning A. Chigi, of whom we shall have more to say in our forthcoming volume, *cf.* CUGNONI in the Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., II., 37 *seq.*, 209 *seq.* (*cf.* 224, Privileges from Julius II.), 475 *seq.*; III., 213 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 422 *seq.*; IV., 56 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*; VI., 139 *seq.*, 497 *seq.* REUMONT, III., 1, 441 *seq.*, and 2, 398 *seq.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 118 *seq.*, ed. 3, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 24 *seq.*

to the Via Giulia on the other side, but it did not make rapid progress. The Riarii and Cardinal Ferarri had country-houses and gardens where it terminated, and in the time of Julius II. Agostino Chigi's splendid Villa, the Farnesina, which was celebrated all over the world for the decorative paintings on its walls, stood there.*

Amongst the Roman churches, for which Julius did more or less, Albertini mentions S. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Biagio della Pagnotta, SS. Apostoli and Sta Maria del Popolo.† Clinging closely as Julius always did to the traditions of Sixtus IV. it will be understood that he took a special interest in this church. The Chapel of the Choir was enlarged by Bramante,‡ and the windows filled with stained glass by two French masters, Claude, whose family name is unknown, and a Dominican, Guillaume de Marcillat. These artists were also employed by the Pope for the stained glass in the Sala Regia adjoining the Sistine Chapel, and in the Papal apartments in the Vatican, and liberally rewarded § The tombs of Cardinals Basso and Sforza were placed in this chapel, and it was further embellished, apparently in the year 1505, with frescoes by Pinturicchio at the Pope's command. The exquisite harmony of colouring in this work even surpasses that of his Siena paintings. The roof seems to open in the centre to reveal a vision of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in a blue sky surrounded with a glory of cherub faces. Four circular openings in the direction of the cross axes of the central painting contain half-length figures of the Evangelists, while at the four

* REUMONT, III., 2, 451 ; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117 *seq.*, ed. 3 Further particulars in regard to the Farnesina will appear in our next vol.

† ALBERTINI, 6 *seq.* On the SS. Apostoli, see Brief of 11th Dec. 1507, in Appendix, N. 56. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ MÜNTZ in the Gazette des Beaux Arts (1879), p. 366; VON GEYMÜLLER, 85.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 393, 856.

corners of the roof square architectural frames enclose reclining forms of Sybils, painted in colour on a golden mosaic background. The depressed intermediate spaces are filled with highly-coloured *grotesques* on a dark ground while the architectural lines of the roof are defined in pale stone-colour.* It was probably Julius II.'s partiality for Sta Maria del Popolo which led Agostino Chigi to commence the building of a chapel for himself there, which, however, was only completed under Leo X. Julius II. had only possessed a modest conventual-looking house near S. Petro in Vincoli as long as he remained a Cardinal, but when he became Pope he built himself a Palace by this church.† The Villa Maglione, which had already been embellished by the art-loving Cardinal Alidosi, was further improved by Pope Julius II.‡

Outside Rome one of the first interests of this warrior Pope was to strengthen the fortresses in the States of the Church and add to their number. Work of this description was executed in Civita Vecchia,§ Ostia,‖ Civita Castellana, Montefiascone, Forli,¶ Imola,** and

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 82 *seq.* *Cf.* GRUNER, Décorations des Palais, Pl. XIII., 49.

† ALBERTINI, 22; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 22; REUMONT, III. 1, 418.

‡ *Cf.* PLATTNER'S Preface to L. Gruner, I freschi della Villa Magliana (Leipzig, 1847). On Alidosi's patronage of Art, see SPRINGER, 108; he also befriended Erasmus.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 219 *seq.*; SANUTO, VIII., 23; CIACONIUS, III., 241.

‖ *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 519. The Ferrarese Envoy mentions the building in Ostia in a *Report of 30th Oct., 1508. (State Archives, Modena.) In August 1511, when he began to recover from his serious illness, one of the first things that Julius II. spoke of was the carrying on of the works in Viterbo. SANUTO, XII., 482.

¶ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 26 (Civ. Castellana), 32 (Montefiascone), 63 (Forli).

** FANTI, Imola, 19.

Bologna.* The building of churches, however, was by no means neglected. Julius assisted in the construction of the Cathedrals of Perugia † and Orvieto,‡ and in that of churches in Bologna,§ Ferrara,‖ S. Arcangelo,¶ Corneto, and Toscanella.** He also gave a commission to Bramante for very extensive works at Loreto. While yet a Cardinal he had had the sacristy there decorated by Signorelli with a series of paintings; †† now he employed Bramante to embellish this venerated sanctuary, which was a focus of

* *Cf. supra*, p. 286. See also the *Brief, dat. Bologna, 18th Dec., 1510, to the Marquess of Mantua, which says: Ceterum cogitamus addere arci nostre Bononiae quasdam munitiones in quibus ingenio et arte dil. filii Nicolai Marie Griffoni uti volumus; est enim ut accepimus har. rerum fabricator egregius. This man is to be sent to him. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Brief of 10th July, 1512. Capitular Archives, Perugia.

‡ Studi e documenti (1890), p. 106 *seq.*

§ *Brief, dat. Bologna, 21st Feb., A°. 4°. The church of S. Dominic in Bologna contains the relics of this Saint, who is the patron of the city, and held there in special veneration. In order to encourage their devotion, and obtain funds for keeping the building in good order, the Pope granted an Indulgence to all who should visit the church on the next Feast-day of the Saint, confess their sins and give a small alms for this purpose. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 168b; *ibid.*, f. 259, *Indulgence (dat. Rom, May 7, 1507), for the restoration and decoration of the church of S. Petronio in Bologna. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ *Indulgence for the building of the church of S. John in Ferrara, Bologna, 8th Feb., 1507, A°. 4°. Ecclesiarum fabrice manus porrigere adiutrices pium et magnum apud deum meriti esse putantes fideles . . . ut per temporalia, que illis impenderint auxilia, premia consequi valeant felicitatis aeternae etc. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 183b.

¶ *Indulgence for the church B. V. M. in terra nostra S. Archangelo prope Rimini, dat. Viterbo, 3rd Mar., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 218.

** *Brief of Indulgence for the building of the church S. Johannis Cornetani et S. Leonardi de Tuscanella, dat. Viterbo, 19th Mar., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 219.

†† WOLTMANN, II., 230.

devotion to the Blessed Virgin for the whole of Italy and a large part of Europe. Paris de Grassis gives an account of these works,* of which the most important were the decorated casing of marble with which the Holy House was covered, and which belongs to Julius II., though the arms of Leo X. appear on the pedestal, and the Palace of the Canons, called subsequently the Palazzo Apostolico or Palazzo del Governo. This building was to have occupied the three sides of the piazza in front of the church, so as to form a closed atrium leading up to it, but only a portion of the design was completed.†

Next to the Sanctuary of Loreto the decoration of the Cathedral of Savona, the Pope's native city, was the work that lay nearest to his heart.‡ Before he was made Pope he had enriched it with many gifts, and after his elevation he spent no less than 27,000 scudi on its endowment and embellishment. He also built a new Palace for the Bishop there and a Chapter-house, finished the Chapel of S. Sisto, supported the Hospital with liberal alms, and sent a yearly contribution to the keeping up of the harbour.§

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 286.

† *Cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 93 *seq.*; SEMPER, Bramante, 42. See also TURSELLINUS, 160 *seq.*; VOGEL, II., 238 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI, 94; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 1891, I. (XL.), p. 168 *seq.* P. GIANNIZZI, La chiesa di S. M. di Loreto in the Rassegna Naz., 15 Sett., 1884, and Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 156 *seq.*

‡ In a *Brief to de Alegra reg. Savonæ gub., dat. Viterbo, 23rd Sept., 1505, Julius speaks of the peculiaris caritas qua dilectissimam patriam nostram Savonam prosequimur. (*Lib. brev. 22, f. 373.) Julius II. more than once interceded with Louis XII. for the citizens of Savona. See *Briefs to Louis XII. and Cardinal d'Amboise, both dated Bologna, 8th Jan., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 82b, 83. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See ASSERTO, in the Atti d. Soc. Savon., I., 451; II., 466, and the extract: O. VARALDO, Un inventario della Masseria del duomo di Savona (anno 1542) per Agost. Abati. (Savona, 1891). See also ALBERTINI, 55.

But with Julius II. the city in which the Holy See had its seat and held its Court naturally took the first place, and under him Rome became the true centre of the Art-life of Italy. The Pope's love of architecture roused the prelates, the aristocracy, and the wealthy merchants, to follow where he led, and builders, sculptors and painters were in request in all quarters of the city.* He did not, however, content himself with merely beautifying Rome; he aimed also at making the city safe and wholesome. The walls were restored in many places, and the charge of these fortifications and the chief offices of the city was handed over to men belonging to the noble Roman families, such as the Massimi, Altieri, Frangipani, Pici, della Valle, Cassarelli, Capodiferri, etc.† The works begun by Alexander VI. for strengthening the defences of the Castle of St. Angelo were continued. Guglielmo de Piemonte, a friend of Michael Angelo, and the younger Antonio Picconi da Sangallo were the architects here employed, and they also completed the entrance and the arcade leading to the Vatican. The handsome Loggie at the top of the Castle, on which Julius's name is inscribed, and from whence there is a magnificent panoramic view of Rome and the Campagna, are ascribed to Bramante.‡ The repairing of the old Cloacæ and the building of new ones, an important sanitary improvement, was the work of the Pope.§ He also constructed a new aqueduct from S. Antonio, two miles out of Rome, to the Vatican,

* TSCHACKERT, 14; *cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 279 *seq.*

† MAZIO, De' curatori delle mura di Roma, in Saggiatore, I., 83; REUMONT, III., 2, 452, 859; and MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 84, 111, 113, 114, 117, 130. See also p. 151 on the restoration of the Ponte Molle.

‡ VON GEYMÜLLER, 92; MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 60, 67 *seq.*; BORGATI, 112. The author of this latter work, an Italian officer, laments the partial destruction of these by the Italian military administration.

§ ALBERTINI, 52.

and repaired that of the Aqua Virgo.* Tommaso Inghirami, in his address to the Cardinals on the death of Julius II., referring to all that he did in these respects, says, "He found the city mean, uncleanly, and without dignity, and has so purified and embellished it that it is now worthy of the great name it bears. The buildings erected by the Savonese Popes within the last forty years make Rome what it is; all the other houses, if I may be pardoned the expression, are merely huts."†

During the lifetime of Julius II. the learned Canon Francesco Albertini compiled a guide in which, side by side with the old Rome, he describes the "new city" created by Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., and Julius II. It is really enjoyable to perambulate Rome under the guidance of this contemporary writer, and behold all the glory and beauty of the magic city as it appeared in the days of Julius II. No other source brings home to the mind so vividly as this little book does, the almost universal feeling for art which prevailed in that "happy generation where not a single house was to be found, belonging to any one who had the least pretence to culture, that did not possess some artistic feature. It might consist in the grandeur of its plan, or in some majestic pillared court, into which all the other rooms opened, or an exquisitely decorated library, the beloved sanctum of its owner, or blissful resort of his most congenial friends, or again, some precious collection of statues, or gems, or vases, or curious stuffs, the admiration and wonder of all who visited Rome. Frescoes on the walls of reception rooms or studies were so common that no attempt is made to describe them or name their painters. So little account was made of them that whole series would

* ALBERTINI, 51; REUMONT, III., 2, 451.

† FEA, Notizie, 52.

be ruthlessly wiped out, as was done in the cloisters of the Minerva, founded by Cardinal Torquemada, to make way for new and better ones." * Albertini's little book on the Wonders of old and new Rome is dedicated to Julius II. In the Preface he says "Sixtus IV. began the restoration of the city, his successors followed in his footsteps, but your Holiness has outstripped them all." At the close we find the date 3rd June, 1509. At that time Raphael was only just beginning to paint the Camera della Segnatura, and Michael Angelo was still at work in the Sistina; † so that the greatest of all Rome's wonders, those immortal monuments of religious art, had not yet been created.

* SCHMARSOW in the Intr. to his ed. of ALBERTINI, XVII.–XVIII.

† ALBERTINI, 13, only mentions Michael Angelo's work; he says nothing of the Stanze.

CHAPTER IX.

MICHAEL ANGELO IN THE SERVICE OF JULIUS II. TOMB AND BRONZE STATUE OF THE POPE. PAINTINGS OF THE CEILING IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

NICHOLAS V. and Sixtus IV. while doing so much for architecture and painting had, owing to unfavourable circumstances, paid but little regard to plastic art. Julius II. following in their footsteps, had the good fortune to be able to secure for sculpture, as well as for painting, the services of the greatest genius of his time. His name will always be associated with that of Michael Angelo, as well as with those of Raphael and Bramante. It was he who afforded to all three the opportunity for displaying and developing their wonderful gifts.

Julius II. knew Michael Angelo's Pietà in the Chapel of S. Petronilla in S. Peter's. No doubt, it was his acquaintance with this work which is one of the most noble and soul-stirring creations of Christian sculpture,* which led him in the Spring of the year 1505 to invite the artist to Rome. The great sculptor, then 33 years of age, put aside his cartoon of the battle of Cascina, which he had just begun, and obeyed the Pope's call. He arrived in March,† and found at once in Julius the most artistic of all the Popes, a patron who understood and appreciated his power. He took the strongest personal interest in the sculptor's work,

* See Vol. V. of this work, p. 79, note **, and K. HASE, Erinnerungen an Italien, 184.

† Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 426; VON GEYMÜLLER, 147.

followed every step, and pressed for its completion with the impatience of a boy. Between two such hot-tempered men as the Pope and the artist, collisions were inevitable; but they soon made friends again. They understood each other, both were *Terribili* in the Italian sense,* great, vehement souls and lovers of all great and colossal things materially and spiritually; both crowned heads, one with the diadem of Christendom, the other with that of genius.†

The first commission which the Pope gave to the artist was characteristic of both men. A colossal marble tomb was to be carved for him during his lifetime. Michael Angelo at once set to work to prepare several designs, of which one was accepted, and an agreement was drawn up binding the sculptor to complete the monument within five years, and fixing the price at 10,000 ducats;‡ meanwhile he was to draw a monthly provision of 100 ducats. Michael Angelo threw himself into his task with the greatest enthusiasm. He went at once to Carrara to obtain the material for his work and remained there eight months, superintending with the greatest care, first the quarrying, and then the transport of the marble, which weighed in round numbers about 110 tons.§

In the beginning of the new year (1506) he returned to Rome and set up a workshop in the Piazzo San Pietro.‖

* *Cf. supra*, p. 212.

† HASE, Erinnerungen an Italien, 183.

‡ FREY, Studien, 92.

§ GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 272 *seq.*, ed. 5; FREY, Studien, 93. Frey deserves credit for being the first to attempt to fix the dates of Michael Angelo's various works under Julius II.

‖ Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 426, 493. Michael Angelo here describes his workshop as una casa che m'aveva data Julio dietro a Santa Caterina. This church (S. Caterina delle Cavallerotte) was in the Piazza Rusticucci (see ARMELLINI, 175). The exact date of Michael Angelo's return to Rome cannot be determined. FREY says, correctly,

He was burning with eagerness to begin his work. "Most honoured father," he writes on 31st January, 1506, "I should be quite satisfied with my position, if only my marble had arrived; but I seem to be most unfortunate in this matter, for in all the time that I have been here we have had only two days of favourable weather. Some days ago one of the ships arrived after a narrow escape of running aground owing to the bad weather. Then, while I was unloading it, the river suddenly rose and flooded all the wharf, so that as yet I have not been able to do anything. I have only good words to give to the Pope, and hope he will not get angry. I trust I may soon be able to begin, and then to get on quickly. God grant it."*

There was, however, a much worse difficulty in the way, owing to the change in the Pope's mind which was now turning more and more away from the thought of the tomb and towards the building of the new S. Peter's.† In compensation for this disappointment Michael Angelo was to be given a commission to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel;‡ but the master felt himself deeply aggrieved: the money he had received was not sufficient to pay even the freights of the marble. On the strength of the Pope's order he had set up his workshop at his own cost and procured assistance from Florence. On the 17th of April, 1506, he heard that the Pope had said to a goldsmith and to his Master of Ceremonies that he would not give another farthing for stones, large or small. In much astonishment, Michael Angelo demanded before he left the Vatican a portion of the money

before the 14th Jan., 1506 (Studien, 93); SYMONDS, I., 130-131, makes it still earlier.

* *Ibid.*, 6; GUHL, I., 121.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 463.

‡ It is uncertain whether this plan was the Pope's own thought, or was suggested by Bramante. See FREY, Studien, 93.

that he required for the prosecution of his work. The Pope put off seeing him till the Monday following, but when the day came the promised audience was not granted. The same thing was repeated on the following days. When on the 17th April he appeared again he was refused admittance by the express command of the Pope. Upon this he flared up. "Tell the Pope," he is said to have exclaimed, "that if he wants me any more he will have to find me wherever he can." Then he rushed out of the Palace, desired his servants to sell his things, and mounting his horse left Rome at once, with a firm determination never to set foot in it again.*

When Julius was told of Michael Angelo's flight (it was on the eve of the day of the laying of the foundation-stone for S. Peter's) he commanded that the sculptor should be pursued at once and brought back by force if necessary. But Michael Angelo had ridden fast, and it was not till he had arrived safely in Poggibonsi, on Florentine soil, that the messengers succeeded in overtaking him and handing him a letter from the Pope, commanding him to return at once under pain of his serious displeasure. The angry artist, however, had no notion of complying. At 11 p.m. he wrote to the Pope that he would never return to Rome. "For the good service which I have rendered to your Holiness, I have not deserved to be turned out of your Palace as if I were a worthless lackey. Since your Holiness no longer requires the monument I am freed from my obligation, and I will not contract any new one."†

* *Cf.* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 279 *seq.*, 519 *seq.*, ed. 5. The divergencies in Michael Angelo's own accounts of the incident are here carefully examined.

† CONDIVI, 38–39; ed. FREY, 74. According to this writer, Michael Angelo arrived at Poggibonsi a due hore di notte. Michael Angelo himself says later, it was circa a tre ore di notte. GRIMM, Michelangelo

Michael Angelo's friends, and especially Giuliano da Sangallo, did their best to bring about a reconciliation between him and the Pope. On the 2nd May, Michael Angelo wrote to Giuliano from Florence, "I beg you to read my answer to the Pope. I wish His Holiness to know that I am ready, indeed, more willing than ever, to go on with my work. If he wishes, whatever happens, to have the tomb, he ought not to mind where I execute the work, provided I keep to my agreement, that at the end of the five years it shall be put up in S. Peter's wherever he chooses, and that it shall be well done. I am certain that when it is completed there will be nothing to equal it in the whole world. If His Holiness will agree to this I should be glad to receive his commission in Florence, from whence I will correspond with him. I have several blocks of marble at Carrara at my disposal which I can have sent here, and the persons that I shall want to assist me can also come here. Though I shall be considerably out of pocket by doing the work here I shall not mind that. As each portion is finished I shall send it at once to Rome, so that His Holiness will have as much pleasure in it as if I were at hand, and, indeed, more, as he will only see the finished work and have no anxieties about it."*

A week later a friend of Michael Angelo's wrote to him from Rome, "Last Saturday, I and Bramante were called up to report to the Pope while he was at table, on a number of drawings and plans: I was first, and after dinner Bramante was called, and the Pope said to him, 'to-morrow

I., 517, ed. 5, mistranslates "2 ore di notte" as 8 o'clock p.m. FREY, Studien, 93, falls into the same error. The night from 15th April, according to the Italian reckoning, begins about 8 p.m. (See LERSCH, Ewiges Calendarium, 7. Münster, 1877); thus between the second and third hours of the night would be between 10 and 11 p.m.

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 377 *seq.* GUHL, I., 123.

Sangallo is going to Florence and will bring Michael Angelo back with him.' Bramante answered, 'Your Holiness, Sangallo had better not count on it: I know Michael Angelo well, and he has said to me more than once that he did not intend to paint the Chapel; your Holiness was pushing him hard, but he would not undertake anything but the tomb.' Bramante said further, 'Holy Father, I do not think he trusts himself for this work; he will have to paint figures greatly foreshortened to be seen from below; that is a very different thing from painting on the flat.' The Pope answered, 'If he does not come, it will be a slight to me, and, therefore, I believe that he will.' Then I shewed that I too was there and spoke out, somewhat as you would have done if you had had to speak for me. I called him a knave straight out before the Pope, at which he was struck quite dumb, for he saw that he had said what he ought not. At last I said, 'Holy Father, this man has never spoken with Michael Angelo about these things, if what I say is not true may my head fall at my feet. I will stick to it; this conversation never took place, and Michael Angelo will return if your Holiness really desires it.' Thus the matter ended, and no more was said. God be with you. If I can do anything for you you have only to tell me. My respects to Simone Pollajuolo."*

On the 8th of July the Pope made another attempt to induce the sculptor to return, writing the following Brief to the Signoria. "Beloved Sons—Greeting and Apostolic blessing—Michelangelo the sculptor, who left us without reason, and in mere caprice, is afraid, we are informed, of returning, though we for our part are not angry with him, knowing the humours of such men of genius. In order then that we may lay aside all anxiety, we rely on your loyalty to convince him in our name, that if he returns to

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 283–284, ed. 5.

us he shall be uninjured and unhurt, retaining our Apostolic favour in the same measure as he formerly enjoyed it." *

Michael Angelo, who apparently had now resumed work on his cartoon and the bronze statues of the Twelve Apostles for the Cathedral of Florence, adhered resolutely to his refusal. Meanwhile, another letter arrived from the Pope. The Gonfaloniere Soderini sent for the artist, to remonstrate with him. "You have behaved towards the Pope," he is said to have told him, "in a way that the King of France himself would not have ventured upon. There must be an end to all this. We are not going to be dragged into a war, and risk the whole State for you. Make up your mind to go back to Rome." It was all in vain: it has even been asserted that Michael Angelo now thought of leaving Italy, and betaking himself to the Sultan, who had asked him to build a bridge for him from Constantinople to Pera.† The poems composed at that time, in which he denounces the corruption in Rome in the strongest terms, betray tension and irritation with which his mind was filled during this period.‡ The good offices of Cardinal Alidosi, the Pope's favourite, whose mediation had been invoked by the Florentine Government proved equally unavailing.

Meanwhile Julius II. had set out on his march against Bologna, and entered the city in triumph on the 11th of November, 1506.§ It was felt that this magnificent success should be immortalised by some monumental work of art. A statue of the Pope in stucco had already on the 17th

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, 284–285, ed. 5; GOTTI, I., 45; SYMONDS, I., 180.

† *Ibid.*, I., 285 *seq.*, ed. 5.

‡ *Cf.* Sonnet, 3 (Rime di Michelangelo, ed. Guasti, 156). SYMONDS, I., 182 *seq.*, assigns the fourth sonnet (*loc. cit.*, 157. Qua si fa elmi d. calice e spade) to this date, while FREY, Studien, 101, thinks it was not written until April 1512.

§ See *supra*, p. 281 *seq.*

of December been put up in front of the Palace of the Government at Bologna.* But Julius II. had set his heart on a more durable work, a colossal bronze statue, to be a perpetual memento always under the eyes of the Bolognese of the greatness of their new ruler. The natural result was a fresh letter from Cardinal Alidosi to the Florentine Government, requesting them to send Michael Angelo to Bologna, where he would have no cause to complain of his reception. Now at last the sculptor gave way. Towards the end of November he started for the city, provided with a letter from Soderini, which ran as follows:—"The bearer of these presents will be Michelangelo the sculptor, whom we send to please and satisfy His Holiness. We certify that he is an excellent young man, and in his own art without a peer in Italy, perhaps even in the Universe. It would be impossible to recommend him too highly. His nature is such that he requires to be drawn out by kindness and encouragement; but if love is shewn to him, and he is well treated, he will accomplish things which will make the whole world wonder." The letter was dated November 27. A postscript was added which said, "Michelangelo comes in reliance on our plighted word." Subsequently, the artist said that he had gone to Bologna with a halter round his neck.†

His reception was stormy. "It was your business to have come to seek us," the Pope said, "whereas you have waited till we came to seek you;" alluding to his march to

* *Cf.* PODESTA, Due Statue, 109 *seq.*; and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 77.

† GAYE, Carteggio, II., 91; GUHL, Künstlerbriefe, I., 124–125; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 297 *seq.*, ed. 5; SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 109; the expression: Mi fu forza andare là con la coreggia al collo, is in his famous letter to Giov. Francesco Fattucci, of Jan. 1524. Lettere de Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 427.

Bologna. Michael Angelo fell upon his knees and begged for pardon in a loud voice. He declared his flight had not been deliberate. He had gone away in a fit of rage because he could not stand the way in which he had been driven from the Palace. Julius II. made no answer, but sat there frowning, with his head down, until one of the Prelates who had been asked by Soderini to put in a good word for Michael Angelo if necessary, intervened and said "Your Holiness should not be so hard on this fault of Michael Angelo; he is a man who has never been taught good manners, these artists do not know how to behave, they understand nothing but their art." On this, the Pope, in a fury, turned on the unlucky mediator. "You venture," he shouted, "to say to this man things that I should not have dreamt of saying. It is you who have no manners. Get out of my sight, you miserable, ignorant clown." Then reaching out his hand to Michael Angelo he forgave him, and at once commissioned him to execute a statue of himself in bronze, which was to be 7 cubits high (about 14 feet). Then he asked what the cost would be, to which the sculptor replied, "I think the mould could be made for 1000 ducats, but foundry is not my trade, and therefore I cannot bind myself." "Go," answered Julius, "set to work at once, and make as many moulds as you like, until the statue is perfect; you shall have no reason to complain of your pay."* This famous audience which terminated the estrangement between these two fiery spirits, probably took place on the 29th November, 1506.† It shews how well the Pope understood that genius levels all distinction of states.

Michael Angelo now set to work at once at Bologna.

* CONDIVI, 41-42. Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 429; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 298 *seq.*, ed. 5. SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 110.

† FREY, Studien, 93.

The Pope often visited him. In a letter to his brother Buonarroti, dated 1st February, 1507, he says, "Last Friday evening His Holiness spent half an hour in my work-room He bestowed his blessing on me and gave me to understand that he was pleased with my work. We have all great cause to thank God, and I beg you to pray for me." * On the 28th April the wax model was finished, and at the end of June the casting was begun, but was unsuccessful; only the bust came out, the other half stuck in the mould.† Michael Angelo, however, was not discouraged, and worked day and night, until an entirely satisfactory result was attained. From the 18th of February, 1508, the statue was exhibited for three days in the Cathedral of S. Petronio. The whole city flocked to see it. The Bolognese magistrates wrote to Rome. "It is a wonderful work, equal to your own ancient remains." On the 21st February the statue was placed in a niche over the door of S. Petronio with great demonstrations of joy.‡

The figure was three times the size of life. The Pope was represented sitting in full pontificals, with the Tiara on his head, the keys in one hand, and the other raised in blessing. The work seemed calculated to last for ever; in reality, its duration was of the shortest. On the 30th December,§ 1511, it fell a victim to the hatred of the

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 65. The well-known story of the sculptor's having asked Julius whether he should put a book into his left hand, and the Pope's reply, "Give me a sword, I am not a scholar," sounds like a later invention. If it had been true, Michael Angelo would hardly have ventured to put S. Peter's keys into the hand of the statue.

† Lettere, *loc. cit.*, 148, 78, 79.

‡ *Cf.* PODESTA, Due Statue, 107, 111, 124 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 79; GOTTI, I., 66. The date given by Tizio (in FEA, Notizie, 25) is incorrect.

§ Not in September as SPRINGER, III., and GUHL, I., 125, say.

Bentivogli party, who had already in May destroyed the stucco figure of the Pope.* When the immense mass of metal, weighing over 14,000 pounds, fell to the ground, it made a deep hole in the earth although straw and bundles of sticks had been prepared to receive it. The noble statue was broken to pieces amidst gibes and jeers, and the Duke of Ferrara had a cannon made from the metal which was called La Giulia, in mockery of the Pope. The head of the figure, weighing 600 pounds, was preserved for a long time in Ferrara, but finally disappeared. This was the end of the finest statue in Italy, as the Bolognese chronicler calls it.†

Michael Angelo had returned to his home in Florence as soon as the statue was finished, but he was not allowed to remain there long. In March 1508, Julius II. recalled him to Rome, not, however, to proceed with the tomb, but to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel.‡ "It is to the honour of Julius that he again set his own personal glory, in employing the artist on work of a wider scope." § Michael Angelo, who only felt the fulness of genius with chisel in hand, at first resisted, saying that painting was not his trade.||

* PODESTA, Due Statue, 114 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 243; FEA, Notizie, 25; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 401, ed. 5; HAVEMANN, II., 364. Letters published by CAMPORI in the Atti dell' Emilia, N. S. VI., 1, 131 *seq.*, retail the anger of the Pope and the lame excuses of the Duke. The story of the statue formed the theme of several contemporary poems. See CAMPORI, *loc. cit.*, and CAPPELLI, Prefaz. alle Lettere di L. Ariosto, LIX. Bologna, 1866.

‡ SYMONDS, I., 198; FREY, Studien, 94.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 147, ed. 3.

|| Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 17. *Cf.* the Sonnet to Giovanni da Pistoja (Rime, ed. Guasti, 158), which closes with the words: nè io pittore. In almost all the letters of this period, he signs himself with a touch of ostentation: Michelangiolio, *Scultore* in Roma. *Cf.* WOLTMANN, II., 577; and SYMONDS, I., 200.

But the iron will of the Pope prevailed, and forced the brush into the unwilling fingers that were tingling to clasp the sterner instrument. An agreement was concluded between Julius II. and the artist, in which the latter engaged himself to paint the central vault of the roof of the Sistine Chapel for a sum of 3000 ducats.

Michael Angelo, having received 500 ducats on account from the Pope, set to work at once on the cartoons with his wonted energy. According to the artist's own account, in the first plan the Twelve Apostles were to be painted in the lunettes, and all the other spaces were, according to the usual practice of the time, to be filled with decorative designs.* Before the end of May the scaffolding had already been put up. On the eve of Pentecost (10th June) the Chapel was so full of noise and dust that the Cardinals could hardly get through the office.†

Meanwhile Michael Angelo had conceived a more extensive plan for his paintings, connecting them with the frescoes already existing in the Chapel, the superiority of which was at once appreciated by Julius II. In consequence a new agreement was drawn up in the Summer. The whole roof down to the windows was to be covered with figures, and the fee was to be 6000 ducats instead of 3000. All the materials were to be supplied to the artist.‡ Michael Angelo

* See his Letter to G. F. FATTUCCI. Lettere di Michelangelo, ed Milanesi, 427. *Cf.* also WÖLFFLIN, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 178; and FREY, Studien, 94.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 Periode, XXV., 385–386; FREY, Studien, *loc. cit.* The bill for the scaffolding is in ZAHN, Notizie, 187 (*cf.* SYMONDS, I., 201), also in NAUMANN'S Archiv., XIII., 109. The receipt for the 500 ducats on account in Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 563, had already been printed in FÖRSTER-KUGLER, Kunstblatt, 1844, N. 105.

‡ Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 30, 430. FREY, Studien, 95. On Michelangelo's Studies for the figures on the roof, see ROBINSON,

now began to look about for assistants, ordered his colours, and probably began to paint in the late Autumn of 1508.* The Pope was as usual desperately eager and impatient, and refused to grant the artist a short leave of absence for a journey to Florence.†

On the 27th January, 1509, Michael Angelo complained to his father that the work was not getting on, as his assistants had proved worthless, and he had had to dismiss them. The result of this was, that this gigantic work was not only designed by Michael Angelo, but almost entirely painted by his own hands.‡ Besides the enormous amount of labour involved in this, he had also to master the technique of fresco painting, in which he had had no experience. In consequence, the hot-tempered artist had many a passage of arms with his impatient patron. But the two passionate natures understood each other, and were soon friends again. "Probably the alternations of merciless pressure and unmeasured vituperation with the frankest indulgence and kindness, which characterised the relations between Julius II. and Michael Angelo, were the means of obtaining more from him than any other treatment could have done." § In June, 1509, the Roman Canon Albertini saw the paintings already commenced in the central vault of the roof.‖

The drawings of Michael Angelo and Raphael in the University Galleries, 27 *seq.* (Oxford, 1870); SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 115 *seq.*, and SYMONDS, I., 204 *seq.*

* *Cf.* H. WILSON, 126, 194; SYMONDS, I., 202 *seq.*; FREY, 95 *seq.*

† GAYE, II., 107.

‡ *Cf.* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 17. Michael Angelo's statements in this letter, that he had not for a whole year received a penny from Julius II., is not accurate, as FREY, Studien, 97, shews. The same writer says that the work of other hands can be detected, both in the sacrifice and the drunkenness of Noe, and elsewhere also. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 112.

§ BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 644.

‖ ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 13; *cf.* FREY, Studien, 97–98, who

In May 1510, after a Winter of strenuous labour, Michael Angelo took a short holiday, which he spent in Florence.* With all his diligence and energy, the painter could not work fast enough for his impatient task-master. Julius II. climbed up on the scaffolding (Michael Angelo had to lend him a hand to help him up the last ladder) with the sole object of worrying the artist with questions as to when the work would be finished.†

But the time was approaching when the life or death struggle for the independence of the Papacy and the liberation of Italy from the French was to absorb the Pope's whole energies and thoughts. On the 17th August, 1510, he left Rome, and on the 1st of September he began his march on Bologna, where he found himself reduced to the greatest straits.‡ For the present it was out of the question to spare anything for Art.§ Already in September all payments ceased, and Michael Angelo did not know what to do. At first he wrote to the Pope, but at the end of the month he decided on going himself to Bologna. In October he returned to Rome where, by the orders of Julius, the Datary, Lorenzo Pucci, gave him 500 ducats. But the payments soon again came to an end; on which the artist repeated his personal appeal to the Pope and was once more successful. "Last Tuesday," he writes from Rome to his brother on the 11th January, 1511, "I got back here safely, and the money has been paid to me."

rejects, I think rightly, the opinions of GRIMM, I., 526, ed. 5, and WÖLFFLIN, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 272, and SYMONDS, I., 211, who state that Michael Angelo had finished the figures on the first half of the roof by All Saints' Day, 1509.

* FREY, Studien, 99.

† *Cf.* CONDIVI, 48, 50; and FREY, *loc. cit.*, 99.

‡ *Cf. supra*, pp. 332, 336.

§ SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 117.

He enclosed a bill of exchange for 228 ducats; but by the end of February the needs of the campaign had again absorbed the promised instalments. "I believe," he writes to his brother on the 23rd February, "that I shall soon have to pay another visit to Bologna. When the Pope's Datary with whom I returned here last time, went back thither, he promised me that he would see that I should have money to go on with. But now he has been gone a month, and I have heard nothing from him. I shall wait another week and then, if there is still no news, shall go to Bologna, taking Florence on the way. Tell my father this."*

He was able to put off this journey, for the money arrived, and the work was resumed, and in spite of all those difficulties, was approaching completion. In the short period of 22 months (from November, 1508, to August, 1510), not counting interruptions, the painting of the whole central vault was finished.† But at what a cost of almost superhuman toil. Day after day the artist had to work lying on his back with the paint dropping on his face. Vasari says that his eyes had become so accustomed to looking upwards, that for some time, when he wanted to read a letter he had to hold it above his head. In a sonnet, addressed to Giovanni da Pistoja, he describes his sufferings in a vein of somewhat bitter humour:

I' ho già fatto un gozzo in questo stento
Come fa l'acqua a' gatti in Lombardia,
O ver d'altro paese che si sia,
Ch 'a forza 'l ventre appicca sotto 'l mento.

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 99, 101, 109. *Cf.* GRIMM, I., 389 *seq.*, ed. 5; and FREY, 99–100.

† GRIMM, *loc. cit.*, 390; and FREY, 100.

La barba al cielo. e la memoria sento
In sullo scrignio, e 'l petto fo d' arpia;
E 'l pennel sopra 'l viso tuttavia
Mel fa, gocciando, un ricco pavimento.

E lombi entrati mi son nella peccia
E fo del cul per contrapeso groppa
E' passi senza gli occhi muovo invano.

Dinanzi mi s' allunga la corteccia
E per piegarsi adietro si ragroppa
E tendomi com' arco sorïano.

Però fallace e strano
Surgie il iudizio che la mente porta;
Chè mal si tra' per cerbottana torta.

La mia pittura morta
Difendi orma', Giovanni, e 'l mio onore
Non sendo il loco bon, nè io pittore.*

* Rime di Michelangelo, ed. Guasti, 158. The following translation is by Mr. T. A. Symonds:

I've grown a goitre by dwelling in this den,
As cats from stagnant streams in Lombardy,
As in whatever land they hap to be
Which drives the belly close beneath the chin:
My beard turns up to heaven: my nape falls in,
Fixed on my spine: my breast bone visibly
Grows like a harp: a rich embroidery
Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin.
My loins into my pannels like levers grind:
My buttock like a crupper bears my weight:
My feet unguided wander to and fro;
In front my skin grows loose and long; behind,
By bending it becomes more taut and strait;
Crosswise I strain me like a Syrian bow,
Whence false and quaint I know,
Must be the fruit of squinting brain and eye;
For ill can aim the gun that bends awry.
Come then, Giovanni, try
To succour my dead pictures and my fame,
Since foul I fare and painting is my shame,

SYMONDS' *Michelangelo*, I., 234-235.

In order fully to estimate the amazing power and energy of the artist it must be remembered that the surface to be covered measured more than 10,000 square feet, and with its intersecting curves, lunettes, etc., bristled with difficulties for the painter. The magic wand of the artist filled the whole of this space with figures (343) in every imaginable position, attitude, and form of foreshortening, some 12 feet high, the Prophets and Sybils nearly 18 feet, and all carefully and conscientiously finished.* All the details, the hairs of the head and beard, the finger nails, the creases in the soles of the feet are painted with the marvellous truth to nature of the 15th Century, while the whole is steeped in the large and restful spirit of consummate art."†

The most important portion of these paintings was completed just at the most critical moment in the whole Pontificate of Julius II. The States of the Church were lying defenceless at the mercy of the victorious army of the King of France, while at the same time the same foe was attacking the spiritual authority of the Pope with the threat of a Council. In a powerless, but with a still unbroken spirit, the Pope had returned to his Palace on the 27th June, 1511.‡ On the eve of the Feast of the Assumption, the patronal festival of the Sistine Chapel, he attended Vespers there and saw the frescoes unveiled at last, that is all those of the central vaults; the architectural framework, historical groups and single figures forming a complete whole in itself.§

* SYMONDS, I., 205. Goethe says that no one who has not seen the Sistine Chapel can have a complete conception of what a single man can accomplish.

† LÜBKE, II., 117, who calls attention also to the admirable finish of the sculptures in the Pantheon.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 362.

§ FREY, Studien, 100. The passage in PARIS DE GRASSIS on the sight of the *picturas novas ibidem noviter detectas* is wanting in Döllinger's edition; he seems to have no understanding of the historical

In the middle of August, 1511, Michael Angelo began the cartoons for the paintings in the remaining interspaces and lunettes. At the end of September he had two audiences from the Pope, after the last of which he received 400 ducats.* In May 1512, he was again in distress for money, which was not surprising, considering the political situation at that time. Michael Angelo told Cardinal Bibbiena that he would throw up his work and go, on which the Cardinal managed to procure 2000 ducats for him.† In July he was again so diligent that he only wrote letters at night. On the 24th of July, 1512, he wrote: "I am working harder than any man has ever worked before, and I am not well, but I am resolved to have patience, and toil on to the end." Shortly before this, he had shewn his work from the scaffolding to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara and been cheered by his hearty appreciation of it; the Duke had also given him a commission for a picture.‡ In October, he was able at last to announce to his father that all the paintings were completed, and that the Pope was extremely pleased with them.§ With characteristic piety Michael Angelo substituted for the usual artists' signature an inscription close to the prophet Jeremias, ascribing the honour of the completion of his work to God, the Alpha and Omega, through whose assistance it had been begun and ended.||

value of notices of this description. MÜNTZ published it in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 période, XXV. (1882), 386.

* FREY, Studien, 101.

† Lettere di Michelangelo, 428.

‡ *Cf.* Grossino's undated Report in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 37, which has been overlooked by Frey. This Report must have been written between the 5th and 18th of July.

§ Lettere di Michelangelo, 104, 23; and also FREY, Studien, 102.

|| STEINMANN has been the first to notice this inscription in the Repertorium f. Kunstwissensch., XVII., 178.

On All Hallow's Eve (October 31st), "the most sublime creation that colours and brush have ever produced," was unveiled.* The work called forth a perfect furore of enthusiastic admiration. Its nobility of thought and the skilfulness of the composition were praised to the skies, and still more the perfection of the drawing and of the plastic effects.† The Pope, then rapidly nearing his end, had the satisfaction of celebrating High Mass in the Chapel, which through him had become a shrine of noble art; thus fittingly closing a Pontificate which throughout had been devoted to lofty aims.

Nearly four centuries have elapsed since the unveiling of the roof of the Sistine. The smoke of candles has blackened it, time has seamed it with cracks, the colours have faded more or less, but still the effect is overpowering. "No doubt from the beginning colour was never the main consideration in this work, the drawing was the effective element, and continues to this day to impress on

* See WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 580. *Cf.* STOLBERG, Reise in Deutschland der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien, I., 434 *seq.* (Mayence, 1877), and Goethe's well-known saying that Nature herself was eclipsed by Michael Angelo, because no one but he could see her with such eyes. "One may read any number of treatises on the sublime," writes CASTELAR (Errinerungen an Italien, 77), "without finding oneself able to get a clear grip of what is meant. But raise your eyes to the vault of the Sistina, and here you will find what you seek, the sublime is that which bewilders, and, as it were, annihilates us with the sense of the inadequacy of the relation between our weak nature and the infinite greatness of an idea, filling the soul with fear and with joy." Braun's splendid photographs make it possible to study all the details of the great work. Excellent copies of the creation, of Adam, of Eve, the Fall, Isaias, Jeremias, the Delphic and Lybian Sybils, by C. Schwarzer, are to be seen in the Schack Gallery at Munich. The Report of PARIS DE GRASSIS over the unveiling, which is likewise wanting in Döllinger's edition, is printed in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 période, XXV., 387.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 152, ed. 3.

the mind such a sense of its intense power and truthfulness that for the time the beholder forgets that there can be anything else in the world worth looking at."*

The idea of framing his pictures in a painted architectural design, subdividing the plain surface of the roof, was a bold and novel thought, and might have seemed fanciful, but for the purpose it was meant to serve, the effect was perfect. "The stone vaulting disappears, the fairy architecture resting on the real, flings its arches across the intervening space, sometimes with hangings stretched between them, and sometimes open to the sky in which the figures seem to float."†

In regard to the subjects of his paintings Michael Angelo simply carried out his scheme begun in the frescoes on the walls, which had been painted under Sixtus IV., in accordance with the triple division of the Plan of Salvation in use in the Middle Ages. This was divided into the period preceding the giving of the Law; that of the Law, and that of Grace in the Kingdom founded by Christ.‡ The frescoes on the left side represented the life of Moses, the period of the Law: those on the right the life of Christ, the Reign of Grace.§

* WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 586; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 666, and SZÉCSEN, Rafael, 559.

† See G. WARNECKE'S striking article on Michael Angelo's roof-paintings in Lützow's Zeitschrift (1891), N. F. II., 301. Warnecke is right in saying that Michael Angelo's painted architecture is in itself fanciful and unreal, but admirably effective for its purpose. Lübke had already expressed a similar opinion. The artist worked out his architectural divisions in the roof on ordinary constructive lines, but he had no intention of representing a real roof, and made no attempt to do so. Unlike some of the *baroque* artists, and the panoramists of the present day, his object was not to simulate a roof, but only to create an ideal framework by architectural divisions.

‡ LÜBKE, II., 92, was the first to point this out correctly. WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 582, agrees with him.

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 468 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

Thus the period before the Law from the Creation to the Deluge was still wanting, and its principal events, as narrated in Genesis, were taken by Michael Angelo as the subjects for his pictures. He depicted them in four large and five smaller rectangular compartments on the flat space in the middle of the roof running from end to end. His treatment of the idea of the Creation which is described in revelation as the immediate act of the Divine Will through the efficient Word, saying, "Be it thus, and it was," is absolutely unique in its genius and power. We see and feel the rushing sweep of the breath of the Eternal through those days in which His Word called forth the heavens and the earth, the spiritual and the corporeal worlds into existence, out of the void. "Michael Angelo was the first of all artists to grasp the idea of Creation not as a mere word with the sign of Benediction, but as motion. Thus with him each separate creative act can have a characteristic form of its own." *

God, appearing at first quite alone, calls heaven and earth, the world of spirits, and the world of matter into existence. He divides light from darkness, which flies away at His word. Then, with angels now clustering round him, and sheltering under his mantle, the Father, sweeping through space, creates the earth and all the life that springs from her.† "On this follows the climax of creation in the bestowal of life upon Adam, and with it that of the genius of Michael Angelo." Surrounded by a host of heavenly spirits, "the Almighty approaches the earth, and touching with His finger the outstretched finger

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 643.

† The interpretation of the first three pictures here given, differs of course from the one hitherto most usually received; but it seems to me the most probable, both as adhering more closely to the words of Genesis, and also corresponding better with the paintings themselves.

of the first man, in whom the approaching gift is already foreshadowed, communicates the vital spark. In the whole realm of art this master-stroke of genius, in thus giving a clear sensuous expression to a spiritual conception, stands unrivalled, and the progenitor of the human race is worthily represented in the noble figure of Adam."* The creation of Eve is an equally perfect conception in its masterly purity and solemnity. Adam lies in a deep sleep; God stands before him; Eve is rising; she has just gained her feet, but one knee is still bent. She appears at the bidding of her Creator, with clasped hands stretching towards Him, thanking Him for the gift of life.† In all these pictures nothing is introduced but what is absolutely necessary to make the situation clear. All accessories that might distract the attention from the main subject are excluded.

The scenes which follow, taken from the early history of mankind,—especially that of the fall and the expulsion from Paradise,—the sin and its punishment, both portrayed in the same picture, are equally powerful, simple,

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 643. *Cf.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 261 *seq.*; LÜBKE, II., 102 *seq.*; GRIMM, I., 341 *seq.*, ed. 5; SCHADEN, 125–126, 229, 230 *seq.*; RIO, Michel-Ange, 31 *seq.*; OLLIVIER, 64 *seq.*; and GOYAU-PÉRATÉ, 547 *seq.*; BÜTTNER, Adam und Eva, 61 *seq.* WARNECKE in Lützow's Zeitschrift, N. F., II., 303, says, "As far as Art is concerned, the only adequate representation of the, to human reason, ever insoluble mystery of creation, is that conceived by Michael Angelo." In all later artists beginning with Raphael we can trace the influence of Michael Angelo's majestic conception of the Creator as the "primal Fount of elementary force." Cornelius truly says that since the time of Phidias nothing like this had been produced.

† STOLBERG, Reise, etc., I., 436. *Cf.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 264, and SYMONDS, I., 267. On the creation of Eve, see also RIO, Michel-Ange, 29; OLLIVIER, 70 *seq.*; KLACZKO in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, CXIV., 882 (1892, Nov. to Dec.); BÜTTNER, 62 *seq.*; and KEKULÉ in Jahrb. d. Deutschen Archäol. Instituts, V., 193.

and striking. In the picture of the fall the tree of knowledge occupies the centre, the serpent (the upper half a female form) hands the forbidden fruit to Eve. Immediately behind the tempter a startling effect is produced by the instantaneous apparition of the avenging angel driving the culprits out of Paradise; while Eve, holding back her golden hair, casts one despairing, longing look behind her.* The deluge, in one of the large compartments, also presents many striking scenes; in the whole composition the horror of the catastrophe is most powerfully rendered.† The next picture, probably representing the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, contains an

* See KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 531; GRIMM, I., 345–346, ed. 5; BÜTTNER, 64 *seq.*; and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 479.

† *Cf.* LÜBKE, II., 105–107. The seventh picture represents a sacrifice, according to Condivi and Vasari, with whom GRIMM, I., 346, ed. 5, and OLLIVIER, 75, agree, that of Cain and Abel. PLATTNER, II., 1, 265 *seq.*, sees in it Noe's thank-offering. SPRINGER, 122, and LÜBKE, II., 104, follow him. The three last pictures (the Sacrifice, the Deluge, and Noe's drunkenness) were the earliest painted; the figures in them are more numerous, and consequently smaller, than in the others. After they were finished, Michael Angelo began to feel that the distance from the eye required a larger scale. WÖLFFLIN in Janitschek's Repert., XIII., 265 *seq.* (1890), points out that in the succeeding pictures the figures go on increasing in size. "Compare the figure of God the Father creating the sun and moon with the Divine form imparting life to Adam. This crescendo in the scale of the figures is the consequence of a change in the artist's feeling for space." The same writer, one of those who understand Michael Angelo best, remarks a similar increase in the dimensions of the captive forms; those which surround the last picture, the division of light from darkness, are the largest, and the same holds good with regard to the Prophets and Sybils. The style becomes gradually bolder and more pictorial, the figures grow. . . . . Even the little decorative figures, which are so profusely scattered about, are carried along in the same stream of development with the coupled slaves, and the stone-coloured children standing by the walls of the prophets' thrones follow suit with the others."

unusually large number of figures. The series is closed by the picture of Noe and his sons.

The nine central paintings have the effect of hangings stretched across the simulated architectural supports of the roof; they form the principal and most prominent part of its decoration. Next in importance come the series of Prophets and Sybils painted on the descending curve of the vaulting between the arches. There are twelve in all, five on each of the long sides and one at each end, all of colossal size: the giant-spirit needs a giant-form to express it. The effect of these figures, with their majestic draperies, is intensely spiritual,* and yet the outlines are so strong and firm that they look as if they were carved in stone.† The sides of the marble seats in which they are enthroned form the main support of the imaginary roof. Attendant genii accompany the Prophets of the Messias for the two worlds of Judaism and heathenism; some sit absorbed in thought or vision, poring over their books or scrolls, while others again with impassioned gestures proclaim what they have seen. The manner of life of those to whom the Lord God "revealed His secrets" (Amos, iii. 7), wholly immersed in the study, and contemplation, and announcement of the coming Salvation, is here expressed with a perfection which classical art could not conceive and which modern art can never hope to equal.‡ We need only here mention the most celebrated. The Delphic Sybil, a singularly powerful and yet attractive figure, seems gazing with enraptured eyes on the actual fulfilment of her prophecies. Isaias is reading the book of the world's destiny. The curve of his brow suggests that of a heavenly sphere, a source of thought like the crystal reservoirs on the

* "Like moulded thoughts," LÜBKE says, Geschichte der Plastik, 720.

† SCHADEN, 230.

‡ MOLITOR, 255.

mountain tops from which the great rivers are fed. The angel is calling him and he gently raises his head without lifting his eyes from the book, as though balancing between two infinities. Jeremias is shrouded in sackcloth and ashes, as befits the prophet who dwells under the shadow of desolate Jerusalem. His lips seem to vibrate to the sound of the conqueror's trumpet. His beard is tangled and matted, his bowed head looks like the crown of a cedar that has been shattered by lightning, his half-closed eyes are hidden wells of tears. His hands look strong, but they are swollen, for they have been bearing up the tottering walls of the temple. We see that the groans of the captive sons of Israel from the banks of the alien river and the wailings of the Queen of the nations, now widowed and deserted, are ever sounding in his ears. Ezechias is in a divine ecstasy, interrogating his visions, stirred by the spirit which possesses him to the very depths of his being. Daniel is busily writing; his mission was to proclaim the day of deliverance for the good, and judgments on tyrants to future generations. The most admirable thing about these majestic figures, on which one could gaze for ever with unwearied interest, is, that they are not mere decorations of a hall or chapel, but men, real men, who have felt the grief that we know, and been wounded by the thorns which grow on our earth; their brows are furrowed with human thought; their hearts have felt the chill of deceptions; they have seen conflicts in which whole generations have perished; they have felt the shadow of death in the air above them, and they have striven with their own hands to prepare the way for a new order of things; their eyes have grown worn and dim through their too fixed gaze on the ever-changing kaleidoscope of the ages; their flesh has been consumed by the fire of burning

thoughts.* The attitudes of some of these figures, such as the Lybian Sybil and the Prophets Daniel and Jonas, may be to a certain extent violent and exaggerated, but as a rule massive form and ecstatic emotion are admirably restrained within the limits of harmony and beauty.† Those who are inclined to find fault with the master in this regard should consider the extreme difficulty of the task he proposed to himself, which was to create twelve figures, each of which should impress on the mind the idea of a being raised by divine inspiration into the superhuman sphere. For this, mere majesty of form was not enough; a variety of separate situations had to be imagined, each denoting inspiration, represented in a form that could be apprehended by the senses. Perhaps

* *Cf.* this eloquent description of CASTELAR, Errinnerungen an Italien, 70 *seq.*, with Taine in MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 483. See also GOYAU-PÉRATÉ, Le Vatican, 548 *seq.*; HOFFMANN, 88-89; RIO, Michel-Ange, 27 *seq.*; OLLIVIER, 87 *seq.*, 118; and STEINMANN in the Repertorium f. Kunstwissensch., XVII., 175 *seq.*

† See WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 585. Condivi considered the Jonas the finest of all the figures on account of its masterly foreshortening. But BURCKHARDT also, Cicerone, 644, thinks Jonas as well as Jeremias and Joel, "wonderfully majestic." Opinions will always differ in regard to such details; in mine the Delphic Sybil and Jeremias bear away the palm. Of the first, PLATTNER, II., 1, 269, says that she is not only the most beautiful of all Michael Angelo's prophetesses, but also one of the most perfect female forms in modern art. SPRINGER, 130, considers the Jeremias the most typical of all Michael Angelo's creations; he says: "This figure took possession, as it were, of Michael Angelo's imagination, and from this time forth it was always more or less present in his mind. In all his creative moods the form of the prophet hovered in the background, and suggested reminiscences of the spirit in which it had been conceived. The germs of the Moses for the tomb of Julius II. and of the chief figures in the Medicean mausoleum are contained in the Jeremias." It seems extremely probable that Michael Angelo's Jeremias was his own portrait; see STEINMANN in the Rep. f. Kunstwissensch. (1894), Vol. XVII., 177 *seq.*

complete success in such an undertaking was beyond the powers of Art itself."*

A third series of pictures, closely connected with the majestic form of the Prophets and Sybils, occupy the arches of the wall and the triangular spaces between them and the pendentives, and represent "the ancestors of Christ in simple scenes of family life." The tone of feeling in all these figures is that of patient resignation, waiting for the promise of the nations. Here, as in the Prophets and Sybils, Michael Angelo in the plan of his composition follows the received mediæval conception.†

The fourth series consists of the large pictures in the four corners of the vaulting. These represent some of the miraculous deliverances of Israel as types of the future Redemption. The subjects are the slaying of Goliath, Judith going forth to the camp of Holofernes, the punishment of Haman, and the Brazen Serpent. The latter, with its startling contrasts of death and deliverance, is the finest of the whole set of pictures. "The clear division between the two concentrated groups, with the symbol of Salvation separating them locally as well as spiritually, the one turning away in devil-ridden despair, the other pressing forward with eager confidence, makes this picture perhaps one of the most marvellous productions of Michael Angelo's genius, especially when we consider the difficulties presented by the form of the surface on which it is painted."‡

To these four cycles of paintings the master's prolific

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, *loc. cit.*

† *Cf.* LÜBKE, II., 101, 107–108. As this is not meant to be a complete description, these pictures, beautiful as they are, cannot be analysed in detail. *Cf.*, besides LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, 113 *seq.*, KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, 532 *seq.*, and OLLIVIER, 102 *seq.*

‡ LÜTZOW, Künstschätze, 439. GRIMM, I., 353 *seq.*, ed. 5, minutely describes the Goliath and the Judith in order to shew how admirably Michael Angelo could also deal with historical subjects.

imagination added "a whole world of purely ideal figures simply as a harmonious living and breathing incarnation of the ornamental roof which he had devised." * Michael Angelo evidently intended this roof to represent one of those festal artistic decorations so commonly employed in the Renaissance age even for religious solemnities. The innumerable ornamental figures employed, some in holding the tablets with the names of the Prophets, some, in every variety of posture, to fill up the spaces between the arches, others again in supporting or crowning the cornices, correspond with the living personifications so frequently perched on various portions of these festive erections. All these nude figures, the sturdy children and strong-limbed youths, are in a sense members of the architectural scheme, supporting cornices, carrying inscription tablets or shields, or holding up hangings or garlands. Hardly any of them are at rest, almost all are at work or in motion in some way, but none have any relation to the subjects of the pictures, they belong entirely to the decoration.† However

* LÜBKE, II., 101. *Cf.* LÜTZOW, *loc. cit.*, 440, and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 642 *seq.*, on these "impersonations of the dynamics of Architecture."

† I prefer this interpretation, resting on the views of Lübke and Burckhardt, to the many forced and far-fetched ones which have recently been attempted. That of L. v. SCHEFFLER (Michelangelo, Eine Renaissance Studie. Altenburg, 1892), which ascribes the "ideal system of the Sistine Chapel" to Michael Angelo's Platonism, has been shewn by W. HENKE in the Allg. Zeit. (1892), N. 77, Suppl., to be quite beside the mark. This, however, has not prevented the last-named writer in his "Empirischen Betrachtungen über die Malereien von Michelangelo an der Decke der Sixtinischen Kapelle," in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., VII. (1886), 3 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, from falling into the same mistake in putting things into the frescoes which are not there. His singular interpretation of the Caryatides at the sides of the seats of the Prophets and Sybils is especially baseless and mistaken. In my opinion, the inscription mentioned, p. 744, explicitly excludes it. Burckhardt, with whom I dis-

one may admire these undraped figures from the point of view of the artist, many will feel them incongruous for the decoration of a chapel.*

cussed this question in March, 1895, also thinks that both Scheffler and Henke are mistaken. WÖLFFLIN in Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 181, conjectures that the slaves in the medallions were an afterthought, the medallions having been painted first without them, and this seems very probable.

* They afford no justification, however, for characterising the work as unchristian, as Michael Angelo's painting of the nude is never sensual (*cf.* Hist. Polit. Bl., XCI., 755, and JANSSEN, Soddoma [Stuttgart, 1870], 110); and also these nude figures are purely accessory: see RIO, Michel-Ange, 30. It is quite incomprehensible to me how PÉRATÉ, 550, can say, writing of the roof of the Sistine Chapel, "Est ce une œuvre chrétienne? Non; c'est une œuvre biblique, la bible même," etc. I may be permitted here to note an appreciation written by Overbeck of the roof of the Sistine Chapel in 1810, which is but little known. I found it in a letter printed in the Allg. Cons. Monatschrift, I. (1888), 40. He writes: "In truth it is the grandest and noblest work in existence. Where can we find anything more marvellously complete than this roof, which portrays the history of creation and the last judgment, surrounded by the stern and solemn forms of the Prophets? They seem like colossal spirits, appearing now, at the end of the ages, to confirm those who have believed them, and strike terror into the hearts of the scoffers; living witnesses of the obstinacy with which they refused to hear their warnings, or turn away from the vanities of the world; now, like damning spectres, pointing the way to hell: A Frenchman is painting there just now with an enormous scaffolding which enables one to get quite close to the roof. As he does not work on Sundays, we were able, to our great delight, to take advantage of this, and get a near view of these magnificent works, especially of the creation of Adam. Good heavens! what lies are spread abroad about Michael Angelo. One is warned against him as a mannerist, a caricaturist! How is it possible to be so blind? One must have dazed one's eyes with looking at Maratti or Battoni, or God knows what, one must have murdered all one's feeling for nature, if one cannot recognise here the highest and purest art, the simple reflection of nature glorified in the pure, great soul of the artist. No one who knows nature at all can fail at the first glance to perceive her impress, to feel with an electric thrill the truthfulness of these thoughts, these forms, these characters!

Considered as a spiritual conception, Michael Angelo's Sistine paintings are fully on a level with their artistic presentation. They are a mighty poem in colour, having for its theme the whole course of the human race from the heights of creation down to the need of salvation and upwards again to the dawning of the day of deliverance. In their silence they speak with an eloquence that can never be surpassed. Nowhere has the office of the Old Testament as the preparation for the new and abiding covenant been set forth with such convincing truth and beauty.* First we have the creation of nature, the standing ground for the spiritual life of the human race, then the making of man, his fall into sin, in which the family (Cain and Abel), society (the Deluge), finally, even the best of the race (drunkenness of Noe), become involved. Under the old law, all humanity is yearning for deliverance from the burden of guilt. From the midst of the people God raises

Again, on the other hand, any one who can say that these paintings have been dashed off with a clever, hasty brush must either not have given himself time to look at them, or must purposely give a false account, for the exact contrary is the case, and they are marked by such delicacy of detail and characterisation, and such a perfection of finish, that these qualities alone would make them superior to all other work of the kind. No doubt they are not polished up like Van der Werff's; but if a smooth surface is all that is meant by finish, then our modern finnikins are the only perfect painters. In this respect, Michael Angelo is a model for us all. What science he unites to his Divine gifts! What knowledge of the human body, of perspective and of optics! How wonderfully he paints! so that no touch can be discerned, nor can one think of the brush, one sees the thing itself. In short, in all ways he is perfect; everywhere he has gone down into the depths, and plays with things that to others will always remain a mystery. He can truly say: Art is my spouse."

* "It would be impossible," says MOLITOR, 255, "to approach in the language of Art more nearly to the force of Holy Scripture itself than the great master has succeeded in doing."

up the Prophets for the Jews, and the Sybils for the heathen, as inspired seers, beholding the future salvation, but at the same time bearing in their souls the sorrows of their brethren. Four visible types of this salvation appear in the corner pictures, drawn from the history of Israel: the enemy who desires to destroy the people of God is vanquished in Goliath, Haman, Holofernes, and the Serpent, all only types of the victory wrought by the eternal sacrifice of the Son of God unceasingly celebrated by the Church on the Altar.

On the completion of the roof paintings in the Sistina, Michael Angelo turned again to the tomb of Julius II., apparently by the Pope's orders. Ever since the Summer of 1512, Julius II. had not disguised from himself the fact that his days were drawing to their close.* The great difficulty about the tomb consisted in the uncertainty as to where it was to be placed. As the Choir of S. Peter's, which had just been erected by Bramante, was only temporary, it could not be put there. In consequence of this uncertainty Michael Angelo had to make several sketches for his new design, some complete on all sides, others intended to stand against a wall.†

According to Condivi and Vasari, Michael Angelo's biographers, the isolated plan was as follows. The Chapel containing the Pope's sarcophagus was to be enclosed in a marble shell, measuring about 54 feet by 36. The pediment was to be covered with symbolical single figures and groups. The arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were to be represented by captive figures in order to indicate, so Condivi tells us, that they were now, together with the Pope, prisoners of death, since they would never again find another Pope to encourage and promote them as he had

* *Cf. supra*, p. 431.

† SPRINGER, 236.

done. Statues of Victory, with the conquered provinces at their feet, were to represent Julius II.'s successes in regaining the lost possessions of the States of the Church. The pediment was to be surmounted by a cornice, above which was to rise a second storey, bearing four typical figures, two of them being Moses and S. Paul. Above these again was to be the figure of the Pope sleeping, and borne by two angels. The whole work was to measure about 30 feet in height, and to contain more than 40 statues, not counting the bas-reliefs on which the principal events in the life of Julius II. were to be portrayed.*

While Michael Angelo was employed on this work, the Pope died. Shortly before his death, on the 19th February, 1513, Julius had given orders that his tomb should be erected in the Sistine Chapel of S. Peter's, where his uncle

* CONDIVI, 35–36. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 231 *seq.*, 236 *seq.* On both historical and artistic grounds Springer assigns the date of this design to the years 1512–1513. He admits (235) that the original plan is unknown; he pronounces (II., 15, ed. 2) the drawing in the Uffizzi at Florence, Shelf 187, N. 608 (BRAUN, 181; ALINARI, 3688) to be unauthentic. On the other hand, SCHMARSOW in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 63 *seq.*, endeavours to prove that this drawing is by the master's own hand, and Burckhardt, Grimm, and Bode have accepted it as such. Schmarsow has also published and explained another drawing of the Tomb of Julius II., which is in the possession of H. A. von Beckerath of Berlin. He thinks that this sketch is the only authentic representation of Michael Angelo's design for the Tomb of Julius II.; possibly not of the original one, but at any rate of the not less magnificent edifice contemplated in 1513. This is the only plan which furnishes an adequate support for the majestic captives and the colossal Moses. GRIMM, in Geiger's Quarterly, I. (1886), 49, announces that he agrees in most points with Schmarsow's views. PORTHEIN, on the other hand, in his contributions to the Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XII. (1889), 149, on Michael Angelo's works, holds with Springer that the Florentine sketch cannot be from the hand of Michael Angelo, and pronounces that belonging to H. von Beckerath to be "an old copy of the smaller design."

Sixtus IV. lay.* He left 10,000 ducats in his will for the monument. On the 6th May, 1513, Michael Angelo concluded a very detailed agreement with the executors, Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, and the Protonotary, Lorenzo Pucci, which is still extant.† The monument was to have three faces, the fourth side was to be against the wall. Each face was to contain two tabernacles (niches with side pilasters and a cornice) resting on a high basement. In each niche there were to be two statues somewhat larger than life. Against the twelve pillars dividing the niches there were to be statues of the same size, so that twenty-four statues would be required for the substructure alone. Above this was to be the sarcophagus with the Pope's statue surrounded by four other figures all double life-size, and in addition to these, on the same level, six colossal statues seated. Where the structure joined the wall, there was to be a Chapel containing five figures which, being further from the eye, were to be still larger than any of the others. The spaces between the niches were to be filled with reliefs in bronze or marble.

As this plan considerably exceeded the former one, both in size and in importance, the artist was to receive 16,500 ducats, but the 3500 ducats already paid were to be deducted from the sum ; he bound himself to undertake no other large work until this was finished.

During the years from 1513–16 Michael Angelo devoted all his powers to this gigantic undertaking. Sculpture was his favourite art; he used to say he had imbibed it with his mother's milk, because his grandmother was the wife of

* Bull. Vatic., II., 349. This authentic document shews that MÜNTZ is in error in stating, Hist. de l'Art, III., 392, that Julius II. had desired that his tomb should be placed in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

† Printed in Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 635 *seq.* *Cf.* SPRINGER, 237 *seq.*

a stone mason ; and, indeed, as we have seen in the roof of the Sistine Chapel, even in painting he always thought as a sculptor.

The masterly statues of the dying youth and the youth in fetters (the slaves) which are now in the Louvre, were executed during this period.* Four other statues intended for the base of the monuments, gigantic figures of captives or conquered warriors, crouching and writhing, and only roughly carved, are preserved in the Giardino Boboli at Florence (on the left of the entrance). In the National Museum in that city, there is also the statue of a victorious and triumphant warrior ; and that of a vanquished one in St. Petersburg.†

The only one of the statues designed for the upper storey that still exists, is the Moses begun in the years 1513–1516, while the artist's mind was still possessed and dominated by the forms of the Prophets of the Sistine Chapel.‡ This world-famed statue, "the triumph of modern sculpture," §

* The dying youth is a singularly noble work. One can well understand Vasari's calling it "cosa divina." From the moment that the two statues were rescued from their concealment in the French Castle they were universally recognised as masterpieces of Michael Angelo's genius. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 240 *seq.* ; LÜBKE, Plastik, 728 ; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, 388 *seq.* ; KLACZKO, in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, CXIV. (1892), 891, and especially GRIMM, I., 420 *seq.*, ed. 5. The latter says that the tender beauty of the dying youth is perhaps more striking than the power of the Moses. "When I ask myself which of the sculptor's works would you mention first if you were asked to name his list, I should say at once—the dying youth. This figure will bear to be compared to the very best Greek work in its faultless truth to nature." LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, thinks that both the captives of the Louvre were finished during the life-time of Julius II.

† SPRINGER, 241 *seq.* ; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 390. See also KLACZKO, Florentiner Plaudereien, 42 *seq*

‡ SPRINGER, 243.

§ GRIMM, I., 419, ed. 5

now adorns the monument of Julius II. in S. Pietro in Vincoli, where at last the tomb was erected, though greatly reduced from the dimensions originally contemplated.

The gradual curtailment of this noble design in which Michael Angelo had hoped to have realised all his loftiest and grandest conceptions, and the money disputes with the Duke of Urbino connected with this, were the occasion of such prolonged misery, and such paroxysms of anger and disappointment to the artist as to make this tomb the tragedy of his whole life. The monument as completed corresponds with its original plan as little as it does with the first conception approved by Julius II. But the magnificent effect of the statue of Moses compensates for all its short-comings.* The aspect in which Moses is here presented is that of the fiery and resolute ruler of Israel, who led the stiff-necked nation for forty years through the wilderness, who dared the wrath of God for their sakes, and in his fury at their idolatry, dashed the Tables of the Law to pieces and commanded 3000 of the rebels to be slain. The wise law-giver, the servant of Jehovah, the humble penitent confessing himself unworthy to enter the promised land, are entirely ignored in this essentially one-sided representation.† The artist conceives the teacher and captain of the

* This statue alone, Card. Gonzaga is said to have declared, would have been in itself a worthy monument to the great Pope.

† MOLITOR, 215, rightly dwells strongly on this. If, as SPRINGER, 244, justly remarks, we accept the statue as it was to have been placed in Michael Angelo's original plan, all the common strictures on what may seem a certain uncouthness and exaggeration in the Moses, are seen to be unfounded. "Moses was meant to look down upon the spectator from above; he was to have been surrounded by other figures on the same scale and of similar character, also seated on square blocks, and in their various forms and postures calculated to balance each other. Lastly, the right-side was intended to be almost entirely withdrawn from sight, the attention was to be attracted to the view of the figure as seen

chosen people exclusively as a man of action like Julius II. The head is raised, the brow deeply furrowed, the angry eyes are turned sideways towards the left, the whole frame almost writhes under the shock of conflicting emotions. The very hairs of the long thick beard, in which the finger tips of the right hand, resting on the despised law, are half-concealed, seem to quiver. The strong pressure of the left hand against the breast seems striving to keep down the rising storm. But the forward movement of the right foot and the tension of the left leg drawn backward, are too significant; in another moment the giant will have sprung from his seat to wreak his wrath on the backsliders.*

"Any one who has once seen this statue will never lose the impression. The effect is as of one conscious that he holds in his hands the thunderbolts of Omnipotence, and waiting to see whether the foes whom he means to destroy will venture to attack him."† In fact, Michael Angelo's Moses is the embodiment of the Pope-king who humbled Venice, reconquered the States of the Church, and drove the French out of Italy. The masterful vehemence and almost superhuman energy of Julius II. are admirably represented in this Titanic figure; but none the less is it also a no less faithful transcript of the sculptor's own proud

from the left." Although this is perfectly true, still it cannot be denied that Michael Angelo in the Moses goes to the extreme limits of intensity in expression that nature permits. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 148, ed. 3, says, "He is not far from the edge of the abyss of monstrosity and pseudo-Titanism, in which the followers of the Master so soon became engulfed." No one but Michael Angelo could safely dare as he dared, no one but he could move freely on the edge of the precipice. *Cf.* PORTHEIN in the Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XII., 154. On the pilgrimage of the Roman Jews to Moses, see BERLINER, Gesch. d. Juden, II., 1., 103.

* *Cf.* HOFFMANN, Italien, 60–61; and LÜBKE, Plastik, 727.

† GRIMM, I., 418, ed. 5.; *Cf.* also RIO, Michel-Ange, 19 *seq.*

and unbending character, and impetuous, passionate temperament.

Julius II.'s colossal monument was never completed, his bronze statue was destroyed; but the indomitable spirit of the mighty Pope and the equally kingly soul of the great sculptor have been carved into the Moses of Michael Angelo. As we gaze upon it we understand the words of Ariosto, "Michel più che terreno, angel divino." *

* *Cf.* PÉRATÉ, 544; BROSCH, 276, writes, "Michael Angelo the greatest of modern artists and the noblest character of this Renaissance period, has carved the name of Julius II. in imperishable characters on his marble, and made it immortal."

CHAPTER X.

Raphael in the Service of Julius II.—The Camera della Segnatura and the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

In Michael Angelo's creations nature found herself outdone by art. When she gave Raphael to the world she saw herself eclipsed, not only in the artist but also in the man; for he combined with the highest intellectual gifts the most winning grace, industry, beauty, modesty, and a perfect life.* With these words Vasari, the father of modern historians of art, begins his description of the life of one who will ever live in the memory of the world as at once the greatest master of Christian Art and a genius of first-rate creative power.

Raphael was endowed by nature with the sweetest of dispositions and great personal beauty. Constitutionally, he was a true Umbrian, and his early works are pervaded by the dreamy calm of the school in which he was reared, but unlike Michael Angelo he possessed a singular power of absorbing and assimilating the most various external impressions. His genius did not expand much until he came to Florence, where Leonardi da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo exercised a strong influence over him. He arrived in Florence in 1504, and the April of 1508 found him still working there. In the Autumn of that year, the twenty-sixth of his life, he appears in Rome. On the 8th September, 1508, he writes to his friend the painter, Francesco Francia, to excuse his tardiness in sending him his promised

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 315–316.

likeness. "On account of my many and important occupations," he says, "I was not able sooner to paint it myself, in accordance with our agreement. I could, indeed, have got one of my assistants to do it, and sent it off thus; but that would not have been becoming, or rather, perhaps, it would have been becoming, in order to shew that I do not paint as well as you do. I beg you not to be hard upon me, for you, yourself, must have experienced what it is to have lost one's freedom, and have to serve a master."*

The many and important occupations here mentioned were the great works in the Vatican with which he had been charged by Julius II.†

The Pope had left the Appartamento Borgia, in which he had spent the first four years of his reign, on the 26th November, 1507, in order "not to be pestered with reminiscences of Alexander VI.,‡" and established himself in

* MALVASIA, Felsina pittrice, II., 48 (Bologna, 1678). GÜHL, 91-92; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 5 *seq.*, dispute the correctness of this date, but their arguments are not convincing. See FRANTZ, II., 725; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 271, ed. 2, and JANITSCHEK in the Lit. Centralblatt (1887), p. 682.

† VASARI says that Bramante had advised that Raphael should be called to Rome. But REUMONT, III., 2, 388 (LÜTZOW in Graph. Künste, XIII. [1890] 16, is mistaken in ascribing the hypothesis to Minghetti), justly observes that probably the Pope's relations at Urbino had quite as much to do with determining him to employ the young artist as Bramante's recommendation. MÜNTZ, Raphael, 317, thinks this is certain. KNACKFUSS, 22, conjectures that Julius II. may have made acquaintance with Raphael during his three days' visit to Urbino in 1506 (see *supra*, p. 273). See also FRANTZ, II., 724

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 217, PARIS DE GRASSIS. From this it is clear that before the 26th Nov., 1507, Julius II. had, at any rate for a time, inhabited Alexander's apartments. It is therefore quite incorrect to say, as GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 157, ed. 3, does, that he "had never set foot in the Appartamento Borgia." GRIMM, Fünfzehn Essays, IV., 275, is equally in error. CROWE, II., 7, writes: "Julius II. established himself in the upper storey of the Vatican Palace on the day of his Coronation,

another part of the Vatican Palace. He had chosen for his future residence a suite of rooms looking out on the Cortile di Belvedere, which had been built by Nicholas V. These were situated in the vicinity of the same Pope's study, which was adorned with Fra Angelico's wonderful frescoes.* Perhaps this may have led Julius II. to wish to have the adjoining chambers decorated in the same manner. These rooms the famous "Stanze" (living rooms) are the continuation of a spacious hall, the Sala di Costantino, which is only lighted from one side. The Stanze, on the contrary, have two large windows in each room facing each other with marble seats in their bays. In the two first rooms these windows are opposite each other in the East (Stanza dell' Incendio), one is in the corner; thus, the bad light, coupled with the intricacies of perspective created by the irregular spaces, make the task of the painter an extremely difficult one.† The only really suitable surfaces for painting are the plain cross vaultings on the ceiling. The shape of the rooms is oblong; their proportions are simple but dignified. The doors by which the rooms communicate with each other are in the corner at the end of the long walls, and are not large, so that on these sides there is a long free space, semi-circular at the top, well fitted for large historical compositions, while on the short side, cut up by the windows, there is little room for anything.

26th Nov., 1507," and thus seems to believe that the Pope was not crowned till 1507. KRAUS falls into the same error, Camera, 4: "Dopo la sua incoronazione (26th Nov., 1507), Giulio, pur esso, scelse a sua dimora queste stanze superiori inveci dell' Appartamento Borgia al primo piano dove il ricordo di Alessandro VI. l'avrebbe perseguitato." BOLE (68) ignores P. de Grassis' Report, and says that Julius II. chose the Stanze for his residence in 1503.

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 187 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 330, ed. 2.

These rooms during the Autumn of 1508 presented a busy scene. In the Stanza dell' Incendio, Perugino was painting the four round divisions of the ceiling, filling up the interspaces with decorative designs.* In the adjoining Camera della Segnatura, Raphael and Sodoma were at work together, the latter having undertaken the ornamental work on the ceiling.† In addition to these artists the impatient Pope had got Luca Signorelli, Bramantino, Bernardino Pinturicchio, Suardi, Lorenzo Lotto, and the Fleming, Johann Ruysch, all variously occupied in the upper storey.‡ But this did not last long. In a very short time the Pope perceived how completely the works of the other artists were eclipsed by Raphael's magnificent paintings in the Camera della Segnatura, and took his measures accordingly. The slight mythological pictures with which Sodoma had begun to adorn the ceiling were countermanded, and his work confined to the purely decorative parts; all the serious pictures were given to Raphael, and before long Perugino and Pinturicchio were

* MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 722.

† *Ibid.*, Raphael, 359, ed. 2, severely and justly criticises these paintings of Sodoma's. WICKHOFF, 55, has clearly shewn from the Report of Paris de Grassis that Vasari's often repeated story that Julius II. had destroyed other frescoes on the walls, in order to clear them for Raphael's paintings, is a fable. DE GRASSIS (ed. Döllinger, 383, expressly says that Julius refused to allow the portrait of Alexander VI. to be destroyed. Wickhoff justly argues that if the Pope would not permit the destruction of a fresco containing the portrait of his deadliest enemy, he could certainly not have sanctioned that of less obnoxious pictures. Nevertheless, KNACKFUSS, 40, repeats this invention of Vasari. On the payments of Sodoma, see Arch. St. de Soc. Rom., II., 486. On his paintings, see also JANSSEN, 76 *seq.* 486; *cf.* CROWE, II., 9–10.

‡ *Cf.* CROWE, II., 9 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 325, ed. 2. Particulars about Signorelli's stay in Rome at the close of 1508 are in VISCHER, Signorelli, 357, 358.

also dismissed. The former returned to Perugio; Pinturicchio went to Siena, and never came back to Rome. "Hard as this must have been for them they could not dispute the justice of the Pope's verdict, who had, indeed, fully appreciated the worth of what they had accomplished in their best days."*

Raphael's paintings in the Camera della Segnatura, which the world owes to the appreciative insight of Julius II., are the most famous and the most interesting of all his creations. Though faded, and in many ways damaged by the ravages of time, they are still the joy of all artists and art-lovers.† As long as ever a trace of them still remains, they will draw pilgrims of every nationality to visit this shrine of Art.

The importance of these frescoes is evinced by the amount of literature to which they have given rise,‡ and which will continue to increase, for they are as inexhaustible as the heavens, in which new stars are being perpetually discovered.

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rome, 85-86, further remarks: "The decision of Julius II. corresponded with the law of historical development and the subsequent verdict of history." On the relations between Julius II. and Raphael, PÉRATÉ, 552, justly says: Il le conquit à son œuvre, il l'inspira et l'on peut même dire qu'il le transforma, le grandissant et l'échauffant à la flamme de son propre génie.

† On this damaged condition, see PLATTNER, II., 1, 318 *seq.* TAINE, Voyage en Italie, I., 170 *seq.*, speaks in the strongest terms of the disappointment with which he beheld the frescoes when he saw them for the first time in their present state. On the other hand, SZÉCSEN, Raffael, 557, says: Their sad condition leads one doubly to appreciate the intellectual grandeur of Raphael's Vatican frescoes.

‡ On the explanatory literature, see *infra.* My description, for which I have consulted especially PLATTNER, II., 1, 222 *seq.*; PASSAVANT, I., 139 *seq.*; LÜBKE, Ital. Malerei, II., 260 *seq.*; SPRINGER, 150 *seq.*, and BOLE'S Studies, was drawn up before the pictures themselves, and again compared with them in the Spring of 1893.

In the four principal divisions of the stuccoed ceiling, which is decorated in the classical style, Raphael painted four female allegorical figures in large circular frames, with descriptive inscriptions, supplying the clue to the meaning of the series of pictures below. These majestic forms, enthroned on clouds, are painted in vivid colours, toned down by a background of shimmering gold, representing mosaic work.

The science of faith, Theology, comprehends the knowledge of divine things (divinarum rerum notitia), as the inscription, borne by angels, announces. The figure of Theology seems to have been suggested by Dante's Beatrice,* the expression of the face is sweetly serious, gentle, and yet full of dignity. The olive crown on the head denotes divine wisdom, the floating veil is white, the mantle green, the robe red — the colours of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. The two principal sources of the science of Theology are Tradition and Holy Scripture. She holds the sacred volume in her left hand, and points with the other to the large picture on the wall in which those to whom Tradition and knowledge have been committed are represented assembled round the Supreme Mystery and Centre of Christian worship.

The representation of Poetry is even finer. Sweetness, sensibility, and enthusiasm are exquisitely combined in the expression of the whole figure. In her right hand she holds a book, in her left a lyre; her laurel crown indicates the fame that waits upon art; her strong wings, her scarf strewn with stars, her azure drapery, the thrill of emotion which pervades her whole form, denote the imaginative faculty. The inspired eyes baffle description; altogether

* DANTE, Purgatorio, XXX., 31 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*; *cf.* PLATTNER, II., I, 323.

as the scroll carried by the cherubs who attend upon her declares, the divine afflatus is the breath of her being.*

The next figure, Philosophy, is treated classically and with a good deal of symbolism. The side of the marble seat on which she is enthroned bears a relief of Diana of Ephesus, copied from an antique model. Her robes represent the four elements, Air in the upper garment, which is blue and sown with stars, the drapery, symbolising Fire, is red and embroidered with salamanders, while Water and Earth are represented, respectively, by fishes and plants on a sea-green and an ochre-brown background. The clasp of the diadem which encircles her brow is a carbuncle. She holds two large books in her hands, the one entitled "Moralis," the other "Naturalis," moral and natural science, while the winged genii on either side carry tablets with the inscription, "causarum cognitio," "knowledge of causes."

The fourth figure wears a crown: her sword and scales and the winged boy holding a scroll with the inscription "Jus suum unicuique tribuit," giving to each his due, leave no doubt as to whom she is intended to represent. She has four attendants, two of whom are angels.

In the long pendentives of the vaulting, Raphael painted four smaller pictures encircled, like the large ones, with richly decorated ornamental frames. In the one adjoining Theology, the Fall is represented; it is perhaps the most beautiful of all existing presentations of this scene.† Next to Poesy is the crowning of Apollo and the flaying of Marsyas; the judgment of Solomon illustrates Justice. In these three pictures narrative takes the place of symbolism, but in the one which accompanies Philosophy, Raphael reverts to allegory. It is a female figure waited on by two

* Afflata est numine. Æneid, VI., 50.

† KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 580. *Cf.* also BÜTTNER, Adam und Eva in der bildenden Kunst, 60.

genii carrying books; she is bending over a globe poised in the midst of a starry sphere, to which she points with one hand.*

The paintings on the ceilings, being more out of reach of injury than the wall frescoes, are in better preservation; the two series are closely connected with each other; those on the walls representing the four great intellectual powers as they act upon human life. Theology, unveiling the mysteries of revelation, and interpreting the miracles of faith; Philosophy, searching out the causes and natures of things by the light of reason; Poesy, decking life with grace and beauty; Jurisprudence, maintaining social order and security. Nothing can be more perfect than is the artistic presentation of this majestic cycle of the intellectual forces in their graduated order, with Theology at the head.

For the picture in illustration of Justice, Raphael chose one of the smaller wall spaces, cut up and curtailed by the large window in the middle of it; it is the simplest of all. In the semi-circle over the window the three cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, the inseparable companions of Justice, are allegorically represented by a charming group of three female figures. "The skilful arrangement of the lines in this composition, the variety in the forms, the unconstrained grace of the attitudes,

* The Dusseldorf Professor Mosler (see PASSAVANT, I., 139 *seq.*) considers that these pictures have a double connection with the allegorical figures, and refer to those on both sides of them. The face, placed between Theology and Jurisprudence, denotes both Redemption and Judgment. The punishment of Marsyas is at once the triumph of Art, and, with an allusion to DANTE (Parad., I., 19), a symbol of regeneration. The figure contemplating the globe is suggestive of Poetry, as well as of Philosophy; the judgment of Solomon displays Wisdom as well as Justice. KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 580 *seq.*, also adopt this interpretation, but it appears somewhat far-fetched. *Cf.* FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 288.

are an inexhaustible source of delight."* The pictures on the two sides of the window portray the institution of Law in the State and in the Church, respectively. On the smaller left side, the Emperor Justinian, seated on an antique chair, hands his Pandects to Trebonius, who is humbly kneeling before him. On the right of the window, Gregory IX., whose features are those of Julius II., gives the Decretals to the Advocate of the Consistory, who also kneels to receive them.† No doubt the giving of the Decretals was intentionally placed in the ample space and treated with greater fulness to shew that the law of the Church ranks higher than secular laws. These compositions contain a number of admirably characteristic heads.‡

The glories of Poesy are depicted on the opposite wall, also broken by a window looking into the Cortile di Belvedere.§ Raphael here decided on painting a continuous

* LÜBKE, II., 274.

† WICKHOFF, 50, points out that Raphael takes pains to make his meaning clear by representing both ceremonies exactly as they were usually described in the introductions to the law books in general use.

‡ In the Cardinals surrounding Julius II., VASARI, IV., 337, sees Giovanni de' Medici, A. Farnese, and Antonio di Monte ; but the truth of this is very doubtful. The fact that the two first-named became Popes makes it much more likely that it was an after-thought.

§ In spite of its great beauty (*cf.* GRUYER, Chambres, 125 *seq.*), this fresco in recent times has been much less spoken of than the School of Athens or the Disputa. Thus J. SCHROTT has supplied a real want in devoting a separate article in the Allg. Zeit. (1884), N. 10, Suppl., to its description, of which I have availed myself in the text. He defends Raphael's representation of Apollo against "one-sided art critics," and in common with PASSAVANT, I., 146 ; III., 13 ; and FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 290 *seq.*, endeavours to explain all the twenty-eight figures in the picture ; but still remains uncertain in regard to twelve of them. WICKHOFF, 51 *seq.*, has excellently pointed out the objections to these attempts to explain all Raphael's figures. On the figure of Dante, see RIO, IV., 468.

picture, and ingeniously overcame the difficulty presented by the window, by making its circular top support the summit of Parnassus from which the sides of the mountain naturally sloped downwards. On the height, the youthful Apollo sits enthroned in a bower of laurels, surrounded with flowers, while the Hippocrene fountain wells up from beneath his feet.

A mere copyist of the antique would have put a lyre into Apollo's hands. But this was not Raphael's mind, and he has chosen the instrument most in use in his day, the viola di braccio (alto), which allows a freer motion to the hand, and, at the same time, was better understood by his contemporaries.* The muses which are grouped around Apollo also depart in many ways from strictly classical models, though they are singularly charming and graceful. Immediately below them come the great poets crowned with laurel; on the left of the God, Homer, "the king of noble singers, soaring like an eagle above all his compeers," stands in a blue mantle, his head a little thrown back after the manner of blind people, his face glowing with poetic inspiration, as he dictates his verses, which a youth at his side is transcribing. Behind him is Dante, absorbed in introspective thought, while Virgil is trying to draw his attention to Apollo's playing. The poetess Sappho designated by an inscription on the half-open roll which she holds is also in a prominent place on the left. An aged

* Raphael has often been blamed for this as an ignorant anachronism. They have not observed that the figure of Poesy on the ceiling, the Muses in Parnassus, finally Apollo himself in the School of Athens, and the punishment of Marsyas, are all represented with the lyre. Other painters of the same period, *e.g.*, Pinturicchio and Spagna, introduced the violin instead of the lyre. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 353–54, ed. 2. It is therefore quite unnecessary to suppose with Plattner and Passavant that Raphael wished to pay a compliment to the celebrated violinist, Giacomo Sansecondo (*cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 138, 181).

poet on the other side, opposite to her, to whom three others are listening admiringly, is supposed to be Pindar. The two sitting figures in the foreground are "admirably arranged in connection with the architectural lines, so as to make these latter appear rather to sustain and give effect to the fresco than to cramp it. On the other side the painted setting of the window is utilised as a support for Sappho's arm, who leans against it." *

This fresco has been called the most perfect specimen of a *genre* painting that has ever been produced.† The spirit of music pervades the whole composition; one seems actually to hear the music of Apollo and the song of Homer, and to share with the delighted listeners the spell of sound which unites them all in one common sense of perfect content.

The next subject, which fills one of the long side-walls under the name of the School of Athens, is of quite a different character from that of the blissful company of poets assembled on Mount Parnassus.‡ The predominant tone of feeling which reigns throughout this imposing gathering of so many various schools and masters is that of deep seriousness, laborious and indefatigable research. The scene also is very different; instead of the laurel-shaded flowery mount of the gods, we have a majestic fane, with a nave and transept surmounted by a cupola and approached by a broad flight of steps. This temple is dedicated to

* SPRINGER, I., 232, ed. 2.

† SCHROTT, see the Essay quoted, *supra*, p. 548, note §.

‡ On this contrast, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 351 *seq.*, ed. 2. The name, School of Athens, was first applied to this picture by the Marquis de Seignelay, in his account of his travels in the year 1671: see Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIII., 365. *Cf.* SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, V., 80. I have used this treatise together with Müllner's for the description given in the text; it is the best of everything that has been written on this celebrated fresco. For further literature, see *infra*.

Minerva and Apollo, whose statues adorn the façade, in front of which a raised platform in the middle distance runs slantwise across the whole picture.

In the conception of this building, and also in the arrangement of some of the groups, we seem to trace a reminiscence of one of Ghiberti's reliefs in the Baptistery at Florence.* Down the long nave attended by a double band of disciples, the two princes of the philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, are slowly moving towards the top of the steps, on one of which the cynic Diogenes lazily reclines by himself. Aristotle is represented as a man in the prime of life. He wears an olive-green robe and grey-blue mantle and holds his *Ethics* in his hand. Plato is a venerable old man with a large and lofty brow and ample white beard; his robe is of a greyish-violet and his mantle red; he holds a book in his hand on the back of which *Timeo* is written. They are occupied in expounding their respective philosophies; Aristotle is pointing to the earth, Plato to the heavens.† On the right of these two prominent central groups are several singularly beautiful isolated figures; one a youth writing diligently, another an older scholar deep in thought, again close to the edge of the picture an old man leaning on a staff, just entering, with a youth hurrying after him.

On the left of the centre Socrates stands with a knot of listeners surrounding him (Dialecticians). He is numbering his propositions on his fingers and developing the consequences. Opposite to him is a handsome youth in full armour with a golden helmet, supposed to be Alcibiades.‡

* Ghiberti's relief represents the Queen of Saba's visit to Solomon. WICKHOFF, 52, was the first to call attention to its influence on this composition of Raphael.

† SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 98.

‡ In opposition to the prevalent view, MÜLLNER, 168, considers the

His features are copied from an antique gem still to be seen in Florence. A man by his side is eagerly beckoning to three others to join him. The foremost of these seems explaining why he is not so eager as his companions to obey the call; in front of him a youth with an armful of books rushes by in such haste that his golden-brown mantle is slipping from his shoulders: the connection between the group and the foreground is sustained by a number of persons assembled round the base of a pillar against which a youth is leaning turning over the leaves of a book. In the foreground to the right, not far from the grammarians, is an admirably composed group representing the arithmeticians and musicians. An old man (Pythagoras), supporting himself on one knee, is writing diligently, while on his left a boy is holding a tablet on which the numbers and symbols of the Pythagorean doctrine of harmonies are inscribed.* An Asiatic and an aged man with an inkstand and pen are standing † behind and at the side of the philosopher, looking into his book over his shoulder. To the right of this concentrated circle stands a young man in a long white garment embroidered with gold, identified, by a not very trustworthy tradition, as Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere of Urbino. Before him appears a man in the prime of life, one of the most striking personalities ever painted by Raphael, eagerly expounding his discoveries and views out of a book.‡ The last figure on this side is in

figure to represent Xenophon, an opinion which Scherer had already held in his essay, quoted in the following note.

* *Cf.* SCHERER in the Oesterreich., Wochenschrift, II. (1872), 37; HETTNER, 198 *seq.*

† Perhaps Boethius. MÜLLNER, 164, thinks the Asiatic philosopher to be Averroës, who was considered by the Christian votaries of the Renaissance to be an "unbeliever." This view adds an ideal contrast to the artistic one.

‡ SPRINGER I, 247, ed. 2. The name of this philosopher has been

strong contrast with him, a philosopher sitting motionless on the lowest step, absorbed in thought, with pen in hand preparing to write.*

The group of geometricians and astrologers in the foreground on the right side is perhaps as perfect a representation of the processes of thought and research, reading and learning, listening and apprehending, as Raphael has ever produced. The mathematician (at one time thought to be Archimedes, but now rightly held to be Euclid)† is a portrait of Bramante; he is bending low with a circle in his hand, over a mathematical figure which he is explaining. There is hardly any group in the whole fresco which is more dramatic and artistic than that of the four fair-haired youths who surround this teacher. The foremost kneels, and with the fingers of one hand follows the lines of the drawing which he is trying to understand. The second youth shews in his eyes and by the movement of his hand that light is beginning to dawn on him. The third has mastered the problem so that he can now interpret it to the fourth, whose face beams with the joy of apprehension. "The psychological process by which the mind passes from the external sign to its meaning and thence to the internal cognition of the object, has never elsewhere been so truthfully and vividly portrayed."‡

the subject of much controversy. Recently MÜLLNER, 165 *seq.*, has endeavoured to prove that this figure is Parmenides.

* The original cartoon for the School of Athens in the Ambrosian Library at Milan shews that the figure was put in later to fill up the too large space on the step. PASSAVANT, LÜBKE, BOLE, 13, and MÜLLNER, 166, believe this thinker to be Heraclitus the Obscure.

† PASSAVANT, I., 159, conjectures that the tradition that Archimedes is represented here, which is not mentioned by Vasari, first arose in the time of Paul III. from Perino del Vaga's painting of the murder of Archimedes, then executed on the frieze.

‡ SPRINGER, I., 245, ed. 2. *Cf.* FÖRSTER, I., 305. Vasari says that

Adjoining this group is a King (Ptolemy) with a terrestrial globe in his hands and another figure (Zoroaster) with his head encircled by a gold band and carrying a celestial globe.* At the edge of the fresco, by the side of the votaries of the sciences of the earth and heavens, Raphael has introduced a likeness of himself, and one of his fellow-artist, Sodoma.†

A connecting link between all these groups and the central one is formed by two men, the older of whom is coming down from the platform, while the younger is mounting the steps towards the two greatest teachers.

Beautiful and interesting as each one of the numerous separate groups which make up the picture is in itself, none can withdraw our attention for any length of time from the splendid figures of Plato and Aristotle which dominate the whole composition. The eye involuntarily and constantly turns back again to gaze on the two great masters, the undisputed princes of the whole Academy. A flood of light from the dome above bathes them in its radiance, a symbol of the heavenly illumination which was the object of all their toil and its well-merited reward.‡

the second youth is Federigo Gonzaga, whose portrait Raphael had also painted by itself for Isabella d'Este. See LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 43 *seq.*

* According to VASARI, Zoroaster is a portrait of Bald. Castiglione.

† The earlier explanation of this man as Perugino is certainly incorrect, as a glance at Perugino's likeness painted by himself in the Cambio in Perugia is enough to prove. LERMOLIEFF, Die Werke Italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden, und Berlin (1880), p. 472, thinks Sodoma more likely. This interpretation is not without its difficulties also (see SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 97), but it seems the most probable. *Cf.* K. BRUN, in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1882), I., 542 *seq.*

‡ MÜLLNER, 176. Here also is an excellent appreciation of Louis Jacoby's admirable engraving, the appearance of which in 1883 constitutes an era in the history of copper-plate printing in modern times.

Perhaps no other work of art in existence has called forth so many various and conflicting interpretations as has the School of Athens. There are almost as many opinions as there are figures in the picture in which the artist strove to depict both the loftiest aspirations and the multiform vagaries of the human mind. Critics tried to put a name to each, and lost themselves in futile individualisations. The only way to arrive at a satisfactory solution is to look at the composition as a whole, and in the light of the general point of view of the time. If this is done the fundamental idea becomes clear at once. Raphael intended to portray the efforts of the human mind to discover and scientifically apprehend its own highest object and final cause by the light of reason.* The

Cf. Graphische Künste, V., 104 *seq.* The fresco itself has been so much damaged that Jacoby had to go back to the original sketches.

* See MÜLLNER, 158, and BOLE, Rafael's Wandgemälde die Philosophie, 2, and VON LILIENCRON in the Allg. Zeit. (1883), N. 309-310, Suppl., who in the main agree with Müllner. The engraving of G. Ghisi, executed in 1550, had spread abroad the mistaken notion that the fresco represented the preaching of S. Paul at Athens. As early as the year 1695 this interpretation which fell in with the tendency of the Catholic restoration of that day, and had been hinted by Vasari, was proved by Bellori to be untenable. Nevertheless H. GRIMM, in 1864, took it up and defended it strenuously in his Fünfzehn Essays, 3 Folge, p. 61 *seq.* (Berlin, 1882), and in his Leben Raphaels, 287 *seq.*, ed. 2 (Berlin, 1886); but he has found very few supporters (as far as I know WOLZOGEN, 59 *seq.*, is the only one). The best scholars have all pronounced against this view. See WOLTMANN, II., 643, 794; MINGHETTI, Raffaello, 114: also, more recently, KOOPMAN in Lützow's Zeitschrift, XXI., 266 *seq.*, and especially KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 25 *seq.* Kraus has so completely refuted Grimm that his hypothesis may be considered dead. Up to the present day competent critics continue completely at variance with each other, both as to the identification of many of the figures, and the sources from which Raphael derived his knowledge of ancient philosophies. For a long time the names given by Vasari and Bellori were

purpose of the painter in this monumental work was to celebrate the praise of Philosophy in the language of Art

not disputed. Passavant started the hypothesis that the matter for the School of Athens was taken from Diogenes of Laertes, and that the fresco represented the historical development of Greek philosophy. He found names for all the figures, fifty in number. See PASSAVANT, I., 148 *seq.*; II., 102 *seq.*; III., 13 *seq.*; TRENDELENBURG, Die Schule von Athen (Berlin, 1843), has corrected some of these names, and rejects the chronology. The doubtfulness of the nomenclature is shewn by the fact that WATKISS LLOYD, Fine Arts Quarterly Review, II., 42 *seq.* (London, 1864), though thinking with Passavant that the main idea of the picture is derived from Diogenes, substitutes quite different names for the various persons. FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 290, thinks the treatment of the subject was suggested by Petrarch's Triumph of Fame. GRIMM and SCHERER (see *supra*, p. 554) trace the influence of Sidonius Apollinaris, and the latter in 1872 also mentioned Marsilio Ficino. Ficino is also frequently referred to by HETTNER, 195 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 94 *seq.* Hettner's observations are so full of theological and philosophical blunders that they have done little towards elucidating the subject. On the other hand, Springer's explanation contains a good résumé of older opinions (KRAUS, *loc. cit.*, 12 *seq.*), and is worth noticing, though he has not got hold of the kernel of the matter. He has rendered specially good service by the long list of contradictory names which he gives to shew the absurdity of the attempts at identifying each figure. (GRUYER, 86, had already protested against that.) He observes, p. 88, "It is quite clear that all these names have been read into the picture, and not gathered from it. For the identification of most of the figures the artist gives no clue whatever. Where he intends to represent any particular person he makes his meaning quite clear; thus, besides the two principal figures, Socrates and Diogenes are quite unmistakeable. He intended to indicate some of the Sages of Antiquity, and there is no doubt about them; but an unbiassed eye can detect no trace of anything like a connected representation of the course of Greek philosophy." Springer points out that all modern interpretations are unsatisfactory, because they proceed on the assumption that the picture, which really is a monumental creation, is an illustration of a theme only known in all its detail to the author, and to every one else a riddle capable of only partial solution. Springer's view is that Raphael aimed at giving expression to the general ideas and feelings prevailing among

and from the points of view of his own age. It is possible, and most probable, that he discussed the subject with his

his contemporaries in regard to the value and significance of science and learning. The best account of them is, he thinks, to be found in the works of Marsilio Ficino and Sadolet, and he looks upon the composition as an embodiment of their views. "With them Raphael looked upon the place in which the sages of the world assembled as a sacred edifice; for him, as for them, all philosophical knowledge was built up from the foundation of the seven liberal arts, and Plato and Aristotle were the two princes of the whole company of the wise. In the School of Athens the representation of the liberal arts is the warp, and the idealisation of the Greek philosophers the woof of the composition" (p. 98). RICHTER (Schule von Athen. Heidelberg, 1882), had already shewn that the scheme of the School of Athens was founded on the seven liberal arts, and Liliencron, Bole, and Müllner supported this view. Bole and Müllner think that the picture is also meant to be a historical representation of ancient philosophy, and they renew the attempt to find suitable names for the separate figures. Müllner holds out hopes of a forthcoming treatise further developing his views and the arguments on which they are founded, which would be very welcome. Crowe-Cavalcaselle have contributed nothing new. Müntz agrees in the main with Springer, as also Kraus in many points. According to the latter, the connecting link between the School of Athens and the other frescoes is to be found in the words of Pico della Mirandola: Philosophia veritatem quaerit, theologia invenit, religio possidet. Kraus lays great stress on the influence of Marsilio Ficino. He goes so far as to say: È forse ancora più preciso il dire che l' intero concetto, l' intera Camera della Segnatura si trova già in Marsilio. Wickhoff, on the other hand, sharply contests this. "The history of Greek philosophy is supposed to be represented by the position and grouping of the figures; but who at that time cared for the history of Greek philosophy? The temple and the steps leading up to it are said to have been suggested by an obscure passage in Marsilio Ficino, a philosophist of the earlier humanistic period. But in those days who read Marsilio? At all times nothing is so antipathetic to the taste of any period as the fashionable writings of the beaux esprits of the preceding generation. In the architectural framework of the picture there is a reminiscence of Florentine art." (See *supra*, p. 551.) Out of all the suggested names WICKHOFF only accepts those of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Socrates, Boethius, Euclid, and

learned friends, especially with Sadolet, and that he was influenced by the works of Marsilio Ficino, and also by Dante and Petrarch. But, essentially, there can be little doubt that his ideas of the significance and development of ancient philosophy came from Urbino. In some particulars, as in giving the highest place to Plato, he adopted the point of view of the Renaissance, but in the main he retained the mediæval conception. In this, all knowledge that can possibly be attained by the human intellect through the experience of the senses and the laws of thought, is comprised in the seven liberal arts (*artes liberales*), Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic (Dialectics) the so-called *Trivium*; and Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy — the *Quadrivium*. Raphael's composition is entirely founded on the idea of Philosophy * as the sum of the seven liberal arts.

Plato and Aristotle represent the highest achievements of the human intellect in its efforts to understand and know the substance of all things; truth came to them in flashes like lightning at night; but although these intellectual athletes accomplished as much as it is given to the natural powers of man to work out, they could not obtain to the full possession of the highest truth. On one point all the great thinkers of antiquity, and even Plato, the philosopher of immortality, were at fault; they had no true conception of sin, of the nature and origin of evil. Thus, Greek philosophy was powerless to heal the deadly

Diogenes. "The others, what Dante calls the philosophic family, either have no names or are exquisitely artistic personifications of the various processes of teaching, apprehending, imparting, etc." (p. 52). The writer then goes on to expound his new view of the purpose for which the Camera della Segnatura was destined, which we shall have to mention later, connecting it with these remarks.

* See Richter, Springer, Liliencron and Müllner, *supra*, p. 555, note * as quoted.

wound of the ancient world.* "Philosophy," says Vincent de Beauvais in his great Encyclopædia, "can work the way up to a natural theology, but not to the true science of theology. That could only come from revelation in the Bible and, through its interpreters, the great theological teachers."† This distinction between the realms of natural and supernatural theology is to be found in all the great Catholic thinkers. Thus Dante makes Beatrice say that the difference between human knowledge and Divine faith is as great as the distance between heaven and earth.‡

Therefore, Raphael chose the highest object of supernatural lore for the subject of his fresco on the opposite wall to the School of Athens, which represents the triumphs of human reason. But it must not be supposed that either the immortal masters of mediæval theology, or Dante, the greatest of Christian poets, or Raphael, the most gifted of Christian artists, were conscious of any opposition between Theology and Philosophy.§ As the Church grew to realise her plenary and imperishable possession of revealed truth through Christianity, her early Fathers and Doctors quickly understood that the wisdom of the Greeks was far more her heritage than that of the heathen, and was to be employed in the service and thus became itself purified and elevated to a far higher dignity. The scholastics continued to build in the same spirit on the foundations laid by the Fathers, and thus that system of Christian and Catholic science grew up, of which S. Thomas Aquinas and

* This is admirably demonstrated in DÖLLINGER'S classical work, Heidenthum und Judenthum, 266 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 601 *seq.*, 730 *seq.* Regensburg, 1857.

† Speculum doctrinale, II., c. XIX., quoted by LILIENCRON, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* S. THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa, p. 1, q. 1, art. 2.

‡ DANTE, Purgat., XXXIII., 87.

§ In regard to Dante, see HETTINGER, Die Göttliche Komödie, 100, ed. 2. Freiburg, 1889.

S. Bonaventure are the noblest representatives. "This science was Catholic in the fullest sense of the word, not only because it was moulded on, and guided by Divine truth, infallibly preserved and interpreted by the Church, but because it gathered to itself the legitimate and stable conquests of research in all ages, because it was common to all nations in communion with the Church, and because it aimed at the union of all truth, natural and supernatural, in one perfect science."*

In the fourth great fresco, Raphael wisely abstained from attempting to depict all or even the principal mysteries and miracles unveiled by revelation and confined himself to one, the mystery of mysteries and supreme miracle of all.

The name "Disputa del Sacramento" given to this picture, "which affects the spectator almost like a heavenly vision,"† and was Raphael's first great work in Rome, has been rather an obstacle than a help to the understanding of its purport.‡ There is no strife or disputation here; on the contrary heaven and earth unite together in adoring and

* I have taken the passage from the admirable address on the past achievements and present task of Catholic Science delivered by my friend, Domdekan HEINRICH, on Whit Tuesday, 1876, at Frankfort a. M., at the first general meeting of the Görres Society. It is printed in the Annual Report of the Association for 1876, p. 12. Köln, 1877.

† CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 29.

‡ MÜNTZ, Raphael, 330, rightly observes: En Italien le mot *Disputa* a le sens de discussion aussi bien que celui de contestation; we may add that the original sense of *disputatio* in ecclesiastical terminology is also *discursus*. Nevertheless, the name is unfortunate, because it at once suggests the idea of dispute or strife to any non-Italian. HAGEN, 140 *seq.*, has some very good remarks on this name. From a technical point of view, the School of Athens is a better picture than the Disputa, which was painted earlier. *Cf.* PASSAVANT, I., 163; II., 96; see also RIO, IV., 463-464, 466. In his work, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 133, RIO agrees with F. Schlegel, in considering the Disputa as the greatest of Raphael's works.

praising the miracle of miracles, the supreme pledge of His love bestowed on man by the Saviour of the World. The spectator seems to hear the solemn strains of the *Tantum ergo* breathing as it were out of the picture itself.*

* The picture has nothing whatever to do with any sort of controversy in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, and it is therefore really deplorable to find the engraving of the Disputa in REBER-BAYERDORFFER'S "Classischer Bilderschatz" entitled: "Der Wortwechsel—La Disputa." It cannot be determined with certainty when the name Disputa first came into use. I find it employed in an old guide of the year 1739. (Descrizione di Roma, 60 [Roma, 1739].) The word is to be found in Vasari, but not exactly in the description of the picture. He says: "Fece in un' altra parete un cielo con Cristo e la Nostra Donna, S. Giovanni Battista, gli Apostoli e gli Evangelisti e Martiri sulle nuvole con Dio Padre che sopra tutti manda lo Spirito Santo, e massimamente sopra un numero infinito di Santi che sotto scrivono la messa e sopra l'ostia, che è sull' altare, disputano." The rest of the description is uninteresting, like all Vasari's it is taken from a print. In the passage quoted, the chief emphasis is laid on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the band of Saints. What was said about the writing of the mass was overlooked; attention was concentrated on the "disputano" which gradually lost its original sense of "interchange of opinions" (demonstrating, drawing inferences), and came to be translated as "contention." The change in the prevailing taste in Art which soon diverted general interest from this picture is probably the cause which led to its true meaning being so quickly forgotten. It is significant of this change that the Parnassus should be the only picture mentioned by JOVIUS in his Life of Raphael, when speaking of the Camera della Segnatura. Later travellers (Aldroandi, 1562; Schrader, 1592) ignore Raphael entirely. (MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 26.) M. DE MONTAIGNE, who visited Rome in the reign of Gregory XIII., equally does not mention him in his Journal de Voyage, nor yet ZEILLER, in his well-known Travels in the year 1640. SCHOTT, Itiner. Italiae (Antwerpiae, 1600), mentions only the Sala di Costantino. It was not till the end of the 17th Century that Bellori (*cf.* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 26, 77) made an attempt, though not a very intelligent one, to give a detailed description of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican. VENUTI again, Descrizione di Roma Moderna, IV., 1191 (Roma, 1767), only speaks of the Parnassus and the School of Athens, and says not a word of the Disputa. J. G. KEYSSLER, Neueste Reisen (new ed. by G. Schütze,

Tantum ergo Sacramentum
Veneremur cernui;
Et antiquum documentum
Novo cedat ritui
Præstet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui.

Hannover, 1751), is a little more communicative: he enumerates the four pictures in the Camera della Segnatura as follows: (1) The chief doctrines of the Faith, namely, the Trinity, mediation of Christ, transubstantiation, eternal life, etc. (2) The achievements and powers of the human mind in regard to philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, which piece is usually called the School of Athens. (3) Poesy and the hill of Parnassus. (4) Justice, Prudence, and other moral virtues. VOLKMANN'S Reisehandbuch (Hist.-Kritische Nachrichten von Italien, ed. 2. Leipzig, 1777), of which Goethe made use, gives a full description of the School of Athens, but dismisses the Disputa with a remark that it is painted in "the dry style of Perugino's pupils." He translates the word "Disputa" as "The debate of the doctors of the Church about the Lord's Supper" (II., 128). W. HEINSE, who came to Rome late in the autumn of 1781, and published his "Ardinghello" in 1787, drops the name Disputa altogether, and only speaks of the Theology, of which he says, "The whole represents the coming into existence of the Christian Church." Goethe, in speaking of the Stanza, does not mention the Disputa at all. The German Christian artists, more especially OVERBECK, were the first to rediscover the full beauty of this wonderful picture (*cf. infra*, p. 565, n.). PLATTNER, II., 1, 325 *seq.*, gave a detailed description of it, drawn a good deal from Bellori; he rejects the "mistaken notion" of a controversy about the Blessed Sacrament, and calls it "a dramatic representation of theology in its action and effects." Passavant makes some mistakes in details, but gives a much better general interpretation than any of his predecessors. He says: "In its essential meaning it is a representation of the agreement between the Saints of the old and new covenants in Heaven, celebrating the work of Salvation there, and the theologians on earth contemplating the mysterious Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and both feeling themselves united with each other in Him." KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 581, are quite beside the mark in blaming the picture because neither of the two halves predominate. The remarks in Cicerone, 663, are more to the point, though here too the theological meaning is not appreciated. The appearance of Joseph

Genitori genitoque
Laus et jubilatio
Salus, honor, virtus quoque
Sit et benedictio;

von Keller's admirable engraving of the Disputa in 1857 led to a revival of interest in the picture. (Frederick William IV. bought the drawing; the plate with all the copies still remaining, partly the property of Keller, was destroyed when the Academy in Düsseldorf was burnt down in the year 1872. When Keller saw the plate, "the fruit of ten years of toil," as it was recovered from the mass of rubbish, curled up and perfectly useless, this, "the saddest moment of his life," shewed how deeply imbued he was with Christian feeling; he merely exclaimed, "may the will of God be praised.") Inspired by this engraving, the somewhat mercurial theologian, J. W. J. BRAUN, wrote an original dissertation on the Disputa (Düsseldorf, 1859), in which he gave free vent to his love of conjecture. (*Cf.* Kathol. Literaturzeitung, VI., 59 *seq.*) This roused SPRINGER to publish, first in a brochure (Bonn, 1860) and then in his larger work on Raphael and Michael Angelo, an excellent historical treatise on the whole subject. In this work he rejects the theological interpretation. HAGEN in 1860 wrote a remarkable essay primarily directed against Braun, but also controverting Springer's views (p. 125 *seq.*). In it he justly points out (pp. 127, 139) that Raphael had the prayers of the mass in his mind, in which he is in accordance with Monsignor Schneider, who will be cited further on. HAGEN, 128, declares the main idea in the picture to be "the communion between earth and heaven established by the revelation of the Sacrament of the Altar." F. X. KRAUS was the first to state the theological interpretation from a Catholic point of view in his able, but unfortunately too little known, treatise, La Camera della Segnatura, where, p. 41, the sacrificial element is explained. BOLE in his Meisterwerke, 67–81, has also, more recently, dealt with the subject from the point of view of a Catholic theologian. G. COZZA-LUZI'S paper, Il Duomo di Orvieto e Raffaelo Sanzio nel Trionfo Eucharistico. Lettura inaugurale all' Accademia Orvietana, "La Nuova Fenice" (Milano, 1890), is rather rhetorical. G. GRIMM in his Leben Raphaels, 315, gives the following explanation. "From the moment we understand that the picture represents not a dispute, but the cessation of all disputes on the subject of the picture by the revelation which silences controversy, we see that all the many meanings introduced into it are quite superfluous. It is a moment of overpowering amazement," etc. I consider this interpretation, which is

Procedenti ab utroque
Compar sit laudatio.*

The representation of the Holy Trinity, conceived in the old mediæval reverent manner, occupies the centre of the upper part of the fresco. God the Father is seen in the highest heaven in a sea of golden rays thronged with floating angels,† as if the painter's imagination revelled in the thought of the multitudes of happy spirits in that realm of peace and bliss. On each side, on the edges of the clouds which encircle this region of light, three angels soar in flowing drapery. As Creator and Preserver, the Father holds the globe in His left hand, while the right hand is raised in blessing. Immediately

accepted by WOLZOGEN, 56, to be mistaken, because it starts from the false notion that there had been a dispute amongst those who are assembled in presence of the Blessed Sacrament. The deeper theological meaning of the fresco, as I have endeavoured to explain it further on, p. 575, is thus entirely lost. Finally as a curiosity it may be worth mentioning that PORTIG in the Hist.-polit. Bl., XCVII., 403 *seq.*, is of opinion that the Disputa is an expression of the Protestant doctrine of salvation by faith! On that of a Protestant pastor who declares that Raphael was not a Catholic, see MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 68.

* Down in adoration falling,
Lo! the Sacred Host we hail;
Lo! o'er ancient forms departing,
Newer rites of grace prevail;
Faith for all defects supplying,
Where the feeble senses fail.

To the everlasting Father
And the Son who reigns on high,
With the Holy Ghost, proceeding
Forth from each eternally,
Be salvation, honour, blessing,
Might and endless majesty. Amen.

† *Cf.* DANTE'S description of the Empyrean, Parad., XXXI., 4 *seq.* Raphael indicates the starry heavens by a number of little golden dots.

below Him, in the actual centre of the heavens, is the glorified form of the only begotten Son (*Rex gloriae*).* Perhaps this is the most beautiful representation of the Saviour that has ever been created. He is enthroned on clouds filled with angel-faces. His divinity beams forth in a golden halo melting into a semi-circle of blue sky out of which cherubs are looking down. His head is slightly bent and the wounded hands are stretched forth graciously and lovingly, inviting all men to His banquet.† His shining garment leaves the wound in His side uncovered. On His left hand, S. John the Baptist sits pointing to the "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world," on the right, His Blessed Mother bends adoringly towards him with folded hands pressed to her bosom.

The "patricians of this most just and pious empire," as Dante calls them, are ranged in a semi-circle spread underneath and stretching upwards to embrace the two sides of the central group. They, too, are enthroned on a cloud from which angel faces look out. "For the grouping of the Divine Persons, Raphael went back to the traditional type, but the arrangement of these figures is all his own and is admirable for its perfect proportions

* *Cf.* KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 37.

† *Cf.* OVERBECK'S Leben von Binder, I., 145 *seq.*, and BOLE, Meisterwerke der Malerei, 69. In a letter, which has only come to light quite recently, from Overbeck to his father, written in 1810, he says of the Disputa: "What a heaven opens upon one the moment one enters. The first thing that strikes the eye is the Majesty of God and His only begotten Son, full of grace and truth; it is really impossible to conceive anything more sublime than the glory in the Disputa. With Stephen one sees Heaven opened, and falls into a trance. Below are all the Saints so full of love and faith; in short, this picture is the reflection of Raphael's beautiful saintly soul; one must indeed be a saint oneself to be able to paint sanctity like that." Allg. Conservative Monatschrift (1887), II., 1283.

and its clearness. He mixes the representatives of the old covenant with the heroes of the new, and places these latter in a certain way in accordance with their rank in the hierarchy of the Saints: Apostles with sacred writers, ancestors of Christ together with martyrs, the former in a chronological sequence according to the age in which they lived. Those who sit on the same level on opposite sides are always in some way connected with each other."* In his selection of the Saints and their juxtaposition, Raphael was guided partly by the prayer in the mass and partly by Dante.†

The series of the elect begins on the left side with S. Peter. The teacher and guardian of the Faith appears as a venerable old man holding in one hand a book and in the other the keys; his eyes are fixed upon his Master and God, who has appointed him to be His Vicar on earth, with an expression of unbounded trustfulness. Adam is next him, turning a thoughtful gaze towards him as though musing on the story of sin and redemption.

Que' due, che seggon lassù più felici,
Per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
Son d'esta rosa quasi due radici.

* SPRINGER, I., 223, ed. 2. BOLE, Meisterwerke der Malerei, 69, remarks on the twelve figures which are nearest to Christ: "The order observed in the placing of these persons according to a twofold principle of juxtaposition and opposition is very striking. Old and New Testament Saints are arranged side by side in pairs, for in heaven there is no distinction between the two covenants, since all alike have attained to glory through Christ the Alpha and Omega (Apoc., 1, 8). There is a connection also between those who sit opposite to each, either in regard to God's providential dealings with them, or the special virtues by which they had merited heaven." The author goes on to exemplify this in detail, but perhaps puts a little more into the painter's mind than was really there.

† HAGEN, 127 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, was, as far as I know, the first to point this out.

Colui, che da sinistra le s'aggiusta,
È 'l Padre, per lo cui ardito gusto,
L'umana specie tanto amaro gusta.
Dal destro vedi quel Padre vetusto
Di Santa Chiesa, a cui Cristo le chiavi
Raccomandò di questo fior venusto.*

Close to, and strongly contrasting with the mighty ancestor of the human race, is the gentle and youthful form of S. John, who is writing his Gospel. David by his side, with crown and harp, is reading in the book the history which fulfilled his Old Testament prophecies. Next comes S. Lawrence, the joyous and heroic martyr-deacon; he wears a golden star on his breast and points to the theologians assembled below, round the Blessed Sacrament.† Turning towards him is a figure, probably Jeremias, which is almost hidden by the central group and thus indicates that the circle behind it is unbroken.‡

On the right side, the series begins with the other

* Those highest in bliss,
The twain, on each hand next our Empress throned
Are as it were two roots unto this rose.
He to the left, the parent, whose rash taste
Proves bitter to his seed; and on the right,
That ancient father of the Holy Church,
Into whose keeping Christ did give the keys
Of this sweet flower.
—DANTE, Parad., XXXII., 118–126.

† HAGEN, 139, and others look upon this figure pointing downwards as S. Stephen, and place S. Lawrence on the opposite side. I think them wrong, as it seems to me that the palm in the hand of the figure on the right side clearly indicates the first martyr.

‡ SPRINGER, Raffaels Disputa (1860), was the first to suggest this name, and nearly all modern writers down to BOLE, 71, have accepted it. PALIARD thinks it is meant for S. Martin of Tours. See Chron. des Arts (1876), 328–329.

pillar of the Church, S. Paul. The energetic pose of the figure and the strength and size of the sword on which it leans suggest both his martyrdom and the characteristic power of his doctrine. "The word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword" (Heb., iv. 12). Next to him sits Abraham with the knife in his hand preparing to sacrifice Isaac. After him comes S. James the less, absorbed in thought, holding a book,* then Moses with the tables of the Law, and next to him S. Stephen. The first martyr holds a palm in his hand; he rests his arm on the Book of the Faith which he confessed, and gazing upwards seems to repeat the words which he uttered as he stood before the Council, filled with the Holy Ghost: "Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." Again, on this side, half-lost behind the group of the Saviour and next to the martyr, stands one of the

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 327, conjectures that S. James is placed here as the third witness, together with SS. Peter and John, of the Transfiguration and the symbol of Hope, as they are of Faith and Love. But it was S. James *the greater* who was present at the Transfiguration, and he is generally represented as an old man with a pilgrim's staff and hat (MENZEL, Symbolik, I., 75, 430). Nevertheless GRUYER, 62, and HAGEN, 139, hold to S. James *the less*, and the fact that in the Middle Ages the inscription: "Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis" (see MENZEL, I., 77), often accompanies representations of him seems to me to favour this view. BOLE, in his very able "Studie," connects S. James with the corresponding Saint on the opposite side, S. John: "Both," he says, "lay great stress on the necessity of good works, and above all things of the love of our neighbour: S. John from the point of view of the love of God which is manifested in the love of the neighbour, and S. James from that of faith, which shews it is alive by good works." "If any man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar" (1 S. John, iv. 20). "Faith also if it have not works is dead in itself" (S. James, ii. 17). KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 37, makes it S. Mathew instead of S. John.

heroes of the old Covenant in the dress of a warrior, probably Judas Machabæus.*

The relation between the Heavenly Paradise and the Church on earth is symbolised by the descending Dove, the Holy Ghost, attended by four cherubs, each of whom carries an open Gospel in his hands. The divinity of the Holy Ghost is indicated by the halo which surrounds the Dove; the graces He bestows by the golden beams which radiate from its body. The undermost rays are prolonged to lead the eye to the monstrance with the Sacred Host, Christ in the Eucharist, the end and crown of all theological science.

A wide stretch of open country forms the background of the lower part of the picture. To the right in the plain are the massive remains of an ancient building. On an eminence to the left somewhat further off, workmen are busy on an extensive edifice which is in course of construction.†

In the foreground of the picture a balustrade on each side corresponds with the two buildings which flank the landscape in the background. The middle is left free so as to concentrate the attention on the central point, towards which all the figures below turn, and on which the golden rays from the symbolical Dove descend.

* The earlier interpretation which made the figure S. George the patron Saint of Liguria, has been given up by almost every one since Springer suggested Judas Machabæus, except PLATTNER, II., 1, 327, who still holds to it. FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 279, calls it Josue.

† The meaning of this building has been much disputed. It is very generally supposed to represent the new S. Peter's. See GRIMM, Raphael, 318 *seq.*, and Fünfzehn Essays, IV., 278 *seq.*; CROWE, II., 22 *seq.*, 31; KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 41; and FRANTZ, II., 727. BOLE, Meisterwerke, 72, following MOLITOR, Rom, 261, thinks the ruin on the right is meant as a symbol of heathenism, and the new building on the left, of Christian Theology, which will for ever be receiving new additions. HAGEN, 142, gives yet another interpretation.

Neither the altar nor the monstrance are allowed to appeal in any way to the eye. The monstrance is of the simplest character, the altar is almost without ornament, there are not even candles on the super-altar; on the altar-cloth is the monogram of Julius II. But there is the Blessed Sacrament; the smallest thing in the whole picture, yet under the form of bread the Godhead lies hidden, the one thing which, next to the Christ in heaven, draws our gaze to Itself, and rivets it there. The Holy Trinity rests immediately above the Sacred Host in which it is contained. All the saints in heaven and the legions of angels seem only to become visible for the one purpose of honouring the supreme mystery of earth; the "Bread of Life," appears as the meeting-point in which the two spheres are united. On both sides, as though taking the place of the altar lights, stand the Doctors and Saints of the Church, Popes and Cardinals, secular and regular Priests, Scholars and Artists. "All are occupied with the miracle on the altar; some are lost in adoring wonder, some in deep thought, others absorbed in earnest conversation. This is the human part of the picture; here we find the most animated groups, figures full of emotion in the intense efforts of the mind to grasp and understand. Nevertheless, all these various expressions and characters are blended into a whole of perfect harmony and beauty. The scope of the picture stretches out far beyond its immediate subject; we see the long ages of humanity straining after knowledge, embodied in these venerable fathers striving through the abysses of religious thought to attain to clear insight. And yet over all broods the spirit of heavenly calm, the peace of the sanctuary."*

* THIERSCH, Schaden, 132. The whole description of the Disputa is so beautiful that it is with great regret that I confine myself to this extract.

On three sides broad steps lead up to the altar, and thus facilitate a natural and varied arrangement of the groups and figures comprised in this happy company, to whom it has been granted to draw near to the Holiest, the source of all enlightenment and knowledge. On the two sides of the altar are stationed the four greatest Fathers of the Western Church; on the left, S. Jerome and S. Gregory I.; on the right, S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. They are seated to denote their office as teachers, while all the other saints are standing.* S. Jerome is in the dress of a Cardinal, the lion is at his feet, by his side his letters and translation of the Bible, on his knee a book in which he is reading with an expression of strenuous attention on his face. An aged Bishop, standing close against the altar in a green cope embroidered with gold, is turning towards him, and with a countenance beaming with trust and faith, stretches out both hands towards the monstrance.† Next to S. Jerome, S. Gregory the Great, in full pontificals, is seated on an antique Roman episcopal chair; he appears to have been reading, but now turns from his book to gaze with a wistful expression on the symbol of the Holy Ghost, which Paul the Deacon once saw floating over this saint's head.

On the right side, close to the altar, an old man, in a

* BOLE, Meisterwerke, 74.

† According to WICKHOFF, 51–52, the artist intentionally abstained from individualising this and many of the other figures. "He does not wish to distract the attention of the spectator by any biographical associations. The office of the chorus is to illustrate the thoughts and feelings of the principal personages. They contemplate them, they address them, they converse upon what they have heard, they impersonate intelligent sympathy in all its forms." BOLE, Meisterwerke, 73 *seq.*, takes the opposite view and looks for names; he thinks the two figures standing immediately next the altar, are S. Ignatius of Antioch and S. Justin. BRAUN, Raffaels Disputa (1859), had already proposed these names.

philosopher's robe of a blue colour, not specially designated in any way, stands turning towards S. Ambrose and pointing with his right hand to heaven. The Saint is looking upwards, his hands raised in adoring wonder, and his lips parted as though just beginning to intone his hymn of praise. Next to him is the noble figure of S. Augustine, the favourite author of the Christian humanists, dictating his confessions to a kneeling youth; * his best-known work, "the City of God," lies at his feet.

To the right of SS. Ambrose and Augustine, both in episcopal dress, stand S. Thomas Aquinas and two prominent figures, one a Pope, the other a Cardinal. The first of these is probably Innocent III., the author of the well-known works on the Holy Mass; † while the Cardinal, who wears the Franciscan habit, is undoubtedly S. Bonaventure the Seraphic Doctor. Another Pope, in a robe of gold brocade, stands at the foot of the altar-step. His features are those of Sixtus IV., Julius II.'s uncle. The books in his hand and at his feet shew that he was a voluminous writer.‡ Behind Sixtus IV. the head of Dante appears crowned with a wreath of laurels.§

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 24 (Engl. trans.).

† KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 40.

‡ BOLE, Meisterwerke, 76, still holds to the earlier view which made this figure Innocent III., but this is certainly incorrect. WICKHOFF, 51, has no doubt that it is meant for Sixtus IV. In another place, 64, he remarks: "There is a very human touch of nature in Julius II.'s commemoration of his uncle in the Stanza della Segnatura, but it is also characteristic of his lofty aims that he puts forward the intellectual services of his family as their title to distinction." It was a happy thought to place Sixtus IV. close to the Dominican S. Thomas and the Franciscan S. Bonaventure, when we recall that one of his works was a treatise in which he strove to appease the controversy between the two orders See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 209 (Engl. trans.).

§ Some think that the head which is visible just behind Dante's is meant for Savonarola. I cannot, however, see any resemblance to the

On the extreme right side of the fresco there are a considerable number of figures, the foremost of whom is leaning over the balustrade with eyes fixed on the altar. Another man with a beard, in a yellow tunic and blue mantle, evidently a philosopher, points to Sixtus IV., as to an accredited exponent of the mystery.

Adoro te devote, latens Deitas
Quæ sub his figuris vere latitas,
Tibi se cor meum totum subjicit,
Quia te contemplans totum deficit.

Visus, tactus, gustus, in te fallitur,
Sed auditu solo tuto creditur;
Credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius:
Nil hoc veritatis verbo verius.

Plagas, sicut Thomas, non intueor.
Deum tamen meum te confiteor.
Fac me tibi semper magis credere
In te spem habere, te diligere.

Jesu, quem velatum nunc adspicio,
Oro, fiat illud, quod tam sitio,
Ut, te revelata cernens facie,
Visu sim beatus tuae gloriæ.* Amen.

well-known portraits of the great preacher, whose features were, of course, quite familiar to Raphael.

* O Godhead hid, devoutly I adore Thee
Who truly art within the forms before me;
To Thee my heart I bow with bended knee,
As failing quite in contemplating Thee.

Sight, touch, and taste in Thee are each deceived;
The ear alone most safely is believed:
I believe all the Son of God has spoken,
Than truth's own word there is no truer token.

Thy wounds, as Thomas saw, I do not see;
Yet Thee confess my Lord and God to be,
Make me believe Thee ever more and more;
In Thee my hope, in Thee my love to store.

A similar order is observed on the left side. Next to S. Gregory the Great is a beautiful group of three youths kneeling in adoration, while a man in a yellow mantle points to the writings of the Fathers of the Church lying on the ground beside them. Behind this group are two very striking heads of Bishops, and beyond them four religious, a Benedictine Abbot, an Augustinian, a Franciscan, and a Dominican, conversing together. This group, no doubt, is intended to indicate the large share which the religious orders have had in the building up of the scholastic theology. The corresponding figure on the opposite side to that of Sixtus IV. is a noble youth with flowing golden hair, he is gently, but very earnestly trying to persuade three men to follow the example of the kneeling youths. The leader of these less advanced believers is an older man, who is supporting himself against the balustrade, and seems appealing to some sentence in an open book which he holds in his hand.* The background is filled with other heads, all more or less interesting, amongst them that of Fra Angelico in blissful contemplation; the theological painter on this side answers to the theological poet on the other. The mystery of the Holy Eucharist is not only

> Jesu! whom for the present veil'd I see
> What I so thirst for, oh, vouchsafe to me;
> That I may see thy countenance unfolding,
> And may be blest Thy glory in beholding.

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 330, contests Montagnani's interpretation of this man whom he supposes to be a theologian. The figure is clearly marked as that of a philosopher. FÖRSTER, I., 279 *seq.*, and others who make him out to be a sectary or heretic are, of course, still more at fault. BOLE, Meisterwerke, 78, explains him as a philosopher who has not yet succeeded in completely reconciling Theology with Philosophy, because he is too full of his own system, and neglects Holy Scripture. LÜBKE II., 262, agrees with this interpretation.

the highest study of doctors and theologians, it is also the inspiration of poets and artists; it is the focus of Christian life, the food and the strength of all Christian souls.

"Here we have not a commemoration of Christ, we have Christ Himself. What we are here adoring is not one of the mysteries of His life, it is the sum of all these mysteries, the God-man Himself, the crown, the consummation and the corner stone of all his illuminating, grace-bestowing and redemptive work; it is the source of all graces, a sea of graces, the way to glory, and glory itself. All the treasures of nature and creation, all the miracles of grace and redemption, all the glories of heaven meet in this Sacrament, the centre of the universe." "It is from here that those streams of grace flow East, West, North and South, which fertilise the whole realm of the Church; this is the source from which beams the sevenfold radiance of the Sacraments All the virtues blossom around this spring of grace, all creatures draw the waters of salvation from this well. This is the living heart whose pulsations give life to the Church, here heaven touches earth which has become the dwelling place of God."*

But the Holy Eucharist is also a Sacrifice;† the artist has marked this aspect of it by shewing the glorified Saviour with His wounds in heaven immediately above the Sacred Host. Without both the Sacrament and the Sacrifice the life of the Church would perish; without the mysteries of Faith, theology would lose all its

* HETTINGER, Apologie, II., 2, 235, 191.

† *Ibid.*, 237 *seq.*, and RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 132; DANDOLO Secolo di Leone X., I., 210 (Milano, 1861); CERROTI, Le pitture delle Stanze Vaticane, 59 (Roma, 1869), and VITET, Étude sur l'Histoire de l'Art, 3e partie, p. 51.

efficacy. Thus, all the votaries of Christian science gather round this most precious jewel, the supreme token of God's infinite power and mercy, in glad and grateful adoration. Again the Holy Eucharist is the bond of union between the militant and the triumphant Church. "It is the mysterious chain reaching from God in heaven down to the dust of the earth"; it brings heaven down to earth, and raises earth to heaven.* The Master has symbolically expressed this in two ways, by raising the Sacred Host above the heads of all the assembly of the faithful who surround It, and by the descending rays of the Holy Ghost which come down from heaven to rest upon It. As the Spirit of Charity He descends from the empyrean heaven of calm and bliss into the world to bring it the sacrament of love; as the spirit of truth, in the same act, He brings the highest enlightenment and knowledge of God. Thus He appears as the intermediary between the glorified humanity of Christ in heaven and Christ in the Holy Eucharist under the form of bread. The artist secures the connection between the upper and lower halves of the picture by a symbolism in which he also expresses the doctrines of the Catholic Faith.

"The glorified humanity of Christ under the form of bread constitutes the bond of union between the world below and the blessed above, whose joy and blessedness consist in the contemplation of the same glorified humanity unveiled in heaven. Christ here, hidden under the form of bread; Christ there, "fairest amongst the sons of men, seen as He is, one and the same Christ yesterday and to-day. The identity of the glorified body of the Lord on earth and in heaven is the link which joins the two

* HETTINGER, *loc. cit.*, II., 2, 236, 271.

parts of the picture into one whole."* Below we have faith, above, sight.

* For the remarks quoted in the text, I am indebted to my friend Monsignor Schneider, Canon of the Cathedral of Mayence. He writes to me as follows: "The idea of a close connection between this world and that beyond the veil was by no means peculiar to Raphael and those who inspired him. It belongs to the iconology of the later mediæval times, and on the other side of the Alps asserts itself strongly in Flemish Art as, for example, in the altar-pieces in Ghent of the brothers Van Eyck. This feature is most prominent in the picture in the museum at Madrid generally called "The Fountain of Life," but better, perhaps, "The Mystic Spring," and is not obscured by the division between believers and unbelievers. This altar-piece belongs to the school of Van Eyck; *cf.* SCHNEIDER, Alte und neue Welt (1877), No. 31, p. 488. The division of Flemish altar-pieces into an ascending series of stages forming one whole, corresponds with the plan of the mediæval popular drama and the great later mediæval festal mysteries. This has been clearly proved by Dr. P. WEBER, Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst, 143 (Stuttgart, 1894). Raphael's arrangement in the Disputa is obviously on the same lines; the only question is, whether he was following the traditions of Italian Art on the stage and in representation, or was influenced by northern ideas, especially by Flemish and Burgundian Art. There was no lack of personal intercourse between the Netherlands and the Roman Court, and there are plenty of instances to shew that Flemish and Burgundian Art exercised considerable influence in artistic circles in Italy. It is quite possible that pictures of the Blessed Sacrament of the school of Van Eyck were known and admired in the Vatican, and may have suggested the arrangement of the Disputa to Raphael. At any rate from the point of view of Art, it clearly belongs to the mystical and symbolical school of the Middle Ages, and this corroborates the view that its meaning is to be sought in the mystical theology of the scholastics. Fra Bartolomeo's masterly picture in the Uffizi at Florence, is painted on the same lines as the Disputa, though in a more concise form. He represents the symbol of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the Chalice and Paten over the world, and at the feet of the glorified figure of Christ as He rises from the grave." *Cf.* FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 186, though the Disputa is not referred to.

O gioia ! O ineffabile allegrezza !
O vita intera d' amore e di pace !
O, senza brama, sicura richezza.*

This magnificent creation can only be rightly understood from the point of view of the Catholic faith, and those to whom this is a sealed book must necessarily go astray in their attempts to decipher its meaning. This consideration alone explains the fault found by some able art-critics with the composition of the picture, because neither of the two halves preponderates in mass or importance over the other.† From the point of view from which the fresco is conceived this very fact is one of its chief merits, for it is intended to represent the truth so strongly emphasised by all the great theologians, and especially by S. Thomas Aquinas, that the Sacred Host is essentially the Sacrament of Union.‡

The same Christ appears in heaven above and in the Blessed Sacrament on earth below. The whole court of heaven is gathered round the Incarnate Son of God in his character of Victim. In the picture, even God the Father and the Holy Ghost are only there, so to speak, on account of Him. What is seen below is the same as that which appears above; the only difference is that on earth the great mystery is an object of Faith, hidden under a visible symbol. But in the symbol, the Incarnate Son of God is contained, and, consequently, in virtue of the

* Joy past compare, gladness unutterable,
Imperishable life of peace and love,
Exhaustless riches and unmeasured bliss.
—DANTE, Parad., XXVII., 79.

† KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Malerei, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* passages on the Eucharist in the Index, Opp. S. Thomae, XXV., 197–203. Parmæ, 1873.

unity of the Godhead, the Father also and the Holy Ghost, and with them the whole company of angels and saints.

Thus the Disputa represents the supreme, the absolutely perfect unity; above, the apotheosis of all the love and life of the old and new covenants in the vision of Him who is the Triune God; below, the glorification of all human knowledge and art is the faith in the real presence of the Redeemer in the Most Holy Sacrament. This is the central force which impels and harmonises all the powers of heaven and earth; all the waters of life above as well as below the firmament well up from this source, and pulsate "as in a spherical vessel from centre to circle, and so back from circle to centre." *

There is no other work of Raphael's for which so many preparatory studies and outlines seem to have been made by the artist as for this one; the well-known sketches at Windsor, Oxford, the Louvre, Frankfort and Vienna, bear witness to the conscientious industry which he bestowed on this great composition, refusing to be content with anything short of his very best.†

These preliminary studies are the only materials that we have for the history of the production of the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura; Jovius merely mentions that

* DANTE, Parad., XIV., 1–2.

† The essential plan of the picture remained unaltered from the beginning. See SPRINGER, I., 215 *seq.*, ed. 2, in his admirable treatise on the sketches and studies for all Raphael's frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura. *Cf.* also MÜNTZ, Raphael, 335 *seq.*, ed. 2, where a number of copies are given, and GRIMM, Raphael, 304 *seq.* The fullest enumeration of the sketches is to be found in RULAND'S Windsor Catalogue. For Raphael's love-sonnets written on the papers on which some of the studies are drawn, see MÜNTZ, Raphael, 366 *seq.*, ed. 2; and FAGAN, Raffaele S., his Sonnet in the Brit. Museum. London, 1884.

Raphael painted this Stanza by order of Julius II.,* and an inscription states that they were finished in the year 1511. A marvellously short space of time when we consider that the artist could not have begun his work till the late Autumn of 1508, and had besides to master the technique of fresco painting.† The subjects of the pictures were selected by Julius II., but for the details of their treatment no doubt the young artist consulted many of the learned men then in Rome; and it is a mistake to exaggerate their influence to such an extent as to make it appear that in his frescoes he merely carried out the programme traced for him by a committee of scholars.‡

In the Parnassus, humanistic conceptions are clearly traceable. It is thought by some that the influence of Christian humanism is perceptible in the Disputa,§ but it is more probable that all the most useful suggestions for this picture would have come to Raphael from the official theologians of the Papal Court, the Dominicans. Though Humanists were by no means excluded from the Vatican circle the old mystical and scholastic theology of the Dominicans as formulated in the Summa of S. Thomas still held its place there as the recognised system.‖ Raphael represents the teaching of S. Thomas Aquinas idealised by his art.

The wide-spread acquaintance with mystical theology in those days, in artistic circles quite as much as elsewhere,

* Pinxit in Vaticano nec adhuc stabili autoritate cubicula duo ad praescriptum Julii Pontificis. Jovius, Raphaelis Urbinatis vita.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 364 *seq.*

‡ Nevertheless I do not agree with WICKHOFF, 64, in denying or reducing to a minimum the assistance obtained by Raphael from conversations with scholars and poets.

§ KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 29 *seq.*

‖ I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Mgr. Schneider for these observations and the following paragraph.

is an element in the Art of the time which has not been at all sufficiently appreciated or understood, nor yet another point connected with this, namely, the almost universal familiarity with the Liturgy of the Church. We find the proof of this amongst the Latin races of the present day, where the common people know and readily follow the Liturgical offices of the Church. In his picture of the Transfiguration, Raphael exactly follows the Office for the Feast (6th August). It is not too much to say that he was already perfectly acquainted with the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, as compiled by S. Thomas Aquinas, and that in any consultations with Dominican theologians, the knowledge which he already possessed made it easy for him at once to grasp and follow whatever thoughts they suggested. A letter of his of the year 1514 shews that he was acquainted with Dominicans, and had received assistance from them. He was then employed in building S. Peter's, and in his letter he says that the Pope had given him the learned Dominican, Fra Giocondo da Verona to help him, and impart to him any secrets of architecture that were known to him, "in order," Raphael adds, "that I may perfect myself in the Art." The Pope sends for us every day to talk for a while about the building.* This shews the way in which artists worked together in the Vatican; and we may well assume that the same sort of thing went on in regard to the series of pictures in the Camera della Segnatura.†

Now we come to the question of the use to which this

* *Cf.* SPRINGER, Raphael und Michelangelo, II., 102, ed. 2. KNACKFUSS, Raphael, 73. This letter shews that it is a mistake to say that Raphael consulted no one. We gather also from CERROTI, Le pitture delle Stanze Vaticane, 13 (Roma, 1869), that he had learned friends with whom he discussed his work.

† *Cf.* HAGEN, 127 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*

room, by the Pope's command, so magnificently and at the same time so seriously and thoughtfully decorated, was to be put? Here, too, we can only guess. A recent historian* has put forward the following hypothesis, which seems a highly probable one. It is certain that the division of all the activities of the human mind into the four branches of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry and Jurisprudence was the Pope's idea. He was not a learned man, and would have proposed nothing but what was simple and obvious. Now this division exactly corresponds with the plan proposed by Nicholas V., the first of the papal Mæcenas, for the arrangement of his library, and which was in vogue at that time for libraries generally throughout Italy. Pietro Bembo, in a letter written in February, 1513, mentions the private library of Julius II., which, though containing fewer volumes than the large Vatican library, was superior to it both in the value of the books, and in its fittings; he especially praises its convenient situation, its splendid marble friezes, its paintings, and the seats in the windows.† From a contemporaneous work by Albertini on the objects of interest in Rome, and from a payment, connected with it, we gather that this library was in an upper storey of the Vatican, and was richly decorated.‡

* WICKHOFF, Die Bibliothek Julius II., 49 *seq.*, whose extremely interesting remarks, developing a hint thrown out some time ago by SPRINGER, Raphael und Michelangelo, II., 102, ed. 2, I reproduce in the text. KLACZKO'S objections (in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, 1894, Vol. 124, 243 *seq.*) to Wickhoff's view do not seem to me convincing. It will be interesting to see what Fabre, in his long-promised work on the Vatican Library, has to say about Wickhoff's hypothesis.

† BEMBUS, Epist. famil., lib. V., c. 8. See ROSCOE, II., 47; WICKHOFF, 55.

‡ ALBERTINI, ed Schmarsow, 34, 35 (Est praeterea bibliotheca nova secreta perpulchra, ut ita dicam, Pensilis Julia, quam tua beatitudo construxit signisque planetarum et coelorum exornavit). The bill is in

When we remember that in those days books were not kept in book-shelves fixed against the wall, but in detached presses (as in the Laurentian library in Florence), there would be no difficulty in supposing that the Camera della Segnatura was intended to receive the private library of Julius II. The number of books represented in the various frescoes also makes for this hypothesis. "All the allegorical figures on the ceiling hold books in their hands, except Justice, who carries the sword and scales. Angels float down from heaven, bringing the Gospels, the most venerated books of the Christians, to the faithful. The four Fathers of the Church on either side of the Blessed Sacrament are all either reading or writing books. Books lie about on the ground, and nearly all the figures, both lay and clerical, to whom names can be assigned, are identified by means of books. All the votaries of the Muses in Parnassus hold rolls or writings in their hands; and in the School of Athens there is hardly a figure that is not provided with a book or tablets. All are composing, writing, reading, expounding, so that nothing that has to do with the processes and products of authorship is left without sensible representation in some form. Even the two great philosophers are only designated by their most famous books. The Pope holds a book containing the laws of the Church, and Justinian is represented with his celebrated Pandects. In the monochromes under the Parnassus, on one side books are being discovered in a marble sarcophagus, and on the other books are being burnt. There is

CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, Raphael, II., p. 9, note; WICKHOFF, 56, note 1, is of opinion that Albertini's signa planetarum et coelorum were not paintings of the stars, but Astrological tables. The *Reports of F. Brognolo, printed in the Appendix, N. 43 and 44, and which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua seem to indicate that Albertini meant globes with stars painted on them.

no other series of paintings in the world in which literature takes so prominent a place; almost everything in some way refers to it." *

It seems as if in the supposition that this room was intended to contain the Pope's private library, we ought also to include a further one, namely, that Julius II. meant besides that, to make it his study and business chamber, which the name Camera della Segnatura (chamber for signatures) † seems to imply. "These paintings were to form the adornment of the room in which the Head of the Church was to sign the papers and provisions drawn up for the good of the Church. Theology and Philosophy, Poetry and Law, representing revealed truth, human reason, beauty and Christian order, were to preside from the walls over his decisions and their final sanction." ‡

But whatever view may be adopted as to the distinction of the Camera della Segnatura, there should not be any doubt as to the meaning and connection of the frescoes in it. An utterly unfounded theory has been recently put forward, and stoutly defended, that these frescoes represent "the humanistic ideal of free thought, and were intended as a monumental expression of the achievements of the unaided human intellect." Far from doing homage to the Church and the Papacy, their purpose is declared to be "to exhibit the superiority of free thought and investigation apart from revelation in matters of religion to the ecclesiasticism of the time." §

* WICKHOFF, 54.

† *Cf.* the passage from Paris de Grassis in MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 132.

‡ GSELL-FELS, Rom, II., 611, ed. 2. Similar passages in KUHN, Roma, 264 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1878), and others.

§ See HETTNER, 190–191 (1879). It is unnecessary for me to undertake the refutation of Hettner's theological and philosophical errors, as that has been already admirably done by Wickhoff. I find that the

In all these suppositions modern ideas are imported into the age of Raphael, and a single glance at the frescoes

notion of its being the intention of Raphael and Julius II. to reduce Theology to the same level with Philosophy, was first started by RANKE, in his Essays "Zur Geschichte Italienischer Kunst" in the German periodical, "Nord und Süd," of April and May, 1878. Here he says: "That Julius II. should not only have permitted, but actually ordered the representation in the Stanze of secular as well as religious knowledge, was the outcome of the spirit of secularisation, and sympathy with the higher aims of mere humanity, which had taken hold of the Papacy" (RANKE, Werke, LI. and LII., 280). VILLARI, in his equally wrong-headed remarks, Machiavelli, II., 22 *seq.*, and partly also WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 642, and PÉRATÉ, 550, 553, take very much the same line as Hettner, and the explanation given by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 159-160, ed. 3, is entirely mistaken. The premises from which he draws his conclusions are false to begin with. He writes: "The narrow conceptions of the Mediæval Church had by that time been broken through. A Pope was bold enough to reject the teaching of the Fathers, which consigned all heathens, whatever their virtues, or their reputation in the world, to damnation. In contemplating the picture on the walls of his room, Julius II. must undoubtedly have taken much more pleasure in resting his eyes on Apollo and the Muses, on Socrates and Archimedes, than on the uninteresting figures of the Patriarchs and Saints. The pictures in the Pope's chamber already expressed what twenty years later one of the most audacious of the reformers ventured to utter in words. In his confession of faith, Zwingli drew a strange picture of the future assembly of all the Saints and heroes and virtuous men. Abel and Henoch, Noe and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were placed side by side with Hercules, Theseus, and Socrates, with Aristides and Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, Cato and Scipio, and not a single good or honest man was excluded from the presence of God." There are, of course, passages in the Fathers in regard to the salvation of the heathen, that lend themselves to misconstruction, but none have ever asserted that all non-Christians are inevitably lost S. Augustine expressly says that all heathens, even those who lived before Christ came, are not condemned. The Fathers of the Church looked upon Pagan philosophy and science as coming from God, and said that theologians ought to avail themselves of it. See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 7 *seq.* (Engl. trans.). As to the opinions of the Fathers in regard to heathen philosophy, see KLEUTGEN, Theologie der Vorzeit, IV.,

ought to shew how untenable they are. But it may be asked whether the devotion of an equal space to the glorification of Philosophy with that which is given to Theology does not indicate an approach to the anti-ecclesiastical spirit of the heathen Renaissance? The answer is that this view is excluded by Raphael himself in the manner in which he treats the two subjects. In the first place, there is a tone of solemnity in the Disputa which distinguishes it from all the other frescoes, and its arrangement, being divided into two halves, one heavenly and the other earthly, is quite different from that of any other. Again, in the composition of the School of Athens there is no parallel to that concentration on a single central point, dominating and animating the whole, which we find in the Disputa.* Plato and Aristotle appear as the greatest of the philosophers, each attended by a separate band of disciples; each represent a different point of view. The various philosophical schools are all more or less distinctly divided from each other, and their independence and exclusiveness is marked on the left side of the picture by the separate stone seats occupied by the different teachers.† Finally, there is a striking difference

143 *seq.*, ed. 2 (Münster, 1873). It is absurd to say that Raphael broke through the "narrow conceptions of the Mediæval Church," by adopting a broader point of view than that of the Fathers. The correspondence which Gregorovius supposes between the Stanze and the passage in Zwingli is purely imaginary.

* JANSSEN in a letter from Rome, written 23rd Feb., 1864, to Frau von Sydow (as yet not printed) remarks: "The so-called Disputa ought really to be named the Concordia, for here all the interest is concentrated in one central point; the School of Athens, where all the elements are scattered, is really the Disputa. The central point in the ancient world was not truth but beauty, and thus Apollo forms the centre of the representation of Poesy."

† PASSAVANT, I., 149; MÜLLNER, 167; GRUYER, 98 *seq.*

also in the scene of the picture. "Here we see no opening heaven shewing a Divine victim, the Redeemer of the world; no supernatural ray descends on earth to enlighten the human intelligence."* Here, as the inscription above denotes, the human intellect wrestles alone with the nature of things, striving after knowledge. Plato, the philosopher of natural theology, signifies its incompetence by pointing upwards. By placing the Disputa opposite, Raphael emphasises the contrast between it and this intellectual laboratory. Here truth is laboriously sought for, there it is seen embodied and perfect,† and in a perfection unlike anything that the ancient world ever dreamed of as possible, a fulness beyond all human thought or imagination, such as could only have been conceived by the boundless love of the Saviour of mankind who chose under the simple form of bread to remain with his own, "even to the consummation of the world."

In another way also the artist marked the relation between the sciences and the Church from his point of view, namely in the *Grisailles* or imitation bas-reliefs painted in monochrome, which fill the space underneath the two sides of the Parnassus. "The two doors at the end of the long sides of the room open immediately against the wall and then these *grisailles* are the first things to catch the eye on entering the room and the last to be looked at on leaving it. This, therefore, was the most suitable place for the prologue and epilogue of the

* KUHN, Roma, 267; FRANTZ, II., 730.

† RANKE, in his Werke, LI.–LII., 280, has well described the contrast between the School of Athens and the Disputa. "There, men learn by research, by observation, and reflection, here, knowledge comes through prayer by revelation and illumination." *Cf.* GRUYER, *loc. cit.*, and HAGEN, 137, 138. "In the Disputa, knowledge is bestowed from above, not discovered, as in the School of Athens."

whole series expressing their general idea and purport." Although these reliefs are some of Raphael's best and most finished work, they remained for a long time little observed or understood. It is only quite recently that the attention they deserve has been bestowed upon them, and that it has been discovered that the painter intended them to illustrate, in the person of Sixtus IV., Julius II.'s uncle, the attitude of the Papacy towards the true and the false learning.* The burning of the books was perfectly intelligible to Raphael's contemporaries, for the censorial edicts of 1491 and 1501† must certainly have been in force in Rome as well as elsewhere.

* The interpretation till then accepted of these reliefs, was that they represented Alexander the Great commanding Homer's works to be placed in the grave of Achilles, and the Emperor Augustus forbidding the burning of the Æneid. See PLATTNER, II., 1, 348. WICKHOFF, 60, however, proves this to be manifestly incorrect. He has the merit of having been the first to discover the true meaning of these reliefs, and their connection with Julius II. Briefly stated, his account of them is as follows: Julius II.'s uncle, Sixtus IV., had a high reputation as a theological writer. Immediately after his election, a Roman printer, Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine, published a work by the new Pope, on the Precious Blood and the Power of God (see Vol. IV. of this work, p. 208). In the dedication in which he praises the services rendered by Sixtus IV. to the Christian Faith by his writings, he says: "Not only the Fathers of the Church, but the heathen also acted as you have done. For when a sarcophagus filled with Greek and Latin books was found in the field of Lucius Petilius, the Consuls, P. Cornelius and Baebius Pamphilus commanded that the Latin books should be carefully preserved, but the Greek, which were thought to contain things contrary to religion, were burnt by order of the Senate. This narrative is to be found in the first book of Valerius Maximus." From this, WICKHOFF, 63, infers, "There can be no doubt that Julius II. desired Raphael to paint the story with which his uncle's name had been thus flatteringly associated. On one side we see the two Consuls examining the sarcophagus and its interesting contents; on the other, the burning of the dangerous philosophical books."

† See Vol. V. of this work, p. 346, and *supra*, p. 155.

Thus it is clear that far from being intended to serve as a glorification of the false humanistic ideal, the purpose of the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura was to illustrate the four great intellectual forces, Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence in their relation to the Church. It was in the alliance with intellectual culture that the Church and the Papacy had won all their beneficent victories and consolidated their power. It was this alliance, the true connection between intellectual culture and Christendom and the Church, which was celebrated in Raphael's picture. The Holy See had always maintained that secular knowledge could only attain its highest perfection under the guidance of the organ of Divine wisdom, the Church, by whose authority alone it could be preserved from errors and distorted growths. Like all the artistic undertakings of Julius II., the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura are a development, not only of the designs of the great Popes of the early Renaissance, Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV., but also of the ancient traditions of the Papacy itself. The grand and simple fundamental idea in them all belongs to Julius II.; the genius displayed in realising it in Art is Raphael's and has helped to immortalise the painter's name. In this wonderful poem in four cantos, painted on the walls of the Stanze, the artist spreads out before us the whole and vast regions of human knowledge and achievement as seen from the point of view of the Church, and in the light of revelation. "All material things are presented as mirrored in and vivified by a creative spirit which is at once poetical and real," while "the reproduction of the life of the classical world is combined in perfect harmony with the dearest and deepest apprehension of Christian principles. And all the abstract thought is bathed in an atmosphere of beauty and grace which yet never detracts from the grave and intellectual character

of the pictures."* One is glad to think that one of the saddest passages in the Pope's life may have been soothed in a measure by the sight of these frescoes.

On the 27th of June, 1511, he had returned to his capital powerless and ill and harassed with anxieties, both political and ecclesiastical. On the eve of the Feast of the Assumption Michael Angelo's roof-paintings in the Sistine had been unveiled.† The frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura must have been completed very soon after this, as the inscription states that they were finished in the eighth year of Julius II.'s Pontificate, and this closed on the 26th of November, 1511.‡

* REUMONT, III., 2, 390; *cf.* COUNT A. SZÉCSEN'S appreciative remarks, Raffael, 558 *seq.*, and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 701, ed. 6, who justly commends the "admirable harmony between form and thought" in the frescoes of the Camera della Segnature. "Even the best of the Quattrocento masters allowed themselves to be led astray by their too great love of accessories (superfluous figures and draperies, too much ornament in backgrounds, etc.), the number of details neutralised each other, over-characterisation everywhere spread the accent over the whole picture. Fra Bartolomeo, the best master of composition, next to Leonardo, moved in too wide a circle, and his feeling for life outstripped his grasp of form. In Raphael the forms are always beautiful, noble and animated, and yet subordinate to the effect of the whole. No details obtrude themselves; the artist knows how fragile is the life of his great symbolical subjects, and how easily the whole can be killed by a too prominent detached figure. And yet his single figures are studied with a care that no other painter had ever bestowed upon them. . . . . The management of the draperies, their movement, the sequence of colours and lights, are a never-ending source of enjoyment."

† See *supra*, pp. 362, 519.

‡ *Cf.* CROWE, Raphael, II., 77 *seq.*, who thinks that the Sistine and the Camera della Segnatura were uncovered at the same time; but we have no certainty that this was the case. See *supra*, p. 520. As the years of a Pontificate are reckoned from the Pope's coronation that is the date of their conclusion. (Crowe mistakenly supposes that they are counted from the election.)

The surpassingly admirable manner in which Raphael had executed the Pope's first commission,* determined Julius to entrust the painting of the next room, called from the subject of its chief fresco the Stanza d'Eliodoro, to him also.† While these large works were in progress Raphael also executed several smaller commissions for easel-pictures, amongst others some for Julius II., one of which was a Madonna for Sta Maria del Popolo, the favourite church of the Rovere.‡ Unfortunately, this picture has disappeared since the year 1615. From copies of it we see that it represents the waking from sleep of the Divine child. The Madonna is holding up the veil which had covered him, and looks thoughtfully down at her son while he stretches his little arms towards her. S. Joseph is in the background leaning on a staff.§ He also ordered a portrait of himself for the same church. Vasari praises this picture as being such an excellent likeness that it inspires as much awe as if the Pope himself were present, and it still gives one the impression of being a characteristic portrait. The Pope is sitting in an armchair, his smooth, almost white, beard falls over a red velvet cape which he wears over his shoulders, and the expression of his face is thoughtful and care-worn.

* We have no information as to the payment received by Raphael for these frescoes, but as we know that later he had 1200 gold ducats for each picture in the Stanza dell' Incendio, we may suppose that the same sum would have been that paid for those in the Camera della Segnatura. In that case it would amount to rather over £200 for each Stanza. See KRAUS, 4; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 326, ed. 2.

† Apparently this was decided before the Camera della Segnatura was finished. This seems probable, because in the sketch of the subject from the Apocalypse, for which the Mass of Bolsena was afterwards substituted, the Pope is represented without a beard. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 374, and Chronique des Arts (1883), p. 277.

‡ See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 456 (Engl. trans.).

§ See SPRINGER, 191; CROWE, Raphael, II., 84 *seq*, and VÖGELIN, Die Madonna von Loreto. Zürich, 1870.

Many copies of this picture were taken almost immediately. Florence possesses two, one in the Uffizi and the other in the Palazzo Pitti, but critics are not agreed as to which is the original.*

Raphael also executed a likeness of the Pope's favourite, Cardinal Alidosi.†

It is difficult to understand how the artist could have found time to paint so many other pictures in addition to all his work for the Pope. There is quite a long list of exquisite Madonnas, all bearing dates falling within the reign of Julius II. The markedly religious tone in all the pictures of this period is noteworthy.‡

This is specially the case in the two wonderfully beautiful Madonnas painted by him in the last year of the Pontiff's life; the Madonna di Foligno, now in the Vatican gallery, and the Madonna del Pesce. Like the Stanza d'Eliodoro both these pictures bear marks of the influence of Sebastiano del Piombo: Raphael made no secret of his admiration for the style of this master.§ The Madonna di Foligno was a votive picture ordered by Julius II.'s secretary and friend, Sigismondo de' Conti, who is represented in it kneeling with

* PASSAVANT, II., 14, and LÜBKE, Raffaelwerk, Text, 57, are in favour of the one in the Pitti Palace. WOLTMANN, II., 648; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 659, ed. 4, and THAUSING in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr. (N. F.), IX., 365, prefer that in the Uffizi. LÜBKE, Malerei, II., 289, and MÜNTZ, 502, are uncertain. SPRINGER, 191, says: "Probably those who disbelieve either to be originals will turn out right in the end." The one in the Uffizi has been damaged, that in the Pitti Palace, though perhaps a Venetian copy, is a very good one and gives the best idea of the original. Julius II., in December, 1511, also put up a portrait of himself in the Church of S. Marcello; See SANUTO, XIII., 350.

† See Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 328 *seq.*

‡ KNACKFUSS, 58.

§ SPRINGER, 211.

folded hands before the Queen of Heaven. "She is enthroned on a cloud encircled with a golden glory and attended by angels." It is the ideal of what a Christian Altar-piece should be, and is in perfect preservation, its colours as brilliant as when it was first painted.*

The Madonna del Pesce, now in the Museum at Madrid, is also a perfect gem of religious art. It was a thank-offering for the cure of an affection of the eyes. In depth of expression it is rightly judged to be one of Raphael's masterpieces, if, indeed, it is not in this respect, and also in the harmony of its colouring, the most beautiful of all his works. "The brilliant red of S. Jerome's robe is enhanced in its effect by the brownish yellow of the lion at the feet and the more orange tint of Tobias' tunic, and these two shades combine harmoniously with the subdued ruby tones of the Angel's dress. These warm colours are tempered by the blue of the Virgin's mantle, while this again is relieved by the tender carnations of the infant Christ; and the sage green curtain in the background makes all the figures stand out as in a brilliant light. The Madonna del Pesce might be designated as a chord of the three primary colours." †

The colossal Isaias, attended by two angels, which is now in the church of S. Agostino in Rome was painted by Raphael for another member of the Papal Court, the German Prelate, John Goritz.‡

* See KEPPLER in Hist. Polit. Bl., 96, 38 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, 212 *seq.*; *cf.* KNACKFUSS, 65, and RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 150.

† SPRINGER, 214–215.

‡ This fresco is now in a sadly decayed state. See SPRINGER, 256 *seq.*, on Michael Angelo's influence which is unmistakeable in this work. See also KNACKFUSS, 65. The fragment of a replica of the boy on the left side of the painting, now in the Accademia di S. Luca, in Rome, was originally part of the decoration of an escutcheon of Julius II. in the Vatican. G. Dehio considers this fresco older than the Isaias, and

Raphael also executed some paintings in the corridors leading from the Vatican to the Belvedere, but they have all perished, and there is no record of their subjects. All we know of them is from an account which shews that he received a payment for work done there.*

All this time his work in the Stanza d'Eliodoro was never interrupted, but he was obliged to avail himself largely of the assistance of his pupil Giulio Romano.

Baldassare Peruzzi had already finished the decoration of the ceiling of this room and painted scenes from the Old Testament in the four divisions of the vaulting.† Raphael retained these decorations without any alteration, and set to work at once on the walls. The Pope died before this Stanza was completed, and it is not recorded whether the selection of the subjects in the frescoes was his. It seems, however, extremely probable that this was the case, as the first of the series and the one that is most carefully finished, is the so-called Mass of Bolsena, and Julius and his family had shewn a special interest in the incident which it commemorates.

It represents a miracle which occurred at Bolsena in the year 1263, and created an immense impression at the time.

thinks that the latter was not Raphael's work, but that of one of his pupils, perhaps Giulio Romano.

* See this account, dated Dec. 1513, MÜNTZ, Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XX. (1879), 183, n. 4. See also MÜNTZ, Raphael, 387.

† L. GRUNER, Raffael's Deckengemälde der Stanza dell' Eliodoro, (Dresden, 1875). Crowe-Cavalcaselle have shewn that the decorative framework which encloses the pictures in the triangular spaces of the vaulting is by Peruzzi. Wickhoff was the first to deny that Raphael or his pupils had any hand in the painting of the frescoes themselves, and to ascribe the whole ceiling to Peruzzi. The influence of Michael Angelo can be traced in the exaggerated style of these compositions. DOLLMAYER, in Lützow's Zeitschrift (1890), N. F. I., 292–299, confirms Wickhoff's opinion that they are entirely by Peruzzi.

A German priest had been greatly tormented with doubts as to the truth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and had earnestly prayed for a sign that should dispel them. His prayer was granted in the church of Sta Cristina at Bolsena, where he had stopped in the course of a pilgrimage to Rome. While he was saying Mass there, at the moment of consecration, drops of Blood oozed from the Sacred Host in sufficient quantity to stain the Corporal.* This

* HETTNER, 222–223, writes as follows on the "Mass of Bolsena": "Raphael grounded his picture on the legend which had been the cause of the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi, but he idealised it and gave it a deeper significance. The original story is to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1264, n. 26. When in 1264 Pope Urban IV. was residing at Orvieto, a priest of Bolsena had allowed a drop from the chalice, after consecration, to fall upon the Corporal. In order to conceal his carelessness he folded the Corporal so as to cover the stain, but it penetrated through all the folds, and on each one left an impression of the Sacred Host. The account adds that the Pope had instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi in honour of this miracle with the special object of reviving the Faith in those who had grown lukewarm, and to confound the ungodly and confirm the piety of the good. Raphael shews the thoughtful character of his genius by the alteration which he makes in the legend, making the priest himself, a sceptic, now convinced by the miracle, and representing the whole occurrence as taking place in the presence, and through the intercession of the Head of the Church. He thus obtains a clear and well-marked incident as his subject, and a splendid dramatic contrast between the startled and ashamed expression of the young priest and the trustful composure of the Pope, which is not to be found in the original legend. And as usual, in order to connect his picture with present events, he has given the Pontiff the features of Julius II. S. Kinkel has written a very valuable article (MOSAIK, 161 *seq.*), in which he has collected together a number of legends which have been founded on works of art. That of the Mass of Bolsena may be added to these; its original form is now quite forgotten, and it is only known as idealised by Raphael." On closer examination the whole of this account turns out to be imaginary. Raynaldus, of course, does give the story as Hettner tells it, quoting it from S. Antoninus, who died in 1459; but there is a long inscription still preserved in the church of

miracle constituted one of the motives which had determined Urban IV. to institute the Feast of Corpus Christi. By his orders the relic was brought to Orvieto, and the splendid Cathedral there was built mainly for it. The Bishop of Orvieto gave a magnificent silver tabernacle, ornamented with twelve pictures in enamel, representing the history of the miracle, to contain the relic.* In 1477 Sixtus IV. granted various Indulgences to promote the veneration of the relic and the building of the Cathedral.† Julius II. when staying at Orvieto on his first expedition against Bologna had manifested great reverence for this relic.‡ Probably it was on this occasion that the Pope

S. Cristina in Bolsena, which was first published by PENNAZZI, Istoria dell' Ostia che stillò sanguine in Bolsena (Montefiascone, 1731); then in Italian in 1890 under the title, Istoria del Miracolo Eucaristico di Bolsena (Milano), and again in Latin, compared with the original by Canon Battaglini, in the periodical "Divus Thomas" (Placentiae, 1884), A° V° n. 3. This inscription was written after the canonisation of S. Thomas Aquinas, who is called Beatus, and before the Indulgence Bull of Martin V., and is therefore much earlier than S. Antoninus. It explicitly states that the priest (Quidam sacerdos Theutonicus, therefore not a Bohemian as some later accounts say) had doubts of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Battaglini considers the date to be 1338. The story of the legend in the text follows this inscription, which is in the wall adjoining the Altare del Miracolo. Benedict XIV., who mentions the miracle of Bolsena in his work, De festis Jesu Christi, III., 773 (Wirceb., 1747), does not seem to have known it. The account of this miracle is a notice written in 1466, edited by Francesco di Mauro, Narrazione del Miracolo di Bolsena o Corporale di Orvieto. Estratto dal Propugnatore, Vol. I., corresponds with the inscription.

* See impression in the Nuovo Giornale Arcadico, 3 Serie, Vol. II. Milano, 1890.

† Bull of Sixtus IV., in the Bull. Ord. Praedic., III., 555–556.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 35, says 7th Sept., 1506: Vesperis finitis Papa cum alba more solito vestitus et in gestatorio cum cappello ad ecclesiam S. Mariae delatus apud altare benedixit. Primo enim adoravit corporale sanguine Christi aspersum quod super altare maiori

determined to have the miracle represented at some time in the Vatican, and it is not unlikely that he bound himself by a vow to honour the relic in some special manner. Now that all that had then been won seemed lost, he may have remembered this promise.

Raphael's sympathetic grasp of his patron's thought is as striking as the power with which he gives artistic expression to the Pope's indomitable confidence in the Divine assistance, and firm conviction that all pusillanimous doubters will be put to shame. In this picture the difficulties to be overcome in the shape of the space at his disposal were even greater than those which he had to conquer in the Parnassus, and here as there he triumphed over all and turned his limitations into additional beauties. There is no trace of any sort of constraint, and the composition of the picture arranges itself quite naturally, over and on each side of the window which cuts into the wall. Above its arch is the choir of a church with its altar, approached on each side by a broad flight of steps. In this case the window, not being in the middle of the wall,

locatum fuit, tum surgens incensum posuit in thuribulo, quod cum navicula prior diaconorum ministravit, cum illud prior praesbyterorum ministrare debuerit; et deinde rursus genuflexus incensavit; postea conversus ad corporale stans benedixit dicens: Sit nomine Domini benedictum, &c. Hitherto this connection between Sixtus IV. and Julius II., and the "Mass of Bolsena" has not been noticed by any of those who have sought to interpret the picture. It does away with the suppositions put forward by FÖRSTER, I., 317, and PÉRATÉ, 564, and also with HETTNER, 222, and conjecture that it had to do with the Lateran Council, and was meant to represent "this internal conflict and victory within the bosom of the Church." Against Hettner, *cf.* FRANTZ, II., 732 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, I., 264, 339 *seq.*, ed. 2. Springer has shewn very clearly that it is impossible to substantiate any direct connection between these frescoes and the Lateran Council; but as all these writers have overlooked the special relation between Julius II. and the Bolsena relic none of their explanations are satisfactory.

but thrust very much into the left corner, was still more difficult to manage; however, Raphael had met this by broadening the steps on the right side so as to preserve the sense of symmetry.* A balustrade completely encloses the choir, and the spacious aisles of a Renaissance church constitute the background. The priest stands on the left side of the altar holding the Sacred Host in one hand, and in the other the Blood-stained Corporal. In the expression of his face, astonishment, shame, contrition and fear are admirably combined. From the other side of the balustrade two youths gaze intently at the miracle in mute amazement. Three acolytes are kneeling with lighted candles behind the priest, a fourth in a bright coloured cassock raises his hand with an expressive gesture as though to say, "See! it is indeed as the Church teaches!" The emotions of the beholders, which in the nearer figures are those of subdued awe and reverence, become more mingled with excitement in the groups of people who are pressing up the steps on the left side to get a better view. Some are bowing low in adoring prayer, others pointing with outstretched hands to the marvel, others triumphantly thanking God for this confirmation of the faith of the Church. "The perception and apprehension of the miracle seems to flow like a spiritual stream through the throng of worshippers on the left and is just beginning to reach the women and children sitting on the lowest steps."† In marked contrast to all this flutter and stir is the perfect calm of the Pope and those who are with him on the right-hand side. The contrast is further emphasised by the steady flame of the altar lights on this side while on the left they are flickering and bent as though by a strong wind. The Pope, unmistakeably Julius II., kneels on

* LÜBKE, II., 393; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 668, and SPRINGER, 199.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 668.

a prie-Dieu, exactly opposite the priest, with his face turned towards the altar absorbed in adoration. His whole attitude expresses the assured faith which befits the Head of the Church; there is not a trace of emotion or surprise.* No doubt the master had often seen the old Pope in this attitude during those critical days when the Church was in such jeopardy. Two Cardinals and two other clerics appear on the steps below, in attendance on the Pope, and on the lowest, some soldiers of the Swiss Guard kneel in silent wonder; near them is the Pope's *Sedia gestatoria.* One of the Cardinals, generally thought to be Raffaele Riario, has his hands crossed on his breast and is looking at the priest with a grave and stern expression. The other, with folded hands, adores the miraculous Blood; both heads are most impressive. "For skilful composition, truth and depth of expression, and magnificence in colouring, perhaps the picture is the best of the whole series.†

In its homage to the Blessed Sacrament, towards which Julius II. had a special devotion‡ the Mass of Bolsena is the connecting link between this Stanza and the adjoining one, which contains the Disputa; in representing a miracle it strikes the key-note of the Stanza d'Eliodoro where the fundamental idea is the representation of God's unfailing care for His Church by instances of His direct intervention for her support and protection in the hour of need. The history of the reign of Julius II. was a signal illustration of the truth. In the Summer of 1511, when Italy seemed at the mercy of the French, how wonderfully the storm

* FRANTZ, II., 735, rightly contests Springer's assertion that the absence of all emotion or excitement in the Pope and the group surrounding him, was due only to artistic considerations, and holds that it is essential to the historical meaning of the picture.

† WOLTMANN, II., 647.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 447.

blew over! Again in August when the Pope was to all appearances dying, he seemed to have been miraculously restored in order to negotiate the Holy League by means of which the unity of the Church was saved. Although the battle was not yet wholly won, Julius II.—and Raphael with him—had the fullest confidence that God would not withdraw from his Vicar that protection which as yet had never failed. And they were not mistaken. The schismatic Council melted away, Louis XII. was driven back, and French domination in Italy was annihilated. It was most natural that the artist, even without having received any special orders to this effect should have embodied in his pictures the thoughts which were filling the mind of the Pope and all his surroundings at the time. Thus this series of paintings sprung out of the historical events of the day, and spoke a language that all could understand.

The fresco which occupies one of the longer walls of the Stanza, and gives it its name, portrays the miraculous expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, narrated in the 2nd Book of Machabees.* Heliodorus, the treasurer of the Syrian King, Seleucus Philopater, was sent to carry off the contents of the treasury of the Temple of Jerusalem. When, however, he attempted to execute his commission "the spirit of the Almighty God gave a great evidence of his presence, so that all that had presumed to obey him, falling down by the power of God, were struck with fainting and dread, For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, adorned with a very rich covering, and he ran fiercely and struck Heliodorus with his fore-feet, and he that sat upon him seemed to have armour of gold.

* We gather that the subject was chosen by Julius himself from the fact that while he was still a Cardinal, he had bought a piece of tapestry representing the history of Heliodorus. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 284-285, ed. 2.

Moreover, there appeared two other young men beautiful and strong, bright and glorious, and in comely apparel, who stood by him on either side and scourged him without ceasing, with many stripes. And Heliodorus suddenly fell to the ground," . . . . and they acknowledged "the manifest power of God . . . . but the Jews praised the Lord because He had glorified his place." (Machabees, II., 3, 24 *seq.*) Raphael, following the text of Scripture as closely as possible has represented the scene "with marvellous dramatic power."

The spectator looks into the nave of the Temple. At the altar in the background, lighted by the seven-branched candlestick, the High Priest is praying; behind him the other priests and a number of people who display by their gestures their surprise and joy at this manifestation of the mighty hand of God. The centre of the foreground is purposely left empty that nothing may distract the eye from the sudden irresistible inrush of the heavenly emissaries who burst in at the right-hand corner.* The horseman in his golden armour, and the swift youths with their sweeping scourges have just arrived in time. Heliodorus is dashed to the ground, the urn full of coins has slipped from his hands, the fore-feet of the horse are almost upon him, his terrified attendants strive in vain to escape. "The poetic feeling in this group is marvellous, we see as it were the lightning of God's wrath blasting the sinner; opposite, on the other side, there is a charm-

* SPRINGER, I, 272, ed. 2. It has been said by a first-rate judge of art that Raphael "has never produced anything more magnificent than this group of the heavenly rider with the two youths at his sides and the stricken spoiler and his attendants." "The foreshortening of the horseman and Heliodorus has been justly admired, but that is only one detail in the masterly expression of rapid movement in the whole group of figures." BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 667; *cf.* also RIO, IV., 474 *seq.*; GRUYER, Chambres, 197 *seq.*

ing cluster of women and children in various attitudes of surprise and alarm."* Behind these figures, "reminiscences of which may be traced like echoes in various forms through all later art,"† Julius II. appears, borne in his chair high above the heads of the throng of people into this Old Testament assembly.‡ Calm and dignified, he seems to recognise in God's dealings with His people under the old covenant the same mighty hand which had so unexpectedly discomfited the schismatic Cardinals and brought the Anti-Papal Council to naught: "For he that hath his dwelling in the heavens, is the visitor and protector of that place and he striketh and destroyeth them that come to do evil to it." (Machabees, II., 3, 39.)§

* KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, 590.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, *loc. cit.*

‡ The second bearer of the chair is generally supposed to be Giulio Romano. K. BRUN in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1882), I., 543, thinks he is B. Peruzzi. The man in a black robe walking beside it is designated in an inscription as Jo. Petro de Foliariis Cremonens. In all the descriptions of the Stanze, he is still spoken of as the "Secretario de' Memoriali," although more than a hundred years ago, VAIRANI, II., 109, had pointed out that under Julius II. this office was filled by Giano Coricio. Whatever authentic information we have about the persons represented by Raphael, which is little enough, is all to be found in Vairani.

§ Bellori, if I am not mistaken, was the first to say that the fresco of Heliodorus referred to the expulsion of the French from Italy, and his view has been adopted by all those who look upon these paintings as intended to illustrate the history of the times (Springer denies this). See GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 396, ed. 5; MÜNTZ, 373, ed. 2, and PÉRATÉ, 564. But if the overthrow of Heliodorus is held to represent the defeat of Louis XII.'s army (and MINGHETTI, 120, has recently declared this to be quite certain) the difficulty arises that the fresco on the opposite wall, the meeting of Attila and Leo I., portrays a precisely similar incident, and there is no doubt that both paintings belong to the time of Julius II. (*cf.* following note). I therefore venture to think that the

Julius II. died before the two succeeding frescoes were finished, but the subjects of them were certainly chosen during his lifetime.*

On the opposite wall to Heliodorus, Raphael painted the meeting of Leo I. with Attila.† This famous interview (at which, according to the mediæval legend, S. Peter appeared in the heavens above the head of his successor) took place on the banks of the Mincio near Mantua;‡ Raphael transfers it to the vicinity of Rome. To the left, in the distance, we see some ruins, a basilica and the Colosseum, while, on the right, the flames rising from a burning village, denote the approach of the barbarians. Calm and assured in his trust in God the Pope comes forward to meet Attila, attired in full Pontificals and sitting on his white palfrey attended by his peaceful followers. Julius II. being dead by this time, the Pontiff is represented with the features of Leo X. The majestic forms of the Princes of the Apostles appear with drawn swords in the sky over his head. A halo of light pro-

first picture is meant to refer to the internal, and the second to the external enemies who were threatening the Church and the Papacy in the reign of Julius II. Many of the details in the subjects themselves seem to corroborate this view. On Heliodorus as a recognised representative of violators of churches, see C. A. LAPIDE and CALMET.

* The Oxford drawing shews that this was the case with regard to that of Attila. *Cf.* SPRINGER, I., 275, ed. 2; MÜNTZ, 377, ed. 2, and ROBINSON, A Critical Account, 225-227; see also HETTNER, 218. In regard to the fresco of S. Peter, see next page.

† "Undeniably one of the master-pieces of fresco painting," RUMOHR, III., 122. *Cf.* OVERBECK'S opinion of it in a letter of the year 1810, in the Allg. Conserv. Monatschrift (1887), II., 1283.

‡ GRISAR, in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1751 *seq.*, ed. 2. *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, I., 187, ed. 3, who remarks that "Leo X. was at that juncture the representative of human culture, which was preserved from destruction in those days by the spiritual power of the Church."

ceeds from them, which sheds a soft radiance over the troop of priests, and fills the barbarian horsemen with terror and dismay. The heavens are darkened, violent gusts of wind sweep back the banners, the startled horses rear and turn. The eyes of the terror-stricken soldiers are fixed on the apparition, while their leader has dropped the reins, and turns his horse to fly, with an involuntary pressure of the knee; even then, in the Summer of 1512, were the "barbarian" hordes of France put to flight, to be again more completely routed and expelled in the following year at Novara.*

The subject on the other wall over the window and opposite to the Mass of Bolsena is the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. XII.) of S. Peter's deliverance from prison. The composition of the picture is perhaps not quite so perfect as that of the other, but nevertheless it is full of beauties. In all the pictures in the Stanza d'Eliodoro Raphael had paid more attention to effects of colour than he did in the Camera della Segnatura. In the splendid colouring of the Mass of Bolsena the influence of the Venetian, Sebastiano del Piombo, can be already traced.† In the fresco of the

* The drawing at Oxford (see *supra*, p. 603, note*) shews that Raphael's first thought was to celebrate the event of 1512; in it, the Pope is Julius II. not Leo X. But when the final rout took place in the Summer of 1513, the fresco was altered to refer to this event instead. The Poet, GYRALDI, in his Hymnus ad divum Leonem Pont. Max. (printed by ROSCOE, III., 606-609), also celebrates the expulsion of the French under Leo X. *Cf.* Attila and Leo I.; in the poem, the scene is correctly laid in the neighbourhood of Mantua. Perhaps we may gather from this that the plan of this fresco dates from the time of Julius II.

† *Cf.* RUMOHR, III., 103 *seq.*; KNACKFUSS, Raphael, 71; LUTZOW, Italiens Kunstschätze, 447, and especially SPRINGER, I., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2, who shews that Michael Angelo had nothing to do with the modifications in Raphael's style, which are to be observed in the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

Deliverance of S. Peter, which emphatically summarises the leading idea of the pictures in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, namely, the futility of all human attacks upon the divinely protected Church and her head, Raphael has to some extent resorted to effects produced by light, but with great sobriety and restraint. To the left of the window, on a flight of steps, we see the terrified guard who have discovered that their prisoner is gone. Moonlight and torchlight are combined in this scene. In the centre there is a grating so cleverly painted that we feel as if we could lay hold of it. Through this the interior of the prison is visible, lighted by the radiant angel who is in the act of waking the Apostle while the soldiers to whom he is chained still sleep. "This scene is marvellously effective in its simplicity and reality and its glamour of supernatural light." * On the right S. Peter appears again, passing out between the sleeping guards and led by the angel, from whom all the light proceeds. This heavenly form and the spiritual radiance which it diffuses are rightly considered to be one of the artist's most divine inspirations.†

This fresco is most commonly thought to be meant as an allusion to the escape of Cardinal de' Medici (afterwards Leo X.) out of the hands of the French after the Battle of Ravenna. As according to the inscription on the window this picture was not finished till 1514, this interpretation

Sebastiano del Piombo was brought to Rome by Agost. Chigi in 1511. See Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., II., 61, 68.

* LÜBKE, II., 297. *Cf.* also GRIMM, in the Preuss. Jahrb., LI., 199, and GRUYER, Chambres, 233 *seq.*

† LÜTZOW, Italien Kunstschätze, 447. JOVIUS in his Life of Raphael nost strangely supposes the subjects of this picture to be the Resurrection, and the Guard to be that around the Saviour's tomb. SZÉCSEN, Raffael, 539, thinks this mistake is due to the effects of light, which eclipse the actual subjects of the picture.

may very possibly have been current even at the time; but it seems more probable that the design dates back to Julius II. and really has reference to him.* S. Pietro in Vincoli was the titular church of Julius II. when he was a Cardinal; and on the 23rd June, 1512, he made a special pilgrimage to it to thank God there for his victory over the French. It seems exceedingly probable that the Court painter was commissioned to employ his art in the idealisation of this great triumph which was so gorgeously celebrated at that time.† Thus the Mass of Bolsena would commemorate the prayer of the Pope before the relic at Orvieto in 1506, at the commencement of his great enterprise for the reconstitution of the States of the Church, and the deliverance of S. Peter, his thanksgiving in 1512, at the end of his course for the overthrow of the French before the altar of S. Pietro in Vincoli.‡

The whole fabric of the enchanted realm of Raphael's Vatican pictures rests upon one simple but far-reaching thought. It is that of the greatness and triumph of the Church; her greatness in her wisdom, and her centre, the

* GRIMM, Raffael, 386, is quite certain that this is so. I see also that he has noticed the relation of this subject, and the titular Church of Julius II. At the same time, in his Michelangelo, I., 404, ed. 5, he still adheres to the false interpretation of Card. de' Medici's flight (*cf. supra*, p. 415), and is not aware of the further connection with the rejoicings in June 1512, which I have been the first to point out. HETTNER, 219, had already raised objections to the supposition that Card. Medici was intended, but only on general grounds. My explanation restores the connection between the deliverance of S. Peter and the other frescoes which SPRINGER, I., 264, ed. 2, seeks and cannot find. He thinks it strange that no Pope appears in this picture, but this is quite natural as S. Peter was the first Pope.

† As the celebration was closed by a grand illumination (see *supra*, p. 417), it is not unlikely that this may have suggested the employment of effects of light in one of the frescoes to Raphael.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 416.

Papacy; her triumph in the wonderful ways in which God continues to guard and protect the successor of him to whom the promise was given. "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

It seems a remarkable providence of God that Julius II., the founder of the great Cathedral of the world, should have been led to charge the greatest of Christian painters, with the task of illustrating the doctrine of the most Holy Sacrament, which was on the point of being so passionately controverted, and the unfailing Divine protection, which ever preserves the Church and the Head at the very moment when the most terrible storm, which the Papacy in its course of nearly two thousand years has ever had tc encounter, was about to burst upon it.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

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1. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.*

1498, July 15, Rome.

Questa matina è giunto qui Don Alfonso.† E ben che fino ad Marino habi menato con se circa 50 cavalli nondimeno de Marino in qua è venuto con 6 o 7 cavalli havendo voluto cosi N. S. perch' el venisse secretamente et ha disnato con me in palatio. Hogi poi è stato da S. Sta, gia quale lo ha veduto molto volentieri et li ha facto molte careze. The "Secret" of the Duke's presence here is known all over Rome.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

2. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan. ‡

1498, July 17, Rome.

Don Alfonso has arrived. Heri el rev. card di Valentia lo volse de compagnia alle stantie sue et secondo mi è refferito lo ha acharezato cum tante amorevole dimonstratione et honore quanto si potesse dire. Hogi poi N.S. lo ha havuto a se insieme cum madona Lucretia et avanti S. Sta in presentia de rev^me^ card. de Perosi, de li nuntii regii et mia si sono visitati et acharezati insieme non usando pero altro cha parole generale. . . .

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 58.

† This confirms the statement of Gregorovius, Lucrezia, 103 (in July).

‡ See *supra*, p. 58.

3. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1498, Aug. 8, Rome.

. . . Tuttavia el Papa inclina a la filia del Re Federico et cum questa speranza ha fatto el parentà del Don Alphonso cum donna Lucretia, quali hanno consumati el matrimonio privatamente, et doppoi un altro dì publico cum multe feste, pasti e galle e fra li soi solamente ne alcuno ambasatore o altra persona publica fo chiamata. La familia de Valentia cum quelli de la principessa sua cugnata hebeno affar scandalo inseme et sfedraron le spade a la presentia del Papa in una de la sale ultra la capella, dove si fece la prima colatione nanti la cena, che fu dominica passata e dui vescovi hebeno de molti pugni; e per lo tumulto tanto la brigata se andorono qua e la che non gera portatori de confetti, in modo che li piu vili bisognorono satisfare; poi andorono a cena de li a un pezo, la qual durò tre hore et fino al dì chiaro; feceno representatione, ne le qual Valentia comparve in forma de Alicorno, che longo seria a scrivere, ma cum più tempo vederò de havere lordine e laparato et lo mandaro, benche non ce sia stato cosa de excellentia maravigliosa; e quella la qual si è al proposito loro è perche donna Lucretia se contenta molto bene de Don Alphonso, el qual per patto ha a star qui un anno per fermo, ne lei, vivendo el Papa, è obligata andar nel Reame; a una taola sola era S. Sta, a laltra per opposito era el card^le^ de Monreale et de Perosa, Lucretia, Alphonso, la principessa e la sorella de Borgia . . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Extract from the Letter of an Unknown Person.†

1500, Jan. 23, Rome.

Che Valentinoys ha facto gran doglianza a Roma per littera de la morte de Borgia, dicendo che i celi lhan facto solum per guas-

* See *supra*, p. 58, and Gregorovius, L. Borgia 105.

† Probably of an Envoy or Agent from Mantua. See *supra*, pp. 73–4.

tarli di soy desegni, et lui è stato mezo di fare che il fratello habbi el capello, el quale li serà dato gionto che sia Valentinoys a Roma cum pacto che esso fratello paghi li debiti de Borgia, che sono ducati xviii^{m}. Chel papa ha dicto volere subito refare a sue spese le roche de Imola et de Furlì. Chel se prepara de fare card^{li} tutti a beneplacito de Valentinoys, et perhò è ben facto riponere ogin speranza de la practica de mons^{re} ne le sue mane et solicitarlo lui che gli altri favori sono troppo da lontano. Chel papa era per rompersi cum Venetiani, volendo in ogni modo Arimine et Faenza et non gli volendo loro consentire Chel Sr Zoanne da Pesaro ha quatro milia boni fanti, monetione et victualie assai, et che delibera fina a morte contrastare. Chel papa mette ne le rocche de la chiesia castellani afetionati a Valentinoys, et in castello Sancto Anzelo novamente ha posto uno arcivescovo alevo desso Valentinoys.

[The Copy is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1500, Aug. 19, Rome.

Illmo S^{r} mio. Stava don Alphonso ducha de Biselia marito de madonna Lucretia asai bene, pensava el re de Napoli levarlo, ma essendo redutto quando fu ferito in certa torre presso le camare del papa non potea facilmente levarsi; solo el medico mandato da Napoli lo medicava e la molie li faceva lo suo mangiar aciò non fusse atosichato; al fine heri nanti conplecterio morite e sonno sta presi alcuni Neapolitani de li soi e de la molie inputati che volevan amazar lo ducha Valentino in sua casa e camare; el papa ne sta de mala volia si per natura del caso e per lore de Napuli si perche la filiola se despera. Alfine pare una cosa legiera questa, ma parturirà con tempo mal asai verisimilmente. Lambasator de Napoli mandò subito la roba sua qua e la et se redusse in casa del orator Spagnolo, spingendol ad andar del papa per sua cautione perchè staseva per levarse per dubio delli presoni p^{ti}, se ben lui non se inpatiaria in tal novelle; el papa le ha fatto dir chel resti securo sopra de lui, tamen lui ha avuto

* See *supra*, p. 78.

levarse per lo melio sina chel se ben inteso il tutto et molta armata sta al pallatio . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.*

1500, Sept. 1, Rome.

Dil. filio Iuliano Episcopo Ostiensi. . . . Attendentes quod dil. filius noster Ascanius Maria S. Viti, etc., diaconus cardinalis, S. R. E. vicecancellarius qui monasterium Clarevallis extra muros Mediolanen. Cisterciensis ordinis ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica obtinet in commendam pro eo quod idem cardinalis in regno Francie pro dicti ducatus Mediolanensis pace, quiete et tranquillitate ad praesens retinetur, regimini et administrationi dicti monasterii . . . intendere non valet nec etiam spes habetur quod brevi tempore intendere possit cum prefatus rex de eo minime confidit. Thus he gives the above-named abbey to Card. Giuliano della Rovere, with the consent, as he has been informed, of the king Louis XII. Dat. Romae, 1500, cal. Sept. A° pontif. nostri nono.

[Conc. Regest. 872, fol. 142. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

7. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1501, Sept. 24, Rome.

Illmo S^r mio. Son venuti dui anbasatori de Ferara qua, quali el papa ha posto ad alogiar in la casa de la filiola e stanno in festa e balli e tanto balloe essa una de queste notte che lo dì sequente stete alterata de febre, pur mo sta bene e per executione de le promesse per esserge ordine dal lato de Ferara che prima se ge adimpischa tuto quello li è sta offerto ; vole li denari in Ferara e condutta a le confine de la Romagna a spese del papa, qual prepara mandarla molto honorevolissima e contenta e cum molte matrone de qua et se levarà quando don Ferando venerà . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 75. † See *supra*, p. 108.

8. Report of the Florentine Chronicler, Bartolomeo Cerretani, on the Anti-Pope Pietro Bernardino, a Disciple of Savonarola.*

[1502.]

. . . Venti in circha homini di popolo et di baxa conditione havendo pe' passati tempi seghuito frate Girolamo e vixuti in vita exactissima et santa, come di sopra dicemo, in questi tempi si tirono da parte; et facto insieme molti conventiculi et segrete raunate, creorono, secondo il costume degli Ebrei, un pontefice al quale comissono ogni cura et potestà di loro medesimi, così temporalmente come spiritualmente; vivendo del continuo quasi insieme nella cipta e'n certi luoghi del contado. Questo primo pontefice loro fu Fiorentino di bassa qualità, d' anni XXV., idiota e sanza lettera alcuna; ma per le continue prediche et letione haveva udite dal frate era divenuto di tutta la schrittura sachra et maxime de la Bibia in modo praticho che le sapeva a mente quasi tutte: e predichava et faceva sermoni di tal qualità et così mirabile expositione, che rendeva chascuno meravigliato: et mentre fra' Girolamo vixe, su per le logge et piazze sermoneggava a' fanculli et al popolo di tal qualità che caschuno stupiva, vendendo questa nuova suprestizione [*sic*!] per optima religione. Morto e' frate si tirò da chanto e fatto molti conventiculi comincciò a sua seghuaci a dare nuovi precepti dicendo che la Chiesa s' aveva colla spada a rinovare, e che doppo la morte di frate Girolamo non era rimasto homo gusto in terra; il perchè non era più necessario il confessarsi perchè tutti e' frati e prete della Chiesa d' Iddio erano tepidi; e per questo nessuno, se non facta la renovatione, si confexassi. Haveva certo olio del quale ugneva a' detti sua seghuaci le tempie, afermando essere l' untione dello Spirito Sancto.

Facevano spessissime oratione mentale non udivano messa, vestivano poveramente, la vita quando buona et quando trixta, secondo il caso; nel manggare alcuna volta si fermava dicendo: lo spirito vole che si facci oratione; così in silentio oravano: in un tracto comandava il mangare. Tenevano per certo che questo fussi profeta e se vestiva o parlava o faceva alcuno cenno interpetravano che passerebbe in Italia Francosi o Tedeschi o Turchi, o che la Chiesa era presso a la rovina e simile fantasie. E quali

* See preceding volume, p. 214.

conventiculi et raunate sendo notifichate a lo 'nquisitore et arciveschovo, respecto a molte macule de heresie et compagnie sospette, furno per la via degl' Otto interdette, con presure di loro et altre persequtione. Il che gli fe più ristrignere insieme mostrando haverle predette; e per questo d'achordo si partirno et di segreto e itine a la volta di Bologna si trasferirno a la Mirandola, dove si trovava il Sig^re^ Govan Francesco, nipote del Conte Govanni, homo più suprestitioso [*sic*!] che savio, il quale sendo machiato non pocho della dottrina fratescha, liber mente et volentieri gli ricevette et non molto tempo doppo sendo asediato da certi sua congiunti, per torgli lo stato, arditamente si difendeva: ma crescendo l' opugnatione comincciò non pocho a temere. Il perchè sendo da' detti suprestiosi [*sic*!] exortato, lo 'nnanimirono afermando che Iddio voleva che fussi libero da tale opugnatione, e che fussi superiore et vincitore de' sua nimici. La quale cosa quanto più cresceva el pericolo, arditamente credeva, dando più luogho alla suprestione [*sic*!] che alla verità del juditio, in sino a tanto che ne perdà la terra e lo stato. Et quasi ignudo salvo se ne fuggi. Quelli che gli tolsono la terra auti nelle mani e' detti suprestitiosi [*sic*!] chiamati vulgharmente gl' unti, gli messe a' martirii, et maxime Pietro Bernardino, loro capo, et da lui ritratto il modo de loro vita et costumi e loro andamenti lo chondennò con alquanti al fuocho, perchè gli trovò maculatissimi di molte heresie nello intellecto e del corpo spurcissimi et vitiosi. La quale cosa intesa nella ciptà nostra fa causa che respetto a uno chanonicho de' Medici et alcuni fanculli di case nobile, subito si scrisse a la Mirandola e furono ricondotti a Firenze. Pietro Bernardo, homo plebeo, piccolo, di carne gentile, capelli neri, naso lungho, voce rocchissima, churvato, astutissimo fu vivo arso a la Mirandola; e tutti e' sua seghuaci banditi. E quali, tornali nella ciptà nostra, chautamente veghiano, benchè sia quasi spenta tale setta. Furno alcuni che dixono che da lui ne' tormenti non s'ebbe mai nulla, ma tutto si ritrasse dagl' altri. Et così la ciptà, da diversi mali sendo vexata, s' andava alterando et digià e' Faentini, havendo arso e tagliato tutti intorno a la terra, actendevano al ripararsi dalle isfrenate voglie del Valentino. . . .

[Bartolomeo Cerretani, Istoria Fiorent. Cod. II. III., 74, p. 274^b^ *seq.* National Library, Florence.]

9. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara.*

1503, Aug. 18, Rome.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signor mio observandissimo. A ciò vostra illustrissima signoria sia aduisata del successo de la infermitate de Nostro Signore, per questa li significo che essendo heri el bono dì de Sua Santità, me ne andai a palatio et cum quanta instantia io me facesse per ogni via per parlare cum chi me sciapesse dare certa informatione del successo, non poteti mai trovare persona a proposito: restando infino a la sera et retornando el cardinale de Cossentia a la stantia, il quale era stato cum Sua Santità, hebbe da Sua Signoria che la Beatitudine Sua havea pigliato heri matina uno pocho de mana, la quale ge havea facto uno bono servitio et che tutto heri la era stata de bona voglia et quieta et chel se sperava chel parosismo de questa matina on non venisse on havesse ad essere pocho; dixeme etiam chel Duca era stato meglio.

Da diversi homini de palatio se bene non sonno de quelli che penetrano, hebbe chel male de Sua Santità se nomina una tertiana nota et chel se dubita non se converta in una quartana; hebbi etiam che per alcuni de casa de Sua Santità se fa fare instante oratione ad una donna reputata sancta murata in S. Petro: la quale risponde pocho sperare che Sua Santità se habii a liberare de questo male. In questa matina per tempo ho mandato a palatio per intendere el successo et el mio me reporta per rellatione de multi, quali se concordano tutti et spetialmente per el cardinale de Cossentia et del magiordomo de la signora duchessa che la mana pare non facesse giovamento a Nostro Signore et che in questa nocte la Santità Sua è stata multo inquieta et lo parosismo li è venuto a la xiii. hora magiore del precedente questa matina et in questa matina Sua Santità se è confessata et communicata et per el dicto messo mio uno medico, alevo del vescouo de Venosa,† me fa dire che Sua Beatitudine è multo alterata et che la non se monda. In questa nocte da megia hora di nocte è stato serrato el palatio et guardato cum magiore dilligentia del solito et secondo intendo el cardinale de Borgia et li signori picoli hanno

* See *supra*, p. 134. Petrucelli della Gattina, I., 437 *seq.* and Balan V., 424.

† Bernardus Bongiovanni, *see* Gams, 940.

mandato fora de la robba sua per il che tutto considerata la etate de Nostro Signore et la conditione de li tempi se dubita grandemente de la salute de Sua Santità. Romae, XVIII. Augusti, 1503.

De vostra illustrissima signoria

servo BELTRANDO DE COSTABILI.

[Di fuori:] A lo illustrissimo et excellentissimo signore Duca de Ferrara mio signore observandissimo.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena. Cancelleria ducale. Dispacci degli Oratori Estensi a Roma.]

10. GIOVANNI LUCIDO CATANEO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1503, Aug. 18, Rome.

Illmo S^r mio. Benchè per la mia ultima di 16 avisase V. Ill. S. chel papa non si mundava di febre et pareva meliorato perhò, tamen dopoi è pegiorato in modo che gli è bogne di più acresciuto el parosismo et questa matina si è comunicato, parlando et asai galiardamente a rispecta del malo; et ghia qualche grande mastro, al quale è noto la sorte della infirmitade sua, ha advisato ad certo s^re card^le lontano de qua, chel si aproxima per potere essere ad hora de qua bisognando et alcuni comenzano a sgombrare il suo melioramento fora del pallatio di nocte et cautamente; apresso questa nocte passata son state jacte grandiss^e guardie alle porte et toresini delle mure del pallatio, benchè dicano essere facte per quelli di Braziano, per esserli intrato di novo certi cavali et fanti. . . . Rome, XVIII. Aug^ti, 1503, hora vigesima.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

11. GIOVANNI LUCIDIO CATANEO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.†

1503, Aug. 19, Rome.

Illmo S^r mio. Ho significato a V. S. el papa essere derelicto e poi la morte; al presente me achade scriverli come lui era in termino de poter viver asai a la effigie e presentia sua e anchora

* See *supra*, p. 134. † See *supra*, pp. 134–5.

dopoi el male quanto sia per la febre, ma li abondo al inproviso tanto el cataro chel afogò; è tuto in la fatia negro e infiato, e nullo suspetto ge stato de veneno, se ben patre e filiolo ge sian tuti a uno tempo infirmati . . . . Rome, XVIII. Augti, 1503, hora XVIII.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. GHIVIZANO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1503, Sept. 12, Rome.

. . . Quanto siano le pratiche et falsi ingani de questi cardinali lo laso pensare a quela †; mai non fu vista tanta cosa, fano come formiche chi va e chi viene; tuta note sono in pratica. Li Spagnoli non usichano [*sic* !] de palatio, li altri travaliano, ma le cose sono fate cum fermeza de cui debia esere papa sarà secondo el voto Spagnolo e non abiate altra openione. Questi sri Francesi comenciano ha pensare a la forza . . . La Sua Sia ‡ non sarà papa ne S. Petro ad vincula ne Napoli ne Alessandrino: sarà Capacio o Siena o. S. Prasede atento el favore Spagnolo.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. GHIVIZANO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.§

1503, Sep. 15, Rome.

. . . Domatina se intra in conclavi; hozi Rohano he stato ha visitare el cardle de Napoli et Sto Petro ad vincula; Siena ne S. Prasede ne Portugalo cum Rohano non se sono mai visitati. El papato se stima in Sena o S. Prasede o Capacio per essere bonus homo, li altri per essere come neutrali, ma ben favoriti da Spagnoli. Hozi mesr Jo. Lucido me a dito avere parlato cum lo ambasatore dil re di Romani e come alcuni cardli da li quali ha avisto littere de la Cesarea Mtà scripte a questo sacro colegio dimostrando avere inteso essere preso Roma dui grosismi eserciti per li quali se poria fare violentia a santa chiesa, per il che lui si come obidiente et conservatore de la fede se hoferise ad ogne minima richiesta del sacro colegio de mandare per la via de Triesti 6 milia fanti pagati et lui ronpere in lo stato de Milano ho venirsene derito al camino de Mantua et per questo he stato dito

* See *supra*, pp. 190, 191, 193.

† V. S.

‡ d'Amboise.

§ See *supra*, pp. 193–4.

a mes^{r} Johan Lucido se lo stato de V. Ex^{ia} sarà rubelo al sacro imperio, li a riposto di no anzi sarà obiedent^{mo} ma cum la persona la S. V. salvera sempre suo honor; questo la Ex^{ia} V. lo tenga preso lei per ogne condigno rispeto. . . . Rome, 15 Septem., 1503 a hore due.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Ghivizano to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1503, Sept. 19, Rome.

. . . Hiersera al tardo parlando io cum lo anbas^{re} de Inghelterra, quale he molto mio domestico et confidente, me dise avere in gran secreto da lo anbas^{re} Venetiano come el card^{le} de Napoli aveva abuto a lo primo scurtinio, che fu fato hieri quale domenicha se doveva fare, ha abuto voce XXII. e Sena ne a abute vinti, Portugalo 18, Capacio 14; questo pare abia inteso per cuntrasigni piliati cum queli che serveno dentro. Pare che de Napoli se ne alegra molto el dito anbasatore Venetiano; hozi si farà el secundo schurtinio e domane el terzo; hozi o dimane averemo el papa novo, se a le forze non se viene dil che molto se teme fra questi cortesani. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo, to Pope Pius III.†

1503, Sept. 28, Florence.

Ante oculos adhuc mihi posite sunt calamitates superiorum temporum, tetra ecclesiae matris nostrae facies, flagellum s. iracundiae Dei pro delictis nostris, quorum conditio etsi dura videbatur, durior tamen longe erat amissa in multum tempus liberationis omnis spes eaque perpetuo, nisi miseratio Dei ac salvatoris nostri benignitas insperatum te nobis pontificem dedisset, cujus summum ingenium, summa sapientia, humanissimi mores, religiosissima educatio, acta per virtutem omnem in hanc diem vita, delatum sine labe, sine sorde, quinimmo mira atque antiqua integritate pontificium munus, ita omnes bonos ac Deum timentes recreavit, ut discussis ecclesiae labentis tenebris

* See *supra*, p. 196. † See *supra*, p. 201.

tranquillitatem posthac ac reconciliationem salvatoris nostri sperent Jerusalemque novam sponsam descendtem de celo monilibus suis ornatam intueantur. . . .*

Felices quos Deus in haec tempora servavit. Datum Florentiae, XXVIII. Sept., 1503.

[The original is in St. Mark's Library, Venice, Cod. Lat. X., 174.]

16. BELTRANDO COSTABILI TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.†

1503, Oct. 19, Rome.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signore mio observandissimo. La morte de questo Pontifice è doluta a tutta questa corte per essere stato reputato da ogni uno bono, prudente et sancto. Et tutto heri il corpo stette in sancto Petro, et quantunque sempre piovesse multo forte, li corsse tutta Roma, et donne et homini cum gran calca tutti se sforciavano basiarli li pedi, il quale pareva vivo et in niente pareva remutato. La faticha lo ha durato dopo el Pontificato suo, non essendo bene sano, se stima, lo habii morto. El dì de la ellectione sua non havea dormito niente la nocte precedente et poi el di fu multo affatichato et poi de continuo li sono stati cardinali per audientia; li fu la ordinatione sua et la consecratione et poi la coronatione, li quali acti multo lo affatichorno et mercorì passato fece uno concistorio durò insino a le XXIII. hore et non fu longo per altra causa, se non per indurre li cardinali a consentire al fare cardinale el nepote de Rohano et Sua Santità stette jeiuna insino a quella hora. El venere poi che Sua Santità se amalo dette la matina una longa audientia, poi volse magnare pesse per el giorno del venere, havendo pigliata medicina el dì precedente, il quale dì li pigliò la febre et mai non lo ha lasciato insino a la morte. . . .

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

17. BELTRANDO COSTABILI TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.‡

1503, Nov. 17, Rome.

Da uno amico mio ho, il quale dice haverlo de bono loco che N.S. ha dicto stranie parole a lo ambre Veneto per le cose de

* Apoc. XXI., 22.

† See *supra*, p. 207, and PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 454 *seq.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 251.

Faventia et li ha dicto S. Sta voler vivere in pace et volere che ogniuno possi godere el suo et quando Venetiani perseverino in quello che hanno cominciato, se ben sempre in minoribus ge li è monstrata amica, gli fara vedere quello che non pensano. . . .

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

18. Ghivizano to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1503, Nov. 20, Rome.

Hieri partite de qui el S. duca de Romagna per Fiorenza et andosene per mare senza lasarse vedere ad alcuna persona . . . La coronatione se farà dominicha pomposa al possibile, grandissimo aparato se fa . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Pope Julius II. to Florence.†

1504, Jan. 28 [Rome].

Praise of the Florentines. They are to order their troops to assist the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 9. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. Pope Julius II. to Forli.‡

1504, Jan. 30 [Rome].

They are to have full confidence in Giovanni di Sirolo, the Archbishop of Ragusa, whom he has sent to them.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 9^b^. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

21. Pope Julius II. to Forli. §

1504, February 1 [Rome].

They are to have full confidence in Petrus Paulus de Callio.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 15^b^. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, pp. 233, 239.
† See *supra*, p. 242.
‡ See *supra*, p. 242.
§ See *supra*, p. 242.

22. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.*

1504, February 7 [Rome].

. . . Dil. filii regis Franchorum Venetiis oratorem pro his que tanta cura pro nostro et apostolice sedi honore agit plurimum in domino commendamus cui tu etiam nomine nostro gratias ages. There can be no thought of your return at present.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 16. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

23. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal.†

[1504, Febr. 28, Rome.]

Advenerunt ad nos homines missi a castellanis arcium Cesenae et Britonori. . . .‡ quod castellani ipsi easdem arces nobis restituere erunt parati, si dilectus. . . .§ nobilis vir Cesar Borgia dux Valentinus relaxatus esset aut cito relaxaretur. Quibus nos respondimus, nos omnes conditiones in bulla super hoc confecta contentas ad unguem observaturos, si etiam nobis promissa observarentur. Sed ut scit circumspectio tua in eisdem conditionibus arcis Forlivii restitutio est expressa, quod declarare poteris hominibus ipsis, ne spem deponent libertatis et relaxationis ejusdem ducis. Quare danda est opera omni astu et ingenio, ut arx ipsa Forliviensis restituatur, ne ipse dux cum tanto circumspectionis tue incommodo hodie diutius moram trahat et proficisci possit, quo cupit. Preterea circumspectionem tuam hortamur, ut iterum ad dilectum filium Laurentium adeas, catholicarum Majestatum oratorem, ducem et senatum Venetorum hortetur ad restitutionem civitatum, arcium et locorum S. R. E., quas contra Deum et justitiam de facto occuparunt et occupant, nobis integre et libere faciendam, si amicitia et benevolentia ipsarum majestatum perfrui volunt, declaret etiam eis expresse, nos in tam manifesta injuria et jactura S. R. E. nec acquiescere nec desistere velle aut posse, donec restitutio, ut prefertur, hujusmodi integre fiat. . . . Veneti enim ipsi non solum ab occupatione predictorum non cessant, sed etiam per

* See *supra*, p. 254.

† See *supra*, p. 254.

‡ The original is destroyed.

§ Destroyed.

clandestinas et indirectas vias Forlivium ejusque arcem nobis et dicte ecclesie subtrahere parant, quorum conatus et astus nos eludere quibuscumque viis possumus, querimus, nec dispendio ulli parcimus sed nostra auctoritas apud eos non tantum valet, quantum valere debebat, et nisi catholici principes manus apponant, ecclesiam predictam Venetis ipsis prede et ludibrio, quod Deus avertat, fore prospicimus. Quanto igitur res in majore versatur periculo, tanto circumspectio tua pro officio boni cardinalis et sua solita probitate promptior erit ad haec facienda, que opportuna putamus. Dat.*

[Conc. Lib. brev. 29, f. 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

24. Pope Julius II. to Florence.†

1504, February 29 [Rome].

They are to support the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo and Petrus Paulus de Callio against Forli.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Pope Julius II. to Giovanni di Sirolo, Archbishop of Ragusa, and to Petrus Paulus de Callio.‡

1504, March 23 [Rome].

The letters of the above-named, of March 18, 1504, on the conquest of Forlimpopoli, gave him great pleasure. He hopes the castle also will soon be won.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

26. Pope Julius II. to Forli.§

1504, April 11, Rome.

Antianis et communi civitatis nostre Forlivii. He has been told by the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo, how readily they have returned to obedience. He praises them for this: et eo maiorem commendationem meremini q[uia] causa fuistis deditionis arcis.‖

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 44. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* The date follows from Lib. brev. 22, f. 22b.

† See *supra*, p. 242.

‡ See *supra*, p. 242.

§ See *supra*, p. 244.

‖ This news was soon found to have been false.

27. Pope Julius II. to Philip, Count Palatine on the Rhine.*

1504, April 26, Rome.

Inter cetera que dilecto filio Mariano de Perusia causarum palatii apostolici auditori capellano et cum potestate legati a latere nuntio nostro ad Germaniam destinato, dedimus in mandatis, ea res precipua fuit, ut nobilitatem tuam dilecto filio nobili viro Alberto duci Bavarie sacri Romani imperii electorii consanguinitatis et affinitatis vinculo tibi connexo reconciliare studeret, interpositaque nostra et hujus sanctissime sedis apostolice auctoritate, sublata omnis discordie dissensionisve causa ad mutuam caritatem et concordiam reduceret. Nam cum sitis duo precipua inclyte nationis Germanice lumina et ex tam illustri familia orti, que sacro romano imperio multos laudatissimos cesares dedit, non potestis inter vos dissidere absque magna jactura non solum nationis ipsius et familie vestre, sed etiam totius reipublice christiane. Cum preterea sedes ipsa sanctissima vos ut peculiares filios sit complexa magnamque in vobis spem collocaverit, benemerendi de ipsa sedi et christiana republica, eo studiosius finem discordiis vestris debemus querere, quo vos magis florentes et honoratos esse cupimus. Discordie enim ipse non nisi jacturam fame et facultatum vobis possunt afferre. Turpe enim est consanguineum a consanguineo, quos ipsa natura educatioque maximo vinculo caritatis duplicique necessitudinis glutino connexit, dissidere. Nam quem alienum fidum sibi sperare potest, qui suis fuerit hostis? His rebus consideratis pro singulari et paterna qua utrumque vestrum prosequimur charitate, nobilitatem tuam hortamur, obsecramus et obtestamur in Domino ac per viscera Salvatoris Domini nostri rogamus, ut animum tuum ad concordiam cum Alberto ipso consanguineo tuo faciendam, quam etiam a carissimo in Christo filio nostro Maximiliano Romanorum rege illustri queri summo studio scimus, inducere velis, et nuntio ipso nostro cooperante, cui auctorizandi concordiam ipsam etiam facultatem dedimus, ad eas conditiones venire, per quas finis omnibus vestris dissensionibus imponatur, charitasque fraterna, sanguinisque necessitudo, que in tot discordiis vires suas habere non potuit, redeat inter vos atque

* See *supra*, p. 255.

vigeat. Sane si id feceritis, ut confidimus, magnam ab hominibus laudem, magnum a Deo premium consequemini et cum propheta poteritis dicere: Quam bonum quamque jucundum fratres habitare in unum. Debes etiam pro tua prudentia et probitate considerare, quantum periculum christiane reipublice a perfidis Turcis immineat, contra quos sancta et necessaria expeditio decerni non poterit discordiis vestris vigentibus, ita ut per vos videatur stetisse, nisi invicem reconciliati fueritis, quominus ipsa expeditio fieret; nam neque ipse carissimus in Christo filius noster Romanorum rex pium desiderium suum consequi neque reliqua Germania convenire posset ad expeditionem tam sanctam. Est preterea vobis habenda non mediocris ratio defensionis S.R.E. pientissime matris vestre, quam Veneti duabus preclaris civitatibus compluribusque arcibus et oppidis ac locis in provincia Romandiole contra Deum et justitiam per injuriam spoliarunt, et que per auxilium nationis Germanice injuriam hujusmodi propulsare sperat ac desiderat, cui auxilio si vestre discordie essent, prout fuerunt, impedimento, offenderetis Deum omnipotentem et magna apud omnes laboraretis infamia, meritoque vereri possetis, ne divinam ultionem in vobis vestrisque liberis et familia sentiatis.

Datum Rome apud s. Petrum die XXVI. Aprilis, anni MDIV. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 50b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

28. Pope Julius II. to Gonsalvo de Cordova.*

1504, May 11, Rome.

. . . . Hortamur in domino et paterne requirimus ut ducem ipsum† in fidem tuam receptum ita contineas atque coherceas ne quicquam adversus nostrum et S.R.E. statum possit moliri efficaciter eum hortando et inducendo ut arcem ipsius Forlivii juxta capitula cum castellano illius inita et a nobis impleta et observata restitui . . . faciat.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 51b.–52. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 244. † Cæsar Borgia.

29. Pope Julius II. to Anna, Queen of France.*

1504, May 16, Rome.

Telling her that, "pro pace Christianitatis," he has sent as Orator to the King, Carolum de Carreto marchionem Fitiarii † electum Thebanum. Recommends him to her.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 56b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

30. Pope Julius II. to Louis XII., King of France.‡

1504, June 8, Rome.

Ludovico Francorum regi. Uno ferme tempore litteras celsitudinis tue, venerabilis fratris episcopi Aretini § et dilecti filii thesaurii Avenionensis [scl. Petri Filioli] nuntiorum nostrorum accepimus, quibus lectis et diligenter consideratis—he thanks him for his readiness in regard to Venice; also, for the King's willingness to make peace with Spain. Sine hac pace neque sanctam in perfidos Turcos expeditionem suscipi nec Venetis frenum injici posse—this you will understand.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 76b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

31. Pope Julius II. to Forli ||

1504, June 10, Rome.

He apologises for not having yet sent what is necessary for the conquest of the Castle. Bono animo sitis.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 78b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

32. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.¶

1504, July 10, Rome

Venerabili frati A. Episcopo Tiburtino. Accepimus literas tue fraternitatis quibus nos certiores reddis, quo die oratores carissimi

* See *supra*, p. 256. † Finale.

‡ See *supra*, p. 256. § Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo, 1497–1508.

|| See *supra*, p. 244.

¶ See *supra*, pp. 255–6. For this and the rest of the letters to Leonini I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. A. Gottlob.

in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum regis illustris istuc pervenerint, quibus honoribus excepti, quove die a Venetis auditi fuerint, quod responsum habuerint, quanta denique tu prudentia eos instruxeris de omnibus rebus, quibus rationes Venetorum confutare et nostras confirmare facile poterant. Gratissima nobis est diligentia et prudentia hec tua, ob quam fraternitatem tuam plurimum in Domino commendamus. Considerantes autem, quod si ipsi oratores, habito responso aliquo, quod restitutionem integram civitatum, locorum et terrarum nostrarum, de quibus agitur, non polliceatur, discedent, Veneti insolentiores effici possent, et Regi Romanorum cordi non esse hanc restitutionem arbitrarentur, volumus et venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum Aquensem,* cui nos plurimum fidimus, nomine nostro horteris et roges, velit non continuo discedere, sed diebus aliquot isthic morari et Venetis replicare, ut rem tantam velint etiam atque etiam altius considerare et restitutionem predictam libere facere, ne in se omnium christianorum principum, presertim Regis Romanorum, qui sancte Romane Ecclesie pro officio suo deesse nec potest nec vult, odia in se provocent. Credimus ipsum episcopum id libenter facturum, cum se intelligat rem non solum nobis, qui meritorum suorum dignam rationem habebimus, sed Regi etiam suo gratissimam rem facturum. Itaque curabis hoc ei omnino persuadere. Res Forlivienses quotidie melius Dei benignitate procedunt, recuperavimus jam arcem et portum Sclavonie, quam Moratini, qui nobis parum fidi multa fomenta castellano majoris arcis subministraverant et nobis hactenus distulerant, restituere, adeo ut speremus nos arce majori et civitatula majori cito recuperaturos. Erit etiam cure tue fraternitatis admonere dilectum filium Marianum nostrum apud regem ipsum nuntium de omnibus rebus, quas audiveris, quasque opportunas tuende cause nostre penes dictum Regem perspicies. Rex Hungarie, qui egrotari periculosissime dicebatur, Dei gratia bene valet, ut ex recentissimis litteris sue serenitatis accepimus, qui etiam nuper oratorem designavit non parve auctoritatis, quem pro nostra et S.R.E. causa mittet ad Venetos, significans illis, quod ipse nullo foedere retardabitur, quin dicte ecclesie defensionem suscipiat prout ab ipso oratore intelliges, quem pari instructione armabis cum venerit, et nos de adventu illius deque aliis rebus

* Lodovico Bruno, Bishop of Acqui, 1483–1508, *see* ULMANN, I., 411.

quam novissime certiores efficies. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum die x. Julii, 1504, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 115. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

33. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.*

1504, July 28, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Tyburtino nostro cum potestate legati de latere Venetiis oratori. Venerabilis frater, etc. Littere tue fraternitatis XV. hujus mensis date nos ambiguos reddiderunt, quid de suo isthinc recessu venerabilis frater episcopus Aquensis † deliberaturus esset, sed que XVIII. ejusdem scripte fuerunt sublata ambiguitate hujusmodi nos non mediocri letitia affecerunt. Declarant enim episcopum ipsum rationibus tuis veris prudentissimisque adductum, consilium cepisse immorandi Venetiis, ut restitutionem civitatum, arcium et locorum S. R. E. persuadere Duci et Senatui possit. Itaque et episcopum ipsum, qui in hac re prudentiam singularem veramque ad nos sedemque apostolicam observantiam suam ostendit, plurimum in Domino commendamus et te quoque summopere laudamus, qui tanta prudentia et industria non solum eundem episcopum in procinctu discedendi retraxeris, sed etiam in Germaniam exquisitissima diligentia tam opportune scripseris, ab eodemque episcopo Aquensi scribi curaveris. Nos consilium tuum secuti scribimus ad conventum Germanie in eam sententiam, quam tu suades. Literas dilecto filio magistro Mariano de Bartolinis nostro illic oratori, mittimus ea conditione, ut si absque offensione animi regie celsitudinis id fieri posse perspexerit, litteras nostras electoribus sacri Romani imperii reddat, easque ipse opportuna sequatur oratione, quo Veneti facilius ad restitutionem hujusmodi inducantur, cum intellexerint, non solum Romano regi, sed toti inclyte nationi Germanie id cure et cordi esse; reliqua que in dies audis et scrutaris libenter cognovimus, et ut in posterum idem facias, exhortamur. Episcopo Aquensi predicto, ut etiam suades, scribimus ‡ et litterarum exemplum

* See *supra*, p. 255.

† Lodovico Bruno, Bishop of Acqui, 1483–1508, *see* Ulmann, I., 411.

‡ The letter to the Bishop of Acqui, the Imperial Envoy at Venice, in which

mittimus his acclusum. Res tue nobis cure sunt. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum die XXVIII. Julii, 1504. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 126b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

34. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.*

1504, Sept. 12, Frascati.

Episcopo Tiburtino Venetiis . . oratori. Vidimus literas dilecti filii Mariano de Bartolinis . . . ad te et tuas ad nos . . . Grata est nobis [your confidence in each other]. Negotium venerabilis fratris Ludovici episcopi Aquensis, quod nobis commendasti, cordi habebimus, prout ad eum nunc scribimus. Cetera, que significasti, gratissima nobis fuere, presertim de licentia trium milium salmarum grani pro Imolensibus impetrata; sed et alii populi provincie nostre Romandiole simili licentia indigent . . .

Datum Frascati die 12 Septembris, 1504.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 176b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

35. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.†

1504, October 1, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Angelo episcopo Tiburtino. Vidimus literas tue fraternitatis nobis gratissimas et omnia, quae scripsisti, consideravimus. Alio responso res non indigere videtur, nisi ut te hortamur ad perseverandum et excitandum regios oratores. Nos ad dilectum filium Franciscum de Monte scribimus, exemplum brevis nostri ad eum praesentibus introclusum mittemus.

Datum Rome apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 1 Octobris, 1504. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 188. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

Julius commends him for remaining at Venice, etc., is to be found *ibidem* fol. 173b.

* See *supra*, p. 255. † See *supra*, p. 255.

36. Pope Julius II. to Lodovico Bruno, Bishop of Acqui, and to Francesco de Monte, Imperial Envoy at Venice.*

1504, Oct. 1, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Ludovico episcopo Aquensi et dilecto filio Francisco de Montibus equiti carissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum Regis illustris oratoribus. Audivimus cum jocunditate te, dilecte Francisce, Venetias pervenisse missum a carissimo in Christo filio nostro Maximiliano rege Romanorum illustri, ut una cum venerabili fratre Ludovico episcopo Aquensi pro restitutione civitatum, arcium et terrarum S.R.E., quas Veneti occupant, instes; novimus enim probitatem et prudentiam tuam nec dubitamus, quin res eiusdem S.R.E. . . . cordi habeas. Hortamur igitur ut omni studio diligentiaque utaris, etc.

Dat. Romae, apud S. Petrum die 1 Octobris, 1504.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 187b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

37. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.†

1504, Oct. 17, Rome.

Angelo episcopo Tiburtino. Accepimus litteras tuas quarti, quinti, sexti et octavi dierum presentis mensis de rebus Pisaurensibus et Camerinensibus, quamquam consilium tuum non improbemus, nec tibi nec aliis quicquam scribendum putamus. De adventu Oratoris carissimi in Christo filii nostri Wladislai regis Hungarie valde letamur, sperantes quod cause nostre S.R.E. multum sit profuturus, presertim cum jam ut scribis bona jecerit fundamenta. Rationes, quibus eum ad prosequendam dictam causam nostram animasti atque armasti, optime sunt et ab ipsa veritate deducte, quas non cessabis iterum iterumque repetere et eum ad perseverandum hortari. Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum regis illustris optimum animum et indefessum studium ad recuperationem civitatum et terrarum S.R.E., cum ex aliis multis rebus tum ex litteris, quas ad oratores suos novissime Venetias misit, percepimus, nosque ei ob hoc quotidie magis debere cognoscimus. Igitur hortandi erunt oratores ipsi,

* See *supra*, p. 255. † See *supra*, p. 255.

ut restitutioni hujusmodi opportune importuneque instent. Nos ad eos scribimus, prout suades, litterarum exemplum presentibus introclusum mittimus, easque sibi tradi mandavimus. Tabellarii error fuit, ut superiores littere nostre tibi priusquam illis nono fuerint reddite.

Datum Rome, apud S. Petrum die XVII. Octobris, 1504, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 193. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

38 & 39. Pope Julius II. to the German Electors.*

1504, Oct. 28, Rome.

Venerabilibus fratribus nostris et dilectis filiis nobilibus viris sacri Romani imperii principibus electoribus. Venerabiles fratres nostri et dilecti filii nobiles viri salutem, etc. Carissimus in Christo filius noster Maximilianus rex Romanorum illustris, qui S.R.E. est advocatus, ut est observantissimus S. Apostolice sedis animique celsi atque invicti, misit nuper legatos suos ad Venetos pro restitutione civitatum, arcium et locorum ejusdem S.R.E. quas ipsi Veneti, ceca relique Italie dominande libidine ducti, facta pace cum Turcis contra Deum atque omnem justitiam in provincia nostra Romandiole occuparunt et occupant. Multum quidem legati ipsi apud ipsos Venetos deberent valere, utpote a rege Romanorum et advocato S.R.E. missi, cui in omnibus rebus presertim tam justis obsequi eos par est. Verumtamen nos considerantes, quod si vos quoque, qui praecipua membra sacri Romani imperii estis, et ejusdem sancte sedis semper observantissimi fuistis, vestrum nomen vestramque auctoritatem huic legationi addideritis, ut consensu totius inclyte nationis Germaniae defensio S.R.E. videatur suscepta, plurimum huic restitutioni accelerandae conducere poterit; vos, qui supra ceteros principes et nationes insigni prerogativa ac dignitate decorati estis, in Domino quanto possumus studio et affectu rogamus, ut ad venerabilem fratrem episcopum Acquensem ejusdem regis oratorem nunc Venetiis existentem velitis scribere et injungere, ut causam restitutionis hujusmodi etiam vestro nomine prosequatur omni studio; quod si feceritis, ut speramus, erit immortali laude dignum

* See *supra*, p. 255.

et nobis supra quam dici possit gratum, prout dilectus filius magister Marianus de Bartolinis * causarum palatii apostolici auditor, orator noster, latius explicabit cui fidem indubiam prebere velitis. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVIII. Octobris, 1504. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 201. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

40. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.†

1504, Nov. 17, Rome.

The Pope has received his news of the 11th inst. with joy, and is pleased to hear that the Bishop of Acqui will come to Rome.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 230. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Unprinted documents and communications from the Archives, 1504–1505.]

41. Pope Julius II. to Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo.‡

1504, Nov. 29 [Rome].

Cosimo episcopo Aretino, prelato, nostro domestico, nuntio et oratori nostro. Ne diutius responsum ex Hispania de tua admissione cum honoris nostri diminuitione expectes et tempus incassum teras—he commands him to return at once.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 210b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

42. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.§

1504, Dec. 17 [Rome].

Venerabili fratri episcopo Tiburtino Venetiis nostro cum potestate legati de latere. Ex tuis litteris novissime intelleximus, quod licet dilecto filio Petro Berislao preposito S. Laurentii carissimi in Christo filii nostri Wladislai, Hungarie et Bohemie regis illustris, oratori nec fides nec diligentia nec dexteritas ingenii defuerit in repetendis terris et locis S. R. E., nullum tamen saltem

* See *supra*, p. 255.
† See *supra*, No. 36.
‡ See *supra*, p. 256.
§ See *supra*, p. 257.

bonum responsum a duce et senatu isto elicere potuit, adeo ut frustra laborare et tempus terere videatur. Quibus rebus consideratis in dubio sumus, quid magis expediat, manereve videlicet illum isthic diutius et Venetos pro dicta restitutione indesinenter urgere, an ad regem suum redire eique duritiem Venetorum referre, qui neque justitie respectu, nec numine hujus s. sedis nec cujusquam christiani regis auctoritate moventur. Cujus rei judicium fraternitati tue relinquimus, nam cum isthic sis et non solum responsa sed et mentes Venetorum perspicere possis, eidem oratori suadebis * prout magis rebus nostris conducere visum fuerit Nos in utrumque eventum brevia scribimus, quibus uteris prout res postulabit; nam ea una cum eorum copiis presentibus mittimus alligata. Datum die XVII. Dec., 1584, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. SIGISMUNDUS.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 238. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

43. FLORAMONTE BROGNOLO TO ISABELLA, MARCHIONESS OF MANTUA.†

1505, January 17, Rome.

. . . De quello mapamondo et signi celesti, che sono depinti in due spere solide in la libraria del papa, de li quali V. Ex^ia ne vorria exemplo ho ordinato che sia facto per uno bono pictore de palatio, el quale me dice che ce andera qualche tempo per essere cosa ingeniosa; io non ce mancharò de sollicitudine et de provedere alla spexa necessaria et quam primum sia facto lo mandarò per messo fidato a V. Illma S^ia in bona gratia de la quale sempre me ric^do.

Rome, die XVII. Ianuarij, 1505.

FLORAMONTUS BROGNOLUS

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

44. FLORAMONTE BROGNOLO TO ISABELLA, MARCHIONESS OF MANTUA.‡

1505, Feb. 1, Rome.

Illma Mad^a mia. Quello maestro pictore che vorria exemplare quello mapamondo et zodiaco, che sonno in la libraria del papa,

* In MS. *suadere.*

† See *supra*, pp. 457 and 583.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 457 and 583.

de li quali V. Ex. me scripse ali dì passati, me dice che ad volerli fare cum li telari et tondi che stiano sopra li piedi como stanno li altri ce andaria più de quaranta ducati de spexa, et che ad designarli in carta secundo uno certo designo che è pur in quello loco depinto in tela ce andaria pochissima spexa; me parso darne noticia ad V. Ex. prima che faci altra provixione de farli exemplare, et quella se degnara farme intendere la volontà sua, et sera facto quanto la scriverà, et in bona gratia sua sempre me rico^{do}.

Rome, die p° feb^{ii}, 1505.

FLORAMONTUS BROGNOLUS.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

45. POPE JULIUS II. TO THE MARQUESS OF MASSA.*

1505, Sept. 30, Viterbo.

Dilecte, etc. . . . Andreas Gallettus, statuarius sculptor de monte S. Severini presentium exhibitor venit isthuc pro effodiendis marmoribus cuidam egregio operi, quod nostro jussu facturus est, necessariis. Quocirca nobilitatem tuam hortamur ut circa hoc eidem Andreae omnes oportunos favores pro nostra et sedis apostolicae reverentia velis prebere; id si feceris, ut speramus, erit nobis plurimum gratum. Dat. Viterbii, die xxx. Sept., 1505. Pontif. nostri anno 2°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 377. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

46. JULIUS II. TO THE AUGUSTINIAN HERMIT, AEGIDIUS OF VITERBO.

1505, Nov. 4, Rome.

Fratri Egidio di Viterbo. Iterum tibi Romam est redeundum: tantum enim tui desiderium reliquisti ut ab omnibus in lege domini et salutem animarum querentibus expecteris. He is therefore to come to Rome.

Dat. Romae, IV. Nov., 1505, A. IV. P. 2°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 452. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

1505–1506.

* See *supra*, p. 493. I cannot obtain more precise information in regard to this sculptor. E. MÜNTZ also knew nothing further about him.

47. Pope Julius II. to Queen Anne of France.*

1505, December 1 [Rome].

The Queen has asked to have Robert, Bishop of Rennes, made a Cardinal. He has received the Hat to-day.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. p. 409. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

48. Girolamo Arsago to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1505, Dec. 24, Rome.

Questa sera N. S^re^ spaza in Franza Cistrione perchè me pare che la M^tà^ del re de Franza voleva che N. S. facesse card^le^ mons^re^ de la Tramoia, altramente chel se intendiva de tore il possesso de li beneficij de S. P[ietro] in vincula et cosi ha fatto; per questo S. S^tà^ manda per assetto de questo el p^to^ Cesterone [*sic*!] . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

49. Pope Julius II. to Queen Anne of France.‡

1505, Dec. 24, Rome.

He says that he would gladly have complied with the wishes of the Queen at the last nomination of Cardinals: sed tanta incidit difficultas, ut mirum sit nos, quos creavimus, potuisse creare. He asks her to pacify her husband. §

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 433. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

49a. Pope Julius II. to Henry VIII., King of England.‖

1506, Jan. 6, Rome.

Regi Anglie. Carissime etc. Decrevimus Deo dante vetustam admodum et propemodum collabentem basilicam b. Petri apos-

* See *supra*, p. 221. † See *supra*, p. 264.

‡ See *supra*, p. 221, and Raynaldus ad an. 1505, n. 40.

§ Louis XII. at that time was pressing for the nomination of two more French Cardinals. See Sanuto, VI., 275.

‖ See *supra*, pp. 471–72.

tolorum principis de urbe a fundamentis rehedificare decentique opere cum capellis et aliis officinis necessariis exornare atque instaurare. Cum autem nostri et Ro[mane] E[cclesi]e redditus sint admodum tenues et exiles multaque alia etiam pro defensione cath[olice] fidei nobis incumbant dispendia ac propterea ad tantum tamque sumptuosum opus sint christifidelium praesertim catholicorum suffragia plurimum opportuna, M^tem^ tuam quam religione et pietate inter ceteros Christianos reges plurimum pollere cognovimus hortamur et ex animo requirimus, velit aliquid de bonis sibi in tam inclito et opulento suo regno a Deo collatis, prout devotio sua dictaverit, in hoc sanct[um] ac pernecessarium opus erogare et alicui, de quo confidat, committere, ut illud videat in eum tantum et non in alium usum converti. By this you will oblige Ourselves and the Holy See. Dat Romae apud S. Petrum die VI. Januarii, 1506. Pontif. nostri anno 3°.

Duplicat. sub eadem data.
Si[mile] archiep. Cantuarien. sub eadem data.
„ „ Eboracen.* „ „ „
Si[mile] episcopo Wintonien.† sub eadem data.
„ „ Lincolinen. „ „ „
„ „ Sarisberico. „ „ „
„ „ Norvicen. „ „ „
„ „ Exonien. ‡ „ „ „
„ „ Conventrien. § „ „
„ „ Cuestien. ‖ „ „ „
„ „ Harforden. „ „ „
Si[mile] Margarite matri regis Anglie.
„ duci Buckinganie.
„ march. de Dorstat.
„ comiti Northumberlandie.
„ „ de Vurren. ¶
„ „ Salopie.**
„ „ Arundelie.
„ „ Devonie.
„ „ Oxonie.

* York.
‡ Exeter.
‖ Ought, perhaps, to be Cloynen.
** Shrewsbury.
† Winchester.
§ Coventry.
¶ Worcester.

Si[mile] dom. Dunbendii,* regni Anglie camerario.†
„ dom de Burgoynye.‡
Omnia duplicata sub eadem data.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 443. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

50. Girolamo Arsago to the Marquess of Mantua.§

1506, Aug. 15, Rome.

. . . . Heri sera lo ambassatore de lo Imperatore cum littere de sua M^ta^ Ces^ea^ sottoscripto de sua mano, cosa non ha anchora facto, feci intendere a N. S^re^ che lo Imperatore omnino volea venire di curto ad incoronarsi et volere venire armato, del che S. S^tà^ non lauda ne li pare sia necessario chel venga armato. Se conteneva anchora in esse littere la morte del re de Ungaria, la quale non havea a differire la venuta de la M^tà^ Ces^ea^ per respecto che li è rimasto el filio nato pochi di fa. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

51. Pope Julius II. to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua.‖

1506, Aug. 22, Rome.

Dilecte, etc. Die mercurii proxima, que erit vigesima sexta huius mensis Augusti, Roma auxiliante Altissimo discedemus ad civitatem nostram Bononie profecturi iterque per Romandiolam facere cogitamus. Erit igitur nobis gratissimum si Urbinum ante accessum illuc nostrum te conferas, ubi te videre et alloqui prout desideramus possimus. He is admonished to do this without delay. Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 22 Augusti, 1506, Pontif. nostri anno 3°.

Sigismundus.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* The name seems incorrectly given.
† MS.: camerarius.
‡ Burgoyne.
§ See *supra*, pp. 262, 269.
‖ See *supra*, p. 266

52. Pope Julius II. to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua.*

1506, Sept. 10, Castiglione.

Dilecte fili, etc. Accepimus litteras tuas prenuntias tui ad nos adventus, gratissimas nobis quidem illas et optatissimas. Itaque tuam nobilitatem magno cum desiderio expectamus. Dat. in oppido nostro Castirionis ad lacum Trasimenum sub annulo piscat. die x. Septembris, 1506. Pontif. nostri anno 3°.

Sigismundus.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

53. Pope Julius II. to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua, and Niccolò Buonafede, Bishop of Chiusi.†

1506, Oct. 15, Forli.

Decrevimus progredi Imolam usque, sed quia per Faventinum agrum iter agendum erit maiore quam consuevimus militum numero septos nos esse oportet. He therefore is to send tomorrow, or on Saturday, stratigotas et partem levis armaturae to Forli.

Sigismundus.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

54. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Giov. Antonio di S. Giorgio.‡

1506, Nov. 5, Bologna.

Antonio episcopo Tusculano, cardinali Alexandrini. Gabriel Valentius is nominated Reformator studii almae§ urbis; he is to be installed on January 1st.

[Conc. Lib brev. 25, f. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 269.
† See *supra*, p. 277.
‡ See *supra*, p. 457.
§ See Renazzi, I., 206 *seq.*, on the Reformatori of the University.

55. Pope Julius II. to Cesena.*

1506, Dec. 10, Bologna.

Conservatoribus, Antianis et civitati Cesenae. They are to have the right of deputing three of their citizens to control the accounts of the Papal Treasurer. The fourth part of the fines for criminal offences is to be expended in accordance with the provisions of the Bull dealing with these matters. The surplus is to be spent on repairs of the portus Cesenatii and of the Palace.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 59. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

56. Julius II. to Ferdinand the Catholic.†

1506, Dec. 11, Bologna.

He has fulfilled Ferdinand's request to reinstate the Observantines who had been driven out of their convents, and to punish the Conventuals; but he says that the General of the Order had asked to have a convent in Aragon assigned to the Conventuals; he is now sending Fr. Julian de Mugla, Master and Professor of Theology, to the King, to explain the matter. He also admonishes him to assist the Nuncio to obtain the moneys which Fr. Cherubin is collecting there for the General Chapter which took place in Rome. The Pope destined these offerings for the restoration of the Church of the Twelve Apostles, where the Chapter was held. Erit hoc Deo acceptum et nobis gratissimum.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 16b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

57. Pope Julius II. to Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice.‡

1506, Dec. 16, Bologna.

Leonardo Lancedano [*sic*!] duci Venetiarum. He is again admonished to put Cardinal Farnese in possession of the Priory of

* See *supra*, p. 229.

† See *supra*, p. 496. "Mugla" in the MS. should perhaps be read "Mugia."

‡ See *supra*, p. 301.

S. Perpetuae to which the Pope had appointed him, qui nobis carissimus est et honoris ac amplitudinis tuae studiosissimus. Dat. Bononiae, 1507 [*sic*!] Dec. 16. Pontif. nostri anno 4°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 19. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

58. Pope Julius II. to Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice.*

1506, Dec. 18, Bologna.

Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum. Card. S. Mar. Transtib. Senogalliensis † is to be put in possession of the Eccles. Tranensis which has been given to him. Why delay? Pressing admonition.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 37. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

59. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.‡

1507, Jan. 1, Bologna.

Alexandro S. Eustachii Card. diac. de Farnesio, Administrator of the Marches. The inhabitants of those provinces complain of the exactions of the local Administrator, Salariae Berengar de Armellinis. Card. Farnese is to oppose these, and to protect the inhabitants, who are devoted to the Holy See. Dat. Bononiae 1506 [*sic*!] Jan. 1. Pontif. nostri A° 4°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 71b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

60. Pope Julius II. to Ferdinand the Catholic §

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

Regi Catholico. The Nuncio Gabr. Merino is to request him to take up the cause of Joh. Jord. de Ursinis with the French King.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 110. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 301.

† M. Vigerio.

‡ See *supra*, p 229.

§ See *supra*, p. 260. On Gabriel Merino compare Pieper, Nuntiaturen, 63.

61. Pope Julius II. to Louis XII., King of France.*

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

Regi Christianissimo. He is to use his influence with the King of Spain to obtain restitution for Joh. Jord. Ursini in accordance with the treaty concluded with Ferdinand of Aragon.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 110b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

62. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal George d'Amboise.†

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

Card. Rothomag. The property of Ursini qui pro corona Franciae nullum recusavit discrimen, is to be restored to him juxta pacta et capitula cum Ferdinando cath. rege facta; he is to admonish the King of France to do this.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 111. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

63. Pope Julius II. to Gonsalvo de Cordova.‡

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

Gundisalvo Fernandi duci terrae novae regis catholici capitaneo generali. Gabr. Merinus (cubicularius and nuncio) is recommended to Gonsalvo de Cordova, who is desired to support the cause of Johann. Jordan. de Ursinis super restitutione terrarum et locorum quae repetit.

[Con. Lib. brev. 25, f. 76b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

64. Pope Julius II. to M. de La Trémoïlle.§

[1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.]

Domine de la Tremogla. Adiyt [*sic*!] ad Ferdinandum cathol. regem . . . Joh. Jordanus de Ursinis petens restitui in dominia paterna atque avita iuxta conventa et pacta cum christianissimo rege; id tamen adhuc impetrare non potuit et propterea ad ipsum regem christ. nuntium mittit exhibitorem praesentium. He recommends him. [*s. d.*]

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 109. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 260.
† See *supra*, p. 260.
‡ See *supra*, p. 260.
§ See *supra*, p. 260.

65. Pope Julius II. to Pierre le Filleul, Archbishop of Aix.*

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

The same as the preceding.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 109b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

66. Pope Julius II. to Ascoli.†

1507, Jan. 6, Bologna.

Civitati Asculanensi. Threatens severe punishment unless they expel the Filius iniquitatis Ascultus cum tota eius familia, and refrain from all further hostilities against Arpignano, which has surrendered to the Pope.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 84b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

67. Pope Julius II. to the Legate of the Marches.‡

1507, Jan. 11, Bologna.

To say that complaints have reached him from this Province, of exactions on the part of the judges. He commands the Legate to remedy this.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 135. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

68. Pope Julius II. to the Governor of Spoleto.§

1507, Jan. 23, Bologna.

Barthol. de Runeie || civitat. Spolet. gubernatori. He has connived at the escape of Cupotinus de Norsia, vir factiosus, who had been committed to him for safe keeping by the Legate of Perugia. He is to be tried.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 116. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 260.
† See *supra*, p. 229.
‡ See *supra*, p. 229.
§ See *supra*, p. 229.
|| Perhaps Rovere.

69. Pope Julius II. to the Governor of Cesena.*

1507, Jan. 27, Bologna.

Civitatis Cesenae gubernatori. Bona in seditionibus ablata are to be restored to the citizens.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 129. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

70. Pope Julius II. to P. Ferreri, Governor of Imola.†

1507, Feb. 21, Bologna.

Petro Ferrerio arcis nostrae Imolae castellano. Is given the charge of the castle as the reward of his fidelity. Is to make an inventory of the provisions and munitions, and to send this to the Pope.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 186. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

71. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Antonio Ferreri.‡

1507, Feb. 24, Imola.

Antonio card. Perusino, Bononiae legato. The Pope commands him to compensate a citizen of Bologna, who has suffered great damage to his property.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 160b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

72. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara.§

1507, March 28, Rome.

La santita del papa heri sera circa a le XXII. hore, essendo venuta per aqua, smuntò a Ponte Molle: et essendo andato a li lo reuerendissimo legato et li altri signori cardinali, quali erano restati a Roma et tuta la corte, la Santita Sua, muntata a cauallo, se ne vene sino a S. Maria del popolo cum grande plauso del popolo et li smuntò. In questa matina la Santita Sua li haue facto la capella et la benedictione de le palme et lo reuerendissimo cardinale de Regio ha cantato la messa. Dopoi la Santita Sua

* See *supra*, p. 229.
† See *supra*, p. 229.
‡ See *supra*, pp. 222, 229.
§ See *supra*, p. 288.

cum tuti li signori cardinali ha disnato al monasterio. Dopo disnare, et che la Santita Sua hebe dormito a XXI. hora è muntata a cavallo et cum grandissima solemnitate et triumpho se ne è venuta a S. Petro, dopoi al pallatio. La Santita Sua dal popolo andò a la via de S. Marcho et poi per la strata consueta farssi andò a Campo de Fiore. Et per li banchi se ne vene a S. Petro. Et in diversi loci se retrovorno archi triumphalli cum eprigrami [*sic*!] in laude de sua santita, le strate coperte de panno et in multi loci le mure apparate de tapecciaria cum altri apparati dove erano li capitoli de le chiesie patriarchalle et in altri loci relligiosi in processione cum cantori et canti, in modo che lo è stato judicato questa intrata essere stata piu solemne non fu la coronatione. Dopoi la Santita Sua smuntata et licentiati li signori cardinali in parte al basso et in parte ad alto se retirò a le stantie sue et non dimorò multo che la se ne andò a Belvedere. Et che tuto per mio debito notifico a Vostra Celsitudine et a la sua bona gratia de continuo me recommando. Romae, XXVIII. Martij, 1507.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

73. Cardinal Scipio Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1507, March 29, Rome.

Per questa mi occorre significare a V. Ex. come venero proximo passato a di XXVI. N. S. partì da Cita Castellana et andò a † et de li partì el sabbato sequente, et parte a cavallo, parte in barcha per el Tivere dividendo el camino suo gionse a Ponte Molle circa hore XXIII., dove era expectato da tutti quelli card^{li} quali erano restati qui et da quelli quali havevono prevenuto S. S^{tà} nel venire a Roma et da molti Romani et da tutta la corte, et ivi smontato fu accompagnato a Sta Maria del populo, dove stette la nocte, et dove la matina seguente tutti questi miei S^{ri} R^{mi} card^{li} da hore circa XII. se reduseno per celebrare la solennità de le palme et fare lofficio consueto, quale durò fino ad hore XVIII., et dove la p^{ta} S^{tà} disenò et cum quella molti R^{mi} S^{ri} Card^{li} de lo numero de quali io fui uno. Poi a le XXI. hore vel circa quella cum tutta la corte partì secondo gli ordini consueti et facendo una gran

* See *supra*, p. 288. † Name of place illegible.

volta per Roma cum grand^{mo} iubilo di la terra et populo andò a S. Pietro. Per le strate erano facti grandi apparati de tapezarie et altari maxime a le chiesie, dove erano tutti gli relligiosi di Roma, così seculari come regulari cantando et facti vi erano molti archi tryumphali cum diverse et varie inscriptioni, et fra le altre cose, quali molto me piaqueno, vi era numero grande de populo et de cavalli, ita che erano circa hore XXIII. e meza quando S. S^{tà} smontò a le scale di S. Pietro, dove fu receputa da quelli S^{ri} canonici et facta loratione in S. Pietro et accompagnata in palazo a le camare sue se ne tornamo a casa sonate le XXIII. hore; a quale tempo se cominciorno fochi, luminari et soni cum strepito grand^{mo} de artelarie in castello S. Angelo et per tutta Roma . . . Roma, XXVIII. Martij, MDVIJ.

Il vostro alevo et fidel servo S. Card^{le} de GONZAGA
man propria.
[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

74. BELTRANDO COSTABILI TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.*

1507, April 12, Rome.

La Sta del papa hogi è andato multo privatamente in S. Petro per vedere la fabrica et essendo me li retrovato la Sta Sua havendo cum lei Bramante se voltò a me solo c[on] bocha de ridere et dixe come Bramante disea havere 250[0] homini su questo lavorero et che se ne potria fare la monstra et [*sic*!] bisognando adoperarli, demondstrandose asai alegra. Io resp[osi] a proposito dicendo che tanto numero aconciaria uno exercito, laudando poi la fabrica come convene. Sgiunsero poi alcuni sig^{ri} cardinali cioè lo Fernese, S. Croce et Flischo successivamente a li quali S. Sta dete audientia in quello loco.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

75. POPE JULIUS II. TO LOUIS XII., KING OF FRANCE.†

1507, Mai 20, Rome.

Regi christianissimo. He has already and recently thanked him in two letters pro clementia qua in civitatem Januensem usa est. Patrie enim caritas facit, ut eam incolumem esse cupimus.

* See *supra*, p. 476. † See *supra*, p. 292.

He recommends to him the de Saulis family who are loyally devoted to the French Crown.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 242. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

76. Pope Julius II. to Maximilian I., German Emperor-Elect.*

1508, Febr. 12, Rome.

Julius papa II. Carissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Hesterno die in consistorio nostro secreto dilecti filii nostri Melchior cardinalis Brixinensis † et Constantinus Cominatus Macedonie princeps literas tuo Celistudinis nobis et venerabilibus fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus reddiderunt exposueruntque illarum vigore ipsam tuam maiestatem iter Italiam versus pro imperialibus infulis de manu nostra suscipiendis ingressum esse, ac Tridenti nomen electi imperatoris Romanorum suscepisse, ut, quoniam hec expeditio armis tibi agenda est, inclinatiores tecum Germanos habere possis. Voluisse autem hoc nobis per eos rite significari, ne quis emulus in calumniam vertere posset et dicere, quod in nostrum et s. Romanae ecclesie prejudicium id egisses. Cum tamen quidquid agis et meditaris ad honorem et commodum nostrum sedis apostolice referas iterque hoc ea mente susciperes, ut more clarissimorum predecessorum tuorum coronam imperialemque unctionem ab eadem sede suscipias, accomodatissima oratione in literis explicandis cardinalis et Constantinus sunt usi, que a nobis et ipsis venerabilibus fratribus nostris equissimis auribus atque animis est accepta. Itaque tuam Celsitudinem plurimum in domino comendamus, que in suscipiendo nomine electi imperatoris verita sit animum nostrum offendere, quominus id juste et rite potueris facere, cum sancta Romana ecclesia in precibus et orationibus, quas die comemorationis passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi fidelibus facit, electum imperatorem appellet, itaque cum nostra benedictione et gratia hoc electi nomine uti potes nec dubitare debes, ut nos cujusquam obtrectationibus aures prae-

* See *supra*, p. 296–7, also Ulmann, II., 333, note; p. 340, note. Of these documents see No. 118.

† Melchior von Meckau.

beamus. Tam bonam enim opinionem de Celsitudinis tue erga nos et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam singulari devotione et pietate concepimus, ut nihil a te cogitari dici aut fieri posse credamus, quod in diminutionem honoris et dignitatis apostolice sedis cedat. Quod vero rem armis agendam putes, non possumus non vehementer dolere, quamquam speremus, inter te et christianissimum Francorum regem pacem aliquo bono modo fieri posse, presertim cum aput [*sic*] te sit venerabilis frater B. episcopus Tusculanus, cardinalis s. crucis, noster et dicte sedis legatus de latere, singulari prudentia, fide et probitate preditus, a nobis hujus pacis causa missus, ad quam etiam nos Francorum regem non desinimus exhortari. Celsitudinem igitur tuam per omnia nostre religionis misteria obsecramus et obtestamur, ut ab ipsa pace animum non auertas. Pace enim facta magis securus magisque honoratus Romam venire poteris ac nobiscum deliberare (nam et tu in temporalibus caput fidelium es) de expeditione contra perfidos Turcas sumenda, cujus expeditionis maximam occasionem Deus Salvatorque noster nunc obtulit. Baxetus enim illorum tirannus gravi bello (ut magnus Rhodi magister nobis significavit) a rege Persarum premitur et tanto in metu versatur, ut omnia maritima loca (quo omnes copias regi Persarum opponat) immunita reliquerit ac propterea facilem sit Cristi fidelibus victoriam concessurus. Si armis in Italiam prorumpere velles, plerique quod bellorum exitus sunt incerti, Italie ipsius vastitas sequeretur cum magna tui nota et nostra. Turcis quoque nunc perculsis et trementibus tempus daretur se colligendi viresque confirmandi. Cogita igitur, ut pacificus in Italiam tuus sit aduentus, proponimusque tibi ante oculos optimum et clarissimum genitorem tuum Fridericum, qui omnibus Italis gaudentibus semel et iterum Romam venit. Tibi quoque curandum puta, ut cum omni gratulatione venire possis. A nobis certe tanta comitate, benignitate et liberalitate excipieris, quanta nullus unquam predecessorum tuorum a pontifice Romano exceptus fuerit. Hec, fili charissime, pro zelo reipublicae christiane proque singulari, qua celsitudinem tuam prosequimur caritate paterne tibi scribenda duximus. Que si in eam partem, qua debes, acceperis, desiderium tuum sine cede et periculo consequeris. Dat. Rome aput [*sic*] s. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XII. Februarii, MCVIII., Pontif. nostri anno quinto.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Maximiliano electo Romanorum imperatori semper augusto.

On the cover is a note in L. Fries' handwriting: Imperial Acts, Breve Julii II. Pontificis, to the effect that King Maximilian, Emperor-Elect, may come in peace to receive the Crown.

There is a copy made about the same time on a loose sheet of paper * in the Kreisarchiv, Würzburg.

77. Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1508, Feb. 12, Rome.

. . . Ho ritenuto el presente cavallaro sin hora, perchè essendo publica fama che a Trento lo Imper^re^ haveva facto bandir la guerra contra el re de Franza, contra Venetiani, contra el duca di Ferrara, contra V. Ex. et contra tulle gli rebelli de lo Imperio, et che N. S. di questo haveva adviso, me ho voluto chiarire de la verità nel consistorio facto questa matina, quale solamente è stato ad instantia de lo Imper^re^, cioè degli oratori suoi, videlicet del r^mo^ card^le^ de Brixina et del S^re^ Costantino, quali presentate lettere credentiale a N. S. et al sacro collegio hanno supplicato a S. S^tà^ et pregato detto sacro collegio, che così come el Re suo è stato electo Imp^re^ a questi proximi di passati in Trento, così sia confirmato de la prefata S^tà^ et sacro collegio, ita che per lo advenire el se possi scrivere Imperatore electo. Poi hanno exposto da parti sua, come lui è a Trento, cum exercito per venire a coronarsi et farsi la via contra gli nemici et rebelli de lo Imperio, quali ge la vorano impedire. Mandati fuori gli ambassatori et factosi consulta sopra la loro proposta fu concluso de respondergli in questo modo, et così gli fu resposto de N. S^re^: lui cum consenso del collegio essere contento confirmargli il titolo et la inscriptione sua chel se potessi dimandare Imperatore electo, et così lo confirmava et per tale lo haveva. Quanto al venire suo a la coronatione, che a lui seria molto grata la venuta sua quando fusse nel modo che vene el patre, cioè senza arme et cum bona pace de tutti gli principi christiani, a la quale pace, unione et concordia per lo universale bene di tutto el Christianesimo lo exhortava. Questo è quanto ho inteso, ne altrimente ho potuto intendere questo banno ‡ de

* See No. 78 as to how this document was discovered.

† See *supra*, p. 297. ‡ Bando.

la guerra, del quale pur se dice esserni molte lettere a particulare persone, et che facta una processione et cantata una messa del spirito sancto et facta una oratione per S. M^{tà} a quelli Principi, qualli tutti se dice havere commossi a lacryme, da quella fu aviata una parte de lo exercito verso Italia, il che da molti se crede essere facto cum intelligentia de Vinetiani, et quando così non sia, credessi che in ogni modo loro debbano aspettare et componere le cose sue cum lui per non stare a periculo de perdere in uno puncto el stato suo, casa quale seguendo serrà cum ruina de tutta questa povera Italia. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

78. Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1508, Feb. 24, Rome.

. . . Heri fu consistorio nel quale N. S. se dolse che a Rimini siano stati intercepti gli brevi, quali S. Sta scriveva a lo Imp^{re} exhortandolo a deponere larme et a venire a la coronatione cum unione et pace del Re Christianissimo et de Italia, et etiam le littere de r^{mo} card^{le} Brixinone et del Sr Costantino del medesimo tenore, et che pegio è preso il cancellere.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

79. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara.†

1508, Sept. 11, Rome.

Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere died this morning a hore c. xiv.: et incontinenti dopoi la morte la S^{tà} del papa ha chiamato el concistorio et in quello have facto cardinale M. Sixto fratello de epso quondam r. card^{le}, il quale se retrova a Perusia et habbi conferito tutti li benefitti et lo officio de la cancellaria et facto lo chiamare. Del caso la S. Sua si è dimonstrata molto adolorata.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

80. Pope Julius II. to Bologna.‡

1509, April 12, Rome.

Lectis litteris vestris de apparatu et copiis Venetorum a quibus opida vestra iam pene circumdata esse scribitis mandavimus

* See *supra*, p. 297. † See *supra*, p. 297. ‡ See *supra*, p. 311.

statim ut equites et pedites illi, qui ad marchionem Mantue profecturi erant, non discedant a vobis, sed pro tutela et securitate istius nostre dilectissime civitatis ac rerum vestrarum quemadmodum desideratis permaneant. Trepidationem autem vestram quam in litteris antedictis ostendistis, non possumus non mirari. He says, that his army and that of his confederates are so strong ut si qui nobis arma inferre volent magis de suo periculo quam de detrimento aliquo vestro debeant cogitare. He exhorts them to be of good courage; he will take care that nothing shall be wanting, should he even have to come there in person.

[The original is in the State Archives, Bologna.]

81. Pope Julius II. to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.*

1509, April 19, Rome.

Ut re ipsa intelligas gratissima nobis fuisse ea que pro nostro et S. R. E. statu in negocio Bononien. summa cum fide diligentiaque fecisti . . . hodie quod felix ac faustum sit te in consistorio nostro secreto de consilio ven. fratr. nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium confalonerium nostrum et ejusdem S. R. E. fecimus. . . . He asks him to act loyally with the Duke of Urbino, whose rank is the same as his own, and then all will be well.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

82. Lodovico de Fabriano to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1509, April 24, Rome.

Questi Ursini et Savelli sono venuti allo accordio cum N. S^re^ venendo hieri alli pedi de Sua S^tà^ per il mezo di mad^na^ Felice; N. S. li remesse ogni rebellione commessa volendo da loro securta de c^o^ millia ducati, de non pigliare soldo da nisuno senza expressa licentia, et ad questa quantita introrno promessa per una parte il populo di Roma, per unaltra alcuni privati gentilhomini et card^li^ Stando sua B^ne^ in questa discussione dove eravamo molti, se voltò al Sr Julio dicendoli essendo voi de piu tempo, haveti

* See *supra*, p. 312. See Sanuto, VIII., 140, on the festivities at Ferrara in honour of the nomination of Alfonso.

† See *supra*, p. 311.

dimostrato minor prudentia essendo voi stato capo et origine di tale rebellione, cum dire haverlo facto sapendo lo animo nostro di voler diffare casa Ursina, subiungendo, siamo in sina mo stati sei anni in questa fede, et nesuno de baroni si possono doler di noi. Non si intese altramente di darli conducta, pur si estima haveranno provisione. Comandolli expressamente, sub pena excommunicationis, non dovessero restituire li octo milia ducati havuti da Venetiani, absolvendoli dal juramento et capitoli facti fra loro, et cussi li scusaranno una paga. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

83. Lodovico de Fabriano to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1509, April 24, Rome.

Illmo Seg^re. La bolla de le censure contra Venetiani è stata publicata questa matina in consistorio † et sin qui non se ne ha copia; le è statuito il termine de 24 giorni a restituire le terre quibus elapsis se procederà ad censuras interdicti generalis et altre pene gravissime. Monsr de Cornaro è uscito fuora tutto sbattuto et sbaffato. Et piu V. S. Illma ad questhora harà inteso como el Sig^re de Pesaro s'è conducto al soldo de N. S. cum provisione per la sua persona de otto milia ducati tenendo 100 cavalli lezeri. Li poveri Ursini stanno malcontenti, restano senza soldo et mal tractati da N. S.; credese el Sr Constantino partirà domatina et porta littere de cambio per 70 millia ducati del resto sino alla summa de 100 millia; se consigna certi denari del jubileo che è in quelle parte alla Cesarea M^tà . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

84. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Franc. Alidosi. ‡

1510, June 5, Rome.

Promisit nobis chirographo proprio dilectus filius nobilis vir Alphonsus dux Ferrarie oppidum Bagnoli, cujus gubernationem ad

* See *supra*, p. 312.

† According to Sanuto, VIII., 169, the Bull was not published till the Consistory of the 26th of April.

‡ See *supra*, p. 328.

nostrum beneplacitum ei concessimus quandocumque nobis libitum esset reddere. . . . Tempus est, ut ab eo repetamus promissa. He sends him the chirograph and commands him, ut oppidum antedictum repetas et recipias. Datum Romae, 5 Iunii, 1510, Pontificatus nostri anno 7°.

[A tergo :] Francesco tit S. Ceciliae presbytero card. Papiensi, Bononiae, etc., Apost. Sedis legato.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

85. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este.*

1510, July 27, Rome.

Dilecte, etc. Monuimus omnes cardinales absentes etiam sub gravibus penis, ut ad nos et romanam Curiam veniant. Idem quoque tibi faciendum putamus. Mandamus ergo tibi sub pena privationis pilei, ut intra quindecim dies ad nos et dictam curiam personaliter venias, aut saltem intra biduum a receptione presentium computandum Bononiam te conferas, ubi a cardinali Papiae legata nostro intelliges, quid te velimus facere. Nec valitudinis excusatione utaris. Non enim ipsa valitudo te impedivit, quominus assidue facias ea, que voluntati nostrae et honori ac statui S. Apostolicae Sedis valde contraria sunt.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVII. Iulii, 1510, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

Sigismundus.

[A tergo :] Dilecto filio nostro Hippolyto S. Lucie in silice diac. card.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena, Briefs.]

86. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Franc. Alidosi and the Magistrates of Bologna.†

1511, May 16, Forli.

Dilecti, etc. Intelleximus hostes S.R.E. Gallos tante temeritatis fuisse ut prope civitatem istam nostram dilectissimam, fidelissimam atque magnanimam ausi sint accedere, falso existimantes in vobis et universo populo isto fidelissimo ac potentissimo non

* See *supra*, p. 332. † See *supra*, p. 348.

eam constantiam et fidem erga s. sedem apostolicam esse quam ostendistis atque ostenditis, que res non nobis aliquem terrorem incussit, sed certissimam spem victoriae attulit. Galli enim ipsi stultitia excecati in ea loca se demisisse videntur, e quibus sine pernitie non possunt evadere. His army, now face to face with that of the French, is far stronger and can easily conquer it. He praises their fidelity and encourages them to overcome the enemy. Nos hic omnia paramus et facimus quae vobis praesidium et hostibus pernitiem possint afferre. . . . Sitis igitur bono animo. Datum Forlivii sub annulo piscatoris XVI. Maii, 1511, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

SIGISMUNDUS.

[The original is in the State Archives, Bologna.]

87. POPE JULIUS II. TO FRANCESCO GONZAGA, MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1511, Dec. 17, Rome.

. . . Enitendum tibi est omni diligentia et caritate ut si qui ex scismaticis olim cardinalibus nunc hereticis detestabilibus in loca tuae ditionis pervenerint presertim Bernardinus Carvajal et Federicus de S. Severino illico capiantur et nomine nostro retineantur atque custodiantur donec aliud statuerimus. . . .

[The copy is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

88. GIULIANO DE' MEDICI TO ISABELLA D'ESTE, MARCHIONESS OF MANTUA.†

1512, Aug. 31, Prato.

Illma et ex^{ma} D^{na} obser^{ma}. Io so bene che V. Ex. se allegrerrà d'ogni comodo et bene mio come di vero servitore suo et però la aviso con satisfactione et contento di tucta la città di Firenze mons. r^{mo} patrone et fratello mio et io domani ce ne tornamo in patria et in casa nostra, et a questo effecto son venuti qui mandati da queli mag^{ci} et ex^{si} S^{ri} tre oratori. Infiniti cittadini son venuti qui a congratularsi con noi di tanto ben nostro, del quale son certissimo V. Ex. dover pigliare piacere grande insieme con lo

* See *supra*, p. 393.

† See *supra*, p. 421, and the letters in SANUTO, XV., 43, 52 *seq.*

illmo Sre suo consorte et però li mando a posta el presente homo mio informato delle particularità di queste cose nostre. Però non dirò altro a quella se non che quanto più posso me li offero et raccomando ricordandoli che di tanto più potrà V. Ex. valersi et servirsi quanto io più potrò in casa mia che nel lungo exilio. Alla mia Mna Alda et al mio Equicola me raccomando inseme con tucta la sua virtuosissima corte et così fa el Moccicone * vero servo di V. Ex. Ex Prato die ult. Augusti, 1512, hora VIIII. noctis.

Servitor,

JULIANUS DE' MEDICIS.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

89. REPORT OF AEGIDIUS DE VITERBO ON JULIUS II., BRAMANTE, AND THE REBUILDING OF S. PETER'S.†

. . . Quae in nationibus vincendis virtus, id Julio II. in hoc templo excitando studium fuit. . . . Splendidissimum erexit templum, quale non sideribus minoribus, sed ipsi soli par sit; posuit illud, inquit, in eius apostoli, qui enarravit gloriam dei, in ipso divi Petri tumulo. Conatus Bramantes, architectus huius temporis princeps quo usus est Julius cum ad alia quae extruxit edificia quam plurima tum praecipue ad templum maximum divo Petro exedificandum, conatus inquio est ille persuadere Julio, apostoli sepulcrum ut commodiorem in templi partem transferretur, templi frons, non ad orientem solem, ut nunc vergit, sed uti in meridiem nothumque converteretur, ut obeliscus magna in templi area templum ascensuris occurreret; negare id Julius, immota oportere esse sacra dictitare, movere non movenda prohibere; contra instare Bramantes, rem omnium accommodatissimam futuram polliceri, si Julii pontis templum augustissimum Julii Cesaris monumentum, [quod] vulgo putant, in vestibulo et ipso templi aditu haberet; ad religionem facere ut templum ingressurus facturusque rem sacram non nisi commotus attonitusque novae molis aspectu ingrediatur; saxa montibus herentia difficile moveri; mota loca in ima facile ferri; animos

* Bibbiena, who wrote the above letter.

† See *supra*, pp. 456, 480.

quoque affectuum expertes immotos perstare, affectu concitos facile se ad templa arasque prosternere; tumuli proinde transferendi sibi curam sumere, nihil motum iri, sed tumulum cum vicina soli parte quo minus quicquam fatiscat integre se convecturum polliceri. Nihilo serius Julius in sententia perstat, nihil ex vetere templi situ inverti, nihil e primi pontificis tumulo attrectari se passurum dicit; quid Cesaris obeliscum deceat, ipse viderit, se sacra prophanis, religionem splendori, pietatem ornamentis esse praepositurum.

[Aegidius Viterb. Historia viginti seculor. Cod. C., 8–19, f. 245, of the Angelica Library, Rome.]

90. Emperor Maximilian to Paul von Lichtenstein.*

"Edler, lieber, getreuer! Uns zweiffelt nicht, du trägst noch in frischer Gedächtnuss unsers anzeigs dir vor verschienener Zeit gethan, aus was grund und Ursachen wir Meinung und Willen hetten nach dem Bapstumb, wo wir anders darzu kommen möchten, zu stellen; darauf wir den bissher für und für unser Bedenken gehabt. Nun finden wir in uns selbst, auch im grund also ist, uns nichts ehrlichers, höhers oder bessers zustehen, als berührt Bapstumb zu überkommen.

"Und dieweil denn jetzo Bapst Julius der jüngst kürtzlich gar tödtlichen krank worden, und als dir durch unsern Hoff und Tyrolischen Cantzler Ciprian von Serentin angezeigt ist, alle Welt zu Rom gemeynt hat, er sey mit Todt vergangen, haben wir demnach in uns selbst entschlossen, vorberürtem unserm Fürnemmen, soviel möglich ist, nachzukommen, und dermassen handeln und procediren zu lassen, damit wir zu dem gedachten Bapstumb kommen mögen; und darauf jetzo den Cardinal Adrianus, so ein zeit lang, wie du weisst, hierauss bey uns in Teutschlanden gewesen, die berürten Sachen vorgeschlagen: der uns denn gäntzlich darzu rathet und vermeynt, es soll Keinen Mangel an den Cardinälen haben und an solchem zu hören, von Frewden geweynet. Und nachdem du aber selbst wohl ermessen und gedenken magst, wo der Bapst also stürb, als sich gantz zu versehen ist (dann er isset wenig, und dass er isset, seynd als nur Früchte, und trinckt so viel mehr, dass dardurch sein Leben kein

* See *supra*, p. 382.

Beständigkeit hat), und so er stürb so ist der von Gurk von uns gefertigt, gen Rom zu postiren, und (uns) hinder das Bapstumb zu helffen. Aber nachdem solchs ohn eine merkliche Summa gelds, die wir darauff legen, uns * gestehen lassen müssen, nicht wohl beschehen mag, haben wir demnach angeschlagen zu notturfft vorberürtes unseres fürnemmen uff zu sagen und versprechen den Cardinälen und etlichen andern Personen in diesen Sachen zu verhelffen biss in die dreymal hundert tausent Ducaten zu gebrauchen, und dass solches allein durch der Fugger Pannelch † daselbst zu Rom entleihen, gehandelt, bestellt und zugesagt werde, und beschehen müsste. Und dieweil du aber weist, wir dieser Zeit mit Geld nit gefasst seyn, auch an unserm Vermögen nicht ist, jetztgedachten Fugger vorbestimpter Summa Gelds halben anderst, als mit unsern Kleinodiern zu vergnügen und dieselben einzusetzen: demnach befehlen wir dir mit allem Ernst und wöllen, dass du von Stund an und auff das allerförderlichst bemeldten Fugger vorberürte Sachen, und was uns daran gelegen ist, mit bestem fugen, wie du wohl zu thun weist, in geheimb und auff die Pflicht, damit er uns als unser Rath verbunden ist, zu erkennen gebest, und darauf mit allem höchsten und besten fleiss, so möglich ist, handelst, uns zu Ehren und gefallen, die vorberürten 300,000 Ducaten zu diesem Handel in sein Pannelch gen Rom eins theils zu erlegen, und durch absprechen gewiss zu machen, in der gestalt, dass seine Faktores da selbst solch Geld denen, so inen durch unsern Fürsten und lieben andechtigen Mattheissen, Bischoffen zu Gurck, und ander unser Oratores, so wir daselbsthin gen Rom verordnen, angezeigt werden, gewisslich zu entrichten und zu bezahlen, und auff redliche Ziel das halb wie gemeldet ist, versprechen und versicher geben, zusagen und versprechen, und inen desshalben Zusagezettel aus der Pannelch, wie Gewohnheit ist, geben.

"Derentwegen wir ime alsdenn die besten vier Truhen mit unsern Kleinodiern, mit sampt unsern Lehengewand, das denn nit dem Reiche, sondern uns dem Hans Oesterreich zugehörig ist, und wir, wo wir das Bapstumb erlangen, nicht mehr bedörffen. Denn wo wir uns von mehrer Ehren wegen zuvor Keyser Krönen lassen, wollten wir uns des heiligen Hertzog ‡ Carls Lehengewand,

* Should probably read *und*. † Bank.

‡ Or Kaiser; *cf.* ULMANN, 54.

das wir mit uns zu nehmen willens sein, betragen, zu Fürpfande einsetzen wollen. Und denn er uns jetzo zu stund in Abschlag obbestimpter Summa, oder auff dein selbst versprechen (darumben wir dich auch vergwissen und versichern wollen) 10 M. Duc. bar in den Wechsel gen Rom zu des obbemeldten von Gurcks Handen mache und was (!) uns solches aus oberzelten Ursachen dem sondern vertrawen nach, so wir zu ihme tragen, Keineswegs abschlage noch verziehe: So wollen wir dir, so bald du ob angezeiget unser begeren von dem Fugger erlangest, dass du uns dann zu stund und förderlichen bei Tag und Nacht zuschreiben sollst, genugsam befehlich, Quittung und andere Brieff, die vorberürt Truhen und Lehengewand zu ueberantworten zu schicken, dieselben furter, wie oben stehet, dem obbenandten Fugger einzusetzen. Und sofern sich derselb Fugger in berürter Handlung merken liess zu wissen, wann wir solch unser Kleinodier und Lehengewand, wo er die in seiner Gewaltsamb hett, von ime widerumb lösen wollten, solstu ihme anzeigen, und zu erkennen geben, dass wir der Meynung seyn, ihn zu Bezahlung vorberürter Summa der 300 M. Duc. unnd darzu umb 100 M. Duc. die wir ihme um seyne drei Kleinodier, so wir auch von im zu nemmen, wiewohl der berürten Summa nicht würdig seyn, aber jedoch in geheimb zu einem Interesse vorberührts seines Darleihens zu geben willens seyn dass denn in einer gantzen Summa 533 M. fl. Rheinisch bringen würdet, uff des Reichs Hülff-geldt, so wir jetzo uff nechst künfftigen Reichstag von den Ständen desselben Reichs erlangen werden: dess gleichen unser erblichen Fürstenthumben Landkünfftiges (!) Hülffs- und Stewren und darzu das Geld, so uns von unserm lieben Brudern, dem König von Hispanien, Ordinari jährlich gereichet würdet, verweisen unnd solches alles zur Erledigung unser Kleinoter verfolgen lassen. Wo aber das alles angezeigte Summa nicht erreichet dass wir ihme alsdann umb die Uebermass den dritten Theil alles unsers Einkommens obgedachts Bapstumbs bis zu volliger Bezahlung zustellen wollen. Desshalben er denn einen aus seinen Freunden, der ihme gefällig ist, zu uns an unssern Hoffe verordnen mag, den wollen wir zu unserm Schatz-oder Kammermeister vorberürt unsers Einkommens zu handeln, auch sein dritten Theil zu empfahen und einzunehmen machen, auch denselben in andern unsern Sachen zu gebrauchen.

"In diesen obangezeigten Sachen allen dein besten und möglichen Fleiss nicht sparest, oder underlassest, solches alles also gewisslichen zu erlangen. Und ob dir schon berürt unser begern einmal oder mehr von demselben Fugger abgeschlagen würde, nichts desto minder wiederumb anhaltest und dermassen handelst, damit uns obangezeiget unser begeren verfolge. Unnd biss darin nit seumig oder lässig, sondern brauch also fleiss, wie wir unser vertrawen zu dir setzen, und auch die eyl und Notturft dieser Zeit erfordert. Und was dir in dem allen begegnet, uns solches förderlichen zuschreibest, uns darnach haben zu richten. Daran thustu uns sonder gnädiges Gefallen, und wir wollen gegen dir und den deinigen erkennen und zu Gutem nicht vergessen.

"Wir fügen dir auch zu wissen, dass uns unser Secretari Johann Colla uff heut geschrieben hat, bey einer eigen Post, dass die Ursiner, Colonenser und das populus Romanus gänzlich beschlossen sein, und fürgenommen haben, keinen Bapst, der Frantzössisch oder Hispanisch sey, oder durch diss gemacht werde, zu haben oder anzunehmen. Und schicken darauff ihre Pottschaft in geheimb zu uns, im schein zu begehren, dass wir und der Frantzos nicht Kriegen sollen, dafür zu bitten, als die so Neutral seyn am Bapstumb. Geben Brixen den 16. Septemb. Anno 1511."

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. VI.

Accoli, Pietro, Cardinal-Bishop of Ancona, 344.
Adrian of Corneto, Cardinal, 56, 129, 132, 179, 281, 353, 363, 376, 380.
Aegidius of Viterbo, 139, 185, 271, 272, 303, 407, 408, 479.
Albert, Bishop of Wilna, 146.
Albertini, Francesco, 281, 484, 496, 501, 502, 515, 582.
Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, 319, 428.
Albini, Benedetto di Giovanni, 481.
d'Albret, A., Cardinal, 92, 374, 389.
„ Charlotte, 67, 68.
„ Jean, King of Navarre, 245.
Alexander III., Pope, 469.
„ VI., Pope, 3–6, 8–10, 13, 15, 16, 19–22, 29–37, 43–48, 49, 53, 56–69, 71, 72, 74–76, 78–83, 85, 87–91, 93–95, 97–99, 102–108, 111–119, 121, 125, 126, 128–140, 142–149, 153–166, 168–180, 185, 186, 189, 198, 199, 210, 218, 222, 223, 226, 246, 253, 259, 260, 292, 355, 440, 459, 493, 500, 541.
Alexander VII., 177.
Alfonso of Bisceglia, 58, 59, 76–78, 104, 240.
„ Calabria, King of Naples, 58.
Alidosi, Francesco, Cardinal-Bishop of Pavia, 221, 286, 305, 315, 335, 336, 342, 348–351, 497, 509, 510, 592.
Altieri, Family of, 500.
„ Marcantonio, 138.
d'Alviano, Bartolomeo, 202, 204, 205.
d'Amboise, Charles, 280.
„ Georges, Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, 62, 63, 71–92, 189–197, 204, 209, 234, 263–285, 292, 294, 299, 300, 323, 328, 447.
„ Louis, Cardinal-Archbishop of Alby, 285, 326, 447.
Ambrose, St., 571, 572.
Angelico da Fiesole, Fra, B., 542, 574.
Angelo of Vallombrosa, 385.
Anne, St., 145, 446.
„ of Brittany, Queen of France, 57.
Antonio di Giacomo, 481.
„ de Monte, Cardinal, 366.

Antonio da Venafro, 122, 123.
d'Appiano, Jacopo, Prince of Piombino, 82.
Aquinas, *see* Thomas, St.
d'Aragona, Luigi, Cardinal, 92, 189, 195, 292, 340, 342, 408.
d'Aranda, Peter, Bishop of Calahorra, 157.
d'Arenas, Pedro, 163.
Areniti, Costantino, 282, 295, 307.
Argentino, Francesco, Cardinal, 344.
Ariosto, 110, 539.
Aristotle, 551, 554, 558, 586.
d'Aubigny, 84.
Augustine, St., 571, 572.
d'Autun, Jean, 361.

Badoer, 307, 309.
Baglione, Gentile, 122.
„ Giampaolo, 81, 122, 124, 204, 261, 269, 270.
„ Pandolfo, 122.
„ Petrucci, 122.
Bainbridge, Cardinal - Archbishop of York, 344.
Bajazet, Sultan, 86, 317, 509.
Bakócs, Thomas, Cardinal-Archbishop of Gran, Patriarch of Constantinople, 98, 312, 395, 410, 424.
Bartolini, Mariano, 255.
Bartolomeo, Fra, della Porta, 540.
Basso, Girolamo, della Rovere, Cardinal, 91, 267, 492, 496.
Behaim, Laurent, 169.
Bembo, Pietro, 110, 135, 307, 397, 582.
Benno, Bishop of Meissen, 145, 446.
Bentivogli, Family of, 262, 265, 283, 303–305, 331, 336, 347, 349, 372, 425, 513.
Bentivoglio, Alexander, 293.
„ Giovanni, 81, 82, 261, 266, 269, 274–277, 279, 285, 293, 363.
„ Hermes, 122.
Bianchino, 481.
Bibbiena, Cardinal, 520.
Bonaventure, St., 560, 572.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 446.
Bontempi, 437.
Borgia, Family of, 76, 115, 138, 202, 205, 449.
„ Cæsar, 57, 58, 60–62, 66–69, 71–74, 76–78, 80–83, 94, 102, 104, 107, 112–114, 118–128, 130, 132–134, 151–153, 166, 186–191, 202–205, 208, 209, 217, 233–246.
„ Francesco, Cardinal, 92, 103, 334, 353, 374, 389.
„ Jofré, 69, 125.
„ Juan, Cardinal - Archbishop of Monreale, 131.
„ Juan, Cardinal - Archbishop of Valencia, 60, 63, 73, 91, 235.
„ Juan, 104, 105, 121.
„ Lucrezia, 58, 69, 71, 76–78, 104–112, 114, 166.
„ Ludovico, Cardinal, 92, 240, 243.
„ Rodrigo, Cardinal, *see* Alexander VI.
„ Rodrigo, son of Lucrezia, *see* Rodrigo.
Boyl, Bernard, 163.
Bracci, Alessandra, 16.
Bramante, Donato, 179, 180, 340, 455, 461, 463–470,

Bramante, Donato—*continued.* 473–475, 478–480, 483, 484, 486, 487, 489, 494, 500, 503, 507, 508, 533, 553.
Bramantino, 543.
Branca, Sebastiano de, 437.
Brandolinus Lippi, Raphael, 94.
Briçonnet, Cardinal, 92, 181, 326, 332, 334, 353, 374, 387, 389.
Brixen, Bishop of, *see* Christopher of Schroffenstein.
Brunetti, Giovanni, 39.
Bruni, Enrico, Archbishop of Tarento, 481.
Buonarroti, *see* Michael Angelo.
Burchard, Johann, 116, 135, 149, 187, 195, 197, 208, 473.

Cajetan, Cardinal, *see* Thomas de Vio.
Calixtus III., Pope, 160.
Capello, Paolo, 80, 341.
Capodiferri, Family of, 500.
Caradosso, 461, 467, 473, 489.
Caraffa, Cardinal, 10, 15, 17, 19, 91, 116, 185, 186, 192–194, 196, 262, 332, 492.
Carlotta of Naples, 58, 65.
Carpi, *see* Alberto Pio.
Carretto, Carlo de, Marquess of Finale, 255.
„ Carlo Domenico del, Cardinal, 221, 353, 363.
Carvajal, Bernardino, Cardinal, 65, 91, 160, 191, 197, 241, 243, 244, 295, 296, 298, 334, 335, 353, 362, 374, 376, 385–387, 389–392, 395.
Casanova, Jacopo, Cardinal, 128.
Cassarelli, Family of, 500.
Castelar, Giovanni, Cardinal, 128.
Castellesi, *see* Adrian of Corneto.
Castiglione, Baldassaro, 490.
Castro, Juan de, Cardinal, 92, 191.
Centelles, Raimondo, 56.
Cerretani, 389, 402.
Cesarini, Giuliano, Cardinal, 92, 188, 371.
Challand, Robert, Cardinal, 221, 264.
Charles the Great, Emperor, 379, 421.
„ V., Emperor, 379, 421.
„ VIII., King of France, 4, 5, 36, 55, 103, 113, 169, 176, 355, 459.
Chatillon, 389.
Chaumont, 279, 336–338, 347.
Chigi, Agostino, 492, 495–497.
Christopher of Schroffenstein, Bishop of Brixen, 384.
Cibò, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 91.
Ciochi, Antonio di Monte Sansovino, Cardinal - Archbishop of Liponto, 274, 344.
Clement VII., Pope, 166.
Clermont, François Guillaume de, Cardinal - Archbishop of Auch, 219, 234, 270, 326, 332.
Colla, John, 381.
Colonna, Family of, 56, 59, 62, 69, 77, 84, 103, 104, 125, 204, 218, 311, 369, 381, 404, 419, 420, 430.
„ Fabrizio, 400.
„ Giovanni, Cardinal, 69, 92, 189, 192, 371, 474.
„ Marcantonio, 260.
„ Pompeo, Bishop of Rieti, 371, 372.
Columbus, Christopher, 67, 159, 160, 163, 441.
„ Diego, 67, 441.

Conacci, Giovanni, 39.
Conchilles, James, 345.
Condivi, 533.
Constantine, Prince of Georgia, 146.
Conti, Family of, 59.
„ Sigismondo de', 60, 78, 120, 149, 152, 199, 210. 240, 258, 274, 276, 277, 279, 281, 282, 292, 472, 474, 476, 592.
Copernicus, 150.
Cordova, *see* Gonsalvo.
Cornaro, Marco, Cardinal, 92, 189, 310, 340, 342.
Costa, Giorgio, Cardinal, 65, 91, 189, 287.
Costabili, Beltrando de', 134, 235.
Cristoforo, Romano, 489, 492.
Cyprian of Serentin, 380.

Dandolo, Jacopo, 302.
Dante Allighieri, 545, 549, 559, 565, 566, 572.
Decius, Philip, 386, 396.
Delfino, Pietro, 200.
Diogenes of Sinope, 551.
Domenico da Pescia, Fra, 14, 34, 41–47, 50.
Donato, Girolamo, 258, 316, 318.
Doria, Andrea, 123.
Dossi, Mariano dei, 282.
Dschem, Prince, 85.

Emmanuel, King of Portugal, 160.
d'Este, Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, 107, 109, 327, 328, 343, 400, 403, 419, 420, 425, 513, 520.
„ Ercole I, Duke of Ferrara, 9, 107, 266, 279, 299.
d'Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, 92, 98, 108, 332, 353, 364, 391.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 146.

Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 92, 151, 408, 476.
„ Giulia, 174, 259.
Federigo of Aragon, King of Naples, 58, 59, 62, 70, 76, 77, 83, 84, 104, 119.
Ferantini, Bartolomeo, 748.
Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, 63–65, 68, 83, 89, 160, 163, 180, 188, 191, 226, 243–245, 256, 291, 294, 299, 313, 318, 323, 367, 373, 375, 379, 383, 387, 398, 412, 421, 422, 426, 433, 441, 443, 481.
Ferrari, Cardinal, 92.
Ferreri, Anton, Cardinal-Bishop of Gubbio, 221, 269, 273, 286, 303, 304, 496.
„ Zaccaria, 385–387, 390, 393, 396.
Ficino, Marsilio, 558.
Fiesco, Lorenzo, 304.
„ Niccolò, Cardinal, 129, 226, 333, 369, 476.
Foix, Gaston de, 397, 399, 401, 414.
„ Odet de, 389, 391.
Foscari, Francesco, 428.
Francesco di Domenico, 481.
„ of Apulia, 41, 46.
Francia, Francesco, 540.
Franciotto of Lucca, 219.
Francis of Paula, St., 163, 181, 446.
Franco, 481.
Frangipani, Family of, 500.
Freddi, Federigo de', 488.
„ Felice de', 488.
Frederick of Aragon, King of Naples, *see* Federigo.

Fregosi, Family of, 327.
„ Giovanni dei, 415.
Fugger, Family of, 381.

GABRIELE DA FANO, 236.
Gabrielli, Gabriello dei, Cardinal, Bishop of Urbino, 221.
Gaetani, Family of, 104, 218.
Gara della Rovere, Sixtus, Cardinal, 222, 302.
George of Negroponte, 491.
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 551.
Ghirardacci, 281.
Giocondo da Verona, 581.
Giorgio, Giovanni Antonio de S., Cardinal, 65, 91, 262, 287.
Giovanni di Sirolo, Archbishop of Ragusa, 242.
„ da Udine, 173.
„ Giuliano de', 475.
Giulio Romano, 594.
Giustinian, Antonio, 121, 127, 128, 131, 132, 135, 185, 186, 189, 194, 195, 197, 198, 202, 203, 236–238, 248–254.
Gondi, Giuliano, 39.
Gonsalvo de Cordova, 58, 99, 127, 185, 241, 243, 244.
Gonzaga, Elisabetta, Duchess of Urbino, 151.
„ Federigo, 489.
„ Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, 185, 219, 266, 269, 271, 279, 282, 299, 317, 334, 339, 419.
„ Giovanni, 270, 345.
„ Leonora, 219.
„ Sigismondo, Cardinal, 221, 364.
Goritz, Johann, 492, 493, 593.
Grassi, Achilles de, Cardinal, 304, 344.
Grassis, Paris de, 216, 262, 268, 270, 278, 280–282, 288, 333, 336, 337, 339, 345, 346, 351, 362, 369, 409, 416, 423, 424, 431–435, 437, 439, 473, 478, 499.
Gregory the Great, St., Pope, 468, 571, 574.
„ VII., St., Pope, 469.
„ IX., Pope, 230, 548.
Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal, 92, 310, 318, 409, 430.
Gringoire, Pierre, 357.
Grosso della Rovere, Clemente, Cardinal, 219, 221.
„ della Rovere, Leonardo, Cardinal, 221, 267, 286, 424, 535.
Guarna, Andrea, 469.
Guglielmo di Piemonte, 500.
Guicciardini, 135, 217, 230, 243, 294, 363, 400, 438, 451.
Guidiccioni, Francesco, 211.
Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, 120, 122, 151, 240, 258, 266, 269, 270, 273, 274, 279, 282, 313, 336, 348, 368, 369.
Gurk, Bishop of, *see* Lang.

HADRIAN, *see* Adrian of Corneto.
Heliodorus, 600, 601.
Henneberg, Berthold von, Archbishop of Mayence, 201.
Henry VI., King of England, 145.
„ VII., King of England, 89, 97, 226.
„ VIII., King of England, 323, 331, 361, 373, 398, 412, 471, 472.
Hermannsgrün, Hans von, 355.

ILORIS, Francesco, Cardinal, 128, 138.
Inghirami, Tommaso, 427, 501.

Innocent III., Pope, 454, 469, 572.
„ VIII., Pope, 142, 143, 159, 170, 226, 446, 486, 487.
Isabella of Castile, Queen of Spain, 65, 163, 180, 244.
Ismael, Shah of Persia, 441.
Isvalies, Pietro, Cardinal, 92, 340, 351.

Jacobazzi, Domenico, 385.
Jeanne of Valois, St. (Wife of Louis XII.), 57, 144.
Joanna, Queen of Castile, 412.
John XXII., Pope, 225.
„ Archbishop of Ragusa, 56.
„ of Guadelupe, St., 446.
„ Gualbert of Vallombrosa, St., 445.
Jorge, Fra, 163.
Jovius, Paul, 112, 135, 243, 430, 579.
Julius II., Pope, 137, 177, 210–220, 222–288, 290–312, 316–323, 325–353, 355, 357–376, 380, 383, 384, 387–389, 394–398, 401–464, 469–488, 490–516, 519, 520, 533, 534, 537–539, 541–543, 570, 582–584, 589–592, 594–596, 597, 599, 600, 602, 603, 606, 607.

Ladislaus, King of Bohemia and Hungary, 100, 101, 299, 361, 441, 443.
Landucci, Lucca, 5, 49.
Lang, Matthæus, Cardinal-Bishop of Gurk, 180, 296, 299, 344–347, 357, 376, 378, 381, 423–428.
La Palice, 402, 416.
La Trémoïlle, Jean François de, Cardinal - Archbishop of Auch, 264, 284.
Las Casas, Bartolomeo de, 163.
Le Filleul, Pierre, Bishop of Sisteron, 264.
Lemaire, Jean, 359–361.
Leo I., St., Pope, 141, 468, 603.
„ IX., Pope, 450.
„ X., Pope, 173, 459, 470, 478, 497, 499, 603.
„ XIII., Pope, 171.
Leonardo da Vinci, 118, 540.
Leonini, Angelo, Bishop of Tivoli, 80, 237, 249, 252–254, 330.
Lichtenstein, Paul von, 380–382.
Lionello da Carpi, 327, 333.
Lippomano, Girolamo, 340–342, 369, 371.
Lopez, Juan, Cardinal, 65, 92, 170.
Lotto, Lorenzo, 543.
Louis XI., King of France, 57, 428.
„ XII., King of France, 55–57, 61, 62, 64–68, 71, 72, 74, 83, 89, 90, 95, 97, 98, 107, 119, 121, 127, 188–190, 226, 255, 257, 265, 270, 274, 277, 284, 285, 291–294, 300, 304, 306–308, 318, 321–324, 327–332, 334, 335, 339, 343, 346, 354, 355, 357, 359–361, 363, 367, 372, 374, 376, 383–386, 388, 393–395, 398, 405, 416, 427, 428, 434, 443, 447, 600.

Machiavelli, 122, 123, 125, 186, 231, 236–238, 241, 246, 265, 267, 298, 302, 314, 329, 388, 453.
Maderna, 468.
Malatesta, Pandolfo, 81, 239.

Malvezzi, Giulio, 339.
Mancino, Paolo, 481.
Manfredi, Astorre, Lord of Faenza, 81, 82.
Mansi, 139.
Manuel, *see* Emmanuel.
Marcello, Cristoforo, 429.
Margaret of Burgundy, 299–375, 377, 380, 443.
Marinus, Georgius, 94.
Maruffi, Fra Silvestro, 43–45, 50.
Massimi, Family of, 500.
„ Domenico dei, 495.
Matilda, Countess, 416.
Matthias, Bishop of Greenland, 159.
Maximilian I., Emperor, 63, 70, 89, 95, 96, 107, 113, 130, 188, 215, 255, 257, 262, 293–300, 303, 308, 313, 317, 318, 321, 323, 331, 343, 344, 347, 354–357, 373, 375–383, 398, 412–414, 421–425, 427.
Medici, Giovanni de', Cardinal —afterwards Leo X., 92, 173, 192, 197, 220, 269, 373, 400, 402, 405, 415, 420, 492, 605. *See* also Leo X.
„ Giuliano de', 420.
„ Giulio de', Cardinal, 402.
„ Piero de', 4, 9, 38.
Melchior Copis von Meckau, Cardinal-Bishop of Brixen, 129.
Mendoza, Cardinal, 92.
Menico Antonio di Jacopo, 481.
Michael Angelo Buonarroti, 151, 215, 453, 455, 456, 460, 463, 464, 468, 478, 488, 489, 492, 500, 502–520, 522, 523, 529–540.
Michiel, Giovanni, Cardinal, 91, 128, 129.
Mila, Luis Juan del, Cardinal, 92.
Mino da Fiesole, 478.
Mirandola, *see* Pico.
Monserati da Guda, 472.
Monte Sansovino, Cardinal, *see* Ciochi.

Nicholas V., Pope, 152, 154, 158, 171, 173, 286, 456, 457, 459, 464, 469, 471, 478, 483, 501, 503, 542, 582, 589.
Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal, 154.
Nilus, 146.

Olaf II., St., King of Norway, 158.
Oliverotto of Fermo, 123, 124.
Orsini, Family of, 56, 59, 75, 77, 81, 121–127, 188, 203–205, 208, 210, 218, 311, 369, 381, 398, 404.
„ Battista, Cardinal, 91, 121, 125, 126, 371.
„ Felice, 260, 267, 311.
„ Franciotto, 122.
„ Giovanni Giordano, 126, 127, 204, 240, 260, 267.
„ Giovanni Paolo, 104.
„ Laura, 259, 267.
„ Orso, 260.
„ Paolo, 122, 123.
„ Rinaldo, Archbishop of Florence, 125.
Otho, Emperor, 469.

Pallavicino, Antoniotto, Cardinal, 91, 186, 189, 192–194, 292, 293.
Panvinius, 469.
Parmino, Lorenzo, 472.
Paul II., Pope, 147, 198, 464, 486.

Pazzi, Cosimo de', Bishop of Arezzo, 201, 255, 256.
Peraudi, Raimondo, Cardinal, 91, 95–97, 154.
Perraud, *see* Peraudi.
Perugino, 175, 543.
Peruzzi, Baldassaro, 464, 483, 594.
Pesaro, Benedetto, 99, 100.
„ Giacopo da, Bishop, 99, 100.
Pescara, Marquess of, 400.
Peter, St., 141, 469, 470, 566, 605.
Peter Martyr, St., 135.
Petrarch, 558.
Petrucci, Alfonso, Cardinal, 344.
Philip of Hapsburg, King of Castile, 144, 276.
Philippe de Luxembourg, Cardinal, 92, 353, 363, 389.
Pico, Family of, 500.
Pico, Hieronymo, 495.
Pico della Mirandola, Gian Francesco, 343.
Piccolomini, Francesco, Cardinal, *see* Pius III.
Picconi de Sangallo, Antonio, 500.
Piero da Lucca, 442.
Pinturicchio, Bernardino, 169, 171–174, 176, 496, 543.
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 592, 604.
Pisani, D., 275, 308, 309, 311.
Pius II., Pope, 109, 198, 199, 446.
„ III., Pope, 92, 189, 190, 194, 197, 198, 199, 201–207, 232.
„ VII., Pope, 485.
„ IX., Pope, 172.
Podocatharo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 92, 189, 193, 194.
Poggio, Antonio, 486.
„ Francesco, 385.
Pollajuolo, Simone, 508.
Pons, Gasparo, 97.
Porta, Ardicino della, Cardinal, 60.
„ *See* Bartolomeo, 540.
Prie, René de, Cardinal-Bishop of Bayeux, 264, 285, 326, 332, 334, 353, 374, 389, 393.
Priuli, 248.
Pucci, Lorenzo, 516, 517, 535.

Raphael Sanzio, 171, 173, 216, 226, 416, 455, 456, 478, 489, 502, 503, 540, 543–594, 597–607.
Raymond of Cardona, 397, 399.
Remolino, Francesco, Cardinal-Bishop of Ilerda, 48, 128, 239, 240.
Riario, Girolamo, 72.
„ Raffaele, Cardinal, 166, 179, 186, 189, 193, 197, 203, 204, 288, 269, 407, 434, 492.
Roccamura, Francesco, 187.
Rodrigo (Borgia), of Bisceglia, 104, 218.
Rossellino, Bernardo, 460, 483.
Rotario, Carlo, 282.
Rovere, Domenico della, Cardinal, 91.
„ Felice, *see* Orsini, Felice.
„ Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, 218, 219, 282, 327, 336, 348–350, 368, 369, 403, 414, 415, 422, 435, 537, 552.
„ Galeotto, Cardinal, 219, 220, 222, 259, 284, 301, 302, 492, 495.
„ Gara, *see* Gara.
„ Giovanni, 56.
„ Girolamo, *see* Basso.
„ Grosso, *see* Grosso.

Rovere, Giuliano della, Cardinal, afterwards Julius II., 61, 65, 66, 71, 91, 113–179, 186, 189, 191–194, 196, 203, 204, 208–210, 247, 487
See also Julius II.
„ Lucchina, 215, 219.
„ Niccolò, 259.
Ruysch, Johann, 543.

SADOLET, Cardinal, 489, 558.
Sancia of Aragon, 77.
Sangallo, Antonio da, 168, 464, 482.
„ Francesco da, 488.
„ Giuliano da, 168, 179, 459, 460, 463, 488, 507, 508.
Sannazaro, Jacopo, 115.
Sanseverino, Cardinal, 68–70, 92, 292, 326, 334, 353, 374, 385, 389, 391, 395, 398, 399, 401, 403.
Sansoni, Cardinal, 92.
Sansovino, Andrea, 460, 492, 493.
„ Jacopo, 489.
Santa Croce, Giacomo, 125.
Santori, Fazio, Cardinal, Bishop of Cesena, 221.
Sanuto, 60, 135.
Sanzio, *see* Raphael.
Sauli, Bandinello, Cardinal, 344.
Savelli, Family of, 81–104, 125, 203, 210.
„ Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, 371.
„ Silvia, 113, 115.
Savonarola, Fra Girolamo, 3–53.
Schedel, Hartmann, 169.
Schinner, Matthæus, Cardinal, 324, 325, 344, 395, 396, 413, 416, 419.
Sebastiano del Piombo, *see* Piombo.
Serra, Jacopo, Cardinal, 92.
Seyssel, de, 361.
Sforza, Family of, 72.
„ Ascanio, Cardinal, 14, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68–70, 75, 92, 126, 189, 195–197, 209, 264, 301, 460, 492, 496.
„ Caterina, 72.
„ Giovanni, of Pesaro, 81, 218.
„ Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan, 16, 62, 70, 73–75, 88, 96, 421.
„ Massimiliano, 421.
„ Ottaviano, Bishop of Lodi, 416.
S. Giorgio, *see* Giorgio.
Signorelli, Luca, 498, 543.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 146, 152, 199, 228, 436, 456, 457, 481, 486, 493, 495, 496, 501–503, 572–574, 589, 596.
Sixtus V., Pope, 485.
Soderini (Gonfaloniere), 509, 511.
„ Francesco, Cardinal, 129, 189, 192, 197, 236, 238, 239.
Sodoma, 543.
Soffatelli, Giovanni, 270.
Spiegel, 355, 356.
Sprats, Francesco, Cardinal, 128.
Strozzi, T. B., 110.
Suardi, 543.

THOMAS OF AQUINAS, St., 143, 559, 572, 578, 581.
„ de Vio (Cajetanus), 366, 385, 410, 412.
Tizio, Sigismondo, 207.
Toccio, Francesco del, 475.
Torquemada, Cardinal, 502.
Tozzo, Giuliano del, 481.
Trémoïlle, *see* La Trémoïlle.

Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, 150, 375.
Trivulzio, Gianantonio, Cardinal, 189.
„ Gianjacopo, 51, 71, 347, 363, 386.
Turriano, Gioacchino, 48.
Tuti, Archangelo dei, 282.

UGHI, Fra Mariano, 34.
Urban IV., Pope, 596.
„ VIII., Pope, 169.

VADIAN, 414.
Vaga, Perino della, 173.
Valle, Family of, della, 500.
Valori, Francesco, 39, 47.
Varano, Giulio Cesare, 120.
Vasari, 169, 174, 462, 463, 486, 517, 533, 540, 591.
Vega, Garcilosso de la, 64.
Vegio, Maffeo, 469.
Vera, Giovanni, Cardinal, 92, 186.
Vespucci, Guidantonio, 39.
Vettori, Francesco, 416, 451.
Vich, Hieronymus de, 412.
Vigerio, Marco, Cardinal, 221, 239, 427.
Villeneuve, Louis de, 60.
Vincent of Beauvais, St., 559.
Vincenzio da Viterbo, 481.
Vitelli, Family of, 124.
„ Vitellozzo, 81, 122–124.

WIMPHELING, Jakob, 356.

XIMENES, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, 164, 285, 291, 367.

ZAMBECCARI, Alessandro, 469.
Zamometič, Andrea, 37.
Zane, Bernardino, 409.
Zeno, Battista, Cardinal, 91.
Zuniga, Juan de, Cardinal, 219.
Zurita, 243, 387.
Zwingli, Ulric, 414.

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VOL. VII.

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK, AND DIRECTOR OF THE AUSTRIAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE IN ROME

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"Homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines."—EGIDIO CANISIO OF VITERBO, 1512.

"Omnes nos declinavimus unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit iam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum: quamobrem necesse est, ut omnes demus gloriam Deo et humiliemus animas nostras ei, videatque unusquisque nostrum unde ceciderit, et se potius quilibet iudicet, quam a Deo in virga furoris sui iudicari velit. Qua in re, quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibituros, ut primum curia haec, unde forte omne hoc malum processit, reformetur, ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ad eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet." — POPE ADRIAN VI. to Francesco Chieregati, Nuncio in Germany, 1522.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

	PAGE
Dedication	vii
Editorial Note	ix
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Vols. VII. to X.	xi
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. VII. to X.	xiii
Table of Contents	xli
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lxi
Introduction	3–11

LEO X., 1513–1521. BOOK I.

Election and Beginning of the Pontificate of Leo X. His efforts to make peace. End of the Schism of Pisa	15–78
The Medici and the Policy of Leo X., 1513–1515	79–113
The Conquest of Milan by the French. The Meeting between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna	114–146
The War of Urbino. The Conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci. The great creation of Cardinals, July 1, 1517	147–212
The Pope's endeavours to promote a Crusade, 1517–1518	213–254
Leo X. and the Imperial Succession	255–290
The Occasion and Causes of the Reformation in Germany. The Contest about Indulgences	291–360
Luther is summoned to Rome. His Transactions with Cardinal Cajetan and Miltitz. His Roman Trial. The Bull "Exsurge" and its reception in Germany. Aleander's Mission to the Diet of Worms, and the Imperial Edict against Luther	361–441
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	443–496
Index of Names	497–509

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To

HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE MOST AUGUST PRINCE AND LORD

FRANCIS FERDINAND

IMPERIAL PRINCE AND ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA-ESTE,
CROWN PRINCE OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA,
ETC. ETC. ETC.

His most humble and devoted,
THE AUTHOR.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

THE favourable reception accorded to the English edition of the first three volumes of Professor Ludwig Pastor's *History of the Popes*, issued under the able editorship of the late Father F. I. Antrobus, between the years 1891 and 1898, has given encouragement for a continuance of the work.

After an interval of eleven years, Professor Pastor in 1906 issued the first part of the fourth volume of his work. This volume, unlike the preceding ones, is in two parts, and it is the first part, dealing solely with the Pontificate of Leo X., which is now published in Volumes VII. and VIII. of the English edition. The second part, dealing with the Pontificates of Adrian VI. and Clement VII., was issued early in 1907; the English edition of this second part will, it is hoped, follow with as little delay as possible, and will form Volumes IX. and X. This division of the German volumes explains the fact that the list of authorities and sources given in the present volume applies to four volumes of the English edition.

The translation of the greater part of the two volumes now issued is the work of the late Lady Amabel Kerr, and was almost completed at the time of her death in October 1906.

The Editor's share in the work has been confined to the supervision of the translation, the aim of which has been, as in the previous volumes, to follow the text as closely as possible. The notes, which contain most valuable matter, have been published *in extenso*, as also the Appendix of Unpublished Documents.

R. F. K.

THE ORATORY,
LONDON, S.W.,
January, 1908.

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLS. VII. TO X.

ANCONA—Communal Library.
AREZZO—Library of the "Fraternità di Sta Maria."
ATHENS—National Library.

BERLIN—Royal Library.
BOLOGNA—State Archives.
BRESCIA—Quiriniana Library.
BRUSSELS—State Archives.

CHIETI—Episcopal Archives.

DRESDEN—Library.
DÜSSELDORF—State Archives.

EICHSTÄTT—Library.
ESCORIAL—Library.

FERRARA—Library.
FLORENCE—Laurentian Library.
—— National Library.
—— State Archives.*
FOLIGNO — Faloci - Pulignani Library.
FRANKFURT A. M. — City Archives.

GLYS—Library.
GNESEN — Cathedral Chapter Archives.

INNSBRUCK — Vice-regal Archives.

LEYDEN—Library.
LONDON—British Museum.

MADRID — Library of the "Academia de Historia."
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
——Trivulziana Library.
—— State Archives.
MANTUA—Episcopal Archives.
—— Gonzaga Archives.
—— Capilupi Library.
—— City Library.
MALINES—Seminary Library.
MODENA—State Archives.
MUNICH — Court and State Library.
—— State Archives.

NAPLES — Library of the National Museum in the Certosa of S. Martino.
—— Library of the "Società di storia patria."
—— National Library.
—— State Archives.

ORVIETO — Archives of the Missini-Giberti family.

* The letters of G. de' Medici are to be found, *agli Otto*, in F., 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 41, 42 and 46; those of B. Buondelmonti, in F., 51; and the writings of G. M. della Porta, in *Urbino*, F., 132, 265.

OSIMO—Archives.

PADERBORN—Theodorian Library.
PARIS—National Archives.
—— National Library.
PERUGIA—Chapter Archives.
—— Communal Archives.
—— Communal Library.

RAVENNA—Classense Library.
ROME—
(a) *Archives:*
the "Anima."
the Campo Santo.
the "Ceremonieri."
the Colonna.
the "Compagnia di S. Girolamo della Carità."
of the Fabric of St Peter's.
the Gaetani.
of the Inquisition.
the Ricci.
the Spanish Embassy.
General, of the Barnabites.
,, of the Capuchins.
,, of the Theatines.
the Consistorial.
the Papal Secret (Secret Archives of the Vatican).
of the State.
(b) *Libraries:*
Alessandrina.
Angelica.
Borghese.

ROME—
(b) *Libraries:*
Casanatense.
Chigi.
Corsini.
Corvisieri.
Ferrajoli.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican (including the former Barberini libr.).
Vittorio Emanuele.

SAVIGNANO (Romagna) Library.
SIENA—State Archives.
—— City Library.
SPOLETO—Campello Archives.

TURIN—Royal Library.
—— State Archives.

UTRECHT—State Archives.

VENICE—Library of St. Mark.
—— "Museo Civico" (Correr).
—— State Archives.
VERONA—Communal Library.
—— Chapter Library.
—— Episcopal Archives.
VIENNA — Court and State Archives.
—— Teutonic Order Archives.
—— Court Library.
—— Rossiana Library.

WOLFENBÜTTEL—Library.

COMPLETE TITLES OF BOOKS QUOTED IN VOLUMES VII. TO X.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.*

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

The work of Julius II. Character of Leo X. 3
Many attempts at Reform, but without decisive results . 4
Cry for Reform from both sides of the Alps 4
Optimism of Leo X., who disregards the warnings from Germany, and becomes absorbed in politics . . 5
Increase of prophetic utterances and notes of warning . 5
Prediction of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola . . 6
Sigismondo Tizio's letter about the Pope 6
Importance of the anti-Papal movement not realized by Leo, but grasped at once by his successor Adrian VI. . 7
Adrian, the first Pope to indicate what was to be done . 8
Many good qualities of Clement VII., but he lost courage . 8
Disastrous results of Clement's pontificate 9
"Men must be changed by religion, and not religion by men" 10
The Oratory of Divine Love 10
New religious orders 11
The silent growth and hidden beginnings of the true Reformation 11

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND BEGINNING OF THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.—HIS EFFORTS TO MAKE PEACE.—END OF THE SCHISM OF PISA.

A.D.

1513 Members of the Sacred College at the time of the death of Julius II. 15
Discussions as to the Papal election 16
Exclusion of the Schismatic Cardinals 17

* Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE
1513 Opening of the Conclave 18
Public and secret articles of the election capitulation . 19
Bull of Julius II. against simony read. The first scrutiny 21
Causes that commended Medici to the electors . . 23
Riario and Bakócz his most formidable opponents . 24
The election effected without simony . . . 25
Popularity of the election in Rome 25
Opinion of the Swiss Envoy, Peter Falk . . . 26
Unbounded satisfaction in Florence 27
The election received favourably by European princes, even by Louis XII. of France 27
Early life and education of Leo 28
His devotion to art and generosity to the learned . 30
Distinguished by his dignity and decorum . . . 31
His career during the closing years of the pontificate of Julius II. 31
Leo ordained priest, 15th of March, and consecrated Bishop on the 17th 33
Coronation by Cardinal Farnese 33
The many and exorbitant demands for favours . . 33
Leo performs the ceremonies of Holy week with great recollection 34
Removes the tax on wine and flour 35
Extensive preparations for the ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran 35
The censures on the Duke of Ferrara removed . . 36
Magnificence and incidents of the procession to the Lateran 37
Mixture of religious and pagan decorations and inscriptions 40
Humanists proclaim the arrival of the Golden Age . 42
The first measures of Leo X. Desire for peace . . 43
His forbearance towards the schismatic Cardinals . 44
Difficulties in his political efforts to make peace . 45
Treaty of France with Venice 46
The Pope urged to declare himself openly against France 46
Warns Venice against an alliance with France . . 47
Louis XII. endeavours to gain the support of the Pope 47
The condition of Milan under Maximilian Sforza, who turns for help to Leo 48
Representations of Morone and Schinner on the danger of French supremacy in Lombardy . 49
Formation of the Holy League 50
Hesitation of the Pope to side openly against France 51

A.D. PAGE

1513 The French commence hostilities 52
The Swiss defeat the French at Novara 52
Leo exhorts the victors to peace in view of the danger from the Turks 53
France adheres to the Council of the Lateran . . 54
End of the schism a consequence of Novara . . 54
The Pope urges gentleness rather than severity . . 55
Abjuration of Carvajal and Sanseverino . . . 57
Leo's attitude towards France changes . . . 59
Obstinacy of Venice; the Pope agrees to the Emperor's demand to send Papal troops against the Republic 60
The Venetians adhere to their demand for Verona and Vicenza 61
Venice turns a deaf ear to the Pope's exhortations . 62
Defeat of the French at Guinegate 62
L. Campeggio sent as Nuncio to Maximilian; his instructions 63
The Spanish viceroy attacks Venice 64
Venice gives the Pope full power to make peace . 65
Leo negotiates between the belligerents . . . 65
Louis XII. sends an envoy to Rome 66
France repudiates the Pisan Council and appoints representatives to that of the Lateran . . . 67
The *obedientia* of the Emperor 68
Pretensions of Lang, the Emperor's representative . 69
Solemn Session (the 8th) of the Lateran Council . 71
Publication of important Bulls relating to Reform, a Crusade, the Bohemians and peace 72
Spectacles in connection with the reception of envoys 73
1514 Sensation caused by the Embassy from Portugal . 74
The white elephant, the talk of Rome 75
Public Consistory for the Portuguese *obedientia* . . 76
Concessions by the Pope to the King of Portugal . 77

CHAPTER II.

THE MEDICI AND THE POLICY OF LEO X., 1513–1515.

1513 Giuliano and Giulio de' Medici arrive in Rome . . 79
The Medici supreme in Florence; Lorenzo made governor 80
Giulio de' Medici made archbishop of Florence . . 81
Leo's first creation of Cardinals 82
Characters of Cibo, Pucci, and Bibbiena . . . 83

A.D. PAGE
1513 Reorganization of the department of Papal Secretaries 85
Confidential position of Bibbiena 86
Inordinate schemes for the exaltation of the Medici family 87
These do not emanate from Leo 87
Conditions of nepotism quite different from the time of Alexander VI. 88
The personalities of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici 89
The Pope denies the rumour that the crown of Naples is destined for Giuliano 92
The Emperor and Ferdinand of Spain distrust Leo . 93
1514 Overtures of Louis XII. to Spain result in a truce for one year 93
Care for the independence of the Holy See, and for the liberty of Italy, predominate in the policy of Leo 94
Great activity of Papal diplomacy 95
Fear of Spanish supremacy inclines the Pope towards France 96
Lang endeavours to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and Venice 96
Refusal of Lang's demand for the German legation . 97
Canossa sent on a mission to France and England . 98
Exasperation of the Romans against the Spaniards . 99
Secret negotiations with Venice and France . . 99
Canossa, supported by Wolsey, effects an alliance between England and France 100
The dangerous clause in the Treaty of London . 100
Shifting relations between the Pope and France . 101
Secret contract signed by Leo X. and Louis XII. . 102
The Pope, though averse to an attack on Milan by Louis, does not oppose it openly 102
Louis suspects an alliance between the Pope and the Emperor 103
Secret agreement between Leo and Ferdinand . 103
The French enlarge upon the advantages to the Church, Italy, and the Medici from a treaty between Leo and France 104
Anxiety of the Pope, who puts off a final decision . 105
Death of Louis XII. and accession of Francis I. . 106
1515 Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy 106
Attempted coalition to prevent a French conquest of Milan 107
Leo delays ratification of the terms of the League and follows a waiting policy 108

A.D PAGE
1515 Negotiations of Canossa in France 108
Francis disinclined to consider the demands of the Pope, who begins military preparations . . 109
Leo sends money for payment of the Spanish and Swiss soldiers 110
Papal adhesion to the League signed, but not published 110
The Pope only acts after the French strike the first blow 111
Giuliano de' Medici commands the Papal troops, and falling ill, is succeeded by Lorenzo . . . 111
The price of Giuliano's joining France . . . 112
Care for the independence of the Holy See turns the balance in the position taken up by the Pope . 113

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF MILAN BY THE FRENCH.—THE MEETING BETWEEN LEO X. AND FRANCIS I. AT BOLOGNA.

1515 Francis concentrates his army at Lyons, and renews the alliance with Venice 114
Crosses the Alps, surprises and takes prisoner Colonna 115
The Pope loses courage. Loss of Alessandria . . 116
Giulio de' Medici to reinstate the Bentivogli in Bologna 116
Irresolution of the Legate, and indecision of the Pope 117
Vacillation of the Pope 118
Wolsey raised to the purple 119
Schinner stirs up the Swiss to fight 119
Francis I. in Lombardy; his position at Marignano attacked by the Swiss 119
Victory of the French; reception of the news by Leo 120
The Swiss abandon Lombardy 122
The Pope's idea of resistance vanishes. Francis disinclined to a war with Leo X. 123
Leo makes up his mind to a change in his policy, but finds it difficult 124
The Pope insists on certain conditions in favour of Florence 125
And sends urgent letters to the French King . . 125
On October 11th the French enter Milan . . 126
And on the 13th Leo approves the preliminary articles of peace 126

A.D. PAGE
1515 Francis guarantees the authority of the Medici in Florence 127
And is desirous of a personal interview with the Pope 127
Bologna decided on as the place for the meeting . 128
The Cardinals in Consistory consent to the expedition to Bologna 129
The Pope to travel *via* Cortona and Florence . . 130
Great preparations made in Florence for his reception 130
Magnificence of the spectacle 131
The present for the French King 132
Illness of Giuliano de' Medici 133
Arrival at Bologna on December 7th . . . 133
Coolness of the Pope's reception by the inhabitants . 133
Francis arrives on December 11th and visits the Pope 135
Interviews of Leo X. with Francis 137
Who is lavish in his attentions to the Pope . . 138
Bonnivet's brother created Cardinal 139
The meeting terminates on December 15th . . 140
1516 The Pope arrives in Rome on 28th of February . 140
Results of the interview 141
Leo still desires to remain true to the league with Germany 143
The objects of Francis only partially attained . . 144
Francis obtains the right to levy a tax on the French clergy 145
The Concordat, and Pragmatic sanction . . . 145
Thus the Pope succeeds in dispersing the storm . 146

CHAPTER IV.

THE WAR OF URBINO.—THE CONSPIRACY OF CARDINAL PETRUCCI.—THE GREAT CREATION OF CARDINALS, JULY 1, 1517.

1515 Francesco Maria of Urbino disregards his oath of fealty 147
Does all in his power to stir up the French King against the Pope 147
At Bologna, Francis in vain intercedes for him . 148
His deposition becomes a foregone conclusion . . 148
1516 Alfonsina persuades the Pope to grant the duchy to her son Lorenzo de' Medici 148
Francesco Maria summoned to Rome 149
The accusations raised against him 149
Disobeys the summons, but sends Elisabetta Gonzaga to intercede for him 150

A.D. PAGE

1516 On March 14th deprived by a Papal Bull of his possessions 150
Death of Giuliano de' Medici at Fiesole . . . 150
In him Francesco Maria loses his most powerful intercessor 151
But hopes the French King will take up his cause . 151
Maximilian crosses the Alps, and Francis requests assistance from the Pope 152
The Emperor threatens the Legate with a sweeping reform of the Curia 153
Leo's ambiguous course of action 153
Francis I. in a frame of mind hostile to the Papacy . 154
And the Pope less friendly towards France . . 155
This decides Francis to abandon the Duke of Urbino 155
The entire duchy succumbs to Lorenzo de' Medici . 155
Who is invested with the title 157
Francis endeavours to regain the friendship of the Medici 158
Leo detests French dominion in Italy . . . 158
Francis I. and Charles V. conclude the treaty of Noyon about Naples 159
A Treaty between the Emperor and Henry VIII. sent to the Pope for approbation 160
League of Cambrai between the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain 16
The Pope permits Francis to raise a Crusade-tithe . 162
Francis announces to the Pope the conclusion of the treaty of Noyon 162
And professes his zeal for the Crusade . . . 163
Friction between the Pope and Francis . . . 163
Leo exhorts the Swiss to peace, and sends an extraordinary mission to France 164
1517 Rising in Urbino. The Pope taken by surprise . 165
And believes that France and Venice had a hand in it 166
The Pope in a state of dangerous isolation . . 167
Lorenzo de' Medici leaves Rome to take command of the Papal troops 167
Francesco Maria reoccupies Urbino 168
The Pope's anxiety increased by the Turks, and by the treaty of Cambrai 169
Discovery of Petrucci's plot against the Pope's life . 170
Causes of Petrucci's discontent 171
He bribes the doctor, Battista da Vercelli, to poison the Pope 171
Quits Rome, and with his brother conspires openly . 172
Petrucci's confidant, Nino, arrested and tortured . 173

A.D. PAGE
1517 Cardinals Petrucci and Sauli arrested and imprisoned 174
Excitement caused in Rome by this measure . . 175
Protest by the Spanish representative . . . 175
Other suspected persons arrested 176
The Consistory of May 29th 177
Arrest of Cardinal Riario 178
Who is imprisoned in St. Angelo and makes a full confession 178
At the Consistory of June 8th, Leo complains of the ingratitude of those whom he had loaded with benefits 179
And Castellesi and Soderini confess their complicity, and implore mercy 179
They are pardoned, fined, and flee from Rome . . 180
Lorenzo de' Medici urges severe punishment . . 181
Result of the trial announced at the Consistory of June 18th 181
The judgment passed on Petrucci, Sauli, and Riario . 182
Minutes of the trial read to the Ambassadors then in Rome 183
Execution of Battista da Vercelli and Nino . . 184
The sentence of death against Petrucci carried out at once 185
Opinion of Giovio about these criminal schemes . 187
Black ingratitude of Sauli, on whose behalf, however, many appeals are made 188
As well as for Riario 188
Strict conditions of Riario's pardon 189
Who makes a full public confession to the Pope . 191
Motives that induced the Pope to pardon Riario . 192
Who retires to Naples in 1520 and dies July 7th, 1521 193
Sauli pardoned, but lives a retired life . . . 194
Soderini confined to the Kingdom of Naples until the death of Leo 195
Castellesi refuses the summons to Rome . . . 195
And remains in Venice until the death of the Pope . 196
Leo contemplates a complete renewal of the Sacred College 197
Hostile opinion in Germany and elsewhere as to the punishment of the criminals 197
Leo profits by past occurrences to create a large number of Cardinals 199
Thirty-one Cardinals nominated on July 1st . . 200
Ten new cardinalitial titles created 201
Characters of the new Cardinals, and reasons of their nomination 201

A.D PAGE
1517 Many of them excellent and worthy men . . . 207
Papal authority over that of the Cardinals fully confirmed 207
To the Pope alone belonged the right to summon, prorogue, or dismiss a Council 208
The war in Urbino continues 208
Its enormous expenses 209
The French King secretly supports Francesco Maria 210
Mediation of Spain and France 210
The war comes to an end 210
Full amnesty granted to Francesco Maria, who retires to Mantua 211
Appalling sum of Leo's war expenses . . . 211
Disastrous effects on the States of the Church . . 212

CHAPTER V.

THE POPE'S ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE A CRUSADE, 1517–1518.

1513 Leo honestly bent on promoting a Crusade . . 213
Sends a Legate to preach the Crusade in Hungary . 214
But with no success 215
1515 The Pope appeals to all Christian Princes . . 215
A fleet fitted at Ancona. Venice shows no desire to support the Pope 215
1516 Danger to Hungary, whose king, Ladislas, dies in March 216
The Pope sends Orsini to Hungary 216
And money to the Ban of Croatia 217
Leo often turned aside by other interests . . . 217
In October endeavours again to stir up the zeal of Christian princes 218
High-sounding assurances of Francis I. . . . 218
1517 Mission of von Schönberg to the Emperor . . 219
Bad news from the East. Various plans made . . 219
In the last session of the Lateran Council, the Crusade solemnly proclaimed 220
The Urbino affair interferes with it 220
When peace is restored, the Pope takes it up with decision 221
Wisdom of Leo in turning first of all to Venice . . 221
He sends Averoldo as Legate to the Signoria . . 222
Appoints a Congregation of Cardinals; and three Cardinals to preach the Crusade . . . 222

A.D. PAGE

1517 The six principal questions presented in the memorandum issued by the Conference 223
Estimated amount of war expenses 224
Suggestions as to the raising of men and money . 225
The memorandum communicated by the Pope to the Sovereigns 226
This appeal, an expression of the solidarity of all Christian States against the infidel . . . 227
Leo's great expectations from the King of France . 227
Francis puts off giving an answer 228
The objections he raises 229
Maximilian's jealousy of the French King . . . 229
His suggestions about the undertaking . . . 230
Opinions of King Charles of Spain 230
Want of good will on the part of Venice . . . 230
1518 The Pope determines to send Legates *de latere* to the principal European countries 331
And urges a five years' truce between Christian princes 232
Intercessory processions and preaching of the Crusade take place in Rome 233
Sermon by Sadolet 233
The Pope's endeavours find expression in art . . 234
His efforts shattered by the self-interest of the European powers 235
His greatest disappointment comes from Venice . 235
Who displays the most short-sighted egoism . . 236
And shamelessly betrays the Christian cause . . 236
The Legates set out on their errand 237
Canisio preaches the Crusade in Spain . . . 238
But Henry VIII. and Wolsey refuse to receive either the Bull or Campeggio 239
Who is detained at Boulogne in inactivity . . . 240
Bibbiena in France; his difficulties 240
Lorenzo de' Medici, since his marriage, becomes French in his sympathies, and remains in France 241
The Anglo-French alliance 241
Wolsey's triumph. Campeggio allowed to land on July 29th 242
The Pope greatly displeased with Wolsey's proceedings 243
But ratifies the London agreement 243
Cajetan in Germany; obstacles from Lang . . 244
Maximilian presented with the blessed Hat and Sword 244
Cajetan's discourse to Maximilian . . . 245
Who makes proposals to the States adverse to the Legate 246

A.D. PAGE
1518 Hostile feeling in Germany. Malicious pamphlets . 247
Cajetan's efforts fail before the anti-curial feeling . 248
Decision of the States on the Crusade tax . . . 249
Answer from Rome to the German complaints . . 250
Charles of Spain more sincere in his offers than Francis 251
But the Spanish clergy oppose the tax . . . 252
The matter of the Crusade falls quite into the background 253

CHAPTER VI.

LEO X. AND THE IMPERIAL SUCCESSION.

1518 Attitude of Leo on the question of the Imperial succession 255
His first object the independence of the Holy See . 256
Exaltation of his relatives comes only second . . 256
Motives for his dislike of Charles' election . . 257
Turns his eyes to the Elector of Saxony as a possible candidate 258
Is sincere in wishing for neither Charles nor Francis . 259

(Part I.)

1518 Maximilian's plan to secure Charles' election . . 259
Bibbiena to obtain information as to the position of the French King 260
Question of the investiture of Naples . . . 260
Leo does not wish to cut himself off from a possible arrangement with Charles 261
Idea of the Saxon candidature 262
The Pope keeps up communication with Francis . 262
Cardinal Medici formulates the complaints against Francis 263
These make an impression upon the King . . 264
The question of Maximilian's coronation . . . 264
Leo's attitude to the envoy of Maximilian, Ciolek . 265
The French king now declares himself ready to accede to Lorenzo's wishes, and also to renounce his candidature 266–267
He makes generous offers about the Crusade . . 267
The Pope keeps back the Bull of dispensation in respect to Naples 268

A.D. PAGE
1518 Some of Maximilian's desires granted 268
But not that of the coronation 269
1519 Misuse of the Crusade money 269
Leo concludes an alliance with Francis . . . 270
And also with his rivals! 270
The manner in which the Pope avoids a decision . 271
The excuse for this ambiguous policy . . . 271
Death of Maximilian on January 12th . . . 272

(Part II.)

1519 The death of Maximilian puts an end to Leo's indecision 272
Instructions to Cajetan to oppose the election of Charles 273
And to favour the candidature of one of the Electors 274
The Diet of Augsburg favourable to Charles . . 274
On January 29th Leo strongly inclines to Francis . 275
But did he really wish for the French candidate? . 276
The overwhelming extent of Charles' power . . 277
Difficulty of the Pope's position between the two great powers 278
Less danger from the French in Milan than from the Spaniards at Naples 278
Leo's open partisanship with Francis . . . 279
Refuses request of the Swiss to leave the imperial dignity to the Germans 280
Commits himself by the Brief to Cardinal Cajetan . 280
The electors protest against the Pope's action . . 281
Death of Lorenzo, and birth of his daughter Catherine de' Medici 281
Grief of the Pope. Urbino united to the States of the Church 282–3
Lorenzo's death removes an obstacle to a change in the Papal policy 283
Leo convinced of the futility of holding out in favour of Francis 284
Charles endeavours to win the Pope's favour . . 284
Leo's condition about the union of the Imperial crown with that of Naples 285
Francis withdraws from the contest 286
Charles unanimously elected on June 28th . . 286
Rejoicings of the Spaniards in Rome . . . 288
Charles announces his election to the Pope, and professes his good-will and submission . . . 289
The Pope sends his good wishes to Charles . . 290

CHAPTER VII.

THE OCCASION AND CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.—THE CONTEST ABOUT INDULGENCES.

(PART I.)

A.D.		PAGE
1519	From the promulgation of an unimportant Indulgence a storm springs up	291
	Want of agreement in the opinions formed of Luther	291
	Glaring contrasts among the clergy at the close of the Middle Ages	292
	The enormous riches of the Church in Germany	293
	The misuse of such incomes	293
	Monopoly of cathedral benefices by the nobility	294
	The book *Onus Ecclesiæ*	294
	Episcopal sees monopolized by the princes	297
	Poverty of the lower clergy	298
	Multitude of religious foundations for masses, a testimony to the piety of the Middle Ages	298
	Absence of true vocations; immorality of the clergy	299
	Many good Bishops fought continually against these scandals	300
	The love of money in all grades of the clergy	301
	Plurality of benefices; facility with which the Popes granted dispensations for this	301
	Benefice-hunters flock into Italy	301
	Number of uneducated clergy	302
	Condition and number of religious houses	303
	Four great sources of their reform	303
	Varying results of the monastic reform	304
	Rich abbeys "hospitals for nobles"	305
	Bad repute of houses of religious women	305
	Quarrels between clergy and laity	306
	Expressed in revolutionary writings of the 15th century	306
	The greatest danger to the Papacy lay in the discontent of the clergy	307
	The distinction between the currents of opposition to Rome in Germany	307
	Langenstein's work, the "Council of Peace," and that by Döring, "Confutatio Primatus Papae"	308
	The anti-Papal movement in Germany under the Pontificates of Callixtus III. and Pius II.	309
	Bad effect of the secularization of the Roman Curia	310
	Bitter hatred of Italians by the Germans	311
	But this antipathy had no dogmatic tendency	311

A.D.		PAGE
1519	Decay of the Empire	311
	The long reign of Frederick III. especially injurious	312
	Taxation promoted by the Roman Jurists	313
	The Princes aspire to dominion in the spiritual domain	313
	Erasmus and the humanism of Germany	315
1512	The protest of Johannes Cochläus	316
	Wild extravagances of the younger humanists	317
	The morally-depraved Ulrich von Hutten	318
	Dispute between Reuchlin and the theologians of Cologne	319
1509	The affair of the scandalous books of the Jews	320
1511	Quarrel between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn	320
1513	Examination and verdicts on Reuchlin's "Augenspiegel"	321
1514	Adrian of Utrecht and others appeal to the Pope to act promptly	322
	The Archduke Charles and Francis I. also warn the Pope, and beg him to decide	323
1515–17	The "Epistolae obscurorum virorum" appear	324
1520	At last Leo X. condemns Reuchlin's book	325
	But this decision is too late	325

(Part II.)

1520	The abundance of inflammable material	325
	Discontent with the Curia's system of taxation	326
	Complaints of new indulgences being published without the consent of the Bishops	327
	The Crusade-tithe a grievance	327
	No account taken at the Papal Court of this dissatisfaction	328
	No heed paid to Aleander's warning	328
1513	Leo X. revokes all the indulgences granted by Julius II. except that for the new St. Peter's	329
1514	Extension of this St Peter's Indulgence	329
	Accumulation of bishoprics by Albert of Brandenburg	330
	He obtains confirmation for this by a large money payment	331
	And is entrusted with the proclamation of the Indulgence over a large district	331
	The term of simony applied to this case not quite borne out by facts	332
	It was the last stone which set the avalanche in motion	333
	The doctrine of Indulgences	334
	Their different kinds and application	335

A.D. PAGE
1514 Conditions required for gaining them 336
The preaching of Indulgences 336
Good results from this 337
The evil crept in from the money-offering for good works 338
This abuse dates to a great extent from the time of the Schism 338
Abuses connected with the Jubilee Indulgence in the year 1390 339
Crusading difficulties and other embarrassments lead to an increase of the abuse 340
Complaints of men like Johann Eck who were devoted to the Holy See 341
1516 Cardinal Ximenes and others disapprove of the St. Peter's Indulgence 342
Opinions of Canisio and Sadolet 343
Unfortunately Leo, always in want of money, pays no attention 343
1515 Albert of Brandenburg entrusted with proclaiming the Indulgence of Mayence and Magdeburg . 344
The amount of money this realized is a manifest fable 345
Tetzel made the Archbishop's sub-commissary . . 346
Martin Luther begins to busy himself about the Indulgence 347
Tetzel's sermons absurdly distorted 347
He always taught the true doctrine 348
The mere granting of a "confessional" letter does not gain an indulgence 349
Extravagances in connection with indulgences for the dead condemned by Roman theologians . 349
Many preachers are imprudent 350
1517 On 31st October Luther affixes his ninety-five Theses on the church door at Wittenberg 351
The primary object of this attack 351
At that time Luther has no thought of separating himself from the Church 352
The Archbishop of Mayence sends Luther's Theses to the Pope, with the opinion of his counsellors . 353
The Mayence Professors refuse to pass a judgment, but recommend an appeal to the Pope . . 354
1518 The Anti-theses of Tetzel, burned by the Wittenberg students 355
Luther's sermon on Indulgences 355
Tetzel publishes his "Vorlegung" against the sermon 356
And a further set of fifty Theses on the authority of the Church 357

A.D. PAGE
1518 Luther replies to these. Tetzel wrote no more . . 358
Luther's Theses scattered broadcast throughout Germany produce great effect 359
They gain him a large following 359
Most of whom thought Luther would carry on the reformation in obedience to the Church's laws . 360
A few only saw the real danger 360

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER IS SUMMONED TO ROME. — HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH CARDINAL CAJETAN AND WITH MILTITZ.—HIS ROMAN TRIAL.—THE BULL "EXSURGE." — ALEANDER'S MISSION, AND THE IMPERIAL EDICT AGAINST LUTHER.

(PART I.)

1518 Leo directs the Vicar-General of the Augustinians to remonstrate with Luther 361
Who makes a determined resistance 362
Refuses to retract. Preaches a sermon on the power of excommunication 362
The canonical process instituted in Rome . . . 363
Prierias appointed theological examiner of the case . 363
His "Dialogus," its form and object 364
In July, Luther summoned to appear in Rome within sixty days 366
In two days Luther writes a reply to the "Dialogus" 366
And appeals for defence to the Elector of Saxony . 367
The Emperor's letter to the Pope 368
Cajetan directed to call Luther before him . . 368
In case of disobedience, to arrest Luther and send him to Rome, and declare his followers heretics 369
The Pope requests the Elector of Saxony to co-operate 370
The Elector refuses to deliver up Luther . . . 371
Cajetan given the power of examining and deciding Luther's case 372
Luther appears before the Legate, who receives him in a friendly manner 372
His second interview with Cajetan 373
Who declines to be drawn into an argument . . 374
Luther writes an apparently respectful letter to Cajetan, but still refuses to retract 375

A.D. PAGE

1518 Appeals from a Pope badly informed to one better informed 376
Flies from Augsburg. His manifesto affixed to the door of the cathedral 376
Contents of Luther's manifesto 377
The Elector again refuses the Legate's request . . 378
Luther issues another appeal, and a printed report of his interviews with Cajetan 378
The Pope sends a Constitution on Indulgences to Cardinal Cajetan 379
Who has copies of it spread throughout Germany . 380
1519 The character and mission of Miltitz 381
Who acts without authority 382
Luther's letter to the Pope, of March 3rd . . . 383
The glaring falseness of its contents 383
Luther moving with more and more certainty on the road of open apostasy 384
The Imperial election causes the Luther affair to fall into the background 385
The anti-Papal agitation increases, and Rome does nothing! 386
Cardinal de' Medici and Eck urge the Pope not to delay any longer 386
1520 The Pope appoints a Commission to deal with the matter 387
And a second Commission of theologians . . . 387
Luther, since his alliance with the humanists, declares his complete secession 388
Hutten's character and works 388
His influence upon Luther for evil 389
Luther publishes a work to the German nation . . 390
The violence of its language and proposals . . 391
Its far-reaching effects 392
Advocates religious war and persecution against the Church 393
Drafting of the Bull "Exsurge" 394
Submitted to the Sacred College at four consistories 395
The Elector of Saxony requested to compel Luther to recant 396
Long sittings of the consistories 397
The rumour that other princes besides the Elector of Saxony side with Luther 398
"The gravest of Luther's offences" . . . 399
The Bull published. Its solemn prelude . . 400
And condemnation of Luther's person and writings 401

(Part II.)

A.D.		PAGE
1520	Publication of the Bull "Exsurge" in Germany, entrusted to Alexander and Eck	404
	The appointment of Eck considered unfortunate	406
	Six of Luther's followers named in the deed of publication	407
	Three of them request absolution	408
	Opposition to the Bull in many places	409
	Many of the Bishops make difficulties about its publication	410
	Supine behaviour of Cardinal Lang	412
	And of the Catholic dukes of Bavaria	412
	Luther takes a more violent line against the Pope	413
	And publishes another pamphlet	414
	Burns the Papal Bull, together with the books of Canon Law, etc.	415
1521	On January 3rd excommunication pronounced on Luther and his followers	415
	Pirkheimer and Spengler ask for absolution	416
	Hutten publishes a pamphlet against the Bull	416
	And openly incites the people to revolt	417

(Part III.)

1520	Purport of the instructions to Aleander	419
	The Pope admonishes the Nuncios to work in harmony	420
	The Papal Bull put into execution in the Netherlands	420
	The Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves show readiness to obey the Pope	421
	Aleander deceived as to the real opinions of Frederick of Saxony	421
	Project of submitting the case to arbitration	422
	Schemes of Erasmus; his hostility to Aleander	423
	Fatal delusion of the Nuncio	423
	Aleander arrives at Worms on November the 30th	424
	And places all his hopes in the Emperor	425
	Upon whose mind Aleander's arguments produce an effect	426
1521	The Council of State issue a mandate against Luther	426
	Aleander describes all Germany to be in a state of religious sedition	427
	A Papal Brief requests the Emperor to secure the execution of the Pope's sentence	428

A.D. PAGE

1521 Opening of the Diet at Worms, and speech of Aleander 429
Action of the Catholic duke, George of Saxony . . 430
Draft of an edict proposed to the Diet . . . 431
Which is rejected, and a safe-conduct given to Luther 432
Threatening letters from Hutten to the Emperor and the Nuncios 432
Luther arrives at Worms on 16th of April, and boldly defends his writings 433
Charles declares his readiness to lay down his life and crown for the maintenance of the Faith . 434
Cowardice of the Archbishop of Mayence . . . 435
Charles compels Luther to leave Worms on the 26th of April 435
Aleander draws up an imperial edict, which Charles refuses to sign before it had been made known to the States 436
The edict passes the Diet, and is signed by Charles on May the 12th 437
Terms of the Edict of Worms 438
Energy and zeal of Aleander 439
His unceasing warnings to the Curia to redress abuses 441

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Stazio Gadio to the Marchioness of Mantua	446
II.	Pope Leo X. to the citizens of Bologna	446
III.	Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua	447
IV.	Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua	448
V.	" " "	449
VI.	Paris de Grassis, about the first creation of Cardinals by Leo X.	450
VII.	Paris de Grassis, about the entry of Cardinal Lang into the Consistory of December 9th, 1513	450
VIII.	Paris de Grassis, about the Imperial "Obedientia" on December 11th, 1513	451
IX.	Paris de Grassis, about the arrival of Bonnivet at Viterbo on November 2nd, 1515	451
X.	The Consistory at Viterbo on November 5th, 1515	452
XI.	Leo X. threatens Francesco Maria della Rovere with excommunication	452
XII.	Pope Leo X. to Roberto Latino Orsini	454
XIII.	Agostino Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua	456
XIV.	Pope Leo X. to the Cardinals about the Crusade	457
XV.	" on the Crusade	458
XVI.	" to King Francis I.	458
XVII.	" to Prospero Colonna	459
XVIII.	Alessandro Gabbioneta to Tolomeo Spagnolo	459
XIX.	The Consistory of April 20th, 1517	459
XX.	" of May 19th, 1517	460
XXI.	Ercole de Corte to the Marquis of Mantua	460
XXII.	The Consistory of May 29th, 1517	462
XXIII.	" of June 5th, 1517	462
XXIV.	" of June 8th, 1517	463

PAGE

XXV. Paris de Grassis, on the Consistory of June 8th, 1517 463
XXVI. Beltrando Costabili to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara 464
XXVII. ,, ,, ,, 465
XXVIII. The Consistory of June 26th, 1517 . . . 466
XXIX. Paris de Grassis, about the negotiations of June 26th, 1517, relating to the creation of Cardinals 466
XXX. Paris de Grassis, about the creation of Cardinals on July 1st, 1517 467
XXXI. ,, ,, ,, 467
XXXII. The Consistory of July 1st, 1517 . . . 469
XXXIII. Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Egidio Canisio . . 469
XXXIV. The Consistory of July 10th, 1517 . . . 470
XXXV. ,, of July 24th, 1517 . . . 470
XXXVI. The pardon of Raffaello Riario . . . 470
XXXVII. ,, ,, 470
XXXVIII. Pope Leo X. restores Raffaello Riario to his dignities 488
XXXIX. Paris de Grassis, about Cardinal Riario . . 490
XL. ,, about the intercessory processions for the Crusade 492
XLI. Leo X. to the Grand Duke Vasili of Moscow . 493
XLII. ,, to the Prince of Tartary . . . 494
XXXIII. ,, to Cardinal Raffaello Riario . . 495
XLIV. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua 496

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

JULIUS II., the most powerful of the Popes of the Renaissance, had given the Holy See a firm and substantial basis by his re-establishment of the States of the Church. At the same time, by his generous patronage of art, he had given a prominence, hitherto unequalled, to the great position held by his predecessors in the field of culture. When he convened the Council of the Lateran, the patron of Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo was on the verge of grappling with the greatest and most difficult task of the age—namely, the reformation of the Church—when death snatched him away.

The successor of the Rovere Pope was a member of the house of Medici, who represented, as it has been the lot of few to do, both the good and bad side of the Renaissance. True child of his people and of his age, Leo X. was a rare mixture of glorious and inglorious qualities. A thorough Medici and a typical Florentine, he was a clever, not over-scrupulous, and indefatigably active politician. At the same time he was an open-handed and appreciative admirer of learning, art, and music. Nevertheless he lacked the courage, greatness, and depth of his predecessor.

For over a century, a cry for the reform of both the Head and members of the Church had resounded from all parts of Europe. Some of the attempts to effect this reform were actuated by no pure motives, while others were made in an unlawful manner; but there is no doubt that many

excellent men, moved by the best intentions, did concern themselves, in a lawful manner, with the reformation of abuses in ecclesiastical life and in the government of the Church; though what was accomplished remained far behind both the expectations formed and the necessities of the time. Many pious, enlightened, and wise men, religious as well as laymen, rose up in response to the call, and tried to apply a remedy to the evils of the day. Many hands were laid to the difficult task, though no decisive results were obtained; for even the best-intentioned efforts made but slight impression on the general deterioration of ecclesiastical discipline. The task was made the more difficult by the bad example of those belonging to the Roman Curia, which worked against the reformers.

With the dawn of the new century the cry for reform sounded louder and louder from both sides of the Alps, taking the shape of treatises, letters, poems, satires, and predictions, the theme of which was the corruption of the clergy, and especially the worldliness of the Roman Curia. To many the ancient Church seemed to be as rotten as the Holy Roman-Teutonic Empire; and many foretold the downfall of both these buttresses of the mediæval system.* The signs of the times became more and more threatening. To observant spectators it seemed as if, with the advent to power of the Medici, a heavy storm must break over the Church.

That a man who was not equal to the serious duties of his high office, who, in fact, knew scarcely anything about them, should be raised to the Chair of St. Peter at a moment so fraught with danger, was a severe trial permitted by God to overtake Christendom. With unprecedented optimism Leo X. looked into the future without anxiety,

* *Cf.* ROHR: Die Prophetie im letzen Jahrhundert vor der Reformation, in the Histor. Jahrb., XIX., 447 *seq.* [547 *seq.*].

and frivolously deluded himself as to the importance of the times. He never gave a thought to reform, on the grand scale which had become necessary. After the delusive results which followed the conclusion of the agreement with France, he gave himself over to a growing feeling of security in respect to the countries on the other side of the Alps.

The Pope disregarded even the most serious warnings, such as those uttered by Aleander in respect to Germany in 1516.* He did not co-operate in the half-measures taken, nor in the superficial attempts made to carry out the salutary decrees of the Lateran Council. Therefore the Roman Curia, which had for a long time been held in contempt and made the object of the bitterest satires, remained as worldly as ever. While by many it was scorned for its love of money, equal condemnation fell on the unworthy, immoral conduct of the Roman courtiers, of high and low degree, which the Supreme Head of the Church was either unable or unwilling to check. Political transactions, especially those which concerned the maintenance of the States of the Church, with which the independence of the Holy See was so closely connected, absorbed Leo X. more and more. Consequently, though most unnaturally, the concerns of the Church fell into the background, and were usually made subordinate to politics.

The approach of great catastrophes is usually heralded by the dark foreshadowing of future events. At that calamitous time prophetic utterances increased, and notes of solemn warning sounded from all quarters. Shortly before the close of the Lateran Council, the noble Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, in the presence of the Pope and the ecclesiastical assembly, delivered a famous oration relating

* Aleander mentions this in his letter of Feb. 27, 1521. See BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 31, p. 74.

to the reformation of morals in the Church.* Nothing can reveal the necessity of reform in a more startling way than the wretched picture drawn so unflinchingly by this distinguished layman. We have heard a great deal about the making of laws, said he, in apology for his interference, but very little about their observance. Yet nothing could be more urgent. To prove this he described, by the aid of rhetorical antitheses, a picture, painted in the darkest colours, of the corruption which had made its way into the Church. He emphatically pointed out to the Pope that it was his strict duty to remove the crying abuses in ecclesiastical government. In conclusion, he added these words of warning: "If Leo leaves crime any longer unpunished, if he refuses to heal the wounds, it is to be feared that God Himself will no longer apply a slow remedy, but will cut off and destroy the diseased members with fire and sword."

In that very year this oracular prediction was fulfilled.

The most momentous event in modern history, the disruption of the Church in Western Christendom—anticipated and dreaded by many—took place. It was a judgment on all, but not least on the Head of the Church, who was absorbed in politics and worldly pleasures. A canon of Siena, Sigismondo Tizio, who was devoted to the Holy See, writes thus about the Pope: "Many were of opinion that it was bad for the Church that her Head should be absorbed in amusements, music, the chase, and buffoonery, instead of being occupied by the thought of the needs of his

* Ad Leonem X., P. M. et Concil. Lateran., I., Fr. Pici Mirandulae domini de reformandis moribus oratio. Early in 1517 there were handed over to the Pope (see Pico's letter to Pirkheimer, Freytag, Vir. doct. epist. ad Pirkheymerum, Leipzig, 1831, 8; *cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 723, n. 1) various MSS. (*e.g.* Cod. X., VI., 22, n. 58 of the Casanatense Library, Rome), printed in 1520, at Hagenau, and frequently later, also by ROSCOE-BOSSI, VIII., 105 *seq.*

flock, and in bewailing its misfortunes. The salt of the earth has lost its savour, and nothing remains for it but to be cast out and trodden on by men." *

The danger of the anti-Papal movement which had broken out in Germany did not escape Leo X., but, absorbed as he was in politics and immersed in the excitements of a worldly life and æsthetic enjoyment, he completely lost sight of his primary duty, and was essentially the wrong man to check the storm at its beginning. He neither realized the full importance of the situation, nor did he understand the deeper causes which had led to the secession from Rome. He was incapable of comprehending that nothing short of a radical reformation in the Head and members of the Church could arrest the movement which had been in preparation for so long. Thus, at this, the most severe crisis which had met her in her fifteen hundred years of history, the right ruler was wanting to the Church. Instead of the Medici Pope, the Church needed a Gregory VII.

Leo's successor, the noble Adrian VI., the last Pope of Teutonic race, grasped at once the one thing needful, which had been left undone by his predecessor. The pontificate of this distinguished man, though all too short, was rich in decrees for a thorough and trenchant disciplinary reform which covered nearly the whole area of ecclesiastical life. Unfortunately, however, the dry, sober-minded Dutch professor did not in the least understand the Italian temperament, so unlike his own; nor did the

* Male igitur cum ecclesia esse actum multi arbitrabantur, cum ecclesiae caput cantilenis, musicis, venationibus et delusionibus vacet hominum dementium, cum sapere virum oporteret et suarum ovium calamitatibus miserescere et illacrymari. Sal igitur infirmatum est nec restat aliquid ulterius nisi ut foras mittatur et ab hominibus conculcetur. TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37 f., 325. Chigi Library, Rome.

Italians understand him. To the end he remained a foreigner on Roman soil. While in his immediate surroundings he called forth the strongest national antipathy, his trenchant reforms raised up many enemies. His death was, therefore, hailed by the Romans as a happy event.

Though, notwithstanding his good intentions, his clear powers of perception, and honest endeavours, Adrian VI. did not succeed during his eighteen months' pontificate in remedying the evils which were the accumulation of a century and a half, still he has the merit of being the first Pope who had the courage to place his finger on the wound, and indicate what had to be done in the future.

Another Medici followed him. Seldom have high expectations been so cruelly disappointed as they were in Clement VII. In spite of his many good qualities, his temperance, his abstemiousness and piety, and his patronage of literature and art, his pontificate was one of the most disastrous known to history. The chief cause of this is to be found in the inconceivable irresolution and pusillanimity of the Pontiff, who lost courage at once, and let the helm fall from his grasp. It needed the royal spirit, the bold determination, the mighty strength of a Julius II. to look consequences in the face, take the lead in Italy's fight for freedom, and wrest the Papacy from the dominion of Spain. It was obvious therefore that a small-minded, pusillanimous calculator, such as Clement VII., must fail. "This man," says Guicciardini, "was raised to the Papal See by a wondrous stroke of fortune. But when he reached the summit, the misfortunes which attended him greatly outweighed his good fortune. For what prosperity can be put in the balance against the ignominy of his captivity, the misery of the sack of Rome, or the evil fate of bringing about the ruin of his native city?" *

* GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2.

The Florentine historian does not mention what was the greatest misfortune of all. While Clement VII. was so unhappy in his attempts to procure the freedom of Italy and the Holy See, as to end by sealing their dependence on Spain, the defection from Rome in the north assumed terrific proportions. When Clement died, nearly one-third of Europe had broken from the time-hallowed unity of the Catholic faith, which till then, in spite of political and national disturbances, had held all Christian people together.

The religious unity of the Western Church was rent; the great, the blessed, the civilizing influence of Rome was destroyed in a considerable portion of Europe; the common defence against the arch-enemy of Christianity was broken, and Christian civilization was rent asunder.

Neither of the Medici Popes had fulfilled his duty as regarded the great secession from Rome; for that duty consisted above all things in the concentration of their energies on the work of ecclesiastical reform, with a total disregard for every consideration, whether worldly or national. Both these Popes were but too often unfaithful to their charge by subordinating their pastoral duty to politics, power, and love of possession. Both ignored what lay at the very root of the evil, and mistook throughout the only means to be taken for its removal.

In vain did the cry for help and salvation from ruin resound; and one after another the hopes of better things were shattered. Pain and sorrow filled the souls of the noblest, who sadly asked themselves why it was that Divine Providence permitted the Church to fall into such confusion. But together with this grief over the evilness of the times and the disorders with which a worldly spirit had saturated the Church, there was mingled an angry indignation with the chief pastors who responded so badly

to their great vocation. To many it seemed as if all were already lost.

Then help came. As in the days of Gregory VII., so now again salvation came from within the Church. She might be disfigured by hideous evils; she might be oppressed and trodden under foot by her enemies; but it was now proved that the divine spark of life within her was not extinct.

Nearly the whole of the north, and a great part of central Europe, had broken the bonds of reverence and authority which had for so long united them to the Holy See, and had taken up with a new religion. But in the south there were raised up men who, imbued with the Divine Spirit, holding fast to the treasure of the ancient faith, and obedient to the lawful authority of the Church, worked with ardent zeal and untiring energy for their own sanctification as well as for a general and fundamental renewal and reformation of the life of the Church. Egidio Canisio of Viterbo, when speaking before the Lateran Council, had simply and succinctly summed up the theory of true Catholic reformation. "Men must be changed by religion," said he, "and not religion by men." *

As in the 11th century the Cluniacs, in the 12th the Cistercians, and in the 13th the Franciscans and Dominicans had been raised up to be true reformers, and had stirred up and developed a devoted activity, so now did the noblest among men combine to work for the purification and renovation of the Church. Before the end of the pontificate of Leo X., the Oratory of Divine Love had been formed in Rome. This community grew under Clement VII., and the sack of Rome by the Imperial troops was the cause of its spread over a great part of Italy. The horrible catastrophe which overtook the

* HARDOUIN, IX., 1576

capital of Christendom terminated the Renaissance. Contemporaries justly regarded it as a divine judgment, and for many it was the occasion of conversion and amendment of life. New Orders sprang into being under the two Medici Popes which corresponded to the needs of the time, and achieved most practical ends. Such were the Theatines, the Capuchins, the Clerks Regular of Somascha, the Barnabites, and, lastly, the most important instrument of all for the Catholic reformation and restoration, the Society of Jesus.

Saints, apostles and heroes sprang up, and by their mode of life introduced a new era for the regeneration of the Church, and solved the problem, already a century old, of ecclesiastical reform. Like most things that are really great, the reformation of the 16th Century grew out of small, hidden beginnings. It grew silently at the foot of the Curia, till at length it embraced those who bore the dignity of the Papacy. Having accomplished this, it made its way triumphantly in ever-widening circles, winning back a part of that which had been lost, and purifying and ennobling that which had remained faithful.

LEO X. 1513-1521.

Book I.

CHAPTER I.

Election and Beginning of the Pontificate of Leo X.—His Efforts to make Peace.—End of the Schism of Pisa.

A GREAT pontificate had come to an end. Those Cardinals who attended the Conclave as possible candidates for the Papacy, must have asked themselves whether there were any one among them who could worthily fill the place of one whose rule had been as imposing as that of Julius II. Yet the number of claimants for the supreme dignity was unusually large. Ten, or, according to other accounts, eleven or even twelve Cardinals were eager competitors for the vacancy.*

At the time of the death of Julius II., the Sacred College consisted of thirty-one members in all,† of whom twenty at the most were then present in Rome. Five of those absent arrived in time, so that twenty-five Cardinals took part in the Papal election. Of these, nineteen were Italians (Riario, Grimani, Soderini, Vigerio, Fieschi, Adriano Castellesi, Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, Carretto da Finale, Sisto Gara della Rovere, Ciocchi del Monte, Accolti, Achille de Grassis, Sauli, Medici, Luigi d'Aragona,

* Besides SANUTO, XVI., 16, 38, *cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Gonzaga of March 11, 1513 (see Appendix, No. 3), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; and S. TIZIO, *Historiae Senensis in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 229, Chigi Library, Rome.

† See the Register in SANUTO, XVI., 30, which is better than that in CIACONIUS, III., 309 *seq.* REUMONT (III., 2, 49) and others are wrong in putting the Cardinals at thirty-three in number.

Cornaro, Farnese, Sigismondo Gonzaga, and Petrucci). Two were Spaniards (Remolino and Serra). To these were added the Frenchman Robert Challand, the German-Swiss Schinner, the Hungarian Bakócz, and the Englishman Bainbridge. One Cardinal, Raffaello Riario, owed his elevation to Sixtus IV., and another, Giovanni de' Medici, owed his to Innocent VIII.; while of the remainder, ten had been raised to the purple by Alexander VI., and thirteen by Julius II.

Discussions as to the Papal election had begun during the lifetime of Julius II. It was the common opinion that Raffaello Riario, Bakócz, and Grimani, notable for their riches and influence, and after them Fieschi, had the best chance of attaining to the supreme dignity;* but this would be the case only if such unlawful means as bribery by money or by the gift of benefices were resorted to.† Fortunately, this had been put out of the question by the severe Bull which Julius II. had issued on the subject. No one, writes Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga,‡ dared to act contrary to this Bull. The Romans, who considered the election of Grimani or of Bakócz as a foregone conclusion, found themselves entirely mistaken. The Venetian Ambassador, who naturally was interested in the claims of his beloved fellow-countryman Grimani, declared emphatically that a simoniacal election was out of the question, and that therefore the wealthy Cardinals were not likely to attain their object. If, continues the Ambassador, an irreproachable life is to give the preference,

* SANUTO, XV., 554; *cf.* 572; XVI., 6. NITTI, 5, n. I. FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 88 *seq.*, and Bakócz, 130 *seqq.*

† SANUTO, XVI., 16.

‡ *Letter of the 11th March, 1513 (Appendix, No. 3), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

then, after Grimani, either Medici or Carretto da Finale must be taken into account.*

The election of Grimani, of which the Venetians entertained great hopes, was rendered impossible by the opposition with which his candidature was met by the Emperor Maximilian's representative, Count Carpi, as well as the Spanish Ambassador, Hieronymus de Vich. The favourite candidate of Spain was Raffaello Riario, while Maximilian steadfastly adhered to Adriano Castellesi.† But the Sacred College was not inclined to consult the wishes of either of these princes, though they were fully agreed with them on the one point, that the Cardinals deposed by Julius II. should not be allowed to take part in the Conclave.

Carvajal, the leader of the schismatic Cardinals, vainly applied to Maximilian to intercede with the Sacred College for him and his companions. Every prospect of their being admitted to the Papal election vanished in the face of the military precautions taken by the Spanish Government both by sea and land. Even the attempt made by France to stir up sedition in Rome through the Orsini, and thus obstruct the election, failed.‡

Apart from petty disturbances, the days of the vacancy of the Holy See, usually so stormy, passed by peacefully. A newsmonger of the time writes that never in the memory of man had a like quiet prevailed during any Conclave. This was partly owing to the effects of the strong rule of Julius II., and partly to the precautions taken by the Cardinals, and the promises they had made to

* SANUTO, XVI., 20; *cf.* 19.

† Report of Carpi in Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 75; SANUTO, XVI., 24, 29, 30, 38; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 484, 493; GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 27.

‡ ZURITA, X., 57, 58; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen. 137 *seq.*

the Romans.* Even the States of the Church remained for the most part at peace, though Giampaolo Baglioni succeeded once more in taking possession of Perugia.†

The Conclave was held on the second floor of the Palace of the Vatican, made for ever famous by Raphael's frescoes. The oath was administered to the custodians in the chapel of Nicholas V., and the business of the Conclave was carried on in the Sistine Chapel.‡ Here there were erected for all the Cardinals, even those who were absent, with the exception of course of the schismatics, thirty-one cells, so small and dark that one of the Ambassadors likened them to the cells of a prison or hospital.§ These rooms were apportioned by lot, with the exception of those allotted to the three sick Cardinals, Sisto Gara della Rovere, Soderini, and Medici, for whom better apartments were set aside. The cell of Soderini was near the Cantoria, while those of both the others were near the door leading into the sacristy. Sisto Gara della Rovere was so ill that he had to be carried into the Conclave; and Cardinal de' Medici, who had arrived with all haste from Florence, suffering from a fistula, had to use a sedan-chair. Each Cardinal had with him several conclavists, besides whom there were two Secretaries to the Conclave, who were admitted inside. The key of the Conclave, at which there were present seventy-five persons exclusive of the Cardinals, were kept by the two Masters of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis and Blasius de Martinellis.

* SANUTO, XVI., 14, 15, 29, 38. *Letter of Stazio Gadio, March 3, 1513 (see Appendix, No. 1), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. About the tranquillity of the Colonna, see (PASSARINI) Memorie di Silvestro Aldobrandini, Roma, 1878, 219 *seq.*

† GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4.

‡ For what follows see Paris de Grassis in GATTICUS, 310 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, XVI., 30.

The Mass of the Holy Ghost, before the opening of the Conclave, was said by Cardinal Bakócz, on the morning of the 4th of March. It could not on this occasion be celebrated at the tomb of the Princes of the Apostles, owing to the rebuilding of St. Peter's, which was in progress. It was said instead in the chapel of St. Andrew. The usual opening discourse was delivered by Bishop Petrus Flores. In stringent language this Spaniard exhorted the Conclave to elect as Pope a man who would bring peace to Italy, protect Christendom against the Turks, carry on the reform of ecclesiastical matters, and be able generally to cope with the difficulties of the situation. The speaker laid especial stress on the Bull of Julius II., which had been directed against simony, as on a sacred law. This over, the Cardinals entered into Conclave. Adriano Castellesi arrived only on the evening of that day, bringing the number of electors up to twenty-five.*

The arbitrariness and powerful will of Julius II. were so fresh in the memory of all the Cardinals, that their first action was to draw up an election capitulation, which was sworn to by all the Cardinals on the 9th of March. This consisted of public and secret articles. The former concerned the war against the Turks, as well as the revenues to be applied to it, more especially the exemption from taxation of the Cardinals; the reformation of the Roman Curia both in its Head and members; the immediate carrying out of the measures introduced in respect of this

* Paris de Grassis in CREIGHTON, IV., 275. GATTICUS, 311. P. FLORES, Oratio habita Romae in basilica princ. apost. ad s. collegium cardinalium de summo pontifice eligendo Iulii II. successore. Roman contemporary and original edition. Panzer cites only one Strasburg copy. The late arrival of Adriano (SANUTO, XVI., 29) explains GUICCIARDINI'S statement (XI., 4) that twenty-four Cardinals went into Conclave.

by Julius II., as well as regulations regarding the residence of the Curia in Rome. It was emphatically laid down in these articles that at least two-thirds of the Sacred College must be agreed as to any proceedings taken against any of its members, as to the nomination of new Cardinals, and Legates *de latere*, as to the conferring of a variety of ecclesiastical offices, and finally, as to the government of the States of the Church, from which the laity were almost entirely excluded. To show the importance of the Council of the Lateran in the matter of the reformation of the Church, as well as in that of the war against the Turks, a special decree bound the future Pope to continue and close it. But it could be neither dissolved nor suspended before it had discharged these duties, without the consent of the majority of the Sacred College.

The secret articles of the capitulation related chiefly to the privileges of the Cardinals. Among other things it was laid down that any Cardinal who did not possess an income of 6000 ducats should receive a monthly allowance of 200 ducats, that no one should be appointed Legate against his will, and that all the benefices attached to St. Peter's and St. John Lateran should be conferred on Roman citizens only. Finally, the Pope elected should consent to the division among individual Cardinals of all offices, towns, castles, and jurisdiction belonging to the States of the Church.*

As has been truly remarked, there is a peculiar irony in

* Paris de Grassis has given the election capitulation in his Diarium; there is a not quite trustworthy copy in HOFLER: Zur Kritik der ersten Regierungsjahre Karls V., II., 63 *seq.* SANUTO, XVI., 84 *seqq.*, and TIZIO in his *Historiae Senensis (Cod. G., II., 37, f. 230 *seq.*, Chigi Library, Rome) adduces the document which was printed soon after: Ista sunt capitula || facta in conclavi, que debent || observari cum summo pontifice: 1513 (4 sheets in folio), State Archives, Vienna, *Romana.* At the same time there appeared a German translation: Diss sein die Capitel nach absterben bapst Julii durch die Cardinel in Conclavi besch-

the fact that just at the time when complaints were being made against Papal absolutism, the new Head of the Church should have had his hands thus tied in the most important matters.* Even the Imperial Ambassador declared that the newly-elected Pontiff would be only half a Pope if he observed this capitulation, to do which, however, he added, no one could force him, seeing that he received unlimited power from God.† In fact, the laying down of conditions was so overdone that they could not be carried out. As they were uncanonical, the Cardinals were bound before long to consent to their abolition.‡

The Bull of Julius II. against simony having been read on the 10th of March, a scrutiny could be delayed no longer. It could be seen by its result that no issue had been staked, for the electors had sought to conceal their own real object for the sake of finding out that of their opponents. The Spaniard Serra, who stood in no high repute, received most (fourteen) votes; but no one thought seriously of the elevation to the Papal See of this fellow-countryman of Alexander VI. Next to Serra came Leonardo Grosso della Rovere with eight, Accolti and Bakócz each with seven, Fieschi and Finale each with six votes, while Grimani received only two, and Raffaello Riario none at all.§ Among those who received only one vote at this scrutiny was Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. Yet, on the evening of the same day, his election as Pope was almost a certainty. Medici's

lossen und abgeredt, so mit künfftiger bebstlicher hailikeit sollen gehalten werden: 3 sheets in 4to, *s.l.*, 1513.

* HÖFLER, *loc. cit.*, 60.

† Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 79. See also GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4. *Cf.* Propyl. ad Acta S.S. Maii, I., 149*–150*, and SANUTO, XVI., 133, 153. For the right side of the question see Vol. I. of this work, 282 *seq.*

§ About this scrutiny see the ** Report of Paris de Grassis (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

supporters watched through the whole night to prevent a possible counter-movement. Early on the 11th of March the votes were taken again in due order, with the result that the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent was declared to have been elected Pope.

The event was contrary to the expectations of most of those concerned. As to the immediate circumstances, we possess the accounts of the Imperial, Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors, as well as a letter of Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga, all of which agree in essentials.* We can gather from these that outside influences told but little on the result of the election, which was due rather to the division of the Sacred College into the old and the young Cardinals, and the astute measures by which the latter turned the scale. With great skill the supporters of Medici had kept his candidature secret until the right moment. This explains why, in the first scrutiny, Medici received only the one vote of Cardinal Schinner. The chief objection to his elevation to the Papacy lay in his extreme youth. But here he was helped by the circumstance that even while the Conclave was sitting, he had to go through an operation for the fistula from which he was suffering. This seemed to exclude all likelihood of his reaching an advanced age.†

But what commended Medici most to the electors was the brilliant name of his family, the prominent position

* Letter of the Imperial Ambassador Carpi in Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 72 *seq.* The Venetian account in SANUTO, XVI., 19, 28, 38–40; the Florentine in PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 490 *seq.* The * Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga of 11th March, 1513, is the only account given by a member of the Conclave. This I found in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, see Appendix, No. 3. *Cf.* the short ** Narrative of Paris de Grassis (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., l. 3, and PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 488.

he had held under Julius II., and the part taken by him against France, to say nothing of his personal qualities, his love of peace, his generosity, and his blameless morals. All these attracted the younger Cardinals, who trusted to his gentleness, kindness, and indulgence.*

The political reasons which contributed to the election of Medici are drawn up by the historian Francesco Vettori. "It was hoped," he writes, "that one who held sway in Florence would be powerful enough to resist both Spain and France, the two great powers which contended for supremacy in Italy, and therefore in Europe."† The cause of the outvoting of the older Cardinals was to be found chiefly in their want of unity and decision, whereas the younger (Sauli, Cornaro, Luigi d'Aragona, Petrucci, Gonzaga, Ciocchi) held firmly together. A great impression had been made on them by the reconciliation between Medici and Soderini, to which the latter had consented immediately before the opening of the Conclave. He preferred to further the promotion of the adversary of his family interests than see Raffaello Riario Pope.‡ Schinner, who by the desire of the Imperial Ambassador, had to work against both the Venetian and French candidates, also opposed Riario for personal reasons.§ Castellesi and Luigi d'Aragona also objected to Riario.‖ Nevertheless, during

* *Cf.* Carpi's account, *loc. cit.*, 73, and SANUTO, XVI., 28, 30.

† VETTORI, 297.

‡ *Ibid.*, 338. *Cf.* VERDI, XIV., N. 1.

§ Carpi, in Lettres de Louis XII., *loc. cit.* According to the Swiss Ambassador, P. Falk, Schinner contributed not a little to the election of Medici; see Anz. für schweiz. Geschichte, 1892, 375. *Cf.* RICHARD 45. The declaration of ANSHELM, IV., 352 *seq.*, modified in STETTLER, Annal., I., 481, that Schinner wished to be Pope himself, has no foundation. *Cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este ne' primordi del Papato di Leone X., Milano, 1907, 18, 89.

‖ *Cf.* TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 229 (Chigi Library.

the earlier days of the Conclave, Riario was a formidable rival to Medici, for some even of the younger Cardinals were inclined to favour the nephew of Sixtus IV. This aroused the jealousy of some of the older Cardinals, who now went over to the side of Medici, among them being Adriano Castellesi, who had been hitherto one of his most violent opponents. Finally, Riario gave up all hopes of his own election, and secured for his rival the votes of his own adherents.

One formidable opponent to Medici alone remained—the Primate of Hungary, Bakócz, whom Julius II. had summoned to Rome. The Council of Pisa, convened in the interests of France, threatened the ecclesiastical unity of the west, and it had seemed necessary to be assured of the obedience of Hungary. This rich, ambitious, and very capable Prince of the Church reckoned on the help of Venice on behalf of his own candidature, and had promised, in the event of his election, an energetic prosecution of the war against the Turks.* The only important thing that told against him was that he was not an Italian. Medici's private secretary and conclavist, the eloquent and gifted Bernardo Dovizi Bibbiena, worked for his master's election with extraordinary skill;† and at last the obstinacy of the older Cardinals, who had threatened to make a demonstration

Rome). About Cornaro's efforts in favour of Medici, see SANUTO, XXXII., 208.

* This is reported by TIZIO, Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 37, f. 304 (Chigi Library, Rome).

† See SANUTO, XVI., 19; BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., XII. (ed. 1557) 537. *Cf.* BANDINI, Bibbiena, 14 *seq.*, and Atti dei Lincei, Ser. 4, Cl. di scienze mor., X., 6. On the 20th of May Leo X. had paid flor. 2000 auri de cam. vig. mandati sub die XII. Martii conclavistis pro precio cam. et bonor. S.D.N. que erant in conclavi. * Intr. et exit., 551. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.)

by leaving the Conclave, gave way under the stress of circumstances.

It was unanimously declared by all parties that the election of Medici had been effected without simony.* All attempts of the electors to communicate with the outside world had been energetically prevented; and after certain figures had been found cut on the silver dishes, the Cardinals were given nothing but earthenware for their use.†

As senior Cardinal-deacon, it was Medici's lot to read out the voting papers. The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, remarks that he did this modestly and calmly. He took the name of Leo, and adopted as his motto the words of the first verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm: "In my trouble I cried to the Lord; and He heard me." ‡

Cardinal Farnese announced the result of the election to the people outside, who received it with demonstrations of joy. The cry of "Palle! palle!" (the name for the balls on the arms of the Medici) resounded through the streets of the Eternal City. The Florentine merchants residing in Rome outdid each other in testifying their joy.§ The astonishment caused by the election of a man not yet thirty-eight years of age was so great that many would scarcely believe the result of the Conclave.‖ If

* SANUTO, XVI., 28, 40; Lettres de Louis XII., IV. 76; *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 11th of March, 1513 (see Appendix, No. 3), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Raph. Volaterr. in the Cod. Vatic. 5875, f. 29*b*, Vatican Library.

† PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 491.

‡ See Paris de Grassis in GATTICUS, 315; *cf.* FABRONIUS, 269. Contemporaries differ as to the reason of his choosing the name of Leo; see ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 15–16.

§ Penni in CANCELLIERI, 68.

‖ Paris de Grassis in GATTICUS, 316; Cellini and Parenti in NITTI, 4, n. 1; *Diary of Cornelius de Fine in the National Library, Paris.

some passed an unfavourable judgment on the election on account of the youth of the Pope, if others amused themselves with making satirical allusions to his weak eyes,* as a general rule the joy was unaffected, for Giovanni de' Medici was one of the most popular members of the Sacred College. "It was the best choice which could have been made," said the Swiss Envoy, Peter Falk; "for Giovanni de' Medici inclines to peace, and is as gentle and temperate as Julius II. was violent and harsh. For a century the Church has had no Pope to be compared with this one. Everyone congratulates himself on this election. Only the older Cardinals cannot conceal their disappointment at the elevation of a man so young as to seem to cut off all their hopes of ever attaining to the supreme dignity." †

Other towns, especially Siena, had greater misgivings than had Rome lest the young Pope should not be equal to his heavy burden. It was also thought that Leo X. might show too much favour to his relations and fellow-countrymen. Stress also was laid on his naturally complaisant and weak character. But on the other hand it was argued that a man of his spotless reputation must prove to be a good and peace-loving Pope, whose pontificate would be useful to the Church.‡

All the enemies of France in Rome rejoiced at the election; though many did not trust to the firmness of Leo X.§ In Florence, however, the satisfaction was quite

* Multi caeci cardinales creavere caecum decimum Leonem. *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 270.

† SANUTO, XVI., 39, 40; Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 80; Letter of Falk in Anz. für schweiz. Geschichte, 1892, 375–376; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 239, of the Chigi Library, Rome.

‡ *Cf.* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. A., II., 37, f. 238*b*–239, Chigi Library, Rome. See also Raph. Volaterr. in Cod. Vat. 5875, f. 29, Vatican Library.

§ *Cf.* PRATO, 310–311.

unbounded, when the news of his election reached that city only ten hours after it had taken place. No expense was begrudged to celebrate the great event; for this was the first time that a son of the city on the Arno had attained to the supreme dignity. The friends of the Medici deluded themselves with the wildest hopes, while even their enemies had to keep quiet and wait for further developments. But even in Florence there were not wanting those who feared for the liberty of their native city, while others, like true merchants, calculated the advantages which the event might bring to themselves.*

Among the European princes no one hailed the result of the election with greater joy than Ferdinand the Catholic. Zurita reports that the King had declared that the birth of an heir, the conquest of Granada, and Medici's elevation to the Papacy were the three happiest events in his life.†

What is remarkable is that the election of Leo X. was favourably received even in France. Louis XII. remarked that he who had been raised to the supreme dignity was a good man, from whom therefore nothing but good was to be expected.‡ The Emperor Maximilian's Ambassador in Rome, Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, reveals to us the expectations formed in diplomatic circles regarding the new Pope. After a description of the election, he writes as follows: "The Pope, so far as we are able as yet to form an opinion, will act as a gentle lamb rather than as a fierce lion, and will be a promoter of peace rather than of war. He will fulfil his duties conscientiously. Though it is true

* LANDUCCI, 336 *seq.*; SANUTO, XVI., 36; NARDI, 271; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 24. *Cf.* GUASTI, Carte Strozz., I., 6, and Arch. Stor. Ital., Series 5, XIV., 17; J. ROCCA, B. Cerretanis Dialog, Münster, 1907, 43 *seq.*; NERLI, VI., 124.

† ZURITA, X., 57. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Opere VI., 191, 196

‡ SANUTO, XVI., 134.

that he will not be the friend of the French, he will not be their bitter enemy, as was Julius II. Careful of his honour and good repute, he will patronize the learned, orators, poets and musicians; he will erect buildings, and will not neglect either his religious duties or his care for the States of the Church. With the exception of war against the infidels, he will not be drawn into any other, except under grave provocation, and when, as it were, forced to it. What he begins, that also will he complete; he will act circumspectly and indulgently. Truly," adds Carpi, "the mind of man is variable." *

Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Clarissa Orsini, being born on the 11th of December, 1475. He was destined by his father for the ecclesiastical state at an age so early as to preclude all possibility of his free consent. Having been given the tonsure when only seven years of age, he soon, thanks to the powerful influence of his family, received the gift of many rich benefices, abbeys and dignities; † and on the 9th of March, 1489, was made Cardinal! Innocent VIII. consented most unwillingly to the elevation to the purple of this thirteen-year-old boy, and decreed especially that for the next three years Giovanni should neither wear the outward insignia of his dignity nor have either vote or seat in the College of Cardinals.‡ The classical education of the child-prince was undertaken by the most able humanists and learned men of the time, Angelo Poliziano

* Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 79.

† ROSCOE-BOSSI, I., 29 *seqq.*, 42 *seqq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo II., 2, 361 *seq.* In 1483 he received the Archbishopric of Aix; but as it soon transpired that this see was not vacant, he received instead the rich Abbey of Passignano. *Cf.* V. LIENTARD, Le Pape Léon X., archevêque d'Aix (8–20 Juin, 1483), 1872.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 356 *seq.*

and Bernardo Bibbiena, as well as the holy Marsilio Ficino, who had made the hazardous attempt to combine the platonic cultus with Christianity.*

From 1489 till 1491 Giovanni de' Medici studied theology and canon law with Filippo Decio and Bartolomeo Sozzini at Pisa.† On the 9th of March, 1492, he was invested with the insignia of the Cardinalate in the Abbey of Fiesole, and on the 25th of the same month he went to Rome, where he was received on the following day by Innocent VIII.‡ It was not without anxiety that Lorenzo de' Medici allowed the young Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Domnica, who had till then led a pure and steady life,§ to go to the capital of the world, "the meeting-place of all vices." This is shown by the beautiful letter, full of earnest exhortations and prudent rules of life, which he wrote at that time to his son.||

The death of his father in 1492 recalled the seventeen-year-old Cardinal to Florence, whence he returned to Rome in July to take part in the Conclave; after which, when, much against his wishes,¶ Alexander VI. was elected Pope, he returned once more to his native city. There he remained till the catastrophe of 1494, which compelled him to escape from Florence disguised as a Franciscan. He who had been the favourite of fortune, now came across the more serious side of life for the first time. To a time of enjoyment there now succeeded the anxieties of a fugitive

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 153 *seq.*

† BANDINI, Bibbiena, 6; ROSCOE-BOSSI, I., 52 *seq.*, 58 *seq.*

‡ See Vol. V. of this work, 358.

§ *Cf.* the testimony of G. Cortesius in HERGENRÖTHER, Regest. Leonis X. 1. See also FRANC. NOVELLUS, *Vita Leonis X., in the Cod. Barb., lat. 2273 (XXXII., 64), f. 3*b*-4, Vatican Library.

|| See Vol. V. of this work, 358–361.

¶ *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 384.

life. Giovanni, like his brother Piero, did not give up all hope of his family's recovery of what it had lost, and by word and deed took part in all the efforts to restore the Medici to power. But after his hopes had been shattered three times, he travelled for some years in Germany, the Netherlands, and France.*

When Giovanni returned to Italy in May, 1500, the changes in the political situation made it advisable for him to settle in Rome. There he lived in the palace of Sant' Eustachio, now the Palazzo Madama, surrounded by antiquities, statues, pictures, and a select library, and devoted himself to the literary and artistic interests which were traditional in his family.†

The year 1503 brought with it both the Papal election and the sudden death of Piero de' Medici. Giovanni, who was now the head of the family, did not disguise from himself that nothing but a change in the political situation could restore to his family the dominion over Florence. As a consequence of his widespread patronage, his great generosity, and his poor knowledge of business, he often found himself in very difficult circumstances;‡ but in spite of all his difficulties he firmly believed in his lucky star. According to him it was fortune which raised men to distinction; and with this he consoled his family. Nothing could fail them, unless they themselves gave in. As for him, however empty his coffers, he continued his generosity to learned and literary men, musicians and artists. This generosity pleased the Romans quite as

* See PASTOR, Die Reise des Luigi d'Aragona, 7.

† *Cf.* ALBERTINUS, 27; MICHAELIS in Jahrb. u. archäol. Instit., VIII., (1893), 119 *seqq.*; MÜNTZ in Mém. de l'Académ. de France, XXXV., 2; LANCIANI, Scavi, 1, 145 *seq.*

‡ Raphael Volaterranus in the Cod. Vat., 5875, f. 22–23, Vatican Library.

much as did the gentleness and affability of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Domnica, who became one of the favourite members of the Sacred College.

The light-heartedness of Cardinal de' Medici was remarkable; and it never forsook him, even under the most painful circumstances. It is true that the son of Lorenzo led a more worldly life than did many of the older Cardinals; yet he was distinguished above all for his dignity and the decorum of his deportment.*

After long, troubled years, towards the end of the pontificate of Julius II., fortune smiled once more on him who had been so sorely tried. On the 1st of October, 1511, he was appointed Legate to Bologna and the Romagna. Before this, Cardinal de' Medici had afforded a proof of his trust in his lucky star; for during the severe illness of Julius II. in August, 1511, Giovanni was one of those who put themselves forward as candidates for the triple crown.† Though the recovery of the Pope put an end to all hopes of an immediate elevation to the supreme dignity, the prospect of a restoration to power of his family dawned on Cardinal de' Medici. So long as the Florentine Republic favoured the Pisa schismatics, Julius would take part with the Medici. In fact, their fate depended on the success of the Spanish-Papal army, with which Cardinal de' Medici remained as Legate. The slowness with which he acted in that capacity did not at all come up to the expectations of

* ROSCOE-BOSSI, 39 *seqq.*, 42 *seqq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 266. Card. de' Medici's income in 1500 was only 6000 ducats (see Vol. VI. of this work, 92), 1513, 10,000 (SANUTO, XVI., 28).

† See Vol. VI. of this work, 369, 372. *Cf.* also SANUTO, XII., 441, and the *Letter of Vianesio Albergati, Burgos, Sept. 3, 1511, to Card. Medici, which mentions him and Cardinal Riario as both "papabili" on the occasion of the illness of Julius. Carte Strozz., III., 151. (State Archives, Florence.)

the fiery della Rovere, though he justified his delays sufficiently to retain his post.* Once more, however, was he to experience the fickleness of fortune. On the 11th of April, 1512, the Spanish-Papal army suffered a severe defeat at Ravenna, at which Cardinal de' Medici was taken prisoner and carried off to Milan. When he was there, Julius II. sent him powers to grant absolution from ecclesiastical censures to the numerous Frenchmen who besought that grace; and ere long the captive saw himself surrounded by suppliants. When, in their turn, the French suffered a reverse, it was arranged that Cardinal de' Medici should be taken to France. But here the proverbial good fortune of his family asserted itself, for, while crossing the Po, he succeeded in evading his captors and escaped to Bologna.†

It was not hard to make Julius II. understand that nothing but a change in the government of Florence could destroy the French influence in central Italy. When war was in consequence declared against Florence, Cardinal de' Medici, in the retinue of Cardona, trod once more the soil of his native country. He was witness of the plundering of Prato, where he vainly tried to moderate the brutality of the Spaniards.‡ After a bloodless revolution had restored the dominion of his family in Florence, the Cardinal went to live there on the 14th of September, 1512. But although both he and his brother Giuliano did all they could to

* *Cf.* the *Letter of Cardinal Medici to Bibbiena from Faenza, Oct. 5, 1511 (justifying himself to the Pope on account of the necessity of more troops), and to Julius II. from Faenza, Oct. 24 (about the impossibility of obeying the order to march against Bologna, as was explained by Marc Antonio Colonna), Carte Strozz., VI.; also from the same source the draft of a *Letter of Nov. 1 to Julius II., explaining the reasons of his delay. (State Archives, Florence.)

† See Vol. VI. of this work, 405, 415 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 420.

find favour, the city remained in a state of disturbance.* A plot for the overthrow of the Medici had just been brought to light when the news of the death of Julius II. called the Cardinal with all speed to Rome, to take part in the Conclave from which he came forth Pope.

At the early age of thirty-eight he had, with almost unprecedented celerity, risen to the supreme dignity. What a fate had his been! Banished, imprisoned, liberated, at one time Lord of Florence, and now Supreme Head of the Church! What wonder that men of letters could not tire of extolling this favourite and conqueror of fortune in verse and inscription.†

As Leo was only deacon, he was ordained priest on the 15th of March and consecrated Bishop on the 17th.‡ As Holy Week was so near at hand, his coronation had to take place at once, and was fixed for Saturday the 19th, the Feast of St. Joseph, although, according to custom, the ceremony had to take place on a Sunday. In spite of the short time allowed for preparations, the function was carried out with great splendour. Cardinal Farnese placed on the head of the new Pontiff a tiara made specially for the occasion, set with rich pearls and precious stones. According to an ancient custom, the Pope was wont to confer many and generous favours, especially on the Cardinals. The demands this time were so many and exorbitant, that Leo, smiling, said to the Cardinals that they had better at once take

* REUMONT, III., 2, 55 *seq.*; ROSCOE-BOSSI, III., 174 *seqq.* On the 17th of Oct. Venice raised Card. Medici as well as Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici and their heirs to be Venetian patricians (Carte Strozz., 339 *seq.*, 152, State Archives, Florence).

† The number 11 played a peculiar part in Leo's life. See a poem on this subject in MORONI, XXXVIII., 36.

‡ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 15.

his crown, for then, being popes, they could grant to themselves all that they wished.*

On the following day, at the celebration of Palm Sunday, Leo X. rejected the use of the Sedia Gestatoria, remarking that, as he was so young, he did not need any assistance of the kind.† At the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, the Pope really kissed the feet of the poor men. The ceremony, said he, ought to take place in reality and not only in appearance.‡ It was the same with all the other striking solemnities of Holy Week. Leo X. took part in them with great recollection, and a close observance of the ritual. The demolition of St. Peter's, then in progress, made it impossible to celebrate the high mass on Easter Sunday in that basilica. The Sistine Chapel was therefore selected in its stead, with no detriment to the solemnity. On the

* Paris de Grassis in Notices des MSS. du Roi II., 574; *Letters of Frate Anselmo, dated from Rome, 1513, March 19 (Gonzaga Archives); SANUTO, XVI., 73; Penni in CANCELLIERE, 68; GORI, Arch., IV., 214. The letters in which Leo X. announced his election to the spiritual and temporal authorities are dated on the day of his coronation, *e.g.* that to the Bishop of Mantua (orig. in the Episcopal Archives at Mantua), to Perugia (copy in the Com. Libr. at Perugia), others in HERGENRÖTHER'S Regest. Leonis X., 1901–1902. Hergenröther enumerates only thirteen letters written before the coronation, beginning March 13. The first, written on the day of the election, is missing in Hergenröther. For this see Appendix, No. 2, from the State Archives, Bologna.

† *S. D. N. Leo sive quia in gestatorio vehi nesciat aut non velit, ut dixit, cum sit juvenis et ad labores aptus, praesertim ad gradiendum suis pedibus non voluit in gestatorio portari, dicens pedibus semper ambulare velle, nisi quando aut suae personae aut rei divinae necessitas cogat, et sic pedibus venit usque ad capellam. PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

‡ Paris de Grassis in ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 62. *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 19.

contrary, as remarks the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, the Papal majesty could be displayed to better effect in the smaller space.*

On the 1st of April, the Romans were made happy by the removal of the tax on wine and flour.† On the 4th, the first Consistory was held, at which Paris de Grassis was made Bishop of Pesaro. At this ceremony the Pope appeared in a plain mitre without jewels.‡ But, on the other hand, no kind of splendour was omitted in the ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran, for which great preparations were made. It was fixed for the 11th of April, the Feast of St. Leo, as well as the anniversary of the capture of Leo X. at Ravenna. This was done so that that unlucky day might be changed into a day of rejoicing.§

The most extensive preparations for the decoration of the streets were made.|| All that the Rome of Raphael could produce in the way of antiquities and art was made to contribute to the glory of the Medici. The important occasion of the "Possesso," or taking possession of the Church of the Popes, was intended to usher in not only a new era of artistic magnificence, but also that of peace.

* *Vere in cappella illa refulsit omnimodo maiestas papalis, cum in S. Petro non nisi difficulter appareat maiestas, et melius esset, hic semper celebrare quam in S. Petro propter angustiam illius loci. PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.*

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 1991. *Cf.* Mél. d'Arch., XXII., 275.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

§ JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 3; RANKE (Germ. und rom. Völker) 301, changes "Possesso" for coronation. The towns of the States of the Church were called on to send the customary gifts for the "Possesso"; see *Brief to Perugia, dat. 1513, March 29, in the Communal Library, Perugia.

|| See *Letter of Gabbioneta to Mantua, dated Rome, 1513, April 10, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Also the *Letter of Frate Anselmo, dat. Rome, 1513, March 19.

On the 10th of April, at the request of Bibbiena * and of Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, certain censures pronounced on Duke Alfonso of Ferrara by Julius II. were removed,† in order that that prince might be able to take part in the solemnity arrayed in all his ducal splendour.

The weather smiled on the triumphal procession; and when this had been marshalled by Paris de Grassis, Master of Ceremonies, the Pope appeared. The Duke of Ferrara led his horse, and held the bridle till the fountain in the Piazza of St. Peter's was reached. There he was relieved by Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, Giovan Maria da Varano, Lord of Camerino, and the Pope's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici.‡

The procession was the most magnificent spectacle which Rome had witnessed since the days of the Emperors.§ It was headed by two hundred mounted

* This fact is given by the erudite author in chap. ix. of the rare pamphlet: Risposta alla invectiva di D. Alphonso Duca di Ferrara, fol. A, 4.

† Leo X. to Duke Alfonso, dat. Rome, 1513, April 10. (Regest. Leonis X., ed. HERGENRÖTHER, n. 2118–2119.) Orig. in the State Archives, Modena.

‡ The two first mentioned had come to Rome on the 7th of April. *Diary of a Frenchman living in Rome. Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

§ The "Possesso" of Leo X. is described in detail:—1. By Paris de Grassis in GATTICUS, 382–385. (Some short passages, not without interest, are omitted in Gatticus. Thus (384) the following words, found in the MS., XII., 23, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, should be added after "diruperunt": et nisi pontifex cum suis palatinis stipendiariis obviasset, omnia consumpsissent.) 2. J. PENNI, Chronica delle magnifiche ed onorate pompe fatte in Roma per la creazione et incoronazione di P. Leone X., P.O.M. (Roma, 1513); incomplete in CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 67–84, complete in ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 189–231. 3. The Venetian Envoys and other Venetians, printed in SANUTO, XVI., 160 *seqq.*, 678 *seqq.* 4. M. Equicola, see REUMONT-

lancers, and the inferior members of the household of the Pope and Cardinals. The bands of musicians who attended these, wearing the Papal livery of white, red, and green, with the Medici badge on their breasts, were a brilliant sight. Then followed the standards of the twelve Papal cursori and the thirteen representatives of the Rioni, and the banner of the University, with its device of a flame-coloured cherub. The great red standard of Rome, with its golden letters S.P.Q.R. (Senatus Populusque Romanus) was borne by Giovan Giorgio Cesarini. With him ranked the Procurator of the Teutonic Order of Knights, carrying their white banner surmounted by a black cross; the Prior of the Knights of St. John with the banner of the Order—red silk with a white cross. The banner of the Captain-General followed, and, last of all, the Gonfaloniere of the Church.

Then came the Papal Marshal, with nine white horses and three white mules, with red trappings embroidered in gold; the Master of the Horse, clad in red, and the numerous chamberlains of honour, two of whom carried the mitre, set with pearls and precious stones, and two others the tiara, decorated with priceless gems. The brilliant group of knights, of the Roman and Florentine nobility, recalled

BASCHET, Cath. de Médicis, 241–242. With these eye-witnesses *cf.* the description of Tizio in FABRONIUS, 270–274; JOVIUS, Leo X., l. 3; GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4, and later REUMONT, III., 2, 56 *seqq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 168; CASTELNAU, II., 341 *seqq.*; MÜNTZ, Raphäel, 416 *seqq.*, and SCHULTE, I., 197 *seqq.* About festivals of the 16th Century in general, see BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance (Holtzinger), 372. Among unprinted reports I have made use of the *Letter of Gabbioneta, dat. Rome, 1513, April 13 (see also the *Letter of Card. S. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1513, April 11), and *Nota del l'ordine tenuto nel cavalchare a S. Janni a dì della coronatione dì N. S. a dì XI. d'Aprile 1513, in Carte Strozz., 235, f. 1, State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* Jahrb. der Kunstam. des österr. Kaiserhauses, XXIII., 20., also LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 92 *seq.*

the mediæval history of Italy. There were the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, Conti, Santa Croce, Gaetani, Medici, Soderini, Tornabuoni, Salviati, Pucci, Strozzi, all magnificently arrayed, and each attended by a numerous and brilliant suite. This stately procession included the diplomatic body; first the Envoys of the provinces and towns belonging to the States of the Church; then the Ambassadors from Florence, Venice, Spain, and France; and lastly, riding between Jacopo Salviati and the Senator of Rome, the representative of the Empire. At the end of the cavalcade of gentlemen who bore no arms, could be seen the Duke of Urbino, clad in mourning for the death of his uncle, Julius II., and the nephew of Leo X., Lorenzo de' Medici.

The spiritual court of the Pope presented a picture no less brilliantly coloured: first there were the ostiarii, then the three apostolic sub-deacons, carrying a great gold cross, preceded the white palfreys, which carried on their backs the tabernacle, containing the Most Holy Sacrament, over which four Roman citizens held a canopy, surrounded by twenty-five grooms with wax torches. Immediately behind came the sacristan, with a white staff in his hand, a secretary, and a consistorial advocate. The two accompanying "sea-prefects" recalled a time long since passed.

The Papal choir followed, then the clerics of the apostolic treasury, the consistorial advocates, and the Master of the Sacred Palace. After these came two hundred and fifty abbots, bishops and archbishops, and lastly the Cardinals, according to their rank, each accompanied by eight chamberlains. Between Cardinal Gonzaga and Cardinal Petrucci could be seen Alfonso of Ferrara, clad in his ducal mantle, embroidered in gold. Then followed the Swiss Guard, magnificent men, of erect carriage, with glittering armour and picturesque uniform. These heralded the approach of the Pope.

Under a canopy, borne by Roman citizens, rode Leo X., attired with all the insignia of his Papal dignity, and his tiara, sparkling with jewels, on his head. He was mounted on the same Turkish horse which he was riding a year previously, when taken prisoner by the French at the bloody battle of Ravenna. The Holy Father was immediately followed by the Maestro di Camera and several other chamberlains, by whom gold and silver coins were thrown among the crowd.* A number of protonotaries followed, and, finally, the *macerius* with the Pope's ombrellino. Four hundred knights wound up the procession.

An immense crowd filled all the streets of the so-called "via papale," through which the procession had to pass on its long journey to the Lateran. Even nature seemed to share in the general joy, for it was one of those glorious days of a Roman spring, when the sun, shining out of the deep blue sky, sheds a blinding light over everything.

Near the bridge of St. Angelo there was erected a stand for the representatives of the Jewish community in Rome, in front of which the Pope stopped in order to

* JOVIUS (Vita Leonis X., lib. 3) says that the Pope declared that this act of generosity cost him tons of gold. According to GUICCIARDINI, X., 4, the whole amount came to 100,000 ducats; but according to SANUTO, XVI., 158, to as much as 150,000. Frate Anselmo, in his *Letter to Mantua, dat. Rome, 1513, April 12 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), puts it at only 8000. This estimate is certainly too low, and the others too high. The *Register of Leonardo di Zanobi Bartholini, fol. 26, 26*b* (State Archives, Rome), says the expenses of the coronation and the "Possesso" may be put at 45.369 golden ducats, including "1286 duc. a dipintori della incoronatione; 1737 duc. a Giuliano Leno et altri per le opere fece a S. Piero e a S. Janni per la incoronatione; 230 duc. a M. Antonio da S. Gallo et altri per lavoro di sopra." A great portion of the expenses were undoubtedly defrayed by private individuals, as, for example, Chigi (*cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 478).

receive, according to custom, the scroll of the law, and signify his rejection of its false interpretation. On the further end of the same bridge the first of the triumphal arches was erected, on which this inscription could be read: "To Leo the Tenth, the promoter of ecclesiastical unity and peace among Christian nations." At the entrance to the Via Giulia there stood a second arch. Many others were erected on the way to the Lateran. Inside that basilica, reaching from the portico to the high altar, a stage was put up, about ten feet high and twenty broad, for the exclusive use of those who took part in the ceremony. After all the usual ceremonies had been performed in the Council Hall, the Chapel of St. Silvester, and the *sancta sanctorum*, a brilliant banquet was prepared in the Palace. Dusk set in during the return journey, and the illumination of the houses had begun.

The streets which formed the processional route were decorated with silken draperies, either worked in gold or painted, mingled with garlands of foliage and bright flowers. All the windows were full of spectators, while crowds thronged round the houses, keeping up their cry of "Leo!" or "Palle, palle!" The lower clergy of the city, in order to pay their homage to the Supreme Head of the Church, clustered round the beautifully adorned altars which were set up at intervals along the streets. In marked contrast with these were the antique statues which had been placed in front of some of the houses. In still greater contrast were the numerous triumphal arches, which "after the manner of ancient Rome," as says Giovio, were the chief adornment of the city on this festal occasion. On the very first of these, which had been set up by Raffaello Petrucci, Bishop of Grosseto and Castellan of St. Angelo, facing the bridge already mentioned, there could be seen Apollo and his lyre: though alongside of him was

a representation of Christ delivering the keys to St. Peter. On the arch of the Florentine merchants could be seen the Baptism of Christ by St. John, while further on were SS. Peter and Paul, and SS. Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of the Medici, with their arms and badges, mixed up with interesting allusions to ecclesiastical politics. The same sort of thing was to be seen on the arch put up by the Master of the Papal mint, Johannes Zink. Among other devices was a representation of kings paying homage to the Pope, and a session of the Lateran Council, with the inscription: "Thou wilt conclude the Council, and wilt be called the Reformer of the Church."

The most artistic arches had been erected by the wealthy bankers. That put up by Agostino Chigi, near his house in the Via del Banco di Santo Spirito, surpassed all the others. On it was the inscription: "To Leo the Tenth, the happy restorer of peace!" But, as befitted the worldly mind of Chigi, nearly all the figures on his arch were pagan: Apollo, Mercury, Pallas, nymphs and centaurs. Here, in golden letters, was to be read the satire, so soon to become famous, referring to the reigns of Alexander VI. and Julius II., which at the same time expressed the hopes held by the humanists as regarded Leo X.:

First Venus ruled; then came the god of war;
Now, great Minerva, it is thy day that dawns.

The celebrated goldsmith, Antonio di San Marino, responded to this in a way quite in harmony with the worldliness of Rome. He placed a statue of Venus over his house with this inscription:

Mars has reigned; Pallas has followed; but the reign
of Venus will never end.*

* REUMONT, III., 2, 57. The verse, "Olim habuit Cypria sua tempora," is by M. Ant. Casanova. *Cf.* F. VOLPICELLA, Heroica M. A. Casanovae (rare *Nozze-Publ.*) Napoli, 1867, 15 and 37. The

Italian verses also could be seen under various statues.* The arch put up in the Piazza di Parione by Ferdinando Ponzetti, the clerical chamberlain, was decorated with Perseus, Apollo, Moses, Mercury, and Diana, in addition to which was a representation of Cardinal de' Medici's rescue at the battle of Ravenna. No one was scandalized by this mixture of Christianity and paganism. One Bishop, afterwards Cardinal Andrea della Valle, adorned his arch with nothing but antique statues: Apollo, Bacchus, Mercury, Hercules, Venus. A Roman patrician, Evangelista de' Rossi, had the largest collection of antique sculptures displayed for show at his house. Innumerable were the inscriptions which hailed Leo as the patron of learning. One floral arch at the Pellicceria bore the inscription: "Destiny has been fulfilled!" The house of the Genoese banker, Sauli, had erected a truly artistic arch, from which a boy stepped forth and recited Latin verse. An inscription on this arch hailed the Pope as the day-star of peace.

On this great festival, celebrated in Leo's honour, many inscriptions and emblems alluded to the love of peace of the newly-elected Pope, who would, so said those who extolled him, extend to the wider field of his high position the gentleness and moderation by which he had been so well known heretofore. The harshness and violence of Julius II. were so fresh in the memory of all men that his fortunate successor basked in the sunshine of popularity without any particular effort on his own part. The humanists, of whom the new Pope had been, even as a Cardinal, the friend and patron, proclaimed on all sides that now the iron age had given way to the golden. No doubt

meaning attributed by the contemporaries to the inscriptions is explained by FR. NOVELLUS, Vita Leonis X., Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, fol. 61, Vatican Library.

* Penni in CANCELLIERI, 77.

it was in the mind of Leo to fulfil these expectations and prove himself to be the most generous of patrons; but this was not all, for, at the beginning of his pontificate, he seemed eager to justify the good opinion held of him, on ecclesiastical and political grounds also.

As early as the 29th of March, 1513, the Pope's nephew, Giulio de' Medici, who was more versed than any, except Bibbiena, in the secrets of politics, announced to Giuliano de' Medici, the sole surviving brother of the Pope in Florence, that His Holiness's sole care henceforward would be to give to Christendom the much-needed peace, in ecclesiastical as well as in political matters.* The termination of the schism of Pisa, the prevention of fresh wars in Italy, the maintenance of the States of the Church, the union, as far as was possible, of the Christian princes for the defence of Europe against the Turks, were great undertakings, the accomplishment of which demanded a well-nigh superhuman power. The future alone could decide whether the Medici Pope was the man to do it.

The first measures of Leo X. tended to confirm the good opinion formed of his desire for peace, as well as of his prudence and magnanimity. The severity with which the conspiracy of the Boscoli against the Medicean rule in Florence had been suppressed, was not at all to his mind. The historians Giovio and Nerli are of opinion that the Pope would have wished to pardon the offenders, had not the Florentine government ordered their execution as soon as sentence had been passed on them. He did, however, succeed in effecting the liberation of the other prisoners.† The Soderini, the implacable antagonists of the Medici, were reconciled by the Pope's magnanimity. Pietro

* *Letter of Giulio de' Medici to Giuliano, dat. Rome, 1513, March 29, in NITTI, II, n. 1.

† JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 3. *Cf.* NERLI, VI., 123–124.

Soderini, who was living in exile at Ragusa, was allowed by the Pope to return to Rome, having his confiscated possessions restored to him at the same time.* In order to put an end to enmity in the future, a marriage was proposed between a Medici and a Soderini.† Leo, further, did his best to win over the turbulent Pompeo Colonna by holding out offers of pardon and reinstatement. There was even question of a complete reconciliation with the d'Este and Bentivogli. A commission of Cardinals was appointed tc negotiate with both, and in June peace was arranged with the latter.‡

Leo's attitude towards the schismatic Cardinals was one of magnanimity and forbearance. Their leaders, Carvajal and Sanseverino, were in the hands of the Florentines, and according to the Papal commands had been taken to Florence. Thither a special envoy conveyed to them reassuring messages. His Holiness, said he, would prefer mercy to justice, and would grant them pardon and restoration to their former estate if only they would make this possible to him by their submission. But, as a preliminary condition of his taking any further steps, they must consider themselves lawfully debarred from wearing the insignia of their dignity as Cardinals. The repre-

* SANUTO, XVI., 269 *seq.*; NARDI, 272. *Cf.* RAZZI, Vita di P. Soderini, 85, 127 *seq.*

† It was originally intended that Lorenzo de' Medici should marry a niece of Pietro Soderini (SANUTO, XVI., 57; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., App. 13). This plan was, however, abandoned; and at length Luigi Ridolfi, son of Contessina, sister of the Pope, married the above-named (NERLI, VI., 124; NARDI, II., 32).

‡ SANUTO, XVI., 147–148, 152, 153, 179, 188, 337 *seq.*, 385. Regest. Leonis X., n. 2833, 3155, 3559. *Brief to Bologna of June 20, 1513, in State Archives, Bologna. About the efforts of Leo to make peace in Bologna, see the Briefs of Aug. 19 and Aug. 20, missing in HERGENRÖTHER, but to be found in FANTUZZI, IV., 235 *seq.*

sentative of France, Giovan Giordano Orsini, and Fabrizio Colonna interceded warmly for these unfortunate men; but Cardinals Schinner, Remolino, and Bainbridge, as well as the Spanish Ambassador, Hieronymus de Vich, strongly opposed their reconciliation. However, the Pope remained firm in his desire to grant absolution on the one condition of their submission and recantation. All further terms were to be settled by a commission of Cardinals; but, as the schismatics would not hear of submission, negotiations became very difficult.*

But Leo met with far greater difficulties in his political efforts to make peace. In the very first days after his election, it was reported that the Supreme Head of the Church was about to send peace-envoys to the Emperor, to France, Spain, England, and Venice.† It appears to be a fact that he did entertain some such project, for even before his coronation he issued Briefs, by which he sought to make peace between King Sigismund of Poland and the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, alluding to the Turkish peril, which was increased by the strife of the Christians among themselves.‡ However, as Leo was to find only too soon, the Christian princes were not inclined to give a hearing to the Pontiff's exhortations in the matter of peace.

There is no doubt that the greatest danger which threatened the peace of Europe came from the ambitious French King, Louis XII., who was determined to do everything to avenge his defeat in 1512, and regain Milan. For this end he signed at Blois, on the 23rd of March, 1513, an

* SANUTO, XVI., 58, 72–74, 158, 179, 295, 307, 308, 331. GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4; ZURITA, X., 58, 74.

† SANUTO, XVI., 48.

‡ Apostolic Brief of March 16, 1513, to the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, in JOACHIM, I, 223–224.

offensive alliance with the Venetian Republic, whereby the Venetians pledged themselves to bring into the field an army of 12,000 men, while at the same time—the middle of May—the French were to invade Italy from the north. According to this agreement neither party was to lay down arms until France had once more gained possession of Lombardy, and the Venetians had reconquered all that they used to hold on the mainland before the Peace of Cambrai.*

Without doubt Julius II., with his determined and stormy character, would have retaliated by severe measures for the defection of the Venetians from the Holy League and their alliance with France. Not so the peace-loving, cautious, and hesitating Leo X. However alive he might be to the evils which France had brought on his family, now that he was raised to the supreme dignity he did not wish to attach himself to any party. When the Imperial and Spanish Ambassadors, during the first days of his pontificate, made known to him the impending crisis, and urged him to declare himself openly against France, and support the League with troops and money, Leo replied that he had not been chosen to be Pope in order to make war, but rather peace; and as for money, he wished to keep the treasury of Julius II. for the defence of the States of the Church, and for warfare against the Turks. In vain, in a subsequent audience, did the Spanish Ambassador remind him of the debt of gratitude he owed to his master, who had brought the Medici back to Florence. The Pope still refused the request for a contribution of 10,000 ducats.†

Instead of declaring war openly against France and Venice, Leo endeavoured by friendly negotiations to re-

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 182 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 119, 121 *seq.*; also 125, 284 *seq.*, as to the publication on May 22.

† SANUTO, XVI., 72, 73, 129, 133.

strain both powers from making war. He had already expressed his hopes of peace in a Brief drawn up by Bembo, in which he had announced his election to the Doge.*

To Foscari, the Venetian Ambassador, he protested that he loved the Republic, though he warned him emphatically against anything so hazardous as an alliance with France. The Ambassador denied the existence of any such treaty. It was only when, on the 13th of April, 1513, Leo turned for an explanation to his new Nuncio in Venice, Pietro Bibbiena, that the Venetian Ambassador owned for the first time to the league formed between the two States. Though he did not dare to tell the Pope the whole truth, he remarked plainly how much displeased His Holiness was by the projected seizure of Milan by the French. The Ambassador sums up his opinion of the attitude of Leo X. by saying that his chief wish was to remain neutral, and watch which State would be favoured by the fortune of war. In spite of the efforts of the Spanish and Imperial Ambassadors to bring him over to their side, Foscari was able to say, on the 8th of April, that the Pope still remained neutral. It was certain that he did not want to see the French in Italy.†

On his side Louis made every offer which could have gained the support of Leo X. For this end he appealed to the Pope's brother, Giuliano de' Medici, and gave him to understand how much he hoped that Leo would not oppose his proceedings against Milan. Should he do so, the King would not carry out his plans of conquest, and would even leave the conditions of peace in the hands of

* SANUTO, XVI., 50–51. *Cf.* Vol. VIII., Appendix, No. 22.

† *Ibid.*, 130, 133, 148, 153, 159, 170–171, 172–173, 179. As to the mission of Bibbiena to Venice, see PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 48 *seq.* *Cf* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 1203.

the Supreme Head of the Church. Giuliano, being a partisan of France, supported the request of Louis XII., but Leo X. met it with much reserve. He did not, indeed, consider it advisable to oppose the King directly, but sought rather to turn him from his warlike projects by friendly representations and the promise of such future advantages as might induce him to delay his expedition. But Louis did not trust the promises of the Pope, for he could see his real object was to prevent the conquest of Milan.* Even after Louis had succeeded in agreeing with Spain for a year's truce † for the purpose of arranging the Italian campaign, he remained more bent than ever on regaining his lost prestige.

Meanwhile the condition of Milan had become such, that she saw herself compelled to invite France to take possession. The weak, frivolous Duke, Maximilian Sforza, was so unequal to the situation that the chronicler Prato applied to him the words of Scripture: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child."‡ The Swiss as well as the Spaniards, on whom the Duke relied, had made themselves so hated in Lombardy by their extortions, that many there longed for the restoration of the French occupation.§ Threatened by this imminent danger, the Duke of Milan turned for help to Leo X. as well as to Switzerland. In spite of the blandishments of France, that country remained true to Sforza, because they could scarcely hope to obtain the payment promised to them from any other

* GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4; SADOLETI, Epist. Pontif., n. 10, 11; Regest. Leonis X., n. 2348; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 32; NITTI, 14; WIRZ, Filonardi, 10 *seq.*

† The Spanish Ambassador in Rome disowned the truce from the beginning, *cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 179.

‡ PRATO, 309.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4.

Duke of Milan.* But it was much more difficult to gain the support of the still hesitating Pope. In the hope of gaining it, the highly-gifted Girolamo Morone was sent to Rome in April. He pointed out emphatically that action —serious action—must be taken, if the many efforts made by Julius II. for the liberty of Italy were not to remain fruitless, and all that he had accomplished called in question. Parma and Piacenza, as the Envoy pointed out, must inevitably fall into the hands of the French if Sforza were not supported. Cardona, the Viceroy of Naples, had taken possession of them in the name of Milan after the death of Julius II. It was not till the beginning of May, 1513, that Leo X. arranged for their restoration.†

Morone's representations were supported by the Emperor's Envoys, who painted in the blackest colours the danger of the French supremacy which must necessarily follow the occupation of Lombardy. Morone declared over and over again that the Pope alone could help, for Spain was no longer to be counted on; it was in his power to open the treasury of Julius II. and subsidize the Swiss, and in this way save Milan. An old enemy of France, Cardinal Schinner, who had at that time much influence with Leo X.,‡ pointed out to him the strength of the fighting population of Switzerland. But above all he urged the necessity of upholding the Papal reputation.§ Leo would willingly have still deferred his decision, had not a new combination among the powers put an end to all hesitation.

* DIERAUER, II., 424.

† SANUTO, XVI., 49, 58, 68, 72, 129, 179, 223, 225, 259; Regest. Leonis X., n. 2421–2423; BALAN, V., 497.

‡ *Cf.* the account of P. Falk in Anz. für schweiz. Gesch., 1892, 375.

§ JOVIUS, Hist., XI., 160–161; SANUTO, XVI., 188, 191, 216, 217; Miscell. d. stor. Ital., II., 311, 322, III., 28 *seq.*

On the 5th of April, 1513, a Holy League was formed at Mechlin between the Emperor Maximilian and the English King, Henry VIII., Leo X. and Ferdinand of Spain being named as their allies. It was agreed that France should be attacked on four sides at once, and rendered incapable by her dismemberment, of destroying the peace of Europe.* But even after this powerful anti-French league had been formed, Leo maintained for some time an entirely neutral position. The more the Imperial and Spanish Ambassadors urged the ratification of the League of Mechlin, the more reluctant was he to declare himself openly as belonging to it.† Nevertheless the actual circumstances pointed unquestionably to the necessity of decision on his part. The French army of invasion was already encamped at the foot of the Alps, and Leo could not long escape the danger of being isolated. But the manner in which he finally made up his mind is very characteristic of his policy.

The historian Paolo Giovio describes the hesitation of Leo at this important moment.‡ Although the Pope—as was inevitable with a new sovereign—had not yet developed his political programme, he had made up his mind that the course which his predecessor had taken from mature and serious conviction, was to be followed no longer. At all costs Julius would have upheld in Milan the restored Duke, Maximilian Sforza; and have considered the alliance with the brave, faithful, and victorious Swiss as a thing profitable and honourable for the Holy See. But even while Leo X. recognized in himself the official prosecutor of Julius's policy, he believed that it behoved him to maintain a certain reserve, as far as was compatible with blaming no

* DUMONT, IV., I, 173 *seqq.*; BERGENROTH, II., n. 97; HENNE, I., 330 *seqq.*

† SANUTO, XVI., 223, 225, 227, 270, 292, 295, 305.

‡ JOVIUS, *loc. cit.* 161, and Vita Leonis X., l. 3.

one openly, and thus to retain the title of peacemaker, so befitting to a Pope. On one side, therefore, he tried to keep up the courage of France's enemies; on the other, he wished to avoid the appearance of being too harsh with that country. For the power of France was great, both on account of its own strength and its alliance with Venice: and who could foretell how matters would turn out in the field of war? One circumstance, not mentioned by Giovio, but which must have had an undoubted influence in overcoming the hesitation of Leo X., was the continuance of the schism in France. Even were he compelled to follow the path adopted by his predecessor, nevertheless the restoration of ecclesiastical unity forbade him from cutting off all communication with France.

Out of such hesitation there grew the resolve to stand by the Holy League, and pay the money required for subsidizing the mercenaries in the service of Milan, by which alone that state could be saved. But how anxious the Pope was not to let himself be robbed of the prospect of an understanding with France, can be seen by the fact that the payment was to be made quite secretly. It is true that the subvention was officially denied, but the truth leaked out by reason of the clause in the agreement, which appointed that 20,000 ducats of the whole sum should be devoted to pensioning certain distinguished personages, while the balance of 22,000 was to be paid to the Swiss mercenaries.*

* GUICCIARDINI, XI., 4. JOVIUS (Vita Leonis X., l. 3) mentions the sum of 25,000 ducats; SANUTO (XVI., 307-308) only 20,000. In the account given by the Venetian Ambassador, which we have drawn on, it transpires that the fact of the contribution, though officially denied (SANUTO, XVI., 331, 354, 356, 357, 364), was acknowledged for the first time on May 25. The first sign given by Leo X. that he meant to belong to the League is the instruction sent to Bologna on the 19th of May, to go to the help of the imperialists at Verona, while

The conduct of the Pope shows how willingly he would even then have adopted a policy of delay. But this was no longer possible. Nevertheless, though he actually adhered to the political arrangements made by his predecessor, he did not join the anti-French league openly, and most anxiously avoided anything which could exasperate either the French or the Venetians.*

Knowing that everything depended on promptitude, the French had begun hostilities in May, and had advanced on Asti and Alessandria with 14,000 men, while the Venetians were advancing simultaneously from the east. As the Spaniards remained inactive, Maximilian Sforza was in the greatest danger. Shut up in Novara, the Duke seemed to be lost, when a brilliant feat on the part of the Swiss changed the whole aspect of affairs. Early on the 6th of June, they, with heroic contempt of death, attacked the French army in the open plain of Novara, and defeated them so completely that those who remained fled to Turin, and thence over the Mont Cenis. The cities of Lombardy bought the favour of the Duke, while the Venetians retired eastward. At Genoa the French abandoned all hope, and the Adorni willingly gave up the city, where Ottaviano Fregoso, the friend of Leo X., was elected Doge.†

When the news of the battle of Novara reached Rome on the evening of the 10th of June, all the enemies of France rejoiced. Bonfires were lighted, and the cry of

on the 23rd and 31st of May similar instructions were given in favour of the Spaniards and imperialists combined (Regest. Leonis X., n. 2726, 2807, 2918). About the Papal pensions in Switzerland, see WIRZ, Filonardi, 15 *seq.*

* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., l. 3; Lettres de Louis XII., IV. 114.

† JOVIUS, Hist., XI., 167; GUICCIARDINI, XI., 5. For the battle of Novara, see GISI, 108 *seq.*, and DIERAUER, II., 428 *seq.*, where can be found a good epitome of the events of this important fight.

"Julius II." resounded through the streets,* and Cardinal Schinner had the bells of his titular church rung.† But from the Pope alone nothing was heard of a celebration of the victory.‡

Although, however, one of Leo's most influential advisers, Bernardo Bibbiena, now went over entirely to the side of the French,§ and finally did all he could to bring the Supreme Pontiff over to his views, Leo persisted in maintaining a more neutral attitude. The Imperial Ambassador demanded help for the subjugation of Venice; Henry VIII. added the request that Leo X. would join the Anglo-Imperial alliance and occupy the southern side of the Alps with an army;‖ but the Pope declared that in his position as Father of Christendom he was bound to refrain from siding openly with any party. In his letters of congratulation, he exhorted the victors to observe mercy and peace, which was so essential in view of the increasing danger from the Turks. On all sides he issued Briefs advocating reconciliation; and tried to get once more into sympathy with France, whose open enemy he had never declared himself. On June the 17th the Venetian Am-

* This is expressly mentioned by Gabbioneta in a *Despatch, dat. Rome, 1513, June 10 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 369, 384.

† STETTLER, I, 491.

‡ The "Pope's brilliant feasts" of which GREGOROVIUS speaks (VIII., 3, 179) exist only in the fertile imagination of that author. Paris de Grassis, the great enemy of the French, would most surely have mentioned them had they existed. The "*Diary of a Frenchman living in Rome" says nothing of any such feasts (Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library). Neither does the Dutchman, Cornelius de Fine, say anything about them in his *sketches (National Library, Paris).

§ This important statement is to be found in a document by V. Lippomano, in SANUTO, XVI., 384.

‖ See Carpi's account in the Vienna Archives, ULMANN, II., 459.

bassador announced that there was no fear of the Pope taking any hostile steps against Venice, as he thought a great deal more about the Turkish peril than he did about the unity of Italy, but that the downfall of the French had given him real joy.* That this was the case is not to be doubted, and can easily be understood, for the humbled French King would be now constrained to seek reconciliation with Rome, and abandon the cause of the schismatics. In fact, the immediate consequence of the victory of Novara was the end of the schism, the submission of the recalcitrant Cardinals, and the adherence of France to the Council of the Lateran.

When he first reopened that Council, Leo X. had expressed his fixed determination to put an end to the schism, not by severity, but by the gentlest methods possible. At the sixth session of the Council, when the Procurator, Mario de Perusco, moved that the absent prelates should be cited, and proceedings against the French Pragmatic Sanction resumed, the Pope adjourned a decision out of consideration for Louis XII. Further, at the seventh session, on the 17th of June, the eighth was postponed until November, out of consideration for those among the French prelates who had adduced valid reasons for their absence. At the same time the Pope solemnly declared that he intended to send Legates to all the Christian powers, with the object of restoring peace to Europe.

On this occasion the Secretary of the Council read out a declaration, signed by themselves, in which Bernardino Carvajal and Federigo de Sanseverino—who purposely did not call themselves Cardinals—repudiated the Council of Pisa, recognised the Lateran Council, and asked for

* SANUTO, XVI., 385, 399. Letters to the victors in BEMBI epist., III., 1, 2, 3, 4; IV., 1. *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 3144, and WIRZ, Filonardi, 17.

absolution.* There was a long discussion before this point was conceded.† The commission of Cardinals had secretly handed over the decision of the affair to the Pope, who was in favour of compromise and pardon, if the schismatics would acknowledge their guilt and beg for absolution. When, in the declaration read, they professed their readiness to do this, nearly the whole of the Sacred College decided in favour of their reconciliation.

Only the English Cardinal, Bainbridge, and the Swiss, Schinner, were in favour of withholding absolution, being supported in this by the Imperial and Spanish Ambassadors. This party, recalling the rigour of Julius II., represented that the reinstatement of the schismatics would injure the credit of the Holy See, and be a bad precedent for the future. Leo X., however, adhered to his opinion. He hoped, and rightly, to destroy schism and reconcile France by gentleness rather than by severity. In the last decisive session, Schinner threw himself at the feet of the Pope and craved permission to leave the Council hall, as he was unable to hold communion with the recreants. But the Pope and the majority of the Cardinals remained of the opinion that, saving the honour of the Holy See, the good of the Church demanded that absolution should be granted.‡

* RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 24, 43; SANUTO, XVI., 359 *seq.*, 400. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 562, 566 *seq.*, 570 *seq.*; GUGLIA, Studien, 19; see Appendix, No. 4, the *Report of Gabbioneta of June 17, 1513. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 361, 369; JOVIUS, Hist., XI., 191; GUICCIARDINI, XI., 6; *Letters of Gabbioneta, dat. Rom., 1513, May 8 and June 17. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ How strongly the Pope adhered to this opinion is shewn by the following passage from the Diary of Paris de Grassis, which is missing in Raynaldus: *Et simul tandem nos duo consultavimus super ceremoniis agendis in hoc actu, quas omnes voluit quod ego visitans eos

It was decided that the schismatic Cardinals, still deprived of their insignia, should come to Rome by night, go straight to the Vatican, and next morning, clad as simple ecclesiastics, should ask for absolution at the Consistory.* According to pre-arrangement this took place on the 27th of June. The whole court, and many curious spectators, assembled to witness the unusual scene.† For the proud Carvajal it was a terrible humiliation, and, as an eye-witness testifies, his whole body shook with emotion.‡ Then the Pope, speaking earnestly, put their offence before them both.

nomine S. Stis indicarem eisdem scismaticis, qui si ipsi non vellent obedire, quantum ipse eisdem praecepit, nec etiam admitterentur ad gratiam restitutionis et veniae. Itaque exequutus iussa inveni eos duros ad nonnulla facienda, super quibus pontificem orabant, ut eis aliqualiter deferret et non pateretur ipsos quodammodo vituperari, maxime ut absque birreto rubeo et absque rocheto et absque caputio, quod papaficum vocant, et quod in eo habitu per omnes salas sive aulas palatii pontificalis procederent, et quod non nominarentur scismatici neque heretici in processu legendo; sed huiusmodi petitionibus papa non satisfaciens voluit, quod severe et rigorose omnia fierent prout ordinavit, quod si ad verba aliquorum cardinalium attendisset, ipsis nunquam parcere deberet, aut saltem quod ipsi ab ecclesia Lateranensi usque ad palatium per pedes in eo quem dixi habitu venirent, et tandem ipsi quamquam non spontanei, sed quodammodo coacti paruerunt et se omnia facturos promiserunt ut infra dicam. Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

* See Appendix, No. 4, for the *Letter of Gabbioneta of June 17, 1513. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Itaque hoc ipso mane, quo consistorium fuit, tot gentes tantusque populorum concursus in palatio fuit huius spectaculi videndi causa, ut vix ibidem in tribus aulis et per scalas et per aulas superiores et per cubicula pontificis omnia vix atque aegre caperentur gentes illae, aliquando etiam dubitatum fuit de ruina aularum superiorum prae multitudine turbarum. PARIS DE GRASSIS, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

‡ See Appendix, No. 5, for the *Letter of Gabbioneta of June 30 1513. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

He declared the necessity of penance, and proposed to them the following form of abjuration:—

"We, Bernardino Carvajal and Federigo Sanseverino, who have been enveloped in the cloud of schism, being now enlightened by divine grace, fully acknowledge the error of schism by which we were held fast. We desire to include in what we now say every declaration we have hitherto made, whether privately or before notaries and witnesses, as though they were expressed here verbally. After long and mature deliberation we renounce all these entirely and in all sincerity, not from fear—for we are in a safe place and perfect liberty—being recalled by divine grace into the unity of the Apostolic See. That this conversion may not be considered hypocritical or simulated, we humbly beg Your Holiness and the Sacred College of Cardinals for absolution from our errors. And we implore Your Holiness to intercede for us before the Most High God, whose representative you are on earth. In the event of our being reinstated by your mercy in our rank and dignity of the cardinalate, we freely vow and promise, under the ban of anathema, to you, Pope Leo X., the true and undoubted Vicar of Christ, and through you to the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, that never, for whatever cause or reason, or on whatever plea or pretext, will we return to the state of schism from which we have been delivered by the grace of our Redeemer. We will always live in unity of the Holy Catholic Church and in true obedience to Your Holiness. Moreover we undertake to live with our lords the Cardinals in peace and friendship, without seeking cause for quarrelling or giving provocation. This we say with regard to what we have already said about the past.

"We swear by the Almighty God and by the Book of the Gospels which we hold in our hands, that we will remain in the aforesaid unity of the Church, and will

observe all and everything that we have promised, and this under penalty of perjury and other penalties. And having abjured the above-mentioned schism, both by what we have ourselves written, and in the document read before the holy Council of the Lateran, so do we now, in order to prove our sincerity of heart, explicitly anathematize the Council of Pisa, its convention, and all and everything promulgated by it. We acknowledge, hold, and declare everyone of its transactions to be null, empty, vain, and without significance and as the audacious actions of unauthorized persons. On the other hand we declare the holy Council of the Lateran to be the only true Council; we acknowledge that it was convened in a legitimate and just manner, and for a lawful purpose; and that all and everything that it has pronounced, whether generally or individually against us, as well as all the sentences and judgments pronounced against us by Pope Julius, as also all that has been pronounced in condemnation of the Council of Pisa, has been done in a fitting, lawful, and just manner.

"This we say, this we believe, this we confess absolutely. We furthermore promise to undertake and perform joyfully and humbly any penance which His Holiness may see good to impose on us for our offences. We consider ourselves as bound by all the aforesaid penalties, and by all others pronounced by the sacred canons against schismatics: and we promise before all here present to observe all that we have undertaken. We beg the notary here present to have one or more copies made, in the full form used by the Chamber, of what we have said, and of all the occurrences regarding this document."

Carvajal and Sanseverino having read and signed this declaration, the Pope pronounced the form of absolution. Then with due solemnity they were both received back into the Sacred College, and their offices were restored to them.

so far as these had not been given to others.* All the Cardinals, with the exception of Riario, who was ill, and Bainbridge and Schinner, who persisted in their resistance, were present at the ceremony.†

The Christian powers were informed of the important event by dignified Briefs.‡

While Leo X. was on the one hand receiving the schismatic Cardinals back to favour, on the other he meditated making advances to meet the wishes of Louis XII. However, about this time, his attitude towards France changed into one that was more inimical. Hitherto he had carefully avoided any open participation in the war. But suddenly a change took place which perplexed the Venetian Ambassador.§ The impetus to this change was given by the attitude taken by Venice. After the defeat of the French at Novara, Leo X. offered his mediation for the imperilled Republic, and accompanied his offer by the expression of the greatest affection. But Venice declared herself to be opposed to any negotiations which did not comprise the restoration to her of Verona and Vicenza on

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 45 *seq.*; the following concluding passage is missing: *Facto actu papa tenuit secum in prandio duos illos cardinales restitutos, qui demum hora XXI. iverunt versus urbem cum ingenti pompa quasi ipsi fuerint victores. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 429, 432 *seq.*; ZURITA, X., 74; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 572 *seq.*

† That Schinner remained irreconcilable can be seen by his passionate utterances in SANUTO, XVI., 482. See also PETRUS MARTYR, Epist., 125. It was certainly not without the influence of Schinner, who visited Switzerland in the following July (SANUTO, XVI., 499, 533, 548), that the confederates showed their disapprobation of the absolution of the Cardinals: *cf.* Abschiede III., 2, 752.

‡ Brief to the Doge, SANUTO, XVI., 479 *seq.* *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X. n. 3373 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* the account of June 25, 1513, in SANUTO, XVI., 426.

the part of the Emperor. This obstinacy exasperated the Pope, especially as the Venetian troops were giving themselves over to pillage in the territories of Parma and Piacenza. Moreover the Signoria had, against all precedent, unreasonably delayed the offering of their *obedientia* to the Holy See, and had brought themselves to do it only when there was nothing more to be hoped for from France.*

This being the case, the Pope was not inclined to show any particular consideration towards Venice, when the Emperor urgently begged for the help of a contingent of 200 men of the Papal troops to send against the Republic. This request of the Emperor came at a most unfortunate time for the Pope, in so far as it came in the way of his attempted reconciliation with France. But as to Venice, when given choice between offending the Emperor or her by such a trifle, there could be no doubt as to his decision, and he agreed to the Imperial demand, wishing to remain true to the treaty made by Julius II. with Maximilian.† The Venetians were alarmed by this event, which made them fear that the Pope would now pass over entirely to

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 175, 298, 420, 423 *seq.*, 481. It is uncertain whether the plot made during the vacancy of the Holy See, between Venice, Ravenna, and Cervia, to despoil it (ROMANIN, V., 282 ; BALAN, V., 498), was known to the Pope.

† GUICCIARDINI, XI., 6. *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 426, 481. I found the *Brief, mentioned here, to the Marquis of Mantua, dat. Rome, 1513, June 23, as to whether the passage of his soldiers through Verona would be required, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. There likewise is the Brief to Alfonso I., dat. Rome, 1513, June 24, saying that he might send a few *tormenta bellica* to the Viceroy Cardona for the defence of Verona. Orig. in State Archives, Modena. *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 3333. Leo X. seemed now to favour the warlike projects of England. *Cf.* the letter of June 25 in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 57, which, however, as maintains FERRAJOLI (Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 435), "non usciva da una approvazione generica."

the side of their enemy. Leo, for his part, made use of this frame of mind to try to compel them to a reconciliation with the Emperor, and added the threat that he would make the cause of their opponents his own.* To give more weight to his endeavours to secure peace, the Pope sent a Nuncio-extraordinary † to Venice at the end of June, who was directed to lay great stress on the Turkish peril. The Pope explained to the Venetian Ambassador, Foscari, that he had been compelled to afford to the Emperor the trifling assistance demanded, but that though he wished to see the French driven out of Italy, his feelings towards Venice were far from hostile. On the contrary, he would do everything in his power to bring about an honourable peace between the Republic and the Empire. At the same time, he pointed out that Venice could no longer look for help from France, hard pressed as was that country at home by the fear of an invasion of the English.‡

Even Foscari had to acknowledge the good-will of the Pope; still the Venetians adhered to their hopeless demand for the restoration by the Empire of Verona and Vicenza. Foscari was in a difficult position. The Pope on his side threatened to espouse the cause of the enemies of the Republic, by making use of his weapons, both spiritual and temporal; while, on the other hand, Venice tried to raise alarm in Rome by giving it to be understood that

* SANUTO, XVI., 428, 429, 450, 475, 481. Other indications of the Pope's hostile attitude towards the French are not wanting. Connected with this are the enactments in favour of Henry VIII. (Regest. Leonis X., n. 3271, 3272), and an incident that took place on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, related by Paris de Grassis, see Regest. Leonis X., p. 201.

† Gentile Sindesio, called Pindaro, see SANUTO, XVI., 445, 468, 485. *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 48 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, XVI., 426, 499, 513.

she would, if necessary, call in the help of the Turks.* But Leo X. did not allow himself to be turned from his object. At the end of July he said to the Secretary of the Venetian Embassy, who was carrying on the business during the illness of Foscari, that the attitude of Venice was such as to prevent the thought of either peace or truce. Two leagues, said he, would have to be formed, one against the Turks and the other against Venice. In August Leo said to Foscari himself: "I will offer no further mediation, for I see that you expect everything from France. If she wins, she will make herself the mistress of Italy; if she loses, every State will turn against you."†

The Signoria turned a deaf ear to all Leo's exhortations. Even the news of the invasion of France by the Swiss, and the victory which the English, led by the Emperor Maximilian, had gained over the French on the 16th August in the skirmish of Guinegate, as well as the rumoured negotiations for the formation of a league between the Pope and Spain, produced no change in the purpose of the Republic. In Rome it was asked: What will Venice do now? and the invariable answer was that she would call in the assistance of the Turks. The Pope did not take this threat seriously, and renewed his negotiations with Foscari, and in October with his successor, Lando, but with no better success than before.‡ He acted in the same way with the Germans. The Pope tried to urge them to peace as well as the Venetians. With this object he decided to send Lorenzo Campeggio to Maximilian in Flanders on the 14th of September.§ The

* SANUTO, XVI., 513, 557.

† *Ibid.*, 587, 663.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 557, 587, 663; XVII., 22, 30 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*, 52, 67, 99, 162, 179, 204.

§ As early as the middle of August the Pope had told the Cardinals

secret instructions to this Nuncio are one of the most important documents for revealing the policy of Leo X. during the first years of his pontificate. The Medici Pope was inclined to conceal his intentions as much as possible in order to avoid future inquiries as to their result. Campeggio was therefore directed to keep his instructions quite secret, even so far as to have them written in cipher. These conditions enhance the value of the instructions to no ordinary degree, because few other documents could give the same insight into the objects of the Papal policy. First, the Nuncio is directed to ferret out Maximilian's intentions as to the pending war, with the assurance that the Pope wishes to remain on good terms with him and his allies, seeing that this corresponds with the interests of the Holy See and the safety of Italy. Above all things the Envoy must represent to the Emperor how ardently the Pope desires the peace of Christendom, as befits his office as Vicar of Christ, and as corresponds with his natural disposition, and as is, finally, suitable to the needs of the European States, which ought to be at peace with each other so as to be able to offer more effectual resistance to the powerful and encroaching empire of the Ottomans. If, however, the Emperor is determined to declare war, it is necessary that he should provide for the union of the allies, and decide whether he will fight France or Venice; for to contend against two such mighty

of his intention to send Campeggio to the Emperor, F. Fregoso to England, and L. Canossa to France. It was soon to be seen that the mission of Canossa was put off. (SANUTO, XVI., 652, 653.) Although the instructions given are dated Sept. 14, the faculties were given only on Oct. 11 (Regest. Leonis X., n. 4928), and the appointment of a Nuncio as a permanency dates only from the end of the year. PIEFER, Nuntiaturen, 51-52. A drama by the humanist, Jakob Locher, was based on Leo's peace mediations; see GEIGER (Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Lit.-Gesch, N.F.I., 72 *seq.*).

powers would be an impossibility. In the opinion of the Pope, peace with Venice is to be the most recommended, though it would be necessary for the Emperor to lay down conditions such as the Republic could not reasonably reject. But war should, in the Pope's opinion, be undertaken solely as the means of restoring peace to Europe. Next to his care for the welfare of all Christians, these instructions reveal Leo's zeal for the peace and independence of Italy. On this account he would wish Sforza to be upheld at Milan; and for the same reason he would stand by England and the Emperor against France. Moreover he would not refuse reconciliation to the adherents of the Council of Pisa, if the schismatics would repent and return to the Church; but the Emperor shall be instructed further on all these matters.*

As early as July the Emperor had arranged for peace negotiations, though, by having recourse to arms, he wished to make the terms as favourable as possible to himself.† He therefore learned with joy that the Spanish and German troops had made an attack on Venice during the last weeks of September. In thus acting the Spanish Viceroy, Cardona, had been over-precipitate, and on the 20th of October had to make a very difficult retreat. The Venetian troops followed him on foot, and on the 7th October a battle was fought not far from Vicenza, which resulted in a brilliant victory for the Imperial-Spanish

* A copy of this, signed by Bibbiena, and the secret instructions, dated from Rome, Sept. 14, 1513, in Arm. XXXI., t. 46, fol. 376-383, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, published later by CAUCHIE in the Bull. d. la Commiss. d'hist., 5th Series, I. (1891), 31, 40. It can be seen that Guasti had already given an epitome of these instructions from the Manoscr. Torrigiani of the Florentine State Archives, in Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd Series, XXVI., 190 *seq.*

† ULMANN, II., 477.

army.* Under the influence of their severe defeat the Venetian government decided to give to the Pope full power to make peace on the terms he wished.† On this Leo at once demanded the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Viceroy.‡ Matthæus Lang, deeply versed in the secrets of the Imperial policy, was appointed by Maximilian as his representative at the negotiations.§

While he was negotiating between the Empire and Venice, Leo was doing the same thing between England and France, urging them to make peace with one another. As he had done after the battle of Novara, so now, in his letters congratulating the King of England on his victory over the French and Scotch, he expressed the hope that the bloody struggle would now be at an end. At the same time he uttered the pious wish that the victorious arms of Henry VIII. might be turned against the Turks.|| It did not enter into Leo's intentions that France should be driven to extremities. Though opposed to a French occupation of Milan, the Pope wished to keep the way open

* The Pope decided that this victory should not be celebrated in Rome. Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 78. *Cf.* SANUTO, XVII., 205, 217.

† SANUTO, XVII., 271 ; ULMANN, II., 482.

‡ See the Brief drawn up by Bembo on Nov. 3, 1513. SANUTO, XVII., 307-308.

§ Lang was appointed Envoy in Italy on July 12, 1513. See his *Bestallungsurkunde, in the Keeper of the State's Archives, Innsbruck, P.A.U., II., No. 99.

|| BEMBI epist., V., 19; RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 60. *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in Regest. Leonis X., n. 4918, and the *Letters of Giuliano to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1513, Oct. 6 and 8 and Nov. 1, in the State Archives, Florence, Av. il. princ. (VII.). As to the unsuccessful attempt of Henry VIII. to obtain from Leo X. a confirmation of the Brief of Julius II., giving the investiture to him with France, see RYMER, XIII., 376, 378 *seq.*, and FERRAJOLI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 435-438

for an understanding with Louis XII., as the only means of terminating the schism and restoring unity to the Church. As early as July, Leo had sent the distinguished and truly ecclesiastical Cardinal, Robert Challand, to France to prepare the way for a reconciliation.*

On his side Louis XII. sent the Bishop of Marseilles, Claude de Seyssel, to Rome on the 24th of July. As the King had not yet repudiated the schism, his representative could not be received solemnly. He did not therefore appear in the capacity of an Envoy for the *obedientia*, but only as a simple agent.† Seyssel turned especially to Giuliano de' Medici, who was his King's friend. Nevertheless he treated immediately of only ecclesiastical matters,‡ for Louis XII. had by no means given up his plans for the conquest of Italy. To hinder him in this project, the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spain had made a treaty of alliance against France, on the 17th of October, 1513.§ It was only on learning this that Louis XII. made up his mind.

He was influenced not a little in his change of purpose by the voice of an influential body in France, who refused to recognise the lamentable anti-Papal Council, and desired a restoration of union with Rome. The influence of the Queen, who had always been opposed to the schism, weighed also in the balance.‖ If, in spite of the King's

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 53; SANUTO, XVI., 318.

† SANUTO, XVI., 548, and ZURITA, X., 74. *Cf.* DUFAYARD, Cl. Seysselii vita, Paris, 1892, 22 *seq.* The arrival in Rome of Seyssel did not take place on the 23rd of July, as is stated by MADELIN (Mél., XXII., 296), but on the 24th of July; see the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library), where a mistake is avoided by the addition of "Dimanche," which fell that year on the 24th of July.

‡ SANUTO, XVI., 616, 652.

§ BREWER, I., 685, 699; HUBER, III., 408.

‖ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 1.

change of purpose, the negotiations for a reconciliation progressed but slowly, the reason was that, though the acceptance at Rome of the resolutions passed by the Council of Pisa was recognised as an impossibility, yet the express rejection of them by France would be accompanied by the gravest difficulties. Another great obstacle lay in the pride of Louis XII. He rebelled against the idea of asking, in so many words, for absolution from the ecclesiastical penalties which he had incurred. Apparently the die was finally cast by the verdict of Girolamo Aleander, the learned Rector of the University of Paris, whom the King had consulted, and who decided that the Council of Pisa was no longer defensible.*

Seyssel had already formed his opinion that its repudiation was the only course possible in the interests of France.† On the 6th of October, therefore, the arbitrators who had been appointed, Cardinal Sanseverino, the Protector of France, and Louis Forbin, Lord of Solier, with the Pope and four Cardinals deputed for the negotiation of this affair, drew up a solemn declaration by which Louis XII. rejected the Council of Pisa and acknowledged that of the Lateran. The act was actually drawn up by Bembo.‡

On the 26th of October Louis XII. agreed to this declaration, and appointed Seyssel and Forbin to present it at the Lateran Council.§ On the same day he authorized Cardinal Sanseverino, Seyssel, and Forbin to submit his dispute about Milan and Asti, as well as those with the Emperor, England, Switzerland, and Sforza, to the arbitra-

* MAI, Spicil., II., 240 ; PAQUIER, 63.

† *Cf.* the interesting intimation on the subject made by Seyssel to the Venetian Ambassador, SANUTO, XVI., 587.

‡ Printed in DUMONT, IV., 1, 175.

§ RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 89.

tion of the Pope.* Leo on his side attested that the French King was not included in the sentence of Julius II. against the Council of Pisa, Alfonso of Ferrara, and others, and, were he to receive absolution, it would be only for his greater safety.† His ecclesiastical reconciliation would be ratified at the eighth session of the Lateran Council, to be held on the 19th of December.

While negotiations for peace with France were in progress, Rome witnessed another great ceremony, in the shape of the *obedientia* of the Emperor. The proud Matthæus Lang had been appointed Maximilian's representative. During his visit to Rome in November, 1512, Julius II. had raised this influential adviser of the Emperor to the purple. But Lang, in order to avoid all appearance of double-dealing in his mission, had refused to receive the insignia of his office.‡ When, however, the man on whom so much depended was sent to Rome in November, 1513, accompanied by a considerable suite, Leo X. wished to send the Cardinal's hat to meet him.§ But Lang declined this. He postponed his arrival in Rome till the Pope had returned from Civitavecchia on the 17th of November, and then entered the Eternal City without any pomp. On the 19th he had a private audience with Leo X., who received him with great consideration. During the following days Lang had several interviews with the Pope, one of which lasted for five hours. The subject of their discussion was the reconciliation of Venice with the Emperor, which was

* The *original, with the signature and seal of the French King, is in the State Archives, Florence, Manoscr. Torrigiani.

† HARDOUIN, IX., 1699–1700; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 579, n. 1.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 426 *seq.*

§ TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 280 (Chigi Library, Rome).

strongly urged by Leo. But Lang's demands were so exorbitant that not only the Venetian Ambassador, but the Pope himself despaired of an accommodation. Lang also put forward the most unusual claims for himself. He lived in Rome in great state, yet he dressed as a layman,* and kept his incognito so strictly that he would not go out till after dark. On one occasion this proud upstart kept the Spanish Ambassador waiting in his ante-room for such an unconscionable time, that that worthy exclaimed: "It strikes me that this man wishes to be greater than the Pope." †

An authentic account of Lang's pretensions as regarded the Pope has been given us by the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis. The haughty Envoy demanded that as representative of the Emperor he should be met by the senators and chief magistrates of the city, when he made his public entry into Rome. In the Consistory he claimed the first place, before all the Cardinals. Lang and the Master of Ceremonies had violent altercations about this and other demands of the same nature. It was at last agreed that the Imperial Envoy should receive the red hat on the 8th of December, and that he should on the following morning be conducted by all the Cardinals from his provisional dwelling to the Consistory. Moreover, precedence over the three Cardinal-deacons made in September was conceded to him.‡

* Lang was not ordained priest until 1519. As to his life in the world, and his position in the Lutheran movement, see HAUTHALER, Arch. für Salzb. Landeskunde, 1898.

† SANUTO, XVII., 306, 325, 326, 329, 341, 342, 348, 352, 353, 354, 364, 373, 379. As to Lang's overbearing ways, see Arch. Stor. Ital., 4th Series, VIII., 234, 313 *seq.*

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, 1513; *Consistorium publ. pro admissione rev. dom. card. Gurcensis et de eiusdem ambitione et vana gloria. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Lang's procession to the Consistory on the 9th of December was exceedingly magnificent. His suite consisted of four hundred horsemen, and he was accompanied by several Ambassadors. When the Master of Ceremonies permitted himself to make a remark on the smallness of Lang's tonsure, and on the great length of his hair, he answered with a jest.*

On the 11th of December the Imperial Envoys for the *obedientia*, the Duke of Bari, brother of Maximilian Sforza, Alberto Pio di Carpi, Pietro Bonomo, Bishop of Trieste, and Antonio della Rovere made their entry into the Eternal City. The Pope ordered a solemn reception for them, though the French Envoy protested against the Duke of Bari acting as the representative of Milan.† The ceremony took place on the 14th of December. The discourse on the *obedientia* was delivered by Girolamo Morone. In it he allowed himself to be carried away into charging the French King with tyranny. As was but natural, the representative of Louis XII. entered a strong protest. Morone would have retorted, but was with difficulty prevented by the Master of Ceremonies. Leo X. tried to put an end to the quarrel by a conciliatory speech. As usual, he spoke well and elegantly.‡ On the 17th of December Lang dined with

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XVII., 380, and the *Letter of Gabbioneta, dat. Rome, 1513, Dec. 9 (Gonzaga Archives at Mantua). *PARIS DE GRASSIS (see Appendix, No. 7), Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 3552 (Vatican Library). According to this source, Lang lived in the palace of the Card. of Portugal, near S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

† SANUTO, XVII., 398, and PARIS DE GRASSIS (see Appendix, No. 8), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *PARIS DE GRASSIS (Diarium) speaks as follows about this painful scene, which is also mentioned by SANUTO (XVII., 399): *Elegantissime et doctissime dixit (G. Morone) sic ut omnes admirati sint et elegantiam et ornatum ac modum dicendi, et quam animose tetigerit Gallum regem, nec inter dicendum dubitavit appellare illum inimicissi-

Leo X. and had an audience with him of two hours' duration. Afterwards the Pope received the Spanish and after him the Venetian Ambassador. What passed between them related to peace on the part of Maximilian and Venice.*

The eighth session of the Lateran Council was held solemnly on Sunday the 19th of December. Besides the Pope, who had gone to the Lateran the evening before, twenty-three Cardinals, eleven archbishops, forty-five bishops, five generals of religious orders, as well as the Emperor's Envoy and the Ambassadors of Spain, France, Poland, Venice, Brandenburg, Montferrat, Milan, and Rhodes took part in it. In his opening discourse, the Knight of St. John, John Baptist de Gargiis, urged a war against the Turks as a preliminary condition of the establishment of peace among Christian princes. After the Gospel for Sexagesima Sunday had been sung, the Envoys of Louis XII., Claude de Seyssel and Louis Forbin de Solier, presented their King's solemn declaration that he severed himself thenceforward from all connection with the Council of Pisa, and freely and plainly acknowledged the Council of the Lateran as the only one that was legitimate. Simultaneously a fresh deputation was announced, con-

mum et pessimum et barbarum crudum. Finito sermone orator regis Galli, qui adfuit orationi, surrexit et protestatus est alte satis quidem eleganter et bene de non admittenda obedientia ducis Mediolani, cum ipse non sit dux nec ad eum pertineat ducatus, etc. Ad quem ille dom. Hieronymus cum vellet replicare, nos magistri inhibuimus ac vocem repressimus, et subito papa respondit bene et eleganter ut semper et acceptavit obedientiam ducis, neve inter ambarum partium oratores esset aliqua verbalis aut postea realis rixa, dixit festiviter utrique, quando regis Galli oratores praestabunt obedientiam pro rege et si forte nominabunt eum ducem Mediolani, quod tunc e converso orator Mediolani protestetur similiter, sicut iste nunc fecit, et sic fuit finis. Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

* SANUTO, XVII., 414. *Cf.* Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 213 *seq.*

sisting of six prelates and four doctors who had taken part in the assembly of Pisa, but who now repudiated the pseudo-Council, and asked for absolution. Finally there was handed in a request from the remainder of the absent French, for permission to defer their appearance. Without such a request nothing could be done in the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction. Even on this solemn occasion there was an exciting episode; for the representative of Maximilian Sforza protested against the French King calling himself Duke of Milan in his declaration. The Pope assured him that no trouble should arise from this. After this the Ambassadors of Brandenburg and Montferrat joined the Council.

After the promulgation of a dogmatic constitution of which mention will be made later, two important Bulls were read aloud. One related to the reformation of the Curia, and the other to the restoration of peace among the Christian princes, the formation of a Crusade, and the reconciliation of the heretical Bohemians. The Pope commanded that the Te Deum should be sung at the end of the session in thanksgiving for the adhesion that France had given to the Council, thereby restoring the unity of the Church.*

Thus did the first year of Leo X. close with a crowning success for his policy of peace. The schism which had

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 85–97. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 579–589, and the * Letter which Francesco, the brother of Maximilian Sforza, wrote to the latter from Rome on the 19th of December, 1513. He says at the end: * Fu reputato certamente uno dignissimo spectaculo vedere reducta una summa et intolerabile superbia ad una infinita humilita et summissione verso la Sede Apostolica, quale pero fu conosciuta et riputata da quelli hanno juditio ficta et simulata per necessita. (State Archives, Milan.) See ROMANIN, VII., 271 *seq.*, for a French satire on the reconciliation of Louis XII., also, HÖFLER, Die romanische Welt und ihr Verhältnis zu den Reformideen des Mittelalters, Wien, 1878, 266.

broken out under Julius II. was practically healed, and the abjuration of many of the Pisa schismatics was to follow ere long.* This session of the Council of the Lateran was deeply interesting to the Romans; but their excitement was kept at fever heat by the series of splendid processions of Envoys sent to proffer their obedience to the Pope, which succeeded each other all through the first year of his pontificate, and half through the second.† Spectacles of this kind delighted the people quite as much as did the reduction of taxes, and all the other favours bestowed upon them by Leo X.‡ To the customary addresses of the Envoys the Pope replied with such elegance and readiness that the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, cannot refrain from repeating his expressions of admiration in his diary.§

* As to further particulars relating to the absolution of the Archbishops of Arles and Lyons, of Z. Ferreri, of Card. Briçonnet, of d'Albret and de Prie, and many other French ecclesiastics, see HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 593, 614 *seq.* The date, which is omitted there, of the reconciliation of de Prie, is, according to the * Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library), April 24, 1514.

† *Cf.* Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 2 *seq.*, * Diary of a Frenchman, in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library). SANUTO, Diario, XVI., and TIZIO, * Hist. Senen., in Cod. G., II., 37 (Chigi Library, Rome).

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 35; SANUTO, XVI., 225; and BRANCA DE TELINI, * Diario in Cod. Barb., LIV., 22, f. 40*b* (Vatican Library).

§ 1513, June 20. The *obedientia* of the Sienese Ambassador: * Pontifex elegantissime atque argutissime respondit sic, ut omnes laudare non cessent eumdem, qui ita in omnibus suis responsionibus se eleganter habuit, non sicut olim Julius qui quotiens orare volebat aut mori aut se mortuum esse fingebat, praeter id quod saepe defecerit ita, ut mihi plerumque fuerit necesse adire et eum quasi exinanitum excitare et verba oblita rememorare. (*Cf.* 4th Germ. ed. of this work, Vol. III., 933.) 1513, Dec. 12, *Obedientia* of the Envoys from Montferrat: *Papa eis respondit elegantissime super omnium admirationem. PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 225.

The greatest sensation of all was caused by the embassy of King Emanuel of Portugal, who had already sent gifts to the Pope* with the intimation of his wondrous successes in the Indies and Africa.† On receipt of this the Pope ordered ecclesiastical commemorations, and encouraged the King, in a flattering letter, to take further action against the infidel.‡

Leo X. made extensive preparations for the reception of the Portuguese embassy, which rendered the spectacle of the 12th of March, 1514, unusually brilliant.§ A Bull had been published four days previously, which called on all the Portuguese to support the King in his crusade against the Moors of Africa. At the head of this embassy came Tristan d'Acunha, who was so well known for his voyages

* *Cf.* LANDUCCI, 343.

† Letter, dat. from Lisbon, 1513, June 6, in Cod. 1910, f. 140*b*–143*b*., Riccardi Library, Florence. *Cf.* UZIELLI, P. Toscanelli e la circumnavigazione dell' Africa (*Nozze-Publ.*), Florence, 1891.

‡ See RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 125 *seq.*, 137, and the *Letter of Chieregati, dat. Rome, 1514, Jan. 8. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* S. DE CIUTIIS, 13–15, and MACSWINEY, Portugal et le St. Siège, III., 94 *seq.*, 114.

§ For details relating to the Embassy of King Emanuel to the Pope: it has been recently treated of by S. DE CIUTIIS (Une ambassade Portugaise à Rome au 16me siecle, Naples, 1889), and by MACSWINEY (Portugal, III., 102 *seq.*): erroneously put by GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 182), in May, 1514. *Cf.* Paris de Grassis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, esp. in RAYNALDUS, 1514, n. 1 *seq.*; DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 161, and S. DE CIUTIIS, *loc. cit.*); SANUTO, XVII., 422, XVIII., 58 *seq.*; JOVIUS, Hist., XII., 207, Elogia, 229 *seqq.*, Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 234 *seq.*, 238 *seq.* See also Diary in Mél. d'Arch., XXII., 277, the *Letter of Guido Postumo, dat. Rome, 1514, March 13 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the contemporary *Chron., V. Polit., 50, f. 62 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); also FR. NOVELLUS, *Vita Leonis X., in Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, f. 11 (Vatican Library). About the gifts, *cf.* IOANNINENSIS, Penthatheucus, 99, LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 41.

of discovery. He was accompanied by two distinguished lawyers, Diego Pacheco and Juan de Faria, and by many members of the Portuguese nobility, as well as by a number of negroes and Indians—in all seventy persons.

The brilliant and peculiar procession caused even less sensation than the rare and precious gifts presented by the Envoy to the Pope, as a living proof of the conquest of the territory of the infidels. There were Persian horses, Indian poultry, parrots, a young panther, two leopards, and a white elephant, on which the sight-loving Romans could not sufficiently feast their eyes. A richly-dressed Moor rode on the powerful beast, which carried on its back, under an ornamental canopy, a chest, surmounted by a silver fortress flanked with many towers. Inside the chest were various gifts for Leo: vestments embroidered in gold and precious stones, monstrances and chalices of purest gold, a beautiful altar-cloth, and costly books. The elephant followed its leader docilely; and when it approached the bridge of St. Angelo, above which the Pope was stationed to behold the unwonted spectacle, the beast stood still, and bent its knees three times to His Holiness. The joy of the people reached its height when the elephant sprinkled them with water which had been given to it. The animal became the talk of the town; poets sang its praises,* and even the dry Master of Ceremonies set himself to describe it.

The clever beast, which performed various tricks, had for a keeper Battista Branconio, who was a friend of Raphael's. To no less a man than the great painter of Urbino was given the commission, after the elephant's solemn entry into Rome, to paint its portrait in a lower cupola of the Vatican. This portrait was destroyed in the

* *E.g.* B. F. Beroaldo, see PAQUIER, Vita 35, and Aurelius Serenus, in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 287*b*, 293, Chigi Library, Rome.

course of the restorations made by Paul V. But on a door which leads from the Stanza della Signatura into the Stanza d'Eliodoro, there has been preserved a fine piece of intarsia work, which represents the elephant as it is described by the poet Baraballo. In a woodcut also we have a representation of the beast, the like of which had never been seen in Rome since the days of the Emperors.*

On the 26th of March the Portuguese Envoy made his *obedientia* in a public Consistory. Pacheco delivered the usual discourse, which is a model of the extravagant bombast which was loved and admired at that time. Leo answered elegantly as well as exhaustively, treating of the necessity of peace among the Christian princes, and of their combination against the infidels.† Next day there took place the presentation of the gifts, the value of which

* The elephant of Leo X. boasts of no insignificant literature of its own, *e.g.* the Letter of Sadolet in ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., 197 *seq.* ; OSORIUS, De reb. Eman. regis Lusit., IX., 263 ; Epist. obscur. vir., ed. Boecking, 262 ; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 285*b seq.* (Chigi Library, Rome.) In this there is a contemporary woodcut representing the elephant. The death of the elephant (epitaph in REUMONT, III., 2, 857) was considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned by contemporaries : *Lundi, XVI., Juin 1516, mourut l'elephant ; *Diary in Cod Barb., lat. 3552, f. 27. (Vatican Library.) *Cf.* SANUTO, XXII., 475 ; Spicil. Vat., I., 22 ; BURCKHARDT, II., 7, 290 *seq.*, V. ROSSI, in Intermezzo, Torino, 1890, 632 *seqq.* ; CESARE in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 133 *seq.* A memorial of the elephant, which has not been noticed before, is to be found at the Villa Madama. In the central niche of the terrace there is an elephant's head, from which there falls into an antique sarcophagus a jet of water from the hillside above.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS (*Diarium, XII., 24, Secret Archives of the Vatican) expressly mentions the 20th of March as the day of the *obedientia.* According to this the date of the letter of Bald. da Pescia (ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., II.) should be the 20th, and not the 25th of March. *Cf.* S. DE CIUTIIS, 32 *seq.*, where the discourse of the *obedientia* is again printed from ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 184 *seq.*

surpassed even the imagination of contemporary writers.* The Pope now determined to send to King Emanuel the Golden Rose which he had originally intended for the Emperor.†

The substantial concessions received by their Envoys were more important in the eyes of the Portuguese. Leo X. at once granted to the King power of raising a tenth from the Portuguese clergy, as long as the war in Africa lasted.‡ Moreover, by a Bull of June 7th, 1514, King Emanuel received the right of patronage over all bishoprics and benefices in his actual possessions over the sea, as well as in lands to be conquered by him in the future, and also the incorporation of these benefices in the Order of Christ.§ On the 3rd of November, this right of patronage in all countries conquered and to be conquered, was extended, not only to the whole Indies, but to all parts of the world as yet unknown.|| But even these marks of favour did not satisfy the generosity of Leo X.¶ In the following year he sent to King Emanuel the Sword and Hat

* The Franciscan, Fra Gratia de Francia, values the gifts at more than 80,000 ducats. *Cod. Urb., 1023, f. 340*b*, Vatican Library.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.* *Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1514, March 26 and April 18, State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVII., S. DE CIUTIIS, 62–63, in which the 26th of March should be read for the 26th of May, pages 30–32 relate to Leo's letter of thanks to King Emanuel of May 11, 1514; and 71–72 relate to the letter of the same day about the Golden Rose. See the detailed statement of MACSWINEY, III., 115 *seq.*

‡ Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 224–248; S. DE CIUTIIS, 65–70.

§ *Ibid.*, I., 254 *seq.*; DUMONT, II., 1, 27. *Cf.* S. DE CIUTIIS, 70; SCHÄFER, Portugal, III., 83.

|| *Ibid.*, I 275–298., Regest. Leonis X., n. 12516; MACSWINEY. III., 127.

¶ *Ibid.*, I., 304 See S. DE CIUTIIS, 71; SCHÄFER, Portugal, III., 84.

usually blessed by the Pope at Christmas.* In this way did the Supreme Head of the Church proclaim before the whole world the value he set on the war which the King of Portugal alone among Christian princes had been found to carry on against the infidel, by which such brilliant prospects were opened to Christendom.

* MacSwiney, Le Portugal et le Saint Siège, I., 19 *seqq.*

CHAPTER II.

The Medici and the Policy of Leo X., 1513–1515.

All Italians are warmly attached to their home and family. This characteristic, beautiful and noble in itself, but so harmful to many Popes, reached such proportions in Leo X. that, throughout his pontificate, the history of Florence and of the Medici was closely bound up with that of Rome.*

Two out of his many relatives, Giuliano, his brother, and Giulio his cousin, betook themselves to the Eternal City soon after the termination of the Conclave.† The former, youngest son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, born in 1479, had always been intended for the secular state, as also was Lorenzo, the son of Leo's eldest brother Piero. As soon as these two arrived, on the 13th of September, 1513, the Roman patriciate was conferred on them with great pomp in the Capitol.‡

Giuliano, with his weak health, did not seem to possess the qualifications necessary for the management of Florentine affairs; therefore Leo X. decided that he should remain in Rome, with the honourable title of General of the Church. The difficult task of governing the Florentine Republic fell, by command of the Pope, to the lot of Lorenzo, who, though only twenty-one years of age, repre-

* Reumont-Baschet, Catherine de Médicis, 8, 240.

† *Cf.* Landucci, 339.

‡ Sanuto, XVII., 73. For more details, see Vol. VIII., chap. III., of this work.

sented the elder branch of the family. He returned to Florence from Rome on the 10th of August, 1513.*

The form of government in that city was in essentials exactly what it had been under Lorenzo the Magnificent. Two councils legislated for everything. One consisted of seventy members, elected for life, and the other of a hundred, who were changed every six months. The council of a hundred, to which all late Gonfalonieri might belong, had the sole right of levying supplies and imposing taxes. The adherents of the Medici were in a large majority in both councils, and it was therefore unnecessary to give to Lorenzo a special position above that of the other citizens. The eyes of all were turned on the palace of the Pope's nephew in the Via Larga, Giulio de' Medici having advised him to make friends by his courtesy and prudent hospitality.† The independence of Florence was a mere form, and the house of Medici practically governed supremely. Significant of this was the fact that in September, 1513, the Feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of the Medici, was made into a state holiday.‡ On the Feast of St. John, in 1514, Lorenzo

* *Cf.* LANDUCCI, 341.

† *Io son certo che la M. V. hormai debbe conoscere le conditioni et apetiti di codesti cittadini et io non per ricordare, ma per discorrere judico che due cose sieno ad proposito et costino poco et possino giovare assai, l'una qualche ceremonia exteriore di affabilità et gratitudine di parole de le quali ne sarei liberale con quelli ad chi più se convenghono et che ne son più desiderosi. L'altra di intratenere con buona electione quando uno et quando unaltro ad mangiare seco non solo ne la citta, ma in villa perche sono due termini che fanno gratia et ogni di più se ne acquista commendatione. Card. G. de' Medici to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1514, Feb. 11. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CXIII.

‡ LANDUCCI, 342. *Cf.* M. Giorgi in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 52 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XXIV., 90 *seq.* Also LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 222, n. 4. According to M. Giorgi the income of Florence amounted

celebrated with great pomp the anniversary of the return of his family to Florence, Cardinals Cibo, Este, Aragona, Cornaro, Bibbiena, and Sauli being present incognito. In May of the following year, the Pope's nephew having been elected Captain-General of the Florentine levies, he found himself in an unusually prominent position,* though the Florentine government was in all essentials dependent on Rome.†

The Pope's cousin, Giulio de' Medici, who had lived chiefly in Lombardy as an inmate of the Capuan Priory of St. John, was made Archbishop of Florence on the 9th of May, 1513. Public opinion considered Giulio, who was born on the 26th of May, 1478, after the murder of his father by the Pazzi, to be branded with the stain of illegitimate birth, and from this disability he had already received a dispensation.‡ When, in the autumn, there was a question of his being made Cardinal, it was attested by witnesses that a valid marriage had taken place secretly between his father and mother, Floreta, a special deed to that effect being drawn up; § and, on the 23d of September, 1513, he was, at the age of thirty-five, raised

to 74,000 ducats, by the levy of taxes in town and country; 12,000 from the subject cities of Arezzo, Pisa, Pistoia, and Cortona; and, lastly, 160,000 from direct taxation. This tenth was called *balzello.*

* LANDUCCI, 346 *seq.*, 350; NARDI, 275; NERLI, VI., 126 *seq.*; ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 38 *seq*; CAPPONI, III., 132 *seq*; REUMONT, Toscana, I., 14 *seq.*; REUMONT-BASCHET, 244; PERRENS, III., 46 *seq.*; VERDI, 10–11, *cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 41.

† ULMANN (Studien, II., 99 *seq.*) concludes from this that it was Lorenzo's independent ambition which made him find no satisfaction in the rôle of chief citizen of Florence, hampered from above and from below.

‡ Regest. Leonis X., n. 2514–2524.

§ Regest. Leonis X., n. 4598. *Cf.* JOVIUS, Pomp. Colonna, 151; NARDI, 274; Lit. Rundschau, 1884, 439.

to the much-coveted purple.* Giulio received as his title S. Maria in Domnica, which had been that of Leo X. before he was elected Pope.†

In this his first creation of Cardinals,‡ three others, closely connected with the new Pope, also received the red hat. These were Innocenzo Cibo, Lorenzo Pucci, and Bernardo Bibbiena.§ Innocenzo Cibo, born in 1491, was the eldest son of Franceschetto Cibo and Maddalena de' Medici, the sister of Leo X. Beyond this relationship he had no particular claims or merits. The Pope in nominating him is reported to have said, in reference to his own elevation through his grandfather: "What I re-

* Even on March 10, 1513, Giulio de' Medici had tried to interest the influential Piero di Antonio Pucci on behalf of his nomination. See the remarkable document published by G. O. CORAZZINI for *Nozze* Ciampolini-Magagnini, 1894, pp. 17–18.

† On Sept. 1, 1514, Card. de' Medici was appointed Legate at Bologna; Regest. Leonis X., n. 12300, and the *Brief to Bologna of the 1st of September, 1514, in the State Archives, Bologna. *Cf.* Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1513, Sept. 5; State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVII.

‡ *Cf.* the *Letter of Carlo Agnello, Sept. 23, 1513 (Gonzaga Archives). *PARIS DE GRASSIS, see Appendix, No. 6. JOVIUS, Hist., XI., 191. BEMBI epist., V., 1 and 10; Regest. Leonis X. n. 4525; 4624. Miscell. d. Stor. Ital., II., 89 *seqq.*, 96, 102. CARDELLA, IV., 1 *seq.* PANVINIUS, 353. CIACONIUS, III., 337 *seqq.*

§ The publication followed in a Consistory held on Sept. 27, 1513, which PARIS DE GRASSIS *(Diarium) describes in detail. He says: *Illico papa inchoavit aperiens causas quibus motus erat ad creationem horum cardinalium, dans unicuique modestissimam laudem, et in veritate sermo papae praeter verba sanctissima etiam commodissima et elegantissima fuerunt. . . . Et egressi sunt omnes, cardinales autem antiqui duxerunt novos ad aedes novas proprias pontificis, in quibus ipse habitabat dum esset cardinalis. A banquet terminated the solemnity. On the Feast of St. Nicholas, Dec. 6, 1513, Paris writes thus: Papa dedit 4 minores ordines tribus cardinalibus (Cibo, Medici, and Bibbiena). *Cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 9.

ceived from an Innocent, that do I give now to an Innocent." Certainly this did not justify the reception of a youth of twenty-two into the Senate of the Church. As, moreover, he made a very worldly use of his rich benefices, and gave himself over to a life of immorality, nothing but blame can be attached to his elevation to the purple.*

Lorenzo Pucci, whose beautiful features are reproduced in the portrait by the master-hand of Sebastiano del Piombo (now in the Hofmuseum at Vienna), was not only a member of one of the most respected branches of the Medici family, but had given proof of his ability and skill under the pontificate of Julius II. Besides this he had been for a long time teacher of law at Pisa, and had a profound knowledge of canon law and theology. Unfortunately, these excellent qualities were marred by the most execrable avarice, which he sought to satisfy by an unscrupulous traffic in the matter of indulgences.† It must, however, be admitted that when it was a question of the promotion of art, Pucci did not spare himself. As an instance of this may be cited the fact that he had his chapel in the Trinità de' Monti painted by Perino del Vaga.‡ He was also on terms of intimacy with Raphael, and it was through an arrangement made by him on behalf of his nephew Antonio that the picture of St. Cecilia was painted.§ Michael Angelo also did work for the Cardinal of the Quattro Coronati, by which name Pucci was known, after his titular church. If he could say, when speaking of that master, that he

* REUMONT, Beitrage, IV., 105, and STAFFETTI, Il card. J. Cibo, 25 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*

† SCHULTE, I., 137 *seqq.*, 242 *seq.*, 264. *Cf.* Quellen und Forschungen, VI., 377 *seq.* ROSSI, Pasq., XLVII.; Gior. de lett., XLII., 99. See further, Vol. VIII. of this work, Chapter II.

‡ VASARI, X., 149.

§ MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 545.

was true to him as a brother, such a relationship speaks for itself of the Cardinal's intellectual greatness.*

The third to be raised to the purple was, no doubt, a very distinguished and intellectual man; but he was so worldly-minded that his elevation also must be reprehended. Bernardo Dovizi, usually known as Bibbiena from the place of his birth, a small town in the upper Casentino, had been closely connected with the Medici from his early youth. In Florence he had superintended the studies of the young Giovanni, had then become his private secretary, had accompanied him into exile, had defended his interests with Julius II., and had, finally, been invaluable to him by his services as conclavist during the business of the election.† As a reward for these services he was first named chief treasurer, and soon after raised to the purple. He was not, however, fitted for such a dignity, being essentially a man of the world, who, besides being devoted to literary and artistic enjoyments, by no means despised those of a grosser description. He was much valued by Leo X. on account of his faithful services, his ready pen, his warm interest in literature and art, and his invariable gaiety and overflowing spirits. As an organizer of festivities he had no equal.‡ In political matters he was the Pope's principal and most influential adviser during the first years of Leo's pontificate. At that time, out of opposition to Giuliano, he took up a line against the French; and this was probably the cause of the great fluctuations in the Papal policy.

The political influence exercised by Bibbiena was illustrated by the alterations effected by Leo in the office

* DAELLI, Carte michelangioleschi inedite, 31.

† See *supra*, p. 24.

‡ BANDINI, Bibbiena, 16 *seqq*. For further details, see Vol. VIII of this work, Chapter II.

of the Papal secretaries.* Innocent VIII., in reorganizing this department, had placed at its head a confidential secretary, called indifferently *segretario domestico*, *secreto*, or *intimo*, who almost filled the place of a Secretary of State. He was given an apartment in the Vatican, and had free admission to the Pope at all hours; and to him alone were his master's secrets confided. To him were given over the reports of the Nuncios, to be answered in accordance with the verbal directions of the Pope. Naturally this extraordinary office became ere long the object of envy of the other secretaries, and led, moreover, to many abuses. In order to put an end to all complaints, Leo X. appointed special secretaries for the secret Briefs.†

The post of "segretario intimo" held under Leo X. by Pietro Ardinghello, was considerably reduced in importance by the fact that a Cardinal intervened between him and the Pope, and that all business passed through him.‡ At first this Cardinal was Bibbiena; later it was Giulio de' Medici. It is a mistake to say that at that time the latter was the right hand of the Pope; on the contrary, he had

* *Cf.* the important "Informatione del secretario et secretaria di N. S^re^," by G. Carga, in 1574, printed from Cod. Urb., 859, f. 72 (*cf.* 854, f. 29 *seqq.*) of the Vatican Library, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 457 *seqq.* Unfortunately the text is often illegible through its errors. Thus p. 457 Z. 10, *pure* must be read for *per*; p. 459, 25, *declinato* for *diverso*; 29 *resta* for *vista*; p. 460, 13, *Amulio* for *Amalio*; 10, *servito* for *scritto*; p. 462, 7., *se si* for *scilicet*; p. 463, 16, *medesimo* for *moltissimi*; p. 464, 6, *scemata* for *stimata*; 18, *il secretorio* is missing after *cresciuta*; 22, *erunt* for *erant*; p. 465, 27, *espedizione* for *stimazione*. See also SICKEL, in Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak. CXXXVIII., 40 *seq.*; RICHARD, Origines de la nonciature de France; ANCEL, in Rev. d. quest. hist. LXXIX., 409; LXXX., 113 *seq.*; *Privilegia et constitutiones secretarior. apost.* (1517, Maii 8), in Cod. Vat. 3749 f. 69–74, and with variations in Cod. Ottob. 492 f. 47–50.

† Sadolet and Bembo, see Informatione, *loc. cit.*, 464.

‡ Informatione, *loc. cit.*, 465.

to resign himself for a long time to the Pope's carrying on the most important business independently of him with Cardinal Bibbiena.* The situation became more and more complicated. Bibbiena had been the confidential secretary of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and still retained the same post under the Pope during the first years of Leo's pontificate; even after he had been made a Cardinal, while, by reason of the dignity of the purple, he held a position incalculably superior to that held by Ardinghello, who was more of a private secretary to Leo, for a long time—certainly till the autumn of 1515—he played a part, through his favour with the Pope, far more important than did Cardinal Giulio. Not until 1516 or 1517 did the latter rise to being the principal adviser of the Pope.† Previously, Bibbiena's position had been so confidential that state secrets were confided to him alone, to the exclusion of even Cardinal Giulio.‡ "Bibbiena is all and everything," declares a Venetian, immediately after the election.§ Even in the years 1514 and 1515 diplomatists called him the "alter ego" of the Pope.‖

Bibbiena was a novice in the higher matters of diplomacy, and it was often difficult for him to feel his way. His position was made still more difficult by the

* This is shown by the important essay of RICHARD, 9 *seqq*.

† "Il Papa à consieri, so' nepote card. Medici, qual è homo da ben, homo di non molte facende, benchè adesso il manegio di la carte è in le so' man, che prima era in S. Maria di Portego, poi dito card. Bibiena, qual è de la parte di Spagna," says M. Giorgi in his final report of March 17, 1517, in SANUTO, XXIV., 90.

‡ See Manoscr. Torrig., XIX., 222, 224, 225, 233, 239. *Cf.* RICHARD, 9 and 105, where it is expressly said that the diplomatic business was taken from Bibbiena and handed over to Card. Medici.

§ SANUTO, XVI., 54.

‖ Also the "alter papa." See CIAN in the Arch. Veneto, N.S., XXXI. (1886), 71.

intrigues of the friends and adherents of the Medici. These had come in crowds to Rome, where they played an important part. In Leo's signs of favour towards his relatives they saw only the beginning of much greater things. They entertained the most extravagant hopes, and confidently expected that both Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici would be at once made princes, and given independent territories to the north and south of the States of the Church. It seemed obvious to them that with such a change in Leo's position the dependents of the fortunate house should receive honourable and lucrative emoluments. It is important to establish the fact that these inordinate schemes for the exaltation of the house of Medici emanated neither from Leo nor from Giuliano or Lorenzo, but from the dependents of the family. Jacopo Nardi expressly states that it was the Medicean courtiers, when discussing matters in the Orsini palace soon after Leo's election, who set abroad the rumour that Giuliano was to be made King of Naples and Lorenzo Duke of Milan.* Plans of this sort might have led to the worst complications. The question was what line Leo would take about them.

Contemporaries are almost unanimous in declaring that Leo X. allowed himself to be influenced by family considerations in his political actions. But since then the opposite view has been taken, and maintained with success. Probably the truth lies between the two. There is no doubt that the policy of Leo X. was influenced more or less by family interests; but as far as we can form any judgment from the sources and materials that are at present at our command, private interests were not in reality so prominent in his mind as those of a higher and more general nature. Such was at one time the traditional policy of the Popes not to allow Naples and Milan to be

* NARDI, 276; NITTI, 18. *Cf.* ROCCA, B. Cerritanis Dialog., 46.

in the power of one and the same prince. Such also was the security and increase of the States of the Church. National interests also, such as were summed up in the cry for the "freedom for Italy," played no unimportant part in Leo's policy. Along with these there naturally ran an undercurrent of family interests.* Which of these various motives was the strongest in the mind of Leo X. cannot be decided with any certainty in the light of the materials which are at present available. In interpreting the secret processes of the human mind, the most extreme reserve is necessary.

As to such a policy of nepotism as was pursued by

* The reaction against the traditional conviction of the nepotism of Leo X., held by Ranke and Gregorovius, and reaching its culminating point in Baumgarten, in his work on Charles V., where he says: "Everything which the Pope did had for its principal object the worldly aggrandizement of this Lorenzo," originates with F. Nitti, a historian who admits that he has not the slightest sympathy with the great institution of which Leo X. was the head. The impression made by the proofs adduced by Nitti was all the greater because even Baumgarten was obliged to admit that he had laid too great a stress on the influence of family interests on the policy of Leo. X. (Deutsche Lit.-Ztg., 1893, 14). Nitti has himself analysed the writings of a number of critics, especially Baumgarten, Cian, and De Leva (Arch d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 181 *seqq.*) But, however much I acknowledge the value of Nitti's work, I have accepted only within certain limitations the conclusions which are so very favourable to Leo X., for, as Giorgetti rightly maintains (in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, X., 416), in the questions here referred to there is to be seen a certain reserve Some such reserve seems to be necessary, considering that a great part of the diplomatic correspondence of that time remains still unprinted. These extensive materials will be published by my honoured friend the Marchese A. Ferrajoli, who has been for some years collecting them with indefatigable diligence. The judgment formed by this eminent student of Leo's policy seems to be of exceptional value. Ferrajoli has put it into words in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 432. Though he rightly admits that Nitti exposes in a perfect manner the

Alexander VI., the same conditions were entirely wanting in the relatives of Leo X. This applies more immediately to Giuliano, and with certain reservations to Lorenzo de' Medici. Both these princes, famous for a time, live in the memory of the world in the idealized forms which the genius of Michael Angelo has given them in the statues on the tombs of the Medici.* But in reality they were not personalities of any importance. Giuliano, thirty-four years of age, was by nature kindly, gentle, and weak, somewhat melancholy and superstitious, but withal intellectual and refined. Like all the Medici, he was the friend of men of letters and artists. He was closely connected with Castiglione and Bembo.† Raphael painted his portrait, and his name is connected with Fra Giocondo and

"scopi papali ed europei" of Leo X., he shows that on the other hand he does not lay sufficient stress on either the family policy of the Pope, nor on his national ends which, according to Ferrajoli, are to be rated very highly. His conclusion is that, in spite of this reservation, Nitti's work is most important, and the most just of all that have been written about the political attitude of Leo X. Such an able man of research as J. Bernays (Histor. Zeitschr., LXXIV., 514 *seq.*) agrees in essentials with Nitti. One of the most eminent experts as regards the coming time, Ulmann, the biographer of Maximilian I., admits the efficiency of Nitti's researches, though he justly remarks that not all his statements and conclusions can be verified (Studien zur Gesch., Leos X., 92 *seq.*). As against Nitti, Cian maintains emphatically the "nepotismo punto scrupuloso" of Leo X. (Giorn. s. lett., XXI., 416 *seqq.*, and Musa Medicea, 10 and 49).

* These are not portraits, but ideal figures. While Giuliano is represented as a youth with an air of independence, Lorenzo is represented as an older and thoughtful man, hence known by the name of "il Pensieroso." From this H. Grimm has formed the hypothesis that the names of the princes have been changed. *Cf.* REUMONT in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1876, Beil, 216; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 397 *seq.*; FESTER, Machiavelli, 93; and CIAN, Musa Medicea, 45.

† *Cf.* CIAN, Musa Medicea, 12 *seq.*, which first throws light on Giuliano's poetical work.

Leonardo da Vinci.* But Giuliano represented also the darker side of his family's characteristics, by his extravagant generosity, his boundless love of display, his desire for enjoyment, and his debauchery.† Licentiousness had exhausted his feeble body, and weakened his ambition and mental activity. A man to whom the granting of frequent audiences was too great an exertion, and who desired above all things to lead a quiet, undisturbed, and pleasant life, was not fitted for high political aspirations.‡

The young Lorenzo was quite different. Comely in person,§ a bold rider, an indefatigable sportsman, a good

* Giuliano's portrait at St. Petersburg (the Grand-Duchess Maria), of which there is a replica in the Uffizi, is considered to be the original work of the painter of Urbino. *Cf.* GRUYER, II., 214 *seq.*, Notice hist. sur un tableau de Raphaël representant Julien de Médicis, Duc de Nemours, Paris, 1867. A second magnificent portrait of Giuliano is supposed to be by Botticelli. There are two replicas, one in the possession of Morelli in the Carrara Academy at Bergamo, the other in the Berlin Gallery. LERMOLIEFF (Galerie zu Berlin, Leipzig, 1893, 11 *seq.*) and LUZIO-RENIER (Mantova e Urbino, 220) consider the first, and BODE (Gemäldemuseen, Berlin, 1891, 32) the second, to be the original (de Lipart).

† Significant of this characteristic is the answer made by Lorenzo to his mother, Alfonsina, when she warned him against the pleasures of Carnival: *Io mi voglio dare piacere hora ch'io sono giovane et ch'io posso per haver un papa, etc. *Letter of Jan. 28, 1514. Minutario di lettere del Mag. Lorenzo de' Medici, Carte Strozz., III., State Archives, Florence.

‡ *Cf.* these characteristics in NITTI, 24 *seq.*, and FESTER, Machiavelli, 113. Many of his contemporaries over-estimated Giuliano's abilities. *Cf.* Piccolomini, Tizio, 126. As to Giuliano's love of display, *cf.* SANUTO, XX., 103, 110; IOANNINENSIS, Penth., 99, and the *List of the members of his court in Carte Strozz., X., 177 *seq.*, State Archives, Florence. See also CIAN, Musa Medicea, 10 and 48.

§ Raphael painted his portrait. *Cf.* GAYE, II., 146; REUMONT-BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 25; VERDI, 95; DELMATI, Il ritratto d. duca d'Urbino n. collez. d. conti Suardi ora Marenzi di Bergamo,

manager, though generous withal, a skilful diplomatist, he was considered by many of his contemporaries to be possessed of all the qualities which would enable him to play a great part as the nephew of the Pope. But more were necessary to obtain a crown, and of these Lorenzo possessed but few. His ambition, as far as we can judge, was moderate; a rich wife, a small, secure, productive estate, beyond these his aspirations did not at first soar. Further desires were not natural to him, but were fostered by the constant instigation of his mother, Alfonsina Orsini. That ambitious, highly-gifted woman burned with the desire to see a shining crown on the head of her son. She conceived lofty plans; at the most, Lorenzo agreed to them unwillingly.* Thus the project of gaining the principality of Piombino by supplanting the Appiani, undoubtedly emanated from Lorenzo's mother, and not from Lorenzo himself; though the plan came to nothing through the determined resistance of Leo X.†

Milano, 1891; MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 429, *cf.* 553; VENTURI, Del ritratto di Lorenzo de' Medici, dipinto da Raffaello, Modena, 1883.

* *Cf.* NITTI, 27 *seq.*, to whose criticisms Cian truly remarks (Gior. d. lett. ital., XXI., 418) that, from a moral point of view, Lorenzo was not much better than Giuliano. Characteristic of this is the frivolous letter of Beatrice da Ferrara to Lorenzo, dat. Rome, 1517, April 23, Carte Strozz., IX., 174 *seq.*, State Archives, Florence. For Lorenzo's antecedents, see GIORGETTI in the Arch. Stor. Ital., 4 Series, XI., 194 *seq.*, who agrees with Nitti as to the influence of Alfonsina Orsini; ULMANN, Studien zur Gesch., Leos X., 99, which, by appealing to Vettori (328), pleads for a higher estimate of Lorenzo's character. Moreover, Ulmann recognises the merits of Nitti, and declares that we are not sufficiently informed to make a final judgment. VERDI also (115 *seq.*) places Lorenzo on a higher plane than does Nitti; whereas LUZIO-RENIER (Mantova, 219, 237–238), like myself, agree in essentials with Nitti. *Cf.* also the satire in Gior. d. lett. ital., XLII., 103.

† *Cf.* GIORGETTI, Lorenzo de' Medici e Jacopo V. d'Appiano, Arch. Stor. Ital., 4 Series, VIII., 222–238. *Cf.* XI., 197.

Lorenzo returned reluctantly to Florence in August, 1513. He would much rather have taken up his abode permanently in Rome, which was so brilliant and rich in enjoyments.* But Leo was well acquainted with his nephew, in whom was to be seen the beginning of the decline of the Medici race. Having given the command of the Papal troops to Giuliano and that of the Florentines to Lorenzo, the Pope said to Giovanni da Poppi: "I have appointed two Captains who have next to no experience. Were some great enterprise to turn up, I know not how they would be able to carry it out!"† Both Giuliano and Lorenzo might have succumbed to the temptation of mixing themselves with the high-flown, extravagant projects of the Florentines; nevertheless, they lacked the moral and warlike qualities necessary for carrying them out.‡ It is therefore unsafe to allege from existing sources of information that the policy of Leo X. was based primarily on any such nepotistic projects. Nevertheless, the rumour that the crown of Naples was destined for Giuliano, spread further and further, till it reached the Court of Ferdinand of Spain. That King believed that the ambition of the Medici, in conjunction with France, was threatening his position in Italy.§

Leo hastened to make assurances that the rumour was without any foundation. Never, he asseverated, had such a plan existed. How could he be believed capable of making enemies at one and the same time of France, the Emperor, and Spain? A kingdom could not be taken

* NITTI (23) refers in this connection to the letters of Card. Giulio to Lorenzo in the autumn of 1513. State Archives, Florence.

† This interesting remark is to be found in a letter from Giovanni da Poppi, communicated by GIORGETTI, Arch. Stor. Ital., 4 Series, XI., 210–211.

‡ *Cf.* NITTI, Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 193–194.

§ NITTI, 34.

possession of by words, and was it not his sole endeavour to restore universal peace, especially in Italy?* Ferdinand did not believe the assertions of the Pope; for both he and the Emperor had been filled with the deepest distrust of Leo ever since the ecclesiastical reconciliation of France. This distrust was justified so far that, from December, 1513, to July, 1514, the policy of the Pope seemed to be friendly to France.†

This must be looked at in connection with a change which was coming over the European situation. Louis XII., after his reconciliation with Rome, had made desperate efforts to win over Spain to his side. With this object, in December, 1513, while the war was in abeyance owing to the winter season and other circumstances, he made the most enticing offers to King Ferdinand. As the price of an alliance he offered the hand of his daughter Renée to either of Ferdinand's two grandsons, with Milan and Genoa, accompanied by the renunciation of all claims to Naples, as her marriage dowry.‡ Not one of these proposals was

* Letter of Giulio de' Medici, April 18, 1514, to Goro Ghersio, who had been sent to Switzerland with Filonardi in Nov. 1513. Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XIX., 66 *seq.*

† The two conflicting currents of Leo's policy in 1514, the one friendly to France and the other hostile, have been drawn up by CIAN in an interesting treatise (Arch. Veneto, XXX., 1885, 360 *seq.*) founded on documents in the State Archives, Venice, which among other things shews that these two currents bear the note in common of Leo's "politica lubrica anguilla che se contorce e sfugge talora allo mano che tenta afferrarla."

‡ See DUMONT, IV., 178 *seq.*, and BREWER, II., n. 144. An extract taken from the last mentioned work shews that there was no question of an agreement actually concluded, but only of a proposal. ULMANN (II., 484) admits this. RANKE (Rom. und Germ. Völker, 318) and Lanz allowed themselves to be deceived by the title in Dumont: Traité et articles, etc. As HUBER (III., 403) simply follows Lanz, without regard to Brewer, Ulmann calls his statement scientifically useless.

ever carried out. On the other hand, a year's truce was concluded between Spain and France on the 13th of March, 1514.*

The news of this change in the aspect of affairs was a paralysing shock to the Pope. Every possible effort had to be made on his part to prevent either France or Spain from obtaining supremacy in Italy. By the proposed plan of marriage the prospect of Spanish supremacy rose up before him like a nightmare.† As an Italian as well as Pope, he felt himself to be most gravely menaced. As an Italian he was, like most of his fellow-countrymen, imbued with the determination that no power, whether foreign or other, should have such supremacy on the Italian peninsula as to destroy the balance of power, and injure what went by the name of the "freedom of Italy." As Pope, Leo adhered to what had been the traditional policy of Rome, namely, the guarding of the independence, both temporal and spiritual, of the Holy See. With this in view, he directed his efforts against any step which would lead to Naples and Milan being under the same sovereign.‡

But that the intention of making use of the rivalry between France and Spain to his own advantage had a place in influencing Leo's political attitude, can scarcely be disputed. Where injustice is done to the Medici Pope is in attributing everything he did to nepotism. The one predominant aim all through Leo's ever-changing policy—his care for the independence of the Church and Holy See, and the maintenance of the so-called freedom of Italy—is apparent to all. The confidential letters which were sent to the Papal Nuncios, show that Leo's chief reason for opposing the projected Franco-Spanish marriage lay in the

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 179 *seq.* *Cf.* LANZ, 142 *seq.*; ULMANN, II., 492 *seqq.*

† ZURITA, X., 84.

‡ NITTI, 35 *seqq.*

well-founded fear lest the power of Spain, being in possession of Naples, Milan, Genoa, and a portion of Venetian territory, should enslave the other Italian princes, the States of the Church, and even the Holy See itself.*

Fully aware of this danger, Leo X. overcame his natural irresolution and roused himself to take prompt and decisive measures.† The Papal diplomacy was in a state of feverish activity. The most urgent messages were sent to the representatives in France and Switzerland to try to put obstacles in the way of this very dangerous marriage project. On the 4th of March a letter was sent to the Swiss Nuncio, Goro Ghersio, stating that the decision of Louis XII. had reached Rome in the preceding night, to the effect that he had rather lose throne and life than renounce Milan; that this determination sprang from the marriage negotiations of France with Spain and the Emperor; that the Pope considered this projected marriage as the greatest of dangers; that as it had emanated originally from Louis' fear of the Swiss, the Pope hoped that the latter might lay down conditions somewhat less hard, so as to make peace with France possible, which, under all circumstances, would be better than the carrying out of this family alliance, which was a menace to all Europe.‡ The Florentine Ambassador, Roberto Acciaiuoli, was sent, so as to influence the King more directly. He

* See Manoscr. Torrig., ed Guasti, XIX., 56 *seq.* *Cf.* especially the Letter of March 5, 1514, to R. Acciaiuoli, and that of April 18 to Goro Ghersio (58–59, 66), to which NITTI (40 *seq.*) rightly attaches great importance. Nevertheless, there is an error in putting the letter to G. Ghersio on the 18th of June.

† NITTI, 41 *seq.*

‡ Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XIX., 56 *seq.* *Cf.* WIRZ, Filonardi, 24 *seq.*, for further particulars as to the imprudent conduct of the Papal Nuncio, G. Ghersio, who in the middle of June had to leave all further transactions to his colleague Filonardi.

was told to represent to Louis XII. that the marriage project was an act of desperation which must ruin France, if not at once, at any rate later.* The fear of Spanish supremacy now induced Leo to incline strongly towards France. As early as April, 1514, the Florentine Ambassador in Rome stated that the Pope, who had hitherto been unwilling even to grant an audience to the representative of Louis XII., now often transacted business with him. The same fear of Spain influenced his relations with the Swiss.† Later on, the animosity of the Pope, who believed himself to have been betrayed by Ferdinand, rose to a still higher point. Obviously this reacted on his relations with Maximilian.

This was experienced by Cardinal Lang, the representative of the Emperor, who was trying to effect a reconciliation between Maximilian and Venice. The negotiations dragged on for months. The Emperor's Envoy complained bitterly of the delays and hesitation caused by the indecision of the Pope, skilfully fostered by France. Nevertheless, he was quite ready to acknowledge the good-will of the Pope. At last, on the 4th of March, a compromise was arrived at, although, thanks to the obstinacy of the Venetians, it was never carried out.‡ In other ways also, the mission of Lang was unproductive of peaceful results. The covetous and ambitious Cardinal, not content with the many emoluments which he had already secured,§

* Manoscr. Torrig., ed Guasti, XIX., 58 *seq.*, 61 ; DESJARDINS, II., 600 *seq.*

† DESJARDINS, II., 613 *seq.* *Cf.* the Letter of Bald. da Pescia in ROSCOE-HENKE, 447 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* ULMANN, II., 488 *seq.*, who says : "There is no evidence that the Pope, in any phase of the negotiations, delayed their conclusion by artifice." To the sources made use of by Ulmann, there must now be added the exhaustive accounts in SANUTO, XVII. and XVIII.

§ *Cf.* KALKOFF, Arch. f. Ref. Gesch., I., 387, n. 4.

now imperiously demanded the important as well as lucrative post of permanent Legate in Germany. The experiences of Rome, consequent on conferring a similar dignity on the French Cardinal, d'Amboise, did not conduce to the repetition of the experiment in Germany; for such permanent Legates depended more on their temporal sovereign than on the Pope. Moreover, the considerable reduction in the revenues of the Curia which would result from such a concession had to be weighed in the balance. As the Emperor himself urged his representative's request in a pressing letter, it seemed expedient to Leo not to refuse explicitly; and in a Consistory held on the 10th of May, he professed his willingness to grant the German legation to Lang for at any rate six months. But the Cardinals, instructed beforehand by the Pope as to the inexpediency of the concession, rejected even this compromise. Thereon Lang had one more farewell audience with Leo, in which he used "great words." On the 11th of May he travelled in a very bad humour to Loreto, where Bibbiena and Bembo * were staying at the time.†

* Concerning their mission, *cf.* the letter of Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1514, May 7 (State Archives, Florence, Av. il- princ., CVII.), and CIAN in Arch. Veneto, XXX., 1 (1885), 370.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XVIII., 157, 175, 195 (here there is written "eri a dì 12 si partì," for the letter being dated 12 instead of 11, is due to a mistake; KALKOFF in Arch. Ref. Gesch., I., 387, was led by this into putting the date of the farewell audience on the 12th of May), 209–210; Letter of Bald. da Pescia, May 11, 1514, in ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 460 *seq.*; *Letter of Gabbioneta, dat. Rome, 1514, May 11, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 294, Chigi Library, Rome; and the *Report of Francesco Sforza to Duke Maximilian of Milan, dat. Rome, 1514, May 11: *Nel concistoro, qual si fece heri mattina se bene N. S. fece grandissima praticha per reportare la legatione di Germania per el rev^mo Gurcense saltem per sei mesi, tamen non si potè obtenere,

Louis XII. tried to foster Leo's favourable dispositions towards himself by assuring him that he would sacrifice life and property in defence of the Church.* The Nuncio, Ludovico di Canossa,† sent to France and England in May, on a mission which was at first kept strictly secret, might be sure of a very good reception.‡ His immediate task was the reconciliation of Louis XII. and Henry VIII.,§ and thus to remove all necessity for the support of the Spanish claims by France.

The anti-Spanish feeling which was openly expressed in Rome is put before us in a very interesting report of the Venetian Envoy. According to this, Cardinal Lang tried to arrange a league between the Pope, Maximilian, and

perchè più volse la incircumspectione di molti che la rasone et auctoritade del pontefice, unde Sua S^ria^ R^ma^ heri tolse licentia da N. S^re^ et hogi ad bona hora è partita et ha tolto il camino di S. Maria di Loreto. State Archives, Milan.

* Despatch from Paris of Pandolfini, May 30, 1514, in DESJARDINS, II., 623; *cf.* 624.

† Canossa was named Master of the Household to the Pope in 1513, see SANUTO, XVI., 57. For further details about Canossa, see under Clement VII.

‡ Regest. Leonis X., n. 9230–9234; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 56 *seqq.*; PICOT (Les Italiens en France, Bordeaux, 1902), who errs in putting the first entrusting of the mission to Canossa at the end of 1513, and his arrival in Paris in April, 1514. Canossa's mission was certainly contemplated in the summer of 1513; but, according to SANUTO (XVIII., 236), he did not set out till the 20th of May, 1514, his credentials being made out for that month. His arrival in Paris took place in the beginning of June, see DESJARDINS, II., 624. Bald. da Pescia writes as follows to Lorenzo de' Medici concerning Canossa's mission: *Et non obstante che Bastiano di San Severino ritorni indietro et con commissione costui [Canossa] ha il secreto del cuore di S. Sta et va per chiarire integramente ad quella M^tà^ il secreto suo et quello vuole delle cose di Italia. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ. CVII.

§ *Cf.* *Letter of Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1514, May 30. State Archives, Florence, Av. il pr., CVII.

Ferdinand of Spain;* but it is self-evident that Leo X. would be opposed to any such plan. He trusted the fickle-minded Emperor, to whom he ascribed the intention of seizing the States of the Church, quite as little as he trusted the overbearing Aragonese.† The greatest exasperation against the Spaniards was felt by the Romans, who expressed the wish to drive "those barbarians" out of Italy. It is a fact that in May and June the Pope entered into secret negotiations with Venice hostile to Spain,‡ while all the time the secret treaty with France was being carried on. Of this last only those most in the Pope's confidence, Cardinals Medici and Bibbiena, as well as Giuliano de' Medici, knew anything. It was the general though vain expectation that a league between Leo X., France, Venice, Florence, and Ferrara would be proclaimed on the Feast of Corpus Christi, though a report was current in the city of the lagoons that France and the Pope had come to an understanding that Giuliano de' Medici was to receive the crown of Naples, and Louis XII. that of Milan. After this the Spaniards were to be driven out of Italy by the help of the Venetians.§

That Leo X. contemplated something of the kind is undoubted; but he remained undecided, and carried on negotiations on every side, without making up his mind. Observant onlookers had for some time been of the opinion that he would wait to see which side was likely to get the best of it. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that Leo did everything he possibly could to bring to naught

* SANUTO, XVIII., 210.

† *Ibid.*, 99. *Cf.* the remarkable utterance of Leo X on the 14th of April, 1514, communicated by CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 375.

‡ *Ibid.*, 175 *seq.*, 182, 184, 236, 245, 246, 292.

§ *Ibid.*, 15, 250, 266, 272, 277, 301.

the Franco-Spanish marriage.* With this object in view, Ludovico di Canossa, one of the cleverest and most gifted diplomatists of the time, worked so effectually on both Louis XII. and Henry VIII. that he brought about not only a reconciliation but an alliance between them. The Anglo-French treaty was to be sealed by the marriage of the King of France, a widower since the beginning of the year, and Mary, the sister of the English King. The Papal Envoy was well supported by Henry's all-powerful minister, Wolsey, Archbishop of York, who aspired to the purple. On the 7th of August the Anglo-French alliance and the marriage contract were signed;† and in October the marriage of the elderly French King with the youthful Mary Tudor took place.

Leo X. was not to enjoy his diplomatic triumph for long. The danger of the Spanish supremacy had scarcely been removed when another terror, the French supremacy, arose in its place. The treaty of London contained, as Bembo remarks, a very dangerous clause which safeguarded the claims of Louis XII. to Milan, Asti, and Genoa. The reports of the Florentine Ambassador in Paris are full of fears lest Louis should now set forth on his expedition to conquer Italy. Consequently, the Pope retreated further and further from his friendship with France, and was inclined to form an alliance with the Emperor and Spain,

* SANUTO, XVIII., 210, 236.

† DUMONT, IV., 1, 183 *seq.*, 188 *seq.* Canossa had left Paris for England on the 8th of June, 1514. *Cf.* the Letter of Card. Giulio de' Medici of June 19, which contains instructions for the Nuncio (Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XIX., 73 *seq.*). *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 628 *seq.*, and "Louis XII. et l'alliance anglaise en 1514," Douai, 1866 (Extr. d. Mém. de la Soc. d'agricult. sciences et arts). The French in Rome made bonfires in honour of the alliance of their king with England; see * Diary of a Frenchman, Sept. 2, 1514, in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

while he sought to draw Venice over to his side by holding out a hope of obtaining for the Republic favourable terms of peace from Maximilian.*

Guicciardini, drawing from good sources, gives us a picture of the shifting relations and secret negotiations between Leo X. and France which took place in the year 1514, which shows us how much the Pope delighted in the two-faced diplomacy of the age. The well-known historian declares that Leo X. was set against the conquest of Milan by Louis XII., but that, on the other hand, he thought it expedient to restrain the King by the use of diplomatic arts alone. Through Cardinal Sanseverino, the Protector of France, he made the following suggestion to King Louis:—Seeing that the exigencies of the time did not allow of an open alliance between Rome and France, it would at anyrate be expedient to lay the foundations of a firm alliance in the future. A draft of this was sent to France; Louis XII. accepted the offer gratefully, but hesitated before closing with it. His brief hesitation decided Leo X. to listen to the proposals on the other side, and he concluded a treaty for one year with Spain and the Emperor, which mutually guaranteed the safety of their possessions. Scarcely had this arrangement been made before the answer of Louis XII. reached Rome, by which he agreed to all the Pope's proposals, with one proviso, namely, that as one of the clauses pledged him to defend Florence for Giuliano and Lorenzo, it was necessary that those two should be included in the negotiations. Thereupon Leo excused himself for having made his agreement with Spain and the Emperor on the plea that he had been forced to make it by Louis's delay in answering; except for this there was nothing to prevent him from concluding

* *Cf.* CIAN in Arch. Veneto, XXX., 1 (1885), 383. *Cf.* NITTI, 43 *seq.* Florentine account in DESJARDINS, II., 639, 645, 646.

an alliance with France. Louis XII. considered it advisable to accept the excuses of the Pope. On this Leo X. and the French King signed a contract, with, however, the stipulation that this should not be done formally, and that the draft alone should be signed. In this way the most complete secrecy seemed to be assured.*

The alliance with England was of the greatest value to Louis, as he could now undisturbedly resume his plans for the conquest of Italy. The question was whether France would at once take the initiative or postpone the undertaking till another year. The latter course seemed the more probable, as there were no visible preparations for war. This being so, the Pope, who was still in his inmost heart as averse as ever from the thought of the conquest of Milan, thought it advisable not to oppose Louis openly. Soon he even went a step further, and expressly encouraged the King to carry out his plans. There can be no doubt that Leo X. did not act honourably in this. Guicciardini tries to explain his unusual conduct in the following way:—Either, he says, the Pope, being convinced that, with or without his consent, Louis XII. would attack Milan, wished to secure favourable terms in the event of the success of France, or else he knew that what the Emperor and Ferdinand maintained, but what Louis denied, namely, that in the interim of the truce the King of France was bound to refrain from hostilities, was an actual fact. The Pope therefore hoped that the French King would not at once accept the challenge and attack Milan. This hope was justified by the event, for the French King did put off his project till the following year, trusting to the assistance of the Pope, whom he tried to bind to his interests by the prospect of the conquest

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 2; LANZ, Einleitung, 152.

of Naples, either for the Church or for Giuliano de' Medici.*

There were many things which made Louis XII. distrust the Pope. In June the Emperor had quite secretly sold to Leo X. the Imperial fief of Modena, for 40,000 ducats; and in November this transaction was made known.† At once Louis XII. suspected a still closer alliance between the Pope and the Emperor. His suspicions increased when, in November, Leo X. demanded a conclusion of peace between the Christian powers, so that they might turn their arms against the Turks.‡ But what disconcerted the French King most was the fresh attempt of the Pope to reconcile Venice and the Emperor, thus threatening to deprive him of an important ally.§

The distrust of Louis XII. was well founded; for Leo X., and still more his trusted adviser Cardinal Bibbiena, were set against the conquest of Milan by the French. The most indubitable proof of this remained unknown to Louis XII., namely, a secret agreement, signed in Rome on the 21st of September, between Leo X. and Ferdinand of Spain. By this treaty both parties guaranteed the security of their Italian possessions during their lifetime, and explicitly pledged themselves to make no agreement with any other State, least of all with France, relating to the

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 2. Through Antonio Bibbiena, a nephew of the Cardinal, who knew many secrets, V. Lippomano learned in August that Leo, far from wishing to see the French in Italy, would secretly support the Emperor and Milan against him. SANUTO, XVIII., 438, *cf.*, for a corroboration of Guicciardini, XIX., 27.

† *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, Cronaca, I., 147 *seq.*; MURATORI, Antichità Estensi, II., 316; BALAN, V., 501–502; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 613.

‡ SANUTO, XVIII., 451; XIX., 210, 216 *seq.*, 223, 231 *seq.* DESJARDINS, II., 667–669, 670.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5.

reconquest of Milan, Genoa, and Asti, without the knowledge of the other.*

Even if Louis XII. knew nothing about this treaty, his distrust of Leo X. was fully justified by the other matters mentioned above, whatever protestations the Pope might make of his good-will towards France.† In order to frighten Leo, France entered into negotiations with Spain, which, however, failed in the desired effect, as was inevitable, considering the agreement already spoken of. At length the French King proffered to the Pope the formal request to give his support to the expedition against Milan, which was now decided on. The French agents laid before the Papal diplomatists the advantages—painted in the brightest colours—which the Church, the liberty of Italy, and the house of Medici would reap from a treaty between Leo X. and France. The Most Christian Kings had in all ages afforded the greatest services to the Holy See, whereas the Emperor and the King of Spain had no other object in view except to reduce the whole of Italy, including the Pope himself, to a state of servitude. But these representations did not make the desired impression on Leo X. At length, driven by this increasing pressure on the part of the French, he declared that the condition of affairs had changed, that a victory for France was very

* We learn of this agreement through BERGENROTH, II., n. 188, Archives of Simancas, where there is the original, signed by Card. Bibbiena, *de mandato S.D.N.* From the copy in the State Archives, Florence, NITTI has taken and published the full text of the important document (Arch. d. Soc. Rom. XVI., 208–210). See the Florentine copy mentioned in Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XXVI., 196 and 399, also 203 for the coexisting treaty of the Pope with Switzerland.

† *Cf.* the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador, Lando, on the 13th and 17th of November, 1514, in CIAN, Arch. Veneto, XXX., 1, 387. Lando writes in the last-mentioned despatch: "Se el pontefice non è abarador le tutto inclinato al beneficio del Christianesmo."

doubtful, and could be bought only at the cost of much bloodshed. In face of the increasing danger from the Turks, he, as Pope, could not tolerate a war among Christian princes, and advised the King to defer his expedition.* Thus was a final decision put off by Leo; although there is no doubt that, at the end of November, he was very much set against the French.† But at that moment the time was approaching, which would necessitate a decision on the part of him, whose desire it was to preserve at all costs a free hand on every side.

It was with terror that the Medici Pope, like nearly all the other princes at that time, found himself "sailing to meet this crisis with two compasses."‡ We are assured that the Pope at that time passed many a sleepless night.§ In Rome the chances were being constantly weighed. Through Vettori, those associated with the Pope put questions to Machiavelli, the most acute politician of the age. It was his opinion that neutrality would be the Pope's worst policy, for it would hand him over to the will of the conqueror. As the victory of the French was almost a certainty, an alliance with Louis XII. was to be recommended. It was only in the event of Venice breaking away from France that a contrary policy was pointed out by Machiavelli.|| But just at that time the Signoria had declared to the Papal Envoy its adhesion to France, and

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 3. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 674 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the Letter of Pietro Lando of Nov. 26, 1514, communicated by CIAN in Arch. Veneto, XXX., 1, 399–407. According to this, Leo X. urged Venice to unite at once with himself and the Emperor against France.

‡ This acute and pertinent simile was used by no less a writer than MURATORI, Annali d'Italia (ed. 2), XIV., 131. *Cf.* ULMANN, II., 501.

§ Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 211.

|| Opere, Lettera, 38. *Cf.* VILLARI, Machiavelli, II. (Germ. ed.), 207 *seq.*; GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 11, and 282.

had tried to draw Leo into the Franco-Venetian alliance, by putting before him a plan for the conquest of Naples to be given to Giuliano.*

While matters were still undecided in Rome, Louis XII. died,† being succeeded by Francis I., a man more gifted by nature than his predecessor. This young and ambitious prince was very much under the influence of his power-loving mother, Louisa of Savoy. Even in the lifetime of the late King, Louisa's sister, Filiberta, had been chosen as the bride of Giuliano, the Pope's brother. It was a purely political union, for Filiberta was neither young nor beautiful.‡ As her marriage portion Giuliano—who had been named Captain-General of the Church,§ on the 10th of January, 1515—was to receive Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio, as well as Modena. But both the Duke of Milan and the French King laid claim to Parma and Piacenza. The renunciation of his claim by either depended on the side taken by the Pope in the coming war; and the dilatory Pontiff was urged by both parties, by every means in their power, to come to a decision. Still more urgent was the necessity of a decision when the marriage between Giuliano and Filiberta became an accomplished fact on the 25th of June, 1515. But, however warmly Giuliano, who was always the friend of France, might recommend an open alliance with Francis I., the Pope still put off a

* NITTI, 49. As to Bembo's secret mission to Venice at the end of November, 1514, see SANUTO, XIX., 306, 308 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*; BEMBO, Opere, III., 478 *seq.*; ROMANIN, V., 296 *seq.*; LANZ, Einleitung, 152 *seq.*, and CIAN, *loc. cit.*

† Gabbioneta in his *Letter, dat. Rome, 1515, Jan. 12, tells us that the Pope rejoiced at the news. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ "Nec pulchra nec venusta." TIZIO (*Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 339, Chigi Library, Rome) says that she was about thirty years old. *Cf.* the description of her by Pasqualigo in SANUTO, XX., 22.

§ DESJARDINS, II., 689.

decision.* Not even his intimates were in a position to guess to which party he inclined.†

It was intended to form a great coalition between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, Milan, Genoa, and the Swiss, to prevent the reconquest of Milan by the French. A preliminary draft of this agreement was made out, which was to be ratified within two months, should the Swiss accept its terms.‡ This contract, which secured to the States of the Church Parma and Piacenza as well as Modena and Reggio, with the reservation of their rights of government, was made with the ulterior object of protecting Christendom against the Turks, but, primarily, with the view of protecting Italy against France's lust of conquest. Cardinal Bibbiena, who was its author, was quite convinced that the League would prove to be a powerful check on the French King. "It will be a lesson to Francis I.," he wrote to the Spanish Nuncio on the 5th of February 1515, "and will teach him to be moderate in this as well as in all other matters." §

Meanwhile great difficulties beset this skilfully-devised diplomatic scheme. The clause about Parma and Piacenza pleased neither the Duke of Milan nor the Swiss. Further obstacles were raised by the mistrust between Milan and

* *Cf.* the *cipher report of Carlo Agnello, dat. Rome, 1515, May the 6th, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. As to the marriage between Giuliano and Filiberta, see ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 80; BALAN, V., 502; and the monograph of A. ZOBI, Delle nozze del M. Giul. de Medici (*Nozz. Publ.*), Firenze, 1868. As to the festal reception prepared in Rome for Giuliano and his wife, see the report of the Portuguese Embassy in Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 321, 325 *seq.* *Cf.* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.*, f. 335, Chigi Library, Rome.

† NITTI, 52.

‡ LANZ, Mon. Habsburg. Aktenstücke und Briefe zur Gesch. Karls V., 2, 544 *seq.*, and Einleitung, 157 *seq.* *Cf.* RICHARD, 20–2.

§ The original in RICHARD, 22, n. 1.

Genoa, which finally led to the defection to France of the latter.* Nor could the terms of the League be pleasing to the Pope, seeing that the protection of Italy was to be effected by the preponderance of Spain and the Emperor. Nevertheless, it was clear to Leo X. that the League might do very good service by obtaining important concessions from France. He regulated his actions by this; he delayed the ratification of the terms, and, during the carrying on of the negotiations with Francis I., followed a waiting policy.†

These negotiations were being carried on by Ludovico di Canossa, who was still in France. An order reached that astute diplomatist at the end of March, bidding him offer the alliance of Rome to Francis I., on the condition that he would waive his claim on Naples. But the French King rejected the proposal in an abrupt and offensive manner.‡ In the Pope's condition he read his intention to secure the crown of Naples for his brother. Later historians also have interpreted Leo's policy at that time as actuated solely by ambition and nepotism. It is only the latest researches which have paved the way for a more just interpretation of his actions.§ That Leo X. would have gladly seen his brother on the throne of Naples

* For further details, see RICHARD'S interesting treatise, 24 *seq.*, 30 *seq.* *Cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 164.

† LANZ, Einleitung, 159.

‡ See Canossa's reports to Card. Giulio de' Medici of the 9th and 23rd of April, 1515, in the Arch. Stor. Ital., App. I., 306 *seq.*, and that of Aug. 20, 1515, ascribed by Nitti to Card. Medici (published in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 212); which, however, cannot be correct, as the Cardinal was not then in Rome. See RICHARD, 113. *Cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, Politik Leos X., 526 *seq.*, and MADELIN, 13–14.

§ See the statement of NITTI (57 *seq*)., which I follow here. *Cf.* Nitti's analysis, with his criticism, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 195 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*

cannot be doubted. But the terms of his proposed agreement with Francis I. did not proceed immediately from nepotistic considerations, being rather the result of the policy he had always followed. As the attack of the French could be no longer averted, and as there was much to be said in favour of its success, the Pope had no alternative but to do what he could to persuade France to give up her further designs on Naples, if he wished to prevent Milan and Naples being in the possession of the same power. The Pope's old fear of a union between the north and south of Italy was the real cause of the demand which he had made through Canossa from the new ruler of France.*

In spite of the rebuff received by Canossa, Leo X. renewed the same offer to Francis I. in June through the French Ambassador, Montmaur, though with no better result. The French King showed the same disinclination to consider the demands of the Pope relating to the independence of Genoa and the giving of Parma and Piacenza to Giuliano. Thereupon Leo X. began at once to make military preparations. But the French Ambassador declared that these did not frighten him at all, for his King could produce an overpowering force.† As regarded these boasts of the French, Bibbiena declared that such armies were no more difficult to raise than was the breath of rumour in respect to them.‡

The procuring of sufficient money for the expenses of the war presented most difficulty to the Pope. He now

* That the elevation of Giuliano to the crown of Naples was not the primary object of Leo X. is shewn by his project of giving the kingdom of Naples to the son of Frederick of Aragon. Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 212.

† SANUTO, XX., 307, 341.

‡ Letter of the 25th of June, 1515; see RICHARD 110

realized the confused state of his financial accounts. Nevertheless, he promised to contribute 60,000 ducats monthly.* But further obstacles came from the want of unity and hair-splitting among those whom a common danger ought to have drawn together. The negotiations in the hands of the Swiss Nuncio, Filonardi, who was armed with full powers, prolonged themselves beyond all due bounds. It was only at the last moment that the ratification of the terms of the League, signed by the Swiss and Duke Maximilian, arrived in Rome.† But Leo X. even then still hesitated to give a final decision, and in spite of having armed his troops, his position remained ambiguous.‡ Consignments of money were constantly sent from Rome for the payment of the Spanish and Swiss soldiers, and there was no doubt in the mind of anybody that the Pope was ready to do anything to prevent the invasion of the French; yet the official confirmation and publication of the League in Rome was postponed in the most unaccountable manner. At the end of July the Venetian Ambassador asked His Holiness openly whether it were true, as was said in Rome, that he had given his signature to it. "It is true," replied Leo; "we have signed it, and Bulls and Briefs relating to our adhesion to the League are sealed. But before publishing them, we wish to await the answer of Francis I." §

This reply is highly characteristic of the Papal policy at that critical time. While the troops destined to oppose the French, who were on their way south, were paid chiefly with Roman money, the Pope up to the very last moment was contemplating a friendly arrangement with the

* SANUTO, XX., 400, 426.

† WIRZ, 28 *seq.*, 33 *seq.*; RICHARD, 44, 46.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 164–165; RICHARD, 111-112.

§ SANUTO, XX., 449–450.

enemy.* He did not give up hope even after the French had entered Italy. It was only the first blow, ineffective though it was, dealt by the young Duke of Guise, which at last compelled the Pope to act in concert with the Emperor and the Swiss.†

Giuliano de' Medici had been entrusted with the supreme command of the Papal troops as far back as the 29th of June, 1515. As, however, he fell seriously ill, Lorenzo de' Medici, the Captain of the Florentines, had to take his

* *Cf.* RICHARD, 112.

† NITTI (60) says that Leo X. joined the anti-French league definitely on the 14th of July, 1515; BROSCH (I., 43) names the 15th, and BALAN, Boschetti (I., 90), the 17th of July. GISI (161) places the ratification as early as the beginning of July. One source gives none of the above dates. The Marchese Ferrajoli thinks it possible that the Pope joined before July, but in that case it must have been secretly (sotoman spanol, see SANUTO, XX., 427). On the 3rd of August the Venetian Ambassador wrote as follows: "Il Papa l'ha mandato i capitoli autentici sotoscritti *overa la copia, si chè si pol dir pubblicata*;" (he then enumerates the articles) "tamen il Papa dice non ha fatto ancora nulla." See SANUTO, XX., 470. According to the letter in Manoscr. Torrig., XIX., 247, it is established on Aug. 6 that the Pope will oppose France, "non manifestamente sed con l'effecti." On Aug. 8 this decision was communicated to the Duke of Savoy. On the 15th the Venetian Ambassador reports that Bibbiena had confided to him: "ch'el Papa havia dato la bolla de la liga fata agli oratori yspani." In connection with this RICHARD (47, 3) remarks pertinently: J'incline à croire que Leon X. donna sa signature, mais nous n'en avons aucune preuve officielle, ni bulle ni bref. En réalité ce fut la nomination du comte de Guise et les incidents qui s'y attachent que décidèrent le pape à se ranger du côté de la ligue. As to the mission of the Count de Guise, who was only nineteen years old (!), see RICHARD, 113 *seq.* To the above sources there are to be added the reports of the Venetian Ambassador in SANUTO, XX., 471, 478, 508, 509, 510, 526. According to him Guise knew no Latin, and spoke only French; he came to Rome on the 2nd of August, and left with Montmaur on the 9th. There then remained at the Curia only the ordinary French agent, De Solier.

place on the 8th of August. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was appointed Legate with the Papal troops.*

The Duke of Savoy, who was related to Leo X. as well as to Francis I., contemplated making a compromise, as the French had already crossed his frontier. He inquired through Giuliano as to the furthest concessions which the Pope would be ready to make. Giuliano explained in a secret instruction † that the price of his joining with France would be (1) the renunciation of the French claims on Parma and Piacenza; (2) the conclusion of a permanent peace between France and Spain, so that a general Christian League against the Turks might be brought about; (3) the renunciation of Naples in favour of the Holy See or of a third party agreeable to the Pope and King. Furthermore, he would agree that under no consideration the north

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XX., 362 *seq.*; Manoscr. Torrig., XIX., 245, 247, 248, 249; Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 24; Regest. Leonis X., n. 16898; LANDUCCI, 350; VETTORI, 308; GIORGETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., Series 4, XI., 212 *seq.* In the *Brief for the appointment of Laurent. Medices, reipubl. Florent. gentium armor. capit. general., dated Rome, the 8th of August, 1515, it says: "Sane cum dil^s filius nobilis vir Julianis Medices noster secundum carnem frater germanus ac gentium armor. ad nostra et dicte S.R.E. stipendia militantium capitaneus generalis suis nobis litteris significaverit, quod ipse ad suas gentes armor., quas ad Romandiole loca premiserat, ob nonnulla valetudinis sue incommoda . . . " could not go in person, and begged to have a substitute appointed . . . therefore we appoint you. Regest. secret., 1195, f. 253, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* the *original document of the same in Arch. di S. Angelo Arm., VIII., c. 2. Giulio de' Medici had left Rome for Florence on the 6th of July, and had gone thence to Bologna on the 16th of August. See SANUTO, XX., 375; LANDUCCI, 350–351. On July the 7th Leo X. ordered Simone Tornabuoni to move his troops towards Bologna. *Brief in Arm., XXXIX., tom. 31, No. 19, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Published in Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XXVI., 180. Its significance has been first made known by Nitti, 61 *seq.* *Cf.* CHIESI, n. 33.

and south of the Italian peninsula (il capo e la coda d'Italia) should be governed by one and the same sovereign, even were that one to be his own brother. This instruction affords a weighty proof that nepotistic designs were not what turned the balance in the position taken up by the Pope, but rather his care for the political and spiritual independence of the Holy See.

CHAPTER III.

The Conquest of Milan by the French.—The Meeting between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna.

The army which Francis I. concentrated at Lyons was one of the finest which any King of France had ever led into the field. It consisted of 35,000 men, 60 cannons, and 100 culverins. The most prominent among the generals were Trivulzio, Trémouille, Robert de la Marck, the leader of the formidable Black Company, Lautrec, and Bayard, nearly all of whom had had experience of the Italian theatre of war.* On the 27th of June the French King had renewed the alliance made by his predecessor with Venice, and Genoa had now also joined him.

It is obvious that the allies ought to have united against this force. But the Spanish Viceroy, Cardona, was kept on the Adige by the Venetians, while the Papal troops had no thought beyond that of covering Parma and Piacenza. Leo X. appealed to Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, to help him in the protection of those cities, but he, regardless of his fealty, favoured the French.† The Swiss, whose headquarters were at Susa, had occupied the passes so effectually that Francis I. considered it impossible to force

* Guicciardini, XII., 4; Dierauer, II., 444 *seq*, Gisi, part 270, and Spont., in Rev. d. quest. hist., 1899, II., 66. French accounts exaggerate the strength of the army of Francis I., see Tizio, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 37, f. 340, Chigi Library, Rome.

† *Cf.* Balan, Boschetti, I., 91 *seq.*, and Chapter IV., *infra*

them. By the advice of Trivulzio, who knew the country well, he chose for his passage across the Alps the Col d'Argentière, leading from Embrun to the valley of the Stura, which had been hitherto considered impassable. The undertaking was one of extraordinary difficulty, for rocks had to be blasted and bridges thrown over chasms; but the warlike zeal of Francis overcame all obstacles. The surprise of the enemy was complete. Prospero Colonna was taken prisoner with his corps of Milanese cavalry on the 12th of August, at Villa Franca, on the Po,* whereupon the Swiss, entirely baffled, retreated on Milan. This retreat cut off the communication between the various Swiss regiments, and destroyed the discipline of the troops. A spirit of disunion set in among the contingents from the different cantons.†

The unexpected success of the French, who were ere long completely possessed of the western part of the Duchy of Milan, not only broke down the confidence of the allies, but renewed their distrust of each other. That the Papal army was only half-hearted in the part it was playing is shown by the fact that it did not cross the Po. Leo X., who, after his long hesitation, had at last joined the anti-French League, more from fear than by choice,‡ was deeply moved by the unfortunate tidings which reached him from the theatre of war in Northern Italy. He had trusted to the military skill of Colonna as much as to the security of the watch kept by the Swiss in the Alpine passes.§ However much he might try to conceal his real feelings under bold words,

* *Cf.* the anonymous account sent to Lorenzo de' Medici, DESJARDINS, II., 706. *Cf.* VETTORI, 308.

† DIERAUER, II., 446 *seq.*

‡ VETTORI, 306.

§ *Cf.* the *Letter of July 30, 1515, "alli nunzii in Spagna," Nunziat. di Germania, I., 61. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the truth was that the destruction of his hopes made him lose courage completely, and he could see the French already occupying Rome, and spoke of flight to Gaeta or Ischia.*

The position in the Vatican was all the more painful because the news from the scene of war was so scanty and unreliable. "Write, write, write!" says Cardinal Bibbiena to Gambara in a letter of the 18th of August.† The position of Bibbiena, who was more of a humanist that a diplomatist, became more difficult each day. He found himself "as a tyro, making endless compromises between his dependence on the Medici, his care for the Church's interests, and hard political facts."‡ His letters afford a deep insight into the political machinery of the Curia.

On the 22nd of August the news of the loss of Alessandria reached Rome; for the Swiss had not occupied the town, although Leo X. had pointed out the importance of the place. He now himself specified the measures which the Cardinal-Legate, Giulio de' Medici, was to take. The first thing to be done was to see the complete reinstatement of the Bentivogli in Bologna, so as to keep a check on the Duke of Ferrara, who was longing to possess Modena and Reggio. At all costs Cardinal Giulio must cover those cities. In vain did Bibbiena seek to remonstrate against these measures. "Write as I have commanded you," was the answer of the Pope.§

A few days later Bibbiena had to intercede with his master for no less a personage than Giulio de' Medici. Every

* See the Letter of Ferdinand to H. de Vich in BERGENROTH, Henry VIII., II., n. 221; and SANUTO, XX., 550, 571. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 4.

† Archiv für schweiz. Gesch., XVI., 86.

‡ Histor. Zeitschr., XCIII., 164.

§ RICHARD, 120-122.

day made it more clear that the choice of that pusillanimous, irresolute man to be Cardinal-Legate with the army, had been most unfortunate. "The Cardinal," said Leo X., "writes about nothing but the dangers and difficulties which threaten him; as for the remedies which he holds in his hands, he does not know how to make use of them.* The defence of the absent Legate, which Bibbiena vainly attempted to make, was certainly inopportune, for it was through Cardinal Giulio's fault, as well as Lorenzo's, that the Papal army had advanced so slowly, and had then come altogether to a standstill. The letters exchanged between those two show this only too plainly. On the 27th of August, Giulio wrote to Lorenzo from Bologna, saying that if the Swiss, in spite of the enticing offers of Francis I., persisted in carrying on the war against the French, then he could do the same thing; but should this not be the case, neither could he venture to advance, and must await the development of events. Three days later Giulio repeated: "If Cardinal Schinner insists on sending forward his light cavalry, let him do so; but it will certainly be unaccompanied by the Papal colours.†

It was not extraordinary that Cardinal Giulio should act in this way, because his master, in spite of his energetic assertions, was at this time allowing negotiations to be entered on with the enemy.‡ At length the Pope fell back into a state of indecision even greater than usual. On the 27th of August he sent word to Lorenzo de' Medici, who wished to make peace on any terms with the French, that he must not give in so soon;§ but in the beginning of

* RICHARD, 124.

† See the text of this characteristic letter in DESJARDINS, II., 725 *seq.*, 729 *seq.*

‡ RICHARD, 123–124.

§ VERDI, 13; NITTI, 61.

September, he himself, under the influence of the bad news from the Swiss camp, determined to send the faithful Cintio da Tivoli secretly to Francis I. to excuse the attitude hitherto maintained by the Pope, and open negotiations with the French King. This precaution seemed to him necessary, in the not unlikely event of the fortune of war favouring the French arms still more.* A few days later Leo X. again yielded to renewed hopes of success and expressed his hope that Cintio would be detained by the Legate.†

Thus did Leo X. vacillate from one side to the other. One day he spoke with severity against France, and maintained his confidence in the valour of the Swiss, declaring that he would rather lose his mitre than Parma and Piacenza; but the next, he was inclining towards coming to an accommodation with Francis I., and even talked it over with Cardinal Sanseverino.‡ How great were the vacillations of the Pope can be seen by the fact that on the 2nd of September, 1515, he gave full powers to Duke Charles of Savoy and Ludovico di Canossa to treat with Francis I., but recalled these orders on the 13th of September.§

As a matter of fact, the Papal and Florentine troops were now inactive. In order to assure himself of safety in every event, Leo X. resolved to yield to the repeated requests of Henry VIII. and raise Wolsey to the purple. Many

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 4. *Cf.* RICHARD, 131. About Cintio, *cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 2337 *seq.*, 3273, 3911.

† RICHARD, 131.

‡ SANUTO, XX., 574; XXI., 37, 52, 54 *seq.*

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 184. On September 8, 1515, Bald. de Pescia wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici from Rome saying that the Pope had been incensed against him (Lorenzo), but was now appeased: *"si che exhorto quanto so et posso V. Ex. al portarsi bene et esergli obediente che tutto il bene suo ha dependere da quella." State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CIX.

objections were made by members of the Sacred College; nevertheless, the Pope proceeded with the nomination in the Consistory held on the 10th of September, 1515.*

Meanwhile Cintio had been intercepted by the Spaniards. This, added to other circumstances, increased the mistrust between Spain and the Papal party. To add to the unsettled state of affairs, the Swiss now wavered, and were inclined to come to an accommodation with France, a treaty of peace being in fact made between the two countries on the 8th of September. However, a large portion of the Swiss army repudiated this agreement and marched on Milan,† where Cardinal Schinner was doing his utmost to stir up his fellow-countrymen to fight.

In the interval, Francis I. had approached the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Lombardy, and pitched his camp at Marignano, which he fortified with the greatest skill. His position was attacked at noon on the 13th of September by 20,000 Swiss, incited by Cardinal Schinner. A desperate fight ensued, and it was only the darkness of night which put a temporary end to the bloodshed In spite of the numerical superiority of the French, the Swiss had succeeded in driving the enemy from the outposts and capturing some colours and ordnance; but the battle remained undecided. Both armies passed the night on the field of battle, Francis I. sleeping on a gun-carriage. With the first glimpse of dawn the terrible struggle recommenced; and in spite of the heroism of the Swiss the

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 18, with its completion in CREIGHTON, IV., 276–277 (*cf.* 206–207). *Cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 241; *Diary of a Frenchman in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 24, Vatican Library. See also SANUTO, XXI., 68, 74; Spicil. Vat., I., 210; Regest. Leonis X., n. 17764; ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 132; BROSCH, VI., 73; MARTIN, 236.

† See DIERAUER, II., 447-449.

numerical superiority of the French won the day. The scale was turned by the arrival on the scene of a troop of Venetian horse, which the Swiss took to be the vanguard of the entire army of the Republic. Thousands of dead, mostly Swiss, covered the field of battle. The veteran Trivulzio declared that all the other eighteen battles in which he had fought were mere child's play to this tremendous struggle.*

On the 16th of September Leo received by a messenger despatched by Lorenzo, the joyful news that the Swiss had defeated the French. He at once sent word of this secretly to the Venetian Ambassador and to Cardinal Cornaro, forbidding them under pain of excommunication to spread the news. But when a second messenger arrived, repeating the intelligence, such precautions seemed unnecessary, and permission was given to publish the news. The French and Venetians living in Rome were half dead with alarm, whereas the Ambassadors of the Emperor and King of Spain, as well as the Swiss Guard, and, according to one source, even Cardinal Bibbiena himself, celebrated the victory by open rejoicings. Though Leo X. was delighted that the French should have been defeated, he knew how to restrain himself, and the Papal court took no part in the manifestations of joy.†

* *Cf.* DIERAUER, II., 451–455, where there is a good epitome of the many, partly contradictory, accounts of the battle, in which, however, Prato (343) is overlooked. See also ROSMINI, Trivulzio, I., 494 *seq.*; GISI, 185 *seq.*; MIGNET, Rivalité, I., 86 *seq.*; R. INGANNI, Origine e vicende della capella espiat. a Zivido, Milano, 1887; and DÄNDLIKER, Gesch. der Schweitz, II., 323 *seq.*, where there is also a plan of the field of battle; also SPONT. in Rev. de quest. hist., 1899, II., 69 *seq.* A poem on the battle in LILIENCRON, III., 170 and Nos. 292–294. *Cf.* Mém, de la Soc. d'Hist. de la Suisse rom., Series 2, IV.; and FLAMINI, Studi di Storia lett. (1895), 227 *seq.* *Cf.* CLERIC, in Der Schweiz. Monastschrift für Offiziëre, 1905.

† Report of M. Giorgi in SANUTO, XXI., 115, and also in ALBÈRI,

How prudently the Pope had acted was soon seen; for next morning he received the news that the second day of the battle had resulted in a victory for the French—news which the enemies of France declared to be either invented or grossly exaggerated. The Venetian Ambassador received the welcome news quite early in the morning of the 6th of September, and once more breathed freely. He put on his robes of state and went at once to the Vatican. There he was informed by the private chamberlain, Serapica, that the Pope was still in bed. "His Holiness must be aroused," said Marino Giorgi. "That cannot be," replied Serapica. "I insist on speaking to His Holiness," returned the Ambassador. Only then was an audience obtained with the Pope, who had not time to finish his toilet. "Holy Father," said Giorgi ironically, "after the example of Christ, I will return you good for evil. Yesterday Your Holiness gave me bad and at the same time false news; to-day I bring in exchange good news which is also true: the Swiss have been defeated." "We also have received this news," replied Leo X.; "but the defeat has been inconsiderable." "Your Holiness can see the truth by this despatch," was the response of the Ambassador, as he handed to the Pope his own official letter, together with that of the Venetian representative with the French King. This last letter, the writer of which was known personally to the Pope, convinced His Holiness of the real state of things. Full of alarm, he cried out: "What is to become of us? What, furthermore, will become of you?" Marino tried to calm him by assuring him that no bad results could follow

II., 3, 43; and SANUTO, XXIV., 85 *seqq*. *Cf*. JOVIUS, Vita, l. 3. It is worthy of notice that neither the contemporary Diary of a Frenchman in the Barberini Library (see Mél. d'arch., XXII., 280 *seq*.) nor the *Diary of the Dutchman Cornelius de Fine (National Library, Paris) says anything about Bibbiena's celebrations of the victory.

for the Holy See. He then took his leave in order to inform Cardinals Bibbiena, Grimani, and Cornaro of what had occurred. Although the Venetians refrained from any external manifestations of their joy, the Swiss Guards were so incensed that Marino Giorgi thought it wise to keep away from the Vatican for a couple of days At his next audience with Leo X. the Pope thus expressed himself: "We will throw ourselves into the arms of the Most Christian King, and beg his mercy." The Ambassador replied: "Most Holy Father, if you do so it will be neither to your detriment nor to that of the Holy See. The King is a true son of the Church." *

The union of the Pope with the victorious French King was to be effected more quickly and completely than the Venetians cared for. It is true that for one moment Leo seemed inclined to try the fortune of war once more in conjunction with the Emperor, Spain, and the Swiss; † but he very soon saw the hopelessness of any such attempt. Immediately after their defeat, the Swiss had abandoned Lombardy, leaving garrisons only in the fortresses of Milan and Cremona. It was therefore to be expected that Spain also would relinquish the struggle, and that the whole burden of hostilities would fall on the Pope. If Leo X. anticipated the very worst, his was far from being an empty fear; for Francis I. was making preparations to cross the Po at Pavia, and to occupy Parma and Piacenza as belonging to the Duchy of Milan. Were the

* SANUTO, XXI., 123, 135; and ALBÈRI, II., 3, 43–45. A private letter from Camillo Orsini, dat. Piacenza, 1515, Sept. 17 (SANUTO, XXI., 136), must have removed the last remaining doubt in Rome as to the complete victory of the French.

† RICHARD, 137, regards "ce dernier effort de politique belliqueuse" as a "manœuvre de diplomatie, et le pape n'avait d'autre objectif que de masquer sa retraite."

Pope to resist him any further, he was prepared to seize Modena and drive the Medici out of Florence.*

All idea of resistance vanished before such a danger. This was the conclusion arrived at by the immediate entourage of the Pope, especially by Alfonsina Orsini, who remembered but too well the eighteen years of exile which she owed to the obstinacy of Piero. "Bibbiena," she wrote in a state of great excitement, "will by his doings ruin us for the second time." † Roberto Acciaiuoli, the Florentine Ambassador in Rome, and Marino Giorgi worked in the same direction, exaggerating the actual danger. The Florentines implored the Pope to come to an agreement with France before the Swiss had made peace with her, or the Spaniards had accomplished their retreat. Lorenzo was quite ready to make peace on his own account, and had told Canossa, the Nuncio at the French court, that such was the Pope's desire.‡

Francis I., on his side, was equally disinclined to a war with the Pope—so much so that as early as the 18th of September he had told Lorenzo de' Medici that he had delegated an Envoy to take proposals of peace to Leo X.§ At one time the French had feared, and not without cause,

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5. The slight resistance which Modena, owing to the weak condition of her walls, could have offered to an attack, is shown by the *Letter of Annibale Rangoni to Lorenzo de Medici, dat. Modena, 1515, Sept. 3. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CIX.

† Letter of Sept. 22, 1515, to Lorenzo de' Medici, in Arch. stor. Ital., Series 5, VIII., 189. *Cf.* NITTI, 67. Jacopo Salviati also was quite in favour of peace with France; see the *Letter of Fil. Strozzi to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Florence, 1515, Sept. 26. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVIII.

‡ MADELIN, 20.

§ Francis I. to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. 1515, Sept. 18, quoted by MADELIN, 33.

that a coalition between the Emperor, Henry VIII., and the Swiss might wrest from him the fruits of his victory. Besides, he and all the French remembered only too well the great danger in which his predecessor had been involved by his contest with the Holy See. Therefore the Duke of Savoy, who had been entrusted by the Pope with his proposals of peace, found a favourable reception with his royal uncle.* Leo X. had to make up his mind to a complete change in his policy, and how difficult he found this is shown by the excited debates held in the Vatican.† In smoothing the difficulties which came in the way of an arrangement, no one worked harder than Ludovico di Canossa, who came with all speed to Rome from the King's camp. Canossa, who arrived in the Eternal City on the 25th of September, brought with him fourteen articles of a treaty to be agreed to; and in these the Venetian Ambassador saw to his dismay that the interests of his Republic were totally disregarded.‡ By a thorough examination of all objections Canossa succeeded in overcoming the last hesitations of the Pope, who, however, would have gladly awaited the result of a Diet assembled by the Swiss at Zurich. The Envoy pointed out the danger of delay, lest Francis I., encouraged by his own generals and those of the Venetians, might be induced to take further measures, such even as an attack on Florence. He showed, moreover, that nothing was to be hoped for from the Swiss, as indeed was proved to be the case by future events.§ The Pope, who yielded mainly on account of the menace to the States of the Church and

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5; VETTORI, 313. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 213.

† *Cf.* RICHARD, 140 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, XXI., 153, *cf.* 146.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5.

to his supremacy in Florence,* made a stand on certain points, and insisted on certain conditions in favour of his native city. He stipulated that he should be spared a direct surrender of Parma and Piacenza; though on the other hand he was willing to recall his officials from them. Finally, the withdrawal of the Papal troops was to take place at a convenient opportunity, out of consideration for the Emperor.†

On the 27th of September, Leo X. sent urgent letters to the French King and his Chancellor, Du Prat, in which he reiterated his desire for peace.‡ The decision of the Pope was awaited with feverish anxiety, especially in Florence.§ When the terms of the agreement between Rome and France were made known, the enemies of the French King fell into a state of great excitement. Even his allies, the Venetians, feared that their interests had not been sufficiently considered in the treaty.‖

But the announcement of a complete agreement was premature; for there were several important points about which an understanding could not be arrived at at once,¶

* *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 3. Leo X., according to the representative of the Duchess of Bari, on Oct. 1, 1515, did not wish, "per non patire scorno de Fiorenza," that his Florentines "con lo favore di Franza li tagliassero el naso essendo papa." Spicil. Vatic. I., 524.

† GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5; VETTORI, 314.

‡ BEMBI, Epist., XI., 1, 2; *cf.* X., 61. FABRONIUS, 279.

§ *Stiamo qui in grandissima suspensione di animo se el papa ratificerà li capitoli porta Tricarico o pure starà duro in volere altri ricompensi di Parma e Piacenza, wrote Fil. Strozzi from Florence to Lorenzo de' Medici on Sept. 26, 1515. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVIII.

‖ SANUTO, XXI., 206; MADELIN, 34 *seq.*

¶ Canossa wrote as follows on Sept. 28, 1515, to the Grand Master Arthur Gouffier de Boissy, concerning the Pope: *Non è hora interamente resoluta dico circa la particularitade de capitoli, ben si risolve S. Sta di voler abrazar el S^or^ Re per bon figliolo et corere una

and on account of these Canossa returned to the King on the 31st of September.* Francis' demand for the renunciation of all claims on Parma and Piacenza was the severest blow to the Pope; though before long, by the purchase of Modena, that territory was once more united to the States of the Church. But the development of events in Lombardy was so entirely in favour of the French, that Leo had to resign himself to the payment of a high price. At the beginning of October Maximilian Sforza gave up all for lost, and surrendered, not only the fortresses of Milan and Cremona, but, for the sake of one year's assured tenure, renounced all further claims on the Duchy. On the 11th of October Francis I. made his triumphal entry into the capital of Lombardy.†

Leo X., who had left Rome on the 1st of October, 1515, and had retired to Viterbo, under the pretext of taking an autumn holiday,‡ approved, on the 13th of the same month, of the conclusion of preliminary articles of peace. The conditions were as follows: Francis was to keep Parma and Piacenza, which were to be once more united to Milan;

medesima fortuna con S. Mtà Particol., 153, n. 97. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* SANUTO, XXI., 201. On Sept. 30, Leo wrote from Rome to Ant. Du Prat: "*Intelleximus a ven. fratre episcopo Tricaricensi nuntio nostro quanto cum studio huius s. apost. sedis res atque nostras apud cariss. in Christo filium nostrum Franciscum Francorum regem christianiss., iuveris quantamque in nos eandemque sedem observantiam et reverentiam ostenderis." He praises him for this, and recommends to him Canossa, who was returning to Francis I. Orig. in the National Archives in Paris, L. 357. The copy of this brief in BEMBI, Epist., XI., 2, does not agree with the original.

† PRATO, 347; GRUMELLO, 207; GUICCIARDINI, XII., 5; SANUTO, XXI., 233, 236 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. stor. Lomb., XVII., 416 *seq.*

‡ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 24; *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 24. Vatican Library.

but on the other hand he pledged himself to pay for the salt from the salt-mines of Cervia, whereby the Apostolic Exchequer was assured of a considerable income. The French King, moreover, guaranteed the authority of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, and promised to make no treaty with any vassal of the Church without the knowledge of the Pope. Both contracting parties gave mutual security for their possessions.* On the 14th of October the Pope entrusted the learned Giano Lascaris, a man high in the favour of the French King, with a mission to the victor of Marignano.† But the deed of ratification was taken to Francis by Lorenzo de' Medici in person. He arrived in Milan on the 18th, where an honourable reception awaited him. Henceforward he placed his future hopes more than ever on the French King.‡

The news spread about among the members of the Curia, that Francis I. intended to visit Rome, perhaps with his whole army.§ That at the same time his eyes would be turned towards Naples, seemed to them to be more than probable. But the fact was that Francis I. was most desirous of a personal interview with the Pope. Although the Venetians warned him to be on his guard, as neither Leo nor Bibbiena would shrink from anything to gain their own ends,‖ the King persisted in his intention; for he hoped to be able to gain further concessions by word of

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 214–215. *Cf.* RICHARD, 142; ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 258, n. The original minutes of the *Bull "*Inter caetera sollicitudinis*," dated Viterbo, 1515, Oct. 13, by which Leo X. ratified the peace, are in the State Archives, Florence.

† The original brief to Lascari, dat. Viterbo, 1515, Oct. 14, in DELISLE, Cabinet des Ms., I., 151, n. 1.

‡ VERDI, 19. *Cf.* REUMONT-BASCHET, 246.

§ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 24.

‖ *Cf.* LAMANSKY, 45, 46.

mouth. Moreover, by obtaining a meeting with the Supreme Head of the Church, he hoped to make an impression on the enemies * who were gathering around him.†

Leo X. thought it necessary to fall in with the King's wishes; still, the one thing which he wished to avoid was a visit of Francis to Rome. He therefore proposed either Florence or Bologna as the place of meeting. As he was suffering much from his fistula, the Pope would have preferred to travel no further than Florence; but against this advantage, was to be placed the fear lest the enemies of the Medici in Florence might fraternize with the French King. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and Lorenzo laid such stress on this danger, that Leo X. decided in favour of Bologna, this choice being pleasing to Francis for several reasons.‡ It was in vain that objections were raised, especially by Spain, and by Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, who had the Imperial interests warmly at heart, as well as by other members of the Sacred College.§ But the Pope was, in fact, more prudent than his advisers. No doubt the latter attached too much importance to appearances, thinking it derogatory to the dignity of the Pope that he should go so far afield to meet the French King.||

* JOVIUS, Hist., XV. (ed. 1550, I., 252).

† On Oct. 19, 1515, Henry VIII. and Ferdinand of Spain concluded a defensive alliance (DUMONT, IV., 1, 214 *seq.*). At once Pace, the English Envoy, began to raise a Swiss mercenary force.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; SANUTO, XXI., 273; NITTI, 72; MADELIN, 72; VERDI, 17–18; DESJARDINS, II., 740, 744. Lorenzo's mother Alfonsina worked hard in favour of the choice of Florence. Arch. Stor. Ital, Series 5, VIII., 189.

§ *Cf.* BREWER, II., 1216, 1282–1284, DESJARDINS, II., 740; BERGENROTH, II., n. 240; GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 36; MADELIN, 49.

|| *Cf.* Giorgi in SANUTO, XXIV., 86; Paris de Grassis in GREGOR-

On the 3rd of October a meeting of Cardinals was called at Viterbo,* where also Bonnivet arrived as Envoy from Francis I. on the 2nd of November.† Fourteen Cardinals arrived in obedience to the summons; and, in a Consistory held on the 5th of November, they gave their consent to the Pope's expedition to Bologna, which was to be made via Siena and Florence.‡ As Leo X. did not wish to return to Rome till Palm Sunday in the following year, the next session of the Lateran Council was postponed till the fifteenth day after Easter. The Florentine Cardinal, Soderini, was appointed Legate in Rome.§ The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, was commissioned to arrange for the suite of the Pope, in conjunction with Cardinals Accolti and Pucci;‖ Cardinal Sanseverino was sent to the King.¶

OVIUS, VIII., 191, A. 3; and Carpesanus in MARTÈNE-DURAND, V., 1306. Also TIZIO (*Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 39, f. 30, Chigi Library, Rome) says that Leo X. went to Bologna "cum ecclesiae ac sedis apost. dedecore."

* See the Brief in FABRONIUS, 93. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 25; and BEMBI, Epist. XI., 9.

† Bonnivet had left Milan on Oct. 18. DESJARDINS, II., 742. His arrival at Viterbo is described by PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Appendix, No. 9.

‡ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, 10.

§ Soderini arrived in Rome on Nov. 9; see *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 24, Vatican Library. CORNELIUS DE FINE, in his *Diary (National Library, Paris), praises Soderini for his ability in governing, and his other good qualities.

‖ PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.* See there, about the Pope's journey, who for the first time departed from the ancient custom of being preceded by the Blessed Sacrament (see PAGI, Brev., IV., 224). *Cf* SANUTO, XXI., 375 *seq.* For the reception at Arezzo, see *Ricordi di Storia Aretina, I., 162 *seq.*, in the Library of the Fraternità di S. Maria at Arezzo.

¶ SANUTO, XXI., 274.

At Bolsena Leo X., who had shortly before been instrumental in making peace between Perugia and Assisi,* gave up his first idea of travelling to Florence via Siena, because of disturbances in the last-named city. Instead of this he chose another route, which would take him to Cortona by Orvieto and Castiglione.† At Cortona he remained for three days, being the guest of one of the members of his court, Giulio Passerini, and received a deputation of Florentines sent to welcome him; then, passing through Arezzo, the Pope arrived at Marignolle, the villa of Jacopo Gianfigliazzi in the neighbourhood of Florence, and there he remained from the 27th till the 30th of November.‡

Meanwhile great preparations were being made in Florence for the reception of the distinguished guest. The Florentines did everything in their power to prepare a pageant as imposing as had been that in the Eternal City on the occasion of the "Possesso." The most celebrated artists of the day, Jacopo Sansovino, Antonio di Sangallo, Baccio Bandinelli, Andrea del Sarto, Pontorno, Perino del Vaga, Granacci, vied with one another in the contrivance of decorations which displayed a glorious combination of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Twelve

* See the *Briefs to Perugia, dated from Montefalisco, 1515, Oct. 17, and from Corneto, Oct. 22, in the Communal Library, Perugia.

† From Cortona Leo X. wrote as follows to the French King: *Ex dil. fil. Baltassare Stuerdo praeposito Clavasii familiari et cubiculario nostro litteras M^tis^. tuae Christ^mae^. tum consortis ac Aloisiae matris in Gallia regentis simul recepimus quae ipsae litterae et quae cum litteris Baltassar nobis exposuit gratissima et iucundissima fuere atque hoc unum potissimum quia ex pace inter nos inita non solum mater et coniux praedictae verum et, ut idem Baltassar testatur, universa Gallia tantam laetitiam ostenderunt ut nihil supra dici possit. Orig. L 357, National Archives, Paris.

‡ *Cf.* MORENI, Notizie st. dei Contorni di Firenze, IV., 132, and ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 135.

triumphal arches, richly ornamented with sculptures and paintings, were erected, and on these, to the admiration of all beholders, were to be seen reproductions of the most famous specimens of the architecture of ancient Rome, as well as colossal statues, while allegorical paintings and flattering inscriptions conveyed the praises of the first Florentine Pope. Jacopo Sansovino and Andrea del Sarto had erected a wooden façade to the Duomo, in close imitation of marble, covered with statues and bas-reliefs, while on the smooth surface of the façade Andrea del Sarto had painted pictures in chiaroscuro.

The Pope was greeted by music as he entered by the Roman gate, and drove through his native city, portions of the walls of which had been levelled to facilitate the decorations. He enjoyed the spectacle with the enthusiasm inherent in his race, and several times he bade the procession come to a halt that he might better examine some of the works of art. The order of the state entry, which corresponded with that of the "Possesso," had been arranged with minute attention by Paris de Grassis.* The magnificent spectacle seemed to the spectators to be like one of

* See De ingressu S. P. Leonis X., Florentiam descriptio Paridis de Grassis, ed. D. Moreni, Florentiae, 1793; LANDUCCI, 352 *seq.*; VASARI, V., 24 *seq.*, 341, VI., 141, 255. As to the journey and state entry, *cf.* *Ordine dell' entrata che fece P. Lione nella città di Firenze, in C. Strozz., 239 (now 234), f. 1, State Archives, Florence; TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 38, Chigi Library, Rome: G. UGHI, Cronaca di Firenze, in the Arch. Stor. Ital., App. VII., 131 CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary (as eye-witness), in the National Library, Paris; SANUTO, XXI., 313, 344, 373 *seq.*, 391; MORENI, S. Lorenzo, I., 178; REUMONT, Andrea del Sarto, 66 *seq.*; FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 170, 177; D'ANCONA, Origini, II., 84 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, I., 321 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Hist., II., 219 *seq.*; MADELIN, 50. Later, Vasari immortalized Leo's entry into his native city by his picture in the Palazzo Vecchio. *Cf.* ROCCA, B. Cerritanis Dialog, 57 *seq.*

the triumphal processions of ancient Rome.* Taking part in it were to be seen eighteen Cardinals, as well as Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florentine municipality. The procession then went to the Duomo, where Cardinal Giulio de' Medici said Mass. Leo here laid aside his heavy Papal robes and tiara, and remained in his rochet and purple cloak, such as we see him in Raphael's portrait. In the Duomo the Pope prayed longer than usual, gave his blessing and indulgence, and then went to the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, where his predecessors, Martin V. and Eugenius IV., had dwelt in former times.

On the 1st of December Leo X. took counsel, first with the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, and then with the Cardinals assembled in Consistory, as to the ceremonies with which the victor of Marignano should be received.† Then there was a present for the King to be settled on. Paris de Grassis suggested a pax; but the Pope decided on a cross of pure gold, which had been the property of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. This he took from the treasury of Julius II., who had hated the French so bitterly! Together with the precious stones with which it was set, the value of this cross amounted to 15,000 ducats.‡ On

* This comparison is taken from IOANNINENSIS (Penthatheucus, 102*b*), who declares that nothing more beautiful or magnificent had ever been seen.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*, epitome in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 26.

‡ *Papa re cum cardinalibus discussa statuit ei donare non pacem, quia nullam in promptu tunc haberet, sed unam crucem ex auro purissimo, quam habuerat ex thesauro Iulii quaeque fuerat olim card^lis. Ascanii et huic cruci fecit inseri etiam aliquos lapides preciosos, qui omnes in totum cum cruce valebant in circa 15m duc. et sic misit illa hora ad urbem pro cruce et postea eam donavit regi ex Bononia discessure ut infra dicetur. PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.*, Rossiana Library, Vienna. See also BEMBI, Epist. XI., 11.

the first Sunday in Advent (Dec. 2), Mass was said in S. Lorenzo; after which the Pope was seen in tears, kneeling before the porphyry sarcophagus in which his father's body lay. No less moved was he when he visited his brother Giuliano, who was lying seriously ill in the family palace.*

On the 3rd of December Leo X. left his native city,† and on the 7th he arrived before Bologna, which he entered on the following day. The reception was just the opposite of that at Florence: no decorations, no acclamations greeted the Pope, who had shown too little interest in the adherents of the Bentivogli, and too much in their enemies.‡ Even a portion of the clergy

* SANUTO, XXI., 375; FABRONIUS, 94-95. As to the treatment of Giuliano, whose improvement in the autumn (*cf.* the *letter of Fil. Strozzi to Lorenzo, dated Florence, 1515, Sept. 26, and the *Report of John Bapt. Boncorti to Lorenzo, dated Florence, 1515, Oct. 7, State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVIII. and CIX.) was only apparent, two Jewish doctors were sent from Rome to Florence (see TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 37, f. 341, Chigi Library, Rome). For the poem by Marcello Adriani Virgilio on Leo's visit to Lorenzo's tomb, see ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 141.

† On Dec. 2 an invitation was sent to Duke Charles of Savoy to take part in the Pope's meeting with the King at Bologna. * Brief, dated Florence, 1515, Dec. 2, State Archives, Florence. MAZZO, 19, n. 20.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium (Rossiana Library, Vienna): *Die lunae 3 Dec. papa recessit ex Florentia versus Bononiam ad quam die veneris applicant, sed non ingressus est, quia in domo cruciferorum suburbana pernoctavit et die sabbati octava post prandium intravit, sed satis ruditer et inordinatissime; nam cum ego per biduum aut triduum ante illuc appulissem ordinassemque omnia pro receptione digna pontificis, nullus tamen ordo nec paratus nec ostentatio laetitiae aut signa saltem apparentia facta fuerunt propter quae ostenderunt cives se recepturos esse libenter pontificem, quinimo omnia signa in contrarium apparuerunt et forte creditum est, quod propter Bentivolos haec omnia contigerint, nam cum una pars Bononiensium vellent habere Bentivolos et papa tunc non introduceret ut obtulerit propterea erant mali contenti; altera pars ex adverso intelligens quod papa volebat eos omnino intromittere

showed animosity. In some of the streets even the cry of "Sega! Sega!" the motto of the Bentivogli, who carried a saw (sega) on their arms, was raised.* Such as these did but poor service to their patrons, for after this there could be no question of a complete restoration of the Bentivogli.† Not only the Master of Ceremonies, but also the Cardinals, were incensed by the hostile attitude of the Bolognese. They tried to persuade the Pope to express his displeasure; but he refused, and maintained the cheerful demeanour of a true diplomatist, who in cases such as this prudently appears to notice nothing.‡

The French King's Envoys, Odet de Foix and Louis de Trémouille, arrived in Bologna at almost the same time

erant pessime contenti et sic neutra pars erat contenta de hoc pontificis adventu. The following from MADELIN, 51–52. About Leo X. and Bologna in 1515, see Regest. Leonis X., n. 3313, 3855. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXI., 371, 391. A description of the Pope's entry (circa le XXI. hore) is given also by Aless. Gabbioneta in two *letters, both dated from Bologna, 1515, Dec. 8. In the second of these he writes with indignation about this "entrata brutta et infame: et questo è proceduto per la fredezza di questi Bolognesi. Li archi et altri ornamenti erano brutissimi et il più bello spectaculo è stato quello delle donne, quale credo siano le più brute del mondo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 38, Chigi Library, Rome. FABRONIUS, 95. See *Letter of Gabbioneta of Dec. 10, quoted in the following note.

† *Lo applauso ch'ha fatto questo populo per la restitutione di Bentivolii in casa con gridar Sega, Sega ha molto nociuto a questi poveri sig^ri Bentivolii perchè pare che la sia diferita. *Letter of Gabbioneta, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 10. On Dec. 15 he again writes: *Quello cridar Sega, Sega è stato la ruina di Bentivolii. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Ego dixi papae honori suo male consultum per cives Bononienses et papa visus est non curare semper subridens de his. At the end of his description of the entry, Paris de Grassis says again: *Et quidem parce si non ignominiose se Bononienses hac vice habuerunt versus pontificem, qui tamen adversus eos in nullo aperuit os suum. Rossiana Library, Vienna.

as the Pope. Francis I., who had been received at Parma by Lorenzo de' Medici and four prelates, and on the frontier of the States of the Church by Cardinals Medici and Fieschi, now hastened his journey, so that by the 10th of December he was only three miles from Bologna, on the bridge over the Reno. There he was met by Cardinal Sanseverino and the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, with whom all the details of the interview, as well as the state entry, were arranged. There were difficulties at this meeting which were not all due to the pedantic Master of Ceremonies, and the wit and pleasantries to which he treated the King. A difference of opinion soon showed itself, for the Pope had no intention of prolonging the visit to the extent which Francis had arranged in his own mind.*

According to prearrangement, the French King arrived at Bologna on the 11th of December, amid the pealing of bells.† Francis I. rode a fiery steed, being accompanied by the Legates, and later by Cardinals Sanseverino and Este. Nineteen other Cardinals waited to receive him at the Porta San Felice. As senior Cardinal, Riario made a short speech in Latin, during which the others uncovered their heads. The victor of Marignano answered in French, with his head also uncovered. Neither Francis nor his suite carried arms. The bold and masterful bearing of the King, and still more his noble countenance, made the best

* See PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, *loc. cit.*; MADELIN, 52–58, 66, where, however, the 8th of December should be read instead of the 5th.

† For what follows, see, besides Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 29 *seq.*, and FABRONIUS, 280 *seq.*, the account given in SANUTO, XXI., 378 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*, 392 *seq.* Also the account given by the Imperial Ambassador in LE GLAY, II., 85; TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. in Cod. G, II., 38, Chigi Library, Rome; *Account of Stazio Gadio, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 11, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; BARILLON, I., 166 *seq.*; MADELIN, 59–65.

of impressions on the susceptible Italians; but his suite and the whole procession disappointed the thousands of spectators who had thronged to see it.* When the procession approached the Palazzo Pubblico, where Francis I. was to be the guest of the Pope, Leo could not refrain from going to the window to enjoy the rare spectacle.

After the King had dined with Cardinals Bibbiena, Medici, Sauli, and Cibo, he was presented to the Pope, who awaited him in the great hall on the second floor of the Palazzo Pubblico, surrounded by the Cardinals who had been summoned to the Consistory. So many spectators had crowded into the great tapestried hall,† that there was fear lest the floor might fall in. There was such a dense crowd that it was only with difficulty that the King, conducted by the Master of Ceremonies, could reach the throne of Leo X. Francis I. bared his head, made the three customary genuflections, and kissed the foot and hand of the Pope, who wore a jewelled tiara, and a cloak embroidered with gold. Leo bade the King rise, and embraced him with the intimation that he might cover his head.‡

To a short speech in French by Francis I., Leo replied with as much courtesy as readiness. Then the Chancellor Du Prat stepped forward and made the discourse of the *obedientia*.§ He began by an extravagant eulogy of the

* * Report of Gabbioneta, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 12, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* LE GLAY, II., 90.

† * Era aparata tuta la sala grande del palatio di tapezarie, dove era tuta la passion di N. S^re^ Dio, bellissima cosa. * Report of Grossino, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 11, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ * Lo qual lo abracciò et tenne alquanto il volto suo presso quel del Re, accarezandolo molto teneramente et fattolo coprire parlò seco un pocho. * Report of Stazio Gadio, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 11, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Printed in ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., 296-302 (ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 466-470).

wisdom, skill, and state of the family of Medici, especially of its most famous member, the Pope, to whom God had entrusted the barque of St. Peter, to steer it through the shoals into the haven of safety. The Kings of France, continued the Chancellor, had from of old surpassed all other Christian princes in their devotion to the Holy See. Treading in their footsteps, His Majesty Francis I., in spite of the disdain of advisers who were of a different mind from himself, had hastened over mountains and valleys, forests and rivers, and had run the gauntlet of the Swiss, in order to do homage to the Pope, as an eldest son to his father, and the Vicar of Christ, and lay all that he had at his feet. While these words were being said the King wanted again to uncover his head; this, however, the Pope would not permit. Leo replied to the discourse with great skill and elegance.

There followed on this the presentation to the Pope of the principal members of the King's suite. After this, Leo X., taking the King by the hand, led him into another room, from which he retired for a few moments to remove his heavy robes. He then returned to Francis I., whom he found standing at a window with some of the Cardinals, and spoke to him alone for two hours. The Master of Ceremonies had warned His Holiness beforehand against putting his hand to his biretta, as Alexander VI. had done to Charles VIII., before the eyes of the crowd under the windows, as such a mark of respect was unbefitting the Vicar of Christ, even if paid to the highest of temporal sovereigns.

On the following day the Pope and King resumed the subject of their discussion of the previous day, but nothing is known of what transpired. First Leo X. visited the King, who met him on Bramante's stairs; and in the evening there followed a longer interview

between them, about which but little or nothing is known. The same process was repeated on the 13th of December.*

On the morning of that day the Pope celebrated high mass with all possible pomp † in San Petronio, the largest church in Bologna. The spacious building was filled to overflowing, and at last the doors had to be closed to prevent accidents.‡ Francis I. was lavish in his attentions to the Supreme Head of the Church. He even wished to carry his train; and when the Pope declined this service, the King responded that he would gladly wait on the Vicar of Christ in the smallest things. But he refused to receive Holy Communion at his Mass. Forty of his suite, however, received the Body of our Lord from the hands of the Pope. A remarkable incident occurred during the solemnity. A French nobleman cried out suddenly in his native tongue that he wished to go to confession to the Pope; but that, as this could not be done secretly, he wished to accuse himself publicly of having fought with great bitterness against Julius II., and of having disregarded the ban of excommunication. When the King heard these words, he made no hesitation in declaring himself guilty of

* See the Report of the Imperial Ambassador in LE GLAY, II., 87; and SANUTO, XXI., 377, 380, 383.

† *Con tutta la pompa che sia stato possibile a usar, says Grossino in his description, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 13. In spite of all the precautions taken by Paris de Grassis, there was, on this occasion, some strife between the Italians and the French. As to the ceremony, see also the *Report of Gabbioneta, Dec. 14, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Papa dixit dum exveheretur quod non credebat in uno loco tantum populum esse hoc tempore sicut nunc Bononiae et in veritate sic fuit, nam si non fecissemus claudi portas ecclesiae s. Petronii, ut non plures populani intrarent, timendum erat de suffocatione multorum et etiam sic vix sustinere potuerunt pressuram. PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna.

a similar offence. Many other nobles made the same confession, and begged for absolution, which the Pope, raising his hand, at once gave. Then Francis said to Leo X.: "Your Holiness must not be surprised that all these men hated Julius II., for he was our greatest enemy; in all our wars we have had no enemy so terrible as he, for Julius II. was indeed a most capable general, and far better suited to be such than to be Pope." * As on this occasion, so also on others did the Catholic spirit of the French King's suite declare itself. The Imperial Ambassador says that they kissed the Pope's feet nearly away! † The solemn *obedientia* of the King was at once communicated by the Pope to the mother of Francis, as well as to a number of friendly princes.‡ On the 14th of December the outside world learned one of the results of the interview between the Pope and the King; for on that day a Consistory was held, at which Adrian Gouffier de Boissy, Bishop of Coutances, and brother of the Admiral de Bonnivet, was created Cardinal. It was rumoured that the King had vainly tried to obtain a like dignity for the brothers of the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendôme. However that might be, Francis seemed very well pleased and in an amiable mood. He passed the evening with the Pope, who had invited him, with the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendôme, to eat with him. The suite of the King supped at a special table with Cardinals Medici, Bibbiena, and Cibo.§

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 32, 33. *Cf.* MADELIN, 72.

† See LE GLAY, II., 89. Alessandro Gabbioneta wrote to Mantua on the 12th of December, 1515: *Non potria dir alla Ex. V. la furia de Francesi di voler basar el piede al papa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See BEMBI, Epist., XI., 1, n. 12, 47; SADOLET, Ep., 40; BREWER, II., 1, n. 1282. *Brief to Francesco Gonzaga, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 14, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Paris de Grassis, Diarium, in RAYNALDUS, 1515, n. 35 (*cf.* Notic. des Ms. du Roi, II., 585); LE GLAY, II., 87-88; SANUTO, XXI., 395-

The friendly intercourse between the Pope and King was sealed, on the morning of the 15th of December, by the presentation to Francis of the beautiful jewelled gold cross mentioned above. The King venerated the relic of the True Cross which it contained, and then hastened to Leo X. to thank him and take leave of him. Their farewell interview lasted for half an hour. Nothing could exceed the expression of friendship on both sides. As the King left the Palace, he found some of the Cardinals in waiting to accompany him as far as the Porta San Felice, as they had done on his arrival. Many of the French suite remained behind to receive either absolution or other graces from the Pope, all of which he willingly gave.* By the end of December the French King was back in Milan, and returned to France at the beginning of the new year. Duke Charles of Bourbon was left behind as his representative in the capital of Lombardy.

Leo X. did not remain a single day longer than was necessary in Bologna, and on the 18th of December turned his back on the inhospitable city. On the 22nd he arrived in Florence, where his brother still lay grievously ill. Leo remained there for some time, and bestowed generous gifts on his beloved native city.† At last, on the 28th of February, 1516, to the great joy of the Romans and the

396; CARDELLA, IV., 12; CIACONIUS, III., 344 *seq.* A. Gabbioneta says in a postscript to his letter of Dec. 15, 1515: *Heri sera la M^ta del Rè andò di sopra a cenar con la S^t di N. S. et con quella usò di grande humilità stando con lei in grandissima allegria. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 284, and DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 27. See also SANUTO, XXI., 395.

† LANDUCCI, 360-362; FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 182. *Cf.* RICHARD, VI., 112, 241; MORENI, S. Lorenzo, I., 186, 190; SADOLETI, Epist., 65; SANUTO, XXI., 441, 509; Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 28 (die sabb. Dec. 25 should be corrected to Dec. 22).

members of the Curia,* the Pope returned to his capital Owing to its being the season of Lent, his entry was kept with ecclesiastical solemnities only. The Golden Rose, blessed on Lætare Sunday, was destined this year for the French King.†

The strictest silence was observed as to the business transacted between Leo X. and Francis I. Paolo Giovio, who, by the Pope's desire, was working at his contemporary history, says, in a letter written at Bologna on the 15th of December, 1515, that he could find out nothing.‡ As time went on, the veil of secrecy was preserved all the more easily because nothing had been put on paper, and was scarcely raised at all where politics were concerned.§ It was Leo's way to conceal state secrets as far as he could from even his nearest advisers; and this time it was also better for the interests of France that nothing of what had taken place should be known prematurely. But the less people knew, the more fertile was their imagination, and their surmises were of the most hazardous description.|| It is

* SANUTO, XXII., 18; CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary, in the National Library, Paris.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium, XII., 23, in Secret Archives and Rossiana Library. The edition in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 29, is incorrect.

‡ The letter of Giovio in SANUTO, XXI, 393.

§ Tra il Papa e il Re non è intervenuto scrittura alcuna. SANUTO, XXI., 396. *Cf.* M. Giorgi in ALBÈRI, II., 3, 45; and GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6. There was no later ratification of the secret arrangements. See BALAN, V., 511.

|| *Cf.* *TIZIO, Hist. Senen. in Cod. G., II., 38, of the Chigi Library; Rome and the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine, who writes: "Rex vero a s. pontifice in hac conventione magnis honestatur honoribus et ut ferebatur pontif. summus promiserat regi Gallo ut rebus suis faveret et pro posse eum ad culmen romani imperii senescente iam Max°. Caesare eveheret et ne interim imperiali titulo careret rumor fuit quod eum in imperatorem Constantinopolit. creasset cum hoc tamen pacto quod dictum imperium sua virtute

actually very difficult, and for the most part impossible, to be certain of what was discussed and decided upon at Bologna. What actually followed on the interview is all that can throw any light on most points.*

From what we know, the victor of Marignano went to meet the Pope at Bologna, with a full consciousness of his political supremacy, and prepared to make sweeping demands. Above all, he thought to persuade Leo X. to ally himself formally with France against Spain. But without directly declining this proposal, the Pope asked for time to decide on a matter of such importance, pointing out at the same time that his present alliance with Ferdinand of Spain would bind him for another sixteen months.† It is, moreover, certain that the question of the necessity of a combination among the Christian princes against the Turks came up between them. Francis I. made fair promises about this, in the same way that he made protestations to the Ambassadors remaining in Bologna of his desire for peace.‡

In view of the war against the Turks, Francis I. received, for one year, permission to raise a tithe from the French clergy.§ The Pope also complied with the French King's petition in favour of the enemy of Cardinal Schinner, Georg Supersaxo, who had been shut up a prisoner in the

et industria aggrederetur cuius rei postea Romae vidi pluribus in locis efficacissimum argumentum cum viderem in quibusdam Gallorum stolidorum domorum frontispiciis depicta gallici regis insignia imperiali corona et diademate ornata." National Library, Paris.

* MADELIN, 91–92.

† JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., l. 3.

‡ SADOLETI, Epist., 53 ; BEMBI, Epist., XI., 17 ; FRANC. NOVELLUS, *Vita Leonis X. in Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, f. 11 *seq.*, Vatican Library ; MADELIN, 69, 70, 75–76, 78, 94–95.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6.

Castle of St. Angelo in the autumn of 1514, and whom the Pope now discharged from prison.*

The preliminary articles of peace arranged at Viterbo on the 3rd of October between Leo X. and Francis I., were confirmed at Bologna. In accordance with this confirmation, the Pope, on December the 28th, 1515, warned the Swiss not to interfere with French property, or, in other words, with Milan. Soon after this the Swiss Nuncio, Filonardi, was told to accommodate himself to France in political matters.† Schinner was completely thrown over, though he does not seem to have troubled about the Pope's warning not to work against France.‡

In spite of his covenant with the French King, Leo was by no means minded to throw himself into the arms of France. The mission of Egidio Canisio to the Emperor Maximilian on the 13th of December, is a proof of this; for the object of this mission was to induce Maximilian to make peace with Venice, with the asseveration on the part of Leo X. that he would remain true to the old League with Germany.§ An unreserved agreement with France

* JOVIUS, Hist., XVI. (I., 259). Supersaxo's *Apology (MS. in Glys) says that at last Leo recognised his innocence (!) and set him free on condition that he brought no complaint against Cardinal Schinner. In a *Brief to Francis I., dat. Rome, 1516, Sept. 12, the Pope reminds the King of the promise he gave him at Bologna concerning Andreas di Albicis, cleric. Florent. Orig., L. 357, National Archives, Paris.

† BEMBI, Epist., XI., 18; Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch., XVI., 103. MADELIN (80 and 95) speaks incorrectly of Filonardi as the German Nuncio.

‡ *Cf.* ANSHELM, V., 213; Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch., XVI., 16 *seq.*

§ BEMBI, Epist., XI., 13, 14; *Brief to the German electors (corroborated by Egidio Canisio) dat. Scarcalasini Bonon. dioc. 1515, Dec. 20, Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 123, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXI., 417, XXII., 14, 26, 175; PIEPER, 52; VOLTELINI, 574; Miscell. in on. di A. Graf, Bergamo, 1903, 811.

seemed an impossibility, because of the ratification by the peace of Viterbo of the secession of Parma and Piacenza. An equal sacrifice was involved in the promise to give to the Duke of Ferrara not only Reggio,* but also Modena, provided the Duke would pay the purchase money of Modena and the expenses of the Holy See in regard to both towns.† If Francis I. thus, at anyrate partially, attained his objects, on the other hand his intercession for the Duke of Urbino, who had grossly violated his oath of fealty to the Holy See, failed completely.‡ However, the French King was quite ready to throw his friend over, all the more because the Pope just then made an unexpected concession to him in a far more important matter. In prospect of the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, which was bound, in the course of nature, to occur before long, Leo put before the French King the hope that he might be invested with the crown of Naples,§ on the condition that Francis would protect the Medici and refrain from interfering with the affairs of Tuscany.‖ When, however, Ferdinand died on the 23rd of January, 1516,¶

* The cession of Reggio had been consented to in the agreement between Leo X. and Duke Alfonso on June 14, 1514. MURATORI, Antich. Est., II., 317 *seq.*

† GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; MADELIN, 92–93. That such a promise had been made is conceded by the author of the rare pamphlet, Riposta alla invectiva di D. Alphonso già duca de Ferrara, Roma (1522), which was written entirely on the side of the Pope.

‡ See Letter of B. Costabili to Duke Alfonso, June 3, 1516, in BALAN, Boschetti, I., doc. 27. *Cf.* Chapter IV., *infra.*

§ See the very interesting letter of Francis I. to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Tarascona, 1516, Feb. 4, in REUMONT-BASCHET, Cath. de Médicis, 247–248 (see DESJARDINS, II., 764-765). *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; MADELIN (94) has overlooked both these testimonies.

‖ See Letter of G. Gheri, Feb. 21, 1517, in VERDI, 21.

¶ The first news of this was received by Leo X. at Florence on Feb. 9, 1516. SANUTO, XXI., 510. Charles announced the death of

Maximilian's invasion of Northern Italy altered the political situation so completely that Francis I. was unable to undertake at once any measures against Naples,* though he by no means gave up his designs on that beautiful country.

Incomparably more important than this, and accompanied by greater and more lasting consequences, were the negotiations connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the French kingdom. Francis I. obtained at once what he had already been promised, namely, the right to levy a tax on the French clergy. In accordance with his former promise, the Pope, though with some hesitation, granted the raising of a tithe for the crusade, first in 1516, and again in 1517. Together, these levies brought in to the victor of Marignano no less a sum than 400,000 livres.† What, however, meant much more was that the main lines of the famous Concordat were laid down at Bologna. This important measure has been described as due to the influence of Leo's ecclesiastical activity. With the Concordat was bound up the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been contested so long and vehemently by the Holy See. Thus, though not without great sacrifices, an im-

Ferdinand to the Pope on Feb. 11, from Brussels. This letter of Charles to Leo X. in Lett. d. princ., II., f. 12, of the Vatican Archives has been given by EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XIV., 832.

* How the Pope profited by the changed situation is shewn by the instructions given to Canossa. Manoscr. Torrig., XX, 21 *seq.*, 25, 26.

† IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 95. *Cf.* Chapters IV. and V. *infra.* In a *Brief to the King, dat. Rome, 1516, Nov. 3, Leo X. reminded Francis I. of a promise made by him at Bologna. It says there: Cum sup. anno Bononiae congressi fuimus meminimus nos inter alia eo quo debebamus affectu, commendasse M^ti tuae ecclesiam Lateranen. ut tu ei favere velles in adipiscendo id quod cl. mem. Ludovicus XI. ultro ipsi ecclesiae ex voto antea fuerat dilargitus. Orig. L. 357 in the National Archives, Paris.

portant victory was gained for the Church, and a dangerous political storm allayed.*

* RANKE (Päpste, I., 7, 54 *seq.*) gives great praise to Leo's statecraft. "He succeeded," says he, "in dispersing the storm that had threatened him, persuaded the King to return, and himself remained firm in the possession of his dominions. How fortunate this was for the Pontiff may be seen from the effects immediately produced by the mere approach of the French. It is highly deserving of remark that Leo, after his allies had been defeated and himself obliged to yield up a portion of his territory, was yet able to retain his hold on two provinces but lately conquered, accustomed to independence and replete with every element of revolt." *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 45.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WAR OF URBINO.—CONSPIRACY OF CARDINAL PETRUCCI. —THE GREAT CREATION OF CARDINALS, JULY 1, 1517.

THE good terms on which Leo apparently stood with the old friend of his family, Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino, at the beginning of his pontificate,* received a rude shock when Giuliano de' Medici fell ill and his young nephew Lorenzo was given supreme command of the Papal troops. The Duke of Urbino might reasonably have been affronted at being passed over; but, on the other hand, his subsequent conduct could not have failed to exasperate the Pope. Regardless of his oath of fealty, and in spite of admonitions and threats,† Francesco Maria, being already in secret communication with France, delayed at the most critical moment to send the assistance he was bound to give to the Papal troops. Moreover, after the victory of Francis I., the Duke of Urbino did all in his power to stir up the French King against the Pope.‡ When, in spite of his machinations, Leo and Francis I. made friends, such fear seized the Duke that he placed his only son for safety in the fortress of San Leo,§ and raised a body of troops.||

* UGOLINO, II., 197; MARCUCCI, Francesco Maria I. della Rovere, I., 27 *seq.* *Cf.* LUZIO'S rev. of Pastor's "Leo X." in the Corriere della Sera, 1906, No. 282.

† *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XIX., 244.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; BALAN, V., 505 *seq.*

§ LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 217.

|| Report of G. Caprili to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Jan. 1, 1516, in BALAN, V., 512.

The fate of the Duke had been decided at Bologna. In vain did Francis I. appeal for mercy on his behalf. The Pope maintained, amicably but firmly, that, Francesco Maria having forgotten his duty as feudatory, there could be no question of his pardon. Were he to be left unpunished, every petty baron in the States of the Church would do the same thing or worse. After this the King made no further attempt to save his friend.* The deposition of the Duke was a foregone conclusion; and it was furthermore decided that his Duchy should be given to Lorenzo de' Medici. This last development did not emanate from the Pope, but from the ambitious Alfonsina Orsini, who was determined at any cost to see a princely crown on her son's head.† Unfortunately, Leo did not this time have the strength of mind to resist the wishes of his sister-in-law, which he had shown when that ambitious woman had hoped to secure for Lorenzo the usurped principality of Piombino. The Pope now agreed to the proposal, though he did not conceal the fact that he yielded unwillingly. Once, however, he had given his consent, nothing would move him.‡ Even the representations of his brother made no impression on him. In vain did Giuliano remind him that, in the years of their exile, the Medici had always found hospitality at the court of Urbino.§ Intercession was useless, and before Leo had left Florence at the end of January, 1516, proceedings had been begun

* See the account of B. Costabili in BALAN, Boschetti, I., 72; GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; VETTORI, 315. *Cf.* MADELIN, 93.

† JOVIUS (Vita, lib. 3, and Elogia, 322). GUICCIARDINI (XII., 6) and VETTORI (321) agree in saying that it was Alfonsina Orsini who induced the Pope to take measures against Urbino. *Cf.* the Letter of Alfonsina to Lorenzo, dat. Nov. 3, 1515 (quoted by NITTI, 71), in which she says: "La mira mia è in su Urbino"; and LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 223, n. 4.

‡ *Cf.* NITTI, 75 *seq.*

§ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; SANUTO, XXI., 510.

against the Duke of Urbino.* On the 1st of March Francesco Maria was summoned to Rome, under the severest penalties if he disobeyed. If he did not put in an appearance under eighteen days, he would have to give an account of a number of grievous misdeeds. A considerable array of accusations were raised against him. These included his refusal to join Lorenzo de' Medici in his expedition against the French, although he had received the necessary pay for his troops; his understanding with the enemy; and his participation in the murder of Cardinal Alidosi, and other incidents in the pontificate of Julius II.† The accusation about the murder of Alidosi was undeniably a mere pretext, because Francesco Maria had been fully acquitted of all participation in it by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici himself. The same thing cannot, however, be said of the other counts. The refused fealty and the understanding with France were offences which called for punishment from a legal point of view. Nevertheless, the whole action of the Pope, especially when we consider the hospitality shown by the Duke of Urbino to the exiled Medici, has something repulsive about it. The impression left on the mind is that he cared less that justice should take its course, than that the Duchy should become available for his nephew.‡

* On hearing this, Duke Charles of Bourbon interceded himself for Francesco Maria, but equally in vain. See *Copy of the Brief to Charles of Bourbon, dat. Florence, Feb. 9, 1516, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Arm., LXIV., t. 5, n. 85, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† SANUTO, XXI., 496; GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; VETTORI, 319. *Cf.* BALAN, V., 513, 514, and R. BOSCHETTI, I., 98-99; also the quotation in Appendix, No. 11. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.)

‡ That the same impression was given to contemporaries, besides being shown in JOVIUS, Vita, l. 3, is to be seen in the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine, National Library, Paris.

Francesco Maria did not dream of obeying the summons to Rome, and set his hopes on mollifying the Pope through a third party. With this object he sent to Rome the noble Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga, the widow of his predecessor. But her prayers and tears were of no avail; Leo was not to be moved,* and the only point gained by her intercession was the suspension of his citation to Rome, during her absence in the Eternal City. But on the 11th of March the document was printed and published.† The Duke might have profited by the intercession of Giuliano de' Medici, had he not been too grievously ill to take any active measures. Therefore things took their course in Rome. The time given to the Duke for his personal vindication expired without his putting in an appearance. On the 14th of March, a Papal Bull was published which declared that Francesco Maria, on account of his repeated breaches of fealty, was deprived of all his possessions in the States of the Church.‡

A few days later, on the 17th of March 1516, the consumptive Giuliano de Medici breathed his last at Fiesole, at the age of thirty-seven.§ His widow Filiberta returned

* *Cf.* the full narrative of the Duchess herself in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 229. See also in BALAN, V., 513, and R. BOSCHETTI, I., 97, the **Letters of Elisabetta Gonzaga to Francesco Maria, dat. Rome, 1516, April 18 and 20; also a *Letter of Castiglione, dat. Rome, 1516, April 18, Mantua Library.

† See Caprili's accounts, March 3 and March 11, 1516, in BALAN, Boschetti, I., 97–98.

‡ SANUTO, XXII., 51. If we take this account, it must be admitted that the Bull was published before the expiration of the time fixed. But such an unusual proceeding requires still further confirmation.

§ CAMBI, XXII., 93; LANDUCCI, 362; SANUTO, XXII., 51, 55, 56, 79. Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 29. Bibbiena was present when he died. Bembo personally assisted him; see BEMBO, Lettere, I., 25 *seq.* The letter in which Bibbiena announced the death of Giuliano to the

shortly after to her sister Louisa, the mother of Francis I., taking back with her her costly trousseau. Her brief marriage had been childless.* Not only did the Pope grieve for Giuliano, but he was mourned sincerely throughout Florence; for, says Vettori, he was a truly good man, without strength, but with no evil in him; he was, however, too generous.† In him Francesco Maria lost his most powerful intercessor, and his last hope now rested in Francis I. The Duke had every hope that the French King would at last take up his cause, for the friendship between Francis and the Pope, which had seemed to be so firmly established, now showed signs of waning. The advantages which the victor had wrung from the defenceless Leo under the cloak of great friendship, had been so great that it was impossible that the amicable footing of the contracting parties should continue for long. To the Pope the dominion of the French in Milan was in itself hateful; but the loss of Parma and Piacenza never ceased from galling him in an especial manner. Had Francis I. acted as a wise statesman, he would have avoided the mortification connected with the sequestration of those cities.‡ Leo X. had, however, to put up for a while with what he could not prevent. The other arrangement, no less unpalatable to the Holy See, which related to the cession to the Duke of Ferrara of Modena and Reggio, was, however, so worded, that it was easy for an adroit diplomatist like

Marchioness of Mantua, in REUMONT-BASCHET, 249. *Cf.* CIAN, Musa Medicea, 8–9; and FESTER, Machiavelli, 114.

* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., l. 3. Giuliano left behind him a natural son, Ippolito, born in Urbino in 1511, who later, as Cardinal, was a generous patron of learning. ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 160. See also VI., 316 *seq.*, Ariosto's canzone on the death of Giuliano.

† *Cf.*, however, *supra*, pp. 89–90, about Giuliano's immorality.

‡ This is justly remarked in ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., 28–29.

Leo X., not particular in the means he employed, to prevent its being carried out, on some pretext or other.* Francis learned to his dismay how little dependence could be placed on the Pope, when, in March, 1516, Maximilian crossed the Alps and declared war on the French and Venetians.† In presence of this danger, the French King, relying on the Pope's promise at Bologna, asked for the assistance of 500 men for the defence of Milan, or the alternative of payment for 3000 Swiss mercenaries. Leo, always in want of money, rejected the last alternative; but the troops which he promised instead were raised so slowly that Francis suspected a secret understanding between the Pope and the Emperor. His distrust was considerably increased by the mission to Maximilian of Cardinal Bibbiena, well known for his hatred of France, and by the liberation from prison of Marc Antonio Colonna, who, with a body of troops raised in the States of the Church, had hastened to help the Imperial party against the Venetians.‡

But Francis did the Pope a wrong. There is no doubt at all that the appearance south of the Alps of the Emperor with a considerable force, was an event not at

* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6. Alberto Pio di Carpi, in letters of Jan. 10 and 11, 1516, advised the Pope most urgently against consenting to such a diminution of the States of the Church. See Mem. stor. di Carpi, I., 215, II., 339 *seq.*; and SEMPER, Carpi, 11. Leo X. adroitly made use of the Emperor's expedition as a pretext for not carrying out his promise, BALAN, V., 511.

† ULMANN, II., 669 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 406 *seq.*

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6. As to Bibbiena's mission, which was decided on in the beginning of March, see SANUTO, XXII., 39, 56, 79, 97, 100; and Manoscr. Torrig., ed. Guasti, XX., 28. *Cf.* PIEPER, 52. The *Deed by which Bibbiena was appointed "legatus de latere" to Maximilian I. is dated Id. Mart., 1515, that is, March 15, 1516. Regest. 1194, f. 199; *cf.* 1196, f. 55 (anno tertio), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

all desired by Rome.* The Pope knew how dangerous to the States of the Church were his far-reaching projects. What is more, he knew that not long before this, Maximilian had in no measured terms threatened Egidio Canisio, who had been appointed on an extraordinary mission to him, with a sweeping reform of the Curia.† The Pope's position as regarded the campaign of Maximilian, was the more difficult because he had to reckon with both parties, with each of whom he had made engagements. In order to keep on the safe side he tried, as he had often done before, to avoid taking any decided step until the fortune of war had declared itself for either side. It was fear, and his inveterate habit of veering from one side to the other, which governed his ambiguous course of action.‡ He

* *Cf.* the important autograph *letter of Cardinal Medici to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Rome, March 3, 1516, in which it is said: "Pensa anchor S. S^tà^ stare a vedere più che potra et se Francia non rovina subito porgerli aiuto per lo obligo suo di qualche cent^o^. de huomini d'arme diche li altri havendo aiutato anchor loro non si potranno iustamente dolere; ma se li Fransesi si defenderano gagliardamente et faranno le provisioni a tempo S. Sta andrà di miglior ghambe in adiutarli perche in facto la victoria de lo Imperatore non fa per la chiesa ne per voi costi che si vede hanno malo animo contro a cotesta città et credono cavarsi un thesoro." State Archives, Florence, Av. i. princ., CXIII. f. 94.

† According to SANUTO, XXII., 39, this was Maximilian's response to Egidio's advocacy of a war against the Turks: Opus est antea curare vineam Dei et poi attender contra infedeli. To which M. Giorgi's account adds: et quantum ad suscipiendum bellum contra infideles, oportet prius reformare ecclesiam, postea faciemus expeditionem (ALBÈRI, II., 3, 43). As to Egidio's mission, see *supra*, Chap. III. Before him Leo X. had sent to Maximilian the poet Giangiorgio Trissino; see MORSOLIN, Trissino, 80 *seq.*

‡ This is the opinion of GUICCIARDINI (XII., 6) and VETTORI (317), which agrees with the reports of the Venetian Ambassador. On March 13 the latter writes thus: "Di coloquii col Papa zercha l'Imperador. Monstra di temer et l'orator li dice che le so' zente è con l'Imperador

rejected all offers made to him by the enemies of France, but would not throw in his lot with Francis I.; he neither dared recall Colonna nor send the desired help to the French King. When the Emperor's expedition met with reverses, Bibbiena was directed to stay at Rubiera, on the plea of illness, to watch the development of affairs. As these turned out very favourably to the French, the Pope sent through Lorenzo one month's payment for the Swiss mercenaries, which had been asked for some time before. Francis took the money, but, in spite of the Pope's excuses and professions of friendship conveyed to him by Canossa,* remained in the very worst of humours.† Ever since May he had been in a frame of mind hostile to the Papacy, giving evidence of designs on Naples, and of intervention about the Duke of Urbino. Con-

e non dia temer. Li risponde: Convegno cussì per no lo tuor inimico, perchè, vincendo, mi persequiteria, convegneria andar in Avignon etc. et par sii con Franza et desiderar ogni ben di Sua Maesta; sichè il Papa tegnirà da chi vincerà." SANUTO, XXII., 50–51, *cf.* 56, 108, 120, 159; ALBÈRI, II., 3, 49. What Bald. da Pescia writes in cipher to Lorenzo de' Medici from Rome, on March 4, 1516, is very characteristic: *Mons dice che N.S. visto queste cose dell' Imperadore ringagliardirsi et sendo S. Sta desiderosa di non mancare a Francia pensa sotto colore di volere fare limpresa d'Urbino mettere in ordine tucte sue gente tantum per servirsene in questa impresa quanto adiutarsi et defendere le cose sue et quelle di Francia et questo lo fara per non demonstrare all' Imperadore per hora che voglia armarsi contro di lui. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CIX. See also Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 26–27. GISI in Arch. für schweiz. Gesch., XV., 254. FERRENS, III., 58 *seq.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 676; CIPOLLA, 847; VERDI, 24.

* *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 30 *seq.*, 33 *seq.*, 39, 41 *seq.*

† GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6; especially as regards Bibbiena, SANUTO, XXII., 108, 120, 124, 140, 294, 455. Manoscr. Torrig., XX, 33 *seq.* 36 *seq.*, 41, 49. BREWER, II., 2, 3545. About the King's temper, see the relation of M. Giorgi in ALBÈRI, II., 3, 46.

sequently Leo, on his side, took up a less friendly attitude towards France.*

Francis was soon to feel the effect of this in a variety of ways; especially in Switzerland, where the Papal Nuncios ventured to promote the Anglo-Imperial machinations.† The Pope forbade any open union with the enemies of France, yet he held out the possibility of such a measure as a threat. This was sufficient to decide Francis I. to leave the Duke of Urbino to his fate.

At first Francesco Maria contemplated resistance; but as soon as he understood that Lorenzo de' Medici was advancing on Urbino on three sides, at the head of an army of combined Papal and Florentine troops,‡ he fled to Pesaro, and thence to Mantua, to his father-in-law, Francesco Gonzaga, to whom he had already sent his family. Urbino and Pesaro surrendered at once, and Sinigaglia offered very slight resistance. Before long the fortresses of Pesaro and Maiuolo fell also, and only the fortress of San Leo held out. In a few days nearly the whole Duchy had succumbed.§ Leo received the news of this on the 4th and 5th of June, 1516.‖ Even if there were

* *Cf.* WIRZ, Filonardi, 44–47, who shows that from the end of 1515 till the spring of 1516 the Pope had had no share in the opposition with which France met in Switzerland, and that the Nuncio Filonardi did nothing to promote it. The situation changed with the appointment of the second Nuncio, Gambara: in May 1516, says WIRZ (47) with truth, the Pope ceased to be friendly towards France; and that is the time that France began to be anti-Papal.

† See WIRZ, Filonardi, 47.

‡ Bologna supplied part of the artillery; *cf.* the *Brief to that city, dat. Rome, May 5, 1516. State Archives, Bologna.

§ *Cf.* the accounts in SANUTO, XXII., 184, 269, 286, 309–311 and 353–354; GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6. See, further, LEONI, 186 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 205 *seq.*; and the corrected statement in BALAN, V., 515.

‖ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1516, 83.

not wanting those who celebrated the event in Rome with rejoicings,* there were many who justly reproached the Pope for his ingratitude towards the fallen dynasty. The excuses which Leo alleged were the outrages which he had suffered at the hands of the Duke, and the justice of the punishment inflicted on him as an unfaithful vassal and a soldier who had detained troops for whom he had received pay. Above all, the Pope pleaded the impossibility of retaining in his States so unfaithful a feudatory, who was certain at the very first opportunity to have dealings with his enemies.† Even Francesco Vettori, by no means a Papal partisan, is of opinion that Leo could not by any means have left the Duke's offence unpunished.‡ But, on the other hand, the severity shown on the occasion by the Pope cannot be overlooked,§ for it was not in keeping with his great position of Supreme Head of the Church. To most contemporaries the conduct of Leo X. seemed hard and unjust,‖ and as though actuated solely by regard for the private interests of the house of Medici;¶ as was proved by the fact of the crown of the dispossessed prince being at once given to the nephew of the Pope.

Leo X. had scarcely recovered from a serious illness,**

* SANUTO, XXII., 323.

† GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXII., 184.

‡ VETTORI, 319.

§ We can see the lengths to which this severity was carried in Agost. Gonzaga's *Letter of Sept. 5, 1516, Mantua Library. See Appendix, No. 13.

‖ *Cf.* the opinions of Giovio and RANKE (Zur Kritik, 73*) as examples of different views placed in juxtaposition.

¶ *Cf.* LÜTOLF, Die Schweizergarde, Einsiedeln, 1859, 19–20; also about the death of the captain of the Swiss, Kaspar von Silinon.

** *Cf.* Parenti in VERDI, 26, and Paris de Grassis, who reports in August: *Infirmitas et sanitas insperata pontificis. Diebus istis multus fuit rumor curiae universae de gravi et quasi insanabili aegritudine

when he learned the course events had taken. On the 18th of August, 1516, Lorenzo was invested with the title of Duke of Urbino, the revenues of which, including Pesaro and Sinigaglia, amounted then to only 25,000 ducats.* He was at the same time declared Lord of Pesaro. All the Cardinals signed the deed of investiture except Domenico Grimani, who left Rome in a state of indignation.†

The conquest of Urbino aggravated the already strained relations between Leo X. and Francis I. The French King‡ had been quite as unwilling as the Emperor to see Francesco Maria driven out of his Duchy.§ Francis I.'s dearest wish was not only to prevent any increase of

pontificis nostri ita ut quandoque cogitatum fuit de paratu eorum, quae ad conclave pertinent. Aegritudo autem fuit fistula in natibus cum orificiis quinque et febres acutae cum somnis continuis, quos subeeticos dicunt et maius periculum erat quia, ut dicebatur, ipse de se ipso multum timebat, quod cum fletu crebro testabatur. Accedebat quia quidam frater Bonaventura (*cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 224), qui se spiritum propheticum habere profitebatur, hanc mortem annuntiavit et etiam aliquorum qui paucis ante diebus omnes mortui erant et ille praedixerat et papa incarcerare iussit et saepe examinari de hac re; ille autem multo magis semper affirmabat et addebat quod nisi sic esse cremari volebat et tandem vanitates apparuerunt et papa sanatus est ac die lunae, XVIII. (Augusti), tenuit consistorium ac sequenti die ivit ad ecclesiam s. Mariae de populo, ubi audivit missam bassam et egit gratias Deo. Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23. See also the *Letter of C. Agnello from Mantua, dat. Rome, Aug. 2, 1516; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* GUICCIARDINI (XII., 6) states this emphatically. The account on which SUGENHEIM relies for his statement (423) says that Urbino was worth 100,000 scudi annually (see SIENA, Sinigaglia, 361), dates from the second half of the 16th century.

† SANUTO, XXII., 456, 474. Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1516 n. 83.

‡ ULMANN, II., 690–691; MORSOLIN, Trissino, 400.

§ VERDI, 26, 37.

the Pope's power, but rather to see it weakened; yet now he had to look on and see Leo putting difficulties in the way which threatened the foreign policy of France.* The fact was that the Pope was trying to keep the Catholic King from forming an alliance with France, while at the same time the Papal Nuncio was seeking to prejudice Switzerland against the same country.† Prospero and Muzio Colonna, as well as Girolamo Morone, from whom an attempt against Milan might be feared, considered it safer to remain on Papal territory. Francis went so far as to believe that Leo was mixed up in the negotiations which were being carried on between the Emperor, England, and Switzerland, with the object of seizing Milan. On this account he endeavoured to regain the friendship of the Medici Pope. In August he sent a force to help him against the corsairs of Tunis, who were molesting the coasts of the States of the Church, and who, at the end of April, had almost captured the Pope, while he was hunting near the mouth of the Tiber.‡

In other ways also the French King sought to curry favour with the Pope. But Leo detested the dominion of the French in Italy for itself, and still more bitterly resented having been compelled to give up Parma and Piacenza. No attentions on the part of Francis I. could compensate for this. Thus the relations remained strained

* For what follows, *cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6.

† Filonardi was instructed by the Pope to observe greater precaution (see WIRZ, 47–48); but he was not recalled, as Francis I. wished. It was only in August 1517 that he was replaced by A. Pucci; see Abschiede, III., 2, 1077; WIRZ, Filonardi, 50. Perhaps Francis had heard of the plan for a marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici with a sister of Charles V., which was, however, given up for that which the Pope planned in the summer of 1516. ULMANN, II., 691.

‡ SANUTO, XXII., 183–184, 456; Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 48; GUICCIARDINI, XII., 6.

on both sides. Leo would not accede to the expressed desire of the French King for the recall of Filonardi; and the French Ambassador made no secret of his displeasure. "I know not," said he in September, "what more the Pope will do. He controls Florence and Siena,* and now he has taken possession of Urbino. He had better not think of Ferrara, for I have orders from my King to demand of him the cession to the Duke of Reggio and Modena. This is not the right moment to speak of Naples." † The Neapolitan question was just then occupying the minds of the Ambassadors both of France and Spain, who had met at Noyon, where the following agreement was come to on the 13th of August, 1516. Francis I. and Charles V. concluded a peace in perpetuity, and a treaty for the mutual protection of their states against all comers. The French King renounced his claims on Naples in favour of his one-year-old daughter, Louise, whom Charles promised to marry as soon as she was twelve years old. Till the accomplishment of the marriage, Charles undertook the annual payment of 100,000 crowns, and after that the payment of half that sum until a child should be born of the marriage. A further stipulation which concerned the kingdom of Navarre was left so vague that it could easily be broken; Francis I. wished to keep such a way open whereby to escape from the pledges he had made, for his object in signing this agreement was to prevent Charles from joining the anti-French coalition proposed by England.‡ But neither did Charles give his definite adherence

* As to Florence, see Chap. II., *supra*. In Siena, Raffaello Petrucci had, with the co-operation of the Pope, driven out Borghese Petrucci. Raffaello promised to keep Siena true to the policy of the Medici. See NITTI, 75–76.

† SANUTO, XXII., 523.

‡ DUMONT, IV., 1, 224 *seq*; LANZ, Einleitung, 177 *seq*; BAUM-

to that upon which his Dutch advisers at Noyon had agreed, when the only thing they considered was peace at any price with France. A six weeks' limit had been allowed for the ratification, which Charles had extended by another month, so as to find time in the interim to negotiate with England. Henry VIII., who regarded the treaty of Noyon as a serious check, left no means untried to win Charles over.* This he succeeded in doing, for the Noyon articles were not favourable to the King of Spain. In London, whither Cardinal Schinner went in person, a new treaty, of decidedly anti-French tendency, was prepared on the 29th of October. The contracting parties were Henry VIII. and the Emperor Maximilian. The ostensible object of their alliance was the mutual protection of their states, the furtherance of universal peace, and the promotion of a general war against the Turks. They bound themselves in perpetuity to guarantee the safety of their actual and future possessions. The treaty was presented for approbation to Charles of Spain as well as to the Pope, who, through his Nuncio, had declared himself to be neutral.† As regards the Pope, the deed ran thus: "Under the conviction that this treaty, being a guarantee of universal peace and the promotion of war against the Turks, must have the consent of the Holy Father, he is included in it as its head and as the participator in all its benefits, if he sanctions the articles and puts them in force by a contribution *pro rata*; and if, moreover, he pronounces the ban of excommunication against any aggressor, with-

GARTEN, Karl V., I., 42 *seq.* Besides the Noyon agreement made known to us by Dumont, there were secret articles drawn up (DE LEVA, I., 235–236 *seq.*) about which nothing is known.

* LANZ, Einleitung, 181; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 43 *seq.*

† Report from London of Seb. Giustiniani, Sept. 22, 1516, in SANUTO, XXII., 1, 98. *Cf.* BREWER, II., n. 2495.

out absolution, except with the consent of all contracting parties. He must come to a decision and ratify these terms within six months." *

But this agreement, which was to be ratified within two months, remained only on paper. The Emperor Maximilian at the Brussels Convention gave his adherence to the Noyon Treaty on the 3rd of December, 1516, and promised to evacuate Verona, which he did in January of the following year.† The Swiss, who had been expressly invited to accede to the London Convention, made a peace in perpetuity with France on the 29th of November, 1516.‡

To all appearances the alliance between Francis I. and the Emperor was cemented in the spring of the following year. On the 11th of March, at a conference held at Cambrai, a League was made between Maximilian and the Kings of France and Spain. In May and July not only was this treaty ratified, but some secret clauses were added, the object of which was nothing less than the division of Northern and Central Italy into kingdoms, to be made into Imperial fiefs—Venice, west of Vicenza, with Modena, Milan, Mantua, Montferrat, Piedmont, Asti, and Genoa, were to constitute the kingdom of Lombardy, and to belong to Francis I.; the eastern part of Venice, with Padua, Treviso, Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, and Siena were to form the Italian kingdom, and to be given either to King Charles or his brother Ferdinand.§ There is no doubt

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 240. (Here Oct. 29 should be read instead of Oct. 19.) LANZ, Aktenstücke und Briefe (Monum. Habsburg.), 29 *seq.*

† See Wiener Jahrb. d. Literat., 111 (1845), 177 *seq.*; ULMANN, II., 686 *seq.*; BROSCH, England, VI., 91.

‡ DUMONT, IV., 1, 248 *seq.*; Abschiede, III., 2, 1406 *seq.*; DIERAUER, II., 461 *seq.*

§ DUMONT, IV., 1, 256 *seq.*; LANZ, Aktenstücke und Briefe, 36; *Ibid.*, Einleitung, 182 *seq.*

whatever that by the atrocious Treaty of Cambrai, Francis I had no object but to entrap the Emperor, and reduce Venice as well as the Pope to a state of pliancy and servitude.*

Probably no one knew better than the French King how much depended on the attitude taken by the Pope. On the 17th of May, Bulls from Rome were prepared which, in accordance with the agreement of Bologna, permitted Francis I. to raise a crusade-tithe in his kingdom, including Brittany.† But it was only in August, after the negotiations about the Concordat were concluded, that these Bulls were issued, having been rewritten at the King's request. Francis returned thanks to the Pope in a letter to which he added a couple of autograph lines. In this letter he announced the conclusion of the Treaty of Noyon.‡ Leo did not allow the anxiety he felt at the alliance between the French King and the young Hapsburg to be perceived, and sent his good wishes to Francis I.§ Going on to remind him of the covenant between them, he professed his readiness to recall his Swiss Nuncio.‖ On the 6th of September he thanked the King for his letter, assured him

* This opinion, first mentioned by LANZ (Einleitung, 183), is shared by BAUMGARTEN (Karl V., I., 55) and ULMANN (II., 689).

† *The Bull *Etsi dispositione superna*, dat. Romae, 1516, XVI., Cal. Iunii, Anno 4; Regest. 1193, f. 184–186. The extension to Brittany in the *Bull *Ad hoc nos decus*, dat. Romae, 1516, XVI., Cal. Iunii, Anno 4; Regest. 1204, f. 146–147[b].

‡ SANUTO, XXII., 539. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 228.

§ *Brief to Francis I., dat. Rome, Aug. 22, 1516: Tenore praesentium omnes et singulas gratias etiam forum conscientiae tuae concernentes M[ti]. Tuae ut praefertur concessas validas, efficaces et integras fore decernimus et declaramus et pro potiori tutela quatenus opus sit ill[e] de novo concedimus. Orig. L., 357, National Archives, Paris.

‖ SANUTO, XXII., 540.

of his good wishes, and for everything else referred him to his Nuncio, Canossa.*

The Nuncios in Switzerland were at the same time admonished to behave in such a way that the French King could in no way take exception.† Soon after this, Francis I. received a privilege in respect of Milan, in accordance with which no consistorial benefice should be conferred on anyone obnoxious to the Crown.‡ The imminence of the Turkish peril gave Leo the opportunity, in October, of once more appealing urgently for help in that quarter. The King in return professed his zeal in the cause of a Crusade, though it must be confessed that he expressed himself in a somewhat ambiguous manner.§ This annoyed the Pope; all the more because Francis expressed suspicion that the Pope was not acting honestly by him.|| On the top of this came the pressure put on him by Francis to hand over Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara. The report that Leo wished to make Lorenzo Duke of Romagna did not facilitate an agreement. "The Pope," declared the French Ambassador, "is making himself the master of the whole of Italy, and we shall have to go back across the mountains!"¶ Friction was increased by the complaint

* Leo X. to Francis I., dat. Rome, Sept. 6, 1516 (composed by Sadolet). In this letter the Pope refers to the above-mentioned letter to Francis I., *supra*, 162: Litterae M^tis^ Tuae, quibus gratam tibi vehementer ostendis nostram decimarum et cruciatae tibi factam concessionem summa nos iucunditate affecerunt. Orig. in the National Archives, Paris (L. 357).

† Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 231 *seq.*; *cf.* 237 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 236 *seq.*

§ See Letter of Leo X., Oct. 17 (Bembo), and the answer of Francis, Nov. 15, 1516, in CHARRIÈRE, I., 13–18; SANUTO, XXIII., 268; Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 238 *seq.*

|| *Cf.* the very characteristic letter of Cardinal Medici to Canossa, Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 242.

¶ SANUTO, XXIII., 232.

raised by Francis I. that Schinner had gone, by the consent of the Pope, to London to conclude the treaty of October. At the same time the French King urged the Pope, through the Nuncio, to beware of Charles and Maximilian, who, said he, wished to combine to rob the Holy See of its temporal power. This warning had the effect of making Leo X. formally disavow Cardinal Schinner.* On the 19th there was sent to the Swiss an exhortation to make peace,† which had an influence on the ratification of the arrangement of the 24th of November. On the 25th the Papal chamberlain Latino Benassao was sent on an extraordinary mission to France, as the Pope could not agree with the representative of Francis at Rome. Gossip was rife as to the object of this mission; though it really treated of the cementing of a closer friendship with France by the marriage of Lorenzo.‡ Although the money collected in his country for a Crusade was now, as he had long desired, at the free disposal of the King,§ an agreement was as far off as ever. At the end of December, Leo X. complained to the Venetian Ambassador that the French King suspected him of desiring the possession of Ferrara, and that this was the reason why

* SANUTO, XXIII., 233; LANZ, Einleitung, 185.

† CHARRIÈRE, I., 16, n.

‡ *Brief to Canossa, dat. Rome, Nov. 25, 1516 (Benassao was directed to avoid all dissension), Arm. XLIV., t. 5, f. 90; Secret Archives of the Vatican. SANUTO, XXIII., 268, 269, 287. Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 245, 250. M. Giorgi in ALBÈRI, II., 3, 46. *Cf.* PIEPER, 57, A. 4.

§ *Iacopo Salviato mercatori Florentino ut accommodet pecunias ex cruciata provenientes regi Franciae; according to the original order the money was to be raised for the Crusade: "cum id. rex ad nos scripserit sperare se cum Helvetiis et aliis principib. christianis bonam pacem et concordiae conclusionem initurum persoluta tamen certa pecuniae summa sed eam non sine maximo subditor, suorum incommodo ad praesans erogare posse eapropter," the free disposal will be granted Dat. Dec. 17, 1516. Arm. XXXIX., f. XXXI. n. 112. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the agreement was delayed. The Ambassador observed on this occasion how anxious the idea of the Treaty of Cambrai made the Pope.* On the top of this came disturbing news about the Turks.† Thus did the year 1516 come to a close, full of grave anxiety for the Pope; the new year brought with it the alarming tidings of a menace to the scarcely won Duchy of Urbino.

Francesco Maria had not remained inactive during his exile at Mantua, and had been turning in every direction for help.‡ It was easy for him to gain the friendship of Federigo Gonzaga, Lord of Bozzoli, who was as jealous as he of Lorenzo de' Medici; but what was more important was that he could count on the assistance of the French viceroy of Milan, Odet de Foix, Lord of Lautrec, who hated the Pope both as an Italian and as a priest. One very favourable feature in the undertaking of Francesco Maria, was that just then a number of Spanish and German soldiers had been thrown out of employment by the peace, and were seeking everywhere for a fresh engagement. Five thousand of these now declared themselves ready to follow the discrowned Duke into his former Duchy, the inhabitants of which desired his return, being dissatisfied with the rule of Lorenzo and his exorbitant taxation. Francesco Maria left Mantua on the 16th of January with his small but enterprising army, and marched on Urbino. It was a bold venture, for he had neither money, ordnance, nor provisions of war; however, it was soon to be seen that fortune favoured him.§

The news of the rising in Urbino was to Rome like a

* SANUTO, XXIII., 437. *Cf.* 288.

† *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 250.

‡ *Cf.* VERDI, 39.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1; VETTORI, 321 *seq.*: BALAN, Boschetti, I., 106 *seq.*, App. 77.

flash of lightning in a cloudless sky. At the time the Pope was deeply engaged in discussing the Turkish question with the Cardinals, and did not dream of such a thing as a menace to Urbino. All were taken completely by surprise; and the Duke was in the Romagna before it was known that he had moved. The Pope was quite unprepared for war, because, owing to his lavish generosity, added to his bad management, money, the one thing necessary, was wanting to him. The Papal officers were discontented, because they did not receive sufficient pay; they were, moreover, deeply in debt, for all men followed the Pope's example in lavishness. Therefore the war had to be started with borrowed money—a doubtful proceeding for any prince.*

From the first the Pope had no doubt whatever that France and Venice had a hand in the Duke's attempt. Neither of them, said he, on the 26th of January, 1517, to the Venetian Ambassador, had any reason to support Francesco Maria against him. Two days later, however, the Ambassador of the Republic was able to give him the assurance that his Government would not assist any enemy of the Pope.† The French also loudly protested their innocence, but the Pope believed them so little that he had no hesitation in expressing his distrust of Francis I., even in the letters in which he begged for the help of Germany and Spain. Even in a letter to Francis himself he expressed his distrust of his intentions.‡

* VETTORI, 322. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIII., 552–553, 554; and Abschiede, III., 2, 1047. See also VERDI, 41.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIII., 552–553. *Cf.* 584.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1; RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 82, 83. *Cf.* BUDDEE. 17. The French Nuncio, Canossa, was in a very difficult position when Francis I. chose to renew his demand for the cession of Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara, who urged the

The Pope's position was desperate, for, thanks to his habitual tactics, he was in a state of dangerous isolation. Not only Francis, but Maximilian also owed him a grudge. Still angry at what he considered the too friendly terms of Leo with France in the spring of 1516, the Emperor wrote a very bitter letter to the Pope on the 20th of February, 1517.* Internal difficulties were added to those from outside. The Romagna was discontented with the bad government of the Papal representative, Florence was in a state of disturbance, and the troops were clamouring for pay. To all this was added the anxiety about the Cambrai Congress, to prevent which Nicholas von Schönberg was sent at the beginning of January. "The union of the three sovereigns," said the Pope to the Venetian Ambassador, "portends the division of Italy, to your injury and our own." †

Lorenzo de' Medici, who left Rome on the 18th of

matter warmly. (*Cf.* the characteristic **Reports of Fabrizio to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Feb. 16 and 19, 1516; State Archives, Florence.) Leo replied that he had promised this, and would keep his word if the French King on his side would keep his. In order to obtain assistance, Leo X. made a promise to give up the abovementioned towns seven months after the overthrow of Francesco Maria. If, he added, France did what she could, the overthrow of Francesco Maria would be accomplished in a month. Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 385–387. The *Brief of Leo. X. to Francis I., composed by Bembo, in which the Pope makes the promise relating to Modena and Reggio, dat. April 27, 1517, in Arm. XVI., Caps. 9, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* CHIESI, 487.

* VOLTELINI, 575.

† SANUTO, XXIII., 570–571; *cf.* 502. RYMER, VI., 1, 129; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1; VERDI, 37 *seq.*, 62; BUDDEE, 14 *seq.* The presumption here expressed, that Schönberg would be able to pacify Francis as to his mission, was stated in the *Brief (given in Appendix 16), to the French King, Jan. 4, 1517. National Archives, Paris.

January,* was given the supreme command of the Papal troops; being inexperienced in warfare, the Pope sent with him as advisers Renzo Orsini, Giulio Vitelli, and Guido Rangoni.† The Pope appealed on all sides for assistance. At Forli, Faenza, and Ravenna the troops were in want of the necessaries of life.‡

On the 4th of February it was stated in Rome that Francesco Maria had reoccupied Urbino. The news was premature, but on the 8th of February there was no longer room to doubt the loss of the capital of the Duchy.§ In spite of the Papal prohibition, Alfonso of Ferrara had given Francesco Maria a free passage through his state,‖ which greatly incensed the Pope, who had just pronounced an interdict on the dispossessed Duke. An Ambassador to whom we owe this adds these words: "There is no money; Leo is displeased with Renzo Orsini, and Renzo with him; the Romans are rejoicing over the bad turn affairs have taken."¶ The whole Duchy of Urbino, with

* *Cf.* *Letter of Gabbioneta, dat. Rome, Jan. 19, 1517; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On Jan. 18 the order was sent to Bologna to be in readiness in case Francesco Maria della Rovere "iniquitatis filius, olim Urbini dux," should attack Bolognese territory. On Jan. 23, 1517, Leo X. praised the fidelity of the Bolognese. Both *Briefs in State Archives, Bologna, Q. 5.

† *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1; Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 369. *Cf.* Quellen und Forschungen des preuss. Instituts, VI., 99 *seq.*, about the pay of the troops.

‡ *Cf.* the *Letters to Lorenzo of Feb. 1 and 2, 1517, in Carte Strozz., VIII., State Archives, Florence.

§ BALAN, Boschetti, I., 109. A *notification from Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. Feb. 7, 1517, of the loss of Urbino, in Carte Strozz., VIII., State Archives, Florence.

‖ *Cf.* VERDI, 45. The *Brief which contains the prohibition of the passage is dated Jan. 16, 1517. The original is in the State Archives, Modena.

¶ SANUTO, XXIII. 572, 585. About the interdict, see Bull. congr.

the exception of the fortress of San Leo, followed the example of the capital. Only the towns of Pesaro, Sinigaglia, Gradara, and Mondaino, which did not belong to the Duchy, remained to Lorenzo. On the 26th of March, 1517, he was wounded at the siege of Mondolfo. He left the theatre of war, and remained at a distance, even after his recovery, in spite of the express command to return sent to him by the Pope.* Cardinal Bibbiena, who was sent to the army, vainly tried to reduce to order the quarrelsome mercenaries.† The Pope was beside himself; he dreaded the idea of a revolution, and it seemed to him a disgrace for the Church that a "petty duke" could dare so much. His anxiety was increased by the growing danger from the Turks, as well as by the Treaty of Cambrai. He knew well that a partition of Italy was contemplated by the parties to that treaty, and that

S. Salvatoris, I., 130. About the opposition of the Romans, *cf.* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. Cod. G., II., 38, f. 75*b*. Chigi Library, Rome.

* VERDI, 66 *seq.*, 77; NITTI, 78 *seq.* At first it was reported that Lorenzo was dead; see TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. Cod. G., II., 38, f. 83*b*. Chigi Library, Rome.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1. JOVIUS, Vita, l. 3. The Diaries of SANUTO, XXIII. and XXIV., give many new details about the war. See also BALAN, Boschetti, I., 112 *seq.*; and Arch. stor. Ital., XVI., 2, 600 *seq.* See in SANUTO, XXIV., 149, 168, 180, 247, for the further details about Bibbiena's mission. *Cf.* BANDINI, Bibbiena, 29 *seq.*; LEONI, II., 198 *seqq.*; UGOLINI, II., 207; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., 35 *seq.*; CAPPONI, Firenze, III., 140 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 337 *seq.*; Bollett. p. l'Umbria, I., 93 *seqq.*; BALAN, VI., 11 *seq.*; A. LONGHI, Tre lettere ined. d. Card. B. Bibbiena (*Nozze-Publ.*, Firenze, 1889). BARGILLI, Una disfida storica e i discorsi milit. del duca d'Urbino, in Riv. milit. XLVII., 2 (1902). See, further, Appendix, No. 18; *Letter of Gabbioneta, April 1, 1517 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); a collection of documents from the Buondelmonte Archives, Florence, about the war of Urbino, in *Cod. 1476 of the Trivulziana Library at Milan.

Maximilian coveted Florence.* But on the top of all this there came an event which might have frightened a less timid man—namely, the discovery of a plot of Cardinal Petrucci against the Pope's life.†

Alfonso Petrucci was one of those very worldly princes of the Church, whose only desire was to accumulate riches and indulge in the enjoyment of life. He and the younger Cardinals, after they had secured the election of Leo X., put forward such exorbitant claims that the granting of them was an impossibility.‡ Even later in his pontificate, impoverished as he was by his lavish generosity, the Pope was not in a position to satisfy the countless demands of those who had elected him Pope.§ Additional cause of discontent was given to these Cardinals (many of whom regarded themselves as sharers in the Papal power) by the setting aside of the election capitulation,|| by the severity of Leo X. to Cardinal Sanseverino,¶ and by the unfortunate war in Urbino.

* M. Giorgi in ALBÈRI, II., 3, 47 *seq.*; and SANUTO, XXIII., 591; XXIV., 88 *seq.*, 103. *Cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 186; ULMANN, II., 691–692.

† Though the plot proceeded from the Cardinal of Siena, it is incorrect to speak of it, as Höfler does, as a conspiracy among the "Tuscan Cardinals."

‡ *Supra*, p. 33.

§ *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

|| *Supra*, p. 21.

¶ About this, Paris de Grassis writes as follows: *1515, die lunae 25 (Iunii) card. Sanseverinus fuit ad papam vocatus, eo quia nonnulli eius staferii certum custodem carceris apud turrim de Sabellis interfecerunt, et quia eos papa habere volebat, et non habuit, quia aufugerunt de mandato praedicti cardinalis, ideo fuit in palatio detentus idem cardinalis et in castrum s. Angeli missus. Die sequenti papa fecit cardinales omnes vocari ad congregationem propter hanc causam, et eum intellexisset cardinalem praedictum non esse in culpa, partimque a cardinalibus de gratia petitum esse ut relaxaretur, sic eodem die

Alfonso Petrucci had, moreover, a special cause of anger with the Pope. In March, 1516, his brother, Borghese Petrucci, was, with the co-operation of Leo, banished from the government of Siena, being replaced by the Castellan of St. Angelo, Raffaello Petrucci;* it was in vain that at the last moment Cardinal Petrucci tried by force of arms to put a stop to this revolution, which was gravely detrimental to his interests. Henceforward, his only thought was how to take vengeance on the "ungrateful Pope." Consumed by an insane hatred, he meditated an attack on Leo, either when he was out hunting, or at some other convenient opportunity, when he intended to murder him with his own hand. It was the difficulty and danger of such a deed, says Guicciardini, which kept him from carrying out the project, rather than the scandal which would have filled all Christendom with horror, had a Cardinal stained his hands with the Pope's blood.†

During the war of Urbino, Petrucci bethought him of another plan for the attainment of his object. He planned a conspiracy, which was to break out as soon as he had succeeded in getting rid of the Pope by means of poison.‡ To obtain this immediate end he bribed Battista da Vercelli to help him in his crime. This man, a doctor of some renown, was to come from Florence to Rome, ostensibly to treat the Pope for fistula, and was then to take his opportunity of administering poison. The plot, however, failed; for, however highly the skill of Battista might be recommended, the Pope was unwilling to trust

fuit relaxatus. *Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Secret Archives of the Vatican. About this occurrence see SANUTO, XX., 353, and the Diary in Mél. d'arch., XXII., 279.

* *Supra*, 159, note.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

‡ See PECCI, Storia di Siena, II., 55-60 *seq.*

himself to the hands of a perfect stranger.* But this check did not make Petrucci relinquish his plan, though the unexpected obstruction made the hot-headed young man neglect all caution. He wished—so he was heard to declare—to become the liberator of the despised and enslaved College of Cardinals, and to be instrumental in raising to the supreme pontificate one of the older Cardinals, who would be grateful to his electors.† These rash words caused Petrucci to fall under suspicion. He therefore left Rome, where he was not safe, and retired to a place belonging to the Colonna in Latium, without first taking leave of the Pope. He conspired so openly with his brother, who was living in Naples, that the Pope thought it best to write to him with his own hand, in March, 1517, warning him against trying to stir up a revolution in Siena; otherwise his action might be construed into a conspiracy against the Pope himself.‡ In spite of this very distinct warning, Petrucci continued his machinations, and through Lattanzio Petrucci indulged in very doubtful dealings with Francesco Maria della Rovere.§ This added to the suspicion in which the Cardinal was held, and still more did the frequent correspondence which he carried on with his secretary and steward, Marc Antonio Nino, who had remained in Rome. In these letters the subject was revived of calling in Battista da Vercelli to attend to the Pope's open wound.

* JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. Battista da Vercelli gave out that he possessed a secret cure for the disease. See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 210, n. 2; and LUZIO, in the Giorn. d. Lett., V., 411.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 13.

‡ BEMBI, Epist., XIV., 25; RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 90. *Cf.* Appendix, No. 17, for the *Brief to Prospero Colonna, March 12, 1517, Colonna Archives, Rome.

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 393.

Petrucci was staying then at Genazzano, and while he was there Nino wrote to him in cipher, saying that Battista was as ready as ever to serve him, and hoped to gain access to His Holiness by means of Serapica and Giulio de' Bianchi, two of the Pope's confidential attendants. In order not to arouse suspicion, Battista did not think it wise to visit the Cardinal in person, but would as to that do exactly what Petrucci wished.* This letter was intercepted, and led to the discovery of the plot.

Prompt and decisive measures were taken against the offenders. Petrucci's confidant, Marc Antonio Nino, was arrested at once, on the 21st of April, 1517, and put to the torture.† But nothing was made known publicly, and even the best-informed diplomatists knew nothing more than that Cardinal Petrucci was gravely implicated by Nino's admissions. Some suspected that the offence under consideration was an attempt against Siena; while others suspected an understanding with Francesco Maria della Rovere,‡

* These important letters are to be found in a *Letter of B. Costabili, dat. Rome, 1517, June 24. See Appendix, No. 27. State Archives, Modena.

† This must have taken place a little sooner, as the Venetian Ambassador (SANUTO, XXIV., 195) told B. Costabili about the matter in a *Letter of April 24, 1517. State Archives, Modena.

‡ *La Sta di N^ro^ Sig^re^ ha facto pigliare el maestro di casa del card. di Siena apresso del quale se sono trovate lettere, le quale insieme cum la confessione de epso maestro di casa gravano multo il predicto S^re^ Cardenale, ma non si puo intendere il particulare et alcuni dicono che lo haveva intelligentia in Siena et alcuni altri dicono che l'havea ancor col S. F[rancesco] M[aria] et che impero N^ro^ S^re^ pensa privarlo del cardinalato tanquam pro crimine laesae Maiestatis, ma vero é che qui si fanno fanti et dicesse che seranno 1500 et se mandano a Siena col predicto S. Troilo Savelli. *Letter of B. Costabili to Alf. of Ferrara, dat. Rome, 1517, April 21. This letter, given in part by BALAN, Boschetti, lib. 126, which gives the earliest news of the conspiracy, wrongly placed by most in May, is to be found in the State Archives, Modena.

with whom Borghese Petrucci was staying.* Battista da Vercelli's movements in Florence were constantly watched.† Cardinal Petrucci was promised the restoration of his rights in Siena, on condition that he came in person to Rome. The Cardinal hesitated to do this, though he had no suspicion that his correspondence with Nino had been discovered. All his fear was on account of his intrigues with Francesco Maria della Rovere.‡ But so far as those intrigues were concerned, Leo gave him a free safe-conduct, assuring the Spanish Ambassador at the same time that he would keep his word. Therefore Petrucci came to Rome on the 18th of May. On the following day, hardly had he, in the company of his intimate friend, Cardinal Sauli, entered the Pope's antechamber, before both of them were arrested and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo.§

In a Consistory called without delay, the Pope informed the Cardinals of what had occurred, and of the introduction of proceedings against Petrucci and Sauli. It was at the same time decided that the minutes of the trial should be submitted for judgment to a special commission composed of Cardinals Remolino, Accolti and Farnese, and that the final sentence should be pronounced by

* SANUTO, XXIII., 583 *seq.*

† JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

‡ Manoscr. Torrig. XXVI., 403.

§ *Cf.* the letter to Canossa of May 19, 1517, in Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 393 *seq.*, where the 18th of May is given as the day of Petrucci's arrest. See, further, Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 92 (*cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 461); SANUTO, XXIV., 288; JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; and the *Letter of B. Costabili to Alf. of Ferrara, dat. Rome, 1517, May 19. *Scrivendo questo è venuta nova che essendo venuto el card. de Siena a pallacio lo è stato detenuto et poi mandato in castello. State Archives, Modena. See also GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3.

the Cardinals.* On the same day special Briefs were sent to the more important princes, telling them that Cardinals Petrucci and Sauli had been arrested on the charge of a secret conspiracy against the life of the Pope, and that on account of this crime a judicial process would be instituted against them.†

In Rome this event, which gives us a deeper insight than can anything else into the intense corruption of the highest ecclesiastical body, caused a great sensation. The wildest rumours floated about the city, and it was said that other Cardinals had also been arrested.‡ The excitement increased when it was seen that the Vatican was closely guarded and that troops had been brought into Rome.§

Among the Ambassadors who had been informed of the proceedings, the representative of Spain openly protested against the arrest of Petrucci. He had, said he, gone surety for him, and this was the same thing as if the King had done so. But Leo X. replied that even the most comprehensive safe-conduct could be no protection for one who had intended to take his sovereign's life by poison, unless this horrible crime had been expressly mentioned.‖ As Petrucci's safe-conduct only referred to his dealings with Francesco Maria della Rovere, the Spanish Ambassador soon withdrew his protest.¶ But even among the Cardinals

* In Paris de Grassis, *loc. cit.*, see the Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), Appendix, No. 20.

† See BEMBI, Epist., XV., 23; RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 91; RYMER, VI., 1, 134; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 448; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VIII., 98. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 288, 289.

‡ Second *Letter of B. Costabili to Alfonso of Ferrara, dat. Rome, 1517, May 19. State Archives, Modena.

§ SANUTO, XXIV., 288, 321.

‖ *Ibid.*, XXIV., 289; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3; Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 47.

¶ Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 394-395.

there were several who were indignant with the Pope for confining Petrucci and Sauli in the lowest dungeon of St. Angelo, which went by the name of "Marocco."* Leo tried to conceal his alarm, and insisted on no one visiting the prisoners; nevertheless, at the express request of the College of Cardinals, he allowed a servant to each of them.†

The management of the judicial process against the prisoners was confided to the procurator-fiscal, Mario de Perusco, a native of Rome, and auditor to the Governor of the city.‡ In the first instance the inquiry was confined to proving whether the murder of the Pope had been actually intended.§ Word was sent to Florence to arrest Battista da Vercelli and bring him to Rome; other suspected persons, including a servant of Petrucci's named Pocointesta, were also arrested. All these were put to the torture, but whether the rack was applied to the Cardinals is uncertain.||

* SANUTO, XXIV., 449, 464. JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4. "In carcere Marrochii" is how TIZIO (*Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 38, f. 97, Chigi Library, Rome) describes the dungeon of St. Angelo.

† *Die sequenti (May 20) episcopum Salutiarum (G. Tornabuoni) affinem suum in castello deputavit commissarium, ut custodiret, ne quis ad eos accederet neque alloqueretur, et cuique eorum (Petrucci and Sauli) assignavit unum domesticum eorum quem quisque vellet, dummodo non exiret neque alloqueretur neque aliquem videret nisi deputatos, et haec facta sunt ipso pontifice monstrante in publicis actibus se parum de talibus curare. PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, n. 93.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 419; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3.

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 395.

|| Speaking to the Ambassadors, Leo X. denied that the prisoners had been racked (SANUTO, 323-324), yet the fact is affirmed by SANUTO, XXIV., 321, and also by B. Costabili in his Letter of June 10, 1517; see Appendix, No. 26. (State Archives, Modena). But in the Report of the Portuguese Ambassador it is expressly stated that

Another Consistory was called on the 29th of May. At this was made known the report of Cardinals Remolino, Accolti, and Farnese, to whom had been confided the supervision of the proceedings. The sentence of these was that the accused Cardinals should be kept under arrest as long as they were not cleared of the accusations brought against them. When the Cardinals were assembled in the Vatican, Paris de Grassis says that Leo sent for Cardinal Accolti. "He remained for over an hour in the Pope's room," says the Master of Ceremonies. "As we could not understand what such a long interview portended, I looked through the key-hole, and saw that there was a military guard in the Pope's room. I suspected at once that something terrible was about to occur, but I held my tongue. As I saw Cardinals Riario and Farnese enter the Pope's room with cheerful countenances, I concluded that he had sent for them, probably to consult with them about the nomination of new Cardinals, about which he had been speaking some days before. Hardly, however, had Cardinal Riario entered the room, than the Pope, who usually walked about between two attendants, taking slow, steady steps, hurried out of the room quite swiftly, and seemingly in a state of confusion, shutting the door behind him, so that

the prisoners were not racked: "Forom examinados os cardeaes logo e sem nenhuõo tormento confessarom." (Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 170.) IOANNINENSIS (Penthatheucus, 105*b*), who describes with horror the cruel punishment of the other offenders, says expressly that even in the case of Petrucci the torture was not applied. But, as JOVIUS (l. 4) says, "Alfonsus in tormentis convincitur, Saulius tortoris aspectum vix sustinet," the matter remains doubtful. One of the Pope's equerries, a captain of light horse, Angelo Girolamo degli Albizzi, and a certain Paolo Gusieri, seem to have been also mixed up in the conspiracy; see SANUTO, XXIV., 762. Among those who escaped arrest by flight, TIZIO (*Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 38, f. 88, Chigi Library, Rome) mentions one "Severus monachus."

the Cardinal was left alone with the guard. Astonished at this, and at his apparent haste, I asked the Pope what it meant, and whether he was going into the Consistory without his stole. He then asked for his stole. He was pale and very much excited, and in a harsh tone told me to dismiss the Consistory. I obeyed, but had no doubt left that Cardinal Riario had been arrested."*

The reason of Riario's arrest soon transpired. Petrucci and Sauli had confessed that he was their fellow-conspirator. Like many others, Paris de Grassis would not believe this, and came to the conclusion that Leo was allowing himself to be influenced by feelings of personal revenge connected with the memory of the Pazzi conspiracy;† but this surmise of the Master of Ceremonies, who was always prepossessed in favour of Riario, was not confirmed by after events.‡

On the 4th of June Riario, who till that date had been detained in honourable captivity in the Vatican, was transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo. When the unfortunate man was told that this was to be done, he became paralysed with fear, and had to be carried to his prison. As the reason for this measure, Leo X. explained in Consistory that Riario would confess nothing. But in the dark dungeon of St. Angelo he soon made a full confession.§

* PARIS DE GRASSIS; see Notices des Ms. du Roi II. (Paris, 1789), 599; and CIACONIUS, III., 72. *Cf.* Appendix, No. 22; *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives. See also SANUTO, XXIV., 324, and the *Report of Costabili, May 29, 1517; State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 117.

‡ Paris de Grassis admits this in the passage "De Rev. Card. S. Giorgii decano coll.," given in Appendix, No. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ SANUTO, XXIV., 353–354. *Cf.* Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, No. 23.

Another Consistory was held on the 8th of June: and then the Pope disclosed to the agitated assembly that, by the admission of the incarcerated Cardinals, two other members of the Sacred College, present at the Consistory at that moment, were involved in the conspiracy. Bitterly did Leo complain that those from whom he could have least suspected such a thing, those into whose hands he trusted his life, could be guilty of such a crime. But however pained he might be by the ingratitude of those whom he had loaded with honours and benefactions, he declared himself willing to forgive them, after the example of Him whose place he filled on earth, provided they would confess their misdeed and ask for pardon. But as, in spite of what he said, not one came forward, the Cardinals in Consistory decided that each of them in turn should go up to the Pope and make their avowal into his private ear. When it came to the turn of Cardinal Soderini to do this, he tried to avoid the occasion of avowing his guilt. This obstinacy incensed Leo X., and he told him to his face that he was one of the two culprits. Had he confessed his guilt, the Pope went on, his words would have been those of mercy, but now justice must take its course. On hearing this, Soderini, as well as Adriano Castellesi, threw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and confessing their complicity in the plot, implored his mercy. This was at once granted. The Consistory, however, imposed a fine on each of 12,500 ducats, and commanded the culprits to keep secret what had occurred. Nevertheless, the rumour of what had taken place spread like wildfire throughout Rome, taking many a distorted form as it went about.* After the long

* Besides GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3, see Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and PARIS DE GRASSIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix, Nos. 24 and 25. *Cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 48 *seq.*

and painful Consistory, the Pope received the Ambassadors of Germany, France, England, Spain, Portugal, and Venice, and informed them that the Cardinals who had been mixed up in the affair had been, with the exception of Petrucci, Sauli, and Riario, pardoned. When the English Ambassador asked him if he would not pardon all, he replied: "Those Cardinals whose guilt has since become known, we have pardoned; but against those who are now confined in the Castle, proceedings will be carried out in due accordance with the criminal law.*

On the 16th of June Petrucci's servant, Pocointesta, was hanged in the prison of Tor di Nona, on the charge of attempting to stir up a revolt in Siena.† At first an attempt was made to keep secret the alarming discoveries that came to light in the course of the examination of the prisoners, and even the best informed of the Ambassadors could learn nothing for certain. According to a cipher report of the Ferrarese Ambassador written on the 10th of June, there was a rumour that either Farnese or Paris de Grassis was equally guilty.‡ It was only on the 18th of June that it was learned that the later accusations were limited to Soderini and Adriano Castellesi.§ These last were indeed allowed to remain free, but, as mentioned already, each had to pay 12,500 ducats as the price of his liberty. When, however, this fine was doubled, they feared that they would no longer be safe in Rome. In the night of the 20th of June, Soderini sought refuge with the Colonna at Palestrina, while at the same time Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, who was by nature very timid, fled

* SANUTO, XXIV., 355.

† *Ibid.*, 401–402.

‡ See in Appendix, No. 26, the Letter of B. Costabili of June 10, 1517, State Archives, Modena.

§ * Letter of B. Costabili, June 18, 1517, State Archives, Modena.

disguised to Tivoli, passing thence, as was reported, to Naples.*

Meanwhile the greatest anxiety was felt by their friends concerning the incarcerated Cardinals, for the trial dragged on week after week, and each day brought with it fresh surmises as to the result.† True to his nature, the Pope seemed for one moment inclined to allow justice to give place to mercy.‡ But Lorenzo de' Medici and his adherents urged that the severest punishment should be inflicted, not only on the Cardinals, but on all the other offenders. To gain this object Lorenzo arrived in Rome quite unexpectedly on the 18th of June.§ Thirteen Cardinals present at that time in the Curia were summoned to a Consistory on the 22nd of June. All those called came, with the exception of Riario's relative, Leonardo Grosso della Rovere.|| In a long speech Leo X. informed the Cardinals of the result of the trial held on Petrucci, Sauli, and Riario. The accusation was one of fourfold treason. First, as the Pope pointed out, was that of binding themselves by oath, as Petrucci and Sauli had done, during the lifetime of the lawful Supreme Pontiff, to make Riario

* SANUTO, XXIV., 403, 413, 449; Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 49 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 41. Cornelius de Fine in his * Diary relates in detail the circumstances of Soderini's flight. National Library, Paris.

† On the 18th of June Costabili reported as follows: * Circha li Car^li detenuti li agenti soi dicono haversene hora una calda, hora una freda et pocho sperano et se tene che N. S. vora ad ogni modo che siano condannati et privati se cussi vora la justitia poi che stia in pecto di S. Sta se la li vora restituire cum pena pecuniarum. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 50.

§ *Cf.* VERDI, 75.

|| See * Diary of a Frenchman living in Rome, Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 29, Vatican Library.

Pope; to which arrangement Riario had consented. In order to remove Leo X. and secure his death, Petrucci and Sauli had suborned Battista da Vercelli to poison the Pope, under the pretext of treating him for fistula. In this plot also Riario was involved. Lastly, Petrucci as well as Sauli had held treasonable communication with Francesco Maria della Rovere, and had thus incurred the penalties imposed by the last Bull issued. Then the minutes of the process instituted against the accused were read, as also were the confessions of the imprisoned Cardinals. It had now to be decided whether the charge of high-treason were proved, the penalty of such a crime being the loss of all possessions as well as sentence of death. The Cardinals proceeded to put the matter to the vote. All, with the exception of Grimani, admitted that Petrucci, Sauli, and Riario were without doubt guilty of fourfold treason; nevertheless, they begged the Pope to show mercy towards their brother Cardinals. Then the fiscal-advocate, Justino de Carosis, and after him the fiscal-procurator, Mario de Perusco, brought forward their motion, which was read by Pietro Bembo. Their judgment was that all three of the accused should be condemned to the loss of all their benefices and possessions, then be degraded from their dignity of the cardinalate, and finally handed over to the secular arm. At the conclusion of the Consistory the Pope spoke about the flight of Adriano Castellesi, which, he said, he had known about but would not prevent.*

Only such well-weighed entries, characterized by a truly

* Acta Consist., printed by FEA, Notizie, 84–87. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 71, the *Report of B. Costabili, June 23, 1517 (State Archives, Modena), and Appendix, No. 36, the *deed in Secret Archives of the Vatican. I have taken the name wanting in the Acta Consist. from the list given for July 1, 1517, in *Introit. et Exit., 557 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

diplomatic brevity and reserve, do we find in the Vice-Chancellor's Consistorial Acts.* But from other impartial sources we learn that the Consistory was long and stormy. According to the Venetian Ambassador it lasted for ten, and, according to Paris de Grassis, thirteen hours. It was not only the reading of the minutes of the trial, filling several hundred pages, which took so much time; but there were also loud and long discussions, of such a nature that those outside could overhear the Pope disputing with the Cardinals, and they with one another. There was one especially violent encounter of words between Leo X. and Cardinal Grimani.†

The passing of the sentence took the Curia by surprise. To many the clause which gave the offenders over to the secular arm seemed too hard; for in this case it was equivalent to a sentence of death. Nevertheless it was, according to the laws of that time, the usual sentence passed on traitors, even when no attempt had been made by them against the life of their sovereign.‡

On the 25th of June all the Ambassadors then in Rome were invited to come before the Pope to hear the minutes of the trial read. "This is what we understood," reports the Venetian Ambassador, "by the letters found on Petrucci's secretary, the Cardinal's schemes with Battista da Vercelli for poisoning the Pope were discovered. Petrucci himself admitted later that, in desperation at Siena being taken out of the hands of his family, he desired to

* As to the character of this source of information, see KALKOFF'S profound and conclusive researches, Forschungen, 21–42. I take this opportunity of thanking the compiler for giving me access to the proof-sheets of his important work.

† Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 95; SANUTO, XXIV., 418.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3.

take the Pope's life, and confided his plan to Cardinals Sauli and Riario." To this the Venetian Ambassador adds: "There is no doubt as to this; yet in conducting the trial it was wrong that the accused should have been put into a position to hear the testimony of others. When this was done in the case of Riario, who would not admit the truth of any of the accusations against him, he said, on hearing the evidence of Petrucci and Sauli, that as they affirmed his connivance in the plot, this statement must be retained in the minutes. Soderini affirmed that he had promised Riario the tiara." Unfortunately this is all that the Ambassador says about the reading of the minutes of the process, which took eight hours and a half. At the end of the conference the Pope asked for Petrucci's red biretta, which was on the table in front of him. "This," said he, "is what he staked. He was determined to go to all lengths." *

There is no doubt that Leo X. believed in the existence of a real conspiracy against his life. For some time he would not venture to leave his well-guarded palace: and when at last, contrary to all expectation, he attended Vespers in the Vatican Basilica on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, he was surrounded by an armed guard; and all the streets round St. Peter's were held by troops.† On the 27th of June Battista da Vercelli and Marc Antonio Nino were hanged, drawn, and quartered. In accordance with the horrible criminal custom of the day, they were both severely tortured on the way to the place of execution, which was on this occasion the Piazza in front of the bridge of St. Angelo.‡ This barbarity was generally condemned.

* SANUTO, XXIV., 419.

† *Ibid.*, 374, 401, 420; and Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 51.

‡ See SANUTO, XXIV., 421; Report of the Portuguese Ambassador

The whole of Rome was waiting with anxiety to learn the sentence passed on the incarcerated Cardinals. That Petrucci's fate was sealed was inferred by the division among others of his benefices; but there seemed to be a prospect of pardon for the other two Cardinals.* As, unfortunately, the short epitome of the trial, given by the Venetian Ambassador, is all that remains to us of the acts of the process,† it is difficult, and for the most part impossible, to form an estimate of the measure of guilt or of the motives of each individual. There is, however, no doubt whatever as to the existence of treasonable dealings

in Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 471; JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 38, f. 100*b* of the Chigi Library, Rome. The *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatic. Libr.) mentions the execution of a third, Paule de Seve. A certain Paolo Agostini, who was connected with Nino, was condemned to the galleys; SANUTO, *loc. cit.* Lattanzio Petrucci, who had gone over to Francesco Maria della Rovere, lost his bishopric; see Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 58, and Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 393 *seq.*

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 418, 421. Even on the 12th of June B. Costabili announced to Alfonso of Ferrara: *Si tiene che la cossa di S. Giorgio et del Sauli se acconciarà cum denari. State Archives, Modena.

† The archives of St. Angelo, now moved to the Secret Archives of the Vatican, are unfortunately imperfect, there being missing, among other deeds, a file of very important documents relating to the trial and conviction of the Cardinals. According to the old Indexes there were existing, in Arm. IV., caps. I., n. 79: the Cedula sententiae Leonis X. contra card. R. Riarium, B. de Saulis, Alph. Petruccium et alios complices, dat. 1517, Juni 22; n. 80: the Cedula of the sentence passed on Adriano Castellesi, dat. 1518, July 5; n. 81: Informatio facti pro fisco contra card. Riarium, Petruccium et de Saulis ob praetensium laesae maiestatis crimen, dat. 1517, June 22; caps. XII., n. 8: Processus contra familiares cardinalis Petruccii. These documents were missing in 1893; nor could they be found in spite of the renewed and thorough researches of the archives in 1905.

with Francesco Maria della Rovere, or of the plot to poison Leo X.*

There is no doubt that Petrucci was the most guilty of the conspirators, and indeed the head of the whole plot; for there is incontrovertible proof of his criminal machinations with Battista da Vercelli. The sentence of death pronounced against him was carried out at once, though the statements vary as to the mode of his execution, and whether he was strangled or beheaded.† There is also great uncertainty whether this young man, twenty-seven years of age, who had cared for nothing but the frivolous enjoyment of life,‡ reconciled his soul to God before he died.§

As regards Sauli, Riario, Soderini, and Adriano Castellesi, there seems no doubt that they gave ear more or less to

* Even RANKE (Deutsche Geschichte, I.², 302) states that "all possible doubts as to the reality of the conspiracy are removed in the light of the speech made by Bandinelli Sauli on the occasion of his pardon." See *infra*, p. 194.

† SANUTO, XXIV., 404; Tizio in FABRONIUS, 285; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. The Portuguese Ambassador (Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 441), CORNELIUS DE FINE (* Diary in the National Library, Paris), SANUTO (XXXII., 417), and IOANNINENSIS (Penthatheucus, 106) say that Petrucci was strangled. The author of the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 30*b*, speak only of "de morte violente." The day of the execution, which was apparently kept very secret, varies, but apparently it was on July 4; see GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 213, n. 3. In the documentary communications of Bertolotti about the executions in the time of Leo X., in Riv. d. discipl. carc., XIV., 166, mention is made that Petrucci did not die by the hand of the official executioner. This confirms the statement that the Moor, Roland, officiated in his case as executioner.

‡ See JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., l. 4.

§ While TIZIO (*loc. cit.*) says that Petrucci remained impenitent to the end, the * Chronicle in the Cod. Urb., 1641, says that he died full of contrition. *Cf.* CESAREO in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., 15.

Petrucci's criminal schemes, though how far each was individually involved cannot be ascertained by the material at our disposal. The historian Paolo Giovio, who is as a rule well-informed, says as follows: "Even if those above named did not actually confide the execution of the criminal scheme to the unstable and frivolous Petrucci, there is no doubt that they incited him to it by their jests and jibes. In their inmost hearts these men were devoured by hatred and ambition, and wished that Petrucci might succeed in his project of removing the Pope, either by open violence or by subtle poison." From other sources also it seems undeniable that at least Sauli and Riario had a more intimate knowledge of the murderous plot. Their crime, therefore, consisted in not revealing, as they were bound to do, the vengeful machinations of Petrucci, of which they were aware.

As to Adriano Castellesi, he was unlike the others, and Giovio declares that he did not wish for the Pope's death from any feelings of hatred or ill-will, but solely because his ambition led him to wish for the tiara for himself. Ambition, as well as hatred of the Florentine who was so all-powerful in the Curia, was an essential motive with Riario. Soderini could not forget the banishment from Florence of his brother Pietro, although Leo X. had at once invited him to Rome and had restored to him his possessions.* Next to Petrucci, there is no doubt, from the incriminating character of the letters which were seized, that Sauli was very deeply involved.† No satisfactory explanation can be given why he allowed himself to be

* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. As to Riario's ambition and hatred of the Florentine, see Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., 7–8; his desire for the tiara, Ariosto's third satire (in GILDEMEISTER, 29 *seq.*), which speaks openly of it. *Cf.* also Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XLII., 99.

† SANUTO, XXIV., 289. *Cf. infra*, 194, Sauli's speech on Jul. 31.

mixed up in the treasonable intrigue. Few of the Cardinals had received so many benefits and favours from the Pope as he. The black ingratitude with which Sauli repaid his generosity pained the Pope deeply. "Even during the last three months," said Leo to the Venetian Ambassador, "we have conferred benefices on Sauli to the value of 6000 ducats." * In court circles the opinion was held that it was these very marks of favour, and the Pope's partiality for Sauli, which had developed in him an intolerable pride, and resentment because the Pope had given the see of Marseilles to Giulio de' Medici instead of to himself.†

Urgent appeals were sent in to the Pope from many quarters on behalf of Sauli as well as of Riario. Genoa pleaded for Sauli, as also did Cardinal Cibo, and, above all, the French King.‡ Many also interceded for Riario, among others the Venetian Ambassador. His relatives wrote in his favour even to Henry VIII. of England.§ In his justification it was pleaded that his worst crime was keeping back the incriminating confidences of Petrucci. It is, however, undeniable that he had set his hopes on obtaining the tiara, and that his confidential relations with Francesco Maria della Rovere had led him to join the mortal enemy of the Pope.‖

* SANUTO, XXIV., 288.

† JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, I., 406; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3; FABRONIUS, 119; REUMONT, III., 2, 99.

‡ *Cf.* BIZARRI, Hist. Genuen., XIX., 448; FABRONIUS, 120; Lettere de' principi, I., 21; a letter of Francis I. to Leo X., dat. Boulogne, 1517, July 1, in which intercession was made for Sauli, was found in the Archives of St. Angelo, Arm., IV., caps. I., n. 82, but it is no longer there.

§ SANUTO, XXIV., 403; RYMER, VI., 1, 134: ROSCOE-BOSSI, VIII., 102 *seq.*

‖ See SANUTO, XXIV., 354 *seq.*, 543; JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4. *Cf* REUMONT, III., 2, 99–100; and *subra*, p. 187.

In spite of all this, there were special reasons which induced the Pope to pardon and restore Riario. There were, however, the strictest conditions laid down for his pardon.* The first of these was that he should expressly acknowledge that he had been lawfully deposed, and that he owed his restoration solely to the mercy of His Holiness. He had, moreover, to promise solemnly that he would be henceforward the true servant of the Pope; that he would refrain from all hostility towards him and his family, and have no dealings with any prince or Cardinal except about his own private concerns. As a punishment he was to pay, in three instalments, the enormous fine of 150,000 ducats. The first instalment of 50,000 ducats was to be advanced by Agostino Chigi, and the necessary security must be offered either by bankers or friendly officials of the Curia for the punctual payment at Christmas and Easter of the remaining instalments. Futhermore, caution money of 150,000 ducats was demanded for the observance of all matters connected with obedience and fidelity, especially that which forbade him to ever leave his appointed dwelling without the written permission of the Pope. As a further precaution, the twelve Cardinals who had taken part in Riario's deposition, as well as Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, were bound to pledge themselves to see that Riario kept his promises; failing which he was to be regarded as deposed in perpetuity. The same security was to be given by the Ambassadors of Germany, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Venice. Their security was to be ratified within four months, and besides this they were to pledge themselves to make no further appeals to the Pope in favour of Riario.

* See Appendix, Nos. 36–37, the *Capitula et conventiones ineundae inter S. D. N. et D. Raphaelem de Riario olim card. S. Giorgii. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

On the 17th of July, in the great hall of St. Angelo, before the fiscal-procurator, Mario de Perusco, Riario promised to faithfully observe all these conditions. On the 23rd, his nearest relatives promised to pay a fine of 75,000 ducats, should Riario leave the Vatican without the express permission of the Pope.* On the same day Agostino Chigi promised to pay the Pope 150,000 ducats on his behalf.† On receiving this promise, the Pope decreed thus in a Consistory held on July the 24th: "Riario shall be restored to his dignities, with the exception of the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and without either active or passive right of voting." ‡

* *Cf.* the deed concerning this (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix, Nos. 36–37.

† Chigi's promise has been published by FEA, Notizie, 83, 84. From it GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 214) assumes incorrectly that the fine had been reduced to 50,000; to prove this he also appeals to a despatch of Minio's of June 15, with which Sanuto alone can be made to agree. But this despatch proves nothing, as the final arrangement between Leo X. and Riario took place a full month later. That contemporaries, (PETR. MARTYR, Epist., XXX., 596; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen.; and CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary in National Library, Paris) are correct at putting the fine at 150,000 ducats, can be seen by the *Capitula given in Appendix, Nos. 36–37. At first even more seems to have been demanded, for B. Costabili says on June 27, 1517: *La pratica di S. Giorgio non è desperata perchè per parte di N. S. se adimanda 150^{m} duc. non comprehendose 19^{m} se sono havuti. State Archives, Modena. But I can prove that this enormous fine was paid without any reduction. In *Introitus et Exitus, 558, f. 108b, there is this entry: 10 febr. 1518 (st. flor.) hab. duc. centum quinquaginta milia auri de camera a rev. d. R. card. s. Georgii pro sua liberatione castri (*sic*) s. Angeli ut apparet per mandatum cam. apost. sub die XV. Ianuarii preteriti per manus Bernardi Bini. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SANUTO, XXIV., 511 *seq.*, Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and the Bull of July 24, 1517 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, Nos. 35 and 38. Riario retained the position of Camerlengo only nominally, though all deeds were issued in his

The news of the approaching liberation of Riario, who was universally respected and beloved, spread rapidly through Rome. As the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, made his way to St. Angelo to announce the good news to the prisoner, the streets were filled with a jubilant crowd. Riario was conducted to the Vatican by the covered way, in which he was met by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Having taken the oath required of him in the apartment of Cardinal Trivulzio, Paris de Grassis conducted him to the Pope, around whom all the Cardinals were assembled. Riario kissed Leo's foot, but the latter put out his hand in a friendly manner and embraced him. Riario began to speak, but apologized for not having been able to prepare his words. Then breaking out into vehement expressions, he acknowledged his guilt, by which, he said, he deserved not only degradation but death. He praised the mercy of the Pope, which removed all fear of future punishment, and enabled him to live in peace. "I have sinned," said he; "I have sinned far more than I admitted in my judicial confession." "Honoured Lord," replied the Pope, "what we have done by you is in accordance with our duty, and for the honour of the Apostolic See. We pardon you now for the sake of Christ, and restore you to your former state. Let all that has passed be forgotten between us." *

It is not difficult to understand what it was that moved

name. Armellini received the administrative appointment on July 24, 1517; see the document in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 70. *Cf.* GARAMPI, App., 196. The monthly pay of Armellini as praesidens cam. apost. consisted of 150 duc. See Introit. et Exit., 560, f. 244*b*, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *Restitutio et excarceratio rev. d. card. S. Georgii, in Paris de Grassis, Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), given partly in RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 96–97, and completely in CIACONIUS, III., 72 *seqq.*

Leo X. to pardon and restore Riario. For many years the Cardinal had held the dignity of Camerlengo of the Roman Church and Dean of the Sacred College, a member of which he had been for forty years. His riches and generosity had made him one of the most influential personalities in Rome. Had the Pope refused pardon to such a man, he would have drawn down hatred on himself from high and low. He would have also laid himself open to the suspicion of being actuated by motives of private revenge; for Riario had been a witness of the Pazzi conspiracy, in which Leo's father had been wounded and his uncle Giuliano killed. Though innocent, the Medici had arrested Riario, and only set him at liberty thanks to the energetic measures taken by Sixtus IV. on his behalf.* These measures were still so fresh in the memory of all concerned, that when Leo took proceedings against Riario for his complicity in Petrucci's attempt, even the Pope's adherents suspected that a desire for revenge for the old offence was at the bottom of the action taken by him.† However, the joy with which his pardon was greeted by his many adherents,‡ the friendliness of the Pope towards him then and afterwards,§ and even his full restoration which followed, when the right, active and passive, of voting was

* *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, 314–317.

† "Riario saluti fuit aetatis honor et veteris inimicitiae respectus, ne Leo patris vulnera patruique caedem, cui Riarius interfuerat, conficto novo crimine ulcisci videretur," says JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. Not only those hostile to Leo X., such as TIZIO (see GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 213), but also Paris de Grassis, who, it must be admitted, was a friend of Riario's, believed that his arrest was prompted by the spirit of private revenge. *Cf. supra*, p. 178.

‡ *Cf.* the *Letter of Frid. Flavius to Card. Riario, dat. Aug. 20, 1517, in which the generosity of the Pope is enthusiastically extolled. The MS. is in the Library of my friend Faloci-Pulignani at Foligno.

§ *Cf.* the *Report of Paris de Grassis, Appendix, No. 39.

restored to him,* could not blind him to the fact that his part in the Curia was played out. At the latter end of 1520 he asked leave to retire to Naples.† This was granted. However, the bewitching beauty of his new abode could not make up to Riario for the loss of his position in the capital of the world. He who had been so full of the enjoyment of life, who had always lived in regal splendour in the most beautiful palace in Rome, fell into a state of melancholy, and died on the 7th of July, 1521, at the age of sixty-one.‡ His body was brought to Rome and laid to rest in a very simple tomb in the Church of the Santi Apostoli.§ He required no special monument, for his magnificent palace of the Cancelleria, which he had to leave to the Apostolic Chamber, will keep the memory of this unfortunate man alive till the most remote ages.

A few days after the restoration of Riario there followed, with unexpected rapidity, that of Sauli, who was condemned to pay a fine of 25,000 ducats.‖ When the Pope went into Consistory on the 31st of July, he sent Paris de Grassis to

* See SANUTO, XXVI., 358, 369, 379, 406; Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 421–423.

† In July Riario, "con licentia del papa," went to Caprarolo (*Letter of A. Germanello to the Marquis of Mantua, dat. Rome, 1520, July 7, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Having returned thence, he begged leave in October to go to Naples (SANUTO, XXIX., 306). He went there on Oct. 16 (*Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library) and arrived at his new abode in the beginning of November (SANUTO, *loc. cit.*, 406). See Appendix, No. 43.

‡ See TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G. II., 39, f. 17. Chigi Library, Rome.

§ SANUTO, XXXI., 45 *seq.*, 89; Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN. 464–466; FORCELLA, II., 534, n. 1606; CARDELLA, III., 213; FABRONIUS, 285; CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 33; CIACONIUS, III., 75. The date of his death as put by many on July 9 is incorrect. The *Diary Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library) also puts it on the 7th.

‖ *Cf.* Arm., XXXIX., t. 39, f. 6*b*. Secret Archives of the Vatican

fetch Sauli from the Castle of St. Angelo. As a sign that his mission was genuine, he gave the Master of Ceremonies his diamond ring to show to the gaoler. "When I received this," says Paris de Grassis, "I was astonished, because only a few days before the Pope had told me that he meant to treat and punish Sauli as his enemy." Sauli, however, was not allowed to appear before the Pope with his cappa, but clad as a simple priest. He also had to pledge himself to remain in the Vatican, and to confess his offence publicly in Consistory. In obedience to this command, he accused himself of conspiring with Francesco Maria della Rovere against the Pope, and of sharing in Petrucci's scheme for poisoning Leo X. He humbly prayed for pardon and absolution for this crime, and promised to be for the future the most faithful servant of His Holiness. Leo X. replied shortly and irritably that he hoped that his thoughts agreed with his words, but that he feared greatly that he would fall back into his old sins. After Sauli had again prayed for mercy and had promised fidelity to the Pope, he was reinstated in his dignity as Cardinal, though without the right, active or passive, of voting. His benefices, so far as they had not been already given away, were restored to him.* The deeply humiliated Sauli enjoyed his life as little as did

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 98. SANUTO, XXIV., 545, and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) From these sources it can be seen that Cardella (III., 357) puts the restoration a year too late. The manner in which the Pope assured himself of the fulfilment of the pledges of Sauli and Riario is made clear in Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 198–199. Vettori's hostility to the Pope is betrayed by his assertion (327) that Sauli died in prison. The copy of the *Bull *Praecellens auctoritas*—possibly ante-dated—relating to the absolution and restoration of Sauli, dat. Romae, 1517, Nono Cal., Aug. (July 24), A° 5°, is in Arch. S. Angelo., Arm., VIII., caps. II., n. 4. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Riario. He lived a retired life, and died on the 29th of March in the following year. Leo had him buried with all honours in the Church of Santa Sabina.*

Meanwhile Soderini, for whom Francis I. had interceded,† had, by the Pope's permission, gone from Palestrina to Forli, where he possessed an estate; though he had to promise not to leave the kingdom of Naples. The Pope was quite right not to trust him, and it was not till after Leo's death that he was able to return to Rome.‡

Cardinal Adriano Castellesi found a refuge in Venice, where he arrived on the 13th of July. His flight was overhasty, for it gave Wolsey the opportunity of ruining him. Intercession was made for him from many quarters, and probably an understanding might have been arrived at, had it not been that Wolsey was bent on obtaining possession of the unfortunate man's benefices.§ For a long time Leo resisted the pressure put on him by England. Castellesi was sent for to Rome; but in spite of the safe-conduct offered, he would not go.|| This sealed his fate, and on the 5th of July, 1518, he was deprived of his dignities, the reason assigned being his complicity in Petrucci's plot, as also his refusal to obey the summons to Rome.¶ The

* Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 405–406. *Cf.* CARDELLA, III., 357–358. The account in Guicciardini (XIII., 3), "interpretatori forse maligni," spread abroad the report that Sauli died by poison, but was not adopted by Sanuto. See CESAREO in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., 16. *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, VI., 67.

† DESJARDINS, II., 478 *seq.* (for 1516 read 1517).

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 368 *seq.* *Cf.* VERDI, XIV. Over the gate to the Cardinal's country seat his arms can still be seen, with the inscription: Restitutum per R. de Soderinis card. Volaterranum, A.D. 1519.

§ GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 42 *seq.*

|| *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 48 *seq.*

¶ See Acta Consist. in FERRI, Mon., XXIV., XXVIII., XXIX., and

primary cause of these strong measures was the pressure from England, but they were also attributable to the Pope's fear of an alliance between Adriano and Soderini, and ensuing intrigues.* Such an idea was, however, far from Adriano's thoughts. He lived quietly and devoted to study in the Palazzo Cà Bernardo, near the Grand Canal, belonging to his friend Giacomo da Pesaro. There he remained until the death of Leo X. compelled him to go to Rome to attend the Conclave. But on his way thither the unfortunate man disappeared, leaving no trace behind him. It was supposed that he had been murdered by his servant.†

After the proceedings consequent on Petrucci's conspiracy were ended, an unusual spirit of excitement continued to prevail. It cannot be surprising that the names of other Cardinals, such for instance as Luigi d'Aragona and Cornaro, were mentioned as being connected with the plot; though, as it was proved, such a surmise was quite incorrect.‡

Early in May the news spread about Rome that it was Leo's intention to create as many as twelve new Cardinals.§

Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 417 (instead of July 6 it should be July 5). See also *Div. Cam., LXVI., f. 100 (Vendit. bonor. olim card. Adriani, 30 Aug., 1518, Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.*, further, GEBHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 50 *seq.* Adriano's magnificent palace (now Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia) was given in 1519 to Card. Campeggio; see BRADY, Anglo-Roman papers, London, 1890, 39 *seq.*

* See in Appendix, No. 21, the letter of Ercole de Corte, dat. Rome, 1518, May 27. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† GEBHARDT., *loc. cit.*, 51–52. *Cf.* LANCIANI, I., 188.

‡ *Cf.* *Letter of B. Costabili of June 24, 1517, in Appendix, No. 27 (State Archives, Modena). As regards Luigi d'Aragona, see PASTOR, Die Reise des Kard. L. d'Aragona, 8 *seq.*

§ *Despatch of B. Costabili to Alfonso of Ferrara, dat. Rome, 1517, May 23. He says in a *Letter of June 16 that Leo intended shortly

On the 15th of June he announced this officially in Consistory.* In fact the Pope contemplated a complete renewal of the Sacred College. The recent occurrences had shown the necessary consequences of the secularization of the Supreme Senate of the Church, which had been initiated by Sixtus IV.† The moment had come for a radical reform of the College of Cardinals; but that Leo X. did not even yet fully grasp the gravity of the situation, is shown by the manner in which he proceeded. Instead of raising quite blameless men to the purple by the process of a severe selection, he chose several for the dignity solely because they were rich, and would be able to help to defray the enormous and daily growing expenses of the Urbino war.‡

When the news of all the horrible things that had been occurring in Rome reached Germany, the strongest imaginable spirit of hostility sprang up. The punishment of the criminals was condemned as unjust, and the whole procedure against them construed into a scheme for

to nominate at least twelve new Cardinals. The same thing is said by Giuliano Caprili in a *Report, dat. Rome, 1517, June 23. State Archives, Modena.

* See *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix, No. 23.

† See Vol. IV. of this work, 210 *seq.*, 238–240, 412–416; Vol. V., 170 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO (XXIV., 451 *seq.*) gives a list of the sums of money paid, which, however, as SCHULTE says (I., 225), must be taken with great reservation. Some statements in Sanuto, such as that Numai paid for the dignities of the cardinalate, are self-evidently false. *Cf. infra*, p. 140. Later, extravagantly exaggerated statements, such as those made by ZIEGLER (Hist. Clementis VII., Schelhorn, II., 302), TIZIO (*Hist. Sen., Cod. G., II., 38 f., Chigi Lib., Rome), and GAMBETTI (477) are still more unreliable.

making money.* Nor was it only in Germany that the

* See the Oratio dissuasoria in FREHER, Script., II., Francofurti, 1637, 395. J. Ziegler in his Historia Clementis VII. (SCHELHORN, Amoenit. hist. crit. et lit., II., 317 *seq.*) tries to make out that the conspiracy was started by Giulio de' Medici, in order to get rid of those Cardinals who were hostile to him. Contemporary sources offer no proof of this severe accusation. The great untrustworthiness of Ziegler is illustrated by the grossness of the falsehoods which he relates as truth to his readers. Giulio de' Medici wore, he declares, a mask during the judicial examination, about which not one contemporary says a word. Furthermore, Ziegler declares that Giulio de' Medici compelled Riario to resign to him the vice-chancellorship. That would have been quite impossible, from the fact that Riario never was vice-chancellor! Giulio was made vice-chancellor on the 9th of March, 1517 (see Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), after the death, on March 8, of the vice-chancellor, Sisto della Rovere (Paris de Grassis and *Diary, Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 27*b*). A still more malicious crime against historical truth is Ziegler's assertion that Sauli was executed as well as Petrucci. He is evidently so badly informed about the Cardinals' conspiracy that his statements are quite untrustworthy. It is difficult to understand how ROSCOE-HENKE (II., 338 *seq.*) can attach any importance to them. As can be seen by Ranke's review (Deutsche Geschichte, VI., 125) of Ziegler's *Acta paparum*, that writer believed the Pope to be Antichrist. Here, as Ranke emphatically points out, Ziegler takes fables for facts. He accuses Alexander VI. of allying himself to the devil, who carried him off bodily; and he accuses him of incest. Leo X., says he, "led a life of sensual pleasure." The whole of the Historia Clementis VII. is written in the same style; it is entirely *ex parte*, and often degenerates into invective. As an historical source this work must be used with only the utmost caution. The report of the Cardinals' conspiracy was written by Ziegler, avowedly under the influence of those who wished, after the death of Leo X., for a revised account of the trial. The "notary" who conducted the trial, manifestly Mario de Perusco, was arrested in February, 1522, by the order of Cardinal Soderini, the mortal enemy of Cardinal Medici. Judgment rested with Adrian VI. (*cf.* SANUTO, XXXII, 442, 443, and XXXIII., 367; BREWER, III., n. 2044); but before Soderini could avenge himself in this manner on his adversary, he himself was committed for high

Pope's conduct was censured.* In Siena, Milan, Venice, and even in Rome, there were not wanting those who were severe in their judgments.† The canon, Sigismondo Tizio, who was bitterly hostile to the Medici for other reasons also, wrote thus: "What is the use of canonical laws, established by holy Popes, forbidding priests to stain their hands with blood? for now Popes and Cardinals have become antichrists and tyrants."‡

Regardless of all these inimical opinions, Leo X. profited by the past occurrences to create a large number of Cardinals, both as a means of subjecting the Sacred College to himself, and at the same time of procuring money for the Urbino war. He forestalled the opposition of the secular powers by paying the fullest attention to their wishes. Though the College of Cardinals had been not a

treason (*cf.* Vol. IX. of this work). Mario de Perusco was murdered in Rome in August, 1522. TIZIO (*Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 39, f. 161[b], Chigi Library, Rome), who tells us this, adds: "Erant qui dicerent necatum Marium opera Medicis cardinalis ne revelaret que suo mandato fecerat." Ziegler most likely heard such gossip. Had there been any foundation for it, the severe Adrian VI. would certainly have intervened. About Mario de Perusco and the satire on him which appeared after the death of Leo X., *cf.* CESAREO in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., 18 *seqq.* Mario de Perusco, whose house was near S. Lorenzo in Damaso (see ARMELLINI, Censimento, 65), received as *procurator fiscalis* (*cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 1971) eight ducats per month. See *Introit. et Exit. 553 (Dec. 12, 1514, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

* Cochläus rightly takes exception at the venality of the cardinalate; see OTTO, Cochläus, 76 *seq.*

† Nonnulli etiam liberius postulabant, ut quaestioni atque iudicio reorum cardinalium senatorii ordinis duo iudices adhiberentur. . . . Alii confingi ea crimina falsoque damnari insontes viros, ut pecunia in sumptus bellicos iniquissima ratione pararetur. JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* Prato, 405, and BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 50, n. 1.

‡ Tizio in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 216. *Cf.* ROCCA, B. Cerritanis Dialog. 65; RIEZLER, VI., 406 *seq.*, 409; LANCIANI, I., 211,

little intimidated by all that had taken place, it was not an easy matter to obtain their consent to the nominations on the gigantic scale which was proposed. The proceeding was indeed unparalleled,* and gave great umbrage to many.†

On the 26th of June there was held a stormy Consistory. Those present refused to consent to the proposed nomination of twenty-seven new Cardinals, except on the condition that the names of no more than fifteen should be published at once. When, however, it came to making a selection among the candidates, there was such a difference of opinion that the settlement of the affair had to be postponed to another Consistory.‡ But when it came to the point the Cardinals yielded to the strong will of the Pope more readily than could have been expected. On the 1st of July the great nomination took place; only, instead of twenty-seven, thirty-one Cardinals were made. The Sacred College gave its consent, not freely, but constrained by fear.§

* *Et jamais nul pape n'en fit tant pour une fois, says the author of the Diary in Cod. Barb., 3552, f. 30, Vatican Library.

† *Cf.* STRAUSS, Hutten, I., 311.

‡ *Cf.* the *Letter of B. Costabili, dat. Rome, 1517, June 26 (State Archives, Modena); SANUTO, XXIV., 420; PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium and *Acta Consist., (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix Nos. 28 and 29.

§ So says GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. Even by the 29th of June, B. Costabili knew that the resistance of the Cardinals had broken down (State Archives, Modena). About the nomination, see SANUTO, XXIV., 449, 451, 457, 460, 462, 465; PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) Appendix, Nos. 30, 31, 32; *Letter of the Mantuan Ambassador, July 1, 1517, and Cardinal Rangoni's account of his elevation to the purple, sent to the Marquis of Mantua, July 1, 1517 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). HÖFLER (Adrian VI., 68) incorrectly mentions the date of the nomination as the 25th, while GREGOROVIUS (VIII, 217) and BROSCH (I., 50) and SCHULTE (I., 264) are equally wrong in

The unprecedented number of those nominated, the publication of whom followed in open Consistory on the 3rd of July,* made it necessary to create new titles for the Cardinals.† On the 10th of July, the Pope was in a position to announce that all the older Cardinals had agreed to the abrogation of the decree of the election capitulation which limited the total number of the members of the Sacred College to twenty-four.‡

The new Cardinals were men of very different types, by the choice of whom Leo X. wished to attain various objects.§ In the case of some, such as Louis de Bourbon, brother of the Constable, of the Portuguese Infant Alfonso, the Spaniard, Raymond de Vich, and the Venetian, Francesco Pisani, politics were the sole reason of their elevation. In the case of others the motive was to be

placing it on the 26th of June. FANTUZZI (III., 151) is incorrect by placing it on the 27th.

* *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) and Letter of the Mantuan Ambassador, July 3, 1517. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In the *Spese di Serapica, I., we find this entry on July 3, 1517: "duc. 17 per berrette 21 rosse per li cardinali." State Archives, Rome.

† *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) of July 6, 1517. Two old titles, S. Matthaei in Merulana and S. Apollinaris, were revived, and ten new ones created, namely, for Cardinal-Priests, S. Ioannis ante portam Latinam, S. Caesarei, S. Agnetis in Agone, S. Laurentii in pane et perna, S. Silvestri in capite, S. Thomae in Parione, S. Pancratii, S. Bartholomaei in insula, and S. Mariae in Aracoeli (which was abolished by Clement VII. on April 17, 1527, see WADDING, XVI.[2], 602); and for a Cardinal-Deacon, S. Onuphrii. *Cf.* PHILLIPS, VI., 224 *seq.*, and also for details of the controversy as to whether the title, S. Ioannis, had not existed long before 1517. PANVINIUS (De episc. et card. tituI., 20) is of opinion that all the titles mentioned, S. Matthaei excepted, were then newly created.

‡ *Acta Consist. in Appendix, No. 34. *Cf.* VETTORI, 304.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. As to the nominations in general, *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 346; and CARDELLA, IV., 14 *seqq.*, for Raymond de Vich, *cf.* KALKOFF, in Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. (1906), 224 *seq.*

found in their relationship to the house of Medici, and their readiness to advance large sums of money to the Pope.* This was how it came about that men like Ponzetti, Armellini, and Passerini received the purple.

Ferdinando Ponzetti was born in Naples, though his family came from Florence. His portrait is known to students of art in the altar-piece in the Chapel of St. Brigit in S. Maria della Pace, where Baldassare Peruzzi has represented him kneeling before the Madonna. Ponzetti had made his fortune as physician to Innocent VIII., and subsequently received distinguished offices in the Curia. On the 23rd of October Leo appointed him his treasurer; and now, at the age of eighty, he was raised to the purple. Not only was Ponzetti a physician of mark, but he was also versed in classical literature, philosophy and theology, was very ready of speech,† and was well known as an author. But all his good qualities were marred by the vilest avarice.‡ He paid 30,000 ducats for his nomination.

Francesco Armellini's reputation was even worse than his. His father was a poor merchant of Perugia, but by his own shrewdness and financial talent in discovering new sources of revenue, he made himself indispensable to the Pope; but at the same time he made himself universally hated.§

* *Cf. supra*, p. 197, n.

† "Philosophus et theologus oratorque egregius" is how he is described by FR. NOVELLUS, *Vita Leonis X., in Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, f. 13, Vatican Library.

‡ *Cf.* GARAMPI, App. 225, 243; MARINI, I., 227 *seqq.*; VITALI, 37; GARIMBERTI, 477–479; SCHULTE, I., 108 *seq.*; ROSSI, Pasquinate, XLIV. *seq.*; see also the important notice on Garimberti's criticism.

§ See SCHULTE, I., 139 *seq.*, 233; and ROSSI, Pasquinate, XLV., 84 *seq.*, 94. *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, Chapter II. Armellini also led an immoral life: see BASCHET in Arch. Stor. Ital., 3 Series, III., 2, 114, and CESAREO in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 68 *seqq.* More exact accounts of Armellini's earlier manner of life, according to documents

Silvio Passerini was not much better. This learned though self-opinionated man* had been Datary since January, 1514,† and had served the Medici with the greatest fidelity on many occasions. It was therefore easy for him to find favour with others. The list of benefices bestowed on Silvio Passerini, as is shown by the "Regest. Leonis X.," is really shocking. Among all the benefice-hunters of the court of Leo X., certainly Passerini took the first place.‡

Their kinship to the Pope was the sole reason of the nominations of Giovanni Salviati, Niccolò Ridolfi, and Luigi de' Rossi.§ The young and highly-gifted musician Ercole Rangoni,|| Bonifacio Ferreri, and Raffaello Petrucci owed their elevation to personal considerations. The last mentioned, who had formerly held the post of Governor of Siena, led an entirely secular life. His covetousness made him hated; but the two first named had the reputation of being excellent men.

in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, are given by GARAMPI, App. 236. *Cf.* ADINOLFI, Portica di S. Pietro, 134 *seq.*

* *Cf.* *FR. NOVELLUS, Vita Leonis X., *loc. cit.*

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 6155; SCHULTE, I., 264.

‡ SCHULTE, who makes the pertinent remark (I., 109) that Passerini might have filled a small archivium with his Papal diplomas, quotes only a few of the numbers in the Register of Leo X. which concerned Passerini. How far that learned man's judgment is borne out can be seen by the following list of numbers, each of which contains a proof of the Pope's favour and partiality:—38, 82, 83, 261, 318, 2066, 2091, 2373, 2603, 3097, 3552, 4339, 4474, 4945 *seqq.*, 5249, 5566, 5760 *seq.*, 5886, 6230, 6341, 6878 *seq.*, 6976, 7112, 9127, 9326 *seq.*, 9388, 10,560, 10,713, 10,793–10,796, 10,865, 10,878, 11,393, 11,408, 11,440, 11,495, 12,029, 12,067, 12,116, 12,510, 13,976, 14,318, 14,619, 14,666, 14,742, 14,914, 15,112 *seq.*, 15,422 *seq.*, 15,766, 16,348, 16,715, 16,834, 16,843.

§ For these, see Vol. VIII. of this work, Chapter IV., for Salviati, *cf.* GAULTHIEZ, Jean des Bandes noires, 375; P. EHRLE, Besitz (eredità libera) der familien Colonna—Barberini—Rospigliosi—Lante.

|| *Cf.* FR. NOVELLUS, Vita Leonis X., *loc. cit.*

A most rare event in the history of the Sacred College was the elevation to the purple on the same day of two members of one family. These were Scaramuccia Trivulzio, to whom the success of the Lateran Council owed so much, and his highly-gifted nephew Agostino. Still greater astonishment was caused by the nomination of seven members of prominent Roman families with no regard to party. By doing this Leo carried on the prudent policy of his predecessors, who wished to remove all party feeling from the Court. Whatever the motive, the Romans rejoiced and held high festival because of the honour paid to their fellow-citizens.* But Franciotto Orsini and Pompeo Colonna were totally unfitted for their high dignity, being rather condottieri than princes of the Church. Francesco Conti also lived a thoroughly worldly life. But of the four remaining nothing but good can be said. Alessandro Cesarini was remarkable for his culture, Andrea della Valle for his great prudence, while Paolo Cesi and Domenico Jacobazzi† were distinguished for their great learning.

The Roman, Domenico de Cupis, the Florentine, Niccolò Pandolfini, the Sienese, Giovanni Piccolomini,‡ the Genoese, Giambattista Pallavicini, and Lorenzo Campeggio, who belonged to a Bolognese family, were all excellent men.§ Finally, there was the Dutchman, Adrian of Utrecht, who was a man of sound learning, and a model of the priestly life, who had been recommended by Charles V. With him are worthy to be ranked the Generals of the Dominicans,

* *Cf.* the *Chronicle in Varia Polit., L., f. 63 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) and the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 30 (Vatican Library).

† For more about these distinguished canonists, see SCHULTE, Quellen, II., 342 *seq.*, and especially MARINI, Lettera, 17 *seqq.*

‡ *FR. NOVELLUS (Vita Leonis X., *loc. cit.*) calls him "Doctor egregius." *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, XXVIII., 308–309.

§ *Cf.* EHSES, Römische Documente, XVI. *seq.*

the Franciscan Observantines, and the hermits of St. Augustine, who received the cardinalate together on the 1st of July, 1517.* It is hard to say which of these religious holds the first place.

More will be said later about the learned General of the Dominicans, Thomas de Vio (Cajetan).† Cristoforo Numai, a native of Forli, had taken the Franciscan habit early in life, and had then received the doctorate of theology in Paris. Only a few days before the 1st of July, the confidence of his brethren had placed him at the head of the most widespread of all religious orders. He was completely taken by surprise by his elevation to the purple. The Master of Ceremonies relates how the humble religious refused at first to believe the news of his elevation, and would not believe it until several successive messengers had been despatched to take him to the Vatican. When Numai at length appeared at the palace in his well-worn habit, his complete ignorance of courtly etiquette aroused astonishment in the ante-camera. "At last," relates Paris de Grassis, "I conducted him to the Pope, who had already left the Consistory. His Holiness embraced him and greeted him as Cardinal.‡

The General of the Augustinians, Egidio Canisio, known under the name of Egidius of Viterbo,§ was taken by

* A proof of the hatred borne to the religious orders is to be found in the rare sonnet given in SANUTO, XXIV., 466, which ends with these words:

Mal augurio a veder tra cardinali tanti
Tre capi d'un milion di mendicanti.

† *Cf.* 349 *infra*; and Vol. VIII., chap. VI.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, Nos. 36 and 37.

§ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, Nos. 30–31. See the Brief to Egidio on July 1, 1517 (Laurentian Library, Florence), in Appendix, No. 33.

surprise by the conferring of the dignity as completely as was Numai.* If ever a man deserved the red hat it was this distinguished man, who combined a classical education and general learning with a great capacity for business and a profound piety.

Egidio Canisio's versatility and mental activity were truly astounding. Not only had he made his mark as a poet, orator, philosopher, and theologian, but also as an historian and a student of oriental languages. It is a mystery how, with all this intellectual work, he found the time to effect what he did by preaching and in reforming his Order. On the top of all these occupations there came the various and difficult diplomatic missions which were confided to him by

* About Egidio Canisio, who has for long deserved to have a monograph written, *cf.*, besides CIACONIUS, *loc. cit.*, FABRICIUS, Bibl. lat., I., 23, and OSSINGER, Bibl. Aug., 195, as well as L. GRANAE, Oratio in funere Aeg. Canisii, in Anecd. litt., IV., 283 *seqq.*; LANTERI, Eremi S. August., Romae, 1874–1875, 2 Vols.; Arch. Stor. Napolit., IX., 430 *seqq.*; FIORENTINO, Risorg. filos d. quattrocento, Napoli, 1885, 251 *seqq.*; GOTHEIN, Süditalien, 453 *seq.*; Histor-polit. Bl., LXXIX., 203; Geiger, Reuchlin and Kolde of the Augustinian Congregation, *passim*; SCHUMACHER, Petrus Martyr, New York, 1879, 91; PÉLISSIER in Miscell. di studi in onore di A. Graf, Bergamo, 1903, 789 *seqq.* About the MS. of Card. Noris here made use of, see the work of GIULIARI, Delle emigrazioni lett. ital. ovvero di alquanti codici spariti non è molto da Verona, Genova, 1871, which has escaped the notice of Pélissier by reason of its rarity The writings left by Egidio are partly in Naples (whence come the letters in MARTÈNE-DURAND, Ampl. Coll., III., 1234 *seq.*), partly in the Angelica Library, Rome. *Cf.* LAEMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 64 *seq.*; NARDUCCI, Cat. Bibl. Ang., 292, 316, 416 *seqq.*, and PÉLISSIER in the Rev. d. Bibl., II., 228 *seqq.* In the Vatican Library I noted Cod. Vat., 5808, Aegid. Viterb. Aug. explanatio literar. hebraicar., Vat., 5198, Opera nonnulla cabalistica Aegid. Viterb. cardinalis interpretis, Vat., 6325, Aeg. card. Vit. Commentationes ad mentem Platonis in magistrum sentent. About the *Historia, XX., saecul., see Chapter XI.

both Julius II. and Leo X.* Ever since the classical discourse at the opening of the Lateran Council, urging the reformation of the Church, his name has been famous.† The calling of such a man to the Supreme Senate of the Church does great credit to Leo X.; in this way he promoted the principle of true reform as well as its execution.

If we consider the nominations of the 1st of July, 1517, it must be admitted that many, if by no means all, the new Cardinals were excellent and worthy men, who deserved well of the Church, and by means of whom the Sacred College was for the first time, after long years, restored to its regenerating influence.‡ In this respect as also in the number of nationalities represented,§ that creation of Cardinals showed a most decided advance on any other; in many ways it was an important event. Not only was the secularization of the Sacred College to a great extent checked, but the supremacy of the Papal authority over that of the Cardinals was finally confirmed. Ever since the middle of the 14th Century, the one endeavour of the Cardinals had been to cramp and circumscribe the power of the Pope;‖ though, in spite of all the election capitulations, the Papacy had preserved its lawfully absolute power. All attempts to fetter the Pope by the vote of the Sacred College had failed. The last great attempt made by the Cardinals to oppose him—the Council of Pisa—had had just the contrary effect to that which had been

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 180, Vol. VI., 271, 303, 426; and *supra*, pp. 143 and 153.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 407, and *supra*, p. 10.

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 764–765. *Cf.* the opinion of BURCKHARDT, I.[7], 130, and MASI, I., 138.

§ HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 69 *seq.*, lays especial stress on this.

‖ *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 282 *seq.*; Vol. III., 10; Vol. IV., 21 *seq.*; Vol. V., 233; Vol. VI., 211 *seq.*

intended. The schismatic Cardinals had been compelled to repudiate the Council; and, at the eleventh session of the Lateran Council, held on the 19th of December, 1516, the Bull about the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction declared that to the Pope alone belonged the right and authority to summon, prorogue, or dismiss a Council. The conspiracy of Petrucci led to a nomination of Cardinals on a scale greater than any mentioned in the annals of the Church. Ever after, the absolute supremacy of the Pope was so firmly established that the Cardinals under Leo's next successor but one, "even in the days of the greatest misfortune, when party spirit prevailed most violently," ventured on no opposition to it.*

Meanwhile the war in Urbino was going on, and sympathy with Francesco Maria was growing in Tuscany and even in some of the States of the Church. Fear and hope alternated at the Vatican; but the various projects that were made vanished, as says an Ambassador, into smoke.† There was scarcely a town in the States of the Church which did not show dangerous signs of excitement;‡ at one time Siena, Perugia, and Città di Castello were threatened with revolution.§ In June the Pope feared lest the enemy might appear before the very gates of Rome. In all haste troops were raised in the city, and the Vatican and its immediate surroundings were provided with special guards.|| Urgent appeals for assistance were sent out by the Pope on all sides, especially to Switzerland.¶

* REUMONT, III., 2, 268.

† SANUTO, XXIV., 401.

‡ *Cf.* VERDI, 80.

§ *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1516, n. 84, 85.

|| SANUTO, XXIV., 401.

¶ See the Briefs of June 1 and 5, 1517, in Abschiede, III., 2, 1062; *cf.* 1064, 1077 *seqq.* *Cf.* also Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 459.

That the war, with its enormous expenses,* dragged on so long, was largely due to the attitude of the great powers, to whose interest it was that the Pope should be kept in a state of embarrassment, and compelled to seek for help. After his cause was lost, Francesco Maria disclosed the true state of affairs by making it known that Francis I. and Charles V. had not only sympathized with him, but had even persuaded him to persevere with his undertaking.† Quite in accordance with this policy were the constant offers of assistance to Leo X., which those powers vied with each other in making. But the troops promised, though always coming, never came, in spite of moving remonstrances on the part of the Pope.‡ The leaders of the mercenary troops behaved in the same way; in order to prolong their service and extort from the Pope as much money as possible, they made it their chief duty to spare the enemy and defer a settlement.§

As early as February, 1517, Leo X. had turned to England to obtain from Henry VIII. the money for his enormous war expenses; but the English King refused to help until the Pope had joined his League. Then Leo turned to France; but Francis I. demanded security for his protégé, the Duke of Ferrara, and the cession to him of Modena and Reggio. After long negotiations, the Pope

* Even on the 18th of May measures were being taken to raise money for the war (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). As a consequence of this, a *Bull was issued on June 1, 1517, relating to a tithe to be levied on the Italian clergy. State Archives, Bologna, Q., lib. 13.

† SANUTO, XXIV., 699. *Cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 192. For special information about the attitude of Francis I., see GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 1; VETTORI, 323 *seqq.*; and VERDI, 49 *seqq.*, 65 *seqq.*, 68 *seqq.*, 77 *seqq.*, 87.

‡ *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 389 *seqq.*

§ *Cf.* VETTORI, 323; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3.

acceded to this demand,* but his Brief contained provisos which Francis would not accept.

Meanwhile the want of money in Rome increased to such an extent that Leo declared his readiness to join the English League; whereupon Henry VIII. sent a subsidy of 50,000 ducats. The Papal plenipotentiary in London prepared a deed of alliance in the beginning of July, but Leo X., actuated by fear of France, still hesitated to take the decisive step. However, he yielded at last, and on the 11th of August he published a Brief which ratified the League between England, Spain, and the Emperor. He now received a subsidy of 100,000 ducats, to raise which he consented to the levying of a tithe on the English clergy.†

Leo was told from so many quarters of the French King's secret support of Francesco Maria, that he could no longer doubt the truth.‡ The difference between him and Francis widened every day. Canossa, who had for many years been Nuncio at the French court, was sacrificed to the situation, for Leo X. no longer trusted him, on account of the great favour in which he was held by Francis I. His successor was the Bishop of Sebenico, Giovanni Staffileo, who arrived at the French court in the middle of September, 1517.§

At this moment the war of Urbino came to an end after a duration of over eight months. Spain and France, the rival powers in Italy, and very jealous of each other, under-

* *Cf. supra*, pp. 166, 167.

† LANZ, Einleitung, 193 *seq*. *Cf.* BUDDEE, Schönberg, 18 *seq*., 23 *seq*., and VOLTELINI, 576.

‡ *Cf.* the despatch of Costabili in BALAN, Boschetti, I., 123 *seqq*.

§ *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 542 *seqq*., 544, 571, 611. *Leo to Francis, dat. 1517, Aug. 2, Arm., XLIV., t. 5, n. 104, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The instructions to Staffileo in Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 180 *seqq*. *Cf.* PIEPER, 58.

took the office of mediation and arrangement of terms.* Leo X., who with good reason distrusted them both,† found himself pledged to pay all arrears to the soldiers of Francesco Maria, which amounted to more than 100,000 ducats, as well as to the granting of a full amnesty. The ex-Duke, who was absolved from all the ecclesiastical penalties which hung over him, received permission to retire to Mantua, with all his artillery, as well as with the famous library collected by Federigo of Montefeltro.‡ When he took his departure, he held out hopes to his subjects that he would come back in better days; for Francis I. had promised to help him to regain his Duchy, either when there was a vacancy in the Holy See, or whenever he had come to a rupture with Leo X.§ It was therefore an essentially insecure crown which Lorenzo de' Medici received with the Duchy of Urbino.‖ The only thing gained was a suspension of arms, which would no doubt last till the Pope's death. This much was gained, but at what a cost!

Guicciardini reckons that Leo's war expenses up to that time had reached the appalling sum of 800,000 ducats. The statement made by Leo X. to the Venetian and Swiss Ambassadors agrees with this.¶ If, as it may be, this

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 542.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3. About the remonstrance against these very unfavourable terms, see SANUTO, XXIV., 609.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3; JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig. XX, 396; SANUTO, XXV., 10, 20.

§ LANZ, Einleitung, 195.

‖ *Cf.* MARCUCCI, Francesco Maria I. della Rovere, I., 34.

¶ GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 3; SANUTO, XXIV., 669; Eidgenöss. Abschiede, III., 2, 1078. *Cf.* BUONAROTTI, 3 Series, II., 86. Florence was hit very hardly by the expenses of the war (see PERRENS, III., 63), on which account Leo X. gave later to Florence from the Duchy the places of Montefeltro, Macerata, Certaldo, Sestino, and San

calculation is placed at too high a figure,* there is no doubt that from that time dates the complete ruin of the Papal finances.†

Not less disastrous was the war in its effect of promoting the spread of bandits in the States of the Church.‡ But worst of all was the injury to its moral power which the Holy See § had sustained, in that its occupant had again entered upon the disastrous policy of Alexander VI., in spite of the noble example set by Julius II., and regardless of the crying needs of both the Church and the world, which called for something very different from the prosecution of such a war. The struggle for the possession of the Duchy had a peculiarly injurious effect on the endeavour made by the Pope to promote a Crusade, which by reason of it came to an almost complete standstill.

Leo. *Bull of July 5, 1520, State Archives, Florence. See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 219, n. 3.

* The "spese generali della guerra" are put by Andrea da Mosto at 334,970 ducats (QUELLEN und FORSCH. des preuss. Instit., VI., 100). The statement of Raph. Volaterr., that the war of Urbino cost 900,000 ducats, is evidently exaggerated. *Cod. Vat., 5875, f. 37, Vatican Library.

† *Qua expeditione s. pontifex omnes fere ecclesiae thesauros exhauserat, ita quod ecclesia ad inopiam redacta videretur, cuius rei maximum argumentum fuit, quod Leo X. ea tempestate a multis curialibus et banquariis in urbe magnam vim auri accomodato acceperat, ac etiam a multis suis amicis et clientelis suis acceperat accomodato officia magni valoris, ut ea venderet, inde pecunias acciperet quod ego scio in causa scientiae, et aliquos ex illis cognovi. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE, National Library, Paris.

‡ Few of the Papal governors had taken such strong measures of repression as Guicciardini, who in 1516 was governor of Modena. *See* BROSCH, I., 51.

§ FABRONIUS, Vita, 113, and REUMONT, III., 2, 93, rightly maintain this.

CHAPTER V.

The Pope's endeavours to promote a Crusade, 1517–1518.

Ever since his election to the Holy See, the Pope's mind had been preoccupied by the Eastern Question, which, by the accession to power of the warlike Sultan Selim in 1512, had become very critical. In this anxiety about the encroachments of the Turks, Leo was only following the traditions of his predecessors. The historian of the Turkish Empire has no doubt that Leo X., after his accession, had the matter of a Crusade "really and seriously at heart," and was honestly bent on making it, together with the restoration of the peace of Europe, the main object of his life. The numerous Briefs which he sent to all the Christian princes in the earlier days of his Pontificate are a proof of his intention.*

Even in the earlier sessions of the Lateran Council the Turkish Question was brought up repeatedly.† Words were followed by deeds, and remittances of money were

* With the opinion of Zinkeisen (II., 579), *cf.* that of Buddee (31–32). Ulmann (II., 556) says emphatically that Leo X. had entertained the idea of a Crusade ever since 1514. About the Papal Brief, *cf.* Hefele-Hergenröther, VIII., 677, and Guglia in Mitteil. des oesterr. Instituts, XXI., 685. In the *Letter by which the Sacred College announced the election of Leo X. to the Christian princes, special stress was laid on the new Pope's interest in the idea of a war with Turkey. See *Acta Consist., Alexandro VI., Pio III., Iulio II., Leone X., f. 50, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Hefele-Hergenröther, VIII., 563 *seq.*, 569, 587, and Guglia, *loc. cit.*. 682 *seq.*

sent at once to those places which were most in danger, such as Rhodes and Hungary.* Besides this, numerous privileges were granted by Rome to the King of Portugal to aid him in his fight against the infidels of Africa.† The picture of the Turkish peril drawn by the Envoys of the Polish *obedientia*, on the 13th of June, 1513, impressed Leo so painfully that he burst into tears.‡

On the 15th of July it was decided to send Cardinal Bakócz as Legate to Hungary, it being rumoured that he was to take with him large sums of money.§ Leo rejoiced when the news arrived of a victory gained over the Turks by the Hungarians, and took part personally in the thanksgiving service held at Santa Maria del Popolo.|| Unfortunately the departure of the Hungarian Cardinal was delayed till late in the autumn,¶ and his attempt to preach the Crusade in his own country was an entire

* SANUTO, XVI., 72, 129, 133, 354, 364, 415, 532, 533; RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 18.

† Especially the repeated grant of the "cruzada"; see Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 311, 347 *seq.*, 367, 412, 434.

‡ SANUTO, XVI., 384.

§ RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 63 *seqq.*; THEINER, II., 594 *seqq.*, 608 *seqq.*, Regest. Leonis X., n. 3633, 3634, 3687–3703; FRANKNÓI, Bakócz, 137 *seq.*

|| *Die penultima Augusti, quae fuit mercurii, papa audita victoria per regem Ungariae habita contra infideles Scytas sive Turcas, nam ex eis occisi sunt II^m equites exceptis peditibus, illico heri in sero fecit signa laetitiae in castro s. Angeli cum bombardis ut moris est, deinde ipso die hodierno ivit ad ecclesiam de populo ubi missam plenam genuflexus et stolatus audivit quam dixit abbas eius cubicularius cum tribus collectis quarum prima fuit de virgine Maria . . . secunda de festo sanctorum currentium et tertia de victoria habita ut in die s. Laurentii praedicta proxima. Paris de Grassis, Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

¶ *24 Octob. 1513 Card^lis Strigonien. legati in Ungariam profectio et crucis susceptio; Paris de Grassis, *Diarium. SANUTO, XVII., 266, 318; *cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 4347, 4545. Baköcz really departed only on Nov. 9, 1513. Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

failure. The Hungarian peasants took up the Cross indeed, but it was not to fight against the infidel, but against their own hated magnates. A full year passed before this state of things could be set right.*

In spite of all these mischances, the Pope, who at the beginning of 1515 had appealed to all Christian princes to help with the Crusade,† now sent the distinguished Ban of Croatia and Bishop of Veszprim, Petrus Beriszlo, to the assistance of the hard-pressed frontier cities, taking with him not only the 20,000 ducats already promised, but large contributions of grain, war material, ordnance, gunpowder, and saltpetre.‡ At Ancona a fleet was fitted out, for which Venice was by way of providing guns.§ But the Signoria, who had renewed their agreement with the Porte on the 17th of October, 1513,‖ showed no desire to support the Pope's proposed Crusade. They wished rather to prevent the Pope from having at heart the interests of Christendom, and preferred his devotion to personal ambition and the renown of the house of Medici.¶ This false construction of his action was carefully disseminated by Venice, and had a very disastrous effect on the Pope's efforts ** to make

* *Cf.* SZALAY, Geschichte Ungarns, III., 2, 152 *seq.* As to the consultations in Rome about the Turks, see Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 298 *seqq.*

† See Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 305 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* BEMBI, Epist., X., 23; KATONA, 842 *seqq.*, Opera hist., VERANCSICS, II., 243; ZINKEISEN, II., 581; SZALAY, III., 1, 178. *Cf.* also Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 338 *seqq.*

§ BEMBI, Epist., X., 25, 45.

‖ CIPOLLA, 838.

¶ PARUTA, Hist. Venet., II., 157–164; ZINKEISEN, II., 582.

** One of the Pope's confidants, Bald. da Pescia, wrote on the 16th of August, 1514, to Lorenzo de' Medici about the Pope's good-will: *N. S. sta benissimo Dio gratia et non fa altro che ragionare della impresa contra Turcho e dice ci vuole andare in persona. State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* SANUTO, XVIII., 451; XIX., 210.

peace and promote a Crusade.* As he learned to realize that nothing was to be hoped for from Venice, which had several times threatened to call in the help of the Turks,† Leo turned his thoughts from the danger threatening from Constantinople ‡ to another quarter. He wanted to make the alliance with the chivalrous French King conducive to the protection of Christendom. From the assurances given at Bologna, both by Francis I. and his chancellor, Du Prat, the Pope hoped for great things from France.§

Next to Rhodes, Hungary was the place which stood in the greatest danger, and on the 17th of July Leo urged the French King most pressingly to send to Hungary at least a subsidy of money. Nothing could have been more friendly than the King's reply, nevertheless no money was sent.‖ King Ladislas, in whom Leo X. had always taken a warm interest, died in March, 1516, being succeeded by his son Louis, who was still a child. To complete the difficulties, quarrels broke out among the Hungarian magnates. The Pope's anxiety in regard to Hungary increased, and on the 2nd of April, 1516, he sent thither his relative, Roberto Latino Orsini.¶ In urgent letters he pressed the Polish

* On January 8, 1516, Henry VIII. warned the Emperor against the project of a Crusade as against a visionary phantom. BREWER, II., 1, n. 446.

† *Cf. supra*, 62, and SANUTO, XVIII., 423 *seq.*, 426; SZALAY, III., 2 183 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GELCICH-THALLÓCZY, Diplomat. reipubl. Ragusinae, Budapest, 1887, 677 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* Zinkeisen in RAUMER'S Histor. Tascenbuch, 1856, 561 *seq.*, and *supra*, p. 142.

‖ CHARRIÈRE, I., 6 *seq.*, who gives us the Brief of Jan. 17, 1516. Other States also, *e.g.* Portugal, were urged to help Hungary. See Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 361 *seq.*

¶ For the *Documents about this mission, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which are wanting in Theiner, see Appendix, No. 12.

King, Sigismund, the King of Portugal, and, above all, Francis I., to go to the help of the menaced country.* But even now the French King sent no money, whereas the Pope, in spite of his financial difficulties, sent to the Ban 15,000 ducats. There is no doubt that Hungary would have fallen a prey to the Turks had not the Sultan Selim, in the summer of 1516, embarked on a campaign against Syria and Egypt which engaged all his energies for two years.†

The opportunity of making an attack on Constantinople during the Sultan's absence was not made use of, for the European powers, and, unfortunately, the Pope also, were taken up for a time by their own personal interests. The project of a Crusade was made use of to cover quite other projects.‡ This was especially the case with Francis I., who had at heart other matters, especially the conquest of Naples. Even Leo X. was often turned aside from the idea of a Crusade either by the interests of the States of the Church or by those of his nephews, and especially by the war of Urbino, though it is fair to say that he never quite lost sight of it.§

Scarcely had Francesco Maria been overthrown before the question of the Crusade came once more to the front

* BEMBI, Epist., XII., 3, 24; RAYNALDUS, 1516, n. 67, 68; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 373 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 678.

† HAMMER, II., 462 *seqq.*; HERTZBURG, 669 *seq.*

‡ BUDDEE, Schönberg, 12; VOLTELINI, Bestrebungen Maximilians, 61.

§ *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, *loc. cit.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 678; VOLTELINI, 61. On June 25, 1516, Leo granted to the Genoese a "Cruciata pro classe paranda contra piratas infideles"; Reg. 1196, f. 34. In the *Introitus et Exitus, 555, f. 186[b], we find this entry on the 30th of August, 1516: "Solvit 5000 flor. Paulo Victorio capitaneo triremium S. D. N. et duc. 200 D. Antonio Ma. Palavicino, oratori regis Francie et duc. 3000, Thome pro stipendio triremium Januen." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

in Rome. In October, 1516, the Pope again appealed to all Christian princes, and drew attention to the war in which the Sultan Selim was entangled in Asia and Africa. No authentic information about his movements could be obtained in the West, except by Venice, which kept its knowledge to itself. But Leo made a skilful use of whatever intelligence he had received from the East to stir up the crusading zeal of the princes. "If it be true," was the gist of his representations to them, and especially to Francis I., "that the Sultan has overcome his ancient foes the Egyptians, it is time that we woke from sleep, lest we be put to the sword unawares. If it be not true, why should we not make use of this opportunity, so favourable to us, and given to us by God, to carry out His cause to a good end, and, uniting ourselves, attack the Turks, now hard-pressed and entangled in the Persian and Egyptian expeditions, and march against them under the unfurled standard of the Holy Cross?"*

Francis I. replied on the 15th of November, by an assurance of his unaltered enthusiasm for the holy cause. He urged the Pope to work for the promotion of universal peace in Europe, adding that, as soon as that had been secured, he would at once put a large army in the field and follow the Pope as his leader in the holy campaign.†

But in spite of these high-sounding assurances he was not at all pleased that Leo should have thus taken the business in hand. The secret instructions given to his Ambassador, at the Congress which had met at Cambrai in the beginning of 1517, reveal his real thoughts. In these

* CHARRIÈRE, I., 13–15; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 389 *seq.* For the discourse against the Turks pronounced before the Pope on Nov. 9, 1516, by Stefano Possidarski, sent by the Count of Corbaira, see PRERADOVIČ in Bull. di archeol. dalmata, XXII. (1899), 10.

† CHARRIÈRE, I., 16–18.

he actually lays down, as a result of the victory of the Christian arms, a division of the Ottoman Empire between France, Germany, and Spain, no mention being made of the other powers, and least of all of the Pope. But Leo X. soon learned about this project through Maximilian,* and became all the more anxious to promote the universal peace of Christendom. The mission of the Dominican, Nicholas von Schönberg, was meant to serve this end.†

Meanwhile very disquieting news from the East had reached Rome. There was scarcely room to doubt that both Egypt and the Holy Land had fallen victims to the Sultan's lust of conquest.‡ During January the equipment of a fleet and the raising of a Crusade-tax were determined on. Various plans were made, and the appointment of a special Crusade-Legate was discussed. At S. Agostino, in the presence of three Cardinals, Egidio Canisio preached an impassioned sermon about the danger with which Christendom was threatened by the Sultan, to avert which the Pope hoped for great things from the Kings of France, England, and Spain, on account of the generosity belonging to their youth.§

Then the war of Urbino broke out again. The Pope, though surrounded by difficulties, did not, even at that

* CHARRIÈRE, I., 23 ; ZINKEISEN, II., 591–592.

† *Cf.* BUDDEE, 14 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Paris de Grassis (Dec. 27, 1516) in Appendix, No. 14. The alarm caused by this intelligence is described by Gabbioneta in his *Letter, dat. Rome, 1517, Jan. 1. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) To this time there belongs a letter from Cairo of Dec. 1, 1516, given in the very rare pamphlet : Tutte le cose passate in Levante tra el Sophy et gran Turcho e come el Turcho ha preso Aleppo e Damascho con Hyerusaleme et tucto quel contado. *s.l. et a°.*

§ Paris de Grassis (Jan. 1, 1517) in Appendix, No. 15 ; SANUTO XXIII., 438, 441 *seq.*, 486 *seq.*

anxious time, forget the Crusade, and carried on his negotiations with the Ambassadors* and princes.† In the last session of the Lateran Council he carried, in spite of the opposition of a number of bishops, the resolution that a general Crusade should be solemnly proclaimed, and that for this end a tithe should be laid on all the clergy for three years. At the same time a Bull was published which bade all princes and lords to observe a truce for five years, under the most severe spiritual penalties.‡ Thus, by a solemn decree of the Council, the proposed Crusade became an established fact: there was no longer any question in the matter of *if* or *how* or *when*.§

Leo X. still wished to keep the conduct of the Crusade in his own hands. A congregation of experienced Cardinals was appointed to make suitable proposals both for carrying out the war and for providing the means.|| But, owing to the great pressure of the Urbino affair, nothing was

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIII., 515; XXIV., 180. See also the *Letter of the Florentines to their Ambassador in France, Jan. 30, 1517. State Archives, Florence, Carte Strozz., 327, f. 61.

† See Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 406 *seq.*, 476 *seq.*, and the *Letter of Leo X. to Florence, Jan. 5, 1517, in MÜLLER, Documenti, 270 *seq.*, and the *Letter of the Sacred College to the Doge L. Loredano, dat. Rome, 1517, Jan. 8, in the State Archives, Venice, Collegio Sez. III. (secret), Lett. de' Cardinali, n. 5. On Jan. 16, 1517, the Sacred College sent a *Letter to Francis I. about the Turkish Question. Copy in Cod. 1888, f.1b *seqq.*, of the Angelica Library, Rome. Leo wrote on March 30 to the Sultan of Egypt. *Brief in Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 180. State Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 9 *seqq.*; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 409 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 730 *seq.*; GUGLIA in Mitteil. d oesterr. Inst., XXI., 689 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Forsch., 112.

§ Thus does ULMANN pertinently remark, II., 558.

|| SANUTO, XXIV., 195. *Cf.* BREWER, II., 2, n. 3165, and *Acta Consist. (April 20) in Appendix, No. 19 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

done about it that summer.* It was only when the disastrous war was at an end, and peace restored among the Christian princes, when the differences between the Emperor and Venice, and between Henry VIII. and Francis I. about the possession of Tournai, had been arranged,† that there seemed to be once more a possibility of the Crusade being carried out. The Pope, who had been contemplating the position in the East with ever-increasing anxiety,‡ now took up the matter with decision. The affair with Francesco Maria had scarcely been arranged before Cardinal Medici declared to the Venetian Ambassador that the moment had now come when the Turks must be attacked; that the Pope was prepared in all essentials, and that a special Nuncio would be at once sent to the Signoria to demand that the Republic should join in the war against the infidel. The Ambassador, whose government was on the very best of terms with the Porte, was so startled by this declaration that he could not make any reply to it. "While awaiting special orders from Venice," he said, "I must confine myself to generalities." §

Leo X. acted wisely in turning first of all to the great sea-power, Venice, for without the co-operation of that state a combined undertaking was not to be thought of. The task of winning the Republic over to the common cause was entrusted to Altobello Averoldo, Bishop of Pola,

* It was believed, and scarcely without foundation, that the tithe was devoted to the Urbino war; SANUTO, XXIV., 561. For the attempt made at that time (May, 1517) by the Grand Master of Rhodes, Fabrizio de Carretto, to induce Francis I. to take part in the Crusade, see Rev. d. doc. hist. 1876, Juillet, Août.

† LANZ, Einleitung, 210.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIV., 229, 418, 437 *seqq.*, 448, 559; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 429, 430.

§ SANUTO, XXIV., 678. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 400.

who was in September appointed permanent Ambassador and Legate *de latere.* His distinguished qualities, added to the fact that he was a native of Brescia, seemed to fit him in an especial manner for the difficult mission.* On the 29th of October Cardinal Medici wrote to Averoldo, telling him that the Turkish Question was more than ever uppermost in the mind of the Pope; that in connection with this affair a special Ambassador had lately arrived from the French court, who had made very friendly overtures; so that even if Venice continued to hold back, the matter would at last go forward, though indeed the Pope before all things wished to ask the Signoria for advice, so valuable was their experience, as to how the undertaking had best be begun and carried out. Other Nuncios would be required who could form opinions from what was reported of the war.†

On the 4th of November Leo X. appointed a congregation, consisting of Cardinals Carvajal, Remolino, Fieschi, Grassis, Pucci, Medici, Farnese, and Cornaro. The Ambassadors of the European powers were admitted to its sittings, to which certain men versed in the concerns of the Ottoman Empire were also invited. The three Cardinals belonging to the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian Orders, were called on to preach the Crusade.‡

* See the Brief to the Doge, composed by Bembo, and bearing the date of Sept. 11, 1517; SANUTO, XXIV., 712-714. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 398, XXVI., 362; PIEPER, 49-50; the *Bull giving faculties to Averoldo, dat. Romae, 1517, XIV Cal. Oct., in Regest. Secr., 1197, f. 212. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 404 *seqq.* *Cf.* 406; XXI., 189.

‡ See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 113; Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 189; SANUTO, XXV., 76, 85, 90; VOLTELINI, Bestrebungen, 60, 75; BALAN, VI., 17. The *Informatione di impresa contra a Turcho data per Jano Lascari 1518 is in the Cod. Magliab.,

The deliberations began on the 6th of November, under the presidency of the Pope; all the powers were represented except Portugal and Venice. The representative of King Emanuel was excused from attending on the score of illness; but why the Venetian Ambassador was absent, says the Envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, no one knows.*

The conference was hurried on so effectually, that by the 12th of November a detailed memorandum was ready,† which is one of the most remarkable documents relating to the history of the European movement against the Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century.‡ Six principal questions were presented: (1) Should the war be undertaken? (2) Should it be a war of offence or defence? (3) What obstacles are there in the way, and how are they to be removed? (4) Should the war be conducted by all the princes, or only by some; and if so, by whom? (5) By what means should it be carried on? (6) How should it be started?

The first question was answered by the memorandum decidedly in the affirmative. As regarded the second, an offensive war was recommended. Such a course would show more courage, and would secure the advantage of an easier discovery of the enemy's weak point. In answer to the third question, seeing that the chief obstacle must

XXV., 9, 655, of the National Library, Florence. *Cf.* LEGRAND, I., CLXI.; VAST, Vita, 11.

* *Despatch of B. Costabili, dat. Rome, 1517, Nov. 6. State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 32–54; CHARRIÈRE, I., 31–41. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 193, XXVI., 187; Hutteni opera, ed. BOECKING, V., 146 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 4.

‡ This is the opinion of ZINKEISEN, II., 594. The epitome here given of the lengthy document summarises all that is essential in it so well that I have for the most part reproduced it word for word.

come from discord among the princes of Christendom, the memorandum pointed out that this could be overcome only by the establishment of universal peace, or of a truce for so long as the Holy War lasted. If during that time quarrels arose, these must be settled by the Pope or Sacred College, or else their settlement must be postponed until the war was over. It might, on the other hand, be advisable to make a League of all the princes under the Pope —a kind of holy alliance—by which all would pledge themselves by oath to put down by force of arms those who broke the peace. To this League there might be given the name of the Brotherhood of the Holy Crusade (Fraternitas Sanctae Cruciatae).

As regarded the fourth question, relating to the supreme command of the undertaking, the memorandum said that though the Emperor and the King of France, as the first and most powerful of the princes of Christendom, must certainly be at the head of the combined powers, all the others would be held bound to co-operate in the Crusade according to their strength. The fifth and sixth questions, which concerned the means and manner of carrying out the war, were considered in the memorandum to be the most important. Apart from God's help, which was to be implored without ceasing, the question resolved itself into two things, namely, money and troops.

The general war expenses were estimated at 800,000 ducats. This sum, says the optimistic memorandum, will not be very difficult to raise. In the first place, all kings and princes will contribute a goodly portion of their income, this being but just and to their own interests, seeing that it is with them that the enemy mostly concerns himself, taking but little account of the common folk. The Turks have sworn a deadly hatred against the heads of Christendom, and want their lives. Nevertheless, we do

not want to fix the amount of the portion contributed by them, for this must be left to their own prudence and generosity. Then, the clergy must be approached in like manner. All, and especially the richer monasteries and foundations should, according to the amount of their income, give a tenth, two-thirds, or even three-quarters of it for this end, limiting their private expenditure to the necessaries of life, so that they may dedicate all the remainder to the holy work, for which they are mainly responsible as the possessors of the heritage of Christ. From the nobles a tenth, and from the burghers a twentieth, of their income might be asked. Finally, the people who live by the work of their hands, artisans and labourers, should each give a suitable contribution. A third of the whole sum must be raised at once for the equipment of the army, while the remainder must be in a state of readiness, to be utilized at any moment when wanted.

The strength of the army will be about 60,000 foot soldiers, 12,000 light and 4000 heavy cavalry. For the infantry, Swiss, German, Spaniards, and Bohemians would be preferred; for the light cavalry, Spaniards, Italians, Dalmatians, and Greeks; and for the heavy cavalry the best men would be found in France and Italy. It is evident that corresponding artillery must be provided. Ships could be supplied by Venice, Genoa, Naples, Provence, Spain, Portugal, and England. It must from the very beginning be a fixed rule that the war by sea be carried on in conjunction with that by land, "for the enemy has already a fleet of three hundred triremes." It would be impossible to bring an equal number against them, but the Kings of France and Spain could each certainly contribute twenty of these vessels, Genoa the same number, and Venice forty. The Pope himself, with the Cardinals, would endeavour to provide ten. A considerable number of large

vessels, even if not triremes, might be expected from France and England.

"It would be very advisable not to divide and split up the various contingents, but to try to mass them on one point, Constantinople being the objective of the attack. The road through Germany and Hungary, or that through Dalmatia and Illyria, might be taken; but the shortest and easiest method would be to assemble the troops at Ancona and Brindisi, and the fleet at Sicily, because from thence Greece and Egypt are quickly reached." An alliance with the Shah Ismael would be considered, and the memorandum builds its hopes on an invasion of the border provinces by the Hungarians and Poles, while the main army is proceeding against Constantinople. The division of the conquered countries would be a delicate matter, to be treated carefully and prudently. About this the memorandum says: "Perhaps it will be advisable to appoint arbitrators at once for this object, who at the end of the war would give a portion to each country in proportion with the help it had afforded. This could be arranged either by the Pope and Cardinals, or else by plenipotentiaries appointed by the above-mentioned Holy Brotherhood, when it has been organized. To arrange a division before that which has to be divided is in our possession would be very unfitting. It would be better to regard all conquests as common property at first and make the division later."*

The memorandum, which fixed nothing, but confined itself to suggestions,† was communicated by the Pope through his Nuncios to the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, and to the Republic of Venice, with the request for their suggestions and remarks. At the same

* *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, *loc. cit.*, who points out that there are discrepancies in Guicciardini's explanation of the plan of war.

† There are later opinions about Lascaris, see *supra*, p. 222, n.

time Briefs were sent to the chief powers, pointing out the necessity of prompt action in regard to the Turkish danger. The greatest discretion as regarded the Turkish Ambassador and the actual state of affairs was recommended to the Nuncio at Venice.*

"Daily," wrote Cardinal Medici, November 17, 1517, to the Nuncio in Switzerland, Antonio Pucci, "does the matter of the Crusade become more burning. The more that is done about it the clearer does the necessity of action appear. Two things are now certain: that the Sultan has returned victorious to Constantinople, and that his forces by land and by sea are most powerful. The Pope is ready to do everything in his power, and is counting on the assistance of the warlike Swiss."†

This appeal to all Christian princes, on the eve of a new era, was the expression of the mediæval idea of a solidarity of all Christian States against the infidel. The sending round of the above memorandum compelled the most callous powers to take up a decided position as regarded the Eastern Question. It was with the greatest impatience that the Pope awaited the answers of the various States.

Leo X. had great expectations from the powerful French King, to whom, for the second time, the raising of a Crusade-tenth had been allowed.‡ The Pope had greater hopes of winning him over to the cause of the Crusade because he himself was on the point of complying with a project broached by Francis I. as early as the autumn of 1516. This concerned a marriage between Lorenzo de' Medici

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 193, 194, 197, 198, 200; Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 497 *seq.*

† Manoscr. Torrig., 193 *seq.* *Cf.* VOLTELINI, Bestrebungen, 60.

‡ *The Bull *Etsi ad amplianda ecclesiarum omnium commoda*, dat. Romae, 1517, tertio Cal. Nov. (Oct. 30) Reg. 1204, f. 79^{b}-81^{b}. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, the daughter of Jean, Comte de Boulogne, related to the royal house through her mother, Catherine de Bourbon. Ever since October, 1517, negotiations about this alliance had been carried on together with those about the Crusade by Thomas de Foix, Lord of Lescun, the Bishop of St. Malo, the Papal Nuncio, Staffileo, and the Florentine Ambassador in France, Francesco Vettori.* An agreement as to this matrimonial alliance was at last arrived at,† in consequence of which the Pope's nephew at once set out for France.‡ Thus was this matter easily arranged: negotiations about the Turkish question presented greater difficulties.

First of all Francis I. put off giving any answer at all; and at the end of 1517 the Pope was still waiting vainly for the settlement of the plan propounded in the middle of November. On the 30th of December Cardinal Medici once more impressed on the French Nuncio the fact that, in view of the increasing danger from the Turks and their undoubted menace to Italy, a prompt decision was urgently necessary. Often did the Pope himself write to Francis and the other princes, offering, in the cause of the Crusade, all that he had, and even his personal co-operation, but still no decision could be arrived at. While time was being thus wasted in writing and negotiating, the Turks were devoting their

* *Cf.*, with VETTORI (327), the Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 402 *seq.*, 407, XXI., 191, 199, 201 *seq.*, 208 *seq.*, 211 *seq.*, XXVI., 189; and later PERRENS, III., 64 *seq.*, and REUMONT, Jeunesse de Catherine de Médicis, 13 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*; VOLTELINI, 576 *seq.*; VERDI, 93 *seq.* About earlier marriage arrangements for Lorenzo, see besides, VOLTELINI, *loc. cit.*; BALAN, Boschetti, I., 150. Soon after Leo's elevation to the Papal Chair, Lorenzo had urged the arrangement of an advantageous marriage. See his characteristic *Letter of Oct. 29, 1513, in Carte Strozz., III., f. 12–13. State Archives, Florence.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 218 *seq*

‡ VERDI, 95 *seq*

whole power to the work of arming themselves. The Pope knew that, were the enemy to choose to attack Italy or any of the Italian islands in the spring, there would be no possibility of resisting him. The Nuncios, said he, must warn, implore, and adjure the King and all persons of influence to do *something*.* The answer of Francis, dated December 23, must have reached Rome soon after this. The objections he raised were chiefly on the subject of money. He agreed to the plan in general, but he wished to have the Crusade funds in his own hands, and also to receive the tithe levied for three years in advance. If this were granted, he said, he would go to the help of the Pope with 12,000 horse and 50,000 foot soldiers. To avoid confusion he recommended that the Emperor should proceed separately by land with the Germans, Hungarians, and Poles, and that Charles of Spain, with the Kings of England and Portugal, should remain with the fleet. The three divisions must be combined in their movements.†

The proposal of the Emperor was quite different. The detailed document which he sent at the end of the year 1517, though the language is veiled, shows clearly enough Maximilian's jealousy of the share to be taken in the undertaking by the French King. Instead of one campaign, the Emperor in his fantastic way proposed a whole series of campaigns, which were to be spread over three years. The first year, the Kings of France and England were to remain in their own countries, to preserve peace in them and see to the levying of the war tax. Meanwhile Maximilian, at the head of the German and Spanish soldiers, would, in conjunction with the King of Portugal, attack the Sultan's

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 205 *seq.*

† CHARRIÈRE (I., 41–46) gives the French text of this, which is dated Dec. 16, 1517. A Latin version, with the correct date, Dec. 23, 1517, is in Cod. Vat., 3922, f. 116-118[b], Vatican Library.

possessions in the north of Africa. This campaign would be terminated in the second year by the conquest of Alexandria and Cairo, while, at the same time, Francis I. would proceed from Italy to Macedonia, and keep the coasts clear for the Crusaders on their return from Egypt. At length, in the third year, the fantastic undertaking was to be crowned by the conquest of Constantinople and European Turkey. The help of the Shah of Persia might be gained by the cession of Armenia and Karaman. The division of the booty—which reminds us of the well-known story of the skin of the bear—should be made by arbitration under the presidency of the Pope. The Emperor had peculiar ideas about how to procure the means of war. In every parish throughout Christendom, every fifty men were to supply one soldier; to procure money besides that raised by tenths and indulgences, a tax should be levied on every hearth or family.*

The most feeble of all the proposals came from the Spanish King, Charles. His idea was that the powers should at first confine themselves to the protection of the most exposed parts of Italy, such as the Marches of Ancona, Naples, and Sicily. For this object he promised the immediate service of 14,000 men.†

This difference of opinion, and the jealousy on the part of the European powers which it revealed, as well as the scarcely veiled pursuit of merely personal ends, must have deeply incensed the Pope; but still more did the

* CHARRIÈRE, I., 49-63. *Cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 202 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 600 *seq.*; VOLTELINI, 75; and ULMANN, II., 559 *seq.*; see here for further details of Zinkeisen's incorrect date of the arbitration mission. The order in which the various opinions given in the text were offered is taken from Card. Medici's letter of Feb. 25, 1518, in Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 227.

† CHARRIÈRE, I., 63, n. 1.

reserved attitude of the great sea-power of the West. In spite of the want of good-will shown from the very beginning on the part of the Venetian Ambassador and the Signoria,* Leo X. persisted in continuing to hope for better things, and a change of mind on the part of the Republic. He therefore showed every indulgence towards the condition of peace which existed between the Turks and the Signoria, in the hopes that at the given moment the latter would not fail to come to the assistance of Christendom.†

Meanwhile, most alarming intelligence continued to arrive from the East. At the end of February a boastful and menacing letter from the Sultan was received by Leo X.‡ The Pope's response took the practical form of demonstrative action by renewed preparations for the Crusade.§

On the 3rd of March solemn processions were organized to implore the help of God. At the same time the Pope determined to send four Cardinals to the principal countries of Europe as Legates *de latere.*|| Those appointed were among the leading and most gifted members of the Sacred College. Farnese was chosen to go to the imperial court, Egidio Canisio to Spain, Bibbiena to France, and Campeggio to England. In spite of his financial difficulties the Pope himself defrayed the expenses of these legations, whereas hitherto, in similar cases, the Nuncios had been authorized to pay their expenses by means of their lucrative

* The representative of Venice was expressly directed to take no part in the consultations about the Turkish war. SANUTO, XXV., 71.

† *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 202, 203, 229.

‡ SANUTO, XXV., 204, 211, 219, 266 *seq.*

§ See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 114.

|| Acta Consist. in EHSES, Dokum., XXIII., and KALKOFF, *loc. cit.*, 114 *seq.*, as well as Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1518, n. 37, and HOFFMANN, 402 *seq.* (where March 3 instead of March 4 should be read. The *dies mercurii* fell on the 3rd.)

faculties. Leo X. made use of this difference to give a signal proof of his disinterestedness.*

The questions and resolutions mentioned above, were the result of the consultations which the Pope had held with the special Congregation of Cardinals, consisting of thirteen members and the Ambassadors.† As well as these resolutions, there was another idea to which expression was given in a solemn Bull. In this document, dated the 6th of March, which described very impressively the effects of the Sultan's last victory and the growing danger from the Turks, the Pope urged a five years' truce between all the Christian powers, to be observed under the severest penalties of the Church. Leo X. made special reference to Innocent III., one of the greatest Pontiffs of the Middle Ages, in whose footsteps Leo declared his wish to tread, by making the settlement of all differences to depend on the Holy See.‡

While special Briefs announced all these preparations to the Christian princes, the preaching of the Crusade was begun in Rome.§ On the 12th of March the great intercessory processions were commenced in the Eternal City.‖

* *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 100 *seq.*

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXV., 270.

‡ The Bull *Considerantes ac animo revolventes generale Concilium*, in CHARRIÈRE, I., 63-68 (*cf.* LANZ, 204 *seq.*), sanctioned on March 10, 1518, by all the Cardinals in Consistory; see Acta Consist. in EHSES, Dokum., XXIII. The original copy of the Bull in the State Archives, Turin.

§ *Cf.* Corp. Dipl. Port., 1 *seqq.*, 7 *seqq.*

‖ *Cf.* Bando de le processioni, dat. Rome, 1518, March 8, in Hutteni opera, ed. BOECKING, V., 157 *seqq*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium (given only partly in RAYNALDUS, 1518, n. 41–43; *cf.* it in its complete form in Appendix, No. 40, from the Secret Archives of the Vatican), and TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 38, f. 125[b], of Chigi Library, Rome. See also the *Chronicle in, Varia Polit., 4, f. 63, Secret Archives of the Vatican; about the processions, *cf.* SANUTO, XXV., 305 *seq.*, 308 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*

The shops were shut, and the streets hung with drapery and tapestry, while on all sides altars were set up. On the first day the procession went from S. Agostino to S. Maria in Aracoeli. The Confraternities of Rome, including those of Germany, took part in it, clad in their picturesque and varied habits; after them came the religious orders and the secular clergy, carrying relics, and, lastly, the household of the Pope. On the second day the procession went from S. Lorenzo to S. Maria del Popolo. In it were carried the great relics which the Eternal City claims as its own: the Heads of St. Andrew and St. Matthias, the Chair of St. Peter, the Holy Lance, the Sudarium of S. Veronica, and the large fragment of the True Cross from Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

The procession of the third day (Sunday, March 14), which went from St. Peter's to S. Maria sopra Minerva, was followed by many Ambassadors of the spiritual and temporal courts, as well as by all the Bishops and Cardinals then in Rome, and, lastly, by the Pope himself, who walked barefoot the whole way, and repeatedly showed signs of religious emotion. High Mass was celebrated in the Church of the Minerva, after which Sadolet mounted the pulpit to preach the Holy War with Ciceronian rhetoric. Mindful of the presence of the Ambassadors, the orator did not fail to eulogize the Christian princes, whose goodwill he rated much higher than it in reality existed.

"Who," cried Sadolet, "could have the smallest doubt as to our victory when we have Maximilian as our Emperor, a general so experienced in the art of war?" In similar terms did he extol the high qualities and noble purpose of the other princes, of the Kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, and Poland, not forgetting the two Kings, still minors, Louis of Hungary and James of Scotland, nor Christian of Denmark, about whom scarcely anything was as

yet known. He was loud in the praises of the "valiant and invincible" Swiss, as well as of the Venetians and all other princes and people who had distinguished themselves in the fight against the infidel. How could the Turk have the slightest hope of success when he contemplated the union of all the powers? "Hitherto we have been blind, aye, blind," he cried in conclusion; "we have not looked back sufficiently at what has gone before. But now the night has disappeared and the darkness is dispersed. The glow of true honour shines before our eyes, and truth is made gloriously manifest!" * Before the procession left the church Cardinal Farnese read the Papal Bull relating to the five years' truce.

Soon the Pope's commands were sent forth into all lands, to the effect that similar intercessory processions were to be organized in every country to implore the help of God for Christendom, which was so sorely imperilled.† The solemn manner in which Leo X. had introduced the Crusade, and his appeal to the great Pope whose reign had marked the zenith of the power of the Holy See in the Middle Ages, show us how high his thoughts had soared. Even as in a former age the influence of the Papacy had perhaps found its most marked expression in the Crusades, so now a "general Western undertaking, with the Pope

* SADOLETI opera, II., 257 *seqq.* *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, II., 602, whose version I have followed. See also MICHAUD, VI., 294 *seq.*; JOLY, 53. The discourse was printed at once: Iacobi Sadoleti episcopi Carpent. Leoni X. Pontif, Max. a secretis in promulgatione generalium induciarum oratio in beate semper virginis ad Minervas habita decimonono kl. Aprilis MDXVIII., *s.l. et a.*, 4°. On the title-page were the arms of Leo X. There is a copy in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G., II., 38, f. 129, Chigi Library, Rome.

† See RAYNALDUS, 1518, n. 44-50, and Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 9, 13; XXVI., 405. Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, XXIV., 107.

at its head," would not only protect Europe against her worst enemy, but would bring new glory and increased influence to the Holy See.*

The Pope's efforts to promote a Crusade have found an expression in art in the fresco of the Battle of Ostia; and the memory of these efforts inspired Raphael in his last creation, the Transfiguration.† Naturally, poets and writers made use of the theme of the Turkish war;‡ hopes were raised of winning the Pope's favour by poems and discourses on the subject. The earnestness shown by Leo in the whole matter is beyond question.§ It was by the force of his will that these extraordinary efforts were made to gather the Christian princes under the one banner of the Cross, and set them in movement against the Eastern Empire. Alas! all his efforts were shattered by the self-interest of the European powers.

Leo's most cruel disappointment came from Venice, and this in spite of his having handled the Signoria with the most delicate consideration, so as to save the Republic from the difficulties which might arise from the terms of friendship on which she was with the Sultan. He had refrained from any allusion to such terms, and had said nothing about the mission of a special Legate to Venice.|| Yet when Sadolet in the discourse mentioned above had allowed his zeal to carry him away so far as to allude to the great services rendered by Venice in the defence of Europe against the Turks, the Venetian Ambassador had

* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, 116.

† *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, Chapter V.

‡ *Cf.* the poem cited in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., G., II., 38, f. 140b, Chigi Library, Rome. See also Vol. VIII. of this work, Chapter III. *Cf.* SANTORO, M. Equicola, Chieti, 1906, 140 *seq.*

§ See NITTI, 104, 106 *seq.*

|| Manoscr. Torrig., XXI., 229; *cf.* 235.

at once remonstrated with the Vatican, and had demanded that the passage should be omitted whenever the discourse was printed.*

Nothing is more significative of the pusillanimity of the merchants on the Adriatic than the way in which they shrank from their own great past. The prudent, calculating policy of Venice always had for its object the protection of her own immediate interests. The most stirring arguments beat in vain against this short-sighted egoism. When he was organizing the intercessory processions, the Pope had had the foresight to write to the Patriarch of Venice to propose that the same thing should be done in his diocese; for thus the Venetians were able to declare that the measure had not originated with them, but had been forced on them by the spiritual authority of the Pope. However, the processions could not be organized without the permission of the Venetian Government, and this permission was refused by the Signoria. The Pope accepted this rebuff without a word;† though he could not long deceive himself as to the real meaning of the Signoria's repeated assurances that they were ready to join in any expedition against the Turks when the matter was really started. Nor was he ignorant that, even while making these protestations, the Signoria had secretly renewed their terms of peace with the Sultan. What he probably did not know was that Venice had shamelessly betrayed the Christian cause by keeping the deadly enemy of Western civilization informed of all the preparations which were being made for the Crusade.‡

The whole matter depended on what success the Cardinal-Legates would have in Spain, France, England,

* SANUTO, XXV., 322.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 13, 25.

‡ SANUTO, in LANZ, Einleitung, 204.

and Germany. Leo X. wished that the Legates should start on their mission as soon as possible, and this Farnese seemed willing to do.* But Bibbiena fell ill, and as combined action between the Legates was intended, a delay was caused.† But on the 12th of April, Bibbiena, Campeggio, and Egidio Canisio were able to appear together in Consistory, where the Pope gave them his blessing. Then, accompanied by all the members of the Sacred College, they adjourned to S. Maria del Popolo. Thence Bibbiena started for France on the 13th, Campeggio for England on the 15th, and Canisio for Spain on the 16th.‡ Cardinal Farnese wrote that he was unable to proceed on account of illness,§ and recommended that the learned Cardinal Cajetan should take his place in Germany.

* For his departure on March 28, see Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 405. *Cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 65–66.

† Bibbiena's credentials to the Chancellor Du Prat were made out for the 3rd of April, 1518; see CHARRIÈRE, I., 70 *seqq.* The *credentials to Duke Charles of Savoy, April 9, 1518, in the State Archives, Turin, Mazzo 19, n. 34. Also in n. 35 there is a Brief of Leo X., dated from Rome on April 10, 1518, in which it is demanded of the Duke to ratify the five years' truce.

‡ Besides SANUTO, XXV., 351, *cf.* Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 119, and Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 407–408. See also the *Letter of B. Costabili, dat. Rome, 1518, April 12. State Archives, Modena.

§ See Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., and PARIS DE GRASSIS, *loc. cit.* It is doubtful whether this was the real reason. KALKOFF (Forschungen, 101) surmises that the legation was very distasteful to Farnese, because the Legates were given no faculties. Lang's endeavours to be made co-Legate added considerably to this distaste. KALKOFF (105) finds a testimony to this in SANUTO, XXV., 427, in the middle of May, and therefore after the departure of Cajetan. A *Despatch of Costabili, quoted by BALAN, VI., 18, speaks of this obstacle as early as April 26, 1518. The same announces informally that Cajetan would start next in eight days. State Archives, Modena.

The latter left Rome on his mission on the 5th of May, 1518.* Besides the Cardinal-Legates, the Dominican, Nicholas von Schönberg had been entrusted with a mission to Hungary and Poland, to bring about the co-operation of those countries in the Crusade. The first thing Schönberg had to do was to try to arrange the differences between Poland and the Teutonic Order.† Later this same Envoy tried to influence the Grand Dukes of Muscovy and the Princes of Tartary.‡ Schönberg's task was not less difficult than that of the Cardinal-Legates, for each of the powers had its own personal object to gain in the undertaking of the Crusade.

Favourable news came, however, from Spain,§ where Egidio Canisio preached the Cross to vast multitudes.|| On the 3rd of August a letter from the King of Spain was communicated to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory, in which he declared his readiness to agree to the five years' truce.¶

* *Cf.* Acta Consist. and Paris de Grassis in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 119 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*; see here also the document concerning the equipment of Cajetan. In a *Letter dated from Rome, May 13, 1518, Card. Cajetan announces his impending journey to the Marquis of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BUDDEE, Schönberg, 35 *seq.*, where all details are to be found concerning the fruitless efforts of the envoy. *Cf.*, further, JOACHIM, Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preussen, Albrecht von Brandenburg, Leipzig, 1892, *seqq.* UEBERSBERGER, Oesterreich und Russland, I., 139, 149.

‡ See Appendix, Nos. 41–42, for the two *Letters to the princes here mentioned, July 4, 1518. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 13.

|| SANUTO, XXV., 600.

¶ Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 126. *Cf.* the Brief to Cardinal Canisio of Aug. 24, 1518, in Sadoleti, Epist., 77 *seq.*; that from Saragossa of Aug. 11, 1518, *Schreiben Karls, in Lett. d. Princ., II., 66 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in the epitome now in the Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., II., 181, n. 1.

The intelligence sent by Cardinal Campeggio, who had been appointed to the court of England, was, on the other hand, most unsatisfactory; for the attitude of Henry VIII. about the question of the Crusade had been, to say the least of it, very peculiar from the first.* He had for a long time delayed giving any answer at all, and when it was at last sent, its only object was to remove all possible doubt as to the King's intentions. Henry VIII. strongly warned the Pope to take heed that his project did not bring great danger on himself, for those on whom Leo set his hopes of peace were those who wished to draw the Pope into war. The most necessary thing of all was that he should check the King of France's great thirst for power. As to the Crusade, England would, all in good time, combine with Spain, but she must first come to an understanding with King Charles.†

It is not difficult to foresee the nature of Campeggio's reception after such preliminaries. In this Henry VIII. exceeded the worst anticipations. His minister, Cardinal Wolsey,‡ emphatically refused either to receive the Bull relating to the truce or the Legate himself; for, said he, it was against precedent that a foreign Cardinal should exercise legatine rights in England. Campeggio could be received only on condition that all his legatine privileges were suspended, and that his authority on all matters of importance were shared with Wolsey. Consequently Campeggio, who had arrived at Boulogne at the begin-

* As soon as the news reached England that the Pope had commanded the levying of a tenth, the Papal collector there, Silvester Darius, was made to take an oath that he would send neither money nor promissory notes to Rome. RYMER, VI., 1, 133.

† See the Letter of Wolsey to Gigli on Feb. 27, 1518, in MARTÈNE-DURAND, Ampl. Coll., III., 1278, and LANZ, Einleitung, 203 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GASQUET, Heinrich VIII. und die engl. Klöster, I., 66 *seq.*

ning of June, had to stay there without being able to set foot in England.*

These proceedings were not the only result of Wolsey's jealousy, for the latter had been made a member of the Sacred College two years before Campeggio, and, as Chancellor, he could not tolerate the presence near him of a Cardinal-Legate.† The all-powerful minister of Henry VIII. not only desired to be appointed Legate for life in England, but wished to wrest from the hands of the Pope the office of making peace in Europe, and thus to secure to England this glorious rôle. While Campeggio was detained at Boulogne and condemned to inactivity, Wolsey was carrying on negotiations with France not only about the possession of Tournai, but about the conditions of universal peace which the Pope was about to lay down.‡

Meanwhile Cardinal Bibbiena was in France.§ His task also was beset with extraordinary difficulties, especially after the question of the imperial succession arose. It was widely believed that through the marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici and Madeleine de la Tour, which had been celebrated with great pomp at Amboise on the 28th of April,|| Francis I. had succeeded in making Leo X. a

* LANZ, Einleitung, 206; EHSES, Dokum., XXVI. *Cf.* BREWER, II., 1, Introduction, CCLVII.–CCLXII.

† EHSES, Dokum., XXIII.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 206–207. About Wolsey's endeavour to be appointed Legate for life, *cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 405.

§ As to the difficulties of his position as regarded the visitation of religious houses in France, confided to the Card. of Luxemburg, with whom Canossa had had disputes (IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 113), *see* Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 410–411.

|| REUMONT, Jeunesse de Catherine de Médicis, 26 *seq.* Lorenzo did not return to Florence with his bride until Sept. the 7th. Soon after this he had an interview with the Pope at Montefiascone, *loc. cit.*, 255. See also "Le feste celebrate in Firenze nel II. giorno delle nozze

willing tool of the French policy. The real fact was that, however lavishly generous Leo might be towards his nephew and his bride, he was not in the least drawn away by the marriage-contract from his own particular objects or from his policy as to the Crusade.* Lorenzo, it is true, thought otherwise, for ever since his marriage he had become quite French in his sympathies, and remained for a long time with Bibbiena in France. He adopted as his own all the French demands, quite regardless of the interests of the Pope. But Leo X. had no intention of giving France all she wanted, especially as Francis I. paid no attention to his desire to be freed from his promise regarding the cession of Modena and Reggio. On the 28th of May he granted the request for the Cardinal's hat for John of Lorraine, but he did not so readily grant the King's further requests relating to the levying of a tenth.†

Meanwhile Cardinal Wolsey was indefatigable in his efforts to make London instead of Rome the centre of the peace negotiations. Rumours were soon heard of an Anglo-French understanding, including the restoration of Tournai and the marriage of Henry's daughter Mary to the Dauphin. Nor was this alliance between the two Kings all, for a general alliance between all the powers was proposed to be concluded in London instead of in Rome. In a masterly manner Wolsey knew how to combine an Anglo-French understanding with the forming

di Lorenzo de' Medici (1518) con Maddalena de la Tour d'Auvergne," Lettera d'Alfonsina Orsini a Ser Giovanni da Poppi. Firenze, 1882 (*Nozze Publ.*).

* FABRONIUS, 291; NITTI, 108.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 17 *seq.*, 21, 23, 24; VOLTELINI, 579 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III., 418; CARDELLA, III., 74; NITTI, 109 *seq.*; VERDI, 96 *seq.*

of a general treaty of peace, to be guaranteed by England and France. By July all parties had agreed so far that the League in its essentials could be presented to the Pope. Leo knew but too well that this League would completely destroy his plan of a five years' truce, and that therefore all his efforts to raise a Crusade were adroitly set aside.* He had no doubt whatever that a general peace would put insuperable obstacles in the way of what could only be made possible by a truce. The Pope emphatically pointed out how much more likely to be observed was an agreement concluded for only a limited time, than one which professed to be a permanency.†

To all the Pope's remonstrances, the justice of which was to be proved but too soon by succeeding events, France and England turned a deaf ear.‡ Leo yielded on the point of the Turkish war,§ bitterly lamenting that Wolsey's League deprived the Holy See of the office of universal arbitrator; for, by the vagueness of its outlines, the indefinite duration of the proposed peace made any positive results of a Crusade doubtful.‖

Campeggio, who, after consenting to share his legatine powers with Wolsey ¶ had at last been allowed to land in England on the 29th of July, had proceeded to London and was there witness of his rival's triumph.** At the beginning of October, "on account of the danger from

* LANZ, Einleitung, 208.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 13 *seq.*, 414; XXIV., 6.

‡ VOLTELINI, 64.

§ This is justly emphasized by NITTI, 120.

‖ *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, I., 74.

¶ RYMER (London ed.), XIII., 606–607; CHARRIÈRE, I., 73; VOLTELINI, 63.

** *Cf.* BRADY, Anglo-Roman papers, London, 1890, 34 *seqq.*; BREWER, Henry VIII., I., London, 1884, 279 *seqq.*; MARTIN, 241 *seq.*

Turkey," there was finally concluded an alliance between England and France.*

Leo's hope of seeing a universal league of peace guaranteed by the Holy See was destroyed, and Wolsey with his counter-project had conquered. A great blow was thus struck at the international position of the Papacy.† How painful Wolsey's proceedings were to Leo X. is shown by a letter from Cardinal Medici to Campeggio, written on the 6th of October, 1518. "With great displeasure," he says, "has His Holiness learned that Wolsey has set aside the proposal of a five years' truce, because he does not wish to leave the final position of affairs in the hands of the Pope. No Christian —far less a Cardinal—should venture to express himself in that way, and least of all Wolsey, who has received so many honours and favours from the Holy Father. From this we can see what the Holy See and the Pope have to expect from the English Chancellor." ‡

At last the Pope saw before him no alternative except to ratify the London agreement. This he did finally on the 31st of December, 1518, with, however, the proviso that throughout all the arrangements the liberties of the Holy See were to be respected.§

* DUMONT, IV., 266 *seq.*; LANZ, Einleitung, 208. Campeggio remained in England till the middle of August 1519 The Turkish war continued to be talked of (*cf.* EHSES, Dokum., XXIV.), but nothing came of it. On Henry VIII. the accounts of the Turkish peril made as much impression as if the occurrences were taking place in the Indies; see SANUTO, XXVI., 237. Campeggio returned to Rome on Nov. 28, 1519; see Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 433-434, and DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 77.

† CREIGHTON, IV., 253.

‡ Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 21.

§ RYMER (VI., 1, 174, London ed., XIII., 681) gives the draft of the Bull, *Gaude et laetare, Jerusalem*, sent to Henry VIII. The draft

At the same time that Wolsey carried off his great diplomatic victory over Leo X., news reached Rome of the closing of the German Diet,* at which Cardinal Cajetan, as Papal Legate, had had to defend the arrangements as to the Crusade.

Cajetan, besides being the bearer of a courteous Brief, had with him, for the Emperor Maximilian, the Hat and Sword, consecrated martial insignia which the Supreme Pontiff was wont to send on extraordinary occasions to the most prominent princes. But Cajetan's mission was made unpleasant by the fact that the Emperor's ambitious adviser, Cardinal Lang, forbade him to enter the country until Leo X. had issued his own appointment as co-legate, which had been agreed to on the 17th of May.† Therefore, it was not until the 7th of July that he arrived at Augsburg, where he was solemnly received by the Emperor and the other princes.‡

When the blessed weapons were presented to him, Maximilian replied that, in spite of his age, he would, "under the protection of the helmet of the Spirit and the sword of Faith, join without fear in the expedition against the infidel." Four days later, Cajetan, in a fluent Latin discourse,§ proved

of that sent to Francis I. is in the Regest. 1203, f. 188–199[b], Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 6; LANZ, Einleitung, 210; BUSCH, Engl. Vermittlungspolitik, 24.

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 22.

† See KALKOFF, Forschungen, 105 *seq.* At that time the successor to Campeggio as Nuncio was Caracciolo. PIEPER (53) believes that he entered on his office as early as the autumn of 1517. But it seems that Caracciolo only started in the spring of 1518, for in his *credentials, dat. Rome, 1518, March 6, his arrival is announced to the Marquis of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ VOLTELINI, 69. KALKOFF, in Quellen und Forsch., X., 226 *seq.*

§ See Hutteni opera, ed. BOECKING, V., 162 *seq.*, and THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 386 *seq.* *Cf.* ULMANN, II., 714.

before the assembled States the urgent necessity of a war against the Turks, and of the proposals laid down by the Pope for this end. He pointed out emphatically that Germany was in greater danger from the enemy of Christianity than any other country. The proposal he made was that for three years the clergy should pay a tenth, and the well-to-do laity a twentieth, of their income, and that as to the remainder of the population every fifty householders should provide one soldier for the Holy War. He gave the fullest guarantees as to the proper disposal of the money thus raised; for all in Rome knew well enough that the States of Germany were less inclined than ever before to make financial sacrifices, and were possessed by the idea that the tithes and other Crusade funds were being raised for the enrichment of the Medici. Therefore Cardinal Farnese had been instructed to observe the greatest caution in handling financial matters, and to avoid everything which could feed the suspicion that there was any other possible destination for the Crusade money than the Crusade itself.* That Cajetan was instructed in a similar manner can be seen clearly by his cautious way of proceeding. He emphatically declared that it was left entirely to the Germans themselves to claim, receive, and dispose of the money in their own way. The money was to be devoted entirely to the Crusade, and if the Holy War did not take place within a given time, the money would be

* The original draft is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 125–128. Epitome in KALKOFF, Prozess, 115; here also, 97 *seq.*, we find the proof that the instructions given to Farnese were handed over to Cajetan. Besides the copies given by Kalkoff from Cod. Vat., 3924, and Cod. Barb., 846, the instructions are to be found in Cod. Regin., 385, P. II., f. 333–340, Cod. Urb., 865, f. 20 *seqq.*, and Cod. Ottob., 3141, f. 1–5 (Vatican Library), as also in the State Archives, Munich: Instruct. et relat. nunt. apost., I.

returned. Whatever might be said, the Pope wanted none of the money raised, and the disposal of the war funds was to remain exclusively with the German States.

The answer which the Emperor made to this shows that the ever-needy monarch was not pleased with the Pope's disclaimer of any intention of controlling the funds raised, for this cut off all possibility of retaining a portion of them for himself.* Therefore Maximilian submitted the following proposal to the States:—If it seemed to them that the method of raising the money among the clergy and laity proposed by the Legate was not a wise one, he would suggest, as an alternative, that each person who went to Holy Communion during the next three years should contribute what he was able according to the dictates of his conscience.†

The States eagerly adopted this proposal, and all adverse representations from the Legate, warmly supported by the Polish envoy,‡ proved vain. The end of a lengthy conference was that on the 27th of August Cajetan's proposals were vetoed by the States. The reason they gave was the alleged grievance of the Germans against the Holy See. After a lively description of the impoverishment of Germany by war and other misfortunes, it was proclaimed that the opinion of the people of the land was universally adverse to the present mode of raising money. The common impression was that great sums of money, whether for Crusade or indulgences, would be taken out of Germany under any circumstances, whether the Turkish war was carried out or not. This conviction gave birth to great distrust. The nation was also burdened with annates, increased and extended by confirmation fees and endless other fees for

* ULMANN, II., 715. *Cf.* VOLTELINI, 70 *seq.*

† JANSSEN, Reichskorrespondenz, II., 972.

‡ Erasmus Ciolek, Bishop of Plock.

succession and reserved rights. The Concordat was violated, the right of patronage encroached on, and greater and lesser benefices conferred on foreigners. All this had given rise in Germany to such distrust and indignation that any further burden seemed to be out of the question.*

In these grievances we can hear the echo of the violent anti-curial feeling which had taken possession of all, not only of the younger generation of humanists, but of the whole German people.† There were general complaints of the violation of the Concordat, of the amount of the annates, of the severity of the chancery laws, and of the benefice-hunting which was encouraged by the Pope. The more the people thought that they were victimized financially, so much the more acute was the antipathy to any question of raising money. In this the clergy were quite agreed with the laity.‡ This hostile state of mind was aggravated by malicious pamphlets, the authors of which hid themselves under cover of anonymity. One of these declared openly that the real Turk lived in Italy, and that this "hound of hell" could be appeased only by streams of gold. "From his own dominions," says this poisoned pamphlet,§ which is redolent of the most violent invective against Rome, "streams of wealth flow in to the Pope as to no other Christian prince; yet we have to pay for palliums, and send asses laden with gold to Rome, and exchange gold for corn, and rest content with blood-lettings—pardon me, I mean with indulgences! Woe to this monster of avarice

* JANSSEN, Reichskorrespondenz, II., 978 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 390 *seq.*

† For what concerned the Austrian hereditary dominions, *cf.* VOLTELINI, 66 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, with reference to the cathedral chapter of the chief German church, MAY, Albrecht II., 1, 159.

§ Thus does VOLTELINI (66) style this pamphlet.

which is never satisfied! The craftiness of the Florentine discovers a thousand devices, each one more execrable than the last. Let German freedom be mindful not to become tributary, and not to pay tenths."*

Still more violent in its expressions is a memorandum written apparently by Johann von Vlatten, and presented to the States in the name of the clergy of Liège. The impression made by it can be seen by the judgment which the deputies of the Frankfort Diet passed on it: "So much violence, deceit, and roguery—disguised though it may be in beautiful Latin—is at the present time practised in Rome by the wickedness of Popes and their familiars and courtiers, that the grievances are retailed with a gusto never before known"†

In face of the anti-curial feeling thus stirred up, Cajetan's efforts to carry out his mission could not fail to be fruitless. However little cause existed this time to doubt the disinterestedness of the Pope or his wish to have nothing to do with the money raised,‡ the States persisted in their assertion that his only object was to receive the money into his own hands. Leo complained bitterly over the Legate's report to this effect. He lamented the dissemination of false views as to his intentions, and of

* Oratio dissuasoria (in KNAAKE, Jahrbücher, I., 254 *seq.*; and in Hutteni opera, ed. BOECKING, V., 168 *seq.*), which was formerly attributed by mistake to Hutten; see RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, I.[6] 219, and STRAUSS, Hutten, I., 309 *seq.* The true authorship has not yet been ascertained. *Cf.* WALTZ in the Histor. Zeitschrift, XLI., 234 *seq.*, and GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 95 *seq.*

† JANSSEN, Reichskorrespondenz, II., 983. The Bishop of Liège, Eberhard de la Mark, rightly denied that he was the author of this protest (pr. KAPP, Kleine Nachlese, II., 397 *seq.*; *cf.* GEBHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*). See ULMANN, II., 711; KALKOFF, Aleander, 218, 219.

‡ *Cf.* HEGEWISCH, Maximilian I., II., 159; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 100.

calumnies against the Holy See. He wished to refute these by his actions, so that the calumniators might see for themselves that he had no thought of appropriating the Crusade levies, but intended to leave their disposal entirely to foreign hands.* Whether, under the circumstances, and considering the anti-Papal feeling of the Diet, the Pope's representative thought it expedient to pass on these complaints, is doubtful.† His words would have made no impression. Even the alarming news which reached Rome at this time, that Hungary was threatened with an attack from the Turks, which Leo used as a lever when pressing his appeal for help to Maximilian, Charles, Francis, and Henry, though it caused fear, did not act as an inducement to these princes to assist Christendom at the cost of any sacrifice to themselves.‡ When better news followed, the balance of opinion swung back, and the Turkish scare was jeered at.§

On the 14th of September the States delivered to the Emperor the reply that they must confer with their subjects on the matter of any money grant for the Crusade. At the same time they requested His Majesty to treat with Cajetan about the observance of the Concordat and the matter of annates. Maximilian agreed on this point.‖ As regarded the Turkish war-tax, the States firmly adhered to their resolution that the tenth of a florin should be paid by each person who went to Holy Communion during the next three years. But they repeated that, even as regarded this concession, they must confer with their subjects! At the

* Briefs of August 22 and 23. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 792; EVERS, Martin Luther, II., 447 *seq.*

† *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 109.

‡ Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 5, 18, 23; VOLTELINI, 71.

§ VOLTELINI, 72.

‖ JANSSEN, Reichskorrespondenz, II., 989 *seq.*, 995.

same time they reiterated their complaints against the Roman See, and demanded redress. Cajetan explained that the proposed method of raising money was at once too insecure and too insignificant; but that he was unable to give his final decision before the reply of the States was put into writing. This was on the 20th of September. Thereupon both princes and States left the Diet, so that no one remained who was able to give the reply demanded by the Legate.*

A special memorandum was prepared in Rome in answer to the complaints brought by the States against the Apostolic See. The introduction to this remarkable document acknowledged with astute diplomacy the readiness of the Germans to support the Crusade; though it was urged as of paramount necessity that before the assembly of the next Diet, the princes should be assured of the consent of the States. The memorandum sought to reconcile conflicting opinions. If, it urged, it were true that Germany was enfeebled by famine and plague, these evils should not keep the people back from raising a Crusade, but should on the contrary spur them on to the enterprise, for their misfortunes were a warning to them from heaven. To the reproach that in times past the Crusade funds had been turned to other purposes, it was replied that the present Pope was not answerable for the misdeeds of his predecessors: moreover, even when he was Cardinal, he had known by personal observation that the money collected abroad for the raising of a Crusade had never reached Rome. But the plan which had been proposed this time regarding the Crusade funds gave every security against

* *Cf.* THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 389; LISKE in Forsch. zur Deutsch. Gesch., XVIII., 643 *seqq*; JANSSEN, Reichskorrespondenz, II., 994, 998. *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 191, and KALKOFF, 127 *seq.*; also 211 *seq.*, Cajetan's report to Leo X., Sept. 20, 1518.

abuse. As regarded the annates, there was no ground for complaint against the Pope, for they were paid only once in the lifetime of each prelate, whereas the holders of all churches and benefices were bound to pay the *decima* to the Pope. As regarded the newly instituted offices, there was no ground for complaint, as by these measures no one was injured except the Pope himself, who allotted a portion of his own income to the colleges of the newly appointed *officiales*.

To the reproach about the expectancies and reservations, it was replied by pointing out that these had been practised from time immemorial in Rome, and that the present Pope had introduced nothing new. In the same way the complaints against the chancery laws and granting of benefices were disposed of. As regarded the derogation of lay patronage, the present Pope had acted more circumspectly than his predecessors. As to the violation of the Concordat, it must be shown wherein it had not been observed, except for just and honourable reasons and at the request of the Emperor. He would willingly do away with other "extraordinary burdens," but he could not possibly allow the liberty of the Holy See to be prejudiced at the will of the irresponsible and easily-led multitude. In conclusion, the importance of a war against the infidel was reiterated, and the Legates were exhorted to leave nothing undone to incline the thoughts of princes and States towards undertaking a Crusade; as regarded these, they were to do their best to refute unjust accusations, and assure them that the Pope was willing to give up not only annates and all monies hitherto paid, but even his life, for the cause of Christianity.*

* *Respondet Summus Pontifex legatis in Germania ad decretum Imperii Aug. Copy in Cod. Vat., 3917, f. 6–8[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* ULMANN, II., 720–721.

On the 3rd of October Cardinal Cajetan was directed to leave the Imperial court only when all hopes of attaining his object had vanished.* It is a matter of uncertainty whether in Rome, as in Germany,† men pretended to be not altogether dissatisfied with the result of the Diet, or whether they were in the main quite satisfied.‡ Certain hopes had, it is true, to be completely abandoned, particularly as the Emperor had at once agreed to the five years' truce, and promised to promote the Turkish war.§ These concessions were connected with the Emperor's efforts to procure for his grandson Charles V. the succession to the Empire.

This important question came more and more prominently into the foreground. In order to gain the favour of the Pope in this matter, Maximilian and Charles, as well as their rival Francis I., manifested their willingness, nay, their desire, to carry on a Holy War against the infidel. But, at least on the part of Francis, these offers of assistance were not meant seriously,|| however emphatic his protestations that before three years had passed he would be in Constantinople or die in the attempt.¶

Charles's intentions seem to have been more sincere.** In a submissive letter of the 20th of November, he declared

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 18–19; *cf.* 22.

† *Cf.* ULMANN, II., 720.

‡ KALKOFF, Forschungen, 109, is of this opinion.

§ *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 129 *seq.*

|| *Cf.* IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 95.

¶ RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., I.[2] 366. *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, II., 603. In spi e of all his protestations, Francis had done nothing more than send a fleet against the Corsairs, to win the Pope's favour in the election. See ZINKEISEN, II., 603–604, and RAUMER'S Histor. Taschenbuch, 1856, 570.

** For the negotiations with Charles about the Crusade, in which from the beginning the question of money was the difficulty, *cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 416, 418; XXIV., 8, 209, 220.

his desire to devote all that he had to the great undertaking.* But it was doubtful whether the young sovereign would be in a position to keep his sweeping promises. The deep-rooted opposition of the Spanish clergy to the raising of a Crusade tax,† as well as the many other difficulties with which Charles was beset on all sides, might have dashed the hopes of even such optimists as Egidio Canisio.‡ But then came the question of the election, which swallowed up Charles's finances. Roman diplomacy also was soon so taken up by the same question, that the matter of the Crusade fell quite into the background.§

* The letter, dated from Saragossa, 1518, Nov. 20 (SANUTO, XXVI., 268 *seqq.*), was received in Rome on the 3rd of December (*ibid.*, 250). Thereupon a laudatory *Brief was sent to Egidio Canisio, dated Rome, 1518, Dec. 12, Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 161. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* LA FUENTE, V., 107 *seqq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 751. See also, Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 198.

‡ *Cf.* the characteristic letter of Canisio, Aug. 10, 1518, in ULMANN, Studien, 95 *seq.* Canisio returned to Rome in the summer of 1519; on the 6th of July he was received in open Consistory. Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 74.

§ In the spring of 1519 Hungary concluded a three years' truce with the Sultan (THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 626 *seqq.*). Leo received the news of this at the moment when the Hungarian Ambassador was soliciting aid to carry on the Crusade! (*cf.* FRAKNÓI, Werböczi Istuan, Budapest, 1894). In Rome the matter of the Crusade was now looked on as so hopeless, that Leo spoke officially in a *Brief to the Waiwodes of Wallachia of the possibility of a "treuga seu conventio" being concluded between the Curia and the Turks; see the **Briefs dated Rome, 1519, 3° Non. Iunii (June 3), in Regest. 1199, f. 362, of Secret Archives of the Vatican The premature and unexpected death of the Sultan, Selim I., on Sept. 21, 1520, contributed not a little to the cooling of the crusading ardour on all sides (ZINKEISEN, II., 611). His successor, Suleiman I., was generally considered to be a peace-loving sovereign, who thought but little about war. Leo shared this opinion of him. "We must," he wrote on Dec. 6, 1520, "be all the more thankful for

this joyful news, because nothing is now to be gained from the Christian princes for the common good, except vain hopes and empty promises" (BEMBI, Epist., XVI., 25). But the disillusionment of these hopes was not long in coming. In June, 1521, Suleiman embarked on his great campaign against Hungary; on Aug. 28 the citadel of Belgrade fell into his hands (HUBER, III., 523). Leo X., though entangled in the war with France, had nevertheless supplied Hungary with considerable sums of money. According to FRAKNÓI (Magyar-ország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkel, II., 1418–1526, Budapest, 1902, 329), who refers to the Venetian Ambassador, the sum amounted to 30,000 ducats; while, according to TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., it was 24,000 aurei (Cod. G., II., 39, f. 47, Chigi Library, Rome).

CHAPTER VI.

Leo X. and the Imperial Succession.

No period of the pontificate of Leo X. has been more discussed or so differently judged than his attitude regarding the important question of the succession to the Empire. It is very difficult to form a correct judgment of his policy, through all its hesitations and evasions, its deviations and changes, or to bring to light the true motives and objects which he kept so carefully hidden. This difficulty remains in spite of the documentary evidence which, if by no means complete, is sufficiently abundant to make known with tolerable clearness all that is essential to the understanding of Leo's attitude. By a closer study of the sources of information, it is shown that the opinion held so long, that the Pope allowed himself to be guided in this matter solely by nepotism, is undoubtedly incorrect.*

* This view was advocated by Baumgarten (Politik Leos X., 555 *seq.*, 566, and, Karl V., I., 122, 128, 130), who, however, successfully combated the opinion, held by De Leva, Rösler, and Maurenbrecher, that in the main Leo favoured the unconditional choice of Charles from the beginning, and only pretended to favour Francis I. Nitti (*cf.* especially note 225 *seq.*) refuted Baumgarten's account so completely that the latter had to admit that he had coloured the influence of family interests on Leo's policy too highly (Deutsche Lit.-Ztg., 1893, 14). Before this, Voltelini (584) had rightly pointed out that Baumgarten had passed too severe a judgment on Leo; and Brosch (I., 56 *seq.*) brought this out still more clearly. Nevertheless it must not be denied that Nitti also either went too far or was mistaken on several points. For the modification of his views, see especially Ulmann, Studien, II., 101 *seqq.*;

On the contrary, what Leo X. had most at heart were the temporal power and independence of the Holy See and the so-called liberty of Italy.* The exaltation of his relatives, on which he was undeniably too much bent, came only in the second place. All these different objects worked simultaneously with him, and in trying to promote one he was at the same time working for the others. In individual cases it is often difficult to decide with any certainty which motive was strongest, and which was relegated to the background.

If we take a general view of the whole attitude maintained by Leo X. in the years 1518 and 1519, we can see that the leading motive of his conduct in the matter of the imperial succession was the care that the temporal and moral influence of the Holy See should suffer no injury, were an already powerful prince to gain possession of the imperial crown.† The crown of Charlemagne was still surrounded by a mystic halo; and if in reality it did not possess the same significance, it might offer to an ambitious prince a title—not to be underrated—to many dangerous claims. Wolsey expressed the opinion of the time when he wrote to his Ambassador in Rome that scarcely anything on earth could be compared with the imperial dignity.‡

Looked at from this point of view, neither of the two

cf. BERNAYS in the Histor. Zeitschr., 74, 516 *seq.* On the other hand, DE LEVA'S censures (Atti d. Ist. Veneto, 4 Series, IV., 748 *seq.*) are for the most part unjustified; about which Nitti successfully defends himself in Arch d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 182. Here Nitti admits his error regarding Castiglione, pointed out for the first time by CIAN in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., 1892, 421.

* NITTI, 161.

† Leo X. expressed himself in this sense to the Ambassador of Henry VIII., after the imperial election. *See* the Report of this on August 26, 1519, in Arch. stor. Ital., App., I., 322.

‡ Letter of March 25, 1519, in BREWER, Henry VIII., I., 312.

Kings who were the most eager candidates for the imperial dignity was pleasing to the Pope. Either Charles of Spain or Francis I. would obtain a supremacy as Emperor, which might be very dangerous to the Holy See and to Italy, especially as one had already a footing in the south, and the other in the north of the peninsula. If at first the dislike of the Pope to the election of Charles was the more prominent, it is easily explained. Charles, to whom, on the 1st of April, 1517, Leo had confirmed the title of "Catholic King,"* ruled not only over Aragon and Castile, but also over Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, as well as over the Burgundian-Dutch territory, in addition to countries of incalculable importance in the New World. Not only was Charles the more powerful of the two, but he held larger views about the imperial dignity; whereas the designs of the French King were not so well known to Rome.† Charles, moreover, might be especially dangerous to the Holy See because, by his sovereignty over Naples, he could make a much deeper impression on Rome than could the possessor of Milan. It had been the principle of the Holy See since the time of the Hohenstaufen that the crown of Naples could never belong to the Emperor; and this now weighed heavily in the balance. "Do you know," asked Leo one day of the Venetian Ambassador, "how many miles it is from here to the borders of the Neapolitan territory? Forty. Then Charles must never be appointed King of Rome!"‡ Leo had every right to appeal to the Bull of Julius II. (July 3, 1510), relating to the investiture of Ferdinand the Catholic with the crown of Naples.§

* Bull., V., 691–692.

† See Reichstagsakten, I., 125.

‡ BROWN, II., n. 1175.

§ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 324, n.

But. on the other hand, an increase of the power of the French King could not be desired by the Pope. Not only as sovereign of Milan, but in a variety of other ways, the ambition and spirit of enterprise of Francis I. had already made things very uncomfortable for the Holy See.*

After much deliberation, the idea occurred to Leo X. whether the imperial crown might not be given to a third party—to some German prince—who was not already too powerful, and who had no connection with Italy. Already Rome had turned her eyes towards the "most earnest and clever" of the Electors, Frederick of Saxony, as a possible candidate for the imperial dignity.† In this Leo was not influenced by any worldly or political reason, but solely by the interests of the Church. The Elector of Saxony possessed as his subject that passionate professor of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, whose new doctrines seemed so dangerous that it had been already determined in the beginning of September to procure the help of Frederick against him by the gift of the Golden Rose, which he had desired for three years. On the 7th of October, 1518, Cardinal Cajetan was commissioned to confer this mark of distinction on him, on the condition that he would agree to deliver up Luther.‡ The same idea gave birth to the thought of holding before him the prize of the imperial crown as an inducement to take measures to suppress the Lutheran movement. This may explain the difficulties made by the Elector Frederick, which were such as

* VOLTELINI, 583; BAUMGARTEN, Politik Leos X., 554 *seq.*

† VOLTELINI, 583.

‡ Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 23. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVI., 18, and KALKOFF, Prozess, 280. See the resolution of the Consistory of Sept 3, in which the Pope moved to send the Golden Rose to the Elector of Saxony, "nonnullis de causis," in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 56.

to lead the Pope to make advances on the same lines to the more ecclesiastically-minded Elector, Joachim of Brandenburg.*

The scheme of the Pope to promote the choice of one of the Electors for the imperial crown, can be seen more clearly during the second period of the contest for that supreme dignity, after the death of Maximilian, when, as was but natural, the struggle became more acute. From the beginning, Leo X. was sincere in wishing for neither Charles nor Francis—least of all the former. There can be scarcely a doubt as to this, however skilfully he tried to conceal his real opinions, or however often he seemed to waver.

I.

Maximilian's plan to secure his grandson Charles's succession to the Empire, by ensuring his choice at the Diet of Augsburg as King of Rome, became known at the Vatican in the middle of April 1518, or perhaps sooner,† and affected the mind of the Pope most painfully.‡ By the middle of August this election of Charles was supposed in Rome to be immediately impending, even if not already accomplished.

Leo's attitude towards Charles at that time was fully though cautiously described in a letter from Cardinal Giulio de' Medici to Cardinal Bibbiena, who was then in France. Two reasons, says Medici, were alleged why the Pope considered that the truth of the report should be duly weighed. First, His Holiness wondered how Maximilian could have contrived to persuade the Electors to choose a King of Rome so quickly and so easily, as

* In this I am following VOLTELINI, 584.

† See Letter of Bibbiena, April 18, 1518, in Lett. d. princ., I., 52.

‡ See VOLTELINI, 581, and BERNAYS in the Hist. Zeitschr., 74, 516.

hitherto such an election had not taken place before the death of the predecessor, or at any rate before his coronation as Emperor. Secondly, the Pope was astonished how Charles could have accepted the election so unreservedly, in face of the decree of Julius II., in which it was expressly laid down that the investiture to the kingdom of Naples lapsed and returned to Rome, as soon as the occupant of the Neapolitan throne was elected to be King of Rome. The Pope was convinced that when he had secured the title of King of Rome, Charles would still keep possession of the throne of Naples. He feared still more that, after the imperial election had been carried out, the confirmation of Charles as Emperor in the possession of Naples would be demanded of the Holy See, which would gain but little by the concession. In face of this condition of things, Bibbiena was instructed to obtain promptly and by any means, information as to the position of the French King, so that the Pope might act accordingly.

If Francis attached but little importance to the matter of the election, the Pope could accommodate himself to the situation, and draw the best possible advantage from it, even if this should be but slight compared with the great favour at stake. If, on the other hand, he knew for certain that the election of Charles would be displeasing to the French King, and that in the case of a refusal or delay in granting the investiture of Naples, he could rely upon France, he would act otherwise, for the greater dignity and security of the Holy See.

At the conclusion of this remarkable letter the writer once more emphasized the obligation of the Pope to protect his ancient and sacred rights, in the interests of the Roman See. For two hundred years it had never given the investiture of the throne of Naples without the

express condition which excluded its union with the title of King of Rome. If he now departed from this rule he would be acting against the precedent given by his predecessors, and also against his own principles, besides exposing himself to great dangers. On the other hand, a refusal of investiture would provoke the anger of Maximilian and Charles; and this he could not venture to do without the help and favour of France.*

This letter is very characteristic of Leo's attitude. No one could infer from it that he would take up a decided position against Charles. Nevertheless, it is no secret that the Pope was by no means desirous of his election, or that he would willingly work against it if he could be sure beforehand of the support of France. Before he had obtained such a certainty he did not wish to cut himself off from the possibility of an arrangement with Charles, which he might turn to account to the advantage of his family.† Moreover, Charles's acceptance of the five years' truce, and his offers to help in the Turkish war, which had been laid before the Cardinals at a Consistory held on the 23rd of August,‡ deterred Leo from taking open measures against the Spanish King. But that the Pope should, by making a virtue of necessity, have at that time agreed to Charles's election, was not honest.§ He had not, however, arrived at a final decision. His natural hesitancy was increased by the extraordinary difficulty of the situation; for, as matters stood, he had to choose between breaking with the Emperor and Spain, or with France. In

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 410–411.

† *Ibid.*, 418, 420, XXIV., 8; VOLTELINI, 587 *seq.*

‡ KALKOFF, Forschungen, 126.

§ In other words, "decidedly dishonest." NITTI, 117. *Cf.*, for the same opinion, BERNAYS in the Hist. Zeitschr., 74, 516.

September the news reached Rome that Maximilian had obtained the votes of four Electors for the choice of Charles to be King of Rome; but that the Elector of Saxony was very much against any such plan, and wished the dignity to be conferred on a German. It was believed that his opposition originated in his desire to be chosen himself.* This gave birth to the idea of the Saxon candidature for the imperial crown.† At first Leo observed great reserve in his outward actions. When Francis I. expressed a desire to take energetic measures against the election of Charles, the Pope drew his attention to the difficulties attendant on such an undertaking and the danger of kindling a great war.‡ Leo described the project of Francis I. for forming a League between the Pope, Florence, France, Switzerland, and Venice as very delightful in itself, but one which had to be treated with great prudence, lest the general peace should be disturbed.§ It is clear that he hesitated to hand over his interests to the discretion of his French protector, in spite of Lorenzo's strong advocacy of the cause of France.|| This explains why he kept up communications with Francis, with whom, ever since July, he had been exchanging proposals for the formation of a closer alliance.¶ As regarded the dispensation from the oath of fealty for Naples, which was so urgently needed for the success of the plans of Maxmilian and Charles, it was Leo's policy not to

* SANUTO, XXVI., 51.

† KALKOFF, Prozess, 403.

‡ Letter of Card. Giulio de' Medici of October 14, to Bibbiena. Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 24.

§ Letter of Card. Medici of October 30, to Bibbiena. Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 25–26.

|| *Cf.* VERDI, 104 *seq.*

¶ See LANZ, Einleitung, 215, and ULMANN, Studien, 103, 104.

cut off all hope of an agreement, but to bind himself to nothing.*

The difference with Rome, which began in November, 1518, was very injurious to Francis' aims. The reason of the quarrel has never been satisfactorily explained. It seems that the French King wanted to take undue advantage of his matrimonial alliance with the Pope's family, and while he asked for much, he gave nothing. Cardinal Medici, in a letter to Bibbiena, complained bitterly of Francis' conduct. "The Pope," he wrote, on the 11th of November, "sees that his family alliance, far from bringing him an increase of honour and renown, causes nothing but vexation and anxiety. Every day he is showing the King some fresh favour, yet he is being always pressed with some new and weighty demand. These are made just as if he had received nothing before. If his requests are not granted at once, all that has gone before counts for nothing. His encroachments on the spiritual rights of Milan by his appointment to benefices, have been carried so far as to amount to a formal contempt of Papal authority. By his indulgence and complaisance towards the French King the Pope has drawn on himself a number of vexations and disputes." Francis I. had sent a threatening letter to the Pope on this very subject of the Milanese benefices, and this letter was enclosed by Cardinal Medici to Bibbiena, that the latter might see what just cause for complaint the Pope had.

To these complaints there were added others which were retailed to Bibbiena by Cardinal Giulio in a letter of the 28th of November. These related to the salt-mines in the States of the Church, a suspicious alliance with the Duke of Ferrara, as well as various encroachments on the Papal dominions. After all these occurrences, it is not

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 20; VERDI, 102.

surprising, Medici goes on to say, that His Holiness should suspect Francis of a design to alienate him from the Emperor, and then, having left him stranded, hold him in his power.*

These pointed complaints must have made an impression on Francis I., all the deeper because of his fear that the Pope would end by yielding to the pressure of the Emperor and Spain, and remove the obstacles which stood in the way of Charles's election. These obstacles were twofold. First there was the existence of the oath of fealty for the throne of Naples, the terms of which forbade that crown being worn by one who held the dignity of King of Rome. There was also what had hitherto been the impossibility of an election of a King of Rome in the lifetime of another who had received the title, and who had not received the imperial crown. It was now proposed that the Pope should dispense with the clause in the oath of fealty, and that the imperial crown should be sent to Trent, where the Emperor might be crowned by either Cardinal de' Medici or the Archbishop of Mayence as representative of the Pope. Such was the request made by Charles at the end of November; but he received an evasive answer.†

Soon, however, symptoms were seen of an inclination on the part of the Pope to give way in both the matters of the oath of investiture and the imperial coronation. The cause of these signs of compliance lay in the circumstance that official intelligence had just been received by the Pope that Maximilian had agreed to the five years' truce, and held out hopes of supporting the Crusade.‡ In the

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 29–30, 210–213. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Politik Leos X., 538 *seq.*; VOLTELINI, 589 *seq.*

† SANUTO, XXVI., 212, 222; VOLTELINI, 591.

‡ Acta Consist., 5 and 10 Nov., in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 129, 130.

first half of November a Bull was prepared which provided for a dispensation from the obligation of renouncing Naples should Charles be elected King of Rome. But the pressure put on his uncle by Lorenzo caused the postponement of the execution of this deed.* Simultaneously with the drawing up of this Bull, Leo X. held out the hope to Maximilian that he would do his best to remove the second obstacle, and would perform the ceremony of the imperial coronation, either in person or by deputy, on the borders of the Tyrol and Italy.†

For one moment Lorenzo thought that France's cause was lost, and his only thought was to turn to advantage an opportunity not likely to occur more than once in a hundred years.‡ But Leo had by no means come to his final decision. This was shown only too plainly by his attitude towards Erasmus Vitellius (Ciolek), Bishop of Plock, who was sent to Rome by Maximilian on the 7th of November, 1518,§ to press the matter of sending the imperial crown to Germany.‖ He could not obtain an audience till the 26th of November.¶ Then with skilful diplomacy he made it clear that Maximilian's co-operation

* *Cf.* the Letter of Bibbiena of Nov. 27, 1518, in Lett. d. princ., I., 35; LE GLAY, II., 436; Reichstagsakten, I., 485; NITTI, 130 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Archiv f. österr. Gesch., I., 113; ULMANN, Maximilian II., 706, and Studien, 102. See also NITTI, 147.

‡ NITTI, 131.

§ Minio having mentioned the date of his arrival as Nov. 12, VOLTELINI (592) inclines to accept it; but the 7th is stated by Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 68.

‖ For what follows, *cf.* the learned deductions of VOLTELINI, 84 *seq.*, 592 *seq.* About Erasmus Vitellius, see the monograph overlooked by Voltelini, in LUKAS, Erazm. Ciolek, biskup Plocki, dyplomata polski 16, wieku, Warszawa, 1878.

¶ Acta Consist., in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 130, and Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 68.

in the Turkish war depended on the request being granted. At the same time Spain tried to win the Pope over by making generous offers for the support of the Crusade, as well as for the exaltation of the Medici. But Leo still answered evasively to the effect that, though he would gladly comply with Maximilian's request, it must be saving his honour. "It is a question," said he, "of our own person and our own honour." When Erasmus, alluding to the meeting with Francis I. at Bologna, pleaded that the Pope might crown Maximilian, if not at Trent, at Verona or Mantua, Leo alleged against this the opposition which the Cardinals would make to such a journey. To test the feasibility of sending the imperial crown from Rome, a Congregation of Cardinals was called on the 1st of December, the majority of whom were unfavourable to the Emperor's proposal.*

This crisis was contemporaneous with the change already mentioned which had come over the attitude of Francis. After the representations made by Bibbiena, the French King had fully acknowledged the danger which threatened his efforts should the Pope, in his displeasure with him, yield to the wishes of Charles and Maximilian. He therefore resolved to change his tone. The first symptom of this change is to be found in a report sent by Bibbiena to Cardinal de' Medici and Lorenzo on the 26th and 27th of November, which shows the change of mind on the part of the King. Francis I. now declared himself ready not only to accede

* From SANUTO, XXVI., 250, VOLTELINI (596) concluded that the Congregation was called on the 2nd of December. Against this there is the authentic testimony, unknown to him, of the *Acta Consist., in which it is said: "Romae die mercurii, 1 Decemb. 1518, S. D. N., deputavit novem rev. dominos cardinales pro negotiis arduis et secretis tractandis vid., etc." (here follow the names). Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Now printed in KALKOFF, *loc. cit.*, 130; *cf.* 33.

to Lorenzo's wishes as to the rounding off of his territory, but also—though in this we may assume that he was not in earnest—to renounce his own candidature, and, if the Pope so wished, promote the claims of the Elector of Saxony to be King of Rome. The condition of this was that nothing should be done by Rome in favour of Maximilian and Charles.*

Although the Roman Curia had adopted a more conciliatory tone towards Francis I., the latter did not feel sure that the Pope might not after all place himself on the side of his rivals. He adjured Bibbiena to prevent at all costs the sending of the imperial crown, and implored his help to prevent such a possibility as a journey of Maximilian to Rome. In a solemn audience he made the most generous offers about the Crusade, in which he said he would take part personally. He also expressed his willingness to waive all the points on which he was at variance with Rome, to promote the interests of the Medici, and conclude an alliance with the Pope.†

Negotiations for an alliance with Francis I. were carried on actively by Bibbiena. He was a master of Medicean diplomacy, and succeeded, without binding himself to anything, in raising deceptive hopes in the heart of the French King that the Pope would, in return for his concessions, take his part in the election. Charles was treated in exactly the same way, and he also was left with the impression that Leo would accede to his wishes; though to neither party were any pledges about the election given. When Francis demanded some guarantee, the dangers of a breach with Spain were pointed out. As regarded Charles, the Pope drew back at the most decisive moment, on the

* Lettere d. princ., I., 31 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*

† Lett. d. princ., I., 37 *seq.* *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Politik Leos X., 542 *seq.*; VOLZELINI, 597 *seq.*

plea that such a weighty matter required the most mature deliberation.*

Not only was the Bull of dispensation in respect to Naples kept back, but the other matter of sending the imperial crown was indefinitely postponed. The Congregation of Cardinals which the Pope had called to consider the question, demanded the verdict of the Master of Ceremonies, and he, on being consulted, declared that the coronation anywhere but in Rome was an impossibility.† On the 15th of December there was a meeting of the Congregation, held in the presence of the Pope, which lasted six hours. On the following day Leo X. informed the Bishop of Plock that he had been unable to carry the business through, as the Cardinals had brought forward, as reasons against it, both the novelty of the matter and the existence of Bulls which in times past had been issued in opposition to such a thing. He could not, he said, give the dispensation without the consent of the Sacred College. He would gladly have met the Emperor at Mantua or Verona, but was deterred by the consideration of the dangers to which such a journey might expose Maximilian.‡

On the 21st of December a Brief to Maximilian was prepared which informed him that his desires, conveyed through Erasmus Vitellius, concerning the Crusade indulgence in his patrimonial dominions, the protection of Croatia and Hungary, and the appointment of Cajetan as Legate in the last-mentioned country, should be granted.

* NITTI, 133 *seqq.*

† Even if the Pope, and he who was to be crowned, were together in the same town, the coronation might not on that account be performed. In such a case a Legate must be appointed to crown the Emperor in Rome. Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 425.

‡ See the Report of Erasmus Vitellius in VOLTELINI, 618 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XXVI., 284. The date Dec. 10 in VOLTELINI, 600, is a misprint.

But as to the matter of sending the imperial crown from Rome, though both Pope and Cardinals had every wish to be conciliatory, the matter, being one of such importance, required further consideration.*

By adjourning the decision of the main question, it was evident that Leo wished to gain time, until, in fact, he had made friends with Francis I. This event did not take place as soon as was wished in Rome.† In order to win over the French King, the Pope was ready to hand over to his free disposal the second Crusade tenth. The Bull concerning this is dated the 1st of December 1518.‡ It was, however, completed only at the end of that month, after Bibbiena, by his far-reaching assurances, had been able to arrive at an understanding with Francis I.§ On the 31st of December the French King pledged himself to pay back within four years 100,000 ducats of the Crusade money.|| At the same time Lorenzo de' Medici received, "for services rendered," 100,000 ducats from the King, out of the sum granted through the Pope. This was a shameful misuse of the money raised for the Holy War.¶

After this arrangement Francis at once, on the 20th of

* The Brief of Dec. 21, 1518, is from the original in the State Archives, Vienna, in VOLTELINI, 615–616; *ibid.*, 601 *seq.* For further details about the Crusade Bull of Dec. 21 (which, however, was not published, on account of Maximilian's death), *cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 130.

† VOLTELINI, 605.

‡ *Regest. 1203, f. 177–178 (dat. 1518, Cal. Decemb. A° 6°); GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 4; MICHAUD, VI., 297 *seq.* See also BOURLOTON, La croisade prêchée dans le diocèse de Maillezais de mars 1517 à juillet 1518, in the Rev. d. Bas Poitou, 1895, n. 4.

§ On Dec. 20 a report about this was made in Consistory; see *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

|| Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 222.

¶ On Dec. 31, 1518, Lorenzo gave a receipt for more than 25,000 *livres tournois*; see MOLINI, I., 71–72.

January, 1519, signed the treaty of alliance with Leo X. On one side the French King, and on the other the Pope and Lorenzo, as representing Florence and the family of Medici, pledged themselves to the mutual defence of their possessions, and undertook to impart to one another all state secrets. In particular, Francis promised to acknowledge the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church in Milan, to protect the States of the Church, as well as Lorenzo and the Medici generally. This last took the form of a separate treaty. On the other side, the Pope and Lorenzo pledged themselves to further the French King's interests in every way in their power. But the question of the election was not touched on in the agreement.*

It has been brought to light only by recent researches that almost at the same moment Leo X. concluded an alliance of defence with the rivals of the King of France! Like Francis, the King of Spain was won over "by the illusion, confirmed by no pledge but carefully fostered, that in the matter of the election the Pope would be on his side."† On the 17th of January the text of this treaty, which, as was expressly stipulated, was to be kept secret, was drawn up, and signed by Charles on the 6th of February.‡

No more than in that with France, was there any mention of the election in the treaty with Charles. By this, both

* CAPPONI, Storia di Firenze, II., 543 (III.[2] 357 *seq.*), first published the treaty.

† ULMANN, Studien, II., 102.

‡ The official minutes of this treaty have been made known for the first time by CAPPONI in Arch. stor. Ital., I., 370 *seq.*, and printed again in Storia di Firenze, II., 540 *seq.* (III.[2] 354 *seq.*). BAUMGARTEN (Politik Leos X., 549) declares that the document was the work of the Papal chancery, done to propitiate the Spanish court. But in the State Archives, Florence, we find the minutes published by Capponi, which quite agree with the original bearing Charles's autograph signature. NITTI, 143, n.

parties pledged themselves to mutual assistance and the protection of their possessions. These, on the Papal side, included not only the States of the Church, but also the possessions of Lorenzo and Florence. On the other side, the term included Charles's possessions outside and inside Italy, with Naples. Besides all this, the Pope promised Charles, in the event of a serious war, the right to levy a tenth on the clergy of Spain.

By the light of these two treaties we can understand the policy of Leo X., and the manner in which he avoided making any actual decision in favour of either of the rivals who were competing for the imperial crown. By means of unparalleled double-dealing both parties were kept in hand, and moved, each to make a secret treaty, the object of which was the protection of the Pope and the Medici. The question of the Pope's support at the election, which each party thought was the object of the treaty, was not even mentioned in the document. It is, however, equally true that the special advantages which both Charles and Francis had promised in regard to the States of the Church and the Medici were left quite undefined.*

In excuse for Leo's ambiguous policy it has been pointed out that "in the then condition of Italy, the smaller States could scarcely hope to save their independence except by keeping themselves skilfully in the balance between the two great powers, which threatened to crush all others."† This may have been so; nevertheless, such double-dealing on the part of a Pope must be deeply deplored.

At this moment when the question of the coronation of Maximilian was dividing the whole of Europe, and when the arming of France and Spain was regarded as the prelude of a great war, the "last of the Knights" was

* NITTI, 145.

† VOLTELINI, 606.

snatched away by death on the 12th of January, under the age of sixty. The rivalry between the houses of France and Hapsburg entered on an acute stage which set its mark on European history for centuries.

II.

The unexpected and, to many, the incredible news of the death of Maximilian, which introduced an altogether changed condition of things, reached Rome eleven days after the event.* With one stroke it put an end to Leo's indecision. The danger lest Charles, the least desired candidate, should succeed in obtaining the dignity of King of Rome, which would entitle him to the imperial crown, seemed greater than ever. With unwonted promptitude the Pope came to a decision. Not twenty-four hours after the receipt of the startling news of the Emperor's death, instructions were sent to Cardinal Cajetan, the Legate in Germany, in which Leo took up his position in opposition to Charles quite openly and unambiguously, and proposed one of the German Electors as a candidate for the imperial crown, thus hoping to thwart the election of Francis as well as that of Charles. The Pope—so ran the instructions to Cajetan—wished, in the interests of the Apostolic See, to promote the choice of one of the Electors, either Frederick of Saxony or Joachim of Brandenburg; he cared not which, though there seemed to be more likelihood of success with the former. The King of Poland also would be pleasing as

* At latest on Jan. 23, perhaps on the preceding day; see Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 18. Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 423, and SANUTO, XXVI., 395, 419. HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER (VIII., 799) gives the wrong date of the 24th, and NITTI (145) the 21st. Leo announced the death of the Emperor in Consistory on the 24th; see KALKOFF, Forschungen, 131.

a candidate to the Holy See; but under no consideration was it to be the King of Spain. The chief reason alleged for this was that the great power already possessed by Charles would be unbearably increased by the extraordinary authority of the imperial crown.* These instructions, dated the 23rd of January, were entirely the personal work of the Pope, because Cardinal Medici, on whose co-operation he usually depended in the matters connected with the election, had been called away to Florence in the night of the 22nd, by the severe illness of Lorenzo, and returned thence only on the 26th of March.†

The instructions sent to Cajetan to oppose the election of Charles apply equally to those sent in regard to the French King. Though his possessions could not compare in extent with those of Charles, still, his dominions were more united and richer in resources.‡ There can be no doubt that the Pope did not at all desire the election of the French King; as a proof of this, when he was passing in review the candidates to the imperial throne, he passed Francis' name over

* Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 369–371; at the same time Cajetan received a draft on Fugger for the sum of 1000 golden ducats and credentials to the Bishop Electors (see KALKOFF, Forschungen, 131). In the Brief of Jan. 23 the Pope favoured the Archduke Ferdinand as a candidate, but on the 16th and 20th he was emphatically rejected; Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 383; *cf.* 385.

† KALKOFF first drew attention to this circumstance (Prozess, 404 *seq.*).

‡ *Cf.* Machiavelli's celebrated *Ritratti delle cose di Francia* and *Ritratti delle cose dell' Alemagna*, as pointed as they are witty, printed in the Milanese edition of Machiavelli's works, vol. i., Milano, 1850. "Et se, oltre a la auctorita et grandeza ordinaria che si trova ne la corona de Francia, vi si adiungessi questa altra extraordinaria de lo Imperio, N. S., conosce molto bene che il Cristianissimo andrebbe in cielo," wrote Medici on the 3rd of December, 1518, to Bibbiena. Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 215.

in silence, as being out of the question.* Even in the instructions to Bibbiena on the 27th of January, bidding him try to obtain the support of the French court in favour of the candidature of one of the Electors, there is no mention made of the hope that, even under certain circumstances, Francis might be chosen.† But only two days later, on the afternoon of the 29th of January, Leo expressed openly to the French Ambassador his desire in favour of the election of Francis I., advising him to do everything he could to wrest the election from the Hapsburg. In the further course of conversation, he said quite candidly that Francis had better do his utmost to obtain the imperial dignity as the zenith of his ambition. Though Leo was convinced that it might be dangerous to have the imperial crown placed on the head of one already powerful, he would rather see it given to the sovereign of the obedient, religious, and judicious French than to the Catholic King.‡

Whence this sudden change of mind? Erasmus Vitellius, who was still in Rome, had shown to the Pope proofs of the absolute certainty of the election of Charles to the imperial throne, by revealing to him the contents of the compact of the five Electors, formulated at Augsburg. Although the conclusion, so favourable to Charles, which had been arrived at by the Diet of Augsburg, had been long since communicated to the Pope,§ it does not seem that he attached sufficient importance to it, seeing that it was couched in general terms and delivered verbally. Now, for the first

* Later, Leo sought to excuse his having thus passed him over on the plea that he did not know of Francis' candidature. Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 381.

† NITTI, 151, n. 1.

‡ Reichstagsakten, I., 158–160; *cf.* 204, 205.

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 20, and SANUTO, XXVI., 166.

time, Leo understood the full significance of the matter The only hope of checking the election of Charles lay in prompt action.

In this frame of mind, on the 29th of January, Leo made his abrupt request to Francis through his representative, to lay claim forthwith to the imperial crown and work in every way possible against the candidature of Charles Next day the Pope, through Pietro Ardinghello, sent a very important letter to his Legate in France, in which the question of the election was treated of in the same way. This change was caused by the compact of the Electors shown to the Pope by Vitellius, which put the election before him as being as good as settled, unless it could be promptly opposed. Francis was urged to come forward as a candidate, with every promise of support from the Pope. "If anything," the letter goes on, "having regard to the powerful position of the King, made the Electors wish for the candidature of a third party, Francis might give this nominee his active support as a means of preventing the election of the King of Spain. This step might be necessary, as Francis by too strong an advocacy of his own cause, might play into the hands of Charles." In the first place, the Pope wished for the election of Francis; but if that could not be carried out, then the choice of any other seemed to him to be preferable to that of Charles.* The instructions sent to Bibbiena on the 5th and 12th of March are written in the same sense. The Pope, who had just received the ratification of the bond of the 20th of January, repeated the expression of his desire for the election of Francis; but at the same time, in the event of the French efforts being fruitless, he declared the necessity of trying to promote the election of a third party. In any case it must not be Charles.†

* *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 372–374.

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 374–376.

From such indications* it cannot be doubted that Leo warmly espoused the cause of Francis. Whether, in his inmost heart, he really desired his success, may still be considered doubtful. It is more probable that, as an immediate object, he was playing Francis against Charles, without sincerely desiring his election, or even believing in such an eventuality. Whether he became by degrees more favourable to the idea of a French Emperor cannot be said, or whether, if so, it came from a personal liking for Francis I. Probably he was influenced by the thought that nothing—not even that which might be feared most—could weigh in the balance against the increasing power of Charles. In essentials Leo went no further than this until a very short time before the actual election of Charles. Certain vacillations, entirely characteristic of the Medici Pope, must not altogether surprise us, though all through we can trace the dominant thought of Leo: Let there be no Hapsburg!† It was labour lost for the Spanish Legate, Egidio Canisio, to petition the Pope on behalf of Charles;‡

* *Cf.* VERDI, Lorenzo, 111 *seqq.*

† In the Letters to Bibbiena, Campeggio, Cajetan, and Caracciolo, the same idea always recurs; see Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 383 *seqq.* The Letter to Campeggio on Feb. 19, lately discovered, was taken by Henry VIII. as an encouragement to come forward himself as a candidate for the imperial crown. With this object, the English diplomatist, Richard Pace, went to Germany in the middle of May. About the English candidature, on which sufficient light is not yet thrown, *cf.* PAULI in the Forsch. zur deutschen Gesch., I., 421 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Wahl Karls V., 42 *seq.*; RÖSLER, Kaiserwahl Karls V., 176 *seq.*; SMOLLE, Karl V., in seinen Beziehungen zu Heinrich VIII.; Znaim, 1872, 5; BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 40 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*; NITTI, 194 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, I., 505, 663, 683 *seq.*; MARTIN, 259 *seqq.*; BROSCH, VI., 115 *seq.* The last maintains that it is impossible to arrive at a final or well-established judgment about the real intentions of Henry and Wolsey on this point.

‡ Such as was, for instance, contained in a letter which Egidio, by

but it is a fact that a third candidate, either the Elector of Saxony or the Elector of Brandenburg, would have been more agreeable to the Pope than either of the others. This became more evident every day. There is also, however, no doubt that the candidature of Francis, though probably taken up at first only as a means of putting aside the claims of Charles, was more desired by him as time went on, and he realized that his successful candidature was the only possible way of destroying Charles's chances.*

Besides the overwhelming extent of Charles's power, there were many other reasons which weighed in the balance against him in the mind of the Pope: such were the tyranny which Naples might exercise over Rome; the anti-Papal feeling which had governed so many of the Roman-Teutonic emperors; their union with the Ghibelline party in the States of the Church. While Leo drew Bibbiena's attention to these reasons against the candidature of Charles, he referred—but only in the last place, and not as to a thing of primary importance—to his family connection with France.† Here then we can see a sign of the Pope's nepotism as a factor, though by no means the chief one, in

Charles's desire, sent to the Pope. It is dated Barcinone, the 19th of February, 1518 (st. fl.), and concludes with the words: *Imperator orbi, imperatori V. Stas imperabit poteritque hoc uno facto et hostes ecclesie delere et ecclesiam felicissimam instituere. Cod. Vat., 6284, f. 52 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

* NITTI'S opinion is that Leo X. *always* looked to Francis' election as the only means to the desired end (153 *seqq.*). This does not seem to be consistent with the many unequivocal assertions of the Pope (*cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., I.[2] 383, n. 2). ULMANN also is of this opinion; because Leo, "since his knowledge of the Electors' prescription, regarded the elevation of Francis as unavoidable should Charles not succeed, and therefore took up his cause seriously" (Studien, II., 107).

† See the Letter of Bibbiena of the 16th (18th) of Feb., 1519, in Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 381 *seq.*

his attitude towards the rival powers. The temporal power of the Holy See, as a safeguard of its spiritual interests, was what Leo had most at heart. In the interests of this, together with those of Italian liberty, he could not tolerate that any overwhelming power should hold sway on the Italian peninsula. This object was, it is true, connected with his care for his own house, and for Florence, which was so closely united to the States of the Church; but these last were by no means the main object. In his unusually difficult position between the two great powers, the Pope tried as long as possible to veer about from one side to the other. When, however, he found himself driven by necessity to a choice between two evils, he saw in that connected with the French sovereign of Milan a lesser danger than that connected with the Spanish King of Naples.*

The Pope's preference for the French candidature was undisguisedly expressed in many ways. In the beginning of March the warm friend of France, Roberto Latino Orsini, Archbishop of Reggio, was sent, armed with Papal Briefs, to the German Electors, where, to the great satisfaction of Francis, he tried to work against Charles in every possible way.† On the 12th of March the Pope authorized the French King, by a special Brief, to promise the Cardinal's hat to the Electors of Treves and Cologne, should he be elected through their help. Two days later the Cardinal Archbishop of Mayence, Albert of Brandenburg, was,

* So says NITTI, 159 *seq.*; *cf.* ULMANN, Studien, II., 97, 107. Ulmann draws attention to the fact that "the imperial crown would not make Francis any stronger in what were formerly the imperial rights in Italy; whereas, on the other hand, the possession of that crown gave Rome a powerful weapon against the French claims on Naples."

† *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, I., 334, 374, 655, 685.

under the same conditions, promised the office of permanent Legate in Germany.* The significance of this last concession is uncertain. On the 21st of March the Pope expressed himself so decidedly to the Venetian Ambassador, that the latter was quite surprised. "His Holiness," reports Minio, "who has hitherto endeavoured to deceive both sides, has now put himself entirely on that of France, because he believes that he has more to fear from Charles than from Francis." †

If we call to our minds the character of Leo, who was ever most unwilling to take any part, who never came forward except in a case of utmost necessity, his open partisanship with Francis is most surprising. The ostensible object of driving a still more dangerous adversary out of the field is no adequate explanation of the Pope's action in the matter of the election of Francis I.; and it is only on closer observation, that we find the real reason why Leo entered the lists for the French candidate so much more openly and decidedly than at first. The reason lay in his increasing fear of being isolated. The thought that Francis and Charles might come to an understanding, pursued the prudent Medici Pope like a menacing spectre.

Therefore, on no account must France be given either pretext or opportunity of leaving the Pope to face Charles alone ‡ and unaided. Should the King of Spain be elected, the Holy See must at anyrate keep a firm friend in Francis. That the rivals should come to an understanding must be prevented at all costs. Once he had committed himself to favouring Francis' cause, Leo's fear of

* See MIGNET, Rivalité, I., 171 *seqq.*; RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., I.[2] 363; and Reichstagsakten, I., 419–421.

† BROWN, II., n. 1179; BAUMGARTEN, Politik Leos X., 564.

‡ NITTI, 171. *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, I., 374–375.

isolation drove him further and further along the road he had taken. On the 20th of April, he emphatically refused the request of the Swiss to leave the imperial dignity unhindered to the Germans. It was by no means his intention to depreciate the rights of the German nation; his opposition to Charles did not originate in that, but in the conviction that the Hapsburg, as occupant of the throne of Naples, had no right, by all the promises sworn to of old, to aspire to the imperial crown. It was his policy to adhere to Francis I., because from him the Holy See had no danger of that sort to fear.*

Soon afterwards the Pope, on his own initiative—for Cardinal Medici had, on the 3rd of May, gone to Florence to attend Lorenzo's death-bed—took a step by which he acted contrary to existing rules, and committed himself far more deeply than he had on the 27th of January.† A Brief, dated May the 4th, empowered Cardinal Cajetan, as Legate, in case three of the Electors should be unanimous in their choice of a candidate, to declare in the name of the Pope that such an election was valid.‡

In spite of the zeal which he was showing for the election of Francis, Leo X. still fostered his favourite plan of procuring the election of a third party, by choice the Elector of Saxony. His secret idea, that the great diplomatic struggle might be most advantageously settled in this way, was always recurring. The Roman court

* Eidgenössische Abschiede, III., 2, 1152 *seq.* *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, I., 569, n. 4.

† KALKOFF, Prozess, 409 *seq.*

‡ The Brief was sent through Francis I. to the Elector of Brandenburg; this important document was first published in the Reichstagsakten, I., 656–657, according to the French copy in the State Archives, Berlin. About the significance of the Brief, *cf.* ULMANN Studien, II., 105 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Prozess, *loc. cit.*

adopted this project with such zeal that it was even willing to temporize about the matter of Luther.*

Meanwhile the Papal Envoys in Germany, having declared that, according to the constitutions of Clement IV., the King of Naples was ineligible for election to the imperial dignity, met with an angry rebuff from the ecclesiastical Electors, whose pride was severely touched. They protested against the unheard-of action on the part of the Pope in wishing to dictate to them about matters of election procedure.†

In the north of Germany matters seemed to take a turn more and more favourable for Charles. A popular movement in both Upper and Lower Germany rose in favour of the "broad ways" of the Hapsburg King. The Swiss also declared that they would not suffer the imperial dignity to pass from the hands of a German into those of a foreigner, least of all into those of the French, who had thirsted so long to possess it.‡

This intelligence reached Rome in the second half of April.§ Soon after this, there followed the death of Lorenzo de' Medici. He had been ill of the spleen ever since January. On the 13th of April a daughter—Catherine de' Medici—was born to him, whose birth cost her mother her life: on the 4th of May the father died.||

* KALKOFF, Prozess, 408 *seq.* *Cf.* Chapter VIII., *infra.*

† See GOLDAST, Reichshändel, 244; BUCHOLTZ, III., 670-671; Reichstagsakten, I., 519-520, 569; WEICKER, Stellung der Kurfürsten zur Wahl Karls V., Berlin, 1901, 144.

‡ *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I.[18] 669 *seq.*

§ Despatch of Costabili, April 18, 1519, in BALAN, VI., 19.

|| *Cf.* BALAN, VI., 20, and BOSCHETTI, I., 160; VERDI, 113 *seqq.* The rumour which was spread about that Lorenzo had been poisoned, which appeared in the contemporary Chronicle in V. Polit. L., f. 63 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) is without foundation.

The sad news* affected the Pope deeply, though he accepted the blow with Christian resignation. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away," said he to his confidant, Pietro Ardinghello. As a Medici the event pained him deeply, but not as Pope; for he resolved to care for nothing henceforth except the exaltation and needs of the Apostolic See. So says the Mantuan Ambassador.† Another informant says that when he received the sad news Leo exclaimed: "Henceforward we belong no more to the house of Medici, but to the house of God."

From these expressions of self-accusation, on which such different judgments have been passed,‡ and his resolutions to renounce nepotism for evermore, it by no means follows that the Pope was conscious of having been hitherto guided solely by family interests. In them there is nothing

* The news reached Rome on May 5. PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium, Sec. Arch. Vat.; *cf.* rev. of Pastor's 'Leo X.' by CIAN, in Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital. XLVIII., 418 *seq.*, 426, n.

† REUMONT-BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 260. Cod. Vatic., 3190, contains the original copy of the document presented to the Pope himself: *"Ad divum Leonem X. Pont. Opt. Max. Petri Galatini Minoritani rev. dom, card^lis Sanct. quatuor coronator. capellani libellus de morte consolatorius in obitu ill. principis Laurentii Medicis ducis Urbini." The author observes that Leo accepted the deaths of Giuliano and Lorenzo with so much resignation that no symptoms of grief could be observed in him. "Quare non ut te consolaremur hec diximus sed ut singuli quique ex rationibus ipsis quas induximus animi tui fortitudinem cognoscentes exemplo tuo discant mortem non solum in bonis ducere sed eo quoque meliorem sepenumero esse quo celerior est ipsamque cum opus est omnino contemnere." In his learned treatise interlarded with many Greek quotations, the author wishes to show: (1) "mortem non malum, sed bonum esse; (2) eo plerumque meliorem esse mortem quo celerius acciderit; (3) mortem semper quandocunque venerit aequo animo ferendam esse." *Loc. cit.*, Vatican Library.

‡ *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN in Forschungen, XXIII., 567; NITTI, 209; ULMANN, Studien, 106–107.

beyond the acknowledgment that he had considered the aggrandizement of his relatives more than was fitting. All this he now changed. Consequently, the Duchy of Urbino, with Pesaro and Sinigaglia, were united to the States of the Church; Cardinal Medici received the management of Florentine affairs as Legate of the whole of Tuscany.* He remained in Florence till the autumn, when he left behind him as his representatives the Bishop of Pistoja, Goro Gheri, and Cardinal Passerini.†

Lorenzo's death certainly removed one obstacle to a change in the Pope's policy, though it did not conduce to a reconciliation with Charles. The chief reason of the change in his policy was the conviction that came to him that Francis' candidature was hopeless. On the 29th of May, Leo confided to the Venetian Ambassador that public opinion was so strong in Germany that the Electors could not choose the French King even if they wished it.‡

Nevertheless the Pope could not reconcile himself to the thought of Charles as Emperor, and reiterated through his representative that the King of Naples could not at the same time wear the imperial crown. At the beginning of June he made a last despairing effort to avert the evil, and finish the diplomatic strife by a means as yet untried, by

* B. Castiglione announced his appointment to the Marquis of Mantua in a *Letter dated May 27, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† The government of Urbino, which had been very bad under Lorenzo, was confided to Roberto Boschetti, who worked with Card. Medici in everything; BALAN, Boschetti, I., 162 *seq.* San Leo was separated later from Urbino and given to the Florentines as an indemnification for their expenses during the war against Francesco Maria. On October 12, 1520, Leo X. conferred Sinigaglia, Castelleone, San Lorenzo, and Montefoglio on Giovanni Maria da Varano, Lord of Camerino, as Vicar of the Holy See; see BALAN, Boschetti, I., 172, and Storia, VI., 21.

‡ BROWN, II., n. 1227.

proposing the candidature of the Elector of Saxony. On the 7th of June an urgent message was sent to Frederick through the Papal representative and the French Ambassador, pressing him to support Francis; or, if that were impossible, to accept for himself the imperial crown. If the Elector of Saxony could add but two more votes to his own, the Pope promised to confirm his election, and support him by every means in his power.*

At the time that Leo X. made this proposal, the resentment of the Germans against all the friends of France had reached such a height that the lives of the latter were not safe.† Through the leader of the French party, the Archbishop of Treves, the Pope learned that four of the Electors were determined on the election of Charles. On his own confession, this intelligence convinced Leo of the futility and danger of holding out any longer for Francis' candidature.‡ He must at last accept the inevitable. For his part Charles neglected nothing which could win Leo's favour; while Francis, just at this juncture, committed the blunder of making a most offensive demand of the Pope. According to the report of the Ambassador of Este, on the 5th of June, a letter arrived from the French King warning the Pope against incorporating Urbino in the States of the Church, seeing that the Duchy belonged to the infant Catherine de' Medici, whom the King regarded as his own daughter.§ That this demand caused a revolution in the mind of the Pope is certain, for he made

* See Reichstagsakten, I., 822 *seq.*, as well as KALKOFF'S important amplifications, Prozess, 413, note 3, and 417 *seq.*

† To save his life, the Papal Nuncio, Orsini had to escape by night from Mayence, disguised. BREWER, III., n. 299; Reichstagsakten, I., 782; *cf.* 777.

‡ Leo owned this to the Ambassador of Henry VIII. See Arch. stor. Ital., App. I., 324.

§ The despatch of A. Paolucci, June 5, 1519, in BALAN, Storia, VI., 20.

his final decision in the middle of June. Just then most important news came from Germany; Caracciolo reported that, though ill, he had had himself carried in a sedan-chair to the Archbishop of Mayence, to implore him, in the Pope's name, to consider the good of the Apostolic See and promote Francis' election. The answer of the Archbishop was to the effect that under no circumstances would he vote for the French King.* At the same time Leo was told that the Elector of Saxony had written a letter, dated the 8th of June, in which "with all courtesy as to form, but incisively and plainly," he had dismissed both Papal representatives.†

These tidings caused the abrupt change in the Pope's attitude. On the 17th of June an understanding was come to with the Spanish Ambassador, Caroz, by which Leo X. agreed, for this once, to the union of the imperial crown with that of Naples, conditional on a Papal veto of the expansion of the power of Spain in Lombardy or Tuscany.‡ On this, the Pope's representatives in Germany were instructed to make out a new treaty embracing the new concession, and word was at once sent to the Electors that, if they wished to elect Charles, they need not be deterred by considerations about the crown of Naples.§ Thus, at the last moment—for the Electors were already assembled at Frankfort—Leo X. gave in, in face of the probability, nay, more, the moral certainty, that the election of the Hapsburg King would take place, whether the Pope consented or not. Such a

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVII., 413-414; BROWN, II., n. 1239; KALKOFF, Prozess, 419.

† Reichstagsakten, I., 765 *seq.*, 832 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Prozess, 415 *seq.*

‡ See NITTI, 211 *seqq.* *Cf.* ULMANN, Studien, II., 107-108. The agreement, which is published complete in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 218 *seqq.*, was not confirmed by Charles V.

§ BUCHOLTZ, III., 672.

grave injury to the dignity of the Holy See must be averted at all costs! That he gave in under compulsion there can be no doubt. He himself admitted as much when he wrote to Cardinal Cajetan saying that it was useless for him to knock his head against a stone wall.*

Francis also saw at last the futility of any further effort to win the crown. On the 26th of June he withdrew his own candidature, and told his Envoys to work for the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. A second letter, written the same day, instructed them that, should the Archbishop of Treves be in favour of the Elector of Saxony, the latter was to be supported. On the 21st of July the Nuncio Orsini, by the Pope's directions, once more, through Karl von Miltitz, urged Frederick of Saxony either to vote for Francis, or else to stand himself for election.† But Frederick positively refused either course, and declared himself in favour of Charles. On the 28th of June, 1519, the grandson of Maximilian was unanimously chosen King of Rome. Although, until he was crowned by the Pope, this was the only name he was entitled to bear, he was thenceforward generally spoken of as the Emperor.

The outcome of the long diplomatic struggle was regarded with deep interest. This is borne witness to by Baldassare Castiglione,‡ who came to Rome on the 26th of May to condole with the Pope on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici.§ The members of the Curia had been con-

* Brown, II., n. 1257.

† Reichstagsakten, I., 822 *seq.*; *supra*, p. 285.

‡ *Cf.* *Letter of Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, June 3, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Heri sera che fu giobbia alli 26 del presente gionsi qui. To-day he had an audience and offered his condolences to the Pope. *Letter to the Marquis, dated from Rome, May 27, 1519. *Cf.* **Letter to the Marchioness on May 28. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

vinced that neither Charles nor Francis had any chance; nor were the French as certain of victory as they had been,* though there were still individual Frenchmen who spoke very vauntingly. The general fear was that a grave war would ensue. The Pope alone was of a different opinion as to this,† and went undisturbedly about his usual pursuits, while excitement, which expressed itself in a number of wagers, rose to fever height in the city.‡ On the 1st of July the news that Charles had been elected spread throughout Rome; whereat the imperialists rejoiced greatly.§

The definite news of Charles's election reached Rome on the 5th of July, being celebrated by great rejoicings on the

* *Letter of June 5, 1519, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See Appendix, No. 44.

† *Dui giorni sono che Monsignor de Concorseau . . . mi disse che senza dubio alchuno el suo Re sarebbe Imperatore. Presto se ne sentirà el scoppio. Universamente se extima che habbia ad essere gran guerra, ma N. S. mostra di essere d'altro parere e prometto pace. *Letter from Castiglione, dated from Rome, June 16, 1519.

‡ . . . *Qui si sta d'hora in hora in espettatione di udir la nova dell' imperatore et in banchi se danno de molti ducati in questa mèssa. N. S. sta sano, è molto alegro e sta su piaceri consueti suoi. Heri sera che fu la vigilia S. Giohanni se fecero jochi per Roma benche questa non è festa consueta di Roma ma di Firenze. Castiglione to the Marchioness on the 28th of June, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Qui se sta in continua expettatione del nuovo imperatore e quattro giorni sono se levò per tutta Roma una fabula che el Catholico era fatto imperatore di modo che Ceccotto pianto su la sua casa in Borgo una grandissima arma del predetto Catholico con le insegne imperiali e fece venire da otto o diece trombetti che tutto el di non fecero mai altro che sonare e fece porre su la strada due botte de vino e diede bere a chi ne volse tanto che se consumò tutto sempre dicendo villania a quelli che dicevano che la nova del Catholico non era vera: presta se sapra s'egli è buon propheta o astrologo. Castiglione to the Marquis on July 4, 1519 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

part of the Spaniards, Imperialists, and the Colonna. The cry, "The Empire and Spain!" rang through the streets of the Eternal City.* Baldassare Castiglione says that "the joy of the Spaniards is as difficult to describe as the depression of the French, who go about like men dead."† The Spanish Cardinals and prelates and all those who held benefices in Naples and Spain took part in the uproarious rejoicings. On two evenings five or six hundred Spaniards, well armed, with music and banners, paraded the streets, stopping in front of the dwellings of the Spanish prelates, where they were given wine and money. The Germans in Rome took offence at the cry of "Spain! Spain!" set up by these men, whereas they would have preferred that of "Austria!" or "Burgundy!"‡ Thereupon more Spaniards and their adherents mustered in Rome, as though they were the masters of the Eternal City.§ The consequence of all this was a very painful scene between the Pope and Caroz, the Ambassador of Charles.‖ Leo X. could not conceal the deep impression made on him by the election of the Hapsburg. "Ambassador," said he to Minio, the representative of Venice, "had the French King acted according to our advice, a third party would have

* *Cf.* Paris de Grassis, HOFFMANN, 427. *Diary in Cod. Barb., 3552, Vatican Library.

† *Qui non si po dire el iubilo che sentono questi Spagnoli de la creatione del novo imperatore et el dispiacere degli Francesi che stanno come morti. *Letter to the Marchioness, July 13, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ **Report of Castiglione, July 14, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Cf.* NITTI, 236.

‖ *Cf.* the **Report of Castiglione, Aug. 31, 1519. How the Emperor pacified the Pope, who was so highly incensed that he spoke of excommunicating Charles (**Letter of Castiglione, Sept. 10, 1519), is described by Castiglione in his **Report of Sept. 17, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

been elected. God grant that the election of Charles may conduce to the good of Christendom!"* Such an exclamation shows how set Leo had been in his secret heart on the candidature of the Elector of Saxony.†

A few days later Minio found the Pope thoughtful and anxious. "What shall I do," said he, "if the Hapsburg comes to Italy now? All Germany will back him up!" On the 18th of July the Venetian Ambassador found him still more agitated, because, as he complained, the French were laying all the blame on him for what had happened about the election. "As you know," said he to Minio, "I did everything that they wished, and this is the result!"‡

Next day the Pope communicated to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory the contents of a letter from Charles, in which, briefly and moderately, he announced his election, and professed his good-will, and submission to the Holy See. The Pope did not fail to make use of this opportunity to commend Charles for not having assumed prematurely the title of King of Rome, though powerful enough to assert his claim to it.§

* SANUTO, XXVII., 453. *Cf.* BROWN, II., n. 1247.

† KALKOFF, Prozess, 426. Owing to the unfavourable result of the election, Cajetan fell into disgrace, if not with Leo, at any rate with the influential Cardinal Medici. *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 110 *seq.*

‡ BROWN, II., n. 1250, 1257. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVII., 476, 483.

§ *Cf.* *Acta Consist., July 19, 1519, the reading of Charles's letter. "Quibus lectis laudataque regis virtute et modestia, quod titulum regis Romanorum sibi minime ascripserit, decretum est, ut sequenti die missa papalis celebraretur gratieque Deo optimo maximo pro tam singulari dono agerentur." (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) On the 24th of June Castiglione reports as follows to his Marquis: *"Venne l'altro giorno uno gentiluomo di Spagna mandato in poste dallo imperatore a fare intendere al papa come haveva havuto nova dalli electori di essere creato imperatore e cosi se offeriva a N. S. molto amplamente. S. Sta fece fare congregatione de tutti li cardinali e fece eggere la lettera

Only now * were the customary festivities celebrated in due form.† On the 16th of August a letter containing the good wishes of the Pope was sent to Charles,‡ the fine-sounding and bombastic phrases of which could have blinded only the very ignorant to tne fact that Leo anticipated with a great fear the attitude likely to be taken by the new Emperor.

dello imperatore et ordinò li fuochi li quali la sera se fecero con gran triumpho." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* *Cf.* the **Reports of Castiglione of July 14, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 429 *seqq.*; BROWN, II., n. 1260; BALAN, VI., 22, n. 1.

‡ RAYNALDUS, 1519, n. 29–30. BAUMGARTEN (Karl V., 1, 174) quotes the Brief from a manuscript, and when doing so perceived accidentally that it had been already printed in 1519, in a rare document. It is scarcely conceivable how Baumgarten could have overlooked the impress easily accessible to Raynaldus.

CHAPTER VII.

The Occasion and Causes of the Reformation in Germany.—The Contest about Indulgences.

I.

When Leo X. was wise enough to withdraw his opposition to the election of Charles V., even though at the eleventh hour, he saved the dignity of the Holy See from considerable injury. When, however, he thus avoided an open conflict with the new Emperor he did not, apparently, grasp the full importance of his prudent action in respect to the far-reaching religious revolution which was then seething in Germany.* From the promulgation of an indulgence, unimportant in itself, there rapidly sprang up and spread throughout the whole Empire, a storm against Rome which made the Papacy tremble to its foundations.

The man who let loose this storm was a figure of which history affords but few examples. For four centuries the picture of his character has been in varying forms before the minds of men; and at the present day there is less agreement in the opinions formed of him than at any former period. On one point, however, friend and foe may join hands, and that is as to the strong personality of Martin Luther. It is true that he alone did not bring about the revolt which was to rend the unity of the Western Church for so many centuries. Nevertheless, it is true that he contributed more than any other to the subversion

* Nitti, 224–227.

of existing conditions, though, as a matter of fact, he only put the match to the inflammable heap which had been accumulating for centuries.

The death-throes of the Middle Ages show to an attentive observer not only a remarkable growth in the religious sense and life,* but also in that of grave moral and religious evils. We find light and darkness mixed to an unusual extent among the people, taken as a whole. The most characteristic and glaring contrasts of the time are to be found among the clergy, both secular and religious.† Alongside of the most joyous self-sacrifice and inspired love of God and man, we find tokens of unbridled self-seeking, covetousness, luxury, and immorality. To

* Besides the exhaustive statements of JANSSEN (I.), see the profound and remarkable deductions of R. WACKERNAGEL in the Baseler Zeitschr. für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, II., 171 *seq.* *Cf.* BEZOLD, Gesch. der Reformation, 90 *seqq.*; STIEVE in the Allg. Ztg., 1892, suppl. 46; A. O. MEYER, 37 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*; MÜLLER, Kirschengesch., II., 1, 159, 163 *seq.* In the review of the last-named work (HARNACK'S Theol. Lit.-Ztg., 1898, 442) Deutsch remarks: "We have here an indication of the conditions of that period, which conduces to a right understanding of the actual circumstances, which silently corrects the views held by the old Protestants in their naive way of looking at things, seeing only stray gleams of light in the prevailing darkness, as well as the optimism of the prejudiced new Catholics." In consideration of its scientific utility, Janssen, in the eighteenth edition of his first volume, takes the dark side into very full account. Many Protestant critics have acknowledged this. In my next edition of Janssen, I will speak of the opinions of HASHAGEN on the subject (Westdeutsch. Zeitschr., XXIII., 102).

† The following is founded on the amplifications which I have introduced into the eighteenth edition of JANSSEN (I., 681–743); see there for further illustrations and examples. Among the works referring to this are A. O. MEYER, Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation aus schlesischen Quellen (Histor. Litbl., XIV., Munich, 1903). For a criticism of this profound work, see SCHÄFER, Bemerkungen, in the Rom. Quartalschr., XVIII., 105 *seqq.*

many of that time the evils seemed so great that they feared the judgments of God.*

One cause of the downfall of the German Church lay in her enormous riches, the unhealthy growth of which aroused on one side the envy and hatred of the laity, and on the other had a most deleterious effect on the ministers of the Church themselves. The worst feature of all was the inducement offered by this wealth to nobles of all degrees, to use the Church as a means of providing for themselves, by turning to their own advantage ecclesiastical stipends, especially those of canonries and prebendaries. The misuse of such incomes reached back as far as the beginning of the 13th century, though it did not become universal until the beginning of the 15th century. The natural consequence of this was that an increasing number of nobles embraced the ecclesiastical state for the sole purpose of obtaining possession of some sinecure. Through these noble ecclesiastics, who often, while quite young and before binding themselves by any vows, received various benefices connected with cathedrals, a spirit of worldliness, love of pleasure, and covetousness crept into the chapters. The cases of scandal given by these young ecclesiastics by their immoral conduct were only too frequent, and the general characteristics infused into the chapters made it only too probable that they

* Onus ecclesiae, c. 40. *Cf.* DENIFLE, Luther und Luthertum, I., Mayence, 1904, 4. WERNER'S opinion (Die Flugschrift *Onus ecclesiae*, Giessen, 1901), that the author of the remarkable work (Onus ecclesiae) was Bishop Berthold Pirstinger, does not seem to CLEMEN to be borne out by the reasons given (Histor. Zeitschr., LXXXVIII., 362). In the work, written in 1519, and printed with anti-Lutheran interpolations in 1524, it seems as if the author were a member of a religious order. HEIDHUES (Annalen d. histor. Vereins f. d. Niederrhein, LXXIX., 193) believes that a Carthusian of Cologne, perhaps Johannes Justus von Landsberg, was its author.

would offer but little or no resistance to the impending religious revolt, and would even welcome it, provided it did not interfere with their monetary interests.

The monopoly of the cathedral benefices by the nobility had a further effect most fateful for the German Church. The episcopal sees were as a rule held by nobles, who saw in the sacred office nothing but a source of power and wealth. The dangers always attendant on the position of Bishops as landowners were thus doubled. The danger had been increased since the middle of the 15th century by the contest between the princely families and the knighthood of the Empire, with the result that the episcopal sees were occupied in an increasing ratio by the scions of princely houses. Though there were always honourable exceptions to the prevailing decadence, still the purely secular element increased steadily among the Bishops, who devoted their large incomes to the holding of luxurious courts, and in taking part in the quarrels and feuds of their families, while they left the duties of their office to be performed by their suffragans. On the eve of the revolt from the Church, many were the complaints made by earnest and upright Catholics against the worldliness of the Episcopate. But nowhere was a stronger protest made than in the remarkable work, "Onus ecclesiae." *

"How often," says this book, "does the choice fall on a good, virtuous, and learned Bishop, and how often on one who is inexperienced, carnal, and ignorant of spiritual things? Prelacies are for the most part obtained by evil methods and ambition, not by election or other lawful means. The Church is brought into danger by these methods of conferring spiritual offices. Where is the Bishop who at the present time preaches or troubles him-

* Onus ecclesiae, c. 20. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 701 *seq.*; WERNER, 23 *seq.*

self about the souls entrusted to his care? Seldom do we find a chief pastor who is content with one church, and does not hold several benefices, even trying to appropriate more than one see. Moreover, Bishops care more for the table than for the altar, and while they are ignorant about theology they love worldly knowledge. Rather are they temporal lords than servants of Christ. They adorn their bodies with gold, but bespatter their souls with dirt. They are ashamed of their spiritual ministrations, and seek their fame in worldly vanities. In defiance of ecclesiastical laws they surround themselves with immoral persons, court fools, and frivolous companions. Sometimes they have recourse to worthless theologians and artful lawyers who, being moved by covetousness, bend the law like wax whichever way suits them, and flatter them while they keep silence about the truth. As to the accursed chase to which the Bishops devote themselves in a most scandalous fashion, I say nothing. Furthermore, the Bishops are always looking out for war, they whose calling it is to promote unity and peace. I know some prelates who prefer to wear the sword and weapons of soldiers than the spiritual garb of their state. Thus it happens that the episcopal revenues are spent on this world's possessions, sordid cares, stormy wars, and worldly dominion. They do not even exercise charity, but neglect the poor of Christ, while they fatten their dogs and other beasts, as though they would become like to them. To such as these might Christ most justly say: I was a stranger and poor, and you did not take me in; therefore depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire. Nearly all the Bishops are covetous, take what belongs to others, and squander the property of the Church. They devote to other purposes what they ought to use for the service of God and of the poor. They do not use the revenues of the Church for

holy purposes, but spend them on their relatives, play-actors, flatterers, huntsmen, bad women, and such like persons. Even the inalienable possessions of their sees are given by them unlawfully to their relatives, to whom they hire them out at a nominal interest, to the detriment of their churches, the ruin of justice, and the great oppression of the poor. Such prodigals ought to be numbered among heretics. Provincial and diocesan synods, though prescribed, are not held. Consequently many ecclesiastical matters which ought to be amended are neglected. Besides this they do not make visitations in their parishes at stated times: yet they do not forget to charge them with heavy taxes. For these reasons religion languishes in both laity and clergy, and the churches are unadorned and falling into ruin. If a visitation is made, the Bishop troubles himself rather about its temporal concerns than about those that are spiritual; though he quite neglects to see that the funds of the parish are looked after by suitable persons."

Even if the author of this work, led away by his zeal for reform, generalizes too much on the abuses, it is established by the testimony of other good and earnest men that in the latter days, before the great revolt from the Church, her chief pastors were in many places in a very bad moral state. The possession of most of the episcopal sees by the sons of princes and nobles, who neglected their duty, and were as a rule no better than their equals in the world, and the neglect in the chief pastoral office which this involved, had as its consequence the general moral depravity of the secular and regular clergy, as well as of the laity. Without this the sudden secession from the Church and from the faith of their fathers, of such an enormous portion of the German people, would remain inexplicable, however favourable might have been the circumstances that led to the great subversion.

Several of the Popes of the 13th century had fought

against the monopoly by the princes and nobles of the benefices and sees of the Church in Germany. But, with these exceptions, the Holy See not only countenanced but even encouraged the fatal abuse. Worldliness and a confusion of ideas had assumed such proportions in the Curia that, at the dawn of the 15th century, they seemed to have lost all idea of the fatal influence which the secularization of the Episcopate must have on religion. Even one so sagacious as Æneas Silvius de' Piccolomini, when defending the Roman See against the accusations brought against it by Martin Mayr,* reckons it as among the merits of the Curia that it raised the sons of princes to the episcopal sees, as had happened lately at Treves and Ratisbon. "For," he says, "a Bishop of princely estate is far more likely than one of lower degree to promote the interests and importance of the Church, and preserve her rights." Looking at things from the point of view of the leading humanists, he reproaches men of lower estate for desiring to be Bishops as soon as they had acquired some learning. He laments, moreover, that the element of the lower nobility, whose noble descent it is not always so easy to prove, should have such a preponderance in the cathedral chapters, Cologne and Strasburg excepted, that these were not inclined to select the sons of princes to occupy the sees, lest they should have a Bishop whom they would have to obey. It does not seem to have occurred to the intellectual Sienese that it was not merely a high position which was required to make a good Bishop, but, primarily, the necessary moral qualities.

At the end of the second decade of the 16th century, when the revolt against the Church began, not only were

* De ritu, situ, moribus et conditione Germaniae descriptio, in Æneae Sylvii Piccolominei Opera, Basileae, 1571, 1045. With this compare Vol. II. of this work, 421 *seq.*

a great number of archiepiscopal and episcopal sees occupied by the sons of princes,* but several of these princely Bishops, such as Albert of Brandenburg, held, with the sanction of the Pope, two or more bishoprics.

In marked contrast to the higher clergy, who luxuriated in their rich revenues, the lower clergy, who had the cure of souls, had no fixed salary, and depended for subsistence on uncertain tithes and stole-fees. From poverty, though sometimes also from covetousness, they had recourse to methods of gaining money which were incompatible with their state, and could not fail to draw down on them the contempt of the people.† Among those things which led to this lamentable state of things, the first to be considered is the enormous number of the lower clergy. Although the multitude of religious foundations for Masses bears striking testimony to the piety of the Middle Ages, there existed a dark side in the shape of the quantity of small benefices which were the result. These afforded their occupants neither enough to live on nor enough to employ them. The consequence was that there was a superfluity

* *Cf.* the epitome which I have given in JANSSEN, I. 18, 703.

† It was partly this struggle for a maintenance to which were due the wide spread of the *Missae bifaciatae* and *trifaciatae*, and that travesty of the Holy Sacrifice the *Missa sicca*, in which there was neither consecration nor communion. For these and other excrescences in the service of the Most High, *cf.* the profound book of A. FRANZ, Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter, Freiburg, 1902, 77 *seqq.*, in which a rich and interesting material is worked up in the most excellent manner. The learned author, however great stress he may lay on the numerous abuses, refrains from all unjust exaggeration or over-dark colouring. He rightly asserts that all these abuses did not outweigh "the deep faith and holy zeal with which the people knelt before the altars, and signified but little in comparison with the fulness of the stream of grace which flowed from the Sacrifice of the New Testament over millions and millions of faithful hearts."

of clerics attached to the parish churches in the larger cities and smaller towns, as also to the cathedrals. It stands to reason that where the number was so excessive it was not everyone who had a vocation to the spiritual state; nor can it be doubted that even if the vocation existed, there was nothing like enough work for all.*

Parents at that time had so little conscience that they destined for the priesthood and religious life those of their children who were unfitted to make their way in the world; and this for the sole reason of providing for them. These lamentable circumstances, combined with lack of occupation, absence of a true vocation, and want of theological training, conduced to the immorality of many of the clergy.† Even when a good and worthy Bishop was found to fulfil his duty, it was difficult, if not impossible, under the circumstances, for him to maintain the necessary discipline. In the condition of the Episcopate as described above, any abuse could spread unhindered.

The complaints in the 15th century as to the immorality and concubinage of the clergy are very numerous. But we must always remember that many of the expressions used by preachers and moralists are manifestly exaggerated,‡

* To the literature I have specified in JANSSEN, I., 18, 704, *seq.*, there can be added BERTRAM, Gesch. des Bistums Hildesheim, I., Hildesheim, 1899, 487 *seq.*; PRIEBATSCH in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXI., 54 *seqq.*; A. O. MEYER, 24, 30 *seq.*, 33, 36 *seq.*; HASHAGEN in the Westdeutschen Zeitschr., XXIII., III., *seq.*, and SCHÄFER, Die Kirchlichen, sittlichen und sozialen Zustände des 15 Jahrhunderts, after Dionys. Carthus., I.: Das Leben der Geistlichen (Diss.), Tubingen, 1904.

† *Cf.* in general the extract "vom Geistlichwerden," in Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff, JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 706.

‡ The author of *Onus ecclesiae* also falls into this fault when he says (21, 9): "In Alemania me hercle pauci sunt curati qui non foetore concubinatus marcescunt." WERNER, 27.

and that it stands to reason that more is said about evil and depravity than about what was regular and normal.* Nor must it be overlooked that there existed in the Church in Germany righteous and serious-minded Bishops, who held synods and carried on a constant warfare—and not always without results—against immorality and other scandals. There were, moreover, whole districts, such as the Rhine country, Schleswig-Holstein, and the Allgäu, where, as we learn on good authority, the clergy for the most part led irreproachable lives.† Still there was a superabundance of what was evil. The condition of the clergy was very bad, especially in Franconia, Westphalia, Bavaria, in the Austrian territories, especially the Tyrol, in the diocese of Constance, on the Upper Rhine, and in nearly all the large towns.‡ There was a spiritual proletariat which extended over a large area, and formed a constant danger to the Church, being ready at any moment to attach itself to whatever movement promised to injure her.§

Luxury was combined with immorality among the clergy in a higher position. "The clergy," says a contemporary, "are to be found in inns and taverns, and at sports and theatres, more frequently than in consecrated places." These debased tastes were rightly attributed to the abuse of the rights of patronage by both spiritual and lay persons, who often preferred to advance bad and uneducated

* WACKERNAGEL as to this (*loc. cit.* 269) very pertinently remarks: "What we find described in the chronicles is not the normal condition, but that which is scandalous. The official acts speak chiefly of individual occurrences; as for literature and satires, we can take them only in a certain sense as a historical testimony."

† See the testimony in JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 709.

‡ *Ibid.* I., 18, 710 *seq.* About Westphalia, see HASHAGEN in the Westdeutsch. Zeitschr., XXIII., 114 *seqq.*

§ About the tendency towards deterioration in the secular and religious clergy, *cf.* DENIFLE, Luther and Luthertum, I., Einl.

priests in preference to the worthy. Contemporaries mention pride and covetousness as the sins which drew down most hatred on the clergy. Even those who were in other respects better men, were a prey to covetousness. Complaints were made that even the educated clergy did not devote themselves to their sacerdotal duties, and cared only for the financial advantages of their sacred office.* The love of money showed itself in all grades of the clergy by their efforts to raise as high as possible the manifold ecclesiastical taxes and revenues, in hunting for and accumulating benefices, in nepotism, and in simony. Another evil custom which was the outcome of covetousness, was that of serving benefices vicariously, by placing substitutes to serve the rich cures in which they did not care to reside in person. While they were living in affluence and frequenting the courts of princes and nobles, their office was supplied by scantily-paid vicars.

The Popes of the 15th century must incur blame by the manner in which they entrusted the offices of the Church to the unworthy and incapable, and by their facility in granting dispensations for holding a plurality of benefices, without the obligation of living on them. It is obvious how bad must have been the effect of this granting by the Popes of one preferment after another to the greedy benefice-hunters who flocked in thousands over the Alps. The hatred felt for these courtiers was general.† All this contributed to fostering a widespread and deep

* Onus ecclesiae, c. 23. *Cf.* WERNER, 29 *seq.*

† WIMPHELING has portrayed the "Romipeta" in his *Stylpho* (lately republished by HOLSTEIN, Lat. Literarurdenkmäler, VI.). *Cf.* KNEPPER, Wimpheling, 35 *seq.*; *cf.* 197 *seq.* About the German courtiers in Rome, see KALKOFF, Aleander, 131 *seq.* As to the great part played in the "grievances" of the German nation by the giving of benefices for a purely financial reason, see A. O. MEYER, 70 *seq.*

discontent with the actual condition of ecclesiastical affairs, the displeasure being extended to the Pope himself.

Still more injurious was the deviation from their original purpose of the old episcopal seminaries for the training of the priesthood. The universities could serve the purpose as far as the cultivation of theological knowledge was concerned, but were no adequate substitute as places of spiritual training, because they were frequented by only a small portion of the clerics. Thus, alongside of the higher and educated clergy there existed among the lower clergy a number of ignorant and uneducated men who, as Trithemius complains,* did not trouble themselves about the study of Holy Scripture, and often had not even mastered the Latin tongue. But, as in the case of other reproaches, such accusations must not be generalized on. The very activity of men like Trithemius, Wimpheling, Geiler von Kaisersberg, and others, who spoke so strongly against abuses, shows that alongside of the many bad elements in the Church of Germany there was much that was good. Even such a severe censor of the clerical offences of the time as Johannes Nider, is explicit in his warning against exaggerated generalizations;† because in every condition of life the good and the bad lived alongside of one another, though more attention was invariably paid to what was bad than to what was good. In the same way that there were excellent Bishops as well as those who were unworthy, so all over Germany there were good and conscientious priests among the secular clergy and in the religious orders. This is incidentally pointed out by Wimpheling, who is often so bitter in his

* De vitae sacerdotalis institutione. *Cf.* SILBERNAGL, Trithemius, 24 *seqq.*

† *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 721.

judgments.* At the outbreak of the Reformation it was shown that, alongside the multitude of unworthy priests and monks who, from lack of theological training and discernment, and especially from moral neglect, flocked to embrace the Lutheran heresy, there always remained a number of learned priests of high moral character who stood true to the Church, at the cost of personal sacrifice and even danger.

To form any general judgment as to the condition of the religious houses in Germany at that time, is therefore peculiarly difficult, owing to the lack of individual research. The number of religious houses was enormous. Even those who are most ready to admit the value of the religious state must lament a certain superabundance of religious foundations. The circumstances were, however, very different in individual cases, and the abuses, though undoubtedly numerous, must not be generalized on. The religious orders of that time produced many upright and worthy priests, and this was all the more important, because the greatest part of the work for souls was in the hands of the mendicant friars. The monasteries, moreover, did a great deal to relieve the social needs of the people. Even if grave abuses did exist, nearly everywhere there could be seen signs of a strong reaction against the prevailing corruption. The attempts at reform in the monasteries date from the end of the great Schism of the West, and were at first accomplished under great difficulties. There were four great and successful streams of reform in the religious orders: that of the Benedictines (Bursfeld Congregation), the Canons Regular (Windesheim Congregation), and the Augustinians and Franciscan Observantines.

Stress must be laid on the fact that after Martin V.,

* At the conclusion of his work, *De arte impressoria*, in JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 438 *seq.*

nearly all the Popes were zealous in the cause of the reform of the religious orders of Germany, both generally and in individual cases.* Above all, we must remember the important work done by the Cardinal-Legate, Nicholas of Cusa, in Germany and the Netherlands, and his monastic reforms in the year 1451.† Pius II. also did a great deal, comparatively speaking, for the reform of the monastic houses in Germany, especially by his patronage of the Bursfeld Congregation and the reform of the Franciscan Observantines.‡

The results of the monastic reform varied greatly, and the sharpest contrasts could be seen in every field. The circumstances in different countries and different Orders varied very much. In Upper Germany the attempt to reform the mendicant friars met with the fiercest opposition. In Lower Germany, just at the critical time of the Lutheran revolt, the Saxon province of Luther's own Order, the Augustinians, had so degenerated that, in 1521, it broke away as a whole, and, with the exception of a few members, followed the new religion.§

As a rule it was the richest cloisters and abbeys which had fallen furthest from their original spirit, and which were most strongly opposed to any attempt at reform. Wealth had the same baneful effect on them as it had on the Episcopate and cathedral chapters. It tempted the nobles, who saw in the Church only a means of provision for their

* About Martin V., *cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 229 *seq.*; about Eugenius V., *ibid.*, 356 *seqq.*

† *Cf.* the detailed account, Vol. II. of this work, 105–133. See also BLOK, II., 560 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Vol. III. of this work, 279 *seq.* About Paul II., Vol. IV., 109 *seqq.*; about Sixtus IV., Vol. IV., 406; about Julius II., Vol. VI., 445 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* DENIFLE, Luther und Luthertum, I., 351 *seqq.* See also BLOK, II., 564 *seq.*

sons, and regarded religious houses as made to be appropriated for their own ends. They made it, moreover, their business to guard these emoluments from the encroachments of the burgher and peasant class, who were already excluded from the higher ecclesiastical positions. The German nobility in this way drew great odium on itself. Rich abbeys served practically as "hospitals for the nobles," in which those were placed by preference who were unfit for the world. Even the lame and blind were placed in them without any regard for a religious vocation. Such elements introduced an entirely worldly spirit into the cloister; nor did it end there. Thus did these religious houses decline more and more from their fervour. Many of the inmates went about in the world just as they pleased, and were not even required to return. In fact, contemporaries complain that cloisters and consecrated places became mere pleasure resorts.* These noble communities were the most dissolute and most opposed to ecclesiastical reform.†

All this was equally the case in the houses of religious women. Many of these stood in most evil repute. It was therefore no matter for surprise that these dissolute religious passed over wholesale to the new religion, broke their vows, and threw to the winds everything which had hitherto been most sacred to them.

But if a considerable portion of the clergy and religious were disposed to embrace a doctrine such as Luther's new gospel, which so entirely suited their inclinations, the contempt and hatred of the laity for the degenerate clergy was no mean factor in the great apostasy. While the

* Onus ecclesiae, c. 22; WERNER, 27 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the numerous examples in JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 725–732. The exemptions granted from episcopal jurisdiction had the very worst effect, by hindering even zealous Bishops in their attempts to restore discipline in religious houses.

great mass of the lower orders clung for a while with fidelity to the Catholic Faith, the educated classes showed the strongest antipathy to the degenerate clergy, and from them the same spirit of opposition spread to the lower classes. More and more general became the indignation felt with those Bishops who lived like secular princes, who were better versed in the arts of war than in the duties of their sacred ministry, and who did not even reside in the dioceses the revenues of which they devoured. The scandalous manner in which many of the higher clergy paraded their wealth acted as a challenge to criticism. In the episcopal towns of the Rhine Provinces there were serious quarrels and open rupture between the burghers and the clergy, and in other places there were scandalous conflicts between the Bishops and their subjects.*

The desire of acquiring wealth and property which possessed some of the religious houses, to the injury of people outside, was also very injurious to the cause of the Church. Envy drove the laity to generalize on individual cases of this kind, and detest all the clergy without distinction.† Hatred and contempt were levelled against those degenerate monks who were accused of having entered the cloister merely to feast and gormandize at the expense of their poorer fellow-citizens. A spirit of bitter enmity against the clergy is expressed in the various revolutionary writings of the 15th century.‡ Of these, the "Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund" appeared at the time of the Council of Basle. Afterwards appeared "The Reformation of Frederick III.," written in the last quarter of the century; and the most radical of all in the work, lately discovered, of a revolutionary of the Upper Rhine,

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 734 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Onus ecclesiae, c. 28; WERNER, 37.

‡ *Cf.* the information in JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 736 *seq.*

written in the first decade of the 16th century.* In this book, which contains the darkest possible and most grossly exaggerated picture of the condition of ecclesiastical, public, and social affairs, an attempt was made to radically revolutionize all departments, and secularize all Church property.

Together with the dissatisfaction with the clergy, there grew up a deep-seated and often bitter hostility to the Pope and the Roman Curia. This spirit of opposition showed itself not only among the princes and burgher class, but was strongest of all among the clergy of both the higher and lower ranks. In this lay the greatest danger for the Papacy; "for with a discontented clergy rested the power at any moment of drawing the simple folk into apostasy." †

There were many degrees and different currents of opposition to Rome in Germany, between which a distinction must be drawn. The great Schism of the West, which began in 1378, not only caused much confusion by its long duration, but, as a natural consequence, gave a severe blow to Papal authority.‡ The fact of the dual Papacy could not fail of itself to have this effect. To this must be added the great dependence of the Popes on temporal princes, caused by the Schism. In order to increase, or even keep the obedience due to them, the Popes saw themselves compelled to make important and far-reaching concessions to the temporal powers, unless they were willing to put up with arbitrary interference in the ecclesiastical domain, and submit to the extension of sovereign rights at the expense of spiritual authority.

* Made known by H. HAUPT in "A Revolutionary of the Upper Rhine of the time of the Emperor Maximilian I." (Ergänzungsheft 8 Westdeutschen Zeitschr. für Geschichte und Kunst), Treves, 1893.

† Such is the view taken by JANSEN, Maximilian I., 15.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 138 *seqq.*

Thus did the great Schism lastingly and fatefully prepare the way for the apostasy of the 16th century. A further consequence of this destructive confusion of the dual Papacy was the obscurity which it cast over the doctrine of the divine institution of the Primacy, and the monarchical character of the constitution of the Church.*

A party sprang up in the Church which placed the authority of a General Council above that of the Pope. Even ecclesiastically-minded theologians who acted in the interests of the Church, brought forward various theories having this tendency. A sweeping system of the kind was propounded by the eminent German theologian Heinrich von Langenstein in a work written by him in 1381, advocating the assembly of a "Council of Peace."† Another German theologian, Conrad von Gelnhausen, developed this new theory in his "Einigungsbrief" in 1380. In France Langenstein's principles produced a strong effect on the celebrated John Gerson. Though with those who were sincere the movement was promoted with the honourable object of healing the Schism, the council theory took with others a form of radical opposition to the authority of the Supreme Pontiff. Doctrines were propounded which denied the divine institution of the Papacy and the unity of the Church. A copious German literature testifies to this anti-Papal current. The best known of these books is the passionately violent "Confutatio primatus Papae," by the Saxon Minorite, Matthias Döring, based on the "Defensor pacis" of Marsilius of Padua.‡ After the Council of Basle,

* *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 179 *seqq.*

† *Ibid.*, 182 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* P. ALBERT, The *Confutatio primatus papae*: its Source and Author (Histor. Jahrbuch, II., 1890, 439–490); by the same, Matthias Döring, Ein deutscher Minorit des 15 Jahrhunderts, Stutgard, 1892. *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 80 *seq.*, II., 47.

which was so fatal in its result to the holders of the Council theory, and after the Vienna Concordat of 1448 a change in many respects for the better came over the so-called conciliar movement, which was apparently relegated to the background even in Germany. But though smothered and hidden, the anti-Papal movement was by no means destroyed; though kept out of sight, it was in reality more effective even if less visible and on the surface.*

During the pontificate of Callixtus III. a movement in Germany, hostile to the Papacy, sprang up under the leadership of the Archbishop of Mayence, Dietrich von Erbach. The Primate of the German Church, in union with the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, strove to promote the assembly of a great national Council, with the object of obtaining the recognition of the decrees of the Council of Basle and of procuring the redress of the so-called "grievances" of the German nation. But under their parade of reforming zeal these prelates were in reality seeking their own advantage.†

The anti-Papal movement in Germany became more violent and dangerous under Pius II. To prove this it is sufficient to recall the attitude of the Archbishop of Mayence, Diether von Isenberg (a type of the secularized Episcopate), and the disorders in the Tyrol under Duke Sigismund.‡ The polemical writings of Gregor Heimburg in the interests of the Duke were of a violence almost unprecedented.§ On the other hand, Andrea Zamometič's

* *Cf.* Æneas Silvius in his letter to Pope Nicholas V., Nov. 25, 1448; Vol. II. of this work, 60; and JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 740.

† *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, 413–418.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. III. of this work, 164 *seq.*

§ *Ibid.*, 188 *seqq.*

hazardous attempt under Sixtus IV. to promote the assembling of a Council was of but slight importance.* Of the same nature were the schismatic attempts of Maximilian I. under Julius II.,† which were completely frustrated.

The secularization of the Roman Curia, which reached its zenith under Alexander VI., had a bad effect on the loyalty of the Germans to Rome, and caused great dissatisfaction in those who were eye-witnesses of it.‡ Nevertheless, any thought of a real secession from Rome found no place among the masses of the German people. In all their complaints the duty of obedience to the Pope was expressly maintained. The grievances brought against the Roman Curia,§ and the other causes of dissatisfaction alluded to, did not in any way touch the Faith, but were directed solely against abuses which could be remedied without severing Germany from the centre of ecclesiastical unity. Such abuses referred to the proceedings of canon law, to the Roman practice of administration, especially in the granting of benefices, and the method of taxation through the Papal courts. In many cases the grievances were so completely justified that upright, ecclesiastically-minded men, warmly attached to the Holy See, admitted them. If the Curia was able to make so many unjustifiable encroachments in Germany, it was because it did not find itself face to face with a powerful and united government, such as it met with in England and France. The breaking up of the Empire into a number of greater and lesser territories almost invited encroachment, and "the Curia, which had so many methods at its command, always had

* *Cf.* SCHLECHT, Andrea Zamometič, I., Paderborn, 1893, and Vol. IV. of this work, 358–363.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 354–357.

‡ *Ibid.*, 151.

§ *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 741 *seqq.*; II., 18, 170 *seq.*

some German princes at its back, even if others were opposed to it."*

The dissatisfaction with Rome was made more acute and virulent by the introduction of the national element, expressed by a bitter hatred of the Italians, whom the Germans charged with underrating their nation, and for caring only for what could be gained from them. This dislike was felt equally by men devoted to the Church, such as Berthold von Henneberg, Archbishop of Mayence, and wild radical spirits of the type of the revolutionary of the Upper Rhine, who to their boundless contempt united the bitterest hatred of Rome.†

But in addition to an antipathy of this kind, which had no dogmatic tendency and was directed solely against the real and supposed abuses in the ecclesiastical government, heretics arose in the 15th century—largely in connection with the heresy of Hus—such as Johann von Wesel, who was called before the Inquisition at Wesel in February, 1479, and had to recant his false doctrines.‡ The Bohemian Brethren, who denied any distinction between priests and laymen, and called the Pope Antichrist, began at that time to propagate their doctrines in Germany. Their eight different confessions of faith were printed in the German tongue in Nuremberg and Leipzig.§

Ecclesiastical grievances had been much increased in Germany by political, legal, and social abuses. The study of German history shows an increase in the decay of the Empire ever since the 13th century, and as a consequence of

* JANSEN, Maximilian I., 25; *cf.* 11.

† *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 743.

‡ *Cf.* CLEMEN in the Zeitschr. für deutsche Gesch., N.F., II. (1897), 143 *seqq.*; also PAULUS in Der Katholik, 1898, I., 44, and in the Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol., XXIV., 645 *seqq.*

§ *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 747.

this the sovereignty of the princes had become confirmed.* The long reign of Frederick III. had been especially injurious to the power of the Empire, and to its position in the eyes of Europe. The injury wrought by him was so great that later on even a distinguished ruler like Charles V. could not, in spite of the gain of a few temporary results, succeed in reducing the unsettled state of things to order. From the time of Frederick III. the princely houses, which had always in later times had a greater or lesser influence on the history of the German people, were firmly established at the expense of the imperial power, while only certain sovereign rights were allowed to the Emperor. The introduction of Roman law, which ever since the 13th century had been slowly supplanting the native German law, was of the greatest moment in this political development.† The princes who were striving by its help to establish their power and sovereignty were its most eager promoters. Dating from the middle of the 15th century, a change, unknown before, had been introduced into the government of the territories belonging to spiritual as well as temporal princes; and all the more important court and civil offices were held by Roman jurists,‡ and the principles of Roman law were introduced in every branch of government. In place of the older mode of self-government belonging to the German law, bureaucracy prevailed, which interfered with and controlled everything, burdened the people to the utmost of its power, quite regardless of the violation of their ancient rights. "According to the abominable theory of Roman jurisconsults," says Wimpheling,§ "the prince is everything in the country, and the

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 504 *seqq.*

† *Ibid.*, 548 *seqq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 570 *seq.*

§ De arte impressoria, 27[a]. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 570.

people nothing. The people have to obey, pay taxes, offer their services, and, above all, obey not only the princes, but also their officials, who are beginning to assume the functions of the real lords of the country, and arrange matters so that even the princes have next to nothing to do with the government." Taxation, above all, was promoted by the Roman jurists. The application of Roman law to this had the most injurious effects, and the result of the action of the jurists as advisers to the territorial lords, was the degradation of the peasantry, who, under the dominion of the new law, were outraged, oppressed, and ground down on every side. The effects of Roman law extended into every phase of the life of the people, bringing about the subversion of all actual conditions.*

To this extension of the power of the princes—in the sense of that of the old Roman patricians—was due the fact that they aspired to dominion in the spiritual domain as well. Long before the outbreak of the Reformation, many jurists had come to the conclusion that princes might claim ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and, after the example set by the ancient Roman Emperors, "regulate even religious matters, institute and deprive Bishops, and appropriate Church property as their right, to be turned to the use of the State."† In the same way that Charles the Bold of Burgundy was instructed by his jurisconsults that he himself should be Pope in his own dominions, so the German territorial lords held the opinion that they might claim Papal rights in their own lands. To the existing desire to appropriate Church property, there was now added a desire on the part of the German princes to usurp the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishops. Many events, especially in the second half of the 15th century, show the way in which the proprietors of

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 571 *seq.*, 576 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 18, 577 *seq.*

land usurped jurisdiction in purely spiritual matters, and acted as if they were the lawfully constituted spiritual authorities.* Sometimes the abuses which had crept into some monastery gave the desired excuse for the interference of lay authority, and monastic reformers, such as Johann Busch,† called in the help of the secular arm of the nobles for the restoration of order. In individual cases, where the temporal prince in question was religiously-minded, such a usurpation of spiritual rights might seem to be of small importance. But in the case of most German princes such an interference was not prompted by any desire for the purity of the Church, but was solely the assertion of the punitive office which had been claimed by them since the middle of the 15th century. German landed proprietors assumed rights in respect to the Church in an increasing ratio. Such as these were the "taxation of the Church, the limitation of her right to acquire property by loan, the exercise of the State *placet*, immoderate interference in the appointment of Bishops and other ecclesiastical officials, the right of visitation, and supervision of ecclesiastical matters in their own territories."‡

The waning authority of the Pope and the weakening of the imperial central power by the increase of territorial influence—both a result of the great Schism—had the unhealthy effect of severing Church and State, to the injury of the former. The new State Church, as is

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 728 *seqq.*

† *Ibid.*, 726 *seqq.*

‡ See v. BELOW in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXXV., 53. *Cf.* FINKE, Kirchenpolitik Verhält., 5 *seq.*; BEZOLD, 88 *seqq.*; PRIEBATSCH in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XIX., 397 *seqq.*, XX., 159 *seqq.*, 329 *seqq.* (XXI., 43 *seqq.*, for the beginning of the interference of the State in ecclesiastical affairs); EICHMANN, Recursus ab abusu, Berlin, 1903, 76 *seqq.*; and SRBIK, Staat und Kirche in Oesterr., Innsbruck, 1904.

shown by the history of the 16th century, contained the gravest dangers for the unity of the Church. In the increase of the power of the princes there lurked an easy and safe excuse for despoiling the Church, not only partially, but, in a certain sense, completely, by perfecting the revolt and seceding from Rome. Under this new development a disposition was infused into the lower and oppressed classes to join in every movement of revolt, provided only it were subversive of the authority of State and Church.

The humanism of Young Germany was the most important of the movements which threatened danger to the Church.* It was totally different both in nature and effect from that of the older humanists. Whereas the latter school looked at things from the point of view of Christianity, at the service of which they placed classical antiquity as an important factor of culture, in the humanist school of Young Germany the study of antiquity was its own end, and often evinced a spirit not only indifferent, but often hostile, to Christianity. The real founder and type of the younger school was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. A great scholar but a weak character, a man of brilliant attainments, by the many-sidedness and versatility of his active mind, Erasmus exercised by his numerous writings a prodigious influence on his time.† In spite of all the services he rendered to classical study, it must be admitted that, though he never separated himself openly from the Church, Erasmus did much by his attacks, not only on degenerate scholasticism but on scholasticism itself, as well as by his venomous irony, to lessen respect for the authority of the Church and for faith itself among a large number of

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 78 *seqq.*, 744; II., 18, 3–39.

† *Ibid.*, II., 18, 7–25. *Cf.* KALKOFF in Archiv für Reformationsgesch., I. Jahrg. (1903–4), 1 *seqq.*

the highly-cultivated men of the day. Thus did he prepare the way for the impetuous and impassioned Luther.

The influence exercised by Erasmus over the younger school of humanists was portentous. While on the one hand he filled his disciples with a one-sided enthusiasm for classical antiquity, and a contempt for the ecclesiastical science of the Middle Ages (about which he knew but little), he brought discredit on the study of philosophy. He accustomed the susceptible youth of the day to despise serious, scientific, and speculative research, and regard rhetoric, witty speech and the art of style as the first requisites of education. Jakob Locher, surnamed Philomusus, well known as the translator, editor, and expounder of the ancient classics, and also as the author of text-books of classical philosophy, was now in the field with his lawless views of life, and had taken his stand as the disciple of pure paganism purged from all Christianity. He recommended the ancient poets, even the most objectionable, as the best, nay, only means for the education of youth.

With the second decade of the 16th century complaints were entered against the abandonment and depreciation of philosophical studies, against the one-sided and exclusive study of the classics, as well as against the presumption and immorality of the younger humanists. In 1512 Johannes Cochläus made the following protest:* "Philosophy is set aside; some devote their lives to *belles lettres*; others, without fitting preparation, take up the study of law; while others again throw themselves into the study of medicine merely for the sake of gain: all this being to the injury of the student. Humanist studies, however much they may conduce to the ornamentation of learning, are injurious to those who have no solid scientific training. Hence the levity of certain persons, to whom the name of

* *Meteorologia Aristotelis*, s. Aij, in OTTO, Joh. Cochläus, 26.

"poets" is erroneously given. Hence the buffoonery and the criminally scandalous lives of some. They are the common slaves of Bacchus and Venus; not the pious priests of Phœbus and Pallas."

The younger humanists considered themselves qualified to look down with contempt on "the old barbarians" who busied themselves with scientific and dialectic questions; because, without any profound study of the spirit of the ancients, they had acquired a certain facility in handling their form of speech, and, by a superficial imitation, could fabricate worthless verses. Those humanist productions, which take in vain the name of the Most Holy and treat of Christian things as of a mere play of the mind, are particularly unsavoury and revolting. Of this kind were the "Christian Heroids," in imitation of Ovid, which were published in 1514 by Eobanus Hessus. More original, though shameless and coarse beyond words, were the "poets'" imitations of the old erotic poets; for in these their mode of life was in harmony with their verses. Even as in the movement of the Italian Renaissance the idea of sensual pleasure was let loose in the most unbridled manner,* so was it now with many of the younger humanists such as Locher, Hermann van dem Busche, and Ulrich von Hutten. They fell into the wildest extravagances, if for no other reason than to show their superiority to the Italians.

Conrad Mutianus Rufus, by his influence over the humanists of Erfurt, of whom he was the leader, was responsible for the mixture of Christianity and paganism in the movement.† This canon of Gotha, who had been in Italy a warm adherent of Neoplatonism, then rampant among the humanists, was for a time at least an opponent of positive Christianity. His definition of that religion was antagonism

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 135 *seqq.*

† *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 30 *seqq.*

to the Mosaic system, and humanitarianism quite independent of revelation, while, together with his followers, he had nothing but scorn and contempt for the Church and her institutions and doctrines. Guided by such an influence, a frivolous literature sprang up in Germany, the key-note of which was enmity to the Church and the spiritual state: above all, it poured its scorn on the religious orders. It is no wonder that such doings eventually caused among many earnest men of strong ecclesiastical leanings an antipathy towards humanistic studies in general, and that the religious orders and scholastic theologians were especially zealous in their opposition to the "poets," as the representatives of an unchristian learning, often exceeding all reasonable bounds in a one-sidedness which, under the circumstances, was intelligible. Mutianus was one of the most impassioned of the anti-scholastics, and described the fight of the humanists against scholasticism as "a fight of light against darkness." His one ambition was to annihilate the old school and all its institutions.

A characteristic type of the younger humanists of Germany was the gifted but morally-depraved Ulrich von Hutten.* Having been early imbued at Erfurt with the tenets of a completely pagan sect of humanists, he became there the champion of a proletariat of nobles, who had nothing to lose by the subversion of the existing state of things. He was possessed of an unbounded self-confidence which made him regard himself as the chosen supporter of the movement of the new era; so that everything he did or tried to do was in his eyes of history-making importance. All this, combined with his ability and gift of writing, made him one of the most dangerous promoters of revolutionary ideas. Towards the Church and her doctrines and institutions, his attitude was one of

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 56 *seqq.*, 101 *seqq.*

unmixed scorn and repugnance. In 1513 he returned from his first sojourn in Italy the avowed enemy of the Papacy, against which he declared open war.

The dispute between Reuchlin and the theologians of Cologne, gave an impetus to the open war between the younger humanists and the representatives of the older school of learning. Johann Reuchlin,* who had a natural inclination towards the Church, and was much esteemed in Germany for his personal qualities as well as for his knowledge of Greek, and still more of Hebrew, had become imbued with the doctrines of a fanatical theosophy, induced by his study of the Jewish Kabbala, and encouraged by his own propensity for mystical subtleties. He expressed his opinions in two books, "Vom wundertäligen Wort" and "Über kabbalistische Kunst." Reuchlin was far from wishing to injure the Church by these theories; he thought rather that they would bring about a better understanding of Christianity by throwing new light upon it from the Jewish books. But in reality his views were calculated to sow confusion in the brains of the youth of Germany, and give an impetus to the inclination, already existing among them, to cast themselves adrift, at the expense of Christianity, from all dogmatic teaching. Several theologians spoke with disapprobation of Reuchlin's writings, and Jakob Hochstraten, a Dominican of Cologne, wrote an answer in 1519.

The outcome of these literary publications was a long dispute about the authority of the Jewish books. Johann Pfefferkorn, a baptized Jew of Cologne, in his zeal for the conversion of his former fellow-believers, had arrived at the conclusion that the chief cause of their obstinacy would be removed if they were compelled to give up all the Talmud

* See GEIGER, J. Reuchlin, Leipzig, 1871. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 116 *seqq.*; II., 18, 41–56; PAULUS, Die deutschen Dominikaner, 94–102.

books in their possession. Pfefferkorn demanded this in several works, written in the years 1507-1509, and it was solely due to his efforts that an imperial mandate was issued on the 19th of August, 1509, commanding the Jews to produce before him all books opposed to the Christian Faith and their own law. He obtained permission to take away such books and destroy them in any place in the presence of the parish priest and two members of the Council. In a later mandate of the 10th of November, 1509, the Emperor gave the conduct of the whole affair to Uriel, the Archbishop of Mayence, who was commissioned to obtain the opinion of the Universities of Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt, and Heidelberg, together with that of the converted Jew Victor Carben, of Reuchlin, and of the Inquisitor Jakob Hochstraten. The judgment of Reuchlin was not in agreement with the severity of the others consulted, for he considered that only the manifestly scandalous books of the Jews should be destroyed, after lawful sentence had been passed; though he opined that all the other books should be detained. However, the whole affair came to nothing, as the Emperor would come to no decision.

The question of the Jewish books gave rise to a dispute which was most important to the religious and spiritual life of the nation. Immediately, it was a purely personal quarrel between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn, who thought he had been insulted by the other. But it went further; Pfefferkorn avenged himself by the impassioned pamphlet, the "Handspiegel" (1511), in which, without any ground to go on, he accused Reuchlin of having been bribed by the Jews. Reuchlin replied even more violently by his "Augenspiegel," which was published during the autumn fair at Frankfort, 1511. This book caused the greatest sensation in Germany, and was sent by the chief parish priest at Frankfort, Petrus Meyer, to Hochstraten, the

Inquisitor of the province of Mayence. The two theologians Arnold von Tungern and Conrad Köllin were charged by Hochstraten with the examination of the book. Reuchlin at once exerted himself to obtain a favourable verdict. The first pronouncement on either side, calmly made, seemed to justify such an expectation. But, soon after, the strife broke out afresh, and Reuchlin, in a second pamphlet published in 1512, stood by what he had said before, and attacked the Frankfort theologians. Arnold von Tungern replied in a temperate Latin book, while at the same time time Pfefferkorn attacked his adversary in his "Brandspiegel." Reuchlin, embittered by the censure passed by the Emperor Maximilian on the 7th of October, 1512, on his "Augenspiegel," published (1513) a "Defence against the Cologne Calumniators," which is one of the most frantic libels of the age. On the 9th of July 1513 the Emperor ordered its suppression. After this the theological faculties of Louvain, Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt, and Paris pronounced the condemnation of the "Augenspiegel." Hochstraten, as Inquisitor, opened the trial, and in September, 1513, called Reuchlin before his tribunal at Mayence. Reuchlin now appealed to the Pope, and by means of a flattering letter gained the advocacy of the physician of Leo X., the influential Jew, Bonet de Lattes.* Leo X. handed over the case to George, Bishop of Spires. This prince, only twenty-seven years of age, and little versed in such matters, passed on the decision to Canon Truchsess, a disciple of Reuchlin. Against his verdict, which exonerated the "Augenspiegel" and censured Hochstraten for condemning it, the Inquisitor appealed to the Pope, who this time appointed as judge Cardinal Grimani. The latter summoned both parties to Rome in June, 1514. Hochstraten was bidden to appear in person, but Reuchlin,

* *Cf.* GEIGER, 297.

on account of his advanced age, was allowed to send an advocate to represent him. Hochstraten had started for Rome even before the summons reached him; but the affair dragged on year after year, for Reuchlin had many influential patrons at the Curia, and the Pope forbore from any interference.

Leo X. suspected no danger, though there were not wanting those who warned him. Even as early as the 21st of April, 1514, the learned Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Adrian VI., appealed to Cardinal Carvajal and begged him to do his best to persuade the Pope to be prompt to heal "this cankerous disease." Shortly afterwards the Cologne theologians appealed to the same Cardinal. They, and above all the Inquisitor, had remained faithful to their duty in respect of the heretical "Augenspiegel," and, being supported by the verdict of various Universities, had condemned and burnt the book. Whereupon its author obtained, by a false statement, the appointment of a new judge at Spires. He, "being more inclined to error than to Catholic truth, and being ignorant both of theology and the mysteries of faith," was bold enough to acquit the book, "to the injury of the Catholic Church, the joy of the Jews, the detriment of the Universities and their scholars, and the grave and harmful scandal of the common folk." Hochstraten had appealed to the Holy See, and implored Cardinal Carvajal to help him, by doing which he would be maintaining the holy faith; "for if," said he, "the frivolity of the poets (*i.e.* the humanists) be not suppressed in this affair which is polluting faith, they will in the future be less diffident in attacking theological truth." *

But on both sides of the Alps rich patrons of Reuchlin's appeared, who were able to postpone a decision. Even the

* GEIGER, *loc. cit.*, 305.

Emperor Maximilian interested himself on his behalf. Erasmus also spoke warmly to the Pope in favour of his friend.* But, on the other hand, the Archduke Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., put in a plea for Reuchlin's adversary. With words of warning he approached the Pope in 1515. "Corruption," said he, "will grow every day that the decision of this case is postponed. In Rome, where the trial is held, nothing is discussed except the form in which the question is put, while the substance of it is neglected. A few Cardinals are charged with the examination of the matter, whereas, on account of its importance, the affair ought to be laid before the Cardinals assembled in the Council which was then sitting in the Lateran. Would that the strife could be ended! Would that the cruel wolf could be prevented from shedding the innocent blood of the sheep, and this scandal be removed from the path of the weak!" Francis I. also had warned the Pope, and begged him to speedily make a happy decision about the matter, conforming himself in this with the judgment passed by the German schools, and "our University of Paris." The University of Louvain, in a letter sent to the Pope, said that it looked on it as a sacred duty to care for the order and purity of the Catholic Church. In the condemnation of Reuchlin's book, Louvain had agreed with the other faculties, especially that of Paris. "All who walked in the house of God had spoken unanimously." †

Yet no decision was given! When the Roman commission, the majority of whom favoured the "Augenspiegel," declared themselves ready to express their final opinion, a Papal mandate, dated July, 1516, was issued. which deferred a decision. This did not make Hochstraten

* GEIGER, 309 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 310–312.

desist from his efforts. For another year he remained in Rome, and it was only in July, 1517, after more than three years' sojourn there, that he returned to Cologne without having succeeded in his object.*

While Rome hesitated, affairs on the other side of the Alps had taken a menacing turn. The younger humanists, now firmly united for the first time, made use of the Reuchlin dispute in their rebellion against the authority of the Church, and especially against the doctrines of the Dominican Order, as being to them the chief representative of scholasticism. Under the leadership of Mutianus, who, moved merely by theological antagonism, took the side of Reuchlin against his convictions, the younger humanists gathered round the latter and stirred him up to greater fury than before against his opponents, while they poured forth scorn and satire on the theological teaching of the old school. In the years 1515-1517 the Letters, published under the title of "Epistolae obscurorum virorum," appeared. The first part of them was written by Crotus Rubianus, and the second entirely by Hutten.† The writers of this work did their utmost to defame their adversaries by the grossest accusations. The real motive of this shameful libel was hostility to the authority of the Church. A number of the letters in the second part are dated from Rome. It was Hutten who extended the line of attack, and made war directly against the Holy See.‡ What the humanists did now in respect to Reuchlin, they repeated when soon afterwards they espoused the cause of Luther, whose first confederates they became.

The outbreak of the Lutheran movement and the attitude of the humanists towards Reuchlin at last caused

* GEIGER, 319-320.

† BRECHT, Die Verfasser der *epist. obsc. vir.*, Strasburg, 1904.

‡ *Cf.* PAULSEN, Gesch. des gel. Unterrichts, I., 2, 84.

the latter's case to be regarded in Rome in a less favourable light; the trial terminated in a way unfavourable to him. But the Papal decision came too late; in the long interval of hesitation, Reuchlin's name had been taken up as a war-cry by all the adversaries of the Holy See. In his final verdict, Leo X., on the 23rd of June, 1520, declared the Spires judgment to be invalid, forbade the circulation of the "Augenspiegel" as a book offensive, scandalous, and unlawfully favourable to the Jews. Moreover, he condemned Reuchlin to pay all costs of the trial. At the same time Hochstraten was reinstated in his offices of Prior and Inquisitor, of which he had been shortly before deprived by the Frankfort Chapter, intimidated by the threats of Sickingen.*

The Reuchlin dispute, thus decided all too late by Rome, was the forerunner of a far more important contest, which was to bring about a final parting of the ways.

II.

When we look at the condition of things connected with the Church in Germany at the close of the Middle Ages, we can see that, even if by no means hopeless, it was such as to cry out urgently for reform. It is true that the Church stood firm with strong vitality; it is true that faith and piety waxed strong among the masses of the people in spite of the excesses in the lives of both secular and regular clergy. Nevertheless there existed smouldering elements, the letting loose of which was bound to lead to a catastrophe. There was an abundance of inflammable material ready laid in the field of politics and society, and above all in that of the Church, and there were only wanting the right man and the given opportunity to cause a disastrous conflagration. Both were at hand.

* GEIGER, 447 *seq.*, 451.

That the outbreak of the revolt against Rome should be connected with a financial question was by no means fortuitous; for in Germany at that time there was no subject of complaint more rampant than the constant demands for money made by the Curia, and the grave abuses connected therewith. The Papal tax-gatherers had always filled a difficult position in that country. To the nation's innate sense of liberty there was united a general reluctance to recognize any taxes, whether legal or ecclesiastical.* Ever since the development of political economy had facilitated financial dealings with Rome, the complaints against the covetousness of the Curia had become so violent as to lessen the respect felt for the Holy See. "Every person subjected to a demand for money gave vent to his displeasure, without considering that the Papacy, being a universal institution, must have the right to turn to the faithful to help it to defray its expenses." †

As a matter of fact, discontent with the Curia's system of taxation, which was carried on by all its chief agents, was shown as early as the 13th century, and ere long passed all bounds. In the 15th century complaints were openly made by the Germans about the way in which their country was impoverished by the large sums of money which were for ever flowing into Rome. The complaints of some, as for instance Martin Mayr, were made with a vicious intention, and were meant to frighten the members of the Curia and secure a good price as hush-money.‡ But others, upright and devout Catholic chroniclers, brought forward the same accusations.§ That

* KIRSCH, Die päpstlichen Kollectoren während des 14 Jahrhunderts. Paderborn, 1895, Einl.

† JANSEN, Maximilian I., 12.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, 418.

§ *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 742.

there was much exaggeration in them cannot be doubted; and the latest researches show the necessity of caution in accepting the current opinion. One of the most distinguished investigators pertinently declares that a closer knowledge of the Papal system of taxation will prove to be its apology;* which shows how much must remain uncertain in the present state of research. But whatever may be the final verdict passed, it is certain that it was the general opinion in Germany that, in the matter of taxation, the Roman Curia put on the pressure to an unbearable degree.

The covetousness of Rome in its worst developments, connected especially with trade, money-changing, and gratuities, was the favourite theme of the most bitter satires. Again and again was the complaint made that chancery dues, annates, *medii fructus*, and consecration fees were unduly raised or unlawfully extended; that numerous new indulgences were published without the consent of the Bishops of the country, and tithe after tithe raised for a Crusade and diverted to another object.† Even men devoted to the Church and the Holy See, such as Eck, Wimpheling, Karl von Bodmann, Archbishop Henneberg of Mayence, and Duke George of Saxony, shared in the dissatisfaction, and often declared that the German grievances raised against Rome were, from a financial point of view, for the most part only too well founded.‡

Added to the grievance about the tithe for the Crusade, it was a standing source of displeasure that each year the promulgation of indulgences became more and more a mere money transaction, which led to many abuses. Even

* FINKE, Kirchenpolitik. Verhältnisse, 110.

† GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 112 *seq.*

‡ See the authentic records in JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 743. *Cf.* KNEPPER, Nationaler Gedanke, 71, and Wimpheling, 256 *seq.*

under Julius II. this grievance was attacked by Ulrich von Hutten.*

At the court of the Medici Pope no account was taken of the deep-seated dissatisfaction caused by the Roman demands for money. With inconceivable thoughtlessness no attempt was made to leave the old beaten track. Quite regardless of the innumerable complaints which were lodged against it, the little official world lulled itself to sleep in false security. Misgivings expressed by a few individuals passed by unheeded. Nothing was allowed to disturb the prevailing satisfaction in the actual state of ecclesiastical affairs. That the Germans should inveigh against Rome was such a matter of course that no particular attention was paid to their outbursts.† The chronic need of money, a consequence of disorganized finances and the Pope's boundless expenditure, led Rome to have recourse to the most perilous methods. The most reckless means of filling the always empty coffers were resorted to without misgiving. Vainly did Aleander in 1516 tell Leo X. that he much feared a revolt against the Holy See, on the part of Germany, for that thousands were only awaiting their opportunity to speak out their mind most openly.‡ But no heed was paid to the warning voice, and, in the face of the growing fermentation, the Pope committed the unpardonable error of proclaiming an indulgence for the building of the new basilica of St. Peter's, on an even more extensive scale than that proclaimed under Julius II.

* STRAUSS, I., 99 *seq.* The abuses attendant on the publishing of indulgences occupied the theological faculty of the University of Paris in 1518; see DELISLE, Notices sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la fac. de théologie de Paris, Paris, 1899.

† An utterance of SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI (II., 291) is deeply characteristic of this state of mind.

‡ See BALAN, n. 31; BRIEGER, n. 11.

According to custom, Leo X., on entering on his pontificate, had revoked all the indulgences granted by his predecessor. He made, however, one exception, and declared his intention of not revoking that which Julius II. had granted for the furtherance of the erection of the new church of St. Peter's. As on former occasions, the Franciscan Observantines were charged by Leo X. with its promulgation in their respective provinces. No new field was opened in this proclamation, so that it applied neither to Portugal, France, Burgundy, nor to any German territory except Austria, nor to the Bohemian part of Silesia.* But at the end of 1514 all this was changed. On the 29th of October, the St. Peter's Indulgence was extended for one year to Savoy, Dauphiny, Provence, Burgundy, Lorraine, and to the town and diocese of Liège. On the 2nd of December it was further extended for two years to the ecclesiastical provinces of Cologne, Treves, Salzburg, Bremen, Besançon, and Upsala. The intermediate dioceses were exempt; the exceptions being the possessions of Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, and Administrator of the diocese of Halberstadt, those of the Margrave of Brandenburg, as well as the dioceses of Cambrai, Tournai, Thérouanne, and Arras. Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi, a member of a Milanese family and court prelate, was named commissary for indulgences in this new field.† At the end of September, 1515, Arcim-

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 26; SCHULTE, Fugger, I., 57 *seq.* The Swiss, P. Falk, wrote from Rome in 1513 saying that new indulgences were very hard to obtain, because of the fear that the St. Peter's Indulgence might be injured by them; see Anz. für schweiz. Gesch., N. F., XXIII. (1892), 376; *cf.* 378. About the difficulties made by Leo X. when the Venetians in 1517 solicited new indulgences, see SANUTO, XXIV., 105, 448.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 12,385, 13,053, 13,090. **Brief to the Archbishop of Cologne, Dec. 15, 1514, in State Archives, Dusseldorf; *cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 28 *seq.*; SCHULTE, I., 63-65. Some details of

boldi's powers were extended to the diocese of Meissen. At Easter, 1516, he named as his coadjutor the Dominican, Johann Tetzel.* When, at the end of 1516, Arcimboldi went north, Tetzel entered the service of the Elector of Mayence, Albert of Brandenburg, to whose dioceses of Mayence, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt an indulgence had been granted, the proclamation of which was to lead to events, the import of which was little suspected.

Albert of Brandenburg,† Archbishop of Magdeburg since August 1513, and, since September of the same year, Administrator of the see of Halberstadt, was, for political reasons, elected as Archbishop of Mayence on the death of Uriel von Gemmingen on the 9th of March, 1514. But Albert was resolved to retain the other two sees as well, the result of which would be an accumulation of bishoprics

the proclamation of the indulgence in the Netherlands by Arcimboldi are given in the treatise of P. FREDERICQ, La question des indulgences dans les Pays-Bas au commencement du XVIe siècle, in the Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, 1899, 24–57 ; and Les comptes des indulgences en 1488 et en 1517 à 1519 dans le diocèse d'Utrecht, in the Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie Royale de Belgique, LIX. (1900) ; *cf.* also the report of PAULUS in Histor. Jahrb., XXI (1900), 139, 846, and PAQUIER, Aléandre et la princ. de Liège, Paris, 1896, 53 n. 1. About Arcimboldi's proclamation of the indulgence in the north of the Empire, see Vol. VIII., chap. 10.

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 17,844 ; PAULUS, Tetzel, 29.

† *Cf.* J. MAY, Der Kurfürst, Kardinal und Erzbischof Albrecht II., von Mainz und Magdeburg, 2 Bde, Munich, 1865–75 ; SCHULTE, Fugger, I., 93–141. Added to these the revised edition of Schulte's works by SCHRÖRS in the Wissenschaftl. Beil. zur Germania, 1904, Nos. 14, 15 ; PAULUS in Der Theol. Revue, 1904, No. 18, and PFÜLF, in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXVII. (1904), 323 *seq.* ; also KALKOFF, Zu den römischen Verhandlungen über die Bestätigung Erzbischof Albrechts von Mainz im Jahre, 1514, in Arch. für Ref. Gesch., I. (1903), 375–389, or, to be accurate, 381–395. *Cf.* F. MEHL, Die Mainzer Erzbischofswahl vom Jahre 1514 und der Streit um Erfurt in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen, Bonn, 1905.

such as had been hitherto unknown in Germany. There were difficulties in Rome about his confirmation in the sees, which were increased by Cardinal Lang, who had hoped to secure Magdeburg and Halberstadt for himself. Large-hearted as he was in such matters, Leo X. must have hesitated to confide to the care of a prince only twenty-five years of age a field of jurisdiction so vast as to baffle the powers of a man of great experience, even were he to confine himself to the supervision of what was absolutely necessary.

But all hesitation vanished before the enticing prospect of securing the loyalty of the two powerful Brandenburg Electors by this act of condescension. After long negotiations the object of Albert's ambition was achieved. In August, 1514, he was confirmed in the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, together with that of Magdeburg and the episcopal see of Halberstadt. It is true that for his confirmation in these sees he had to pay a fee of 14,000 ducats, besides the extraordinary tax of 10,000 ducats for holding the two extra bishoprics. The whole sum was advanced by the celebrated banking house of Fugger, which reigned over international finance, under the management of the genial Jakob Fugger.* To indemnify him, and above all to enable him to pay his debt to Fugger, Albert was entrusted with the proclamation of the St. Peter's Indulgence in the ecclesiastical provinces of Mayence and Magdeburg, including the diocese of Halberstadt, and throughout the territory of the house of Brandenburg. Half the proceeds were to go towards defraying the expenses of St. Peter's, and the other half to the Archbishop of Mayence. It has been held that Albert made an offer for the grant of the indulgence in his territories, and that the 10,000 ducats were a premium paid in advance by him for the favour; but later researches have

* Albert's bond for 29,000 Rhenish gulden, in SCHULTE, II., 93 *seq.*

disproved this.* The 10,000 ducats were rather an extraordinary fee paid by him for the right to hold the sees of Magdeburg and Halberstadt in addition to that of Mayence. As a matter of fact Brandenburg made no offer for the privilege of proclaiming the indulgence, the proposal coming to him from the Dataria. The Envoy of Albert was at first but little inclined to meddle with the affair, because, said he, "dissatisfaction and perhaps worse might come from it." But at last there was nothing left to him but to consent. Probably the chief agent of this business was the future Cardinal Armellini.†

Though the term of simony has been applied to this case, it is not quite borne out by facts.‡ Still the whole

* *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 121 *seqq.*, 115 *seqq.* He was the first to clear up the matter by means of the correspondence between Albert, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Roman Ambassador, kept in the State Archives, Magdeburg.

† See KALKOFF in the Archiv für Ref. Gesch., I., 385 *seq.*

‡ SCHULTE'S (I., 115, 118, 121 *seq.*, 127) repeated and severely-worded accusation of simony has been rejected by Schrörs, Paulus, and Pfülf; so also KALKOFF (Arch. für Ref. Gesch., I., 379 *seq.*). On the other hand, W. SCHNÖRING (Joh. Blankenfeld, Halle, 1905) holds (26 *seq.*) to the opinion of Schulte, and tries to prove the charge of simony (91–94) against Kalkoff, Schrörs, and Pfülf. The difference of opinion need cause no surprise. Whoever is versed in the decisions of canon law, knows how difficult it is to decide whether simony existed in this, that, or the other particular case. ESSER (Kirchenlexicon, XI., 2, 326) argues as follows: "Those cases must not be judged simoniacal, where what is temporal is not given as the *remuneration* of that which is spiritual, but is offered only *on the occasion* of the exercise of a spiritual function, and under another name. Thus, much depends exteriorly on the mode, and interiorly on the intention, of giver and recipien As the Pope has need of material means for the government of the Church, he can, without being guilty of simony, raise a tribute from the members of the Church by granting a spiritual equivalent. The demand for 10,000 ducats, for permission to hold the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, involved no *formal* or *legal*

thing, looked at from every point of view, was a disgraceful affair for all concerned.* That it, together with other causes, led to the impending catastrophe, appears to us like a judgment from heaven. Even if the proclamation of the above-mentioned indulgence were but, so to speak, the last stone which set the avalanche in motion, it is a fact, proved by what took place, that the revolt against the Papacy proceeded from a grave abuse, patent to all beholders, connected with the obnoxious financial transactions of the Roman Curia. No doubt its demands for money affected the clergy primarily; but what weighed most with the discontent of the laity, was that the enforced payment of a certain sum of money should be added to the usual conditions for gaining an indulgence.

An indulgence † is, according to the doctrine of the

right to those sees, though the money did represent an *equitable* equivalent. This is conceded by SCHNÖRING (91). The Brandenburg Envoys were reminded "that His Holiness had been informed from several quarters that he must claim an equitable composition for the concession and confirmation of such benefices" (SCHULTE, II., 109). The Curia could take its stand on the ground of equity, and declare that there had been nothing simoniacal. *Cf.* GÖLLER in the Gött. Gelehrt. Anz., 1905, 642 *seq.* See SCHRÖRS, Leo X., Die Mainzer Erzbischofswahl un der deutsche Ablass für St. Peter im Jahre 1514, in the Zeits. f. Kat. Theol., XXXI., 267 *seq.*

* KALKOFF, *loc. cit.*, pertinently declares that "the greater part of the guilt of the scandalous proceedings connected with these arrangements, the strife caused by the indulgence, the increase in the existing discontent with existing ecclesiastical conditions, which made Luther's action so momentous, must all be laid on the brothers Hohenzollern, who approached the Curia with the request for such a monstrous accumulation of benefices."

† Of the older Catholic literature on the subject of indulgences we must consider: BELLARMINE, De indulg. et iub. libri duo, Romae, 1599; LUGO, Disput. de virtute et sacramento poenitentiae, item de suffragiis et indulgentiis, Lugd., 1638; E. AMORT, De orig., progressu, valore ac fructu indulg. Aug. Vind., 1735; THEOD. A SPIRITU SANCTO, Tract.

Catholic Church, as defined in the 13th century, a remission of the temporal punishment which remains due to sin, after its guilt and eternal punishment have been remitted in the sacrament of penance; which temporal punishment remains, to be suffered either here or in purgatory. Dispensers of indulgences are the Pope and Bishops, who draw from the inexhaustible treasury which the Church possesses in the merits of Jesus Christ, the most Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Saints (thesaurus ecclesiae). The indispensable condition for gaining any indulgence, is the state of grace given by means of contrition and confession. Besides this, good works, such as prayer, visits to churches, almsgiving, and pious offerings for holy objects and for the common welfare of the Church, are prescribed.

A distinction must be drawn between plenary indulgences, which cancel all temporal punishment due to sin,

dogm. mor. de indulgentiis, Romae, 1743. Of more modern literature, *cf.* GRÖNE, Der Ablass, seine Geschichte und Bedeutung in der Heilsökonomie, Ratisbonne, 1863; SCHANZ, Die Lehre von den Heiligen Sakramenten der Kath. Kirche, Freiburg, 1893, 613 *seqq.*; LEA, Hist. of Auricular Confession and Indulgences, III., Philadelphia, 1896; *cf.* Rev. d'hist. et de litt. religieuse, III. (1898), 434 *seqq.*; BERINGER, Die Ablasse 12, Paderborn, 1900; A. KURZ, Die Kath. Lehre vom Ablass vor und nach dem Auftreten Luthers, Paderborn, 1900; *cf.* Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LX., 88 *seq.*; LÉPICIER, Les indulgences, Paris, 1903, 2 vols. (see in this many criticisms on Lea). The Spezial Studien of PAULUS are distinguished by their learning and profundity (see Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol., XXIII., 48 *seqq.*, 423 *seqq.*, 743 *seqq.*; XXIV., 1 *seqq.*, 182 *seqq.*, 249 *seqq.*, 390 *seqq.*, 644 *seq.*; XXV.; 338 *seqq.*, 740 *seqq.*; XXVII., 368 *seqq.*, 598 *seqq.*, 767 *seqq.*, and Tetzel, 84 *seqq.*) which are a profound refutation of the erroneous views advocated by HARNACK (Dogmengesch., III.), DIECKHOFF (Der Ablaszstreit, Gotha, 1886), and BRIEGER (Das Wesen des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1897). For criticisms of Harnack and Dieckhoff, *cf.* FINKE, Kirchenpolitik. Verhältnisse, 112 *seqq.*, and MAUSBACH in Der Katholik, 1897, I., 48 *seqq.*, 97 *seqq.*; II., 37 *seqq.*, 109 *seqq.*

and partial indulgences, which cancel only a part of the same. Plenary indulgences, which the Pope alone, as Vicar of Christ, can grant, were granted in the second half of the 11th Century to Crusaders.* A special kind of plenary indulgence is the Jubilee Indulgence,† which was first granted by Boniface VIII. When such a Jubilee Indulgence was promulgated, it was done in an especially solemn manner. Confessors-extraordinary were appointed, with faculties more extensive than those exercised in the ordinary ministrations of a parish priest to his flock, and which gave them the power of absolution in reserved cases.

As regarded the application of indulgences to the dead, theologians were of divided opinion until the middle of the 15th century. Some rejected it or left the matter open, while others said it was lawful. The latter view gained general acceptance under the influence of the decisions of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII.; and by the beginning of the 16th century the application of indulgences to the souls in purgatory was no longer disputed by any Catholic writer.‡ As an indulgence for the dead is fundamentally nothing else than a solemn form of prayer for the dead, according to the general opinion it could be gained even in a state of mortal sin; whereas, if anyone wished to gain an indulgence for himself, contrition and confession were necessary conditions, added to some good work prescribed, such as a visit to a church or a pious offering in money.§

The Papal Bulls all put forward the doctrine of Indul-

* In all probability Alexander II., 1063, granted a plenary indulgence to the Crusaders against the Moors in Spain, see HERZOG, Realenzykl. IX., 3, 79.

† *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, 75.

‡ *Cf.* PAULUS in the Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol., XXIV., 1 *seqq.*, 249 *seqq.*

§ PAULUS, Die deutschen Dominikaner, 294.

gences with dogmatic accuracy;* and most theologians of the declining Middle Ages, though they may differ on individual points, agree in essentials; and all unite in explaining indulgences, not as being a remission of guilt, but as a remission of temporal punishment. All equally start from the presumption that, in order to gain an indulgence, the sin must have been already forgiven through contrition and confession. In the sermons and catechetical writings of the 15th century, the doctrine of indulgences is treated clearly and theologically. The sermons preached by the celebrated Geiler von Kaisersberg in 1501 and 1502 are quite a standard explanation of Christian doctrine.† The ordinary pastors of souls preached, only with varying skill, the doctrines of the Church as formulated by Popes and theologians. Sermons of the 15th century which have been preserved, prove how plainly and thoroughly this was done, and in such a way that persons of the more ignorant classes must have understood the matter.‡

Such preaching of indulgences in accordance with the spirit of the Church could have only a beneficial effect, and constituted a means of extraordinary work for souls which may be compared with that of popular missions at the present day.§ A number of elements combined on such occasions to produce a powerful influence on the

* This applies even to Boniface IX. *Cf.* PAULUS, Bonifatius IX., und der Ablass von Schuld und Strafe, in the Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol., XXV., 386 *seqq.*; see also by the same, Tetzel, 97 *seq.*, and JANSEN, Bonifatius IX., 170 *seq.*

† *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, I., 18, 56.

‡ *Cf.* A. FRANZ in Der Katholik, 1904, II., 113, who gives most interesting quotations from the sermon of a parish priest (1468–1477), to be found in Cod. 365 of the Canons' Library, St. Florian.

§ This pertinent comparison is made by SCHRÖRS in his valuable review of Schulte in the Wissenschaftl. Beil. zur Germania, 1904, No. 14. *Cf.* PFÜLF in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXVII., 321 *seq.*

spiritual life of the people; and zealous reformers in the Church, such as Geiler von Kaisersberg, attached the utmost importance to the preaching of an indulgence.* The season of grace was ushered in with special and impressive solemnities, such as processions, prayers, canticles, the erection of crosses, or pictures of the Mother of God, with her Divine Son lying dead on her knee. Well-known preachers were invited from a distance to instruct the people in frequent discourses, not only about the indulgence itself, but about all the truths of faith and the duties of the Christian life, with exhortations to repentance and amendment of life.†

For those thus stirred up to better things there were always at hand their own confessors, to whom to have recourse, these being, for the occasion, provided with special faculties for absolution in reserved cases and for dispensation from vows, being moreover well fitted to deal with all the ordinary cases of conscience submitted to them. Not only were the faithful exhorted to frequent the sacraments, but they were incited to prayer, almsgiving, fasting, devotion to the Saints, and all other holy practices. Whoever profited conscientiously by this time of grace granted by the Church, was sure to make progress in the spiritual life. After what had perhaps been a long life of sin, he was reconciled to his Lord and God, and enabled to set forth, full of good resolutions, to lead henceforward a good Christian life. Such a season of grace was also a

* *Cf.* Histor. polit., Bl., XLIX., 394 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the instruction for carrying out the Constance Indulgence, 1513, in SCHULTE, II., 40 *seq.* Four points were emphasised in all instructions on indulgences of that time, as is shewn by PAULUS (Tetzel, 87): (1) Indulgences for the living; (2) "Confessionals" or indulgence-letters; (3) Frequentation of the sacraments, usually connected with the "Confessionals"; (4) Indulgences for the dead.

powerful means of alleviating the sorrows of life. The unfortunate of every kind found strength and consolation under suffering, and returned to the difficult duties of their life comforted and reinvigorated. In this way indulgences represented a true renewal of spiritual life. Many witnesses testify that, towards the close of the Middle Ages, this end proposed was often attained.*

It is true that even then complaints were made by unsuspected and credible persons of many abuses connected with indulgences. Nearly all arose from this, that the faithful, after frequenting the sacrament of penance, as the recognized condition for gaining the indulgence, found themselves called on to make an offering of money in proportion with their means. This offering for good works, which should have been only accessory, was in certain cases made into the chief condition. Thus an indulgence was lowered from its ideal purpose and degraded into a merely financial transaction. The need of money instead of the good of souls became only too often the end of the indulgence.

Like nearly all the abuses which disfigured the Church at the close of the Middle Ages, this about indulgences dates to a great extent from the Schism of the West.† In order to hold his own against the French anti-popes, Boniface IX., who was not scrupulous in his methods of supplying the apostolic coffers,‡ granted an unusual number of indulgences, with the avowed object of procuring money. This he did first by proclaiming in 1390 a Roman Jubilee over a large area, including Italy and Germany. To this in itself no exception could be taken; but the gaining of the indulgence was connected with conditions which could

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 124 *seq.*

† Nevertheless, even in the 13th century, B. von Berthold of Ratisbon complains of abuses connected with indulgences.

‡ See Vol. I. of this work, 164.

not fail to lead to abuses. To the ordinary conditions this was added, that whoever wished to gain a plenary indulgence must offer the same amount of money which he would have spent on a journey to Rome and in the churches there. All details were to be arranged with the collector: even should he ask but a small tribute from some, and a merely nominal offering from the very poor, still the fact remained that such "bargaining between collector and pilgrim gave so marked a stamp of business to the Jubilee, that there could not fail to be unauthorized imposition on the side of the collector, and fraudulent excuses on the side of the pilgrim." Of all monies received half had to be sent to Rome.* The evil consequences of all this were soon made evident. Neither religious nor secular clergy shrank from the direct sale of spiritual gifts, and gave absolution for money to those who did not even profess to have contrition. Boniface IX. was told of these abuses, but instead of ordering stringent measures to be taken, he only expressed his displeasure with many of the clergy who possessed indulgence-faculties because they would render no account of the proceeds. The impression that the question of money was the chief consideration with the Roman Curia, was increased by the intelligence that the official agents of the Jubilee Indulgence in Cologne in 1394, an abbot and a banker, were living together. This was the first instance of the kind. Another custom arose of appointing sub-delegates for the proclamation of the indulgence, which no doubt weakened the sense of responsibility in the real dispensers.† Much mischief was done by the expenses attendant on publishing the Bulls of

* JANSEN, Bonifatius IX., 143. That, even in the first half of the 15th century, the practices of Boniface IX. led to the commutation of vows, is shown by GÖLLER in the Gött. Gelehrt.-Anz., 1905, 649 *seq.*

† JANSEN, Bonifatius IX., 143.

indulgences. In addition to the great cost of preparing them, large fees had to be given to the officials of the Curia. There are undoubted proofs that this went on during the pontificate of Boniface IX.*

Boniface's successors went even further than he did. All the Popes of the latter days of the Middle Ages, driven by Crusade difficulties and other embarrassments, or else moved by the constant requests for assistance from clergy and laity, granted indulgences to quite an extraordinary extent, both as to number and area. Though in the wording of the Bulls, the doctrine of the Church was never departed from, and confession, contrition, and definitely prescribed good works were made the condition for gaining the indulgence, still the financial side of the matter was always apparent, and the necessity of making offerings of money was placed most scandalously in the foreground. Indulgences took more and more the form of a monetary arrangement, which led to many conflicts with the secular powers, who were always demanding a share of the proceeds. "That he who granted the grace should receive a share gave no offence, but it was the amount which was the occasion of scandal. The faithful felt themselves wronged by the Curia; and so also did the members of the latter feel themselves aggrieved by the Emperor and territorial Princes, who either forbade the proclamation of the indulgence in their lands, or else seized the profits." †

With the multiplication and extension of indulgences, and their conversion into money transactions, it was obvious, considering the covetousness of the age, that the gravest abuses should prevail at their promulgation. Pain-

* *Cf.* HÖHLBAUM'S extracts from the State Archives, Cologne, XII. (188), 67 *seq.*; public letters of the Cologne Envoy, 1394.

† SCHULTE, I., 179; WEIDLUNG, Schwedische Reformationsgesch., 22, 40.

ful occurrences were frequent at the collection and division of the indulgence offerings. No wonder that loud and violent complaints were heard on every side. We can understand what the abuses must have been if even a good man like Eck, who was devoted to the Holy See, could complain openly that "one indulgence drove out another!" Eck reported that "permissory letters" were given as the actual reward of crime.* Jerome Emser severely censures the guilt of "the covetous commissaries, monks, and priests, who preach the indulgence in a shameless manner, and lay more stress on money than on confession, contrition, and penance."† Murner also speaks of the abuses connected with indulgences.‡ These, however, were by no means confined to Germany. At the Council of Trent, Cardinal Pacheco complained of the doings of the preachers who proclaimed the "cruciata" indulgence in Spain.§ The

* *Cf.* Eck's reformation proposals in the Beitr. z. bayr. Kirchengesch., II., 222.

† EMSER, Wider das unchristliche Buch Luthers an den tewtschen Adel, 1521, *cf.* G. 4.

‡ JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 137.

§ Concil. Trid., I., Friburgi, 1901, 51. About the scandalous behaviour of the "quaestionarii" in Germany, *cf.* the examples brought forward by FALK in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 574. The * "Tractatus contra questores," in which the Dominican P. Schwarz draws the attention of William of Reichenau, Bishop of Eichstatt (1464–1496), to the conduct of the *questores*, as being contrary to ecclesiastical tradition and precept, is very interesting. I owe to Dr Grabmann a closer acquaintance with this document in Cod. 688 *seq.*, 139*b*–144*b* of the Library at Eichstätt Schwarz passes a scathing criticism on the draft of an indulgence, which he brands as a falsification of the valid form. In such the words *vere contritus et confessus* are always to be found; but in this one the clause is omitted. By such falsifications, he says, the people lose all confidence in a valid indulgence, and cease to contribute to the good works prescribed by the Church. In fol. 143*b* Schwarz makes the following summary of the abuses connected with the action of the

severe Cardinal Ximenes, notwithstanding his devotion to the Holy See, expressed his disapprobation of the indulgence proclaimed by Leo X. for building St. Peter's.* In the Netherlands such scandal was given among the more strict Catholics by the behaviour of the indulgence commissaries, and by the frivolity with which they granted dispensations, that at Louvain open protestations were made in 1516 against the proclamation.† At the Lateran Council some of the Bishops complained of the abuses attending the proclamation of the indulgence by the Minorites. A compromise was agreed to ;‡ but this effected no good, for Egidio Canisio remonstrated with Adrian VI. for entrusting the indulgence to the Franciscans, which militated against the jurisdiction of the Bishops. No

questores : (1) the *questores* hinder the dispensing of the Word of God, by wasting the time set aside for the sermon by their traffic in letters of indulgence, one-third of the proceeds of which they retain ; (2) the faith of the people suffers from the neglect of the Word of God (ad incredulitatem disponitur) ; (3) the supreme authority of the Church, to which such indulgences are attributed, is vilified ; (4) misuse of and wrong-doings connected with relics ; (5) the *questores*, who boast of the power of the keys committed to them, are ignorant, and carry on a scandalous traffic ; (6) the people are sucked dry. One single *questor* carried off from the diocese of Eichstätt in one year the sum of 1000 guilders, of which scarcely ten reached the hospital for which they had been offered. In conclusion (f. 144*b*), Schwarz refers the Bishop to the example of the Archbishop of Salzburg, who drove the *questores* out of his diocese, and threatened with censure all priests who had any dealings with them.

* HEFELE, Ximenes, 458 (2nd ed., 433) ; *cf.* LEA, III., 386. About the opposition to the Indulgence of 1516, see LUDEWIG, Politik Nürnbergs, in Der Reformationszeit, Göttingen, 1881, 4 *seq.*

† Attention is called by FREDERICQ (La question des indulgences dans les Pays Bas au commencement du XVIe siècle, Bruxelles, 1899) to this newly-discovered document referred to by PAULUS, Histor. Jahrb., XXI., 139.

‡ *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 637–638.

proofs are needed of how much the authority of the Church suffered from all this, what scandal was given, or what occasion offered to her enemies to blaspheme. Cardinal Canisio was of opinion that the facilities for absolution encouraged sinners, and were an inducement to sin.*

In Italy also, voices were raised in protest against the undue multiplicity of indulgences.† Satirists like Ariosto jeered at their cheapness,‡ while seriously-minded men like Sadolet emphatically opposed them. But Leo, always in need of money, paid no attention. He was surrounded by unscrupulous advisers, such as Cardinal Pucci, who knew how to appease his conscience by—to put it mildly—their rare gifts of casuistry.§ It is therefore not surprising that the Medici Pope committed himself to the proclamation of this indulgence, which he entrusted to the new Elector, Albert of Brandenburg.

The petition of Albert of Brandenburg to be entrusted

* Promemoria to Adrian VI., from HÖFLER, in the Denkschr. d. Münch. Akad., IV., part 3, 73 *seq.*

† SANUTO, XXIV., 105, 448.

‡ Along with the third satire (v. 228), and the passages cited from the "Scolastica" by GASPARY, II., 422, *cf.* especially the prologue to the "Negromante," the performance of which was forbidden by the Pope on this account, though he himself was praised in it. A still stronger attack on indulgences is to be found in "Rinaldo ardito," IV., 38, of which the authorship, attributed to Ariosto, is not established.

§ *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, I. 4. It is remarkable to see how this friend of the Medici tries to defend him in the matter of the Indulgence, and when he writes lays all the blame on the sub-commissaries when he says: "In his vero quae rem divinam respicerent nequaquam secunda fama praegravari est visus. Nam indulgentias vetera pontificum ad parandam pecuniam instrumenta adeo plene atque affluenter provinciis dedit, ut fidem sacrosanctae potestatis elevare videretur: in hoc etiam detestabili legatorum avaritia deceptus, qui se animas defunctorum singulis acceptis aureis expiare a purgatoriisque poenis eripere profitebantur."

with the proclamation of the Mayence and Magdeburg Indulgence * was dated the 1st of August, 1514, and received the *placet* of the Pope on the very same day.† But the proclamation itself was delayed for a short time.‡ The Bull was not prepared until the 31st of March, 1515.§ By it the Archbishop of Mayence and the Franciscan Guardian of that city were nominated the indulgence commissaries in the provinces named in Albert's petition, for eight years from the publication of the Bull. The commissaries were given the right to suspend all other indulgences in their official circuit. They were also entrusted with the Motu Proprio of Leo X. of the 15th of April ‖ to the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, as Camerlengo, and his official subordinates, which confirmed the Jubilee Indulgence applied for by Albert in his petition. The Bull passed immediately into the hands of the Emperor Maximilian, who made use of the favourable opportunity to secure some of the proceeds for himself. To enable the Emperor to reap the benefit of three out of the eight years' indulgence granted by the Pope, the Chancellor of Mayence, Johann von Dalheim, arranged to pay in each of these three years 1000 Rhenish florins into the imperial exchequer, which money was to be applied to the erection of the

* Printed by KÖRNER, Tetzel der Ablassprediger, 142 *seq.*, and SCHULTE, II., 107–109. *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 124.

† *Cf.* SCHULTE, II., 143.

‡ *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 31 *seq.*; SCHULTE, I., 125 *seqq.*

§ This Bull, unknown to earlier investigators, was first made use of about the Tetzel affair by PAULUS (Tetzel, 31), and later published from the original in the Library of the Munich University by KÖHLER, Dokumente zum Ablaszstreite, 83–93, and entered later in the Register by SCHULTE, II., 135–143. *Cf.* GÖLLER in the Gött. Gelehrt.-Anz., 1905, 657 *seq.*

‖ Printed in KÖRNER, *loc. cit.*, 143 *seq.*, and in SCHULTE, II., 143 *seq.* *Cf.* KÖRNER, 48–50; SCHULTE, I., 125 *seq.*

Church of St. James, adjoining the imperial residence at Innsbruck.*

As it was not explicitly stated in the Bull that half of the proceeds were to go to the Archbishop of Mayence, the latter, to avoid future molestation, decided to delay the promulgation of the indulgence until he had received an unambiguous assurance from Rome† to that effect. The arrangements connected with this caused fresh delay. As the Papal Brief, giving the assurance asked for, and sent off on the 14th of February, arrived at Mayence only a few days before the Jubilee Sunday, it was, as the provost Dietrich Zobel wrote to Albert, too late for that year.‡ Thus it was that the preaching of the indulgence was introduced in Mayence only at the beginning of the fateful year 1517. In consequence of the confusion which ensued, it was carried on during only two years out of the eight. According to Fugger's estimate, only lately discovered, the proceeds were distinctly less than they had been on any previous occasion.§ It appears that after paying the duty to the Emperor, Albert received as his share scarcely half of the "composition," to say nothing of the confirmation fees. "The Mayence and Magdeburg Indulgence was a bad speculation for Albert, from a purely mercantile point of view." It is a manifest fable that Tetzel received for the Elector of Mayence in one year the sum of 100,000 golden florins.

After January, 1517, Tetzel‖ is known to us as the

* SCHULTE, II., 147 *seq.*; *ibid.*, I., 130.

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 31 *seq.*; SCHULTE, I., 130 *seqq.*; II., 148 *seqq.*

‡ KÖRNER, 147; SCHULTE, II., 152.

§ SCHULTE, I., 144–150; Die Urkunden, II., 190–192, 193 *seq.*, 197.

‖ About Tetzel, see the excellent monograph by PAULUS (Mayence, 1899), and the same author's completion of it in Der Katholik, 1899, I., 484 *seq.*, and 1901, I., 453 *seq.*, 554 *seq.* See furthermore in the

Archbishop of Mayence's general sub-commissary.* On the 24th of January he was at Eisleben, which then belonged to the diocese of Halberstadt, throughout which, as well as the archdiocese of Magdeburg, he subsequently travelled.† Early in the year he arrived at Jutterbog, whither there came many people from the neighbouring town of Wittenberg to gain the indulgence, because it was not allowed to be proclaimed in Saxony.‡ On this

same the short sketch, Die deutschen Dominikaner, 1–9. By the labours of Paulus the earlier works of GRÖNE (Tetzel und Luther, 2, Soest, 1860) and KÖRNER (Tetzel, Frankenberg, 1880) have been superseded. *Cf.* besides GRUBE, Die Tetzel-Literatur der Neuzeit, in the Literar Rundschau, 1889, No. 6; FALK in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 496 *seq.*; O. MICHAEL, Tetzel in Annaberg, in the Allg. Zeitg., 1901, Beil, Nos. 87 and 88. The latest work of DIBELIUS in Beitr. zur sächs. Kirchengesch., XVII. (1904), 1 *seqq.*, is insufficient; see Histor. Zeitschr., 93, 509. About the indulgence contest generally, *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18. Also: An meine Kritiker, Letter 14, 66–81; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 1–173; RIFFEL, Christliche Kirchengesch. der neuesten Zeit, 1, 2, Mayence, 1844. On the Protestant side: A. W. DIECKHOFF, Der Ablaszstreit, dogmengeschichtlich dargestellt, Gotha, 1886. The biographies of Luther by KÖSTLIN and KOLDE. Original authorities: J. E. KAPP, Schauplatz des Tetzelischen Ablass-Krams und des darwider streitenden Sel. D. Martini Lutheri, 2, Leipzig, 1720, and, Sammlung einiger zum Päbstlichen Ablass überhaupt, sonderlich aber zu der im Anfang der Reformation zwischen D. Martin Luther und Johann Tetzel hiervon geführten Streitigkeit gehörigen Schrifften, Leipzig, 1721; W. KÖHLER, Dokumente zum Ablaszstreit von 1517, Tubingen and Leipzig, 1902. Also by the same: Luthers 95 Thesen samt seinen Resolutionen sowie den Gegenschriften von Wimpina—Tetzel, Eck und Prierias, und den Antworten Luthers darauf, Leipzig, 1903. *Cf.* MANDONNET, J. Tetzel, Paris, 1901.

* *Cf.* HERRMANN in the Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., XXIII., 263 *seq.*

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 34 *seqq.*; Der Katholik, 1901, I., 465 *seqq.*; Die deutschen Dominikaner, 3.

‡ The account given by Johann Oldecop of Hildesheim that Tetzel had proclaimed the indulgence even in Wittenberg, is no doubt an error on the part of that chronicler; *cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 38 *seqq.*, as

occasion the professor of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, who was already secretly estranged from the Church, busied himself with the matter of the indulgence.

No doubt Tetzel was an eloquent and popular preacher, but owing to what followed his words on this occasion, his powers have been overrated by friend and foe alike.* In the interests of historical truth we must no more agree with all that Tetzel said and did, than we must accept the conventional picture drawn by his adversaries. The accusations of gross immorality brought against him by contemporary opponents are mere inventions, as also is the assertion of modern writers that he preached scandalously and criminally about the Mother of God. These charges can be proved to be calumnies by Tetzel's own evidence, supported by official witnesses.† The purport of Tetzel's indulgence sermons has been distorted in the most absurd manner. The mistakes made have come chiefly from the fact that sufficient care has not been taken to keep distinct the questions of different kinds which arose.‡ Above all,

well as his treatise, Tetzel und Oldecop, in Der Katholik, 1899, I., 484 *seqq.* In the passage in Aurifaber's edition of Luther's Tischreden (Eisleben, 1566, Bl. 625*b*), where such an assertion is put into Luther's mouth, Aurifaber in the original record of Veit Dietrich, in which there is an evident allusion to the indulgence for the Schloss-kirche at Wittenberg, of March 1516, quite arbitrarily introduced both the name of Tetzel and the date 1517. PAULUS in Der Katholik, 1901, I., 467 *seq.*

* Paulus gives an objective and altogether just estimate of his words which have been quoted.

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 56–69; Der Katholik, 1901, I., 556–560; Die deutschen Dominikaner, 5 *seq.*

‡ As regards the doctrine of indulgences as preached by Tetzel, *cf.* especially PAULUS, Tetzel, 84–169; Der Katholik, 1901, I., 561–570; Die deustchen Dominikaner, 6 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 82–85. A noteworthy source of information as regards Tetzel's teaching is the "Vorlegung, gemacht von Bruder Johann Tetzel, Prediger Ordens Ketzermeister: wyder eynem vormessen Sermon von tzwantzig irrigen

a most clear distinction must be made between indulgences for the living and those for the dead. As regards indulgences for the living, Tetzel always taught pure doctrine. The assertion that he put forward indulgences as being not only a remission of the temporal punishment of sin, but as a remission of its guilt, is as unfounded as is that other accusation against him, that he sold the forgiveness of sin for money, without even any mention of contrition and confession, or that, for payment, he absolved from sins which might be committed in the future. His teaching was, in fact, very definite, and quite in harmony with the theology of the Church, as it was then and as it is now, *i.e.*, that indulgences "apply only to the temporal punishment due to sins which have been already repented of and confessed." *

The so-called indulgence and confession letters (confessionalia) could, it is true, be obtained for payment alone, without contrition or any other condition. The mere gaining of such a letter granted neither the forgiveness of sin nor the gaining of any indulgence. All that its possessor acquired was the right, once in his life and at the hour of death, to receive at the hands of a confessor freely chosen by himself, and after a good confession, absolution from most of the cases reserved to the Pope.

Artiklen Bebstlichen ablas und gnade belangende allen christglaubigen menschen tzuwissen von notten," in LÖSCHER, Reformationsakta, I., 484–503; KAPP, Sammlung, 317–356; GRÖNE, Tetzel, 2, 219–234; the defence of Tetzel's theses before the schools of Frankfort, collected by Wimpina, in LÖSCHER, I., 507–517; PAULUS, Tetzel, 171–180 (*cf.* KÖHLER, Luthers 95 Thesen); also especially the instructions given to Tetzel for his mission; the Mayence instructions (Instructio summaria pro subcommissariis penitentiariis et confessoribus in executionem gratiae plenissimarum indulgentiarum . . .), printed by KAPP, Sammlung, 117–206 (translation of the same, 207–286).

* *Cf.* Tetzel's "Vorlegung," Art. 7; PAULUS, Tetzel, 88 *seq.*

A plenary indulgence was attached to this.* Thus, in this case also, contrition and confession were the recognized conditions for gaining the indulgence.†

The case was very different with indulgences for the dead. As regards these there is no doubt that Tetzel did, according to what he considered his authoritative instructions, proclaim as Christian doctrine that nothing but an offering of money was required to gain the indulgence ‡ for the dead, without there being any question of contrition or confession. He also taught, in accordance with the opinion then held, that an indulgence could be applied to any given soul with unfailing effect. Starting from this assumption, there is no doubt that his doctrine was virtually that of the drastic proverb: "As soon as money in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory's fire springs."§ The Papal Bull of indulgence gave no sanction whatever to this proposition. It was a vague scholastic opinion, rejected by the Sorbonne in 1482, and again in 1518, and certainly not a doctrine of the Church, which was thus improperly put forward as dogmatic truth. The first among the theologians of the Roman court, Cardinal Cajetan, was the enemy of all such extravagances, and declared emphatically that, even if theologians and preachers taught such opinions, no faith need be given them. "Preachers," said he, "speak in the name of the Church only so long as they proclaim the

* In order to guard against abuses, it was decreed by the Church that the letter should cease to be valid should the holder of it, trusting to it, commit sin. See PAULUS, Histor. Jahrb., XXV., 636.

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 130 *seqq.*; Die deutschen Dominikaner, 6, Der Katholik, 1899, II., 456–458; SCHMIDLIN, Sanson, 38 *seqq.*, where (pp. 44 *seqq.*) an "indulgence letter" for the town of Solothurn, signed by Sanson, is given in the original with translation, and reproduced in facsimile.

‡ *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 138 *seqq.*

§ *Ibid.*, 149.

doctrine of Christ and His Church; but if, for purposes of their own, they teach that about which they know nothing, and which is only their own imagination, they must not be accepted as mouth-pieces of the Church. No one must be surprised if such as these fall into error." *

Unfortunately many of the preachers of the indulgence in Germany and elsewhere were not as prudent as Cardinal Cajetan. Without hesitation they proclaimed scholastic opinions as if they were defined truth, and always obtruded the question of money in a manner which did much harm. Tetzel cannot be exonerated from blame in this respect, even if he did not go as far as Arcimboldi.† Tetzel was no doubt prone to exaggerations, and was wanting in modesty and simplicity. His manner was arrogant and pretentious, and he carried out the duties of his office in such a business-like way that scandals could not fail to arise. Even men who were in other respects quite on his side, complain of this. His contemporary and brother in religion, Johann Lindner, reproaches him severely for making gain his first object. "Tetzel," he writes, "devised unheard-of means of making money. He was far too liberal in conferring offices; he put up far too many public crosses in towns and villages, which caused scandal and bred complaints among the people." Thus spiritual treasures were carped at, on account of the abuses which accompanied them.‡

* PAULUS, Tetzel, 165. Tizio, the canon of Siena, also censures the "importuni viri et praesumptuosi concionatores atque indulgentiarum pontificalium datores et questores elemosinarum, sub indulgentiarum consecutionibus," who challenged Luther; see PICCOLOMINI, Tizio, 128.

† KALKOFF in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXXXIII., 369, says that it must be admitted that in this respect the "Romanists," *i.e.* the Italian courtiers, whom Luther attacked actually more than he did Tetzel, caused the cup of German patience to flow over.

‡ PAULUS, Tetzel, 120, 134; *cf.* 166.

A professor of Wittenberg University, whose name had, hitherto, been known but to few, became the interpreter of the widespread indignation caused by the abuses connected with the proclamation of the indulgence. On the 31st of October, on the occasion of Tetzel's preaching, Martin Luther affixed to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg ninety-five theses, challenging a dispute on the subject of indulgences.* According to the academic customs of the day, there was nothing unusual in this proceeding: but a burning question was involved. Added to this was the blunt polemical style of Luther's theses, which were full of contradictions far beyond their ostensible object. They roused great attention in every quarter. Even though Tetzel's sermons were the occasion of Luther's attack, it was directed less against him personally than against the whole system of indulgences. The primary object of the Wittenberg professor's attack was the teaching body of the Church, especially the Pope and the Archbishop of Mayence, whom Luther regarded as chiefly responsible for the abuses.† In his secret heart it was not the abuses of the actual system of indulgences which were at the bottom of Luther's action. The theses of October the 31st

* Printed in the various editions of Luther's works, Weimar edition, I., 233 *seqq.* The critical edition with the notes of W. Köhler ; Luthers 95 Thesen samt seinen Resolutionen sowie den Gegenschriften von Wimpina-Tetzel, Eck, und Prierias und den Antworten Luthers derauf, Leipzig, 1903. For a detailed statement of contents and criticism from a Catholic point of view, see HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 15–22. About the affixing of the theses, *cf.* FALK in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 481 *seqq.* An estimate of the theses from a Protestant point of view is given by DIECKHOFF, 40–71.

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 167 *seq.* In this sense Luther wrote to Tetzel to console him when he lay dangerously ill. "Let him not grieve," said he, "for the thing was not begun by him ; but the child has quite another father." PAULUS, 81, 169.

were nothing but the first incidental expression of his deep-lying antagonism to the Catholic doctrine of good works. The doctrines of justification by faith alone, and the absence of free-will in man, already completely formulated in his heart, could have nothing in common with such a thing.*

Luther had no intention at that time of separating himself from the Church. Neither can it be said that he took up the dispute about indulgences as a pretext to introduce his new doctrines. On the contrary, it may be assumed that he had no object beyond attacking the real and supposed abuses attached to the preaching of the indulgence. Nevertheless, the theses of the Wittenberg professor, taken as a whole, had a significance far wider than this. They could not fail to stir up the people against the authority of the Church, nor to bring indulgences into contempt, and lead the masses into error. What they put forward was a mixture of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, under which contempt and hatred of the Holy See, and much else that was reprehensible from a Catholic point of view, was scarcely concealed. The thirty-sixth thesis was directed against indulgences as interpreted by the Catholic Church, and the fifty-eighth directly denied the doctrine of the treasury of the Church.†

On the same day that he had affixed them to the church, Luther sent his theses to Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg, with a letter,‡ in which he partly summarized them, and complained of the false representations made to the people

* For the starting-point of Luther's new doctrine, *cf.* especially DENIFLE, Luther, I., and the article by GRISAR in the Lit. Beil. der Köln. Volksztg., 1903, Nos. 44–46; 1904, Nos. 1 and 3.

† With PALLAVICINO, I., c. 4, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 14–22, 24. *Cf.* especially RIFFEL, I., 32 *seqq.*

‡ This has been often printed, *e.g.* in WETTE, I., 67–70; ENDERS, I., 114 *seqq.*; KAPP, Sammlung, 292–296 (with translation, 297–302;

and the false promises of the preachers. In the beginning of the letter he says that he by no means wishes to accuse the preachers—whom he had not heard—of uttering such pernicious doctrine from the pulpit; but later, turning on them, he reproaches these same preachers because they, "by lying fables and empty promises, breed a false sense of security in the people." In conclusion, he demands of the Archbishop to countermand the instructions, which were at anyrate given without his knowledge or consent, and to replace them by a teaching of a better kind. He adds the threat that in case Albert should refuse, there might arise one who would write against the system, to the great injury of the Archbishop.

Albert of Brandenburg laid the case before his counsellors at Aschaffenburg and the professors of the University of Mayence. The first were unanimous in their desire that a process against Luther should be instituted.* The Archbishop sent on this opinion, together with Luther's theses, to the Pope, "with the good hope," as he wrote to his counsellors at Halle, "that His Holiness would grasp the situation so as to meet the error at once, as occasion offers and as the exigency requires, and not lay the responsibility on us."†

the last also in MAY, Kurfürst Albrecht, II., I.; Beilagen und Urkunden, 47–49). FALK gives an accurate translation in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 483–485. He remarks on p. 486: "Whereas, at the beginning, the tone of the letter is devout and almost servile, towards the end he assumes a menacing attitude. This twofold character goes through the letter. If he exhorted and threatened alternately, he could eventually attack the indulgence, to the confusion of the Cardinal. Thus Luther manifestly regards himself as the chief and best-equipped adversary of the indulgence." *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 45-47, 126.

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 47.

† After the original in the State Archives, Magdeburg, in KÖRNER, Tetzel, 148 *seq.*; in modern German in MAY, I., Beilagen und Urkunden, 50–52.

He urged these counsellors to consider the document with "due deliberation and diligence." If they were of opinion that it would be advisable to make the process more stringent, they were to intimate the same to Luther through Tetzel, "in order that such poisonous error may no longer be spread among the people." But it may be safely assumed that the counsellors of Halle did not think that the legal proceedings recommended at Aschaffenburg were expedient, or that any intimation as to their increased severity was communicated to Luther through Tetzel.*

The opinion of the University of Mayence, which was sent in only on the 17th of December, 1517, after repeated reminders on the part of the Archbishop, touched on only one point in Luther's theses, namely, the limitation of the Pope's authority in the matter of indulgences. It censured this as being opposed to the traditional doctrine, to adhere to which "was safer and more advisable." The Mayence professors refused to pass a formal judgment on the propositions, but rather recommended an appeal to the decision of the Pope.†

By the propagation of Luther's theses, Tetzel felt himself called on to bring his learning to bear on the adversary. He did this by a long list of theses, which he defended before the University of Frankfort on the Oder, on the 20th of January, 1518.‡ The author of these propositions was

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 47, as against Brieger, "Über den Prozess des Erzbischofs Albrecht gegen Luther," in the Kl. Beitr. zur Gesch., Leipzig, 1894, 191 *seqq.*

† See HERRMANN in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXIII., 265–268.

‡ From the one-sheet impression in the State Library, Munich, compared with Wimpina's published text (in his Anacephalaeosis, 1528), and the text in the Wittenberg edition of Opera Lutheri, I. (1545), on which all later editions are based, given in PAULUS, Tetzel, 170–180. A detailed statement of contents in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX.,

not Tetzel himself, but the Frankfort professor, Conrad Wimpina.* His anti-theses went too far on certain points, where they put forward scholastic opinions as if they were truths of faith. Generally, however, the defence gave a solid exposition of the accepted doctrine of indulgences, and proved the errors of Luther. Special stress was laid on this, that "indulgences do not remit sin, but only the temporal punishment due to it, and this only on the condition that the sin is heartily repented of and confessed; that they do not take from the merits of Christ, but place His satisfactory sufferings in the place of the satisfactory punishment."

A travelling dealer came to Wittenberg in the middle of March with a number of copies of the Frankfort anti-theses to sell. He was at once set upon by the students who had attached themselves to Luther, and the books torn from him and burnt in the public market-place. Later, this action was blamed by Luther himself.† But shortly after, as soon indeed as he had heard of the publishing of Tetzel's theses, Luther brought out his "Sermon on Indulgences and

25–32. *Cf.* also GRÖNE, Tetzel, 2, 81–96; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 85 *seq.* In the earlier literature only 106 theses are spoken of, but these form only the first portion of the whole number; *cf.* PAULUS, 49. The usual supposition that Tetzel was made doctor of theology on the occasion of his defence of these first theses is incorrect. He received the doctorate later, in the course of 1518, from the Frankfort University, not from the General of his own Order; *cf.* PAULUS in Der Katholik, 1901, I., 555 *seq.*; *ibid.*, Tetzel, 55.

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 49 *seqq.* If Tetzel undertook the defence of the theses written by a professor of the schools, and published them under his own name, he was but following a custom prevalent then and later at the University. It is therefore an error on the part of modern Protestant writers to conclude from this that Tetzel was an ignorant man and incapable of putting forward theses of his own.

† *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 52; by the same, Die deutschen Dominikaner, 4.

Grace,"* in which he went further than he had ever gone before.† In it he severely condemns the scholastic division of penance into confession, contrition, and satisfaction, as not being founded on Scripture. At the end of the sermon he makes this declaration: "If I am called a heretic by those whose purses will suffer from my truths, I care not much for their bawling: for only those say this whose dark understanding has never known the Bible."

In answer to this sermon, which was circulated in all parts, Tetzel published his "Vorlegung," directed "against an audacious sermon containing twenty articles full of errors concerning Papal Indulgences and Graces."‡ In this work he went exhaustively into the doctrine of indulgences.§ It is to the credit of Tetzel's acumen and theological training that he so fully grasped the scope of Luther's new doctrine, and perceived how closely it attacked the first principles of the Christian faith and the authority of the Church. Other good Christian scholars judged Luther's doctrines far too superficially, and saw nothing in the whole dispute beyond a scholastic quarrel about non-essential points. Luther's articles, Tetzel complained in his work, will cause "great scandal." For by them "many will be led to despise the supremacy and authority of the Pope and the Holy Roman See. Works of sacramental satisfaction will be left undone. Preachers and teachers will no longer be believed. Each person will interpret Holy Scripture just as he pleases. Wherefore, the practice of a holy and

* In the Weimar edition, I., 243 *seqq.* This work went through twenty-two editions between 1518 and 1520; FALK in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 486.

† *Cf.* KOLDE, Martin Luther, I., 150.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 347, n.

§ *Cf.* PAULUS, Tetzel, 53 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 87. Detailed index in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 33–41.

simple Christianity by the greater number of the faithful must be endangered; for each one will learn to believe just what he chooses."*

At the conclusion of the "Vorlegung," which appeared in April, Tetzel announced that he would shortly publish further points of doctrine, about which he intended to hold a disputation in the Frankfort schools.† This was issued at the end of April or the beginning of May, 1518, in the form of fifty theses, composed by Tetzel himself.‡ In these he touched only incidentally on the doctrine of indulgences, having already treated it sufficiently. This time he entered more deeply into the subject of the authority of the Church, which Luther had questioned. As the professor of Wittenberg had appealed to the Bible in his attack on indulgences, Tetzel argued that there were many Catholic truths which had to be firmly believed by faithful Christians, besides those mentioned explicitly in Holy Scripture. Among these must be counted belief in the dogmatic decisions of the Pope in matters of faith, as well as that of tradition approved by the Church. He here struck the key-note of the whole dispute. Indulgences, as something incidental to the main point at issue, soon disappeared from these polemical discussions; but, on the other hand, the question of the authority of the Church always remained in the foreground.§

Luther's counter-attack on the "Vorlegung" was in

* Vorlegung Art., 19; KAPP, Sammlung, 353; GRÖNE, 233; PAULUS, Tetzel, 53.

† Vorlegung Art., 20; KAPP, 355; GRÖNE, 233.

‡ First printed in the Wittenberg edition of Opera Lutheri, I. (1545), 96–98; also in LÖSCHER, Ref.-Acta, I., 517–522. A German translation in GRÖNE, 111–115; and one later in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 47–51.

§ PAULUS, Tetzel, 55.

pamphlet form, and bore the title, "Eyn Freyheyt des Sermons Bebstlichen Ablas und gnad belangend wider die vorlegung, so tzur schmach seyn und desselben Sermon ertichtet" (Wittenberg, 1518).* In this work he only mentions Tetzel's fifty theses incidentally at the end, where he dismisses them with an ironical remark. After publishing his fifty theses, Tetzel wrote no more. In consequence of Luther's attitude, it was impossible to carry on the preaching of the indulgence. He therefore returned at the end of 1518 to the Dominican convent at Leipzig.†

* In the Weimar edition, I., 383 *seqq.*; also in KAPP, Sammlung, 364–385. *Cf.* GRÖNE, 116–122; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 56.

† There was, as it were, an echo in Switzerland of Luther's fight against indulgences, only far less important. Bernardine Sanson of Brescia, Guardian of the Observantines in Milan, had, since the summer of 1518, been preaching the St. Peter's Indulgence in the thirteen cantons of Switzerland. He was sub-commissary to the General of the Order, Cardinal Cristoforo Numai, being delegated to the office by Papal Brief dated November, 1517. *Cf.* L. R. SCHMIDLIN, Bernhardin Sanson der Ablassprediger in der Schweiz, 1518–1519, Solothurn, 1898; N. PAULUS, Der Ablassprediger Bernhardin Sanson, in Der Katholik, 1899, II., 434–458. Many of the anecdotes related about Sanson's preaching by V. Anshelm and H. Bullinger are either exaggerated or fictitious; therefore the assumption is warranted that Sanson also was guilty of exaggerations as regarded the indulgence for the dead. Leo X. recalled Sanson on April 30, 1519, and promised to punish him, if he had really allowed himself to encroach on the truth (Letter in SCHMIDLIN, 30 *seq.*; *cf.* PAULUS, 453). The Franciscan, Gio. Batt. de Puppio, one of the indulgence commissaries (not the General of the Order, as Schmidlin calls him), wrote to the Confederate Government in the name of the Pope (*cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 32 *seq.*, 33 in the original text; PAULUS, 454) to ask in confidence whether they desired that Sanson should be recalled, or whether they would put up with him till the termination of his commission. If he had fallen into errors—whereat the Pope was much astonished—he must render an account of them to the Pope, and submit to punishment. Puppio wrote to Sanson himself on the 1st of May

Meanwhile, Luther's theses, translated into German and scattered broadcast about the country, were producing a great effect. As truth and falsehood were mixed in them to an extraordinary degree, both the friends and foes of ecclesiastical authority found something in them to suit them. As for the masses of the people, the cause of their approbation was to be found in the declaration that the support of the poor by almsgiving was more meritorious than the gaining of indulgences.* But the popularity of the movement came chiefly from its onslaught on the hated requisitions for money and the general abuses connected with them. Very soon all those who were discontented with the Curia—for mercantile, political, national, and other reasons—flocked after Luther,† and thus he took his place at the head of a national religious revolt, which was to be carried on by him until a large portion of the German people separated themselves from the centre of the unity of the Church.

Very few foresaw this at first: on the contrary, numbers believed both then and long after that the Wittenberg

to answer the accusations of the Swiss, and command him in the name of the Pope to conform himself to their will. This put an end to Sanson's work in Switzerland: by the desire of the Swiss he returned to Italy, and disappears from history. Whether he was subjected to an official examination in Rome, or whether he was found guilty and punished, remains unknown. "Leo X. vindicated his supreme authority in this indulgence question, but he sacrificed the preacher from benevolence and consideration towards the Confederate Government, or probably in order to prevent the smouldering embers of discontent from breaking out into flame" (SCHMIDLIN, 31). Being thus rendered innocuous, the Swiss traffic in indulgences had no further consequences. "It was an entirely subordinate episode, and cannot be considered as having given birth to the movement of the new religion in Switzerland" (PAULUS, 455).

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 23 *seq.*

† SCHULTE, I., 187.

professor was the champion of the reform of abuses in the Church, which had been looked for so eagerly by the faithful. Most people felt, no doubt, that Luther would carry on the desired reformation inside the Church and in obedience to her laws. They quite overlooked the fact that the sweeping away of abuses was only part of the reformer's programme. They either did not know, or would not admit, that he was already in vital antagonism to the Church by reason of the grave heretical doctrines which he held.

Among the few German theologians who from the very beginning feared great dangers for the Church from Luther's movement, was Johann Eck, a professor of Ingoldstadt. In his rejoinders (obelisci) to Luther's theses, at first disseminated only in manuscript form, he pointed out the kinship in many of the opinions expressed in them to the doctrines of Wyclif and Hus, which had been already condemned by the Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER IS SUMMONED TO ROME.—HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH CARDINAL CAJETAN AND WITH MILTITZ.—HIS ROMAN TRIAL.—THE BULL "EXSURGE" AND ITS RECEPTION IN GERMANY.—ALEANDER'S MISSION TO THE DIET OF WORMS, AND THE IMPERIAL EDICT AGAINST LUTHER.

I.

WHEN, in the beginning of 1518, Leo X., through a notice sent to him by the Archbishop of Mayence, became cognizant of the extent of Luther's new doctrines, he at once took measures to check them.* On the 3rd of February he directed Gabriele della Volta, Vicar-General of the Augustinians, to remonstrate with Luther, either by letter, or through learned and upright envoys, and urge him

* *Cf.* K. MÜLLER'S profound work in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXIV., 46-85; the detailed Studien of KALKOFF, *ibid.*, XXV., 90-147, 273-290, 399-459, 503-603; SCHULTE'S important contributions to Quellen und Forschungen, VI., 32-52, 174-176, 374-388; and KALKOFF'S learned "Forschungen zu Luthers römischem Prozess," Rome, 1905. It is surmised that the Archives of the Inquisition in Rome, so far inaccessible, may contain documents relating to it. KALKOFF (Forschungen 20) rightly denies a contrary assumption. As for myself, I have not been permitted to make any scientific researches among those Archives, but I have been assured by the archivist that there are no documents in them relating to the pontificate of Leo X. It could not be hoped to find any essentially new material, but diplomatic reports might supply information as regards the dispositions of the Curia. Such a report, taken from the State Archives, Modena, is given below.

to refrain from disseminating his new doctrines. If this were done at once, said the Pope, there was hope of extinguishing a fire so lately kindled; but should there be further delay, it might be found impossible to quench the conflagration.*

This attempt to check the innovator and bring him back to the Church by the discipline of his own Order,† was frustrated by Luther's determined resistance. For the purpose of justifying himself, he wrote with great care his "Resolutionen von der Kraft des Ablasses," which was forwarded to Rome by his religious superior, Staupitz. But in the apparently humble letter to Leo X. which accompanied it, he refused to make any retractation.‡

Luther had good reason to fear lest the Apostolic See might take more energetic measures against him. In order to be beforehand with Rome, he preached, in the middle of May, a sermon on the power of excommunication. In this, skilfully starting from the abuse of censures as carried on especially by subordinate ecclesiastics, and rightly condemned, he proceeded to lay down a new doctrine in startling contrast with that of the Church, namely, that the real communion of the Church was invisible, and that therefore no one could be cut off from it by excommunication, and that nothing but sin could affect it.§ "All men wonder," wrote Luther to a friend,

* BEMBI, Epist., Leonis X., XVI., 18. Like all the letters of this collection, the one under discussion is laboured in style. In the original register of Bembo's Briefs, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (*cf.* the description and criticism of this autograph in Appendix, Vol. VIII., No. 22), this letter is missing, so that the original form cannot be established.

† *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 44 *seq.*

‡ Luther's works, Weimar ed., I., 527 *seq.*; ENDERS, I., 200–204. *Cf.* Riffel, I., 79 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 64 *seq.*

§ Sermo de virtute excommunicationis. Op. lat. varii, arg. II., 306 *seqq.*, Weimar ed., I., 638 *seqq.*

"that they have never heard of such a thing before. Meanwhile, whatever evil may befall me in the future, we may all hope that a new fire has been kindled. In this way the word of truth will become a sign of contradiction." *

One month later the canonical process against Luther was instituted in Rome. The watchful Dominicans, the faithful brethren of Tetzel, had drawn the attention of the Curia, as early as March, 1518, to the danger of Luther's proceedings; but no measures were taken until the middle of June, or, in other words, until the reception of Luther's letter refusing all recantation. Now for the first time the Papal fiscal-procurator, Mario di Perusco, brought a charge against the professor of Wittenberg of propagating false doctrines. Leo X. entrusted the preliminary inquiry to Girolamo Ghinucci, Bishop of Ascoli, the Auditor-General of legal causes to the Apostolic Camera.† The learned Master of the Sacred Palaces, Silvestro Mazzolini, better known as Prierias, from his native city, was appointed theological examiner of the case.‡ He was a Dominican,

* DE WETTE, I., 130; ENDERS, I., 212.

† See MÜLLER, Prozess, 47 *seq.*, and KALKOFF, Forschungen, 50 *seq.* About Ghinucci, *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 569 *seq.*

‡ For the life and general work of Prierias, *cf.* FR. MICHALSKI, De Silvestri Prieriatis Ord. Praed. Magistri sacri Palatii (1456-1523) vita et scriptis, Particula I. (Diss. theol.), Monasterii Guestfal., 1892. *Cf.* WEISS in the Histor.-polit. Bl., LXXIX., 192 *seqq.*, and KALKOFF, Forschungen, 171 *seq.* The Brief of Dec. 16, 1515, in which Prierias was nominated Master of the Sacred Palaces, which is to be found in the last-mentioned work, is also to be found in Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 76, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The literary contest between Prierias and Luther is treated detailedly by F. LAUCHERT'S article on "Die italienischen Gegner Luthers" in the "Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Gesch. des deutschen Volkes," the statements in which are utilized by me in what follows. *Cf.* WEIDLUNG, Schwedische Ref.-Gesch., 122, for a remarkable opinion of P. Magni about the writings of Prierias.

and an ardent disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas. The anti-thomist tone of Luther's theses stirred up within him the strongest feeling of antagonism. Immediately after they had been posted up at Wittenberg, he—as his office of Master of the Sacred Palaces constituted him supreme guardian of theological literature—had gone deeply into the subject of them. Consequently he was able at the shortest notice to put on paper his opinion of them, which was at once printed and sent with a dedication to Leo X.* The title of Dialogus, which was given to this work, written in bad Latin, is explained by its form. Luther's theses are placed in order, and to each the answer of Prierias is subjoined. To form a right estimate of the work of Prierias, we must bear in mind what he himself says in his dedication to the Pope and in his letter to Luther, namely, that in this, his first passage of arms with the Wittenberg professor, he had no intention of refuting the theses exhaustively. So long as Luther did not too prominently obtrude his *fundamenta*, but contented himself with putting forward his theses without trying to prove them, Prierias was content to meet him with counter-theses, which, according to his own convictions, met the case. Should Luther, however, go back on what he had said, try to prove and add to them, then Prierias held himself ready to enter the lists with an extended scheme. In order not to fall into the fault which he blamed in his adversary, and put the theses of the latter to the test, he summed up under four principal heads his essential propositions (funda-

* R. P. Fratris Silvestri Prieriatis . . . in praesumptuosas Martini Lutheri conclusiones de potestate papae dialogus, 1518 (not 1517, *cf.* Luther's works, Weimar ed., I., 645); also in LÖSCHER, Ref.-Acta, II., 12–39; *cf.* MICHALSKI, 29 *seq.* In KÖHLER, Luthers 95 Thesen, we find the answers of Prierias to each individual thesis, with those of the German opponents (Wimpina-Tetzel, Eck) printed after each

menta). These related to the Church, the supreme spiritual authority of the Pope as her Head, the infallibility of the Church, of General Councils, and of the Pope in decisions in matters of faith and morals, as also the heretical character of rebellion against the doctrines of the Church, whether expressly defined or actually existing. The infallibility of the Church was then asserted as regarded her doctrine of indulgences in all its branches; and on this ground he condemned Luther's attack on it. It is, however, a fact that, in spite of the excellence of most of his arguments against Luther's assertions, his overbearing manner led him into exaggerations in his defence.* It is much to be regretted that he should have allowed himself to make rude personal attacks, even if Luther's defenders had no right to find fault with their opponent on that score. Nevertheless, to suppose that a more gentle and considerate way of meeting the attack would have had any better results than his high-handed methods, would be to misapprehend Luther's character and to

* To Luther's 32nd thesis, "Damnabuntur in aeternum cum suis magistris, qui per litteras veniarum securos se credunt de sua salute," Prierias answers: "Qui per dictas litteras sine bonis operibus tutos se putant, fatui sunt; qui vero ex spirituali commodo eiusmodi litterarum concipiunt spem melius vivendi et moriendi et purgatorias poenas citius evadendi, recte sentiunt, et sic docentes recte docent." To the analogous thesis 52, "Vana est fiducia salutis per litteras veniarum, etiamsi commissarius, immo papa ipse suam animam pro illis impignoret," he remarks: "Vana est ista tua conclusio et similes, quia nullus est tam stultus, ut salutem suam talibus litteris committat sine voluntate poenitendi vel statim vel tandem." And when Luther says (thesis 76), "Dicimus . . . quod veniae papales nec minimum venialium peccatorum tollere possint quoad culpam," as if the contrary had been preached to the people about the Indulgence, Prierias remarks that it is known to even the least instructed that the remission of guilt is presupposed for the gaining of an indulgence, for that all confess their sins before they try to gain it.

ignore the breach with the Church to which he had already committed himself in his own mind.*

At the beginning of July, 1518, Ghinucci and Prierias sent Luther an official summons to appear in person in Rome within sixty days, to give an account of his heretical doctrines and his contempt of the authority of the Pope. If he did not put in an appearance, he would be subjected to severe ecclesiastical penalties.† This summons, together with Prierias's pamphlet, was sent to Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg, and were both placed in the hands of the Wittenberg professor at the beginning of August, when he set to work at once to compose a rejoinder. This reply to the "Dialogus" of Prierias, which Luther, in order to be beforehand with his adversaries, wrote in two days, was finished and printed by the end of August,‡ and is full of expressions of contempt for his opponents, as Italians and as Thomists. What Prierias says on the question, he writes, signifies absolutely nothing to him, and he rejects the teaching of St. Thomas with equal contempt. He acknowledges the canonical books of Scripture alone as infallible, and maintains that both Councils and Pope are subject to error. Nevertheless he holds firmly that the Roman Church has always maintained the true faith, and that it is necessary for all Christians to be in unity of faith with her.§ At the same time he repudiates any authority (unless a decision of the Church or a Council intervene) which

* The wild report that Leo X. was displeased with Prierias is all the less credible because, in his printed letter of July 21, 1520, the Pope acknowledged the greatness of the work of Prierias against Luther, and declares that he had written against him "canonice" in his Dialogus. See PAULUS, Tetzel, 164.

† MÜLLER, Prozess, 59 *seq.*

‡ Leipzig, 1518. In Luther's Op. lat. var. arg. II., 1 *seqq.*, in the Weimar ed., I., 647–686. In LÖSCHER, Ref.-Acta, II., 390–435.

§ LÖSCHER, II., 407; KÖHLER, 54.

forbids him to advocate his own views about indulgences. But even while facing the possibility of such a decision, he does not speak as though he would be willing to submit his own private opinions to it; for almost in the same breath he denies the infallibility equally of Council and Pope. Evidently he expects that the Church assembled in Council would agree with him.*

As soon as Luther had received his summons to appear in Rome, he wrote to his friend Spalatin, the Elector Frederick's court chaplain, and intimated to him that it was the duty of his suzerain to defend the honour of the University of Wittenberg which was being attacked in his person, "by his murderers, with vice and cunning." As regarded the "execrable summons through viperous and horrible instruments," the Elector of Saxony—who was then at the Diet of Augsburg—might obtain of the Pope through the Emperor, that his affair should be tried by "an impartial commission" in Germany. In the same sense Luther wrote directly to the Emperor to have a care for the honour of his University.† Maximilian, however, was not inclined to mix himself up in the matter. Under the influence of Cardinals Cajetan and Lang, and in the hopes of winning the Pope over to favour the election as King of Rome of his grandson Charles, the Emperor had written a most significant letter to Leo X. from Augsburg on the 5th of August, 1518. In this he had declared that, unless

* As a provisional reply to this work, Prierias published, without delay (in 1518), his "Replica ad F. Martinum Luther Ordinis Eremitarum" (as to its issue, *cf.* MICHALSKI, 30 *seq.*), in which, while maintaining a conciliatory tone and promising a fuller answer later, he merely refuted Luther's personal attacks on himself. Luther had his little work reprinted with a preface (Op. lat. var. arg., 68–78, Weimar ed., II. 50–56) in 1519.

† *Cf.* DE WETTE, I., 131; ENDERS, I., 214.

Luther's new doctrines were met seriously, the unity of the Church would be in danger, and private judgment would be set up in opposition to the revealed truths of religion. He himself was prepared to ensure that any measures the Pope saw fit to take, to put a stop to these audacious and insidious disputations, should be duly carried out throughout the Empire, for the honour of God and the salvation of souls.*

This promise of the Emperor, which conveyed so much,† moved the Curia not to wait for the expiration of the term of sixty days set for Luther's appearance at Rome, but to pursue a course of greater energy. This is shown by the issue of the important Brief which was sent on the 23rd of August, 1518, to the learned Dominican, Cardinal Cajetan, who had been appointed Legate to the Diet of Augsburg on behalf of the affair of a Turkish war.‡ The news of further incriminating circumstances had reached Rome, said the Brief, and Luther had published fresh heresies. Cajetan was directed to call Luther—who had already been declared to be a heretic by Ghinucci—before him in

* RAYNALDUS, 1518, n. 90. *Cf.* EVERS, Luther, II., 116 *seq.*, and especially KALKOFF (Forschungen, 135 *seq.*), who was the first to realize the importance of the imperial letter and explain its origin.

† See KALKOFF, Prozess, 282. He here makes the pertinent remark: "This was, in fact, the announcement of an imperial law for putting into effect the ban of excommunication when sufficiently ready."

‡ In LÖSCHER, Ref.-Acta, II., 437, and in the Luther-Ausgaben, Weimar ed., II., 23 *seq.* As to the genuineness of this, declared to be apocryphal by Ranke, Waltz, and Maurenbrecher, see ULMANN, Studien, X., 1–13; MÜLLER, Prozess, 61–71; KALKOFF, Prozess, 274–279. The index at the end of the text in Müller, *loc. cit.*, 61 *seq.* The epitome in KÖSTLIN, I., 4, 232; KOLDE, I., 180 *seq.*, and others, is characterized by Müller as insufficient and misleading; Kawerau and KÖSTLIN, I., 5, are more accurate. The Brief of 23rd August, 1518, also in the Register of Bishop Brask; *cf.* MARTIN, G. Vasa, 222.

person, "as the case was notorious,* and by help of the Emperor and all spiritual and temporal princes, compel him to appear. Should Luther appear voluntarily and retract his errors with signs of repentance, then he should be forgiven. But should he not appear voluntarily, but wait to be compelled, and even so did not retract, then the Cardinal must arrest him and deliver him over to Rome, there to appear before the Pope. If Luther despised the secular arm, and refused to put himself in the power of the Legate, or, in other words, made it impossible for the secular authorities to hand him over and compel him to appear before the Legate, Cajetan was, in the first place, empowered to declare him and his followers heretics by public edict, and, secondly, to demand the assistance of all spiritual and temporal princes, the Emperor alone excepted, under threat of excommunication, to seize and deliver Luther over. If any of these princes should afford him shelter or help, advise or favour him, the very ground trodden by Luther was placed under interdict. These commands, especially that relating to extradition (mandata requisitionis), issued by Cajetan, were to be carried out by all authorities promptly and on the spot. To those who obeyed there was held out the prospect of a reward, to be given at the Legate's discretion." †

* Tum ex fama tum ex facti permanentia.

† *Cf.* K. MÜLLER, Prozess, 63 *seqq.*, who makes out that the Brief corresponds both in principle and practice with canon law; that the charge of "monstrosity," made by the enemies of truth, from Ranke onward, originates in ignorance of ecclesiastical ideas and principles, and is out of the question; and that therefore there is not the slightest ground for considering it apocryphal. The Brief "had this object in view before all others, to expedite matters as much as possible by the arrest of Luther, which was only a precautionary measure, and not to be considered as the first step towards executing the sentence" (MÜLLER, 66). As regarded the mandate of Cajetan, which provided that, in case

The more severe course against Luther, indicated in the Brief, was based on the notoriety and aggravation of his case. Rome, with a full appreciation of the gravity of the situation, had determined to take all means within reach to meet this dangerous movement. As the support of Maximilian could be relied on, there was every hope that, if the aged Emperor survived, this object might soon be attained.

At the same time (August 23, 1518) as this Brief, the Pope wrote to the Elector of Saxony requesting him to co-operate in handing Luther over to the Legate, as he

Luther refused to put himself into his power, he and his followers could notwithstanding be declared heretics, Müller points out that there is here no cause for the scandal taken by Protestants. The Brief, says he, does not even style Luther a heretic. It only says: "That the Pope has heard that Luther is preaching heretical doctrines; that the auditor has declared Luther to be a heretic; and that under certain circumstances Cajetan is authorised to pronounce him to be an excommunicated heretic. Therefore the expression which gives such offence is never once used directly." "Thus it is to be inferred that, in pursuance of the Brief, Cajetan could take those measures only in the event of Luther's disobeying the summons to appear before him, and evading the efforts of the spiritual and temporal authorities to hand him over, or, in other words, in the event of his making himself guilty of *contumacia*. This, once more, corresponds throughout with the principles and practice of canon law." "Seen thus, Cajetan's mission appears before us for the first time in a right light. The auditor Hieronymus had established the *diffamatio*. Thereupon Luther was summoned to Rome. Meanwhile, the notoriety of his heresy had been made manifest to the Pope himself; and Cajetan was commissioned to once more summon Luther before him, either to enforce his submission, and thus end the affair, or else to hand him over to Rome to receive his sentence; or, as a last alternative, should he refuse to appear at all, so that he could not be dealt with in person, to proclaim him publicly, in the name of the Pope, to be a heretic and excommunicate. With that the trial would have ended, for he could not appeal *notorium judici*" (Müller, 67–68).

was spreading the most pernicious doctrines.* The issue of this Brief led to intimate personal dealings between the Cardinal-Legate and the Elector. Frederick refused positively to deliver Luther over to Rome. He wished that the case should be tried in Germany before impartial judges. Cajetan could not agree to this; though he declared himself ready, if only Luther would appear before him at Leipzig, to treat him with paternal gentleness. The Elector regarded this conciliatory proposal as an important concession; but, as will be seen later, he put an entirely different construction on the expression "paternal gentleness" from that intended by the Cardinal.†

If Cajetan did really, in the further course of the proceedings, promise to accede to the Elector's demands, and to pardon Luther without compelling him to retract, he was most certainly acting contrary to his instructions. No doubt he did provide "for the event that Luther might refuse to recant, and it might be necessary to allow him to return to Saxony, by extracting a promise from the Elector, that he would not expose himself to the censures of the Church by favouring Luther in a way forbidden in the Brief. He implored of Frederick not to disgrace the good name of his ancestors for the sake of a miserable monk. Frederick repeatedly made the promise thus asked of him, and Cajetan believed that he had thus secured the extradition of Luther." But his calculations were at fault, for the Elector took a different view of what constituted the good name of his family from that taken by Cajetan. From the very beginning he had been determined to take

* LUTHERI, Op. lat. var. arg., II., 352–354. As to the very variable drafts of the original, see EVERS, Luther, II. 102; ULMANN, Studien, X., 5–6. For a simultaneous attempt to obtain the co-operation of his Order in procuring Luther's arrest, see KALKOFF, Forschungen, 54 *seq.*

† KALKOFF, Forschungen, 150 *seq.*

active measures against Luther only in the event of his doctrines being proved false to his own satisfaction. That the Cardinal went so far to meet the "lukewarm policy" of Frederick, is most easily explained by his confidence in the theological superiority of his position, which made him hope to arrive by scientific methods at conclusions before which his adversary would be compelled to yield.* A man entirely devoted to study, without much practical knowledge of the world, the Cardinal was no match for such an expert politician as the Elector of Saxony.

In consideration of the excited state of feeling in Germany, and the importance of Frederick in the matter of the election of the King of Rome, Leo X. assented to the arrangements, taken as a whole, which he and Cajetan had come to, and left to his Legate to bear alone the risk of overstepping his instructions. A Brief of the 11th of September gave Cajetan the dangerous power of examining and deciding on Luther's case at Augsburg.†

Luther, encouraged by his own suzerain and provided by him with recommendations, decided to obey the summons to Augsburg, where he arrived on the 7th of October. Thrice, on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of October, he, having prudently provided himself with an imperial safe-conduct, appeared before the Cardinal-Legate, who had, in view of the coming disputations, studied the subject of them deeply.

From the first Cajetan received Luther—as is admitted by the latter in his letters‡—in a gentle and friendly

* See KALKOFF, *loc. cit.*, whose explanations follow.

† *Cf.* KALKOFF, 58 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*

‡ For Luther's report of his dealings with Cajetan: Acta D. M. Lutheri apud Card. S. Sixti; Op. lat. var. arg., II., Weimar ed., II., 1 *seqq.* *Cf.* RIFFEL, I., 104 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 71 *seq.*; MÜLLER, Prozess, 68 *seqq.*; DIECKHOFF, 204 *seqq.*

manner, explaining that he had not summoned him to appear before him as his judge. It is true that, as the discussion went on, Cajetan could not control his indignation at Luther's obstinacy. In the name of the Pope he demanded of the Wittenberg professor to think better of his ways and retract his errors, and to promise, furthermore, never to return to them, and refrain henceforward from meddling with doctrines which were opposed to the authority of the Roman Church. He asked him especially to retract the fifty-eighth thesis, which denied that the merits of Christ and of the Saints formed the treasury of the Church, as also that sentence in his "Resolutions" which made a salutary reception of the sacraments conditional on the faith of the recipient. Luther wished thereon to enter into a lengthy and learned disputation with the Cardinal; but, in accordance with his instructions,* Cajetan would not be drawn into this, and broke off the first conference with a fatherly warning to Luther to renounce his errors.

At the second interview, on the following day, Luther was accompanied by Staupitz, who had in the interval arrived at Augsburg. He also brought with him a notary and several witnesses. The notary read out a declaration on behalf of Luther, that as far as he could remember he had never taught anything against Holy Scripture, the doctrines of the Church, the Papal Decretals, or sound reason. But as he was a man subject to error, he submitted himself to the decisions of the Holy Church and to all who knew better than he did. He wished to speak openly in answer to all charges and, finally, to submit to the decisions of the Universities of Basle, Freiburg, Louvain, and Paris.† The Legate did not agree to the

* *Cf.* KALKOFF, 59.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 72 *seq.*

last request, by which Luther "wished to wrest the affair from the Pope's hands, and again give it the aspect of a scholastic quarrel, thus to gain time." However, urged by Staupitz, he ended by granting the request that Luther might hand in a written vindication. In this, which he handed in on the third day, October the 14th, Luther criticized Clement the Sixth's Extravagant, *Unigenitus*, which Cajetan had proposed to him as a definition of the Catholic doctrine of the treasury of the Church.* He maintained that a construction could be placed on it which would leave nothing to condemn in him. In the second place, Luther defended the doctrine of the necessity of faith for justification and for the reception of Communion. Being convinced of the infallible truth of his own opinions, he demanded that a better knowledge of Holy Scripture should be brought to bear against what he considered irrefragable arguments; and without this he refused to retract. But again Cajetan declined to allow himself to be drawn into an argument, and at parting bade him not return until he was in a better mind.†

The Cardinal then tried to work on Luther through Staupitz, and induce him to yield. By the persuasion of Staupitz and Wenzel Link, Luther then wrote a letter to

* DE WETTE, I., 149–158; Op. lat. ver. arg., II., 372 *seqq.*; ENDERS, I., 250 *seqq.*

† RIFFEL, I., 107 *seq.*: "The Cardinal could do no less than dismiss with indignation a man who declared his own opinion to be absolutely identical with Christian truth, and he himself another Jeremias or Paul. When he declared himself ready to make submission, he understood it to mean that the Church must be ready to adopt his subjective views, for he regarded himself as the equal of the whole Church, the question between them having to be decided solely by Christ, or rather the dead word of Holy Scripture, which alone has authority in the Church, which is bound by no man and is quite free, a King of kings and Lord over all."

Cajetan on the 17th of October,* in which, with an outward show of profound respect, he extolled the Cardinal's gentleness and friendliness, and admitted that he had spoken too violently and disrespectfully against the Pope, for which he asked pardon and promised amendment. He also promised to keep silence thenceforward on the subject of indulgences, if the same were imposed on his adversaries. But he refused to comply with the primary condition, namely, that of making retractation of his errors, which, said he, his conscience forbade him to do, and against his conscience he dare not act. The authority of St. Thomas and the other scholastics, he went on to say, did not suffice for him, nor did their reasons convince him: he must be convinced by more cogent reasons than theirs. He begged Cajetan to refer the matter to the Pope, so that it might be decided by the Church, and he might know what to retract and what to adhere to. If now he retracted what was a matter of doubt, he laid himself open to the reproach of maintaining or retracting that about which he knew nothing. Obviously the Cardinal could not be satisfied with any such declaration. By accepting it he would have admitted that on all those points on which Luther had defied the authority of the Church, only those doctrines were at stake which, "not being defined by the Church, were open to reasonable discussion."

In a later letter of the 18th of October, Luther declared† that, having proved his obedience by his long and laborious journey to obey the summons to appear before the Legate, and having expressed his submission to any future judgment of the Holy See by giving up his "Resolutions," he

* De Wette, I., 161–163; Enders, I., 263 *seq.* *Cf.* Riffel, I., 108; Hefele-Hergenröther, IX., 79; Dieckhoff, 224 *seq.*

† De Wette, I., 163–165; Enders, I. 266 *seq.* *Cf.* Riffel, I. 109; Hefele-Hergenröther, IX., 80.

now considered that a longer sojourn in Augsburg was unnecessary, and burdensome both to himself and to the Carmelites with whom he was staying; that, moreover, the Cardinal had forbidden him to reappear before him so long as he refused to recant; and on that subject he had made himself clear in his former letter. Now, therefore, he would take his departure. He went on to say that he appealed from the Legate and from the Pope, badly informed, to one who would be better informed, who would be pointed out to him by the Most High. He had, he said, no fear of censures, which he had not deserved, for by God's grace he was in such a condition that he feared condemnation much less than he feared error and false opinions; for he knew that censure could not harm him, but would rather benefit him if he had on his side truth and a sound faith.

Two days later, in the night between the 20th and 21st of October, Luther, having been released by Staupitz from rule and obedience, fled secretly from Augsburg, and arrived in Wittenberg on the 31st. During his journey he received news of the Brief sent by the Pope to Cajetan on the 23rd of August, a copy of which Spalatin had contrived to procure secretly.*

The purport of the manifesto mentioned above, the rough draft of which he had given to his notary and witnesses on the 16th of October, to be publicly affixed to the door of the Cathedral of Augsburg after his departure, and sent to the Cardinal, was as follows: There was much that was uncertain about the matter of indulgences, as well as about the manner in which they can be applied to the dead; therefore a discussion on the subject is not only permissible but praiseworthy. This he undertook to promote, moved thereto by the immoderate stir made by the preachers of indulgences, who, under pretext of carrying out their mission,

* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 11 *seq.*

carried on a scandalous and covetous trade to an unprecedented extent, which brought contempt on the Roman Church, the power of the keys, and the Apostolic See. He had therefore submitted the matter under dispute not only to the judgment of the Church, but to the intelligence of those who knew and understood it better than he did. But first of all he had submitted it to his most Holy Father and Lord, the present Pope Leo X. In spite of this he had been calumniated and held up to hatred by certain children of mammon, gluttonous misers who hungered after the milk and the wool of Christ's lamb, just as if he had done anything to bring discredit and dishonour on the Church and the power of the keys. For reasons of importance he had not obeyed the summons to appear in person in Rome, nor could he make the retractation demanded of him by the very learned and friendly Cajetan, because the points on which he was supposed to be in error had not been pointed out to him. As he had affirmed nothing but only discussed, as he had submitted everything to the most Holy Father, Leo X., in whose voice he recognized that of Christ, and as he had no intention of saying or believing anything except what had been proved by Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, and the canons, he appealed from this Pope, who was badly informed, and from the judges chosen by him (Prierias and Ghinucci, whom he rejected as prejudiced) to a Pope who should be better informed, and to the protection of whom he submitted himself and his actual and future followers. He reserved to himself the right to make in this present appeal, changes, additions, and improvements.*

Cajetan was painfully affected by Luther's flight, as well as by the contents of his manifesto. On the 25th of

* Luther's works, Weimar ed., II., 28 *seq.*; RIFFEL, I., 111 *seq.* *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 74–79.

October he wrote to the Elector of Saxony,* and briefly told him all that had occurred, entreating him to send Luther to Rome or at least to banish him from his State. Frederick at once forwarded this letter to Luther. In his answer to Cajetan, on the 18th of December, 1518,† the Elector refused the Legate's request. He was not, he said, as yet convinced that the professor of Wittenberg had fallen into heresy. Had this been so, he would have done his duty as a Christian prince; but as it was, any action against Luther would only injure his University.‡ Thus was Cajetan's mission frustrated.

Luther had no doubt that his condemnation would follow; and on the 28th of November he issued another address in which he appealed from the Pope, who was subject to error, to a future General Council.§ Even before taking this step, earlier in November he had printed a report of his interviews with Cajetan; and in this also can be seen the development and accentuation of his attitude towards the Papacy.‖ In forwarding this document to Wenzel Link on the 11th of December, Luther says: "I send you my trifling work that you may see whether I am not right

* *Cf.* ENDERS, I., 269 *seq.*; RIFFEL, I., 112; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 81 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 19.

† See KALKOFF, Der Briefwechsel zwischen dem Kurfürsten Friedrich und Kajetan, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII., 325 *seq.*

‡ ENDERS, I., 310 *seqq.*

§ Luther's works, Weimar ed., II., 36 *seq.* *Cf.* RIFFEL, I., 119 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 86–88. HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, justly remarks: "This was a weapon which could serve only for the moment; for he had several times declared, especially in his reply to Silvestro Prierias, that Councils also could err; and it could be foreseen that he would not submit to any conciliar pronouncement, if unfavourable to him, any more than he would to that of the Pope, to whom he had given such solemn assurances of submission."

‖ *Cf.* DIECKHOFF, 227–230.

in supposing that, according to Paul, the real Antichrist holds sway over the Roman court. I think I can prove that this last is worse than any Turk." * The Sermon on Penance, belonging to about this time (November, 1518), shows how far his protest about indulgences had carried him in the direction of his new doctrine of justification by faith alone.†

On receiving the report of the transactions between Cardinal Cajetan and Luther at Augsburg, Leo sent to the Legate a constitution about the doctrine of indulgences, bearing the date of the 9th of November, 1518. So that henceforward no one should be able to excuse himself on the plea of ignorance, it was here laid down as the doctrine of the Catholic Church that, by virtue of the power of the keys, the Pope can remit both the guilt and punishment due to actual sins—the guilt by the sacrament of penance, and the temporal punishment by indulgences; and that he can, as occasion arises, draw from the overflowing treasury of the merits of Christ and His Saints, and grant remissions to faithful Christians whether they are in this life or in purgatory, united to Christ by love. He grants (conferre) this to the living *per modum absolutionis*, or assigns (transferre) it to the dead *per modum suffragii*; therefore all who obtain these indulgences are freed from that amount of temporal punishment which is in proportion with the indulgence granted and obtained. This is what all must teach and preach under penalty of excommunication; and Bishops are directed to make this constitution known in all places. The name of Luther was not, out of consideration, mentioned in the document, the only reference to

* De Wette, I., 192 *seq.*; Enders, I., 317. *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, II., 18, 89; *ibid.* for similar and subsequent utterances which show that by that time Luther had fully formulated his proposition that the Pope was antichrist. *Cf.* also Paulus in Der Katholik, 1899, I., 479.

† *Cf.* Dieckhoff, 231–241.

him being at the beginning, where it is said that certain religious in Germany have by their sermons disseminated false doctrines about indulgences, which have from time immemorial been granted by the Holy See.*

Cajetan received this important Bull at Linz in Austria. He published it there on the 13th of December, and at once had copies spread throughout Germany. But the results were small, for Luther's appeal had preceded it, and had to no small degree weakened its effect. Moreover, the preaching of the Indulgence was unpopular, and nearly all through the country the people saw in it nothing but a contrivance on the part of the covetous Curia for enriching themselves, and of the equally hated Dominicans, who were supposed to have extorted the Bull from Rome.† Luther's attack on indulgences seemed to thousands to be perfectly justifiable, and he himself was regarded as the champion of necessary ecclesiastical reforms in the Church.

Connected with Cajetan's failure to amicably terminate the difference with Luther, was the mission of the Saxon nobleman and Papal private chamberlain Karl von Miltitz.‡ The real object of the mission of this superficial, frivolous, and vain courtier,§ which was, throughout, quite in harmony

* Printed in KAPP, Sammlung, 457–467 (with German translation, 467–481); LÖSCHER, II., 493 *seqq*. *Cf*. HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 89; MÜLLER, Prozess, 74 *seq*.; and KALKOFF, Forschungen, 14 *seq*., 67. Kalkoff believes that this Bull was written from a draft sent by Cajetan.

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX, 89.

† *Cf*. J. R. SEIDEMANN, Miltitz, Dresden, 1844; DIECKHOFF, 242–256; RIFFEL, I., 123–134; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 89-93; PAULUS, Tetzel, 70 *seqq*.; and Brieger and Kalkoff as quoted in Müller's Spezialstudien.

‡ KALKOFF (Prozess, 286) speaks justly of "the humbug of this vain, garrulous, and avaricious man." MÜLLER, Prozess, 76, calls him "a braggart and humbug."

with his consequential attitude, has been much overrated, though it was in reality quite a subordinate affair.* He was the bearer of the Golden Rose which had been for so long the object of the Elector of Saxony's desire, and which he was directed to leave provisionally at Augsburg with the Legate. He was qualified for this mission by his relations with the Spanish court, and was directed to try to ascertain the Elector's intentions as regarded Luther, and procure his extradition. But throughout these transactions he was only a subordinate agent, with no right to work independently of the sanction of the Cardinal-Legate, without whose express permission he might not convey to the Elector the token of Papal favour.† Still less could he "even subordinately" make an attempt "to arrange the Lutheran affair as far as possible," or "influence Luther in a conciliatory way," or, in a word, carry out all that he interpreted as belonging to his ostensible mission.‡ If, notwithstanding this, Miltitz did actually enter into such negotiations with Luther as have connected him for all time with the history of the disorders of that period, he did so without authority, and entirely on his own account, under the influence of his desire for importance.

In the beginning of January, 1519, negotiations were entered into at Altenburg, in which Miltitz tried to persuade the Wittenberg professor to agree to an accom-

* Such is the result of MÜLLER'S most recent researches (Prozess, 86 *seq.*), and KALKOFF, Prozess, 279 *seq.*, 285 *seq.*

† He was so completely subordinate to Cajetan, says K. MÜLLER (*loc. cit.*), "that we must think that the character of the braggart and humbug was well known in Rome, who made use of him for the moment only, because he knew the country and people as a Saxon noble, who claimed kinship with the Elector." The faculties Miltitz brought with him were limited. See KALKOFF, Forschungen, 180 *seq.*

‡ KALKOFF, Prozess, 286.

modation which must then be submitted to Rome. The result of these transactions, which is usually estimated too high, was nothing more than that Luther pledged himself to keep silence for the future on the subject of indulgences, if his adversaries would on their side do the same; and that he agreed with Miltitz that the latter should approach the Pope with a request to entrust the settlement of the whole affair to a German Bishop.* On the 10th of January, 1519, Luther was again in Wittenberg. From Altenburg Miltitz went to Leipzig, where, in his braggart way, although without any authority, he bore himself in an arrogant and harsh way towards Tetzel, on whose behalf the Provincial of the Order, Hermann Rab, had already written to him at Altenburg on the 3rd of January, 1519. Tetzel fell ill from worry, and Luther was generous enough to console him. "Let him not trouble himself," said he, "for it was not he who had begun the affair: but the child has quite a different father." †

* In this we follow BRIEGER, in the Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., XV., 204 *seqq.*, with whom KALKOFF, *loc. cit.*, 399 *seq.*, and K. MÜLLER, Kirchengesch., II., 1, 231, agree. It is usually accepted that a conclusion was arrived at on four points: (1) that both sides should henceforward keep silence; (2) that Luther's case should be submitted to the judgment of a German Bishop (according to Spalatin's proposal to the Archbishop of Salzburg); (3) that he should provide a written statement, in order that there should be no misconception as to his earlier works, and should exhort the people to obey the Roman See; (4) that he should admit in a letter of apology to the Pope that he had been too violent. So says KAWERAU, Reformation und Gegenreformation (1894), 15, in which he agrees with the whole later Lutheran researches (BRIEGER, *loc. cit.*, 204). In reality the negotiations turned on these points, though in the final settlement only the above-mentioned is produced.

† PAULUS, Tetzel, 70 *seq.*, 169. Tetzel died at Leipzig on the 11th of August, 1519. *Cf.* CLEMEN in Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken, LXXIV. (1901), 127.

In Luther's letter of March 3rd to Leo X., about which so much has been said, many have tried to trace the fruit of a concession extracted by Miltitz at Altenburg.* In his letter to the Pope, the Wittenberg professor asseverates "that it had never been in his mind to attack the authority of the Roman Church or the Pope. On the contrary, he acknowledged that the authority of the Roman Church surpasses all other, and that nothing in heaven or on earth, save only Jesus Christ, is to be put above it." As at that time Luther had reached that stage in his apostasy when he had declared the Pope to be Antichrist, and as shortly after the date of this letter he wrote to Spalatin saying that he had not made up his mind whether the Pope were Antichrist or only his emissary,† the falseness of his submissive letter to Leo X. is painfully apparent. As is shown by the latest researches,‡ the original draft which is still existing was written, not on the 3rd of March, but as early as the 5th or 6th of January, during his sojourn at Altenburg. It remained in the form of a draft, for when the letter was laid before him, Miltitz declared it to be insufficient, because, in spite of its submissive language, there was no mention in it of retractation. The document appears in a better light seen thus, as regards honesty of intention; but looked at as being of two months' earlier origin, its contradiction with his assertion in December, that he believed the Pope to be Antichrist, is most glaring. Eck's appearance did not at first lead Luther so far, this "was only an inducement to him to express more openly the

* De Wette, I., 233–235; Enders, I., 442–445. *Cf.* Hefele-Hergenröther, IX., 93 *seq.*

† De Wette, I., 239; Enders, I., 450.

‡ Brieger in the Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., XV., 204–221. Paulus, Luther's position towards the Papacy in the first months of 1519, Katholik, 1899, I., 476–480. *Cf.* Kalkoff, Proz., 401.

hostility to the Pope, which he had been for so long cherishing within his heart."*

The following circumstances, and especially the disputation in Leipzig in June and July, 1519, together with the correspondence connected with it, put Luther before us as moving with more and more certainty along the road which led to open apostasy from the Church. It is remarkable that during this time, in fact until the autumn, no further steps were taken in Rome about the matter, with the exception of the Pope's Brief to Luther on the 29th of March, 1519. In this it is said that "the Pope, delighted with Luther's repentant submission, invites him graciously to set forth at once for Rome, there to make the retractation which he postponed when before the Legate."† But, meanwhile, the unreliable Miltitz was left for three parts of the year to play his own part as mediator, without any important results ensuing in the second negotiations with Luther at Liebenwerda on the 9th of October,‡ or in those with the Elector of Treves about arranging an accommodation by arbitration.§

That the endeavours of Miltitz to mediate could only injure the Catholic cause, is undoubted. The fact that this man was given a free hand, and that nevertheless nothing

* PAULUS, *loc. cit.*, 479, against Brieger, who believes in an interior development in Luther's attitude towards the Papacy between January and March 13th, 1519. The book published by Luther at the end of February, under the title of "Unterricht auf etliche Artikul, so ihm von seinen Abgönnern aufgelegt und zugemessen worden," was, according to common acceptation, a consequence of the Altenburg concession. In fact, it had nothing to do with it, but was written as a simple defence. *Cf.* BRIEGER, *loc. cit.*, 212–218. For a judgment of the Letter of Jan 1519, see GRISAR, Luther gegenüber dem Gesetze der Wahrhaftigkeit, in the Zeitschr. f. Kathol. Theol., 1905, 421 *seq.*

† ENDERS, I., 492 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Prozess, 407; and Forschungen, 69.

‡ SEIDEMANN, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*

§ KALKOFF, Prozess, 411 *seqq.*, 421 *seqq.*

was done against Luther till the autumn of 1519, is most significant. It is not difficult to find an explanation. Meanwhile, the political considerations which impeded the progress of an affair so important to the Church are highly characteristic of the Medici Pope.* The imperial election reduced everything else to insignificance. In face of the absorbing interest taken by Leo X. in this question, the Lutheran business fell into the background as a matter of subordinate importance. It seemed, rather, advisable to let it rest for a while, for political motives demanded the greatest consideration towards the influential and highly-respected Elector of Saxony, who was for a time the Pope's favourite candidate for the imperial throne. Thus alone can be explained the announcement, in the Brief of the 29th of March, of Luther's supposed readiness to recant, resting on the authority of the subordinate and unreliable Miltitz, and why that envoy was allowed to pursue his own way, which bound the commissaries to nothing. Thus time was gained by the enemy, and a definite settlement avoided. Attempts were made to temporize

* HAGEN (II, 107 *seq.*) declared this; and later KALKOFF, Prozess, 288 *seq.*, 402 *seq.*, after he had had access to all sources of information. He remarks on p. 288 *seq.*: "The Curia must not be made responsible for the mistakes of Miltitz. His project, zealously carried out, was shipwrecked as soon as it turned out that the Elector would not deliver up Luther, simply because he was told that his doctrines were notorious and to be condemned; and that the only remaining means of coercion, the issue of an imperial mandate, seemed for the time to be very remote. With the rivalry about the imperial crown, the political situation was quite changed. . . . Herein lies the explanation of the remarkable attitude of the Curia, which, after the procedure decided on in the last months, suddenly let the reins fall, as it were, from their hands, and for three-quarters of a year allowed their emissary, appointed on a merely temporary mission, to carry on as he chose his visionary, shallow, and fantastic projects of reconciliation."

in this all-important matter, and opportunities of an infinitude of good were missed. Meanwhile, the waves of the anti-Papal agitation rose higher and higher, yet nothing was done by Rome!

It was only when the election question had been settled that the influential Cardinal Giulio de' Medici urged that the Luther affair should be brought to a conclusion. The Cardinal had returned to Rome at the beginning of October, 1519, and it was only then that the renewal of Luther's trial was taken in hand. Eck had already reported about the Leipzig disputation, and had warned the Pope not to defer such an important matter.* It had all along been his intention to go to Rome,† to place before the Pope the real state of affairs, in the place of Miltitz's misleading and highly-coloured reports, when he was forestalled by his appointment by Leo X., and he set forth on his journey on the 18th of January, 1520.‡

Eck had a great share in the energetic prosecution of the cause, even if his interposition had not such decisive effects as we might be led to suppose by his boastful words. Before he arrived on the scene, such prompt and strong measures had been already taken in the matter, that it seemed as if those concerned wished to make up in one moment for the delay of months. In open Consistory, by the express command of the Pope, the process against Luther was renewed on the 9th of January, 1520, the proceedings being now extended against the Elector of Saxony as his protector. An Italian member of the Curia employed all the force of his eloquence in bringing against the Elector the charges of obstinacy, cruelty, and tyranny, by which he had kindled a fire which it would be very

* *Cf.* KALKOFF, Prozess, 432 *seq.*, 434.

† WIEDEMANN, Dr. Joh. Eck, 149 *seq.*

‡ WIEDEMANN, 150.

difficult to quench. It was to be feared, he said, that the Elector, in combination with the mortal enemies of the Holy See, would seduce all Germany by his errors. The orator moved that efficacious steps should be taken against this hydra. The Pope must give full powers to the Auditor of the Camera to take all legal measures to ensure the coercion of Luther and his followers, and compel them to give an account of their religious opinions; failing which, they should be declared to be heretics. Religion was undone, said he in conclusion, unless the evil were grasped in its beginning and the incurable wound cauterized.*

Accordingly, in preparation for the final sentence, the Pope appointed a commission in the beginning of February, chiefly composed of Franciscan Observantines, under the learned Cardinals Accolti and Cajetan, who were charged permanently with the conduct of the affair. At the first sitting of the commission a summary of Luther's false doctrines, drawn up by one of the Louvain Dominicans was read out. This session had a very short existence, for those who composed it wished to go too fast.† On the 11th of February a second commission of theologians was formed, which sat till the middle of March. It recommended the publication of a Bull against Luther's writings, but the sparing of him in person. It made a careful distinction between the degrees of objection to be taken to the new doctrines.‡ But this more gentle mode of

* See the report of M. VON WATT in the Mitteil. d. histor. Vereins von St. Gallen, XXV., 265 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHULTE, Quellen und Forschungen, VI., 174 *seqq.*; KALKOFF, Prozess, 95; and Forschungen, 15 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*

† See SCHULTE in Quellen und Forschungen, VI., 43 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Prozess, 99 *seq.*, 580, n. 3.

‡ SANUTO, XXVIII., 260, 376. *Cf.* KALKOFF, Prozess, 101 *seq.* 581, n

procedure did not receive the consent of Leo X. As Eck had arrived in Rome in the middle of March, the assumption is justified that his influence was at work in this.* A new commission, presided over by the Pope in person, then took the case in hand.

While Rome was still considering what had best be done, Luther declared most unequivocally his complete secession from the Church, about which he had in reality made up his mind long before. His position was completely changed by his alliance with the humanists, who detested the Church, and the revolutionary forces, represented by Ulrich von Hutten. The espousal of Luther's cause by the anti-Catholic humanists was of the very gravest importance. These men, who had been trained in feuds and disputes, were strong in speech and with their pens, and as they had done in the case of Reuchlin, so now were they ready to do everything in their power to assist Luther. With their co-operation the difference with the Church, which had originally been theological, assumed quite a different character. At the head of these deadly enemies of the "Papists," stood Ulrich von Hutten.

Hutten, who was by nature revolutionary, had, in spite of his hostility to Rome, looked down with contempt on Luther, and in the whole affair of his difference with the Church had seen nothing but a miserable monkish squabble. His eyes were opened by the Leipzig disputation, when Luther was pressed for the first time to make a distinct declaration of his heretical views about Pope and Council. He saw the purpose to which this monk, whom he had hitherto so underrated, could be turned. Thenceforward Luther's cause was his own. With all the passion of his undisciplined nature, he took Luther's part, and tried to further his cause among the masses of the people. Hutten's

§ KALKOFF, Forschungen, 74.

former hatred of Rome now assumed really fearful proportions. His dialogue, "Vadiscus, or the Roman Trinity," contains, according to his own verdict, the strongest things that have ever been written against Rome. As a characteristic of her he drew the revolting picture of "a gigantic, blood-sucking worm." If, said he, Germany has not the strength to free itself, then let the Turks execute judgment on Rome; for in her there stands "the great barn of the universe, into which is garnered all that has been robbed and taken from other nations. In the midst sits that insatiable corn-weevil which devours piles of fruit, surrounded by its many fellow-gluttons, who, having first sucked our blood and then consumed our flesh, are now seeking to grind our bones and devour all that is left of us. Will not the Germans take up their arms, and make an onslaught on them with fire and sword?"*

Under Hutten's influence Luther took up national and revolutionary ideas. Instead of holding theological discussions, he now issued pamphlets and preached revolution to the people, not only in ecclesiastical but also in political matters. The whole movement assumed quite a new character. All the inflammable material which had been piling itself up for years now broke out into open flame. Cleverly chosen battle-cries, such as Fatherland! Liberty! Gospel! carried away the masses of the people.

While Hutten developed this really superhuman activity, Luther was not far behind him. The effects of his popular oratory became more and more apparent. He took Hutten as his model and often appropriated his very words. No longer can we find any trace of diffidence. When, on the 11th of June, the knight, Silvester von Schaumburg, offered to bring up a hundred nobles to protect him, he wrote to

* See STRAUSS, Hutten, II., 35 *seq.* *Cf.* HAGEN, II., 55 *seq*; BEZOLD, Reformation, 289.

Spalatin saying: "I have cast the die; I now despise the rage of the Romans as much as I do their favour. I will not reconcile myself to them for all eternity, nor have anything to do with them. Let them condemn and burn all that belongs to me. In return, I also will do as much for them; otherwise I could not kindle the fire that is to condemn and burn, before the eyes of the world, the whole Papal system —that Lernæan hydra of heresy. Then there will be an end to this show of humility, which has proved so fruitless, about which I will no longer permit the enemy of the gospel to become puffed up." "Silvester von Schaumburg and Franz von Sickingen have freed me from all human respect." "Franz von Sickingen," he says in a letter to a fellow-Augustinian, "promises to protect me through Hutten from all my enemies. Silvester von Schaumburg will do the same with his Franconian nobles. I have had a beautiful letter from him. Now I no longer fear, and am publishing a book in the German tongue about Christian reform, directed against the Pope, in language as violent as if I were addressing Antichrist." *

Thousands of copies of this book, which was written in the beginning of August, were spread all over Germany. It bore the title: "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung."† In his programme of reform, the writer skilfully combines a thoroughly laudable social reform with demands relating to the Church which would upset the whole of the actual condition of ecclesiastical law. In these demands relating to the Church lie the kernel of the book, which has been described

* See DE WETTE, I., 466, 469, 475; ENDERS, II., 432 *seq.*, 443.

† Luther's works, Weimar ed., VI., 381 *seqq.* Special edition with commentary by K. Benrath, Halle, 1884. *Cf.* W. KÖHLER, Luthers Schrift und der christliche Adel deutscher Nation, in the Spiegel der Kultur und Zeitgesch., Halle, 1895.

as "revolution pictured in grand style and with vigorous strokes, as though it were the normal state of things."*

"Three walls have been built round the Church," says Luther: (1) the distinction between clergy and laity; (2) the right of the Church to interpret Scripture; (3) the right of the Pope to summon a Council. These walls, built of straw and paper, must, says he, be overthrown. All Christians are priests; all have an equal right to expound Scripture; a Council should be summoned by the temporal powers, so that Germany may be set free "from the Roman robber and from his shameful and devilish rule." Rome sucks the Germans so dry that "it is a matter for wonder that we have still something left to eat." "O noble princes," he cries, "how long will you forsake your country and people to be the prey of these ravening wolves?" Instead of fighting the Turks in the East, you should rather attack "those who are at your very doors."

Combined with this appeal for an attack to be made on "the Romanists," Luther makes some positive and practical suggestions. The German Bishops, instead of being mere ciphers and tools of the Pope, should be free and subject only to the Archbishop of Mayence, as the Primate of Germany. The grievances should be abolished, holidays, pilgrimages, fasts, and ecclesiastical censures done away with, mendicant orders reduced, the care of the poor organized, the celibacy of the clergy abandoned. On the other hand, cathedral benefices should remain as a provision for the younger sons of the nobles. In the same way as this clause was intended to be a sop to the nobility, so was the subsequent proposal, to confiscate the States of the Church and do away with the Papal suzerainty over Naples, intended to win the favour of the Emperor.

§ BEZOLD, Reformation, 292; *cf.* 295.

The effect of this book, written in the vernacular and in vigorous style, was very powerful and far-reaching. The first edition of four thousand copies was exhausted in a very short time, and new impressions had to be set in hand at once to satisfy the eager demand. By his advocacy of economic changes and his severe attitude towards capitalization, luxury, and immorality, Luther won the sympathy of the multitudes for the ecclesiastical reforms recommended in this work, which were nevertheless "nothing but a flourish of trumpets directed against the actual position of the Papacy."* The hostility to Rome, which was already so widely spread over Germany, now advanced with unprecedented rapidity.

A postscript to his book, addressed to the German nobles, which completed his breach with the Church, was intended as an answer to the *Epitoma responsionis* of Prierias.† He had this work, originally published in Perugia, reprinted with a preface and postscript as well as marginal notes. The preface and postscript contained his violent repudiation of the Papacy as such. If, says he, such doctrines as were expressed by Prierias about the authority of the Pope, were taught in Rome, then he, Luther, openly declared that Antichrist sat there in the temple of God, and that the Roman Curia was the synagogue of Satan. He extolled as blessed the Greeks, Bohemians, and all who had separated themselves from this Babylon. If the Pope and Cardinals did not restrain that mouth of Satan (*i.e.* Prierias), and force him to retract, he himself would renounce the Roman Church, together with the Pope and Cardinals, as the abomination of desolation seated in the holy place.

* Such is the judgment of K. MÜLLER, Kirchengesch., II., 1, 244.

† The *Epitoma* was intended to be the precursor of a greater work, in which Prierias hoped to meet and overthrow his adversary by scientific methods.

In his postscript he in so many words called for a religious war and the waging of a bloody persecution against the Catholic Church. "If," he says, "the madness of the Romanists be continued, it seems to me that the only hope of salvation left is that Emperor, kings, and princes take up arms and attack this pest of the earth, and thus bring matters to a conclusion, no longer by words but by steel. . . . If a thief is punished by a halter, a murderer by the sword, and a heretic by fire, why should not we, with all our weapons, attack these teachers of corruption, these Popes, Cardinals, and all the rabble of the Roman Sodom, and wash our hands in their blood?" *

* Op. lat., II., 79–108, Weimar ed., VI., 328–348. The detailed account of the proceedings against Luther, promised by Prierias in his *Epitoma*, appeared in a voluminous book with the title: Errata et argumenta Martini Luteris recitata, detecta, repulsa et copiosissime trita: per Fratrem Silvestrum Prieratem, Magistri sacri palatii (Romae, 1520), which bore the Papal arms on its title-page and was prefaced by a dedication to Leo X., dated 10th June, 1519. According to a statement on the last page, the printing was completed on the 27th of March, 1520. Besides this original edition there is one known as printed in Florence, in 1521, another of Rome, printed in 1527. *Cf.* MICHALSKI, 33 *seq.* The book is also for the most part reprinted in ROCCABERTI, Bibl. max. Pont., tom XIX. (Romae, 1699), 227–336. The work is divided into three books, of which the first two give the scheme of the work and the third an epitome of the contents, verbally identical with the *Epitoma* which preceded it. The advance made in Luther's movement, since he first published his theses, shows how clear Prierias's judgment had been from the beginning, in perceiving that his attack on indulgences was only incidental, and that the real object of his attack was the authority of the Church. He placed this in the foreground as the key-note to all the manifestos of Luther. The first book dealt with the fundamental questions of the Primacy of the Pope, his supreme power of jurisdiction in the Church, his relation to a General Council, and his infallibility in the teaching office; this last point being treated in detail. In the second book, Prierias proceeds to treat of subjects made by Luther into special matters of dispute,

If such writings did not decide Rome's final verdict, they nevertheless afford sufficient proof that their author did not fall unjustly, though too late, under the ban of the Church.*

So far as can be judged by the very defective accounts of the prosecution and termination of Luther's Roman trial, the influence of the Louvain theologians must have been quite equal to that of Eck: though all through its last stage the ruling spirit was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.† In the Bull *Exsurge*, the draft of which was made by Accolti, forty-one of Luther's articles were grouped by Eck with due regard to the Louvain doctors. These were condemned wholesale without sufficient regard to the distinction of their individual degree of offensiveness. The Bull was, at the end of April, given for consideration to a new commission. On the 2nd of May Eck made his report to the Pope about the final wording of this most important document.‡ He had to seek him in the hunting

going more exhaustively into what he had already dealt with in his *Dialogus*. He gives an ample exposition of the doctrine of indulgences and the questions connected with it, as attacked by Luther; and goes more closely into the four fundamental propositions laid down in the *Dialogus* relating to the authority of the Church and the Pope. Finally, in the form of a lengthy supplement (fol. CCXXI.-CCLXVIII.), Prierias takes up the attacks on the Primacy made by Luther in his latest works, especially in his *Resolutio super propositionem XIII. de potestate Papae*. This polemical masterpiece left Luther no room for further reply.

* BEZOLD (Reformation, 288), referring to the above sanguinary demand for the bloody annihilation of the "Papists," declares "that it is vain to attempt to divest such words of their revolutionary character."

† KALKOFF, Prozess, 133.

‡ According to SARPI (Hist. d. conc. Trid., 1629, 11), whose statements must be, at anyrate, founded on fact, the theologians and canonists were opposed to one another during the discussion. Both

lodge of Magliana, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome.* Not till then was the Bull submitted to the Sacred College. Four Consistories, held on May 21, 23, 25, and June 1, were necessary to bring the affair to a conclusion.† In the second and third Consistories the only thing settled was the order of the day. The care with which the case was gone into can be seen by the unusual duration of the sittings. Some lasted six, others seven, and some even eight hours.‡

recognized the notoriety of Luther's heresy, but the canonists demanded that, notwithstanding this, he should be summoned to appear in person and have sentence passed on him, while the theologians wished to pass sentence without further preliminaries. The final wording of the Bull was a compromise between these two opinions, by making a distinction between the person and the writings of the accused, and the separate measures which were to be taken against them. "As, concerning the error in doctrine, there was no difference of opinion, in dealing with the writings the will of the theologians was followed; but as regards the personal measures to be taken, the canonists had their way, though not completely, for Luther was not cited to appear; but a term was fixed for his recantation, with the remark that, under the circumstances, sentence could be passed at once. Both parties maintained that the *notorium facti permanentis* or *iudici* existed, as was indicated by the Bull." MÜLLER, Prozess, 80; *cf.* SCHULTE, 47 *seq.*, and KALKOFF, 110 *seq.*, where he maintains that, as far as the trial of the case was concerned, the compromise had existed before the sitting of the commission.

* *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, Eck, 151, and KALKOFF, Prozess, 102, n. 4.

† *Cf.* the entries about it in the Acta Consistoralia, in SCHULTE, *loc. cit.*, 33–35. To be found before this, though less completely, in FONTANA, Theatrum Dominic., 30; in LAEMMER, Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa, Ratisbonae, 1875, 197 *seq.*, and in BRADY, Episcopal Succession, II., Rome, 1876, 261 *seqq.* In SCHULTE, 35 *seqq.*, 376, for the investigations made by the Cardinals taking part in the Consistory, and the experts invited to attend. See, further, the important statements of KALKOFF, Prozess, 110 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* the Despatch of Paolucci of May 22, in BALAN, VI., 37, n. 2, and the same in the *Letter of May 26 (State Archives, Modena).

On the 20th of May a demand from Leo X., in menacing terms, was sent through Cardinal Riario and Valentin von Teutleben, the agent of the Elector of Saxony, and temporarily serving in that capacity to the Elector of Mayence, to request Frederick of Saxony to compel Luther to recant.* This was an ultimatum which Frederick rejected finally at the end of July, almost in Luther's own words. The Elector demanded the institution of a court of arbitration, to be held in a safe place and to be composed of men of undoubted learning, and in sufficient numbers to test the doctrines which had never yet been refuted.†

On the 21st of May the draft of the Bull, together with the acts of the Leipzig disputation relating to the notoriety of Luther's heresy, were read in Consistory. The question was then put whether, the articles of Luther being explicitly condemned, he should be once more warned to retract his errors within a given term, and in case of a refusal condemned publicly as a heretic, and at the same time his works be forbidden and committed to the flames. Then came the question, proposed by Eck,

According to the "Libro antico di memorie lasciato dal card. Morone," made use of by Pallavicino (I., c. 19), there was a difference of opinion between Accolti and Card. Lorenzo Pucci about drafting the Bull, the latter wishing to claim for himself the right of doing it. The Pope settled the dispute in favour of Accolti. SCHULTE (Quellen und Forschung., VI., 45–47) considers this account improbable and worthless, chiefly because Pucci is inaccurately mentioned as Datary, whereas he actually held that office no longer, having been given that of Chief Penitentiary. In his supplements (378) Schulte modifies this opinion and says that "the matter under dispute was possible but not proved." Against him KALKOFF (Prozess, 111, *seq.*) asserts the possibility of the affair, for the mistake in regard to Pucci's office does not seem to him a sufficient reason to reject the whole account.

* KALKOFF, Prozess, 453 *seq.*, 587–593.

† *Ibid.*, 455 *seq.*, 503 *seq.*, 508 *seq.*, 539–596. *Cf.* 128 *seq.* *Ibid.*, Forschungen, 79.

whether Luther's articles be condemned indiscriminately and without specification, or whether, according to the opinion of Cardinal Cajetan, some discrimination be made between those which could be described as simply heretical and those which were scandalous and offensive to pious ears. The Consistory decided that Cardinal Accolti, who was held in much esteem in Rome for his learning, and especially for his knowledge of law,* should consult experts, and decide this fine theological distinction. After the single articles had been put to the vote, the opinion on this subject was communicated to the Cardinals at the next Consistory, at which Cajetan, in spite of his suffering health, appeared. The long duration of the Consistory shows how thorough and searching were the consultations. "It is five in the afternoon," wrote the Este Ambassador, "and the Consistory is still sitting: Luther's affair is under consultation."† The discussion that day was not over until six o'clock. The final resolution passed was the rejection of all Luther's articles as erroneous; while the discussion of the wording of the Bull on the subject was to be discussed at another Consistory.‡ The

* *Cf.* Report of Morone of 1513 and 1514, in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., II., 178, 209. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 295.

† "Siamo ad hore XIX. et ancor è asserato il concistoro et pur stanno sopra questa causa de Luter." Paolucci to the Duke of Ferrara, dat. Rome, 1520, May 23; (*the first letter of that date). State Archives, Modena.

‡ *Cf.* Paolucci's second letter to the Duke of Ferrara on May 23, 1520, of which BALAN (VI., 37) gives only a short and insufficient epitome. The text, which confirms KALKOFF'S opinion (Prozess, 117), runs thus: "A vinte hore passate è usito el concistoro et intendo che è concluso de li articuli de Martino Lutter siano fatui et heretici et a questaltro concistoro se deliberara la bulla et mandarassi a publicare n Alemagna et vi sera it il monitorio contra quoscunque prestantes auxilium consilium et favorem. Se io potro haver la copia de questi

protocol of the next sitting, which took place on the 25th of May, records only one resolution, namely, that Luther's sentences be quoted verbally in the Bull. The fixing of the various degrees of censure attributable to each sentence fell through, obviously because of the delay it would have caused in terminating the process.*

Prompt action was all the more necessary because it was rumoured that other princes besides the Elector of Saxony were taking Luther's part. Cardinal Accolti, who talked over the situation with the Ambassador of the court of Este, was most anxious about these tidings. He remarked about the Archbishop of Mayence: "We thought he was one of ours; but now we know the contrary. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that as soon as the Bull is published in Germany, most men will forsake Luther." Cardinal del Monte also had something to say about the part taken by the German princes in favour of Luther; and he expressed a doubt whether even "the greatest of them" were to be trusted. Cardinal Scaramuccia Trivulzio spoke most pessimistically, and said that he doubted whether any good would be effected by the Bull. The Pope also was most anxious; he believed, by what Erasmus said in a letter, that the Bishop of Liège had declared himself in favour of Luther.†

articuli le mandaro. Ogni modo sono pratiche de mala sorte et che potriano causar piu presto declaratione de se che forsi non era deliberato." State Archives, Modena.

* KALKOFF, Prozess, 118.

† *Letter of Alfonso Paolucci to the Duke of Ferrara: "Feci l'officio mi commette Vostra Excellentia con monsignor reverendissimo Acoltis et me demostro haverlo molto grato et si racommanda a Vostra S^ria^ Illustrissima et si offerisse et la prega lo racommandi a monsignor illustrissimo et reverendissimo, del quale dice esser bon servitore et discorendo con Sua Signoria Reverendissima de questo frate Luter, me dimostrò esser cosa de molto gran momento et fra laltre parole,

It was obvious that under these circumstances it was out of the question to apportion the degree of censure to each proposition. The one thing to be done was to judge them as a whole, with a general reference to individual points. Cardinal Carvajal's description of Luther's appeal to a General Council as "the gravest of all his offences" was entered.*

In the Consistory of the 1st of June, the Bull was read

cavai queste : io non ho pensero che me possi mancare el vivere etiam honorevole, ma questi altri nostri che non hano ne lettere ni modo, come farano, et resposovi, come seli conviene, vi subiunsi, adunche monsignor reverendissimo la cosa importa più che parole et Sua Signoria è quanto importa et adimandatovi sel sera scoperto altro che Saxonia, mi respose, pensati che vi ne sono de li altri, ma stano coperti et dicendovi come si portava il Magontino, me respose lhavevimo per nostro et hora vedemo el contrario ; è impresa de vna mala sorte, pur si spera come la bulla sia di la, che la magior parte se removera da limpresa et pasegiando et acortomi non volea piu oltre procedere." The Ambassador proceeds to report his conversation with Cardinal del Monte : "Parlai con Sua Signoria sopra queste tante fatiche di questi longhi concistori, me demostro [mag]gior importantia assai et disse et sapiati che in sette o octo hore siamo stati lie, de altro no se parlato, se non di questo frate et disse che li fomenti suoi erano da li grandi de l'Amagna et [de]mostrava dubitare del magiore. Non parlai molto a longo, perche erano a udire messa." Also, when talking with Cardinal di Como, the conversation turned on the Lutheran affair : "Il prefato cardinale existima chel favore del Luter sia da tuti quelli grandi de Alamagna, se ben non si demostrano et ni sta ancor lui molto dubioso del successo de la bulla si mandara. Ho inteso hozi avanti el vespero papale che Nostro Signore si è doluto, chel vescovo de Legi presti adiuto a questo frate et lo cava de una epistola de Erasmo che scrive al frate, che lo episcopo de Legi non li mancara. Me pare conoscerli gran confusione in questa impresa : Dio che conosce il bisogno, dispona el meglio. . . . Ex urbe die 26 Maii 1520." The postscript contains this interesting passage : "Monsignor de Flisco sta vn pocho indisposto. Et non fu visto al concistoro che durò sette hore, ne hozi al vespero pa[pale]." State Archives, Modena.

* KALKOFF, Prozess, 120 *seq.*

once more and its publication resolved upon. By the 15th the preparation of the document was officially completed, and the publication followed soon after. It was known as the Bull *Exsurge Domine* from its first words.*

In the solemn prelude to the Bull, which is for the greater part made up of passages from Scripture, the protection of the Divine Founder of the Church and the Princes of the Apostles is first invoked. "Arise, O God, judge Thine own cause" (Ps. lxxiii. 22). "Catch us the little foxes that destroy the vines" (Cant. ii. 15). "The boar out of the wood hath laid it waste, and a singular wild beast hath devoured it" (Ps. lxxix. 14). Even as Peter had foretold, lying teachers had risen up who had brought in sects of perdition. The whole Church was then appealed to, whose true interpretation of Scripture was set at naught by men whose minds had been blinded by the father of lies and led to falsify the Bible, in contradiction to the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, as was the way with all teachers of error.

Proceeding, the Pope complains that such doctrines should have been spread among the illustrious German nation, which he and his predecessors had always held in special affection. It was well known that among all nations the Germans had ever been most eager to oppose heresy, that they had shed their blood in the war against the Hussites, and even now, through the Universities of Cologne and Louvain, had triumphantly refuted the new errors.

* Printed in Bull. ed. Coquelines, III., 3, 487 *seq.*; Bull. Rom. ed. Taur., V., 748 *seqq.*; Raynaldus, 1520, n. 51 *seqq.* About the earliest manuscript and impressions, see DRUFFEL in the Sitzungsber. der Münchener Akademie, Histor. Klasse, 1880, 572, n. 1, and KALKOFF, Prozess, 129, n. 2. As for the condemnation by the Bull of Luther's thirty-third thesis (the punishment by death of heresiarchs), see HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 556.

After this, forty-one Lutheran errors were enumerated. These relate to free-will and original sin, to the sacraments in general, to faith, grace, sin, penance, confession, good works, purgatory, communion under both kinds, the Primacy, excommunication, the authority of General Councils, the punishment of death for heretics, and the errors of Hus.

As God had confided the chief pastoral office to the Pope, he must provide against the propagation of such errors, and cut them out like a canker. Therefore, by virtue of his supreme authority he now condemns them, partly as heretical, partly as a cause of scandal, partly as false, partly as offensive to the ears of the faithful, partly as seductive to simple souls and contrary to Catholic truth. He forbids, under the severest penalties, that they should be preached by any, whether religious or secular.

The *writings* which contain the above-named errors shall, immediately after the publication of the Bull, be solemnly and publicly burned in every place. In connection with this injunction Luther is expressly alluded to for the first time. Then the Bull turns to his *person* in the following manner:—The preceding course of events is described, and the emphatic declaration is made that the Pope has left nothing undone to recall Luther from his errors. He mentions his invitation to appear in Rome, his discussion with Cajetan, his obstinate disobedience in remaining for more than a year under censure. He is reminded of his appeal—contrary to the stringent prohibition of Pius II. and Julius II.—to a future Council, the authority of which he nevertheless declares to be null. From all this the Pope draws the conclusion that he could no longer proceed against Luther as against one only under suspicion in matters of faith, but must without

further warning declare him to be a heretic. Nevertheless, the Pope will not pronounce sentence of excommunication at once, but, yielding to the counsel of the Cardinals, will allow justice to give way to mercy. Being mindful of the compassion of God who desireth not the death of a sinner, but that he shoud be converted and live, he would forget the injury done to the Holy See, and would proceed with all gentleness, in order that the prodigal son might be brought back to the bosom of the Church. Then he exhorts and adjures Luther, by the mercy of God and the Blood of Christ, no longer to disturb the peace, unity, and truth of the Church for which the Divine Redeemer Himself had so instantly prayed to the Father, and to abjure those errors which had been condemned. A limit of sixty days, after the publication of the Bull, is fixed for his recantation, which is to be made at St. Peter's and the Cancelleria in Rome, as well as in the Cathedrals of Brandenburg, Meissen, and Merseburg. If he did not recant within this time, Luther and his followers, by the evidence of the writings which had been examined, should be cut off "like the withered vine branches which abide not in Christ" (John xv. 6), and declared notorious and obstinate heretics, and condemned to all the penalties to which canon law could condemn them.

Then the Bull returns once more to Luther's writings,* and commands that all books that he has already written and might write in the future, be burned, even if they do not contain the above-mentioned errors.

After the expiration of the term of sixty days, Luther was to be avoided as a heretic by all the faithful; all spiritual and temporal authorities were bound to arrest him and deliver him up in Rome, or else banish him and his followers from their dominions. All the places in

* This passage points to the difference of opinion at the conference.

which he dwelt would be laid under an interdict while he was there and for three days after. Finally, should he not recant within the time fixed, all the clergy, secular and religious, were to declare him a heretic.

There are therefore three divisions to be noted in the Bull. In the first, Luther's errors in faith are unconditionally condemned; in the second, his writings are equally condemned and ordered to be burned as soon as the Bull is published. The author of these false doctrines and writings, who is the subject of the third part, is on the contrary to be allowed time for reflection, and be excommunicated only after the expiration of that time.*

By the Bull *Exsurge* the Pope applied to Luther and his followers the "monitio evangelica" which precedes the sentence of excommunication and gives time to do penance, while at the same time it enables the judge to establish the moment of obstinacy (pertinacia) which is essential to constitute the state of heresy.†

* The ordinary name, "Bull of excommunication," is therefore ambiguous and to be avoided. The name "Bull of condemnation," proposed by Kalkoff, and taken from Eck, seems to be badly chosen, as it suggests the idea that Luther himself, as well as his writings, was unconditionally condemned. On the other hand, the name "Bull of excommunication and menace," which has found much favour of late, though it conveys admirably one aspect of the contents, does not sufficiently emphasize the exceptional gravity of the condemnation of Luther's errors and writings. *Cf.* KALKOFF, Prozess, 274, n. 2.

† MÜLLER, Prozess, 82. "It cannot be denied," says PLANCK (Gesch. d. Entstehung unseres protest. Lehrbegriffs, I., 273), "that the Roman Court, if it wished to remain in other ways true to its principles and interests, had to seize hold of this last means of defending itself against an antagonist so defiant that any show of conciliation was bound to make him bolder. If we wish to be quite impartial, we must admit that as many precautions as possible were taken not to drive him to extremities." *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, Eck, 152: BRISCHAR, Kontroversen, I., 51 *seq.*

II.

Briefs of the 17th and 18th of July, 1520, entrusted the publication and execution of the Bull *Exsurge* to the Papal Librarian, Hieronymus Aleander, and the professor of Ingolstadt, Johann Eck, whom the Pope soon made protonotary. Both these learned men were devoted to the Holy See, and gifted with rare intelligence and energy. Nevertheless the Italian was more of a humanist than a theologian, and before he entered the priesthood his morals had not been above reproach.*

Girolamo Aleandro,† or, as he is more commonly called, Aleander, was born at Motta in Friuli in 1480. Even during his studies in Venice he won for himself a name as a distinguished humanist. He also studied theology and canon law, but was more remarkable for his rhetorical gifts. His renown grew when he was called to the University of Paris, where he worked, with only the intermission of half a year, from 1508 till 1513. There he was the real founder of the Greek School, and was the leading professor of Hebrew and Latin during the reign of Louis XII. His brilliant position both as professor and humanist was exchanged in 1514 for a post of confidence with the Prince-Bishop of Liège, Eberhard de la Mark. In 1515 he became his Chancellor; in 1516 he was sent by his master on business to Rome. There the versatile and also

* *Cf.* OMONT, Journal autobiogr. d'Aléandre, Paris, 1896, 42. Aleander had received the tonsure at latest in 1502; see PAULUS in the Histor. Janro., XXIII., 630: he was not ordained priest till 1524. CIAN (Gior. d. Lett. Ital., XXXVII., 157) remarks truly that in spite of his shortcomings Aleander never displayed that wantonness which was characteristic of many prelates of his time. *Cf.* also L. ROCCO, Girolamo Aleandro seniore, Treviso, 1898.

† *Cf.* the excellent monograph by PAQUIER, J. Aléandre, 1480–1529, Paris, 1900.

brilliant diplomatist won the favour of the Pope and his cousin Cardinal Medici, whose service he entered as secretary in 1517. In this capacity he continued to work hard in the interests of his Prince-Bishop, who was very anxious to obtain a Cardinal's hat. Even his appointment in July, 1519, as Librarian to the Vatican made no difference in this respect. He was on very confidential terms with both the Pope and Cardinal Medici, and the esteem in which they held him was proved by the mission on which he was sent to the Emperor.

The other Nuncio, Johann Eck, was also highly gifted. He, like Luther, was the son of a peasant, and was unusually talented. He was absorbed in the most profound scholastic questions, as well as in mystical theology, speculative studies, and the positive science of his day. He was also enthusiastically devoted to humanist studies. As a theologian he was far superior to Aleander. After he became, as it were accidentally, mixed up in the dispute with Luther, he placed all his talents and knowledge at the service of the Church. Wherever he had the chance he fought the innovator and his followers with a truly fiery zeal, though often with too great severity, for he was firmly convinced of the danger of the false doctrines. He fully deserved the honourable name of the "Catholic Achilles," bestowed on him by Cardinal Pole. It is now admitted on all sides that he was the most efficient of all Luther's antagonists.*

The sphere of Eck's activity was limited by Leo X. to the courts of the Bishops of Brandenburg, Meissen, and

* As the monograph of WIEDEMANN (Joh. Eck, Ratisbon, 1865) is no longer sufficient in the light of the research of the present day, the most complete record of the activity of the great Catholic champion belongs to Greving, in the "Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen," published by Pastor. *Cf.* also JANSSEN-PASTOR, VII., 585 *seqq.*

Merseburg, and the other Bishops and prelates, to those of Duke Frederick of Saxony and the other Electors, of John of Saxony and the princes, barons, and towns of Upper and Lower Germany.*

It made no difference to Luther personally who was commissioned to proclaim the Bull, for since 1519 he had determined to break for ever with the Pope and the Catholic Church. But it was considered by his followers most unfortunate that Eck,† who had come forward as the most inveterate antagonist of the Wittenberg professor, and had drawn down on himself the hatred of the whole party, should, of all men, have been charged with the publication of the Bull. It was, however, a great misfortune for the Catholic cause, that the fact of Eck's share in drawing up the Bull *Exsurge* had become known in Germany. The condemnation conveyed by the Bull did not come on the Germans as a blow struck by the supreme power so much as a sword-thrust from the hand of a passionate enemy.‡

In August, 1520, Eck arrived with the Bull in Germany, where he found that, through the treachery of a Roman official, its contents were already known. It had in fact been printed there before it was published in Rome, and was being held up to the derision of satirists.§ Eck began his work in Saxony,‖ showing his intrepidity by plunging

* See DRUFFEL in the Sitzungsberichten der Münch. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Histor. Klasse, 1880, 579–582.

† JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 122, from Pallavicino. According to WIEDEMANN, 153, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 139, Eck in this yielded only to obedience.

‡ *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., c. 20.

§ KALKOFF, Prozess, 522 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* JOH. BARTH. RIEDERER, Beytrag zu den Reformationsurkunden betreffend die Händel, welche D. Eck bei Publication der päpstlichen Bulle wider den sel. D. Luther im Jahr 1520 erreget hat, Altdorf,

at once into the very centre of the enemy's position. On the 21st of September he had the Bull fixed up at Meissen, on the 25th at Merseburg, and on the 29th at Brandenburg. Eck, as also Aleander, had been given the authority to mention by name some of the principal followers of Luther in his deed of publication;* he therefore inserted those of Carlstadt, Johann Wildenauer (Sylvius) of Eger, Johann Dolzegk von Feldkirch, Willibald Pirkheimer, Lazarus Spengler and Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden.† In his notification of the publica-

1762; DRUFFEL in the Proceedings of the Academy of Science at Munich, Histor. Klasse, 1880, 571–597; A. SCHRÖDER in the Jahrb. des histor. Vereins Dillingen, 9. Jahrg., 1896, 144–172; RIFFEL, I. 230 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 139 *seq.*; DREWS, Willibald Pirkheimers Stellung zur Reformation, Leipzig, 1887, 59–75; FR. ROTH, Willibald Pirkheimer, Halle, 1887, 39-44; *ibid.*, Augsburgs Reformationsgesc., Munich, 1881, 65–69; F. X. THURNHOFER, Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden, Freiburg i. Br., 1900, 70–78.

* *Cf.* KALKOFF, Prozess, 539.

† The account which Baumgärtner sent from Ingolstadt on Oct. 17th, to the Council of Nuremberg, and repeated in nearly all statements (RIEDERER, 58 *seq.*), says that he had just heard that Eck had special permission to cite certain persons—about twenty-four—to appear before His Holiness within sixty days. This is entirely rejected as untrustworthy by KALKOFF (539), as the wrong conception of the sixty days' term shows that his information was very superficial. In reality the mention of the names was left to the discretion of the Nuncio, though he was warned to exercise foresight and prudence in the matter. KALKOFF (532 *seq.*) defends Eck against the charge of arbitrariness in acting thus. He did not exceed his powers. In calling Eck's mission a mistake, and describing his action against the six disciples of Luther mentioned above, KALKOFF remarks (532 *seq.*): "At that time Eck was quite indispensable to the Curia, and by removing them from the district he might, at anyrate in the case of the majority, have got rid of Luther's most inconvenient defenders." See *ibid.* (534 *seqq*) for the formalities observed by Eck in his proceedings against these six persons. See

tion of the Bull which he sent to Rome in the beginning of October, he specifies that "the parties concerned should, within the term of sixty days, either justify themselves before the Pope, or else forward to him the proof of their absolution at the hands of the special commissioners; or else, if they preferred to do so, be themselves the bearers of it. Unless this were done under sixty days, they would fall under the penalties mentioned in the Bull." *

Of the six of Luther's followers thus singled out, Adelmann, after talking very boastfully and trying to delay the execution of the Bull, was the first to ask for absolution from Eck, which was granted to him on the 9th of November, and delivered to him in writing on the 15th. His submission was not sincere, for though he succeeded in making a good impression on Eck, he remained a secret partisan of Luther's.† The two Nurembergers, Pirkheimer and Spengler, also came to Eck with the request for absolution.

At Leipzig, where Eck arrived on the 29th of September, he had a foretaste of the difficulties which awaited him. He was personally threatened by the students from Wittenberg, and became the object of unexpected attention on the part of the University, so that the Bull was not executed until February, 1521.‡ Opposition now began in earnest. On the 7th of March, 1521, Luther was able to send the pleasing news to his friend Link that the Bull had been pelted with dirt in Leipzig and torn down. The

the account of these six in RIEDERER, 10–25. It cannot be denied that in his selection of the six he let himself be, at anyrate partially influenced by personal antagonism, especially in the case of Adelmann and Pirkheimer.

* KALKOFF, Prozess, 535.

† *Cf.* THURNHOFER, 71–76; SCHRÖDER, *loc. cit.*, 147 *seqq.*; ROTH, Augsburg Reformationsgesch., 65–68; WIEDEMANN, 178.

‡ WIEDEMANN, 153 *seqq.*

same thing occurred at Torgau and Döbeln. At the last place the jeering inscription, "The nest is here but the birds have flown," was added to the Bull.*

From Leipzig, Eck sent the Bull on October 3rd, 1520, to the Rector of the University of Wittenberg, Peter Burkhard: but the University refused to accept it.† That of Erfurt also offered resistance. There was a tumult among the students, and even the theological faculty opposed Eck: the students tore down the Bull and threw it into the Gera.‡ Resistance was also shewn by the University of Vienna, where Eck sent the Bull on the 14th of October. The motive assigned was that they could not accept the document until they knew the pleasure of the Emperor, to whom they therefore wrote on the 10th of December.§ Even after the submission of the theological faculty, the Rector and the other members of the University continued their resistance, and it was only by imperial command (March, 1521||) that the Bull was received. Even the Bishop showed great unwillingness to move.¶ At Ingolstadt, to which University Eck sent the Bull on the 17th of October, its publication on the 29th was met with some resistance.**

Many of the Bishops hung back, either from want of loyalty or from timidity. The Bishop of Meissen published the Bull in January, 1521, and the Bishop of Merseburg on

* DE WETTE, I., 569.

† WIEDEMANN, 156 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 139 *seq.*

‡ WIEDEMANN, 158 *seq.*; KAMPSCHULTE, Univ. Erfurt, II., 37 *seq.* *Cf.* FALK in Der Katholik, 1891, I., 490.

§ The "Protestatio Universitatis Viennensis" addressed to the Emperor, Dec. 10, 1520, in BALAN, Mon. ref., 11–15. *Cf.* ASCHBACH, Univ. Wien, II., 121 *seq.*

|| BALAN, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*

¶ *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, 159–161; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 140 *seq.*

** WIEDEMANN, 161–163.

the 23rd of the same month. In those parts of the Electorate of Saxony where Frederick exercised spiritual jurisdiction, it was not published until April.* In South Germany the Bishop of Eichstätt, Gabriel von Eyb, published the Bull through his Vicar-General ten days after he received it on October 24th, 1520.† The Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion,‡ made greater difficulties when he received the summons in October to publish the document. His Chapter was divided into two parties, a small one which adhered to the Bishop, and a large opposition under the influence of the brothers Adelmann, who had on their side the Dean of the Chapter, Philip von Rechberg, a helpless and incapable young man. Both parties thought the moment inopportune for the publication of the Bull by the Bishop; but the Adelmann faction raised more fundamental difficulties, and did all they could to obtain a delay under the pretext that the Bishop should send for Eck to discuss the subject with him.§ As for the Bishop himself, he was not actuated by any consideration involving principle. "In taking up his position he was moved neither by sympathy with Luther nor by zeal for the purity of the faith. To him the Bull was simply inconvenient for external reasons only, because the possessions of the clergy, their lands and privileges, would be endangered by the seditious proclivities of the populace. The position assumed by him in his difficulty was essentially that of a political materialist."||

* WIEDEMANN, 163 *seq.*

† *Cf.* THURNHOFER, *loc. cit.*, 71. The Eichstätt mandate is printed in SCHRÖDER, 166–169.

‡ *Cf.* the above-quoted treatise of SCHRÖDER, p. 279, n. 2, with the correspondence of the episcopal chancery of Augsburg relating to the publication of the Bull; see also THURNHOFER, 71 *seqq.*

§ *Cf.* the Chapter's advice, in SCHRÖDER, *loc. cit.*, 154.

|| SCHRÖDER, 152.

He therefore sent a negative reply to Eck's summons, and consequently received a second, requesting him to proceed at once with the publication of the Bull. He perceived that further delay would have the worst consequences for himself and his see, and would be construed into disobedience to the Pope. He therefore ordered that preparations for the publication should be made at once.* The episcopal mandate of publication is dated the 8th of November;† and directions for the printing of it and the Bull followed on the 12th, and were repeated on the 14th of November.‡ He had waited to receive an answer from Eck, whom he had invited to be present at the publication of the Bull and episcopal mandate. The reply came in the form of a candid letter, written on the 10th of November, in which the Nuncio declined the invitation on the plea that the Bishop, being such a good shepherd, would not like to put forward another in his place when danger was threatened on the part of the wolves.§ The difficulties attending the printing of the Bull and episcopal mandate in Augsburg caused fresh delay. But on the 30th of December, 1520, the Bull was proclaimed in the town of Augsburg, though not throughout the diocese until the beginning of 1521.‖

The Bishop of Freising, the palsgrave Philip, after much consideration and with great unwillingness, published the Bull on the 10th of January.¶ The palsgrave John, the

* The commission to the Vicar-General Heinrichmann on Oct. 30, in SCHRÖDER, *loc. cit.*, 157 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, printed, 166–169.

‡ *Ibid.*, 170 *seq.*

§ *Ibid.*, 169 *seq.*; *cf.* 151.

‖ *Ibid.*, 152.

¶ *Cf.* the above-quoted treatise of DRUFFEL (279, n. 2); *ibid.*, 588–597, for the correspondence carried on about this by Philip with various bishops and princes. See SCHRÖDER, 161 *seq.*, for his letter to the Bishop of Augsburg, Nov. 3, 1520.

Administrator of Ratisbon, had the Bull read from the pulpit on the 4th of January, 1521.* The Bishop of Bamberg refused to publish it because it had been sent to him in an irregular way.† In Passau nothing took place for some little time;‡ the Bishop, Ernest, the younger brother of the Duke of Bavaria, was one of those unfortunate men who had entered the ecclesiastical state without a vocation, only for the sake of possessing a principality. It was reported that this prelate was too fond of dabbling in Lutheran doctrines; and it was probably on this account that Eck omitted to send the Bull to him.§

Although the attitude of a man like the Bishop of Passau may not cause surprise, the same cannot be said of the supine behaviour of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Cardinal Lang. Until the beginning of March, 1521, he had made no pronouncement against Luther. He preferred to remain in a state of watchful inactivity, waiting for further developments, wishing neither to force nor hamper events by any decision.|| The same consideration influenced the Dukes of Bavaria, though in their case territorial jealousy played its part. On the 11th of March they sent to the Bishops of the Duchy letters of expostulation, as to the manner in which pastors of souls had acted after the publication of the Pope's Bull of condemnation. By their own experience, they said, as well as by credible reports received, they found that the severity of these in refusing absolution to those who were possessed of Lutheran books, and would not give them up, conduced to sedition and the

* WIEDEMANN, 165.

† *Ibid.*, 165 *seq.*

‡ Stadtholder and councillor to Duke William of Bavaria in the absence of the Bishop, Mar. 18, 1521; DRUFFEL, 593 *seq.*

§ RIEZLER, IV., 61.

|| *Ibid.*, 69.

injury of Christian works, rather than to the salvation of souls and the production of salutary effects. The laity, they added, were opposed to this mode of procedure and were "crying out and murmuring." As the Diet of Worms had undertaken to deal with Luther, the Bishops would do right to direct the clergy to cease their proceedings against Lutheran writings, and neither condemn nor approve, but "let the matter rest" until the result of the examination before the Diet were known. To this the Bishop of Eichstätt replied forcibly that it was not in his power to set aside the command of the Pope.* Such a method of proceeding on the part of the strictly Catholic Dukes of Bavaria, shows how little the importance of the whole affair was realized.

Luther,† who knew himself to be safe under the protection of his own Elector,‡ had at first, like Erasmus, given himself the airs of not believing the Bull to be genuine. He declared that it had been made up by Eck, and as such discredited it in his book: "Eck's New Bull and Lies." When, however, he was no longer able to keep up a semblance of incredulity as to its genuineness, he took a line more violent than ever against the Pope. "Never, from the beginning of the world," he wrote in November 1520, to Spalatin,§ "has Satan spoken so shamelessly against God as in this Bull. It is impossible for anyone who accepts it and does not contest it, to be saved."‖ On the 17th of

* RIEZLER, IV., 69.

† *Cf.* RIFFEL, I., 242 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 146 *seqq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 124 *seq.*; WIEDEMANN, 170 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* KALKOFF, Prozess, 543 *seqq.*; KALKOFF, L. Pastors "Leo X." vom Standpunkte der Reformationsgeschichte, in the Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., III., 203.

§ DE WETTE, I., 522; ENDERS, II., 511.

‖ "This is a strong expression," says De Wette.

November he again appealed from the Pope, "as from an unjust judge, hardened and erring, and, by all his writings, a convicted heretic and schismatic," to a General Council. He demanded of the Emperor, the Electors, and all princes and sovereigns to join with him in opposing "the unchristian conduct and amazing enormities of the Pope." Whoever, says he, follows the Pope, him did he, Martin Luther, hand over to the Divine tribunal.* At the beginning of November he gave vent to his full fury in an intemperate, passionate pamphlet, "Against the Bull of Antichrist," published both in Latin and German. Starting from his usual premise that his doctrine alone was the truth, he declares that the Bull, which is opposed to this truth, has for its object to compel men to deny God and worship the devil. If the Pope and his Cardinals will not change this, he declares that the Roman See is the seat of Antichrist, he condemns it and hands it over to Satan, with this its Bull and all its Decretals. "What wonder if all princes, nobles, and all the laity should set to and belabour Pope, bishops, priests, and monks, and drive them out of the country?" The Bull deserves that "all good Christians should trample it under foot, and that the Roman Antichrist and his apostle Eck should be driven away with fire and brimstone."† "As a full proof of his defiance," he published‡ another pamphlet in which he defended the condemned sentences, and in places emphasized them.§

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 124; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 146.

† JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 124 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 146 *seq.*; PAULUS in the Histor.-polit. Blättern CXXXVI., 799 *seq.*; PERLBACH in the Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Ak. der Wissenschaften, 1907.

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, 147.

§ Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum.

On the 10th of December, 1520, Luther went in solemn procession, followed by the students, and burned the Papal Bull together with the books of canon law and several of his adversaries' writings. While doing this he solemnly pronounced the words: "Because thou hast afflicted the saints of the Lord, so may everlasting fire afflict and devour thee!" By this action he expressed, publicly and finally, his breach with the Church. Next day he spoke as follows to his disciples in the College: "This burning is only a trifle. It is necessary that the Pope and the Papal See be also burned. He who does not resist the Papacy with all his heart cannot obtain eternal salvation."* In his treatise, published under the name of "Warumb des Babsts und seiner Jüngern bücher von D. Martin Luther verbrandt sind," he says: "From all time it has been the custom to burn impious books (Acts xix. 19), and as Doctor in Holy Scripture he was bound to suppress bad books; if others from ignorance or human respect neglected to do this, it did not free him from responsibility. His writings had been burned at Cologne and Louvain, which, among the ignorant, had raised suspicion against him; therefore, for the establishment of truth, he had good reason to burn the books of his adversaries, being, as he hoped, prompted thereto by the Holy Ghost."†

The term of grace after the Bull had been affixed at Meissen, Merseburg, and Brandenburg expired on the 27th of November.‡ On the 3rd of January, 1521, excommunication was pronounced on Luther in the Bull *Decet Romanum*

* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18, 127; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 148; FRIEDENSBURG (Quellen und Forschungen, I., 320 *seq.*) publishes an interesting contemporary account of the burning of the Bull.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 148. *Cf.* RIFFEL, I., 249–252.

‡ K. MÜLLER, Prozess, 82 *seq.*

*Pontificem.** This Bull definitely excluded Luther and his followers from the communion of the Church, and at the same time all pretext for maintaining that Luther had not been unconditionally condemned by the Holy See, was removed. With this Bull the Pope sent special Briefs to Cardinal Albert of Mayence, as Inquisitor-General for the whole of Germany, as well as to the Nuncios, Caracciolo, Aleander, and Eck, giving them powers to proceed with energy against all obstinate Lutherans, even were they of electoral dignity, and to reconcile to the Church all who repented. The absolution of Luther, Hutten, Pirkheimer, and Spengler was reserved to the Pope.†

The two last named, "though not without keen personal humiliation," asked for absolution.‡ But Hutten had not the remotest idea of doing such a thing. His rage against Rome had known no bounds ever since the Pope had, in a Brief of July 20, 1520, ordered the Archbishop of Mayence to stop his dangerous operations, and, if necessary, take severe measures against him.§ Hutten published a pamphlet against the Bull, full of the bitterest remarks. In the prelude he called on all Germans to take vengeance on the Pope, on account of the document by which he wished to suppress the budding truth. The

* Bull, V., 761–764. In the first draft of the Bull, besides Luther, Hutten, Pirkheimer, and Spengler were mentioned by name. This original version has not been so far found. There exists in print only the form altered at Aleander's request, in which Luther alone is mentioned by name. *Cf.* KALKOFF, 135 *seqq.* It must be here pointed out that Aleander did not publish the Bull at Worms, because the highly esteemed Elector of Saxony was too plainly threatened in it.

† BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 8.

‡ *Cf.* KALKOFF, Pirkheimers und Spenglers Lösung vom Bann, 1521, in the Jahresber. des Gymnasiums St. Maria Magdalena zu Breslau, 1896.

§ BÖCKING, I, 362.

conclusion was in the form of a missive to Leo X., in which he said: "Bounds and limitations must be set to thine audacity, and a curb on such childish, wanton Bulls." *

In his pamphlets, written for the people, and therefore in German, Hutten, trusting to the protection of his powerful friend Franz von Sickingen,† openly incited them to revolt.

"Den Aberglauben tilgen wir,
Die Wahrheit wiederbringen hier,
Und d'weil das nit mag sein in gut,
So mutz es kosten aber Blut." ‡

In face of such an agitation, almost everything depended on the attitude taken by the young Emperor; and Aleander's first efforts were directed towards influencing him.

III.

Aleander's appointment, dated July 17 and 18, as Nuncio-Extraordinary and Ambassador to Charles V. and the other sovereigns of Germany, was to be in conjunction with that of the ordinary Nuncio, Marino Caracciolo, § already accredited

* STRAUSS, II., 96.

† *Cf.* SZAMATOLSKI, 62 *seq.*

‡ "All superstition we root out,
Return of truth we bring about;
And if all gentle means prove vain,
We will by blood the vict'ry gain."

§ Marino Caracciolo, a Neapolitan (*cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 599), had been sent to Rome in 1515 by Maximilian Sforza to represent him at the Lateran Council. Leo X. made him Protonotary, and in Feb. 1517 appointed him Nuncio as successor to Campeggio at the court of the Emperor Maximilian; see PAQUIER, 148. The opinion, hitherto accepted, that Caracciolo took up his appointment in the autumn of 1517, must be a mistake (see *supra*, p. 244), for a *Brief of Leo's to the Emperor, dated from Rome on the 6th of March, 1518, gives the first

to the imperial court, and entrusted with carrying out the secular policy of the Holy See, and was to be carried on contemporaneously with the mission of Eck.*

notice of Caracciolo's appointment. I found this document (which, as far as I know, has not been printed) in the Ambrosian Library in the codex spoken of in Appendix, No. 22, Vol. VIII. Caracciolo took part with Cajetan in the Diet of Augsburg. He remained in Germany till the election of Charles V.; see Reichstagsakten, I., 832 *seq.* Caracciolo's appointment as Nuncio to Charles V. followed at the beginning of January 1520. PIEPER (Ständige Nuntiaturen, 53) surmises that his entry into office was deferred because of Charles's journey to Germany. This hypothesis is confirmed by a *Letter of Leo's, "Magistro Marino Caracciolo clerico Neapolit. secretario, dat. 1520, tertio Non. Iunii" (3rd of June), in which it is said: "We have sent thee before to Germany, to the Emperor Maximilian; now thou hast returned; but we wish to send thee to Charles V., and therefore renew the faculties which were given to thee then." Regest. 1201, f. 88, Secret Archives of the Vatican (*cf.* PAQUIER, 148, who knows the Brief in a MS. at Bologna; *cf.* DOREZ in Rev. des Bibl., VIII., 236). Caracciolo had his introductory audience with the Emperor at Ghent, accompanied by Raffaello de' Medici, accredited in August, 1519; (*cf.* PIEPER, *loc. cit.*). Caracciolo's despatches from his German legation are most interesting. Unfortunately, but little care has been taken to preserve them. The State Archives, Milan, contain numerous letters and deeds of Caracciolo's, but they belong exclusively to the time of the two last Sforzas, and when he was himself Governor in Milan. In spite of the closest research (1888), I could not find one document referring to his German legation, nor have any better results followed from the later researches (March, 1905) set on foot by the Administration of the Archives. Professor Kalkoff called my attention to the circumstance that Oldoin had published in the Athenaeum Romanum, Perugia, 1676, 483, a copy of the letter of Cardinal M. Caracciolo of 1574; unfortunately, thorough investigations, set on foot with regard to this literary rarity have, up to this time, remained without result.

* BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 3. *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 76. Aleander's despatches, which were formerly known in an incomplete form through MÜNTER (1789–1798) and FRIEDRICH (1870), were edited in 1883 by BALAN (Mon. ref. Luther) and almost simultaneously by BRIEGER (Aleander und Luther, I., 1884). The latter first issued a

The instructions received by Aleander warned him to work in harmony with Eck,* and provided for the event of Luther or any of his followers demanding a hearing of the Emperor. In answer to any such demand it was laid down that, Luther's doctrine having been condemned by the Holy See, any appeal elsewhere could not be allowed. But if Luther wished to appeal to Rome, a safe-conduct would be granted, and a gracious hearing vouchsafed.

The further purport of the instructions shows how little the possibility of such an event was expected. Aleander was directed to petition, first the Emperor, and after him all the princes, to arrest Luther at the expiration of the term of grace, and deliver him up to Rome to be punished, and to proceed with severity against his followers. All the Bishops were to be exhorted to proceed against them in accordance with the Bull of the Lateran Council, directed against all who printed wicked and heretical books.

The appointment of a second Nuncio in connection with the Lutheran affair shows the importance attached to it by the Pope.† There was more than a remote possibility that jealousies might arise and disturb the harmonious proceedings of the two Nuncios. Indeed, there was no

good chronology and critical text; in the appendix the noteworthy readings of Balan are utilized. *Cf.* BRIEGER'S important revisions of Balan in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg., 1884, 17 *seqq.* Two interesting letters of Aleander's from Aix are published by BELLESHEIM in the Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, XIX., 2, 117 *seq.* Kalkoff's translation, 2nd ed., 1897, affords a valuable and profound objective explanation. The work of HAUSRATH on Aleander and Luther at Worms (Berlin, 1897), written strongly on the Protestant side, must be rejected as insufficient (KALKOFF in the Deutsch. Lit.-Ztg., 1898, No. 6; Zarnckes Zentralblatt, 1898, 286 *seq.*; *cf.* M. LEHMANN in the Nachr. der Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., 1899, 165 *seq.*).

* BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 4.

† See BRIEGER in the Theol. Literaturztg., 1844, 478 *seq.*

lack of jealousy, and the Pope had to send frequent admonitions to the Nuncios to work in harmony.*

As Aleander's time was still claimed by his private business,† his departure, much to the annoyance of the impatient Pope, was deferred till the 27th of July; even then he had to keep a previous engagement in France with Francis I.‡ and it was not until the 22nd of September that he arrived at Cologne, and not until the 25th at Antwerp. To his joyful surprise the Emperor declared that he was willing to lay down his life in defence of the Church. Consistently with this declaration, he showed the greatest readiness to put the Papal Bull into execution in the Netherlands promptly and loyally. Immediately afterwards an imperial edict was issued commanding the burning of the heretical books. Aleander, looking on everything as so far settled, went on to Louvain on the 8th of October and to Liège on the 17th.§

Next to the sermons which, by his instructions, he was bound to preach in all parts, Aleander considered the public burning of the heretical books as the best means of checking the propagation of false doctrine. By this means the Papal condemnation of the heresy became more surely proclaimed than was possible by the delivery of the Bull to the Bishops. Besides, the execution in this manner of the sentence pronounced by the authority of the Pope, made

* *Cf.* the letter of March 3 in BALAN, n. 33. See also KALKOFF, Aleander, 138.

† *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 78.

‡ PAQUIER, 150–151.

§ See the report of Aleander sent to Leo X., in Quellen und Forschungen, I., 151 *seq.*, and Reichstagsakten, II., 454 *seq.* *Cf.* 499, n. 2, and PAQUIER, 151–152; KALKOFF in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., I., 282 *seq.*, and, Anfänge der Gegenreformation, I., 19 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*

a deep impression on the infected laity. Finally, the Lutherans feared nothing more.*

At Aix, where Aleander attended Charles's coronation, he, in company with Caracciolo, visited Cardinal Albert of Mayence, who had equally declared himself against Luther and Hutten. The Electors of Cologne and Treves † showed the same readiness to obey the Pope. Aleander was very favourably impressed by the Elector Frederick of Saxony. "The Elector," he wrote, "seems to be naturally right-minded. He is very pious, but his counsellors are nearly all as Lutheran as Luther himself. On the 4th of November Caracciolo and I visited him, and were at such great pains in arguing with him, that he appeared to be more or less convinced, and declared to us that he had not exchanged more than twenty words with Luther." ‡

But Aleander was greatly deceived as to the real opinions of the Elector, for he was in reality wholly on the side of Luther, and tried with the utmost ingenuity to interpret the laws of the Empire in favour of his protégé. On the 31st of October he went to Cologne to remonstrate with the Emperor in person about the condemnation without appeal of the professor of Wittenberg To this Charles replied that Luther would have the benefit of the law as occasion offered.§

On the 6th of November Frederick rejected the alternatives, offered by the Papal Nuncios, of either imprisoning or delivering Luther up, and burning his writings at once, before he had been examined by learned and impartial judges and convinced of his error. If he were thus really

* KALKOFF, Aleander, 30–31.

† Reichstagsakten, II., 457 *seq.*, 583 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 461.

§ KALKOFF, Prozess, 548 *seq.*, 583 *seq.*

convicted, the Elector was willing to do everything that befitted an obedient son of the Catholic Church.*

This scheme of submitting the case to the so-called arbitration of certain learned men was equivalent to saving Luther's cause, and to bringing about the suspension, or rather the recall, of the Bull *Exsurge.* This was advocated, conjointly with the Elector of Saxony, by no less a personage than Erasmus.† The project was worthy of the temporizing disposition and vague theology of the highly-gifted scholar. The deep-seated nature of the dispute made such a plan futile. Moreover, the withdrawal of the Bull would have been against the first principles of the Catholic Church ; so also would a dispute about matters of faith, submitted to private arbitration, have been a defiance of ecclesiastical authority, which could alone be appealed to. What good could a court of arbitration do, which, as Luther wished, would ask the Church to break with all past traditions concerning her most vital doctrines, her sacraments and institutions? There could be no question of any such understanding or compromise; and this Erasmus's vague theology quite ignored.

He believed so fully in the realization of his ideal that he used all his influence to promote it, and tried to sweep away all that was opposed to it, making use of even the most reprehensible means, "the moral overthrow of Aleander and false representations of his methods."

* Reichstagsakten, II., 462 *seq.*

† For what follows, *cf.* the very interesting and important treatise of KALKOFF'S, Die Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus und seine Anteil an den Flugschriften der ersten Reformationszeit, in the Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., I., 1–83, *cf.* 194 ; see also Repertorium für Kunstwissens., XXVII., 358 *seq.* ; KALKOFF in the Zeits. für Gesch. des Oberrheins, XXI., 267.

While Erasmus was casting slurs on Aleander as a false Nuncio and a deceiving Jew, he threw doubts, against his better knowledge, on the validity of the Bull *Exsurge*. He declared that such a document was quite irreconcilable with the known gentleness of Leo's character, and must therefore have been fabricated, not even in Rome, but by the extremists of Cologne and Louvain. With the greatest success he spread his views as to its invalidity among the people, working for that end not only by private letters and conversation, but also by a craftily-worded anonymous publication, and by contributions to the biting pamphlets of Hermann van dem Busche, in which Aleander was threatened with death. Every method, even the most reprehensible, seemed permissible to Erasmus, if only it would enable him to sweep from the face of the earth this Bull, which was so dangerous to his plans.

Although he worked mostly in the dark, his schemes did not escape the vigilance of the Papal Nuncio. Late in the autumn he called to account the man who had tried by such underhand means to bring his mission to naught. More than once he expressed his regret to Erasmus at finding that he was the author of the widespread belief that the Bull was either a forgery or fraudulently compiled. Erasmus was compelled to accept the testimony produced by Aleander, and the Nuncio rejected all his excuses so emphatically that the versatile scholar reddened, and stammered "in mortal confusion."

It appears that, even after the Elector of Saxony showed his hand on the 6th of November, Aleander still believed that he would be able to win him over; for at that time the Nuncio was under a fatal delusion as to the importance of the Lutheran revolt. Even when at Cologne, he said

that "he had no slight hopes of victory." * He came face to face with resistance for the first time when, in spite of the strong protest of Erasmus, he ordered a general destruction of Lutheran writings at Mayence.† The people protested loudly, and those charged with the burning hesitated. Aleander himself was nearly subjected to violent treatment, and it was only by threats that he carried out his purpose. Before he left the city, he gave directions to the Provincial of the German Dominicans to preach against Luther throughout his province.‡ As the Papal mission proceeded on its way it was much harassed by Hutten's threats.

At Worms, where he arrived on the 30th of November, Aleander passed through still more bitter experiences. Here all his most sanguine hopes were so completely crushed that he fell into the opposite extreme and judged matters perhaps too despondently. "A legion of armed nobles," he wrote from Worms in the middle of December, "under the leadership of Hutten, were thirsting for the blood of the clergy, and were only waiting their opportunity to break into revolt. The German jurists, both spiritual and secular, were declared Lutherans; still worse, the whole tribe of grammarians and poets maintained that none could have any pretensions to learning, especially in the matter of Greek, unless they renounced the teaching of the Church. He had to suffer the most bitter defamation and calumny from Luther's followers, Reuchlin and Erasmus; there was a report going about that Hutten

* "Non male sperem." At first Aleander had said: "Non desperem." Letter of Nov. 6, 1520, in the Reichstagsakten, II., 460.

† This was done also at Cologne on Nov. 12, and later by Antonio Casulano at Treves; see KALKOFF, Aleander, 26, n. 1.

‡ Letter of Dec. 14, BALAN, n. 11; BRIEGER, n. 1; KALKOFF, Aleander, 29–30.

and his friends desired his blood; the clergy, with the exception of the parish priests, were infected by the false doctrines, and those who had received preferment from Rome were the worst of all: everywhere the people were carried away blindly by what they heard."

Aleander placed all his hopes in the Emperor, for, as he wrote to Cardinal de' Medici, there had not been, perhaps for the last thousand years, a prince raised up with better dispositions.* His horror was all the greater at learning that Charles V. had yielded to the Elector of Saxony's representations and consented to give Luther a hearing. During Aleander's absence on the 28th of November, the Emperor had written to the Elector Frederick, telling him to bring Luther with him to the Diet of Worms, so that he might be there examined by learned and well-informed persons.† Aleander at once foresaw the full consequences of this step, and did not hesitate to make energetic remonstrances, in which his theological knowledge and his acquaintance with Luther's writings stood him in good stead. The contention of the imperial party, that a German subject could not be legally condemned without a previous hearing, was set aside by him as of no value. There could be no question, he maintained, of a sentence having been passed without a hearing, for Luther's writings spoke only too plainly for themselves; and matters of false doctrine had always been dealt with in this way. The supreme authority of the Pope overrode any other; on it, according to St. Jerome, depended the safety of the Church, which otherwise would be torn into as many shreds as there were priests. Aleander explained to the Emperor and his counsellors how, according to the most

* Letter undated, about the middle of December, in BALAN, n. 12; BRIEGER, n. 2; KALKOFF, 37, 44 *seq.*

† Reichstagsakten, II., 466-468.

elementary ecclesiastical principles relating to the authority of the Pope, it was not practicable to give another hearing to an open heretic who had been legally condemned by the Holy See, and had refused to retract; it was therefore inadmissible to revive before the Diet, which has no special qualifications for dealing with such matters, a case on which the Pope as the true judge had already pronounced a sentence of condemnation. A further aspect of the affair was that Luther had refused to be judged by any who did not agree with him.*

Aleander's arguments did not fail to produce an effect, especially on the Catholic-minded Emperor. Meanwhile the report was spread, presumably through the instrumentality of Eck, that the term of grace of sixty days fixed in the Papal Bull had expired, and that with this Luther's excommunication had become a fact; that the places in which he set foot had fallen under an interdict, and that any holding intercourse with him were excommunicate. Hearing this, on December 17th, Charles V. revoked his invitation of the 28th of November, and told the Elector that only in the event of Luther's recantation could he be admitted to the neighbourhood of Worms.†

This first success on the part of Aleander was soon followed by a second. At his request, the general Council of State determined (Dec. 29) to issue a mandate against Luther applicable to all his followers,‡ to be extended all over the Empire, and to be obeyed under pain of imperial

* Report of Dec. 4, BALAN, n. 11; BRIEGER, n. 1; KALKOFF, Aleander, 33 *seq.* *Cf.* the Letter of Dec. 17 to Card. Pucci, BRIEGER, n. 3; KALKOFF, 51 *seq.*

† Reichstagsakten, II., 468–470.

‡ Aleander, whose despatches of January are not to be found, mentions the resolution of the State Council (*cf.* KALKOFF, Aleander, 15-16) twice later in his reports on Feb. 8 and 27; see BRIEGER, 49, 75.

attainder. It was, moreover, directed that a special deputation should be sent to the Elector of Saxony, requesting him, in the name of the Emperor, to take proceedings against Luther. These instructions were drawn up by Aleander.*

The deputation to the Elector was, however, deferred, as that prince was already on his way to Worms, where the Diet was opened on the 27th of January, 1521. The situation was thereby changed for the worse as regarded Aleander; for the political considerations which weighed with the States, prevailed more and more in the imperial counsels. They believed that the anti-Papal feeling, which was growing daily in Germany, could only be met slowly and prudently. The Elector Frederick knew how to take advantage of this for the benefit of his protégé. In a letter of the 8th of February, 1521, Aleander described this change in the situation, and the difficulties which now stood in the way of carrying out the imperial edict against Luther. All Germany was in a state of religious sedition, and nine-tenths of the people were adherents of Luther, while the remainder held the Roman Court in deadly hatred. All were crying out for a General Council, which would help to remove the grievances imposed by the Curia. The most powerful princes favoured this movement; the Emperor alone was staunch to the right side. Aleander then went on to relate how Charles had torn in pieces and thrown on the ground a letter from Luther demanding to have "impartial judges." † The Emperor had taken a personal part in drawing up the imperial edict against Luther, the first draft of which was, after "unbearably fatiguing"

* For the text of the instruction, see BALAN, n. 35; as to the time, see WREDE in the Reichstagsakten, II., 474, n. 1; for its significance, see PAQUIER, 177–180.

† Report of Feb. 8, 1521, BALAN, n. 36, BRIEGER, n. 6; KALKOFF, 69 *seq.*

discussion, finally agreed to in the beginning of February. This draft simply demanded the carrying out of the Pope's Bull, while Luther was refused a hearing.* Aleander hoped to obtain a speedy publication of this edict by the authority of the Emperor, but the Chancellor, Gattinara, and other influential counsellors, declared that such an important question must be submitted to the States.

On the 12th of February Aleander handed to the Emperor the Bull of the 3rd of January, which declared the term fixed for Luther's submission to have expired, and consequently pronounced excommunication on him. At the same time a Papal Brief requested the Emperor to issue an edict which would secure the execution of the Pope's sentence.† Charles V. explained that it was the opinion of his Council that the States must not be ignored in a matter of such importance. But in order to incline them to accept the edict, he charged Aleander to appear at the Diet next morning and put forward the Papal demands without any reserve.‡

On the 13th of February, when Charles V. and all the States, with the exception of the Elector of Saxony, were assembled, the Abbot of Fulda read out the message of the Pope to the Emperor, requesting him, as Protector of the Church, to put into execution, by a public edict, the sentence passed on Luther by the Holy See. Aleander then rose to confirm this request, "which put into words the only possible conclusion that the Pope could have arrived at."§ Luther, he declared, was endeavouring, as

* *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, II., 507 *seq.*, 789; WREDE, in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XX., 546 *seq.*, for an earlier draft of Dec. 29, 1520.

† See the Brief in BALAN, n. 13. As to the Bull, see *supra*, 414 *seq.*

‡ See Aleander's report of Feb. 12, 1521, BALAN, n. 21; BRIEGER, n. 7.

§ M. LEYMANN, notice in the Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., 1899, 170.

the Bohemians had done before, to overthrow, in the name of the Gospel, both the ecclesiastical and secular governments in Germany. He had gone so far in writing as to exhort his readers to wash their hands in the blood of the clergy; the Pope and the Universities of Cologne and Louvain had condemned his errors. He showed how numerous and terrible these were by quoting several strongly-worded passages; he also proved that Luther appealed without sanction to Holy Scripture in favour of his doctrines. The Nuncio contested, on solid grounds, the opinion of those who wished Luther to have a hearing at Worms. "All-gracious Emperor," he cried, "how can a man be heard who has openly declared that he refuses to be taught by any, not even by an angel from heaven; and that he desires nothing better than excommunication? Luther has appealed from the decision of the Apostolic See to a General Council; yet he says publicly that Hus was unjustly condemned at Constance. Therefore I ask to know by whom he can be heard and judged."*

Aleander's speech before the Diet is a masterpiece. He spoke for several hours, quickly, fluently, with Italian vivacity, and altogether most ably, and with complete control of his subject. The impression produced by it was the more permanent because many who heard it had not been

* The exact text of Aleander's great speech at the Diet is not before us; and in his letters he gives only a short summary of it (BALAN, n. 22; BRIEGER, n. 8), so that for essentials we have to depend on the report of the Saxon Chancellor, Brück, which is in all its chief points based on a fairly accurate comment by the Saxon secretary. The best copy is in the Reichstagsakten, II., 494–507. PALLAVICINO (I., 25) gives the speech from Aleander's letters, the epitome of his addresses to the Elector of Saxony, and the instructions mentioned above on p. 427. This has been erroneously taken by LE PLAT (II., 83 *seqq.*) for the authentic text.

aware before how entirely Luther had given up the most fundamental doctrines of the Church.*

Aleander pursued his advantage with great vigour. During the lengthy and excited discussion which followed —in the course of which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg nearly came to blows—he, zealously backed up by Caracciolo, did all he could to carry the point that Luther should be refused a hearing at Worms. His adversaries were, however, quite as zealous and active as he. "Were not the Emperor so well-disposed," he wrote, "we must have lost the day. The Chancellor, Gattinara, considers it quite hopeless to fight the heresy without a Council. Charles's confessor, Glapion, dreads a general conflagration; the princes are full of indecision, and the prelates full of fear. Everything is in such a state of confusion that, unless God help us, the wisdom of men will be of no avail." †

The situation was further confused by the action of the strongly Catholic Duke George of Saxony, who brought forward the question of the German grievances against the Roman government of the Church. He did this with the best intentions, thinking thus to obtain a freer hand to defend the greater interests of the Church connected with faith. The Emperor, however, dissuaded him from mixing up the Lutheran affair, which concerned faith, with grievances and abuses, for the redress of which he undertook to approach the Pope.‡

Meanwhile, to Aleander's great vexation, Charles's

* PAQUIER, 203.

† Letters of Feb. 27 and 28, BALAN, n. 31, 32; BRIEGER, n. 11 and 12; KALKOFF, Aleander, 101 *seq.*

‡ The gravamina of Worms did not come within the scope of the project; see Reichstagsakten, II., 662.

counsellors advised him to temporize.* They represented to the Emperor that, on account of the political complications with the States, the greatest possible caution was necessary in regard to this question. They convinced the Emperor that he must use consideration in the matter.

With regard to the excited state of public opinion, the States, on the 19th of February, rejected the severe edict by which Luther was condemned unheard. In place of this they suggested that he should be provided with a safe-conduct and summoned to appear before the Diet. He was, it is true, to be asked whether he would retract his doctrines, as being opposed to the Holy Catholic Faith: if he consented, he was to be given a hearing and fairly met on other points, namely, the grievances connected with the abuses of the Roman Court. If, on the contrary, he refused to retract his errors, the Emperor would at once issue, throughout the Empire, an edict against him as a heretic.†

Charles V. consented to this proposal on the 2nd of March; at the same time he stated in writing that he would be ready to take counsel with the States, in a friendly and gracious spirit, about the Roman grievances and abuses, and discuss the means of their redress. The draft of an edict was appended to this answer, by which Luther was required to make a retractation, and, in case of refusal, be subjected to severe measures. In the meantime his writings were to be everywhere destroyed.‡

* *Cf.* the Letter of March 4, in BALAN, n. 41; BRIEGER n. 13; KALKOFF, 112. The opinion expressed in the Letter of March 8, that Charles's counsellors wished to make political use of Luther's case, is false. KALKOFF, 115, n. 1.

† Reichstagsakten, II., 514–517. *Cf.* LEHMANN in the notices in the Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., 1899, 170 *seq.*, and PAQUIER, 206.

‡ Reichstagsakten, II., 518 *seqq.*

On the 6th of March the States rejected the draft of this edict, and, consequently, the Emperor, on the same day, gave a safe-conduct to Luther. "God grant," said Aleander in a spirit of resignation, "that his coming before the Diet may bring peace to the Church." After an attempt to put the responsibility of Luther's summons on the Elector of Saxony's shoulders, frustrated by Frederick's repudiation of any such thing, the Emperor issued the citation himself.* He, however, expressed his personal views in an edict issued on the 26th of March,† by which the confiscation of all Lutheran writings was commanded on his own authority, without further consultation with the States.

Thereupon Ulrich von Hutten sent a threatening letter to the Emperor, containing a warning against the Romans, as well as abusive invective against all the princes of the Church who were taking part in the Diet. Still more bitter were his letters, full of slanders and threats, to the Papal Nuncios, Aleander and Caracciolo, whom he styled the most reprobate of deceivers, and the most violent of robbers. He threatened Aleander personally, and said he would do all he could to see him annihilated.‡ The Nuncios thereupon begged for the protection of the Emperor against any attempt on their lives, which would have been a transgression of international law. But Charles himself was not surrounded by armed men. As he was still making use of Sickingen's services, he could not call Hutten to account, but was rather inclined to purchase his silence by an income of four hundred gulden. On the 8th of April Hutten sent an apology to the Emperor, in which,

* Reichstagsakten, II., 451, 526-529; *cf.* KALKOFF, 118.

† Dated March 10; see Reichstagsakten, II., 529-533; *cf.* 451. See also KALKOFF, 141 *seq.*, and LEHMANN, *loc. cit.*, 1899, 172.

‡ BOECKING, I., 72* *seq.*; II., 12-46. *Cf.* STRAUSS, II., 171 *seq.*; SZAMATOLSKI, 100 *seq.*

nevertheless, he made a violent attack on the Nuncio. "We cannot," wrote Aleander on the 15th of April, "make it sufficiently clear to the imperialists, in a friendly way, how shameful it is to tolerate such proceedings, and not to concede to us means of redress. They only shrug their shoulders and lament that, under present conditions, they are unable to act otherwise through lack of soldiers. In truth Sickingen is now the only sovereign in Germany; the other princes fold their hands, the prelates tremble and let themselves be snared like rabbits, while the whole world is crying death to the priests."*

On the 16th of April the "arch-heretic," as Aleander styled Luther, arrived at Worms. On the following day the first examination took place before the Emperor and the Diet. Luther admitted that he had written the books which were produced, and which Aleander had procured. To the other questions put to him by the Treves official, Johann von der Ecken, as to whether he would retract the false doctrines contained in them, he replied "in such a low voice that even those close to him could scarcely hear," and requested more time for consideration. This was granted to him, but only until the following day. Next day he boldly defended his writings in a long speech delivered in Latin and German. In it he inveighed against the tyranny of the Pope, and called Rome the flaying-ground of Christendom. In a skilful reply the Treves official pointed out that nearly all Luther's doctrines had been already

* Letter of April 15, BALAN, n. 62; BRIEGER, n. 20; KALKOFF, 156 *seq.* About the imperialists' negotiations with Hutten at Ebernburg, see WREDE in Reichstagsakten, II., 557, n. 3; *cf.* PAQUIER, 231 *seq.* Hutten's action against the Nuncio put Leo X. into such a state of excitement that he threatened extraordinary measures against him, even the extreme one of an interdict; see Letter of Medici, April 29, in BALAN, n. 77.

condemned by the Council of Constance. "Martin," he cried to him, "follow the dictates of your conscience, as you are bound to do; then will you certainly and unhesitatingly retract your errors. You will not be able to prove to me that Councils have erred in matters of faith." But Luther positively refused to retract anything, unless he were first convinced of his error by the Holy Ghost or by plain reason, for, said he, Popes as well as Councils have often erred and have contradicted each other.*

Aleander did not sit as the Pope's representative during Luther's examination, although he continued to work actively in the interests of the Church. He had with much skill made out the scheme of the examination, had inspired the questions to be put to Luther, and the answers to be given by the Treves official, and had checked the tendency to dispute.† Before long he was to find out that his representations to the Emperor had fallen on fruitful soil. On the very next day, April 19, Charles made a declaration, written by himself and spoken in French, that he was ready to lay down his life and crown for the maintenance of the religion of his fathers, and for the extirpation of the heresy so obstinately held to by this erring monk, in opposition to the whole of Christendom; and he regetted that he had not sooner taken measures to repress it. The safe-conduct given to Luther should be respected, nevertheless he could not be allowed to sow sedition among the people. As to

* Aleander made a report about Luther's first hearing on the 17th of April (BALAN, n. 67; BRIEGER, n. 23), and both Nuncios about the second on the 19th of April (BALAN, n. 70; BRIEGER, n. 24). WREDE, in his Reichstagsakten, II., 452, gives a good summary and criticism of all available sources about Luther's attitude at Worms; *cf.* PAQUIER, 256. See also KALKOFF, Aleander, 169 *seq.*, 176; and by the same, Briefe über Luther in Worms, Halle, 1898.

† PAQUIER, 230, 235, 237.

what further proceedings he could take against Luther as a convicted heretic, he must wait for the States to express an opinion consistent with their duty as Christians, and in accordance with the promise made by them on the 19th of February.*

After this vigorous address of the Emperor's, the sanguine Aleander believed that the victory was gained. But in the night Luther's followers fixed up a manifesto on the door of the Council-chamber, in which they threatened to pass on the word to the seditious peasants. The Archbishop of Mayence was seized with such terror that he begged the Emperor and princes to reopen negotiations with Luther. Charles made merry over his cowardice; but the majority of the States were so intimidated that they besought the Emperor to consent to Luther's being called before a small commission of learned men, who would inform him as to the articles in which he had erred.† Charles once more yielded, in regard to the dispute going on between the supreme court and the imperial chamber. But all attempts to induce Luther to recant were of no avail. "He can be convinced neither by persuasion nor argument," Aleander said in his report to Rome, "for he will accept no judge and rejects all Councils, considering nothing valid except the words of the Bible interpreted by himself, for he rejects all other interpretations as inadequate."‡

The Nuncios once more breathed freely when, all discussions having been broken off, Charles compelled Luther to leave Worms on the 26th of April.§ This state of affairs

* The French text, hitherto known only in a translation, is now printed in Reichstagsakten, II., 594–599; *cf.* 855.

† Reichstagsakten, II., 599; PAQUIER, 239–240.

‡ Letter of April 27, BALAN, n. 74; BRIEGER, n. 25; KALKOFF, Aleander, 188. *Cf.* PAQUIER, 240 *seq.*

§ PAQUIER, 242 *seq.* This gives a proof that Aleander made no

had been provided for in the declaration of the States on the 19th of February and the 20th of April.* By Luther's refusal to recant, the Emperor was set free to issue an imperial edict in defence of the Catholic Faith, on his own authority. By the desire of Charles, Aleander drew up this important deed on May the 1st. The Nuncio worked all night, and was able to submit his draft on the following morning; though it was then submitted to, and revised by, the imperial council. On the 8th of May he obtained an order through the imperial cabinet for the immediate preparation of the edict. However, when the document was brought to him for signature, Charles declared that it must be first made known to the States. Aleander and Caracciolo were at first equally alarmed by this, but they soon perceived that this precaution was solely in order not to exasperate certain princes inclined to Lutheranism, and thus avoid injury to the proposals contained in the edict.†

The surmise was correct. In spite of all the pressure put on him by the Nuncios, the Emperor, from reasons of political prudence, refused to act until his demands had been passed by the Diet. Aleander meanwhile worked in every possible way, in conjunction with Caracciolo, to promote the issue of the edict by the States, in accordance with the Emperor's repeated promises.‡ Charles kept his word. On the 25th of May he had his edict solemnly read in the presence of a number of Electors and princes, after

attempt to obtain the violation of Luther's safe-conduct. The story is equally contradicted that he demanded of the Archbishop of Treves to break the seal of confession.

* Reichstagsakten, II., 599.

† See Aleander's reports of May 5, 8, and 15 in BALAN, n. 80, 89, 95; BRIEGER, n. 27, 29, 31; KALKOFF, Aleander, 205 *seq.*, 214 *seq.*, 230 *seq.*; PAQUIER, 252 *seq.*

‡ See Aleander's report of May 18 in BALAN, n. 93; BRIEGER, n. 32; KALKOFF, 241.

which Joachim of Brandenburg declared that it was accepted unanimously. The States also accepted it with equal unanimity. All ambiguity had vanished. Even though all the States were not present at the reading, the validity of the edict was not affected. The reading before the States, and still more its discussion, were unnecessary, for, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Diet on the 19th of February, the Emperor was entitled, in the event of Luther's refusing to recant, to issue just such an edict, assuming it to have been passed by the States.*

The news that the edict had been passed by the Diet caused great joy among Luther's enemies, and great confusion among his followers. Aleander did not close his eyes all night, partly from the effects of joyful excitement, partly from fear of counter-intrigues. He did not feel secure until the Emperor had signed the document on the 12th of May. "Blessed be the Most Holy Trinity," wrote the Nuncio to Rome, "on whose Feast the greatest means of overcoming the evil, which human reason can conceive, has been given to us. The converting of hearts, and setting men in the right way, belongs to God alone. He will not forsake us."†

The imperial mandate, which is known to the world as

* *Cf.* PAQUIER, 269–270, against Wrede and Hausrath. *Cf.* KALKOFF, who maintains that the unanimous acceptance of the edict could be formally supported by the resolution passed by the Diet on the 19th of February (248). However strongly he may speak of "the seditious carrying through of the edict," Kalkoff does not consider that it was "unconstitutional" (249).

† Letters of May 26, BALAN, n. 97; BRIEGER, n. 33; KALKOFF, 244 *seq.* In spite of the edict having been signed on the 26th of May, the date of May 8 remained, as that on which it was approved by the Emperor. That there was no falsification or malice in this is shewn, as says Ranke, by BRIEGER in the Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., IX., 132 *seq.*, by the almost general consent. *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, II., 658, n. 1.

the Edict of Worms,* condemned Luther in the severest terms, and placed him under the ban of the Empire, with the command that all his writings be destroyed. The edict declared that he disseminated evil fruits; that he violated the number, rite, and use of the sacraments; that he defiled the inviolable bond of matrimony; that he uttered shameful calumnies against the Pope, despised the priesthood, and incited the laity to wash their hands in the blood of priests. He taught that man had no free-will, and encouraged a life without law, as he had proved by destroying all its hallowed safeguards and burning the books of canon law. He drew contempt on all Councils, especially that of Constance, which had, to its everlasting honour, restored peace and unity to the German nation, calling it the "synagogue of Satan," and all those who took part in it "antichrists and murderers." "Like the spirit of evil in a monk's habit," he united in himself heresies new and old; under a semblance of preaching the faith, he tried to destroy the one true faith; and under pretence of preaching the Gospel, he destroyed all evangelical peace, love, and order.

On the 29th of May Aleander witnessed the carrying out of the imperial instructions at Worms, by the arrangements made there for burning all Luther's writings. Two days later he and Caracciolo, in obedience to instructions received from Rome, went down the Rhine to Cologne in the Emperor's suite.†

Aleander's activity did not cease yet, and he showed the utmost zeal in carrying out the edict throughout the Empire proper, as well as in the Netherlands, where he dwelt for the most part. It was largely owing to his

* The latest impression through WREDE in the Reichstagsakten, II., 640–659; for its publication, 659, n. 1.

† PAQUIER, 271–275.

discreet and indefatigable efforts that the religious innovations were almost entirely suppressed in that country.*

Aleander was still there when Leo X. died. By this event he failed to receive the reward which he had so richly deserved by his untiring energy in the interests of the Church. He had remained unmoved at his post in a foreign land, though exposed to the most violent and venomous attacks from his former friends the humanists. He had endured hardships and physical sufferings of every sort, and at times his life had been in danger. He had, indeed, moments of despondency, especially when he did not consider himself sufficiently supported by Rome. But these were only passing phases; and on the whole he carried on his warfare against the religious innovators with wonderful endurance, ardent zeal, and great prudence and ability. Nothing could have surpassed his zeal against the heretics, which led him, highly-cultivated man as he was, to the use of very abusive language. This is much to be regretted, however great the aggravation to which he was subjected. In fact, he succumbed in this to the custom of his age quite as much as if he had succumbed to the practice of bribery.

Owing to his excitable and violent temperament, Aleander's judgment of events was often at fault. The greatest mistake he made was that of at times attributing the strength of the Lutheran movement to base and material motives: in this he showed himself a true child of the Renaissance. Consequently he trusted too much to being able to stem the movement by marks of

* *Cf.* the detailed account in KALKOFF, Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in der Niederlanden, in Des Vereins f. Reformationsgesch., 21 Jahrg., Heft 2 and 4, Halle, 1903–1904. *Cf.* also KALKOFF, Das Wormser Edikt in den Niederlanden, in the Hist. Vierteljahrschr., 1905, 69 *seqq.*

favour and a generous expenditure of money, and was therefore untiring in his efforts to win over individuals. He cannot be reproached with the disappointment which awaited the hopes he had based on the issue of the Edict of Worms. No one could have foreseen future developments. Not only Aleander, but all other contemporaries, saw in stringent measures the only way of dealing with the very precarious state of things. Nevertheless, however much Aleander might believe in the efficacy of violent and material methods, he was too clear-sighted to ignore the importance of the use of spiritual weapons. His endeavours to make use of these are shown in a letter which he wrote to Cardinal Medici on the 5th of April, 1521. "I say openly to our poets and rhetoricians," he says, "whose action consists in elaborating verses a month long, and in abusing each other all for the sake of some miserable word, let them be unanimous in defending our faith in their writings. They could accomplish great things by their understanding and capabilities; they could put these shriekers to silence who, with their gifts of narrative and poetry, set themselves up before the multitude as if they had quite succeeded in trampling on theology. Excommunication could make no sort of impression on them, for they only mock at it. Here is a case of driving one wedge on the top of another, and of fighting these people with their own weapons. Would that the Pope, through the intercession of Your Eminence, would, by praise and reward, encourage men of talent to make an intelligent study of Scripture, and put their pens to work, after the example of the Germans, in defence of the faith. In this work God would assist them. There is no need of great doctors of theology to refute these knaves for, as we have seen, they refuse to learn anything of such. I am far from meaning that the antagonists of error should

be devoid of a deep knowledge of Holy Scripture; but even in so important a matter much depends on literary facility." *

Here we can see how Aleander, as a true humanist, expected less from profound learning than from a skilful use of literature. It was, it is true, a gross delusion to expect lasting results in this great contest from the Roman humanists; but the principle was right that the enemy must be fought with his own weapons, and that the anti-Catholic literature must be met by one of the same kind, only on the side of truth.

To the honour of Aleander are the unceasing warnings he addressed to the Curia to redress the abuses, which he pointed out with the greatest candour. He adjured the Pope to do away with the number of reservations and dispensations, to revoke the abrogation of the Concordat with Germany, to reform the scandals connected with the Roman Court, to put a curb on the benefice-hunters, and to restore ecclesiastical discipline. Though these warnings were but too often neglected, they make known to us the man who, as Papal Nuncio to the Emperor, served the Holy See with a fiery devotion, and was the immediate precursor of the great Catholic reformers, to whom he ultimately attached himself.

* BALAN, n. 61; BRIEGER, n. 19; KALKOFF, Aleander, 151. *Cf.* the Letter of May 8, *loc. cit.*, 221.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE documents here brought together are intended to substantiate and supplement the text: it did not form part of the plan of my work to make a special collection of original records. I have given, as correctly as possible, the source from which each has been taken, and, from considerations of space, been sparing of explanatory notes. I have, as a rule, conformed to the original spelling in the documents and letters; the alterations as regards capital letters and punctuation require no justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned; small mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without special remark. My own additions are placed within square brackets, obscure or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation, or "sic." Passages which, on comparison or, later, in preparation for the press, I have purposely omitted as irrelevant, I have distinguished by dots (. . . .).

I take this opportunity of here tendering my most grateful acknowledgments to Prof. Dr. Pogatscher and Pfarrer Dr. Bruder for their invaluable assistance in correcting the following documents, and in revising a considerable portion of my fourth volume; also to Dr. Brom for his correction of the 2nd Book (Adrian VI.), and to Mgr. Ehses for that of the 3rd Book (Clement VII.).

1. Stazio Gadio to the Marchioness of Mantua.*

1513, Martii 3, Rom.

V. Ex[a] haverà inteso che doppo la morte di papa Julio, il corpo del quale fù portato in S. Petro vestito con la pianeta di brocato, mitra di brocato doro, accompagnato da tutti li card[li] e fù posto sopra l'altare di S. Andrea, ove concorse da la matina sino ad due hore di notte tutta Roma per vederlo et per basarli li pedi et far tocar le coroni, beretti et officioli le man, il volto et li panni dil papa con tanta devotione, sel fusse stato il vero corpo di S. Petro; † alle due hore fù sepulto in capella di papa Sixto havendo seco sotto terra tre annelli et vesti per più di milli et cinquecento ducati. . . . Heri li Romani entrorno in congregatione et obtenero de molte petitioni che havevano dimandati al colegio che havessino le gabelle et alcuni datii, di far card[li] quatro per li baroni et quatro per li citadini et di caciar li monaci di S. Paulo et mettervi canonici Romani, et volere per commendator di S. Spirito uno Romano; il colegio si è rimesso alla deliberatione del futuro papa, promettendo di procurar questo presso S. S[tà]; il predicto colegio ha donato a casa Colonna il palatio di S. Apostolo. . . . Rome III martii 1513.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Pope Leo X. to the Citizens of Bologna.‡

1513, Martii 11, Rom.

Dilecti etc. In minoribus constituti et cardinalatus honore ac istius dilectissimae civitatis nostrae legationis munere fungentes quanto amore quantave caritate vos omnes resque vestras fuerimus comp[le]xi neminem vestrum latere credimus. Itaque hac die, quae est XI huius mensis martii, de venerab. fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium uno omnium assensu nemine discrepante ac spiritus sancti gratia cooperante licet immeriti ad s. apostolatus apicem assumpti persuadere vobis facile potestis rebus quietique vestrae et pacifico istius nostrae civitatis statui Deo auctore nos

* See *supra*, p. 18.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI., 436.

‡ See *supra*, p. 34.

bene consulturos esse. In thanksgiving to God "triduales supplicationes" are to be held. Hopes you will continue in devotion.

Dat. Romae apud s. Petrum XI martii 1513 ante nostram coronationem.

[Orig. State Archives, Bologna. Q. 5.]

3. Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1513, Martii 11, Rom.

Venere proximo passato, che fù agli IV dil pres^{te}, intrassimo in conclave, dove sino a questa sera questi miei s^{ri} r^{mi} card^{li} sono stati in longe pratiche per la moltitudine di quelli che pretendevano et correvano al papato et per le affectioni de Spagnoli et de Francesi et interessi de gli stati de Italia; tandem circa una hora de nocte stringendosi le cose, perchè domatina se doveva fare uno scrutinio, quelli che sono stati contrarii a mons^{r} r^{mo} de Medici, che erano quasi tutti gli card^{li} vecchii excepto mons^{r} r^{mo} di S. Georgio et mons^{r} r^{mo} de Soderini, si sono divisi et, essendosi alcuni de essi adheriti cum noi altri de la parte contraria favorevole al p^{to} r^{mo} s^{re} card^{le} de Medici et ad mons^{r} r^{mo} di S. Georgio, che ambi doi erano subiecti de gli card^{li} giovani, cioè de gli diaconi, gli altri dubitandosi di S. Georgio, preseron per partito di voler più presto Medici che s. s. r^{ma}, in modo che avedendosi noi di questo, anci essendoni certificato seressimo ad adorare mons^{re} antedetto de Medici, il medesimo feceron tutti loro et così circa una hora di nocte cum gracia del spirito sancto è stato facto papa. Domatina per observare la forma della electione si farà il scrutinio et si publicarà. Mi rendo certo che haveremo facto uno bono papa, quale attenderà al bene universale di la chiesa et alla pace fra principi christiani. Spero medesimamente per l'anticha amicicia, quale è stato fra la casa de Medici et la nostra et per la observantia di V. S. verso s. s. r^{ma} parimente per la servitù et affectione che sempre io gli ho havuta ultra che sono stato gagliardissimo ad questa sua exaltatione, che S. S^{tà} haverà in specialissima protectione V. S., il stato suo et mc, et tanto più mi ralegro

* See *supra*, pp. 15, 16, 22, 25.

quanto che conosco per expresso non poter essere in questa sede persona quale sia in più proposito di lo ill^{mo} s. duca di Urbino, di lo ill^{mo} s. duca di Ferrara et de lo ex^{mo} s. duca di Milano, di quello serà S. S^{tà} per le cause quale so essere note ad V. S., cum la quale mi congratulo cum tutto il cuore. Domatina di molte hore prima che se apri il conclave, se publicarà la electione sua et rendomi certo che subito mons^{r} Lud^{co} de Fermo scriverà ad V. S. Pur in quest' hora che sono le VIII di nocte non ho voluto manchare di questo officio de scrivere queste poche parole ad V. S., la quale prego voglia comunicare tale bona nova alla ill^{ma} s^{ra} sua consorte et farla intendere ad quelli nostri logotenenti, vicario et clero, acciò rendino le debite gratie a N. S. Dio, et che facino signo di gaudio et consolatione. Questa electione è stata tanto pura quanto mai altra ne fusse facta, non si è parlato de denari ne de beneficii ne de officii, ne di altra promessa o cosa suspecta de symonia. Papa Julio di fe. re. cum la bolla sua da facto paura tale alle brigate, che non è stato persona quale habbi havuto ardire de contravenire ad quella. . . .

Rome in palatio apostolico in conclavi hora VIII noctis veniente die XI mens. martii.

Il nome del novo Papa
è Leone decimo.

El vostro alevo et fid. ser^{re}
S[igismondo] card^{le} di
Gonzaga di manu propria.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1513, Juni 17, Rom.

. . . Fu dopoi lecta la cedula de Sta Croce et de mons^{r} San Severino sotto scrita de lor proprie mane in questa forma senza nominarse card^{le}: Ego B. de Carvaial promitto iuro et manu propria subscripsi; similiter: Ego F. de S^{to} S^{rino} promitto etc^{a}. In la qual cedula recognoscano per vero et legitimo le sacro Lateranense concilio convocato legitimamente et aprovano et ratificano tute le cose facte et tractate in dicto concilio et prometano far tanto quanto li comandera N. S. per comovere la S^{tà} sua a mazor clementia verso essi; questa è la substantia, ma la cedula fù molto

* See *supra*, pp. 55, 56.

longa cum iuramenti et molte altre parole. . . . Mercordì passato S. S^{tà} fece concistorio, in el qual tractò de la reductione de questi card^{li}; quello facesse in contrario mons^{r} r^{mo} Sedunensis seria longo a dir, qual post multa prostratus ad terram dimandò licentia al N. S. cum dir che nolebat sedere cum impiis et per niente voleva star in corte. A la fine maior pars dominorum concluse col N. S., che per ben de la giesia isti reducerentur, ma cum honore sedis apostolice. Questi dui venirano a Roma senza dubio alcuno de card^{le} et intrarano de nocte, andando recta via in palazo del N. S. et li starano quella nocte; la matina sequente serà consistorio dove serano introducti in habitu longo, ma simplice et li domandarano venia al N. S. et al sacro collegio de li errori lor; post multas cerimonias N. S. et el collegio ge perdonarà et li ponerà l'habito et cappa cardinalescha et li farà sedere. Ma per questo non li serà perho dato li beneficii sed restituuntur ad dignitatem tantummodo, in modo che sel re de Franza non li provede starano molto lezeri. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1513, Juni 30, Rom.

. . . Li dui nunc r^{mi} card^{li} Sta Croce et San Severino fureno remissi lunedì prox^{o}, como che scrisse a V. Ex^{ia} che si dovea fare, et introno in consistorio vestiti da simplici preti et N. S. volse che pasasseno per tute le sale del palazo, dove era tuta la corte, la qual cosa mosse a pietà molti di veder quelli s^{ri} in quello habito, max^{e} Sancta Croce, che tremava como fa una foglia; intrati in consistorio et adorato el N. S., Sua S^{tà} ge disse de gran parole et li dette una cedula che dovesseno lezere, in la quale abjuraveno el conciliabulo Pisano, ratificaveno et approbaveno le censure et maledictione et privacione de la s^{ta} mem. de papa Julio et in questo passo N. S. ge disse che le persone loro erano securissime, che quando non li piacesse le proposte, che liberamente, lo declarasseno, che li faria acompagnar dove lor volesseno securamente, in summa feceno ciò che li fù comandato, et de gratia ultimo loco N.S. legie sententia, in la qual li restituite ad honores et dignitates et ad omnia, pręterquam ad beneficia de quibus aliis

* See *supra*, p. 56.

est provisum ; poi li fece mettere el rochetto et la cappa et similiter li donò el capello. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Paris de Grassis, about the first creation of Cardinals by Leo X.*

1513, September 23, Rom.

Die lunae, quae fuit XXIII septembris 1513, S. D. N. Leo quatuor cardinales creavit sedentibus in consistorio XX cardinalibus atque aliis omnibus per literas consentientibus, sic enim fuerat in capitulis conclavis stabilitum, ut pontifex in cardinalium creatione teneretur omnes cardinales absentes a Bononia citra vocare ut adessent aut saltem ut consentirent. The Pope addressed the Cardinals as follows :—Filii dilectissimi, profecto gratias ingentes vos Deo inprimis reddere oportet cum istis rev^mis^ dominis cardinalibus, qui vos ex infimis et simplicibus in tantum fastigium assumere dignati sunt, ut eisdem aequales fieri mereamini cardinales sicut ipsi, nempe maximam dignitatem ipsorum beneficio et benignitate assequuti estis, quam si mente plena considerabitis et agnoscetis nunquam cessabitis in Dei optimi maximi laudatione et gratiarum actione adversus praefatos dominos istos rev^mos^. Nos quoque personas vestras libenter proposuimus, qui maxime speramus, quod totis viribus incumbetis in honorem hunc ac onus digne sufferatis, et impleatis quae sunt ad id opportuna, quae quamvis vos facturos speramus, hortamur tamen et mandamus ut ita [sic] vos in ipsa cardinalatus dignitate sic geratis quod nos de huiusmodi vestra promotione penitere aliquo unquam tempore [non] contingat, in nomine patris etc.

[Cop. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Libr. Vienna, Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.†]

7. Paris de Grassis, about the entry of Cardinal Lang into the Consistory of December 9th, 1513.‡

All the Cardinals went on December 9th, 1513, to S. Maria del Popolo and thence accompanied Lang to the Consistory : omnes

* See *supra*, p. 82.

† The Secret Archives contain three other MS. copies of the Diarium for this year : XII., 22 ; XIII., 18 ; XIII., 19.

‡ See *supra*, p. 70.

[cardinales] mantellati, non autem cappati propter continuas pluvias, ipse [Lang] autem cum modica corona capitis et cum capillis longis admodum, super quo cum ipsum arguissem, respondit per iocum se bene fecisse ad imitationem Iesu Christi, qui nunquam aut raro legitur comam posuisse. Habuit etiam birretum pellibus nigris suffultum, quod mirum multis visum est cum ipse sit aetate iuvenis respective. In pompa fuit insignis, nam et 50 muliones habuit omnes uno habitu ornatos, equos fere 300 unico habitu indutos praeter multos nobiles torquatos ac praeter multos oratores qui semper in comitatu sunt, vid. Caesareus, Mediolanensis, Montiferratinus, Ferrariensis, Florentinus, Senensis, Lucensis et alii.

[Cop. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Libr. Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

8. Paris de Grassis, about the Imperial "Obedientia," on December 11th, 1513.*

Eadem die, quae fuit XI decembris, intrarunt quatuor oratores Caesaris ad praestandum obedientiam papae, vid primus ill. dom. dux. Bari, frater ducis Mediolani, qui etiam ingressus fuerat nomine ducis Mediolani praefati, ac rev. p. dom. episcopus Triestinus, il. dom. Albertus Carpensis et ill. dom. Antonius de [Rovere], per portam, quae est in platea palatii, et hospitati sunt hoc mane in domo domini Angeli Neronis, et familiae quasi usque ad portam illius domus obviarunt, nam etiam familia papae ultra imaginem crucifixi obviavit, prout debuit, quia ita fuit et fit erga oratores Caesareos. Multa altercatio fuit inter diversos oratores qui venerunt cum Gurcensi.

[Cop. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Libr. Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

9. Paris de Grassis, about the arrival of Bonnivet at Viterbo on November 2nd, 1515.†

Eadem die orator regis Franciae ingressus fuit solemniter, a familiis cardinalium et pontificis receptus fuit cum solemnitate et

* See *supra*, p. 70. † See *supra*, p. 129.

ductus ad hospitium coronae. Is fuit monsignor de Bonivetto laicus, et papa mihi imposuit, ut eum honorifice recipi et tractari facerem prout feci more solito.

[Cop. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Libr. Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

10. Consistory at Viterbo on November 5th, 1515.*

Die lunae 5 novembris fuit consistorium secretum in arce praesentibus XIV cardinalibus, in quo conclusum fuit de transmigratione pontificis et curiae versus Florentiam ac inde Bononiam pro rege Franciae excipiendo, et papa dixit quod die XX volebat Senas ingredi et die s. Andreae Florentiam ingrederetur, ubi circa XV dies permaneret; deinde versus Bononiam iret, ubi regem exciperet et festa natalia perageret, ac rursus Florentiam reverteretur et postea Pisas iret solatii gratia; inde ad urbem Romam rediret ante dominicam palmarum, quia omnino intendebat palmas in Roma dare, et prorogavit sessionem concilii Lateranensis ad XV diem post pascha et imposuit mihi, ut simul cum rev. dom. Anchonitano et sanctor. quatuor cardinalibus facerem rotulum de omnibus officialibus curiae qui et quot ex quoquo ordine deberent sequi pontificem, et sic eadem die fecimus et conclusimus in hunc modum . . . . [the names follow]. In eodem consistorio creatus est legatus urbis rev. dom. card. Vulteranus. . . .

[Cop. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Libr. Vienna, and Rossiana Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

11. Pope Leo X. threatens Francesco Maria della Rovere with the major Excommunication.†

1516, Martii 1, Kom.

Leo episc. servus etc. Ad fut. rei mem. Ex ore sedentis . . . Cum itaque retroactis temporibus Franciscus Maria fe. re. Julii pape secundi predecessoris nostri secundum carnem nepos non

* See *supra*, p. 129. † See *supra*, 149.

ex linea sive successione investiture, sed ex gratia sedis apostolice et tanquam adoptivus filius bon. mem. Guidonis ducis Urbini ad ducatum ipsum pervenerit et in juvenili ac immatura etate ab ecclesia Romana et sede apostolica contra ejus hostes postpositis ceteris capitanei titulo decoratus magnoque stipendio conductus fuerit, certamen ac belli victoriam manifestam perfide detrectavit et quod deterius ac magis horrendum est contra sedem apostolicam, contra patruum et contra fidem a qua feudum dicitur feudatarius et vassallus per proditionem ad partes hostium contra S^tam^ Rom. Ecclesiam tunc venientium defecit demumque ipsius Ste Rom. Ecclesie card^lem^ (hactenus inexpiatum inauditumque facinus) propriis manibus interfecit, a quo crimine absolutionem per suspectissimos testes magis extorsit quam meruit, premissis omnibus quasi conniventibus oculis a Julio praefato predecessore nostro toleratis eique civitate Pisauri in feudum liberalissime concessa, nichil minus a cedibus et sanguine temperans plures vulneravit, plures etiam propriis manibus occidit. Quibus omnibus posthabitis nos divina gratia ad summi apostolatus apicem assumpti quamquam plurimum querelis pulsati nedum ipsum pacienter tulimus ob mem. fe. re. Julii predecessoris predicti, cui nos plurimum debuisse fatemur, verum etiam magno stipendio conduximus contra hostes nostros et St^e^ Rom. Ecclesie tunc in Italiam adventantes, qui tantum abfuit ut munus ei demandatum impleret, ut post multas dilationes, post varias cavillosasque et dissimulatas conditiones clam cum hostibus sentiens palam tandem cum magno sedis apostolice discrimine ad eos defecit revocatisque militibus jam ad bellum proficiscentibus retentisque per dolum quatuordecim millibus ducatis ei pro stipendio jam solutis domi proditorie se continuit. . . . Therefore the excommunication threatens him and his adherents: prefatum Franciscum Mariam ducem eiusque complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores et sequaces . . . auctoritate omnipotentis Dei . . . per presentes in virtute S^te^ obedientie ac sub maioris * excommunicationis late sententie . . . nec non criminis lese majestatis rebellionisque et aliis infradicendis penis quas ipso facto si monitioni et mandatis nostris predictis non paruerint . . . incurrere volumus, per presentes requirimus et monemus . . . quatenus infra XVIII dies . . . prefatus

* "maioris" has been inserted above the line, in another hand.

Franciscus Maria dux eiusque complices . . . coram nobis . . . personaliter compareant.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. (secr.) 1193 f. 115–121.*]

12. Pope Leo X. to Roberto Latino Orsini.†

1516, April 2, Rom.

Leo etc. dilecto filio Roberto Latino de Ursinis, electo Regin. ad Hungarie Bohemie ac Polonie regna necnon universas provincias civitates terras et loca carissimis in Christo filiis Ludovico Hungarie et Bohemie ac Sigismundo Polonie regibus illustribus mediate et immediate subiecta nostro et apostolice sedis cum plena potestate legati de latere nuncio et oratori salutem etc.‡ Cum nuper audivissemus olim clare mem. Wladislai Hungarie et Bohemie regis [obitum] sane pro eo ac debuimus haud mediocrem animi molestiam meroremque percepimus considerantes presertim quam singularis prudentie rege ac principe regnum ipsum Hungaricum viduatum orbatumque esset, quantamve in eius amissione iacturam universa Christiana respublica passa fuerit, quippe qui pro divini nominis gloria et orthodoxe fidei exaltatione nullis laboribus nullisque expensis parcendo velut intrepidus Christi pugil ac fortissimus athleta contra immanissimam Turcorum rabiem stare continuosque illorum impetus et horribilem ferociam arcere ac retundere insuperque gloriosissimos de illis triumphos reportare consueverat. Nos autem dum onus universalis gregis dominici superna dispositione nobis iniunctum diligenter attendimus et nostrum perspicimus imperfectum videntes quod nequimus circa singula per nosmet ipsos exolvere debitum apostolice servitutis, nonnunquam viros electos scientia et dignitate preditos ac virtute

*. The document ends here with the words: "incursum Dat." Then follows in another hand: "Dat. Romae apud s. Petr. anno inc. d. 1516 p Kl. martii pont. nostri anno tertio." The "p" before "Kl. martii" seems to be, as an abbreviation for "pridie," unusual. It is more likely that the scribe intended to write "pontif. nostri" or "primo," and then forgot to erase the "p." In the exceedingly rare copy of the *Monitorium poenale* (Rossiana Libr., Vienna) it is dated "1515 (st. fl.) Cal. Mart."

† See *supra*, 216.

‡ on the margin: Bembus.

conspicuos in partem sollicitudinis assumimus, ut ipsis vires nostras supplentibus ministerium nobis commissum favente pietate superna facilius efficacius et salubrius exequamur, et, quamvis ad cunctorum Christifidelium provincias civitates ac regna paternum studium et diligentiam adhibeamus, ad ipsum tamen Hungaricum regnum, quod Christianitatis totius adversus infidelium conatus inexpugnabile presidium ac tutissimum antemurale semper extitit, aciem nostre considerationis paternis affectibus dirigentes illud eiusque incolas et habitatores tanquam pro fidei nostre custodia assidue vigilantes ac peculiares filios diligentiori cura intuemur et super eorum felici regimine pacifico et tranquillo desideramus specialiter providere ut preserventur a noxiis et optatis prefruantur incrementis. Cum itaque ob recentem decessum* prefati regis in dicto regno aliquarum dissensionum ac discordiarum zizanie satore procurante periculum exoriri possit, unde universa respublica Christiana detrimentum pateretur, cum regnum ipsum ut prediximus Christianitatis totius firmum presidium et antemurale dignoscatur, et ad nostrum spectet officium omni cura et vigilancia providere, quod omnia regna Christianorum et illorum incole et habitatores prefati in pacis et quietis dulcedine conquiescant, et ob hanc causam et ut sancta per eos contra prefatos Christi nominis hostes expeditio susciperetur, alias dilectum filium nostrum Thomam tituli sancti Martini in montibus presbyterum card[lem] Strignoien. nostrum et apostolice sedis legatum, quem praefatus Wladislaus rex in eius ultimo testamento prefato Ludovico regi tutorem ut eius prudentia et auctoritate negotia regni eius expedirentur reliquit, destinaverimus, licet preter spem et desiderium nostrum post destinationem huiusmodi quam plura inter plebeios et nobiles scandala exorta fuerint, nos ad te, quem magnitudine consilii eximia quoque integritate probitate fidelitate ac precipua prudentia comprobatum habemus, cuius affectibus geritur prout indubitanter credimus unacum prefato Thoma cardinali sedare discordias iusticie terminos colere ac errantes ad viam reducere veritatis, mentem nostram potissime convertentes sperantesque quod ea que tibi duxerimis committenda gratia tibi assistente divina circumspecte iuste et fideliter exequeris, te qui etiam referendarius et prelatus domesticus ac secundum carnem affinis noster existis, ad ponendam in dicto regno pro

* *Ms*: diocessum.

illius salute pacem concordiam quietem et tranquillitatem armaque adversus Christi nominis hostibus [sic] concordibus animis ac viribus feliciter convertenda et pro nonnullis aliis nostris et Romane ecclesie arduis negotiis pertractandis ad car^mos^ in Christo filios nostros Ludovicum Hungarie ac Bohemie ac Sigismundum Polonie reges illustres eorumque regna provincias civitates terras et loca ad omnipotentis Dei laudem Christianeque reipublice statum et honorem nostrum et apostolice sedis nuncium et oratorem cum plena potestate legati de latere in presentiarum destinamus teque in dictis regnis provinciis civitatibus terris et locis nostrum et dicte sedis nuncium et oratorem cum dicta potestate usque ad nostrum et sedis eiusdem beneplacitum auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium constituimus et etiam deputamus, confidentes per hoc, ut firma spes est nostra, quod dextera domini tibi assistente propicia ex solicitis operibus tuis dictis regnis provinciis civitatibus terris et locis illorumque incolis et habitatoribus desiderata proveniant commoda fructusque exinde succedent [sic] salutares. Tu igitur munus huiusmodi devota mente suscipiens te in illius executione sic solicitum ac verbo sermone et opere studiosum et diligentem exhibeas, quod ex tuis laboribus et actionibus fructus optati, quos speramus, succedant tuque per solicitudinem tuam illam glorie palmam que etiam parum pro curantibus celesti retributione impenditur digne consequi merearis et non immerito possis apud nos et sedem predictam de tam bono opere commendari. Datum Rome apud S. Pet. anno incar. dom. 1516°, 4° non. aprilis pont. nostri a. 4°.

Visa C. de Liazariis. Ja. Questenberg.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1196, f. 201.*]

13. Agostino Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1516, September 5, Rom.

To-day, in the name of the Marquis, he earnestly intercedes with Leo X. for Francesco Maria della Rovere. S. B^ne^ me rispose in questo modo: M. Augustino voi sapeti quello che ve dicessimo a la venuta vostra in Roma circa li casi de quel povro homiciolo

* Faculties for R. L. Orsini of the same date: Regest. Vat. 1197 f. 188 (Sec. Arch. of the Vatican).

† See *supra*, p. 156.

de Francesco Maria, qual versi di noi havea usato termini, che non solo de privarlo del stato havevamo ragione, ma de mille vite se tante ne havesse havute, et certo quando voi venisti in quà havevamo tal animo verso di esso, che non solo in Mantua o sul Mantuano, dove se retrova, non lo havessimo lassato star, ma in loco del mondo, se ben li havessimo dovuto spender tutto el papato nostro. Pur quando voi venesti a noi mandato dal s. marchese qual certo amamo cordialm^te^, se vedessimo di boniss^a^ voglia como anche vi veggiamo hora et se resolvessemo como sapeti hora ve disemo che siamo contentissimi che Francesco Maria se affermi et reposi sul paese del signor marchese, ben perho dandosi esso Francesco Maria quelle cautioni che a questi dì li forno ricercate e date a voi in scritto da monsig. rev^mo^ qui; et perchè voi ce havete fatto intendere che esso Francesco Maria è contento assentir al tutto dal capitolo de Sora in fuori, volemo che voi rescrivati ad sig. marchese che siamo contenti che dicto Francesco Maria se ne possi impacciar a modo suo et noi promettemo che non se ne impacciaremo; vero è che non volemo che questo si veddi in scritto, perchè seria un prejudicar de le ragioni nostre che havimo sopra quel feudo del reame et circa li fidejussori che ci faceti intender detto Francesco Maria non mancar de ogni opera perchè se trovino, li volemo in ogni modo como haveti potuto intendere da monsig. rev^mo^; sichè scrivetilo al s. marchese et fati che S. S. ce resolvi et como più presto meglio significandoli che se non fosse el respetto de S. Ex. non seressimo mai venuti a questo.

[Orig. Library, Mantua I e/3–4.]

14. Pope Leo X. to the Cardinals about the Crusade.*

1516, December 27, Rom.

In die s. Iohannis. Post missam papa vocatis ad se cardinalibus sedens in solio intimavit qualiter Turcus subiugaverat Soldanum et in suam potestatem receperat omnem illius statum et etiam Hyerusalem ac precipue sepulchrum domini nostri Iesu Christi licet dicatur quod Christianos propterea nullo novo

* See *supra*, p. 219.

incommodo vexaverit pro nunc, et visus est papa velle eos hortari ut cogitent quomodo possint resistere huic si forte vellet tentare aditum ad Christianitatem. Responsum est ei bonum fore si missis legatis ad principes christianos uniant eos in pace universali.

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

15. Pope Leo X. about the Crusade.*

Missa in die circumcisionis. 1517, Januar. 1.

Papa venit ad hanc missam licet excusaverit se repletum tussi et catarro . . . et in fine missae papa indicavit cardinalibus ad se vocatis qualiter Turchus expulerat Soldanum et vicerat Cairum sive Babiloniam et sepulchrum domini nostri Jesu Christi conquisiverat, et propterea bonum esset si desuper fieret aliqua consultatio inter ipsos ad obstandum ei ne citra ad nos veniat, et conclusum fuit quod die crastina omnes hora XIX convenirent ad se, et sic convenerunt, sed papa propter catarrum et tussim nihil potuit concludere.

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Sec. Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

16. Pope Leo X. to King Francis I. of France.†

1517, Januar. 4, Rom.

Sends to the Congress at Cambrai: dil. fil. Nicolaum de Scomberg ord. predicat. familiar. nostrum nobisque propter eius egregias virtutes et religionem apprime et prolatum et charum, ut pro nostra in vos paterna voluntate et affectu eo in conventu una cum nostris nunciis adsit, quo res facilius ad universalem omnium Christianorum principum ineundam et tractandam pacem succedant, hoc presertim tempore, quo propter incredibiles Turcar. tyranni successus ingentemque contra Aegiptios partam victoriam necesse est ut agi per nos ea de re, si vere Christiani sumus, ne differatur. Credential for: Nic. Scomberg.

Dat. Romae 1517 ianuar. 4, p. n. a. 4°. P. Bembus.

[Orig. National Archives, Paris, L. 357.]

* See *supra*, p. 219. † See *supra*, p. 167.

17. Pope Leo X. to Prospero Colonna.*

1517, Martii 12, Magliana nr. Rom.

Dilecte etc. Intelligentes sollicitari te a quibusdam ut milites hominesque tuos eis commodes ad praesentem Senarum statum illiusque civitatis, quae sub nostra et huius S. Sedis protectione est, quietem perturbandam, licet id difficillime adduci possumus ut credamus, existimavimus tamen pro tua in nos eandemque sedem reverentia et officio, cum domicellus Romanus sis, nostraque in te paterna charitate atque affectu te illis nihil eiusmodi concessurum; voluimus autem his et nostris litteris te hortari, ut milites hominesque tuos omnino contineas neque permittas ut cum molientibus res novas contraque nostram et huius sedis dignitatem se commisceant; id erit nobis summopere gratum atque in eo multum a nobis et eadem sede promereberis.

Dat. in villa nostra Malliana sub annulo pisc. die XII martii 1517 a° 4. Bembus.

[Orig. Colonna Archives, Rome, Brevi n. 61.]

18. Alessandro Gabbioneta to Tolemeo Spagnolo, Secretary to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1517, April 1, Rom.

Hoggi N. S. ha fatto uno longo consistorio, nel quale ha fatto dui card^li^, uno ad instantia del re cath^co^, nepote de mons^r^ de Chievres, et questo è publicato, e laltro è larcivescovo Bituricensis ad instantia della matre del re ch^mo^, et questo non è publicato, ma N. S. habuit vota patrum; de altri nulla fuit facta mentio. In eodem consistorio mons^r^ r^mo^ de Sta Maria in Portico est publicatus legatus exercitus ecclesiastici. N. S. in questo proposito parlò qualiter el duca Lorenzo era sta ferito et ben che el sperasse chel fosse per guarire . . .

Rome p^ma^ ap^is^ 1517. S. Archidiaconus.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Consistory of 20th April, 1517.‡

S^mus^ D. N. fecit verbum de rebus Turcharum et de periculo quod toti reipublicae Christianae imminet, nisi totis viribus

* See *supra*, p. 172. † See *supra*, p. 169, and Vol. VIII.

‡ See *supra*, p. 220.

occurratur, et Sua S^{tas} deputavit r^{mos} d. videlicet Raphaelem Hostiensem sancti Georgii, Franciscum Surrentinum episcopos, Nicolaum tituli sancte Prisce de Flisco, Adrianum tituli sancti Grisogoni presbiteros, Alexandrum de Farnesio sancti Eustachii, Marcum s. Mariae in via lata Cornelium diaconos cardinales qui cogitarent, quibus potissimum dandum esset munus legationis ad principes et reges Christianos et quid interim per S^{tem} Suam agendum censerent et postmodum in consistorio referrent.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

20. Consistory of 19th May 1517.*

Romae die martis 19 m. maii 1517 fuit congregatio in palatio apost. et expedita fuerunt infrascripta. S. D. N. dixit, cum diebus superioribus habuisset quasi certa et manifesta inditia ex confessione facta per quendam Marchum Antonium Ninum Senensem rev^{mi} card^{lis} de Petrutiis domus magistrum, qui a praefato cardinali in mandatis habuerat, ut magistro Johanne Baptista de Vercellis chirurgo ministro et auctore fistulam Suae S^{tis}, quae [sic] in sede patitur, veneno inficeret idque nephandum consilium rev. d. card. de Saulis et aliis nonnullis complicibus pluries communicaverat, propterea visum fuit Suae S^{ti}, ut veritati locus esset et ne talia in oculis Suae S^{tis} perpetrata impunita et in exemplum aliorum transirent, ipsos dom. cardinales de Petrutiis et de Saulis in castello S. Angeli deponi et detineri, quousque obiecta contra eos habita purgarent; et ut rev. domini intelligerent S^{tem} Suam hac in re, ut aequum est, mature procedere velle, deputavit rev. dom. Surrentinum episcopum, Anconitanum presbyterum et Alex. de Farnesio diaconum cardinales commissarios qui processus factos et fiendos in huiusmodi causa viderent et examinarent, ut Suae S^{ti} consulere possent.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

21. Ercole de Corte to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1518, Mai 27, Rom.

Per dar aviso a V. Ill. S. de alcune cose che hoccore qui in corte di Roma penso quela averà a piacere de intender: a li dì

* See *supra*, p. 175. † See *supra*, p. 196.

pasati fù concistorio, nel concistorio fù dito de voler privare el card^le^ Adriano del capel non venendo a obedientia a la S^tà^ del papa, ma fù concluso li fuse mandato uno breve che venese prometendoli S. S^tà^ de non li far dispiacere. Monsr card^le^ Horsino per esser lui amico del card^le^ Adriano tolse questa fonte de farlo venire impetrando da la S^tà^ del papa de scriverli ce venese e che lo asecurava in uno de li soi casteli, qual lui volea; la matina sequente il card^le^ Horsino spaciò una stafeta, qual hè uno che si domanda el Spagna suo sotscalco, con lo dito breve et sua litera aciò venese; el dito Spagna è tornato et dice che el card^le^ Adriano avea deliberato venir a Roma; da poi la deliberacion sua de venir fù meso una acitatione per sussi li muri de Venetia de questo tenor, sel cardinal Adriano non venia a obedientia da la S^tà^ del papa seria privato del capel; como questo sentite se mutò della deliberacion fata de venir, al contrario dicendo che molto di questo si maravigliava, che se dovea venir volea lo breve del N. S. più cauto et più promissio ne la Santità del N. S. se excusato che avea mandato quela acitatione acio venese più presto; et di novo dito Spagna torna a Venetia con uno altro breve sotoscrito de man de la S^tà^ del papa che lui venga supra la sua fede che non li farà despiacere capitulando che non posa quando serà venuto in Roma partirse sencia licentia de Sua S^tà^; ancora ge scrive el card^le^ de Medici che debia venir sopra la sua fede; la S^tà^ del N. S. ancora li fo scrivere a tutti li ambasatori che sono qui in Roma del re de Romani et del re di Portogalo et del re di Frantia et della S. de Venetia et del re de Spagna che pur venga che non li serà fato despiacer avendo S. S^tà^ promiso a tuti li diti ambasatori la fede. Hozi se parte e sopradito Spagna pur a stafeta; se dice non venendo serà privato de certo; io ho cercato de intender a che efeto se fa tanta instantia che questo card^le^ venga; io ho inteso per esser lui homo teribile, como hè, lo papa dubita, stando in Venetia non tramase qualche cosa in dano suo et non andase in le tere de Colonesi dal card^le^ Voltera grandisimo inimico del papa e faceseno qualche novo tratato; in el animo mio penso lo potria far ancora ad altro efeto che non lo sapese se non la fantasia del papa, dio ge la mandi bona. Quanto io scrivo a V. Ill. S. quela creda che tal cosa no se sa per tuto, anci se governa secretamente, ma io me son informato de quanto scrivo dal secretario de mons^r^ cardinal Horsino chel tuto pasa per le man sue

qual hemi amicisimo e questo ho fato per eser io desideroso como bon servitore de far intendere a la Ill^{a} S. V. . . . Roma die 27 maii 1518.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

22. Consistory of 29th May, 1517.*

Romae die veneris 29 m. maii 1517. . . . Insuper Sua S^{tas} exposuit quod heri vocaverat rev. dom. Franciscum episc. Albanen. Surrentinum nuncupatum, Petrum de Acoltis presbiterum cardinalem Anconitanum et Alex. Farnesium s. Eustachii diaconum cardinales commissarios deputatos in causa cardinalium detentorum, quibus processus factos super confessione facta per dom^{nos} Alphonsum de Petrutiis, Bindinellum de Saulis diaconos cardinales et Marchum Antoninum [sic] Ninum p^{ti} dom. card^{lis} de Petrutiis domus magistrum communicaverat eisque legendos tradiderat, ut dominationes suae dictis processibus lectis et bene examinatis S^{ti} Suae consulerent quid in tanta re agendum esset de cardinalibus complicibus in processu nominatis, qui rev. dom. commissarii consilium dederunt, prout de iure fieri posse affirmabant, ut cardinales complices capi et detineri possent quousque obiecta purgarent, et ob id, cum rev. dom. card. S. Georgii nominaretur inter complices nonnullaque inditia contra eum essent, visum fuit Suae S^{ti} de consilio tamen rev. dom. commissariorum eundem dominum in palatio detineri quousque inditia purgaret, et Sua S^{tas} mihi vicecancellario mandaverat ut in societate p^{ti} rev. card^{lis} S. Georgii manerem quousque eadem S^{tas} Sua aliud de eo deliberaret, idque a me summa obedientia factum est, ob idque consistorio interesse non potui.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

23. Consistory of 5th June, 1517.†

Romae die veneris quinta m. junii 1517. S. N. E. dixit se hesterna die rev. dom. cardinalem S. Georgii in arcem S. Angeli misisse quia recusabat confiteri quae perpetrata fuerant contra personam Suae S^{tis} una cum aliis duobus cardinalibus detentis qui

* See *supra*, p. 178. † See *supra*, pp. 178, 197.

errorem suum confitebantur et ipsum dom. S Georgii conscium et participem nonnullorum affirmabant, propterea ad indagandam veritatem eo ipsum miserat. Fecit etiam verbum de creandis novis cardinalibus et dixit quod cum essent quattuor tempora, in quibus de creatione novorum cardinalium agi solitum est et ut servaretur laudabilis consuetudo ad imitationem sanctorum patrum, visum fuit Suae S^ti^ cum nonnullos cardinales de proximo creare intenderet rev^mos^ dominos hac de re certiores facere, ut cogitare possent qui potissimum ad hanc dignitatem eligendi essent et qui alias nominarentur promovendi.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

24. Consistory of 8th June, 1517.*

Romae die lunae 8 m. junii 1517. S. D. N. convocatis de more patribus apud eos huiusmodi verba habuit: Ex inditiis et confessionibus cardinalium detentorum manifeste constare duos alios cardinales ibi praesentes una cum aliis complices et conscios conspirationis fuisse seque non sine magna animi molestia quotidie conqueri et ea dicere molestum est quae sibi et aliis fastidium et dolorem pariant, nescire tamen se ulterius a quo potissimum caveri debeat. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Paris de Grassis about the Consistory of 8th June, 1517.†

Die lunae VII junii Papa in consistorio sedens iussit mihi, ut omnibus oratoribus, qui illuc venerant, inhiberem ne inde discederent, sed expectarent extra consistorium donec eos vocari iuberet intra consistorium, et mihi etiam iussit, ut expectarem; itaque cum diu multumque morati fuissemus Papa me intro vocari iussit. Ego fui prima facie dubitans ne Papa vellet ex castello per me vocari facere cardinales ibi carceratos, ui processui interessent simul cum oratoribus, quem legi facere vellet, et cum introgressus

* See *supra*, p. 179. † See *supra*, p. 179.

fuissem vidi omnes cardinales male contentos et sufflantes ac inter se ipsos sollicitos et valde moestos illicoque dubitavi Papam voluisse carceratos tres privare et degradare, et Papa conversus ad cardinales dixit eis, antequam aliud faciamus vultis confiteri qui estis in peccato vel ne, alioquin nos coacti ponemus vos in castello ubi alii sunt. Ego autem hoc audito converti faciem ad fratrem meum cardinalem de Grassis, de quo etiam dubitavi, non quia timerem eum conscium facinoris, sed ne ob invidiam aliquid sibi impingi fecissent maligni susurrones, et ipse in me tacite inspiciens indicavit se non esse de inquisitis, et Papa mihi iussit ut exirem per modicum tempus; itaque cum etiam diutius mansissent, tandem omnes exierunt quamvis mesti et solliciti et pene desperati, et cum nihil posset a quoquam ex eis intelligi de actis ibidem praesertim quia, ut dictum postea fuit, Papa terribile mandatum eis fecit, ne aliquid de ibi factis aut dictis revelarent, sed ut fieri semper solet omni inde ad breve tempus patefacta sunt.*

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican (XII., 23).]

26. Beltrando Costabili † to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.‡

1517 Juni 10, Rom.

Postscriptum.§ Lo è comune opinione che de li duy cardinali lo uno sia il cardinale Adriano et laltro sia il cardinale Frenese on il cardinale de Grassis et se ha chel cardinale s. Georgio ha confessato plenamente et similmente li altri per quanto se expecta ad cadauno de loro. Il cardinale de Siena è stato tirato alla corda, cardinale Saulo et s. Georgio è stato denegato el mangiare, bevere et dormire per tormento. De s. Georgio il papa have habuto sino qui XII^{m} ducati quali se trovava in capsa et li pegni de Sua Santità il teneva per VII^{m} ducati li havea imprestati questi dì passati et ha voluto inventario de ogni cosa se il trova, et credese per alcuni chel cardinale Cornaro habii accusato.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

* Sequel in Armellini, 48 *seq.*

‡ See *supra*, pp. 176, 180.

† Episcopus Adriensis.

§ In cipher.

27. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.*

1517, Juni 24, Rom.

Lo era qualche opinione chel Cornaro fusse stato participe d questa conspiratione contro la persona di Nostro Signore et chel predicto la havesse propalata; ma hora chel processo se è publicatto, se è veduto che tale opinione è falsa. Et la cosa è venuta in luce per certe littere de Marcho Antonio † responsive a quelle del quondam cardinale de Siena, le quale littere sono venute in mano di Nostro Signore et non se scia per che via. Pare che essendo el dicto quondam cardinale a Genazano, scrivesse qui a Marcho Antonio dicesse al Vercelli cioè mastro Baptista andasse a lui a Genazano et che dicto Marcho Antonio li parlò et respose per una sua megia in cifara,‡ como el Vercelli perseverava in voluntade de volerlo servire et chel se offerriva servirlo ad ogni modo et che lo havea boni megi per intrare in casa del papa, cioè Serapicha et Julio di Bianchi,§ et credea ge havesse a succedere, et dubitava, se lo andava a Genazano, el seria pilgiato suspecto et poi non seria acceptato, ma che tuta volta el faria quello chel volesse, et questa littera non se scia per che via sia venuta in mano al papa. Do poi, essendosi detenuto Marcho Antonio solo per cosse de stato, cioè di quello de Siena, sopra dicta littera fù examinato cum la tortura et epso pensando chel patrone fusse on preso on morto, non potendo negare che la littera non fusse sua, la dezifarò et confesò. Do poi essendosi su la pratica de fare venire el dicto quondam cardinale de Siena, la Santità di Nostro Signore comise che quello Vercelli, quale se ritrovava a Fiorenza, fusse observato et li deputo homini lo accompagnassero et dì et nocte soto spetie de amititia; poi, essendo venuto qui epso quondam cardinale de Siena pensando non havere a rendere computo de altro che de cosse del stato de Siena, et essendo stato detenuto insieme cum Sauli, se ha facto pilgiare quello mastro Baptista et condure qui et lo uno et laltro ha confessato de modo che la cossa se è chiarita et declarata bene apertamente; et li cardinali stendo prima su la negativa et volendo lo uno vedere quello havea scripto lo altro,

* See *supra*, pp. 173, 196.

† Nino; see *supra*, p. 173.

‡ *Cf.* Jovius, Vita Leonis X., l. iv.

§ Jovius, *loc. cit.*, makes no mention of Serapica.

poi lo hebbero veduto, hano poi dicto tuto quello et più che hano potuto lo uno a graveza de laltro et cussi ogni cosa è venuta in luce et verificáse el dicto de lo Evangelio: Nihil occultum quod non reveletur. Il Pochintesta è stato morto solo per havere tenuto pratica col signor Francesco Maria et credesse ne habii facto grande instantia al vescovo Petrucio castellano di Santo Angelo, quale se ritrova a Siena; quello Marcho Antonio et mastro Baptista presto, secondo se tene, morirano de morte atroce. De li già cardinali autem per anchora non se scia quello altro ne habii a succedere. De continuo me racomando in gratia de Vostra Excellentia. Rome XXIIII junii MDXVII.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

28. Consistory of 26th June, 1517.*

Romae die veneris 26 m. junii 1517. Cum S. D N. proposuisset de creandis 27 cardinalibus, quorum nomina legit prout in cedula Suae S^{tis} in qua inter ceteros facta fuit mentio de creandis duobus cardinalibus vid. uno de domo de Columna et altero de domo de Ursinis non specificatis nominibus, et vota a rev. d. cardinalibus exquisivisset, praefatique rev^{mi} domini unanimiter et de communi consensu vota dederunt et consenserunt hac tamen conditione ut Sua S^{tas} XV vel XVI cardinales impresentiarum publicaret, ceteri vero per bullam crearentur cum potestate quod S. D. N. illos post aliquot menses absque aliqua votorum requisitione vel si periculum mortis, quod Deus averteret, immineret, S. S^{tas} publicare posset ad ejus libitum, cumque praefata S^{tas} cepisset nominare, quos in praesentia publicare intendebat, visum fuit Sue B^{ni} omnibusque rev^{mis} dominis publicationem hujusmodi differre usque ad primum consistorium, et sic fuit conclusum et Sua S^{tas} silentium imposuit omnibus sub censuris.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

29. Paris de Grassis about the negotiations of 26th June, 1517, relating to the Creation of Cardinals.†

De cardinalibus novis creandis. Die veneris XXVI junii papa dedit habitum prothonotariatus aliquibus suis domesticis animo

* See *supra*, p. 200. † See *supra*, p 200.

faciendi eos cardinales simul cum aliis multis vidi XXVII* numero quae res cum videretur nova et insolita irrisa est a multis praesertim cardinalibus, qui licet primo restiterint tamen, ut audio, conclusum est hac ipsa die, ut papa posset eosdem in dicto numero creare et nominare, et cum multo tempore mansisset intra cameram suam ratiocinans cum uno quoque antiquo cardinali super voto cuiusque habendo tandem colloquutione finita papa dixit mihi, quod ex quo hora tarda erat quasi XXIII diei et ipse esset ieiunus ac cardinales forte ieiuni aut saltem fessi et fastiditi quod non videbatur sibi sermonem in longum protrahendum esse in consistorio, sed quod concluderet in primum futurum consistorium creari novos cardinales et si non omnes XXVII * prout proposuerat saltem pro nunc XII aut XV et reliquos ante festum nativitatis Christi quia videbat cardinales ad hoc inclinari. Itaque vix consistorium ingressus per mediam horam ibi mansit et res non conclusa sed exclusa fuit cum risu et expectatione vana multorum ac fere totius curiae quae omnino et pro certo erat ut hac die cardinales crearentur XXVII* sed non fuerunt.

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Libr. Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican (XII., 23).]

30–31. Paris de Grassis about the great creation of Cardinals of 1st July, 1517.†

Creatio cardinalium novorum numero XXXI. Die mercurii prima julii papa mihi ad suam capellam pro missa audienda vocato dixit se velle eo consistorio cardinales iam conclusos creare et publicare ex quibus aliqui sui domestici erant qui adhuc in habitu praelaturae non erant et propterea volebat eis dare habitum prothonotariatus prout fecit post missam auditam, nam ipse stans imposuit rochetum datario, deinde comiti Herculi de Rangonibus, tum dom. Francisco Armellino clerico camerae, hinc nepoti suo de Ridolfis et demum dom. Augustino Trivultio quos omnes postea creavit cardinales simul cum multis aliis, et dixit mihi quod expectarem citra consistorium quia sperabat multos alios simul creare quos ego ex domibus eorum facerem vocari ad se in consistorium, et cum replicarem posse eosdem moneri ut prius

* *Ms.* XII., 22, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican has, XXVIII.

† See *supra*, pp. 200, 205.

venirent ne postea papa et cardinales nimis diu expectarent non voluit quia nesciebat pro certo an illos quos designaverat posset concludere prout fuit. Itaque cum diu in consistorio sedissent tandem card[lis] de Medicis exivit ad me de mandato papae et dedit mihi listam cum nominibus cardinalium noviter creatorum ut illos publicarem et ad consistorium vocari facerem prout feci; nam ego ad cameram vicinam feci convocari XXX parafrenarios papae et iussi ut ibi sustinerent donec eis dicerem quid eos facere oporteret, et sic publicavi [the following as far as "absens" in Raynaldus, 1517 n. 101]. Itaque mandavi parafrenariis papae ut ex his multos qui nec seperabant nec cogitabant adirent et vocarent ad papam ipsos in consistorio expectantem, nam papa mihi dixerat ut interim quo isti possent venire ipse negocia aliqua expediret prout multa expedivit per horas duas et eo plus ibidem sedens, inter quas expeditiones card[li] de Grassis fratri meo dedit monasterium de Strata Bononiensi valoris ducat. 800 vacans per privationem cardinalis Petrutii ac etiam ecclesiam et titulum s. Mariae Transtyberim cum domibus adiacentibus vacantibus per privationem cardinalis de Saulis ac etiam prioratum s. Bartholomaei de porta Bononiensi vacatem per obitum Iohannis de Gozadinis* pridie in gubernio Regiensi crudeliter interfecti. Cum autem nuntiatum fuisset generali s. Augustini ut ad papam veniret quia iam ipse esset creatus cardinalis recusavit venire timens ne fuisset illusus sicut in proximo consistorio fuerat, nam multi ad eum iverunt cum festivitate et gaudio nuntiantes quod esset cardinalis et iam ipse hilaritatem fecit etiam publicam cum risu populi de levitate tanta quia non fuit verum. Tandem cum ego alium atque alium nuntium misissem ut omnino veniret quia papa eum expectabat tandem venit cum iam novi alii omnes ingressi fuissent ad consistorium et papam et cardinales osculati fuissent. De generali autem minorum maior risus fuit, quia, cum ut dicitur ipse non quaesivisset hanc dignitatem sed omnino alienus esset quia per paucos dies antea fuerat creatus et electus generalis minorum, non volebat venire dicens nuntiis per me missis quod errarent et non intellexissent mandatum eis datum et similia, tandem cum alios atque alios destinassem ut omnino veniret venit quidem pedester cum zocculis cum vestitu satis vili et in omnibus se novum ostendit et cum ante me esset et peteret

* *Ms*: Bozadinis.

quid vellem manebat genuflexus ambobus genibus semper sic mecum loquens ita stupidus erat et in fine duxi eum ad papam qui iam consistorium exierat et eum papa osculatus est et cardinalem appellavit sicque ipse ad alios venit in camera cardinalis de Medicis expectantes horam cenae. Antequam autem cenarent papa dedit omnibus birreta rubea praeterquam tribus generalibus quibus dedit nigra et fecerunt omnes cenam cum papa in logia et habui birreta antiqua omnium sic mihi significante pontifice ut facerem. Prodigium magnum ea die supervenit: nam cum dies satis clara et serena esset, subito in turbidam tempestatem versa est et venti grandines et imbres densi fuerunt et fulgur maximum quod percussit turrim s. Mariae Traspontinae et abstulit Christum lapideum de gremio matris cuius imago erat supra portam ecclesiae ita ut ipsa matris imago remansit cum brachiis apertis quasi flens quod filium perdiderit.

Die ven. III julii fuit publicum consistorium in aula solita ubi cardinales praedicti XXXI declarati et publicati fuerunt. The Pope: redete satis docte et bene more suo.

[Paris de Grassis, * Diarium, Rossiana Libr. Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican.]

32. Consistory of 1st July, 1517.*

. . . Cum S. D. N. praeter cardinales in proximo consistorio designatos, pro quibus collegit vota, proposuisset rev. d. archiepisc. Consanum, episc. Comensem, generalem ordinis min. S. Francisci de observ. et prothonot. Pisanum addendos esse aliis cardinalibus iam designatis habuissetque vota rev. dominorum libera, Sua S^tas^ de consensu et consilio praefatorum domin. et auct. Dei omnipot., beat. apost. Petri et Pauli et sua creavit et assumpsit in S. R. E. presbiteros cardinales vid. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

33. Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Egidio Canisio.†

1517, Juli 1, Rom.

Dilecte etc. Hodie inducti probitate, prudentia, doctrina, rerum agendarum experientia, moribus probatis, religione et aliis

* See *supra*, p. 200. † See *supra*, p. 205.

praestantibus virtutibus et meritis tuis te magnam gloriam ord. s. Augustini in numerum et portionem aliorum ven. fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium vocavimus. Hopes he will be of service to the Holy See. Is to continue General of his order until the next Chapter.

Dat. Romae 1517 Julii 1, P. N. A. 5°.

[Cop. Cod. Asburnh. 287, Laurent. Library, Florence.]

34. Consistory of 10th July, 1517 *

Romae die veneris 10 m. julii 1517. S. D. N. dixit quod rev. dom. cardinales seniores subscribere vellent bullam creationis dom. novorum cardinalium, in qua derogabatur capitulis conclavis si forsan in aliquo promotioni ultimo factae obstarent. Deinde S. S^tas^ instituit ecclesiam sive monasterium S. Mariae in Aracoeli in titulum presbyteralem. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

35. Consistory of 24th July, 1517.†

Romae die veneris 24 m. julli 1517. S. D. N. restituit dom. Raphaelem Riarium ad dignitatem cardinalatus nec non ad offitia et benefitia quae ante privationem habebat sine tamen praejuditio tituli mei S. Laurentii in Damaso et sine voce activa et passiva prout in capitulis desuper confectis plenius continetur pro quorum observatione collegium rev. dominorum promisit. Deinde Sua S^tas^ proposuit restitutionem dom. Bindinelli de Saulis eodem modo, et habuit vota rev^morum^ dominorum, tamen Sua S^tas^ eum tunc non restituit. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

36–37. The Pardon of Raffaello Riario.‡

[In nomine] Domini. Amen. Infrascripta sunt capitula et promissiones S. D. N. facta per dom. Raphaelem de Riario, olim card^lem^ s^ti^ Georgii, et cautiones per eum datae, videlicet:

* See *supra*, p. 201. † See *supra*, p. 190.
‡ See *supra*, pp. 182, 189.

In primis die septima julii 1517 certiorati per nos notarios etc. infrascripti fideiussores, quod dominus Raphael de Riario, olim card^{lis} S^{ti} Georgii, in presentiarum in carceribus in castro S^{ti} Angeli de Urbe detentus, pro eius liberatione et relaxatione a dicto castro inter alia tenetur dare idoneas et sufficientes cautiones pro summa 150,000 ducatorum auri de camera de non recedendo ab obedientia S. D. N. ullo unquam tempore et de non recedendo ex locis sibi assignandis per eundem S. D. N. in dominio temporali S. R. E. absque eius licentia in scriptis obtinenda et quod erit perpetuo bonus et fidelis servitor prefati S. D. N. et quod nunquam aliquid aget aut machinabitur seu machinari attentabit contra personam, dignitatem aut statum S^{tis} sue et S. R. E. aut contra eiusdem S. D. N. consanguineos et affines et ill. Medicum familiam, prout latius et diffusius in capitulis inter ipsum d. R. ex una et S. D. N. initis seu eniendis [sic] continetur ad que relatio in omnibus et per omnia habeatur: hinc fuit et est, quod infrascripti fideiussores et eorum singuli precibus prefati d. R. scientes se non teneri etc. [sic] sponte etc. [sic] promiserunt et quilibet eorum promisit, quod prefatus d. R. promissa omnia et singula servabit et adimplebit sub infrascriptis penis et pecuniarum summis per eos respective promissis, quas infrascripti fideiussores et eorum quilibet in casu contraventionis eo ipso incurrere voluerunt, obligando se quilibet in pleniori forma camerae cum constitutione procuratorum et aliis clausulis in similibus apponi solitis et consuetis latius extendendis ad sensum sapientis non mutata substantia veritatis.

In primis spectabiles viri Bernardinus Jannelli, Nichodemus Simi, Marchus Bronsini et Joh. Bapt. Petri de Caprarola procuratores et scindici [sic] communitatis et hominum dicte terre Caprarole, prout de mandato manu s[er] Tiberii Johannis de Caprarola notarii publici sub die sexta julii 1517 subscripto ac recognito et penes nos notarios dimisso plene constitit, nomine dicte communitatis pro summa 4000 ducatorum similium promiserunt, videlicet:

Spectabiles viri Hieronimus Bernardini Zucche et Johannes Rose de Capranica procuratores et scindici [sic] ac eo nomine communitatis et hominum dicte terre Capranice, prout de eorum mandato manu Dominici Angeli Antonii de Capranica sub die sexta julii 1517 subscripto et recognito plene constitit, pro

summa 4000 ducatorum similium nomine dicte communitatis Capranice promiserunt etc. presentibus dicto Rosello et Jac' Ant° de Rogeriis de Sutrio testibus etc.

Spectabiles viri d. Philippus de Lutiis, d. Jac. Ant. de Rogeriis et Franciscus Evangeliste [sic] cives Sutrini procuratores et scindici [sic] communitatis et hominum dicte civitatis Sutrii, prout de eorum procuratorum mandato manu Scipionis condam Jacobi de Sutrio publici notarii sub die sexta julii 1517 subscripto et recognito plene constitit, nomine dicte communitatis Sutrii promiserunt pro summa 10,000 ducatorum similium presentibus dicto Rosello et Hieronimo Zuccha supra dictis testibus etc.

D. Jacobus Ant. de Rogeriis de Sutrio ut principalis et privata persona promisit pro summa 4000 ducatorum similium.

D. Philippus de Lutiis de Sutrio ut principalis et privata persona promisit pro summa 4000 ducatorum similium.

D. Franc. de Agillaria civis Sutrinensis ut principalis et privata persona promisit pro summa 4000 ducatorum similium presentibus d. Rosello de Rosellis de civitate Castelli et Prospero de Sinibaldis ac Vincentio de Speronibus laico Immolensi testibus ad premissa etc.

D. Julius Matheus civis Romanus promisit pro summa 4000 ducat.

D. Domitius Cechinus civis Romanus promisit pro summa 1000 ducat.

D. Paulus Gallus civis Romanus promisit pro summa 1000 ducat.

D. Franc. de Spannochis civis Romanus promisit pro summa 2000 ducat.

D. Ricchardus Mazatoste civis Romanus pro summa 1000 ducat.

D. Stephanus de Capiteferreo civis Romanus promisit pro summa 2000 ducat.

D. Dominicus de Picchis	civis Romanus	pro summa	2000	duc.
D. Albertinus de Tibaldeschis	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Franc. de la Vetera	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Jo. Arcionus	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Dominicus de Cavalariis	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Franc. Brancha	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Franc. Blondus	,,	,,	4000	,,

D. Palutius Matheus civis romanus promisit pro summa 2000 duc.
D. Stephanus de Theulis ,, ,, 1000 ,,
D. Laurentius Steph. de Valle ,, ,, 2000 ,,
D. Antonius Draco ,, ,, 2000 ,,
D. Antonius de Fregiapanibus ,, ,, 3000 ,,
D. Franc. de Fabiis ,, ,, 1000 ,,
D. Antonius de la Volta civis Bononiensis, pro summa 2000 ,,
D. Galeatius Poeta ,, ,, 3000 ,,
D. Matheus Gozadinus ,, ,, 3000 ,,
D. Gaspar Lupari ,, ,, 3000 ,,
D. Hieronimus de Crescentiis de Bononia ,, 2000 ,,
D. Carolus Gratus civis Bononiensis ,, 2000 ,,
D. Marchus Antonius Lupari de Bononia ,, 3000 ,,
D. Camillus de Leazariis scriptor apostolicus ,, 2000 ,,
D. Gregorius de Monte Calvello ,, 500 ,,
D. Alexander Gentilis medicine doctor ,, 500 ,,
D. Galienus Almadianus ,, 500 ,,
D. Petrus Perinus ,, 500 ,,
D. Aristophilus medicus ,, 500 ,,
D. Jo. Bap^{ta} de Spiritibus ,, 500 ,,
D. Neapolionus s[er] Angeli [sic] ,, 500 ,,
D. Antonius Boninsegna ,, 500 ,,
D. Perotius Mostus ,, 500 ,,
D. Palinus [sic] Tignosinus ,, 500 ,,
Joh^{es} Cordella ,, 500 ,,
Dominicus Bosseus ,, 500 ,,
Dominicus Bonellus ,, 500 ,,
Nicolaus Nicolosinus ,, 500 ,,
Sebastianus Spreca ,, 500 ,,
Jo. Angelus de la Zeccha ,, 500 ,,
Franc. de Abisciolatis ,, 500 ,,
Marianus Bussa ,, 500 ,,
Petrus Cordella ,, 500 ,,

Omnes de Viterbio per D^{num} Rainerium Capocciam procuratorem eorum, prout de suo procurationis mandato manu Elisei Petrocchi notarii de Viterbio sub die . . . [sic] mensis julii 1517 subscripto et recognito plene constitit, respective promiserunt in totum constituen. summam 9500 ducatorum similium.

D. Rainerius Capoccia civis Viterbien. ut principalis et privata

persona promisit pro summa 500 duc. presentibus D. Rosello de Rosellis prefato et Prospero de Sinibaldis clerico Oximan. et Vincentio de Speronibus laico Immolensi testibus etc.

Die XII. dicti mensis.

D. Raphael Casalius civis Romanus promisit pro summa 3000 duc.

D. Virgilius de Cinciis	civis Romanus	pro summa	2000	duc.
D. Dominicus de Maximis	,,	,,	5000	,,
D. Antonius de Fabiis	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Marianus de Astallis	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Hieronimus de Picchis	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Bap^{ta} Palinus	,,	,,	4000	,,
D. Petrus Paulus Castellanus	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Marius Scappuccius medic. doct.	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Marchus de Cosciaris	,,	,,	3000	,,
D. Alexander Miccinellus	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Marianus Castellanus	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Aloysius Mathutius	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Petrus Magdalenus	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Jacobus de Fregiapanibus	,,	,,	3000	,,
D. Jo. Bap^{ta} de Theodoricis phisicus	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Honofrius de Fabiis	,,	,,	2000	,,

D. Franc. Thomasius civis Romanus pro summa 2000 duc. presentibus D^{no} Philippo Attono et Benedicto de Ballis laico Bononiensi testibus ad premissa vocatis et requisitis.

Die XIII. julii 1517.

D. Franc. de Lenis	civis Romanus	pro summa	1000	duc.
D. Marius de Carronibus	,,	,,	2000	,,
D. Hieronimus Salamonus	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Andreas Carosius	,,	,,	1000	,,
D. Jo. Petrus Cafarellus	,,	,,	4000	,,
D. Fabius de Montebono	,,	,,	1000	,,

D. Georgius de Sancta Cruce civis Romanus pro summa 4000 duc. presentibus supra proxime testibus.

Die XIIII. julii 1517.

D. Petrus Antonius Mathei civis Romanus pro summa 2000 duc.

D. Cyriachus Matheus civis Romanus pro summa 1000 duc. et R^{di} patres D^{ni} Cesar de Riario patriarcha Alexandrinus et Augustinus Spinola episcopus Perusinus prefatos Petrum Ant^{m} et Ciriachum indemnes relevare promiserunt, iurarunt etc. presentibus D. Benedicto de Ballis civi Bononien. et Ugone Antonii clerico Lugdunensi testibus.

D. Marchus magistri Simonis civis Romanus pro summa 2000 duc. presentibus quibus supra.

Die XV. dicti.

R^{di} patres domini Cesar Riarius patriarcha Alexandrinus, Octavianus episcopus Viterbiensis, Gisbertus episcopus Rapolanus, Ant. Jacobus episcopus Camerinensis, Augustinus episcopus Perusinus, Altobellus episcopus Polen., Jo. Bap^{ta} episcopus Sulmonensis, Hieronimus episcopus Aretinus, Thomas episcopus Saonensis, Jo. Bap^{ta} episcopus Auximanens., Franciscus Spinola prothonotarius apostolicus, Petrus Paulus episcopus Esinus certiorati per nos notarios etc. de obligationibus et fideiussionibus predictis pro summa 150,000 ducatorum sic ut premittitur respective dat. sponte etc. approbarunt dictos fideiussores in forma sub penis camere se obligantes iurarunt etc. presentibus D. Paulo Blondo cive Romano et D. Bernardino de Contreras scriptore apostolico testibus etc.

Die XI. dicti.

Certiorati per nos notarios etc. infrascripti officiales promissores, quod D. R. de Riario olim card^{lis} S^{ti} Georgii ad presens in carceribus in castro S^{ti} Angeli de Urbe detemptus pro eius ex dicto castro relaxatione et liberatione tenetur dare idoneas fideiussiones pro summa et quantitate 50,000 ducatorum auri in auro de camera solvend. S. D. N. in festo omnium sanctorum proxime futuro cum certis pactis et conditionibus in supra nominatis capitulis latius expressis ad que fideiussores infrascripti relationem habere voluerunt: hinc est quod infrascripti fideiussores et promissores ad preces prefati D. R. scientes etc. sponte etc. promiserunt et quilibet eorum promisit pro infrascriptis pecuniarum summis inferius annotatis solvendis in festo omnium sanctorum proxime futuro eidem S. D. N., ut prefertur, pro quibus observandis se in pleniori forma camere obligarunt et quilibet eorum respective se obligavit cum clausulis consuetis et constituendo

eorum procuratores irrevocabiles ad resignandum infrascripta eorum offitia respective in illius favorem in cuius S. D. N. videbitur et placebit in eventum non solutionis infrascripte summe per eos respective promisse iurarunt etc.

D. Federicus Flavius Fulginas, scriptor archivii Rom. curiae, promisit et se ut supra obligavit pro summa 500 duc. non tamen cum constitutione procuratoris ad resignandum etc.

D. Ferdinandus de Acre scriptor brevium pro summa 500 duc.

D. Antonius Venantius S. D. N. accolitus „ 500 „

D. Petrus Franc. de Costa S. D. N. scutifer et natus sexdecim annorum vel circa ac renuncians benefitio minoris etatis cum assensu et presentia D. Petri de Costa eius patrui pro summa 500 duc.

R^dus^ pater D. Honofrius de Ursinis prothonot. et secretarius apostolicus pro summa 2000 duc.

D. Julius de Narnia camere apostolice notarius pro summa 500 duc.

D. Donatus camere apostolice notarius pro summa 500 duc. presentibus D^nis^ Philippo Attono et Bened. de Ballis Bononien. testibus etc.

Die XII. dicti mensis.

D. Joh. Sances scriptor apostolicus et cubicularius apostolicus pro summa 1000 duc. non tamen cum constitutione procuratoris ad resignandum.

D. Anthonius de Alexiis de Narnia not^s^ auditoris camere pro summa 500 duc. non tamen cum constittuione procuratoris ad resignandum etc., quem R^dus^ pater D. Franc. Spinola indemnem relevare promisit et iuravit.

D. Berengarius Serra scriptor archivii et cubicularius apostolicus pro summa 1000 duc.

D. Camillus de Leazariis scriptor apostolicus et scutifer, portionarius et presidens annone pro summa 1000 duc.

D. Julianus Cecius scriptor archivii et litterarum apostolicarum sollicitator pro summa 500 duc.

D. Hieronimus de Urigiis de Trevio collector plumbi pro summa 500 duc.

D. Gabriel Minutulus scriptor brevium pro summa 500 duc.

D. Matheus Bongianus turris None soldanus et D. Thomas eius frater presidens annone promiserunt . . . pro summa 1000 duc.

D. Raimundus de Capiteferreo scriptor achivii et scutifer S. D. N. pro summa 500 duc.

D. Jo. Petrus de Cingulo procurator penitentiarie pro summa 500 duc.

D. Jacobus Simoncinus serviens armor.	pro summa	500	duc.
D. Franciscus Carretta serviens armorum	„	500	„
D. Perseus Bucchanus cam. apost. notar.	„	1000	„
D. Michael Mieres portionarius ripe	„	250	„
D. Lucentius de Cosciaris subdiac^{s} apost.	„	1000	„
D. Guillelmus Beltrandi abreviator de minori	„	1000	„
D. Franc. Palavicinus notarius rote	„	500	„

D. Petrus Paulus Veccia scriptor archivii et presidens ripe pro summa 500 duc. non tamen cum constit^{ne} procurat^{is} ad resignan.

Here follow other sums remaining over from officials of like standing: 500 duc., 500 duc., 750 duc., 500 duc., 1000 duc., 1000 duc., 500 duc.

Die XIII. dicti mensis julii.

500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc. (Benedictus de Costa scriptor brevium natus XII. [sic] annorum cum consensu patrui), 500 duc., 500 duc., 1000 duc.

Die XII. julii.

250 duc., 250 duc. (Hercules Cantacusinus litt. apost. sollicitator), 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 1000 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 1000 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 1000 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., 500 duc., D. Jo. Bap^{ta} de Saldonibus scutifer . . . pro summa 1000 duc. et D. Cesar patriarcha Alex. et Augustinus Spinola eundem . . . indemnem relevare promiserunt. . . . [In margine sinistra:] Die 28. novembr. 1517 D. Rogerius Saldonus sollicitator promisit pro suprascripto Jo. Bap^{ta} fratre suo solvere duc. 400 in festo resurrectionis . . . [In margine dextra:] Die 13, octobr. 1517 D. Didacus de Acre scriptor archivii promisit pro 300 duc. pro inscripto Jo. Bap^{ta} Saldono. . . .

Die XIV. dicti mensis.

R^{dus} pater Nicolaus de Capranica episcopus Neocastrensis secretarius apost. pro summa 2000 duc. [the patriarch of Alexandria and Augustinus Spinola episc. Perusinus again stood surety for

him]. Paulus Blondus secret. apost. pro summa 1000 duc., another 1000 duc., another 500 duc. D. Petrus Coptius de Narnia scriptor regestri bullarum pro summa 500 duc., another 250 duc., another 500 duc., another 500 duc., another 500 duc., another 1000 duc., another 500 duc., another 500 duc., another 500 duc., another 750 duc., another 500 duc.

Die XV. dicti.

Another 2000 duc., another 500 duc., another 1000 duc., another 1000 duc.

Dicta die.

Constitutus coram nobis notariis etc. D^{nus} Raphael de Riario olim card^{lis} s^{ti} Georgii citra etc. constituit suos veros legitimos et indubitatos procuratores etc. r^{dos} patres d^{nos} Cesarem de Riario patriarcham Alexandrinum absentem etc., Altobellum episcopum Polensem presentem etc. et quemlibet eorum in solidum specialiter et expresse ad ipsius constituentis nomine et pro eo requirendum et rogandum r^{dos} dom. cardinales in capitulis nominatos ut ipsi cardinales pro se ipsis promittant et iurent prout latius in capitulo continetur. Necnon ad requirendum et rogandum magnificos principum oratores in capitulis etiam nominatos, quod oratores ipsi promittant verbis et vice principum suorum, quod D^{nus} R. constituens servabit promissa et quod dicti oratores respective curabunt apud principes suos omni studio, opera et diligentia, quod promittent, approbabunt et ratificabunt prout latius in dictis capitulis continetur, ad que dictus constituens relationem haberi voluit et mandavit promittens de rato et cum clausulis consuetis iuravit etc. presentibus Rome in castro S^{ti} Angeli D^{no} Dominico Colecta canonico Senen. et Ugulino Tesco canonico Urbevetan. testibus etc.

Dicta die.

Consequenter dicti D. Cesar et Altobellus procuratores personaliter in nostri presentia etc. pro executione premissorum adiverunt ill^{m} D^{num} Comitem Albertum de Carpo Cesaree Maiestatis oratorem, quem personaliter in eius domo repertum nomine dicti D^{ni} R. constituentis requisiverunt, ut contentaretur promittere S. D. N. verbis et vice Cesaree M^{tis}, quod prefatus R. constituens servabit promissa per eum S. D. N. facta et quod

dicta Cesarea M^{tas} infra quatrimestre hoc idem ratificet etc. Qui D^{nus} Albertus orator sic ut premittitur requisitus nomine sui principis promisit S. D. N. et nobis notariis etc. . . . Rome in domo solite habitationis dom. Jo. Ant^{o} Austone Carpen. nullius dioc. et Angelo Saccazino laico Carpen. testibus etc.

Die XVI. julii.

Dicti procuratores . . . adiverunt r^{dum} patrem D. Petrum de Orrea episcopum Siracusanum oratorem Catholici regis Hispaniarum, quem similiter requisiverunt ut supra etc. Qui . . . promisit . . . hac tamen conditione adiecta, quod dom. Hieronimus Vich collega suus ratificet suam huiusmodi promissionem . . . presentibus D^{no} Laurentio . . . [sic] prothonotario Licien. et Paulo Blondo testibus etc.

Successive . . . adiverunt d^{m} Hieronimum Vich, qui . . . ratificavit et approbavit . . .

Eadem die.

Deinde . . . adiverunt . . . mag^{cum} D^{m} N. [sic] oratorem regis Portugallie . . . Qui promisit . . . [similar].

Dicta die.

Postremo . . . adiverunt . . . r^{dum} patrem D. N. [sic] episcopum Vigornien. oratorem seren^{mi} regis Angeli . . . [similar].

Dicta die.

Dicti procuratores adiverunt . . . r^{dum} card^{lem} Surrentinum qui . . . promisit prout in dicto capitulo continetur cum conditione, quod hoc idem alii cardinales promittant.

Dicta die.

Adiverunt rev. dom. cardinalem de Flisco . . . , card^{lem} s^{te} crucis . . . , card^{lem} de Medicis . . . , card^{le} Cibo . . . , card^{elm} sanctorum quattuor . . . , card^{lem} Anchonitan. . . . , card^{lem} Grimanum . . . , card^{lem} de Grassis . . . , card^{lem} Agennen.

Infrascripta sunt capitula et conventiones ineundae inter S D. N. et d^{num} Raphaelem de Riario olim card^{lem} S^{ti} Georgii, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis.

Licet nuper tam ex propriis confessionibus Raphaelis de Riario

presbyteri Saonen. tunc episcopi Ostien. card^{lis} s^{ti} Georgii quam etiam ex aliis legitimis probationibus et processu contra eum factis et formatis plene constiterit per eum nonnulla excessus et crimina privatione digna perpetrata fuisse ac S. D. N. Leo divina providentia papa decimus in suo concistorio secreto (ut moris est) eundem R. per suam diffinitivam sententiam de fratrum consilio et assensu latam dignitate, honore, auctoritate et galero cardineo ac titulo, insigniis et privilegiis voceque activa et passiva omnibusque et singulis cathedralibus quibus preerat et aliis monasteriis dignitatibus etiam episcopalibus officiisque et beneficiis ecclesiasticis, que in titulum vel commendam seu quovis alio modo obtinebat, privaverit et deposuerit ac privatum et depositum declaraverit, sibique ne de cetero Ste R. E. cardinalem se nominaret, gereret, scriberet et reputaret ac omnibus Christifidelibus ne eundem R. pro cardinale nominarent, tenerent, tractarent vel reputarent, inhibuerit: tamen S^{tas} Sua illum volens imitari, cuius vices gerit in terris et cuius proprium est misereri semper et parcere quique bracchiis suis apertis omnibus se paratum ostendit ad recipiendum peccatores veniam suppliciter implorantes, animum suum ad parcendum eidem R. clementem et misericordem prebuit cum infrascriptis tamen conditionibus, videlicet:

Quod ipse R. teneatur fateri prout fatetur, quod infrascriptam restitutionem et rehabilitationem ex mera Sanctitatis Sue gratia et clementia obtinet, cum merito propter eius demerita erga S^{tem} Suam fuisset privatus, ac etiam fateri eandem S^{tem} Suam erga eum maxima clementia usum fuisse, et propterea promittere prout promisit et promittit, quod quamdiu ipse R. vixerit fidelis et prudens erit servus erga S^{tem} Suam et pro ea semper Deum rogabit nec unquam de cetero non solum aget, sed nec etiam cogitabit aut machinabitur adversus eam aut eius consanguineos et affines ac ill^{mam} Medicum familiam nec etiam ipse R. per se vel alium seu alios nuntios seu litteras aget aut tractabit quicquam cum aliquo principe Christiano, communitate et dominio, cardinali seu cardinalibus aut aliis prelatis nisi de rebus suis propriis privatis domesticis et familiaribus.

Item quod ipse R. eidem Sanctitati Suae summam 150,000 ducatorum auri de camera in tribus terminis solvere teneatur et obligatus sit et ad id se efficaciter obliget et de illis in dictis terminis solvendis idoneas cautiones partim per bancharios partim

vero per officiales Rom. curiae prebeat ac dare et prebere promittat, quorum singulorum officia duplum saltem valeant eius quod quilibet eorum promittet. Et primo pro primis 50,000 ducatis teneatur facere, quod dom. Augustinus Ghisius bancharius confiteatur habere illos in depositum ad instantiam dicte Sanctitatis Sue per eum eidem solvend. prout infra dicetur.

Item quod ipse R. antequam liberetur a carceribus et libertati restituatur, teneatur et debeat dare securitatem partim banchariorum idoneorum et probatorum, partim vero officialium Rom. cu[rie] idoneorum, qui promittant eidem S. D. N. solvere dictos alios 50,000 ducatos in proxima futura celebritate omnium Sanctorum ipsique officiales ultra medietatem valoris officiorum promittere non possint ut prefertur.

Item quod teneatur dare cautionem idoneam de solvendis dictis reliquis 50,000 ducatis in festo resurrectionis dom. nostri Jesu Christi proxime futuro etiam partim per bancharios, partim per officiales Rom. curiae, quorum singuli promittere non possint ultra medietatem valoris officiorum que obtinent, et si contingeret aliquem officialem ex officialibus expromissoribus datis decedere, tunc loco decedentis huiusmodi teneatur dare alium eque idoneum, qui surrogetur loco defuncti, ipsique officiales sic dati teneantur constituere procuratorem irrevocabilem ad vendendum officia pro satisfactione summe per eum promisse in eventum in quem summam per eos promissam non solverent aut solvi facerent, et ex pretio officii tunc venditi summa promissa eidem Sanctitati Sue persolvatur, residuum pretii predicto officiali cuius officium erat dari debeat.

Item quod ipse R. teneatur dare bonas sufficientes et idoneas cautiones pro summa et quantitate 150,000 ducatorum de non recedendo ullo unquam tempore ab obedientia S^{tis} Suae et de non recedendo de locis assignandis per eandem Sanctitatem Suam in dominio temporali ecclesie absque eius expresso mandato et licentia in scriptis prestando. Et quod perpetuo erit bonus et perpetuus servitor S^{mi} D. N. pape itaque nihil unquam aget aut machinabitur sive machinari attemptabit contra personam, dignitatem aut statum Sanctitatis Sue aut Ste Rom. Ecclesie nec ulla in re contraveniet voluntati Sue Beatitudinis, sed in omnibus morem geret et obediet ei ut bonum et devotum servitorem decet in quocunque statu et dignitate fuerit ac eum esse contigerit.

Item quod dictus R. teneatur facere quod sacrum collegium cardinalium videlicet cardinalis sancte Crucis, Grimanus, Surrentinus, Fliscus, Monte, Anchonitanus, Grassis, sanctorum quattuor, Farnesius, Cornelius, Medices, Cibo, qui interfuerunt sententie privationis, et cardinalis Agennensis, qui tunc presens non fuit, promittant ad eius preces, quod ipse R. servabit omnia supradicta et in eventum in quem illis seu alicui ex eis contravenerit quod habebunt eum semper pro privato et ligato omnibus censuris et penis in dicta sententia contentis, et eum ut talem donec vixerint evitabunt et quantum in eis erit persequentur et sententiam predictam ad unguem servabunt et ita illam servare iurabunt et ad id proprio iuramento se astringent nec illius relaxationem inpetrabunt nec illa ab aliis pro eis impetrata utentur seu alias uti promittent [sic; = permittent?] publice et secrete ac in communi et nominibus propriis ut singuli promittent quod ipse R. omnia et singula supradicta pure, simpliciter ac libere observabit.

Item quod dictus R. teneatur facere et curare cum effectu quod oratores principum Maximiliani in Imperatorem electi, Francorum Christianissimi et Caroli Hyspaniarum Catholici et Henrici Anglie ac Portugallie et Algarbiorum regum ill^{ium} et dominii Venetorum promittant verbis et vice principum suorum, quod ipse R. omnia et singula supradicta pure, simpliciter et libere servabit et casu quo non servaret quod ipsi principes eum in regnis et dominiis suis non recipient, sed potius rejicient, persequentur et capient et incarcerabunt et alia facient prout idem S. D. N. eis mandabit, habendo ipsum R. in eum locum in quem S^{tas} Sua habendum esse declarabit, et preter hoc idem R. statim et eo ipso absque alia citatione et declaratione desuper fienda reincidet in omnes et singulas penas ac censuras alias in dicta sententia privationis contra eum concistorialiter lata contentas. Et quod ipsi principes extunc de cetero eundem R. pro cardinali non nominabunt nec tenebunt, tractabunt vel reputabunt, sed pro privato et omnibus censuris et penis in sententia privationis contentis ligatum quoad vixerit habebunt et eum evitabunt et quantum in eis erit persequentur et sententiam privationis ad unguem servabunt nec in eventum contraventionis huiusmodi eidem S^{ti} Sue et successoribus suis pro eo super predictis supplicabunt. Et quod ipsi principes infra quatuor menses proxime futuros expresse ratificabunt

dictum capitulum in eorum literis vel instrumentis desuper conficiendis inserendum.

Item quod promictent nomine quo supra prefati oratores, quod prefati principes sui non instabunt apud Sanctitatem Suam pro obtinenda uberiori gratia tam de persona quam de aliis rebus ipsius R., quam in presentibus capitulis continetur.

Item quod si super contraventione et aliis in supradictis capitulis contentis oriretur aliqua dubitatio seu disceptatio, stare debeat libere declarationi et dicto extraiudiciali eiusdem S. D. N. quibuscunque exceptionibus, allegationibus et oppositionibus ex quacunque causa et grandi et inexcogitata consideratione tam iuris quam facti et alias quomodolibet nequaquam obstantibus.

Die XVII. mensis julii MDXVII.

Constitutus coram nobis etc. d^{nus} R. de Riario olim card S^{ti} Georgii presens sponte etc. visis prius dictis capitulis et eis per nos notarios sibi intelligibiliter lectis, fassus est, promisit ac teneri voluit respective in omnibus et per omnia prout supra in dictis capitulis continetur, pro quibus firmiter observandis et adimplendis se in pleniori forma camere obligavit cum clausulis solitis et consuetis in instrumentis in forma camere apponi solitis et consuetis, dans et concedens nobis notariis infrascriptis licentiam et facultatem extendendi presentem promissionem et obligationem in pleniori et ampliori forma ad sensum sapientis totiens quotiens ante vel post publicationem instrumenti non mutata substantia veritatis, ita quod omnino subsistat iuravit corporaliter tactis scripturis. Presente dom. Mario de Peruschis procuartore phiscali pro dicto S. D. N. recipiente. Acta fuerunt hec Rome in castro S^{ti} Angeli in sala magna presentibus ibidem d^{no} Dominico Colecta canonico Senen., Ugolino Theseo canonico Urbevetano ac Anselmo Thome clerico Narnien. et Ludovico Caramelli de Riconisio clerico Taurinen., testibus etc. Infrascripte sunt gratie impetrande per dom. Raphaelem de Riario a S^{mo} D. N. papa.

Sanct^{mus} autem D. N. ex sua liberalitate primo erit contentus promittere non levare depositum 50,000 ducatorum penes dictum dom. Augustinum ad instantiam Sue Sanctitatis existens, nisi postquam S^{tas} Sua restituerit eundem R. ad pristinam famam, honorem, dignitatem et libertatem ac officia etiam cardinalatus preter tamen

vocem activam et passivam tam in electione Romani pontificis quam in aliis rebus in quibus cardinales votum prestare debent aut soliti sunt, quibus eadem S^{tas} eundem R. carere vult et intendit, donec et quousque aliud clementie sue visum fuerit et placebit, et beneficia, indulta, pensiones et fructuum ecclesiasticorum loco pensionis reservationes et alias ad eum statum in quo erat ante privationem in omnibus et per omnia ac si dicta privatio subsecuta non esset et prout in litteris apostolicis desuper conficiendis latius exprimetur, quas idem R. infra mensem expedire teneatur et si per eum steterit, quominus illas infra dictum mensem expediet, extunc liceat eidem S^{ti} Sue dictum depositum libere petere et recipere.

Item quod eadem S^{tas} Sua debeat eidem R. concedere, quod possit transferre in quascunque personas omnes et singulas pensiones ac fructuum reservationes super quibusvis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, monasteriis et quibusvis aliis beneficiis ecc^{cis} alias apostolica sibi auctoritate assignatis in totum vel in partem etiam si in illarum reservatione non fuisset sibi concessa facultas illas transferendi, dummodo illi, qui pensiones seu fructus huiusmodi eidem R. solvere tenentur, fuerint pro parte dicti R. requisiti et ipsi noluerint pensiones seu reservationes fructuum huiusmodi extinguere, quodque possit ipse R. regimini et administrationi ecclesiarum ac illarum et monasteriorum ac quorumcunque beneficiorum ecc^{corum} cuiuscunque qualitatis fuerint commendis in favorem quarumcunque personarum per eundem R. nominandarum cedere ac S^{tas} Sua cessiones huiusmodi admittere et de personis per ipsum R. nominatis ecclesiis et monasteriis huiusmodi providere aut illa et alia beneficia huiusmodi personis nominatis conferre seu commendare debeat ipseque R. a personis, de quibus ecclesiis et monasteriis huiusmodi provisum fuerit seu quibus illa collata seu commendata fuerint, fructus ecclesiarum et monasteriorum et beneficiorum fructus huiusmodi personis, cum quibus conditionem suam poterit efficere meliorem, ad affirmam seu, annuam pensionem seu prestationem locare et ab eisdem personis anticipata solutione non tamen ultra sex annos recipere seu etiam fateri illos recepisse et ad standum locationi et solutionis anticipationi huiusmodi se et suos successores obligand., prout inter ipsum R. et illos quibus fructus predictos anticipata solutione locaverit

conventum et concordatum fuerit, libere et licite valeat absque labe simonie.

Item quod prefatus S^{mus} D. N. concedat eidem R., quod possit omnibus regressibus et accessibus ac indultis uti, que ante privationem huiusmodi sibi concessa fuerant et quibus ante dictam privationem uti poterat, preter vocem tamen activam et passivam tam in electione Romani pontificis quam in aliis rebus quibus eadem S^{tas} Sua eundem R. carere vult et intendit, prout in litteris restitutionis desuper expediendis latius explicabitur.

Item quod S^{tas} Sua debeat dare super omnibus premissis et eorum singulis signaturas oportunas et necessarias cum clausulis et derogationibus oportunis et necessariis.

Item quod S^{tas} Sua debeat ad omnem liberam requisitionem et voluntatem dicti R. et agentium pro eo premissa exequi, dummodo ipse antequam liberetur de dicto castro S^{ti} Angeli infra memsem a die presentis stipulationis et contractus computandum premissa omnia et singula adimpleat presertim quod prestet dictas cautiones de solvendo 50,000 ducatorum in celebratione omnium Sanctorum et alia 50,000 in festo resurrectionis huiusmodi.

[Fol. 163 f:] Die XVII. julii 1517.

[In margine:] Constitutio procuratoris. [Then half a page is left blank.] In the middle of the page: Die XXIIII. julii 1517. R^{mi} D^{ni} A. tituli Ste Praxedis presbyter card^{lis} et N. card^{lis} Cornelius certificati per nos de contentis in dictis capitulis promiserunt et iurarunt prout in dictus capitulis, presentibus in concistorio d^{no} Philippo Adimaro et Andrea de Albizzis S^{mi} D^{ni} N^{ri} camerariis.

Dicta die.

R^{mi} d^{ni} card^{les} omnes coram S^{mo} D. N. in concistorio collegialiter congregati promiserunt illud iddem et iurarunt, quod singulariter in eorum domibus promiserant et iuraverant. Promiserunt insuper et iurarunt quod dictus R. de Riario non discedet ex palatio apostolico sine expressa licentia et mandato S^{mi} D. N^{ri} presentibus quibus supra proxime.

Die XXIIII. julii 1517.

Constitutus coram nobis notariis infrascriptis etc. r^{dus} pater dom. Cesar de Riario patriarcha Alexandrin., Augustinus Spinola

episcopus Perusin., Octavianus episcopus Viterbien., Petrus Paulus episcopus Exinus [sic], Antonius Jacobus episcopus Camerinen., Thomas episcopus Saonen., Galeatius de Riario, Isbertus episcopus Rapollanus, Hieronimus Piccholomineus episcopus Ilcinen., Altobellus episcopus Polen., Hieronimus episcopus Aretin., Gabriel episcopus Calven., Franciscus Spinola prothonotarius apostolicus et Jo. Bap^{ta} episcopus Ausiman. sponte promiserunt et quilibet eorum promisit S^{mo} D. N. et nobis notariis etc. d^{no} Mario de Peruschis procuratore phiscali presente et pro dicto S^{mo} D. N. recipiente, quod d^{nus} R. de Riario prefatus non discedet ex palatio apostolico hic in Urbe existenti sine expresso consensu licentia et mandato S^{mi} D^{ni} N^{ri} sub infrascriptis penis et pecuniarum summis per eos respective promissis eo ipso in casu contraventionis per eos respective incurren., obligantes se in pleniori forma camere iurarunt etc. presentibus Rome in palatio apostolico d^{no} Bernardo Cardulo canonico Narnien. et Paulo de Corradinis cubiculariis apostolicis testibus etc.

D^{nus} Cesar patriarcha		pro summa	10,000	duc.
Augustinus episcopus	Perusin.	,,	10,000	,,
Octavianus ,,	Viterbien.	,,	10,000	,,
Petrus Paulus ,,	Esinus	,,	5,000	,,
Ant. Jacobus ,,	Camerinen.	,,	5,000	,,
Thomas ,,	Saonen.	,,	5,000	,,
Galeatius de Riario		,,	5,000	,,
Isbertus episcopus	Rapollan.	,,	5,000	,,
Hieronimus ,,	Ilcinen.	,,	5,000	,,
Altobellus ,,	Polen.	,,	10,000	,,
Hieronimus ,,	Aretin.	,,	5,000	,,
Gabriel ,,	Calven.	,,	5,000	,,
Franc. Spinola prothonotarius		,,	10,000	,,
Jo. Bap^{ta} episcopus	Ausiman.	,,	5,000	,,

Die XXX. julii 1517.

R^{dus} pater d^{nus} Cesar patriarcha Alexandrinus procurator et eo [sic] nomine r^{mi} d^{ni} Raphaelis episcopi Ostiensis card^{lis} adivit mag^{cum} virum d. Marchum Mumium oratorem ill^{mi} dominii Venetorum, quem personaliter in domo eius solite habitationis repertum nomine quo supra instantissime requisivit, ut contentaretur promictere S^{mo} D. N. et nobis notariis etc. verbis et

vice ill^{mi} dominii Venetorum, quod prefatus r^{mus} dom. R. Cardinalis servabit promissa per eum S^{mo} D. N. facta et quod idem dominium hoc idem infra quatrimestre ratificabit etc.

Qui d^{nus} Marchus orator sic ut premittitur requisitus promisit . . . presentibus d^{no} Hieronimo Dado dicti oratoris secretario et d^{no} Fabiano Vigili archipresbytero Spoletano testibus etc.

Dicta die.

Similar to above: . . . r^{dum} patrem d^{num} Dionisium episcopum Maclovien. et mag^{cum} virum d^{num} Matheum de Villabram oratores Christianissimi regis Francorum, quos in domo eorum solite habitationis ut supra similiter requisivit . . . promisit nomine Christianissimi regis [similar to above].

Die XV. septembris 1517 exibita et presentata fuit pro parte supradicti r^{mi} d. card^{lis} ratificatio seu ratificationis instrumentum christianissimi regis Francorum tenoris subsequentis videlicet:

Franciscus Dei gratia Francorum rex, Mediolani dux et Genue dominus universis presentes litteras visuris notum facimus et nos debite certiorati de clementia, misericordia ac gratia, qua summus pontifex Leo decimus usus est in cardinales s^{ti} Georgii et de Sauli cum certis restrictionibus et limitationibus . . . Cum vero Dionisius episcopus Maclovien. et Mace [sic] de Villebresine oratores nostri apud sedem apostolicam ad dictorum cardinalium instantiam superius dicta promiserint, nos igitur, Summo Pontifici necnon dictis cardinalibus morem gerere cupientes, rata firma et grata que per dictos oratores nostros facta extitere habemus illaque observare promictimus et pollicemur. In cuius rei testimonium has presentes manu nostra subsignavimus et sigillo nostro muniri iussimus. Dat. Rothomagi die XVI. mensis augusti anno d^{ni} 1517 et regni nostri 3°. . . . Francoys.

Die XV. sept. 1517.

Exibita et presentata fuit pro parte supradicti r^{mi} d^{ni} cardinalis infrascripta ratificatio seu instrumentum ratific^{nis} et promissionis ill^{mi} dominii Venetorum tenoris infrascripti: Leonardus Lauredanus Dei gratia dux Venetiarum etc. . . . laudamus, approbamus et ratificamus. . . . Datum in nostro ducali palatio die XXII. augusti 1517. . . .

There follows in Spanish the ratification of the kings of

Castille, Aragon, Sicily, etc. . . . d. d. En Medianburch a XXVIII. dias del mes de Agosto 1517.

[Cop. (?) Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. IV, caps. III, f. 152–165^{b}.]

38. Pope Leo X. restores Cardinal Raffaello Riario to his dignities.*

1517, Juli 24, Rom.

Leo etc. Ad fut. rei mem. Precellens auctoritas . . . Sane cum nuper ven^{lem} fratrem Raphaelem de Riario episcopum Ostien. camerarium nostrum S. R. Ecclesie cardlem s^{ti} Georgii nuncupatum propter crimen lese maiestatis per eum in personam nostram commissum per nostram diffinitivam sententiam de fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu latam dignitate honore auctoritate et galero et card^{lis} S. R. E. ac titulis insigniis privilegiis et voce activa et passiva necnon omnibus ordinibus ac metrop^{nis} et cath^{bus} quibus preerat aliisque ecclesiis titulis et monasteriis dignitatibus et aliis beneficiis ecclesisaticis quibuscunque que in titulum vel commendam aut administrationem seu quovis alio modo obtinebat necnon quibusvis fructibus redditibus et proventibus ecclesiasticis etiam loco pensionum annuarum ac pensionibus annuis super similibus fructibus sibi reservatis apostolica auctoritate privavimus et deposuimus ac privatum et et depositum declaravimus sibique ne de cetero pro s^{te} R. Ecclesie card^{li} se nominaret gereret scriberet et reputaret ac omnibus Christifidelibus ne eundem Raphaelem pro card^{li} nominarent tenerent tractarent vel reputarent inhibuimus, ac ipsum Raphaelem degradavimus et curie seculari tradi mandavimus, nosque postmodum volentes imitari vestigia illius cuius vicem in terris gerimus, qui pro persecutoribus suis oravit ad patrem, ac bonum pro malo retribuere, deliberavimus cum eodem Raphaele uti misericordia et clementia, habita super hiis cum fratribus nostris deliberatione matura de eorundem fratrum consilio ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine eundem Raphaelem card^{lem} iuxta tamen nonnulla capitula conventiones et conditiones inter nos et eundem Raphaelem card^{lem} nuper inita et firmata et in quodam instrumento publico per duos

* See *supra*, p. 190; at the beginning of this document, on the margin is written "Bembus."

camere apostolice notarios videl. dilectos filios Donatum Vulterranum et Julium de [Lücke in text] rogato contenta, quibus nullo pacto preiudicare intendimus, quinimo ea omnia prout conventa fuerunt inviolabiliter observari debere decernimus, in nostram et apostolice sedis gratiam recipimus et ad honorem famam card^{lis} dignitatem pileum ac omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines ac munus consecrationis et usum pallii quo ratione ecclesie Ostien. uti potest necnon camerariatus nostri officium ac Ostien. Conchen. Lucan. et alias cath^{les} etiam metrop^{nas} ecclesias nennon monasteria etiam consistorialia titulos ac beneficia et officia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura secularia et quorumvis ordinum regularia cuiuscunque qualitatis, etiam si de iure patronatus laicorum etiam nobilium et alias qualificatorum existerent, et ad illorum possessionem necnon regressus accessus ingressus facultates ac fructuum reservationes et alias pensiones ac iura privilegia et indulta et alias gratias et concessiones ac facultates etiam testandi necnon beneficia ecclesiastica conferendi . . . et bona mobilia et immobilia eidem Raphaeli card^{li} ante huiusmodi privationem quomodocunque debita et pertinentia necnon in pristinum . . . statum preterquam titulum s^{ti} Laurentii in Damaso ac vocem activam et passivam tam in electione Rom. Pontificis quam aliis actibus . . . , decernentes nihilominus quamcunque electionem tam activam quam passivam, quam de persona ipsius Raphaelis card^{lis} pro tempore forsan quomodolibet fieri contingeret, nullam invalidam irritam it inanem ac nullius roboris vel momenti existere necnon presentes litteras quoad hoc vim specialis et perpetue constitutionis habere donec aliud a nobis quoad huiusmodi vocis prestationem decretum fuerit, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium restituimus et plenarie reintegramus. . . . Quocirca ven^{bus} fratribus nostris Ariminen. et Asculan. ac Spoletan. episcopis per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus ipsi vel quo aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios presentes litteras et in eis contenta quecunque ubi et quando opus fuerit ac quotiens pro parte dicti Raphaelis card^{lis} super hoc fuerint requisiti solemniter publicantes eique in premissis efficacis deffensionis presidio assistentes faciant eum restitutione repositione reintegratione decreto et aliis premissis pacifice gaudere, non permittentes eum desuper per quoscunque quomodolibet indebite molestari. . . . Tho. de Binis.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1203, f. 15^{b} f.]

39. Paris de Grassis about the Cardinal Raffaello Riario.*

De rev^mo card^li s. Georgii decano collegii. Postquam rev. cardinalis s. Georgii ex castro s. Angeli reductus ad consistorium et ibi absolutus a poena in qua condemnatus et privatus fuerat ut supra scripsi, ipse semper mansit in palatio in altis cameris supra cameras papae, unde aliquando et ad placitum suum veniebat ad papam et similiter cum eo colloquebatur amice et domestice ac etiam cum papa extra palatium et sine eo nunc cum isto cardinali nunc cum alio per prata et suburbanas vineas spatiabatur semper se obedientissimum exhibens, ita ut papa gratiosius magis quotidie sibi videretur, et accedente festo s. Augustini, cuius ordinis ipse est protector, papa concessit ut simul cum aliis cardinalibus multis iret ad missam illius diei solemnem et sic ivit et rediit ad palatium papae simul cum aliis palatinis cardinalibus licet diceret ipsum potuisse accedere ad palatium suum per illam diem; deinde cum papa per mensem et ultra recessisset extra urbem ad Viterbium et loca illa ut sui moris est qualibet aestate spatiari, etiam concessit eidem cardinali ut secum iret si vellet et sic ivit cum aliis venantibus et aucupantibus. Deinde papa dedit sibi licentiam ut ad urbem si vellet rediret etiam ad palatium suum diverteret prout divertit, ubi pro me misit ac enixe rogavit ut si possem eum adiuvarem, scit enim me esse amicum, servitorem et tantum sui honoris cupidum sicut alium quemcunque affinem suum ac etiam quia scit qualiter papa mihi fidem praestat et auctoritatem citra iactantiam loquendo. Itaque ego cum primum papa fuit reversus accessi et caute loquendo de variis dixi sibi, quod ex quo consistorium publicum in proximo instabat pro receptione trium nevorum cardinalium et card^lis s. Crucis qui debabat dicere missam in die omnium sanctorum tanquam episcopus cardinalis non volebat eam dicere quia ipse erat decanus collegii sed bene volebat in publico consistorio benedicere novos cardinales sicut alios benedixerat et me respondisse sibi quod ex quo card^lis s. Georgii est reversus ad domum suam et iam ivit cum cardinalibus ad missam s. Augustini et simul cum aliis cardinalibus interfuit receptioni cardinalis Grosse-

* See *supra*, pp. 178, 192.

tani qui accessit ad papam Viterbii existentem, quod nunc si dictus cardinalis s. Georgii excluderetur a consistorio et ipse non benediceret istis novis cardinalibus quod profecto fieret sibi iniuria et quod ego credebam quod papa non esset ita turbatus contra cardinalem ipsum ut ipsum excludat, quo autem ad missam omnium sanctorum si ipse cardinalis s. Crucis non vellet eam cantare quod ego dicerem papae ut eam consignet card^li^ s. Georgii episcopo Ostiensi qui eam cantabit libenter ut credo. Itaque cum ego omnia haec narrata per me cardinali s. Crucis retulissem papae ipse dixit mihi me optime dixisse cardinali s. Crucis et quod ex quo cardinalis s. Georgii prudenter et humiliter in omnibus se exhibebat quae papa ei imposuit quod vult ut omnino veniat ad consistorium publicum et faciat officium benedictionis super cardinalibus novis et non alius et quod etiam volebat quod idem cantaret missam in die omnium sanctorum tanquam amicus et conciliatus secum si modo ipse cardinalis vellet cantare. Itaque mihi papa imposuit ut irem et haec eidem cardinali referrem prout retuli, qui ita contentus et laetus fuit ut me pluries amplexus fuerit cum mille osculationibus et acceptavit cantare missam pro quibus duabus gratiis agebat infinitas gratias S. S^ti^ prout ego reversus ad papam exposui ac etiam subdidi quod S. S^tas^ posset eundem cardinalem restituere ad vocem activam et passivam vel saltem ad vocem consultativam in consistorio secreto, papa subdens dixit me esse parum expertum in talibus quia nullus cardinalis haberet in consistorio vocem decisivam nisi papa et quod cardinales habent solum consultativam quia papa quando aliquid proponit dicit nos sic intendimus facere et cardinales respondent placet et similia et sic risit me dimittens cum aliquali spe quod infra pauca consistoria remitteret ei votum activum et passivum. Haec sic ad longum volui scribere quia tota curia fuerit admirata de liberatione ista tali quali et praesertim quod ego fuerim is qui ita simpliciter conduxerim factum istud.

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Rossiana Library, Vienna, and Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

40. Paris de Grassis about the intercessory Processions for the Crusade, on 14th March, 1518.*

Dominica die de rosa fuit processio sanctissima et devotissima ad quam Papa exivit hora decima tertia, et ego interrogavi an deliberasset omnino ire sine planellis et sine sotularibus et levato pede ostendit mihi se esse in scapinis absque sotularibus et absque planellis quod ego illico intimavi cardinalibus ex quibus multi idem illico fecerunt: seniores vero et qui male sani erant veniam a Pontifice petierunt et sic ut prius remanserunt. Pontifex paratus benedixit rosam ut alias et eam pedester portans ad capellam parvam consignari feci uni clerico camerae, qui ab inde ad ecclesiam de Minerva portavit ante papam. Papa autem facta oratione ante sacramentum in cappella parva cantavit ex libro letanias devotissime, et cum fletu irrigante a principio Chyrieleison usque ad versum sancte Paule ora pro nobis et cum dixit versum sancte Petre geminavit illum tum surgens et procedens semper cantoribus cantantibus respondebat per eosdem versus plena voce idem dicens prout illi cantabant, quod cardinalibus et praelatis significavi, et ipsi similiter fecerunt et dixerunt, quae fuit maxima devotio; cum pervenit ad altare Sancti Petri genuflexus reassumpsit versum "ut regibus" etc., prout supra et cantavit devotissime; tum finitis per cantores letaniis papa "veni creator spiritus" et sic surgens venit ad plateam et per vias omnes usque ad Minervam in quibus viis erant 15 altaria equis spatiis distantia inter se, plena sanctissimis reliquiis, ante quae singula papa in terra pulverulentissima genuflexit cum omni devotione non expectans cussinos aut tapetia sicut mos est in talibus. Bone Deus quantus populus utriusque sexus est, non credidissem fuisse tantum populum in tota Italia: et quidem omnia loca plena devotionis et pietatis. In scalis sancti Petri erant ex officialibus digniores et ut processio papalis pertransibat, sic ipsi officiales sequebantur ordine quisque suo usque ad portam Minervae, ubi conservatores cum senatore expectarunt et acceperunt baldacchinum quod fuit de ipsis sic ordinatum ne fieret aliqua rixa cum oratoribus ut mos est eorum. Papa in ianua osculatus est crucem, aspersus et incensatus est et quia ante chorum hinc inde erant quatuor tabernacula vid. salvatoris, sanctae Mariae Maioris, sancti Ioannis Baptistae et sanctae Mariae in Porticu,

* See *supra*, p. 232.

papa ut prius in nuda humo devotissime genuflexus diutius oravit ante unamquamquam imaginem, et non accepit in ianua rosam ne impediretur propter illam in orationibus, perveniens ad altare oravit; tum divertit ad claustrum fratrum in quo parumper moratus mutavit camisiam et revestitus est ac ad missam rediit cum rosa in manibus; eam missam cantavit cardinalis Cavalicensis cum orationibus quinque, videlicet de rosa, de sancto Spiritu, de nimiis pressuris, de pace et contra paganos; elevato calice retraxit se celebrans ad cornu epistolae, ubi genuflexus mansit, quoad papa similiter genuflexus cantavit devotissime versiculos et orationes ut infra, quibus finitis papa retrocessit et continuata est missa usque ad finem, et data benedictione papali electus Carpentaratensis, qui erat secretarius papae, venit quidem in cappa oraturus, sed papa voluit quod esset paludatus et mitratus orans: sicque sermo factus est quamvis multum non intellectus propter exilitatem vocis naturalis, ab aliis alioquin doctus et eo finito cardinalis de Farnesio prior diaconorum in cappa sua ut erat accepta bulla e manibus papae ivit ad pulpitum ubi nuper ille oravit et stans legit ex minuta continentia bullae super expeditione contra Turcas, qua bulla finita papa cantavit Tedeum laudamus et in fine versiculos infrascriptos cum oratione ut ibidem; et haec quidem facta et dicta sunt omnia me ordinante sic ut supra: et cappellam paravi inter tribunam principalem hinc et chorum fratrum inde, sic ut ad altare esset adherens cancellis tribunae et solium papae esset versus sacristiam, cardinales hinc a solio inde ad altare, subsellia praelatorum versus cappellam sancti Thomae Aquinatis, versis illi renibus et alia more solito et erat hora xx sonata quando haec finita sunt. . . .

[Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, XII., 23.]

41. Pope Leo X. to the Grand Duke Vasili of Moscow.*

1518, Juni 4, Rom.

Leo episcopus servus servor. Dei. Dilecto filio nobili viro Basilio magno totius Russie et Moschovie principi potentissimo salutem et apostolicam ben. Sumus prepositi a Domino Deo nostro per illius inscrutabilem providentiam universo generi fidelium

* See *supra*, p. 238.

suorum, qui sunt vocati ad repromissionem vitae aeternae, ut pastoris vigilis vel potius pii pastoris amore atque animo illorum salutem sedulo procuremus, quae cum in duabus rebus maxime consistat, ut pacem inter se et caritatem conservent et ut ab impetu et rabie infidelium Christi hostium defendantur, nos utramque hanc curam perpetuamque sollicitudinem animo gerentes et nunc quidem precipue immanissimorum Turcarum maximis successibus, quantum Dominus concesserit, cupientes obsistere, ne illius potentia in generalem pernitiem non solum Christianitatis verum etiam aliorum quorumcunque hominum evadat, elegimus dil^m^ filium Nicolaum de Schomberghe [sic] ordinis predicatorum, cuius hominis virtuti ac prudentie plurimum confidimus et quem ad magnas res tractandas adhibere sumus soliti, nuperque ad carissimos in Christo filios nostros Cesarem, Francie, Hispanie, Anglie Reges misimus. Et nunc iterum ei mandavimus, ut ad ipsum Cesarem et ad te aliosque nonnullos reges et principes se conferret tecumque alia quaedam et ut arbitramur ad tuum quoque honorem et commodum unionemque Christianarum rerum ac sectarum pertinentia consilia nostra nostro nomine communicaret. Hortamur igitur nobilitatem tuam in Domino et pro affectu animi nostri erga te valde requirimus, ut eum libenter et amice audiens nos ipsos tecum existimes illo loquente loqui eamque fidem illi habeas, quam nobis haberes. Et si quid animum tuum movet, quem et nobilem et generosum esse intelleximus, nostra in te paterna benivolentia, qui, quod cum tuo incremento dignitatis et salute tua perpetua fiat, cupimus vehementer, et Deum tibi et te illius sanctissimae fidei esse propitium, in iis, quae tecum communicaverit, et promptum te et benivolum ostendas, quod erit nobis summopere gratum. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominice mill^mo^ quingent^mo^ decimo octavo, pridie junii, pontificatus nostri anno sexto. Albergatus.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1194, f. 225.]

42. Pope Leo X. to the Princes of Tartary.*

1518, Juni 4, Rom.

Leo episcopus servus serv. Dei. Illustri Tartarorum principi timorem divini nominis et amorem. Esti id quod maxime

* See *supra*, p. 238.

cuperemus nondum factum est, ut simus tecum non solum humana sed celesti amicitia conjuncti, tamen cum assiduas preces ad Deum et Dominum nostrum fundamus, ut te talem et tam aegregium [sic] principem ad suorum electorum numerum aggregare dignetur, spem habemus in illius infinita clementina, nos te aliquando simul cum multis maximis Christianitatis regibus carissimi in Christo filii loco habituros. Sed donec quidem hoc divinum nobis advenerit bonum, nihil prohibet interea, quin, que communem nobis tecum securitatem et salutem adversus nimiam et cupiditatem et potentiam Turcarum principis contineat, humana inter nos amicitia conjungamur. Nam et tu is princeps es, sicut intelligimus, ut et prudentia et virtute polleas, et nos tales esse cupimus, ut amicitia nostra tibi et utilitati et ornamento esse possit. Quare hoc animo volventes, eligimus dilectum filium Nicolaum Sconbeghe [sic] ordinis praedicatorum, cuius hominis virtuti et prudentie plurimum confidimus et quem ad magnas res tractandas adhibere sumus soliti, nuperque ad carissimos in Christo filios nostros Cesarem, Francie, Hispanie, Anglie reges etiam misimus, et nunc iterum ei mandavimus, ut ad ipsum Caesarem et ad te aliosque nonnullos reges et principes se conferret, tecumque alia quaedam, ut arbitramur, ad tuum quoque honorem et commodum, ut speramus pertinentia consilia nostra nostro nomine communicaret. Hortamur igitur et pro affectu animi nostri erga te valde requirimus, ut eum libenter et amice audiens nos ipsos tecum existimes illo loquente loqui, eamque fidem illi habeas, quam nobis haberes. Quod erit nobis summopere gratum et tibi ut quotidie magis cognosces salutare et honorificum. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo pridie nonas junii, pontificatus nostri anno sexto. Albergatus.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1194, f. 226.]

43. Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Raffaello Riario.*

1518, Juni 28, Rom.

Leo gives him permission: die crastina, que erit festivitas beator. Petri et Pauli, in maiori altari Basilice principis Aposto-

* See *supra*, p. 193.

lorum de Urbe missam et alia divina officia etiam in presentia nostra celebrandi. . . .

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1194, f. 235.]

44. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1519, Juni 5, Rom.

. . . Qui se parla più che d'ogni altra cosa di questo futuro imperio, et opinione de molti è che non debba cascare ne in Francia ne in Spagna, pur ogni cosa è in confuso. Li Francesi non parlano si largamente di questo come faceveno prima. Monsig. della Rochia è gionto qui dui dì sono, ma non ha parlato a N. S^re^ prima che questa matina e per quanto dimonstra la sua instructione, la quale è venuta dui dì prima nelle mani del papa, che esso sia gionto, non porta altro se non che el Christianissimo se condole con N. S. della morte del duca Lorenzo con tutto el cuore et offerisce a Sua B^ne^ el stato, la persona etc., e quando a quella piaccia di exaltare qualchun altro della casa sua, mostra volerli dare ogni aiuto possibile; potrebbe essere ch'egli habbia qualchaltra commissione a bocha più secreta, la quale io insino a qui non ho intesa. Dicesi che la armata del re catholico per mare molto grosso è uscita del porto de Carthagene indrizata alla via de Sicilia e sopra di questo variamente si ragiona. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 287.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL VII.

Abisciolatis, Franc. de, 473.
Acciaiuoli, Roberto, 95, 123.
Accolti, Cardinal, 15, 21, 129, 174, 177, 387, 396 n., 397 *seq.*, 452, 462, 479, 482.
d'Acunha, Tristan, 74.
Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden, Bernhard, 407, 408, 410.
Adimaro, Filippo, 485.
Adorni, Family of the, 52.
Adrian of Utrecht, Cardinal (Bishop of Tortosa, afterwards Pope Adrian VI.), 7, 8, 198 n., 204, 322, 342.
Ægidius of Viterbo, *see* Canisio.
Agen, Bishop of, Cardinal, *see* Rovere, Leonardo Grosso della.
Agillaria, Franc. de, 472.
Agnello, Carlo, 107 n.
Agostini, Paolo, 185 n.
Albert of Brandenburg (Archbishop of Mayence), 264, 278, 285, 298, 329 *seq.*, 332, 343–346, 351 *seq.*, 361, 391, 396, 398, 416, 421, 435.
" " (Grand Master of the Teutonic Order), 45.
Albizzi, Andrea degli, 485.
" Angelo Girolamo degli, 177 n.
d'Albret, Cardinal, 73 n.
Aleander, Hieronymus, 5, 67, 328, 404 *seq.*, 407, 416, 417, 419–430, 432–441.
Alessandro, Cardinal, *see* Farnese.
Alexander II., Pope, 335 n.
" VI., Pope, 16, 21, 29, 41, 89, 137, 198 n., 212, 310.
Alexiis, Ant. de, 476.
Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, 36, 38, 68, 144, 163, 166 n., 168, 196 n., 209, 223, 263, 448, 464, 465.
Alfonso, Infant of Portugal, Cardinal, 201.
Alidosi, Francesco (Bishop of Pavia), Cardinal, 149.
Almadianus, Galienus, 473.
Altobellus (Bishop of Pola), *see* Averoldo.
Amboise, George d' (Archbishop of Rouen), Cardinal, 97.
Ancona, Cardinal of, *see* Accolti.
Angeli, Neapolionus, 473.
Anselmo, Frate, 34 n., 35 n.
Anselmo Thome (of Narni), 483.
Antonio di San Marino, 41.

Appiani, the (of Piombino), 91.
„ Jacopo V., 91 n.
d'Aragona, Luigi, Cardinal, 15, 23, 36, 81, 196.
Arcimboldi, Giovanni Angelo, 329 *seq.*, 350.
Arcionus, Jo., 472.
Ardinghello, Pietro, 85, 86, 275, 282.
Ariosto, Lodovico, 187 n., 343.
Aristophilus (medicus), 473.
Arles, the Archbishop of, 73 n.
Armellini, Francesco, Cardinal, 191 n., 202, 332, 467.
Arnold von Tungern, 321.
Astallis, Marianus de, 474.
Attono, Philip, 474, 476.
Austone, Jo. Ant., 479.
Averoldo, Altobello (Bishop of Pola), 221 *seq.*, 475, 478, 486.

Baglioni, Giampaolo, 18.
Bainbridge, Christopher, Cardinal, 16, 45, 55, 59.
Bakócz, Thomas (Archbishop of Gran), Cardinal, 16, 19, 21, 24, 214, 455.
Baldassare, 202.
Baldassare da Pescia, 76, 77 n., 96 n., 98 n., 215 n.
Ballis, Bened. de, 474, 475, 476.
Bandinelli, Baccio, 130.
Baraballo of Gaeta, 76.
Baumgärtner, 407 n.
Bayard, 114.
Beatrice da Ferrara, 91 n.
Beltrandi, Guillelmus, 477.
Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, 47, 89, 97, 100, 106 n., 150 n., 182.
Benassao, Latino, 164.
Bentivogli, Family of the, 44, 116, 133.
Beriszlo, Petrus, Ban of Croatia and Bishop of Veszprim, 215, 217.
Berthold of Ratisbon, 338 n.
Bianchi, Giulio de', 173, 465.
Bibbiena, Antonio, 103 n.
„ (Bernardo Dovisi), Cardinal, 24, 29, 36, 43, 53, 64 n., 81, 82, 84 *seq.*, 97, 99, 103, 107, 109, 111 n., 116, 117, 120, 122, 123, 127, 136, 139, 150 n., 152, 169, 231, 237, 240 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, 263, 266 *seq.*, 269, 274 *seq.*, 277, 479.
„ Pietro, 47.
Blondus, Franc., 472.
„ Paulus, 475, 479.
Bodmann, Karl von, 327.
Boissy, Adrien Gouffier de (Bishop of Contances), Cardinal, 139.
„ Arthur Gouffier de, 125 n.
Bonellus, Dom., 473.
Bongianus, Matheus, 476.
„ Thomas, 476.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 335.
„ IX., Pope, 336 n., 338, 339 *seq.*
Boninsegna, Ant., 473.
Bonjoannes, Ant. Jacobus (Bishop of Camerino), 475, 486.
Bonnivet, Admiral, 129, 139, 451 *seq.*
Bonomo, Pietro (Bishop of Trieste), 70, 451.
Boschetti, Roberto, 283 n.
Boscoli, the, 43.
Bosseus, Dom., 473.
Boulogne, Comte de, *see* Jean.

Bourbon, Catherine de, 228.
„ Charles, Duke of (The Constable), 139, 140, 149 n.
„ Louis de, Cardinal, 201.
Bramante, 3.
Brancha, Franc., 472.
Branconio, Battista, 75.
Brandenburg, Elector of, *see* Joachim.
Briçonnet, Cardinal, 73 n.
„ Dionys. (Bishop of St. Malo), 228, 487.
Bronsini, Marcus, 471.
Bruck, Gregor, 429 n.
Bucchanus, Perseus, 477.
Burkhard, Peter, 409.
Busch, Johann, 314.
Busche, Hermann van dem, 317, 423.
Bussa, Marianus, 473.

Cadichius, Jo. Bapt. (Bishop of Sulmona), 475.
Cafarellus, Jo. Petrus, 474.
Cajetan (Thomas de Vio), Cardinal, 205, 237, 238 n., 244 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*, 252, 258, 268, 272 *seq.*, 280, 286, 289 n., 349, 366–380, 381 n., 387, 397, 401, 418 n.
Callixtus III., Pope, 309.
Campeggio, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 62, 63, 196 n., 204, 231, 237 *seq.*, 240, 242 *seq.*, 417 n.
Canisio, Egidio, Cardinal, 10, 143, 153, 205 *seq.*, 219, 231, 237 *seq.*, 253, 276, 342, 469.
Cantacusinus, Hercules, 477.
Canossa, Ludovico di (Bishop of Bayeux), 63 n., 98, 100, 108, 109, 118, 123, 124, 126, 145 n., 154, 163, 166 n., 210.
Capiteferreo, Raimundus de, 477.
„ Stephanus de, 472.
Capocci, Rainer., 473.
Capranica, Dominici Ang. Ant. de, 471.
„ Joannes Rose de, 471.
„ Nicolas de, 477.
Caprarola, Jo. Bapt. Petr. de, 471.
„ Tiberius Jo. de, 471.
Caprili, Giuliano, 147 n., 150 n., 197 n.
Caracciolo, M., 244 n., 285, 416, 417, 421, 430, 432, 436, 438.
Caramelli, Ludovico, 483.
Carben, Victor, 320.
Cardona (Viceroy of Naples), 32, 49, 60 n., 64, 114.
Cardulo, Bernardo, 486.
Carlstadt, 407.
Carosis, Andrea de, 474.
„ Justino de, 182.
Caroz, 285, 288.
Carpi, *see* Pio.
Carretta, Franc., 477.
Carretto, Fabrizio de, 221.
Carretto da Finale, Carlo Domenico del, Cardinal, 15, 17, 21.
Carronibus, Marius de, 474.
Carvajal, Bernardino Lopez de, Cardinal (of Santa Croce), 17, 44, 54, 56, 57, 58, 222, 322, 399, 448, 449, 479, 482.
Casalius, Raph., 474.
Casanova, Marcantonio, 41 n.
Castellanus, Petrus Paulus, 474.
Castellesi, Adriano, Cardinal, 15, 17, 19, 23, 24, 128, 179, 180, 182, 186 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 460, 461, 464.

Castiglione, Baldassare, 89, 286, 288, 289 n., 496.
Casulano, Antonio, 424 n.
Cavalariis, Dominicus de, 472.
Cechinus, Domitius, 472.
Cecius, Julianus, 476.
Cesarini, Aless., Cardinal, 204.
,, Giovan Giorgio, 37.
Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 204.
Challand, Robert, Cardinal, 16, 66.
Charles V. (of Spain, afterwards Emperor), 158 n., 159, 160, 161, 204, 209, 229 *seq.*, 239, 249, 252 *seq.*, 257, 259–262, 264–267, 270–281, 283–287, 289–291, 312, 323, 367, 417, 419 *seq.*, 425–457, 482.
,, VIII. (King of France), 137.
,, the Bold (Duke of Burgundy), 313.
Chièvres, M. de, 459.
Chigi, Agostino, 39 n., 41, 189, 190.
Christian (King of Denmark), 233.
Cibo, Franceschetto, 82.
,, Innocenzo, Cardinal, 81, 82, 136, 139, 188, 482.
Cinciis, Virgilius, de, 474.
Cingulo, Petrus de, 477.
Cintio da Tivoli, 118, 119.
Ciocchi del Monte, Antonio (of Sansovino), Cardinal, 15, 23, 398, 399 n., 482, 485.
Ciolek, Erasmus Vitellius (Bishop of Plock), 246 n., 265, 266, 268, 274 *seq.*
Clement VI., Pope, 374.
,, VII., Pope, 8, 9, 10; *see* Medici, Giulio, de.
Cochläus, Johannes, 316.
Colecta, Dominico, 478, 483.
Cologne, The Elector of, *see* Wied.
Colonna, Family of the, 18 n., 38, 466.
,, Fabrizio, 45.
,, Marcantonio, 32 n., 152, 154.
,, Muzio, 158.
,, Pompeo, Cardinal, 44, 204.
,, Prospero, 115, 158, 459.
Conti, Family of the, 38.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 204.
Contreras, Bernardino de, 475.
Coptius, Petrus, 478.
Corbaira, Count of, 218 n.
Cordella, Joh., 473.
,, Petrus, 473.
Cornaro [Cornelius], Marco, Cardinal, 16, 23, 24 n., 81, 120, 122, 222, 460, 464, 465, 482, 485.
Corradinis, Paulo de, 486.
Corte, Ercole de, 196 n.
Cosciaris, Lucentius de, 477.
,, Marcus de, 474.
Costa, Benedictus, 477.
,, Petr., Franc. de, 476.
Costabili, Beltrando de, 144 n., 148 n., 173 n., 176 n., 181 n., 196 n., 200 n., 464, 465.
Crescentii, Hieron. de, 473.
Croatia, The Ban of, *see* Beriszlo.
Cupis, Giandomenico de, Cardinal, 204.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 304.

Dado, Hieron., 487.
Dalheim, Johann von, 344.
Darius, Silvester, 239 n.
Decio, Filippo, 29.
Didacus de Acre, 477.

Dolzegk, Johann, 407.
Donatus (apost. notary), 476.
Döring, Matthias, 308.
Dovisi, Bernardo, *see* Bibbiena.
Draco, Antonius, 473.
Du Prat, Antoine Bohier, Cardinal, 125, 126 n., 136, 216, 237 n.

Eck, Johann, 327, 341, 351 n., 360, 364 n., 383, 386, 394, 403 n., 404 *seq.*, 406–411, 413 *seq.*, 416, 418 *seq.*
Ecken, Johann von der, 433.
Eichstätt, Bishop of, *see* Eyb.
Emmanuel the Great (King of Portugal), 74, 77, 214, 217, 223, 229, 482.
Emser, Jerome, 341.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 315 *seq.*, 323, 399 n., 413, 422 *seq.*, 424.
Erbach, Dietrich von (Archbishop of Mayence), 309.
Ernest of Bavaria (Bishop of Passau), 412.
d'Este, The Family, 44.
„ Ippolito, Cardinal, 81, 135, 147 n.
„ Isabella (Marchioness of Mantua), 446.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 132.
Evangeliste, Franciscus, 472.
Eyb, Gabriel von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 410, 413.

Fabiis, Ant. de, 474.
„ Franc. de, 473.
„ Honofr. de, 474.
Falk, Peter, 23 n., 26, 329 n.
Faria, Juan de, 75.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 16, 25, 33, 174, 177, 180, 222, 231, 237, 245, 460, 462, 464, 482.
Ferdinand I. (King of Hungary and Bohemia), 161, 273 n.
Ferdinand II., *The Catholic* (King of Aragon), 27, 50, 66, 92, 93, 99, 103, 128 n., 142, 144, 257.
Ferdinandus de Acre, 476.
Ferrara, Duke of, *see* Alfonso.
Ferreri, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 203.
„ Zaccaria, 73 n.
Ficino, Marsilio, 29.
Fieschi, Niccolò, Cardinal [Flisco], 15, 16, 21, 135, 222, 399 n., 460, 479, 482.
Filiberta of Savoy, 106, 107 n., 150.
Filonardi, Ennio, 93 n., 110, 143, 155 n., 159.
Finale, Cardinal, *see* Carretto.
Fine, Cornelius de, 53 n., 121 n., 129 n, 131 n., 141 n.
Flisco, Cardinal de, *see* Fieschi.
Flores, Petrus, 19.
Foix, Odet de, *see* Lautrec.
„ Thomas de, *see* Lescun.
Forbin de Solier, Louis, 67, 71, 111 n.
Foscari, Francesco, 47, 61, 62.
Francesco Maria (Duke of Urbino), *see* Rovere.
Francis I. (King of France), 106–109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 117–119, 122 *seq.*, 129, 134–144, 145, 147 *seq.*, 151, 152, 154 *seq.*, 157–159, 161 *seq.*, 166, 188, 195, 209 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*, 221, 227–229, 239 *seq.*, 249, 252, 257 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*, 266 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 273–280, 283 *seq.*, 287, 420, 458, 487.
Frangipani, Ant. de, 473.
„ Jacobus de, 474.
Fregoso, F., 63 n.
„ Ottaviano, 52.
Frederick III., The Emperor, 306, 312.

Frederick III. (Elector of Saxony), 258, 262, 267, 272, 277, 280, 284 *seq*, 289, 367, 370–372, 378, 381, 385 *seq.*, 396, 398, 406, 410, 413, 421 *seq.*, 425–428, 432.
Fugger, Family of the, 331.
„ Jakob, 273 n., 331, 345.
Fulginas, Fed. Flavius, 476.

Gabbioneta, Alessandro, 35 n., 55 n., 134 n., 139 n., 448, 449, 459.
Gadio, Stazio, 135 n., 446.
Gaetani, Family of the, 38.
Galeatius Poeta, 473.
Gallus, Paulus, 472.
Gambara, Giacomo da, 116, 155 n.
Gargiis, Joh. Bapt. de, 71.
Gattinara (The Chancellor), 428, 430.
Geiler von Kaisersberg, 302, 336, 337.
Gelnhausen, Conrad von, 308.
Gemmingen, Uriel von (Archbishop of Mayence), 330.
Gentilis, Alexander, 473.
George of Bavaria (Bishop of Spires), 321.
„ Duke of Saxony, 327, 430.
Georgio, Cardinal di S., *see* Riario, Raffaelio.
Gerson, John, 308.
Gheri [Gherio, Ghersio], Goro (Bishop of Pistoia), 93 n., 95 n., 144 n., 283.
Ghinucci, Girolamo (Bishop of Ascoli), 363, 366, 368, 377.
Ghisius, Aug., 481.
Gianfigliazzi, Jacopo, 130.
Giocondo da Verona, Fra, 89.
Giorgi, Marino, 121, 122, 123.
Giovio [Jovius], Paolo, 40, 43, 50, 51, 141, 187, 192 n.
Giustiniani, Seb., 160 n.
Glapion, 430.
Gonzaga, Agostino, 156 n., 456.
„ Elisabetta, 150.
„ Federigo, 165.
„ Francesco (Marquis of Mantua), 60 n., 139 n., 155, 447 *seq.*, 456, 496.
„ Isabella, *see* Este, Isabella.
„ Sigismondo, Cardinal, 16, 22, 23, 38, 447.
Gouffier de Boissy, *see* Boissy.
Gozadinis, Johannes de, 468.
„ Matheus, 473.
Granacci, Francesco, 130.
Grassis, Achille de, Cardinal, 15, 222, 464, 468, 479, 482.
„ Paris de, 18, 25, 35, 36, 69, 73, 129, 131, 132, 135, 177, 178, 180, 183, 191, 193 *seq.*, 205, 450, 451, 463, 466 *seq.*, 490, 492.
Gratia de Francia, Fra, 77 n.
Gratus, Carolus, 473.
Gregorius de Monte Calvello, 473.
Gregory VII., St., Pope, 7, 10.
Greiffenclau, Richard von (Elector of Treves), 278, 284, 421, 436 n.
Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal, 15, 16, 17, 122, 157, 182 *seq.*, 321, 479, 482.
Grossino, 136 n., 138 n.
Guicciardini, Francesco, 8, 101, 102, 171, 212 n.
Guise, Duke of, 111.
Gusieri, Paolo, 177 n.

Heimburg, Gregor, 309.

Heinrichmann, 411 n.
Henneberg, Berthold von (Archbishop of Mayence), 311, 327.
Henry VIII., King of England, 50, 53, 61 n., 65, 66, 98, 100, 118, 124, 128 n., 160, 188, 209 *seq.*, 221, 229, 239 *seq.*, 249, 276 n., 482.
Hessus, Eobanus, 317.
Hieronymus (auditor), 370 n.
Hochstraten, Jakob, 319 *seq.*, 321–325.
Hus, John, 311, 360, 401.
Hutten, Ulrich von, 317, 318, 324, 328, 388 *seq.*, 416, 424, 432, 433 n.

Innocent III., Pope, 232.
" VIII., Pope, 16, 28, 29, 85, 335.
Isenburg, Diether von (Archbishop of Mayence), 309.
Ismael, Shah, 226.

Jacobazzi, Domenico, Cardinal, 204.
Jannelli, Bernardinus, 471.
Jean, Comte de Boulogne, 228.
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 259, 272, 277, 280 n., 286, 329, 430, 437.
Joanninensis, Stefano, 132 n., 177 n.
John (Administrator of Ratisbon), 411.
John of Saxony, 406.
Jovius, *see* Giovio.
Julius II., Pope, 3, 8, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 26, 28, 31–33, 38, 41, 46, 49, 53, 55, 58, 60, 68, 73, 83, 132, 138 *seq.*, 149, 207, 212, 257, 260, 310, 328, 401, 446, 448, 453.
Julius de Narnia, 476.

Kaisersberg, *see* Geiler.
Köllin, Conrad, 321.

Ladislas (King of Hungary), 216, 454.
Lando, Pietro, 105 n.
Landsberg, Johannes Justus von, 293 n.
Lang, Matthæus, Cardinal, 65, 68 *seq.*, 96–98, 244, 331, 367, 412, 450.
Langenstein, Heinrich von, 308.
Lascaris, Giano, 127, 222 n.
Lattes, Bonet de, 321.
Lauredanus, Leonardus, 487.
Lautrec, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de, 114, 134, 165.
Leazariis, Camillus de, 473, 476.
Lenis, Franc. de, 474.
Leno, Giuliano, 39 n.
Leo X., Pope, 3–7, 10, 25, 26–35, 36–48, 49–55, 57, 59 *seq.*, 65, 68, 70–77, 79 *seq.*, 85–88, 90–96, 97, 99–110, 112, 114–118, 120–126, 127 *seq.*, 129, 130–133, 136–143, 144, 145 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*, 150–160, 162–176, 177–184, 186–192, 194–199, 201 *seq.*, 207–224, 227, 231 *seq.*, 237, 240 *seq.*, 255–272, 274–288, 291, 321 *seq.*, 325, 328 *seq.*, 331, 342, 344, 358 n., 359 n., 361–364, 367, 372, 377, 379, 383, 385 *seq.*, 388, 405, 417, 423, 439, 446, 450, 452, 454, 456–459, 469, 488, 493, 494, 495; *see* Medici, Giovanni de'.
Leonardo di Zanobi Bartholini, 39 n.
Lescun, Thomas de Foix, Vicomte de, 228.
Liège, Bishop of, *see* Mark.
Lindner, Johann, 350.

Link, Wenzel, 374, 378, 408.
Lippomano, V., 103 n.
Locher, Jakob, 63 n., 316, 317.
Lorraine, John of, Cardinal, 241.
Louis XI. (King of France), 143 n.
„ XII. (King of France), 27, 45, 47, 48, 54, 59, 66 *seq.*, 93, 95, 98–106, 404.
Louis of Hungary, 216, 233, 454.
Louisa of Savoy, 106, 151.
Louise (daughter of Francis I.), 159.
Ludovico da Fermo, 448.
Lupari, Gaspar, 473.
„ Marc. Ant., 473.
Luther, Martin, 258, 291, 304 *seq.*, 316, 347, 351 *seq.*, 353–360, 361–384, 385–400, 401–403, 405–408, 410, 412–416, 419, 421 *seq.*, 424–432, 433–438.
Lutiis, Philippus de, 472.
Luxemburg, Phil., Cardinal of, 240 n.
Lyons, the Archbishop of, 73 n.

Machiavelli, 105.
Magdalenus, Petrus, 474.
Mantua, Marquis of, *see* Gonzaga, Francesco.
Marck, Robert de la, 114.
Mark, Eberhard de la (Bishop of Liège), 248 n., 398, 404.
Marsilius of Padua, 308.
Martin V., Pope, 132, 303.
Martinellis, Blasius de, 18.
Mary (daughter of Henry VIII.), 241.
„ (sister of Henry VIII. and wife of Louis XII.), 100.
Matheus, Cyriacus, 475.
„ Julius, 472.
„ Palutius, 473.
„ Petrus Ant., 474.
Maximilian I., The Emperor, 17, 27, 49, 50, 60, 62–65, 66, 71, 93, 96, 98, 101, 103, 124, 143, 152–154, 160 *seq.*, 167, 170, 219, 229 *seq.*, 233, 244, 246, 249, 252, 259, 261 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*, 310, 321, 323, 344, 367, 370, 418 n., 482.
Maximis, Dominicus de, 474.
Mayr, Martin, 297, 326.
Mazatoste, Ricardus, 472.
Mazzolini, Silvestro, *see* Prierias.
Medici, Family of the, 27, 30, 31, 33, 38, 43, 44, 46, 79 *seq.*, 104, 123, 137, 149, 159 n., 192, 215, 270, 471, 480.
„ Alfonsina de', *see* Orsini.
„ Catherine de' (later, Queen of France), 281, 284.
„ Contessina de', 44 n.
„ Floreta de', 81.
„ Giovanni de', Cardinal, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21–26, 149, 447; *see* Leo X.
„ Giuliano de', 32, 33 n., 43, 47, 48, 66, 79, 87 *seq.*, 91 n., 92, 99, 101, 103, 106, 107 n., 109 *seq.*, 127, 133, 147 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*
Giulio de', Cardinal (later, Pope Clement VII.), 43, 79 *seq.*, 85, 92 n., 99, 108 n., 112, 116, 117, 128, 132, 135, 136, 139,

Medici, Giulio de'—*continued:* 153 n., 188, 198 n., 221 *seq.*, 227 *seq.*, 243, 259, 262 n., 263 *seq.*, 266, 273, 280, 283, 289 n., 386, 394, 405, 425, 440, 461, 468, 479.
„ Ippolito de', Cardinal, 151 n.
„ Lorenzo de', "The Magnificent," 22, 28, 79.
„ Lorenzo de' (Duke of Urbino), 33 n., 36, 38, 44 n., 77 n., 79 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 98 n., 101, 111, 115 n., 117, 118 n., 120, 123, 127, 128, 132, 135, 147–149, 153 n., 154 *seq.*, 157, 163–165, 167, 169, 181, 211, 227, 240 *seq.*, 262, 265 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 273, 280 *seq.* 286, 459, 496.
„ Maddalena de', 82.
„ Piero de', 30, 79.
„ Raffaello de', 418 n.
Meyer, Petrus, 320.
Miccinellus, Alexander, 474.
Michael Angelo, 3, 83, 89.
Mieres, Michael, 477.
Milan, Duke of, *see* Sforza, Maximilian.
Miltitz, Karl von, 286, 380–384, 385.
Minio, Marco, 279, 288 *seq.*
Minutulus, Gabriel, 476.
Mirandola, *see* Pico.
Monte, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
Montebono, Fabius de, 474.
Montefeltro, Federigo, 211.
Montmaur, 109, 111 n.
Morone, Girolamo, 49, 70, 158.
Mostus, Perotius, 473.
Mumius, Marcus, 486.
Murner, Thomas, 341.
Mutianus, Conrad, 317, 324.

Nardi, Jacopo, 87.
Nerli, 43.
Neroni, Angelo, 451.
Nicholas V., Pope, 18.
Nicolosinus, Nic., 473.
Nider, Johannes, 302.
Nino, Marc Antonio, 172, 173, 174, 184, 460, 462, 465 *seq.*
Numai, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 197 n., 205 *seq.*, 358 n.

Odet de Foix, *see* Lautrec.
Oldecop, Johann, 346 n.
Orsini, Family of the, 17, 38, 466.
„ Alfonsina (mother of Lorenzo de' Medici), 90 n., 91, 123, 148.
„ Camillo, 122 n.
„ Clarissa, 28.
„ Franciotto, Cardinal, 204, 461.
„ Gabriel (Bishop of Calvi), 486.
„ Giovan Giordano, 45.
„ Onofrio, 476.
„ Renzo, 168.
„ Roberto Latino (Archbishop of Reggio), 216, 278, 284 n., 286, 454.

Pace, Richard, 276 n.
Pacheco, Diego, 75, 76.
„ Pedro, Cardinal, 341.
Palinus, Bapt., 474.
Pallavicini, Giambattista, Cardinal, 204.
„ Franc., 477.
Pandolfini, Niccolò, Cardinal, 204.
Paolucci, Alfonso, 397 n., 398 n.
Passerini, Giulio, 130.

Passerini, Silvio, Cardinal, 202 *seq.*, 283.
Paul V., Pope, 76.
Pazzi, Family of, 178, 192.
Perinus, Petrus, 473.
Perusco, Mario de, 176, 182, 190, 198 n., 199 n., 363, 483, 486.
Peruzzi, Baldassare, 202.
Pesaro, Giacomo da, 196.
Petrocchi, Elisei, 473.
Petrucci, Alfonso, Cardinal, 16, 23, 38, 170–176, 177 n., 178, 180–187, 192, 194 *seq.*, 208, 460, 462, 464, 468.
,, Borghese, 159 n., 171, 174.
,, Lattanzio, 172, 185 n.
,, Raffaello (Bishop of Grosseto), 40, 159 n., 171, 203, 466.
Pfefferkorn, Johann, 319 *seq.*
Philip (Bishop of Freising), 411.
Picchi, Domin. de, 472.
,, Hieron. de, 474.
Piccolomini, Eneas Silvius de' (Pope Pius II.), 297.
,, Giovanni, Cardinal, 204.
,, Hieronimus, 486.
Pico della Mirandola, Gianfrancesco, 5, 6 n.
Pio, Alberto, Count of Carpi, 17, 22 n., 27, 28, 70, 152 n., 451, 478 *seq.*
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 83.
Pirkheimer, Willibald, 6 n , 407, 408, 416.
Pirstinger, Berthold (Bishop of Chiemsee), 293 n.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 201.
Pius II., Pope, 304, 309, 401.
Plock, Bishop of, *see* Ciolek.
Pocointesta, 176, 180, 466.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 405.
Poliziano, Angelo, 28.
Pontorno, Jacopo da, 130.
Ponzetti, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 42, 202.
Poppa, Giovanni da, 92.
Possidarski, Stefano, 218 n.
Prato, Giovanni Andrea, 48.
Prie, René de (Bishop of Bayeaux), Cardinal, 73 n.
Prierias (Silvester Mazzolini), 351 n., 363 *seq.*, 366, 377, 378 n., 392.
Pucci, Family of, 38.
,, Antonio (Bishop of Pistoia), 158 n., 227.
,, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 82 *seq.*, 129, 222, 343, 396 n., 452, 479, 482.
,, Piero di Antonio, 82 n.
Puppio, Gio. Batt. de, 358 n.

Quattro Coronati, Cardinal of the, *see* Pucci, Card.

Rab, Hermann, 382.
Rangoni, Annibale, 123 n.
,, Ercole, Cardinal, 200 n., 203, 467.
,, Guido, 168.
Raphael, 3, 18, 35, 75, 83, 89, 235.
,, of Volterra, 212 n.
Rechberg, Philip von, 410.
Remolino, Francesco, Cardinal, 16, 45, 174, 177, 222, 460, 462, 482.
Renée (daughter of Louis XII.), 93.
Reuchlin, Johann, 319 *seq.*, 325, 388, 424.
Riario, Cesare (Patr. of Alexandria), 475, 477, 478, 485, 486.
,, Galeatius, 486.

Riario, Octavianus (Bishop of Viterbo), 475, 486.
„ Raffaello, Cardinal, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 31 n., 59, 135, 177, 178, 180–182, 184, 185 n., 186–192, 193 *seq.*, 198 n., 396, 447, 460, 462, 464, 470 *seqq.*, 488, 490, 495.
„ Thomas (Bishop of Savona), 486.
Ridolfi, Luigi, 44 n.
„ Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 203, 467.
Rogeriis, Jac. Ant. de, 472.
„ Rosello de, 472.
Roland (The Moor), 186 n.
Rosellis, Rosello de, 472, 474.
Rossi, Evangelista de', 42.
„ Luigi de', Cardinal, 203.
Rovere, Antonio della, 70, 451.
„ Francesco Maria della (D. of Urbino), 36, 38, 114, 144, 147–151, 154–156, 157, 165 *seq.*, 168, 172 *seq.*, 182, 185 n., 186, 188, 194, 208 *seq.*, 217, 221, 448, 452 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 466.
„ Leonardo Grosso della, Cardinal, 15, 21, 181, 189, 479, 482.
„ Sisto Gara della, Cardinal, 15, 18, 198 n.
Rubianus, Crotus, 324.

Saccazino, Angelo, 479.
Sadoleto, Jacopo, Cardinal, 76 n., 233, 235, 343.
Salamonus, Hieron., 474.
Saldonus, Jo. Bapt., 477.
„ Roger, 477.
Salviati, Family of the, 38.
Salviati, Giovanni (Bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 203.
„ Jacopo, 38, 123 n., 164 n.
Sances, Joh., 476.
Sancta Cruce, Georgius de, 474.
Sangallo, Antonio di, 39 n., 130.
Sanseverino, Bastiano di, 98 n.
„ Federigo de, Cardinal, 44, 54, 57, 58, 67, 101, 118, 129, 135, 170, 448, 449.
Sanson, Bernardine, 358 n.
Sansoni, Hieronimus (Bishop of Arezzo), 475, 486.
Sansovino, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
„ Jacopo, 130, 131.
Santa Croce, Family of the, 38.
„ Cardinal of, *see* Carvajal.
Sarto, Andrea del, 130, 131.
Sauli (Banker), 42.
„ Bandinello, Cardinal, 15, 23, 81, 136, 174 *seq.*, 178, 180–182, 184, 185 n., 186–188, 193 *seq.*, 460, 462, 464, 465, 468, 470.
Savelli, Family of the, 38.
Savoy, Duke Charles of, 112, 118, 124, 237 n.
Saxony, Elector of, *see* Frederick.
Scappuccius, Marius, 474.
Schaumburg, Silvester von, 389 *seq.*
Schinner, Matthæus, Cardinal, 16, 22, 23, 45, 49, 53, 55, 59, 117, 119, 142, 143, 160, 164.
Schönberg, Nicholas von (Archbishop of Capua), 167, 219, 238, 458, 494 *seq.*
Schwarz, P., 341 n.
Scotland, James, King of, 233.

Selim I., The Sultan, 213, 217 *seq.*, 227, 231, 253 n.
Senilis, Gisbertus (Bishop of Rapolla), 475, 486.
Serapica, Giovanni Lazzaro, 121, 173, 465.
Serra, Jacopo, Cardinal, 16, 21.
,, Berengerius, 476.
Severus (monachus), 177 n.
Seyssel, Claude de (Bishop of Marseilles), 66, 67, 71.
Sforza, Ascanio Maria, Cardinal, 132.
,, Francesco Maria (Duke of Bari), 70, 97 n., 451.
,, Maximilian (Duke of Milan), 48, 49, 50, 52, 64, 67, 72, 97 n., 107, 110, 126, 417 n., 448, 451.
Sickingen, Franz von, 325, 390, 432.
Siena, Cardinal of, *see* Petrucci.
Sigismund, The Emperor, 306.
,, Duke (of the Tyrol), 309.
,, King of Poland, 45, 217, 454.
Silinon, Kaspar von, 156 n.
Simi, Nicodemus, 471.
Simoncinus, Jacobus, 477.
Sindesio, Gentile (Pindaro), 61 n.
Sinibaldi, Jo. Bapt. (Bishop of Osimo), 475.
,, Prospero de, 472, 474.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 16, 24, 192, 197, 310, 335.
Soderini, Family of the, 38, 43, 44.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 15, 18, 23, 129, 179, 180, 184, 186 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 198 n., 447, 452, 461.
,, Pietro, 43, 44 n., 187.
Solier, de, *see* Forbin.
Sozzini, Bartolomeo, 29.
Spagnolo, Tolemeo, 459.
Spalatin, 367, 376, 382 n., 390, 413.
Spannocchi, Franc., 472.
Spengler, Lazarus, 407, 408, 416.
Speronibus, Vinc. de, 472, 474.
Spinola, Aug. (Bishop of Perugia), 475, 477, 485 *seq.*
,, Franc., 476, 486.
Spires, Bishop of, *see* George (of Bavaria).
Spiritibus, Jo. Bapt de, 473.
Spreca, Sebast., 473.
Stadion, Christoph von (Bishop of Augsburg), 410 *seq.*
Staffileo, Giovanni (Bishop of Serbenico), 210, 228.
Staupitz, Johann von, 362, 373 *seq.*, 376.
Strozzi, Family of the, 38.
,, Filippo, 123 n., 125 n.
Suleiman, The Sultan, 253 n.
Supersaxo, Georg, 142, 143 n.

Tartary, the Princes of, 238, 494.
Tesco [Theseo], Ugolino, 478, 483.
Tetzel, Johann, 330, 345, 346 n., 347–351, 354–358, 363, 364 n., 382.
Teutleben, Valentin von, 396.
Theodoricis, Jo. Bapt. de, 474.
Theulis, Stephanus de, 473.
Thomas de Vio, *see* Cajetan.
Thomasius, Franc., 474.
Tibaldeschi, Alb. de, 472.
Tignosinus, Palinus, 473.
Tizio, Sigismondo, 6, 7 n., 199, 350 n.
Tornabuoni, Family of the, 38.
,, G. (Bishop of Saluzzo), 176 n.
,, Simon, 112 n.

Tour d'Auvergne, Madeleine de la, 228, 240.
Trémouille, Louis de la, 114, 134.
Treves, Elector of, *see* Greiffenclau.
Trissino, Giangiorgio, 153 n.
Trithemius, The Abbat, 302.
Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 191, 204, 467.
,, Gianjacopo, 114, 115, 120.
,, Scaramuccia, Cardinal, 204, 398.
Truchsess, Canon, 321.

URBINO, Duke of, *see* Rovere, Francesco Maria della.
Urigiis, Hieron. de, 476.
Urrea, Pedro (Bishop of Syracuse, Spanish Ambassador), 175, 479.

VAGA, Perino del, 83, 130.
Valle, Andrea della, Cardinal, 42, 204.
,, Laur. Steph., 473.
Varano, Giovanni Maria da, 36, 283 n.
Vasari, Giorgio, 131 n.
Vasili, Grand Duke of Moscow, 238, 493.
Veccia, Petr. Paulus, 477.
Venanzi, Ant., 476.
,, Petr. Paul. (Bishop of Jesi [Esinus]), 475, 486.
Vendôme, Duke of, 139.
Vercelli, Battista da, 171, 172, 174, 176, 182–184, 186, 460, 465 *seq.*
Vetera, Franc. de la, 472.
Vettori, Francesco, 23, 105, 151, 156, 194 n., 228.
Vich, Hieronymus de, 17, 45, 479.
,, Raymond de, Cardinal, 201.
Vigerio, Marco, Cardinal, 15.
Vigili, Fabiano, 487.
Vinci, Leonardo da, 90.
Vio, Thomas de, *see* Cajetan.
Virgilio, Marcello Adriani, 133 n.
Vitelli, Giulio, 168.
Vitellius, Erasmus, *see* Ciolek.
Vlatten, Johann von, 248.
Volta, Gabriele della, 361.
,, Ant. della, 473.
Volterra, Cardinal of, *see* Soderini, Franc.

WALLACHIA, the Waiwodes of, 253 n.
Wesel, Johann von, 311.
Wied, Hermann von (Elector of Cologne), 278, 421.
Wildenauer (Sylvius), Johann, 407.
William of Reichenau, 341 n.
Wimpheling, Jakob, 301 n., 302, 312, 327.
Wimpina, 351 n., 355, 364 n.
Wladislas, *see* Ladislas.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 100, 118, 195, 239 *seq.*, 241–243, 256, 276 n.
Wyclif, John, 360.

XIMENES, Cardinal, 342.

ZAMOMETIČS, Andrea [Zuccalmaglio, Archbp. of Carniola], 309.
Zeccha, Jo. Ang. de la, 473.
Zink, Johannes, 41.
Zobel, Dietrich, 345.
Zuccha, Hieron. Bern., 471, 472.
Zurita, 27.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

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PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK, AND DIRECTOR OF THE AUSTRIAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE IN ROME

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

PAGE

Table of Contents vii

List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . . xxiii

LEO X., 1513–1521. BOOK II.

Alliance of the Pope with the Emperor Charles V. . 1–40

Defeat of the French and increase of the States of the Church. Death of Leo X. 41–70

Personality and manner of life of Leo X. His Finances and Court 71–125

Medicean Rome 126–182

The Renaissance in the field of Literature. Bembo and Sadoleto. Vida and Sannazaro . . . 183–241

Study of Antiquity. Raphael and the Plan of Ancient Rome. Encouragement of the Study of Greek. The Vatican Library and the Roman University . 242–280

Leo X. as the Patron of the Arts. The Stanze, Tapestries, and Loggie of Raphael . . . 281–347

Leo X. and Michael Angelo. Promotion of the Minor Arts. The building of new St. Peter's. The preservation of Roman Antiquities 348–383

The Council of the Lateran 384–413

The French Concordat. Ecclesiastical Policy. Character and Pontificate of Leo X. 414–461

Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 463–511

Index of Names 513–525

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME VIII.

CHAPTER I.

ALLIANCE OF THE POPE WITH THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.*

A.D.		PAGE
1519	The Pope fears the ascendancy of the Emperor	1
	His idea of an anti-Imperial league	2
	In September he makes a secret treaty with Francis I.	3
1520	The Pope instigates an attack on Ferrara	4
	And represses the tyrants of the Marches	4
	Giampaolo Baglioni summoned to Rome	5
	His trial and execution on June 2nd	7
	Manuel arrives in Rome as Ambassador from the Emperor on April 11th	9
	First disturbance in the relations with France	9
	Pretensions and encroachments of Francis I.	10
	Who forbids the proclamation of the Bull of Maundy Thursday	11
	And opposes the elevation of de la Mark to the Cardinalate	12
	The Pope proposes the elevation to the purple of Jean d'Orléans	12
	Francis makes a grievance even of this	13
	Anger of the Pope	13
	Who resolves to drive the French out of Italy	14
	And decides to take 6000 Swiss into his service	15
	He also sends draft of a new alliance to the Emperor	15
	Francis I. makes proposals to the Pope	15
	But is not sincere in so doing	16
	The Pope's negotiations with Manuel on December 11th	16
1521	He succeeds in coming to an agreement with both Charles and Francis	17

* Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificium Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE

1521 The insincerity of Francis drives the Pope towards the Emperor 17
As does also the Lutheran movement in Germany . 18
Where so much depends upon the attitude of the Emperor 18
Concessions of the Pope to Charles V. 19
The reports of Aleander from Germany . . . 21
The Emperor formally requested (January 18th) to publish the Bull against Luther . . . 22
A Consistory held (February 6th) for dealing with the "two conflagrations" 23
The Pope now devotes much time to the Lutheran affair 24
And writes to the German Princes 25
The decision to summon Luther to the Diet . . 26
This is complained of at the Consistory on the 20th of March 27
Instructions sent to the Legates in Germany . . 28
Great anxiety of the Pope (April) 29
Who sends for Manuel and speaks strongly to him . 30
The loyalty of the Emperor 31
Causes great satisfaction in Rome (May) . . . 32
Proposed alliance of the Pope and the Emperor against France 33
Hesitation of the Pope 34
The French go too far, and the alliance is concluded on May 8th 35
The conditions of this alliance are favourable to the Holy See 36
Thanks of the Pope conveyed to the Emperor, and Luther's writings burned in Rome . . . 37
Zeal of Aleander 38
Spread of the new doctrines in Saxony . . . 38
Edicts against Luther's works 39
Henry VIII. writes against him 40

CHAPTER II.

DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH AND INCREASE OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—DEATH OF LEO X.

1521 Commencement of hostilities; Papal attempts against Ferrara 41
Which fail, as do those to stir up an insurrection against the French in Milan 42

A.D. PAGE

1521 The attack on Papal territory causes the Pope to declare himself (June 27th) openly against France 43
And to make preparations for the expulsion of the French from Italy 44
Composition of the allied army 45
Francis I. endeavours to win back the Pope, but fails 46
(August) Boasts that he will enter Rome and impose laws on the Pope 46
Charles V. urges the Pope to excommunicate Francis 47
And informs him of his first move against France . 48
(Sept. 4th) The Pope threatens the French with excommunication and interdict 49
His reasons for this 49
Difficulties with the Swiss, whose conduct causes the allies to retreat from Parma 50
Filonardi and Schinner succeed in getting together more Swiss troops 52
Who advance into Italy and join the allies . . 53
And are recruited by deserters from the French . 54
Milan and the whole of Lombardy conquered . . 55
Joy of the Pope at hearing this 56
As his position was critical on account of the expenses of the war 57
The Pope taken ill (October 25th) 58
Convalescent on November the 5th, and goes to Magliana 58
Intelligence reaches him there (November 24th) of the defeat of the French 59
Meets with an enthusiastic reception on his return to Rome (November 25th) 60
And talks about a public thanksgiving 61
Is taken ill again on November 26th 62
On December 1st learns that Parma has been taken . 63
Receives Extreme Unction and dies at midnight . 63
Consternation of the friends of the Medici . . 64
Precautionary measures taken by the Sacred College . 65
Suspicions of poison 66
Opinions on this of Vettori, Guicciardini and Giovio . 67
Most probably the Pope died from malaria . . 68
Extravagant attacks on his memory 68
Buried very poorly 69
The tomb erected for him by Paul III. in S. Maria sopra Minerva 69

CHAPTER III.

PERSONALITY AND MANNER OF LIFE OF LEO X.—HIS FINANCES AND COURT.

A.D.		PAGE
	Outward appearance of Leo X. far from attractive	71
	His musical and pleasant voice, and manner, majestic but full of charm	72
	The portrait of Leo X. by Raphael in the Pitti Gallery	73
	His character as described by Marino Giorgi	75
	His words, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, etc.," rest on no authentic tradition	76
	His determination to maintain the strong position of the Holy See	77
	Enjoys to the full the highly developed culture of his age with unembarrassed light-heartedness	77
	His high culture and receptivity of all that is beautiful	78
	Exact in the fulfilment of all religious duties	78
	Testimony to the undoubted piety of Leo X.	79
	The spotlessness of his morals	80
	And great benevolence—scarcely a work of Christian charity he does not support	81
	His activity in redeeming Christian slaves	82
	His tact and amiability in intercourse with others	83
	Yet in political matters could be very severe	83
	His prudence in critical moments	84
	Double-dealing policy of the Pope	84
	Notably in his negotiations with Charles V. and Francis I.	85
	His delight in following political "crooked paths"	86
	And in keeping his plans secret	87
1513	At first Bibbiena is the Pope's confidant	87
1517	Then Giulio de' Medici	87
	Who in important affairs is the ruling spirit	88
	But has to take the Pope's opinion on all matters	89
	Important business with Ambassadors carried on by the Pope in person	89
	The Pope's pleasure in giving, leads him into wanton extravagance	90
	And to squander the savings of his predecessor	90
1513	Ponzetti becomes Papal Treasurer	91
	Methods tried to procure money	91
	Financial ruin, the result of the Urbino war	92
	The accounts books of Serapica	93
	Giorgi's estimate of the Papal revenue	95

A.D. PAGE
1513 Revenue from proceeds of saleable offices . . . 96
And other sources 97
Sums paid by Cibo and Armellini for the office of Camerlengo 98
Taxes in the States of the Church remain low . . 99
1521 Great difficulty in raising money for the war against France 100
Financial crisis brought about by the death of Leo, and many of his friends are ruined . . . 101
The Florentines largely responsible for the enormous Papal expenditure 102
They inundate Rome and their greediness is boundless 103
They obtain many lucrative financial posts . . 104
All the great families of Florence represented in the Papal "Famiglia" 105
Florentines in the service of the Pope as poets, artists, etc. 106
And many hold military and diplomatic appointments 107
And Nunciatures 108
The Pope's relatives 108
Card. Bibbiena—his friendship with Leo X. . . 110
1516 Sent as Legate to the Emperor, and later to Francis I. 111
His character and tastes 112
Friends of the Pope among the younger Cardinals . 113
Many prelates patronize art and literature . . . 115
The Roman nobles, with few exceptions, are not distinguished 116
The banker Agostino Chigi—his fabulous fortune . 117
And generous patronage of art 118
Raphael executes many works for him . . . 119
Other bankers in Rome 120
Bindo Altoviti—his portrait by Raphael . . . 121
1519 The banquet given by Lorenzo Strozzi . . . 122
Corruption of Roman society 123
Which is pre-eminently cosmopolitan . . . 124
Satire by Ariosto on the Curia 125

CHAPTER IV.

MEDICEAN ROME.

Extraordinary development of the city . . . 126
Important improvements promoted by the Pope . 127
Description by the Venetian Ambassador . . . 128
The Leonine city—Palaces of the Cardinals . . 129

A.D. PAGE

Many new buildings erected, remarkable for their beauty 131
The Trastevere retains its mediæval character . . 132
State of the Ruins of ancient Rome 133
The Forum, Capitol, and the Palatine . . . 134
Old St. Peter's 135
Beauty and splendour of the Vatican . . . 136
Sculpture in the Belvedere. The Pope's menagerie . 137
The pilgrimage to the Seven Churches . . . 137
Pesaro's report of the Roman Antiquities . . . 138
Alberto Pio di Carpi and Baldassare Castiglione . 139
Rome becomes the centre of European culture. Opinion of Erasmus 140
However great the evil in society, still there is not a little of what was good. Sadoleto . . . 141
The mode of life and occupations of Leo X. . . 142
His great temperance and fasts 143
His great love of music 144
Number of musicians at the Papal court . . . 145
Perfection of the Papal choir 147
Next to music, improvisation most appreciated . . 149
The improvisatori, Tebaldeo, Accolti, Strascino, etc. . 149
Professional jesters and buffoons 151
Fra Mariano 152
Camillo Querno—ridicule cast upon his vanity . . 153
Baraballo of Gaeta—cruel farce played on him . . 154
Harm caused by this love for buffoonery . . . 156
Fondness of the Pope for the pleasures of the chase . 157
Description of his hunting-ground 158
Scandal caused by this 160
Description of a hunt by Giovio 161
Postumo and Paris de Grassis, on the Pope's dress for a hunting expedition 162
Kindness and affability of the Pope to the poor on these occasions—they greet him with joy . . 163
Life of Leo X. when at Magliana 164
Description of the castle 165
And its neighbourhood 166
Magnificence of the pageants held in Rome . . 167
1513 The conferring of the Roman Patriciate on the Pope's nephews (September 13th and 14th) . 167
The ceremonial for this is repeated at the Vatican for the pleasure of the Pope (September 18th) . 169
1519 Leo watches the Carnival from the Loggia of St. Angelo 170
And is present at Ariosto's comedy "Suppositi" . 171

A.D. PAGE
1519 Description of this scene by Paolucci 172
Bull-fight in the Piazza of St. Peter's 173
Scandal given by the plays of Ariosto 173
1520 Notwithstanding the grave outlook, the Carnival takes place with its wonted brilliancy . . 174
The great triumphal procession through Rome . . 175
1521 The Pope again at St. Angelo for the Carnival—and witnesses the "Moresca" dance . . . 176
Description of this by Castiglione 176
Meanwhile opposition to the Papacy to the north of the Alps daily increases 177
Opinions of Machiavelli and Vettori 178
Violent accusations by Guicciardini 178
1520 The Dialogue of Bartolomeo Cerretani . . . 179
Complaints of Salomoni and Tizio, who, however, take up a sound Catholic position . . . 180
The Italians draw a clear line between persons and offices, and do not even contemplate a breach with the Papacy 181

CHAPTER V.

THE RENAISSANCE IN THE FIELD OF LITERATURE.—BEMBO AND SADOLETO.—VIDA AND SANNAZARO.

1513 The election of Leo hailed by the whole educated world 183
His first acts. Eminent Latinists summoned to Rome. Foundation of a College for the study of Greek 184
Generosity to poets and learned men . . . 185
Who flock to Rome as to their mother country . . 186
Events celebrated by the new Latin poetry . . 187
The poets pursue the Pope everywhere; he is unable to satisfy them all 188
Favourite meeting-places of the Roman poets . . 189
The collections of poems by Palladio and Arsilli . 190
Bembo and Sadoleto hold the first place as writers of both prose and poetry 191
An appreciation of Bembo 192
The Pope confides to him the composition of the Papal letters 193
Vast extent of Bembo's private correspondence . . 194
His Latin letters 195
His prominent position at the court of Leo X. . . 195

A.D.		PAGE
1520	He leaves Rome	196
	Position and tastes of Sadoleto	197
	His religious spirit and disinterestedness	198
	The Pope refuses to part with him	198
	Character of Sadoleto's writings. His friends	199
	Vida and his poem the "Christiade"	200
	An appreciation of this work	201
	Sannazaro and his epic on The Nativity of Christ	202
1521	Is requested by Leo to publish this	204
	After the Pope's death he attacks his memory	204
	The humanists Fracastoro and Spagnolo Mantovano	205
	The "Calendar of Feasts" of Mantovano	206
1519	Zaccaria Ferreri employed by the Pope	208
	His work in the reform of the Breviary	209
	Character of the changes made by Ferreri in the hymns	210
	The other poets at the Court of Leo X.	211
	Casanova and Muzzarelli	213
	Jano Vitale, Acciaiuoli, and Postumo	214
	Antonio Tebaldeo of Ferrara	215
	The German poets, friends of Goritz	216
	Rome inundated with good and bad poems, odes, etc.	216
	Writers of Italian poetry — Bembo, Molza, and Accolti	217
	Pietro Aretino and Agostino Beazzano	218
	The "Sofonisba" of Trissino. Giovanni Rucellai	219
	Ariosto disappointed at his reception by Leo X.	220
	Cultivation of rhetoric	221
	Qualities required in orations and sermons	222
	Discourses by the humanists Equicola and Valeriano	223
1521	The oration on the History of Rome (April 21st)	225
	The leading orators in Rome	227
1516	Arrival in Rome of Longueil. Two bitterly opposed parties spring up	228
	Celso Mellini and the attack on Longueil	229
1519	Who is cited before the Senate on the charge of high treason. His trial	230
1520	Receives the freedom of the city—Writes against Luther. Dies in September 1522	233
	"Pasquino": its festival on St. Mark's day	234
	The satires and pasquinades — many of them couched in bitter language	235
	Strong influence of classical antiquity	235
	The Historians—Guicciardini	236
	Machiavelli—his ideas	236

A.D. PAGE
1520 His relations with the Medici 237
Paolo Giovio and his friend Sanuto 238
The History of Giovio—judgments passed upon it . 239
Its value for this period of Papal history . . . 240

CHAPTER VI.

STUDY OF ANTIQUITY.—RAPHAEL AND THE PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME.—ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE STUDY OF GREEK.—THE VATICAN LIBRARY AND THE ROMAN UNIVERSITY.

Latino Giovenale Manetti and his collection of statues 242
The first collection of inscriptions published by Mazocchi 242
Albertini's work on the "Marvels of Rome" . . 243
The work of Valeriano on the Obelisks in Rome . 243
The works of Andrea Fulvio 244
Services he renders to Raphael 244
Who in his company visits the remains of ancient Rome 244
Letter by Raphael to the Pope on the antiquities of Rome 245
And appeal for their preservation 246
Raphael's intention to make a plan of ancient Rome 247
Great interest aroused by this 249
1520 He dies before its completion 249
Philosophical works of Nifo and Pico della Mirandola 250
The work of Egidio Canisio on the Philosophy of History 250
Leo Africanus, the geographer 251
Theological writers: Fiandino, Catarino, Cajetan, and others 252
Alberto Pio di Carpi and Erasmus 253
Abject servility of Erasmus 253
He dedicates to the Pope his St. Jerome and Greek New Testament. Dispensations granted to him 254
Assures Leo X. of his loyalty in the affair of Luther . 255
Aleander accuses him of encouraging errors . . 256
Erasmus writes again to the Pope to defend himself . 256
1521 Who urges him to use his talents in combating Lutheran doctrine 257
Was Erasmus treated with too much consideration? 257
Protection extended by the Pope to the press of Aldus Manutius 257
Greek books printed by Aldus 258

A.D. PAGE
1513 Revival of Greek Studies. Lascaris and Musurus called to Rome by Leo X. 259
1516 And teach Greek in the College founded by the Pope for that end 260
Causes of the failure of the Greek College . . 261
Some of the works that issued from its press . . 262
The Pope's support of the study of Oriental languages 262
The Library of Leo X.: its custodians . . . 263
Inghirami and Beroaldo 264
1519 Acciaiuoli and Aleander—satisfaction caused by the appointment of the latter as librarian . . 265
Efforts of the Pope to add to the Library . . . 266
The literary mission of Johann Heitmers . . . 267
His powers and instructions 268
Leo X. on the advancement of learning . . . 269
The large number of writings dedicated to him . . 270
Additions to the Vatican Library not so great as might have been expected: reason for this . 271
1513 The Papal Constitution of November 5th on reforms for the Roman University 272
Professorial chairs of the University 273
Some of the more celebrated professors—their salaries 274
Rivalry of the University of Pisa—to which some of the professors migrate 274
Cause of the downfall of the Roman University—partly financial 275
Direct results of the literary influence of Leo X. much over-estimated 277
Literary dilettantism its prevailing feature . . . 278
The intellectual atmosphere created in Rome by Leo X. 279

CHAPTER VII

LEO X. AS THE PATRON OF THE ARTS.—THE STANZE, TAPESTRIES AND LOGGIE OF RAPHAEL.

1513 The reign of Leo opens a new epoch in the career of Raphael 281
The pupils of Raphael, Giov. Franc. Penni and Giulio Romano 282
The decorations of the Stanze 283
The frescoes of the third Stanza, "del Incendio" . 284
Portion of this work executed by Penni and G. Romano 287

A.D. PAGE
1513 Subjects of these frescoes 288
The allusion in them to events of the time . . 288
The Cartoons for the tapestries 294
Price paid by the Pope for each cartoon . . . 294
1517 The tapestries executed in Brussels 295
Cost of the tapestries 295
1519 Three of the hangings arrive in Rome; they excite unmixed admiration 296
Vasari's opinion of them 297
Vicissitudes of the tapestries 298
The cartoons 300
The second series of tapestries 303
And the cartoons for them 306
In many respects they show Raphael at his best . 315
Influence of the tapestries on later art . . . 315
Raphael's third great work: the decoration of the Vatican Loggie (1513–1519) 317
Description of this by Marcantonio Michiel . . 319
Scheme of the decoration 320
Share of Raphael's pupils in the work . . . 322
Especially of Giovanni da Udine 323
Character of his work 326
Its clever combination of painting and stucco . . 327
And the way in which nature, as well as the antique, is drawn upon 328
Allusions in the decorations to the favourite pursuits of Leo X. 329
The alliance in them between Christian and pagan art 330
Work of Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine in the Borgia apartments 332
Concurrently with these tasks, Raphael executes a number of commissions for Bibbiena and Chigi . 332
The Sixtine Madonna 333
The Transfiguration 336
Part of which is the work of Giulio Romano . . 337
Connection of this picture with the efforts to promote a Crusade 338
1520 Raphael dies (April 6th) when he has only partly finished the picture 339
Grief felt at his death 340
His burial in S. Maria ad Martyres 341
1513 Leonardo da Vinci comes to Rome 341
But leaves there no trace of his art 342
1514 Fra Bartolommeo in Rome, but returns to Florence after a few months 342

A.D. PAGE
1514 Work executed in Rome by Soddoma and others . 343
Sebastiano del Piombo tries to belittle Raphael . . 343
To whom the Pope remains loyal 344
Paintings executed by del Piombo in Rome . . 344
His ambition at the death of Raphael . . . 345
At last he succeeds in gaining an audience of the Pope 345
1520 Account of this interview, in a letter to Michael Angelo (October 15th) 346
The Pope leaves the work at the Vatican in the hands of Raphael's pupils 347

CHAPTER VIII.

LEO X. AND MICHAEL ANGELO.—PROMOTION OF THE MINOR ARTS.—THE BUILDING OF NEW ST. PETER'S.—THE PRESERVATION OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

Misrepresentation of the relations of Michael Angelo with Leo X. 348
1516 He undertakes the work of the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence 349
In addition to the monument to Julius II. . . 349
1517 Visits Carrara to choose marbles. This prevents him fulfilling his contract 350
1520 Which is cancelled 350
Resentment of Michael Angelo removed by the Pope's proposal for work in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo . 351
Work of Sansovino at Loreto 351
Works of sculpture under Leo X. 352
Development of plastic decoration 353
Woodwork and intarsia 353
Manufactories of majolica ware. Number of goldsmiths employed by Leo X. 354
His wealth of precious stones 355
The art of cutting gems. Designers of medals . . 356
The architectural task bequeathed by Julius II. to his successor 356
The new buildings in the States of the Church . . 357
Rebuilding and restorations undertaken by Leo X. in Rome 358
The condition of St. Peter's 359
1513 Bramante, Fra Giocondo, and G. di Sangallo, architects for the building. Death of Bramante (January 14th, 1514) 360

A.D. PAGE
1514 He is succeeded by Raphael (April 1st) . . . 361
1515 Death of Fra Giocondo (July 1st). Raphael becomes sole architect-in-chief of St. Peter's . . . 364
The plans of Bramante and Raphael . . . 365
Inconsiderable results attained by Raphael . . 367
1520 He is succeeded by Antonio di Sangallo . . . 367
Difficulties in raising money for the work . . . 367
The financial disorder brings the work to a standstill . 369
Raphael employed on other architectural commissions 370
The Villa Madama for Cardinal Medici . . . 370
Increasing interest in Roman antiquities . . . 372
1515 Brief of Leo X. to Raphael on the subject . . 373
The Pope expressly commands the preservation of all inscriptions 373
Archæological discoveries during his pontificate . 374
The Papal collection of antiquities 375
Leo X. contrasted with Julius II. as a patron of art . 376
The preference of Leo X. for decorative art . . 379
Great service rendered to art by his employment of Raphael 381
Influence of Leo X. on culture 383

CHAPTER IX.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN.

The ecclesiastical government of Leo X. . . . 384
1513 He proclaims his intention of proceeding with the Lateran Council. The Sixth Session opens on April 27th 385
The Pope calls upon the members to fix their attention first on the good of Christendom . . 386
Formation of the Congregations 386
The Seventh Session (June 17th, 1513). The Pope proposes to send embassies of peace to the princes 387
Decree of September 20th relating to the Hussites . 388
The Eighth Session (December 19th, 1513) . . 388
The three condemned propositions 389
Directed against a paganized humanism . . . 390
Proposal for a reform of the Curia 391
1514 The Ninth Session (May 5th, 1514) 391
The stringent Bull on the reform of Church and Curia 392
Most of its prescriptions remain on paper . . . 393
The quarrel between Bishops and Regulars . . 393

A.D. PAGE
1514 Successful mediation of the Pope 394
Answer of the Regulars to the attack of the Bishops . 395
1515 The Tenth Session (May 4th, 1515). Still the cry for reform. Strengthening of the authority of Bishops 396
Sanction given to the Monti di Pietà . . . 397
Regulations for the printing of books . . . 398
The question of a reform of the Calendar . . . 398
But no decision reached on this matter . . . 399
Proposal of many of the Bishops to unite in a sodality. Their object in this proposal 400
Which is absolutely refused by the Pope . . . 401
1516 The Eleventh Session (December 19th, 1516). It witnesses the first appearance of an American Bishop 402
The Patriarch of the Maronites sends his homage . 402
Æthiopia and Russia 403
Concordat with France and repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction 403
The Constitution on preaching 404
1517 Discussion in Consistory (February 1st) on the closing of the Council 405
Remarkable speech on reform by Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola in the presence of the Council 406
The Twelfth and final Session closed on March 16th . 408
A short review of the history and purpose of the Council 408
Was the closing premature? 409
Nature of the decrees of the Lateran Council . . 410
Many of them remain practically a dead letter . . 410
Cardinal Medici holds a provincial council (1517–1518) for Florence 411
But in Rome little is done 412
1520 Letter of Aleander (December) 413

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH CONCORDAT.—ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY.—CHARACTER AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.

1515 Conference between the Pope and Francis I. at Bologna 414
Who come to terms on the main article of the Concordat 415

A.D. PAGE
1515 The negotiations proceed with difficulty . . . 415
1516 The plenipotentiaries leave Bologna (February) . . 415
Concessions by the Pope. Series of stipulations not in the Concordat 416
Heavy sacrifices made by Leo X. to preserve France in the unity of the Church 417
Opposition to the Concordat in France and Rome . 417
The Pope succeeds in securing the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction 418
Stipulations of the Concordat 419
And importance of its omissions 420
1516 Ratified by the Pope on August 18th . . . 421
The influence of the French king is now turned into a permanent system 421
The Concordat laid before the Lateran Council on December 19th 422
A few of the Bishops disapprove 423
Publication of the decree *Pastor Æternus* . . . 424
Triumph of the Pope over the schismatic tendencies . 425
1517 The Parliament and University of Paris oppose the Concordat 426
As do also the provincial Parliaments . . . 427
Remonstrance of the Paris Parliament . . . 427
1518 Francis I. remains firm, and Parliament registers the Concordat on March 22nd 428
The University appeals to a future Council. The King arrests some of the professors 428
Satisfaction in Rome at the firm attitude of Francis I. 429
Bull against the appeal of the University (June 18th) 429
Papal edict against the Rector and University (June 25th) 430
But the opposition in France survives . . . 431
Estimate of the loss and gain that accrue to the contracting parties of the Concordat . . . 431
Increase of power given by it to the French King . 432
Who distributes benefices without a thought as to merit 433
But the Concordat has its good side . . . 433
By it the Kings of France have powerful motives for remaining Catholic 434
Concessions to Spain and Portugal 435
1515 Dignities conferred on the boy Alfonso of Portugal, who is created Cardinal in 1517 . . . 436
Acts of aggression on the part of many Italian States . 437
Negotiations between Poland and Rome . . . 437
The Archbishop of Gnesen made *legatus natus* . . 438

A.D.		PAGE
1515	Relations of Leo X. with Henry VIII. Wolsey	439
	Is created Cardinal; his character and aims	440
1520	His legatine powers extended to two years	441
1521	Publication, in St. Paul's Churchyard, of the Brief against Luther	441
	Henry VIII. sends to the Pope his work against Luther	442
	And receives the title of "Defender of the Faith"	444
	Protection given by Leo X. to the Jews	445
	Canonization of Saints	445
	Churches and devotions enriched by Indulgences	446
	Protest of the Pope against slavery and injustice to the Indians	447
	His attention to the churches of the East	447
1514	Envoys sent to Russia	448
	Dealings of the Pope with the Uniat Greeks	448
	Steps taken against fanatical preachers	449
	Rome and the Church in Scandinavia	450
1516	The mission of Arcimboldi to Denmark	451
1520	King Christian invades Sweden—his cruelty	452
	Sends to Germany for Lutheran theologians	453
	Seeks to establish a State Church in Denmark	453
1521	Francesco de Potentia sent as Nuncio to Copenhagen	454
1522	He absolves Christian	454
	Efforts of the Pope for monastic reform	455
1517	His measures as regards the Franciscans	456
	The forty-two Cardinals created by Leo X.	457
	Motives that guided him in these creations	458
	Leo X. "a true child of the Renaissance"	459
	Judgment of his contemporaries	460
	The Leonine Era	461

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Leo X. to Cardinal Farnese	465
II.	„ to Bologna	466
III.	„ to the Duke Alfonso I. of Ferrara	466
IV.	„ to Pietro Bembo	467
V.	The "Oratory of Divine Love"	469
VI.	Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua	470
VII.	Leo X. to Francis I. of France	470
VIII.	Safe-conduct from Leo X. to Johann Heitmers	471
IX.	Antonio de Beatis to the Marchioness of Mantua	473
X.	Leo X. to Lorenzo de' Medici	473
XI.	„ to Francesco da Ferrara	475
XII.	Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua	475
XIII.	„ „ „	476
XIV.	„ „ „	476
XV.	Ang. Germanello to the Marchioness of Mantua	476
XVI.	„ to the Marquis of Mantua	478
XVII.	„ to the Marchioness of Mantua	478
XVIII.	Fabrizio Pellegrino to the Marquis of Mantua	479
XIX.	Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua	479
XX.	„ „ „	480
XXI.	Leo X. to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici	480
XXII.	The "Leonine Letters" of P. Bembo	482

CHAPTER I.

Alliance of the Pope with the Emperor Charles V.

While the Emperor was issuing his Edict against Luther, his political alliance with the Pope was concluded. But many changes had taken place before this was accomplished.

Leo X. had been driven by sheer necessity to his final consent to the election of Charles to the Imperial throne; though, after his consent, he feared the Emperor's ascendancy more than ever. Charles and Francis were eager competitors for the favour of the Pope,* whose partisanship was all-important to each in the approaching struggle, which was to be fought out principally in Italy. It seemed scarcely doubtful which side Leo X. would take; for, though originally his sympathies were with Spain, now the power of the Empire filled him with aversion and fear.†

To the Medici Pope, like so many of his predecessors, the idea of a supremacy, such as the Hohenstaufen had ere now striven for, was like a living nightmare. The necessity for the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, by which alone the independence of the Holy See and the "liberty

* Cf. the *Letters of B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, Aug. 12, 27, 31, and Sept. 17, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† "*Il papa di natura sua è piu inclinato a Spagnoli che a Francesi, ma aborrisce et ha in odio et teme questo nome de imperatore, massimamente in questo che è tanto potente." B. Castiglione in a *Letter dat. Rome, 1519, Sept. 10. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of Italy" could be secured, drove Leo at once into the ranks of the enemies of the Hapsburg. Hence the plan of forestalling the Emperor's journey to Rome by aggression; hence the idea of a great anti-Imperial league with France, Venice, England, and the Swiss.* England, however, showed no inclination to be drawn into any such alliance; consequently, a smaller league between the Pope, France, and Venice was contemplated. But as the two last-named powers cautiously held back, the Pope also withdrew, having no inclination to step alone into the breach.† He was, however, most eager to be on friendly terms with France, and in this wish there is no doubt that his designs on Ferrara played an obvious part. The suppression of the Duke, his insubordinate vassal, which had, ever since the time of Julius II., been an important item of the Papal policy, appeared to Leo to be more urgent than ever, because, not only at the time of the French invasion in 1515, but also during the war of Urbino, Duke Alfonso had made common cause with the enemies of the Holy See.‡ Moreover, the subjection of Ferrara appeared to be especially desirable at this juncture, for Leo X. was convinced that only by an increase of the States of the Church was an end to be put to the critical position they occupied between the two great powers of Europe. Conscious of his own weakness, no choice had been hitherto left to him except that of vacillating between these two powers, or of attaching himself to one of them, at the risk of being reduced to a state of servile dependence. After the possessions of the Church had been increased, on the

* NITTI, 228 *seq.*, 234 *seq.*, and Reichstagsakten, II., 42.

† BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 191.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 144, n., for the Risposta alla invectiva, B. 3 and 4.

death of Lorenzo, by the annexation of the Duchy of Urbino and Pesaro, the only thing wanting to enable the Holy See to defend itself from friend and foe alike was the acquisition of Ferrara.*

Venice and France were the natural enemies of such a predominance of the States of the Church in Central Italy, and Alfonso knew very well that he could count on the assistance of both these powers. Nevertheless it now seemed as if France were willing to abandon so faithful and warlike an ally as Duke Alfonso. In September, 1519, a treaty, which was to be kept absolutely secret, was made between Leo and the new French Ambassador, Saint-Marceau, by which the former pledged himself to defend the interests of France with his weapons, both temporal and spiritual, and to refuse to Charles the investiture with the crown of Naples in conjunction with that of the Empire. On his side Francis I. promised to defend the States of the Church with all his might against Charles, and all insubordinate vassals. This last clause obviously referred to Ferrara, and Francis hesitated for a long time before agreeing to it. However, he at last consented, and the treaty was signed on the 22nd of October.†

Charles V., who knew nothing about this secret treaty, was all the time eagerly carrying on negotiations with the Pope, who understood how to keep him in hand by holding out hopes of a favourable agreement. But as soon as the co-operation of Francis had been apparently won by the treaty of October, Leo X. wished to make use of the advantages offered by the situation. Nevertheless, chiefly on account of Venice, he did not dare to take open

* The above is from NITTI, 262 *seq.*

† NITTI, 254 *seq.*, 258 *seq.* This same investigator has published the text of the treaty of October in Arch. Rom., XVI., 229 *seqq.*

measures against Ferrara, and therefore had recourse to subterfuges. Without at first rousing any suspicion in Alfonso's mind,* the Pope instigated a sudden attack on the Duke's capital by those whom he had banished from Ferrara. However, the watchfulness of the Marquis of Mantua frustrated the attempt.†

Fortune was more propitious to the Pope in the measures taken by him against the petty tyrants of the Marches of Ancona and Umbria, who had unlawfully usurped a power exceeding that which had belonged to their predecessors. The constant complaints of the people who were oppressed by these unscrupulous and riotous despots had for some time been calling for repressive measures. In March, 1520, Leo considered that the right moment had come for these to be taken; and ere long the tyrants of the Marches trembled before the energy which he displayed against them.‡ Giovanni de' Medici was commissioned to combine with the Bishop of Chiusi, Niccolò Bonafede, the Governor of the Marches, to reduce to subjection the Lord of Fermo, Lodovico Uffreducci, son of the criminal Oliverotto, who had been treacherously put to death by Cesare Borgia. Lodovico defended himself like a valiant condottiere, but lost both lands and life in an engagement at Monte Giorgio. Fermo then returned to the immediate dominion of the Pope, and the surrounding

* This is related in a Despatch of Jan 14, 1520, from the Este Ambassador at Rome, in BALAN, VI., 25.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 5; PISTOFILO in Atti Mod., III., 516; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 197; NITTI, 270. BALAN'S attempt (VI., 25) to prove that Leo X. was innocent of the attempt against Ferrara, seems useless in the face of available sources of information. *Cf.* SEMPER, Carpi, 14, who maintains that such breaches of peace were allowed by the policy of the age. See also LUZIO'S Review of Pastor's "Leo X." in the Corriere della Sera, 1906, No. 282.

‡ SANUTO, XXIX., 395.

places banished Uffreducci's representatives.* Several of the petty tyrants of the Marches met with the same fate; two, the Lords of Recanati and Fabriano, were put to death; in Benevento the supremacy of Ettore Severiano was destroyed. The means used for ridding the Marches of these evil rulers must be condemned as equivocal and wholly unworthy of a Pope; nevertheless, "the country rejoiced at the result." Niccolò Bonafede did all he could to restore peace and order; and the government of the Papal officials proved to be "infinitely better than that of the lawless barons."†

It fared even worse with the despot of Perugia, Giampaolo Baglioni, than with Uffreducci. Leo X. had vainly tried to attach him to his person; ‡ but Giampaolo had met all his friendly advances with contempt. During the Urbino war his attitude was more than suspicious; and during the trial of Cardinal Petrucci a letter came to light which revealed his complicity in the conspiracy. The endless brawls in the house of Baglioni gave the Pope, in March, 1520, the desired opportunity of interfering, and destroying the power of this dangerous and disloyal vassal.§ Giampaolo was summoned to Rome to give an

* *Cf.* ALFANI, Mem. Perugine, in the Arch. Stor. Ital., XVI., 2, 286 *seq.*; JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4; AMIANI, Mem di Fano, II., 123; FRACASSETTI, Vita di N. Bonafede, Pesaro, 1832, 117–166; BALAN, VI., 26; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIII., 222. As to the measures taken against the leaders of the parties in Fabriano and Recanati, see the *Report of Ang. Germanello, dat. Rome, March 24, 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 109; FRACASSETTI, *op. cit.*, 162 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*

‡ VERMIGLIOLI, Vita di Malatesta IV. Baglioni, 27; SUGENHEIM, 421.

§ *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XIII., 5; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G. II., 38, f. 252 of the Chigi Library, Rome; FABRETTI, Capitani venturieri dell' Umbria, III., 221; BALAN, VI., 27, n. 1; CIPOLLA, 853 *seq.* *Cf*

account of the banishment from Perugia of his cousin Gentile and the execution of his followers. Giampaolo, who was aware of his guilt, would not obey the summons, but sent his son Malatesta to Rome instead. He charged him to find out whether any serious action were really to be feared on the part of the Pope. But so skilful was Leo in hiding his real intentions, that Giampaolo was persuaded by his friends, especially by Camillo Orsini, to go to Rome. He openly trusted to the protection of that powerful noble, who had just before married his daughter. There is no proof that the Pope gave him a safe-conduct.*

On the 16th of March Giampaolo entered Rome with a magnificent retinue, including several of the Orsini. Next day he waited on the Pope, who was in the Castle of St. Angelo; where, as soon as he entered the gate, the Castellan had him arrested. The Governor of Rome tried him, and both Cardinals Bibbiena and Armellini urged that he should suffer the extreme punishment of

FABRONIUS, 309; BONAZZI, II., 74. As to the extraordinary Congregation held on March 9, 1520, on account of Giampaolo Baglioni, see Ang. Germanello's reports in a *Letter dat. from Rome, March 10, 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* The assertion that a "safe-conduct, written by Leo X. himself," was given, made by SISMONDI (XIV., 503), SUGENHEIM (422), DE LEVA (I. 92), GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 247), and BONAZZI (II., 78), is pronounced of doubtful worth by REUMONT (III., 2, 108). BALAN (VI., 27, n. 5) brings forward against it a number of valid reasons, the most important of which is that ALFANI directly implies that it was not given by his remark (288): "Si dice N. S. aver detto che Giovan Paolo andasse non avendo errato." The Ferrara Ambassador merely says: "Baglione ed altri furono conducti dove sono da bone parole." This witness especially would have been sure to have mentioned a safe-conduct, had such existed. Ang. Germanello, in his *Report of March 17 (Appendix, No. 16), says nothing about a letter of safe-conduct. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the law.* When the news of what had occurred reached Perugia, his friends there considered him as already "more dead than alive." In Rome his execution was generally expected; though there were some who thought that if he renounced all claim to the government of Perugia, he might be set at liberty.† However, the position of the prisoner was aggravated, and the conditions of his captivity made more severe, on account of the discovery of a plot of his to stir up a revolution in the Marches of Ancona. Thereupon his sons fled to the Abruzzi and thence to Venice.‡ Horrible revelations came to light in the course of the trial, in addition to the offences already brought against him. Sources above suspicion § relate that Giampaolo was found guilty of coining, murder, and bloodshed. In any case the accused deserved the punishment of death, which was carried out in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of June.|| Giampaolo, who consoled himself in prison

* *Cf.* the *Report of Ang. Germanello, April 3, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† See Letter of Paolucci of March 17, 1520, in BALAN, VI., 28, n. 1. *Cf.* the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library), and the letter quoted (note *supra*) of Ang. Germanello of April 3, 1521.

‡ Letter of Paolucci, of March 20, in BALAN, VI., 28, n. 3. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIX., 403. In Venice Giampaolo's sons at once allied themselves to Francesco Maria della Rovere, the consequences of which were seen immediately after the death of Leo X. (see ALFANI, 290, 292–293); this also proves that the accusation against their father of an earlier understanding with Francesco Maria was only too well founded.

§ See especially the Letter of Paolucci of April 3, 1520, who was certainly not biassed in favour of Leo X., BALAN, VI., 28, n. 4, and the Venetian report in SANUTO, XXIX., 406.

|| Jo. Paulo Baglione in questa notte a sette hore circa li fù tagliata la testa (Paolucci, June 3, 1520, in BALAN, VI., 29, n. 1). So also Tizio in FABRONIUS, 309, and Ang. Germanello in his *Reports of June 2 and 4, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to him Baglioni

by reading Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso,"* died a penitent sinner. Gentile Baglioni, who had been banished by him, received his possessions. Perugia retained only a nominal liberty, the Legate, Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona, being the actual governor.†

During these events, negotiations for the forming o a triple alliance between the Pope, France, and Venice fell through because of the refusal of the Signoria to accept the clause agreed to by Francis I. in October, relating to the co-operation against the Pope's insubordinate vassals, or, in other words, against Ferrara.‡

It was most important that just at this crisis Charles V. should have sent a new Ambassador to Rome in the person of the Castilian, Juan Manuel, who had "grown

was "al primo revellino," beheaded in the Castle ; *el corpo fo portato a S. Maria Traspontina, benchè prima fosse deliberato ponerlo in publico, ma el papa ad le preci del S. Renzo da Ceri revocò dicta deliberatione (*cf.* SANUTO, XXIX., 603). In a second *Report of June 4, 1521, Germanello specifies the hour of execution: Allidoi del presente ad hore doi e meza de nocte. *Cf.* the *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 3552 (beheading of Baglioni on June 2), Vatican Library, and the *Letter of Stefano Saffa (detto l'Eremita), dated from Rome, June 6, 1520, who states explicitly that Baglioni went to confession before he was put to death (State Archives, Modena). ALFANI (*loc. cit.*), following FABRETTI and GREGOROVIUS (VII., 247), erroneously places the execution on June 11. A *Letter of Fabrizio Pellegrino, dated from Rome, June 7, 1520, speaks as follows about this thrilling event: Da molti è judicato chel papa non habia voluto andar in processione per paura de non esser morto ; el se vede per le guardie grande. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Even in October and December the Pope feared traps on the part of the Baglioni's relative, Camillo Orsini (SANUTO, XXIX., 342, 423).

* Paolucci, in a *letter of May 26, 1520, quoted Vol. VII. of this work, 398 *seq.*, reports thus: Joan Paulo Baione vive si come intendo et si fa legiere Orlando furioso. State Archives, Modena.

† VERMIGLIOLI, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.* ; BONAZZI, II., 81 *seqq.*

‡ NITTI, 266 *seqq.*

grey in diplomacy," and proved to be as astute as he was energetic.* Being provided with full instructions, far-reaching powers, and plenty of money, Juan Manuel entered Rome with great pomp on the 11th of April, 1520.† The Pope received him very amicably, and Cardinal Medici invited him to dwell in his palace at the Cancelleria. Manuel presented the draft of a treaty, with the proviso that not one word of it was to be altered.‡ But more than a year went by before any agreement was effected. In the general obscurity of the situation it cannot cause surprise that the Pope should for some time have vacillated between Charles and Francis.§ If at last he decided in favour of the Emperor, and against Francis, it was less on account of the prospect held out by an alliance with the former of an increase of the States of the Church, than because of two other momentous reasons, namely, the extreme imprudence of the French King, and the consideration of the blow given to the authority of the Pope by the Lutheran movement in Germany.

The first disturbance in the relations between Rome and France came at the beginning of 1520, in consequence of the illegal pretensions of Francis I. to the guardianship of

* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 197. *Cf.* 281 *seq.*, and HÖFLER, in the Histor. Jahrb., VI., 551 *seq.* The former Spanish Ambassador, Pedro Urrea, had died in 1518; as to his haughty bearing, *cf.* Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 401 *seq.*

† SANUTO, XXVIII., 423. *Cf.*, together with the witnesses quoted by GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 250) and BAUMGARTEN (I, 282), the *Report of Ang. Germanello of April 11, 1520 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in Appendix, No. 17, and the *Letter of the Este Ambassador, Paolucci, Rome, 1520, April 11. State Archives, Modena.

‡ "Sin mudar palabra." Manuel to Charles V., dated Rome, 1520 May 12. NITTI, 303, n 1.

§ Reichstagsakten, II., 60.

Catherine de' Medici.* Cardinal Bibbiena, who had just returned from France,† seems to have smoothed over this misunderstanding; but Leo X. soon had fresh reasons for complaint against his confederate. While carrying on his negotiations for forming a league between Rome, France, and Venice, he learned to his bitter experience that Francis had no intention of keeping his word and renouncing his patronage of the Duke of Ferrara.‡ Moreover, the spirit in which the French King meant to keep his solemn pledges in regard to the Turkish war, was revealed when the Pope asked his help on behalf of Rhodes, upon which the Sultan Selim was meditating an attack. Francis flatly refused all assistance.§

Moreover, constant complaints came from Milan of the French encroachments on the rights of the Church.‖ Almost as if these offences gave him the right to ask for more favours, Francis I. was for ever seeking for fresh concessions; and if these were not at once granted, he used the most violent threats. In the autumn of 1520 he showed so little consideration towards the Pope that his imprudence can cause nothing but surprise. First, he demanded the prolongation by five years of the office of Legate in France for Cardinal Gouffier de Boissy. Not content with obtaining this extraordinary concession, he took the opportunity of trying to enforce the discontinuance of his protection of the rights of the Legate of Avignon. In

* See the Letter of Giulio de' Medici to the French Nuncio G. Staffileo, Jan. 7, 1520, in NITTI, 326, n. 1.

† *Cf.* BANDINI, Bibbiena, 37 *seqq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 241. About his reception in Consistory, Jan. 9, 1520, see Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 441; Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 71 *seq* *Cf.* *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

‡ NITTI, 272.

§ See Despatch of Paolucci, June 3, 1520, in BALAN, VI., 30.

‖ GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 1. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 78.

vain did the Pope make friendly remonstrances through his Nuncios, Staffileo and Rucellai.* In vain did he comply with the King's demands so far as to remove the written clause in the stipulation, and allow the word of Francis to suffice. Suggestions were bandied about on both sides from September to December without any agreement being arrived at.† But even while this dispute was going on, Francis I. picked another quarrel with the Holy See. He suddenly forbade the proclamation in France of the Bull of Maundy Thursday, with the command that whoever attempted to carry it out "should be drowned." "The Pope," wrote Cardinal Medici to the French Nuncio, "thinks it better to make no reply to this threat, lest he be carried away by anger. Therefore, should the King repeat the intimation in your presence, you must reply pleasantly that such a threat is not likely to make the Sacred College anxious to comply with other requests of his, whether it be about a Cardinal's hat or anything else."‡ This last remark led to another quarrel, which burst out at the beginning of the year.

At this time Charles V. asked for the red hat for the Bishop of Liège, Eberhard de la Mark; while almost simultaneously Francis requested the same for his relative, Jean d'Orléans, Archbishop of Toulouse. Hearing of the petition of the Emperor, the French King declared that on no account would he consent to the elevation to the purple of the Bishop of Liège, who was his mortal enemy. Con-

* *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 58 *seq.*

† Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 387 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXIX., 288, 447–448. On July 22, 1519, the dignity of Papal Legate in France was prolonged for one year. See *Brief of Leo X. to Francis I., dated July 22, 1519. Archives of St. Angelo, Arm. IV., caps. I., n. 16, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 390.

sequently, Leo X. tried to persuade Charles to renounce the candidature which was so hateful to France, and accept instead the nomination of Eberhard to the Archbishopric of Valencia. As this compromise was not accepted, the Pope offered two other cardinals' hats, but neither to this alternative would the Emperor consent. Thereupon the Pope tried to conciliate Francis by the promise of the appointment of two French Cardinals if he would give up his opposition to the elevation of Eberhard de la Mark. But this proposal was declined. Francis maintained his pretensions that the Pope must make no appointment against his wishes, even at the risk of a quarrel being caused between Charles and the Holy See. The French King carried his arrogance still further by requiring of the Pope a declaration of his intentions toward the Duke of Ferrara, and demanding the restoration of Modena and Reggio to that prince. In vain did the King's best friend, the prudent Cardinal Bibbiena, warn him against going too far; Francis remained firm in his contention that on no account should Eberhard be made a Cardinal.*

In the autumn, Leo X. believed that he had at last found a way of pacifying the exacting French King.† A Consistory was held on the 17th of September, at which the requests for Cardinals' hats made by the Emperor, France, and England were considered. The Pope proposed that Jean d'Orléans, Archbishop of Toulouse, should be raised to the purple; and this was the only elevation decided on. The publication of this decision was left in the

* *Cf.* Letter of Bibbiena, May 19, 1520, in MOLINI, I., 84–85; SANUTO, XXVIII., 137, 395, 435; XXIX., 123, 144, 164; BERGENROTH, II., n. 282, 283, 284; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 289–290. About Eberhard de la Mark, *cf.* DEMARTEAU in the Confer. de la Soc. de Liège, III., 75 *seq.*

† About the threats of the French, see NITTI, 324.

hands of His Holiness. As regarded the promotion of the Bishop of Liège, Leo X. declared emphatically that he would grant it only subject to the consent of Francis I.*

Charles V. alone could have found cause for complaint in this last concession to France. Judge then the astonishment of the Pope when, not Charles, but Francis, made a grievance of it! The French King and his adherents in Rome believed that, owing to the revolt of the towns in Spain, the whole of the world, including the Pope, was in their hands.† Acting in this spirit, Francis I. declared that the fact of the Pope having spoken at all—especially in Consistory—about the elevation of the Bishop of Liège, was an attack on his own person. Leo X. had remained unmoved in the face of the continuous and complete want of consideration on the part of France; but his anger was all the more violent now. Instead of gratitude for his

* As to the Consistory of September 17, see Letters of the French Nuncio of Sept. 26 and Oct. 10, 1520, in Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 393, 396 *seq.*; *cf.* 394–395. BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I. 291, has overlooked this; hence his mistaken statement as to the day and resolution of the Consistory. The inexplicable statement in Baumgarten that Manuel reported, as early as the 12th of September, concerning a Consistory held about the promotions of Cardinals, is explained by the fact that the Consistory of the 17th was preceded by one which discussed the same subject, see Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 394. That a Consistory was held on the 17th of Sept. is confirmed by the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), which unfortunately, for the sake of brevity, does not report on this matter. There must be a mistake in the translation of the letter of Campeggio in BREWER, III., 1, n. 993. See also the unsatisfactory statement in SANUTO, XXIX., 195.

† "Galli miro gaudio exultant atque iubilant et adeo insolenter ut sibi totius terrarum orbis imperium in manibus habere videantur." Report of Gigli to Wolsey from Rome, Sept. 26, 1520; BREWER, III., 1, n. 994. *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 293.

concessions, he received nothing but the most outrageous complaints and injurious threats. Never, during his whole Pontificate, had His Holiness been so incensed, wrote Cardinal Medici to the French Nuncio, Rucellai. The Pope repudiated the idea of such servitude as forbade to him freedom of speech even with the College of Cardinals.* Obviously the elevation to the purple of the Archbishop of Toulouse was now postponed.† Nevertheless no formal breach with France ensued ; on the contrary, it seemed to the uninitiated that, in spite of all differences, the relations between France and Leo X. were closer than ever. But in his inmost heart the Pope had turned his back for good and all on Francis I.

Unmistakable facts had convinced Leo X. that the French "were as unbearable as allies as they were formidable as enemies." This bitter though dearly-bought experience ripened in the Pope's mind the resolution he had formed to regain the temporal and spiritual independence of the Holy See by driving the French out of Italy. There were many other reasons in favour of an alliance with the Emperor, the chief of which was that his help was indispensable against the anti-Papal Lutheran revolt in Germany.‡ Probably the skilful and prudent Cardinal Bibbiena might have still found means to reconcile the Pope to Francis I., but at this crucial moment that most zealous champion of French interests at the Roman Court was laid low by an illness which was ere long to carry him to his grave. He died on the 9th of November, 1520.

So as to be ready for any event, the Pope decided, in

* Medici to Rucellai, Oct. 1, 1520. Manoscr. Torrig., XXV., 396–397.

† SANUTO, XXIX., 307, 514 ; NITTI, 325, n. 3.

‡ NITTI, 326, 330 *seq.* ; ULMANN, Studien, II., 111–112. *Cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 242, 252.

October, to take into his service six thousand Swiss mercenaries.* On the 2nd of that month he told the Imperial Ambassador Manuel that he had sent to his Nuncio and Raffaello de' Medici the draft of a new alliance with the Emperor. The scheme was that of an offensive alliance against France, such, indeed, as was with few alterations carried out eight months later. As a proof of his sincerity, Leo X. offered that a man trusted by the German Ambassador should be hidden under a bed during the negotiations which Saint-Marceau, the new Envoy of Francis I., was to carry on with the Pope.†

Saint-Marceau, who relieved the less capable Morette, arrived in Rome on the 17th of October, 1520. His proposals were startling. Francis I., they ran, wished to conquer Naples, not for himself, but for a third party. As a bait to the Pope he offered to him a portion of the kingdom of Naples and Ferrara.‡ The negotiations, based on this, dragged on till the end of January, 1521. At last a secret agreement was made that the Pope should accept Ferrara and a strip of the Neapolitan coast extending as far as the Garigliano, while the kingdom of Naples proper should go to the second son of Francis I.§ In return Francis was given facilities for passing through the lines

* Eidgenöss. Abschiede, III., 2, 1264; Reichstagsakten, II., 61.

† Report of Manuel, Oct. 2; see BERGENROTH, II., n. 299, and NITTI, 335 *seq.*

‡ See BERNAYS in the Reichstagsakten, II., 60, n. 1, containing the authentic proof.

§ BERGENROTH (II., n. 267) gives an epitome of this compact from a copy in Rome made by order of Philip II., but places it in the year 1519. That the compact belongs to 1521, and was really concluded then, has been fully proved by BERNAYS in the Reichstagsakten, II., 61, n. 5. Thus the opinion of BAUMGARTEN (Karl V., I., 367) and NITTI (361–362), that Saint-Marceau's mission was without any results, falls to the ground.

of the six thousand Swiss mercenaries, the half of whose pay he undertook to provide.*

Francis I. had no idea of carrying out what he thus pledged himself to do. For a long time he had been lending a willing ear to those who advised him to weaken, as far as possible, the Papal power in Italy. He did not intend that either the portion of the Neapolitan coast or the Duchy of Ferrara should fall to the Pope's share; on the contrary, the French Court planned the complete dismemberment of the States of the Church. After Leo X. had helped with the conquest of Naples, the strip of sea-coast mentioned in the agreement was to be given to Venice. At the same time the Medici ascendancy in Florence was to be overthrown, and the separation of Bologna, Perugia, and the Romagna from the States of the Church effected by placing them under the rule of different small dynasties.† The details of these projects were only very partially known to Leo X., but he suspected double-dealing on the part of the French King, and fought him with his own weapons.

Nearly at the same time as the Pope was carrying on these secret transactions with Saint-Marceau, he was negotiating with the Emperor's representative; in fact a repetition was going on of the double-dealing policy of January, 1519.‡ On the 11th of December, 1520, Leo X. exchanged with Manuel a written assurance that for three months neither party had concluded any agreement contrary to the interests of the other, and that he would not do so during the next three months. This pledge

* Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 10 *seq.*, 14; SANUTO, XXX., 26; Reichstagsakten, II., 62–63, n. 1.

† *Cf.* the interesting treatise of G. SALLES, Un trâitre au XVIme siècle, Clément Champion, valet de chambre de Francois Ier, in the Revue d. quest. hist., 1900, II., 56 *seq.*

‡ See Vol. VII. of this work, p. 271.

was renewed some time between the middle of March, 1521, and the end of April, notwithstanding the secret treaty between the Pope and France made in January.* With the utmost skill the diplomatic Medici had once more succeeded in coming to an agreement with both rivals at once. As soon as the six thousand Swiss had arrived in the Papal States, which should be at the beginning of April, the Pope could make his irrevocable decision with more security.† That this final decision was adverse to France was mostly the French King's own fault, for instead of binding the Pope to him territorially, he had in his blindness driven him into the arms of his antagonist.‡

The agreement with France was to be carried out only after the adhesion to it of Venice; and while this was being negotiated, the Pope became more and more doubtful whether the promise of the French King to help him to conquer Ferrara had any sincerity in it.§ This state of uncertainty estranged him from Francis, and drove him further towards the Emperor. Each day the necessity of the help of the latter for the suppression of the Lutheran revolt became more apparent to him.||

As soon as he arrived in Rome, Manuel recognized the importance of the anti-Papal movement in Germany as a factor in the Pope's attitude towards Charles. As early as the 12th of May, 1520, he gave his Imperial master the advice to refrain, during his visit to Germany, from any

* BERGENROTH, II., n. 312; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 420, 431.

† Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 31; Reichstagsakten, II., 63.

‡ REUMONT, III., 2, 118.

§ See BERNAYS in Reichstagsakten, II., 62, n.

|| JOVIUS (Vita, lib. 4) has already pointed this out. ULMANN (Studien, II., 112) is also of opinion that "for the present, however little may be known, we must hold that the consideration of the interests of the faith of the Church conduced not a little to make common cause between the Pope and the Emperor."

marks of favour towards a certain monk known as Brother Martin, or the Elector Frederick of Saxony. Leo had, he said, quite an extraordinary fear of Brother Martin, for he preached against the Pope, and was considered to be very learned. Manuel thought that this might be turned to account in compelling Leo to conclude a treaty; though he was of opinion that such pressure should be applied only in the event of the Pope's hesitating to sign or else breaking the treaty.*

It is not known what Charles replied to this piece of advice. In Manuel's reports up to the end of December there is a great deal said about a political alliance between Pope and Emperor, but no mention of the Lutheran affair; though it is fair to say that we do not possess all the reports. It cannot therefore be said with certainty whether Manuel did use the weapon which this religious revolt afforded against the Pope. It is not at all improbable that an unprincipled politician like the German representative should, even without the explicit consent of his master, utilize, in the course of the protracted negotiations, a circumstance which proved the Pope's absolute dependence on the assistance of the Emperor in this important matter. He would, however, have been certain to use the weapon with diplomatic prudence, employing hints, covert, though not difficult to interpret.

After the adverse judgment had fallen on Luther in June, the Pope himself could not fail to see how much depended in this affair on the attitude of the Emperor. However, although the news from Germany became more and more alarming, Leo X. was such an experienced diplomatist that he carefully avoided anything which could betray his great need of help.†

* BERGENROTH, II., n. 279.

† Even PALLAVICINO (I., c. 25) expresses the opinion that the Pope

That at that time he desired the favour of the Emperor, is shown by his tenacity about the idea of raising the Bishop of Liège to the purple, in spite of the obstinate resistance and threats of Francis.* The same spirit was shown by the granting of certain concessions demanded by Charles about Briefs which hampered the action of the Inquisition in Aragon. That Leo complied unwillingly is shown by the gradual manner of his consent. On the 12th of December, 1520, he declared his willingness to partially withdraw the Briefs in question; but only on the 16th of January, 1521, did he consent to do so entirely.† On the 13th of December, 1520, Manuel was nevertheless able to send the Emperor the much-desired Brief against Antonio de Acuña, Bishop of Zamora, who was implicated in the Spanish revolt.‡

Meanwhile the Emperor had loyally carried out the anti-Lutheran Bull in the Netherlands.§ At his coronation at

showed great reserve in appealing for secular assistance against Luther, lest he should betray his helplessness and individual weakness, thereby letting it be seen how much he depended on the Emperor for assistance, and thus give him the opportunity of reaping some advantage for himself in Italian affairs. This opinion is manifest in Aleander's report of Feb. 8, 1521, in which he says: "I know that in Rome they are most anxious to conceal the importance of the affair, lest occasion be given to the Imperialists to set their foot on our neck." BALAN, n. 36; BRIEGER, n. 6; KALKOFF, Aleander, 73. BALAN (VI., 38) believes that Leo's utterance—"Non sono a resolvermi a chosa alcuna finche non veda che esito haverà questa dieta imperiale"—refers to the Lutheran affair. Only the words given before (31, n. 1)—"et quando se resolvesse il cattolico Re volere venire a prehender la corona, etc."—show that he had in his mind the Emperor's journey to Rome.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 11 *seq.*

† LLORENTE, I., 481. *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 317.

‡ BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 462. *Cf.* HÖFLER, Antonio de Acuña, Vienna, 1882.

§ See Vol. VII. of this work, p. 420.

Aix on the 23rd of October, he swore to hold fast by the Holy Catholic Faith as delivered to the Apostles, and to show due submission and fidelity to the Pope and Holy Roman See. A few days later the Archbishop of Mayence read aloud a Papal Brief to the effect that the Pope had given to the King, as formerly to Maximilian I., the title of "Emperor-elect of the Romans."*

On the 14th of November Leo X. answered the letter of Charles, written on the day of his coronation, by which he notified that event: "As there are two planets in heaven." the Pope said, "the sun and the moon, which surpass in brilliancy all the stars, so are there two great dignitaries on earth, the Pope and the Emperor, to whom all other princes are subject and owe obedience." The letter ended by an exhortation to Charles to remain a loyal son of the Church.† There seemed no doubt that Charles would fulfil his whole duty as protector of the Church, as far as the Lutheran movement was concerned. "The Emperor," Aleander reports from Cologne at the beginning of November, "does not let himself be led away by Hutten's anti-Roman agitation; he stands firm on our side." Aleander had nothing but good to report about the Catholic zeal of the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. With his usual optimism, he believed that he would even be able to come round the Elector of Saxony.‡

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, II.[18], 148, 150.

† BERGENROTH, II., n. 380. The Papal Brief paraphrases the thoughts concerning the co-operation of the two supreme powers of Christendom which are expressed in the credentials of Manuel (LANZ, Mon. Habsburg, II., 177 *seq.*). The original letter of Charles V. to Leo X. about his coronation is in the Vatican Archives, Arm., II., caps. 1, n. 59 (quoted in Reichstagsakten, II., 102).

‡ See the Letter of Aleander, Nov. 6, 1520, in Reichstagsakten. II., 461; see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 421.

This and the other news from Germany* had such a soothing effect in Rome that a deceptive security prevailed. On the 3rd of December, 1520, Cardinal Medici wrote to Aleander a letter full of joyful praise, congratulating him on the activity he had shown, and thanking him, in the name of the Pope, for the welcome news he sent of the good dispositions of the Germans, and their devotion to the Holy See, as shown by their attitude towards the new Arius or Mahomet, "whom might God bring to a right mind."†

But to these glowing reports of Aleander's there succeeded others which caused much anxiety. It was with amazement that Rome learned the proportions which the anti-Roman movement had assumed in Germany. Very great alarm was caused by the intelligence that the good intentions of the young Emperor were hampered by political considerations, and the temporizing spirit of his immediate surroundings. Consternation was caused by Aleander's news that his efforts to obtain an imperial mandate against Lutheran books had been met by a decided refusal from the imperialists, who maintained that Luther must be heard and must be allowed to appeal to the Diet.‡ The Pope ignored this, and at the end of December proposed to Manuel that Luther should receive a safe-conduct to Rome, where a body

* On Nov. 24, 1520, Achille Borromeo sent to the Marquis of Mantua a report from Cologne, dated Nov. 10, 1520, in which it was said: *Martin Luter è stato danato per ereticho de qui et questo perche la M^ta^ Ces. insieme con li electori li a posto le mane salvo che Sassonia, el quale credo che anchora lui se aria remesso, se non fusse stato tre o quatro de quelli soi favoriti di quali spero chel ducha col tempo li dara la punitione che merita per esser nemichi de la fede cristiana. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 5.

‡ Letter of Aleander, Dec. 14, 1520; BALAN, n. 11; BRIEGER, n. 1.

of men should be selected to speak and dispute with him.*

Meanwhile the term set for Luther's recantation had expired, and the Pope issued a new Bull against him on the 3rd of January, 1521. By it the excommunication threatened in June was now pronounced, because of the obstinate persistence in error of himself and his followers; and the places in which he resided were placed under an interdict.† In the middle of January there arrived news of the successful results which Aleander had obtained from the Emperor on the 29th of December.‡ The news also came that, by burning the Bull *Exsurge* and the books of canon law, Luther had given the signal of war to the death.§ On the 18th of January, 1521, the Pope sent to the Emperor a formal and urgent request to have the Bull of excommunication against Luther published, and a general edict issued for its execution throughout Germany. Let the Emperor, so ran this Brief, the work of Sadoleto, remember the example of earlier Emperors, who always fought against heresy. Let him also remember how God had blessed him, young as he was, and had confided to him the sword of the greatest power in the world. He wore it in vain if he did not employ it against infidels and heretics.‖ Similar letters were sent to Charles's confessor, Glapion, and several princes of the Empire. In sending these letters on the 28th of January, Cardinal Medici declared that the Pope and the Sacred College were full of praise of the holy

* Letter of Manuel, Dec. 31, 1520, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 314.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 415.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 426.

§ *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 18, the *Report of F. Pellegrino, dated from Rome, Jan. 15, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ SADOLETI Epist., 95 *seqq.*; FÖRSTEMANN, Neues Urkundenbuch, 27–29; BALAN, n. 13; Reichstagsakten, II., 495, n. 1.

zeal shown by the Emperor in this affair, which was so near to all their hearts alike. On the same occasion Aleander was sent a bill of exchange which was nearly as welcome to him as were the letters sent by the same messenger.* In special letters to Aleander of the 1st and 6th of February, 1521, Aleander was instructed by Cardinal Medici to forcibly point out to the Emperor that the Lutheran movement was as much his affair as that of the Pope and Holy See, because the religious innovators were as much set on the overthrow of the authority of the Empire as on that of the Church. Therefore, the dearest personal interests of Charles and the princes of the Empire demanded the suppression of the new doctrines.†

On the 6th of February a Consistory was held at St. Angelo, at which the Pope gave directions for dealing with two conflagrations which had broken out. The first he described as the menace to the States of the Church from plundering bands of soldiers, against whom he would, in case of necessity, employ the six thousand Swiss whose services he had hired.‡ The other conflagration was the movement to which Luther and his followers had given rise. The Pope told the Cardinals that they would do well to draw up a memorial to send to the Emperor about this. Some of the Cardinals were of opinion that Schönberg had better deliver this document, and that when this had been

* BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 16. At the same time the Pope granted the Emperor's request relating to the Inquisition in Aragon; see *supra*, p. 19; *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 317, 318. On Jan. 30, 1521, the Venetian Ambassador reported that the Pope had on that day received, at Magliana, a letter from Germany by courier, "e lecte il Papa stè sopra di se, le qual letere erano di Alemagna," SANUTO, XXIX., 615. Unfortunately it cannot be established which letter it was which is here alluded to, for Aleander's despatches of January, 1521, are lost.

† BALAN, n. 17, 18.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 16.

done, two or three Cardinal-Legates might be sent to Germany.*

On the 13th of February Leo X. pointed out most forcibly to Manuel the evil consequences, not only to the Papacy, but also to the power of the Empire, if Luther's errors were not uprooted. Afterwards the Pope proposed in Consistory the mission of several Cardinal-Legates to the Diet, though the plan was abandoned in consequence of Aleander's representations to the contrary.†

At that time the Lutheran affair occupied the mind of the Pope almost to the exclusion of anything else. The Venetian Ambassador‡ testifies that Leo spent many hours in reading a work against Luther, probably that written by the Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino.§ The question of an alliance with the Emperor, which had hitherto turned chiefly on politics, now received a new importance from the point of view of what the Emperor could do against Luther and his followers.|| On the 25th of February Manuel wrote to tell his master how very much Leo had the Lutheran affair at heart, so that his chief object in desiring an interview with the Emperor was to concert with him as to what measures could be taken to protect the Church against the attacks of Luther.¶ On the same day that Manuel made this report, the Pope sent to the Emperor an adulatory letter. From what he could learn from the Nuncios, he said, he could see with joy that His Majesty

* Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 81.

† BERGENROTH, II., n. 320; BALAN, n. 41; BRIEGER, n. 13.

‡ SANUTO, XXIX., 650 *seq.*

§ Apologia pro veritate cath. et apost. fidei, appeared in December, 1520; see ENDERS, III., 105, 119; KALKOFF, Aleander, 87, n. 1, About A. Catarino, see *infra*, p. 252.

|| NITTI, 368–369.

¶ BERGENROTH, II., n. 322.

was rivalling Constantine, Charlemagne, and Otto in his zeal for the honour of the Church, and he praised God for thus inspiring him. In an autograph postscript, Leo X. reminded the Emperor that, if necessary, he could take up sword and buckler in defence of the Church.* Laudatory letters in the same strain were sent to various spiritual and secular princes of Germany;† and at the same time the two Nuncios were formally re-accredited to the German Court.‡ When he sent these documents on the 3rd of March, Cardinal Medici repeated his injunction to Aleander to do everything to convince the Emperor that the innovators did not aim only at overthrowing the Church, but that, after the manner of the Hussites, they wished to destroy the imperial power as well. He praised Aleander's discourse before the Diet as a brilliant and most useful performance.§

The news that, in spite of all the Nuncios' remonstrances, Luther was to be called before the Diet, caused great excitement in Rome. The Pope laid down his exact position in the matter of the sequestration of Lutheran books, in a special instruction which he sent to the Nuncios in the second half of March. In this he took his stand on the fact that Luther, having been lawfully sentenced, could not be admitted to a public examination. Nevertheless the Emperor might lawfully grant him a private interview

* BALAN, n. 26. Manuel forwarded the Brief on the 1st of March; see BERGENROTH, II., n. 324.

† BALAN, n. 27, already published in SADOLETI Epist., 101 *seq.*

‡ This was due to an expostulation of Aleander's on the 12th of Feb. (BALAN, n. 21; BRIEGER, n. 7). Medici replied on Feb. 26 that the omission had not arisen from want of consideration for Aleander, but because he had not asked for it. Neither had Caracciolo been mentioned; but he always left Aleander to speak as the chief agent in the Lutheran affair (BALAN, n. 28; KALKOFF, Aleander, 82, n. 2).

§ BALAN, n. 33.

without witnesses, and might, if he acknowledged his errors, promise him the Pope's pardon, or else give him a safe-conduct to Rome, or to the Spanish Inquisition. Should Luther accept none of these, there was nothing left to be done except to send him back with his safe-conduct, and then proceed with energy against him and his followers. As regarded the previous sequestration of Lutheran books, it was agreed that nothing could be done except to burn them publicly, should Luther refuse to recant. The Emperor was worthy of praise for having so far been emphatic in his protection of the Church in this affair; but he should be warned not to retreat now, in the middle of his course.*

The plan of summoning Luther before the Diet pained and disturbed the Pope very much; for hitherto the young Emperor had been the only person on whom he believed himself able to rely. However, even at this juncture, Leo X. did not forget the exigencies of diplomatic prudence. He allowed Manuel to perceive his fear lest the Emperor should give in too much, without betraying his need of help and the greatness of his anxiety.† Cardinal Medici was more forcible and explicit in what he wrote to Aleander. The goodwill of the Emperor is not in itself enough, he wrote in a letter of the 19th of March; his offers must also be carried out. The Pope is not quite pleased with the endless delays in carrying out the measures commanded by the Emperor himself. The zeal of His

* The Notula mittenda ad nuntios in BALAN, n. 34, *s.d.* BRIEGER (Theol. Lit. Ztg., 1884, 480) had already remarked that this belonged at latest to February or the beginning of March. WREDE (Reichstagsakten, II., 825, n. 1) places it more correctly in the second half of March. KALKOFF (Aleander, 120 n.) agrees with this opinion; he surmises that its author was the Grand Penitentiary.

† *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 435–436

Majesty has without doubt cooled; he who has been called to be the defender of the Church, lends his ear to her enemies. If the Emperor does not decide the matter before the conclusion of the Diet, the most vexatious consequences may be apprehended. Nevertheless God will not forsake His Church. But, the letter went on to say, Aleander must do nothing except in combination with the Nuncio Caracciolo and with Raffaello de' Medici.*

Immediately afterwards, on the 20th of March, the Pope brought forward the matter in Consistory. Several Cardinals expressly complained at the Emperor's having cited Luther to appear before the Diet, and thereby assumed a jurisdiction which belonged to the Holy See. When Leo X. communicated this opinion to the Imperial Ambassador, he remarked that, in summoning Luther to appear, the Emperor had been badly advised. It was impossible that Luther should be received even in hell, and Manuel would do well to warn his Imperial master in every letter he wrote not to take the matter lightly.† Under these circumstances it was doubly important that Leo X. should condemn Luther in so many words as an excommunicate and heretic. This was done in the Bull *In Coena Domini*, issued on Maundy Thursday (March 28).‡

There was a difference of opinion as to whether a letter of safe-conduct couched in honourable terms should be given

* BALAN, n. 49; KALKOFF, Aleander, 112, n. 1. On the 16th of March laudatory letters were sent to the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, and a letter of admonition to Duke George of Saxony. SADOLETI Epist., 103 *seqq.*; BALAN, n. 51, 52; Reichstagsakten, II., 662, 809, n. 1.

† BERGENROTH, II., n. 325. What passed in Consistory is touched on quite lightly even in SANUTO, XXX., 60; but here, as in the *Acta Consist., nothing is mentioned except the arrangements made for the canonization of Benno.

‡ *Cf.* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G, II., 39, Chigi Library, Rome.

to Luther. Cardinal Medici blamed the Emperor severely, and when writing to Aleander at the end of March, he expressed his regret in lively language that such an imprudent and unpermissible thing as Luther's summons before the Diet should have taken place, which implied the suspension of the sentence against him and even against his books. Germany, which had always been the object of the Pope's predilection, was guilty of a shameful ingratitude, in thus acting to the detriment of the Empire. "His Holiness," continued the Cardinal, "will nevertheless not believe that Charles is willing to depart from the paths of his most Christian and most Catholic predecessors, and show himself ungrateful to God and the Holy See. Renewed discussion of this notorious and scandalous affair would bring disgrace on His Majesty. If Charles is able to effect so little against one man who is in his power, what could the Church and Christendom expect of him in a fight against Turks and infidels?" Aleander and Caracciolo were then urged to do all they could to influence the Emperor and his Council, as well as the Electors of Brandenburg and Mayence. But on no account were they to allow themselves to be drawn into a dispute with Luther; for by so doing, as Aleander had already so well pointed out, they would act in a way derogatory to the dignity of the Apostolic See.*

In his report of the 8th of March, Aleander had mentioned a menacing utterance of the Imperial Great Chamberlain, Guillaume de Croy, Lord of Chièvres, from which he concluded that the imperialists wished to make use of the Lutheran affair to influence the Pope's

* BALAN, n. 63. The date, April 15, given by Balan, is a mistake. The right date (the end of March) has been pointed out as correct by BRIEGER (297, n. 2). As to opinion in Rome, *cf.* the despatch of March 23, 1521, of Fantini, quoted by BALAN, VI., 39.

political attitude.* The same news came to Rome from other sources; and it was further rumoured that, though the Emperor had required Luther to renounce his false doctrines, he had left him a free hand to say anything he liked against the Pope.† However disquieting this might sound, the Pope was still careful to refrain from any expression which could betray his anxiety and need of assistance, and thus give to the Emperor's representative a handle to use against him. "Thank God," said he to Manuel on the 3rd of April, "that He has given to me at this time an Emperor who has the interests of the Church at heart." While he went on to beg Manuel to thank Charles for his good promises, he added the hope that the Emperor would keep them, and not allow persons who gave ear to the devil to lead him astray.‡ But on the 8th of April Leo's anxiety was too acute to be concealed, and Manuel sent a special courier to Worms to say that His Holiness was awaiting with the utmost impatience for news of Luther, who must, he thought, have arrived before the Diet by this time.§ Soon the Pope abandoned the attitude of reserve which he had hitherto observed. The

* BALAN, n. 54; BRIEGER, n. 14. *Cf.* KALKOFF, 114 *seq.*, who pertinently remarks that Chièvres' threat was of no importance, as the treatment of the greater political questions had passed into the hands of Gattinara.

† Report of Manuel, March 27, 1521, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 326.

‡ "These are the exact words which His Holiness has commanded me to write to Your Majesty," says Manuel in a report of April 3, 1521. BERGENROTH, II., n. 327. On the same day the Venetian Ambassador reported a conversation he had had with the Pope about Luther; see SANUTO, XXX., 130.

§ BERGENROTH, II., n. 328. KALKOFF (Forschungen, 81) published a special treatise about the contemporary business of the election of the Bishop of Havelberg, under the influence of the Lutheran movement, for the purpose of winning over the Elector Joachim I.

immediate cause of this change was Aleander's account of Luther's reception, the consideration shown by the Imperialists towards Saxony, and their subsequent attitude, which showed that they "reckoned more with man than with God." * On the top of this came the tidings that Luther was to be allowed to hold a religious disputation. Leo at once sent for Manuel and told him plainly that such a dispute would, in his opinion, be a certain means of external injury to the Church. Manuel replied that he knew nothing about the alleged proposal, but that he was sure that the Emperor would see that the interests of God and of His Church were not prejudiced. "Leo X.," Manuel adds, "regards the Lutheran affair as a matter of the utmost importance, and until he is satisfied about this, nothing will be got out of him." †

The Pope must have spoken very strongly to the German Ambassador, for as lately as the 29th of March, Manuel had written to the Emperor about the possibility of bringing pressure to bear on the Pope by means of the Lutheran affair; ‡ but he now begged him most urgently to satisfy His Holiness about this question of faith. Leo had not on his side held out any proposal of making political concessions in exchange for energetic action on the part of the Emperor against Luther.§

But Charles V. had no idea of turning the Lutheran affair to his own advantage politically. Just at that time he gave a clear proof of this. On the 18th of April, after Luther's first examination, and before the final decision of the affair, he sent Raffaello de' Medici to

* BALAN, n. 64; BRIEGER, n. 22.

† Report of Manuel, April 27, 1521, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 329.

‡ Report of Manuel, March 29, in the Reichstagsakten, II., 866, n. 1.

§ *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 436.

Rome to submit to the Pope the draft of a treaty of alliance.*

* SANUTO, XXX., 129; Reichstagsakten, 849, 866. WREDE points out the importance of Medici's mission at that moment as a proof that Charles did not wish to make use of Luther against the Pope. Before this EGELHAAF in his treatise, "Karls V. Stellung zur lutherischen Sache aud dem Wormser Reichstage," in the Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch., 1884, I., 686 *seq.*, and "Analekten zur Gesch., Stuttgart, 1886," had shown that, in this question, a distinction must be made between the Emperor and his counsellors, which Ranke, especially, has failed to make. EGELHAAF (Analekten, 273) justly remarks: "As we understand it, Charles threatened his ministers, and rejected their projects about Luther, except as a last resort in a case of extreme necessity. That, in any case, could do no harm; and he who, as was believed, conducted matters independently, never thought of making use of this heretic for his own ends. He had indeed gradually come round to facilitating Luther's invitation to the Diet; but he did not take this step to frighten the Pope or turn him against France. Rome was vulnerable on other points, and he had other means of bringing pressure to bear. The hundred and one 'grievances' of the German nation would, in case of necessity, serve the same or better purpose than favouring heresy, which would do as much harm in Spain as it could be of use in Germany or Italy. He invited Luther to Worms, so as not to affront the Germans, and to obtain his twenty-four thousand men, and in order, as he said to Aleander, 'not to mix up his own affairs with those of the Pope.' When his 'dissimular e temporeggiar' (BALAN, 253) had served their purpose, he would drop the mask. The Imperial counsellors in Rome and about Charles might see the possibility of using Luther as a battering-ram against the Pope, should the latter attach himself to France or countenance an attack on Naples." But Charles did not share this opinion. "Nowhere is there to be found one word which could indicate to Aleander, who was without doubt a shrewd observer, that the Emperor was not to be relied on" (*loc. cit.*, 271). Therefore BALAN'S (VI., 42 *seq.*) representations as to Charles's attitude are thoroughly distorted. KALKOFF (Aleander, 10) says most justly that Charles V. did not at all deny that Aleander's request to proceed against Luther was right in principle, and that the Emperor, at least in all the main points, declared himself decidedly on the side of Rome.

Medici arrived in Rome on the 30th of April.* In the interval news had arrived there of Johann von der Ecken's skilful management of the case, so that even Giberti was of opinion that there was nothing left to be done except to follow up the victory over Luther. The joy felt in the immediate entourage of the Pope was as great as had been the dissatisfaction at the turn previously taken by the affair.†

Naturally the satisfaction was still greater when the Emperor made his strongly Catholic declaration on the 19th of April. In a Consistory held on the 10th of May, this, with the latest reports of the Nuncios in Germany and Spain, was read. Neither Pope nor Cardinals could praise the Emperor too highly; and the efforts of the Nuncios and all others concerned in the matter were most favourably acknowledged.‡ The Pope's recognition of the Catholic attitude of the Emperor, the Electors, Glapion, and other leading persons was expressed in special Briefs, coupled with the request that all these would continue in the same manner. In a Brief to Charles V., signed by the Pope himself, the latter says that the Emperor had surpassed all his expectations, and had acted as a true champion of

* SANUTO, XXX., 188. On April 29 Cardinal Medici had, at the Nuncio's request, sent him the new version of the Bull *Decet*, in which Luther alone was mentioned by name. BALAN, n. 77.

† Giberti to Aleander, dat. Magliana, 1521, May 1. BALAN, n. 78. A commendatory Brief to Johann von der Ecken in SADOLETI Epist., 105 *seqq.*

‡ In a letter from Cardinal Medici, dated from Florence on May 12, 1521 (BALAN, n. 82), the Consistory is spoken of as having been held "hiermattina." Manuel (BERGENROTH, II., n. 334) gives no particular date. According to the Acta Consist. (KALKOFF, Forschungen, 81 *seq.*) it took place on the 10th of May. So also in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G, II., 39, f. 20, Chigi Library, Rome.

the Church.* The Imperial declaration of April the 19th was—as was most unusual—sent at once in printed form to Rome.†

Meanwhile eager consultations went on in Rome with Raffaello de' Medici about the political alliance which was proposed between the Pope and the Emperor against France. Unexpected difficulties occurred, for, instead of the offensive alliance desired by Leo X., the draft of the treaty brought to Rome by Raffaello de' Medici only made mention of a defensive alliance. To this the Pope would not on any account consent. Although Manuel gave in at once, and altered the draft to meet the wishes of Leo X., the Pope put off signing from day to day. The fact is that the behaviour of the Emperor, who had so repeatedly—a thousand times, said Manuel—altered the draft, made Leo think that the power of Charles V. was not as great as had been represented.‡ Still greater was the effect produced on the timid Pope by a declaration published by France that she had concluded a treaty with the Swiss. To this was added the influence of England, which advised neutrality.§ More than ever before did his deeply-rooted indecision prevail with Leo X.‖

* BALAN, n. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88; *cf.* Reichstagsakten, II., 878, n. 1, previously published in SADOLETI Epist., 106 *seqq.*

† *TIZIO, *loc. cit.*, reports this unprecedented circumstance. He says explicitly that the declaratio was "scripta lingua Gallica." *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 434.

‡ *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 334, 335, 336. ULMANN (Studien, II., 113) tries to explain the obscurity which surrounded the negotiations between Charles and the Pope, and the new hesitation on the part of the latter, by the supposition that Charles wished to obtain a higher price for his alliance than the formal concession about the investiture of the crown of Naples, and therefore was so dilatory in his treaties with the Pope

§ NITTI, 416 *seq.*

‖ ULMANN, Studien, II., 113.

The Pope's hesitation kindled fresh hopes among the French diplomatists in Rome, the Count of Carpi and the Lord of Gisors. Leo X. fanned these hopes by a declaration which sounded most favourable to France. Knowing how bent the Pope was on the possession of Ferrara, the French held out hopes to him of its possession, as well as of the increase of the States of the Church by the strip of coast in the kingdom of Naples. All this made such an impression on Leo that, as far as we can trust Carpi's reports, he appeared to be willing to agree with the demands of French policy.* On the top of this came the daily and increasing financial difficulty, which affected the Emperor as well as the Pope.† When Carpi at length announced that the alliance between France and the Swiss cantons was an accomplished fact, Leo expressed himself in such terms that the French Ambassador was full of hopes.‡

It did not escape Manuel that fear was the chief motive which drew Leo X. towards France. He therefore advised his Imperial master to try the influence of fear in another direction, by concluding a treaty with England, by alienating the Swiss from France, by entering into negotiations with France herself, and by threatening to call a General Council.§ Without waiting for the decision of the Emperor, Manuel wrote to the Viceroy of Naples to send a force from the Abruzzi to the borders of the States of the Church, so as to make an impression in Rome.‖

* BERGENROTH, II., n. 337; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 501 *seq.*; NITTI, 418 *seq.* As to Carpi's report, see HÖFLER in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 552 *seq.*

† NITTI, 423, draws especial attention to this.

‡ BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 503.

§ BERGENROTH, II., n. 334, 337.

‖ *Ibid.*, n. 334. A movement on the Neapolitan border must recoil on Rome; all the more as there were thousands of Spaniards in the

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But, before this extreme measure was resorted to, Leo X. had made up his mind in favour of the Emperor. The French had gone too far. Leo X. had heard that Lautrec had said that he would leave nothing to the Pope except his ears.* All the evil which the French had done to him as Cardinal and Pope now came back into his mind.† The last blow was when Francis I., contrary to his many promises, tried to draw the Duke of Ferrara, together with the Swiss, into an alliance with him.‡ On the 29th of May Manuel was able to tell the Emperor that the Pope had signed the contract and sent it to him by Raffaello de' Medici, but that it was to be kept strictly secret for the present.§ Girolamo Adorno and Cardinal Medici had especially helped the Imperial Ambassador in obtaining this result.||

The offensive alliance, dated the 8th of May, gives prominence to the great mediæval idea of the combination of the two great powers, the Papal and the Imperial, set up by God above all other powers. The "two real heads of Christendom" were to unite "in purifying it from all error, in establishing universal peace, in fighting the infidel, and in introducing a better state of things throughout."

Eternal City who could threaten the Pope at his very doors; see BALAN, VI., 31, n. 4.

* Leo himself related this to the Venetian Ambassador, Gradenigo. ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 70.

† *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4.

‡ This intelligence did not rest, as NITTI (429) thinks, on a false report; see Eidgenöss. Abschiede IV., 1*a*, 20 *seq.*, and BERNAYS in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXXIV., 517. *Cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., I., 511.

§ See Manuel's report of May 29, 1521, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 338.

|| VETTORI, 333; GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 1; and to these add BERGENROTH, II., n. 346, about the reward given to Cardinal Medici by Charles V.

The cause of all the present evil was France's lust of conquest, which had led her to seize on Milan and Genoa, to threaten poor Italy and the independence of the Holy See. In order to restore order and tranquillity, this peace-destroying member must be attacked with fire and sword, and the usurpations of France in Italy must be stopped. Therefore Milan and Genoa should be invested by the Imperial and Papal troops in September, and freed from the French yoke; and the Sforza and Adorni should be set up again as vassals of the Empire. All territories belonging to the Pope should be restored to him, especially Parma and Piacenza, and also Ferrara. Moreover, the Emperor pledged himself in the fullest sense to protect the Pope against his enemies and against all who attacked the true faith and defamed the Holy See, and guaranteed the dominion of the Medici in Tuscany. On his side Leo X. bound himself solemnly and in perpetuity to Charles, promising him a new investiture of the crown of Naples, and assistance in defending it, as also in enforcing his Imperial rights on Venice.*

The Pope gained most by this important agreement. When the conditions relating to Italy were carried out, the Emperor would be no more powerful than he had been before; whereas the States of the Church would be so considerably increased that the independence of the Holy See, so long desired by Leo X., would probably be assured.† A still greater advantage to the Holy See was

* Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., IV., caps. 3, f. 16*b*–170*b* (authentic copy in Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), printed in DUMONT, IV., 3, 96 *seq.* THEINER, Cod. III., 524 *seqq.*; *cf.* BALAN, VI., 45. For the Bulls which allowed the Emperor to hold the crown of Naples together with that of the Empire, determined feudal obligations, and raised the census, see RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 81 *seqq.*, and DUMONT, Suppl., II., 1, 67 *seq.*; *cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 256 *seq.*

† VETTORI, 334; NITTI, 456.

the protection against all enemies of the Catholic Faith which was now solemnly promised by Charles.*

Thus did the highest spiritual and secular powers unite once more for the protection of the ancient faith in the Holy Roman Empire, at the very moment when the storm against the old order of things was let loose.†

The Curia was quite confident that Rome would succeed in mastering the heretical outburst, thanks to the issue of the Edict of Worms. The satisfaction felt by the Pope at the promulgation of the new Imperial law against Lutheranism was strongly expressed by Cardinal Medici in his letters to Aleander. The Nuncio was charged to convey the Pope's warmest thanks to the Emperor and all who had contributed to the carrying out of the important measure.‡ On the 7th of June the great news was communicated to the Cardinals in Consistory.§ Afterwards, Luther's picture and his writings were burned in the Piazza Navona in Rome.‖

However well aware Cardinal Medici might be of the zeal shown by Aleander at Worms, of his fidelity to duty

* That this consideration weighed very much in the conclusion of the treaty is stated by GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 1.

† The importance of this is stated by modern writers, especially by HÖFLER, Kaiserthum, 190, and BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 112.

‡ Medici to Aleander, from Florence, June 6, 1521, in BALAN, n. 99.

§ Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 82.

‖ That this act, which is placed by ENDERS (II., 64) and RENAZZI (II., 43) in 1520, really took place in 1521, is shown by KALKOFF (Prozess, 578), who appeals to the first edition of BERNHARD VON LUXEMBURG, Catal. haeretic., LIII*b*., and the report of PLANITZ (Wülcker-Virck, 602). This is corroborated by TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. In this the act is dated a day sooner than in Bernhard von Luxemburg. *Praeterea Iunii undecima marti dicata Rome in Naone simulacrum Martini Luterii publice crematum est tamquam heretici et opuscula illius quamplurima fetenti admixto lumine ita ut circumstantes ferre non valerent. Cod. G, II., 39, f. 28*b*, in the Chigi Library, Rome.

and his energy, he never ceased in his efforts to spur the Nuncio on to fresh measures against the heresy.* It did not escape the Cardinal's shrewd observation that at times Aleander indulged in over-optimistic hopes.† These were not shared in Rome, chiefly on account of the disturbing news which came from Germany through the Minorites there.‡

In the Netherlands Aleander's zeal had achieved great things; but in Saxony the new doctrines were being spread with ever-increasing rapidity under the protection of the Elector. The hopes to which Luther's retirement to the Castle of Wartburg gave birth proved vain, and showed that Rome had not overrated the danger. On the 18th of September, 1521, Aleander was charged to make urgent representations to the Emperor about the "Saxon scandals." If the injunctions of the Edict of Worms were disregarded now, while the ink with which it was written was scarcely dry, he was commissioned to say: What would the Elector of Saxony not dare do when Charles had departed from Germany? If matters were not taken in hand now, at the beginning of the evil, the last state of things would be worse than the first.§

Had it been better known in Rome how the German people were being incited in print and from the pulpit to abolish Catholic worship and even to murder priests,‖ the fear would have been still greater. As it was, anxiety was very acute in spite of Aleander's more or less favourable reports. The only thing which allayed this anxiety

* *Cf.* BALAN, 266 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Capito, 43.

† *Cf.* the Letters of June 27 and July 6, in BALAN, pp. 261, 274; BRIEGER, pp. 241, 244; *cf.* PAQUIER, 278.

‡ See TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.*, Chigi Library, Rome.

§ BALAN, n. 124, p. 291 *seq.*; *cf.* 292 *seq.*

‖ JANSSEN-PASTOR, II.[18], 198 *seqq.*

was the fact that other countries of Christendom did not seem to have adopted Luther's errors. In Italy, it is true, there were some who sympathized with him ;* but teachers of his heresy were few and far between ;† and in Spain and Portugal the new doctrines had produced no effect whatever.‡ Even the Polish King, Sigismund, issued, on July 26th, 1521, a severe edict against the spread of Lutheran literature.§ It is true that the news from Denmark was disquieting ; but Leo X. hoped to avert the worst consequences by the exercise of great gentleness towards the King.‖ In France, in spite of his political antagonism to the Pope, Francis I. ordered that all Luther's works should be burnt in Paris.¶ It was of no small importance that the distinguished theological faculty of Paris, on April 15th, 1521, condemned Luther's doctrines as emphatically as Louvain and Cologne had already done in 1519.** Although Aleander blamed the omission of all mention of the primacy of the Pope in the condemnation by the University of Paris, he hoped that even so, the censure of a body of theologians so generally respected would

* *Cf. infra*, pp. 181–182.

† For more about this, see *infra*, p. 178.

‡ On August 20, 1521, Leo wrote to the King of Portugal to express his delight at Emanuel's having declared himself against Luther. This is the gist of the letter of April 20, in BALAN, n. 72 ; see Corp. Dipl. Port., II., 47–48.

§ Acta Tomic., V., 284.

‖ See *infra*, pp. 451 *seq.*, 454.

¶ BALAN, p. 282 ; BRIEGER, p. 237.

** Determinatio super doctrina Lutheri hactenus revisa, in DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, I., 2, 365–375. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 159 *seq.* ; DELISLE, Un registre des procès-verbaux de la faculté de théologie de Paris, Paris, 1899 ; KÖHLER in the Allg. Ztg., 1900, Beil. 213 ; and FÉRET, La faculté de théologie de Paris ; Époque mod., I., Paris, 1900.

not fail to have a good effect even in Germany.* Great joy was caused in Rome by the action of the King of England, who attacked Luther in a book written by himself. The University of Oxford had already condemned Luther's writings.† The manner in which the Pope received the book of Henry VIII. shows that he, at any rate, considered the Lutheran affair as by no means suppressed.‡

* *Cf.* BALAN, p. 201 ; BRIEGER, p. 257.

† DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, I., 2, 380 *seq.*

‡ *Cf. infra*, Chapter IV., Vol. VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Defeat of the French and Increase of the States of the Church.—Death of Leo X.

While the alliance between the Pope and the Emperor was being carefully kept secret, hostilities had already begun. Francis I. did not hesitate to profit by the difficulties in which Charles V. was placed by the insurrection of the Spanish towns on the one side, and by the Lutheran movement on the other, and seized the opportunity to wrest Navarre from him.* At the same time he favoured the attempt made in the Netherlands by Robert de la Marck. While fighting was going on in the Pyrenees and Luxemburg, the war began in Italy, and at first with unfavourable results for the Pope and Emperor.

Leo's former anger with Alfonso of Ferrara broke out afresh when he defied the spiritual authority of the Holy See by favouring a monk named Andrea da Ferrara,† who was suspected of disseminating Lutheran doctrines. However, the first attempts of the Papal force against Ferrara failed.‡ So also did an attack made on Genoa by the

* Francis had formed private relations with the Spanish insurgents; see Salles in the Rev. d. quest. hist., 1900, II., 55 *seq.*

† *Cf.*, about this monk, Sanuto, XXIX., 492, 552, 561, 609, 614-615, XXX., 53-54; and Arch. Veneto, N.S.V. (1893), 249 *seqq.*, and the despatch in Balan, VI., 48 *seq.*

‡ Alfonso of Ferrara and his panegyrist Pistofilo accused the Pope later of an attempt to murder the Duke on this occasion. Muratori

Imperial and Papal ships in combination with the Adorni party.* No better success attended the attempt of those who had been banished from Milan to stir up an insurrection in Lombardy, where the people were possessed of a wild hatred of the harsh government of the French. Venice betrayed the danger which was threatening France, and measures were taken to frustrate the plot. But the French soon learned that the versatile and intriguing Vice-Chancellor of Maximilian Sforza, Girolamo Morone, had left Trent for Reggio, richly provided with money, and had gathered round him a large number of Milanese who had unjustly been driven out of Milan by the French.† Thomas de Lescun, brother of the Governor Lautrec, tried to put a check on Morone's far-reaching plans by a bold invasion of the territories of the Holy See. In the night between the 23rd and 24th of June, Lescun appeared before Reggio with an armed force, and demanded the delivery to him of the Milanese exiles. His intention, though its success was very doubtful, was to take posses-

(Antich. Est., II., 323) has accepted this story; but the best-informed contemporaries, such as Guicciardini, Jovius (Vita Alphonsi), Lancellotti, Giraldi, Zerbinati, know nothing of any such an attempt. ROSCOE-HENKE (II., 461) have therefore rejected the accusation brought against Leo X. This did not prevent DE LEVA (II., 52–53) from repeating it. But since him CAPPELLI (Atti Mod., III., 517, and Lett. di Ariosto, Bologna, 1866), and also BALAN (VI., 50), have proved that the "Prozessakten" in the State Archives, Modena, accepted by Muratori as authentic, are absolutely untrustworthy, and the accusation must be rejected as an invention of Alfonso's; *cf.* also BALAN, VI., App. XIX.

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 1.

† According to DU BELLAY (Mém., II., 129) the number of the Milanese exiled by Lautrec was as great as that of those who remained; and it was said that they were banished for the most trifling reasons, or because they possessed money. This made many enemies to France. *Cf.* SISMONDI, XIV., 522.

sion of the town. However, the watchfulness of the Governor of Reggio, the historian Francesco Guicciardini, saved this important place.*

This attack on Papal territory by the French gave Leo X. the desired opportunity of declaring himself openly against France. The few diplomatists in whom the Pope confided, became aware, on the 22nd of June, that he was waiting for only one thing before he declared war.† In a postscript to his report of the 25th of June, Castiglione was able to tell his master of the decision which had been till then so carefully kept secret;‡ but it was not until the 27th that he was able to speak of the influence which the attack on Reggio had had on the Pope's decision.§

In a Consistory held on the 27th of June, the Pope complained of the violation of the borders of the States of the Church, and declared to the Cardinals that for the sake of self-protection he wished to ally himself with the

* *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI'S Report of June 24, 1521, in his Opere ined., VII., n. 136, and Storia, XIV., 2. As to Lautrec's evil intention, see also GRUMELLO, 264, and CAPPELLA, 6–8. Guicciardini was made Governor of Modena in June, 1516, and of Reggio in July, 1517. (CHIESI, 63 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*, says Guicciardini became Governor of Modena in April, 1516, and of Reggio in December, 1516.) As such he carried out military proceedings in Rome in 1521 against the robber baron Domenico d'Amorotto, who had many patrons in the Curia; *cf.* LIVI, Il Guicciardini e Domenico d'Amorotto, Reggio, 1875; Nuova ediz., 1879.

† *N. S. si è molto rallegrato meco et hami detto, che aspetta una resposta la quale subito venuta pensa risolversi Spagnolo et hami detto molto male de Francesi et ben del imperatore. *Report in cypher from B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, June 22, 1521, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Il Papa è resoluto Spagnolo e totalmente inimico de Francesi. . . . Il Papa ha tenuto tanto secreta questa sua resolutione che non si pò dire più. *Letter of Castiglione's of June 25, 1521, *loc. cit.*

§ *Letter of Castiglione, June 27, 1521, *loc. cit.*

Emperor, who had recently stood up at the Diet of Worms as the defender of the Church.* The treaty of May, which had been so successfully kept secret, was now to all appearances concluded for the first time, and communicated to England and Switzerland.† "The Pope has dropped his mask and allied himself to Charles V.," wrote the disconcerted Venetian Ambassador, Gradenigo, on the 29th of June.‡ On the same day, without any concealment, Leo accepted the white palfrey from the Emperor's representative, in token of the investiture of Charles V. with the crown of Naples. In the presence of all the Ambassadors, Leo X. complained of the behaviour of Francis I., who had kept no agreement, and had supported the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino against him. He now openly declared himself the enemy of the French.§

With feverish haste, and in spite of the warnings of Rucellai, who was still in France,|| Rome made preparations for the accomplishment of her great object, the expulsion of the French from Italy. The Pope hoped to effect this before long.¶ To raise money he pledged his silver plate, and spoke of obtaining funds later by a great nomination of Cardinals. The opposition of many members of the Sacred College to the Imperial and anti-French policy was

* Report of Castiglione, June 28, 1521; BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 265.

† *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 2.

‡ SANUTO, XXX., 468. BUSCH (Vermittlungspolitik, 120) also shows how well the secret of the May treaty had been kept.

§ *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 343, 344; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1400, 1402, 1403; BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 120–121.

|| *Cf.* Mél. d'archéol., 1886, 267 *seq.*

¶ *Il Papa spera di cacciare prestissimo i Francesi de Italia. B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, June 29, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

not heeded by Leo: Cardinal Medici was the only one with whom he took counsel.*

The plan of war was discussed with the German Ambassador. Prospero Colonna was sent for to Rome and given the supreme command of the allied forces. The Marquis Federigo Gonzaga had been named Captain-General of the Church in April. This appointment had been kept secret, and was made known only at the beginning of July.† Francesco Guicciardini was confirmed as Commissary-General of the army, and was appointed to accompany the Marquis, armed with extensive powers; Ferrante d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, the husband of Vittoria Colonna, so famed as a poetess, received the command of the Imperial infantry; while Giovanni de' Medici, who later made for himself a formidable name as leader of the Black Companies, was to command the Papal cavalry. The whole force of the allies was put at six hundred Papal and Florentine heavy cavalry and as many Imperialists, together with six thousand Spanish, six thousand Italian, and six thousand Swiss infantry.‡

As soon as he learned about the alliance between the

* SANUTO, XXXI., 13, 185, 317, 404, 458; XXXII., 8. BERGENROTH, II., n. 345, 346, 351.

† *Cf.* the rare and valuable document: Delle esenzioni della famiglia Castiglione e della loro origine e fondamento, Mantova, 1780, 6 *seq.*, 28 *seqq.*, in which many of the deeds in the Gonzaga Archives are made use of; see also MARTINATI, 37 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 247, and Giorn. ligust, 1890, 441; *Letter of Castiglione, July 6, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Appendix, No. 19. About the appointment of Federigo Gonzaga as Captain-General of the Church, A. Luzio is about to publish a special monograph.

‡ *Letter of J. Ginodi to the Duke of Savoy, dated from Rome on July 8, 1521, State Archives, Turin, Roma, I.; GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 2; CAPELLA, 14 *seq.*; JOVIUS, Vita Alf. Piscarii; REUMONT, V. Colonna, 39 *seq.*

Pope and the Emperor, Francis made several attempts to win back the former, and thus allay the tempest which threatened him; when he failed he foamed with rage. On the 13th of July he published a manifesto to his subjects in Italy in which he complained of the ingratitude of Leo, for whom he had done so much. He expressed his confidence that the Pope would reap neither honour nor benefit from his alliance with the Catholic King: it was thus that he styled Charles, for he would not give the title of Emperor to his rival. Soon after, he issued a mandate forbidding, under severe penalties, the transfer to Rome of the incomes of any French bishopric or abbey.* At the beginning of August he declared in his boastful way that "he would ere long enter Rome and impose laws on the Pope."† His army was by no means equal in strength to that of his opponents, but he trusted to the assistance of the Venetians as well as to that of the warlike Duke of Ferrara. He also counted on the co-operation of the Swiss.

Meanwhile Leo X. had been overjoyed by the news of the repulse of the attack of the French on Navarre.‡ By a Bull of the 27th of July, he threatened Thomas de Lescun and his fellow-culprits with excommunication and interdict, if they did not within twelve days make satisfaction for the attack on Reggio, their encroachment on matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and their violation of the agreement

* Molini, I., 97–98; Nitti, 439.

† Janssen-Pastor, II.[18], 331.

‡ *Ha poi S. Sta [aviso] per lettere duplicate pur di Franza che Francesi hanno havuto grandissimo danno nel regno di Navarra et che con perdita de gente assai et de artigliaria hanno abbandonato quella impresa, il che essendo così è cosa de grandissimo momento. B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dat. Rome, July 20, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

about the purchase of salt.* Charles did not think that the Pope went far enough in this, and, through his Ambassador, urged Leo to pronounce excommunication on the person of the French King. But the Pope would not proceed to such severe measures. In fact, among the many anxieties which at that time gave him sleepless nights,† was the dread of being left in the lurch by the Emperor and given over to the vengeance of France. Charles heard that this was the case, and sent an autograph letter to the Pope in which he promised expressly to come to no understanding with France without a previous agreement with Leo. Baldassare Castiglione saw this important letter on the 2nd of August, 1521.‡ In return for this the Pope published without further delay the nomination as Cardinal of Eberhard de la Mark, this having been resolved on in a Consistory held on the 9th of August.§ As to how the consent of Leo was gained, is shown by a report sent by Clerk to Wolsey. In consequence of the tidings that the Turks were maltreat-

* Bull *Regis pacifici*, D, 1512, VI., Cal. Augusti. Secret., 1202, f. 136. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXI., 261, 498 *seq.* Printed copies of this "monitorium poenale" are most rare. I found one in the Rossiana Library at Vienna (XV., 397, 10).

† SANUTO, XXX., 466.

‡ *Della tregua che de Francesi vanno jactando non è vero et io hoggi ho veduto una lettera a N. S. dello imperatore di mano propria nella quale S. M^ta promette di non fare apuntamento alcuno con Francesi senza il consenso del papa el quale tiene ancor per certo che Inghilterra debba essere contro Franza. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, Aug. 2, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Acta Consist., in Consistorial Archives; PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican); and *Letter of B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, Aug. 9, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 349, 350, 351, 352, 353. The sending of the red hat to Eberhard de la Mark followed on Sept. 18; see the *Brief to him on that day, Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 142. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

ing the Hungarians, the Pope was very much depressed; though he did not allow this to affect his anti-French policy. Indeed he did not shrink from saying that he would not undertake anything against the Turks until he had reduced France to such a condition that she was not able to move. The Pope said that he would pledge his tiara rather than not drive the French out of Italy.* The Emperor encouraged Leo in this frame of mind by the assurance that he was determined to exercise his whole strength against France.† In a second autograph letter the Emperor informed Leo of the first move he had made against France, and of his determination to carry on the war with all his might.‡

Leo X., who had asked the assistance of the King of Portugal and his fleet,§ indulged in hopes which were increased by the likelihood, as he thought, of England's turning against France. He treated the boasting of the latter with contempt,‖ and by calculating the strength

* Clerk to Wolsey, Aug. 8, 1521; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1477.

† *N. S. ogni dì piu ha avisi de la ferma deliberatione di Cesare contra Franza e di volere esporre tutte le forze sue senza riservo alcuno in questa impresa. *B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, Aug. 12, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Dui dì sono S. Sta ha havuta un' altra lettera de mano propria de lo imperatore dove S. M. gli avisa che in ogni modo alli VII. di questo se aviaria alla volta di Franza con uno exercito grossissimo e conforta S. Sta a non abandonare la impresa nè raffredare punto si che N. S. è animatissimo. B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, Aug. 12, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Brief of Aug. 12, 1521, in the Corp. Dipl. Port., II., 43 *seqq.*

‖ Ha ancor S. Sta aviso che'l re d'Angliterra se dichiarerà amico dell' imperatore e suo contra Franza e cosi ha promisso el card. d'Angliterra, il quale ha mostrato al homo del papa le lettere de Francesi tutte piene de bugie e tra l'altre cose hanno scritto là che hanno nel campo contra el Papa trentaquattro milia fanti e che l'exercito nostro se retira continuamente e che loro sperano che non passerà

of both sides, he believed that he might count on swift and certain victory.*

There were, however, moments when Leo did not feel sure of the Emperor. The mediation of England and the suggestions of France both shook his confidence.† In consequence of this mistrust—which was quite unfounded—he hesitated to pronounce excommunication on Francis I.‡ But at last, on the 4th of September, he made up his mind, and threatened the French King and his generals with greater excommunication and interdict if they did not, within fifteen days, lay down their arms and deliver over Parma and Piacenza to the Holy See. The reasons alleged by the Pope were that Francis had carried on war with Charles by use of the money granted to him by the tithe for the Crusade, that he had violated the Concordat and ecclesiastical liberty, attacked Reggio, seized the revenues of the Church, arrested Florentine merchants in Lyons, and, finally, kept unjust possession of Parma and Piacenza.§

venti dì che seranno a Napoli et altre baie di questa sorte. B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, Aug. 19, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* *B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated from Rome, Aug. 23, 1521. Gonz. Archives, Mantua; see Appendix, No. 20.

† When Wolsey and Charles V. met in the middle of August, they agreed secretly on no less a measure than the partition of France between them! The French were deluded in every way by Wolsey. BERGENROTH, II., n. 355; BROSCH, England, VI., 146–152. As to the particular way in which the Pope learned about the treaty, see BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 135 *seq.* Previously a futile attempt had been made by the mother of Francis I. to induce Charles to break with the Pope, and great concessions were offered to him if he would leave France a free hand to take vengeance on Leo X.; but the Emperor rejected all these overtures as incompatible with his honour. See Contarini's Report, July 20, 1521, in BROWN, III., n. 266.

‡ BERGENROTH, II., n. 356, 357. *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 118–119.

§ An authentic copy of this declaration is printed in DUMONT, Suppl.

Meanwhile the news which came from the theatre of war in Northern Italy was far from reassuring. At the end of August the Pope daily expected tidings of the taking of Parma:* instead, there came, on the 10th of September, the intelligence that the siege of the city had been raised.† The Curia had taken matters so lightly, that Castiglione wrote on the 4th of September that he had every day to argue with those who did not understand in the slightest degree what war was, and who thought that soldiers could fly.‡ All the greater and more painful was the disillusionment. The cause of the check was the conduct of the Swiss, on whom till now Leo had set all his hopes,§ as well as the want of agreement among the generals of the allied force.

The Nuncio, Pucci, who had been sent to Switzerland as Legate *a latere* in July, 1521, together with Filonardi and Cardinal Schinner, were employed by the Emperor for the raising of troops in the cantons. They met with great

du tome, III., 70-73; *cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 267, n. 2. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

* On August 30 Castiglione wrote to the Marquis of Mantua: *N. S. sta in continua espettatione che Parma si batta o che la sia presa perchè pare a S. Sta che lo exercito suo sia tanto superiore de lo inimico che la ragion vorrebbe che si sentisse qualche cosa segnalata. *Cf.* also the *Letter of Castiglione of August 28. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, XXXI., 374, 404, 452.

‡ *N. S. sta in grande espettatione de intendere che la cosa de Parma succeda bene e fin tanto che di questo non se ha nova S. Sta non starà troppo allegra. Io tutto il giorno e tutte l'hore ho da fare per contrastare con molti di qua che non hanno mai visto arme e pensano che sia una facil cosa pigliare una terra guardata e difesa e che gli homini possino volare. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ On September 9, 1521, Castiglione thus reported to his Marquis: *S. Sta tiene per certo di haver Suizeri e che quelli che sono con li Francesi se ne partiranno. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

difficulties, because all the cantons, with the exception of Zurich, had formed a treaty with France at the beginning of May, 1521, one of the clauses of which was directed against this very recruiting by a foreign power. In spite of all Filonardi's representations, the twelve cantons remained obstinate in their refusal to send troops to the Pope. Zurich granted two thousand men, but only on condition that they were to be employed solely in the defence of Papal territory.*

Under these circumstances the allies did not feel themselves strong enough to take Parma, although they had been joined by about six thousand German landsknechte. But they were insufficiently prepared, and there was want of unity in the army; and when, added to this, they learned that the Duke of Ferrara was advancing against them, the leaders of the allied troops considered it prudent to abandon the siege. They fell back, about three thousand strong, on San Lazzaro, in the direction of Reggio. The mercenaries murmured loudly from discontent with their pay, and it was feared that they might go over to the French. Had the enemy taken the offensive at that moment, no doubt they would have come off victorious.†

The position of the allies was all the more critical because of the mutual distrust which hampered their actions. The Papal generals inclined to the view that the Imperialists had abandoned the siege of Parma at the approach of an inferior force, solely because they did not wish to take the

* *Cf.* WIRZ, Filonardi, 51–53, Archiv für schweiz. Gesch., XVI., xviii.

† This is the decided opinion of GUICCIARDINI (XIV. 2). Contemporaries differ about the raising of the siege of Parma and its causes; *cf.* BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 154, n. 4, and BALAN, VI., 53, n. 3. There are interesting details about what went on at Parma, in the reports of the Sienese soldiers in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, f. 43 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

town for the Pope. On the other hand, Prospero Colonna suspected that Leo X. would withdraw from the war as soon as Parma and Piacenza had been regained. When the news arrived that the French had been joined by more Swiss troops at Cremona, the allies retreated on Reggio. They would, no doubt, have retreated further, had not the agents of the Pope and Emperor combined to hinder them.*

Meanwhile, a change had taken place in Switzerland which was to be of the utmost importance. Filonardi, and still more the impetuous Schinner,† succeeded at last in getting together a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries. In order to effect a junction with these, Prospero Colonna crossed the Po at Casalmaggiore, on the 1st of October. Here he was joined by Cardinal Medici, who, at the end of September, had been appointed Legate to the army, to arrange the differences between Colonna and Pescara. He took large sums of money with him.‡ The allies now advanced to the Oglio, and it seemed as if the fortune of war was going to turn in their favour. It was of the greatest advantage to them that, just at that juncture, Lautrec lost a good opportunity of combining with the Venetians and attacking the enemy at Robecco. Instead of doing this he retired to a fortified position behind the Adda.§ Nearly at the same time the Duke of Ferrara suffered a severe defeat at Modena, which

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 2. As to the strength of the army, see Guicciardini's report of Sept. 15, 1521, in Opere inedite, VII., n. 157.

† *Cf.* BLÖSCH, Kardinal Schinner, Berne, 1891, 14 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 359; JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 4. See the *deed of appointment of Card. Medici of Sept. 30, 1521 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, No. 21.

§ GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 3. About Lautrec's mistake, see RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., II.², 281.

compelled him to fall back on his capital.* A manifesto which he sent to the Emperor was full of the most violent accusations against the Pope, and did not improve his position.†

The Swiss, recruited by Schinner, had meanwhile advanced from Chiavenna into the territory of Bergamo,‡ although they had not yet decided whether they would act directly against the French. In spite of all the arguments of Cardinals Schinner and Schönberg, the men of Zurich were resolute in maintaining that they had been engaged solely for the protection of the States of the Church. On this understanding they consented to march on Reggio, with the ulterior object of reconquering Parma and Piacenza for the Pope. For a long time the remaining six thousand Swiss refused to come to any decision; but at last, at the end of October, Schinner persuaded them to join Gambara with the Papal-Spanish force. He hoped that from this they would go on with him and make a descent on Milan; in this was he not mistaken. Cardinals Medici and Schinner were with this force, to what was,

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 3; LANCELOTTI, 204; BALAN, VI., 54.

† Alfonso's manifesto appeared in print after Leo's death; a complete refutation of it was published by an anonymous adherent of the late Pope's on the 6th of January, 1522, which was translated into Italian, and published in Rome under the title of: Resposta alla invectiva qui annexa Don Alphonso già duca di Ferrara publicata contra la s. e glor. mem. di Leone X. sotto pretexto de una littera scripta alla Ces. M^ta^. Translata di latino in vulgare. A copy of this very rare pamphlet is in the Library of Ferrara. Epitome of both writings are in CAPPELLI, Lett. di L. Ariosto, 3 ediz., Milano, 1887. *Cf.* Carte Strozz., II., 469, and TIZIO, *Hist. Senen in the Cod. G, II., 39, f. 69*b* of the Chigi Library, Rome. The original of the Bulla excommunicationis et privationis Alphonsi, dat. 1521, XVII., Cal. Dec. (15 Nov.), in the State Archives, Modena.

‡ On October 7 they were at Chiavenna, and on the 12th at Bergamo; Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 126.

according to Guicciardini, the abuse of religion; for there were the Cardinals, with their legatine crosses, mixed up with the whole crew of plundering, blaspheming murderers.* The union of the Papal and Spanish troops with the Swiss, which Lautrec and his Venetian allies had been unable to prevent, had given the allies an undoubted superiority.

Soon fortune turned her back on the French. The Swiss serving in their army, who had for some time been affronted by Lautrec's insolence and attitude of suspicion, now clamoured for their pay. As, in spite of all promises, and as a result of bad organization, this grievance was not satisfied, the mercenaries deserted in numbers. The discontent of the Swiss was, moreover, fomented by agents from their own cantons, who urged them on no account to fight against their fellow-countrymen. Lautrec was so weakened by these defections that he could not prevent the enemy from crossing the Adda,† and soon found himself compelled to retire on Milan with his discontented and discouraged army. In the capital itself everything was against the French, and late in the afternoon of the 19th of November, in the midst of pouring rain, the allied force appeared before the walls. The German landsknechte formed the vanguard, then followed the bulk of the Papal and Spanish troops, and last came the Swiss.

An immediate attack was resolved on, as news came from the city that the population was ready to rise against the French, and that the defences were inadequate.

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 3.

† GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 3; GRUMELLO, 274. GIAN GIROLAMO ROSSI, Vita di Giov. de' Medici, in Vita di uomini d'arme del sec., 16, Firenze, 1866, 88. *The Marquis of Mantua wrote on the 16th of Nov. to Castiglione in Rome that he had the day before crossed the Adda with his troops, "sopra il ponte fatto sotto Rivolta." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Cardinals Medici and Schinner, with Pescara and the Marquis of Mantua, pointed out certain suburbs as a good object for attack. Pescara, with Spanish marksmen, attacked the Porta Romana; Prospero Colonna, with Spaniards and German mercenaries, attacked the Porta Ticinese. Contrary to all expectation, the suburbs were speedily occupied, and soon after the gates were forced. Lautrec had thought such a rapid approach of the enemy an impossibility, as the roads had, he considered, been made impassable by the rain. He was completely taken by surprise, and, without any serious attempt at resistance, retreated from Milan by the gate leading to Como; while the populace, to cries such as: Empire! Duke! Church! Palle! rose as one man and welcomed the enemy. In the night Maximilian Sforza was proclaimed Duke of Milan. Both victors and vanquished were equally surprised by the quick and easy conquest of the capital of Lombardy.*

The fate of Milan decided that of the whole of Lombardy. Piacenza, Pavia, Novara, Tortona, Alessandria, Asti, Cremona, and Lodi willingly threw open their gates to the allies.† The French, it is true, succeeded in retaking

* A full and authentic account of the conquest of Milan is given in SANUTO, XXXII., 162 *seq.*, 165, 168 *seq.*, 183 *seq.*, 188 *seq.*, in the printed reports of eye-witnesses, especially the report of Cardinal Medici and that of the Marquis of Mantua. See also BURIGOZZO in Arch. stor. Ital., 1st Series, III., 433; CAPELLA, 28 *seq.* Many, among them Francis I., attributed the conquest of Milan to Schinner; see Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 139.

† On Nov. 24 the Marquis of Mantua, "ex felicibus castris in Mediolano," wrote to B. Castiglione: *Ultra Piasenza e Pavia si sono rese ancor Novara, Tortona, Alexandria et Asti et si manda uno trombetta ad dimandar Lodi. On the 26th he wrote to announce the capitulation of Cremona. Copies of both *letters in the Library of Mantua.

Cremona, but had at the same time to evacuate Parma, and they also lost Como. Altogether the star of France seemed to be on the wane. On the 24th of November the English Chancellor concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the Pope and Emperor against Francis I.* The prudent Venetians meditated a breach of their alliance with France, on the plea that quite unexpected events had completely altered the situation.

For three months Leo X. had watched the progress of the war in Northern Italy with indescribable excitement. The pause when the war had scarcely been begun, then the raising of the siege of Parma, had put him into despair.† We can learn from the famous letters of Baldassare Castiglione how anxiously the Pope awaited news of the progress of the war, and how he despaired one day and hoped the next.‡ His Holiness, Castiglione reports on the 15th of October, 1521, is filled with great anxiety; were it possible, he would like to know every hour how things are going in Lombardy.§ When better news arrived on the 17th of October, Leo, with arms upraised, prayed to God that it might be true. His joy was all the

* HERBERT, Henry VIII., London, 1649, 117 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 152.

† *Cf. supra*, 51, and SANUTO, XXII., 24; two **Letters of Castiglione of Sept. 15, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Castiglione reports on Sept. 28, 1521: *Sua Sta sta con bona speranza de victoria e ridese de la voce che spargono questi Francesi con dire che se tratta l'accordo et a me pare cognoscere che S. Sta non gli sia punto inclinata. In a *Letter of Castiglione's to the Marquis on Oct. 7, it says: *El Papa sta in grandissima espettatione de vedere el fine, el quale N. S. Dio conceda secondo che S. Sta desidera. On October 10 he says in another letter: *N. S. desidera summamente de intendere nove delli eserciti. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *S. Sta per essere le cose in tal termine e cosi strette come sono sta molto suspeso con molta anxietà de animo e se possibil fosse vorrebbe ogni hor sapere ciò che si fa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

greater because this was the first time that Cardinal Medici had sent favourable tidings. "The state of expectancy which reigns here has reached its highest point," wrote Castiglione; "never before have such various rumours floated about Rome."* But all the time Leo was tormented by the fear that Francesco Maria della Rovere would try to regain possession of Urbino.†

To the Pope the position was all the more critical because he had to bear nearly all the expense of the war;‡ for Charles was heavily burdened by the expense incident on the insurrection of the Spanish towns, and the maintenance of his army in the Netherlands, and was able to send money to Italy only at uncertain intervals. But it was not only his financial difficulties which exercised the Pope.§ The vacillations of the Swiss, on whom the final settlement of the war seemed to depend, caused him acute anxiety. There were times when Leo, though quite in the secret of his heart, began to give ear to the suggestions of the French.‖ But these were only passing fits of weakness such as cannot cause surprise in one of his timid nature. When he faced the actual state of affairs he knew very well that he must stand firm. In order to cut from under his feet the possibility of any change of purpose, and to remove from the Imperialists

* **Castiglione to the Marquis, dat. from Rome, Oct. 17, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* BALAN, Boschetti, I., 148–149.

‡ VETTORI, 336.

§ Attempts to procure money were made in a variety of ways, especially by the creation of new offices and invention of new taxes; *cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 24, 44, 89, 116, 149. On Oct. 23, 1521, Castiglione reports as follows to his Marquis: *Il Papa fa provisione di denari gagliardamente. Cardinali farannosi a questo Natale, ma non in tanta quantita come forsi altri estima. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ GUICCIARDINI (XIV. 3) says this explicitly.

all excuse for doubting his steadfastness, he sent Cardinal Medici as Legate to the army in the last week of September. Medici was very unwilling to leave Rome, and hesitated for some time to obey,* though the Pope wrote to him with his own hand commanding him to undertake the work.† The appointment of this man, who, although he often resided in Florence, was nevertheless called into consultation on all important occasions, meant as much as if the Pope himself had been present with the army.‡

Leo X., who had been seriously ill in the last week of August, but had now recovered as quickly,§ was again taken ill in the night between the 25th and 26th of October. This time it was not owing to a chill or to his old fistula trouble, but to his chronic state of excitement.|| However, by the 5th of November he was again convalescent;¶ and on the 15th he held a Consistory. At this, for a consideration of 10,000 ducats, he gave the Duke Giovanni Maria da Varano of Camerino the title of Admiral of the Papal fleet.** Next day, contrary to precedent, the Pope was present at the obsequies of a Cardinal; he wished to prove that he had quite recovered his health. After this he went

* VETTORI, 336.

† *Il card. de Medici verà in campo benchè mal voluntieri. Il Papa li ha scritto una lettera di man propria efficacissima. *Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, Sept. 26, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 3.

§ See Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 475.

|| *Cf.*, with SANUTO, XXXII., 89, the detailed **Reports of B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dat. Rome, Oct. 26, 27, and 28, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

¶ SANUTO, XXXII., 116.

** See *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 187.

to his hunting villa at Magliana.* Ambassadors who had any news to communicate, visited him there in numbers, and were received without ceremony. On the 23rd of November Castiglione, the Ambassador of the Marquis of Mantua, had a long conversation with him at Magliana, about the events of the war and the chances of taking Milan.†

On the afternoon of the 24th of November the secretary of Cardinal Medici arrived in Rome with the intelligence that the capital of Lombardy had been taken.‡ He at once went on to Magliana, accompanied by Giberti. They found the Pope saying Lauds, having just reached the passage in the Benedictus: "that being delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve him without fear" (Luke i. 74). Leo's joy at the news brought was intense, although he realized that the war was as yet only half over. He had all the details related to him, and put many questions as to the condition of the army, the position of the French, Cardinal Medici's state of health, and the dispositions of the Milanese. Messenger after messenger

* SANUTO, XXXII., 149.

† See Castiglione's letter of Nov. 23, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua), printed in the rare *Nozzeschrift* Lettere dipl. del conte B. Castiglione, Padova, 1875.

‡ For the last days of Leo X., described by many writers with the most arbitrary misstatements (ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 477), *cf.* especially the trustworthy and detailed account of Bart. Angelelli on Dec. 3, 1521, and that of G. Bonfiglio of Dec. 5, in SANUTO, XXXII, 239 *seq.* and 233; *cf.* 187 (where there is apparently a fault in the date) and 203–204, extracts from Gradenigo's letters; Castiglione's letters in BASCHET, Cath. de Médicis, 266–267; *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 365, 366; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1824, 1825; Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 109, and HOFFMANN, 475–477; ALBÈRI, II., 3, 71; VETTORI, 338 (with wrong date); *Letter of Ang. Germanello, dat. Rome, 1521, Dec. 2 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *Letter of Stefano Saffa (detto l'Eremita), dat. Rome, 1521, Dec. 1 (State Archives, Modena).

was despatched to Rome with orders to celebrate the event in a fitting manner. Cannon from St. Angelo proclaimed the victory to the inhabitants of the Eternal City; the joy caused by the news was altogether indescribable.*

At Magliana those in the immediate entourage of the Pope were intoxicated with joy, especially the Swiss, who looked on the capture of Milan as an avenging of Marignano. Fireworks were sent off throughout the night, to the accompaniment of music and volleys of guns. This commotion, added to his excitement, kept the Pope awake all night. It was reported that he passed it sitting at the open window, sunk in thought, and watching the doings of the Swiss, till he became so chilled that he had to return to the stove to warm. By this imprudence he caught a severe chill, and symptoms of fever soon set in. In the afternoon of the 25th of November the Pope returned to Rome. It was one of those glorious winter days such as are perhaps known only in Rome, with the sun shining with almost too much warmth; in spite of this the Pope shivered and walked part of the distance on foot; this did not improve matters, for, owing to his corpulence, he broke into a profuse perspiration. However, he paid scarcely any attention to this, so occupied was he by the thought of the great reception which was awaiting him in Rome, which was to remind him of the ovation at the beginning of his Pontificate, when he took possession of the Lateran. The crowds greeted him with joy, and the Cardinals received him with reverence. Everywhere the air echoed with joyous cries and salvos of cannon. He beamed with joy, and said to the Imperial Ambassador that he rejoiced more over the conquest of Milan than he had rejoiced at his election to the Papal

* *Cf.* Castiglione's letter of Nov. 24, 1521, in the writing about the *Esenzioni*, 28–29, quoted *supra*, p. 45, n.

chair.* These words show with a terrible clearness how far the secularization of the supreme dignity of the Church had advanced since it was commenced by Sixtus IV.†

Leo X. talked with his Master of Ceremonies about the arrangements for a solemn service of thanksgiving for the victory. Paris de Grassis remarked in his dry way that public thanksgivings should not be offered up for a victory gained over a Christian power, unless there had been at stake some special advantage for the Church. Full of glee, the Pope replied, smiling, that the greatest advantage for the Church was at stake, and that on Wednesday he would make all arrangements in a Consistory.‡ Rome held high festival till late into the night. As was their way, the Romans indulged in the wildest of surmises, and many believed, without a shadow of proof, that the Duchy of Milan was destined for Cardinal Medici.§

In the evening the Pope dined in the best of spirits, and that night slept well. But next morning (November 26), while he was giving audience to Cardinal Trivulzio and

* Manuel, Nov. 27, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 364.

† How much this was felt by contemporaries is shown in several passages by the Sienese chronicler TIZIO. In 1521 he writes thus: *Et profecto mirum est cur pontifices Christianorum, qui pace studere deberent et nulli parti regum dissidentium adherere, assensum praebeant atque procurent Christiani cruoris tantum effundi in dies ac virginum multitudinem lupanari infamia pollui prophanari edes sacras ac virginum vestalium fedari monasteria, sacra vasa sacramve suppellectilem diripi sine ullo dei aliusve ultoris metu, clerum et pia loca in dies gravibus pecuniar. decimationibus onerari et anghariari. Cod. G, II., 39, f. 41, of the Chigi Library, Rome.

‡ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 109.

§ Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 475. *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 115, who emarks further: Mancano di ciò le prove.

one of his relatives, he was taken with a shivering fit and had to break off the interview and return to bed. Though restless in the night, he felt fairly well on Wednesday the 27th, though rather weak, so that the Consistory was postponed. The physicians declared that his ailment was a case of simple intermittent fever, the consequence of the chill he had caught in the night at Magliana. Towards evening and during the following days they gave the usual remedies for cold and intermittent fever, and had no doubt that the Pope would be quite well in a few days. But in the evening of the 29th of November he had such a severe fainting fit that the doctors became alarmed. Already arrangements were being made in several quarters for the possibility of a vacancy in the Holy See.* Nor did the Pope conceal from himself the gravity of his state, and made a general confession with great devotion.† However, on Saturday he again felt so well that he sent off some Briefs and enjoyed some music. He went so far as to declare that in eight days, on the Feast of St. Ambrose, he wished to visit the church of that saint, and also S. Maria del Popolo. But in the evening violent fever suddenly returned and he lost consciousness for a time; those about him were much alarmed,‡ and three messengers were sent to Cardinal Medici.

* See Giberti's letter of Nov. 30, 1521, in BALAN, Boschetti, I., 177 *seq.*

† S. Sta se avea confessato il Venere quando ebbe il primo accidente. Report of G. Bonfiglio in SANUTO, XXXII., 233; *cf.* 235, 243. The Swiss captain, Kaspar Röist, also testifies to this in his letter of Dec. 4 (Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 153). See also Castiglione's letter of Dec. 2 in BASCHET, Catherine de Médecis, 267. GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 265) is mistaken in gathering from this letter that the Pope also received Communion.

‡ *Cf.* the *Letter of Floriano Montino, dated from Rome, Nov. 30, 1521. State Archives, Modena.

In the night he was very ill, and in the morning of the 1st of December he complained of great interior heat, and it was with difficulty that he allowed himself to be persuaded to take some nourishment. Then once again he was better and the fever left him. He was in great spirits and talked a great deal, and the doctors again entertained hopes of a speedy recovery. He had already heard of the conquest of Piacenza, and now on this day he learned that Parma had been taken. To win back these two cities had been his chief motive for beginning the war; and he had declared at the time to Cardinal Medici that he would gladly purchase their recovery with his life.* It seemed now that his hope of securing the independence of the Holy See, by an increase of the States of the Church, was about to be realized.†

The improvement in the Pope's condition continued all day. Feeling quite easy about him, the few persons who had been admitted to the sick-room went away. These were the doctor, Cardinal Pucci, Bishop Ponzetti, the Pope's two nephews Salviati and Ridolfi, and his sister Lucrezia, wife of Jacopo Salviati. However, at eleven o'clock a more violent shivering fit than any before seized on him. Leo X. knew that his hour had come, and at once asked for Extreme Unction. Viaticum was deferred, presumably because of his extreme weakness.‡ He repeatedly kissed the crucifix, and called on the name of Jesus: it was his last word. When Cardinal Pucci, who had been summoned in haste,

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4.

† NITTI, 456.

‡ B. Angelelli says explicitly: "S. Sta cognoscendo el morire adomandò l'oglio santo"; SANUTO, XXXII., 242. The contrary statement in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 477, RANKE, I.[8], 58, and BROSCH, I., 62, that Leo X. died without the last sacraments, is therefore absolutely false.

entered the room, he found the Pope unconscious.* He died at midnight.†

Early in the morning of the 2nd of December the totally unexpected news of the death of the Supreme Pontiff was spread throughout the city, where all the shops were shut. The consternation of the friends and adherents of the Medici Pope was very great. Their glory had departed: and even in the night they carried off from the Vatican everything that they could lay hands on.‡ In the morning the Cardinals could be seen hurrying to the Vatican for a preliminary consultation. The Palace was closed, and the Swiss mounted fifty pieces of ordnance on it, while everywhere men armed themselves. Everything, however, remained quiet, so good

* The oft-repeated assertion of a popular preacher in 1537, that Fra Mariano alone remained by the Pope's death-bed (see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 380), is not confirmed by the version we have seen B. Angelelli's detailed and well-founded contemporary report. On the other hand we find the information, "Frate Mariano buffone li raccomandava l'anima per quanto si dice," in a letter sent from Rome on Dec. 21, 1521; SANUTO, XXXII., 289. But this anonymous letter contains the most malicious exaggerations (see REUMONT, III., 2, 123), and also direct untruths, *e.g.* that the Pope had died without confession. *Cf.* also ROSSI, Pasquinate, XI.

† There was a post-mortem examination of the body next day (see the report drawn up from the statements of Paris de Grassis in HOFFMAN, 479 *seq.*, which are not in this case very sufficient, and LAEMMER, Mantissa, 200–201; *cf.* B. Castiglione in NITTI, 455). The body was laid out in Cardinal Medici's rooms, and afterwards removed to St. Peter's (SANUTO, XXXII., 242), and there interred in the evening; *cf.* FABRONIUS, 239.

‡ According to Gradenigo (ALBÈRI, *loc. cit.*, 71) Leo's sister Lucrezia took part in the pillage. An authentic proof that many things were stolen from the Vatican in the night before Leo's death is found in some *marginal notes to the *Inventarium omnium bonorum existentium in foraria S. D. Leonis X., f. 8 and f. 8*b*. State Archives, Rome.

were the precautionary measures taken by the Sacred College.*

The sudden death of this Pope, at the early age of forty-six, at the very moment when messenger after messenger was arriving with news of fresh victories, has something tragic about it. "Just eight days ago," wrote Castiglione of the 2nd of December, "His Holiness returned from Magliana in triumphal procession, such as had not been seen since the first days of his Pontificate. This evening there will take place a very different kind of solemnity, his interment in St. Peter's. Thus changeable is human fortune! The Lord God overthrows our plans as He pleases."†

It may be said that the proverbial good-fortune of Leo X. accompanied him to his death; for had he lived, he would have had to carry on the war with an exhausted exchequer and under the greatest difficulties. He knew only of the triumph of his arms, what was to follow was hidden from him.‡

As in all cases of sudden death, there was much talk of

* *Cf.* the lucid reports in SANUTO, XXXII., 237 *seq.*, 242, and the letter of Kaspar Röist in Eidgenöss. Abschiede, IV., 1, 153. See also BERGENROTH, II., n. 368, and the *Letter of B. Castiglione, Dec. 3, 1521, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BASCHET, Catherine de Médecis, 266. *Cf.* also Giraldi in FABRONIUS, 317.

‡ SISMONDI, XIV., 536. It is well known that Wolsey attributed to the Pope the intention of using the power of the Hapsburg only to destroy that of the French; and that this being done, he meant to turn round on Charles so as to rid Italy of all foreign ascendancy. Guicciardini gathered the same thing from Cardinal Medici. NITTI also (457) does not consider that this idea should be quite rejected, but does right in putting it forward with the greatest caution, for the prudent Medici must have been aware that what might have been possible during the lifetime of Maximilian would be hopeless in face of such a power as that of Charles V.

poison connected with that of Leo X. The discoloration and swelling of the body after death were taken by many as a sure sign that his decease was the result of a crime.* But the physician Severino, who had been present at the post-mortem examination, declared that there was no question of any such thing, though he admitted that he could not persuade his colleagues of it.† Suspicion fell at once on the Pope's cup-bearer, Bernabò Malaspina, who belonged to the French party; his behaviour excited suspicion, and he was arrested. However, his examination brought nothing to light on which his accusers could lay hands; Cardinal Medici had him set at liberty, presumably so as not to make an irreconcilable enemy of Francis I., should he be found to be mixed up in the case.‡ Both Francesco Maria della Rovere and the Duke of Ferrara were mentioned as instigators of the crime. The latter gave an excuse for this suspicion by the scandalous signs of joy in which he indulged when he heard of his enemy's decease. He rewarded with generosity those who brought the news, and vilified the memory of the dead Pontiff in every possible way.§

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 109; SANUTO, XXXII., 217, 234, 235 *seq.*; Reports of the Mayence Ambassador in KRAFFT, Briefe und Dokumente aus der Zeit der Reformation, Elberfeld, 1875, 31, 32, 24, and letters of Castiglione in RENIER, Notizia, 19 *seqq.*, and MARTINATI, 40 *seqq.*

† See Bonfiglio's report, SANUTO, XXXII., 234, and Paris de Grassis, *loc. cit.*

‡ SANUTO, XXXII., 234, 238; Campeggio in BREWER, III., n. 2, 1869; JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 4; GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4; Paris de Grassis, *loc. cit.*; *Blasii de Martinelles de Cesena, Diarium (Ceremonial Archives of the Vatican).

§ *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita Alphonsi; FRIZZI, Mem. di Ferrara, IV., 286; ARIOSTO, Lettere ed. Cappelli, 3rd ed., Milano, 1887, LXXXII BALAN, *seqq.*; VI., 55–56.

Francesco Vettori, the great friend of the Medici, has declared himself, in his History of Italy, adverse to the idea of poison. In a letter to the Englishman, Clerk,* he attributes the Pope's death entirely to the chill he caught in the night at Magliana; and says that anyone who knew Leo's constitution, his corpulency, his bloated countenance, and almost chronic catarrh, as well as his manner of living, with frequent fasts and heavy meals, would be surprised that he had lived so long.†

Two of the most celebrated contemporary historians, Guicciardini and Giovio, are firmly convinced that he was poisoned,‡ as is also Baldassare Castiglione.§ Nevertheless, the result of the post-mortem, as far as it is known, as well as the form taken by the Pope's illness of intermittent fever with intervals of complete convalescence, offered no sanction for the idea of death by

* Clerk to Wolsey, Dec. 2, BREWER, III., 2, n. 1825.

† VETTORI, 338. H. Borgia also mentions the peculiarity of his dietary in his report, which is in other respects incredibly embellished in BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 62, n. 1. Manuel speaks of this in his letter of Dec. 2 (BERGENROTH, II., n. 366), with a cautious hint about poison.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 4; GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4. The suspicion of poison is definitely indicated by these; and K. Röist, in the report above quoted, says that there was a suspicion of poisoned wine having been given. The same is said in LANCELLOTTI, I., 210: "El si dice." The statement of GORI is similar (Archivio, IV., 245). See also ROSSI, Pasquinate, IX. Among modern historians GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 264) has expressed himself most strongly against the theory of poison, but without any clear reasons for the doubt. NITTI (455) says truly that to all appearances the illness was that of "febbre perniciosa," yet there seemed some foundation for the suspicion of poison. In April, 1519, Venice had reported that a certain scoundrel had wished to poison the Pope and his relatives; see LAMANSKY, Secrets de Venise, 406–407.

§ RENIER, Notizia, 19–20.

violence. Everything points rather to the idea that Leo X., like Alexander VI., was the victim of a virulent attack of malaria.*

The number of enemies possessed by Leo was revealed by the extravagant attacks which were showered on his memory after his death. Verses of bitterest scorn and senseless rage poured in. The favourites of the Medici, whose hopes were now destroyed, were ridiculed by satirical pictures and medals with biting inscriptions.† Every manner of accusation was levelled against the late Pope. This immoderate abuse was only equalled by the immoderate flattery which had been showered on him when newly elected.‡ In other ways also his end was in striking contrast with the brilliant beginning of his Pontificate. In consequence of the financial need his funeral obsequies, though not as mean as had been some, were by no means brilliant.§ His funeral oration, delivered by Antonio da Spello, was very short. There could have been nothing

* As at the present day, this infectious malaria raged at that time in the neighbourhood of Magliana; see JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. Cases of malaria are prevalent in a damp, warm winter, especially when added to imprudence like that of Leo X. in the night of November 25.

† SANUTO, XXXII., 288, 289–290.

‡ Some of these pasquinades in SANUTO, XXXII., 289, 302, 356 (the one there quoted, "Intravit ut vulpes, vixit ut leo, mortuus est ut canis," had already been applied to Boniface VIII., see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXI., 401), others in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. Cod. G, II., 39, f. 66*b seqq.* (Chigi Library, Rome), and elsewhere; *cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, XII. *seqq.*, 78; Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, XXXVIII., 682, LI., 535 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXVIII., 58 *seq.*, 88 *seqq.*; GNOLI, Secolo, III., 48 *seqq.*; CESAREO, 195, 207 *seqq.* Many unprinted, esp. in Cod. Ottob., 2817, Vatican Library. Alongside of these there are not wanting praises of the dead; see ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 47, n. 2.

§ See Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 481 *seqq.* (*cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 89). SANUTO, XXXII., 260–271, 274.

noteworthy in it, or it would not have passed without mention.* The Pope of the Renaissance, so devoted to magnificence, was buried very poorly; a simple tomb in St. Peter's covered his mortal remains.† It was only in the Pontificate of Paul III. that a great tomb in white marble was erected for him in the choir behind the high altar at S. Maria sopra Minerva. Its execution was given to the Florentine, Baccio Bandinelli,‡ and the work of designing it entrusted to Antonio di Sangallo.§ Four Corinthian columns support an arch surmounted by the Medici arms and subjects in relief; that in the middle depicts the meeting of Leo X. with Francis I. at Bologna; in the principal niche sits the Medici Pope, holding the keys in his left hand, while he raises the right in blessing. The figures of the Princes of the Apostles,|| by Baccio Bandinelli, the

* Paris de Grassis (*Diarium) says it is true: *Ipse sermo fuit brevis, compendiosus et accommodatus. On the other hand, SANUTO remarks (XXXII., 290) that the discourse was "assai brutta et da piovan da villa." The numerous commemorative discourses delivered at the Universities are preserved; see ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 48-49.

† JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4.

‡ *Cf.* the contract of 1536 in Arch. stor. dell' Arte, V., 2, 305. Vasari (in the Life of Alf. Lombardi) relates that when Clement VII. died, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici commissioned that sculptor to prepare the tombs of both Medici Popes. Lombardi prepared them from drawings by Michael Angelo, and went to Carrara to choose the marble. When Cardinal Ippolito died, Lombardi was dismissed by Cardinals Salviati, Ridolfi, Pucci, Cibo, and Gaddi, and, at the request of Leo's sister, Lucrezia Salviati, the execution of the monument was handed over to Baccio Bandinelli, who had prepared a sketch of it during the lifetime of Clement VII. There is a sketch of the tomb in CIACONIUS, III., 331, and CLAUSSE, San Gallo, II., 317, who, however, changed the two tombs of Leo X. and Clement VII.

§ CLAUSSE, *loc. cit.*, II., 316.

|| Not virtues, as they are called by LÜBKE, Gesch. der Plastik (2nd ed., 1871), 734 *seqq.*

needy rival of Michael Angelo, which stand in the two side niches, are quite as commonplace as the central figure of the Pope executed by Raffaello da Montelupo. The whole thing is a cold and insipid piece of work, unworthy of the patron of Raphael. As is most unusual, there is no inscription on the tomb.* Yet never was there a Pope who was the subject of more inscriptions in his lifetime than Leo X.

* MASETTI (Mem. della chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva, Roma, 1855, 19) surmises that the inscription may be covered by the stalls. There is no foundation for this idea. The translation of Leo's bones, together with those of Clement VII., from St. Peter's to S. Maria sopra Minerva, took place, according to MORONI, XII., 143, on the 6th of June, 1542.

CHAPTER III.

Personality and Manner of Life of Leo X. —His Finances and Court.

THE outward appearance of the Pope who gave his name to the age of the Renaissance, with its worship of the beautiful, was far from attractive in itself. Leo X. was of more than middle height, broad-shouldered and very fat, though, as Giovio declares,* he was rather bloated than actually stout. His unusually large head and full face, set on a short neck, were out of proportion with the rest of his body. His legs were in themselves well shaped, but too short for the frame they supported. The only beautiful things about him were his well-cared-for and snow-white hands, which he took pleasure in adorning with costly rings. The want of charm of his flabby, fat face was increased by his weak and prominent eyes, and their unusually short sight, which was an inherited

* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 4. In what follows *cf.* the anonymous Vita Leonis X., in the Cod. Vatic., 3920, printed in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 618 *seq.*, and ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 153 *seqq.*; *cf.* the same (177 *seqq.*) about the value of this very impartial biographical sketch written soon after the death of Leo X. In the printing some passages unfavourable to Leo X. have been omitted; see JANUS, 381. Finally, *cf.* Gradenigo's narrative in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 72, and Bonivard in MONNIER (Literaturgesch. der Renaissance, Nördlingen, 1888, 356 *seq.*). See CIAN in the Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XLVIII., 419 *seq.* See also DELABORDE, M. A. Raimondi, 59.

family defect.* This, in spite of his efforts to dispense with it, compelled him to make frequent use of a magnifying glass.† A drawing in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, reproduces the coarse features of Leo X. with lifelike faithfulness.‡

The unpleasant impression at first produced by his exterior almost entirely disappeared after further intercourse. The Pope's musical and pleasant voice, his intelligent way of expressing himself, and his manner, which, for all its majesty, was friendly and full of charm, his lively interest in science and art, and his unaffected delight with the creations laid at his feet by the highly-cultivated men of the age, could not fail to captivate all who came in contact with him. Raphael has reproduced this side of his character in his famous portrait of his patron in the Pitti Gallery.§ This wonderful portrait, in spite of

* See ARIOSTO, Lettere ed. Cappelli, 3rd ed., Milano, 1887, 23; and the facetious remarks of Equicola, LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 210.

† See BURCKHARDT, I.[7] 344, and the literature therein quoted.

‡ *Cf.* STRONG, Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, London, 1904.

§ A fresh and excellent copy of this by Andrea del Sarto is in the Museum at Naples. A copy by Bugiardini is in the Corsini Gallery in Rome. *Cf.* A. NICCOLINI, Sul ritratto di Leone X., dipinto da Raffaello e sulla copia di A. del Sarto, Napoli, 1841; (R. BETTI) Sul ritratto di Leone X., etc., Napoli, 1842; C. PANCALDI, Sulla vertenza intorno al ritratto di Leone X., Milano, 1842; G. MASSELLI, Sul ritratto di Leone X., dipinto da Raffaello e sulla copia fatta da A. del Sarto, Firenze, 1842; H. DE GARRIOD, De la légitimité du portrait de Léon X., Réponse à A. Niccolini, Florence, 1842; E. ROCCO, Intorno al ritratto di Leone X., *s.l.*, 1842; C. GUERRA, Sul Leone X., del R. Museo Borbonico, Napoli, 1843; C. d'Arco ed. U. BRAGHIROLLI in the Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, VII., 2, 175 *seq.*; REUMONT in the Jahrb. für Kunstwiss., 1868, 211 *seq.*; SPRINGER, Raphaël, 114 *seq.*; GRUYER, Raphaël peintre d. portraits, 333 *seqq.*, 360 *seqq.*; STRZYGOWSKI, 47

its being embellished and ennobled,* reproduces the originality and personality of the Pope far more correctly than does the above-mentioned sketch or the highly-realistic commemorative statue in the Capitol.†

Raphael has represented the Pope in his simple morning dress with the full red cape (mozetta), and the cap on his head which is known as the *camauro.* He is sitting at ease in an elbow-chair before a table, on the red damask cover of which there stands a richly-chased bell, with an open manuscript illuminated with miniatures. In his left hand,

seq. Against an unjust criticism of the picture, see Kunstchronik, 1899–1900, No. 22. Most later portraits are based on the one in the Pitti; see KENNER, 144. Other portraits are taken from the fresco of Attila (*cf.* CROWE, Raffael, II., 153), and the above-mentioned (p. 72) drawing by Sebastiano del Piombo, and the miniature from it in the collection of Prosper-Valton (reproduced in MÜNTZ, Tapiss., 5), and the sketch of 1513 in the Hofmuseum in Vienna (3rd room, No. 460, 291). A beautiful marble bust, rather more than life size, made for Giannozzo Pandolfini, in the palace of that name, is not yet made public. Family tradition calls it the work of Michael Angelo, which is manifestly incorrect. Alfonso Lombardi's colossal marble statue of Leo X. (in which the Pope is represented as giving his blessing), in the Palazzo Vecchio, is a commonplace work. Still more may this be said of the bust in the same Palazzo in the Sala di Leone X. Caradosso and Sangallo designed medals of Leo X.; *cf.* ARMAND, I., 111, 159; II., 113, 114; III., 27, 31, 45, 46, 62, 143, 201–202. As to coins, see CINAGLI, Monete de' papi, Fermo, 1848; SCHULTE, I., 218 *seqq.* Fine cameos with the head of Leo X. are in the Uffizi at Florence (Nos. 500, 501, 3202, 3203); *cf.* WICKHOFF in Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen, 1906, S. 54.

* GRIMM (Leben Raphaels, 439) declares that in this picture the painter of Urbino has "done more for his patron's memory than could have been done by the most brilliant historian. . . . It is the masterpiece of Raphael in this direction, and comes second to no historical portrait of any age. Vasari's praise was quite justified." Many, *e.g.* B. SCHUBLING, Florenz (Stuttgart, 1902), 132, place it above that of Julius II.

† *Cf.*, about this, *infra*, 283 *seqq.*, 352.

the intellectual friend of literature and art holds a magnifying glass, through which he has been examining the paintings, and seems anxious to have the opinion of Cardinals Medici and Rossi, who are standing beside him. By just these few touches—the glass, the illuminated book, and the beautiful bell—the Pope's characteristics as a lover of beauty and patron of art are placed on the canvas. The head, large out of proportion, the heavy expression, the flabby, beardless face, the furrowed forehead and the double-chin, are all truthfully reproduced.* The expression of the countenance is pre-eminently that of gentleness and kindliness, united to the quiet dignity of a self-conscious ruler and shrewd, calculating diplomatist. The expression of the persuasive mouth, round which there plays a smile, is inimitable, and illustrates to a marvellous degree what Giovio says about the refined and pleasant way of speaking peculiar to Leo X., and which could be quite as serious in important matters as it was full of a delightful ease, a gay humour, and the greatest courtesy imaginable in the ordinary affairs of life.†

Leo's cheerfulness of temper, which never failed him, even when suffering from his constitutional ailments, and especially the fistula trouble, is extolled by all contemporary writers;‡ though, added to his infirmities, it no

* WÖLFFLIN, Klass. Kunst., 116.

† JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4; and the Vita Anon. in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 619–620.

‡ As to Leo's generally weak health, and especially his fistula troubles, which brought on a severe illness in the summer of 1516, *cf.*, as well as the Vita Anon. in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 619, SANUTO, XXII., 372, 412, 443, 456, 475; XXIII., 268; XXV., 204, 438, 611 *seqq.*; XXVI., 7, 51, 216; XXIX., 164 *seqq.*; *cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 156, and *supra*, p. 58, and MARINI, I., 318 *seqq.* In the same (I., 303 *seqq.*) are valuable accounts of Leo's physicians and surgeons. The "Archangiolo" mentioned on p. 282 received eight ducats a month;

doubt increased the dilatoriness and slowness of action which were such characteristic features of the Medici Pope.* The discomforts suffered by Leo, especially during long ecclesiastical functions, by reason of his corpulence, have been testified by his Master of Ceremonies, who describes how, on such occasions, he saw him keep wiping the perspiration from his face and hands.†

The observant Venetian Ambassador, Marino Giorgi, has drawn Leo's character most admirably with a few strokes of the pen. "The Pope," he says in his final report of March, 1517, "is a very good-tempered and generous man, who shrinks from severe exertion and desires peace. He would never be drawn into war unless entangled in it by his adherents. He loves the sciences and is well versed in

see *SERAPICA, Spese private di Leone X., I. (State Archives, Rome). See also Mem. di ill. Pisani, IV., 291 *seqq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 206. Among the physicians was the celebrated Jew, Bonet de Lattes, to whom Reuchlin turned (*cf.* MAULDE, Juifs dans les États du St. Siege, Paris, 1886, 17, and VOGELSTEIN, II., 35, 81, 83). It was not at all unusual to have Jews as physicians (*cf.* J. MÜNZ, Ueber die jüdischen Aerzte, im Mittelalter, Berlin, 1887; LANDAU, Gesch. der jüdischen Aerzte, Berlin, 1895). Even before his election Leo X. had a Jew (perhaps as a physician?) in his service. This man wished to settle in Ferrara, and Medici recommended him to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara: *Cum Isac Hebreus de Phano in nos dum in minoribus essemus familiamque nostram plurima obsequia impenderit diuque fideliter inservierit. *Brief dated from Rome, May 2, 1513 (State Archives, Modena). In Nos. 102 and 105 of the Borgo Nuovo in Rome we can still admire the beautiful palace of Leo's court physician, Giacomo di Bartolomeo da Brescia (*cf.* ADINOLFI, Portica di San Pietro, 109), the plan of which is ascribed to Raphael or Peruzzi. The inscription over it: Leonis X. Pont. Max. liberalitate || Jacobus Brixianus Chirugus || Aedificavit || no longer exists. About this physician who was attending Leo during the Conclave, *cf.*, besides MARINI, I., 317, the *Uffiziali camerali, 1515–1521, f. 8, State Archives, Rome.

* *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 428, and GNOLI, Cacce, 15.

† Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 416; *cf.* 420.

literature and canon law; but above all else he is an excellent musician." * "He is learned and the friend of literature," is Marco Minio's account, written some three years later; "he fulfils his religious duties conscientiously, but he will live and enjoy life. He takes especial pleasure in the chase." †

Marino Giorgi's narrative also contains the report of Leo having said to his brother Giuliano, soon after his election, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us." These words have been too readily repeated and accepted by authors who aspire after what is sensational; but they rest on no authentic tradition. The Ambassador who records them did not take up his post in Rome till two years after the election; therefore he is not a contemporary witness: furthermore, as a Venetian, he was by no means likely to speak impartially of Leo X. Evidently Giorgi is merely repeating an anecdote of the ante-chamber. ‡ Other writers, who could speak with even less authority, give a different version of the words; § on the other hand, Giovio and also Guicciardini scorn to take up or spread the reported words. || However questionable it may be whether Leo X. ever did say those words, there is no doubt that they are descriptive of his desire for pleasure, and of the aspect in which he regarded his great position. Without suspecting the dangers which menaced the Papacy from

* SANUTO, XXIV., 90, 93; ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 51, 56.

† SANUTO, XXVIII., 517; ALBÈRI, *loc. cit.*, 64.

‡ *Cf.* MASI, Studi, I., 132, 158. Masi tries also to prove that the words as uttered with their original context have a different sense, and that by them Leo only wished to curb the covetous proclivities of his court.

§ *Cf.* PRATO, 405. According to J. Ziegler, Leo X. is made to say: "Nunc triumphabimus, amici." RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., VI., 132.

|| On the other hand, the author of the Vita Anonyma in Cod. Vatic., 3920, adopted them; see JANUS, 381.

within, he regarded himself only as the fortunate heir of the achievements of his powerful predecessor and as secure in his inheritance. He was zealously determined to maintain the strong position of the Holy See as he found it; but, for the rest, he gave himself without reserve to the intellectual enjoyments which the newly-opened world of the ancients, and the highly-developed culture of his own age, offered to him with such bountiful fulness.

The masterpieces of antiquity and the marvellous creations of contemporary artists interested him no less than did the thrilling accounts which reached him from the newly-discovered countries,* the elegant discourses and poems of the humanists, the frivolous comedies of a Bibbiena or an Ariosto, the bewitching compositions of distinguished musicians, the witty sallies of his improvisatori and the coarse jests of the buffoons, who were at that time the welcome entertainment of almost every court. Everything unpleasant † was removed as far as possible from him, for an insatiable search for pleasure was a leading principle in his existence. This was a family characteristic, and with him it took shape from the surroundings in which he found himself.

Music and the drama, art and poetry, the intellectual, witty, and often coarse conversation of the courtiers, were enjoyed by the Pope with the unembarrassed light-heartedness of a spoilt child of the world. In all this he was a true son of that age of ferment, in which good and evil were mingled in the most extraordinary manner. His character

* He used to read these records of an evening, *usque ad nauseam*, to his sister, PETRI MART., Epist., 562. The great interest taken by the Pope in a work entitled Origine de' Turchi, is related by A. Gabbionaet in his *Report of Nov. 25, 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† We find in the ambassadorial reports such words as these: "Non vol fastidi." SANUTO, XXVI., 509.

reveals a peculiar combination of glorious and inglorious qualities, but what was light, gay, and infinitely versatile was far from being balanced by earnestness, depth, and originality. The rays of the Renaissance were focussed on him, and from them he borrowed glory, and by them irresistibly attracted to himself men of the most diverse nationalities and characters.*

The range of the finer qualities of Leo X. is so evident that no one can doubt them. To these belong his high culture, his receptivity of all that was beautiful, his great gift of eloquence,† the ease and gracefulness of his epistolary style, Latin as well as Italian, his happy memory, his good judgment,‡ and, finally, the dignity, majesty, and piety which were conspicuous on all occasions in which he took part in the public worship of God.

That Leo X., in spite of the cheerful worldliness which seemed to be part of him, was conscientious in the fulfilment of all his religious duties—such as saying his Office, attending at divine worship, and observing the fasts—and that he manifested his piety on many occasions, is testified especially by his Master of Ceremonies,§ and

* See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 267 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 142; WOLZOGEN, Raffael, 98; MASI, I., 135.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 73 and 137; see also SANUTO, XV., 225, and Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 450.

‡ With JOVIUS, Vita, *cf.* the Vita Anonyma, *loc. cit.*, and Matth. Herculanus in FABRONIUS, 205.

§ *Cf.* Paris de Grassis, 1513, March 24 (ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 62). About the Corpus Christi procession of 1513, Paris de Grassis reports as follows: *Cumque alii dicerent ipsum cum mitra pretiosa ire oportere et non cum simplici propter solemnitatem actus et ego dicerem, me Iulium iussisse sine mitra retento solo bireto albo propter aerem matutinum, ipse hoc audito devote auscultans iussit ambas mitras aufferri a se et etiam voluit per totam viam usque ad ultimum actus esse nudo capite, et sic fuit reverentissime, quod a multis fuit tamquam

also by others who by no means shrank from reporting things which were unfavourable to their master. Even the Venetian Ambassadors, who were but little inclined to be partial towards Leo, while often relating instances of his love of pleasure, are emphatic on the subject of his undoubted piety. It was this piety which led the busy Pope to hear Mass daily in the Chapel of S. Lorenzo, painted by Fra Angelico, and made him rigidly exact in reciting his daily office.* Whenever the Pope said Mass, he went first to confession.† The reproach made against Leo X., that he took no interest in the more serious sciences, especially in theology, is as unfounded as the accusation that he gave

devotissimus commendatus, licet nonnulli damnaverint non decere pontificem esse nudo capite, ad quos ego respondi immo decere portans sacramentum non procedens suis pedibus prout est sic faciendum. On Dec. 19, 1513, after the sitting of the Council (*cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 10): *Quia pluviae instabant papa recta recessit ad aedes suas omissa basilica. Notavi autem devotionem eius qui cum scalas sanctas, quae Pilati vulgo dicuntur et a mulieribus non nisi genuflexis ascenduntur, non nisi discoperto capite ac semper orando ascendit et in summo quasi veniam a Deo petiit quod non genuflexus ascenderit. Haec dixi quia non possem eius in omnibus et universis actionibus pietatem referre, sed haec alibi. About the Corpus Christi procession in 1516: *Papa semper fuit nudo capite licet a me pluries incitatus, ut, si non mitram saltem birretum assumeret propter sanitatem, sed non voluit. On the vigil of the Epiphany, 1519: In spite of "frigus intensum" the Pope took part in the divine worship. *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican and Rossiana Library in Vienna). *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 34 and 233, and HOFFMANN, 443. See also SANUTO, XXVII., 297. Leo X. was more severe with his fasts than is commanded by the Church; see *infra*, p. 143.

* *Cf.* ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 64; SANUTO, XXIX., 164, 474, and *supra*, p. 59. On August 15, 1517, PARIS DE GRASSIS mentions the capella parva superior, in qua papa quotidie parvam missam audit quaeque dicata est S. Laurentio et Stephano. *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† SANUTO, XXIII., 395.

utterance to infidel and free-thinking opinions.* Leo X. was but too often very worldly, but most certainly he was no unbeliever, even though he was not a man of deep interior religion. If he was not so ready as most of his contemporaries to consider extraordinary occurrences as miraculous, in the strict sense of the term, such sobriety of judgment on his part is only worthy of commendation.†

As to the purity of the morals of Leo X., it can only be said that as a Cardinal his reputation in this respect was

* The words "Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus saeculis notum," which Leo is reported to have said in connection with Bembo, were attributed to him in a violent satire by an apostate Carmelite in the time of Queen Elizabeth (J. BALE, Pageant of Popes, 179, ed. 1574). Although the satire is full of the most senseless statements (such as that Bembo was made Cardinal, and that Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici were bastard sons of the Pope, etc.), this anecdote has been accepted by many writers on the mere word of this anti-Papal partisan who was not even a contemporary. BAYLE (Dict. art., Léon X.) expresses his surprise at this, and, like ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 83–84, rejects the utterance as totally unworthy of belief. The *Diarium of the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, retails many of Leo's confidential utterances, but not one which savours of infidelity. Moreover, in the thousands of ambassadorial reports in the Archives of Mantua, Modena, and Florence, which the Marchese Ferrajoli and I looked through between us, there is not the slightest trace of anything said by Leo X. which could be interpreted in an infidel sense. Nor are there any words from trustworthy sources of Luther (*cf.* WRAMPELMAYER, Tagebuch Luthers, 68) or other enemies of the Papacy, even though their testimony in such a matter might be open to suspicion (such is the judgment of ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 85), which attribute any opinions to Leo contrary to the immortality of the soul. Even that most acrimonious critic of Leo X., D. GNOLI, says of the Medici Pope that he was not a *miscredente* (Secolo di Leone X., II., 647). About J. Bale, *cf.* BELLESHEIM, Geschichte der kat. Kirche in Irland, II., 92, 98 *seq.*, Mainz, 1890.

† *Cf.* his sober opinion as against that of Paris de Grassis in the case of certain signa or prodigia; see RAYNALDUS, 1518, n. 1. *Cf.* DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 62, and Not. des Ms. du Roi, II., 598 *seq.*

absolutely spotless; there is no proof that as Pope* he was in any way different.

One of the most pleasing aspects of the character of Leo X. is his great benevolence. There was scarcely a work of Christian charity to which he did not give his support. Monasteries and hospitals, not only in Rome but further afield, were the objects of his especial care.† Disabled soldiers, poor students, pilgrims, exiles, the blind, cripples and unfortunates of every description were

* Whereas JOVIUS (Vita, lib. 4) passes over the whole subject of the truth of the accusations brought against the moral conduct of Leo X., and declares that the secrets of the private lives of princes are beyond the sphere of historians, GUICCIARDINI brings strong, though general, accusations against him, without, however, citing one witness. This passage, which has hitherto passed unnoticed, is, curiously enough, to be found in his History of Clement VII., lib. XVI. *c.*, 5. However, Guicciardini is in this an untrustworthy witness. Apart from the fact that he was not at that time living in Rome, he contradicts himself in a most remarkable manner, especially in what concerns Leo X. Thus (XIV., 1), starting with the thoroughly wrong notion that Cardinal Medici conducted all business on his own account, and that Leo was quite passive (alieno sopra modo dalle faccende), the contrary of which is testified by all the Ambassadors (*infra*, p. 89), he soon after remarks most justly that much was attributed to Cardinal Medici which in reality emanated from the Pope. Matth. Herculanus (FABRONIUS, 296) praises chastity as one of Leo's principal virtues, and says explicitly that he preserved it as Pope. On the strength of this ROSCOE-HENKE (III., 510 *seq.*) and REUMONT (III., 2, 125) have rejected the whole of Guicciardini's accusation as without foundation. The reports of the Venetian and Mantuan Ambassadors contain nothing which could warrant the above-named accusations; even Ferrajoli, in an Este despatch, could find nothing beyond an insinuation which proved nothing. ROSCOE-HENKE (II., 55) have refuted the assertion that the Pope's fistula trouble was a consequence of his immoral life. It may be remarked that even GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 224) casts no doubt on the purity of Leo's life.

† JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 2708, 3444, 3844 5176, 5503, 6565, 16,535; BEMBI, Epist., I., 24.

generously helped by him.* No less than 6000 ducats were set aside annually to be spent on alms.† No wonder that, whenever the Pope went out, the poor from all quarters pressed round him to receive of his bounty.‡ These unfortunates often placed themselves in the corridor leading to the Belvedere;§ but it was especially when he made excursions into the country that the poor thronged his steps.‖ He was as active in redeeming poor Christian slaves¶ as he was in maintaining those whom the Turks in their lust of conquest had driven from their homes. The books of accounts kept during his Pontificate are full of notes of his expenditure in cases of this kind. Among those who received regular pensions, we find alongside the entries of quite simple people many names of well-known and proudly titled persons. For instance, together with the members of the unfortunate

* Numerous instances are given in the *Spese di Serapica, I., II., III, State Archives, Rome.

† See *Divers. cam., LXIII. *seq.*, 126[b], Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ On August 19, 1516, the Pope gave thirty ducats in alms on his way to S. Maria Maggiore. *Spese di Serapica, I., State Archives, Rome.

§ On May 19, 1519, there is a note in the *Spese di Serapica, II.: duc. 10 a una donna nel corridoro andando N. S. a Belvedere.

‖ There are numerous instances in the *Spese di Serapica. I take from Vol. II. the list of gifts on one single day in Corneto, Nov. 18, 1520: duc. 8 per amor di Dio a due povere donne in Corneto; duc. 2 a un povero homo, al qual fu rubato due sachi di mele; duc. 25 a una donna, che li fu bruciata la casa in Corneto; duc. 10 a un giovane di Corneto per andar a studiare; duc. 4 a le monache di S. Agostino; duc. 7 a septe pescatori; finally, a 21 donne povere un giulio per una, and an alms for Fra Nicolo di Padua. State Archives, Rome.

¶ *Cf.* Regest Leonis. X., n. 3471, 4559, 5056, 5261, 5500, 5585. See also *Spese di Serapica, III., State Archives, Rome.

house of Aragon,* we find a Catacuzeno, a Tocco di Arta, a Duke of Achaia and prince of Macedonia, and "two sons of the King of Cyprus." †

In his intercourse with others nothing could surpass Leo's tact and amiability. He knew how to adapt the tone of his voice, the expression of his countenance, and even his attitude to the circumstances of the interview. Even when compelled to refuse a request, which he disliked doing above all things, he knew how to soften the hardness of the blow by gentle excuses and by holding out a hope that some other opportunity of meeting might arise to efface any unfavourable impression. He was indeed always too apt to promise a great deal more than he could do; and one of his biographers attributes to this the revulsion of feeling against him which took place after his death. But whatever he had he gave away joyfully and freely, and he often said that he would gladly do more if it were in his power to do so.‡

And yet this same man could be very hard, especially in political matters. As in other respects, so in this, the

* *Leo X. assignat Isabellae seniori relictae Federici regis Siciliae et Isabellae iuniori et Iuliae de Aragonia pensiones, July 5, 1521. Cod. Barb., lat. 2428, f. 14, Vatican Library.

† See AMATI, 215, 217, 219, 220, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 236. *Cf.* also Regest. Leonis X., n. 1990, 6216, 6505, 7409, 7417; SANUTO, XXVI., 510, and Rev. d. Bibl., V., 326 *seq.* About the "sons of the King of Cyprus," *cf.* REUMONT in the Suppl. to Allg. Ztg., 1879, No. 72, and CESAREO in the Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 1 *seqq.* Costantino Areneti Comnenus duca d'Achaia e principe di Macedonia was appointed Governor of Fano in 1516 by Leo X.; see *Letter of Lorenzo de' Medici to the same, Nov. 5, 1516. Carte Strozz., IX., 188, State Archives, Florence.

‡ JOVIUS, lib. 4, Vita Anonyma, 619-620. *Dare omnia cupit, negare nescit, a se tristem aliquem minimeque voti compotem discedere non facile patitur. RAPH. VOLATERR., Brevis historia in Cod. Vatic., 5875, f. 30, Vatican Library.

character of Leo seems to reveal simultaneously a dual personality; two souls dwelt within him. He was quite inexorable in his rejection of all intercession on behalf of Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere. He proceeded relentlessly against Giampaolo Baglioni and the tyrants of the Marches. Even Cardinal Petrucci had to pay for his crime with his life, though the Pope showed more forbearance towards the other Cardinals who were implicated in the plot. There is no doubt that under Julius II. these would not have come out of the affair with their lives.

Guicciardini's judgment on Leo X. as a politician is that he showed less good-nature and more shrewdness than had been anticipated.* The old Lorenzo had early recognized this quality in him, when he remarked of his three sons, Piero, Giuliano, and Giovanni, that the first was a fool, the second good, and the third prudent.

As Pope he showed this quality to a marked degree when, at a most critical moment, and against the advice of his counsellors, he decided, in the autumn of 1515, on holding a personal interview with the victor of Marignano. It took him indeed weeks, and even months, before he could make up his mind, during which time he ceaselessly turned the matter over and over, weighed all human possibilities, and struggled with himself without being able to come to a decision. When we compare his slow, cautious, anxious premeditation, his great indecision and frequent hesitations, with the fresh, bold, grand features which marked all the dealings of the genial Julius II., a doubly unfavourable impression is produced by the methods of the Medici Pope.

More revolting are the want of straightforwardness, nay, the falseness, the double-dealing by which the policy of Leo X., as a true statesman of the Renaissance, was almost

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4.

always actuated. The plan of "steering by two compasses" * became the more readily a second nature to him, as he was constitutionally averse to making a final decision. Quite unabashed, he acted on the principle that, for the sake of being ready for every event, the conclusion of a treaty with one party need offer no obstacle to the conclusion of another in an opposite sense with his opponent.† By a double game, unique of its kind, he succeeded in making secret treaties simultaneously with rivals such as Francis I. and Charles V., the objects of which were at least quite irreconcilable ‡ with the intentions of these two princes.

In order to explain and offer some excuse for such conduct, stress has been laid with reason on the unusually difficult position in which Leo X. found himself, as head of the States of the Church, between the two great powers of France and the Spanish-Hapsburg.§ Being much weaker than they, he tried to effect by craft what he was unable to accomplish by force. A further excuse for the Pope is to be found in the fact that double-dealing was the general mark of the policy of the age,‖ and that

* This striking expression is used by Ulmann. A contemporary says of Leo X. that he never sailed with one wind (VERDI, 103). It has been said in connection with a political transaction of the time of Sixtus V. (*Discorsi politici de conclavi, a MS. from the Corvisieri Library, now in my possession) that Leo X. twisted about like a weather-cock; see CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 426, *n.*

† In 1531 Soriano relates (ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 290) that Leo was known to have expressed himself in this sense.

‡ ULMANN, Studien, II., 91; *cf.* p. 185.

§ See RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 55–56; ULMANN, Studien, II., 97, and MASI, I., 136.

‖ *Cf.* MASI, I., 137; FERRAJOLI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 438, n. 1; BROSCH, England, VI., 90; BAUMGARTEN in Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch., XXIII., 528; ULMANN, II., 461.

French diplomacy especially worked against him by the worst methods. Nevertheless, neither the difficulties of his position, nor the circumstance that his contemporaries held everything allowable in the diplomatic warfare, could justify Leo as Pope in acting in the same way as temporal princes, to whom the most solemn engagements and most sacred protestations were no better than empty words.*

The peculiar pleasure taken by Leo X. in misleading, and in following crooked paths, as well as the indifference with which he made promises which could not possibly be kept, were closely connected with his desire to conceal from all alike the ultimate ends of his political dealings, so that in the after event, whatever the result, his policy could not be called in question. This quality was born and bred in him during the exile of the Medici from Florence, during which time he was taking eager part in all the plots for the restoration of his family to power.† Those years of mental development had a very unfortunate influence on his whole character. The habit of insincerity grew on him after he was Pope, when he found himself placed between the two great European antagonistic powers, who, if the States of the Church were to be maintained as an independent middle power, had to be balanced the one against the other.

Seldom has any statesman kept his thoughts, plans, and intentions so hidden from even his most intimate friends

* It is highly characteristic of Leo X. that he should have declared to Castiglione that he might safely believe his bare word, seeing that he could equally deceive by Briefs and Bulls. Postscript to a *Report of Castiglione's, dated from Rome, April 18, 1516. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See LUZIO'S Review of Pastor's "Leo X." in the Corriere della sera, 1906, No. 282.

† ULMANN, 94; *cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 30.

and relatives as did Leo X., who spoke but little,* and usually replied by a smile.† Many years later, Aleander said that he had never met a man who understood as well as Leo did how to keep his plans secret.‡ At first there was only one man, Cardinal Bibbiena, who was the Pope's confidant in all matters of political secrecy; but later, Giulio de' Medici filled the same position when he was made Vice-Chancellor in March, 1517.§ It is very interesting to see throughout the reports of the Venetian Ambassadors, how the influence of the relative grew year by year, and drove into the background that of Bibbiena, which had at the beginning been all-powerful.‖ Earnest, capable,

* This "prudentissima taciturnitas" has been extolled by VENUTI, 155.

† *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in GNOLI, Secolo, II., 638–639.

‡ Dil qual (Leone X.) mai vidi principe ne huomo più coperto al negociar. *Aleander to Sanga from Ratisbon, March 25, 1532, Nunz. di Germania, LI., 103. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Paris de Grassis in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 719; *cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 198, n., and the *Letter of Giuliano Caprili, Rome, 1517, March 11. State Archives, Modena.

‖ As to Bibbiena, see *supra*, Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 84 *seq.* In September, 1514, Bibbiena and Giulio held equal positions: they alone knew all secrets (SANUTO, XIX., 27). Even until the autumn of 1515 Bibbiena often played the more important part. It was only in 1517 that Giulio supplanted him (Vol. VII. of this work, p. 122). In June, 1520, Minio says in his final report: "Il card. di Medici a gran poder col Papa, è homo di gran maneggio, ha grandissima autorità; tamen sa viver col Papa e non fa nulla se prima non domanda al Papa di cosse da conto—Il. card. Bibiena è appresso assa' dil Papa, ma questo Medici fa il tutto" (SANUTO, XXXI., 576). In July, 1521, Leo X. took counsel with Card. Medici alone (SANUTO, XXXI., 13). On July 28, 1521, Castiglione declares: *Certo è che Medici è consapevole di ogni intentione del Papa (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In 1523 Gradenigo, looking back, reports: "Medici era il primo apresso Leone, homo di gran inzegno e cuor, e il Papa feva quello lui voleva" (SANUTO, XXXIV., 198).

moderate, and indefatigable in his work, Cardinal Giulio undertook an increasing portion of business, having as co-adjutors Giberti and Nicholas von Schönberg.* Cardinal Medici often acted as a salutary counterweight to the frivolity, precipitation, and love of pleasure in his master.† In very important matters, such as the process against Luther, he was the real ruling spirit.‡ The influence he exercised is shown by the immediate effect of his temporary absences from the Papal Court.§ It appears that Cardinal Medici was always unwilling to leave Rome; reference is repeatedly made to his annoyance at being compelled, by urgent business, to go to Florence, or—as in 1521—to join the army as Legate.‖ Often, as was the case in the summer of 1519, he had himself represented by his relative Cardinal Cibo.¶

Giulio de' Medici got on excellently with the Pope in spite of the many differences in their characters. When Leo, having lost by death nearly all his relatives, made his will in January, 1521, he made Cardinal Medici heir of all he possessed.**

* For more details about both of these, see under Clement VII., Vol. IX. of this work.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 62; *cf.*, by the same, Gesch. Toskanas, I., 16–17.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 394.

§ KALKOFF (Prozess, 404 *seqq.*, 402, *cf.* 131–136) draws especial attention to this.

‖ *Cf. supra*, p. 58, and the report of Angelo Germanello to the Marquis of Mantua from Rome, Feb. 7, 1520: *Heri partite de Roma el Card^le^ de Medici per Fiorenza molto di mala voglia perche li recresceva lo andare et mezo indisposto de la persona et andò in lectica; la causa de la partita sua più celere che non haveva desegnato si fo alcuni tumulti et mal vivere se fa in Fiorenza. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¶ SANUTO, XXVII., 414.

** The original in the State Archives, Florence, printed in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXII., 567 *seqq.*

Those who stood at a distance from public affairs were under the impression that Leo X., being absorbed in a variety of other interests, left the actual management of his political business to Giulio.* But, as a matter of fact, although, after 1517, the Cardinal held, in a certain sense, the position of Prime Minister and carried on nearly all the correspondence with the Nuncios, he had to take the Pope's opinion on all matters of even secondary importance before despatch of business.† This had been the case also with Bibbiena.‡ Any important business with the Ambassadors of the great powers was, as a rule, carried on by the Pope in person. He would converse with them for hours together, cleverly concealing his own views while, by apparently agreeing with them, he drew out the opinions and intentions of the diplomatists with whom he was treating.§

The lavish generosity of the Pope had a fateful effect on the political aims which he pursued with so much cleverness, dissimulation, and acumen ; for it soon deprived him of those means without which the most skilful statesman cannot possibly attain his object at the critical moment.

The Pope's entourage, his Court, above all his Florentine compatriots, and the whole swarm of literati, were naturally enchanted by the showers of gold which rained

* *Cf.* the Vita Anonyma in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 629 *seqq.*, and Fr. Novellus *Vita Leonis X. in the Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, f. 10*b*, of the Vatican Library.

† The Venetian Ambassador, M. Minio, states this clearly and precisely, ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 64. *Cf.* ULMANN, *loc. cit.*, 92, and MASI, I , 212.

‡ *Cf.* RICHARD, 347.

§ Sanuto's despatches afford many instances of this. RICHARD, in his treatise on the beginnings of the French nunciature, originated by Leo X., extols the latter as "pontife diplomate par excellence." Rev. de quest. hist., 1905, II., 147.

on them, and they exalted Leo to the skies. Being benevolent by nature, the Pope liked to make others happy as far as it lay in his power. Without troubling himself whether the recipients of his bounty were deserving and necessitous, he squandered on them the resources at his disposal. "By his pleasure in giving he showed real greatness, for all ostentation and artificial display were far from him,"* as was proved by his indifference to outward ceremonial. His kind and generous nature often led him to relax the strictness of canonical precepts: but, in order to satisfy his suppliants, and not without inward protest, he granted petitions which went too far. So reluctant was he to grant some of these extravagant requests, that he appealed to the experienced but certainly not over-conscientious Cardinal Pucci to protect him against making mistakes of this sort through want of caution.† Giovio, who relates this, adds that, driven by the necessities of war, and moved by his enthusiasm for art and learning, and caring more for the enrichment of others than of himself, Leo X. reluctantly neglected much in the way of financial business. This, however, cannot excuse his unscrupulous and wanton extravagance.

Julius II. had been an economical and skilful financier. Without burdening his subjects with new taxes, and in spite of his many wars, he had contrived to leave to his successor a considerable sum in his treasury.‡ Leo X. seems to have looked on this as inexhaustible, and with open hand squandered that which his predecessor had been at such pains to accumulate. Natural generosity, nepotism,§ a passionate love of art and literature together

* GEIGER, Renaissance, 285.

† JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 223 *seqq.*

§ CIAN, Musa Medicea, 8.

with that of magnificence and luxury, combined to devour the savings of Julius II. in the short space of two years.* Bibbiena, who had general charge of the finances at the beginning of Leo's Pontificate,† ought to have considered it his duty to warn and check the Pope in his expenditure; but that light-hearted Tuscan proved to be as careless about money matters as his master. Although the parsimonius Ferdinando Ponzetti, who succeeded Bibbiena as treasurer as early as the autumn of 1513,‡ was very ingenious in devising new sources of income, he could not restore the balance in the Papal exchequer, for Leo continued to give on every side with a free hand. For instance, he gave a wedding present to his brother Giuliano to the amount of 16,000 ducats.§ In the spring of 1515 the Papal treasury had reached low water mark, and never after this time was Leo X. freed from his financial difficulties.

The most varied methods were tried to procure money. Very early the Pope had recourse to the plan of creating new places and offices;‖ and later on, doubtful and even reprehensible measures were resorted to. But all the devices which were tried to improve the finances were of no avail: neither ordinary nor extraordinary income

* SANUTO, XX., 341.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 43.

‡ *Ibid.*, n. 4647; *cf.* VITALI, Tesorieri, xxxvi. *seqq.*, and GOTTLOB, Camera Apostolica, 277.

§ According to the specific statement of L. Canossa (in FABRONIUS, 278 *seq.*), Giuliano's annual income amounted to 59,600 ducats. According to JOVIUS (Vita, lib. 3), the marriage of Giuliano cost the Pope 150,000 ducats. But this figure is manifestly too high. Giovio is very little to be relied on in his numerical statements. He puts the inhabitants of Rome at too high a number, and the cost of Raphael's cartoons at too high a figure.

‖ Regest. Leonis X., n. 9787; see SANUTO, XX., 142. *Cf.* 362, 400, 426; XXII., 217.

sufficed in the remotest degree to meet the need. This deficiency was increased considerably by the war of Urbino, which, from the beginning, devoured enormous sums.* The consequence of that unfortunate undertaking was complete financial ruin, from which the Pope tried to extricate himself by raising loans, not only from bankers, but also from private individuals, Cardinals, and members of the Curia.† But all this was of as little avail as were the financial devices which the ingenious Cardinals Armellini and Pucci openly employed to procure money.‡

The sources upon which we can draw to ascertain the exact state of Leo's balance-sheet are very scanty. The register of receipts and expenditure of the Apostolic Exchequer does not in any way suffice for an accurate statement, partly because it was imperfectly kept, and partly because there were also other financial departments.§ The most important of these was the Pope's private treasury, under the control of the influential private chamberlain Giovanni Lazzaro Serapica.|| There exist three volumes—extending

* SANUTO, XXIII., 554; XXIV., 142, 144, 180, 274, 376. *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 211 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the *testimony of Cornelius de Fine, given in Vol. VII. of this work, p. 212 n. (National Library, Paris).

‡ SCHULTE, I., 223.

§ See SCHULTE, I., 253, which gives a good insight into the *Introitus and Exitus of Leo's Pontificate, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, as also the other accounts of the Exchequer which are kept there. For the value of the State Archives, see *infra*, pp. 93–94, n.

|| Serapica played under Leo X. the same important part which Accursio played under Julius II. According to SANUTO, XXV., 288, he came from Albano. His real name was Giovanni Lazzaro de' Magistris (the nickname of Serapica was given to him on account of his small stature). He was at first master of the hounds to Cardinal Sanseverino (*cf.* GNOLI, Cacce, 11 *seqq.*), which was made the occasion of continual ridicule on the part of the satirists (see ROSSI, Pasquinate,

from July, 1516, to November, 1521—of accounts kept by Serapica of the privy expenditure; all others are missing.*

134 *seqq.*). He was already in the service of Leo when he was Cardinal de' Medici, and was one of his six conclavists (DELICATI-ARMELLINI, Diario di Paride di Grassis, 93). In the *Rotulus of 1514 (see *infra*, p. 105 n.) Serapica appears as the third or fourth of the chamberlains. Even then he was on intimate terms with Leo X.; see BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 244. The Pope rewarded him liberally for his faithful service; SANUTO, XXVIII., 361, XXIX., 192; see Regest. Leonis X., n. 3909 *seq.*, 6105–6107, 6122, 6993, 7217, 12,551, 13,885, 16,861, and Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XXXIX., t. 31, 1516, n. 43: *Pro magistro Io. Lazzaro Serapica de Magistris notario et famil.: Licentia capiendi possessionem monast. S. Leonis Tullens. dioc. ord. can. regul. s. August. D. Romae, 1516, Sept. 6, 1518, n. 82: *Letter to two canons of Ghent about the benefices there for Ioh. Lazzaro Serapica de Magistris cleric. Aquil. famil. contin. conmens. ac. cam. nost. sec. D. Rome, 1518, Iunii, 26. *Cf.* also the *receipt of Nov. 11, 1517, in Div. Cam., 67, f. 67. When travelling to Loreto in 1518, Serapica also visited Venice, where he was treated like a great lord (SANUTO, XXV., 294, 299, 348). In Rome he took part in the Carnival races (*ibid.*, XXVII., 68, 73, and ADEMOLLO, Aless., VI., etc., 83 *seqq.*); he was also distinguished as a bold sportsman (see CESAREO in the treatise quoted *infra*, and GNOLI, *loc. cit.*). It seems that he usually lived in the Vatican (SANUTO, XXX., 466) and also at the Belvedere, where he was sometimes the guest of Leo X. (SANUTO, XXV., 438; Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 22); yet he had a house in the city (ARMELLINI, Censimento, 55). He was so well off that he was able to advance considerable sums of money to the Pope. After the death of Leo X. he was arrested for embezzlement. Was this accusation founded on fact? In the *Inventarium bonorum in foraria Leonis X. (State Archives, Rome), quoted *infra*, it is said in several places: "Dicunt Serapicam habuisse," which at any rate show that Serapica made a wrong use of his position. He was set at liberty after the death of Adrian VI. (SANUTO, XXXIV., 244, 257, 438); see CESAREO in the Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., No. 8, who believes Serapica to have been better than was reported.

* GREGOROVIUS searched for the account-books of Leo X. in the State Archives of Rome. His assumption that they are all missing (Histor. Zeitschr., XXXVI., 158) is quite as mistaken as is his surmise

The loss of these important account-books, to which Serapica's register often refers, is deplorable.

Amid this debris of official sources* we have to rely for essentials on the statements of the Venetian Ambassadors, which must always be accepted with reserve, and, in places, certainly set the figures too high. But, taken as a whole, the representatives of the great mercantile state were well-informed about financial matters. Their final reports for

that "they were perhaps destroyed in order to leave no traces of the extravagance of this epicurean." There are actually existing in the State Archives in Rome: (I.) Obligazioni per servizi, one volume, extending from 1513 to 1516 (*cf.* SCHULTE, I., 256); (II.) Annatae, (1) 1512–1513, (2) 1513, (3) 1516, (4) 1517, (5) 1517–1518, (6) 1519–1520, (7) 1520–1521; (III.) Formatori, 2 vols., *cf.* Römische Quartalschrift, VIII., 456 *seqq.*; (IV.) Mandati camerali 1513–1523, 1 vol.; (V.) Spese minute di palazzo, and also the register of expenditure of Leonardo di Zanobi Bartholini (see Vol. VII. of this work, 39 n.); (2) Serapica, Spese private di Leone X., 3 vols. SCHULTE (I. 256) knows only the first of these volumes, extending from July 28, 1516, to Jan. 17, 1519, of which CERASOLI (Studi e doc., XIV., 394) also made use. But in 1893 GNOLI (Cacce, 11) had his attention drawn to the two other volumes, and took printed information from them (38 *seqq.*; *cf.*, further, Secolo di Leone X., II., 632). As Gnoli intends to publish these Spese private di Leone X. in a complete form (Secolo, II., 643), I will confine myself here to a few particulars. The volume 1516–1519, of which CESAREO made use in the Nuova Rassegna, 1894, II., No. 8, and Leone X., 199 *seq.*, I will quote as Spese di Serapica, I. The volume is oblong, and bound in brown stamped leather, bearing on the outside the arms of Leo X. At the end of the year (f. 44–5) the Pope has signed it with a firm hand: Ita est J[oannes]. The next volume—quoted by me as Spese, II.—follows immediately, for the first entry is on Jan. 23, 1519; it is bound like the last, and also written by Serapica himself, and finished on the 15th of December, 1520. The third volume—quoted as Spese, III.—is one continued by Gentile de Gualdo (servant to Card. Armellini) to Feb. 17, 1522, from the original ending. It extends from Dec. 16, 1520, to Nov. 20, 1521.

* The series of the Spese del maggiordomo in the State Archives, Rome, contains nothing about Leo X.

the years 1517, 1520, 1523 give a most interesting insight into the Pope's money affairs.*

Marino Giorgi, in March, 1517, reckons the state income of Leo X. to have been about 420,000 ducats.† Of this, 60,000 ducats came from the river tax in Rome (Ripa grande), about 33,000 from the land tax, and 8000 from the tax on wine. Spoleto, the Marches of Ancona, and the Romagna contributed about 180,000. The alum works at Tolfa, according to Giorgi's apparently exaggerated statement,‡ brought in 40,000. The salt marshes of Cervia, in conjunction with the revenues of Ravenna, brought in from 60,000 to 100,000 ducats. To these were to be added the spiritual revenues, which by their nature were subject to great fluctuations. The returns of the annates have been generally estimated at 100,000 ducats, though half of these (the first-fruits of bishoprics and abbeys) belonged to the

* The Venetian reports were first published by ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 39 *seqq.*, 61 *seqq.*, 65 *seq.*, more correctly by SANUTO, XXIV., 84 *seqq.*, XXVIII., 586 *seqq.*, XXXIV., 127 *seq.* Among modern writers see COPPI, Discorso s. le finanze di Roma, Roma, 1847, and REUMONT, III., 2, 280 *seqq.* Some of the Venetians' statements, *e.g.* the 8000 ducats monthly for the expenses of housekeeping, can hardly be correct. See *infra*, note ‡.

† The value of a ducat, or gold gulden, can be approximately estimated as equal to that of ten German Reichsmark. A calculation of what would be its value at the present day is impossible with our imperfect knowledge of the money, coinage, and prices at that time; see POGATSCHER'S instructive treatise on the issue of books of accounts of the Apostolic Exchequer, in the Viennese periodical "Die Kultur," II. (1901), 469, and LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte, Munich, 1904, 183-192. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Les Arts à la cour du Pape d'Innocent VIII., etc., Paris, 1898, 40.

‡ It appears from Regest. Leonis X., n. 3510, that he let the alum-pits to the company of Andrea Bellanti for twelve years for 15,000 duc. annually. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. apost., 305. About a loan of 75,000 ducats made by Leo X. from A. Bellanti, see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 478.

Sacred College. The new tax of "compositions,"* introduced by Sixtus IV., brought in an equal sum, but sometimes only 60,000 ducats. To this must be added the returns of saleable offices, which were considerably increased by Leo X. He added no fewer than six hundred and twelve new members to the College of the one hundred and forty-one Porzionari di Ripa founded by Julius II., whereby he gained 286,000 ducats. He added sixty members to the College of the Cubiculari and a hundred and forty to that of the Scudieri. The former paid a gross sum of 90,000 and the latter 112,000 ducats.† Finally, in 1520, by the advice of Cardinal Pucci, and for the express purpose of making money to clear the debt consequent on the war of Urbino, he founded the new College of the Cavalieri di S. Pietro. Each of its four hundred and one members paid down a sum of 1000 ducats. Hereby a capital sum of 401,000 ducats was raised, bringing in interest at more than 10 per cent., which was assigned for different purposes. Besides this the Cavalieri received a number of privileges, such as enrolment in the Roman nobility, the title of Count Palatine, and the right to inspect the accounts of the Exchequer.‡ Purchase was invited by the bait of these

* *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, 420 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Bulla offic. cubicular. et scutiferor. apost., dat. Romae, 1515, 9 Cal. Aug. A contemporary and rare impression is in the Rossiana Library, Vienna. FABRONIUS, 292; MORONE, LXXXVII., 89; GOTTLOB, Cam. apost., 251. In the *Introitus et Exitus, 551, f. 92, there is an entry of a receipt for 202,000 ducats "ab officiis scutiferorum et cubiculariorum"; *cf.* f. 215. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ The Bull about the Cavalieri di S. Pietro, July 30, 1520, which SCHULTE (I., 223) quotes from the Vatican register, was printed at the time. I found one copy in the Rossiana Library, Vienna, a collection which is unusually rich in rare documents of the kind. About the Cavalieri di S. Pietro, *cf.* also SANUTO, XXIX., 77, 113, 633, and Corp. Dipl. Port., II., 33.

privileges, though the essential importance of the office of Cavaliere consisted in the enjoyment of the interest. Like most other saleable (vacabili) offices, this institution was in reality nothing but a system of raising loans by life annuities.* According to the Venetian Ambassador Gradenigo, the number of saleable offices amounted at the death of Leo X. to two thousand one hundred and fifty, representing a capital of nearly three million ducats, and an annual income of 328,000 ducats for the possessors, who on an average received more than 10 per cent. for the sums they had paid to the State.†

Apart from tithes, jubilees and indulgences, the number of which were multiplied to excess for this purpose, supplied huge sources of revenue. As these had sunk "almost entirely" into a mere financial jobbery, they caused great and justifiable scandal.‡ The monetary stress, however, continued much as before, since the greater part of these sums did not go straight into the Papal Exchequer; for both princes and bankers first of all assured themselves of their own very considerable share. Moreover, indulgences did not now bring in so much money as they had done formerly.§

In 1517 Leo X. made use of the punishment of the Cardinals implicated in Petrucci's conspiracy, to gather in enormous sums from them. He also turned to the same account the unprecedentedly numerous creation of Cardinals soon afterwards.‖ In spite of these expedients, the need of money remained a standing evil; for the Pope never

* *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste I.[7], 264; REUMONT, III., 2, 281 *seq.* See also COPPI, Finanze, 2–3; GOTTLOB, 245 *seq.*, 251.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 283–284.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 341 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 185 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 179 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*, 202.

dreamed of making economies. When his nephew Lorenzo went to France in 1518, he was fitted out in the most extravagant way.* The Pope shrank from no method of gaining money, and even the highest offices were sold.† The office of Camerlengo, like that of Cardinal, became a matter of purchase. Innocenzo Cibo paid 30,000, or, according to other accounts, 35,000 or 40,000 ducats for the former post, which he held for only a few months.‡ His successor, Francesco Armellini, is said to have paid 60,000 or 70,000 ducats for the succession.§ But all these

* VERDI, 95 *seq.*

† "Omnia sunt venalia," writes the Venetian Ambassador; SANUTO, XXX., 188. *Cf.* Manuel's report in LLORENTE, I., 475, 476, 481, and the satires of 1518 in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 335 *seqq.*

‡ After the death of Riario (July 7, 1521, see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 193) Cibo received the office of Camerlengo "excluso Armellino qui magnam controversiam fecerit," as we are told by Biagio di Barone Martinelli da Cesena in his *Diarium. He took possession of the office on August 7 (DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 86); but already on October 2 "Card. Armellinus cepit possessionem Camerariatus offici, in Camera apost. exhibuit litteras officii, etc., Card. Cibo propter hoc discessit a curia indignatus." *Diarium cit. *Cf.* GARAMPI, App., 197, and MARINI, I., 271.

§ SANUTO, XXXI., 106, 117, 404, 453; XXXII., 8. *Cf.* CESAREO in Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 71 *seqq.* B. Castiglione reports on July 16, 1521, to the Marquis of Mantua: *Scrissi a V. Ex. alli dì passati che mons. rev. Cibo havea havuto il camerlengato e fù vero, pur mons. Armellino ne offerse al papa quaranta milia ducati di modo che così bella proferta fece un poco titubare el papa in questi tempi di bisogno di modo che mons. Cibo ha pagato trenta milia et hallo ottenuto. On July 24: *This morning, "in Consistorio," Cibo was appointed Camerlengo, et ha pagato trentum duc.; Sept. 19: *Quella (V. Ex.) havera saputo come monsig. rev. Cibo hebbe a questi di el camerlengato e poi a N. S. è piacciuto che S. S^ria^ R^ma^ lo renunti a monsig. Armellino il quale ha pagato molti e molti migliara de ducati e cosi ha havuto il camerlengato; penso bene che N. S. darà a monsig. rev. Cibo tal contracambio che se ne contenterà (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The "Frenchman living in Rome" is guilty of exaggeration when he says

sums melted away as soon as they had been paid in. How could it have been otherwise with a Pope of whom Vettori says that a stone could more easily fly up into the air of itself than Leo could keep possession of a thousand ducats! *

If the Venetian Ambassador, Marino Giorgi, is to be believed, 8000 ducats were spent monthly on gifts and card-playing.† Forty-eight thousand ducats covered the expenses of the Papal household under Julius II.; but, according to credible accounts,‡ this sum was doubled under his successor. If we bear in mind that the whole of the Papal income was not more than from 500,000 to 600,000 ducats, we can see how out of proportion was the expenditure mentioned. To this there was added after 1516 the cost of the Urbino war, which devoured altogether 800,000.§ After this Cardinal Armellini advised the Pope to raise the price of salt; but this attempt was frustrated by the determined resistance of the inhabitants of the Romagna. Nothing more of the kind was again attempted; in fact, taxes remained so low in the States of the Church that they really did not do more than cover the cost of their administration.‖ Money, however, had to be procured,

that Armellini paid 80,000 ducats (*Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, of the Vatican Library). According to a *Report from J. Ginodi, dated Rome, 1521, July 8, to the Duke of Savoy, the salary of the office of Camerlengo was 6000 ducats (State Archives, Turin, Roma, I.).

* VETTORI, 322.

† SANUTO, XXIV., 93. Leo X. never gave gratuities of less than a ducat, and often much more; thus *e.g.*, on May 8, 1520: al barcarolo che sta al ponte per mancia duc. 5; Oct. 25: A dui muratori che hanno murato el palazo de Monterosoli per mancia duc. 8. *Spese di Serapica, State Archives, Rome.

‡ Card. Riario to the Venetian Ambassador, SANUTO, XXIV., 91–92.

§ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 211 *seq.*

‖ Vianesius Albergatus in RANKE, Päpste, I.[7], 265.

and loans were raised for which sometimes no less than 40 per cent. was paid.*

In this way the state of finances went down-hill with ever-increasing rapidity. Debt was heaped upon debt until the tapestries of the palace, the silver plate off the table, the jewels of the tiara, and the valuable statues of the Apostles in the Papal chapel were pledged,† and yet nothing could stop up the Danaids' sieve. The troops had to wait for their pay, the University professors and artists, even of the rank of Raphael and Giuliano di Sangallo, for their stipends.‡ "The yellow-green brass doors of the Pantheon are said to contain the weight of many coins," remarks a contemporary with just irony; "but were this so, Leo X. would not leave them in their place."§ It was only by the greatest exertion and by paying an enormous rate of interest that money could be raised for the war against France in 1521.‖ During the course of this war the financial need increased to such an extent that Leo and his confidants, especially Pucci and Armellini, contemplated measures which can only be called desperate. New offices were to be created, court places and prelacies were to be taxed, the Lake of Trasimene was to be sold. A tax on corn was again spoken of, and there was to be another

* SANUTO, XXIV., 92.

† *Cf.* Gradenigo's report of 1523 in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 71; SANUTO, XXX., 130; SCHULTE, I., 227; and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 215 *seq.*, especially the inventory of the "gemmae et pretiosa iocalia loco pignoris praefato Sigismondo (Chigi) assignata pro dictis 10 m. duc." (May 10, 1521) in FEA, Notizie, 90–92.

‡ *Cf.* FABRICSY in Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., 23, Beiheft, p. 24, and *infra*, p. 275.

§ SANUTO, XXXIV., 220.

‖ See SANUTO, XXX., 31, 90, 130, 173, 188, 351 *seqq.*, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris. See also NITTI, 423 *seqq.*, and SCHULTE, I., 224.

great nomination of Cardinals, the names of whom were already being circulated. There was, futhermore, a talk of selling Terracina to the Gaetani for 100,000 ducats.* Lastly, an expedient was discussed of requiring all the Pope's relatives and confidants to pledge their collective benefices.† When, therefore, Leo X. died suddenly, his creditors, who had, by reason of his youth, counted on a longer reign, stood on the brink of financial ruin. A Roman report given in Sanuto (December 5, 1521) contains further particulars of the financial crisis, which was such as had never before been experienced in Rome. The Bini bank was hardest hit, with claims of 200,000 ducats; this house, like that of Strozzi, was threatened with failure. The Gaddi had lent 32,000, the Ricasoli 10,000, the datary Turini 16,000, and the trusted chamberlain Serapica 18,000 ducats. Cardinal Salviati's claim amounted to 80,000 ducats; and he, with his colleagues Ridolfi and Rangoni, had renounced all their benefices in order to raise money for the Pope; ruin therefore stared them in the face, as it did Cardinals Pucci and Armellini. The former had lent Leo 150,000 ducats and the latter his whole fortune. In short, says the informant, all the Pope's favourites and servants are ruined: yet, though they lament their misfortune, they do not blame him who is dead, but rather bewail the loss of so kind a master.‡ How far the figures given above are individually correct is uncertain.§

* SANUTO, XXX., 351; XXXI., 13; XXXII., 8, 116, 118. Camillo Gaetani lent Leo 10,000 golden ducats, for the recovery of Parma and Piacenza; see the *Dichiarazione of the Cardinal Camerlengo, dated Dec. 14, 1521, in the Gaetani Archives, Rome (Cassa, 71, n. 28).

† SANUTO, XXXI., 13.

‡ SANUTO, XXXII., 236–237. The date, Nov. 5, in Sanuto is a clerical error.

§ SCHULTE (I., 227) believes with reason that the sums are much exaggerated. But he gives documentary evidence that the Venetian

The statements of the Venetian Ambassador Gradenigo are more trustworthy, as he expressly refers to the estimate submitted by the Cardinal Camerlengo, Armellini. According to this Leo X. expended during his Pontificate four and a half million ducats, and died owing four hundred thousand more.* A pasquinade puts into words the common, and probably correct, opinion current in Rome; "Leo has eaten up three Pontificates: the treasury of Julius II., the revenues of his own Pontificate, and those of his successor." †

In citing the enormous expenditure in the Pope's household, Marino Giorgi laconically remarks: "The cause of this is to be found in the number of Florentines who allow themselves to be supported by the good-nature of the Pope." ‡ "The treasury of the Pope is empty," writes

statement of the scheme for procuring money by pledging the benefices by the Pope's confidants, is based on truth (227).

* SANUTO, XXXII., 230. In what, it is true, is an anonymous letter, it is said that Armellini reckoned the deficit in the Apostolic Exchequer at 80,660 ducats; in this document the whole expenditure during the Pontificate of Leo X. is put at 5,050,000 ducats. The Envoy from Mayence, Teutleben, and also Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola (*Letter of Dec. 16, 1521, to the Marquis of Mantua, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), puts the debts at 800,000 ducats (SCHULTE, I., 224). Francis I. estimated them at 1,200,000 crowns (HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 66). Girolamo Severino wrote on Jan. 7th, 1522, to Charles V. that the already ascertained amount of the debts of Leo X. came to more than 850,000 ducats. Well-informed persons said that the debts over and above amounted to 300,000 ducats (BERGENROTH, II., n. 373). TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., writes: "Relatum est Leonem pontificem Cameram apost. exhaustam reliquisse atque alieno gravatam ere nongentorum quinquaginta milium aureorum et mitram quam regnum appellant Chisis pignorasse mercatoribus" (Cod. G, II., 39, f. 65, Chigi Library, Rome).

† SANUTO, XXXII., 356. Still more severe is the pasquinade in CESAREO, 207 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, XXIV., 92. *Cf.* the payments in AMATI, 217 *seqq.*

Marco Minio in 1520, "because he is so generous that he does not know how to keep back any money; and the Florentines do not leave him a soldo." *

In former times the fellow-countrymen of the reigning Pontiff had often made their home in Rome. Under Callixtus III. and Alexander VI. it had been the Spaniards; under Pius II. the Sienese; under Sixtus IV. the Ligurians, who had come in flocks to the Papal Court. But an inundation such as the Eternal City now experienced at the hands of the Florentines had never been known before. In vain did Leo X., who knew but too well what his fellow-countrymen were, try to check the inflow,† which was enormous, even in the first days of his Pontificate.‡ The greediness of these people was boundless; they believed that all benefices and offices existed for them alone.§ With a truly mercantile spirit they tried to draw from the position of Leo X. every possible advantage for themselves.|| Soon no fewer than thirty Florentine banks had been opened in Rome.¶

Ariosto, in his witty satire to Annibale Maleguccio,** describes how "the gentlemen from Florence" exhausted the fountains of Papal favour:—

> I nipoti e i parenti, che son tanti,
> Prima anno a ber; poi quei che l'ajutaro
> A vestirsi il più bel di tutti i manti.

---

* SANUTO, XXVIII., 576.

† NITTI, 19–20.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 72; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 210; LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 82 and 92.

§ See BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 241.

|| *Cf.* VETTORI, 300; SANUTO, XXVIII., 361.

¶ SCHULTE, I., 16.

** Satire to Annibale Malaguccio, Parnaso Italiano, Vol. XXVII., 28, 29, Venezia, 1787.

Bevuto ch' abbian questi, gli sia caro
Che beano quei che contra il Soderino
Per tornarlo in Firenze si levaro.
L'un dice: io fui con Pietro in Casentino,
E d' esser preso e morto a risco venni:
Lo gli prestai denar,' grida Brandino.
Dice un altro; a mie spese il frate tenni
Un anno, e lo rimessi in veste e in arme;
Di cavallo e d' argento gli sovvenni.

With increasing displeasure the Romans saw how the Florentines squeezed themselves into every post, and especially into financial offices. Quite in the early days of Leo's Pontificate, Filippo Strozzi was appointed Receiver-General of the Papal Exchequer,* and gathered together under him many of his fellow-countrymen. The office of Treasurer-General was first given to the Tuscan, Bibbiena, and after him to his compatriot Ferdinando Ponzetti;† relatives of both obtained lucrative subordinate posts. The treasurership of the county of Venaissin was confided to Pietro de' Pazzi in 1514.‡ The management of the Datary was in the hands of Tuscans—first Pucci, and after him Passerini, Benassao and Turini da Pescia.§

* SCHULTE, I., 224.

† VITALI, XXXVI.

‡ GOTTLOB, Cam. apost., 100.

§ SCHULTE, I., 264 *seq.* In addition to the statement of Schulte about Latino Beneassai or Benassao, it must be here remarked that he was sent to France in November 1516, whence he returned to Rome on March 11, 1517, where next day he made his report to the Pope; see Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 244 *seqq.*, 367 *seqq.* In this L. Benassao is described as Papal treasurer: it is certain that he is identical with the Latinus Benesax in the *Rotulus of Leo X. (Cod. Vat., 8598), whom FRIEDENSBURG (Quellen u. Forsch. d. preuss. Inst., VI., 68) was not able to identify. The year of Latino's death is given in SANUTO, XXV., 348. The Venetian Envoy announces the death

The number of the Pope's fellow-countrymen in his personal court was unusually large. There were to be found representatives of nearly all the great families of Florence: the Albizzi, Passerini, Michelozzi, Ricasoli, Gaddi, Capponi, Alamanni, Tornabuoni, and others. The Majordomo Alessandro Neroni was also a Florentine.* There is in his department an official list of the Papal Court and household, dated the 1st of May 1514,† which with little alteration would hold good for at least two years and a half. It shows the enormous number of the household staff (famiglia) of the Medici Pope. According to this document the total number of these was originally six hundred and eighty-three; namely, two hundred and forty four "gentlemen" or occupants of the higher court places, a hundred and seventy-four special officials, and two hundred and sixty-five servants—in all about four times as many as the members of the "famiglia" of Pius II.‡ The first class, "gentlemen," which was again subdivided into five divisions, included the domestic prelates (praelati domestici), twenty-seven in number, among them being two Archbishops and six Bishops. The humanists Bembo,

of Latino on April 6, 1518, at the age of only thirty, with the appointment of Turini as Datary. See also KALKOFF in the Arch. f. Ref. Gesch, I., 384.

* In 1514 A. Neroni received the *praeceptoria* of the Hospital of Santo Spirito (Regest Leonis X., n. 12,550). On August 16, 1523, Adrian VI. appointed him to the Commissario dell' Annona in Corneto and the whole Patrimony (Cod. Vat., 7124, f. 154, Vatican Library). On May 2, 1514, we find the first entry of payment to Alex. de Neronibus mag. dom. S. D. N. in *Introitus et Exitus, 552 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† *Rottulus familiae Smi D. N. (Cod. Vat., 8598 of the Vatican Library). *Cf.* FRIEDENSBURG in Quellen und Forsch., VI., 53–71. Ferrajoli is preparing a complete account of this Rotulus with an explanation of all the names.

‡ See MARINI, Archiatri, II., 152, 156.

Sadoleto, Filippo Beroaldo, Giovanni Poggio, and Zaccaria Ferreri belonged to this highest class. Then came sixty-four chamberlains, of whom the best known are Serapica, Ercole Rangoni, and Baldassare Turini da Pescia, besides two physicians and a surgeon.* In this class also the majority were Italians and mostly compatriots of the Pope; but there were also some Spaniards, and among the chamberlains, one German. Numerous Florentines were also in the third section, the *cubiculari*, sixty-eight in number, but among these were two Germans, and a well-known personality, the blind improvisatore, Raffaello Brandolini. The next section, the *scudieri*, were numbered at ninety-four; among them were several musicians; to this class belonged the poetaster Baraballo and the keeper of the famous elephant. The fifth and last class comprised the chaplains, under which honourable title were comprised most various offices. Among others were the two *clerici capellæ*, two *forieri*, the *plumbator*, the penitentiary, the custodians of the Library, of the Belvedere, of petitions, and also the keeper of the Vatican vineyard. The real household officials (officiales) were rigorously separated from these higher court officials; and they too were subdivided into two classes.†

Florentines or Tuscans were in the pay of the Pope as men of letters, artists, and rhetoricians: even the well-known court fools came thence.‡ Among the administrative

* D. Iacopus cirurgicus, manifestly the same as Giacomo di Bartol. da Brescia, mentioned *supra*, p. 75 n.

† Here, and also among the servants, Germans were well represented. They formed a tenth part of the whole staff. FRIEDENBURG, *loc. cit.*, 71; *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, Gesch. d. Anima, 261 *seq.* About the German domestics and writers of Leo X., see Histor-pol. Bl., CVIII., 740 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* CESAREO, 214. See *ibid.* for the satires directed against the Florentines.

officials Guicciardini is the most celebrated. While he, by his severe measures against banditti, showed how order could be maintained, other officials oppressed those over whom they were set to such a degree that the most bitter hatred was aroused against them.* The Pope's compatriots also held many military appointments,† and were much employed on diplomatic service. What has been already said shows the important part played by Cardinal Bibbiena together with Giulio de' Medici. An elder brother of the Cardinal, Pietro Bibbiena, was Nuncio at Venice from 1513 to 1514.‡ Pietro Ardinghello, a member of a noble Florentine family, was the Pope's secretary for his private correspondence.§

* *Cf.* M. Giorgi's report of 1517 in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 55. This is surely exaggerated.

† From the *Introitus et Exitus (Secret Archives of the Vatican) I made the following notes:—Vol. 551, f. 162: Simon de Tornabonis revisor gent. armor. S. D. N. (*cf.* f. 217); f. 164: Hieronymus de Albicis capitan. balisterior. (equestrium custodie palatii) (*cf.* f. 177*b*); f. 174: Barthol. de Bibiena superstant. munit. S. D. N. (July, 1513); f. 227*b*: Iac° Florentin. superstant. artiglarie D. N. (December 30, 1513); f. 243: Hieronymus de Albicis capit. custodie equor. levis armat. S. D. N. (March 1514).—Vol. 552: Bernardo de Bibiena superstanti munit. palatii (May 31, 1514). Barthol. de Bibiena superst. tramit. (September 4, 1514).—Vol. 553, repeatedly: Bernard. de Bibiena superst. munit. and Simon de Tornabonis commiss. gen. armor. Here also, on the 23rd of November, 1514, one Nicolaus de Bibiena superst. fontis S. Petri.—Vol. 554, on January 3, 1516: Hieron. de Albicis capit. balisterior.; on January 10, 1516: Barthol. de Bibiena superst. munit.—Vol. 555, on March 12, 1516: Barthol. de Ricasolis cancell. custodie S. D. N.; on March 28, 1516: Simon de Tornabonis commiss. gent. armor.—Vol. 557 (1517–1518), often: Barth. de Bibiena superst. munit. and Nicol. de Bibiena superst. fontis S. Petri.—Vol. 559, on November 30, 1519: Iulianus Tornabonus castellan. castri S. Angeli.

‡ PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 48 *seq.*

§ RICHARD, 7 *seqq.*; BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 260.

Among the Swiss Nuncios, Goro Gherio came from Pistoia and Antonio Pucci from Florence.* Quite a new phenomenon is the fact that the resident Ambassadors of the Republic of Florence in France, Roberto Acciaiuoli, Francesco Vettori, and Francesco Pandolfini, acted provisionally for the Pope in conjunction with the ordinary Nuncios. In Spain also, the Florentine Ambassadors, Giovanni Corsi and Giovanni Vespucci, were employed by the Holy See.† On certain important occasions the Pope employed some of his relatives on diplomatic missions; thus Roberto Orsini was sent first to Hungary, and then to treat with the German Electors about the imperial election; and Raffaello de' Medici was Nuncio to Charles V. from October, 1516, until the spring of 1517, and again from August, 1519, until April, 1521.‡

The relatives of the Pope were very numerous. Of those nearest to him, his nephew Lorenzo, the son of his brother Giuliano, and his cousin Giulio, there is only too much to be told in the history of his Pontificate. Lorenzo's ambitious mother, Alfonsina Orsini, must also be frequently mentioned. Giuliano died in 1516, Lorenzo in 1519,§ and Alfonsina in 1520.‖ The only daughter of the latter married Filippo Strozzi, and devoted herself to the care of Lorenzo's orphan child, the little Duchess Caterina de' Medici.

Leo X. had many relatives through his three sisters,

* Archiv für schweiz. Gesch., XVI., xx., xxiii. *seqq.*

† PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 56, 58, 59.

‡ *Ibid.*, 53, 54, 60, and Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 216, 278, 418 n.

§ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 150 and 281.

‖ *Cf.* BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 263; Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXIV., 19 *seqq.* MORSOLIN, in Riv. Ital. di numismatica, V. (1892), 71 *seqq.*

Maddalena, Lucrezia, and Contessina. Maddalena* had married the wealthy Franceschetto Cibo, Count of Anguillara, who died in 1519, having been made by the Pope Governor of Spoleto. She had six children by her marriage. The eldest son, Innocenzo (born 1491), was made a Cardinal in 1513: he led a completely worldly life, and left a bad reputation behind him.† Maddalena's second son, Lorenzo, married, in 1515, Ricciarda Malaspina, the heiress of Massa and Carrara. The third son, Giovanni Battista, was made Bishop of Marseilles by Clement VII. when his brother Innocenzo resigned the see. Maddalena's daughter, Caterina (born 1501), married Giovan Maria da Varano of Camerino. Leo created him Duke in 1515, gave him Sinigaglia in 1520, and, after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, made him Prefect of Rome.‡ Roberto di Sanseverino, Count of Cajazzo, the husband of Maddalena's second daughter Ippolita, received from the Pope, Colorno, in the territory of Parma. A third daughter, Eleonora, entered a cloister in Genoa.§

Lucrezia de' Medici had married Jacopo Salviati, who tried to come to the aid of Leo X. in his financial difficulties without neglecting his own interests. Their son Giovanni

* Maddalena, who received the right of Roman citizenship in 1515 (GREGOROVIUS, Schriften, I., 289), died on December 2, 1519. Outwardly the Pope showed no signs of mourning, though her loss grieved him very much. Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 434.

† *Cf.* STAFFETTI, 25 *seq.*, 33 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 15,241; MESTICA, Favorino, 39, 43 *seq.*, Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIII., 408 *seqq.*; Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 451 *seq.*; BALAN, Boschetti, I., 172; FELICIANGELI, Not. s. vita di Cat. Cibo-Varano, duchessa di Camerino, Camerino, 1891. The *announcement of the appointment of G. Maria da Varano as Prefect of the City, dated August 8, 1520, is in the State Archives, Florence, Urb. eccl.

§ *Cf.* STAFFETTI, 33.

was made protonotary at an early age, Bishop of Fermo in 1516, and Cardinal in 1517.* The red hat was also given to Niccolò Ridolfi, the son of the Pope's third sister Contessina, who died in 1515,† and of Piero Ridolfi,‡ who was made Governor of Spoleto from 1514 to 1516;§ at the same time as the Pope's two nephews, Luigi de' Rossi received the purple. He was related to Leo through his mother, who was a natural sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and had been brought up with Leo. His early death was a great grief to the Pope.‖

Leo's friendship with Cardinal Bibbiena was unusually close.¶ This highly-gifted man was second to no member

* *Cf.* MORONI, LXI., 8.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XX., 362. For the money given to Contessina, 1514, see Div. Cam., 63, f. 264*b*, Secret Archives of the Vatican. In the *Inventarium mentioned, *supra*, p. 93, n., it is said: Asserunt habere Contessinam or Maddalenam. Both sisters, therefore, made as much use as possible of their brother's position.

‡ A daughter of Ridolfi married the Lord of Piombino in 1514; see *Letter of Cardinal Medici to Lorenzo, March 16, 1513 (State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CXIII.); SANUTO, XVIII., 470; BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 243. About the marriage of Luigi Ridolfi (1516), see Carte. Strozz., I., 27.

§ When he was there Ridolfi commissioned Spagna to paint for him the Madonna, so famed for its beauty and dignity, which is now the ornament of the Palazzo Pubblico at Spoleto.

‖ Castiglione reports to the Marchioness of Mantua, Isabella (Aug. 17, 1519), that Cardinal Rossi was dangerously ill (gotta, flusso e febre). *N. S^re^ ne ha sentito e tutta via sente grandissimo despiacere, pur bisogna concordarsi con la volonta di Dio. Rossi, died on Aug. 19, to the great grief of the Pope; see Report in BASCHET, 261–262, and the *Letters of Castiglione, Aug. 17, 19, 27, in Appendix, Nos. 12–14.

¶ The old biography by Bandini (Livorno, 1758) is now of course insufficient; G. Grimaldi has undertaken the praiseworthy task of writing a monograph of Bibbiena. There is much that is new about him in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantua, 195 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*, 245

of the Court in amiability, gaiety, wit, and high spirits; while frequent mention has been made of the part he played as an astute politician and—for a time—chief adviser to the Pope. Even later, when Cardinal Medici had taken his place, his friendship remained most valuable to Leo, who entrusted him with many secrets of state policy. He lived in the Vatican, so as to be near his master. In the spring of 1516 Bibbiena was selected to be Legate to the Emperor, and two years later he was sent in the same capacity to the Court of Francis I.* During his tenure of this last office his relations with Francis I. were such that it was evident that he had more regard for the interests of France than befitted his position. Consequently, his friendship with the Pope became strained, and he was recalled to Rome in 1520; he died there on the 9th of November of the same year. The rumour that he had been poisoned, which was spread about, was entirely without foundation; for the Cardinal had been in failing health for years.†

It is not easy to form a just estimate of Bibbiena's personality, so mixed are good and evil in him. The authorship of the comedy "Calandria," which is full of indecent

seqq., 321 *seqq.*, 330. See also Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 207 *seqq.*, 217 *seqq.*, 226 *seqq.*, and RICHARD, 7 *seqq.*, 322 *seqq.*, 329 *seqq.*, 353 *seqq.*

* See Vol. VII. of this work, 152 *seq.*, 237 *seq.*, 240 *seq.* In the autumn of 1516 Bibbiena was sent as Legate to Perugia and Spoleto; see the *Bull of Nomination, dat. 1516, XV., Kal., Sept., A, 4°, Regest. 1196, f. 204, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 456; BANDINI, 50 *seqq.*; CIAN, Decennio di Bembo, 9, n. 1, and Cortegiano, xix.; see also LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 246 *seqq.*, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 227 *seq.* In addition to this I may remark that ever since 1513 Bibbiena had been subject to attacks of illness; see SANUTO, XVII., 205; (BANDINI, 16), XXIII., 288; Miscell. di stor. Ital., II., 130 It seems that Bibbiena had an incurable disease of the stomach.

jokes, is not compatible with his position as a prince of the Church. Moreover, the erotic paintings in his bathroom,* and many of his letters,† prove that Bibbiena was more worldly-minded than beseemed his position. Leo X., like many of his contemporaries, took no notice of Bibbiena's lax manner of life. In fact the bewitching amiability of the clever and refined Tuscan,‡ his intellectual tastes, his knowledge of classical literature, his ability as a statesman and companion, and his skill as an organizer of festivities and entertainments,§ made this friend of his youth quite indispensable to the Medici Pope. No less useful was Bibbiena to his master in matters of art; for the Cardinal was a good connoisseur in such things. His ardent appreciation of art, and especially the terms of friendship on which he was with Raphael,‖ weighs

* By Bibbiena's desire there was represented on these walls the story of Venus and Cupid—a most unseemly subject for a Cardinal's palace. Raphael drew the sketches for this. *Cf.* PASSAVANTI, II., 277 *seqq.*; HASSE in the Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst, VI., 137 *seq.* (suppl., Kunstchronik, 1896, No. 33), and DOLLMAYR in Arch. stor. d. Arte, III., 272 *seqq.* The statement, which is repeated even by GSELL-FELS, 4, 592, that the frescoes on the wall are now hidden by a partition, is incorrect. The bathroom is indeed inaccessible, but I can testify, from the most authentic information, that the frescoes are still to be seen, though they are in a most deplorable condition. The chief painting on the right-hand wall is completely destroyed where a cupboard was set up, for the bathroom served as a dining-room. See also LANCIANI, I., 211.

† With the frivolous letters in MOLINI, I., 79, 80, 86, *cf.* LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 225 *seq.*; see also BUSER, Beziehungen, 338.

‡ Amabilissimus homo (BEMBO, Hist. Venet., Basil., 1557, 537).

§ He was essentially a "maitre de plaisir"; *cf.* JOVIUS, Vita., lib. 4, and Vita Anonyma in ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 156 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 240, and the literature there given also l'Arte, 1899, 259. The portrait of Bibbiena cannot be authenticated with any certainty. CIAN (Cortegiano, 43) believes that it must be the well-known portrait of a Cardinal in the Pitti Gallery.

in the balance in his favour. Moreover, in spite of his frivolity, Bibbiena had a worthier and more serious side. This is shown, among other things, by his intimate friendship with such excellent men as Castiglione, Giulio Sadoleto, and Giovanni Battista Sanga,* as well as by his last testament.†

Next to Bibbiena, the Pope made his friends among the younger Cardinals to whom he owed his elevation, his friendship being given especially to Luigi d'Aragona, Alfonso Petrucci, Soderini, Sauli, Ippolito d'Este, Sigismondo Gonzaga, and Marco Cornaro.‡ To them were joined the newly-made Cardinals, Cibo and Pucci.§ Most

* *Cf.* BANDINI, 24 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXVII., 293.

† BANDINI (50 *seq.*) has made known to us Bibbiena's last testament, dated November 8, 1520; MANUCCI, Glor. del Casent., I. *Cf.* MAZZATINTI, VI., 182, about the MS. in the Library of the Confrat. di S. Maria at Arezzo. The Marchese Ferrajoli possesses *Hippolytus de Cesis (cam. apost. not.), Instrument., 1511–1522. Here, on p. 277 *seqq.*, we find the Testamentum Card^lis S. Mariae in porticu. In this Bibbiena provides for masses for the repose of his soul; he leaves legacies to certain cloisters where prayers will be said for him; and he leaves a hundred and fifty ducats "pro maritandis puellis pauperibus in terra Bibiene." The following provisions are interesting: "Item reliquit rev. Card. de Cybo unum pannum quadratum sericeum auro pretextum b. Veronice quo utebatur ipse testator ante altare in celebratione misse. Item reliquit aliud quadrum pannum pictum manu Raphaelis cum figura b. Virginis, quo ipse testator in eius cubiculo utebatur, mag. dom. Balth. de Castiliono. Item reliquit rev. dom. P. Bembo S. D. N. secretario quandam parvam lunam auream. Item reliquit quod pax magna S. D. N° et unum collare aureum cum certis gemmis et etiam si S^ti Sue placebit quedam crux, alias per S. Suam sibi et dom. Balth. Stuerdo communiter largita restituatur."

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, XVI., 54, XVII., 217, 486, and BASCHET, Cath. de Médicis, 241. *Cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 92.

§ SANUTO, XX., 193, where Pucci is named Palatine Cardinal together with Medici and Bibbiena.

of those mentioned were lovers and promoters of art and literature, and some few among them were learned;* but they were all thoroughly worldly-minded, and many of them—true children of a corrupt age—led scandalous lives. Their days were spent in wild sport, luxurious carouses, frivolous dramas, and other worse things. Intercourse with these extravagant young men could not fail to have a bad effect on one so inclined to pleasure as Leo X.†

In the catastrophe of 1517 the Pope's friendship with Petrucci, Soderini, and Sauli came to a terrible end. Luigi d'Aragona, who was without cause suspected of a share in Petrucci's conspiracy, thought it advisable to absent himself from the Court for some time under pretext of a visit to Charles V.; however, after his return to Rome in the spring of 1518, his former relations with the Pope were restored. Luigi d'Aragona, who was perhaps the best among the younger Cardinals, died in January, 1519.‡ Ippolito d'Este, the patron of Ariosto, retired to Ferrara, where he died in September, 1520. Cornaro, who also had unjustly fallen under suspicion, continued, together with Pucci, to enjoy the confidence of the Pope; but how much further the Pope's good-will extended is shown by the large creation of Cardinals on the 1st of July, 1517.

* Soderini was versed in Etruscan inscriptions; see Arch. stor. Ital., 4th Series, XIX., 314.

† So says JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. As to the Cardinals in general, *cf.* ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 55 *seqq.*, 59 *seq.* The reputation in which some of them were held is shown by the numerous pasquinades upon them; *cf.* CESAREO in the Nuova Rassegna, 1894, I., 68 *seqq.*; ROSSI, Pasquinate XLII. *seqq.*, XLVIII., XLIX., etc.; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXVIII., 49. Cibo and Sigismondo Gonzaga suffered from the *morbus gallicus*; see ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 58. As to the large incomes of the Cardinals, *cf.* FABRONIUS, 127, 287.

‡ See PASTOR, Die Reise des Kardinals L. d'Aragona, 7 *seqq.*

Among those who were then raised to the purple, Ponzetti, Armellini, Passerini, Pandolfini, Orsini, Salviati, Ridolfi, Rangoni, and, above all others, Luigi de' Rossi, were the intimate friends of Leo X.*

Literature and art were patronized to no less a degree by a number of other prelates, among whom may be distinguished Baldassare Turini da Pescia, Gian Maria Giberti, Giovanni Battista Branconio dell' Aquila, and Giannozzo Pandolfini, both of whom were friends of Raphael's;† the Frenchmen, Ferry de Carondolet‡ and Thomas le Roy, who built the exquisite Farnesina ai Baullari;§ and also the German-Luxemburger, Goritz. Turini's villa, now the Villa Lante, decorated by Giulio Romano, and situated on the Janiculum with the finest

* About those nominated, *cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 201 *seqq.*

† Raphael painted for the former the Visitation, now in Madrid, and drew the plans for his palace in the Borgo; see MÜNTZ, Raphael, 430. About G. Pandolfini, Bishop of Troia between 1484 and 1514, who died in 1525, see UGHELLI, I., 1343. *Cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 142. His palace in the Via di Sangallo in Florence, built by Francesco di Sangallo from a sketch of Raphael's, is an extremely graceful building, half palace, half villa; *cf.* CLAUSSE, III., 126 *seqq.*; GEYMÜLLER, Raff. come architett., 54 *seqq.* Geymüller is preparing a monograph about the Palazzo Pandolfini. Pandolfini lived for some time in the Vatican during the reign of Leo X.; see SANUTO, XXXII., 465.

‡ The Duke of Grafton possesses a beautiful portrait of Ferry de Carondolet and his secretary by Sebastiano del Piombo. Lettres de Ferry de Carondolet, published by L. de la Brière, Evreux, 1894.

§ About Thomas le Roy, commonly called Regis, and his palace, recently and not very happily restored, *cf.* GNOLI in Arch. stor. d. Arte, 1889, 393 *seqq.*; and Riv. d. Italia, 1900, I., 530 *seqq.*; Giorn. Arcadico, VIII., 401 *seq.*; SCHULTZ in the Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung, 1891, No. 17; Kunstchronik, 1901–1902, 125, 266; TOMASETTI in the Bull. d. commiss. archeol., 1900, 321 *seqq.*, and Cosmos catholicus, 1901, No. 6; CLAUSSE, S. Gallo, II., 169 *seqq.*; GATTI in Studi e docum., 1904, 275 *seqq.*; and especially MOLLAT in the Annal. de St. Louis des Francais VI., 159 *seqq.* See also LANCIANI, II., 10 *seq.*

panoramic view of Rome,* was, together with the vineyard belonging to the affable old Goritz, the central resort of the humanists inhabiting Rome.† Turini, who like Giberti and Pandolfini was the confidant of the Medici, was intimate with Francia, Leonardo da Vinci, and especially with Raphael, and was one of his executors. His correspondence with Lorenzo de' Medici and Lorenzo Gheri ‡ shows him to us as a connoisseur of art and patron of artists.

Whereas the Roman nobles were, with few exceptions, distinguished neither socially nor as patrons of learning,§ the great bankers, the monied aristocracy, brought a remarkable and new element into Roman society. Their most brilliant representative was Agostino Chigi, the Rothschild of his time. His intimacy with Julius II.‖ had been troubled during the latter years of the impetuous Rovere; but, on the other hand, his relations with Leo X. remained to the end the very best possible.¶

* The fine tomb of Turini (ob. 1543, see State Archives, Florence, Av. il. princ., CVII., introductory remarks), in the Cathedral of Pescia, which owed a great deal to his son, was designed by Raffaello da Montelupo. Of the frescoes in the Villa Lante, only fragments remain. *Cf.* Strena Helbigiana, Lipsiae, 1900, 129 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*

† *Cf. infra*, pp. 189, 216.

‡ Printed in GAYE, I., 138 *seqq.*, 148 *seqq.*; *cf.* JANITSCHEK, Gesellschaft, 95.

§ Marc Antonio Altieri draws a moving, though most likely exaggerated, picture in his Nuptiali, finished about 1514 (ed. Narducci, Roma, 1873, *cf.* especially p. 15), of the impoverishment, largely by their own fault, and disappearance of the Roman families of highest standing.

‖ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, p. 495.

¶ The principal Life of the great banker, by Fabio Chigi, which is for the most part based on Tizio,* Hist. Senen, has been published by CUGNONI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 46 *seqq.*, with many valuable notes (II., 37 *seqq.*, 209 *seqq.*, 475 *seqq.*; III., 213 *seqq.*, 291 *seqq.*, 422

By his extensive financial operations, Chigi, whose bank was in the Via de' Banchi, had amassed an almost fabulous fortune. Well-informed contemporaries estimated his annual income at 70,000 ducats. He left 800,000 behind him when he died. He himself once told the Pope that he possessed a hundred houses and as many ships, and that he employed 20,000 men. But this was not the only test of his fortune, for the mere word of such a Crœsus was as good as solid money. The sovereigns of Spain, France, Germany, and even the Sultan, laid themselves out to win the favour of Chigi by their gifts. The proud Venetians, to whom he lent 125,000 ducats in 1511, gave him the place of honour next to the Doge when he visited their city. Leo treated this prince of bankers, whose assistance he so often sought, like a crowned head. Chigi often had the honour of receiving the Pope as his guest in his famous country-house, the Farnesina, which was full of every kind of work of art.* The luxury of the merchant prince, who used nothing but silver plate in his house, to the exclusion of earthenware, reminds us of that of the ancient Roman Emperors. At one of his extravagant banquets, which was spread in the loggia overlooking the Tiber, the gold and silver dishes which had been used were thrown after each course into the river—whence, no doubt, they were drawn up afterwards in hidden nets. At another banquet, given in honour of Chigi's birthday, each guest

seqq.; IV., 56 *seqq.*, 195 *seqq.*). It is surprising that no one should have undertaken the grateful task of writing a full biography of this man, who is so characteristic of his time. Of later lives, *cf.* REUMONT in Zahns Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft, I., 213 *seqq.*, and especially FÖRSTER, Farnesina-Studien, 1 *seqq.*

* He entertained the Pope at the end of April, 1513; SANUTO, XVI., 227. Leo X. sometimes dined also with Card. Farnese; see *Letter of Castiglione from Rome, July 4, 1519. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

found the plate laid in front of him engraved with his own arms.

When, by the persuasion of the Pope, Chigi decided to marry his mistress, a great feast was held at the Farnesina. The Pope himself—which is characteristic of the moral tone of the time—took part in it with thirteen Cardinals. He even held the finger of the bride while the marriage ring was being placed on it. On this occasion Chigi, at terrific expense, sent to all parts of the world for the choicest viands. Among other luxuries he had live fish sent from France and Spain, and even from the coasts of the Bosphorus.* Such extravagance, which bears the mark of the *parvenu*, has something repulsive about it.

Chigi has better claims to remembrance on account of his great benevolence and generous patronage of art and literature; the name of "il magnifico" was given to him on account of his generosity in regard to these. Though not himself a man of any great culture, he gladly promoted learning of every kind. For this purpose he had a printing-press set up in one of his houses, at which was produced an edition of Pindar, the first Greek book to appear in print in Rome. Among the learned and literati, Giovio, Bembo, Cornelio Benigno, and Aretino were closely connected by friendship with the wealthy merchant.† As a patron of art Chigi vied even with Leo X. That this is no exaggeration is shown by a glance at the Farnesina, that "ideal dwelling-place, half town-mansion and half country-house." The dwelling-rooms on the upper floor are decorated with architectural paintings by Baldassare Peruzzi. In the sleeping-chamber Soddoma painted the

* With SANUTO, XXV., 386, and XXVII., 628, *cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 66 *seqq.*, III. 232, 290; FÖRSTER, 7 *seq.*; JANSEN, Soddoma, 107; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 205.

† *Cf.* FÖRSTER, 5 and 118.

Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, and the family of Darius before the conqueror of the world. On the ground-floor in the great hall, which was originally open, Chigi had painted the fable of Psyche and Cupid, after the popular narrative of Apuleius. Raphael designed the decorations of the ceiling, beams, and cornices, which were carried out by Giulio Romano and G. Francesco Penni. The beautiful encircling wreaths are the work of Giovanni da Udine. In the adjoining hall Baldassare Peruzzi painted the starry heavens on the ceiling, while in the lunettes are subjects from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," by Sebastiano del Piombo. On the entrance wall Raphael himself painted the Triumph of Galatea, which furnishes a proof of how well he could adapt himself to the reproduction of the sensuous world of the antique. But in the case of this work of art, as in that of the story of Psyche, the Christian critic can give only a qualified admiration to the prevalent "divine nudity." *

From these works he will turn with alacrity to others for which Chigi is equally responsible, in the Church of S. Maria della Pace and the chapel in S. Maria del Popolo. For the first Raphael painted his incomparable Sybils.† In the mortuary chapel of the Chigi in S. Maria del Popolo, Sebastiano del Piombo painted the Nativity of

* According to Vasari, B. Peruzzi was the architect of the Farnesina, according to Geymüller, it was Raphael, but SPRINGER (Beibl. z. Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst., 1884, 408) does not feel at all sure about this. As to the ornamentation, *cf.* GRUYER in the Gaz. d. Beaux Arts, 1862; SRINGER, Raffael, 260 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, 509 *seqq.*, 519 *seqq.*; MINGHETTI, 141 *seqq.*, 203 *seqq.*; FÖRSTER, 39 *seq.*, and Repert., XXIII., 1 *seq.*; MICHAELIS in the Kunstchronik, 1889, No. 1; PROPPING, Sebastian del Piombo, Leipzig, 1892, 28 *seq.*; MAASS, Aus der Farnesina, Marburg, 1902, and the inspired description of STEINMANN, 171 *seq.*; see also his Sixtina, II., 104 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Springer, 258 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, 511 *seqq.*

Mary as an altar-piece, and Raphael sketched the architectural designs for the chapel, the bronze-relief of Christ and the woman of Samaria, the statue of Jonas, and the mosaic paintings for the cupola. In this last are represented the gods of the planets and the heaven of the fixed stars, watched over and guided by angels, while from above they are blessed by God the Father.* Chigi, who was very generous in ecclesiastical matters, gave the commission for the decoration of another church. In the Church of the Guardian Angels, belonging to the Sienese confraternity of S. Caterina, he had the altar-piece, our Lord's Resurrection, painted by Genga. At Tolfa he built a church for the hermits of St. Augustine.†

Chigi survived his friend Raphael by only a few days. He died on the 10th of April, 1520, at the comparatively early age of fifty-five, and was buried with regal splendour in the chapel which he had prepared for himself in S. Maria del Popolo.‡

The other bankers in Rome, the Spannochi, Strozzi, Altoviti, Gaddi,§ and Bini,|| could not compare with Chigi either in riches or generosity, any more than could the agents of the houses of Fugger and Welser; nevertheless, they were his rivals in the patronage of art.¶ The young

* With MÜNTZ (514 *seqq.*) *cf.* GRUNER, I mosaici nella cappella Chigiana, Roma, 1859.

† JANITSCHEK, Gesellschaft, 96, and FÖRSTER, 5 *seq.*

‡ With SANUTO, XXVIII., 361, 385, 406, 407, 423, 424, 425, 426, and Tizio in FABRONIUS, 313, *cf.*, in Appendix, No. 17, the *Letter of Ang. Germanello, April 11, 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ The fine palace of the Gaddi, in the Via de' Banchi, was built by Jacopo Sansovino; VASARI, VII., 497.

|| The palace of the Bini in the Via Consolato was unfortunately destroyed in 1888; see Arch. d. Arte, I., 268 *seqq.*

¶ *Cf.* the detailed notice in SCHULTE, I., 201 *seq.*, about the houses of Fugger and Welser.

Bindo Altoviti came first in this; his portrait in the Pinacoteca at Munich was for a long time described as a portrait of Raphael by himself,* in spite of the blue eyes and fair, curly hair. As well as this wonderful portrait, Raphael painted for Altoviti the Madonna dell' Impannata, now in the Pitti Gallery.† The grave Michael Angelo, who kept aloof from the worldly Chigi, held Altoviti in such friendship that he gave him a cartoon of his Sistine frescoes, and commemorated his noble friend by a medal. His bust was made by Benvenuto Cellini.‡ These and other works of art, combined with choice antique specimens, were the glory of the Palazzo Altoviti, which stood close to the banks of the Tiber, to the left of the Ponte S. Angelo. The palace disappeared in 1888,§ while the offices of the mercantile house of Chigi, which stood close by, are used at present as a wood magazine.‖ Nowhere is the transitoriness of human things brought home more forcibly than in the Eternal City.

Another banker, Lorenzo Strozzi—the brother of Filippo, so well known for his epicureanism¶—tried to outrival

* H. GRIMM has contested this untenable opinion in the preuss. Jahrb., XXIV. About the picture, *cf.* HIRTH-MUTHER, Cicerone in der ält. Pinakothek, München, 1888, 77.

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 531, 533.

‡ See PLON, 221 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* GNOLI in the Arch. d. Arte, I., 202 *seqq.* About Altoviti, *cf.* ALVERI, Roma, 107 *seq.*; PANCINI, Genealogia e storia della famiglia Altoviti, Firenze, 1871, 55 *seqq.* See also MORENI, Illustraz. di una rarissima medaglia rappres. B. Altoviti, opera di M. A. Buonarotti, Firenze, 1824; *cf.* LANCIANI, I., 163.

‖ Earlier than this they were used as stables. They are situated in the Arco de' Banchi (formerly known as the Cortile de' Chigi), Nos. 9 and 10, which connects the Via de' Banchi with the Via Paola; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., II., 488, and Arch. d. Arte, I., 192 *seqq.*

¶ *Cf.* FERRAI, Lorenzo de' Medici, Milano, 1889, 8–9; and CIAN, Cortegiano, 101 *seq.*

Chigi in extravagance. A banquet given by him during the Carnival of 1519 caused him to be much talked about. His shuddering guests were first led up a step to a black door, through which they entered a hall draped in black. In the middle of this stood a black table on which were flasks of wine and two deaths'-heads containing the choicest viands. After this whimsical introduction the guests adjourned to a brilliantly-lighted hall and sat down to table. The food was served up by means of an underground contrivance: first there were handed dainties, and after them uneatable food. Suddenly the lights went out, and there entered two actors dressed like jesters, who led a dance. The meal was so plentiful that the guests had eaten to surfeit before a third course was offered to them. Fourteen persons took part in this banquet, including Cardinals Rossi, Cibo, Salviati, and Ridolfi, the two buffoons Mariano and Brandino, and three ladies of the demi-monde.*

Such a banquet takes us back to a time when wealth and luxury, extravagance and laxity of morals, had reached an ominous height. The fact that Strozzi dared to invite such company to meet the Cardinals, is most significant. But such a thing was nothing new in Rome. Even in the time of the rugged Julius II., to say nothing of the reign of Alexander VI., a well-known prostitute, the beautiful and highly-cultivated Imperia, played a part in high Roman society.†

There is but too much evidence as to the immorality which prevailed in Rome in the time of Leo X.‡ It

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVII., 74-75.

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 123 *seq.*; see also GRAF, 264 *seq.*

‡ See Censimento d. città di Roma sotto Leone X., ed. Armellini, Roma, 1882, for the number of courtesans in Rome, the headquarters of whom were in the vicinity of the Ponte Sisto (see GRAF, 253). *Cf*

extended to every branch of society, spiritual and secular, and reached its greatest development among the most highly educated. Yet the Rome of that time was not more corrupt than Venice or the other cities of Italy.* The indifference with which even the highest spiritual authorities regarded the state of society at that time, and for some time after, is truly scandalous. The Popes of the time of the Catholic reformation were the first to combat with severity and decision an evil which caused such grave scandal, especially in the capital of the Christian world. The immorality in Rome was connected with her vast intercourse with foreigners;† with the idleness of many of her prelates, who spent the large incomes arising from their benefices in the metropolis of the world; with the increase of luxury;‡ with the enormous influx of money; with the settlement of so many foreigners in Rome;§ and especially with the growth of population.||

the Lamentations of Batt. Mantovano about the morals of the Curia in BURCKHARDT, II.[7], 304. The satires, pasquinades, and general literature of the time are fully quoted by GRAF, 226 *seqq.*, 285. See also BURCKHARDT, I.[7], 320; II., 332. To the reign of Leo X. belongs the rare "Lamento di pasquino" (*s.d.*, but after the battle of Bicocca), a copy of which is in the State Library, Munich, Poet. Ital., 517.

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 164 *seq.*

† PARIS DE GRASSIS (*Diarium, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican) puts the number of those present at the paschal blessing in 1517 at over a hundred thousand. These cannot (see GNOLI, Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 376) be counted as inhabitants, for assuredly there were many foreigners among them.

‡ *Cf.* ALTIERI, Nuptiali, 6 *seqq.*

§ The foreigners were the promoters of immorality in Rome; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, I.[7], 200, who refers to DELICADO, Lozana, I., 239, for the laxity of moral conditions. The morals of the real inhabitants were better; see what ALTIERI (101 *seqq.*) says about the penalties of marriage separations.

|| *Cf. infra*, p. 128.

Rome still maintained her pre-eminently cosmopolitan character. There existed no court which was composed, racially and socially, of such heterogeneous elements; elements which formed to some extent rather ominous combinations. The facility with which persons could obtain money at the Curia as negotiators or go-betweens, and the rapidity with which promotion to spiritual offices could lead to power and wealth, were bound to attract place-hunters, adventurers, and idlers.* No doubt the influx of the humanists had a bad effect on the machinery of government; still the humanists were by no means the only persons to pursue the love of gain at the expense of others, and to the neglect of their own duties.† A deep-rooted corruption had taken possession of nearly all the officials, and a host of abuses had become common among them. The truly Italian art of procrastination in matters of business, the inordinate number of gratuities and exactions, had passed all bounds. Moreover, on all sides deeds were dishonestly manipulated, and even falsified, by the officials.‡

No wonder that there arose from all parts of Christendom the loudest complaints about the corruption and financial extortions of the Papal officials. It was even said that in

* See HOFFMANN, Gesch. d. päpstl. Kanzlei, 43.

† *Cf.* HOFFMANN, *loc. cit.*, 45 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*, who justly remarks that the lack of qualification in the officials was manifest in their carelessness in making out Bulls and Registers. The Registers of Leo X. are the worst and most illegible of all.

‡ Sebastiano da Trevigi was burnt on the charge of falsification of Bulls and Petitions; see JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4; CICOGNA, Michiel, 402; SANUTO, XXVII., 474; and the *Brief for Ioh. Novello et vicario gen. episc. Feltren., *s.d.* (super falsificat. litt. apost. facta a Sebastiano de Federicis): Brevia anni 1518, Arm., XXXIX., t. 32, f. 234; *ibid.* for Ant. de Pocalera (facultat. contra. falsificat. litt. apost., D, 1518, Iuni 21). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Rome everything had its price.* With biting irony, the satirist Ariosto describes the restless doings of the avaricious members of the secularized Curia :—

> Quando la ruota, che non pur castiga
> Ision rio, si volge in mezzo a Roma
> L'anime a cruciar con lunga briga.

Their insatiable avarice was ready to sacrifice peace, happiness, and liberty for benefices and dignities. What signify five mitres on the head or a hundred followers on the way to the Vatican? That they call mere luck † :—

> Io lo stimo miseria; e son si pazzo,
> Ch'io penso e dico, che in Roma famosa
> Il signor è più servo, che'l ragazzo.

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* SANUTO, XXVI., 510; Vita Anon. in Cod. Vat., 3920, in JANUS, 382, n.

† Satire to Galeazzo Ariosto, Parnaso Italiano, Vol. XXVII., 12, 18, Venezia, 1718.

CHAPTER IV.

Medicean Rome.

However blameworthy the worldliness of the Curia might be in itself, it, like the lavish expenditure of the Pope, conduced rather to the advantage of Rome than otherwise, by the impetus which it gave to the extraordinary development of the city. There was no place in the world where capital could be put out to better advantage, where riches and importance could be obtained more rapidly, or where fewer taxes were paid.* Rome was exempt from the miseries of war; hence the influx of immigrants, especially from the heavily-burdened north of Italy. This was so considerable that Giovio speaks of a whole colony of these immigrants having established themselves in the neighbourhood of the Campo de' Fiori. The Pope encouraged this influx as much as he could. He was active in promoting the development of Rome,† and exerted himself a great deal in the maintenance of quiet and security in all the States of the Church, as well as in the Eternal City itself.‡

* Ranke especially points this out (Päpste, I.[6], 265).

† With Jovius, Vita, l. 4, *cf.* the enumeration of Leo's merits as regarded Rome with the discourse in Venuti, 131 *seqq.* and 165.

‡ With Jovius, *loc. cit.*, *cf.* Bull. V., 712 *seqq.*, 737; Regest. Leonis X., n. 4590, 16,937; Bembi, Epist., III., 9; IV., 15, 18; V., 34; VI., 13; XV., 11, 28; *Brief to the Bishop of Tivoli, Sept. 18, 1515 (Arm. XXXIX,. t. 30, Secret Archives of the Vatican); Paris de Grassis, ed. Delicati-Armellini, 85; Fr. Novellus in the *Cod. Barb., lat. 2273, f. 18 of the Vatican Library. Nevertheless, many acts of murder were

He regulated the importation as well as the price of food,* promoted husbandry in the Campagna, busied himself with draining the Pontine Marshes,† protected all the benevolent institutions, especially the hospitals, of Rome,‡ and did much to improve the architecture of the city. The works of restoration begun by Julius II. in the Via Alessandrina, leading from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, were continued under Leo by Giuliano di Sangallo. In the northern part of the Campo Marzio, the fine design of the three streets converging on the Piazza del Popolo was begun in this Pontificate, to be finished under Clement VII. The Bull of November 2nd, 1516, which revived the projects of Sixtus IV. for widening and embellishing the streets, was of the greatest importance for Rome. It stirred up architectural activity to such an extent that many parts of the city acquired a totally new aspect.§

committed in the States of the Church as well as in Rome; see the Report of M. v. Watt, 1520, in the Mitteil. des hist. Ver. f. St. Gallen, XXV., 292.

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 3730.

† *Cf. ibid.*, n. 5847 (see also GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost., 122), 13,189, Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 367; TOURNON, Etud. statist, 219; MARINI, Lettera, 61; Monografia d. città di Roma, I., 326. For the promotion of drainage at Ravenna, see *Brief of Sept. 5, 1514 (State Archives, Modena), Appendix, No. 3.

‡ *Cf.* Bull. V., 639 *seqq*; Regest. Leonis X., n. 6964, 7143; PERICOLI, L'osped. di S. Maria d. Consolazione, Roma, 1879, 119; MORICHINI, 143. For the founding of the Hospital of S. Maria di Costantinopoli in 1515, see Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XIII., 286. In 1520 Leo X. erected a convent as a refuge for penitents; see Bull. V., 742 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 739 *seqq.*, see Bull for confirmation of the archiconfraternitas charitatis in Jan. 1520, founded by Card. Giulio de' Medici.

§ Bull. V., 655; REUMONT, III., 2, 452; Regest. Leonis X., n. 6922. About the Via Alessandrina or Via Leonis, besides Paris de Grassis, ed. ARMELLINI-DELICATI, 120; see *Div. Cam., 65, f. 36–37, and Arm. XXXIX, t. 41, f. 14*b*–15 of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and

Contemporaries were astonished to see Rome becoming each day more beautiful, while her prosperity grew with her beauty.* "From day to day," says an orator, "new buildings spring up in your midst, and new quarters spring into life along the Tiber, on the Janiculum, and around the Porta Flaminia (del Popolo)."† The Venetian Ambassador, writing in 1523, puts the number of houses built in Rome by northern Italians since the election of Leo X. at ten thousand.‡ This calculation may be as greatly exaggerated as is Giovio's statement that the inhabitants of Rome had increased to eighty-five thousand during Leo's Pontificate.§ But a considerable and extraordinary development of the city is beyond all question. Witness to this are the notes of Marc Antonio Altieri, a Roman who lamented the rapid change in the condition of things, as much as the undoubted increase of luxury. He told the Pope many painful truths. "Not only do we see fine and commodious houses springing up on all sides," he writes, "but with them splendid palaces full of distinguished inhabitants, noted for the unwonted splendour of their appearance, and the numbers among them of young exquisites decked out with brilliant caps on their

*Cod. Barb., lat. 2428, f. 2. About the Ripetta, *cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 92 *seq.* In the *Diary of a Frenchman it is said: "En l'an 1518 par commendement du pape Leon X. fut commencé la strada de N. Dame de populo . . . et fut achevé en l'an 1519"; Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 34*b* of the Vatican Library.

* *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 6, the *Letter of A. Gabbioneta, Jan. 14, 1517. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† VENUTI, Oratio, 160 *seqq.*

‡ ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 67.

§ JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4. As to the exaggerations in which Giovio was wont to indulge, see GNOLI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 382 *seq.* The number of inhabitants could not at that time have been more than 50,000.

heads, and velvet slippers and shoes on their feet, and surrounded by many servants. Women no longer don their finery only on feast-days, but wear it every day; when they go abroad they are proudly adorned, spreading around them the perfume of sweet scents; and at home there is the revelry of dancing and music, for all the world as if each one of them was about to ascend a throne."* What a contrast was this age to the time of Eugenius IV., about sixty years before, when, as is related, the Florentines looked on the Romans as a people of cow-herds!

The Leonine city, the central part of which had already been remodelled, chiefly under Alexander VI., was, during Leo's Pontificate, the essentially ecclesiastical quarter of Rome. Here, under the shadow of the chief church, St. Peter's, and the chief fortress, St. Angelo, the greater number of Cardinals, prelates, and officials of the Court and the Curia dwelt. To the palaces already existing there was added one, begun by Cardinal Armellini, and later belonging to the Cesi family.† The largest piazza after St. Peter's was that of S. Giacomo Scossacavalli, better known as the Piazza of the Cardinal S. Clemente, near which stood the palace of Domenico della Rovere, now the palace of the Penitenzieri. In a magnificent building which, though now hidden and crowded up by houses, retains many traces of its former splendour, lived Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, who vied with Leo X. both in magnificence and generosity.‡ Just opposite to him, on the other side of the Piazza, lived Cardinal Adriano Castellesi,§ in a still more beautiful

* ALTIERI, Nuptiali, 17. About the luxury of the Roman women, see also GAYE, I., 608, and REUMONT, III., 2, 859.

† *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3rd ed., 676.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona, 8.

§ See Vol. VI. of this work, p. 179.

palace, which was for a long time ascribed to Bramante. Where the palace of the Convertendi now stands, there then stood Raphael's elegant mansion.* Cardinal Soderini lived next to Cardinal Adriano Castellesi. Near these stood the mansion of Giannantonio Battiferri of Urbino, the façade of which was embellished by Raphael with paintings and drawings. This memorial has vanished, but on the right or northern side of the Borgo Nuovo, there still exists the house of the court physician, Febo Brigotti,† and the palace designed by Raphael for the Papal surgeon, Giacomo da Brescia. On the left side of the street, adjoining Raphael's palace, stood the house of the Zoni, and the palace of Cardinal Accolti. Further on, near the Piazza of St. Peter's, could be seen the magnificent palace of Raphael's friend, Giovan Battista Branconio, destroyed when the Piazza Rusticucci was made.‡

In the part of Rome on the left bank of the Tiber the finest palace was the Cancelleria, and the largest the Palazzo di San Marco, now known as the Palazzo di Venezia. Soon there arose a palace of truly Roman proportions, which has immortalized the name of the Farnese.§ As originally planned, the façade of the palace

* Built by Bramante and bought by Raphael in 1517, and inhabited by him until his death. Later buildings set up round it have destroyed its original form; see GNOLI in Nuova Antologia, 1887, fasc. 11; A. ROSSI in the Arch. st. dell' Arte, I. (1888), fasc. 2, p. 1 *seqq.*; BUONAROTTI, 3rd Series, III., 26 *seq.*; and GNOLI, Arch. st. dell' Arte, 7 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.*, II., 145 *seqq.*

† Over the door of Brigotti's house (Borgo Nuovo, 106-107) is the inscription:

"Phœbus
Brigoctus medicus."

‡ GNOLI, Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, XIV. (1888), 591 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. stor. dell' Arte, I., 134 *seqq.*; and MÜNTZ, III., 542.

§ *Cf.* NAVENNE in the Revue des deux Mondes, 1895, Sept., 399

was intended to look towards the Via Giulia. This street, at that time the broadest and finest in the Eternal City, took the place of the present Corso. A chronicler of Perugia, writing in the time of Clement VII., says that there was to be found the flower of Rome. Next to it in the way of brilliancy came the Canale di Ponte (now the Via del Banco di Santo Spirito) and the Via de' Banchi, where stood the houses of business of the merchant princes and lesser bankers, mostly Florentines. In the neighbourhood Leo erected the national church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini for his compatriots.*

The whole of the district of Ponte, as far as the Piazza Navona and the Campo de' Fiori, was the most thickly populated and most lively quarter of the city. In the first named, the market had been held ever since 1477; the Campo de' Fiori was the place of execution of criminals; there was to be seen the greatest number of taverns.†

During Leo's pontificate many northern Italians settled in this quarter and erected new buildings, many of which were remarkable for their beauty.‡ Not far from the University, which had been enlarged by Leo X., stood two new palaces which rivalled in magnificence the imposing Palazzo Cicciaporci built for Giulio Alteriori in 1521; these were the Palazzo Lante ai Capretari, built by Jacopo Sansovino, and the Palazzo Maccarani, which Giulio Romano built for the family of Cenci. The custom of

seqq.; CLAUSSE, II., 67 *seqq.* Leo X. inspected the building in person; see Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 72; see also Altpreussische Monatschrift, XXXIX., 400 *seq.*

* *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 209.

† *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3rd ed., 681, 685 *seq.* The *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, f. 33 (Vatican Library), mentions the "grande justice" carried out on a murderer in the Campo de' Fiori.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 4. The Piazza Lombarda is now called the Piazza Madama.

painting the façade added not a little to the beauty of the houses. About the same time stucco-work, busts and other plaster ornaments, became more common.* The dark, gloomy aspect of mediæval Rome began generally to disappear. Obviously it was in the more beautiful and renovated parts of the city that the signs of the new era could be more clearly read. In the labyrinths of narrow streets which surrounded the foot of the Capitol, and in the thickly-populated district of the Trastevere, the mediæval character of the city was preserved for a long time. The houses there were for the most part small, with porticoes or open galleries on the first floor, which was reached by outside stone staircases.† Here and there among them were towers, of which that of the Anguillara is the only one remaining.‡ The Campo Marzio, which was no less thickly inhabited, presented in its irregularities a rare mixture of modern and mediæval buildings, palaces, and churches, in the midst of the bustle of commerce in which the most varied nationalities took part.

While the city itself was being ever more and more transformed, under Leo X., the monuments of antiquity were left more or less untouched. In spite of the increasing interest taken in the antique, the old pagan monuments still served as convenient quarries for marble and travertine; nevertheless, the demolitions of this sort remained inconsiderable. The zeal of antiquarians saved many works of

* See REUMONT, III., 2, 423, 858. About the new palaces mentioned above, *cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 212; *cf.* GRILLI, Pitture a graffito e chiaroscuro di Polidoro e Maturino sulle facciate delle case a Roma, in the Rassegna d' Arte, V., 97 *seq.*

† *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3rd ed., 678 *seq.* When this description was written, many more of the old-fashioned houses existed than at present. A good specimen of the houses with open galleries is to be found in the Trastevere in the Vicolo dell' Atleta.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, p. 148.

art and old inscriptions. The Colosseum suffered most, whereas the Baths of Diocletian and Constantine, with those of Caracalla, remained practically intact.*

The silent world of ruins formed a striking contrast with the restless life of the modern Rome of that time. The uninhabited portions were far more extensive than those built over. The Pincio was for the most part garden-land; country-houses began to arise on the Quirinal, and there were but few dwelling-houses on the Viminal, Esquiline, and Cœlian hills. The venerable basilicas and other churches gave its character to this part of Rome. S. Maria Maggiore and the Lateran, and the buildings belonging to them, as yet untouched by later restorations, stood in imposing grandeur with their rows of ancient marble pillars and mosaic decorations. The gigantic halls of the Baths of Diocletian commanded a vast field of ruins, grand in their loneliness; while close to the Baths was a formal wood in which deer were kept.† Testaccio was waste land; the Aventine was sparsely inhabited; the Pyramid of Caius Cestus was buried in rubbish. With the exception of some venerable churches and convents, nothing was to be seen in the neighbourhood except fields and meadows. The site of the Forums of Augustus and Nerva was partly field and partly marsh, the memory of which is kept alive by the name Arco de' Pantani. The treasures of the Forum were buried under about thirty feet of rubbish and earth. The pillars of the Temple of Saturn were buried

* See REUMONT, III., 2, 454 *seq.* But witness is borne by VENUTI (69) that the burning of marble to obtain lime was still going on under Leo X.

† This is mentioned by Franc. Janis da Tolmezzo in his report quoted *infra*, p. 135 n. EGGER (Verzeichnis der architektonisch Handzeichnungen der Hofbibliotek, Wein, 1903, 19) gives a ground-plan of the Baths of Diocletian, taken from the sketch-book of an Italian, 1514.

to their base, while those of the Temple of Vespasian were buried to half their height. The Arches of Septimus Severus and Titus were surrounded by mean buildings. The remaining open space of the Forum, on which a great part of Roman history had been played, served as a cattle-market (Campo vaccino), while scattered around were old churches and single houses.

On the Capitol, the Palace of the Senators, with its four metal-crowned corner towers of the time of Boniface VIII., bore quite a mediæval appearance, in spite of the slight alterations made by Nicholas V., to whom the Palace of the Conservatori owed its actual form.* The south-eastern summit of the historic hill was waste ground in the time of Leo X. The Tarpeian rock was called Monte Caprino, from the goats which climbed about it.

The Palatine, with its world of ruins, was an indescribably romantic wilderness. On the south side, in the midst of weeds and creepers, stood the magnificent remains of the Septizonium. The other colossal ruins of the Palace of the Cæsars were equally overrun by a wild growth of vegetation. In every rift and fissure of the red-brown walls grew dark-green ivy; while everywhere there bloomed wild-roses and yellow broom. Laurel trees, dark cypresses and picturesque pines, stood all about; while, in the midst of this confusion of wild growth, vines had been cultivated on every favourable spot. Deep silence reigned in the halls whence, in days gone by, the Cæsars had controlled the fate of the world. No one but learned and artistic men, who had visited the neighbouring baths for the sake of the remnants of decoration left there, ever thought of visiting the Palace of the Cæsars.

What men of culture cared to visit in Rome, is told

* *Cf.* HÜLSEN, Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols, Rom., 1899, 11 *seq.*

us in the reports of some of the Venetians.* The first thing that every stranger did on arriving in Rome was to visit St. Peter's, the mosaic façade of which met his eyes from afar. A large part of the old church was still standing. The great relics there, the head of St. Andrew, and the Santo Volto (Sudarium of St. Veronica), were shown only on great festivals, except by the personal permission of the Pope. A provisional choir had been put up, so that worship could be carried on in the central nave. Everywhere, however, could be seen signs that the venerable building was doomed to destruction.† The foundations of the new dome covered such an immense space that the beholders felt that their grandchildren would scarcely live to see the completion of the wonderful work.

Great architectural activity reigned at the Vatican and also at St. Angelo. The Loggie of the Cortile of St. Damasus were approaching completion. About three hundred Swiss, tall, fine men in white, green, and yellow uniforms, bearing halberds, guarded the entrance to the Pope's residence, which was fitted up with every conceivable luxury which a highly-developed civilization could supply. Even the Venetian Ambassadors, accustomed as they were to all that art could contrive in the way of magnificence, were

* Besides the known reports of the Venetian Ambassadors in 1523, most likely written by Pesaro, in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 97 *seqq.*, see the interesting report of Franc. Janis da Tolmezzo, who visited Rome in February, 1519 (in FULIN, Diarii Venez., Venice, 1881, 68 *seq.*). There are interesting things to be found in the very rare French publication: Dom Edme, XLIe abbé de Clairvaux. Relation d'un voyage à Rome commencé le XXIII. du mois d'août 1520, et terminé le XIV. du mois d'avril 1521. Publ. par Harmand, Troyes, 1850.

† In the narrative of the journey of the Abbat Edme, he says about S. Peter's: Qui étoit du tout ou a peu pres desolee et ruinee et est piteable chose de la veoir. Le pape Julle y avoit fait quelque peu de beau commencement, mais faulte de couverture yl se ruinoit fort.

astounded by the splendour and beauty of the Vatican, with which no royal palace in the world could be compared.

In addition to the paintings on the walls and ceilings, which proclaimed the zenith of art, there was a great profusion of tapestry, and embroideries in gold and silk. The furniture and the gold and silver plate were models of the most refined taste. The Pope's chairs were covered with crimson velvet, with silver knobs, and the arms of Leo X. worked in gold.* Within the Vatican the greatest conceivable activity prevailed; the pressure of business was so great that even prelates in high position had to wait four or five hours before they could have access to Cardinal Medici. Often six hours passed before an audience could be obtained with the Pope himself;† for Leo's intimates among the Cardinals went frequently to the Vatican. Bembo wrote to Bibbiena on the 19th of July, 1517: "The rooms of His Holiness, which Raphael painted, are made incomparably beautiful by these paintings; but the greatest attraction in them is the sight of the Cardinals, who are nearly always walking to and fro in them."‡

However much the works of Raphael in the Vatican were admired by his contemporaries, they placed a still higher value on the great creations of Michael Angelo in

* I have taken these details from the reports of the Venetian Ambassadors quoted above. A most interesting insight of the furniture of the Vatican is given in the **Inventarium omnium bonorum existentium in foraria S^mi^ D. Leonis, pp. X., factum de mandato Suae Bea^nis^ per r. d. Philippum de Senis et Christophorum Barotium camerae apost. clericos die septima Septembris A° D, 1518, pont. sui anno sexto. State Archives, Rome, Arch. camerale, Invent. busta, 1.

† *Cf.* the report of the Abbot Edme, 62–63, quoted above.

‡ BEMBO, Opere, III., 14.

the Papal chapel.* But the devotees of antiquity found their central attraction in the court of the Vatican Belvedere, where the masterpieces of sculpture—the Nile, the Tiber, Hercules, Ariadne, Venus, the world-renowned Apollo, and, lastly, the Laocoon, which was at that time more admired than any—stood in the midst of cypresses, laurels, and orange trees, amidst which played running fountains. Leo X. gave free access to this sanctuary of ancient art.† Finally, no one who went to the Vatican failed to visit the Pope's menagerie, in which there were several lions.‡

The pilgrimage to the seven churches, which no devout visitor to Rome failed to perform, had to be made in one day, and usually took about eight hours. As a rule the visits began at St. Paul's, with its famous ancient pillars.§ Thence the pilgrim went to St. Sebastian; admission to the adjacent catacombs was not easily obtained, on account of several strangers having become hopelessly lost in the underground passages. From these venerable sanctuaries the pilgrim went on to the basilica of the Lateran, extraordinarily rich in relics; in front of the church there then stood the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Thence he proceeded to the Church of Santa Croce, where Cardinal Carvajal was carrying on his great improvements. After this he visited S. Lorenzo fuori le mure, and S. Maria Maggiore, finishing

* *Cf.*, for contemporary opinion, Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft, IX., 121.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 487 *seqq.* The Venetian report of 1523 expressly mentions the granting of this free access.

‡ According to Vasari, Giovanni da Udine painted a picture of the Papal menagerie in the Sala de' Palafrenieri. About the lions, see Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte, VII., 182.

§ For the following, *cf.* the accounts quoted above of Franc. Janis da Tolmezzo and Pietro Pesaro. Dom Edme made the pilgrimage in reversed order, and visited also the catacomb of St. Callixtus.

his pilgrimage by a visit to the tomb of St. Peter in his church.

Lovers of antiquity did not neglect a visit to the colossal statues of Monte Cavallo, or the collection in the Palace of the Conservatori, where were to be found the Warrior extracting a thorn from his foot, and the She-wolf, which the Venetian Ambassador, Pietro Pesaro, calls the finest bronzes in the world. Among the principal ancient buildings, the same authority specially mentions the Pantheon, reached by eight steps, and the Baths of Diocletian. These last, which were then in a better state of preservation than at present, are, he says, among the finest buildings in Rome: yet the Colosseum surpasses all. The enthusiasm for antiquity which pervades Pesaro's report is not so conspicuous in the accounts of foreign travellers, which is a proof of the finely-cultivated taste of the representative of Venice; yet his was no isolated example.

The diplomatic corps vied with Cardinals, prelates, and bankers in their patronage of art and literature, as well as in the magnificence and brilliancy of their establishments. In those days men prominent in the field of literature and in the ecclesiastical state were always to be found in the ranks of diplomacy in Rome. Two names shine forth beyond all others: the learned Alberto Pio di Carpi,* high in the favour of Leo, who first represented the Emperor and

* *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., IV., 156 *seqq.*; FIRMIN DIDOT, Alde Manuce, 8 *seqq.*, 30, 46, 145, 333, 409; and NOLHAC, Erasme en Italie, 45. Further literature, especially about Carpi's Library, in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXV., 221. See also ULMANN, II., 453 *seq.*, and GUGLIA, 19 *seq.*, where Carpi's reports are utilized; other reports of his in the Lett. de' principi, and in MOLINI, Docum., and also in the National Library, Paris. About the feast given by Carpi in Rome, see SANUTO, XXV., 284.

afterwards Francis I., and Baldassare Castiglione,* the agent in Rome of the Marquis of Mantua. In the hospitable house of this "Chevalier of the world," as he was called by Charles V., there were gathered all the literati and artists in Rome. Castiglione was the friend not only of Raphael, but also of Michael Angelo, intimacy with whom was so difficult to obtain. The famous "Cortegiano," finished by the Mantuan diplomatist in the first year of the reign of Leo X.,† describes, and indeed idealizes, in wonderfully fluent classical Italian, the manner of life in the most cultivated circles of that day; a society in which the Renaissance had reached its ripest development, and in which signs of decay were already apparent. The perusal of this little book, which unfolds an unique picture of the civilization of the time, gives an excellent idea of the intellectual and brilliant salons of that period.‡ It is true—as Bibbiena deplores§—that there was lacking at Rome an element which formed a striking feature in the Court of Urbino, which he describes, namely, the influence of women. But, in default of this, poets, savants, and artists were the more numerously represented in the Eternal City.

The Renaissance observed no class distinctions, at least they were little insisted on at the Court of Leo X. The highest prelates and diplomatists treated as their equals all who possessed talent and personality. Consequently, humanists, poets, men of learning, and artists came more and more into the foreground, and formed an essential

* The most important part of the literature relating to Castiglione is to be found collected in GASPARY, II., 684, and FLAMINI, 566.

† *Cf.*, besides Vol. V. of this work, 32 *seq.*, GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 287.

‡ *Cf.* Dr. K. Federer, Ein Salon der Renaissance in No. 11,003 of the N. Fr. Presse of April 2, 1895.

§ Lettere de' principi, I., 13*b*.

element in the higher society of Rome, which was described as the light and stage of the world.

The Eternal City was then what Paris became centuries later—the centre of European culture. To dwell in Rome was the climax of good fortune for every intellectual man of the time. Erasmus speaks for all when he wrote to a Cardinal: "Before I can forget Rome, I must plunge into the river of Lethe." Each time he recalled his sojourn there, this cold and satirical man was seized with an irresistible longing to return to a place which offered much more to him than the mere monuments of antiquity. "What precious freedom," he writes, "what treasures in the way of books, what depths of knowledge among the learned, what beneficial social intercourse! Where else could one find such literary society or such versatility of talent in one and the same place?"*

The extracts from authors devoted to the promotion of literature and art give a complete picture of the intellectual aristocracy of the Rome of the time. To them especially do we owe our knowledge of the importance of the Leonine Court, and, in a measure, of Pope Leo himself as a centre of culture. What a wealth of brilliant names do they make known to us! On one side there are learned men and literati such as Bibbiena, Bembo, Sadoleto, Castiglione, Carpi, Giovio, Lascaris, Inghirami, whose portraits, by the first painters of the time, have been handed down to posterity; and on the other hand the noble company of artists themselves, Raphael, Bramante, Michael Angelo, Baldassare Peruzzi, the two Sansovini, Giuliano and Antonio di Sangallo, Soddoma, Sebastiano del Piombo, Fra Giocondo, Caradosso and many others. It is thanks to these painters that posterity has forgotten much that was

* REUMONT, III., 2, 144 *seq.* *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 285, and NOLHAC, Erasme en Italie, 65 *seq.*

repulsive in that corrupt and semi-paganized society. They, together with Giovio in his brilliant historic descriptions, have cast an idealized glamour and light over the Leonine Court* which, even if they only correspond in part to the reality, cast their rays on us to this day.

What wonder that men of the time, carried away by the impression made on them by the capital of the world, spent their whole lives there? However great the evil which may have lurked in the society of those days, still they contained not a little of what was good, which, by the very nature of things, was less spoken of than what was bad. Bearing this in mind, the Leonine age comes before us in a far better moral light than when we allow our judgment to be biassed, at first sight, by manifest and deplorable excesses.† We understand how a man as highly intellectual, earnest, and pious as Sadoleto could look back on his gay youth in Rome with a gentle melancholy.‡

It is a characteristic of the Eternal City that it possesses the power of attracting all that is prominent in the way of intellect, knowledge, and art. But never before or since have her walls contained within them a more brilliant society. It must be admitted that the prevailing tone of society which surrounded the Holy See was worldly, and, in some respects, wholly secular. The priest and the theologian, as such, disappeared when he entered the court

* "We can never tear ourselves away from the brilliant picture of Leonine Rome as drawn by P. Giovio, however well emphasised the darker side may be," says BURCKHARDT, I.[7], 201.

† See CIAN, Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 298 *seqq.*, and XXIX., 405.

‡ See the Letter of Sadoleto to Colocci in 1529, which is discussed by CIAN, *loc. cit.* Cian has with justice rejected the shallow conventionality which describes the time of the Renaissance, and especially the Court of Leo X., as "a great classical bacchanalia and a monstrous orgy of paganism," Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 404–405.

circle, teeming with distinguished men, full of the enjoyment of life and of intellectual interests, and absorbed in their enthusiasm for literature, art, music, and the stage.

Leo X. was in every respect fitted to be the centre of this circle. For who exhibited greater splendour than he? Who subsidized so many artists, men of learning, and poets? Who drank in more eagerly all the pleasure that they could offer him? His days were passed in a series of bright and shifting scenes. Great ecclesiastical functions, solemn processions, impressive feasts of the Church, grave Consistories, stately diplomatic receptions, tedious political negotiations, rang the changes with long hunting expeditions, brilliant banquets, musical and dramatic entertainments, recitations of speeches and poetry on the classic model, and the inspection of old and new creations of art. He spent his life in a sort of intellectual intoxication.* Small wonder that no time remained for the serious task of ecclesiastical reform!

The mode of life and chief occupations of Leo in the vortex of this brilliant existence are attested by so many documents, that it is not difficult to make a sketch of them as they really existed.†

Leo X. was accustomed to rise late. The first person to enter his room was Cardinal Medici's secretary, Gian Matteo Giberti, who received instructions relating to the more important business of state. After him came the datary, with whom the Pope settled matters referring to benefices; after

* So says RANKE, Päpste, I.[7], 58, and MASI, I., 197.

† The chief sources at our command are the reports of the Venetian Ambassadors in SANUTO; *cf.* especially XVI., 543; XXII., 456, 471; XXIV., 103, 105; XXIX., 77, 113, 164; XXX., 374; XXXIV., 199. *Cf.* ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 70; also JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4, and Paris de Grassis in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 517. Besides these there are many other sources quoted in the following pages.

him, the chamberlains. This business being over, the Pope heard Mass, a habit from which he never departed. After Mass he granted audiences, in the number of which he was very generous. Then followed his dinner, which was usually at an advanced hour. After the meal the Pope usually rested for a short time, and then gave more audiences, or talked with his intimate friends. On these latter occasions cards or chess were played; Leo detested dice-throwing as immoral. The Pope possessed a very valuable set of chess-men, made of silver gilt.* These were quite in keeping with the beautiful bell, as painted in his portrait by Raphael, and show how the articles which served Leo for his daily use bore the mark of his artistic taste. In the afternoon the Pope usually took a ride through the Vatican gardens; though, if he were living out of Rome, he devoted the time to the chase. But his usual residence was in the palace of the Vatican, though during the summer heat he preferred the Belvedere† or the cool Castle of St. Angelo.‡

Leo X. showed the greatest temperance at all parties of pleasure and festivities. He confined himself to one meal in the day, and at this he ate heartily; but, on the other hand, he fasted three days in the week. On Wednesdays and Fridays he ate only fasting food, and on the latter only fruit, vegetables, and bread. He took a special pleasure in music played during and after the meal;§ and, like a true

* About this set of chess-men, see Arch. stor. dell' Arte, I., 3, 71; *cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 162; GNOLI, Secolo di Leone X., 642; and CESAREO, 204. On the 5th of October, 1516, Serapica makes this note: a N. S. per giocar duc. 70; and again on October 9, 1519, we find a note made of thirteen ducats paid for the Pope's losses at play. Serapica, *Spese di Leon X., I. State Archives, Rome.

† Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, XXVI., 369.

‡ SANUTO, XXIX., 113. A garden was laid out at St. Angelo; see *Introitus et Exitus, 551, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ SANUTO, XXX., 173.

son of the Renaissance, considered that the entertainment was incomplete without song or the accompaniment of a violin.

From his youth Leo, who had a fine ear and a melodious voice, loved music to the pitch of fanaticism. It was his favourite subject of conversation, and in his private room there stood a musical instrument on which he improvised.* When a Cardinal, he tried his hand at composition.† The sumptuous banquets which he gave to the members ‡ of the Sacred College and other intimates after he was Pope, always terminated with music; and deep into the night the Vatican was filled with joyous strains. When the performance was exceptionally good the Pope was enraptured. With head sunk on his breast and eyes closed he sat, lost to everything, drinking in the sweet tones, which he often accompanied with his voice in an undertone.§

The most distinguished musicians were drawn from all parts of Italy, France, and Spain to the Papal Court. Briefs were sent to various princes and Cardinals for the sole purpose of obtaining the services of some musician or to express thanks for those received.|| If anyone will run

* FABRONIUS, 206; *cf.* 296. See also ASCHBACH, III., 845 *seq.* As to the musical instruments of that time, see CIAN, Cortegiano, 101 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 1888, 394 *seq.*

‡ Among these Luigi d'Aragona especially was a passionate lover of music; see PASTOR, Reise des Kard. L. d'Aragona, 24, 30, 44, 56, 78.

§ BEMBI, Epist., XVI., 5; Vita Anonyma, 630; JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* Paris de Grassis, *Diarium in various passages, and *Letter of Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, June 8, 1514. State Archives, Florence, Av. il princ., CVII.

|| With BEMBI, Epist., IX., 22, 23, X., 37, *cf.* the *Briefs to F. Gonzaga of Aug. 8 and Sept. 25, 1514 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see Appendix, No. 22; see also *ibid.*, *Report of Gabbioneta, June 19, 1514; *Brief to Francis I., Aug. 3, 1517 (National Archives, Paris), in

his eye through Leo's books of accounts, he will find that, next to goldsmiths, the names of musicians are entered as receiving the highest salaries. Besides the comparatively high pay which they received, there is frequent mention of gratuities from the Pope's private purse.* The Jew

Appendix, No. 7; DESJARDINS, II., 670; SANUTO, XXVIII., 488; and Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 372, XXIV., 10.

* *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, III., 1, 216, 222, 224, 226, 228, 231, 233, 234, 235; BUONAROTTI, 1871, 246 *seqq.*; MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 426–427; CESAREO, 203. I made a note of the following payments from the *Introitus et Exitus in the Secret Archives of the Vatican:—

551. 1513, April 18: flor. 104 cantoribus capell. May 14: flor 46 Ioanni Marie Alemano musico secreto S. D. N.; keep for two months. May 14: flor. 6 Galeatio Baldo Bonon. musico; keep for one month. Aug. 8: payment to Laurentio de Mutina, Nicol. de Albis et Ioanni Iacobo de Zanetio (in other places Tarvisio or Trivino is also mentioned) cantoribus secretis; f. 192: Galeatio de Ubaldis musico. Oct. 29: Antonio Brochier cantori secreto; f. 226: Galeatio Badeto musico secreto.

552. 1514, May 15: Mathie Mariliano et Raphaeli Lunesio musicis S. D. N. June 8: Raphaeli et Mathie musicis. Juni 10: Ant. Brochier cantori secreto. June 20: Gal. Baldo musico.

553. 1514–1515: the same names as in 551 and 552.

554. (Besides the names already given.) 1515, Aug. 2: Gabrieli Baldo musico sec. Aug. 27: Iacopo Larcinto et Nic. de Albis musicis.

555. 1516, March 28: Ioh. Marie de Medicis musico (obviously the Jew mentioned above). May 30: Nicol. et Iacopo cantorib. secret. Then follow the same names as above, only written rather differently, except Iocattino Level, Ioh. Brugio.

557. 1517, March 13: The same names, except payments for Ioh. Ambrosio musico sec., Georgio de Parma musico.

558. 1518–1519. The same names; besides payment on April 10, 1518, for Laurentio de Bergomotiis and on August 15, 1518: Camillo filio et Ioh. Marie mus. sec. March 11, 1519: Franc. et Selimino gallicis cant. sec.

559. 1519–1520. The same names, except June 11, 1519: Andree de Silva cant. sec. Oct. 11: Claudio de Alexandris cantori. Nov. 12: Hieronymo de Ameria mus. sec., and Valentino de la Rue cantori sec.

Giammaria, to whom the nickname of Medici was given, received a monthly pension of twenty-three gold florins,

1520, Jan. 30: Ioh. Bapt. Pontano mus. sec. March 11: Franc. de Manfronibus citeredo S. D. N. (4 ducats monthly).

560. 1520. The same names, excepting on April 30: Cesari Tolentino mus. sec. Aug. 12: Simoni Mallo (or Mella) cant. sec. Sept. 16: Martino mus. sec. and Ioh. Esquino (probably the famous Encina) mus. sec.

No less numerous are the musicians mentioned in *Serapica's accounts of Leo's private expenditure. In this payments for the following musicians are mentioned: 1516, Aug. 22: Bidone cantore; Io. Maria (see *supra*) musico. Sept. 19: A li tedeschi delli organi duc. 25; A dui cantori de Carpentras. Sept. 29: M. Egidio cantor di capella. —1517, Jan. 5: Musici Milanesi. March 1: Gian Maria musico 45 d. Sept. 8: A un prete musico di far viole duc. 40. Sept. 13: Musici Mantovani; Padre e figlio, musici Milanesi.—1518, May: Musici Mantovani; Un cantor francese. July: Musici Milanesi. July 13: A Jo. Maria giudeo duc. 250. September 4: A quel canta de Orlando duc. 4. September 29: A quello che sonò la lira in la rocha di Viterbo duc. 2. October 9: A uno sonava la citara duc. 1 nel Isola.—1519, January 1: Giachetto cantore da Spelimberto. January 5: Julio Mantuano musico. May 13: A M. Francesco musico duc. 45, and A M. Julio Mantuano musico duc. 45. June 15: A li musici de Re di Francia, duc. 115; A li musici tedeschi, duc. 20. August 13: Hieron. da Asti musico.—1520, April 8: Pifferi Milanesi. July 21: A uno musico di Corneto, duc. 90 per sua provisione di 3 mesi. In August, September, and October expenses for Marc Antonio musico and for Jo. Maria musico di Corneto. August 21: Expenses quando andò la musica alla Magliana. August 22: A Gaspare Fiamingo cantore, duc. 54. October 18: Al sonator de la citara che canta de improviso.—1521, January 1: A Galeazo musico, duc. 30 per batezar el suo pucto. February 18: Marc Antonio musico. March 19: Duc. 172 dati per mancia ali cantori, pifari et trombetti et altri musici. April 1: A Nostro Signore duc. 60 dette per mancia a piu musici in Belvedere. June: A tre sonatori de arpa, tamborino et violetto che sonavono el di de S. Joanni inanti a N. S. duc. 3. September 29: Ali cantori, trombetti et altri musici furono al pasto di S. Cosma duc. 284, jul. 7½. SERAPICA, *Spese private di Leon X., lib. I., II., III. State Archives, Rome.

and the appointment of castellan of the town of Verucchio.* Musical talent among the clergy was often made the occasion of ecclesiastical promotion.†

With his love of music it was natural that Leo should attach great importance to its use in the services of the Church. The numerous musicians above mentioned were not subsidized by him solely for his own gratification, or for the purpose of social entertainment, but largely for the increase of devotion in the great ecclesiastical functions, on the worthy celebration of which the heart of the Pope was so set. However devoid he might be of formalism in the ordinary intellectual affairs of life, he always exacted great punctiliousness in the details of divine worship. On such occasions he gave the most edifying example by his solemn demeanour and pious behaviour.‡

The Papal Choir, for which French, Dutch, and Spanish as well as Italian singers were engaged, was raised to such perfection that contemporaries could not contain their enthusiasm.§ There was, therefore, good reason why the

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 3315. *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, III., 1, 226; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 99 *seq.*; VOGELSTEIN, II., 35, 119; and KATT, Musicisti ebrei Rinascimento, in the Corriere Israelitico, Trieste, 1903. In the *Rotulus of 1514, Io. Maria musicus appears among the Scutifferi.

† FABRONIUS, 205, 207.

‡ Numerous examples of this are given by Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, XII., 23, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 66; BURCKHARDT, II., 7th ed., 321. *Cf.* SCHULTE, 202 *seq.*, at 258 *seq.* there is a list of the singers under Leo X., which is, however, by no means complete. About the famous Costanzo Festa, see AMBROS, III., 2nd ed., 583; *ibid.*, 276 *seq.* about Eleazar Genet. He was magister capellae in 1514; see the Brief to the Cardinal of S. Sabina, Sept. 1, 1514, in which Elezearius Geneti is recommended for a benefice. In this it is said "quanto cantores nostros amore prosequimur presestim Elezearium qui ejusdem capelle nostre magister existit." Draft of Sadoleto in Arm., XLIV., t. 5, f. 60; *cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 11,348, and 17,640.

choir should occupy such an important place in the painting of the Coronation of Charlemagne in the Stanze. Further, it is only when we learn how constantly Leo X. was sending to Florence for books of sacred music, especially masses, that we can understand why Raphael painted his patron holding such a book.* This was quite as illustrative of the mind of Leo X. as the introduction of musical instruments in the arabesques of the Loggie.

Leo often procured costly instruments ornamented with gold and silver, and ordered them himself from German makers.† He procured from Naples an organ adorned with alabaster, which Baldassare Castiglione declared was

(Secret Archives of the Vatican). For Nicol. de Pictis, 1513, cantor prior, see Regest. Leonis X., n. 3560. The celebrated Spaniard, Juan de la Encina, was for a long time the director of the Papal Choir; *cf.* TICKNOR, I., 223 *seq.*, and II., 695 *seq.*; Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil., XVII. (1893), 586; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., V., 395, VII., 273, IX., 325. For the Florentine Pietro Aaron, *cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 93. GRAVISI, in Atti d. Soc. Istriana, II., Parenzo, 1885, deals with Leo X. and the musician Andrea Antico. See also HABERL, Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellenarchivs, Leipzig, 1888, 5, 10, 42 *seq.*, 49, 51, 66. Paris de Grassis mentions an improvement in the singing of the Papal Choir in Holy Week, 1514; see Regest. Leonis X., p. 503. *Cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 29 *seq.*; *cf.* TOUGARD, Les chantres Normands de la chapelle du pape (1418–1514) in the Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Normandie, IX.

* On the 6th of October, 1513, Giuliano de' Medici writes thus to Lorenzo: *N. S^re^ vorrebbe certi miei libri di musica che restorono costi et maxime uno di messe. Quando la M. V. li manderà verranno a S. Sta et a me molto grati. Av. il princ., CVIII. *Cf.*, in Carte Strozz., III. (Minutario di lettere del M. Lorenzo), the *Letter to Giuliano, Oct. 14, 1513. State Archives, Florence.

† On the 30th of September, 1517, there were paid duc. 1000 Corrado Trompa (in the margin, Trompet is written) de Noliebergo (sic!) pro uno horologio et certis instrumentis musicis per eum datis S. D. N. et auro et argento laboratis. *Introit. et Exit., 557. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the most beautiful thing he had ever seen or heard.* Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona presented the Pope with a valuable little organ.†

Next to music, improvisation was the entertainment most appreciated by the Renaissance. The art of giving expression in verse to the things of the moment is inherent in the gifted Italian people. Leo X. would not have been the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent had he not taken special delight in this kind of amusement. He himself often took part in the elegant poetic contests, which were a greater ornament to his table than the costly plate, choice dishes, and rare wines.

In the art of improvisation, after Tebaldeo, Accolti, and Strascino,‡ Raffaello Brandolini and Andrea Marone displayed most talent.§ They were both men of real poetical gifts. The first, a fellow-countryman of Leo's, had enjoyed special marks of favour from the latter even before his election. Apartments in the Vatican were now given

* *Non tacerò ancor questa nova che da Napoli è stato portato ai papa un organo di alabastro, el più bello et il migliore che mai sia stato visto ne udito. B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua from Rome, July 16, 1521. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Este Report in ADEMOLLO, Alessandro VI., Giulio II. e Leone X. nel Carnevale, 90.

‡ About Tebaldeo and Accolti, see *infra*, pp. 195, 215, 217 *seq.* About the Sienese Niccolò Campani, called Strascino, who often improvised before Leo X., see ADEMOLLO, Alessandro VI., etc., 79, and CESAREO 207; and also more literary details in GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 305, and FLAMINI, 558. *Cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 204 *seq.* SERAPICA, on Aug. 27, 1518, makes the following entry in the *Spese private di Leone X.: duc. 50 date a Strascino. State Archives, Rome. *Cf.* CIAN, Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XLVIII., 422.

§ For more about Brandolini, see *infra*, pp. 222 and 222 n. For Marone, see ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 201 *seq.*; BUDIK, I., XLIX. *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI., 156 *seq.*; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 117 *seq.*; and GEREMIA, Andrea Marone, Palermo, 1901.

to him; and so indispensable was he to Leo, that he went by the name of the apple of the Pope's eye—a curious nickname for one who was blind. Marone of Brescia possessed even greater readiness in clothing the most ordinary events on the spur of the moment in elegant Latin verse. Raphael has immortalized him in his picture of the violin-player.* He knew how to enhance the effect of his improvisations by an accompaniment on the lute or violin, and by the lively play of his features. The verses which flowed from his lips displayed such power and richness of thought that his hearers were quite carried away.† He won especial renown by his verses delivered at a banquet given by the Pope to the Ambassadors in 1517; his theme was the Turkish question, which at that time absorbed all interest. Giovio has preserved for posterity the beginning of this improvisation, and the Pope rewarded the poet by the gift of a benefice in the archdiocese of Capua.

On festivals Leo X. sometimes started a contest among his improvisatori, the theme of which was set by himself. Once—on the feast of the patron saints of the Medici, SS. Cosmas and Damian—Brandolini and Marone were thus measured against each other. The Pope, who acted as a severe critic of subject, language and metre, this time adjudged the prize to Marone.‡

The discussion of serious, learned, and even religious subjects alternated at the Pope's table with these lighter recreations: for Leo X. lost no opportunity of extending his knowledge and cultivating his mind.§ He was, how-

* PASSAVANTI, I., 299, II., 335.

† JOVIUS, Elogia, I., xxii.; *cf.* AMBROS, III., 490.

‡ See FOGLIAZZI, R. Brandolini Dialogus, Venetiis, 1753, 48.

§ Mathaeus Herculanus in FABRONIUS, 296. Slight as are the traces we can find of this, such a mixture of subjects was not unusual.

ever, so essentially a child of his age that, in spite of his interest in higher subjects, he took the greatest pleasure in the low jokes of professional buffoons.* The mummery in which they indulged might seem incredible, were it not for the testimony of the most reliable contemporary writers. At the very table with Cardinals, Ambassadors, poets and artists, jesters, half-crazy poetasters, and parasites carried on unchidden their repulsive and foolish calling. Leo X., who was himself exceedingly temperate both in eating and drinking, treated his guests with lavish profusion. His successor was amazed by the enormous kitchen bills, in which peacocks' tongues occupied a large place. The greediness of the buffoons, about which the strangest anecdotes were circulated, was turned into a joke by Leo himself, who gave orders that dishes of apes and ravens should be placed before them.†

The names have come down to us of a number of such jesters, by whose coarse jokes and wit Leo X. allowed himself to pass the time; he had a notion that diversions of this kind would serve to prolong his life.‡ The most famous of all the buffoons was Fra Mariano; § this man,

Cf. the remarks of LUZIO-RENIER in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXV., 243, about the "miscuglio di giocondità e di serietà" noticeable in Isabella d'Este.

* Besides BURCKHARDT, I., 7th ed., 170 *seq.*, *cf.* the precious little treatise of LUZIO, Buffoni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga, Roma, 1891; GABOTTO, 15 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*, 45 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIV., 446 (about Rodocanachi's book), and the special literature quoted in note *infra*. That buffoons were considered indispensable at feasts is explained by SANUTO, XXVI., 19.

† JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* GRAF, Cinquecento, 370 *seq.*

‡ Vita Anonyma, *loc. cit.*

§ There is an extensive literature about Leo's buffoons, especially Fra Mariano. Besides that mentioned in the note *supra*, see FABRONIUS, 295; GAYE, II., 135 *seqq.*; GRAF, Cinquecento, 370 *seqq.*;

whose real name was Fetti, had been barber to the Pope's father, Lorenzo the Magnificent. Later he attached himself to Savonarola and entered the Dominican Order, without, however, giving up his buffooneries; it was not only his low wit, but also his total want of manners and incredible appetite, that caused merriment to his master and the Court, even though the story of his having devoured forty eggs and twenty roast chickens at one meal is certainly an exaggeration. It cannot be established with certainty what position he held in his Order, but it is most likely that he was only a lay-brother.*

But Fra Mariano must have been in some ways better than his reputation; otherwise he could not have been the friend of the earnest Fra Bartolommeo. He showed his love of art by the decorations of the chapel in S. Silvestro on the Quirinal, which he employed Baldassare Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio to paint.† Fra Mariano must have been a man of some capacity, for, when Bramante died in April, 1514, Leo X. made him "piombatore" (or one of those whose business it was to seal the Papal Bulls with

Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVI., 254, 466, XVII., 284, XVIII., 460, XXVIII., 52, XLII., 287, 292; CIAN in the Arch. stor. Lomb., XVIII., 406 *seqq.*, and La Cultura, 1891, No. 20; LUZIO in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 572 *seqq.*; CALMO, Lettere, 64 *seqq.*; TAORMINA, Un frate alla corte di Leone X., Palermo, 1890; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 85 *seqq.* (Fra Mariano), 91 *seq.* (Brandino detto il Cordiale), 101 *seqq.* (Moro de' Nobili), 105 *seqq.* (Mastro Andrea dipintore) 144 *seqq.* (Poggio); Masi, I., 170 *seqq.*, 212. *Cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 31.

* MARCHESE (Mem. d. pittori ecc. Domenic., II., 4th ed., Bologna, 1874, 104 *seq.*) takes this view as a certainty.

† This chapel (the first on the left as you enter), which is well preserved, has been saved from oblivion by GNOLI'S excellent essay in the Arch. stor. dell' Arte, IV., 117 *seqq.* The pavement of majolica tiles, such as used to be in the Loggie, is reproduced in chromolithograph in TESORINI, tav. 1, figs. 1 and 2.

lead), with an annual income of 800 ducats. This appointment was found fault with even by a courtier so devoted to the Medici as Baldassare Turini.* On a par with this was the Pope's consent to his transfer to the Cistercian Order, without his being deprived of the right of living as before in the monastery of S. Silvestro.†

In a certain sense this half-crazy poetaster belonged to that class of buffoons whose vanity was often made ridiculous in a cruel way.‡ One of these, Camillo Querno by name, had come to Rome from his native town of Monopoli in Apulia, hoping to make his fortune; the Roman literati soon took the measure of their man. Querno, a corpulent creature with long flowing hair, was invited by them to a symposium at which he was made to drink and sing alternately. After he had proved his qualifications in both these respects, he was crowned with a wreath of vine-leaves, cabbage, and laurel, and solemnly dubbed with the name of arch-poet. The poor man took all this quite seriously, and shed tears of joy; his self-conceit rose when

* See the testimony which GNOLI has made public in Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, XIV., 585. Also Giovan Francesco Poggio received, among other marks of favour, a lucrative post of "sollicitatore" of Papal Briefs; see ROSSI, Pasquinate, 144. By being holders of these secondary posts, the buffoons of the Italian Renaissance were essentially in a different position from that of the court fools to the north of the Alps; see LUZIO, *loc. cit.*, 10–11.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 8545. The transfer of Mariano to the Cistercian Order, which has hitherto remained a mystery, is explained by the fact that the office of "Bullator," which was conferred on him, had to be held by a Cistercian; see TANGL, 216.

‡ To these, besides those mentioned in the text, belonged Giovanni Gazoldo, Girolamo Brittonio, and the stammering Cinotto; *cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 16 *seqq.*, 80 *seqq.*; LUZIO, 11; GNOLI, Secolo, II., 646 *seq.* For presents in money to Gazoldo and others in Serapica, *Spese priv. di Leone X.—1518, June 26: al Gazoldo duc. 12; Nov. 20: al Gazoldo duc. 1. State Archives, Rome.

ne was invited to the Pope's table, where he became the occasion of constant mirth, not only by his improvised verse—which he declamed on one occasion clad as Venus—but by his prodigious hunger and thirst. If he made a mistake in his verses, he was punished by water being mixed with his wine. Sometimes, the story goes, Leo replied to his "arch-poet" in verses improvised by himself; he gave him a monthly pension of nine ducats.* If these stories are true, it is clear that the Pope possessed great facility in improvising verses.†

Still more cruel was the ridicule cast on the improvisatore Baraballo of Gaeta, whose vanity knew no bounds. This rhymester considered himself another Petrarch. The more mad his poems the greater was the praise showered on him at the Pope's table; he swallowed all this, and was at last so puffed up that he claimed the right to be crowned poet on the Capitol. It was decided by his tormentors that his wish would be granted, and it was arranged that he should ride to the Capitol, in the garb of a Roman conqueror, and mounted on the back of the elephant which the King of Portugal had presented to Leo X. Those who organized the farce were not ashamed to fix it for the feast of the patron saints of the Medici. Even the fact that Baraballo was a cleric, and belonged to a distinguished family, was not allowed to stand in the way of the jest. So full of conceit was Baraballo that,

* *Cf.* *Serapica, Spese priv. di Leon X., II.—1519, December 25: Al archipoeta per sua provisione di Dec., Gennaio e Febraio d. 27. 1520, March 27: A. M. Camillo Querno archipoeta d. 27 per sua provisione for three months; April 2: Al archipoeta duc. 27. 1521, February 21: Al archipoeta duc. 27. State Archives, Rome.

† *Cf.* JOVIUS, Elogia clar. vir. imag. apposita, Venet., 1546, 51; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 204 *seqq.*; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 576; GNOLI, Secolo di Leon X., 642 *seq.*; and the detailed account by E. GIRARDI in the Rassegna Pugliese, II., n. 2–4, Trani, 1885.

disregarding the remonstrances of his relatives, he went to the Vatican at the appointed time, clad in festal robes of green velvet and crimson silk trimmed with ermine, made after an ancient pattern. He was solemnly received at the palace and conducted to the Pope. "Had I not seen it with my own eyes," writes Giovio, "I would not have believed that a man, sixty years of age, and with grey hair, could have lent himself to such a comedy." The verses recited by Baraballo were so foolish that those who heard him could with difficulty smother their laughter; then the poet was led to the Piazza of St. Peter's. The Pope looked out of the window, and through his glass could see the poet mounted on the magnificently ornamented beast, and led away to the sound of drums and trumpets. However, on the bridge of St. Angelo, the elephant shied and threw the hero on to the pavement, and the jest was nearly turned into a tragedy.* The spirit of the age was such that we must not be surprised that poets were found to celebrate the incident in verse. But that this act of buffoonery should have been immortalized in an intarsia on one of the doors of the Stanze, shows a want of taste difficult to surpass.

Baraballo might have congratulated himself on coming out of the affair with a whole skin; for it fared worse with other poets of his stamp. During the Carnival of 1519, a comedy was acted which proved to be a complete fiasco; as a penalty for his failure, Leo X. had its author—a monk—punished before his eyes in a truly cruel manner. He was tossed in a blanket, and then scourged till the

* *Cf.* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; SANUTO, XIX., 74; Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 41; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 208 *seqq.*; GABOTTO, 55. According to Giovio, Leo made merry in like fashion over his secretary Evangelista Tarasconio, who considered himself a great musical theorist; *cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 116.

blood flowed.* As a compensation he received two ducats.† The poetaster Gazoldo also often received the bastinado as a reward for his bad verses.‡ The roughness and unseemliness of manners at the Papal Court is further shown by the story of a gentleman who was so provoked by Querno's gluttony that he wounded him in the face.

In explanation of Leo's love for jokes of all sorts, it has been pointed out that this was à characteristic of all Florentines, and especially of the Medici.§ Nevertheless, there is something in the highest degree incongruous in a prince as capable as he was of the most refined intellectual enjoyment, taking pleasure in coarse and foolish buffoonery.‖ The matter has, however, a very serious side. Though in nearly every other place, princes—and in Germany many secularized bishops—might indulge in these kinds of amusements, in a Pope pleasure of this kind was utterly unworthy. This is admitted by Giovio in spite of his enthusiasm for the hero of his book.¶ Such things must be judged even more severely from the standpoint of the present day; with a total disregard for the menacing signs of the time, he threw himself more and

* *Cf.* the report of Paolucci, who, it is true, writes from hearsay only, in the Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, XIV., 583. BURCKHARDT, I., 7th ed., 170, referring to such proceedings, reminds his readers of the jests practised on her savants by Christina of Sweden.

† March 10, 1519: A M. Ant. di Spello duc. 2, disse per dare al frate de la comedia. *Serapica, Spese priv., II. State Archives, Rome.

‡ ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 207.

§ LUZIO, 10.

‖ "Certamente Leone ebbe una natura da stremo a stremo, nè saria opra da ognuno il giudicare chi più gli dilettasse, o le virtu de' dotti o le ciance de' buffoni; e de ciò fa fede il suo aver dato a l'una ed l'altra specie, esaltando tanto questi quanto quegli," writes ARETINO, Lettere, I., Parigi, 1606, 26*b*.

¶ JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

more into such coarse and foolish pleasures up to the very brink of the great catastrophe.

More comprehensible was Leo's great devotion to the noble art of venery. In spite of the prohibitions of the Church, many Cardinals had, ever since the days of Scarampo, devoted themselves to the chase,* to the pleasures of which a Pope now gave himself over.

In July, 1513, Leo X. wrote thus to Cardinal Farnese, who had invited him to a hunt: "Would that I were free like you, and could accept your invitation."† Whether pressure of business or scruples restrained the Pope on this occasion, it is impossible to say. In January, 1514, he yielded to a similar invitation from Farnese, and devoted nearly the whole of October to the delights of hunting. Thenceforward this became a yearly custom.‡ As soon as the first rains had tempered the heat of the Roman summer, the Pope began his progress through the immediate and more remote neighbourhood of Rome. The time was well chosen, for most of the business was dormant, as, according to ancient custom, October was regarded as a holiday month by the officials of the Curia. The Campagna, fresh with its new vegetation, offered irresistible enticements to country excursions; as for sport, no better time of the year could be chosen. Leo, as a rule, went along the Via Cassia, over Monterosi and Nepi, to the woody hill-country round Viterbo, where he took the warm baths. The neighbourhood was favourable for hawking, a sport to which Leo was devoted with all the passion of a true Italian; for hours together he would watch the carefully-

* GNOLI, Cacce, 3 *seqq.* As to the chase in general at that time, see CIAN, Cortegiano, 49.

† See the text of the *Letter (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix, No. 1.

‡ *Cf.* the survey of Leo's country excursions in GNOLI, Cacce, 35–36.

trained hawks bringing down quails, partridges, and pheasants. From Viterbo he proceeded to the Lake of Bolsena, famous for its eel-fishery; there Cardinal Farnese entertained his sovereign in regal fashion at his beautiful estate of Capo di Monte. Leo delighted to dwell on the picturesque island of Martana, which was equally fitted for fishing and hawking. "Year after year," sings the Farnese poet, "is Leo pleased to visit my domain, and bathe his sacred countenance in my waters." From Bolsena the Pope moved on by short stages over Toscanella to Corneto, whence, hunting all the while, he passed over the stretch of country covered with Etruscan monuments to Civitavecchia and the forests of Cervetri. The locality abounded in deer and wild boars, for the pursuit of which the plain, surrounded by pleasant hills, was so suited that it could be compared to a trap for game. A mile from Civitavecchia, at Santa Marinella, the deer used to take to the sea, where they were caught by huntsmen in boats. By Palo, still the eldorado of quail-hunters, the Pope returned to Rome via Magliana.*

His was indeed a truly royal hunting-ground, bounded on the south by the Tiber, on the east by the ancient Via Cassia, and on the west by the glistening sea, while on the north it extended to the steep precipices of Corneto. Here too lay the territory of his relatives the Orsini, whose hospitable castle was thrown open to him. Roughly speaking, these hunting excursions took up a month of every autumn.† Sometimes, under pressure of business,

* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; SANUTO, XXIX., 442–443; GNOLI, Cacce, 41 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*

† Accounts differ as to the duration and frequency of the Pope's hunting expeditions. JOVIUS (*loc. cit.*) declares that Leo X. minded neither wind nor weather nor rough travelling, provided only that he could satisfy his desire for sport. Paris de Grassis speaks of an

either political or ecclesiastical, the Pope had to shorten or interrupt his holiday; but he would never forego it altogether. Neither wind, rain, nor cold, nor the gravity of the political situation, could keep him from this recreation.* His chief companions were the younger Cardinals, of whom, as regards the chase, Luigi d'Aragona, and after him Orsini, were the leaders.†

In the age of the Renaissance Cardinals could often be seen in the hunting-ground, and Ascanio Sforza, as well as Sanseverino, were ardent disciples of Nimrod. But hitherto Popes had been present on only a few occasions. Leo X. was the first who regularly devoted his time to the sport, reserved for himself a hunting preserve, and organized Papal hunting expeditions on a large scale. To do this he spared no expense. A special huntsman-in-chief was appointed in the person of Domenico Boccamazzo; nets, hounds, and a great part of the hunting equipment were sent for from France.‡ Cardinals, Princes, and Ambassadors vied with one another in making rich presents to

absence from Rome of at most two or three months; but he has not taken into consideration the interruptions at Palo and Magliana. *Cf.* GNOLI, 35–36.

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XVII., 486; XXIII., 74, 437; XXIV., 51; XXVI., 38, 142, 176, 216, 219, 223. *Letters of Bald da Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, dat. June 16, 20, 22, 1514 (State Archives, Florence), Av. il princ., CVII. Sometimes he received an Ambassador even while he was on a hunting expedition; see SANUTO, XXVI., 420. How the Pope made use of these occasions as a pretext not to speak with the Imperial Ambassador Manuel, is told in the report of the latter, Nov. 20, 1520, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 310.

† GNOLI, Cacce, 15.

‡ GNOLI, Cacce, 8 *seqq.*, 13 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.*, 18. The *Brief of May 2, 1518, in which Prospero Colonna is appointed protector of game and "commissarius super venatione Campanie et Marittime," was hitherto unknown. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XXXIX., t. 31, n. 16.

the Pope of valuable hounds, pheasants, and trained hawks,* an eloquent proof of the passion of Leo X. for the chase.

Even then this occupation of the Pope caused scandal. In reply to those who found fault with it, considerations of health were adduced, which did, as a matter of fact, count for a great deal in the pursuits favoured by Leo. Physicians, having regard to his extreme stoutness and heated blood, urged him strongly to take bodily exercise, to ride, and to be as much as possible in the open air. But none of these considerations for his health can justify the excessive devotion to the chase, which is emphasized even by Giovio.†

In the panegyrics of the court poets,‡ the Pope, when

* As well as to GNOLI, 14 *seq.*, I refer for this to SANUTO, XXVIII., 136, and to the following *Briefs: (1) To Alfonso I. of Ferrara, dated Rome, Dec. 1, 1513 (in which "Ioannes Antonius pardorum magister," returning to Ferrara, is recommended to him). State Archives, Modena. (2) To the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, dated Rome, June 1, 1518 (in which he is thanked for "aves praestantes falcones vocatos," which have been sent by him). (3) To the same, dated in villa nostra Manliana, April 28, 1520 (in which thanks are returned for "falcones, qui quidem eo tempore venerunt quo propediem eorum experimentum eramus capturi"). Nos. 2 and 3 in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The animals were kept partly at Magliana, partly in the old Viridarium at the Vatican. In the *Introitus et Exitus, 551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), we find in the autumn of 1513 repeated entries of payments to Franc. de Ferrara custodi leopardi D. N.

† JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4. *Cf.* Mathaeus Herculanus in FABRONIUS, 296. Similar reasons are given by Leo himself; see BEMBI, Epist., X., 1, and Regest. Leonis X., n. 12,147. *Cf.* also the letter of Longueil in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 616 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* Tranquilli Molossi Palietum seu descriptio venationis quam Alex. Farnesius in Palieti sui silvis Leoni X., P. M. aliisque Romanae aulae proceribus paravit, published by G. ANDRES, Anecdota graeca

following the chase, is described as playing the part of a king of the gods, who, like a calm and disinterested onlooker, sits enthroned above the turmoil. In contrast with the excited Cardinals, he is represented as benignly observing the mad scurry from an elevated position, dispensing praise and blame, and at sunset solemnly commanding the slaughter to cease, and dividing the booty with noble generosity among the huntsmen on their return. Giovio gives a more realistic picture of the Pope as a sportsman, and tells how he understood the art of waiting with unfailing patience, according to the recognized laws of venery, and also how he would show unwonted severity towards anyone who frightened the game by loud speech. He was almost inconceivably sharp and violent in his expressions of displeasure, even with those of high estate, if the result of the hunt were unfavourable, owing to the neglect or inexperience of any in the party. Woe to him who, after a misadventure of this kind, had the folly to approach the incensed Pontiff with a petition! Those who knew him best seized their opportunity to make a request when Leo was returning from a successful hunt. Then he would grant extraordinary favours with lavish profusion, especially to those who had distinguished themselves in the day's sport.*

Giovio does not inform us of the part taken personally by the Pope in the sport. According to the account given by the secretary of Cardinal d'Aragona, the Pope, spectacles

et latina I, Napoli, 1816; Epitome in ROSCOE-BOSSI, XII., 130 *seqq.*; *cf.* GNOLI, 30 *seq.* The poems of Guido Postumo Silvestri have been reprinted by ROSCOE-BOSSI, *loc. cit.*, 184 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.* A poet of Perugia describes a hunt in which Leo X. and Giampaolo Baglioni took part at Viterbo; see BELLUCCI, I., Manoscr. d. com. di Perugia, 127 *seqq.*, and l'Umbria, 1898, I., n. 5–6.

* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

on nose, would at times despatch with a lance a deer taken in the nets.*

In the Ovidian verses in which Guido Postumo described Leo's hunt at Palo, he clothes the Pope in a white garment; but the picture drawn by Paris de Grassis of how his master set forth to hunt is certainly nearer the truth. "He left Rome without a stole," writes the shocked Master of Ceremonies in January, 1514; "and, what is worse, without his rochet; and, worst of all, with boots on. That is quite improper, for no one can kiss his feet." When this was pointed out to the Pope, he laughed, as though it did not concern him in the least.† The Cardinals who accompanied Leo X. showed still less regard for what was suitable in the way of attire. A Venetian Ambassador saw Cardinal Cornaro hunting in a short scarlet doublet and a Spanish hat.‡

In a report of the 29th of April, 1518,§ the Venetian Ambassador gives a short sketch of the day's programme on one of these hunting expeditions, at which the Pope was present, sometimes on horseback, sometimes in a sedan-chair. The first thing in the morning, the masters of the hunt came to inform him of the places where spoil was to be found. Roe-deer and boars were the first to be sought, and then hawking began. Immediately after a luncheon the Pope started forth again, conversing until he reached

* *Letter of Ant. de Beatis, May 1, 1518, in Appendix, No. 9 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). GNOLI, 15, and BURCKHARDT, I., 7th ed., 378, must be corrected by this well-authenticated account; *cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 64–82.

† ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 520.

‡ Description by an eye-witness in ALBÈRI, 3rd Series, III., 94.

§ SANUTO, XXV., 385 *seqq.* *Cf.* the Letter of Nov. 26, 1520; *ibid.*, XXIX., 442 *seqq.* Both these important accounts have escaped Gnoli's notice, who has in other respects completely collected all that relates to this.

the point at which he could let loose the dogs after some beast.

The grand style in which the hunt was conducted is shown by authoritative accounts. In January, 1514, a Mantuan Ambassador gives an account of a hunt organized by Alessandro Farnese, in which the Pope and eighteen Cardinals took part.* The number of dogs sent out to track the game was between sixty and seventy. The suite of the Pope—Cardinals, prelates, servants, literati, buffoons, actors, and musicians—amounted, roughly speaking, to one hundred and forty. To this was added the bodyguard of about one hundred and sixty men. If we take into account the difficulties of their maintenance in a poor district, this number was very considerable.† Sometimes hunting excursions are mentioned in which from a thousand to two thousand horsemen took part.‡

In all his excursions the kindly master of the hunt was greeted with joy by the poor, who made every preparation in their power to do him honour. His biographer § describes in vivid colours how boys and girls and old people arranged themselves on the road where Leo X. was to pass by, to greet him and offer him presents. He rewarded these in such princely fashion that the peasants, according to the expression of the same author, saw in his arrival among them a harvest far more productive than the most fruitful in their fields. He gave money without counting it; he even called bystanders up to him and asked them if there was anything amiss with them in

* BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 243.

† *Cf.* GNOLI, 14, 26, 36, 39, 43 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, XVII., 486; XXIX., 443. The presence of the strong bodyguard is explained by the fear in which the Pope stood for his life at those times; see BERGENROTH, II., n. 303.

§ JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4.

their homes. As he went by he gladly dowered poor girls, and paid the debts of the sick and aged, and of those burdened with large families. The account-books of his confidential chamberlain Serapica testify to this. Sometimes it is a church or convent, sometimes a woman with child, sometimes an unfortunate person whose house has been burnt down, sometimes a boy who wishes to study, sometimes a girl who wants to marry, or sometimes the poor of St. Lazarus—whose motley ranks, clamouring "For the love of God," experience the well-known liberality of the large-hearted Pontiff. Not one returned home empty-handed who had in any way helped in the hunt. Each disbursement varies from ten to fifty ducats.*

Leo showed the same benevolent spirit when he was living at his country-house at Magliana, whither he went not only during his autumn hunting excursion, but often in the course of the year when the turmoil and business of Rome became too great. There, in the solitude of the silent Campagna, he lived at his ease, and delighted in mixing in his kindly way with the shepherds and peasants of the neighbourhood.

Magliana was well suited for a holiday resort, because the more important affairs of government could be carried on from there, being only a few miles to the west of the Porta Portese in Rome, close to the Tiber, and on the left-hand side of the road to Fiumicino. Numbers of trees had been cut down, and owing to this the air was becoming more and more malarious. The castle† and its neighbour-

* See the items from the account-books in GNOLI, Cacce, 37 *seqq.*

† Concerning Magliana and its former fresco decoration, *cf.* NIBBY, Dintorni, II., 284 *seqq.*; HASE in the Blättern für literar. Unterhaltung, 1841, Nos. 334, 335; GRUNER, I Freschi della Villa Magliana, London, 1847; REUMONT, Kunstblatt, 1848, No. 48; RICHTER, Der Zeitschr. f.

hood offered but few attractions saving those connected with sport; this alone explains why Girolamo Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV., built it as a pleasure place; it was also enlarged under Innocent VIII. and Julius II., and embellished by the favourite of the latter, Cardinal Alidosi. The place, once so beautifully decorated, in which Leo X. loved to dwell with his intimate friends, his huntsmen, musicians, poets, and buffoons, is now a dilapidated farm, the halls of which are used as barns. Thousands pass it by every year in the railway to Civitavecchia, without giving a thought to the brilliant feasts which used to be held there, or the important decisions arrived at within its walls. Battlements crown the surrounding walls and a moat encloses it. At first sight it seems to be only one of the many deserted castles scattered over the Campagna; but as we enter through the great door into the courtyard, we see at once by the buildings on either side that it must have been the abode of some great noble. A hall, with three arches and octagonal pilasters, and a groined roof, stands in the left wing, above the windows of which the name of Innocent VIII. can be read. A hall contiguous to the right corner of this, with five arches, was erected, as we are told by an inscription, by Julius II. The arms of the Rovere Pope and those of Alidosi can be seen in the banqueting-hall on the ground-floor. A broad and magnificent staircase, a portion of the

bild. Kunst., X., 126 *seqq.*; SCHULZ, Der Zeitschr. für Bauwesen., 1895; GRUYER in the Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, 1873, I., 336 *seqq.*; GNOLI, Cacce, 18 *seqq.*; TOMASSETTI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXII., 478 *seqq.*; HARO, De l'authenticité des fresques de Raphaël provenant de la Magliana, Paris, 1873; OUDRY, De l'hist. et de l'authenticité de la fresque de Raphaël: Le Père Eternel bénissant le monde, provenant de la Magliana, Paris, 1873; MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 468 *seq.*; Arch. stor. d. Arte, III., 159. A special study is being prepared by the architect Barluzzi. See further, STEINMANN, II., 157, n. 6.

tiled floor of which remains, leads to the first floor, in the hall of which there used to be frescoes of Apollo and the Muses, now removed to the gallery of the Capitol. From the windows there is a beautiful view of the winding Tiber, and the undulations of the green Campagna extending to the Alban hills. The frescoes in the little chapel, representing on one side the martyrdom of St. Cecilia, and on the other God the Father blessing the world, are no longer there. The first has been destroyed, and the other taken to Paris. Nothing—not even a coat of arms—reminds us of the Medici Pope, whose favourite abode it was.*

The chief reason of this was his absorption in the chase, for in the neighbourhood of Magliana was the Campo dei Merli, so favourable for sport. Round about the castle roamed wild pigs, deer, and hares, while the locality was equally favourable for the pursuit of herons and gulls.† As is shown by the register of his private accounts, the Pope's passion for the chase devoured large sums; nevertheless, his financial difficulties could never induce Leo X. to think of any retrenchments.‡ He paid not the slightest attention to the fact that his hunting pleasures, and still more the boisterous way in which they were carried out, were totally incompatible with sacerdotal gravity, and were contrary to canonical precept. Leo knew this well enough, for, at the request of King Emanuel, he had forbidden ecclesiastics to take part in the chase in Portugal, as being unsuited to their state.§ Such a contradiction between

* Shortly before his death Leo X. began to build at Magliana; see GNOLI, 23. He also beautified the garden; see *Serapica, Spese priv., III., 1521, Jan. 4: Payment "ali operarii hanno piantati limoni celsi a la Manliana." State Archives, Rome.

† GNOLI, 24. At the mouth of the Tiber at Ostia, Leo delighted in the French sport of netting (*loc. cit.*, 28).

‡ *Cf.* GNOLI, 9, 11, 14.

§ Corp. Dipl. Port., II., 26.

precept and practice produces a painful impression on the mind. Still more painful is it to contemplate the enormous cost of the festivals and theatrical performances arranged by Leo X.

The wonderful spectacle of the taking possession of the Lateran in 1513 gave the Romans a foretaste of what they might expect in the way of magnificence and extravagance from the new government. Just as the Romans then tried to outvie each other in splendour, so did they again, on a subsequent occasion, when the patriciate was conferred on the Pope's nephews, Giuliano and Lorenzo, in September, 1513. Leo had himself begged the Conservatori to bestow this dignity on his family. This act, which took place at the Capitol, secured, at one stroke, for the young nephews of the Pope, popularity with the Romans.

Few of the pageants which gratified the festal spirit of the Renaissance have been described with so much detail as this great gala, which filled Rome, from end to end, with excitement.* On the morning of the 13th of September a deputation of fifty nobles waited on Giuliano — for

* The principal accounts are: (1) Giuliano de' Medici eleto cittadino romano, ovvero il Natale di Roma nel 1513. Relazione di M. Ant. Altieri, ed. L. Pasqualucci, Roma, 1881 (edition of only 200 copies). (2) Le feste pel conferimento del patriziato romano a Giuliano e Lorenzo de' Medici narrate da Paolo Palliolo Fanese, ed. Guerrini, Bologna, 1885. *Cf.* JANITSCHEK, Das kapitol. Theater, i., J. 1513, in the Repert. für Kunstwiss., V., 259 *seqq.* (acc. to Altieri and the Cod. Vat., 5381); FLECHSIG, 51 *seq.* Both have overlooked a third account in the *Cod. Barb., lat. 4793 (L. III., 31); see BUONAROTTI, 3rd Series, IV. (1891). *Cf.* VENUTI, Oratio, 139 *seqq.*; TIZIO in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 231 *seq.*; ALTIERI, Nuptiali, 118; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., VII., 269 *seqq.* The description by Pasqualucci (13), mentioned in the *Cod. Vat., 5381, with the name of the author, is in the Communal Library at Perugia; see MAZZATINTI, VI., 147.

Lorenzo was absent—to take him in solemn procession to the Capitol. There a great surprise awaited him: overnight a theatre had been erected in the historic square in front of the Palace of the Senators. The wonderful building was made almost entirely of wood, but it had the appearance of being an antique monument and an architectural gem of rare beauty. The façade, with a great entrance in the centre, was copied from one of the Roman triumphal arches and decorated with paintings in imitation of antique bas-reliefs. The gallery, thirty-one metres in length, was bounded by a wall which gave it a magnificent appearance. Gilded pillars divided the wall into five parts: in each of these there was a doorway covered by a curtain of gold brocade. Above the doors was a frieze ornamented with vine-tendrils, sea-gods, and emblems of the Medici; above these again were five great paintings depicting the ancient friendship between the Romans and the Etruscans (Florentines). Besides these there were other historical pictures, one of them having been designed by Peruzzi.*

Giuliano was received in this wonderful building by the Imperial Ambassador and the representatives of France, Spain, Milan, and Florence, the Despot of the Morea, and the Conservatori and magnates of the city. On the stage, facing the antique pictures, there was set up a richly-ornamented altar, where High Mass was sung, in order, says a contemporary, that the help of God might be invoked, as was fitting on such an occasion. Lorenzo Vallati and one of the Conservatori made speeches, to which Giuliano responded. This was followed by the solemn reading of a proclamation, written in letters of gold, by which the Senate and people of Rome gave to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, and their heirs, the rights of citizenship. The

* *Cf.* FLECHSIG, 53 *seq.*, 55 *seq.*

day's solemnities terminated with a number of banquets. The Cardinals and higher prelates were entertained in the Palace of the Conservatori, and the lower ecclestiastics, nobles, singers, and actors, in the Palace of the Senators. But the banquet given to Giuliano, the Senators, and the Ambassadors was laid out on the stage of the theatre in view of the crowd who filled the arena. These also had their share in the choice food, which was carried round in extravagant profusion on magnificent silver plate. After the tables were cleared, an allegorical and pantomimic spectacle was given on the stage, with recitations in verse and an eclogue. To an accompaniment of music Roma appeared, along with Justice and Strength, while Cybele entered in a triumphal car, and Florentia on a lion.

The festivities of the second day consisted in similar representations, with the acting of the comedy of Plautus, "Pœnulus," in Latin. The actors, who were nearly all Roman nobles, were clad in silk, velvet, and cloth of gold, set with precious stones. The director of the play was the learned Tommaso Inghirami, who had drawn the designs for the painted decorations of the theatre.

Leo X. had not seen fit to be present at the ceremonial and brilliant festivals on the Capitol, the cost of which amounted to six thousand ducats.* But he would not forego the pleasure of the celebration, and, on September the 18th, had everything repeated at the Vatican, in the presence of his relatives and the whole Court.† Nor, as far as was possible, did he fail to be present at the numerous feasts in the following year.‡ His interest in such things was so

* SANUTO, XVII., 74.

† PALLIOLO, *loc. cit.*, 144; ALTIERI, *loc. cit.*, 54; SANUTO, XVII., 89; FLECHSIG, 59 *seq.*

‡ The opportunity for many feasts, and especially in 1514 for a brilliant Carnival, was given by the presence of Isabella d'Este in Rome; see

great that he was always kept closely informed about all the festivities which were going on outside.*

A genuine Medici, Leo enjoyed the gay, fantastic doings and masquerades of the Carnival, as it came by year after year. He usually watched the fun from the Loggia of Julius II. in the Castle of St. Angelo.† In 1519 he remained there throughout the whole Carnival, returning to the Vatican only when necessary to hold a Consistory.‡ While at St. Angelo he sent for a famous company of actors from Siena, renowned for their boisterous comedies of peasant life.§

Theatrical pieces, brilliantly staged, with pleasant music and graceful dances, were among the Pope's favourite amusements, and under his patronage theatrical performances reached their zenith. Not only during the Carnival, but throughout the year, comedies were acted before him.‖

LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 213 *seq.*; *cf.* LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 51 *seq.*, 62 *seq.* About a Roman feast in 1515, see Repert. f. Kuntswissenschaft, XIV., 529; about another in 1519, see GAYE, Carteggio, I., 408 *seqq.*

* See the *Letter of Bald. da Pescia to Lorenzo, 1514, June 8 and 22. State Archives, Florence. GNOLI, Secolo di Leon X., 643 *seq.*

† *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, 71 *seqq.*; CLEMENTI, 158.

‡ SANUTO, XXVI., 509.

§ *Cf.*, with RUTH, II., 496 *seq.*, 504, MAZZI, La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel sec. 16, I., Firenze, 1882, 66 *seq.* The Commedia di Pidinzuolo, played before Leo X. by the predecessors of the Rozzi, appeared in the Bibl. pop. Sanese curata da C. Mazzi, fasc. 3, Siena, 1891.

‖ *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVI., 142, 469; XXVII., 68; XXVIII., 74; XXIX., 633; XXX. 188, 223; Angelo Germanello reports on August 5, 1520, to the Marquis of Mantua: *La Sua Sta senne sta in castello e fuge li fastidii quanto po. El primo e secundo di de Augusto fece doi nobilissime cene e comedie e musiche, dove intervenero molti cardinali, ambasciatori e altri nobili. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Even during his country excursions Leo X. had plays and dances performed before him. *Cf.* *Serapica, Spese priv. di Leone X., 1516, Oct. 22: A quelli

Next to hunting and music, Leo's passion was for the theatre. In his unbounded desire for pleasure he gave himself over in this respect to a wholly worldly pursuit; nor did he shrink from degrading his palace to the level of a theatre for the performance of the most unseemly comedies. In the autumn of 1514 he was present, amid great pomp, at the performance of "Calandria," an immoral piece, the representation of which, Cardinal Bibbiena, its author, had carried out in his own apartments, in honour of Isabella d'Este.* The splendid scenery was painted by Baldassare Peruzzi.

On Carnival Sunday, in March, 1519, the Pope was present at another comedy, of like character, Ariosto's "Suppositi," which was put on the stage at St. Angelo by Cardinal Cibo, who was residing there. About two thousand spectators were admitted to a hall transformed into a large amphitheatre. Leo X. sat on a raised seat facing the stage, surrounded by Cardinals and Ambassadors. On the proscenium was a representation of "Fra Mariano teased by little devils." The classical description of the Ferrara Ambassador, Alfonso Paolucci, gives an idea of the play.† "When the audience was seated," he writes, "the pipers

che fecero la comedia in S. Severa duc. 6; October 24: A quelli che fecero la comedia [in S. Severa] duc. 10. Performers of the moresca were constantly employed, *cf.* April 2, 1520: Ali tre Francesi fanno la moresca duc. 63. Also on June 12, etc., Feb. 20, 1521: Duc. 25 per doi a quelli singari ferno la morescha. June 18, payment: A una donna che ballo. State Archives, Rome.

* JOVIUS, Vita, l. 4; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 214, n. *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 123 *seq.*

† Rome, March 8, 1519, first published by CAMPORI in Atti Mod., I., 111 *seq.*, then by CAPPELLI, Lettere di L. Ariosto, 3rd ed., Milano, 1887, clxxvi. *seqq.*, and lastly and best by ADEMOLLO, Il Carnevale di Roma, Roma, 1887, 88 *seqq.* *Cf.* the report of T. Lippomano in SANUTO, XXVII., 73. About the "Suppositi," *cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 123.

began to play, and the curtain was raised. During the music the Pope looked through his glass at the stage, on which Raphael had painted the town of Ferrara in perspective.* Artistic candelabra, with five lights in each, were arranged to form the monogram of Leo X. First of all entered a messenger, who spoke the prologue and made jests about the title of the comedy, at which the Pope and those near him laughed heartily, though I understand that some Frenchmen were offended. The recitation of the comedy was excellent. Music was played between the acts, and among the other instruments used was a flute, and the little organ presented to the Pope by our dead Cardinal; the vocal music was less to be praised. During the last intermezzo the moresca (a kind of ballet) was danced, to illustrate the fable of the Gorgon: it was fine, but could not be compared with that at Your Highness's Court. Now the spectators began to leave the hall in such haste that I, being dragged over one of the rows of seats, was in danger of breaking my leg, a danger averted by the blessing of His Holiness. In the apartment where supper was prepared I met Cardinals Rangoni and Salviati; we spoke about Messer Ludovico Ariosto and how distinguished he was in his art. As I went away with Lanfranco Spinola, we remarked what a pity it was that such unbecoming plays should be represented before so noble a lord; this being especially the case in the beginning of the piece." †

* *Cf.* FLECHSIG, 66 *seq.*

† *Cf* REUMONT, III., 1, 135 *seq.*, who pertinently remarks: "The fact of a Pope attending such plays publicly, caused scandal even in those days. But it would be to us an insoluble enigma did not other circumstances indicate a difference in the moral standpoint, which, when, as here, it meets us in the concrete, strikes us as something appalling. Just as Leo X. and his College of Cardinals, or at any rate

At the end of the evening Cardinal Cibo gave a banquet, to which the Pope, seventeen Cardinals, and several Ambassadors and prelates sat down. On Monday there took place a bull-fight in the Piazza of St. Peter's, in which several men lost their lives. The bull-fighters wore costly costumes given by the Pope, such as had not been given by any of the Cardinals; though a Venetian Ambassador regretted the good old days when Cardinal Petrucci had paid four thousand ducats for one such outfit. In the evening another play was acted in the presence of the Pope; and on Shrove Tuesday two were acted, one before, and another after, supper.*

Yet the times were as anxious as they could well be. Regardless of this, and regardless of the scandal given by his presence at the acting of the "Suppositi," Leo X. urged its author to write another play. Thereupon Ariosto sent in the "Negromante." When this was produced, and it was perceived that the prologue cast ridicule on indulgences, and the abuses connected with them, the acting of it was discontinued.†

the younger members of it, did not seem to be scandalized by the indecent situations and rank obscenity of such plays, so were the latter popular at courts—such as that of Urbino in the last days of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro—which were looked upon as models, and with cultured princesses like Isabella Gonzaga, who could not see "Calandria" acted often enough, and had it produced with great pomp on the stage at Mantua in 1520."

* SANUTO, XXVII., 73–74; *cf.* CLEMENTI, 159 *seqq.* On March 27, 1519, Serapica makes this note in his *Spese private di Leon. X., II.: Duc. 48 per prezzo di 4 thori. State Archives, Rome.

† Opere min. di ARIOSTO, II., Firenze, 1857, 538, 559; CAMPANINI, L. Ariosto nei prologhi d. sue commedie, Bologna, 1891; GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 1, 73, 76; FLAMINI, 269 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 303 *seqq.*; GABOTTO, Saggi crit., Venezia, 1888, 165 *seqq.*, and Rassegna Emiliana, V. (1889), 226 *seqq.*

The year 1520 opened with a grave outlook. To the complications of the political situation were added the affairs of Luther, and in addition to these came the death of Alfonsina Orsini on the 6th of February. Notwithstanding this, Leo X. made no change in his wonted habits. He had comedies played during the Carnival, and watched day by day from the ramparts of St. Angelo the antics of the masqueraders.* Far from discouraging its observance, the Carnival of 1520 was kept with unusual brilliancy. "Every day," writes a contemporary, "we have a fresh entertainment; and in the evening theatrical and musical performances in the presence of the Pope." In the town the usual races were varied by bull-fights, and the ordinary barbarous sports, dating from the Middle Ages, took place on Monte Testaccio, where cars full of pigs were tumbled headlong from the summit to be scrambled for by the people below.

In front of St. Angelo a mimic fight was held on a wooden fortification. The Papal household were given special costumes, and fought with oranges, which amused the Pope so much that he had the fight repeated next day in front of the palace.† The principal civic pageant which, in accordance with traditional custom, was always held in

* *El papa sennesta in castello tucto el dì ad vedere le mascare et omne sera se fa recitar comedie, et domane el Sr Camillo Ursino ad la presentia de la sua Sta deve contrahere li sponsalitii con una figliola de Joanpaulo Baglione. Hore è morta madonna Alphonsina cugnata del papa in Roma in la casa del papa quando era in minoribus. . . . Angelo Germanello to the Marquis of Mantua from Rome, Feb. 7, 1520. Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola also writes thus on the 18th of February: *N. S^re sta in Castello per veder passar maschare. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua

† With SANUTO, XXVIII., 277 *seqq.*, *cf.* the Report of Michiel in CICOGNA, 407 *seqq.* See also ALTIERI, Nuptiali, 113, 122, and the *Diary in the Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

the Piazza Navona * on Carnival Thursday (Giovedi grasso), was celebrated with close adherence to ancient style. It surpassed anything of the kind seen hitherto.† A great triumphal procession set forth from the Capitol, passing through the Via de' Banchi to St. Angelo, from which the Pope looked on; it then proceeded to the Piazza of St. Peter's, and finally wound back to the Piazza Navona, arriving there towards dusk. In the procession were thirteen cars with representations of Italia, Isis (taken from an ancient statue in possession of the Pope), Neptune, Hercules, Atlas, Æolus, Vulcan, the Tiber, and the Capitoline She-wolf. Alexander the Great, on horseback, figured in the procession as well as two camels which had been presented to Leo X. Lastly came a globe surmounted by an angel, which was meant to symbolize the triumph of religion. The cars were accompanied by two hundred youths in ancient costumes, representing the various guilds and districts of the city, with their banners.‡ On another occasion Leo X. arranged that the girls who had been presented with their dowries at Pentecost should also take part in the procession, clad in semi-antique costumes.§ Antiquity laid its stamp on everything. Can we wonder

* In 1514 there were interesting political allusions, see SANUTO, XVIII., 14 *seq.* The description which is to be found in the *Cod. Vat., 3351, f. 175*b*, and is made use of by JANITSCHEK in Repert, II., 416 *seq.*, apparently belongs to 1515; it mentions artists hitherto unknown working in Rome under Leo X. *Cf.* Giorn. d. erudiz. artist, IV., 4, 116.

† With SANUTO, XXVIII., 277, and Michiel (see *supra*, p. 174 n.), *cf.* the *Report of Germanello, Feb. 19, 1520 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in Appendix, No. 15.

‡ *Le feste di Nagone con li carri sono stati più pomposi che mai vedesse alter volte, writes Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola on Feb. 18 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ SANUTO, XXVII., 468.

that even a Dominican should compare Leo X. with the Sun-god? *

The Carnival of 1521 found Leo X. once more at St. Angelo. In spite of the menacing state of the world, he was able to enjoy himself more than ever with masquerades, music, theatrical performances, dances, and sham fights. All business remained at a standstill.† In the evening of Carnival Sunday (Quinquagesima), some Sienese actors came before the Court at St. Angelo to dance a moresca which Baldassare Castiglione has described.‡ The Pope and those with him looked at it from a window. The courtyard, where a tent of dark-green satin was put up, was used as a stage.

The play began with the entrance of a woman, who, in graceful verse, prayed to Venus to send her a lover. On this, to the sound of drums, there appeared eight hermits clad in grey tunics. These danced, and began to drive away a Cupid, who had appeared on the stage with his quiver. Cupid, in tears, prayed Venus to deliver him out of the hands of the hermits, who had snatched away his

* See *infra*, p. 214.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXIX., 633, 651; CLEMENTI, 167–168. In the *letter of Castiglione, quoted in the next note, it is said: "Il vero è che N. S. è stato questi di occupato in feste di modo che non si è potuto attendere a negocio alcuno."

‡ The very interesting letter of Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Rome, il primo di Quaresima, 1521, has been twice printed entire, and recently in part in LUZIO-RENIER, 325 *seqq.* The first complete edition appeared as a *Nozze-publ.* under the title of: Lettera di B. Castiglione a F. Gonzaga, ora per la prima volta messa in pubblico da Anton Enrico Mortara: Casalmaggiore, 1851. But it was not issu as the marriage did not take place. Later the same letter was published by C. ia as "finora inedita" per le auspic. nozze Loria-Maroni: Lettera inedita B. Castiglione, Mantova, 1861. This document also is a bibliographical rarity.

bow. Thereupon Venus appeared, and, calling to her, the love-sick woman bade her give the hermits a charmed potion, which sent them all to sleep. Cupid now took back his bow, and waked up the hermits with his arrows; they danced round Cupid and made declarations of love to the woman, and finally, casting away their grey tunics, they appeared as comely young men. When they had performed a moresca, the woman commanded them to make proof of their weapons; a combat then ensued, in which seven of them were killed, the survivor receiving the woman as the prize of victory.

Had not this been related by an absolutely trustworthy witness, it would seem incredible. So far did the irresponsible frivolity of Leo X. carry him, that, at the very time when Luther's case was being dealt with before the Diet of Worms, and when many monks in sympathy with the reformer were breaking their vows and entering wedlock, this sort of trifling could be enacted on the stage under the Pope's very eyes, and be made almost matter for encomium. No wonder that, to the north of the Alps, the opposition to the Papacy daily increased in strength and that the cry for reform in head and members sounded louder and louder, or that the most venemous accusations of Hutten, Luther, and many other bitter enemies of the Roman See in Germany met with a ready response from thousands and thousands of malcontents, so that many despaired of the survival of the Papacy.

How widespread the danger was is made clear by the fact that the flames of a passionate antagonism from the most opposite quarters of Christendom were on the point of kindling the heap of inflammable material which had been piling itself up for centuries. Not only was a large portion of Germany ready to sever the bonds which had united it to Rome for a thousand years, but in Italy the

upper and middle classes were in a ferment of hostility to the secularized Papacy.

It is true that only some individuals went as far as Machiavelli in desiring the destruction of the whole institution of the Papacy, as the root of all evil. Nevertheless, year after year, the voices which pointed out the unnatural preponderance of purely secular tendencies in the Roman Court increased in volume and in number. The startling contrast between the apostolic simplicity and purity of the early days of Christianity, with the worldliness of the Church as it then existed, was drawn out in attractive antitheses by Francesco Vettori, whose relations with the house of Medici were most intimate.*

The historian Guicciardini, after having served Leo X. and Clement VII. faithfully for long years, broke out into violent accusations against Rome, and cherished the hope that Luther might bring about the destruction of the ecclesiastical polity. A passage in his "Aphorisms" shows the bitter hatred which filled his soul. He wrote at a time (1529) when the consequences of Luther's movements could in a great measure be surveyed as a whole. "To no man," says he, "is it more displeasing than to me, to see the ambition, covetousness, and excesses of priests, not only because all wickedness is hateful in itself, but because, taken generally and individually, such wickedness should find no place in men whose state of life implies a special relationship to God. Also, they are so divided one from the other that it is only in particular individuals that the spirit of unity can be found. At the same time, my relations with several Popes have made me desire their greatness at the expense of my own interest. Had it not been for this consideration, I would have loved Martin Luther as myself; not that I might set myself free from the laws imposed on us by

* VETTORI, 304.

Christianity, as it is commonly interpreted and understood, but that I might see this flock of good-for-nothings (questa caterva di scelerati) confined within due limits, so that they might be forced to choose between a life without crime or a life without power." *

It must be remembered that Guicciardini's anti-Papal opinions are manifestly connected with his belief that man must of necessity remain in the dark in respect of supernatural things.† His enmity to the Catholic Church cannot therefore cause surprise. But the same is more remarkable in the case of really believing Italians, amongst whom we find equally severe expressions about the secularization of higher and lower ecclesiastics. The Milanese chronicle of Giovanni Andrea Prato contains very strongly-worded passages to this effect, directed especially against those monks who, "having nothing, yet possessed everything." The severe judgments of Prato gain in importance if we realize his pregnant saying that, from respect for the keys, he desires to keep silence about the Pope.‡

Another chronicler, the Florentine Bartolomeo Cerretani (*ob.* 1524), though an adherent of the Medici, sets forth the necessity of reform in an imaginary dialogue between some Florentine friends, followers, and adversaries of Savonarola in which the condition of the Church is painted in the darkest colours, and the necessity for reform is emphasized. Cerretani's hopes of salvation were placed in no other than Martin Luther. In him he hails a man distinguished equally for morals, learning, and piety, whose views are penetrated by the ideas of the ancient Church, and whose writings are marked by a true and solid learning.

* Ricordi, n. 28, in Opere ined., I., 97.

† *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, II., 7th ed., 187; *cf.* MONNIER, Quattrocento, I., Paris, 1901, 88, and Riv. Europea, XIII., Firenze, 1879, 36 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* PRATO, 310, 322, 404, 405.

The date of Cerretani's Dialogue is 1520, when the later developments of Lutheranism were still unknown. Still, the Bull *Exsurge* was known to him, and had in no way affected his deep sympathy with the German professor. In spite of the Papal condemnation, he still believed that from Luther would come the ardently desired reform of the Church.*

Even in Rome, in a treatise dedicated to Leo X. himself, Mario Salomoni, professor of jurisprudence, complains about the simony which prevailed, the wars carried on by the Pope, and the worldliness of the Curia. Nevertheless, like Dante and Prato, respect for the keys made him speak with reverence and reserve about the Supreme Head of the Church. This does not prevent him from remarking that, although the Pope, as bearer of the highest dignity on earth, can be judged of no man, even for the misuse of his authority, he cannot escape the judgment of God.†

Especially remarkable are the casual opinions of really ecclesiastically minded contemporaries, such as are to be found in the still unprinted chronicle of the Sienese canon, Sigismondo Tizio, who was deeply disgusted by the Pope's unceasing demands for money. Here we have evidence of the offence caused by Leo's worldly actions among those who, in spite of such disorders, remained in all essentials faithful members of the Church.

Most of Tizio's complaints concern the impoverishment of the clergy by the Pope's insatiable demands for money and his frivolous generosity.‡ Here he agrees with many

* *Cf.* SCHNITZER, Quellen und Forsch. zur Gesch. Savonarolas III. B. Cerretani, München, 1904, XLII., *seqq.*, 83 *seqq.*

† *Cf.* CIAN'S interesting treatise, Un trattatista del "Principe" a tempo di Machiavelli: Mario Salomoni, Torino, 1900, 16–18; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 454 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* PICCOLOMINI, Tizio, 128.

of his contemporaries in Italy as well as Germany, in severely condemning abuses in the matter of indulgences, as well as Leo's military enterprises.* He is sometimes led away into making complaints of a more general nature, which fall little short of the worst examples of German hostility. Tizio's indignation is vented most heavily on the striking contrast between the high and noble task inherent in the Papacy and the inconceivable want of appreciation of this task in those who held the highest ecclesiastical positions.† Nevertheless, Tizio never dreams of renouncing obedience to the Roman See, nor does he in any way give ear to Luther's new doctrines. He considers Luther a very learned man, but utterly condemns his opinions as false. In this he, unlike Cerretani, takes up a strong and thoroughly sound Catholic position. The clear line drawn by Tizio between persons and things is very remarkable. Amid all his indignation against the needy and pleasure-seeking Pope, he always finds a word of excuse to say for him, as, *e.g.*, when he is describing Leo's love of buffoonery, he remarks that the Florentines kept everything sad, or even anything relating to the affairs of the Church, away from the Pope. It is, however, true that in his concluding sentence there is a note of severity: "In his delight in such jests and amusements the Pope forgets himself, and thinks not of the burden which rests on his shoulders. Neither does he give a thought to what is the will of God, to the dangers threatening the Church in Germany, to the growth of error, or to the severe decrees of Councils."‡

Expressions such as these show that in Italy also, anti-Papal opinions were more widespread than has been

* *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 350, and *supra*, p. 61 n.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 6, and PICCOLOMINI, 120.

‡ TIZIO, Hist Senen. in Cod. G, II., 39, f. 12, Chigi Library, Rome.

generally supposed. Still the anti-Papal movement there was but limited compared with what it was to the north of the Alps. Various causes contributed to this; in no other country was the whole life of the people bound up with that of the Church as it was in Italy; the Catholic Faith had taken the deepest root there. It is true that the people were not blind to the transgressions of the clergy of all degrees; but nowhere was such a clear line drawn between persons and offices. There was a general conviction among the Italians that, in the same way that a bad setting does not take from the value of a precious stone, so no sinfulness on the part of the priest affects in any essential manner either the sacrifice he offers, the sacraments he dispenses, or even the doctrine he teaches. The people knew that gold remains gold whether the hand which gives it be clean or unclean.

There were also other very material reasons which prevented Italians of the day from even contemplating a breach with the Papacy. To most it was a matter of no small pride that the centre of Western Christendom should have been established in their country; to a great number of others it was of the utmost importance that the existing order should be preserved.* A fact which, moreover, had a very great influence, especially on the educated classes, was that, for at least half a century, the Papacy had taken on itself the position of leader in the field of art and learning.

* See BURCKHARDT, I. 7th ed., 110.

CHAPTER V.

The Renaissance in the Field of Literature.—Bembo and Sadoleto—Vida and Sannazaro.

A peculiar fascination is connected with the very name of Medici. Whenever literature and art are mentioned, it comes at once before us as the representative symbol of the world of culture. When Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was raised to the See of Peter, this opinion was already so generally prevalent, that his election was hailed by the whole educated world with the greatest rejoicing. The son of Lorenzo the Magnificent would restore peace to the world, and at the same time introduce a golden age for scholars, poets, and artists. Far and wide the conviction was entertained that the pupil of Poliziano, who, as Cardinal, had shown, even under grave difficulties, his lively interest in knowledge and art, would, now that he was master of the means of the Papacy, put into practice the brilliant aims and traditions of his family.

When he took solemn possession of the Lateran, the city was covered with inscriptions which proclaimed the dawn of the age of Pallas Athene. The very ruggedness of Julius II., and the asperity of his rule, made men look for a reaction in the pontificate of his successor, and men of education confidently expected that to the stormy pontificate of the founder of the States of the Church there would succeed an age of peace, in which the highly-cultivated Medici Pope would do homage to the Muses alone.

Desire gave birth to the conviction that the peace-loving Medici would follow the warlike Rovere like Numa after Romulus.*

Aldus Manutius, the indefatigable and learned publisher of Greek and Latin classics, reminded the Pope, in his first edition of Plato, how science had been promoted by Nicholas V. and Lorenzo the Magnificent. It behoved the exalted successor of the one, and son of the other, to complete what a premature death had prevented his predecessors from accomplishing.†

The first acts of the new Pontificate—in which Leo X. declared that he had loved the fine arts from his earliest years, and had grown up among books,‡ and wished to attract to Rome as many distinguished men as possible§—were calculated to satisfy the exaggerated expectations which had been formed. The appointment of the celebrated Latinists Bembo and Sadoleto to be the Pope's private secretaries, and the summoning to Rome of the great Greek scholar Giano Lascaris, the foundation of a College for the study of Greek, and, finally, the reorganization of the Roman University, filled the whole literary world with a joyous excitement. From all sides, poets, literary and learned men, gathered round the Pope, who,

* *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 36 *seq.*; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 93 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 243. See also VOLPICELLA, Heroica Marci Ant. Casanovae, Napoli, 1867, 15, 37; VAST, Lascaris, 79 It is remarkable to see how the poet and archæologist, Andrea Fulvio, in his work dedicated to Leo X., regards the Pontificate of Julius II., as a mere interruption in the growth of study. CIAN first drew attention to this in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 435.

† ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 298; LEGRAND, I., 100 *seqq.*

‡ "Nos qui ab incunabulis bonas artes dileximus et in bibliothecis per omnem aetatem versati fuimus." Brief, Aug. 24, 1513, Regest. Leonis X., n. 4202.

§ *Cf.* RATTI, Lettera, 13.

with an unparalleled generosity, showered on them his gifts and tokens of favour. The laudatory poem of Angelo Colocci was rewarded with four hundred ducats, and another by Tebaldeo with five hundred;* poets also of no importance were likewise liberally rewarded.† All these acts were blazoned far and wide in letters and poems; Leo's generosity was described as unparalleled and incredible; past ages had never known anything like it, and remotest posterity would speak of it.‡ "At last," said an epigram affixed to Pasquino, clad as Apollo, "at last I am recalled from banishment; for Leo reigns, who will not leave poets unrecompensed." § Instances, both true and untrue, of the Pope's liberality were circulated, and a kind of legendary lore about his patronage of literature grew up. To this belongs the story of the purple velvet purses filled with packets of gold of different sizes, into which the fortunate successor of the rugged Julius plunged his hand blindly, to give to the men of letters who drew near to him.‖ The fact of the case was that Serapica, the confidential treasurer of the Pope, kept a rigid account of all his lord's expenditure.¶

* GNOLI, Secolo di Leone X., II., 632.

† No poem, says Giovio (Vita Leonis X., lib. 4), was too insignificant to taste of the Pope's liberality. This is a rare piece of praise.

‡ *Cf.* the poem in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 601-602.

§ GNOLI, Storia di Pasquino, 283.

‖ "Purpuream etenim crumenam quotidie aureis nummis sibi repleri iubebat ad incertas exercendae liberalitatis occasionis." JOVIUS, Vita, lib. 4. *Cf.* GIRALDI, Hecatommithi, VI., Nov. 8, and BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 3rd ed., 266, 345.

¶ *Cf. supra*, p. 210. To this legendary tale equally belongs the story, so often told by older writers, of Leo's reward to Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, whom he had charged to write a poem on the art of making money: he presented him with an empty sack, saying that a man who knew how to make money needed nothing but a purse to put it into.

Rome became now more than ever the centre of the literary world. "On all sides," writes Cardinal Riario, who built the Cancelleria, in a letter to Erasmus in July, 1515, "literary men flock to the Eternal City as to their mother country, foster-mother and patron."* Nowhere was intellect so encouraged as in Rome; and in no other place were there so many openings to be found for talent as in the numerous offices of the Curia, and in the brilliant households of Cardinals and rich bankers. For it was not only in the immediate entourage of the Pope, but also in that of the Cardinals and other great personages of Roman society, that the composers of elegant letters, polite addresses, devices, mottoes, festal programmes and verses, found advancement. This connection of men of letters with great houses, though it dates back to former Pontificates, received a new development under Leo X.

In surveying the throng of authors who frequented the Rome of Leo X., we are surprised at the unusual proportion among them of poets. Many of these had come to the Eternal City in the time of Julius II., and had in this, as in other ways, paved the way for the influence of the Medici;† for under Leo X. the number of poets in Rome was almost beyond calculation.

The admirers of antiquity had a decided predilection for the new Latin poetry; and however much a servile imitation of the ancients might prevail in this, there nevertheless came into existence some original creations. Every kind of poetry—epic, mythological, bucolic and didactic, as well as lyrics and epigrams—was cultivated. The standard of

Cf. Monograph of PAVANELLO, Un maestro del Quattrocento, Venezia, 1905, 186 *seqq.*

* ERASMI Opera ep., 180.

† GNOLI rightly emphasises this. Secolo, II., 628 *seq.*

the ancients was most closely approached in the latter. Next to classical themes, the favourite subjects were drawn from sacred history and contemporary events. The occurrences, great and small, which took place in the reign of Leo X., such as his election, the taking possession of the Lateran, the conferring of the rights of citizenship on the Pope's nephews, the embassy and gifts of the King of Portugal, the arrival of manuscripts, deaths in the Sacred College, the Council of the Lateran and the proposed war against the Turks, were frequently treated by the poets, even such matters as the Pope's hunting expeditions not being overlooked. The artists also and their works of art, patronized by Leo, furnished subjects for many verses to the indefatigable poets. So also did any important ecclesiastical function, and even the visits of the Pope to various churches. No prince mentioned in history has had the events of his life recorded and extolled to the same extent as Leo X.* Without weighing the merits or demerits of these poets, Leo dispensed his favours indiscriminately, drawing no line between men of profound learning and real poets, and skilful improvisatori, poetasters, and jesters of the most ordinary kind.† The more he gave the more greedy were the poets; even if the good-natured

* Besides BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 3rd ed., 266, *cf.* the numerous instances recorded in ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 53, 59, 65, 169, 271, 412 *seq.*, 415, 441 *seq.*; III., 535 *seq.*, 554 *seq.*, 586 *seq.*, 594 *seq.*, 602 *seq.*, 612 *seq.* A remarkable poem on the Turkish question, printed at the expense of Leo X., is in the Chigi Library, Rome: Carmina de certo Turcar. || adventu non credito || cum exhortatione || ad arma in eos su || scipienda per || Ioan. Bapti || stam Catha || neum ||, *s. l. et a.*, 9 sheets. An Italian poem, still unprinted, on the assistance sent by Leo X. in 1520 to Rhodes against the Turks, is in the State Archives, Florence; see Carte Strozz., II., 812.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 151 *seq.*

Pope invited them collectively to his table, or asked them to recite their compositions on certain special occasions,* or even gave them free access to his presence at noon, they were not satisfied. The "unabashed swarm of poets" pursued Leo everywhere; even in his bedchamber he was not safe from these tormenters whom he had himself called into existence.† Naturally the Pope was unable to satisfy everyone, and as he fell deeper and deeper into financial difficulties, the voices which clamoured for favours sounded louder and louder.‡ To these discontented spirits belonged that poet who proclaimed that the ancients were fortunate, because they were provided with great patrons. If it is, as a rule, a mistake to give full credence to authors with a grievance, we must certainly refuse to accept this last implied accusation as unjust, "for rarely have poetical talents basked in a brighter sun than they did in the time of Leo X."§

Besides the bestowal of gifts in money, the Pope rewarded literary men with positions in the Curia, and benefices, as well as other favours, such as patents of nobility, the rank of count and other titles of honour.‖ He also repeatedly helped them by giving them letters of

* We read of this occurring on the feast of the patron saints of the Medici, SS. Cosmas and Damian. *Et post haec (the Mass) dedit epulum omnibus cardinalibus et principibus et infinitis curialibus ac Romanis solemne, post quod recitata sunt multa festiviter carmina latina et vulgaria. Paris de Grassis, ad a., 1514, XII., 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Valerianus, Sermo cui titulus est Simia ad Leonem X., in ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 422.

‡ GNOLI, Secolo, III., 42 *seqq.*

§ Such is the opinion of GREGOROVIUS, VII., 323–324. *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 219, and especially CESAREO, 199.

‖ Regest. Leonis X., n. 8339–8383. For other instances see *infra.*

recommendation to princes and others in high spiritual or secular positions.*

After the Vatican the principal place of meeting of literati and poets was the villa of the wealthy Angelo Colocci, built on the ruins of Sallust's villa, and full of rare manuscripts, books, antiquities, and inscriptions. Colocci, who was at the head of the Roman Academy, had been appointed by Leo X. to be his secretary, and had been generously remunerated by him for his poems; later he received the reversion of the bishopric of Nocera.†

Another favourite meeting-place of the Roman poets was the vineyard near Trajan's Forum, belonging to the old receiver of petitions, Johann Goritz. This native of Luxemburg, who was, however, quite italianized, was extolled by Erasmus as "a man of pure heart." Every year, on the Feast of St. Anne, he gave a feast to his literary friends, who expressed their gratitude in verses written in his honour, which were presented to him either at his vineyard or at the Chapel in S. Agostino, founded by him, which has been made famous by Sansovino's group of the Divine Infant with His Mother and St. Anne. In the collection of

* See, for example, the letter to the Doge, composed by Sadoleto, in which the poet Francesco Modesto (*cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 279, Modena edition, which is used in the following), is recommended; printed by SANUTO, XXIV., 474–475. *Cf.* BEMBI, epist., IX., 2; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 12.

† *Cf.* LANCELLOTI, Vita di A. Colocci (Poesie, ed. Jesi, 1772); TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 181 *seq.*; BLUME, III., 190; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 112; NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 249 *seq.*; LANCIANI, 202 *seq.*; C. GIOIA, Gli orti Colocciani in Roma, Foligno, 1893. Many Briefs, composed by Colocci, still unprinted and missing in Hergenröther's Register, are to be found in the Regest. Brevium Lateran. (Secret Archives of the Vatican), transcribed in the autumn of 1904; see especially tom. V.: Brevia Leonis X., I., 1514–1518

these poems, which Blosio Palladio, so celebrated for the elegance of his verses, gathered together and published in the first poetical annual, which appeared in 1524, we meet with the works of celebrated men such as Bembo, Castiglione, Vida, and Flaminio, interspersed with the productions of men quite unknown to fame.* We see this still more in the collection of Roman poets made by the physician Francesco Arsilli, and appended to the above collection.† If to these we add the statements of Giovio, Giraldi,‡ and

* Coryciana, Romae, 1524, a copy of which is in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele. *Cf.* GEIGER'S fine essay on the "oldest poetical annual" in the Zeitschr. f. Renaiss., I., 145. See ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 211 *seq.*; VIII., 214 *seq.*; SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 21 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*; Aleander's autobiography, ed. Paquier, 17 *seq.*; PAQUIER, Vita Beroaldi, 35; LANCIANI, 202 *seq.* About Blosio Palladio, see BORGIA, Anecd. litt., II., 167 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Schriften, I., 289 (Bürgerrecht für Blosio), and CIAN in the Giorn. stor. d. lett., XVII., 281–282, XLV., 67 *seq.* About Goritz and his circle, *cf.* GNOLI, Pasquino, 69 *seq.*; PAQUIER, Aléandre, 113, and Vita Beroaldi, 77 *seq.* *Cf.* also Regest. Leonis X., n. 15464–15465.

† Fr. Arsilli Senogalliensis de poetis urbanis ad P. Iovium libellus, in TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 425–442, with the readings of the first edition in the Coryciana. Arsilli, who was one of the discontented poets mentioned above (see *supra*, p. 188), avoided all mention of Leo X. In one of his epigrams he speaks of Julius II. as if he were still living; see GNOLI, Secolo, II., 628, *cf.* III., 45. Gnoli is right, as against Tiraboschi, in putting the version published by the latter at a later date than that of Coryciana. ROSCOE-BOSSI (VII., 225) takes the second edition as his basis, and gives many explanatory notes on p. 248 *seq.*

‡ LILIUS GREGORIUS GYRALDUS, De poetis nostrorum temporum, published by K. Wotke, Berlin, 1894. *Cf.* RASS., Bibl. d. lett. Ital., III., 133 *seq.*, 220, and B. ROSSI'S ingenious treatment in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 246 *seqq.* In 1514, Giraldi came to Rome with his disciple Ercole Rangoni and soon gained the favour of Leo. X. He was one of the markedly Christian humanists. In his first dialogue he condemned, with remarkable severity, the immoral subject-matter and lasciviousness of the poems, put forth under Leo X.

Pierio Valeriano,* we have a more or less perfect picture of the poetical circle of Leo X.†

Undoubtedly the first place as writers, both of prose and poetry, must be given to Bembo‡ and Sadoleto. By his appointment of these two representatives of true, pure, Ciceronian style to be his secretaries and domestic prelates,§ Leo proclaimed his determination that the writings issued from his chancery should be distinguished for the elegance of their Latinity. Bembo and Sadoleto were intimate friends. Both had previously enjoyed the favour of Julius II.,‖ and now they together obtained a position near his successor as distinguished as it was important and responsible. The choice of these two celebrated Latinists is therefore to the credit of Leo, being, as they were, such a marked contrast to the others who represented the intellectual life of the time.

Bembo has been declared by many to have been a pagan. This judgment is most certainly unjust,¶ though it is not

* I. P. VALERIANUS, De infelicitate litteratorum, Venetiae, 1620 (also in the Giorn. d. lett., III., Venezia, 1710). About P. Valeriano, see BUSTICO in the Atti d. Accad. di Rovereto, 3rd Series, XI.

† It is impossible to give here a complete list of the poets and literati of the Rome of Leo X. Among the poets, the improvisatori (see *supra*, p. 149 *seq.*) may be in a certain sense included. But, on the other hand, for local reasons and because they lived in Rome for only a short time, such men as Marc Antonio Flaminio (*cf.* CUCCOLI, 29 *seqq.*) cannot be included.

‡ Unfortunately there is no biography of Bembo which comes up to modern requirements. CIAN made a beginning in this direction in his book, written in his usual masterly way, Un decennio di vita di M. P. Bembo, Torino, 1885, in which (p. 1 n. 1) he gives details of earlier biographies.

§ Thus are they both styled in the *Rotulus of 1514; see Quellen und Forschungen des preuss. Instituts, VI., 56.

‖ About Bembo, see Vol. VI. of this work, p. 457 n.

¶ *Cf.* Rev. hist., XXXII., 214.

to be denied that the intellectual Venetian, so full of the love of life, belonged avowedly to that portion of the humanist school the representatives of which lived in a state of moral depravity and undisguised devotion to the ancient world, troubling themselves but little with the precepts of Christianity.* However lax Bembo's conduct may have been, it does not follow that he held infidel opinions;† better feelings were latent within him, which came to light later in his life. Nor must it be forgotten that at this time Bembo was only in minor orders; he received sacred orders only in 1539, when he was nominated Cardinal.‡

Although Bembo was well paid as Papal secretary, he, like many others, was very eager to obtain benefices,§ the incomes of which would enable him to lead a brilliant and luxurious life. Some of his wealth was applied to nobler objects. He was a zealous collector of manuscripts, books, and works of art, both ancient and modern: among these last were the portraits by Raphael of Navagero, Beazzano, and of Bembo himself, besides paintings by Memlinc,

* Bembo lived for twenty-two years in an unlawful connection with the beautiful Morosina, who bore him several children, and whose death was bitterly bewailed by him; see MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 740, and CIAN, Decennio, 14 *seq.*; *cf.* RATTI in the Giorn. d. lett., XL., 335 *seqq.* It is characteristic of the time that no one should seem to have taken scandal at such a connection. About Bembo's children, *cf.* the *Letters to Bembo in Cod. Barb., LXI., 3, Vatican Library.

† See MORSOLIN, La ortodossia di P. Bembo, Venezia, 1885; *cf.* CIAN, Decennio, 20, and Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., V., 433 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* CIAN, Decennio, 15.

§ See Regest. Leonis X., n. 2741 *seq.*, 5029, 5139 *seq.*, 7768, 7905, 13,708, 14,869, 17,208; MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 739, 742; PINTON, P. Bembo, Canonico Saccense, Roma, 1892; Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 443; *Brief, dated Viterbo, 1518, Sept. 30 (sup. canonicatu et praebenda eccles. Bellunen.); Arm., XXXIX., t. 31; *Brief, May 24, 1518 (Benefizium in Foligno), *ibid.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Mantegna, Bellini, and Sebastiano del Piombo.* His strong affection for the antique was manifested by many indecent poems written in his youth, and also by a few letters written from Rome to his friend Bibbiena, in which he asks him to procure for him a statue of Venus, to be placed in his study alongside those of Jupiter and Mercury, the father and brother of the foam-born goddess.†

Leo X. had shown his favour to Bembo as early as October, 1513, by appointing him Notary of the Apostolic See and "S. Pal. et aulae Lateran. comes.";‡ on the 1st of January, 1515, he gave him the name and arms of the Medici,§ and on several occasions confided diplomatic missions to him.|| But the chief task which was confided to this perfect stylist was that of composing the Papal letters. If we look at the private correspondence carried on by Bembo¶ with nearly all the celebrities of the time,

* About Bembo's Library, see, besides NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 92 *seq.*, 183 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 278 *seq*, 325 *seq.*, especially CIAN, Decennio, 102 *seq.*, in which more details are given about the collections of Bembo, which were only begun in Rome. See also JANITSCHEK, 95. Agostino Beazzano, also a poet, served Bembo as secretary. CIAN, Cortegiano, 216.

† BEMBO, Opere, III., Venezia, 1729, 12, 14, 205.

‡ Regest. Leonis X., n. 5139–5140; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 382.

§ See Appendix, No. 4, for the document which is missing in Hergenröther's Register.

|| MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 739.

¶ About the editions of Bembo's letters, see MAZZUCHELLI, II. 2, 763 *seq.* See in the third volume, Venetian edition of 1729, the Lettere volgari, and in the fourth volume the Epist. lat. Supplements are given by Malagola in the periodical Il Baretti, Torino, 1875. Many other letters are scattered about in stray publications. Without attempting to make the list complete, I will here name: Bembo, Lettere inedite o rare, Padova, 1852. Lettere inedite del Card. Bembo tratte dai codici d. Marciana, Venezia, 1855; *cf.* Arch. storia Ital., N. S., II., 1. 242 *seqq.* Lettere ined. del Card. Bembo e di altri scritt. pubbl. da S.

both men and women, literati, artists, poets, statesmen, and ecclesiastics, we are astonished by his vast connection,* as well as by the many-sided interests and power of work of this Venetian patrician. The many letters which he composed by command of the Pope relate partly to political and partly to ecclesiastical affairs, as well as to matters of lesser importance and often of quite insignificant account. The elegant stylist knew how to handle each subject, however different, with a classical, and often cold and artistic, elegance. Many of the letters composed by him as Leo's secretary are still unprinted, and many of them have been lost. With the assistance of Cola Bruno, a portion only of these, arranged in sixteen books, was first printed at Venice (1535–1536).† In this edition, dedicated to Paul III., Bembo relates how, when he left Rome, he threw into a chest a pile of rough drafts of letters which he had written in Leo's name during the Pontificate of that Pope; and how his friend Latino Giovenale Manetti had discovered these nearly-forgotten letters and had prevailed on him to publish them. The dedication to Paul III. followed, so that these letters might be held up as a model to other writers of the chancery. In this edition are to be found the letters, the antique expressions and constructions in which have been

Spezi, Roma, 1862; *cf.* NARDUCCI, Intorno ad alc. lett. ined. del Card. P. Bembo, Roma, 1862. P. Bembo: Saggio di 4 Lettere delle 67 inedite a cura di M. Melga, Napoli, 1861. Alcune lett. di scrittori ital. del sec., XVI., Padova, 1871. Quattro epistole, p. p. c. di F. Stefani. Venezia, 1873. Lett. inedite di P. Bembo a G. B. Ramusio, Venezia, 1875. CIAN, Decennio, gives in his appendix numerous letters of Bembo's, hitherto unknown. See also CIAN, Motti ined. e sconosciuti di m. P. Bembo, Venezia, 1888.

* About Bembo's connection with Isabella d'Este, see Giorn. d lett. Ital., IX., 81 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*

† *Cf.* CIAN, Un medaglione del Rinascimento, Cola Bruno e le sue relaz. c. Bembo, Firenze, 1901.

often quoted as proofs of the paganism which permeated the Papal Court at that time. Such might be the case had these letters been sent out in the form in which they stand printed, but this was not the case. Most of the pagan expressions were inserted later, when the letters were printed; for the greater number of the expressions cited are not to be found in the originals as they were despatched from the chancery of Leo X.* A servile adherence to the antique would have been out of keeping with the intention of the Medici Pope, who was so large-minded in every respect. Though Leo X. proclaimed his strong desire that "the Latin tongue should flourish during his Pontificate," † he did not by any means belong to those narrow-minded Latinists who regarded Cicero as the only model of language. "It sufficed him that whatever he had to listen to should be real Latin, flowing and elegant." ‡

Bembo took up a prominent position at the Court of Leo X., where everyone was delighted by his intellectual refinement. How indispensable he was to the Pope can be seen by the value which was attached to his mediation. His most intimate friends were Cardinals Bibbiena and Medici, the banker Chigi, and the poets Tebaldeo, Accolti, and Castiglione; while his closest friendship of all was with Raphael. The part taken by him in the intellectual development of the painter of Urbino can scarcely be overestimated; § they used to wander about the neighbour-

* *Cf.* the proof of this in Appendix, No. 22.

† "Nam inter caeterias curas, quas in hac humanarum rerum curatione divinitus nobis concessa, subimus, non in postremis hanc quoque habendam ducimus, ut latina lingua nostro pontificatu dicatur facta auctior," are the words used in the Brief to Fr. de Rosis, composed by Sadoleto, as found in ROSCOE, VII., 172–173.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 278; *cf.* REUMONT, Lorenzo II., 2nd ed., 398.

§ JANITSCHEK, Gesellschaft, 95.

hood of Rome, revelling in the beauty of antiquity and of nature.*

At the end of April, 1519, the state of his health, combined with family reasons, compelled Bembo to leave Rome, whither he did not return until the spring of 1520. Again, a year later, on the same plea of health, he asked and obtained leave of absence. In his heart he was determined to finally resign his position in Rome, settle in Padua, and there live in peace and devote himself to study.† Leo X. has been accused of being the cause of Bembo leaving the Eternal City;‡ this is true in so far that nothing short of receiving a Cardinal's hat would have kept him there. That the Pope would not confer this dignity on the elegant man of the world may easily be forgiven him; Bembo, however, thought himself worthy of the purple.§ But still more than disappointed hopes or considerations of health, what weighed with him was the fact that the fatiguing and severe duties of his life at the Papal Court were uncongenial to a man of his literary tastes.‖ Moreover, the death of his friends, Raphael, Chigi, and Bibbiena, robbed Rome of its chief attractions; and his many benefices afforded him a sufficient income to devote himself to literature, far away from the turmoil of a court life.

In his work on the poets of the Rome of Leo X., Francesco Arsilli extols Bembo because the pure Tuscan speech which flowed from his pen by no means interfered with his being a master of Latin eloquence. Yet, in spite of his unbounded praise, Arsilli would give him only the second place among the men of letters: the first being

* See Bembo's letter to Bibbiena, April 3, 1516, in Opere, III., 10.

† MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 741–742; CIAN, Decennio, 5–10.

‡ GNOLI, Secolo, II., 635; III., 50.

§ *Cf.* CIAN, 11 *seq.*

‖ *Ibid.*, 10.

given to Sadoleto.* It is true that, in more respects than one, this distinguished man holds a position higher than that of his colleague.

He was theologian, philosopher, orator, poet, author, and diplomatist; but it was not only by the versatility of his gifts that he excelled Bembo, but also by the depth and purity of his character. He had always been a model priest, and was a living proof that, where no deterioration of morals is involved, classical studies may become a matter of absorption without injury.

Ever since the publication of his poem on the discovery of the Laocoon group, Sadoleto's renown had been established among the men of letters of Rome; but he took but little part in the brilliant life of the Court of Leo X. As much as he could he led a life of retirement,† and devoted himself above all things to the duties of his office and to profound study. His only recreations of a lighter kind were in the social gatherings of literary friends, at which a meal of classic simplicity was partaken of, followed by the recitation of poems, and by discourses. Many years afterwards, Sadoleto recalled with joy and longing those happy times.‡

* Besides the older biographies by FIORDIBELLO (in the Roman edition of the epist. of 1759, 1 *seqq.*, and in the Veronese edition of the Opera Sadoleti, I., 1 *seqq.*), and TIRABOSCHI (Bibl. Mod, IV., 424 *seqq.*). see the little-known monograph of A. JOLY, Sadolet (1477–1547), Caen, 1857; *cf.* CANTÙ, Ital. ill., III.; GERINI, Scritt. pedag. del sec., XVI., Torino, 1891; Miscell. ex Mss. Collegii Romani S Jesu, Romae, 1754. 236 *seqq.*; and KOPP in the Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik, XV., Freiburg, 1904, 339 *seqq.*

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVII., 224.

‡ Sadoleti epist. fam. I. ep. 106. *Cf.* CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 298 *seqq.* See also Sadoleto's letter to his friend, Mario da Volterra, appointed Bishop of Aquino by Leo, quoted by CIAN, Cortegiano, 215.

The question of ecclesiastical reform occupied the mind of this deeply-religious man. All recognitions of his services, which would have been of the greatest use to him in his position, he invariably refused; in this he gave a rare example of a disinterestedness, most unusual at that time, in never seeking to obtain a benefice for himself. When, in 1517, Leo X., who had already given him many proofs of his favour,* presented him with the bishopric of Carpentras, Sadoleto wished to refuse it, and only consented to take it by obedience to the clearly-expressed desire of the Pope. Having accepted it, he wished to go at once and reside in his diocese, and there devote himself entirely to study and the duties of his sacred office; however, Leo refused to part with this tried and faithful servant as long as he lived. "Would to God," wrote Sadoleto, "that I could leave Rome and retire to my diocese, and give myself to Christ, my only Lord!" †

Only a small portion of the letters written in the Pope's name by Sadoleto during the term of his office as secretary have been printed.‡ These are written in the classic Ciceronian epistolary style, so highly valued at the time; they are models of form and elegance, full of academic grace, and permeated by that delicate courtesy known only to the Curia.§ In many of the letters he understood how to give expression in a masterly way to the exact thoughts of his master.‖ He made use in these of classical figures,

* *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 4775–4777.

† *Cf.* JOLY, 107 *seq.*, 111–112.

‡ In the Roman edition of the Epist. Sadoleti of 1759, there are in the first volume only ninety-eight of those written in the name of Leo X. Hergenröther publishes many more in his Regesta. There are numerous letters in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and also in the Archives of Paris and Bologna (Q 5), still unprinted.

§ *Cf.* JOLY, 59.

‖ *Ibid.*, 104 *seqq.*, 18 *seqq.*

his method in so doing being put into words by himself in his admirable treatise on the education of children. "It is without doubt permissible," he says, "to consider the methods of expression in vogue in those languages which we ourselves want to use. Thus, where there is no question of a specially theological subject, I am willing to introduce and adorn my speech with Latin figures and constructions. Thus I would, for example, speak of Hercules or Zeus (medius fidius) or of the "immortal gods" collectively. Such expressions are not to be taken literally, and serve only to give greater strength and brilliancy to what I am saying, and preserve the idea of antiquity. For when a language is ornamented by the figures of speech belonging to it, it has more weight, and contains greater power to teach right and truth, and inculcate the good which has to be practised." *

Sadoleto was not the only writer who, though on quite other subjects, knew how to harmonize real Christianity with an ardent love of antiquity.† Of one mind with him were Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola,‡ Alberto Pio di Carpi,§ and the young Gian Matteo Giberti, who rejoiced in the favour of both the Pope and Cardinal Medici.||

One of Giberti's friends was the canon-regular, Marco Girolamo Vida (born 1490, died 1566), who had come to Rome in the days of Julius II., and had remained there pure and unspotted, leading the life of a model priest in the midst

* KOPP, *loc. cit.*, 404–405.

† *Cf.* GNOLI, Un giudizio, 64.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 5 *seq.*, and *infra*, p. 406.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 138.

|| See Tüb. Quartalschr., 1859, 6. It is true that at this time Giberti was not as seriously disposed as he was later; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLV., 68. In 1517 Giberti received the freedom of the city of Rome; see GREGOROVIUS, Schriften, I., 291. For more about Giberti, see Vol. IX. of this work.

of the general corruption. It does honour to Leo X. that he should have preferred this excellent man in such a marked way that he went generally by the name of the Pope's especial favourite.* Vida's early poems about chess and silk-worms pleased Leo X. so much, that he sent for the author, rewarded him, and bade him set aside all other work and devote his powers to a Christian epic, the subject of which was to be our Divine Saviour's life. That Vida might be able to give himself over undisturbedly to this great task, the Pope—who wished to be another Augustus to another Virgil—gave him the priorate of the monastery of S. Silvestro at Frascati. Few other places in the neighbourhood of Rome could have been better fitted to be the abode of a poet than this cheerful little town, full of classic memories, with its picturesque heights and glorious views. There, in the midst of forests of old olive trees and pines, in view of the magnificent panorama of the Roman Campagna, the "Christiade" of Vida flowed from his pen, though Leo X. did not live to see it completed.† By his inspiration of

* About Vida, *cf.* LANCETTI, Vita e scritti di G. Vida, Milano, 1831; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 134 *seqq.*; BISSOLATI, Vite di due ill. Cremon., Milano, 1856; RONCHINI in the Atti Mod., IV., 73 *seq.*; BERCHIALLA, G. Vida, Alba, 1869; GABOTTO, Cinque lettere di M. G. Vida, Pinerolo (*Nozze-Publ.*); NOVATI in the Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd Series, X., 195 *seq.*, XI., 5 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXX., 459 *seq.*, XXXVI., 338 *seqq.*, esp. 343; CICCHITELLI, Sulle opere poet. di M. G. Vida, Napoli, 1904.

† The first impression of Vida's "Christiade" appeared at Cremona in 1535, suppressed in 1560. An Italian translation by N. Romana, Napoli, 1894. German translations: (1) Vida's Jesus Christus, ein lateinisches Heldengedicht, by J. D. Müller, Hamburg, 1811; (2) Vida's Christias, by Hubner, Nissa, 1849. Among Italians the "Christiade" has been recently treated by G. MORONCINI, Sulla Cristiade di M. G. Vida, Trani, 1896; ZUMBINI, Per il giubileo del card. Capecelatro, Caserta, 1897, 350 *seqq.*; L. GATTA, G. Vida e la Cristiade, Palermo, 1900. See also the valuable work of B.

this epic the Pope has rendered a permanent service to Christian poetry. This service is all the greater because, by this act of glorification of Christ, in which Leo was instrumental, "the finest artistic epic of the time of the Renaissance proved the injustice of the accusation made by Luther, that the Papacy had formed itself into a barrier between the Redeemer and the redeemed." *

Vida's work cannot be appreciated unless we put before ourselves the difficulties connected with his task. In consequence of the inviolable nature of its dogmatic character, it was at the outset impossible to give free scope to his poetic imagination. He had to destroy much which, humanly and poetically speaking, was excellent, because it was theologically inadmissible. It was impossible for the greatest poetical genius to approach the calm grandeur and noble simplicity which meets us at every turn in the chapters of the Bible narrative.† All Christian poets who have ventured to deal with the subject have had to contend with this difficulty, and even Vida was unable to overcome it.‡ But undoubtedly he attained to more than his predecessors. The noble and inexhaustible subject is treated in a manner closely corresponding with the Gospel narrative, "a dignified and majestic, and at the same time an elegant and touching production, expressed in the finest Latin diction." § The divine nature of Christ shines forth in the poet's explicit dogmatic declaration of the reality of His

COTRONEI in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXI., 361 *seqq.*; also Rass. d. lett. Ital., 1896, 297 *seq.*, and Ateneo Veneto, XIX. (1896), 2, 134 *seqq.*

* BAUMGARTNER, IV., 591.

† *Cf.* with BAUMGARTNER, *loc. cit.*, MORONCINI, 64 *seqq.*, and COTRONEI, *loc. cit.*, 366 *seqq.*

‡ COTRONEI, *loc. cit.*, handles these weak points best.

§ "Virgil himself," declares BAUMGARTNER (IV., 591), "could scarcely have done it better."

human nature. The reader will never forget certain passages, as, for instance, that in which Vida describes the flight into Egypt and the life of Jesus at Nazareth.

The Passion is the culminating point of the narrative. Fear, called in by Satan, "the great, black, unconquerable monster, to whom no other fury of the abyss can be compared for hideousness," turns the scale in the mind of the wavering Pilate; the die is cast, and at the words, "King of the Jews," the death of Christ is decided on. With the Risen One the "golden race" of Christians springs into life, and, with a picture of their spread over all the world, the poet closes his work, which is full of many beauties of the first order. By glancing through it we can understand the enthusiasm it evoked in contemporary writers, who in verse and prose hailed Vida as the Christian Virgil.*

One peculiar merit of the "Christiade" is that the poet rejected all those pagan accessories which in other poems have nearly destroyed the Christian tone. He took Virgil as his model for style and versification, but in essentials the poem remains uninfluenced by the classical element.† Consequently, Vida's poem affords to the reader a more unalloyed pleasure than does the famous epic of Sannazaro, perfect though it is in form, on the Nativity of Christ. In it, and especially in the third book, too much of pagan mythology is employed.‡ Nevertheless, the reality of

* *Cf.* esp. ARIOSTO, Orlando Furioso, XLVI., 13. No less a poet that Tasso reproduced later on whole pages freely translated from Vida's "Christiade," in his "Gerusalemme Liberata."

† *Cf.* MORONCINI, 24. See also NORRENBERG, 48 *seq.*, and FLAMINI, 107–108.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 141. See also NORRENBERG, 47 *seq.*, and Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, X., 234 *seq.* FLAMINI is, however, right when he points out (106 *seqq.*) that some parts of Sannazaro's poem are quite unaffected by any such unsuitable classical references. *Cf.* NICOLA DI LORENZO, Sul de partu virginis di J. S., Pistoia, 1900, 65 *seqq.*

Sannazaro's Christianity cannot be doubted, any more than can be that of the many other poets who allowed themselves the same license. Very much that at first sight looks like paganism is in fact mere poetical license, or at most a concession to the language of the classics.*

In character Sannazaro† does not stand so high as Vida. This is demonstrated by his relations with Leo X.; he took up the case of the pending marriage of his much-esteemed friend Cassandra Marchese with passionate vehemence.‡ This affair has never been properly explained, because the acts of the process cannot be found;§ it is therefore impossible to say whether the severe accusations which Sannazaro brought against Leo X., on account of his decision in the affair, were well founded or not.‖

In a moment of great excitement the poet wrote a mordant epigram in which he ridiculed Leo, and compared him to a blind mole who wanted, against his nature, to be a lion.¶ There is a difference of opinion as to whether these and similar attacks ever came to the ears of the

* *Cf.* DANIEL, Etud., 212 *seq.*; BAUMGARTNER, IV., 586, 593; JOLY, Sadolet, 71. See further, MORONCINI, 20, 23–24, and COTRONEI, *loc. cit.*, 362. About Sannazaro's sincere piety, *cf.* GABOTTO, La fede di S., Bologna, 1891.

† *Cf.* ROSSI, Quattrocento, 364 *seqq.*, where their writings are compared. A special work is expected by Percopo.

‡ See the excellent work of NUNZIANTE, Un divorzio ai tempi di Leone X., Roma, 1887. *Cf.* SCHERILLO in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI., 131 *seq.*, and NUNZIANTE in the Arch. stor. Napolitan., XII., 699 *seq.*

§ My researches in the Secret Archives of the Vatican have had the same negative result as those made by Nunziante at an earlier date, when the inventory of those Archives was not accessible.

‖ SCHERILLO, *loc. cit.*, like NUNZIANTE, *loc. cit.*, 134, declares that the whole affair is shrouded in darkness.

¶ Epigr., II., 57. *Cf.* SCHERILLO, *loc. cit.*, 136. The purely personal nature is pointed out with justice by GABOTTO, *loc. cit.*, 31.

Pope.* As a matter of fact a very flattering Brief was sent on the 6th of August, 1521, to Sannazaro, in which the Pope requested him to publish the poem on the Nativity of Christ without delay. This desire was founded, so ran the Brief, on the hope that the Queen of Heaven might be glorified by the poem, which might act as an antidote to the many writings which were composed with evil intent, "While the Church is being rent and tormented by her enemies, do you exalt her to heaven. Our century will be made famous by the light of thy poem. On one side, standing against her is Goliath, and on the other the frenzied Saul. Let the valiant David come forward and overcome the one with his sling, and calm the other with the sweet sound of his harp."† It has not transpired what answer Sannazaro gave to this request of the Pope; but a distressing proof of the irreconcilable spirit of the poet is to be found in the abusive epigram which he wrote about Leo immediately after the death of that Pontiff. He made an unworthy attack on the memory of the deceased, based on the false report‡ that the Pope had died without the last sacraments.§

The humanists, Girolamo Fracastoro and Battista Spagnolo Mantovano, were more sparing than Sannazaro in their use of the classical elements in literature. The former, who extolled the patronage of Leo X. in extravagant language,‖ did not really belong to the

* See Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI. 458, n.

† Sannazaro's Poemata, XLIII., was first published in the edizione Corniniana without references, and defectively printed in ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 532. In the face of this it does not behove SCHERILLO (*loc. cit.*, 361) to controvert Moroncini's opinion that Leo X. hoped that religion might be promoted by such a poem.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 63 *seq.*

§ Epig., III., 8. For a judgment of the epigram, see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI., 458, n.

‖ *Cf.* GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 50.

Roman literary world, though united to it by the closest ties. In his poem "Joseph," Fracastoro disdained the use of any pagan phrases. It is to the credit of this humanist, famous alike as physician and philosopher, that he devoted a didactic poem to the curse of the time, the *morbus gallicus.* The elegant and impressive verses on this delicate subject are written with an absence of anything approaching to indecency; certain allusions to ancient mythology being in harmony with its purport. The opening of the second book, which tells of the misfortunes which had overtaken Italy, and indicates the restoration of peace which Rome enjoyed under the rule of the "magnanimous Leo," is very impressive.*

The Carmelite, Battista Spagnolo Mantovano, elected General of his Order in 1513, who died on March 20th, 1516, and was declared Blessed by Leo XIII., crosses our path like an apparition.† Like Sadoleto he united a deep piety with a great enthusiasm for the treasures of antiquity. He was a most prolific poet, and his fame soon spread throughout Italy, and even beyond it into Germany. His exaggerated admirers gave him the name of a second Virgil.‡ Although he did not entirely discard mythological allusions, even in his sacred hymns, he used them with

* *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 151 *seq.*; BUDIK, II., 184 *seq.*; CASTELNAU, Médicis, 326 *seq.*; FLAMINI, 106, 112 See also ROSSI, G. Fracastoro in Relaz. all aristotelismo e alle scienze nel Rinascimento, Pisa, 1893; BARBARANI, G. Fracastoro, Verona, 1897.

† *Cf.* F. AMBROSI, De rebus gestis ac scriptis op. Bapt. Mantuani, Taurini, 1784; FANUCCHI, Vita d. b. Batt. Spagnolo, Lucca, 1887; GABOTTO, Un poeta beatificato, Venezia, 1892; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XX., 469 *seq*, XXXIV., 59 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*

‡ In Mantua his bust was set up alongside that of Virgil, BETTINELLI, Lett. ed arte Mantov. (1774), 100. About other busts and medals, *cf.* BODE, Plastik, 123 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XX., 469 *seq.*, XXXIV., 66.

great moderation. In several ways he furthered a Christian reaction against the paganism of antiquity, even though he could not rid himself of it altogether. In the beginning of his "Calendar of Feasts" (De sacris diebus)* he tells the reader that he must not expect to find in the pages which follow anything about the false deities. He is not going to treat of Jupiter, Venus, or Juno, but only of those heroes who had attained to heaven, whom the Almighty Father had admitted to the "ethereal city." As the pious Carmelite sings in turn of all the great feasts of the Church, intertwining with them the feasts of the saints, like a beautiful garland of flowers, he brings out the contrast between paganism and the victory gained over it by Christianity. Christ and His saints—such is the burden of his song—have overthrown the false gods; and this key-note runs through the whole poem. The Incarnation of the Son of God is at hand, and the end of the worship of false gods is approaching. Mercury, who, hovering round the Angel Gabriel, has followed him from Mount Carmel, overhears the mysterious greeting of the Angel to the holy Maiden of Nazareth, and at once suspects danger. He hastens back to the gods to tell them what he has heard, and they, full of agitation, take counsel together. They tremble, and Venus and Juno weep; Pallas, full of grief, throws away her spear, but takes it up again, advising that new arts shall be employed to maintain their ancient dominion. In vain! The Redeemer of the world is born, renews all things, laws, sacrifices, and priesthood, and conquers the world. "Give way, O ye gods," sings the poet on the 25th of December; "forsake your temples, for your fame is at an end! Delphic Apollo, shut the door of your false temple; sink with thy tripod into

* First ed. Lyons, 1516, reprinted by Wimpheling at Strasburg in 1518.

Hades; cast thine oracle into the Stygian abyss. Venus, Juno, Jupiter, flee into darkness, for now is your power upon earth at an end. Away, ye tyrants, give up your place and honours, which have been stolen, for behold, the true King enters on his kingdom!"

After such a Christian proclamation it signifies but little that the poet should sometimes make use of ancient classical epithets and call heaven Olympus, God the Father the Thunderer, or hell Hades. That the stars and days should bear pagan names, says the poet, need not trouble us, for they have come to mean good things for us, and can no longer harm us. Battista Spagnolo Mantovano dedicated his "Calendar of Feasts" to Leo X.* In the poem on the Feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and again on that which celebrated all the canonized Popes of the name of Leo, he took the opportunity to offer his homage to his exalted patron.† At the same time he pointed out to him with holy liberty the greatness of the tasks committed to him. He especially named three of these,‡ the restoration of peace to Italy, the protection of the Christian faith against the Turks, and the reform of "the Roman Curia, which was infected by a deep corruption which spread poison throughout all countries." "Help, holy father Leo," exclaimed the poet, "for Christendom is nigh its fall."§

We may rank with Spagnolo's "Calendar of Feasts" the

* The dedicatory copy, with the arms of Leo X., is kept in the Laurentian Library at Florence, Plut. XIV., Cod. XII.

† *Cf.* AMBROSI, 92 *seq.* (*op. cit.*).

‡ De sacr. dieb., l. 4: De sanctis Leonibus.

§ The Pope did not take these strong words of exhortation amiss. On the contrary, he summoned their author to the Council of the Lateran and seconded his efforts to reform the Carmelites (*cf.* AMBROSI, 86 *seq.*). Nevertheless the Pope did not arouse himself to take any stronger measures.

work of Zaccaria Ferreri, written by order of the Pope. This learned though restless man had set himself up under Julius II. as the champion of the schismatic Council of Pisa.* After Leo's election he resolved to make his peace with the Pope. He offered his submission in the form of a Latin poem, which is a remarkable imitation of Dante's "Divina Commedia."† Although in this poem he demanded a reform of the Church, which was to be led by Rome, and used great freedom of speech,‡ Leo accepted the work very graciously. Ferreri, who was warmly recommended by others, not only received absolution from the censures under which he had fallen by reason of his share in the schism of Pisa, but was singled out in various ways by the indulgent Pope.§ He accompanied Leo on the latter's expedition to Bologna, was made Bishop, and in 1519 was appointed Nuncio in Russia and Poland. There he laboured for the reform of the clergy and the suppression

* *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 386.

† Lugdunense Somnium de divi Leonis X. P.M. ad s. apost. apicem divina electione ad r. Franc. Soderinum card. Volat., 1513. There is a copy in the Laurentian Library; see BANDINIUS, Cat. II., 122. Another edition, with dedication to Louis XII., Lugduni, 1513; see MORSOLIN, Un latinista del Cinquecento imitatore del Dante, Venezia, 1894.

‡ Roma tamen purganda prius, postrema moratur,
Quanto tarda magis, tanto graviora flagella.

§ That the leniency of the Pope towards Ferreri was greater than his court expected, is shown by Paris de Grassis. At Pentecost, 1517, the latter reports: "Sermonem nullus habuit quia cardinalis celebrans [s. Crucis] sic de gratia petiit a papa. Facturus illum erat Zacharias electus titularis qui alias fuit scismaticus et ideo plus placuit omnibus quod non fieret sermo per illum scismaticum et cum papa se remisisset ad vota cardinalium omnes quidem acceptarunt ut non fieret. Hadrianus autem obtulit papae par pavonum si non fieret et papa acceptavit." *Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

of the Lutheran heresy.* How highly Leo X. thought of Ferreri as a poet can be seen by the fact that he turned to him for assistance in his reform of the breviary. It is, however, characteristic that the proposed amendments did not affect the subject but the form of the breviary, the sole object of Leo's efforts being the improvement of the language in which it was written. Ferreri seemed to him the right man to do this, for he had already made a name by the composition of a number of hymns in honour of the saints. Ferreri threw himself with ardour into the work, but Leo died before its completion. It was not until 1525 that a portion of the work, consisting of a revision of the hymns of the breviary, appeared in print.† It is related in the edition of Ferreri's letters to Clement VII. how Leo X., being full of zeal for the Church, and conversant with good literature, and impressed by the deficiencies of the hymns daily used for the praises of God, and seeing how far they were from possessing "true latinity or right metre," gave him the commission "either to improve those in use, or create new hymns devoid of barbarisms." So great was the interest taken by Leo in the work, that he read each hymn as Ferreri completed it. Clement VII.

* See MORSOLIN, Z. Ferreri, 65 *seqq.*, 70 *seqq.*, and FIJALEK, Histor. Jahrbuch, XV., 374. About his appointment as Bishop, see HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 614. For the faculties received by Ferreri, July 7, 1520, and his mission to the Poles, see Regest, n. 1201, f. 390. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Zachariae Ferrerii Vicent. Pont. Gardien. Hymni novi ecclesiastici iuxta veram metri et latinitas normam a beatiss. patre Clemente VII., P. M. ut in divinis quisque eis uti possit approbati et novis Ludovici ac Lantitii Perusini characteribus in lucem traditi, sanctum ac necessarium opus. Breviarium ecclesiasticum ab eodem Zach. Pont. longe brevius et facilius redditum et ab omni errore purgatum propediem exibit. Romae 1525. (Copies are rare; I am making use of the one in the Bibl. Casanat)

confirmed the commission to Ferreri to remove everything which contemporary Latinists could find fault with in the rendering of the mediæval hymns. The judgment of posterity is not as favourable as was that of contemporaries. It is undeniable that Ferreri's hymns, belonging as they do to the best time of the Renaissance, contain much that is excellent; nevertheless, in spite of the blamelessness of their classical form, they seem to a sound taste to be weak imitations of the grand, powerful strophes of an earlier time.* Nothing of the old canticles remains; everything is remodelled and in some parts thought out afresh. If we compare the best of these, *e.g.* the *Veni Creator*,† with the ancient version, we see with amazement how formal the hymn has been rendered, and how even its sense has been lost. Only too often the grand religious dignity suffers under its profane setting. The poetry also of the hymns has suffered. For instance, the wonderful

* *Cf.* BÄUMER, 387 *seq.*, and MORSOLIN, Ferreri, 104 *seq.*, in a similar though independent sense. This is shown by Bäumer in connection with the beginning of the hymn to the Holy Trinity:

O celsitudo gloriae,
O maximum mysterium:
Secreta coeli noscere
Conceditur mortalibus.

† This is how it runs in Ferreri's version, p. xx.:—

Veni beate spiritus
Nostraeque menti illabere,
Depelle cuncta crimina,
Et da tuis charismata.

Xenophanis ceu lesbii
Te iambicis attollimus
Concentibus: sic effice
Nos esse coeli compotes.

strength of the hymn *Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem* is quite lost.* Worse still is the clothing of these sacred canticles in classical language, full of pagan pictures and allusions, which are introduced with incredible naïveté. Thus, the Holy Trinity is described as "triforme numen Olympi"; the Mother of God as "fortunate goddess" (felix dea), or "most pure nymph (nympha candidissima). God is spoken of as the great ruler of the gods (deorum maximus rector). The humanist, rejoicing in the beauties of classical constructions, preponderates in Ferreri to a most unsuitable degree.

None of the poets who have been mentioned were Romans. Nevertheless, at Leo's "court of the Muses" native talent was not wanting, the result of the efforts of Nicholas V. to overcome the remarkable mental sterility of Rome in his time.† To the Roman poets belong Marcello Palonio, who sang of the Battle of Ravenna, Egidio Gallo, Battista Casali, Antonio Lelio, Bernardino Capella, Vincenzo Pimpinelli, Lorenzo Vallati, Giambattista Sanga, Lorenzo Grana, Scipione Lancellotti, Camillo Porcari, who

Hyberna pelle frigora
De cordibus rigentibus;
Tuo nitore splendeant,
Tuo calore ferveant.

Zelum futuri saeculi
Huiusque vitae taedium
Des, o perennis halitus
Parentis atque filii.

* This re-cast of Ferreri's, p. lxx.*b*, begins thus:—

Civitas haec est vocitata pacis
Visio: que de superum beato
Orbe descendens nova sponsa, gaudet
Coniuge Christo.

† *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, 194 *seq.*

was made professor of elocution by Leo X., and, lastly, Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni de' Capodiferro.*

This distinguished disciple of Pomponio Leto, to whom Leo X. had given a professorship, had had relations with Julius II., and was one of the most prolific poets of the time, though he was not a happy example. At first he had extolled the Borgia, and finding that this was not remunerative, he changed round and made himself the mouthpiece of all the accusations brought against them by the enemies of their race. Many of his poems betray, by their obscenity, the influence of antiquity. The prolific poet lauded Leo X. in numerous verses, and sang of the different things connected with him, from the elephant presented by the King of Portugal to the artists and works of art of the Rome of the day.†

Several members of the Mellini family, whose name survives in the villa on Monte Mario, and in the tower near S. Agnese, were distinguished as poets. One of them, Celso Mellini, won celebrity both by his dispute with the French humanist Longueil and by his tragic and premature death.

* For Arsilli's poem, *cf.* RENAZZI, II., 21 *seq.*, and MARINI, Lettera 42 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 64, 65, 66. About M. Palonio, A. Lelio, B. Casali, V. Pimpinelli, see ROSSI, Pasquinate, 102, 110 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 115. About A. Lelio, *cf.* further, Giorn. d. stor. d. lett. Ital., XXVIII., 59 *seq.*

† His poems are in the Cod. Vat., 3351; *cf.* TOMASINI in the Atti d. Lincei, Ser. IV., Cl. di scienze mor., vol. X., Roma, 1893, and JANITSCHEK in the Repert. für Kunstwissensch, III., 52 *seqq.* Other works in the Cod. Vat., 3419; see NOLHAC, 257. For epigrams by him and Blosio Palladio, L. Grana, and V. Pimpinelli on the conferring of civic rights on the Pope's nephews in 1513 (see *supra*, p. 168), see *Cod. Capponi, 75, f. 91*b*–112, of the Vatican Library (see also Cod. Barb., LIII., 31). Some of the poems of E. F. M. de' Capodiferro are in Cod. 33 of the Communal Library at Savignano in the Romagna; see MAZZATINTI, Inventari dei Mss. (Forlì, 1890), 1891.

Marcantonio Casanova also was born in Rome, though his family came from Como. This intellectual imitator of Martial dedicated his "Heroica" to the Pope,* and was in return raised to the rank of count. He was abbreviator apostolic, and had the reputation of being one of the most elegant and ready poets of his day.† The name of "the new Catullus" was given to him, and his epigrams were characterized as "sublime."

The Mantuan, Giovanni Muzzarelli, of whom at first no account was made, drew attention to himself by a laudatory poem on Leo X. The Pope rewarded him by appointing him Governor of Mondaino in the Romagna, where he met with a violent death.‡ Among the court

* Heroica Marci Antonii Casanovae (117 epigrams, a "Hymnus ad virginem Christiparam" and an elegy "de morte patris"). The dedicatory copy to the Pope, a beautiful Renaissance manuscript with the arms of Leo X., was in possession of S. Volpicella, from which an edition was printed in 1867 with a good commentary; this is very rare (*Nozze* Medici-Gallone). The codex, of which I made use in 1893, is now in the Library of the Società di storia patria at Naples. The MS. is of importance, because it shows how uncritical was the publication of the Carmina ill. poetar. Ital., Parisiis, 1576. Several poems which, by the evidence of the Naples MS., belong to Casanova, are ascribed to other authors (Tebaldeo, Lampridio, and Molza). Casanova's Hymnus ad virginem Christiparam is very characteristic of the way Christianity and Paganism are intermingled. Thus:

> Iure Ceres, iure et colitur iam nulla Minerva,
> Nulla soror Phoebi est nec Iovis ulla soror.

Then the poet continues:

> In te stelliferi Rector descendit Olympi
> Elegitque uteri candida templa tui
> Quo nascente ruunt veterum simulacra deorum.

The last goes still further:

> Pulsa Venus Cypro est: pulsa Diana Epheso.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 8339 (e e).

‡ *Cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXI., 362; XXVII., 268.

poets was also the Sicilian Jano Vitale, who, in his poem on the election of Leo X., overflowing with repulsive flattery, did not shrink from saying that a new Jupiter had come down from high Olympus who, like Apollo, would heal all sicknesses.* With the same want of taste a Dominican, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, in other respects a clever man, broke out into a poem, in which, pleading for the adornment of the deserted Quirinal, he compared the Medici Pope with the sun-god Apollo.†

Guido Postumo Silvestri was also highly esteemed as a poet, and sang of the happiness of Italy during the reign of Leo X. In recognition of this the Pope had the poet's ruined possessions restored. Postumo repaid this liberality by an elegy which concludes with these words:—

> Pro cytheræ meritis tribuit Leo Maximus aurum,
> Jussit et hinc vatis tecta nitere sui,
> Quippe Amphionii non ficta est fabula muri,
> Si domus haec blaudæ structa canore lyræ est.

Another poem by the same reached a climax of flattery in a petition to Christ, Mary, and the saints to leave Leo (this *numen*) for a little longer among men, as there were already saints enough in heaven! The same man, in a long poem, celebrated the hunting expeditions of his "divine protector."‡ To-day, Postumo, the friend of Ariosto, and the correspondent of Isabella d'Este, is as

* ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 412. About Jano Vitale, *cf.* Arch. stor. d. stor. Sicil., N. S., VIII. (1888). See further, Zeitschr. für allg. Gesch., I., 77, and GNOLI, Un giudizio, 162 *seq.*

† ROSCOE-BOSSI, X., 252 *seq.*

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 161 n. See also BUDIK, I., XLVII. *seqq.*; GEIGER, Renaissance, 302; RENIER, Della corrisp. di G. P. Silvestri in the valuable publication for the *Nozze* Cian-Sappa Flandinet, Bergamo, 1894. 241 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXV., 242 *seq.*; and FLAMINI, 117.

much forgotten as is Antonio Tebaldeo of Ferrara, although the latter is remembered by his celebrated tomb in S. Maria in Via Lata.* Originally intended to be a physician, Tebaldeo later entered the ecclesiastical state. In Rome he soon won the Pope's favour and the friendship of the principal members of the Court. His chief friends were Bibbiena, Bembo and Raphael, who painted his portrait.† Tebaldeo, who may be compared in many ways with Bembo,‡ wrote verses in Latin as well as Italian; among other subjects he sang of Leo's endeavours to promote a crusade;§ he also described in verse Cardinal Medici's villa on Monte Mario. As Tebaldeo was a very skilful improvisatore, he received many tokens of favour from the Pope; a Latin epigram in praise of Leo X. won for him the princely gift of five hundred ducats.||

Besides poets of Italian origin, there were a number of foreigners;¶ for humanists flocked from all parts to the

* FORCELLA, VIII., 407. *Cf.* about Tebaldeo, GASPARY, II., 1, 306 *seq.*, 307; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXV., 193 *seq.*, XXXVII., 96 *seq.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 111 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the interesting letter of Bembo to Bibbiena of April 19, 1516. BEMBO, Opere, III., 11, and CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., VIII., 394.

‡ ALTIERI, Nuptiali, 147.

§ *Cf.* BALBI, Opera, II., 151 *seqq.*; MICHAUD, VI., 292.

|| Lucae Gaurici Tractatus astrologicus, Venetia, 1552, 65; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 96; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 11 *seq.* In Serapica's *Spese priv. di Leon X., I found the entry on July 13, 1518: A. M. Antonio Tebaldeo duc. 200. State Archives, Rome. On June 12, 1518, Leo sent a *Letter to Maximilian I.: "pro Antonio Thebaldeo, clerico Ferrarien. famil. nost. super adipiscenda possessione ecclesiae s. Mariae de Bretonico"—Arm., XXXIX., t. 31, 1518, n. 65. Secret Archives of the Vatican. For Tebaldeo, see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 241 *seq.*, and Supplement, VIII., 113 *seq.*

¶ Among these especial notice must be taken of the Spaniard Bartolome de Torres Naharro, who, in his comedies, derided the darker side of Papal Rome. *Cf.* in TICKNOR, I., 240 *seq.*; II., 172, 697 *seq.*; and

Eternal City, there to study or make their fortunes. The Germans were, comparatively speaking, numerous; besides Hutten mention is made of Sustenius, Petrus Aperbachius, Janus Hadelius Saxo, Caius Silvanus, Kaspar Ursinus Velius, and Michael Humelberg. All of these were friends of the hospitable Goritz.*

The number of poets residing in Medicean Rome is given at more than a hundred by Arsilli and others. The Eternal City was inundated with good and bad poems, odes, letters, epigrams, eclogues; a pasquinade of 1521 remarks that versifiers in Rome were more numerous than the stars in the heavens.† But the merit of the poems was not in proportion to the number of those who lived under the shadow of the Curia. The oblivion which has been the fate of these Latin versifiers of the time, whose poetry, instead of the divine afflatus, breathed nothing but the atmosphere of the court, is only what they deserved.‡ Nevertheless their importance in the history of the literature of the day must not be denied.§

also GABOTTO, Un comediografo Spagnuolo alla corte di Leone X. in the Gazz. lett. di Torino, 1889, No. 17. See also FLAMINI, 559. About the Spaniard Saturno Gerona (ob. 1523), whose poetical epitaph is in S. Maria dell' Anima, see the clever treatise of GNOLI in Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, LI., 232–248.

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 328. *Cf.* Ges. Schriften, I., 299 *seq.* and GEIGER in the Vierteljahrschr. f. Lit. der Renaiss., I., 148, 523. See also BAUTZ, Kasp. Urs. Velius, Buda-pest, 1886. *Cf.* F. GÜLDNER, Jakob Questenberg, ein deutscher Humanist in Rom., Bonn, 1906.

† Carmina apposita Pasquillo anno, 1521. *Cf.* GNOLI, Pasquino, 23. About the "smania versaiola" of that time, see also CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 277.

‡ *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 350 *seq.*; JOLY, Sadolet, 29; and GEIGER in the Zeitschr. f. Renaissancelit., I., 158 *seq.*; CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 439.

§ *Cf.* FLAMINI, 125.

The new-fashioned enthusiasm for Latin poetry in Rome had a strong influence on contemporary Italian poetry. Prolific as were the results in this field of literature, there was a singular lack of originality. Even the two best of the lyric poets, Bembo and Molza, in spite of their high gifts, produced nothing better than elegant imitations. In their footsteps there followed an army of imitators, who obtained among Italians the appropriate name of "rimatori."* Francesco Maria Molza, who went by the name of the modern Tibullus, was in reality a highly-gifted poet, but unfortunately wasted his talents in an unsettled and dissolute life.† The names of the remainder of the Italian poets survive only in literary records, and it is with astonishment that we see the praise which was lavished on them at the time that they wrote. Who, for instance, knows to-day anything about the poet Bernardo Accolti, "the great light of Arezzo"? "The only one" (l'unico) is how he styled himself, and how he was styled by others. Accolti sang the praises of the generous Leo, who had rewarded him so lavishly that he was able to buy the title of Duke of Nepi. The fame of this native of Arezzo is to-day quite inconceivable; but he enchanted the society of his time by his gay, witty prattle, which was joined to the art, then highly valued, of accompanying his verses with suitable music. Pietro

* Beside REUMONT, III., 2, 326 *seq.*, *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 3. Contemporaries jeered at many of these rhymesters, as, *e.g.*, G. Casio; *cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 81; Giorn. storia d. lett. Ital., XXXVIII., 56 *seq.*, and GEREMIA, G. Casio, Palermo, 1902. About another of these mediocre versifiers, Mariangelo Accursio, see CALI in Nuova Rassegna, I., 45 *seq.*, and Bull. stor. abruzz, V., VI. About the Canzoni of Gugl. de' Nobili, written in honour of Leo X., see (PAWLOWSKI) Cat. des livres de la bibl. Firmin-Didot, 1878, 36.

† See ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 33 *seq.*; BUDIK, II., 40 *seq.* *Cf.* GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 290, and FLAMINI, 550 *seq.*

Aretino,* who had just come to Rome, being subsidized by the Pope, and high in the favour of Cardinal Medici, relates that "when the heavenly Accolti was about to improvise on the lute, the shops were shut and prelates and other personages flocked to listen to him." Pietro Aretino was himself sent one day by the Pope, to remind Accolti of a visit which he had promised to pay His Holiness. When Accolti entered the Vatican, Leo X. commanded that every person should give way before him. The poem which he sang about the Blessed Virgin filled his hearers with such admiration that, when he had finished, one and all cried out: "Long live the divine poet!" This production is preserved, and when we read it we can but wonder at the applause which it called forth;† undeniably the standard of excellence in those days was very different from what it is now.

The poet Agostino Beazzano was provided with rich benefices; he expressed his thanks to the Pope in Italian sonnets and Latin epistles.‡ The poet Giangiorgio Trissino§ stood still higher in the favour of Leo X., and was sent by him on diplomatic missions. This prominent citizen of Vicenza, having come to Rome in 1514, armed with warm recommendations from Isabella d'Este and Cardinals Bibbiena and Luigi d'Aragona, was received most honourably by the Pope. In the autumn of the

* He received 50 ducats in August 1520. See Cesareo, 199.

† *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 15 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 1, 311; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 112 *seq.*; CIAN, Cortegiano, XVII.; GNOLI, Cacce. 40 *seqq.*; Giorn. de. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 228 *seqq.*; and E. GUARNERA, B. Accolti, Palermo, 1901, 101 *seqq.* About Leo's tokens of favour to B. Accolti, see Regest. Leonis X., n. 3164, 12,019.

‡ ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 30 *seq.* *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 571 *seq.*

§ MORSOLIN, Giangiorgio Trissino, Firenze, 1894. *Cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital, XXIII., 435 *seq.* Morsolin published the Lettere del card. Giulio de' Medici al Trissino at Vicenza (*Nozze-Publ.*), 1881.

following year Trissino was charged with a difficult mission in Germany to the Emperor Maximilian, which kept him on the other side of the Alps until the spring of 1516; in the autumn of the same year there followed a mission to Venice; the distinguished nobleman refused to receive any remuneration for his services.* As early as 1515 he had dedicated to the Pope his tragedy "Sofonisba,"† not without misgivings that the classical-minded Medici would take amiss that the work should be written in Italian. The subject of the poem, written in blank verse (versi sciolti), is borrowed from the thirteenth book of Livy;‡ the tragedy is cold and lifeless, and as for Trissino's heroic epic, "Italy liberated by the gods," which appeared in 1547, it can only be condemned as an utter failure.§

Trissino's friend, Giovanni Rucellai, also wrote in blank verse with no better results.‖ Being a near relative of the Pope's, the latter often entrusted him with political business, and sent him, for instance, on a mission to Francis I. at a critical moment (in September 1520).¶ It is asserted by

* *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 80 *seq.*, 91–95. See also Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 233 *seq.*

† *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 69 *seq.*; FLAMINI, 242; and D'ANCONA, Varietà, II., Milano, 1885, 261 *seq.*

‡ The statement that it was produced in Rome is incorrect (MORSOLIN, 75 *seq.*).

§ *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 282 *seq.*, 312 *seq.* See also REUMONT, III., 2, 348 *seq.*; ERMINI, L'Italia liberata di G. Trissino, Roma, 1893; and also MORSOLIN in Rassegna bibliogr., 1895, No. 1. The violent verses against the Roman abuses are lacking in some copies of the original, which, according to MORSOLIN (Un poeta ipocrita, in Nuova Antologia, 1, Nov. 1882), were intended for the Pope and the Curia.

‖ MAZZONI, Opere di G. Rucellai, Bologna, 1887, Prefaz.; Giorn. d lett. Ital., XI., 458 *seq.*; MORSOLIN, Trissino, 69. *Cf.* Propugnatore, N. S., III., 1, 374 *seq.*

¶ *Cf. supra*, p. 14.

many that Rucellai's tragedy "Rosmunda" was put on the stage on the occasion of Leo's sojourn in Florence; but there is nothing certain about this.* Among the poets of that time there appears the name of another relative of the Pope's, Pietro de' Pazzi; how far the praises lavished on him by contemporaries were justified must remain a matter of doubt.†

It is remarkable that the Medici Pope who patronized so many poetasters and vagrant poets ‡ should have been on very distant terms with Ariosto. Confident of a friendly reception by the Pope, the poet had hastened to Rome after the election of Leo X.; when the courteous reception with which he met raised the poet's expectations. All the greater was his astonishment when this led to nothing. The clever satires in which Ariosto pictured the affairs of Rome prove the greatness and depth of his disillusionment. Still, all through his disappointment, and in all his most bitter attacks, one can see his intention of screening the Pope personally, having received from him a privilege against piracy for his "Orlando," and many other tokens of favour.§

* MAZZONI, *loc. cit.*, xviii.; GASPARY, II., 2, 298.

† *Cf.* GNOLI, Un giudizio, 41.

‡ See BERNARDO GIAMBULLARI, Soneti rusticani di Biagio del Capperone, pubbl. a cura di C. Arlia, Città di Castello, 1902; see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLI., 170 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* SADOLETI, epist., 193; BEMBI, epist., X., 40; ROSCOE-BOSSI, VII., 41 *seqq.*; ROSSI, L'Ariosto e il beneficio di S. Agata in Rendiconti dell' Ist. Lomb. d. scienze e lett., 2nd Series, XXXI. (1898), 1169 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 249; A. VALERI in Rev. d'Italia, 1900, I., 517 *seqq.* REUMONT, III., 2, 347, declares that the privilege about the publication of the "Orlando" has foolishly been made use of to bring accusations against Leo X., just as if it contained a Papal approbation of Ariosto's poems, whereas its only object was the usual protection against piracy. This is just; but, on the other hand, CASTELNAU (Les

Next to poetry, rhetoric occupied the most prominent place in the Rome of Leo X. As a child of the Renaissance, as well as belonging to a people devoted to things pleasant to the ear, the Pope enjoyed good Latin prose as keenly as the most melodious verse; * the replies to the solemn speeches of Ambassadors sent to make their "obedientia," which had been occasions of confusion to Julius II., who had not his classical culture, were a real delight to his successor; he understood how to reply with an astounding readiness and elegance.† This skill contributed not a little to the renown of the Medici Pope at a time when such exaggerated value was placed on classical elegance, as to cause a good rhetorician to be put on a level with a great painter.‡

The speeches which were most admired in those days fail to stir us if we read them now. There is much classical learning in them but very little originality; even in the best, the happiest thoughts and the noblest conceptions are submerged by a flood of high-flown phrases. In vain do we look for true imagination or deep thought in these declamations; the elegance of the form drives out everything else; § the purport of the discourses is often horrible, and the want of truthfulness is indescribable! As in the

Médicis, II., 336), is justified when he says: "Vue de plus haut, cette manifestation de puissance spirituelle en faveur d'une œuvre profane, adverse au fond, sinon hostile, à l'esprit chrétien, met en plein jour le caractère de l'évolution accomplie au faîte de l'Eglise. About the "Orlando," *cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 121 *seq.* About Leo X. and Ariosto, *cf.* CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 423.

* BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 3rd ed., 275.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 70, 73, 136, and *supra*, 78.

‡ *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, I., 3rd ed., 350, who cites Petrus Alcyonius, de exilio (ed Mencken, 136).

§ *Cf.* JOLY, Sadolet, 53, and CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 152.

classical letters of the time, so also in the discourses, infinite praise is dispensed for which there is not a shadow of justification. When facts failed, a supposed intention is lauded, and brilliant phrases are strung together which bear a semblance to praise.* This power of disingenuous flattery seemed to be innate in the orator of the day. Often, for instance, a funeral oration might be very much admired and extolled as a work of art, although the man eulogized might not possess any one of the qualities falsely attributed to him.† If only fine-sounding phrases, well delivered and sonorous, were poured into their ears, the hearers were quite satisfied. In this respect Leo X. was no exception; the exaggerated value he set on fine discourses is shown by his decree issued in 1514, that every meeting of the Conservatori should be opened with a speech by a born Roman about distinguished Roman citizens of past ages.‡ The feast of the patronal saints of the Medici, SS. Cosmas and Damian, was celebrated by orations; on one of these occasions Raffaello Brandolini, so renowned as an improvisatore and letter-writer, made an oration and afterwards glorified his exalted patron in an elegant dialogue entitled "Leo."§

* *Cf.* JOLY, 57.

† In this light the following account given in Paris de Grassis of the obsequies of Card. Sisto Gara della Rovere, on the 3rd of April, 1517, is very interesting: *Camillus Portius canonicus Romanus elegantissimam habuit orationem cum admiratione omnium expectantium quo evasurus esset orator ipse in laudem unius viri qualis iste fuit nullius ingenii, nullius veritatis, virtutis sed abiectissimi viri sicut unus asinus et tamen elegantia et dexteritas oratoris tanta fuit ut in laudem ipsius viri evaserit. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium. Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

‡ *Cf. infra*, p. 239, n.

§ About Raffaello Brandolini Lippi, *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VI., 2, 270; AMATI, 235; BROM in the Röm. Quartalschr., II., 175 *seq.*, and esp.

The Turkish peril was also the occasion of numerous orations.*

Besides these orations the very inferior sermons in the Papal chapel must not be overlooked; these very often could not be distinguished from ordinary speeches. Leo X. desired that they should be short, not exceeding a quarter of an hour in length;† not seldom the Pope sent for a preacher who had made good his case and expressed his approval.‡ Giovio says that a sermon well preached might lead to a bishopric.§ In 1513, Leo X. had the censorship of the court preachers by the Master of the Sacred Palace made more severe,‖ but even then it was far from being

FOGLIAZZI in the preface to Raph. Brandolini Lippi iun. Dialogus Leo nuncupatus, Venetiis, 1753. The original dedicatory copy, sumptuously ornamented, of his Oratio de laudibus eloquentiae in aede divi Eustachii ad populum habita XV. Cal. Nov., 1513, is kept in the Classense Library, Ravenna.

* *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 233, about Sadoleto. See also *infra*, pp. 385, 387, about the speeches at the Council. A speech by A. Navagero on the Turkish question is mentioned by GEIGER, Renaissance, 274. Baltasar de Rio Pallantinus, Oratio de expedit. contra Turchos inuenda, Romae (Mazochius), 1513, is exceedingly rare, and wanting in Graesse.

† *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in CREIGHTON, V., 315.

‡ This is reported by Leo's Master of Ceremonies as having taken place on S. Stephen's feast 1516: *Sermonem habuit quidam frater s. Dominici de Placentia de domo Alemanorum et doctissimum et elegantissimum ita ut papa post missam miserit pro ipso fratre et multum eum commendaverit de doctrina et elegantia et arte concionandi. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23.

§ P. Iovii Dialogus de viris lit. illustr. in BURCKHARDT, I., 3rd ed., 283.

‖ This report, which is only partially given in MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 426, and BURCKHARDT, II., 7th ed., 351, and not quite correctly in CREIGHTON, V., 315, appears in a copy of Paris de Grassis in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 23: "Sermonem habuit quidam

strict. The abuse, existing in the time of Julius II., and animadverted on by Erasmus, of the Ciceronian phrases with which preachers treated more of antiquity than of Christianity, continued under Leo X.* A quite irreproachable witness, the Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, relates the scandal given by a humanist preacher who, on the Feast of St. John the Baptist in 1517, appealed, in the presence of the Pope, to the gods and goddesses "in a manner more pagan than Christian."† These preachers saw no more evil in this than did the humanist Mario Equicola, who, in his discourse at a beatification by Leo X., quoted Castor, Romulus, and others, who had been raised to be gods.‡ Pierio Valeriano went still further in his funeral oration on Cardinal Bibbiena, delivered in the presence of Leo X. He thus appealed to the Cardinal's shade: "We ask not to what part of Olympus thine immortal virtue has led thee in thy golden chariot; but when thou passest through the heavenly spheres, and when thou beholdest the heroes there, then forget not to pray the King of heaven and the other gods that, if they wish to enjoy the worship of others upon earth, they may add to Leo's life the years

scholaris Narniensis satis scholastice et potius gentilitio more quam christiano, invocans deos deasque in exclamatione sua ita ut multi riserint multi detestati fuerint. Ego increpavi magistrum palatii qui non corrigit quando praevidet eos sermones. Papa patienter tolleravit ut est sui moris patientissimi et dulcissimi." About another humanist discourse, see LÜTOLF, Schweizergarde, 20 *seq.*

* Ciceronianus, 219 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHUCK, Aldus, 98, and GNOLI, Un giudizio, 16 *seq.*

† Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 13. *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 174.

‡ Oratio ad Isab. Est. in consecratione divae Andreasiae. *Cf.* LUZIO-RENIER, Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIV., 18; here are also further details about Equicola, who came to Rome in the suite of Gonzaga in 1513.

of which the impious Fates have deprived thee and Giuliano de' Medici."*

Many of the discourses of that time were not delivered in the form in which we now possess them in manuscripts and printed editions. This applies equally to the great oration alleged to have been delivered at the Capitol, on the 21st of April, 1521, on the festival of the "Palilia," by the "Riformatore" of the University,† when, in accordance with a resolution of the Senate, of the year 1518, a colossal marble statue of Leo X.‡ was erected. The orator § makes a survey of nearly the whole history of Rome; he even begins by the first records of the history of mankind. Being a Roman born, he dwells with preference on the ancient history of his own city. He impressively draws the contrast between what it was in former days and what it was at the time in which he was speaking. "The seven hills, covered of yore with houses, are covered to-day with ruins and vineyards. Of the sixteen forums with their basilicas and temples we see now only open spaces. Of the twenty aqueducts there now remains only the Aqua Virgo. Of the thirteen baths

* P. VALERIANI, Hexametri, Ferrariae, 1550, 78; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 273.

† Oratio totam fere Romanam historiam complectens habita Romae in aedibus Capitolinis XI. Kal. Maii., 1521, ab anonimo auctore die qua dedicata fuit marmorea Leonis X., P.M. statua, ed. R. Venuti, Romae, 1735. That Leo heard this speech is an arbitrary assumption on the part of GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 297. The speech was never delivered; see GNOLI, Un giudizio, 35. Gregorovius could have seen this, as it fills 134 sheets of print.

‡ *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 110 *seq.*, and *infra*, p. 352.

§ Venuti thinks that this was Celso Mellini; but he had died in 1520. MARINI (Lettera, 39) thinks it was G. B. Veralli. But GNOLI (Un giudizio, 36) makes it seem probable that it was Blosio Palladio. See all the allusions to the subject in Longueil.

all that is left to us are the ruins of those of Diocletian and Caracalla. Of the three hundred temples the sole one remaining perfect is the Pantheon. Of Vespasian's amphitheatre, once counted among the wonders of the world, we can find only a crumbling fragment. Where are the five Naumachia, the eleven Nymphæa, the four Circuses, the six great obelisks, the twenty-four libraries, the ten basilicas, the twenty-two bronze horses, the thirty-six triumphal arches, and all the many other edifices? They all lie in ruins, shattered or burned for lime, and destroyed in such a manner that no trace of them remains."

The pain of the orator at this unparalleled destruction grows upon him the longer he dwells on the wonders of ancient Rome. He looks so exclusively at the bright side of antiquity that he rejects as unfounded the accusation that the Romans of old could have carried on unjust wars or oppressed provinces. In the darkest possible colours he paints the "barbarians from Gaul and Germania" who overwhelmed the Roman Empire. In the second part of his writing—for such must his oration be styled—the author dwells on the fame of modern Christian Rome. "Having conquered lands and seas by our arms and won immortal renown by our literature, there only remained for us to win a share in heaven by religion. Thus, even as Numa succeeded Romulus, did religion succeed to the glories of war." Then he enters on enthusiastic praise of the Popes, "who not only represented in part the ancient empire on earth, but founded a new and spiritual empire." No city in the world had promoted Christianity as mightily as had Rome. "This is proved by the number of Popes who have sprung from Rome, by the thousands of martyrs whose relics we venerate to this day on the Latin, Appian, and Ostian ways. If, therefore, the Roman Empire perished as a human work, we must rejoice because its

ruin was the beginning of something new and better. Thus are we born in happier times ; for we do not honour the cruel Mars, the adulterous Jupiter, the corrupt Venus, the deceitful Mercury, but the triune God." All this and much more, he goes on, Rome has owed to the Popes ; but none of them has been so popular as Leo X., whose marble statue was about to be set up. He described with enthusiasm the services of Leo to the city, and extolled his life and good qualities. The Pope had given edifices to the city and saints to heaven ; he had built churches, reformed morals, and restored peace to Rome, and proved himself the father of his country. In conclusion, the orator declared that not to Jupiter would he pray for a long life for the Pope, but to the Capitoline Virgin, the Mother of God.

Even as in this panegyric, so also in a similar work by Matteo Ercolano, the Christian element is given more importance than we should have expected, considering the pagan current which ran through the literature of the time. Ercolano, who, as an old friend of the Medici, experienced the favour of Leo in many ways, confined himself to relating the life of his exalted protector. He gives many interesting particulars in his biography of Leo X., but unfortunately his work reaches only to the fourth year of his pontificate.*

As masters of Ciceronian oratory the first place must be given to Tommaso Inghirami and Camillo Porzio, made Bishop of Teramo by Leo X. These "lights of the Roman Academy," exalted as such by Giovio, had as rivals for the laurels of eloquence Battista Casali, Lorenzo Grana, Blosio Palladio, Sadoleto, Egidio Canisio, Vincenzo Pimpinelli,

* The work *Mathaei Herculani Encomion in Leonem X., P. M., which is often made use of, especially by Fabronius, is in the Laurentian Library at Florence, Plut. LI., Cod. XVI.; *cf.* BANDINIUS, II., 538.

and many other humanists, not a few of whom had the honour of showing their skill before the Pope.*

A learned Frenchman † came to Rome in 1516 who proved to be a formidable rival of Porzio and Casali. Christophe Longueil (latinized into Longolius) attracted to himself many friends, among whom were Bembo and Sadoleto.‡ Those, however, who were hostile to and jealous of the foreigner did not fail to show their venom, and turned on him on account of a speech he had delivered years before (1508) in Poitiers, in which he had maintained the superiority of France over Rome and all Italy. Longueil tried to make amends for this, and at the end of 1518, in Giberti's house, made five speeches in praise of Rome.§ His friends contrived to obtain for him the freedom of the city, but his enemies on their side managed to delay the drawing up of the necessary diploma. When Longueil, after waiting for some time, asked on the 9th of April, 1519, for the fulfilment of the promise, the Conservatori declared that what he had said earlier in depreciation of Rome must first be gone into.‖

Two literary parties bitterly opposed to one another now sprang up: on the one side being the friends of the learned Frenchman, and on the other Roman patriots full of national sentiment, under the leadership of the young

* *Cf.* GNOLI, Un giudizio, 12–16; CIAN, Cortegiano, 204, 210; and GOTHEIN, Kulturentwicklung, 454 *seq.* The discourse delivered by C. Porzio before Leo X., about the King of Portugal, was the occasion of a laudatory epigram. See VOLPICELLA, Heroica M. A. Casanovae, Napoli, 1867, 19 and 40. Blosio's speech on Leo X. is printed in Anecd. lit., II.

† *Cf.* CIAN, XIX., 373 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* SABBADINI, Storia del Ciceronianismo, 53 *seqq.*

§ This is to be found in *Cod. Ottob., 1517, pp. 44–185 of the Vatican Library. *Cf.* GNOLI, Un giudizio, 20 *seq.*

‖ GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 24–28.

Celso Mellini, who was supported by many others.* Jealousy of the ambitious, self-conceited foreigner was all-powerful, and to this there was added an extreme susceptibility as to the greatness of Rome, and the fear of the growth of a foreign humanism which seemed to threaten the literary primacy of Italy. It was maintained quite seriously that Longueil, who was known for his diligence in copying manuscripts, was secretly employed by Erasmus and Budæus to rob the libraries of Rome of their literary treasures.

From the humanists the feeling soon spread to the people, who turned with fanaticism against the French and indeed against all foreigners, whom they styled barbarians. To take a part against Longueil appeared to many in the light of a patriotic duty; a morbid and exaggerated idea of nationality united itself naturally with a biassed Renaissance.† Although the literary aristocracy, represented by Bembo and Sadoleto, placed itself on the side of the foreigner, his adversaries were in an immense numerical superiority, and the waves of excitement rose higher and higher. Even if the dark description of Longueil be exaggerated, it nevertheless speaks for itself that the German colony felt itself in danger, and through the "Anima" repudiated all connection with Longueil.‡

It is highly significant that such an affair should have stirred up an excitement so great, that it has with reason been asserted that the Longueil affair caused more disquietude in Rome in 1519 than did the movement of

* Chief among these was Tommaso Pighinucci di Pietrasanta, the tutor of the sons of Mario Mellini. With GNOLI, 31 *seq.*, 38, *cf.* CIAN, Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 154.

† *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 87.

‡ This statement of Mellini (GNOLI, 41) is worthy of belief, although there is no corresponding document in the Archives of the Anima.

Martin Luther.* The Pope took the side of him who was attacked, and, manifestly under the influence of Bembo and Sadoleto, showed to Longueil, on the 12th of April, 1519, the most unusual tokens of favour.†

On the other side, a formal deed of accusation was drawn up by the opponents of Longueil, by which he was solemnly cited to appear before the senate and people of Rome on the charge of high treason (crimen laesae maiestatis) because of his utterances against Rome and Italy. With "boisterous fervour" a court of justice was assembled, and proceedings were instituted against him on the model of those of ancient Rome, which shows more than could anything else the fantastic dreamland in which many of the humanists lived.‡

Never before had the halls of the Capitol witnessed such a large assembly of learned and literary men as on the day when the trial of Longueil was opened. It is rightly ascribed to the influence of Bembo and Sadoleto that the proposal to take back the freedom of the city given to Longueil was negatived. Nothing, however, could prevent the proposed charge being brought against him, and it was decided that the matter should be discussed by both sides, and public sentence be passed in accordance with the result.§ Thus in yet another form was Rome to live antiquity over again.

Great were the preparations, and greater still was the state of general expectation. Many Cardinals and prelates, and even the Pope, went to the Capitol on the day fixed,

* *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 351, and GNOLI, 40.

† In the first Brief of April 19, 1519, made known by CIAN (Giorn, d. lett. Ital., 378 *seq.*), Longueil was legitimized; in the second he was named Count of the Sacred Palace and Notary Apostolic.

‡ *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 331; see also Kl. Schriften, I., 292 *seqq.*

§ GNOLI, 45–46.

anxious to enjoy the spectacle of a great literary contest. But disappointment awaited them; for Longueil had deemed it prudent to withdraw by secret flight (in the middle of June, 1519) from the wrath of his enemies.*

The clever speech of the young Mellini,† which stirred up the national passions of the Romans, left nothing to be desired in the way of violence. In all seriousness he demanded that, in accordance with the ancient Roman law, his adversary should be put to death, or at least cast into prison as a traitor. Contemporaries testify to the excitement which prevailed,‡ and Baldassare Castiglione is sure that, had Longueil been present, he would have been either thrown from the window, or torn in pieces.§ Mellini's eloquence made an impression on Longueil's friends, and he won by his speech the commendation of Leo X., who was, however, by no means induced to give up his support of Longueil. The Frenchman's defence, which his friends had printed in Rome in August, worked in his favour.‖ In it he treats his cause with great skill; he throws himself into the fiction of an ancient trial, speaks as a republican of old Rome who, finding himself accused before the senate and people, defends himself and endeavours to show that he is not guilty according to the provisions of the Lex Julia. He not only eloquently

* GNOLI, 47–49.

† The speech of Mellini, which was believed to be lost, is in the Vatican Library, *Cod. Vatic., 3370, and has since been printed by GNOLI, 99–118.

‡ *Cf.* especially the letter published by CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 155–156, from A. Gabbioneta to M. Equicola, June 30, 1519.

§ Letter of June 16, 1519, in GNOLI, 54.

‖ This first version of Christ. Longolii civis Ro. perduellionis rei defensio, which has hitherto remained unknown, was discovered in the Angelica Library and published by GNOLI (pp. 121–160), who deserves much credit for the light he has thrown on the whole affair

recalls the greatness of ancient Rome, but points to the spiritual supremacy of the Eternal City as the centre of the Church. "It is true," he says, "that of yore your fathers ruled over a great portion of the world, and although to-day you no longer send forth your prætors and proconsuls, you despatch all over the world your bishops and archbishops—Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, Hungarians, and Englishmen—in short, all men, for all who confess the true religion of Jesus Christ belong to Rome."

An unexpected turn in favour of Longueil was caused by the untimely death of his adversary, Celso Mellini. In November, 1519, he was taking part in one of the Pope's hunting expeditions near Magliana, and on that occasion received a special mark of the favour of the Pope. Overjoyed and anxious to convey the good news to his relatives, he hastened back to Rome; and in the darkness of the night fell into a swollen stream and was drowned. The death of the talented young man caused general sorrow, and many poems were written to his memory. The Pope caused a bridge to be set up on the unlucky spot with a Latin inscription, still preserved, remarkable for its elegant simplicity.*

Meanwhile, Longueil had removed from Paris to Louvain; when there, he visited Erasmus, and the trial conducted so seriously in Rome struck this eminent critic as most strange. In spite of his bitter experience, Longueil could

* GNOLI, after he had finished his work, found this poem in the Alessandrina Library (I K 43): In Celsi Archelai Melini funere amicorum lacrimae. Impressit Romae Ia. Mazochius, and printed it at once in an appendix, p. 165. *Cf.* 73 *seq.* about Mellini's death. See also LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, n. 233. The "giambi insignificanti" (GASPARY-ROSSI, II., 2, 283), which Leo X. had composed as a Cardinal and had engraved on a statue of Lucrezia found in the Trastevere, are printed in ROSCOE-BOSSI, XI., 230-231.

no longer resist his longing to be once more in beautiful Italy; and by the help of Bembo found a quiet refuge, first in Venice, and then in Padua, where he lived on a pension given to him by Leo X., and devoted himself entirely to study. In February, 1520, he had proudly refused a professorship in Florence offered to him by Cardinal Medici through Sadoleto.* In May, 1520, however, he had the satisfaction of receiving the diploma of the freedom of the city of Rome. It was through Bembo that a request was sent to Longueil from the Pope to write against Luther; he did this in the form of five discourses. Bembo and Navagero were full of praises of the work, declaring that Longueil alone had made his way into the Lutheran citadel, by popularizing the theology of the schools. The adverse judgment of Erasmus is more appropriate. In spite of his admiration of the skill with which the learned Frenchman clothed theological ideas in Ciceronian garb, he declared that the freedom of his movements was hampered by the strangeness of the clothing.†

Longueil enjoyed his triumph for a short time only, for, worn out by the strain of work, he died in September, 1522. In a second edition of his "Apology," which became in his hands a model of Ciceronian style, he had set himself against the festival of Pasquino, on which occasion, he said, virtuous people were attacked by anonymous poems.‡ The passage is of importance because it prevented the composition of any satirical pasquinade for a whole year.§ This change was being slowly introduced during the time of Leo X., with the consequence that Pasquino became

* SABBADINI, 56; GNOLI, 62–68.

† *Cf.* GNOLI, 88.

‡ *Ibid.*, 83.

§ *Cf.* LUZIO in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 98, n. 2.

the recognized channel of the ridicule and wit of the Roman satirists.* In essentials, however, the statue preserved its original academic character. It was decorated and dressed up only on the Feast of St. Mark (the 25th of April), when the literati, especially those attending the Roman University, fastened their epigrams to the pedestal. It is interesting to see how the current events of the day and antiquity disputed in their influence on the adornment of Pasquino. In 1512, under Julius II., the statue had been dressed as Mars; in 1513, under Leo X., it appeared as the Belvedere Apollo; in 1514, as Mercury; in 1515, as Orpheus; in 1516, as Proteus; in 1517, the year marked by the intercessory pilgrimages during the Turkish panic, it appeared in the garb of a pilgrim. A professor of the University was always the organizer of the festival, and a Cardinal its patron; and it was a novelty when the Pope—especially significant in the case of Leo X.—busied himself directly about the festival and spent money on it. Among the poems there were, it is true, some which indulged in vagaries and political attacks on the Curia and even on Leo X.; but these last were never directed against the spiritual authority of the Pope as such. On the contrary, Pasquino often attacked the extravagant doctrines of Luther.†

That the lampoons should increase under Leo X. was but one of the consequences of the culture of the time. Rome had always been famous for its satires, both learned and popular; but never since the time of the Emperors

* See Vol. VI. of this work, 117, and FLAMINI, 550, for special literature. It is still undecided who effected the change of an academic into a satiric Pasquino: either Aretino or Antonio Lelio or —as suggests CESAREO (Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXI., 408)—the Roman people. *Cf.* CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 423–424.

† See GNOLI, Storia d. Pasquino, 62 *seqq.*, 75, 283 *seqq.*, 293 *seq.*

had this kind of literature flourished so luxuriantly as now. In the multitude of Latin and Italian satires,* scandal held a perfect orgy.† The "inconceivable liberty" which always prevailed is shown by the fact that repeatedly, and especially in 1513, 1515, 1516, and 1518, satires were spread about, couched in bitter language, and directed, not only against Cardinals, members of the Curia, and especially against the hated Florentines, but against Leo X. himself. Some of these were affixed to Pasquino, but the place where they had been printed was not stated, and the author concealed himself under the veil of anonymity.‡ In 1519 the festival of Pasquino was forbidden, to the great grief of the Roman literati;§ a poem affixed to Pasquino in 1520 deplores the unfortunate position of these men.‖ On the other hand, another pasquinade affords indirect proof that the poets had cause to be satisfied with the liberality of the Pope.¶

If classical antiquity exercised this strong influence on satire and rhetoric, no less did it influence the writing of history, even when written in Italian. Indeed, the Italian historians are more penetrated by the spirit of antiquity than the most ardent Latinist, enamoured

* *Cf.* CESAREO, Nuova Antologia, 3rd Series, LI. (1894), 90 *seqq.*, 105, 534, 537 *seqq.* About one of the most famous satires, the Testamento dell' Elefante, see ROSSI, Intermezzo, I. (1890), n. 28–30. About the Sortes Vergilianae of 1517, see LUZIO-RENIER in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLII., 87 *seqq.* In the same, Leo X. is handled with great irreverence.

† *Cf.* CESAREO, *loc. cit.*, 216–217.

‡ *Cf.* CESAREO, *loc. cit.*, 522 *seqq.*, 528; CIAN, Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 335 *seqq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, *ibid.*, XIX., 93, and PERCOPO, *ibid.*, XXVIII., 49 *seqq.*

§ SANUTO, XXVII., 273.

‖ GNOLI, 33.

¶ See for this in CESAREO, Leone X. e Maestro Pasquino, 199.

of Livy.* The greater ones were personally known to Leo X., though he did not live to see the completion of their histories.

Francesco Guicciardini, who must be mentioned first, wrote his immortal History of Italy long after the days of Leo X.; but had, under the influence of the important events which were going on, mapped out the plan of his work during the lifetime of the Medici Pope.† From being an adversary of the Medici, he became their warm adherent when he was sent to Cortona to meet the Pope on his way to Bologna. Leo soon recognized the great talent of the highly-gifted man, and appointed Guicciardini consistorial advocate, and in 1516 made him Governor of Modena and Reggio.‡ It was his political advice that Leo should put on one side all other dangerous enterprises, for the sake of establishing a firm dominion in Florence, even under the outward semblance of republicanism.§

Machiavelli's ideas were quite different. This genial writer, as indifferent morally as Guicciardini, ranks with his compatriot by his most important works, "Discourses on the Roman History of Livy," and "The Art of War," which date from the time of Leo X. Machiavelli had been involved in the conspiracy of the Boscoli, and owed his pre-

* *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 3rd ed., 290.

† About Guicciardini as an historian, see besides RANKE'S well-known criticisms, Zur Kritik, 1 *seqq.*; BENOIST, Guichardin historien et homme d'état Ital., Paris, 1862; GEBHART, Les historiens florentins de la Renaissance, Paris, 1875. *Cf.* also GEOFFROY in the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1861 and 1874; TRÉVERRET, L'Italie au XVIe siècle, 2nd Series: L'Arioste; Guichardin, Paris, 1879; GIODA, Guicciardini e le sue opere ined., Napoli, 1880; FLAMINI, 42 *seq.*, and 351; VILLARI, Machiavelli, III., 2, 481; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXX., 497 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschrift, LXXVIII., 207 *seq.*; CHIESI, 95 *seq.*

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 43, n. 1.

§ VILLARI-HEUSLER, Machiavelli, II., 48 *seq.*

servation to the clemency of Leo X.; he now lived in the country near Florence, occupied with literature. At the end of 1513 he finished his famous book "Il Principe," which he dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, in the hopes of obtaining employment from him;* the plan fell through owing to the opposition of Cardinal Medici; and in February, 1515, the latter expressly warned Giuliano against taking Machiavelli into his service.† However, the historian succeeded later in entering on closer relations with the Medici. In 1519 he received a request from Cardinal Giulio to give him his opinion in writing as to the best ways and means of improving the government of Florence. This opinion was to be submitted to the Pope, who, at that time, after the death of Lorenzo, was planning a re-arrangement of Florentine affairs. Machiavelli excused himself from complying with the request, because he advocated the restoration of the Republic, though in such a manner that Leo X. and Cardinal Medici would remain the real lords for as long as they lived.‡ When this singular opinion was set aside in Rome better days began to dawn for Machiavelli, in so far that at last he received some commissions from the Cardinal; but they were so insignificant that they humiliated him more than they benefited him.§ A real proof of favour on the part of the Medici was shown him for the first time in November, 1520, when, for the consideration of an income of 100 gulden, he was charged with the writing of a history of

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 161 *seq.*

† Manoscr. Torrig., XIX., 231.

‡ Discorso sopra il riformar lo stato di Firenze, fatto ad istanza di P. Leone [actually only indirectly, and asked directly only through the Cardinal; see VILLARI-HEUSLER, II., 51, 52, 58.] Opere, IV., 105 *seqq.* *Cf.* GIODA, Machiavelli, Firenze, 1874, 159 *seqq.*; FESTER, 121.

§ VILLARI-HEUSLER, II., 58 *seq.*

Florence. This arrangement was in great part due to the far-seeing Cardinal Giulio, who, as Archbishop of Florence, was at the head of the University, and in virtue of a Bull of Leo X. of the 31st of January, 1515, had the power of conferring academic degrees and dignities.* This historical work of Machiavelli was never seen by Leo; but, on the other hand, he read a part at least of that written by Paolo Giovio.

Paolo Giovio, the third of the great national historians, who described the age of Leo X., was born at Como in 1483, had been the pupil of Pomponazzi in Padua, and had at Pavia gained a doctor's degree in medicine.† The fame of the liberality of the Medici Pope lured him to Rome.‡ There he went on with his practice of medicine,§ though he was really far more interested in the study of contemporary history. Few places in the world are so well suited for this study as is the Eternal City. The items of news which were always streaming in from all parts were discussed by Giovio with a friend who took the same unbounded interest as himself in news of this kind. This was Marino Sanuto, the author of the great collection of diaries which form such an inexhaustible fund for the making of contemporary history. Giovio planned a great

* VILLARI-HEUSLER, II., 110 *seq.*

† *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 242 *seqq.*

‡ From TIRABOSCHI (*loc. cit.*) onward to GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 314) it was accepted that Giovio came first to Rome in 1516. But the fact is that Giovio was a professor at the Roman University as early as 1514 (see *infra*). *Cf.* also his letter from Rome in May, 1514 (MARINI, Lettera, 111); letter to Sanuto, dat. Bologna, 1515, Dec. 15 (SANUTO, XXI., 391 *seqq.*) See also CIAN in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 333 *seqq.*

§ For a knowledge of Giovio's character, *cf.* the very important and not sufficiently known publication of LUZIO, Lettere di Giovio, 21 and 47 *seqq.* See also MARINI, Lettere, 43.

historical work which was to comprise all countries. His project was to narrate in Latin all the occurrences of the world which had taken place since the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy. A more suitable beginning could not have been chosen than this event, which led to a complete dislocation in the condition of the States of Europe.* A portion of this work was finished as early as 1514; and Giovio had the honour of reading it to Leo X., who was immensely pleased. Since Livy, he is reported to have said, no one has written so elegantly and fluently. Knighthood and a professorship at the Roman University† were the immediate rewards of the fortunate author, who accompanied the Pope to Bologna in 1515. Thence he wrote to Sanuto that he could think of nothing but the completion and publication of his work.‡ It was not, however, till 1550, two years before his death, that Giovio's book began to appear in print. Copies in manuscript had already been circulated; but Giovio worked on indefatigably at improving the work, and turned in all directions for fresh material.§

Giovio's work shared the fate of all important histories, and was subjected to very divers judgments; belauded by some to the heavens, by many others it was equally depreciated. These attacks Giovio has made public in his too frank confessions both by word and letter. As a true humanist he was profoundly convinced that he was the

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 434 *seq.*

† Giovio was made professor of rhetoric. It would have been more suitable had he been given the post mentioned on p. 223 *supra.* This was received by F. Maddaleni di Capodiferro, celebrated for his poems. RENAZZI, II., 14, 234–235. This appointment illustrated the casual and dilettante character of Leo's patronage. It was not Giovio, but a poet who had to be supported, who received the post.

‡ SANUTO, XXI., 393; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 242 *seqq.*

§ *Cf.* LUZIO, Lettere, 8, 17 *seqq.*

dispenser of fame, and wished to make his work as useful as possible. With cynical vaunting he declared that he had written according as he had been paid, and had therefore clothed some in gold brocade and others in sackcloth.* The same man who expressed opinions so reprehensible in a historian, spoke bitter home-truths to his greatest patron, although he was being constantly and richly remunerated by him. His work became the model and chief source drawn on by all political writers of that time in Italy, though the book was censured by many, simply from envy.†

Giovio's history throws valuable light on the moral aspect of his own life.‡ Some confidential letters in the years 1522 and 1523 prove that at that time Giovio led the same life of enjoyment as was led by so many of his contemporaries.§ But besides the pleasures of a lower sort which the Rome of Leo X. afforded, there were others which were more noble. Among these, the one to which Giovio devoted himself was that of collecting works of art, especially portraits, which were the beginning of his museum, at a later date so famous.‖ He delighted,

* For these and other passages, see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 247 *seq.* *Cf.* the highly characteristic letter in LUZIO, 23, who at p. 13 draws this conclusion: "Non dunque una sfacciata venalità ma un desiderio molto pratico di non lavorare per la sola gloria."

† *Cf.* RANKE, Zur Kritik, 72 *seq.* See also LUZIO, 23, n. 1; CIAN, Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 356; and SANESI, the Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXIII., 260 *seq.*

‡ This has already been pointed out by ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 367. *Cf.* also REUMONT, III., 2, 340.

§ See LUZIO, Lettere, 11, 21, 27 *seqq.* The character of Giovio is drawn by CIAN, most excellently and in a few lines, in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 278 *seqq.*

‖ *Cf.* FOSSATI, Il Museo Gioviano, Como, 1892; MÜNTZ, Le musée de portraits de P. Jove, Paris, 1900; CIAN, Giorn. d. lett. Ital.

moreover, in social intercourse with all the intellectual and learned men who lived in the Eternal City. The memory of the joyous time which Giovio then spent in Rome, lights up, like a gleam of sunshine, the picture drawn by him of his exalted patron and his own æsthetic enjoyment of life. However much this history, in which the darker side of the Medici Pope is almost entirely overlooked, may be open to criticism, it makes us understand how for a whole century it influenced the reading world of the West. In no other work is there put before us in such vivid colours that joyous and brilliant spirit of the time of Leo X., in which the enjoyment of antiquity interwove itself with and stamped all other enjoyments, and gave such a special mark to life in Rome.*

XXVIII., 174 *seqq.*; HAGELSTANGE, Holzschnittsporträts der Visconti, in Anz. des germ. Museums, 1904; and F. SERVAES in the Neuen Freien Presse, 1905, No. 14508.

* *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, I., 3rd ed., 231, 265. He remarks in another place (II., 3rd ed., 51) that "the spirit of the age permeates his pages; his Leo, his Alfonso, his Pompeo Colonna, live and move before us, truly and forcibly, even though their innermost nature is kept hidden from us." See also GEIGER, in the Zeitschr. f. Renaissance-Lit., I., 150.

CHAPTER VI.

STUDY OF ANTIQUITY.—RAPHAEL AND THE PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME.—ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE STUDY OF GREEK.—THE VATICAN LIBRARY AND THE ROMAN UNIVERSITY.

LEO'S classical tendencies must have benefited the science of antiquity. One of its chief representatives, Latino Giovenale Manetti, was soon known as Bembo's friend.* No less close were the relations which bound this noble patrician, who was also of some note as a poet, with Sadoleto, Sanga, Trissino, Castiglione, and especially with Cardinal Bibbiena.† It is certain that at that time Manetti laid the foundation of his collection of statues which made his house in the Campo de' Fiori a resort for all sight-seers. This man, as learned as he was clever, was often employed by Leo X. on diplomatic missions; in 1514 he was sent to Ferrara, in 1515 to northern Italy, in 1516 to Germany, and in 1517 to Venice.‡ Several benefices, among others a canonry of St. Peter's, were the reward of his faithful services.§

In 1521 Leo X. had the joy of seeing the appearance in print of the first collection of Roman topographical inscriptions. Jacopo Mazocchi,|| the indefatigable printer

* *Cf. supra*, p. 194.

† *Cf.* MARINI, I., 384 *seq.*; CIAN, Cortegiano, 229.

‡ *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 7504, 12,009, 16,331; MARINI, I., 384, 385, II., 353; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 49, 52; CHIESI, 34.

§ See Regest. Leonis X., n. 7948, 16,331.

|| About Mazocchi, see LANCIANI, I., 183, 201.

of the Roman University, who was himself a learned man, published it. The Pope, by whom Mazocchi was always gladly received, had by privilege protected the work against piracy on November 30, 1517. This collection, in which the previous works of the Veronese Fra Giocondo and Pietro Sabino were utilized, was compiled by the learned Canon, Francesco Albertini, the author of the little work dedicated to Julius II. "on the marvels of ancient and modern Rome."* It embraces both ancient and early Christian inscriptions, and is, as can be easily understood, neither correct nor perfect; nevertheless, it deserves high commendation, and rescued many fragments, since lost, introducing a new epoch in Roman epigraphy.†

An interest in Egyptian antiquities was springing up, having been apparently awakened by the obelisks in Rome. Pierio Valeriano, who was also a poet, busied himself with the symbolism of the hieroglyphics, and published an important work on them. In 1521 Leo entrusted Valeriano, who was versed in Latin and Greek literature, with the education of his nephews Ippolito and Alessandro.‡

Andrea Fulvio, who, in an official document, is explicitly called "an antiquarian," belongs also to the time of the Medici Pope. As early as 1513, he dedicated to Leo X. a description of the antiquities of Rome, written in Latin

* *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 501 *seq.*

† See HENZEN in the Monatsberichten der Berl. Akad., 1868, 403 *seqq.*

‡ About Pierio Valeriano (Giampietro Bolzani), *cf.* TICOZZI, Storia dei lett. del dipartimento della Piave, Belluno, 1813, 85 *seqq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 220 *seqq.*; ROSCOE-BOSSI, X., 115 *seqq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 307 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 445, XXXIX., 233 *seqq.*; G. CALI, Della vita e delle opere di Giov. Pierio Valeriano, Catania, 1901.

hexameters.* A description of the ancient city in prose was, by the special direction of the Pope, made from this; it appeared in the time of Clement VII., and formed an important step in the knowledge of antiquity. In 1517 Fulvio brought out a book on numismatics, the excellent wood-cuts of which were protected against imitation by a special Papal privilege.† Full of gratitude, the learned antiquary eulogized the Medici Pope in a Latin poem, as the ornament of the Roman See, and dedicated to him an eclogue on the Nativity of Christ.‡

The extensive learning of Fulvio was as highly appreciated by Raphael as it was by the Pope. The great painter repaid the services which Fulvio rendered him by his antiquarian studies, by standing his friend as an architectural expert. Fulvio was not the only one whose knowledge was utilized by Raphael, who was so indefatigable in learning everything he could on every kind of subject. He had, for instance, had Vitruvius translated into Italian by the aged Mario Fabio Calvo of Ravenna.§ Raphael || visited the remains of ancient Rome with these two companions, being often joined by Baldas-

* Antiquaria Urbis per A. Fulvium, Romae (J. Mazochius), 1513; Panzer, VIII., 252; Graesse, Trésor, II., 646.

† A. Fulvius, Illustrium imagines, Romae (J. Mazochius), 1517, 8vo. In this copyright Leo bestows the highest praise on the publisher. This publication is one of the chief examples of wood-cuts executed in Rome in the time of Leo X. It is worthy of the examination of an expert.

‡ *Cod. 15,429, f. 1–4 of the Court Library, Vienna.

§ *Cod. ital., 37, *a*, *b*, *c*., Court Library, Munich. In opposition to the doubt raised by GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 309), LANCIANI (Rendiconti d. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. scienze mor., 5th Series, III., 803) considers it certain that the marginal notes of the manuscript are written by Raphael himself. About Calvo, see *Mazzuchelli in Cod. Vatic., 9263, f. 275*b*, Vatican Library.

|| *Cf.* LOEWY, in Archiv. stor. dell' arte, 1896, 241 *seq.*

sare Castiglione, the cultured diplomatist who always took such a lively interest in everything that was going on in Rome at that time. In this little circle a project was started into which Leo X. threw himself with zest. This was nothing less than the making of a great archæological plan of ancient Rome with explanatory text, worked out from existing remains, new excavations, and the testimony of ancient writers. This was the origin of the letter * on the antiquities of Rome, addressed to Leo X., and ascribed first to Castiglione, later to Raphael, and by others to Fulvio or Fra Giocondo. No doubt the correct view to take is that this highly-interesting document embodies the ideas of Raphael, put into shape by the experienced pen of Castiglione.†

* There are two versions of this: the one, published from a manuscript of Sc. Maffei, appeared first in the Paduan edition of the works of Castiglione, 1733, and was published separately by P. E. Visconti (Roma, 1834), and again by PASSAVANTI (Raffael, I., 539). Schmeller found in the Court Library, Munich, a second and somewhat later version, with a few important differences and additions, published by PASSAVANTI, III., 43 *seqq.* I agree with REUMONT, III., 2, 358 *seqq.*, in following the second version, dating from the last period of Raphael's life. GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 310) fixes the letter in 1518 or 1519.

† The original opinion, that Castiglione composed the report, was successfully combated by D. FRANCESCONI (Congettura che una lettera credita di B. Castiglione sia di Raffaello d'Urbino, Firenze, 1799). Since then Raphael has been regarded as the real author. At first H. Grimm tried to prove the impossibility of this (see Zahn's Jahrbücher für Kunstwissensch., 1871, 67 *seqq.*). Whereas this Berlin student maintained that Fulvio was the author, Springer inclined to its being Fra Giocondo. Against both of these MÜNTZ, (Raphaël, 604 *seqq.*) strongly urged the claims of Raphael. Müntz has most happily disposed of the chronological difficulties which seemed at first to upset Raphael's claims to authorship. That the actual form belongs to Castiglione is no more denied by Müntz than it is by Francesconi. The same opinion is held by PLATNER, I., 266; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IX., 265, XI., 172 *seq.*; GRUYER, Raphaël et l'antiquité, .I,

The document is marked by the most ardent veneration for antiquity and its wonderful remains in Rome, the "Queen of the world." Therefore, the "Goths and Vandals" and the "shameless barbarians" who, in their ignorance, have destroyed the witnesses of the greatness and power of the ancient Romans, so that nothing remains but the skeleton stripped of its flesh, are all condemned. If in this Raphael adheres to the unhistorical ideas which prevailed at the end of the Middle Ages,* he is impartial enough to bear in mind the guilt of the Romans themselves, both during that period and at the time of the Renaissance. With noble candour he goes on to say: "How many Popes, Holy Father, possessing the same dignity as Your Holiness, but not the same knowledge, ability, and high-mindedness, whereby you bear within you the image of God—how many have demolished the ancient temples, statues, triumphal arches, and other magnificent buildings! How many have ordered the foundations to be dug for the sake of the puzzolano, quite regardless that the fall of the superstructure must follow! How many have reduced ancient pillars and marble ornaments to lime! The new Rome, which we now see standing in all its beauty and grandeur, adorned with palaces, churches, and other buildings, is built throughout with the lime obtained in this way from ancient marbles." Full of grief, Raphael contemplates how, even since his own twelve years' sojourn in the Eternal City, the ruins of the so-called Meta of Romulus in the Castle of St. Angelo, the arches at the entrance of the Baths of Diocletian, the Temple of Ceres in the Via Sacra, and, quite recently, a portion of

452; REUMONT, III., 2, 358; JANITSCHEK in Lit. Zentralblatt, 1882, 516; MINGHETTI (168) and LANCIANI (792, n. 2) in the treatise mentioned, *infra*, p. 248 n.

* *Cf.* GRISAR, Geschichte Roms., I., 94.

the Forum of Nerva, as well as a number of the columns, friezes, and architraves, and the greater part of the basilicas in the Roman Forum, had been destroyed: "a barbarity which dishonours our age, and worse than which Hannibal could not have done." Raphael therefore appeals to the Pope to protect the remains of "the great mother of fame and the greatness of Italy," so that the witnesses of the dignity and genius of those "sublime minds, the very thought of which stirs up those yet alive to higher things, may not be spoiled and destroyed by the evil-minded and ignorant."

With characteristic boldness Raphael makes an intellectual survey of the development of architecture in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and during the Renaissance. To him the antique is the one model to which no one has since attained; he holds German Gothic architecture as so much rubbish in comparison.* There follows an explanation based on the observation and measurement of ancient buildings.†

It was his intention to complete the plan of the city in fourteen sheets, each of which was to embrace one of the regions of the Emperor Augustus. In fixing the boundaries of these, Raphael had the assistance of Andrea Fulvio as well as Mario Fabio Calvo.‡ Contemporaries

* It is worthy of notice that, in spite of the depreciation of Gothic architecture, shared by Raphael with most of his fellow-countrymen, "a gleam of appreciation of Teutonic architecture is perceptible in him." See REUMONT, III., 2, 359; *cf.* MÜNTZ, 608 *seqq.* See also Mitteil. der k. k. Zentralkomm. in Vienna, III. (1858), 321 *seqq.* Raphael's contempt for everything Gothic was connected with his aversion for "the barbarians"; see MESTICA, La cultura ed i sentimenti politici di Raffaello, in the Nuova Antologia, 1899, Feb. 16.

† *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 3rd ed., 231.

‡ Besides KÜHLEN (Calvo and Calcagnini, in connection with Raphael, in the Kunstbl., 1844, Nos. 46–47), *cf.* especially LANCIANI, La

ascribed the whole work to Raphael alone, and all friends of antiquity followed its progress with the greatest interest. The learned Celio Calcagnini, who in a Latin poem extolled the "inspired" excavating of ruined Rome,* wrote to his friend Jakob Ziegler: "Raphael is at present occupied with an admirable work which will be the wonder of posterity. He is drawing plans of the city of Rome which reproduce almost in their entirety its ancient aspect, its former extent, and the exact details of each part. For this purpose he has caused excavations to be made in the hills and among deep-lying foundations, comparing the results obtained with the descriptions and measurements of ancient writers. This work has impressed Pope Leo and all classes of Romans with such admiration that the

pianta di Roma antica e i disegni archeol. di Raffaello Sanzio, in the Rendic. d. R. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. scienze mor., 5th Series, III. (1894), 795 *seqq.* After Raphael's death his friends continued the work through Fulvio as far as the text was concerned, while Calvo worked at the drawings. The "Antiquitates" of Fulvio and the Plan of Calvo appeared in 1527. Of the latter (M. Fabius Calvus, Antiquae Urbis cum regionibus Simulachrum, Romae, Ludov. Vicentinus, 1527). Lanciani has discovered the only copy which has escaped destruction, in the Libr. Vitt. Eman. (Collez. Rom., 3, G. 21). According to the opinion of the above-named student, we must recollect that Calvo and Raphael carried on their researches into Roman topography in the closest union, the reason being that the fatherhood of the work, excellent in idea, though faulty in execution, belonged entirely to Raphael. Calvo's Plan was that one, the publication of which was expected, when he once co-operated with and worked under the patronage of Raphael. The many efforts (*cf.* ROSSI, Piante di Roma, 113) to find Raphael's autograph on it remained unsuccessful, according to Lanciani, because it had never existed. C. V. FABRICZY (Repert f. Kunstwiss., XIX., 494 *seq.*) seems inclined to agree with this conclusion. Aretino's ridicule of the Plan is mentioned by GNOLI, Secolo, II., 650.

* ROSCOE-BOSSI, XI., 93 n. *Cf.* also the verses of Caius Silvanus Germanicus, quoted by GNOLI in the Arch. dell. Arte, II., 250.

originator is looked upon as a more than mortal being, sent down from heaven to restore to the Eternal City her pristine glory." * Great, therefore, in proportion to their expectations, was the grief of the educated world when Raphael's premature death interrupted his labours. In verses that attained celebrity Castiglione bewailed the envious fate that had snatched from their midst the resuscitator of the Rome of old.† The noble Venetian, Marcantonio Michiel, emphasized, in a letter of April 15th, 1520, the loss sustained in an equal degree by painting as well as architecture: "What Ptolemy did for the world, Raphael has done for the ancient buildings of Rome, restoring their form, proportions, and ornaments so clearly that to look on his drawings is, seemingly, to gaze on the ancient city. He has already finished the first Region, reproducing not only the ground-plan and situation of the buildings according to measurements obtained by careful examination of their remains, but also their façade, from data afforded by a close study of Vitruvius, and of the rules of ancient architecture, along with a comparison of the early writers."‡

While classical studies were thus pursued with ardour in Leonine Rome, philosophy and theology had to content themselves with a modest status. The dangerous trend of opinion which Pietro Pomponazzi had followed in the former domain of study had led to his condemnation in the Lateran Council.§

* C. CALCAGNINI, Opera, Basil., 1544, 101. About Calcagnini, *cf.* LUZIO-RENIER in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXV., 240 *seq.*

† B. Castil. Carmina, Romae, 1760, 150; ROSCOE-BOSSI, XI., 92.

‡ SANUTO, XXVIII., 424.

§ See Vol. V. of this work, 155 *seq.*, and *infra*, p. 389 *seq.* It is remarkable what distinction Pomponazzi enjoyed in spite of his condemnation. *Cf.* Costa in the Atti p. l., Romagna, 1903, 287 ff. Bembo,

Pomponazzi's keenest opponent, Agostino Nifo,* received a call from Leo X. to the Roman University; he was repeatedly marked out for honours and titles by the Pope.† While Nifo was chiefly busied with the writings of Aristotle, Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola stepped forward as an opponent of the Stagirite and as an enthusiastic admirer of Plato. In other respects also these two men of learning stood poles asunder; Nifo supported lax ethical views; Pico was a man of stern morality. Leo X. showed repeated marks of sympathy with Pico in the misfortune which he had to fight against; the latter, in grateful recognition, dedicated to the Pope his work on Divine Love.‡ Special mention ought to be made here of Egidio Canisio of Viterbo, who was made a Cardinal by Leo X., as the composer of a work in which he sought to expound a philosophy of secular and ecclesiastical history before and after the Incarnation.§ The whole is a curious and

it is well known, interceded with the Pope for Pomponazzi. About Cardinal Medici as an opponent of the book against Immortality, see Atti, p. l., Romagna, VI., 148.

* *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 339 *seq.*, and IX., 305; MARINI, Archiatri, I., 289, and Lettera, 40; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IX., 111 *seqq.*, 229 *seq.*, XII., 239; TUOZZI, A Nifo e le sue opere, in the Atti d. Accad. di Padova, N. S., XX., (1904). The opinion recently supported by CORSO in the Riv. calab, X., 1902, that Nifo was born in Ioppolo (Iopolo) must be mistaken.

† See MARINI, Archiatri, I., 289. Concerning the philosopher Francesco Diaceto, patronized by Leo X., see CIAN, Cortegiano, 83; about the Spanish philosopher, Juan Montesdoch, who was summoned to Rome, see Atti, p. l., Romagna, 1903, 293 *seqq.*; *cf.* Appendix, No. 2.

‡ *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 355. For Gianfrancesco Pico, see also this work, Vol. V., 216, VI., 342, 616, and VII., p. 5 *seq.* The dedication copy of his writing, "De divino amore," is in the Laurentian Library; see BANDINIUS, III., 518.

§ Historia viginti saeculorum per totidem psalmos conscripta; Cod. C 8, 19, of the Angelica Library at Rome. This MS. (*cf.* NARDUCCI,

often confused medley * of historical narrative and philosophical, philological, moral, exegetical and allegorical commentaries; the latter treat of the prophecies of the Old Testament. Not only are the autobiographical passages valuable, but also the copious information concerning contemporary Popes. On many of them he passes judgment with a noble candour which contrasts strangely with the unstinted praise which he lavishes, like an accomplished courtier, on Leo X. This work also claims particular attention, as showing how deeply humanist ideas had affected the views even of ecclesiastics of rigid orthodoxy.†

The Neapolitan Ambrogio Fiandino, of the Augustinian

Catal., 177; see also the same, 223, for Cod. D 8, 6.) I have made use of. PÉLISSIER, Rev. d. Biblioth., II., 238 *seqq.*, quotes from an MS. in the National Library, Naples (IX., B. 14, *cf.* OSSINGER, 194; Montfaucon, I., 232), in which he sees the original. Another and third MS., which Pélissier came across, is to be found in the Dresden Library; this HÖFLER made use of (Archiv f. österr. Gesch., 1854, 378 *seq.*). Leo Africanus, the Arab geographer, was in 1517 captured and delivered up to the Pope; he was converted to Christianity, Leo X. conferring his own name upon him and granting him a pension. His work on Africa is still of value: German translation by LORSBACH, Merkwurdige Beschreibung von Africa, Bd. I., Herborn, 1805; English by R. BROWN, in works issued by the Hakluyt Soc., 1st Series, n. 92-94, London, 1906; French by A. SCHEFER, Paris, 1896-99.

* I cannot support the conjecture that the work—as we have it—is probably only a first draft.

† *Cf.* the keen and searching criticism of PÉLISSIER, De opere historico Aegidii card. Viterb., Hist. viginti saecul., Monspelii, 1896. The work is not so generally unknown as Pélissier thinks. On the contrary, it has often been used; thus, by Victorellus in CIACONIUS, II., 551, 590; MANNI, Anni Santi, 48; GEORGIUS, Nicolaus V., 66, 76; BALUZE, Vitae, I, 625; further by HÖFLER, *loc. cit.*; LAEMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 66 *seq.*; TOMMASINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 77; and lastly in the present work, Vols. I. to VI. The panegyrical remarks of Egidio on Leo X. are quite appropriate to the letter of the latter, which ULLMANN quotes, Studien, 95 *seq.*

Order, who was appointed suffragan Bishop of Mantua by Leo in 1517, forms a link between philosophy and theology; Fiandino also wrote several books against Luther. The first work which appeared against Luther in Italy came from the Order which also in Germany produced so many opponents of the Wittenberg reformer.* It was by Silvestro Prierias, Leo's Master of the Sacred Palace; of his activity we have already spoken.† To these names may be added, among Luther's earliest antagonists in Italy, those of the Dominicans, Ambrogio Catarino and Tommaso Rhadino, professors at the University of Rome, and also the Venetian Christoforo Marcello.‡ The pre-eminence in theology must undoubtedly be accorded to Cardinal Cajetan among the celebrities of the Court of Leo X. Almost all the writings of this remarkable man, who was called by Clement VII. the "light of the Church," were composed in Rome. Cajetan's reputation rests chiefly on his classical commentary on the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas, and on his learned treatise on the authority of Popes and Councils, which had already been composed under Julius II. He was also the author of many occasional pamphlets, in which he defended, with great moderation and sound

* *Cf.* PAULUS, Die Deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther (1518, bis 1563), Freiburg i. Br., 1903. To the Dominican Order also belonged Sante Pagnini da Lucca, whose translation of the Bible was eagerly encouraged by Leo X. RENAZZI, II., 13-14.

† Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 363 *seq.*, 392 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* for these and also others, KALKOFF, Aleander, 221, and Forschungen, 176 *seq.* For Catarino, *cf.* besides Kirchenlexicon, II., 2nd ed., 2053, also MARINI, Lettera, 28, and LAEMMER, Vortrid. Theol., 21; see also FRAKNÓI, Verböczi, 160 *seq.*, and *supra*, p. 24. For the Dominican Pietro Colonna, named Galatino from his home, who wrote, in 1518, a treatise on "Catholic Truth" against the Jews, see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 308.

judgment, the ancient teaching of the Church against the Lutheran innovations.* Along with Cajetan, Alberto Pio di Carpi may also be mentioned as a distinguished theologian in his day. Carpi, like many other learned men who were also strong churchmen, was an opponent of Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most celebrated and the most noteworthy scholar of his age.†

Erasmus, during his sojourn in Rome in 1509, was on a familiar footing with the Cardinals and also a frequent visitor at the palace of Giovanni de' Medici. On intimate terms they could hardly have ever been, which explains why, on the elevation of Leo to the Papacy, no invitation was given to Erasmus to accompany him to Rome. Erasmus, however, himself allowed full two years to pass before he renewed his relations with Leo. Then he certainly gave way to the coarsest flattery and most abject servility. From London, on the 28th of April, 1515, he addressed a long and inflated letter to the Pope. He begins by making excuses for his boldness in approaching a man who is now as highly exalted over his fellow-men as they are over the brute creation. "Oh! that it were granted to me to prostrate myself at your blessed feet, and to impress my kisses on them." After this preamble Erasmus indulges in the loudest strains of praise of the whole house of Medici, and of the Pope, their most illustrious member, who has equal claims to be considered the patron

* See JÄGER, "Kajetans kampf gegen die lutherische Lehrform, aus seinen Traktaten dargelegt," in Niedners Zeitschrift. f. histor. Theol., 1858, 431 *seqq.* *Cf.* also Echard et Quétif, II., 14 *seq.*; HURTER, Nomenclator; WERNER, Der Hl. Thomas von Aquin, III., 251 *seq.*; SCHEEBEN in Kirchenlexicon, III., 2nd ed., 1675 *seq.*; JENKINS, Pre-Tridentine Doctrine; a review of the Commentary on the Scriptures of Thomas de Vio, London, 1891, and A. COSSIO, Il. Card. Gaetano e la riforma, I., Cividade, 1902.

† *Cf.* HESS, I., 301 *seq.*

of science as well as the prince of peace. As a special favour he begs permission to dedicate his edition of St. Jerome to the Sovereign Pontiff.*

Such a tribute of homage from the most celebrated humanist of the day must have been a cause of the most pleasurable satisfaction to the Medici Pope. He accepted the dedication of the St. Jerome and also that of the Greek New Testament; at the same time he introduced Erasmus to Henry VIII. of England.† Still, a summons to the Papal Court, which Erasmus, who was then longing to revisit Rome, might have expected, did not come. On the other hand, Leo X. complied with another request which the notable scholar had tendered through the English Nuncio, Andreas Ammonius. Erasmus had dispensed himself from his monastic vows and had fallen under excommunication; further, owing to his illegitimate birth, he was disqualified for Church preferment. These were difficult circumstances in which Papal favour would be helpful; therefore, Erasmus pledged his word that, for the future, he would never publish a sheet which did not set forth the praise of the good and great Pope Leo.‡

What importance was attached in Rome to the gratification of the wishes of the first literary celebrity of the day may be seen in the delicate and considerate way in which his petitions were granted. At the end of January, 1517, three dispensations were issued, two of which were so worded that no one could infer that Erasmus's birth was in any way tainted, or why he had incurred ecclesiastical censure.§

* ERASMI, Op. III., 1, 149; HARTFELDER, Erasmus, 129 *seq.*

† ERASMI, Op. III., 1, 156 *seq.*

‡ ERASMI, Op. III., 1, 159; HARTFELDER, 131.

§ One Brief is in ERASMI, Op. III., 1, 166. The two others are to be found in VISCHER, Erasmiana, 26 *seqq.*; *cf.* also JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18th ed., 7, n. 3, and HARTFELDER, 132 *seq.*

Erasmus promised, in his letter of thanks, to be bound "hand and foot" henceforward to promote the glory of the Pope who had brought back the "golden age" of piety and learning.*

The subsequent relations between the greatest scholar and the greatest patron of learning of the age remained unimpaired. They were not altered even when rumours were rife in Rome pointedly accusing Erasmus of being the instigator and encourager of the Lutheran errors. That his conduct in this respect was open to attack was felt even by Erasmus himself. He therefore made haste to clear himself from any sort of suspicion by the strongest assurances of loyalty; with great adroitness he struck a note in his apologetic writings which was sure to find an echo in the mind of Leo X. He represented his opponents as the enemies of learning; they only attacked him because he made the cause of learning his own. "From their birth these men have hated the Muses and the Graces; they wage an endless war against studies which they are incapable of understanding; likewise they cry, Religion—of which they consider themselves naturally to be the pillars—is in danger." But through all Erasmus is determined in his writings to keep clear of error; he asserts with emphasis: "However insignificant my talents may be, they are dedicated once and for all to Christ; to His glory alone are they devoted, and to the service of the Roman Church and its head; especially to the service of Your Holiness, to whom I am under endless obligation."†

As his accusers, with Aleander at their head, were far from being silenced, Erasmus turned once more to the Pope himself. Dishonest men, he writes to the latter on the

* HARTFELDER, 133.

† Letter of August 13, 1519, ERASMI, Op. III., 1, 490; *cf.* HARTFELDER, 134 *seq.*

13th of September, 1520, in their enmity towards the beauty of learning, seek to calumniate him as the champion of Reuchlin and Luther. Nothing is more untrue; he has no acquaintance with Luther; he has not even read his writings, with the exception of some ten or twelve pages, on which he bestowed only a casual glance. He admits that this scanty perusal gave him the impression that Luther had it in him to become a Biblical interpreter after the manner of the ancients; but as soon as he became aware of the uneasiness which he was causing, he felt such aversion that he persuaded the printer Froben, with threats, to discontinue the issue of such works. Moreover, he had earnestly begged his friends to exhort Luther to observe moderation and the interests of the peace of the Church. "Two years before, when Luther first wrote to me, I reminded him in affectionate terms of what I wished him to avoid; would that he had listened to that advice! I apprehend that this letter was conveyed to Your Holiness, with the result that I have forfeited your esteem, although, really, it ought rather to have secured to me the Papal approval." Finally, Erasmus defended himself against the objection that he had not yet written anything against Luther. In the first place, he had not had time to make a thorough study of Luther's writings, neither had he the necessary qualifications; further, he had no wish to anticipate the theological faculties who were occupied with the matter lastly, he admitted the principal cause of his silence: his fear lest he should draw down upon himself an ever-increasing weight of odium.*

This letter seems to have had the desired effect, at least as regards Leo X. The latter, replying on the 16th of January, 1521, said that doubts had arisen in his mind concerning the opinions of Erasmus, not only from what he

* ERASMI Op. III., 1, 578; HARTFELDER, 135 *seq.*

had been told by very shrewd and well-informed men, but from some of his own writings. All such impressions had been obliterated by this letter, and he had no longer any hesitation regarding his loyalty to the See of Peter and the teaching of the Church. He wished that all might be as firmly convinced of that teaching as Erasmus was. At the same time he enjoined upon him to use his talents and learning in combating the Lutheran doctrine.*

From the letters of Cardinal Medici to Aleander, in the autumn of 1521, it is clear that the former, notwithstanding all reports prejudicial to Erasmus, remained of the opinion that the latter ought to be treated with the utmost consideration and leniency.† In this respect the furthest limits were reached and, perhaps, overstepped. Moreover, at an even later date Adrian VI. himself had not lost hope of winning, as an apologist of the Church against the Reformers, the greatest Latinist of the day and the most accomplished penman in Christendom. Even if the praises given by Erasmus to the services rendered by Leo X. to learning were exaggerated, they were yet in one respect, to some extent, justified—namely, as regards the study of Greek. In this instance the protection which the Pope in part extended to the Venetian press of Aldus Manutius (born 1450, died 1515) is remarkable. Aldus was no ordinary publisher; he was at the same time a man of learning and also a staunch adherent of his religion. He expressly undertook, in the preface to his edition of Lucretius, to reject from it everything that was contrary to the tenets of theology. His reverence for the Holy See was evidenced in another way, since, in his issue of the works of Petrarch, he omitted all the passionate sonnets levelled

* BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 53, 129–130; also, with slight differences, in LAEMMER, Mon. vat, 1 *seq.*

† BALAN, *loc. cit.*, 292 *seqq.*

against Rome. The editions published by Aldus Manutius for which with business-like ability he knew how to open up entirely new markets, were generally prized for their accuracy and elegance. The business of the firm, which soon became world-renowned, had, for that age, an unwontedly universal character; he deserves special credit for his successful efforts to supply the want of Greek books.* Soon after Leo's accession, the edition of Plato, prepared by Marcus Musurus,† began to appear from his press. The first part of this remarkable publication was adorned, together with a fine Greek poem by Musurus, by the spirited dedication of Aldus, to which attention has already been called. The Pope was delighted; nothing more appropriate could have been offered to the son of Lorenzo de' Medici. He expressed his thanks in a testimonial dated the 28th of November, 1513. In it he commends the unwearied diligence with which for years Aldus had bestowed labour and money on the publication of works of learning; in consideration of which he confers upon him for fifteen years the exclusive privilege of printing and publishing all Latin and Greek works which have already been or shall hereafter be issued by him, in the beautiful cursive type of his invention; all copyists and imitators are threatened with heavy fines and ecclesi-

* *Cf.* A. FIRMIN DIDOT, A. Man. et l'hellénisme à Venise, Paris, 1875; FROMMANN, Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Buckhandels, Jena, 1881, 11–51; GEIZER in the Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitung, 1881, No. 284; SCHÜCK, Aldus Manutius, 56 *seq.*, 68, 100 *seq.*; MÜHLBRECHT, Bücherliebhaberei, 31, 33 *seq*; P. DE NOLHAC, Correspond. de A. Man., in Studi e doc., VIII., 247 *seq.*; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIII., 391 *seq*; CASTELLANI, La stampa in Venezia, Venezia, 1889; F. ONGANIA, L'Arti di stamp. nel rinasc. a Venezia, Venezia, 1895; Rev. d. Biblioth., VI., 143 *seq.*, 237 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*; FUMAGALLI, Lexic. typogr. Ital. ed. Milano, 1905.

† *Cf.* LEGRAND, Bibliogr. hellénique, I., cxvi., and 100 *seq.*

astical censures. On the other hand, Manutius is ordered to sell his editions at a reasonable and not extravagant price.*

In order to promote Greek studies in Rome, Leo X. called thither in the first year of his reign the celebrated Giano Lascaris † and his scholar Marcus Musurus.‡ To the former, whose relations with Lorenzo the Magnificent had already been of the closest, was sent a letter composed by Sadoleto in terms of affection and intimacy.§ The letter to Musurus was written by Bembo, who informs him that the Pope earnestly longs to revive the well-nigh extinct knowledge of the language and literature of Greece, and generally to encourage the sciences as far as lies in his power. He is invited to bring ten or more young men of good abilities from Greece to Rome, in order that the Italians may learn the Greek language correctly from them. Further information concerning the proposed training college of science would be supplied by Lascaris.‖

The new Greek College was opened in the house of the

* ROSCOE-BOSSI, V., 301 *seq.* For the complaint brought by the Florentine printer Giunta against this privilege, and its dismissal by Leo, see MARZI, Una questione libraria fra i Giunti ed Aldo Manuzio (*Nozze Publ.*), Firenze, 1895.

† The sources and the older literature relating to Giano Lascaris have been collected by MÜLLER in Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekwesen, I., 333 *seq.*; *cf.* 411 *seq.* about the defective work of VAST, De Vita et operibus J. Lascaris, Paris, 1878. The best information is in LEGRAND, Bibliogr. hellénique, I., cxxxi–clxii; II., 322–336. *Cf.* further, SCHÜCK, Aldus, 80, and Mél. d'arch., 1886, 251 *seqq.*; Rev. d. Biblioth., II., 280 *seqq.*, IV., 84 *seqq.*; FLAMINI, 96, 535; LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 91.

‡ *Cf.*, with MENGE, Hesychius, rec. Schmidt, Jena, 1868; LEGRAND, I., cviii–cxxiv.

§ Sadoleti Epist. Leonis X., 1759, 2–3.

‖ BEMBI, Epist., IV., 8; *cf.* VAST, 82 *seq.*

Colocci on the Quirinal;* Lascaris was Rector. He and Musurus, who came to Rome in 1516,† taught Greek; Latin was assigned to Benedetto Lampridio of Cremona, who also posed as a poet.‡ A printing press was attached to the College, which received the name of the Medicean Academy, for the purpose of meeting the want of Greek books, then sensibly felt. Leo X. also founded a similar college in Florence, of which the Rector was Arsenio Apostolios.§

Lascaris stood high in favour with Leo X.;‖ already, in February, 1514, he was named for the nunciature in Venice;¶ in October, 1515, he was entrusted with a weighty diplomatic mission to the King of France, who was sojourning in Upper Italy; he was also, at a later date, admitted to the conferences on the Turkish war.** In 1518 the great hellenist undertook a journey to France to give Francis I. the assistance of his counsels in that

* LANCELLOTTI, Colocci, 36; FOGLIAZZI, Raph. Brandolini, 128; and MARINI, Lettera, 70.

† *Cf.* Arch. Veneto, N. S., II., 1 (1901), 173–174.

‡ For Lampridio, see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 197 *seqq.*; RENAZZI, II., 13 *seq.*; GNOLI, Un guidizio, 78; Giorn. de lett. Ital., XXXVI., 345; NOLHAC, 134; FLAMINI, 121.

§ LEGRAND, I., clxx. For the "Praeclara dicta," dedicated by Arsenio, Archbishop of Monembasia (*cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 395 *seqq.*), to Pope Leo X., see ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 116, 163 *seq.* The Laurentian Library possesses (Plut IV., Cod. XVI.) *Arsenii Monembasiae Flores auctorum ad Leonem X.

‖ He received a monthly pension: AMATI, 216, 226. The Pope also supported his family; see Rev. d. Biblioth. V., 325–329.

¶ *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Guilio de' Medici to Lorenzo, dated Rome, 1514, Feb. 20. State Archives, Florence, Av. il. princ., CXIII.

** *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, 127, 222 n. MÜLLER (Zentralbl., *loc. cit.*, 412) is quite mistaken in putting the journey of Lascaris to France in 1515; Francis I. was then in Upper Italy.

monarch's endeavours to encourage the study of Greek.* Lascaris continued to live in Rome † after the death of Leo, and died there about 1535. Over his grave in S. Agata alla Suburra may be read the pathetic epitaph: "Here rests Lascaris, among strangers, yet joyfully; for as a Greek he durst not hope for a single spot of free earth in his own fatherland."‡

The expectation of Musurus that, on the foundation of the Greek College, a second Athens would arise on Latin soil, was never fulfilled. The disappearance of this institution from history, it is with probability conjectured, was owing to the scarcity of money, by reason of which means were wanting to carry out the enterprise thus begun; § the jealousy of the Roman men of learning may also have had a prejudicial influence; || a harder blow was the death of Musurus, which took place in autumn 1517,¶ a year after his appointment by Leo to the Achbishopric of Monembasia (Napoli di Malvasia).** His successor in this dignity was Manilio Rallo, another hellenist favoured by

* LEGRAND, I., clii.; *cf.* VAST, 88 *seq.* See also TILLEY, Humanism under Francis I., in Engl. Hist. Rev., XV. (1900), 456-478.

† That Lascaris settled in Paris after 1518 (MÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 336), as GNOLI (Secolo, II., 634) also seems to suppose, is a mistake; LEGRAND, I., clii. *seq.*

‡ FORCELLA, X., 348.

§ *Cf.* GNOLI, Secolo, II., 636, who overlooks the fact that from the Greek College Leo's most noteworthy Greek scholars proceeded. For one of the most distinguished, Nik. Sophianos, see LEGRAND, I., clxxxvii. *seq.*

|| *Cf.* GNOLI, Un guidizio, 39.

¶ The statement that Musurus died of grief at being disappointed of a Cardinal's hat, is a fable; see LEGRAND, I., cxx.

** *Cf.* ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 103 *seqq.*; LEGRAND, I., cxx. The latter quotes a *Brief of Leo X., composed by Sadoleto, February 20, 1517 (in the National Library, Athens), from which it appears that Musurus held benefices from Leo in Crete and Cyprus.

Leo.* Already, in the summer of 1514, Leo had nominated his own Greek teacher, Varino Favorino of Camerino, Bishop and Vice-Governor of Nocera.† As such he took part in the Lateran Council. Favorino's principal work, from the press of Zaccaria Calliergi, which made its appearance at last in 1523, was his famous Greek Lexicon. Before this, in 1517, he had dedicated to the Pope his Latin translation of a collection of Greek apothegms from various authors, by Giovanni Stobeo.‡ In the same year the Scholia on Homer were issued from the printing press belonging to the Greek College; from the same came also a new edition of Porphyry, and, for the first time, Commentaries on Sophocles. The copyright of these and other works produced by the same house was protected by Papal privileges which threatened with excommunication any contravention.§ The eagerness with which Leo supported the study of Oriental languages was also remarkable; his exertions in this direction were connected with the Lateran Council.||

* The question, left unsettled by LEGRAND, I., clxvi., whether Rallo actually succeeded Musurus in this archbishopric, is now solved by the express statement of Sanuto, hitherto unnoticed (SANUTO, XXV., 64, 66; *cf.* 120, 502). Rallo is here named "servitor del Card. Medici."

† *Cf.* MESTICA, Varino Favorino, 38 *seq.*; MARINI, Lettera, 71 *seqq.*; ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 125 *seqq.*; KRUMBACHER, 577, and Bollett, p. l'Umbria, VII., 141 *seqq.* About the death of Favorino, *cf.* Atti e mem. d. deput. p. le prov. delle Marche, Nuovo Serie 2, I.

‡ MESTICA, 65 *seq.*, 69 *seqq.*; *cf.* LEGRAND, I., 175 *seq.*

§ Besides ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 110, *cf.* especially LEGRAND, I., 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 169; *cf.* 129, 134, 153. Copies of the above-named books are very rare; the most complete collection is in the National Library, Paris.

|| See ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 140 *seqq.*; HAFERKORN, Leo X., Der Mäcenas des christl. Rom., Dresden, 1872, 25 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, I., 3rd ed., 244; GUBERNATIS, Matériaux p. servir à l'hist. d. études orient. en Italie, XXXV., 188, Paris, 1876. The first Ethiopian book

Brought up among books, Leo X., while Cardinal, had displayed great activity as a collector of manuscripts and printed works. He took a special delight in illuminated codices, a branch of art in which the Renaissance excelled.* He shrank from no sacrifice in order to recover the valuable library of his family which the Florentines had confiscated in 1494, and the monks of San Marco had bought. This he succeeded in doing in 1508.† The library was now removed to Rome, and henceforward became the chief ornament of his palace at S. Eustachio (now the Palazzo Madama).‡ The charge of this precious collection, which was freely laid open to all men of learning,§ was entrusted to Varino Favorino.‖ One of the first administrative acts of Leo X. was connected with his own library and that of the Vatican. The two collections were kept separate, the precise regulations bequeathed by Sixtus IV. for the maintenance and use of the literary treasures of the Vatican were re-enforced, and a new librarian was appointed.¶

Tommaso Inghirami, who had been nominated, in

that appeared in print was the Psalter, printed at Rome in 1513; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 273.

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Bibliothèque, 37 *seqq.* A splendid example of the illuminative art of this period is afforded by the dedication copy of M. Salomoni's treatise De Principatu, now in the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Esp. n. 3.

† For the Medicean Library from 1494–1508, see Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd Series, XIX., 101–129, 254–281; XXI., 102–112, 291–296. *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 265, and Mél. d'archéol., 1895, 475.

‡ ALBERTINI, De Mirabil. Romae, ed. Schmarsow, 35.

§ Access was even permitted when the Cardinal himself was there —an unprecedented permission. GNOLI, Secolo, II., 627.

‖ MESTICA, Varino Favorino, 35 *seqq.*

¶ Regest. Leonis X., n. 4202. *Cf.* ASSEMANI, Catal. Bibl. Vat., I., lxi., and MÜNTZ, Bibl. 23–24.

the first place, by Julius II., continued as Prefect of the Vatican Library, of which the arrangements were not altered.* On account of his classical eloquence he was called the Cicero of his age, and played an important part at the Papal Court. The nickname of Fedra adhered to him, for, while yet a youth, he had taken the rôle of Phædra in a performance of the "Hippolytus" of Seneca, and during an accident to the stage machinery had improvised a set of Latin verses with great skill. He had now become a portly prelate; he is thus represented with startling fidelity to nature, in his red robes, pen in hand and sunk in thought, in the celebrated picture in the Pitti Gallery, which has been attributed to Raphael.†

As Inghirami lost his life through an accident on the 5th of September, 1516,‡ Leo X., in grateful remembrance of the loyalty shown him during the time of his exile, bestowed this important and honourable post on the Bolognese humanist, Filippo Beroaldo, who, to distinguish him from his namesake and uncle, is spoken of as the younger.§ Beroaldo, who had been Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici's secretary, had already been distinguished by many marks of Papal favour. He was now not only custodian-in-chief of the treasures in the Pope's library, but also of the State Archives preserved in the Castle of St. Angelo.‖

* *Cf.* Mél. d'archéol., 1895, 479.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 458, n.

‡ See Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIV., 8. For Inghirami, whom NOLHAC (Erasme in Italie, 68) calls "le type le plus accompli du Prélat Romain de la Renaissance," *cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 458, n. See also MARINI, Lettera, 53 *seqq.*, and CIAN, Cortegiano, 204.

§ Besides the scholarly work of PAQUIER, De Ph. Beroaldi, jun., vita et scriptis, Parisiis, 1900, see also LUZIO-RENIER in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVIII., 48 *seqq.*, and the literature there referred to.

‖ *Cf.* ASSEMANI, I., lxi.; SADOLETI epist., 195 *seqq.*; MÜNTZ, Bibl., 29–31; PAQUIER, Ph. Beroaldi Vita, 15 *seqq.*

Beroaldo, highly gifted though he was, led an irregular and restless life and died early.* He was succeeded in September, 1518, by the Pope's fellow-countryman, Zanobi Acciaiuoli. This learned Dominican, versed in the culture of humanism, devoted himself to his task with ardour. He not only drew up a new inventory of the library,† but also of the Archives of St. Angelo.‡

Acciaiuoli dying very soon,§ the learned Aleander took his place on July 27th, 1519, on the recommendation of Cardinal Medici;‖ he filled his conspicuous position to the satisfaction of all scholars both in Italy and abroad.¶ The custodians of the library appointed by Julius II., Lorenzo Parmenio and Romulo Mammacino, retained their offices.**

With regard to the loan of manuscripts, Leo X. was obliged to curtail the liberality of former days, as had indeed become necessary even under Julius II., this being the only way of preventing serious losses.†† In important cases, however, exceptions were permitted. In order that

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVI., 19; PAQUIER, Vita, 21 *seqq.*, 28 *seqq.* Beroaldo was not a priest; see FANTUZZI, II., 140.

† *Cod. Vatic., n. 3948, 3955, *cf.* n. 3950. See MÜNTZ, Bibl., 41 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*; DE ROSSI, Bibl. Apost. 43.

‡ First published by MONTFAUCON, Bibl. bibl., I., 202–215, and more correctly by ARETIN, Beyträge, II.ª, 74 *seq.* *Cf.* BLUME, Iter, III., 24, and KEHR in the Nachr. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss., 1900, 115 *seq.* MARINI, Archivi d. S. Sede, 23, and BLUME, Iter, IV., 269 *seq.*, have called attention to the catalogue (still unpublished), made in 1516, of the Archives of the Apostolic Camera.

§ For Acciaiuoli, *cf. supra*, p. 214, and especially MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 50 *seq.* See also MARINI, Lettera, 69 *seq.*, 113.

‖ See ASSEMANI, I., lxii.; Rev. d. biblioth., II., 49 *seq.*, 68; SADOLETI epist., 197 *seqq.*

¶ *Cf.* ZIEGLER'S testimony in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 451, n. 5.

** MÜNTZ, Bibl., 31. *Cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 452.

†† MÜNTZ, Bibl., 39 *seq.* *Cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 452.

Cardinal Ximenes might be helped in the completion of his famous Complutensian Polyglot, the Pope gave orders that the requisite Greek manuscripts should be sent from the Vatican Library to Spain, even if they had to be secured with chains of iron.*

Leo X. was no less zealous than his predecessors in adding to the treasures of books and manuscripts in the Papal collection. It recalls the days of Nicholas V., when we consider how the Pope had his emissaries in all quarters, from Scandinavia to the East, in search of the monuments of literature. Among many others entrusted with these behests were Agostino Beazzano, Angelo Arcimboldi, Fausto Sabeo, Johann Heitmers, and Francesco de Rosis.† In a letter to the last named, Leo explains directly that he considers it one of his most urgent duties to increase the number of copies of ancient authors in order that, under his pontificate, latinity may flourish once more.‡

The Pope's personal interest in these literary missions is clearly shown in the letters to ecclesiastical and secular princes in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Gothland, with which Johann Heitmers, the ecclesiastic of Liège,

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 4263. The *Licentia, dated 1513, August 19, issued to Alphonso Garciae abbati de Compludo, to borrow Greek MSS. from the Vatican Library, here wanting, is in Cod. Barb., lat. 2428 *seq.*, 116, of the Vatican Library. *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 307, and HEFELE, Ximenes, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1851, 117. See also PRESCOTT, Ferdinand the Catholic, II., 486, 514. One of the very rare copies of the Complutensian Polyglot on parchment belongs to the Vatican Library.

† See ROSCOE-BOSSI, IV., 137 *seq.*, 145, *cf.* X., 92–97; BLUME, III., 34; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 292. For Fausto Sabeo, whose epigram (Epigr. Romae, 1556, 402; *cf.* RENAZZI, II., 12 *seq.*) shows that here also the precarious state of finances stood in the way, *cf.* QUIRINI, Spec. Litt. in Brixia, II., 167, and ROSCOE-BOSSI, X., 14 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 195.

was furnished on the occasion of his mission in 1517.* "From the beginning of our pontificate," it here runs, "we have, by the help of God, and for His honour and glory, spared neither pains nor money to discover valuable treasures of ancient literature, for the profit as well as the honour of virtuous and especially of learned men." Heitmers was either to borrow such works, under guarantees from the Apostolic Chamber, for purposes of copying, or, as the Pope greatly preferred, to purchase the originals. In Heitmers' letters of introduction,† Leo laid the greatest stress on his intention so to advance the reviving knowledge of ancient literature, that the most remarkable productions of antiquity should be preserved and their number increased, both in the present time and for the time to come; at the same time he emphasized his plans for making the newly-acquired classics of Greece and Rome generally accessible by means of printing. With this end in view a general investigation was to be made of the

* Of these letters, three by Sadoleto have been printed, namely: (*a*) to King Christian of Denmark, dated November 8, 1517, first published in Nova Litt. maris Balthici, IV., Lubecae, 1697, 347; then by ROSCOE-BOSSI X., 249–250 (instead of 1518, read 1517); (*b*) to Archbishop Albert of Mayence, dated November 26, 1517; (*c*) to an anonymous (awaiting identification; *cf.* Philologus, XLV., 377 *seqq.*) owner of all the decades of Livy, dated December 1, 1517. These two letters, first by BAYLE, Dict., art. Léon X.; then by SCHMIDT, Einleitung zur brandenburg, Kirchen und Ref.-Historie, Berlin, 1740, 244 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*, and ROSCOE-BOSSI, X., 245–249; that to Albert, also by MÜNTZ, Bibl., 35-37, and SCHULTE, II., 188–189. The letter of December 1, 1517 (with the address to Albert of Mayence, also in Anz. für Kunde deutsch. Vorzeit, 1863, No. 10), is questioned, without grounds, by F. RITTER (Philologus, XVII., 665); see URLICHS, Eos, I. (1864), 244 and SCHANZ, Gesch. der röm. Lit., II., 2nd ed. (1901), 249; see also WEIDLUNG, Schwedische Reformationsgeschichte, 65.

† This hitherto unknown document is taken from an MS. in the Wolfenbüttel Library, in Appendix, No. 8.

libraries of Germany and Scandinavia. Privileges and special favours would be held out to the owners; those who opposed the scheme were threatened with the greater excommunication. Heitmers had also authority to appoint assistant commissioners. The first point of capital importance was to find a perfect copy of the History of Livy, a search which Nicholas V. had promoted with eagerness. Heitmers had boasted of his knowledge of the existence of such a manuscript, and Leo had promised him a large reward for the discovery. Fresh hope of a successful issue of his mission was encouraged by the circumstance that Leo X. had come into possession of a manuscript of the first six books of the Annals of Tacitus,* which had already been printed and published in 1515 by Filippo Beroaldo. This manuscript of Tacitus belonged originally to the monastery of Corvey, whence it was abstracted. In his passion for promoting classical studies, Leo had so few scruples with regard to this method of procuring his spoils, that in one of the letters entrusted to Heitmers, he speaks quite openly of the abstraction of the manuscript, which had passed through many hands, and had, at length, come into his possession, and adds for the Abbot's consolation: "We have sent a copy of the revised and printed books in a beautiful binding to the Abbot and his monks, that they may it place in their library as a substitute for the one taken from it. But in order that they may understand that this purloining has done them far more good than harm, we have granted them for their Church a plenary indulgence."†

* Now in the Laurent. Library, Plut., XLVIII., 1; *cf.* BANDINIUS, II., 831 *seqq.*; PAQUIER, Vita Beroaldi, 59 *seqq.*, where see the special authorities. We may add: Philologus, XLV., 376 *seq.*; Eos, I., 243, III., 223; and HÜFFER, Corveier Studien, Münster, 1898.

† Leo's attempt to obtain manuscripts from Melk was unsuccessful

At the end of Beroaldo's edition of Tacitus * we see the Pope's arms, and under them the words: "In the name of Leo X. great rewards are promised to those who send him ancient writings which have not yet been made known." The edition also contains a Papal privilege against unauthorized impressions of the work. In this Leo justifies, in eloquent language, the warmth with which he pursues the advancement of heathen literature: "Since God called us to the high dignity of the Pontificate we have devoted ourselves to the government and extension of the Church, and, among other objects, we have conceived it to be our duty to foster especially literature and the fine arts: for, from our earliest youth we have been thoroughly convinced that, next to the knowledge and true worship of the Creator, nothing is better or more useful for mankind than such studies, which are not only an adornment and a standard of human life, but are also of service in every circumstance; in misfortune they console us, in prosperity they confer joy and honour, and without them man would be robbed of all social grace and culture. The security and the extension of these studies seem to demand two conditions: on the one hand, they require a sufficient number of learned and scholarly men, and, on the other, an unlimited supply of first-rate books. With regard to the first, we hope, through God's help, to have already made it evident that it is our warmest desire and firm determination to honour and reward their deserts,

(see KEIBLINGER, I., 718); from Monte Cassino, on the other hand, he acquired some codices (see EHRHARD in the Hist. Polit. Bl., CV., 641 *seq.*).

* Although printed in 1515 in Rome, there no longer exists a copy of this edition in the city; on this *cf.*, besides MORENI, S. Lorenzo, I., 259, also PAQUIER, Vita Beroaldi, 32 *seq.* The National Library, Paris, possesses a remarkably fine copy.

which has indeed ever been our greatest joy. As regards the acquisition of books, we give God thanks that in the present instance we have a further opportunity of rendering useful service to our fellow-men." *

Certainly no Pope had given stronger marks of his appreciation of the importance of the ancient classics. But while fully recognizing Leo's enthusiasm for the authors of antiquity, it ought not to be passed over in silence that his interest in them was sometimes carried too far, as, for example, when he accepted the dedication of the first edition of a poem by Rutilius Namatianus, unconcerned by the circumstance that this fervent worshipper of the gods described the teaching of the Christian Church as worse than the poison of Circe, in so far as the latter only transformed the bodies, but the former the minds of men.† Nor was it without significance also that Reuchlin in 1517 ventured to dedicate his "Kabbala" to Leo X. Certainly, two years later, Hochstraten was able to publish his "Destruction of the Kabbala," with a dedication to the same Pontiff ‡ In fact, the number of writings dedicated to Leo was so great that a complete enumeration of them is impossible in the space at our disposal.§

* The letter, of which ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 157 *seq.*, gives a translation, was written by Sadoleto. Hutten saw in Leo's reservation of the right of printing a sign of envy of the intellectual culture of the German people! *Cf.* STRAUSS, II., 36.

† See ITACIUS LEMNIACUS, Des Claudius Rutilius Namatianus Heimkehr., Berlin, 1872, 25, 31. *Cf.* Cl. Rutilius Namatianus, édit. crit. p. Vessereau, Paris, 1904.

‡ GEIGER, 199 *seq.*, 237 *seq.*; PAULUS, Dominkaner, 98. Hutten's dedication of Valla's writing on the donation of Constantine was naturally pure scorn, which, as it would seem, Leo ignored; STRAUSS, II., 70.

§ Besides the instances already mentioned, I confine myself to the following indications: BANDINIUS, Cat. Cod. Bibl. Laurent, I, 725

In spite of the Pope's extraordinary efforts, the additions to the Vatican Library were not so large as might have been expected. From the inventories we find that the total number of volumes did not exceed 4070 as against 3650 under Sixtus IV. The golden age for the acquirement of new manuscripts was over; the competition of the printers proved an obstacle.* Moreover, the low state of the Papal finances must have acted detrimentally. Without doubt such was the case with respect to the Roman University;† Leo certainly showed

seqq., II., 31 *seqq.*, 139 *seqq.*; FANTUZZI, II., 226; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 50, 380; GIULIARI, Lett. Veron, 148, 242; MAZZATINTI, IV., 203; BUDIK, III., 2; Civiltà Catt., 1899, I., 407; Der Katholik, 1900, II., 477. Numerous manuscripts besides, in the Vatican Library, must be taken into account. We may mention Cod. Vat., *3447, Christoph. Marcelli Dialogus de animae sanitate ad Leonem X.; *3646, Christoph. Marcelli oratio ad Leonem X.; *3726, Franc. Syragatti de ortu et occasu siderum libri. duo ad Leonem X.; *3732, Joannis Poggii Florentini de veri pastoris munere ad Leonem X.; *3745, Constantii Felicis de Castro Durantii historia de conjuratione Catilinae with praefatio ad Leonem X.; *3844, Sebastiani Compagni Ferrarriens. Geographia ad Leonem X.; *5794, Petri Martyris Navigat. Indicae ad Leonem X. For the very numerous dedications likewise to Cardinal Medici, see Vol. X. of this work.

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Bibl., 43, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 453.

† The Pope did not confine his interest to the Roman University. The Universities also of Bologna, Pisa (*cf.* Raph. Volaterr.,* Brevis histor. in Cod. Vat., 5875, f. 44 [Vatican Library], and IOANNINENSIS, Pentatheucus, f. 102*b*), Avignon, Louvain, Frankfurt, Ingolstadt, Cracow, and Vienna were generously dealt with. *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 5466, 5686, 6794, 7037, 7555, 4557, 4558, 6086, 1898, 1899, 4629, 3589. In a *Brief dated January 4, 1515, Leo X. confirmed the measures taken by Cardinal Antonio del Monte, Legate in Perugia, by an *edict of October 25, 1514, for the support of the "Studio" in that city. Both documents are in the Communal Library, Perugia. It was not previously known that Leo also supported the Florentine Academy. In the *Introit. et Exit., 558, f. 213, there is the following entry under

no lack of zeal in his endeavours to prop up this institution. A new era seemed to open before it when, on the 5th of November, 1513, a Papal Constitution was published enjoining several wholesome reforms.* The principal of these consisted in a re-enactment of the regulations of Eugenius IV.; important privileges and adequate revenues were to ensure the prosperity of the University. With regard to the professors, it was prescribed that they should devote themselves exclusively to their professional duties and deliver their lectures punctually; in addition to the latter, they were from time to time to give oral instruction to their pupils on the subjects treated in their courses; thus a sort of seminary was formed, perhaps the first of its kind known in the history of universities. On the 20th of September, 1514, Leo X. sanctioned the erection of a private chapel in the University buildings and the foundation of a Provostship with two chaplains under the patronage of the Medici; in the chapel, moreover, were to be held the academic ceremonies, such as the conferring of doctors' degrees, public disputations, and other functions.† The teaching strength of the University was extended by invitations to scholars outside. The most distinguished among the teachers secured by the

January 30, 1519: *Dicta die solvit duc. 75 similes de mand. sub die 29 Maii preteriti dom. Antonio Dolphino Benintendi, praesidenti Academie Florentin., pro pensione domus conducte pro exercitio scientie academice per menses decem et octo finitos die 22 Martii preteriti. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* The Constitution *Dum suavissimos* is given in a mutilated and inaccurate form in Bull. V., 568, correctly in the Regest. Leonis X., n. 5265. *Cf.* RENAZZI, II., 25 *seq.*; RATTI, Lettera, 14; and MORPURGO, Roma e la Sapienza, Roma, 1881, 23.

† The Provost was Fil. Beroaldo, the Chaplains were Camillo Porzio (see *supra*, p. 227) and Giov. Gazoido (see *supra*, p. 153 n.); Regest. Leonis X., n. 11,820. *Cf.* MARINI, Lettera, 44 *seqq.*; FANTAZZI, II., 137 *seqq*

Pope were the philosopher Agostino Nifo, the doctor of medicine Christoforo Aretino, the jurist Girolamo Botticella, and the humanists Giampaolo Parisio and Basilio Calcondila, the first of whom was Professor of Rhetoric and the second of Greek. A special chair of Hebrew was also erected.* If the professors whom he invited were otherwise under engagements, Leo endeavoured in "the public interest" to free them, since the Roman University, as far as possible, was to have the most illustrious staff of teachers.†

A highly-interesting glimpse of the position of higher education at the beginning of Leo's reign is afforded by an official register of professors belonging to the year 1514.‡ The number of names does not fall short of eighty-eight. Almost all divisions were under more than one professor. Philosophy and Theology number seventeen, Canon Law eleven, Civil Law twenty, Medicine fifteen, Rhetoric eighteen,§ Greek three, Mathematics two, Astrology and Botany have one each.|| The salaries of the professors vary

* *Cf.* RENAZZI, II., 77–78. For Nifo, see *supra*, p. 250; for G. Parisio (Aulus Janus Parrhasius), see JANNELLI, Vita Auli Jani Parrhasii, Neapoli, 1844; AMATI, 229; F. LO PARCO, A. G. Parrasio, Vasto, 1899; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXV., 132 *seq.* Leo X. also wished to attach Filippo Decio to his University; see RENAZZI, II., 32.

† See Appendix, No. 2, the *Brief to Bologna of Feb. 19, 1514. State Archives, Bologna.

‡ Published with explanatory notes in the rare pamphlet, Lettera dell' Abb., G. Marini al ch. Mons. G. Muti Papazurri già Casali, Roma, 1797. *Cf.* also RENAZZI, II., 33 *seq.*, 38 *seq.* For the Professor of Greek, Agosto Valdo, see Rev. d. Biblioth., V., 14 *seq.*

§ See La Retorica corrispondeva in qualche modo alla Facoltà di lettere. GNOLI, Pasquino, 62.

|| The chair of botany in Rome was the first founded in Italy; see MARINI, Lettera, 75 *seq.*, *ibid.*, 45, for Leo's fondness for astrology. *Cf.* MARZI, 36 *seq.*, "Lucha stoligho del Papa" is mentioned in the Censimento, 81, published by Armellini.

from 50 to 530 gold florins; the highest, 530 and 500 gold florins, were paid to the doctors of medicine, Arcangelo of Siena and Scipione de' Lancelloti. The famous Paolo Giovio received, as Professor of Ethics, 130; the jurist, Mario Salomoni, 150; the philosopher, Agostino Nifo, 300; the master of perspective, Luca Paciolo di Borgo San Sepolcro, a Minorite, 120 gold florins. Of the humanists, Inghirami and the Greek professors each received 300 gold florins at the utmost; Beroaldo and Raffaello Brandolini Lippi had 250, Parisio 200, Camillo Porzio 150 gold florins. The total expenditure for professors' salaries amounted in 1514 to 14,490 gold florins. The Pope was not backward in making sacrifices for his darling scheme,* and his hope that the Roman University might become the first in Italy does not seem to have been groundless. Nevertheless his great aim was not realized; different circumstances worked together to bring this about. In the first place, death caused vacancies which could not be filled up; soon after the compilation of the register just mentioned Calcondila and Botticella died, Inghirami followed in 1516 and Beroaldo in 1518. Even more serious than these losses was the rivalry of Pisa, whither Nifo, Christoforo Aretino, and the jurists Giambattista Ferreri and Pier Paolo Parisi betook themselves.† The cause of their defection was probably, in the first place, the Pope's financial difficulties, which disastrously affected the position of the University, as they did, indeed, all his undertakings. Besides, many secured chairs by favour and not by merit, in consequence of the widespread encroachments of patronage;‡ others sought to oust rivals from their chairs by intrigue.§

* *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 332.

† GNOLI, Secolo, II., 634.

‡ *Cf.* BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

§ As in the case of Matteo Ercolano, although he had written an

At the time of Leo's death things had come to such a pass that a Professor of Jurisprudence could write: "There is a crowd of professors who have been appointed without selection: the salaries are not sufficient to live upon, and, worst of all, are paid so irregularly that it costs more trouble to raise the money than to give a whole course of instruction."* Leo's personal interest in the University,† undeniably great as it was, could not avert the approaching downfall. It was, moreover, unfortunate that this state of things almost coincided with a decline of literary pursuits in the Roman Curia.‡

The fate of the University may be looked upon as typical of the literary age of which Leo X. was the Mæcenas; a fair beginning, awakening wide expectations, most of which were doomed to grievous disappointment. The critical observer encounters this picture more or less distinctly at every step. The causes why such comparatively small results were obtained are to be found, on the one hand, in the calamitous state of the finances, and, on the other, in the often irresponsible way in which Leo X. distributed his too open-handed patronage and support.

"Encomium in laudem Leonis X." (see FANTUZZI, III., 275, and *supra*, p. 227). M. Ercolano, who taught classics in the University after the death of Brandolini Lippi, swore to the Pope in a letter, *that he would not deprive the former of his chair, although some wished him to do so. He wrote, among other things: *ad te vero pertinet ne tua decreta resolvens a teque ipse dissentiens et plus quam par sit aliorum voluntatibus permittens in numerum cogi judiceris. I found this undated letter in Cod. Regin., 2023, f. 196–199, Vatican Library.

* GNOLI, Secolo, II., 637 *seqq.*; regarding the appointment of unfit persons, he recalls Gazoldo (see *supra*, p. 153 n.), Giulio Simone, and Querno (see *supra*, p. 153).

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVI., 195.

‡ See DENIFLE, Universitaten, I., 315. MORPURGO (*loc. cit.*, 24) erroneously ascribes the fall of the Roman University to Adrian VI.

At the first glance we are dazzled by Leo's attitude towards knowledge and literature, so many famous names are linked with his memory, and the chorus of praise from his contemporaries is so overpowering. The verdict of posterity has, in the main, been most largely influenced by the famous biography of Giovio; in it the able Medici Pope is depicted in strong contrast to the warlike Julius II., and the name of Leo is given as the watchword of the golden age which he inaugurated.*

Henceforth he is its Mæcenas, surrounded by a halo so brilliant that it has cast a glamour over the eyes even of the keen and bitter enemies of Rome.† It is only after a closer review of details and a critical inquiry into actual facts that another picture is evolved, less flattering, but more in agreement with the truth. The splendour of the University, with its staff of eighty-eight professors, as well

* The titles to fame, which Giovio adduces for the literary patronage of his hero in the third Book of his Vita, are: (1) The appointments of Bembo and Sadoleto as Papal secretaries. (2) The appointment of Beroaldo to the librarianship of the Vatican. (3) The call of distinguished professors to the Roman University: "Gymnasium vero accitis undique gravissimarum artium professoribus ita instauravit, ut neque Bononiensi neque Patavino vel doctorum praestantia vel auditorum concursu concedere videretur." (4) The patronage of poets: "Singulos vero vel mediocris etiam nominis poetas et exquisitis nobilioribusque artibus instructos tanta benignitate suscipiebat ut omnes jam excitatis animis ad excolenda literarum studia vehementer accenderentur, *quum ab tanto armorum strepitu, quo neglectis literis Julii aures magnopere gaudebant, tandem virtuti locus patefactus esse videretur.* . . . Florebat enim tum Roma praestantibus ingeniis copia incredibili rerum omnium et a clementiore coelo inusitata aëris salubritate, ita ut Leo tantae virtutis ac amplitudinis pontifex, auream aetatem post multa saecula condidisse diceretur."

† *Cf.* DÖLLINGER'S judgment, Vorträge, II., Nördlingen, 1889, 194-195.

as that of the Greek College, loses somewhat of its lustre, and the mental and intellectual worth of the whole swarm of poets and poetasters shrivels up into its true significance. The support which Leo X. gave to men of letters and to scholars turns out, on nearer scrutiny, to have been only too often misapplied, and, moreover, to have been narrower in its scope than contemporary and later panegyrists have represented it to be. The direct results of the literary influence of Leo X. were, despite the high-pitched encomiums of his admirers, practically insignificant. There is more legend than truth in the view, so often presented, in which he presides over an era of literary progress and productiveness.* He has usurped the right to give his name to an epoch of which the foundations had been laid and the ways opened by his predecessors.†

* Of recent writers, besides GNOLI (51 *seqq.*), CIAN especially has insisted on this; see Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 439; XXXVI., 215. How exaggerated former estimates were, *cf.* BUDIK, I., xxxiv. *seq.*

† *Cf.* GNOLI, Secolo, II., 629 *seq.* For Julius II.'s services to the literature of the Renaissance, see Vol. VI. of this work, 457 *seq.*, 459 *seq.* The first, who quite arbitrarily extended the Leonine epoch from 1500 to 1550, was ORELLI (Beiträge zur Geschichte d. ital. Poesie, Heft 2, Zürich, 1810, 98); he was followed by SCHLÜTER (M. A. Flaminius und seine Freunde. Dichterproben aus dem Zeitalter Leos X., Mainz, 1847). Leo X. as patron of letters is celebrated in an exaggerated and uncritical way by ROSCOE, whose life of Leo the Tenth appeared in Liverpool in 1805 (in German first by Von Henke, Leipzig, 1806; in Italian, with many valuable additions, by Bossi, Milano, 1816–17). RENAZZI (II., 1 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.*); RATTI (Lettera al sig. C. Fea sul di lui paralello di Giulio II. con Leon X., Roma, 1822); HAFERKORN (Leo X., Der Mäcenas des christlichen Rom, Dresden, 1872) as well as AUDIN (Hist. de Léon X. et de son siècle, Paris, 1852) and BIECHY (Tableau du siècle de Léon X., Limoges, 1844) in their utterly worthless panegyrics, while ANDRES and DANDOLO are devoid of any literary merit; others, as CANTÙ and

He cannot be considered the leader of an age of which he was in every particular the offspring, swayed hither and thither by its most varying tendencies, by the noble and the ignoble, by the lofty and the base.* The unique reputation which his partisans have conferred upon him must give way before the sober verdict of critical examination; his actual services, which cannot be denied, fall far short of his renown.

The love of science and literature which inspired the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent often took the form of literary dilettantism.† Like most of his contemporaries, he overvalued in a remarkable way the poets of that day, whose compositions were as often as not distinguished only by elegance of style. In his quick enthusiasm he was much too easily satisfied. It was sufficient for him if a letter, a speech, or a poem was gracefully turned; he very often overlooked the contents for the form. In the distribution of his favours he had by no means a happy hand; he lavished his rewards without method and without discrimination. He took equal pleasure in real poets, improvisatori, and the class of persons who cannot be included among the men of letters, but can only find a

REICHENSPERGER (Fingerzeige, 4 *seq.*), see only paganism in Leo, against which view CIAN rightly protests (Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 404). Much more moderate and sounder are the later judgments of Burckhardt, Reumont and Gregorovius. JANSSEN (II., 18th ed., 67), and more strongly still GNOLI (Secolo di Leon X., 1897–98), turns the reverse side of the medal. In agreement with the latter, yet with reservations, is KRAUS (Medicean Rome in The Cambridge Modern History, II., Cambridge, 1904, 11 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.*). MASI (142 *seq.*) tries to take a middle course, but does not go sufficiently into detail. G. CONFORTI (Leon X. ed il suo Secolo, Torino, 1896) is without value.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 335.

† *Cf.* GNOLI, Secolo, III., 39.

place among jesters and entertainers.* He too often took everything merely as a pastime or theatrical representation;† the patron of a Baraballo and a Fra Mariano was wanting in seriousness and force of character, as well as in taste and judgment.

The splendour of the Leonine age, so often and so much belauded, is in many respects more apparent than real. Like a brilliant display of fireworks, it leaves nothing more behind it than the recollection. Not only in the sphere of pure science do we look in vain for really great works; even in that of polite literature the conventional tributes of praise must be largely discounted.‡ There is nothing really of first-rate excellence except the poems of Vida and Sannazaro. Leo's importance is limited to this, that he was before all else a stimulating force; in this respect he undoubtedly rendered manifold services. We must not depreciate the general impulse which he gave to artistic as also to literary and scientific life. It was his work to create in Rome an intellectual atmosphere, a "milieu" without which even Raphael would not have reached such ripe maturity. To him also it was due, to a great extent, that humanism spread its influence over such an appreciably large portion of Europe.§ This was of no small import-

* BURCKHARDT'S quick perception has drawn attention, in a passage which has generally been overlooked (I., 3rd ed., 232), to the capriciousness of Leo's patronage, which was somewhat of a lottery.

† GNOLI, Secolo, III., 40.

‡ GNOLI, Secolo, III., 52 *seqq.*

§ MASI has recently called attention to this (I., 211) strongly. BURCKHARDT long before had already given his opinion (Kultur der Renaissance, I., 3rd ed, 266): "What the humanists have effected in Europe since 1520 or thereabouts, has been conditioned entirely by the impulse given to them by Leo." GEIGER speaks in the same sense in the Zeitschr. f. Renaissance, Lit. I., 147, of "the permanent place which Leo has won for himself in the history of the human mind."

ance in the history of the development of Western civilization; the Renaissance literature of Italy pointed out the way to the Romance nations, in which, by a felicitous combination of antique and national elements, they should produce works of classical perfection.* Not less important was the advance made in the knowledge and appreciation of antiquity.† All this was more or less affected by the favour and encouragement given by Leo X. to the Renaissance of literature. Therefore, undoubtedly a certain share in the renown of the Papacy, as one of the foremost educators of the world, belongs to the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Much more must history greet his name with honour and gratitude when she reflects on the protection given to art by the first Pope of the House of Medici.

* BAUMGARTNER, IV., 637.

† *Cf.* JOLY, Sadolet, 64 *seqq.*

CHAPTER VII.

Leo X. as the Patron of the Arts.—The Stanze, Tapestries and Loggie of Raphael.

Among the artistic creations which owed their existence to the Medici Pope, works of painting hold the first rank in point of number, as well as on account of their intrinsic value and of the subjects they portray. Among these the wonderful achievements of Raphael are pre-eminent.

With the reign of Leo X. a new epoch in the artistic career of this master begins. Heavy and varied as the tasks might be with which the Pope plied him, the lovable and gifted painter of Urbino knew how to adapt his great talents to demands which multiplied almost in excess of human capacity. Wondrous was the devotion with which, up to the hour of his early death, he gave himself to the work he had to do; astonishing was his zeal for study, his inexhaustible productiveness, the unflagging advance of his artistic power. Besides the obvious task of finishing the monumental frescoes in the Stanze, Leo X., in the first year of his pontificate, laid upon him simultaneously a second task not less difficult and extensive than the first, namely, the cartoons for the tapestries of the Sixtine Chapel. Along with these undertakings, each of which by itself was of a nature to exhaust all the artist's resources, there were yet many other commissions of greater or less importance to execute at the instance of the Pope and his

artistic circle. Raphael, whose creative genius delighted in exerting all its powers to meet these increasing demands, found himself, in a proportionate degree, forced to call in his pupils to his aid. Vasari and the historians of art who have followed him have greatly exaggerated their number. There were at first only two painters who stood on a level with their master, Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano. On those two favourites, who alone are entitled to be called his disciples in the fullest sense of the word, Raphael bestowed a life-long affection and trust.*

Traces of other hands are already discernible in the fresco of the Meeting of Attila and Leo the Great,† in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, the completion of which was interrupted by the illness and death of Julius II. The composition and drawing, as well as the colouring of this picture, disclose defects incompatible with the master-touch of Raphael.‡ The landscape with ruins of Rome bears all the characteristics of Giovanni Francesco Penni; Giovanni da Udine, to whom it was formerly attributed, is out of the question.§ In this fresco a marked alteration was made in the figure of Leo I.; in Raphael's original sketch, this great Pope appears with the features of Julius II.; the warlike Rovere, recognizable by his long beard, is here carried in his litter, wearing an expression of perfect tranquillity, to meet the savage and boisterous Hunnish king and his troop of horsemen, while the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, sweep down from heaven with threaten-

* DOLLMAYR, 231–237.

† *Cf.* WICKHOFF'S Review of Pastor's "Leo X." in the Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen, 1906, 54.

‡ *Cf.* WÖLFFLIN, 104 *seq.*

§ DOLLMAYR, 231 *seq.*, 237.

ing gestures.* The fresco as we now see it shows, in place of Julius II., his beardless successor Leo X., clothed in full pontifical vestments and mounted on the white charger which carried him in the battle of Ravenna, and, a year later, in the magnificent procession on his way to take possession of the Lateran.† There is no doubt that the artist effected this metamorphosis at the special wish of the new Pope, who sought thus to hand down to posterity an enduring portrait of himself and a memorial, as well, of his deliverance from French captivity.‡ Two inscriptions on the window beneath the Deliverance of St. Peter attest that the works in the Stanza d'Eliodoro were finished in the summer of 1514.§

The order to decorate the third Stanza followed without delay, for on the 1st of July, 1514, Raphael informed his uncle, Simone Ciarla, that he had begun to paint another hall for His Holiness, for which he was to receive one thousand two hundred gold ducats.|| In the following year he sent to Dürer at Nuremburg, in order "to show his hand" to the German master, the red crayon sketch, now preserved at Vienna, of two figures in the sea-fight at Ostia. Not until June, 1517, was the painting of this hall completed; so states

* KLACZKO, Jules II., 392, 407. *Cf.* CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 152.

† Beside the Pope stands his Master of the Ceremonies. Thus we have here a portrait of Paris de Grassis.

‡ The last seems probable from the poem of Giraldi. That the deliverance of Peter refers to Julius II. and not to Leo X., I have shown in Vol. VI. of this work, p. 605. STEINMANN is of the same opinion in the Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst., N. F., X., 177.

§ Leo X. Pont. || Max. || Ann. Christ || MDXIIII. || Pontificat. Sui II. The second year of his Pontificate dates from March 19, 1514, to March 19, 1515. That the work was finished in the summer, appears from the letter quoted *infra*, p. 284 n., and from the balance-sheet of August 1, 1514, in FEA, Notizie, 9.

|| PUNGILEONI, 157; GUHL, I., 93 *seq.*

the Ferrarese Envoy,* and the inscription on the window is in agreement with this.† The extraordinary delay in the completion of the third Stanza is explained by Raphael's nomination as architect of St. Peter's as early as 1514.‡ This additional burden was made all the heavier by the ardour with which Raphael applied himself to it. His absorption in architectural matters led him to a thorough study of the antique, the influence of which is to be seen clearly in the frescoes of the third Stanza.§ But, on the other hand, the imperative claims of the new undertaking —the building of St. Peter's—forced him to allow his pupils, to a much larger extent, a free hand with his pictures, and to enlarge continually the scope of their co-operation. A merely superficial inspection of the frescoes in the third Stanza shows that not one of them is the work of Raphael's hand alone; more recent investigation has proved that even in their composition Raphael's influence has become, to some extent, subordinate.

The idea of the fresco decoration in the third Stanza is closely connected with that in the Stanza d'Eliodoro: here also the greatness and power of the Papacy, as the central point of the Church, is to be celebrated with reference to the actual sovereignty of the exalted patron of the work. The purely personal references to the reigning Pontiff, which, only lightly touched on in the first Stanza, are brought out much more clearly in the second, receive

* The letter of the Envoy in Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, 1863, 1, 351, and Atti Mod., I., 115. *Cf.* Bembo's letter to Bibbiena of July 19, 1517, Opere III., 14.

† Leo X. Pont. Max. || Anno Christ. || MCCCCCXVII. || Pontificatus || Sui Anno || IIII.

‡ See *infra*, p. 362 *seq.*

§ See STRZYGOWSKI, 56 *seq.*

in the third so strong an emphasis that the continuity of subject runs a risk of being broken; and the intention thus intrusively forced on the notice of the beholder has a disturbing effect. The idea of restoring a combination with the subjects on the ceiling, where the Christ in Glory, painted by Perugino for Julius II., retained its place, was abandoned: the great frescoes on the walls tell their own story, but the only link which holds them together is the name of Leo. The fitting designation for the chamber would thus be "the Leonine Hall."* From the respective histories of Leo III. and Leo IV., whom the Church has raised to her altars, two important incidents have been chosen which, besides suggesting the identity of the Papal names, were at the same time capable of application to events in the glorious present. And, as if something still were wanting, Leo III. and Leo IV. are invariably portrayed with the uncomely features of the Medici Pope. In thus displaying pictures which were mere offerings of homage to Leo X., the fact was overlooked that paintings of this sort produce only a disagreeable and chilling impression. One can well conceive that Raphael took little pleasure in a task so uncongenial to the natural bent of his genius, and delegated, as much as possible, its fulfilment to his pupils. At the utmost, by means of sketches and studies, he supplied the groundwork of the "Fire in the Borgo,"† which, as the masterpiece of the series, has given to the apartment the name of the "Stanza del Incendio."

The "Liber Pontificalis" relates how Leo IV., by making the sign of the Cross, quenched with marvellous quickness a fire which was ravaging the Borgo di San Pietro, the suburb which he had founded and fortified. The difficulty

* SPRINGER, 317.

† The name Stanza di torre Borgia is now almost forgotten.

of treating such an occurrence pictorially need not be insisted upon, since the wonderful power of the pontifical blessing does not admit of perceptible expression. The person of the Pope in the act of blessing—the feature of the picture which to Leo X. was of capital importance—has been thrown boldly into the background by the artist; here he appears on a loggia of the Vatican, near to which the façade of the then existing Church of St. Peter's is visible, while in the foreground the threatened victims of the raging flames are depicted with broad and powerful strokes, running, amid cries of distress, to the rescue or in flight. The frightful power of fire, when "it breaks through its fetters," is here represented in a "genre picture of masterful style"* with such extraordinary actuality that one understands why this particular fresco was such an object of admiration and imitation in the academic epoch. On both sides of the picture ancient palatial buildings, in which the fire is raging, are purposely displayed. On the one on the right hand men are busy trying to quench the flames; two female figures, the modelling of which has hardly a counterpart in painting, and has made the group famous, hold out vessels full of water to the stout-hearted rescuers.† On the left hand the flames have got the mastery, and have driven the inmates to headlong flight. Only one, a mother, is forgetful of her own safety, and holds out her infant in swaddling clothes to the father who has roused himself in terror. Close by a stalwart youth, who has jumped naked from his bed, slides down the wall. On the extreme left a son, in the strength of youth, carries his father, scantily clothed, into the open, like Æneas bearing Anchises; behind him runs a spirited boy, likewise clad with only a few scraps of

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 670.

† STRZYGOWSKI, 13.

clothing. Amid these incidents, which recall Virgil's description of burning Troy, the group of women in the centre must not be overlooked, since it not only connects the foreground with the two sides of the picture, but also carries the eye back again to the figure of the Pope, in the background, as he makes the sign of blessing. One of the terror-stricken women who have congregated here has thrown herself on the ground and, with outstretched arms, cries to the Pontiff for help; on him also is turned the gaze of a mother whose child has sunk upon its knees in prayer —a touching idyll in the midst of this world of distraction and fear! To the Head of the Church, as to a place of refuge, fly also the groups of people on the steps of the Papal palace—figures of extraordinary beauty, and portrayed with a thorough grasp of what is true in nature.* All these beautiful details are certainly to be attributed to Raphael's invention; but he is not responsible for their combination, which is in parts defective, nor for the discrepancies in proportion.† It is certain that the execution of the fresco was left entirely to his pupils; the foreground is the work of Giulio Romano and the background that of Penni.

The same considerations hold good in the case of the second fresco, which represents the victory of Leo IV. in the sea-fight of Ostia; only with this difference, that here Giulio Romano has, to a very considerable extent, influenced the composition as a whole.‡ Leo IV., who faces the spectator in the person of Leo X., appears on the left, not far from the shore, enthroned on a fallen pedestal from the ruins of Ostia; behind him are seen two of his chief

* MÜNTZ, 444 *seq.*, has rightly called special attention to the beauty of this portion of the picture.

† DOLLMAYR, 250.

‡ DOLLMAYR, 251 *seq.*

advisers, Cardinals Medici and Bibbiena; the Pope, with uplifted eyes, gives thanks to heaven for his victory on the sea. The naval action itself fills the background. In front of him captive Saracens are already landing, who are represented as gagged and roughly handled; among them is conspicuous the splendid form of a warrior; the design of this figure was included in the sketch sent by Raphael to Dürer.* Many of the subjects in this fresco show as clearly as those in the Conflagration in the Borgo how intent at this time Raphael and his school were on the study of ancient models.†

The two other frescoes in the Stanza del Incendio represent scenes from the life of Leo III.: one is the Oath of Purgation against False Accusations, which this Pope "voluntarily and at no man's instigation" took on the 23rd of December, 800, in the Church of St. Peter; the other is the Coronation of Charlemagne, previously held in the same place, in which he assumes the bodily presence of Francis I. No sketches by Raphael, for these ceremonial pictures, which display all the pomp of the Leonine era, are extant. Everything indicates that not only their execution, but also their composition, was the work of

* The authenticity of this drawing, also preserved in the Albertina, has recently been questioned, but incorrectly. See DOLLMAYR against FISCHEL (Raffael's Zeichnungen, Strassburg, 1898) in the Deutschen Lit.-Ztg., 1899, 875, and WICKHOFF in Anz. der Wiener Akad., 1903, 57.

† For Raphael and the antique, *cf.*, besides the special works of GRUYER and PULSKY, also MÜNTZ in Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, 1880; THODE, Die Antiken in den Stichen Marcantons, Leipzig, 1881; LOEWY in Arch. st. dell' Arte, 1896, 241 *seqq.* and NOLHAC, Petites notes sur l'art Italien, Paris, 1887. Traces of Donatello's influence are also discernible in the "Fire in the Borgo"; VÖGE (Raffael und Donatello, Strassburg, 1896) lays stress on this, somewhat too strongly.

Raphael's pupils. The hard outlines and feeble colouring point to the conclusion that these frescoes come from the hand of Giovanni Francesco Penni.*

The choice of the events in the reigns of Leo III. and Leo IV., which are represented in the Stanza del Incendio, was, we may be pretty sure, determined by an appropriateness to the historical career of Leo X. which was more easily perceived by his contemporaries than it is by us at the present day. In order to discover in each fresco the circumstance to which it corresponds, we must carefully examine the administration of the Medici Pope previous to the year 1517, instead of losing ourselves among far-fetched surmises and generalities.† An indication of the clearest kind is afforded by the fresco of the victory over the Saracens in the naval battle of Ostia. In the previous course of this history we have shown how preoccupied Leo X. had been, from the beginning of his Pontificate, with the plan of a Crusade. At the time when the scheme of the frescoes was decided upon, the Pope's crusading enthusiasm was at its height. The success of the Christian arms, which the Portuguese envoys had vouched for, and the continuous danger to which the seaboard of the Papal States was exposed from the piratical attacks of the Moslem, from whose hand Leo X. had on one occasion escaped at Ostia, as if by a miracle, must have raised the interest of his contemporaries in this fresco to the highest pitch.‡ Moreover, the arrival of unbelievers as captives, which is seen in the very forefront of the picture, was, for the Romans of Leo's days, a by no means unusual

* DOLLMAYR, 267 *seq.*

† HETTNER (225 *seq.*) is an example of this. His explanations are useful on points of detail, but he introduces arbitrary and forced meanings into the frescoes, which they are incapable of bearing.

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 45, 74 *seqq.*, 158, 213 *seq*

spectacle.* What far-reaching hopes were based on Leo X.'s action in this question of a Crusade by an earnest man, Egidio Canisio, the General of the Augustinian Order, may be seen from a passage in his History, in which he represents the overthrow of Islam as already assured, since it is written in the Apocalypse of St. John that victory belongs to the Lion (Leo) of the tribe of Juda.† At a later day, when Leo X. was engaged in his great attempt to unite the Princes of Christendom in an armed league against the unbelievers, the fresco in his chamber in the Vatican may have arisen before his eyes with even greater force of appeal than this sentence of holy writ.

The Coronation of Charlemagne, who appears with the features of Francis I., contains, according to the commonly accepted explanation, a reference to the Papal approval of the French monarch's efforts to secure the Imperial crown during the electoral conflict of 1519.‡ But this interpretation is in the highest degree doubtful. The fresco was finished in 1517, when the vaguest rumours concerning the projects of Francis were current—rumours which sprang up on the occasion of the Conference at Bologna, but had no substantial basis of fact.§ Still less apposite is the view of a more recent investigator, who sees in the picture the expression of the "absolute supremacy of the Church over

* *Cf.*, besides SANUTO, XXVI., 195, the *day-book in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, under date June 8, 1516, Vatican Library.

† HETTNER, 227, has called attention to this.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 669, has established this to a certainty, and many have followed him. When FÖRSTER, II., 74, sees in the fresco, along with the flattering memento of the Conference at Bologna, a hint of Francis I.'s aspirations after the imperial title, the latter suggestion is in direct contradiction to the Pope's behaviour in this question; see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 258.

§ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 141.

the secular power."* Of course, it is correct to say that the ecclesiastical character of the Mediæval Empire is forcibly brought out. But the really essential significance of the picture must be found in the strong accentuation of the duty of supporting the Holy See, which was bound up with the Imperial dignity. To this points the inscription beneath the fresco: "Charles the Great, support and shield of the Roman Church." Now, if Charlemagne bears the likeness of Francis I., we learn from this what meaning was attached by members of the Roman Curia to the treaty made in October, 1515, with the King of France. By that treaty Francis had pledged himself expressly to protect the States of the Church in their entirety.† It is he who now appears as the champion of the Church, and not the weak and vacillating prince who then bore the Imperial title.‡

If these two frescoes in the Stanza del Incendio thus contain clear allusions to the political activity of Leo X., the two others may likewise bear a reference to his distinctively ecclesiastical government. Two events occupied the first place in point of interest at the time when the arrangements for the fresco decoration of the third Stanza were settled: the close of the Schism and the Council of the Lateran. With the latter the Oath of Purgation of Leo III. is, without doubt, closely connected. The explanation of this fresco also has for long been a

* HETTNER, 227.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 126 *seq.*

‡ As the political situation had altogether changed in 1521, a public speaker wrote: "Ac sicuti Leo III. cum Carolo ita nunc Leo X. cum Carolo V. . . . ad recipiendas ecclesiae urbes adnititur" (VENUTI, 156). This passage shows in what general use such comparisons were at that time. *Cf.* also IO. BAPT. MANTUANUS, De sacris diebus, l. 4; De sanctis Leonibus. Here the incidents brought forward are the meeting with Attila, the battle of Ostia, and the coronation of the Emperor.

matter of hazardous and forced conjecture. Once again, a simple and yet sound interpretation is afforded by the inscription under the picture: "God, and not Man, is the Judge of Bishops." This principle was laid down in the eleventh session of the Council, on the 19th of December, 1516, and in the Bull *Unam sanctam*, which had again been promulgated simultaneously with the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. The highest spiritual authority, it is here declared, must be judged by God alone, and not by men.*

The connection between the fresco of the quelling of the conflagration in the Borgo and the history of Leo X. presents an enigma of great difficulty. The allusion is, probably, to the close of the Schism, whereby the Pope was able, with unexpected promptitude, to extinguish a perilous intestine fire within the Church.† But along with this motive there is another which cannot be mistaken. The representation of the façade of the old St. Peter's,

* While BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 669, and SPRINGER, 325, find the choice of the Oath of Purgation unintelligible, HETTNER, 230, has hit correctly upon the reference to the Bull of Boniface VIII., although his exceedingly arbitrary suppositions deprive his explanation of half its force.

† The meaning here brought forward for the first time has more to recommend it than that of HETTNER, who (226) sees in the "Incendio" an allusion to the indefectibility of miraculous power in the Church as involved in the conception of the Church's sanctity, and recalls to mind the Conciliar decree against Pomponazzi. FÖRSTER, II., 69, gives the "Incendio" a symbolical meaning with reference to the marvellous diplomatic skill of Leo, whereby, in the negotiations at Bologna, he averted the dangers which threatened Italy through Francis I. Likewise GRUYER, Chambres, 272, as against LILIENCRON, in his essays on the pictures in the Stanze (Aüg. Zig., 1883, No. 310) sees in this destruction of a second Troy "the world consumed by the fire of sin" and without hope of salvation save at the hands of the Vicar of Christ.

which was doomed to destruction, the architectural details in the foreground so obviously intended for display and which have nothing to do with the Borgo, might be intended to suggest the zeal with which, from the first, Leo had applied himself to the construction of the new basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Thus the transference of the real subject of the picture to the background explains itself. Raphael, as the architect of St. Peter's, wished, by means of this fresco, to convey to his patron, who had nominated him the successor of Bramante, a delicate compliment of homage and thanks.*

After the works in the Stanza del Incendio were finished, there yet remained, for the completion of the adornment of the Pope's state apartments, the mural painting of the great hall next the Stanza d'Eliodoro, which immediately adjoins the Loggie. The choice of subjects for treatment presented difficulties, for a continuation of the line adopted in the Leonine chamber was open to question. Even Leo X. did not refuse to recognize that, by confining Raphael's work to pictures of a merely ceremonial and official character, he was turning his talent into a narrowing groove; that his tasks must again have a wider scope and higher aim, if there was not to be too great an incongruity between the first and the last paintings in the Stanze.† Under these circumstances it was a very happy conception of the Pope's when he fixed, as his choice of subject, on the events in the life of the Emperor Constantine—events belonging to the history of the world, and of a prince under whom Christianity made its victorious entry into Rome, and to whom tradition had ascribed the donation of the States of the Church. To Raphael also was entrusted the

* Strzygowski, with whom I discussed the subject in Rome, was of opinion that this is the only correct interpretation.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 670.

task of settling the beautiful general arrangement of this hall. Of the frescoes, that of Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge is, in all certainty, drawn from a detailed sketch by the master himself. The grandeur of style which runs through this whole fresco, executed by Giulio Romano, shows the touch of a master of the first rank. If we turn our eyes from the cold grey colouring of the fresco, and, with the aid of an engraving, scrutinize the drawing alone, we receive the impression that this, the noblest battle-piece in the world, can have come from the hand of Raphael alone.*

While Raphael's pupils were painting the Leonine hall, their master was engaged on the designs for the tapestries, which on Church festivals were to adorn the lower walls of the Sixtine Chapel in place of the older hangings now worn out and shabby. This work must have come to an end about Christmas, 1516, after several years' application. It consisted of ten lightly-tinted cartoons, of the exact size and shape which were to be reproduced in the looms, on which the chief events in the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul were painted in distemper. For each cartoon the Pope paid one hundred gold ducats.†

At that time the execution of the tapestries could only be carried out in Flanders. The former headquarters for the fabrication of such articles in that country, Arras, whence from an early period the Italians had given the name

* DOLLMAYR, 348, attributes the whole with certainty to Giulio Romano, while Wickhoff adheres to his belief that there previously existed a fairly detailed sketch by Raphael; so also ZIMMERMANN, Zeitalter der Renaissance, II., 484. *Cf.* also MINGHETTI, 233, and ROSENBERG, Raffael (1904), 25.

† Marcantonio Michiel in CICOGNA, 406. Two accounts of June 15, 1515 (300 ducats), and December 20, 1516 (134 ducats), in FEA, Notizie, 7-8.

"Arazzi" to the productions of the weaver's skill,* had, ever since its capture by Louis XI. in 1477, been unable to maintain so important a manufacture.† Brussels ‡ had for a long time become the centre for this industry, and thither accordingly Leo X. also turned.§ The despatch of the cartoons to Brussels must have followed without delay, since already, at the end of July, 1517, Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona was able, during his stay in that city, to admire the first of the designs, the Committal of the Keys to Peter. The Cardinal, who was a man of artistic tastes, visited the workshops in person; in his opinion the whole series of tapestries would be reckoned among the most wonderful achievements of Christian Art.‖ The execution in wool, silk, and gold thread was, under the supervision of Raphael's pupil Bernhard van Orley,¶ in the hands of Peter van Aelst, who, besides the title of Court Purveyor to His Holiness, received for each piece of tapestry 1500 ducats, making a total of 15,000.**

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Hist. de la tapisserie, 5, and GERSPACH in the Rev. de l'Art chrét., 1901, 94.

† See the transactions as given by MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 4, n. 1.

‡ See PINCHART, Hist. de la tapisserie dans les Flandres, Paris, 1878-1885, 118 *seq.*

§ MÜNTZ, Chronique des Arts, 1876, 346 *seq.*, and Hist. de la tapisserie, 20, draws this conclusion correctly from the contract of June 27, 1520 (given on p. 25), in which Brussels is not mentioned. All doubt is removed by the express testimony of Antonio de Beatis. See following note.

‖ *Cf.* PASTOR, Reise des Kardinal's Luigi d'Aragona, 65, 117. This source of information is also of importance for removing the doubt raised by GERSPACH in the Rev. de l'Art chrét., 1901, 106.

¶ Again in the Netherlands about 1515; see WAUTERS, B. v. Orley, Paris, 1893, 14.

** Marcantonio Michiel in CICOGNA, 406. The higher amounts given by Paris de Grassis, Panvinius, and Vasari are exaggerations; see MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 482.

By the beginning of July, 1519, three of the hangings had reached Rome: the Venetian Ambassador writes in admiration of their fine workmanship and of their value.* Four more must have come to hand in the autumn; for it is on record that the Pope ordered seven of these new tapestries, as beautiful as they were costly, to be hung in the Sixtine Chapel on St. Stephen's day, below the frescoes on the walls.† Although here and there the voice of envy found expression in unfavourable criticism, yet the general impression was one of unmixed admiration. "All present in the Chapel," relates the Papal Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, "were struck at the sight of these noble tapestries, which, with universal consent, were adjudged to be among the things of beauty which cannot be surpassed in all the world.‡ The Venetian Marcantonio Michiel bears witness that in the general opinion these tapestries are the most beautiful productions of their kind that have ever yet been wrought; they excel those in the antechamber of Julius II. as much as the latter surpass

* De moliti pezzi di arazzi che'l Pontefice fa fare in Fiandra per fornire le camere et capella finora ne sono stati portati tre di tanta perfectione et pretio che vagliono cento ducati el brazo ne si stimano cari. Letter of July 4, 1519, in SANUTO, XXVII., 470. This has escaped Müntz's notice in a strange way, but it confirms his conclusions directed against PASSAVANT (Chronique des arts, 1876, 254, and Hist. de la tapisserie, 20).

† *Cf.* CICOGNA, Marcantonio Michiel, 405–406, and Paris de Grassis in PASSAVANT, II., 232. See also MINGHETTI, 161. Leo X. also lived to see the arrival of the three cartoons now wanting. This is gathered with certainty from the Appendix to the *Inventarium bonorum in foraria Leonis X. of 1518 (State Archives, Rome) in which (fol. 30) the ten tapestries are described as "Panni pretiosissimi de la Sta di papa Leone ad uso della capella." MÜNTZ, Chronique des Arts, 1876, 247, and Hist. de la tapisserie, 19, n. 3, has given the passages bearing on the point.

‡ PASSAVANT, II., 232.

those of the Marquis of Mantua, or those in the palace of the King of Naples.* The latest criticism is more matter-of-fact, and discovers technical faults due to defective execution.† Not only Raphael's own contemporaries but later generations have overlooked these defects. "A marvellous and astonishing work," writes Vasari, "for it passes human wit to understand how it is possible for the interweaving of threads so to represent in the woof the hairs of the head and beard or so to reproduce the consistency of human flesh, and the impression made by the whole is rather that of a miracle than of a work of human skill. Water, animals, and buildings are represented in such perfection that they appear not to have been woven on the loom, but to have been painted with the brush."‡

The best evidence both of the extent and the continuity of this great admiration of the tapestries is afforded by the numerous plates § which were struck, and by the copies, in the form of hand-worked carpets, which were already forthcoming, in a certain quantity, before the close of the 16th century. Of the latter, some of the finest specimens adorn, at the present day, the art collections of Berlin, Dresden, Madrid, and Vienna, and also the Cathedral of Loreto.‖

The Vatican originals have undergone many vicissitudes which reflect in a remarkable way the changing fortunes of the Papal power. After the death of Leo X. they were

* CICOGNA, Marcantonio Michiel, 405–406.

† *Cf.* GERSPACH, Rev. de l'art chrét., 1901, 109 *seq.*

‡ VASARI, VIII., 47–48.

§ *Cf.* PASSAVANT, II., 256 *seq.*; RULAND, Works of Raphael, London, 1876; FARABULINI, 33 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 21 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* PASSAVANT, II., 273 *seq.*; WAAGEN, Die Kartons von Raffael, Berlin, 1860; FARABULINI, 28; MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 24 *seq.*, Jahrb. d. künsthistor. Sammlungen d. Kaiserhauses, II., 208 *seq* See also Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XXIV. (1900), 224.

pawned, on account of the then existing financial distress,* but were afterwards redeemed and again restored to the Sixtine Chapel. They were still conspicuous there when, in May, 1527, the corpse of the Constable de Bourbon found a shelter in that sanctuary.† Soon, however, the gold threads in their tissue aroused the love of plunder in the mercenaries. Since an attempt to extract them by melting, which was tried on the lower part of the hanging representing the Blinding of Elymas, led to little result, at any rate several of the pieces, if not all, were put up for sale. Already in 1530 negotiations were pending for the repurchase of a piece of tapestry stolen during the sack of the city.‡ In an inventory of 1544, seven hangings are enumerated among the contents of the Papal palace. Under Julius III. two more pieces were restored which had been carried away from Venice to Constantinople.§ Henceforward they were used not only in the decoration of the Sixtine Chapel, but also of the Piazza of St. Peter's on Corpus Christi Day.‖ Goethe, who saw them, with admiration, on the latter occasion, in 1787, thought that they were the only works of Raphael which did not appear insignificant after looking at the frescoes of Michael Angelo in the Sixtine Chapel.¶ During the storm of the French Revolution the tapestries were once more removed from

* See the note of December 17, 1521, to the above-mentioned *Inventarium, printed by Müntz in the Chronique des Arts, 1876, 247, and Hist. de la tapisserie, 21, N. 1.

† This statement of SANUTO, XLV., 418, has hitherto been passed over by all inquirers into the history of the tapestries; *cf.* SANUTO, XLII., 700.

‡ *Cf.* GAYE, II., 222.

§ MÜNTZ, Chronique des Arts, 1876, 254, and Hist. de la tapisserie 21. *Cf.* LANCIANI, II., 29.

‖ TORRIGI, Grotte, 142.

¶ *Cf.* SCHUCHARDT, Goethes ital. Reise, I., 400 *seq.*

Rome. In the beginning of 1798 they were, along with the furniture of the Pope, put up to auction and bought by French dealers in old furniture. The latter conveyed them to Genoa and then to Paris, where for a considerable time they were exposed to view in the courts of the Louvre. Their purchase by the French Government fell through on financial grounds.* At length Pius VII., just before his journey into France, secured the restoration of these treasures to his palace. In 1814 they were placed, by order of the Pope, in the so-called chamber of Pius V.; hence they were transferred by Gregory XVI. to the corridor adjoining the Galleria dei Candelabri, which since then has been called the Galleria degli Arazzi.†

It is owing to these mischances that the tapestries to-day show only a faint reflection of their former splendour. The bright and delicate colours, especially in the flesh tints, have become faded; many places have been coarsely restored; from one tapestry the under half has been taken away, to others the wrong borders have been attached. In spite of this it is impossible not to recognize, still underlying all, one of the ripest creations of the great master. The full impression of Raphael's genius can indeed only be given back to us by the cartoons which were left behind at Brussels and were not reclaimed by the successors of Leo X.‡ Seven of these original drawings, which Rubens discovered simultaneously in 1630, belong to the art collection of the English Crown, and form to-day one

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Hist. de la tapisserie, 21 *seq.*

† They are here mixed with the other tapestries which are not by Raphael and are not exhibited to advantage. The restoration begun under Pius IX. was completed by his successor Leo XIII. *Cf.* GENTILI, Memoria sulla conservazione degli arazzi, Roma, 1886, and Arazzi antichi e moderni, Roma, 1897, 12.

‡ *Cf.* FARABULINI, 29.

of the most noteworthy objects in the South Kensington Museum, London.

According to Vasari, Penni gave his master great assistance in painting the cartoons for the tapestries in the Papal Chapel.* On the strength of this information and from personal observation the older biographers of Raphael assume that only in the Miraculous Draught of Fishes is the principal work to be attributed to his own hand, and that in all the remaining London cartoons only the drawing and certain single portions, especially the heads, belong to him.† More recently even this latter claim has been gainsaid. An experienced art student has maintained, with great acuteness and learning, but without having seen the originals in London, the hypothesis that the composition as it stands is the work of Penni, and that Raphael had only thrown off the first and often very hasty sketches.‡ This view is, however, an untenable one. Art critics of eminence, before and since, hold fast, with perfect justice, to the opinion that Raphael's participation in the cartoons taken from scenes from the history of the Apostles, cannot be narrowed down to this extent. Certainly an authentic drawing of the master's exists only for the one cartoon of the Call of St. Peter,§ but, for the others also, sketches, corresponding more or less, from Raphael's own hand, must have been forthcoming. "The perfection of the individual figures in form, dress, gesture, and expression is so thoroughly impressed with the stamp of the master's own hand, that it seems impossible to substitute for it the hand of a disciple."‖ If not in all

* VASARI, VIII., 242.

† PASSAVANT, II., 253 *seq.* *Cf.* his "Reise nach England," 39.

‡ DOLLMAYR, 255 *seq.*, 266.

§ In the Windsor Collection.

‖ In agreement are WEESE in Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XIX., 371

the seven, yet certainly in four of the London cartoons, all the essential traits can be assigned to Raphael and to him only.* The figures, in their organic structure and in the convincing force of their expression, reveal the great and immediate influence of the presiding genius which not only threw out the general design of the composition, but, almost down to the least detail, controlled its arrangement. This does not exclude the certainty that Penni had a more

seq.; MÜNTZ in Athenaeum, 1896, July, 71 *seq.*; FABRICZY in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1897, Beil. No. 215; STEINMANN, Rom, 205; V. BILDT, Nineteenth Century, 1904, LVI., 999. Müntz points out especially that Dollmayr's chief ground of support is a hypothetical picture, the Madonna di Monteluce, which the latter was the first to bring into the field, and for which, as an original work of Penni's, he himself stood sponsor. WÖLFFLIN (Klassische Kunst, 105 *seq.*), who, as well as BERENSON (The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1897) and FISCHEL (Raffaels Zeichnungen, Strassburg, 1898, *cf.* Repert., XXI., 494 *seq.*), is in favour of Dollmayr's theory, yet declares: "Some of the cartoons, however, are so perfect that it is impossible not to perceive the immediate presence of Raphael's genius." Wickhoff, finally, who is the best connoisseur of Raphael's hand drawings, modifies Dollmayr's hypothesis substantially. In the Committal of the Keys to Peter, Raphael first drew the whole group of figures from models, leaving the execution of the cartoon to Penni. It must not be assumed, however, that Penni henceforward had an entirely free hand. Raphael, who was constantly in and out of the studio, would naturally outline the drapery, arrange the background, and so forth, with broad strokes of his pencil, although he had not time at his disposal to carry out the grouping, which was left over to Penni. But even, granted that the latter placed the figures in relief, the whole effect of the work is instinct with the great and ever-widening creative power of Penni's master. I may here mention that J. Burckhardt also, in a conversation I had with him in 1895, said most decisively tha Dollmayr had carried his theory much too far.

* I am in agreement with STRZYGOWSKI (62 *seq.*) that in the Draught of Fishes, the Healing of the Lame Man, the Sacrifice at Lystra, and the St. Paul at Athens, all the essential features are Raphael's.

or less extensive share in the colouring of the cartoons, but against the assumption that the pupil had worked in almost entire independence of his master, strong grounds can be adduced in addition to those already brought forward on internal evidence. Even if too much weight is not attached to the circumstance that, in the accounts, as well as in the estimation of all his contemporaries, the cartoons were adjudged to be the work of Raphael, there is yet another consideration which has a most important bearing on the balance of evidence, namely, that Penni, at the time of their execution, had only just entered on his twentieth year.* This fact gives substantial support to the supposition that his workmanship in its entirety was under the direction and guidance of a superior hand. It is, at any rate, in the highest degree unlikely that so young a man should have produced, almost unaided, so great a work. On the other hand, Penni's contribution to the colouring of the cartoons was certainly an important one. It is very difficult to assign with certainty the extent of Raphael's co-operation in details. But that his influence here is also unmistakable must be admitted by anyone who has had an opportunity of studying the originals in London; the effect of the colours is so remarkable, especially in forming a judgment on the whole, that not even the best photograph can give a true reproduction of the pictures.

How great Raphael's influence must have been on the seven London cartoons is best shown by comparing them, as regards composition and execution, with the three remaining tapestries† of the first series, of which the

* According to MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, Penni was born not earlier than 1496.

† "Arazzi della scuola vecchia," as distinguished from the "Arazzi della scuola nuova."

drawings have been lost. The want of spontaneity, the pettiness, the exaggeration, which in the latter strike the beholder, show that, in these pictures (the Stoning of St. Stephen, the Conversion of St. Paul and the imprisonment of the latter) the pupils were left to themselves.

Still less successful is the second series of tapestries, representing scenes in the life of Christ,* set on foot by Leo X., but only finished under Clement VII. The drawings for a third series of wrought tapestries, which Leo X., in his love of sumptuous adornment, had ordered Peter van Aelst to prepare in Brussels, contained a sketch by Tommaso Vincidor, that of the Children at Play (Giuochi di Putti). This last-named pupil of Raphael, who had been sent by the Pope to Brussels for the special purpose of superintending the work, informs his master, in a letter of the 20th of July, 1521, that he had completed the cartoon of the Giuochi di Putti, the most beautiful and the most costly hanging that had ever yet been seen.†

The tapestries of the first series are of such high importance that they are entitled to something more than a cursory notice in this work. They depict with incomparable skill and great dramatic effect the infancy of the Church; one half represents events from the history of St. Peter, the other, those from that of St. Paul. Their arrangement in the Sixtine Chapel‡ was probably

* FABRICZY correctly emphasizes this, *loc. cit.*

† MÜNTZ, Hist. de la tapiss., 26 *seq.*, 49 *seq*; Tapisseries de Raphaël, 47 *seq.* The text of T. Vincidor's letter has been given by Müntz in the Athenaeum, *loc. cit.*, 73; *cf.* GRIMM, Essays N.F., Berlin, 1875, 94 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* STEINMANN, Die Anordnung der Teppiche Raffaels in der Sixtinischen Kapelle, in Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., XXIII, 186–195. This needs to be supplemented in only one particular, that FÖRSTER (II., 81 *seq.*), had already pronounced against the hitherto almost generally accepted arrangement of BUNSEN-PLATNER (II., 2, 410)

determined with regard to the circumstance that to the right and left of the entrance, galleries had been erected from which ladies could witness the ceremonies on greater festivals, a permission which had never been granted in the case of the Sixtine Chapel previous to Leo X.* Where the galleries ended the tapestries began, two on each side of the space allotted to the laity and three on each side of the sanctuary. On the left, or Gospel side of the wall the Call of St. Peter hung below the Destruction of Core and his Company; under the Giving of the Law on Sinai, the Healing of the Lame Man; under the Passage of the Red Sea, the Death of Ananias; under the Infancy of Moses, the Stoning of St. Stephen; under the Circumcision of Moses, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes. On the right, or Epistle side, under the Baptism of Christ was hung the Conversion of the Apostle St. Paul; under the Purification Offerings of the Lepers, the Blinding of Elymas; under the Call of the first Disciples, the Sacrifice at Lystra; under the Sermon on the Mount, the Deliverance of St. Paul from Prison; under the Committal of the Keys, the Preaching of St. Paul at Athens. This arrangement clearly shows the skill and care with which the choice of subjects for the tapestries had been made. They cover the walls of the Chapel as far as the galleries, and narrate in close chronological order the deeds of the Apostles, simply continuing the series set forth in the wall paintings. The only deviation from the chronological sequence is in the introduction of St. Peter's

Förster's attempt at a better arrangement was bound to fail, since he was unaware of the alterations in the Cancellata under Gregory XIII. (STEINMANN, Sixt. Kapelle, I., 158 *seq.*). Against Bunsen, see also GERSPACH in Rev. de l'Art chrét., 1901, 96 *seq.* J. VON SCHMIDT (Ueber Anordnung und Komposition der Teppiche Raffaels, in Der Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst., 1904, 285 *seq.*) agrees with Steinmann.

* Paris de Grassis, ed. ARMELLINI, 81.

Miraculous Draught of Fishes between the Papal throne and the altar wall—an arrangement which is accounted for by the Pope's wish to decorate the beginning and end of the wall, against which his throne was placed, with subjects illustrative of the Papal primacy.*

The large compositions in the central panels of the tapestries were surrounded by broad, ornamental borders, all of which have certainly not been preserved.† The perpendicular borders, corresponding to the pillars of the Chapel, display grotesque patterns in colour on a white or gold ground; allegorical figures of great beauty are grouped together at intervals, between vases and branch work. This treatment of the borders was also partly intended to form a contrast to the main subjects portrayed, and thus to throw the latter into strong relief. Thus it is not a mere accident that the Fates and the Hours form the framework for the appointment of St. Peter to the office of Chief Shepherd, for here the contrast implied is that between the power of time and fate over the bodies of men, and the power of the keys of Christ's Vicar over their souls.‡ The transverse strips contain small pictures in a gold-bronze colour arranged in a sort of frieze. Under the subjects taken from the life of St. Paul, these miniature designs have reference to the leading picture above them, and develop the narrative which it illustrates; but under those taken from the life of St. Peter, certainly at the special wish of the Pope, incidents from the career of the

* STEINMANN in Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., XXIII., 194-195.

† For the borders the fullest treatment is in MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 29 *seq.*, and GERSPACH, 112 *seq.* *Cf.* also STEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 195. Müntz gives photographs of the borders collectively. Hitherto only Volpato's pieces had been reproduced. *Cf.* GERSPACH in Atti d. congresso stor. internaz. di Roma, VII., 315 *seq.*

‡ PIPER, Mythologie der christl. Kunst., II., 340

latter, previous to his election, appear, among them being some even of the less glorious, such as his flight from Florence in disguise and his capture at the battle of Ravenna. "To this child of fortune, everything that befell him in the course of his experience appeared not only worthy of note, but fit subject for memorial."* By the side of this prentice work the chief pictures stand out all the more impressively; and yet it is only the cartoons which can impart their full impression, for not even the most perfect textile skill was capable of reproducing the original purity of the designs.†

The series of cartoons in preservation, on which time has certainly left traces of its passage,‡ begins with the Miraculous Draught of Fishes.§ The artist has closely

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 675. *Cf.* RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphaël, 192-193. See also for remarks on the pictures on the brackets, STEINMANN, *loc. cit.* 188 *seq.*

† *Cf.* SPRINGER, 290. The objection often made, that Raphael, in composing his cartoons, did not pay sufficient attention to the technique of the looms, is, generally speaking, incorrect; see the good explanation of ZIMMERMANN, II., 485 *seq.* But it is not incorrect to say that in some of the cartoons, through inattention to the process of weaving, the reverse side does not give the picture correctly. The Sacrifice at Lystra and the Blinding of Elymas lose on being turned round; see WÖLFFLIN, 114. In disagreement with the last-named critic, I do not think that, as regards the St. Paul at Athens, this point is immaterial. The Apostle especially gains very remarkably when seen on the reverse side.

‡ The Blinding of Elymas and the Healing of the Man lame from his birth have suffered most.

§ The following descriptions are based on notes which I jotted down in the autumn of 1900, during a stay in London for the purpose of studying the cartoons. *Cf.* also PASSAVANT, I., 272, and II., 253 *seq.*; WAAGEN, Kunstwerke und Künstler in England, I., 367 *seq.*; FÖRSTER, II., 83 *seq.*; SPRINGER, 270 *seq.*; RIO, Michel-Angeet Raphaël, 189 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 486 *seq.*; STRZYGOWSKI, 62 *seq.*; WÖLFFLIN, 105 *seq.* All the numerous early copies (*cf.* PASSAVANT,

followed the narrative in the fifth chapter of St. Luke's gospel. In the early morning Jesus had preached to the multitudes from the ship on the lake of Genesareth, and had then put out with Peter: the latter, at his Lord's bidding, had once more let down his nets. Peter had obeyed the Master's word, although he had toiled all the night and had caught nothing. And lo! his obedience is wondrously rewarded; the nets cannot contain the fishes, they begin to break; a second boat, in which are John and James, is signalled to bring help; but so great is the load of fishes that both the boats are in danger of sinking. All are overpowered with amazement at the mighty wonder; but Peter flings himself at Jesus' feet under a deep sense of unworthiness. "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man." The Lord answers gently, "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men."

It is this incident which the artist has portrayed. In front are two boats sunk deep in the water through the overdraught of fishes, and purposely depicted of so small a size that the figures of those they carry stand out in commanding proportions. In one of the two little vessels are John and James, rough, downright fishermen, busily engaged in securing the overabundant haul, while beside them the steersman does all he can to keep the balance of the too heavily freighted craft. At the prow of the other boat, in majestic calm, sits our Lord, wearing a bright blue garment with a white mantle, and seemingly alight with a sheen of glory; His hand is uplifted, and He

loc. cit.; RULAND, Works of Raphael, London, 1876; MÜNTZ, Historiens 112 *seq.*), have been put in the shade by the photographs of the originals by Braun of Dornach. Müntz too (Tapiss. de Raphaël) has reproduced the cartoons in fine copper plates from original photographs. He also gives a collection of photographic copies in facsimile of the sketches from which the cartoons were taken.

has just spoken the momentous words to Peter. On the face of the chief Apostle, who entreats his Master with folded hands, is displayed, with inimitable art, the humblest faith, the utmost devotion, and the deepest happiness. Behind Peter, who is clad in blue, stands a second disciple in green, probably Andrew, with bent breast and outstretched arms. This picture of unbounded devotion to Christ emphasizes in the most skilful way the impression made by the figure of Peter. A still more striking instance of Raphael's artistic mastery is disclosed in the way in which he brings the group of figures in the boats into one line, which, starting from that of the steersman, culminates in Andrew, sinks again to a lower level in Peter, and once more finds its point of elevation in Christ. "To Him all leads; the action of the picture finds its centre in Him, and although small in size and placed at the utmost edge of the composition, the figure of Jesus dominates all."*

The mysterious charm which rests over the whole scene is heightened by the highly poetical character of the landscape: it is the fresh early morning, a light breeze stirs the garments and hair of the fishermen, the waters of the lake sparkle bright and clear, reflecting the figures. In the near distance appears the city of Capharnaum, with the crowds still excited by the teaching of the Lord; while in the foreground on the shore are shells, crab-fish, and a group of herons, with gaping bills, eager to be fed.

The next picture has the closest connection with the miraculous draught of fishes, the symbol of Peter's apostolic mission. Before the Lord appoints him as His vicar on earth, He again blesses his draught of fishes; but this time the nets do not break. After the threefold avowal of his love, the Saviour, with the thrice repeated words, "Feed

* WÖLFFLIN, 105: "No such composition ever came before from the hand of man."

my lambs, feed my sheep," ordained him to the chief Pastorate over all the redeemed on earth, nor excluding the Apostles themselves. The scene of this event, as described by St. John (xxi. 11–17) was also the lake of Genesareth, which the artist has introduced in the background. The principal personage, next to the supreme figure of the Saviour, is the kneeling chief of the Apostles.

In the foreground appears the glorified form of the risen Jesus, with the marks of the wounds in His hands and feet. He is covered with a white garment sown with golden stars, which leaves the breast and one arm free. As though He were passing them by He is half turned towards His disciples with an expression of unspeakable love and sublimity; for the words, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," have been spoken already. Pointing with one hand to Peter and with the other to the lambs, He gives by this double gesture the most emphatic expression to His command. In sharpest contrast to the supernatural calm on the countenance of the risen Lord is the excited demeanour of the disciples. Peter, who is clothed in orange-coloured vesture, overpowered by the task committed to him, has sunk upon his knees in ardent supplication, and gazes upwards on his Master with a look of overflowing gratitude. No power on earth shall wrest from him the keys committed to him, and he presses the symbols of his new authority eagerly against his beating heart. The rest of the disciples have drawn close together in deep agitation. Some, like John, may wear a look of joyous entreaty, but on the faces of the others is stamped amazement at the sudden appearance of their Master among them.* The whole composition is again set amidst harmonious landscape scenery.

* *Cf.* GRIMM, Leben Raphaels, 397 *seq.*, where the earlier explanation by Dubos of the astonishment of the disciples is, with justice, rejected

The subject illustrated in these first two pictures is the most momentous event in the Church's history, the institution of the Primacy. While Raphael here follows the Gospels, in the succeeding cartoons he takes the Acts of the Apostles as his guide and adheres to them with great fidelity. It was with deliberate intention that the painter or his theological adviser discarded any attempt to portray the numerous instances in which the history of St. Peter came in touch with that of the Eternal City and which had been so often depicted already.* The "Book of Books" was the only source from which he drew his inspiration; herein with deep insight he made his choice of incidents, at once dramatic and symbolical, whereby to convey unique and striking illustrations of the Church's power to heal and bless, to judge and punish, and to be the apostolic teacher of mankind.

How the Church blesses and heals is set forth in the miracle wrought by Peter on the beggar who was lame from his birth. In accordance with the book of the Acts (chap. iii), the scene of the miracle is the "Beautiful Gate of the Temple" at Jerusalem. Three twisted columns, entwined with clusters of grapes, like those which stood in the old Church of St. Peter and were said to have come from Solomon's Temple, divide the picture into three clearly-marked groups. In the centre the miracle takes place; Peter, with an expression of great dignity and penetrated by faith in the power of the Divine Word, raises the lame man, who is represented with wonderful fidelity to nature, "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth," and bids him walk, while John, full of love and compassion, points to the victim of misfortune; on both sides are men and women whose countenances reflect the most varied expressions of sympathy, joy, curiosity, and fear. Another misshapen

* See MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 6 *seq.*

creature, leaning on a crutch, is already dragging himself forward, filled with hope. Children run to and fro heedless of all that is going on, lovely figures which efface the revolting impression made by the cripple's deformity.

It is the task of the Church, however, not only to heal and bless, but to judge and punish. This truth is the subject of the fourth cartoon; on a platform, in the centre, stands the assembly of the Apostles, earnest and solemn figures; on one side the faithful are bringing their gifts, which, on the other, are being distributed to the needy. In the foreground, Ananias, to the consternation of those around him, has sunk dying on the ground, for at that very moment Peter, stepping forth from the ranks of his colleagues, has pronounced with power, as the organ of the Holy Spirit, the doom on the deceiver, which has straightway been carried out. "Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Ghost, and by fraud keep part of the price of the land? Thou hast not lied to men, but to God." At Peter's side stands another majestic Apostle with his hand lifted up to heaven, from whence the judgment proceeds; he glances towards Sapphira, as she draws near on the right hand. Her look is cunning, and while she holds the money in one hand, she withdraws some of the coins with the other, unconscious of the vengeance which has swiftly overtaken her husband and is now to overtake her.*

Only three cartoons are preserved from the series celebrating the life of St. Paul. The first, the Blinding of

* Goethe was especially struck by this picture; see SCHUCHARDT, I., 404. GRIMM, Leben Raphaels, 407, instances the judgment of Ananias, in which the dramatic element is seen in its purest expression, as his highest achievement in composition. *Cf.* also WAAGEN, I., 367.

the sorcerer Elymas, is a worthy counterpart to the Punishment of Ananias. The Apostle of the Gentiles and the impostor who was bent on thwarting the Proconsul Sergius Paulus in his search for the true faith, are confronted face to face. Paul, full of lofty calm, in which the power of faith reveals itself, only stretches out one hand to punish. Filled with the Holy Ghost, he speaks the words, "Thou shalt be blind," and; at the same moment, Elymas is stricken. "There fell a mist and darkness upon him," as the Scripture says, "and going about, he sought someone to lead him by the hand" (Acts xiii. 11). Raphael has brought this out admirably. The wretched Elymas is the picture of misery. He is distorted with terror at the sudden loss of sight, and with half-opened mouth, and his head with its sightless eyes bent forward, as if in quest of something, with uncertain steps he gropes forward, stretching out the finger-tips of both hands. Raphael has here produced "an insurpassable picture of the state of blindness." The terrified Proconsul, who is enthroned in the centre, and his companions, dumbfounded with astonishment, are less successful. The opinion is justified that Raphael had withdrawn his attention from this portion of the picture.*

To him, however, the two next cartoons must certainly be attributed. The sixth depicts the excitement of the people of Lystra at the miracle worked by St. Paul, their readiness to offer sacrifice to him and Barnabas as gods, and the strenuous efforts of the latter to prevent them; Paul rends his garments in grief at the infatuation of these heathen people (Acts xiv.). The painter, with wise discrimination, has transferred the figures of the Apostles to an elevated standpoint apart from the other figures. The incident of the sacrifice, freely adapted from an ancient

* WÖLFFLIN, 113.

bas-relief, is treated in an extremely noble manner. Magnificent also are the bold architectural details in the background, where the figure of the ancient deity by the side of Paul is suggestively conspicuous. The figure of the Apostle, under the influence of the most varying emotions, the priests busily intent on the rites of sacrifice, and the uncouth features of the healed cripple, beaming with thankfulness, are all represented with incomparable skill.

In the seventh cartoon, St. Paul Preaching at Athens, the genius of Raphael reveals itself in a quite inimitable manner. Hardly ever has a grander or nobler representation been given of the fiery-hearted man who, at the call of God, devoted the whole force of his mighty intellect and soul to the world-embracing task of Christianizing the Græco-Roman civilization. Raphael has applied all the resources of his art to depict the "chosen vessel" as the spiritual centre of his picture. High above all stands the great teacher in his green robe and red mantle, almost in the very forefront of the picture, like a pillar of the faith, on the Hill of Mars, which is indicated by the temple building * and the statue of Arês. Fully possessed by his apostolic calling, he proclaims "Jesus and the Resurrection" (Acts xvii. 18 *seqq.*). The Apostle, whose attitude and garb show clear traces of the Paul of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, holds both arms up to heaven and has advanced to the very edge of the steps above which he stands. This powerful figure, full of a splendid

* One is a copy of Bramante's Tempietto in San Pietro in Montorio —a tribute of homage from Raphael to his friend and teacher. STRZYGOWSKI (63) is quite right in remarking that, if the architectural details in the background were removed, St. Paul would be still more imposing: "Michael Angelo himself could not have surpassed the creator of this figure."

apostolic majesty, when once seen can never again be forgotten; the deep earnestness and weighty eloquence of this incomparable preacher radiate from him through the circle of his hearers. Paul dominates all the rest, not merely because he stands on a higher level, but also because his hearers are, without exception, drawn on a smaller scale. Finally, the most thorough examination only increases still further the impression produced by this lofty figure. Like some unearthly apparition he holds fast his auditory, who cannot shake off the spell of his inspiring words. On the faces of his hearers are reflected manifold emotions: reluctant attention, quick interchange of opinion, critical reflection, silent doubt. Two persons only are fully convinced of the truth of the new doctrines, a man and a woman, who come quickly forward on the left hand of the steps; especially in the burning glance and outstretched hands of the former do we see the signs of ecstatic self-surrender to the God who, from henceforth, shall be no more "unknown," and a blessed rejoicing in the promise of immortal life. Here Raphael follows with exactitude the narrative of the Scripture, which states that only a few persons adhered to the Apostle and believed, among whom were Dionysius and a woman named Damaris. In the Preaching of St. Paul the whole history of the Church is summed up, as if in a few words—the apostolic message of the truth, its rejection by a great portion of mankind, and its faithful acceptance by the elect.

The cartoons of Raphael are, it has been said, the counterpart in modern art of the classic sculptures of the Parthenon.* Higher praise can hardly be given, and in

* SPRINGER, 284. *Cf.* also WOLTMANN, II., 658 *seq.*, and MINGHETTI, 156 *seq.* Even RIO'S (Michel-Ange et Raphaël, 188 *seq.*) appreciation of the tapestries is unqualified. Of the Preaching of St.

presence of the Draught of Fishes and of the St. Paul at Athens, such an encomium is intelligible. But even if less than this is conceded, it must be admitted that these compositions are worthy of a place beneath the ceiling of Michael Angelo;* they are penetrated by a spirit of genuine faith, and are a noble offspring of the Renaissance, unsurpassed in the startling fidelity with which they portray the grand and simple narratives of Holy Scripture.† They mark, in the evolution of Raphael's powers, the beginning of the period in which his creative processes reached their highest point, when, out of the depths of his ripened experience and under the influence of antiquity and of Michael Angelo, he achieved "works of unapproachable grandeur, in which all the elements of a grand style, space, proportion, light, and expression form an imposing whole in harmonious combination."‡ In many respects the tapestries show Raphael at his best; taken as a whole, the boldness, freedom, and grandeur of their traits show how closely the master had assimilated the spirit of Eternal Rome.

The influence of the tapestries on later art cannot be estimated; it has been still greater than that of the Stanze. "They were the treasure chambers from which were taken

Paul, he says: "On ne peut rien comparer à cette dernière composition dans le domaine de l'art chrétien."

* Goethe here insists on the parallel between Raphael and Michael Angelo (see *supra*, page 298). The tapestries hold a place beside the Creation of Michael Angelo. Raphael has achieved this "by avoiding any competition with Michael Angelo in the field of dramatic pathos, and by aiming at greatness of style and loftiness of expression within the limits of a restful beauty." (ROSENBERG, Raffael, Stuttgart, 1904, XXXI.).

† *Cf.* E. v. STEINLE, Briefwechsel, I., 161.

‡ STRZYGOWSKI, 50 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*, 83 *seq.* *Cf.* also SCHADEN, 176 *seq.*; SPRINGER, 288 *seq.*; and GRIMM, Leben Raphaels, 389.

the types of expression of human emotion, and Raphael's reputation as a draughtsman rests mainly on these works. Western art has had no other pattern for the expressions of wonder and fear, of anguish and dignity, on the human countenance." * The sublimity of the subjects, than which none more befitting the private chapel of the Pope could have been chosen, corresponded to that of their artistic treatment. Michael Angelo had painted on the ceiling the creation and primæval history of mankind up to the Flood, along with Prophets and Sibyls as heralds of the New Covenant. The masters of the "Quattrocento" had displayed on the intermediate walls the period of the Law as represented in the life of Moses, and the kingdom of grace as represented in that of Christ. This kingdom was to endure to the end of the ages. Raphael, therefore, determined to continue in his tapestries the history of our salvation, which began with the creation of the world, by portraying the institution of the Primacy and the life of the early church as illustrated by the Acts of the Apostles. The spectator is thus expressly reminded that he is standing in the central spot in Christendom, in the private sanctuary of the Church's head. The wondrous deeds of the Princes of the Apostles, who hallowed Rome by their martyrdoms, the call of the one to be chief ruler, of the other to world-wide apostolic labours—this is the theme of his immortal work. Under Leo X., in the Papal Chapel, the Roman Church, as the way of salvation, in the persons of her two most prominent representatives, St. Peter the Prince of the Apostle and the first Pope, and St. Paul the Apostle

* WÖLFFLIN, 105. Among the opinions of modern artists, besides those given by MÜNTZ (Tapisseries, 19 *seq.*), those of OVERBECK (Letter in the Allgem. konservat. Monatschrift., 1888, I., 41 *seq.*) and E. v. STEINLE (Leben und Briefwechsel, I., 161, 208).

of the Gentiles, has been glorified in the golden letters of consummate art.

Along with the frescoes in the Stanze and the tapestries, ranks yet a third not less remarkable work, which Leo undertook for the adornment of the Vatican, namely, the Loggie. Each of the three stories of the Vatican opens on to a row of arcades. The middle one of these in the eastern wing has gained world-wide renown under the name of Raphael's Loggie. It rightly forms, along with the Sixtine Chapel and the Stanze, one of the greatest attractions for all travellers in Rome. The building of this beautiful apartment was begun by Bramante, and continued, after his death, by Raphael. The date, 1513, in the twelfth arcade of the Loggie, indicates the beginning of a work which, at the latest, was ended in 1518. More precise information about the history of the building is lacking.* The Papal accounts for August and September, 1518, afford a certain amount of data as regards the laying of the floor.† This consisted of costly slabs of majolica from the Florentine workshops of the Della Robbia, whose emblem was displayed upon them on a carpet pattern.‡

* *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 402 ; GEYMÜLLER, Raffaello, 48 *seq.* (p. 49, read 1518 for 1517). *Cf.* Projets primitifs, 75 *seq.*

† MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 452.

‡ *Cf.* TESORONE, L'antico pavimento delle Logge di Raffaello, Napoli, 1891, and GNOLI in Arch. stor. d. Arte, IV. (1891), 205 *seq.* Both students were unaware that an old and very good drawing of the pavement is to be found in the *Disegni della prima e seconda loggia Vaticana fatti da Francesco La Vega Spagnolo, l' a° 1745, per ordine e spese dell' em. sig. Card. Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, segret. di stato della Sta di Benedetto XIV., e dall, em. nipote di lui sig. card. Luigi, Bibliotecario di S. C. e protettore della biblioteca Vaticana donati a questa l' a° 1802, nel giorno med° nel quale n'ebbe il solenne possesso (Sala d. stampe e incis. AMD, XVI., I., Vatican Library) on table 57. Of the original pavement here shown, some remains have been pre-

The execution of the richly carved doors, ornamented with the arms of the Medici, was entrusted to Giovanni Barile of Siena.

We are sadly in want of detailed information about the origin of the decorations with which the walls, pillars, and ceilings of the Loggie are filled. When these works were begun is still a matter of uncertainty. One thing only is certain, that the completion of this noble piece of decoration was brought about all too soon.* This, according to authentic sources, was in the summer of 1519. The account books mention, on the 11th of June of that year, a sum of twenty-five ducats paid to Raphael's assistants who had painted in the Loggie.† A few days later, on the 16th of June, 1519, Baldassare Castiglione wrote to the Marchioness Isabella d'Este: "The Pope takes more pleasure than ever in music and architectural works. He continues to erect new buildings in the Vatican; a Loggia has just been finished there, and painted and ornamented with stucco after antique designs; it is a work of Raphael, and is as beautiful as anything can well be, and is perhaps a more perfect piece of work than anything that we can show at the present time."‡ In agreement with this

served and set up in the Appartamento Borgia by Professor Seits; the rest was so injured by wear and tear that in 1869 it was replaced by a new pavement made of large marble slabs. Now that the manufacture of majolica is restored, it is to be wished that a copy of the old flooring might be made to take the place of the present marble one, which is not in keeping with the decoration of the walls and ceiling. For another drawing of the pavement in a manuscript in the Court Library of Vienna, see *infra*, p. 324 n.

* Namely, 1518. So GRUYER, 203, and many others.

† ZAHN in Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, VI., 1, 188.

‡ This important evidence was published in the periodical Il Raffaello, from Sept. 20 to Sept. 30, 1876. As this review is no longer in circulation, I give the passage: "Dil resto si vive al consueto. N S^re

account are various letters of the Venetian Marcantonio Michiel. On the 4th of May, 1519, he reports that Raphael has completed the painting of a very long Loggia, and is making preparations for the work on two others.* On the 27th of December, Michiel returns to the subject again: "The undermost Loggia of the Vatican," he says in a despatch which is as interesting as it is important, "has just been finished.† It is adorned with stucco work, grotesques, and similar designs; the work has not been carried out with great finish, for not much money has been spent upon it; yet it is pleasing to the eye. The reason why this arcade has been sparingly treated is that it is open to all the inmates of the Palace; even persons on horseback use it, although this Loggia is on the first story. The one above is very differently treated; it is closed, and can only be opened by the Pope's permission. It contains pictures of high value and great charm, which have only just been finished, and for which Raphael drew the sketches. The Pope besides has brought hither a number of antique statues which were before kept in the private apartments, and were bought partly by himself and partly by Julius II. They are set up in niches between the windows, which face the columns of the gallery, immediately alongside of the Papal apartments and the Hall of the Consistory."‡

sta su la musica più che mai et di varie sorti si diletta ancor de architettura e va sempre facendo qualche cosa nova in questo palazzo et or si è fornito una loggia dipinta e lavorata de' stucchi alla antica, opera di Raffaelo, bello al possibile e forse piu che cosa che si vegga oggidi de moderni." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* CICOGNA, 401.

† On the first story. The paintings and decorations (*cf.* TAIA, Descriz. del Vaticano, 124 *seqq.*) unfortunately show strong marks of restoration.

‡ CICOGNA, 406–407.

As an approach to the Stanze, or state apartments of the Pope, the Loggia of the second story, with its thirteen bays, was adorned with all that the then existing art could supply. Not only on the small, dome-shaped ceilings, but on all other surfaces of the arcade, which originally were open * and were permeated by the clearest light, was lavished a decoration in which sculpture and painting were combined in a way never since repeated. The spirit of the Leonine age is here conspicuously illustrated by the brightness and splendour of the whole, and by the free intermixture of Christian and pagan subjects. The Biblical pictures on the ceilings have a character well befitting the palace of the chief ruler of the Church; the decorations on the walls recall the Pope who was hardly surpassed by any of his predecessors in his love for the study of antiquity.

The scheme of decoration comprised in the thirteen shallow domes of the roof is carried out on a strong and simple plan. The ceiling of the seventh dome, as the central point of the whole, is rendered conspicuous by rich adornments of stucco, in the centre of which is the large armorial blazon of Leo X. In the rest of the ceilings the key-stone is formed by the devices of the Medici placed alternately and in pairs—the diamond ring with the three coloured ostrich feathers, and the yoke, which are upheld by figures of winged genii.†

* The glass windows were put in in 1813, at the instigation of the Neapolitan Minister, G. Zurlo; see the periodical, Muratori, I, 266 *seq.*

† Likewise, as STEINMANN (Rom, 201) points out, "the co-ordination and decoration of the cupolas is carried out in couples, the same designs and patterns being repeated in each pair. In the first pair of ceilings bright-coloured tapestries are spread out between the sacred pictures; in the second a very artistic perspective drawing, with pillars and architectural detail, is introduced, with the deep blue sky appearing

Each dome is adorned with four small frescoes, those in the central arcade having frames of stucco, while the others have painted borders. Forty-eight of these are of subjects drawn from the Old Testament, while four are from the New; they are well known under the name of Raphael's Bible. There has been keen controversy as to his share in the entire work.* Vasari states that "Raphael made the drawings for the stucco ornamentation, and for the pictures, which were to be painted in the Loggie; Giovanni da Udine he set over the stucco work and the grotesques, and Giulio Romano over the figures, although the latter did little thereto. Besides them, Giovanni Francesco Penni,

through the roof and windows. In the third and fifth ceilings rich grotesques and imitation mosaics surround the paintings, while in the fourth the architectural design is repeated, and again in the sixth. At the beginning and end of the series a net or trellis appears to be flung over the roof, in the interstices of which innumerable angels hover." The motto *Semper*, in conjunction with the three ostrich feathers in a diamond ring, was long the favourite device of the Medici. It is a symbolical representation of the legend *Semper adamas* (=diamond; but also=unbent) *in poenis* (pennis). See FABRICZY in Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XI., 309. *Cf.* also TAIA, Descriz. del Vaticano, 128.

* Thorough descriptions of the Loggie are given by BUNSEN-PLATNER, II., 1, 308 *seq.*; PASSAVANT, II., 219 *seq.* (at p. 206 *seq.* is a drawing of copper-work); GRUYER, 23–194; FÖRSTER, II., 108 *seq.*; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 405 *seq.* The work of REIFFENBERG, Études sur les Loges de Raphaël, published in Brussels in 1845, is a plagiarism; see E. DE BUSSCHER, Études des études de M. de Reiffenberg, Gand, 1846. *Cf.* also PICOT in Cabinet de l'Amateur, IV., 123 *seq.* Koch's photographs of Raphael's Loggie, published at Vienna, 1878, are founded on the often inaccurate plates of Ottaviani and Volpato. LETAROUILLY, Vatican, II., devotes forty-seven plates to the Loggie of the Court of S. Damasus, forty-two of which show the Loggie of Raphael, partly in colours. *Cf.* also GRUNER, Fresco Decorations and Stuccos; new edit., London, 1854. A publication, with all the help of modern technical appliances, is needed. HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 498.

Tommaso Vincidor of Bologna, Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vicenzio da San Gimignano, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and many others painted these figures, pictures, and other objects."* Although the execution is here ascribed entirely to his pupils, Raphael's designs are pronounced by Vasari to be the basis of their compositions, and with this the testimony of Michiel, as well as that of the connoisseur Castiglione, is in agreement.

A critical examination of the sketches relating to the pictures in the Loggie certainly gives the result that of the great number of these drawings none are by Raphael, and, with the exception of the original sketch preserved in the Uffizi, of Penni's "Joseph cast into the Well by his Brethren," none belong to his pupils. They are evidently all copies made at a later date from the frescoes which had already become famous. The attempt to establish from the frescoes themselves the hand of the original artist meets with the greatest difficulties, many having been restored and others being in such bad preservation that only a close examination of the forms could lead to further results. The outcome of these investigations is that the paintings of the first nine domes are, with the exception of the landscapes and animal studies of Giovanni da Udine, to be attributed to Penni, those of the last four to other artists, especially Perino del Vaga. Raphael, according to this view, only contributed "the most general ideas for the compositions," and his share in the entire decoration of the Loggie only amounted to this, that he laid before Giovanni da Udine the general plan, and gave his approval to the details as they were brought before him."† Against

* See DOLLMAYR, 283.

† DOLLMAYR, 297, 309. In another place (300) Dollmayr says that Raphael gave instructions to his pupils orally, and, at the utmost, only drew slight sketches.

such an hypothesis weighty objections have been urged. Among other questions it has been asked: "How, if Giovanni da Udine worked from his own plan and in entire independence, are we to explain Raphael's relation to the Pope, who had committed the undertaking to him? In a work begun in his own name, and for which he had received payment, he must at least have had some personal concern." * Nor are there wanting investigators at the present day who still uphold the old view that Raphael's participation, at least in the designs for the Loggie decorations, was very thorough. As regards the pictures on the ceilings in particular, they are convinced that certainly those in the first eight arcades are the genuine work of the master, but also that his share in the pictures of the remaining arcades, up to the tenth, was predominant even in matters of detail.† That the execution of the frescoes was carried out by his pupils, admits of no doubt; we must forget the harsh colouring, the brick-red flesh tints, the crude combination of colours, in order to enjoy the beauty of the original drawing.‡

* WEESE in Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XIX., 372. MÜNTZ controverts Dollmayr still more strongly in the Athenaeum, July, 1896, 72 *seq.*

† STEINMANN, Rom, 202, among more recent writers, has given special support to this view. Also ZIMMERMANN, II., 486: "Raphael's guidance, even in details, in this series of pictures, cannot be called in question." C. v. FABRICZY observes, in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1903, Beil. 160, p. 111: "Even if, as has recently been done, we give Raphael's pupils the credit not only for the material execution of the work, but also for the composition of the details, yet the creative spirit of the whole conception and the ideas which permeate and give shape to the execution must assuredly be referred to the master."

‡ In the present deplorable condition of the Loggie the old copies are of special value. Besides the great *Work of Franc. La Vega (Vatican Library) already quoted, which contains 59 finely executed

The bright little pictures in the cupolas of the Loggie are in an essentially different style from the colossal and solemn illustrations of holy writ with which Michael Angelo has adorned the roof of the Sixtine Chapel. At the same time many of the former show Michael Angelo's influence. No one could escape the spell of this Titan of the Renaissance. The picture of the Creation in the first, and that of the Flood in the third arcade are borrowed directly from Michael Angelo. The Banishment from Paradise in the second arcade is simply a replica of Masaccio's unequalled rendering of that subject. The lovely landscape in the Jacob and Rachel at the Well is a copy from a copper-plate of Dürer,* and the Adam of the Fall of an antique figure.† At the same time the Loggie display very many representations of the highest originality. The lives of the Patriarchs, Abraham prostrate before the Three Angels, Jacob and Rachel at the Well, the Finding of Moses, Joseph interpreting his Dreams,

folio engravings, a codex in the Court Library, Vienna, Min. 33, here calls for special notice: "Peintures à gouache faites à Rome par de jeunes artistes les plus renomés qui étaient à Rome du temps de M. Giov. Batt. Armenini pour un Fugger"; this contains 105 folio pages of consummate workmanship. The Loggie can here be studied better than in the original, and still better than in any of the publications that have hitherto appeared. Some of the plates are of exceptional beauty. Of the Viennese MS. ARMENINI, De' veri precetti della pittura (ed. Milano, 1820), 270, observes: "Et è certo che ogni cosa di questa insieme col suo pavimento fu disegnato e colorito in carta a uso di minio nel proprio modo che si trova per mano di piu valenti giovani che in Roma fossero nel mio tempo fra le quali io ne feci parte, onde così colorita fu poi mandata di chi l'avea in commissione e che la pagava realmente in Aversa a un gran signore de Fucheri, il quale si dice che di ciò si dilettava sopra modo." A second copy was sent to Spain to Philip II.

* Strzygowski also calls attention to this.

† See AMELUNG in Strenna Helbigiana, Lipsiae, 1900, 8.

are compositions which stand alone in their attractive beauty and deep poetry. They are thoroughly human and yet highly idealized. It is matter for ever-renewed wonder that, by means of a few figures, the narrative should be here portrayed with such entire simplicity and at the same time with such fidelity to life.* Raphael must certainly have greatly influenced these remarkable compositions. On the other hand, the touch of Giovanni da Udine is perceptible throughout the landscape backgrounds with their sunlight charm; they enhance to no small degree the idyllic tone of these pictures; this is in harmony both with the character of the biblical stories and with the aim of the compositions which are intended to form only one part of the scheme of decoration.

The first eight arcades have a distinctly different character from the others. In the ninth, certainly, we still find the magnificent Delivery of the Tables of the Law by Moses. But, on the whole, the importance of the pictures begins, at this point, to diminish. The hitherto idyllic character gives place to one that is more dramatic and in keeping with the subjects; the colouring is also brighter and more vivid.† The least successful pictures are in the last or thirteenth arcade, on which the pupils were left to work by themselves.‡ Here the New Testament subjects begin, which were interrupted on the death of Leo X.

In the decorative treatment of the Loggie Raphael took

* *Cf.* the striking judgment of MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 453, and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 633. See also RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphaël, 208 *seq.*

† *Cf.* DOLLMAYR, 301.

‡ SPRINGER (331) had already adopted the view that Raphael had no part in this. WOLTMANN (II., 658) sees in the forty compositions of the first ten arcades Raphael's invention. I believe that, with the exception of the one picture specified above, the pupils' work was already practically independent from the ninth arcade onwards.

no great part. Even if glimpses of his genius often break out in this costly series of decorations, yet the inspiring mind, on the whole, must have been that of Giovanni da Udine,* who had a band of assistants.† Gifted with a rare sense of beauty and inexhaustible fancy, this artist has achieved, in the decoration of the Loggie, a work which is unsurpassed of its kind. Walls, pillars, and archways, and every inch of surface contain, with a classical economy of space, a decoration of gold relieved by colour or a fine white stucco composed by Giovanni da Udine of a mixture of marble and ground chalk. Perhaps the chief charm of these decorations, their magical play of iridescent colours, varied but harmonious, is now gone beyond recall, since the whole has suffered grievous damage from weather and from the rough hands of many a visitor.‡

The groundwork of the scheme was undoubtedly the antique. In this respect the often-quoted statement of Vasari is incorrect, that the first Roman wall-decorations

* DOLLMAYR, 302 *seq.*, has established the probability of this, but he goes too far when he here excludes Raphael's influence entirely. On the other side, see BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 177.

† Thus Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vicenzio di San Gimignano, and, it may be, Polidoro da Caravaggio. DOLLMAYR, 289.

‡ In any case the fate of the wall decorations has been more fortunate than that of the ceilings, since the former have escaped tasteless restorations. The work undertaken by Professor L. Seitz, from 1890 to 1891, was restricted to the preservation of the existing decorations and the removal of certain extraneous details which had, in some unaccountable way, been introduced into the original scheme. This has been done without touching the old paintings or supplementing the damaged stucco work. Where portions of the latter are wanting they have been replaced by a light wash in chiaro-oscuro, and where detached from the wall they have been refastened by means of metal appliances. A thorough study of the Loggie is now only possible with the aid of copper-plate engravings, or, better still, of ancient copies.

to be discovered were those in the so-called Baths of Titus, and that Giovanni da Udine was the first to copy them. Already, since the last quarter of the 15th century, the artists of the Renaissance knew and made use of the graceful designs in painting and stucco to be seen on the ceilings of the underground ancient buildings in Rome, which at the present day are pointed out as "grottoes," from whence the term grotesque has been derived.* It is to the credit of Giovanni da Udine that he gave a thoroughly original turn to this kind of decoration and brought it to a pitch of classical perfection. Taken as a whole, he has achieved his task in an entirely new and independent style. "The essential feature, the ascending series of decorations on the pillars, is wanting in the earlier antique examples."† A detailed description of this splendid outcome of the taste and sense of beauty of the Leonine age would be beyond the power of even the most skilful pen. The whole is like a book of fairy tales in colours and pictures, a dreamland of inimitable poesy—on all sides the most graceful figures and ornaments are lavished on the walls and pillars, yet without superfluity. Painting and stucco work follow each other in unending variety. Everywhere the eye falls on attractive and graceful pictures which are deftly and without effort adapted to the architectural or decorative scheme of the building.

Although the artist had an absolutely free hand in the construction of the Loggie, he yet avoided everything trifling or capricious. The appearance of chance and

* *Cf.* SCHMARSOW, Der Eintritt der Grotesken in die Dekoration der italienischen Kunst, in Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., II., 131 *seq.* See also SPRINGER, 332.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 178. *Cf.* also the valuable explanations of DOLLMAYR, 302 *seq.*

irregularity in his work is illusory; as a matter of fact, everything is in harmony and proportion. The decoration of each beam has been carried out with the closest regard to symmetrical correspondence with its architectural surroundings.* Even if the ground-plan is constructed on a consistent principle, yet in the selection of details there is ample freedom. The way in which Giovanni da Udine has here drawn upon nature, as well as antique art, is marvellous; one feature surpasses another in beauty; the beholder is puzzled where first to turn his eyes. No sooner does he seem to have exhausted his survey than some new detail comes to view which once more rivets his attention on this magical fairyland. The tender execution, the naturalistic feeling, the graceful facility, the inexhaustible wealth of artistic imagination and the extraordinary variety of subjects—a variety which is not satisfied with a few illustrations, but borrows from the whole compass of life's prolific resources—all this forms a wondrous combination. Plants in the greatest variety, fruits and animals alternate with imitations of antique sculpture, small landscapes with pleasing fancy figures, allegories with representations of actual life, such as the famous stucco medallions in the window-frame of the first arcade, in which the master is figured sitting and drawing while his pupils carry out his sketches.† On the window-arch of the third arcade the head of Leo X. is also to be seen, while his name appears in many places in the same arcade and on all the windows of the back wall in a way that almost amounts to ostentation. The effect of the exceedingly beautiful garlands of flowers and fruits, which are repeated on the windows between the pillars of the

* DOLLMAYR, 302 *seq.* See also GRUYER, 155 *seq.*

† The first account of this stucco work was published by KLACZKO, Jules II., 414.

back wall on a sky-blue ground with realistic accuracy, is brilliant.

The decorations contain many allusions to the favourite pursuits of Leo X. Music is symbolized by many representations of instruments; fishes, birds, and other animals recall the Pope's passion for the chase; even the elephant is twice depicted. In between these are everywhere lovely designs in spirals, scrolls, and garlands. Humorous pieces, such as winged infants in swaddling bands, cupids teaching a bear to dance, are to be found, no less than reminiscences of contemporary works of art, such as Raphael's Jonas. Nor are Christian emblems wanting in this motley scene, although they almost disappear amid the copious array of imagery drawn directly from ancient sources or conceived in their spirit. The greater portion of classical antiquity here awakes again to life: we see the Victory of Trajan's Column, the Apollo Belvedere, the Venus Victrix, Jupiter, Bacchus and Ariadne, Apollo and Marsyas, Diana of Ephesus, Medæa on her Dragon Car, Ægistheus and Orestes, sphinxes, centaurs, satyrs, the Three Graces, dancing girls, minstrel maidens beating tambourines, nymphs, heroes, harpies, cupids at play, Tritons joining battle with sea-monsters, sacrificial rites, augurs taking auspices, ruins and temples half gone to decay, the Appian Way, the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, the Walls of Rome.*

The partiality of Leo X. for ancient art has been made matter of heavy censure; even the paintings of "Raphael's Bible" have been described as an insincere performance, the subjects represented having long lost their religious significance.† Such a verdict is unjust both to the character

* *Cf.* BUNSEN-PLATNER, II., 304. PULSZKY, Raffaëls Studium der Antike, Leipzig, 1877, 27 *seq.*

† RUMOHR, Forschungen, III., 124. CARTIER, De l'art chrétien,

of the Renaissance and to the personal views of Leo X. If we consider the purpose which the Loggie were intended to serve, there is nothing incongruous in the introduction of subjects drawn from the ancient world. The robust Julius II. found his recreation in the gardens of the Belvedere, adorned with the masterpieces of antiquity; Leo X., infirm and ailing, sought enjoyment in the contemplation of his collections in the sheltered enclosure of the Loggie. That Christian and heathen art should meet on peaceable terms, such as the Loggie bear witness to, caused not the slightest affront to anyone in that flowering time of humanism. Such an alliance had for long been a matter of daily occurrence in painting and sculpture as well as in poetry.* If the opinion of a later age was less lenient, it must still be recalled to mind that the early Christians themselves, in the decorations of the Catacombs, took pleasure in works handed down to them from a yet older world. As a matter of fact, any unseemly representations † in the decorations of the Loggie are quite isolated and unobtrusive. Even an uncompromising critic has justly remarked, in this connection, that the more closely the churches were shut against the lighter efforts of pagan imagination, the more widely might the doors of palaces be thrown open to receive them.‡

Although the pagan type preponderates in the decorations of the Loggie, religious subjects are yet to be found there. On the pillars between the second and third arcade the expulsion from Paradise is represented on one

Paris, 1875, 90, speaks of the pagan details in the Loggie as exaggerated and ill-drawn, which is perhaps not to be wondered at in a writer who finds fault even with the Transfiguration.

* *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 360, and Vol. V., 143.

† Leda and an Hermaphrodite.

‡ BEISSEL in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LIII. (1897), 544 *seq.*

relief, and on another the Pope bestowing his benediction. Along with the biblical pictures on the ceilings, the decorations, which in each arcade are carried out in duplicates of the same designs and patterns, several religious subjects are treated in harmony with the frescoes. Thus angels praying surround the pictures of the Creation and the Incarnation in the first and last arcade. Sometimes even the mythological designs contain thoughtful suggestions of the biblical pictures to which they are thus made subordinate.* The bronze-tinted pictures on the brackets, executed by Perino del Vaga, are all taken from biblical subjects relating to the pictures on the cupolas.† It is impossible therefore to assert that the decorations of the Loggie have not the slightest connection, in spirit, with the scriptural paintings in the cupolas.‡ On the contrary, we must suppose that, in accordance with the spirit of the age and with that of Raphael himself, there was a definite correspondence between the two. In the frescoes in the Stanze, the apartments of the head of Christendom, the painter has emphasized in an incomparable way the supremacy of the Church over the heathen world.§ In the adjoining Loggie, destined to exhibit the noteworthy relics of

* *Cf.* further PASSAVANT, I., 269. See also FÖRSTER, II., 108 *seq.*; GRUYER, 192; and PIPER, 296, 367.

† Unfortunately these lower portions of the Loggie are completely destroyed, so that we must have recourse to the plates of Bartoli. The interesting anecdote of Raphael's jealousy, in the Letter of Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola, January 29, 1520 (in BERTOLETTI, Artisti in relaz. coi Gonzaga, 155), refers apparently to Perino del Vaga, who also worked in Rome for the Fuggers (SCHULTE, I., 207). *Cf.* LERMOLIEFF, Die Galerien Borghese, 188 *seq.*, and LUZIO-RENIER, 234.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 674.

§ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 559, 584–589.

antiquity, the same idea has been expressed with a lighter and more delicate touch; above the beauties of ancient statuary with which the walls and pillars harmonize in their adornment, hover the scenes of higher import described in the sacred Scriptures.

A similar work of decoration to that in the Loggie was carried out by Raphael's pupils, Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine, on the ceiling of the great Papal Hall in the Borgia apartments. At the present day the visitor can still see in their radiant brightness the paintings and stucco work of both these artists. The former has here portrayed the starry firmament with allegorical features, while Giovanni da Udine executed the charming framework consisting of white and gold stucco ornaments on a sky-blue background. The name and the armorial bearings of Leo X. appear everywhere; in between, one reads with interest a series of inscriptions relating to the history of the Popes from Urban II. to Martin V.; they are apparently all that remain to remind one of paintings that had a place here at some earlier date.*

The paintings of Raphael for the Hall of the Palefrenieri and the corridor leading to the Belvedere have perished. The former was entirely painted over by Taddeo Zucchero; the corridor was destroyed under Clement VII.†

How Raphael was able, concurrently with all these tasks, to find time for the commissions of Cardinal Bibbiena, of Agostino Chigi,‡ and for a long series of panel pictures, portraits, and religious subjects, remains a wonder; it is certain that he made large demands on the assistance of his pupils. In the famous picture of Leo X. itself, the head

* See STEINMANN in the Kunstchronik, 1899, 357.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 465 *seq.*, and Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, XX. (1879), 183.

‡ *Cf. supra*, pp. 112, 119.

and hands only can be set down to the master.* It is undeniable that his pupils took a large share not only in the execution but in the sketch of the two great pictures, the Holy Family and the Archangel St. Michael, which Lorenzo de' Medici presented in 1518 to the French royal family.† On the other hand, he produced single-handed the great altar-piece of the Sixtine Madonna, and the sketch of the Transfiguration, in which he has celebrated, with wondrous art, mysteries of the Christian faith. Both these immortal works, which rank among the most beautiful pictures on earth, reveal the touch of a visionary. Already in the Madonna di Foligno, in the Ezekiel, and the St. Cecilia this note had been struck, but here it reaches the highest pitch.

The Sixtine Madonna, intended for the Benedictine Church of San Sisto in Piacenza, was probably contemporaneous with the tapestry cartoons. Wonder is there glorified, and, like a marvellous apparition, the Queen of Heaven soars above the clouds, unapproachable in her majesty, holding her Divine Child in her arms, amid the splendour of an aureole formed of thousands of angel-heads; on either side kneel St. Barbara and the aged Pope Sixtus, while below, rounding off the composition, is the famous group of angels. Few indeed are the works of art from the hand of man in which there dwells such sublimity and unearthly consecration; among all the pictures of Mary, none is so widely known, be it in palace or in cottage. Painters of the first rank have attempted to reproduce the beauties of this incomparable creation. This one picture has given rise to a copious literature, so inexhaustible are the points of view which

* *Cf.* SPRINGER, 255, and ZIMMERMANN, II., 488 *seq.*

† See GAYE, II., 146 *seq.*; Atti Mod., I., 117; ZIMMERMANN, II., 490.

it presents.* It is one of the few sacred pictures which bring home to the beholder at once, as if by some miraculous power, the conviction of supernatural truths surpassing human understanding. As he looks he is drawn towards another and a higher world, and he is forced to acknowledge, with humility, the reality of eternal things. The attitude of Pope Sixtus and of St. Barbara expresses this in the most forcible way.† The Pope has laid aside his triple crown, and bends the knee in worship to the Queen of Heaven, while he commends to her the company of the faithful on earth. St. Barbara in her lowliness durst not raise her eyes. In her blessedness she reverences the Mother of God, who, despite her exceeding glory, appears only as the guardian of the Eternal Child, who came in poverty and nakedness into the world.

On this canvas Raphael has surpassed himself; the mother of our Lord, encompassed by light and descending from the heights of heaven, seems indeed to manifest to mankind the great mystery of the Eternal Word made flesh. The supernatural impression which permeates the whole picture is produced above all by the movement of the principal figure, who seems to be descending from heaven to earth, and by the expression which beams from her radiant eyes, and from those of her Son, and cannot be adequately conveyed by any verbal description. The

* The bibliography in MÜNTZ, Historiens, 95 *seq.*, is incomplete. *Cf.* FRANZ, II., 750 *seq.*, the acute remarks of WÖLFFLIN, 128 *seq.*, and STRZYGOWSKI, 65 *seq.*, where further literary references are given. For the fate of the picture and its purchase for the Dresden Gallery, see Repert., VII., 163 *seq.*, and XXIII., 12 *seq.* *Cf.* also VENTURI, La Madonna, Milano, 1900.

† See PORTIG, Die Sixtinische Madonna, Leipzig, 1882, 31 *seq.* *Cf.* KEPPLER'S masterly article in the Histor.-polit. Bl. XCIV., 81 *seq.*

gaze of Mary passes far beyond the spectator into a world of deep contemplation and wonder; before her, one by one, the secrets of the coming ages seem to be unrolled. "Pondering all these things in her heart," she broods over the prediction of the aged Simeon, that her Son would be the "light of the Gentiles, the glory of his own people, set for the fall and resurrection of many; a sign that should be contradicted" (Luke ii. 19, 32–35). Simeon's prophecy that the heart of the Mother of God should be burdened with heavy sorrows—"and a sword shall pierce thine heart also"—has been indicated by Raphael in the unmistakable expression of sorrow imprinted on the countenance of Mary.* The countenance of the Child also is one of deep thought, but not of wonder. In all the consciousness of His Godhead, the divine Babe, whose form and features, especially the eyes, surpass mortal proportions, gazes fixedly and peacefully into infinite depths. He does not sit, He is enthroned in His mother's arms, who displays to the world, with reverence and awe, the great gift committed to her charge; and yet the vision is not for long, for at any moment this picture "from the heights of heaven" may vanish thither again.

The representation of an actual vision was Raphael's last creation. This was the picture of Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, ordered by Cardinal Medici for his cathedral church at Narbonne.† On the mountain

* *Cf.*, along with PORTIG, 26, 33 *seq.*, HEUCKING (Die Sixtinische Madonna, Petersburg, 1862), KEPPLER, *loc. cit.*, and BRUNN in the Deutschen Rundschau, XII., 42 *seq.*, 48.

† That Raphael's last picture might be preserved to Rome, Cardinal Medici sent it, in 1524, to the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio (*cf.* Arch. stor. d. Arte, I., 449). Thence it was conveyed to Paris by the French; and from Paris, in 1815, it was brought back to Rome to the picture gallery of the Vatican.

top the Saviour hovers in a blaze of divine glory, surrounded by a white and dazzling brightness like an apparition of light: "his face did shine like the sun, and his garments became white as snow" (Matt. xvii. 2). Seldom has the difficulty of depicting the spontaneous upward flight of a human body been solved so beautifully and naturally as here. On this figure of Christ Raphael has concentrated the whole force of his manifold powers; every chord of his artist's soul vibrates in one full harmony. Unspeakable gentleness and majesty, such as the glorified Mediator between God and man alone could possess, are written on the countenance, which is slightly turned to one side. The eyes and arms are uplifted to heaven as if expressing the unappeasable longing for that return to the Father's house which He can only earn as the reward of His Passion. On a somewhat lower level but beside Him hover, in attitudes of deepest awe, Moses the Lawgiver, clasping the two Tables to his breast, and Elias, the most glorious of the Prophets, holding the book of his prophecies; drawn to the Saviour as by a magnet, circling like planets round their sun, they yet approach only to the edge of the radiance which encompasses the transfigured One. The Lord is the source of light as of power. He alone, as the light-giver, is clad in raiment of snowy whiteness; the garments of the Lawgiver and the Prophet are suffused with hues of yellow and violet.* The glory of Moses and Elias is borrowed from the divine light. The chosen disciples, Peter, James, and John, have, on the other hand, sunk down dazed and terror-stricken on the level of the mountain summit; on the left kneel two martyr deacons, figures of smaller stature than the disciples; these again are less than Moses and Elias. While exalted above

* *Cf.* SPRINGER, 361; JUSTI, Die Verklärung Christi, 1870, 30 *seq.*; GRIMM, Leben Raphael's, 469 *seq.*; WÖLFFLIN, 131 *seq.*

space and time, the Redeemer, as He rises towards heaven, looms in yet vaster proportions.

At the foot of the mountain is enacted the episode of the lunatic boy whom the disciples were unable to heal, a scene which St. Matthew (xvii. 14 *seq.*) connects with the Transfiguration.* The contrast is the strongest conceivable, and is all the more sharply felt as this part of the picture was executed by Giulio Romano, not to the advantage of the whole. Round the wretched boy in his convulsions have gathered his relations and the disciples; many of these figures directly recall Leonardo da Vinci.† Their expressions and gestures reflect compassion, astonishment, distraction, helplessness, doubt; but amid the general confusion some of the disciples are pointing up to the mountain whither He has betaken Himself who alone can bring help. In accordance with the painter's intention, these see the transfigured Jesus just as little as the rest of the crowd below. He is only visible to the beholder of the picture, and thus the spiritual unity is restored.‡ Below are the miseries and sorrows of the helpless children of earth; above, the undisturbed blessedness of the transfigured Lord, the Almighty Power which alone can heal and succour.

Such a reference to Christ as the deliverer from every, even the greatest necessity, was, at the time when this mystic creation of Raphael was finished, eminently

* The close connection is indicated just at this point by the introduction of a piece of water on the left of the canvas, a feature which is omitted in all descriptions of the picture.

† STRZYGOWSKI, 73 *seq.*

‡ WOLTMANN, II., 671; STRZYGOWSKI, 72 *seq.* *Cf.* also HAGEN, Briefe in Die Heimat, II., Berlin, 1818, 346; SCHLEGEL, Werke, VI., 54 *seq.*; THIERSCH, A v. Schaden, Frankfurt, 1853, 139, 142 *seq.*; HASSE, Kunststudien, III.; Der Verklärung Christi, Breslau, 1889, 17 *seq.*; and Deutsche Literaturztg, 1893, 463 *seq.*

appropriate to existing circumstances. The reports of the encroachments of the infidels had not for long been so alarming, so that in the autumn of 1517 the Turkish question stood in the forefront of public interest at Rome. "The Pope," wrote Cardinal Medici, who had commissioned the Transfiguration, at the end of October to the Nuncio in Venice, "is occupied with Eastern affairs at the present moment more than with any other matters." Soon after this Leo addressed a detailed memorial to the chief princes of Christendom, who were to communicate to him their views on the war with the Turks. The deliberations which ensued were followed in the spring of 1518 by the proclamation of a general armistice throughout Christendom, and the decision to despatch Legates to arrange for a Crusade. At the same time a great procession with prayers took place in Rome, the Pope in person taking part in it. Raphael was a witness of this great religious demonstration, during which his friend Sadoleto delivered an oration which was greatly admired.*

The picture of the Transfiguration had a close connection with these efforts of the Roman See to promote the Crusade. Calixtus III., on the occasion of the great victory over the Turks at Belgrade, in 1456, had expressly commanded that the festival of the Transfiguration should henceforward be kept annually on the 6th of August throughout Christendom, in thanksgiving for this signal success. "The liturgical Feast of the Transfiguration was thus turned into the anniversary of the victory of Western Christendom over the Crescent, and the glory of Christ on Mount Tabor became a triumphal mystery as well as a token of the downfall of the Church's hereditary foe." This accounts for the introduction of the two martyr deacons, by whom Felicissimus and Agapitus only can be meant—saints whose commemora-

* *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 222 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*

tion at the altar stands in close relationship to the Feast of the Transfiguration. This connection was in Raphael's days a matter of present recollection, so that no one at the Court of Leo X. could feel any doubt as to the real meaning of the painter; it would inspire confidence and give believers the assurance that even amid the existing dangers the all-powerful aid of Christ would not fail them against the enemies of the Christian name.* It was given to Raphael to finish only the upper half of the picture; in the last week of March, 1520, he fell ill of one of the dangerous Roman fevers, and this rapidly consumed the forces which had been already weakened by labours beyond the common strength of man. On Good Friday (April 6) his soul passed to that other world of which he had portrayed transcendant glimpses in his pictures. At the head of his bier was placed his unfinished masterpiece, the Transfiguration.

The impression caused by the almost sudden demise of one who had only reached his thirty-seventh year, and stood in the midway of his famous career, was intense; he had just bought a site, in the Via Giulia, near the Church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, for the construction of a new

* FR. SCHNEIDER (Theologisches zu Raffael, Mainz, 1896, 11 *seq.*), in explaining the introduction of the Martyr deacons and the connection between the contents of the picture and the festival of the Transfiguration, has made a most happy discovery. Among other things he calls attention to the circumstance that Narbonne, the picture's place of destination, was then much exposed to raids from Mahommedan pirates. I am inclined to lay more weight on the crusading efforts of Leo X., already touched upon, of this very year, 1517–18, which are here brought forward for the first time as explanatory of the picture. They complete and confirm Fr. Schneider's explanations thoroughly. The healing of the demoniac boy, taken in connection with the Transfiguration, is, according to his view, a likeness of the frightful bondage of the Mussulman yoke.

palace.* The irreparable loss was associated in men's minds with the coincidence of an earthquake and the giving way of a part of the Loggie. "The grief at the Papal Court," wrote Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola, "is all the deeper, since still greater works had been expected from the master; nothing else is spoken about throughout Rome than the death of this remarkable man; what is mortal of him has passed away, but his renown can never perish; in his works, and in the admiration of those who survey them, he will live for ever.† As a matter of fact, the most distinguished poets, Bembo, Ariosto, Tebaldeo, and above all the faithful Castiglione, soon became rivals in the celebration of his fame.‡ The opinion was widespread that, had his life been spared longer, he would have reached the greatness of Michael Angelo.§ For his resting-place Raphael had chosen the Pantheon, and had entrusted his friend Lorenzetto with the execution of a statue of Our Lady, which to this day adorns the chapel, to surmount his tomb. The painter who, in his most remarkable creations, had done more than any other to adjust the difficult relations of antique and Christian art, and had in the Sixtine

* Document of March 24, 1520, in MÜNTZ, 635. Raphael's property was valued at 16,000 ducats; CICOGNA, 410.

† Pico's letters in Atti Mod., V., 307–308. *Cf.* also the writing of Paolucci, *ibid.*, I., 138, that of Germanello in GAYE, II., 151, and the letters of Lippomano and Michiel in SANUTO, XXVIII., 423 *seq.* These writings refute conclusively the fable of Vasari, already challenged by PUNGILEONI, 257 *seq.*, that Raphael died from debauchery. *Cf.* also, against this assertion, PASSAVANT, II., 555 *seq.*; FARABULINI, Raffaelo e la Fornarina, Urbino, 1880; and MINGHETTI, 211 *seq.*, 213.

‡ *Cf.* PASSAVANT, II., 549 *seq.* An unprinted poem of Tebaldeo's was published by CAMPORI in Atti Mod., V., 309. *Cf.* Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, VI., 1872, 365 *seqq.*

§ *Cf.* the verdict of a contemporary, given by JANITSCHEK, in Repertorium, IX., 121.

Madonna depicted the most lovely representation of Mary, could have chosen no more fitting grave than the ancient rotunda which Pope Boniface IV. had transformed into the Church of S. Maria ad Martyres. The burial took place with every circumstance of honour. That the Pope took part in person is a later fable; ceremonially such a mark of distinction was impossible. How greatly Leo sorrowed over the loss of his incomparable friend is clear from the testimony of Marcantonio Michiel, who relates how the Pope sent daily to inquire after Raphael, bestowed upon him many marks of his esteem, and defrayed all the expenses of the funeral.*

The extraordinary partiality evinced by Leo X. for Raphael and his school had the effect of retarding all other artistic tendencies. Many as were the painters, marked out for distinction, who came to Rome during this Pontificate, not one could secure a footing by the side of Raphael. The most regrettable instance in this respect is that of the painter who, in his Last Supper, had initiated in its most ideal form the age of the high Renaissance. As a young man of six-and-twenty, Leonardo da Vinci, with some of his pupils, had come to Rome in the train of Giuliano de' Medici in the autumn of 1513.† The Pope had conferred on him the marked distinction of placing at his disposal an apartment in the Belvedere; but with the exception of two pictures ordered by Baldassare Turini,

* CIGOGNA, 409–410. *Cf.* Repert., IX., 121. For the statue of the Madonna and the opening of the grave on September 9, 1833, see PASSAVANT, II., 558 *seq.* *Cf.* Nel centenario di Raffaelo il Comune di Roma, 1883. For Raphael's skull, of which a plaster-cast was preserved in the Congregazione de' Virtuosi, see Archiv f. Anthropologie, XV., 417 *seq.*; Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., VI., 143 *seq.*; GRIMM, Raphael, 493 *seq.*; and SCHAFFHAUSEN, Der Schädel Raffaels, Bonn, 1883.

† RICHTER, II., 441; MÜNTZ, Léonard de Vinci, 454.

Leonardo has left no trace of his art in Rome. Until 1515 he remained in the service of Giuliano de' Medici, who allowed him the handsome salary of thirty-three gold ducats a month;* but at the end of 1515 he passed into the service of Francis I. What prevented his being attached permanently to Leo X., for whom he wrote a treatise on coinage,† has not yet been explained. Vasari's account is nothing more than an anecdote of the studios. According to this narrative, Leonardo had once received an order to execute for the Pope, but instead of beginning the work, he had spent his time on technical experiments which led to nothing. Thereupon the Pope had remarked that Leonardo would never complete anything, as he busied himself with the end before he took thought for the beginning.‡ It is much more probable that Leonardo, who had also found no employment under Julius II., left Rome on account of unwillingness to be in the same city with Michael Angelo.§

In the year 1514 Fra Bartolommeo came to Rome, attracted by the fame of the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Fra Mariano received him hospitably. At the request of the latter he began the pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, but after a few months returned to Florence.‖

* MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 415, and Léonard de Vinci, 455, 459.

† RICHTER, II., 17–18; *cf.* MÜNTZ, Léonard, 460.

‡ Giovio also states in L. Vincii Vita (TIRABOSCHI, VII., 290): "Sed dum in quaerendis pluribus augustae arti adminiculis morosius vacaret, paucissima opera, levitate ingenii naturalique fastidio repudiatis semper initiis absolvit."

§ G. B. DE TONI and G. SOLMI, Intorno all' andata di Leonardo da Vinci in Francia (Estr. d. Rendic. d. ist. Ven.), Venezia, 1905, support this thesis. Besides, in 1517, Leonardo was already so ill that no more work on a great scale could be looked for from him. *Cf.* PASTOR, Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona, 79, 143; *cf.* M. HERZFELD, L. da Vinci, 2 Aufl., Jena, 1906, CVII. *seq.*

‖ FRANZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 159–161; DOHME, III., 15–16.

In the same year also Soddoma appeared in Rome, where he executed for Agostino Chigi, on the first story of the Farnesina, the Wedding of Alexander and Roxana and the Family of Darius before Alexander.* Chigi recommended the painter to the Pope; to the latter he presented the Death of Lucretia, a picture which some modern investigators have claimed to have rediscovered in the Museum in Turin, and others in that of Hanover.† Leo X. bestowed on him in return the honour of knighthood, but Soddoma found as little occupation in the Papal service as Signorelli, who was then in Rome seeking his fortune without success.‡ Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, and Pontormo were engaged, according to the accounts of Giovio, in decorating the principal hall in the Villa Poggio at Cajano, near Florence, with historical allegorical subjects from Roman history, which still exist.§

Even Sebastiano del Piombo, the enthusiastic admirer of Michael Angelo, did not succeed in securing the patronage of Leo X.|| Although, in his consuming envy, he left no effort untried to belittle Raphael, his sphere of work never extended beyond private circles; the Pope, to whom the petty dissensions between the partisans of Michael Angelo and those of Raphael

* *Cf.* JANSEN. Soddoma, Stuttgart, 1870, 98 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, and *supra*, p. 119.

† *Cf.* FRIZZONI, Arte ital., 145–146.

‡ *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XVII., 126; VISCHER, Signorelli (1879), 110 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* REUMONT, Andrea del Sarto, 126 *seq.*, and JANITSCHEK, Andrea del Sarto in DOHME, III., 38.

|| *Cf.* BIAGI, Mem di F. Sebastiano Luciani, Venezia, 1826; Dall' Acqua Guisti in the Atti d. R. Accad. d. Belle Arti di Venezia, 1870; MILANESI, Les correspondants de Michel-Ange, I., Paris, 1890; RICHTER, Sebastiano del Piombo (DOHME, III.), 7 *seq.*; PROPPING, Seb. del Piombo, Leipzig, 1892.

were in the highest degree displeasing, remained loyal to the latter. The first-rate paintings which Sebastiano executed in S. Pietro in Montorio were certainly the reason why no less a personage than Cardinal Giulio de' Medici entrusted him with an honourable task. Raphael was invited to paint the Transfiguration at the same time that Piombino was set to work on the Raising of Lazarus. It is easy to imagine with what eagerness the latter seized the opportunity of measuring himself against his hated rival. "My work," he wrote to Michael Angelo on the 2nd of July, 1518, "has been delayed in order that Raphael may not see it until his own is ready." At the end of 1519 Sebastiano sent his painting, which once adorned Cardinal Giulio's archiepiscopal cathedral at Narbonne, and is now one of the ornaments of the National Gallery in London,* to the Vatican. "It has at once given satisfaction instead of dissatisfaction to everyone, with the exception of the wiseacres who do not as yet know what they ought to say," wrote Sebastiano at that time to Michael Angelo. "I am satisfied, since Cardinal Medici has told me that he has been delighted beyond expectation, and I believe that my picture is better drawn than this tapestry stuff which has come from Flanders."† Leonardo Sallajo believed himself justified in writing to Michael Angelo: "Sebastiano has had such a success with his work that those who know anything about the matter here place him far above Raphael. The ceiling in Agostino Chigi's house is now uncovered; it is a disgrace to a great master, and much worse than the last

* Thorough description in CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, VI., 385 *seq.*; *cf.* PROPPING, 63 *seq.*

† BOTTARI, VIII., 42; FANFANI, Spigolature Michelangiolesche, Pistoia, 1879, 114; GUHL, I., 225. *Cf.* BIAGI, 37; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, VI., 387.

Stanze in the Vatican. Sebastiano is now relieved from further fear." *

Since Raphael's death took place while the Transfiguration was yet unfinished, Sebastiano's hopes rose still higher. Now, he believed, the opportunity had come to secure the position of first painter at the Papal Court. His chief ambition was to be entrusted with the decoration of the Hall of Constantine, on which Giulio Romano and Penni had by that time already begun their work; Michael Angelo used all his influence, to this end, with Cardinal Bibbiena. In his letter of introduction, written in June, 1520, he says: "I beg your highness, not as a friend or servant, since neither my friendship nor my service are worthy of you, but as a good-for-nothing crazy wretch, that you will exert yourself to procure for the Venetian painter Sebastiano, now that Raphael is dead, some share in the works at the Vatican. And even if your highness feels ashamed at conferring an obligation on a man of my stamp, yet I think that a kindness done even to a good-for-nothing can give a certain amount of pleasure, just as the palate which has been accustomed to capons can yet relish the taste of onions." † The result of this singular recommendation was that Sebastiano was given the work of painting the "lower hall" in the Appartamento Borgia, where Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine were at work. Such, however, was the infatuation of his artistic conceit, that he declined to paint a "cellar" while Raphael's pupils were permitted to adorn the "treasure chambers." ‡ Nevertheless he persisted in his endeavours, and at last Leo X. granted him an audience.

* GOTTI, Michelangelo, I., 127.

† MILANESI, Lettere di Michelangelo, Firenze, 1875, 415; GUHL, I., 228.

‡ GUHL, I., 228.

Of this he has given a description in a letter written on the 15th of October, 1520, to Michael Angelo, which from more than one point of view is exceedingly interesting. It gives us a better idea than any other document could do, of the way in which Leo used to treat his artists.

"His Holiness," he says here, "was very much pleased that I should be ready, along with you, to undertake any kind of service which he wished; I asked him about the subjects and the measurements and all the rest. His Holiness answered me as follows: 'Bastiano, Juan del Aquila has told me that in the lower hall no good work can be done except on the ceiling, which you have finished, since where the cornice juts out there are certain lunettes which reach almost to the middle of the surface wall on which the pictures are intended to go. And then there are also the doors giving access to the rooms of Monsignor de' Medici. So that it is impossible to have a picture on each wall as there ought to be. There might, however, be a picture in each lunette, since the latter are 18 or 20 palms wide, and they could have the required height given to them. For all that, in such a huge chamber these pictures would look too small.' And further, His Holiness said to me that this hall was too open to the public. Afterwards he remarked: 'Bastiano, on my conscience, I am not pleased with the work these men are now engaged on, and no one who has seen it has expressed approval. In four or five days I will make a personal inspection, and if I find that they have not gone on better than they have begun, I will see to it that their work is discontinued. I will find something else for them to do, remove what they have already done, and then hand over the whole place to you, as it is my intention to make a fine work of it, or I will leave it to them to paint it over with damask patterns.' I replied that, with your assistance, I was confident we

could work wonders there. Whereupon he rejoined: 'I have no doubt about that; for all of you have learned everything from him.' And, upon my word of honour and between ourselves, His Holiness went on to say: 'Look at Raphael's paintings. As soon as he saw Michael Angelo's work he suddenly dropped the style of Perugino, and followed Michael Angelo as closely as he could; but the latter is an alarming man, as you yourself see, and there is no getting on with him.' Upon which I told His Holiness that your alarming ways did no man any harm, and that it was only your devotion to the great work to which you had given yourself that made you seem terrible to others." *

Whether this conversation was really as flattering to Sebastiano as he makes out, must remain undecided. As a matter of fact the whole plan fell through, an issue to which a refusal to collaborate on the part of the ill-conditioned Michael Angelo contributed in no small degree. The Hall of Constantine remained in the hands of Raphael's pupils. By this arrangement the Vatican was perhaps deprived of a fine work of art, yet the Pope's loyal attachment to the pupils of the departed master leaves a very agreeable impression.

* GAYE, II., App. 487 (with the wrong date of year 1512); GUHL, I., 226 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

LEO X. AND MICHAEL ANGELO.—PROMOTION OF THE MINOR ARTS.—THE BUILDING OF NEW ST. PETER'S.—THE PRESERVATION OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

THE relations of Leo X. with Michael Angelo have long been represented as the result of the antipathy of the refined and diplomatic Pope to the rough and independent genius whom he was anxious to keep in the shade in Florence, like some uncongenial Cato.* This view is untenable in the face of facts; although it is true that years went by before the Pope made any call on his services. This arose from no antipathy, but from the reports made to the Pope that Michael Angelo's services were unavailable.† The latter was thus able to devote himself without disturbance to the monument to Pope Julius. Then arose the scheme of Leo X. to build a magnificent marble façade for the family church of the Medici, S. Lorenzo, in Florence. This was given to Michael Angelo to execute. The latter, and his biographer at a later date, made it appear that Leo had compelled him to abandon the Julian monument in order to give his whole attention to this new undertaking. This has been made the ground of very adverse criticism of Leo; but the most recent research has shown that such criticism is quite groundless.‡ It was not Leo who dragged

* Thus GRIMM, I., 5th ed., 437, and MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 434.

† JUSTI, Michelangelo, 255.

‡ *Cf.* JUSTI, 259 *seqq.*, whose statements I follow. He has at last

Michael Angelo away from his monument of Julius; it was Michael Angelo who offered himself to the Pope. As a Florentine he could not resist the temptation to return to his beloved birthplace as *Sedis apostolicæ archimagister et sculptor*, and entrusted with a monumental task. The prospect of completing the adornment of a church which his honoured friend Brunelleschi had erected, and in which his once fatherly protector Lorenzo de' Medici lay at rest, was too enticing. The agreement which Michael Angelo concluded with the heirs of Julius II. on the 8th of July, 1516, shows clearly that he had already half renounced the earlier task in favour of a new one. From that day dates the abandonment of the great conception of the memorial of Julius.*

Leo X. as well as Cardinal Medici met Michael Angelo's offers with delight, although the latter very soon assumed not only the execution of the plans, but the entire direction of the building. The whole business was to be settled by word of mouth. In the beginning of December, 1516, Michael Angelo went to Rome and showed the Pope a sketch of the façade which met with his approval. Thence he visited Carrara, in order to finish his work in connection with the monument to Julius, and arrange for the necessary quarrying of marble for the façade. The task which now confronted Michael Angelo, to carry out at the same time two enterprises of such vast scope, was one to tax the strength of Titans. Leo, who acceded to all the demands made upon him by his servant, was naturally anxious to have a plan of the façade put before him. Not until December, 1517, was one sent to Rome, and in January, 1518,

cleared up the discrepancy between the traditional account and the facts; at the same time, as far as Michael Angelo is concerned, he has given a most satisfactory answer to the psychological problem.

* See JUSTI, 267.

Michael Angelo himself arrived; on the 19th of the same month an agreement was arrived at by which the latter bound himself to execute, within the term of eight years, the façade only, in accordance with the plans approved by the Pope. At the same time another agreement was made with the heirs of Julius II., who were now losing patience.* In the deed of 1518 Michael Angelo was left free to choose the marbles from Carrara or from the newly-discovered quarries of Serravezza as he judged best. On the 20th of March he started for the last-named place, where he was destined to pass the most unproductive period of his life. Here the material for his work seems to have become an end in itself.† "His chief care and happiness is to procure blocks of flawless whiteness for his columns." In vain did Leo, at the end of 1518 and the beginning of 1519, give expression to his ever-increasing longing to see the beginning of at least one figure of the façade.‡ He got nothing; Michael Angelo, who always wished to work single-handed, with this magnificent project in his head, wasted precious time on inferior work which any other man might have done quite as well. The expectation at Rome lasted all through the year 1519, but in vain. The court poets seemed to be much more occupied with the façade than the architects who had designed it.§ At last, at the beginning of the year 1520, when a quarter of the stipulated time had gone by, patience was exhausted; the arrangement, hitherto unproductive of results, was cancelled, but not exactly in an open and conciliatory way.‖ Cardinal Medici stopped the work, "in order to relieve Michael

* FREY, Regesten, 12–13.

† JUSTI, Michelangelo, 282.

‡ *Cf.* FREY, Regesten, 15.

§ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, The Heroica of Casanova, ed. VOLPICELLA, 20.

‖ JUSTI, Michelangelo, 284.

Angelo of the burden of transporting the marble." The latter considered that others had interfered to his prejudice with rights which had been guaranteed to him by contract, and begged to be released from his engagement. His letters, at this period, show clearly how deeply he was affected; * notwithstanding, there was no open breach with the Pope and the Cardinal. Even after the cancelling of their contract, Michael Angelo remained in favour with the Pope. On the 27th of October, Sebastiano del Piombo tried to soothe his friend's resentment. "I know how much His Holiness values you; he speaks of you as tenderly as a brother, and shows love and appreciation, but it is you yourself who inspire the Pope with fear." † The soreness was entirely removed when, at the close of 1520, Leo X. renewed negotiations, through Cardinal Medici, with Michael Angelo with a view to a new work of importance. A second sacristy was to be added to S. Lorenzo, in the midst of which Michael Angelo was to erect unconditionally four monuments to the father, uncle, brother, and nephew of the Pope. Into this project the sculptor entered heartily. ‡

Cardinal Medici, who was above all the artistic rivalries and contentions of the time, thought nothing of employing, in various ways, Michael Angelo's antagonist, Baccio Bandinelli. The latter worked at Loreto under Andrea Sansovino. Sansovino, who, next to Michael Angelo, was the most celebrated sculptor of the Renaissance, and whose works for nobility and beauty of form approach those of Raphael, had already, in 1513, been entrusted with the plastic decoration of the outer shell of the Casa Santa at

* *Cf. supra*, p. 345.

† FREY, Regesten, 16.

‡ FREY, Regesten, 16–18; *cf.* MORENI, Descrizione d. Cappella de' Principi, 17 *seq.*

Loreto as planned under Julius II. On this work Sansovino was also engaged during the Pontificate of Clement VII. Besides Bandinelli, he had as assistants Tribolo, Francesco di Sangallo, Raffaello da Montelupo, Girolamo Lombardo, Mosca, and others.*

Rome itself was not enriched to any great extent by works of sculpture under Leo X. The most important are Michael Angelo's statue of Christ, which, in 1521, was placed in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Lorenzetto's Jonas in the mortuary chapel of the Chigi, and the bronze relief of Christ and the Woman of Samaria, to be found in the same place. The last two works, which are among the most interesting creations of the Renaissance,† were, however, only Lorenzetto's in execution; some sketch of Raphael must certainly have formed the model for the bas-relief, with its close adherence to the classic style, and perhaps for the statue of Jonas. What other master than the painter of Urbino could have conceived the living warmth of this symbol of the Resurrection, which in its modest loveliness, amenity, and strength recalls the best period of antiquity? Among the funeral monuments with which churches and chapels were now becoming filled in increasing numbers, not one reaches special pre-eminence. The colossal statue of Leo X., by Sansovino's pupil, Domenico Ami of Bologna,‡ which was erected on the Capitol by decree of the Senate, is so coarse and clumsy that it is hardly entitled to be called a work of art. Not-

* See SCHÖNFELD, 25 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, II., 240. See also Regest. Leonis X., n. 9710 to 9711.

† *Cf.* BODE, Plastik, 163.

‡ *Cf.*, for him, MARINI, Lettera, 115 *seq.*, and GREGOROVIUS, Schriften, I., 295. For the erection of the statue which has stood since 1876 in S. Maria in Aracoeli, see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 110. *Cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 207 *seq.*

withstanding these defects, a contemporary German poet was found who placed the sculptor on a level with Phidias.* Among those employed by Leo X., the Florentine Francesco de Buglioni, whose gravestone may be seen in S. Onofrio, is also to be numbered as a sculptor.†

While the art of sculpture fell into the background in a remarkable way during the age of Leo X., that of plastic decoration, along with the minor arts, developed in almost inverse ratio. It has been truly remarked that this development was due to the influence of painting,‡ but it was also fostered by the patronage of the Pope himself, whose exquisite taste gave an important direction and encouragement to these branches of art. For this reason Raphael has depicted him in his portrait as the friend of the minor arts—a portrait which differs in essential particulars from the conventional representations of Popes.

In the first place, the decoration of the Loggie again calls for attention. Here decorative art attains a classical perfection.§ Yet the delicate artistic feeling which is here paramount shows itself elsewhere in every detail. The beautiful carved doors and coffers which Leo introduced into the chambers of the Vatican can be seen by every visitor at the present day. The woodwork was executed by Giovanni Barile of Siena, and the intarsia by Fra

* C. Silvani Germanici in statuam Leonis X., P. M. silva, Romae, 1524. Also F. Novellus, in his *Vita Leonis (Cod. Barb., lat. 2273 of the Vatican Library), describes the statue as "pulcherrima" (f. 19).

† The epitaph (FORCELLA, V., 301) calls him "familiaris domesticus Leonis X.," and praises his wit and musical accomplishments. *Cf.* for him also Regest. Leonis X., n. 17462. Francesco is very likely a brother of Benedetto, of whom V. FABRICZY treats in the Riv. d' Arte, Firenze, 1904.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 363.

§ *Cf.* ZIMMERMANN, II., 502.

Giovanni da Verona.* Of the lovely majolica pavements in the Vatican and in St. Angelo, only some fragments, however, now remain.† Specimens of the splendid majolica ware once contained in the Vatican are to be seen in the Cluny Museum in Paris, products of the manufactories of Cafagioli, Pesaro, and Gubbio, marked with the armorial bearings of Leo.‡

It is greatly to be deplored that so little remains of the goldsmiths' work of this period, owing to the costliness of the metal employed,§ for the Renaissance had now reached the highest point in the lavish use of precious stones and metals. We can obtain some notion of the treasures in workmanship of this sort which were fashioned for Leo X. from the extraordinary number of goldsmiths in his employment, a class of artificers who, next to musicians,|| hold by far the most prominent place

* See BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Gesch. der Renaissance, 308 *seq.* 314; PASSAVANT, II., 265; MÜNTZ, Raphäel, 434 *seq.*; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 103. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, Vatican, II.: Chambres, and GMELIN, Ital. Skizzenbuch, I.: Die geschnitzten Türen im Vatikan, Leipzig, 1879. For G. Barile, *cf.* Mitteilungen des österr. Museums, 1879.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 317. For the pavements of the Camera della Segnatura, see KLACZKO, Jules II., 212. Portions of the magnificent majolica slabs of the Castle of St. Angelo were recently discovered by Borgati, and a collection of them has been placed by him in his museum.

‡ Musée Clugny, 2812: Plat creux en forme de drageoir en faience ital. de la fabrique de Cafagioli, with the arms of Leo X. 2892: Grand plat rond, fabrique de Pesaro, with arms of Leo X. 3019: Plat rond, fabrique de Gubbio, with arms of Leo X. *Cf.* also DARCEL, Notic. d. faience ital., 98 *seq.*, and Recueil d. faiences ital., Paris, 1869, p. 19, plates 26 and 49. See also BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Urbinati in Roma, Urbino 1881, 36 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

§ I only know of the existence of one goblet, a gift of Leo X., at Nocera. Phot. Moscioni, Nr. 6850.

|| *Introitus et Exitus, 551-560 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in

in the Papal ledgers. Among the principal were the Roman, Santi di Cola Sabba, Domenico da Sutri, Michele Nardini, Caradosso, and Antonio de' Fabbri of San Marino. The last named stood next in importance to Benvenuto Cellini. Antonio, who probably took charge of the affairs of his native town at the Papal Court, was, in 1509, one of the founders of the Guild of Goldsmiths which built, under Julius II., the charming little Church of S. Eligio in the Via Giulia. He was one of the intimate friends of Chigi and Raphael.* In those days there was no distinction drawn between the craft of the goldsmith and that of the jeweller.† The wealth of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, diamonds, pearls, which Leo possessed in his tiaras, mitres, and pectorals, was worthy of a fairy tale. An accurate inventory of jewels taken after his death gives their value at 204,655 gold ducats.‡ The greater part of them had belonged to his predecessors; yet, despite his financial distress, Leo had added to the number by repeated purchases; § he ordered a new tiara in 1516.‖ Besides

various places. Items also in *Serapica, Spese priv. di Leone X., Vol. III. (State Archives, Rome); *cf.* CESAREO, 210 *seq.* See also in Roman State Archives, Uffic. cam., 1515–1521 : Consensi per società di uffici, f. 15ᵇ; D. Amadeo Capriolo clerico Crem. aurifici in urbe 1515, Sep. 14.

* MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 435. *Cf.* Gaz. de Beaux-Arts, 1883, I., 502; Arch. stor. d. Arte, I., 37 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

† See LUZIO, Lusso di Isabella d'Este (1896), 32.

‡ **Inventario delle gioie appartenenti a Papa Leone X., of December 6, 1521; State Archives, Rome. I intend to publish, at a future date, this inventory in full, which is in many respects of great interest.

§ *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 9787; SANUTO, XXVI., 369; CESAREO, 210 *seq.*

‖ MÜNTZ, La Tiare pontif., Paris, 1897, 76, denies this, incorrectly. In a *Brief to Perugia, June 3, 1516, express mention is made of a tiara which had just been finished there. Communal Library, Perugia.

precious stones, Leo X. delighted in artistic gems, cameos, and medals.* A master in the art of cutting gems, Pier Maria da Pescia, often called Tagliacarne after his master of that name, prepared the Pontifical Seal. Along with Tagliacarne, Vittore Gambello or Camelio, Caradosso, and Valerio Belli were distinguished as designers of medals. Among the coinage issued from the Papal mint, many pieces exist of rare beauty.†

In the domain of architecture, Julius II. bequeathed to his successor a task of the greatest importance and difficulty. At the beginning of Leo's reign, the reconstruction of St. Peter's and of the Vatican was in the same initial stage as that of the Julian Palace in the Via Giulia. To carry out and finish these vast constructions on which the bold spirit of the Rovere Pope had set to work, demanded someone other than Leo X., whose reckless extravagance and disordered finances soon deprived him of the means indispensable to the fulfilment of such projects.

* He sometimes invited the Ambassadors to inspect his treasures, see SANUTO, XXII., 200. *Cf.* also FANTUZZI, III., 133. Paris de Grassis relates, Dec. 27, 1516: *Post missam (in S. Lorenzo in Florence) papa donavit vasculum christallinum ecclesiae eidem pro usu corporis Christi in processione deferendi et ut erat extimatum est valoris trium millium duc. propter gemmas. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Along with the general works of FLORAVANTE, Antiqui Rom. Pontif. denarii, Romae, 1728; VENUTI, Numismata Rom. Pontif., Romae, 1744; and CINAGLI, Le monete de' Papi, Fermo, 1848, *cf.* MÜNTZ, L'atélier monétaire de Rome, Paris, 1884, 23, 27 *seq.*; Arts, III., 710 *seq.*; SCHULTE, I., 206 *seq.*, especially for the relations of the Fuggers with the Papal mint. See also GNECCHI, Un zecchino di Leone X. per Ravenna, in the Riv. ital. di Numismata V.; FRATI, Di un ducato doro inedito di Leone X. coniato a Bologna (*Nozze Publ.*) Bologna, 1896; AMBROSOLI, Il ducato d'oro di Parma del 1513, in Arch. p. l. prov. Parmen., VIII. (1904). For R. Spinelli's Medal of Giuliano de' Medici, see Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., XXV., 6. For the medals of Leo V., see *supra*, 73 n.

Within the States of the Church the name of Leo X. is connected with few buildings. S. Cristina at Bolsena,* the harbours and fortifications at Civita Vecchia and Ancona,† the restoration of the citadel at Città Castellana, and of the Vitelleschi Palace at Corneto,‡ some small hunting lodges at Magliana, Palo, Montalto, and Montefiascone, where Antonio and Francesco di Sangallo § were employed —that is all.

* Leo X. had already, as a Cardinal, interested himself in this church. On the façade appear his name and the Cardinal's hat. The altar displays a relief, probably by Andrea della Robbia, which had been placed there by his orders: it represents the famous miracle in which Leo X. otherwise took so great an interest; *cf.* FUMI, Regesti de S. Maria di Orvieto, 108–109. For Bolsena, see GRAUS in Kirchenschmuck, 1901, 144, 146.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXI., 199, XXIII., 4, XXIV., 91; GUGLIELMOTTI, I bastioni di Antonio da Sangallo, Roma, 1860; *ibid.*, Pirati, I., 131 *seqq.*, and Fortificazioni, 245 *seqq.*; CLAUSSE, II., 105 *seqq.*, 111. At Loreto on the Torrione, near the Municipio, the following inscription, now obliterated, was once legible: "Jussu Leonis X. Florentini P. M. qui securitati prospexit templum hoc Iulianus Rudolphus a S. Maria D. Joannis Hierosolymitani Militiae Campanus Prior aggere, fossa, muro et propugnaculis muniri curavit. Anno Salutis, 1521." Eight fine bronze lions' heads, with the diamond ring in the mouths, are still preserved in the Arsenal at Civita Vecchia; *cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 283. A similar lion's head, with the diamond ring in its mouth, is on the façade of the Palazzo Lante in Rome (in the courtyard is the Medicean device). Lions' heads are also to be seen on the façade of S. Maria in Domnica.

‡ On the façade is the great coat of arms of Leo X.; *cf.* Kunstchronik, 1901–1902, 234.

§ Regest. Leonis X., n. 15202; GNOLI, Cacce, 42, 47 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, II., 290; Fr. Novellus, *Vita Leonis X. (Vatican Library) and IOANNINENSIS, Pentatheucus, 110[b]. A *Brief, July 28, 1517, in the Communal Archives, Perugia, has reference to the support given towards the restoration of the walls of Perugia. Accounts for Leo X.'s architects in Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, III., 1, 217 *seq.*, and VI., 1, 183 *seq.* S. v. FABRICZY (Die handzeichnungen Giulianos da San Gallo, Stuttgart,

In Rome Leo X. soon abandoned the continuation of the works at the huge Julian Palace and the not less extensive plans of Bramante for the Vatican. On the other hand he began to rebuild the Church of S. Giovanni for his Florentine fellow-citizens.* He also finished the porch of his former titular church, S. Maria in Domnica,† and the Loggie of the court of St. Damasus. The completion of the latter beautiful work was all too rapid as regards the scheme of decoration employed and the practical necessities involved. In the spring of 1520, such defects in the Loggie came to light that the Pope was obliged to exchange his apartments, which abutted upon them, for those of Cardinal Cibo.‡ The young Antonio di Sangallo was, however, soon able to obviate the danger by filling up certain spaces in the basement which had been left empty.§ Among the restorations of ancient ecclesiastical buildings in Rome, undertaken by Leo X., mention must be made of work on the church of S. Maria sopra

1902) published plans of Leo X.'s buildings. Of importance also is a *Libro di ricordi, 1513, in the Archives of the Fabricca of St. Peter's, which gives "misure" and "stime" for different works by Bramante (Magliana, Restoration of S. Maria in Domnica, and repairs at the Vatican). Here also is an inventory of things ordered by Leonardo da Vinci on loan, for his chamber in the Belvedere.

* *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 209; CLAUSSE, San Gallo, II., 162 *seq.*; ARMELLINI, Chiese, 275; LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 194.

† On the roof, thrice repeated, are the arms of Leo X. *Paris de Grassis relates, March 19, 1519: "Quia papa antequam ad papatum assumeretur habebat titulum de Navicella et ea ecclesia erat totaliter diruta, ideo papa nunc eam restituit et pulcherrimam reddidit, propterea ivit ad stationem quae hodie ibi est." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Paris de Grassis in PASSAVANT, II., 322; Atti Mod., V., 308; and *Letter of Ang. Germanello, April 3, 1520. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Cf.* CLAUSSE, San Gallo, II., 198.

Minerva, and the baptistery of the Lateran,* in S. Maria Maggiore,† and in the cloisters of S. Cosimato. Considerable additions were made to the hospital of S. Spirito.‡ In the Castle of St. Angelo a small chapel was built which is still preserved.§ Of the street improvements, under the direction of Giuliano di Sangallo, we have already spoken.||

The prosecution of the rebuilding of St. Peter's was imperatively demanded by the existing condition of the old basilica.¶ Bramante's demolition had been carried out so heedlessly that the church was exposed to the winds on all sides, and, on the first recurrence of Easter Day (March 27, 1513), the celebration of divine worship was rendered impossible. Nor could the festivals of All Saints and Christmas be held in St. Peter's. Service, according to the Master of the Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, in the remaining portion of St. Peter's would have been as

* *Cf.* ROHAULT, Latran, 413, 504, pl. 34, and Fr. Novellus, *Vita, *loc. cit.*

† See Regest. Leonis X., n. 7404.

‡ Repert. f. Kuntswiss., VII., 443.

§ The chapel is in the Cortile delle Palle; on the façade are visible the arms of Leo X. (ring and ostrich feathers), right and left two lions' heads. Within, Leo's arms are on the roof and over one of the doors. Borgati, the restorer of St. Angelo, believes that he can prove the existence in the Uffizi of a drawing of the chapel by Michael Angelo. Leo's arms are also to be seen in St. Angelo, on two beautiful marble doors in the Cortile of Alexander VI. For the Chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian, *cf.* BENIGNI, Miscell. di storia, IV., 580.

|| *Cf. supra*, p. 127 *seq.*, and LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 180, 192, 211. Giuliano di Sangallo also drew up a plan for a Medicean palace on the Piazza Navona; see FABRICZY, Kritisches Verzeichnis der Handzeichnungen, 115, and Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., 23, Beiheft 11-12. *Cf.* LANCIANI, *loc. cit.*, 209.

¶ For the unfortunately scarce views of St. Peter's during the building, see GEYMÜLLER, Entwürfe, 324 *seqq.*

unhealthy as it would have been dangerous.* On the accession of Leo X., Bramante remained, of course, architect-in-chief for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, but he was crippled with the gout in his hands, and his seventy years were drawing to an end. His state was so precarious that already, on the 1st of November, 1513, a deputy was appointed to act with him in the person of Fra Giocondo da Verona. Yet the illustrious Veronese, who appears to have been a Franciscan and not a Dominican, was himself well stricken in years, over eighty.† Consequently, yet a third architect had to be appointed on the 14th of January, 1514, namely, Giuliano di Sangallo, who was no younger than Bramante.‡ On the 11th of March, 1514, the latter died. On his death-bed he had recommended his friend and countryman Raphael as his successor to the Pope. Leo X. was all the more willing to concur with this proposal since he knew that younger and stronger powers were needed to push forward the building of the great Church.

Raphael, at this time, was no novice in the art of architecture. In the early years of his residence at Rome, he had already given remarkable proofs of his knowledge. With the wonderful adaptability which was one of his most marked characteristics, he threw himself into the style of Bramante, and with surprising quickness saw how to assimilate the latter's ideas while preserving his own independence.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, *Diarium. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 431 *seq.*, and the special literature there given. For Fra Giocondo's life, see CARINI in the Atti d. Pontif., Accad. di Archeol., 1894. *Cf.* also Mél. d'archéol., 1891, 133 *seq.* How generous Leo X. was to Fra Giocondo, the latter relates in a characteristic letter, August 2, 1514, published in Courier de l'Art, 1888, 78.

‡ GEYMÜLLER, 257 *seq.*

Evidence of this is to be found in the now unfortunately half-ruined chapel of S. Eligio degli Orefici, which is planned in the form of a Greek cross, and was crowned by a cupola copied, apparently, from a sketch of Bramante's of a corresponding cupola in the new St. Peter's. There is strong evidence that, about this same time, he was engaged on the Farnesina for Agostino Chigi.*

Raphael, who, since the 1st of April, 1514, had provisionally taken Bramante's place as architect of St. Peter's † at a yearly salary of 300 gold ducats, appreciated to the full the honour and good fortune conferred on him by this new undertaking. Henceforward, so he expressed himself, he could live nowhere else but in Rome, and this "from love for the building of St. Peter's." "What place on earth," he wrote on the 1st of July, 1514, to Simone Ciarla, "can compare with Rome in dignity? What task can be nobler than the construction of St. Peter's? This is certainly the first church in the world, and the greatest building that man has ever yet seen; the cost will

* *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, Raffaello Sanzio studiato come architettetto, 24 *seq.* According to Geymüller, Raphael not only planned the actual Villa Farnesina, but also the stable buildings and the Loggia in the adjoining garden.

† See the accounts in FEA, 9, from Cod. H., II., 22, in the Chigi Library, Rome. Fuller accounts are to be found in another *Codex, Cod. chart. s. XVI., 4°, 18 × 23½ cm., 159 folio pages of identical date (the first four and last four corresponding pages are missing), in the Archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, which is labelled "spese 1514." Of this account-book Dr. Kallab, some of whose notes SCHULTE (I., 175) has already made use of, has thoroughly treated. Here are found not only receipts of Raphael, but also of Giuliano di Sangallo, the other Sangallo's, and Fra Giocondo's, among others, stonemasons', carpenters', etc., engaged on the construction of St. Peter's. Some of these notices in MÜNTZ, Hist. de Raphaël, 133. SPRINGER, 295, is incorrect in putting Raphael's salary at 700 ducats; REUMONT, III., 2, 405, makes a mistake in dating his appointment from 1516.

amount to a million in gold. The Pope has ordered a payment of 60,000 ducats for the works. He thinks of nothing else; he has associated me," he goes on to say without reserve, "with an experienced monk who has passed his eightieth year. The Pope sees that he cannot live much longer, and His Holiness has therefore determined that I should benefit by the instructions of this distinguished craftsman and attain to greater proficiency in the art of architecture, of the beauties of which he has recondite knowledge; his name is Fra Giocondo. The Pope gives us audience every day, and keeps us long in conversation on the subject of the building."*

On the 1st of August, 1514, Leo X. issued his final instructions as to the position and relative functions of the three architects of St. Peter's. Fra Giocondo and Raphael were appointed architects-in-chief. The salary of the former, as the senior, was fixed at 400 gold ducats; †

* PUNGILEONI, 157 *seq.*; GUHL, I., 93 *seq.*

† None of the scholars who have dealt with the new building of St. Peter's, not even Müntz and Geymüller, have been aware of this. On account of the great importance of the circumstance, I give the *Brief as taken from the Codex in series No. 3 of the Ambrosian Library, fol. 115:—*Iocundo architecto. Cum te iis in muneribus omnibus obeundis, quae ad bonum architectum pertinent, egregium ac praestantem esse eamque artem recte callere et semper antea intellexerimus et nuper post Bramantis obitum in principis apostolorum templi Romani a fe. re. Julio II.° instituti, ea parte quam quidem ipsi inchoatam potuis quam confectam videmus totiusque templi exemplo recognoscendo tuum ipse ingenium et virtutem exaedificandique peritiam abunde probaveris: nos quibus nihil est fere antiquius, quam ut id templum quam magnificentissime quamque celerrime construatur, te magistrum eius operis constituimus cum salario ducatorum quadringentorum auri camerae nostrae tibi annis singulis persolvendorum a nostris pecuniarum, quae ad ipsius templi aedificationem erogantur ad nosque perferuntur, magistris, a quibus id salarium aequis pro tempore portionibus dari tibi cum petieris sine ulla mora etiam

that of Raphael at 300.* Giuliano di Sangallo at the same time received 300 ducats a years; he did not, however, rank with the "master" architects, but was styled "administrator and coadjutor,"† which means that he was

mensibus singulis mandamus. Hortamur autem in domino devotionem tuam, ut huius muneris curam ita suscipias, ut in eo exercendo cum existimationis tuae ac nominis, tum amoris erga te nostri paternaeque caritatis, demum et templi, quod in toto orbe terrarum longe omnium maximum atque sanctissimum semper fuit, maiestatis et celebritatis et in ipsum principem apostolorum debitae a nobis pietatis et reverentiae rationem habuisse videare. Dat. Romae die p^a^ Aug^ti^ 1514, anno secundo.

* The Brief to Raphael is in BEMBI, Epist., IX., 13 (*cf.* App. No. 22). In the Register Book of the Ambrosian Library the original form is given. The following variants are there found :—aedificiis for aedibus ; exemplo for forma ; fere antiquius for prope a ; templum for phanum ; constituimus for facimus ; salario ducator. tercentorum auri camerae nostrae for stipendio numum aureor. trecentor. ; persolvendorum for curandorum ; ipsius templi for eius phani ; salarium for stipendium ; mandamus for iubeo ; Hortamur autem te in Domino ut for Te vero horor ut ; quibus for quoniam ; in iuvenili tua aetate for iuvenili aetate ; paternaeque caritatis for paternaeque in te benevolentiae ; templi for phani. After pietatis in Cod. Ambros. follows et reverentiae. Die prima Aug. is altered in print into Cal. Aug.

† In Cod. Ambros., f. 115, this likewise hitherto unknown *Brief runs as follows :—*Iuliano de Sancto Gallo. De peritia in architecturae arte diligentiaque tua mortos iam annos nobis probata et perspecta plenam fiduciam habentes, cum nihil sit fere nobis antiquius, quam ut principis apostolorum templum romanum a fe. re. Julio II. predecessore nostro inchoatum quam magnificentissime quamque celerrime construatur, te in eius operis administrum et coadiutorem constituimus cum salario ducatorum tercentorum auri de camera tibi annis singulis persolvendorum a nostris pecuniarum, quae ad ejus templi aedificationem erogantur ad nosque perferuntur, magistris. Quamobrem te hortamur, ut omnem curam adhibeas, quo omnes intelligant nos de tua peritia recte sentire et tu eius templi, quod in toto orbe terrarum longe omnium maximum atque sanctissimum semper fuit, maiestatis et celebritatis et in ipsum principem apostolorum debitae a nobis

principally responsible for the carrying out of the works. In Raphael's Brief it is expressly stated that he had qualified for the position by the new design for St. Peter's which he had executed at the wish of the Pope. On the death of Fra Giocondo * on the 1st of July, 1515, Raphael became sole architect-in-chief of St. Peter's. The earnestness with which he threw himself into the work is clearly shown in the letters addressed to Baldassare Castiglione soon after his appointment. "Our Sovereign," we read, "while conferring on me an honour, has laid a heavy load upon my shoulders—the burden of anxiety for the building of St. Peter's. I hope not to lay it down, and all the more so as the model of the edifice which I have made pleases His Holiness, and has been praised by many men of good understanding. But my desires reach further; would that I could attain to the beauty of form of the buildings of antiquity; yet I know not whether this may not be but the flight of Icarus. Vitruvius certainly gives me much light, still he does not give enough."†

We see that the first design, from which Giovanni Barile executed a model in wood, failed to please its author. He therefore set to work on a second design which, like the first, has been lost. Indeed, of Raphael's work as a whole as architect of St. Peter's, not a line has been preserved from his own hand.‡ Other sources of information are but scanty; important evidence is afforded by a coin

pietatis et reverentiae rationem habuisse videare. Dat. Romae p° Augusti, 1514, anno secundo.

* SANUTO, XX., 363; GEYMÜLLER, 277.

† BOTTARI, Raccolta, I., 116; GUHL, I., 95.

‡ GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 277. The following description is based on the remarkable investigations of this illustrious authority on architecture, to whom also MÜNTZ, 566 *seqq.*, is indebted for his information.

which represents St. Peter's, on one side, in the form of a Greek cross, as shown on the medal of Julius II., and on the other in that of a Latin cross which Leo X. is offering to St. Peter.* We may conclude from this that the Medici Pope had decided, probably on weighty liturgical grounds, to substitute a building, in the longitudinal basilica form, in place of the plan originally contemplated by Bramante. Thus Raphael could acquiesce in this change without disrespect to the memory of the friend to whose recommendation he owed his present position. On the other hand Bramante seems, during his last years, to have become, to all appearance, reconciled † to the new design. From this point of view Panvinio was right in saying later that Raphael had followed in Bramante's footsteps, and Sebastiano Serlio in praising him as the perfecter of Bramante's plans. The ground-plan published as Raphael's by Serlio in his work, which appeared in 1540,‡ has been pronounced, as the result of modern investigation, to be so inadequate and inaccurate that, taken by itself, it is well-nigh useless.§ It is only by examination of the ground-plan of Giuliano di Sangallo and the memorial of his nephew Antonio that it is possible to come to any exact conclusion as to the real intentions of Raphael. The memorial,‖ which sets forth a draft of a critical report on the building of St. Peter's intended for

* Specimens of this rare piece in Berlin and Paris. Engraving in GEYMÜLLER, plate 2, fig. 4; *cf.* pp. 259 *seq.*, 319. TIZIO mentions this coin, *Hist. Senen. Cod. G, II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome). He explains it, very strangely, with reference to Leo's approaching death.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 467, n.

‡ SERLIO, Dell architettura, 1, 3.

§ GEYMÜLLER, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst., X., 252 *seq.*, and Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 279 *seq.*

‖ Printed in VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), X., 25 *seq.* Date assigned and criticism given by GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 293–303.

the Pope, is dated the 1st of July, 1515, the day on which Fra Giocondo died and on which Giuliano di Sangallo withdrew from the work on account of ill-health. (He died October 20, 1516.)* From this it appears that Raphael, departing from Bramante's arrangement, had planned a longitudinal building of great length with transepts and a cupola too heavy for its supporting pillars. To rectify these faults in Raphael's original design, which were so sharply criticized in the memorial, Antonio di Sangallo, who had been appointed coadjutor on the 22nd of November, 1516, prepared a number of studies.† These materials throw light on Raphael's intentions. It may be considered certain that, in succession to the plan censured by Antonio di Sangallo, Raphael constructed a second which was apparently satisfactory. From this second plan Serlio made his copy, which, on the whole, is inaccurate, but still, in the combination of nave and dome, as well as in the rich pillared vestibule, discloses a truly Raphaelesque harmony of proportions.‡

The project in its entirety was never, as is well known, brought to completion. There is evidence to show that, under Raphael's direction, only the small pillars, which stand on both sides of the pillars of the dome, were built to a height of about twelve metres, and that the arcades of the south aisle were ceiled. Whether Vasari's statement, that Raphael, along with Fra Giocondo and Giuliano

* *Cf.* FABRICZY in Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., XXIII., Beiheft 12. He also gives, according to *Div. cam., 1519-1523, f. 99, the dispensation of Leo X. regarding the site of a house given to Giuliano, which the latter sold in 1515 to Giacomo da Brescia, who built thereon a palace, now the Palazzo Costa.

† CLAUSSE, II., 121. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, XX. (1879), 523.

‡ GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 316–322; *cf.* plate 35, fig. 1.

di Sangallo, also strengthened the foundations of new St. Peter's, is correct or not, must remain an open question.* On the other hand, the evidence of Paris de Grassis makes it certain that Raphael began his work at once, and that in April, 1514, he had completed what was required to ensure the temporary security of the remaining portion of old St. Peter's, and to render it serviceable for divine worship.† The process of demolition continued during the reign of Leo X.: in November, 1519, the whole portico of the basilica lay in ruins.‡ Raphael's successor as architect of St. Peter's was Antonio di Sangallo. Baldassare Peruzzi was appointed his coadjutor.§

The inconsiderable results attained by Raphael during his six years as architect of St. Peter's are accounted for by the difficulties which presented themselves in procuring funds for the vast construction. The Pope had originally assigned a yearly donation of 60,000 ducats; this sum was realized principally by means of the issue of indulgences. To what momentous results this led in Germany has already been described; and also among the Latin peoples a

* GEYMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 323. For the actual execution Raphael employed the skilled master of work Giuliano Leno; see JOVANOVITS, 68, and MÜNTZ, L. da Vinci, 457 *seq.* A satire on G. Leno is mentioned by SANUTO, XXXII., 290.

† I take the following from a hitherto unnoticed passage in Paris de Grassis, Diarium, April 16, 1514: *Etiam appositum est pallium ad altare id est ad faciem posteriorem, quae respicit corpus basilicae. Ipsa basilica heri finita est in cupula sive in novo emicaelo fabricari sic ut papa potuit cum prius non potuerit celebrare. Secret Archives of the Vatican. By the *emicaelum* I am disposed to understand the large provisional choir of Bramante, built on the foundations of that of Nicholas V., and which stood till 1585. *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, Entwürfe, 134–135.

‡ Paris de Grassis in DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 76.

§ Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, XX. (1879), 523. GEYMÜLLER, Entwürfe, 100, 358.

strong opposition had arisen. The Ambassador of the King of Portugal had certainly undertaken, on the 21st of May, 1514, to remit to the Pope 50,000 ducats from the proceeds of the Jubilee which had been authorized in his Sovereign's dominions,* but in Spain no less a man than Ximenes had often protested against the Indulgence for the building fund of St. Peter's.† The Republic of Venice, in March, 1515, forbade the publication of this indulgence within its territories: at a later date this injunction was insisted on more strongly.‡ The more meagre the returns of the indulgence money the more strenuous were Leo's exertions to raise funds in other ways. He made use of the *Fabbrica di S. Pietro* as already constituted by

* Arm., XXXIV., t. 18 (Instr. cam.), f. 15[b], of the Secret Archives of the Vatican: *Obligatio Regis Postugallie. Cum sit quod Sanctissimus Dominus Noster D. Leo papa X. ad requisitionem Illmi D. D. Hemanuelis regis Portugallie tam pro fabrica principis Apostolorum de urbe quam pro sustinendo bello et expeditione per ipsum regem contra Mauros et infideles suscepta concesserit in regno Portugallie Iubileum duraturum quo per dictum regem contra Mauros et infideles bellum geretur et idem rex contra dictos infideles exercitum paratum et expeditum in castris habebit et alias prout in bulla desuper expedita plenius continetur. Hinc est quod anno domini 1514, die 21 Maii constituti coram me notario etc., magnifici domini D. Tristanus de Acugura (=Acunha?) miles Didacus Pacechus et Johannes de Faria doctores omnes oratores prenominati regis sponte etc., non vi etc., nomine dicti regis promiserunt et se in forma camere etc., obligaverunt solvere dicto S. D. N. pro dicta fabrica duc. auri de camera quinquaginta milia ex primis fructibus et introitibus colligendis et percipiendis ex dicto jubileo juran. etc., renuntian. etc., rogan. etc. Acta fuerunt Rome in palatio apostolico et camera Rmi D. Cardinalis sanctorum quatuor coronatorum presentibus ibidem dominis Iacobo Sadoleto S. d. n. pape secretario et Dominico Crispo secretario prefati Rmi D. Cardinalis Sanctorum quatuor, etc. Et me Io. de Att. rog.

† See WETZER and WELTE'S Kirchenlexikon, XII., 2nd ed., 1835.

‡ SANUTO, XX., 52, XXV., 390; CICOGNA, 395.

Julius II. On its officials he conferred the extraordinary privilege of watching over the scrupulous execution of testamentary dispositions to the profit of the building expenses.* Besides this, Leo enjoined in very many instances that one-half of the receipts from indulgences of other kinds should be apportioned to this purpose.† But even this helped little; in almost all directions a strong reaction against the Indulgence was manifested.‡

On the top of all this came Leo X.'s extravagance and financial disorder. It was no wonder that, like so many other undertakings, the building of St. Peter's also came more and more to a standstill. As early as 1517 § it was a jest among the Romans that Leo would never finish the work of Julius.|| It was a current tale in Italy that the Pope handed over the receipts from the sale of the St. Peter's Indulgence to his sister Maddalena.¶ In Germany the calumny was widespread that the stones intended for the Church of St. Peter found their way by night to the palaces of the Pope's nephews.** Despite Leo's solemn

* For this see the rare document, Compendio di teorica e di pratica d. rev. Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Roma, 1793. Here belong the **Briefs to Bologna, dated Rome, 1520, December 4 (State Archives, Bologna), and to Alfonso of Ferrara, of 27th December, 1520 (State Archives, Modena).

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XX., 61, XXVII., 147, 379; Regest. Leonis X., n. 12,275; SCHULTE, I., 75; LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 74.

‡ SCHULTE, I., 167, 171, 173.

§ About St. Peter's in the year 1518, *cf.* LANCELOTTI, III., 179.

|| Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLII., 90. *Cf.* also the satires quoted in Vol. VI. of this work, 469 *seq.*

¶ This narrative, produced by Guicciardini and spread further by Sarpi, is a lie. F. Contelorius had already remarked that not a trace of evidence was to be found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. SCHULTE, I., 173 *seq.*, agrees with him.

** STRAUSS, Hutten, I., 308, 311.

assurance of his zeal for the building of the new basilica, "which takes precedence of all churches upon earth and is a guarantee for the security of the Christian religion,"* he was the object of a far-reaching distrust. In May, 1519, a Venetian openly declared that the delays in the building of St. Peter's arose from the want of the main thing—money.† In November, 1521, four courts of the monastery of St. Peter were sold to defray building expenses.‡

How heavily the tardy progress of the work weighed upon Raphael is to be seen from a letter of the Ferrarese Envoy of the 17th of December, 1519. "The master," it says, "has often been very strange since he took Bramante's place."§ He was also constantly employed on other architectural commissions: thus he drew designs for several private palaces in the Borgo, among which that of the Papal Chamberlain, Branconio dell' Aquila, was foremost. Unfortunately this building|| was sacrificed to make way for the colonnades of the Piazza of St. Peter's. On the other hand, the Pandolfini Palace at Florence, built after designs by Raphael, has been preserved.¶

An evil fortune has presided over the so-called Villa Madama, built for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Placed in a charming site on the eastern slope of Monte Mario, this villa, although never completed and fallen into sad decay with the lapse of time, has always attracted the attention of artists; it has quite recently been made the subject of a

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 13,053.

† SANUTO, XXVII., 274; CICOGNA, 400.

‡ SANUTO, XXXII., 149. Fines were also appropriated by Leo X. for the building fund; see Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 69.

§ Atti Mod., I., 136.

|| The Palazzo Spada is probably a free reproduction.

¶ *Cf. supra*, p. 115 n.

thorough investigation and most pleasing description.* An answer, however, has not yet been found to several questions connected with this interesting structure. Whether the plans were already drawn 1516-1517 † cannot be decided. It is certain, on the evidence of Baldassare Castiglione, that the building was well advanced in June, 1519, and often visited by the Pope,‡ but that in August, 1522, the work was not yet finished.§ Castiglione also vouches that Raphael drew the original plan. Its grandeur and beauty are attested to this day by two drawings exhibited in his studio. The execution of the building, however, was carried out in accordance with a third plan which has, unfortunately, been lost.‖ The whole is in wonderful harmony with the natural character of the gentle ascent on which it stands; every advantage has been taken, by the inspiration of genius, of the beauties of the situation. The domestic offices, the dwelling and reception rooms, the loggie and terraces, the theatre and racecourse, the grottoes, fountains, and gardens, are connected by flights

* TH. HOFMANN, Raffael als Architekt, I., Villa Madama zu Rom., Dresden, 1900. Besides these editions de luxe, *cf.* also NIBBY, Roma mod., II., 944 *seq.*; D'ARCO, Giulio Romano, Mantova, 1842, 11 *seq.*; GAYE in Kunstblatt, 1835, No. 4; REUMONT in Zahns Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft, II.; REDTENBACHER in d. Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, 1876, 33 *seq.*; MINGHETTI, Raffaelo, 166, n. 251–252; GRIMM, Raphaël, 489 *seq.*; GEYMÜLLER, Raffaelo come architetto, 59 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, II., 203 *seq.*, III., 310 *seq.*; Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., XXV., 32 *seq.*, and Gaz. des Beaux-Arts, 1903, I., 314 *seq.*

† GEYMÜLLER, Raffaelo come architetto, 69, and Doc. inéd. sur les Mss. des San Gallo, Paris, 1885, 19.

‡ *B. Castiglione to Isabella d'Este, June 16, 1519; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. This letter shows that MÜNTZ (Hist., II., 251) is mistaken when he places the beginning of the Villa Madama in 1520.

§ Letter of B. Castiglione, August 13, 1522, in PUNGILEONI, Elogio, 181–182.

‖ *Cf.* SEMPER in the Allg. Ztg., 1901, Beil. 136.

of steps and adjusted to the conformation of the ground. Taken all in all, it is the earliest example of the combination of garden, landscape, and architecture in the laying out of the grounds of an Italian villa. The terrace commands a noble panorama of the city, the Campagna, the long chain of the Apennines, and sharp-pointed Soracte. When completed, this "Vigna de' Medici" must certainly have been the most beautiful villa of the Renaissance.

The decorations of the stately halls were the work of Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano. The central point of splendour was the triple-arched Loggia, sixteen metres high, in the middle of which were displayed the Medici arms. Further decorations consisted of reliefs in stucco and fresco; here were seen the Seasons, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, and Proserpine; in the frieze which ran underneath the dome-shaped ceiling, antique divinities, satyrs, and nymphs were repeated. In the eastern dome of the exedra the love of Polyphemus for Galatea is depicted. In like manner only antique subjects are represented throughout, along with the heraldic bearings and the device * of the owners of the villa.†

When we take into consideration that Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was a prelate of thorough earnestness and morality, the decoration of his villa gives us a full measure of the extent to which Roman society in all its circles was penetrated by the spirit of classical antiquity. Another proof is afforded by the general awakening of reverence for the venerable relics of early Roman history,‡ in which the

* A sunbeam falling through a burning glass, kindles a tree, hence the inscription: Candor illesus. A part of the ceiling was at last finished in 1525; see HOFFMANN, 21; CLAUSSE, II., 216.

† *Cf.* HOFFMANN, 17, 22.

‡ On the other hand, remains of other ages did not yet meet with any intelligent understanding; this was shown in a striking way, in

Eternal City was then incomparably richer than it is to-day. The weightiest evidence of this is the celebrated Brief of Leo X. to Raphael, of the 27th of August, 1515,* in which the Pope commits "the destiny of the antiquities of Rome" to the hands of this enthusiast for ancient art. At the same time he appoints the architect of St. Peter's to be chief overseer of all the remains in marble and stone which should be exhumed within Rome or within a radius of ten miles from it. Under the penalty of a heavy fine, each one was bound to report to him, within three days, any discovery of this kind, in order that he might decide what part of this material seemed of use for the building of St. Peter's. But such remains were not to be utilized for this purpose without discrimination, as had hitherto been the custom; Leo X. expressly commands the preservation of all those portions on which are carved inscriptions or other representations. "Such things often contain some important memorial, and are well worth safeguarding for the advantage of science and the classic purity of the Latin language." In these closing sentences of his letter lies its essential significance; Leo X. has hereby established a claim on the gratitude of all men of learning.

An appointment of Raphael as overseer and custodian of the collective antiquities of Rome, within the jurisdiction of the city, cannot be deduced from the Papal Brief without doing violence to the text.† How much importance

1519, when the sarcophagi in the mausoleum of Honorius were destroyed. That many ancient relics were destroyed even under Leo X. is certain; see MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 44 *seq.*

* In an altered form in BEMBI, Epist., X., 51. The original phraseology I give from a MS. of the Ambrosian Library, App. No. 22.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 601. It is surprising to still find the old erroneous view in ZIMMERMANN, II., 484. KOOPMANN is likewise mistaken, 312 ("the leader-in-chief of excavations"); REDTENBACHER,

Leo X. attached to the preservation of ancient remains is shown by his erecting, in the vestibule of the Pantheon, the wonderful porphyry cistern from the Baths of Agrippa, destined at a later date to receive the bones of Clement XII. On two large marble slabs, still to be seen in the Pantheon, he caused an inscription to be placed which relates that this was done in order that a work of such conspicuous elegance might be handed down to posterity unimpaired.* An antique votive boat, found on the island in the Tiber, he had carried to the open space before his former titular church, S. Maria in Domnica, which thenceforward was called "della Navicella." The humanists celebrated this discovery in verse, and interpreted it as a happy augury for the reign of Leo. In general the Leonine period was remarkably poor in the recovery of antiquities as compared with the previous epoch of Julius II.†

The most remarkable archæological discovery which was made under Leo X. was the result of excavations on the site of a temple of Isis near the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco; earlier attempts had shown that a statue of great size lay there. Renewed exploration was followed by brilliant results, for there came to light two colossal statues of the best Roman period, the Nile and the Tiber; Leo X. became the owner of these statues of the two river gods and placed them in the midst of the Belvedere gardens. A further service was rendered by the

203 ("director of excavations and antiquities.") *Cf.*, at present day, also LANCIANI, Scavi, 166 *seq.*

* This characteristic inscription, which has not, to my knowledge, been published, runs: Leo X. Pont. Max. providentissimus || princeps vas elegantissimum || en lapide Numidico ne pollutum || negligentie sordibus obsolesceret || in hunc modum reponi exornarique || jussit. || Bartholomeus Valla || Ramundus Capoferreus || aediles fac. cur. ||

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVII., 470; CICOGNA, 405; GAYE, II., 139; Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XVII., 429; Rev. archéol., 1884, IV., 49.

Pope to the collection of antiquities begun by his predecessors when he had the tact to decline the request of Francis I. that he should hand over to the latter the group of the Laocöon. Nor should the fact be omitted that Leo X., while denying access strictly to his private collection of antiques in Raphael's Loggie, threw open without restriction the statuary courts of the Belvedere. Rome was thus put in possession of a second public museum in addition to that on the Capitol. The gratitude of after ages has exaggerated the services of Leo X., since it has ascribed to him also the acquisition of works such as the Cleopatra and the Laocöon, which undoubtedly date back to the days of Julius II.*

The noteworthy fact that Leo X., in the tradition of later generations, has overshadowed his predecessor, who was undoubtedly a much more remarkable man, is in nowise limited by the interest which the former evinced in the domain of ancient plastic art. This circumstance repeats itself with more or less insistence throughout the whole range of artistic activity. The lavish generosity with which Leo supported the humanist poets and men of learning has been put down to his credit with so high a rate of interest, that for centuries the Leonine epoch has been counted as the meridian of splendour not only of the Roman but of the whole Italian Renaissance in general.

* The above, from the exhaustive researches of MICHAELIS, Geschichte d. Statuenhofes im vaticanischen Belvedere, in Jahrb. d. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, V., 1890, 24 to 26. See also LANCIANI, Scavi, 155. The following entry in *Divers. Cam., LXXI., f. 165^{b}, refers to the statue of Cleopatra: Creditum D Ier^{mi} de Maffeis pro statua Cleopatre posita super fonte Belvedere nuncup. sub die 18 Dec. 1521. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) For Leo's removal of ancient statues from Tivoli, see MARINI, Lettera, 117. For the private collections of antiquities in Rome, see MÜNTZ, Raphaël, 591 *seq.*, and Le Musée du Capitole, Paris, 1882, 12 *seq.*, and especially LANCIANI, Scavi, 159 *seq.*

To this has contributed in no small measure the glamour which clings to the name of Medici. All that his forefathers, especially his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, did for art, has been reflected back upon the Pope, as well as the artistic culture of his relatives, Giulio, Giuliano, and Lorenzo, and of his surroundings.* Finally, the after reputation of Leo X. was greatly affected by the circumstance that in him culminated that all-embracing patronage of art which had begun with Nicholas V. His successor, Adrian VI., stood quite aloof from the Renaissance; besides, he was occupied with tasks of a different and more urgent kind. Clement VII. was certainly not unwilling to follow on in the path trodden by Leo X., but the innumerable mischances of his reign left him only scanty possibilities of doing anything in this direction. Thus after Leo X. came times of gloom, especially for art; men looked back with yearning at the Leonine era, which still shone in contrast with a more brilliant light.

The picture of Leo X. as the patron of art, which has been sketched by the humanists as the dispensers of posthumous fame, and which, in its exaggeration, has obscured the deserts of his predecessor, who in this very particular had a special glory of his own, has for centuries struck the key-note of current opinion. The most recent research has at length administered impartial justice. The earlier tradition, which hailed Leo X. as the "appreciative patron of all artists," and celebrated him as the glorious continuator of the work of Julius II., must now be discounted. On more sober reflection we are astonished that such a conception could have been generally formed; for it was exactly in this particular that Leo X. fell short,

* The chief patrons of art among the Cardinals were Bibbiena, Cibo, and Pucci, among the prelates Pandolfini, Branconio dell' Aquila, B. Turini da Pescia. *Cf. supra*, pp. 112 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*

namely, that instead of carrying forward the work of his predecessor, he threw himself into countless new enterprises which diverted his attention from points of capital importance.

As regards taste and understanding in the matter of the imaginative arts, Julius II., who was an enthusiast in his feeling for all *chefs-d'œuvre,* was incomparably greater than his successor, whose chief predilection lay in decorative art. There can be no doubt that the former "formed a more reverent conception of art, recognized more fully the grandeur of its aims, and paid it freer homage as one of the ideal institutions of life" than the refined and subtle Medici, who thrust his own personality much more "into the foreground, and valued art chiefly as a means of heightening the pleasure of life." * It is in accordance with this judgment that even the creations which Julius II. called into being excel in subject and beauty the works of the Leonine age, some of which are one-sided in conception and have been praised to excess; of these only the cartoons stand on the same level as the two first Stanze. Strongly as this must be emphasized, yet the just attribution of what is due to the credit of Julius II. ought not to lead to a petty disparagement of the merits of Leo X.; this has been carried to such a pitch in certain quarters that there is a danger of falling into the opposite extreme.† Here, as in

* SPRINGER, 229.

† The exaggerated estimate of Leo's influence on art as well as literature is the outcome of the panegyrics of the humanists; yet this view has held its ground for long. The Medici were favourites of fortune in their lifetime and in their posthumous fame. Biographers like Giovio, and his successor Roscoe, three centuries later, have drawn a picture in which the light predominates. Individual criticisms of the artistic patronage of Leo and his relation to Julius II. (1822, FEA, Notizie, 44 *seq.*; and 1831, RUMOHR, Forschungen, III., 122 *seq.*) produced no effect, Roscoe remained the classical authority. Even

other matters, the truth will be found to lie midway between the two.

As regards the general development of the art of the Renaissance, it is undoubtedly true that in the time of Leo X. it had reached its turning-point, and that many signs of decadence had made themselves visible. But the Pope cannot be held responsible for this natural evolution of things, which constitutes, on the contrary, his acquittal, since it explains why the principal works produced in his reign cannot bear comparison with those of the epoch of Julius II. The previous remark, that Leo X. was inferior to his predecessor in artistic taste and judgment, must not be taken as implying that he was lacking in understanding in these matters. Such an opinion is contradicted by the

Gregorovius keeps him company. In 1882 SEMPER (Carpi, 10) still wrote of "the most glorious phase of the Renaissance under Leo X." Neither Ranke nor Creighton bestows on art, in the least degree, the attention due to it. Reumont showed a great advance, and Springer, in his work on Raphael and Michael Angelo, a step greater. Independent of both are RIO (Art Chrétien, IV., 1867) and Reichensberger, who, as strong admirers of the Gothic, are quite out of sympathy with Leo. After MÜNTZ (1891, Hist. de l'Art, II., 246; *cf.* 302, 337) had advanced a still more favourable conception of Leo's relations to art, GNOLI followed on the same ground with a judgment of great severity (Secolo di Leon X., Le Arti in the Riv. d'Italia 1897, 74–93). Highly as I recognize the great services of this censor, I am bound to say that he has fallen into the extreme of condemnation. In many cases he has altogether overshot the mark. MASI (202 *seq.*, 210) rightly finds extenuating circumstances, and insists on Leo's services to Raphael. It is impossible, however, for anyone at the present day to say any longer, like HÖFLER (Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 61), that in Leo "we see the culmination of his age, when the seed sown by the preceding generation produced its harvest in literature and art in the works of Raphael and Bramante." I have tried in the following observations to keep a middle line between exaggerated praise and undue depreciation. *Cf.* CIAN in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLVIII., 425

fact that, in choosing the plans for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, he rejected, along with those of Peruzzi and Antonio di Sangallo, the designs of his beloved Raphael himself, and gave his decision in favour of the scheme of Jacopo Sansovino.* If, notwithstanding, great architectural creations did not arise at his bidding, the chief reason is to be found in the confusion of his finances and the multiplicity of his interests.

Sculpture as well as architecture lost its due pre-eminence. It must be remembered that Leo at once took upon himself the expenses of the decoration of the Holy House at Loreto, and in this instance also he was only carrying out the undertaking of his predecessor. The most recent investigations have exonerated Leo, beyond contradiction, in his dealings with Michael Angelo. He always "gave the latter a free hand in the most generous way;" if the great projects which he had prepared for Michael Angelo came to nothing, the blame does not lie with the Pope.† His preference for decorative art was certainly characteristic of the æsthetic tendencies of his house and of its love of splendour; but it was also a part of the Papal tradition, handed down to him, and in and for itself is by no means to be despised.

Leo X. has been heavily censured for his disregard of other eminent painters and his exclusive partiality for Raphael; but even the most severe critics cannot deny, herein, his services to art.‡ It is true that recently attempts have been made to belittle and set aside this, the most attractive aspect of his patronage of the fine arts. Since Leo's chief glory as the patron of art is due to the protection given to Raphael, there seems justification for

* MÜNTZ, Hist. d. l'Art, II., 247; *cf.* Raphaël, 476.

† *Cf.* JUSTI, 257 *seq.*; see *supra*, p. 348 *seq.*

‡ GNOLI as quoted, *supra*, p. 378 n.

taking a glance backward in order to examine this question more closely.

In the first place, it admits of no dispute that the Pope drew too often and in too many different directions upon the inexhaustible resources of the painter's genius.* If, however, it is further asserted that the majority of these tasks were beneath the high level of his powers,† the criticism is not less wide of the mark than that which judges Leo's preference for Raphael to have been damaging to the interests of art.‡ Julius II. undoubtedly might have chosen loftier subjects for the walls of the third Stanza, but even Leo recognized eventually his mistake; for the fourth Stanza he suggested themes of universal historical interest and thoroughly in keeping with the place. In them, "towards the end of his career, the first of historical painters was able to employ his gifts on subjects of direct historical import, yet idealized by the lapse of time."§

If the execution of the frescoes in the Stanza del' Incendio is not to be compared with that of those in the first two Stanze, compensation is to be found in the wonderful masterpieces of the Loggie. When exception has been made of the paintings on the roof of the Sixtine Chapel and on the walls of the two Stanze, what more impressive and more appropriate subjects can be thought of than the series of episodes from the lives of the

* KOOPMANN (Raffaels Zeichnungen, 312) is right in asserting that public opinion saw nothing derogatory to the artist in painting the decorations of the theatre spoken of on p. 171 *seq.* Leonardo da Vinci prided himself on his knowledge of the stage and its technique.

† ZIMMERMANN, II., 484; *cf.* 539.

‡ GNOLI, *loc. cit.* On the contrary, KRAUS (Cambridge Mod. History, II., 13) also says: "The protection he showed to this great master is, and always will be, Leo's best and noblest title to fame."

§ BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 670.

Apostles represented by the tapestries? That the effect would have been doubled if the work had been carried out in fresco* is true, but another question arises, whether, under such conditions, it would have fitted into the Sixtine Chapel. Further, the Pope was bound by traditional usage to employ tapestry work in the decoration of the lower walls. Under these circumstances this was the only way in which he could gain entrance for Raphael's work into the Sixtine Chapel, thus enabling him to measure his strength with that of his great rival in this most sacred spot and with him to share the palm of victory. By commissioning the work and entrusting the design to Raphael, Leo unquestionably performed a great service to art, while the cartoons form one of the brightest ornaments in the painter's crown of fame and reflect a lustre on the Pope, conferring upon him an honoured place by the side of Julius II. in the history of the Sixtine Chapel. If in other respects Leo is rightly accused of suspending the great work of the latter, here at least it must with justice be admitted that he carried out and completed his predecessor's plans. With the completion of the tapestries, the Sixtine Chapel presented, as no other spot on earth has ever done, the united homage of the two greatest painters to religion.† As Michael Angelo embodied on its ceiling in a wonderful way the history of the Old Testament, so Raphael in the

* SPRINGER, 290.

† I wish here to give expression to the wish, also shared by Strzygowski, that His Holiness Pius X. would be pleased to direct that Raphael's tapestries, or good copies of them, should be hung in their original places. Thus, at last, would the finishing touch be given to the restoration of the Sixtine Chapel, which thus far has been carried out with such happy results; *cf.* STRZYGOWSKI in the Kunstchronik, 1906–1907, No. 3, 46 *seq.*

Loggie and the tapestries became a not less noble interpreter of the Old and of the New. For these two creations the pilgrims of art, who for more than four centuries have made their way to the Vatican, have to thank the fostering care of Leo X.

The question, however, is asked whether the appointment as architect of St. Peter's was not detrimental to Raphael as a painter. The new appointment made exorbitant demands on his time, and there was imminent danger of a break being made in his career. But who can blame the Pope for having listened to the advice of a Bramante? Leo X. was justified by results. The close occupation with ancient art which the work at St. Peter's demanded, was an important factor in the further development of the painter of Urbino. Lastly, the constant participation of Raphael's pupils in the works of their overtasked master was the direct means of bestowing on the world creations instinct with the genuine secret of Raphaelesque beauty, for as long as the master lived, his pupils worked under his inspiration; nor should it be overlooked that the ever-increasing elevation of Raphael's art was conditioned by the extraordinary favour and estimation in which he was held by Leo, of whose Court he was one of the most distinguished members. Although the Madonna di S. Sisto and the Transfiguration were not painted at the Pope's own command, the latter is entitled to a certain share of credit for their composition, since it was due to Papal favour and in the Papal service that their painter made Rome his dwelling-place. In these two last pictures, each of which is, in its way, without a rival as a representation of supernatural vision, Leo X. also participates, in so far as they re-echo the note of religious feeling associated with the Council of the Lateran held under his presidency.*

* The above important facts have been emphasized for the first time

On looking back, it is impossible to deny that the influence of Leo on art was much more remarkable and fruitful than his influence on letters; it produced fruits worthy of the Papacy in its days of ripest culture. Before all else Raphael's cartoons are masterpieces by the side of which few things can be set of equal religious or artistic importance. Yet high as were the services rendered by Leo to art, they do not equal in value those of Julius II. The glowing enthusiasm, the great mind, belonged to Julius II. Not only as a politician, but as the friend of art, the genial Rovere far excelled the quick-witted Medici; this truth was for long disregarded, but is now borne home convincingly. At sunset on the Alps, the mountains sometimes appear suffused with a wondrous radiance, which glows with a greater beauty and splendour than the mid-day sun itself. In like manner the meridian brightness of the reign of Julius II. flung its rays over the world of art of Leo X., and thus it came to pass that the age has become identified with the name, not of the mighty Rovere, but of his more favoured successor.

by BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 659. We shall return to this again when considering the Catholic Reformation.

CHAPTER IX.

The Council of the Lateran.

Leo X.'s devotion to literature and art and his keen political activity have thrown into the background, in a manner hardly befitting the history of a spiritual ruler, the efficiency of his ecclesiastical government. Nevertheless, the latter was by no means insignificant; within the first half of his reign two ecclesiastical events of the most far-reaching importance occurred: the Lateran Council and the Concordat with France. With the proceedings of the former, Leo's church policy was closely interwoven, especially with regard to his efforts towards reform.

In spite of the difficulties which beset him, Leo X. was determined to carry on and complete* the conciliar work of his predecessor. Immediately after his accession he hastened to answer, in terms of the highest approval, the letter addressed to Julius II. by the pious Duke George of Saxony, regarding the appointment of a Procurator

* An official but not complete collection of documents for the Transactions of the Council of the Lateran appeared at Rome in 1521. This very rare original edition (of which there is a copy in the Imperial Library, Vienna) was not used, but a later one, by Binius, Labbé, Hardouin, and also Hergenröther; see Guglia, Studien, 1 *seq.* Paris de Grassis gives valuable additional information (*cf.* Guglia, *loc cit.*, where also the other sources are mentioned). Hergenröther cannot have had access to special acta, as none such exist in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. This solves Guglia's doubt, 16. *Cf.* also Merkle in Histor. Jahrbuch, XXV., 501.

at the Council. On the 11th of April, 1513, the day of his solemn occupation of the Lateran, he issued a Constitution which proclaimed his earnest intention of proceeding with the Council, and prorogued the sixth session until the 27th of April.* There assembled twenty-two Cardinals, two Patriarchs, twelve Assistants at the Throne, sixty-two Bishops, and a detached group of thirteen Prelates, among whom were not a few who, like the ardent reforming Bishop of Chieti, Pietro Caraffa, appeared in the Council for the first time. The States of Lower Italy and the Venetian Republic were the best represented, being under the powerful protection of the Emperor, Spain, Venice, Milan, and Florence. Mario de Perusco acted as Procurator-Fiscal, the humanist Tommaso Inghirami as Secretary.† At the opening ceremony Bishop Simon Begnius of Modrussa preached on the two principal subjects before the Council, the Turkish difficulty and church reform. In an historical survey, beginning with the great Schism, he reviewed the Church's losses to the Turks, pointed out the grievous blows dealt to faith and morals in the Church, and what attempts had hitherto been made to avert the evil. Now, when freed from error, they were living in peace, the time had come to restore the head of the faith, the Roman Church, to a better position, since from the head health as well as sickness flowed down to the members. Now had come the Lion from the tribe of Juda, the Solomon whom God had raised up to deliver the daughter of Sion, the people of God, out of the hands of the persecutor and destroyer. But, urged the preacher, the assembled fathers must work together with one mind to reform the deformed, that doubt may be dispelled, faith exalted, and religion

* *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 19 and 20; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER VIII., 558 *seq.*

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 560 *seq.*

established: yet reform must begin with themselves, each one, and they must cleanse their own dwellings before those of others.*

The Pope in his allocution also called upon the members of the Council to fix their attention first and foremost on the good of Christendom. At the same time he expressed his wish that the assembly might continue to sit until peace had been established in the Church. To the proposal of the Procurator of the Council, that proceedings should be taken against the absentee members, Leo did not assent; on the other hand, he publicly offered safe-conducts to all except the schismatics, and exhorted the princes to do the same. No other matters of importance were transacted in this session.†

The first thing to be done was to settle the method of procedure. In general the business of the sessions was prepared beforehand in the Consistories and then in the Papal Chancery.‡ Further, the Dean of the College of Cardinals, Raffaello Riario, proposed the formation of separate congregations which should treat beforehand with the Pope and the Sacred College. Leo was unwilling to appoint the members of these congregations himself, as his predecessor had done; he handed over the choice to the Fathers of the Council, who forthwith elected four-and-twenty Prelates by a majority of votes. The latter were subdivided into three committees, but in such a way that the Pope added to each group of eight thus chosen, eight Cardinals and four representatives for those who were

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 563–565. About the warning on Reform addressed by G. Cortese in 1513 to Leo X., *cf.* Histor. Jahrbuch, V., 326; CIAN, *loc cit.*, 425, n. 1.

† *Ibid.*, 562. Also a *letter of Cardinal S. Gonzaga to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, 1513, April 28. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* GUGLIA, Studien, 33 *seq.*

absent when the votes were taken (of which representatives two for each group were Generals of religious orders). Of these committees, which sat repeatedly, the first was occupied with the restoration of peace and the healing of the Schism, the second with Curial reform, and the third with the Pragmatic Sanction and questions of faith. Much else remained over for discussion in the general congregation which was independent of the committees. In the sessions each one was free to utter his opinions on the decrees, to bring forward objections, and propose alterations. The free participation of the members in the transactions of the Council was thus fully guaranteed.*

At the date of the seventh session (June 17, 1513) seventy-seven Bishops were already assembled, four of whom represented England, Poland, Savoy, and Ferrara. At the beginning of the sitting citations were issued by the Procurator to Poland, Masovia, Milan, and Mantua. The preacher spoke of the Turkish danger and described Leo, in terms of panegyric, as the King of Kings who wielded the two swords over the whole earth: under him, who had been as wonderfully chosen as he had been wonderfully brought out of captivity, all ought to rally together. Hereupon the Pope ordered a Bull to be read † in which he promised to send embassies of peace to the princes, and, in consideration of the growing inclination of the French to make submission, he adjourned the session until the month of November.‡ Up to this point the

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 565 *seq.*; *cf.* GUGLIA, Studien, 28 *seq.* HINSCHIUS, III., 524, only lays stress, in a one-sided way, on the independence of the committees of the Curia. *Cf.*, on the other hand, HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 692.

† Against this Bull not only the Archbishop of Trani, but also some others, brought objections. RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 43; GUGLIA, 9.

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 570.

various committees had not been idle; the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops were assiduous in their co-operation, and Leo only left Rome for a short time.*

In a decree of the 20th of September the Pope defined his attitude towards the Hussites of Bohemia; concessions were held out as regards the chalice and the confiscated church property, none as regards the punishment of sinners and the license to preach.† On the 13th of October the Reform Commission broke up into five subdivisions, to each of which was assigned a special department of the Curia. A report which they had prepared dealt with the question of benefices, urged upon the members of the Papal household a worthy mode of life and corresponding seemliness in dress, and denounced exactions and other abuses.‡

Leo was meanwhile busily engaged in Consistory in preparing material for the next (the eighth) session.§ This was held on the 19th of December, 1513.|| The official entrance of the French into the Council immediately followed.¶ On this occasion the sermon was preached by a Johannite father; his main theme was the warfare of Christ, whose captain and standard-bearer Leo was; like a true physician, he was healing the ills of the Church by means of the Council, which would bring back a golden age. After a penal mandate against the French officials in Provence for encroachments on the Church had received the Papal approval, there ensued the proclamation of a Bull, destined to

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 576.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 4597; THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 610 *seq.*

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 577, and 810 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, XVII., 398.

|| HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 579 *seq.*; GUGLIA, 20.

¶ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 71.

be famous, which was directed against a one-sided and erroneous philosophy.

The three condemned propositions were: that the human soul is mortal; that one soul is common to all men; that the truth of this assertion holds good at least in philosophy.* The propositions thus condemned aimed at a tendency of thought which threatened to destroy all positive Christianity, and which, having started from a false mediæval philosophy, culminated in that of the 18th century, and partially survives at the present day. Further, they had come into conjunction with that erroneous side of the Renaissance in which classical, cabbalistic, and rationalist elements were linked together in a strange alliance. The first two propositions were specially defended by the Paduan Professor, Pietro Pomponazzi, who avowed himself to be a disciple of the new peripatetic school which had arisen along with the Arabic recension of Aristotle by Averroës. Even if the controversial defence of his views was not put into writing until a later date, and no recantation was demanded of him until 1518,† yet he had before that denied the complete individual immortality of the soul. The question at issue was the great problem of individuality which had already occupied the thought of the Middle Ages, and had come to a point with the growth of nominalism. Even the theory of "twofold truth" had already sprung up in the schools of the 12th century logicians, had found aliment in nominalism, and had crept into the philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa. This teaching caused an artificial breach between philosophy and theology, between dogma and reason, which was to be

* Bull. V., 601 *seq.* *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 220; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 585 *seq.*; DANIEL, Étud. class., 226 *seq.*, and V. TIZZANI, I Concilii Lateranesi, Roma, 1878, 578 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 157.

widened by the impress of the future rationalism. In relation to this development the decision of the Council had a special importance. It was dogmatically affirmed, in agreement with the earlier pronouncements of the Council of Vienne, that the soul is the "forma corporis," that each man has an individual soul, and that every assertion contrary to the truth, as contained in the faith, is false. These definitions supplied a standard which was as important as it was necessary; to a certain extent they relieved Leo from responsibility for those who were open to the charge of anti-Christian extravagances, and whose tastes and interests he nevertheless shared in other respects and to a great extent encouraged.*

At the same time the Bull was a practical weapon against the inroads which a paganized humanism was making among the clergy, for the University professors were directed to give a foremost place to what is now called apologetic theology, and priests who were desirous of following the humanist curriculum were enjoined to complete a five years' course of theology or canon law as the most effectual breakwater to oppose to a false philosophy. Even in the Council-hall itself the atmosphere of the new ideas seems to have made itself felt; thus the objection raised by the Bishop of Bergamo had a tinge of the condemned propositions. The general of the Dominicans, Cajetan, pleaded for a freer treatment of philosophy, because, apparently, he dreaded an intermixture of this science with theology.†

During this important session measures were also proposed for the best means of restoring peace to Christendom,

* BENRATH in Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie, X., 3rd ed., 388. His opinion, that Leo was thus released from all responsibility, is somewhat too favourable to the Pope.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 587.

for the inauguration of a Crusade, and for the reconciliation of the Bohemians to the Church. Finally, a regulation for the reform of the Curia was brought forward which made great reductions in taxation and was directed against other official abuses. It was far from giving satisfaction, however, to those who wished for more sweeping reforms. This dissatisfaction often found expression in the Council. Paris de Grassis, Bishop of Pesaro, exclaimed: "I am for a general reformation, including that of the reformers themselves"; whereupon the Pope replied, with a touch of humour, that "he would think the matter over, and see how he could satisfy everybody." *

How wide were the differences of opinion on the question of reform, how great the conflict of opposing interests, is shown clearly in the following transactions. The Bishops were separated from the religious orders by divisions as great as those which separated them from the Cardinals, and the work of the Council was thus impeded. The Pope had to appear in person in the general congregation and exhort to a more brotherly gentleness. When several Bishops refused to give their assent to the draft introduced by the Cardinals, Leo praised them, and said laughingly that they were cleverer than he, since no one was more bound by his obligations to the Cardinals than he was.†

The ninth session was not held until the 5th of May, 1514. Once more the private chaplain, Antonio Pucci, in the customary sermon at the beginning of the sitting, exhorted those present, and especially the Pope, to keep to the work of church reform, since it was the Council's

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1513, n. 97; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 588; GUGLIA, 10. For the "quasi subridens," see also JUNGMANN, Dissert. eccl., VI. (1886), 465 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, 1514, n. 15–16.

duty to inquire into disorders and remove them. Scathing was his description of the moral degradation into which the laity, the orders, and the clergy had sunk. The upshot, accordingly, of the session was the acceptance of a very stringent Bull on the reform of Church and Curia.*

The first part insisted on the appointment of fit persons to bishoprics and abbatial posts in accordance with canon law, regulated commissions and the consistorial procedure, put a check on deprivations and translations, forbade the pernicious system of "in commendam," and restricted the union of benefices, dispensations, and reservations; whoever, after four years, was still in possession of four livings, was to be deprived of all. The second part dealt with the Cardinals, their mode of life, their surroundings, their households, their functions, their titular churches and commends. their position towards their relations, their legateships, their residential and discretionary duties. The prescriptions for the members of a Cardinal's household applied also to the Papal and Curial retainers. The last section of the Bull aimed at the religious and moral elevation of the priesthood and of the laity: the religious instruction of the young was to be duly carried out, heavy penalties were assigned to blasphemers and to incontinent, negligent and simoniacal priests, church revenues were no longer to be confiscated, the privileges of the clergy were to be observed, all kinds of superstition abolished and all impostors, passing as Christians, to be prosecuted, especially at the Papal Court. We can see that in this document a whole legion of abuses was attacked. The necessity for such a step met with general recognition; the Bull was accepted by an overwhelming majority—130 votes against 10; nor was the opposition made with any great show of

* Bull. V., 604 *seq.*, Regest Leonis X., n. 8495. In HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 602, a thorough analysis of the contents.

conviction.* Searching as the Bull appeared to be, yet it did not go far enough. In many instances it stopped short with half measures; what was still worse, most of its prescriptions remained on paper and were never put into practice.

It was not long before symptoms appeared in the Council which made it evident that the hopes of a radical restoration of the Church to its pristine integrity must be abandoned. Throughout the remainder of the sessions the attention of the Fathers was engrossed by the scandalous strife between the Bishops and Regulars. This unholy quarrel had lasted for centuries; it had been a source of the greatest weakness and discredit to the Church, but never before had the waters of controversy risen so high as now. The Episcopate was gathering together all its strength to make an end, once and for all, of the privileges, especially the *Mare Magnum*,† which thwarted its action at every step; in spite of their utmost resistance, the Regulars threatened to succumb, a situation which would have entailed incalculable results. "We are in the heart of a terrific storm," relates the General of the Augustinians, Egidio Canisio. "The attack upon us and all the mendicant orders by the Bishops in the Lateran Council has now raged furiously for three years. During this period we have had no rest, no truce; day by day we have been subjected to examination, day by day we have been summoned, sometimes to listen to our accusers, sometimes to plead our cause. Now our appeal is to the Holy Father, now to the Cardinal Protector, now to other Cardinals, now to the Ambassadors of the princes; first on this hand and then on that we turn for counsel, help, and

* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1514, n. 36; *cf.* GUGLIA, 10–11. SANUTO, XVIII., 182–183, also shows clearly how general in Rome was the conviction of the necessity of a reform of the clergy.

† See Vol. IV. of this work, 389.

support."* Leo X. himself was unwilling to check the free course of things by flinging into the scales, as his predecessor had done, the whole weight of his apostolic authority, from which alone the monastic orders could still receive support; a proceeding which Egidio ascribes solely to the mildness and gentleness of the Pope's character.

As in the contest between the Bishops and the Cardinals, Leo's policy consisted in an adroit mediation between the two parties, with each of whom he liked to treat separately. With regard to the misuse by the Minorites of the right to proclaim the Indulgence of St. Peter's, he sanctioned a compromise with the Bishops.† When he also, towards the end of the Council, agreed that the two points on which the monks were most sensitive—exemptions and freedom from taxation—should no longer be interfered with, it was on the distinct understanding, by which he held fast, that in other matters they should be compliant. To this impartial attitude towards the contending parties it is mainly due that the practical result of the controversy was an earnest determination on the part of the monastic orders, thus brought to bay, to undertake their own reform and to enforce strongly the observance of their rules.‡

On both sides the debate was carried on with great ability. The Bishops' attacks were levelled in the first place at the vicious lives of many of the Regulars and then at their encroachments on the cure of souls and the constituted jurisdiction. The Orders replied in their defence with eloquence and much dialectical skill, laying great stress on the superiority of the Pope over the Council, and

* MARTÈNE-DURAND, III., 1262; *cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 692 *seq.* See also p. 251 nn., the quotation from PÉLISSIER; De opere Aegid. Vit., 43.

† *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 622 *seq.*, 637 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 622, 767 *seq.*

making fiery appeals to the "sagacious piety of their Papal protector." The chief object of their defence was cleverly to cause division among their opponents by a reference to the considerable number of Bishops who were not in agreement with the proposals of their colleagues. The complaints of relaxed monastic discipline they strove to neutralize by calling attention to scandals in the Episcopate and among the parochial clergy. "Before you call upon us to observe the laws of right common to man, see that you observe them yourselves," they exclaimed to their antagonists. On the other hand, the religious orders did not omit to set forth their services to Christian people, especially their assiduity in preaching and in hearing confessions. In Italy especially, which was the chief seat of opposition, had it not been for the Regulars, the name of Christ would hardly have escaped oblivion, so few Italians were there, outside the cloister, who had any knowledge of theology. No enticements, they further insisted, had kept them back, no danger had dismayed them from visiting hostile lands, confronting princes, and exposing their bodies to ill-usage in order to defend the See of Peter and the Council of the Lateran: and was that same Council now to bring its own champions to ruin! Yet another point of view was turned to account. "Those who are hankering after the great wealth of the Church will, in order to avoid the suspicion of acting as the enemies of religion, as soon as they hear that the monastic orders have been attacked and worsted by the Bishops, see an excellent and creditable opportunity for taking up the cause of the former, which previously they would not have done out of goodwill."*

* The Petitiones praelatorum a S. D. N. Leone X. contra Regulares and the Supplicatio pro parte et nomine omnium religiosorum, as well as the Responsiones fratrum, have been published by HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 813, 814 *seq.*, and 818 *seq.*, from the Vatican Archives.

A suspension but not a conclusive settlement of this embittered controversy was reached in the tenth session of the Council, on the 4th of May, 1515. Once again the call for reform rang from the pulpit. The knowledge, declared the Archbishop of Patras, how to effect a swift reform of the whole Church, belonged to the Apostolic See alone. If the all-embracing authority of the Pontiff were more cordially supported by the combined members of the Episcopate, fewer contraventions of the Church's law would be possible. But, as already four patriarchal churches had been severed from the body, so he also who sat on Peter's chair could not escape judgment if he did not obey his eternal Judge. Great was the danger that yet other portions of Christendom would be lost through disobedience to God and the Holy See. Therefore, Pope and Council must work together for the true reform and regeneration of Christendom.*

A single Bull † comprised the enactments relating to the limitation of exemptions, the strengthening of the Bishops' authority, and the maintenance of ecclesiastical liberties. Of importance was the transference, in the case of negligence on the part of the special visitor, of suits against exempts to the Bishop, who was to sit as judge-delegate with apostolic powers; this provision was again adopted by the Council of Trent; the episcopal privilege of visiting convents, in immediate obedience to the Pope, once a year, was renewed, also the refusal to allow an appeal to Rome in matters concerning benefices pending the judgment in the Bishop's court. The Bishops were ordered to hold provincial and diocesan synods, the former every three years, with the participation of the exempts. This institution, which was to have such a wholesale influence

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 642 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 646 *seq.*

on church reform, was also one of the measures anticipated by the Lateran Council.

Of not less capital importance were two other decrees passed in this session. The first gave sanction to the pawnshops or Monti di Pietà, which had been called into existence as a protection for the necessitous poor against extortionate interest on loans. As a matter of fact these agencies, introduced into Italy under Pius II., had already been recommended by many strictly orthodox preachers, and had in many instances received Papal approbation.* This was the first occasion on which the payment of interest was recognized as permissible in theory. Leo recalls the theological and juridical controversies on the subject, and pronounces, in view of his obligations to support useful and modern institutions, that such loan-offices are to be recommended; all who teach the contrary are excommunicate. He evidently regards the Monti which lend without interest as the more deserving.†

The influence of the second constitution on the new era that had dawned was trenchant and purifying.‡ The power of the printing press had surpassed all expectations and was proving in many cases a blessed, and in many cases a baneful, gift to man. In highly enthusiastic terms the Pope celebrates the benefits to mankind and the Church conferred through "the favour of heaven" by this discovery which had come down as a gift from God to earth. By means of printing everyone for little money can buy many books, the study of gifted minds is made

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, 109 *seq.*

† Bull. V., 622. *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, Die Anfänge der Montes pietatis, München, 1903, 12, 129 *seq.*

‡ Bull. V., 625 *seq.* *Cf.* REUSCH, Index, I., 55 *seq.*; FESSLER, Kirchl. Bücherverbot, Wien, 1858, 51 *seq.*; *ibid.*, Schriften, 149 *seq.*; HAUSMANN, Päpstl. Reservatfälle, 113; LEA, III., 614.

easy. Catholic scholars too (and the Catholic Church prays that they may be many) can be educated thereby and thus win over unbelievers to the truth. But in different countries many masters of this new craft misuse it by the circulation of works containing errors of faith and attacks on persons in high station, which are not only unedifying to their readers, but injurious to their religious and moral life, as experience has shown and in the time to come will show more clearly still. But the Head of the Church must take heed that that which was invented for God's glory, for the exaltation of the faith, and for the diffusion of art and learning, does not become a curse instead of a blessing, and endanger the salvation of the faithful, that the good seed and the cockle, the medicine and the poison, are not mingled together. Therefore the Pope forbids, with the approval of the Council, under pain of excommunication and of heavy fines, the printing of any book without the approbation of the Bishop and the Inquisitor, and in Rome of the Cardinal Vicar and the Master of the Palace. Every book printed contrary to these regulations shall be burned.

Yet another weighty question had been reserved for decision in this session: the reform of the Calendar.* At the beginning of his reign Leo had bestowed much attention on this important subject as on so many other scientific inquiries. In February, 1514, he had invited the learned scholar, Paul von Middelburg,† the author of an

* Besides KALTENBRUNNER, Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., LXXXII., 375 *seq.*, *cf.* now MARZI, La quest. di riforma del Calendario nel quinto Concilio Lateranense, Firenze, 1896; Atti d. Congresso stor. internaz. di Roma, III., 642 *seq.* For the summons of J. Ziegler to Rome in connection with the reform of the Calendar, see KALKOFF in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, III., 68.

† MARZI, 39 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, treats fully of him and his treatise Paulina.

exhaustive treatise on the computation of Easter, to Rome: in July, 1514, special letters had been addressed to the Universities of Europe and to the leading princes requesting them to send reports on the reform of the Calendar to Rome.* Answers were received from Vienna, Tübingen, Louvain, and Ingoldstadt.† In Italy Antonio Dolciati, Raggio, Giovanni Maria Tolosani, Antonio Albizzi, Basilio Lapi, and Cipriano Beneti dedicated writings on this topic to the Pope.‡ The opinions, however, were so divergent that Leo had to withdraw the question, as not yet ripe for discussion, from the agenda of the tenth session. But he did not on this account dismiss the matter altogether. A special commission made most careful scrutiny of the reports forwarded, and made use of them in the preparation of new proposals which were to serve as the foundation for a further treatment of the question. These propositions were sent in July, 1516, to many princes, bishops, and universities, with the request that fresh reports should be sent in or scholars despatched to Rome to confer.§ No decision on the matter, however, was then reached;‖ nor was this the fault of Leo X.: on the contrary, his exertions on behalf of the reform of the

* MANSI, Suppl. ad Concilia, VI., 708 *seq.* *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, Eck, 457 *seq.*; MARZI, 34 *seq.*, 76 *seq.* The Letters to the Emperor (MARZI, *loc. cit.*), to Henry VIII. (in RYMER, VI., 1, 119 *seq.*, and ROSCOE, X., 232 *seq.*), to the King of Portugal (Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 379 *seq.*), to Venice (original in Venetian State Archives, Bolle), to Florence (Mitteil. d. Oesterr. Instituts, II., 623 *seq.*; *cf.* XIII., 329 *seq.*), are by Sadoleto, and identical.

† *Cf.* KALTENBRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 386 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* MARZI, 114 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 134 *seq.*, 157 *seq.* For the letter of C. Beneti, not here mentioned, see MARINI, Lettera, 22. For Tolosani, see also MARZI in the Miscell. stor. d. Valdelsa, V., 1.

§ MARZI, 185 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* KALTENBRUNNER, 396; MARZI, 199 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*

Calendar form a pleasing episode in the history of his Pontificate.*

After the leading measures of importance had been settled in the tenth session, the adjournment of the Council until the end of the following year became possible. The interval was filled with political agitation, the conclusion of the Concordat with France, the negotiations with the Eastern churches—all things which diverted men's minds from the Council as the centre of interest.

A project fraught with danger to the constitution of the Church, but in which many of the fathers of the Council were then implicated, must not pass unnoticed. The latter formed the idea of uniting themselves more closely in a fraternal sodality for the purpose of safeguarding their common interests.† This confraternity, which was to be represented by a standing committee, was directed in the first instance against the regular clergy. But how easily might this have developed by an inevitable sequence into a sort of oligarchical constitution, and have led, through a system of episcopalianism, to the weakening of the apostolical authority? That this was foreseen by the Curia is shown by the reply to the twelve points which the Bishops advanced on behalf of their *sodalitium.*‡ At the head of all stood the statement that "the Pope is Bishop of the Universal Church, and has, in the first place, the oversight of the collective churches committed to him." But this proposition means nothing else than that the individual churches would be better governed, and the rights of their diocesans more strictly defended, by bishops with plenipotentiary powers than by the Pope, who,

* Judgment of DEL LUNGO in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XVIII, 435.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 847 *seq.*

‡ Published by HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 847 *seq.*

along with the Sacred College, cares best for the interests of the Church. "If the violator of episcopal rights cannot be kept within bounds by the majesty of the Roman Bishop and the most sacred General Council, is it likely that he will allow himself to be bridled by the efforts of a couple of bishops who are the deputies of an association?" Let the inferior clergy once attempt to obtain permission from the Pope and Council to set up associations of this sort in the Bishop's own city, and it will very soon become plain what the object of such an attempt is.*

The danger of the situation did not escape the Pope; the Cardinals were against the scheme from the beginning, as one that would only give rise to divisions among the Bishops.† Leo X. told the envoys of the Bishops in plain language that if they insisted on their demands, he would postpone the next session from year to year, and in the meantime maintain the privilege of the monastic orders to the fullest extent; the Bishops Assistant at the Papal throne sufficed to bring before him the wishes of their colleagues in the Episcopate. The Bishops now begged the Pope to grant them leave to hold meetings for the discussion of their affairs and to have a special fund of their own, also that he would appoint as assistants at the throne some prelates not of Italian birth. Leo was not indisposed to grant the last request, but he thought the establishment of a special fund superfluous. He returned the petition and ordered the Cardinals to make a thorough examination of all writings for and against the scheme. After these had given their opinion, the unanimous verdict of the Consistory was declared: that the interests of the

* By such a comparison of the subordination of the Bishop to the constituted jurisdiction with that of the delegated minister of souls, the memorialists overshot their mark.

† Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1516, n. 1 *seq.*

Episcopate had been largely cared for by the canon law and by certain decrees of the existing Council; if any things remained over, the Pope and Cardinals were more competent to settle them than any *sodalitium.* It was made plain to the petitioners that they must accept as their answer that which, under like circumstances, they would have given to their own clergy.* That in this way, on the eve of the disruption of Christendom, a decentralizing tendency should have been arrested, marks a victory of the monarchical principle on which Christ founded His Church, the importance of which is not to be lightly prized.

These disagreements had taken up so much time that the eleventh session could not assemble before the 19th of December, 1516. The preliminary general congregation (on December 15th) had witnessed the appearance of the first American member of the Council, Bishop Alessandro Gerardini of San Domingo, who nine years later, after a life of assiduous literary labour, died in the odour of sanctity.† The eleventh session also saw the visit of three envoys from the Maronites, who came to offer obedience. They presented a letter of homage from their Patriarch, Simon Peter, dated the 14th of February, 1515, which was at once read to the assembly. In the previous year a representative of the Patriarch had already visited Rome. His arrival was closely followed by a letter in which the latter, after certain dogmatic and liturgical discussions,

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 695 *seq.*, 702.

† See UGHELLI, VIII., 292 *seq.*; ZENO, Diss. Voss., II., 231; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 703, and the journal Il Muratori, I., 177 *seq.*, 215 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, II., 103 *seq.* The diplomatic missions of Gerardini deserve closer investigation. To his Russian mission belongs the *Oratio Alex. Gerardini episcopi coram rege Russiae habita, in Cod. Q 3, 18, of the Angelica Library, Rome.

requested the Pope to ratify his position, and to confer upon him Papal marks of distinction and other favours; he also invited his mediation in the affairs of the Maronites in Cyprus and Venice. This new embassy was the result of the conciliatory letters which Leo had sent to the Patriarch and his flock for purposes of instruction, and to the guardian of the Minorites at Beyrout. The Patriarch thanked the successor of St. Peter for his costly gifts and for the instruction tendered through his envoy on the subjects of the chrism, the deferment of baptism, the sacrament of marriage, ordinations, the words of consecration, the procession of the Holy Ghost, purgatory, confession, and Easter Communion. The Pope gave a cordial assent to the Patriarch's requests in accordance with the assurance he had given him in August. The correspondence between Leo and the Emperor of Æthiopia, David III., which was carried on at the same time, was less productive of results.* The Russians also remained outside the Roman influence: that they were not, at anyrate, neglected is shown by the report which the Archbishop of Gnesen prepared for the ninth session on the errors of the Ruthenians in White and Red Russia.†

The eleventh session, which was of especial importance as regards the establishment of the Concordat with France and the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, was also occupied with questions affecting the pastoral work of the Church. In a constitution, which was passed unanimously and was exceedingly well timed, the leading principles were laid down of a system of preaching calculated to bring forth

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 681 *seq.*, gives further information concerning the dealings with the Christians of the East. *Cf.* also KUNSTMANN in the Tüb. Quartalschr., 1845.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 688 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1514, n. 67-86.

fruitful results. Starting from the necessity for a united and authoritative ministry of preaching, the constitution began by setting forth how many preachers, unmindful of their mission and often contrary to the spirit of the Apostles and Fathers, sought only their own reputation, flattered the multitude, seduced their hearers from the truth, misinterpreted Holy Scripture, prophesied falsely, indulged in personal abuse, weakened the authority of the Church, and set an example of violent and senseless zeal. For the future, accordingly, none were to be allowed to preach who had not first been tested by the authorities and had given proof of competency. Each one was to be satisfied with preaching the pure Gospel according to the interpretation of the Fathers, and to refrain from prophesying the time of the evils to come. God, it cannot be denied, reveals in extraordinary ways the destinies of the Church: but, since all spirits cannot be trusted, matters of private revelation ought, before they are divulged, to be submitted to the judgment of the Holy See, or, if the case is urgent, to that of the Bishop. In case of disobedience to this ruling the offender shall be deprived of his license to preach, and come under excommunication. These extremely opportune restrictions were applied to a widespread mischief to which, as the constitution declared, the pulpit was, from its very nature, exposed; the superstitious belief in apocalyptic messages, the prevalence of unlicensed preachers and persons claiming to have a mission from God, were used as powerful weapons against the authority of the Church.*

It was also of advantage to the pastoral office that in this same session certain limits were drawn, so far as the

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 707. *Cf.* Hist. Jahrb., V., 339 *seq.*, and PAULUS, Hoffmeister, 45. For the condition of the pulpit at that time, see the literature given by FLAMINI, 573.

still open question of the privileges of the religious orders permitted, between the secular and the regular clergy. To the Bishops were given the power of visitation over clergy belonging to religious orders, the examination of candidates for holy orders, the conferring of ordination, and much besides; the dispensation of the Sacraments and the administration of burial were, in the case of the regular clergy, accompanied by certain specified limitations, and mutual respect and charity were enjoyed on both parties.* On this occasion also the session closed with the Te Deum. After that Leo spent some time, with marks of deep devotion, in the baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte, adjoining the Lateran basilica, the oldest baptismal chapel in Rome. His prayers were a thanksgiving, for, with the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Holy See had won a momentous victory after passing through many a stormy time.†

The strained condition of politics decided the Pope to take into consideration the early closing of the Council. The Emperor was, on the whole, in favour of its prolongation, but the vehemence with which he had expressed his wishes, seems to have been the direct cause of its immediate dissolution. The question came up for discussion in Consistory on the 1st of February, 1517. Cardinal Grimani made a determined opposition,‡ but Leo X. would not give way. On the 4th of March, in a protracted Consistory, the decision was taken. According to the Venetian Envoy, the fear of the Emperor's interference weighed so strongly in the scales that it was definitely settled that the Council

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 714 *seq.*

† MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 109; HINSCHIUS, III., 425.

‡ "El Cardinal di Grimani oppugnò quantum potuit," says the *Report in cipher of Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua, in which this Consistory is mentioned. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

should forthwith be closed.* The motion, which, along with three draft decrees, was placed before the Council, in the name of the Cardinals, on the 13th of March, also met at first with opposition, and a fresh summons of the Bishops was called for. At last, however, all, with the exception of the Bishops of Imola and Salamanca, expressed their concurrence, which encouraged the hope that, as soon as peace should be restored to Christendom, the prelates who had hitherto been prevented from attending, would participate in much greater numbers. The Governor of Rome, on his own account, expressed a wish that marriages privately contracted should be disallowed, as was later effected by the Council of Trent.†

Shortly before the close of the Council, Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola delivered before the Pope and the assembled fathers his remarkable speech on the reform of morals, in which he drew a frightful picture of existing conditions among the clergy. Pico confines his demands within the narrowest compass; he only asks that the priesthood shall not be altogether as salt that has lost its savour. He does not even require that they should be men of learning, so long as they at least understand the duties of their office; he does not call upon them to do penance and mortify their bodies in the manner of a Jerome or a Benedict, but at least to withdraw their presence from voluptuous banquets and to refrain from

* Heri matina fu concistoro et stette fino a hore 20 passate et hanno tratato di serar il concilio; la causa è perche lo imperatore ha scrito di qui che per modo alcuno non si habbi a serar detto concilio et questi per temer li imperiali andamenti hanno deliberato di terminar esso concilio come è detto perche hanno opinion che altri chel pontefice non possino chiamare el concilio. *Letter of Minio, date Rome, 1517, March 5, "to be kept secret." State Archives, Venice.

† *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 853 *seq.*, the report of Cardinal Pucci, published for the first time.

decking their concubines with precious stones; he would rather have them clothe the naked with their garments, as did Martin, than cover their horses and mules with costly trappings; he wishes to see the Houses of God no longer like hovels or stables, while the dwellings of His priests glitter with gold and are spread with purple. From Leo, who had mounted to the summit of priestly dignity, not, as many supposed, by evil arts and shameful intrigues, he had hoped better things. "If we are to win back the enemy and the apostate to our faith, it is of more consequence to us that we should restore fallen morality to its ancient rule of virtue than that we should sweep with our fleet the Euxine Sea." It is the Pope's task to quell the grievous intestine strife, to bar the way against wickedness, to stem by strict continence of life the luxury, the ambition, the greed, the self-indulgence, the corrupt practices of the clergy. His it is to demand restitution of the squandered property of the Church, to chastise or remove the guilty, to abolish the accumulation of ecclesiastical offices; for "the so-called dispensations had had the effect of conferring not many, nor a plurality, but a very host of benefices on men who were not worthy even to receive the office of a deacon." Ceremonies also and daily offices called for revision, and "true historical narrative ought to be separated from apocryphal fable." Thus would the Pope rescue the Church from destruction and win for himself not a fleeting but a permanent renown. If, however, reform was neglected, heavy and searching would be the judgment which would visit the Church.* In his speech, which preceded the final sitting of the Council on the 16th of March, 1517, Bishop Massimo Corvino of Isernia spoke in the same sense but in tones of greater encouragement. He acknowledged how much the

* See Vol. VII. of this work, p. 5 *seq.*

clergy owed to the Church, but also how much the Church was indebted to the clergy. In their combat with the disloyalty and wickedness among Christians who, unthankful towards God and His Church, placed the wisdom of the heathen before the wisdom of Christ, they urged a return to the Gospel, which contained the only true wisdom and was the well-spring of right knowledge and every virtue. In this way, after the example of the Apostles, the Church should be protected and adorned with might, grace, and freedom and restored to its authority and dignity. The orator saw in the teaching of the Council the whole mind of heaven, of Christ, and of the Spirit.* Nevertheless, the gravity of the situation could not be dissembled under such fair-sounding phrases.

In this twelfth and final session of the Council on the 16th of March, there were present, besides the Pope and eighteen Cardinals, three Patriarchs, thirteen Assistants at the Throne, ten Archbishops, sixty-four Bishops, and six heads of religious orders, while Germany, Spain, Portugal, Venice, Mantua, and Bologna sent their representatives. The programme announced by Leo was approved. Only one Bull remained to be published; it was directed against the disorderly custom of the Roman populace in breaking into and looting the houses of the Cardinals during a vacancy in the Holy See. The Patriarch of Aquileia then read out the Bull imposing a tithe for three years for the Turkish wars; this having been confirmed, the Council proceeded to close. After a short review of the history and purpose of the assembly, the chief tasks with which it had been engaged were recited: the Schism had been ended, the disputes among the princes were being brought near a settlement, the congregations had finished their work, the Bishops were desirous of returning

* HARDOUIN, 1852-1856; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 727 *seq.*

to their dioceses; the Pope ratified the decisions of the Council and would give heed to their being carried out. He forbade any alterations in them without special permission, and dismissed the members of the Council. The majority gave their "placet," only the titular Bishop of Krain (Granea), who also on other occasions appears as leader of opposition,* spoke against the dissolution. After the Te Deum and the Pontifical blessing, Leo X. returned with great pomp to the Vatican.†

Was the closing of the fifth Council of the Lateran really premature, as so many have asserted, in view of the tempest which broke loose in the following autumn? In answering this question, attention has been justly called to the hopeless prospects of a really larger attendance at the Council, to the insistent demand of many of the princes for the return of the members, to the threats of war, and the unsettled condition of Italy.‡ Certainly all this weighed in the scale, as well as Leo's fear of intervention and uncertainty as to the part the Emperor would take. But it cannot be denied that, as far as securing practical reform was concerned, there was very little else that could have been done. Most of the enactments were only old regulations in a more stringent form, while the needs of the Church called for measures of a much more decisive

* See GUGLIA in the Mitteil. der österr. Instituts, XXI., 536 *seq.*

† Bull. V., 650 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1517, n. 9–15; GUGLIA, 11; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 730 *seq.*, also p 735 for the vehement attacks (especially on the part of gallicans) on the œcumenicity of the Lateran Council, in which, among others, even KNÖPFLER (472) and HEINER (Kirchenrect, I., 68) take part. *Cf.* also BAUER, 230 *seq.*, and the opinion of the "Old Catholic," LANGEN in the Theol. Litteraturbl., 1876, Nr. 10. An original copy of the Bull *Constituti juxta verbum prophetæ*, with leaden seal attached, is in the Archives of S. Angelo, Arm. VIII., caps. 2.

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 732.

character. If so far the Lateran Council fell short of a root-and-branch reform, yet it produced many laws of a most opportune character on which the Council of Trent was afterwards able to enlarge and improve. But the exaltation of the Primacy gave to this Council, even in the field of practical action, a much higher importance than the Synods of Constance and Basle, with their many reforming decrees, were able to reach. The decrees of the Lateran Council contain besides such ample reforms that the whole moral and religious condition of the clergy and laity in Rome and Christendom might have been elevated by them.* But of what avail were all these laws if they were allowed to remain a dead letter? In this respect, unfortunately, the omissions were many.

The reform decrees of the Council were despatched far and wide, but only in Spain and Portugal, and in some parts of Italy, were they practically administered,† but even there only partially;‡ the example set by the Roman Curia stood in the way of reform. In spite of the conciliar decrees, the gross abuse of giving benefices and church dignities to children in the fullest sense of the word continued.§ Candidates with good recommendations were

* *Cf.* DITTRICH in Hist. Jahrb., V., 342 *seq.*

† For Portugal, *cf.* Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 397; for Spain, see *infra*, p. 412.

‡ In Savoy, *e.g.*, *cf.* *Brief of Leo to Duke Charles, dated Rome, 1515, May 27, in which the Bishops are called on to reform their clergy. State Archives, Turin, MAZZO, XIX., n. 10. For Leo's conventual reforms in Venice, 1519, see Libri commem., VI., 158; *cf.* 165, 168.

§ A shocking example in Regest. Leonis X., n. 9097: Leo X. recommends, on May 27, 1514, the Patriarch of Venice to give a canonry in commendam to Ioh. Baptist. de Sociis, infanti Venetiarum, and to hand it over to him when he shall have reached the age of eight years and been found worthy!

dispensed from the laws, which prescribed that no one should be raised to the Episcopate who had not fully attained his twenty-seventh year; children continued, as before, to hold the highest ecclesiastical offices, even the Cardinalate.* In like manner the scandalous pluralism of benefices † and the obnoxious system of "in commendam" ‡ remained almost unaltered, even in the Roman Curia itself. If, in consequence of the decrees passed in the ninth session, many resignations of livings were tendered by the Cardinals, "yet, on the whole, these decrees failed to be observed." Laxity of discipline and indolence were far too deeply rooted! § Leo X. himself, in particular cases, repeatedly disregarded the enactments of the Council. || No wonder that the unprincipled among the Bishops, especially the large number who had not even appeared at the Council, should have gone on in their accustomed way, without a twinge of conscience. An honourable exception was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the Archbishop of Florence, who endeavoured forthwith, by the holding of a provincial council (1517–1518) to give practical effect to the rulings of the

* Alfonso, Infant of Portugal, was declared, in a Brief of July 26, 1515, capable of holding a Bishopric or Archbishopric when in his fifteenth year, in express contravention of the decrees of the Lateran Council. The Brief in Cod. XI., F 4, of the National Library, Naples, and in the Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 352, is wanting in Hergenröther's Register.

† *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 203, for Passerini. For the benefices of the Cardinal L. d'Aragona, see PASTOR, Reise des Kard. L. d'Aragona, 10.

‡ See *supra*, p. 135 n., the quotation from a French Cistercian abbot. *Cf.* also Stud. aus dem Benediktinerorden, 1890, 584, 596.

§ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 733.

|| Already, on Sept. 20, 1515, we find a Papal injunction in favour of Wilhelm von Enckenvoirt, releasing him from the conciliar decrees against pluralities. Regest. Leonis X., n. 17716.

Lateran.* Ximenes took the same course in Spain, as did also Christoph von Stadion, Bishop of Augsburg, and Konrad III. von Thüngen, Prince Bishop of Würzburg.†

In Rome Leo certainly allowed the civic officials to insist, especially within the boundaries of the city, on the observance of the decrees of the Council, but the proceedings were not carried out in a thorough way. The authorities were satisfied with half measures and external observance;‡ although, especially at the beginning of the German revolt, far-seeing men urged the removal at least of those abuses which were deplored by good Catholics themselves. "Would to God," wrote Aleander in the middle of December, 1520, "that we might make an end at last of these many innovations, such as reservations, dispensa-

* Statuta Concilii Florentini, 1517, ad Iulii de Medicis Card. convocationem celebr. Digesta per Pet. Andr. Gammarum de Casali. Florentiae, haer. Phil. Iuntae, 1518. Besides these rare first-hand official accounts there exists a second, prepared by Pet. Corsus, archiepisc. Florent. vicarius, Florentiae, 1564, in the preface to which Corsus refers to the Council of Trent; and then there is a copy in Mansi which HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 746–751, makes use of.

† *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 751, 753, 759; also pp. 755 and 756 for some reform measures of Wolsey.

‡ To such belonged the sumptuary laws on dress; *cf.* Appendix, No. 6, the *Letter of A. Gabbioneta of January 14, 1517 (Gonzaga Archives), Rev. d. Biblioth., VIII., 214, and the decree of March 16, 1517: *Decretum pontificis super cappello viridi ab omnibus episcopis regularibus portando, sed zambelotto nequaquam ab eisdem inducendo et capuccino luteo (Paris de Grassis, *Diarium in Secret Archives of the Vatican). For the reform of the Corpus Domini procession, see *Paris de Grassis ad a. 1516, and HOFFMANN, 462 *seq.*; for the abolition of the ceremony of sending off a dove on Whitsunday in St. Peter's, see HOFFMANN, 461. Of more importance was the appointment of two examiners of candidates for Holy Orders; see AMATI, 232, and Regest. Leonis X., n. 6031.

tions, derogations from the German Concordat, the compositions, and suchlike; the insatiable pluralists also, who would seize the German benefices too, if they could have hold of the reins; for the German people associate all these things with Luther's business, and in this way we suffer grievous injury to the Catholic faith, which is our chief concern." *

* KALKOFF Aleander, 48; *cf.* 97.

CHAPTER X.

The French Concordat.—Ecclesiastical Policy.—Character and Pontificate of Leo X.

The Council of the Lateran aroused vehement opposition in France at the moment when the Concordat with Francis I. was being ratified within its walls with the utmost pomp and solemnity. When the eleventh session set the seal to this agreement, it was already an accomplished fact, thanks to the negotiations carried on so assiduously after the battle of Marignano. Profiting by the deep impression made by his victory, the astute French monarch knew how to conduct his affairs with consummate ability. It was during the private conference which took place at Bologna on the 11th of December, 1515, at the close of the Consistory, that Francis quite unexpectedly asked his host to confirm the Pragmatic Sanction. Leo X. replied that he could never be induced to tolerate a schismatic constitution, but that he would not be averse to a concordat, having a similar purport to that of the Pragmatic Sanction; that is to say, all the stipulations in the latter inimical to the Papacy were to be eliminated, and the privileges contained therein to be placed on a legitimate basis. In this and subsequent conversations the Pope and King came to an agreement on essentials. The results must have been even more agreeable to the crafty King than to his former antagonist. By a bold move Francis had secured that for which he had long striven: the substitution for the Prag-

matic Sanction, which he disliked, of a concordat in the highest degree advantageous to himself; and any odium which might arise in his own country, he could avert from himself by referring to the wishes of the Pope, from whom the plan had emanated.*

After the Pope and the King had come to terms on the main article of the Concordat, the nomination of bishops, confidential persons were entrusted by both with the task of drawing up a convention in proper form. For this purpose the Cardinals Lorenzo Pucci and Pietro Accolti remained behind in Bologna, while Francis was represented by his Chancellor, Du Prat. The negotiations proceeded with difficulty, as each party was a match for the other in diplomatic craft. Notwithstanding their arduous endeavours, the Papal advisers were unable to carry through their demands concerning jurisdiction. After making some concessions they succeeded, in the course of a few weeks, in settling the articles of the compact; by the beginning of February, 1516, the plenipotentiaries had already left Bologna.† At the head of the arrangements stood the Concordat, which, from the French point of view, was looked upon, not unreasonably, as the greatest and most remarkable concession that had ever proceeded from the chair of St. Peter. Thereby, in return for the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Pope handed over to the

* *Cf.* MADELIN, De Conventu Bonon., 65 *seq.*; *cf.* 81 *seq.* A second work of Madelin's, in the Parisian journal Minerva, 1903, was not within my reach. It appears from the author's admission not to have contained anything really new. Pierre Bourdon of Corbeil (S. et O.) is preparing a special work on the Concordat of 1516; he has published in the Mél. d'Archéol., XXVI., 143 *seq.*, an essay: Le Concordat de François Ier et l'indult de Charles-Quint. Leur conflit en Artois, 1518–1521. Rebouf's tractate on the Concordat appeared first in Paris, 1538; see Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LXXXVI., 259.

† *Cf.* MADELIN, 81 *seq.*, 83 *seq.* See also HANOTAUX, LVI.

French Crown the full right of nomination to the bishoprics and abbeys bestowed in Consistory; all the conditions thereto belonging reappear in the later contract. For nine months in the year the bishops are to appoint to the lower clerical offices; after that the Pope can intervene by mandate. Expectancies and reservations are abolished entirely in France and Dauphiné. All lawsuits affecting the clergy and their benefices, except the *causæ majores* reserved for hearing in Rome, must, under pain of excommunication and deprivation, be settled within two years in the country to which they belong.

Then follows a series of stipulations, which were not adopted in the subsequent Concordat, but for a long time played an important part in the relations between Paris and Rome. The King during his lifetime retained the same rights of patronage in Brittany and Provence as in France; all privileges established in these provinces the Pope promised to uphold. Further, the King was granted the privilege, for one occasion only, of the *primariæ preces*. Leo was also ready to accommodate him in the settlement of the bishoprics of the Duchy of Milan, provided he did not interfere with the lower offices. The Pope was equally willing to make concessions over the Bull of the Crusade; the King was left free to fix the amount of the tithe for the building of St. Peter's. The Pope sent a Legate to France to assess, along with prelates appointed by the King, all taxes on cathedrals and abbeys granted in Consistory; hitherto the customary taxes had been levied. The regulations for indulgences granted to the Knights of the Holy Cross and to the Hospital of Paris, the removal of Wolsey from the administration of the diocese of Tournai, the suppression of two sees created in Savoy, the measures directed against the contumacious clergy in the Arch-

bishopric of Milan, the absolution of all who were under ban for their hostility to the Roman Church, were all points on which, almost without exception, a decision was made favourable to the Most Christian King.*

Thus with heavy sacrifices Leo purchased peace with France and preserved this important member of Christendom within the unity of the Church. The tenacious Du Prat never swerved from the attainment of that which would gratify the insatiable demands of his master. It was easy to foresee that the conditions exchanged between Paris and Rome would encounter much opposition.

It was apparently in his own court that Francis found the antagonism most speedily quelled. Louisa of Savoy, to whom Francis sent drafts of the terms, that their utility to the throne, the kingdom, and the Church might be considered, expressed herself in their favour. The same opinion was held by distinguished jurists. From different quarters came the advice that "certain points which the Pope had had inserted should be struck out, while others called for more time for reflection." Disregarding these opinions, Francis ordered the Concordat to be read in Parliament and set forth the motives which had led him to conclude this agreement. The Parliament making no reply, he "took their silence for consent." This occurred in the early days of 1516.†

Much more difficult was it to persuade the Cardinals in Consistory. They opposed before all else the numerous concessions on points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they demanded with vehemence that the interference of the secular authorities with the incomes and property of the churches should be forbidden. Some were of opinion that it would have been better for the honour of the Pope and

* *Cf.* MADELIN, 98 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 659 *seq.*

† MADELIN, 85–86.

the Holy See if no bargain had been struck and things had remained as they were. The Sacred College, in fact, endeavoured to reject the articles which were much too favourable to the State. To clear the way for an adjustment, the King, in April, 1516, ordered a confidential friend of Du Prat, Roger de Barme by name, to go to Rome. A full half year was now spent in negotiations; they were rendered difficult because Francis proposed alterations in the Bolognese arrangements* and demanded yet further concessions. The King's plenipotentiary, whose qualities were highly praised by Leo himself, made the journey between Paris and Rome at least four times. There were great differences of opinion over the result; both parties spoke of an alteration in the original conditions; according to the French, this was favourable to the Pope; according to Cardinal Medici, it was to his disadvantage.† Be this as it may, it was in any case a successful achievement that, during this third and final stage of its development, the Papal diplomacy succeeded in coupling the acceptance of the Concordat with the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction.‡

The first and most important stipulation of the Concordat of the 18th August, 1516,§ which applied to the

* *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIV., 30.

† *Cf.* MADELIN, 86–87. The important *Informatio episcopo Tricariensi S. D. N. nuntio (State Archives, Florence), which requires publication and is assigned by GUASTI (Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 179) to 1514, belongs to 1516.

‡ See HANOTAUX, LX.

§ The French Concordat has been often printed, as by HARDOUIN, IX., 1867 *seq.*; MÜNCH, I., 226 *seq.*; NUSSI, 20 *seq.* Thorough summaries in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 663 *seq.*, and ROHRBACHER-KNOPFLER, 464 *seq.* For the different arrangement and division of the separate articles, see BAUER, 234. I have found, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the original copy of the French

kingdom of France, Dauphiné, and the Marquisates of Die and Valentinois, concerned the appointment to bishoprics. The Concordat conveyed to the French King, for the time being, along with the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction and of the right of election of the cathedral chapter, the right of nomination to all vacant bishoprics. It was demanded that, within six months from the day of vacancy, the candidate to be nominated to the Pope should take his degree as master or licentiate of theology or canon law, that he should have attained at least his twenty-seventh year, and be also in other respects a fitting person. If the King's nominee possessed the requisite qualifications the Pope confirmed his appointment; if not, the King had the right to nominate another fit person within three months. In default of this, or if the vacancy occurred through the death in Rome of the holder of the see, the Pope had full power of appointment.* The King also had the power of appointing blood relations and persons of high rank, as well as learned members of the reformed orders who were unable to acquire academical degrees. The same right of nomination was given the King for abbeys and priories, only in this case the candidate must belong to the order in question and be at least three-and-twenty years old. The chapters of churches, monasteries,

Concordat belonging to Leo X. It is written on parchment, and is in shape like a small folio volume, bound in white silk. In front are the arms of Leo and Francis beautifully illuminated and richly gilded. The lead seal hangs from a red and yellow silk ribbon. In the marginal notes I believe the handwriting of Leo to be clearly recognizable. They form a sort of analysis of contents. The only one of interest is on f. 12, on the article "de vero valore exprimendo." This runs: *De expressione veri valoris, de quo nil fieri dicitur in Gallia.

* The validity of this reservation was contested in France; see HINSCHIUS, III., 164, n. 7.

and priories, whose right of free election was reserved by special Papal privilege, were excepted.

The Concordat made a clean sweep of all expectancies and reservations, while the provisions for benefices by any other patron than the King were kept within strict bounds. Every Pope had the right, but only once in the course of his Pontificate, to bestow expectancies, and this in such a way that for every ten benefices in his patronage he was entitled to one such presentation, and for every fifty or more, to two such.

All legal processes, with the exception of the *causæ majores*, were to be settled by the existing judges of the country in which the suits arose. To avoid frivolous appeals, the ruling of the Court was to hold good without immediate appeal to the Holy See; appeals even from those holding directly from Rome were to be laid before judges in France pending the delivery of judgment, except in cases of miscarriage of justice or of legitimate fear.

Special stipulations were directed against the groundless disturbance of the holders of benefices, against open concubinage, as well as the frivolous imposition of the Church punishments of excommunication, suspension, and interdict. Resignations of benefices were only to be held valid on the production of authentic documentary evidence. Finally, it was agreed that if the Concordat were not ratified and accepted by the French Parliament and people within six months, it would not be valid.

Hardly less important than the articles of the Concordat are its omissions. Although many of the stipulations of the Pragmatic Sanction passed into the new convention, yet the proposition that the Pope is subordinate to a General Council is absent. Silence on this point made it possible for the former view of this relationship to be again revived. The abolition of annates also was

not mentioned in the Concordat; their reintroduction was thereby made possible.*

After the ratification of the Concordat by the Pope on the 18th of August, 1516, its administration was at once proceeded with, regardless of the fact that the French Parliament had not entered it on the registers. This may be taken as certain, although a greater part of the Acts referring to it have been lost. From the documents that remain it is clear with what inconsiderateness and almost cynical naïveté Francis at once proceeded to extract every possible advantage from the treaty.† The King's favour and purely secular considerations prevailed in the choice of candidates for church preferment. Even in cases where the abbeys still had the free choice of election, the latter took place in the presence of a royal official, who brought such pressure to bear that freedom of voting was out of the question. It was just as bad when the examination of candidates at Rome was speedily degraded into a mere matter of form.‡ The domineering influence of the French King, which had so long swayed the Church, was now turned into a permanent system, firmly established by law.§ Already on the 16th of September, 1516, the Concordat as a whole was extended to Brittany and Provence.||

Since the Concordat settled that in case of the nullity

* SCHMIDT, II., 591; HANOTAUX, LIX.; BAUDRILLART, 80. RANKE (Französ. Gesch., I., 104) is wrong in stating that the Concordat restored the annates to the Pope.

† *Cf.* MADELIN, Les premières applications du concordat de 1516, d'après les dossiers du château Saint-Ange, in Mél. d'Archéol., XVII., 323 *seq.*, and MAGAUD, Un procès canonique au 16me siècle, in Annal. de Saint-Louis-des-Français, VI., 249 *seq.*

‡ MADELIN, Applications, 335, 359–360.

§ *Cf.* IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 109.

|| Manoscr. Torrig., XXVI., 177.

of a presentation being pronounced, a correct account of the income of the benefice should be rendered, Leo had for long hoped that in addition to this he might carry out the restoration of annates, but in vain. On this point Francis showed not the least sign of yielding,* and Leo had to submit.

The King showed equal firmness in presence of the heated opposition to the Concordat which he encountered from the clergy, Parliament, and the Universities. In order to break this opposition and give to the whole agreement the utmost possible solemnity, Leo X. embodied in a Bull, which he laid before the Council for acceptance at the eleventh session on the 19th of December, 1516, the Concordat which he had already published on the 18th of August.† To the astonishment of the Pope and the members of the Council, the French envoys did not attend this session; they gave their adhesion "in private," says Paris de Grassis.‡ The envoys kept away on a hint from Paris, where the storm in Parliament was foreseen, since in the same session of the Council, after long preparation,§ the express and solemn repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction was to be announced. The constitution || relating to the French Concordat was read by the Bishop of Isernia. The Pope herein insisted on the full validity of the Concordat derived from the conjoint assent of himself and the Cardinals; his object in submitting it to the

* MADELIN, De conventu Bononiae, 111 *seqq.*, and Mélanges d'Archéol., XVII., 350. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 674; GÉRARDIN, Bénéf. Eccl., 85 *seq.*

† Bull, *Primitiva Ecclesia*, dat. XV. Cal., Sept. 1516; HARDOUIN, IX., 1810–1825; Bull. V., 664 *seq.*

‡ See MADELIN, De conventu Bonon., 87–88.

§ See SANUTO, XXII., 471, 524, 605; XXIII., 173.

|| *Divina disponente clementia* of December 19, 1516; HARDOUIN, IX., 1809 to 1829, and Bull. V., 678 *seq.*

approval of the Council was thus to give its position greater security. The Pope also laid stress on the duty incumbent on him of maintaining the unity of the Church; he then sketched the previous history of the Concordat from the reign of Pius II. onwards. The advantages of the measure were appraised with profuse rhetoric, and the corresponding disadvantages of the wholesale surrender of the rights of nomination were as much as possible kept out of sight. The establishment of peace and of the common law in France implied such a great gain for Church and State, that no sacrifice was too great to make for it. The harsh description of the abuses accompanying the election of bishops and abbots was meant to serve as an explanation of the relentless way in which these appointments had been handed over.

Such an insincere conclusion was not likely to convince the more intelligent of the fathers. Only a few, however, gave expression to their alarm in the Council. Domenico Jacobazzi, Bishop of Nocera dei Pagani, supported by two others, grounded his assent on the very doubtful condition that the withdrawal of the Pragmatic Sanction was accepted by the French people. Like him too, without doubt, Girolamo Ghinucci of Ascoli, who asked that the agreement might have the formal acceptance of both parties, saw through the manœuvres of the French statesmen. The Bishop of Chios disapproved of the royal assent being required for resignations in Curia, and the Bishop of Tortona of the arrangements with regard to the attacks of Parliament on the legal immunities of the clergy. All the other leading churchmen give their assent unconditionally.*

A French Bishop then mounted the pulpit and read out

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 710.

the decree *Pastor Æternus*,* which removed the "pestilence of Bourges." It insisted, in the first place, on the primacy of the Church in matters of faith. It then went on to relate, in considerable detail, how Julius II. had invited to the Council the supporters of the Pragmatic Sanction, although he might without further consideration have cut off this "French gangrene" which threatened the souls of men and fostered schism; how Leo also, with the concurrence of the Council, had extended the time of grace from date to date, without any of these recalcitrants presenting themselves. From this was shown the character of the "depravity" by which the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis XI. had been revived by these men; they aimed at lessening the Papal power, and contested the absolute right of the Pope to bestow benefices on deserving Cardinals and members of the Curia; they encouraged prelates to be disobedient, thus destroying the "very nerve of ecclesiastical discipline"; they were not regularly in possession of their sees, but at the utmost were only tolerated by the Pope; finally, that the assembly of Basle was a mere conventicle (conciliabulum). A great array of instances from ancient church history were produced to show that the Pope, who was above all Councils, alone had the right to summon, prorogue, and dissolve them. On these grounds Leo, in the present Council, could not avoid annulling such an evil system without placing on himself and the Cardinals a stigma of disgrace. Since Scripture and tradition teach the necessity of obedience to the Bishop of Rome on the part of all the faithful, the constitution of Boniface VIII., *Unam Sanctam*, will be solemnly renewed, and the explanatory Bull, *Meruit*, be maintained. The Pragmatic Sanction is given up and removed from

* LABBÉ, XIV., 309 *seq.*; Bull. V., 659 *seq.* *Cf.* also GRAUERT in Histor. Jahrbuch., IX., 144 *seq.*

the archives of the kingdom under penalty of the Pope's reserved ban, along with disqualification for all ecclesiastical office in the case of a priest, and denial of all clerical ministrations in the case of a layman.

All the fathers said simply "Placet." The Bishop of Tortona added: "I am pleased at the repeal of the outcome of the Councils, or rather, the conventicles of Basle and Bourges."* When Pope Leo's turn came, so relates his Master of the Ceremonies, he cried in a loud and triumphant voice: "Non solum placet, sed multum placet et perplacet." "I not only assent, but I assent gladly and entirely."†

From more than one point of view this rejoicing of the Pope at his triumph over the schismatic tendencies of Bourges was justified. A hard and protracted struggle of eighty years had thus ended in victory for the Holy See; for the moment Leo X. forgot entirely the price at which the great victory had been bought. Cardinal Medici at once informed the Papal plenipotentiaries at Paris that the Council had confirmed the Concordat with the unanimous consent of all the Cardinals and eighty Bishops; in spite of the peculiar attitude of the French envoys, it was hoped that Francis would keep his word, and that effect would be given to the decrees of the Pope and Council.‡ In April, 1517, the Acts of the Council were at length officially handed to the King; the Nuncio presented the Bull for the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction in a violet cover, that for the Concordat § in a white one. The choice of colours

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 714.

† Paris de Grassis in MADELIN, 89.

‡ Monoscr. Torrig., XX., 249 *seq.*

§ Manoscr. Torrig., XX., 386. The original deed of the Concordat is preserved in the National Archives in Paris; it has the signature of the Pope and the Cardinals, the lead seal is attached to a red and

evidently seems symbolical. Before the Acts reached France the storm against the treaty between King and Pope had broken loose.

As soon as the Concordat became known, the clergy, the Parliament and the University of Paris were in a state of agitation. All those who had hoped that the victorious King would compel Leo to accept the Pragmatic Sanction found themselves bitterly deceived. The Concordat was opposed not merely to the views of the partisans of the conciliar ideas, but by the removal of free election it damaged the interests of a great number. "Defence of Gallican liberties" became the watchword. Since, under penalty of the nullity of the whole treaty, Francis was pledged within six months to have the same proclaimed to clergy and people, to have it accepted, published, sworn to and registered, he had to strain every nerve to master the opposition. But so vehement was the latter that he had twice to beg for a respite of a year.*

In vain had the Chancellor Du Prat, in one of his speeches addressed in February, 1517, to the Prelates, Councillors of Parliament and Professors of the University, exposed the political reasons which had influenced the King to conclude the Concordat.† In vain had Francis explained that, since the Pragmatic Sanction was bound to go, he

yellow silk ribbon. The original Bull of Leo (December 19, 1516) for the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction is also preserved there; it is a parchment volume bound in silk and magnificently adorned with the arms of Leo and Francis. The seal is the same as above. Leo's signature runs: Ego Leo X^mus^ catholice ecc̄le ep̄s subscripsi. Facsimile in GUIFFREY, Musée des Arch. Nat., Paris, 1893, 121.

* These delays were granted on July 1, 1517, and June 26, 1518, by the *Bulls *Dudum Siquidem*. dat. Romae, 1517, Cal. Julii, and *Dudum Siquidem*, dat. Romae, 1518, Sexto. Cal. Julii. Originals in National Archives, Paris. The first Bull is printed in MÜNCH, I., 252 *seq.*

† *Cf.* MÜNCH, I., 255.

had to consider how, by means of the Concordat, he could prevent the recurrence of the disorders which had prevailed previous to the Sanction. The royal letters-patent of May, 1517,* enjoining on the Parliaments of Paris, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Grenoble, and on the King's judges the observance of the Concordat, met with the most obstinate resistance. The Parliament of Paris stoutly refused to register and publish the measure; they declared that the new treaty would bring ruin on the State, destroy the liberties of the Gallican Church, and deprive them of their means of help. Although Francis I. brought all his influence to bear, the Parliament would not yield. They had not the power, nor was it their duty to publish and register the Concordat; much rather should the Pragmatic Sanction be upheld with greater care than ever, and time be given to the University of Paris and others to express their opinions.†

In a detailed remonstrance, the Parliament showed further that the Concordat, along with several good enactments, contained many that were bad and dangerous; but the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction was an injury to France, an outrage on the Synods of Basle and Constance; an appeal must be made to a fresh Council.‡ All the eloquence of Du Prat was without result; even the concession demanded of the Pope that, in inferior benefices, the income should be computed at twenty-four ducats,§ caused no alteration in the view of the Parliamentary party.

* The original draft of these patents, dat. Paris, 1517, May 13, is in the National Archives, Paris. Place and date have here been inserted later; the ink shows this. This explains how elsewhere (MÜNCH, I., 251) May 12 is given.

† MÜNCH, I., 258 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 737 *seq.*

‡ MÜNCH, I., 268 *seq.*

§ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 741.

They insisted that the Concordat was contrary to the honour of God, the liberties of the Church, and the well-being of the realm.* Not less persistent was the opposition of the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris, which was held in high reputation throughout the whole of France.†

The agitation was carried on recklessly: envenomed pasquinades against Leo X. and Du Prat were circulated.‡ On the last day of February, 1518, Francis declared that he was weary of the negotiations; he could not suffer the Parliament, like a Venetian Senate, to overthrow engagements which he had concluded, and forthwith gave orders for the publication of the Concordat. On the 15th and 19th of March, La Tremouille, in the King's name, repeated the order with threatening words. Then, at last, the Parliament, in order to avoid worse troubles, gave in and undertook, under protest, to proceed to publish and register the Concordat; at the same time they appealed to the Pope better informed and to the next General Council regularly assembled.§ The publication and entry in the registers took place on the 22nd of March.‖ Five days later the University of Paris protested and appealed, at the same time, to a future Council. The King thereupon ordered the arrest of some of the most violent of the Professors, and forbade the University to meddle with affairs of state. On the 12th of April, Francis issued from Amboise the general instructions for registration, which were

* Seconde Remontrance de la cour du parlement in MÜNCH, I., 393–397.

† *Cf.* FÉRET, La faculté de théologie de Paris, Époque mod. I., Paris, 1900, who discusses this opposition in the last book.

‡ ROSCOE-HENKE, II., 281; FIERVILLE, Jouffroy, 148.

§ MÜNCH, I., 261 *seq.*, 265 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* BAUER, 238

then taken up by the Parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble.* On the 14th of April a second edict of Francis I. announced the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.†

In proportion to the satisfaction caused at Rome by the firm attitude of the King ‡ was the indifference shown towards the opposition of the University of Paris, an opposition which many in Germany regarded much more seriously.§ As the result of mature consideration, there appeared on the 16th of June, 1518, a Bull, couched in severe terms, against the appeal of the University of Paris.‖ This was followed on the 25th of June by an edict of

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 743; BAUER, 239. *Cf.* Rev. d'hist. dipl., XIV., 220. After the *registration notices in the above-mentioned royal letters-patent of May 13, 1517, came the registration at Toulouse on May 10 (therefore not as late as November 22, as is most often stated), that at Bordeaux on May 31, and at Grenoble on September 3, 1518. National Archives, Paris.

† *Original, dated Amboise, April 14, 1518, in the National Archives, Paris, J., 942.

‡ *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 8. The satisfaction of the Curia also explains the *Indulto Leonino* granted in 1518 to Francis for Lombardy; see GALANTE, Placitaz., 68.

§ The protest of the Paris University, 1518, as everyone knows, gave Luther a model for his appeal to a Council. *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 378.

‖ The *original of this long Bull, with the leaden seal attached, is in the National Archives, Paris, J. 942. Also the original of the *Bull on the Concordat to the Cardinal-Legate de Boissy, dated May 16, 1518; the **Facultas* given to Francis I., indicating the first month from which the execution of the Concordat in the provinces was to begin, dated June 15, 1518; the *Secunda prorogatio publicationis concordati*, dat. June 26, 1518; also a volume: *Causes et raisons qui ont déterminé le Roi à faire avec le Pape le concordat (a contemporaneous minute, interesting for the views of Francis I.). *Cf.* also *Enquête de 1518 contre les opponents au concordat (folio volume of about 150 quarto pages). National Archives, Paris, J. 1027.

Leo X. which authorized the Cardinal-Legate Bibbiena to pronounce against the Rector and University of Paris the censures and punishments to which they were liable for their open rebellion against the two highest authorities, whereby they incurred the guilt of schism and heresy, and, while esteeming themselves wise, had become fools. This document set forth the highest claims of the Papal power, whereby the decrees of former Pontiffs as well as of Councils might be altered or abrogated; the rashness of the appellants was sharply reproved, the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction justified, the complaints against the Roman See briefly refuted, the appeal characterized as a false and ludicrous libel, which was null and ineffectual, and full powers were given to the Legates to proceed against the guilty parties and their followers.*

The opposition to the Concordat, and especially to the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, survived in France, even after external resistance had disappeared, down to the fall of the ancient monarchy,† and no wonder; for nowhere had schismatical tendencies struck such deep roots as there. Had there been no Concordat, the separation of the French Church from Rome would have become, without doubt, an accomplished fact. Through the great advantages which the new treaty legally guaranteed to the Crown, the schismatic movements lost the unconditional support of the monarchy, but they gained that of the independent provincial parliaments; the latter carried on with energy the opposition once waged against Rome through the

* Leo X. to Bibbiena, Rome, 1518, June 25, first published by HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 855 *seq.* *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 12.

† *Cf.* (DAUNON), Essai hist. sur la puissance temp. des Papes, I., 4th ed., Paris, 1818, 300 *seq.*; PICOT, Hist. des États généraux, I., Paris, 1872, 430, n. 1.; BAUDRILLART, 90, 97 *seq.*

protection of alleged judicial prerogatives and national interests.*

It is exceedingly difficult, in dealing with treaties which, like the Concordat, mean a compromise, to estimate correctly the loss and gain which is bound to accrue to both the contracting parties.† Thus up to the present time very varying judgments have been passed on the Concordat.

The advantage which fell to the Papacy consisted mainly in the victorious ending to the long and unfruitful struggle against the Pragmatic Sanction. What Pius II., Sixtus IV., and even Julius II. had attempted in vain, the clever Medici Pope achieved: the last remnant of the conciliar opposition vanished,‡ the supreme authority of the Papacy was again recognized in France, and this country, which had taken up a schismatic position, was linked anew to the Holy See.§ This momentous result was certainly bought at such a costly price that perhaps it may be spoken of as a Pyrrhic victory.

By the right of nomination the Crown had, with very scanty limitations, the privilege of appointing *personæ gratæ* to all the high offices of the French Church, ten archbishoprics, eighty-three bishoprics, and five hundred and twenty-seven abbeys. In order to appreciate the meaning

* PHILLIPS, III., 341. *Cf.* 351 *seq.* for the (especially about 1533) repeated application of the "appellatio ab abusu" by Francis I. See also PICOT, *loc. cit.*, IV., 228.

† *Cf.* D. B. [Deboulay], Hist. du droit public ecclés. franç., Lond., 1637, 232 *seqq.*

‡ *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, I., 108 *seq.*; MARCKS, Coligny (1892), 258; MADELIN, 111.

§ *Cf.* HANOTAUX, LIX.; DE MEAUX, Luttes réligieuses, 44; MAULDE, Origines, 136; and BAUDRILLART, 81, 86. Certainly the root of the schismatic tendency remained. Acquaviva's memorial of 1568. in LAEMMER, Melet., 222 dwells on this.

of this we must realize, in the first place, the extraordinary wealth of the French Church. According to some accounts the French clergy were then owners of a third, according to others of even two-thirds of the whole soil.* These accounts are certainly exaggerated. On the other hand, it is certain that in 1516 the total income of the French clergy amounted to five million livres—almost as much as that of the state.† The whole of these extraordinarily large revenues were now at the disposal of the Crown; never before had the monarchy obtained such an increment of power at a single blow.‡ How perilous in and for itself such a dependence of the whole higher clergy on the ruling power might be, how easily the latter might lie open to the temptation of encroaching arbitrarily, not only on the Church's property, but on something much greater, even on the faith itself, is self-evident.§ Some guarantees certainly were offered in the limitations to which the King was subject and in the right of control which Rome had secured. But these were not sufficient to prevent the Concordat being very soon abused as an engine of oppression and far-reaching injury to the Church.

With inconceivable carelessness Rome neglected to effect any change in the control which she was capable of exercising: no attempts were made in this direction before Pius V.|| The Crown, however, with a selfish cynicism, exploited to the uttermost the treaty which was such a source of advantage The Concordat, in itself, was less injurious to the Church of France than the circumstance

* MARCKS, Coligny, 259.

† *Cf.* IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 361.

‡ HANOTAUX, LVIII.; DE MEAUX, 44.

§ *Cf.* IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 112.

|| *Cf.* MADELIN in Mél. d'Archéol., XVII., 360; DE MEAUX, 46; BAUDRILLART, 106.

that Francis, heedless of the earnest expostulations of the noble Lodovico di Canossa,* abused without scruple, in the most shameful way, the extraordinary privileges accorded to him, and often raised the most unworthy nominees to the highest offices in the Church.† "Like a good-natured, open-handed boon companion," says a Venetian Envoy, "he gives away bishoprics in answer to ladies' entreaties and abbeys to soldiers in lieu of pay; in short, he makes himself popular with all sorts of men, without giving a thought to their personal characters."‡ What grave evils sprang from this state of things will be described only too often in the course of this history.

Nevertheless the Concordat had this good result; it set up a powerful barrier against the separatist tendency which threatened to detach France from Rome, a barrier which stood firm throughout the storms let loose by the Reformation.§ The clergy were certainly brought into the closest dependence on the Crown, but yet were not separated from Rome; since the Crown controlled church property indirectly, the temptation, at least, to downright spoliation was removed. The Concordat, undoubtedly,

* *Cf.* his *Trattato del governo del regno di Francia, addressed to Francis I., to which I return again, in Cod. Urb., 858, Vatican Library.

† FÈVRE points this out correctly, Papauté, V., 202. *Cf.* BAUDRILLART, 106 *seqq.*

‡ RAUMER, Briefe aus Paris, I., 231. *Cf.* RANKE, Französ. Gesch., I., 123; WOHLTHAT, Ueber das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Frankreich im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert, Burg, 1574, 8 *seq.*; MAULDE, Origines de la Révolut. franc., Paris, 1889; and DE MEAUX, 348. How correct the remark here made is, that the right of nomination was specially harmful to the abbeys, *cf.* Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden, 1891, 54 *seq.*; see also GÉRARDIN, Bénéf. eccl., 92 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* HANOTAUX, Étud. hist. sur le 16e et 17e siècles en France, Paris, 1886. See also BAUDRILLART, 80.

made the King, to a certain extent, the overlord of the French Church, but also at the same time its natural protector. The Kings had now most powerful motives for remaining Catholic.* In order to understand the extraordinary situation of Leo X, we must always bear in mind that the French Crown, long before the Concordat was entered into, had, as a matter of fact, disposed, with almost unlimited power, of the high dignities of the Church.† Therefore the treaty meant nothing else than the legal recognition of a long existing state of things; it was the end of a long development.‡ As things were, the Concordat was, perhaps, the only way in which the then existing privileges could have been placed on a legal basis, and the great evil, the complete separation of France from Rome, have been prevented.§ It would, however, be a grave deception to suppose that, this result having been secured, the French Church was no longer a cause of anxiety; the crisis was only deferred, it had not been rendered impossible.

Leo X.'s concessions were not confined to France. With other States also he made arrangements of such a far-reaching kind that half a century later they were the subject of comment in the Roman Court.||

In Spain the monarchy had received from Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. privileges of presentation and patron-

* Besides MADELIN, 112 *seq.*, *cf.* especially HANOTAUX, LXII. See also LEA, II., 134.

† *Cf.* IMBART DE LA TOUR, I., 109.

‡ *Ibid*, 122 *seq.* *Cf.* also MAULDE, Origines, 277.

§ That Leo chose the lesser evil is urged in the memorial of Aquaviva, see LAEMMER, Melet., 222. Without knowing this passage, HANOTAUX, LV., speaks to the same effect. See also STAUDENMAIER, Bischofswahlen, 346.

|| *Cf.* *letter of Capilupi, dat. Rom., 1573, June 6. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

age of such a comprehensive character that hardly anything was left that the temporal power could desire.* By the law also of 1476 the Crown, through the Royal Council, exercised the widest supervision over the spiritual jurisdiction. The Kings claimed too the right of refusal of Papal enactments, the so-called right of the *retención de bulas.*† In addition there was the Cruzada or Bull of the Crusade, conferring certain spiritual graces, which was transferred to the Crown, as a means of defraying the expenses of the war against the infidels. Like his predecessor, Leo had also, in 1519, sanctioned such a Cruzada under conditions of the widest scope.‡ The legal claim to refuse Papal Bulls was met on the 1st of March, 1519,§ by a constitution of Leo's which had quite as little success as his attempt to subject the Spanish Inquisition to the procedure of the common law, since the Pope just at that moment stood in need of Charles as a political ally.‖

Leo stood in remarkable relations with the ruler of Portugal, whose activity "in defending and spreading the faith in Africa, Æthiopia, and Arabia" he could not sufficiently praise. For this purpose the King received important privileges, the tenth of the property of the clergy and a portion of the Cruciata. We have already spoken of the privileges granted by Leo to Emmanuel the Great for his possessions over-sea.¶ Very valuable was the right of patronage over the three religious orders of Knighthood of St. James, St. Avitus, and Christ, conceded to the King

* *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, p. 397, and Vol. V., p. 338.

† *Cf.* PHILIPPSON in the Histor. Zeitschr., XXXIX., 272 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Opere inedite, VI., 296 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv für Kirchenrecht, X., 20.

§ Bull. V., 714 *seq.*

‖ LLORENTE, I., 468 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, pp. 19, 24.

¶ *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 77.

on the 30th of June, 1516.* The prodigal liberality of the Pope, however, was always met by fresh demands and proposals on the part of the King. The former was far too compliant. In 1515, in contravention of the regulations of the Lateran Council, he promised to bestow on the King's fourth son, Alfonso, who was still a boy, the first vacant bishopric in Portugal. In 1516 the Portuguese Envoy went the length of requesting further that Alfonso should be admitted to the Cardinalate, and in the same year he was made Bishop of Guarda. In July, 1517, at the great nomination of Cardinals, Alfonso was included; the only condition imposed was that he should not assume the insignia of his rank until he was eighteen. With all this the King was not satisfied: Alfonso had hardly been made Cardinal before he pressed for yet additional ecclesiastical dignities.†

If the case of Portugal was an exception, yet in almost all the other Latin countries the Pope had had to protest and take steps repeatedly against acts of violence towards the clergy and other infringements of ecclesiastical liberties.‡ Among the Italian States the self-centred

* Corp. dipl. Port., I., 375. *Cf.* also RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 28.

† Corp. dipl. Port., I., 312 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*, 363 *seq.*, 387, 474, 498, II., 5, 39; MACSWINEY, 139 *seq.*, 146 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 411 n.

‡ On this point KALKOFF (Forschungen, 35 *seq.*) has recently borne evidence by producing instances from the Acta Consist. To this subject belong also the *letters of Leo X. to Francis I., dated Viterbo, 1515, November 1, and Florence, 1516, February 7, in the National Archives, Paris. KALKOFF (Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zur Kurie, in Quellen und Forschungen, IX., 88–139) shows how on the one side the Curia, under the pressure of the Lutheran movement, yielded more and more to the numerous requests of the Brandenburg Princes, and how, on the other, the latter raised their demands on account of the precarious condition of the Church in Germany.

Republic of Venice indulged in many acts of aggression; * the Pope had also to bestir himself against the Marchioness Isabella d'Este † and several towns in the States of the Church, as he had to do against the Swiss,‡ in defence of the Church's freedom. Certainly the corrupt state of the clergy was one of the causes of this one-sided action on the part of the State. Often criminals attempted to escape punishment by an appeal to the privileges of the clergy, against which Leo, in 1520, took suitable measures on behalf of the Venetian Republic. § The freedom of the clergy from taxation was made the subject of a Concordat with Florence in 1516. ||

The Council of the Lateran opened the way for a closer connection between Poland and Rome, the co-operation of that kingdom being announced by Joannes de Laski, Primate and Archbishop of Gnesen. ¶ The two decisive factors in this movement were the Turkish danger and the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Order. In the latter respect the wishes of Poland were in agreement with the secret views of Leo X., who was also averse to this quarrel being brought before the Council.

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVIII., 436; XXX., 352, 361. For a dispute with the Republic about the Inquisition in Brescia, see LEA, Inquisition, I., 539.

† See the *Brief to the Marchioness Isabella of Este, of May 23, 1520 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and those to the Abbat of St. P etro and the Prior of S. Severo, of April 3, 1514, in the Capitular Archives Perugia.

‡ *Cf.* Manoscr. Torrig., XXIII., 11.

§ SANUTO, XXIX., 316 *seq.*

|| *Cf.* the account in SCADUTO, Stato e Chiesa sotto Leopoldo I., Firenze, 1885, 87, and Histor. Jahrb., IX., 107.

¶ Laski was called Legatus Natus (*cf. infra*, p. 438). While this title was not recognized in Cracow in October, 1515, the honour was restored to him later in Gnesen; see BRZEZIŃSKI, O stosunku piatego powszechnego soboru Lateraneńskiego do Polski, Kraków, 1897, 65-66.

The presence of Laski in Rome led to many important results both politically and ecclesiastically; he informed the Pope of the critical state of affairs in the Polish kingdom, which was overrun by infidels and schismatics, and negotiated the Bull of the 14th of November, 1513, which limited the Papal reservations and expectancies to certain canonries and archdeaconries,* as well as the still more important one of the 9th of August, 1515.† This latter regulated the discipline of the Polish Church by an agreement between the Pope and King Sigismund I. These articles contained salutary provisions for the election and residence of Bishops, the reform of pastoral duties, intercourse with schismatics, and the infliction of censures. A Bull of the 25th of July, 1515, bestowed on the Archbishop the title of *legatus natus*.‡ Of the greatest importance for Poland was a Bull of the 1st of July, 1519,§ negotiated by Bishop Erasmus Ciolek of Plock.‖ In this the Pope, in accordance with the King's wishes, confirmed all favours granted in the Council as well as the privileges previously granted to individual Polish Bishops; he also declared all Papal reservations and expectancies null if they interfered with the episcopal *alternativa mensium*; the latter was granted to all Polish Bishops for six months instead of

* Regest. Leonis X., n. 5372. THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 345 *seqq*. *Cf.* BRZEZIŃSKI, O Konkordatach Stolicy Apostolskiej, z. Polska, w. XVI., wieku, Kraków, 1893, 12, and note 6, p. 68.

† Regest. Leonis X., n. 16,905, and BRZEZIŃSKI, o Konkordatach Stolicy Apostolskiej, 13.

‡ The original of this Bull, printed in KORYTOWSKI (Arcybiskupi Gnieznieńscy II., Poznań, 1888, 622) is in the Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Gnesen, Nr. 625.

§ The Bull *Romanus Pontifex* was first published by BRZEZIŃSKI, o Konkordatach Stolicy Apostolskiej, 22 *seq*.

‖ *Cf.* ST. LUKASA, Erazm Ciolek Biskup Plocki. 1502 1522, Warszawa, 1878.

four, as prescribed by the rules of the Chancery. This Bull was, in fact, a Concordat save in name and outward form; it was withdrawn under Clement VII.*

From the beginning of his Pontificate Leo X. had had close relationship with Henry VIII. of England. After the death† of the King's representative, Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, a man who had become thoroughly italianized, and was hated for his arrogance, his post was filled by Silvestro Gigli, Bishop of Worcester.‡ The efforts of this accomplished diplomatist were mainly instrumental in obtaining for the English minister, Thomas Wolsey, the rank of Cardinal. The latter,§ who was destined to play an important and eventful part in the intercourse between Rome and England, was born in 1471 in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, the son of a humble citizen. He began his career as King's Almoner, and knew how to make himself indispensable to his master by cleverness and subserviency. Soon the most important affairs passed almost entirely through Wolsey's hands; his influence over Henry VIII. became permanent. Of uncommon ability, but ambitious and covetous, he soon became the recipient of the richest benefices: in 1513 he was Bishop of Tournai, in 1514 that of Lincoln, and in the same year, on the death of Bainbridge, was advanced to the Archbishopric of York. Still dissatisfied, Wolsey now aimed yet further at the

* By the Bull *Cum Singularem*, December 1, 1525, in BRZEZIŃSKI, 24 *seq.* *Cf.* BRZEZIŃSKI in the Abhandl. der Krakauer Akademie, XXX., 262 *seq.*, and in Anzeiger der Krakauer Akademie, 1893, 338 *seq.*

† It was affirmed by poison. Gigli was accused quite unjustly. See CREIGHTON, IV., 206 *seq.*; MARTIN, 234 *seq.* *Cf.* also FERRAJOLI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 440 *seq.* Bainbridge's tomb (inscription in FORCELLA, VII., 171) is in the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the Via Monserrato.

‡ For GIGLI, *cf.* Cornelius de Fine, *Diary, National Library, Paris.

§ *Cf.* CREIGHTON, Cardinal Wolsey, London, 1858.

Cardinal's hat. Henry did what he could at Rome; Leo held out against the appointment for a considerable time, but at last yielded under the pressure of political circumstances; on the 10th of September, 1515, Wolsey was nominated.* The Pope sent him the red hat, and it was assumed by Wolsey on the 18th of November, in Westminster Abbey, with great solemnity; he now called himself the Cardinal of York. The celebrated John Colet delivered a discourse, on this occasion, on the newly conferred dignity. Wolsey had already, in July, been made Lord Chancellor of the kingdom.†

Wolsey, like a true upstart, surrounded himself with unprecedented pomp and luxury. He was liberal towards scholars, and encouraged learning and art. With the King, who was sensual, masterful, and self-centred, he was on the best of terms; he understood thoroughly how to enter into all his inclinations. Yet with all the overmastering influence that he thus wielded, he was too clever to adhere obstinately to his own opinion. In such instances this proud and self-seeking man gave way to his master, and followed his views with the same eagerness which he would have shown had they originated from the first from himself. It was hard to say who was the real ruler, so completely did the King and his minister appear to be of one mind. The service of his Sovereign went before all else, even before the interests of the Church, with Wolsey. All his manifold gifts—as a statesman he developed an astonishing capacity—were dedicated practically to a single end; to raise the reputation and influence of his King, in whose exaltation his own was involved, and to make Henry VIII. the arbiter of Europe.‡ When Leo X., in 1518,

* See Vol. VII. of this work, p. 118.

† *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 74.

‡ MARTIN, who brings this out strongly, remarks (p. 239) very

despatched Cardinal Campeggio to England to discuss the Turkish question, the latter was not received until he consented to share his legateship with Wolsey: Leo had to give way, as he had also sacrificed Cardinal Adriano Castellesi to the English Lord Chancellor. The latter expressed his thankfulness that thereby the whole work of pacification had been taken out of the Pope's hands and that all the glory of it would be secured to the King.*

After that Rome knew what to expect of Wolsey: no wonder that the indefinite extension of his legatine powers was resisted; a Bull of the 6th of January, 1520, limited this extension to two years.† The English Cabinet on its side considered itself injured by the Pope's attitude towards the question of the Imperial succession.‡

The somewhat strained relations between Rome and England were exchanged in the following year for most friendly ones, in consequence of the rapprochement between Leo and Wolsey and of the determined opposition of Henry VIII. to Luther.§ On the 12th of May, 1521, in St. Paul's Churchyard, close to the famous St. Paul's Cross, in presence of a great multitude, the solemn publication of the Papal Brief against Luther took place along with the

pertinently of this policy: En général, on peut la définir une altitude à la fois indépendante et protectrice, orthodoxe assurément et même avec certaines parades de zèle, qu'on aurait tort d'appeler hypocrites, mais qu'il serait naïf de croire entièrement désintéressées. Le but réel de Wolsey, but auquel il n'a cessé d'appliquer toutes les ressources d'une intelligence supérieure, et d'une volonté tenace, c'est de rendre Henri VIII. arbitre de l'Europe, en favorisant tour à tour les deux riveaux qui se disputaient l'hégémonie du continent, Charles-Quint et François I

* *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, pp. 239, 241–243.

† RYMER, VI., 1, 191; *cf.* Busch, Vermittlungspolitik, 82–83.

‡ *Cf.* CREIGHTON, V., 102; MARTIN, 340 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 83.

burning of his writings. During these proceedings, at which John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, delivered a long discourse, Wolsey bore himself as if the tiara, on which his ambition had long been fixed, were now resting on his head.* The Venetian Envoy who relates this adds: a Brief has come from Rome with an extension of Wolsey's legatine authority. On the 12th of May, Henry VIII. announced to the Pope the despatch of a work which he had written against Luther.† This book, "A Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Luther," which was substantially the King's own work,‡ was not completed until the autumn. Wolsey, who had had a share in its composition, now renewed his endeavours at Rome to obtain for the King a title of honour similar to that of the Kings of France and Spain.§ On the 14th of September the English Envoy, Clerk, presented in private audience to the Pope the splendidly bound copy of the royal polemic,||

* See the account in SANUTO, XXX., 314 *seq.*, and 342. *Cf.* BROWN, Venetian Calendar, 210–213; the mandate against Luther's books in WILKINS, III., 690 *seq.* Fisher's speech was expressly presented to Leo; see BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 98.

† MAI, Spicil, VI., xlvi. *seq.*

‡ CREIGHTON, V., 163, n. 3; also BRIDGETT, The Defender of the Faith, in the Dublin Review, XIII. (1885), 243–268. *Cf.* LAEMMER, Vortrid. Theol., 14 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 587 *seq.*

§ The question came up in Consistory on June 10, 1521 (the minutes relating to it in the Acta Consist., which CREIGHTON, V., 321 *seq.*, gives as unpublished, were published long before by LAEMMER, Melet., 190 *seq.*) and again on June 14; see KALKOFF, Forschungen, 83. Henry VIII. had long wished for this; the subject had been treated of as early as 1515; see MARTÈNE-DURAND, III., 1274; BROSCH, VI., 137.

|| This parchment codex is marked *Cod. Vat., 3731. The binding is modern; according to ZANELLI (Bibl. Vat., 22; *cf.* Mélanges d'archéol., XIV., 372), the original costly binding was stolen during the sack of Rome. On fol. 1 is the following note: *Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo die XII. Octob. Sanctissimus

which is now exhibited in the Vatican Library along with its author's love-letters to Anne Boleyn. Leo X. read forthwith the first five pages, and expressed by words and gestures his great satisfaction. The Envoy then ventured to call the attention of His Holiness to the dedication, which ran, "England's King Henry sends Leo X. this work as a sign of faith and friendship." The Envoy wished to read aloud to the Pope, who was short-sighted, this dedication, written in small letters, but Leo seized the

in Christo pater et dom. dom. Leo divina providentia papa decimus consignavit nobis Laurentio Parmenio et Romulo Mamacino pontificiae bibliothecae custodibus hunc librum in eadem bibliotheca cum aliis asservandum et custodiendum. Fol. 2 displays a beautiful miniature: two angels support the King's arms; then follows the title: Assertio || septem sacramentorum ad || versus Martin. Lu || therum aedita ab || invictissimo || Angliae || et || Franciae rege et do. Hyberniae Hen || rico eius nominis octavo ||. Below the English arms are repeated, with a griffin and a dog as supporters, and surrounded by flowers. Fol. 3–4, dedication from Henry VIII. to Leo. Fol. 4–5^{b}, Ad lectores; then the text. Fol. 87^{b}, in another hand and smaller writing: Anglorum rex Henricus Leo decime mittit || Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitie. Beneath the autograph signature: Henricus. The Vatican contains in addition to this copy several others of the King's work, namely: Membr., III., 1, magnificently bound in red satin but without the royal signature; Membr., III., 2, parchment copy of the London edition of 1521, intended for the King of Portugal, with Henry's signature; Membr., III., 3, also with Henry's signature, binding of the time of Paul III.; Membr., III., 4, parchment copy with illuminations on the second page, a miniature representing the King on his knees presenting his book to the Pope, at the end the words: Anglorum Rex, etc., and the King's signature, like the others, certainly in his own hand. The differences in the signatures show that no stamping instruments were used. This copy was probably also intended for Leo himself, like the Cod. Vat. 3731, since he was presented both with a manuscript and a printed copy. I take this opportunity of thanking the Prefect of the Vatican, Father Ehrle, for the great kindness with which he gave me access to these and other rarities in the collection placed in his charge.

book eagerly and read quickly, more than once, the flattering dedication with expressions of approval; he then begged that he might have five or six copies for the Cardinals.*

It was the wish of the English Envoy to be allowed to present the work again in open Consistory. This Leo declined, on the pretext that the presence of laymen on such an occasion might give rise to disagreeable discussions on the Lutheran question. Leo remaining inflexible, Clerk had to content himself with the permission to present the volume on October 2nd in a secret Consistory and to make a speech on the occasion.† As regards the title which he had been asked to bestow on Henry VIII., the Pope, ignoring the opposition of several Cardinals, showed himself compliant to the English wishes. A Bull of the 26th of October‡ conferred on the King of England the proud title of "Defender of the Faith," which is still borne on the arms and coinage of English Sovereigns. Wolsey, with whom the whole concern originated, earned the cordial thanks of his delighted master.

The well-known gentleness of Leo X. and his goodness of heart were shown especially in his treatment of the Jews. Few Popes have favoured them as much as he, at whose Court Jewish doctors and musicians held high and conspicuous posts. Where Jews suffered injuries at the hands of Christians,

* See Clerk's account in BREWER, III., n. 1656, and ELLIS, original letters, 3rd Series, I., 256.

† *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1521, n. 73; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 84; *cf.* 134 n. See also MARTIN, 344; Clerk's speech in *Cod. Vat. 5313, f. 14 *seq.*

‡ RYMER, VI., 1, 199 *seq.* *Cf.* Brief of November 4, 1521, in BREWER, III., n. 1740, and WILKINS, III., 695 *seq.* See further, FIDDES, 246 *seq.*; HERBERT, 104; and BUSCH, Vermittlungspol., 158. The Consistorial transactions on October 11 and 26 are in LAEMMER, Melet., 200; *cf.* also Tablet XCVII., 563 *seq.*

he showed himself their energetic protector. Many new privileges were added to those already existing; even the establishment of a Hebrew printing press in Rome was permitted. The historians of the Jewish community in that city cannot find sufficient words of praise to celebrate the happiness and security they then enjoyed.* By various exemptions, which were intended to protect the Jews especially in Rome, from unjust taxation, the hope was expressed that in this way that nation might be more easily won to the Christian faith.† Although the protection given to the Jews by the Pope was generous, he was, at the same time, often obliged to take steps against them.‡ In one special instance, when he learned that a Jewish book hostile to the faith had been published at Venice, he took stringent measures.§

While Leo X. sanctioned the cultus of the founder of the Servites, Filippo Benizi, and of the Seven Franciscan friars of Septa in Africa,‖ he gave orders for the preparation of the process of canonization of Giovanni Capistrano, of the Florentine Archbishop, Antonino, of Lorenzo Giustiniani, and of the founder of the Minims.

* VOGELSTEIN-RIEGER, II., 33 *seq.*; see further, Rev. d'étud. juives, XXI., 285 *seq.* Many details in the Regest. Leonis X., *e.g.* n. 7801; *Div. Cam., LXVII. *seq.*, 78, 90, 110[b]. Secret Archives of the Vatican and *Cod. Barb. lat. 2428, f. 208.

† Div. Cam., LXVII., f. 110[b]. The presence of Leo X. at the baptism of several Jews in 1518 is mentioned by Paris de Grassis, ed. DELICATI-ARMELLINI, 67.

‡ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Regest. Leonis X., n. 7504, 8238, 8853, and Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LIII., 19 *seq.* *Brief to the Legate at Avignon, dat. May 19, 1518, Arm., XL., t. 3, n. 322. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Brief May 25, 1518, to the Nuncio in Venice, Arm., XXXIX., t. 31, 1518, n. 48, and to the Doge, Arm. XL., t. 3, n. 331. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ BZOVIUS, 1516, n. 21; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 7.

Francesco di Paula.* The Pope would have liked above all to have lived to see the canonization of his fellow-countryman, Antonino. But since the examination was carried out with the greatest thoroughness, it was long in being brought to a conclusion.† In the canonization of Francesco di Paula, France took a special interest.‡ This was celebrated by the Pope on the 1st of May, 1519, in St. Peter's, with all the solemnity which, from of old, has accompanied this rite.§

Leo was liberal in the granting of indulgences. Many churches not only in Italy, but also in other countries, especially Germany, were richly endowed in this respect.‖ Indulgences were also attached to the devotion of the Stations of the Cross, and to the confraternity of the Rosary,¶

* *Cf.* SANUTO, XXVI., 212, XXVII., 103, 117, 145, 169, 184, 195, 250, XXVIII., 135, 137, XXIX., 474–475; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 105 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*; Acta Tomic., IV., 256, 401 *seq.* and V., 187; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 53, 70, 72 *seq.*, 75.

† On November 18, 1518, *Francesco Chieregati told the Marquis of Mantua that in the last Consistory the canonization of Antonino had been discussed. But on the 17th and 23rd of December 1520, *Fabrizio Pellegrino still speaks of the protracted proceedings in connection with it. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also KALKOFF, Forschungen, 35.

‡ KALKOFF, Forschungen, 35.

§ *Cf.* Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, 1519, n. 82, and Notic. des Ms. du Roi, II., 592 *seq.*; Bull. V., 717 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXVII., 274 *seq.*, 297. For the canonization of Osanna Andreasia, see *supra*, p. 224 n., also LUZIO, Isabella d'Este, 75. For the refusal of Leo X. to permit the publication of the Caeremoniale by Cr. Marcello, see Paris de Grassis in HOFFMANN, 488 *seq.*; Notic. des Ms. du Roi, II., 586 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 680 *seq.*; BÄUMER, 382 (for Crassis read Grassis), and DUC DE RIVOLI, 381 *seq.* For the Institutio anniversarii pro omnibus papis, 1518, *cf.* GATTICUS, 476 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* BELLESHEIM in the Histor-polit. Bl., CVIII., 738 *seq.*, and especially SCHULTE, I., 67 *seq.*

¶ *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 14237–14238, 14627; Bull. V., 757 *seq.*; Bull. ord. praedic., IV., 392; MOCHEGIANI A MONSANO, Collectio

as well as to the famous pilgrimages to Aix la Chapelle and Treves.*

In special Bulls Leo regulated the position of the Auditors of the Rota, of the College of the Abbreviators of the Apostolic letters, and of the clerical chamberlains, as well as the oath of obedience of the Bishops to the Holy See.† The laws of Julius II. against duelling were renewed with sharper penalties.‡ A special Bull dealt with magic and fortune-telling.§ Leo X. had also repeatedly enforced the Church's noble privilege of protecting the liberty of the human race and vindicating its dignity. A difference of opinion among the American missionaries as to the lot of the natives, called from the Pope the declaration that not only religion, but nature itself, protested against slavery. He entered into negotiations with King Ferdinand of Spain with a view to restraining the settlers from acts of violence and injustice towards the Indians.|| Further, the Pope was unremitting in his endeavours to ransom Christian captives of the Turks.¶

On several occasions the care of the churches of the East called for the Pope's attention. The restoration of union with the Maronites in the Council of the Lateran

indulgent. (Ad Clarus Aquas, 1897), 503; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LIII. (1897), 336 *seq.*; H. KOCH, Zur. Gesch. der marianischen Bruderschaften, Frankfurt, 1898, 12.

* For Leo's patronage of the pilgrimage to Aix, see BEISSEL, Heilgenverehrung, II., 141; for Treves, Regest. Leonis X., n. 13852.

† Bull. V., 566 *seq.*, 631 *seq.*, 684 *seq.*

‡ Bull. V., 727 *seqq.* *Cf.* Zeitschrift. für kathol. Theol., 1898, 637 *seq.*

§ Bull. V., 571 *seqq.* *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 610.

|| *Cf.* MARGRAF, Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerikas, Tübingen, 1865, 81.

¶ *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 3471, 3994, 4559, 5056, 5261, 5500, 5585, 6798, 12747.

has already been mentioned. The return to union of other orientals as well was then a matter of consideration.* The repeated attempts to draw nearer to Russia miscarried completely, partly owing to unfavourable circumstances and partly in consequence of a mistaken appreciation of the circumstances. Iacopo Piso, who was appointed Nuncio in 1514, had as little success as his successors, Schönberg and Ferreri; none of these Envoys reached Moscow.†

The Uniat Greeks who were subjects of the Venetian Government were treated by Leo with good-will and entire loyalty. As early as 1513 the Pope had made efforts to settle the disputes in Rhodes between Latins and Greeks.‡ Leo repeatedly took steps against the Catholic clergy in Corfu, who wished to force the Greeks into conformity with these rites, just as he took the Greeks in Venice under his special protection.§ Since the oppression of the Greeks by the Latin clergy in the Venetian possessions, especially Corfu, continued, Leo issued, on the 18th of May, 1521, a very strongly-worded Bull, in which he renewed all the existing rights and privileges of the Greeks, and

* *Cf.* Regest. Leonis X., n. 15691, *cf.* 15690. See also LAEMMER, Melet. 447, and *supra*, p. 403.

† *Cf.* the detailed description of PIERLING, I., 260–275. Here (278 *seq.*) there is further information about the private enterprises of Paoletto Centurione, which Leo supported. *Cf.* also FIEDLER, Ein Versuch der Vereinigung der russischen Kirche, Wien, 1862; PICHLER, II., 62 *seq.*; Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XI., 76 *seq.*; BUDDEE, 35 *seq.*, 54 *seq.*; Amat di S. Filippo, Bibliografia di viaggiatori, 2nd ed. (1882), 223 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*; UEBERSBERGER, Oesterreich und Russland, I., Wien, 1906, 149 *seq.*

‡ Regest. Leonis X., n. 3045.

§ *Ibid.*, n. 5049, 9124; Bull. Propag. App., I., 14 *seq.*; LEBRET, Magazin, II., 565 *seq.* *Cf.* PISANI in the Revue d'hist. et de litt. relig., 1896, 205 *seqq.*

severely condemned the hostility of the Latins. It was laid down that Greek bishops should not ordain Latin clerics nor Latin bishops Greeks. The Latin priests were strictly forbidden to celebrate Mass in Greek churches. No one must condemn or despise the Greek ritual, which had been approved by the Council of Florence. Where two Bishops were co-resident, a Latin and a Greek, each was to abstain from interference in the other's affairs. In spite of the heavy penalties attached to the infraction of these decrees, both Clement VII., and Paul III. at a later date, had to come to the help of the Greeks.*

In maintaining the integrity of the faith, the Pope continued to employ the Dominicans as Inquisitors.† In Italy, in 1513, 1515, and 1516, he was forced to take steps against several fanatical preachers, two of whom—Teodoro of Scutari and Fra Bonaventura—gave themselves out to be the Angelic Pope foretold by Savanarola. Fra Bonaventura, who preached downright apostasy from the Church, laid the Pope under excommunication and announced his speedy death, was imprisoned in St. Angelo in May, 1516, whereupon the bulk of his followers fell away.‡ The

* Besides HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 691, *cf.* now the interesting treatise of E. v. GÖDEL-LANNOY, Die kirchliche Verhältnisse auf Corfu zur Zeit der venet. Herrschaft, Graz, 1904.

† *Cf.* Bull. ord. praedic., IV., 303 *seq.*, 356 *seqq.*, 373 *seqq.*

‡ For him and other fanatics, see Vol. V. of this work, 221–225. In the Brief of April 17, 1515, Leo X. congratulates himself on the action of the Florentine Archbishop against "Theodorum perdit. filium qui audens sedem ad Aquilonem ponere sibi Angelici pastoris nomen usurpabat, etc." (MORENI, II. 512). For Fra Bonaventura, see SANUTO, XVIII., 139; HÖFLER, Ital. Zustände, 56–57, and Vol VII. of this work, p. 156, n., from *Paris de Grassis. For a Frate di San Francesco proceeded against by Leo in August 1516, on account of prophesyings, see SANUTO, XXII., 474; *ibid.*, XXI., 338 *seq.* for a half-crazy preacher in Venice.

prompt suppression of this fanatical movement may have led many to hope that similar measures would be applied to Martin Luther, whose appearance followed shortly after, and that his agitation would thus be brought to a speedy end. That Leo X. and his chief adviser, Cardinal Medici, did not share such illusions, is shown by their action with regard to the Wittenberg Professor, which has already been described.* But they certainly did not recognize the full bearing of the movement which had broken out in Germany.

Still less did Rome recognize the danger which threatened the Church in Scandinavia. Here also as in other countries a profound impression was made by the appointment to Church benefices of strangers and courtiers, who drew the revenues and neglected the duties. Although the Danish clergy made just complaints † no redress was given. In February, 1520, Leo even went so far as to bestow the rich Archbishopric of Lund on Cardinal Cesi.‡ A mistake of equal magnitude was the despatch of the Papal chaplain, Giovanni Maria Arcimboldi, as Nuncio to the northern kingdoms; he was at the same time to proclaim an Indulgence for the building of St. Peter's.§ How unscrupulously this was done by his covetous agent, Leo was afterwards informed by Raffaello de' Medici. The latter wrote from Worms in the beginning of 1521 that the Princes were specially embittered towards this prelate, who had "in a thousand instances done the most useless things, and with the help of the Capuchins had raked in

* Vol. VII. of this work, Chap. VIII., Part I.

† *Cf.* SCHÄFER, Geschichte Danemark, IV., 23.

‡ CIACONIUS, III., 395; SCHÄFER, IV., 139.

§ For Arcimboldi and his mission, see MARTIN, G. Vasa, 65 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*; also *cf.* SCHULTE, I., 151. PAULUS in the Theol. Revue, 1904, 542.

all the money he could lay his hands on."* Paul Eliesen said later: "Arcimboldi's gross abuse of power and of his commission gave Lutheranism its opportunity in Denmark; there had been Roman Legates in Denmark before who did useful and edifying work, but Arcimboldi's mission was a scandal, and set at naught all religion and the fear of God."†

At the close of 1516 Arcimboldi arrived in Denmark. The King was the gifted but autocratic Christian II., whose ambition was the restoration of the Union of Kalmar. To him Arcimboldi had to pay 1120 Rhenish florins in order to obtain permission to publish the Indulgence.‡ In 1518 he went on to Sweden, where the higher clergy, and particularly the Archbishop of Upsala, Gustav Trolle, took Christian's side in opposition to the Swedish vice-regent Sten Sture. Arcimboldi, before he left Denmark, had given a promise to Christian that he would use his influence on his behalf in Sweden; he did the reverse. Sten Sture knew how to reach his man on his weak side; rich presents and large promises took the Nuncio completely captive. He did not scruple to disclose to the Regent the secret connections which Christian had with Sweden! When the Archbishop of Upsala was dismissed from the Swedish Reichstag, on account of his Danish sympathies, the Nuncio also acquiesced in this dismissal.§

King Christian took his revenge, for in April, 1518, he confiscated all the money and property in kind which Arcimboldi had left behind in Denmark or sent thither from Sweden;

* KALKOFF, Depeschen und Berichte über Luther, 39, *cf.* 94.

† SCHÄFER, IV., 125.

‡ SCHULTE, I., 152; PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 327.

§ *Cf.* DAHLMANN, Gesch. von Danemark, III., 331; WEIDLING, Schwedische Reformationsgeschichte, 32, 40.

at the same time the Nuncio's brother and servant were thrown into prison. Neither protests nor entreaties were of the least avail: the Papal representative must have been glad to have had the good luck to reach Lubeck even with empty hands.* In Rome, where King Christian had accused him of intriguing and treachery, his recall was demanded. Arcimboldi replied by asserting his innocence: as the originator of the calumnies he indicated his former secretary, Dietrich Slageck, a Westphalian. The latter gained a decided influence over King Christian; he had complained at Rome of the Archbishop's dismissal, and had succeeded in having the Regent put under the ban. As the executioner of this penalty, Christian began war with Sweden. In January, 1520, when the countless lakes and marshes of that country were covered over with hard ice, he opened his campaign and won a victory, with great bloodshed, on the frozen lake of Asunden, near Bogesund; Sten Sture succumbed to his grievous wounds. At Whitsuntide Christian appeared with his fleet before Stockholm. The city capitulated, after Christian had given a written promise that all that had been done against him and the prelates, especially Archbishop Trolle, would be forgiven. The provinces followed the capital, and Christian returned to Copenhagen as King of Sweden. Here he determined to secure for himself, by one bold stroke, absolute sovereignty over Sweden. Dietrich Slageck showed him how, without breaking his pledge of pardon, he might yet exterminate his enemies. A distinction, said Slageck, must be drawn between the King, who can and must pardon what concerns himself, and the executioner of the Papal Bull against all those who took part in the deposition of the Archbishop of

* SCHULTE, I., 153. Antonelli Arcimboldi was set at liberty by the end of 1523, see Dipl. Norveg., n. 191.

Upsala. Christian acted accordingly; at the end of October he landed in Stockholm from his fleet of war; on the 8th of November, without judicial trial and in breach of his royal word—which had guaranteed an amnesty to all persons compromised—he ordered ninety-four Swedes of the highest rank and office, who were opponents of the Danish rule, to be beheaded on the Stortorget or market-place of Stockholm; they were not given time to make confession before they died. Many more executions followed until the number amounted to six hundred. Among the victims were the Bishops Matthias of Strengnäs and Vincent of Skara.*

Soon after the massacre of Stockholm, Christian begged his uncle, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, to send him some theologians of the school of Luther and Carlstadt to Copenhagen. In response came Martin Reinhard at the end of 1520; the latter, however, disappointed the expectations of the King to such a degree that he was soon sent back to Germany. Christian did not on this account abandon his plan of separating the Danish Church from Rome, and, by bringing it into subjection to himself, legally as well as practically, strengthening thereby his sovereign power. He did not merely call in the aid of Carlstadt; he ordered the construction of a new legal code whereby a state church might be formally established in Denmark. All appeals to Rome were forbidden; instead, a privy tribunal was to be created in Denmark from which appeals could be made to the King and the Reichsrath only. The clergy were prohibited from acquiring property unless, "in accordance with the teaching of St. Paul" (1 Tim.), they married. No one should be ordained sub-deacon or deacon before the age of five-and-twenty, or priest before

* DAHLMANN, III., 335 *seq.*, 343 *seq.* *Cf.* also SCHUMACHER on Olaus Magnus, in Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde, XXVIII., 175 *seq*

the age of thirty. The man at whose instigation the massacre of Stockholm had taken place, was appointed successor to the murdered Bishop of Skara.*

How did Leo act towards the arbitrary rule of the despotic King? He decided to send, in the person of the Minorite Francesco de Potentia, a new Nuncio to Copenhagen, to call Christian to account for the execution of the two Bishops; but the envoy was instructed not to make the absolution of the King for his offence too difficult, lest the latter should, in defiance or despair, adhere to the Lutheran teaching.† Francesco de Potentia appeared in Copenhagen at the end of November, 1521. The King now threw all the blame on Slageck, who, in the meantime, had been raised to the Archbishopric of Lund. The latter did not enjoy his new honours long. In January, 1522, as ringleader in the butchery of Stockholm, on the same spot where his victims had been done to death, he made just expiation for his crime on the scaffold. The Nuncio now absolved the King, who repudiated his Lutheran sympathies;‡ as his reward Francesco received the Bishopric of Skara.§ When the Pope and his representative thus acted, was not the King justified in thinking that all things were permitted him? Heavy as his guilt may have been, a portion of it falls on Pope Leo and his adviser. There is thus justification for the severe verdict that Christian would never have acted as he did if Leo had

* DAHLMANN, III., 350 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*; PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 379 *seq.*

† Besides SCHULTE, I., 154, *cf.* also KALKOFF, Forschungen, 83-84. For Francesco de Potentia, *cf.* MARTIN, 123 *seq.* He held the Bishopric of SKARA not then but on May 15, 1523; see MARTIN, 127, and *Acta consist. vicec. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* SCHÄFER, IV., 132.

§ DAHLMANN, 355 *seq.*; PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 405 *seq.*

fulfilled his duty and defended the Church of the north with determination against the arbitrary attacks of the secular power.*

In many ways the Pope busied himself with the affairs of the regular clergy. It is matter of rejoicing that he made repeated and energetic efforts to reform the discipline of the cloister. Successful, however, as these efforts were in individual cases, they were not sufficient to cope with deeply-rooted evils of long standing.† Leo showed

* *Cf.* Histor.-Polit. Blätter, CVI., 352 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Bull. ord. praedic., IV., 301 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 341 *seq.*, 365 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 83 *seq.*, 84 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 767 *seq.*; Regest. Leonis X., n. 3633 *seqq.*, 3687, 3852, 4865, 7553, 7705, 12012, 12363, 17602; Mitteil. aus d. Benediktinerorden, XXI., 331; GAR, Annali di Trento, Trento, 1860, 423; MARTINI, Beschreibung des Klosters Engelthal (1789), 39; HAUPT, Sekten, 56, n.; Corp. dipl. Port, I., 435 *seq.*, 461 *seq.*, SANUTO, XXV., 390. Much material on this subject is unpublished. I noted in the Secret Archives of the Vatican: Arm., XXXIX, t. 31, 1515, n. 115, *Episcopo Vercellen. sup. reformat. frat. ord. praed. Bugellae Vercell. dioc., dat. 1515, December 25; 1516, n. 119, *Reform of the Nuns (Cisterc.), Savonen. dioc., dat. 1516, September 30; t. 32, f. 214[b], *Episcopo Fulgin., dat. 1518, July 15 (Punishment of a bad Monk); f. 66, 227, 230, *Reform of the Dominicans, dat. 1518, March 23, June 15, August 24; f. 174, Reform of the Poor Clares in Ascoli, 1518, June 29; f. 232, Reform of the Clares in the Diocese of Rieti, 1518, November 4; f. 151, *Episcopo Tarvisin. (Reform of the Convents of Nuns), 1518, June 12. National Archives, Paris: L. 357, *Brief to Ant. Du Prat, dat. Rome, 1518, July 27, Reform of the Carmelites. National Library, Paris: Lat. 13846, f. 153, *Bulla Leonis X., pro reformat. monast. S. Petri Lugdun, dat. Romae, 1516, Quinto Id. Junii. Communal Library, Perugia; *Brief to Cardinal Passerini, dat. Rom, 1521, October 20, stringent orders for the reform of monasteries. Classense Library, Ravenna: *Commissione di Leone X. al patriarca Ant. Contarini, to inquire into monastic life in Venice, especially the Benedictines of S. Maria a Coelestibus; *Brief to Franc. de Ferraria, June 24, 1518, in Appendix No. 11. State Archives, Milan.

special favour to the newly-founded order of the Minims; but his benevolent protection was also extended to the Augustinian Hermits, the Carmelites, the Benedictine congregation of S. Giustina, and the order of St. Dominic. He restored the order of St. Lazarus which Innocent VIII. had dissolved in Italy, and also confirmed finally the statutes of the French order of the Annunciation.*

Leo's measures as regards the Franciscan order were of the greatest importance. Julius II. had already endeavoured to bring all the branches of this order under one general; but he was unable to overcome the opposition of the Observantines.† Leo was not more successful than his energetic predecessor. In the general chapter held in Rome at Whitsuntide, 1517, he certainly made one more attempt to unite the different observances. This having failed, he determined on a complete separation of the Order so as to put an end to the continued dissensions. In two Papal constitutions it was enacted that all Franciscan houses which wished to retain their privileges should become separate from those which refused to permit any dispensation from the rule. The latter were amalgamated in one body, and along with them four minor reforms coalesced; viz. those of the Clares, Colettines, Amadeans, and two "custodi" of the discalced friars in Spain and Portugal. The Observantines who were thus united had to chose a head for six years, to whom the ancient seal of the order was to be given and who should bear the title of "General of the whole Order of Franciscans." The Conventuals had their privileges confirmed, especially

* *Cf.* Bull. V., 692 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 768 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 227, 522, *cf.* 368 *seq.* for support of the Third orders. For favours shown to the Order of the Holy Ghost, *cf.* BRUNE, Ordre du Saint-Esprit, Paris, 1892, 240.

† *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 444.

the right of holding landed property and rentals and of choosing their own superior-general.*

Leo's appointments to the Sacred College, especially those of the great creation of 1517, have been so thoroughly treated of already,† that only a retrospective glance is here necessary.

In the eight promotions of the Pope's reign two-and-forty prelates received the purple.‡ To his contemporaries it seemed remarkable that each of the four great orders, the Benedictines, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, should each have a Cardinal.§ As regards nationality, the Italians were preponderant. Of the one-and-thirty new Italian Cardinals, eight were Romans (Francesco Conti, Giandomenico de Cupis, Andrea della Valle, Pompeo Colonna, Domenico Jacobazzi, Franciotto Orsini, Paolo Emilio Cesi, and Alessandro Cesarini), seven were Florentines (Lorenzo Pucci, Giulio de' Medici, Niccolò Pandolfini, Ferdinando Ponzetti, Luigi de' Rossi, Giovanni Salviati, and Niccolò Ridolfi), four others were Tuscans, (Bernardo Bibbiena, Giovanni Piccolomini, Raffaello Petrucci, and Silvio Passerini), five came from the States of

* See JEILER, in Kirchenlex., IV., 2nd ed., 1666 *seq.* *Cf.* IX., 636 *seq.*, and HEIMBUCHER, I., 310 *seq.*

† See Vol. VII. of this work, p. 199 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* *Contelorius, De pontif et cardinal. XI., 48 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Not five-and-forty, as had often been stated, since the nomination of Fr. Quirini is uncertain ; the Archbishop of Toulouse, Jean d'Orléans, and Ant. Sanseverino were not published. CIACONIUS, III., 308 *seqq.*, 421 *seqq.* ; *cf.* *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 5352 of the Vatican Library. Twenty-six Cardinals died under Leo X.; forty-eight were alive at his death ; *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 422, 425 *Cf.* also CARDELLA, IV., 1–78, who gives copious but not always reliable information of the lives of the several Cardinals ; see also PANVINIUS, 19 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*, and Notic. des Mss. du Roi, II., 585 *seq.*

§ Fra Gratia de Francia, a Franciscan, calls attention to this. *Cod. Urb. 1023, f. 341[b], Vatican Library.

the Church (Lorenzo Campeggio, Francesco Armellini, Cristoforo Numai, Egidio Canisio, and Ercole Rangoni), the rest from Genoa (Innocenzo Cibo and Giambattista Pallavicini), Piedmont (Bonifacio Ferreri), Milan (Scaramuccia Trivulzio and Agostino Trivulzio), Venice (Francesco Pisani), and Gaeta (Tommaso de Vio). The non-Italian Cardinals, in whose nominations the variations in the Papal policy were to some extent reflected, were the Englishman Wolsey (1515), the Frenchmen Adrien Gouffier de Boissy (1515), Antoine Bohier Du Prat (1517),* Louis de Bourbon (1517),† and Jean de Lorraine,‡ the Netherlanders Guillaume de Croy (1517), Adrian of Utrecht (1517), and Eberhard de la Mark (1520), the German Albert of Brandenburg§ (1518), the Spaniard Raymond de Vich (1517), and Don Alfonso, the son of the Portuguese King (1517).

It is a characteristic of the reign of Leo that, in filling up vacancies in the Cardinalate, he was guided chiefly by political and personal motives. Thus there were introduced into the highest Council of the Church many unworthy members who were blemishes on the credit and dignity of

* *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 459, the *letter of A. Gabbioneta, April 1, 1517. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Bourbon's nomination, with that of Croy, followed on April 1, 1517. His publication, which Ciaconius (III., 345) could not substantiate, took place on May 25, 1517; see *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

‡ ULMANN in Archiv f. Ref.-Geschs., II., 180. The text of the *Brief to Lorenzo de' Medici, May 28, 1518 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, No. 10.

§ Leo's Brief relating to the bestowal of the insignia on Albert of Brandenburg, dated August 23, 1518, was published by A. SCHULTE in the Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte, Freiburg, 1906, 203 *seq.*, along with the list of faculties which the Cardinal wished the Curia to confer on him. Schulte here points out the consequences which would have ensued if Albert, as he wished, had been made Papal Legate in Germany.

the purple. Yet in this respect the great creation of 1517 was a turning point for the better.*

In the same year in which this Consistory was held, the great apostasy from Rome began in Germany, presenting to the Church tasks unknown before. That Leo grasped this situation cannot be asserted. To the necessity of ecclesiastical reform he certainly did not shut his eyes, but at this critical moment in affairs he acted, as in so many other matters, like an intellectual dilettante and never went below the surface. The anti-Papal movement in Germany could only be successfully met by the counteracting force of trenchant reform. To this Leo was blind; while the tempest was ready to break in which a third part of Europe was to be torn from the chair of St. Peter, he gave himself up with a light and joyous mind and without anxiety to the enjoyments and preoccupations of the world. In all respects a true child of the Renaissance, Leo, surrounded by his artists, poets, musicians, actors, buffoons and other parasites of a court, flung himself with a terrible nonchalance into the vortex of secularity without troubling himself to ask whether such pursuits were in accordance or not with his position as a spiritual ruler. Neither the warlike complications of Europe, nor the Turkish peril, nor the rise of a new heresy disturbed him amid his favourite pastimes or the gratification of his intellectual tastes. His Court, with its lavish expenditure on wholly secular objects, the card-table, the theatre, the chase, stood in sharp contradiction to the aims and calling of a great dignitary of the Church. Under Alexander VI. there was certainly a greater depravity of morals, but it is hard to say whether the subtle worldliness of Leo X. was not an evil more difficult to encounter and of greater danger to the Church.

* *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 270, and Vol. VII. of this work, p. 204 *seq.*

Only a few of his contemporaries realized this. They had become so accustomed to the growing secularity of the Popes of the Renaissance, that they judged Leo X. only by the standards of a temporal prince. Thus Guicciardini only speaks of him as a sovereign who had many praiseworthy and many blameable characteristics.* Vettori also starts from this standpoint; he begins by remarking that he will not attempt to balance Leo's faults and virtues; then he corrects himself and thus gives his verdict: "Even if Leo X. did amuse himself with jesters, he yet had so many good qualities that men might well be satisfied with such a prince."† Both these writers—Vettori and Guicciardini—speak only of the "Principe," of the politician, not of the Pope and not even of the Maecenas of art. Giovio, who has drawn the traditional portrait of Leo, takes a higher standpoint. His pen is not that of a mere flatterer; this talented humanist portrays rather the kindred spirit, the man who reflected, as in a mirror, the most vital, the freest, the most perfect traits of the Renaissance. Giovio thought himself entitled to end his biography with the words: "Leo's lofty spirit (virtus) brought back to us the golden age for the healing of the human race; now that this great prince has departed, we perforce must mourn under an age of iron inasmuch as, through our mistakes and failures, barbarous savagery has brought upon us murder, pestilence, hunger, desolation—in short, all human evils; knowledge, art, the common well-being, the joy of living—in a word, all good things have gone down into the grave along with Leo."‡

If Giovio says nothing of Leo as a spiritual ruler, he is

* GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4.

† VETTORI, 339–340.

‡ Vita Leonis X., I., 4. For the sense of "virtus," see BURCKHARDT, I., 7th ed., 159.

so far in correspondence with fact, for the mainspring of this Pontiff's actions certainly did not lie in the ecclesiastical sphere. Judges whose eyes are fixed solely on the interests of the Church, like Cardinals Seripando* and Pallavicini,† cannot but censure Leo severely. But even if we take a wider survey and weigh his services in the cause of human culture, a closer examination convinces us that in this respect also the Leonine era was not, as it has for so long been assumed to be, the type of the highest and most flawless product of literature, knowledge, and art. And yet within this domain Leo rendered services which must always be taken into account in forming a general estimate of his place in history.

If on many points the last word has not yet been spoken over the Medici Pope, it may yet be safely asserted at the present stage of inquiry that his Pontificate, praised to exaggeration by humanists and poets, and lit up by the beams of Raphael's art, was, in consequence of its too free surrender to secular tendencies, whereby the Church was thrown into the background to make way for her brilliant forms of culture, one of momentous import for the Holy See.

* *Cf.* HÖFLER, Analekten, 51 *seq.*

† Istoria del Conc. di Trento, I., 2.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Farnese.*

1513, Julii 20, Rom.

Dilecte fili. Venationis tue quam in Farnesianis et Vulsiniensibus tuis satis feliciter atque ex sententia egisti primitias ut scribis ad nos per te missas accepimus hilariter una cum litteris elegantissime scriptis, que nos certe non minus munere ipso delectarunt, tuum enim et ingenuum animum et amantem nostri quem nos propter divitias bonarum artium et litterarum confectas et constipatas in eo semper in honore habuimus, totum nobis expressere. Et quidem fasianis illis expetitis peregre et advectitiis avibus, que propter saporis prestantiam regum mensas lautius instruere solent, nullum suavius condimentum quam eiusmodi epistule adiungi potuit; delectasti igitur et palatum nostrum aviculis et aurem stilo. Sed harum delectationum alteram a multis expectare possumus, alteram que animi tota est, a te precipue. Utinam liceret nobis tecum una eadem quam tu sequeris frui libertate, ad quam tu nos quidem vel honori auctoritati unitas [sic] acciperes enim nos sepe duplici convivio neque ita multis interpellantibus. Verum ut ad propositum redeamus, ea carere libertate, minus moleste feremus, si huiusmodi quandoque a te munuscula accipiemus.

Datum Rome die XX iulii 1513 anno primo.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 44, t. 5. f. 12[b].]

* See *supra*, p. 157.

2. Pope Leo X. to Bologna.*

1514, Februar. 19, Rom.

Dilect. ect. Ut ad nostrum Romanum gymnasium, quantum fieri potest, perfectas litterarias disciplinas accersiremus idque studium excellentibus doctoribus honestaremus, deputaveramus ad lectionem ordinariam philosophie inter alios doctos eximiosque viros dil. fil. Ioannem de Montesdocca,† cui diebus elapsis scripsimus ut dimissis omnibus aliis lectionibus ad nos se conferret, quem postea rescivimus esse pro presenti anno studio Bononiae obligatum etiam data fideiussione illi pro eo tempore non deesse. Quamobrem ne dispositioni huic nostre publicum commodum spectanti successus impediatur. He orders the above-named to free himself from these obligations, so that he may come to Rome without delay.

Dat. Romae apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscat. 1514, febr. 19, p. n. a° 1°.

P. Bembus.

[Orig. State Archives, Bologna.]

3. Pope Leo X. to the Duke Alfonso I. of Ferrara.‡

1514, September 5, Rom.

Dilecte etc. Commisimus dil. filio Simoni Oricellario negocium fodiendi canalis s. Alberti de Ravenna, et quoniam cupimus huiusmodi opus sine dilatione perfici quia tempus fodiendi preteriret, te hortamur in domino, ut ad perfat. Simonem commiss. nostrum eo mittas decem viros ex illis, quos battifangos appellant, et quilibet eorum secum ducat ad minus quinquaginta operarios, quibus omnibus laboris sui iustum pretium dabitur, eritque nobis gratissimum si miseris cum eis ex tuis quempiam diligentem et industrium virum qui eos cogat et dirigat ad operandum.

Dat. Romae apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscat. die V sept. 1514, p. n. a° 2°.

P. Bembus.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

* See *supra*, pp. 250, 273. † *Cf.* Marini, Lettera, 40, 119.
‡ See *supra*, p. 127.

4. Pope Leo X. to Pietro Bembo.*

1515, Januar. 1, Rom.

Al diletto figliolo missier Pietro Bembo Medici patrizio Veneto, secretario nostro domestico. Leone Papa X^mo^. Al diletto figliolo salute ed apostolica benedizione. Molti segni vi abbiamo mostrato del nostro paterno amore e benevolenza verso di voi, non però maggiore delli vostri meriti e virtù, delle quali dall' Altissimo siete stato copiosamente adornato, ma nondimeno subito ascesi per Divina Providenza al pontificato, immediate spontaneamente vi chiamassimo al carico di nostro segretario, sforzandoci d'aumentarvi onori e dignità. Questo con l' aiuto di Dio faremo in appresso tanto più abbondantemente e con maggior magnificenza, onorando degnamente l' eccellenza del vostro pregiato ingegno e della vostra molta dottrina, di cui con ogni pienezza e grazia siete dotato. Ed in quanto poi al carico di segretario, è si grande la vostra fede, integrità ed industria, che in quello, che vi si è dato per onore e benefizio vostro, pare assai più abbiamo avuto riguardo al comodo ed utile nostro, che alla dignità ed interesse vostro, non potendosi circa questa carica desiderare in altri cosa alcuna, che in voi non si trovi in ogni parte corrispondente e conforme alla grandezza e desiderio nostro. Onde quello che ben spesso deve tenersi secreto e nascosto, liberamente e volentieri a voi con tutta purità confidiamo, ed in quello che occorre trattare, negoziare e scrivere prudentemente ed elegantemente, esperimentiamo e vediamo in voi destrezza ed eloquenza amirabile e di nostra infinita sodisfazione. Che però da tante giuste cause tirati ad un paterno amore ed inclinazione verso di voi, quel che sperare e desiderare devesi da noi a suo tempo vi sarà benignamente e di buona voglia concesso. Intanto per verissimo testimonio e caparra di questa e per espressa dimostrazione della nostra benevolenza, desiderando stringervi a noi ed alla nostra casa con maggiori legami di parentella, ed insieme accrescere ornamento grande alla vostra onorevolezza, ed in parte anco alla nostra famiglia, della quale siamo, stimando esser cosa degna di principe, non meno aver per affini e congiunti quelli che sono di nobili e segnalate virtù fregiati, che gli altri, che la natura ha dato per parenti di sangue—conciosiacosachè questo avviene

* See *supra*, p. 193.

per caso, e quello per propria elezione di giudizio—: voi, a noi per virtù caro e per amore unito e congiunto, riceviamo ed addottiamo nel nome, casa e famiglia nostra, concedendovi che possiate usare e godere delli medesimi onori, privileggi, immunità, precedenze, e preminenze, che godono ed usano tutti gli altri del nostro sangue e famiglia de Medici, e che possiate e dobiate chiamarvi ed intitolarvi Pietro Bembo de Medici, e col medesimo cognome esser chiamato ed intitolato dagli altri. Ed acciò, che non solo con il nome, ma ancora con altri segni e memorie apparisca tanto più questa nostra addottazione, vi concediamo, che possiate in ogni loco usare l'arma della nostra famiglia e comunicarla a vostri parenti della vostra medesima casa e cognome, in modo, che la vostra antica arma e de vostri sia circondata dalle nostre sei palle in campo di color d'oro per chiara espressione della benevolenza, con la quale vi abbracciamo nel seno della paterna carità, esortandovi nel Signore che con l'istesse virtù e meriti, con li quali vi siete fatto degno d'un aumento non ordinario d'onore e di sicura dimostrazione del nostro amore, operate in modo, che prima ringraziando Dio che tale vi ha fatto diventare ed acquistare tanta laude, ingegno, bontà e dottrina, non sia onore, benchè grande, che conferendovisi, non si stimi più presto degno premio della vostra virtù, che degno dell'altrui liberalità ed affetto. E poi servendo rettamente e fedelmente come fate a noi, la cui buona volontà avete già potuto in parte conoscere, ed in avvenire ne proverete frutti più abbondanti, non solo con quella fede, che si deve verso un padrone, ma con quell' amore che si richiede verso un principe affine e parente, procuriate la nostra ed insieme vostra gloria e dignità.

Data in Roma appresso S. Pietro sotto l'anello del pescatore, il primo gennaro 1515, del nostro pontificato l' anno secondo.

Jo. Sadoletus.

[Cop. Venice, Museo civico (Raccolta Cicogna, 510 f. 206[b]).*]

* *Cf.* the copy of Dom. Zasso, per *nozze* Dionisi-Bembo, Venezia, 1875, which is a bibliographical rarity.

5. The "Oratory of Divine Love."

Among the Secret Archives of the Vatican is to be found in the *Polit. Varia*, LXXVIII, f. 233, f, a document entitled: *"Origine et sommario delle opere pie di Roma instituite dal pontificato di Leone X. sino a Paolo IV.," containing the following notice about the "Oratory of Divine Love": *Al tempo del detto pontificato (Leo X.) si ritrovava in Roma una certa secreta spirituale et christianissima compagnia, la quale era solita di congregarsi in S. Dorothea di Trastevere, dove intervenivano prelati et nobili et altre persone che si dilettavano del charitativo et spirituale essercitio, della qual compagnia tra gli altri signori et prelati era anchora mons. il vescovo di Chieti. . . . Onde da questa santa compagnia nacquero in processo di tempo molte opere pie in Roma et fuor di Roma per tutta Italia et non solamente per Italia, ma anchora fuori d'essa in molte provintie et regni della christianità. Hora essendo la detta compagnia un giorno congregata nella detta chiesa di Sta Dorothea al tempo del sopra detto papa Leone, fù fatta una proposta di questa natura, che conciofossecosa, che per le strade et piazze di Roma si vedesse ogni dì gran moltitudine et numero di poveri piagati posti quali in picciole carrette, quali per terra infestissimi al viso et all' odorato di tutto il mondo, onde nasceva che in Roma era quasi continuamente la peste, uno della detta compagnia exclamando alta voce addimandò in prestito cento ducati a rendergli in centuplo a chiunque gliele imprestasse, così uno de fratelli della compagnia prestò li cento ducati a colui che gli addimandava, il quale subito cominciò a far fondar l'edificio del venerabile hospitale di S. Jacomo degli incurabili nella strada del popolo, dove a mano a mano fù instituita una altra compagnia particolare per quel luogo, nella quale entrò papa Leone con tutto il collegio de cardinali et gran numero di prelati et di gentilihuomini, di sorte che vi si fece così gran ritratto di elemosine che incontinente si levarono tutti i piagati delle strade et delle piazze di Roma, et fù conosciuto che quelli cento ducati erano veramente moltiplicati in cento doppi, et hora si puo con verità affermare che fino al dì d'hoggi nell' edificio solo di quel luogo se ne sono spesi più di centomila ducati. Appresso la detta compagnia di Sta Dorothea prese animo da questa santissima opera degli Incurabili vedendola

succeder felicemente, si deliberò di farne un altra non meno utile et necessaria all' honore et servitio di N. S. Dio, et così fece fondare il venerabile monasterio delle convertite. Et la prima elemosina che diede principio, furono quaranta ducati di M. Mathia Aversa canonico di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, dopo li quali denari si trova essere stato speso in quel monasterio fino a questo dì più di 60m ducati. Quasi nel medesimo tempo fù instituita anchora la venerabile compagnia della Charità, la quale prese la cura et il governo delle dette convertite. Nella qual compagnia sono molti sri cardinali et prelati et gentilhomini et officiali et mercanti di buon nome, con la protettione d' un cardinale che al presente è monsr rmo Morone.*

6. Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1517, Januar. 14, Rom.

. . . Ali dui de marzo proxo futuro se farà lultima sessione del concilio Lateranensis, el quale se absolverà et se serrerà; ogniuno porta qua il capuzo de prete et in li habiti se vede pur qualche reformatione. Ogni dì questa terra se fa più bella, tutto è fabricato andare a Sta Maria del populo venendo per la strada che vene alla casa del nostro cardle, poi alla via dove è la casa di mesr Augno Ghisi se sono fatte de brave case, monsr di S. Zorzo gli fa un bellisso palazo; mesr Juliano Gallo, mesr Paulo suo fratello et mesr Paulo Biondo vostro compatre se raccono a V. S. Illma. Rome XIIII ianuarij 1517.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7 Pope Leo X. to King Francis I. of France.‡

1517, August. 3, Rom.

Leo X. recommends for a canonry at Paris: Joannes Cunsel unus ex iis pueris cantoribus, quos clar. mem. Aloisius rex pre-

* This statement enables us to date this document; Morone was, in act, Protector of the "Oratory of Divine Love" from 1553–1558: *see* *Register of the "Protettori" in the Archives of San Girolamo della Carità, Rome.

† See *supra*, pp. 128, 412. ‡ See *supra*, p. 145.

decessor tuus superioribus annis ad nos misit. The same is: et sua arte, in qua multum quotidie proficit, et grato in nos servitio dignus commendatione et premio.

Dat. Romae, 3. aug. 1517, p. n. a. 5°.

[Orig. National Archives, Paris, L. 357.]

8. The Safe-Conduct from Pope Leo X. to Johann Heitmers.*

1517, November 30, Rom.

Leo Papa X. universis et singulis patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis ac quibuscunque in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutis, presbyteris et clericis nec non ducibus, principibus, baronibus, comitibus, nobilibus, officialibus, communitatibus, hominibus et particularibus personis inclytarum nationum Germaniae, Daciae, Sueciae, Norwegiae et Gothiae, ad quas praesentes pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Rempublicam litterariam diu antea periclitantem et pene intermortuam, a quibusdam vero annis citra reviviscentem volentes Deo propitio fovere, ut non modo praesentibus verum et posteris litterarum specimina et ornamenta conserventur atque amplificentur indeque studiosorum animi ad praeclara ingenii monumenta inflammentur, duximus quosque illustrissimos libros ac probatissimos utriusque linguae auctores undique conquirendos esse, ut in lucem editi studiosis ipsis commodo et splendori sint. Certiores itaque facti, quam plurimos vetustissimos libros in diversis locis provinciarum et regnorum praedictorum non sine ingenti rei litterariae iniuria occultatos esse eosdemque a studiosis omnibus desiderari, idcirco destinamus illuc inpraesentiarum dilectum filium Iohannem Heytmers de Zonuwen,† clericum Leodiensem commissarium nostrum, ut bibliothecas omnes dictarum provinciarum et regnorum perlustret, librosque huiusmodi omni quidem studio et diligentia conquirat et illos vel eorum exempla ad nos transportari faciat. Quare devotionem vestram et inprimis charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum Romanorum electum

* See *supra*, p. 267.

† Zonhoven, in the Belgian province of Limburg.

Imperatorem semper Augustum paterna hortamur charitate et maiori quo possumus studio et affectu requirimus, ut pro nostra et huius sanctae Sedis reverentia atque virtutis et doctrinae intuitu velit dictum Iohannem commissarium nostrum benigne recipere sinceraque in Domino charitate tractare ac permittere, ut quascunque bibliothecas ingredi possit; eidem, si ei videbitur, de opportunis salvis conductibus providere; demumque in exsequenda huiusmodi commissione nostra circa tam laudabile opus ita favere atque adesse, ut, quod nos dè re litteraria ac commodo et ornamento studiosorum omnium mente concepimus, idipsum auctore Domino perficere valeamus. Offerentes nos ipsos quadocunque [sic] paratos ipsorum commodis, quantum cum Deo possumus, privilegiaque, indulgentias et alias ingentes gratias concessuros, prout nonnullis aliis tali causa moti sponte et liberaliter iam concessimus. Detentoribus autem et occupatoribus huiusmodi librorum et ad nos et dictam Sedem illos mittere indebite recusantibus atque scientibus detentores et occupatores huiusmodi et non revelantibus sub excommunicationis poena latae sententiae, quam ferimus in his scriptis et a qua nisi per nos quemvis absolvi posse volumus, districte praecipientes mandamus, quatenus visis praesentibus dictos libros vel exhibeant vel manifestent, ut censuras et poenas praedictas effugiant ac de obedientia et promptitudine sua a nobis et dicta Sede atque ab omnibus litterarum studiosis merito commendari et ab Deo bonorum omnium remuneratore immortale praemium sperare et consequi possent. Et ut facilius et citius dictus Iohannes commissarius noster praemissa exsequi valeat, damus per praesentes ei facultatem substituendi unum vel plures ad praemissa et quodlibet praemissorum cum pari aut limitata potestate illosque revocandi et ab eisdem rationem gestorum et administratorum exigendi et cogendi, super quibus plenam ei harum serie concedimus facultatem et potestatem. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die ultima novembris MDXVII, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Sic signatum Iacobus Sadoletus.

Iohannes Heytmers commissarius pontificius harum litterarum vi communicat aliis litteris huiusmodi potestatem Iohannem [sic] Eydem priorem et pastorem in monasterio Helmershausen ordinis S. Benedicti, ut omnes per Saxoniam, novam et veterem Marchiam,

Hassiam vicinasque circumquaque ditiones bibliothecas publicas privatasque, omnes etiam cathedralium ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et collegiorum inspiciat, bonos auctores conquirat etc. Litterae datae sunt in monasterio Corbeiensi dioecesis Paderbornensis a. 1519, 30 martii.

[Cop. ex archivo Erfordensi a. 1677 descripsit A. Overham. Coll. III,* Library, Wolfenbüttel.]

9. Antonio de Beatis to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua.†

1518, Mai 1, Rom.

. . . Intorno la Magliana se son fatte di bellissime cacie et con gran piacere di sua S^{tà} che in vero el sig^{re} ‡ ha ultra quantità de cani et tele cinque monteri excellentissimi, a li quali el Papa prima che retornasse da la Magliana fe donare xxv duc^{ti} doro per uno et un confessionale, et tra li altre fere § che morsero in la dita Magliana ce ammazaro un cervo grossissimo serrato in le tele in pochissimo loco, dove el Papa intrò ad piede con lo speto a la mano et in laltra lo occhiale. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

10. Pope Leo X. to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.‖

1518, Maii 28, Rom.

Duci Urbini de promotione electi Metensis. Ex nobilitatis tue litteris quas ad nos de honore di. fi. Io. electi Metensis misisti cognovimus et tuam etiam quidem, sed illius christianissimi et nobis huicque sancte sedi omnibus necessitudinum vinculis coniunctissimi Regis summam voluntatem, ut eum ipsum Io.

* Communicated by the kindness of my deceased master and friend, Prof. Floss of Bonn.

† See *supra*, p. 162.

‡ Card. Luigi d'Aragona, whose villa, "Decima," was there.

§ MS., sere.

‖ See *supra*, p. 458.

ad amplissimum ordinem cardinalatus advocaremus, tantumque honorem quo nullus a nobis tribui maior potest in homine illo et nobilitate et virtute eximia predito collocaremus. Quod etsi arduum ac difficile hoc tempore nobis videbatur propter tibi non ignotam in eo ordine patrum multitudinem, cui ampliorem numerum adiicere multo honestius erat ut recusaretur, quam ut per nos a sacro collegio peteretur, tamen nostra constans et perpetua voluntas isti clarissimo regi in omnibus quoad licitum sit gratificandi eiusque desyderia ceteris rationibus omnibus anteponendi fecit, ut omni auctoritate ac studio nostro hanc rem in secreto nostro consistorio et proponeremus et venerabilium fratrum nostrorum cum voluntate obtineremus. In quo cum nobis et nostre orationi ipsius Io. electi familie splendor generisque nobilitas longa serie a Lotharingie ducibus alte repetita, eiusdemque et fratris ipsius nobilis viri Antonii virtus fuit adiumento, tum vero, ut de voluntate ac precibus carissimi in Christo filii nostri F[rancisci] hoc a nobis magnopere postulantis fides venerabilibus fratribus nostris per nos est facta, sine ulla ulterius difficultate et mora et nobis presentibus et isti regi absenti a cunctis facile et libenter assensum est. Itaque eum hodie in eodem consistorio Deo auctore cardinalem pronunciavimus. Quod statim voluimus nostris litteris nobilitati tue significare ut cognoscere posses id quod tamen multo antea cognovisti, nihil esse tam arduum neque tam difficile, quod illius amicissimi regis causa nobis non planum et facile videatur. Itaque in iis que illi grata sunt aut etiam erunt, nec amori nostro modum nec liberalitati sumus posituri nec vero dubitamus, quin in eadem ille erga nos et hanc sanctam sedem futurus sit voluntate; postulat hoc animi, postulat honoris ipsius amplitudo, in altero ut nobis mutua benevolentia respondeat, in altero ut sibi glorieque sue nihil magis convenire arbitretur quam sedis apostolice dignitatem amplam atque honestam velle et ut ita sit omni opera curare; sed de his erunt partes tue reducere ei in memoriam quam simus illius nomini et honori dediti. Nos insignia huius summi honoris quo predictum electum Metensem affecimus ad te missuri sumus, ut per te regi assignentur, et de eius auctoritate honestiori iam et clariori vertici ipsius Metensis imponantur. Tua vero nobilitas diligenter ac celeriter quas ad ipsum regem quasque ad dilectum iam filium nostrum

Io. cardinalem Metensem litteras scribimus curabit reddendas. Datum Rome 28 maii 1518 anno sexto.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 44, tom. 5, f. 167b–168.]

11. Pope Leo X. to the Dominican Francesco da Ferrara.*

1518, Junii 24, Rom.

Sane non absque animi nostri displicentia accepimus, quod nonnullae ex monialibus sub cura et secundum instituta fratrum praedicat. congregatis Lombardiae degentibus obedientiae iussum detractantes propria temeritate, aliae vero pretextu indultorum apostolicorum ad falsi suggestionem concessorum ex monasteriis, in quibus professionem emiserunt regularem, ad alia etiam non regularia loca se transferre seu verius apostatare presumpserunt, hactenus et in dies presumunt in animarum suarum periculum et monasteriorum predictorum detrimentum. He ought, on the other hand, to interfere. Dat. Romae 1518 junii 24, p. n. a. 6°.

Adresse: Francisco de Ferraria vicario generali ord. praedic. congregat. Lombardiae.

[Orig. State Archives, Milan, Autogr. III.]

12. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1519, August. 17, Rom.

The Pope will postpone his journey from Rome especially on account of the expected death of Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi, el quale a questhora sta in transito. . . . El principio del suo male è stato gotta ne anchor troppo acerba et ègli sopragionto un poco di febre con flusso e debilità di stomacho che in un tratto gli ha levato tutta la vertu.‡ Alchuni dicono che è stato veneno, ma io non lo credo e più presto estimo che li medici non intendendo la sua infirmità l'habbino ammazato come fanno anchor molti altri. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra* p. 455. † See *supra*, p. 110. ‡ = virtù.

13. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1519, August. 19, Rom.

. . . Questa mattina circa alle hore XIII el card. de Rossi è passato all' altra vita; una sua buona abbatia che è in Flandra estimasi chel card. Salviati l' haverà; un altro assai buon beneficio che credo sia in Savoya haverà monsig. de Medici. El Papa demonstra grandissimo despiacere et ha pianto e piange e dice publicamente che la morte del fratello e quella del nepote non li dolsero più di quello che se habbi fatto questa. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1519, August. 27, Rom.

A questi dì essendo morto monsig. rev^mo de Rossi N. S. se ne ha preso grandissimo fastidio per il quale S. Sta parve che se alterasse un poco di doglia di testa e turbatione di stomacho et ad alchuni medici parve che un giorno non fosse senza febre, pur el dì drieto non fu niente. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Angelo Germanello to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua.‡

1520, Februar. 19, Rom.

. . . In Roma per adesso non se intende altro de novo, omneuno attende ad le feste; la zobia grassa fo facta la festa de agone et fo uno bellissimo spectaculo; se armarono tucte le arti con el populo de Roma et se partectero de Capitolio con undeci carri triumphali con varie insignie tucti in ordinanza; el primo carro havea lo insignie de una Italia, da poi con intervallo de gente armate li subseguiva el carro con la imagine della dea Isis, dea de la terra in colosso facta ad similitudine de uno simulacro

* See *supra*, p. 110. † See *supra*, p. 110. ‡ See *supra*, p. 175.

de dicta dea, che ha el papa in la sua logia antiquiss° et bello; da poi era el carro de Neptuno innudo con el tridente in colosso; el quarto era uno Herculi, che duceva molti homini catenati; el quinto era uno Atlante con la sphera in le spalle; el sexto era Eulo, dio de li venti, el septimo Vulgano con li sui ministri Piragmon, Brontes et Steropes; l'uctava era el Venere con una Roma de sopra; el nono era uno Alexandro magno ad cavallo in lo suo bucefalo in figura de uno gran colosso; el decimo era uno mondo con una vipera de sopra, lo undecimo una lupa, el XII et XIII in altre figure tucti intervallati luno dal altro et in colossi; da poi subseguivano gente armate et a piede et ad cavallo con li ioculatori secundo se usava in li triumphi antiqui. Subseguivano circa cento pucti benissimo vestiti ad l' antiqua et velleribus niveis et festa fronde revincti, tucti pieni de perle et de altre cose pretiose ad cavallo in belissimi cavalli falarati ad l' antiqua et coperti de pelli de lupo, cervieri la groppa de dicti cavalli per la maior parte et de altre belissime coperte et omneuno havevano li staffieri ad la sua livrea et erano menati ad mano doi camelli vivi jovenecti li quali novamente son stati donati al papa et molti belli cavalli et subseguivano molti altri adolescenti ad cavallo in mirabili cavalli et procedevano molti cavalli bardati. Li ultimi erano quattro cavalli bardati con barde et sopraveste tucte de broccato; da poi subseguiva el figliolo del s^r Joanzorzo Cesarino et lui et tucto el cavallo con sopraveste de broccato et portava lo stendardo de lo populo Romano et el senatore con uno gran manto de broccato et con lu capuccio in testa pur de broccato et li andavano ad lato li conservatori pur vestiti de broccato et li precedevano molti cavalli coperti con molti soni de tamburi, trombete et altri instrumenti et andarono tucti de directo dal Capitolio al castello dove era el papa et passarono in borgo per fine ad la piaza de san Piero et retornaro in agone molto tardo et fo uno nobiliss° spectaculo de una gran gente et una gran pompa et referto de molto più cose che io non scrivo. El card^le de san Vitale, el quale ha la sua casa che responde in agone, fece quel dì uno belliss° et nobile pasto, dove intervennero vinti cardinali per posser da poi veder la festa, ma poco ne gustarono, quando arrivò in agone era iam nocte. Hoie è stata facta la caccia de doi thori in Capitolio, uno de li thori ha ammazati doi homini; domane se fa la festa de Testaccio. Se io ho fastidita la V. Ex^ia con queste cose li scrivo ultimo quella

se degnarà admetterne la scusa et ascriverlo al tempo per essere de carnevale.

Rome XIX feb^{ii} MDXX.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Angelo Germanello to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1520, Mart. 17, Rom.

Post scripta è occurso che havendo el papa chiamato Joanpaulo Baglione in Roma et essendo venuto assecurato de lo arcivescuvo Ursino et molti altri s^{ri} pur Ursini andando dal papa, el quale se ritrovava in castello, per prestarli obedientia fo retenuto dal governatore de Roma et el barisello a conducto de sopra in castello et clauso in certe stantie; el papa sta da basso; lu dicto arcivescuvo et li altri Ursini molto se affatigano per cavarlo; el papa domanda securtà de sexanta milia ducati de bene vivendo; tucta via vadono preparando dicte securtà; miser Angelo da Cese la ha facta per uno per XX milia ducati et molti altri per altre summe et tucti sonno officiali perchè el papa recerca voler la securtà de tal qualità. . . . Rome XVII marcij MDXX.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

17. Angelo Germanello to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua.†

1520, April 11, Rom.

Altro per adesso non occurre se non visitare humilm^{te} la V. Ex^{ia} con le presenti et significarli come hoie in Roma sonno stati doi spectaculi, uno li funerali de Augustino Ghisci, el quale morete heri matina et hoie è stato sepulto al Populo accompagnato da la famiglia del papa et de tucti card^{li} et da octo regule overo ordini de frati con circa doicento cinquanta torce portate da facchini et li frati omneuno hebe el suo ceriolo et ci era anchora circa octanta preti seculari et cento vestiti de negro, benchè dicono che li vestiti sonno cento et vinti, et ci erano anchora molti bactuti et altre brigate dove erano circa XXXVI vescovi.

* See *supra*, p. 6. † See *supra*, pp. 9, 120.

È stato sepulto in la sua cappella, la qual tucta via faceva fare et ia ei haveva spesi più de quattordeci milia ducati. Ha lapsati heredi doi soi figlioli maschi et dotate doi altre figliole femine, li quali haveva suscepti de una sua concubina et da poi la ha sposata, et li lassate sub protectione del papa et de mes^r Angelo da Cese, et secundo se dice ha lassata robba per seicento milia ducati tra el trafico de lo alume et le altre robbe. Lo altro spectaculo è stata la intrata che ha facta in Roma don Joanni Emanuele oratore de re de Romani, el quale è intrato in Roma accompagnato secundo el solito de li altri ambasciatori, ma de li sui ha poca brigata et male in ordine et è intrato senza cariagi et è allogiato in la cancellaria in casa del card^le de Medici. Venerdì serà concistorio publico et lunedì se dice che el papa andarà ad la Magliana dove starà alcuni dì. Venerdì sancto de nocte morete lo excell^mo pictor Raphael da Urbino. De Joanpaulo Baglione se tene comunemente che el papa li habia facta tagliare la testa, benchè non se habia per certo. . . . Rome XI aprilis 1520.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

18. Fabrizio Pellegrino to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1521, Januar. 15, Rom.

. . . Martin Luther damnato per heretico dicono havere voluto intervenire alla dieta per justificare le opinione sue spincto dal duca di Saxonia et complici suoi; ma Cesare non lha comportato, anzi che ha cacciato el nuntio del p^to duca con gran minaccie; et anchora ce aviso che detto Martino con sue predicatione ha subvertiti certi populi et città de Saxonia, di modo che hanno abrusati tutti li libri et corpi di ragione cano^ca et levati da la obedientia de la Chiesa Romana. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.†

1521, Juli 6, Rom.

. . . La nova del capitaniato di V. E. è tale che darà da ragionare ancor un pezzo per Roma: per satisfattione di quella

* See *supra*, p. 22. † See *supra*, p. 45.

gli dico che non solamente tutta la corte, ma tutta questa città ha fatto dimonstrazione di haverne grandissima contentezza e prelati e cardinali, Ursini e Colonesi e d'ogni sorte homini.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Baldassare Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua.*

1521, August. 23, Rom.

. . . Il Papa sta de bonissimo animo et se ripromette certa victoria misurando le forze del suo exercito con quelle dello inimico. N. S. non ha maggior piacere che intendere nova del campo e le grande e le picole. The Marquis must, therefore, write often. The Pope: spera finirla (the war) presto e tiene per certo che'l re de Angliterra debbe essere seco e con Cesare et ha ancora optima opinione che li Sig. Venetiani non debbino essere troppo gagliardi amici de Francesi. N. S. questa mattina dopo la messa in castello benedì le bandere et il bastone del capitaniato de la chiesia che se hanno da mandare a V. Ex. M. Jacomo da Gambara li portarà a quella: sono bellissime et N. S. spera che debbiano essere vitoriose. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.†

1521, September 30, Rom.

Leo X. . . . dilecto filio Julio tit. s^ti^ Laurentii in Damaso presbytero card^li^ s^te^ Rom. Ecclesie vicecancellario in civitate nostra Bononie ac exarchatu Ravenne, Tuscia et Italia et ad quecunque ipsius Italie et extra eam ad que forsan te declinare contigerit loca nostro et apostolice Sedis legato salutem. Cum nuper quod non sine animi nostri molestia referre cogimur sperantibus nobis, quod christiani reges ac principes mutua inter se concordia consentientes et indutias alias per nos indictas ac per eos acceptatas constanter ac fideliter servantes contra perfidos Turchas Hungarie regnum invadere parantes arma capere ac non solum dictum regnum ab imminenti periculo tutari ac defendere, sed ipsos etiam Turchas debellare ac provincias et

* See *supra*, p. 49. † See *supra*, p. 52.

regna tamdiu per eos detenta et occupata a tam dira et crudeli servitute vindicare deberent et circa id car^{mus} in Christo filius noster Carolus Roman. et Hispaniarum rex Cath^{cus} in imperatorem electus ac nonnulli alii reges et principes una nobiscum intenti essent unusque nostris adeo piis ac promptis desideriis omnino contrarius videlicet Francorum rex totius christiane reipublice commodis privatam suam ambitionem preferens, dictas indutias temere violare ac dictum Carolum in imp^{rem} electum nichil tale suspicantem regno suo Navarre potius insidiis ac proditione quam vi bellica et aperto marte spoliare presumpsisset, quod tamen non multo post magna suorum amissione ac strage relinquere coactus fuit, similibusque insidiis civitatem nostram Regii per iniquitatis filium Thomam Deloscuto occupare nixus fuisset, praefatus Carolus in Imperatorem electus memor se s^{tae} Rom. Ecclesiae advocatum esse et ad ipsum praeter ceteros omnes pertinere, ipsam ab omnibus injuriis defendere et contra eam aliquid moliri ausos ulcisci, nostra magis quam propria sua injuria motus tam novam et inauditam temeritatem et insolentiam ulcisci statuit et propterea equestres ac pedestres copias fere omnes quas pro custodia et defensione regni sui Siciliae citra Pharum habebat, nobis concessit, ut illis militaribus copiis nostris conjunctis Parmam et Placentiam civitates nostras, quas a dicto rege occupari ac detineri publice pacis et quietis causa per aliquot annos toleravimus, tandem recuperare possemus. Postquam igitur valido et copioso comparato exercitu injurias per dictum Francorum regem nobis illatas, ne alii eius exemplo similia tentare praesumant, debite ulcisci ac dictas civitates et alia loca, castra et oppida ad nos et dictam Roman. Ecclesiam pertinentia recuperare statuimus ac deliberavimus, cogitantibus nobis ydoneum aliquem eligere, cui tantarum rerum summam tuto credere possemus, nemo circumspectione tua usu rerum prudentia ingenii dexteritate ac fide aptior occurrit, cum praesertim memores simus, ipsam circumspectionem tuam tot ac tam arduis curis et legationibus sibi per nos et hanc sanctam sedem commissis ac demandatis ita semper se in omnibus gessisse, ut eximiae virtuti parem felicitatem in ea conjuncta[m] esse cognoverimus nec sinistri aliquid unquam ex his audiverimus, quae ipsius ductu et auspicio gereretur, ac propterea nobis promittere possimus, quod eadem circumspectio tua in hoc tantae molis ac magni-

tudinis negocio tractando et ad finem optatum perducendo spei, quam de singulari et eximia ipsius virtute concepimus, divina favente clementia respondebit: te igitur ad omnipotentis Dei laudem christianaeque fidei exaltationem ejusque hostium ac rebellium confusionem et depressionem nostri ac dicti Caroli in imperatorem electi exercituum invicem unitorum nostro et dictae Rom. Ecclesiae nominibus de fratrum nostrorum consilio usque ad beneplacitum nostrum legatum de latere auctoritate apostolica cum eisdem facultatibus et concessionibus in omnibus et per omnia, quas in litteris et legatione Bononien. tibi concessimus, tenore praesentium constituimus creamus et deputamus. Quocirca eidem circumspectioni tuae per praesentes mandamus, ut ad dictos exercitus te conferas et, quantum coelestis gratiae infusio tibi subministrabit, omnipotentis Dei, qui justas causas foventibus semper propitius adest, prospero auxilio ac eorundem exercituum valido robore fretus prudentique tuo consilio utens ita agas ordines atque disponas omnia et singula, quae ad consequendae victoriae effectum cognoveris expedire; non dubitamus enim quin, gressus tuos domino dirigente, sanctissimum hoc negotium, ad quod a nobis et dicta sede missus ac destinatus, prosperum ac felicem sortiatur exitum. Et ut nobis ac desideriis nostris plenius satisfacere valeas, dilectis filiis dictorum exercituum ad nostra et dictae sedis stipendia militantium capitaneo gubernatori ac aliis armorum conductoribus tam in castris militaribus quam in civitatibus terris et locis nobis mediate vel immediate subjectis nostro nomine et auctoritate praecipiendi et ordinandi necnon contradictores quoslibet et rebelles per quaecunque juris opportuna remedia compescendi licentiam et facultatem concedimus. Non obstantibus. . .

Dat. Romae etc. [sic] anno etc. [sic] mill^{mo} quingent^{mo} vigesimoprimo, pridie kal. octobris, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

D. de Comitibus

Collat.: Hip. de Cesis.

[Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1202, f. 233.]

22. The "Leonine Letters" of P. Bembo.

Among the sources for the history of Leo X., the numerous Latin letters of the private secretary P. Bembo, written during his

term of office, hold a foremost place. They have not lost in importance since access was given to the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The latter contain such a very incomplete collection of the Pope's letters, that it must be considered fortunate for our historical knowledge that such a famous master of style as Bembo should have taken with him a portion of the Papal Registers, and published it subsequently, under Paul III., at Venice,* 1535–1536: "Libri sexdecim epistolarum Leonis X., P.M. nomine scriptarum" (*see* our remarks, *supra*, p. 193 *seq.*; also Kalkoff, Forschungen, 15). The question, whether Bembo, in this edition, had introduced alterations, had occupied at an early date no less a scholar than Raynaldus. In his "Annales," 1513, n. 100, he remarks: "Excusae typis ipsae litterae a Petro Bembo fuere inter alias quas Leonis nomine, cui a secretis erat, composuit; sed immutatis paululum consuetis Romanae curiae formulis, quas latinae linguae nitori elegantiaeque, quam consectabatur, consentire non putabat: quo studio dum scripta perpoliebat Tullianosque flosculos avidius colligebat, incautus etiam gentilitiarum vocum putores aliquos inseruit, a quibus styli Romanae curiae sanctitas penitus abhorret: qua de re monitum lectorem volumus ad retundenda maledicentiae tela, quae aliqui captata ex huiusmodi voculis occasione iaculari possunt: quapropter nos in literis, quas ex Bembo decerpimus, consuetam pontificalis curiae formulam, cum Pontifex loquens inducitur, restituisse, cum ea verborum formula fuissent conceptae atque a Bembo elegantiarum latinarum cupidissimo, dum typis excudebat, immutatae."

This, as we shall see, most pertinent observation has, unfortunately, passed unnoticed, although Ranke has adopted it in his "Zur Kritik," 87*–88*. Not only heated adversaries of the Renaissance such as Gaume, but even such a scientific inquirer as Professor Piper of Berlin, in his "Mythologie der christl. Kunst" (I., 286), has, like many others, taken the classical phraseology in Bembo's Leonine Letters as conclusive evidence of the inroads made by paganism in the Curia of Leo X.; even Sabbadini still holds this view (Ciceronianismo, 52). And yet the importance of the question is not confined merely to the authenticity of these

* This edition is the most correct; the better-known edition of Basle, 1539, already showed certain variations in the text, which were not, however, of great importance.

letters; it is of incomparably greater importance as regards their use as sources of history. Ranke (*loc. cit.*) has not gone into this question. The doubts suggested by this passage in his writings led, however, F. Sydow to examine the whole matter in the "Rostocker Dissertation" for 1893. The result arrived at by Sydow was as follows: "The letters in form and substance are genuine, and may be used as historical sources free from suspicion" (p. 43). His thesis is right as regards his first conclusion, wrong as regards his second. Sydow examined the contents of fifty letters: since in them he came upon no error in fact, he concluded "that Bembo, if the letters were revised, had revised them, perhaps from a journal, but in any case with a sound memory for facts" (p. 41). He inquires into the evidence for the statement that Bembo had given the letters their present turn, not from the beginning, but at some later date. In support of this he finds only "the solitary assertion of Raynaldus," and inveighs against the latter, for restoring the original form of the letters, "a Bembo elegantiarum latinarum cupidissimo, dum typis excudebat, immutatae," in the following terms: "Was this also done from the Diaries? For the original letters were scattered all over the world. We will assume that he restored them from the Diaries in the Papal Archives. Leo, as Bembo, who ought to have known, tells us, employed on the Archives thirty clerks and two private secretaries (praefat. epist. Leonis X.). He insisted on fine elegant Latin; therefore he secured as private secretaries two of the best neolatinists of the day. But in this case it is absurd to challenge the authenticity of the letters on the ground that the Curial letters were always written in bad Latin, and that these are written in good. That is exactly, as it seems to me, what calls for proof. A man of taste like Leo wished his private correspondence to be composed in the best possible style; therefore he employed Bembo. Read Bembo's own contemporary private letters; they display the same finish, the same clearness, the same substitution of classical phrases for the phraseology of the Church. Bembo, therefore, if he revised the letters, at a later date, with a view to their publication, must have been at the trouble of adapting his polished Latinity to the official forms of the Curia, and Leo must have appointed the best Latinist of his day as secretary in order that the latter might unlearn his Latin! Further, granted that

Raynaldus did not make a deliberately false statement, yet he was liable to make mistakes. Bembo could only have restored the original form from Diaries. These were written by the clerks in bad Latin. Now, if I assert the direct contrary to Raynaldus, I have all the more right to do so. If I say that all letters were first written by clerks, and that the most important private letters, which had the classical style required by Leo, were afterwards rewritten by Bembo and Sadoleto, and then signed and sealed by the Pope—am I not making an assertion which is just as well grounded as the other? If Bembo, when secretary, wrote no letters, how came it, as all his biographers relate, that he was overworked in Leo's service? But if he did write letters, most certainly he wrote them in good Latin; for that purpose he was made secretary; and, moreover, bad Latin he could not have written. We may add another consideration. What does Bembo say in his preface? 'This shall serve as a reminder to Paul III.'; 'Thus did we write in the Chancery of Leo X.'; 'Emulate him'; 'I threw some letters, at random, in those days, into my despatch boxes; they are historical, of interest to us all, and a sample of composition for your clerks and secretaries.' There would have been no point in writing in this way to Paul III. if the letters had been issued in bad Latin under Leo X." (pp. 42–43). Thus far Sydow. The latter, however, has not made sufficient use of the literature touching this subject. From Mazzuchelli, whom he quotes (p. 5), with just commendation, he might have seen that the Ambrosian Library in Milan possesses a Codex (marked P. 130) of high importance for his work. Hergenröther's "Regesta," as well as an observation of Cian in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI., 1887. 238, would have called his attention to another not less important—the Vatican Codex, 3364. It is still more difficult to understand why he never even inquired whether some of the original letters, scattered all over the world, were not still in existence. Instead of that he makes use of the strange hypothesis of "Diaries" in the Papal Archives, from which alone Bembo could have restored the original form.

With the help of the original letters and the two manuscripts, the Vatican and the Ambrosian, the question at issue can be thoroughly cleared up. Mazzuchelli (Scrittori, II., 2, 765) had already quoted the Cod. Vat. 3364; but he could hardly have

investigated it personally, otherwise its great importance would not have escaped him. Nolhac (Bibl. de Fulvio Orsini) is mistaken in his description of the manuscript, whereon Cian (*loc. cit.*) remarks correctly that it certainly does not contain the minutes of the letters. Hergenröther in his "Regesta" quotes the Cod. Vat. repeatedly, noticing also occasional variations (*e.g.* in Regest., n. 2833), but he does not get nearer to the value of the manuscript. This consists in the numerous corrections of the letters which have been made in this Codex. Closer inspection gives the surprising and interesting result that all these corrections were first made when the letters were being prepared for publication, and that much of the classical phraseology, which has been so severely censured in these Papal despatches, was introduced into the Vatican manuscript precisely at the later date when the latter were being got ready for the printers. In many passages a pagan expression has been substituted for one which had too Christian a sound. Thus:—

I. 5. Originally "quod avertat Deus"; this was first altered to "quod Deus Opt. max. prohibeat," then later to "quod Deus omen obruat," as it is printed.

I. 24. The inscription "monialibus murat. Florentiae" is altered to "sacris virginibus." Elsewhere also there are the same minor alterations.

II. 20. The original title, "Alberto ordinis b. Mariae Theuton. magno magistro," altered to "ordinis Marianor" (in the Venetian copy; societ. Mar.).

III. 21. "aura Zephyri coelestis" stands in place of "aura s. spiritus," which has been struck through. This has often been quoted as evidence of the paganized style of the Papal despatches.

III. 22. Instead of "ipsorum phano praefecti," originally "ecclesiae div. Andreae rectori."

V. 1. "cardinalium creationem" is changed into "comitia."

V. 19. "huius imperii" was originally "reipublicae christianae."

VI. 25. "Solymanum tyrannum" is changed into "regem." A certainly trifling yet characteristic alteration is that of "fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium" into "fratrum meorum E. R. cardinalium." The omission of "sanctus" also occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* X. 1.

IX. 4. "optimi catholicique principis" changed into "opt. prudentissimique."

X. 53. "nostrae custodiae" is changed into "praetorianorum militum" (in the Venetian text: praet. equitum).

XII. 24. "christiani nominis hostibus" is changed to "hostibus nostris."

XIV. 23. "Xisti card^lis eius ecclesiae," changed into "phani." * Nearly always the "pluralis maiest." is changed into the first person singular, so that instead of "nobis" we have "mihi," and s.f. Long titles are very often curtailed to the mere name, to which is added the chief official attribute; long sentences are given in a more concise form; some small sentences are wholly omitted. Lastly, the dates of the Christian calendar are always expressed in terms of the Roman. As regards the contents of the letters, no substantial alterations are made.

To what a great extent verbal variations have taken place in both the versions of the Cod. Vatic., and what a difference there is, although only verbally, between them and the originals, can be seen from the examples on pp. 488 and 489.

With the exception of some small variations, the second version of the Cod. Vat. agrees with the printed copy; but both versions show a marked divergency of expression from the original, with which they are yet in agreement as regards the substance. The same result is obtained from a comparison with other pieces, of which the original version has been preserved.† Now, if we open the Codex P. 130 of the Ambrosian Library, and compare the first letter to the Doge, of the 14th of March, 1513, with the three different recensions given on pp. 488–9, we see at once that the Cod. Ambros. agrees with the original version; it even offers some better readings, since a good many inaccuracies have found their way into Sanuto's transcript.‡

* X. 44 and XI. 11: "phanum," on the other hand, is found in the first version. In the same way XII. 24, "a diis immortalibus"; and XIII. 32, "Deorum immortalium"; and VIII. 17, "deam." On the other hand, "Bern. S. Mariae in porticu diac. card." is altered to "Bern. Bibienae card."

† *Cf.* II. 1 = Sanuto, XVI. 170–171 (error in date); III. 21 = Sanuto, XVI. 479–481; V. 28 = Sanuto, XVII. 307–308. *Cf.* also IX. 36 with the original in the State Archives, Modena. A comparison of X. 5 with Sanuto, XIX., 249–252 only shows slight variations.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 488 n.

ORIGINAL DESPATCH, EDITED IN SANUTO XVI 50.[1]

Leo Papa X. Dilecte fili etc.[2]

Postquam[3] Deus[4] Maximus statuit felicis recordationis Iulium secundum Romanum pontificem ex hoc laborioso vitae mortalis curriculo ad illam beatissimam piorum sedem et patriam atque ad se unde venerat revocare, ille autem rebus omnibus quae ad proxime obituros pertinent sancte compositis, ad extremum unctus de[5] vita placide constanterque decessisset, quod quidem die XXI februarii fuit, Nos, qui tunc cardinalem gerebamus, atque coeteri[6] ex eodem collegio fratres, cum eius funeri exequiisque celebrandis statutum tempus dedissemus, Sancti Spiritus aura et nostri Salvatoris illuminatione praecibus omnibus invocata in unum convenimus conclavium, quae fecimus ut futurum pontificem de more crearemus. Itaque, quemadmodum Illi placuit, qui Petrum elegit, ut Sui Vicarium in terris gereret, cuius deinceps munus[7] reliqui summi pontifices gesserunt,[8] omnium cardinalium vota, omnes ad unum sententiae, nos in eius locum die XI mensis martii elegerunt[9] et summum pontificem creaverunt. Quod nobilitati tuae significandum per nostras[10] litteras fuimus,[11] te atque rempublicam tuam magno amore complexi sumus, a paternae caritatis affectu atque offitio[12] post haec[13] plane non discessuros, sed etiam, ut cogitares, pro tua in nos quidem adhuc omni tempore, in sedem autem apostolicam cum spe[14] alias tum vero proxime bene cognita illustri singularique pietate ac observantia, confidere nos te senatumque illum[15] tuum, qui gravissimum[16] semper est habitus, omnes vestros[17] cogitatus in Domini semita dirigentes, praeterita vestra laudabilia offitia[18] atque studia etiam superatos[19] effecturosque quantum in vobis erit, ut et huius almae sedis reverentia dignitasque augeatur et fessi iam bellis omnium qui recte sentiunt animi respirare tandem et quietis ac securitatis tempora sperare atque aspicere possint, quod quid honest us quidve utilius[20] tentandum conandumque abste[21] suscipiatur, non facile reperies aut in quo plus a Deo gratia plus ab hominibus[22] comendationesque[23] promerere.[24]

Datum Romae[25] apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die 14 martii 1513, ante nostram[26] coronationem. Petrus Bembus.[26]

(A tergo:) Dilecto filio nobili viro Leonardo Loredano duci Venetiarum.[26]

FIRST VERSION OF THE COD. VATIC.

Duci Venetiarum.

Cum Iulius secundus pontifex maximus quem quidem ex hac laboriosa hominum peregrinatione ad illam beatissimam piorum patriam coelum ad se unde venerat revocare Deus Opt. Max. constituerat rebus omnibus quae ad proxime obituros pertinent sancte compositis, ad extremum unctus, nono cal. mart. placide constanterque decessisset: ego, qui tum cardinalem gerebam caeterique ex eodem collegio fratres eius funeri more maiorum celebrando praestitutum tempus cum dedissemus, flantis de coelo favoris auram suppliciter precati quae coepta nostra cogitationesque secundaret, unum in locum in Vaticano convenimus conclavimque fecimus ut novum pontificem de more legeremus. Itaque quemadmodum illi placuit, qui Petrum legit, ut suum vicarium in terris gereret, cuius deinceps vicem reliqui summi pontifices gereremus, omnium cardinalium suffragia me in demortui locum ad diem quintum idus martias legerunt et summum pontificem creaverunt; quam quidem ego creationem meam tibi significare his litteris volui non solum ut scires me qui profecto quamdiu inter cardinales fui te remque publicam tuam magno amore sum complexus a paterni animi benevolentia atque officio posthac plane non discessurum, sed etiam ut cogitares pro tua in me certe adhuc quidem omni tempore, in rempublicam autem cum saepe alias tum vero proxime bene cognita illustri singularique pietate confidere nos te senatumque istum tuum, qui gravissimus semper est habitus, omnes vestras cogitationes pacis ad nomen signumque convertentes, praeterita vestra laudabilia officia atque studia etiam superaturos effecturosque quantum in vobis erit ut huius reipublicae reverentia dignitasque augeatur et fessi iam bellis omnium qui recte sentiunt animi respirare et quietis ac securitatis tempora sperare atque aspirare aliquando tandem possint: quod quid honestius, quidve utilius abste tentandum conandumque suscipiatur non facile reperies aut in quo plus tibi a Deo gratiae, plus ab hominibus verae laudis atque gloriae parias.

Dat. prid. id. martias MDXIII ante coronat. Roma [sic].

1 The various readings of the Cod. Ambros. are distinguished by the letter A.
2 A: Duci Venetiarum. 3 A: Posteaquam. 4 A: Optimus Max. 5 A: e. 6 A: caeteri.
7 A: vicem. 8 A: gereremus. 9 A: legerunt. 10 Missing in A.
11 duximus, non solum ut scires nos, qui profecto quamdiu inter cardinales fuimus. 12 A: officio.
13 A: hac. 14 A: saepe. 15 A: istum. 16 A: gravissimus.
17 A: nostros. 18 A: officia. 19 A: superaturos. 20 In A., there follows: abs te.
21 Missing in A. 22 In A., there follows: laudis. 23 A: commenda ionisque.
24 A: promereare. 25 Apud—piscatoris missing in A. 26 Missing in A.

L. Loredano (1513, Martii 14).

Second Version of the Cod. Vatic.

Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum.

Etsi non dubito quin ab oratore tuo, viro et prudente et diligente, ea libenter intellexeris, quae hic proxime acciderunt, tamen illa ipsa si meis etiam litteris ad te perferrentur, multo tibi iucundiora putavi fore. Nam cum Iulius secundus Romanus pontifex, quem quidem iam ad se revocare Deus Opt. Max. constituerat, rebus omnibus, quae ad brevi morituros pertinent, sancte compositis, ad extremum unctus nono cal. mart. de vita placide constanterque decessisset: ego, qui tum cardinalem gerebam, caeterique ex eodem collegio principes eius funeri celebrando praestitutum tempus cum dedissemus, flantis de coelo favoris auram suppliciter precati, quae coepta nostra cogitationesque secundaret, unum in locum in Vaticano convenimus, ut novum pontificem more maiorum legeremus. Itaque quemadmodum illi placuit, qui Petrum legit, ut suum vicarium in terris gereret, cuius deinceps munus reliqui summi pontifices gereremus, omnium cardinalium suffragia me in demortui locum ad diem quintum idus martias legerunt et summum pontificem creaverunt. Quae cum ita se habent, haec ad te scripsi, non solum ut scires me, qui profecto quamdiu inter cardinales fui, te remque istam publicam magno amore sum complexus, a paterni animi benevolentia atque officio posthac non discessurum, sed etiam ut cogitares, pro tua in me certe adhuc quidem omni tempore in rem Romanam autem cum saepe alias tum vero proxime bene cognita illustri singularique pietate me magnopere confidere, te senatumque istum tuum, qui gravissimus semper est habitus, omnes vestras cogitationes pacis ad nomen signumque convertentes praeterita vestra laudabilia officia atque studia etiam superaturos effecturosque quantum in vobis erit ut huius reipublicae dignitas maiestasque augeatur et fessi iam bellis omnium, qui recte sentiunt, animi respirare et quietis ac securitatis tempora sperare atque aspirare aliquando tandem possint: quod quid honestius quidve utilius abstentandum conandumque suscipiatur non facile reperies aut in quo plus tibi a divina bonitate gratiae, plus ab hominibus verae laudis atque gloriae parias.

Datis prid. id. martias MDXIII ante coronat. Roma [sic].

Text (I., 1) in essential agreement with the second version of the Cod. Vatic., but with the following variations: legato tuo, homine

atque ego

praestitutum lege; cum is wanting; instead of flantis—favoris: divinae mentis; instead of coepta: incoepta; instead of secundaret: proveheret
ei placuit

sed etiam te certiorem facerem, magnam me iam spem recte atque cum dignitate rem Romanam administrandi in senatus tui, qui gravissimus semper est habitus, sapientia, consiliis, aequitate, quodque omnium est maximum, erga nos perveteri constantique amore posuisse. Datis etc. as in the second version of the Cod. Vatic.

On further comparison we arrive at the certainty that the Cod. Ambros. is the Register Book of the Papal Chancery. Thus, for example, the letter to P. Bembo of the 13th of April, 1513, printed by Sanuto XVI., 170–171, (Sanuto has sometimes misread or omitted a few words, *e.g.*, in the Cod. Ambros., after "tabellarium," follows "quam magnis itineribus perferri voluimus tibique mandamus") agrees with the Cod. Ambros., while the impression II. 1 runs quite differently, and also has a wrong date (V. Id. April = April 9). To show the characteristics of the Cod. Ambros., two more instructive comparisons shall be given :—

LETTER TO THE MARQUIS F. GONZAGA OF MANTUA, 30TH AUGUST 1514.

Cod. Ambros. P. 130.	Original, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.	First Version of the Cod. Vatic.	Second Version of the Cod. Vatic.
Marchioni Mantuae.	Dilecte fili sal. et apost. benedict.	Cum ad sacra conficienda precesque divinas celebrandas cantore mihi opus sit qui graviori voce concinat abste velim si tibi incommodum non est ut ad me Michaelem Lucensem cantorem tuum mittas ut eo nostris in sacris atque templo quod est omnium celeberrimum atque sanctissimum communemque totius orbis terrarum pietatem atque laetitiam continet uti possim.	Quoniam ad sacra facienda precesque divinas celebrandas cantore mihi opus est qui graviori voce concinat, velim si tibi incommodum non est ut ad me Michaelem Lucensem cantorem tuum mittas ut eo nostris in sacris atque templo quod est omnium celeberrimum atque sanctissimum communemque totius orbis terrarum pietatem et laetitiam continet uti possim.
Quoniam eo cantore, qui graviori voce in capella nostra apte utatur, egemus, nobilitatem tuam hortamur in domino, velis ad nos Michaelem Lucensem cantorem tuum mittere, erit id nobis admodum gratum teque ita facturum pro tua in nos reverentia proque nostra in te paterna caritate plane confidimus.	Quoniam cantore qui graviori voce in capella nostra apte utatur egemus, nobilitatem tuam hortamur in Domino velis ad nos Michaelem Lucensem cantorem tuum mittere tamdiu apud nos futurum quoad alium idoneum ad eam rem perquiramus : erit id nobis admodum gratum teque ita facturum pro tua in nos reverentia proque nostra in te paterna charitate plane confidimus.		
Dat. Romae 30 augusti 1514 anno secundo.	Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscat. die 30 aug. 1514 pont. n. anno secundo. P. Bembus.	Dat. tertio cal. aug. an. sec. Romae.	Dat. tertio cal. aug. an. sec. Romae.

Published ed. (IX., 22) agrees with 2nd version up to sacra conficienda.

LETTER TO PIACENZA, 5 MAII 1513.

Cod. Ambros. P. 130.	Original Despatch in the Arch. stor. Ital. App., VI., 20. Leo PP. X.	First Version of the Cod. Vatic.
Prioribus Placentiae. Vestram erga sedem apostolicam atque nos reverentiam, quam dil. filii Lazarus Malvicinus notarius noster oratorque apud nos vester et comes Nicolaus Scottus nobis significarunt libenter accepimus, etc. (Remainder, including the date, is missing.)	Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Vestram erga sedem apostolicam atque nos reverentiam, quam dil. filii Lazarus Malvicinus notarius, vester orator, qui apud nos venit, et comes Nicolaus Scottus nobis significaverunt, libenter accepimus. Et quidem studium et onera adhibuimus ut ad sedis apostolicae deditionem rediretis. Redundantis una vos in sinu paterno caritatis recipimus dabimusque operam ut vos urbemque istam ita tractemus ut [n]unquam vestrae erga nos observantiae poeniteat. Datum Romae apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die quinto maii 1513 pontif. nostri [anno] primo. (A tergo:) Dil. filiis priori et antianis praesidentibus negociis civitatis nostrae Placentiae.	Reverentia osservantiaque vestra que Lazarus Malvicinus et Nicolaus Scottus oratores vestri mihi vestro nomine diligenter prestiterunt grata atque optata accidit. Itaque de eo studio quod quidem maximum, sub reipublicae ditionem atque imperium ut rediretis, communi omnium consensu adhibuistis et laudo et redeuntes in tutelam clientelamque recipio daboque operam ut magis magisque in dies singulos id voluisse vos atque fecisse laetemini. Dat. tertio non. maias an. pr. Roma [sic].

The 2nd version of the Cod. Vat. agrees with the published edition, II., 35.

The Cod. Ambros. P. 130 is of such extraordinary importance that it is necessary to consider it at some length; the more so as Mazzuchelli (*loc. cit.*) confines himself to quotations and does not deal with the MS. in itself. Nor has any use been made of it as yet in other ways. I proceed to give a detailed description and analysis of the same, as well as a tabular comparison of the Codex with the printed letters, for which I am indebted to the kindness of my pupil and present colleague Dr Dengel.

The MS. is a quarto volume bound in parchment.

On the back are two earlier marks: "413," and "CXLIII," with the modern mark "130."

1. Fly-leaf: T. n° 413 (struck out).

P. Bembi Brevia [nomine Leonis P. P. X.] non expolita, sed eo modo, quo fuerunt missa [eorum indices habes in principio]. (The passages in brackets are [later] additions

in another hand. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori, II., 2, 765, does not give these.)

Then follow five blank fly-leaves.

7. Fly-leaf: Index epistolarum, quae non sunt in libro edito, et sunt in hoc libro. Epistolae † signatae sunt in additis ex cod. manu Petri Bembi. (This inscription is in the same hand as the passages in brackets above [fly-leaf 1.]. Now follows, in another hand (the same which wrote the Codex), the enumeration of the addresses in alphabetical order with indication of the folio.

8. Fly-leaf: in connection with the previous index follows: Index epistolarum editarum, quae non sunt in hoc libro m. scripto. Inscription and index are in the same hand as the passages in brackets.

9. Blank fly-leaf.

Here begin the letters and the accompanying pagination of the Codex. On the margin of each letter is its number and that of the book, *e.g.* libro primo, epistola 1. This is continued as far as fol. 229[b] (libro XVI, epist. XIIII).

Fol. 1–229 entirely in one and the same hand (A), fine legible writing with very few corrections. The characters are those of the end of the sixteenth century.

Fol. 230 and 231 blank.

Fol. 232–241. Continuation of the letters from Book XVI, and certainly in another hand (B), which is very significant. This writing is also in a clear hand certainly belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century. The whole quinterno (fol. 232–241) is probably taken from another codex, as appears from its somewhat smaller size. This other codex was not paged.

Fol. 242–243 the hand A follows again.

Fol 244–245 blank.

Fol. 246 in the hand B to the end (five quinterni and two sheets attached) and in the smaller size. This contains letters from various books. The paging ends with fol. 297. Then follow (of the size of MS. B) five blank leaves.*

* The word "missing," in the following tables, means that in the Cod Ambros. the letter in question has not got the number and book of the corresponding *epistola* like the rest of the letters; the majority, but not all, of such letters are also wanting in the published edition.

CONTENTS OF THE CODEX AMBROS., AND COMPARISON OF THE SAME WITH THE PRINTED EDITION OF BASLE, 1539, WHICH IS BASED UPON IT.

Codex P. 130.			Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
Fol.	Lib.	Epist.		
1a	I	1	Duci Venetiarum 1513 Martii 14	Substance identical, form different
1b	I	2	Marchioni Mantuae ,, ,, 15	,, ,,
2a	I	3	Petro Bibienae Venetiis nuntio ,, ,, 16	,, ,,
2b	I	4	Leonardo Lauredano duci Venet. ,, 16	,, ,,
2b	I	5	Sigismundo regi Poloniae ,, ,, 16	,, ,,
4a	I	6	Ep. Eserniensi ,, ,, 18	,, ,,
4a	I	8	Duci et Antianis Ianuae ,, ,, 22	,, ,,
4b	I	7	Viceregi Neapol. et aliis official. ,, 23	,, ,,
5a	I	9	Prospero Columnae ,, ,, 25	,, ,,
5b	I	10	Vicelegato Marchiae ,, ,, 25	,, ,,
6a	I	11	Paulo Capello ,, ,, 26	,, ,,
6a	I	12	Locumtenent. et conventui Rhodi ,, 26	,, ,,
7b	I	13	Electo Feltrensi nuntio ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
8a	I	14	M. Antº Columnae ,, ,, 28	,, ,,
8b	I	15	Raim. de Cordova proregi Neap. 1513 Penultima Martii	,, ,,
8b	I	16	Antianis presidentibus civit. Regii 1513 Ultima Martii	,, ,,
9a	I	17	Marchioni Padulae 1513 Ultima Martii	,, ,,
10a	I	18	Iuliano de Medicis nostro fratri 1513 Martii 31	,, ,,
11a	I	19	Marchioni Padulae 1513 April 1	,, ,,
11a	I	20	Proregi Neapoli ,, ,, 1	,, ,,
11a	I	21	Iacobo Ungariae regi ,, ,, 1	,, ,,
			(In margin, in the hand which drew up the index on fly-leaf 8, the remark: in edito Vladislao Pann. Boëm.)	
11b	I	22	Sigism. Poloniae regi 1513 April 1	,, ,,
12b	I	23	Regi Britanniae ,, ,, 3	,, ,,
13b	I	24	Monialibus muratarum Florentiae ,, 3	,, ,,
14a	I	25	Raym. de Cordova proregi Neapol. 1513 April 3	,, ,,
14b	I	26	Maxim. Mariae duci Mediol. 1513 April 3	,, ,,
14b	I	27	Ferdinando Aragoniae regi Catholico 1513 April 4	,, ,,
15b	I	28	Bernardino de Stº Severino Bissiniani principi 1513 April 9	,, ,,
15b	I	29	Comiti Ioanni Boiardo ,, ,, 12	,, ,,
16a	I	30	Th. Campegio et Cornelio Galanti 1513 April 15	,, ,,
16a	II	1	Petro Bibienae Venetiis nuntio 1513 April 13	,, ,,
16b	II	2	Locumtenent. et conventui Rhodi 1513 April 10	,, ,,
17a	II	3	Raphaello Besalu et sociis mercatoribus Venetiis commorantibus 1513 April 11	,, ,,
17a	II	4	Ant. Mariae march. Pallavicino ,, ,, 11	,, ,,
17b	II	5	Ioanni Paulo de Balionibus ,, ,, 13	,, ,,
18a	II	6	Franc. Pulicae commissrio nostro 1513 April 13	,, ,,

Codex P. 130.			Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
Fol.	Lib.	Epist.		
18a	II	7	Ep. Polensi civ. nostrae Bononiae gubern. 1513 April 13	Subst. ident., form dif.
19a	II	8	Francisco Mariae duci Urbini ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
19b	II	9	Petro Bibienae nuntio ,, ,, 20	,, ,,
20a	II	10	Octaviano electo Laudens. ,, ,, 23	,, ,,
20a	II	11	Maximil. Mariae duci Mediol. ,, ,, 23	,, ,,
20a	II	12	Prioribus civit. Arimin. ,, ,, 23	,, ,,
20b	II	13	Laurentio Campegio ,, ,, 26	,, ,,
			(In margin, in the hand which drew up the index on fly-leaf 8, the remark: in edito Thomae episc. Feltrinor. internuntio.)	
20b	II	14	Alfonso Estensi duci Ferrariae 1513 April 27	
21a	II	15	Francisco Marchioni Mantuae ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
21b	—	—	Gubernatori civit. Rhegii ,, ,, 29 (Refers to the war-tax.)	Missing.
22a	II	16	Regi Daciae 1513 April 20	Subst. ident., form dif.
22b	II	17	Hipp. diacono card. Estensi ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
23a	—	—	Francisco marchioni Mantuae ,, ,, 25	Missing.
23b	II	18	P. ep. Forosempronien. ,, ,, 30	Subst. ident., form dif.
23b	II	19	Sigism. regi Poloniae 1513 Ultimo Apr.	,, ,,
24b	II	20	Alberto march. Brandeb. ,, ,,	,, ,,
25a	II	21	Filiis conventui ord. Theuthon 1513 Ultima Aprilis	,, ,,
26a	—	—	Galeatio, Antio Mae ceterisque Pallavicinis fratribus, Dat. Romae die (a gap) Aprilis 1513 a. primo	Missing.
26b	II	22	Gubernatori Bononiae 1513 Maii 1	Subst. ident., form dif.
	II	23	(Missing in Codex.)	
26b	II	24	Martello thesaur. Rhegii 1513 Maii 1	,, ,,
26b	II	25	Civib. et mercant. Lucensibus tribus 1513 Maii 21	,, ,,
27a	II	26	Evang. Tarascono et Iacobo Gambaro, commissariis nostris 1513 Maii 23	,, ,,
27a	II	27	Quibusdam fratribus ordinis etc. Neapolitanis 1513 Maii 26	,, ,,
27b	—	—	Gubernatori Bononiae ,, ,, 25	Missing.
27b	—	—	Episc. Polen. civ. Bononiae gubern. 1513 Maii 20	,,
28a	II	29	Gubern. Bononiae 1513 Ultima Maii	Subst. ident., form dif.
28a	II	30	Helvetiis duodecim cantonum 1513 Ultima Maii	,, ,,
28b	II	28	Annib., Ant. Galeatio, Alex. et Hermeti de Bentivolis 1513 Maii 25	,, ,,
30a	II	31	Gubern. Rhegii et M. Martello thesaur. Camerae apost. 1513 Maii 1	,, ,,
30a	—	—	Gubern. Bononiensi ,, ,, 1	Missing.
30b	II	33	Leonardo Laured. duci Venet. ,, ,, 2	Subst. ident., form dif.
30b	II	32	Petro Bibienae ,, ,, 2	Subst. ident., form very dif.
30ba	II	33*	Ruffino civ. Rhegii locumten. ,, ,, 3	Missing.
30ba	II	34	Prioribus Parmae No date	Subst. ident., form dif.
30ba	II	35	Prioribus Placentiae ,,	,, ,,

* Sic.

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
30b^{b}	II	32*	Campegio Mediol. nuntio	1513 Maii 5	Subst. ident., form dif.
30b^{b}	II	37	M. Ant. Columnae	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
30b^{b}	—	—	P. Bibienae nuntio Venetiis	,, ,, 6	Missing.
30c^{a}	II	38	Bononiae gubernat.	,, ,, 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
30c^{a}	II	39	Guido [sic] Vainae	,, ,, 14	,, ,,
30c^{a}	II	40	Marchioni Mantuae	,, ,, 14	,, ,,
30c^{b}	II	41	Gubern. Bononiae	,, ,, 15	,, ,,
31^{a}	II	42	Gubern. Fori Livii	,, Junii 2	,, ,,
31^{a}	—	—	Ursino Mugnano (Command to come to Rome for an interview.)	,, ,, 5	Missing.
31^{a}	II	43	Duci Ferrarae	1513 Junii 6	Subst. ident., form dif.
31^{b}	II	44	Duci Venetiarum	,, ,, 6	,, ,,
32^{a}	II	45	Ep. Polen. referendario. Bonon. gubern.	1513 Junii 9	,, ,,
32^{a}	II	46	Armor. ductoribus et eorum locumten. qui Bononiae sunt	1513 Junii 9	,, ,,
32^{b}	III	2	Viceregi Neapol.	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
33^{a}	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. (Orders concerning the Pallavicini family.)	,, ,, 12	Missing.
33^{a}	III	3	Duci Mediol.	1513 Junii 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
33^{b}	III	5	Duci Mediol.	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
34^{a}	III	1	Duci Mediol.	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
34^{b}	—	—	S. Federis cap. gener.	,, ,, 12	Missing.
34^{b}	III	6	Duci Mediol.	,, ,, 13	Subst. ident., form dif.
35^{a}	III	7	Gubern. Parmae	,, ,, 16	,, ,,
35^{a}	III	8	Magistro seu locumt. et conv. Rhodi	1513 Junii 16	,, ,,
35^{b}	III	10	Magistro seu locumt. et conv. Rhodi	1513 Junii 20	,, ,,
36^{a}	III	9	Gubern. Bononiae	1513 Junii 19	,, ,,
36^{b}	III	11	Duci Ferrar.	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
37^{a}	III	12	Gubern. Bononiae	,, ,, 23	,, ,,
37^{a}	III	13	Gubern. Ravennae	,, ,, 23	,, ,,
37^{b}	III	14	Duci Mediol.	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
38^{a}	III	15	Duci Ferrar.	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
38^{b}	III	16	Eidem	,, ,, 25	,, ,,
38^{b}	III	17	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
39^{a}	III	18	Helvetiis	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
39^{b}	III	19	Duci Mediolani	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
40^{a}	III	20	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
40^{b}	III	21	Imperatori	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
42^{a}	III	22	Petro Bibienae Venet. nuntio	,, Ultima Iunii	,, ,,
42^{a}	III	23	Maxim. duci Mediolani	,, Julii 3	,, ,,
42^{b}	III	24	Ioach. march. Brandeb.	,, ,, 3	,, ,,
42^{b}	—	—	Depositario B. M. de Laureto (To come at once to Rome.) In margin, in handwriting of fly-leaf 8, the remark: in add. ch. 1.	,, ,, 5	Missing.
43^{a}	III	25	Max. Mariae duci Mediol.	1513 Julii 7	Subst. ident., form dif.
43^{a}	III	26	Franc. Mariae duci Urbini	,, ,, 8	,, ,,
43^{b}	III	27	Commissario Bonon.	,, ,, 9	,, ,,

* Sic; a mistake for 36.

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
43b	III	28	Max. Mariae d. Mediol. 1513 Julii 9	Subst. ident., form dif.
44a	—	—	Max. Mariae d. Mediol. ,, ,, 11	Missing.
44b	III	29	Altosaxo exercitus Elvet. capneo ,, ,, 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
45a	III	30	Anselmo Crafel * acolyto ,, ,, 12	,, ,,
45a	—	—	Episc. Verulano apud Helvetios nuntio 1513 Julii 13	Missing.
45b	—	—	Helvetiis 1513 Julii 13	,,
45b	IV	1	Helvetiis eccl. lib. defens. ,, ,, 14	Subst. ident., form dif.
46b	—	—	Depositario eccl. S. Mariae de Laureto 1513 Julii 16	Missing.
			(To come at once) In margin, in above-named hand: in add. ch. 1.	
46b	—	—	Gubern. et Communitati civit. Arimin. 1513 Julii 16	,,
			(To pay at once the sums owing to the Castellan.)	
47a	IV	2	Max. Mariae D. Mediol. 1513 Julii 17	Subst. ident., form dif.
47b	IV	3	Lucretiae d. Ferrariae ,, ,, 18	,, ,,
48a	—	—	Laurentio Malvitio Bonon. ,, ,, 22	Missing.
			(To come at once).	
48a	IV	4	Herculi Marescotto Bonon. ,, ,, 22	Subst. ident., form dif.
48b	IV	6	Gub. et 40 viris civ. Bonon. ,, ,, 23	,, ,,
49a	IV	7	Max. Mariae duci Mediol. ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
49b	IV	5	Marco Ant. Columnae ,, ,, 23	,, ,,
50a	IV	8	Marco Musuro Cretensi ,, Aug. 6	,, ,,
50a	IV	9	Castellano Veruculi ,, ,, 11	,, ,,
50b	IV	10	Imperatori ,, ,, 13	,, ,,
51a	IV	11	Angelo Cospo ,, ,, 15	,, ,,
51a	IV	12	Herculi Marescotto ,, ,, 15	,, ,,
51a	IV	13	Laurent. Malvitio ,, ,, 15	,, ,,
51b	IV	14	Annib. Bentivolo ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
51b	IV	15	Gubern. Perusiae ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
52a	IV	16	Malatestae Balioni ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
53a	IV	17	Malatestae Balioni 1513 Penultima Aug.	,, ,,
53b	IV	18	Gubern. Forilivii 1513 Ultima Aug.	,, ,,
53b	IV	19	Vicecancellario 1513 Sept. 4	,, ,,
54a	IV	24	Ioanni Saxatello (in margin: Regi Ungariae de Turcis) 1513 Sept. 16	,, ,,
54a	IV	23	Ant. abbati S. Bertini ,, ,, 9	,, ,,
54b	IV	25	Card. Mantuano ,, ,, 10	,, ,,
55a	V	7	Regi cath. de creatione card. ,, ,, 8	,, ,,
56a	V	8	Octav. Fregosio duci Ianuae ,, ,, 25	,, ,,
56b	—	—	Ursino de Ursinis ,, ,, 23	Missing.
			(To come at once).	
56b	V	9	Gub. Bonon. Die (a gap!) Sept. 1513	Subst. ident., form dif.
57a	V	10	Card. Grimano No date	,, ,,
57a	IV	20	Gub. Rhegii et Parmae 1513 Sept. 5	,, ,,
57b	IV	21	Gub. Rhegii ,, ,, 12	,, ,,
57b	V	2	Marchioni Mantuae ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
58a	V	4	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
58b	V	3	Card. Gonzagae ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
58b	V	5	Gub. Rhegii ,, ,, 19	,, ,,

* In printed ed.: Crafefio (Grafevio).

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
59a	V	6	Comiti Ioan. Boiardo	1513 Sept. 19	Subst. ident., form dif.
59a	V	1	Card. S. P. ad vincula	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
59b	—	—	Episc. Pistoriensi	,, ,, 25	Missing.
			(To set free Ludov. Zandorus: in margin, in above-named hand: in addit. ch. 2.)		
60a	V	11	Petro Bibienae	1513 Oct. 29	Subst. ident., form dif.
60b	V	23	Helvetiis	No date	,, ,,
60b	V	24	Viceregi Neapol.	1513 Oct. 29	,, ,,
61b	V	13	Communitati Ravennae	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
61b	—	—	Gubern. Spoleti	,, Nov. 6	Missing.
61b	—	—	Mutio Columnae	,, Oct. 15	,,
			(In margin: in addit. ch. 2.)		
62a	—	—	Viceregi Neapol.	1513 Oct. 12	,,
62b	V	21	Card. Sedun.	,, ,, 27	Subst. ident., form dif.
63a	V	22	Laurentio Medici	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
63a	—	—	Card. Bonon.	,, ,, 24	Missing.
63b	—	—	Hieronymo Casio	,, ,, 5	,,
64a	V	16	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 10	Subst. ident., form dif
64a	V	17	Duci Genuae	,, ,, 9	,, ,,
64b	V	14	Gub. Bonon.	,, ,, 3	,, ,,
64b	V	15	Card. de Grassis	,, ,, 3	,, ,,
64b	—	—	Card. Bonon.	,, ,, 18	Missing.
			(In margin: in addit. ch. 3.)		
65a	V	12	Card. de Grassis	1513 Oct. 3	Subst. ident., form dif.
65a	—	—	Gub. Bonon.	,, ,, 28	Missing.
65b	V	18	Card. Grimani	No date	Subst. ident., form dif.
65b	V	19	Regi Anglie	1513 Oct. 11	,, ,,
67a	V	25	Gubern. Bonon.	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
67a	V	20	Electo Feltr. et Paulo Sumontio	1513 Oct. 20	Subst. ident., form dif.
67b	V	26	Duci Mediol.	1513 Oct. 27	,, ,,
67b	V	27	Vicegub. Placentiae et Paulo Sumontio	1513 Nov. 28	,, ,,
68a	V	28	Viceregi Neapol.	1513 Nov. 3	,, ,,
68b	V	29	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 3	,, ,,
68b	—	—	Card. Bonon.	,, Oct 4	Missing.
68b	—	—	Gub. Bonon.	,, ,, 4	,,
69a	V	30	Duci Ianuae	,, Nov 5	Subst. ident., form dif.
69a	V	31	Gub. Parmae	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
69b	V	32	Card. Gurcensi	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
69b	V	33	Nursinis	,, ,, 6	,, ,,
69b	—	—	Thomae Campegio Placent. gubern. et Ludov. Castrocaro commissario	1513 Nov. 5	Missing.
			(In margin: in add. ch. 3.)		
70a	V	34	Fabritio et M. Ant. Columnae	1513 Nov. 6	Subst. ident., form dif.
70a	V	35	March. Pescarae	,, ,, 6	,, ,,
70b	V	36	March. Mantuae	,, ,, 10	,, ,,
70b	VI	2	Ducissae Ferrariae	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
71b	VI	3	Duci Mediol.	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
72a	VI	1	Duci Ferrariae	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
72b	VI	4	March. Montisferrati	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
73a	VI	5	Rhegii gubernat.	(a gap) Nov. 1513	,, ,,

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
73b	VI	6	Com. Ioanni Petro de Nuvolara 1513 Nov. 24	Subst. ident., form dif
73b	VI	7	Gub. Bonon. ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
74a	VI	8	Card. Bonon. ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
74a	VI	9	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 25	,, ,,
75a	—	—	10 viris Bonon. ,, ,, 25	Missing.
75a	VI	10	Ep. Cerviensi Cesenae gub. ,, ,, 29	Subst. ident., form dif.
75b	VI	11	Duci Urbini ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
75b	VI	12	Helvetiis apud Genuam ,, ,, 30	,, ,,
76a	—	—	Duci Ferrariae ,, Dec. 1	Missing.
76a	VI	13	Pontiscurvi officialibus ,, ,, 2	Subst. ident., form dif.
76a	VI	14	Card. de Grassis ,, ,, 5	,, ,,
77a	VI	15	March. Montisf. ,, ,, 22	,, ,,
77b	VI	16	Regi catholico ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
77b	VI	18	Archiep. Salernit. ,, ,, 28	,, ,,
78a	VI	17	Nuntio in Hispaniis ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
78a	VI	19	Gubern. Bonon. ,, ,, 29	,, ,,
78b	VI	20	Duci Ianuae 1514 Jan. 1	,, ,,
78b	VI	21	P. Bibienae nuntio ,, ,, 4	,, ,,
79a	VI	26	Electo Feltrensi ,, ,, 7	,, ,,
79a	VI	27	Imperatori ,, ,, 7 (Instead of Antonius Cominatus in Cod. P. 130 Ant. Ruvere.)	,, ,,
79b	VI	29	Ant. Guiti de la Volta 1514 Jan. 8	,, ,,
80a	VI	28	Gubern. Bonon. ,, ,, 8	,, ,,
80a	VI	30	Barthol. Alviano ,, ,, 9	,, ,,
80b	VI	31	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 10	,, ,,
81a	VI	32	Marchioni Brandeb. ,, ,, 10	,, ,,
81a	—	—	Petro Bibienae ,, ,, 13 (In margin: in add. ch. 3.)	Missing.
81b	VI	33	Locumten. Neapol. ,, ,, 13	Subst. ident., form dif.
82a	VI	34	Gub. Parmae et Rhegii ,, ,, 16	,, ,,
82a	VI	35	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 22	,, ,,
82b	VI	36	Sesse Gubernatori ,, ,, 25	,, ,,
83a	VI	37	Ep. Verulano ,, ,, 27	,, ,,
83a	VI	38	Uni ex primatibus Helvet. ,, ,, 27	,, ,,
83b	VII	1	Regi Franciae ,, ,, 30	,, ,,
84a	VII	2	Filiae regis Franc. ,, ,, 30	,, ,,
84b	VII	3	Cantono Brensellae [sic] Helv. 1514 Ultima Jan.	,, ,,
85a	VII	4	Viceregi Neapol. 1514 Ultima Jan.	,, ,,
85b	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. 1514 Febr. 1	Missing.
86a	—	—	Burghesio ,, ,, 3	,,
86a	VII	5	Viceregi Neapolis ,, ,, 5	Subst. ident., form dif.
86b	VII	6	Magno Magistro Rhodi ,, ,, 6	,, ,,
87b	VII	7	Magno Magistro Rhodi ,, ,, 7	,, ,,
87b	VII	8	Gub. Bonon. ,, ,, 7	,, ,,
88a	VII	9	Gub. Bonon. ,, ,, 7	,, ,,
89a	VII	11	Locumten. mag. Rhodi in regno Neap. 1514 Febr. 6	,, ,,
89a	VII	10	Card. Bonon. 1514 Febr. 7	,, ,,
90a	VII	12	Petro Remirae Sinvessae gub. ,, ,, 8	,, ,,
90b	VII	13	Duci Mediolani ,, ,, 14	,, ,,
90b	VII	14	Imperatori ,, ,, 15	,, ,,

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.				*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
91a	VII	15	Electo Feltrensi nuntio	1514 Febr.	15		Subst. ident., form dif.
91a	VII	16	Regi catholico	,, ,,	15		,, ,,
91b	VII	17	Duci Venet.	,, ,,	15		,, ,
92a	VII	18	Ep. Forosempron.	,, ,,	16		,, ,,
92a	—	—	Duci Venet.	,, ,,	20		Missing.
92b	VII	20	Andreae de Burgo	,, ,,	24		Subst. ident., form dif.
92b	VII	19	Duci Mediolani	,, ,,	24		,, ,,
93a	VII	21	Burghesio Petrucio	,, Martii	7		,, ,,
93a	VII	22	Viceregi Neapol.	,, ,,	14		,, ,,
93b	VII	23	Balthasari Castilionio	,, ,,	11		,, ,,
94a	VII	24	Gubern. Parmae	,, ,,	13		,, ,,
94b	VII	25	Galeatio Pallavicino	,, ,,	13		,, ,,
95a	VII	26	Feudat. Parmens.	,, ,,	13		,, ,,
95a	VII	28	Duci Mediol.	,, ,,	14		,, ,,
95b	VII	27	Troilo Rubeo	,, ,,	14		,, ,,
96a	VII	29	Com. Ioan. Petro Gonzagae	,, ,,	17		,, ,,
96b	VII	31	Ioan. Saxatello	,, ,,	18		,, ,,
96b	VII	30	Vicegub. Placent.	,, ,,	18		,, ,,
96b	—	—	Galeatio Pallavicino	,, ,,	18		Missing.
97a	VIII	1	Duci Urbini 1513 (sic; clearly a slip for 1514)	Martii	4		Subst. ident., form dif.
98a	VIII	2	Priori Barlettae	1514 Martii	24		,, ,,
98a	VIII	3	Ioan. Paulo Balioni	,, ,,	26		,, ,,
98b	VIII	4	Iacobo ab armis	,, ,,	27		,, ,,
98b	VIII	5	Gub. et commun. Asculi	,, ,,	28		,, ,,
99a	VIII	6	Magno Rhodi Mag.	,, April	1		,, ,,
99b	VIII	7	Priori Lombardiae	,, ,,	1		,, ,,
100a	—	—	Franc. Dño Engolismen.	,, ,,	4		Missing.
100b	VIII	8	Gub. Rhegii	1514 April	2 (or 11)		Subst. ident., form dif.
100b	VIII	9	Card. Sedunen.	1514 April	18		,, ,,
101a	VIII	10	Paulo Victorio	,, ,,	22		,, ,,
101b	VIII	11	Ugoni Pepulo	,, ,,	23		,, ,,
102a	VIII	12	Guido Rangono	,, ,,	23		,, ,,
102b	VIII	13	Duci Mediol.	,, ,,	23		,, ,,
103a	VIII	14	Regi catholico	,, ,,	28		,, ,,
104a	VIII	15	Duci Venet.	,, Maii	1		,, ,,
104b	VIII	16	Gub. Arimini	,, ,,	7		,, ,,
104b	VIII	17*	Gub. eccl. Lauret.	,, Junii	12		Missing.
105a	—	—	Recanatensibus	,, ,,	16		Subst. ident., form† dif.
105b	VIII	18	Imperatori	,, ,,	16		,, ,,
105b	—	—	Nicolao Scotto	,, ,,	18		Missing.
106a	VIII	19	Ioanni de Luna	,, ,,	20		Subst. ident., form dif.
106b	VIII	24	Duci Sabaudiae	,, ,,	21		,, ,,
107a	VIII	25	Comiti Gebennensi	,, ,,	12		,, ,,
107a	VIII	26	Baliae Senensium	,, ,,	24		,, ,,
107b	VIII	28	Reip. Florent.	,, ,,	24		,, ,,
107b	VIII	27	Pindaro Santesio	,, ,,	24		,, ,,
108a	VIII	29	Regi Hungariae	,, ,,	27		,, ,,
108b	VIII	30	Gub. Parmae	,, ,,	26		,, ,,
108b	VIII	32	Electo Feltr.	,, Julii	8		,, ,,
109a	—	—	Card. Gurcensi	,, ,,	8		Missing.

* Sic. † VIII 17.

Codex P. 130.			Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
Fol.	Lib.	Epist.			
109a	—	—	Vito Trusto	1514 Julii 8	Missing.
109b	IX	1	Comiti Fed. Lando	,, ,, 15	Subst. ident., form dif.
110a	IX	2	Cap. et can. eccl. Veron.	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
110a	IX	4	Livoniae Magistro	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
111a	IX	5	Ant. Mariae Pallavicino	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
111b	IX	6	Duci Mediol	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
111b	—	—	Duci Sabaudiae	,, ,, 18	Missing.
112a	—	—	Marchioni Mantuae	,, ,, 20	,,
112a	—	—	Alex. Gablonete archid. Mantuan.	1514 Julii 20	,,
112a	IX	7	Ludov. Tornabonae	1514 ,, 23	Subst. ident., form dif.
112b	IX	8	Ariminens.	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
112b	IX	11	Galeatio et Ant. M. Pallav.	,, ,, 26	,, ,,
113a	IX	9	Com. Petro Mariae Scotto	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
113b	IX	10	Plac. gub.	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
114a	IX	12	Philippo Capello etc.	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
114b	IX	13	Raphaelo pictori *	,, Aug. 1	,, ,,
115a	—	—	Iuliano de Sto Gallo †	,, ,, 1	Missing.
115a	—	—	Iocundo architetto ‡	,, ,, 1	,,
115b	—	—	Gub. Bononiae	,, ,, 5	,,
115b	—	—	Card. Sti Georgii camerario	,, ,, 6	,,
116a	IX	14	Legato Avinion.	,, ,, 7	Subst. ident., form dif.
116a	—	—	Ant. Mariae Pallavicino	,, ,, 7	Missing.
116b	—	—	Ant. de Burgo iuris utr. doct.	,, ,, 7	,,
116b	IX	15	Regi Angliae	,, ,, 8	Subst. ident., form dif.
117a	IX	16	Laurent. Medici	,, ,, 10	,, ,,
117a	IX	17	Io. et Gentili Saxat[ellis]	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
117b	IX	19	XL viris Bonon.	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
118a	IX	18	Duci Ferrariae	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
118b	IX	20	Magno Rhodi Mag.	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
119a	IX	21	Laurent. Medici	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
119b	IX	22	Marchioni Mantuae	,, ,, 30	,, ,,
119b		—	Alex. archidiacono Mantuano	,, ,, 30	Missing.
120a	IX	24	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 30	Subst. ident., form dif.
120a	IX	23	Card. Senensi	1514 Aug. Ultima	,, ,,
120b	IX	25	Nuntiis in Hisp.	1514 Sept. 2	,, ,,
120b	—	—	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 3	Missing.
121a	IX	26	Regi cathco	,, ,, 4	Subst. ident., form dif.
121b	IX	27	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 7	,, ,,
122a	IX	28	Duci Ferrarae	,, ,, 8	,, ,,
122a	IX	29	Regi Franciae	,, ,, 15	,, ,,
122b	IX	30	Regi christian.	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
123a	IX	32	Firmanis	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
123b	—	—	Leon. Bonefidei mag. hosp. S. M. Novae florentiae	1514 Sept. 19	Missing.
123b	IX	33	Helvetiis	,, ,, 20	Subst. ident., form dif.
124a	IX	31	P. Navarrae	,, ,, 26	,, ,,
124a	IX	35	Card. Sedunensi	,, ,, 26	,, ,,
124b	IX	33§	Helvetiis	,, ,, 26	,, ,,
124b	IX	36	Duci Ferrariae	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
125a	IX	37	S. Ferrerio generali Sabaudiae	,, ,, 28	,, ,,

* *Cf. supra*, p. 363 n. † *Supra*, p. 363 n. ‡ *Supra*, p. 362 n. § Sic.

Codex P. 130.			Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	Cf. the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
Fol.	Lib.	Epist.		
125a	IX	38	Card. Albreto 1514 Sept. 28	Subst. ident., form dif.
125a	IX	39	Iano Parrhasio ,, ,, 28	,, ,,
125b	IX	40	Cap. Triremium ,, ,, 30	,, ,,
125b	IX	42	Duci Ianuae et archiep. Salernit. 1514 Oct. 4	,, ,,
126a	—	—	Marchionissae Mantuae 1514 Oct. 9	Missing.
126a	—	—	Duci Sabaudiae ,, ,, 12	,,
126b	IX	43	Regi christmo ,, ,, 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
127a	IX	44	Duci Urbini ,, ,, 13	,, ,,
127a	—	—	Marchionissae Mantuae ,, ,, 14	Missing
127b	X	1	Io. Neroni commrio nostro ,, ,, 7	Subst. ident , form dif.
128b	X	2	Epo Tricaricen. ,, ,, 24	,, ,,
129a	X	8	Sebast. Ferrerio ,, Nov. 3	,, ,,
129a	X	9	Franc. Gherino civi Flor. ,, ,, 4	,, ,,
129b	X	10	Bartol. Liviano ,, ,, 8	,, ,,
129b	—	—	Card. S. Vitalis ,, ,, 14	Missing.
130a	—	—	Domino Longae Villae ,, ,, 15	,,
130a	—	—	Epo Forosemproniensi ,, ,, 20	,,
130b	X	12	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 22	Subst. ident., form dif
131a	X	13	Duci et Antianis Genuae 1515 Jan. 7	,, ,,
131b	—	—	Philippo Comiti Gebennen ,, ,, 9	Missing.
131b	—	—	Philibertae de Sabaudia ,, ,, 9	,,
132a	—	—	Epo Verulano ,, ,, 11	,,
132a	—	—	Duci et Antianis Genuae ,, ,, 12	,,
132b	—	—	Vicereginae Neapolit. ,, ,, 12	,,
132b	X	14	Helvetiis ,, ,, 27	Subst. ident,, form dif.
133b	X	15	Regi christmo ,, Febr. 13	,, ,,
134b	X	16	Ducissae Engolismensi ,, ,, 14	,, ,,
135a	—	—	Notho Sabaudiae ,, ,, 14	Missing.
135a	X	17	Card. Sedunensi ,, ,, 15	Subst. ident., form dif.
135b	X	18	Gubern. Parmae ,, ,, 16	,, ,,
136a	X	19	Ioan. Iordano Ursino ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
136a	—	—	Asculanis ,, ,, 19	Missing.
136b	X	20	Laur. Tuccio civi Flor. 1515 Ultima Febr.	Subst. ident., form dif.
137a			Blank.	
137b			Blank.	
138a	—	—	Duci Sabaudiae 1515 Martii 20	Missing.
138a	X	27	Nicol. Leoniceno 1515 Ultima Martii	Subst. ident., form dif.
138b	—	—	Card. Mantuano 15 5 Apr. 2	Missing.
138b	X	28	Duci Venet. ,, ,, 6	Subst. ident., form dif.
139a	—	—	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 25	Missing.
139b	X	29	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 19	Subst. ident., form dif.
140a	—	—	Hieronymo Morono ,, ,, 19	Missing.
140b	X	30	Philippo Gualterotto ,, Maii 1	Subst. ident., form dif.
140b	X	31	Latino Iuvenali ,, ,, 17	,, ,,
141a	—	—	Duci Mediol. ,, ,, 17	Missing.
141b	—	—	Ducibus Helvet. in Italia ,, ,, 17	,,
141b	—	—	Helvetiis XIII Cantonum ,, ,, 17	,,
142a	—	—	Card. Sedunensi ,, ,, 17	,,
142b	—	—	Diego de Aquila ori Hisp. Mediol. 1515 Maii 17	,,
142b	X	32	Duci Genuae et archiep. Salernit 1515 Maii 17	Subst. ident., form dif.

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
143a	—	—	Antianis Genuae	1515 Maii 17	Missing.
143b	X	33	Viceregi Neapoli	,, ,, 22	Subst. ident., form dif.
143b	X	34	Magistro Rhodi	,, ,, 30	,, ,,
144a	X	36	Ioh. Blassiae trirem. praefecto	,, ,, 30	,, ,,
144a	X	35	Archiep. Salernit. et duci Genuae	,, ,, 30	,, ,,
144b	X	37	Sigism. Trotto	,, Junii 8	,, ,,
144b	X	38	Dominis Florent.	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
145a	X	39	Laur. Medici	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
145b	X	40	Lud. Ariosto	,, ,, 20	,, ,,
145b	X	41	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
146a	X	42	Antonio S. Crucis	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
146a	X	43	Dom. Plumbini	,, ,, 21	,, ,,
146b	X	44	Card. S. Mariae in Porticu	,, Julii 1	,, ,,
147a	X	45	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 5	,, ,
147b	X	46	Raff. ep. Grosset. [praef.] S. Angeli	1515 Julii 19	,, ,
147b	—	—	Gubern. Placentiae	1515 Aug. 3	Missing.
148a	X	47	Viceregi Neap.	,, ,, 7	Subst. ident., form dif.
148a	X	48	Regi christmo	,, ,, 7	,, ,,
148b	X	49	Duci Urbini	,, ,, 9	,, ,,
149a	—	—	Ioanni Paulo Balioni	,, ,, 16	Missing.
149a	X	50	Viceleg. Umbriae	,, ,, 16	Subst. ident., form dif.
149a	X	51	Raphaello Urbinati	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
150a	X	52	Regi cath.	,, ,, 28	,, ,,
150a	—	—	Epo Malancitano	,, ,, 28	Missing.
150b	X	53	Helvetiis	,, ,, 30	Subst. ident., form dif.
151a	—	—	Card. Sedunensi	,, ,, 30	Missing.
151b	X	54	Florentinis	,, ,, 30	Subst. ident., form dif.
151b	X	55	Henrico com. Nolae	,, ,, ...*	,, ,,
152a	X	56	Helvetiis	,, ,, ...*	,, ,,
			(* Marked thus in Codex.)		
152b	X	57	Vincentio Granatae	1515 Ultima Aug.	,, ,,
152b	X	58	Ragusinis	1515 Sept. 2	,, ,,
153a	—	—	Magno cancellario	1515 Ultima Sept.	Missing.
153a	—	—	Imperatori	No date	Missing. (*Cf.* XI 13.)
			(Credentials for the Orator Egidius ord. Aug. eremit.)		
153b	XI	14	Card. Gurcensi	No date	Subst. ident., form dif.
153b	XI	5	Regi christmo	1515 Oct. 4	,, ,,
154a	XI	6	Marco Ant. Columnae	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
154b	XI	7	Gubern. Spoleti	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
155a	XI	8	Viceregi Neapol.	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
155b	XI	9	Cardinalibus singulatim	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
155b	XI	10	Regi Franciae	,, Dec. 2	,, ,,
156a	XI	12	Aloisiae Dom. Engolismensi	,, ,, 11	,, ,,
157a	—	—	Archiep. Genuensi	,, ,, 13	Missing.
157a	XI	15	Vinc. Martines praefecto	,, ,, 15	Subst. ident., form dif.
157b	XI	16	Lud. com. S. Bonifacii	,, ,, 15	,, ,,
157b	—	—	Regi Francorum	,, ,, 16	Missing.
158a	—	—	Epo del Furno	,, ,, 23	,,
			(In margin: in add. ch. 5.)		
158a	XI	18	Dom. Ligae Grisonorum	1515 Dec. 28	Subst. ident., form dif.
159a	XI	19	Regi Franc.	1516 Jan. 3	,, ,,

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.				*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1519.	
159ª	—	—	Ep° Tricaricensi nuntio	1516	Jan.	3	Missing.	
159ᵇ	XI	20	Vicel. Viterbii	,,	,,	14	Subst. ident., form dif.	
160ª	XI	21	Duci Ferrarae	,,	,,	27	,,	,,
160ª	XI	22	Nuntio in Hispania	,,	,,	29	,,	,,
160ª	XI	23	Ant. abbati S. Bertini	,,	Febr.	1	,,	,,
160ᵇ	XI	26	Carolo regi Hispaniae	,,	,,	12	,,	,,
161ª	XI	27	Ep° Vesprimiensi	,,	,,	16	,,	,,
162ª	XI	29	Card. Sedunensi	,,	,,	17	,,	,,
163ª	XI	28	Helvetiis	,,	,,	17	,,	,,
164ª	XI	32	March. Mantuae	,,	,,	18	,,	,,
164ᵇ	—	—	Mediol. gubern.	,,	,,	18	Missing.	
165ª	—	—	Ioan. Iacob. Trivultio	,,	,,	18	,,	
165ª	XI	30	Io. F. Pico Mirand. com.	,,	,,	18	Subst. ident., form dif.	
165ᵇ	XI	31	F. Picae Concordiae comitissae	,,	,,	18	,,	,,
166ª	XI	34	Nuntio apud Helv. ep. Verul.	,,	,,	18	,,	,,
167ª			Blank.					
167ᵇ			Blank.					
168ª	XI	35	Ducissae Bari	1517 [sic]	Martii	10	Subst. ident., form dif. (Printed anno tertio, in MS. anno quarto.)	
168ª	XI	36	Dom. de Lutrech	,,	,,	10	,,	,,
168ᵇ	XI	37	Dom. de Lutrech	,,	,,	10	,,	,,
169ª	XI	38	Ioa. Paul. Balioni	,,	,,	9	,,	,,
169ª	XII	3	Lud. regi Ung. puero	,,	April	3	Subst. ident., form dif.	
170ª	XII	2	Orator. Helv.	,,	,,	3	,,	,,
170ᵇ	XII	4	Ad primates Ung. separatim	,,	,,	4	,,	,,
171ª	XII	5	Cardin. Strigon.	,,	,,	5	,,	,,
172ᵇ	XII	6	Carolo regi Hisp.	1516	,,	7	,,	,,
173ª	XII	7	Sig. regi Pol.	,,	,,	2	,,	,,
173ᵇ	XII	9	Faliscis	,,	,,	26	,,	,,
174ª	XII	8	Viterbiensib.	,,	,,	26	,,	,,
174ᵇ	XII	10	Cornetanis	,,	,,	26	,,	,,
174ᵇ	XII	11	Viceleg. Viterbii	,,	,,	26	,,	,,
175ª	XII	12	Archiep. Salernit.	,,	Maii	5	,,	,,
175ᵇ	XII	13	Ianuae gub.	,,	,,	5	,,	,,
176ª	XII	14	Abbati S. Bertini	,,	,,	10	,,	,,
176ᵇ	XII	15	Prosp. Columnae	,,	,,	13	,,	,,
176ᵇ	XII	16	Regi Hisp.	,,	,,	16	,,	,,
177ᵇ	XII	17	Laur. Medici	,,	,,	16	,,	,,
177ᵇ	XII	18	Io. Paul. Balioni et Sipicciani dominis	1516	Maii	16	,,	,,
178ª	XII	19	Electo Feltrensi	1516	,,	18	,,	,,
178ᵇ	XII	20	Comest. Franciae Borboni duci	,,	,,	20	,,	,,
179ª	XII	21	Regi Francor.	,,	,,	20	,,	,,
179ᵇ	XII	22	Duci Borboni	,,	,,	21	,,	,,
180ª	—	—	Duci Ferrariae	,,	,,	21	Missing.	
180ª	XII	23	Ep° Vesprimiensi	,,	,,	25	Subst. ident., form dif.	
180ᵇ	—	—	Gub. et antianis et baliae Ianuae	1516	Ultima Maii		Missing.	
180ᵇ	XII	25	Imperat.	1516	Junii	1	Subst. ident., form dif	
181ª	XII	26	Urbinatib.	,,	,,	1	,,	,,
181ᵇ	XII	27	Genuensibus	,,	,,	8	,,	,,
182ª	—	—	Antonio Blassiae	,,	,,	20	Missing.	

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		Cf. the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
182b	XII	29	Agnesinae Columnae	1516 Junii 21	Subst. ident., form dif.
182b	XIII	2	Homin. S. Martini	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
183a	XIII	3	Pet. Io. capitaneo	,, ,, 25	,, ,,
183b	—	—	Duci Albaniae	,, Iunii ...	Missing.
184a	XIII	4	Philib. de Sabaudiae	,, Junii 30	Subst. ident., form dif.
184a	XIII	5	Duci Sabaudiae	,, ,, 30	,, ,,
184b	XIII	6	Regi christmo	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
185a	XIII	7	Gub. et antianis Ianuae	,, Julii 3	,, ,,
185b	XIII	8	Eugubinis	,, ,, 10	,, ,,
185b	XIII	9	Matheo Strozzae	,, ,, 10	,, ,,
186a	XIII	10	Card. S. Mariae in Porticu	,, ,, 13	,, ,,
186a	—	—	Senensibus	,, ,, 23	Missing.
186b	—	—	Card. Cibo	,, Aug. 5	,,
186b	XIII	11	Duci Gravinae	,, ,, 12	Subst. ident., form dif
187a	XIII	12	Magno mag. Rhodi	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
188a	XIII	13	Regi Francor.	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
188a	XIII	14	Epo Tricaric.	,, ,, 24	,, ,,
188b	XIII	17	Regi Franc.	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
189a	XIII	18	Duci Venet.	,, Sept. 12	,, ,,
189a	XIII	19	Archiep. Salernit.	,, ,, 23	,, ,,
189a	XIII	20	Regi Franc.	,, ,, 29	,, ,,
189b	XIII	21	Melchiori. secret. Card. Sedun.,	1516 Ultima Sept.	,, ,,
190a	XIII	22	Regi Franc.	1516 Oct. 3	,, ,,
190a	—	—	Reatinis	,, ,, 4	Missing.
190b	XIII	23	Petro Navarrae	,, ,, 5	Subst. ident., form dif.
190b	—	—	Marchi Mantuae	,, ,, 8	Missing.
191a	XIII	24	Guil. Gallo medico	,, Sept. 8	Subst. ident., form dif.
191a	—	—	Regi Hispan.	,, ,, 12	Missing.
191b	—	—	Domino de Ceures	,, ,, 13	,,
192a	—	—	Domino de Lutrech	,, ,, 14	,,
192b	XIII	25	Domino de Lutrech	,, ,, 15	Subst. ident., form dif.
193a	XIII	26	Raphaeli Medici	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
193a	XIII	27	Regi Castellae	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
193b	—	—	Bapt. Sabello	,, ,, 24	Missing.
194a	XIII	28	Communitati Brixelli	,, ,, 19	Subst. ident., form dif.
194b	XIII	29	Card. Toletano	,, Nov. 2	,, ,,
195a	XIII	30	Lud. Firmano et Hier. Brancadoriae	1516 Nov. 3	,, ,,
195b	XIII	31	Pallavicino de Pallavicinis	1516 Dec. 1	,, ,,
195b	XIII	33	Fucaris mercatoribus Germanis	,, ,, 12	,, ,,
196a	XIII	35	Dom. de Lutrech	,, ,, 23	,, ,,
196b	XIII	36	Ragusinis	1517 Jan. 3	,, ,,
196b	—	—	Domino de Lutrech	,, ,, 10	Missing.
197a	XIII	37	Ioa. Georgio Trissino	,, ,, 17	Subst. ident., form dif.
197a	—	—	Domino de Lutrech	,, ,, 18	Missing.
197b	—	—	Epo Siracusano	,, ,, 18	,,
197b	XIV	3	Capitaneis Hispan.	,, ,, 19	Subst. ident., form dif.
198a	—	—	Domino de Cieures	,, ,, 20	Missing.
198b	XIV	4	Epo Pacensi	,, ,, 20	Subst. ident., form dif.
198b	XIV	5	March. Mantuae	,, ,, 21	,, ,,
199a	XIV	6	VIII viris Practicae Florent.	,, ,, 21	,, ,,
199b	—	—	Duci Ferrariae	,, ,, 26	Missing.

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
200a	XIV	7	Regi Franc. 1517 Jan. 28	Subst. ident., form dif.
200b	XIV	8	Dom. de Ceures ,, ,, 31	,, ,,
201a	—	—	Regi Hispan. ,, ,, 31	Missing.
201b	—	—	Without inscription, probably also to the King of Spain 1517 Jan. 30	,,
202a	XIV	9	Magno Rhodi Magistro ,, ,, 31	Subst. ident., form dif.
202b	—	—	Imperatori ,, Feb. 2	Missing.
203b	XIV	10	Regi Hispan. ,, Jan. 2	Subst. ident., form dif.
204a	XIV	13	Card. Gurcensi ,, Feb. 2	,, ,,
205a	—	—	Dominae Margaritae de Austria ,, ,, 2 (In margin: in add. ch. 5.)	Missing.
205a	—	—	Domino de Ceures 1517 Feb. 2	,,
205b	—	—	Abbati S. Bertini ,, ,, 2	,,
206a	—	—	Electo Feltrensi nuntio ,, ,, 2	,,
206a	XIV	14	Regi Hispan. ,, ,, 2	Subst. ident., form dif.
206b	XIV	15	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 15	,, ,,
207a	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. 1517 Ultima Febr.	Missing.
207b			Blank.	
208a	XV	3	Ep° Dertusensi 1518 [sic] Martii 20, a. V.	Subst. ident., form dif. (1517, a. quinto.)
208a	—	—	Alfonso de S. Cruce 1518(7) ,, 24 ,,	Missing.
208b	XV	4	Viceleg. Perusiae 1517 ,, 29 ,	Subst. ident., form dif.
208b	XV	5	Comiti Potentiae ,, ,, 30 ,,	,, ,,
209a	XV	8	Regi cathol. ,, April 3 ,,	,, ,,
209b	XV	12	Latino Iuvenali ,, ,, 17 ,,	,, ,,
210a	XV	11	Prosp. Columnae de Cavis 1517 April 26, a. V.	,, ,,
210a	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. 1517 Maii 5 a. V.	Missing.
210b	—	—	Comiti Potentiae ,, ,, 8 ,,	,,
211a	—	—	Duci Ferrariae 1518 [sic] ,, 13 ,,	,,
211a	XV	19	Tudertinis 1517 ,, 14 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
211b	XV	26	Petro Navarrae ,, ,, 27 ,,	,, ,,
212a	XV	27	Regi cathol. ,, ,, 31 ,,	,, ,,
212b	—	—	Regi cathol. 1517 Ultima Maii ,,	Missing.
213a	—	—	Nuntiis apud Helvetios 1517 Junii 1 ,,	,,
213a	XV	28	Prosp. Columnae de Cavis ,, ,, 9 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif
213b	—	—	Dominis Ungaris ,, ,, 16 ,,	Missing.
214a	XV	40	Ioan. Iacobo Trivultio ,, Julii 1 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
214b	—	—	Magno Rhodi Magistro ,, ,, 5 ,,	Missing.
215a	XV	41	Viceleg. Perusiae ,, ,, 5 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
215b	—	—	Duci Gravinae ,, ,, 9 ,,	Missing.
216a	XV	43	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 14 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
216a	XV	44	Helvetiis ,, ,, 9 ,,	,, ,,
217a	XV	45	Ductori in exercitu ,, ,, 15 ,,	,, ,,
217b	XV	46	Duci Ferrariae ,, ,, 15 ,,	,, ,,
218a	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 16 ,,	Missing.
218a	—	—	Asculanis ,, ,, 16 ,,	,,
218b	—	—	Ugoni de Moncada viceregi ,, ,, 17 ,,	,,
219a	XV	47	Card^i Pisano ,, ,, 21 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
219a	XV	48	Famil. de Rodulfis ,, ,, 22 ,,	,, ,,
219b	XV	50	Io. Fr. Pico Mirand. comiti 1517 Aug. 27, a. V.	,, ,,

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
220a	XVI	2	Card. Pisano 1517 Nov. 11, a. V.	Subst. ident. form dif.
220a	—	—	Regi Franciae ,, ,, 12 ,,	Missing.
220b	—	—	Domino de Lutrech ,, ,, 12 ,,	,,
220b	XVI	3	Senatui Mediol. ,, Dec. 6 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
221a	—	—	Thomae Spinello nuntio regio Angliae apud Cathol. Mtem 1517 Dec. 14, a. V.	Missing.
221b	XVI	4	Regi Catholico 1518 [sic] ,, 26 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif. (Printed 1517.)
222a	—	—	Domino de Ceures 1518 ,, 26 ,,	Missing.
222b	XVI	5	Epo Ovetensi ,, ,, 26 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
223a	—	—	Regi christmo ,, ,, 30 ,,	Missing.
223a	XVI	6	Domino de Lutrech 1518 Ultima Dec., ,,	Subst. ident., form dif. (Printed 1517.)
223b	XVI	7	Lud. regi Ungariae 1518 Jan. 8 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
224a	XVI	8	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 9 ,,	,, ,,
224a	—	—	Viceregi Neapol. ,, ,, 10 ,,	Missing.
224b	XVI	9	Epo Burgensi ,, ,, 12 ,,	Subst. ident.. form dif. (Printed, 1517.)
225a	XVI	10	Regi christmo ,, ,, 17 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
225a	XVI	11	Ioan. duci Albaniae ,, ,, 18 ,,	,, ,,
225b	XVI	12	Regi catholico ,, ,, 25 ,,	,, ,,
226a	—	—	Regi catholico ,, Febr. 6 ,,	Missing.
226b	—	—	Domino de Cieures ,, ,, 24 ,,	,,
227a	—	—	Regi christmo ,, ,, 24 ,,	,,
227a	—	—	Imperatori ,, Martii 6 ,,	,,
227b	—	—	Reginae Ungar. ,, ,, 6 ,,	,,
227b	—	—	Cardi Gurcensi ,, ,, 6 ,,	,,
228a	—	—	Electoribus imp. singulatim ,, ,, 6 ,,	,,
228a	—	—	Iacobo Bannisio ,, ,, 6 ,,	,,
228b	XVI	13	Regi cathol. ,, ,, 11 ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
228b	XVI	15	Gubern. Bononiae ,, ,, 11 ,,	,, ,,
229a	XVI	16	Regi catholico ,, ,, 15 ,,	,, ,,
229b	XVI	14	Nuntio Venetiis ,, ,, 18 ,,	,, ,,
230a			Blank.	
230b			,,	
231a			,,	
231b			,,	
			Now begins the older hand (see description of the Codex.) The notes on margin indicating the Book and the letter, in a later hand, the same which wrote the corresponding notes in the other part of the Codex.	
232a	XVI	19	Regi christmo 1518 Martii 19, a VI.	Subst. ident., form dif.
233a	XVI	20	Rhegii gubern. ,, Sept. 9 ,,	,, ,,
233b	XVI	21	Duci Venet. 1519 Dec. 26, a. VI. [sic]	,, ,,
234a	XVI	23	Mediol. ducissae 1520 Oct. 9, a. VIII.	,, ,,
234b	XVI	24	Card. Dertusensi 1520 Oct. 22, a. IX. [sic]	,, ,,
235b	—	—	Regi Portugalliae 1520 Oct. 29, a. VIII.	Missing.
			(This letter is cancelled).	
236a	XVI	25	Communit. Rhagusii 1520 Dec. 8, a. VIII.	Subst. ident., form dif.
236b	—	—	Frospero Columnae ,, ,, 14 ,,	Missing.
			(Cancelled.)	

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
237[a]	—	—	Civitati Spoleti 1520 Jan. 6, a. VIII. (Cancelled.)	Missing.
237[b]	XVI	26	Civitati Tuderti (cancelled, replaced by: Regi Franciae) 1520 Oct. 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
239[a]	XVI	27	Matri Regis Loysiae Engolismensi ducissae 1520 Oct. 12	,, ,, (Very different.)
239[b]	—	—	Philibertae de Sabaudia Nemorsi ducissae 1520 Oct. 12	Missing.
240[a]	—	—	Duci Traiecti ,, ,, 16	,,
240[b]	—	—	Gubernat[i] et prioribus Spoleti ,, ,, 16	,,
241[a]	XVI	28	Nemorsi ducissae ,, ,, 4	Subst. ident., form very different.
			The older hand again continues (see description of the Codex.)	
242[a]	—	—	Proregi Neapol. 1521 Febr. 1	Missing.
242[b]	—	—	Regi Angliae ,, ,, 25	,,
243[a]	—	—	Card[i] Eboracen. ,, ,, 25	,,
243[b]–245[b]			Blank.	
			The later hand again continues (see description of the Codex.)	
246[a]	VIII	20	Duci Sabaudiae 1514 Apr. 6	Subst. ident., form dif.
246[b]	—	—	Philibertae domicellae Sabaudiae ,, ,, 6	Missing.
247[a]	—	—	Duci Sabaudiae ,, ,, 8	,,
247[b]	VIII	22	Comiti Genevens. ,, ,, 8	Subst. ident., form dif.
248[a]	VIII	23	Regi Franciae ,, Junii 13	,, ,,
248[b]	VIII	31	Hannib. Paleotto ,, Julii 1	,, ,,
249[a]	VIII	9	David regi Abissinor ,, Nov. 8	In MS. wrong Book and Letter given; the letter corresponds to Book IX. ep. 414, in the published edition.
249[b]	X	11	Vito Fursto ,, ,, 12	Subst. ident., form dif.
250[a]	X	21	Imperatori 1515 Martii 8	,, ,,
250[b]	X	22	Nuntio in Germania ,, Maii 8	,, ,,
253[a]	X	40	Ludovico Areosto ,, Junii 20	,, ,,
253[b]	X	59	Duci Urbini ,, Aug. 16	,, ,,
253[b]	X	60	Marco Ant. Columnae ,, ,, 16	,, ,,
254[a]	X	61	Regi Franciae 1516 Aug. 26, a. IV.*	,, ,,
255[a]	—	—	Galeatio Pallavic. 1516 [sic] Penult. Aug. a. III. [sic] (In margin: add ch. 4.)	Missing.
256[a]	XI	1	Regi Franciae 1515 Sept. 28	Subst. ident., form dif.
256[b]	XI	2	Magistro Franciae ,, ,, 28	,, ,,
257[a]	XI	3	Duci Sabaudiae ,, ,, 28	,, ,,
257[b]	XI	4	Iuliano Medici ,, Oct. 1	,, ,,
258[a]	XI	11	Legato Romae ,, Dec. 3	,, ,,
258[b]	XI	24	Imperatori 1516 Febr. 9	,, ,,
260[a]	XII	28	Regi Hispaniae ,, Junii 19	,, ,,
260[b]	—	—	Dominae Engolismensi ,, Aug. 24	Missing.
261[a]	XIII	32	Galeatio Pallavicino ,, Nov. 29	Subst. ident., form dif.
262[a]	XIII	33	March. Montisferrati ,, Dec. 7	,, ,,
262[a]	XIII	38	Regi Hispan. 1517 Jan. 10	,, ,,
262[b]	XIV	1	Duci Ferrarae ,, ,, 16	,, ,,

* In the printed edition of 1547: Anno tertio.

Codex P. 130. Fol.	Lib.	Epist.	Address and Date in Codex P. 130.		*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
263a	—	—	Imperatori	1517 Jan. 20	Missing.
263b	XIV	17	Odoni Dom. de Lutrech	,, Febr. 6	Subst. ident., form dif.
264a	XIV	18	Regi Hispan.	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
64b	XIV	19	Epo Pacensi	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
265a	XIV	20	Regi Hispan.	,, ,, 27	,, ,,
266a	XIV	22	Regi Franciae	,, Martii 8	,, ,,
266b	—	—	Domino de Lutrech	,, ,, 8	Missing.
267a	—	—	Ducissae Engolismensi	,, ,, 8	,,
268a	XIV	23	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 8	Subst. ident., form dif.
269a	XIV	24	Duci Venet.	,, ,, 10	,, ,,
			(In text, a few corrections in another hand.)		
269b	XIV	25	Card. Senensi	1517 Martii 12	,, ,,
270a	—	—	Prospero Columnae	,, ,, 12	Missing.
271a	—	—	Epo Sibinicensi nuntio in Gallia	1518 [sic] Martii 5	,,
271b	XV	2	Epo Saguntino	1517 Martii 20	Subst. ident., form dif.
272a	XV	7	Regi Hispan.	,, Apr. 1	,, ,,
273a	XV	9	Laur. Med. duci Urbin.	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
273b	XV	10	Regi Franciae	,, ,, 5	,, ,,
274a	XV	13	Ioan. de Berna Helvetio	,, Maii 1	,, ,,
274b	XV	14	Sebast. Ferrerio	,, ,, 1	,, ,,
274b	XV	15	Amet Ben Jaye Ben Semumae in insula Zerbor. dom.	1517 Maii 11	,, ,,
275a	XV	16	Comiti Potentiae	,, ,, 3	,, ,,
275b	XV	18	Ioa. Paulo Balioni	,, ,, 14	,, ,,
276b	—	—	Perusinis	,, ,, 14	Missing.
277b	XV	21	Senensibus	,, ,, 15	Subst. ident., form dif.
278b	XV	20	Ioan. P. Balioni	,, ,, 17	,, ,,
279a	—	—	Gentili Balioni	,, ,, 17	Missing.
280a	—	—	Domino de Cievres	,, ,, 17	,,
280b	XV	22	Ludov. Tudertino	,, ,, 18	Subst. ident., form dif.
281b	XV	23	Regi Franciae	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
282a	XV	24	Comiti Potentiae	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
282b	XV	25	Domino de Sissa	,, ,, 22	,, ,,
283a	—	—	Regi catholico	,, ,, 23	Missing.
284a	—	—	Camillo Triultio	,, ,, 27	,,
284b	—	—	Ugoni de Moncada	,, ,, 31	,,
285a	—	—	Domino de Cievres	1517 Ultima Maii	,,
285b	XV	29	Dom. de Schissae	,, ,, ,,	Subst. ident., form dif.
286a	XV	30	Vitello Tifernati	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,
287a	XV	31	Helvetiis	1517 Junii 1	,, ,,
288a	—	—	Dom. de Lutrech	,, ,, 5	Missing.
288b	XV	33	Epo Curiensi	,, ,, 5	Subst. ident., form dif.
289a	XV	34	Generali Mediol.	,, ,, 6	,, ,,
289b	XV	36	Viceregi Neapol.	,, ,, 19	,, ,,
290a	—	—	Ioanni Iacobi Trultio	,, ,, 21	Missing.
290b	XV	37	Nic. Scombergh ord. praedic.	,, ,, 21	Subst. ident., form dif.
291b	—	—	Regi cathol.	,, ,, 21	Missing.
291b	—	—	Duci Alvae	,, Julii 3	,,
292b	XV	42	Sing. Cant. Helvet.	,, ,, 7	Subst. ident., form dif.
293b	—	—	Epo Curiensi	,, ,, 7	Missing.
293b	—	—	Thomae Domino de Lescu	,, ,, 8	,,

Codex P. 130.			Address and Date in Codex P. 130.	*Cf.* the printed ed.: Petri Bembi epistolae, Basileae, 1539.
Fol.	Lib.	Epist.		
294a	XV	49	Card S. Mariae in Porticu legato 1517 Aug. 8	Subst. ident., form dif.
294b	—	—	Domino de Schissae 1517 ,, 14	Missing.
295a	—	—	Imperatori ,, ,, 20	,,
296a	XVI	1	Regi catholico ,, Sept. 19	Subst. ident., form dif.
296b			Blank.	
297a*	—	—	Regi chi^mo 1521 Apr. 6 (Many corrections in another hand.)	Missing.
297b			Blank. (Here follow 5 fly-leaves in the format of the older MS.)	

When we compare the handwriting of the Ambrosian MS. with Cod. Vatic. 3364, we arrive at the important result that f. 1–10b of the Cod. Vatic. are in exactly the same hand as that of the quinterni marked B in the description of the Milanese MS. In these quinterni we certainly have before us the Register which Latino Giovenale Manetti found in Bembo's possession, and which led him to urge his friend to publish the Leonine letters.

When the plan of publication was settled, Bembo proceeded to prepare a new MS. of the letters now preserved in the Cod. Vatic. 3364. Here, for purposes of style, Bembo introduced the corrections for the printers which have been specified above; in some cases alterations were made after the proof had been handed in,† so that of many letters there are five versions extant: (1) the Register in Cod. Ambros.; (2) the original composition; (3) the first version of the Cod. Vatic.; (4) the second version of the Cod. Vatic.; (5) published version.

If we look again at the concordance given above, we can have no hesitation in saying that in no single instance do the published letters "Leonis X., P.M. nomine scriptae" correspond exactly to the originals; no single piece agrees verbally with the Cod. Ambros.: all are more or less thoroughly revised, but only as regards their style, the substance of the letters having undergone no important alteration. Bembo's Latin letters therefore can

* Pages numbered in pencil.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 488, the notes on letter to the Doge.

never be used, in the published form of the "Epistolae," for the purpose of extracting the exact phraseology of the originals. To do this we must have recourse to the originals themselves, or where they are not to be found, to the Cod. Ambros. On the other hand, the text of the "Epistolae" can be substantially relied upon as a source of historical information, so far as the main contents of the former (the regesta) are concerned. For points of detail the printed editions should not be used; the Cod. Ambros. is the authority in such cases. This can be proved, among other examples, by a comparison of the famous letter to Raphael of the 27th of August 1515 (see *supra*, p. 373), as printed with the version in the Cod. Ambros.

COD. AMBROS., FOL. 149, LIB. X., EPIST. 51.

Raphaello Urbinati.

Cum ad Romanum Principis Apostolorum templum exaedificandum, cui plane operi omnem curam diligentiamque nostram adhibemus, maxime intersit, ut lapidum marmorisque materia, qua abundare nos oportet, domi potius habeatur, quam peregre advehatur: exploratum autem nobis sit magnam eius rei copiam Urbis ruinas suppeditare, effodique passim omnis generis saxa fere ab universis, qui Romae quique etiam prope Romam aedificare aliquid vel omnino terram vertere parumper moliuntur: te, quo architecto eius templi operisque magistro utimur, cuiusque tum virtutem et probitatem, tum vero maxime in nos sedemque hanc apostolicam reverentiam et multum saepenumero et perspeximus et probavimus, marmorum et lapidum omnium omnisque generis qui Romae quique extra Romam denum milium passuum spatio deinceps eruentur, praefectum constituimus, ea de causa, ut quae ad eius templi aedificationem erunt oportuna, ea honesto precio nostro nomine emas. Mandantes omnibus hominibus, mediocribus, summis, infimis, quae deinceps marmora

BEMBI EPIST. LEONIS X., LIB. X., N. 51.

Raphaello Urbinati.

Cum ad principis Apostolorum phanum Romanum exaedificandum maxime intersit, ut lapidum marmorisque copia, qua abundare nos oportet, domi potius habeatur, quam peregre advehatur: exploratum autem mihi sit magnam eius rei facultatem Urbis ruinas suppeditare, effodique passim omnis generis saxa fere ab omnibus, qui Romae quique etiam prope Romam aedificare aliquid vel omnino terram vertere parumper moliuntur: te, quo magistro eius aedificationis utor, marmorum et lapidum omnium, qui Romae quique extra Romam denûm millium passuum spacio posthac eruentur, praefectum facio ea de causa, ut quae ad eius phani aedificationem idonea erunt, mihi emas. Quare mando omnibus hominibus, medioribus, summis, infimis, quae posthac marmora quaeque saxa omnis generis intra eum [sic],* quem dixi, loci spacium eruent effodient, ut te earum rerum praefectum de singulis erutis effossisve quamprimum certiorem faciant.

* In the Basle ed. of 1547: eius.

saxaque omnis generis intra eum [sic], quem diximus, loci spatium effodient, ut te earum rerum praefectum de singulis erutis effossisve quamprimum certiorem faciant; qui id triduo non fecerit, volumus, ut excommunicationis latae sententiae, a qua per neminem nisi per nos absolvi possit, et centum ducatorum auri qui minima, qui vero ad summum, mille, caeterum nostro arbitrio imponenda poena inter haec extrema mulctetur, eumque mulctandum sine alio decreto nostro iam nunc decernimus et declaramus. Praeterea quoniam certiores etiam facti sumus, multum antiqui marmoris et saxi, litteris monumentisque incisi, quae quidem saepe monumenta notam aliquam egregiam prae se ferunt quaeque servari opere precium esset ad cultum litterarum Romanique sermonis elegantiam excolendam, a fabris marmorariis eo pro materia utentibus temere secari, ita, ut inscriptiones aboleantur, mandamus omnibus, qui caedendi marmoris artem Romae exercent, sub eisdem poenis, ut sine tuo iussu et concessione lapidem ullum inscriptum caedere secareve non audeant.

Datum Romae XXVII augusti 1515 Anno III.

Id qui triduo non fecerit, ei a centum usque ad tercentum [sic] numum aureorum, quae tibi videbitur, mulcta esto. Praeterea quoniam certior sum factus multum antiqui marmoris et saxi, literis monumentisque incisi, quae quidem saepe monumenta notam aliquam egregiam prae se ferunt, quaeque servari operae precium esset ad cultum literarum Romanique sermonis elegantiam excolendam, a fabris marmorariis eo pro materia utentibus temere secari, ita, ut inscriptiones aboleantur: mando omnibus, qui caedendi marmoris artem Romae exercent, ut sine tuo iussu aut permissu lapidem ullum inscriptum caedere secareve ne audeant: eadem illi mulcta adhibita, qui secus atque iubeo fecerit.

Dat.* sexto cal. sept. anno tertio. Roma [sic].

* In the Basle ed. of 1547, continuation missing.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. VIII.

AARON, Pietro (musician), 148 n.
Acciaiuoli, Roberto, 108.
„ Zanobi, 214, 265.
Accolti, Bernardo, 149, 195, 217 *seq.*
„ Pietro, Cardinal, 415.
Accursio, Mariangelo, 92 n., 217 n.
Acuña, Antonio de (Bishop of Zamora), 19.
Adorni, Family of the, 42.
Adorno, Girolamo, 35, 36.
Adrian of Utrecht (afterwards Pope Adrian VI.), Cardinal, 257, 275 n., 376, 458.
Ægidius of Viterbo, *see* Canisio.
Aelst, Peter van, 295, 303.
Africanus, Leo, 251 n.
Alamanni, Family of the, 105.
Albertini, Francesco (Canon), 243.
Albizzi, Family of the, 105.
„ Antonio de', 399.
„ Hieron. de' [Albicis], 107 n.
Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal (Archbishop of Mayence), 20, 27 n., 28, 267 n., 458.
Aldus Manutius, 184, 257 *seq.*
Aleander, Hieronymus, 20–25, 26 *seqq.*, 31 n., 32 n., 37–39, 87, 255, 257, 265, 412
Alexander VI., Pope, 68, 103, 122, 129, 459.
Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, 2 *seq.*, 10, 12, 35
Alfonso I.,—*continued.* 41, 44, 51 *seq.*, 66, 75 n., 160 n., 241 n., 466.
„ (Infant of Portugal), Cardinal, 411 n., 436, 458.
Alidosi, Francesco, Cardinal, 165.
Alteriori, Giulio, 131.
Altieri, Marc Antonio, 116 n., 128.
Altoviti, Bindo, 120 *seq.*
Ami, Domenico (sculptor), 352.
Ammonius, Andreas (Nuncio), 254.
d'Amorotto, Domenico, 43 n.
Andrea da Ferrara, 41.
Andreasia, Osanna, 224 n., 446 n.
Angelico da Fiesole, Fra, 79.
Antico, Andrea (musician), 148 n.
Antonino, S. (Archbishop of Florence), 445, 446 n.
Antonio de Beatis, 295 n., 473.
„ da Spello, 68.
Aperbachius, Petrus, 216.
Apostolios, *see* Arsenio.
Apulejus, 119.
Aquila, Juan del, *see* Branconio.
Aragon, Isabella of, 83 n.
„ Julia of, 83 n.
d'Aragona, Luigi, Cardinal, 113 *seq.*, 129, 144 n., 149, 159, 161, 218, 295, 411 n., 473 n.

Arcangelo (Archangiolo) da Siena, 74 n., 274.
Arcimboldi, Angelo, 266.
„ Antonelli, 452 n.
„ Giovanni Maria, 450–452.
Ardinghello, Pietro, 107.
Areniti, Costantino, *see* Comnenus.
Aretino, Cristoforo, 273 *seq.*
„ Pietro, 118, 218, 234 n.
Ariosto, Lodovico, 8, 77, 103, 114, 125, 171 *seq.*, 220, 340.
Armellini, Francesco, Cardinal, 6, 92, 98 *seqq.*, 115, 129, 458.
Arsenio Apostolios, 260.
Arsilli, Francesco, 190, 196, 212 n., 216.
Augurelli, Giovanni Aurelio, 185 n.
d'Avalos, Ferrante (Marquis of Pescara), 45, 52, 55.
Averroës, 389.
Aversa, Mathias, 470.

Baglioni, Gentile, 6, 8.
„ Giampaolo, 5–7, 8 n., 84, 161 n., 174 n., 478, 479.
„ Malatesta, 6.
Bainbridge, Christopher, Cardinal, 439.
Bandinelli, Baccio, 69, 351 *seq.*
Baraballo (of Gaeta), 106, 154 *seq.*
Barile, Giovanni, 318, 353, 364.
Barme, Roger de, 418.
Bartholini, Leonardo di Zanobi, 94 n.
Bartoli, Pietro Santi, 331 n.
Bartolommeo, Fra, 152, 342.
Battiferri, Giannantonio, 130.
Beazzano, Agostino, 192, 218, 266.
Begnius, Simon (Bishop of Modrussa), 385.
Bellanti, Andrea, 95 n.
Belli, Valerio, 356.
Bellini, The (painters), 193.
Bembo, Pietro, 80 n., 105, 113 n., 118, 136, 140, 184, 190 *seqq.*, 193–197, 215, 217, 228 *seqq.*, 233, 242, 259, 276 n., 340, 467, 482 *seqq.*
Benassao, Latino [Beneassai], 104.
Beneti, Cipriano, 399.
Benigno, Cornelio, 118.
Benintendi, Antonio Dolphino, 272 n.
Benizi, *see* Filippo.
Beroaldo, Filippo, 106, 264 *seq.*, 268 *seq.*, 272 n., 274.
Bibbiena, Barthol., 107 n.
„ (Bernardo Dovizi), Cardinal, 6, 10, 12, 14, 77, 87, 89, 91, 104, 107, 110 *seqq.*, 136, 139 *seq.*, 171, 193, 195 *seq.*, 215, 218, 224, 242, 288, 332, 345, 376 n., 430, 457.
„ Nicolaus, 107 n.
„ Pietro, 107.
Bini, The (bankers), 101, 120.
Biondo, Paolo, 470.
Bobadilla, Franc. de, (Bishop of Salamanca), 406.
Boccamazzo, Domenico. 159.
Boissy, Adrien Gouffier de, Cardinal, 10, 429 n., 458.
Boleyn, Anne, 443.
Bolzani, *see* Valeriano.
Bonafede, Niccolò (Bishop of Chiusi), 4, 5.
Bonaventura, Fra, 449.
Boniface IV., Pope, 341.
„ VIII., Pope, 68 n., 134, 424.
Borgati (architect), 354 n., 359 n.

Borgia, Cesare, 4.
,, H., 67 n.
Boscoli, The, 236.
Botticella, Girolamo (jurist), 273 *seq.*
Bourbon, Charles, Duke of, (The Constable), 298.
,, Louis de, Cardinal, 458.
Bramante, Donato, 130 n., 152, 293, 313 n., 317, 358–361, 365 *seq.*, 367 n., 370, 382.
Branconio del Aquila, Giovanni Battistæ, 115, 130, 346, 370, 376 n.
Brandenburg, The Elector of, *see* Joachim I.
Brandino, 122, 152 n.
Brandolini Lippi, Raffaello, 106, 149, 222, 274, 275 n.
Brigotti, Febo, 130.
Brittonio, Girolamo, 153 n.
Brunelleschi, Filippo, 349.
Bruno, Cola, 194.
Budæus, Guilielmus, 229.
Bugiardini, 72 n.
Buglioni, Benedetto de', 353 n.
,, Francesco de' (sculptor), 353.

Cajetan (Thomas de Vio), Cardinal, 252 *seq.*, 390, 458.
Calcagnini, Celio, 247 n., 248.
Calcondila, Basilio, 273 *seq.*
Calixtus III., Pope, 103, 338.
Calliergi, Zaccaria (printer), 262.
Calvo, Mario Fabio, 244, 247, 248 n.
Camelio, *see* Gambello.
Campani, Niccolò [Strascino], 149.
Campeggio, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 13 n., 441, 458.
Canisio, Egidio, Cardinal, 227, 250 *seq.*, 290, 393 *seq.*, 458.
Canossa, Lodovico di (Bishop of Bayeux), 91 n., 433.
Capella, Bernardino (poet), 211.
Capistrano, Giovanni, S., 445.
Capodiferro, Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni de', 212, 239 n.
Capponi, Family of the, 105.
Caracciolo, M., 25 n., 27 *seq.*
Caradosso, Ambrogio, 140, 355, 356.
Carafa, Gian Pietro (Bishop of Chieti, afterwards Pope Paul IV.), 385. *See* Paul IV.
Caravaggio, Polidoro da, 152, 322, 326 n.
Cardona (Viceroy of Naples), 34.
Carlstadt, 453.
Carondolet, Ferry de, 115.
Carpi, Count of, *see* Pio.
Carvajal, Bernardino Lopez de Cardinal, 137.
Casali, Battista (poet), 211, 212 n., 227 *seq.*
Casanova, Marcantonio, 213.
Casio, G. (poet), 217 n.
Castellesi, Adriano, Cardinal, 129 *seqq.*, 441.
Castiglione, Baldassare, 43, 47, 50, 56 *seqq.*, 65, 67, 86 n., 87 n., 113, 139 *seq.*, 148, 176, 190, 195, 231, 242, 245, 249, 318, 322, 340, 364, 371, 475 *seq.*, 479 *seq.*
Catacuzeno, 83.
Catarino, Ambrogio, 24, 252.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 121, 355.
Cenci, Family of the, 131.
Centurione, Paoletto, 448 n.
Cerretani, Bartolomeo, 179 *seq.* 181.
Cesarini, Alessandro, Cardinal 457.
,, Joanzorzo, 477.
Cesi, Family of the, 129
,, Angelo, 478, 479.

Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 450, 457.
Charlemagne, 288, 290 *seq.*
Charles V. (The Emperor), 1, 3, 8 *seq.*, 11–27, 28–38, 41, 44, 46 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 53, 56 *seq.*, 65 n., 85, 108, 111, 138 *seq.*, 405, 409, 481.
„ VIII. (King of France), 239.
„ I. (Duke of Savoy), 410 n.
Chieregati, Francesco, 446 n.
Chièvres, *see* Croy.
Chigi, Agostino, 116 *seqq.*, 195 *seq.*, 332, 343 *seq.*, 355, 361, 470, 478.
„ Sigismondo, 100 n.
Chios, The Bishop of, 423.
Chiusi, The Bishop of, *see* Bonafede.
Christian II. (King of Denmark), 39, 267 n., 451–454.
Christina (Queen of Sweden), 156 n.
Ciarla, Simone, 283, 361.
Cibo, Caterina, 109.
„ Eleonora, 109.
„ Franceschetto, 109.
„ Giovan Battista (Bishop of Marseilles), 109.
„ Innocenzo, Cardinal, 69 n., 88, 98, 109, 113, 114 n., 122, 171, 173, 358, 376 n., 458.
„ Ippolita, 109.
„ Lorenzo, 109.
Cinotto, 153 n.
Ciocchi del Monte, Antonio, (of Sansovino), Cardinal, 271 n.
Ciolek, Erasmus Vitellius (Bishop of Plock), 438.
Clement VII., Pope, 69 n., 127, 131, 178, 209, 244, 252, 303, 332, 352, 376, 439, 449, *see* Medici, Giulio de'.
„ XII., Pope, 374.
Clerk, Dr. J., 47, 67, 442, 444.
Colet, John, 440.
Colocci, Angelo, 185, 189, 260.
Cologne, The Elector of, *see* Wied.
Colonna, Family of the, 480.
„ Pietro [Galatino], 252 n.
„ Pompeo, Cardinal, 241 n., 457.
„ Prospero, 45, 52, 55, 159 n.
„ Vittoria, 45.
Comnenus, Costantino Areneti (Duke of Achaia), 83.
Conti, Francesco, Cardinal, 457.
Cornaro, Marco, Cardinal, 113 *seq.*, 162.
Corsi, Giovanni, 108.
Cortese, G., 386 n.
Corvino, Massimo (Bishop of Isernia), 407, 422.
Croy, Guillaume de (Lord of Chièvres), 28, 29 n.
Croy, Guillaume de, Cardinal, 458.
Cunsel, Joannes, 470.
Cupis, Giandomenico de, Cardinal, 457.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 389.

Dante, 180.
David III. (Emperor of Æthiopia), 403.
Decio Filippo, 273 n.
Denmark, King of, *see* Christian II.

Devonshire, The Duke of, 72.
Diaceto, Francesco, 250 n.
Dolciati, Antonio, 399.
Domenico de Sutri, 355.
Donatello, 288 n.
Dovizi, Bernardo, *see* Bibbiena.
Du Prat, Antoine Bohier, Cardinal, 415, 417, 418, 426, *seqq.*, 458.
Dürer, Albert, 283, 288, 324.

ECKEN, Johann von der, 32.
Edme, Dom (Abbot), 135 n., 137 n.
Eliesen, Paul, 451.
Emmanuel the Great (King of Portugal), 39 n., 48, 154, 166, 187, 212, 228 n., 368 n., 435 *seq.*, 443 n.
Encina, Juan de la (musician), 148 n.
Enckenvoirt, Wilhelm von, 411 n.
Equicola, Mario, 224.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 140, 186, 189, 224, 229, 232 *seq.*, 253–256, 257.
Ercolano, Matteo, 227, 274 n.
d'Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, 113 *seq.*
„ Isabella (wife of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua), 169 n., 171, 173 n., 218, 318, 437, 473, 476, 478.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 272.

FABBRI, Antonio de' (of San Marino) 355.
Fabriano, The Lord of, 5.
Farnese, Alessandro (afterwards Pope Paul III.), Cardinal, 117 n., 157 *seq.*, 160 n., 163, 465, *see* Paul III.
Favorino, Varino, 262 *seq.*
Ferdinand the Catholic (King of Aragon), 447.
Ferreri, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 458.
„ Giambattista, 274.
„ Zaccaria, 106, 208–211, 448.
Festa, Costanzo (musician), 147 n.
Fiandino, Ambrogio (O.S.A.), 251 *seq.*
Filippo Benizi, S., 445.
Filonardi, Ennio, 50 *seq.*, 52.
Fisher, John, Bl. (Bishop of Rochester), 442.
Flaminio, Marc Antonio, 190, 191 n.
Foix, Odet de, *see* Lautrec.
„ Thomas de, *see* Lescun.
Fracastoro, Girolamo, 204 *seq.*
Francesco da Ferrara, 160 n., 475.
„ de Paula, S., 446.
„ de Potentia (Bishop of Skara), 454.
Francia, Francesco (painter) 116.
Franciabigio, Marcantonio (painter), 343.
Francis I. (King of France), 1, 3, 8–16, 17, 19, 35, 39, 41, 44, 46, 49, 56, 69, 85, 111, 139, 219, 260, 288, 290 *seq.*, 342, 375, 414–422, 425–429, 434, 470.
Frederick of Aragon (King of Sicily), 83 n.
„ the Wise (Elector of Saxony), 18, 20, 38, 453, 479.
Froben (printer), 256.
Fugger, Family of the, 120, 331 n., 356 n.
Fulvio, Andrea, 184 n., 243 *seqq.*, 247, 248 n.

Gabbioneta, Alessandro, 77 n., 470.
Gaddi, Family of the, 101, 105.
„ (the banker) 120.
„ Niccolò, Cardinal, 69 n.
Gaetani, Family of the, 101.
„ Camillo, 101 n.
Gallo, Egidio (poet), 211.
Gambara, Giacomo da', 53, 480.
Gambello, Vittore [Camelio], 356.
Garcia, Alphonso (Abbat), 266 n.
Gattinara, Mercurino di, 29 n.
Gazoldo, Giovanni, 153 n., 156, 272 n., 275 n.
Genet, Eleazar (musician), 147 n.
George (Duke of Saxony), 27 n., 384.
Gerardini, Alessandro (Bishop of S. Domingo), 402.
Germanello, Angelo, 6–9 n., 88 n., 170 n., 476, 478.
Gerona, Saturno, 216 n.
Gheri [Gherio, Ghersio], Goro (Bishop of Pistoia), 108.
Gheri, Lorenzo, 116.
Ghinucci, Girolamo (Bishop of Ascoli), 423.
Ghisi, Aug., *see* Chigi.
Giacomo di Bartolomeo da Brescia, 75 n., 106 n., 130.
Giammaria [Medici] (a Jewish musician), 146.
Giberti, Gian Matteo (Bishop of Verona), 32 n., 59, 115 *seq.*, 142, 199, 228.
Gigli, Silvestro (Bishop of Worcester), 13 n., 439.
Giocondo da Verona, Fra, 140, 243, 245, 360, 361 n., 362, 364, 366.
Giorgi, Marino, 75 *seq.*, 95, 99, 102.
Giovanni da Udine, 119, 137 n., 282, 321 *seqq.*, 325–328, 345, 372.
Giovanni da Verona, Fra, 354.
Giovio [Jovius] Paolo, 67, 71, 76, 81 n., 90, 118, 128, 140 *seq.*, 150, 155 *seq.*, 161, 190, 223, 227, 238–241, 274, 276, 343, 460.
Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio, 190.
Gisors, The Lord of, 34.
Giulio Romano, 115, 119. 131, 282, 287, 294, 321, 337, 345, 372.
Giunta (printer), 259 n.
Giustiniani, Lorenzo, St., 445.
Glapion, 22, 32.
Gnesen, Archbishop of, *see* Laski.
Goethe, 298, 315 n.
Gonzaga, Federigo (Marquis of Mantua), 4, 45, 297, 475 *seq.*, 478 *seq.*
„ Francesco (Marquis of Mantua), 45 n., 54 n., 55, 160 n., 470, 479 *seq.*
„ Isabella, *see* Este, Isabella.
„ Sigismondo, Cardinal, 113, 114 n.
Goritz, Johann, 115 *seq.*, 189, 216.
Gradenigo, Luigi, 35 n., 44, 64 n., 71 n., 87 n., 97, 102.
Grana, Lorenzo (poet), 211, 212 n., 227.
Grassis, Paris de, 61, 64 n., 75, 78, 162, 223 n., 224, 296, 359, 367, 391, 422, 425.
Gratia de Francia, Fra, 457 n.
Gregory XVI., Pope, 299.
Greiffenclau, Richard von (Elector of Treves), 20.
Grimani, Domenico (Patriarch of Aquileia), Cardinal, 405, 408.
Guicciardini, Francesco, 43, 45, 54, 65 n., 67, 76, 81 n., 107, 179, 236, 369 n., 460.

HENRY VIII. (King of England), 40, 48 n., 254, 439–444.
Heitmers, Johann, 266 *seqq.*, 471.
Herculanus, Matth., 81 n., 150 n.
Hochstraten, Jakob, 270.
Humelberg, Michael, 216.
Hutten, Ulrich von, 20, 177, 216, 270 n.

IMOLA, Bishop of, *see* Scriboni.
Imperia, 122.
Inghirami, Tommaso, 140, 169, 227, 263 *seq.*, 274, 385.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 165, 434, 456.
Isaac (Hebreus de Phano), 75 n.
Isernia, Bishop of, *see* Corvino.

JACOBAZZI, Domenico, Cardinal, 423, 457.
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 27 n., 28, 29 n.
Jovius, *see* Giovio.
Julius II., Pope, 2, 84, 90 *seq.*, 96, 99, 102, 116, 122, 165, 170, 183, 185 *seq.*, 191 199, 208, 212, 221, 224, 234, 252, 264 *seq.*, 276, 277 n., 282 *seq.*, 285, 296, 319, 330, 342, 348, *seqq.*, 355 *seq.*, 369, 374–378, 380 *seqq.*, 384, 424, 431, 447, 456.
„ III., Pope, 298.

KRAIN, The Bishop of, 409.

LAMPRIDIO, Benedetto, 213 n., 260.
Lancelloti, Scipione (poet), 211, 274.
Lapi, Basilio, 399.
Lascaris, Giano, 140, 184, 256 *seqq.*
Laski, Joannes de (Archbishop of Gnesen), 403, 437 *seq.*
Lattes, Bonet de, 75 n.
Lautrec, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de, 35, 42 n., 52 n., 54 *seq.*
Lelio, Antonio (poet), 211, 212 n., 234 n.
Lenno, Giuliano, 367 n.
Leo III., Pope, 285, 288 *seq.*, 291.
„ IV., Pope, 285, 287, 289.
„ X., Pope, 1–6, 9–16, 17–37, 39, 41, 43–53, 56–92, 95–118, 122, 126, 128 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*, 134, 136–140, 142–145, 147–167, 169–181, 185–189, 191–198, 200 *seq.*, 203–205, 207 *seqq.*, 212 *seqq.*, 218–225, 227, 230–248, 250–281, 283, 285–287, 289–297, 299, 303 *seq.*, 316–320, 325, 328–332, 338 *seq.*, 341 *seqq.*, 345 *seq.*, 348 *seq.*, 351–360, 362, 365 *seqq.*, 373–388, 390 *seq.*, 394–399, 401 *seqq.*, 405, 408 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*, 414–428, 430 *seqq.*, 434–450, 454–461, 465–471, 473, 475, 480, 482 *seqq.*
„ XIII., Pope, 299 n.
Leo Africanus, *see* Africanus.
Le Roy, Thomas [Regis], 115.
Lescun, Thomas de Foix, Vicomte de, 42, 46, 481.
Leto, Pomponio, 212.
Lippi, Raffaello Brandolini, *see* Brandolini.
Lombardi, Alfonso, 69 n., 73 n.

Lombardo, Girolamo, 352.
Longueil [Longolius], Christ., 228–233.
Lorenzetto, 340, 352.
Lorraine, Jean de, Cardinal, 458, 474.
Louis XI. (King of France), 295, 424.
Louisa of Savoy, 417.
Luther, Martin, 1, 18, 21–30, 31 n, 37–40, 88, 174, 177–181, 201, 230, 233 *seq.*, 252, 256, 413, 441 *seq.*, 450, 453, 479.

MACHIAVELLI, 236 *seqq.*
Maddaleni de' Capodiferro, *see* Capodiferro.
Malaspina, Bernabò, 66.
„ Ricciarda, 109.
Maleguccio, Annibale, 103.
Mammacino, Romolo, 265, 443 n.
Manetti, Latino Giovenale, 194, 242, 509.
Mantegna, Andrea, 193.
Mantovano, Battista Spagnolo, 123 n., 204–207.
Mantua, Marquis of, *see* Gonzaga.
Manuel, Juan, 8 *seq.*, 13 n., 15, 17–19, 21, 24, 25 n., 26 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, 33–35, 67 n., 479.
Manutius, *see* Aldus.
Marcello, Cristoforo (Archbishop of Corfu), 252, 271 n., 446 n.
Marchese, Cassandra, 203.
Marck, Robert de la, 41.
Mariano, Fra, 64 n., 122, 151 *seq.*, 171, 342.
Mario da Volterra (Bishop of Aquino), 197 n.
Mark, Eberhard de la, Cardinal (Bishop of Liège), 11 *seqq.*, 19, 47, 458.
Marone, Andrea, 149 *seq.*
Martin V., Pope, 332.
Martinelli, Biagio di Barone, 98 n.
Masaccio (painter), 313.
Matthias (Bishop of Strengnäs), 453.
Maximilian I. (The Emperor), 20, 65 n., 215 n., 219.
Mayence, The Elector of, *see* Albert.
Mazocchi, Jacopo (printer), 242 *seq.*
Mazzolini, Silvestro, *see* Prierias.
Medici, Family of the, 36, 67, 68, 116, 156, 178, 236, 253.
„ Alessandro de', 243.
„ Caterina de', 10, 108.
„ Contessina de', 109, 110.
„ Giovanni de', 4, 45, 84.
„ Giuliano de', 76, 80 n., 84, 91, 108, 167 *seq.*, 225, 237, 341 *seq.*, 376.
„ Giulio de' (afterwards Pope Clement VII.), Cardinal, 9, 11, 14, 21 *seq.*, 25 *seq.*, 28, 32 n., 35, 37, 45, 52 *seq.*, 55, 57–59, 61 *seqq.*, 65 n., 66, 74, 81 n., 87 *seq.*, 107, 111, 127 n., 136, 142, 195, 215, 218, 233, 237 *seq.*, 250 n., 257, 265, 288, 335, 338, 344, 349 *seqq.*, 370, 372, 376, 411, 412 n., 418, 425, 450, 457, 476, 479, 480, *see* Clement VII.
„ Ippolito de', 69 n., 243.

Medici, Lorenzo de' [The Magnificent], 84, 110, 183 *seq.*, 259, 349, 376.
„ Lorenzo de' (Duke of Urbino), 3, 80 n., 98, 108, 116, 167 *seq.*, 237, 333, 376, 473.
„ Lucrezia de' (wife of Jacopo Salviati), 63, 64 n., 69 n., 109.
„ Maddalena de' (wife of Franceschetto Cibo), 109, 369.
„ Piero de', 84.
„ Raffaello de', 15, 27, 30, 32 *seq.*, 35, 108, 450.
Mellini, Family of the, 212.
„ Celso, 212, 225 n., 229, 231 *seq.*
Memlinc, Hans, 192.
Michael Angelo, 69 n., 73 n., 121, 136, 139 *seq.*, 298, 313 n., 315 *seq.*, 324, 340, 342–347, 348–352, 359 n., 379, 381.
Michelozzi, Family of the, 105.
Michiel, Marcantonio, 249, 296, 319, 322, 341.
Middelburg, Paul von, 398.
Minio, Marco (Venetian envoy), 76, 87 n., 89 n., 103, 405 *seq.*
Mirandola, *see* Pico.
Modesto, Francesco, 189 n.
Molza, Francesco Maria, 213 n., 217.
Monte, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
Montefeltro, Guidobaldo da, 173 n.
Montelupo, Raffaello da, 70, 116 n., 352.
Montesdoch, Juan, 250 n., 466.
Morea, Despot of the, 168.
Morette, 15.
Morone, Girolamo, 42, 470.
Morosina, 192 n.
Mosca, Simone, 352.
"Musicians," 145 n. *seqq.*
Musurus, Marcus, 258–261, 262 n.
Muzzarelli, Giovanni, 213.

NAHARRO, Bartolome de Torres, 215 n.
Namatianus, Rutilius, 270.
Naples, The Viceroy of, *see* Cardona.
Nardini, Michele, 355.
Navagero, B., 192, 223 n., 233.
Neroni, Alessandro, 105.
Nicolas V., Pope, 134, 184, 211, 266, 268, 367 n., 376.
Nicolo di Padua, Fra, 82 n.
Nifo, Agostino, 250, 273 *seq.*
Nobili, Guglielmo de', 217 n.
Novellus, Fr., 124 n., 126 n.
Numai, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 458.

ODET de Foix, *see* Lautrec.
Oliverotto, *see* Uffreducci.
Oricellario, Simon, 466.
Orléans, Jean d', Cardinal (Archbishop of Toulouse), 11 *seq.*, 14, 457 n.
Orley, Bernhard van, 295.
Orsini, Family of the, 158, 478, 480.
„ Alfonsina, 108, 174.
„ Camillo, 6, 8 n., 174 n
„ Franciotto, Cardinal, 115, 159, 457.
„ Roberto Latino (Archbishop of Reggio), 108, 478.
Ottaviani, 321 n.

PACIOLO, Luca, 274.
Pagnini da Lucca Sante, 252 n.

Palladio, Blosio, 190, 212 n., 225 n., 227.
Pallavicini, Giambattista, Cardinal, 458.
„ Sforza, Cardinal, 461.
Palonio, Marcello, 211, 212 n.
Pandolfini, Francesco, 108, 376 n.
„ Giannozzo, 73 n., 115 *seq.*
„ Niccolò, Cardinal, 115, 457.
Panvinio, Onofrio, 365.
Paolucci, Alfonso, 7 n., 9 n., 156 n., 171.
Parisi, Pier Paolo, 274.
Parisio, Giampaolo [Aulus Janus Parrhasius], 273, 274.
Parmenio, Lorenzo, 265, 443 n.
Passerini, Family of the, 105.
„ Giulio, 104.
„ Silvio, Cardinal, 8, 115, 457.
Patras, The Archbishop of, 396.
Paul III., Pope, 69, 194, 449, 483, 485, *see* Farnese.
„ IV., Pope, 469, *see* Carafa.
Pazzi, Pietro de', 104, 220.
Pellegrino da Modena, 322, 326 n.
„ Fabrizio, 8 n., 22 n., 446 n., 479.
Penni, Giovanni Francesco, 119, 282, 287, 289, 300, 301 n., 302, 321 *seq.*, 345.
Perugino, Pietro, 285, 347.
Perusco, Mario de, 385.
Peruzzi, Baldassare, 75 n., 118 *seq.*, 140, 152, 168, 171, 367, 379.
Pesaro, Pietro, 135 n., 137 n., 138.
Pescara, Marchese de, *see* Avalos.
Petrucci, Alfonso, Cardinal, 5, 84, 97, 113 *seq.*, 173.
Petrucci, Raffaello (Bishop of Grosseto), Cardinal, 457.
Piccolomini, Giovanni, Cardinal, 457.
Pico della Mirandola, Gianfrancesco, 199, 250, 406 *seq.*
Pico della Mirandola, Pandolfo, 102 n., 174 n., 331 n., 340.
Pier Maria da Pescia [Tagliacarne], 356.
Pighinucci, Tommaso, 229 n.
Pimpinelli, Vincenzo (poet), 211, 212 n., 227.
Pindar, 118.
Pio, Alberto (Count of Carpi), 34, 138, 140, 199, 253.
Piombino, 344.
Piombo, Sebastiano del, 72, 115 n., 119, 140, 193, 343–347, 351.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 458.
Piso, Jacopo, 448.
Pistofilo, 41 n.
Pius II., Pope, 103, 105, 397, 423, 431.
„ V., St., Pope, 432.
„ VII., Pope, 299.
„ IX., Pope, 299 n.
„ X., Pope, 381 n.
Plock, Bishop of, *see* Ciolek.
Pocalera, Ant. de, 124 n.
Poggio, Giovanni Francesco, 106, 153 n., 271 n.
Pomponazzi, Pietro, 238, 249 *seq.*, 292 n., 389.
Pontormo, Jacopo da, 343.
Ponzetti, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 63, 91, 104, 115, 457.
Porcari, Camillo (poet), 211.
Portugal, The King of, *see* Emmanuel.
Porzio, Camillo (Bishop of Teramo), 227 *seq.*, 272 n., 274.
Postumo, *see* Silvestri.

Prato, Giovanni Andrea, 179 *seq.*
Prierias (Silvestro Mazzolini), 252.
Pucci, Antonio (Bishop of Pistoia), 50, 108, 391.
„ Lorenzo, Cardinal, 63, 69 n., 90, 92, 96, 100 *seq.*, 104, 113, 376 n., 415, 457.

QUERNO, Camillo, 153 *seq.*, 156, 275 n.
Quirini, Fr., 457 n.

RAGGIO, 399.
Rallo, Manilio, 261, 262 n.
Rangoni, Ercole, Cardinal, 101, 106, 115, 172, 190 n., 458.
Raphael, 70, 72 *seq.*, 75 n., 91 n., 100, 112, 115, 119–121, 130, 136, 139 *seq.*, 148, 150, 165 n., 172, 192, 195 *seq.*, 215, 244–249, 264, 279, 281–289, 293 *seqq.*, 297–303, 306 n., 308, 310, 312–319, 321–325, 329, 332–345, 347, 353, 355, 360–367, 370 *seq.*, 373, 378 n., 379–383, 479.
Recanati, The Lord of, 5.
Reinhard, Martin, 453.
Reuchlin, Johann, 75 n., 256.
Rhadino, Tommaso (O. P.), 252.
Riario, Girolamo, 165.
„ Raffaello, Cardinal, 98 n., 186, 386.
Ricasoli, Family of the, 101, 105.
Ridolfi, Luigi, 63, 110 n.
„ Niccolò, Cardinal, 69 n., 101, 110, 115, 122, 457.
„ Piero, 110.
Robbia, della, Family of the, 317.
„ Andrea della, 357 n.
Röist, Kaspar, 62 n., 65 n., 67 n.
Romano, Giulio, *see* Giulio Romano.
Rosis, Francesco de, 195 n., 266.
Rossi, Luigi de', Cardinal, 74, 110, 115, 122, 457, 475 *seq.*
Rovere, Domenico della, 129.
„ Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 7 n., 44, 57, 66, 84.
„ Sisto Gara della, Cardinal, 222 n.
Rucellai, Giovanni, 11, 14, 219 *seq.*

SABEO, Fausto, 266.
Sabino, Pietro, 243.
Sadoleto, Giulio, 113.
„ Jacopo, Cardinal, 22, 106, 140, 184, 191, 195 n., 197 *seqq.*, 205, 223 n., 227–230, 233, 242, 259, 267 n., 270 n., 276 n.
Saffa, Stefano [l'Eremita], 8 n.
Saint-Marceau, 3, 15 *seq.*
Salamanca, Bishop of, *see* Bobadilla.
Sallajo, Leonardo, 344.
Salomoni, Mario, 180, 263 n., 274.
Salviati, Giovanni, Cardinal, 69 n., 101, 109, 115, 122, 172, 457, 476.
„ Jacapo, 63, 109.
„ Lucrezia, *see* Medici, Lucrezia.
Sanga, Giovanni Battista (poet), 113, 211, 242.
Sangallo, Antonio di, 69, 140, 357, 358, 365 *seq.*, 379.
„ Francesco di, 115 n., 352, 357.

Sangallo, Giuliano di, 100, 127, 140, 359, 360, 361 n., 363, 365 *seq.*, 470.
Sannazaro, Jacopo, 202–204, 279.
Sanseverino, Antonio, Cardinal, 457 n.
„ Federigo de, Cardinal, 159.
„ Roberto di (Count of Cajazzo), 109.
Sansovino, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
„ Andrea, 140, 189, 351 *seq.*
„ Jacopo, 131, 140, 379.
Santi di Cola Sabba, 355.
Sanuto, Marino, 101, 238 *seq.*
Sarpi, Paolo, 369 n.
Sarto, Andrea del, 72 n., 343.
Sauli, Bandinello, Cardinal, 113 *seq.*
Savonarola, 179, 449.
Savoy, Duke of, *see* Charles.
Saxo, Janus Hadelius, 216.
Saxony, The Elector of, *see* Frederick (The Wise).
Schinner, Matthæus, Cardinal, 50, 52 *seq.*, 55.
Schönberg, Giberti von, 88.
„ Nicolas von (Archbishop of Capua), 23, 53, 88, 448.
Scriboni, Dom. (Bishop of Imola), 406.
Sebastiano del Piombo, *see* Piombo.
Seitz, Ludwig, 326 n.
Selim I., The Sultan, 10.
Serapica, Giovanni Lazzaro, 92 *seq.*, 106, 185.
Seripando, Cardinal, 461.
Serlio, Sebastiano, 365 *seq.*
Severiano, Ettore, 5.
Severino (the physician), 66.
„ Girolamo, 102 n.
Sforza, Ascanio Maria, Cardinal, 159.
„ Maximilian (Duke of Milan), 36, 42, 55.
Sigismund (King of Poland), 39, 438.
Signorelli, Luca, 343.
Silvanus (Germanicus), Caius, 216, 248 n.
Silvestri, Guido Postumo, 161 n., 162, 214.
Simone, Giulio, 275 n.
Simon Peter (Maronite Patriarch), 402 *seq.*
Sixtus IV., Pope, 61, 96, 103, 127, 165, 271, 431, 434.
„ V., Pope, 85 n.
Slageck, Dietrich, 452, 454.
Soddoma, 118, 140, 343.
Soderini, Francesco, Cardinal, 113 *seq.*, 130.
Sophianos, Nic., 261 n.
Spagnolo, *see* Mantovano.
Spannochi, The (bankers), 120.
Spinola, Lanfranco, 172.
Stadion, Christoph von (Bishop of Augsburg), 412.
Staffileo, Giovanni, 11.
Stobeo, Giovanni, 262.
Strascino, *see* Campani.
Strozzi, Family of the, 101, 120.
„ Filippo, 104, 108, 121.
„ Lorenzo, 121 *seq.*
Sture, Sten, 451 *seq.*
Sustenius (humanist), 216.

TAGLIACARNE, *see* Pier Maria da Pescia.
Tarasconio, Evangelista, 155 n.
Tasso, Torquato, 202 n.
Tebaldeo, Antonio, 149, 185, 195, 213 n., 215, 340.
Teodoro of Scutari, 449.
Teutleben, Valentin von, 102 n.
Thomas de Vio, *see* Cajetan.

Thüngen, Conrad III. von (Bishop of Würzburg), 412.
Tizio, Sigismondo, 102 n., 180 *seq.*
Tocco di Arta, 83.
Tolmezzo, Franc., 133 n., 135 n., 137 n.
Tolosani, Giovanni Maria, 399.
Tornabuoni, Family of the, 105.
„ Julianus de', 107 n.
„ Simon de', 107 n.
Tortona, Bishop of, *see* Zazi.
Trani, The Archbishop of, 387 n.
Trémouille, Louis de la, 428.
Treves, The Elector of, *see* Greiffenclau.
Trevigi, Sebastiano da, 124.
Tribolo, il [Niccolò Pericoli], 352.
Trissino, Giangiorgio (poet), 218 *seq.*, 242.
Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 458.
„ Scaramuccia, Cardinal, 61, 458.
Trolle, Gustav (Archbishop of Upsala), 451 *seq.*
Turini da Pescia, Baldassare, 101, 104, 106, 115 *seq.*, 153, 376 n.

Uffreducci, Lodovico, 4, 5.
„ Oliverotto, 4.
Urban II., Pope, 332.
Urrea, Pedro, 9 n.

Vaga, Perino del, 322, 326 n., 331 *seq.*, 345.
Valdo, Agosto, 273 n.
Valeriano, Pierio [Giampietro Bolzani], 191, 224, 243.
Vallati, Lorenzo (poet), 168, 211.
Valle, Andrea della, Cardinal, 457.
Varano, Giovanni Maria da, 58, 109.
Vasari, Giorgio, 73 n., 282, 297, 300, 321 *seq.*, 326, 342, 366.
Velius, Caspar Ursinus, 216.
Veralli, G. B., 225 n.
Vespucci, Giovanni, 108.
Vettori, Francesco, 67, 99, 108, 178, 460.
Vicenzio da San Gimignano, 322, 326 n.
Vich, Raymond de, Cardinal, 458.
Vida, Marco Girolamo, 190, 199–203, 279.
Vincent (Bishop of Skara), 453.
Vinci, Leonardo da, 116, 337, 341 *seq.*, 358 n., 380 n.
Vincidor, Tommaso, 303, 322.
Vio, Thomas de, *see* Cajetan.
Vitale, Jano (poet), 214.
Vitellius, *see* Ciolek.
Vitruvius, 244, 249, 364.
Volpato, Giovanni, 321 n.

Watt, M. v., 127 n.
Welser, The (bankers), 120.
Wied, Hermann von (Elector of Cologne), 20.
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 13 n., 47, 49 n., 56, 65 n., 439–442, 444, 458.

Ximenes, Cardinal, 266, 368, 412.

Zazi, Joan. Domin. (Bishop of Tortona), 423, 425.
Ziegler, Jakob, 398 n.
Zucchero, Taddeo, 332.
Zurlo, G., 320 n.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

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CONTENTS OF VOL. IX.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xxix

ADRIAN VI., 1522–1523; CLEMENT VII., 1523–1527.

Situation in Rome at the death of Leo X. Election of Adrian VI.	1–33
Early career of Adrian VI. His character and habits. Journey to Rome. Neutral attitude towards the Powers. Projects of Peace and Reform	34–83
Adrian VI. as a Reformer and Ecclesiastical Ruler	84–126
The Mission of Francesco Chieregati to the Diet of Nuremberg. Adrian's attitude towards the German Schism	127–153
Adrian's efforts to restore Peace and promote the Crusade. The fall of Rhodes and the support of Hungary	154–183
The Intrigues of Cardinal Soderini and the rupture with France. Adrian VI. joins the Imperial League. His Death	184–230
Clement VII. His Election, Character, and the beginning of his Reign. His ineffectual efforts for Peace, and his Alliance with Francis I. of France	231–271
Results of the battle of Pavia. Quarrels between the Pope and the Emperor. Formation of a Coalition against Charles V. (League of Cognac, May 22nd, 1526)	272–305

[1] For Bibliography see Volume VII.

A.D. PAGE

Clement VII. and Italy at war with Charles V. The Raid of the Colonna 306–348

The Anti-Papal Policy of the Emperor. Advance of the Imperial army on Rome . . . 349–387

The Sack of Rome. Captivity of the Pope . . 388–423

The Anarchic condition of the Papal States. The efforts of Henry VIII. and Francis I. to deliver the Pope. The attitude of Charles V. The flight of Clement VII. to Orvieto . . . 424–467

Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 469–509

Index of Names 511

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX.[1]

CHAPTER I.

SITUATION IN ROME AT THE DEATH OF LEO X.—ELECTION OF ADRIAN VI.

A.D.		PAGE
1521	Death of Leo X. alters the political situation in Italy; results in a complete reaction	1
	Italian princes rejoice; critical situation in Rome	2
	Difficulties of the Sacred College from want of money	3
	Its moral condition and party divisions; observations of the ambassador Manuel	4
	The party of Medici opposed by Colonna and Soderini	5
	Ambition of Wolsey	6
	Manuel proposes Cardinal Adrian; Roman opinion in favour of Medici	8
	Lampoons and pasquinades	9
	Importance of the election to Francis I.	11
	Opening of the Conclave on the 27th of December	12
	Close watch kept over it	13
	Large number of aspirants to the Papacy; opinion of Castiglione	14
	The Conclave begins in utter confusion	15
	The French party and the Imperialists	17
	Cardinal Grimani quits the Conclave	18
1522	Scrutinies of January the 1st to the 4th are fruitless	19
	Chances of Farnese	19
	Medici's candidature hopeless	19
	He renews his efforts for Farnese	20
	The final crisis; speeches of Medici	22
	And of Cajetan, which secure the election of the Cardinal of Tortosa	23

[1] Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE
1522 Amazement at this result; "all lament" . . 25
Opinions of Gradenigo and Cardinal Gonzaga . . 26
The Cardinals meet with contempt and mockery from the Romans 27
Legates appointed to approach Adrian and submit stipulations 28
Anxiety in Rome—the Imperialists rejoice . . 30
Information concerning the exemplary life of the new Pope 30
Charles V. receives news of the election; his remark 31
Feelings of Francis I.—his jests 32
Variety of expectations attached to the new Pope 33

CHAPTER II.

EARLY CAREER OF ADRIAN VI.—HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS.—JOURNEY TO ROME.—NEUTRAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POWERS.—PROJECTS OF PEACE AND REFORM.

1459 Humble origin of Adrian VI.; his family . . . 34
Carefully trained by his mother 35
Educated at Zwolle, Deventer, and Louvain . . 36
1491 Becomes professor and Doctor of Theology . . 36
Promoted to benefices—munificent in his alms . . 37
Eminent scholars attend his lectures at Louvain . 37
1501 Where he is chosen Chancellor and Rector . . 38
The repute of his unspotted life extends; is chosen
1507 tutor for Charles, the future Emperor, and made
1515 a member of the Duchess Margaret's Council . 39
1515 Is sent on a mission to Spain 39
1516 And with Ximenes administers the affairs of that kingdom 39
Made Bishop of Tortosa, and resigns most of his benefices 40
The strictness of his life; associates in Spain . . 41
1517 On the death of Ximenes carries on the government . 42
1518 Appointed Inquisitor-General of Castille and Leon . 42
His inflexibility in matters of faith; his kindness of heart and unspotted integrity . . . 43
1522 Announcement of his election to the Papacy . . 44
His reception of the news 45
Letters to Henry VIII., the Emperor, and the College of Cardinals 46
And to Oem van Wyngarden 47

A D. PAGE

1522 On the 16th of February registers his consent to the election 48
And on the 8th of March makes a solemn declaration 49
Confusion and difficulties in Italy and the States of the Church 50
Discord between the Cardinals; reports about Adrian 51
The Curia await him with fear and trembling . . 53
The Cardinals urge his speedy coming to Rome . 53
Obstacles in the way of Adrian's departure from Spain 54
On the 12th of March starts on his journey; many Spanish bishops and nobles pay him homage . 55
His attitude towards the Emperor 56
And insistence on the necessity of the peace of Christendom 56
Communications with Francis I., who invites the Pope to travel through France to Rome . . . 57
Attitude of Francis I. owing to his failures in Upper Italy 57
Adrian forbids the Cardinals to alienate vacant offices, and sets to work on reform 58
Regulations about petitions 59
Hindrances to the Pope's journey; he writes to the Cardinals on the 26th of June 59
And on the 8th of July embarks 60
Adrian's excuses for evading a personal interview with the Emperor, to whom he writes . . . 61
Incidents of the journey to Italy 62
Five Cardinals meet the Pope at Leghorn; they are rebuked by him 63
The landing at Ostia on the 27th of August. Rapid progress of the Pope 64
Impression made by Adrian on all who see him . 65
The plague in Rome, and state of the city . . 65
The Pope receives the Sacred College. Address of Cardinal Carvajal, and reply of Adrian . . 66
Attention aroused by his strength of character . . 68
Prevents all extravagant display. The coronation on the 31st of August. First edicts . . . 69
Courtiers of the last pontificate murmur. Small retinue of the new Pope 70
The simplicity of his manner of living . . . 71
Antagonism of nationality between Adrian and the Italians 72
His insensibility to the beauties of antiquity . . 73
Italian art unpalatable to him . . . 74

A.D. PAGE

1522 His interest in St. Peter's. Restores the tapestries of Raphael to the Sixtine Chapel 75
Adrian's dislike of the poets and humanists; but exercises too little discrimination. Sadoleto . 76
Loud laments over the transformation of the Vatican . 77
Adrian's foreign surroundings; his three principal advisers 79
His confidential friends; Enkevoirt 80
Johann Winkler and Dirk van Heeze . . . 81
The Spaniard Ortiz, and several Italians . . . 82
All meet with dislike and distrust from the courtiers . 82
Satirical verses by Berni. Repugnance to Adrian's plans for reform of the Curia 83

CHAPTER III.

ADRIAN VI. AS A REFORMER AND ECCLESIASTICAL RULER.

1522 High hopes set upon Adrian as a reformer. Memorials and offers of advice. The "Apocalypsis" of Cornelius Aurelius 84
Document issued in October by Vives . . . 85
Advice of Cardinals Schinner and Campeggio; report of the former and his suggestions . . . 86
Programme for reform of the Curia. "Promemoria" of Campeggio 87
The outspoken candour of this document . . . 88
Reforms recommended in it 89
Zaccaria da Rovigo inveighs against abuses in ecclesiastical appointments 90
Adrian's determination to remove scandals . . 91
He speaks out his mind in his first Consistory, on the 1st of September 92
His severe rebukes, especially to the Rota. Cardinals obliged to leave the Vatican 93
Consternation in Rome; "everyone trembles" . . 94
Enactments about benefices, and about morals . . 95
Suppression of useless offices. "Videbimus" . . 96
Complaints in Rome. A few do justice to the Pope . 97
Financial difficulties. Debts of Leo X. . . . 98
Adrian censured for sternness towards his family . 99
Not deterred by the general dissatisfaction. The plague breaks out afresh in September . . . 100
Adrian urged to leave Rome, but refuses 101

A.D. PAGE

1522 Redoubles his activity, but, as the plague still rages, permits the Cardinals to quit the city . . . 102
Cardinal Schinner dies on the 1st of October. At last the Pope retires to the Belvedere . . . 103
And holds audiences from a window. Almost all the Italian officials take to flight 104
Castiglione on the fearful state of Rome 104
In December the plague abates. The Pope orders the Cardinals to return 105
On the 9th of December recalls indults granted to the secular power 106
1523 On the 5th of January reopens the Segnatura . . 106
Further reduction in number of officials. The Congregation of six Cardinals 107
Sharp contrast with the Leonine period. Johann Eck arrives in Rome (March) 108
His thorough review of the situation in Germany . 109
Implores the Pope to take decisive measures for the removal of abuses; his proposals for reform of the German clergy 110
And other recommendations. Attitude of Adrian to Eck's programme 111
Financial distress prevents reform of the Dataria. The Turkish peril also an obstacle . . . 112
The Pope accused of greed and avarice; attempt to stab him; but he refuses to relent, and treats all in the same way 113
Ambassadors complain of Adrian's dilatoriness; the cause of this 114
Mistake in the withdrawal of Sadoleto. Remarks of G. Negri (March). "Rome is no longer Rome." 115
Favours granted by the Pope, though few, are just . 116
Adrian not on confidential terms with any of the Cardinals; his treatment of Schinner. Gian Pietro Carafa summoned to Rome . . . 117
Dissatisfaction caused by this. Insults and invective in the "Capitolo" of Berni 118
The Pope and Pasquino. The Romans very ill-disposed 119
Gabbioneta describes the Pope and the state of Rome 120
Inaccessibility of Adrian, and his excessive confidence in those about him. Complaints about Zisterer . 121
And Enkevoirt. Opinion of Blasio Ortiz . . . 122
The Pope's devotion to duty; he remains a stranger in Rome 123

A.D. PAGE

1523 And in an isolated position; this aggravates the difficulties inherent in the situation . . . 124
In spite of times of depression, Adrian's devotion to his task is unflinching. Significance of his career 125
To his undying credit, begins reform at the head . 126

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSION OF FRANCESCO CHIEREGATI TO THE DIET OF NUREMBERG.—ADRIAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GERMAN SCHISM.

1522 The Diet at Nuremberg in September. Chieregati chosen for the mission; his antecedents and character 127
Enters Nuremberg on the 26th of September; his audience with Ferdinand. The Diet opens on the 17th of November 128
Speech of Chieregati on the 10th of December; his caution 129
1523 Puts before the Diet the intention and proposals of the Pope (January 3rd) 129
Who recalls his sorrow at the disturbances in his fatherland. 130
And urges the laying aside of mutual hatred, and striving by all possible means to reclaim all instigators of error 131
Chieregati demands the execution of the Edict of Worms, and communicates to the Diet the important "Instruction" 132
Principles laid down in this document 133
Remarkable acknowledgment of corruption, especially in prelates and clergy 134
Promise to reform before all things the Roman Curia 135
But this must not be done in a hurried manner . 135
Desires to be made acquainted with learned and pious Germans 136
Adrian often blamed for giving publicity to long-dominant abuses; but the charge of exaggeration cannot be sustained 136
The "Instruction" does not surrender ecclesiastical principles even on the smallest points. Definite line drawn by the Pope 137

A.D. PAGE

1523 The genuine sincerity of the document is unintelligible to the Romans 138
Hans von der Planitz. The four preachers. Worked-up indignation by the Lutherans. Chieregati exposed to acts of violence. Vehemence of the preachers 139
Demands made in an aggressive form for removal of German grievances. Unsatisfactory result of negotiations 140
Adrian's earnestness displeasing to the German prelates. Action of Planitz. Pamphlet against the Pope by Luther and Melanchthon . . 141
Luther's appeal to the religious orders to break their vows (March 28th); he reviles Adrian, making the canonization (on May 31st) of St. Benno a pretext for this 142
Adrian's disappointment in Erasmus 143
His Brief (December, 1522) urging Erasmus to defend the Church 144
Invites him to Rome (January 23rd). Replies of Erasmus 145
Who excuses himself from writing against Luther . 146
The Pope and Switzerland; sends a letter to Zwingli by Filonardi (April, 1523) 147
Conduct of Albert of Brandenburg and the Teutonic Order 148
Adrian and Christian II. of Demark. Gustavus Wasa and Sweden 148
Olaus Petri and Andrea spread Lutheranism in Sweden 149
The Pope sends J. Magni as legate to Sweden . . 149
The King conceals his real feelings; demands of the royal council. Magni too trustful . . . 150
G. Wasa writes to the Pope about the vacant bishoprics. Brief from Adrian. The King drops his mask 151
And determines to sever his countries from the Church 152
Reconciliation of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and hopes of reunion with Russia 152
Missionary activity in America 153

CHAPTER V.

ADRIAN'S EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE AND PROMOTE THE CRUSADE.—THE FALL OF RHODES AND THE SUPPORT OF HUNGARY.

A.D. PAGE

1522 Complicated politics of the European States. The Ottoman power 154
Adrian urges the Emperor to make peace with Francis I. (March 25th). The Sultan prepares to attack Rhodes 155
Preparations for its defence: efforts of the Pope: difficulty of his position as intermediary of peace 156
The Great Powers refuse to listen to Adrian, who makes another appeal to the Emperor . . 157
Mission of T. Negri. Exhortation in Consistory to raise funds for the Turkish war 158
Adrian collects a few troops, but is unable to send them to Rhodes. Fresh outbreak of the plague 159
The Pope's action towards the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino. Arrest of Malatesta (December) . . 160
The Dukes give Adrian their loyal support . . 161
F. M. della Rovere absolved from censures (May 11th) and reinstated in the Duchy of Urbino (March, 1523) 162
Adrian restores order in the Papal States. Differences with the Imperial Ambassador 163
Position of Manuel; his character and policy . . 163
Resolves to create a breach between Charles and the Pope 164
Is replaced by the Duke of Sessa (October); he becomes of the same mind as Manuel . . . 165
Conduct of Francis I., who sends Cardinal de Clermont to Rome. Patience of Adrian towards the Emperor 165
Whose Ambassador bribes Zisterer. Tactless conduct of the Spaniards confirms the Pope in his neutrality 166
Manuel and the French Ambassador; the former is excommunicated by Adrian 167
Accident in the Sixtine Chapel (December) . . 168
The Pope's exhortation to the Doge of Venice . . 168
The Imperialists plunder San Giovanni: extreme excitement of the Pope, who talks of an immediate alliance with France 169
Lannoy comes to Rome and reports the fall of Rhodes 170

A.D. PAGE
1523 Consistory of the 28th of January about this . . 170
Bad news from Germany. Adrian writes to Charles V. 171
Consistories of the 11th and 23rd of February for help against the Turks and the necessity for peace . 172
Fall of Rhodes on the 21st of December, 1522 . . 173
Anguish of the Pope. "Alas for Christendom!" . 174
Terror in Rome; the plague breaks out again . . 174
Adrian refuses to leave Rome; again appeals to the Emperor 175
And to the other European sovereigns . . . 176
Bertolotti sent back to England as Nuncio . . 177
The Pope's measures for collecting funds for the Crusade 177
Taxes levied on the clergy and officials in the Papal States (March 11th to 18th) 178
Efforts on behalf of Hungary 179
Concessions to Henry VIII. and Wolsey. Attitude of Francis I. 180
Who demands the restoration of Milan; this irritates the Pope 181
The Emperor reconsiders his position; instructions to Sessa 182
Bribery amongst those in the Pope's confidence . . 183

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTRIGUES OF CARDINAL SODERINI AND THE RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.—ADRIAN VI. JOINS THE IMPERIAL LEAGUE.—HIS DEATH.

1522 Adrian's attempt to reconcile Cardinals Soderini and de' Medici 184
1523 Soderini's intrigues in favour of Francis, which he endeavours to conceal from the Pope. Compromising letters found on his agent, Imperiale . 185
Medici communicates these to the Imperial Ambassador 185
Adrian is convinced of Soderini's treachery . . 186
And summons Medici to Rome (April) . . . 187
The Pope sends for Soderini to the Vatican (April 27th) and places him under arrest 187
He is imprisoned in St. Angelo. Medici obtains a commanding position in the Curia . . . 188
Neutrality of the Pope. Bull of the 30th of April proclaiming a three years' truce 189

A.D. PAGE

1523 Legates despatched to Hungary. The Romans object to the Turkish tax 190
This lack of self-sacrifice distresses the Pope . . 191
His efforts to send help to Hungary. Suggestion of the Franciscans 192
Reconciliation of Venice with the Emperor. Joy of the Pope 193
Who co-operates in the treaty between Venice, Milan, and the Emperor (July 29th) 194
The French party in Rome. Trial of Soderini . . 195
Francis I. pays no heed to the representations of the Pope. Threatens to set up an antipope . . 197
And sends an insolent communication . . . 198
Accusing Adrian of favouring the enemies of France 199
Francis breaks off relations with the Nuncio, but the Pope refuses to declare himself against France . 201
Mischievous advice of some of the Cardinals . . 202
Francis I. forbids payment of money to Rome . . 202
Adrian VI. calls Lannoy to Rome (July 18th) . . 203
Alliance with the Emperor urged upon the Pope . 203
Who is threatened by Francis I. with the fate of Boniface VIII. 204
Adrian hesitates in taking steps against France . . 205
Result of the Consistory of the 29th of July; the Pope joins the league against France 206
High glee of the Imperialists 207
Adrian VI. breaks down under an attack of illness . 208
His condition puts a stop to further negotiations . 209
Improvement in his health (August 12th) . . . 210
Grants audiences and holds a Consistory (August 31st) 211
Has an interview with the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John; this causes a relapse (September 3rd) 212
Enkevoirt created Cardinal; opposition to this . . 213
The Consistory of the 10th of September in the Pope's sick-room 214
His last dispositions and death (September 14th). "In peace, piety, and holiness" . . . 215
No grounds for the suspicion of poisoning . . 216
The monument to Adrian VI. erected by Enkevoirt . 217
The life-work of the so often misunderstood Pontiff . 219
Who never turned aside from the path of duty . . 220
His labours for reform of the Church and union of Christendom against the Turk 221
Venomous abuse of the dead Pope in Rome . . 222
His whole life distorted by mendacious wit . 223

A.D. PAGE
1523 Is called a barbarian and a tyrant 224
Giovio's biography of Adrian VI. Judgment of Vettori on the dead Pope 225
Difficulty in forming a just appreciation is increased by the loss of documents 226
Moring, Raynaldus, Muratori, and others defend Adrian's memory 227
The work of Burmann (1727) 228
Judgment of the Protestant, Benrath . . . 229
Adrian points out the principles for true reform . 230

CHAPTER VII.

CLEMENT VII.—HIS ELECTION, CHARACTER, AND THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.—HIS INEFFECTUAL EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND HIS ALLIANCE WITH FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE.

1523 Instructions of Charles V. concerning the Conclave. Prospects of Cardinals Wolsey and de' Medici 231
Parties in the College of Cardinals. Report of the Mantuan envoy (September 29th) . . . 232
Soderini admitted to the Conclave. Farnese the rival of de' Medici. Opening of the Conclave on the 1st of October. 233
Arrival of the three French Cardinals (October 6th) . 234
The various competitors of Medici 235
Cardinal Farnese 235
The first scrutinies. Demonstrations by the populace 236
Opposition of Colonna to Medici 237
Restlessness of the Romans. Fear of a schism . 238
Medici's party stand firmly by him 239
Limitations to the activity of Francis I. . . . 240
Letter of Sessa (October 28th). Colonna renounces his opposition 241
Cardinal de' Medici elected on the 18th of November, and signs the capitulations 242
Assumes the name of Clement VII. 243
Popularity of the election; high expectations raised . 244
Courtesy and generosity of the new Pope; division of his benefices. 244
Amnesty to Soderini. The Coronation (November 26th) 245
Favourable impression in Italy. Alfonso of Ferrara . 245

A.D. PAGE

1523 Exuberant expressions of congratulation. Vittoria Colonna 246
Clement's weaknesses overlooked; his appearance and manner of life 247
Comparison with Leo X.; opinion of Loaysa . . 248
His devotion to business and abstemiousness . . 249
"Full of uprightness and piety." His parsimony . 250
The shadows on character of Clement VII. . . 251
His innate irresolution and timidity 252
Cause him to sink into a Pope of cheap reputation. Disappointment of the Imperialists . . . 253
The two leading counsellors: Giberti and Schönberg. Clement's negotiations with Venice and Milan 254
His desire for a general armistice with a view to the Turkish danger 255
1524 Arrival of the French envoy (February 1st); Sessa beside himself 256
Charles V. sends another envoy, but with no better fortune 257
Consistory (March 9th) on the pacification of Europe. Schönberg sent on a mission to France, Spain, and England 257
Indecision of Clement, who writes to Francis I. and to the Emperor. Situation of the French in Lombardy 259
Sessa intrigues against the Pope. Return of Schönberg (June 16th). The Imperial forces enter Provence 260
The Pope satisfies neither party, and still hopes for an armistice (August) 261
Schönberg again sent on a mission to the Kings (September 7th) 262
The war in Provence 262
Siege of Marseilles raised; Francis I. invades Italy; retreat of the Imperial army to Lodi; the French before Pavia 263
Extreme caution of the Pope. Mission of Aleander . 264
And of Boschetti. The French enter Milan (October) 265
Mission of Giberti to Francis I. Lannoy refuses an armistice 266
And Francis I. is unyielding. Vettori sent to Lannoy 267
Alliance between the Pope, Francis I., and Venice; concessions of the French King 268
Intrigues of Carpi on behalf of France. Proposed marriage of Catherine de' Medici . . . 269

A.D. PAGE

1525 Clement informs the Emperor (January 5th) of what has taken place 270
Resentment of Charles V.; his letters to the Pope and to Sessa (February 7th); his threat . . 271

CHAPTER VIII.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF PAVIA.—QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR.—FORMATION OF A COALITION AGAINST CHARLES V. (LEAGUE OF COGNAC, MAY 22ND, 1526).

1525 Battle of Pavia; Francis I. a prisoner . . . 272
Impression produced by this catastrophe. Precarious position of the Pope 273
His exhortations to the French King . . . 274
Terror of the Pope. Rejoicing of the Colonna and the Imperialists. Albany returns to the neighbourhood of Rome (February 10th) 275
Fighting in Rome between the Colonna and the Orsini. Clement's fears for Florence . . . 276
The Imperialists ravage Piacenza; threat of Lannoy. Indecision of the Pope. Giberti and Schönberg 277
Clement gives way, and enters into a treaty with Lannoy as Imperial Viceroy (April 1st) . . 278
Publication of the treaty by Lannoy (April) and the Pope (May) 279
Salviati sent as Legate into Spain 280
But the task is beyond his powers 281
Lannoy urges Charles V. not to fulfil his part of the treaty. Indignation of the Pope and his mistrust of the Emperor 282
Anti-papal intrigues of Lannoy 283
Strong feeling in Italy against Spanish domination . 284
Prudence of the French Regent, Louisa of Savoy, who employs L. di Canossa to win over the Pope and Venice 285
Energy of Canossa; his hopes and plans (June–July) 286
Is seconded by Giberti; but Clement refuses to take open steps 287
Secrecy of the proceedings. Missions of Sanzio and Casale (July). Venetian conditions (July 18th) . 288
The Pope's distrust of France returns. Attitude of the Regent. Sanzio murdered and his correspondence stolen 289

A.D. PAGE

1525 Spanish oppression of Milan; scheme of Morone and his overtures to Pescara 290
Who betrays all to the Emperor; Morone seized and imprisoned (October 14th) 291
Embarrassment of Clement VII. Sessa and Mendoza try to allay his apprehensions 292
The Pope determines to act on the defensive; he has real grounds for fear 293
Report of Caracciolo (November 10th). The object of Charles V. to crush the movement towards freedom in Italy 294
Death of Pescara (December 2nd). Pressure put on the Pope to join the League. Guicciardini's description of Clement 295
Herrera arrives in Rome with letters from the Emperor (December 6th); his offers not satisfactory . 296
Clement accepts the Spanish proposal for a suspension of negotiations. Anger of Charles's opponents . 297
1526 The Peace of Madrid (January 14th) and liberation of Francis I. 298
Grave mistake of Charles V. Secret protest of Francis 299
The Pope sends an embassy to the French King . 300
Capino arrives in France and wins Francis over to the League (April 8th) 301
Endeavours to induce Henry VIII. to accede fail. The Pope now stands firm in spite of Castiglione's warnings 302
Italy cries out for deliverance from the Spaniards and their exactions 303
Conclusion of the League of Cognac (May 22nd) between Clement VII., Francis I., Venice, and Sforza 304
Secret clauses concerning Florence 305

CHAPTER IX.

CLEMENT VII. AND ITALY AT WAR WITH CHARLES V.—THE RAID OF THE COLONNA.

1526 Real character of the stipulations of the League; diversity of the aims of its members 306
Outburst of warlike feeling in Rome. Orders for concentration of the Papal troops; their leaders . 307
Proposed operations. Hopes of breaking the power of the Emperor 308

A.D. PAGE

1526 Grave error of the Pope and Giberti 309
Charles V. sends Moncada to Italy and Rome (June 16th) 309
The Imperial Instruction of the 11th of June. Representations of Moncada and Sessa are ineffectual 310
Their scheme for creating a revolution in Rome . 311
Breach between the Pope and Cardinal Colonna, who makes proposals to the Ambassadors of Charles 312
Papal Brief of the 23rd of June 313
Recounting the relations of the Pope with the Emperor 314
Clement feels he has gone too far, and sends a letter in gentler terms (June 25th) 316
He solemnly ratifies the League on the 5th of July. The war begins in Upper Italy; plan of Guicciardini . 317
Discarded by the Duke of Urbino; consequences of this difference of opinion 318
The Imperialists repress a rising in Milan, but lose Lodi 318
Obstinacy of the Duke of Urbino, who awaits arrival of the Swiss. The citadel of Milan surrenders to the Spaniards 319
The allies attempt to recover Siena (July) . . . 320
The attack fails; consternation of the Pope. Non-arrival of promised help from France . . . 321
Canossa asks for his recall. Clement sends Sanga to the French King (July 19th); but in vain. The Italians and the Pope isolated 322
The allies capture Cremona (September 25th). Depression of the Pope 323
Plans of Moncada and the Colonna 324
Financial difficulties of the Pope. The Colonna outwardly quiet. A fresh Ambassador arrives from Francis I. 325
Vespasiano Colonna and Moncada make proposals to the Pope, who signs a treaty on the 20th of August 326
And reduces the garrison of Rome 327
Victory of the Turks at Mohacs. Clement profoundly shaken. The Colonna appear at Anagni . . 328
And enter Rome on the 20th of September . . 329
Terror of the Pope on hearing of the raid. Indifference of the Romans 330
The Pope takes refuge in St. Angelo. The Vatican quarter in the hands of the marauders, who plunder unchecked 331

A.D. PAGE

1526 Description by Girolamo Negri of the havoc. Sacking of the Papal palace and the sacristy of St. Peter's 332
The Borgo Vecchio plundered 333
The Pope forced to confer with Moncada . . . 333
And to accept a most unfavourable treaty (September 21st) 334
The Colonna withdraw to Grottaferrata (September 22nd) 334
Self-deception of Moncada 334
The Pope and Vespasiano Colonna. The Cardinals call for summary punishment 335
Representations of the Venetian envoy to the Pope . 335
Clement has no intention of adhering to the treaty extorted from him; he appeals to France and England 336
On the 26th of September publishes a monition against the raiders 337
The Pope proposes to go to Nice to make peace between Francis and Charles, but gives up the idea 337
Expedients for raising money; 7000 troops collected in Rome (October 13th) 338
Precautionary measures of the Pope 339
At the Consistory of the 7th of November citations are issued against the Colonna 339
Cardinal Pompeo deprived of his dignities (November 21st) 340
Campaign of Vitelli against the Colonna 341
Frundsberg raises troops to help the Emperor, and advances into Italy 342
The allies unable to check his advance 343
Alfonso of Ferrara goes over to the Emperor. Death of Giovanni de' Medici (November 30th) . . . 343
Lannoy approaches with the Imperial fleet. The Pope threatened by sea as well as by land . . . 344
Report of the Milanese envoy 345
Desperate situation of the Pope 345
The Cardinals propose (November 30th) pardon, flight, or an armistice 346
Quiñones entrusted with the mission to Lannoy . 346
Panic in Florence and Rome 346
The Pope advised to come to terms with the Emperor; sends Schönberg to treat with Lannoy . . . 347
Hard conditions offered by Lannoy (December 12th) 348
The Emperor's threat of a Council 348

CHAPTER X.

THE ANTI-PAPAL POLICY OF THE EMPEROR.—ADVANCE OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY ON ROME.

A.D.		PAGE
1526	The part of the Emperor in the raid of the Colonna	349
	Moncada's advice to him after the raid	349
	Charles's steps against the Pope; he consults canonists	350
	Effect on the Emperor of the Brief of the 23rd of June	351
	Who draws up a State-paper in reply to it (September 17th)	351
	Tenor of this document	352
	Its object is to prove the disloyalty of Clement and to justify Charles V.	353
	Who appeals to a General Council. The Paper handed over to the Nuncio on the 18th of September	354
	Anger of Castiglione. The friendly words of the Emperor are meaningless	355
	As in a letter to the Cardinals on the 6th of October he threatens a schism	356
	Insulting conduct of Perez at the Consistory of the 12th of December	356
	And to the Pope	357
	Lannoy increases his demands. Agitation of the Pope	358
	Who pushes on the recruiting of troops and issues a monition against all invaders of Papal territories	359
	The Colonna in close alliance with Lannoy	359
	Frundsberg crosses the Po (end of November) and ravages the states of Parma and Piacenza	360
1527	He effects a junction with Bourbon early in February, and on the 22nd they advance	361
	The Duke of Urbino misses the opportunity to attack	361
	Clement addresses an admonition to Lannoy and the Colonna	362
	The envoy of Francis I., Renzo da Ceri, arrives in Rome	362
	The Florentines appeal to the Pope, who is in despair, but will not hear of a sale of Cardinals' hats	363
	Measures for the defence of Rome	364
	Fieramosca arrives (January 25th) with proposals for an armistice from Charles V., to which Clement consents	365
	Defeat of Lannoy at Frosinone; joy of the Pope	366

A.D. PAGE

1527 Treachery of Napoleone Orsini, who is arrested on the 1st of February 367
The King of France fails to fulfil his promises . . 368
And the conduct of Venice is no better . . 369
The danger from the North draws nearer . . . 369
Advantages against Naples not followed up, and the Papal troops desert 370
Du Bellay arrives in Rome (March 6th) with promises only 370
Terms of the armistice. Lannoy comes to Rome (March 25th) 371
The treaty ratified on the 29th of March. Pacific intentions of the Pope 372
Bourbon refuses to accept the treaty. Illusions of Clement VII. and his advisers 373
Excitement of the Imperialist host, who are lashed to fury and appeal to Bourbon and Frundsberg . 374
The latter is struck down by apoplexy (March 16th), and Bourbon promises the troops unlimited pillage 375
He loses all power over the army: "Forward to Rome" is the cry, and sets forward on the 30th of March 376
Lannoy tries to persuade the forces to return . . 377
Misdirected economy of the Pope, who continues to dismiss his soldiers 377
Uneasiness in Rome. Fanatical preachers . . 378
Prophecies of Brandano and others . . . 379
Brandano's penitential preachings 380
Especially on Easter Eve, 1527. The Pope places him in confinement 381
Bourbon continues his march, and meets Lannoy . 381
Advances on Florence; his demands . . . 382
On the 26th of April strikes the road for Rome . . 383
Clement VII. now joins the League 383
Greed and infatuation of the Romans . . . 384
The Pope at last consents to creation of Cardinals . 385
Encourages the citizens. Boasting of Renzo da Ceri 385
Clement still sees no serious danger. Panic in Rome (May 4th) 386
Bourbon's soldiers, in a state of desperation, surround the city 387

CHAPTER XI.

THE SACK OF ROME—CAPTIVITY OF THE POPE.

A.D.		PAGE
1527	The morning of the 6th of May	388
	The Imperialists get ready for the assault	389
	Attacks at the Porta Torrione and the Porta S. Spirito	390
	Death of Bourbon; consternation caused by this	391
	The soldiers break through the walls	392
	And rush the Leonine city	393
	Rapid flight of the Pope to the castle of St. Angelo	394
	Narrative of Raffaello da Montelupo	395
	Attack on the Trastevere	395
	No means taken to defend or blow up the bridges	396
	Bewilderment of the populace	397
	The Imperialists rush like a torrent through the city, and break away from all control	398
	Carrying ruthless devastation with them	399
	"Hell has nothing to compare with the present state of Rome"	400
	The Venetian, Barozzi, describes the misery of the Romans	401
	The landsknechts not so cruel as the Spaniards	402
	Scorn and ridicule heaped by the former upon the Papacy	403
	The destruction and sacrilege wrought in the churches	404
	Desecration of the Blessed Sacrament	405
	And of the most venerated relics	405
	Terrible sufferings inflicted upon ecclesiastics and nuns	406
	Atrocities committed in religious houses of women	407
	Wholesale robbery of even Imperialist Cardinals	408
	Their palaces looted and plundered	409
	Heavy ransoms exacted by the landsknechts	409
	Isabella of Mantua shelters many in her palace, but even she has to fly from Rome (May 13th)	411
	Pompeo Colonna in Rome; he is moved to tears	412
	Grolier's description of the horrors	413
	Estimate of the number of deaths and the amount of the booty	413
	Destruction of books, archives, and manuscripts	414
	Havoc in the Vatican, which is the head-quarters of Orange	415
	Utter absence of discipline among the pillaging soldiery	416
	The account by a Roman notary	417

A.D. PAGE

1527 Bloody quarrels between the Spaniards and landsknechts 418
Clement VII. opens communications with the Imperialists (May 7th), and Gattinara comes to the castle. On the 9th of May a treaty proposed 418
Its terms. Attempt to rescue the Pope (May 12th) . 419
Who remains undecided, and wishes to treat with Lannoy 419
The army of the League makes no attempt at relief . 420
But retreats to Viterbo (June 2nd) 420
Scathing satire by Ariosto 421
Pompeo Colonna has an audience with the Pope . 421
Terms of the agreement. The Papal garrison leave St. Angelo (June 7th) 422
Clement in the custody of Alarcon; his sad plight . 423

CHAPTER XII.

THE ANARCHIC CONDITION OF THE PAPAL STATES—THE EFFORTS OF HENRY VIII. AND FRANCIS I. TO DELIVER THE POPE.—THE ATTITUDE OF CHARLES V.—THE FLIGHT OF CLEMENT VII. TO ORVIETO.

1527 The Pope treated as a prisoner (June 21st). Rapacity of the Imperialists; conduct of Gattinara . . 424
Serious difficulties respecting the conditions of the treaty 425
Rebellion of Florence 425
Where Republican government is restored . . 426
Appalling condition of Rome 427
"Nemesis." Rome becomes the destruction of the victors 427
Friction and strife; hunger and pestilence. The account of Salazar (June 11th) 428
Rome turned into a "stinking slaughter-pit" (July 22nd) 429
Efforts of the Pope to collect money for his ransom . 429
He appeals to the bishops of Naples (July 3rd), and borrows from bankers (July 6th) 430
In Rome "men drop down dead in the street like flies" 431
The landsknechts threaten to reduce the city to ashes 431
But at last, on the 10th of July, cross to the further side of the Tiber 431
And commence their tumultuous retreat to Umbria . 432

A.D. PAGE

1527 Cruel massacre at Narni (July 17th) 432
The Pope decides to send Cardinal Farnese to Charles V. 432
His "Instructions" 433
Farnese starts (July 12th), but goes no further than Upper Italy. Salviati also evades the embassy to Charles V. 434
And gives instructions to Giacopo Girolami; tenor of these 434
Henry VIII. determines to help the Pope—his motives are not disinterested—and sends Wolsey on a mission to Francis I. (July 3rd) 435
Wolsey's interview with the King of France at Amiens (August 4th) 436
Measures taken by Francis I. on behalf of the Pope . 437
Acciaiuoli's estimate of Wolsey 437
Who explains the aim of his mission; his proposal for an assemblage of Cardinals at Avignon . . 438
Wolsey in reality not so disinterested as it appears . 439
His ambitious design to become "the Pope's substitute" encounters the greatest obstacles . 440
The free Italian Cardinals meet at Parma (September) 441
Wolsey usurps the function of a Papal Vicar-General . 441
And addresses a protest to the Pope (September 16th); language of this document 442
Salviati's excuses (September 28th) for signing it; he is not deceived by Wolsey's schemes 443
Attitude of Charles V. on receiving the news of the sack of Rome 444
His protest to the Christian princes (August) . . 444
The crimes committed give the Emperor's enemies an opportune handle for serious accusations . . 445
Difficulty of the situation to Charles V. caused by the sack 446
Lope de Soria's advice to the Emperor; opinions of Bart. Gattinara and other Imperialists . . 447
Representations of Lannoy and of Ferdinand I. (May 31st) 447
Indecision of Charles V.; the mutinous state of his army in Italy; the Duke of Ferrara refuses the command 448
Repugnance in Spain to the policy of Charles towards the Pope 449
Reproaches by the Duke of Alba and the Archbishop of Toledo 449
But the Emperor remains undecided . . . 450

A.D. PAGE

1527 Letter of Lannoy to him (July 6th), and remonstrances of Quiñones 451
Charles disclaims responsibility for the sack . . 452
He is informed at this time of Henry VIII.'s scheme for a divorce 453
His instructions to Lannoy on this subject (July 31st) 453
The Emperor's letters to the Pope (August 3rd) . . 454
The demands contained in the instructions to the envoys (August 18th) 455
Distress of the Pope, who issues a Bull for the regulation of an election in the event of his death . 456
Pestilence in Rome. The situation of the Pope more and more unbearable; his poverty . . . 457
The Bull "Considerantes" which Clement has not the courage to publish (September) 458
The mutinous soldiers return to Rome; a second pillage (September 25th) 459
The account-book of Paolo Montanaro . . . 460
Paralysis of the Emperor's authority over the soldiers 461
Protest by Henry VIII. against the Pope's imprisonment (October) 462
After proposals and counter-proposals, the terms of agreement are settled (November 26th) . . 463
Sums to be paid by the Pope to the Imperial generals 464
The landsknechts again mutiny. Escape of the hostages 465
Further securities. End of the Pope's captivity. He takes flight to Orvieto (December 6th and 7th) . 466

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	G. M. Giberti to N. N.	471
II.	Alienation of Church ornaments from the Papal chapel by the College of Cardinals	471
III.	Epitome of Cardinal Schinner's project of reform	472
IV.	Pope Adrian VI. to the College of Cardinals (May 8th, 1522)	475
V.	Pope Adrian VI. to the College of Cardinals (June 3rd, 1522)	476
VI.	Galeotto de' Medici to Florence	478
VII.	" " "	478
VIII.	Giovanni Maria della Porta to Urbino	478
IX.	" " "	479
X.	Galeotto de' Medici to Florence	480
XI.	Giovanni Maria della Porta to the Duchess of Urbino	480
XII.	L. Cati to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara	480
XIII.	Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua	481
XIV.	Jacopo Cortese to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua	481
XV.	Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua	482
XVI.	Consistory of the 11th of February, 1523	483
XVII.	Girolamo Balbi to Salamanca	483
XVIII.	Consistory of the 23rd of February, 1523	483
XIX.	L. Cati to Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara	484
XX.	Consistory of the 23rd of March, 1523	485
XXI.	Girolamo Balbi to Salamanca	486
XXII.	Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua	486
XXIII.	Consistory of the 28th of April, 1523	487
XXIV.	" " 27th of May, 1523	488

PAGE

XXV. Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua 488
XXVI. Pope Adrian VI. to Ch. de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples 488
XXVII. Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua 489
XXVIII. Consistory of the 29th of July, 1523 . . 490
XXIX. Pope Adrian VI. to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua and Captain-General of the Church 490
XXX. ,, ,, ,, 491
XXXI. ,, ,, ,, 493
XXXII. Pope Clement VII. distributes his benefices . 493
XXXIII. Consistory of the 11th of January, 1524 . . 494
XXXIV. A. Piperario to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua 495
XXXV. Consistory of the 19th of September, 1526 . 495
XXXVI. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua 496
XXXVII. ,, ,, ,, 497
XXXVIII. Nicolas Raince to Anne de Montmorency . 499
XXXIX. Landriano to M. Sforza, Duke of Milan . . 500
XL. Galeotto de' Medici to Florence . . . 500
XLI. Landriano to M. Sforza, Duke of Milan . . 501
XLII. ,, ,, ,, 501
XLIII. Consistory of the 19th of December, 1526 . 501
XLIV. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua 502
XLV. Bull of Pope Clement VII. against the Colonna 502
XLVI. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua 503
XLVII. ,, ,, ,, 503
XLVIII. Matteo Casella to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara 504
XLIX. Cardinal Salviati to Baldassare Castiglione . 505
L. Giovanni Battista Sanga to Uberto da Gambara 507
LI. Pope Clement VII. to the leaders of the Imperial troops 509

CHAPTER I.

Situation in Rome at the Death of Leo X.—Election of Adrian VI.

THE death of Leo X. in the prime of life, coming unexpectedly, altered the whole basis of the political situation in Italy. So strong was the reaction, that everything which had hitherto been accomplished became once again an open question. The victorious career of the Imperial and Papal forces in Lombardy came to a standstill, while simultaneously, in the States of the Church, the enemies of the Medici lifted up their heads. Cardinals Schinner and Medici had to quit the army of the League and hasten to Rome for the Conclave, while at the same time the funds, which had been supplied almost exclusively by the Papal treasury, were cut off at their source. In consequence Prospero Colonna was obliged to dismiss all his German mercenaries, and his Swiss to the number of five hundred men. A portion of the Papal forces withdrew, under Guido Rangoni, to Modena; the remainder stayed in Milanese territory with the Marquis of Mantua. All further movements depended on the result of the election. The Florentine auxiliary troops marched back home to the Republic. Had it not been for the caution of Guicciardini, Parma would have fallen into the hands of the French. To the latter, provided that they were resolutely supported by Francis I., the

opportunity lay open of recovering all their losses in Lombardy.[1]

No one rejoiced more over the death of Leo than the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, who ordered a medal to be struck with the circumscription: "Out of the Lion's paw" (de manu Leonis). Making use of the favourable moment, Alfonso at once occupied Bondeno, Finale, the Garfagnana, Lugo and Bagnacavallo; his successful progress was not checked until he reached Cento. The deposed Duke of Urbino and the sons of Giampaolo Baglioni, Orazio and Malatesta, also rose in arms. Francesco Maria della Rovere recovered without difficulty his entire dukedom, with the exception of the portion in the possession of Florence; he also made himself master of Pesaro. Orazio and Malatesta Baglioni entered Perugia on the 6th of January 1522. At the same time Sigismondo da Varano drove out his uncle Giammaria, who had been made Duke of Camerino by Leo X., while Sigismondo Malatesta seized Rimini. Under these circumstances the fear that the Venetians might snatch Ravenna and Cervia from the Papal States was not groundless.[2]

The situation in Rome also was critical; but Vincenzo Caraffa, Archbishop of Naples, who had been appointed Governor of the city, knew how to maintain tranquillity.[3]

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4; *cf.* Op. ined., III., 505 *seqq.*, and CHIESI, 99 *seq.* *Cuncta quidem ex morte Leonis misceri coepere atque turbari, writes S. TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] With GUICCIARDINI, XIV., *cf.* ALFANI, 296; VETTORI, 340 *seq.*; CARPESANUS, 1338 *seq.*; Bollett. p. l'Umbria, V., 687; VI., 69 *seqq.*; UGOLINI, II., 224; BALAN, Storia, VI., 57–58, and BOSCHETTI, I., 180 *seqq.* See also Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXVI., 427 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Letter of B. Castiglione, of December 3, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); BERGENROTH, II., n. 368, 369, and *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

In the meantime the government of the Church was carried on by the Sacred College,[1] whose members were unremitting in their endeavours to maintain peace and order in all directions.[2] Their difficulties, however, were increased, during this period of political tension, by the exceptional drain on the exchequer which had been brought about by the prodigal and random expenditure of Leo X. In order to meet the most pressing necessities, almost all the treasures of the Holy See, which had not already been pawned, were gradually put into the hands of the money-lenders; the mitres and tiaras, the ecclesiastical ornaments of the Papal chapel, and even the precious tapestries designed by Raphael were pledged.[3] At the time of Leo's death a detailed inventory was taken of all the

[1] *Cf.* the *decree of the Sacred College, dated Romae, in Palatio Apost., December 2, 1521 *Sede vacante*, appended to *Acta Consist., 1492–1513, f. 56. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See *Letter of the Cardinals to the castellan of Assisi, dated Rome, December 2, 1521, in Cod. 1888, f. 20–21, Bibl. Angelica, Rome; and to the Swiss, dated December 19, 1521, and January 12, 1522. *Cf.* Archiv für schweiz. Ref., III., 451, by DAMARUS, in Histor. Jahrb., XVI., 85, and WIRZ, Filonardi, 56 *seq.* Also the *letter of the Cardinals to the castellan of Spoleto of December 7, 1521, in *Acta Consist., f. 59.

[3] Together with SANUTO, XXXII., 252, 290, 417, and Appendix, No. 2, see the *letter of B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dat. Rom., December 16, 1521: * Io ho il cervello tanto pieno di confusione e fastidio che non mi pare di poter satisfare a cosa alcuna di quelle ch'io debbo con V. Ex.; pare facendo quanto io posso parmi essere excusato e più serei, se quello potesse vedere il stento ch'io patisco; non è povertà al mondo ne meschinità sopra quella che si vede in questo collegio, che s'io la dicessi come è non si crederia. Oltra li debiti grandi lassati da Papa Leone s^ae mem. sono dopo la morte sua impegnate tutte le gioie, tutti li panni di arazzo, dico quelli bellissimi, e mitre e regni e paci e argenti della credenza e si è dovuto far queste exequie tanto povere che non so qual cosa al mondo sia povera e pagare li fanti della guardia e far le stanze del conclave. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

precious contents of the Vatican, including the pontifical mitres, tiaras, pectoral crosses, and precious stones. This catalogue shows that the current report, that Leo's sister Lucrezia Salviati had rifled[1] the Vatican of all its most costly belongings, was, to say the least, a gross exaggeration.[2]

Worse than the political confusion and the want of money was the moral condition of the Sacred College, which consisted for the most part of men of thoroughly worldly character, who offered only too true a picture of that spirit of faction and enmity which was then the disintegrating factor in Italy and Christendom at large.[3] The divisions of party among the electors were so great that it was the belief of many that the Church was on the verge of schism.[4]

Manuel, the Ambassador of Charles V., mentions as true Imperialists the Cardinals Vich, Valle, Piccolomini, Jacobazzi, Campeggio, Pucci, Farnese, Schinner, and Medici; Cesarini as not having a mind of his own; the three Venetians, Grimani, Cornaro, and Pisani, as well as Fieschi, Monte, Grassis, and Cajetan, as doubtful, and Accolti and Soderini as decidedly hostile.[5] The leader of the Imperialists was the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor Giulio de' Medici,

[1] Gradenigo in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 71.

[2] In the inventory of jewels belonging to Leo X., the missing pieces are named. (* Inventario havuto da M. Barth. a Bibiena guardaroba di P. Leone X., a dì 6 di Decembre 1521. State Archives, Rome.) The additions to the * Inventario delle robbe rulla foraria di P. Leone X. mention several missing pieces and give information as to their whereabouts (*e.g.* some went to Serapica, Maddalena de' Medici), but Lucrezia is not here named. That pieces from the *guardaroba* of Leo X. were stolen, Castiglione also says expressly in a * letter of February 22, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 72.

[4] *Cf.* Clerk in BREWER, III., 2, n. 1895.

[5] BERGENROTH, II., n. 370.

who had already reached Rome on the 11th of December 1521. On his side were by no means all, but only a portion, of the Imperialists and those younger Cardinals who had been nominated by Leo X.[1] Among the circumstances which weighed strongly in favour of the candidature of the Vice-Chancellor was the extraordinary reputation which he enjoyed, grounded on the assumption that he had had untrammelled direction of Leo's policy, along with his connection with Florence and his wealth, which would prove of great assistance in relieving the financial necessities of the Papal government.[2]

The Imperial Ambassador, who was supported by the representatives of Portugal and of the Florentine Republic, did all he could to secure the election of Medici, although the candidature of the latter was opposed not only by the Franco-Venetian party, but also by the senior Cardinals. The latter, many of whom desired the tiara, laid great importance on the fact that no one under fifty years of age was eligible for the Papacy. From another quarter came the objection that it would be a discredit and danger if Leo were succeeded by a member of his own family, the hereditary principle being thus introduced into a Papal election. Many who had imperialist leanings were disinclined to accept Medici, while Cardinal Colonna showed more and more his decided hostility.[3] To all these enemies were added

[1] JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.) says that among the younger Cardinals not only Colonna, but also Trivulzio, Jacobazzi, Pallavicini, and Vich were against Medici. The latter placed his suit before the Emperor in a *letter of December 18, 1521, Cod. Barb. lat., 2103, f. 191 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See BERGENROTH, II., n. 374, and SANUTO, XXXII., 262.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, XIV., 4; SANUTO, XXXII., 260, 288; KRAFFT, Briefe, 33. *Colonna si è scoperto nemico capitalissimo di Medici, reports Giov. Maria della Porta in a *letter, dated Rome, December 25, 1521. State Archives, Florence, Urbino, 132.

the Cardinals who, for one reason or another, had become dissatisfied with Leo X. Next to Colonna the most important leader of the opposition was Soderini;[1] since the discovery of the conspiracy of Petrucci, he had lived in exile and discontent, and had often said openly that he would do all in his power to prevent a return of the Medicean tyranny.[2] Medici could count on a sum total of fifteen or sixteen votes;[3] all the others were against him. Disunited as these opponents were on other points, they were unanimous in their determination that in no case should a Florentine Pope again ascend the chair of Peter.[4]

Not less eagerly than Medici did the ambitious Wolsey, who remained in England, strive after the tiara. He was

[1] *Cf.* the *Report of the Nuncio Raince, January 10, 1522, Beth., 8500, f. 91 *seq.*, and FONTANIEU, 191, f. 9 (National Library, Paris). G. M. della Porta writes, Jan. 9, 1523: *Io vi dico che havemo infinito obligo al card. Colonna, che se non fosse stato esso havressemo gia papa Medici. State Archives, Florence, Urbino, 132.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 252, 260, 288.

[3] At first it was stated, on an exaggerated calculation, that Medici could count on 20 votes (SANUTO, XXXII., 262, 263). Manuel on December 24 reckoned on 18 (so also SANUTO, XXXII., 275), on January 6 only on 15 or thereabouts (BERGENROTH, II., n. 370, 372). Clerk also (BREWER, III., 2, n. 1895), N. Raince (*Report of January 9, 1522, Beth., 8500, f. 95; FONTANIEU, 191, f. 6 (National Library, Paris), and GUICCIARDINI (XIV., 4) give 15 supporters; JOVIUS Vita Adriani VI.), 16. Giov. Maria della Porta speaks in his *report of December 25, 1521, as well as in that of January 2, 1522, of only 13 certain votes. State Archives, Florence.

[4] Giov. Maria della Porta reports on December 25 that Medici is almost sure of 13 votes: *ma all' opposito tutti gli altri se gli sono coniuncti contro et deliberato primo morire che di vederlo papa, pur tra essi non sono poi concordi in la electione; chiaro è che non vogliono Fiorentino in alcuno modo. State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* also despatches in Arch. Stor. Ital., Nuova Serie, IX., 4–5. *El card. Medici sta forte per far se, writes Naselli on December 25, 1521. State Archives, Modena.

ready, he declared, to pay 100,000 ducats in order to reach this goal. From England, at the instance of the King himself, the Emperor was besieged with formal entreaties to intervene in favour of his election. The shrewd Hapsburger gave fair promises, but took no serious steps to fulfil them.[1] It was impossible, in the existing conditions of things, that an English Pope, and above all such a man as Wolsey, could be acceptable to the Emperor.[2] Wolsey on his side, strange to say, placed a delusive trust in the Emperor's assurances; he even suggested unblushingly to the latter that he should march his troops on Rome and compel the Cardinals by main force to carry his election.[3] Charles V. paid so little attention to this that it was not until December the 30th that he specifically named Wolsey as a candidate in a letter to his Ambassador Manuel.[4] The time for this recommendation, as for the coming of the English envoy, Richard Pace, had passed.[5] The latter, by his stay in Rome, could only have been strengthened in his conviction that the candidature of the English Cardinal had never been seriously considered.[6]

Among the other numerous candidates for the Pontificate, Grimani, Carvajal, Soderini, Grassis, Gonzaga, and above all Farnese, were prominent. The last named did

[1] LANZ, Briefe und Aktenstücke, I., 501 (No. 155); *cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 1906; REUMONT, Wolsey, 17 *seq.*

[2] BROSCH, Engl. Geschichte, VI., 154; *cf.* MARTIN, 348 *seqq.*

[3] LANZ, I. 523 (No. 162).

[4] See MIGNET, Revue d. deux Mondes, XIV. (1858), 168. SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 148.

[5] *Cf.* BUSCH, Vermittlungspolitik, 181. Manuel certainly did nothing towards Wolsey's election; *cf.* BROSCH, *op. cit.* 155.

[6] *Cf.* MARTIN, 351. LEPITRE, 148, like many other historians, takes Wolsey's candidature too seriously. It is interesting to see how Schinner, in a *letter dated Rome, March 6, 1522, comforts the ambitious Wolsey. Cotton MS., Vitellius B. V., f. 45, British Museum.

all in his power to win Medici and Manuel.[1] The Cardinal Vice-Chancellor and the Ambassador did not shut their eyes to the fact that a united combination of their opponents would render the election of a second Medici Pope impossible. It was therefore agreed upon between the two that the votes of the Imperialist party should be transferred to another candidate acceptable to Charles V.[2] Under these circumstances Manuel reminded the electors, upon whose pledges he could rely, that, in the case of their being unable to vote unanimously for one of the Cardinals in Conclave, they should bethink themselves of Cardinal Adrian of Tortosa, then resident as Viceroy in Spain.[3] At this juncture nothing more was done, since Medici continued to hope that he might yet carry the day, if not for himself, at least for one of the Cardinals present, on whose devotion he could thoroughly rely.

Public opinion in Rome had been from the first almost entirely on the side of Medici; before his arrival he had been marked as the future Pope. This Cardinal, it was stated in a report of the 14th of December 1521, or some other of his choosing, would receive the tiara.[4] Next to those of Medici the chances of Grimani and Farnese[5] were in advance of all others; there were also some who con-

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 370, 371, and *letter of Naselli of December 25, 1521 (State Archives, Modena); also JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. *Bona openion si ha di Farnese et di Grassis . . . . Alcuni propongono Aracoeli et Egidio, reports Giov. Maria della Porta on December 25, 1521 (State Archives, Florence). For Gonzaga see his letter in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 83.

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 370.

[3] Manuel's despatch of December 28, 1521, in BERGENROTH, n. 371, and DE LEVA, II., 128, n. 2, where the passages in question are given in the original phraseology.

[4] SANUTO, XXXII., 282; *cf.* 275.

[5] *Ibid.*, 260, 284.

sidered that Cardinals Gonzaga and Piccolomini had a favourable prospect.[1] The elevation of Wolsey or any other foreign candidate was wholly impossible, owing to the highly developed consciousness of their nationality and civilization to which the Italian people had attained.

The strong tendency to satire which characterizes the Italian is especially marked among the Romans, whose vocabulary is uncommonly rich in humorous and mordant expressions. A vacancy in the Holy See invariably gave them an opportunity for turning this vein of satire on the electors and candidates. On the present occasion this mischievous habit was carried beyond all previous limits. Like mushrooms after rain, lampoons and pasquinades sprang up in which first the dead Pope and his adherents, and then the electors of the future Pontiff were, without exception, attacked in unheard-of ways. It was now that the statue of Pasquino assumed its peculiar character as the rallying-point for libellous utterances and raillery.[2] The foreign envoys were amazed at the number of these pasquinades in prose and verse and in different languages, as well as at the freedom of speech prevailing in Rome.[3] Among the Cardinals there were not a few whose conduct deserved to be lashed unsparingly; but there were also many to whom failings and vices were attributed only for the sake of giving vent to scorn and ridicule.

The master-hand in raising this rank crop of abusive literature was that of Pietro Aretino, who turned the favourable opportunity to account without scruple. His epigrams

[1] *Cf.* letter of B. Castiglione of December 28, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); also SERASSI, I., 5, and KRAFFT, Briefe, 31.

[2] See, Pasquinate di P. Aretino ed anonime per il conclave e l' elez. di Adriano VI., publ. e ill. da V. Rossi, Palermo, 1891. Also Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 80 *seqq.*, XXXIII., 78 *seqq.*, 470.

[3] *Cf.* Clerk's letter to Wolsey in BREWER, III., 2 n., 1895.

sparkled with wit and intelligence; in originality and biting sarcasm he had no equal, but his language was foul and full of a devilish malice.[1] Only a portion of the malignant allusions contained in these lampoons is now intelligible to the reader; contemporaries were well aware at whom each of the poisoned shafts was aimed. In this way, in the eyes of the people, each of the Cardinals whose candidature came up for discussion, was morally sentenced in advance. As many of these pasquinades made their way into foreign countries, a deadly blow was then given, as Giovio remarks, to the reputation of the Sacred College.[2]

The longer the hindrances to the Conclave were protracted, the larger was the scope afforded for the satirists and newsmongers. As soon as the obsequies of Leo X. were brought to an end on the 17th of December 1521, attention was at once directed to the Conclave, when the news arrived that Cardinal Ferreri, who was on the side of France, had been detained in Pavia by the Imperialists; hereupon it was decided to wait eight days longer for the Cardinal, whose liberation had been urgently demanded.[3] In diplomatic circles, moreover, it was confidently asserted that as early as the beginning of December the French envoy had formally protested against the beginning of the Conclave prior to the arrival of the French Cardinals.[4]

Already in the autumn of 1520, when Leo's health gave no grounds for anticipating his early death, Francis I.

[1] The opinion of FLAMINI, 224.

[2] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

[3] Besides SANUTO, XXXII., 273, see BREWER, III., 2, n. 1879; BERGENROTH, II., n. 369; Paris de Grassis in GATTICUS, 440.

[4] Castiglione reports on December 3, 1521: *Lo ambasciator di Franza è stato hoggi udito in questa congregatione stimati che abbia protestato che non si proceda a la elettione del pontefice se non si dà tempo a li cardinali che sono in Franza de potervi si trovare. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

had been eagerly occupied with the question of the Papal succession; it was then stated that the King was ready to spend a million of gold thalers in order to secure at the next conclave a Pope after his own mind.[1] Since then the question had become one of still greater importance for Francis I. If the choice were now to fall on a nominee of the Emperor, Charles V. would command not only in Italy but in all Europe a crushing preponderance over France; it can therefore be well understood that Francis should have made his influence felt in Rome. He took steps, however, which went beyond what was just and permissible, and threatened a direct schism if Cardinal Medici were chosen.[2] The repeated expression of such menaces by the partisans of Francis in Rome did as little to further the French prospects as the churlish proceedings of Lautrec.[3] An emissary of the latter demanded of the Cardinals, who were administering the affairs of the Church, the withdrawal of the Papal troops; to the carefully prepared answer that they must first await the issue of the election, he replied with threats, so that the Cardinals in anger remarked that they must take measures for the security of Parma and Piacenza, whereupon the Frenchman, in corresponding terms, rejoined that these cities were the property of his sovereign.[4]

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 281, 293.

[2] *Cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 1947; MIGNET in Rev. d. deux Mondes, XIV. (1858), 619; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 149.

[3] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 369, 370.

[4] Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Rome 1521, December 26: *Un gentilhuomo, qual si dimanda Grangies, l' altro giorno parlò alli deputati che sono l' Armellino, Monte, S. Quattro e Cesis e Siena da parte de m. de Lautrech pregandoli a voler revocare le sue genti d'arme: li fu resposto modestamente che bisognava aspettare il novo pontifice; lui replicò con arrogantia e quasi minacciando di modo che quelli signori entrarono in collera e dissero che volevano essere sicuri

Under such gloomy auspices the election began on the 27th of December 1521. After the Mass of the Holy Ghost, Vincenzo Pimpinella delivered the customary address to the Sacred College, and immediately afterwards, amid a press of people in which life was endangered, thirty-seven Cardinals proceeded to the Vatican for the Conclave; two others who were ill, Grimani and Cibo, were carried there in litters, so that at evening, when the doors were shut upon the Conclave,[1] the total number of electors amounted to thirty-nine.[2] Forty cells had been prepared which were distributed by lot. The persons—upwards of two hundred—who are thus confined, wrote the English envoy Clerk to Wolsey, have within the electoral enclosure as much room at their disposal as is contained within the great apartments of the King and Queen, as well as the banquet-hall and chapel, at Greenwich. According to the same informant each cell was only sixteen feet long and twelve broad: they were all situated in the Sixtine Chapel.[3]

de Parma e Piacenza e Grangies rispose che erano del re. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 325, 330 *seqq.*; GATTICUS, 318.

[2] Not 38, as given by Gradenigo in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 73; and also not 35, as VETTORI, 340, says.

[3] *Cf.*, with Blasius de Martinellis (GATTICUS, 318), and the despatches in PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 520, the report of Clerk in BREWER, III., 2, n. 1932. Differing somewhat from SANUTO, XXXII., 329, TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. (Chigi Library) gives the following detailed description of the Conclave Hall:—

CAMERE SORTE DIVISE.

Trivulzi,	20	Altare.		Medici,	21
Grassis,	19			Armellino,	22
Ridolphi,	18			Ranghoni,	23
Ivrea,	17			Grimani,	24
Monte,	16			Ponzetta,	25
Trani,	15			Gaietano,	26
Cesis,	14			Cavaglioni,	27
Siena,	13			S. Quattro,	28
Colonna,	12			S. Croce,	29

Since the Swiss, on account of their close relationships with Cardinal Medici, were distrusted by many, a levy of 1500 men was raised to keep watch over the Conclave.[1] So strict was their vigilance that next to nothing of the proceedings in Conclave reached the outer world;[2] consequently, there was ample room for rumours of all sorts. In the prevalent mania for betting, wagers would often be

Egidio, . . 11		Colonna, . 30	
Vichi, . . 10		Ursino, . . 31	
Ancona, . . 9		Mantua, . 32	
Como, . . 8		La Valle, . 33	
Farnese, . . 7		Cibo, . . 34	
Pisani, . . 6	Porta del choro della Cappella.	Campeggio, . 35	
Salviati, . . 5		Araceli, . . 36	
Flisco, . . 4		Swiczero, . 37	
Jacobacci, . . 3		Cornaro, . . 38	
Hec secunda camera vacabat.		Soderini, . 39	
		Cesarini, . 40	
Petrucci, . . 1	Porta della Cappella.		

Two reports of the conclavist of Cardinal S. Gonzaga, of December 13 and 14, 1521, to Isabella d'Este, have recently been published by A. LUZIO in Arch. d. Soc. Rom.

[1] See SANUTO, XXXII., 285, 291, 302. *Cf.* also CANCELLIERI, Notizie, 17 *seq.*; BREWER, III, 2, n. 1895, 932, and the *letter of Castiglione of December 26, 1521, in which he says: *Dimani che è venerdi alli 27 s'entra in conclavi. N^ro Sig. Dio mandi el Spirito Santo che ve n'è grandissimo bisogno. Oltre la guardia de Suizeri che sono 500 al palazzo, il quale è benissimo fortificato de gran sbarre, porte murate, artigliarie de sono ancor fatti mille cinquecento fanti altri e datasene la cura al sig. Renzo et al sig. Prospero da Cavi per guardar pur il palazzo. Roma è pienissima de genti, non se fanno però desordini de importanza. Il card. de Ivrea intendo che questa sera è gionto. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] SANUTO, XXXIII., 332. For the close watch kept on the doors see also BREWER, III., 2 n. 1932; also for the system of signs made use of for purposes of communication. *Cf.* also JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. B. Castiglione reports on January 1, 1522: *Perche questi signori sono anchor in conclave e fannosi le guardie strettissime non se li po dare lettera alcuna se non fosse directiva a tutto il collegio. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

laid in the gaming-houses on as many as twenty names in a day.[1] Outside Rome opinion was still more divided.[2] At the different Courts the most varied surmises were current, all of which were more or less inconsistent with the actual facts. Of the thirty-nine electors who were present on this occasion, all were Italians save three, the two Spaniards, Carvajal and Vich, and the Swiss, Schinner; of the remaining nine foreigners, not one appeared in Rome.[3]

The disunion among the Cardinals present was extraordinarily great.[4] Besides the division, so frequently observed, into junior and senior Cardinals (of the thirty-nine electors, six had been nominated by Alexander VI., five by Julius II., and twenty-eight by Leo X.), another cause of dissension was added by the sharp opposition of the Imperialist to the Franco-Venetian party. But an even more potent factor of disunion was the immense number of aspirants to the Papacy. So calm an observer as Baldassare Castiglione was of opinion, on the 24th of December 1521, that many, if not all, had a chance of election; "Medici has many friends, but also many enemies; I believe he will have difficulty in fulfilling his wishes, at least so far as he is personally concerned."[5] The same diplomatist wrote two days later that there

[1] PETRUCELLI, I., 521–522. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 262, 332 *seq.*; ROSSI, Pasquinate, XV. *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 83.

[2] *Cf.* TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[3] The names are in CIACONIUS, III., 425.

[4] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 369, 370; and TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., *ut supra.*

[5] **Letter of December 24, 1521, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. V. Albergati reports on December 20, 1521, to Bologna: *Oggi et ogni giorno mancho se sa et se intende queste pratiche pontificale che non si facea el primo di et questo procede perchè vechi, gioveni, richi, poveri, docti, practici tutti concoreno a questo disio sancto. State Archives, Bologna.

had not been for two hundred years such diversity of opinion in a Conclave; certain of Medici's opponents were so ill-disposed towards him that, in the view of most men, his election was held to be impossible; in such an event, he had given promises to Cardinal Gonzaga.[1] After the Cardinals had entered the Conclave, Castiglione repeatedly remarks that on no previous occasion had there been so great a want of unanimity on the part of the electors; "perhaps," he adds prophetically, "God will yet bring it to pass that the final result shall be better than anyone has dared to anticipate."[2]

As a matter of fact, the Conclave began in utter confusion. As soon as Soderini brought forward his motion in favour of secret voting, parties came into collision.[3] On the other hand, unanimity prevailed in the settlement of the election capitulations and the subsequent distribution among the Cardinals of the cities and offices of the States of the Church.[4] In the opinion of contemporaries, the binding force of these arrangements on the future Pope was already discounted; it was lost labour, thought

[1] *Questi sig^ri cardinali sono varii d' opinione quanto forse fossero in al caso cardinali mai da ducento anni in quà e monsig. de Medici ha alcuni inimicissimi quanto dir si possa, di modo che la maggior parte estima, che lui non possa essere papa. Sua S^ria rev^ma ha promesso non potendo essere, aiutare Mantua; presto vedremo. To this is added in cipher: *Io ho operato, che Medici ha dato la fede a Mantua, che non potendo esser lui, aiutarà Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Letter of Castiglione's of December 27, 1521, in Lett. dipl. di B. C. (Padova, 1875), 23–24. *Cf.* also the *report of N. Raince of January 9, 1522 (National Library, Paris).

[3] Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 318. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 260.

[4] HÖFLER in the Denkschrift der Wiener Akademie, XXVIII., 223 *seqq.*, gives the text of the *capitula* and the *distributiones oppidorum*, etc. *Cf.* Adrian VI., 82–86, where, however, the names of places are in part incorrect.

a Venetian, since the Pontiff on election could observe or ignore the capitulations at pleasure.[1] Moreover, it is clear, from the absence of all provision for such a contingency, that the Cardinals had then no anticipation that their choice would fall on an absentee.

The far-reaching divisions among the electors opened up the prospect of a prolonged Conclave, although the condition of Christendom, as well as that of the imperilled States of the Church, called urgently for a speedy decision. In the event, no less than eleven scrutinies were necessary before a decision was reached. The reports of various conclavists on the votes of individuals are extant, but they disagree on important points; without the disclosure of new and more reliable sources of information, we are not likely to succeed in establishing the full truth as regards the process of voting in individual cases. The difficulties are less in considering the principal phases of the Conclave, since here there is substantial agreement on the essential points.[2]

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 332.

[2] Among the reports of the conclavists are two of special importance contained in versions which certainly in parts do not agree. The first of these is that published by Struvius and Papenbroch, and reproduced by BURMANN, 144 *seqq*. (The text is that of Struvius, with Papenbroch's variants in the notes; *cf.* also LAEMMER, Beiträge, II.) In essential agreement with this is the report taken from the papers of J. Berzosa, from which BERGENROTH, II., n. 375, gives an extract. A second and fuller account, with copious and interesting data, is that of a conclavist in Cod. lat. 5288 of the National Library, Paris, of which HÖFLER was the first to make use (Denkschrift der Wiener Akademie, XXV., 357 *seqq*.). Of this I found a better version under the title *Ordo et gesta conclavis post mortem Leonis X., in TIZIO, Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, f. 92–98 (Chigi Library, Rome). *Cf.* also Cod. Vat., 3920, f. 33 *seq*., Barb. lat., 2103, f. 124 *seq*., and Vallicella Library, Cod. J, 39, f. 33 *seq*. Then to the above must be added, in the third place, the letter in SANUTO, XXXII., 377 *seqq*. (*cf.* especially 384–385, the remarks on the results of the eleven scrutinies), and 412

The Medicean party had at their disposal more than a third of the votes. They could thus exclude any undesirable candidate, but were not strong enough to carry the election of their leader Giulio de' Medici. Since not only the French party but also a portion of the Imperialists, led by Pompeo Colonna, declined to support the cousin of Leo X., the latter soon recognized the hopelessness of his candidature; he now strove to transfer the majority of votes to one of his friends. His candidate was Cardinal Farnese, who, in the belief of many, would also be acceptable to the group of senior Cardinals. After the first scrutiny on the 30th of December[1] the junior

seqq.; and fourthly, the *Commentaria rerum diurnalium conclavis, in quo creatus fuit Adrianus Papa VI. Africano Severolo auctore (existing in numerous copies. Besides Vatican copies specified by Domarus in his well-informed essays on the sources for a history of Adrian VI. [Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 89 *seqq.*], I also note: Court and State Archives, Vienna, Cod. 971, f. 29 *seqq.* A second copy is in the Bibl. Capilupi, Mantua; a third in Cod. 6324, f. 345 *seq.*, in the Court Library, Vienna; and a fourth [by O. Panvinio] in Cod. lat., 151, f. 288 *seq.*, in the State Library, Munich), which are, in many places, in verbal agreement with the version of Berzosa mentioned above. HÖFLER (*ut supra*, 358 *seqq.*) has made use of these commentaries without noticing that many passages had already been printed by GATTICUS, 318 *seqq.* The author is here wrongly called Sevarolus. He must have been a conclavist of Cardinal Cesi (*cf.* for him, Regest. Leonis X., n 16121, 18009). In GATTICUS, *ut supra*, is also the narrative of the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis. The ambassadorial reports take less notice of the more than usually strict isolation of the conclave. Among moderns, *cf.* HÖFLER, *ut supra*, as well as the Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, LXXII., 147 *seq.*, and Adrian VI., 80 *seq.*

[1] The reports in BURMANN, 147 *seqq.*, and BERGENROTH, *loc. cit.*, combine the first and second scrutinies: they are therefore useless. Differing from SANUTO, XXXII., 384, according to the *Ordo et Gesta of the Chigi Library, in the first scrutiny Farnese received 12. Schinner 1, Accolti 5, Ponzetti 1, Adrian of Utrecht 2 votes.

Cardinals agitated so strongly for Farnese that the conclavists looked upon his election as secured. But the senior Cardinals stood firm, and watched throughout the whole night.[1] At the scrutiny of the following day, Farnese had only a few votes;[2] his own followers had not kept their word.[3] On this very 31st of December a circumstance occurred which has not yet been sufficiently cleared up. Cardinal Grimani asked leave, on grounds of health, to quit the close quarters of the conclave, which were filled with smoke and foul air; it was only after his physician had sworn on oath that longer confinement would endanger the Cardinal's life that Grimani's petition was granted.[4] Whether his condition was as critical as was represented, is open to question. Probably other motives, mortified ambition and disappointed hopes, led the Cardinal to take this remarkable step.[5]

The third scrutiny, held on the 1st of January 1522, was again without result; whereupon Medici once more tried

[1] Ordo et Gesta of the Chigi Library, * Opinion generale è chel papa sia Farnese. G. M. della Porta, December 31, 1521 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the * Letter of the Abbate da Gonzaga, January 2, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Four according to Sanuto and * Ordo et Gesta. The latter source differs from Sanuto in attributing in this scrutiny 5 votes to Medici and 2 to Adrian of Utrecht.

[3] According to JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.), it was Farnese's friends among the French party who obtained information of his dealings with the Imperial Ambassador.

[4] GATTICUS, 319 *seq.*

[5] Thus SANUTO, XXXII., 348, 414. Giov. Maria della Porta reports the same in * his letters of the 2nd and 6th January. State Archives, Florence, Urbino, 132. See also BURMANN, 148, and Gradenigo in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 73. The Abbate da Gonzaga, on the other hand, in his * letter of January 2, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), considers Grimani's illness dangerous.

his fortune on the candidature of Farnese.[1] The younger Cardinals also worked during the following days in this direction,[2] but without avail; the seniors maintained a stubborn opposition, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth scrutinies (from the 2nd to the 4th of January) were fruitless. The reports which continued to come in from without, of the growing danger to the States of the Church, and of the approach of the French Cardinals, did as little to unite the electors as the orders, already issued on the fourth day, to reduce the appointed rations. Many conclavists believed that Farnese's prospects still held good, while others thought that the tiara would fall to Fieschi, and a few had hopes of Schinner.[3]

By the beginning of the new year it was the opinion of the majority in Rome that the candidature of Medici or one of his adherents was hopeless; the chances seemed all in favour of Farnese. It was rumoured that together with the latter Egidio Canisio and Numai had also been proposed by Medici. Among the Cardinals of the opposite party Fieschi, Grassis, and Monte were named.[4]

[1] * Finito prandio card. de Medicis cum suis complicibus cepit renovare electionem Farnesii, sed magnis viribus seniores obstiterunt. * Ordo et Gesta. Chigi Library.

[2] On January 2, after the fourth ballot: * Paulo post alii juniores cardinales sequuti partes cardinalis de Medicis convenerunt in cappella Nicolai ibique per horam disceptantes tandem fuit decretum, quando seniores conatui r. card^lis de Medicis contradicebant eligeretur ex senioribus qui maxima probitate niteret nec partes foveret, sed imprimis priorem conatum de adjuvando Farnesio tertio non obmitterent. * Ordo et Gesta, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ordo et Gesta. Although Jovius and Guicciardini say nothing about Schinner's prospects, it is yet certain that the latter received no inconsiderable number of votes in various scrutinies. The opposition of the French party, however, was too strong for him. *Cf.* Anz. für schweiz. Gesch., 1882, No. 5, P, 89; see also BLÖSCH, 18.

[4] See * Letters of Giov. Maria della Porta of 2nd and 6th January

Ever since the 29th of December the couriers had been in readiness to carry the news of the election to the ends of the earth.[1] The longer the result was delayed, the higher rose the expectation and excitement, and Rome was buzzing with contradictory rumours. On the report that Farnese had been elected, his houses were at once set upon for plunder; it was not only in Rome that this bad custom prevailed—in Bologna, Cardinal Grassis fared no better.[2]

Masses and processions were celebrated in Rome, but still no decision was arrived at. "Every morning," writes Baldassare Castiglione, "one awaits the descent of the Holy Spirit, but it seems to me that He has withdrawn from Rome. So far as one knows, Farnese's chances are the best, but they may again easily come to nothing."[3]

On the 5th of January it was reported that Medici had made an attempt to secure the tiara for Cibo. Perhaps the cleverly constructed plot might have succeeded had it not been betrayed by Armellini, so that, at the last moment, Colonna was able to make an effectual counter-move.[4] Thereupon Medici, on the following day, renewed his efforts on behalf of Farnese. No stone was left unturned, and at the eighth scrutiny Farnese received twelve votes, whereupon eight or nine Cardinals proclaimed their accession. At this point, although the two-thirds had not been

1522, in State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* the ** report of the Abbate da Gonzaga of January 3, 1522, and that * of Castiglione of January 5, 1522, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also GATTICUS, 320.

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 333.

[2] With Clerk's report in BREWER, III., 2, n. 1932, *cf.* PETRUCELLI, I., 527 *seqq.*

[3] See the **letters of Castiglione of January 7, 1522, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* RENIER, Notizia, 15.

[4] See SANUTO, XXXII., 413-414 (*cf.* 378-379); * Ordo et Gesta in Chigi Library; Severolo in HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 87, and Blasius de Martinellis in CREIGHTON, V., 188; *cf.* STAFFETTI, Cybo, 35 *seq.*

obtained, Cardinal Pucci called out "Papam habemus." He wished in this way to create an impression so as to gain over the four or five hesitating Cardinals. The result was the reverse of his expectations: Cardinals Colonna and Soderini, the two most irreconcilable enemies of Farnese, insisted on the proceedings being carried out in strict conformity with rule.[1] Not only had Farnese not received the requisite number of votes, but the older Cardinals now formed a more compact body of resistance.[2]

For some time it seemed as if the Medicean party really intended to push Farnese's election at any cost, but now at last they practically abandoned his candidature, and at the tenth scrutiny on the 8th of January he had only four votes.[3] Thereupon Medici consented to the putting forward of Cardinal Valle, and negotiations were carried on into the night, but without result;[4] some still clung to Farnese, while the elder members of the College refused to hear of him, Valle, or Medici.[5] The Medicean party on their

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 413; Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 320; *Ordo et Gesta; BURMANN, 148; BERGENROTH, II., n. 376; Clerk in BREWER, III., 2, n. 1960; Gradenigo in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 74; *report of the nuncio Raince of January 9, 1522, in the National Library, Paris; *cf.* MIGNET, *loc. cit.*, 621, and HÖFLER, 88.

[2] *Deinde viso periculo, in quo seniores fuerant, causa fuit, ut ipsi seniores facto consilio deliberarent, ut unanimiter se cohererent. *Ordo et Gesta.

[3] SANUTO, XXXII., 348, and *Ordo et Gesta.

[4] Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 320, and report of the nuncio Raince of January 9, 1522 (National Library, Paris).

[5] *Demum hora prima noctis pars seniorum congregavit se in ultima aula, in qua congregatione unanimiter deliberaverunt non velle consentire nec Farnesio nec card^li^ de Valle nec card. Medicis praeter card^lem^ Cavallicensem qui persistebat in prestando suffragio pro card^li^ de Valle, et rev^mi^ Senensis, Tranensis, Cornelius et Pisanus erant in favorem Farnesii et etiam card^lis^ de Mantua et Medicis, et deinde iverunt ad cenam. *Ordo et Gesta, Chigi Library.

side emphatically rejected either Carvajal or Soderini.[1] Yet they were not wholly to blame for the delay in the election; Colonna and Soderini, close confederates, did all in their power to worst every candidate put forward by Medici.[2]

While the factions were thus opposed more sharply than ever, the final crisis arose. Informants whose reports could be relied on announced that Francesco Maria della Rovere had made a compact with the Baglioni to make an attack on Siena. The special representations of Cardinal Petrucci were hardly needed to convince Medici of the danger to which Florence was thus exposed. This consideration wrought in him a change of mind. As the electors on the 9th of January were gathered together for the eleventh scrutiny, Medici rose in his place: "I see," he said, "that from among us, who are here assembled, no Pope can be chosen. I have proposed three or four, but they have been rejected; candidates recommended by the other side I cannot accept for many reasons. Therefore we must look around us for one against whom nothing can be said, but he must be a Cardinal and a man of good character." This met with general agreement. On being asked to name one of the absent Cardinals, Medici, who knew that the person whom he was indicating was one acceptable to the Emperor,[3] replied, in his characteristic way of dealing playfully with grave concerns, "Choose the Cardinal of

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 413.

[2] *Ibid.*, 356.

[3] *Ludens ut consueverat et ut videretur rem gratam facere Ces. M^ti^ que illum commendaverat. Ordo et Gesta in Chigi Library. *Cf.* HÖFLER, 90–91, who remarks: "The proposal might have been nothing more than a mere manœuvre. When it is taken into consideration that Adrian as an absentee had not given his consent to the capitulations, and the disposal of the Papal towns and the benefices, and was under no binding oath, it is inconceivable that, by the choice of an absent member of the Conclave, the Cardinals should have reduced to

Tortosa, a venerable man of sixty-three who is generally esteemed for his piety."

The proposal may or may not have been an electioneering manœuvre; the result of the voting gave fifteen votes apiece to Adrian of Tortosa and Carvajal; the Medicean party voted for the nominee of their leader. At this moment Cardinal Cajetan, the commentator of St. Thomas Aquinas, and a man conspicuous for learning, gave the turning-point to the decision. In eloquent language he described the high qualities of the Cardinal of Tortosa, whom he had come to know personally during his legation in Germany, and announced his accession. This proceeding on the part of Cajetan made all the more impression, as he had always shown himself an opponent of Medici. As Colonna also now gave his adhesion to the proposed candidate, the final decision could be no longer deferred, and Jacobazzi, Trivulzio, and Ferreri declared their approval.

In vain Orsini shouted to his party, "Blockheads, do you not see that this is the ruin of France?"—he was answered in like terms. As if driven by some irresistible force, first one and then another elector gave in his accession, and before the majority had realized the importance of the proceedings five-and-twenty votes had been given in. The six-and-twentieth whereby the two-thirds majority was secured was given by Cupis, a Roman, who said, "I also am for the Cardinal of Tortosa, and I make him Pope." For the rest, nothing remained for them but to declare their concurrence.[1]

All this was the work of a few minutes. Hardly had the

open questions all the decisions arrived at in the interests of the Sacred College. Such an act of infatuation can hardly be attributed to that body."

[1] See the Venetian report of January 19, 1522, in SANUTO, XXXII., 414-415; *cf.* 377 and 379. *Cf.* further * Ordo et Gesta in Chigi Library;

Cardinals become fully aware that they had helped to crown with the tiara a sojourner in a distant land, a German, and therefore, from the Italian standpoint, a barbarian, the tutor of the Emperor, a personality utterly unknown to Rome and Italy, than the windows of the Conclave were thrown open, and Cardinal Cornaro, as senior Deacon, announced to the expectant crowd outside the election of

BURMANN, 149; BERGENROTH, II., n. 375; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1952, 1960, and GATTICUS, 320, as well as the report of the nuncio Raince, January 9 (National Library, Paris), already made use of by MIGNET (Rivalité, I., 316). The accessions are variously given: I follow the excellent account in SANUTO, XXXII., 414 *seq.* With regard to the final scrutiny, there are also discrepancies in the *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XIII., 24, and Cod. Barb., lat. 2799, Vatican Library). The remarks of JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.) on the previous negotiations between the senior Cardinals and Medici are as much without corroboration as the assertion of Abbatis that Colonna had proposed Adrian (MOLINI, I., 156). The decisive action of Medici is treated as a matter of general knowledge in the instructions for Cardinal Farnese, printed by WEISS, Pap. de Granvelle, I., 280, and discussed hereafter under Clement VII. *Cf.* HÖFLER, 136. That Farnese, as GREGOROVIUS (VIII.[3] 381) asserts, received 15 votes along with Adrian, is in contradiction to all our sources. Medici's declaration in favour of Adrian is purposely passed over in silence in the *report of Cardinal Gonzaga (given only in part in the Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 83) to the Marchioness Isabella d'Este of January 9, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *This says: "Alhora che io sperava giongere al desiato fine la maggior parte degli cardinali se abbatterono ad dare il voto ad questo tale per gettarlo via come si vuol fare che l' uno non sapeva del altro. Dappoi lecti tutti gli voti di ciascuno si ritsovò questo tale havere 15 voti in suo favore, il che vedendo il card. de la Minerva e facendo iudicio, che questo era santo huomo e buono al papato ricorse col voto suo per accesso," etc. Medici's great share in the choice of Adrian is also to be gathered from Giberti's letter of January 9, 1522 (see Appendix, No. 1). *But it is also expressly stated in the *report of a conclavist to the Marquis of Mantua on January 10, 1522: *Ed è proposto dal rev^mo de Medici. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

Cardinal Adrian of Tortosa, titular of the Church of St. John and St. Paul. As Cornaro had a very feeble voice, Campeggio again announced the result of the election.

Very few expected to hear the result that day. An eye-witness, the Venetian Francesco Maredini, relates how he suddenly heard confused cries of "Medici, Palle, Colonna, Cortona, Valle," and then saw people singly and then in numbers running towards the piazza of St. Peter's. As the outcries and tumult increased, there could no longer be any doubt that the Pope had been chosen, although his name was not yet clearly grasped. But in a very short time he must appear in person in St. Peter's. On the steps of the basilica Maredini heard the incredible announcement that the new Pope was living in Spain. Full of astonishment, he made haste with his companions to the cells of the Conclave, which were by this time thrown open; here Cardinals Campeggio and Cibo confirmed the news which he had just heard. "When," writes Maredini, "we were told all, we were well-nigh struck dead with amazement." On his way home the Venetian had an opportunity of observing the despair of Leo X.'s courtiers; one wept, another uttered lamentations, a third took to flight; all were agreed upon one thing: it would be at least six months before the new Pope arrived, and in the meantime they would be unprovided for; as a Fleming, Adrian would certainly give appointments only to his own countrymen; perhaps he would live altogether in Spain, or come to Rome in the company of the Emperor. "In short," Maredini concludes, "no one rejoices; all lament."[1]

Most of the electors were filled with the same emotions.

[1] Letter of January 9, 1522, to G. Contarini, in SANUTO, XXXII., 380. Adrian is called "Lo card^le Fiamengo" in the letters of the Bolognese Envoys (A. Pepulus and Laur. Blanchettus) of January 9, 1522 (State Archives, Bologna).

A friend of the poet Tebaldeo, who entered the conclave immediately after the election had been declared, writes: "I thought that I saw ghosts from limbo, so white and distraught were the faces I looked on. Almost all are dissatisfied, and repent already of having chosen a stranger, a barbarian, and a tutor of the Emperor."[1] After the election, says the Venetian envoy, Gradenigo, the Cardinals seemed like dead men.[2] They had now begun to see clearly the full bearings of their action. The States of the Church threatened to break in pieces unless energetic measures were taken at once—but months must go by before the new Pope could enter Rome. Leo's extravagance and his participation in the great struggle between the French King and the Emperor had exhausted the exchequer of the Holy See; no one but an entirely neutral Pope could arrest the total ruin of the finances. Such impartiality, however, could hardly be hoped for in the former instructor of Charles and his present commissioner in Spain. So intimate was the union between the two supposed to be that Cardinal Gonzaga wrote, "One might almost say that the Emperor is now Pope and the Pope Emperor."[3] Most of the electors had everything to fear for themselves in the event of a thorough reform of the Curia. What was to be expected if the newly elected Pope were really the ascetic personality extolled by Cardinal Cajetan?[4]

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 415.

[2] ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 74.

[3] So bene egli non potrebbe essere più imperiale di quello che è, et quasi si può dire che l' imperatore sarà papa et il papa lo imperatore. Lo amore che è tra l'uno et l'altro di coso fa una trinità et saranno più persone in uno solo. *Cardinal Gonzaga to the Marchioness Isabella, Rome, January 9, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* Cajetan's dedication of the third part of his Commentary on St. Thomas, which BOTTEMANE has discussed in the periodical De Katholiek (Leiden, 1882), LXXXII., 73–93.

As soon as the Cardinals, after long consultation, had decided to send a letter to Adrian announcing his election, the bearer of which was to be Balthasar del Rio, Bishop of Scala, a Spaniard, and to despatch three Cardinal-Legates to the new Pope, they quitted the conclave. The crowds gathered before the doors received them with loud expressions of contempt and mockery, with cries and whistling. The Cardinals might be glad that the hot-blooded Romans confined themselves to such demonstrations and did not do them personal injury.[1] During the next few days there was an orgy of scorn and wit. Pasquino's statue was covered with lampoons in Italian and Latin in which the electors and the elected were handled in the basest terms of ridicule.[2] "Robbers, betrayers of Christ's Blood," ran one of these sonnets, "do you feel no sorrow in that you have surrendered the fair Vatican to German fury?"[3] In many of these lampoons the Pope was assailed as a foreign "barbarian," in some also as a Spaniard. Under one ran the complaint of St. Peter that he had been delivered up out of the hands of the usurers into those of the Jews, *i.e.* the Spaniards. Another represented Adrian as a schoolmaster chastising

[1] See Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 320; SANUTO, XXXII., 380, 415–416; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1960; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. The election was made known at the 18th hour (11 a.m.). The Cardinals did not leave the Conclave until 3 p.m. So writes Bartol. Argillense to Bologna in a *letter of January 9, 1522 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See ROSSI, Pasquinate, XXXVIII. *seqq.* *Cf.* the satires in Cod. Ottob., 2480, f. 101–104. Quite unique is the Pasquillus taxans Leonem X. in laudem novi pontificis, which runs:

"Nunc bene Roma suo mutat cum principe mores
Nunc Roma est, prius Thuscia Roma fuit."

*Cod. Ottob., 2381, Vatican Library.

[3] SANUTO, XXXII., 383.

the Cardinals with the birch; beneath was written, "Through their disunion they find themselves in this unlucky plight."[1]

These gibes were eagerly read by the Romans, and so threatening was the position of the Cardinals, that for many days they dared not leave their palaces.[2] Hardly anyone was acquainted with the new Pope. All that was known of him was that he was a foreigner and therefore a "barbarian," a dependent of the Emperor, who lived in distant Spain, whither he would probably transfer the Curia. In this sense a placard was posted up on the Vatican: "This Palace to Let."[3] So strongly were the Romans convinced that the Papal Court would be removed, that soon hundreds of officials were making ready to decamp to Spain, there to seek for places near the person of Adrian. The three senior Cardinals, who were carrying on the Government, endeavoured by stringent prohibition to check the exodus of officials.[4] Those who commiserated themselves most—and not without reason—were the numerous curialists, who had bought their appointments, or had lived solely on the extravagant expenditure of Leo's household. Not merely all the persons of this sort, but the largest part of the population of Rome would be brought face to face with ruin if the Pope's absence from the city were of long duration. Nor were the Cardinals unmoved by like apprehensions, and the Legates who were appointed to approach Adrian were therefore laid under the strictest injunctions to urge him most earnestly to begin his journey Romeward without delay.

[1] SANUTO, XXXII., 415-416; *cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 1995. See also LUZIO, P. Aretino e Pasquino, Roma, 1890, 9 *seq.*

[2] BREWER, III., 2, n. 1995.

[3] SANUTO, XXXII., 416.

[4] SANUTO, XXXII., 382 383, 411, 417.

The Legates, moreover, were to submit to Adrian a confession of faith; in this the Pope was to promise to maintain the Catholic Faith and to extirpate heresy, especially as spread abroad in Germany; he was also to pledge himself not to change the seat of the Papacy without the consent of the Sacred College. Finally, the Legates were further commissioned to pray the Pope to confirm the existing enactments of the Cardinals and to abstain, for the present, from any decisive measures of Government.[1] Although these stipulations were duly drawn up by the 19th of January 1522, the departure of the Legates was put off from week to week. The want of money for the journey and the difficulty of obtaining ships could not have been the only reasons. Probably the Cardinals hesitated to leave Italy, in view of the possibility of a new Conclave; for the news that Adrian had accepted his election was long waited for in vain. It was re-

[1] The Instruction for the three Cardinal-Legates (Colonna, Orsini, and Cesarini), of which there are copious MSS. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, V., Polit., VII., f. 285 *seqq.*; in the Vatican Library, Ottob. 2515, f. 334 *seq.*, 3141 *seq.*, 5 *seqq.*; Urb., 865, f. 34 *seq.*; Cod. Barb., lat. 2103, f. 116[b] *seqq.*; in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, P, 196, Sup.; and in the Communal Library, Ancona. The Instruction in Cod. Ottob., the incorrect date, January 29, is given), is printed by WEISS, Pap. d'Etat, I., 241 *seqq.*, and GACHARD, Correspond., 10 *seqq.*, but often very incorrectly. This is specially the case with the Professio of Adrian appended to the Instruction. Here, in agreement with the above-named MSS., we ought certainly to read "reformatione morum" instead of "ref. horum." Also the passage: "Juro etiam atque profiteor saluberrimam sacri collegii continuare" is corrupt. "Saluberrimam" gives no sense: probably we ought to read "saluberrima," with the addition of "decreta." It is important that, throughout the above-named MSS., instead of "s. collegii" is found "sancti concilii," which has an essentially different meaning. For the importance of the Professio required of Adrian VI. see BUSCHBELL in the Röm. Quartalschr., X., 446 *seq.*

peatedly reported in Rome that the Pope was already dead.[1] The French said openly that steps ought to be taken for holding a new election.[2]

Perplexity, anxiety, alarm, and fear filled the great majority of the inhabitants of Rome; only the Imperialists and the Germans rejoiced. "God be praised," wrote Manuel, the Ambassador of Charles, "since there exists no living person who is more likely to conduce to the peace and prosperity of the Church and the might of the King than this Pope, who is a man of holiness and the creature of your Imperial Majesty."[3] To a friend Manuel repeated his opinion that the new head of the Church was undoubtedly the most pious of all the Cardinals within or without Rome, and in addition to that a man of great learning.[4] The Netherlander, Cornelius de Fine, long a resident in Rome, who evidently had private sources of information regarding his fellow-countryman, wrote in his diary: "According to the counsels of God, the hitherto disunited Cardinals have chosen as Pope, contrary to their own intention, Adrian of Tortosa, who was absent from the Conclave. He is a man of very simple life, who has always been of a God-fearing disposition; at Louvain he lived only for science and learning; he is a man of solid education, a distinguished theologian and canonist, springs from a very humble family, and for three years he has governed Spain well. Truly, this distinguished man is the choice of the Holy Ghost."[5]

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 403, 417, 425; Clerk in BREWER, III., 2, n. 2017; HÖFLER, 119 *seqq.* *Many believe that the Pope is dead, reports Bartol. Argillense on February 21, 1522, from Rome (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 376.

[3] GREGOROVIUS, VIII.[3] 383.

[4] BERGENROTH, II., n. 381.

[5] CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary in the National Library, Paris.

In Italy the first impression was one of general astonishment that the thirty-nine Cardinals, although almost all Italians, should have chosen a foreigner.[1] The national feeling was so strong that this was a matter of the greatest reproach. "The Cardinals have incurred the deepest shame," wrote a Roman notary, "in bestowing the tiara on an utter stranger, a dweller in outlandish Spain."[2] Most characteristic also is the verdict of the Sienese Canon, Sigismondo Tizio, who is obliged, like other Italians,[3] to acknowledge that Adrian by his uprightness and learning was worthy of the tiara, but cannot refrain from blaming the "blindness of the Cardinals," which has handed over the Church and Italy to "slavery to barbarians"—so that the unhappy lot of Italy is to be deplored![4]

On the 18th of January 1522 the despatch announcing the Papal election reached the Imperial Court at Brussels. Charles V., to whom the missive was handed during Mass, gave it to his suite with the remark, "Master Adrian has become Pope." Many looked upon the surprising news as false, until a letter which arrived on the 21st set all doubt at rest. "He felt sure," so wrote the Emperor on the same day to his Ambassador in London, "that he could rely on the new Pope as thoroughly as on anyone who had risen to

[1] See Giornale ligustico, 1891, 229.

[2] GORI, Archivio, IV., 245. JOVIUS (Hist., XX.) also uses similar expressions.

[3] "S. Sta per quanto si intende è molto bene," writes Bartol. Argillense on January 9, 1522 (State Archives, Bologna). *Cf.* also the letter of V. Albergati of February 5, 1522, in FANTUZZI, Scritt. Bol., I., 137.

[4] Meretur quidem vir iste pontificatum, vero caeci patres minus prospicientes ecclesiam atque Italiam in babarorum servitatem coiecerunt. . . . Viri isti iniquitatis in facinus tam deplorandum ob suas discordias inciderunt ut lugenda sit misellae Italiae conditio. (Cod. G, II., 39, f. 91, Chigi Library, Rome.)

greatness in his service." "His own election as Emperor,' Charles assured the Pope later by the mouth of the envoy who conveyed his homage, "had not afforded him greater joy than this choice of Adrian."[1] The Imperial letter of thanks to the Cardinals was couched in terms of exuberant recognition. Charles entrusted to Adrian's friend Lope Hurtado da Mendoza his message of congratulation. "It is a remarkable circumstance," observed the Venetian Gasparo Contarini, then resident at Brussels as envoy, "that so large a number of Cardinals should have chosen an absentee and one who was unknown to most of them. The Pope is said to be very pious, and to be endowed with the highest qualities. He says Mass daily, and performs all his duties as a virtuous prelate." The same diplomatist thought that Adrian's devotion to the Emperor exceeded all that the latter could wish. The Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara also was convinced that everything would now go as Charles desired, since God's grace had called to the Papacy one who had no rival in loyalty, zeal, and integrity towards the Emperor.[2]

It is easily understood that, at the Court of France, feelings of a quite contrary character should have prevailed. Francis I. began by making jests on the election of the Emperor's "schoolmaster," and seems even, for a while, to have refused to him the title of Pope; he saw in Adrian

[1] Thus the discourse, not yet printed, in Miscell. polit., n. 75, f. 502, in the Royal Library, Turin.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXII., 445, 479–480; DITTRICH, Contarini, 54; HÖFLER, 122 *seq.*; Archief voor de geschiedenis v. h. Aartsbisdom, Utrecht, XXVIII., 140. The instruction for Mendoza in GACHARD, Correspond., 24 *seqq.* For the rejoicings in Utrecht on Adrian's election, see ANT. MATTHAEI, Vet. aevi analecta, III., Hagae Comitum, 1738, 687 *seqq.*; Utrechtsche Volks-Almanak, 1848, 71 *seq.*; BOSCH, 46 *seq.*; WENSING, 142 *seq.*, 145; Dodt van Flensburg, Archief v. kerkel. geschied., III., 209 *seq.*

only the Emperor's "creature."[1] But from Rome, on the contrary, came other accounts; Cardinal Trivulzio wrote to the King direct that of all who had a prospect of the tiara Adrian was the best for him. The French envoy in Rome, moreover, thought that if the choice must fall on an Imperialist, the Cardinal of Tortosa was to be preferred as good and the least likely to do harm, not only with regard to the excellent accounts given of him personally, but also because six or eight months would have to elapse before he could reach the place where he or his pupil (the Emperor Charles) would be in a position to put hindrances in the King's way.[2]

While princes and diplomatists attached the most varied expectations to the new Pope, all those who had the good of Christendom at heart broke out into rejoicing. The new Head of the Church, said Pietro Delfini, enjoys everywhere so great a reputation as a pious, God-fearing, and pure-hearted priest that in his election the hand of God is visible. "It is only thy blameless life," wrote Joannes Ludovicus Vives to the newly elected Pontiff, "that has raised thee to the loftiest rank on earth." Another summed up his judgment in the words: "We have a Pope who was neither a competitor for the office nor present in conclave; no better nor holier head could have been wished for the Church."[3]

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 383; BREWER, III., 2, n. 1994; HÖFLER, 137.

[2] MIGNET, Rivalité, I., 316.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1522, n. 2; BURMANN, 457; HÖFLER, 102–103; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 273. *Cf.* the opinion of St. Brodaric in FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 21.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY CAREER OF ADRIAN VI.—HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS.—JOURNEY TO ROME.—NEUTRAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POWERS.—PROJECTS OF PEACE AND REFORM.

THE new Pope was indeed a remarkable man, who through untiring diligence and the faithful performance of duty had raised himself from a very humble condition. Adrian was born on the 2nd of March 1459, in the chief city of the Archbishopric of Utrecht. At this date Netherlanders, who did not belong to the nobility, had no family names; they simply added their baptismal name to that of their fathers. Thus Adrian was called Florisse or Florenz (*i.e.* Florenssohn) of Utrecht;[1] his father Florenz Boeyens (*i.e.* Boeyenssohn),[2] whose occupation has been

[1] Adrianus Florencii a Trajecto. *Cf.* for the following, along with MORING-BURMANN, 1 *seqq.*, especially REUSENS, Syntagma doctr. Adriani VI., Apparat., I., *seqq.*, and Biogr. nat., II., Bruxelles, 1868, 546 *seqq.*, as well as CLAESSENS, Adrien VI., in the Rev. Cath., 1862, 596 *seqq.* In Utrecht the Huis Brandaa in the Oude Gracht is supposed to be Adrian's birthplace. It contains some pictures of a later date, mostly of no historic value (Leo X. bestowing the Cardinal's hat on Adrian). The house is itself built into the monastery of St. Andrew. The Pauszaal indicates the site of the former house. *Cf.* Tijdschrift v. geschied. v. Utrecht, I., 7 *seqq.*, 108 *seq.*, and WENSING, 85 *seq.*

[2] Boeyen is not a family name, but an abbreviation of the baptismal name Bauduinus (Baldwin); see BURMANN, 512 *seq.*; REUSENS, *loc. cit.*

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variously stated, died early.[1] His excellent mother Gertrude laid deep the foundations of piety in her gifted son. She also took care that he received solid instruction and training, and for this purpose she entrusted him to

[1] Probably he was employed as a ship's carpenter; BURMANN, 4; *cf.* Contarini in SANUTO, XXXII., 472. The Netherlander CORNELIUS DE FINE also says in his *Diary (National Library, Paris): "Pater ejus arte mechanica victum quaerebat"; and later: "natus patre fabro lignario." The statement that his father was a brewer is certainly an invention. Notes on the family are given by HOGEMAN in Verslag v. d. Vergadering der Vereeniging tot beoefening v. Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis, October 1892 (Zwolle, 1893). At a later date two noble families, Rodenburch and Dedel, claimed a place for the famous Pope among their lineage. The claims of the first-named family, however, do not call for consideration; those of the second appear to be better grounded; v. STRAMBERG (Rheinisch. Antiquarius, III., Koblenz, 1852, 1, 52 *seq.*). REUMONT (III., 2, 843), GREGOROVIUS (VIII., ed. 3, 383), HÖFLER, and still more recently RIETSTAP (Wapenbock v. d. Nederlandsch. Adel I., Groningen, 1883, 86), consider the Dedel descent as undoubted. But the suspicions already raised in BURMANN, 3, have not been weakened up to the present day, so that LEPITRE, 8–9, leaves the matter undecided. M. Count von Nahuys, of the house of Horstmar-Ahaus, in the Jahrbuch des heraldisch-genealogischen Vereins Adler in Wien, IX. (1882), 25 *seq.*, and Dietsche Warande, III. (1890), 589 *seqq.*, reject the descent from the Dedel, whose arms display three lilies and a lion. On the other hand, Adrian's original coat displays only three caltrops, as Pope Adrian quartered his shield and added the lion. The latter appears on his coins, his tomb, on the gable of the college founded by him in Louvain, and on his portrait painted in oil-colours in the museum at Amstersdam. The original coat-of-arms is to be found in the Paushuis in Utrecht. Since the old family of the Schrevel, originally belonging to Dordrecht, bears this coat, and Adrian, seventy years after his death, was called for the first time filius Florentii Schrevelii Bouens, the author of the treatise cited above is inclined to believe in a relationship with that family. But up to the present time no contemporary evidence is forthcoming in which Adrian is spoken of as bearing the name Schrevel or Dedel; he is most often called Adriaen de Trajecto, Adrianus Florentii de Trajecto, or, after

the Brothers of the Common Life,[1] whose community had been founded in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot. According to some accounts, Adrian first went to school with them at Zwolle; according to others, at Deventer. The impressions thus received lasted throughout his whole life. He learned to look upon religion as the foundation of all true culture, and at the same time acquired a love for intellectual pursuits. His earnest view of life, his high ideal of the priesthood, his horror of all profanation of holy things, his preference for the study of the Bible and the Fathers which he was to display later on—all this was due to the powerful influence of his first teachers.

In his seventeenth year he entered, during the summer of 1476, the University of Louvain,[2] which, hardly touched by humanism, enjoyed a high reputation as a school of theology. During his first two years he studied philosophy with distinguished success and then, for other ten, theology and canon law. After thus acquiring a thorough knowledge of the scholastic system, he held a professorship of philosophy at the College at Eber, to which he had been attached at the beginning of his student period. In the year 1490 he became a licentiate in theology, and in 1491 took the degree of Doctor of Theology.[3] Although from the

his appointment as Professor in the College of Eber, Meester Adriane in't Vercken (*cf.* E. v. Even in Messag. d. scien. hist., 1856, 257, and the essay of Dietsche Warande, 1894, 388 *seq.*, cited below). He signed himself Adriaen van Utrecht (as in the letter of June 26, 1514, which G. Papenbroch gave to BURMANN [444]; I found the original in the Leyden Library, Cod. 945), or Adrianus de Trajecto; see the autograph letter to the Abbot of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, dated Brussels, June 21, 1510 (Royal Archives, Utrecht, Dom. S. 645).

[1] *Cf.* for this JANSSEN-PASTOR, ed. 18, I., 71 *seqq.*

[2] REUSENS, Syntagma, IX.

[3] I have here followed E. v. EVEN, Adriaan Florisz van Utrecht

first he had never been in total poverty, and now held two small benefices, his means were yet so limited that his promotion was rendered possible only through the protection of the Princess Margaret, the widow of Charles the Bold.[1] Adrian's financial position gradually improved as the number of his benefices increased. He saw nothing reprehensible in this abuse, which at that time was general, and at a later date accepted still further preferment. He made, however, the noblest use of the income which he thus accumulated, for his alms were munificent. It is also worthy of remark that as parish priest of Goedereede in South Holland he took pains to secure a substitute of sound character, and yearly, during the University vacations, undertook the pastoral charge of his parishioners.[2]

Adrian's theological lectures, which even Erasmus attended, as well as his able disputations, steadily increased his reputation; he helped to form such solid scholars as Heeze, Pighius, Tapper, Latomus, and Hasselius. One of

aan de Hooge school van Leuven (1476-1515), in Dietsche Warande, N.S., VII. (1894), 386 *seqq.*, who made use of unprinted sources in the city archives, Louvain. The theological degrees are mostly assigned to the years 1491 and 1492.

[1] MORING-BURMANN, 17; *cf.* E. v. EVEN, *loc. cit.*, 257, and HENNE, II., 78. Also see WENSING, 92 *seqq.*, who wishes to uphold Adrian's poverty against Reusens. *Cf.* on this point also BOSCH, 9, and CRISSTOFFELS, 14.

[2] See MORING-BURMANN, 17-19, 31. *Cf.* Regesta Leonis X., n 2676, 7307; DE THEUX, Le Chapitre de St. Lambert, Bruxelles, 1871, III., 45; Archief voor de geschiedenis v. h. Aartsbisdom Utrecht, XI., 67; WENSING, 175; CRISSTOFFELS, 16 *seqq.*; BOERS, Beschrijving v. h. eiland Goedereede, Sommelsdyk, 1843, 100 *seq.*, where there is a letter of Adrian's of 1496. Adrian afterwards took a different view of the exemptions, on account of the abuses they gave rise to, just as he had done with regard to the plurality of livings. See Rev. d. hist. eccl., I., 481.

his pupils published in 1515 a selection of his disputations, another in 1516 his lectures on the sacraments; both works soon went through many editions.[1] Chosen in 1497 to be Dean of St. Peter's Church in Louvain, Adrian had also to fulfil the additional duties of Chancellor of the University; twice (in 1493 and 1501) he was appointed Rector. In spite of all these official duties his application to study was as keen as before; he even found time for preaching, and three of his sermons have been preserved,[2] which show extensive learning, but are the dry compositions of a bookworm. In his enthusiasm for study as well as in his strong moral character he showed himself a worthy pupil of the Brothers of the Common Life. It is related that he inveighed especially against the relaxation of the

[1] Quaestiones quotlibeticae (10 editions, the first, Lovanii, 1515), and Quaest. de Sacramentis sup. quarto Senteniar. (8 editions, the first, 1516). REUSENS (Syntagma doctrinae Adriani VI., XXXI. *seqq.*, 1 *seqq.*) has made use not only of these writings, but also of those yet unprinted, especially the Comment. in Prov., and in several places has corrected the Quaest. de Sacramentis from Adrian's own manuscript. In an appendix (155–246) REUSENS gives Anecdota Adriani VI. (also published separately, Lovanii, 1862), for the most part from Adrian's autograph MS. in the Library of the Seminary, Mechlin: six discourses delivered on occasions of receiving theological promotion, four discourses to the clergy, one Quaestio quodlib., the Prologus to the Comment. in Prov., and four Consultationes. For his participation in the reform of the calendar see MARZI, 174 *seq.* For Gallican and Jansenist misrepresentations of Adrian's attitude towards the doctrine of Papal Infallibility see, along with FEA, Difesa del P. Adriano VI. nel punto che riguarda la infallibilità, Roma, 1822, and REUSENS, 122–152; also Anal. juris pontif., VI., 1560 *seqq.*, XI., 267 *seqq.*; FÈVRE, Papauté, VII., 267 *seq.*, and WENSING, 90, f. 132. Adrian, as Pope, certainly did not deny infallibility. It has not much bearing on the subject whether, as Professor, he had held erroneous views on this as on other points (*cf.* Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LXXXV., 734 *seq.*).

[2] Published in REUSENS, *ut supra*, 209 *seqq.*

rule of celibacy, in consequence of which the mistress of a Canon tried to take his life by poison.[1] The repute of the unspotted life, the learning, humility, and unselfishness of the Louvain Professor continued to extend, and he became the counsellor of persons in all ranks of life. Monks, clerics, and laymen from all parts of the Netherlands came to him for help. It was no wonder that the Court also coveted his services; probably as early as 1507 the Emperor Maximilian chose him as tutor for his grandson, the Archduke Charles, the future Emperor, to whom he imparted that deep sense of religion which he never lost amid all the storms of life. The Duchess Margaret also employed him in other capacities, and in 1515 she named him a member of her Council.[2]

Alarmed at the growing influence of the learned Professor, the ambitious Chièvres determined to withdraw him from the Netherlands upon some honourable pretext. In October 1515 Adrian was entrusted with a difficult diplomatic mission to Spain. He was there to secure for his pupil Charles the full rights of inheritance to the Spanish Crown, and on Ferdinand's death was to assume the provisional Government. Ferdinand received the diplomatist, whom Peter Martyr accompanied as secretary,[3] with openly expressed mistrust, but Adrian found a protector in Cardinal Ximenes.

When the King died on the 23rd of January 1516 the Cardinal and Adrian entered on a joint administration of

[1] MORING-BURMANN, 20–21.

[2] *Cf.* HENNE, I., 267; REUSENS in Biog. Nat., II., 597; LEPITRE, 38 *seqq.* In 1515 Adrian was also appointed Commissary to Charles V. by permission of Leo X.; *cf.* Kist-Roijaards in Archief v. kerkelijke geschiedenis, I., 183 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.*; VIII., 447 *seqq.* See also Utrechtsche Volks-Almanak, 1842, 236 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* BERNAYS, P. Martyr, 26, 161.

affairs until the arrival of the new King, Charles.[1] Although within the sphere of politics differences of opinion were not lacking between the two, yet so highly did the Cardinal value the pious Netherlander that he used his influence to raise the latter to places of eminence in the Spanish Church. In June 1516 Adrian was made Bishop of Tortosa; the revenues of the see were not great; nevertheless, Adrian at once resigned all his benefices in the Low Countries, with the exception of those at Utrecht.[2] Neither then nor afterwards did he contemplate a permanent residence in Spain. It was long before he was able to adapt himself to the conditions of life in that country, so entirely different from those he had known before. As early as April 1517 he expressed his hope to a friend that the coming of Charles might be his deliverance "from captivity," since he did not suit the Spaniards and Spain pleased him still less.[3] In July 1517 he wrote in jest, "Even if I were Pope, it would be my desire to live in Utrecht." At this time he had had a house built there,[4] and made no concealment

[1] *Cf.* GOMEZ, De reb. gest. a F. Ximenio, 148 *seqq.*; P. Martyr, Op. epist., 565; Doc. ined., XIV., 347 *seqq.*; PRESCOTT, Geschichte Ferdinands des Kath., Leipzig, 1842, II., 540, 588 *seqq.*; GACHARD, Corresp., 231 *seq.*; LEPITRE, 45 *seqq.*, 57 *seqq.*; BAUMGARTEN, I., 26 *seqq.*, 36; HÖFLER, Mon. hisp., Prag., 1882, II., 5 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* WENSING, 136 *seq.*

[3] Letter from Madrid, April 16, 1517, published in Archief voor de geschied. v. h. Aartsbisdom, Utrecht, XXVIII., 130. For the mission of Adrian to Spain see also BAUER, Die Anfänge Ferdinands I., Wien, 1907, 30 *seqq.*

[4] Letter from Madrid of July 16, 1517, in BURMANN, 445. The passage refers to the Paushuis still standing in the Niewe Gracht in Utrecht. *Cf.* Utrechtsche Volks-Almanak, 1858, 84 *seq.*; Archief voor de geschied. v. h. Aartsbisdom, Utrecht, XIX., 254 *seq.*; *cf.* also v. d. MONDE in the Tijdschrift v. geschied. en oudheidkunde v. Utrecht, I., 152, and GARAMPI, Viaggio in Germania, Roma, 1889, 183.

of his intention, as soon as his Sovereign's service permitted, of returning to his native land in order to devote himself wholly to study.

Very different from Adrian's expectations was the actual outcome of events; he was never to see his beloved fatherland again. In the first instance, Spanish affairs detained him; Ximenes and Charles contrived that Adrian should be appointed Inquisitor by the Pope in Aragon and Navarre on the 14th of November 1516.[1] Adrian's conduct of affairs in Spain must have given Charles great satisfaction, for, on the occasion of the great nomination of Cardinals in the summer of 1517, he was recommended by the Emperor for the purple; Leo X. consented, and on the 1st of July Adrian received a place and voice in the Senate of the Church; his title was that of St. John and St. Paul.[2] He was able to write, in truth, that he had never sought this honour, and that he had only accepted it under pressure from his friends.[3] From the former tenor of his life, ordered strictly by rule and divided between prayer and study, this man of ascetic piety and scholastic learning never for one moment swerved.

During his sojourn in Spain, the pupil of the Brothers of the Common Life became closely associated with the men who were throwing all their strength into projects for ecclesiastical reform. In this connection the first place must be given to the famous Ximenes, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo. Although often of divergent views in politics, the Spanish and the Netherlander Cardinal were of one heart

[1] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., 235–236. See also the *Carta de Roma del 1516 al Card. Ximenes in Cod. Barb., lat. 2103, f. 11, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VII. of this work, p. 204.

[3] Letter to Joh. Dedel, dat. Madrid, July 16, 1517, in BURMANN, 445.

and soul where the interests of the Church were concerned;[1] like Ximenes, so also was Adrian (who during the controversy between Reuchlin and the Dominicans of Cologne, took the side of the latter[2]) of opinion that the religious and moral renewal must follow the lines of the old authorized Church principles within the strict limits of the existing order.

Around Ximenes, the leader of Church reform in Spain, grouped themselves three men of kindred spirit, with whom the Cardinal of Tortosa was also on terms of closest intimacy: the Dominican Juan Alvarez di Toledo, son of the Duke of Alba; the jurist Tommaso Gazzella of Gaeta; and the latter's close friend, the Nuncio Gian Pietro Carafa.[3]

On the death of Ximenes, on the 8th of November 1517, the Cardinal of Tortosa carried on the Government alone until the coming of the King, which took place soon afterwards. Charles placed the greatest confidence in his former master, and often employed him on difficult negotiations, and repeatedly lent a willing ear to his counsels. Thus Adrian, who since the 3rd of March 1518 had also become Inquisitor-General of Castille and Leon, was successful in restraining the young King from giving his assent to the demands of the Cortes of Aragon that the existing judicial procedure of the Inquisition should be essentially altered.[4]

[1] The Bishop of Badajoz had written to Ximenes in high praise of Adrian (Bull. d. l. commiss. d'hist., X., 8), and had thus led to their intimacy.

[2] GEIGER, Reuchlin, 421 *seq.*, 441, 451.

[3] *Cf.* *CARACCIOLO, Vita di Paolo IV., 18-9. Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., 236; LEPITRE, 162 *seqq.* Here also Llorente's representation of Adrian as Inquisitor is corrected. Adrian appointed the first Inquisitor in America. See I. TERILIO MEDINA, Hist. de trib. d. S. Oficio en Chile (Santiago, 1890).

Against Luther's errors Adrian had pronounced from the first, and when the University of Louvain asked their former Rector for his opinion of the teaching newly set forth by the Wittenberg professor, he, in a letter intended for publication, remarked that his heresies were so crude that they would hardly be attributed to a theological student. While Adrian encouraged Luther's condemnation, he at the same time warned the authorities of Louvain to take care that Luther's own words were accurately quoted.[1] During the Diet of Worms he strongly exhorted the Emperor to protect the Church.[2] Where the faith was in question Adrian was inflexible—in other respects he showed exceptional kindness of heart, and he gave proof of this in repeated instances. When one of his servants fell ill of fever on a journey, the Cardinal gave up his litter to him, and in spite of bodily infirmity made the rest of the toilsome way on horseback.[3]

Before Charles embarked for the Netherlands and Germany, on the 20th of May 1520, he appointed the Cardinal of Tortosa to be his Viceroy in Spain.[4] Charles was justified in thinking that he had chosen the right man. Adrian's position as a Cardinal and Inquisitor-General was a highly important one; yet he by no means failed to secure affection. His independent spirit, as compared with the intrigues of other Netherlanders in Spain, and his unspotted integrity won for him the

[1] BURMANN, 447; *cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 189 *seq.* See also BOTTEMANNE, De Brief v. d. Kard. v. Tortosa aan de Theol. faculteit v. Leuven, in the periodical De Katholiek (Leiden, 1882), LXXXII., 1 *seqq.*

[2] GACHARD, Corresp., 244 *seqq.*; LEPITRE, 167.

[3] MORING-BURMANN, 47–49.

[4] Decree of nomination, May 17, in GACHARD, Corresp., 237 *seqq.* *Cf.* HÖFLER, Mon. Hisp., II., 42.

respect of many.[1] But he was a foreigner; that no Spaniard could overlook, least of all the grandees of the kingdom. Charles had hardly left before the insurrection of the Castilian Comuneros broke out, and Adrian, on foreign soil and without money, found himself in the greatest embarrassment. His sensitive nature was not able to cope with a most difficult situation; moreover, as a foreigner, he misunderstood the actual circumstances confronting him.[2] The experience was for him a real martyrdom, for, now in his sixty-first year, his health was shattered by the dangers and excitement of this time. The full weight of these responsibilities was still pressing upon Adrian when, on the 24th of January 1522, at Vittoria, in the Basque country, he heard through Blasio Ortiz, provisor of the Bishop of Calahorra, the wholly unexpected announcement that a yet heavier burden had been imposed upon him.[3] The news seemed incredible, although confirmed by letters from other quarters. Not until the 9th of February, when Antonio de Studillo, one of Cardinal Carvajal's chamberlains, who had been delayed by violent snowstorms, entered Vittoria bearing the official despatch of the Sacred College declaring the result of the election,

[1] BAUMGARTEN, I., 237.

[2] *Cf.* HÖFLER, Der Aufstand der kastilianischen Städte, Prag, 1876; Mon. hispanica, I.; Korrespondenz des Gobernadors Adrian von Utrecht mit Karl V. im Jahre 1520, Prag, 1881; and Adrian VI., 111 *seq.* Here, as in LEPITRE, 99 *seqq.*, 110 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, I., 249 *seq.*, 358 *seq.*, 468 *seq.*, a much too favourable view is held of Adrian's endeavours to cope with the revolution. On the other hand see HÖFLER, Histor. Zeitschr., XCV., 427, 434, who perhaps goes too far on the other side. *Cf.* also VILLA, Juana la Loca, Madrid, 1892, 312 *seq.*, where numerous reports from Adrian to Charles V. are printed.

[3] Ortiz, Itinerarium, in BURMANN, 258. For the itinerarium *cf.* FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, Bibliogr. d. voyag. en Espagne, in the Revue Hispanique, III. (1896), 21.

could all doubt be allayed as to the truth of an event of such world-wide importance.[1]

The wish, so often anxiously expressed by the best representatives of Christendom, for a Pope in whom piety, learning, and sanctity should be combined, was now granted. The custom, which since 1378 had become an unbroken precedent, of raising only an Italian to the Papal throne, was now interrupted. A conclave, composed almost exclusively of Italians, had, against their own inclinations, for the first time after a lapse of 461 years, elected to this position of great eminence a man of German origin, and one who was worthy, on account of his virtues, as hardly any other, of so great an honour.

Immersed in the whirlpool of secular life and of political affairs, the Popes of the Renaissance and, above all, Leo X., had too often lost sight of the weightiest of all duties, those inherent in their ecclesiastical station. Now the call had come to one who stood entirely aloof from Italian politics, and whose heart was set on the defence of Christendom and the restoration of the relaxed discipline of the Church. A simple, sincerely pious, and humble man, who had fled from rather than sought out titles and honours, had risen from the rank of a poor student to that of University Professor, to become the tutor of an Emperor, a Spanish Bishop, Cardinal, Grand Inquisitor, and Viceroy, and finally Chief Pastor of the universal Church.

On the first reception of the news of his election, Adrian had displayed that immovable calm which was one of his most prominent characteristics, and was in

[1] As late as January 27, 1522, Charles was informed from Vittoria that Adrian awaited more accurate information from Charles or from Rome before making any alterations. VILLA, Juana la Loca, 354, who wrongly gives the year as 1521.

keeping with his racial origin, as well as with his deep piety. All accounts agree that his elevation, so far from being a source of pleasure to him, distressed him, and although all the letters announcing the outcome of that crisis in his life have not been preserved, yet those known to us are sufficient to show the emotions of his soul. On the 2nd of February 1522 he wrote to Henry VIII. that he had neither sought nor wished for election; his strength was unequal to his task; did he not fear to injure the cause of God and His Church, he would decline the tiara.[1] In like manner, in a letter to the Emperor, he dwelt on the sorrow which his accession caused him when he considered how weak and powerless he was; rest, and not an unbearable burden, was what he needed.[2]

Adrian also showed imperturbable gravity when, on the 9th of February, Antonio de Studillo, as envoy of the Sacred College, handed him the official announcement of his election. He read the letter without remark, and then, in his dry manner, told Studillo, who was fatigued by the journey, to go and take some repose. On the same day he composed his answer to the College of Cardinals; in this he also reiterated his sense of unfitness for his new dignity and his willingness to have declined it; but, trusting in God, whose honour alone was his aim in

[1] BREWER, III., 2, n. 2018. Also in like manner to Wolsey (*ibid.*, 2019). These letters in full in GACHARD, Corresp., 254 *seqq.*

[2] The letter in Gachard bears date February 11, Corresp., 26 *seqq.*, but probably we ought to read 11 February; see BONNER, theol. Literaturblatt, 1874, 55. In Cod. Barb., lat. 2103 (Vatican Library), which contains a seventeenth-century copy, made in Madrid, from the original, of this very letter, which Gachard published from a MS. in the town library of Hamburg, also based on the Madrid original, the dates, unfortunately, are written sometimes in Arabic and sometimes in Roman numerals, so that no certain evidence can be adduced in settlement of this question.

all things, and also out of respect for the Cardinals, he acquiesced in his election; as soon as the Legates arrived and the fleet was ready to sail, he would make all haste to reach Rome.[1] But the letters written by him to an intimate friend in the Netherlands reflect still more plainly than these official documents the nobleness and purity of his soul. "Dear friend," he wrote on the 15th of February 1522 from Vittoria to the Syndic of Utrecht, Florentius Oem van Wyngarden, "there can be no one who would not have been surprised and who was not astonished at the Cardinals' unanimous choice of one so poor, so well-nigh unknown, and, moreover, so far removed from them as I, to fill the position of Vicar of Christ. To God only is it easy thus suddenly to uplift the lowly. This honour brings me no gladness, and I dread taking upon me such a burden. I would much rather serve God in my provostship at Utrecht than as Bishop, Cardinal, or Pope. But who am I, to withstand the call of the Lord? And I hope that He will supply in me what is lacking, and continue to grant me strength for my burden. Pray for me, I beseech you, and through your devout prayers may He vouchsafe to teach me how to fulfil His commandments, and make me worthy to serve the best interests of His Church."[2]

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 76–77; here 77 *seq.* are also the later letters of the Pope to the Cardinals and Romans. Of these the two briefs of the last day of February 1522 were printed soon after their arrival in Rome, by Bladus. I saw a copy of this extremely rare example of single-sheet printing in the Borghese Library. On the last day of February Adrian VI. also addressed a letter to the cities of the Papal States; see CHIESI, 106.

[2] BURMANN, 398; *cf.* HÖFLER, 129 *seq.* Adrian spoke out in precisely similar terms to another confidential friend; see PETER MARTYR, Op. Epist., 753. *Cf.* also Adrian's letters of February 14, 1522, to Jean de Vignacourt in WEISS; Pap. de Granvelle, I., 251, and the

Not until he had received the official notification of his election did Adrian resign his Viceroyalty and assume the title of Pope-elect. Contrary to the custom observed for five hundred years, he adhered to his baptismal name.[1] He was determined, even as Pope, to be the same man as before.[2]

Although Adrian was now in full possession of his Papal prerogatives, he yet resolved, in deference to the urgent wish of the Cardinals, to abstain from using them until the arrival of the Legates.[3] But in order to be secure in every respect, he ordered, on the 16th of February, a notarial deed to be executed registering his consent to his election.[4] This was done in strict secrecy; the public declaration was reserved until after the arrival of the Cardinal-Legates, which was delayed in unexpected ways. From day to day Adrian increasingly felt the embarrassment of his position, whereby he seemed to be reconsidering his acceptance of the Papacy. Nor, until he had publicly given consent to his election, could he act effectively as Pope, use his influence with the Princes

briefs addressed to Utrecht in ANT. MATTHAEI, Analecta, III., 690 *seqq.* See further BOSCH, 50 *seq.* On February 15, 1522, Adrian VI. also addressed a *cry for help to the Duke of Mantua. More *letters were sent to the latter on February 28, March 29, and April 27. The *originals are all in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] As before his election (BURMANN, 444) so afterwards the Pope always signed himself Adrianus; *cf.* the Pope's own signature to the *Briefs of March 29, 1522 (National Archives, Paris), and of April 11, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna). On his tomb there is the curious interchange of Adrianus and Hadrianus.

[2] TIZIO lays stress on this, *Hist. Senen *ut sup.* (Chigi Library, Rome). *Cf.* also GRAADT JONCKERS in the Utrechtsche Volks-Almanak, 1857, 175.

[3] *Cf.* Adrian's letter to Charles V., February 15, 1522, in GACHARD, Corresp., 34.

[4] See Ortiz in BURMANN, 161.

of Europe for the restoration of peace, or for arbitration. When, in the beginning of March, there were still no tidings of the departure of the Cardinal-Legates, Adrian made up his mind to wait no longer, and on the 8th of that month, in the presence of several bishops and prelates, and before a notary and witnesses, he made the solemn declaration of his acceptance of the Papacy. With emphasis he expressed, on this occasion, his trust that the Divine Founder of the Primacy would endow him, though unworthy, with the strength necessary to protect the Church against the attacks of the Evil One, and to bring back the erring and deceived to the unity of the Church after the example of the Good Shepherd.[1]

Adrian's biographer pertinently remarks: "It must have been a more than ordinary trust in God which led him to bend his back to a burden the weight of which was immeasurable, and to take over the colossal inheritance of all the strifes and enmities which Leo had been powerless to allay. In the background, apart from the German revolt, lurked also a schism with France, whose King, through the Concordat with Leo, had made himself master of the French Church and was in no haste to acknowledge the German Pope, the creature, as it was asserted, of the Emperor."[2]

Not less great were the difficulties presented by the States of the Church, and in particular by the condition of Rome itself. The ferment among the youth of the

[1] The Instrumentum acceptionis electionis in SANUTO, XXXVIII., 204 *seqq.*, was published in Rome, April 9; see *ibid.*, 208; *cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 69. The *Mandatum for the procurators of Adrian VI. sent to Rome (Enkevoirt, Ingenwinkel and Borell; *cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 209 *seq.*, and SCHULTE, I., 228), dat. in Civit. Calciaten, 1522, Martii 14, in Cod. Barb., lat. 2428, f. 14 (Vatican Library).

[2] HÖFLER in Freiburger Kirchenlexicon, V, ed. 2, 1429–1430.

city and the divisions among the Cardinals, many of whom acted quite despotically, gave rise towards the end of January to the worst apprehensions. As time went on the situation became more precarious from week to week.[1] The circumstance that the three Cardinals at the head of affairs changed every month added to the insecurity and brought men into office who were altogether disqualified. An unparalleled confusion prevailed;[2] above all, the want of money was pressingly felt, and the Cardinals were reduced to the pawning of the remainder of the Papal mitres and tiaras; this led to the discovery that the costly jewels in the tiara of Paul II. had been exchanged for imitation stones. So great was their financial necessity that on one occasion they could not raise fifty ducats for the expenses of an envoy who was deputed to ascertain the state of affairs in Perugia: in order to make up the amount they were obliged to pledge some altar lights.[3]

On the 18th of February the Sacred College concluded a temporary treaty with the Duke of Urbino; they also hoped to come to an understanding with the Baglioni in Perugia. But in the Romagna, especially in Bologna, great unrest was felt; Ravenna and Foligno showed a readiness to throw off the authority of the Regents

[1] See SANUTO, XXXII., 433 *seqq.*, 447 *seqq.*, 465 *seq.*; *cf.* besides Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXI., 411 *seq.* See also the entirely one-sided and exaggerated reports of Manuel in BERGENROTH, II., n. 384, 385, 386, 392, 394.

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of B. Castiglione of February, 5, 12, 22, 1522. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] SANUTO, XXXII., 442, 474. *Cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 2046, and SCHULTE, I., 228. * La difficolta de li denari è tanto grande che non po essere maggiore, wrote Castiglione on January 12, 1522. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

appointed by Leo X.[1] The Marquis of Mantua asked in vain for his pay as Captain-General of the Church.[2] The plague broke out in Rome, in addition to which great excesses were committed by the Corsican soldiery;[3] assassinations took place daily with impunity. Nothing else could be expected, since the discord between the Cardinals of French and Imperialist sympathies showed no abatement. When Cardinals Ridolfi and Salviati wished to excuse the Medicean Governor of Loreto, Cardinal Grimani remarked: "Leo X. having ruined the Church, his relations now wish to bring all that is left to the ground."[4]

At the beginning of March little was known in Rome of Adrian's movements, the report of his death having often been current.[5] At last, on the 18th of that month, Studillo arrived with the first authentic information concerning the new Pope. He was described as a man of middle height, with grey hair, an aquiline nose, and small, lively eyes;

[1] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 34, 57 *seq.*, 70, 74. *Cf.* ALIPPI in Bollett. Senese, X. (1903), 480 *seqq.*

[2] SANUTO, XXXII., 484, 492.

[3] *Cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 214 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd edit., 388 *seq.*

[4] SANUTO, XXXIII., 74, 76; *cf.* 8, 115, 131 *seq.*; BREWER, III., 2, n. 2044, and *letter of G. de' Medici of April 13, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. A member of Cardinal Gonzaga's family (Nepos Jac. Prot.) reported on April 1, 1522, from Rome on the dissensions among the Cardinals: *et tanta discordia non fu mai, de sorte che per fermo non andando bene le cose de Milano siamo certi di una cisma grandissima. Roma sta in arme (murders are committed every day). Dio ci adiuta et simo con grandissima guardia et gorni et nocte pervigilamo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] SANUTO, XXXIII., 34. *Cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 2064, and BERGENROTH, II., n. 386. See also Castiglione's *account, March 5, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

his complexion was rather pale than sanguine; he was already a little bent, but still vigorous in body, being especially a good walker; he still continued to wear his Cardinal's dress, kept only a few servants, and loved solitude. In bearing he was extremely reserved, neither giving way to impetuosity nor inclined to jocosity; on receiving the news of his election he had shown no signs of joy, but had sighed deeply; he was in the habit of going early to bed and of rising at daybreak. He said Mass daily, and was an indefatigable worker; his speech was slow and generally in Latin, which he spoke not exactly with polish, but yet not incorrectly; he understood Spanish, and sometimes tried to express himself in that language. His most earnest wish was to see the Princes of Christendom united in arms against the Turk. In religious affairs he was very firm, and was determined that no one henceforward should receive more than one ecclesiastical office, since he adhered to the principle that benefices should be supplied with priests, and not priests with benefices.[1]

[1] *Cf.* with Negri's letter in Lett. d. princ., I., 98, Corp. dipl. Port., II., 70, and Ortiz in BURMANN, 227 *seqq.*, the letter of Fra Vincenzo di S. Gimignano to Cardinal Fieschi, dated Vittoria, March 10, 1522, in SANUTO, XXXIII., 203–204. He also wrote to Cardinal Cajetan in entirely the same sense. This letter is in TIZIO, * Hist. Senen., G II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome). Castiglione reported on March 26, 1522, * Circa la venuta del papa il collegio ha determinato che li legati non vadino più fora de Italia perchè questa andata potrebbe tardare molto S. Sta et oltre di questo non avendo il papa cardinale alcuno dal canto di là estimasi chel debba accelerare la venuta sua molto più. Qui se hanno lettere da diverse che sono con S. Sta Italiani li quali confirmano la bontà et il valor suo et il desiderio de la pace universale e de la reformazione della chiesa; confirmano ancor che S. Sta ha deliberato e stabilito de non volere dare ne officii ne beneficii se non a persone che meritino; dicono che ogni matina celebra la messa devotissimamente e molte altre cose bone fa; tra l' altre tutta Spagna gli è intorno e ognuno

Such reports made no pleasant impression on the worldly members of the Curia. At first they had flattered themselves with the hope that, out of conscientious scruples, the pious Netherlander would have declined election; then the opinion gained ground that he would certainly not come to Rome.[1] Now they realized with what a firm hand he intended to direct affairs. A total breach with the traditions of government as embodied not only in the system of Leo X., but in that of all the Renaissance Popes, was to be expected. With fear and trembling the coming of the stranger was awaited; everything about him was matter of dislike, even the circumstance that he had not changed his name.[2]

Studillo handed to the Cardinals Adrian's letter of thanks dated the 28th of February, to the effect that he only awaited the arrival of the Legates to begin his journey to Rome; the College of Cardinals replied forthwith that it was unnecessary to wait for their coming, but that he ought to hasten with all possible speed to Rome, his true place of residence.[3] Individual Cardinals, such as Campeggio, also adjured the Pope in special letters to expedite his journey in order to bring to an end the confusion and incompetence there prevailing.[4] How much the Cardinals still feared that he might not permanently

li domanda e non è cosa de valuta de dieci scudi che non li sia stata dimandata da cento persone e S. Sta rimette ognuno a Roma ne vol fare la famiglia perfin che non è in Roma. Li legati andaranno a ricevere S. Sta in Italia dove la avisava voler disimbarcare, estimasi pero de la più parte che serà a Napoli. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] *Cf.* BERNI, Rime ed. Virgili, 32.

[2] *Cod. Barb., 2103, f. 128^b^. Vatican Library.

[3] SANUTO, XXXIII., 74, 79–80, 103–107.

[4] *Cf.* Campeggio's letter in the Zeitschr. f. deutsche Geschichtswissensch., N.F., I. Vierteljahrshefte, 1896–97, 72 *seq.*

establish his court in Rome is shown by their original hesitation in sending to the Pope the fisherman's ring.[1] The longer the Pope's arrival was delayed, the greater was the general dissatisfaction and the fear that Spain might prove a second Avignon;[2] this last alarm was heightened by a forged brief summoning the Cardinals to Spain.[3]

In reality Adrian had never thought of remaining in Spain. His repeated assurances that it was his most urgent wish to come to Rome have been confirmed by unimpeachable testimony;[4] however, obstacles of various kinds stood in the way of his departure. Adrian had to transfer his functions as Viceroy, and, owing to the voyage being insecure on account of the Turkish pirates, it was necessary to levy troops for the protection of the flotilla; to secure them he was forced, owing to his poverty, to rely on foreign, that is Spanish, support. An overland route through France was out of the question, since the Emperor would have seen in such a step an open bid for the favour of his enemy.

The difficulty of the Pope's position, confronted as he was by two great rival powers, each of whom wished to secure the Papal influence for the attainment of his own objects, showed itself also in other ways. The Imperialists gave the new Pope no rest with their irksome importunity. The Ambassador Manuel took a delight in offering unasked-for advice, sometimes tendered in letters which were frankly discourteous, while Mendoza made attempts to

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 162, 265; BERGENROTH, II., n. 408. *Cf.* *letter of Castiglione, April 14, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Castiglione, April 19 and May 30, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] TIZIO, * Hist. Senen, *loc. cit.* (Chigi Library, Rome).

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 52, n. 1, the letter of Fra Vincenzo di S. Gimignano.

bribe those in Adrian's confidence.[1] Charles V. was assiduous in approaching the Pope with a host of wishes and business concerns, but mainly with the request that he should, like his predecessors, join in the alliance against the French. Adrian's dealings with his former lord and master were marked by great shrewdness, caution, and reserve; where he could he acted as the father and friend, but never at the cost of his high office as head of universal Christendom.

After waiting long, and in vain, in Vittoria for the arrival of La Chaulx, the Emperor's envoy, Adrian, on the 12th of March, betook himself by S. Domingo and Logroño, in the valley of the Ebro, to Saragossa, which he reached on the 29th of March. Many Spanish bishops and prelates, with a great number of grandees, had assembled in the capital of Aragon to pay homage to the new Pope,[2] the first whom Spain had ever seen. As well as La Chaulx, envoys also soon arrived from England, Portugal, and Savoy[3] whose chief task it was to induce Adrian to enter the anti-French League. In one of the letters in Charles's own hand which he delivered, the Emperor had permitted himself to remark that Adrian had been elected out of consideration for himself. In his answer, animated by great goodwill, the Pope declared with delicate tact that he was convinced that the Cardinals, in making their choice, had been mindful of the Emperor's interests; at the same time, he felt very happy that he had not received the tiara, the acquisition of which must be pure and spotless, through Charles's entreaties; thus he

[1] See GACHARD, 7 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*, 55 *seqq.*, 69 *seq.* *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 133.

[2] See Ortiz, Itinerarium in BURMANN, 162 *seqq.* *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., 47 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* with SANUTO, XXXIII., 302, also GACHARD, Corresp., 78, and Corp. dipl. Port., II., 71 *seqq.*

would feel himself to be even more the Emperor's ally than if he had owed the Papacy to his mediation.[1]

Adrian also showed plainly in other ways that, with all his personal liking for the Emperor, he would not, on that account, as Pope, follow the lead of the Imperial policy. He declined positively to take part in the anti-French League. With all the more insistence he called upon Charles to forward the cause of peace by the acceptance of moderate, reasonable, and equitable terms, and provisionally to conclude a longer armistice. Every day made it clearer that he looked upon his Pontificate as an apostolate of peace.[2] The interests he was bent on serving were not those of individual monarchs, but of Christendom in general. On this account he had from the beginning urged the necessity of restoring peace among the Christian states and of uniting them in opposition to the oncoming assaults of the Ottoman power.[3] On behalf of peace it was decided to send at once special envoys to the Emperor and to the Kings of France, England, and Portugal.[4] Stefano Gabriele Merino, Archbishop of Bari, was appointed to proceed as Nuncio to France. Adrian had asked the French King to grant the Nuncio a safe-conduct, and at the same time exhorted Francis and the most important personages of his Court to make for peace.[5] This letter was

[1] LANZ, I., 61 *seq.* La Chaulx's Instructions in the Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, XXVIII., 250 *seq.*

[2] HÖFLER, 159.

[3] See the brief to Venice, March 13, 1522, in SANUTO, XXXIII., 129 *seq.* *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 402.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 302.

[5] *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 63. The briefs addressed to France are wanting up to one dated March 29, 1522, which I found, in the original, in the National Archives, Paris (L. 357); this is addressed to the Archbishop of Sens. See also the brief to Portugal in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 76 *seq.*

not despatched until after the 8th of March, when Adrian had publicly and solemnly accepted the Papal office. Francis I. complained of this in very harsh terms, saying that the accession of the Pope had been communicated to him later than was customary; it would even seem that he went so far as to still address the duly elected Pontiff as Cardinal of Tortosa.[1] Adrian replied to this calmly in a brief of the 21st of April 1522.[2] The apostolic gentleness of tone disarmed the French King in such a way that in his second letter of the 24th of June he evinced a very different temper. Francis avowed his inclination to conclude an armistice, and even invited the Pope to make his journey to Rome by way of France.[3]

Adrian declined this invitation, as he did also that of Henry VIII. to pass through England and Germany on his way to Italy. He wished to avoid every appearance of sanctioning by a visit to the English King the latter's warlike bearing towards France. But he was all the more distrustful of the intentions of Francis, inasmuch as the improved attitude of the French King was undoubtedly connected with his military failures in upper Italy. French domination in that quarter was well-nigh at an end; the defeat at Bicocca on the 27th of April was followed on the 30th of May by the loss of Genoa. To the strange advice of Manuel, that he should travel through

[1] See HÖFLER, 163 *seq.* According to Manuel (BERGENROTH, II., n. 417), Francis I. was collecting canonists' opinions against Adrian VI.

[2] GACHARD, Corresp., 262 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 262 *seq.*, note. The National Archives, Paris, contain unfortunately only a few letters of Francis I. to Adrian VI. In one, *dated Paris, December 17, 1522, the King begs the Pope to confirm the "statuts et réformations de l'abbaye et monast. de S. Victor de l'ordre de St. Augustin" made by the Archbishop of Sens. Francis here signs himself "votre devot filz le Roy de France, duc de Milan, seigneur de Gennes Francoys."

the Netherlands and Germany to Italy, Adrian also sent a refusal.[1]

Towards the College of Cardinals Adrian maintained the same position of independence with which he had encountered the sovereign powers. Through his intimate friend, Johannes Winkler, he let the former understand that they were in nowise to alienate, divide, or mortgage vacant offices, but that all such must be reserved intact for the Pope's disposal.[2]

Nor was Adrian long in coming forward as a reformer. He set to work in earnest, since, to the amazement of the Curia, he did not simply confine himself to bringing the rules of the Chancery into line with established usage, but in many instances made changes whereby the privileges of the Cardinals[3] were specifically curtailed. Jointly with

[1] *Cf.* HÖFLER, 156, 164; LEPITRE, 186.

[2] HÖFLER, 162.

[3] The decision, "quod cardinales non comprehendantur sub regulis cancell.," fell through entirely. Gomez (Comment in regul. Cancell., Paris, 1547) has called attention, under their appropriate titles, to important alterations in the rules of Chancery, "De non tollendo jure quaesito, de infirmis resignantibus, de subrogandis collitigentibus, de triennali possessore, de publicandis resignationibus." The assertion, to which Höfler still adheres, that Adrian repealed wholesale previous reservations, is incorrect. He renewed all "reservationes generales et speciales" named in the first Chancery regulations of his predecessor, as well as those in the constitutions "ad regimen" of Benedict XII. and "Exsecrabilis" of John XXII. Even the "revocatis exspectativarum" is to be found already in the rules of the preceding period. But it is correct to say that Adrian VI. on this very point did make additions of intrinsic importance by which the privileges favourable to the Sacred College were restricted, and the "facultates nominandi, reservandi, conferendi, commendandi" granted by his predecessors were removed along with the nominations and reservations which were the result of this plenary authority. The removal of the faculties for the sale of curial offices, and of all the concessions relating to the latter which had been

the publication of these regulations, on the 24th of April 1522 the Pope appointed a special authority to deal with the petitions which were always coming in in large numbers.[1]

In the first week of May, Adrian was anxious to leave Saragossa and to pass through Ilerda to Barcelona, but an outbreak of the plague in both cities caused a fresh hindrance, and another port of departure had to be found. In the meantime the Pope wrote to the Cardinals and the Romans on the 19th of May, and at the same time enumerated the difficulties with which he had to contend before he could get together a flotilla to protect him on his voyage to Italy across the Gulf of Lyons, then infested by Turkish pirates.[2] By the 3rd of June he was at last able to inform the Cardinals that these hindrances had been overcome.[3]

On the 11th of June the Pope left Saragossa, and reached Tortosa on the eve of Corpus Christi (June 18th). On the 26th of June he wrote from there that he intended to embark in a few days.[4] As all his vessels were not yet assembled, a

guaranteed by Leo X. and, *sede vacante*, by the Cardinals, was an entirely new and decisive step. For these details I am gratefully indebted to the co-operation of Dr. Göller.

[1] Ortiz in BURMANN, 167–168. The correct date of the first publication has been established by DOMARUS in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XVI., 76. The second publication followed on September 25, 1522, at Rome, as given in the concluding notice of the Roman impression of the "Regulae," 1522. Melchior de Baldasinis took part in the redaction of the "Regulae"; see GÖLLER in Archiv f. Kirchenrecht, LXXXVI. (1906), 21.

[2] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 303 *seq.*, 306 *seq.*; *cf.* 301. GACHARD, Corresp., 82 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 77, 79, 80.

[3] See the *letter in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Appendix, No. 5.

[4] Habemus parata omnia, quae ad navigationem nostram necessaria

new delay arose,[1] and not until the 8th of July was the Pope able to take ship, in spite of the excessive heat, in the neighbouring port of Ampolla. His departure was so unexpected that the greater part of the suite did not reach the harbour until nightfall. Owing to unfavourable weather it was impossible to sail for Tarragona before the 10th of July.[2] Here again a stoppage took place, a sufficient number of ships not being available. At last, on the evening of the 5th of August, the fleet put out to sea. The hour of departure was kept a secret. On board were Cardinal Cesarini, representing the Sacred College, Mendoza on behalf of the Emperor, and nearly two thousand armed men. The galley which conveyed Adrian was recognizable by its awning of crimson damask, bearing the Papal escutcheon.[3]

In addition to Marino Caracciolo, who was already resident at the court of Charles, Adrian VI. had, on the 15th of July,[4] sent to the Emperor another intimate friend in the person of Bernardo Pimentel. Charles, who had landed at Santander on the 16th of July, despatched to the Pope as his representative Herr von Zevenbergen, who, among numerous other matters, was to express the Emperor's wish to see Adrian in person before he left Spain.

sunt et intra paucos dies adjuvante Domino velificaturi sumus. Letter to N. N. (perhaps the College of Cardinals), dated Dertusae, 1522, June 26. Copy in the Library, Mantua, Lett. di div.

[1] *Cf.* *the letter of Girolamo Adorno to the Archbishop of Capua of July 10, 1522 (Library, Mantua, *loc. cit.*). Adrian's exhortation to peace addressed to Charles, July 4, in Compt. rend. de la commiss. d'hist, 3 Series, III., 299.

[2] From Tarragona Adrian VI. addressed a laudatory letter to Alb. Pio of Carpi; see SEMPER, Carpi, 14 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* ORTIZ, Itinerarium, 173 *seqq.*; HÖFLER, 178 *seqq.*, 188.

[4] See Adrian's letter of July 15, 1522, in Compt. rend. de la commiss. d'hist., 3 Series, III., 300.

Adrian, however, on various pleas, evaded the fulfilment of this wish. In a letter of the 27th of July he assured the Emperor of his great desire to effect a meeting, but that he was reluctant to suggest a rapid journey in the great heat, and that he himself could not wait longer, as his departure for Rome had, in other ways, been so long delayed.[1]

Since Adrian, previously, had expressed a repeated wish to see the Emperor before he left Spain, this excuse was hardly sufficient to explain the fact,[2] which was everywhere attracting attention, that the Pope, after a month's delay, had embarked at the very moment of Charles's arrival on Spanish soil. Reasons were not wanting why Adrian should avoid a personal interview. He knew well that Charles disapproved of his dealings with France; he also may have feared that Charles would remind him of other wishes now impossible to gratify. Among the latter was the nomination of new Cardinals, a point urgently pressed by Charles, and refused in the letter of excuse above mentioned. But of greater weight than all these considerations was Adrian's regard for that position of impartiality which, as ruler of the Church, he had determined to adopt; he would not give the French King cause to suppose that by such an interview he was transferring to the side of his adversary the support of the Holy See.[3] But in order that the Emperor might not be offended, Adrian wrote again, on the 5th of August, from on board ship, an affectionate letter, containing, together with valuable advice, a further apology for his departure; letters from Rome and Genoa had informed him how necessary

[1] LANZ, I., 63.

[2] *Cf.* letter of Negri of August 15, 1522, in Lett. d. princ., I., 106.

[3] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 218.

his presence in Italy was. Their different ways of looking at the relations with France were also touched upon: he knew well that the Emperor was averse to a treaty with France until the French King's plumage, real or borrowed, was closely clipped, so that he could not direct his flight wherever his fancy pleased him; "but we also take into consideration the dangers now threatening Christendom from the Turk, and are of opinion that the greater dangers should be first attacked. If we protect and defend the interests of our faith, even at the loss of our worldly advantage, instead of meeting the evils of Christendom with indifference, the Lord will be our helper."[1]

Although the fleet on which Adrian was bound for Italy consisted of fifty vessels, the coast-line was followed the whole way for safety. At Barcelona the reception was cordial, but at Marseilles it was impossible to stop owing to distrust of the French. The Pope kept the feast of the Assumption at S. Stefano al Mare, near San Remo; at Savona the Archbishop Tommaso Riario showed all the splendid hospitality of a prelate of the Renaissance. From the 17th to the 19th of August Adrian stayed in Genoa comforting the inhabitants, on whom the visitations of war had fallen heavily. Here came to greet him the Duke of Milan and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Imperialists, Prospero Colonna, the Marquis of Pescara, and Antonio da Leyva.[2]

[1] GACHARD, Corresp., 103 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 180 *seqq.*

[2] See ORTIZ, Itinerarium, 178 *seqq.*, 182 *seqq.*, 185 *seqq.*; further, GACHARD, Corresp., 107 *seq.* Adrian's letter here published shows the incorrectness of the account that the Pope had refused absolution to the Imperial Commanders-in-Chief. HÖFLER, 185, had already called attention to this; notwithstanding, LEPITRE, 209, repeats this false statement. A brief *of Adrian to the Marquis of Mantua, "ex triremi," August 11, 1522, relating to his journey, is to be found in the original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The passage to Leghorn was hindered by stormy weather, and the Pope was detained for four days in the harbour of Portofino. Amid incessant fear of attacks from Turkish pirates, Leghorn was reached at last on the 23rd of August.[1] Here Adrian was received in state by the representatives of the States of the Church[2] and five Tuscan Cardinals: Medici, Petrucci, Passerini, Ridolfi, and Piccolomini. The latter were in full lay attire, wearing Spanish hats and carrying arms; for this the Pope seriously rebuked them.[3] When he was offered the costly service of silver with which the banquet table in the citadel had been spread, he replied: "Here, of a truth, the Cardinals fare like kings; may they inherit better treasures in heaven."[4] He disregarded the entreaties of Cardinal Medici and the Florentines that he should visit Pisa and Florence and at first make Bologna his residence, on account of the plague. "To Rome, to Rome,"[5] he replied, "I must needs go." The presence of the plague there caused him no anxiety;[6] with the first favourable wind he made haste to embark, without informing the Cardinals, who were sitting over their dinner.[7]

Late in the evening, on the 25th of August, Adrian lay

[1] See ORTIZ, Itinerarium, 188 *seq.*, and report of M. da Silva in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 91.

[2] *Cf.* CHIESI, 107.

[3] CAPPELLETTI, Il p Adriano VI. a Livorno, in Miscell., Livorn, I. (1894), 3.

[4] TIZIO, *Hist. Senen, *loc. cit.* Chigi Library, Rome.

[5] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 426, 431. *Cf.* *letter of T. Campeggio to Bologna, Rome, September 11, 1522 (State Archives, Bologna).

[6] The Florentine envoys were enjoined to make special reference to the danger from plague in Rome: see *Instruttione ai m. ambasc. deputati a far reverentia alla Sta di N. S. quando sarà arrivata ad Livorno, deliberata adì 16 di Augusto, 1522. State Archives, Florence.

[7] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

off Civita Vecchia, and on the following morning set foot for the first time on the soil of the Papal States. A great concourse of persons, among whom were many members of the Curia, awaited him on the shore; Cardinals Colonna and Orsini were present to represent the Sacred College.[1] To the greetings of the former the Pope made a short but suitable reply. Here, as in all other places visited on his journey, he first made his way to the cathedral; thence he proceeded to the Rocca, where he took a midday collation and held audiences. By the 27th of August the Pope was again on board. To the beggars who pressed around him he said: "I love poverty, and you shall see what I will do for you." Head-winds made the landing at Ostia on the 28th of August a matter of difficulty. Adrian, in a small boat, with only six companions, was the first to gain the land; he sprang ashore without assistance, and with almost youthful alacrity. Here also he visited the church without delay and prayed. The Cardinals had prepared a repast in the Castle, but the Pope declined their invitation. He ate alone, and, at once mounting a mule, made his way to the cloister of St. Paul without the Walls. The Cardinals and the others who accompained him followed in the greatest disorder, through mud and heat, the rapid progress of the Pontiff, who was met on his way

[1] G. de' Medici reports from Rome, August 9, 1522: *Hanno li prefati r^mi^ [Cardinali] ordinato una intimatione a tutti li cardinali absentati da Roma, che si debbino trovar quà e alli r^mi^ Orsino e Colonna che come legati debbino inviarsi alla volta di Civitavechia per incontrar S. Sta, dove per breve al s. collegio fa intender voler venire a di lungo senza far posata in loco alcuno, e di li si delibererà, se vorrà andare alla volta di Viterbo o quello vorrà fare. On August 21: *Yesterday Cardinal Colonna departed; to-day Orsini is to follow. August 25: Several Cardinals and a great number of the Court have gone to Civita Vecchia. State Archives, Florence.

by sightseers moved by curiosity, and by the Swiss guard carrying a litter. Into this he got reluctantly, but suddenly quitted it and again mounted his mule. His vigorous bearing astonished all who saw him, for during the voyage and even after his arrival Adrian had felt so ill that many were afraid he would not recover; having reached his journey's end, he seemed to regain youth and strength. He rode in front in animated conversation with the Ambassador Manuel. "His face is long and pale," writes the Venetian Envoy; "his body is lean, his hands are snow-white. His whole demeanour impresses one with reverence; even his smile has a tinge of seriousness."[1] All who saw the Pope for the first time were struck by his ascetic appearance. In a letter sent to Venice the writer says, "I could have sworn that he had become a monk."[2]

The plague being unabated in Rome, many advised the Pope to be crowned in St. Paul's. Adrian refused, and decided that the ceremony should take place in St. Peter's with all possible simplicity; the coronation over, he intended to remain in Rome notwithstanding the plague,[3] since he desired by his presence to tranquillize his sorely afflicted subjects and to restore order in the city. Owing to the Pope's absence and the outbreak of the pestilence, a majority of the court had left Rome, so that

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 434–435; *cf.* 426 *seq.*, 430. *Letter of A. Taurelli of August 27 in State Archives, Modena. *Letter of G. de' Medici of August 28, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. Ortiz, in BURMANN, 192. BREWER, III., 2, n. 2771. HÖFLER, 188 *seq.*

[2] SANUTO, XXXIII., 432.

[3] On August 23, 1522, G. de' Medici was able to report: *It is not yet decided whether the coronation is to take place in St. Paul's or St. Peter's; "nel uno luogo e altro si fa preparatione, la qual sarà con poco ceremonia e manco spesa; ancora che la peste vadia continuando al far danno, questi ministri di S. Sta dicono farà la incoronatione a S. Pietro et che sua B^tu^ si fermerà in Roma." State Archives, Florence.

Castiglione compared the city to a plundered abbey.[1] The state of affairs was utterly chaotic; while the faithful had recourse to litanies and processions, a Greek named Demetrius was allowed to go through the farce of exorcising the plague by means of an oath sworn over an ox, whereupon the Papal Vicar at last interfered,[2] for it was understood that Adrian was rapidly approaching, and his arrival on the following day was even looked upon as settled.

On the 29th of August, at a very early hour, the Pope said a low Mass—as he had never omitted to do even amid the difficulties of the voyage—and afterwards presented himself to the Cardinals in the noble transept of St. Paul's. He received them all with a friendly smile, but singled out no one for special recognition. Then followed the first adoration of the Sacred College in the small sacristy adjoining.[3] On this occasion Carvajal, as Dean and Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, delivered an address, in which he frankly bewailed the calamities called down upon the

[1] Letter of August 16, 1522: "Roma pare una abatia spogliata per esserse partito un numero infinito de persone" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the bad conditions prevalent in Rome owing to the Pope's absence, see *the letter of A. Taurelli, dated Rome, June 7, 1522, in State Archives, Modena.

[2] *Cf.*, with Negri's letter (Lett. d. Princ., I., 106[b]), the account in SANUTO, XXXIII., 401, 402–403. GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 3rd edit., 389) has overlooked the latter, and therefore believes BIZARUS (Hist. Gen., XIX., 456), who states that an ox was sacrificed to the demons in the Coloseum by Demetrius. That Adrian VI. could not, as one of his enemies asserts, have sanctioned such superstitions, is shown by his, "Sanctio in magos" and his other measures against magic and devil-worship. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1522, n. 15, 1523, n. 87; Bull., V., 24 *seq.*; CANTÙ, Storia di Como, 106; LEPITRE, 318 *seq.* *Cf.* SOLDAN-HEPPE, I., 515, and HANSEN, Quellen zur Geschichte den Hexenwahns, 34 *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, XXXIII., 428, 431.

Church by the election of unworthy and simoniacal Popes, and welcomed Adrian the more joyfully inasmuch as he had been chosen by other means. Although in the presence of such a Chief Pastor no special exhortations were necessary, he would yet ask him to lay seven points to heart: first, to remove simony, ignorance, and tyranny, and all other vices which deform the Church, while turning to good counsellors and keeping a firm hand on those in office; secondly, to reform the Church in accordance with her Councils and Canons, so far as the times permitted; thirdly, to honour and exalt the good Cardinals and prelates, and have a care for the poor; fourthly, to see to the impartial administration of justice and to confer offices on the best men; fifthly, to support the faithful, especially the nobility and the religious orders, in their necessities; sixthly, the speaker touched on the duty of opposing the Turks in their threatened attacks on Hungary and Rhodes; to do this an armistice among the Christian princes and the levy of money for a crusade were indispensable. In conclusion, Carvajal urged the reconstruction of St. Peter's, which to his great grief had been pulled down. If the Pope fulfilled these conditions, his glory would shine forth before God and men.[1]

In his short reply the Pope thanked the Cardinals for his election and explained the reasons of his late arrival, at the same time stating his agreement with the programme of reform so comprehensively unfolded by Carvajal; he then asked the Cardinals to waive their right to give asylum to criminals; to this all consented. The second adoration in the basilica of St. Paul then followed, and in a further speech Adrian impressively adjured the Cardinals, prelates,

[1] See HÖFLER, 193 *seq.* He published the original text in the Abhandl. der Münchener Akad., IV., 3, 57–62. The codex of the Vallicelliana Library, which Höfler more closely follows, is signed J 49.

envoys, and Roman dignitaries present to help him with their prayers.

The extraordinary strength of character at once exhibited by the new Pope aroused attention. Out of the numerous petitions presented to him he only countersigned those submitted to him by the conclavists. When Ascanio Colonna ventured to intercede for Lelio della Valle, who had committed a murder, Adrian replied: "Pardons for cases of murder will not be given except for very weighty reasons, and after hearing the case of the injured parties. We are determined to listen to both sides, since it is our intention to see that justice is done, though we perish in the attempt." Then a palafreniere whom Adrian had brought with him from Spain asked for a canonry. "Canonries," he was told, "will be given only to those who can be residentiary, not to palafrenieri." Even the Bishop of Pesaro, on applying for a canonry in St. Peter's, was met with a flat refusal; to Cardinal Campeggio, who expressed a similar wish, Adrian replied, "We will see." All sales of dispensations the Pope absolutely refused; the favours which were in his power to bestow he preferred to bestow freely. When, finally, the palafrenieri of Leo X. thronged round him in a body, and on their knees begged to be reinstated in their office, he merely gave a sign with his hand that they might arise. To the Romans, who intended to set up a triumphal arch in his honour at the Porta Portese, he intimated his desire that they would discontinue the works, since such an erection was heathenish and out of keeping with Christian piety. The deputation of the city magistrates was met with words of encouragement in view of the prevailing pestilence. "The inhabitants," he remarked, "must be of good cheer; he personally would be satisfied with very little."[1]

[1] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 428, 431, 435–436; ORTIZ, Itinerarium,

Although, at Adrian's express wish, all extravagant display was avoided on his entry into Rome, the inhabitants would not allow themselves to be prevented from decorating their houses with tapestries. Delighted, at the end of nine long months, to look once again upon their Pope, they went out to meet him with acclamations of joy. Adrian was carried as far as the Porta S. Paolo; there he mounted a white charger. At the Church of S. Celso he was met by a procession of children with the picture of the Madonna del Portico, which, during thirteen days, had been carried through Rome on account of the plague. Adrian not only removed his hat, but also his skull-cap, and bent low before the sacred picture, while the Cardinals only slightly uncovered. While the cannon thundered from St. Angelo, the procession wended its way under the burning August sun to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. On the following Sunday, the 31st of August, the coronation took place in St. Peter's with the customary ceremonial. On account of the plague the concourse of people was not so great as usual. The festivities, which were carried out with economy, passed off quietly, but the coronation banquet, without being lavish, was not stinted. On rising from table the Pope passed into an adjoining room and conversed with the Cardinals; he then withdrew to his own apartments.

The Pope's first edict proscribed under heavy penalties the wearing of arms in the city and banished all disorderly persons from Rome. A second ordinance forbade ecclesiastics to grow beards, a fashion which made them look

195 *seqq.*; BREWER, III., 2, n. 2521; NEGRI in Lett. d. princ., I., 107; **Letters of G. de' Medici of August 29 and 31. 1522 (State Archives, Florence); Blasius de Martinellis, Diarium in CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 86 *seq.* *Cf.* HÖFLER, 194 *seq.*; LEPITRE, 210 *seq.*; CREIGHTON, V., 198 *seq.*

more like soldiers than priests. Such simplicity, piety, and determination as were displayed by the new Pope had never before been seen by the members of the Curia.[1] They were in sharp contrast to the excessive display, the brilliant secularity, and the refined culture which had pervaded the court of Leo X.

While the Cardinals, prelates, and courtiers of the last pontificate murmured in secret, unbiassed observers did not refrain from expressing their approval of the new Pope. His exemplary and holy life, his great simplicity, piety, and love of justice made a deep impression even on those who were disposed to watch him with critical eyes.[2] "Adrian," one of this class reports, "is a friend of learning, especially theology. He cannot suffer ignorant priests. His time is divided with strict regularity between prayer and official work. He has only two personal attendants, Netherlanders and homely fellows; in other respects his retinue is composed of as few persons as is possible." To the Cardinals who begged that he would maintain a household more befitting his rank, he replied that that was impossible until he had first discharged his predecessor's debts. When he was informed that Leo had employed a hundred palafrenieri, he made the sign of the cross and said that four would suffice for all his needs, but as it was unseemly that he should have fewer than a Cardinal, he would appoint twelve. It was the general opinion that the new Pope's

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 429, 431, 437–438; Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 285 *seqq.*; Ortiz in BURMANN, 195–199: Lett. d. princ., I., 107[b]; German accounts in REDLICH, Nürnberg Reichstag, 6; **Letters of G. de' Medici of August 31, 1522, in State Archives, Florence; *Letter of A. Taurelli, August 31, 1522, in State Archives, Modena; *Report of T. Campeggio to Bologna, September 11, 1522, State Archives, Bologna.

[2] See especially, for what follows, Negri's letter in SANUTO, XXXIII., 429–430; *cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 108.

outward appearance was at once dignified and agreeable; although he was in his sixty-fourth year he did not look more than sixty. He always spoke Latin and, as the Italians did not fail to remark, correctly, seeing that he was a "barbarian"; his guttural pronunciation gave less satisfaction. In contrast to Leo X.'s love of recreation, it was observed by all that Adrian did not abate, as Pope, his strict mode of living and, as the Venetian Ambassador remarked, set thereby a thoroughly edifying example.

The Spaniard Blasio Ortiz said that he had seen nothing bad in the Pope, who was a mirror of all the virtues.[1] A strict observer of the canonical hours, Adrian rose in the night to say Matins, returned again to his bed, and was up again by daybreak ready to say Mass and attend that of his chaplain. That a Pope should offer the holy sacrifice daily was such an innovation that even chroniclers of a later day call special attention to this evidence of Adrian's piety.[2] An hour in the forenoon was devoted to audiences, which Adrian usually gave in the study, lined with books, adjoining his bedchamber. His dinner and supper, which he always ate alone, were of the utmost simplicity; a dish of veal or beef, sometimes a soup, sufficed: on fast days he had fish only. On his personal wants he spent as little as possible;[3] it was even said that he ate off small platters like a poor village priest.[4] An old woman servant, from the Netherlands, looked after the cooking and washing. After his meal he took a siesta, then

[1] BURMANN, 228.

[2] *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, I., 423; *cf. supra*, p. 52.

[3] Gradenigo's saying, that Adrian spent only a ducat a day on his meals, is an exaggerated piece of gossip; see in Appendix, No. 19, L. Cati's report of March 21, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

[4] This comparison is found in the rare narrative "Wie der hl. Vater B. Adrianus eingeritten ist zu Rom" (1522).

finished what remained to be said of his office, and again gave audiences. Conscientious in the extreme, circumspect and cautious in his dealings, Adrian, suddenly plunged into an entirely new set of circumstances, appeared to be wanting in resolution. It was further deplored that he was disinclined to relax his studious habits, not only of reading but of writing and composing, for these, combined with his love of solitude, made him difficult of access. Moreover, his curt manner of speech was very displeasing to the loquacious Italians.[1] Adrian's capital offence, however, in the eyes of the Curia, lay in his being a foreigner. All Italians of that period prided themselves on their high culture; they looked down with contempt on the natives of all other countries, and specially on the coarse "barbarians" of Germany. And now in Rome, hitherto the centre of the Renaissance of art and letters, one of these barbarians was ruling and would settle the direction Italian politics should follow.

The antagonism of nationality between Adrian and the Italians was further intensified by the circumstance that the Pope was now too far advanced in years to adapt himself to those things around him which were indifferent in themselves and of minor importance. With the speech and social habits of those amongst whom he had come to sojourn he never became familiar;[2] there was even a touch of pedantry in his obstinate clinging to his former way of living. His long years of professorial duty had cut him off completely from the charm of manner and social address on which the Italians set so much value. Even in Rome he remained the same quiet, dry scholar, devoted

[1] See the Venetian accounts in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 74 *seq.*, and 112; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

[2] Adrian always spoke in Latin (see *Report by Bart. Prosperi., September 21, 1522), as he was not sufficiently acquainted with Italian (see *letter of Enea Pio, October 5, 1522, State Archives, Modena).

to the seclusion of his study and easily put out of humour by the bustle of general society. The homeliness of Adrian's person and his austere asceticism compared with Leo X., presented a contrast a greater than which it is impossible to conceive. This contrast, conspicuous from every point of view, was especially noticeable in Adrian's attitude towards the culture of the Italian Renaissance.

All persons of culture were then filled with enthusiasm for the art of antiquity. But Adrian, whose turn of mind was pre-eminently serious and unimpassioned, was so absolutely insensible to such forms of beauty that he looked upon them merely as the debris of paganism. To his exclusively religious temperament the array of gleaming marbles set up by his predecessors in the Belvedere afforded not the slightest interest. When the group of the Laocöon,[1] then considered the most remarkable of these works of art, was pointed out to him, he observed in his dry manner: "After all, they are only the effigies of heathen idols." This might be regarded as merely a bit of gossip if the anecdote were not well authenticated.[2] "He will soon," said Girolamo Negri, Cardinal Cornaro's secretary, "be doing as Gregory the Great did, and order the antique statuary to be burned into lime for the building of St. Peter's."[3] As a matter of fact, he sold some antiques,[4] and had all the entrances to the Belvedere

[1] *Opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeponendum, says Tizio, *Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.* (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] Not only by JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.), whose authority would not be sufficient, but by G. Negri in his letter, March 17, 1523, Lett. d. Princ., I., 113.

[3] Lett. d. princ., 113.

[4] I take this from Gabbioneta's *report. On July 27, 1523, he reports that he had thanked the Pope "per el dono delle imagine marmoree," and that Adrian had replied "Fecimus libenter et libentissime." On

walled up save one, the key of which he kept in his own custody.[1]

The magnificent art of the Renaissance also seemed to be a closed book to Adrian. The continuation of the paintings in the Hall of Constantine was stopped,[2] and Raphael's pupils had to seek employment elsewhere.[3] And yet Adrian was not totally wanting in artistic culture;[4] but to his northern taste the Italian art of the Renaissance was unpalatable. He ordered a Dutch painter, Jan Scorel,[5]

October 29 Gabbioneta writes: *Mando per doi garzioni del Furia la tavola marmorea, la qual donò papa Adriano (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also GAYE, II., 155.

[1] *Cf.* the Venetian narrative in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 114.

[2] A *Letter of Castiglione's, December 21, 1521 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), shows how certainly the completion of this work was counted on.

[3] Vasari has many hard things to say of Adrian on this account. His statement that the latter had compared the Sixtine Chapel to a bathing-place full of naked figures, and had expressed his intention of tearing the pictures down, is sufficiently suspect in view of the silence of Giovio, who was unfriendly to Adrian VI. Since CROWE-CAVALCASELLE (VI., 399 *seq.*) and STEINMANN (Sixtinische Kapelle, II., 231–515) give credence to Vasari, I call attention to the fact that none of the envoys to the Papal Court mention any such circumstance. The Mantuan agents, who showed so much interest in matters of art, would certainly have informed their court if the Pope had a design of this sort in mind. The whole story is either a fable of Vasari's or an invention of Adrian's numerous enemies.

[4] MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 37, seems to believe this. He is also wrong in calling Adrian "ennemi des lettres et des livres" in his Bibl. du Vatican, 64; *cf.* also Giorn. di lett. Ital., IX., 453.

[5] *Cf.* HANN, Meister Jan Scorel und das Obervellacher Altarbild, Klagenfurt, 1888; TOMAN, Studien über J. Scorel, Leipzig, 1889; Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, XXI., 83 *seq.*; GRÄVENITZ, Deutsche in Rom., 109; see JACKSCH, Die Scorelsche Altartafel zu Obervellach, Klagenfurt, 1890; JANSSEN-PASTOR, VI., 12th edit., 109 *seq.*; JANITSCHEK, Geschichte der Malerei, 521; WURZBACH, Gesch. der holländ.

to paint his portrait.[1] Moreover, his interest in the progress of the reconstruction of St. Peter's[2] was sincere, although here again his point of view was religious rather than artistic. Another circumstance which contradicts the notion that Adrian held uncivilized views about art is the fact that, in spite of his monetary distress, he redeemed the tapestries of Raphael which had been pledged on the death of Leo X.,[3] and restored them once more to the Sixtine Chapel on the anniversary celebration of his coronation.[4]

Malerei (1885), 62, who, however, is hardly able to adduce proof for his statement that Adrian had appointed Scorel "director of his art treasures."

[1] ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 205. There is at the present time a portrait of Adrian by Scorel in the Senate Hall of the University of Louvain. Another, attributed to Scorel, in the Museum, Utrecht. *Cf.* Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, XVIII., 51 *seqq.*; see also MOES, Iconogr. Batava, I., 4; Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., I., 197, and the "Adler" periodical, 1882, 26, quoted above, p. 35, note 1. In the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam there is a life-size portrait (No. 539) of Adrian VI. in full pontificals. This is a copy of an original portrait in the National Museum at the Hague; see BREDIUS, Catalog. d. Schilderijen in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 1887, 68. The portrait of the Pope presented to the Cathedral Chapter of Utrecht is copied in Burmann edited by Moring. That in the gallery of Naples, the so-called Adrian, is a picture of Clement VII.; see WICKHOFF in the Kunstgeschichtl. Anz., 1904, 98. Adrian's noble and venerable traits are strikingly reproduced in one of his medals. There is a fine specimen in the Cabinet of Coins in Vienna. For coins and medals of Adrian see CINAGLI, 89 *seq.*; KÖHLER, Eine Münze Papst Hadrians VI., Nürnberg, 1730; and ARMAND, II., 114 *seq.*, III., 144, 198 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 438, and *letter of G. M. della Porta, October 1, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 298.

[4] This hitherto unknown fact has come to light through a *Report of L. Cati, dated Rome, September 2, 1523, part of which, unfortunately,

Adrian was not at home amidst the splendour of the Vatican, and from the first had felt disinclined to occupy it. He wished to have, as a dwelling, a simple house with a garden. The Imperial Ambassador reports with amazement this strange project of the newly elected Pope to whom God had given the noblest palaces in Rome.[1] No small astonishment was likewise caused by Adrian's abstention from any signs of favour towards the swarm of accomplished poets and humanists with whom Leo X. had been so much associated. Although not indifferent to the elegance of a fine Latin style, the practical Netherlander thought little of the gifts of the versifiers; he even sought opportunities for evincing his contempt for them. On appointing Paolo Giovio to a benefice at Como, the Pope remarked that he conferred this distinction upon him because Giovio was an historian and not a poet. What Adrian took especial exception to in the humanist poets of his day was the lax habit of life of the majority, and their frivolous coquetry with the spirit of heathen mythology. Leo X., in his enthusiastic admiration of beauty, had overlooked such excrescences; the serious-minded Teuton rightly judged them by a standard of much greater severity.[2] Yet his reaction was carried too far. He discriminated too little between the good and the bad elements in humanism; even Sadoleto, with his excellence and piety, found no favour in his eyes. He caused simple amazement by his depreciatory criticism of

has been destroyed by fire. The following, however, is legible: *N. S^re^ cossi come ha facto de l' altre cose recuperato da quelli mercatanti, cossi anche ha voluto mostrar quelle cortine, che fece far papa Leone secondo un dissegno di Raphael d' Urbino et a quella proxima capella le ha fatto metter fuori. State Archives, Modena.

[1] BERGENROTH, II., n. 392.

[2] JOVIUS. Vita Adriani VI.; Schulte, I., 230.

the letters, the theme of general admiration, remarking that they were letters of a poet.[1]

Adrian was completely a stranger in the midst of the intellectual culture of which Leo's reign had been the culminating point. His entrance into Rome was followed by an abrupt transition, all the more strongly felt since the Medici Pope had flung himself without reserve into every tendency of the Renaissance. Loud were the laments over the new era and its transformation of the Vatican, once echoing with the voices of literature and art, into a silent cloister. All Adrian's admirable qualities were forgotten; he was looked upon only as a foreigner, alien to the arts, manners, and politics of Italy, and his detachment from the literati and artists of Italy was not merely the outcome of a want of intelligent sympathy with the Renaissance; the shortness of his reign and his financial difficulties hindered him from the exercise of any liberal patronage.[2] His contemporaries shut their eyes to this

[1] Negri in Lett. d. princ., I., 113, who sees in this expression a "beffeggiare della eloquenza." How little Adrian's earnestness was appreciated by the orators of the day is shown by the *Oratio de passione Domini in Cod. Vat., 8106, f. 53 *seq.* (Vatican Library), in which the apostrophe "Te dive Adriane" occurs, an expression which must certainly have been abhorrent to the Pope. Still more so were the unmeasured praises of Balbi (Zeitschr. für schles. Gesch., XIX., 169). An oration and a sermon delivered before Adrian VI. exist in very rare copies: 1. Barth. Arnolphini Oratio habita in publ. consist. ad Adrianum VI. P. M. pro obedientia reipubl. Lucen.; s.l. et a. 2. De Christi passione oratio Io. Mariae archiepiso Sipontini habita in sacello pontif. ad Hadrianum VI. P. M. ac ampliss. card. senatum 1523, III. Non. April. Romae, 1597. The *Oratio Raynaldi Petruccii ad Adrianum VI. on the occasion of the homage of the Sienese in Cod. Vat., 3578 (Vatican Library).

[2] Müntz informed me in 1900 that in the accounts of Adrian VI. he had only found one entry of expenditure on art; but that was one highly characteristic of this pious Pope. *In October 1522 he paid a gold-

impossibility; they laid all the blame on the "barbarism" of the foreigner.

Nor was less offence taken at his foreign surroundings.

smith "per fare due angeli et una corona a la nostra donna." I also found in *Div. cam., 71, f. 226[b], of the Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, a *permit of the chamberlain's to Evangelista de Torquatis civ. Rom. D. Romae in cam. apost., 18 Julii 1523, pontif. Adriano VI. pro abstergenda, decoranda et siligenda via S. Spiritus de urbe. *Cf.* the permit of July 24, 1523, in Div. cam., 74, f. 34. MOLL, Kerkhist. Archief, II., 45, mentions an organ sent by Adrian VI. to the Netherlands. The arms of Adrian VI. on the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico at Foligno appear to indicate that he had been a supporter of the building in some way. Literary dedications to Adrian VI. are not numerous; together with the work of Cardinal Cajetan mentioned above, p. 26, n. 4, and the writing of Guillielmus Valla Rhegiensis on the Exarchate of Italy, which H. SAUER (Göttingen Diss., 1905) has recently discussed (to the MSS. mentioned here, on p. 16, must be added: Ottob. 2521, Urb., 813, f. 1 *seq.*, and 864, f. 273 *seqq.*, Barb., XXXIII., 97), must be added a composition of Hochstraten's against Luther (see LÄMMER, Vortrid. Theol., 17), as well as one of Eck's (HÖFLER, 323), Thomas Illyricus (Franciscan), Libellus de potest. s. pontificis, Taurini, 1523 (with dedication of November 12, 1552), Petri Martyris De insul. in mari Oceano a F. Cortesio repert. (*Cod. Vatic., 5795), and Ioh. Ant. Flaminii Epistola ad Adrianum VI., dat. Bononiae, 1523, xv. Cal. Martii (original dedication copy in *Cod. Vat., 7754, Vatican Library). In a letter *dated December 21, 1522, V. Albergati mentions the dedication of another book by Flaminio, a defence of Christianity against Judaism, and the payment of the author by the Pope (State Archives, Bologna). The monk Romulus de S. Cruce (Fabrianen.) dedicated to Adrian VI. the Liber Alberti Magni de ordine universi (original dedication copy in *Cod. Vat., 3739, Vatican Library). Also in Cod. Ottob., 888: *Gregorii Mutinen monachi opusculum adversus negantes Petrum Romae fuisse, dedicated to Adrian VI. See also G. Cortesius, de Itinere Rom. S. Petri ad Adr. VI. (Opera Cort., I., 213 *seq.*). For the oration of George Sauermann, dedicated to the German Pope, see Zeitschrift für schles. Gesch., XIX., 167 *seq.*; for Ferreri's writing see *infra*, p. 91, note 2. For the Pope's request to Pagnini to undertake a translation of the Bible, *cf.* WETZER and

Adrian at first recruited his bodyguard[1] from the Spaniards as well as the Swiss.[2] The castellan of St. Angelo was a Spaniard.[3] The Pope's domestic servants, whose numbers were reduced within the limits of strict necessity, were also chiefly composed of non-Italians. Thus the hopes of Leo's numerous retainers of all ranks of continuing in busy idleness were disappointed. The chief objects of complaint and ridicule were the Pope's servants from the Low Countries,[4] who contributed not a little to estrange the feelings of those around them. Even before Adrian's arrival in Rome, his court was contemptuously spoken of as a collection of insignificant persons.[5] In reality, the Pope's three principal advisers were men of excellent character and no mean endowments.[6]

This was especially the case with Wilhelm van Enkevoirt, a native of Mierlo in North Brabant, who, attached to Adrian by a friendship of many years' standing, had entered the Papal Chancery under Julius II. and subsequently became Scriptor apostolic, Protonotary, and Procurator in Rome for Charles V. In character Enkevoirt presented many points of resemblance with the Pope; like the latter he had a warm affection for his native land, his piety was

WELTE, Kirchenlex., II., 2 edit., 738. Bat. Fiera dedicated his poem *de homine to Adrian and received a letter of thanks; see DONESMONDI, Ist. eccl. di Mantova, II., 140 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 16, and 3, 167, 208; Giorn. d. lett. Ital, XXXIV., 54–55.

[1] TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.* (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] *Cf.* Anz. f. schweiz. Gesch., 1886, 36.

[3] *Letter of T. Campeggio, September 27, 1522, State Archives, Bologna. *Cf.* the ** brief of September 24, 1522, to Ruffo Teodoli, Div. cam., LXXIV., 6, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] *Cf.* for this BERGENROTH, II., n. 490, 540.

[5] *Con S. Sta non intendo sia huomini di molta auctorità ne intelligentia. G. de' Medici on August 27, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] See SCHULTE, I., 230. *Cf.* also SCHMIDLIN, 276.

genuine, and he was of studious habits and gentle disposition.[1] One of Adrian's first acts was to bestow the important post of Datary on this old friend,[2] who was of proved responsibility and thoroughly versed in Roman affairs. Enkevoirt had before this been described as one with Adrian in heart and soul,[3] and with a zeal which often overstepped due limits, took pains to assert his position as first and foremost of the Pope's confidential advisers.[4] Besides Enkevoirt, Dietrich von Heeze, Johann Winkler, and Johann Ingenwinkel had free access to the Pope. The last named, from the lower Rhineland, was a man of great ability, who knew how to retain office and confidence under Clement VII.; he died as Datary of the second Medici Pope.[5] Johann Winkler was born in Augs-

[1] The earlier literature on Enkevoirt in BURMANN, 44, notes. *Cf.* also the important essay of ROIJAARDS, Kard. Willem. v. Enkevoirt, in Archief v. kerkelijke geschied., IX. (1838), 119–231, overlooked by HÖFLER and SCHMIDLIN, 265 *seq.*, and F. HAUPTMANN in Bonner Archiv, IV. (1892), 37, 64 *seq.*, 96 *seq.* See also Regesta Leonis X., n. 8285, 8303, 17716; Lib. confrat. de Anima, 20; PICKS Zeitschr., 7–9, Heft, 417; GRÄVENITZ, Deutsche in Rom., 130 *seq.*; SCHULTE, Fugger, *passim*; DUMONT, Gesch. der Pfarreien der Erzd. Koln, XXIV., Köln, 1885, 335; Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichts-vereins, XVIII., 320 *seq.*, XIX., 2, 116; KALKOFF, Aleander, 65, n. 1; PAQUIER, Aléandre, 285; DE WAAL, Campo Santo, 101; PETENEGG, Urk. des Deutschen Ordens, 620; Archief v. Haarlem, XI., XIII.; PERICOLI, S. Maria d. Consolaz, 119.

[2] "Amicus meus antiquus et precipuus" he is called by Adrian in a brief of February 18, 1522; SANUTO, XXXIII., 79. The above-mentioned appointment of Enkevoirt as Datary, which Manuel had already recommended on January 11, 1522 (GACHARD, Corresp., 8), is announced by G. de' Medici in a letter *of August 27, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] "Corculi et animae dimidium." Aleander to Enkevoirt, MAI, Spicil., II., 235.

[4] *Cf. infra*, pp. 87, 122.

[5] SCHULTE, I., 231.

burg; he had already, under Leo X., been notary of the Rota, and died, at the beginning of Paul III.'s pontificate, a rich and distinguished prelate.[1]

If Winkler, like Ingenwinkel, showed an undue anxiety to take care of his own interests in the matter of benefices, Dirk (Dietrich) van Heeze, on the contrary, was a thoroughly unselfish and high-minded personality. Originally a friend of Erasmus, Heeze, at a later period, did not follow the great scholar on the path which, in some respects, was so open to question, but took up a decided position on behalf of reform on strong Catholic lines. Heeze, who was extolled by his contemporaries for profound learning, modesty, piety, and earnestness of moral character, was placed by Adrian at the head of the Chancery as private secretary; it cost him some trouble to make himself at home in the processes of preparing and sending forth the Papal briefs.[2] After his patron's early death he left the Curia and returned to his own country, and died at Liège as Canon of St. Lambert's.[3] Apart from these fellow-country-

[1] For Winkler *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 490, 502; KALKOFF, Aleander, 202, n. 1. G. M. della Porta announces in a *letter of September 23, 1522 (State Archives, Florence) that Adrian had appointed "Giovan Vincle" a "referendario," and that the latter had influence. Peregrino mentions the death of "Giovanni Vincleer," in a *report to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Rome, July 22, 1535, as having taken place on the previous day; Winkler held many benefices and left 20,000 ducats. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] This is evident from the two samples given by G. M. della Porta in a *letter of September 23, 1522; otherwise Heeze is also here spoken of as "bona et santissima persona." State Archives, Florence.

[3] For Van Heeze see BURMANN, 70, note; Archief v. kerkelijke geschied., IX. (1838), 119 *seq.*; BERGENROTH, II., n. 540, 543; DE RAM in Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain, 1862, 273 *seq.*; REUSENS in the Biogr. Nat., IX., 336 *seq.*; DE RAM in Bullet. de la Commiss. d'hist., 2 Series, XI., 61 *seq.*, XII., 271; v. DOMARUS in Hist. Jahrb.

men, however, Adrian also honoured with his confidence some Spaniards, such as Blasio Ortiz, and several Italians; the Bishops of Feltre and Castellamare, Tommaso Campeggio,[1] and Pietro Fiori, and especially Giovanni Ruffo Teodoli, Archbishop of Cosenza.[2] Girolamo Ghinucci[3] became an Auditor of the Camera. The Italian, Cardinal Campeggio, was also frequently selected by the Pope for important transactions.[4] All this the courtiers of Leo X. entirely overlooked in order to vent their dislike of the Netherlanders;[5] "Men as stupid as stones."[6] Almost all the Italians were as unfriendly to these trusted councillors of the Pope, whose names they could never pronounce aright, as they were to the "foreign" Pontiff

XVI., 72 *seq.*; BACHA in Compte rendu de la commiss. d'hist., XVII., Bruxelles, 1800, 125 *seq.*, and especially the valuable treatise, almost unknown to Germans, of ALLARD, Dirk Adriaansz van Heeze, Utrecht, 1884. *Cf.* also ALLARD, Hezius en Erasmus, Utrecht, 1884; PIEPER in Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 779 *seq.*

[1] V. Albergati, in a *letter of January 3, 1523, calls him a "prelato di bontà, virtù et dottrina" (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] *Cf.* UGHELLI, V., 377; VI., 622; IX., 250. G. Ruffo Teodoli was summoned to the Pope by a *brief, dated Caesareaugustae, April 2, 1522 (Cod. 1888, f. 21, Angelica Library, Rome). G. de' Medici had already announced, in a *letter of August 27, 1522, that this prelate would have great influence (State Archives, Florence). See also BERGENROTH, II., n. 502. To Ruffo Teodoli the rare work of Ant. Pontus, Rhomitypion Romae (A. Bladus), 1524, is dedicated.

[3] For Ghinucci see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 303, and UGHELLI, I., 471; many considered that for a long time he had the greatest influence, next to Enkevoirt and Heeze. See ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 70.

[4] *Cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 2506.

[5] As early as September 20, 1522, G. M. della Porta was complaining of Enkevoirt's great influence. He gives the Pope "molte mali consigli." *Hora tutti due (Enkevoirt and Winkler) sono odiati gia da ognuno (State Archives, Florence).

[6] Lett. d. princ., I., 108

himself, whose earnestness and moderation they would not understand. They distrusted their influence and pursued them with their hatred.[1] The poet Berni expressed the general opinion in his satirical lines:

> "Ecco che personaggi, ecco che corte
> Che brigate galante cortegiane:
> Copis, Vincl, Corizio et Trincheforte!
> Nome di for isbigottir un cane."[2]

The repugnance to the stranger Pope grew into bitter hatred the further Adrian advanced his plans for a thorough reform of the secularized Curia. Had it not been for this project, his native origin and character would have been as readily forgiven him as had once been the Spanish traits and Spanish surroundings of Alexander VI. Ortiz hit the mark exactly when he fixed on the efforts at reform as the seed-plot of all the odium aroused against Adrian VI.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, September 23, 1522 (State Archives, Florence). Already, on December 29, 1522, Enkevoirt and Heeze had been officially honoured by receiving the Roman citizenship. Other Netherlanders also were made Roman citizens at that time; see Nuova Antologia, 3 Series, LI., 238.

[2] BERNI, Rime, ed. Virgili, 32. *Cf.* VILLARI, Machiavelli, III., 118.

[3] See HÖFLER, 208.

CHAPTER III.

Adrian VI. as a Reformer and Ecclesiastical Ruler.

Before he reached Italy Adrian had already announced by his words and actions his intention of encountering with all his energy the many and grave disorders in religion. The numerous memorials and offers of advice addressed to him immediately after his election show what high hopes had been set on him as a reformer, and to what an extent his intentions in this respect had been anticipated. A number of these documents have been preserved. They differ much in their value and their contents; but all recognize the existence of grievous abuses.

The "Apocalypsis" of Cornelius Aurelius, Canon of Gouda, is unusually comprehensive and highly rhetorical. This strange document outspokenly describes, in the form of a dialogue, the scandalous lives of the clergy, especially of the Cardinals, the abuses at Rome, with particular reference to those of the Rota, and expresses the confident expectation that reform would proceed from Adrian, of all men the most just, the chastiser of wrongdoers, the light of the world, the hammer of tyrants, the priest of the Most High. As the essential means of restoring discipline the writer calls in burning words for the summoning of a general council such as Adrian himself had already advocated when a professor at Louvain.[1]

[1] Apocalypsis et visio mirabilis super miserabili statu matris ecclesiae, etc., in Burmann, 259–316.

A similar standpoint was taken in the memorial of Joannes Ludovicus Vives, the distinguished humanist who, by birth a Spaniard, had, through long years of residence in Louvain and Bruges become almost a Netherlander, and was among the number of Adrian's friends. With sound Catholic views, Vives, who had distinguished himself by his writings on educational and politico-social subjects, was not blind to the transgressions of the clergy.[1] In a document issued at Louvain in October 1522, he takes as his text the sentence of Sallust, that no Government can be maintained save only by those means by which it was established. Vives requires that the Pope shall, in the sphere of politics, restore the peace of Christendom, and in that of religion institute a radical reform of the clergy. The latter can only be reached by a general council wherein all, even the most hidden and therefore most dangerous evils, must come to light. If other Popes had avoided a general council as though it had been poison, Adrian must not shrink from one. Even if the existing tempest had not broken loose, the assembling of a council, at which the principal matters to be dealt with, would not be theoretical questions but the practical reform of morals, would have been necessary; the religious controversy could be relegated to profes-

[1] For Vivès compare NAMÈCHE in Mém. couron. p. l'Acad. Roy., XV., Bruxelles, 1841; FRANCKEN, L. Vives, Rotterdam, 1853; Vives' works, translated, with treatise on his life, by WYCHGRAM, Vienna, 1883; ARNAUD, Quid de pueris institut. senserit L. Vives, Paris, 1888; HAUSE, Die Pädagogik des L. Vives, Erlangen, 1891; VADIER, J. L. Vives, Genève, 1892; F. KAYSER in the Bibl. für kathol. Pädagogik, VIII., Freiburg, 1896; KUYPERS, Vives in seiner Pädagogik, Leipzig, 1897; BRÖRING, Die Dialoge des J. L. Vives, Oldenburg, 1897; LECIGNE, Quid de reb. polit. senserit J. L. Vives, Paris, 1898. WÜRKERL, Die Schrift des L. Vives über die Armenpflege (Progr.), Pirna, 1902; WEISSMANN, Die soziale Bedeutung des Humanisten L. Vives, Erlangen, 1905.

sional scholars and experts.[1] In giving this advice, Vives certainly overlooked the fact that the Lutheran controversy had long since passed from the academic to the popular stage,[2] that the denial of the most important articles of belief would compel any council to declare its mind, and, finally, that the new teachers themselves were demanding a conciliar decision. The best and the most practical advice as regards reform reached Adrian from Rome itself. Two Cardinals, Schinner and Campeggio, there spoke openly and, with an exhaustive knowledge of the circumstances, explained the conditions under which the much-needed reforms could be effected. Schinner's report, dated the 1st of March 1522, is, unfortunately, only preserved in an abstract prepared for Adrian;[3] this is much to be regretted, for in the fuller document his carefully considered counsels on the political as well as the ecclesiastical situation were imparted in the most comprehensive way. Schinner first of all urges a speedy departure for Rome, otherwise a Legate must be appointed; but in no case should the Sacred College be allowed to represent the Pope. Other suggestions concerned the maintenance of the States of the Church and the restoration of peace to Christendom. As the enemy of France, Schinner advised the conclusion of a close alliance with the Emperor and the Kings of England and Portugal, since the French must be kept at a distance from Italy, otherwise it would be impossible to take any steps against the Turks. To relieve the financial distress, Adrian should borrow from the King of England 200,000 ducats.

"If your Holiness," he says further, "wishes to govern in

[1] VIVES, Opera II., 834 *seq.*; BURMANN, 456 *seqq.*

[2] HÖFLER, 29 *seqq.*, and 360.

[3] See the text in *Cod. Vatic., 3924, and Appendix, No. 3 (Vatican Library).

reality, you must not attach yourself to any Cardinal in particular, but treat all alike, and then give the preference to the best. On this point more can be said hereafter by word of mouth, as there would be danger in committing such confidential matter to paper." Trustworthy officials are to be recommended to the Pope in Rome by Schinner and Enkevoirt; for the present his attention is called to Jacob Bomisius as Secretary, and to Johann Betchen of Cologne as Subdatary. Hereupon follows the programme for the reform of the Curia. As regards the reductions in the *famiglie* of the Cardinals, the Pope is to set a good example by keeping up as small a Court as possible. The sale of offices, especially those of court chaplains and Abbreviators, must be done away with; the number of Penitentiaries and Referendaries reduced; and both these classes, as well as persons employed in the Rota, have fixed salaries assigned to them. The officials of the Rota may receive fees not exceeding, under penalty of dismissal, the sum of two ducats; the same scale to apply to the Penitentiaries; should the latter receive more from the faithful, the surplus shall go to the building fund of St. Peter's. The Papal scribes are to keep themselves strictly within the limits of the taxes as assessed. The river tax is to be reduced by one-half, whereby an impetus will be given to trade; under no circumstances is this tax any longer to be farmed. The numerous purchasable posts established by Leo X. are simply abolished.

The "Promemoria" sent by Cardinal Campeggio to the Pope in Spain[1] called for not less decisive measures;

[1] Discovered and published by HÖFLER in the Abhandl. der Münch. Akad., IV., 3, 62–89 (*cf.* Adrian VI., 210 *seq.*), but erroneously attributed to Egidius Canisius. Friedensburg established the real authorship in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft, N.F., I. (Vierteljahrshefte, 1896–7), 71 *seqq.* Höfler also found that the copy contained

apart from recommendations concerning the States of the Church, this document deals exclusively with the removal of ecclesiastical abuses; here, however, the advice is so uncompromising that it must be distinguished as the most radical programme of reform put forward at this critical time. With a noble candour and a deep knowledge of his subject, he exposes, without palliation, the abuses of the Roman Curia. His position is that of a staunch Churchman; the authority of the Holy See is based on divine institution; if, in virtue of this authority, all things are possible to the Pope, all things are not permissible. Since the source of the evil is to be traced back to the Roman Curia, in the Roman Curia the foundations of reform must be laid.

In the first place, Campeggio desires a reform of Church patronage. A stop must be put to the abuse of conferring benefices without the consent of the patrons; to the plurality of livings, a custom having its origin in covetousness and ambition; to the scandalous system of "commendams," and finally, to the taxation known as "compositio," an impost which had brought upon the Holy See the odium of princes and had furnished heretical teachers with a pointed weapon of attack. Campeggio points to the absolute necessity of a limitation of the powers of the Dataria, the officials of which were often as insatiable as leeches. The reservation of benefices must be entirely abolished, unless some case of the most exceptional kind should occur; those which were already sanctioned, however, were to be strictly maintained; every opportunity for illicit profit on the part of officials must be cut off. He lays down sound principles with regard to the bestowal of patronage. The personal qualifications of a candidate

in the *Cod Vatic., 6222, f. 79 *seq.*, in the Vatican Library, was better than that in the State Library, Munich.

should be considered as well as the peculiar circumstances of a diocese; foreigners ought not to be preferred to native candidates; appointments should in all cases be given to men of wholly virtuous and worthy character. Special sorrow is expressed over the many conventions, agreements, and concordats with secular princes whereby the greater part of the spiritual rights and concerns of the Holy See have been withdrawn from its authority. Although Campeggio in the very interests of ecclesiastical dignity and freedom recommends the utmost possible restriction of the concessions which earlier Popes had made through greed or ignorance, he is yet careful to exhort great circumspection and moderation in approaching this delicate ground.

In the second place, he denounces the gross abuses arising from the indiscriminate issue of indulgences. On this point he suggests, without qualification, important limitations, especially with regard to the grant of indulgences to the Franciscan Order and the special privileges relating to confession. The approaching year of Jubilee offers a fitting opportunity for sweeping changes in this matter. The rebuilding of St. Peter's, a debt of honour for every Pontiff, need not be hindered on this account; Christian Princes must be called upon to pay a yearly contribution towards its completion.

In a third section the "Promemoria" considers the general interests of the Christian Church; the return of the Bohemians to unity; the restoration of peace, especially between Charles V. and Francis I., in order to promote a crusade against the Turks, in which Russia also must be induced to join; finally, the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy by the fulfilment of the terms of the Edict of Worms.

Campeggio's memorial also pleads for a thorough reform

of the judicial courts. In future, let all causes be referred to the ordinary courts, without any private intervention of the Pope in this domain. The judges of the Rota, where bad, should be replaced by good; the auditors' salaries should be fixed, and the charges for despatches, which had risen to an exorbitant excess, must be cut down and settled at a fixed scale. Similar reforms are recommended for the tribunal of the Auditor of the Camera. Supplementary proposals are added concerning a reform of the Senate, of the Judges of the Capitol, of the city Governors, Legates, and other officials of the States of the Church. Last of all, means are suggested for alleviating the financial distress. The Cardinal deprecates an immediate suspension of those offices which Leo X. had created in exchange for money, since such a proceeding might shake men's confidence in Papal promises; he advocates a gradual suppression and their exchange for benefices. Further recommendations have reference to the appointment of a finance committee of Cardinals, the sequestration of the first year's rents of all vacant benefices, and the levy of a voluntary tax on the whole of Christendom. Other proposals Campeggio keeps in reserve for oral communication.

Bitter lamentations over Rome as the centre of all evil are also contained in another letter through which Zaccaria da Rovigo endeavoured indirectly to influence Adrian VI. Here the principal abuse inveighed against is the appointment of young and inexperienced men to Church dignities, even bishoprics; this paper, composed at the moment of the Pope's arrival, also exhorts him to be sparing in the distribution of privileges and indulgences.[1] An anonymous admonition, also certainly intended

[1] *Letter of Zaccaria da Rovigo to Carastosa da Agrado (*cf.* FEA, Notizie, 67) in Cod. Vatic., 3588 (Vatican Library).

for Adrian, singles out, as the most important and necessary matter for reform, the episcopal duty of residence in the diocese. Henceforth Cardinals should not receive bishoprics as sources of revenue. Their incomes should be fixed at a sum ranging from 4000 to 5000 ducats, and a Cardinal-Protector should be given to each country. The author advocates a strict process of selection in appointing members of the Sacred College; their number should be diminished, for thereby unnecessary expenditure would be avoided and the respect due to the Cardinalate increased. The importance of appointing good bishops, intending to reside in their sees, is justly enforced. Under pain of eternal damnation, says the writer, the Pope is bound to appoint shepherds, not wolves. As regards the inferior clergy, he lays stress on the necessity for a careful choice of priests anxious for the souls of their people, performing their functions in person, and not by deputy, and faithful in all their duties, especially that of preaching.[1]

By these and other communications[2] Adrian was accurately informed of the true state of things and of the existing scandals, as well as of the means for their removal. Having had experience in Spain of the success of a legitimate Church reform, working from within, he was determined to bring all his energies to bear in grappling with a decisive improvement in Rome itself, on the principle of ancient discipline, and extending this amelioration to the whole Church. He had hardly set foot in Rome before he removed all doubt as to his intentions of reform by appointing Cardinal Campeggio to the

[1] * Consilium dat. summo pontifici super reform. christ., in Cod. Vatic., 3917 *seq.*, 20 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] The composition of L. Ferreri, De reformatione ecclesiae suasoria . . . ad Hadrianum VI., which I only know from MORSOLIN, Ferreri, 116 *seq.*, may well belong to this period.

Segnatura della Justizia, and nominating Enkevoirt as Datary.[1] He also soon addressed the Cardinals in no uncertain language. In his first Consistory, on the 1st of September 1522, he made a speech which caused general astonishment. He had not sought the tiara, he declared, but had accepted it as a heavy burden since he recognized that God had so willed it. Two things lay at his heart before all others: the union of Christian princes for the overthrow of the common enemy, the Turk, and the reform of the Roman Curia. In both these affairs he trusted that the Cardinals would stand by him, as the relief of Hungary, then sorely threatened by the Sultan, and of the knights of Rhodes, admitted of as little delay as the removal of the grievous ecclesiastical disorders in Rome. Going more closely into the latter question, Adrian cited the example of the Jews, who, when they refused to amend, were constantly visited by fresh judgments. Thus was it with Christendom at that hour. The evil had reached such a pitch that, as St. Bernard says, those who were steeped in sins could no longer perceive the stench of their iniquities. Throughout the whole world the ill repute of Rome was talked of. He did not mean to say that in their own lives the Cardinals displayed these vices, but within their palaces iniquity stalked unpunished; this must not so continue. Accordingly, he implores the Cardinals to banish from their surroundings all elements of corruption, to put away their extravagant luxury, and to content themselves with an income of, at the utmost, 6000 ducats. It must be their sacred duty to give a good example to the world, to bethink themselves of the honour and welfare of the Church, and to rally round him in carrying out the necessary measures of reform.

[1] *Cf.* the ** letter of G. de' Medici of August 29, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

The Pope, according to a foreign envoy, made use of such strong expressions that all who heard him were astonished; he rebuked the ways of living at the Roman Court in terms of severity beyond which it would be impossible to go. A lively discussion thereupon arose, since, as the Venetian Ambassador declares, there were a score of Cardinals who considered themselves second to none in the whole world. The Pope's strongest complaints were probably aimed at the Rota, where the administration of justice was a venal business. On this point it was decided, most probably on the advice of Schinner, to take prohibitive measures at once; any Auditor who should in future be guilty of illegality, especially in the matter of fees, was to be liable to peremptory dismissal.[1]

The Curia realized very soon that Adrian was the man to thoroughly carry out his projects of reform. The Cardinals in Curia, who had taken up their residence in the Vatican, were obliged to leave; only Schinner, whose name was identified with the programme of reform, was allowed to remain.[2] To Cardinal Cibo, a man of immoral

[1] Along with the version of the Pope's speech in *Cod. Vatic., 3920, f. 103 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library, see Acta Consist., printed by LAEMMER, Melet, 201–202 (after moribus, curiae is here omitted), and the account in SANUTO, XXXIII., 433, 440, giving important additions to this very summary report, as well as in Appendix, 7 and 9, the * reports of G. de' Medici of September 1, and of G. M. della Porta of September 6, 1522 (State Archives, Florence). See also BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, * Diarium in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and Cod. Barb., lat. 2799, of the Vatican Library.

[2] Besides BREWER, III., 2, n. 2611, *cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta of September 4, 1522: *Il papa non ha restituito ad alcun cardinale stanze in palazzo salvo che a Sedonense (State Archives, Florence). G. Merino, Archbishop of Bari, writes on September 20, 1522, ex Puysi non procul a Parisiis, to Schinner: *Gaudeo vehementer

character, the Pope showed his displeasure in the most evident manner; when he presented himself for an audience, he was not even admitted to his presence.[1] Still greater astonishment was caused when Cardinal Medici, who had carried the Pope's election, was treated in exactly the same way as all the others. To the Cardinals it seemed an unheard-of proceeding that the prohibition to carry weapons should be at once enforced with rigour on members of their own households.[2] A clerk in Holy Orders who had given false evidence in the Rota, was punished by the Pope with immediate arrest and the loss of all his benefices. Unbounded consternation was aroused by the steps taken against Bernardo Accolti, who had been accused of participation in a murder during the vacancy of the Holy See, and had fled from his threatened punishment. The favourite of the court circle of Leo X., who had given him the sobriquet of "the Unique," was cited to appear instantly for judgment, or, in case of contumacy, to suffer the confiscation of all his property, movable and immovable. "Everyone trembles," writes the Venetian Ambassador, "Rome has again become what it once was; all the Cardinals, even to Egidio Canisio, a member of the Augustinian Order, have put off their beards." A few days later, the same narrator reports: "The whole city is beside itself with fear and terror, owing

D. V. R^mo^ apud S. D. N. in s. palatio residere. Spero enim S^tem^ suam ex dominatione V. R^a^ pro illius in rebus gerendis experientia zeloque et fide incomparabilia erga S^tem^ Suam et Ap. Sedem maxima servitia percepturam. Cod. 1888, f. 21^b^, Angelica Library, Rome.

[1] See the ** reports of G. M. della Porta of September 14, 1522, to the Duchess Eleanora of Urbino (State Archives, Florence). For the case in which Cibo was implicated later on, see STAFFETTI, 35 *seq.*

[2] ** See the letter of G. Staccoli of December 2, 1522, to the Duchess Eleonora of Urbino (State Archives, Florence).

to the things done by the Pope in the space of eight days."[1]

Already, in the above-mentioned Consistory, on the 1st of September, Adrian had annulled all indults issued by the Cardinals during the provisional government, subsequent to the 24th of January. Soon afterwards the number of the referendaries of the Segnatura, which had been raised by Leo to forty, was reduced to nine;[2] in this matter also Adrian followed the advice of Schinner. At the same time, it was reported that the Pope had commanded the Datary Enkevoirt to appoint no one in future to more than one benefice. When Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio asked for a bishopric on account of his poverty, the Pope asked the amount of his income. When Adrian was informed that this amounted to 4000 ducats, he remarked: "I had only 3000, and yet laid by savings out of that which were of service to me on my journey to Italy."[3] He also published strong enactments, in the middle of September, against the laxity of public morals in Rome.[4] In Germany, Adrian insisted on the strict observance of the decree of the last Lateran Council that every preacher should be furnished with a special licence by his bishop.[5]

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 444–445; *cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate 112, and GUARNERA, Accolti, Palermo, 1901, 116 *seq.* "Questo papa è homo che non parla mai se non di la giusticia" is the *report of G. M. della Porta, September 11, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 445; *cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 199; REUSENS, XXXII. According to T. Campeggio (* Letter of September 11, 1522, in State Archives, Bologna), Adrian VI. only appointed eight referendaries to the Segnatura.

[3] See in Appendix, No. 8, the *report of G. M. della Porta of September 2, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See the **account of G. M. della Porta, September 15, 1522, to the Duchess Eleanora of Urbino (State Archives, Florence).

[5] This decree, on which GUGLIA (Studien zur Geschichte der

The wholesome fear which had fallen on the Curia was still further increased by the news that Adrian intended to suppress the College of the Cavalieri di San Pietro,[1] and to recall collectively many of the offices bestowed by the deceased Pope.[2] Everyone who had received or bought an official place under Leo X. dreaded the loss of position and income. Numberless interests were at stake. Thousands were threatened in their means of existence as Adrian proceeded to divest "ecclesiastical institutions of that financial character stamped upon them by Leo, as if the whole machinery of Church government had been a great banking concern."[3] In addition to this, the Pope at first held himself aloof as much as possible from the decision of questions of prerogative, and even in matters of pressing importance generally answered with a "Videbimus"—"We shall see."[4] Not less firm were the Datary Enkevoirt, the private secretary Heeze, and the Netherlander Petrus de Roma, who was responsible for the issue

Laterankonzils, N.F., 46) throws doubt, was expressly mentioned later by Chieregati; see Reichstagsakten, III., 446. It was also under discussion at the Council of Trent; see MERKLE, I., 63, and *the original Acts for the general Congregation of May 21, 1546, in De Concilio, 62, f. 227 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] The incomes of the Cavalieri were to be spent on the fugitives from countries taken by the Turks. *Letter of G. M. della Porta of September 4, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Account of **G. M. della Porta of October 9, 1522, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] HÖFLER, 220.

[4] That the "Videbimus" reported by the Venetian Ambassador (ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 112) is not mere gossip is clear from the *letter of G. de' Medici of August 29, and from the *report of G. M. della Porta, October 5, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. The expression "Videbimus et cogitabimus" became a catchword. See VIRGILI'S edition of Berni's Rime, 36.

of Papal dispensations.[1] Rome rang with innumerable complaints. The verdict on Adrian was that he carried firmness to excess, and in all matters was slow to act.[2] Among the few who did justice to the conscientiousness of the Pope were Campeggio,[3] Pietro Delfino,[4] and the representative of the Duchess of Urbino, Giovanni Tommaso Manfredi. As early as the 29th of August the last-named had reported: "The Holy Father appears to be a good shepherd; he is one of those to whom all disorder is unpleasing; the whole of Christendom has cause for satisfaction."[5] On the 8th of September Manfredi repeats his good opinion; even if Adrian is somewhat slow in coming to his decisions, yet, he remarks very justly, it must be taken into consideration that, at the beginning of his reign, a new Pope has to take his bearings.[6] At the end of December the envoy of Ferrara is emphatic in calling attention to the Pope's love of justice. Leo is certainly aimed at when he says expressly, at the same time, that Adrian is a stranger to dissimulation and a double tongue.[7]

[1] *Cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 169.

[2] See the *letter of G. M. della Porta of September 21, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. The Venetian Ambassador reports on September 7, 1522, that 10,000 petitions had been received, of which one only, in favour of Cardinal de' Medici, had been granted; SANUTO, XXXIII., 446. v. DOMARUS (Hist. Jahrb., VI., 75–76), having in view the volumes of petitions in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, treats this account as mythical.

[3] *Cf.* his letter to Wolsey in BREWER, III., 2, n. 2506.

[4] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1522, n. 18 *seq.*

[5] Questo nostro beatissimo padre mi pare un bon pastore et è persona a chi despiace le cose mai fatte e mi penso che tutta la christianità ne habbi ad rimanere bene satisfatta (State Archives, Florence).

[6] G. T. Manfredi to the Duchess Eleonora of Urbino, dated Rome, September 8, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[7] *Letter of L. Cati, December 30, 1522, in State Archives, Modena.

Also, in January 1523, Jacopo Cortese praises in the highest terms, to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua, the tenacious conscientiousness, the justice, and the holy life of the Pope.[1]

The above opinions, however, among which that of the Portuguese Ambassador[2] may, to a certain extent, be included, form an exception. The general verdict was increasingly unfavourable. This we must connect, in the first place, with Adrian's limited expenditure, in order to relieve the finances which, under Leo, had become so heavily involved.[3] Regardless of the fact that the Pope, face to face with empty coffers and a mountain of debt, had no other course open to him than that of extreme economy,[4] he was soon reviled as a niggard and a miser. The prodigal generosity and unmeasured magnificence of the Popes of the Renaissance had so confused the general standard of opinion that, to an Italian of those days, a homely and frugal Pope was a phenomenon none could understand. Leo X. was popular because he piled up debt on debt; his successor was unpopular "because he

[1] "Di la timorosità, rectitudine e sanctimonia di S. B^ne^ non se ne potrebe predicare tanto quanto è in efecto." *Letter of January 5, 1523, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also in Appendix, No. 14, the *letter of January 12, 1523.

[2] *Cf.* his opinion in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 121, 153.

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of G. M. della Porta of September 6 and 9, and October 5 and 9, 1522, in State Archives, Florence: see Appendix, No. 9. See also the *letters of B. Castiglione of September 14 and December 4, 1522, and *that of A. Germanello of December 21, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *N. S^re^ raffermò la guardia delli Suizeri e riductò la de Cavalli leggieri a numero di 45. Capitan d'epsi Vincentio da Tigoli; raffermò e Pietro Chiavelluzi di nuovo e li altri cassi. Così per ogni verso va diminuendo la spesa. G. de' Medici, October 3, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

neither could make money nor wished to make it."[1] The sharp break with all the traditions of the Medicean reign disappointed the hopes and damaged the private interests of thousands, who now bitterly hated the foreign Pope, and looked with hostility on all his measures.[2] Even in cases where one might with certainty have expected his actions to meet with general approval, they incurred censure. A nephew of Adrian's, a student at Siena, had come to him in haste; the Pope at once made it clear to him that he ought to return to his studies. Other relations who had come to him on foot, full of the highest expectation, were dismissed after receiving some very slender gifts. The same persons who could not sufficiently blame the Pope for surrounding himself with Netherlanders, now pointed to his sternness towards his own family as the very acme of harshness.[3]

What currency was given to the most unfair criticism of

[1] HÖFLER, 210, 223. The conduct of Adrian VI. on the death of Cardinal Grimani shows how far removed he was from all covetous greed. NEGRI acknowledges this; see Lett. d. princ. I., 117[b]; *cf.* also Ortiz in BURMANN, 226–227. SCHULTE, I., 229, says appositely, "Adrian sought nothing for himself; but still less did he wish the Curia to be the great gold-mine from which everyone was to extract riches. The difficulties of the political situation demanded the strictest economy, and his predecessor had already squandered his share in the lavish stream of bounties. Often, to the blessing of a family, the spendthrift is succeeded by the thrifty restorer of its fortunes." See also v. DOMARUS in Histor. Jahrb., XVI., 74.

[2] A good example is given in the *report of G. de' Medici of September 8, 1522, printed in Appendix, No. 10 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani. Adrian's freedom from nepotism, remarks HÖFLER, 383, was "an example which few understood and still fewer respected, a fact that his contemporaries could not realize. They placed the Pope, who thought it necessary to abstain from nepotism, in the same category with those who regarded it as a scandal."

Adrian is shown, not only in the reports of the Imperial Ambassador[1] who, on political grounds, was bitterly opposed to him, but in those of most of the other envoys. Adrian was not turned aside by the general dissatisfaction; with that firmness which had always been one of his characteristics, he set himself with determination to carry out what he saw to be necessary. His programme consisted in, first of all, giving help in the Turkish troubles; and secondly, in making headway with his Church reforms; his responsibilities towards the States of the Church he placed, for the present, in the background.[2]

The gigantic tasks which he had thus undertaken were made more difficult not merely by the hostility of the Curia and the want of funds, but by a calamity for which also the Pope was not responsible. Early in September 1522 the plague had broken out afresh in Rome. Isolated cases had been reported on the 5th of that month, a season always dreaded on account of its unhealthiness. Later on the pestilence became epidemic, and on the 11th the daily death-rate was reckoned at thirty-six.[3] Adrian did not delay in taking the necessary measures. He took care that the spiritual needs of the sick should be attended to under strict regulations; at the same time he endeavoured to check the spread of the disease by forbidding the sale

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 483, 490, 502, 509, 540.

[2] *N. S^re^ attende sollecitamente ad ordinaire l' armata sua per mandarla al soccorso di Rhodi. Fatto questo attenderà S. Sta alle cose de la Chiesa spirituali, poi alle temporali et di le gente d' arme. G. M. della Porta, September 11, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* the *report of G. de' Medici of 5, 9 (La peste al continuo fa più danno), 11 (* La peste va impliando ogni giorno più e ne more trenta sei per giorno), 12 and 14 September, 1522. See also the *letters of G. M. della Porta of 9, 11, 13 and 14 September 1522 (State Archives, Florence

of articles belonging to those who had died[1] of the disorder.

The members of the Curia wished the Pope to abandon the city, now plague-stricken in every quarter.[2] They could remember how even a Nicholas V. had thus ensured his safety.[3] Not so the Flemish Pope: with courage and composure he remained steadfast at his post, although the plague gained ground every day. In answer to representations made on all sides that he might be attacked, his reply was, "I have no fear for myself, and I put my trust in God."[4] Adrian kept to his resolve, although on the 13th of September he was indisposed. It is to be noted that, notwithstanding his ailment, he did not abstain from saying Mass and attending to the despatch of business. The fever, however, had so much increased on the 15th that he was obliged to suspend his daily Mass.[5] As soon as he felt

[1] See in Appendix, No. 10, the report of G. de' Medici of September 8, 1522. The statement of JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.), that the Pope neglected to take measures against the plague, is also an invention.

[2] On September 8, 1522, G. de' Medici had already stated that the Pope would leave Rome; but on the 11th he had to report: *Il Papa non parla di partirsi (State Archives, Florence). On the spread of the plague Stef. Saffa writes, on September 12, 1522: *La peste qui tocca malamente et hormai ha compreso ogni parte di Roma ne mai è di che non si trovino due et tre morti per stradi. A Spanish chamberlain of the Pope's also died. (State Archives, Modena.)

[3] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. II. of this work, p. 86 *seq.*

[4] *Le papa mostra non la (sc. peste) temer et dice che si confida in Dio. G. M. della Porta, September 13, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *Cf.* the detailed ** accounts of G. M. della Porta of September 15 and 20, 1522 (*cf.* Appendix, No. 11), and that of G. de' Medici of September 14. The latter says, *S. S. hieri hebbe un po di doglia di testa e questa nocte passata dubitoron d' un po di febbre Hoggi ha dato audientia. On September 15: The Pope keeps his bed from fever. On September 16, 17, 18, and 19: The fever continues. On September 20 and 21: The Pope goes on better. (State Archives, Florence.)

better, he devoted himself again to business, although his physicians implored him to take some rest.[1] Notwithstanding the exertions into which Adrian, in his zeal for duty, threw himself, regardless of the claims of health, he made such improvement that on the 22nd of September his recovery was regarded as complete.[2] He now redoubled his activity, and the audiences were once more resumed. "The Cardinals," writes an envoy, "besiege the Pope and give him more trouble than all the rest of Christendom put together."[3] Meanwhile the plague still lasted, and once more the Pope was advised from all quarters to secure the safety of his life by flight, but to their counsels Adrian would not listen; regardless of the danger, on the 28th of September he visited S. Maria del Popolo.[4] The only concessions he at last consented to make were to defer the Consistories, and to permit the affrighted Cardinals to leave Rome.[5] At the end of September the daily death-rate amounted to thirty-five, and the cases of sickness to forty-one.[6]

[1] G. M. della Porta, September 20, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Letter of G. de' Medici, September 22, 1522, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] See **the report of G. M. della Porta, September 26, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Letters of G. de' Medici, September 25, 27, 28, 29, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *Letter of G. M. della Porta, September 27, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. Enea Pio *reports previously, September 17, 1522: "Molti signori cardinali si sono partiti et altri pensano partire excusandosi sopra la peste, ma in veritate per mal contenteza" (State Archives, Modena).

[6] *Letter of G. de' Medici, September 30, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. Many of Medici's letters contain the * official lists of the dead and sick as registered in the different quarters of the city. *Cf.* also the * reports of T. Campeggio, September 27 and 30, 1522, in the State Archives, Bologna.

Cardinal Schinner died on the 1st of October of a fever which had attacked him on the 12th of September.[1] His death was a heavy loss to the cause of reform, of which he had been the eager champion. It was already reported in Germany that the Pope had succumbed to the plague.[2] In the first week of October, under ordinary circumstances the pleasantest month in Rome, the mortality made great strides;[3] on the 8th the death-roll numbered a hundred.[4] All who could took to flight; only the Pope remained. He attended to the Segnatura and even still continued to give audiences; not until two inmates of the Vatican were stricken did he shut himself up in the Belvedere.[5] The Cardinals were directed to apply to the Datary for affairs of pressing importance.[6] On the 10th of October

[1] *Letters of G. de' Medici, September 12 and October 1, 1522, in State Archives, Florence. Also Blasius de Martinellis (Secret Archives of the Vatican) and T. Campeggio (*letter, October 4, 1522, in State Archives, Bologna) report that Schinner's death took place on October 1. Accordingly, SCHMIDLIN, 294, is subject to correction.

[2] REDLICH, Nürnberger Reichstag, 33.

[3] Already, on October 1, 1522, *Bart. Prospero reports thirty-two deaths (State Archives, Modena). On October 2, 1522, *G. M. della Porta writes: "Questa peste è cresciuta et cresce ogni dì tanto che tutta Roma pensa d' andarsene." On the 5th: *La peste fa grandissima strage. Many fly. "Gli Cardinali fanno grande instanza a N. S. che se ne vada fori." On the 10th: The plague has appeared in Marino and Viterbo (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also LANCIANI, I., 216 *seq.*

[4] SANUTO, XXXIII., 477.

[5] *Letters of G. T. Manfredi, September 29, and G. de' Medici of October 7 and 9, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), and *letter of T. Campeggio of October 4 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* the reports of Saffa of October 7 and 17, *La peste qui fa male et ognuno si fugge siche Roma non ha più quasi faccia di quella era (State Archives, Modena), the *Literae de Roma of October 10, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and BERGENROTH, II., n. 479.

[6] *Cf.* *Literae de Roma of October 10, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Cardinals Ridolfi and Salviati left Rome, followed on the 13th by Giulio de' Medici and on the 14th by the Imperial Ambassador Sessa.[1] The members of the Curia were of opinion that the Pope ought to do the same at any cost, but found Adrian as irresponsive as ever; he remained in the Belvedere and held audiences at a window.[2] In November even this was given up;[3] of the entire College of Cardinals only three remained in Rome and, at last, one only, Armellini. The Italian officials had almost all taken to flight; only the faithful Flemings and some Spaniards refused to leave the Pope.[4]

No diminution in the plague was observable in October, nor yet in November. At the end of the former month there were 1750 infected houses in Rome.[5] Baldassare Castiglione draws a fearful picture of the misery in the city. In the streets he saw many corpses and heard the cries of the sufferers: "Eight out of ten persons whom one meets," he writes, "bear marks of the plague. Only a

[1] *Letters of G. de' Medici of October 11, 13, and 14, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] SANUTO, XXXIII., 497. According to the registers of deaths collected by G. de' Medici, the return on October 17 was 60, on the 18th, 59, on the 19th, 63. Galeotto de' Medici about this time also left Rome. On October 28 he writes from the Vigna del Card. de' Medici, "more than 60 deaths are reckoned daily." On October 31 Sessa gives a still higher figure (150). BERGENROTH, II., n. 496. *Cf.* also TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. (Chigi Library, Rome).

[3] G. de' Medici reports "della Vigna dello ill. Medici." On *October 30: The plague continues. On *November 7: Many die. Cardinal S. Quattro (L. Pucci) has fled in consequence. *November 10: The Pope has ceased to give audience. *November 13: The plague has taken firm hold. (State Archives, Florence.)

[4] See SANUTO, XXXIII., 493 *seq.*; Ortiz in BURMANN, 202.

[5] *Hanno facto la descriptione delle case infecte e heri eran mille septem cento cinquanta. G. de' Medici, October 28, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

few men have survived. I fear lest God should annihilate the inhabitants of this city. The greatest mortality has been among grave-diggers, priests, and physicians. Where the dead have none belonging to them, it is hardly any longer possible to give them burial."[1] According to Albergati, the confusion had reached such a pitch that the living were sometimes interred with the dead.[2] With the arrival of cold weather in the first half of December signs appeared that the pestilence was on the wane. On the 9th of December the daily sum of deaths was still thirty-three, on the 15th thirty-seven, on the 18th only nine.[3] Since the Cardinals hesitated about returning—on the 10th of December only six had been present in Consistory—the Pope gave orders that they must all return to their places in the Curia.[4] The cases of sickness having very greatly lessened by the end of the year,[5] the Pope resumed his

[1] Letter of B. Castiglione, October 31, 1522. Castiglione on November 6 writes: *Che la peste procede più acerbamente che mai, ch' è miracolo atteso la poca gente ch' era rimasta in Roma Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *letter of V. Albergati, November 30, 1522, in State Archives, Bologna.

[2] Albergati in HÖFLER, 221.

[3] See the *registers of deaths forwarded by G. de' Medici in State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 391. When the danger of pestilence was over, the little church, S. Mariae portae paradisi liberatricis pestilentiae, on the Ripetta, was rebuilt as a thank-offering; see besides MORICHINI, 145, also FORCELLA, XII., 91, 93. The date of the inscription is here given incorrectly as 1522 instead of 1523. The latter date is still clearly legible.

[4] SANUTO, XXXIII., 548, 559, 596. *Heri el Papa fece consistorio, dove intervennero solum li rev. card^li Jacubacci, S. Sixto, Siena, Hivrea, Campezo et Trivulsi. *A. Germanello on December 11, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives), says that seven cardinals took part in the Consistory.

[5] *Letter of G. de' Medici, December 27, 1522, in State Archives, Florence.

audiences; the fugitive Italians, one by one, returned to Rome and the business of the Curia was once more reopened.[1]

While the plague raged four precious months were lost. It is indeed worthy of our admiration that Adrian, as soon as the greatest danger was over, should have returned immediately to his work of reform. As early as the 9th of December 1522 there appeared a measure of great importance and utility in this direction. All indults granted to the secular power since the days of Innocent VIII. concerning the presentation and nomination to high as well as inferior benefices were repealed, thus leaving the Holy See free to provide for the choice of fit persons. Even if this general ordinance were limited to no small extent by the concordats entered into with separate countries, still, it was made known "that the Pope had no intention of stopping at half measures, and that, whenever he found a bad condition of things, he was determined to replace it by a better."[2] On the 5th of January 1523 Adrian reopened the Segnatura for the first time. He took this opportunity of expressly enjoining that only such persons should receive benefices as were fitted for and worthy of them.[3]

An actual panic was caused in the first months of 1523 by the renewal, in a more circumstantial form, of the report that the Pope was busy with his scheme for abolishing all the new offices created by Leo X. and bestowed or sold by him, and for making a great reduction of all

[1] Ortiz in BURMANN, 208; *cf.* LANCELLOTTI, I., 429; BERNI, Rime ed Virgili, 277. On December 4, 1522, B. Castiglione had still to report: *N. S. sta ristretto senza dare audientia a persona del mondo (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Bull. VI., 1 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 240. See also the *letter of A. Germanello of December 21, 1522, and *that of J. Cortese to the Marchioness Isabella, January 5, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Letter of A. Germanello, January 5, 1523, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

officials, especially of the scribes and archivists.[1] In the beginning of February a Congregation of six Cardinals was in fact appointed in order to draw up proposals with regard to the recently made Leonine appointments.[2] Adrian had now brought himself into complete disfavour with the ecclesiastical bureaucracy—of all bureaucracies the worst. It gave rise to astonishment and displeasure when Adrian, in the beginning of April 1523, dismissed most of the Spaniards in his service from motives of economy and soon afterwards made further reductions in his establishment.[3] If strong expression had before this

[1] *Cf.* also with SANUTO, XXXIII., 620, the *letters of G. de' Medici, February 11 and 14, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Cerca el papa tuctavia reterare ad se le intrate de la chiesa et revocar le cose alienate da papa Leone et ha incommensato con li oficii creato da lui et deputati sei card^li^ ad la revisione de epsi, che sonno li r^mi^ de Vulterra, Flisco, Monte, Ancona, Jacobasi et Campezio, li quali han facte più congregationi sopra de questo et par satisfar al papa per che inclinino ad la revocatione de dicti officii, ma li sono molti clamori de officiali, et quando se facesse serria periculo de qualche scandalo per esserli molti brigate intricate et maxime non possendolo fare el papa di rascione; anchora non è successo altro; altro dì fo facto da tucti dicti card^li^ congregatione ai casa de Vulterra dove comparsero li officiali et allegarono suspecti alcuni di dicti card^li^ et protestarono che non se procedesse ad ulteriora nisi prima discussa la causa de la suspitione et forono dicte de male parole contra dicti card^li^; la cosa restì così suspesa. A. Germanello, February 13, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *El Papa se excusa non haver el modo de posserli far le spese. A. Germanello, April 11, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *the reports of L. Cati of April 14 (If it had been possible, the Pope would have dismissed even his Spanish secretary), and May 29, 1523. In the latter he says: *La Sta N. S. licentia molti de la sua famiglia che ritornano in Spagna, et a questo proposito gia disse a me, che volea parco vivere. Et fra gli altri licentia certi giovanotti soi ragazzi gentilhuomini che havea menati di la (State Archives, Mantua). The latter regulation was carried out in order to put an end to scandalous reports.

found vent in the Curia on the subject of Adrian's parsimony, or, as they preferred to call it, his miserliness,[1] now indignation knew no bounds. According to the Ferrarese envoy, no Pope had ever received so much abuse as Adrian VI.[2] Prelates and Cardinals accustomed to the pomp and luxury of the Leonine period found a continual stumbling-block in the asceticism and simplicity of Adrian's life. The contrast was indeed sharp and uncompromising. While Leo loved society and saw much of it, delighted in state and ceremony, in banquets and stage plays, his successor lived with a few servants in the utmost possible retirement; he never went abroad save to visit churches, and then with a slender retinue.[3] He gave his support, not to poets and jesters, but to the sick and poor.[4]

It was a moment of the greatest importance for the Papal schemes of reform when, in March 1523, Dr Johann Eck, a staunch supporter of loyal Catholic opinion in Germany, came to Rome. The cause of his visit was certain matters of ecclesiastical policy in the Duchy of Bavaria, which were happily settled through the advances of Adrian VI.[5] Amid the interests of his sovereign Eck

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 19, *the letter of L. Cati, March 21, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] *Supplement to L. Cati's letter of May 29, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] See *letter of G. de' Medici, April 1, 1523: *Il papa è andato questa mattina con poca compagnia alle VII. chiese (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* *letter of A. Germanello, April 2, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* PERICOLI, L'osped. di S. Maria d. Consolazione, 73; VOLPICELLA, Studi, 213.

[5] Besides the taxation of the Bavarian clergy up to a fifth of their income, the Pope agreed to the appointment of a Commission of Visitation vested with plenary authority of a comprehensive kind, to the

was not unmindful of the welfare of Christendom; both the question of the Turkish war and that of reform were thoroughly discussed in his interviews with the Pope. Eck's notes have been preserved;[1] they form an important contribution to the history of Church reform at this time.

Eck thoroughly reviews the situation. Not only the rapid spread of the Lutheran teaching even in South Germany, but also the grievous harm wrought within the Church itself, was known to him down to the smallest detail. In the existing political situation of Europe he did not, in the first place, hope much from a general council; quite as little, he thought correctly, would be gained by a mere condemnation of the heretical doctrines. In agreement with the most enlightened men of the age, above all with the Pope, he calls for comprehensive reform in Rome itself. He unsparingly discloses the abuses there existing, especially in the matter of indulgences; he points out that there is a crying necessity for a substantial reduction in the different classes of indulgence;

separation of the Bavarian Augustinians from the Saxon province, and to means for maintaining the theological faculty of Ingolstadt; see Eichstätter Pastoralblatt, 1869, 176; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18th edit., 361, note; HÖFLER, 324 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, Volkszustände, 181, note; RIEZLER, IV., 95 *seq.*

[1] Published by Friedensburg in KOLBE'S Beitr. zur bayr. Kirchengsch., II., 159 *seq.*, 222 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH in Hist. Jahrb., V., 371 *seq.*, and the excellent articles by J. B. GÖTZ, Beratungen und Rathschläge des Dr J. Eck in Rom anno 1523, in the wissenschaftl. Beil. der Germania, 1902, No. 17–20, of which I have made special use for the following pages. In March 1523 Bishop Johann von Meissen, who was also in Rome, presented a memorandum to the Pope on the spread of the new teaching and the difficulties in his diocese. (Cod. Ottob., 2366, f. 211 *seq.*, Vatican Library). *Cf.* v. DOMARUS in Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 86, and POSTINA in the Römischen Quartalschr., XIII., 337 *seqq.*

he also wishes to see some limit set to the bestowal of faculties to hear confessions.

Eck draws an equally interesting and repulsive picture of the doings of the benefice-hunters and their countless tricks and artifices. He remarks with truth that, since many of these men came from Rome, the odium they incurred recoiled on the Holy See. On this point he implores Adrian without reserve to take decisive measures; the system of pluralities had been the source of abuses profoundly affecting the life of the Church. Eck especially recommends the diminution of pensions and expectancies and the entire abolition of commends and incorporations. If Eck's proposals with regard to indulgences and the system of patronage command our entire approval, not so entirely satisfactory are his suggestions for a reform of the Penitentiary. The complete removal of the taxes on dispensations goes too far; in order to produce an effect he exaggerates in many particulars. On the other hand, he speaks to the point in dealing with the misuse of the so-called lesser excommunication, the laxity in giving dispensations to regulars in respect of their vows and habit, and the too great facility with which absolutions were given by the confessors in St. Peter's. A thorough reform of the Penitentiary officials and of the whole system of taxation was certainly necessary.

Eck made extensive proposals for a reform of the German clergy, the need of which he attributes to the unfortunate neglect of the decrees of the last Lateran Council. With a minute attention to detail, he here gives his advice concerning the conduct of the bishops, prelates, and inferior clergy, the system of preaching, diocesan government, and the excessive number of festivals. For a realization of his projects for the reform of the Curia, Eck hopes great things

from the German Pope, whom he also counsels to pledge himself to convoke a general council. Eck also recommends the issue of a fresh Bull against Luther and his chief followers, the suppression of the University of Wittenberg, the appointment of visitors for each ecclesiastical province, furnished with Papal authority and that of the ruler of the country, and lastly, the restoration of the ancient institution of diocesan and provincial synods, for the summoning of which and their deliberations he makes extensive suggestions; these synods are to form an organizing and executive centre for the systematized struggle with the innovators.

We have, unfortunately, no authentic information in detail as to the attitude of Adrian towards this comprehensive programme of reform, nor as to the more immediate course of the conferences on the question of indulgences.[1] One thing only is certain, that although the capitulations of his election afforded Adrian an opportunity for approaching the subject directly, yet the difficulties were so great that he did not venture on any definite step. If he did not here anticipate the decision of the council which it was his intention to summon, yet, in practice, he proceeded to issue indulgences most sparingly.[2]

Not less serious were the obstacles to be met with when Adrian began his attempts to reform the Dataria. It was

[1] SARPI'S account (Geneva edition, 1660, 21 *seq.*) has been so thoroughly and admirably refuted by PALLAVICINI, II., 4 *seq.*, that even MAURENBRECHER (Kathol. Ref., 401) declares this account to be a free invention of the anti-Papal author. For the whole controversy *cf.* also BRISCHAR (overlooked by Maurenbrecker), Beurteilung, I., 56 *seq.*, and WENSING, 203 *seq.*

[2] The assertion of SCHULTE, I., 233, that Adrian issued no indulgences, is incorrect; *cf.* SANUTO, XXXIX., 123, 138, and PERICOLI, L'osped. di S. Maria d. Consolazione, 119. PALLAVICINI also, II., 6, only says: "fu parchissimo nell' indulgenze."

soon shown that salaries only could not take the place of the customary fees without introducing laxity of discipline; besides, the abolition of fees for the despatch of Bulls and the communication of Papal favours could not take effect, at a time of such financial distress, without great loss to the already exhausted exchequer, still chargeable, irrespective of these minor sources of revenue, with the remuneration of the officials. Thus the Pope saw himself forced in this department also, to leave things, provisionally, for the most part as they were; nevertheless, he kept close watch over the gratuities of the Dataria in order to keep them within the narrowest possible limits.[1]

Still more injurious to the cause of reform than the difficulties referred to was the growing peril from the Turks, which made increasing claims on Adrian's attention. "If Adrian, in consequence of the fall of Rhodes, had not been occupied with greater concerns, we should have seen fine things," runs the report of a Venetian unfriendly to reform.[2] Excitement in the Curia ran high when Adrian withdrew a portion of their income from the Cavalieri di San Pietro, the overseers of corn, and others who had bought their

[1] See PALLAVICINI, II., 6, who here accepts Sarpi's account; *cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Ref., 401, who is certainly wrong in saying that Pallavicini here appeals to papers left behind by Chieregati, for the quotation in question refers only to the fate of Chieregati. The details in Sarpi's account are very suspicious. He repeatedly invents and falsifies them in his work, and mixes up truth and falsehood. (See EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XXVI., 299 *seq.*, XXVII., 67 *seq.*, and Histor. Zeitschr., XCVII., 212.) In particular, Sarpi's assertion that the opposition to Adrian's plans of reform proceeded from Pucci and Soderini is without corroboration; indeed, Egidio Canisio, a witness of high authority, remarks: "Reformationi Anconitanus (Accolti) restitit." This evidence, long since published by HÖFLER in his Analekten, 52, has also been overlooked by Maurenbrecker.

[2] SANUTO, XXXIII., 620.

places under Leo X. The Pope excused himself for these hard measures on the plea that, in order to satisfy all, he was forced to a certain extent to make all suffer.[1] The charges of greed and avarice were now openly brought against him in the harshest terms, and the total ruin of the city was proclaimed as inevitable.[2] On the 25th of February 1523 one of these officials, whose means of subsistence was threatened by Adrian's course of action, tried to stab the Pope, but the vigilance of Cardinal Campeggio baulked this attempt made by one whose mind had become deranged.[3]

Neither by dangers of this kind nor by the piteous complaints which assailed him from all sides could Adrian be diverted from his path. Where it was possible he took steps against the accumulation of livings, checked every kind of simony, and carefully watched over the choice of worthy men for ecclesiastical posts, obtaining the most accurate information as to the age, moral character, and learning of candidates; moral delinquencies he punished with unrelenting severity. He never made any distinction of persons, and the most powerful Cardinals, when they were in any way blameworthy, received the same treatment as the humblest official of the Curia.[4]

In the beginning of February 1523 thirteen Cardinals complained of the small importance attached by Adrian to the Sacred College, since he limited their prerogatives and in all matters consulted only his confidants, Teodoli,

[1] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.; HÖFLER, 382 *seq.*

[2] See the *letters of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, February 11 and 14, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] NEGRI in Lett. d. princ., I., 111-112; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI., Deutsche Städtechroniken, XXV., 189.

[4] *Cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 225; GIOVIO, Lettere ed. Luzio, 28; SANUTO, XXXIII., 592, XXXIV., 30, 93; HÖFLER. 225.

Ghinucci, and Enkevoirt. The Pope answered that he was far from intending any disrespect towards the dignities and rights of the Cardinalate; the reason why his choice of confidential advisers had lain elsewhere than with them was that he had never before been in Rome, and that during the time of the plague he had not been able to become acquainted with the members of their body.[1]

In the despatches of Ambassadors the chief complaint is directed against his parsimony and his dilatory method of transacting business. As regards the first point, the complaints were not justified, but as to the second, they were not altogether groundless. Even when allowance is made for exaggeration on the part of the numerous malcontents, there can still be no doubt that unfortunate delays arose in the despatch of business. The officials of Leo X. who had most experience in drafting documents were either dead or had left Rome. Since Adrian took no pains to make good this deficiency, intolerable delay often occurred in the preparation of deeds and papers. Moreover, business was often performed in a slovenly way; it was expressly stated that the persons appointed by the Pope were not only few in number but for the most part ill-acquainted with affairs and naturally slow;[2]

[1] *S. Sta rispose, se il s. collegio si tenea offeso dello honore o commodo fussino certi non era di sua voluntà, e dello haver facto electione di quelle persone, con le quali sì confidava questo l' haveva facto per non essere stato in corte e non conoscer lor S. R^me^. G. de' Medici, dated Rome, February 3, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also in Appendix, No. 15, *the letter of A. Germanello, of February 9, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See in Appendix, No 17, the letter of Balbi's of February 23, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna); *cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 197, and the *letter of A. Germanello of February 9, 1523, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (see Appendix, No. 15). Among those who were retained in the service

in addition, occupants of important posts, such as Girolamo Ghinucci, the acting Auditor of the Camera, caused delays by an exaggerated scrupulosity.[1] The Datary Enkevoirt also was very dilatory; he often kept Cardinals waiting for two or three hours, and even then they were not sure of admission.[2]

Adrian's intense dislike of the motley crew of officials belonging to his predecessor was undoubtedly connected with the fact that many of them were persons of irregular life. That such elements should have been expelled from the Curia is cause for commendation, but it was a deplorable mistake when Adrian quietly acquiesced in the withdrawal of such an eminent man as Sadoleto, an enthusiast for reform and one ready to render the cause willing service.[3] "The astonishment in Rome," writes Girolamo Negri in March 1523, "is general. I myself am not astonished, for the Pope does not know Sadoleto." Negri on this occasion repeats the saying then current in the city, "Rome is no longer Rome." He adds with bitterness, "Having escaped from one plague, we have run into another and a worse. This Pope of ours knows no one. No one receives tokens of his grace. The whole world is in despair. We shall be driven again to Avignon or to the furthermost ocean, Adrian's home; if God does not help us, then all is over with the Church's monarchy, in this extremity of danger."[4]

of Adrian appears Evangelista (Tarrasconio), in the *Reg. brev. Lat., 8 (1521–1553), of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[1] Albergati in HÖFLER, 22c.

[2] *Literae de Roma of October 10, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, I., 383.

[4] Lett. d. princ., I., 113; *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., i., 16 *seq.*; JOLY, 121 *seq.* It was reported in January 1523 that the Pope intended to reinstate Sadoleto as private secretary. *Letter of A. Germanello of January 5, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

In a later letter Negri, like Berni, corrects his at first wholly unfavourable impressions. He asserts that the Pope raises extraordinary difficulties in conferring any graces. This reluctance proceeds from his ignorance of Roman life and from distrust of his surroundings, but also from his great conscientiousness and fear of doing wrong. When the Pope grants favours, though they may be few, they are in the highest degree just: he does nothing contrary to rule, which, to a court accustomed to every gratification, is certainly displeasing. Cicero's remark on Cato might be applied to the Pope: "He acts as though he were living in some republic of Plato's, and not among the dregs of Romulus."[1] This expression indicates with precision an undoubted weakness in the character of Adrian. Gifted by nature with high ideals, he only too often judged others by himself,[2] set before them the most lofty vocations, and attributed the best intentions even to the least worthy men. The many disappointments which he was thus bound to experience made him in consequence too distrustful, unfriendly and even hard, in circumstances where such feelings were misplaced.

The majority of the Sacred College were men of worldly life, and severity towards them in general was certainly justified. But Adrian distinguished too little between the worst, the bad and the good elements among them.[3] With

[1] Lett. d princ., I., 114. On July 8, 1523, B. Albergati, who afterwards was of an entirely different opinion, wrote to Bologna: *Il modo di questa corte al presente è d' andar molto in lungo ne le expeditioni, ma al fine le cose pigliano poi tal verso che facilmente si conosce questo tardare procedere da summa prudentia di N. S. più che da nessun altra cose. State Archives, Bologna.

[2] BOSCH, 63, brings this out forcibly.

[3] *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 230.

none of the Cardinals was he on confidential terms; even Schinner, Campeggio, and Egidio Canisio, who as regards the reform question were thoroughly at one with him, were never on an intimate footing. How unnecessarily rough the Pope could be is shown by an incident at the beginning of his Pontificate which the Venetian Ambassador has put on record. It was then the custom to hand over the Neapolitan tribute amid great ceremony. Cardinal Schinner presumed to call the Pope's attention to this pageant. At first Adrian made no reply, and when the Cardinal again urged him to appear at the window, Adrian flatly gave him to understand that he was not to pester him.[1] If he thus treated a fellow-countryman and a man of kindred aspirations, it can be imagined how it fared between him and the worldly Italians.

In course of time, however, Adrian seems to have perceived that he must come into touch with his Italian sympathizers if he was to carry out effectually his ever-widening projects of reform.[2] He therefore summoned Gian Pietro Carafa and his friend Tommaso Gazzella to Rome with the avowed object of strengthening the cause of reform. Both had apartments assigned to them in the Vatican.[3] Unfortunately we do not know the precise date

[1] SANUTO, XXXIII., 449. Campeggio was appointed Protector of England at Rome. Henry VIII., in thanking the Pope in a *letter of February 22, 1523, expressed high praise of Campeggio. Archives of Sant' Angelo, Arm., IV., c. 2.

[2] In May 1523 it was rumoured that he intended to dismiss all the Legates. SANUTO, XXXIV., 194–195.

[3] Accounts of the summons to Carafa and Gazzella in JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. Those in Egidio Canisio (Abhandl. der Münchener Akad., IV., Abt. B, 52), and in the Ist. di Chiusi (TARTINIUS, I., 1024) are unfortunately very short. Caracciolo also, *Vita di Paolo IV. (Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome), c. 10, and BROMATO, I., 87 *seq.*, have nothing more detailed to give. The statement that Adrian VI. also called

of this important invitation, nor have we any further information as to the results of the visit; we can only infer from Giovio that the summons was sent towards the end of the pontificate, when Adrian's plans for the reform of the corrupt city were taking a yet wider range; special measures involving the severest punishments were to be taken against blasphemers, scoffers at religion, simonists, usurers, the "New Christians" of Spain (Marani), and corrupters of youth.[1]

That the coming of so strong and inflexible a man as Carafa could only add to Adrian's unpopularity in Rome admits of no doubt.[2] The general dissatisfaction found utterance in bitter satire and invective. What insults, what infamous and senseless accusations were permitted is shown by the notorious "Capitolo" of Francesco Berni which appeared in the autumn of 1522.[3] It combines in itself all the contempt and rage which the strong and upright Pontiff with his schemes of reform, his foreign habits, and his household of foreigners provoked in the courtiers of Leo X. The talented prince of burlesque poets has here produced a satire which ranks as one of

Gaetano di Tiene to Rome, as given in REUMONT, III., 2, 153, GREGOROVIUS, VIII., ed. 3, 396, and SCHULTE, I., 232, rests on an unfortunate confusion of Gazzella with Gaetano, which PALLAVICINI, II., 4, and JENSEN, Caraffa, 41, had already refuted. The combined invitation to Rome of Pighius (BURMANN, 138) and Nicolas von Schönberg was also connected with Adrian's plans of reform; see *TIZIO, Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.* Chigi Library, Rome.

[1] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.; *cf.* HÖFLER, 534. The Jewish community in Rome was friendly towards Adrian VI.; see VOGELSTEIN, II., 37 *seq.*

[2] It was even said that he was to be made a Cardinal; see ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 378.

[3] BERNI, Rime, ed. Virgili, 30–38. For the date of composition (August 29 to December 20, 1522) see VIRGILI, Berni, 62 *seq.*

the boldest in the Italian literature of that age.[1] It is a masterpiece of racy mendacity breathing hatred of the foreigner, of the savage set down amid artistic surroundings, of the reformer of men and manners. But the hatred is surpassed by the studiously displayed contempt for the "ridiculous Dutch-German barbarian."

Against such ridicule, deadly because so laughable, the Pope was powerless. When he forbade, under the severest penalties, the feast of Pasquino on St. Mark's day 1523 and its pasquinades,[2] the measure was useless: for satire is like the Lernæan hydra with its crop of heads. The public were determined to take the Pope on his ludicrous side, and the story ran that Adrian had only desisted from having Pasquino's statue flung into the Tiber because he was assured that, like frogs in water, he would make a greater noise than before.[3]

Almost all contemporary accounts make it clear that the mass of public opinion in Rome was very ill-disposed towards the foreign Pope. Even critics who recognized

[1] Besides VIRGILI, Berni, 68 *seq.*, *cf.* FLAMINI, 209 *seq.*, and Studi dedic. a d' Ancona (1900), 190. Berni saw afterwards that he had treated Adrian unjustly; see VIRGILI, 278.

[2] Lett. d. princ. I., 114[b] *seq.*; SANUTO, XXXIV., 194. Of the carnival A. Germanello reports on February 19, 1523: * Son state facte mascare in Roma solum li ultimi tre dì de carnevale, ma macramente, et non è stata facta altera festa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] SANUTO, XXXIV., 194; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.; BURCKHARDT, Kultur I., seventh ed., 175 *seq.*; BERTANI, 30 *seq.* I abstain from a publication of the Satire * Confessione di M. Pasquino a Fra Mariano martire et confessore in * Cod. Ottob., 2812, f. 16[a] *seq.* (Vatican Library), since GNOLI (Nuova Antologia, LI. [1894], 88 *seq.*, 530 *seq.*) intends to take it in hand. For the pamphlet, probably composed by a German courtier: Ein eleglichs Gesprech . . . wider den frommen Papst Adrianum, see CRISSTOFFELS, 79 and 102. This pamphlet also appeared in French: Dialogue et un merveilleux parlament fait par ung abbé, ung cortisan et ung diable. S. l. et a.

his good and noble qualities thought him too much the Emperor's friend, too penurious, too little of the man of the world. An instructive instance of this is given in a letter of the Mantuan agent Gabbioneta of the 28th of July 1523 in which—an exception to the Italian chroniclers of those days—he to a certain extent does justice to Adrian's good qualities. Gabbioneta describes the Pope's majestic appearance; his countenance breathes gentleness and goodness; the impression he gives is that of a religious. In tones of grief Gabbioneta deplores the change that he has seen come over the animated and light-hearted court of Leo X. "Rome is completely altered, the glory of the Vatican has departed; there, where formerly all was life and movement, one now hardly sees a soul go in or out."[1] The deserted state of the Papal palace is also accounted for in other ways, though the change had taken place gradually. For months Adrian had been forced, owing to the danger of the plague, to seclude himself in the Vatican and keep entirely apart from the life of the city. Always a great lover of solitude, this "cloistered" existence had so delighted the serious-minded Pope that he determined later on to adhere to it as much as possible. In this resolve he was strengthened by those around him, for they found it to their advantage that Adrian should see as few people as possible.[2] Another inducement was the fear of poison, by which from the first the Pope had been haunted.[3] In January 1523 it

[1] See the phraseology of the characteristic letter (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in Appendix, 27.

[2] Ortiz in BURMANN, 207. That Enkevoirt made access to the Pope as difficult as possible had already been reported by G. M. della Porta on September 26, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See LANZ, I., 64, and Appendix, No. 8, the * letter of G. M. della Porta of September 2, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

was even believed that a conspiracy to murder him had been detected.[1] By occurrences such as these Adrian's original distrust of most Italians was only intensified.[2] He therefore continued to be waited on, by preference, by his own countrymen, whom he was satisfied that he knew thoroughly.

The complaint of Adrian's inaccessibility was combined with another, that of his excessive confidence in those about him. There must have been some ground for the imputation when it is raised by such an enthusiastic partisan of the Pope as Ortiz. Some of those in his more immediate circle did not deserve the confidence placed in them by Adrian. From the reports of the Imperial Ambassador Sessa it is only too plain that many who were nearest to the Pope's person were very open to bribes; this was especially true of the secretary Zisterer, a German. What

[1] Lope Hurtado de Mendoza reports on this in a *letter to the Emperor, dated Rome, February (day missing) 1523: "El Papa fue avisado del governador que tiene en la Marca como venian aqui ciertos criados del duque de Camariño a darle ponçoña y con este aviso hizo prender algunos. El que le traia hugó. Los otros non confesado; ahunque creo que no se averigua bien la verdad, ha seido obra del duque y non se dize la causa, hase hecho secreto lo mas que han podido. Son X. los presos, estan en Santangeli" (Biblioteca de la Acad. de Historia, Madrid, Colec. Salazar, A 27, f. 124). *Cf.* also Ortiz in BURMANN, 218 *seq.*, and Appendix, No. 14, the *letter of J. Cortese of January 12, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The inquiry directed against Giov. Maria Varano, Duke of Camerino, who had French sympathies, came, however, to nothing, and Clement VII. spoke of the Duke as free from suspicion of having taken part in this attempt or in the murder of Sigismondo Varano; see BALAN, Storia, VI., 67; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 326; STAFFETTI, Cybo, 37. Further, the authorities give no support to the notion of HÖFLER, 486, that the affairs had a connection with the intrigues of Soderini.

[2] *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 93, and report of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, quoted in the preceding note.

Sessa also reports concerning the Pope's confidential friends, especially his allegation of Enkevoirt's dependence on Cardinals Monte and Soderini, is not confirmed from other quarters.[1] There is no doubt that Enkevoirt, now as always, had the greatest influence with Adrian,[2] and that from the beginning this was a cause of friction between the former and Ruffo Teodoli.[3] In consequence the latter lost for a considerable time his position of confidence;[4] as, however, he was an excellent man of affairs, his absence was perceptibly felt, and all the more so because Adrian was very often unlucky in the choice of his officials. Blasio Ortiz attributes the delays in the transaction of business which were so generally found fault with to the slackness and dilatoriness of the officials, since Adrian personally did more hard work than any other Pontiff before him. That in spite of this the despatch of affairs was very protracted, was also owing to Adrian's extreme conscientiousness, which

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 490, 496, 502, 540, 544.

[2] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 502; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 93, 132 *seq.* *Letter of Balbi to Salamanca of April 12, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] G. M. della Porta reports to the Duke of Urbino, on September 24, 1522, a conversation with Ruffo Teodoli about the "mala satisfactione che tutta la corte riceva di questo si confuso et longo negotiar di S. Sta." Ruffo Teodoli describes how Enkevoirt takes everything into his own hands "et ha ottenuto di sostituir dui in loco suo da datare le supplicationi, cosa che mai più non fu concessa a persona del mondo se non in caso di infirmità, et stimase che fra poco spatio di tempo si habbiano di scoprir mille falsità, et il povero papa son sa di che importanza sia il sostituir datario" (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI., who unfortunately does not give the exact date. The fall of Ruffo Teodoli must have taken place after March 1523, for up to that time he was still described as being, along with Enkevoirt and G. Ghinucci, the Pope's chief confidential adviser. Corp. dip. Port., II., 132–133. Quite at the end of Adrian's reign Ruffo regained his influence; see Ortiz in BURMANN, 217.

often went the length of pedantry. The Pope attempted to attend to all kinds of business in person, especially spiritual matters, without discriminating between what was important and what was not. This devotion to duty, which made him sacrifice himself to public affairs, was so great that his early death was thought by some to have been caused by over-exertion in one already advanced in years and exposed to an unaccustomed climate.[1]

The shortness of Adrian's pontificate—it lasted one year and eight months—was the primary cause why the movement of Church reform produced such meagre positive results. As the period of delay in Spain and of the plague in Rome[2] can hardly be taken into account, the duration of his actual government was shorter still. Quite irrespective of his own idiosyncrasies and his advanced age, it is therefore not surprising that, among the new as well as arduous conditions in which, by an almost marvellous turn of events, he was placed, he was unable to strike any very deep roots. He had come to Rome a total stranger, and such he remained until his death; therefore, for the execution of his noble

[1] Ortiz in BURMANN, 207; *cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 93. On September 3, 1523, the Florentine envoys sent to offer obedience, report: * Le S. V. hanno a sapere che questo Papa vuol vedere et intendere ogni cosa et non da auctorità a persona (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 100 *seqq.* Since February 1523 the plague had again broken out, so that the carnival fêtes had to be given up; see *a letter of Albergati, February 14, 1523, in the State Archives, Bologna. *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 16, Acta Consist. of February 11 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); BERNI, Rime, ed. Virgili, 278; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 396; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 139, 143, 169, and * Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). In May only a few cases of plague were reported: see *a letter of Girol. Staccoli of May 17, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). By the beginning of August 1523 the plague had entirely disappeared; see the letter of Giovio in BRAGHIROLLI, Lett. inedit., Milano, 1856, 25.

intentions and great plans he was more or less dependent on the Italians with whom he was never able to find genuine points of contact. The circumstance that his knowledge of their language was always inadequate not only led to great misunderstandings,[1] but also made an interchange of ideas impossible. A stranger, surrounded by intimates of foreign birth, the Flemish Pope could not make himself at home in the new world which he encountered in Rome.[2] Just as Adrian was beginning to recognize the disadvantages inherent in his isolated position, and was making the attempt to ally himself with the Italian party of reform, and also to devise some improved and accelerated methods of business,[3] he was seized by the illness of which he died. But even if his reign had lasted longer the Pope would with difficulty have reached the full solution of his great tasks. The proper machinery for the accomplishment of his measures of reform was wanting. Moreover, the difficulties inherent in the very nature of the case were too vast, the evils too great, the force of deeply rooted conditions—which in a naturally conservative atmosphere like that of Rome had a twofold strength—too powerful, and the interests at

[1] Enea Pio reports on October 5, 1523, to the Duke of Ferrara: *La lettera di V. E. ho presentato a N. S^re^, la quale ha molto gratiosamente acceptato e non la sapendo legere la dete a M. Jo. Vincler, ne lui anchor la sapea molto ben legere di modo che io fui lo interprete (State Archives, Modena).

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT in his recension of Höfler in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1880, Beil. No. 149. HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 280, thinks that as Adrian placed more trust in his honest but inexperienced Netherlanders than in the Italians, the tactlessness of the former often did him more harm than the craftiness of the latter could have done.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Albergati, September 6, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

stake too various[1] to permit of the great transformation which was necessary being accomplished within the limits of a single Pontificate. The accumulated evils of many generations could only be healed by a course of long and uninterrupted labour.

Adrian, who had sometimes found himself driven by exceptional and weighty reasons to relax the stringency of the ecclesiastical laws,[2] perceived with grief in hours of depression that all his work would be but fragmentary. "How much does a man's efficiency depend," he often said, "upon the age in which his work is cast."[3] On another occasion he said plaintively to his friend Heeze, "Dietrich, how much better it went with us when we were still living quietly in Louvain."[4] At such times he was sustained only by the strong sense of duty which was always a part of his nature. Providence, he was strongly convinced, had called him to the most difficult post on earth, therefore he braced himself unflinchingly for the task, and devoted himself, heedless of his failing health,[5] to all the obligations of his office until the shadows of death closed around him.

If Adrian is judged only by the standard of success, no just verdict will be given. The significance of his career lay not in his achievements, but in his aims. In this

[1] A good example in SANUTO, XXXIII., 540. *Cf.* CANTÙ, Eretici, I., 359 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MORING-BURMANN, 73; HÖFLER, 443.

[3] *Cf. infra*, Chapter V.

[4] This expression, given in a somewhat different form by JOVIUS (Vita Adriani VI.), is thus reported by G. M. della Porta in his letter, September 23, 1522, given in Appendix, No. 11 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] Even Adrian's enemy, Sessa, was disturbed by the extent to which the Pope's health had suffered under the weight of his duties; see the Report, November 22, 1522, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 502.

respect it is to his undying credit that he not only courageously laid bare the scandals in the Church and showed an honest purpose of amending them, but also with clear understanding suggested the right means to be employed, and with prompt determination began reform at the head.[1]

[1] See REUMONT, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSION OF FRANCESCO CHIEREGATI TO THE DIET OF NUREMBERG.—ADRIAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GERMAN SCHISM.

IN taking in hand the thorough regeneration of the Roman Curia, Adrian not only aimed at putting an end to a condition of things which to him must have been an abomination, but also hoped in this way to remove the grounds for defection from Rome in the countries beyond the Alps. But as the reform of the Curia was by no means a matter of swift realization, no other course remained open to the Pope than "to make a qualified appeal to the magnanimity of his enemies."[1] This explains the mission of Francesco Chieregati to the Diet convened at Nuremberg on the 1st of September 1522.

This native of Vicenza, chosen by the Pope for this difficult mission in Germany, where the elevation of a fellow-countryman to the Holy See had at once been accompanied by the highest hopes,[2] was no novice in Papal diplomacy; already under Leo X. he had been Nuncio in England, Spain, and Portugal. At Saragossa and Barcelona Adrian, then Viceroy for Charles V., had come to know him as a man of learning and earnest moral character, and

[1] HÖFLER, 242.

[2] *Cf.* Hochstratani Ad. s. d. n. pontificem modernum cuius nomen pontificale nondum innotuit. . . . Colloquia, pars prima [Coloniae], 1522, f. 2. *Cf.* PAULUS, Dominikaner, 103 *seq.*

one of his first appointments as Pope was to present him to the bishopric of Teramo in the Abruzzi.[1] Almost immediately afterwards he was nominated Nuncio in Germany.[2] Chieregati must have entered at once on his difficult and responsible mission to the country then in the ferment of revolt, for by the 26th of September 1522 he had already entered Nuremberg with a retinue. Two days later he had his first audience with the Archduke Ferdinand. On this occasion he directed himself to obtaining measures against the Lutheran heresy, and dwelt upon the Pope's serious intention of carrying on the war against the Turks and removing ecclesiastical abuses; at the same time he stated, in the Pope's name, that henceforth annates and the fees for the pallium should not be sent to Rome, but retained in Germany and applied exclusively to the expenses of the Turkish war.[3]

The Diet having at last been opened on the 17th of November, Chieregati appeared before it for the first time on the 19th, and appealed for the aid of the Hungarians in a forcible speech. He wisely avoided weakening the effect of his words by any reference to Church affairs. Not until the 10th of December, when he made a second speech on

[1] For F. Chieregati *cf.* BARBARANO, Hist. Eccles. di Vicenza IV. Vicenza, 1760; PORTIOLI, Quattro documenti d' Inghilterra, Mantova, 1868; MORSOLIN, Fr. Chieregati, Vicenza, 1873. *Cf.* also BURCKHARDT, I., ed. 7, 329; GACHARD, Bibl. Nat., II., 64, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 240, as well as Cod. Barb., lat., 4907, of the Vatican Library.

[2] Stefano Saffa writes from Rome, September 12, 1522, that Chieregati "in penultimo concistoro" was appointed Bishop of Teramo and Nuncio in Germany. *Saffa calls him "homo noto al papa per atto a negotiare" (State Archives, Modena). According to the *Acta Consist., I., f. 186 (Consistorial Archives), the Consistory was held on September 7, 1522.

[3] *Cf.* Planitz' account, published by WÜLCKER and VIRCK, 201 *seq.*; REDLICH, 21 *seq.*, and Reichstagsakten, III., 384.

the Turkish question, did he consider the opportune moment to have come for introducing his errand as it bore on Church affairs, and then, at first, only cautiously. He was commissioned by the Pope to call the attention of the States of the Empire to the spread of Lutheran teaching, a peril even more threatening than that of Turkish invasion, and to ask for the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The Pope also did not deny the existence of many abuses in the Roman Curia, but had decided to take steps against them with the utmost promptitude. The States declared that before they could confer and come to any final judgment on these matters they must have the Papal proposals put before them in writing; they had evidently little inclination to meddle with this delicate matter. It was not until the arrival, on the 23rd of December, of Joachim of Brandenburg, who had already fought energetically at the Diet of Worms on the Catholic side, that matters seem to have come to a head.[1]

On the 3rd of January 1523 Chieregati read before the Diet and the representatives of the Empire several documents which had been sent after him clearly setting forth the intention and proposals of the Pope. The first was a Brief of the 25th of November 1522, addressed to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg, in which Adrian, after mentioning his assiduous efforts to restore peace in view of the danger arising from the Turks, went thoroughly into the question of the religious confusion in Germany. The originator of the trouble was Luther, who had himself to blame if he, Adrian, could no longer call him a son. Regardless of the Papal Bull of condemnation and of the Edict of Worms, he continued, in writings full of error, heresy, calumny, and destruction, to corrupt the minds

[1] See Reichstagsakten, III., 321 *seq.*, 385, 387 *seq.*, 876 *seq.*; REDLICH, 42 *seq.*, 61 *seq.*; DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrbuch, X., 99 *seq.*

and morals of Germany and the adjacent countries. It was still worse that Luther should have adherents and abettors among the princes, so that the possessions of the clergy—this perhaps was the first inducement to the present disorder—and the spiritual and secular authority were attacked, and a state of civil war had been brought about. Thus, at what was perhaps the worst moment of the Turkish danger, division and revolt had broken out in "our once so steadfast German nation." The Pope recalled how, when residing in Spain as Cardinal, he had heard with heartfelt sorrow of the disturbance in his beloved German fatherland. He had then consoled himself with the hope that this was only transitory, and would not long be tolerated, especially among a people from whom in all ages illustrious antagonists of heresy had arisen. But now that this evil tree—perchance as a chastisement for the people's sins or through the negligence of those who ought to have administered punishment—was beginning to spread its branches far and wide, the German princes and peoples should take good heed lest through passive acquiescence they come to be regarded as the promoters of so great a mischief: "We cannot even think of anything so incredible as that so great, so pious a nation should allow a petty monk, an apostate from that Catholic faith which for years he had preached, to seduce it from the way pointed out by the Saviour and His Apostles, sealed by the blood of so many martyrs, trodden by so many wise and holy men, your forefathers, just as if Luther alone were wise, and alone had the Holy Spirit, as if the Church, to which Christ promised His presence to the end of all days, had been walking in darkness and foolishness, and on the road to destruction, until Luther's new light came to illuminate the darkness." The Diet might well consider how the new teaching had renounced all obedience and gave permission to every man

to gratify his wishes to the full. "Are they likely," continued Adrian, "to remain obedient to the laws of the Empire who not merely despise those of the Church, the decrees of fathers and councils, but do not fear to tear them in pieces and burn them to ashes? We adjure you to lay aside all mutual hatreds, to strive for this one thing, to quench this fire and to bring back, by all ways in your power, Luther and other instigators of error and unrest into the right way; for such a charitable undertaking would be most pleasing and acceptable to us. If, nevertheless, which God forbid, you will not listen, then must the rod of severity and punishment be used according to the laws of the Empire and the recent Edict. God knows our willingness to forgive; but if it should be proved that the evil has penetrated so far that gentle means of healing are of no avail, then we must have recourse to methods of severity in order to safeguard the members as yet untainted by disease."[1]

[1] The best copy of the Brief is in Reichstagsakten, III., 399 *seq.*; *cf.* also Kalkoff, 97 *seq.* This document alone is sufficient to establish the incorrectness of the assertion of Gregorovius, VIII., edit. 3, 403, that Adrian "wished to settle the Lutheran controversy by a compromise on matters of doctrine." Beside this Brief intended for the Church at large, Papal letters had also been sent, by the end of November, to prominent princes and towns. Some of these are merely credentials for Chieregati; others, such as those sent to Bamberg; Strassburg, Spires, and Constance, prohibitions to print and sell the writings of Luther; see Walch, XV., 2362 *seq.*; Virck, Korrespondenz Strassburgs, I., 77; Ramlung, Speier, II., 247 *seq.*, and specially Reichstagsakten, III., 404 *seq.* In the last named see also the Brief to the Elector Albert of Mayence, of November 28 (*infra*, 141, n. 2) and also that to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, of December 1, 1522, in which Adrian exhorts him, in accordance with his promise given beforehand to Cardinal Cajetan, to give no longer his protection to Luther after the condemnation of the latter by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, but to proceed against him and his followers. This

Besides this Brief, Chieregati read an Instruction closely connected with it, and then demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms and the punishment of four preachers who had spread heretical teaching from the pulpits of the churches of Nuremberg.[1]

This Instruction, which Chieregati communicated to the Diet, is of exceptional importance for an understanding of Adrian's plans of reform, and his opinion of the state of things.[2] The document, unique in the history of the Papacy, develops still more fully the principles already laid down in the foregoing Brief for the guidance of the German nation in their opposition to Lutheran errors.

copy has escaped KALKOFF, who gives (Forschungen, 208 *seq.*; *cf.* 85, 158 *seqq.*) a text differing in particulars from the Cod. Vat., 3917. The letter to Frederick, often printed and widely disseminated in MS. (there is also a copy in the Theodosian Library at Paderborn, Lib. var. X., p. 130 *seq.*), which begins with the words "Satis et plus quam satis," was looked on as genuine by RAYNALDUS himself, 1522, n. 73, but it is a forgery; see KOLDE in Kirchengeschichtl. Studien, 202–227. For the singular letter to the Archduke Ferdinand, see Reichstagsakten, III., 404, n., where a reference to BALAN, Mon. Ref., 297 *seq.*, is added. On December 18, 1522, Adrian wrote to Hildesheim about the dissensions in the chapter there; printed in LAUENSTEIN, Hist. ep. Hildesh., I., 40.

[1] See Planitz' report, January 4, published by WÜLCKER and VIRCK, 307 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, III., 385; REDLICH, 103 *seq.* The doings of the above-mentioned preachers gave rise to quite exceptional anxiety in Rome concerning the advance of the heretical teaching; *cf.* *letter of V. Albergati, dated Rome, January 12, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] For the manuscripts and printed copies of the Instruction see Reichstagsakten, III., 391 *seq.*, where there is also an exact duplicate copy. The passage on the plague (see *infra*, p. 136) points with certainty to the end of November as the time of composition; *cf.* *supra*, p. 103 *seq.*; TIZIO (Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, f. 179; Chigi Library, Rome) assigns the Instruction to November 25, 1522, which may be correct.

Besides the glory of God and the love of their neighbour, they are bidden to remember what is due to their glorious loyalty to the faith, whereby they have won the right to be considered the most Christian of all peoples, as well as the dishonour done to their forefathers by Luther, who has accused them of false belief and condemned them to the damnation of hell. Moreover, they must consider the danger of rebellion against all higher authority introduced by this doctrine under the guise of evangelical freedom, the scandals and disquiet already aroused, and the encouragement to break the most sacred vows in defiance of apostolic teaching, by which things Luther has set an example worse than that of Mohammed. On all these grounds Chieregati is justified in demanding the execution of the Papal and Imperial decrees; yet at the same time he must be ready to offer pardon to penitent sinners.

The objection, which ever gained wider acceptance, that Luther had been condemned unheard and upon insufficient inquiry, meets with thorough refutation in the Papal Instruction. The basis of belief is divine authority and not human testimony. St. Ambrose says: "Away with the arguments by which men try to arrive at belief; we believe in the Fisherman, not in dialecticians." Luther's only vindication lay in the questions of fact, whether he had or had not said, preached, and written this or that. But the divine law itself, and the doctrine of the sacraments, were to the saints and to the Church an irrefragable truth.

Almost all Luther's deviations of doctrine had already been condemned by various councils; what the whole Church had accepted as an axiom of belief must not again be made a matter of doubt: "Otherwise, what guarantee remains for permanent belief? Or what end can there be to controversy and strife, if every conceited and puzzle-

headed upstart is at liberty to dissent from teaching which puts forth its claims not as the opinion only of one man or of a number of men, but as established and consecrated by the unanimous consent of so many centuries and so many of the wisest men and by the decision of the Church, infallible in matters of faith? Since Luther and his party now condemn the councils of the holy fathers, annul sacred laws and ordinances, turn all things upside down, as their caprice dictates, and bring the whole world into confusion, it is manifest, if they persist in such deeds, that they must be suppressed, as enemies and destroyers of public peace, by all who have that peace at heart."

In the last and most remarkable portion of the Instruction, Adrian set forth with broad-minded candour the grounds on which the religious innovators justified their defection from the Church on account of the corruption of the clergy, as well as that corruption itself. "You are also to say," so run Chieregati's express instructions, "that we frankly acknowledge that God permits this persecution of His Church on account of the sins of men, and especially of prelates and clergy; of a surety the Lord's arm is not shortened that He cannot save us, but our sins separate us from Him, so that He does not hear. Holy Scripture declares aloud that the sins of the people are the outcome of the sins of the priesthood; therefore, as Chrysostom declares, when our Saviour wished to cleanse the city of Jerusalem of its sickness, He went first to the Temple to punish the sins of the priests before those of others, like a good physician who heals a disease at its roots. We know well that for many years things deserving of abhorrence have gathered round the Holy See; sacred things have been misused, ordinances transgressed, so that in everything there has been a change for the worse. Thus it is not surprising

that the malady has crept down from the head to the members, from the Popes to the hierarchy.

"We all, prelates and clergy, have gone astray from the right way, and for long there is none that has done good; no, not one. To God, therefore, we must give all the glory and humble ourselves before Him; each one of us must consider how he has fallen and be more ready to judge himself than to be judged by God in the day of His wrath. Therefore, in our name, give promises that we shall use all diligence to reform before all things the Roman Curia, whence, perhaps, all these evils have had their origin; thus healing will begin at the source of sickness. We deem this to be all the more our duty, as the whole world is longing for such reform. The Papal dignity was not the object of our ambition, and we would rather have closed our days in the solitude of private life; willingly would we have put aside the tiara; the fear of God alone, the validity of our election, and the dread of schism, decided us to assume the position of Chief Shepherd. We desire to wield our power not as seeking dominion or means for enriching our kindred, but in order to restore to Christ's bride, the Church, her former beauty, to give help to the oppressed, to uplift men of virtue and learning, above all, to do all that beseems a good shepherd and a successor of the blessed Peter.

"Yet let no man wonder if we do not remove all abuses at one blow; for the malady is deeply rooted and takes many forms. We must advance, therefore, step by step, first applying the proper remedies to the most difficult and dangerous evils, so as not by a hurried reform to throw all things into greater confusion than before. Aristotle well says: 'All sudden changes are dangerous to States.'"

In some supplementary instructions based on Chieregati's reports, Adrian also undertook that in future there

should be no infringement of the concordats already agreed upon. With regard to cases decided in the Rota, in which a reversal of judgment was desired in Germany, he would, as soon as the Auditors, who had fled before the plague, were reassembled, and as far as was consistent with honour, come to some understanding; he anxiously awaited proposals as to the best way to hinder the advance of the new teaching, and wished to be made acquainted with the names of learned, pious, and deserving Germans on whom Church preferment could be bestowed, as nothing had been more hurtful to the saving of souls than the appointment of unworthy priests.

The unprecedented publicity which Adrian in this Instruction gave to the abuses so long dominant in Rome, and the communication of this document to the Diet, certainly not in opposition to the Pope's wishes, have often been blamed as impolitic acts; even the Papal admission of guilt has itself been questioned as incorrect and exaggerated.[1] The charge of exaggeration cannot be

[1] The different objections to the contents of the Instruction and the manner of its publication are summarized by PALLAVICINI, II., 7, but with courtesy and moderation (*cf.* WENSING, 223). REUMONT (Allgem. Zeitung, 1880, Beil. No. 149) remarks on this point: "Various judgments may be formed as to the opportuneness of the Instruction imparted to the Nuncio Chieregati at Nuremberg; there was something lofty-minded in the public acknowledgment of shortcomings and sins in the very quarter from which amendment ought to have proceeded, and Adrian was justified by the subsequent reforms carried out by the Tridentine decrees. If the results, at least the momentary results, did not correspond with his noble intentions; if the opposition, refusing to take the hand held out to them, showed themselves averse to a real and equitable peace and only took advantage of the open avowal of wrong-doing to suit their own interests; if they mixed up Church questions with matters foreign to them and proposed measures bound to be ineffectual owing to the already altered turn in affairs and the opposition to spiritual authority,—who, on that account, shall hold

sustained: the corruption in Rome was undoubtedly as great as Adrian described it to be. If there was to be any effectual cure, it was necessary that this lofty-minded Pope, in his enthusiasm for reform, should lay bare, with heroic courage, the wounds that called for healing.

On looking at the Instruction as a whole, we see that the Pope did not surrender, even on the smallest point, his firm ecclesiastical principles. He draws a sharp and definite line between the divine and human elements in the Church. The authority of the latter rests on God only: in matters of belief it is infallible. The members of the Church, however, are subject to human corruption, and all, good as well as bad, must not shrink from confession of guilt before God, the confession which every priest, even the holiest, has to lay on the steps of the altar before offering the sacrifice of the Mass. Such a confession Adrian as High Priest made before the whole world openly, solemnly, and

the Pope responsible? the Pope who, from his first accession onwards, had put the peace of Christendom in the forefront of all his pronouncements, ecclesiastical as well as political, and, on the other hand, had stood out against the pernicious violence of hostile writers and the obvious illegality of princes in their encroachments on the constitution of the Church? An agreement with the reforming Papacy might have saved Germany from the horrible disorders which broke out in the struggle between the German nobility and their princes, and in the peasants' war, all carried on in the name of the Gospel and the Divine Law,—disorders of which the final result, after horrible bloodshed, has been that worst of all forms of ecclesiastical government, a Cæsaro-Papism, from which the Evangelical Church, as the outcome of its very origin, still suffers to-day. For even after the removal of the worst evils of an incongruous relationship, after the most strenuous efforts to make its constitution secure, this Church is still always face to face with the danger of succumbing to State domination or to anarchy. An agreement with this all-reforming Papacy had in itself ceased to be a matter of practical consideration, and, besides assuming its possibility, was beyond the powers of the leaders of the opposition to carry out."

explicitly in expiation of the sins of his predecessors and as the earnest of a better future. Firmly convinced of the divine character of the Church, he nevertheless does not shrink one jot from speaking freely, though in grief, of the evils and abuses that lay open as day before the eyes of the world and brought dishonour on her external system of government.[1]

What is to be said of the charge of impolicy brought against the Instruction? Was the Pope's uncompromising admission of the corruption of Rome a short-sighted blunder whereby he sharpened one of the keenest weapons of the enemy? Many staunch partisans of the Church have thought so; but this is a narrow conception, without justification. Adrian was right in rising to a much higher idea of the Church; moreover, he was too clear-sighted a theologian to feel alarm for the true interests of the Church from a confession of guilt which was an actual matter of fact. It is sin itself, not its acknowledgment, which is dishonouring. With genuine German frankness and sincerity, which on this very account were unintelligible to the Romans, Adrian VI., in a magnanimous and honourable spirit, had turned to the noble and well-loved nation from which he came, with a courageous confession of abuses, promises of thorough reform, and exhortations to the maintenance of unity, law, and order in the Church. "It lay with the nations to reply in the same noble temper. But the existing tone was one of discord, and the prospect of reconciliation vanished never to return; the gulf grew wider and wider, and no power on earth was able to close it."[2]

Had it depended upon the Archduke Ferdinand and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the Pope's solicitations

[1] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, II., 17 *seqq.*, and WENSING, 249 *seq.*

[2] HÖFLER, 275.

for the execution of the Edict of Worms would have been acceded to. But neither succeeded in having his way. Hans von der Planitz, who was devoted to the new teaching and an active and astute champion of the Saxon Elector, knew how to procrastinate; the majority determined not to commit themselves at first to any definite answer, but to refer the whole matter to a consultative committee. In addition to the pressure put upon them by the unsettled condition of the Empire, they were influenced by an outbreak of indignation cleverly worked up by the Lutheran party on account of Chieregati's demand for proceedings against the four preachers of Nuremberg. The town council had already, on the 5th of January 1523, decided to prevent this, if necessary by force. As Chieregati still remained obstinate, this matter also was referred to the committee.[1] The Papal Nuncio soon found himself exposed to such insults, threats, and acts of violence that he hardly any longer dared to show himself in the streets.[2]

The preachers, on the other hand, only became more vehement; "If the Pope," declared one of them from the pulpit in the church of St. Lawrence, "were to add a fourth crown to the three already on his head, he would not on that account rob me of the word of God."[3] This feeling in the city, as well as the critical condition of the Empire, had from the first a strong influence on the conduct of affairs. The result gave satisfaction to neither party.[4] The Lutherans certainly in no way

[1] REDLICH, 106 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, III., 386; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., ed. 18, 290 *seq.*

[2] Report of Chieregati, January 10, 1523, in MORSOLIN, 111 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 599.

[3] RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, II., ed. 6, 38.

[4] REDLICH, 114 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, III., 387; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., ed. 18, 293 *seq.*

derived a complete victory, but the Catholics and the Pope were equally unsuccessful in achieving their most important object, the execution of the Edict of Worms.[1] This was postponed as being at the time impracticable; simultaneously demands were made on the Curia in a more imperative and aggressive form for the removal of German grievances[2] and the convocation of a free Council on German soil; until then nothing else was to be preached except "the Holy Gospel as laid down in the Scriptures approved and received by the Christian Church, and nothing new was to be printed or offered for sale unless first examined and approved by learned persons especially appointed for that purpose."[3] Had the clergy, with their decided preponderance in the Diet, fulfilled their duties in a corporate capacity, the unsatisfactory result of the negotiations would be inexplicable. But both courage and good-will were wanting in too many of the prelates. The critical condition within the Empire, threatened by an outbreak of revolution, "put them," as Planitz wrote, "in fear of their skins." Had it not been for the determined action of the Papal Nuncio, the affairs of the Church might well have been entirely neglected.[4]

The prelates were not only weak-spirited, they were also steeped in worldliness. Heedless of the necessities of

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 234 *seq.*, 247; HÖFLER, 284 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 308; Histor. Zeitschr., LX., 110–111.

[2] In order to avoid the presentation of these demands, Chieregati left Nuremberg on February 16, 1523; see Planitz' reports, 383. *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, III., 645 *seq.*, and EHSES in Römischen Quartalschr., 1904, 373, note. On Eck's advice regarding the German "grievances" see GÖTZ' article, No. 18, quoted *supra*, in note 1, p. 109.

[3] Reichstagsakten, III., 447 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., ed. 18, 296. For the meaning of the demands of the Council, see EHSES' excellent remarks, Conc., IV., xvi. *seq.*

[4] REDLICH, 147.

the age, they thought more of worldly enjoyments, the banquet and the dance, than of the deliberations of the Diet.[1] The earnestness of the Nuncio was displeasing to them, still more the frank avowal of general blame and responsibility by a Pope who knew only too well the laxity of the German hierarchy.[2] Adrian's hope that the German prelates would search their own hearts, and even now smite their breasts as penitent sinners, was proved to be futile. Far from it, these worldly-minded men felt themselves affronted and roused to wrath at the bare idea of paying attention to the Papal declarations. Such small amount of zeal as there was for co-operation in Adrian's wishes very soon sank below zero. Moreover, among the Catholic secular princes opinion was for the most part "out-and-out Lutheran."[3]

The party of the new belief, cleverly led by Planitz and Johann von Schwarzenberg, opposed at first a discreet silence to the Pope's magnanimous candour, in order there and then to bring to the front the demand for the punishment of the preachers and afterwards to fall upon the Nuncio. Even a man of so refined a culture as Melanchthon was not ashamed[4] to describe the latter as no better than a weathercock; still worse was the license with which he and Luther inveighed against Adrian. In the spring of 1523 they issued a foul pamphlet aimed, under allusions to a monstrosity discovered in Rome in the reign of Alexander VI., at the strictest and most austere Pope ever raised to the

[1] *Cf.* Chieregati's report, November 28, 1522, in MORSOLIN, Chieregati, 108.

[2] *Cf.* the Brief to the Elector Albert of Mayence, November 28, 1522, in the Reichstagsakten, III., 406 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* REDLICH, 104 *seq.*, 148; BAUMGARTEN, II., 234, 244.

[4] *Cf.* Corp. Ref., I., 605 *seq.*

Chair of Peter.[1] Luther did not think it worth his trouble even to take notice of Adrian's good intentions.[2] He saw in him only the Antichrist: the whole "injustice and savagery of his polemic"[3] is shown in the gibes at "the stupidity and ignorance" ascribed by him to this great man. "The Pope," he wrote, "is a *magister noster* of Louvain; in that University such asses are crowned; out of his mouth Satan speaks."[4]

Luther and his associates show thus plainly that their object was not the removal of abuses from the Church, but its fundamental overthrow. Regardless of the stipulation of Nuremberg, they urged on their politico-religious agitation. On the 28th of March 1523, Luther addressed to the heads of the German religious orders his appeal, calling on them to break their vows, contract marriages, and divide amongst themselves the property of their orders. He continued as before to revile the noble German Pontiff as a blind tyrant, a charlatan, even as the special minister of Satan.[5]

For this Luther found a pretext on the 31st of May 1523 in Adrian's canonization of Bishop Benno of Meissen. On the same day the Florentine Archbishop Antonino was raised to the altars of the Church. The lavish expenditure hitherto associated with such ceremonies was prohibited by Adrian.[6] The canonization of such

[1] LANGE, Der Papstesel (Göttingen, 1891), 82 *seq.*, 86.

[2] REDLICH'S opinion, 146.

[3] HARNACK uses this expression of Luther's controversial style, Dogmengsch., III., 3rd ed., 733.

[4] See WALCH, XV., 2658 *seq.*; DE WETTE, II., 351 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 297, 299 *seq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN, An meine Kritiker (1891), 74 *seq.*

[5] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18th ed., 298 *seq.* *Cf.* Mitteil. für Gesch. von Meissen, II., 130, and LEMMENS, Alfeld (Freiburg, 1899), 67 *seq.*

[6] See RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 89–101; Bull V., 15 *seq.* *Cf.* *Acta

illustrious examples of the bygone episcopate was intended to appeal to their less spiritual successors.[1] But the Pope's lofty intention of thus uplifting the higher clergy was as little understood in Italy as in Germany;[2] he also experienced a bitter disappointment in Erasmus,[3] who had written to his former teacher immediately after his election, assuring Adrian of his orthodoxy and dedicating to him his edition of Arnobius. In answer, Adrian addressed Erasmus on the 1st of December 1522

Consist., May 29, 1523 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, XXXIV., 244; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 170; Lett. di princ., I., 115 *seq.*; Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris; Ortiz in BURMANN, 210 *seq.*; *letters of V. Albergati, May 13 and 18, 1523, State Archives, Bologna; *letter of L. Cati, June 6, 1523, in State Archives, Modena; LANDUCCI, 366; Mitteil. für Gesch. von Meissen, 127 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 35; SCHMIDLIN, 270. The canonization of Giustiniani (*cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 285) was not carried out.

[1] HÖFLER, 302.

[2] Of importance in this respect is a *letter of Abbadino, May 18, 1523, who, after speaking of the Consistory in the case of Antonino, adds: "Hoggi se fatto un altro consistoro pur publico, nel quale se publicato Beato Bennone Alemano. Credo che questo papa habbi designato de far santi li morti et cazar disperati a casa del diavolo li vivi, maxime che havevano a negociar in questa corte, nella quale non si sono altri che disperati e malcontenti." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In a similar spirit of mockery writes *L. Cati, May 29, 1523. State Archives, Modena.

[3] Adrian's correspondence with Erasmus is printed by BURMANN, 493 *seqq.*, from the: Opera Erasmi, a German translation (by Schlosser), Frankfurt-on-Main, 1849; *cf.* DANZ, Anal. Crit. de Had. VI., I., II., Jenae, 1813 *seq.*; WOKER, De Erasmi studiis irenicis. Bonnae, 1872, 25; BAUER, Hadrian VI. (Heidelberg, 1876), 107 *seq.*; MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 211 *seq.*, 400, where a gross mistake of NIPPOLD, Reformbestrebungen Adrians VI. (Hist. Taschenb., 1875, 205 *seqq.*) is corrected; HÖFLER, 333 *seq.*, and HARTFELDER, 134–143.

in a lengthy and paternal Brief,[1] thanking him for the dedication, setting his mind at rest with regard to certain accusations brought against him, and at the same time urgently entreating him to use his great literary gifts against the new errors. This practical Netherlander, now seated in the Papal Chair, wished to see Erasmus doing something and not merely conveying to him graceful words of compliment. He shrewdly remarks that Erasmus by such activity would best put to silence those who wished to implicate him in the Lutheran business: "Rouse thyself, rouse thyself to the defence of the things of God, and go forth to employ in His honour the great gifts of the Spirit thou hast received from Him. Consider how it lies with you, through God's help, to bring back into the right way very many of those whom Luther has seduced, to give steadfastness to those who have not yet fallen, and to preserve from falling those whose steps are tottering." He recommends as best that Erasmus should come to Rome, where he would find at his disposal literary resources and the society of learned and pious men. Adrian, who was well aware of the disinclination of Erasmus to any violent treatment of the innovators, very adroitly seizes this opportunity of impressing upon him that he also was much more desirous of the voluntary return of those who had been misled than of their compulsion under spiritual and secular penalties; to the attainment of this end, Erasmus would best conduce by engaging in a literary warfare with the friends of Luther. In the same spirit and at the same time, Adrian also admonished the University of Cologne.[2]

[1] From Aleander's original draft (*Cod. Vat., 3917, f. 16–17; *cf.* PAQUIER, 290 *seq.*) Adrian had removed all terms of recrimination and harshness.

[2] This Brief, dated Rome, December 1, 1522, is to be found in

On the 22nd of December 1522, Erasmus himself wrote a second letter to Adrian, in which he already makes sufficiently clear the advice that he purposes to communicate to the Pope in a more confidential manner; he only begs that there shall be no measures of suppression, no intrusion of personal hatreds, to the dishonour of the cause of Christ. To this Adrian answered in the most friendly way on the 23rd of January 1523, again inviting Erasmus to Rome. He looks forward with eager anticipation to the promised advice, "since he has no greater desire than to find the right means of removing from the midst of our nation this abominable evil while it is yet curable, not because our dignity and authority, so far as they concern us personally, seem endangered in the stormy tempests of the times—for not only have we never set our heart on these things, but, seeing that they come upon us without any connivance of ours, have greatly dreaded them, and, God be our witness, would have declined them altogether had we not feared thereby to offend God and injure our own conscience—but because we see so many thousands of souls, redeemed by the blood of Christ and committed to our pastoral care—souls, moreover, belonging, after the flesh, to peoples of our own race—led away on the direct path of destruction through the hope of an evangelical freedom which, in very truth, is a bondage to the Devil."

The answer of Erasmus to this letter is only preserved in part. Enough remains, however, to show what his position at this time actually was. He coldly declines the enthusiastic summons of the Pope to devote his learning, reputation, and influence to the cause of the Church; he has not the adequate knowledge, nor

a rare contemporary copy: Adrianus Papa Sextus | delectis filiis Re | ctori et Universi | tat. Colonien. | Five printed pages with the Papal arms on frontispiece. Copy in the Floss Library, Berlin.

does he enjoy a sufficient reputation, seeing that both parties, the Lutherans and their opponents, tear him in pieces. Even if his frail health permitted him to make the journey to Rome, he could get through much more work in Basle; besides, if he were to write against Luther in measured and decorous terms, he would appear to be jesting with him. "If I were to imitate his own style of writing and make a hostile onslaught on Lutheranism, I should raise about me a hornet's nest." To this excuse Erasmus joins a warning against violent measures; yet, in contradiction to this, he expresses the wish that the authorities "may beat back the innovations"; further, he trusts that the Pope may lead the world to hope that some of the things justly complained of may be altered. He recommends that incorruptible, moderate, and dispassionate men should be convoked from every country in Europe, in order to deliberate on reform. Here the letter breaks off. We are left in uncertainty whether Erasmus still adhered to his scheme of settling the Lutheran question by means of the arbitration of learned men; in any case, the conditions were less favourable for such a course than they had been in 1520, when Erasmus exerted himself to carry out this favourite project.[1]

Adrian VI. had also made attempts to win back the man who, in connection with the Lutheran ideas, had intro-

[1] *Cf.* our previous remarks, English ed. of this work, Vol. VII., p. 422. REDLICH, 65, believes Erasmus to have held fast to his original project. This is certainly probable, but not certain as long as the close of the letter remains undiscovered. On September 16, 1523, Erasmus addressed a letter to Adrian's sacristan, Petrus Barbirius, the sound Catholic sentiment of which is strongly marked; printed by NOLHAC, Erasme en Italie, 112 *seq.* The letter reflects the mental distress of the harassed scholar, urged from both sides by the parties in a great national movement to take up a clear position.

duced into German Switzerland a movement of apostasy from Rome. The Pope's position was one of twofold difficulty in respect of Switzerland, as there remained a debt of 30,000 ducats due from Leo X. to the cantons. With great exertions Adrian VI. succeeded, in the first instance, in finding the money required to pay the Zurichers, and in January 1523 he handed over to them 18,000 Rhenish gulden.[1] In April he sent Ennio Filonardi to the Swiss in order to secure their neutrality, and, in case of a French invasion of Italy, an alliance; he gave him a letter to Ulrich Zwingli promising him rewards if he supported the Nuncio.[2] But in the meantime Zwingli had already initiated his breach with Rome in his first discourse at Zurich on religion.[3] Similar designs occupied the mind

[1] *Cf.* SCHULTE, I., 235. The reports of **A. Germanello of December 11 and 29, 1522, give fresh details of the transactions with the Swiss Envoys. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] ZWINGLI, Opera, VII., 264. The letter contains no definite promise, and Zingg's later assertions, "that every inducement was put before Zwingli to keep silence, even the Papal chair itself," is wanton exaggeration. Not until Clement VII. became Pope was it recognized how dangerous the reformer might be to the Curia, and then the latter had recourse not to promises but to threats. Before that his influence had not yet been rated so highly. As parish priest of Glarus he was simply offered the prospect, in the event of his supporting the Nuncio in his political mission, of obtaining a canonry at Coire or Basle, and he was made a Papal acolyte—a merely nominal position, which he accepted. How could anyone for a moment suppose that a man who, up to a short time before, had been content, even as senior priest of Zurich, with a pension of fifty marks for placing his influence at the Pope's service, was so distinguished as to be marked out for the purple? WIRZ, Filonardi, 59–60. For Zwingli's discreditable distrust of Adrian's crusading energy see RIFFEL, III., 43 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RIFFEL, III., 49 *seq.*, and G. MAYER in Kathol. Schweizerbl., 1895, 51 *seq.*

of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albert of Brandenburg, despite his still repeated asseverations of loyalty to the Pope and the Church. He had even instructed the Roman procurator of the Order to obtain from the Pope a penal edict against any of his knights who had joined the party of Luther! Adrian, who had ordered Albert to accept without alteration[1] the reforms of the Order already prescribed by Leo X., was spared the experience of seeing this German Prince, in violation of his vows, obtain the secularization of the lands of the Order for which he had denounced in Rome the King of Poland.[2]

Next to Germany the countries of Scandinavia repeatedly claimed Adrian's attention. The want of determination shown by Leo X. with regard to the arbitrary government of the tyrannical Christian II. of Denmark had inflicted serious injury on the Church in those countries. That under Adrian a stronger conception of duty prevailed is clear from the transactions of a Consistory held on the 29th of April 1523.[3] But before a decree against Christian was drawn up, the King had been compelled to leave his kingdom, where the government was taken over by his uncle, Frederick of Gottorp.[4] On the ground of the Union of Colmar, Frederick also claimed acknowledgment in Sweden; but in vain. Gustavus Wasa, the gifted leader of the Swedish national party,

[1] VOIGT, Geschichte Preussens, IX., 685 *seq.*; JOACHIM, III., 45 *seq.*, 63, 243 *seq.*; PASTOR, Albrecht von Brandenburg in, Katholik, 1876, I., 180. *Cf.* Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXXI., 331 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., ed. 18, 79 *seq.*; KALKOFF, Capito, 117.

[3] See KALKOFF, Forschungen, 84, and MARTIN, G. Vasa, 127.

[4] The news reached Rome in the beginning of May; see *letter of V. Albergati, May 7, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); *cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 168.

since 1521 administrator of the kingdom, was, on the 6th of June 1523, proclaimed in the Diet of Strengnäs "King of Sweden and of the Goths."

Luther's teaching had also made its way into Sweden through the efforts of Olaus Petri, and during the confusion of the war of independence had spread unhindered. As an apt pupil of the Wittenberg Professor, at whose feet he had sat, Olaus Petri declaimed quite openly in Strengnäs against the sacrament of penance and the veneration of the saints; at the same time he proclaimed the duty of the Church to return to apostolic poverty. He soon found a like-minded colleague in Laurentius Andrea. Their anti-Catholic agitation was able to make unimpeded progress as long as the see of Strengnäs was vacant. The state of disorder into which the Swedish Church had fallen, in consequence of the turmoil of the preceding years, is best illustrated by the fact that, with the exception of the excellent Johann Brask in Linköping, and the revered Ingemar in Vexjö, there were no other bishops in the whole country.[1]

Adrian did not neglect the needs of the Swedish Church; in order to help, he sent, in the person of Johann Magni, a legate of Swedish extraction, with whom he had been personally acquainted from the Louvain days.[2] Magni arrived in Strengnäs when the election of Gustavus Wasa to the throne was already accomplished. The cunning sovereign, at heart estranged from the Church, and covetous

[1] See WEIDLING, 122 *seq.*, 131; GEIGER, II., 34; MARTIN, G. Vasa, 164 *seq.*, 222 *seq.*; *cf.* also SCHÜCK, Svensk. Litt.-hist., Stockholm, 1890, and BERGGREN in Upsala Universitets Asrkrift, 1899.

[2] See JOH. MAGNI, Hist. metr. in Script. rer. Suec, III., 2, 75; WEIDLING, 132 *seq.*, 138; MARTIN, 172, 174. The latter calls attention, rightly, to the discreet reserve of the Brief of March 11, 1523, announcing Magni's mission (in THEINER, Schweden, II., 5).

of the rich possessions of the clergy,[1] concealed his real feelings and received the Pope's representative with every token of honour. Johann Magni's mission resembled that of Chieregati: he was to announce Adrian's readiness to remove abuses in the Church, but at the same time to call upon the government of the kingdom to take steps against the Lutheran innovations. In reply, the royal council, inspired by the King, first expressed satisfaction at the Pope's promises of reform, but immediately went on to insist, as indispensable preliminaries for the Swedish Church, on the formal deposition of the Archbishop of Upsala, Gustavus Trolle "the turbulent," who had been sentenced to perpetual exile as a partisan of the Danish king Christian II., and the institution of good native-born bishops to the vacant sees, and especially of a peace-abiding primate. Until this was done it would be a hard task to eradicate the many errors introduced into the Christian religion—the name of Luther being intentionally omitted. The question of the Episcopate being settled, the Papal Nuncio was to return and undertake the best reform possible.[2]

When the Legate on a further occasion made personal representations to the King respecting the payments of money to the Church, and the Lutheran heresy, he received such a very conciliatory answer that he believed his mission to have come to a prosperous issue.[3] The too trustful Magni seems to have shut his eyes to the fact that the King, for all his courtesy, had shirked the essential points,

[1] REUTERDAHL insists that this, and not inward conviction, was the cause of G. Wasa's apostasy (Svenska Kyrkan's Historia, IV., 179). *Cf.* MARTIN, 227.

[2] THEINER, Schweden, II., 7 *seq.*; WEIDLING, 135.

[3] *Cf.* Magni's letter to Brask in Handlingar rörande Skandin. Hist., XVII., 157 *seqq.*

and had not forbidden Olaus Petri to preach Lutheran doctrine in Strengnäs. On the 10th of September 1523 Gustavus Wasa wrote himself to the Pope that, when the vacant bishoprics were filled by peace-abiding bishops who would be loyal to the Crown, and the Legate returned with newly constituted powers, he would then do all in his power, after taking counsel with the bishops, to extirpate the destructive heresies, and to forward the union of the Muscovites with the Church and the conversion of the Laplanders. A few days later the King forwarded to the Pope the list of bishops chosen by the Swedish chapters, with the name of the Papal Nuncio at their head as Archbishop of Upsala, and asked for their confirmation and for the remission of the customary dues.[1]

It was an extremely clever move thus to link the personal interests of Magni with the formal deposition of Trolle.[2] Magni was on the point of starting for Rome, when a Brief from Adrian arrived to the effect that Trolle was still to be considered Archbishop of Upsala and to be reinstated as such. The Nuncio declared that the document was spurious, but his supposition was wrong: the Pope had actually taken this impolitic step.[3] The King now dropped his mask. Evidently under the influence of the events that had recently taken place at the Diet of Nuremberg, and guided by his secretary, Laurentius Andrea, a man of Lutheran opinions, he sent to the Holy See in the beginning of October a threatening ultimatum;

[1] THEINER, Schweden, II., 8 *seqq.*; BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 131; MARTIN, 185 *seq.*; WEIDLING, 127 *seqq.*

[2] WEIDLING, 139. MARTIN (176 *seq.*) opposes this view of Magni's character, but he admits that he was too credulous.

[3] "Les termes d'un autre bref à Frédéric de Danemark confirment que la bonne foi du nouveau pontife s'était laissé surprendre par les intrigues de l'archevêque dépossédé." MARTIN, 189.

that if the Pope did not withdraw his demands respecting Trolle, the rebel and traitor to his country, he would, on the strength of his royal authority, dispose of the bishops and the Christian religion in his territories in such a manner as would, he believed, be pleasing to God and all Christian princes.[1] To Magni, Gustavus used still plainer language: if his patience and goodness were unavailing, he was determined to let his prerogative have full play and free his people from the intolerable yoke of strangers. A royal letter of the 2nd of November 1523 informed the Pope, the news of whose death had not yet come, that if the confirmation of the proposed candidates for the vacant sees was refused or any longer delayed, he, the King, had made up his mind to care for the orphaned Church in other ways and would enforce the confirmation of those chosen by Christ, the highest Pontiff.[2] All doubt was removed that the King had determined to sever his countries from that Church to which they owed their culture and civilization.

As a consolation amid the sorrow caused to Adrian by the dangers and losses of the Church in Germanic lands came the reconciliation of Theophilus, the schismatic Patriarch of Alexandria,[3] the dawning hopes of a reunion with the Russian schismatics,[4] and the spread of Christianity

[1] The letter to the Sacred College of October 10, and to the Pope of October 4, 1523, in THEINER, II., 11 *seq.*, 13 *seqq.*, and Gustav d. Förstes Registratur, I., 143 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*; *cf.* WEIDLING, 140 *seq.*, and MARTIN, 187 *seq.*

[2] Gustav d. Förstes Registratur, I., 172 *seq.*, 181.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 107; PAQUIER, Aléandre, 296.

[4] G. M. della Porta announces, on May 21, 1523, the overthrow of Sickingen, and adds: *Par pur che Dio voglia aiutar la religione christiana, che in questo tempo medesimo gli Moschoviti offeriscono a N. S. voler lasciar in tutto et per tutto le loro eresie et redursi sotto la total ubedienza de la sede Ap., dal quale non vogliono di sorte

in the New World. To promote the missionary activity of the Franciscans in America, the Pope conferred upon the Order in that continent extensive privileges: they were to elect their own superior every three years, to possess the full powers of the Minister-General, and even to exercise episcopal functions, except those of ordination.[1] This new organization encouraged the hope that races which, notwithstanding highly developed civilization, were yet votaries of a blood-stained heathen worship, would soon be delivered from the night of idolatry and be won over to the truth of Christianity.

alcuna altro privilegio salvo chel loro prencipe sia creato et nominato re. State Archives, Florence.

[1] WADDING, XVI., ed. 2, 136 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 173; MEIER, Propaganda, I., 301 *seq.*; HERNAEZ, Colec. de bullas rel. a la Iglesia de America, I., 332. Adrian VI. gave support to the Franciscans in other ways also, and to the Dominicans as well; see WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 148, 561; Bull. ord. praed., IV., 408, 410 *seq.* A unique instance there recorded is the appointment of a lay inquisitor in the person of Franz van der Hulst. This, however, was accompanied by strict limitations, especially in protecting the rights of the Episcopate; see DE HOOP-SCHEFFER, Kerkhervorming in Nederland (1873), 181 *seq.*, and FINKE in Hist. Jahrbuch, XIV., 337 *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

ADRIAN'S EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE AND PROMOTE THE CRUSADE. — THE FALL OF RHODES AND THE SUPPORT OF HUNGARY.

ADRIAN'S attitude towards the complicated politics of the European States, then involved in a dangerous crisis, through the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. and the renewed aggressiveness of the Ottoman power, was inspired by that lofty earnestness and magnanimity which had directed his treatment of ecclesiastical affairs. As Vicar of the eternal Prince of Peace the lofty-minded Pope had felt most bitterly the protracted state of war, with its menace to the future of Christendom. Since the greatest danger came from without,[1] from the side of the infidel, he deemed it a twofold duty, towards God and his own conscience, to leave nothing undone to procure the reconciliation of the two monarchs who confronted one another in deadly enmity.

The pacification and union of the Christian powers in presence of the onslaught of Islam, the reform of the Church, and the restoration of ecclesiastical unity, so especially threatened in Germany, were the three great ideas dominating his Pontificate.

[1] The, Epistola D. Marci Maruli Spalatens. ad Adrianum VI. P. M. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem. Romae, 1522, describes the situation in language of great emotion.

From the first Adrian had shown a firm determination, in contrast to his predecessors, not to attach himself to any of the contending parties, but by all the means in his power to bring about a peace, or at least a truce, so that all the united forces of Europe might be turned against the hereditary foe of Christendom. In this sense he had already written to the Emperor on the 25th of March 1522, urging him to conclude peace or an armistice with the French King;[1] for identical reasons he despatched Gabriele Merino, Archbishop of Bari, from Spain to Paris, and Alvaro Osorio, Bishop of Astorga, to England, to confer with the Emperor and Henry VIII.[2]

Immediate help was necessary, for it was no longer doubtful that the Sultan Suleiman I., following up the capture of Belgrade in August 1521, was preparing to deal another deadly blow by an attack on Rhodes, the last bulwark of Christendom in the south. Held by the Knights of St. John, this island, on account of its situation and exceptional strength, was as great a hindrance to the development of the Turkish sea power as it was for Christendom a position of incalculable value.[3] Suleiman was determined to capture it at all costs. On the 1st of June 1522 he sent his declaration of war to the Grand Master; at the same time he moved against Rhodes a powerful fleet conveying an armament of 10,000 men and all the requisites for a siege. The Sultan at the head

[1] GACHARD, Corresp., 50 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÖFLER, 169, and Bullet. de la commiss. royale d'hist., 3 Series, III., 297 *seq.* On September 20, 1522, G. Merino wrote, "ex Puysi non procul a Parisiis" to Cardinal Schinner: *In re pacis nihil adhuc factum est nec quid faciendum sit facile iudicari potest cum ex aliorum principe voluntate pendeat, sed si quid per me fieri poterit, is ero semper qui fu et esse debeo. Cod. 1888, f. 21b (Angelica Library Rome).

[3] See BAUMGARTEN, II., 137–138.

of 100,000 men proceeded through Asia Minor along the coast of Caria. Although the Grand Master had little over 600 knights and 5000 soldiers, he was yet determined to resist to the last. The preparations for holding the strongly fortified and well-provisioned fortress were so thorough, the heroism of the defenders so great, that, at first, all the assaults of the Osmanli were repulsed, but in spite of serious losses the enemy held on. Everything depended on the arrival of relief for the besieged, and for this the conditions of Western Europe were as unfavourable as possible. The spread of the religious upheaval in the German Empire was the precursor of a social revolution, so that men feared the overthrow of established order. Things were no better in Hungary, torn by party strife; while Venice, the mistress of the seas, seemed now, as always, occupied only in safeguarding her own possessions.[1] The great powers of central Europe were embroiled in internecine strife; only an immediate cessation of their quarrels could justify the hope that they would take part in a defensive movement against the Turk. No one worked for this more zealously than Adrian VI., for the danger besetting Rhodes occupied him as a personal concern.[2] Although there was little prospect of his efforts to reconcile the contending Christian powers being successful, he tenaciously adhered to his purpose; in spite of all failures he stood firm.

The Pope's position as the intermediary of peace was from the first exceptionally difficult. He had to try and convince Francis I. that he was not a partisan of his former pupil, sovereign, and friend, Charles. From the latter he had, at the same time, to remove the suspicion that he was too favourably inclined towards Francis. A further difficulty

[1] ZINKEISEN, II., 626.

[2] See BAUMGARTEN, II., 250.

arose from the decisive turn of affairs on the scene of war in Italy, when the French, defeated at Bicocca on the 27th of April 1522, soon after (May 30th) lost Genoa also.[1] The alliance between the Emperor and Henry VIII. was drawn even closer than before; on his journey into Spain, Charles paid Henry a visit, during which a joint expedition into France was agreed upon; both monarchs confidently hoped to win the Pope as the third confederate against Francis. While Adrian's proposals of mediation fell upon deaf ears at the English as well as at the Imperial Court, Francis, in his humiliation, assumed a conciliatory mien. This induced Adrian to make a fresh appeal to the Emperor; but Charles, in a letter of the 7th of September 1522, declared himself unable to make peace without the King of England; he observed that the French terms of agreement did not admit of acceptance.[2] Adrian called the Emperor's attention to the danger of Rhodes; adjured him in the most impressive terms to help the island, to put his private interests in the background, and to consent to a truce. If Charles were in Rome, Adrian wrote, and were to hear the appeals from Rhodes and Hungary, he would not be able to keep back his tears. He, the Pope, was doing what he could; the money he had sent he had been forced to borrow. He did not ask Charles to conclude a peace without the concurrence of the English King, but thought that he might at least induce the latter to consent to an armistice.[3]

The Pope sent to England Bernardo Bertolotti, who, as

[1] For the history of the warfare in the Milanese up to the capture of Genoa by the Spaniards see BARNHAGEN, Lautrecho, an Italian poem by Francesco Mantovano, Erlangen, 1896, I.–LVI. For the battle of Bicocca *cf.* JÄHNS, Gesch. des Kriegswesens, 1088 *seq.*

[2] GACHARD, Corresp., 112 *seqq.*

[3] Letter of September 16, 1522, in GACHARD, Corresp., 115 *seqq.*

well as the Spanish Nuncio, was to work for peace.[1] Besides this, in respect of the Turkish war, Tommaso Negri, Bishop of Scardona, had already, in August, been entrusted with a comprehensive mission to the Princes of Christendom. He first of all betook himself to Venice.[2]

In a letter to Charles V., written in French, on the 30th of September 1522—an admirable memorial of Adrian's lofty and truly Christian disposition—the Pope quiets the Emperor with regard to the report that he had a greater partiality for Francis than for himself; he then declares that it is utterly impossible for him to take part in the war as a confederate of Charles, since he is totally without the material means for so doing. Since his accession to the Holy See—*ce siège plein de misère*—he has not had enough money to meet the current expenses of government; but even had the means been his, let the Emperor himself say whether it would become him to sacrifice his exertions for the welfare of Christendom in order to hand it over to greater turmoil and danger. In a second letter of the same date he beseeches the Emperor to come to the help of Rhodes; willingly would he shed his own blood to rescue this bulwark of Christendom.[3] On the anniversary of his coronation and on the 1st of September respectively he had earnestly exhorted the Ambassadors and the Cardinals in Consistory to raise funds for the support of Rhodes and Hungary, and on the 4th of September a commission

[1] Along with the authorities produced by GACHARD, Corresp., XLV. *seq.*, *cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 2607, and the letter *of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, September 13, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] SANUTO, XXXIII., 409 *seq.* Later (January 1523), T. Negri was sent to Poland to work against the Lutherans and bring about a peace with the Teutonic Order. Acta Tomic., VI., 222 *seq.*

[3] GACHARD, Corresp., 122–124, 125–127.

of Cardinals was appointed to attend exclusively to this matter.[1]

By means of rigid economy Adrian collected a sufficient sum to provide the equipment of a few ships.[2] He did not disguise from himself how little this amounted to; but it was impossible for him to do more.[3] A thousand men, who were landed at Naples in October, deserted because they had received no pay. To the Imperialists the defence of Lombardy against the French seemed a much more urgent necessity than the relief of Rhodes. The Pope, writes the Venetian Ambassador, is in despair, since he sees no possibility of forwarding to Rhodes the troops he has collected.[4] To crown all, there was a fresh outbreak of the plague in Rome, and the solemn occupation of the Lateran, hitherto deferred for want of money, had once more to be postponed;[5] in the subsequent course of events it did not take place at all.[6]

Together with the Turkish danger, the quieting of the States of the Church claimed the Pope's attention at the beginning of his reign. All recognition is due to the promptitude with which he met the difficult situation and resolutely carried out what seemed to him the necessary measures for saving what there was to save.[7]

[1] Besides *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and SANUTO, XXXIII., 440, 444 *seq.*, see the *letter of Ant. Taurell, of September 5, 1522 (State Archives, Modena), and the *reports of G. de' Medici of September 3 and 4, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Owing to adverse circumstances, they never reached their destination; see JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI., and HÖFLER, 479.

[3] G. M. della Porta lays stress on this in his *report, September 25, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] SANUTO, XXXIII., 523; *cf.* JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

[5] See *Acta Consist. of January 12, 1523 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[6] See CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 88.

[7] BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 71.

Since grave charges were made against the governors appointed by Leo X., a general change in every city of the Papal States was already under consideration in September 1522.[1] While Adrian was disposed to leniency towards the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and even suffered the return of the Baglioni to Perugia,[2] he had determined from the first not to recognize the usurpation (hitherto vainly opposed by the College of Cardinals[3]) of Sigismondo Malatesta in Rimini.[4] In December 1522 he ordered Sigismondo's son to be arrested in Ancona,[5] and at the same time despatched the Spanish soldiers who had accompanied him into Italy against Rimini.[6] The undertaking, which had at first appeared difficult,[7] proved all the easier as Malatesta had brought upon himself the bitter hatred of those who had submitted to him.[8]

[1] *Letter of Enea Pio, September 27, 1522 (State Archives, Modena). *Il papa manda novi governatori alle città di tutto il stato, che non è altro se non un levar le legationi, says G. M. della Porta, October 12, 1522 (State Archives, Florence). The measures do not, however, appear to have been completely carried through.

[2] *Cf.* Bollett. per l'Umbria, V., 694.

[3] See the *letter of the Cardinals to Rimini, dated Rome, May 29, 1522. Copy in the Library at Mantua, I., e. 3–4.

[4] "N. S^re desegnia recuperar Armini," *G. de' Medici, "D. vigna dello ill. Medici," November 30, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *G. de Medici, D. vigna dello ill. Medici, December 21, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), and * V. Albergati, from Rome the same date (State Archives, Bologna).

[6] *Letter of V. Albergati, December 6, 1522 (State Archives, Bologna). G. de' Medici announces on December 28, 1522, the arrival of the Papal troops before Rimini (State Archives, Florence).

[7] It was believed in Rome that Malatesta had the secret assistance of one of the Signoria, and had raised the banner of St. Mark. *Letter of A. Germanello, dated Rome, December 16, 1522 (Library, Mantua, I., c. 3–4).

[8] Malatesta was obliged, after long negotiations, to surrender

As vassals of the Church both Alfonso of Ferrara and Francesco Maria della Rovere of Urbino, now fully reconciled to the Holy See, gave Adrian their loyal support. As early as the 15th of September 1522 Alfonso's son had come to Rome,[1] where negotiations had at once been opened for his father's absolution and reinvestiture.[2] They proceeded with astonishing expedition, and by the 17th of October everything was arranged. In the investiture with the Dukedom of Ferrara the fiefs of San Felice and Finale were also included,[3] and Adrian even showed an inclination to reinstate the Duke in the possession of Modena and Reggio; but this did not take effect owing to the opposition of the Cardinals.[4] According to Contarini, it was also the Pope's fixed intention to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Venetians; in favour of the credibility of this statement is the circumstance that Adrian detested the excessive eagerness of the clergy to acquire wealth and property; from the standpoint of his high ideals an overgrowth of the States of the Church

Rimini; *cf.* *letter of V. Albergati, February 3, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); *Reports of G. de' Medici of February 19 and 25 and March 1, 1523, as well as a *letter of T. Manfredi, February 23, 1523 (State Archives, Florence); JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.; Ortiz in BURMANN, 202 *seq.*; CARPESANUS, 1340; LANCELLOTTI, I., 427–438.

[1] *Letter of G. de' Medici, September 17, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), and *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Letter of G. de' Medici of October 5 and 12, 1522 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* BALAN, Storia, VI., 64.

[3] THEINER, Cod. dipl., III., 528 *seq.*; *cf.* V. DOMARUS in Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 73; see also SANUTO, XXXIII., 482 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* *letter of L. Cati, December 30, 1522 (State Archives, Modena); *Acta Consist., January 23, 1523 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); GUICCIARDINI, XV., 1.

was an evil likely to divert the Papacy from its true vocation.[1]

The transactions with Francesco Maria della Rovere lasted longer. He had already, on the 11th of May 1522, on the recommendation of the Sacred College,[2] been absolved from all censures,[3] but not until he reached Rome in person,[4] on the 18th of March 1523, was the definite treaty of peace concluded with him. He was reinstated in the Dukedom of Urbino, with the exception, however, of Montefeltro; this fief remained in the hands of the Florentines, to whom it had been ceded in payment of debts incurred by the Apostolic Chamber.[5]

[1] BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 72. HERGENRÖTHER'S doubts (Konziliengeschichte, IX., 283) are hardly well grounded.

[2] *Cf.* Adrian's *Brief of May 8, 1522, in Appendix, No. 4 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] SANUTO, XXXIII., 333 *seq.* In the State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl., is a *Brief of August 30, 1522, in which the Duke's apologies for not coming to Rome, on account of illness, are accepted. In two *Briefs of December 1, 1522, Adrian had asked the Duke to support the undertaking against Rimini. He thanked the Duke for his help on December 23, the Duchess on December 24, 1522, and renewed his thanks again in *Brief of January 9, 1523. All these *Briefs are in the State Archives, Florence.

[4] See *letter of G. de' Medici, March 18, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and another, of the same date, *from Andrea Piperario, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Francesco Maria of Urbino had audience on March 20. *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* the *letters of G. de' Medici of March 16, 18, 24, and 26, 1523 (State Archives, Florence); *Acta Consist. of March 26, 1523 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); *Abbadino's letter, March 26, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); SANUTO, XXXIV., 54 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XV., 1, and HÖFLER, 493 *seq.*; a copy of the Bull of Restitution of March 27 is in the Colonna Archives, Rome. The departure of the Duke of Urbino from Rome on May 8, 1523, was

Adrian's success in restoring order to the Papal States[1] could not compensate him for the insurmountable obstacles which stood between him and his efforts for the union of the chief powers of Christendom against the Turks. True to his original plan of undertaking the office of peacemaker, he steadily refused to enter into the league for offensive purposes, which was the object of the Imperial diplomacy. This led to a difference with Charles's representative in Rome and to strained relations with Charles himself, between whom and Adrian in other matters (*e.g.* with regard to the retention of Naples as an appanage of the Empire) there had always been a good understanding.[2]

Seldom was an Ambassador placed in such an unsuitable position as that of Manuel at the Court of Adrian VI. This unscrupulous and masterful Spaniard was a man of such one-sided political understanding that he was quite incapable of comprehending a character such as Adrian's, who approached everything from the point of view of his religious ideals.[3] In Manuel's estimation the Pope owed everything to the Emperor, and was therefore under the self-evident obligation to subordinate himself in all respects to the wishes of Charles. The more he perceived that Adrian was pursuing his own policy, the greater grew his displeasure. Before Manuel came really to know the Pope, he had convinced himself that he was a weak and

consequent on the arrival, on that day, of a *letter from Abbadino (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] The *Brief addressed to Perugia on December 15, 1522, in the Communal Library, Perugia, was directed to maintaining peace and order in that city. At the same time the Pope was making similar efforts for Osimo; see *Brief for "Joanni Casulano, commiss. nost.," December 13, 1522 (Communal Archives, Osimo).

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1522, n. 17.

[3] See BAUMGARTEN, II., 221.

incompetent personality, and Adrian's part of peacemaker filled him with anger and mistrust. In his reports he described the Pope as miserly, ignorant of all the affairs of the world, and weak and irresponsible as a child; he even denounced him, entirely without grounds, to the Emperor, as carrying on secret intrigues with France.[1]

Adrian, who had at first received Manuel with friendliness, and indeed with confidence,[2] could not disarm his hostile feelings. Their mutual relations, already rendered acute by disputes concerning the appointment to bishoprics in the Milanese,[3] became in a very short time so strained that Manuel saw how untenable his position had become and applied for his recall. Half in despair he left Rome on the 13th of October 1522, with the firm resolve to bring about a breach between the Emperor and the Pope.[4] He at once advised Charles to pay no *obedientia*,[5] hoping thus to force the Pope to relinquish his position of neutrality.[6]

[1] Manuel to Charles V. on October 8, 1522, in BERGENROTH, II., n. 485.

[2] See in Appendix, No. 6, the report of G. de' Medici, August 27, 1522. The latter reports, September 9, 1522: *Il sig. Don Giovanni questi dì con bellissima compagnia è andato a palazo a presentar a N. S. una achinea molto richamente ornata per il censo di Napoli, al quale N. S. fa careze e dimonstrationi assai di confidar in lui. (State Archives, Florence.)

[3] *Letter of Manuel to Charles V., dated October 8, 1522, decifrado del orig. in Col. Salazar, A, 26 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*; Biblioteca de la Acad. d. Historia in Madrid.

[4] See NEGRI in Litt. d. princ., I., 109[b], 112[b]; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 397.

[5] Manuel to Charles, October 8, 1522 (Biblioteca de la Acad. d. Historia, Madrid, *loc. cit.*).

[6] In a *cipher of Castiglione's which certainly belongs to this time, although we have not, unfortunately, the exact date, it says: "Il S. Don Giovanni va tanto malcontento del papa quanto se possa dire ne dice assai male, pur mostra di credere chel Papa bisogni esser imperiale a

His place was taken in October 1522 by Luis de Corduba, Duke of Sessa,[1] who, although he had no hope of success,[2] nevertheless, in his very first audience, invited the Pope to enter into alliance with the Emperor. The Pope replied that he had neither the money nor the wish to wage war; all his energies were directed to procuring an armistice and later on a peace.[3] As Adrian stood firm in his conviction that, as Father of universal Christendom, it was his paramount duty to restore peace in Europe,[4] Sessa soon became of the same mind as Manuel.[5] In addition, disputes arose over territorial claims.[6] The French in their dealings with the Pope showed themselves cleverer diplomatists than the Imperialists. While the latter incessantly repeated that Adrian's love of peace only made the French more stubborn, and that his one hope of safety lay in the league with Charles, Francis sent the Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont to Rome with instructions to praise the Pope's love of peace and to assure him that the French King was animated by the same dispositions.[7]

Adrian, who had shown great patience towards the Emperor's Ambassadors and the Emperor himself, was, however, at last put upon his mettle; this is discernible in his two Briefs of the 21st and 22nd of November 1522. In

suo dispetto ancorche lui dica voler esser neutrale" (Library, Mantua).

[1] *Letter of G. de' Medici, October 9, 1522 (State Archives, Florence); *cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 98.

[2] *Letter of Manuel to Charles V., October 8, 1522 (Biblioteca de la Acad. d. Historia, Madrid, *loc. cit.*).

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 490.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 496.

[5] *Cf.* his reports in BERGENROTH, II., n. 502, 509, 540.

[6] *Cf.* SAUER, Die Schrift des G. Valle Rhegiens. über das Exarchat in Italien. Göttingen, 1905, 12 *seq.*

[7] GACHARD, Corresp., XLVI. *seq.*, 140.

these he once more urgently calls on Charles to give help to Rhodes, and complains bitterly of the excesses of the Imperial forces in the Papal States; the favour shown to him by Charles consists in words and not in deeds.[1] Under these circumstances he felt it strange that the Imperial Ambassador should continue to bring forward an inexhaustible series of fresh wishes and suggestions touching ecclesiastical policy and finance; many of these requests Adrian was obliged to refuse from a sense of duty.[2] The Spanish Ambassador now had recourse to bribery in order to gain the ear of the Papal entourage. He succeeeded in learning a good many secrets from the Secretary, Zisterer, but concerning the principal point he learned nothing, and his surmise that Adrian was a puppet in the hands of his confidential servants proved to be quite beside the mark.

The general opinion formed of the new Pope at the Imperial Court was entirely erroneous. There he was looked upon exclusively as the former subject of Charles, to whom he owed everything, and to whom he was expected to give unconditional support in fulfilment of his dutiful allegiance. Gattinara presumed to remind the Head of the Church of these obligations in the arrogant language of his Court.[3]

The tactless pressure of the Spaniards confirmed Adrian more than ever in his previous policy of a firm neutrality: not until Francis I. attacked Italy, he declared, would he take a hostile part against him.[4] About this time the

[1] GACHARD, *op. cit.*, 133 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 459 *seq.*, 465. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 223.

[2] LEPITRE, 298 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 460 *seq.* For Charles's numerous requests see a characteristic *letter to Margaret of Austria, August 15, 1522 (State Archives, Brussels, Pap. d'état. reg., n. 35, f. 26 *seq.*).

[3] BREWER, III., 2, n. 2718; *cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 257–260.

[4] HÖFLER, 467.

unscrupulous Manuel intervened in a way which was sure to touch Adrian to the quick. Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont had provided himself, for his journey to Rome, which he reached on the 6th of December 1522,[1] with a safe-conduct from the Spanish Government as security against the Imperial troops. In spite of this Manuel allowed the Cardinal's servants to be made prisoners and their property to be seized. He thus fell under the penalty of excommunication to which those who put hindrances in the way of persons travelling to Rome were liable. Moreover, Castelnau was not only the Ambassador of the French King, but a Cardinal and Legate of Avignon. Thus a direct challenge was offered to the Pope. As an amicable settlement proved futile, Adrian pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Manuel, and requested the Emperor to repudiate the conduct of his Ambassador. The transactions over this matter added considerably to the Emperor's irritation.[2]

Notwithstanding these occurrences, Adrian persisted in his hopes of a change of mind on the part of his former pupil. That he might propitiate his interest in the common cause of Christendom, the Pope had determined to present him with the sword, consecrated on Christmas Day, which the Popes were accustomed to send to the

[1] G. de' Medici *reports this on December 8, 1522 (State Archives, Florence). In a *letter of A. Germanello of December 16, 1522, it says: "El Card. de Aus è venuto ad habitare ad una vigna del commendator de S. Spirito poco lontano dal palazo per haver commodità negociar con el Papa" (Library, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., 139 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 160, 185; SANUTO, XXXIII., 580 *seq.*; Lett. d. princ., I., 109; LEPITRE, 301 *seq.* For Charles's excitement, *cf.* his *letter to Sessa in BERGENROTH, II., n. 521. From Manuel's *letter to Charles V., dated October 8, 1522, I got the interesting fact that he had advised the Emperor to give no letter of safe-conduct to Cardinal Castelnau (Bibl. Acad. Hist., Madrid).

defenders of the Faith. This solemnity was disturbed by an unlucky accident; the architrave of the doorway of the Sixtine Chapel fell down and crushed one of the Swiss guards standing close to the Pope.[1] Already, on the 10th of December 1522, Adrian had once more called the attention of the Doge to the urgency of the Turkish danger and had instructed the Nuncio Altobello to exhort him to levy subsidies for the war.[2]

[1] Lett. d. princ., I., 110; SANUTO, XXXIII., 561; BREWER, III., 2, n. 2763; Ortiz in BURMANN, 205; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. (*cf.* STEINMANN, Sixtina, I., 166); *letter of L. Cati, December 26, 1522, State Archives, Modena; *letter of A. Germanello of December 29, 1522, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (see Appendix, Nos. 12 and 13). The Florentine envoys report on June 8, 1522, from Valladolid, *Hiermattina nella chiesa di S. Paolo con solenne ceremonie prese questa M^ta^ la spada et el capello mandati della S. di N. S. (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Brief of December 10, 1522 (original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican), Arch. s. Angeli, Arm., IV., c. ii., n. 31. *Ibid.*, n. 32, a *Brief to Cardinal de' Medici of December 10, 1522, suggesting that he should himself give help to Hungary. On the 21st of December 1522 the Pope sent the following Brief to the Marquis F. Gonzaga of Mantua:—Adrianus Papa VI. Dilecte, etc. Inter varias sollicitudines, quae nos ad apostolatus apicem Dei clementia sublimatos excipiunt, ea praecipua est et esse debet, quae ex periculis christianae reipublicae ab impio Turcharum tyranno imminentibus nascitur, qui occupato Belgradi propugnaculo, ipsa nimirum ianua ad nos pro arbitrio invadendum, nihil non timendum Christianorum capitibus reddidit; atque ideo omni adnitendum esse ope periculi magnitudo ac necessitas persuadet, ut a tam formidabili iugo reipublicae christianae cervicem tutam reddere studeamus. Implorat auxilium nostrum, qui pro salute nostra assidue periclitatur, charissimus in Christo filius noster Ludovicus Hungariae et Bohemiae rex ill., cui si defuerimus, nobis ipsis nos defuisse rerum exitus declarare facile posset. Quis enim defendet Italiam, Hungaria in tam potentis hostis ditionem redacta? Nos quidem in summa sedis apostolicae egestate, quam gravi etiam aeris alieni summa obstrictam invenimus, et contulimus et nunc denuo pecuniam illi conferemus, nihilque omissuri sumus, quod ad sanctam

On the 1st of January 1523 Adrian VI. informed the Emperor that Francis I. had given his Ambassador full powers to conclude a peace. Before this came to pass an armistice was to be entered into for three years, and the Pope hoped that Charles would be a consenting party; on account of the Turks the necessity for such a course was greater than ever.[1] The letter had hardly been despatched before news arrived that the Imperialists had plundered the town of San Giovanni in the Papal States and had made prisoner the resident Papal Commissary. Adrian, usually so mild-tempered, was now roused to an indescribable pitch of excitement. He summoned at once to his presence Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, and informed him that nothing but his great regard for the Emperor held him back from an immediate alliance with Francis; the authors of this deed of violence, Juan Manuel and Prospero Colonna, he would lay under the ban of the Church.[2]

ac pernecessariam hanc expeditionem pertinere noverimus. Idemque ut faciant principes et respublicas christianas hortamur, imprimisque te, quem cum nostri et sedis apostolicae observantissimum experiamur, christianae religionis et fidei, de ea enim nunc agitur, amantissimum non veremur. Rem vero latius explicabit dilectus filius Franciscus Sperulus noster de numero participantium cubicularius, quem in hac re nuntium constituimus et cui fidem a te ac caeteris cupimus adhiberi. Quantum autem per te fuerit in hoc negocio deliberatum, litteris tuis ipsi nuntio ad nos datis declarare non pigeat, ut quae reliqua sunt celeriori ac certiori consilio maturare possimus. Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXI decembris MDXXII, pontificatus nostri anno primo. T. Hezius. (Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

[1] BERGENROTH, II., n. 518.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 519: *Qua è notorio che la Sta di N. S. sta malissimo con li ill. s. Prospero Columna et marchese di Pescara per le invasioni, incendii et rapine de li castelli de Pallavicini de Piacentino et se la venuta di questo s. duca oratore Cesareo non la medica et tempera overo attramente si componga per certo si tiene ne habi a

The Imperialists saw that some steps must be taken to appease the Pope. Accordingly, Sessa invited the Viceroy of Naples, Charles de Lannoy, who had formerly been a friend of Adrian's in the Netherlands, to come to Rome.[1] There was meanwhile another reason for bringing the Viceroy thither. For some time the most disquieting reports of the fate of Rhodes had been coming in,[2] and Lannoy brought the announcement that, according to credible information from private sources, Rhodes had capitulated. On hearing this Adrian burst into tears. "Still," he exclaimed, "I cannot believe it." Henceforward, so he informed the Cardinals, he could make no more payments whatsoever; his whole income must be spent on the defence of Christendom, even if he had to content himself with a linen mitre.[3]

On the 28th of January 1523 a Consistory was held which the Pope opened with a speech about Rhodes; he declared himself ready to sell all his valuables for the funds of the Turkish war. It was decided to appoint a Commission of Cardinals to take measures for the restoration of peace in Christendom and the collection of money for the

seguire qualche demostratione vindicativa. Jac. Cortese to the Marchioness Isabella from Rome, January 5, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Letter of G. de' Medici, January 25, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), and BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican). According to the latter, Lannoy left "de improviso" on January 31.

[2] *Letters of V. Albergati of January 9 and 12, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] SANUTO, XXXIII., 505. *Rhodi certissimamente è perso a patti zoe per deditione spontanea. . . . Hozi N. S. ha lachrimato per pietate excusandosi non haver potuto tirar li principi christiani al suo soccorso. L. Cati, January 27, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

prosecution of the war against the Turks.[1] The Commission met on the following day.[2] The alarm caused by Lannoy's intelligence was all the greater as it coincided with news from Germany announcing a further advance of the Lutheran errors.[3]

Subsequently different reports came in, affirming that Rhodes still held out, and even Adrian seems for a long time to have been loath to believe that the island had fallen. On the 3rd of February 1523 he still wrote, in a most affectionate letter to the Emperor, "As long as Rhodes was in such great danger he could not under any con-

[1] *Die merc. 28. Januarii 1523: S. D. N. fecit verbum de rebus Turcarum et de periculo in quo versatur insula Rhodi, et ad hoc deputavit nonnullos rev. dominos cardinales ad cogitandum modum et formam in quo possit fieri concordia et pax inter principes christianos et ad inveniendas pecunias pro manutentione belli contra praefatos hostes fidei christianae (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, * Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *letter of V. Albergati, February 1, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). It is clear from the report of G. de' Medici of January 28, 1523, that a letter from the King of Hungary was also read in the Consistory (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Letter of G. de' Medici, January 29, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, * Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Heri giunse la infelice et dolorosissima nova della perdita de la isola et città di Rodi, la quale ha fatto restare tutta questa corte et maxime quelli che hanno intelligentia attoniti e supefati. Piaccia a N. S. per sua misericordia pigliare la protectione de sua santissima fede, perche da uno lato et Turco, da l' altro Luttero et tra li principi tanta dissensione et rabie fanno che molti secoli sono la religione christiana non si trovò a maggior pericolo. N. S^re per sua somma bontà non mancherà de fare tutte le possibile provisioni per la publica salute. V. Albergati, January 27, 1523. *Cf.* also the *letter of January 12, 1523, on the hold of Lutheranism on Germany (State Archives, Bologna).

sideration join the league, as Lannoy had requested."[1] But the allocution which Adrian addressed to the Consistory on the 11th of February shows that he then looked upon the bulwark of Christendom as lost. In this assembly the Pope informed the Cardinals that he had determined to enjoin on the Christian Princes a truce of three or four years' duration, to levy a tithe on them, and to send Legates, especially to Hungary.[2] A few days before, King Ferdinand's embassy to do homage had laid before the Pope in most urgent terms the danger to which the country was exposed and had appealed for help against the Turks.[3]

On the 23rd of February another Consistory was held. The Pope announced that Francis had declared his readiness to make peace, but that the answers of Charles V. and Henry VIII. were not yet forthcoming; he therefore proposed that the Sacred College should again invite both these princes to agree to a peace or at least to a truce. The nomination of the Legates to the Christian princes was entrusted to the Pope,[4] and on the 27th of February the first appointment followed, that of Colonna to Hungary.[5]

[1] BERGENROTH, II., n. 525. Many others did not even then believe in the fall of the island; see *letters of V. Albergati of February 6 and 10, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See *Acta Consist. in Appendix, No. 16. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 615; Ortiz in BURMANN, 200 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives) and V. Albergati on February 10, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). The Pope had already before this counselled the support of Hungary; for his plans see *letter of G. de' Medici, January 23, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See *Acta Consist. in Appendix, No. 18; *cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 111[b].

[5] Besides *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives) *cf.* the *letter of G. de' Medici of February 27, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), *that of A. Germanello of March 5, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *that of V. Albergati of the last day of February 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

Adrian was justified in now concentrating his attention on the defence of Hungary. The fall of Rhodes had long been disbelieved in Rome; for the most contradictory accounts—even such as the repulse of the Turks with great loss—had been received. Up to the last it had been hoped that the island would hold out.[1] All the more overwhelming was the effect when the truth became known that on the 21st of December 1522 the Grand Master had been forced to capitulate.[2] The Knights had withstood the enemy with exemplary valour; twenty times they had victoriously driven back their assailants, and only when their last ammunition was expended were the defenders, deserted in their extremity by the rest of Western Christendom, driven, in spite of Adrian's most earnest exhortations,[3] to consent to a capitulation, the terms of which, on the whole, were entirely honourable.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ. I., 111[b]. On March 2, 1523, *G. M. della Porta still announced that Rhodes was holding out (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, I., 437.

[2] The Pope had, as is evident from his letter to Queen Catherine of England (GACHARD, Corresp., 273), received, by the 23rd February at the latest, the certain intelligence of the loss of this great bulwark of Christendom.

[3] Nonnunquam Papa Adrianus scribebat in calce brevium ad reges et presertim ad imperatorem hanc clausulam: Benedicat te, fili carissime, Deus omnipotens tribuatque omne optatum ad defensionem fidei sancte sue (Cod. 1888, f. 29, Angelica Library, Rome).

[4] Very complete accounts of the fall of Rhodes in SANUTO, XXXIII., and TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. (Chigi Library, Rome). *Cf.* also JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.; VERTOT, Hist. d. Hospitaliers, III., 291–396; CHARRIÈRE, I., 92 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 621 *seq*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra, I., 217 *seq.*; HERTZBERG, 674 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 477 *seq.*; HOPF, Griechenland, 169 *seq.*; Züricher Taschenbuch, 1888; Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins, 1895, 576 *seq.*; RÖHRICHT, Pilgerreisen, 2nd ed., 58 *seq.* The complaints brought against Adrian by his enemies in Italy and Switzerland, that he had neglected the affairs of

When the Venetian envoy was relating fuller details of the fall of Rhodes, the Pope exclaimed, with tears in his eyes: "Alas for Christendom! I should have died happy if I had united the Christian princes to withstand our enemy."[1]

The Pope saw clearly the far-reaching significance of the fall of Rhodes and its dependent islands. The passage between Constantinople and Alexandria, hitherto barred, was now opened to the Ottoman navy and a wedge driven in between the islands of Cyprus and Crete, still in the possession of Venice. As the Turks were preparing to sieze the mastery of the Eastern Mediterranean, they had also taken one important step towards the conquest of Italy.[2] Rumours had already spread of their intention to attempt a landing in Apulia. The Pope, reported one of Wolsey's agents, was in mortal anguish, and so were all men. When Hannibal stood before the gates of ancient Rome the terror was not half so great, for now men knew that they had to do with the greatest ruler in the world. Many persons of note made preparations to leave the city. It was believed that the Pope would retire to Bologna, the plague having again broken out in Rome,[3] and the dread in-

Rhodes, are denounced as "false and senseless" by HÖFLER, 395. *Cf.* also Ortiz in BURMANN, 204 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1522, n. 20, and in 1523, n. 118, the opinion of Panvinius, as well as HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 284 *seq.*

[1] SANUTO, XXXIV., 28.

[2] HÖFLER, 482.

[3] Besides the despatches to Wolsey in BREWER, III., 2, n. 2891, and those of Miguel da Silva in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 121 *seq.*, *cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 28, and *letter of G. de' Medici to the Otto di Pratica, dated Rome, March 3, 1522 [st. fl.]. It runs: *Per lettere di Vinetia affermono la perdita di Rodi e che in Candia havea cominciato a comparir de cavalieri di Rodi. N. S^re benchè sempre l' habbia creduta, ne sta

creased when several Turkish spies were arrested in the city.[1]

The notable loss which had befallen Christendom formed a heavy indictment of the negligence of the Western Powers, and a proportionately weighty justification of Adrian's policy. As to leaving Rome, the Pope had no such thoughts. In spite of the dangers from the plague and the enemy, he remained steadfast at his post, anxiously endeavouring to save from destruction what could be saved.[2] In the first place, he took a step of which the secret was so well kept that—as the Imperial Ambassador, with a watchful eye on everything, reports—neither the Secretary, Zisterer nor anyone else had the slightest knowledge of it.[3] After Adrian, in a letter of the 2nd of March 1523, had declined to enter into the proposed special league with Charles V., and had complained of the misdemeanours of Charles's servants and of those of Manuel in particular, he addressed, on the following day, another letter to his former pupil and sovereign, not less candid in expression. In it he recalled his hitherto fruitless efforts to bring the Emperor and the other princes to terms of peace and to take active measures against the Turks. There was no doubt that the Sultan, being in possession of Belgrade and Rhodes, would prosecute his war of conquest in Hungary, as well as on the Mediterranean.

di mala voglia ne si pensa habbia a tenersi sicuro qui per ogni piccola novità facessi el Turco in Puglia o le Marche e di già intendo si ragiona di fuggir la peste a Bolognia seguitandoci di far danno (State Archives, Florence). See also the *letter of V. Albergati, March 6, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[1] See the *report of V. Albergati, March 6, 1523 (* Qui in Roma si sono discoperti alcuni Greci spioni di esso Turcho), in State Archives, Bologna, and *letter of G. de' Medici, Rome, March 11, 1522 [st. fl.] (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See HÖFLER, 482 *seq.*

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 534.

This danger could only be averted by the conclusion of peace among the princes. He had been deceived in his hope that the Emperor would have been the first to do this. If Charles and the Kings of England and France were still unwilling at least to arrange a truce for three years and to begin a general war against the Turks, the Emperor was in danger of being driven out of his hereditary dominions, and this danger was all the greater because not a few Christian princes ruled their subjects more oppressively than the Sultan. He, the Pope, in virtue of his office, was compelled to call upon the contending princes to make a peace or, at least, a truce.[1]

On the same day letters of similar import were sent to the Kings of France, England, and Portugal, and soon afterwards to other Christian princes, such as Sigismund of Poland. The Pope reminded Francis I. of the fate of those Asiatic rulers who had been vanquished by the Turks because they had lulled themselves into a false security. In the name of that obedience due to Christ's representative on earth, he adjured him by the vengeance of God, before whose tribunal he must one day stand, to give his consent forthwith, on the receipt of the letter, to a truce, and then to take his part with vigour in war against the Turks. The letter to the King of Portugal also was couched in most earnest language. "Woe to princes," so it ran, "who do not employ the sovereignty conferred upon them by God in promoting His glory and defending the people of His election, but abuse it in internecine strife."[2] The Sacred College was invited to exhort by special letters the

[1] BERGENROTH, II. n. 532–533.

[2] The letters referred to are in CHARRIÈRE, I., 96 *seqq.*; RYMER, XIII., 790; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 116 *seq.*; Acta Tomic, VI., 254 *seq.* *Cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 208 *seq.*

Christian Kings to do their duty.[1] To Cardinal Wolsey Adrian pointed out that Rome would be the most suitable place for the truce negotiations.[2] Bernardo Bertolotti was also sent back to England as Nuncio, with instructions to sound Francis on his journey through France.[3] With tears in his eyes Adrian addressed to the envoys resident in Rome the most urgent representations.[4] He already saw the Turks in Italy,[5] for they had, it was believed, on their entrance into Rhodes and Constantinople, shouted "To Rome, to Rome."[6]

Along with these earnest remonstrances to the Christian powers Adrian took decisive measures for the collection of the funds necessary for the crusade. Owing to the emptiness of his exchequer the Pope was forced, against his will, to find means of supply by a levy of tithes and taxes. Before the end of January these measures had been discussed, and Adrian then told the Cardinals that he was ready to sell his silver plate. Before taxing other countries for the Turkish war he wished to make a beginning in his own dominions.[7] His measures were at once put into execu-

[1] CHARRIÈRE, I., 103 *seqq.*; BREWER, III., 2, n. 2871.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 2849.

[3] See *letter of A. Piperario, Rome, March 16, 1523, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the report of G. de' Medici, March 1, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and GACHARD, Corresp. LIII.

[4] Corp. dipl. Port., II., 123.

[5] *N. S. sa del certo che il Turco fa una spaventissima et tremenda armata a Costantinopoli per la impresa de Italia. V. Albergati, March 11, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[6] *In la sua intrata et uscita di Rhodi li Turchi mai fecero altro che gridare Italia, Italia, a Roma, a Roma et altre tante hanno fatto nel suo triomphante ingresso in Costantinopoli. "The Pope does everything, collects money, exhorts to peace." So relates V. Albergati, March 16, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[7] See the report of *G. de' Medici, Rome, January 29, 1522 [st. fl.],

tion. A Bull of the 11th of March 1523 laid upon the whole body of the clergy and on all officials of the Papal States the payment of a Turkish tithe for the next two years, Cardinal Fieschi being entrusted with its collection. Adrian justified this ordinance by the danger then menacing Rome and all Christendom.[1] The immediate publication of this Bull was expected,[2] but the Cardinals, it seems, still raised objections. They did not give their consent until the 16th of March, in a Consistory at which the Ban of Croatia appealed to them for help.[3] On the 18th of March a second Bull was agreed to in which a hearth-tax was levied at the rate of half a ducat throughout the Papal States.[4]

By these taxes it was hoped to raise a sum sufficient to equip a force of 50,000 men for the Turkish war; the

in which he says: *S. Sta · · · disse quando bisogni che vuole vender quanti argenti ha et altri che puo per tale impresa ne voler si gravassi per ancora altri potenti, ma che li sua subditi fussino li primi a cominciar ad aiutar (State Archives, Florence).

[1] Bull "Etsi ad amplianda esclesiarum omnium commoda" in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 104 *seqq*. *Io non fo altro dì et notte che fare minute et bolle per decime et impositione per tutta la Christianità, etc., writes V. Albergati on March 11, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] *Domani si publicano le decime per tutto il dominio ecc^co^ alli preti et qui sopra a tutti li ufitiali. G. de' Medici, March 10, 1522 [st. fl.] (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 39.

[3] Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives). *Cf.* also the *letter of G. de' Medici, March 16, 1523, in State Archives, Florence, and that of Andrea [Piperario], March 18 [1523], in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] "In Consistorio di stamatina è suto publicato la bolla di porre mezo ducato per fuoco a tutti li subditi della chiesa." G. de' Medici, March 18, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives); *Report of A. Germanello, March 28, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and letters of V. Albergati, March 20 and 31 (State Archives, Bologna).

chief command was given to the Duke of Urbino.[1] It was an indication of the Pope's zeal that, contrary to his usual principles, he accepted payments for offices and dignities; he pleaded the needs of Christendom, which made such methods permissible. "Adrian," writes one, "is so beaten down by anxiety that he almost repents having accepted the tiara."[2] But he never relaxed his efforts for the protection of Christendom and, before all, of the kingdom of Hungary, then exposed to the greatest danger; this formed the subject of lengthy deliberation in the Consistory held on the 23rd of March. The point of chief importance was the means of raising the money to be supplied to the Legate appointed to Hungary. Full power was also given him—but under secret instruction and only to be used in case of necessity—to alienate church property for the defence of that kingdom against the Turks.[3] In a Bull of the 11th of March 1523 Adrian, having the same object in view, granted King Ferdinand I. a third of the year's income of the whole clergy of the Tyrol, secular and regular.[4]

The Portuguese Ambassador, Miguel da Silva, in a despatch to his sovereign, advances, together with other reasons why he should contribute ships and money for the war, the eminently holy life of the Pope, which must arouse in every good Christian feelings of love and the

[1] Thus reports Andrea [Piperario] in a *letter, March 18 [1523] (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *letter of V. Albergati, March 23, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] BREWER, III., 2, n. 2893.

[3] See * Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives) in Appendix, No. 20.

[4] See HIRN, Gesch. der Tiroler Landtage von 1518 bis 1525 (Erläuterungen zu Janssens Gesch. herausgeg. von Pastor, IV., 5, Freiburg, 1905), 59, where more details are given concerning the opposition to this Bull. *Cf.* BAUER, Anfänge Ferdinands I., 220.

wish to give him practical help.[1] More impression was made on the princes by the concessions which Adrian determined to make. Thus he bestowed on the Portuguese King for life the command of the Order of Christ; to this were afterwards added other marks of favour.[2]

In order to secure the English King's support of the crusade, Adrian made exceptional use of dispensations, thus gratifying, in various ways connected with the bestowal of benefices, the wishes of Henry's all-powerful minister, Cardinal Wolsey;[3] and even at last conferred on the latter Legatine power in England for life.[4] Wolsey thereupon succeeded in obtaining from the King the appointment of a special envoy, Dr. Clerk, to attend to the negotiations with regard to the peace and armistice.[5] Francis I. continued the line of action that he had hitherto employed in his dealings with Adrian. His attitude was apparently most conciliatory, and he gave verbal assurances of his inclination to peace and his sympathy with the crusade, but, at the same time, declared frankly that, as a first step, his rightful inheritance, the Milanese, must be restored to him.[6] After his receipt of the urgent Brief of the 3rd of March, it was rumoured that Francis had given

[1] Corp. dipl. Port., II., 121.

[2] *Ibid.*, 131 *seq.*, 134 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*; SCHÄFER, Portugal, III., 89, V., 151, 159.

[3] *Cf.* CREIGHTON, V., 203; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 281.

[4] Henry VIII. thanked him on February 22, 1523. I found the *original of this letter in the archives of St. Angelo, Arm., IV., c. 2, n. 26.

[5] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., LV.

[6] *Cf.* the two *letters of Francis I. to Adrian VI., dated Paris, February 5, 1523, and St. Germain-en-Laye, February 28, 1523 (contemporary copies in the State Archives, Vienna). Both letters are uncommonly interesting. In the second there is already mention of the fall of Rhodes, which Francis I. deplores. He expresses his zeal

carte blanche for the terms of peace.[1] But at the end of that month a letter came from the King again demanding, in haughty language, the aforesaid restoration of Milan.[2] This was all the more painful to Adrian since Francis I., on the previous 5th of February, had expressed his desire in the humblest terms that the Pope would use his authority in taking in hand the peace negotiations.[3] The Pope lost all self-control when Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont tried to justify the proceedings of Francis. The King, said Adrian to the Cardinal, was the cause of the obstruction of this indispensable peace. The Cardinal, who deplored his master's obstinacy to the Pope, kept saying that no tree was ever felled at one stroke; Adrian must address him in another Brief.[4] This advice the Pope followed,[5]

for the Turkish war in the strongest terms (* Nous qui desirons ne porter le titre de très chrétien sans cause), but Milan must be restored to him, since "charité bien ordonnée commence par soy."

[1] This important account, which confirms, de Praet in GACHARD, Corresp., LIV., is found in a letter of * Andrea Piperario of March 16, 1523: Da Franza se intende che 'l re ha mandato la carta bianca al papa de la pace quasi per acquistare la benivolentia del papa et irritare S. Sta contra di Cesare (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Gradenigo on April 1, 1523, in SANUTO, XXXIV., 93, and BERGENROTH, II., n. 540. See our remarks *supra*, p. 180, note 6.

[3] * Très sainct père nous supplions et requerons encore très dévotement V^tre^ d. S^te^ qu'il luy plaise prendre en mains le faict de la paix universelle ou trève et en usant de son auctorité mectre peinne de la conduyre, faire treiter et concluire telle, que nul des d. princes n'ait cause de la réffuser. *Letter, dated Paris, February 5, 1523. Copy in State Archives, Vienna.

[4] GRADENIGO, *loc. cit.*

[5] I found this * Brief, missing in Charrière, dated Rome, April 2, 1523, and beginning with these words: "Litterae M^tis^ tuae ult. februarii (see *supra*, p. 180, n. 6) proxime praeteriti ad nos datae et paucis ante

always hoping to bring about a change of mind in the French King.

The Emperor showed more statesmanship. Adrian's determination and the circumstance that in Picardy as well as in the Pyrenees the war with Francis had not been successful, had inclined Charles, before the middle of February, somewhat to reconsider his position. He then instructed Sessa to make known the conditions under which he would be ready to accept an armistice or peace, but without letting this come to the knowledge of the French or English Ambassadors. By means of this understanding Charles sought especially to secure the grant of the "Cruzada" hitherto asked for in vain, and the assignment to his own use of a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues in his dominions.[1] The fall of Rhodes had unquestionably made a deep impression on Charles, but his courtiers were of a different mind, and Gattinara advised him to send no answer to the Brief of the 3rd of March.[2] Charles, however, determined to give Sessa full powers to conclude an armistice subject to the clauses agreed to by Adrian. At the same time he sent a memorandum to Rome intended to justify his previous conduct and to bring the Pope round to his views. Most of the proposals in this document were simply nothing else than a list of conditions laid down with a view to Charles's personal advantage.

diebus exhibitae non modica animi admiratione nos affecerunt," in the original in the National Archives, Paris, L. 357.

[1] GACHARD, Corresp., LI., 174; BAUMGARTEN, II., 263–264. The *Instruction for Claude de Bissy of February 14, 1523, quoted here from the Vienna State Archives, is also found in the State Archives of Brussels (Correspondence de Charles V. avec divers en Italie). Here also is the *answer of Adrian VI. to the Emperor, dated Rome, April 15, 1523.

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 534.

Simultaneously a wholesale system of bribery was set in motion amongst those who were in the Pope's immediate confidence.[1] Affairs having gone thus far an event occurred to change at one blow the whole situation in Rome.

[1] GACHARD, Corresp., LVI., 175 *seqq.*; BERGENROTH, II., n. 540: HÖFLER, 487 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Intrigues of Cardinal Soderini and the Rupture with France.—Adrian VI. joins the Imperial League.—His Death.

On his arrival in Italy Adrian had found the College of Cardinals split into factions. The anti-Medicean party brought the heaviest reproaches against him, especially with regard to the proceedings connected with the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci. Adrian found it impossible to have the case revised,[1] a step, moreover, which could not have led to any result. An attempt to reconcile Cardinal Francesco Soderini, whose animosity was exceptionally virulent, with the Vice-Chancellor Cardinal de' Medici, failed completely;[2] this was not surprising, for the latter had information of Soderini's complicity in the conspiracy contrived in Florence.[3]

Medici, who could not console himself for the loss of

[1] Soderini was especially active in this respect; see *letters of G. M. della Porta of September 13, 1522 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] "N. S. stringe de metter bona pace et concordia fra mons. rev^mo et Volterra" reports* G. T. Manfredi on September 29, 1522; *cf.* also the report of G. de' Medici of September 29, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), and the *letters of A. Taurelli of September 28 and October 1, 1522 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] See for this Giorn. stor. d. Arch. Toscani, III., 121 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*, 239 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 328 *seq.*; Perrens, III., 89 *seq.*, and Zandonati, La congiura contra il Card. G. de' Medici, Rovereto, 1891: *cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, X., 235.

his powerful influence in the Curia, had gone back to Florence in October 1522.[1] This left full scope to his opponent Soderini in Rome. Adrian's misunderstandings with the Emperor and the crafty temporizing of Francis I. proved helpful to Soderini, and the former partisan of France gained more and more influence with the Pope. He managed successfully to conceal from Adrian his one-sided devotion to the interests of Francis. He appeared to throw himself eagerly into the Pope's endeavours for peace, and warned him against the warlike and Imperialist leanings of Medici, whom he even accused of enriching himself dishonestly under Leo X.[2] Meanwhile Sessa and the Vice-Chancellor were carefully watching the alliance of their enemy with Francis I. At the end of March 1523 Medici succeeded in securing the person of a Sicilian, Francesco Imperiale, who had been sent by Soderini on a commisson to his nephew, then residing in Venice and France; on this man letters of the Cardinal's were found to the effect that, if Francis delayed longer his entrance in person into Italy, he would alienate the Venetians and all his other friends in the Peninsula; when the cipher, used in certain passages of the letters, was interpreted, the discovery was made that a plot was on foot to raise an insurrection in Sicily against the Emperor, which, when it had taken shape with French connivance, was to be the signal for the descent of Francis upon Upper Italy. The Pope besides was described in the letters, quite contrary to the truth, as making common cause with the Emperor. Medici at once made known his discovery to the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, who made haste to lay all before the

[1] His departure on October 13 is announced by G. de' Medici (see *supra*, p. 104) and Castiglione in a * letter of October 13, 1522, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

Pope.[1] Medici and the representative of King Ferdinand were overjoyed at having in their hands clear evidence of French knavery; they were confident that Adrian would now be led to renounce his neutrality,[2] and every effort was made to reach this end.[3]

Adrian was, at first, unwilling to believe in the treachery of his friend, but soon he had to convince himself that Soderini had not shrunk from thwarting his ardent wishes for peace and, at the moment when the Turkish danger was at its worst, wantonly stirring up the fury of war in Italy itself. He determined to unmask the guilty party and to visit him with heavy punishment; it was also no longer doubtful that Soderini had deceived him as regards Cardinal de' Medici, and before taking any other steps he

[1] Together with the reports of the Portuguese envoys (Corp. dipl. Port., II., 143 *seqq.*, 162 *seqq.*) and those of Venice (SANUTO, XXXIV., 122 *seq.*), see the despatch of F. Strozzi in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XIV., 38; CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary (National Library, Paris); *Balbi's report, April 12, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna), in Appendix, No. 21, and the *letter of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, 1522 [st. fl.], April 10 (State Archives, Florence). The captured messenger, Francesco Imperiale, is here mentioned by name. *Cf.* also the document in BERGENROTH, II., n. 539. See also BREWER, III., 2, n. 3002; JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI., and VON NEUEREN, V. Epifanio, in Atti d. congress. internaz. di scienze storiche, III., Roma, 1906, 385 *seq.*

[2] Many in Rome believed that the whole case against Soderini was a cleverly devised Spanish *pratica, per fari saltare questo christianazo del papa a pedi gionti in la parte imperiale con questo mezo che non potra dire più de volere essere neutrale. See a cipher *despatch from L. Cati to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, April 29, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 544. G. de' Medici writes already, April 10, 1523: *Non so quel che farà il papa per la sua bontà, pure questi Imperiali intendo li caricheranno li panni adosso quanto porranno (State Archives, Florence). See also Balbi's report in Appendix, No. 21 (State Archives, Vienna).

summoned the latter, the head of the Imperial party in the Sacred College, to Rome. Medici, who till now had been living in Florence, expectant and discontented, obeyed the call with great delight. With an almost royal retinue of more than a thousand horsemen he made his entry into Rome on the 23rd of April 1523; the most notable personages, many Cardinals, and even deadly enemies of long standing such as Francesco Maria della Rovere, met him at the Ponte Molle. He was present in Consistory on the 25th and 26th of April; on the latter day the Pope received him after dinner in private audience, and it was said that they both withdrew to the Belvedere and then to a country-house, spending the whole afternoon in one another's company.

On the next day, the 27th of April, about seven o'clock in the evening, Adrian sent for Cardinal Soderini, who hastened on horseback to the Vatican accompanied by his retainers. As he passed through the streets astonishment was roused that a Cardinal should go to an audience at such an unusual hour. Half an hour later his suite returned without him, and it was soon understood that he had been arrested; such, in fact, was the case.

When Soderini came into the Pope's presence in the Borgia tower he found there Cardinal de' Medici and Sessa. To Adrian's inquiry whether he had written to the French King, he answered in the negative; then the Pope at once placed before him the intercepted letters. As he even then tried to persist in a denial, Adrian broke out into great excitement and pronounced him under arrest. Soderini begged in vain to be detained in the Vatican, but he was conveyed to St. Angelo, whither none of his household were allowed to follow him, and that same evening all his papers and valuables were seized. At a Consistory held on the following morning the Pope

explained his action, and entrusted to Cardinals Carvajal Accolti, and Cesi the superintendence of Soderini's trial. In prison the Cardinal refused food until the castellan, in pity, first tasted the dishes in his presence. Even the Pope felt compassion for the aged man, and subsequently allowed three of his servants to wait upon him and restored to him his property. He pushed on the judicial process with all the more expedition because it had become known that, during Adrian's absence from Italy, Soderini had, with the help of France,[1] worked for a schism.

The fall of Soderini gave at once a commanding position in the Curia to the Vice-Chancellor Cardinal de' Medici. His palace became a more active centre of life than the Vatican, and his antechambers were crowded with visitors waiting for an audience. Not a day passed without four, or even five, Cardinals coming to see him, and before long he was spoken of as the coming Pope.[2] Henceforward Adrian himself was greatly influenced by Medici, and the Imperialists saw with satisfaction a change

[1] Together with SANUTO, XXXIV., 122–123, 137, 149, 221–222; STROZZI in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XIV., 39; Ortiz in BURMANN, 209; *letter of A. Germanello, April 27, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix, No. 22); *letters of V. Albergati, April 27 and 30, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); Sessa in BERGENROTH, n. 545; BREWER, III., 2, n. 3002, and especially the very important but hitherto insufficiently appreciated despatch of Miguel da Silva in Corp. dipl. Port., III., 63 *seq.*, see also P. MARTYR, Op. Epist., 778, and JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. HÖFLER, 489, is wrong in stating that Sauli was on the Commission of Cardinals, for the latter had been long dead (see English ed. of this work, VII. p. 200). Later, E. de Cardona and G. Ghinucci were associated with the three Cardinals; see Epifanio, *loc. cit.*, 401. For the Consistory of April 28, 1523, see Appendix, No. 23 (Consistorial Archives).

[2] SANUTO, XXXIV., 221; *cf.* 123, and ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 110, 125.

for the better in the Pope's feelings towards Charles. But they were deceiving themselves if they believed that Adrian had any intention of identifying himself with the Spanish party. Even if, in giving his sanction on the 4th of May to the permanent incorporation of the three grand-masterships of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara in the Spanish Crown, he made a remarkable concession,[1] yet in the great questions of European politics he continued steadfast to the neutrality becoming the Father of Christendom, and to his efforts on behalf of peace.[2] With this aim in view he issued on the 30th of April a Bull enjoining, in the name of his supreme authority, a truce of three years' duration for the whole of Christendom, compliance with which was demanded from the princes under pain of the heaviest penalties of the Church, immediate interdict and excommunication. There had been enough fraternal bloodshed he said, the sovereigns had already indulged too much in mutual enmity; they had every reason for behaving in such a way as not to forfeit that power which had been lent to them by God.[3]

For Hungary,[4] now in extreme danger, Adrian did all he could.[5] The despatch of the Legates had been delayed,

[1] Bull. V., 13 *seq.*; HÖFLER, 491.

[2] *N. Sig^re al presente non attende ad altro che a procurare la pace trali principi Christiani. V. Albergati, April 18, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] Bull *Monet nos* in Acta Tomic., VI., 271 *seq.*; Bull. V., 10 *seq.*; and in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 145 *seqq.*; in the latter place, 149 *seq.*, see the Brief of May 1 accompanying the former. The Bull of April 26 (*letter of A. Germanello, April 27, 1523, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) is also in SANUTO, XXXIV., 180 *seqq.* *Cf.* RYMER, XIII., 780.

[4] *Cf.* V. Albergati's *letters of April 24 and May 5, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[5] *Cf.* Panvinius in RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 119. See also BURMANN, 67, 125, 212, 338.

for the nominees, first Colonna[1] and then Campeggio, had declined the post;[2] the greatest difficulties had accompanied the collection of the funds intended for the support of that kingdom, and in view of the vivid descriptions brought to him of the perilous situation there,[3] the Pope was deeply grieved that he could not give immediate help.

Fear was already felt in Rome that the King of Hungary might make peace with the Turk.[4] When at last, in the person of Cajetan, a suitable Legate had been found, it cost a great amount of trouble to raise the 50,000 ducats of which he was to be the bearer. In a Consistory on the 8th of May Cajetan's appointment as Legate to Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia was announced;[5] but on the 27th of the same month the arrangements for getting in the money were still under consideration.[6] The Romans objected strongly to the payment of the Turkish tax.[7] Many were bold enough to say, in their

[1] *Cf.* *Letter of A. Germanello, April 14, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] To the many errors in MAURENBRECHER'S Geschichte der katholischen Reformation, belongs also the statement that Campeggio was, at that time, actually sent to Hungary (232).

[3] Acta Consist., April 24, 1523 (Consistorial Archives).

[4] *Qui sono lettere d' Ungheria e dubitasi forte chel re non s' accordi col Turco visto le poche provisione che si sono facte e disengnono da farsi per la cristianità. *Letter of the envoys from Florence to tender obedience, dated Rome, April 28, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *Acta Consist. (May 8, 1523, Consistorial Archives). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 149, and *letter of G. M. della Porta, May 10, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] *Acta Consist. (May 27, Consistorial Archives); see in Appendix, No. 24, *letter of V. Albergati, May 30, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[7] *Letter of Abbadino, May 24, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 114 *seq.*

ill humour with the new imposts, that the Pope's project of a crusade was a chimera.[1] This lack of self-sacrifice distressed the Pope not less than the continuance of the plague in Rome.[2] About the 19th of May he had himself been suffering from fever; by the 27th he had recovered.[3] On the same day he heard that the ruler of Wallachia had already come to terms of peace with the Turks.[4] "The Turkish trouble," reported the Portuguese Ambassador, "is the Pope's daily subject of talk."[5] The Con-

[1] Andrea [Piperario] reports in cipher on March 18 [1523]: *Qui ognuno se trova mal contento per il pessimo governo del papa e se dubita che la cosa de queste decime non sia una chimera e che non si faccia nulla che vaglia. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 188; *letter of the Florentine envoys to tender obedience, dated Rome, May 22, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and Acta Consist. (May 15, 1523, Consistorial Archives).

[3] The special envoys from Florence who had tendered obedience on April 27 (*Acta consist. in Consistorial Archives), report on May 20, 1523: *N. S^re^ hebbe hyeri uno poco di scesa e con epsa alquanto id febre. Sta nocte passata posò. . . . Questo giorno è stato assai quietamente in modo si spera che non habbia haver altro è cosi a Dio piaccia che sarebbe troppa gran perdita. May 22: The Pope is better, but not yet free from fever. May 27: *El papa questa mattina cavalchò a S. Maria del Popolo (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* *letter of Abbadino, May 24, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The Imperial envoy was already asking for instructions in case of a conclave. BERGENROTH, II., n. 553. HÖFLER'S assumption (521) that Adrian's illness was the result of poison, is not supported by any contemporaneous authorities. See *infra*, p. 216.

[4] *D'Ungheria heyeri ci furon lettere come il Valacho Transalpino sera accordato col Turcho, la quale cosa non è di picolo momento e da dispiacere assai a tucti quelli che sono fauctori dalla fede christiana. *Letter of the Florentine envoys to tender obedience, Rome, May 28, 1523. *Cf.* *letter of G. M. della Porta, May 29, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] Corp. dipl. Port., II., 161.

sistory was repeatedly occupied with appeals for help from Hungary and Croatia.[1] A well-meant suggestion, emanating from the Franciscans, that troops should be raised from each religious order, had to be dismissed by the Pope as fantastic.[2] Adrian was in the extremest perplexity, for he could not send out the Legate empty-handed.[3] At last, on the 1st of July, everything was in order; on that day Cajetan took leave in Consistory, and on the following morning set out post-haste.[4] On the 9th of July the Pope sent his chamberlain Pietro with fresh sums of money to the markets to buy grain for the Hungarian levies.[5] For some time longer fear prevailed in

[1] *Acta Consist., June 1 and 17, 1523 (Consistorial Archives). *Cf.* the *letters of G. M. della Porta of June 6, 10, and 21, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), also SANUTO, XXXIV., 194-195, and the *letter of V. Albergati, June 3, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] Ortiz in BURMANN, 213; *letter of V. Albergati, April 30, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); CHARRIÈRE, I., 102; ZINKEISEN, II., 638 *seq.*; Histor. Taschenb., 3, Folge, VII., 575 *seq.*: HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 285.

[3] *Cf.* *letter of A. Germanello, June 25, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 134; *V. Albergati, July 1, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 168; SANUTO, XXXIV., 193, 292, *cf.* XXXV., 114 *seq.*; Ortiz in BURMANN, 212 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 22 *seq.*; *letters of A. Germanello of July 1 and 3, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *N. S. oltre le bone provisone ha fatte et mandate col rev^mo legato hiersera mandò m. Pietro da Roma suo cameriere in la Marca per la posta con bona summa de denari a comprare frumenti et altre vituaglie necessarie da mandare in Ungheria et Croatia per sussidio di quelli paesi. V. Albergati, July 10, 1523 (State Archives Bologna). For the support given to Hungary by Adrian VI., detailed information is given in a *Brief of Clement VII. to J. A. Pullio, baro Burgii, Rome, March 30, 1534. Thus: *Cum sicut accepimus fe. re. Hadrianus VI. praed. nost. triginta tria millia et 700 ac 50 ducat. monetae novae

Ragusa, as well as in Rome, that the Turks, by sending a fleet against Italy, might attempt to separate the Christian forces and cut off support from Hungary. "The Pope," wrote Vianesio Albergati, "has done all that he could possibly do to restore peace, but the hearts of Christians are hardened. Francis I. will make any sacrifice to get Milan, Charles V. Fuenterrabia, and Henry VIII. Brittany. Help now can come from God alone."[1]

An event that brought joy to Adrian was the final reconciliation of Venice with the Emperor. For this, though for long without success, he had been labouring directly for many months by means of the Nuncio.[2] On the 12th of June he was informed that the reconciliation was at hand,[3] but this report was premature. As late as the 14th of July the Papal Legate Tommaso Campeggio had to use sharp words to the Doge[4] on account of the little love of peace shown by the Republic. The Pope himself addressed most pressing representations to the Venetian Ambassador in Rome and even threatened him with a *monitorium*;[5] but not until considerable

ad rationem centum denarior. pro quolibet ducato in Ungariam miserit, etc. Min. brev., 1534, vol. xiv..., n. 140 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] Letter of V. Albergati, May 5, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] For this see together with accounts in SANUTO, XXXIV., and HOEFLER, 512 *seq.*, the **Briefs to T. Campeggio of January 15, 20, 31, and February 12; that to Ferdinand I. of February 4, and to H. Adorno of February 12, 1523 (this Brief is in Spanish), in State Archives, Venice, under "Milan." *Cf.* Libri commem., VI., 172.

[3] *Letter of the Florentine envoys to tender obedience, June 12, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] SANUTO, XXXIV., 298; *cf.* 263 *seq.*

[5] G. M. della Porta reports on June 30, 1523: *N. S. con molta instanza sollecita Venetiani alla pace con Cesare; and on July 3: *Il papa ha parlato all' ambasciatore Venetiano sopra l' accordo tanto gagliardamente che quas. ghi ha chiarito dever esser sforzat di

concessions had been made by the Imperial envoy did the situation change. At the last hour, though in vain, French diplomacy did all it could to keep the Republic firm. It was of great importance in this respect that Lodovico di Canossa, who had been sent into Italy as early as May, fell ill in Geneva and could not reach Venice until the beginning of July.[1] Thence he wrote to the French Queen, on the 10th of July, that Venice was of so much importance that Francis I. should consent to everything rather than lose such an ally.[2] The diplomatic Canossa came too late, for on the 29th of July a treaty was made between the Emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, and Venice to defend Italy against attack from any European power. For this end the Pope had co-operated without giving up his neutrality;[3]

publicar contro quel stato il monitorio quando recusi l' accordo, et S. S. si more sanctissimamente per la pace d' Italia. (State Archives, Florence.) *Cf.* also SANUTO, XXXIV., 307.

[1] The accounts in ORTI-MANARA (Lodovico di Canossa, Verona, 1845), 18, of the mission of the Bishop of Bayeux in the year 1523 are very unsatisfactory. The above statements are based on Canossa's still unpublished correspondence, which I found in the Capitoline Library and the Communal Library at Verona, and which will be dealt with in another place when considering information very kindly placed at my disposal by R. Rolland. *Cf.* especially the *letters to Francis I. of May 16, to F. Robertet (*cf.* BOURRILLY DE VAISSIÈRE, 34 *seq.*) of May 18, 21 (from Lyons), 28 (from Geneva), and of July 2, 1523 (from Grezzano). *Cf.* also the *Brief to the Queen of France, July 1, 1523.

[2] *Solo gli voglio dire che importando li sig^ri Venetiani per le cose de Italia quanto importano che la M^ta del re deve dare ogni cosa per non li perdere. *Canossa a Madama la regina di Francia. Venice, July 10, 1523 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] SANUTO, XXXIV., 316 *seqq.*; *cf.* Libri commem., VI., 171 *seq.*, 173; BERGENROTH, II., n. 566, 568, 570, 572, 576-577; see BAUMGARTEN, II., 278; SISMONDI, XV., 54 *seq.*

this only gave way owing to the violent behaviour of the French.

The French party in Rome, like Francis himself, looked upon the arrest of Soderini as an overt act of hostility on the part of Adrian, who had unjustly yielded to the wishes of Medici and the Emperor's party. Cardinal Trivulzio took the liberty of saying to the Pope's face that they had not elected him in order that he might imprison Cardinals in St. Angelo without cause.[1] Other members of the Sacred College also complained of the Pope's action, as showing little respect for the dignity of their office.[2] These complaints had as little effect on Adrian as the menaces of Francis I.; the trial went on its way. The Pope was determined that it should be conducted in strict accordance with order.[3] As Soderini at first denied everything, fell ill in June, and no advocate could be found to plead for him, the affair was long protracted. The general opinion was that it would end in the deposition of Soderini, whose high treason was proved, but that Adrian would not permit the death sentence to be carried out.[4]

Although, on his return from his mission, in the middle of May, Bernardo Bertolotti brought back very unfavourable accounts of the disposition of the Christian

[1] SANUTO, XXXIV. 149.

[2] *Letter of Abaddino, Rome, May 6, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Reported by V. Albergati, May 21, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] Besides SANUTO, XXXIV., 194, 237, 244, 257, 262, 285, 292, 302, 359; BERGENROTH, II., n. 555; State Papers, VI.: Henry VIII., V., 122; LUZIO, Lett. di Giovio, 25, 29, *cf.* the letters of the Florentine envoys to render obedience: May 28 (*Questo giorno sono stati incontanente a examinare mons. di Volterra e tre Cardinali deputati), June 4 (L' examina del Card. di Volterra si va continuando. As he was ill, he asked leave to see a physician, which was granted), June 14 (*La examina del Card. di Volterra e di Bernardo d' Averragano

princes towards union, Adrian persisted in his pursuit of peace.[1] The French were willing to suspend hostilities for two months at the utmost, while the Imperialists wished a truce of at least half a year. The Pope was of opinion that it was of the greatest importance that

non se potuto finire rispecto che l' uno di loro e l' altro hanno facto ammalato et N. S. non mostra di curarsene molto forse parendoli che quello che ha confessato et confirmato sino aqui sia abastanza per poterne pigliare ogni deliberatione), July 17 (*La examina di Volterra è finita). G. M. della Porta reports very thoroughly, May 16: *Il processo di Volterra si fa et trovase che ha errato gravamente contra N. S., la cui Sta par che gli usi troppo clemenza a lasciarlo tanto vivere. May 29: *Gli tre rer^mi^ deputati giudici ne la causa di Vulterra havendo prima renuntiati di esser hanno ubediti a N. S., che ha voluto così et sono stato allo examine, del quale intendo che non ne hanno per ancora cavato altro se queste due parole: non so, non mi ricordo. June 3: *Mi vien detto che havendo minacciato la giustizia di dar la tortura a Vulterra ha confessato tutto quello che prima havea negato. June 10: *Dicesi chel processo contra Vulterra è finito et che dimani gli giudici hanno da fare la relatione in consistoro. June 17: Soderini will be condemned (Lett. d. Princ., I., 116). June 24: *Il processo contra Vulterra non si solecita più con diligenza; The Pope has given him an advocate. June 30: *N. S. rinova la diligenza nel processo di Vulterra. July 4: Soderini is lying, but still admits some things. July 11: *Le cose di Vulterra si sollecitano assai; ello sta di la persona peggio assai del solito e N. S. ha commesso agli physici soi che lo visitino. July 17: The views taken of Soderini differ greatly (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also *letter of A. Germanello, July 11, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Soderini's trial goes on, writes Sessa on July 28, 1523, to the Duchess of Savoy, "y creo sin duda que Su B^d^ le castigara conforme a sus demeritos que no son pequenios" (State Archives, Vienna). On July 8, 1523, V. Albergati reports: The Pope wished, but in vain, to bring the case to an end before the Cardinals left Rome for the summer change of air (State Archives, Bologna). On August 8, 1523, Jovius writes: Volterra sta per esser scappellato. BRAGHIROLLI, Lett. Ined. Milano, 1856, 25.

[1] *Letter of the Florentine envoys to tender obedience, May 15, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

at least a beginning should be made; from the mission, already mentioned, of Canossa to Rome he had hoped favourable things.[1] But that diplomatist did not come, while the negotiations of the Imperialists with Cardinal Clermont proved more and more hopeless. The latter, in complete despair, went back to Avignon on the 23rd of June.[2] On the 15th of June Adrian had asked the French King to open fresh negotiations with the Nuncio; he might, urged the Pope, in conformity with his high station and with his name of most Christian King, at last take the step which was so necessary for the protection of Christendom.[3]

The "most Christian" had not the slightest intention of giving ear to such representations. The turn in favour of Charles which had shown itself in the Curia in consequence of Soderini's treachery had thrown Francis into uncontrollable fury. When Adrian ordered a truce for the sake of the Turkish war, Francis exclaimed that the real Turk was the clergy.[4] To the Venetian Ambassador he remarked in the latter half of June that the Pope was forbidden by Canon Law to impose a truce under penalty of excommunication. If Adrian persisted in so doing, he, Francis, would set up an antipope.[5]

[1] *La tregua per dui mesi si pratica ancorché gl' Imperiali dicono volerla almeno per sei, pur N. S^re^ inclina a darvi in ogni modo qualche principio et tanto più venendo Bayosa, come dicono che vene col mandato di prorogarla bisognando et che l' arivata sua sarà al più alto a S. Giovanni. G. M. della Porta from Rome, May 15, 1523; *cf.* also his letter, *May 13, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] SANUTO, XXXIV., 149, 156, 193, 262; *Letter of G. M. della Porta, May 17 and June 24, 1523 (*Mons. d' Aus parti hieri), State Archives, Florence.

[3] CHARRIÈRE, I., 106 *seqq.*

[4] Mantuan report from Rome in SANUTO, XXXIV., 193.

[5] Letter of Badoer, June 24, 1523, in SANUTO, XXXIV., 289.

To this period must also belong the quite unprecedented letter in which Francis threatened the Pope with the same fate that had befallen Boniface VIII. in Anagni, *i.e.* the loss of freedom and even of life through violent French intervention in the Vatican.[1] At the beginning of this threatening letter Francis first recounts the services rendered by his kingdom to the Holy See from the days of King Pepin down to his own time. The very persons who ought to acknowledge those services have denied the rights of the French Crown and used their power to prevent the restoration of Milan to France. He further goes on to remind the Pope in incisive language that the Roman Pontiffs had always feared the Imperial

[1] Original draft in the National Library, Paris. MS. Franc., 3002, f. 1–6. Copy (used by LEPITRE, 315) in MS. Franc., 8527, f. 1 *seq.* The letter, with the wrong address, "to Clement VII.," is published with a good many mistakes in Arch. Stor. Ital., App. I., 396 *seq.* There is a better, but not quite accurate, copy in the Cabinet hist., XIII. (1867), I., 62 *seq.*: the letter is here antedated to May 1523. HÖFLER (507 *seqq.*), who gives a very good account of the contents of the letter of which I have made use in the text, only remarks: "This cannot possibly be the same letter of which BERGENROTH says (Introduct., CLXXIV.) that Adrian received it on March 28, 1523," and then subsequently (524) suggests that the right date might be July 4. LEPITRE (315) believes that Adrian replied in the friendly letter of June 15 to this insolent communication. But this is to attribute too much to the Pope's love of peace. But Höfler's surmise is also inadequate. Two * despatches of G. M. della Porta show this and also afford evidence that the letter was actually sent. The former says on June 25, *Dicesi chel re di Franzia ha scritto al papa mirabilmente sopra la liberation di Vulterra. On June 26: E stato vero chel re di Franza ha scritto al papa ferventemente sopra la liberation di Vulterra licentiando da la corte sua il nunzio d. S. Sta et revocando Bayosa, il quale deve esser a questhora in Venetia et l' altri che veneano in sua compagnia se ne sono ritornati di longo al suo re et parlase del impresa de Italia (State Archives, Florence).

power in Italy and had found protection from it on the part of France. The champions of the Papal States now suffer loss, and the enemies reap the advantage. Even if, at first, he had had fears that Pope Adrian would allow himself to be drawn into the policy of Leo X., yet he had become more and more convinced that the Pope's sense of honour and goodness, as well as considerations for the safety of his soul and for his dignity and age, would never allow him to lose sight, as the common father of Christendom, of impartial justice and equity. Unfortunately his former fears had not proved groundless, since the arrest of Soderini had only taken place because the Pope relied on Medici's information that the Cardinal was favourable to France; if equal justice prevailed, the enemies of France ought to receive the same treatment. Francis I. characterized as strange the Pope's proclamation, under ecclesiastical censures, of a three years' peace as if he, the King, were averse to peace. Yet for this very reason he had had an envoy at Calais, he had sent his secretary to the Pope at Nice, and then Cardinal Clermont to Rome, and when Adrian had called upon him to conclude a truce, for the defence of Christendom, he had declared his readiness to comply provided that Milan, his lawful possession, was restored to him. When the Pope found this condition excessive, he had sent Ambassadors to Rome to conclude a peace or a truce for two months or longer. More he could not do. When he became aware that the Pope was determined to proclaim an unconditional truce, he had forbidden his representatives to enter into it, and had explained to the Pope why he considered one lasting for three years useless.

If Adrian ordered a truce under ecclesiastical censures, without consulting the Christian princes, without making

any stipulation where the crusading contingents were to be sent, the French army would be attacked on its arrival in Italy. Adrian had given Bulls to raise money to the enemies of Francis; but Francis himself had been forgotten. When it was such an easy matter for Popes to excommunicate princes, evil results always followed, and this could be no cause of satisfaction. The privileges of the French Kings would be defended by their subjects with the last drop of their blood; moreover, no censure could be pronounced against him except with the observance of the accompanying forms and ceremonies. Adrian's predecessors had always observed this. Pope Boniface, to be sure, had taken certain steps against Philip the Fair which had miscarried. "You, in your prudence, will certainly not forget this." A three years' truce would tie his, the King's, hands and hinder him from protecting his dominions, while Charles, during this time, could enter Italy on the pretext of his coronation as Emperor. It was astonishing that the Cardinals, who were now recommending such a truce, did not recommend to the Emperor the course which Leo X. had intended, namely, to take Milan from the French, although at that moment the Turks were beleaguering Belgrade. Adrian's present intentions had certainly the appearance of being directed against the Turks, but were really aimed at him, the King. May the Pope be preserved from bringing about, instead of peace, still greater confusion, which would ill become the part of a good and wise pastor. Ever since the report of the truce had got abroad his enemies had done nothing but increase their strength, which he would yet humble. On the other hand he was ready, if the Turks invaded Hungary or Naples, to take the field against them in person; if, therefore, his Holiness were willing to grant him Bulls to raise

money similar to those granted to his enemies, the Pope would only be acting in faithful accordance with his duty.

Simultaneously with this letter of menace the news reached Rome that Francis I. had broken off diplomatic relations with the Papal Nuncio.[1] What Adrian had endeavoured to prevent by his strictly neutral attitude—he stood, wrote the Ambassador of Henry VIII., as immovable as a rock in the sea—now came to pass, an incurable rupture with France.

Nothing could have been more gratifying to the enemies of Francis than his brusque treatment of the Pope. The Ambassadors of the Emperor and Henry became more urgent than ever in pressing upon Adrian the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance to protect Italy against France, the common enemy, and to render Francis incapable of continuing the war. Cardinal de' Medici, whose influence over Adrian was becoming increasingly great, took their side; the Pope, nevertheless, still refused to enter into party combinations of this sort.[2] His conviction that he was thus doing his duty was strengthened by the knowledge that a final breach with France would be followed by consequences of incalculable gravity. "I shall not declare myself against France," he wrote to Charles de Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, "because such a step would be immediately followed by the stoppage of all supplies of money from that kingdom, on which I chiefly depend for the maintenance of my Court, and because I know on good authority that the French King would become a protector of the Lutheran heresy,

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 198, n. 1, the * letter of G. M. della Porta of June 28, 1523.

[2] See Clerk's despatch of June 11 in BREWER, III., 2, n. 3093; *cf.* DE LEVA, II., 172.

and make a resettlement of ecclesiastical order in his dominions."[1]

Some of the Cardinals, moreover, who were interceding on behalf of Soderini, emphatically pointed out to Adrian the danger of some violent display of French power, prompted by the youthful energy of Francis and his advisers, unfriendly to the Court of Rome.[2] If counsels such as these were kept within the bounds of a wise moderation, there were not wanting others who spoke as open partisans of France. These mischieviously represented to the Pope that he could confer no greater advantage on his countrymen and those who had helped to raise him to the tiara than by the strictest observance of his neutrality, otherwise he would make himself contemptible in the sight of the other sovereigns of Europe. These same advisers laid it down as an axiom that Lombardy must be a French possession.[3]

Although it was known by the beginning of July that Francis I. had forbidden all payment of money to Rome,[4] Adrian still put off a final decision. He wished

[1] *Lannoy to Charles V., dated Naples, July 15, 1523. Biblioteca de la Acad. de Historia, Madrid, A 28. *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 172.

[2] We know from SANUTO (XXXIV., 350) that the Cardinals were asked to give opinions on the case of Soderini. *Three such opinions, addressed to Adrian VI., I found in the Vatican Library in Cod. *Vat., 3020, f. 60–61, 137–137b, and 140–140b. I intend to publish them in the *Acta pontif.* It is worth noting that these opinions treat the letters in which Soderini urged on Francis I. to war as undoubtedly genuine.

[3] *Cf.* the *Oratio ad S. D. N. Adrianum VI. in Cod. Vat., 3800, f. 35–40, and 6559, f. 81–83b, Vatican Library. v. DOMARUS (Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 85) mistakes this document for a speech of the Hungarian envoy.

[4] *El re di Francia ha levate tucte le expeditioni de Francia ad la corte di Roma et non vole li ne venga alcuna. Darà gran danno ad li officii. A. Germanello to the Mantuan Chancellor, dated Rome, July 3, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

to hear first the opinion of his friend of early days, Lannoy, and in a Brief of the 18th of July he begged him to pay a secret visit to Rome without delay.[1]

Lannoy came at once. He, Sessa and Medici, as well as the English Ambassadors,[2] urged an alliance with the Emperor in the strongest terms.[3] Medici especially, who visited the Pope at least once a day, was untiring.[4] The Ambassadors were able to show that Francis I. had vast forces assembled at the foot of the Pyrenees, in Switzerland, and on the immediate frontiers of Italy, ready to give effect to his long-standing and repeated threats and to begin the war for the reconquest of Milan. At an opportune moment for the Imperialists, a fresh letter from the

[1] *Brief of July 18, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna), in Appendix, No. 26.

[2] Hannibal and J. Clerk, who had arrived on June 3 with a repeated tender of obedience. See *letter of G. M. della Porta, June 3, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* HÖFLER, 502 *seqq.*

[3] Besides the report in BERGENROTH, II., n. 573, *cf.* the *letter of the Florentine envoys to tender obedience, of July 24, 1523. According to this Lannoy arrived on the evening of the 23rd, "et questo giorno decte desinare a mons. ill^mo^. Dipoi se ne andorno insieme a palazzo e con loro el duca di Sessa e li oratori Inglesi, dove sono stati infino ad nocte e vedesi che da ognuno è sollecitato forte questa lega." On July 25 G. M. della Porta reports that Lannoy leaves by the evening: "Dicesi che N. S. farà concistoro lunedì o martedì." See also *G. M. della Porta's *letter of July 26, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). According to V. Albergati's *letter of July 27, 1523, Lannoy did not leave till July 26 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] *El Card. de Medici ogni dì una volta almeno è col papa: "They discuss what is to be done, if the French invade Italy," report the Florentine envoys on July 17, 1523. According to the *letter of the Archdeacon Gabbioneta, Rome, July 25, 1523, Medici was then already saying that the league of Pope, Emperor, and England would certainly be published by Wednesday (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In a *letter to Francis I., July 22, 1523, Adrian refused to confirm the election of the Bishop of Sitten. MS. Beth., 8535, f. 65, National Library, Paris.

French King arrived on the 18th of July. This left no room for any further doubt as to his utter want of conscience in respect of the ever-increasing Turkish danger.[1] The Pope now saw that he must give up as hopeless the part of peacemaker to which he had hitherto clung with such tenacity.[2] In so doing he did not believe himself to be untrue to his previous policy, for he had already made it plainly known that, in the event of an invasion of Italy by Francis, he would be compelled to take part against him.[3]

The letter of Francis I. threatening Adrian with the fate of Boniface VIII. was present all the more persistently to the Pope's mind because the King, in a letter to the Cardinals written in June, had expressed himself in similar terms.[4] On the 16th of July Adrian appealed for

[1] *Cf.* the Nuncio's *letter from Hungary, June 25, 1523, transmitted by G. M. della Porta on July 16. See also the latter's *report, July 22 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See M. Foscari's report in SANUTO, XXXIV., 350. G. M. della Porta writes on July 13, 1523: *Il papa ha detto have per certa la deliberatione della passata de Francesi in Italia, et hieri mandò per l' homo del s. Alberti di Carpi usandogli queste parole: Gli Francesi vengono et tuo padrone è Francese. Noi vogliamo la roccha nostra di Reggio. Scrive che subito ne la restituisca, et così appresso S. Sta gli ne scrisse breve. Hor in tutta Roma non si parla d' altro che di questa callata. On July 15: *S. Sta non ha nova alcuna del suo nuncio in Franza, anzi teme, chel non sia in sua libertà. . . . Qua dicono bisognando di far duo millia fanti Spagnoli. . . . Al papa era stato proposto dal Colonna che in tanta necessità di denari S. Sta facesse la restitution di Modena e Reggio con ducento millia duc. et far il duca confalloner de la chiesa, la quale non monstra de volervi attendere (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 166.

[4] SANUTO, XXXIV., 340 *seqq.* In Cod. *Vat., 6198, f. 1 *seq.*, the Brief is not, as in Sanuto and Cod. Vat., 3890, f. 18, dated the 4th, but 5th July 1523.

help to Henry VIII.[1] How much he feared an attack from the French is shown by the fact that he took precautions for the security of the gates of Rome.[2] He openly took measures to ensure his own life and freedom, and not until matters had reached an extremity and he was compelled to bend before the force of circumstances did he quit the neutral attitude he had hitherto observed.[3] In spite of the hostile conduct of Francis, he was even now indisposed to make an offensive treaty such as the Imperialists wished. He declared that he was not ready to go beyond a treaty of defence; this attitude he considered due to his position as the common Father of Christendom. The general well-being of Europe, the peace of Italy, and the repulse of the Ottoman power were now as heretofore the ruling principles of his policy.[4]

A Consistory was held on the 29th of July; Adrian opened it with a speech on the Turkish danger and pointed out that the Christian princes, instead of destroying the peace of Europe, should take united action against the infidels. In proof of the warlike intentions of Francis I.,

[1] BREWER, III., 2, n. 3185.

[2] This interesting fact is reported by A. Germanello to the Mantuan Chancellor in a *letter of July 22, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). There was also a suspicion that the outbreak of fire in the Vatican, on the night of the 11th July 1523, was not accidental; see in Appendix, No. 25, *letter of A. Germanello, July 12, 1523.

[3] HÖFLER, 511.

[4] *Cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 214, and the *letter of G. M. della Porta, Rome, July 27, 1523, who, discussing Adrian's hesitation in taking steps against France, adds: *Dio faccia che N. S. sia degli soi desiderii tutti pienamente satisfatto essendo la mente de S. Sta dirizata al ben de la religion christiana tanto sanctamente quanto fosse mai animo d' altro pontefice (State Archives, Florence). On July 28 Sessa announces to the Duchess of Savoy the Pope's entrance into the League. *Letter in the State Archives, Vienna.

the letter, full of threats and complaints, addressed by him to Adrian, was read as well as the other in the same tone sent to the Cardinals. Opinions were exchanged as to the conclusion of an alliance for the protection of Italy in view of the threatened French invasion. When the final vote was taken only four, out of eight-and-twenty present, said "No." They were Monte, Fieschi, Orsini, and Trivulzio.[1]

By the terms of the League,[2] signed by Adrian on the 3rd of August, the Pope, the Emperor, Henry VIII. of England, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Cardinal de' Medici, on behalf of Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, undertook jointly to raise an army to prevent the French from

[1] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives) in Appendix, No. 28; Sessa in BERGENROTH, II., n. 594; the *letter of the Florentine envoys, July 29, 1523 (*N. S. questa mattinà publicò nel consistoro la lega da farsi. . . . Li rer^mi da pochissimi infuora aprovarno unitamente la lega da farsi, e crediamo si publicherà sollenemente in S. Maria del Popolo el dì di S. Maria della neve. A Dio piaccia che e sia la salute e quieta de la christianità come si desidera), and the *report of G. M. della Porta, Rome, July 30, 1523. Here it is expressly stated that the letter of Francis I. to the Pope, as well as that to the Cardinals, was read in Consistory. The report goes on to say: *Tra gli Cardinali nel votare questa deliberation quatro ve ne sono stati contrarii: Monte, Fiesco, Ursino, et Trivulzi; gli dui Venetiani Grimani et Cornaro non vi si sono trovati (State Archives, Florence). That only *one* Cardinal opposed (BAUMGARTEN, II., 280) is incorrect. *Cf.* also the *report of V. Albergati, July 31, 1523, in State Archives, Bologna, and *that of L. Cati, July 31, 1523, in State Archives, Modena, in which Fieschi, Trivulzio, and Orsini are named as in opposition.

[2] *Cf.* *Letter of the Florentine envoys, August 3, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and that of Gabbioneta on the same day (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 111, and Ortiz in BURMANN, 214 *seq.* LEPITRE, 317, incorrectly dates the League as far back as April 3.

entering Lombardy; Adrian made himself responsible for a monthly contribution of 15,000 ducats and appointed Lannoy Commander-in-Chief, Charles V. signifying his approval.[1]

The Imperialists were in high glee. The League and the agreement between Venice and Charles V. have, wrote Sessa, entirely altered European politics. Medici's influence, it seemed, was now firmly established.[2] In Rome, as well as throughout Italy, the new turn of affairs met with almost unanimous approval; even those who had formerly been Adrian's enemies now praised the Pope for the excellence of his dispositions and his conspicuous piety. His behaviour in the trial of Soderini had also remarkably enhanced his reputation, and many now realized that the charges of indecision were not justified.[3] It was widely believed that the danger of a French invasion was over, and that the possibility of a campaign against the Turks was secured.[4] On the 5th of August, the Feast of Our Lady of

[1] The text of the treaty is not published, the substance only is known; see especially GUICCIARDINI, XV., 2, who produces a clause, among others, according to which the stipulations were to be binding during the lives of the contracting parties and for one year after the death of any one of them; the contributions in money and troops were to be guaranteed at first for three months only. *Cf.* SISMONDI, XV., 56 *seq.*, and EHSES, Politik Clemens VII., 561. The latter has already remarked that Vettori gives the Pope's subsidy at 15,000, and Guicciardini at 20,000 ducats. The Imperialists wished the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief to be entrusted to Charles V.; see *Responsio data per oratores Cesaris duci Albaniae in urbe (Royal Library, Turin, Miscell. polit., N 75, p. 242 *seqq.*).

[2] *See BERGENROTH, II., n. 502; BAUMGARTEN, II., 280.

[3] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI. TIZIO belonged naturally to the party which viewed Medici's influence with much dissatisfaction; *cf.* his *Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[4] *Cf.* the characteristic *letters of V. Albergati, July 24 and August 5, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); that of L. Cati, August 3, 1523

the Snow, the League was solemnly published in S. Maria Maggiore. For this purpose the Pope went very early to the Basilica; he seems to have feared some attempts by the French party; for, contrary to the custom of Julius II. and Leo X., he rode thither surrounded by his Swiss guard. It was the first time he had ridden through Rome in pontifical attire; on his return to the Vatican he was greatly fatigued.[1] The ride in the blazing August sun, followed by a chill, and still more, the mental excitement, brought on an attack of illness, and the Pope, whose health for some time had not been of the best,[2] had to take to his bed immediately after the ceremony. The contest between the French and Imperial parties had kept him in a state of constant agitation, and, now that a decision had been reached, he broke down.[3] It was a heavy burden on his soul that, for all his love of peace, he should have been forced, even as a measure of necessity, to take part in a war against the disturber of the peace of Christendom.[4]

Great as was the rejoicing of the Emperor[5] and his

(State Archives, Modena); and that of G. M. della Porta, August 20, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). See also JANSSEN-PASTOR, II.[18], 332 *seq.*

[1] The above remarks are founded on an exhaustive *report of Gabbioneta, August 5, 1523, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *letter of the Florentine envoys, August 5, 1523, in State Archives, Florence, and NEGRI in Lett. d. princ., I., 116.

[2] He had been unwell already in the middle of July in consequence of the great heat; see *letters of L. Cati, July 13 and 19, 1523 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] With BERGENROTH, II., n. 594, *cf.* the *letter of Gabbioneta, August 7, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

[4] See HÖFLER, 526.

[5] With Charles's letter, quoted in GACHARD, LXVI., *cf.* also his *letter to Lannoy, dated Burgos, September 1, 1523 (State Archives, Brussels, Corresp. de Charles V.).

adherents, they do not appear to have been satisfied with a merely defensive alliance. They hoped to have been able to bring Adrian to decide in favour of an offensive treaty against Francis I., but for the moment the Pope's condition made all negotiations impossible; all audiences were deferred,[1] and when the Datary Enkevoirt also became unwell, business was for some time at a complete standstill. An intolerable heat prevailed, causing much sickness; Cardinal Grimani,[2] among others, was seriously ill.

The Pope's condition was said to be the result of a chill which had first settled on his neck and then gone down to the kidneys.[3] When an abscess in his neck broke, Adrian

[1] "Tutti li aditi sono preclusi," writes Gabbioneta on August 10, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the report of the Florentine envoys, August 11, quoted below in note 3.

[2] *El card. Grimani ha la febre e se dubita asai di lui, as he was weak, and owing to the extreme "caldo et quodamodo insuportabile che fa adesso in Roma, quale è tanto che non gli è memoria che mai el fosse simile et per questo infiniti caschano amalati. La peste va pur picigando ma non fa molto danno." Gabbioneta, August 10, 1523. *Cf.* also his *letter of August 12 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and SANUTO, XXXIV., 363, 371, 378, 385. *Molti se amalano et moreno et gli caldi sono excessivi da pochi dì in qua, writes G. M. della Porta on August 10, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* Ortiz in BURMANN, 216. The Florentine envoys report on August 10, 1523: *N. S. è stato indisposto 4 giorni d' un poco di scesa che ha facto capo, secundo intendiamo, sotto l' orechio, e questa mattina ha rocto di dentro: sperasi che in brevissimi dì sarà libero a ogni modo. On August 11: *El papa va guarendo e domatina ha decto di voler dare audientia al m. di Pescara; è stato 5 o 6 giorni che non ha dato audientia a persona ne voluto fare faccende di nessuna sorte (State Archives, Florence). Gabbioneta also speaks in his report of August 10 of the "descesa asai gagliarda nella maxilla destra" from which Adrian VI. suffers (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). V. Albergati mentions expressly the disease of the kidneys in his reports of August 5, 9, and 12, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

felt relieved, and on the 12th of August he was so much better that he was able to receive the Marquis of Pescara, who had come with all speed to Rome on behalf of the Emperor.[1] Although the heat continued,[2] the Pope went on improving; he left his bed, said Mass, and did a certain amount of business; although he had become very thin and still felt very weak, his complete recovery was believed to be at hand.[3] An unexpected legacy enabled him at this time to contribute his quota to the funds of the League.[4]

Cardinal Grimani died in the night of the 27th of

[1] "Pescara visits the Pope to-day, who is feeling better, as the *apostema* has burst." Gabbioneta, August 4, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Gabbioneta also fell ill of fever; see his *letter of August 20, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta, August 23, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Besides the ** letters of the Florentine envoys of the 17th, 19th, 22nd, 23rd, 25th, 26th, and 30th August 1523, *cf.* the *reports of V. Albergati of the 12th, 16th, and 21st of August (State Archives, Bologna) and the * letters of G. M. della Porta of August 14: * N. S. sta bene et promette fra dui dì dar undienza; August 19: * N. S. sta pur ancora un poco indisposto di dolore di renelle, et la discesa che comenzò all' orecchia è callata nel braccio, ma del uno et l' altro S. Sta sta in miglioramento; August 20: * N. S. sta pur rinchiuso come di molti dì in qua. Hoggi intendo, che si ha fatto cavar sangue, ma di certo nulla si po intendere, chel palazzo sta abondanato et gli medici non escano mai de le camare, dove habita S. Sta; pur credesi chel mal sia poco; August 27: * N. S. ha cominciato ad negociare qualche poco et puossi dir guarito del tutto (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the letter *of A. Germanello of August 20, 1523. He reports on the 28th: * El papa sta meglio, ma è anchora debile e ha quasi perso lo appetito (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] G. M. della Porta reports on August 23, 1523: * N. S. va megliorando, ma fa adagio come fanno e vechii; è morto un chiericho di camera chiamato mons. d' Illermet, chi gli ha lasciato meglio di XX^m^ duc. d' ufitii, che è cosa da farlo guarire afacto (State Archives, Florence). For the amount see VETTORI, 347.

August.[1] Adrian, on the other hand, seemed entirely recovered, although he still suffered from loss of appetite.[2] On the 27th of August he granted an audience to the Ambassador of Venice;[3] peace and the League had been proclaimed there on the Feast of the Assumption. Greatly rejoiced, he bestowed on the Signoria two-tenths of the clerical revenues of the Republic;[4] at the same time he asked the Doge to send troops to places threatened by the French. The Marquis Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua was ordered to join the Imperial army at Piacenza and to undertake the defence of Alessandria.[5] On the 31st, the anniversary of his coronation, the Pope held a Consistory in his own chamber; he was still too weak to take part in the public function.[6]

On the 1st of September, de Lisle Adam, the Grand

[1] G. M. della Porta, who on *August 23 reports Grimani's condition to be hopeless, writes on the 27th that the Cardinal is dead (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 387, *letter of V. Albergati, August 28, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna), and *Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* reports of V. Albergati of August 21, 24, 28, and 29, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] * El papa . . . non da anchora audientia; heri solo la decte a lo orator Veneto. A. Germanello, August 28, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] The original of the Brief to the Doge, with the "facultas imponendi clero duas decimas," is dated September 5, 1523 (State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIV., 394 *seq.*, 400, 413 *seqq.*, and Libri comm., VI., 175. The 1st September in HÖFLER, 528, is a mistake.

[5] GACHARD, Corresp., 227 *seq.*, 279 *seq.*, and in Appendix, Nos. 29–31, the Briefs of August 26 and September 8, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua)

[6] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 118; *letter of V. Albergati of September 2, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna), and *letter of L. Cati, same date (State Archives, Modena).

Master of the Knights of St. John, arrived in Rome. Adrian gave him a residence in the Vatican, and showed him every kind of honour;[1] he took steps to find a new home for the exiled Order. From the Grand Master's lips Adrian heard all the details of the deplorable fall of Rhodes.[2] The narrative could not fail to tell unfavourably on the aged and weakly man. Not less depressing were the accounts of the war now beginning in Lombardy, which threw into the background all his noble designs for the peace of Europe, the Crusade, and the reforming Council.[3] Feelings of sorrow undoubtedly contributed to the fresh attack of illness which declared itself on the 3rd of September.

The report of his death was soon spread through Rome, and the Cardinals began to be busy with the prospects of a Papal election.[4] Adrian's strong constitution seemed

[1] See the *letter of the Florentine envoys of September 1, 1523, and *that of G. M. della Porta of same date (State Archives, Florence), as well as L. Cati, September 2, 1523 (State Archives, Modena); SANUTO, XXXIV., 395; * Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); Lett. d. Princ., I., 118; * Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican). "The Grand Master lived in the stantie di Innocentio [VIII.]," says V. Albergati on September 2, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, I., 110. Already, on June 30, 1523, Adrian VI. had become acquainted with the views of the King of Portugal as to a new residence for the Knights of Rhodes, Corp. dipl. Port., II., 171 *seq.*

[2] It is clear, from LUZIO in the Lett. di P. Giovio, 29, that Giovio also had heard from the mouths of the defenders of Rhodes the interesting details of the siege related in his Vita Adriani VI.

[3] SANUTO, XXXIV., 378, 385; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 411. G. M. della Porta reports, September 6, 1523: * È gionto un cavallaro hoggi, che testifica la venuta del Christianissimo con potentissimo exercito (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See Foscari in SANUTO, XXXIV., 398, as well as the *reports of the Florentine envoys of September 3 and 5, 1523; the two *letters

once more to get the better of his malady; on the 6th and 7th of September he felt decidedly better.[1] He then signed the Bull conferring on Charles V. and his successors the right to appoint prelates of their own choice to the bishoprics and consistorial abbacies of the Spanish Crown, excepting only when a vacancy in Curia occurred.[2] Adrian's improvement was deceptive; in the night of the 8th of September he became so much worse that he had no longer any doubt as to the fatal nature of his illness. The next morning he summoned the Cardinals to him and asked them to agree to the nomination of Enkevoirt, consecrated on the 11th of March 1523 Bishop of Tortosa,[3] to the Cardinalate. This request, made by a dying man on behalf of a most deserving friend, met with opposition, for the Datary was greatly disliked on account of his rough and downright ways. In the evening the Pope was so weak that he could hardly speak. On the following morning (the 9th of September) he was no better, and therefore

of G. M. della Porta of September 6, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and *that of V. Albergati of September 5, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[1] The Pope, state the Florentine envoys, is much better: *passeggia senza affanno, non ha febre e ha la voce gagliarda et parli sentirsi meglio. G. M. della Porta states on September 7: *N. S. ha continuato, Dio gratia, il miglioramento. He has heard with dissatisfaction of the negotiations set on foot with regard to the election of his successor (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* *letter of L. Cati, September 7 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] Rigant. in reg., I cancell., I., n., 284, 285; MARIANA, De reb. Hisp., XXVI., 2; HÖFLER, 533; LA FUENTE, V., 139; Archiv für Kirchenrecht, X., 16; GAMS, III., 2, 155.

[3] *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). To Enkevoirt and his successors in the see of Tortosa Adrian granted the privilege of wearing a red biretta; see BARBIER DE MONTAULT, Le Costume, I., Paris, 1898, 230, and The Burlington Magazine, 1905, 287

allowed Heeze to make representations to the Cardinals, in consequence of which some of them promised to vote for Enkevoirt's promotion. On the 10th, Adrian once more assembled a Consistory in his sick-room. Referring to the ancient custom whereby a Pope bestowed his own Cardinalitial title on a confidential friend, he asked the members of the Sacred College to consent that he should confer this grace on a person of goodness and learning. When all had given their assent, he named the Datary Enkevoirt, who at once, to the vexation of the Court, was received into the ranks of the purple.[1]

After the Consistory the Pope took some food; this was followed by a sharp access of fever. On the next day at noon, the fever having abated, the invalid could not be prevented from again turning his attention, with a touching devotion to duty, to the despatch of business. He sent off some Bulls and Briefs, attached his signature to petitions, and even gave audiences, although speaking was very trying to him.[2] This improvement only lasted till the 12th of September; notwithstanding their efforts, the physicians, who had been assiduous in their attention, held out no hope, since they could do nothing to check the fever and rapid decline of strength. Worn out with sorrow and care, age and sickness, a life was running swiftly to its end, the

[1] See the important ** reports of A. Germanello, September 12, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the letter ** of Salamanca, September 12, 1523 (State Archives, Vienna), and the *letter of the Florentine envoys, September 10, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and *those of V. Albergati, September 8 and 10, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). BERGENROTH, II., n., 597; SANUTO, XXXIV., 402, 409–410; Ortiz in BURMANN, 217; Blasius de Martinellis in HÖFLER, 532.

[2] See the ** report of A. Germanello, September 12, 1523, the *letter V. Albergati, September 12, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna), the *letter of L. Cati, September 12, 1523 (State Archives, Modena), and SANUTO, XXXIV., 410.

preservation of which was of the utmost importance to Christendom.[1] With the consent of the Cardinals the dying Pope now made his last dispositions, in which he once more clearly showed his horror of nepotism. His household got only the property which he had brought with him from Spain to Rome, but nothing that had belonged to him as Pope. His possessions in the Netherlands, particularly in Louvain and Utrecht, Enkevoirt was to dispose of for the poor, and for pious purposes for the good of his soul; his house in Louvain he set apart as a college for poor students, giving it a rich endowment. Being asked about his burial, he forbade any funeral pomp; he did not wish more than twenty-five ducats to be spent on his obsequies. He received Extreme Unction with the greatest devotion; so long as he could speak he comforted his friends. "He died," wrote one of them, "even as he had lived—in peace, piety, and holiness."[2]

[1] HÖFLER, 534. L. Cati had written on September 11, 1523: *In summa le cose di N. S. vanno peggiorando—his condition is hopeless per esser extenuato et fiaco et ridotto ad extrema magreza; più si parla del novo papato che di altro (State Archives, Modena). The Florentine envoys report on September 13, 1523: *N. S. ha passato questa nocte sanza accidenti e così questa mattina, nondimeno è molto debole, e si questa febre glia a durare al caso suo non si vede rimedio (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See the letter of Wilhelm von Lochorst in BURMANN, 218 *seq.*, 507; *cf.* also Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 440; Ortiz in BURMANN, 218 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXXIV., 410, 439, and Corp. dipl. Port., II., 174 *seq.* According to SANUTO, XXXIV., 438, Adrian expressed a wish that the case of Soderini should be settled by the future Council. For the testamentary dispositions entrusted to Enkevoirt and their execution see, Archief v. kerkelijke geschiedenis, IX. (1838), 152 *seq.*, 185; Kerkelyk Nederlandsch Jaarbock (1848), 171, and Archief v. h. Aartsbisdom Utrecht, XXVIII. (1902), 141 *seq.* For the still existing college in Louvain see BURMANN, 22 *seq.*,

On the 14th of September, at the nineteenth hour, this noble spirit passed away, the last German and last non-Italian Pope.[1] The greedy Romans suspected him of having hoarded great treasures in his carefully guarded study in the Borgia tower.[2] But they found there, together with a few rings and jewels of Leo X., nothing but briefs and other papers. He left behind him, at the highest estimate, not more than 2000 ducats.[3]

As the corpse was disfigured and much swollen, the rumour was at once spread that Adrian had been poisoned, and the Spaniards accused the Netherlanders of carelessness in allowing Frenchmen to come into the Pope's kitchen. The autopsy of the body afforded no ground for supposing that Adrian had fallen a victim to foul play; nevertheless the suspicion gained ground with many, especially as Prospero Colonna had died from poisoning.[4] The diagnosis of Adrian's illness affords no proof of other than natural death. In all probability he succumbed to a disease of the kidneys[5] consequent

31 *seq.*; Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain, 1879, and Anal. p. s. à l'hist. eccl. de la Belgique, XVII. (1882), 87 *seq.*

[1] CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary (National Library, Paris), says he died at 6 P.M., the Florentine envoys (State Archives, Florence) say 6.30 P.M.; Germanello, agreeing with Blasius de Martinellis, says Adrian died at 7 P.M. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.

[3] SANUTO, XXXIV., 410, 430, 439. HÖFLER, 536, has already pointed out that neither the Venetian despatches nor the diary of Blasius de Martinellis know anything of the scene described by Sessa (BERGENROTH, II., n. 601). Nor can I find any confirmation thereof in the numerous diplomatic papers of which I have made use from other sources.

[4] Ortiz in BURMANN, 219 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 209; SANUTO, XXXIV., 439; and the *reports of the Florentine envoys of September 3 and 5, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

on the exhaustion of a naturally delicate body through exposure to a strange climate,[1] and under the pressure of care and excitement. The reports of poisoning admit of explanation, since the French party and the opponents of reform pursued Adrian, even in the grave, with their fierce hatred, and since, during his lifetime, there had been talk of assassination.[2]

Adrian was laid, provisionally, in the chapel of St. Andrew in St. Peter's, between Pius II. and Pius III., who had been so closely connected with German affairs. The temporary epitaph ran, "Here lies Adrian VI., who looked upon it as his greatest misfortune that he was called upon to rule."[3]

It was due to the gratitude of Cardinal Enkevoirt that a monument worthy of his master was erected. This was finished ten years after Adrian's death; on the 11th of August 1533 the body was taken from St. Peter's and transferred to Santa Maria dell' Anima, the church of the German nation.[4] The monument was raised on the right hand of the choir. Baldassare Peruzzi had prepared the plan; the execution in marble was carried out by Tribolo, a pupil of Sansovino, and Michelangelo of Siena. The

[1] Adrian, like a thoroughly unpractical man of learning, never thought of adapting himself to the climatic conditions in which he lived.

[2] As late as June 12, 1524, Castiglione wrote to the Marquis of Mantua from Rome: *Qui è preggione un fornaro, il quale dà certi indicii assai manifesti che papa Adriano fosse avenenato (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVI., 368.

[3] *Cf.* Acta caerem. in GATTICUS, 479 *seq.*; BREWER, III., 2, n. 3464; SCHMIDLIN, 271. See also the inscriptions in MÜLLER, Het oudste cartularium v. het sticht Utrecht, 's Gravenhage, 1892, 182 *seqq.* The funeral sermon of Conradus Vegerius (see GIORDANI, App 67) was soon printed; *cf.* Serapeum, XXIV., 363.

[4] *Cf.* GATTICUS, 479 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 288 *seq.*

architecture of this somewhat clumsy construction is copied from the tombs of prelates and Cardinals with which previous generations had adorned so many Roman churches, especially that of Santa Maria del Popolo. In the central niche is seen the over-richly decorated sarcophagus with Adrian's coat of arms and the plain inscription, "Adrianus VI. P. M."; the supporters are two boys with reversed torches. Above the sarcophagus lies the life-size statue of the Pope on a bed of state; he is represented in full pontifical vesture; as if taking his sleep after exhausting labour, with his left hand he holds on his head the tiara which had been so heavy a burden. On his noble countenance, with its expression of reverential awe, are deep traces of earnestness and sorrow. In the lunette above appears, in accordance with ancient custom, the figure of Our Blessed Lady, the mighty intercessor in the hour of death, with the Apostles Peter and Paul by her side. On the architrave hover two angels carrying branches of palm, and the tiara and keys.

In the side niches, between massive Corinthian columns, are the imposing figures of the four cardinal virtues. Below the sarcophagus a fine relief represents Adrian's entry into Rome, where a helmeted figure symbolizing the city hastens to meet him at the gates. A broad marble slab on brackets contains the obituary inscription composed by Tranquillus Molossus; on each side, under the niches, boys hold the Cardinal's hat and armorial bearings of the founder, Enkevoirt. Between the sarcophagus and the relief of the entry into Rome a prominent place is given to the pathetic inscription, "Alas! how much do the efforts, even of the best of men, depend upon time and opportunity."[1]

[1] Proh dolor, quantum refert in quae tempora vel optimi cuiusque virtus incidat. *Cf.* FORCELLA, III., 447. Concerning the tomb and its founder, full details are given in SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 19, 54

Few more appropriate epitaphs have been written than these words of resignation and regret to which the dead Pope had once given utterance respecting himself. In large letters they set forth the life-work of the last German Pontiff, one so often misunderstood and despised, who saw with his dying eyes the unity of the Church and of his beloved Fatherland simultaneously rent asunder. They form the best commentary on the destiny of his life, and on that short span of government in which misfortune and failure followed each other in one unbroken chain. Without ever having sought high place, this humble and devout Netherlander rose, step by step, from the lowliest circumstances, until it was his lot to attain the tiara; he was never dazzled by its splendour. The dignity of the Papacy came to him at a highly critical moment, and he looked upon it as an intolerable burden. Wherever he turned his glance his eye met some threatening evil; in the North a dangerous heresy, in the East the onward advance of the Turk, in the heart of Christendom confusion and war. After an exhausting journey he at last reached his capital, there to find an empty exchequer, a Court composed of officials animated by national pride, personal ambition, and the most unfriendly spirit, and a city ravaged by plague. Moreover, as a thorough northerner, he was neither by

seq.; GRÄVENITZ, Deutsche in Rom, 118 *seq.*, and SCHMIDLIN, 281 *seq.* To the copious literary references of the last-named may be added: DOLLMAYR in the, Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, N.F., I. 295 *seq.*; L'Arte, III. (1900), 255 *seq.*, and FRASCHETTI in, Emporium (1902), 124. Schmidlin is right in pointing out that the early pictures of the tomb (in BURMANN, 80, and CIACONIUS, III., 440) show that the ornamentation was originally much richer than now; but he makes a mistake in supposing that "the four coins of Adrian were introduced above the tomb in order to form a row of medallions." They were introduced here and elsewhere by Ciaconius as additions of his own, as he has shown in his notes.

bodily nor mental constitution fitted for the position in which Providence had suddenly placed him. Heedless of all these difficulties, he did not flinch, but concentrated all his powers on coping with the almost superhuman tasks set before him. He entered on his work with the purest intentions, and never for a moment turned from the path of duty, which he followed with conscientious fidelity until his wearied eyes were closed in death.

But not one of the objects which he so honestly pursued was he permitted to achieve. Personally an exemplary priest, genuinely pious and firmly attached to the ancient principles of the Church, he threw himself with courage and determination into the titanic struggle with the host of abuses then disfiguring the Roman Curia and well-nigh the universal Church. Strong and inflexible as he was, the difficulties confronting him were so many and so great that at no time was he able to carry out all the reforms he had decreed, as, for example, the rules concerning benefices.[1] His best endeavours were unavailing against the insuperable force of circumstances, and the upshot of his short-lived efforts was that the evils remained as they were before. The generous appeal to his own people to make open confession of their guilt, which he had addressed by his Nuncio to the Diet of the German Empire, was met by the reforming party with scorn and ridicule. So far from checking the schism brought about at Luther's evil instigation, Adrian

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIII., 481, and TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. The latter relates as follows—and it is weighty evidence that Adrian was no pedantic rigorist, but was open to the lessons of experience: *coepitque Italico more atque curialium . . . beneficia conferre, ad tria incompatibilia dispensationem concedere . . . dicebat quidem in hujusmodi dispensationibus se exhibuisse difficilem quando putabat Italica beneficia sicut Hispanica esse pinguiora.

had, perforce, to realize that the breach was daily growing wider.

As he laboured in vain for the unity and reform of the Church, so did he also for the protection of Christendom, threatened by the Ottoman power. Although the exchequer was empty and the Holy See burdened with debt, he was called upon to give help on every side. If he saved and taxed in order to help the Knights of Rhodes and the Hungarians, he was called a miser; if he spent money on the Turkish war instead of pensioning artists and men of letters, he was called a barbarian. In vain he grieved over Rhodes and Hungary; in vain he begged, entreated, and threatened the Christian princes who, instead of uniting against their common enemy and that of Western civilization, were tearing each other to pieces in unceasing warfare. The young Emperor, with whom he had so many and such close ties, was unable to understand the neutral position enforced upon his fatherly friend as Head of the Church, if the duties of that great office were to be rightly fulfilled. The Ambassadors of Charles felt nothing but contempt and ridicule for Adrian's actions; their short-sighted policy was exclusively confined to their master's immediate advantage. The crafty French King rewarded Adrian's advances with treachery, threats, and deeds of violence. It was the invasion of Italy by Francis which forced the Pope, true to the last to his principle of neutrality, to join the Emperor in a league which, although intended by Adrian to be solely defensive, at length involved him in the war. His death, on the very day on which the French crossed the Ticino, freed the most peace-loving of all the Popes from participation in a sanguinary campaign. He was thus spared from experiencing the shameful ingratitude of those for whose true welfare he had been working.

Few were the Italians who did justice to the stranger Pope; by far the greater number hailed his death as a deliverance,[1] and looked back on his Pontificate as a time of trouble.[2] In Rome the detestation of "barbarians" went hand in hand with the hatred felt by all those whose habits of life were threatened by Adrian's moral earnestness and efforts for reform. To these motives were added the dissatisfaction caused by the introduction of direct taxation and the withdrawal of the outward splendour to which the Romans, especially since the accession of Leo X., had become accustomed. That Adrian's physician[3] should have been hailed as a liberator was not by any means the worst insult. The neglected *literati* took atrocious vengeance in countless attacks on the dead Pope. The most venomous abuse was written up in all the public places. The dead man was assailed as ass, wolf, and harpy, and compared to Caracalla and Nero; Pasquino's statue was decorated with ribald verses.[4]

[1] *Cf.* GORI, Archivio, IV., 246; ALFANI, 301, and *ibid.*, note 2, Bontempi's opinion: "Nihil boni fecit in ejus papata et in ejus morte fuit infamatus de haeresi, prout audivi." Guicciardini wrote on September 16, 1523, to Modena: "Con più dispiacere ho inteso li Franzesi avera passato il Tesino, che la morte di N. S^re^, perchè di questa nuova potria uscire qualche buon frutto, di quella non si vede altro che disfavore e danno." Disp. 217. One of the few favourable verdicts of his Italian contemporaries is in SANUTO, XXXIV., 410. Some elegiac verses in the Coryciana, Rome, 1524, JJ, 2^b^ *seq.*

[2] Tempus Aerumnarum, CARPESANUS, 1353.

[3] Giov. Antracino (see JOVIUS, Vita Adriani VI.). Among other physicians of Adrian's were Garzia Carastosa, a Spaniard, and the Italian, Franc. Fusconi; see MARINI, I., 320 *seqq.*

[4] See the report of the English envoys in BREWER, III., 2, n. 3464; *cf.* LUZIO, Aretino e Pasquino, 12 *seq.*; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 298; CREIGHTON, V., 323, and BERTANI, 36. A series of these pasquinades in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., *loc. cit.* (Chigi Library, Rome). V.

The death of the hated Adrian was acclaimed with frantic joy; every conceivable vice, drunkenness, and even the grossest immorality were attributed to one of the purest occupants of the Roman See.[1] Every act of the great Pope, the whole tenor of his life and all his surroundings, were distorted by a stinging and mendacious wit, and turned into ridicule with all the refinement of malice. An impudent spirit of calumny, one of the greatest evils of the Renaissance, pervaded all classes; slander and vilification were incessant. A month after Adrian's death a Mantuan envoy reported on the mad excesses of this plague of wits; he sent his master one of the worst sonnets then in circulation, "not in order to defame Adrian, for I dislike those who do so, but in order that your Excellency may know how many wicked tongues there are in this city where everyone indulges in the worst backbiting."[2]

Adrian with his piety and moral earnestness had become,

Albergati mentions others; see *infra*, 224, n. 2. *Cf.* also BESSO, Roma e il Papa nei proverbi, 2nd ed., Roma, 1904, 276.

[1] See the letter of C. Batti to Parma in BURMANN, 436–440, and WOLF, Lect. II., 191 *seq.* *Cf.*, on the other hand, SCHRÖCKH, Allgem. Biographie, V., 114 *seq.*

[2] *Non per dirne male, che mi dispiacquon quelli, che ciò fano, ma per far che V. Ex. lo veda et comprenda quante malissime lingue sono dal canto di qua, dove non è che dicha se non male. G. B. Quarantino, Rome, October 13, 1523. The sonnet there mentioned begins thus:—

*Perfido come il mare Adriano,
Ipocrito, crudel, invido, avaro,
Odiosa ad ciascun, a nesun charo,
Incantator, mago, idolatra, vano
Rustico, inexorabil, inhumano,
Falsario, traditor, ladro, beccaro,
Solitario, bestial e fatuchiaro, etc.

(Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

in the fullest sense of the words, "the burnt-offering of Roman scorn."[1] It was long before the cavillers ceased to talk. There were some, especially in the literary world, whose hatred was unappeasable. To what extent it was carried may be seen from the report of Vianesio Albergati on the Conclave of Clement VII. While Leo X. is there belauded as the chief mainstay of Italy and the wonder of his century, the writer cannot find words enough to depict the greed, the harshness, the stupidity of Adrian. There was no misfortune, not even the fall of Rhodes, for which this barbarian and tyrant was not responsible.[2] Even after the visitation of God on Rome, in the sack of the city, Pierio Valeriano still reviled the "deadly enemy of the Muses, of eloquence, and of all things beautiful, the prolongation of whose life would have meant the sure return of the days of Gothic barbarism."[3] How deep-

[1] BÜRCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 75.

[2] The report of V. Albergati exists under various titles:—Clementis VII. P. M. conclave et creatio; Commentaria conclavis Clementis VII.; Commentarii rerum sui temporis; Obitus Adriani VI. et conclave Clementis VII.; Historia Adriani VI.; Gesta Romae et Italiae ab excessu Adriani VI. ad elect. Clementis VII. I noted the following MSS.: (1) Florence, National Library, Cod. Magliab., XXXVII., 204, f. 6 *seq.* (2) Naples, National Library, VIII., B 37. (3) Mantua, Capilupi Library. (4) Rome, Secret Archives of the Vatican: Varia polit., 8, f. 403, n. 174; Vatican Library: Ottob., 986, Cod. Barb., XXXII., 85, and 260, XXXIII., 45, 92, 163, XXXIV., 13 (*cf.* RANKE, III., 14* *seq.*); Corsini Library, 34, G 13. (5) Vienna, Domestic, Court, and State Archives. BACHA in the Comptes rendus de la commiss. d'hist., 5 Series, I., Bruxelles, 1891, 109–166, gives a by no means accurate copy, based on the Roman versions. For Albergati *cf. ibid.*, 4 Series, XVII., 129 *seq.*, and FANTUZZI, I., 136 *seq.* Fantuzzi's remark on the Bishopric of Cajazzo is incorrect, for Albergati, in his *letter, October 29, 1522, *seq.* (State Archives, Bologna), signs himself "electus Caiacen."

[3] De infelicit. lit. ed. Menken, III., 382.

rooted was the abhorrence of the foreigner, how habitual it had become to make him matter of burlesque, is best seen in Paolo Giovio's biography of Adrian. Written at the command of Cardinal Enkevoirt, it ought to be essentially a panegyric; but only a superficial reader can receive this impression. We have scarcely to read between the lines to see that the ungrateful Giovio introduces, when he has the chance, piquant and humorous remarks, and tries in a very coarse way to draw a ludicrous picture of the German Pope, in nervous anxiety for his health, interrupting the weightiest business when a meal draws near, and at last dying from too copious potations of beer.[1] Even those Italians who refrained from the general mockery and abuse of Adrian were not sympathetic. A characteristic instance is the judgment of Francesco Vettori, who remarks, "Adrian was undoubtedly a pious and good man, but he was better fitted for the cloister; moreover, his reign was too short to enable one to form a correct estimate of his government and character."[2]

At the beginning of Adrian's pontificate the catchword

[1] BURCKHARDT, I., 7th ed., 176; VIRGILI, Berni, 71. For the origin of the Vita *cf.* Denkschriften der Münchener Akad. Hist. Kl., 1891, 532. In his writing "De piscibus" Giovio also talks contemptuously of the Pope; see CIAN in. Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVIII., 298.

[2] VETTORI, 347. See also GUICCIARDINI, XV., 2, and CHIESI, 118. With a few exceptions (Foscari in ALBÈRI, I Series, III., 125; PARUTA, I., 218 *seq.*) all Italians, not merely Sannazzaro (*cf.* BURMANN, 428, and GOTHEIN, Kultur-entwicklung, 460), but also ALBERINI (325 *seq.*) and Bembo (*cf.* CIAN, 19), were thoroughly unjust to Adrian VI. Justiniani (Hist. rer. Venet., 1611, 256) certainly recognizes the Pope's simplicity of character, but immediately relates a very trivial anecdote. How unfair and absolutely inept opinion in Rome concerning him was, even in the latter half of the sixteenth century, may be seen from the *Vita in Cod. 38, A, 6 (Corsini Library, Rome).

in political circles was that the Pope was no statesman;[1] this was now repeated.[2] This kind of criticism was uncommonly characteristic of the Renaissance; the men of that period had become so accustomed to look upon the Popes[3] as secular princes, politicians, and patrons of art and letters only, that they had lost the faculty of understanding a Pontiff who placed his ecclesiastical duties before everything, and aimed at being, above all, the shepherd of souls. This saintly man from the Netherlands, with his serious purposes, his indifference to classical and humanist culture, his strict avoidance of Machiavellian statecraft and his single-hearted anxiety to live exclusively for duty, was to the Italians of that age like an apparition from another world, beyond the grasp of their comprehension.

The difficulty of forming a just and thorough appreciation of Adrian was increased to an extraordinary degree by the removal from Rome, by his secretary Heeze, of the most important documents relating to his reign, his correspondence with other princes and with the Nuncios, thus withdrawing sources of the greatest value for historical research.[4] In this way even Pallavicini, adhering to the

[1] See *letter of G. M. della Porta, September 22, 1522 (State Archives, Florence), who brings forward as evidence an instance of forgetfulness on Adrian's part. *Cf.* also the *letter of Castiglione's, September 14, 1522 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). TIZIO also wrote at that time: *De pontifice vero multi judicabant, litteras atque bonitatem non sufficere ad regnum ecclesiae, Aristoteles namque in libris de regimine "non decet," inquit "bene principari, qui non sub principe fuit," Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, f. 139 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] SANUTO, XXXIV., 439, and * letter of V. Albergati, September 14, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 460.

[4] Gregory XIII. tried in vain in 1575 to recover these important "scripturae"; *cf.* THEINER, Annal. eccl., II., 130; DE RAM in Bullet.

commonly accepted view of the Italians, sums up Adrian as an admirable priest, bishop, and cardinal, but only a mediocre Pope.[1]

As early as 1536 a fellow-countryman and contemporary of Adrian, Gerhard Moring, had passed a sounder judgment in a biography which found, however, little circulation. Nor did much success attend the attempts of impartial historians in Italy, such as Panvinio, Raynaldus, Mansi, and Muratori, to defend the memory of heir noble

de la commiss. royale d'hist., 2 Series, XI., 59 *seq.*, and BACHA in the Comptes rendus de la commiss. d'hist., 1890, 125 *seq.* All the writings of Adrian VI. cannot here be meant for, as v. DOMARUS proves in his excellent and often quoted article in the, Histor. Jahrbuch., XVI., 75 *seq.*, the Secret Archives of the Vatican contain numerous volumes of registers, cameral papers, and petitions of Adrian's reign. To these must be added the volume of petitions in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat., 8655) and some volumes in the State Archives, Rome, as well as the eighth volume of the Regest. brev. Lateran., which did not find its way into the Vatican Library until after the appearance of v. Domarus' article. In spite of the existence of this important stock of manuscripts, PIEPER (Histor. Jahrb., XVI., 777 *seq.*) adheres firmly and rightly to the statement of Gregory XIII. that Heeze took away with him to Liège "omnes scripturae" of Adrian VI.; meaning only by this expression the foreign correspondence of that Pope. This would include the letters of Princes and Nuncios and the Pope's own Briefs, thus forming sources of information of the most important kind; for the Regesta in the Vatican are, as v. Domarus, who had gone through them thoroughly in regard to German affairs, informed me on January 20, 1900, "Very important for local research." I can only give this opinion for what it is worth. Considering the important character of the writings removed by Heeze, I undertook a long journey in Belgium and Holland in the autumn of 1896 with the object of their discovery; but all my efforts to trace out these valuable papers in those countries were fruitless.

[1] PALLAVICINI, II., 9. A protest against this estimate was at once raised by J. Launoy (see BURMANN, 360 *seq.*). It is certainly quite incorrect, as HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER also points out, IX., 326.

Pope. In Germany the effects of Luther's contemptuous depreciation lasted for a long time. Catholic opinions, such as that of Kilian Leib, that the saintly Pope was too good for his age,[1] gained no hearing.[2] It was not until 1727, when the jurist Gaspar Burmann, of Utrecht, dedicated to the Flemish Pope a collection of materials, compiled with much industry, and full of valuable matter, that an impulse was given to the formation of a new opinion. This Protestant scholar, whose work is of permanent value, deserves the credit of having initiated a change in Adrian's favour.[3] Subsequently, in the nineteenth century, the labours of Dutch,[4] Belgian,[5] German,[6] French,[7]

[1] ARETIN, Beiträge, IX., 1030; *cf.* also the, Chronik in Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschicte, N.F., VII., 182.

[2] *Cf.* the unfair judgment of SPITTLER, Werke, IX., 270.

[3] Burmann's influence is seen especially in SCHRÖCKH, Allgem. Biographie, V., Berlin, 1778, 1–133.

[4] BOSCH, Jets over Paus Adrian VI., Utrecht, 1835; WENSING, Het leven van Adriaan VI., Utrecht, 1870; CHRISSTOFFELS, Paus Adriaan VI., Amsterdam, 1871.

[5] GACHARD (1859); REUSENS (1861), as quoted *supra*, p. 34, n. 1, and CLAESSENS in the Rev. Cath. de Louvain, 1862, 543 *seqq.*, 596 *seqq.*, 725 *seqq.*

[6] HÖFLER'S work (Vienna, 1880) combines all the excellences as well as the defects of this writer (see my reference in Histor. Jahrb., III., 121 *seqq.*). His book must always be unsatisfactory, as it contains hardly any documentary material, although access was then free to the archivial sources in Bologna, Mantua, Modena, and Florence of which I was the first to make use. NIPPOLD (Reformbestrebungen Hadrians VI., in Hist. Taschenb., 1875) and GSELL (Der Pontificat Adrians VI., in the Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz, 1894) are of no value. Somewhat better, but very far from satisfactory, is BAUER (Hadrian VI., Heidelberg, 1876: *cf.* Lit. Rundschau, 1876, 161). The best Protestant view is that of BENRATH, whose work is as free from party spirit as it is full of matter (Herzog, Realencyklopädie, VII., 3rd ed., 311 *seq.*).

[7] LEPITRE, Adrien VI., Paris, 1880.

English,[1] and also Italian[2] students helped to remove the long-standing misconception.

It is matter for rejoicing that on this point difference of creed has imposed no limitations. A distinguished scholar, of strong Protestant convictions, has recently expressed his view of Adrian in the following terms:—"To a judgment unaffected either by his scanty successes or his overt concessions, Adrian VI. will appear as one of the noblest occupants of the chair of Peter. He will be recognized as a man of the purest motives, who wished only to promote the welfare of the Church, and, in the selection of means to serve that sacred end, conscientiously chose those that he believed to be truly the most fitting. He will have claims on our pity as a victim sacrificed to men around him immeasurably inferior to himself, tainted by greed and venality, and to the two monarchs who, caring exclusively for their own advantage, and thinking nothing of that of the Church, wove around him the network of their schemes and intrigues."[3]

The history of Adrian VI. is full of tragic material. Yet it confirms the maxim of experience that, in the long run, no honest endeavour, however unsuccessful, remains unrecognized and barren of result. The figure of this great Pope, who had written on his banner the peace of Christendom, the repulse of Islam, and the reform of the Church, so long belittled, is once more emerging into the

[1] CASARTELLI, The Dutch Pope, Dublin Review, CXXXV., London, 1904, 1–45. Creighton, unfortunately, moves in the old groove.

[2] *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 192 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 875 *seq.*; CAPPONI, St. di Firenze, III.[2] 158 *seq.*; MARCHESI, Papa Adriano VI., Padova, 1882. The first Italian in the nineteenth century who did justice to Adrian was C. Cantù: see P. CAMPELLO DELLA SPINA, Nel centenario di C Cantù Firenze, 1906, 13.

[3] BENRATH in Herzog, Realencyklopädie, VII., 3rd ed., 135.

light in full loftiness of stature. He is numbered to-day by men of all parties among the Popes who have the highest claim on our reverence. No one will again deny him his place among those who serve their cause with a single heart, who seek nothing for themselves, and set themselves valiantly against the flowing stream of corruption. If within the limits of his short term of sovereignty he achieved no positive results, he yet fulfilled the first condition of a healer in laying bare the evils that called for cure. He left behind him suggestions of the highest importance, and pointed out beforehand the principles on which, at a later date, the internal reform of the Church was carried out. In the history of the Papacy his work will always entitle him to a permanent place of honour.

CHAPTER VII.

CLEMENT VII.—HIS ELECTION, CHARACTER, AND THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.—HIS INEFFECTUAL EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND HIS ALLIANCE WITH FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE.

IN consequence of Adrian's delicate state of health, Imperial diplomacy was already busying itself, in the summer of 1523, with the prospects of a Papal election. Charles V. knew how much would depend, in his struggle with France, on the policy of the new Pope. On the 13th of July he sent to his Ambassador at Rome, the Duke of Sessa, special instructions concerning the Conclave; their gist was that everything was to be done to secure the election of the Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. To the candidature of this Prince of the Church, who during two pontificates had been his staunch adherent, Charles continuously remained steadfast.[1]

This attitude of the Emperor was sure to lessen considerably the prospects of Cardinal Wolsey, whose position and reputation were almost on a level with those of Medici. All the lofty expectations of the English Cardinal who, in conjunction with Henry VIII., was eagerly canvassing for his own election,[2] were nullified by the circumstance that the great majority in the Sacred College were more than

[1] GACHARD, Corresp. de Charles-Quint, n. 17, 23; *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 562, 604.

[2] REUMONT, Wolsey, 24 *seqq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 155 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 295 *seq.*; MARTIN, 352 *seqq.*

ever unwilling to hear of a foreigner and absentee as the Pope's successor. But, in spite of the most zealous exertions,[1] even Cardinal de' Medici was far from certain of his own success, as the entire French party was in decided opposition to this loyal champion of Imperial interests. Further, the group of older Cardinals were all unfriendly to him as leader of the juniors nominated by Leo X.

The parties in the College of Cardinals were formed on the same lines as those in the Conclave of Adrian VI. The Mantuan envoy, in a despatch of the 29th of September 1523, reports that Medici can count certainly on about seventeen votes, although he cannot affirm the same of any other Cardinal. The chances of Cardinal Gonzaga are very seriously considered.[2] This opinion corresponded more closely with the actual position of things than the more sanguine surmises of the Florentine representative who, on the same day, writes of the rising prospects of Cardinal de' Medici.[3] It was particularly prejudicial to the latter that, as in the last Conclave, Cardinal Colonna, otherwise strongly affected towards the Emperor, and in spite of his promise given to Sessa, was coming forward as Medici's strongest

[1] *Cf.* **Lettera del card. Medici al padre del card. M. Cornaro, dat. Rome, September 19, 1523, in Cod. Urb., 538, f. 64 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] *Solum li significo che tra questi r^mi^ card^li^ succedono quasi le medeseme secte che eramo ad le morte de Leone. El r^mo^ de Medicis ha de hi voti circa XVII li quali concurrono in la sua persona, ma non li po voltar dove vole come posseva li XV ad lo altro conclave per la morte de Leone. Il r^mo^ card^le^ de Mantua è anchora lui in gran predicamento de papatu, spero che Dio ne adiutarà. Angelo Germanello to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Rome, September 29, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 605 and 606.

[3] Despatch of Galeotto de' Medici, Rome, September 29, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

opponent. He sided with the older Cardinals and even with the party of France.[1] It was not less embarrassing that Medici's mortal enemy, Soderini, had been freed from his imprisonment and admitted to the Conclave through the efforts of the older Cardinals, who were threatening to cause a schism.[2] In addition to this, Farnese, since the 27th of September, had come to the front as a dangerous rival of Medici.[3] The latter, while making every exertion to secure the support of the foreign powers,[4] was resolutely determined either to become Pope himself at any cost, or, if this was impossible, to assist in the election of one of his own party.[5]

Such being the state of things, a long and stormy conclave was looked for when, on the 1st of October 1523, the five-and-thirty electors assembled in the Sixtine Chapel, while without a heavy thunderstorm was raging.[6] This, as well as the circumstance that Medici's cell had been erected under the fresco, by Perugino, of "St. Peter's elevation to the Primacy," was looked upon as an augury of the future. Nor were prognostications in favour of Medici wanting in other ways,[7] for the Duke of Sessa worked

[1] JOVIUS, Vita Pomp. Columnae, 151–152; *cf.* DE LEVA, II., 196, n. 5.

[2] *Cf.* the reports of V. Albergati, Rome, September 18 and 21, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] SANUTO, XXXIV., 438, 452 *seq.*, 461, XXXV., 35; *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 606, and *letter of A. Germanello, September 28, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* the *letter to the Doge in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., ed. 3, 414, n. 1.

[5] GUICCIARDINI, XV., 3, and LANCELLOTTI, Cron. Mod., I., 476.

[6] SANUTO, XXXV., 55. *Despatch of Galeotto de' Medici, October 1, 1523 (Questa sera a hora 24, the Cardinals entered into conclave. Our Cardinal's hopes are good). *Cf.* *the diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[7] SANUTO, XXXV., 67 *seq.*, and *Conclave Clementis VII., "Medici

for him at fever heat.[1] His opponents were no less indefatigable; they first of all tried to put off any decision until the arrival of the French Cardinals;[2] consequently, in the meantime only the Bull of Julius II. against simony was read. The first scrutiny should have taken place on the morning of the 6th of October. But this intention was abandoned when suddenly, on that very day, to the no small annoyance of the Imperialists, the French Cardinals, Louis de Bourbon, François de Clermont, and Jean de Lorraine appeared in conclave; in order to travel with greater speed they had put on short laymen's clothes, and entered, booted and spurred, into the midst of their colleagues;[3] all business now came to a

cella obtigit sub pictura quae est Christi tradentis claves Petro, quae Julio 2° obvenisse aiunt." Cod. XXXIII., 142, f. 161 (Barberini Library, Rome).

[1] Sessa made special efforts to win over the party of Soderini. *Lope Hurtado al Emperador, Rome, October 5, 1523. Colec. Salazar, A 29, f. 170 *seq.* (Biblioteca de la Acad. de Historia, Madrid). In a *letter to Charles V., April 14, 1524, Clement VII. acknowledged Sessa's services in securing his election. Miss. brev., Arm., 40, vol. 8, n. 162 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] In this sense G. de' Medici reported on October 5, but without losing hope of Medici's election: "et ancora che la venuta loro habbi a far delle difficultà e ne bisogni dua vocie più che prima non dubitamo ne perdiamo di speranza, ma sol ne dispiacie che la cosa andrà più lunga non saria andata" (State Archives, Florence).

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 606; BREWER, III., 2, 3464; *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (Library National, Paris); **Report of Gabbioneta, October 7, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). G. de' Medici wrote, October 6: *Questa mattina si doveva far lo squittino. Non era finito ancora la messa che le 3 Cardinali Francesi in poste arrivarono; montarono in palazzo e stivalati e fangosi entrarono in conclavi sollecitati dalli loro respecto dubitavano per lo scrutino si dovea far questa mattina non venissi facto el papa come facilmente posseva lor riuscir. La venuta lor intorbidò tutto e sanza si facessi scrutino si misono a mangiare (State Archives, Florence).

standstill.[1] The wooden cells set apart for the electors were separated from each other by small spaces and distinguished by letters of the alphabet. The cells prepared for the Cardinals appointed by Leo X. were decorated in red, those of the others in green. The Swiss guards were appointed to watch over the Vatican. Fifteen Cardinals stood firm for Medici, the Emperor's candidate; four others, also Imperialists, at whose head was the powerful Colonna, it had been impossible to win over. Twelve Cardinals formed the French party; six were neutral.[2] Each of these three parties had no thought of giving in. On the first day of the Conclave were named as Medici's competitors: Fieschi, the French candidate; Jacobazzi, who was supported by Colonna; last, and most important of all, Farnese; in Rome it was repeatedly said that he was already elected.[3]

Farnese was, in fact, the only one among the electors who could measure himself with Medici. He was his senior, and a Roman by birth, and he was unquestionably superior to his rival in political penetration, in the largeness of his conceptions, and in his understanding of ecclesiastical affairs.[4] It was also to his advantage that he was

[1] See the *report of V. Albergati, October 6, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See SANUTO, XXXV., 223–224. The vacillation of some of the Cardinals at the beginning of the Conclave is shown by two **lists contained in reports of the Mantuan envoys. The first belongs to September, the second is in a *report dated October 10, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] SANUTO, XXXV., 66, 77, 88, 90; *Letters of V. Albergati of October 5, 6, 8, and 9, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna); *Despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, October 8, 1523 (State Archives, Florence); *Report of Giovanni Batt. Quarantino, Rome, October 10, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] Opinion of REUMONT, Wolsey, 42.

neutral, although his leanings were more towards the Emperor than otherwise.

In the first scrutiny, on the 8th of October, the different parties measured their strength: the French candidate, Cardinal Fieschi, had eleven votes, and the same number were given to Carvajal, an Imperialist.[1] The next scrutinies were also without result. All hoped for a speedy end of the war in Lombardy, and, on that account, tried to prolong the election.[2] Under these circumstances it was great good fortune that no serious disturbances took place in Rome, which remained as quiet as before the beginning of the Conclave.[3] The populace could not be blamed when, on the 10th of October, they began to complain of the long delay. In consequence of these demonstrations, an attempt was made on the 12th, by Colonna and the French, to obtain the tiara for Cardinal Antonio del Monte, but without success.[4] "Our Cardinal," the Florentine envyo

[1] SANUTO, XXXV., 88, and *despatch of G. de' Medici, October 8, 1523: *Li rer^mi di conclavi hanno facto questa mattina il primo scruttino senza accesso e ciascun di lor sig. r^me è stato lontano al papato (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Despatch of G. de' Medici, October 9, 1523, with the postscript: "Stamattina li rev^mi deputati soliti di venir allo sportello non volsono si mettesi dentro che una sola vivanda."

[3] See the *despatches of G. de' Medici, Rome, September 15 and 23, 1523: "Le cose qui vanno quietissime e non pare che sia sedia vacante"; October 4 and 8: "La terra sta pacifica sanza rumor alcuno; le bottege stanno aperte come se non fossi sede vacante" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* the *letters of V. Albergati, September 20 and 23, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] SANUTO, XXXV., 118; *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 611; *Report of Giov. Batt. Quarantino, October 13, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and G. de' Medici, who writes on October 13, 1523: *In lo squittino di hier mattina il rev. Monte andò avanti a tutti che hebbe sedeci voti e tre d' accesso ne per questo si crede il papato habbia di venir in lui che ha facto l' ultimo suo sforzo e evi concorso tutta la faction francese

reports on the 13th, "is in close alliance with his friends and stands firm." Colonna also, in spite of Sessa's representations, relaxed nothing of his opposition to the hated Medici.[1] The situation was unchanged. Once more, but in vain, the Romans begged that the election might be settled quickly. Armellini sent them answer: "Since you can put up with a foreign Pope, we are almost on the point of giving you one; he lives in England." This gave rise to a great tumult. The Romans shouted, "Choose us one of those present, even if he be a log of wood."[2]

Even in the days that followed, Medici, with his sixteen to eighteen followers, stood out obstinately against the opposition, now increased from twenty to two-and-twenty Cardinals. The closure had become a dead letter. Uninterrupted communication was kept up with the outer world.[3] On the 19th of October a Venetian reports: "Things are just where they were on the first day." "The Cardinals," exclaims a Mantuan envoy in despair, "seem

e Colonna. Vannosi a questo modo berteggiando l' un l' altro ne si vede segnio si deliberino o convenghino in alcuno (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 542 *seq.*

[1] G. de' Medici, October 13, 1523: *Di conclavi ritrago m^or^ nostro ill. si mantiene ben unito con li amici suoi e sta forte (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 543.

[2] Despatch of the English envoys in State Papers: Henry VIII., Foreign, VI., n. 64; *cf.* BREWER, III., 2, n. 3464; SANUTO, XXXV., 135; *despatch of G. de' Medici, October 15, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] SANUTO, XXXV., 119; BERGENROTH, II., n. 606. *G. de' Medici, October 19, 1523: "In conclavi non si fa ancora resolutione per stare obstinati li adversarii di non voler dar li voti ad alcuno della parte nostra. . . . La confusione è grande più che mai perchè li adversarii non s'accordono a chi di loro voglino voltare il favore. . . . Li nostri stanno uniti (hopes for the breakdown of the opposition)"; and October 20: "Li amici di mons. ill. stanno unitissimi" (State Archives, Florence).

determined to spend the winter in conclave."[1] Each party watched with anxiety for some turn of events in Lombardy.[2] The Romans grew more and more restless, and Farnese tried to calm them.[3] Several new candidates besides Farnese appeared at this time, such as the Franciscan Cristoforo Numai, Achille de Grassis, and, above all, Sigismondo Gonzaga.[4] On the 28th of October the Romans again made remonstrances, but the Conclave went on as before, Medici and Farnese holding the scales between them. November came, and, notwithstanding fresh popular impatience, the end of the proceedings was not yet in sight. The Court was in despair; fear of a schism was already occupying men's minds.[5] Once more a pause in the transactions of the Conclave was caused by the arrival, on

[1] SANUTO, XXXV., 135. **Report of Giov. Batt. Quarantino, October 21, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Reports of G. de' Medici, October 22, 23: "In conclavi sono stati dua o tre dì sanza far scrutino tractando modo d' accordarsi. . . . Il Cardinale nostro con li amici suoi stanno unitissimi e gagliardi e vanno acquistando continuamente"; and 24: "Credo staranno ancora qualche dì venendo a proposito la dilation a ciascuna della parte per veder il successo delle cose di Lombardia" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* *report of Giov. Batt. Quarantino, October 25, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] **Galeotto de' Medici, October 25, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] SANUTO, XXXV., 148; *Galeotto di Medici, October 26, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). For Gonzaga's prospects see in detail the **reports of Gabbioneta of October 17, 21, 28, and November 15, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* despatch of the English envoys, November 7, in BREWER, III., 2, n. 3514; JOVIUS, Pomp. Columna, 152, where there is also a contemporary poem; SANUTO, XXXV., 149, 150, 167, 168; Ortiz in BURMANN, 223; *G. de' Medici, November 4, 5, 1523 (State Archives, Florence); *Report of Gabbioneta, November 7: "Tutta questa corte sta desperata e mal contenta per questa tardità de fare el papa" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *Letters of V. Albergati, November 2, 6, 8, 10, and 11, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

the 12th of November, of Cardinal Bonifacio Ferreri, whose sympathies were French. He brought up the number of Medici's opponents to three-and-twenty, and that of the electors to thirty-nine.[1] If the Venetian Ambassador is to be believed, Cardinal Farnese now succeeded, by large promises, in detaching the Duke of Sessa from the party of Medici and bringing him over to his own.[2]

Medici, nevertheless, had not the slightest intention of giving in; in fact, he had good grounds for raising his hopes even higher than before, since his party stood by him firm as a rock.[3] The position of his adversaries was very different; they had only one point of union, the determination to prevent Medici from becoming Pope; in other respects they were divided from the first, for

[1] SANUTO, XXXV., 198. *G. de' Medici, November 9, 1523: "La venuta del rev. Ivrea dopoi se intesa ha facto fermar in conclavi ogni practica e vi stanno le cose nel medesmo modo che il primo dì v' entrarono" (State Archives, Florence). *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). The number 39 given also in a notarial communication in GORI, Archivio, IV., 246, in the *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Cod. Barb., lat. 2799), and in the French *diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library), is undoubtedly correct, although 38 is given by the *Acta Consist. (both in the digest in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and in that of the Consistorial Archives). VETTORI, 347, gives 33+3+1, and REUMONT, III., 2, 161, follows him in part. GUICCIARDINI, XV., 3, puts, incorrectly, the number of members at the opening of the Conclave at 36. The difficulty raised by GRETHEN, 21, note 1, that Clement on December 23 distributed his benefices among his thirty-seven electors, is solved, as he had already conjectured, by the fact that Grassis had died on November 22.

[2] BAUMGARTEN, Charles V., II., 284; *cf.* also O. R. REDLICH in Hist. Zeitschr., LXIII., 128.

[3] SANUTO, XXXV., 197–198; *G. de' Medici, October 7 and November 3, 7, 11, and 13, 1523: "Ogni giorno li rev^mi fanno scrutino e danno li voti in modo compartiti che nessuno d' epsi passa 10 voti" (State Archives, Florence).

most of them had pretensions to the tiara themselves.[1] "But," as Guicciardini remarks, "it is difficult to keep up a partnership when its chief supports are discord and ambition." Medici, for some time past, had built his hopes on this state of things, and used all the means in his power to produce dissension among his adversaries.[2] It is especially remarkable that help came to him from, of all people, the French Ambassador.

On the death of Adrian VI., Francis I. wished immediately to enter Italy in person,[3] but the difficulties arising from the desertion of the Constable de Bourbon to the Emperor had forced him to give up the idea. He was thus obliged to limit his activities to using the influence of the French Cardinals, to whom he had named Fieschi, Soderini, and Scaramuccia Trivulzio as his candidates, and that of the envoys he had delegated. Lodovico di Canossa, who was such an active agent on behalf of French interests, received the royal commands to go to Italy too late,[4] so that only Count Carpi reached the Conclave in

[1] SANUTO, XXXV., 199; BERGENROTH, II., n. 606; *G. de' Medici, November 1, 3 and 14, 1523 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* the **report of Gabbioneta, October 28, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* the important *despatch of G. de' Medici, October 15, 1523: "Mons. nostro ill. per tutte le vie e modi puo va ghodendo il tempo judicando li habbia ad esser molto a proposito per andar al continuo guadagniendo delli adversarii e rompendoli la unione facto non sarà punto stabile per non esser d' acordo infra epsi che di loro habbi ad esser papa per voler ciascuno di loro essere" (State Archives, Florence).

[3] RAWDON-BROWN, III., n. 756; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 159.

[4] *Cf.* the **letters of L. di Canossa to Francis I., dated Gargnano, September 29, 1523, to Bonnivet, the French Admiral, dated Verona, September 30, and to Cardinal Trivulzio, dated Verona, October 4 (Capitular Library, Verona).

time.[1] "Our enemies," wrote Sessa on the 28th of October, "had a triumph at first, since Carpi is openly on the side of France, and came, moreover, as the representative of King Francis; but his old friendship with Medici is stronger than his party spirit. He has succeeded in splitting up our opponents." It was not, however, old friendship only which induced Carpi to take up this surprising position, but in all probability a promise of neutrality from Medici, the hitherto stout Imperialist.[2]

The final decision was reached by Cardinal Colonna at last renouncing his opposition to Medici. This change of mind was the result of a quarrel between Colonna and his French friends, because the latter refused to vote for Jacobazzi, the Imperialist. One of the French Cardinals, François de Clermont, seeing that confinement in the vitiated atmosphere of the Conclave was becoming daily more trying to the older Cardinals, now went the length of proposing Cardinal Orsini, who was hostile to Colonna as well as to the Emperor. Medici pretended to be in favour of this old friend of his family. Then Colonna, in great alarm, saw that he must give in, a course which he was

[1] GRETHEN, 21, puts the arrival of Carpi too early. He had overlooked the Florentine report in PETRUCELLI, I., 543, which gives the date as the evening of October 17.

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 606; *cf.* n. 612. According to Venetian reports of October 18 and 31, in SANUTO, XXXV., 136, 169, Medici made such lavish promises to Francis that they seem in themselves incredible; besides, these promises are absolutely irreconcilable with the subsequent attempts of Francis I. to obtain the Papal recognition of his lordship over Milan. There is more probability in GRETHEN'S (p. 22) conjecture, that Medici bound himself to neutrality. Immediately after the death of Adrian VI., L. di Canossa tried to enter into negotiations with Cardinal de' Medici; but the latter was not drawn into them. See Canossa's *letter to Francis I., October 20, 1523 (Capitular Library, Verona).

advised to take by his brother, then in the service of the Emperor. He joined sides with Medici, who promised him the pardon of Soderini[1] and personal advantages as well. This reconciliation of the two enemies, who had so long been at strife, took place on the evening of the 17th of November.

Colonna immediately drew with him a number of Cardinals, first his friend Jacobazzi, followed by Cornaro and Pisani, then Grassis, Ferreri, and others. Medici could now count on twenty-seven votes, and his election was certain. On the same day, the 18th of November, two years before, he had entered Milan. The proclamation of the new Pope was deferred until the pardon of Soderini should be settled and the capitulations signed; the latter guaranteed that the benefices held by the Pope as Cardinal should be divided among his electors. The twelve Cardinals forming the French party now gave up further resistance as useless, and on the morning of the 19th of November, the votes having been once more taken for the sake of security,[2] Giulio de' Medici was proclaimed as unanimously

[1] *Cf.* EPIFANIO in Atti d. Congresso internaz. di scienze storiche, III., Rome, 1906, 419 *seqq.*

[2] The best sources are in such thorough agreement, in essentials, as to the circumstances that led decisively to the election of Medici, that the differing account of Blasius de Martinellis (in CREIGHTON, V., 325 *seq.*), who is otherwise so trustworthy, must here be rejected. Besides GUICCIARDINI, XV., 3, and JOVIUS, Pomp. Columna, 151 *seq.*, *cf.* especially the Florentine reports in Giorn. d. Archivi Toscani, II., 117 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, and in PETRUCELLI, I., 550, the Venetian in SANUTO, XXXV., 207, 225, the Portuguese in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 178 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, the *letters of V. Albergati, November 18 and 19, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna), the letter of the English envoys in State Papers: Henry VIII., Foreign, VI., 195 *seqq.*, and in BREWER, III., 2, n. 3592, Sessa's letter in Colec. d. doc. inedit., XXIV., 333, and Negri's letter (November 19, not 18) in Lettere di principi (Venetian

chosen Pope.[1] The victor, on emerging from this hard contest of fifty days, assumed the name of Clement VII. His first act of government was to confirm the capitulations, but with the additional clause that they might, if necessary, be altered in Consistory.[2]

The respect which Clement VII. had won for himself as Cardinal under Leo X. by his statesmanlike efficiency and admirable administration in Florence, as well as by his

edition of 1570, f., the one which is always used in the following notes), I., 100b. To these published accounts two others, confirmatory and hitherto unknown, may be added, viz. a **despatch of G. B. Quarantino, November 23, 1523 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a *letter of Andrea Piperario to B. Castiglione, dated Rome, November 19, 1523, in transcript in the Town Library, Mantua. With regard to the promises said to have been made by Medici to Colonna, there is in Giovio only a general statement, while Guicciardini mentions a written engagement concerning the Vice-Chancery and the Riario Palace. The diplomatic authorities named above say nothing of this.

[1] Blasius de Martinellis in CREIGHTON, V., 326. Gabbioneta, like other reporters of news, announced at first that the new Pope had taken the name of Julius III. (despatch of November 18, 1523). How this mistake, current throughout Rome, arose is explained by Quarantino in a **report of November 19 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The official proclamation of the election on the part of the Cardinals (Giorn. d. Arch. Tosc., II., 123 *seq.*), as well as on that of the Pope himself (in a letter beginning: Salvator, etc.), took place on November 26, the coronation day. Announcements drawn up in a different form had previously been despatched on November 22 to individuals such as the city of Florence (see Giorn. d. Arch. Tosc., II., 121 *seq.*) and the Marquis Federigo of Mantua. See the original of the announcement (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Francis I. also was informed prior to the coronation, *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 128.

[2] The election capitulations published in Giorn. d. Arch. Tosc., II., 107 *seq.*; the conditions in CREIGHTON, V., 326. A comparison with the capitulation of Adrian shows a sharper precision in details and a number of new provisions (Art. 6, 7, 20–25) in favour of the Cardinals and the Knights of Rhodes.

seriousness, moderation, and avoidance of all frivolous pleasures, threw a lustre over the beginning of his pontificate. Seldom had a new Pope been welcomed with such general rejoicing and such high-pitched expectation. In place of an Adrian VI., simple-minded and exclusively devoted to ecclesiastical interests, a Pope had arisen who satisfied the wishes of the majority in the Curia. He was a great noble and an expert politician. The Romans were delighted; a Medici Pope encouraged their hopes of a renewal of the happy days of Leo X., and of a long and brilliant reign fruitful of results in art and science. Their expectations were strengthened when Clement at once drew into his service classical scholars like Giberti and Sadoleto,[1] showed his care for the maintenance of justice, gave audiences with the utmost freedom of access,[2] was marked in his courtesy to persons of all classes,[3] and bestowed graces with great generosity. "He granted more favours," wrote the Bolognese envoy, "on the first day of his reign than Adrian did in his whole lifetime."[4] The satisfaction of the electors was not less, among whom the Pope distributed the whole of his benefices, representing a yearly income of upwards of 60,000 ducats. Cardinal Colonna got, in addition, the Riario palace, the Cancelleria,

[1] *Cf.* along with Lettere di principi, I., 100b *seq.*, the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), the *despatch of G. de' Medici, November 21, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and two *letters of Piperario to B. Castiglione, Rome, November 19 and 23, 1523 (Library, Mantua).

[2] *Despatches of G. de' Medici, November 24 (S. Sta sta sana, lieta e attende ad ordinar tutte le cose necessarie e maxime della justitia) and December 8, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Cardinal Gonzaga dwells on this in a *letter to the Marchioness Isabella, Rome, November 19, 1523 (Library, Mantua).

[4] Letter of V. Albergati, November 19, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

and office of Vice-Chancellor, and Cornaro the palace of San Marco; the amnesty granted to Soderini was full and complete.[1] The coronation took place on the 26th of November with great pomp, and in presence of an incredible concourse of people. On the tribune could be read the inscription, "To Clement VII., the restorer of peace to the world and perpetual defender of the Christian name." "It seems," wrote Baldassare Castiglione, "that here everyone expects the very best of the new Pope."[2]

In upper Italy also, especially in the States of the Church, the election made a very favourable impression.[3] Alfonso of Ferrara had taken advantage of the vacancy in the Holy See to seize on Reggio and Rubbiera; he was even preparing to advance on Modena, when he heard of Clement's election. He at once gave up this design and sent a messenger to the Pope, and somewhat later his

[1] *Cf.* *letter of Piperario to B. Castiglione, November 23 (Library, Mantua), and *despatch of G. de' Medici, November 29 (State Archives, Florence). The division of the benefices is here already reported; the *Bull concerning it (Clem. VII., Secret, IV. [1440], f. 44, Secret Archives of the Vatican) is dated December 23; *cf.* EHSES, Politik Clemens VII., 562, and Appendix, Nos. 32 and 33.

[2] *B. Castiglione to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Ravenna, November 30, 1523 (Library, Mantua); SANUTO, XXXV., 235, 243. *Cf.* also BREWER, III., 2, n. 3594; Lettere volgari, I., 6b–7, and *letter of V. Albergati of November 26, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna). On December 13, 1523, Giberti received "duc. 945 pro expensis factis pro coronatione S. D. N." (*Intr. et Exit., 561, in Secret Archives of the Vatican). See further *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives), *G. de Medici, November 27, 1523 (State Archives, Florence), and *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). On the coronation day Cardinal L. Pucci received the "gubernium" of Bagnorea, Cardinal Cesi that of Sutri, Cardinal Pallavicini that of Montefiascone (*Regest., 1239, f. 36, 38, 127), Cardinal Jacobazzi that of Pontecorvo (*Regest., 1243, f. 85, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Report of December 1, 1523 (State Archives, Bologna).

eldest son, to tender his homage and prepare the way for an understanding; this was not arrived at, but a truce for one year was agreed to. The disturbances in the Romagna, promoted by Giovanni da Sassatello in the name of the Guelph party, but at the secret instigation of France, came to an end at once with the appearance of the name of Medici from the electoral urn.[1] In Florence the advantages of another Medicean pontificate were calculated with true commercial shrewdness, and there were many who started for Rome in quest of fortune.[2] In Venice the expressions of congratulation were exuberant; the Doge wrote that he would send the most illustrious citizens of the Republic to honour Clement as a deity on earth. "Praised be the Lord for ever," exclaimed Vittoria Colonna when she received the news of Clement's election; "may He further this beginning to such ends, that men may see that there was never wrought a greater blessing, nor one which was so grounded on reason." The thoughts and hopes of this noble woman were then shared by many. A canon of Piacenza declared that Medici by his skill and sagacity would bring the endangered barque of Peter safely into harbour.[3] The Marquis of Pescara considered

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XV., 3. The safe-conduct for Ercole, Alfonso's son, is dated * Rome, December 11, 1523. To the same date belongs a *Brief of Clement VII. to Alfonso in which it says: "Nunc autem nobilitatem tuam si, ut ipse nobis Franciscus [Cantelmus bearer of a letter from Alfonso to the Pope] affirmavit, officium suum debitamque observantiam huic S. Sedi praestiterit, omnia a nobis sibi proponere atque expectare volumus quae sunt ab optimo pastore amantissimoque patre requirenda." (Both of these documents are in the State Archives, Modena.)

[2] *Tutta Firenze concorre quà, writes V. Albergati from Rome, December 7, 1523 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Callisti Placentini [can. regal.] Dialogus ad Clementum VII. de recte regendo pontificatu. Cod. Vat., 3709 (Vatican Library).

that by the result of the election the wishes of the general majority had been met in a measure which was, perhaps, unprecedented. "Clement VII.," said Bembo, "will be the greatest and wisest, as well as the most respected Pope whom the Church has seen for centuries."[1] Almost everyone overlooked the great weaknesses which were combined with undeniable good qualities in the character of the new Pontiff.

Unlike most members of his house, Clement VII.[2] was a good-looking man. He was tall and had a graceful figure; his features were regular and refined, and only a close observer would have remarked that he had a slight squint in his right eye. At this time his face was beardless, as Raphael had depicted it in his portrait of Leo X.[3] Clement's health left nothing to be desired; being extremely temperate and of strictly moral life, there was reason to expect that his reign, on which he entered in

[1] SANUTO, XXV., 216 *seqq.*; TOLOMEI, 5; REUMONT, V. Colonna, 42 *seq.*; BEMBO, Op., III., 54 (letter of December 11, 1523).

[2] For the early life of Clement VII., see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 81 *seq.*

[3] The outward appearance and the character of Clement VII. are described minutely in the reports of the Venetian ambassadors Foscari (1526), Contarini (1530), and Soriano (1531), first printed by ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., in parts more correctly by SANUTO; *cf.* also the notices in GORI'S Archivio, IV., 269, and GUICCIARDINI. Fine portraits of Clement VII. were taken by Sebastiano del Piombo (Parma gallery; see HOFMANN, Villa Madama, Dresden, 1900, plate i.), Bronzino (from a phot. Alinari in HEYCK, Mediceer, 119), and Vasari (*cf.* GIORDANI, Doc. 129). For these and other portraits *cf.* GOTTI, I., 162, 268; GRUYER, Raphaël peint. d. portr., 348 *seq.*; CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, VI., 401 *seq.*; GASPARONI, Arte e lett., II., 164; NOLHAC in Gaz. d. Beaux Arts, 1884, I., 428; KENNER, 145, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVIII., 178, note. The best busts of the Pope are those of A. Lombardi and Mortorsoli; see MÜNTZ, III., 210, 432.

his forty-sixth year, would be a long one.[1] Although, as a genuine Medici, he was a patron of literature, art, and music, Clement was yet by nature essentially prosaic.[2] Without approaching Leo X. in versatility and intellectual resources, he had, on the other hand, none of the frivolity and pleasure-seeking, the extravagance and ostentation of the latter. It was noticed with satisfaction by sober-minded observers that his coronation banquet was arranged without the superfluous luxury and the presence of professional jesters which had marked that of Leo X.[3] With such empty recreations Clement, who for years had been a man of great industry, did not concern himself. Nor had he any taste for noisy hunting parties and expensive excursions, in which he saw only a waste of time. He very rarely visited Magliana, and only saw at intervals his beautiful villa on Monte Mario.[4] As a Medici and as a statesman of the Renaissance, Clement VII. was far superior to Leo X. in caution and acumen. "This Pope," Loaysa reported to the Emperor, "is the most secretive

[1] "È continentissimo nè si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi," says Foscari, SANUTO, XLI., 283. Likewise VETTORI, 381, and GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5. See also the testimony of Campeggio and Eck in EHSES (Concil., IV., cix.). The contrary reports (see GAUTHIEZ, 66) are not supported by evidence. Although Clement as Pope led a moral life, his youth had not been free from excesses. Soriano's remarks (ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 277) are quite clear on this point; *cf.* also HEINE, Briefe, 378. That Alessandro de' Medici, born in 1510, was a bastard of the Cardinal's, as GAUTHIEZ, 62 *seq.*, on the authority of Varchi, supposes, is by no means certain. Well-informed contemporaries, such as Contarini in his report of 1530, say expressly that Alessandro was an illegitimate son of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. REUMONT, one of the best authorities on Medicean history, holds the same view (Toscana, I., 20) strongly.

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 432.

[3] SANUTO, XXXV., 243; XXXVII., 10.

[4] Foscari in SANUTO, XLI., 283.

man in the world, and I have never spoken with one whose sayings were so hard to decipher."[1]

In the discharge of his duties the new Pope was indefatigable; he devoted himself to affairs with the greatest punctuality, earnest attention, and an assiduity that never flagged.[2] Only at meal-times did he allow himself some recreation; a good musician himself,[3] he then took pleasure in listening to motets,[4] and engaged in serious conversation with artists and men of learning. At his table, which was very frugal, two physicians were always present; save at the chief meal of the day, the Pope ate very little, and kept fast days rigorously; but he only said Mass on great festivals. His bearing during all religious ceremonies was full of

[1] HEINE, Briefe, 86, 401; *cf.* 195.

[2] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5.

[3] SANUTO, LII., 648; *cf.* ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 278.

[4] See CELLINI, Vita, I., 4; *cf.* PLON, 10; see also SANUTO, LVIII., 610. Eleazar Genêt dedicated his celebrated Lamentations to Clement; *cf.* AMBROS, III., 276, and HABERL, Musikkatalog der päpstlichen Kapelle, Leipzig, 1888, 22, 43. For the singers of the Papal Chapel, which Clement had already reorganized in April 1528 at Orvieto (SANUTO, XLVII., 270), *cf.* SCHELLE, 258 *seq.* Singers were engaged at that time in France and Flanders (*cf.* *Nunziat. di Francia, I., 303, 337, Secret Archives of the Vatican). A musician from Cambrai also appears in the *accounts for 1524 (S. Maria Novella, 327, State Archives, Florence). See also BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Urbinati a Roma, Urbino, 1881, where a Cristoforo da Urbino is mentioned as *cantore* in the year 1529. In December 1524 a Petrus Maler (probably a German) *et socii musici* appear (*Intr. et Exit., 561, Secret Archives of the Vatican). The names of twenty-four singers of the chapel are entered in the *Mandati, IV. (1529–1530), f. 68, for April 1530; *ibid.*, *VI. (1530–1534), twenty-three singers are entered, also the *magister* and *sacrista* (State Archives, Rome). In a *Brief, dated Marseilles, November 9, 1533, Clement VII. thanks F. Sforza for sending him the "tibicen" Moscatellus. Original in the State Archives, Milan.

reverence and dignity. "There is no one," wrote Soriano, "who celebrates Mass with so much beauty and piety of demeanour."[1] If Clement VII. had none of his predecessor's strength as an ecclesiastical ruler, and showed generally more knowledge and experience in political than in spiritual affairs,[2] yet, contrasted with the levity of Leo X., he marked a beneficial change in the pontifical character.

The Venetian Ambassador, Marco Foscari, who, during his three years' embassy, was able to observe Clement VII. closely, considered that "he was full of uprightness and piety. In the Segnatura he would do nothing to the prejudice of others, and when he confirmed a petition, he would not, as Leo did, withdraw his word. He neither sold benefices nor bestowed them simoniacally. In contrast to Leo and other Popes, when he conferred graces he asked no services in return, but wished that everything should proceed in equity."[3]

Clement VII.'s great parsimony gave rise to many unmeasured accusations.[4] The extremes to which he went in this respect explain, but do not in every instance justify, the charge of miserliness brought against him. This is clearly shown from the fact that in his almsgiving he was as open-handed as Leo X.[5] He deserves praise

[1] ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 278. SANUTO, XXXV., 241; XLII., 27. Even during his imprisonment in St. Angelo, Clement kept the fasts; see Histor. Zeitschr., XXXVI., 168.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, Concil., IV., xvii.

SANUTO, XLI., 283.

[4] This charge was raised by Ziegler with great vehemence in his Vita in SCHELHORN, Amoenitat., II., 300 *seq.*, a work which has more resemblance to a passionate invective than to a study in history. For Ziegler see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 198 n.; HÖFLER, Adrian VI., 408, and RIESLER, VI., 410, 521.

[5] Foscari's accounts of Clement's benevolence are fully confirmed

rather than blame in avoiding the extravagance of his cousin, whose debts he was obliged to pay.[1] The shadows on Clement's character lay in other spheres; they were closely connected with idiosyncrasies which the Venetian envoy, Antonio Soriano, has minutely described. Soriano disputes the current opinion that the Pope was of a melancholy disposition; his physicians, he observes, thought him rather of a sanguine temperament, which would also account for his fluency of speech.[2] Contarini also insists on the good reputation enjoyed by Clement VII.; great ideas he certainly had not, but he spoke very well on any subject brought before him. Contarini accounts for Clement's slowness of decision and lack of courage by the coldness of his nature, wonderfully characterized by Raphael in his

by CIACONIUS, III., 474, and especially by the Papal account-books. Certain conventual houses received regular alms; thus, *e.g.*, the nuns of S. Cosimato, the abbeys of the Monast. Murat. de urbe, and the Fratres S. Crisogoni at Rome (see *Intr. et Exit., 561, Secret Archives of the Vatican), as well as the nuns of S. Maria Annunziata at Florence (see *Mandati, III., 1527, State Archives, Rome); also sums of money for the Lateran Hospital. In the *account-books of Clement VII. in the State Archives, Florence, there are entries of alms for the years 1524–1527 to the principe di Cipri and his daughter, to the frati d' Araceli, to Filippo Cipriota, to the frati della Minerva, to the Compagnia della Carità, to Madonna Franceschina (figliuola del gran Turcho), for the ransom of captives in Turkish slavery, to converted Turks, and to the Compagnia della Nunziata per maritar zitelle. In 1525 and 1526 respectively 300 ducats are booked as Easter alms (S. Maria, Nov. 327). In 1528 and 1529, besides gifts to the nuns of S. Maria in Campo Marzo, S. Cosimato, Tor de' Specchi and Monastero dell' Isola, others appear to the frati of San Giovanni e Paolo, S. Pietro in Montorio, and S. Onofrio, as well as to the poveri di San Lazaro (S. Mar., Nov. 329).

[1] See SCHULTE, I., 236.

[2] ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 278. For Clement VII.'s eloquence see BALAN, VI., Supplement XIX.

likeness of the Cardinal in the portrait of Leo X. Soriano also speaks strongly of the Pope as very cold-hearted.[1]

Always a procrastinator, Clement belonged to that unfortunate class of characters in whom the powers of reflection, instead of giving clearness to the thoughts and strength to the will, perpetually call forth fresh doubts and suspicions. Consequently, he had no sooner come to a decision than he as quickly regretted it; he wavered almost constantly hither and thither between contending resolves, and generally let the fitting opportunity for action escape his grasp. The Pope's indecision and instability were bound to do him all the more harm since they were accompanied by great timidity. From this excessive want of courage, as well as from his innate irresolution and a parsimony often most mischievously employed, Guicciardini explains Clement's incapacity to act when the time came to put into execution decisions reached after long reflection.[2]

These fatal characteristics had almost escaped notice while Giulio de' Medici was Leo's adviser, and had not then reached their later stage of development. All men then knew that the Cardinal served the reigning Pope with untiring industry and the greatest fidelity. Of restless energy and the highest reputation, his political influence was appraised in those days at a higher value than it in reality deserved, and most, indeed, of the political successes of Leo X. were ascribed not to himself, but to his minister. When at last the latter rose to the head of affairs, he showed that he could neither come to a decision at the right moment nor, having done so, put

[1] ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 265, 278.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5. L. di Canossa, in a *letter to Alb. di Carpi, October 6, 1526, also speaks severely of Clement's irresolution and timidity (Communal Library, Verona).

it resolutely into execution; for, in consequence of his over-subtle statecraft, he could never shake himself free from suspicion, and a constant dread of real and, still oftener, imaginary dangers impeded all his transactions and put a stop to any decided and consecutive course of action. A letter, a word was enough to upset a resolution formed after long balancing and calculation, and to throw the Pope back on the previous state of resourceless indecision.[1] At first Clement's contemporaries almost entirely overlooked these ominous characteristics. All the more painful was their surprise when they saw the great Cardinal, once held so high in men's esteem, sink into a Pope of petty and cheap reputation.[2]

The Imperialists were more disappointed than any, for they had indulged in the most sanguine and extravagant hopes. At the close of the Conclave, Sessa had written to Charles: "The Pope is entirely your Majesty's creature. So great is your Majesty's power, that you can change stones into obedient children."[3] Sessa, in saying this, had failed to see that the election had not been altogether his work, and that even during the Conclave, Medici had taken up a more neutral attitude than before. Further, he overlooked the difference that must arise between the policy of Clement as Pope and his policy as Cardinal. The ideal evidently present to Clement's mind at the beginning of his reign[4] was one of impartiality and independence towards the Emperor and Francis alike, in order that he might be of service in restoring peace, thereby securing the freedom of Italy and the Papacy, for which there was a double necessity owing to the Turkish danger and the

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5; *cf. supra*, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 87 *seqq.*

[2] VETTORI, 348.

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 610, 615, 622.

[4] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 287.

spread of heresy in Germany. Unfortunately, although he was fully aware of the grave condition of affairs throughout the world,[1] he was entirely wanting in the determination, firmness, and fearlessness of a Julius II. From the first suspicious signs of weakness were discernible. How could it be otherwise when—a significant circumstance—the two leading advisers of the Pope were each respectively champions of the two great opposing parties? The one, Gian Matteo Giberti, an excellent and blameless man, who became Datary, drew closer to France the more he realized the danger to the freedom of Italy and the Papacy arising from the world-wide power of Spain; the other, Nicolas von Schönberg, was, on the contrary, a thorough Imperialist. To the conflicting influence of these two counsellors Guicciardini principally ascribes the instability of character which Clement, to the general astonishment, began so soon to display.[2]

Immediately after his election the Pope entered into secret negotiations with the Venetian Ambassador Foscari. He opened to him his scheme of joining himself with Venice and the Duke of Milan, so as to separate Switzerland from France and bring the former at the same time into alliance with himself. By these manœuvres he expected to cut off from France all hopes of predominance in Italy, and also, in the same way, to thwart the plans of the Emperor, showing himself to be a Pope in reality, and not, like Adrian, merely Charles's servant. Yet he did not wish to

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief to Canossa, Rome, December 11, 1523 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., 39, vol. 43, n. 36). TIZIO, * Hist. Senen. (Cod. G, II., 39, Chigi Library, Rome), depicts the state of the world in the gloomiest colours.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5. That Giberti was "il cuor del Papa" was said already in the autumn of 1524; see SANUTO, XXXVI., 619; *cf.* Engl. Hist. Rev., XVIII., 34 *seq.*

push his undertakings against the Emperor further, but rather to keep at peace with him. He was not thinking of war, but how to arrange an armistice, the Curia at that moment being not only without money, but also burdened with Leo's debts. As he was beset on the one hand by the Emperor's party, and, on the other, by that of France, through Count Carpi, he was anxious to know the intentions of Venice before he committed himself to any declaration.[1] Sessa, who saw in Clement VII. only the former adherent of Imperial policy, was bitterly disappointed. The Pope flatly refused to turn the alliance made with Adrian from the defensive into the offensive. He would continue to pay the stipulated subsidy to the Emperor's forces, but as Father of Christendom his first duty was the restoration of peace. "Everything I have urged to the contrary," wrote another Imperialist diplomatist, the protonotary Caracciolo, on the 30th of November, "has failed." The Pope remarked that he could not declare himself in favour of an open league against France, he would much rather do all he could to bring about a general armistice among all Christian States;[2] to this object all his endeavours were now at first directed. This policy of peace, with special reference to the Turkish danger, he had already emphasized in the letters despatched to Francis before his coronation, announcing his election.[3]

Clement hoped to satisfy the Imperialists without taking any steps openly hostile to France,[4] since each of those implacable enemies, Charles and Francis, wished him to

[1] Foscari to the Council of Ten on November 23, 1523, in BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 287.

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 613, 615; GRETHEN, 25 *seq.*

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 128.

[4] Despatch of Foscari, December 7, 1523, in BAUMGARTEN, Karl V. II., 299.

become his partisan. Not only were the Ambassadors and Cardinals on both sides busy in support of this object, but also special envoys from the French King and the Emperor The representative of the former, Saint-Marceau, arrived in Rome on the 1st of February 1524. Great as his offers were, Clement refused to acknowledge the claims of Francis to Milan, and was at the greatest pains to avoid even the appearance of showing favour to France.[1] But he was just as little disposed to add to the concessions already contained in the treaty made by his predecessor with Charles V., which would not expire until September 1524. In spite of his financial distress, he paid the monies agreed upon, but secretly, on account of France.[2] Sessa was beside himself at the indecision of the Pope, who was the Emperor's ally, but was constantly coquetting with France. The more Sessa insisted, the more Clement drew back.[3]

[1] BROWN, III., n. 800, 804; BERGENROTH, II., n. 617, 619; SANUTO, XXXV., 394; BUCHOLTZ, II., 254; GRETHEN, 27 *seq.* G. de' Medici reported on February 10, 1524: * Mons. di San Marseo da buone parole a N. S. chel suo re farà quanto vorrà. S. S^tà^ non viene a ristretto. Volentieri fariano una tregua con tener quello hanno acquistato in Lombardia. Li Imperiali non la vogliono ascoltare e sperono recuperare quello hanno perso (State Archives, Florence). The good services of Saint-Marceau are praised by Clement in * a letter to Francis I., April 10, 1524, Arm., 40, vol. 8 (Min.), n. 155 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] MIGNET, Rivalité, I., 457, note. EHSES, Politik Clemens VII., 563 In * Intr. et Exit., 561 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), on January 30, 1524, there is an entry of "duc. 24,000 Paulo Victori capit. pro subvent. belli in Lombardia." For the financial distress of Clement VII. see also the report of Castiglione, March 7, 1524 (Delle Esenzioni, 57), and the letter of May 4, 1524, in [P. Rajna] Tre lettere di Alessandro de' Pazzi (Per Nozze), Firenze, 1898, 14. On December 26, 1524, Fr. Gonzaga reported in the strongest terms of the Pope's urgent needs (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 619.

Another emissary of Charles, Adrian de Croy, had no better fortune. The Pope explained that he could work best for peace by being completely neutral,[1] and in this he was confirmed, as early as the spring of 1524, by the threatening reports of the progress of Lutheranism in Germany and the growing danger from the Turk.[2] That the Christian powers should be tearing each other to pieces in presence of such perils seemed to him intolerable; he hoped that his envoys might succeed in securing at least an armistice. Clement had already, on the 8th of December 1523, sent his chamberlain, Bernardino della Barba, to the Emperor in Spain with offers of mediation in the cause of peace.[3] A discussion on the means of achieving the much-needed pacification of Europe, held in Consistory on the 9th of March 1524,[4] resulted in the decision that Nicolas von Schönberg should visit the Courts of France, Spain, and England. By the 11th of March he had started, not over-glad of his mission,[5] the difficulties of which he fully understood, and knowing well that Giberti would now have a monopoly of influence.[6] Schönberg's instructions left no

[1] BERGENROTH, II., n. 617, 624; SANUTO, XXXVI., 19, 27, 42; GRETHEN, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. de' Medici of February 15, 1524, and March 20 (State Archives, Florence); SANUTO, XXXV., 435, and Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 87.

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 571. The date of Barba's departure as given in the *letter of the Viceroy of Naples to the Emperor, dated Pavia, December 20, 1523 (State Archives, Brussels, Corresp. de Charles V. avec Italie, I.).

[4] Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* the report in, Notizenblatt zum Archiv für österr. Gesch., 1858, 181.

[6] The date of departure, hitherto uncertain, is ascertained from a *letter from B. Castiglione to Maria Equicola, Rome, March 12, 1524: "L' arcivescovo è andato mal volontieri. M. Giov. Matteo resta pur patrone d' ogni cosa" (Library, Mantua).

doubt as to Clement's sincere wish to prepare a way for peace; he travelled very quickly, and at the end of March was in Blois, where he stayed until the 11th of April; after conferring with Charles at Burgos, he returned again to Blois, and thence, on the 11th of May, set out for London.[1]

In Rome, where, soon after the arrival of the Florentine embassy of homage[2] the plague broke out with fury,[3] Sessa, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, and the English envoys

[1] All details concerning Schönberg's mission are in the excellent review of, EHSES' Politik Klemens VII., in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 571 *seq.*, 575 *seq.*, which also includes his instructions as given in Cod. Vatic., 3924, f. 196–201. *Cf.* also Rev. d. quest. hist., 1900, II., 61 *seq.* (I take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to Mgr. Ehses for his kind permission to allow me to make use of his numerous excerpts on the history of Clement VII.) In his **letter of credence to the Emperor, dated March 10, 1524, Schönberg is thus recommended: "fidemque in omnibus adhibere velis perinde ac si nos ipsi tecum colloqueremur" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The statement that Schönberg left Blois again on May 11 is confirmed by a *despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, May 25, 1524 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] The Florentine envoys to tender obedience (see Giorn. degli Arch., II., 125) arrived in Rome on February 7, 1524, and were received in public audience on the 15th; see G. de' Medici, February 7 and 15, 1524 (State Archives, Florence), and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Of the outbreak and ravages of the plague, G. de' Medici gives full information on February 20, 1524; March 18, 19, 21, 28, 31; April 1, 6, 8, 11, 17, 20; May 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21, 25, 27; June 1, 3, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22, 25, 28. Not until July 13 was he able to say: "La pesta fa pocho danno o niente." All these reports are in the Florentine Archives. *Cf.* also Sanuto, *passim*; *letters of M. Salamanca to G. Salamanca, dated Rome, June 6 and 16 (State Archives, Vienna); SERASSI, I., 113 *seqq.*; CELLINI, Vita, I., 5; LUZIO, Mantova, 255; the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris); the despatches of Alvarotti from Rome, May 14, 20, 31, and July 10, 1524 (State Archives, Modena).

were actively working on behalf of the Emperor, while Saint-Marceau and Carpi, supported by the powerful Giberti, worked for Francis. The timid Pope, meanwhile, still continued to shirk the decided avowal of partisanship desired by the Imperialists; under the influence of reports from Lombardy, where Bonnivet, the general of Francis, had had reverses, he leant, on the whole, more to Charles,[1] but without having any intention of openly taking his side. On the 10th of April Clement wrote strongly to the French King saying that, in spite of his great obligations to the Emperor, he had honestly tried to carry out his duties towards them both impartially. Four days later he laid before Charles, in detail, his reasons for being neutral, and consequently for declining to renew the league entered into by Adrian. The Pope, so ran the strongly worded letter, was as much as ever attached to the Emperor, but his position as the Father of all Christians demanded from him the utmost possible neutrality, so that in mediating for the much-needed peace, he should not appear to any to be led by party spirit. He would thus find all the readier obedience when he should summon his sons to take arms against the Turk.[2]

In May the situation of the French in Lombardy had gone from bad to worse. The Imperialists in Rome celebrated their successes with festive demonstrations.[3] On

[1] *Cf.* especially, besides the Spanish and English reports in BERGENROTH, II., n. 619, 621, 635, 636, 638, 642, 651, 654, the hitherto unknown, and, in parts, very important *reports of B. Castiglione to Calandra of April 9, 12, 19, 23, and 26, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *report of A. Germanello, Rome, April 9, 1524: "Io extimo che sia più inclinato a li Imperiali cha Franzesi."

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 78–80. *Cf.* EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 566; see also *ibid.*, 574, for the instructions of the English Nuncio, Melchior Lang.

[3] *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

the 17th of May the anti-Imperialist Cardinal Soderini died, and at the same time Carpi fell into disgrace with the Pope. Clement was still more angry with the Duke of Ferrara, who was trying to make discord between him and Charles V., and was threatening Modena. But the Pope was also in the highest degree dissatisfied with Sessa, who was still intriguing against him in Siena.[1] In the beginning of June Clement addressed an exhortation to peace to Francis, pointing out to him how necessary it was to yield under the changed condition of things.[2] By the 16th of June Schönberg was back in Rome. In Sessa's opinion, what he brought back with him from France was not worth the cost of the journey.[3]

In the meantime Charles V. had determined to enforce peace and to pursue the French, now beaten in Italy, into their own country, and in July his forces entered Provence. At this very critical moment Francis did not lose heart; in the same month Bernardino della Barba brought the news to Rome that the King intended, at the head of his army, to invade upper Italy in person.[4] Even then the Pope kept neutral and persevered in his efforts for peace.

On the 12th of August the Emperor's new Ambassador, de la Roche, arrived in Rome;[5] supported by Sessa, he tried

[1] **Report in cipher of B. Castiglione to Calandra, of May 25, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 23–24; *cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 570.

[3] SERASSI, I., 122; BERGENROTH, II., n. 663; *cf.* 655, 656. See also the *report of G. de' Medici, Rome, June 17, 1524: "Il rev. arcivescovo di Capua arivò heri sera di notte. . . . Ritragho è tornato senza conclusione; causa ne è il re de Inghilterra più che alchuno altro" (State Archives, Florence).

[4] SERASSI, I., 126, 138; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 580.

[5] On August 4, 1524, Castiglione reported to the Marquis; *Fra quattro dì se aspetta mons. della Rocchia e per il camino se li fanno le spese et onor grandissimo (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the

to induce the Pope to enter into an alliance, and to grant supplies of money. Clement would not give in, although he gave his assurances that he would not desert the Emperor.[1] He thus gave satisfaction to neither party and put himself in an equivocal position. De la Roche, who was exceedingly dispirited[2] by the failure of his attempts, fell ill on the 25th of August, so that the negotiations with him had to be put off. Clement did not, on that account, give up his pacific efforts; he hoped that at least an armistice for six months might be arranged, and that another mission under Schönberg might carry this through.[3] The Imperialists, however, would not then hear anything of an armistice.[4] De la Roche died on the 31st of August; Bartolomeo Gattinara, a nephew of the Chancellor, who was attached to the Embassy, and several of Sessa's servants, also fell ill; Sessa himself had to hasten from Rome to attend on his dying wife.[5] The Spanish

printed letters, SERASSI, I., 137. Sessa announces the arrival on the 12th (GRETHEN, 42; SANUTO, XXXVI., 535); *letter of Schönberg's to G. Salamanca, dated Rome, ex palat. Apost., August 15, 1524 (State Archives, Vienna), and G. de' Medici in a *despatch of August 12, 1524 (State Archives, Florence). See also the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[1] *Cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 675, 677, 679, and the *reports of G. de' Medici of August 15, 17, and 18, 1524 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* the *report of de la Roche to Charles V., dated Rome, August 20, 1524 (State Archives, Brussels, Correspondance de Charles V. avec Italie, I.).

[3] Besides the **report of G. de' Medici of August 25, 1524, see especially the *letter of Schönberg, August 15, 1524 (State Archives, Vienna), quoted *supra*, p. 260, n. 5.

[4] *Li oratori Imperiali e Inglesi stanno molto alti e sul tirato ad non voler alcuno accordo. G. de' Medici, Rome, August 29, 1524 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] BERGENROTH, II., n. 681, 683; SERASSI, *loc. cit.*, I., 140 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXXVI., 584; *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis in Cod.

Embassy being thus deserted, it was impossible to proceed with the negotiations. Clement therefore decided to send a Nuncio to promote the peace, now especially desirable on account of the Ottoman aggression.[1] On the 7th of September Nicolas von Schönberg crossed the Alps a second time to visit the Kings of France, England, and Spain.[2] In itself the Pope's diplomacy gave small ground for hope;[3] on this occasion failure was complete; amid the wild turmoil of war, his voice was lifted in vain.

The invasion of Provence had miscarried owing to insufficient forces, and before the walls of Marseilles the Imperialist fortune changed. In France the feeling for King and country was running high; all that Francis had asked for had been given him. Soon the alarming tidings overtook the Imperialists that the French King with a great army was at Avignon. Thus the besiegers of Marseilles and the invaders of upper Italy were equally threatened. In order to save Milan for the Emperor, Pescara, on the 29th of

Barb., lat. 2799 (Vatican Library); *reports of G. de' Medici, August 31 and September 1, 1524 (State Archives, Florence). It was said, but certainly without grounds, that de la Roche had been poisoned; see *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[1] *Cf.* Castiglione in SERASSI, I., 135.

[2] Schönberg did not visit England; he had previously been recalled from Lyons, January 5, 1525. SERASSI, I., 143; RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 88; EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 582; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 66; Rev. d. quest. hist., 1900, II., 65. Schönberg's letter of credence, dated September 6, 1524, to the Duke of Savoy, Francis I., Louisa of Savoy, Henry VIII., Wolsey, and Charles V., in Arm. 40, vol. 8 (Min.), n. 351–356 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The brief to Charles in RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the remarkable letter in SANUTO, XXXVI., 626. In a *Brief, October 11, 1524, Clement VII. exhorts Schönberg, notwithstanding the hopeless condition of affairs, to persevere in his efforts after peace (Arm., 40, vol. 8 (Min.), n. 442, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

September, raised the siege of Marseilles. He crossed the maritime Alps by forced marches into upper Italy. At the same time Francis, with a splendid army, pressed forward through the Cottine chain. It was a race for the most blood-stained spot on earth, the plain of the river Po. Milan could no longer be held, for the plague was raging there. Pescara, by the end of October, had to fall back on Lodi before the superior strength of the French army, with his men dispirited and in the worst condition; the star of Charles V. seemed to be on the wane. It was a jest of Pasquino in Rome that an Imperial army had been lost on the Alps; any honest person finding it was asked to restore it for a handsome reward. Indeed, such was the state of things that if Francis had pursued his operations with equal swiftness and precaution, upper Italy would have been lost to Charles. But instead of taking advantage of the sorry plight of the Imperialists and falling upon them, the ill-advised King turned aside to besiege Pavia, strongly fortified and defended by Antonio de Leyva. The historian Giovio relates that when Pescara heard of this momentous resolve he cried out: "We were vanquished; in a short time we shall be victors."[1] The fate of Italy hung on the fight around Pavia. Francis I. did not understand this sufficiently, otherwise he would hardly have determined to detach 10,000 men from his army to be sent under the command of John Stuart, Duke of Albany, against Naples.

While the Imperialists and the French were entering the lists in upper Italy, the diplomatists on each side were competing at Rome for the favour of the Pope. Clement had seen Francis enter Italy with the greatest displeasure, for together with his disapproval of the King's conduct was associated the fear of the victorious arms

[1] JOVIUS. F. Davalus Pisc., 377.

of France. The Pope seems still to have clung to the possibility of a reconciliation between the two deadly enemies. Since the issue of the conflict was totally unknown, he proceeded with extreme caution. On the 7th of October 1524 Baldassare Castiglione, whose appointment as Nuncio dated a month before, left Rome. He was a true adherent of Charles, and a very experienced diplomatist.[1] In order to meet the French King also in a friendly spirit, Aleander, recently raised to the Archbishopric of Brindisi, was appointed as Nuncio to Francis.[2]

[1] Already, on July 19, 1524, the Pope had disclosed for the first time to Castiglione his intention of sending him to Charles V. (see SERASSI, I., 133, and MARTINATI, 43) ; on July 20 the Pope wrote to the Marquis of Mantua on the same subject (Brief of July 20, printed in: Delle Esenzioni, V., 32–33 ; *cf.* LUZIO, Mantua, 254–255, where there is fuller information on Castiglione's embassy from Mantua to Rome), who at once gave his consent (*letter of Isabella d' Este to F. Gonzaga, August 1, 1524, in the Gonzaga Archives). His departure. however, was delayed until October 7 (*despatch of A. Germanello, October 7, 1524, *loc. cit.*). The letters of safe-conduct for Castiglione were ready on September 28 ; see the *original to the Marquis of Mantua in the Gonzaga Archives, and the Concepts in the Min. brev., 1524, III., n. 412 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *ibid.*, *Regest., 1441, f. 80ᵃ–84ᵇ. Castiglione's full powers and faculties are dated Rome, 1524, Prid. Cal., Sept., A 1°. For Castiglione's journey and transactions see MARTINATI, 45 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* matter published for the first time in the work of J. PAQUIER, Nonciature d'Aléandre auprès de François Premier (August 8, 1524, to February 24, 1525), Paris, 1897, and, Aléandre, 310 *seq.* GRETHEN (45) believes EHSES (Politik Klemens VII., 582, 594) to be mistaken in supposing that Aleander's mission was delayed because Francis had no settled headquarters, and thinks that it was only a little less than accidental that the mission should have coincided with the French invasion. It seems more probable that the Curia waited to see what turn things would take. As soon as they had definite intelligence from Schönberg, over and above what was known in the Consistory of October 12, the Nuncio's instructions were at once imparted to him,

Another extraordinary mission to that King was further given on the 13th of October to Count Roberto Boschetti, with instructions to seek out Lannoy, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops in Italy, on his return. He was also to do what he could on behalf of peace; but owing to illness he was unable to start on his journey.[1]

The suspense with which all eyes in Rome were turned, in those days, on Lombardy, is clearly seen from the diplomatic reports of the time.[2] In Bologna, where calm had hitherto prevailed, signs of ferment began to appear; there was bitter jealousy of Ferrara.[3] The news of the entry of the French into Milan, which reached Rome on the 28th of October, made the deepest impression.[4] To the Pope this turn of affairs seemed but small compared with what was yet to come; his dread of France now reached

on the 14th. Against this, however, we have in the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, about the Consistory: *S. D. N. fecit verbum de litteris rev. dom. Capuani d. d. 5 Oct., which report, that Francis I. was coming to Italy with his army—the Pope's dissatisfaction thereat —nihil conclusum (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* besides EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 594; also BALAN, Boschetti, II., 12–13.

[2] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. de' Medici for the month of October, 1524 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] As reported by the Bishop of Pola, Vice-Legate of Bologna, to Giberti in a *letter, Bologna, October 23, 1524. On October 20 the Bishop had already written: "*Questi Pepoli non mi piaccino molto perchè io li veggho tanto allegri di queste nuove francesche quanto se la vittoria toccasse a loro." Lit. divers. ad Clem. VII., vol. i. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] "La nova del entrata de Francesi in Milano è parso strano considerata la celerità del caso et il modo che havevan gli Imperiali de poter gagliardamente diffender esso Milano." *Despatch of Fr Gonzaga, Rome, October 28, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

its highest pitch.[1] Under these circumstances the mission of Giberti to Francis I. was decided on; by the 30th of October he had left Rome.[2] On the same day Cardinal Salviati took his departure, as it was stated, for his new legation, Modena and Reggio; it was at once surmised that he also was charged with a special communication for Francis I. The Venetian Ambassador had long interviews every day with Clement, and it was already rumoured in Rome that the Pope and Venice had entered into alliance with France;[3] this report was premature, but things were tending in that direction.

Giberti, who appeared, on account of his French sympathies, to be the most suitable man for the business, received instructions drawn up under the impression that Francis, by the capture of Milan, having become absolute master of the situation, the duty of self-preservation called for an agreement with the conqueror. When later information announced a pause in the French successes, directions were sent after Giberti, telling him to find out Lannoy and Pescara first, and, then, on learning their conditions, to lay them before the King.[4] On the 5th of November Giberti proposed an armistice to Lannoy at Soncino. The answer was an unqualified refusal; Pescara

[1] As reported on November 1, 1524, by Sessa, who was unwearied in trying to draw Clement from his neutrality and to attach him openly to the Imperial side. BERGENROTH, II., 692; *cf. ibid.*, n. 693, the report of the Abbot of Najera of November 4.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 147; GRETHEN, 46, note 1.

[3] SANUTO, XXXVII., 127; *cf.* 147. Salviati's departure on the morning of October 30 is also mentioned by Fr. Gonzaga in a *despatch of the same date (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The appointment of Salviati as Legatus de latere to Francis I. was finally settled in the Consistory of November 7, 1524. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor's (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 595 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 46 *seq.*

replied in the same sense. When Giberti met Francis before Pavia on the 9th of November, he found him in an even less yielding disposition.[1] That Giberti had already, at that time, disclosed the terms of a secret treaty between Francis and Clement, is not supported by any convincing evidence.[2]

It was not until the peace-mission of Paolo Vettori to Lannoy had failed that the Pope held the moment to have come when he ought to take this step in order to secure his interests. On the 12th of December, but still in total secrecy, peace and alliance were concluded between Francis I., the Pope, and Venice;[3] this was followed on the 5th of January 1525[4] by an official agreement between the French King

[1] DESJARDINS, II., 788 *seqq*. *Cf*. BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 307, and EHSES, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf*. EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 594, note 1, 597, and 554 *seq*., where there is also a refutation of the absurd assertion of Ziegler (SCHELHORN, Amoenit., II., 371) that Clement had asked Francis to undertake the expedition against Naples and had promised him that kingdom and Sicily. BUSCH (Wolsey und die englisch-kaiserliche Allianz, Bonn, 1886, 62) tries to find in a letter of Lautrec's (in CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Captivité de François I., 22 *seq*.), dated from the camp of Pavia, October 10, 1524, an argument against Ehses; but he forgot to notice that this document belongs to the year 1527; see EHSES in Hist. Jahrbuch, VII., 725, and BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 367 note. GRETHEN, who still tries to defend the earlier view that the Papal-French treaty was concluded in November, has to admit (49, note 3) that it is dificult to bring forward conclusive evidence in support of this. BAUMGARTEN (Karl V., II., 369) also thinks "it is impossible to gauge accurately the nature of Giberti's negotiations with the French, owing to the conflict of contemporary statements."

[3] *Cf*. Libri commem., VI., 181; ROMANIN, V., 406; and JACQUETON, 67 *seq*.

[4] EHSES' view (Politik Klemens VII., 572), that the treaty was prepared on the 4th and received the Pope's signature on the 5th, is confirmed by a **report of Piperario, dated Rome, January 4, 1525, and a *despatch of Fr. Gonzaga, Rome, January 5, 1525 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

and Clement. In the preamble the necessity of a decided step on the part of the Pope was grounded on the French successes in Milan and the great dangers to which the States of the Church were exposed by the expedition to Naples. The Pope bound himself, in his own name and that of the Florentines, neither secretly nor openly to support the King's enemies; he assured to the Duke of Albany free right of passage and provision in the territories of the Church, and indirectly gave his consent to the acquisition of Milan. Francis promised the Pope the possession of Parma and Piacenza, the Papal salt monopoly in the Duchy of Milan, the maintenance of the Medicean rule in Florence, and protection against insubordinate vassals (Ferrara). Lastly, he made concessions of a political and ecclesiastical nature within French and Milanese territory and promised aid against the Turks.[1] Fully half a year before, Girolamo Campeggio had foretold to the representative of Ferrara that all this would come to pass. "Campeggio," wrote that diplomatist on the 21st of June 1524, "declares it to be a certainty that, if the Pope and Venice can come to terms, we shall soon see a league between Rome and France."[2] Nevertheless, it is certain that Clement took this most important step "more from compulsion than from his own free will." It was the influence of Giberti and Carpi, who made adroit use of the position

[1] See DESJARDINS, II., 812 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXXVII., 418 *seq.*; *cf.* 424 and MENCKEN, 950 *seq.*; EHSES (Politik Klemens VII., 572 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*) suggests with probability that the treaty of January, known hitherto only through the so-called *Sommarium* published at the time, contained other important stipulations in favour of the French.

[2] See the report of Alvarotti, June 21, 1524, in BALAN, Boschetti, II., 12. The passage in question, omitted in Balan, appears in cipher in the original (State Archives, Modena).

of affairs, that gave the impetus to the anxious Pope.[1] The promises and expectations opened out by Carpi were extremely enticing, but they certainly affected Clement less as a Pope than as a secular prince.[2] Mendoza had once given as his judgment: "Carpi is a devil; he knows everything and is mixed up in everything; the Emperor must either win him over or destroy him."[3] How much to the point this remark was, was now seen. There was no intrigue, there were no means which the Ambassador of France was ashamed to use in order to draw and force into the net of French diplomacy the Pope, trembling for the safety of his States.[4] Carpi intrigued with the Orsini and, as the Mantuan envoy relates in a cipher letter of the 28th of November 1524, offered the Pope the free disposal of Ferrara, although Alfonso was supporting the French with all his might.[5] Knowing Clement's tendency to nepotism, Carpi also about this time proposed a marriage between Catherine de' Medici, the Pope's niece, and the second son of the French King.[6] In support of Carpi, Francis twice sent

[1] GREITHEN, 54; EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 553; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 367.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 587 *seqq.*

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 612.

[4] The *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor report on December 19, 1524, that the Pope set forth the dangers which would arise from the march of the French and Imperialist troops on Lombardy, and called upon the Cardinals to consult as to the defensive measures to be taken (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See in Appendix, No. 34, the *report of A. Piperario of November 28, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] Besides Foscari's reports of December 4, 12, and 15 in BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 367 368, *cf.* BERGENROTH, II., n. 699, and the **report of Castiglione of November 29, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). SANUTO, XXXVII., 136, and Castiglione, in REUMONT-BARCHET, 274, mention a marriage treaty made with the Pope through Carpi as early as March.

special couriers to Rome bearing the most comprehensive concessions.[1]

Sessa was all the less likely to prove a match for his opponents, as he could do nothing before the arrival of fresh instructions from the Emperor, and, it is to be noted, believed that the English envoys were cajoling Clement, who was almost entirely surrounded by French influences, when they told him that Henry VIII. had no intention of helping Charles in any way against the French.[2] At that time the belief was almost general in Rome that the victory of the French was assured.[3] Above all, there was the serious danger into which the States of the Church were thrown by the expedition against Naples under John Stuart, Duke of Albany. It now seemed that the speedy safeguarding of the Papal interests was demanded for the sake of self-preservation, and thus, that which had for so long been feared came to pass at last. On the 5th of January 1525 Clement informed the Emperor of what had taken place in the most conciliatory and the least definite way possible; his affection for Charles was not lessened, but the movement against Naples, undertaken by Albany contrary to his (Clement's) will, had forced him into an agreement with Francis for the security of his own interests.[4] Clement VII. evidently still hoped to keep up a tolerable understanding with Charles; in this he was completely deceived.

This step of the Pope's threw the usually cautious and moderate Emperor into a bitterness of resentment unknown before. He could hardly conceive that this same Medici

[1] WEISS, Pap. d'État, I., 290; BERGENROTH, II., n. 676; EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 590.

[2] BERGENROTH, II., n. 798, *cf.* 693; GRETHEN, 53.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 193, 349.

[4] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 48–49.

who as Cardinal had always been on his side, should as Pope have turned over to the French. "I shall go," so he expressed himself, "into Italy, and revenge myself on those who have injured me, especially on that poltroon, the Pope. Some day, perhaps, Martin Luther will become a man of weight." In the Imperial Court the election of Clement was attacked on the grounds of his illegitimate birth.[1] In the council of the Archduke Ferdinand a proposal was made that all diplomatic relations with the Holy See should be broken off.[2] On the 7th of February 1525 Charles answered the Papal letter; nothing in his reply betrayed his inward agitation. The Emperor, such was its tenor, reverenced the Pope as a father, and was well aware that he had been deceived by the French party.[3] But two days later he wrote a letter to Sessa, in which his wrath against Clement, for whose election he had "poured out streams of gold," broke out afresh. The Ambassador was distinctly told to inform Clement that the Emperor would carry his plans through, even if it cost him crown and life. The letter closed with the threat, "The present situation is not the best in which to discuss the affairs of Martin Luther."[4] Thus to the internal confusion and warfare of Christendom was added a dangerous strain in the relations between Pope and Emperor, and this exactly at the opening of the year in which the social revolution broke out in Germany.

[1] BROWN, III, 400–402; DE LEVA, II., 233; DITTRICH, Contarini, 29. EHSES (Politik Klemens VII., 578) doubts the authenticity of the sayings attributed to Charles V.

[2] *Report of H. Rorarius to Sadoleto, Innsbruck, January 28, 1525. Lit. divers. ad Clem. VII., vol. i. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] BERGENROTH, II., n. 716.

[4] "En la materia de Luter no es tiempo ahora de hablar," BERGENROTH, II., n. 717; GACHARD, Corresp., 212–213.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF PAVIA.—QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR.—FORMATION OF A COALITION AGAINST CHARLES V. (LEAGUE OF COGNAC, MAY 22, 1526).

ON the 24th of January 1525 the Imperialists broke out of Lodi; in the first days of February they appeared before the French army, still besieging the stronghold of Pavia, with the intention of forcing a battle.[1] Peals of bells and beacon-fires from the towers of the old Lombard city welcomed the relief in this hour of need. For three weeks the hostile forces faced one another. The French camp was admirably protected by nature and art; on the right it was covered by the Ticino, on the left by a large park surrounded by a high wall, within which lay the famous Certosa.

On the 24th of February, the Emperor's birthday, his army, composed of Spaniards, Italians, and the dreaded German landsknechts, opened the attack. At daybreak the battle, which was to decide the "Italian imperium," began. In a few hours the murderous fight was over; the gallant troops of Francis were laid low before the onset of the German landsknechts and Spanish veterans; the King himself was a prisoner.[2]

[1] SANDOVAL, I., 551 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÄBLER, Die Schlacht bei Pavia, in the Forschungen zur Deutsche Gesch., XXV., 513 *seq.* To the literature of the subject here made use of, some important contributions have since been added; *cf.*

The victory of Pavia made the Empire of Charles the ruling power in Europe. It is impossible to describe the impression everywhere produced by this historical catastrophe. The bloodshed and strife in which France and the houses of Spain and Hapsburg had engaged for the mastery in Europe, seemed to be brought to an end by this unexpected blow. France lay at the Emperor's feet, while Italy, and with her the Papacy, were surrendered defenceless to his power. In Rome men were dumbfounded by the news of the great event. Clement, whose diplomatists were seeking up to the last hour for accommodations that might lead to peace, looked to Lombardy with indescribable anxiety.[1] His position was in the highest degree precarious. The loss of the independence of Italy meant also that of the Holy See.[2] With Milan and Naples in the Emperor's hands, the Papacy was threatened with enclosure in a circle of iron. But Clement, in his anxiety and his statecraft, was as incapable of a great resolution,

i. a. Bolet. d. l. Acad. de Madrid, 1889; Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, VI., 248 *seqq.*; Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswissensch., VI., 366 *seq.*; Anz. f. schweiz. Gesch., N.F., XXIII., No. 2; Studi storici, X., 347; JÄHNS, Gesch. des Kriegswesens, 1091 *seq.*; Basler Zeitschr. für Gesch., 1903; Bollet. d. st. pavese, IV., 3 (1904); LEBEY, 282 *seqq.*; A. BONARDI, L'assedio e la battaglia di Pavia, in Mem. p. l. storia di Pavia, I. (1894–95); PRATO, Il parco vecchio e la battaglia di Pavia, Pavia, 1897. For pictorial representations see, Zeitschr. für Gesch. von Freiburg i. Br. VI. (1857), and the sumptuous publication of BELTRAMI, La battaglia di Pavia illustr. negli arazzi del Marchese del Vasto (now in the Museum, Naples), Milano, 1896; MORELLI, Gli arazzi illustr. la battaglia di Pavia, Napoli, 1899.

[1] *Cf.* Giberti's letter to Aleander, February 19, 1525, in Lett. d. princ., II., 66 *seq.* Aleander was made prisoner at Pavia (Lett. d. princ., I., 103), and was not, as Guicciardini relates, at once set at liberty; on the contrary, his ransom was a matter of protracted negotiation; see, Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, IV., 189.

[2] The opinion of GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 424.

such as a Julius II. would have taken, as he was of any definite action.

Persuaded by Giberti and Carpi, Clement had departed from his strict neutrality and linked his fortunes, for the worse rather than the better, with those of the French King,[1] whose superiority at the moment had seemed to promise him a lasting triumph. But the fortune of war is fickle; what would happen if Francis were defeated? At the last moment Giberti and Clement seem to have perceived their mistake. Hence the exhortations to Francis I. not to put his fortune to the proof, to refuse the wager of battle, and to have recourse to negotiations instead. As late as the 19th of February Giberti asked Aleander, the Nuncio, to represent matters in this way to the French King. He added, "As no sailor ever risks the storm of the open sea with one anchor only, so the Pope, confident though he be in the strength of Francis I., will not stake all upon the single throw of his success before Pavia."[2] In saying this, Giberti condemned his own policy, and a week later the news reached Rome that the cast of war had been thrown —not in favour of Francis I. and his ally the Pope.

On the evening of the 26th of February Clement received, in a letter from Cardinal Salviati, the first intelligence of the Emperor's victory. To him, as well as to all around him, the news seemed incredible;[3] but later accounts, including one by an eye-witness, put all doubt at an end.[4]

[1] EHSES, Politik Klemens VII., 587.

[2] Lett. d. princ., II., 67. EHSES, *loc. cit.* On January 15, 1525, Fr. Gonzaga reported in a cipher *despatch: "A me par che S. Sta faci poco bon judicio per essi Franzesi."

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of V. Albergati, February 27, 1525 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] SANUTO, XXXVIII., 16; Diarium Blasii de Martinellis in CREIGHTON, V., 325; Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, VI., 255; *report of Fr. Gonzaga, Rome, February 27, 1525 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The Pope was as one dead;[1] his terror was increased by the reaction produced in his household by this event. All the Imperialists, the Spaniards, as well as the Colonna, gave way to the wildest rejoicing. Such a change of fortune surpassed their boldest hopes. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna held a brilliant festival in his palace; throughout the city rang the echos of salvoes of congratulation, and the cries of rejoicing of "Empire, Spain, Colonna."[2] The Orsini, who were of the French party, had the very worst to fear; their leaders were absent; they and their levies were with the Duke of Albany, who had returned from his march to Naples, to the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and there had pitched his camp about the 10th of February.[3]

All thought of pursuing his expedition was given up, and Albany decided to return. On the 2nd of March two

[1] Rimase morto; BAUMGARTEN, Karl, II., 419. *Cf.* SANUTO XXXVIII., 48, and Carte Strozz., I., 2, 36 *seq.*

[2] SANUTO, XXXVIII., 17, 30. *Venit Romae rumor talis, quod non humanum videretur sed divinum, quod 26 februarii nuntiatum fuit s. pontifici prima hora noctis qualiter rex Franciscus Gallorum esset captus et exercitus ejus penitus dissipatus et qualiter multi ceciderunt gladio. Ab Imperialibus clamantibus Imperio, Spagna, Colonna habitae fuere maximae laetitiae tormentis bellicis et ignibus; fere ab urbe condita talis rumor auditus non fuerat atque partialium laetitia, rumor ad astra tendis. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). Lett. d. princ., I., 103. *Letter of V. Albergati, February 27, 1525 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] The Duke of Albany came on February 13 to Rome (DESJARDINS, II., 827), and visited the Pope the next day (*despatches of G. de' Medici, February 13 and 14, 1525, State Archives, Florence). The Pope received him with great friendliness (*cf.* *letter of V. Albergati, February 17, 1525, State Archives, Bologna), because he was a brother-in-law of the deceased Lorenzo de' Medici. Clement VII. was against the expedition; the plan, moreover, had originated with the French King. *Cf.* also GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 426 *seq.*, and *supra*, p. 263.

thousand five hundred men, consisting of Frenchmen and the Orsini, began their homeward march. Acting on a swift resolution, Colonna, supported by some of Sessa's retainers, fell upon them suddenly at the monastery of Tre Fontane, and drove them in hasty flight within the city. Wherever the Orsini sought refuge, the Colonna were at their heels; fighting took place in the Ghetto and on Monte Giordano. The whole city was in an uproar; the streets rang with the war-cries "Orsini—Colonna." The terrified inhabitants bolted their doors; artillery was placed to protect the Vatican, and the Swiss stood under arms all night.[1] The terror-stricken Pope did all he could to restore quiet, and was successful in inducing Albany to disband his forces. The Italians were left behind; the foreigners, under the Duke, fell back on Civita Vecchia, and at the end of March they were conveyed in French galleys to Marseilles. In the meanwhile Schönberg, who had returned to Rome on the 5th of March, succeeded in pacifying the Colonna.[2]

All these occurrences had made the deepest impression on the Pope. The fights, especially between the Orsini and the Colonna, engaged in under his very eyes, raised his alarm to the highest pitch.[3] While in Rome the ground was trembling under his feet, his fears for Florence were also aroused, where the ideas of Savonarola were again

[1] Besides Lett. d. princ., I., 107, SANUTO, XXXVIII., 48, and ALBERINI, 329, *cf.* for this first raid of the Colonna the *report of J. Recordato, March 2, 1525 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), who in part narrates as an eye-witness.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVIII., 97, 155 *seq.*, and *despatch of G. de Medici, Rome, March 29, 1525 (State Archives, Florence). For Schönberg's return see Giberti's letter in Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, VI., 257 *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, XXXVIII., 67, 83, 85, 104.

springing into life. Still more precarious was the Papal rule in the Romagna, where the Ghibellines were rejoicing over the victory of Pavia.[1] The Imperialists lost no time in taking advantage of Clement's necessity. They held the trembling Pope, who in vain urged moderation,[2] in a vice of iron.[3] Their troops carried fire and sword ruthlessly through the territory of Piacenza; Lannoy even uttered the threat that he would lead his soldiers on Rome.[4] By such means Clement was forced first to pay 25,000 ducats, and then to make a treaty of alliance.[5]

The most zealous opponent of an alliance between the Pope and the Emperor was Giberti, who, supported by Lodovico di Canossa, who was in the service of France, and by the Venetian Ambassador, was doing all he could at this time to unite the whole of Italy, under Papal leadership, in a league against the Spanish domination, and was also trying to bring England, the jealous rival of Charles V., into the combination. There were moments when the Pope, in torments of indecision, lent such a ready ear to his proposals that Giberti believed the desired end to have been reached;[6] but at the last moment the Imperialist Schönberg upset his plans.[7] The most immediate danger

[1] *Cf.* PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 6 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of M. Salamanca to G. Salamanca, February 27, 1525 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Opinion of REUMONT, III., 2, 170.

[4] PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 10.

[5] For the 25,000 ducats see GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 57. For the coercion on the part of the Imperialists see also REUMONT, III., 2, 170; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 439; and GRETHEN, 68.

[6] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 74 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XV., 1; SISMONDI, XVI., 162 *seq.*

[7] For the negotiations *cf.* the *report of Fr. Gonzaga, March 18, 1525 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *despatches of G. de' Medici, Rome, March 27 and 30 (State Archives, Florence).

undoubtedly came from Charles V., who had it in his power to wrest Florence from the Medici.[1] At the same time Piacenza was sending pressing appeals for help against the unbridled licence of the soldiery. Lastly, the news concerning the social revolution in Germany and the advances of the Turk was of an exceptionally disturbing kind. Clement VII. saw that, cost what it might, he must come to terms with the Emperor.

On the 1st of April 1525 a treaty, defensive and offensive, was concluded between the Pope and Lannoy as Imperial Viceroy in Italy.[2] The terms of the agreement were that both should recognize Francesco Sforza as Duke of Milan, and that the Emperor should take the States of the Church, Florence, and the house of Medici under his protection, Florence paying in return 100,000 ducats. Lannoy, moreover, undertook to withdraw his forces from the Papal States and to place no garrisons therein in future without the Pope's permission. In the event of Charles not having ratified these conditions within four months, the 100,000 ducats were to be refunded by Lannoy. There were besides three other separate articles, to the following effect:—

1. The Pope was to hold, in the kingdom of Naples, the rights connected with benefices as settled in the Bull of investiture.

2. Milan was in the future to have the salt from the Papal salt-pits in Cervia.

3. Lannoy was to insist on the restoration of Reggio

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVIII., 172.

[2] See *despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, April 1, 1525. He states, on April 4, that Bartolomeo Gattinara, who had carried on the negotiations with Sessa and Clerk, would leave on the day following (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* VILLA, Italia, 33 *seqq.*

and Rubbiera to the Church by the Duke of Ferrara; on this restoration being made the Pope was to pay 100,000 ducats to the Emperor and absolve the Duke from all censures.[1]

Without waiting for the Imperial ratification, Lannoy had already, in April, published the treaty in Milan. The Pope, who on receipt of favourable letters from the Emperor's court and from Lannoy had the best hopes of Charles's conduct, did the same in Rome in May. He combined with this solemnity his official *Possesso* of the Lateran.[2] From the Spanish Nuncio Castiglione

[1] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 1; SANUTO, XXXVIII., 157 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 421 *seq.*; HELLWIG, 21, note 1. Clement wished to include Venice also in the League. At Rome it was looked upon at first as certain that this would be brought about (see *despatches of G. de' Medici, Rome, April 14 and 21, 1525), but the Signoria was alarmed at the amount of money asked for by Lannoy. In the Consistory of April 3 the Pope communicated to the Cardinals the terms of the League. *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Lannoy's letter of April 15, 1525, in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 339–340, and Blasius de Martinellis, Diarium, in Cod. Barb., lat. 2799, Vatican Library. The favourable reports from the Imperial Court are mentioned by G. de' Medici in a *despatch, Rome, April 22, 1525, in which he adds: "Domane si publicherà qui la legha novamento facta" (Florentine State Archives). The delay, which G. de' Medici had already mentioned in a *despatch of April 25, was caused, no doubt, by the combination of the *Possesso* with the publication of the League. For the *Possesso* and the publication, see, as supplementary to CANCELLIERI'S scanty information (88 *seq.*), the reports in GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 87, 91; VILLA, Italia, 54; SANUTO, XXXVIII., 265, 268; the Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), and the detailed description in the *letter of G. de' Medici of May 1. The latter had written previously, on April 27: "S. Sta anderà domenica a S. Janni a pigliare la possessione per l' ordinario sanza far spesa che ne è da ciascuno commendata et tanto più visto con che modestia Cesare si è governato della vittoria havuta" (State Archives, Florence).

came very reassuring accounts[1] of the moderation of the victorious Emperor, so that on the 5th of May Clement resolved to send Cardinal Salviati to Spain as Legate in order to work for the restoration of peace, the execution of the treaty, the prosecution of the Turkish war, and the suppression of Lutheranism.[2] Salviati at this moment was still in Parma; in order to accelerate his journey, it was determined on the 12th of June that he should proceed by sea instead of going through France, as at first intended;[3] he was also instructed to discuss the

[1] In the Consistory of April 29 the letter which Charles V. had, on April 6, addressed to Clement VII. on the subject of the Turkish war (printed in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 338–339; *ibid.*, 337–338, the letter of Charles, April 4, and 133–135, the Pope's answer, May 2) was first read; extracts from Castiglione's report of his friendly reception by the Emperor (*cf.* SERASSI, I., 146) and of the moderation shown by the latter after his victory, and a letter of Charles's to Germany on the affairs of Luther, were then communicated. It was determined to give thanks to God for the good disposition of the Emperor. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* KALKOFF, Forschungen, 90 *seq.*

[2] *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor for May 5, 1525 (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* MOLINI, I., 194. The publication of the appointment was deferred. G. de' Medici reports on May 12, 1525: *Questa matina in consistorio è stato publicato legato di la dalli monti il rev. Salviati, la quale legatione principalmente è facta per andare ad Cesare et bisognando il venirà in Francia, in Inghilterra e dove sarà di bisogno per la quiete e pace di Cristianità. On May 16 G. de' Medici writes: *N. S. molto sollecita il rev. legato ad partire per esser in Francia alla madre del re, dipoi a Cesare (State Archives, Florence).

[3] "Consistorium die lunae 12. Junii, 1525: S. D. N. fecit verbum de itinere rev. dom. legati ad Caesarem destinati, et fuit conclusum quod legatus, ut celerius applicare possit ad Caesarem, per mare iter arripiat cum triremibus S. R. E. et si opus fuerit uti illis quae sunt religionis Rodianae." *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* *despatches of G. de' Medici,

Emperor's coronation and the question of a council.[1] Accordingly, the Legate left Parma on the 2nd of July and embarked at Genoa;[2] on the 23rd of August the Pope was able to give very favourable accounts of him in Consistory.[3] But in reality the Cardinal's task was beyond his powers; he fell under the fascination of Charles and saw everything in the rosiest light.[4] The official correspondence also between the Pope and Emperor was carried on in the friendliest terms for some time longer; the points of controversy were slurred over as much as possible, and those of common interest emphasized.[5]

It was impossible, however, that each party should go on deceiving the other for ever. In spite of all assurances

June 14 and July 18, 1525: Dissatisfaction of the French at the Legate for travelling by sea (State Archives, Florence). See also the letter of Cardinal Salviati, June 17, 1525, published in, Due Lettere inedite del Card. G. Salviati, Vicenza, 1878 (per Nozze).

[1] SANUTO, XXXIX., 101. The *full legatine powers for Cardinal Salviati, dated Rome, 1525, III. Non. Maii A° 2°, in Regest., 1439, f. 1–13 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 69. G. de' Medici reports on July 26, 1525, that Salviati had reached Marseilles without having met with any hindrance from the French (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Salviati reported, as Clement informed the Consistory on August 23, that the Emperor had received him as Legate in a friendly way, that everything tended towards a general peace, and that Charles held Clement in esteem: "itaque ex omnibus locis bene sperandum est." *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* his two optimistic reports from Alcalá, September 22, and from Toledo, October 3, 1525, in MOLINI, I., 191–199. For the scheme that Machiavelli should accompany the Cardinal, see DESJARDINS, II., 840–841.

[5] See the Pope's letters dated May 7, June 15, 19, 22, July 4, and November 13, 1525, in BALAN, Mem. Saec., XVI., 137 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*, 156 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, 162 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*, and Charles's letters, *ibid.*, 345 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, 350 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES, Concil. IV., XXIII., n. 2.

of friendship, a breach was bound to come soon, since the Pope was becoming more and more convinced that the arrogant commanders of Charles's army had no intention of carrying out the terms of the treaty of April, and were, indeed, often acting in direct contradiction to them. Instead of the withdrawal of their troops from the Papal States, fresh occupations took place in the territory of Piacenza, whereby the country was exhausted and laid waste. Lannoy certainly made daily promises to Clement that, as soon as the 100,000 ducats were paid in full, the restoration of Reggio and Rubbiera would take place; but in secret he had already secured the possession of these places to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara. He also urgently advised the Emperor not to confirm the additional clauses of the treaty. Charles took his advice; the restoration of Reggio and Rubbiera, in which towns Clement saw the keys of Parma and Piacenza,[1] the Papal salt monopoly in Milan, and the arrangements for Church patronage in the kingdom of Naples, were consequently discarded and remained a dead letter. Nevertheless, the Imperialists refused to repay to the Pope the sums disbursed by him for the promised surrender of the towns. The more Clement saw that this behaviour had the Emperor's approbation, the greater became his mistrust and indignation. When the Imperial ratification of the principal treaty arrived, he declined to accept it, since it had not been executed within the stipulated four months, and proceeded to demand back the 100,000 ducats paid by Florence. This the Imperialists declined, under empty pretexts, to refund.[2] Clement, who was suffering from gout, was fully

[1] "Si non havemo Rezo, è perso Parma e Piasenza," said the Pope to the Venetian Envoy. SANUTO, XI., 345.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 3; HELLWIG, 21; BREWER, IV., 1, n. 1336, 1418. *Cf.* GRETHEN, 70 *seq.*, 72 *seq.*, who acknowledges the justice of

justified in saying that he had been cheated,[1] injured, and insulted. In addition to these grievances came Charles's heavy claims on the church patronage of Aragon. "If the affairs of the Church are treated in this way," said Clement to Sessa, "it were best that I should betake myself back to Soracte."[2]

The rumours concerning the intentions of Charles's advisers and of his commander-in-chief in Italy were of the kind most likely to throw the Pope into fear and despair. The proposal which came from this quarter, with a view to trampling under foot the independence of the whole Apennine Peninsula, aimed at nothing less than the total confiscation of the Papal States. Not merely were Florence, Siena, and Lucca to come under the Emperor's rule, but Modena also was to fall to the Duke of Ferrara, and the Bentivogli were to be re-established in Bologna. Lannoy, the soul of the anti-Papal intrigues, demanded also that Parma and Piacenza, Ravenna and Cervia, should be separated from the States of the Church; the first two were destined for the Duke of Milan, the two last for the Republic of Venice.[3] The Pope was aware of these intrigues, but, being powerless, had to play a losing game with a cheerful countenance;[4] for if the Emperor was able to come to terms with Francis at the expense of Italy, then Clement

the Pope's complaints. The damage done in the Papal territory by the Imperialist soldiery was reckoned at 200,000 ducats; see CREIGHTON, V., 259.

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 118.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., 1, n. 134.

[3] Besides GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 3, and DE LEVA, II., 273, *cf.* an account in SANUTO, XXXVIII., 121, of which the value has not hitherto been appreciated,

[4] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 3.

was lost.[1] This eventuality seemed to be very close at hand when the captive King of France was removed to Spain[2] (10th of June 1525).

In Rome, in Venice, indeed throughout the whole of Italy, the impression prevailed that the Emperor intended to become reconciled to his prisoner at the cost of Italian independence, and the freedom of Italy would be destroyed for ever. The decisive moment seemed to have come to run the last risk and throw off the yoke of those whom they called "barbarians." In the sphere of literature and art the Italian of those days was unquestionably entitled to consider himself superior to the Spaniard, and indeed to all the other nations in Europe. This self-consciousness gave powerful nourishment to the revival of the national idea. "All Italy," declared Antonio de Leyva, the loyal general of the Emperor, "is at one in combining to defend the common interests and to resist any further increase of the power of Spain. There is not a single Prince among them who thinks any longer of the favours received from Charles."[3]

In other respects also affairs were tending more and more to the Emperor's disadvantage. After the defeat at Pavia, it had at first seemed as if the French kingdom must fall in pieces. But afterwards a complete change came over affairs. It was the Regent, Louisa of Savoy, the King's mother, who held the nation together and became

[1] *Cf.* the **despatches of Fr. Gonzaga, May 13, 1525 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* MIGNET, II., 104 *seq.*; DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 54 *seq.*; GACHARD, Captivité de François I., in Études conc. l'hist. des Pays-Bas, I., 1890.

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 3; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 427–428; VILLA, Italia, 68 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 26.

its leader. She soothed the disaffected among the nobles and generals, reconciled factions, organized the defences of the country, and disclosed in all directions a capacity for rule which was as determined as it was prudent. She it was, also, who succeeded in detaching Henry VIII., envious of the good fortune of Charles, from the Emperor, and in concluding at the end of August a treaty of peace and alliance between France and England.[1]

Some considerable time before this, the Regent had also entered into communications with the States of Italy. Her primary object was to win over the two most powerful —the Pope and Venice. For this purpose Louisa of Savoy employed the services of a man who, although by birth an Italian, was yet one of the most fervent adherents of her son. This was Lodovico di Canossa, Bishop of Bayeux. He was an intimate friend of Giberti, and was also held in great esteem at Venice. At the end of 1524 and in the spring of the following year he was in Rome, making himself personally active, and at that time he believed that he had already fully secured the anxious-minded Pope.[2] At the beginning of June 1525 Canossa gave out that he had to visit his family in Verona; he really went in haste to Venice, which he reached on the 15th of June.[3] Thither on the 23rd came the French envoy, Lorenzo Toscano, with instructions from the Regent. On the following day

[1] The news reached Rome on September 25, 1525; see the *despatch of G. de' Medici of that date (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 76. For the period of Canossa's journey to Rome see the rare monograph of ORTI MANARA, Canossa, 37.

[3] In confirmation of GRETHEN'S (73) and JACQUETON'S (203) statements about Canossa's journey, I refer to the following **letters of the latter to F. Robertet: (1) dated Rome, June 2, 1525; (2) dated Urbino, June 11; (3) dated Venice, June 20: "Zobia passata io giunsi in questa terra dove aspecto che mi sia comandato quanto io habia a fare" (Communal Library, Verona).

Canossa laid his proposals before the Signoria, but the cautious Venetians declined to give a definite answer before the Pope had declared himself.[1] Canossa now worked with might and main, and his letters were despatched in all directions; while urging the French Government to come as quickly as possible to an understanding, he stirred up in Italy, wherever he could, the fires of national hatred against the Spaniard.[2] But his principal object was to move the Pope, who still clung to his old policy of "I will and I won't,"[3] to declare himself openly.

The confidant of Canossa's plans and his best ally was Giberti, who, with Carpi's support, and with even greater perseverance than his friend, was working against the Emperor[4] behind Schönberg's back, in France, Switzerland, and England, and, above all, trying to induce the Pope to come over finally to the side of Francis. On the 25th of June 1525[5] Canossa wrote encouragingly: "All points to a swift and satisfactory conclusion." But it was precisely at this juncture that the two friends met with the greatest difficulties. "Although the Pope," wrote Giberti to Canossa on the 1st of July, "is a good friend to the emancipation of Italy, yet he will not fling himself headlong into an

[1] Besides Canossa's letter of June 21, which is printed for the most part in PROFESSIONE'S Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 10, see also his **letter to Giberti of June 25, that to Louisa of Savoy of June 28, 1525, and that to Giberti of July 5 (Communal Library, Verona).

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 428; Miscell. d. stor. Ital., III., 351 *seq.*, and CIPOLLA, 891.

[3] This expression is used by Giov. Maria del Monte in a letter of March 3, 1525. Lett. d. princ., I., 107.

[4] BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* For Giberti's concealment of his activity from Schönberg, *cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 84. See also GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 135.

[5] Letter to Giberti, dated Venice, June 25 (not 23), 1525, as given in PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 28.

affair of such weighty responsibility, and is, in the first place, determined to await the arrival of Lorenzo Toscano." At the same time, Giberti urged the closest secrecy with regard to all their transactions, as success would be easy if they succeeded in taking the Spaniards by surprise.[1] In a letter addressed on the same day to the Swiss Nuncio, Ennio Filonardi, Giberti confirms his account of Clement's indecision. In consequence of the misconduct of the Imperialists, Giberti here insists, especially with regard to their infringements of the April treaty, war might easily arise; therefore the Nuncio ought to take secret measures to have from eight to ten thousand Swiss in readiness, in case of necessity, to fight, not only in Lombardy, but also in Naples.[2] Giberti was not less active in other ways as well. He told the Pope, in the most emphatic language, that, if he let this opportunity go by, he would bitterly repent it, and sink into a mere tool of the Emperor's. Still Clement was not to be moved to take any open steps, and Giberti, in desperation, threatened that he would quit Rome.[3]

Canossa did not commit himself as long as the Pope and Venice refused to declare themselves openly against Charles. On the 25th of June he explained to the Regent that both the Pope and Venice were afraid lest France, thinking exclusively of her own interests, should sacrifice Italy;[4] even Giberti had his misgivings of France in this respect.[5] It was certainly strange that the agents of France had never yet received full powers to conclude an alliance.

[1] Lett. d. princ., II., 83.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 81.

[3] SANUTO, XXXIX., 174, 176.

[4] *Canossa a Madama la regina di Francia, dated Venice, June 25, 1525 (Communal Library, Verona).

[5] *Cf.* his letter to Canossa, July 8, 1525, in Lett. d. princ., II., 85.

Consequently, at Rome as well as at Venice, matters were taken in hand with the greatest caution and reticence. Under cover of the closest secrecy, Giberti employed Sigismondo Sanzio, one of Carpi's secretaries, to treat with the Regent, and Gregorio Casale to treat with Henry VIII. One object was to ascertain the truth of a report emanating from Spain, that the Emperor would probably visit Italy in person; at the same time, clear information was to be procured as to the help which "poor Italy" might expect to receive. Sanzio and Casale left Rome almost simultaneously (9th and 10th of July).[1] In spite of all precautions, Sessa was informed of these movements. But Clement VII. managed, by the ambiguity of his language, entirely to deceive the Spanish diplomatist.[2]

The shrewd Venetians proceeded with similar secrecy. They also put no trust in France.[3] Already, on the 10th of July, Canossa had described to his friend Giberti the hesitation of the Signoria, who awaited the decision of the Pope.[4] On the 18th he was able to report that Venice was prepared to enter into a league with France on the conditions put forward by the Pope through Sigismondo Sanzio. For the present, however, this determination was to be kept absolutely secret. The conditions were: Francesco Sforza to keep Milan and marry a French Princess; the Pope to receive Naples and Sicily, and France to pay monthly 50,000 ducats and supply 6600 land forces and 10 galleys; the Italians in return to make an alliance,

[1] Lett. d. princ., II., 85, 86; GRETHEN, 76 *seq.*; PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 35; JACQUETON, 211 *seq.*

[2] GRETHEN, 78 *seqq.*

[3] **Canossa a Madama la regina di Francia, dated Venice, July 7, 1525 (Communal Library, Verona).

[4] **Canossa al datario, Venice, July 10, 1525 (Communal Library, Verona).

offensive and defensive, with France, and to raise an army of 13,000 men for the liberation of the King.[1]

By the month of August the negotiations were at a standstill. Giberti's and the Pope's distrust of France had revived with increased strength. The attitude of the Regent was, in fact, so suspicious that the fear that she might treacherously surrender Italy to the Emperor was forced on men's minds. She prolonged the negotiations in such a way that it became more and more clear that she was only making use of Italy in order to obtain the release of Francis on more favourable terms. Not merely in Rome but also in Venice, where Canossa was long kept waiting without any tidings from France being received, the worst suspicions were aroused.[2] Moreover, there came the news that Sigismondo Sanzio had been murdered in the neighbourhood of Brescia, and all his correspondence stolen.[3] Among the papers of this Ambassador were some highly compromising documents relating to a plot to deprive the Emperor of his ablest general.

The iron hand of the haughty Spaniard lay with all its

[1] **Canossa a mons. datario, and, a Madama la regina di Francia, two letters, dated Venice, July 18, 1525 (Communal Library, Verona).

[2] BREWER, IV., 1, n. 1563, 1589; GRETHEN, 80. Canossa wrote on August 5, 1525, from Venice to the Queen Regent: *Quà et a Roma per quanto mi è scritto aspettano con gran desiderio di havere qualche risoluta risposta di V. M. circa quello che Sigismondo li ha portato, et senza la dita risposta non sono per passare più avanti per cosa che se li possa dire. In a *letter of August 18, 1525, Canossa puts plainly before the Regent the Venetian distrust of France. He returns to the subject again on August 22. *Cf.* also Canossa's letters to Robertet, **August 11, 18, and 22 (Communal Library, Verona). For the Pope's anxiety and depression *cf.* SANUTO, XXXIX., 341, 377, 425, 459.

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 3; SANUTO, XXXIX., 282, 326, 341, 342 343: PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 37.

might on young Francesco Sforza. The Duchy of Milan had been reconquered in his name, but he now saw himself given over to the arbitrary rule of the Imperial governor and treated with the most offensive insolence by the very men to whom, in their extreme danger, he had been a firm support. Milan was under greater oppression than had ever been known under French domination. The complete subjection of Sforza and the incorporation of the Duchy into the Spanish Monarchy seemed now only a question of time. To free his native land from the foreigner, the Duke's Chancellor, Girolamo Morone, devised a plan as clever as it was daring.[1] Pescara, the Emperor's ablest general, felt himself ill-used and pushed into the background by his master. Morone thus hoped to secure him. In deep secrecy, after the most cautious overtures, he disclosed to Pescara his plan for delivering Italy from the Imperial sway, and, in the event of success, promised him nothing less than the kingdom of Naples, which the Pope would confer upon him. Although Pescara did not commit himself to any definite assent, Morone was under the impression that the Emperor's general would yield to these brilliant promises. The impetuous Italian believed that the game was in his hands, and put himself into communication with Venice, Rome, and France. Soon all who were initiated into the adventure were filled with the most overweening hopes. "I see the world transformed," wrote Giberti, "and Italy arising from the depths of misery

[1] For Morone and his conspiracy see DANDOLO, Ricordi inediti d. G. Morone, Milano, 1855; G. MÜLLER, Docum. p. la vita di G. Morone, in Miscell. d. stor. Ital., III., Torino, 1865; DE LEVA, II., 281 *seqq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 449 *seqq.*; CIPOLLA, 891 *seqq.*; REUMONT, V. Colonna, 75 *seq.*; GIODA, G. Morone e i suoi tempi, Milano, 1887; JACQUETON, 215; *cf.* SALTINI, G. Morone, Firenze, 1868.

to the summit of prosperity."[1] Clement VII., who, at this time, saw everything through the eyes of his present adviser, was of the same mind.[2] But Pescara was at heart a thorough Spaniard; he despised the Italians, and only wished to become privy to their plots and to delay the crisis of the conspiracy. In secret he betrayed all to the Emperor and promised to send him money and troops so as to enable him with all possible speed to make peace with France. For never had the danger been greater. Not only the Pope, Venice, and Milan, but also Genoa and Ferrara were united in one common hatred of the Spaniard and fear of the Imperial supremacy.[3]

Pescara, being in possession of conclusive evidence, threw off the mask. On the 14th of October 1525 Morone, who had been lulled into security, was suddenly seized, and all important places in the Duchy put under military occupation. Against Francesco Sforza, who had taken refuge in the citadel of Milan, a charge of felony was laid; the Milanese authorities were bidden henceforward to execute their functions in the Emperor's name.[4]

The news of these proceedings reached Rome on the 18th of October. They caused as much perplexity, terror, and despondency as the victory of Pavia had done, especially among those who were implicated in the intrigues.[5] The Spaniards and their partisans at once

[1] Lettera a Ghinucci, in, Lettere di principi (ed. princeps), I., 170. RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., II., 2nd ed., 343.

[2] Report of Fr. de Quiñones, Rome, August 26, 1525. GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 188; *cf.* n. 221.

[3] BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 455.

[4] ROMANIN, V., 415. On November 14 orders were given to pay in all the revenues of the State to the Abbot of Najera. MÜLLER, Docum., n. 243.

[5] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 224, 240; SANUTO, XL., 133, 137 *seq.*; *despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, October 19, 1525 (State Archives, Florence).

took up an aggressive attitude. To Cardinal Colonna, who had left Rome a few days earlier, the remark was attributed that "with 100,000 ducats he would pledge himself to drive the Pope from his capital."[1] By the 20th of October Mendoza had come upon the scene commissioned by Pescara to explain the reasons for Morone's arrest and the necessity, arising therefrom, of occupying the Duchy. Clement was unable, at first, to conceal his embarrassment; but afterwards he controlled himself, and tried to justify his recent conduct: the restitution of Reggio and Rubbiera had not taken place, but had been indefinitely deferred; in like manner the article concerning the salt monopoly had not been complied with; further, the Imperial forces continued to occupy the Papal States, to the ruin of the population. To crown all came the removal of the French King into Spain and the suspicious visit of the Duke of Ferrara to the Emperor. In view of the generally received opinion that Charles intended to come to terms with his prisoner to the detriment of the Papacy and of the whole of Italy, Clement had been filled with the greatest distrust, and had taken a share in the movements against the Emperor, so as not to be left in total isolation. Since the occupation of Milan by the Emperor's troops he was fully under the impression that Charles was aiming at the complete conquest and subjugation of Italy. Mendoza and Sessa laboured in vain, during the following days, to convince the Pope that such apprehensions were groundless.[2] Clement was emphatic in declaring that every-

[1] SANUTO, XL., 138.

[2] GAYANGOS, III., n. 224, 235, 239, 240. *Despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, October 21, 1525: "Il Signor Lopez Hurtado arrivò hier sera, et questa matina è stato lungamente con N. S."; there follows a summary of the substance of the conversation. According to a *despatch of the same envoy on October 25, Mendoza wished to leave

thing hung on the possession of Milan, and that he should never reconcile himself to Lombardy being ruled by Charles or Ferdinand. This possession of Milan clashed with the conditions of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; it gave the Emperor unlimited power in Italy, and rather than yield on this point, he would prefer to share the downfall of all the princes of Italy. The Pope made no concealment of his determination to act on the defensive with Venice, France, and England.[1]

The extent of Clement's alarm at this moment is shown from the fact that he at once gave orders to provide Parma and Piacenza with troops, and that he saw to the fortification of Rome and to the enlistment of additional troops.[2]

There were real grounds for the fears of Clement and the Italians. "The only remedy," wrote Mendoza to Charles on the 5th of November, "lies in this: to make peace with France, to take possession of Milan, and—to wrest both Parma and Piacenza from our Holy Mother the Church."[3] Thus wrote the man who had just been impart-

on the following day (State Archives, Florence). The Pope viewed the journey of Alfonso from Ferrara with displeasure but, owing to the occupation of the territory of the Church, maintained the suspension of relations for six months. Alfonso, however, never reached the Emperor, for, in understanding with Clement, he was not allowed to pass through France. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIX., 430, 450, 481; XL., 201–202, 245. The * Brief of Suspension here referred to, dated Rome, September 23, 1525, was found by me in the original, in the State Archives, Modena. The discussion in Consistory upon this circumstance took place on September 15. * Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 253, 256, 258; SANUTO, XL., 174; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 494.

[2] SANUTO, XL., 220; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 253, 271.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 253. *Cf.* also the letter of Leyva, in MÜLLER, Docum., n. 244, and DE LEVA, II., 301 *seq.*

ing to the Pope the most pacifying assurances. Can Clement and the other Italian powers be blamed if they sought to make their own position secure? "Intrigues are more rife than ever," Caracciolo reported to the Emperor on the 10th of November from Venice. "All depends on separating Venice and the Pope: it would be a very easy thing to win the latter."[1] Charles V. seems also to have taken this view; hence the distinguished reception given, at the beginning of October, to Cardinal Salviati at Toledo. The Emperor spoke so convincingly of his peaceful intentions, of his plans against Turks and heretics, of his filial reverence for the Holy Father, that not the least doubt of his sincerity occurred to Salviati. The Emperor also gave tranquillizing assurances with respect to Milan, Reggio, and Rubbiera; in reality he meant very differently.[2] But for the moment his one object was, while keeping his hold on Clement and winning him over by fair words and promises, to crush the dangerous movement towards freedom in Italy. For this purpose he sent a special envoy to Rome in the person of Miguel de Herrera.

In the meantime the opposite party pressed their suit on Clement not less zealously. The Spanish envoys saw with special anxiety the strenuous efforts of the Venetians to bring the Pope to a final decision. Their fears increased as the couriers came and went incessantly between Rome and Venice.[3] Clement was as far as ever from any fixed determination. The alarm caused by the arrest of Morone influenced him powerfully. This procrastination caused dissatisfaction not only to the anti-Imperialists but to the

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 256.

[2] MOLINI, I., 191 *seqq.*; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 246; SANUTO, XL., 296; DE LEVA, II., 302 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 88 *seq.*; PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 57 *seq.*

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 260, 271.

Roman public,[1] who attributed all their misfortunes to the Pope's indecision and stinginess.[2] Just at this time a powerful impulse was given to the hopes and spirits of the Italians; Pescara, the special object of their hatred and the Emperor's ablest general, was removed by death in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December, while France had made fresh promises. Incessant pressure was now put on the Pope to give his adhesion to the League for good and all.[3]

The position in the meantime was such that armed intervention in support of Italy by France and England could not be expected with any certainty. To strike single-handed would have been foolhardiness.[4] Under such circumstances even a man of strong determination would have hesitated; much more Clement VII., whose leading characteristics were timidity and indecision. No one has described his strange character so strikingly as Guicciardini.[5] Always slow in forming his plans as well as in their execution, Clement was easily frightened by the smallest difficulty. Hardly had he come, by good luck, to a decision, than the reasons which had led him fell entirely into the background, and it seemed to him that he had not sufficiently weighed those on the other side. He often gave way to

[1] *Canossa al conte Alberto di Carpi, dated Venice, November 15, 1525: "Mi spaventa alquanto la tropo circumspettione di N. S^re^." The Venetians "benissimo disposti," but as yet have given no definite answer. To the same from Venice, November 25: Venice is ready to join the League, when the Pope does so. "Dapoi io hebbi la lettera di V. S. per la quale mi scrive che a Roma si trovano de la difficultà" (Communal Library, Verona).

[2] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 279.

[3] *Cf.* Canossa's *letters to Giberti, November 25 and December 2, 1525 (Capitular Library, Verona).

[4] GRETHEN, 90. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 495.

[5] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5.

the representations of his advisers without being thoroughly convinced by them. If only his ministers had been at least of one mind! But Giberti had always been a strong adherent of France, and Schönberg an equally strong Imperialist; this made the confusion complete. The Pope's attitude depended on which of these two alternating counsellors was in the ascendant.

Giberti's influence was now once more to be thwarted. If we may believe Guicciardini, the day for the conclusion of the League against Charles V. had been already fixed when the news was brought that Herrera had landed at Genoa. This was enough to reopen the whole question from the beginning. The Pope announced that he must first hear the proposals which Herrera was bringing from the Emperor.[1]

Herrera reached Rome at last on the 6th of December, bringing with him very friendly letters from Charles and drafts of a treaty which had been discussed with Salviati; Schönberg was now at once in the ascendant. Giberti, who, on the 5th, still had strong hopes of securing the Pope's adhesion on the following day, was now in such despair that he threatened to leave Rome.[2] Perhaps, as the opponents of Charles feared, an alliance between the Pope and Emperor might then have been made, if Herrera's offers had been satisfactory. This, however, was not the case, and the

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 5, whose account is confirmed by the Venetian reports in SANUTO, XI., 307, 344 *seq.*, 365, 410–11, 431–432. *Cf.* also GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 284, 286. G. de' Medici states on December 3, 1525: * Quà non manchano di continuare le practiche da Francia et Inghilterra et Venetiani per tirar N. S. dicono alla defensione della libertà d' Italia. S. Sta pare resoluta aspectare l' huomo viene et vedere quello porta et secondo porterà governarsi et se necessità non la stringiera non vede che S. Sta sia per mectersi in periculo et spesa senza suo proficto per bonificare et assicurare quelli d' altri (State Archives, Florence).

[2] SANUTO, XL., 433, 473 *seq.*

negotiations took shape with difficulty. The Pope was determined that with respect to Reggio and Rubbiera something more concrete and tangible than mere promises should be forthcoming. Over the Milanese question, the turning-point of all, agreement was impossible. Matters having reached this point, Sessa and Herrera proposed that the negotiations should be suspended for two months, with the secret intention of gaining time in which to make fresh preparations for war and arouse suspicion among Clement's previous friends. Schönberg and Salviati managed to raise Clement's distrust of the French and other anti-Imperialists to such a pitch that he accepted the Spanish proposal.[1] The Pope, however, expressly declared at the time that if the Emperor did not surrender Milan within the appointed term of adjournment he would enter the League with France and Venice.[2]

The opponents of Charles in Rome, Giberti, Carpi, and Foscari, as well as the ministers of the Queen Regent, were highly exasperated[3] by this decision; not less so Guicciardini[4] and Canossa.[5] In this respect their com-

[1] For the mission of Herrera *cf.* GAYANGOS, III., n. 1, 299, 300; VILLA, Italia, 107 *seqq.*; SANUTO, XL., 506 *seq.*; BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 196 *seqq.*; DE LEVA, II., 305 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 92 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 495 *seq.*; JACQUETON, 234 *seq.*; HELLWIG, 18 *seq.*, 22; CREIGHTON, V., 267, and PROFESSIONE'S rare monograph, in which use has been made of unpublished material, La politica di Carlo V. nelle due legazioni del Caracciolo e dell' Herrera a Venezia e a Roma, Asti, 1889. The statement that Schönberg and Salviati brought about the Pope's decision is in SANUTO, XL., 624.

[2] SANUTO, XL., 507; *cf.* 624, and RAYNALDUS, 1525, n. 90.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 299; *cf.* BREWER, IV., i., n. 1814, 1902; BROWN, III., n. 1191, 1201: SANUTO, XL., 507, 532 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 93–94; HELLWIG, 12.

[4] Lett. d. princ., II., 102; *cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., VIII., 363 *seq.*

[5] "Per il tacere suo," wrote Canossa on December 15, 1525, to Giberti, "et per altra via ne ho inteso quanto basta a farmi stare mal contento et

plaints of the Pope were hardly justified. The time gained by the adjournment was certainly of advantage to the Emperor, but also to the Pope. Clement might well hope that in two months' time the state of things, especially the attitude of France and England, would have become so much clearer that he might more easily make the decision charged with such weighty issues.[1]

Before the two months were out, on the 14th of January 1526, the Peace of Madrid was settled between Charles and Francis. By this agreement the captive King of France consented to almost all the demands of the victor. He surrendered the Duchy of Burgundy, the countship of Charolais, and the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois; Bourbon and the other rebels were amnestied; all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and Asti were renounced; and lastly, he promised to supply forces on land and sea to accompany Charles on his expedition to Rome, or in warfare against the Turk.[2] After inexplicable delays the

quasi a desperare in tutto la salute d' Italia parendomi assai più ragionevole il credere." The following is given in PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 61. On December 22, 1525, Canossa *wrote to Robertet: "Vista la irresolutione del papa et non sperando che S. Sta intri in questa liga se non vede forze tale in Italia che lo possi securare del timore che ha de lo imperatore mi son sforzato di persuadere a questa Signoria che essa si voglia risolvere senza il papa." *Cf.* also the *letter to Louisa of Savoy, December 22, 1525 (Communal Library, Verona).

[1] BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 497.

[2] DUMONT, IV., 1, 399 *seqq.* Capino da Capo, who came to Rome on February 20, 1526, brought a draft of the treaty; see SALVIOLI, XVI., 278. On March 5, Cardinal Cibo, in Consistory, read a letter from Charles announcing the conclusion of peace, and on the 10th Clement VII. congratulated the Emperor, and informed him of the peace celebrations in Rome (*Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, Consistorial Archives; BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 223 *seq.*). These celebrations are also described by CORNELIUS DE FINE in his *Diary (National Library, Paris).

Emperor ratified the treaty at last on the 11th of February. On the 17th of March Francis was exchanged for his two sons, who were to remain with Charles as hostages. With the cry: "Me voici roi derechef,"—"Now I am once again a King!"—he set foot on French soil.[1]

The Treaty of Madrid was perhaps the gravest political mistake which Charles V. had made. Not without reason did his Chancellor Gattinara refuse to declare his agreement with demands which he knew to be excessive and impracticable. The treaty in fact laid upon the vanquished obligations of such vast extent that their fulfilment from a man like Francis I. could never be expected. Still less was it to be supposed that such a nation as France would degrade itself to become a power of the second rank and own vassalage to the Emperor. Public opinion on the whole, so far as such a thing could then be spoken of, was now steadily inclining towards Francis. In view of the almost brutal way in which Charles was seizing the spoils of victory, hardly anyone believed that the King would observe the peace. In Italy especially this opinion had wide acceptance.

Although no one had any inkling of the secret protest made by Francis before the conclusion of the treaty, he was counselled on all sides to break the oath he had just sworn.[2] Even Clement VII., the practical politician,[3] was

[1] BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 474 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*; MIGNET, II., 198 *seq.*

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 6; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 358; PROFESSIONE, Dalla battaglia di Pavia, 68. *Cf.* the ** letters of Canossa to Giberti on February 3, to the Regent on February 5 and March 1, to Carpi on February 19, and to Robertet on February 21, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] According to the report sent to Wolsey by the Bishop of Worcester, Clement VII., on seeing the draft of the Treaty of Madrid, said he thought it good, provided that Francis, on regaining his liberty, did not observe its conditions. RAUMER, Briefe I., 247.

in this instance no exception;[1] he considered that treaty and oath, if extorted, were not binding.[2] The Pope wished in the first place to obtain clear information of the intentions of Francis. He therefore sent, as Venice had done, an embassy to the King, ostensibly to congratulate him on his release from captivity, but really to discover his true intention and, in the event of his not keeping the treaty with Charles, to form an alliance with him. On the 22nd of February 1526 Paolo Vettori was entrusted on the part of the Pope with this mission. Vettori having fallen ill on the journey, Capino da Capo, who was in the confidence of Francis, was ordered to go to France on the 1st of March 1526.[3] Yet a further appointment was made on the 20th

[1] See SANUTO, XL., 849 *seqq.*

[2] Francis I. broke his word on the advice of an assembly of notables of the three estates; see Rev. d. quest. hist., 1903, I., 114 *seq.* That Clement VII. dispensed Francis formally from his oath, as Sandoval and Sepulveda assert, appears doubtful, and rightly so, to GRETHEN, 98. The fact that Charles V., in his vehement letter of complaint against Clement VII., introduces the subject only with an "it is said," is deserving of notice. This, certainly, is not conclusive proof, but the formal dispensation still remains open to grave doubt, all the more so as Francis I. never appealed to it in his own defence (*cf.* MARTIN, 73). Still less satisfactory is the evidence afforded by remarks of Clement, made, according to reports of Mais, in 1529, under very different circumstances, to another agent of the Emperor's (BAUMGARTEN, II., 519). I have sought in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and in the National Archives in Paris, for a document containing the absolution from the oath. It is impossible to draw any certain conclusion from this, as the mass of Roman documents is great and they have not all come down to us in a perfect state. *Cf.* also EHSES, Concil. IV., XXIV., note 2, and FRAIKIN, XLI.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XL., 873 *seqq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 6; JACQUETON, 262 *seq.*; FRAIKIN, 7; RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 27; BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 220-222. The original of the Pope's letter to the French Chancellor in the National Archives, Paris, L 357. Fr. Gonzaga speaks of the Pope's grief at the death of Vettori in a *despatch,

of April, when the Florentine Roberto Acciaiuoli was nominated Nuncio-in-ordinary at the French court.[1]

Capino could hardly travel quick enough to please the Pope; for safety his letters were addressed to a merchant in Rome.[2] By the end of March he arrived at the French court, where at the same time Andrea Rosso, the representative of Venice, made his appearance. The King received Capino most graciously, and assured him that he would willingly do all in his power to prevent Charles from putting his yoke on Italy; he would give a full and definite answer as soon as the solemnities of Easter were over.[3] On Easter Monday, the 2nd of April, the formal negotiations began.[4] By the 8th Capino was able to announce that France was won for the League; Venice and the Pope had only now to send the full powers to conclude the alliance.[5] The news that Francis was prepared to support the work of "the liberation of Italy" and to come to the help of Francesco Sforza, still beleaguered by the Spaniards in the citadel of Milan, caused the greatest excitement in all who were privy to the scheme.

The great coalition against the Emperor was now only a question of time. If it did not become an accomplished fact until the 22nd of May, this was on account of the gravity

March 9, 1526. He also reported on April 19 that the Pope had received letters from Capino during the night; Capino reports on Francis' friendly disposition, but nothing special (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 82 *seq.*, and FRAIKIN, 12 *seq.*

[2] SANUTO, XLI., 68, 133, 157, 178.

[3] Capino's report in FRAIKIN, 7 *seq.* It differs from the original draft (Lett. del. 1526 al 27) in the Ricci Archives in Rome, dated March 29, 1526.

[4] SANUTO, XLI., 190 *seqq.*; *cf.* JACQUETON, 269.

[5] Report of Capino's, April 8, 1526, in Fraikin, 8 *seq.*

of the transaction and the mutual distrust of the contracting parties.[1] However great was the desire of all the Emperor's enemies that he should be vanquished, no one wished to take the first and principal part in his overthrow. The Italians were still, not without reason, filled with jealousy of France; they wished, therefore, that England should enter the League in order to secure them from any defection on the part of Francis I. Henry VIII., however, wished the League to be ratified in England, a proceeding which would have meant the loss of much precious time. But bold action was called for under any circumstances, for just at that particular moment the Emperor's forces were in a critical state owing to the want of money and provisions. Since Henry held firm to his demand, the accession of England to the League had to be renounced.[2]

In Venice decisive measures were pushed on. At a very early date movements of troops began, the object of which admitted of no doubt.[3] Even the Pope now stood firm, although his Spanish Nuncio, Castiglione, repeatedly besought him in eloquent language to withdraw from an undertaking certain to bring ruin in its train.[4] "These clever persons," wrote Canossa on the 19th of February to Giberti from Venice, "who would persuade his Holiness that the league with France involves his own ruin and that of Italy, and that no one is bound to sacrifice himself in order to give freedom to others, ought simply

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 500: PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 12.

[2] HELLWIG, 14–15; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 482.

[3] PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 11.

[4] *Cf.* the letter to Schönberg, and especially the long and candid letter to the Pope himself from Toledo, December 28, 1525, both in SERASSI, II., 11 *seq.*, 19 *seq.*

to tell us what ruin can ensue greater than that which we have to fear at this present time."[1] The direct sovereignty of the Emperor over Milan, in the opinion of a Sienese diplomatist, meant for the Pope and Venice the total loss of independence.[2]

Thus Castiglione's warnings were unheeded. However favourably he and Salviati might represent the Emperor's intentions, facts in Italy told another story. The whole country cried out for deliverance from the galling yoke of the Spaniards, whose soldiery were driving the people of Lombardy to despair. "Hunt down these wild beasts who have only the faces and voices of men," exclaimed Macchiavelli. "Alas! poor Italy," sighed a poet, "whither hast thou fallen? Thy glory, thy fame, thy strength have perished."[3] Guicciardini expressed the opinion of all patriotic men when he spoke of the war of deliverance as a holy and necessary national event.[4] Clement concurred all the more willingly in the general voice since, duped by the Imperialists, he saw the most important stipulations of the April treaty still left unfulfilled. Parma and Piacenza were still overrun by the troops of Charles and their inhabitants subjected to the heaviest exactions. If this was a cause of resentment to the Pope, not less so were the Emperor's encroachments, not only in

[1] *Vorrei che quelli tanti savi che hanno persuaso a N. S., che l'unirsi con Franza fosse la rovina di S. Sta e d' Italia e che non era da mettere in preda se per liberare altrui, mi dicessero quale rovina potea sequire maggiore di quella che ora si puo e si deve temere. Canossa to Giberti, Venice, February 19, 1526 (Capitular Library, Verona).

[2] Report of Carolus Massainus, March 26, 1526 (State Archives, Siena), in PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 5. *Cf.* also SALVIOLI, XVI., 276, and GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 1.

[3] *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 329; FOSSATI-FALLETTI, Clemente VII., 9–10; REUMONT, III., 2, 172 *seq.*; SALVIOLI, XVI., 284.

[4] Opere inedite, I., 393.

Naples but also in Spain, on the Papal prerogatives regarding presentation to ecclesiastical posts. What turned the scale, however, was Charles's unmistakable endeavour to secure for himself the sovereignty of Milan and, with it, of all Italy.[1] The idea of European dominion was more and more inseparably bound up with the possession of this noble land. "Let the Emperor," said a Roman diplomatist, "rule Italy, and he will rule the world. *Vae miserae Italiae et nobis viventibus!*"[2]

Thus on the 22nd of May 1526 was brought about between Clement VII., Francis I., Venice and Sforza, the so-called Holy League of Cognac. By this compact, which was for the greater part the work of Giberti,[3] it was settled that the Duchy of Milan belonged to Francesco Sforza, who, thenceforward, was to pay 50,000 ducats yearly to France; all Italian states were to receive back the possessions which they held before the war; Asti and the suzerainty of Genoa were to fall to France; Venice and the Pope were to decide on the number of the retinue of the Emperor on his journey to Rome for the coronation, and the sons of Francis I. were to be ransomed for a reasonable sum. If these terms were refused by the Emperor, the members of the League were to declare war against him and also wrest from him the kingdom of Naples, to be bestowed by the Pope on an Italian prince, who should then pay to the King of France a yearly tribute of 75,000 ducats. In the event of the hoped-for inclusion of England taking place, further special stipulations were

[1] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVI., 6, XVII. 7; SANUTO, XLI., 286; GRETHEN, 95 *seq.* For the Pope's protests against the Emperor's encroachments on the ecclesiastical sphere in Naples, see GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 484.

[2] R. Acciaiuoli in DESJARDINS, II., 861.

[3] *Cf.* Giberti's testimony in PIGHI, Giberti, 23, and App. VIII.

agreed upon. Two secret clauses were added by which Florence was also to enjoy the protection of the League, and Clement, in the event of the Emperor complying and retaining the Neapolitan kingdom, was to receive from the revenues of that crown a yearly tribute of 40,000 ducats.[1] "We have succeeded," Capino reported on the 24th of May to Umberto da Gambara; "the treaty was concluded the day before yesterday; for God's sake keep all as secret as possible."[2]

[1] DUMONT, IV., 1, 451 *seq.*; SANUTO, XLI., 348 *seqq.*, 383 *seqq.*, 392 *seqq.*, 400 *seqq.*, 440 *seqq.*, 451 *seqq.*; Libri commem., VI., 183 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 99 *seq.*; HELWIG, 15 *seq.* *Cf.* also Capino's report in FRAIKIN, 16 *seqq.*

[2] Capino to Gambara, Cognac, May 24, 1526 (Ricci Archives, Rome), now published in FRAIKIN, 26 *seq.* See also the fuller despatches of Capino and R. Acciaiuoli from copies in the Vatican. A better transcript in the Ricci Archives, in Rome, which I was allowed to see through the kindness of the late Marchese Giovanni Ricci in 1891, was not known to Fraikin, as these archives are no longer accessible.

CHAPTER IX.

Clement VII. and Italy at War with Charles V. —The Raid of the Colonna.

The exorbitant demands made by the victor of Pavia were followed by a natural reaction; this took the shape of the great coalition known as the League of Cognac. To the Italians, in whom thoughts of nationality were stirring, the long-wished-for moment seemed to have come to grasp their freedom and independence. In the opinion of Giberti the war was not undertaken on behalf of affronted honour, nor for revenge, nor to establish the supremacy of this or that city—the stake was the freedom or the perpetual slavery of Italy; never had a more favourable opportunity been given than now to clip the wings of the ever-threatening eagle.[1]

The Pope's confidant had deceived himself in a matter of the gravest consequence. In the first place, the stipulations agreed to at Cognac were of such a character that, even in case of success, far more influence would accrue to France in the affairs of Italy than would be compatible with the real independence of that sorely tried country. Still more prejudicial was the diversity of personal aims among the members of the League. The Italians hoped, with the help of France, to shake off the Spanish yoke, while Francis I. really only wished to make use of the

[1] Lettere de' principi, II., 110, 113.

Italians in order to set at naught the Peace of Madrid.[1] Lastly, as regards Francesco Sforza, hard pressed by the Spaniards and in extreme danger in the citadel of Milan, the conclusion of the League was premature, since the forces necessary for his relief were anything but ready;[2] in Rome these circumstances were completely overlooked. As soon as it was known for a certainty that the League was settled there was an outburst of strong warlike feeling throughout the city.[3]

Orders were given without delay that the Papal troops should concentrate at Piacenza, and everything was done to hasten the advance of the Venetians and Swiss against Lombardy. Arrangements were made as if war against Charles had already been declared. In the first week of June, Guido Rangoni, Vittello Vitelli, and Giovanni de' Medici were enlisted in the service of Florence and of the Pope. Francesco Guicciardini, who had distinguished himself, under very difficult circumstances, as Governor of the ever-restless Romagna, undertook the post of Commissary-General with almost unlimited powers over the army.[4] In Papal circles the most comprehensive plans were proposed for the expulsion of the Imperialists from Italy. The first necessity was to guarantee the safety of Rome and the Papal States; prisoners were to be confined in the city itself; it was

[1] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 101; BROSCH, I., 91.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 1.

[3] "Tutta Roma grida guerra," reports G. Cesano to Giov. de' Medici, June 2, 1526; Arch. stor. Ital., N. S., IX., 2, 132. *Cf.* VILLA, Italia, 125 *seq.*, and GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 440, 447.

[4] See GUICCIARDINI, Storia, XVII., 2, and Op. ined., IV., 26 *seq.* *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 204, and CIPOLLA, 901. About Guicciardini as Governor of the Romagna and the disorder there prevailing, see the reports in Vol. VIII., Op. ined.; also BROSCH, I., 77 *seq.*, and GIODA, Guicciardini, Bologna, 1880, 232.

forbidden to carry arms; the Spaniards were closely watched; no one could travel through the Papal States or Florentine territory without special permission; no one was allowed to raise troops for the enemy. As a safeguard against the Colonna there was a scheme for seizing Paliano and cutting it off from Naples by the help of the Conti and Gaetani. It was taken for granted that actual war would begin with the capture of the citadel of Milan by Papal and Venetian troops; this having been successful, the Milanese territory would be occupied as thoroughly as possible, and there the arrival of the French and Swiss would be awaited. But at the same time combined attack was to be made on the Imperialists from many other quarters: in Genoa by Andrea Doria; in Siena with the help of the exiles; in Naples by co-operation with the Orsini, and in Apulia by means of a Venetian fleet. There were further projects of obtaining aid from Savoy and the enemies of Charles in Germany. Moreover, to the Venetians was given the task of blockading the passes of the Alps so as to prevent the Imperialists being reinforced from Germany.[1] By these united efforts it was hoped to break down the Emperor's power, and to replace Italy in the position which she held prior to 1494.

The Pope, who on other occasions was so extraordinarily

[1] *Cf.* **Provisioni per la guerra che disegnò papa Clemente VII. contra l' imperatore Carlo V. in Inf. polit., XII., 473–480, of the Royal Library, Berlin (*cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., II., 2nd ed., 357), in Cod. CXXIII. (National Library, Florence), and in Cod. Ottob., 2514, f. 96–102 (Vatican Library). A. Doria reached Rome on May 21, 1526; see Arch. stor. Ital., N. S., IX., 2, 130. *N. Raince reported on June 12, 1526, that the Pope had prepared a Bull forbidding all vassals of the Church to form confederacies among themselves. Fonds franç., 2984, f. 6b (National Library, Paris). For Clement's compact with Bavaria see SUGENHEIM, 9–10.

nervous and apprehensive, shared Giberti's warlike spirit and his certainty of victory.[1] Both, however, were gravely in error concerning friends and foes alike. They rated the strength of the former too high and that of the latter too low; neither of them weighed the fact that the last thing for which the Papal finances were adequate was the cost of a war; both believed too easily that their hopes would be realized, and allowed themselves to be drawn into an undertaking the execution of which would have taxed to the utmost even the capacities of a Julius II.[2]

As soon as Charles V. became aware of the danger threatening him he determined to break through the enemy's circle. Ugo de Moncada, already distinguished in the Spanish service by his craft and boldness, and hated for his cruelty towards his foes, was appointed to carry out the enterprise. The choice seemed unfortunate even to so sympathetic an Imperialist as Castiglione, for Moncada belonged to the "Exaltados," whose policy aimed at the subjection of all Italy to Spanish military despotism.[3]

Moncada first turned to Francesco Sforza in order to induce him to desert the League.[4] On the failure of this mission he betook himself to Rome, which he reached on the 16th of June. He came, "with a barrel-

[1] *Cf.* the letter of N. Raince, June 9, 1526, in the Rev. d. deux Mondes, LXII. (1866), 17, n. 1, and SANUTO, XLI., 466, 483. Macchiavelli's statement, that Clement hoped to bring the war to an end in two weeks, sounds incredible. On the contrary, the Pope informed the Duke of Bavaria that the allies hoped to be victors in Italy within a year; SUGENHEIM, 10, n. 14.

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 3, and VETTORI, 363, 365, as well as GRETHEN, 105.

[3] SERASSI, II., 37.

[4] HELLWIG, 32 *seq.*

ful of promises,"[1] too late, for three days before, the College of Cardinals had approved the League of Cognac.[2]

Charles had instructed Moncada to try to bring the Pope to terms in a friendly way, or else, following the suggestion of Cardinal Colonna, to compel him by raising insurrection in Rome, Siena, and Florence, and driving him from the city. The Imperial instruction, dated the 11th of June 1526, closed with the words: "If you are unsuccessful in gaining Clement, speak secretly to Cardinal Colonna, so that he may set in hand, as if on his own initiative, the matter recommended by his agents, and give him privily every support."[3] The representations and offers of Moncada and Sessa were quite ineffectual, as might have been foreseen from the explicit declaration made to the latter by Clement on the 9th of June.[4] The Pope, prompted by Giberti, insisted on his treaty obligations. Without the consent of his allies, he could not come to terms with the Emperor. The proud Spaniards had not believed this to be possible, and, enraged at the blunt rejection of the ample inducements offered by them, they left the Vatican.

[1] Expression of the Secretary of the French Embassy, N. Raince. See GRETHEN, 110, and Bullet. Ital., Bordeaux, 1901, I., 225.

[2] See Acta Consist. in FRAIKIN, LIV., n. 3, and the report, already made use of by GRETHEN, 114–115, of N. Raince to Francis I., dated Rome, June 17, 1526 (National Library, Paris, Fonds franç., 2984, f. 41). In Rome the first news of the League became current on June 6. On the 7th (1526) Fr. Gonzaga wrote: *Per Roma si è sparso da heri in qua essere fatta la liga fra il papa, Venetiani et Francia et parlasi molto affermativamente. Tuttavia N. S. non la afferma. (But he was already acquainted with the fact on June 5; see GRETHEN, 115.) Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Charles V. to Moncada, dated Granada, June 11, 1526. LANZ, Correspondenz, I., 216.

[4] *Cf.* the report of N. Raince in GRETHEN, 108.

On this occasion Sessa mounted a buffoon behind him whose grimaces gave expression to the Ambassador's feelings.[1] In accordance with the Emperor's instructions, the Spanish envoys began at once to lay the train for a revolution in Rome.

The circumstances were exceptionally favourable to such a scheme. The Romans were exceedingly incensed by the many taxes necessitated by the preparations for war.[2] When, in the last week of June, the butchers were laid under a fresh impost, they refused to pay and—a sufficiently significant circumstance—took refuge from the threatened arrests with the Imperial Ambassador. Sessa, in fact, forced the Papal police to withdraw without having attained their object. Meanwhile Rome was full of excitement, and two hundred Spaniards gathered round Sessa's palace. The Government, in consequence, was weak enough to remove the tax, but the levy of troops for the protection of Rome

[1] For the mission of Moncada *cf.* Lettere di principi, II., 129^{b} *seq.*, 130^{b} *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 137, 138; BREWER, IV., 1, n. 2262, 2273, 2274; SANUTO, XLI., 664 *seqq.*; Carpi's letter in MOLINI, I., 204 *seq.*; the reports of Raince in GRETHEN, 108 *seq.*, and Bullet. Ital., *loc. cit.*; letter of G. du Bellay in BAUMGARTEN, Charles V., II., 710 *seq.* *Cf.* also MIGNET, II., 234 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, III., 31 *seq.*; HELLWIG, 38 *seqq.*; BOURRILLY, 25. The following *despatch of Fr. Gonzaga is in favour of Hellwig's view that the rupture of negotiations took place on June 20. . . . Questi dui dì passati il s^{r} don Ugo e il s^{r} duca di Sessa sono stati al longo con S. Sta la qual per partiti grandi che habbino proposto non ha voluto attendere a cosa alcuna, essendose risoluta de non puotere ne volere fare altro senza la participatione et buona satisfatione de li suoi confederati, et sempre che essi hanno havuto parlamento cum lei ha mandato per li oratori de essi confederati, et halli comunicato tutti li ragionamenti che li hanno fatto esso don Ugo et duca, come si conviene alla adherentia et unione che hanno insieme. Credo che d. Ugo partirà de qui in breve. . . . Roma alli 21 di giugno MDXXVI. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

[2] *Cf.* the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

continued.[1] The Pope also called to his assistance the house of the Orsini,[2] for he had not only the Roman populace to fear but the great Imperialist family of Colonna. To all appearances the latter had hitherto behaved peaceably;[3] but the ashes were smouldering, and it only needed a puff of wind to rekindle them into flame. Cardinal Colonna, Clement's old enemy, could not forget that the latter had taken from him the tiara. Although this ambitious man had received the Vice-Chancellorship and numerous marks of favour from Clement,[4] yet he thought himself insufficiently rewarded and, indeed, even placed in the background. Since the autumn of 1525 the breach between him and the Pope had become notorious. The Cardinal, in wrath and muttering threats of vengeance, had withdrawn to the strongholds of his family and there remained in spite of a Papal monition. The anti-Imperial policy of the Pope had raised his anger to the uttermost, and he repeatedly proposed to the Ambassadors of Charles to let loose a revolution against Clement in Rome, Siena, and Florence.[5] The Emperor had yielded,[6] and his representatives, Moncada and Sessa, protected by the right of nations, were now proceeding to enter more closely into the arrangements. On the 27th of June Moncada went to Genazzano; Sessa,

[1] This episode is fully described in CORNELIUS DE FINE, *Diary (National Library, Paris).

[2] Report of N. Raince, June 11, 1526, in GRETHEN, 121. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLII., 26; SALVIOLI, XVI., 288, and CIPOLLA, 901.

[3] *Li Colonesi non fanno per anchora dismostratione alcuna anchora che si dicha di motte zancie. G. de' Medici, Rome, June 28, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* *Regest. Vatic., 1238, f. 98 *seq.*, 1240, f. 35 *seq.*, 1242, f. 239 *seq.*, 1269, f. 162, 1275, f. 138 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XL., 98, 346, 366, 431; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 221, 253, 333, 363, 364.

[6] See *supra*, p. 310.

who had already, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, presented the palfrey, but without the usual tribute, went immediately afterwards to Naples to collect money and troops; both travelled with Papal passports.[1]

While the Imperialists were thus acting secretly against the Pope, the latter had entered openly on his contest with Charles. His Brief of the 23rd of June 1526 brought this about.[2] This document contained a complete account of the relations which had existed between the Emperor and Clement since the election of the latter. While endeavour-

[1] Lett. d. princ., II., 150, 151[b] *seq.*, 153; SANUTO, XLII., 27; VILLA, Italia, 136; *despatch of G. de' Medici, July 2, 1526 (State Archives, Florence); MOLINI, I., 205 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 475, 476; *letter of N. Raince, July 5, 1526 (National Library, Paris, Fonds français, 2984, f. 10[b]); SALVIOLI, XVI., 289; *cf.* 291 for the rejection, on SS. Peter and Paul's day, of the tribute of the Duke of Ferrara; the latter still persisted in his negotiations with the Pope, as the issue of events could not be foreseen. On July 12, 1526, G. de' Medici reports thus: *Egli è comparso iersera nova inbassata del ducha di Ferrara e porta tali conditioni a N. S. che per quello ne ritragho sarà facile cosa che si accordi e unischa con S. Sta; and on July 16: *La pratica di Ferrara si tira avanti (State Archives, Florence).

[4] The text of this Brief, beginning "Non opus esse credimus," was first published by Charles V. himself in the Libri apologetici duo 9–17, and copied from them by LE PLAT, II., 240–246. It is to be found also in Miscell. ex MS. Colleg. Romani, Romae, 1754, 475 *seqq.*, and in SADOLETI, Epist., IV., Romae, 1759, 161 *seqq.* Many say that the original draft was much sharper in expression; see SERASSI, II., 90. There is yet another copy of the Brief in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 364–371, from Arm., 63, n. 88, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, but it is very inaccurate (see Hist.-polit. Bl., XCV., 297, and EHSES, Concil. IV., XXIV., n. 3). The version given by RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 11 *seq.*, from Sabellicus, and by LANZ, I., 222–223, from a MS. in the Brussels Library (the text here differs in particulars, and the conjectural date October 1526 is wrong), is not authentic. The Brief "Quam multa et magna," etc., dated Romae, A° 1525, printed in the Fascicul. rer. expetend., II., London, 1690, 683, is a forgery.

ing to justify his own policy he submitted the conduct of the Emperor to a criticism which was not only severe but perhaps immoderate. From the beginning of his pontificate he had made every reasonable attempt not only to maintain the general peace of Christendom, but especially to preserve friendly relations with Charles; but since these overtures had not been reciprocated, and had even been repelled, and the Emperor, either at the instigation of his advisers or from personal inclination and ambition, had determined to diminish and overpower the states of Italy and the Holy See, the Pope had been forced, after long delay and the final pressure of necessity, to declare a war of self-defence. In order to substantiate this position, Clement produced a long array of facts. While Cardinal he had been loyal to the Emperor, and had shirked no sacrifice on his account; likewise, after his elevation to the Papacy, although bound by his office to observe a strict neutrality, he had supported to the best of his power the Imperial interests in Italy, so far as was compatible with the due exercise of his functions as universal Father of Christians and with the interests of the Church.

The alliance with Francis had become a necessity owing to the pressure of circumstances and the strong persuasion of many persons. It had also been represented to him that by entering into the League he would secure great advantages. When the victory of Charles seemed to put an end to the war, he had at once concluded a treaty with him, assuring himself that thereby the greatest blessings would accrue to Italy and the whole of Christendom, and had given 100,000 ducats for the Imperial army, on condition of repayment in case the treaty should in any way be received with suspicion. Although the treaty had never been fully ratified, and the Emperor had thus left the Pope in the lurch, the latter had nevertheless, when informed of

the secret intrigues concerning Pescara, apprised and warned Charles, thereby giving him evidence of his unchanging friendship. Again, when, to his sorrow and that of all Italy, Sforza lay besieged in Milan, and the Pope was pressed on all sides to take steps against Charles, the mission of Herrera had at once aroused the wish to come to a good understanding with the Emperor and caused all other counsels to be brushed aside. Herrera's proposals he had accepted almost without alteration; and in a letter to Charles, written in his own hand, he had adjured him to disprove the charge of immoderate ambition by giving guarantees of peace to Italy, pardon to Sforza in the case of his surrender, and to afford protection to Clement himself.

In return, however, for all these and countless other marks of goodwill, the Pope received at the hands of the Imperialists only the most discourteous treatment. Clement VII. could point to the calumnies and insults of the Imperial agents in Italy, in whose words Charles puts more trust than in his; the violence offered to his adherents in Siena, against which he had in vain called to the Emperor for aid; the non-fulfilment of the treaty with Lannoy, of which all the articles favourable to Charles had been complied with while those of advantage to the Pope had been discarded; the delay in repaying the 100,000 ducats; the quartering of Imperial troops on Papal territory contrary to the treaty stipulations and accompanied by brutal oppression on the part of the soldiery; the want of consideration shown in concealing from him the conditions of the negotiations with Francis I.; the unjust treatment of Sforza, who had been condemned without any preliminary inquiry; the attacks on the ecclesiastical rights of the Holy See; the concealment from the Papal agents of Lannoy's dealings with Francis; the long sojourn of Moncada in France; the attempt to snatch

Parma from the Pope, and so forth. All these circumstances had, of necessity, filled Clement with deep distrust of the Emperor and induced him to transfer his friendship from the latter to other monarchs better disposed towards him. Therefore, when Moncada, late and after long delay, came to him with fresh proposals, their acceptance was no longer possible, and nothing was left for the Pope to do but to take up arms perforce, not as a personal attack on the Emperor, but to beat off a threatening servitude and to restore a general peace. Once more he adjured the Emperor not to force him into this hard necessity, and no longer to be led by the lust of power, but to give back rest and peace to Christendom, and so gain for himself praise as the most virtuous of princes.

The Pope at once felt that in this despatch he had gone too far. On the 25th of June, before the Cardinals gathered in Consistory, he produced the draft of a short letter to the Emperor, couched in gentler terms, in which he announced that his Nuncio, Baldassare Castiglione, would explain the reasons compelling him to protect by force of arms the freedom of Italy and the Apostolic See.[1] The Cardinals gave their approval to this document,[2] and, in a Consistory

[1] LE PLAT, II., 246–247, and BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 233–234. HELLWIG'S uncertainty (42, n. 6) whether the date here given (25th) or that of the 24th, as stated in other sources, is correct may be removed by a reference to the *Acta Consist. quoted in the next note The Brief was drawn up on the 24th, and sent off on the 25th.

[2] *Die lunae 25 Junii 1526: Card^is de Cesis legit litteras apostolicas in forma brevis mittendas ad ser. Carolum Romanorum regem in imperatorem electum significantes justificationes belli a S. D. N. suscepti contra exercitum Hispanum in Lombardia degentem, et conclusum est, quod scribantur etiam literae rev. dom. legato [Salviati] et nuntio [B. Castiglione] ibidem existentibus, ut possuit S. M^ti narrare hujusmodi iustificationes. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

on the 4th of July they resolved that on the following Sunday, the 8th, the League should be formally made public. After solemn ratification by the Pope on the 5th[1] the publication took place amid such pomp and ceremony that Carpi reported that he had never in his life seen such a festival held in Rome.[2]

In the meantime the war in upper Italy had begun.

At first the position of the Imperialists was one of great danger. The Imperial generals, almost wholly without money, found themselves opposed to the superior forces of their enemies in the midst of a population driven to the extremities of hatred and downright despair by the cruelties of the Spanish tyranny. Everything turned on the use that the Leaguers made of this fortunate moment for seizing the citadel of Milan by a sudden assault. No one saw this more clearly than the Commissary-General of the Papal troops, Francesco Guicciardini. His plan was to move the troops swiftly and simultaneously on Milan, and to fall without delay on the Imperialists, even if the

[1] **Giberti's letter to Gambara, Rome, July 8, 1526 (Giovedì passato, che furono celli 5, N. S. in presentia de tutte li ambasciatori confirmò la lega come il Christ^mo^ adimandava). Lett. d. Segret. di stato, 1526–1527 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] Die mercurii 4 Julii 1526: S. D. N. fecit verbum de foedere inito cum rege christianissimo . . . . et fuit conclusum, quod hoc foedus publicetur die dominica in capella palatii et rev. dom. card^lis^ Tranensis [de Cupis] prior prybyterorum celebret et Laurentius Grana faciat sermonem et publicetur per tibicines in locis consuetis urbis et fiant luminaria consueta. Further, measures were decided upon to raise money for arms; Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FRAIKIN, LVIII., n. 6; BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium in Cod. Barb., lat. 2799, Vatican Library; SANUTO, XLII., 33, 45, 103; GAYANGOS, III., n. 478; the *letter of Carpi, July 8, 1526, and *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE, both in National Library, Paris. For the financial arrangements see also *despatch of G. de' Medici, July 9, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

arrival of the Swiss and French did not take place; for to remain inactive would ruin all.[1] Giberti was also of the same opinion, having already begun to feel anxious at the non-appearance of French help.[2]

The Commander-in-Chief of the Venetians, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, took an entirely different view; he found Guicciardini's plan much too bold, and would do nothing without the Swiss. In consequence of this division days were lost when every hour was precious. On the 21st of June Canossa wrote: "Our victory was assured, but is now so uncertain that I, for my part, have lost hope."[3]

While the allies were making excuses for their inaction,[4] the Imperialists were able to repress a rising in Milan and to take measures for defence; but their position was still very precarious, especially now that Pescara was gone, and they had not more than ten or eleven thousand men to set against the strong force of three-and-twenty thousand opposing them.[5] On the 24th of June the Imperialists lost the town of Lodi through treachery.[6] The passage of the Adda was now secured to the allies, and the conjunction of the

[1] GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., IV., 65 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 506.

[2] For Giberti's letter see GRETHEN, 115, n. 3. That Giberti's anxiety was justified, is shown in the *report of the French Nuncio to Gambara. *Cf.* especially the letter of Acciaiuoli from Angoulême, June 29, 1526, to Gambara (Ricci Archives, Rome). *Cf.* also FRAIKIN, 58.

[3] See *letter to Giberti, June 21, 1526, in PIGHI, App. XXXIX.

[4] *Cf.* *Canossa's letter to Giberti, June 25, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

[5] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 2; BURIGOZZO in Arch. Stor. Ital., I Series, III., 453 *seq.*; Giberti to Michele de Silva, Lett. d. princ., II., 117.

[6] *GRUMELLO, Cronaca, ed. Müller, Milano, 1856, 406. *Cf.* MARCUCCI, 126.

Papal and Venetian troops might have taken place by the end of June. Giberti rejoiced; he saw in spirit the country of his birth freed from the Spaniard.[1] As a matter of fact, no obstacle lay between the army of the League and the walls of Milan, where the people awaited them, in the anguish of suspense, as deliverers from the inhumanity of the Spaniards; the hapless Sforza still held out in the citadel. But the Duke of Urbino obstinately refused to give battle before the arrival of the Swiss, therefore his advance was very slow. His procrastination gave the Constable de Bourbon time to send money and fifteen hundred Spaniards to the help of the Imperialists.[2] On the 7th of July the Duke of Urbino at last ventured on an attack; because he was not at once successful, he gave orders to fall back in spite of all Guicciardini's counter-representations. His retreat was very like a flight. To such a leader might be applied in an altered form the saying of Cæsar: "He came, saw, and fled."[3] After the arrival of five thousand Swiss the Duke made a fresh advance, but with extreme slowness. On the 22nd of July he took up a strong position before Milan; on the 24th he was still considering his plan of action when the news came that the garrison of the citadel, reduced to starvation, had surrendered to the Spaniards, who had begun to think of leaving the city. The strange conduct of the Duke of Urbino gave rise at the time to the suspicion that

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 2; Lett. d. princ., II., 151 *seqq.*

[2] See the *report of Carlo Massaini, Milan, July 18, 1526 (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* the rare work of FOSSATI-FALLATI, Clemente VII., 10–11.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 2. *Cf.* Guicciardini's letters in BERNARDI, L' Assedio di Milano nel 1526, dappresso la corrispondenza inedita di Fr. Guicciardini (Secret Archives of the Vatican): Arch. Stor. Lomb., XXIII., 281 *seq.*

he wished to revenge himself on Clement VII. for what he had undergone at the hands of Leo X.[1]

Simultaneously with these occurrences an unfavourable turn occurred on the scene of war in central Italy. The possession of Siena was at stake, a city of peculiar importance owing to its situation between Rome, Florence, and Lombardy.[2] There, after the battle of Pavia, the party friendly to the Pope, after having obtained a position of mastery with the help of the Duke of Albany, was overthrown and driven out. The new Ghibelline government was entirely on the Emperor's side, who claimed the city as his own.[3] On the advice of Salviati,[4] Clement made an attempt to recover this important position, and at the beginning of July a simultaneous attack from five quarters was made on the Sienese territory. The Count of Pitigliano advanced from the Maremma, Virginio Orsini through the Val d' Orcia, the troops of Perugia and the Florentines through the Val d' Arbia; the remainder of the Florentines through the Val dell' Elsa; the seaports being attacked

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 3; SANUTO, XLII., 308; CIPOLLA, 903. REUMONT (III., 2, 223 *seq.*) is opposed to the view that the Duke of Urbino was really a traitor, a view once more enforced by BALAN, Clemente VII., 64. "He was," is the verdict of the historian of Rome, "a tactician but a very poor commander, wanting altogether in decision." That the Duke, in any case, had "no inclination to risk anything on Clement's account," REUMONT maintains; he rejects (III., 2, 847) the attempts of Ugolini (II., 237 *seqq.*) and others to rehabilitate the Duke. MARCUCCI (134 *seq.*), tries to explain the Duke's conduct on tactical grounds, but carries his defence much too far.

[2] The importance of Siena was entirely overlooked by Canossa; *cf.* GRETHEN, 118. *Cf.* his *letter to Giberti, Venice, August 1, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] GRETHEN, 118.

[4] See *Tommasi, Storia di Siena (City Library, Siena, A, IV. 3–4, f. 203). *Cf.* FOSSATTI-FALLETTI, Clemente VII., 11, 16.

by Andrea Doria, who succeeded in at once taking Talamone and Porto Ercole. On land also everything at first went well; but afterwards Ugo de Moncada had the good luck to delay the march on Siena by introducing negotiations for peace. In the meantime, the leaders of the expedition fell out among themselves, each one having a different object in view. But the fatal error was the General's want of forethought in neglecting to make his camp sufficiently secure. On the 25th of July the Sienese made a sortie, took thirteen cannon and routed the besiegers.[1]

The news of the failure of the attack on Siena reached Rome at the same time as that of the surrender of the citadel of Milan. The consternation was great, and Clement VII.'s grief at these misfortunes in the field was proportionate to his previous confidence. He complained bitterly of the Duke of Urbino, the Venetians, and Francis I.; he had been deserted, he declared, by those for whom he had placed himself in danger. Among the Emperor's friends hopes arose that the Pope might be led to abandon the League.[2]

The Pope's complaints were only too well justified. The help promised from France had, at this time, not yet arrived. The time of year favourable to military operations had gone by, and the Italians waited in vain for the succour of their French allies. This made a deep impression everywhere; even so blind a partisan

[1] Besides the "Bellum Italianum" published by Polidori in the Arch. Stor. Ital., 1 Series, VIII., App., 257–342, *cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 3 and 4; ALFANI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 1 Series, XVI., 2, 307; VETTORI, 365 *seq.*, and especially FOSSATTI-FALLETTI, Clemente VII., 11–18, a work of great importance on account of its wealth of unpublished documents.

[2] See GAYANGOS, III., 7, n. 504; *cf.* 524.

of France as Canossa began to have a glimmering notion that his country was being betrayed by Francis I. His position in Venice became intolerable; by the middle of July he was urgently asking for his recall.[1] Clement VII. thought that one more attempt must yet be made; on the 19th of July he sent Sanga, a confidant of Giberti's, to the French King to remind him, by earnest representations, of his obligations, and if possible to move him to give more supplies of money, and especially to undertake an expedition against Naples.[2] All was in vain; the fickle King seemed to have repented of all his martial zeal and was squandering his time and his revenues on the chase, gambling, and women.[3] England, moreover, held coldly aloof;[4] the Italians and the Pope were isolated.

The Duke of Urbino had in the meantime begun the

[1] Besides the anonymous writer in Lettere di principi, II., 157–158, the letters of Canossa of July 22 and 23, given under his name in Lettere di XIII huomini, 20 *seq.*, see above all his *letter of July 14, 1526. On August 19 Canossa wrote to F. Robertet that the Italians' distrust of Francis was reacting on himself; he begged to be removed from his post; he wished under any circumstances, even at the risk of the royal disfavour, to return to his diocese. This *letter is also in the Communal Library, Verona.

[2] The Colonna would thus be drawn away from Rome; see SANUTO, XLII., 149, 178, 179, 201–202. For Sanga's mission see the Brief of July 19, 1526 (National Archives, Paris). Sanga's mission was practically useless. *Cf.* besides the reports in FRAIKIN, LXII., 127 *seq.*, 134 *seq.*, 137 *seq.*; the *report in cipher from Landriano, Rome, October 18, 1526 (State Archives, Milan).

[3] See Sanga's full and important report from Amboise, August 3, 1526, in Lettere di principi, II., 160b *seq.*; *cf.* the reports of Acciaiuoli in FRAIKIN, 81 *seq.*, 90, 100, 105, 113, 124 *seq.*, 129, 137 *seq.* The copies in the Ricci Archives in Rome, which I made use of in 1891 and were not accessible to Fraikin, are better than those in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, on which his edition is grounded.

[4] See Gambara's letter in CREIGHTON, V., 330 *seqq.*

siege of Cremona, but conducted it with his usual timidity and dilatoriness. On the 3rd of September the Marquis of Saluzzo at last arrived, bringing with him only four thousand five hundred Frenchmen. Guicciardini was now urgently calling on the Duke to raise the siege of Cremona in order that he might devote himself to the capture of Genoa, in Giberti's opinion an object of the first importance. Before the city a fleet of Papal, Venetian, and French ships had assembled and the siege had begun; but capture was out of the question without the co-operation of land forces.[1] The distress within the city had reached the highest pitch, and the appearance of the Duke's army before the walls would certainly have led to the surrender of this stronghold, but he seemed only to seek for pretexts to avoid action. When Cremona at last capitulated, on the 25th of September, the League gained little thereby.[2] In Rome, meanwhile, the certainty of victory had given place to fears of defeat; Giberti himself had well-nigh lost all heart.[3] The war dragged on while the allies, and especially the Pope, were finding the want of money almost insupportable. On the 1st of August the secretary of the French Embassy, Raince, described the condition of Clement VII.:—"I was with his Holiness yesterday, and do not think that I ever before saw a man so distracted, depressed, and careworn as he was. He is half ill with disappointment, and said to me several times that he had never thought he could have been treated in such a way. You have no

[1] *Cf.* Doria's letter in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 375.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 4; SISMONDI, XV., 247 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 904 *seq.* Canossa hoped that the capitulation of Cremona, then imminent, would counterbalance the misfortune of the Colonna raid. *Letter to F. Robertet, dated Venice, September 24, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] *Cf.* his letter to Canossa, August 1, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

idea what things are said about us by persons of high standing in the Curia, on account of our delays and our behaviour hitherto. The language is so frightful that I dare not write it. The ministers of his Holiness are more dead than alive. You can picture to yourself that the enemy will make use of the situation."[1]

To Moncada, who had never left the Colonna, the moment appeared to have come to carry out the Emperor's advice, and to take vengeance on the Pope. The way in which he set to work betrayed the politician trained in the school of the Borgia. His plan was to lull Clement into security by means of a reconciliation with the Colonna, to bring about the disarmament of his troops, and then to fall upon the defenceless Pope.[2]

The enterprise succeeded beyond all expectation. The first step of importance was to discover exactly the Pope's feelings and position and to deceive him as regards the intentions of the Colonna. The sojourn of Moncada in the castles of this family was likely to arouse strong suspicion, therefore throughout July the Colonna maintained an appearance of perfect quiet.[3] That he might keep in

[1] GRETHEN, 119, gives a German translation of the interesting letter, corroborated by SANUTO, XLII., 437, and VILLA, Asalto, 20. It may be permitted to give here the original text of the principal passage: *Et ne pense pas avoir jamais veu homme plus troublé, plus fasché ne plus ennuyé que luy et tant mal content qu'il en estoit a demy malade et me dict franchement qu'il n'eust jamais pensé qu'on l'eust traité de ceste sorte . . . . et sont les dits bons ministres de Sa S^té^ en tel deplaisir qu'ils sont plus morts que vifs (Fonds franç., 2984, f. 25, National Library, Paris).

[2] Moncada informed the Emperor of his views with perfect frankness on September 14, 1526. GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 545. *Cf.* VILLA, Asalto, 24 *seq.*

[3] *Li Colonesi si stanno senza fare demonstratione e qui si sta pacifico. G. de' Medici, Rome, July 12, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

touch with affairs in Rome, Sessa, who had fallen ill at Marino, asked the Pope's leave to return in order to have medical treatment. Clement VII., himself a sufferer at the time, gave his permission.[1] In the Eternal City, where the plague was raging, Sessa's illness soon took a fatal turn; but he still had time to show gratitude for the favour granted to him by letting the Colonna and Moncada know in what straits the Pope found himself, especially in his finances.[2] The Colonna had been busily increasing their forces,[3] but to outward appearance had kept perfectly quiet. On the 12th of August the Florentine envoy reported: "No anxiety is felt from the quarter of the Colonna nor from Naples. They are much more frightened for themselves on account of the Venetian fleet expected at Civita Vecchia."[4] On the 18th of August Sessa died.[5] Shortly before, a fresh Ambassador from Francis had presented himself before Clement, the historian, Guillaume du Bellay, Sire de Langey. It was soon understood that he only brought general assurances of his master's goodwill.

[1] Clement VII. was suffering from a cough, and an "indispositione di schiena." *Report of F. Gonzaga, August 5, 1526. The latter states that there was an improvement on August 14 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] VETTORI, 367. *Cf.* *report of G. de' Medici, Rome, August 5, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Il sig. duca di Sessa, don Ugo et questi Colonesi sono pur a Grottaferrata . . . et ogni dì augmentano la gente che vene dal regno. F. Gonzaga, Rome, August 2, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Delle gente de Colonesi e del regno si sta senza paura e loro sono in grandissimi suspecti per la venuta delle galere. G. de' Medici, Rome, August 12, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *F. Gonzaga reports on August 14, 1526, Sessa's serious illness and his death on the 21st. *G. de' Medici more precisely reports on August 17, 1526, that he had the *terzana*, and on August 18: 'Il ducha di Sessa hoggi s' è morto" (State Archives, Florence).

The Florentine envoy who reports this adds: "Here all is quiet, and no suspicions are aroused."[1] Instead of bringing the expected help, the French agent produced fresh claims on behalf of Francis; he demanded a tenth of the Church revenues of France for his sovereign and a Cardinal's hat for the Chancellor Du Prat. This must have put the Pope in great ill humour.[2]

Moncada now held that the moment was propitious for entering into negotiations with Clement. At the same time the Colonna were suddenly to assume a threatening attitude and take possession of Anagni. Moncada asked Clement to give him a free hand in the settlement of the affairs of Italy, but afterwards backed out of the transaction, leaving it to the Colonna alone to draw the Pope into the trap laid for him, since by a settlement of their quarrel Clement would not formally violate his pledges to the League.[3] Vespasiano Colonna, son of Prospero, played the part of mediator.[4] In him, from an early period, Clement VII. had placed special confidence; hard pressed by want of money, he listened to the proposals of reconciliation made by Vespasiano in the name of his whole house. In spite of Giberti's warnings a treaty with the Colonna, to which Moncada was a party,[5] was signed on the 20th of August

[1] *L' huomo del re christianissimo, che era a Venetia, è venuto qui. Jeri fu da N. S. insieme col s. Alberto [Carpi]. Confirma il medesimo ditto per altre a V. S. del buono animo et voluntà del re verso le cose de Italia. Così confirma Ruberto per sue lettere et che presto se ne vederà la experientia. . . . Qui la terra si sta quieta et senza suspecto. G. de' Medici, Rome, August 17, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 122, and specially BOURRILLY, 26 *seq.*

[3] GRETHEN, 122. The report of N. Raince here cited (August 20) is now published in Bullet. Ital., I., 226 *seq.*

[4] *A Brief of July 13, 1526, called Vespasiano Colonna to Rome. Arm., 39, vol. 46, n. 209 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Io don Hugo de Muncada fo fede per la presente sottoscripta de

1526; they undertook to evacuate Anagni and withdraw their troops into the kingdom of Naples. The Pope pardoned all past injuries, removed the monition against Cardinal Colonna, and guaranteed to the whole house the possession of their properties.[1] On the 26th of August the secretary of the Spanish Embassy, Perez, wrote in triumph from Rome that the Pope, since his treaty with the Colonna, felt himself perfectly safe; he was in great want of money, and dissatisfaction in Rome was increasing.[2]

Relying on the treaty, Clement, whose first object was to reduce expenditure, notwithstanding warnings of all sorts from those around him,[3] cut down the garrison of Rome to five hundred men,[4] and resumed his negotiations with

mia propria mano come lo accordo tractato et concluso da questi s^ri^ Colonnesi con la Sta di N. S. a li XX d' Agosto è stato con mia saputa et voluntà parendomi ben facto per alcune cose concernente el servitio de la Ces. M^ta^ (Dat.) Mareni XX. Ag. 1526. (Signed) D. Ugo de Moncada. (Colonna Archives, Rome, II., A 18, n. 10.)

[1] SANUTO, XLII., 481 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 5; JOVIUS, Pomp. Columna, 156; GRETHEN, 123. *The Brief of Absolution for the Colonna (a poena rebellionis et crimine laesae majest. propter non observatam prohibitionem congregandi milites et occupat. civit. Anagniae), dated August 24, 1526, Arm., 39, vol. 46, n. 252–253 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Die veneris ultima Augusti 1526: S. D. N. fecit verbum de induciis factis cum dom. de Columna et mandavit ut de cetero non portentur arma per urbem. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 521; *cf.* n. 504, 519, 521, 526, 536.

[3] *Cf.* the *Vita di Clemente VII., in Arm., XI., vol. 116, f. 5^b^ of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] According to CORNELIUS DE FINE'S *diary, Clement VII. had only two hundred soldiers in his service besides the customary guard (National Library, Paris). This statement is probably correct, bearing in view Clement's unfortunate parsimony (JOVIUS, Columna, 156). *Cf.* also the despatch of Casella in SALVIOLI, XVII., 1. Acciaiuoli, in a *letter to Gambara from Blois, September 17, 1526, thus expresses himself on the agreement with the Colonna: *Tale accordo non par

the Ambassador of France. With a reference to the untrustworthy accounts given by Sanga, he complained bitterly that French support was slow in coming, and in order to stimulate Francis to some enthusiasm for the war, he proposed that the latter should have Milan as his share of the booty, thereby totally surrendering all thought of Italian independence.[1]

While these discussions were taking place came the disastrous news of the total destruction of the Hungarian army by the Turks at Mohacs. Clement was profoundly shaken, and in a Consistory on the 19th of September 1526, spoke of going to Barcelona to treat of peace in person. Yet he was still anxious, first of all, to break the excessive power of the Emperor, who at that very moment was equipping his fleet with all energy[2] and, according to reports current in Rome, was threatening to pass over into Italy and to renounce his obedience.[3]

Clement had not yet recovered from the alarm caused by the Turkish victory when he was prostrated by the announcement that the Colonna, with more than five thousand men, had appeared at Anagni with the avowed intention of marching upon Rome.[4] The Pope,

molto honorevole per S. Sta, nondimeno viene a posare le spese per la guardia di Roma che non erano poche et assicurarsi delle insulte loro (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 513 *seq.*, 709 *seq.*, and BOURRILLY, 27 *seq.* See also the *despatch of G. de' Medici, August 25, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. de' Medici, September 6 and 16, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* the *despatch of G. de' Medici, August 25, 1526, in Florentine State Archives. See also VILLA, Asalto, 20 *seq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, II., 514. For the Consistory of September 19, 1526, see Appendix, No. 35.

[4] SANUTO, XLII., 681, 700, 724, 727. For the raid of the Colonna, the prelude of the sack of 1527, *cf.* also the *letters of Giberti to

who had hitherto refused to believe in the treachery of Vespasiano,[1] gave orders that the gates of the city should be closed and that troops should be raised on the following morning. But it was already too late; the enemy, led by Vespasiano and Ascanio Colonna, as well as by Cardinal Pompeo, had marched with such furious speed — they must have covered sixty miles in four-and-twenty hours[2] —that in the early morning of the 20th of September, they were already before the walls of the defenceless city. By a stratagem they got possession of the Porta S. Giovanni and two other gates and made their way, without meeting any hindrance, through the city as far as the SS. Apostoli. Their rendezvous was the Colonna palace, where they rested for three hours and refreshed themselves

Sanga and Gambara, September 20, 1526 (Bibl. Pia, 123, 9 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican); the *reports of Albergati, September 21, 22, and 25, 1526 (State Archives, Bologna); the *letters of F. Gonzaga, September 21 and 23, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see App. 36 and 37); Casella's report in SALVIOLI, XVII., 2; the letter of Landriano, Rome, September 21, 1526 (State Archives, Milan); a passage in DE LEVA, II., 376 *seq.*; the report in BUDER, Sammlung ungedruckter Schriften, 561 *seq.*; Negri's letter (see *infra*, p. 332 *seq.*); du Bellay's account in BAUMGARTEN, II., 713 *seq.*; the letters in VILLA, Asalto, 27 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*, and GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 571, 573; the *letter of Francesco Bandini to his brother Marco, Rome, September 24, 1526, in Tizio, Cod. G, II., 40, f. 251 (Chigi Library, Rome); Migliore Cresci, Storia d'Italia (Cod. Ashburnh., 633, Laurentian Library, Florence); two letters of Acciaiuoli to Gambara of October 1 and 5, 1526 (Ricci Archives, Rome); ALBERINI, 330 *seq.*; Attilius in BALUZE, Miscell., IV., 517; Blasius de Caesena in CREIGHTON, V., 327; LANCELLOTTI, III., 112 *seq.*, 115, 122; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5; JOVIUS, Columna, 157 *seq.*; Vettori, 368 *seq.*; SEPULVEDA, I., VI., c. 40. Also a number of interesting points in the Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[1] JOVIUS, Columna, 156.

[2] VETTORI, 368.

with food and drink. On hearing of the raid, the Pope, who was in deadly terror, sent two Cardinals to the Colonna, and two others to the Capitol to call upon the Romans for protection. These messengers effected nothing; the people, bitterly incensed by the recent taxation, attributing every hardship and irregularity of government to Clement himself, and hating him besides for his excessive parsimony, showed themselves much less inclined to take up arms than to allow the Colonna to proclaim themselves their masters. The latter had done no one any harm; it was much more likely that they had come to free Rome from Papal tyranny. This feeling, indeed, was so widespread that the cry for freedom found many echoes, and the Colonna were hailed with joy.[1] Thus it was that the Romans quietly watched the inroad of these marauders as if it were a spectacle; they showed the same inaction when, towards mid-day, the wild hordes again set themselves in motion and advanced further into the city with shouts of "Empire, Colonna, Freedom!"[2] They took possession of the Ponte Sisto, moved quickly along the Lungara, stormed the Porta S. Spirito, stoutly defended by Stefano Colonna, who adhered to the Pope's service, and spread themselves in plundering parties over the Vatican quarter.

[1] *S. Pontifex nullum praesidium habuit a Romanis; fecit edictum, ut sumerent arma et renuerunt sumere arma, quia Colonenses venerant ad eos magnis persuasionibus, quod venissent ad urbis liberationem, quia multum angariebantur a s. pontefice quotidianis insuetis exactionibus, et ideo Romani potius gavisi sunt quam contristati in tali praedatione et vilipendio s. pontificis. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE, National Library, Paris.

[2] F. Gonzaga in his *despatch, September 20, 1526: *In Roma non è stato fatto pur un minimo disordine [in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 468] alcuno, et questi Signori dicono non volere che si faccia dispiacere a persone della città, e gridasi Imperio, Colonna e libertà (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The Pope, who had at first intended, like Boniface VIII., to await his enemies seated on his throne, had, by mid-day, yielded to the persuasions of those around him and taken flight, by the covered way, to the castle of St. Angelo. The few Swiss who remained in the Vatican offered no serious resistance. Soon the Vatican, St. Peter's, and a great portion of the Borgo were in the hands of the marauders, plundering and destroying unchecked. They shrank from no infamy or sacrilege. Relics, crosses, sacred vessels, and vestments were stolen, and even the altar of St. Peter was stripped of its costly ornaments and profaned. Soldiers were seen wearing the white garments and red cap of the Pope, and giving in mockery the solemn Papal blessing.[1] "Such deeds of shame," wrote a German, then dwelling in Rome, in his diary, "have not been heard of for centuries, and are an abhorrence to all Christian men."[2] A Venetian recalled a prediction that the altar of St. Peter would be plundered, and compared the ravages of the Colonna with those of the Turks.[3]

The costliest loot was found in the Vatican, where

[1] *Et chi se montato in una mula adidosso con le veste di raso bianco del papa et la sua berettina rossa foderata di armellini et va dicendo la benedizione gridando a Fiorenza, a Fiorenza. Bandini in the *letter quoted *supra*, 328, n. 4 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] *Res a saeculo inaudita, stupenda, inopinata, nunquam ab aliquo praemeditata res et non considerata in dedecus s. pontificis et sedis apostolicae et totius religionis christianae . . . . Et illi nebulones non veriti sunt induere indumenta s. pontificis in derisum illius. Illi qui conducebant tormenta curulia erant induti purpureis vestibus s. pontificis, alii dabant benedictionem habentes pileum s. pontificis in capite in contemptu ejusdem, res a saeculo non audita, nefanda et omnibus christianis verecunda. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[3] *Cf.* the reports in SANUTO, XLII., 690, 697, 700–702, 723 *seq.*, 725, 727 *seq.*

Raphael's tapestries and the Papal tiara fell into the plunderers' hands. Girolamo Negri, Secretary of Cardinal Cornaro, has described in detail and as a spectator the havoc wrought in the Vatican and its precincts in the late afternoon of that horrible 20th of September 1526. "The Papal palace," so recounts this eye-witness, "was almost completely stripped even to the bedroom and wardrobe of the Pope. The great and the private sacristy of St. Peter's, that of the palace, the apartments of prelates and members of the household, even the horse-stalls were emptied, their doors and windows shattered; chalices, crosses, pastoral staffs, ornaments of great value, all that fell into their hands, was carried off as plunder by this rabble; persons of distinction were taken prisoners. The dwelling and stable of Monsignor Sadoleto were plundered; he himself had taken refuge in St. Angelo. Almost all the apartments on the corridors were treated in like manner except those of Campeggio, which were defended by some Spaniards. Ridolfi lost everything; Giberti had removed some of his articles of value, but lost not a few. Among other damage, his porcelain, worth 600 ducats, was broken in pieces. Messer Paolo Giovio, in his History, will be able to recall misfortunes like those of Thucydides, although he, with a presentiment of harm, had concealed in the city, some days before, the best of his belongings. Members of the Emperor's party, such as Vianesio Albergati and Francesco Chieregati, found that circumstance availed them nothing as regarded the safety of their persons or their property. Berni was plundered out and out; they searched for his correspondence with Giberti, which he had carried on as Sanga's substitute, but had to desist owing to an alarm. The coffers of all the clerical offices, those of the *Piombi*, of the Secretariat, and so forth,

were cleared out. Very little, in short, was left uninjured. A good round sum for drink money saved the library." While all the houses in the Borgo Vecchio were plundered, their inhabitants ill-treated and carried off as captives, the plunderers did not venture to molest the Borgo Nuovo. That was swept by the heavy artillery of the fortress, and everything that showed itself there or along the walls of the approach to St. Angelo was within range of fire. "At last," says Negri in conclusion, "whether the enemy were tired out, or had had enough of pillage, or were afraid that the Romans might, after all, come to the rescue of the Pope, they withdrew in such disorder that a very small body of troops could have routed them and taken their booty from them. A few lingered behind the others as far as the Ponte Sisto, but afterwards betook themselves back to the haunts of the Colonna faction." The total damage was estimated at 300,000 ducats.[1]

The Pope had thought, for a moment, of acting on the defensive;[2] but since the castle of St. Angelo, owing to the carelessness of the castellan, Guido de' Medici, and the greed of the treasurer, Cardinal Armellini,[3] was not sufficiently provided with either victuals or soldiers, he was forced that very evening to confer, through the Portuguese Ambassador, with Moncada. The latter, much to the disgust of Colonna, who had thought of besieging the Pope in St. Angelo, visited the Pontiff, handed back to him his

[1] Lett. d. princ., I., 104 *seq.*; *cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 179. V. Albergati estimated the damage at 200,000 ducats. *Letter of September 22, 1526 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] Reported by N. Raince; see GRETHEN, 127. A *Brief to Perugia, September 20, 1526, called for aid in defence of Rome (Communal Library, Perugia).

[3] VARCHI, I., 58.

silver staff and the tiara which had been stolen, and assured him that Charles had never sought the supremacy over Italy. Nevertheless, their negotiations had no result. On the following morning Moncada returned and had a long interview with the Pope, while the Cardinals waited in an adjoining room.[1] The treaty which Clement, on the 21st of September, in spite of the counter-representations of Carpi and the Venetian envoys, considered himself forced to accept, was very unfavourable. The terms were: an armistice for four months; the Pope to withdraw his troops and fleet; full pardon for the Colonna and their dependents; their troops to accompany Moncada to Naples; as sureties Filippo Strozzi, the husband of Clarice de' Medici, and a son of Jacopo Salviati to be given as hostages to Moncada.[2]

On the 22nd of September the Colonna, in great confusion and laden with precious spoils, withdrew to Grottaferrata. Their leaders, especially the Cardinal, were extremely dissatisfied; they had hoped to have become complete masters of Rome and to have deposed and perhaps killed the Pope. Moncada, on the other hand, who had sent the Emperor a triumphant account of the success of the raid, considered that his object, the disruption of the League, had been accomplished. He deceived himself; neither the Colonna nor the Pope intended to keep their treaty. The former protested, as they thought that Moncada had overreached

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 36 the *report of F. Gonzaga, September 21, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLII., 701, 722 *seq.*, 728; JOVIUS, Columna, 158 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 21; PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 39 *seq.*; BOURRILLY, 30. The text of the treaty is in MOLINI, I., 229–231; *cf.* LANCELLOTTI, III., 116 *seq.*; JOVIUS, Columna, 159, goes the length of saying that the restitution of the stolen Church property was agreed to. There is not a word of this in the text of the treaty.

them, while the latter could not get over the humiliation inflicted on him by his own vassals, and thought it his duty to vindicate his reputation by the punishment of the guilty on the first opportunity.[1] Clement felt specially grieved at the ingratitude and disloyalty of Vespasiano Colonna, whom he had treated like a favoured son; nor was he less distressed by the behaviour of the Romans; he even spoke of leaving Rome for a length of time in order that the inhabitants might know what Rome was without the Pope. The Cardinals, too, were highly indignant at the unheard-of acts of violence and sacrilege that had been committed, and called for summary punishment.[2]

In such a state of feeling special representations, such as were now made to the Pope by the Venetian envoy, were hardly necessary. Domenico Venier pointed out in spirited terms that in the matter of cunning Moncada was no better than the Colonna; that preparations for war must be made, since the Emperor, on the first possible opportunity, would lead his army into Italy, now that he saw how easy it was to take possession of the city and bring the head of the Church into subjection.[3] In Rome it was said that if the

[1] *Cf.* SALVIOLI, XVII., 4; VETTORI, 369; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 572; JOVIUS, Columna, 158 *seq.*; HELLWIG, 58; SISMONDI, XV., 253; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 714. For Cardinal Colonna's views see in Appendix, No. 37, the *despatch of F. Gonzaga, September 23, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Clement VII., in his *Bull against the Colonna, says himself that the raid had been made with the avowed intention of taking the person of the Pope alive or dead; Cardinal Pompeo intended to be elected Pope by force. *Bull: Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, dat. Romae, 1526 (st. fl.), X. Cal. Mart., A° 4°, Regest., 1441, f. 50ª (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* Appendix, No. 45.

[2] JOVIUS, Columna, 158; SANUTO, XLII., 728; VILLA, Asalto, 28.

[3] SANUTO, XLII., 730.

Pope submitted tamely to the unprecedented insult offered to him he might as well lay down the triple crown and withdraw from the world as a solitary. Guicciardini, the Commander-in-Chief of the Papal troops, was, on the contrary, most urgent in his counsels that he should adhere to this disgraceful treaty that had been extorted from him. Clement, as a matter of fact, soon showed that he had no inclination to do so. It was not his intention either to leave the Colonna unpunished or to withdraw from the League. He certainly ordered Guicciardini to withdraw across the Po, but he gave him secret instructions to leave as many troops as possible with Giovanni de' Medici, who, as he was in the French service, was still a member of the League.[1]

In order to get help from France and England, Clement sent, by the 24th of September, Paolo d' Arezzo to Francis I. and Girolamo Ghinucci to Henry VIII.[2] At the same time he addressed personally to the French King, who had hitherto confined himself to empty promises, a long letter containing a harrowing account of the inroad of the

[1] GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., IV., 393 *seqq.*, 423 *seqq.*; VETTORI, 371. *Cf.* DE LEVA, 378.

[2] *In questi insulti, li quali sono stati grandissimi e vituperosissimi perho che hanno saccheggiato S. Petro, la quale cosa mai fo fatta, il papa ha mandato ambasciatori al Imperatore, al Christianissimo et al re d' Inghilterra. Paolo Fiessi, Rome, September 26, 1526 (State Archives, Modena). Paolo d' Arezzo also went to Spain to see the Emperor; see PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 70. The letter of credence from Francis I. to Clement VII., dated St. Germains [1527], February 13, refers to his return; Lettere d. princ., IX., f. 223 and 225 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). In addition to the letter of credence of Paolo d' Arezzo published in MOLINI, I., 235 *seq.*, there is another from Clement VII. to Antonius Archiepiscop. Senon. mag. Franciae cancell., dated Rome, September 24, 1526. Original in National Archives, Paris, L 357.

Colonna, accompanied by the most pressing appeals for help.[1] On the 26th of September a monition was published against participation in the raid.[2] Two days later the Pope assembled the Cardinals in Consistory to discuss his own situation as well as that of Hungary. He declared himself ready for extremities; his own wish was to take part in the Turkish war or to proceed to Nice to arrange a peace between Francis and Charles. The majority, especially the older Cardinals, recommended that he should take his departure soon and go on board the galleys lying ready at Civita Vecchia, "with what ulterior thought in their heads, God knows!" remarked the French Ambassador's secretary. Farnese, on the contrary, who was considered the cleverest and most experienced of the Cardinals, raised objections which gave Clement so much ground for reflection that he again gave up his schemes of travel.[3] The news from upper Italy also influenced him in this decision.[4]

The determination of the Pope to remain in Rome necessitated measures to prevent another onset of the Colonna; this appeared to be all the more necessary as in the beginning of October they were again arming,[5] and

[1] See the text in FRAIKIN, 128 *seq.*; *cf.* Mélang. d'Archéol., XVI., 386.

[2] *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, III., 119 *seq.*

[3] Besides ** the report of N. Raince, September 30, 1526 (National Library, Paris), *cf.* GRETHEN, 129 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 574; and *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor of September 28, 1526 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also * the letter of Canossa's to Alberto di Carpi of October 6, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona). In the solemn *Bull against the Colonna quoted *supra*, p. 335, n. 1, Clement VII. says his plans of travel were frustrated by the raid of the Colonna.

[4] *Cf. supra*, page 323, and GRETHEN, 129.

[5] SANUTO, XLIII., 55.

their friends were plundering boldly in the Campagna.[1] But the task was a difficult one in view of the enormous expenses already caused by the war.[2] A sale of seats in the Sacred College was proposed; Clement, however, who on this point felt much more strongly than his contemporaries, gave a decided refusal.[3] A committee of Cardinals now made other proposals for raising the money required; the Roman and Tuscan clergy were to contribute;[4] in that way the city would be fortified and garrisoned most expeditiously. By the 13th of October seven thousand men had been collected in Rome.[5] In the presence of these preparations Moncada gave way to

[1] See Casella's *report (State Archives, Modena), quoted by SALVIOLI, XVII., 6.

[2] *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 367.

[3] *Cf.* the despatch of Landriano, October 11, 1526 (State Archives, Milan), partly given by DE LEVA, II., 368.

[4] Die veneris 28 Sept. 1526; [S. D. N.] deputavit quinque rev^mos Cardinales ad cogitandum et inveniendum modum pecuniarum pro conservatione status et dominii S. R. E. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). A result of the conference is to be seen in the *Bull for the *erectio* of a *mons fidei* (*cf.* COPPI, 3 *seq.*; RANKE, I., 8th ed., 266 *seq.*), dated 1526 XIV. Kal. Nov. [19 Oct.], Clem. VII., Secreta, 1440, f. 274^a f., in Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* FRAIKIN, LXVII., note 2. CORNELIUS DE FINE in his *Diary (National Library, Paris) reports on the subsidies given by the Cardinals, and the burdens imposed on the Roman and Tuscan clergy in October 1526.

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIII., 32, 55; VILLA, Asalto, 29, 35; SALVIOLI, XVII., 7; Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), and the *despatch of F. Gonzaga, Rome, October 13, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On October 23 Clement VII. appointed Io. Ant. Pulleo, baro Burgii as Commissary-General for all the troops in Rome and its neighbourhood raised to prevent another raid of the Colonna. *Min. brev., 1526, II., vol. 12, n. 535 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Casella reports on October 8, 1526: *N. S^re continua pur fare fortezze e bastioni (State Archives, Florence).

open threats[1] which only strengthened the Pope in his determination to take measures of precaution. One night the whole garrison of Rome was given the alarm in order to prove with what rapidity the male population could assemble in the event of a second raid.[2]

By the end of October Clement thought himself strong enough to undertake the chastisement of the Colonna.[3] New and far-reaching promises of the French King, who had expressed his definite intention of entering Italy at the head of his forces to protect the Apostolic See, had filled him with confidence and courage.[4] On the 7th of November the Cardinals, assembled in Consistory, determined to issue citations upon Pompeo Colonna and the other members of his house who had taken part in the raid. The Apostolic Chamber opened in due form the process against the collective participators in the raid. The proceedings against the Cardinal were held before

[1] *Report of N. Raince, October 9, 1526: "Il vient d'heure en heure nouvelles des braves parolles de Don Hugues qui menasse plus que jamais N. S. Père et Rome" (Fonds franç., 2984, f. 81, National Library, Paris).

[2] *Cf.* besides SANUTO, XLIII., also VILLA, Asalto, 37 *seq.*, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), and the **despatches of Casella, October 4, 1526 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] Casella *reports, October 29, 1526: "Qui si fanno preparation alla guerra. Tutto l' giorno giongono fanti novi e l' artiglieria" (State Archives, Modena). See also the *report of Perez to Charles V., Rome, October 22, 1526, in the Biblioteca de la Acad. de la Hist. in Madrid, Col. Salazar, A 39, f. 50.

[4] Acta Consist. in FRAIKIN, LXVI., note 3. As soon as Francis I. received a written account of the raid of the Colonna he sent at once on October 5, 1526, a *letter to Clement VII. in which he expressed his indignation and announced the dismissal of the Sr de Langey. Lett. d. princ., IX., f. 267 and 274 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* FRAIKIN, 142.

the Consistory.[1] As Pompeo, who was at Naples, disregarded the citation, but appealed[2] to a Council, proceedings against him were begun on the 16th of November, ending, on the 21st, with sentence of deprivation of all his dignities.[3]

[1] Die mercurii 7 Novembris 1526: Referente S. Dt N. decrevit monitorium de consilio reverendissimorum dominor. Cardinalium contra dom. Cardinalem de Columna et alios dominos de Columna in monitorio exprimendos [The Monitoria against Pompeo and others of his house, published as pamphlets on the 7th and 10th of November, are in TIZIO, * Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 40, f. 266 and 270 (Chigi Library, Rome)] ut infra 9 dies compareant. * Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* a *despatch of F. Gonzaga, Rome, November 12, 1526: "il monitorio del Card. Colonna fù publicato venerdì sera . . . . è stato attacato in palazzo et in qualche altro luogo di Roma" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also LEBEV, 368, the *despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, November 8, 1526 (State Archives, Florence), and the recapitulation of the whole proceeding (declaration of the invalidity of the extorted treaty, citation and trial) in the solemn * Bull against the Colonna, dated 1526 (st. fl.), X. Cal. Mart. A° 4°, in Regest., 1441, f. 47–64 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 5. I found in the Cod. 41 (Appendix) of the Library of Leyden * the Convocatio concilio generalis super privatione Clementis VII., per Pomp. Card. Columnam, dated November 13, 1526, and, as far as I know, not yet published. Counter to this appeal was drawn up the document entitled * Ad sanct. D. N. Clementem VII. P. M. Petri Albiniani Tretii j.u.d. Consultatio de concilio generali. Copy of the dedication in Cod. Vatic., 3664, Vatican Library.

[3] * Die veneris 16 Novembris 1526 dom. Marius de Peruschis procurator fiscalis unacum dom. Hippol. de Cesis, camerae apost. not. accusavit contumaciam rev. dom. Pompei cardinalis de Columna S. E. R. vicecanc., et S. D. N. admisit contumaciam et conclusit in causa. Die mercurii 21 Nov. 1526: Cardinalis de Columna privatus fuit galero et dignitate card. necnon omnibus officiis et beneficiis suis. * Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the report of Perez in GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 620, the * despatch of F. Gonzaga, November 20, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *despatch

The campaign against the Colonna had, meanwhile, begun before the expiration of the four months' armistice agreed upon in the treaty of the 21st of September. Vitello Vitelli commanded the Papal troops, which advanced victoriously amidst frightful devastation: Marino, Montefortino, Gallicano, Zagarolo, and other places were taken and partly destroyed. Only Paliano and Rocca di Papa withstood all attacks.[1]

The proceedings at the scene of war in Lombardy occupied the attention of the Pope no less than the fighting in the Campagna; there the allies, in spite of the withdrawal of the Papal forces, were still stronger than

of G. de' Medici, November 21, 1526: "Questa matina in consistorio è suto privato il card. Colonna ne s' è anchora preso deliberatione della cancellaria et altri beneficii teneva." In the following week steps were to be taken against the Conti di Sarni for his share in the *sacco de Colonnesi* (State Archives, Florence). See also the Milanese report in Oesterr. Notizenblatt, 1858, 227; Arch. Stor. Ital., 5 Series, XIV., 50; KALKOFF, Forschungen, 32, note, and the * Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). See also the Bull of January 1 in SAGGIATORE, I., 307 *seq.*, which belongs, however, to 1527 and not to 1526.

[1] For the war against the Colonna *cf.*, with GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 5, and JOVIUS, Columna: Lettere de' principi, I., 105[b], II., 191[b]; SANUTO, XLIII., 236, 244 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 615; VILLA, Asalto, 47; SALVIOLI, XVII., 11; the letter of F. Gonzaga in Arch. Stor. Ital., App. II., 293–294; the * despatch of Capino da Capo, employed in the Papal service (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) (and partly made use of by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 480); the *reports of Landriano of November 24 and December 8 and 16, 1526 (State Archives, Milan), and the following *despatches of G. de' Medici, Rome, November 11, 13 (the battle of Paliano), 27th (Pompeo Colonna very ill. "Il campo di N. S. si unirà a Valmontone et non forzerà Palliano nè Rocca di Papa"), December 4 (the Pope had had the artillery brought back, as most of the Colonna strongholds had been taken), in State Archives, Florence. Lastly, there is an interesting description in CORNELIUS DE FINE'S * Diary (National Library, Paris).

the Imperialists; yet the Duke of Urbino did nothing decisive, and the Marquis of Saluzzo maintained a like inactivity; thus time was given to Charles V. to prepare himself. Important aid came to him from Germany through George von Frundsberg. The famous leader of the landsknechts pawned his towns and possessions in the Tyrol, even his beloved castle of Mindelheim, the cradle of his race, together with the personal ornaments of his wife. By this means he was able, it is true, to raise only 38,000 gulden; but none the less, when his trumpet sounded the rally, there streamed to him from all sides young men fit to carry arms, especially those of the new creed. "Many enemies, much honour," said George; he was determined with God's help to come to the rescue of the Emperor and his people, since it was clear as day that the Pope was oppressing Charles, his noble army, and the house of Colonna. He held to it that it would be pleasing to God and mankind that the Pope, the instigator of the war, the Emperor's greatest enemy, should be punished and hanged, should he have to do it with his own hand. Within three weeks more than ten thousand lusty soldiers, eager for plunder, had been gathered in the Southern Tyrol, each provided with the fee of a golden gulden. Stout and valorous captains such as Schertlin von Burtenbach and Conrad von Bemelberg likewise joined him.

The passes between the Lago di Garda and the Adige were held by the troops of the Duke of Urbino. But Frundsberg's brother-in-law[1] pointed out to the wild bands of landsknechts a way over the mountains between the lakes of Idro and Garda, a breakneck path where the men had to clamber like the chamois. By this passage they, on the 19th of November, reached the territory of Brescia without mishap, and thence, with little molestation from

[1] The Count of Lodron.

the enemy, into the confines—the so-called Serraglio—of Mantua. Here, enclosed on the west by ditches and a wall, on the south by the Po, and on the east by the Mincio, the landsknechts ought, according to the plans of the Marquis of Mantua, to have been entrapped and taken.

When Frundsberg, on the 23rd of November, reached Borgoforte, he found that the ships promised him by the Marquis were not there. As he saw that he had been deceived, he took care to secure the bridge of Governolo, the only egress from the Serraglio. Into what danger they had fallen the Germans found out for themselves when, on the following morning, the allies, commanded by the Duke of Urbino and Giovanni de' Medici, appeared at Borgoforte and tried to drive off Frundsberg's troops from the narrow causeway leading to Governolo; "but the landsknechts, armed with their hand guns, stood like a wall, turned at once to face the enemy, and when the latter drew near, made them retreat and drove them back." Thus they reached Governolo in safety, where money, provisions, and some artillery belonging to Ferrara fell into their hands. Duke Alfonso, who had been treating, for a long time, with both parties,[1] went over finally to the side of the Emperor. At the very beginning of the fight the bold Giovanni de' Medici, the leader of the "Black Band," was wounded, and on the 30th of November the man on whom the League and the Pope had placed all their hopes died of his wounds. Frundsberg, who had previously, on the 28th of November, effected his passage across the Po, now advanced on Guastalla; from this point he threatened the Papal forces encamped at Parma and Piacenza.[2]

[1] *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 902.

[2] *Cf.* the reports in GASSLER, 50 *seq.*, 56 *seq.* (letter of Frundsberg's), and Canossa's *letter to Francis I., dated Venice, November 28, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona). See also REISSNER, Historie der Frunds-

The news of the advance of the landsknechts, the accession of the Duke of Ferrara to the Imperialist side, and the fatal injuries of Giovanni de' Medici, reached Rome in the last days of November,[1] when the city was in dangerous agitation owing to taxation, plague, and famine.[2] Almost at the same time yet another alarming piece of intelligence arrived; Charles de Lannoy, with the Imperial fleet, was approaching the coasts of Italy.[3] Clement now saw himself threatened from the sea, just as on the north he was exposed to the landsknechts bent on plunder and filled with hatred of the Pope. His fear was greater than ever, and he knew not whither to turn.

berge, 81 *seq.*; BARTHOLD, 377 *seq.*, 385–392; Österr. Revue, VIII. (1864), 132 *seq.*; GAUTHIEZ, Jean des Bandes Noires, Paris, 1901, 315 *seq.* For the hopes placed on Giovanni de' Medici see BENOIST, Guichardini, Paris, 1862, 44.

[1] The news of the muster of the landsknechts in Bozen reached Rome on November 6 in 1526; see F. Gonzaga's report in Arch. Stor. Ital., App. II., 293. Guicciardini's letters gave information of the forward on-rush of the terrified inhabitants; see the *despatch of Galeotto de' Medici, November 30, 1526 (State Archives, Florence). For the alarm of the Pope, see the report of N. Raince, November 30, 1526, in GRETHEN, 131, n. 1. For the death of Giov. de' Medici, see GUICCIARDINI, XVII., 5; VETTORI, 372, and especially the letter of P. Aretino in Arch. Stor. Ital., N. S., IX., 2, 136; at the end he says: "E. Firenza e Roma (Dio voglia che io menta) tosto saprà ciò che sia il suo non esserci; e già odo i gridi del Papa che si crede haver guadagnato nel perderlo." This last assertion is a calumny, as shown by the Briefs published by GUASTI from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in the Arch. Stor. Ital., 5 Series, II., 200 *seq.*, from which it is proved that the news of Medici being wounded reached Rome on November 30, and the announcement of his death on December 4. *Cf.* also Arch. Stor. Ital., App. II., 295, and GAUTHIEZ, Jean des Bandes Noires, 315 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SALVIOLI, XVII., 12.

[3] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, November 17, 19, 28, and 30, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

According to the report of the Milanese envoy Landriano on the 28th of November, Clement was most deeply affected by the desertion of the Duke of Ferrara to the Emperor. "The Pope," wrote Landriano, "seemed struck dead. All the attempts of the Ambassadors of France, England, and Venice to restore him were in vain. Unless something unexpected takes place he will make a peace or some day take flight. He looks to me like a sick man whom the doctors have given up. From France nothing is heard, and this drives everyone to desperation."[1] A few days later the same envoy wrote in bitter derision that neither gold nor troops come from France, nor any news other than that the King is amusing himself well with dancing, "and we are more dead than alive. Here, in Bologna and Modena, we are arming in frantic haste, but it will avail nothing. The extreme necessity of the hour will force us to an agreement with the enemy."[2] The situation was such that even the Secretary of the French Embassy, Raince, admitted frankly that without speedy help from Francis I., the Pope could make no further resistance or stay longer in Rome. Clement himself had done all that was possible; foreign help, in all probability, would now come much too late.[3]

[1] See in Appendix, No. 39, the *despatch, in cipher, of Landriano, November 28, 1526 (State Archives, Milan).

[2] See in Appendix, No. 41, the *despatch, in cipher, of Landriano, December 2, 1526 (State Archives, Milan).

[3] See the *letters of N. Raince, Rome, November 26 and 27, 1526 (Appendix, No. 38): "Sire Sa Sta se trouve de plus en plus encouragé et deplaisant et tant estonné et esbay quil ne scayt de quel coté se tourner." Fonds franç., 2984, f. 109, 113 (National Library, Paris). *Cf.* the passages in Carpi's letter, November 29, 1526, in GRETHEN, 137, note 2; and SANUTO, XLIII., 349 *seq.*, 356 *seq.* See also VETTORI, 373, and a cipher *report of Landriano, November 28, 1526 (State Archives, Milan).

On the 30th of November the Cardinals consulted what was to be done. Three courses were proposed: pardon, flight, or an armistice. The opinions were divided; pardon was seen to be impossible, flight was ignominious and full of danger; it was determined as the best expedient to open negotiations. Quiñones, the General of the Franciscans, who was much beloved by the Emperor, was entrusted with the difficult mission,[1] and by the 2nd of December he had started to meet Lannoy.[2] The Pope waited with indescribable anxiety for further reports. All thought of flight from Rome seemed closed to him, for he knew that Cardinal Colonna would either summon him before a Council or procure his own election as antipope. Schönberg and his friends never ceased to work upon the harassed Pope by representing to him these dangers, while Carpi, Cardinal Trivulzio, Giberti, and the rest of the French party exerted themselves in the opposite direction. The fate of Florence lay nearest to Clement's heart, for there disturbances had broken out and the advance of the landsknechts had caused many to flee, taking with them their wives, children, and goods.

In Rome also a panic of the same kind had arisen on the arrival of Lannoy in the harbour of San Stefano, from whence he could also march either on Florence or Rome.

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 40, the *despatch of G. de' Medici, November 30, 1526 (State Archives, Florence), and *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See the **despatch of G. de' Medici, December 2, 1526 (State Archives, Florence): *Die lunae December 3, 1526; "S. D. N. fecit verbum de adventu viceregis in Italiam cum classe Caesaris." The Pope, at the same time, announced the mission of Peñaloza, who delivered a letter from Charles V. in which the latter tried to clear himself in the matter of the excesses committed by the Colonna. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

On the evening of the 29th of November Lannoy again set sail, and on the 1st of December he reached Gaeta. The galleys of the League which had been intended to hinder his approach reached San Stefano two days too late. "It really seems," wrote the Secretary of the French Embassy, Raince, to Montmorency, "that all reasonable calculations are miscarrying, and that things could not turn out better than they are doing for the Imperialists."[1]

By a special Nuncio the Pope, on the 6th of December 1526, let Francis know what the dangers were into which he had fallen.[2] All, except Giberti, were then advising the Pope to come to terms with the Emperor's party.[3] That even this partisan of France took the worst view of the situation is clear from his correspondence. "We are," Giberti wrote on the 7th of December to the English Nuncio Gambara, "on the brink of ruin; fate has let loose upon us every kind of evil, so that it is impossible to add to our misery. It seems to me as if sentence of death had been passed upon us, and that we are only awaiting its execution, which cannot be long delayed."[4] But with the arrival of more favourable news concerning the help to be expected from France, Giberti at once changed his mind.

Clement, a prey to anxiety and impatience, had in the meantime sent Schönberg also to Naples to treat with Lannoy as to terms. The Pope himself was wavering: on the 11th of December he told the Florentine envoy that his heart was no longer in the war, since the allies were so tardy in their support and the conflict only increased the

[1] See the *report of N. Raince to Anne de Montmorency, December 4, 1526, in the National Library, Paris, MS. franç., 2984, f. 117.

[2] *Cf.* FRAIKIN, 178 *seq.*

[3] Despatch of Landriano, December 4, 1526 (State Archives, Milan); partly in DE LEVA, II., 404.

[4] Lett. d. princ., I., 82; *cf.* II., 177[b].

Emperor's power.[1] The conditions offered by Lannoy, which Quiñones brought back on the evening of the 12th of December, seemed to Giberti very hard and only acceptable in the last extremity.[2] Lannoy demanded a six months' truce, besides a war indemnity to be agreed upon later on, Ostia and Civita Vecchia or Parma and Piacenza being in the meantime held as preliminary guarantees; at the same time he seemed inclined to force on this exceptional peace by armed force. Still stronger pressure was used by Perez, the Secretary of the Spanish Embassy, acting probably on an understanding with Lannoy, who on the same day, the 12th of December, presented to the Pope with all official formality a series of documents setting forth with unprecedented harshness all the Emperor's complaints of the Papal policy, and threatening Clement with a Council.

[1] *Despatch of G. de' Medici, Rome, December 11, 1526 (State Archives, Florence). For the Pope's irresolution, see especially GRETHEN, 141. Canossa was strongly opposed to any agreement between the Pope and the Emperor. *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXIII., 285 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 182. G. de' Medici reported on December 12, 1526: * Questa sera è arrivato il generale et ha parlato a lungo con N. S. Porta di far una suspensione d' arme per sei mesi con li cautioni de l' observantia da l' una banda et da l' altra, et di più chiedono una contributione di denari durante la suspensione. S. Sta spaccia questa nocte al rev. di Capua (State Archives, Florence).

CHAPTER X.

The Anti-Papal Policy of the Emperor.—Advance of the Imperial Army on Rome.

In order to form a just estimate of Charles V. in his opposition to Clement VII., we must represent to ourselves the part played by the Emperor in connection with the raid of the Colonna. Before Charles had been more fully informed of the Pope's hostile intentions he had already, on the 11th of June 1526, instructed his Ambassador in Rome that if Clement did not show himself compliant he should be driven out by means of the Colonna and a revolutionary movement set up in the States of the Church.[1] While the Emperor, in this way, signified his approval of the treacherous and piratical manœuvre so unworthy of him,[2] which Moncada carried out by means of the Colonna on the 20th of September, he was giving the Papal Nuncio Castiglione assurances of his filial submission to the Holy See.[3] As soon as the raid had successfully taken place, Moncada advised the Emperor to express to the Nuncio and Clement his great grief at the acts of violence done

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 310 *seq.* Already, on May 10, 1526, Sessa had advised that either concessions should be made, to secure the friendship of the Papal party, or that "their wings should be so plucked that they could no longer fly." Gayangos, III., 1, n. 419; Hellwig, 28.

[2] Opinion of Gregorovius in the Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung, 1876, No. 205.

[3] *Cf.* Serassi, II., 53–54.

by the Colonna and to make known to the princes of Christendom how repugnant such occurrences had been to his views and wishes.[1] Before the Emperor, then staying in Granada, could give effect to this advice,[2] he had already taken a fresh step against the Pope. On the 13th of August he announced publicly, for communication to the Christian world, that the aggression of the French, the Pope, and other Italians forced him to take up arms. Moncada was fully empowered to confirm the Duke of Ferrara in the possession of all his fiefs held from the Empire.[3]

In pursuing his contest with the Pope, Charles had recourse also to the advice of learned canonists. The latter were to expound to him in particular how far and under what circumstances an Emperor owed obedience to the Pope, and whether the former would be justified in refusing payment of half the annates and in declaring war against the supreme Pontiff, if he were called upon to do so. Castiglione, who reported upon these consultations, said the views differed, yet all had aimed at pleasing Charles. In a report in cipher he also observed that most secret consultations had been held as to the way in which the Emperor could proceed against the Pope, and whether he

[1] MIGNET, Rivalité, II., 244.

[2] Charles V. followed this advice scrupulously and even wrote to Perez as if he had been in ignorance of the plan (*cf.* GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 611-613; GRETHEN, 136). The autograph letter of apology to the Pope, which was delivered by Cesare Fieramosca, is in LANZ, I., 296-298, but is post-dated incorrectly April 1529. The words "Je me excuse du sac qui a este fait du saint siège en sacquant l'église de S. Pierre et vôtre s. palais" show plainly that the *sacco* by the Colonna is meant, and not that of 1527. MARTINATI, 50, aptly calls Charles's protestations to Castiglione "una vile commedia" (see SERASSI, II., 98).

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 510, 511; GRETHEN, 132.

was bound to subject himself to excommunication and censures and a thousand other evils.[1]

Such was the state of opinion when the severely worded Brief of the 23rd of June was handed to Charles. The presentation of this all-important document was made on the 20th of August by Castiglione, who had not yet received the second and milder communication with the order to withhold the first. The Brief caused Charles deep resentment, especially as there were about him those who knew how to fan his justifiable agitation into extreme anger; Gattinara,[2] who was sore at not receiving the Cardinalate, was active in this direction. Charles concealed his inward displeasure; he spoke, it is true, of a council before which he would vindicate himself from the Pope's charges, but, on the whole, he remained outwardly calm, and used, as he had done previously to Castiglione, the most fervent expressions of devotion to the Holy See.[3] Meanwhile a bulky state-paper was drawn up which exceeded in its language even that of the Brief, and opposed to the one-sided statement of the Pope another not less one-sided on the part of the Emperor.[4]

[1] SERASSI, II., 61, 62. *Cf.* also VILLA, Asalto, 20–21. The judgment of M. Cano on Charles V., quoted by CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, Asalto, 35, cannot belong to this time, since Cano was still a student in 1527; he was not ordained priest until 1531.

[2] SANUTO, XLIII., 96. It was even believed among the party of the League that Gattinara aimed at becoming Pope himself in the event of Clement's deposition by a council; see *letter of Canossa's to Francis I., dated Venice, December 16, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] *Cf.* SERASSI, II., 68, 70, 73, 77, 79; BAUMGARTEN, Charles V., II., 521.

[4] The state-paper was printed at the instance of the Imperial Chancellor (see SERASSI, II., 145–146), in the spring of 1527, at Alcalà (*cf.* SANDOVAL, I., xv., c. 18; see also WEISS, Pap. d'État, I., 279 *seq.*),

In the opening of this document, dated "Granada, September 17, 1526," prominence was given to the fact that the Brief of the 23rd of June, handed in by the Nuncio on the 20th of August, was couched in language neither becoming in the Chief Shepherd of Christendom nor consonant with the "filial devotion" which Charles had always shown towards the Apostolic See and the Pope. It was necessary to reply in some detail, as the Emperor was not conscious of blame and could not allow his unsullied reputation to be assailed. He had always shown himself to be a great lover of peace, and had aimed only at the peace and freedom of Italy. Let the Pope consider whether his present behaviour was in keeping with his pastoral office; whether he ought to have drawn the sword that Christ had ordered Peter to replace in its sheath; whether he had a right to weaken the forces of Christendom and to strengthen its enemies, the heretics. When his Holiness, at the beginning of his Brief, lays stress on the necessity of pardon, the position is not an intelligible one, since no one has injured the Pope's honour and dignity. In order to make his statements more credible, the Brief describes a "long tragedy," recounts what is in keeping with the Papal conception, but

then in the autumn at Mainz by Joh. Schöffer (Pro divo Carolo . . . . apologetici libri duo nuper ex Hispania allati, pp. 19–85), and at Antwerp. To this last edition, the mistakes in which are censured by EHSES, Concil., IV., xxiv.–xxv., belong the extracts in Goldast, Raynaldus, and Le Plat. I made use of the Mainz edition, which, although not free from errors, is yet much more correct than that of Antwerp. For more modern writers *cf.* GRETHEN, 132 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 486 *seq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, II., 518 *seq.* Canossa had very early intelligence of this Imperial state-paper. In a *letter to Giberti from Venice as early as October 27, 1526, he says that he has heard "da una lettera o volume dello Imperatore a N. S^re^ piena di molte querele, sdegni e minaccie e fra le altre di concilio" (Communal Library, Verona).

passes over in silence everything that explains the real course of affairs. To show clearly the real sequence of facts, the state-paper refers back to the position assumed by the Papacy in the question of the Imperial election; the many marks of favour shown by the Emperor to Clement when he was Cardinal are stated with clear precision; the events of the most recent years are set forth very thoroughly The object of the whole representation is to brand Clement VII. with disloyalty, and to justify Charles in his treatment of disputed Italian questions (Milan, Reggio, Modena). This is done in exceedingly "energetic, compact" language, not without an admixture of sophistry.[1] Many passages are marked by a refinement of sarcasm; as when it is said that it is incredible that the Vicar of Christ on earth should acquire for himself worldly possessions at the cost of a single drop of human blood, since this would be in direct contradiction to the teaching of the Gospel. In another place it is specially pointed out that the Pope would not have lost the praise due to a good shepherd and father if he had kept himself aloof from plots and alliances against the Emperor. In other respects also severe charges are brought against Clement. His conduct has not tended to protect the safety of Italy and Christendom, nor even that of the Holy See, which—seeing that no one was coming forward to attack it—stood in no need of weapons and troops. In consequence of this the Pope has destroyed the means of protecting the Holy See, has squandered the treasure of the Church, and acted in opposition to Christ Himself and to the hurt of Christendom. The Pope cannot justify his deeds before God or men. It is evident—if such language may be used—that he has only occasioned scandal and destruction to the Christian commonwealth. Clement VII. might remember that the Curia draws greater

[1] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 133, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 491.

revenues from the Emperor's dominions than from any other countries. If the Pope is as anxious for peace as is the Emperor, let him lay down his arms, and it would then be easy to combat the errors of the Lutherans and other heretics. If, on the contrary, his Holiness disregards the Emperor's defence, insists on maintaining war and opposing himself to the general peace—in which case he is acting not as a father but as a party leader, not as a shepherd but as a hireling—the Emperor will then be forced, seeing that no other higher judge can be appealed to, to turn to a Holy General Council of collective Christendom, in whose hands it shall be left to decide on all questions in dispute. At the end of his indictment Charles solemnly appeals to the judgment of this Council, which the Pope shall summon in some safe and fitting place within limits of time to be definitely settled.

Since the days of Frederick the Second and Louis of Bavaria no ruler of Germany had addressed such language to Rome. There were many passages in which Charles used language "of which no follower of Luther need have been ashamed."[1] It was at one with the notions of the draftsman of the paper, Alfonso de Valdés, who was steeped in the spirit of Erasmus the humanist.[2]

On the 18th of September 1526 the document was officially handed over to Castiglione, the Papal Nuncio, who entered a protest against such an uncivil reply, and then

[1] RANKE'S opinion, Deutsche Gesch., II., 2nd ed., 389. *Cf. supra*, p. 353, the passage (line 17) where the *evangelica doctrina* is mentioned. EHSES (Politik Clemens VII., 581) says: "The Imperial state-paper is perhaps the most violent document addressed in that century by a Catholic sovereign to the Pope."

[2] BOEHMER, Bibl. Wiffeniana, I., 84 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Charles V., II., 520, note 1, and 632 *seq.*; *cf.* HOMENAJE Á MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, I., 388.

went on to point out that it was only in consequence of belated instructions that the Brief of the 23rd of June had been presented,[1] and that he was most painfully surprised. Hitherto Charles, in his conversations with him, had always evinced a most conciliatory temper; even as regards the Brief of the 23rd of June he had shown diplomatic self-restraint; the second and more temperate Brief of the 25th had, Castiglione felt certain, restored the Emperor to perfect composure.[2] Charles, indeed, had solemnly assured him that his answer, even if he appealed to a council, would be so gentle that the Pope would have no cause to complain of it.[3] And now there came this official paper! In great anger Castiglione complained to Gattinara and to Charles that he had been deceived, and felt it an affront that he should have been expected to transmit such a violent and insulting reply.[4] It was of really little use that the Imperial Chancery, on this very 18th of September, drew up an answer, in corresponding terms, to the more moderately expressed Brief.[5] The conciliatory and friendly words which the Emperor continued to address freely to Castiglione[6] and others had quite as little meaning. He adhered inflexibly to the standpoint of his paper of the 17th of September.[7] Indeed, in the letter addressed to the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 351.

[2] SERASSI, II., 86 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 88.

[4] See Castiglione's report from Granada, September 20, 1526, in SERASSI, II., 90–93.

[5] Pro divo Carolo apologetici libri duo, 90–92. RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 44.

[6] SERASSI, II., 98 *seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 134. According to this author, it was Quiñones to whom the Emperor caused to be conveyed, on September 26, a reassuring answer concerning the Council (*cf. infra*, p. 356, n. 1). But HELLWIG (56, note 3) has now shown that Quiñones had again left the Imperial

Cardinals on the 6th of October, he went still further and endeavoured to stir up an anti-Papal schism. If his Holiness, he wrote, will not summon a council, then the Cardinals, "in conformity with legal right," must do so.[1]

In thorough keeping with the Emperor's embittered feeling was the insulting manner in which Perez, the Secretary of the Embassy, communicated to the Pope his master's message. Perez had received the document on the 9th of December. He kept its existence a close secret until the 12th, when a Consistory was held. On that day he appeared unexpectedly with a Spanish notary and Spanish witnesses before the Cardinals surrounding the Pope and handed to Clement the state-paper, and to the Cardinals the letter of the 6th of October. Immediately after leaving the hall he had an act to notify their delivery drawn up by his notary. Consequently the news of the Emperor's demand for a council was at once spread through Rome.[2]

Court on September 8. Charles's declaration cannot, therefore, have been made to him. The correctness of Hellwig's assumption that Quiñones' departure had taken place much sooner than GRETHEN (124, note) supposes, is made clear not only from Farnese's instructions (WEISS, Pap. d'État, I., 298 *seq.*), but also from GUICCIARDINI, XVII. 6. *Cf.* also PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 70, note 4. From a * Brief of June 7, 1526 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., 40, vol. 11, n. 317), it is further evident that Quiñones was then still in Rome, and that there was no intention of sending him to Spain.

[1] The best copy of the letter is in, Pro divo Carolo apologetici libri duo, 93–99. For the contents *cf.* EHSES, Concil., IV., xxv. In a letter of September 26, 1526, Charles took a more proper view, with regard to the Council, in insisting that it belonged to the Pope and to no other to summon the Council. BUCHOLTZ, III., 47, note.

[2] Perez to the Emperor, December 15, 1526. GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 633; *cf.* Pro divo Carolo apologetici libri duo, 100 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XLIII., 494, 580. The accounts of the proceedings in Consistory after Perez' departure are contradictory. In SANUTO, XLIII., 494, it is said expressly, in an extract from the report of the Venetian Ambassador of

Two days later Perez had an audience of Clement VII. in order to communicate to him a letter which the Emperor had written to Cesare Fieramosca. "Why," asked the Pope irritably, "have you not brought a notary with you on this occasion as well, so that the delivery of this letter might also be certified?" Perez, according to his own account, had the audacity to deny altogether the notarial act of the 12th of December. "But," so he

December 19: "in concistorio ha fatto lezer il protesto li ha mandato Cesare, che non si facendo l' accordo, chiamerà un Concilio general contra il Papa." Landriano reports to the same effect in a *despatch, found by me in the State Archives, Milan, dated December 12 (see Appendix, No. 42). The Emperor's letter of complaint was read in Consistory on December 12, but not the "letter to the Pope and Cardinals" (that is, the letter of October 6). But in contradiction to this we have the express statement of Perez, in his report to the Emperor of December 15 (see *supra*, p. 356, n. 2), that he had exerted himself to have the letters delivered by him to the Consistory also read in that assembly. He was aware that this had not been done, but that the Cardinals were acquainted with the contents of the letters. In agreement with this the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, have, on December 12, only the entry shown below (see *infra*, p. 359, n. 4); on the other hand, the entries for Dec. 19 (App. No. 43) state expressly that Cardinal Cesi read a letter of twenty-five pages from the Emperor to the Pope, dated Granada, September (the day is not given) 1526, and a letter from Charles to the Sacred College. Perez, in a report of December 24 (GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 642), says that the Imperial letter of October 6 was read in a Consistory held on December 21; he then relates that a dispute arose amongst the Cardinals whether the Emperor had a right to summon a council, and it was decided that an answer should be sent to Charles by a commission of Cardinals. This commission met in the beginning of 1527. Perez reported on January 10, that it was said that the commission was unanimous on all points except the question of the Council; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 3. On January 26 Perez reported again on the great difference of opinion among the Cardinals as to the Emperor's rights over the Council. The Cardinals were displeased with the sharp terms of the Emperor's missive; *ibid.*, n. 9.

himself relates, "when I perceived that the Pope had observed the whole proceeding and had seen the notary, whom he knew quite well by sight, and the witnesses, I was obliged to admit that I was acting by the express command of your Majesty." "In that case," answered the Pope, "if you had given me notice beforehand, I should not have prevented the letter being read in Consistory." Further excuses from Perez he cut short by bringing the audience to a close; but to the Portuguese Ambassador he remarked that he would, in case of necessity, make use of the Emperor's letter in self-defence.[1]

That the Imperialists were determined on going to extremities is shown by the fact that Lannoy, step by step, increased his demands and ordered his troops to advance on Frosinone.[2] The acceptance of his conditions, which, in their final form, called upon the Pope to give up, as guarantees of peace, Parma, Piacenza, Ostia, and Civita Vecchia, and demanded the surrender by the Florentines of Pisa and Leghorn, would have meant the practical abolition of the temporal possessions of the Holy See.[3] In great agitation the Pope declared that, since they were determined to rob him of everything, it should

[1] Perez to the Emperor on December 15, 1526, in GAYANGOS, III., 1, n. 633. The passages from the Acta Consist. of December 19, 1526, in Appendix, No. 43.

[2] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 141 *seqq*.

[3] See the *letter of Canossa to Giberti, dated Venice, December 16, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona). *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 406; GREGOROVIUS, 3rd ed., 482, and PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 46 *seq*. Carpi and other French agents were afraid, in spite of the open breach between the Pope and Emperor, that the latter should come to an understanding, and did their best to prevent one; see the report of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, December 15, 1526 (State Archives, Florence).

be done only by force and not under the guise of fair play.[1]

The recruiting of troops for the Papal army was pushed on in haste. In Rome, where the inhabitants, with a view to taking their share in the defence, were employing the best means for the security of the city, the famous engineer Sangallo, in whom the Pope placed special confidence,[2] was active. On the 10th of December the warlike Legate Trivulzio joined the troops intended to oppose Lannoy.[3] Soon afterwards a monition was issued against all invaders of the Papal territories.[4] In closest alliance with Lannoy were the Colonna, still breathing vengeance, who always found strong support among the Imperialists in Naples. Perez had already, on the 4th and 5th of December, informed the Emperor that, sooner or later, the Colonna, with the help of the Viceroy and Moncada, would once more make war on the Pope and try to drive him out of Rome.[5]

Still greater than the danger threatening in the south was the peril slowly drawing nearer from the north.

It was of the utmost importance for the development

[1] GRETHEN, 143.

[2] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. de' Medici from Rome, December 2, 4, 28, and 30, 1526 (State Archives, Florence); see also Perez' report of December 15 in VILLA, Asalto, 49 *seq.*

[3] *Die veneris in festo S. Ambrosii, 7 Decembris 1526: Referente S. D. N. creavit rev. Aug. de Tivultio S. Theodori diac. Card. legatum de latere ad exercitum S. R. E. Die dominica, 9 Decembris: rev. d. Aug. Card. de Tivultio fuit publicatus legatus ad exercitum . . . et die sequenti profectus est ad castra. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[4] Die merc. 12 Decembris 1526: fuit decretum monitorium contra invadentes terras et subditos S. R. E. eisque dantes auxilium et favorem. *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

[5] GAYANGOS, III., 7, n. 628, 629.

of events in upper Italy that the Pope, in spite of all negotiations, was unsuccessful in coming to an agreement with the Duke of Ferrara.[1] It was only with Alfonso's support that Frundsberg was able, at the end of November 1526, to make the difficult passage of the Po and to carry the ravages of war into the states of Parma and Piacenza. Guicciardini, who was stationed here with Papal troops, implored the Duke of Urbino, but in vain, to come to his aid. The Duke remained on the other side of the Po to cover the territory of Venice. "The Emperor's luck," said Guicciardini, "is boundless; but the limit has been reached, inasmuch as his enemies have neither the wits nor the will to make use of the forces at their disposal."[2]

Frundsberg did not seize any of the fortified towns on his route, but encamped in the territory of Piacenza, to await the arrival of the Constable de Bourbon and his army. The latter had the greatest difficulties to surmount with his mutinous and savage troops, who were clamouring with threats for their arrears of pay. On the 1st of February 1527 he had been able at last to satisfy at least the army in Milan after, so he wrote to the Emperor, he had drained the city of its blood. De Leyva remained behind in Milan

[1] GUICCIARDINI (Op. ined., V., 145) considered this one of the chief mistakes in Clement's policy. *Cf.* GRETHEN, 138; SALVIOLI, XVI., 279 *seqq.*, 284 *seqq.*, 293 *seqq.*, XVII., 4 *seqq.* Canossa also had always thought that it was of capital importance to win over Ferrara. *Cf.* especially his *letter to Giberti of August 4, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona). At the end of November Alfonso had informed the Pope that he had joined the Imperialists (HELLWIG, 62). Nevertheless, Cardinal Cibo, as late as December 21, 1526, was trying to allay the strife with Ferrara. (See the *brief of the above date to Cardinal Cibo; the original is in the State Archives, Modena.) All attempts at a reconciliation were useless. See SALVIOLI, XVII., 14 *seqq.*

[2] GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 485; CIPOLLA, 910.

with twelve thousand men; the remainder went south with Bourbon. In the days between the 7th and 12th of February the conjunction of Bourbon's army with that of Frundsberg took place not far from Piacenza. The host of nearly twenty-two thousand men[1] took, on the 22nd of February, the ancient Emilian Way; the advance was slow owing to bad weather and the painful scarcity of provisions. If the Duke of Ferrara had not sent frequent supplies of money and victuals, the highly dissatisfied and to some extent mutinous horde would undoubtedly have broken up. Never was there such a good opportunity of attacking the Imperial forces; nevertheless, the Duke of Urbino lay idle. Thus the former were able, although amid the greatest hardships, to march through Parma and Modena and to cross the Panaro, the old river boundary of the States of the Church. On the 8th of March they encamped at San Giovanni, hardly a day's journey from Bologna.[2]

[1] The data for the strength of the Imperial army are very weak. No trust can be placed in Ulloa's figures, reproduced by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 516 (20,000 Germans, 6000 Spaniards, 14,000 Italians). SALVIOLI'S calculation, XVII., 17 (30,000), and that of the writer in the Oesterr. Revue, VIII. (1864), 138 (32,000), are pitched too high. Ammirato and Reissner are nearest to the truth; they count on about 14,000 landsknechts, 5000 Spaniards, 2000 Italians, 500 *hommes d'armes*, and 1000 light horse (see SISMONDI, XV., 272). This agrees with the important statement, hitherto unnoticed, in SANUTO, XLV., 74 and 218, where the army is computed at about 22,000. In addition there were numerous camp followers. VETTORI also says (380) that the Imperial troops who entered Rome were not more than 20,000 strong. M. CRESCI (*Storia d'Italia, in the Laurentian Library; see *supra*, p. 328, note 4), enumerates: "15,000 lanzi, 400 Spagnoli, 5000 Italiani." Acciaiuoli, in a *letter to Gambara, gives the strength of the landsknechts thus: "17,000 fanti, 800 cavalli," and 12 cannon (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] *Cf.* BARTHOLD, Frundsberg, 398 *seqq.*, 404 *seq.*: SISMONDI, XV., 270 *seqq.*; CIPOLLA, 914 *seq.*

In the meantime there had been constant alternations in Rome of fear and hope, military preparations and negotiations for peace. During the first days of the year of misfortune 1527 Clement had addressed to Lannoy and the Colonna a solemn admonition to lay down their arms under pain of excommunication and, at the same time, had released Orazio Baglioni from his three years' imprisonment in St. Angelo and taken him into his pay.[1] On the 4th of January Lannoy's ultimatum was presented to the Pope.[2] Four days later the long-expected envoy of Francis I., Renzo da Ceri, arrived, but without soldiers and without money.[3] "It would not have been so bad," thought even a friend of the French, Canossa, "if he had not come at all."[4] Instead of the necessary help Renzo brought fresh demands from his self-seeking sovereign: the cession of Naples to France.[5] The dissatisfaction and alarm of Clement were still more increased at this time by the growing scarcity of money[6] and the incessant

[1] SANUTO, XLIII., 579, 614, 615; VILLA, Asalto, 52 *seq.*; BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 397 *seqq.*; TESEO ALFANI, 309; GRETHEN, 144. For the Consistory of December 27, 1526, see FRAIKIN, 424 *seqq.*

[2] GRETHEN, 145.

[3] GRETHEN (146) is right in maintaining that Renzo came to Rome only on January 8, and not previously in December; for the day mentioned is that given by SANUTO, XLIII., 632, *N. Raince, Rome, January 9, 1527 ("Le Seigneur Renze arriva hyer soir et fu devers S. Ste," National Library, Paris), and *Casella, Rome, January 8, 1527 ("Il S. Renzo hoggi è entrato in Roma," State Archives, Modena). Giberti wrote to Gambara on January 24: "Renzo è venuto senza un carlino" (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[4] PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 48.

[5] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 146, who here describes well the character of the policy of Francis I.

[6] See SANUTO, XLIII., 633 *seq.*, and *Min. brev., 1527, I., vol. 14, n. 13–15 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

appeals of the Florentines to come quickly to terms with the Imperialists. His fellow-countrymen depicted in the blackest colours the infernal horrors which might be let loose on Florence at any moment by Spaniards and landsknechts. Schönberg made similar representations; moreover, Clement was daily besought, with tears, by Clarice de' Medici, to deliver her husband, held fast in Naples as a hostage; so that, as the Mantuan envoy remarked, the poor Pope, assailed thus on every side, was to be compared to a ship tossed hither and thither on the high seas by conflicting winds.[1]

Cardinal Farnese advised flight from Rome. "Things cannot go on thus," said the Venetian Ambassador; "the Pope has not a soldo left." Clement openly confessed his despair. He even declared that he would like to withdraw entirely from politics and confine himself exclusively to his ecclesiastical functions.[2]

The Pope's cares were made still heavier by the representations of a member of the Sacred College, who urged him to raise the necessary funds by a nomination of Cardinals and to anticipate the Emperor by summoning a council. The sale of Cardinals' hats had, at an earlier date, been decisively rejected[3] by Clement; and even now he would hear nothing of it "from an honourable conscientiousness."[4] The thought of bringing these important

[1] See the *report of F. Gonzaga of January 10, 1527, in Appendix, No. 44 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). "L' Arcivescovo," Landriano stated in a cipher report of December 25, 1526, "pinge l' inferno al papa se non si acorda. Non so quello farà S. Sta, sin qui mostra bon animo" (State Archives, Milan).

[2] SANUTO, XLIII., 633, 670, 701.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 338.

[4] GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 488; *cf.* the report of Landriano, dat. Rome, January 10, 1527 (State Archives, Milan), used by DE LEVA, II., 405.

affairs into his own hands by means of a council was one which in itself pleased him; yet he held back through the fear that his hands would be completely tied in respect of the nomination of Cardinals. So nothing definite was settled, and the plan came to nothing. But the situation was one which imperatively demanded that he should make himself safe in Rome. On the 14th of January 1527 Renzo visited the Papal forces encamped to the south of Rome and afterwards returned to the city, where the citizens were armed and organized on a war footing with all possible haste.[1] Lannoy's answer consisted in the reopening of hostilities by the siege of Frosinone, although the limits of the armistice[2] had not expired. Thereupon Clement, on the 23rd of January, called upon all the Neapolitan fief-holders to take up arms for the States of the Church.[3] At the same time he entered into closer communication with the Voivode of Siebenbürgen, Joannes

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIII., 700, 715; VILLA, Asalto, 58; SCHULZ, 84–85; the **reports of F. Gonzaga of January 21 and 29, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *despatches of Casella, dated Rome, January 14, 1527: "El Signor Renzi heri si transferì all' exercito di N. S^re^"; January 16: "L' artegliaria di N. S., quale è in castel S. Angelo, si mette in ordine per cavarla fuori di ditto castello"; January 21: Defensive preparations in Rome; January 25: "Qui si fanno fanti a furia et così come li fanno li mandano in campo" (State Archives, Modena). Copious disbursements for the military preparations are entered in the *Mandata divers. Clementis VII.*, 1527 (State Archives, Rome).

[2] Of September 1536 (see *supra*, p. 334).

[3] *Die mercurii 23 Januarii 1527: Discussion as to "publicatio litterarum apostolicarum contra Columnenses et viceregem, quibus hortantur omnes barones et feudatarii regni Neapolitani, ut arma capiant pro defensione personae suae [sc. papae] et terrarum S. R. E. prout fieri deberet, quia jam moniti non destiterunt, et fuit conclusum ut publicarentur." *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in the Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Zapolya, who was contesting the crown of Hungary against the Emperor's brother.[1] While these warlike measures were in progress the negotiations of that strange time went steadily on. On the evening of the 25th of January, Cesare Fieramosca, accompanied by Schönberg and Quiñones, arrived in Rome with proposals for an armistice from Charles. They at once went to see Clement in the Belvedere.[2]

Fieramosca brought from the Emperor, who also continued to employ very friendly language with regard to Castiglione,[3] the best assurances of his good-will towards the Holy See, but very hard conditions for the conclusion of a three years' peace: the restoration of the Colonna; the payment of 200,000 ducats by the Pope and Florence, and, as security, the surrender of Parma, Piacenza, and Civita Vecchia into the hands of a third party. In spite of the opposition of the Cardinals, Clement VII., in his necessity, entered into the agreement on the 28th of January,[4] but the ratification of the treaty was postponed in order to allow of Venice being asked to give her adhesion; an eight days' armistice was to be observed provisionally.[5]

[1] GRETHEN, 147–148; HUBER, III., 551 *seq.*

[2] See **the despatches of G. de' Medici of January 25, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Giberti *wrote on January 24, 1527, to Gambara: "Il Conte Baldassar scrive di Spagna con commissioni amplissime d' accordar con N. S. promettendo voler S. Sta per padre et tante buone parole che se havesse in animo osservarne la meta saremo felici" (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[4] For this *cf.* *Giberti to Gambara, on January 24 and February 2, 1527 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIII., 758 *seq.*, XLIV., 15 *seq.*, *cf.* 101; VILLA, Asalto, 59 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 149 *seq.*; PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 50. G. de' Medici reports fully on the negotiations in his *despatches of January 26, 1527, and following days (State Archives, Florence).

Before the latter had run its course the state of affairs had undergone a fresh change. The ink of the treaty was hardly dry before the news arrived that René, Count de Vaudemont, the champion of the claims of the house of Anjou on Naples, had come from France with 30,000 ducats, and that the envoy of Henry VIII., Sir John Russell, with a like amount, was on his way to Rome. This was enough to rekindle Clement's warlike spirit—who very rightly placed no trust in Lannoy[1]—to such an extent that Giberti, on the 29th of January, disregarding the armistice, gave orders to Cardinal Trivulzio to make an offensive movement.[2] On the 1st of February came Vaudemont,[3] and on the 2nd the Rector of the University of Rome mustered the students, fifteen hundred fine well-armed youths eager for service.[4] On the evening of the 4th, beacons on the hills of Tivoli announced the defeat of Lannoy, "the greatest enemy of the Holy See,"[5] at Frosinone.[6] After so many misfortunes, Giberti and the Pope rejoiced at this gleam of sunshine. On the 7th of February Andrea Doria arrived, and it was resolved to

[1] *Cf.* the interesting *report of G. de' Medici of January 1, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] GUALTERIO, Corrispondenza, 67; GRETHEN, 152; BROSCH, I., 98.

[3] SANUTO, XLIV., 33; GUALTERIO, 77; *G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, February 1, 1527 (State Archives, Florence); *Giberti to Gambara on February 2, 1527 (Ricci Archives, Rome). The *letter of Francis I. to Clement VII., in which he asks that a favourable reception may be given to Vaudemont, is dated St.-Germain (1526), December 2. Lett. d. princ., IX., f. 292–293 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* FRAIKIN, LXXVIII.

[4] G. de' Medici on February 2: * "Hoggi ha fatto la mostra il retthor dello studio con più di mille cinque cento istudianti bene armati et bella gioventù" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Casella's **letter of February 2, 1527, in State Archives, Modena.

[5] SANUTO, XLIV., 34.

[6] *G. de' Medici on February 4, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

turn the victory to account by attacking Naples;[1] and yet a conspiracy had first been discovered at Rome which ought to have been a warning to use extreme caution!

In order to create disturbances on the rear of the Papal army, Lannoy and the Colonna had joined themselves with the chief of the Orsini, Napoleone, Abbot of Farfa. This turbulent man was offered pay in the Imperial service and the daughter of Vespasiano Colonna with a dowry of 30,000 ducats. In return Napoleone bound himself to give free passage through his domains to the troops of Charles V., commanded by Ascanio Colonna, and to procure, by means of an adherent in Rome, the opening of one of the city gates. At the same time Orsini was to assemble all his troops and to appear with them in the Leonine city under pretext of protecting the Pope; in reality, in order to murder him together with eight Cardinals. The attempt had all the more prospect of success as Orsini, the traitor, enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope. Luckily, however, Clement was told of the danger threatening him by the Count of Anguillara, whom Orsini had asked to participate in the plot. The Abbot was therefore arrested at Bracciano on the 1st of February, and brought to the castle of St. Angelo, where, after a struggle, he made a full confession.[2]

The miscarriage of this plot, the defeat at Frosinone, and, lastly, the Papal advance on Naples, made such an

[1] SANUTO, XLIV., 68, 98 *seqq.* *G. de' Medici on February 7, 1527: "M. Andrea Doria è venuto qui" (State Archives, Florence). *Casella reported on February 14, 1527: "Qui ogni dì giungon fanti novi." On February 24: The troops have marched; "heri notte" Paolo d'Arezzo returned (State Archives, Modena). A letter of Salviati's to Gambara, dat. Poissy, February 18, 1527, in FRAIKIN, 262, shows how much the Papal party had overestimated the worth of the victory at Frosinone.

[2] For the conspiracy of N. Orsini *cf.*, along with the short notices in SANUTO, XLIV., 38, 46, and GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 1, the full **reports of Casella of February 2 (State Archives, Modena), and

impression on Lannoy that he renounced all his previous demands for money payments, the surrender of strongholds, and the restoration of the Colonna. Although the envoys of France and Venice were even now still averse to an armistice, the arrangements for one might very likely have been carried out had not the English representative insisted that the opinion of Venice must first be heard. For this they had to wait,[1] and in the meantime first one and then another messenger of disaster reached Clement.

The King of France had not fulfilled one of all his glittering promises. His auxiliaries arrived late and in insufficient numbers; for the monthly payments of the war subsidy the Roman treasury waited in vain; although a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole of France had been granted him, Francis only sent the ridiculous sum of 9000 ducats. Also, the support intended for the expedition against Naples was so insignificant in men and money that the whole enterprise, started with such hopes, came to nothing. This frivolous Prince was so absorbed in hunting and other pleasures that no time was left to him for things of serious importance. To the Italians Francis was as prodigal as ever of fair words, but he did nothing, and his indifference threw the Papal Ambassador, Acciaiuoli, into sheer desperation.[2] This

**those of F. Gonzaga of February 6 and 10, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also Acciaiuoli's *letter to Gambara of February 18, 1527 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[1] *Cf.* GRETHEN, 153 *seqq.* The report of Raince, given by GRETHEN, 154, n. 1, is dated in the original, Rome, February 21, 1527; see FRAIKIN, LXXIX., n. 2. *Cf.* also the *despatch of G. de' Medici, February 21, 1527 (State Archives, Florence). On February 20, 1527, Clement VII. issued a fresh *Bull against the Colonna; see Appendix, No. 45 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Acciaiuoli's reports in DESJARDINS, II., 859, 862 *seqq.*, 868 *seq.*, 870 *seqq.*, 890 *seq.*, 892 *seqq.*; *cf.* also FRAIKIN, 181 *seqq.*

indifference did not grow less as affairs in Italy turned more and more in favour of the Imperialists; even so true a partisan of France as Canossa had to admit that Francis let the Pope's business go to rack and ruin.[1] The behaviour of the Venetians was not much better; they certainly did all they could to prevent an agreement between the Pope and the Emperor, but showed no sign of procuring for the former means to prosecute the war. "Venice," as Canossa had written to Giberti on the 28th of November 1526, "cares for nothing but her own interests: help from that quarter is to be expected as little as from France."[2]

Meanwhile the danger from the north was drawing ever nearer; Florence and the Romagna were seriously

Characteristic also of the conduct of the French Government was the manner and way in which they treated L. de Canossa, one of their most devoted friends and agents. For a long time he was entirely forgotten. This is shown in Canossa's *letters to F. Robertet. On May 1, 1526, he says: I know not what I shall do. On May 17: I am without news. On June 8: I have been treated very badly by the French Government. On June 13: I have no news from France. On June 14: The promised money has not come. On September 18: I have no information as to the King's intentions. January 10, 1527: For two months past I have had no news from the French Court, which causes astonishment to the Venetians. All these *letters are in the Communal Library, Verona.

[1] *Voglio anche dirvi che per le ultime lettere che io ho di Francia io comprendo apertamente che aveano le cose di Roma per disperate e però non è da maravigliarsi se sono anche più negligenti nelle provisioni di quello che la natura loro porta. Canossa to Giberti, dated Venice, February 11, 1527 (Communal Library, Verona). Canossa was not too severe; for on February 1, 1527, Acciaiuoli summed up to Gambara his complaints of the French dilatoriness in the following *words: "Sono tarde queste loro esecutioni così di denari come delle altre cose, che farrieno crepar l' anima di Giob" (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] **Canossa to Giberti, dated Venice, November 28, 1526 (Communal Library, Verona).

threatened, while Venice and the Duke of Urbino only thought of themselves.[1] In the south the advantages gained against Naples could not be followed up owing to the ever-increasing poverty of the Pope, now left in straits by his allies. In consequence the Papal troops were not only left without pay, but without that bare necessity of life—bread. The half-famished soldiers deserted by the score; the remainder had at last to make their way back to Piperno. At Terracina a plot was discovered to deliver the town to Pompeo Colonna.[2]

In these difficulties Clement, on the 6th of March, forwarded a safe-conduct to Cesare Fieramosca,[3] and five days later this agent of the Emperor entered Rome. Du Bellay also arrived on the same day; he brought many fine promises but not the longed-for 20,000 ducats.[4]

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 1; *cf.* SANUTO, XLIV., 204, 233, 300. *Letter of N. Raince, dated Rome, February 24, 1527 (N. S. Père ne se peut faire que trop mal contenter du mauvais deportement du Duc de Ferrare et du refus qu'il a faict de ces beaux partits a luy offerts), in the National Library, Paris, *loc. cit.*, f. 148. See also DE LEVA, II., 410, and Canossa's letter in PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 53 *seq.*, 148, 164.

[2] For the poverty of the Papal army: Lettere d. princ., II., 213[b]; RAUMER, Briefe, I., 253; SANUTO, XLIV., 148, 233, 340; DE LEVA, II., 409; GRETHEN, 156; *letters of F. Gonzaga of March 2 and 11 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), of *Casella of March 13 (State Archives, Modena), and of *G. de' Medici of March 14, 1527 (State Archives, Florence). For Terracina see Sanuto, XLIV., 213.

[3] *A Cesare Fieramosca è suto mandato salvo condotto se vorrà venire a resolver l' accordo per virtù del mandato mandò il Vicerè per Giovanni della Stupha. G. de' Medici, dated Rome, March 6, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] Besides Giberti's letter of March 12 (Lett. d. princ., II., 218), see the *despatch of G. de' Medici of March 11, 1527: "Mons. de Langes è arrivato questa mattina," etc., etc. (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Casella's *despatch of March 11, 1527 (State Archives, Modena);

According to his wont Clement hesitated for some days; but at last, driven to extremity, nothing remained for him to do but to accept the conditions offered by Fieramosca and Serenon as Lannoy's plenipotentiaries. In the night between the 15th and 16th of March an eight months' armistice began, the terms of which were that each party should give up their conquests, although the territory wrested from the Colonna remained in the Pope's possession during the truce. On the other hand, Clement promised to absolve the whole house from the censures passed upon them, to reinstate Cardinal Pompeo, and to pay, as ransom for the hostages Strozzi and Salviati, 60,000 ducats to the Imperialist army, who were, in return, to evacuate the Papal States. Lannoy was to come to Rome in person to ratify the treaty; the Pope saw in that a guarantee that Bourbon also would respect the agreement.[1]

Lannoy came to Rome on the 25th of March. The Pope received him with great honour and assigned him rooms in the Vatican.[2] Charles V.'s opponents tried at the last hour

SANUTO, XLIV., 277, 300; DESJARDINS, II., 899; VILLA, Asalto, 72; GRETHEN, 157; BOURRILLY, 40 *seq.*

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 1; SANUTO, XLIV., 310 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 328, 339, 424–431, 448, 452; Lett. d. princ., II., 220[b] *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, III., 604 *seqq.*; GRETHEN, 160; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 532; DE LEVA, II., 413; FRAIKIN, 435 *seq.*, and the two **despatches of G. de' Medici of March 16, 1527 (State Archives, Florence). How implicitly trustful the Pope was is shown by the release of Nap. Orsini from his imprisonment; *cf.* the **letters of F. Gonzaga of March 23 and 25, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Besides SANUTO, XLIV., 358, 406–407, 419, and VILLA, Asalto, 87 *seq.*, see the *reports of Casella of March 25, 1527 (State Archives, Modena), of G. de' Medici of March 25 (State Archives, Florence), of *F. Gonzaga of March 25 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor: "Die lunae 25 Martii: Carolus prorex Neapolitanus Romam venit compositurus inducias cum S. D. N. Clemente

to change Clement's mind; they represented to him how dangerous it was to sacrifice himself for the good-will of the Imperialists. The whole convention, thought John Russell, was only a trick to separate Clement from his allies. But Clement, after Lannoy's arrival, held that the execution of the treaty would be quite safe; he repeatedly said in tones of decision to the Ambassadors when they warned him, "Quod scripsi scripsi."[1] On the 27th of March, in a secret consistory, he addressed the Cardinals on the state of affairs;[2] on the 28th he excused himself to the Doge,[3] referring to the failure of all his means of help; on the 29th followed the ratification of the treaty.[4]

Trusting to the loyalty of Lannoy,[5] Clement VII. carried out his treaty obligations at once in the most conscientious manner. There can be no doubt that his pacific intentions were serious.[6] In order to put an end finally to all questions in dispute, the mission of Giberti to England and France was taken into consideration.[7] Although Clement had the

VII., et in palatio hospitatus est in ea parte palatii, quam Innocentius VIII. aedificavit et in capella datus est locus apud pontificem ad dextram" (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] SANUTO, XLIV., 338.

[2] Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor; see FRAIKIN, LXXXI., note 1.

[3] *Duci Venetiarum, dated Rome, March 28, 1527. Arm., 44, T. 9, f. 336 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *SANUTO, XLIV., 419, 432.

[5] *Cf.* the *reports of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, March 28, 29, 31, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 1; GRETHEN, 161.

[7] *Cf.* the *despatches of F. Gonzaga of April 1, 1527 (in part in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 498), in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; of Casella of April 13 (Giberti's departure was close at hand) in State Archives, Modena; SANUTO, XLIV., 520 *seq.*; and the *letter of G. de' Medici of April 15 (Mons. de Verona partirà domane o altro) in State Archives, Florence. On April 16 the credentials were drawn

advantage in the Neapolitan war, he withdrew his troops both by land and sea. He even went so far, in order to save money, as to reduce the total of his forces to a hundred light horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers of the so-called "Black Band."[1] All these measures show how certainly he counted on Bourbon also accepting the treaty. In order to settle this Fieramosca had already, on the 15th of March, arrived at the Imperialist camp fully empowered to take all the necessary steps. It is certain that both the Pope and Giberti had not the least presentiment that the danger threatening them from the Imperial army was not yet fully removed. When the news first reached Rome that Bourbon's army refused to accept the treaty concluded with Lannoy, Giberti saw only a daring attempt to extort more money.[2]

Of all the illusions under which Clement VII. and his adviser laboured, none was more momentous than their attributing to the Imperial generals an influence over the army which, for a long time past, had got entirely out of control.

On the very first rumour of Lannoy's negotiations with the Pope, the German and Spanish soldiers, who had bivouacked at San Giovanni, near Bologna, since the 8th

up; FRAIKIN, 338. In consequence, however, of the bad news from the north, Giberti's journey, against which Canossa had explicitly declared himself from the first, was given up altogether; see PROFESSIONE, Dal trattato di Madrid, 54 *seq.*

[1] See SANUTO, XLIV., 453; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 7; and the *reports of Casella, dated Rome, March 27, 1527 (Per quanto intendo N. S. fa distribuir tutti li soi cavalli alle stanze, cassa quasi tutta la fanteria), and March 31 in the State Archives, Modena. For the return of Cardinal Trivulzio see *Acta Consist. of April 10, 1527, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and the despatch of F. Gonzaga of April 11, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Lett. d. princ., II., 228.

of March, were thrown into great excitement. The troops were in a wretched condition; they had endured up till then four months of poverty, hunger, and cold, and no end to their hardships was in sight. Heavy downfalls of snow and rain had turned the ground almost into a swamp, where in damp, miserable clothing the soldiers were encamped, many without shoes to their feet, all without pay and a sufficiency of food.[1] The prospect of booty, the riches of Florence, the greater riches of Rome, had alone kept them together and given them courage amid their misery. It can easily be imagined what an impression was made on them by the news that they were to be "thrust out of Italy like beggars" and the prizes of victory snatched from them. As the increasing hurricane lashes the sea into greater and greater agitation until the conflicting tumult of the waves resembles chaos, so the rumour of a disastrous peace, passing from mouth to mouth through the Imperialist host, produced a scene of unparalleled excitement and passion. The Spaniards, to whom the Emperor owed eight months' pay, were the first to mutiny. They flung themselves in fury on Bourbon's tent, demanding payment in full with wild uproar. Bourbon had to hide himself in a horse-stall; one of his gentlemen was murdered; his tent was plundered. The Germans, stirred up by the tumult, quickly assembled; they also shouted "Pay, pay," refusing to march a step further unless they had their money. "All the men were in a kindling temper which burned like fire. They were ready to kill the captains and leaders."

An attempt to get sufficient money from the Duke of Ferrara failed. Thereupon "Father Frundsberg," on the 16th of March, gathered the Germans together and gave them an address "so earnest" in its tone that he "must

[1] See BARTHOLD, Frundsberg, 411.

have moved a stone." But all the representations of the man who, for a generation, by the power of his presence, of his will, of his word, and of his successes, had held the landsknechts together, were unavailing. "Pay, pay," shouted the frenzied soldiers. They even turned their pikes against their captains. Then Frundsberg's giant constitution suddenly gave way; overcome by grief and anger, he fell speechless on a drum. He had been struck down by apoplexy.[1]

The party of Clement VII. saw in the unexpected fate of Frundsberg the judgment of God on one who had presumptuously declared his willingness to lay hands on the Pope's person. But if they hoped that the landsknechts, deprived of their leader, would disband, they soon found themselves bitterly undeceived. The Germans only wished to escape as quickly as possible from the scene of misfortune. The whole army was of one mind that, under any circumstances, an advance must be made on districts that still lay open to plunder and offered a prospect of provision and booty. Bourbon had given each soldier a ducat and promised him unlimited pillage—"the law of Mohammed."[2]

Such was the situation when, on the 20th of March, Fieramosca produced the treaty of the 15th and 30,000 ducats, but this sum could not satisfy the soldiers; it was only like a drop of water on a hot stone. The reception given to the messenger of peace was in keeping with the soldiers' mood; "they were like raging lions," Fieramosca reported to the

[1] *Cf.* with RESSNER, 81 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 2; BARTHOLD, 411 *seq.*, and DE LEVA, II., 413; also the report in SANUTO, XLIV., 327, 329, as well as GASSLER, 77 *seq.*; BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 410 *seqq.*; VILLA, Asalto, 75 *seqq.*, and LEBEY, 408 *seq.*

[2] JOVIUS, Alfonsus, 189; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 2; Fieramosca's report in LANZ, I., 231; BARTHOLD, 415 *seq.*

Emperor, and he only saved his life by taking flight to Ferrara.[1] Bourbon had lost all power over his army. He stood helpless before the chaos, in which the only element of unity was the desire to be let loose. Forward at any cost, forward to Florence, forward to Rome! On the 29th of March Bourbon sent a message to Lannoy that he was forced of necessity to advance; at the same time he informed the Pope of this decision, by which the armistice was broken. Soon afterwards he raised his demands to 150,000 ducats.[2] "Three things," wrote Guicciardini on the 29th of March to Giberti, "remain open to you; to accede to everything by a new treaty, to take flight, or to defend yourselves to the death."[3]

After provisions and munitions had come from Ferrara the Imperialist army set forward on the 30th of March. Many thought that the fierce horde would throw itsel immediately on Florence. But the Apennines were still covered with snow, and well protected by troops. They therefore went by way of Bologna, plundering and burning slowly on the ancient Emilian Way as they drew nearer to the Romagna.[4] Guicciardini had, in the meantime, succeeded in getting the Duke of Urbino—who, hitherto solely occupied in guarding Venetian territory, had remained near the Po—to follow up the enemy, although at a considerable distance. This induced Bourbon to turn to the Apennines. He chose the road leading over

[1] SANUTO, XLIV., 347, 353, 362, 371, 381, 395, 436 *seq.*, 440; LANZ, *loc. cit.*, and SALVIOLI, 20.

[2] SCHULZ, 92 *seq.*, 94, 173–174.

[3] Op. ined., V., n. 152; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 499. With the reports of F. Gonzaga of April 7 here cited, *cf.* the **despatch of G. de Medici of April 6, 1527 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] SANUTO, XLIV., 382, 394, 409, 450, 451, 453 *seq.*, 462, 467, 499 *seq.*, 518 *seq.*; BARTHOLD, 418 *seq.*

Meldola into the upper valley of the Arno. The rain fell in torrents; but on went the army, up into the mountains, having to leave behind all their baggage waggons. The hope of the "glorious plunder of Florence" gave wings to the steps of the soldiers, who on the 16th of April reached Santa Sofia, that belonged to Florentine territory.[1]

On the entreaty of Clement VII., Lannoy, with 60,000 ducats from the Pope and 20,000 raised from his own resources, had left Rome for the Romagna on the 3rd of April to try and persuade the Imperialist forces to return. Letters from Bourbon caused him to alter his course and to go direct to Florence. Here he succeeded in arranging with Bourbon's agents that the Florentines should pay the Imperialist army 150,000 ducats; on receipt of the first half the army was to begin its return march.[2] Clement VII., meanwhile, had continued to dismiss his soldiers. He had hardly had news of the Florentine arrangement when, from misdirected economy and disgust at their insubordination, he parted with the last of his forces, the men of the Black Band.[3] Vaudemont, with his contingent at Civita Vecchia, sailed for Marseilles just as if peace had been securely concluded;[4] all warnings had been in vain.

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 2; BARTHOLD, 420 *seqq.*

[2] GRETHEN, 163 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 916; D. MARZI, Il viaggio del Vicerè di Napoli al campo Cesareo per l' accordo del Duca di Borbone col Papa e coi Fiorentini e l' aggressione a Santa Sofia, 19 d' Aprile 1527, Dicomano, 1900 (published as a manuscript).

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 2, and the **reports of G. de' Medici of April 6, 8, 12, and 13, 1527, in State Archives, Florence.

[4] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 2, and the *despatch of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, April 15, 1527: "Mons. di Vadamon partì questa mattina per andare a Civitavecchia per imbarcar se e sue gente sopra una galea di N. S. e una di Venetiani per andare a Marsilia" (State Archives, Florence).

"The imprudence and carelessness," wrote Francesco Gonzaga on the 11th of April, "is too great; before the armistice has taken effect the Pope has entirely disarmed himself. All this has been done only to save a little money. Everyone is astonished at such proceedings. But without doubt God's will has so ordered this, that the Church and its leaders may be destroyed."[1]

A feeling of uneasiness, such as almost always precedes great catastrophes, prevailed in Rome. Old predictions of overwhelming judgments on the seat and centre of the Church's government[2] revived again with increased force. Extraordinary accidents, regarded as portents, a flash of lightning which occurred as Lannoy arrived at the Vatican, caused disturbance in anxious minds; such things were looked upon as a premonition that the wrath of Heaven was about to strike the sinful city.[3]

A still more powerful, if momentary, impression was made on the Romans by one of those fanatical preachers of repentance who even then were constantly trying to add to the excitement of the Italian people, terrified already by prophecies,[4] and sorely visited by war, plague,[5]

[1] *Cf.* the **letter of F. Gonzaga of April 11, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also Lett. d. princ., I., 106[b].

[2] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER in Histor. Taschenb., 1871, 288 *seq.*; GRAUERT in Histor. Jahrb., XIX., 282 *seq.*

[3] JOVIUS, Columna, 356. *Cf.* the report in VILLA, Asalto, 140-141; see also L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 178 *seq.*

[4] For the previous predictions of astrologers for the year 1524 see the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris. *Cf.* also Atti. d. Romagna, 3 Series, II., 432 *seqq.*; Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., LXXXII., 375; ROSCOE, IX., 332; Arch. stor. Lomb., 3 Series, XXIX., 35.

[5] For the plague see *supra*, p. 344. In January 1526 Rome suffered also from an inundation of the Tiber; see *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris, and the *report of the Mantuan envoy of January 21, 1526 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

and other calamities. On Holy Thursday (18th April 1527), when Clement VII., after the reading of the Bull *In Cœna Domini*, was giving the pontifical blessing to a devout multitude of ten thousand persons, a man with the demeanour of a maniac, almost entirely naked, save only for a leathern apron, clambered on to the statue of St. Paul in front of St. Peter's and shouted to the Pope: "Thou bastard of Sodom, for thy sins Rome shall be destroyed. Repent, and turn thee! If thou wilt not believe me, in fourteen days thou shalt see it."[1]

A prophet of this sort was nothing new to the Romans; as far back as the summer of 1525 a hermit had declared to them his strange visions.[2] The prophecies of this new herald of misfortune, who was known by the name of Brandano, surpassed, however, in many respects anything of the kind known before. The appearance of this enthusiast was a highly characteristic episode of this agitated time. Bartolomeo Carosi, called Brandano,[3] was

[1] See the Spanish report on the *sacco* in VILLA, Asalto, 141.

[2] *Cf.* the **report of G. de' Medici of July 29, 1525 (State Archives, Florence). REUMONT, III., 2, 192, is wrong in identifying the first prophet with Brandano; the composer of the "Neuwe zeyttung" (for whose credibility see SCHULZ, 44) makes a clear distinction between the two prophets; so also does SANTORO, 7. Canossa also speaks of the first prophet in a *letter of August 5, 1525, in which he sends to the Queen of France "una profetia de uno romita che sta a Roma, il quale ha predite molte cose che sono state vere et maxime in le cose del re" (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] G. B. PECCI (Notizie s. vita di Bartol. da Petrojo chiamato Brandano, 2nd ed., Lucca, 1763) relies, among others, on A. Bardi, Storia di Siena (MS.). The conversion of the city is here (5) assigned to 1526, which entirely precludes the identification with the prophet of 1525. Pecci shows that the statement that the Archbishop of Siena, in 1614, had permitted the veneration of Brandano, is an invention. This assertion is found, among other fabulous material, in the **Vita* of Brandano, current under the name of C. Turi as author; Casanatense

a native of Petrojo near Siena. After leading for a long time an evil life in the world, he was suddenly converted and gave himself up, as a hermit, to severe acts of penance. Later on he quitted his solitude and passed through the towns of his native district holding up before the inhabitants their sinful manner of life. The wrath of God would burst upon them, war, plague, and other visitations would follow on the general iniquity. This was on the whole the substance of his penitential preaching. Sometimes in his fiery zeal he gave utterance to more concise discourse.[1] Perhaps his outward appearance produced more effect than his preachings and prophesyings. Clothed only so far as decency demanded, barefooted and with long red hair hanging dishevelled to his shoulders, the prophet went his rounds. His frame was muscular, but emaciated by fasting; his face wan and deeply furrowed, the greenish-yellow eyes hollowed by tears and nightly vigils; his movements were abrupt and uncouth. When preaching he held a crucifix in his right hand, in his left a skull.[2] Some thought him a crazy fool, others a prophet and saint. The common folk had many a tale to tell of his severe exercises of penance, his frequent pilgrimages to Santiago in Spain, even of miracles he had worked.[3] In Siena he had preached in the cathedral; now, with cries of woe, he was announcing in the streets of the Eternal City

Library, Rome, Cod. 3212. *Cf. ibid.*, Cod. 1205 and 2627. This *Vita*, in a fragment, is also found in Cod. Palat., 680, of the National Library, Florence; the author is a fervent admirer of his hero, whom he regards as a saint and a true prophet. The author of the document produced by MORENI, I., 111, takes the extreme opposite standpoint. ORANO, I., 247, note, mentions further literary notices of Brandano.

[1] CRESCIMBENI, Comment. intorno alla volg. poesia, II., 195; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 215; RÜTH, Poesie, II. 491.

[2] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 177.

[3] Vita, *loc. cit.*

the certain downfall of its priests and inhabitants and the renewal of the Church.[1]

On Easter Eve 1527 Brandano went from the Campo di Fiore to St. Angelo, and, like a second Jonas, cried with a loud voice, "Rome, do penance! They shall deal with thee as God dealt with Sodom and Gomorrha." Then he said quietly, as if to himself: "He has robbed the Mother of God to adorn his harlot, or rather his friend." On hearing of this scandalous speech the Pope put an end to his doings by ordering Brandano to be placed in confinement.[2] He was soon afterwards set at liberty and started afresh on a career which brought upon him renewed imprisonment.[3]

The destruction foretold by this prophet of evil was drawing nearer and nearer with the certainty of fate. Notwithstanding the arrangement with the Florentines, Bourbon's army continued to march on Rome. After extraordinary exertions the crest of the Apennines was surmounted; the eight field-pieces, attached to ropes, had to be dragged along by hand.[4] On the 18th of April the half-starved troops reached S. Maria in Bagno, on the south side of the mountains, and on the 20th Bourbon encamped at Pieve di S. Stefano in the upper valley of the Tiber. Here Lannoy met him. The latter had left Florence on the 15th of April, and on the 19th had been attacked by the inhabitants of Santa Sofia and forced

[1] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 178; *cf.* 330, and BERNINO, IV., 368.

[2] This is reported on the hearsay testimony of Lanceolinus; see *infra*, p. 396, n. 2; see SCHULZ, 66; *cf.* 44, 47, 51, 54, 69. See also L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 178, and CAVE, 391.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, *loc. cit.*; DÖLLINGER in Histor. Taschenb., 1871, 291. A prophecy then posted up in Rome, which Reissner produces, may be attributed, as GREGOROVIUS (VIII., 3rd ed., 512), surmises, to the prophet of Siena.

[4] *Cf.* the letter of R. Schwegler in HORMAYR, Archiv, 1812, 448.

to take refuge in the abbey of the Camaldoli, S. Maria in Cosmedin. Two days later he suddenly appeared in the Imperialist camp. It was soon discovered that he and Bourbon were trying to deceive the Florentines, who thereupon made energetic preparations for the defence of their city.[1]

When Bourbon now raised his demand for money to 240,000 ducats,[2] this, it was evident, was because he knew his enemy was unprepared. His army was in such a condition that necessity forced him to go forward. Only the hope of plundering Florence held his men together.[3] Bourbon advanced all the more joyfully as he knew that he was thus meeting the Emperor's wishes, whose first object was to get hold of money to pay his troops and to wring from the Pope the most favourable treaty possible.[4]

Clement VII. was highly indignant at the non-observance of the armistice. "To produce 240,000 ducats," Giberti exclaimed, "was as impossible as to join heaven and earth together." Bourbon replied by raising his demand to 300,000 ducats.[5] In the meanwhile the Papal and Venetian troops, under the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, and Guicciardini, had come to the relief of Florence, already strongly fortified, so that Bourbon,

[1] According to Marzi's investigations into the special MS. quoted *supra*, p. 377, n. 2. Clement VII. was still unaware, on April 27, 1527, that Lannoy was only trying to deceive him; for on that day he sent a * Brief to Lannoy in which he deplored the great danger in which the latter was placed, and announced the despatch of an envoy. *Min. brev., 1527, IV., vol. 17, n. 182 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] GRETHEN, 164; SCHULZ, 96.

[3] *Cf.* the remarkable letter (in cipher) of Bourbon to de Leyva, dated S. Pietro in Bagno, April 19, 1527, in SANUTO, XLIV., 570–571.

[4] See BUCHOLTZ, III., 58′ *seq.*, 66 *seq.*; BARTHOLD, 410 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 504; DE LEVA, II., 419 *seq.*

[5] GRETHEN, 165.

having regard for the condition of his necessitous and wearied soldiers, felt compelled to renounce his purpose of attack. With rapid decision he recalled his troops, who were already making inroads in the valley of the Arno, disencumbered himself of his last pieces of artillery, and on the 26th of April struck the road to Rome.[1]

Not only necessity and the conviction that at Rome he would meet with less opposition, but his ambition to become Viceroy of the whole of Italy[2] urged Bourbon forward on the city. His soldiers, anticipating the plunder of Florence, at first showed signs of mutiny, but he succeeded in quieting them with visions of Rome, where he would "make all of them rich." In hot haste they came to Montepulciano and Montefiascone. Neither the slow operations of the army of the League, nor the unwonted rain-storms, nor the gnawing want of provisions, could keep back the Imperialists, who were joined on the way by many adventurers eager to have a share in the spoils. On the 2nd of May they had reached Viterbo.[3]

Clement, who up till now had almost intentionally shut his eyes and refused to see his danger, perceived at last that Bourbon had tricked him and that nothing could save him except a desperate struggle. On the 25th of April he rejoined the League.[4] The Duke of Urbino was implored

[1] *Cf.* BARTHOLD, 421 *seq.*; SCHULZ, 98. On April 26 a republican rising against the dominion of the Medici had been suppressed. The city then joined the League for one month; see PITTI, I., 135 *seq.*; SEGNI, Storie fiorent., 4; CIPOLLA, 916 *seq.*; PERRENS, III., 125 *seqq.*

[2] See the letter of Otto di Pratica to R. Acciaiuoli of April 25, 1527, in the Riv. storica, 1893, 612, note. *Cf.* VETTORI, 375; SCHULZ, 92 *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, XLV., 231 *seq.*; BARTHOLD, 425; SCHULZ, 99 *seq.*

[4] SANUTO, XLIV., 551 *seq.*, 573 *seq.*; GRETHEN, 167; DE LEVA, II., 422; LEBEY, 417.

to render help;[1] Giovanni Antonio Orsini was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the newly organized Papal cavalry,[2] while to Renzo da Ceri was entrusted the defence of Rome. But for this the one thing necessary was lacking—money. In vain the Pope called upon the well-to-do citizens to give voluntary contributions. Greed and infatuation were so great, that Domenico Massimi himself, the richest man in Rome, only offered to lend the sum of 100 ducats![3]

The Pope was besought on every side to raise money for the defence of Rome by the sale of Cardinals' hats. But Clement, even at this moment incapable of decision, refused his assent. But when, on the 3rd of May, he was informed that Bourbon had already advanced beyond Viterbo, he was driven to take the step so repugnant to him. But it was already too late to obtain the payments[4] from his nominees; these were Benedetto Accolti, Niccolò

[1] *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Duke of Urbino, dated Rome, April 22 and 30, 1527, in State Archives, Florence, Urb. eccl.

[2] *Brief to the same of April 30, 1527, Min. brev., 1527, IV., vol. 17, n. 183, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3.

[4] For the creation of Cardinals on May 3, 1527, see, besides CIACONIUS, III., 477 *seq.*; NOVAES, IV., 80 *seq.*; EHSES, Dokumente, 249; CATALANUS, Capranica, 303 (instead of Martii read Maii); DE LEVA, II., 427, and GRETHEN, 168–169; also the following *letters: (1) G. de' Medici, April 26, 27, 28, and May 4, State Archives, Florence; (2) F. Gonzaga, April 27, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Efforts to procure the Cardinalate for Ercole Gonzaga had begun under Leo X. (*cf.* Delle esenzioni, 45 *seq.*) and were renewed in the first days of Clement's pontificate. As early as November 19, 1523, *Cardinal Gonzaga had written about it to the Marchioness Isabella. The Marquis of Mantua, in a *letter of January 22, 1524, asks B. Castiglione to further the matter. On February 6 he expresses his pleasure at the Pope's favourable answer, and begs Castiglione to urge on the affair. In a *letter, dated Bologna, February 12, 1524, Ercole thanks the Marquis of Mantua for his exertions in trying to obtain for him,

Gaddi, Agostino Spinola, Ercole Gonzaga, Marino Grimani, and the French Chancellor Du Prat. The Pope could not make up his mind to fly to Civita Vecchia. Quite in contradiction to his usual character, he now displayed an extraordinary confidence.[1] On the 3rd of May he rode through the city, encouraging the citizens, who were determined to defend Rome to the uttermost, and on the 4th he placed Bourbon under the ban of the greater excommunication.[2]

If Clement entirely underrated his danger, the principal blame must be laid on his blind confidence in Renzo da Ceri. The latter, with the utmost assurance, set all fears at naught,[3] and declared that the four thousand men he had raised were ample protection, for so great a city as Rome, against the undisciplined and famished hordes of Bourbon; he went so far as to boast that the city itself could hold out, even were the enemy so successful as to possess themselves of the right bank of the Tiber; he therefore even refused to destroy the bridges. That Renzo placed the greatest confidence in his hastily organized bands, recruited from stablemen, mechanics, and all sorts of persons inexperienced in the ways of war, is shown from the fact that on the 4th of May he sent a message through Giberti to Guido Rangoni, who had brought more than eight thousand men from the army of the League, that Rome was so perfectly

through the mediation of Castiglione, the Cardinal's hat. On the same day the Marquis writes to the latter and bids him thank the Pope for his "certa promessa" to give Ercole the first nomination. Copies of all these *letters in the Library, Mantua. In 1526 Capino was urging Ercole's nomination; Lett. d. princ., II., 103[b].

[1] "Spogliatosi della natura sua," says GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3.

[2] See CAVE, 407 *seqq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 506, and BARTHOLD, 430.

[3] How great these fears were is clear from the *letter of V. Albergati of April 29, 1527 (State Archives, Bologna).

secure that from six to eight hundred men, armed with guns, would be a sufficient reinforcement; he advised Rangoni to return to the League with the remainder of his forces, as he would there be of much greater use than at Rome![1]

A herald of Bourbon, coming to demand the 300,000 ducats from the Pope, received no answer. From the Vatican Clement VII. could see the enemy advance across the Neronian fields; but even then he saw no serious danger, especially as they were not supported by artillery. Besides, there was the hourly expectation of the arrival of the army of the League.[2]

Clement VII. was confirmed in his mistaken conception of the state of things by the defeat of a troop of lands-knechts at the Ponte Molle by Orazio Baglioni. The Mantuan envoy, who reported this on the 5th of May, added, "The Pope is in the best spirits."[3] Yet on the 4th of May such a panic had broken out in the city that it seemed as if the enemy were already within the

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; *cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 144. For the armed rabble prepared for the defence of Rome, *cf.*, along with the authorities made use of by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 509 *seq.*; CAVE, 392, 394; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 173 *seqq.*; M. Cresci, *Storia d'Italia (Laurentian Library, Florence, Cod. Ashburnh., 633), and the *despatches of G. de' Medici of April 26 and 27 and May 4, 1527 (State Archives, Florence), as well as the *reports of F. Gonzaga of April 25 and 28, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to a report of Canossa's to Francis I., dated Venice, May 16, 1527 (published by CIPOLLA, per le nozze Pellegrini - Canossa, Padova, 1880), "no si trovarono (in Roma) più che 3 m. fanti forestieri e quelli assai tristi per essere fatti tumultuariamente." *Cf.* the different accounts given by others of the garrison in Cipolla's collection, *loc. cit.*, 21–22.

[2] SANUTO, XLV., 233. *Cf.* the letter to Charles V. in MILANESI, Sacco, 500.

[3] See in Appendix, No. 46, the *report in cipher of F. Gonzaga of May 5, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

walls.[1] Thousands tried to find a safe hiding-place for their property. Many, in spite of prohibitions, fled from Rome.[2]

Meanwhile the Imperialist army had surrounded Rome as far as the Janiculum. The main body encamped in the vineyards behind St. Peter's.[3] In the cloisters of S. Onofrio, the headquarters of Bourbon, a council of war had decided that the Leonine city should be stormed on the following morning without further preparation. The state of the army was desperate. Deprived of the necessities of life, in an empty and barren country with an enemy in their rear, they now saw before them their only means of deliverance: this was the capture of Rome by storm, the walls of which were defended, as they knew, by only a handful of brave soldiers.[4] Victory or death was Bourbon's watchword.[5] With longing eyes his soldiers, craving for booty, counted up the prize of victory, now, at last, lying before them. The goal to which they had pressed through so many unheard-of hardships was now reached. The rays of that setting sun of the 5th of May lit up for the last time all the magnificence of the Rome of the Renaissance, then the fairest and richest city in all the world.

[1] See the report of **G. de' Medici of May 4, 1527 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* the autobiography of RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO, 427.

[2] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 110, and SANUTO, XLV., 73, 131. See also Arch. Stor. Ital., 5 Series, XIV., 57.

[3] See Lannoy's report in LANZ, I., 705.

[4] "Hessendo noi conduti in loco angusto e carestioso et havendo dinanzi un Tevere et una Roma," writes Sigismondo dalla Torre, "et intendendo che drieto ne cavalchava un grosso exercito, si pensò esser necessario tentar la fortuna, al che ci faceva più arditi il saper che in Roma non era gran provisione di buona gente pagata." SANUTO, XLV., 232.

[5] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3.

CHAPTER XI.

The Sack of Rome.—Captivity of the Pope.

On the morning of the 6th of May, Monday after Misericordia Sunday, a thick fog covered the low, damp levels of the Tiber. In Rome, all through the night, the great bell of the Capitol had rung the tocsin and called the defenders to their posts.[1] They stood along the walls

[1] "In urbe vero tota nox praecedens expendebatur in clamoribus arma, arma, et campana Capitolii tota nocte et die tangebatur ad provocandum Romanos ad arma," are the expressions used by * Cornelius de Fine in his Diary in the National Library, Paris. Besides his account I have also seen the following unpublished sources relating to the sack: (1) a despatch of F. Gonzaga of May 7, 1527, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; (2) two reports of May 7 and 27, from the State Archives, Modena; (3) the monastic chronicle of Orsola Formicini in the Vatican Library; (4) an anonymous Italian account in the same collection; (5) the "relatione di diversi casi" of the Angelica Library, Rome; (6) a letter from Sanga of June 27 in the Ricci Archives, Rome; (7) a report of Cardinal Salviati in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The published documents, reports, pamphlets, and narratives in works of history have been diligently collected by Schulz, Sacco, 3–75 (*cf.* Schulz in the Zeitschr. für Bücherfreunde, III, 21 *seq.*), and critically examined, without concealing from himself that there are special publications by Italians which must have escaped his notice. Important authorities, overlooked by Schulz, are undoubtedly: a Mantuan report edited by Luzio in 1883, Corvisieri's Documenti inediti, and the records (published by Armellini in 1886) of the Roman notary, Teodoro Gualderonico. It has also escaped Schulz that the letter of A. Gavardo, in the Quiriniana Library at Brescia, is not unpublished, but was produced as far back as 1877 in Arch. Stor. Lombardo, IV.,

in fighting order, but tried in vain to discern through the impenetrable vapour the movements in the enemy's camp.[1] Yet, distinctly audible, there rose from the sea of mist a wild tumult of sounds mingled with signals of war. The Imperialist army was getting ready for the assault.

Sciarra Colonna, with light cavalry and Italian infantry, advanced against the fortifications of the Milvian Bridge, while Melchior Frundsberg made an attack on the Trastevere at S. Pancrazio. The chief attacking party, meanwhile, moved on the Leonine city.[2] The north and

628 *seq.* *Cf.* also GUERRINI, Docum. Bresciani rig. il Sacco di Roma, in Riv. d. scien. stor. di Pavia, I., 8, 1904. Since the appearance of Schulz's valuable work, the sources of our information have been remarkably enriched. In the first place, mention must be made of the copious contemporary accounts in the forty-fifth volume of Sanuto; secondly, the French narratives in the Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., and the Ricordi of M. Alberini, written about 1547, and given in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XVIII. (1895). D. ORANO'S work, planned on a great scale, on the Sacco di Roma, has not yet gone beyond the first volume (Rome, 1901), but it contains, with numerous explanations, the Ricordi of Alberini. As the second volume of Orano is to deal with the "Sacco nella letteratura," I refrain from a more detailed account of my own researches in this direction. Vol. vi. of Orano's work will contain a description of Rome in the year 1527, from the artistic point of view, by Lanciani and Venturi.

[1] The thick mist is dwelt upon by almost all the original authorities (*cf.* ORANO, I., 247 *seq.*), expressly by CAVE, 396; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 186; GROLIERIUS, 65; SANUTO, XLVI., 130; LANCELLOTTI, III., 237; VETTORI, 379; CORNELIUS DE FINE, quoted *infra*, p. 392, n. 1, and the "lettera da un offiziale dell' esercito di Borbone" in MILANESI, 499 (that this was written by Gian Bartolomeo Gattinara has been shown by CORRADI, Gian Bart. Gattinara ed il Sacco di Roma (Torino, 1892), and SCHULZ, 5 *seq.*). Gattinara is expressly named as the author in Cod. Regin., 350, f. 119, of the Vatican Library, and in Cod. 92 of the Campello Archives, Spoleto.

[2] For the then condition of the fortifications of Rome, which, especially on the right side of the Tiber, were conspicuously weaker and different

west sides, where the Belvedere and the Porta Pertusa lay, were attacked at the same time as the south side; there the Spaniards advanced and, on their right, against the Porta S. Spirito, the landsknechts did the same. The attack on the Belvedere and the Porta Pertusa, where Prince Philibert of Orange commanded, was, however, only a feint intended to deceive the defenders and turn their attention from the south side. Here, at the Porta Torrione (now Cavalleggieri) and the Porta S. Spirito, the weakest points of the fortifications, the attack was heaviest, undertaken without artillery, only with spears, pistols, and ladders hastily constructed out of garden palings and bound together with withes.[1] It was a rash enterprise, but the outcome of counsels of despair.

The first onset was successfully repelled by the defenders, although the latter were firing at random into the fog. The Spaniards as well as the landsknechts were forced to withdraw with heavy losses; a second attack also failed. Bourbon, who saw that everything was at stake,[2] thereupon placed himself at the head of the assailants. He succeeded in reaching the walls of the Porta Torrione, near the site, in later days, of the Cesi gardens and villa (now the Collegio di S. Monica[3]). Here there was a very badly secured position, easily exposed to attack.[4] One of the

from those of a later date, *cf.* RAVIOLI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VI., 337 *seqq.*, 345 *seqq.* CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, Del asalto y saco de Roma (Madrid, 1858), gives a map of the assault; but this, as well as the topographical matter of this author, is not wholly satisfactory. The castellan of St. Angelo during the sack was Guido de' Medici; see BENIGNI, Miscell. di Storia, V. (1906), 55 *seq.* Here also are given details of the works carried out in the castle under Clement VI.

[1] *Cf.* R. Schwegler's letter in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 448.

[2] *Cf.* the report of the Abbot of Najera in VILLA, Asalto, 123.

[3] Present entrance Via S. Uffizio, 1.

[4] According to D. Venier (SANUTO, XLV., 214) there was even a

first of the storming party to fall was Bourbon himself, who had pressed forward with headlong rashness. A bullet struck him down; although mortally wounded, he yet had the presence of mind to ask those around him to cover his body with a cloak.[1] In spite of this precaution, the fall of the Commander-in-Chief became known immediately to the Imperialist army. It caused such consternation and alarm that the fighting was for a while suspended. But the enemy, now breathing vengeance, soon resumed their attack on the walls, from which a deadly fire was pouring. This time the hazard was successful, being favoured by the

breach in the wall at this point. In any case the defences here were quite inadequate. *Cf.* Vettori in MILANESI, 433, and L. GUICCIARDINI, *ibid.*, 183 *seq.*, 190.

[1] The exact circumstances of Bourbon's death were variously related, from the first, by very well-informed contemporaries. *Cf.* Naselli's report of May 14, 1527, in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 437. Most authorities say that the fatal ball penetrated the abdomen (ORANO, I., 251). I find, however, other statements, that, for instance, of CORNELIUS DE FINE (*Diary, National Library, Paris), who says expressly: "ictu unius bombardae percussus in capite inter palpebras diem suum clausit." The French narrative (published by DROYSEN, Zeitgenössische Berichte, 2) says he was struck on the forehead; as also does the *letter of Salviati (see App., No. 49, Secret Archives of the Vatican). That Bourbon fell, struck by a cannon ball, and not by a musket ball, as many say, is also the account given in SANUTO, XLV., 145; the latter says: "li portò via la costa sinistra et tutti li intestini." The different statements as to the locality of the wound can be reconciled, for an eye-witness affirms that he saw three wounds on Bourbon's body; see SANUTO, XLV., 87. It is certain that B. Cellini was not justified in claiming the credit, also attributed to others, of this fatal shot; *cf.* CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 242 *seq.*, and the works quoted by ORANO, I., 252; see also LEBEY, 428 *seq.* No difference of opinion can prevail as to where Bourbon fell (see GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 521, n.). The church where he was carried, and where he died, has been variously assigned; but it was certainly the Sistina; see BARTHOLD, 450, n., and SANUTO, XLV., 418.

fog, now so thick that it was hardly possible for a man to recognize his neighbour; for the same reason the heavy guns on St. Angelo were kept entirely out of action.[1] About 6 A.M.[2] the Spaniards succeeded in breaking through the walls of the city at the Porta Torrione by making skilful use of a badly guarded position; almost at the same time the landsknechts scaled the walls of S. Spirito.[3]

Fierce street fighting was carried on in the Borgo, especially near St. Peter's and S. Spirito. The Roman militia, in their desperate resistance, rivalled the loyal Swiss Guards, who had taken up their position near the obelisk, then still standing not far from the German Campo Santo; these troops were nearly annihilated.[4] A testimony to their

[1] *Cf.* the reports in VILLA, Asalto, 141; SANUTO, XLV., 143 *seq.*, 165, 167, 186; JOVIUS, Columna, 165; CELEBRINO, 12 *seq.*, and CORNELIUS DE FINE, who, in his * Diary, says that the mist had become so dense "ita quod videri vix poterat qui stabat cum alio facie ad faciem et Romani non poterant amplius tormentis bellicis hostes laedere, quia nihil videbant" (National Library, Paris).

[2] "Initum fuit certamen," says *Cornelius de Fine, "in aurora ante octavam horam (according to Italian time; according to ours, at 4 A.M.) postquam certatum esset ferme per duas horas, Imperiales habuerunt victoriam et vi ceperunt Burgam S. Petri continue certantes et interficientes Romanos et pontificis satellites, et nulli pepercerunt." *Diary in National Library, Paris.

[3] According to the Ferrara report in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 438 (GASSLER, 81 *seq.*, had already published this document, of which Hormayr says nothing; I quote from Hormayr because his Archiv is much better known than the rare work of Gassler), the Spaniards were the first to enter Rome; others, followed by RANKE (Deutsche Gesch., II., 2nd ed., 410), say the landsknechts. That they both made their way in simultaneously is also the opinion of SCHULZ, 105 n.

[4] Besides the letters of Buffalini of May 11 (Lettere di diversi all' ill. Sig. V. Vitelli, Firenze, 1551, 141, and GROLIERIUS, 66), see the reports in SANUTO, XLV., 123, 167; in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 438; in VILLA, Asalto, 123; the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National

valour may still be read to-day in an inscription near the Church of S. Spirito, which relates that there the Papal goldsmith, Bernardino Passeri, fell fighting for the sacred cause of the city of his fathers, after having slain many of the enemy and captured a standard.[1]

The whole Borgo was soon ringing with the cries of victory of the Imperialists, who, as they rushed irresistibly onwards, cut down all who crossed their path, without regard to age or sex. Almost all the sick in the hospital of S. Spirito, even the inmates of the neighbouring orphanage, were murdered. Blood flowed before the altars in St. Peter's.[2] Already in some places plundering was set on foot, not indeed by soldiers but by the camp rabble; for commands had been given to refrain from plunder until the city was completely taken. These were so strictly carried out that the soldiers were under orders to slaughter all beasts of burden found in the Leonine city in order to prevent the transport of booty, and therewith the disorganization of the bodies of troops.[3] The Imperialists were prevented from crossing the bridge of St. Angelo by the hail of cannon balls from the guns of the fortress.

The rush of the enemy into the Leonine city had taken place so suddenly, in the midst of the rolling vapours, that Renzo da Ceri lost his head and fled distractedly to the Vatican. There Clement was praying in his private

Library, Paris); and in Appendix, No. 49, the report of Salviati (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The twelve survivors of the Swiss Guards entered the landsknechts; see Anz. f. schweiz. Gesch., 1886, 37.

[1] CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 242; TORRIGIO, Grotte, 262; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VI., 374 *seqq.*; PIERRET, Cenno storico di B. Passeri, Roma, 1885.

[2] JOVIUS, Columna, 165; VILLA, Asalto, 134; CAVE, 398; letter of Buffalini, Rome, May 11, 1527, in Lettere al V. Vitelli, 148; BUONAROTTI, 1871, 255 *seq.*; and SANUTO, XLV., 133, 167, 186.

[3] Naselli's report in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 438.

chapel,[1] when the approaching sound of the cries of battle told him what had happened. The Pope up to this moment had trusted implicitly in Renzo's promises. The latter had pledged his head that the enemy would not make their way into Rome.[2] Nothing but rapid flight could now save the chief Pastor of the Church. A Spanish account says that if he had lingered as long as the time it takes to say three Credos, he would have fallen a prisoner.[3] With sobs and lamentations he hastened along the covered way leading to St. Angelo; from the small windows of the castle he saw the panic-stricken knots of fugitives cut down in pitiless fury by Spaniards and Germans. The historian Paolo Giovio was of help to Clement in his flight. He flung his violet prelate's mantle over the white clothing of the Pope so that the latter should not be an easy mark for his enemies as he hurried across the open wooden bridge connecting St. Angelo with the covered way.[4]

To the same asylum of refuge fled the non-Imperialist Cardinals, also Giberti, Jacopo Salviati, Schönberg, the Ambassadors of France and England, the officers of the Papal Court, and a throng of men, women, and children. Cardinal Pucci, who, in his flight, had been thrown from his horse and trampled upon, yet managed to reach the castle at the last moment; Cardinal Armellini was drawn up in a basket.[5] When the drawbridge went up and

[1] Not in St. Peter's as many, including GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 523, assert; *cf.* BARTHOLD, 447, n.

[2] *Cf.* the report in SANUTO, XLV., 418.

[3] Letter of Salazar of May 18, 1527, in VILLA, Asalto, 142.

[4] JOVIUS, Columna, 165. In Giovio's description of the sack (Sacco di Roma, Descriz. di M. P. Giovio, Venezia, 1872, ed. per *nozze*) the circumstance mentioned above is not related. *Cf.* also the somewhat different account in SANUTO, XLVI., 130.

[5] CELEBRINO, 14; L. Guicciardini, in MILANESI, 193 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 132.

the rusty portcullis fell, three thousand persons were computed to have found shelter in the stronghold. Even then, many others pressed forward, and fell into the moat. "We stood there," narrates the sculptor Raffaello da Montelupo, who, like Benvenuto Cellini, was manning the castle guns, "and looked on at all that passed as if we had been spectators of a festa. It was impossible to fire, for had we done so, we should have killed more of our own people than of the enemy. Between the church of S. Maria Transpontina and the gate of the castle more than from four to five thousand persons were crowded together, pell-mell, and, as far as we could see, hardly fifty landsknechts behind them. Two standard-bearers of the latter forced their way through the turmoil with uplifted banners as far as the great gate of the castle, but were shot down at the head of the bridge."[1]

Many inhabitants of the Leonine city sought refuge in flight; so reckless was the rush on the boats that many were swamped and sank; not a few persons flung themselves in despair into the Tiber.[2] The Imperialists were forced to withdraw from the Leonine city, where the guns of St. Angelo made occupation impossible. The commanders accordingly determined to transfer the attack to the second suburb on the right bank of the Tiber, to Trastevere, from which three bridges (Ponte Sisto, Ponte Quattro Capi, and Ponte S. Maria) led into Rome proper. Since the Imperialists could now make use of the captured artillery, they quickly attained their object, the resistance they encountered being at the same time very much weaker. St. Angelo indeed kept up a repeated fire,

[1] Autobiography of RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO, 429–430; *cf.* GROLIERIUS, 67. The number of those in the castle was reduced, later on, to 950; see SANUTO, XLVI., 132.

[2] Blasius de Martinellis in CREIGHTON, V., 328; J. CAVE, 397.

but the guns had not sufficient range to do serious damage to the besiegers and prevent the capture of Trastevere.[1]

It was now the chief object of the Imperialists to act with the utmost possible despatch before the army of the League drew near and the Romans recovered from their panic and broke down the bridges. The commanders had difficulty in keeping together their men, eager for plunder, and ordered the separate divisions to advance on Ponte Sisto. It was about seven in the evening[2] when the first columns arrived there. Although it sounds incredible, it is yet a fact, that the means taken to secure even this most important point were utterly inadequate. The bridge had not been blown up, and the gate-house was only weakly defended. The question may be asked: How was this possible? The Roman Marcello Alberini, who as a young man had lived through the capture of the city, supplies the answer. The defence was organized as badly as possible; from the beginning there was no one central command. Apart from this, the defenders, who were none too numerous, were dispersed along the entire distance of the long line of the city walls and kept watch at points where the least danger threatened. Many deserted

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 49, the report of Salviati (Secret Archives of the Vatican), as well as SANUTO, XLV., 233, the letter of Du Bellay in Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 412, and Autobiography of RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO, 430.

[2] The 23rd hour (Italian time) is given in most accounts as the time of the entrance into Rome proper; see GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3 A. LANCEOLINUS, Capture of Rome, translated into German by H. von Ependorff (supplement to G. CAPELLA, Von den Geschichten Italie, Strassburg, 1536; *cf.* SCHULZ, 24 *seq.*); ALBERINI, 340; GUMPPENBERG, 240; *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). The 20th and 21st hours are given in SANUTO, XLV., 145, 219, and CAVE, 399, the 22nd in VETTORI, 380.

their posts because no one brought them their victuals. Others paraded the streets pompously with military airs, and believed, Alberini adds in bitter irony, that they were thus defending their native land. Besides, the Ghibellines and satellites of the Colonna thought that they had nothing to fear if the Imperialists were victorious; many even wished that Rome might come under the rule of Charles V. Then, again, the consequences of Bourbon's death were greatly exaggerated, and some were convinced to a certainty that the enemy's army, having lost its leader, would immediately break up.[1] When, at last, the magnitude of the danger was recognized, attempts were made to open negotiations which, from the nature of the case, could have no result.[2] But the populace, as if bewildered by fear, ran about the streets, and people of substance tried to conceal their property in the houses of Imperialist persons. Only a few high-minded and spirited men resolved to raise a couple of hundred horsemen to defend the Ponte Sisto. But those brave men were not able to check for long the inroad of the enemy. From the roof of the palace of the Cancelleria, Alberini saw how Pierpaolo Tibaldi, Giulio Vallati, and Giambattista Savelli

[1] ALBERINI, 339; GROLIERIUS, 54, 71; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; Vettori in MILANESI, 435; *cf.* ORANO, I., 241, n. According to Du Bellay, Renzo da Ceri had resolved on the destruction of the bridges, but met with refusal on the part of the Romans; *cf.* Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 411 *seq.* A report in SANUTO, XLV., 418, says that the Pope wished the bridges to be destroyed; the refusal came from Renzo. L. Guicciardini (in MILANESI, 196 *seqq.*) brings the gravest accusations against Renzo, but says that he was not alone to blame.

[2] The negotiations were to be in the hands of the Margrave Gumbert of Brandenburg, a resident in Rome; *cf.* GUMPPENBERG'S report, 240 *seq.*; see also BELLERMANN, Erinnerungen aus Südeuropa, Berlin, 1851, 39 *seq.*

fell like heroes, whereupon the leaders gave up all for lost and fled.[1]

The Imperialists now rushed like a mountain torrent in flood through the streets of the capital. "All were doomed to certain death who were found in the streets of the city; the same fate was meted out to all, young or old, woman or man, priest or monk. Everywhere rang the cry: Empire! Spain! Victory!"[2]

Nevertheless, the Imperialists did not yet feel secure. At any moment the army of the League might appear before Rome. Even if a few, here and there, had begun to plunder, the generals were still able to keep control over the nucleus of the army in its appointed divisions. The landsknechts held the Campo di Fiore, the Spaniards the Piazza Navona, while Ferrante Gonzaga watched St. Angelo. These measures of precaution proved, however, to be unnecessary. Guido Rangoni had, indeed, appeared in the evening at the Ponte Salaro with five hundred light cavalry and eight hundred musketeers, but on hearing of the fall of Rome had immediately fallen back on Otricoli. When the victorious soldiery saw that no one disputed their quickly won success, their leaders were no longer in a position to hold them together. The first to break away in their hunger for booty were the Spaniards; they were soon followed by the landsknechts. Twenty thousand disorganized soldiers, to whom a rabble of vagabonds and banditti[3] had attached themselves, now spread through the

[1] See ALBERINI, 340, the letter of Buffalini, see *supra*, p. 392, n. 4, and CELEBRINO, 14.

[2] GUMPPENBERG'S Report, 241.

[3] According to SANUTO, XLV., 218, the number of these vagabonds amounted to 10,000, certainly a very exaggerated reckoning. The same statement is made by AMASEO, Diario, Venezia, 1884, 90–91. For the strength of the Imperial army see *supra*, p. 361. JOVIUS, Columna, 165, exaggerates when he says that more than 40,000 of the enemy

streets of the ill-fated capital of the world, to plunder, burn, and kill in accordance with "the rights of war." Carrying lighted wax candles in their hands, these savage bands passed from house to house in the darkness of the night; they took, however, only gold and silver; whoever offered resistance was at once cut down.[1]

On the morning of the 7th of May, Rome presented a spectacle that baffled description. It was, in the words of Francesco Gonzaga, a sight that might have moved a stone to compassion.[2] Everywhere there was the most ruthless devastation, everywhere rapine and murder. The air re-echoed to the wailings of women, the plaintive cries of children, the barking of dogs, the neighing of chargers, the clash of arms, and the crash of timber from the burning houses.[3] All accounts, even the Spanish, agree that no age, no sex, no station, no nationality, neither Spaniard nor German, neither church nor hospital, was spared.[4]

The soldiers began by carrying off from the houses and palaces all objects of value; they then set a price of ransom on all those whom they had robbed, on men, women, and children, and even on servants; those who were not able to

invaded Rome. GUALDERONICO, 91, puts the number at only 18,000, CORNELIUS DE FINE at 25,000 (*Diary in National Library, Paris).

[1] *Primi spoliatores erant Hispani et Itali qui tota nocte cum torciis cerae albae circumibant civitatem a domo ad domum nil accipientes nisi aurum et argentum, si tamen alia preciosa non accipiebant. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[2] I found the despatch of this envoy, written with a trembling hand, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see the text in Appendix, No. 47.

[3] J. CAVE, 400. *Cf.* also the report of F. Gonzaga of May 9, 1527, in LUZIO, Maramaldo, 79.

[4] VILLA, Asalto, 124, 135 *seq.*, 143, 164. *Cf.* MILANESI, 501; SANUTO, XLV., 88, 90; GUALDERONICO, 92. See also *Relatione di diversi casi curiosi successi in Roma nel sacco di Borbone. R 6, 17, Angelica Library, Rome.

pay were first tortured in the cruellest manner and then murdered. But even the payment of their ransom did not help these wretched victims; this only led to fresh exactions and fresh suffering. Often, when a house was stripped clean of its contents, it was then set on fire. "Hell," said a Venetian report of the 10th of May 1527,[1] "has nothing to compare with the present state of Rome." In many places the streets were covered with dead bodies; beneath them lay many a child under ten years of age who had been flung out of the windows by the soldiers.[2]

Still more terrible was the fate of defenceless women and maidens. Neither tender youth nor venerable age nor noble birth shielded the unhappy victims from brutal ill-usage and dishonour. Many were violated and murdered before the eyes of their husbands and fathers; even the daughter of the wealthy Domenico Massimi, whose sons had been slain and his palace burned, fell a victim. More than one contemporary declared that the deeds of the Vandals, Goths, and Turks were outdone. Many young girls, driven to despair by the dishonour wreaked upon them, flung themselves into the Tiber; others were put to death by their own fathers to save them from the extremity of shame.[3] Spaniards, Germans, and Italians rivalled one another in cruelty towards the unhappy inhabitants; but all accounts coincide in giving to the Spaniards, among whom were many Jews and "Marani,"[4] the palm for ingenuity in

[1] SANUTO, XLV., 219. F. Gonzaga writes in the same way on May 9; see LUZIO, Maramaldo, 81.

[2] SANUTO, XLV., 123, 165.

[3] SANUTO, XLV., 133, 145, 164, 165, 187, 203. F. Gonzaga in LUZIO, Maramaldo, 81; J. CAVE, 400 *seq.*; Zeitgenössische Berichte, 24, 26; see also ORANO, I., 272, n. *Cf.* Sanga's letter in Appendix, No. 50. For D. Massimi see SANUTO, XLV., 122, 145, 187, 233.

[4] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 229; CELEBRINO, 15; and GROLIERIUS, 24. VOGELSTEIN, II., 50, doubts the above facts without grounds.

unearthing treasure and contriving tortures, although the Italians, and especially the Neapolitans, were, on the whole, scarcely second to them.[1]

A letter of the Venetian, Giovan Barozzi, written to his brother on the 12th of May 1527, describes with appalling truth and directness the unspeakable misery of the Romans. "I am," he says, "a prisoner of the Spaniards. They have fixed my ransom at 1000 ducats on the pretext that I am an official. They have, besides, tortured me twice, and finished by lighting a fire under the soles of my feet. For six days I had only a little bread and water. Dear brother, do not let me perish thus miserably. Get the ransom money together by begging. For God's sake do not abandon me. If I do not pay the ransom, now amounting to 140 ducats, in twenty-six days they will hack me in pieces. For the love of God and of the Blessed Virgin help me. All the Romans are prisoners, and if a man does not pay his ransom he is killed. The sack of Genoa and of Rhodes was child's play to this. Help me, dear Antonio; help me for God's sake, and that as quickly as possible."[2] The sufferings here spoken of were by no means the most severe; the French physician, Jean Cave, in his account of the sack, remarks that no method of torture was left untried; he gives some examples, in illustration, which the pen shrinks from

[1] Italian despatch-writers state this expressly; see SANUTO, XLV., 221; JOVIUS, Columna, 166, and ALBERINI, 342. *Cf.* ORANO, I., 199, n., and 275, n. According to Blasius de Martinellis (CREIGHTON, V., 328) and SANUTO, XLV., 234, Romans themselves took a part in the plunder. In the *Literae priorum Castri Plebis to Siena, dated "ex terra Castri Plebis desolata," May 13, 1527, we read: "Non igitur mirandum est quid fecerint Germani et Hispani hostes urbi Romae, cum seviora patraverint amici milites." TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G. II., 40 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] The letter is in SANUTO, XLV., 237–238.

transcribing. Luigi Guicciardini relates things of, if possible, even greater atrocity. A form of torture which seems to have been especially in favour with the Spaniards was to bind their prisoners fast and leave them to die of slow starvation.[1]

The excesses of German landsknechts were not marked by such inventive cruelty. They gave way rather to a stupid and brutal vandalism. Sots and gamblers, knowing nothing of Italy and its language, they were systematically overreached by the shrewd Spaniards, who knew how to single out for themselves the richest houses. The Germans also, in their simplicity, were satisfied for the most part with much smaller ransoms.[2] In disorderly companies

[1] J. CAVE, 403. *Cf.* Histor. Jahrbuch, XII., 752; VILLA, Asalto, 136, 164 *seq.*; GUALDERONICO, 92; GAVARDO in Arch. Stor. Lomb., IV., 630; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 224 *seqq.*; Cardinal Trivulzio, *ibid.*, 486; SANUTO, XLVI., 140 *seq.* *Nullum genus tormentorum praetermiserunt in eos, alii per testicul[os] pendebantur, alii igne sub pedibus torquebantur, alii varia supplicia passi sunt donec solverent ea quae non haberent, et quod plus est: postquam liberati essent e manibus unius, incidebant in alios nequiores latrones. *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[2] See JOVIUS, Columna, 106. GREGOROVIUS, in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1876, Beil. No. 205, has justly taken exception to VILLA'S assertion (Asalto, 205 *seq.*), that the greatest cruelties were committed, not by Spaniards, but by Germans. Not only Jovius, but also L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 231, and the Frenchmen, GROLIERIUS, 92 *seq.*, and J. CAVE, 404, testify to the conduct of the Germans in a very different way, without denying that they committed excesses. That they too did many cruel things, and slew in anger those who did not at once meet their demands for money, is proved (see SANUTO, XLV., 166, 168, 188, 262); but it is certain that they were not, on the whole, the worst and the most cruel. M. CRESCI (*Storia d'Italia, Laurentian Library, Cod. Ashburnh., 633) says the Italians were quite as cruel as the Spaniards and the landsknechts. Fabius Arcas of Narni says truly: "In that destruction of Rome the Germans showed themselves bad enough, the Italians were worse, but the worst of all were the Spaniards," K. LEIB, Annales, 512.

they passed through the streets of the city,[1] not sparing even their own countrymen,[2] dressed up in a ridiculous manner in magnificently embroidered silk raiment, with gold chains round their necks and precious stones twisted through their beards, while their faces were begrimed with powder and smoke.

Since the landsknechts were for the most part Lutheran, they did not neglect this opportunity of heaping scorn and ridicule on the Papacy. With the red hats of Cardinals on their heads and the long robes of the Princes of the Church flung round them, they paraded the streets mounted on asses and indulged in every conceivable mummery. A Bavarian captain, Wilhelm von Sandizell, even dressed up as the Pope and bade his comrades, masquerading as Cardinals, kiss his hands and feet. He gave his blessing with a glass of wine, a salutation which his companions acknowledged by drinking to him in return. The whole gang then made their way to the Leonine city, to the sounds of trumpets and fifes, and there proclaimed Luther as Pope in such a way that the inmates of St. Angelo became aware of their doings. A landsknecht called Grünwald was said to have shouted up to the fortress that he wished he could devour a bit of the Pope's body, because he was a hinderer of the Word of God. Another carried about a crucifix fastened on the point of his pike before finally breaking it in pieces.[3]

[1] J. CAVE, 400; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 238.

[2] See GESCHEID'S account in Histor. Jahrbuch, XII., 752; SCHULTE, I., 238; SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 274; DE WAAL, Der Campo Santo, 87 *seq.*

[3] J. CAVE, 402; Nova in SCHARDIUS, II., 612; SANUTO, XLV., 210; Zeitgenössische Berichte, 27 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*; GIOVO'S Descrizione, 17, quoted *supra*, p. 394, n. 4; LANCELLOTTI, III., 251, 263; RANKE (Deutsche Gesch., II., 2nd ed., 414) sees in the proceeding of the landsknechts described above "the sportive (!) expression of their evangelical opinions." BARTHOLD, 453, 462 *seq.*

It is almost impossible to describe the destruction and sacrilege wrought by the landsknechts in the churches; yet the Spaniards and Italians did not fall far short of them. Every church, even the national churches of the Spaniards and the Germans,[1] was plundered. What the generosity and piety of centuries had amassed in costly vestments, vessels, and works of art, was, in the space of a few days, carried off by this rude soldiery, flung away on play or wine or sold to the Jews. The precious settings of relics were torn off; in many instances even tombs were broken open and ransacked in the search for treasures. Hands were laid on the Blessed Sacrament of the altar itself; the consecrated species were flung on the ground and desecrated in all manner of ways. "Unbelievers," says a Spanish account, "could not have behaved worse."[2] It was reported that some soldiers clothed an ass in bishop's vestments, led him into a church, and tried to force a priest to incense the beast solemnly, and even to offer him the Sacred Host. The priest, on refusing, was cut in pieces.[3]

[1] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 273 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*

[2] See the Spanish reports in VILLA, 135 and 136, and the Italian in SANUTO, XLV., 133, 166, 203, 221–222; XLVI., 142 *seq.* *Cf.* also GUALDERONICO, 93; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 204, 241; GROLIERIUS, 74; SURIUS, Comment., 202; TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in Cod. G, II., 40, f. 313 and 314 (Chigi Library, Rome). For the robbery of relics see FONTANA, Renata, I., 430, and in Appendix, No. 50, Sanga's *letter (Ricci Archives, Rome), and the letter of Salviati, *ibid.*, n. 49.

[3] *Un povero sacerdote ma generoso christiano perchè non volse incensare e communicare un' asino, che vestito in habito di vescovo havevano con mitra condotto in chiesa, restò crudelmente trucidato. *Relatione del Sacco dato a Roma li 6 Maggio 1527 cavata da alcuni Mss. di persone trovatesi. Cod. Vatic., 7933 (Vatican Library). The *Relatione of the Angelica Library, Rome, cited *supra*, p. 399, n. 4, says the same with more detail. *Cf.* L. Guicciardini in MILANESI,

The desecration of churches was carried to such a pitch that they were turned into stables; even St. Peter's did not escape this fate, for there also tombs were violated, among others that of Julius II. The head of St. Andrew was thrown on the ground, the napkin of St. Veronica, a relic deeply venerated during the Middle Ages, was stolen and offered for sale in Roman hostelries. A famous crucifix belonging to one of the seven principal altars of St. Peter's was hidden away in the clothes of a landsknecht; countless relics and costly objects were at this time purloined; the Holy Lance was fastened by a German soldier to his pike, and carried in derision through the Borgo. Although the resting-place of the Princes of the Apostles was desecrated, yet the actual tomb of St. Peter was left uninjured. The chapel Sancta Sanctorum, declared in an inscription to be the most sacred spot on earth,[1] was plundered; happily the special treasure of the chapel remained undisturbed in its huge enclosure of iron.[2]

The fury of the captors wreaked itself with special cruelty on all persons of ecclesiastical status. A large proportion of the priests and monks who fell into the hands of the landsknechts were murdered. Many were sold publicly

229; SANUTO, XLV., 218; the letter of Cardinal Trivulzio in MILANESI, 484; LANCELLOTTI, III., 263, and the narrative of S. Perelli in SAGGIATORE, I., 313.

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 133, 166, 168, 192, 435 *seq.*; VILLA, 146; Arch. stor. Lomb., IV., 635; GESCHEID in Hist. Jahrbuch, XII., 752; Nova in SCHARDIUS, II., 612; MILANESI, 484 *seq.*, 503; SANDOVAL, I., 718 *seq.*; SANTORO, 11; GRISAR in the Civ. Catt., 1906, II., 725 *seq.*; Sanga's letter (Ricci Archives, Rome), in Appendix, No. 50; TORRIGIO, Grotte, 255 *seq.* For the dispersion of relics see ORANO, I., 271 *seq.*, n., and 333, n. GESCHEID'S account of the tomb of St. Peter (Hist. Jahrb., *loc. cit.*) is an exaggeration due to excitement; *cf.* GRISAR, Tombe apostol. di Roma, 29; see also LANCIANI, I., 238.

[2] *Cf.* GRISAR in the Civ. Catt., *loc. cit.*

as captives of war; others were made to put on women's clothing and exposed to shocking ribaldry. The Spaniards made it their main business to extort money from the clergy. The landsknechts declared that they had promised to God to murder all priests, and they acted accordingly; Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Protonotaries, Abbots were ill-treated, fined, and murdered. Venerable priests well stricken in years were treated with violence. The Bishop of Potenza, eighty years of age, being unable to pay his ransom, was at once put to death. The Bishop of Terracina, in his ninetieth year, failing to give the 30,000 ducats demanded of him, was publicly put up for sale, with a truss of straw on his head, like a beast in the cattle market.[1] Other ecclesiastics had their noses and ears cut off, and were forced to perform the lowest services.[2]

Still more terrible were the sufferings endured by the nuns. Some succeeded at the last hour in securing safe places of concealment. More than a hundred and sixty who had taken refuge in a convent near S. Lorenzo in Paneperna were, on payment of money, protected by a company of landsknechts from their own comrades. One of the nuns of S. Cosimato in Trastevere, all of whom had fled there in a body, describes the deadly agony which she and her companions, mostly women of noble birth, went through. The same chronicle gives a vivid description of the spoliation of the rich church of S. Cosimato, where an image of the Infant Christ Himself,

[1] These details are given in the Spanish reports in VILLA, 137, 154. *Cf.* also SANUTO, XLV., 122, 145, 166 *seq.*, 186, XLVI., 139 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; DROYSEN, Zeitgenössische Berichte, 43 (*cf.* SCHULZ, 50, 54 *seq.*); Sanga's letter in Appendix, No. 50, and the *Relatione in Cod. Vatic., 7933.

[2] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 239. *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, III., 224, 237.

carved in wood, was shattered in pieces.[1] But what was all this compared with the fate of those religious houses of women whose inmates had no hope of escape, as, for example, the nuns of S. Maria in Campo Marzo, S. Rufina, and others![2] It can easily be understood that the atrocities committed were indescribable. The victims of this bestial rapine were to be counted happy who, after being robbed of all, were slain; the majority of those who survived were reserved for a fate harder than death. Half-naked, or huddled up, in mockery, in Cardinals' robes, they were

[1] See Galetti's *extracts from the *Cronica di S. Cosimato in Mica aurea in Cod. Vatic., 7933, f. 55 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library. The Suor Orsola Formicini here gives a simple and vivid description of the flight of the sisters in the night, of their agony of mind, and their marvellous rescue under cover of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna, and of the destruction of the church and monastery of S. Cosimato. *Lassarono dunque le pavide ancille del Signore il loro monastero pieno di ogni bene: la madonna della Chiesa parata et con que' vezzi de' perle grossissime di quelle antiche baronesse et un parato di velluto cremesino nell' altare maggiore, et era la prima volta che fù mossa. Tutta la sacrestia richa et nobile poichè quelle illustrissime signore quando si facevan monache tutte le loro cose belle et bone et di prezo mettevano in sacrestia . . . . ; mi dissero come vi era una croce d' oro fino et piena di perle et gioie finissime qual' era di gran valuta; il tutto lassarono senza salvar niente. In her account of the destruction of the monastery the writer says: "Ogni cosa fù persa, ma perchè no fù perso l' onore si puo dire che non persero nulla."

[2] According to the *Relatione, quoted *supra*, p. 404, n. 3, these two monasteries suffered the worst outrages; Cod. Vatic., 7933, of the Vatican Library. The same account is found in the *Relatione of the Angelica Library (see *supra*, p. 399, n. 4). Above this section is written: *Sacco dato al rione di Campo Marzo e morte di alcune signore e parimente sacheggiano il monastero di Campo Marzo e stuprano le monache et tolgono l' onore a molte matrone Romane che si credevano salve in detto Monastero. *Cf.* the further section: *Cio che fecero alli monasteri e conventi di monache et religiosi. See also the minute in SAGGIATORE, I., 314, and ORANO, I., 273, n.

dragged through the streets to the houses of ill-fame, or sold singly in the markets for two ducats, or even less, apiece.[1] Here again the Spaniards committed the worst abominations. The German landsknechts, at first, were content for the most part with extorting ransoms and securing precious belongings; and sometimes they even protected persecuted innocence from their own comrades;[2] but later on they followed the example of the others, and, in not a few cases, tried, indeed, to outvie them in their excesses.[3]

The landsknechts, among whom were many Lutherans, had shown no pity, from the first, for the clergy and the Cardinals, who, moreover, had been handled badly enough by the ruthless Spaniards. Even the Cardinals with Imperialist sympathies did not escape wholesale robbery, savage ill-usage, and cruel mockery. For eight days the palaces of Cardinals Piccolomini, Valle, Enkevoirt, and Cesarini, situated in the Rione S. Eustachio, were spared, their owners having secured the protection of Spanish officers, who declared that they would take nothing from the Cardinals themselves, but demanded large sums from the numerous fugitives who found asylum in those palaces. At first they asked for 100,000 ducats from each palace; but afterwards were satisfied on receiving 45,000 from Cesarini, 40,000 from Enkevoirt, and 35,000 from Valle and Piccolomini each. These sums had to be paid in

[1] With VILLA, 138, 146, *cf.* specially SANUTO, 166, 167, 203, 218, 435. See also GUALDERONICO, 93; Arch. stor. Lomb., IV., 635; and in Appendix, No. 50, Sanga's letter (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] *Fu osservato però in qualche caso che li Luterani tedeschi si mostravano più miti, anzi si fecero custodi della pudicitia di alcune bastando loro di ottenere robba o denaro, mostrandosi molto più pregiuditievoli alla città li Spagnoli per le inaudite inventioni di tormenti praticati con alcuni per farli confessare ripostini e per cavarne denari. *Relatione, etc., in Cod. Vatic., 7933, Vatican Library.

[3] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 232 *seq.*

ducats to the full amount; all other coins and also precious stones were rejected. But the landsknechts were now also anxious to visit these palaces, and finally the Spaniards announced that they could not guarantee any further protection. The landsknechts fell first on the palace of Cardinal Piccolomini, who thought himself perfectly safe, as he and his family were, from old times, friends of the Emperor and the Germans. After a four hours' fight the palace was taken and plundered. The Cardinal, who had to disburse 5000 ducats, was dragged, with his head uncovered, amid blows and kicks, to the Borgo. In consequence Cardinals Cesarini, Valle, and Enkevoirt also felt no longer safe, and fled to the Palazzo Colonna. They had hardly left their residences before looting and destruction began. Not content with the huge booty they found there, the landsknechts laid a heavy ransom on every Roman who had taken refuge in these palaces.[1] In addition to this the three hundred and ninety persons in the Palazzo Valle had been fined already, on the 8th of May, by Fabrizio Maramaldo, a captain in the Imperialist army. The Cardinal and his household on this occasion had been mulcted in 7000 ducats; the other fugitives had been rated individually according to their means. The total sum raised in this one palace alone—of an Imperialist Cardinal—amounted to 34,455 ducats.[2]

[1] Lettera del Card. di Como of March 24, 1527, in MILANESI, 477 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 168, 187; VILLA, 145; SAGGIATORE, I., 338 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 274 *seq.*; ORANO, I., 289 *seq.*, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[2] The notarial instrument by which the refugees undertook to repay to Cardinal Valle the sums levied on them has been published incorrectly by L. BONAPARTE, Sac de Rome, Florence, 1830, 81 *seq.*, and correctly by CORVISIERI, Documenti, 21–31, who also gives (33–34) the rates at which each person was taxed; among the latter were eight Jews who were valued at 400 ducats. *Cf.* also VOGELSTEIN, II., 47 *seq.*

Cardinals Cajetan and Ponzetti were also dragged through the streets, fettered, and subjected to ill-usage and ridicule. Ponzetti, who was also an Imperialist, had to pay a ransom of 20,000 ducats; he died in consequence of the injuries he had received. The Franciscan Cardinal Numai, then suffering from serious illness, was carried on a bier through the streets by Lutheran landsknechts singing dirges. They then took him to a church, where a mock funeral service was gone through, and threatened to fling him into a grave if he did not pay a ransom. He was afterwards carried to some friends who were bound over to be his sureties.[1] Cristofero Marcello, Archbishop of Corfù, was called upon to pay 6000 ducats; not having the money, he was flung into imprisonment at Gaeta under threats of death.[2]

A heavy ransom was demanded even from the Portuguese Ambassador, who was very nearly related to Charles V., and on his refusing to pay, his palace was plundered. As several bankers had transferred their property thither for safety, the soldiers came into possession of an exceedingly rich haul. The Florentine banker, Bernardo Bracci, was taken by Spanish soldiers to the Bank of the Foreigners, where he had to pay down his ransom of 8206 ducats. On the Ponte Sisto he met the captain, La Motte, who had been appointed governor of the city, who threatened to fling Bracci into the Tiber unless he laid down an additional 600 ducats; Bracci paid and so saved his life.[3] Even Perez, the Secretary of the Imperial Embassy, was in danger of his life at the

[1] *Cf.* the *Relatione in Cod. Vat., 7933, Vatican Library; SANUTO, XLV., 100, 145; VILLA, 137; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 228; GROLIERIUS, 75 *seq.*

[2] See SANUTO, XLV., 493–495; *cf.* 655.

[3] See the reports in MILANESI, 228 *seq.*, 380, 472 *seq.*; VILLA, 138, 145, 165; SANUTO, XLV., 133; Studi e doc., V., 224 *seq.*

hands of savage landsknechts, and suffered heavy losses in money and property.[1] The Emperor's procurator, George Sauermann, was so completely despoiled that he was reduced to beggary, and died in the street from hunger and exhaustion.[2] No place afforded safety; the very hospitals, among them even that of the Germans, were not spared.[3]

The Venetian Ambassador, Domenico Venier, and the envoys of Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino, had fled to the great palace of Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua, at SS. Apostoli. This high-minded Princess had also given asylum in her fortress-palace to a multitude of men and women of noble birth. While it was still night her son, Ferrante Gonzaga, came in haste to protect her; he was unable, however, to prevent the sum of 60,000 ducats being levied as ransom on those to whom his mother had given shelter. Although a watch of Spaniards and landsknechts now guarded the house, it was repeatedly threatened by turbulent bands of the captors. The Marchioness was in deadly fear. On the 13th of May she fled to Civita Vecchia; with her escaped the Venetian Ambassador, disguised as a porter. In the letter in which Venier announced his safety to the Doge, he remarks, "The destruction of Jerusalem could not have been worse than that of Rome."[4]

Pompeo Colonna appeared in Rome on the 10th of

[1] See VILLA, 157, 163, and SCHULZ, 9 *seq.* *Cf.* also CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, Asalto, 18–19.

[2] *Cf.* BAUCH in Zeitschr. für schles. Gesch., XIX., 179 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 99; *Salviati's letter in Appendix, No. 49; DROYSEN, Zeitgenössische Berichte, 23; BARTHOLD, 455. The hospitals of S. Giovanni and S. Giacomo were spared as by a miracle, says GUALDERONICO, 92.

[4] Venier's letter of May 20, in SANUTO, XLV., 214 *seq.*; *cf.* 168, 191, 208 *seq.*, 217, 220 *seq.* As to the fate of Isabella, see Lanceolinus's account, *supra*, p. 396, n. 2; the Chronicle of Daino in Arch. Stor.

May. He found his palace sacked, and the streets covered with dead bodies; the scene of cruel desolation moved even this hard man to tears. Giovio states that Colonna took urgent steps to mitigate the misery and gave protection to several fugitives; but with him some thousand peasants from the environs had made their way into Rome, ready to seize on what had been left over from the pillage of the soldiery. Not only the iron railings, but even the very nails were wrenched by them from the walls of the houses. The Pope's villa on Monte Mario was now given to the flames.[1]

The Frenchman Grolier, who betook himself for safety to the house of a Spanish Bishop, has described, in striking words, the scene that met his eye as he looked, from the terrace of his place of refuge, over the city now given up to fire and sword: "From every side came cries, the clash of arms, the shrieks of women and children, the crackling of flames, the crash of falling roofs. We stood motionless with fear and listened, as if fate had singled us out alone to be the spectators of the ruin of our homes."[2] There was hardly a house in Rome at last

Ital., App. II., 236, and the letter in LUZIO, Maramaldo, 81 *seq.*, and Mantova e Urbino, 279. *Cf.* also in Appendices, Nos. 47, 48, 50, the letters, discovered by me, of three persons who had taken refuge in the palace of the Marchioness, namely: Casella's *report of May 7 (State Archives, Modena), the *despatch of F. Gonzaga of May 7 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and Sanga's *letter of June 27 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[1] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Columna, 166 *seq.*; GUALDERONICO, 92; J. CAVE, 406; GROLIERIUS, 80; SANUTO, XLV., 122, 134, 164, 165, 167. There are different versions of the day of Colonna's arrival (*cf.* ORANO, I., 284 note). May 10 is given in VILLA, 128, 163, in the *Nova* in SCHARDIUS, II., 611, and in the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), who says: "Horum adventus maxima urbis destructio fuit."

[2] GROLIERIUS, 87; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 541 *seq.*

which was not injured. Even the wretched huts of the water-carriers and porters were not spared.[1] "In the whole city," ran one account, "there was not a soul above three years of age who had not to purchase his safety."[2] Several paid ransoms twice or even three times over; many were in such bodily suffering that they preferred an immediate death to further torture.[3]

It is hardly possible to compute the number of deaths with certainty. In the Borgo and Trastevere alone, two thousand corpses were cast into the Tiber, nine thousand eight hundred were buried.[4] The booty of the soldiers was incalculable. At the lowest estimate it must have amounted in money and objects of value to more than one million ducats, in payments of ransom to three or four millions. Clement VII. estimated the total damage at ten millions in gold. Many soldiers had plundered coin in such quantity that they were not able even to drag their booty away; each vagabond camp-follower had as many ducats as he could fill his cap with.[5]

With a pitiless coolness which makes one shudder, the

[1] See the reports in MILANESI, 474, 486.

[2] DROYSEN, Zeitgenössische Berichte, 39; *cf.* ALBERINI, 345.

[3] L. Guicciardini gives examples in MILANESI, 226 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 192; GUMPPENBERG, 236, says many were fined ten times and then murdered after that.

[4] SANUTO, XLV., 210; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3, puts the dead only at 4000. This is too little; others (ORANO, I., 275) evidently exaggerate. When VOGELSTEIN (II., 47), for the three months after the sacco, reckons, after Reissner, 100,000 dead, his statement is wholly incredible, as before the capture Rome had not more than 55,035 inhabitants; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 376 *seq.*

[5] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; SANUTO, XLV., 146, 203, 218, 436; VILLA, 147. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 204. The statements in SANUTO, XLVI., 382, concerning Clement's ransom are confirmed by the account in VILLA, 138. The higher sums mentioned by others (ORANO, I., 274, n.) are exaggerated.

Protestant hero Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach relates in his autobiography the misery of the Romans whereby their victors were enriched: "In the year 1527, on the 6th of May, we took Rome by storm, put over 6000 men to the sword, plundered the whole city, seized all that we could find in all the churches and anywhere, burned down a great part of the city, and seldom spared, tearing and destroying all copyists' work, registers, letters, and state documents."[1]

The last clause touches on an aspect of the sack of Rome which moves the historian to grief: the destruction, namely, of historical documents and literary treasures.[2] The library of the monastery of S. Sabina, the precious private collections and manuscripts of many learned scholars, were scattered or burnt. Six books of Giovio's history perished. Cardinal Accolti lost his whole library. The remarkable gaps in the private and monastic archives of Rome; the poverty, above all, of the Capitoline records, are certainly a consequence of the destruction wrought at this time. In many despatches of this period it is expressly stated that original Papal documents and valuable manuscripts were lying about the streets, or were used as litter for the horses. Cardinal Trivulzio mentions in particular the destruction of the Apostolic Camera, where many volumes of registers were torn up and the leaden seals of Bulls melted down for bullets. Clement VII. himself mentions that all the deeds of the Secret

[1] Life of Schertlin von Burtenbach, 7; *cf.* GROLIERIUS, 85.

[2] See MILANESI, 487; VILLA, 150; SCHARDIUS, II., 611; DROYSEN, Zeitgenössische Berichte, 23, 28, 29; SANUTO, XLVI., 137; GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 672. *Cf.* Mél. d'archéol., XVI., 367, where further evidence is given; see also GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 534 *seq*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 141; VALENTINELLI, Bibl., I., 94, n. 3; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 691, XXIV., 399.

Chancery fell into the soldiers' hands.[1] The Vatican Library, containing the most precious collection of manuscripts in the world, barely escaped destruction; this was saved only owing to the circumstance that Philibert of Orange had his headquarters in the palace; nevertheless, it sustained serious losses.

Orange occupied the Papal apartments. He caused his charger to be stabled close to him lest the animal should be stolen; the most beautiful chambers in the Vatican, even the Sixtine Chapel, were turned into horse-stalls. There is also no doubt that works of art, especially marble statues, were destroyed or taken away. Such famous antiques, in the Vatican, as the bronzes of the Capitol, the masterpieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and other artists of the Renaissance, luckily suffered no serious damage. This can be quite well explained by the fact that the soldiery only laid hands, for the most part, on those works of art which attracted them by their adornments of gold, silver, and precious stones. Thus the sack caused irremediable loss among the numerous specimens of the goldsmith's and jeweller's craft. The gold cross of Constantine, the golden rose presented by Martin V. to the Church of St. Peter, and the tiara of Nicholas V. were stolen.[2]

[1] "Essendo venuti in mano di questi soldati tutte le scritture," etc., is the expression in the Instruction for Cardinal Farnese mentioned *infra*, p. 433. A great deal was afterwards restored. Volume 872, for instance, of the Vatican Regests containing *Alex. VI., Secret. lib., VI. The volume is torn in two, many pages are missing; in fol. 65 is written: Die 26 Aprili, 1532, iste liber fuit reportatus sic lac[eratus] (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] For the loss incurred by art and learning, besides the references *supra*, p. 414, n. 1, see also MÜNTZ, Grimaldi, in the Bibl. des écol. Franç. d'Ath. et de Rome, I. (1877), 263 *seq.*, Bibl. du Vatican, 7, and Les Arts, III., 233; Arch. Stor. d'Arte, I., 17 *seq.*; WILKEN, Heidelb. Bibl., 252;

For eight days, according to the lowest reckoning, the work of robbery and murder[1] went on unchecked. An order, issued on the third day, that plundering was to cease, was totally disregarded. The want of discipline among the pillaging soldiery was such that if the army of the League had arrived suddenly, it would have hardly met with serious resistance; the gates of the city were never once guarded.[2] Philibert of Orange was nominally the Commander-in-Chief; La Motte was Governor of the city. If the latter extorted money under threats of death,[3] it can easily be supposed that his

DE ROSSI in the Studi e doc., V., 357 *seq.*; BARTHOLD, 458; HABERL, Musikkatalog., 66; Rev. d. Bibl., IV., 86; LUZIO, Maramaldo, 26 *seq.*; LANCIANI, I., 237 *seq.* For the removal of antiquities, see specially GUALDERONICO, 92; L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 236, and GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 6; *cf.* also INTRA, Il Museo statuario e la bibl. di Mantova, Mantova, 1881, and Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XIV., 310. The deportation of marble statues from Rome is mentioned by Clement VII. himself in the *Brief of Dispensation for Paulus. Card. S. Eustachii, dated December 4, 1527, Arm. 39, vol. 47, n. 867, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Of importance also is a *report of Sigismondo Ferrarese, dated Rome, June 5, 1527, who relates that he had himself taken some "testi di marmo" out of the Papal palace (State Archives, Modena). For the condition of the Vatican see especially the Ferrarese report in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 438. For Raphael's tapestries see our information in Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 298; DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, Vienna, 1906, 438.

[1] SANUTO, XLV., 215, 221, 234; the Ferrarese report in HORMAYR'S Archiv, 1812, 439; GUALDERONICO (92) says the confinement of the inhabitants lasted 11 days; *cf.* also SANUTO, XLV., 192. Cardinal Trivulzio says 12 days (MILANESI, 471), GUMPPENBERG (216, 225) 13, LANCELLOTTI (III., 263), even 15. Trivulzio is in agreement with CORNELIUS DE FINE, who *says: "duravere haec spolia et capturae duodecim diebus sine intermissione" (National Library, Paris).

[2] SANUTO, XLV., 90, 92, 122, 166.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 410. For La Motte see Bull. de l'Acad. de Bruxelles, 1843, X., 2, 481.

subordinates would also exact ransom from their captives. This form of torture was unending; many must have redeemed themselves six times over.[1] The thirst for blood had been quenched, the thirst for money remained; the very sewers were searched, and yet many a hidden treasure escaped the robbers.[2]

While dogs were gnawing the corpses around them, the soldiers gave themselves up to dice and wine.[3] At the Ponte Sisto, in the Borgo, and on the Campo di Fiore, relates a Roman notary, gold-embroidered garments of silk and satin, woollen and linen cloths, rings, pearls, and other costly articles in a confused medley, proceeds of the sack, were sold. German women had whole sacks of such things, which they traded in at stiff prices; but, once sold, all was soon stolen again. "Children and beggars were rich; the rich were poor." "I," says this narrator in conclusion, "was taken prisoner together with my wife by the Spaniards, and had to pay 100 ducats. After losing all my property, I fled first to Tivoli and then to Palestrina."[4] The same fate befell thousands; the unhappy victims of the sack left Rome half naked, and sought in the surrounding districts the means wherewith to appease their hunger.[5] Among them were citizens who, a short time before, had stalled ten horses in their stables.

Many soldiers made off with their booty at once and went to Naples; others soon gambled it all away, and, as

[1] SANUTO, XLV., 203.

[2] L. Guicciardini in MILANESI, 233 *seq.*; GROLIERIUS, 81; MORONI, LIX., 19; GRISAR in the Civ. Catt., 1906, Giugno, 2.

[3] J. CAVE, 404 *seq.*

[4] GUALDERONICO, 93.

[5] *Cf.* *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris; J. CAVE, 406; Vettori in MILANESI, 439.

Brandano, the prophet of Siena, now set at liberty by the Imperialists, had once foretold, "the gains of priests, and the plunder of war, quickly come and quickly go." With menaces they demanded their pay. Moreover, on the 17th of May, some cases of plague had begun to appear. As all provisions had been destroyed in the most wanton manner, a food famine threatened to break out; eatables were worth their weight in gold; an egg cost a giulio, a loaf two ducats. Bloody quarrels, also, were of daily occurrence between the Spaniards and landsknechts.[1] Scattered over the whole city, the army was on the verge of total disruption. In a case of alarm the officers had to go from house to house and seek out their men one by one.[2]

All these conditions must have made Philibert heartily anxious to come to terms of peace with the Pope. Clement VII., who found his position in the castle of St. Angelo a desperate one,[3] had already, on the 7th of May, entered into communication with the Imperialists. Bartolomeo Gattinara came to the castle, where the Pope, with tears in his eyes, told him that he flung himself on the Emperor's magnanimity. On the 9th of May a treaty was proposed, in accordance with which the fortress of St. Angelo, Ostia,

[1] See SANUTO, XLV., 113, 133, 166, 185, 228, 235; F. Gonzaga in LUZIO, Maramaldo, 81; ALBERINI, 347 *seq.*; VILLA, 138–139, 153.

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; GROLIERIUS, 98, 101 *seq.*; *cf.* SCHULZ, 109.

[3] *Cf.* Lett. al Aretino, I., 11 *seq.* The Pope was certainly not cut off from all communication with the outer world, but entrenchments were begun very soon, and when finished the castle was completely invested. *Cf.* the despatch of G. de' Medici, dated, "in Dyruta," May 11, 1527: *Spagnoli hanno comenzato le trinciere intorno al Castello sichè questi signori ne fanno cattivo concepto in secreto, perchè dentro del Castello sono 3^{m} persone (State Archives, Florence). For the state of things in the castle *cf.* the letter, dated thence, May 12, in SANUTO, XLV., 163–164.

Civita Vecchia, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza were to be surrendered, 150,000 gold scudi paid to the Imperialists, 200,000 ducats levied on the States of the Church, and the Colonna family reinstated; the Pope and the Cardinals were to be conveyed to Naples.[1] But the Germans now made difficulties; they announced that they would not leave Rome until their arrears of pay, amounting to 300,000 ducats, were paid. Gattinara was at his wits' end; the army of the League might appear at any moment, and the whole question would be reopened.[2]

On the night of the 12th of May two leaders of the League party made an attempt to rescue the Pope; this bold enterprise was baulked only by an accident. New negotiations now ensued, but Clement was, as always, undecided. Du Bellay described the Pope's attitude in the phrase, "To-day peace, to-morrow war; to-day action, to-morrow rest."[3] Meanwhile, in the hard-pressed castle of St. Angelo, the position grew more difficult day by day. The arrival of the forces of the League, with whom communication had been opened by means of beacon signals, was hoped for in vain.

Clement VII. would have liked best to treat with Lannoy, who was lying in Siena; on the 18th of May he asked the Duke of Urbino to give the Viceroy a free-conduct to Rome.[4] On the 19th, Gattinara, the Abbot of Najera, and

[1] The draft of the treaty was published by HORMAYR in his Archiv, 1812, 439 *seq.*, but without mentioning that it was already to be found in GASSLER, 92 *seq.* *Cf.* also SUDENDORF, Registrum, III., 169.

[2] See Gattinara's report (*supra*, p. 389, n. 1) in MILANESI, 507 *seq.*; *cf.* SCHULZ, 112 *seq.*

[3] Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 413.

[4] *Brief dated on this day in State Archives, Florence, Urb. eccl. *cf.* SCHULZ, 114, 122 *seq.* The *Brief to Lannoy, with the request that he should come, is likewise of the date of May 18, 1527; Min. brev., 1527, I., vol. 14, n. 52 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) The "Salvus

Vespasiano Colonna came again to St. Angelo, where the Pope, after long consultation with the Cardinals, decided to surrender. Nothing was wanting to the new terms of capitulation, which had undergone alteration in some particulars, save the signatures, when the news was brought that the army of the League was drawing near. Thereupon the French party succeeded in bringing the Pope to a change of mind. During the night the Imperial council of war had determined to begin the actual siege of the castle. Entrenchments were at once thrown up, reinforcements ordered from Naples, and every disposition taken to repel any attempt at relief on the part of the Leaguers.[1] The latter, with a force 15,000 strong, had at length, on the 22nd of May, reached Isola, nine miles from Rome, where Cardinal Egidio Canisio also joined them with auxiliary troops.[2] But notwithstanding the eloquent representations of Guicciardini and the appeals for help from St. Angelo, the council of war decided not to make any attempt at relief. The soldiers, many of whom had already gone over to the enemy, were not to be trusted, and on the 2nd of June the camp was broken up and the retreat on Viterbo begun.[3]

The departure of the army of the League, without strik-

conductus" of Clement VII. for Dinteville, who was to go, in charge of Orange, to Charles V., dated May 14, 1527, is published in Bolet. de la Acad. de Madrid, XXXI., 81 *seq.*

[1] See MILANESI, 510 *seq.*; SCHULZ, 115 *seq.*; ROBERT, 115 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 177, 219. G. M. della Porta wrote *on May 27, 1527, from Isola to the Duchess of Urbino: "Il card. Egidio è stato hoggi quà havendo conduta una banda de fanti pagati da la Marca pensando che si havesse d' andar a combatter et diceva voler esser nella prima fila, ma veduto le cose pigliar altro camino se ne retira dimani a Nepi, dove è signore l'Unico" (State Archives, Florence.)

[3] *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 552 *seq*; SCHULZ, 120 *seq.*; ORANO, I., 264 n.; MARCUCCI, 179 *seq.*; ROBERT, 118 *seq.*

ing a blow, has been branded by Ariosto in scathing words:[1]

"Vedete gli omicidii e le rapine
In ogni parte far Roma dolente;
E con incendi e stupri le divine
E le profane cose ire ugualmente.
Il campo de la lega le ruine
Mira d' appresso, e 'l pianto e 'l grido sente,
E dove ir dovria inanzi, torna in dietro,
E prender lascia il successor di Pietro."

The Pope's enemies, burning for a fight,[2] planted their cannon on Monte Mario and laid mines in order that they might, in the last extremity, blow up the Pope and all about him.[3]

Such was the situation when, on the 1st of June, Schönberg left the castle and approached the Imperialists; at the same time Pompeo Colonna was invited to have audience with Clement VII. The two enemies soon stood face to face with tears in their eyes. Colonna did all in his power to facilitate an understanding.[4] On the 5th of June an agreement was

[1] Orlando Furioso, C. XXXIII., S. 55. *Cf.* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 90; where also is the fine letter in which G. Guiddiccioni urged the Duke of Urbino to bring succour.

[2] See the letter of K. Schwegler of May 27, 1527, in HORMAYR, Archiv, 1812, 445 *seq.* I found a Latin translation of this letter in the State Archives, Modena.

[3] See GUMPPENBERG'S account, 217.

[4] JOVIUS, Columna, 167–168; *cf.* TIRABOSCHI (Röm. Ausg.), IX., 276. Clement VII. showed his gratitude by giving the Cardinal and his family many privileges and graces. He confirmed these on December 6, 1527, in a *special deed of appointment in which he says: "Sane cum nuper dum nos in arce s. Angeli de urbe detineremur et tu omnia possibilia pro liberatione nostra effecisses." On the same day he conferred on Cardinal Colonna the Legation of the March of Ancona. *Deed of appointment, dated "Romae in arce s. Angeli, 1527, VIII.,

reached; the conditions were: the surrender of the castle, of the strongholds of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, as well as of the cities of Piacenza, Parma, and Modena; the payment of 400,000 ducats—100,000 at once, 50,000 within twenty days; the remainder to be collected by means of a levy on the States of the Church. The Pope, with the thirteen Cardinals who were with him, was still to remain, for the time being, a prisoner in St. Angelo. As soon as the 100,000 ducats were paid, the surrender of the strong places carried out, and plenipotentiaries appointed for the surrender of the cities, he would be allowed to withdraw to Naples. As security for the money payments, the following were made hostages: Giovanni Maria del Monte, Archbishop of Manfredonia, Onofrio Bartolini, Archbishop of Pisa, Antonio Pucci, Bishop of Pistoja, Giberti, Jacopo Salviati, the father of the Cardinal, Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Simone Ricasoli. Further, the Pope was to restore to the Colonna all their possessions, to reinstate Cardinal Pompeo in all his dignities, and to remove all censures from the Imperialists.[1]

On the 7th of June the Papal garrison left the castle of St. Angelo, whereupon four companies of Spanish and German troops marched in.[2] The Pope was entrusted

Id. Decemb." A. 5°, Regest., 1297, f. 125 and 172 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The deed reinstating Pompeo in the Cardinalate I have sought for in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[1] GROLIERIUS, 167–178; BUCHOLTZ, III., 609–613; SANUTO, XLV., 245–249 (with incorrect date); *cf.* ORANO, I., 313, n. The removal of censures from the Prince of Orange took place on June 8; see FONTANA, Renata, I., 427 *seq.* When the Prince was wounded, Clement VII., on June 2, had permitted him to see a confessor; see ROBERT, 119, and Lett. et doc., 82 *seq.*

[2] "Li Spagnoli stavano alto al loco chiamato el Maschio a la guardia et il lanzichenecchi abasso"; see the account in Arch. stor. Lombard., IV., 635; *cf.* GIOVIO, Descrizione, 17–18.

to the custody of Alarcon, who had once been also the jailer of Francis I. Among the Germans who occupied St. Angelo was Schertlin von Burtenbach, who describes with ruthless brutality the sad plight in which he found the Pope and Cardinals "in a narrow chamber." "They were making a great lamentation and weeping bitterly; as for us, we all became rich."[1]

[1] Life of Schertlin von Burtenbach, 7; *cf.* also SCHULTE, I., 237. The Spaniard Salazar reported on June 11, 1527, to Gattinara that he was so moved to compassion on seeing the Pope and Cardinals, that he could not restrain his tears, adding that, "even if we are forced to say that they have brought this misfortune on themselves, it is still heart-rending to see the chief ruler of the Christian Church in such distress and humiliation." GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 87. On June 11, Clement VII. begged the Archduke Ferdinand to use his influence with the Emperor and the army to bring these calamities to an end. The bearer of the letter, P. Salamanca, would enter into details. *Original in the Secret Court and State Archives, Vienna.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ANARCHIC CONDITION OF THE PAPAL STATES.—THE EFFORTS OF HENRY VIII. AND FRANCIS I. TO DELIVER THE POPE.—THE ATTITUDE OF CHARLES V.—THE FLIGHT OF CLEMENT VII. TO ORVIETO.

"THE Pope," wrote Guicciardini on the 21st of June 1527, "is treated as an actual prisoner. Only with the greatest difficulty can entrance into the castle or egress from it be obtained, so that it is almost impossible to have speech with him. They have not left him ten scudi worth of property. He is beset daily with fresh demands, and not the slightest attention is shown to his wishes regarding those of his servants who remain in the city."[1]

There was no limit to the rapacity of the Imperialists. A Ferrarese agent reports that Bartolomeo Gattinara went the length of taking from the Pope's finger a diamond ring worth 150,000 ducats and of forcing him to sign a paper containing a promise of the Cardinalate.[2] Clement himself told Roberto Boschetti that "the Spaniards had robbed him before his eyes of the chalice he used at

[1] GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., IX., n. 28. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 415; GIOVIO, Descrizione, 18, and a German *account of June 5, 1527, in the Reichstagsakten, XLIII., f. 23 (City Archives, Frankfurt a. M.). See also LANCIANI, I., 243 *seq.*

[2] Lannoy compelled Gattinara to return the ring and the deed. *Report of Lod. Cati to the Duke of Ferrara, of August 6, 1527 (State Archives, Modena); *cf.* BALAN, Storia, VI., 132.

Mass."[1] Clement could only regain his freedom by consenting to the hard conditions of the treaty. But in respect of these very conditions the most serious difficulties at once arose. In the first place, the Spaniards only held Ostia. In the upper parts of the Papal States not the slightest concern was shown for the commands of the captive Pope. Civita Castellana was held by the troops of the League; Andrea Doria held Civita Vecchia and refused to surrender the town until the 14,000 ducats he was called upon to raise were paid. Parma and Piacenza refused flatly to open their gates to the Imperial plenipotentiaries, and by the beginning of June Modena was in the hands of the Duke of Ferrara.[2] The Venetians, "the allied associates" of the unfortunate Pope, in their desire to acquire territory, had taken advantage of the situation to lay hands on Ravenna and Cervia. Sigismondo Malatesta, favoured by Duke Alfonso, had made himself master of Rimini, while Imola had fallen to the lot of Giovanni da Sassatello, and Perugia to the sons of Giampaolo Baglioni.[3] Not less painful to Clement than these losses in the States was the rebellion of his native Florence.

Drawn into the anti-Imperial alliance by the Pope, the Florentines had had to make the heaviest pecuniary sacrifices. Cardinal Silvio Passerini, who had resided in Florence since 1524, a man as inconsiderate as he was

[1] See Boschetti's remarkable report in BALAN, Boschetti, Appendix, p. 42.

[2] This important town was so badly protected that Canossa feared that it would fall as soon as Alfonso's advance was reported. *Canossa to Francis I., June 3, 1527 (Communal Library, Verona).

[3] *Cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 68 *seqq.*, 76, 78, and SALVIOLI, XVII., 29 *seqq.* Clement's *order to Barth. Ferrantinus (Galliae nostrae cispad. vicelegat.), dated June 6, 1527, to hand over Piacenza to A. de Leyva, in Min. brev., 1527, III., vol. 14, n. 98 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

selfish and avaricious, was not fitted to quell the rising discontent. His hardness and lack of understanding embittered the spirits of all.[1] To the news of the storming of Rome the Florentines replied by an insurrection against Medicean rule, and on the 17th of May Cardinal Passerini was obliged to leave the city, taking with him his wards, Ippolito and Alessandro,[2] the cousins of Clement VII. This was followed by the restoration of the republican government as it existed prior to 1512. Niccolò Capponi was chosen Gonfaloniere. He repressed the more serious forms of disorder, but was unable to prevent the Florentine youth, whose heads were turned by their newly acquired freedom, from destroying all the armorial escutcheons of the Medici and even the wax effigies of Leo X. and Clement VII. in the Church of the Annunziata.[3]

At this time Bologna also was very nearly lost to the Pope.[4] The situation grew worse from day to day. The provinces, in Guicciardini's opinion, were virtually without government. "Our distress," wrote Giberti to Gambara on the 27th of June, "passes all imagination."[5] Nowhere was this more felt than at Rome.

The outlook in the Eternal City, a month after the sack is described by a Spaniard in the following words:—

[1] WALTZ in the Histor. Zeitschrift, LXXII., 210. Here it is shown conclusively, as against Ranke, that Guicciardini gave his assistance loyally towards the suppression of the first Florentine revolt of April 26, 1527.

[2] Ippolito was a son of Giuliano; Alessandro was a putative son of Lorenzo. *Cf. supra*, p. 248, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 3; PERRENS, III., 136 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 4.

[5] "Le calamità et miserie nostre superano tutto quello che altri si possi imaginare." *Giberti to Gambara, dated "Castel S. Agnolo," June 27, 1527 (Casale was charged with this pressing effort to obtain help), Ricci Archives, Rome.

"In Rome, the chief city of Christendom, no bells ring, no churches are open, no Masses are said, Sundays and feast-days have ceased. The rich shops of the merchants are turned into stables; the most splendid palaces are stripped bare; many houses are burnt to the ground; in others the doors and windows are broken and carried away; the streets are changed into dunghills. The stench of dead bodies is terrible; men and beasts have a common grave, and in the churches I have seen corpses that dogs have gnawn. In the public places tables are set close together at which piles of ducats are gambled for. The air rings with blasphemies fit to make good men, if such there be, wish that they were deaf. I know nothing wherewith I can compare it, except it be the destruction of Jerusalem. I do not believe that if I lived for two hundred years I should see the like again. Now I recognize the justice of God, who forgets not, even if His coming tarries. In Rome all sins are openly committed, sodomy, simony, idolatry, hypocrisy, fraud. Well may we believe, then, that what has come to pass has not been by chance but by the judgment of God."[1]

A speedy Nemesis, however, was to overtake the victors for the cruelties they had perpetrated. Rome became their destruction; dissension, hunger, and plague threatened to annihilate the Imperialist army. The soldiers no longer obeyed their commanders; always in uproar, they demanded their pay with threats. Because the landsknechts

[1] VILLA, Asalto, 139 *seq.*; *cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 541 *seq.*; with these Spanish accounts *cf.* the Italian in SANUTO, XLV., 436 *seqq.* See also LANCELLOTTI, III., 251, 267, 270 *seq.*, 301. According to GUALDERONICO (93), Mass was said only in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli; according to the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris), also in the German National Church (see Vol. X. of this work, Chap. I.).

received the first distribution of Papal payments in cash, the Spaniards felt themselves injured; nor were occasions of friction and strife wanting in their drinking bouts, and at the gaming tables. On the 10th of June a bloody affray took place between Spaniards and Italians on the one side and Germans on the other. "The game," wrote Perez on the 11th of June to Charles V., "is now entirely in the hands of the landsknechts, who, not content with having pillaged the houses of Roman citizens, are now plundering those of the Spanish and Italian officers on the pretext of looking for corn, meal, and wine."[1] In order to prevent further excesses Prince Philibert of Orange ordered a daily patrol of the city by three Spanish and three German officers with their companies, a measure which restored order to a certain extent.[2] This was all the more necessary as hunger and pestilence were pressing daily with increasing severity on the Imperialists.

Already on the 30th of May Perez reported to the Emperor that the want of food was so great that, if the army remained much longer in Rome, thousands must die of hunger. A measure of wheat cost 50 ducats and more, and it was only by force of arms that the price could be kept at this figure. Those of the inhabitants who could, fled. If this state of things lasted no one would be left in Rome except Imperialists.[3] On the 11th of June Salazar sent a like account to Gattinara:—"A couple of eggs cost six giulios. One can say with truth that, as far as food and clothing are concerned, the pillage of Rome is still going on, especially by the landsknechts, who lay hands

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 86.

[2] See the letter of K. Schwegler in HORMAYR, Archiv, 1812, 446, and Naselli's account in BALAN, Monum. saec., XVI., 441. *Cf.* ROBERT, 125.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 82. *Cf.* ORANO, I., 296 *seq.*, note.

on everything they find. No one can imagine the cruelties that are committed every day. Without respect of rank, age, and nationality, people are ill-used, tortured, and slain daily. If a man cannot pay he is sold—be he an Italian or a German—in open market as a slave, and if he does not fetch a purchaser, they cast dice for him. The soldiers are absolute masters of the city. They obey no man."[1] The landsknechts suffered most in consequence of their mad manner of living. "Many of our men die here of plague," wrote Kaspar Schwegler on the 11th of June. "Many drink heavily, become delirious, and so die; the wine here is very strong."[2]

The warm season of the year and the effluvia from the many bodies of men and animals, to which the hastiest burial had been given, turned Rome into a "stinking slaughter-pit." By the 22nd of July two thousand five hundred Germans had died of the plague, and the streets were covered with dead and dying.[3] The pestilence made its way into the castle of St. Angelo and exacted fresh victims among the servants of the Pope.[4]

Clement, in the meantime, was making strenuous efforts to collect the promised sums of money with which to recover his freedom. The Papal tiaras — only that of Julius II. was spared,—after their precious jewels had been

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 87.

[2] Letter of K. Schwegler, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the reports in BUCHOLTZ, III., 78, and SANUTO, XLV., 434, 464, 504; XLVII., 132. *Cf.* also the account in Histor. Jahrbuch, XII., 752; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 93; Bolet. de la Acad. de Madrid, XXXIX., 85, and ORANO, I., 253 *seq.*, note.

[4] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 4; SANUTO, XLV., 505. The foul drinking water certainly conduced to an outbreak of plague. The soldiery had destroyed the aqueducts systematically. *Cf.* Repertorium f. Kunstwissensch., XIV., 132. Inscriptions on the graves of Spaniards who died in 1527 in FORCELLA, III., 295 *seq.*

taken out and concealed, had already been melted down by Benvenuto Cellini in a wind furnace hastily constructed on the top of the castle near the statue of the angel. Now all the rest of the gold and silver plate, even chalices and images of the saints, found its way into the melting-pot.[1] In this way 70,000 ducats were forthcoming in the second half of June. But the troops, now completely out of hand, demanded with menaces further sums. To obtain them, Clement, on the 3rd of July 1527, turned to all the Bishops of the kingdom of Naples with prayers for help. He bitterly bewailed his necessities. He was bound by the treaty to pay 400,000 ducats, but since the assets in gold and metals in St. Angelo could only produce 80,000, he was compelled to appeal to the benevolence of others.[2] Meanwhile no time was left to await the success of these requests. On the 6th of July Clement was forced, under extremely burdensome conditions, to borrow from the Genoese banker Ansaldo Grimaldi and the Catalonian merchant Michael Girolamo Sanchez. The loan amounted to 195,000 gold scudi. It was characteristic of the Pope's position that the lenders at once deducted from this sum the enormous accommodation charge of 45,000 scudi. Clement had, besides this, to pledge as securities the town of Benevento, the quit-rents and the church tithes of the kingdom of Naples, as well as valuables worth 30,000

[1] CELLINI, I., 7; SANUTO, XLVI., 135; LANCELLOTTI, III., 270; MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 232; MÜNTZ, Tiare, 77. For the compulsory coinage minted during the period of the "sacco" *cf.* SCHULTE, I., 212 *seq.*, 220 *seq.*

[2] Min. brev., 1527, I., vol. 14, n. 120; *cf.* Arm., 39, vol. 47, n. 114 (Forma XXX. brevium ad episc. regni Neapolit.). See *ibid.* the *full powers, dated June 5, 1527, granted to "Jo. Cusent. regis Neapolit. capell. majori et Nicol. Capuan. prael. dom. archiepisc.," to sell the town of Benevento, as money had to be raised by all possible means (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

scudi.[1] To pay still further sums immediately was, in spite of the Pope's good-will,[2] impossible, which drew from the landsknechts fearful threats.

Meanwhile hunger and pestilence had reached such a pitch in Rome that the city became uninhabitable. Those who could not fight for their daily bread at the point of the sword had to die of hunger. Men dropped down dead in the street like flies. A Venetian report put the cases of death on several days at five hundred, on others at seven hundred, and even, in some instances, at a thousand. The burial of the dead could not be thought of.[3]

Under such circumstances the Spanish and Italian troops left the city about the middle of June and made for the more distant neighbourhood. The landsknechts remained and threatened to murder all their officers and reduce Rome to ashes.[4] Orange and Bemelberg were in a very difficult position, but at last, on the 10th of July, they succeeded in inducing their utterly disorganized troops to cross to the further side of the Tiber and there encamp on ground free from plague and wait for the

[1] CORVISIERI, Documenti, 9–19, gives the text of the Act. For the collection of tithes in Naples see MEISTER, Die Nuntiatur von Neapel in Histor. Jahrbuch, XIV., 73 *seq.*, of which, however, GALEOTA, Dei Nunzii apost. di Napoli, 23 *seq.*, has not made use; the Nuntiature of Fabio Arcella is here treated of in special detail.

[2] *Cf.* the *full powers given by Clement VII. to Martinus a Portugallia to levy money on the Portuguese clergy for support of the Pope; the Archbishops and Bishops to contribute two whole tenths, and the other clergy according to their taxability and the assessment of Martinus. D. Romae in arce, 1527, IV., Id. Julii (=12 July) A° 4°. Regest., 1437, f. 387–389 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See the graphic description in SANUTO, XLVI., 141, and in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 109.

[4] Naselli in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 441–442.

Pope's remittances. Only the garrison of St. Angelo remained in Rome.[1]

Orange, with a hundred and fifty horsemen, went to Siena. Bemelberg and Schertlin von Burtenbach, with the landsknechts, marched on Umbria. The generals were quite powerless to cope with their tumultuous soldiery; by the time they reached Orte there was mutiny in the distrustful ranks and the general's tent was destroyed. It was only upon the threat of laying down his command that Bemelberg brought the mutineers to their senses.[2] The inhabitants of the small town of Narni refused to admit the wild horde and made a desperate resistance. They were cruelly chastised (17th July). "With two thousand landsknechts we made the assault without firing a shot, took the town and castle by God's grace, and then put upwards of one thousand persons to death; women and men."[3]

Besides the General of the Franciscans, Francesco Quinoñes,[4] who had been appointed previous to the great catastrophe, the Pope, under the pressure of his intolerable situation, had, by the middle of May,[5] matured his plan of sending Cardinal Farnese to Charles V., in company with the Portuguese envoy, Don Martin, in order to urge on his

[1] The *safe-conduct for the departing Imperialists is dated July 8, 1527, Arm., 39, vol. 47, n. 140 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). For Bemelberg *cf.* the monograph of SOLGER, Nördlingen, 1870.

[2] BARTHOLD, Frundsberg, 477; ROBERT, 129.

[3] SCHERTLINS, Leben, 5; ALBERINI, 355; EROLI, Il Sacco de' Borboni, in the Miscell. stor. Narn., I., Narni, 1858, 16 *seq.*; BALAN, Storia, VI., 140. See in Appendix, No. 51, the *Brief of July 23, 1527 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 240 *seqq.*, and SANUTO, XLV., 503.

[5] *Cf.* the *Brief for "August. Card. Perusin (Trivulzio)," dated May 20, 1527. Min. brev., 1527, I., vol. 14, n. 53 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

liberation.[1] Farnese received comprehensive instructions drawn up in justification[2] of the Papal policy towards Charles. After hearing, on the 24th of June, of the birth of Prince Philip, afterwards King, Clement wrote a letter of congratulation to the Emperor; he did not omit to

[1] On June 20 Clement VII. announced the mission of Farnese to the Perugians (see the Brief in Cod. Vat., 7955, Vatican Library); *cf.* GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 93, 94; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 564. On June 26 Clement VII. addressed a *Brief to Quiñones in which he asked the latter to intercede with Charles V., and informed him of Farnese's mission. "Hortamur te, fili in Deo, ut fidem ei plenam in omnibus habere tuaque opera et consilio assistere et ubicumque poteris adesse . . . . velis." Min. brev., 1527, I., vol. 14, n. 106. In order to produce a favourable impression on the King of Portugal, the right was conceded to him of nomination to the abbacies of that kingdom, on June 23, 1527; Corp. dipl. Port., II., 284 *seq.* For the reward given to Dom Martin, whose mission is referred to in the Brief to Charles V. in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., II., 284 *seq.*, see, besides SANUTO, XLV., 414, also the *letter of Canossa of June 30 to Francis I. (Communal Library, Verona).

[2] The "Instrutione al card. di Farnese," on account of the many important political data contained in them, were repeatedly copied before the end of the sixteenth century. This is shown by the numerous transcripts in Italian libraries. Besides the MS. in the Corsini Library made use of by Ranke may be mentioned: Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob., 2510 and 2514, Urb., 865, Vat., 8335; CAPPONI, 148, II.; National Library, Florence, Cod. Magliabech. and Capponi, 1254; Court Library, Vienna, Cod., 6621, pp. 47–77 *seq.*; Escurial Library and Secret Archives of the Vatican, Var. Polit., X., 313 *seq.* PALLAVICINI, II., 13, first made use of a MS. in the Borghese Library; RANKE printed it in the first edition of his History of the Popes (III., Appendix, No. 15, p. 241 *seq.*, of the first edition), but afterwards omitted it, while WEISS, Pap. de Granvelle, I., 280–310, published it. Ranke supposed that the first part, in which the Pope is spoken of in the third person, was composed by Giberti or some other confidential servant of Clement; the second, beginning with the words "Per non intrare in le cause," and so forth, by the Pope himself. The copy in Weiss is, moreover, very faulty.

include some references to his distress, and besought Charles to show his gratitude to God by giving freedom to the Vicar of Christ.[1]

The mission of Farnese was displeasing to the Emperor's commanders; they would have liked better that Schönberg and Moncada should have gone to Spain. But Clement had not sufficient confidence in Schönberg, whose devotion to Charles was notorious, to entrust him with such a charge;[2] therefore, on the 11th and 12th of July, the letters of safe-conduct were prepared for Don Martin and Cardinal Farnese.[3] The Cardinal started on his journey but remained in upper Italy.[4] Cardinal Salviati also, who was still resident in France, made pretexts for evading the embassy to the Emperor for which the Pope had intended him, and threw the burden on Giacopo Girolami.[5] His instructions for the latter, dated the 10th of July 1527, are preserved in the Papal secret archives, but they do not exactly give evidence of Salviati's diplomatic talent. In reading them it is especially strange to note how, among other things, the Cardinal is at pains to show that Clement and Charles had never really been enemies, but rather had worked reciprocally for each other's interests. Among the negative services for which Salviati, quite seriously, gave his master credit, is the fact that Clement had never done the Emperor all the harm which it was in his power to do. In conclusion,

[1] BUCHOLTZ, III., 80-81.

[2] DESJARDINS, II., 974.

[3] The safe-conduct for Dom Martin of July 11, in VILLA, 247 and 249, that of the 12th for Farnese in Min. brev., 1527, III., vol. 17, n. 230 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). To this period also belongs the * Brief to the King of Portugal in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 298 *seq.*

[4] See PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 74; *cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 231.

[5] Girolami started for Spain on July 11; see DESJARDINS, II., 974. HERGENRÖTHER, Konziliengesch., IX., 539, is wrong in supposing that Salviati went also.

Salviati appealed to the magnanimity of Charles, and pointed out to him that the liberation of the Pope would be to his own advantage, since thereby the Imperial army in Rome would be set free and be able to oppose the French forces then advancing into Lombardy.[1]

Francis I. was not the only sovereign then threatening Charles V. Henry VIII. also seemed determined to do all that was possible to restore Clement to freedom. The alliance between the French and English sovereigns, which had already found expression in the treaty of Westminster[2] concluded in April 1527, had become still closer under the pressure of events in Italy. The English King promised, on the 29th of May, to pay a monthly subsidy of 32,000 crowns to the French army, and gave Cardinal Wolsey full powers to treat with Francis regarding the further steps to be taken towards the Pope's release. "The affairs of the Holy See," Henry declared, "are the common concern of all princes. The unheard-of outrages that See has undergone must be avenged."[3]

Henry's concern for the Holy See was in no way disinterested; for he was afraid that the Pope's captivity might impede his contemplated divorce from Catherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt. Wolsey also had his own objects to serve in intervening in favour of the Pope. On the 3rd of July he left London with a great retinue on his journey to France.[4] In Canterbury he celebrated Mass at the altar of St. Thomas, the martyr of ecclesiastical freedom, and published, as Papal Legate and representative of the King, an edict ordering fasts and processions during

[1] *Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 14–19 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* BOURRILLY DE VAISSIÈRE, Ambass. de Jean du Bellay, XII.

[3] RYMER, Foedera VI., II., 80; *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 467 *seq.*, and BOURRILLY DE VAISSIÈRE, *loc. cit.*, XIII.

[4] SANUTO, XLV., 553.

the Pope's captivity. A copy of this ordinance was sent to Salviati for promulgation in France, and the same was done in Venice. It was hoped that this course of action would make a great impression even in Spain, and that in this way the Emperor, under the pressure of a popular movement, would set the chief ruler of the Church at liberty.[1]

Wolsey was welcomed at Calais by Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, who conducted him to Amiens to meet Francis I. The interview between the French King and the English Cardinal took place in that city on the 4th of August, with exceptional marks of respect on the part of Francis.[2] This meeting was looked forward to all the more hopefully because Francis, who hitherto, in spite of all warnings,[3] had maintained his light-hearted indifference, had, after the sack of Rome, appeared to have become a changed man. At the first moment the King had been completely dazed; afterwards he determined to act. His chief inducement, however, was certainly less the liberation of the Head of the Church, than his alarm at the supremacy of the Emperor and his hope of recovering his sons, still kept as hostages. Steps were taken, on a large

[1] *Cf.* the ** letter which one of Wolsey's suite addressed from Calais, on July 16, 1527, to the Cardinals Cibo, Passerini, and Ridolfi (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] SANUTO, XLV., 632 *seq.*, XLVI., 34; DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 94; CAVENDISH, Wolsey, 86–103. *Cf.* also Cardinal Salviati's *letter, dated Amiens, August 16, 1527; Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 34 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Canossa, as early as November 28, 1526, had expressed his fear that the Imperialists would march straight on Rome in a *letter addressed directly to Francis I. On January 9, 1527, he wrote with reference to Lannoy's enormous demands: "If your Majesty does not help the Pope he must either fly from Rome or go into captivity." *Copies of these letters are in the Communal Library, Verona.

scale, to recruit the army. Orders were issued to the French fleet in the Mediterranean to prevent, in every way, the removal of the Pope to Spain, and Andrea Doria was taken into the French service, in command of eight galleys. Lautrec was given full powers to carry on the war in Italy; he had already, on the 30th of June, left the French Court in order to join the army then assembling in the neighbourhood of Asti.[1] "After all," wrote Salviati to Castiglione, who was living as Nuncio at the Court of Charles V., "this victory, or rather this massacre of Rome, has not been of much use to the Emperor. On the contrary, it has roused the princes to greater activity, and," he adds in a tone of vexation, "for all this poor Italy must pay the bill."[2]

At Amiens Wolsey discussed matters thoroughly with Francis I., Salviati, the English nuncio Gambara, and the Florentine envoy Acciaiuoli. "Although," remarked the latter, "the Cardinal displays publicly a somewhat exaggerated and ostentatious pomp and state, yet his talk, bearing, and manner of transacting affairs show a truly large and enterprising mind. He is a man of attractive character, full of noble and lofty thoughts. I do not remember since the days of Alexander VI. to have seen anyone who filled his position so majestically; but, in contrast to that Pope, it must be stated that the Cardinal's life is without blame."[3]

[1] *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 950 *seqq.*, 955 *seq.*, 965, 974; DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 91–92. Cardinal Salviati *reported on the French military preparations and Lautrec's departure, to Jacopo Salviati on June 17, 1527, and to Castiglione on July 3, 1527; Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 6–7 and 9 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cardinal Salviati to the nuncio at the Imperial Court, June 8, 1527 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See Appendix, No. 49.

[3] DESJARDINS, II., 981–982. For the majestic bearing of Alexander VI. see our remarks, Vol. V. of this work, p. 387 *seq.*

Wolsey explained the aim of his mission to be the liberation of the Pope, the maintenance of the Italian States in their independence and integrity, and the overthrow of the Emperor's supremacy. He brought with him 300,000 scudi for the war and made extensive proposals in regard to it.[1] Casale was to go into Italy to watch carefully that the monthly subsidies promised by Henry VIII. were applied to the right uses, and that Vaudemont, with ten thousand landsknechts, took part in the campaign. From Francis I. Wolsey obtained a promise that he would make no treaty for the surrender of his sons so long as the Pope remained a prisoner. On the 18th of August was concluded the alliance between France and England which was to wring by force from the Emperor the liberation of Clement VII. In this treaty of Amiens the allied sovereigns bound themselves to refuse their assent to any summons of a council as long as the Pope was not free, and to offer a common resistance to any attempt to make the Papal power subservient to the advantage and interest of Charles.[2]

While he was still at Amiens, Francis I. issued strict orders that no Frenchman should proceed to Rome on business relating to Church benefices, and that no money from France should be sent there before the Pope recovered his entire freedom.[3] Wolsey made one more special proposal: that all the Cardinals who were at liberty should assemble at Avignon and, while the Pope's

[1] *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 983 *seqq.*, 985 *seqq.*

[2] DUMONT, IV., i., 494–495.

[3] See Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 416, note 2; *cf.* Cat. des actes de François I., I., 517, VI., 83. The Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, took advantage of the Pope's imprisonment to appoint to benefices fallen vacant during the months assigned to Papal patronage; see VARRENTRAPP, Hermann von Wied, Leipzig, 1878, 50 *seq.*

captivity lasted, assume the reins of government. "The assembly of the Cardinals," such was the opinion of Acciaiuoli, "had two aims in view. On the one hand, the Emperor would be brought to see that if he transported the Pope to Spain or Naples, or kept him a prisoner, the government of the Church and the ordering of ecclesiastical affairs in France and England would be cared for by the Cardinals; on the other hand, in the eventuality of Clement's death, the Cardinals who were in the Emperor's power would be prevented from electing a new Pope, since, in such a case, France and England would set up an antipope."[1] Clearly, it would be proved to the Emperor that, although he held the Pope, he did not hold the Church in his grasp, and that Clement as a prisoner was a useless prize.

"Wolsey," declared one of his confidential servants to Cardinals Cibo, Passerini, and Ridolfi, "is acting more in the interests of the Church and Italy than of his King, for he is mindful of his dignity and his obligations to the Holy See and the house of Medici."[2] As a matter of fact the intentions of the English Cardinal were not so disinterested. This did not escape even Cardinal Salviati; in the official correspondence, in which he invited Cardinals Cibo, Passerini, Ridolfi, Egidio Canisio, Trivulzio, Numai, and Cupis to assemble at Avignon, he only set forth in general terms the advantages of such a plan.[3] But in his confidential letters to Castiglione and Guicciardini he did not hold back his real opinion: "The pretext is not a bad one, but the thing itself I dislike. I fear a schism or some

[1] DESJARDINS, II., 984.

[2] **Letter, dated Calais, July 16, 1527 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[3] All these *letters are dated August 6, 1527; Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 22–26 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

other incurable misfortune."[1] "Wolsey, during the Pope's captivity, might become his substitute for the whole of Christendom, or at least for England and France."[2] This shows that the English schism was already casting its shadow before. The ambitious Cardinal aimed at nothing less than becoming, at least for England, the acting Pope; as such he would gratify the will of his monarch by declaring his marriage invalid.

Wolsey's well-known ambition gave rise in many minds to the worst suspicions. Sanchez thought that Wolsey was certainly aiming at the tiara, in the event of Clement's death.[3] Canossa expressed his serious doubts to Francis I. whether the assemblage at Avignon was for the good of France, as a schism might easily spring from it; Wolsey sought the Papacy, and if the King were unfavourable to this scheme, he would incur his enmity; if the scheme succeeded there would be a Pope far more ill-disposed than Clement.[4]

Wolsey's ambitious designs encountered at once the greatest obstacles. Although the Kings of England and France sent most pressing solicitations to the Italian Cardinals to meet Wolsey, and promised them every conceivable security and even compensation for their travelling expenses,[5] yet they were opposed to meeting in

[1] *Cardinal Salviati to B. Castiglione, August 14, 1527; Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 32 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Cardinal Salviati to Guicciardini, September 14, 1527, in EHSES, Dokumente, 249.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 196.

[4] **Canossa to Francis I., dated Venice, August 26, 1527. Canossa, in a *letter to Francis I. of August 9, 1527, had already spoken of Wolsey's efforts to obtain the Papacy (Communal Library, Verona).

[5] Lettere di principi, II., 232 *seqq.*; EHSES, Dokumente, 1 *seq.*, 4 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, II., 984. Canossa conveyed the letter of Francis I. to the Cardinals at liberty; see his *letter to the King, dated Venice,

France. The Cardinals who were at large had first assembled in Piacenza, and determined on a congress at Bologna, Ancona, or Parma to discuss measures for the Pope's liberation. On the 10th of August Cardinal Cibo informed Henry VIII. of this determination; in the beginning of September the free Italian Cardinals met at Parma.[1] Clement VII. exhorted them to be firm in their opposition to the removal of the conference to France, but warned them, at the same time, to go to work with caution.[2]

Wolsey in the meantime had carried his plans yet further. He was, indeed, so incapable of putting a check on his ambition that he had already usurped the coveted functions of a Papal Vicar-General before they had been conferred upon him. Together with Cardinals Bourbon and de Lorraine and the Papal Legate Salviati he came to Compiègne and did not hesitate at once to assume Papal privileges, since, in spite of Salviati's remonstrances, he handed the insignia of the Cardinalate[3] to the Chancellor Du Prat, who had been nominated in a Consistory held before the sack of Rome. Thus he had at his disposal

August 26, 1527. On August 30 Canossa told the King that the English envoy, Casale, had gone to Padua in order to get the consent of Cardinal Egidio Canisio to the assembly at Avignon; Casale was to approach the Cardinals at Mantua with the same object. *Both letters are in the Communal Library at Verona. For Casale's journey to Mantua see also GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 196.

[1] *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VI., 408 *seqq.*; STAFFETTI, Card. Cybo, 78 *seqq.* Gattinara called on the Emperor to protest against the assembly of the Cardinals in Parma and to oppose to them, with the help of Colonna, a counter-assembly of Cardinals; BUCHOLTZ, III., 96.

[2] *Cf.* the interesting notice in SANUTO (XLVI., 208) on the mission of the Augustinian, Felice.

[3] EHSES, Dokumente, 251.

four of the Sacred College, in whose name he addressed, on the 16th of September 1527, a protest to the Pope, which was at once entrusted for delivery to the Protonotary Uberto Gambara.[1] This document set forth, in language full of unction, that the signatories, following the example of the first Christians during the imprisonment of St. Peter, had assembled themselves in the power of the Holy Ghost at Compiègne in order to take preventive measures against the manifold evils which might accrue from the bondage of the head of the Church. Since the Emperor held the Pope in his power and every man was mortal, they were bound to make solemn protest against any alienation of the Church's rights or property, and against any nomination to the College of Cardinals during the captivity of Clement VII. They declared further that, in the event of the Pope's death, they would, without regard for the Cardinals now in imprisonment or for any new Cardinals appointed by the Pope while deprived of freedom, repair to some safe place to choose his successor, and would refuse obedience to any Pope who might be elected during the present captivity. In conclusion, Clement VII. was called upon to delegate his authority during his imprisonment in order that the free government of the Church might be firmly maintained.[2]

It must be matter for surprise that Salviati should have

[1] *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 83, note 4, as well as EHSES, Die Päpstl. Dekretale, 222 *seq.*, and Dokumente, 249. See also SANUTO, XLVI., 171.

[2] This important document was published first by GROLIERIUS, 156 *seqq.*, and then by LE GRAND, Divorce, III., 4–13. EHSES (Dokumente, 7) gives emendations of this version from the original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Le Grand certainly made use of the copy in the National Library, Paris, MS. de Brienne, V., n. 1.

consented to sign this protest of a minority of the free Cardinals suggesting to the Pope a temporary abdication and containing within it the germ of schism. On the 28th of September he wrote to Gambara asking him to make excuses on his behalf to Clement VII. for his participation in Wolsey's action. All had arisen only from his good intention of compassing, as soon as possible, the liberation of the Pope; if he had refused his signature, great ill-feeling would have been caused and Wolsey's zeal for the Pope's deliverance would probably have been chilled or altogether extinguished.[1] A private letter addressed to Castiglione on the 18th of September shows how little Salviati was deceived by Wolsey's schemes. In this he describes the protest of the 16th as a dangerous move preliminary to enfranchisement from obedience to the Church; he had concurred only to avoid greater evils and to gain time. If he had opposed, then undoubtedly an English and French Patriarchate with Papal authority would have been set up, and thereby, perhaps, the unity of the Church for ever rent asunder. His action had at least averted this. Before the Pope's answer arrived, a long time would elapse, during which Clement might be set at liberty. "By this, you see," Salviati continues, "I was compelled to agree in order to prevent a much greater evil. You know Wolsey's ambition and the bold assurance with which he asks Clement to appoint him his vicegerent. The French agree because he is useful to them. If the Pope refuses, Wolsey will find means to attain his object through his Bishops, a step bound to bring after it the greatest conceivable confusion in the Church. But I have hopes that in the meantime Quiñones will have returned to Rome and

[1] *Cardinal Salviati to Gambara, dated Compendii, September 28, 1527; Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 62–65 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Clement been set free. This is the only cure for all these evils."[1]

At that moment, then, all the efforts[2] of Castiglione, Salviati, and the other Papal diplomatists were directed to securing the Pope's freedom. What was the attitude of the Emperor towards this question?

Charles V. first received news of the capture of Rome in the latter half of the month of June.[3] His joy at this great and unexpected success must have been lessened by the accounts, at first inexact, of the unbridled excesses of the troops. The unheard-of ferocity with which the soldiery had laid waste the city was antagonistic to his interests, since it covered his name with shame and reproach. He certainly had wished to punish the Pope and to render his enmity innocuous; but destruction such as that wreaked by his army on the time-honoured capital of Christendom he had not intended. He therefore, in the beginning of August, protested to the Christian princes against the

[1] EHSES, Dokumente, 250–251. The assembly at Avignon did not take place; even the French Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont declared himself against it; see SANUTO, XLVI., 451.

[2] For Castiglione's efforts see SERASSI, II., 149 *seqq.*; for Salviati see *supra*, p. 434, and Guicciardini's **letter to Gambara, dated July 15, 1527, Florence (Ricci Archives, Rome), as well as the *letters of Salviati to Castiglione, dated October 8, November 6, 19, December 8, 1527, to Girol. Ghinucci, November 19, 1527, and to Cardinal Ridolfi, dated December 8 and 21, 1527. Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 65 *seqq.*, 76 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*, 96 *seqq.*, 99 *seqq.*, 107 *seqq.*, 122 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Cardinal Cupis, in a letter to Clement VII., dated Venice, October 29, 1527, gives an account of his exertions to obtain the Pope's freedom in Venice and France. Lettere di principi, IV., 218, 222; *cf. ibid.*, 178, 187, the recognition of these exertions in *a letter from Francis I. to Clement VII., dated St-Germain, February 4, 1528 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* SCHULZ, Sacco, 131, 143. See also BUCHOLTZ, III., 97; GASSLER, 121 *seq.*; and HORMAYR, Archiv, 1812, 380.

burden of responsibility for these outrages being laid upon him.[1] But this declaration did not do away with the fact that Charles had allowed his army to fall into a state of insubordination from which, if continued, the very worst was to be expected. He had also expressed himself so ambiguously that it might well be supposed that he would see without displeasure his troops requiting themselves with the plunder of Rome; nor must it be forgotten that for many a long day the enemies of Italy had acted on the principle that "war supports itself."[2] Charles had now to pay in person for his own shortcomings. The spirit of mutiny took hold of the victorious soldiers after the sack of the city to such a degree that the Emperor could no longer call his army his own. Rome was taken, the Pope was a prisoner, but the Imperial army was threatened from within with complete disruption.[3]

It soon became evident that the crimes committed in Rome were in the highest degree prejudicial to the Emperor's cause, for they gave to all his enemies an opportune handle for serious accusations which, at the first glance, seemed justified. The spectacle of the army of the secular head of Christendom, the protector of the Church, carrying murder, fire, and outrage into the city of its spiritual head, was turned to account to the fullest extent. Even in the heart of Charles's empire, in Spain, a by no means inconsiderable

[1] Lettere di principi, II., 234 *seqq.* *Cf.* Melanchthon's opinion in JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 141 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* JESENKO, Geschah die Erstrürmung Roms mit oder ohne Vorwissen Karls V.? Programm des Gymnasiums zu Görz, 1864, 37. See also HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 527; ORANO, I., 318 n.; and BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 543. The greater culpability of Charles V. is upheld by DOREZ in Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 362 *seq.*, with whom LEBEY, 418 *seq.*, associates himself. *Cf.* also BURCHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 133 *seq.*

[3] See *supra*, pp. 427, 431.

opposition was raised to a policy which had ended at last in turning him into the jailer of the Pope.[1]

The full recognition of the extremely difficult situation brought about by the sack of Rome, and the Catholic conscience of the Emperor, were the motives which restrained him from taking advantage of his victory to the uttermost. That he would have done so was the expectation of many,[2] and exhortations even were not wanting directing him on this course. Already, on the 25th of May 1527, Lope de Soria had written to the Emperor from Genoa to try and convince him that it would be a meritorious and not a sinful action to reform the Church, in such a way that the power of the Pope should be exclusively limited to his own spiritual sphere, and secular affairs placed under the sole jurisdiction of the Emperor, since "the things of God belong to God, and the things of Cæsar to Cæsar."[3]

Many wished to go further. A letter of Bartolomeo da Gattinara shows clearly that among the Imperialists the question was seriously discussed whether Charles should allow the seat of the Papal government to remain any longer in Rome. Gattinara and others found that any experiment of this sort would be too dangerous, since England, France, and other countries would then choose Popes of their own; but they advised the Emperor to weaken the Roman See to such an extent that it should always be subservient to the Imperial Majesty.[4]

Lannoy on his side pressed the Emperor with earnest

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 667, and *infra*, p. 448 *seq.*

[2] "Già si diceva infino da plebei uomini che, non istando bene il pastorale e la spada, il papa dovesse tornare in S. Giovanni Laterano a cantar la messa." Varchi, I., 197.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 26; VILLA, Asalto, 166.

[4] VILLA, 193 *seq.*, and MILANESI, Sacco, 517; *cf.* SCHULZ, 7. For the then prevalent feeling among the Germans in Rome there is

representations. It was necessary "that his undertakings should be directed towards something else than the ruin of an institution belonging both to the divine and human order; the army must not win everything and the Emperor lose all; no more violence must be done to the Pope, with the probable result of a schism; the confusion of the spiritual with the temporal power must not continue, and the temporal must no longer obstruct the spiritual by pragmatic sanctions and in other ways; Rome must no longer be an occasion of scandal to the whole world, and heresies and sects must be removed; in a word, what is God's must be given to God, and what is Cæsar's to Cæsar." Charles should retain possession of the States of the Church only until such time as his affairs with the Pope were put straight and he could put trust in his Holiness; only the towns belonging to Milan and Ferrara must be claimed as fiefs of the Empire. For the rest, the settlement of these points was to be left to a general council or to a congress such as that held at Mantua under Julius II., and the same tribunal was to decide in detail on points connected with the heresies in Germany.[1]

Ferdinand I. also recommended a council in a letter of the 31st of May 1527, in which he urged, at the same time, that the Pope should not be set free before order and security were restored: "For if he were out of your hands, I fear that he might behave as he always has behaved, and as the

remarkable evidence in the *Testament of Arrigus Theutonicus Cameracens. dioc. coltellarius in urbe in regione S. Angeli (Actum Romae in regione S. Angeli ante apothecam ipsius testoris), in which the date is no longer reckoned from the year of the pontificate; the preamble runs thus: "In nomini, etc., A. 1527 regnante *serenissimo Carolo* [indict.] decima quinta mensis Junii die 29." *Lib., I., scriptur archiconfrat. b. Mariae [Campi Sancti] (Archives of the Campo Santo in Rome). J. Zeigler in a polemical writing of 1527 claims Rome as a German city; see REIZLER, VI., 521.

[1] BUCHOLTZ, III., 87–88.

King of France has behaved, only still worse, for he avoids and shuns the council. Apart from this and your presence here, I see no possibility of finding means to oppose the Lutheran sect and the accursed heresies."[1]

Amid the various influences brought to bear upon him, the Emperor was long in coming to any fixed decision. At first his inactivity was such that it was supposed to arise from some strong physical reaction;[2] this extended to all his Italian affairs. After Bourbon's death the first necessity was obviously the appointment of a new Commander-in-Chief. Charles's council was insistent on this point, since the Prince of Orange was too young and inexperienced for the post. Charles handed over the chief command to the Duke of Ferrara, although the latter had already declined the honour in the autumn of 1526. As might have been foreseen, the Duke, on this occasion also, refused to place himself at the head of a "gang of mutineers." The consequence was that the army, if such it could be called, remained through the greater part of the year 1527 without a generalissimo, and shrank in numbers more and more from sickness and desertions.

The Imperial army in Milan was also in the worst condition. The faithful Leyva reported "that there was not a farthing's worth of pay for the troops." The army was more like a swarm of adventurers than a force in Imperial service. The commanders were powerless, the soldiers did what they liked.[3] No wonder that the Imperial troops had to give way on all sides, when Lautrec appeared with his army.

[1] GEVAY, Urkunden und Aktenstücke: Gesandtschaft an Sultan Suleiman, 1527, Vienna, 1840, 84. *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, III., 90.

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 597 and 634, who calls attention to a remark of Castiglione's.

[3] LANZ, I., 237 *seq.*

Nor did less embarrassment await the Emperor on account of the imprisoned Pope, for whom the most active sympathy was being shown, not only in France and England, but in Spain itself. The deep Catholic feeling inherent in the Spanish people had long since expressed a growing repugnance to the policy of Charles towards the Pope. "All ranks, high and low," wrote Castiglione from Granada in November 1526, "are indignant at the raid of the Colonna." In his later letters he returns repeatedly to the loyal attachment of the Spanish people to the Pope. "If he were to come to Spain, he would be worshipped," writes Castiglione on hearing rumours concerning the movements of Clement VII. In March 1527 it was reported that the prelates and grandees had openly announced that no more money could be voted, since such grants would be spent on waging war against the head of the Church. The Chancellor made vain attempts to establish the Emperor's innocence by means of printed publications, but the opposition to the war against the successor of St. Peter increased; the grandees and bishops earnestly urged that peace should be made with Clement. "The loyal dependence of the nation on the See of Peter," Castiglione reported from Valladolid on the 24th of March, "is more apparent than ever."[1]

What must have been the impression now made by the news of the Pope's imprisonment and the sack of Rome! Not only the great ecclesiastics but the grandees of Spain as well made known their indignation. Strong reproaches were addressed to the Emperor by the Archbishop of Toledo and the Duke of Alba.[2] Charles threw all the blame on the undisciplined army. "But," reported the Venetian envoy on the 16th of July 1527 from Valladolid,

[1] *Cf.* Castiglione's statements in SERASSI, II., 100, 125, 145, 147.

[2] "Le nuove d' Italia che l' esercito Cesareo sia entrato in Roma et

"these excuses produce no effect here; the prelates and grandees are daily interceding for the Pope with the Emperor. There is a great conflict of opinions. Some say that Charles must show his abhorrence by setting the Pope at liberty; others that the Pope must come to Spain; others again, such as Loaysa, the Emperor's confessor, maintain that Charles cannot yet trust Clement and must hold him prisoner." In the meantime the Emperor gave the Nuncio nothing but fair speeches; but he came to no decision.[1] It was credibly reported that Spanish opinion was in favour of the suspension of divine worship in all the churches of the kingdom so long as the Pope's captivity lasted, and also that the bishops in a body, clad in mourning, intended to present themselves before the Emperor and beseech him to set Clement free. Through the influence of the Court these reports were suppressed,[2] but the general agitation was not abated.[3]

habbi usato la crudelità che si dice et che il pontefice stia assediato in castel S. Angelo non si havendo rispetto alcuno alla tregua fatta dal sig. vicerè han parso de qui molto strane et han dispiaciuto sommamente a tutti questi signori si ecclesiastici come altri et i principal di loro, come è l' arcivescovo di Toledo et duca d' Alba et altri simili son stati a parlare a S. M^ta circa cio pregandolo che vi faccia qualche provisione et tali di questi hanno parlato si liberamente et usato tal parole che a molti ha parso che habbino più presto detto di più che di meno di quel che bisognava." *Report of Navagero from Valladolid, June 17, 1527, in Cod. Vat., 6753, f. 265^b, of the Vatican Library.

[1] Cod.* 6753, f. 265^b (Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* Castiglione's letters of July 22 and December 10, 1527, the former in GUALTERIO, Correspond. di Giberti, 247 *seq.*, the latter in SERASSI, II., 150. Like the Archbishop of Toledo (see *infra*, p. 462, n. 5), the Bishop of Cordova also wrote a sympathetic *letter to Clement VII., dated ex Caesaris aula [1527] July 20. * Lett. d. princ., V., f. 208 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] * The grandees and prelates of Spain, reports Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati on August 16, 1527, "si sono doluti et dolgono mirabil-

Some decided step became more necessary day by day; even Lannoy was pressing on this point. On the 6th of July he wrote to the Emperor: "The present situation cannot go on much longer. The more victories God sends you the more embarrassments you have, the domains of your kingdoms grow less and the ill-will of your enemies grows greater. Some envy your greatness, others hate you for the ill-treatment they have received from your soldiers, who have plundered Genoa and Milan, laid waste the country, and at the present hour brought destruction on Rome."[1]

Quiñones, who had reached Valladolid in the last weeks of July,[2] after having been held up by pirates, told Charles to his face that if he did not fulfil his duty to the Pope he could no longer claim to be called Emperor; he must rather be regarded as the agent of Luther, since, in his name and under his banner, the Lutherans had committed all their infamies in Rome.[3] Quiñones believed it to be his duty to speak thus strongly as he knew that Charles was determined to get as much advantage as possible from the Pope's imprisonment, and to secure for himself a position which would make the independence of the Church a nullity.

mente di queste calamità et come buoni christiani che sono non restono sollecitar lo Imperatore et instar perche liberi S. Sta come ha promesso et promette in modo che da quelle bande si ha ogni cosa favorevole et pero è da sperare bene et star di buona voglia." Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 34 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] BUCHOLTZ, III., 87.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 503, and the * letter of Navagero, dated Valladolid, July 27, 1527, in Cod. Vat., 6753, Vatican Library.

[3] "Tra l' altre cose che gli ha havuto animo di dire che non facendo quel che deve a lui non par che si possi chiamar Imperatore, ma capitanio di Luthero." * Letter of Navagero, July 27, in Cod. Vat., 6753. *Cf.* R. BROWN, IV., n. 142.

The Papal Nuncio Castiglione, on whom Cardinal Salviati set all his hopes,[1] supported the efforts of Girolami with all his energy; nevertheless, the latter failed to get from Charles any definite decision with regard to Clement's liberation.[2] The envoys of England were also unsuccessful in their endeavours at the Imperial Court, although they could not have shown more zeal if they had been the Pope's representatives.[3] The representations of Quiñones made more impression on Charles, but even he made little way at first. At the end of July Charles wrote to the Roman Senate and people,[4] to the Legate Salviati,[5] to the Cardinals and Roman nobility,[6] lastly, to all the Christian princes, disclaiming all responsibility for the sack of Rome, to which he was not accessory, and laying the whole blame on Clement VII. At the same time he used

[1] "In te uno praecipere spes nostra est." *Cardinal Salviati to Castiglione, dated Paris, July 10, 1527. Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 21 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Salviati to Castiglione of August 14, 1527. Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 29–32 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Thus Cardinal Salviati reported to Jacopo Salviati in a lengthy *despatch dated Amiens, August 16, 1527; Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 34 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the *letter of Navagero, dated Valladolid, July 30, 1527 (Cod. Vat., 6753, Vatican Library).

[4] On July 26; see GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 567, note. There was violent opposition in the Senate. HOFFMANN gives the speeches, Nova Coll., I., 550.

[5] Salviati, on hearing of Girolami's mission, had written to Charles V., on July 10, 1527, in a tone of subjection, that all his hopes rested on the Emperor's goodness (*this letter is in the Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 21, Secret Archives of the Vatican). Charles's answer of July 28, wrongly addressed "to Cardinal Cibo," in the National Library, Paris (Ital. 1357), in SANUTO, with correct address, XLVI., 32–33; *cf.* also Arch. Stor. Ital., 3 Series, XII., 1, 1–7.

[6] On July 31; see SCHULZ, Sacco, 145.

strong expressions of sorrow and regret for the injuries inflicted on the Holy See, and declared that he would rather not have won the victory than be the victor under such conditions.[1]

About this time Charles was informed of Henry VIII.'s schemes of divorce ; on the 31st of July he instructed Lannoy to speak to the Pope on this business, but with caution, lest greater complications should arise if the Pope were to hold out a bait to King Henry in the matter or enter into any mischievous practical understanding with him. Charles wished Clement to make any further advance in the business of the divorce impossible by the issue of Briefs to Henry VIII. and Wolsey.[2] This private affair of the Emperor, calling for the full support of the Pope's spiritual power, warned the former to act with great caution towards Clement, as did also, in no less degree, the threatening attitude of France and England, now joining in close alliance.[3]

Thus influenced, Charles, who, from motives of self-regard had long hesitated before taking any decisive step,[4] wrote from Valladolid on the 3rd of August 1527 two autograph letters to the Pope.[5] In the first of these remarkable communications he laid great stress on his efforts to secure the general peace of Christendom, to reform the Church, and abolish heresy and unbelief. In the attainment of these objects all private interests must

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 444 *seq.*

[2] BUCHOLTZ, III., 94–95, note.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 438.

[4] * Navagero's letter, dated Valladolid, August 1, 1527 (Cod. Vat., 6753, Vatican Library).

[5] Both letters are in the State Archives, Florence (Innanzi il Princ. Miscell.), and have been recently published for private circulation by CASANOVA (Lettere di Carlo V., 13–16).

be put aside and a unanimous course of action pursued. On these grounds the Pope would be justified in summoning a council for the extirpation of heresy, the destruction of unbelievers, and the exaltation of Holy Church. Charles, in conclusion, pledged his royal word to his prisoner that he would not suffer the council to undertake in any way the deposition or suspension of the Pope; any attempts in that direction, whether they came from a secular or ecclesiastical quarter, he would oppose, while protecting Clement in every way.

In his second letter, of which Quiñones was to be the bearer, Charles reminded Clement of the summons of a council. He besought the Pope in the most urgent way to undertake the promised visit to Spain; such a step would strike terror into the heretics and at least advance the prospects of peace between the Emperor and France. The Emperor's projects for a council were without result, for before his letters reached Rome, France and England had agreed to refuse their consent so long as the Pope was a prisoner.[1]

Over the demand for Clement's liberation Charles hesitated still longer. To the Nuncio Castiglione he spoke in such a friendly way that the latter was filled with sanguine hopes.[2] But the instructions received at last on the 18th of August 1527, by Pierre de Veyre, who awaited them with Quiñones at Barcelona,[3] did not correspond

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 438.

[2] SCHULZ, Sacco, 146 *seq.*, 175 *seq.* Here is published for the first time, from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Castiglione's report to Clement VII. of August 12, 1527.

[3] Quiñones and P. de Veyre went on August 15 to Barcelona; *cf.* Navagero's *letter, dated Valladolid, August 17, 1527 (Cod. Vat., 6753, Vatican Library), and that of *Cardinal Salviati to F. Guicciardini, dated Compiègne, September 14, 1527 (Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 50, Secret Archives of the Vatican). They left Barcelona on September 5

with these assurances. They were certainly not wanting in regrets for the misfortunes that had befallen the Pope in Rome or in wishes for the peace of Christendom, the reformation of the Church, and the uprooting of Lutheran errors; but with regard to the Pope's restoration to freedom, it was stated in the most definite terms that under this head nothing was to be understood beyond his liberty in the exercise of spiritual functions. Moreover, as a preliminary, the instructions of the envoys emphatically declared that Lannoy must receive securities, as certain as any human securities could be, against the possibility of Papal treachery or Papal vengeance. Lannoy was left to specify the conditions. But Charles indicated what he believed himself entitled to demand in this respect, namely, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Parma, Piacenza, Bologna, Ravenna and, in exchange for the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Castellana. The Emperor demanded besides, in return for the restoration of the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction, nothing less than the surrender of several of the more important towns of the Papal States. But he insisted, at the same time, that he was not making these demands for his own personal advantage, but in order to hold guarantees until such time as general peace should be attained, a council summoned, and the reform of Christendom set on foot.[1]

Clement, meanwhile, had passed through a terrible time.

(* Navagero's letter, dated Paredes, September 27, 1527, in Cod. Vat., 6763) and reached Rome in the beginning of October. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 150, 152, 181, 203, 205, 210, 223, 225.

[1] BUCHOLTZ, III., 97 *seqq.*, gives the instructions in epitome; he places them three weeks after June 30, about July 21. Veyre's instructions were kept back by the Emperor until August 18; see Navagero's * report, dated Valladolid, August 19, 1527, in the Vatican Library. *Cf.* R. BROWN, IV., n. 152

Within the narrow confines of the castle,[1] kept under closest watch by a fierce soldiery, he spent his days as in a "living tomb." He sought comfort in prayer,[2] trusted to the Emperor's magnanimity,[3] then again looked for the help held out by Francis I.,[4] yet through all preserved his calmness of mind. This is shown by the Bull prepared on the 15th of July 1527, in which the regulations for the Papal election in Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, or even in some foreign country, were drawn up, in the case of his death during imprisonment. The Bull shows that Clement took all these contingencies into account; the object of this document was to secure freedom of election and to prevent a schism. The Cardinals were empowered to meet in conclave elsewhere than in Rome and enjoined to wait during a certain time for those of their colleagues who should be absent.[5]

The life of Clement VII. was, in fact, at this time seriously threatened. It is clear from the reports of Perez that the Spaniards and Germans were continually hankering after the possession of Clement and the Cardinals; the landsknechts did not wish the prisoner to be taken to Spain, but were anxious to carry him off themselves.[6]

[1] He was living with the Cardinals in the so-called *maschio* of the castle; see GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 564. The Pope's bedchamber was guarded by Spanish soldiers; see GIOVIO, Descrizione, 18.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, XLV., 415.

[4] See Francis I.'s letter to Clement VII., written from Amiens in August, in Mél. d'Archéol., XVI., 414–416. The Latin translation in GROLIERIUS, 131 *seq.*, is dated from Compiègne, September 14.

[5] CIACONIUS, III., 454–455; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 184 and 196; see SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 11–12.

[6] *See the reports in VILLA, Asalto, 234 *seq.*, and GUMPPENBERG'S account, 208 *seq.* See also GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 155 (Perez to the Emperor on August 18). To this time also belongs a *Brief of

Rome was now in the full heat of summer, and the plague at its height. Pestilence and famine made havoc among the inhabitants; churches and streets were soon filled with dead bodies.[1] Frightful malaria arose from these "shambles"; if the wind blew from the city, relates one of the captives, it was impossible to remain on the walls of the castle.[2]

The plague had made its way into the fortress long before and helped, together with the sufferings and agitations of captivity, to thin the ranks of the prisoners. Cardinal Rangoni died in August; he was followed in October by Francesco Armellini, broken-hearted at the loss of his riches.[3] The situation of the captive Pope became more and more unbearable. He waited in vain for the envoys of the Emperor as well as for the return of the army of the League to deliver him, and his dread lest the Spaniards or Germans should carry him away increased every day. When Alarcon and Muscettola insisted on his giving adequate security for the payment of the promised 250,000 ducats, he exclaimed with tears in his eyes, "For the love of God do not exact from me promises which must be known to all the world and become engraven on the memories of men for ever! So great is my misfortune and my poverty, that the three Franciscans who are with me would be in want

Clement VII. to Camillo Gaetani, Lord of Sermoneta, dated July 11, 1527, bidding him make everything ready for the Pope's sojourn in Sermoneta, as the Imperialists intended to carry him thither. Min. brev., 1527, IV., vol. 17, n. 224 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] See GAVARDO'S account in Arch. Stor. Lomb., IV., 631.

[2] SANUTO, XLV., 595, 655; XLVI., 141. *Cf.* the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE, in which it is stated that dead bodies lay unburied for fourteen days, and that many Imperialists and Romans died of plague (National Library, Paris).

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 701; XLVI., 144, 279–280, 299.

of their daily bread if they were not able to borrow money from some compassionate souls. I leave it to you and your consciences to say whether such conduct is worthy of an Emperor."[1]

In the first days of September it was reported that Clement in despair had ordered a Bull to be drawn up exhorting the Church to pray for her imprisoned head and bidding the Bishops publish the canonical censures against her persecutors. The draft, couched in language of extreme severity, is preserved in the State Archives of Florence. This Bull, however, was never put into official shape and published. In the hands of the masterful Popes of the Middle Ages such a transaction would undoubtedly have been completed, but Clement VII. had not the requisite courage.[2] According to one account it was Alfonso del Vasto who held the Pope back from this extreme step.[3]

When Veyre at last landed at Naples on the 19th of September 1527, Lannoy lay ill of the plague which he had contracted in Rome. His death (September 23rd)[4] brought

[1] This Perez reported to the Emperor on September 2, 1527. GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 184.

[2] VARCHI calls attention to this, I., 178.

[3] The Bull "Considerantes" was published by GUASTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 4 Series, XV., 7 *seqq*. Guasti was not acquainted with the statement about Vasto in SANUTO, XLVI., 54, of which use has been made above, and his supposition that the Bull was drawn up in the first days of the captivity is opposed not merely by SANUTO, *loc. cit.*, but also by GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 184, both of whom support the September date; *cf.* VILLA, Italia, 235 *seqq*. On the other hand, GUASTI, *loc. cit.*, 5 *seq.*, is right in maintaining that the Bull was not published, in spite of a statement to the contrary in SANUTO, XLVI., 209. Then, as before, the Pope was incapable of making up his mind.

[4] *Cf.* the *Brief to H. de Moncada, Viceroy of Naples, of September 26, 1527 (condolet de morte Caroli viceregis et congratulatur de eius adventu), Arm., 39, vol. 47, n. 499 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

everything to a standstill, as fresh instructions had now to be received from the Emperor. This was all the more necessary since the situation, in other respects, had entirely changed from what Charles supposed it to be at the moment of Veyre's departure. The latter reported to Spain that the Pope had paid only 100,000 ducats of the 400,000 owed by him, while the Florentines had not yet paid anything of their 300,000. Alarcon, from scruples of conscience, had renounced his plan of bringing the Pope to Gaeta. The commanders of the Imperial army had been forced to fly, and their mutinous soldiers, instead of being on the march to meet the French in Lombardy, were again on the road to Rome, where they intended to extort their pay by force.[1] They got there on the 25th of September, and subjected the unhappy city to a second pillage. The same horrors which had accompanied their first onslaught were now repeated, and in some ways increased.[2] The soldiers, according to a German account, did everything they could think of, burning, extorting, robbing, thieving, and doing violence. The money raised by Clement by the sacrifice of his own silver vessels and those of the prelates was insufficient to appease the demands of the furious horde; they threatened Rome with utter destruction and the Pope and Cardinals with death if they were not paid.

Clement had now to make up his mind to give up to the Germans the hostages[3] named in the treaty of June. Gumppenberg has described, as an eye-witness, the surrender of these unfortunate men. The Pope ex-

[1] Veyre's report of September 30, 1527, in LANZ, I., 248 *seqq.*; *cf.* BUCHOLTZ, III., 108 *seq.*; ALBERINI, 357; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 201.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 178, 186, 210; SCHERTLINS Leben, 8; ALBERINI, 355.

[3] See their names *supra*, p. 422.

claimed with tears, "There they stand, take them with you. I will accompany them."[1]

The account-book of Paolo Montanaro, expeditor of Clement VII.,[2] now preserved in the Roman State Archives, enables us to realize directly the fearful plight to which the Pope had been brought. This account-book, which comprises the quarter from October to the 31st of December, shows clearly how scarce and dear provisions were. Since the treaty of June the Spaniards, who had at first determined to starve out the inmates of St. Angelo, had allowed communications to be renewed. It is a peculiar testimony to the economical bent of Clement VII. that the regular account of expenditure begins again as early as the 1st of October. With the most conscientious exactitude Montanaro notes down the smallest sum spent on the table of the imprisoned Pope, and, in like manner, the Master of the Household, Girolamo da Schio, Bishop of Vaison, submits each office[3] to a searching examination.

While the soldiers were robbing in every nook and corner of Rome, Veyre and Quiñones, in the beginning of October, approached the Pope.[4] Like Alarcon and Morone, they negotiated with a delegation of Cardinals, del Monte,

[1] GUMPPENBERG, 247 *seqq.*; *cf.* also the report of Perez, October 12, 1527, in VILLA, Asalto, 289.

[2] *Regestro delle spese sono fatte in Castello de sancto Angelo per uso de N. S. et sua familia per man del r. mons. Vasionen. mastro di casa de S. Sta incominzando dal primo dì de Ottobre 1527. GREGOROVIUS in the Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVI., 163 *seq.*, has given a detailed account of these "most precious and, in some cases, unique relics of the sack of Rome."

[3] GREGOROVIUS in the Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVI., 164 *seqq.* For the Master of the Household see MORSOLIN, Girol. da Schio, Vicenza, 1875.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 454, n. 3, and EHSES, Dokumente, 13 and 252.

Campeggio, and Lorenzo Pucci; Pompeo Colonna, whom Clement had won over to his side,[1] did all he could to attain a successful result; but in spite of these endeavours no progress was made. Meanwhile the soldiers became more and more furious. In their rage they dragged the hostages to newly erected gallows on the Campo di Fiore and threatened them with death. At the last moment they changed their mind; they were unwilling to lose the last security remaining to them, and the hostages were taken in chains to the Palazzo Colonna.[2]

Although in Rome the scarcity of provisions made itself felt increasingly every day,[3] and the approach of the French troops under Lautrec was a cause of growing anxiety, the army could not be induced to leave the city, since the soldiers held out for payment of their arrears in full. The final result of the total "paralysis of the Emperor's authority"[4] was the defection of the Duke of Ferrara and

[1] By the promise of the Legation of the marches of Ancona (see GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5) and other marks of favour (*cf.* Arm., 39, vol. 47, n. 739: *Legitimation of "Joh. de Columna, Cleric. Rom.,' dated November 3, 1527. "Hinc est quod nos te, qui ut accepimus defectum natalium de dil. fil. nostro Pompeio til. s. Laurent. in Dam. presb. Card. S. R. E. vicecanc. tunc in minorib. constituto et soluto et soluta genitus pateris," etc. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). There is no evidence in support of the charges made against Colonna in Veyre's report (in LANZ, I., 248 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* SCHULZ, Sacco, 149 *seq.* To the sources there made use of may be added SANUTO, XLVI., 210, 222, 231, 241; an undated (probably drawn up end of October) German *report in the Reichstagsakten, XLIII., f. 33–34 (City Archives, Frankfurt-on-Maine); GIOVIO, Descrizione, 19 *seq.*, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE, who describes the *inaudita mortalitas* still caused by the plague in September: "All who had hitherto escaped sword and famine were now dead" (National Library, Paris).

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLV., 299.

[4] BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 605.

the Marquis of Mantua who, in November, deserted the cause of Charles for that of France.[1]

At this time a decided reaction set in at the Imperial Court.[2] At the end of October the Ambassador of Henry VIII., in the name of his King, "the Defender of the Faith," presented a solemn protest against the Pope's imprisonment.[3] In November the Spanish Council discussed the matter; no less a personage than the Chancellor Gattinara there declared that if the Emperor looked upon Clement as the legitimate Pope, he ought no longer to detain him captive. Praet called attention to the danger that the French might set the Pope at liberty; it would be better that the Emperor should do this and, in so doing, set his troops free; on this ground he recommended that Moncada should be ordered to abide, only "as far as was practicable," by the instructions of Veyre. The result of the deliberation was that the Council of State determined that, in any case, the Pope must be given his freedom.[4]

In the meantime the negotiations in Rome had been endlessly protracted. In despair Clement VII., on the 15th of November, deplored his misery[5] to the Archbishop of

[1] *Cf.* SUDENDORF, III., 172 *seq.*; DE LEVA, II., 450 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 145 *seq.*

[2] Navagero reports in a *letter from Burgos, October 25, 1527, that, in spite of this reaction, there were still many who opposed Clement's release. Cod. Vat., 6753 (Vatican Library).

[3] SANUTO, XLVI., 314.

[4] BUCHOLTZ, III., 119–120.

[5] RAYNALDUS, 1527, n. 43. The letter here printed is the answer to that of the Archbishop of Toledo to the Pope, dated Valladolid, July 27, 1527. The Archbishop tries to comfort the Pope with allusions to the good dispositions of the Emperor. Now that the Pope had entered on the hazards of war, the Archbishop hopes that Clement has made such thorough provision for all the eventualities of the conflict that he will also be able to meet his present misfortune with

Toledo. Moncada, the new Viceroy of Naples, tried to exact as much as possible from the Pope. Clement hoped, not without grounds, that the approach of the French army under Lautrec would force the Imperialists to make more favourable terms;[1] he also succeeded by promises in bringing Quiñ nes and Morone entirely round to his side.[2]

After proposals and counter-proposals[3] had been bandied to and fro amid tedious delays, a basis of agreement was reached at last, and on the 26th of November the terms were settled. In the first place, a treaty was concluded between the Pope and the Cardinals on the one hand, and the representatives of the Emperor (Veyre, Moncada, Quiñones) on the other. It was herein stipulated that Clement should be restored to his spiritual and temporal rights on condition that he—while remaining neutral—advanced the peace of Christendom and convoked a general council for the reform of the Church, the uprooting of Lutheran teaching, and the pursuance of the Turkish war. As securities the Emperor was to hold six hostages—Giberti, Jacopo Salviati, Galeotto and Malatesta de' Medici, as well as Cardinals Trivulzio and Pisani[4]—and the towns of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, and Forlì. All the remainder of the Papal

fortitude and spirit. *Lett. d. princ., IV., f. 202 and 208 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] The services rendered him by Lautrec's appearance were acknowledged by the Pope, after his release, in a special letter of December 14, 1527, in RAYNALDUS, 1527, n. 47.

[2] Quiñones had a promise of the Cardinalate. Morone's son was to receive the Bishopric of Modena. JOVIUS, Columna, 170; *cf* GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5.

[3] *Cf.* SCHULZ, Sacco, 153 *seq.*

[4] In place of his nephews, Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, who were absent.

States, with the exception of the territories ceded to the Colonna, was, on the other hand, to be restored as before the sack of Rome. The Imperial army would quit Rome and the States of the Church as soon as the troops of the League evacuated the latter.[1]

No one was named in this treaty to execute the restoration of the territories severed from the States of the Church. As a matter of fact, the restoration of the temporal possessions, although conceded in theory, lay practically at the good pleasure of the Emperor.[2] On the other hand, the Pope was free to fix his own time for the convocation of the council.

A second agreement settled in detail the sums payable by the Pope to the Imperialist generals; in the first place, within ten days 73,169 ducats, as the price of the evacuation of the castle of St. Angelo, and immediately after that 35,000 ducats more, on receipt of which the troops would quit Rome. After fourteen days 44,984½ ducats were to be paid, and then in three monthly instalments 150,000, and again finally, at the same rate, 65,000. In order to collect these sums the Pope made new Cardinals and alienated Church property in the kingdom of Naples. On the payment of the 44,984½ ducats the Imperialist forces left the Papal States.[3]

[1] Text of this treaty in SCHULZ, Sacco, 176–183. *Cf.* the doubtful letter of Cardinal Pisani, November 27, 1527, in SANUTO, XLVI., 348–349.

[2] *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 109–110.

[3] In MOLINI, 273–278, and LANCELLOTTI, III., 325 *seq.*, is the Italian, in SCHULZ, 183–188, the Latin, text of this treaty. German translation in REISSNER, 146 *seq.* SCHULZ, 159, first called attention to the Brief (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Brevi di Clemente VII., T. 17, part 4ª, n. 336) in which Clement appointed a commissary to accompany the army to Viterbo and to look after their commissariat and quarters.

Since, in spite of the nomination of Cardinals,[1] sufficient money was not forthcoming,[2] the landsknechts again threatened the hostages with death and rose in mutiny against their leaders, who took refuge in the Alban hills with the Colonna. At the end of November the hostages managed to make their warders drunk and escaped.[3] On hearing this the landsknechts flung down their arms, but order was soon restored.[4] An arrangement was subsequently made with the Pope that he should pay from the

[1] On November 21, 1527, were nominated, Antonio Sanseverino, Vincenzo Carafa, A. M. Palmieri, E. Cardona, G. Grimaldi, P. Gonzaga, S. Pappacoda; see CIACONIUS, III., 488 *seq.*, who is mistaken in assigning the nomination of Du Prat and Quiñones to the same date. NOVAES, IV., 90 *seq.*, makes the same mistake with regard to Du Prat. In the *Nomination Brief of V. Carafa, dated Romae in Arce, November 21, 1527, we read: Clement had created him Cardinal "habita cum ven. fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus matura deliberatione de illorum unanimi consilio et consensu cum promissione ratificandi creationem post liberationem ex arce s. Angeli." Brev., vol. 47, n. 814 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also SANUTO, XLVI., 389–410. The promulgation of the Cardinals created on November 21 took place along with that of those nominated on May 3, 1527, not, as CRISTOFORI (348), supposes, on April 27, but in the beginning of February 1528 (certainly before the 11th); see SANUTO, XLVI., 580, *cf.* 585, and CATALANUS, 283, 303. See also the *letter of thanks of Cardinal Sanseverino (dated Rome, February 16, 1528), Lett. d. princ., V., 110 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] It is plain from the *Brief to Schönberg, dated December 6, 1527, that the Neapolitan Cardinals refused to pay down the stipulated sums "nisi mittantur pilei et apportetur assumptio." Therefore Clement gave Schönberg full powers to proceed with the ceremonies of the bestowal of the ring and the imposition of the hat. Brev., vol. 47, n. 880 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] JOVIUS, Columna, 169, and Hist., XXV., 28; SANUTO, XLVI., 361 *seq.*, 389; ALBERINI, 358 *seq.*; GUMPPENBERG'S account, 261 *seq.*; SCHULZ, Sacco, 159; BARTHOLD, 485; BALAN, Clement VII., 85.

[4] SANUTO, XLVI., 389; *cf.* 362.

1st of December 100,000 ducats to the Germans, with the exception of the leaders and those in receipt of double pay, 35,000 ducats to the Spaniards, and furnish fresh securities.[1] Accordingly, after Cardinals Orsini and Cesi had been handed over to Colonna, and Cardinals Trivulzio, Pisani, and Gaddi to Alarcon as hostages, and further securities given for the above-mentioned sums of money, the Imperialists left the castle of St. Angelo on the 6th of December 1527.[2]

With this the hard captivity[3] of the Pope, which had lasted full seven months, came to an end. Clement wished to leave Rome at once, where Campeggio was to remain as Legate; Alarcon advised him to wait a few more days on account of the insecurity of the roads,[4] but this delay seemed very dangerous to Clement, who was afraid of the soldiers awaiting their pay in Rome, and, moreover, he did not trust Moncada.[5] Between the 6th and 7th of December he left St. Angelo suddenly, by night, dressed in the clothes of his majordomo, but certainly not without previous knowledge on the part of the Imperialist commanders. Luigi

[1] SCHULZ, Sacco, 160; *cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 364 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the Sienese account in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 24–25.

[3] How difficult it was, up to the last, to have communication with the Pope is shown from the reports of W. Knight, sent to Rome by Henry VIII. in the matter of his divorce; see State Papers, Henry VIII., London, 1849, VII., n. 177.

[4] A. Pisani reported this from Todi on December 11, 1527; SANUTO, XLVI., 375. In a *Brief to the Duke of Urbino and the other generals of the League, dated December 3, 1527, Clement VII. announced his approaching departure for Orvieto, accompanied by an Imperialist guard of soldiers, for whom he asked a safe-conduct; Min. brev., 1527, III., vol. 16, n. 1094 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). In Orvieto Clement's coming was known as far back as the middle of November; see FUMI, Orvieto, 186 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Columna, 70, and the Pope's own account quoted below in BALAN.

Gonzaga waited for him on the Neronian fields with a troop of arquebusiers, and under this escort he went in haste to Montefiascone, and from there to the stronghold of Orvieto.[1]

[1] For Clement's flight see, besides GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5, and JOVIUS, Hist., XXV., 29, also SANUTO, XLVI., 375, 378–379, 389–390, and the Pope's own account (made known recently for the first time) in BALAN, Boschetti, II., Appendix, 42. See also GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 259, 272; DANDOLO, Ricordi ined. di G. Morone, Milano, 1859, 230, and FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 25. Guicciardini, followed by most modern historians, assigns the flight to December 8; but in the accounts in Sanuto, as well as in the despatches of F. Sergardi, C. Massaini, and J. C. Salimbeni (State Archives, Siena), drawn upon by Fossati-Falletti, December 6 is expressly stated; so also Blasius de Martinellis (quoted by EHSES, Die Dekretale, 226, note 1) and the Diary in OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 18. The statements in BONTEMPI, 325, are also in agreement with the above. To all this evidence must be added that also of the Pope himself in a *Brief of January 12, 1529, in Arm., 39, vol. 49, n. 31 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), first utilized by EHSES, Dokumente, XXVIII., note 4. The 6th of December is also proved to have been the day of the flight by *the Regestro delle spese in the State Archives, Rome (see *supra*, p. 460, n. 2), where on the 7th of December there are no more entries for provisions; the last entry is made at Galera, a place which the Pope passed through in his flight. GREGOROVIUS (Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVI., 171–172) was not aware of this; his explanation rests on an unnecessary hypothesis. For a coin of Clement VII., the Pontiff's face being bearded, referring to his deliverance, see REUMONT, III., 2, 849. Reumont also has here some critical remarks on FUSCO, Di una inedita moneta battuta in Roma l' anno 1528 dall' Imperat. Carlo V., Napoli, 1848.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. G. M. Giberti to N. N.[1]

1522, Januar. 9, Rom.

Copia de un capitulo di una littera di mes^{r} Jo. Matthio:

R^{mo} s^{r} mio. V. S. sarà già stata avisata della s^{ma} electione dil r^{mo} card^{le} Dertusense in summo pontifice, la quale dette piacere a tucti li homeni da bene per le rare et singular virtu sue, e a li amici e s^{ri} del patrone per essere opera e factura sua. Rome VIIII jan. 1522.

[Cop. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Alienation of Church Ornaments from the Papal Chapel by the College of Cardinals.[2]

1522, Februar. 6, Rom.

Committitur per collegium rev^{morum} cardinalium rev^{o} d. camerario, ut det quaedam vasa argentea rev. d. Ant. Puccio episc. Pistorien. in pignus pro duc. 2500 auri capitaneis Helvetiorum (who served under A. Pucci in Lombardy) debitis, and in particular:

Duo candelabra magna argentea smaltata pond^{is} libr. 47 ac valoris duc. 550.

Item duo alia candelabra argentea smaltata ejusdem pond^{is} et valoris.

Item duo candelabra argentea smaltata ad confecterias pond^{is} libr. 66 et valoris duc. 700.

Item unam crucem cum pede magno et armis Eugenii [IV] et Pauli [II] pond^{s} libr. $42^{1}/_{2}$, val. duc. 450.

[1] See *supra*, p. 24. [2] See *supra*, p. 3.

Item duo candelabra argentea aurata cum armis papae Julii [II] pond. libr. 28, val duc. 300.

Item unam coppam cum suo tegmine argenteam deauratam pond. libr. 5 et unciar. 9. val. duc. 60.

Item unum vas aquae benedictae cum sua asperges et armis Pauli papae II pond. libr. 5 et unciar. 10, val. duc. 60.

Et unum aliud vas simile cum suo aspergulo argenti smaltati cum armis, card. Ascanii[1] pond. libr. 3 et unciar. 6, val. duc. 30.

Item unum aliud simile vas sine armis pond. libr. 5 et unciar. 6, val duc. 65.

Item duo turribula, quorum alterum est deauratum, cum navicula et cochleare argenteis pond. libr. 9, val. duc. 90.

Item unum truncum crucis, quae defertur ante faciem pontificis, argenteum et in tribus partibus divisum pond. libr. 14 et unciar. 2, val. duc. 150, et sic in tota summa summarum praed. val. 3005 duc. auri ponderantia et valentia in sacristia palatii apost. existentia et ad usum altaris pontificii teneri solita in pignus et cautelam eorum assignari curet. . . .

D. Romae in palatio apost. in nostra generali congregat. die 6, febr. 1522. . . .

[Cop. in the *Acta consist. 1492–1513 (formerly Miscell. 3), f. 65, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

3. Epitome of Cardinal Schinner's Project of Reform.[2]

1522, Mart. 1, Rom.

Sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Adrianus, divina providentia papa sextus, pontifex maximus optimusque vive vocis oraculo mandavit michi Bernardo de Lauro abbati ac sue beatitudinis familiarium minimo indignoque, ut a quodam memoriali per me coram Ste Sua lecto transcriberem hec que sequuntur:

Primum de celeri in Italiam adventu.

Quod B^do^ sua nichil det aut concedat seu dari aut concedi patiatur, quod arcium Hostie et s^te^ Marie de Loreta [sic] aut aliarum terrarum custodiam concernat, etiam si super hoc collegium scribat.

Insuper quod S^tas^ Sua quantocius scribat collegio, quatenus

[1] A. Sforza.

[2] See *supra*, p. 86.

modis omnibus attendat atque eficiat, ne quidquam terrarum et dominiorum, quae tempore fe. re. domini Leonis [X] recuperatum obtentumve [sic] fuerit, aut aliorum pontificum predecessorum, amittatur sive amitti auferri aut abalienari patiatur, sed omnibus modis ac viis conservare defendere et protegere curet, et super hoc tota sit intentio Sue S^{tis} et citius id fiat.

Et nisi presto S^{s} D^{s} N^{r} sit venturus, quod faciat legatum et hoc faciat B^{do} Sua et nullo modo hoc remitat collegio.

Preterea pacem (quae tamen nichil habitura sit insidiarum) inter principes componere curet, et ubi tractabitur caveat de fraudulenta pace.

Et quod se confederet cum Cesare atque regibus Anglie et Portugalie.

Et quod scribat regi Francorum, ut in Italie ab armis abstineat, ne ultra sanguine christiano Italia irrigetur. Et etiam Ecclesie Romane vasallis scribat, quod nulli in armis versanti faveant nec adhereant, presertim illis qui ecclesie confederatos contra [sic] arma ferunt.

Insuper sciat Beatitudo Sua, quod in Italia malo ingenio multa arma costructa sunt, quae et ducatum Urbini et civitatem Perusam tyrannide opprimunt, et, nisi presto obvietur, etiam Bononiam, ut in eam Bentivoli reintrudantur, invadent.

Preterea, quia sedes apostolica ere alieno est gravata et pro occurrentibus necessitatibus sunt habende pecunie, idcirco Sta Sua poterit ab ill^{mo} Anglorum rege mutuatos accipere ducatos ducentos mille, quos et duplicatos juste habere poterit tum ex marranis tum ex aliquibus pretiis defalcandis ex contractibus illicitis et usurariis cum aliquibus creditoribus initis et etiam ex rebellibus componendis. +

Quod excellentissimus dominus dux Mediolani sub alis Sue Beatitudinis se commendat.

Insuper quod ex Turcis habentur timenda nova, ea tamen cum fenore aliquo subministrantur a Gallis et a Venetis ea intentione, ut pax preceps fiat ex qua acrius bellum exeat. Et impossibile est Italiam pace frui, dum in ea aderunt Galli, et ex consequenti nec in reliqua publica re christiana pax esse poterit. Et est notissimum quod, ex quo Galli in Italiam irruperunt, plus quam duocenta milia hominum gladiis occubuerunt. Et dum Galli vires habebunt, nichil boni contra infideles fieri poterit.

+ Et si Beatitudo Sua vult vere dominari, quod nulli cardinalium adhereat, sed omnes equaliter amet et plus merenti plus etiam tribuat. Et super hoc dicetis aliqua que scitis, nam periculosum esset omnia scripto dicere.

Insuper quod Beatitudo Sua non recipiat aliquos in suos oficiales nisi illos jam dudum forsan sibi notos et probatos donec S^tas^ Sua fuerit Rome, ubi sunt aliqui viri digni et incorruptibiles, quos Beatitudini Sue nominabunt cardinalis Sedunensis et Guillermus Hynchenfort.[1] Et inter nominandos est unus nomine Jacobus Bomisius pro secretario aptissimus, et pro subdatario alter qui vocatur Johannes Betchen Coloniensis.

+ Item quod Sanctitas Sua dum erit Rome oficiales et familiares suos habeat ad honestum et redactum [sic] numerum, unde sequatur, quod car^les^ nunc maxima et superflua familiarium comitiva stipati etiam se reformabunt et familiam suam ad honestum numerum reducent.

+ Insuper quia ex oficiorum auditoris camere et clericorum de camera et abreviatorum de majori et nonnullorum aliorum venditione paratur materia ut justicia venalis fiat, idcirco dicta oficia minime vendantur, sed gratis dentur personis litteratis. Et quod auditor camere et gubernator astringantur ad sindicatum.

+ Quod penitentiarii et referendarii reducantur ad honestum numerum et tam ipsis quam etiam dominis de Rota quotannis assignentur certi redditus, qui absque conscientie lesione et sine patrimonii diminutione poterunt eisdem ac ipsorum unicuique assignari ex redditibus aliquorum abbatiatuum magni valoris certis congregationibus nuper unitorum.

+ Et quod domini de Rota sub ofitiorum ipso facto privatione nichil pro propina recipiant nisi tantum quod ad plus valeat duos ducatos auri de camera, et pars plus dans ipso facto perdat jus quod habet in causa et illud accrescat parti alteri. Et hoc idem incurrant dicti penitentiarii. Et si penitentes voluerint gratis dare aliquid, illud reponatur in quadam arcula ad opus fabrice sancti Petri.

+ Et quod scriptores apostolici nihil percipiant quam instituta Nicholai [V] in quadam bulla, et si contra fecerint non absolvantur a censuris in bulla contentis et sic precludetur iter delinquendi.

[1] Enkevoirt.

Et quod gabelle de Ripa diminuantur pro medietate et sic fiet res gratissima Romanis, et nichilominus tantundem utilitatis ex gabella resultabit, quia dum gabella erit diminuta, multo plures quam nunc venditores per flumen Tyberi portabunt victualia, + quae nunc propter gabelle excessum non vehuntur, et quod dicta gabella non arrendetur, sed pro ipsa exigenda ponantur collectores, qui de exactis reddant rationem magistro domus Vestre Beatitudinis; nam dum gabella arrendatur, illi, qui ipsam arrendant, maxime vexant illos, qui victualia vendenda deferunt.

Demum multa imposita a Leone [X] decreta et oficia militum scutiferorum et preter solitum numerum cubiculariorum et ofitia de Ripa evanescant et dissolvantur, nam fere totum patrimonium absorbent.

Et quod fiscus non audeat excedere in suo ofitio quod tantum + consistit in denuntiando et instando.

[Endorsed:] Transcripta a quodam memoriali per rev. dom. Matheum card. Sedunens. prima martii Rome ordinato, scripto tamen per me abbatem [B. de] Lauro.

[Orig. Cod. Vatic. 3924, I., f. 204, Vatican Library.[1]]

4. Pope Adrian VI. to the College of Cardinals.[2]

1522, Mai 8, Saragossa.

Adrianus papa VI. Vener. fratres nostri, salutem et apost. benedict.

Sexta huius mensis reddidit nobis litteras circumspect. vestrarum dil. filius Ioannes Maria alumnus et nuntius dilecti filii nobilis viri ducis Urbini, quibus circumspectiones vestrae ducem ipsum et egregia eius erga nos et sanctam sedem apostolicam merita diligenter commendant. Non facile dixerimus quantam nobis dictae litterae laeticiam attulerunt non solum propter oblatam nobis ipsius ducis obedientiam et optimam eius ad res ecclesiae iuvandas voluntatem, quod in promptu est videre quanti in hac temporum malicia estimari debeat, sed etiam quod ex hac circumspectionum vestrarum commendatione plane innotescat rectissimus et ardens zelus earundem ad optime prospiciendum rebus

[1] The crosses and lines on the margin are in the original document, and seem to have been made by Adrian VI. himself.

[2] See *supra*, p. 162.

et statui ecclesiae, quae ex longiuscula nostra ab urbe absentia est in moerore non parvo constituta, cum fortissimos ac fidelissimos vassallos ipsius ecclesiae et ipsi tam benigne tractent et nobis tam ex corde commendent proque viribus omnia procurent, quae ad sedandas ecclesiae tempestates conducere noverint. Sane ducem ipsum propter eum eiusque egregias virtutes et fidem erga nos et sanctam sedem apost. sat commendatum omni eramus favore, ut par est, prosequuturi. At accedente ad hoc sacri chariss^orum^ fratrum nostrorum collegii interventu curae nobis erit, ut cumulus quoque beneficentiae favorisque nostri non contemnendus accedat, quod suo tempore re melius ipsa quam verbis ostendemus. Quod reliquum est hortamur ac rogamus circumspectiones vestras quam maxime possumus ex animo, ut per hoc breve momentum absentiae nostrae paci et unitati primum quidem inter se ipsas, deinde in populis urbis Romae ac totius Italiae summa cum instantia ac vigilantia studeant cogitentque nunquam oblatum iri sibi occasionem, qua excellentes virtutes suas magis quam nunc illustrare possint.

Dat. Caesaragustae sub annulo piscatoris die VIII maii 1522 suscepti a nobis apostolatus officii anno primo.

T. Hezius.

[A tergo:] Address and Chancery endorsement of receipt, 28 June, 1522.

[Orig. Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Arch. s. Angeli A. V, c. 3, n. 31.]

5. Pope Adrian VI. to the College of Cardinals.[1]

1522, Juni 3, Saragossa.

Adrianus papa VI. Venerab. fratres nostri, salutem et apost. benedictionem.

Cum diu avide expectassemus responsa circumspect. vestrarum ad eas litteras nostras quas nuper mense martio per dil. fil. Ioannem Borrellum camerarium nostr. secretum cum diversis instructionibus atque mandatis illi commissis duplicatas misimus, tandem ultima maii voti compotes facti sumus binis circumspect. vestrarum litteris, quarum alterae octava, alterae XI maii datae fuerunt, simul acceptis, ex quibus et quam laetis animis instru-

[1] See *supra*, p. 54.

menta acceptationis nostrae exceperint et quo studio de profectionis nostrae adminiculis sategerint magna cum animi nostri exultatione percepimus, quam mox sequenti die, id est kal. iunii, maxime cumulavit iucundissimum novum, quo dil. filium nostrum Alexandrum card. de Caesarinis cum galeone nostro littoribus Catheloniae salvum applicuisse et insuper novem triremes ex Italia, duas nostras et ecclesiae et septem chariss. in Christo filii nostri Caroli in imperat. electi, nec non duas alias naves multo biscocto atque frumento vinoque oneratas propediem expectari cognovimus.

Glad that he is at last able to travel, and thanks the Cardinals. The Emperor and the King of Portugal have already sent their envoys.

Rex Portugalliae classem nobis suis sumptibus talem et taliter instructam mittit, ut ad securitatem navigationis nostrae non parum momenti afferre videatur. Alter vero id est rex Anglie totam classem quae traiectioni nostrae necessaria esset solus exhibere paratus erat et eam exhibuisset, nisi per memoratum electum imperatorem persuasus fuisset nobis hac in re ex Neapoli facilius atque commodius subveniri posse. Sed et char^{mus} in Christo filius noster Francorum rex christianissimus non quidem adhuc per oratorem sed per privatas personas amicum et benivolum erga nos animum ostendit idque ipsum et dil. filii Venetorum respublica litteris et amplis oblationibus (etiam triremium suarum) plane demonstrarunt.

For sake of peace, which is so necessary, has sent envoys to the Emperor, Henry VIII., and also to Francis I., in order that at least a truce may be arranged.

Omnino vero dabimus operam, ut, iam suppetentibus tam navigiis quam commeatibus, citra ullam dilationem nos hinc in portum et inde continuo in Italiam conferamus. . . .

Circa delationem vero armorum et alia gubernationem urbis et Italiae concernentia in vigilantia prudentiaque circumspect. vestrarum quibus eas res tantae curae esse videmus deinceps conquiescemus. Reliqua quae nunc scribenda erant, ne prolixiores simus, circumspect^{es} vestrae ex dil. filiis Wilhelmo de Enkevvort notario et procurat. nostro et Melchiore de Bardasinis advocato consist. plenius intelligent. . . .

Dat. in palatio Aliaferiae prope et extra muros Caesaragustae

sub ann. piscat. die 3 iunii 1522 suscepti a nobis apostolatus officii a° primo. T. Hezius.

[A tergo:] Address and Chancery endorsement of receipt, 18 July 1522.

[Orig. Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Arch. s. Angeli A. V, c. 3, n. 29.]

6. Galeotto de' Medici to Florence.[1]

1522, August 27, Rom.

. . . Per via d' Inchefort[2] ritrago di commission del papa haver dicto al s. Don Giovanni[3] che delle cose delli stati non vuole muover cosa alcuna sanza di lui e che vuol che governi il tutto e lo vuole in palazo apresso di se e haver ordine di consegniarli le stanze, il qual non l' ha volsute acceptar dicendo prima volersi abochar con S. B^ne^. Dopo il S. Don Giovanni di grande auctorità sarà l' arcivescovo di Cosenza[4] et Inchefort sarà datario. . . .

[Orig. State Arch. Florence, Lett. agli Otto, n. 25.]

7. Galeotto de' Medici to Florence.[5]

1522, September 1, Rom.

Questa matina è stato consistoro, dove N. S^re^ ha parlato molto sanctemente con dir [che] dopo la fel. rec. di papa Leone ci s' era facto errori assai, il che importava che ogni homo era peccator, ma che le lor signorie rev^me^ erano a tempo ad emendarsi, e così pregava facessino perchè li haveano ad esser spechio a tutto il mondo, che pensassino al honor e salute della Chiesa, sopratutto si operassi che si administrassi ragione e iustitia, e molto li admonì e exhortò vivamente. . . .

[Orig. State Arch., Florence, *loc. cit.*]

8. Giovanni Maria della Porta to Urbino.[6]

1522, September 2, Rom.

. . . Ne le cose de beneficii ha me detto il Datario[7] haver pur hoggi riplicata commissione da S. S^tà^ di non dare a persona del

[1] See *supra*, p. 164. [2] Enkevoirt. [3] Manuel. [4] Ruffo Teodoli.
[5] See *supra*, p. 93. [6] See *supra*, pp. 95, 120. [7] Enkevoirt.

mondo solo che un beneficio con cura. Chiedendole con molta instanza il card. Trevultio M. Agostino un vescovato allegando la povertà sua, S. S^{tà} gli adimandò ch' intrata fosse la sua e dicendo di 4^{m} ducati, replicò con molta admiration ch' essa era vissuto [1] con 3^{m} et con avanzo de qualche denari che l' haveano aiutata nel venir suo in Italia. Questi termini non piaceno molto alli preti, ma se ha da seguitar Dio gli doni pur longa vita come credo che farà, che si governa ben ne vol magniare in brigata et fa grandissima guardia per il veleno. . . .

[Orig. State Arch., Florence, Urbino Cl. I, Div. G, filza 132.]

9. Giovanni Maria della Porta to Urbino.[2]

1522, September 6, Rom.

. . . Il Papa fù ieri a pigliare il possesso del Castello Santo Angelo, et non vi si fermò quasi niente, non trovandovi altro che gli cassoni vodi; pure non ha mutato ancora il castellano. Sua Santità ha, questa mane, havuta nova l' armata sua esser gionta a Porto Venere et subito ha commesso che non si lascia descendere un fante, et pare che non voglia più farla venire qua, ma dirizarla al soccorso di Rodi, al che mostra di attendere diligentissimamente; et vuole che questi padri reverendissimi concorrano alla spesa, dicendoli parole sopra il reformare de la Chiesa, tanto gagliarde, che restano tutti attoniti; ne l' ultimo concistoro, raggionando di questa materia, adduxe l' esempio de li Hebrei: che, non si volendo corregere, receveano ogni dì nove persecutioni da Dio, come a noi cristiani intervenea da tanto tempo in qua, et la causa di questo disse essere, come narrava S. Bernardo, che alli peccatori intervenea come alli molti pieni tutti di malo odore, che l' uno non sentea il puzzore di l' altro; et perciò bisognava che sue signorie reverendissime comenzassero a levare da sè questo malo odore del peccato, perchè gli dispiacesse il sentire quelle di l' altrui et così venessero a dare bono exemplo, con tanto biasimare il viver di questa corte, che non si può dir più. Così ragiona di remettere la giustitia et già pare che abia ordinato che li auditori di Rota non piglino più propina, come si usava al tempo di Sisto [IV]. Guarda la excellentia vostra quanto ello è rigoroso nella giustitia, che, ad instanza di tutto il collegio, non ha voluto, per

[1] In the original: visse.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 93, 98.

allegrezza di la sua venuta, liberare le pregioni, dicendo non volere che, per causa sua, si deroghi alla giustitia. . . .

Roma alli 6 settembre 1522.

[Orig. State Arch., Florence, *loc. cit.*]

10. GALEOTTO DE' MEDICI TO FLORENCE.[1]

1522, September 8, Rom.

P. S. Intendo N. S^re^ haver facto metter bando che alcuno pelamantello o vero righattier non possa sotto gravissime pene comperare alcune supelectilie di chi morissi e che tutti li preti debbino star alle loro parrochie e visitar qualunche sentissino esser infermo confessandoli e facendo tutte l' altre cose che a loro s' aspectono far in tali lor parrochie, ne manchino di alcuno loro offitio divino sotto pena di privatione delli benefitii e altre pene come parà a S. S^tà^, il che si pensa sia ordinato per haver facultà d' ingrassare questi Ultramontani venuti qua senza aviamento.

[Orig. State Arch. Florence, Lett. agli Otto n. 27.]

11. GIOVANNI MARIA DELLA PORTA TO THE DUCHESS OF URBINO.[2]

1522, September 23, Rom.

About Winkler, see *supra*, p. 81.

N. S^re^ sta meglio ogni dì ne vogliono gli medici che S. S^tà^ dica messa insin ch' ella non sia ben confermata. L' altro giorno essendo affannata di haver data audienza quasi sforzamente a non so chi voltasi al suo secretario dicono che disse: O Theodorice, quanto esset melius quod nos essemus in nostro archydiaconato Luanie pacifice.

Opinion about Heeze, see *supra*, p. 81.

[Orig. State Arch. Florence, Urbino, filza 265.]

12. L. CATI TO THE DUKE ALFONSO OF FERRARA.[3]

1522, December 26, Rom.

. . . Heri in la solenitate del Natale in lo intrar de la corte et del papa in capella cadete uno architravo marmoreo giù del uscio de la capella et occise un Suizero de la guardia cum pericolo de

[1] See *supra*, pp. 99, 101. [2] See *supra*, pp. 101, 125. [3] See *supra*, p. 168.

ucciderne molti più homini da bene et forsi il papa se il caso non occorea si presto; fù reputato per male augurio.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

13. Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1522, December 29, Rom.

. . . El dì de natale essendo ia preparato de dire la messa papale in capella et ia el papa mosso per andarli, essendo la frequentia de le brigate, che li intravano secundo se sole, cascò lo architrave de marmore che stava sopra la porta de la capella et decte in terra et poi che fo in terra in lo balso che fece colse subito uno scvizaro et subito lu amazò et un altro scvizaro stroppiò, et se stava un pocu più ad cascare seria stato pericolo non havesse colto el papa o cardinali o qualche prelato, fo mancho male succedesse como accascò, et veramente fo gran cosa. . . .

Rome XXIX decemb^is 1522.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* "Se fosse cascato uno miserere più inanti haveria facto qualche grande scandalo," reports V. Albergati on 25th December 1522. [State Archives, Bologna.]

14. Jacopo Cortese to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua.[2]

1523, Januar. 12, Rom.

. . . È vi anchora rumore et dicesi non sencia fundamento de non scio che tractato contra et nela persona de N. S. et ragionassi di veneno, per il che sono incarcerati certi speciali quali havevano le botege nel borgo di S. Petro et certi altri, non però persone di conto, è pur judice il p^to s^r capit^o. È anchor incarcerato uno episcopo calavrese creatura dil r^mo car. Armelino nomato messer Sixto persona molto nota al r. mes^r Berardo. Potrà esser ma non credo sia notato di questo: e perchè questa è materia tanto ardua, che è magior virtu a non ne parlare, non mi pare poterne scriver sobrio, sol dico che non cade ne la mente mia, che si possi trovar homo tanto profano che habi a imazinar o[3] pensare simil cose in

[1] See *supra*, p. 168. [2] See *supra*, pp. 98, 121. [3] Ms.: ho.

uno principe de la qualità che è Sua S^tà^ di sanctimonia, rectitudine, vita exemplare, affabilità, et humanità, et secondo me è impossibile che sotto a tal pastor e governo questa sede apostolica patisca. . . .

In Roma XII jenaro 1523.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1523, Februar. 9, Rom.

. . . Laltro dì andorono dal papa tredici cardinali uniti et con gran reverentia se dolsero con la Sua S^tà^, che era fama in Roma et in le terre de la chiesa e tra li principi christiani, che la Sua S^tà^ non faceva più casu de card^li^ et che questo epsi lo vedevano cum effectu, perchè la Sua S^tà^ tucte le sue deliberationi le faceva con consulto de lo archiepis° de Cosensa lo auditor de la camera et el datario, non de fratrum consilio secundo dicono li sacri canoni et li ordini de li altri pontifici, supplicandoli non volesse far tal scisma. Da poi se dolsero che la Sua S^tà^ li derogasse ad loro indulti et che per le regule de cancelleria li havesse molto restrecti. Tertio se dolsero che facesse levar case et robbe ad cortisciani che morivano et che de questo Roma ne pateria assai perchè niscuno vorria edificar più. La Sua S^tà^ li auscultò voluntieri et se excusò che la peste era stata causa del tucto, et che per lo advenir se seria portata talmente che serriano ben satisfacti de la S. S^tà^, et così li expedecte. Veramente li card^li^ restano molto mal contenti per esser pocu existimati et anchora tucte le altre brigate, perchè non se po cavar dal papa alcuna resolutione et è grand^ma^ fatigha negociar ad questi tempi, non se ha respecto ad alcuno, le facende vanno longissime senza alcuna resolutione como ne intervene del breve de le taxe, el quale el papa più volte ad mia presentia la ha commesso ad lo auditor de la camera et anchora non se è possuto havere, ma spero tra quatro dì haverlo expedito, ne mando una copia ad la V. Ex^ia^ come haverà da stare, se dicto auditor nol guastarà, et per le primi spero mandarlo. . . .

Rome die IX februarii 1523.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

See *supra*, p. 114.

16. Consistory of the 11th of February, 1523.[1]

Romae die merc. 11 februarii 1523. S. N. D. proposuit duo: primum vid. quod infecti peste mitterentur in aliquo loco extra urbem et quod provideretur eis de necessariis ministris et aliis rebus pro curatione et sustentatione eorum. . . . Secondly about Rhodes, which may be given up as lost. Et propterea S. S. cogitaverat de novo scribere brevia ad istos reges super concordia, addendo in illis, quod indicebat treguas triennales seu quadriennales et quod volebat imponere decimam, et commiserat card. Anconitano[2] ut ordinaret minutam quae postea legi deberet in consistorio et etiam creari deberent legati tam pro regno Ungariae quam pro regibus, et ne fieret difficultas in eorum receptione significare regibus intendebat quomodo S. S^tas^ eos ad illos destinaret, et fere omnes laudarunt propositum S. B^nis^. Three Cardinals (Soderini, Colonna, and Cornaro) deputed for this business.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

17. Girolamo Balbi to Salamanca.[3]

1523, Februar. 23, Rom.

. . . Quicquid denique D. V. mihi demandaverat vel praesens vel scriptis, id totum a summo pontifice est obtentum, sed nullas litteras vel brevia adhuc exigere potui. Causa est defectus officialium, nam qui sub pontificatu Leonis erant in hoc genere peritiores alii abierunt, alii obierunt, hii vero qui nunc successerunt sunt paucissimi et imperitissimi adeo, ut hic nihil expediatur et vix uno mense absolvi possit et ego cogar per me et meos quae sunt scribenda perficere, habebitque M. V. intra paucissimos dies ea confessionalia, interim libere et intrepide utatur esu carnium utque ita faciat pontifex, cum de tarditate expeditionis conquererer, annuit et assensit. . . .

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna.]

18. Consistory of the 23rd of February, 1523.[4]

Romae die lune 23 februarii 1523. S. D. N. proposuit quod desiderabat componere pacem inter istos reges et si non posset

[1] See *supra*, pp. 123, 172.
[2] Pietro Accolti.
[3] See *supra*, p. 114.
[4] See *supra*, p. 172.

concludi pax saltem concluderentur indutiae quinquennales ut interim possit tractari pax et quod scripserat ad istos reges et habuerat responsum a rege christ^{mo}, qui erat paratus inire pacem prout placeret Suae S^{ti}, et quia non habuerat responsum ab imperatore et rege Angliae, cogitaverat pro maiori auctoritate et efficacia, quod collegium scriberet litteras ad ipsos reges hortando eos ad pacem quam Sua S^{tas} eis proposuerat vel saltem ad dictas indutias, ut interim pax ipsa tractari et concludi ac imminenti Turcarum periculo provideri possit.

Item quod cogitaverat deputare legatos primo ad regem Ungariae cum rex ipse Ungariae legatum a Ste Sua et hac S. Sede mitti peteret pro consternatione illius regni et ad alios reges non ut de presenti irent, sed habita voluntate regum, si illos recipere vellent, essent parati et irent et omnia que in regnis ipsis pro provisione possent tractare, concludere et expedire. R^{mi} dom. cardinales fere omnes approbarunt et laudarunt sanctas cogitationes Suae S^{tis} et quod videbantur exequendae et executioni demandandae et quod ad S^{tem} Suam spectabat nominare legatos et cum essent nominati tunc vota rev. dom. super eorum nominatione danda erant, illis nominatis exclusis, erit igitur Suae S^{tis} cum sibi placuerit procedere ad ulteriora. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

19. L. Cati to Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1523, Mart. 21, Rom.

Report in cipher about the Pope's: Extrema et rapace avaritia, de la qual crida tutta Roma et già se fa iudicio, che habbia imborsato a quest' hora de li ducati più di settanta milia et non ne spende se non pochissimi, anzi esso ha havuto a dir che spendea dieci ducati il giorno per suo uso in casa et che erano troppo, che li volea limitar in meno et benchè Leone fusse una sanguisuga di denari pur li spendeva, ma costui suga et non spende, adeo che tutta Roma sta di malissima voglia ne mai se li ricorda tanta mestitia et judicasi che questo suo habbia ad esser un pessimo pontificato . . . et quel che scrissi a questi dì de pasquillo disceva che accumulava denari per fugirse sel Turco

[1] See *supra*, pp. 71, 108.

cazasse le cose in quà, sappia V. E. che questa cosa è uscita di pasquillo et andata alle orechie di S. S^tà di modo che publicamente si è lamentato in consistorio et ha detto, che non ha si poco animo como pensano costoro.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

20. Consistory of the 23rd of March, 1523.[1]

Romae die lunae 23 martii 1523. S. D. N. proposuit tria circa legatum destinatum ad regem Ungariae: Primum de qualitate subsidii pro defensione contra Turchas danda legato destinato ad illas partes; secundum si erat danda facultas eidem legato alienandi mobilia et vasa pretiosa ecclesiarum, ac quarta[m] parte[m] mobilium urgente necessitate; tertium de deputatione capitanei. Vota super his fuerunt diversa; tandem Sanctitas Sua, quae collegit vota, dixit, quod videbatur sibi, quod plura vota dominorum essent, quod Sanctitas Sua sola non posset ferre onus hujusmodi defensionis contra Turchas et quod deberet examinare, quot pecuniae possent haberi tam ex decimis impositis, quam ex medio ducato imposito super focularibus civitatum et terrarum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae et ex aliis gemmis et jocalibus et vasis argenteis, et ex officiis vendendis, de quibus poterat disponere, et pecuniarum summam maiorem, quam habere posset, legato destinato consignare. Quoad secundum dare facultates amplas, quae aliis legatis dari consueverunt. Quo vero ad facultatem alienandi mobilia, etiam quartam partem bonorum immobilium ecclesiarum illarum partium ad requisitionem maioris partis capitulorum et personarum ecclesiasticarum aliarum partium posset imminente necessitate illa alienare, prout videretur discretioni et prudentiae ipsius legati expedire, et haec bulla facultatis esset secreta, et illa non uteretur nisi requisitus, et ipse viderit expedire. Quoad tertium de defensione nunc agitur; et non de generali expeditione; et si reducerentur isti reges ad pacem vel concordiam vel treguam, esset discutiendum inter Imperatorem, regem Christianissimum, regem Angliae et regem Poloniae, quis eorum debet esse imperator; pro presenti defensione videretur remittendum Germanis, Ungaris et aliis, qui pronunc debent concurrere ad provisionem hujus exercitus, quem ipsi inter se vellent

[1] See *supra*, p. 179.

eligere pro capitaneo et duce, et si non concordarent, dare facultatem legato, ut ipse auctoritate apostolica posset eos reducere ad concordiam vel si sibi videretur unum ex nominatis eligere auctoritate apostolica. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster fecit verbum, quod alias in promotione facta de persona Hieronymi electi Gurcen. quod daretur sibi dilatio ad solvendum jura papae et collegii usque ad festum S. Michaelis de mense septembris, quod ipse libenter nunc solveret medietatem, si sibi fieret gratia de reliqua parte. Aliqui erant contenti, alii vero titubabant. Papa respondit, quod daret refutatorios. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

21. Girolamo Balbi to Salamanca.[1]

1523, April. 12, Rom.

. . . Unum me recreat quod iam pontifex fraudes et dolos Gallorum incipit clarius intueri et perinde iam a sua neutralitate deflectere. Sunt eciam interceptae litterae, quas card^lis Volterranus scripserat regi Galliae, in quibus feda et periculosa coniuratio est patefacta. Vocabatur enim Gallus ad occupandam Siciliam et ducatum Mediolanen. et utroque in loco erant insidiae collocatae, quibus apertis nullus iam locus est relictus apud Pontificem Gallos tuendi. Hanc tamen rem clarius d. Petrus ut puto explicabit, nam industria dom. ducis Suesse eius fratris haec coniuratio in lucem prodiit. . . .

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna.]

22. Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[2]

1523, April. 27, Rom.

. . . Hozi essendo andati ad palazo el r^mo cardinale di Volterra et el r^mo cardinale di Medici at el duca di Sessa dapoi l' hora del vespro et stando con el Papa tutti insieme, prima fù pigliato uno messer Heliseo secretario del ditto rev^mo di Volterra in la camera del paramento, dove stava ad expettar il patrone, dapoi in banchi fù preso uno mes^r Bernardo da Varazano Florentino et banchieri et molto intimo del ditto r^mo di Volterra, et più volte essendo la

[1] See *supra*, p. 186. [2] See *supra*, p. 188.

R^ma S. V. in Roma la vene ad visitare da parte del ditto r^mo di Volterra. Ultimo el Papa ha destenuto el card^le di Volterra, et mandatolo in pregione et el conduceva el capitaneo de la guardia con alcuni Spagnoli, et el sottocapitaneo Svizaro et el cancellero de ditta guardia per ditte camere e fora ad la porta de la sala di pontifici de sotto era tutta la guardia ad expettarlo et così el conduxero per il giardino et dapoi per el corritore in castello, dove subito andò lo auditore de la camera ad examinarlo. Prima li fossero poste le mano adosso forono el duca di Sessa et el r^mo di Medici ed Volterra ad molte discussioni avanti il Papa, et havendole incomplete, el Papa con lo r^mo di Medici et duca de Sessa andarono in le stantie de sopra et lassorono Volterra in mano de ditti subcapitaneo et altri prenominati et el menarono via et passando per l' anticamera alcuni sui prelati li volevano andar dreto, forono tutti expulsi et el ditto card^le andava mezo morto senza far alcuna parola. La causa de la captura se existima sia stata per le cose ha confessate quel Siciliano, che fo preso, del quale alli dì passati io scrissi et al sig^r marchese et ad V. S. R^ma. Dapoi retornando io ad casa ho veduto el barisello che ha preso il palazo del ditto card^le di Volterra e pigliano tutte le robbe per il Papa. Fatta ditta captura son partuti de palazo de compagnia el r^mo card^le di Medici et el duca di Sessa et retornati alle loro habitationi. Questo è quanto fin ad hora è successo, et è stato la sera poco avanti le XXIIII hore; secundo succederanno le cose advisarò la R^ma S. V. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

23. Consistory of the 28th of April, 1523.[1]

Romae die martis 28 aprilis 1523. S. D. N. declaravit causam detentionis rev. d. card. Vult. in arce s. Angeli et deputavit r. d. card. S. Crucis, Anconit. et de Cesis commissarios in huiusmodi causa et ordinavit ut d. Vult. detentus haberet commoditatem omnium que sibi usui essent donec et quousque dilueret crimina obiecta.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 188.

24. Consistory of the 27th of May, 1523.[1]

Romae die merc. 27 maii 1523. S. D. N. proposuit necessitatem pecuniarum quam Sua S^tas^ habebat in mittendo legato ad Ungariam et quod videbatur sibi expediens, quod distributio annatarum s. collegii, quae debebat fieri in festo s. Iohannis, retardaretur ad festum omnium sanctorum et quod rev. dom. de Flisco tunc faceret eas restituere collegio, et omnes rev^mi^ fuerunt contenti. . . .

[Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Angelo Germanello to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[2]

1523, Juli. 12, Rom.

Questa nocte passata è abbrusciata tucta quella cuppola de piombo che era in la torre Borgia[3] del palazo del papa, la quale de sobto era foderata de tavole et par che alcuni de quelli Tedeschi li andassero per pigliar li columbi et attacarono la candela in quelle tavole dentro de la cuppola, donde è causato uno grandiss° incendio et tucto el piombo se è descolato et liquefacto et la torre è tucta conquassata, et tucta questa nocte se atteso ad extinguere el focu, ma non ce stato ordine finchè tucta la cuppola non se consumata; alcuni han suspecto non sia facto ad posta dicto incendio; el papa questa nocte è stato levato per dubio del focu, perchè era sopra ad le camere dove dorme. . . .

Rome XII Julii 1523.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

26. Pope Adrian VI. to C. de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples.[4]

1523, Juli. 18, Rom.

Adrianus papa VI. Dilecte etc. Cum ob certa quaedam ardua negocia in presentiarum occurrentia honori et utilitati

[1] See *supra*, p. 190. [2] See *supra*, p. 205.

[3] For the cupola of the Torre Borgia see Fabriczy, Die Handzeichnungen des Giuliano da Sangallo, Stuttgart, 1902, pp. 96–97.

[4] See *supra*, p. 203.

char^mi in Christo filii nostri electi imperatoris magnopere expediat nos tecum coram ac presentialiter loqui atque conferre, hortamur in dom. nob. tuam teque paterne et enixe requirimus, ut statim acceptis presentibus te per dispositos equos seu postas cum paucissimis comitibus et quam secretissime ad hanc almam urbem nostram conferre festines, in aedibus dil. filii nob. viri ducis Suessani dicti electi imperatoris hic oratoris si tibi videbitur descensurus ac requieturus, donec nos de tuo adventu certiores facti opportunitatem tecum communicandi tibi significari fecerimus, in quo rem facies Ces. M^ti plurimum expedientem et nobis quam gratissimam. Dat. Romae apud s. Petrum sub annulo piscat, die 18. julii 1523, p. n. a. 1°.

[Autograph postscript:] Non procrastines oro venire ad nos. Res enim[1] arduae sunt et quae commodum Imperatoris concernunt et eius honorem ac rei publicae christianae salutem. Adrianus papa VI.

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna.]

27. Alessandro Gabbioneta to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua.[2]

1523, Juli. 28, Rom.

. . . Madama mia, Roma non è più quella che la lassò, tanto è mutata la dignità et splendor di quella; in palazzo, dove soleva esser il concorso del mondo, non si vede quasi persona, alle camere del Papa non è più la solita frequentia; l' è vero che la S^tà Sua sta più pomposa in le camere cha Pontifice io vidi mai, e forsi lo fa per quello ditto de David: Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate.[3] La effigie sua è mitissima e clemente et più assimigliasi ad una fratescha de quelle delli frati de San Vito cha pontificale; le parole sue son buone, ama la M^tà Cesarea tanto quanto l' anima propria, e voria chel fusse victore non solum del re de Franza ma de tutto il mondo; ma per questo se possibile fusse non voria spendere un carlino. . . Romae 28 julii 1523.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] Orig.: ‚n'. Baumgarten (II., 280) makes this clear by reading ‚nam'.
[2] See *supra*, p. 120. [3] Psalm 44, 10.

28. Consistory of the 29th of July, 1523.[1]

Romae die merc. 29 mensis julii 1523. S. D. N. fecit verbum de federe ineundo inter reges et principes christianos, ostendens, quanto cum periculo versetur universa respublica christiana ob continuas victorias, quas ob negligentiam principum tyrannus Turcharum assecutus est. Rogavitque enixe rev. dominos, ut Suae S^ti^ assistere vellent eumque adjuvare consilio et ope, ut pax inter ipsos reges et principes componi possit, qua confecta expeditionem generalem contra Turchas deliberare et executioni demandare unanimi consensu possit, ut a Ste Sua summopere desiderabatur.[2]

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

29. Pope Adrian VI. to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua and Captain-General of the Church.[3]

1523, August. 26, Rom.

Adrianus Papa VI. Dilecte etc. Qui aper litteras et nuncios fide dignorum admoniti sumus exercitum Gallorum in Italiam ad ducatum Mediolani occupandum infestis signis ac animis adventare, nos considerantes inde non solum dicto ducatui, sed etiam toti Italiae, immo quod gravius est universae christianitati, nisi opportune provideatur, maximae perturbationis et plurimorum malorum discrimen imminere, ac volentes iuxta federis ac ligae quam nuper una cum certis regibus ac principibus tibi notis pro defensione praefatorum Italiae et christianitatis conclusimus formam atque tenorem ad opus eiusdem defensionis quas possumus et prout ex dicti federis capitulis nobis incumbit ferre suppetias, nobilitatem tuam tenore praesentium in Domino hortamur et expresse serioque requirimus, ut statim acceptis praesentibus omnibus et singulis equitibus tam gravis quam levis armaturae, quos ad stipendia nostra ratione contractus novissime inter nos et te initi tenes ac tenere debes, districte praecipias ac mandes, ut una cum locum-

[1] See *supra*, p. 206.

[2] De Leva (II., 173) gives a different version of Adrian's speech, but without quoting authorities.

[3] See *supra*, p. 211.

tenente tuo per te constituendo se ad castra Caesareae Maiestatis in dicto ducatu existentia et ad dilectum filium nobilem virum Prosperum Columnam illis praesidentem illico conferre debeant, facturi ea quae illis ab ipso Prospero iniungentur, donec certius cognoverimus, utrum praefatus Gallorum exercitus iter suum adversus dictum ducatum omnino prosequatur. Quo casu, quem tamen Deus evenire prohibeat, intendimus nobilitatem tuam requirere, ut ipsa personaliter ad dicta castra post dictos equites suos proficiscatur, quo auctoritate consilioque suis ipsorum Gallorum impetus facilius retundi valeat. Interea vero eandem hortamur in Domino et paterne requirimus, quatenus statim his visis providere et ordinare velit, ut commeatus et victualia iusto interveniente precio et solutis solvendis ex marchionatu et ceteris suis dominiis libere extrahi et ad memorata castra ferri et exportari possint, in quo nobilitas tua rem humanitate sua dignam et nobis ac huic sanctae sedi inprimis acceptam faciet.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVI augusti MDXXIII°, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

T. Hezius.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

30. Pope Adrian VI. to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, etc.[1]

1523, September 1, Rom.

Adrianus Papa VI. Dilecte etc. . . . Cum itaque quotidie certius intelligamus hostilem exercitum Italiae continue magis ac magis appropinquare regemque chr^{mum} in persona ad partes Italiae contendere ac properare, ut nostra ex parte omnibus remediis adversus pericula ipsi Italiae et ex consequenti toti christianitati imminentia non iam dubia neque exigua, sed certa et magna uti debeamus nec ulla in re quae per nos et confederatorum quemque praestari possit amplius cunctandum videatur, nobilitatem tuam expresse et attente in Domino requirimus, ut ipsa una cum omni equitatu quem sub se habet, videlicet tam nostro et ecclesiastico quam Mediolanensi ac Florentino, absque ullius morae interposi tione Padum flumen traiicere ac versus civitatem nostram Placentiam proficisci festinet, inde cum praefato Prospero Columna

[1] See *supra*, p. 211.

per litteras ac nuncios consultatura, utrum ne conveniret eam ad tutelam et custodiam civitatis Alexandriae accedere. Cum enim civitas illa (sicut nobilitas tua novit) venientibus Gallis primum obvia futura sit putentque prudentes, vel solam, ubi bene defensa sit, hostiles vires ac impetum citra Padum sustinere posse, maxime elaborandum est, ut aliquis magnae auctoritatis ac nominis vir, cuiusmodi nobilitas tua est, illius custodiae ac defensioni praeficiatur. Et si quidem dicto Prospero omnino videbitur, ut nobilitas tua onus hoc suscipiat, cupimus eam ocyssime ad civitatem ipsam accedere una cum toto equitatu praedicto et cum mille peditibus (si videbitur) sclopetariis, quos statim acceptis praesentibus ab ea conduci [sic] ad nostra et praefatorum Florentinorum stipendia, pro quibus solvendis absque mora pecuniae per nos et illos transmittentur, nec non cum duobus vel tribus millibus peditum Hispanorum vel Germanorum prout nobilitas tua elegerit. Hortari autem nobil[tem] tuam ad fortiter strenueque se hac in re gerendum, superfluum merito videatur, cum et animi eius generositas ac fides multis magnisque in rebus probatissima et rei de qua agitur importantia et periculorum imminentium propinquitas ac magnitudo et denique ingens suus erga communem salutem Italiae zelus eidem ad praemissa satis incitamenti additura sint. Hoc unum dumtaxat in fine dicimus, nobil[ti] tuae tota vita sua non esse expectandam occasionem, qua nos et dictam sedem ac praefatam Caesaream Maiestatem nec non Italiam ac universam christianitatem sibi magis promereri verioremque laudem sibi apud omnes recte sentientes comparare possit, quam si omnibus ingenii industriaeque suae viribus una cum praefato Prospero ac aliis partium nostrarum concorditer et absque emulatione, quae saepe maximas res et alioqui tutissimas perdere ac deservire solet, Italiae defensioni contra eos qui illam et dictam christianitatem perturbatum veniunt incubuerit.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die prima septembris MDXXIII° pontif. nostri anno secundo.

T. Hezius.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. Pope Adrian VI. to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, etc.[1]

1523, September 8, Rom.

Dilecte etc. . . . Cum autem tua istinc profectio ob rerum exigentiam ulteriorem moram, prout nobil^tem^ tuam non praeterit, minime patiatur, denuo illam enixe in Domino hortandam et quanto possumus studio requirendam duximus, ei nihilominus in virtute sanctae obedientiae iniungentes, ut omni exceptione et excusatione postposita personaliter cum dictorum equitum et peditum manu iuxta dictarum litterarum tenorem quam celerrime vadat. Quod licet rei importantia et perbreve temporis intervallum exigant, erit nobis quam maxime gratum et acceptum.

Datum Romae apud s^tum^ Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die VIII^a^ septembris MDXXIII°, pontif. nostri anno secundo.

T. Hezius.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

32. Pope Clement VII. distributes his Benefices.[2]

1523, December 23, Rom.

Ad fut. rei mem. In qualibet monarchia. . . .

Distribution of the Papal benefices among the 37 Cardinals of the Conclave in accordance with the resolutions passed at the election. These benefices were: Florence; Narbonne; Chiaravalle; St. Victor at Marseilles; St. Joannes de Angeva, dioc. Genoa; Trium fontium Urbis, Monastery and Commendam; office of Vice-Chancellor and the Legation of Bologna.

All of these benefices in respect of their incomes were to be divided into 37 equal portions, each amounting to 1000 ducats, as determined by the Sacred College itself:—Florence 2 portions; Narbonne 8; Chiaravalle 8; Tre Fontane 2; St. Victor and St. John together 2; 1 for the title of Narbonne, Chiaravalle, and Tre Fontane (350 ducats for each of the two first and 300 for Tre Fontane); the Cancellaria 9, and the Legation of Bologna 5 portions.

The titles of Florence, the Cancellaria, and the Legation of Bologna were reserved for the Pope's free disposal.

[1] See *supra*, p. 211. [2] See *supra*, p. 245.

The Cardinals cast lots for the portions, which were distributed in accordance with the foregoing apportionment to each individual; besides they had the right to make exchanges with each other or to commute their portion for a pension.

Dat. Romae 1523 X. cal. jan. a° 1°.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1440, f. 44b-46a.]

33. Consistory of the 11th of January, 1524.[1]

Romae die lune 11 jan. 1524. . . . S. D. N. fecit verbum de divisione fienda de beneficiis et officiis, quae in persona Suae Stis fuerant ante assumptionem ad pontificatum, et primo petiit a dom. revmis, quibus in sortem obvenerant portiones super ecclesia Narbonen. an essent concordes, qui omnes dixerunt se esse concordes; idem affirmarunt ii quibus super monasterio Trium fontium portiones sorte obvenerant. Idem ii quibus in monasterio Claravallen., idem ii quibus in cancellaria. Idem ii quibus in legatione Bononiensi.

Deinde per S. D. N. deventum est ad expeditionem ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et officiorum.

Ad relationem papae:

Fuit deputatus perpetuus administrator ecclesiae Narbonen. rev. dom. card. de Lotaringia cum retentione beneficiorum suorum. . . .

Deinde provisum est ecclesiae Florentinae de persona rev. de Rodulphis. . . . Deinde monast. Claravallens. ord. Cisterc. Mediolan. dioc. commendatum est rev. de Cesis. . . . Deinde monast. s. Victoris ord. s. Benedicti Massilien. dioc. commendatum est rev. de Trivultiis. . . . Deinde provisum est de prioratu s. Joannis de Angeva dom. rev. Comensi. . . . Deinde monasterium Trium fontium commendatum est rev. de Flisco. . . . Creatus est vice-cancellarius rev. de Columna. . . . Creatus est legatus Bononiae rev. de Cibo. . . . Provisum est ecclesiae Vaurien. de persona rev. Trivultii. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 245.

34. A. Piperario to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1524, November 28, Rom.

A questi dì intesi che'l *re christianissimo proponeva Ferrara al papa vincta a sue spese se l' voleva farsi Francese*, e questo lo diceva *Alberto.*[2] *Questi Imperiali sono mal satisfatti del papa* quanto dir se possa.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

35. Consistory of the 19th of September, 1526.[3]

Romae die mercurii 19 sept. 1526. Rev. dom. card. de Cesis diaconus legit litteras ill. ducis Venetiarum ad mag^cum^ Dominicum Venereum oratorem suum apud S. D. N. scriptas, quibus significabat se ex multorum litteris percepisse die 29 mensis augusti 1526 magnum conflictum fuisse factum inter Turcarum tyrannum et Ungaros, adeo magnum quod Ungari cum suo rege debellati fuerant in damnum maximum christiane fidei et periculum, quod dii avertant pro eorum misericordia, et dubitabatur de amissione totius regni Ungarie, quod temporibus retroactis fuerat propugnaculum firmissimum pro fide christiana contra hanc immanem gentem, et de morte prefati regis Ungarie dubitabatur. Tum S^mus^ D. N. lectis litteris cepit deplorare conditionem nostrorum temporum dixitque nullum presentaneum remedium his tantis malis fore, quam si fieret pax et concordia inter principes christianos, et propterea Sua S^tas^ decreverat personam suam exponere ut decet optimum pastorem pro grege suo et ire cum nonnullis triremibus Barchinonam versus Ces. M^tem^ non dubitabatque illam M^tem^ omnia facturam esse, que ad honorem dei optimi maximi et totius Christianitatis essent profutura, quum semper cognoverat ipsam M^tem^ summa religione et prudentia preditam esse, et ita de consilio fratrum huiusmodi profectionem decrevit, quam certis de causis impresentiarum publicari prohibuit.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 269; the passage in italics is in cipher.
[2] Carpi.
[3] See *supra*, p. 328.

36. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1526, September 21, Rom.

Ho significato a V. Ex^{la} per le mie due de heri quanto era occorso fino alle XXIII hore per la venuta qui in Roma del s^{r} don Ugo et de s^{ri} Collonesi, ma vi havea da giongere, che a quella medesima hora misero il pallazo a sacho quasi tutto e in spetie le robbe di N. S. che anchor che fusse stato levato lo oro, le gioglie et li argenti insieme cum qualche altra cosa di pretio, pur vi restorono de molte altre robbe, le quale tutte sono andate in mano de queste genti et fra loro fatone divisione; erano alla guardia de ditto pallazo alcuni Svizari, li quali fecero qualche diffesa, ma non tale come havevano dovuto et potuto, di modo che intrati una brigata de fanti fecero la preda che volsero si de beni mobili come de cavalli, per forma che ogniuno de li pallatini ne hanno sentito o pocho o assai, ma la maggiore parte sono restati netti dil tutto; misero anche a sacho la casa de mons^{r} Camerlengo benchè intendo che sono state salvate molte robbe de le sue che prima furno levate; et insieme sachegiorno alcuna altre case li in borgo, ma non tutte però. Fatto questo li soldati si da cavallo come da piedi si retirorno et ritornorono a s^{to} Apostolo, dove sono stati questa notte, et questa mattina per tempo si sono ridutti alle Terme ad fare la ressigna et dare denari, per quanto è stato dicto cum il s^{r} Vespasiano et s^{r} Ascanio in compagnia loro. El card^{le} Colona e don Ugo restorno allo alloggiamento. Io mi son apresentato questa mattina a bon hora a castello et intrato ritrovai N. S^{re} in congregatione cum tutti li card^{li}, dove dopuoi longo spacio fù risoluto di mandare per il s^{r} don Ugo et vedere di pigliare qualche forma de accordo, se possibile era, e accioche havesse ad venire sicuramente, si mandò li dui card Cibo et Rodolphi al r^{mo} Collona per obstagi; se come si fece anche heri sera chel p^{to} don Ugo intrò in castello ad parlare cum S. S^{tà} et exequito questo dopuoi che il papa et li card^{li} hebbero fatto collatione, venuto don Ugo, S. B^{ne} si è retirata seco in una camera, lassando li card^{li} in un altra, et solo vi è stato lo arcives.^{o} di Capua[2] et dopuoi longhi ragionamenti al fine si è venuto a conventioni de accordo in questo modo. . . . Stabiliti li capituli del accordo il papa è uscito de la camera et è venuto ne

[1] See *supra*, pp. 329, 334.

[2] Schönberg.

luoco dove erano li card^li, et publicati essi capituli, confirmati et sottoscritti da ciascuna de le parti don Ugo è partito cum promissione de fare partire questa notte tutte le genti. . . .

Da Roma alli XXI di septembre 1526.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

37. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1526, September 23, Rom.

. . . Dico adonqua che non potrei exprimere il dispiacere che sente il Papa, per quel che mi è parso di comprendere per le parole de S. S^tà, di questo insolentissimo termino che gliè stato usato da questi Collonesi et in specie dal s^r Vespasiano, il quale oltra chel fusse stato instrumento et data la fede a S. S^tà nello accordo fatto li dì passati, io so che particularmente era amato da quella non meno che se gli fusse stato figliolo et ne la pratica di questa parentela della moglie p^ta S^tà si è afaticata tanto amorevolm^te et con tanto studio acciochè succedesse lo effetto, che per me haverei creduto et aspettato una demostratione tale dogni altro che da lui. Et il Papa non voleva et poteva credere chel fusse in questa compagnia finchè non fù visto con gli occhi, che doppoi S. S^tà è stata con altrotanta maraviglia como con displicentia et ella me ha usato tal parole de lui, che, anchor che in questo appontamento gli habbia perdonato come a li altri, pur non so si mi creda che S. S^tà si debba scordar mai questa iniuria, la qual li penetra troppo nel cuore et nel anima. Del card^le Collona poi S. S^tà me ha ditto in questa sua venuta a Roma ha parlato tanto obrobriosamente di essa quanto dire se possa usando tra l' altre parole queste, che era venuto qui per liberare la sua patria da mani del tiranno, et che non se dovesse dubitare, che, si come lui lo havea fatto Papa, così lo diffaria, et con parole simili ha cercato di fare conoscere con li effetti appresso, quanta poca stima faccia di S. S^tà, dove che essendo seguito questo accidente tanto scandaloso et di tanta importantia, poteti pensare se mai più vi serà ordine di reconciliatione. Ma un altra cosa haveti da sapere, che tutti questi card^li sono in la medesema mala satisfactione et io noggi ne ho parlato con molti, li quali non possono tollerare

[1] See *supra*, pp. 329, 335.

questo atto così deshonesto, di modo che io credo che questa casa Collona non sia per haver credito più mai con la sede apostolica, essendo parso troppo strano, appresso il resto, chel primo salto che habino fatto; come sono stati in Roma, di andarsene al palazzo et metterlo a sacco, non perdonando a cosa che sia, dove hanno potuto mettere le mani sopra, havendo non solamente robato la salvarobba del papa, che non li hanno lassato pur una stringa, che fino alle mitre sono state tolte, ma si è anche tolto le cose de la sacrestia, manti, croci di argento, pastorali, calici et simili cose, di modo che non si sa pensare che di più potessero fare li Turchi. Hor pensati che stomacho facino simili sacrilegii, che certo ne verria pietà alli assassini, ne so come dio sia per tollerarli che non ne faci una manifesta dimostratione di vendetta. Ma tornando al primo proposito, dico che anchora che il papa havesse come determinato di più presto morire che di venire a patto alcuno con loro ne con don Ugo, che S. S^{tà} non volea nanche partisse da le stantie sue da palazo, se non erano li card^{li}, li quali lo persuasero pregando et astringendo a redurse in castello, che fù bona electione, che altramente li seria stato posto le mani adosso et senza dubbio lo haveriano condutto seco, cosa inaudita et spaventevole a chi tene punto di bontà et di religione; non di meno vedendo S. S^{tà} che niuno di questi di Roma, per gratia loro, si sono mossi in fare pur una minima demostratione in favore di lei et temendo che stando ella in questo assedio, che le terre de la Chiesa, maxime quelle che hanno le parti et che sono factiose, non facessero tumulto, et che li exerciti di Lombardia udita una nova tale non si mettessero in ruina, maxime che seria stato di necessità tirare subito una parte de le genti in qua per soccorso, li è parso manco male di pigliare lo expediente di questa tregua che fare peggio, tanto più che la dice che per questo li exerciti di Lombardia non se disciolveranno, havendo S. S^{tà} declarato a don Ugo chel s^{r} Giovanni è homo del re de Franza, per il che verrà a stare in campo con le genti chel si ritrova. Vero è che non so che compagnia di fanti li restarà, che io non lho dimandato, ne S. S^{tà} me lo ha ditto, ma seranno solo revocate le genti del S^{r} et quelle del conte Guido con la persona sua, per modo che per questa diminutione di genti non si pensa che lo exercito non sia per poter fare quanto occorra così comodamente come prima, maxime che si intende che de li homeni d' arme vi ne sono di

soverchio una parte, così referisse Juliano Leno, quale è venuto novamente di campo, benchè sono qualche dì che partite di là. Il papa me ha ditto che questa tregua non li seria spiaciuta quando fusse stata fatta di sua voluntà come havea in animo per le cose del Turco, per remedio de le quali affirma che personalmente volea andare in Franza et in Spagna, si come me havea ditto il datario,[1] et per ogni modo operare che la pace seguesse, ma essendo mo seguito questo disordine et venuto alla tregua per necessità et non per voluntà, lo animo se li è raffredito, per forma che più non pensarà di exeguire questo proposito suo tanto santo, ma voltarà il pensiero ad altre cose. . . . Roma XXIII sep^is 1526.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

38. Nicolas Raince to Anne de Montmorency.[2]

1526, November 26, Rom.

. . . Monseigneur [le grant maistre], vous verrez au demourant par les dites lettres de monseigneur le conte [de Carpy] au Roy des autres nouvelles de par deça et l'estat ouquel se retrouve nostre dict Sainct Père, qui est bien le plus ennuyé et en la plus grosse peur qu'il fut oncques, et tant estonné, et pareillement ses bons ministres, ne voyant mesmement venir du costé de delà ce que tousjours sa Saincteté et eulx ont esperé, et veoir de tous costez tant de perilz et dangers. A quoy sa dicte Saincteté n'a moyen d'obvyer, qu'il ne sçait ne eulx aussi que dire ne penser, sinon de tout habandonner et s'enfuyr, et encores hyer et aujourdhuy le m'a dict sa Saincteté deux ou troys foys, et le pys est qu'il dict ne sçavoir bonnement ymaginer là où il se puisse sauver. Sans point de faulte, monseigneur, si bientost, bientost il ne luy vient quelque ayde du Roy, et mesmement de quelque bonne somme d'argent, je ne voy aucun ordre qu'il puisse resister ne s'afermer icy en Rome, et est bien à doubter que à bien grant peine la provision puisse venir à temps. Il ne laisse de faire plus que le possible en tous cas, et a envoyé ce soir le seigneur Laurens Cibo à Boulongne en dilligence pour faire gens, et desjà s'en faict à Florence et autres lieux, et tousjours continue en son bon et ferme propoz envers le Roy, qui est sa seulle esperance. Encores

[1] Giberti.

[2] See *supra*, p. 345.

m'a dict ce jourdhuy le magnificque Salviati que sa dicte Saincteté est pour plus tost habandonner tout et fuyr, que de faire chose qui soit contre le voulloir et intention du Roy ny à son prejudice. . . .

De Rome, ce lundi XXVI jour de novembre MV^c^XXVI.

[National Library, Paris, Ms. Franç. 2984, f. 109.]

39. Landriano to M. Sforza, Duke of Milan.[1]

1526, November 28, Rom.

. . . Hogi d. Diego ha donato aviso che a Gaeta sono smontate salve le 5 nave Cesaree, che si divisero da le altre nel giongere in Corsica et che sono smontati el fratello del marchese con 1500 lanzchinechi e 300 Spagnoli. El Guizardino poi avisa che nel andare a Ferrara el duca li havea mandato incontro chel non andasse perchè l' havea firmato con lo Imperatore et così se ne ritornava a Modena. [The remainder in cipher:] Questa cosa ha talmente smarito Sua S^tà^ che è restato morto benchè li oratori de Franza, Anglia, Venetiani et altri facciano quanto pono per sublevarlo, nondimanco a me pare non potersi più levare, sta perduto in tutto et, se non vien qualche gran caso de li lanzchinechi, io tengo certissimo o papa fara uno accordo como potrà o una nocte se ne partirà su le galere, parmi vedermo como uno malato disperato da li medici che non vol più consiglio ne adiuto. Non poteva venire cosa che più lo alterasse. Ha fatto scrivere a Venetiani che faccino passare le sue gente dreto a costoro. Credo non lo farano et così tutta la strada Romea sarà de Todeschi. Il papa non vol rompere la tregua et loro la romperano a luy. De Franza non cè nulla et questo dispera ognuno; concludo che siamo qui in un grandissimo bisbiglio et quasi disperati se Dio non ce adiuta.

[Orig. State Archives, Milan.]

40. Galeotto de' Medici to Florence.[2]

1526, November 30, Rom.

. . . Li cardinali che hieri et hoggi hanno fatto congregatione quel fussi da fare in questi travagli proponivano tre modi: difendersi, partirsi o accordare. Hanno havuto infra di loro

[1] See *supra*, p. 345. [2] See *supra*, p. 346.

varie opinioni, al difendersi non havere la possibilità, al partirsi vergogna et pericolo; finalmente risolverono che l' accordo sia il meglor partito si possa pigliare. . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

41. Landriano to M. Sforza, Duke of Milan.[1]

1526, December 2, Rom.

. . . Di Franza non sono advisi, dinari, gente ni soccorso se non chel re balla ogni dì et ad altro non attende et nui siamo più morti che vivi. Quà si fano gente a furia a Bologna et Modena anche, ma dubito faremo romore assai et pochi fatti perchè sento che si ha animo d' accordarsi non per voluntà ma per extrema necessità. Scio chel papa trema di tal accordio, perchè mai si fidarà et non starà mai col animo riposato.

[Orig. State Archives, Milan.]

42. Landriano to M. Sforza, Duke of Milan.[2]

1526, December 12, Rom.

This morning a letter from the Emperor, in reply to the Brief, was read in Consistory: Che S. S^{tà} scripse ad S. M^{tà} nanti la guerra, nel qual aduceva le cause perchè S. S^{tà} si movea ad dicta guerra che erano la liberatione de Italia et deli figlioli del re. S. M^{tà} si sforza confutar tutte dicte cause et carichar S. S^{tà}.

Ad parte poy cè una lettera del Imperatore al papa et collegio qual non è lecta. Dice che S. S^{tà} voglia indicere un concilio et non lo facendo luy lo indicano li cardinali, altramente como Imperatore lo congregarà luy. Se extima che ciò facia per tirar uno accordo vergognosa. Credo sia tutto mal animo. Questa è una mala materia.

[Orig. State Archives, Milan.]

43. Consistory of the 19th of December, 1526.[3]

Romae die mercurii 19 [Decembris] 1526. Rev^{mus} d. card^{lis} de Cesis legit litteras serenissimi Caroli in imperatorem electi ad S.

[1] See *supra*, p. 345. This report is in cipher.

[2] See *supra*, p. 357. This report also in cipher.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 357, 358.

D. N. scriptas sub dat. Granatae die . . .[1] Septembris 1526 et alias sacro collegio reverend^{morum} domin. cardinalium sub. dat. Granatae die 6 Octobris 1526, quibus continebantur . . . [1] in quarum lectione quattuor horae et plus consumptae sunt, excedebant enim folia 25 super diversis materiis.

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

44. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[2]

1527, Januar. 10, Rom.

. . . Il papa non staria in tanto timore, se non fosseron questi Fiorentini, quali per dubio de Fiorenza et di Toschana stimulano tuttavia S. S^{tà} che si veda de ritrovare verso de acordo se è possibile, depingendo lo inferno se questi Spagnoli de Milano con Lanzchenechi vengono inanti verso Toschana, et son certo che essi pagariano tutta questa summa de cento 50^{m} du^{ti} per essere liberati da questo suspecto. Vi è appresso la moglie di Philippo Strozza che con lacrime, suspiri et lamenti sta alle horecchie di S. S^{tà} procurando et instando la liberatione del marito, de modo che il povero pontifice è combattuto da ogni canto non altramente che una nave in mezzo il mare agitata da contrarii venti. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

45. Bull of Pope Clement VII. against the Colonna.[3]

1527, Februar. 20, Rom.

Sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae. Enumeration of all the transgressions of the Colonna, especially the raid of September, 1526. Statement of the judicial proceedings against these evil-doers (*supra*, p. 340 nn. 1, 2, 3) and of the sentence passed. It then goes on further, f. 61^{b} f: Nos igitur . . . motu proprio, non ad alicujus nobis super hoc oblatae petitionis instantiam . . . universis et singulis . . . injungimus atque mandamus, ut eosdem Ascanium, Vespasianum, Petrum Franciscum, Marcellum, Joannem Jeronimum, Julium Scipionem, Fabium et alios sic

[1] Hiatus in the original.

[2] See *supra*, p. 363; also Gregorovius, 3rd ed., VIII., 488.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 335, 337, 340, 368.

declaratos, sententiatos, privatos et censuris illaqueatos ac inhabiles declaratos personaliter capiant et captos ad nos transmittant vel saltem de civitatibus . . . ejiciant . . . nec cum eis commercium . . . habeant etc. Interdict on all places where the above named find refuge; further, sentence of the greater excommunication specially reserved to the Pope against all who act contrary to these commands, and in any way whatever give help to the above, together with deprivation of all benefices. Non obstantibus etc.

Dat. Romae 1526 [st. fl.] X cal. martii a° 4°.

Sec. Arch. of the Vatican, Regest. Vat. 1441 (Clem. VII. Secret. A. I.–IV. lib. 5), f. 47–64.]

46. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1527, Mai 5, Rom.

. . . Il duca di Burbon mandò heri sera un trombetta al s^r Renzo come capo de Romani a dimandargli la terra, et, principiato che hebbe a parlare, non lo volse audire et lo licentiò, ma doppoi esso trombetta disse che dimandava passo et vittuaglia per andare nel regno. Erano passati alcuni fanti et in buon numero li Tevero apreso ponte molle in due nave, ma il s^r Horatio Baglioni che ha quella guardia se gli è affrontato et ni sono stati morti una gran frotta. Il papa sta di bonissimo animo et si spera bene. Vederàssi fra hoggi et dimane quello che n' haverà ad essere quanto sia per questo primo affronto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

47. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[2]

1527, Mai 7, Rom.

. . . In questo exterminio et total ruina de Roma, essendo heri intrato per forza dentro lo exercito Ces^co, scrivo a V. Ex. facendole intendere che è una compassione extrema ad vedere questa calamità, essendo andato a sacho et tutta via continuando tutta questa terra, di modo che chi po essere in suo sentimento è più che homo, essendo una compassione la maggiore del mondo a vedere questo cossi crudel spectaculo, il qual commoveria pietà a

[1] See *supra*, p. 386. This report is in cipher. [2] See *supra*, pp. 399, 412.

sassi. Il papa si ridusse heri mattina in castello, dove andò in grandissima frezza. . . .

Roma alli VII de mazo 1527.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

48. Matteo Casella to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.[1]

1527, Mai 7, Rom.

[Sig^or^] mio etc. In questa horribile calamità scrivo a V. Ex^tia^; quella saperà adoncha, si como [a Dio] è piaciuto, heri di poi mezo giorno entrorno in Roma per forza tuto lo exercito cesareo. In el primo congresso fu morto il signore duca de Borbone de una archebusata et il prefato exercito ha sachezato tuta heri sera et tuta nocte questa misera cità di Roma e tutavia dura il sacho. O miseranda et offana[2] cità, o che pietà, o che compassione. Io con la persona . . .[3] salvate insino qui in santo Apostolo[4] apresso la illustrissima Madama,[5] alla quale è salvata la casa sua cum tuti quelli li sono drento inseme qui; penso che si salvara anchora per lo avenire per essere qui il D. Ferante suo fiolo et il conte Alexandro de Novalora et un capitano spagnolo chiamato il S^re^ Alfonso de Cordua et anchora li sono li lancechenecchi della guardia del quondam duca di Borbone. Io ho perso tuto quello aveva e cavalcature et robe et ogni altra cosa. Il papa è assediato in castello con la mazore parte di li cardinali. Monsignore de santi quattro[6] urtato da la furia è stato calpestrato da cavali et non sta ben . . . [3] è in castello. Si dice se è mandati per il s^re^ Vicere. Li Colonesi anchora non [sono] comparsi. Il rev^mo^ s^re^ Hercule, nipote di V. Ex^tia^, è facto cardinale et ha habiuto [in tem]po la b[e]reta. Tuto il mondo va a romore. Se salvo la vita mi contento, ma questa . . .[3] ben pegio cha la staffeta. Madama Illma non obstante le sopradicte provisione è tanta [in] paura che more di paura; et a V. Ex^tia^ mi aracomando e li racomando la mia povera famiglia e fioli.

In Roma a dì 7 de mazo 1527 a hore 15.

Avixo quella che me ne viro a casa cum la s^ra^ marchesana, quale se mitirà in viagio como la via sia securà.

[1] See *supra*, p. 412. [2] Perhaps affannata. [3] Obliterated.
[4] Palazzo Colonna. [5] Isabella Gonzaga. [6] Lor. Pucci.

Di V. Ill. S^ria humilissimo servitore Matheo Casella.

[A tergo :] Allo ill^mo s^or duca don Alfonso duca di Ferrara s^re mio singularissimo in Ferrara. Cito, cito, cito.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena. (This letter is half obliterated from damp).]

49. Cardinal Salviati to Baldassare Castiglione.[1]

1527, Juni 8 [Paris].

. . Monsr di Borbona con lo exercito a gran giornate arrivò a Viterbo a III dove fece pocho danno et non vi soprastette se non una notte et si spinse alla volta di Roma, dove arrivò alli V, et la mattina delli VI comincio a dar la battaglia al Borgo di verso la casa del cardinale Alexandrino et di Araceli. Nel primo assalto furno ributtati gagliardamente et mortone molti. Stetteno adunque circa due hore et ritornorno con certi strumenti da buttare in terra el muro et, anchora che quelli di dentro facessino el debito gagliardamente, per forza entrorono. Nel entrare fù amazato mon^r di Borbona d' uno archibuso che li dette nella fronte. Volleno quelli di dentro far testa in su la piaza de san Pietro et ne borghi et feceno difesa assai, pure alla fine convenne si ritrahessino in disordine et fù preso el Borgo. El papa era stato fino a quell' hora in palazo et si ritirò in castello con 9, o 10 cardinali et molti altri prelati, et il r^mo di santi IIII che per borgo a cavallo se ne andava in castello fù buttato da cavallo et calpestò et con fatica et mal trattato fù portato in castello, dove si è detto dipoi esser morto, ma non si sa. Li inimici subito andorno alla volta di Transtevere et al portone dal figlio del s^or Renzo furno ributtati, ma essendo dalla parte di sopra entrati alcuni di loro bisognò che anchora lui si ritrahessi et hebbe faticha a salvarsi et il Trastevere fù preso. A ponti erono li Romani, e quali havevono fatto X mila huomini et promesso gran cose, ma feceno pochissima resistentia, così vel circa la sera fù presa tutta Roma et messo tutto a fil di spada et a brodetto ; el conte Guido, quando Roma fù presa, si trovava a ponte Salara con VIII cento archibusieri et V cento cavalli et inteso il caso si ritirò a Utricoli. La mortalità dicono essere stata grande et esservi morto più di III mila delli Caesarei, delli altri numero infinito. Le rapine

[1] See *supra*, pp. 391, 393, 396, 404, 411, 437.

infiniti sime. Non vi si è salvata casa nessuna se non è quella di s^to^ Apostolo, dove stava la marchesana di Mantua, la quale pagava di taglia XL mila ducati, et la casa delli r^mi^ Valle, Siena et Caeserino, e quali si sono composti a più di XXX mila ducati per uno et pur si restano prigioni. El r^mo^ di Araceli essendo prigione et non havendo modo a pagare la taglia dicono esser stato menato in sur uno asino per Roma et scopato. Così dicono esser morto qualche altro cardinale, ma di niente si sa el certo. In castello è N. S^re^, Farnese, Monte, Zanthoria, Campegio, Ragona, Trivultio, Orsino, Pisano et lo Ermellino. Como si partì di Roma la sera dinanzi et è a Civitavecchia. A Firenze era Cibo, Ridolphi et Cortona. Le impietà et ribalderie che hanno fatto non si potrebbono scrivere. Morto tutti li putti innocenti di s^to^ Spirito, buttato tutti li infermi in Tevero, profanato et violato tutte le monache, amazati tutti e frati. Bruciato la capella grande di san Pietro et di Sixto; bruciato il Volto santo. Rubato le teste delli apostoli et le altre reliquie et levatone l' argento buttatole nella strada et conculcate. Conculcato il Sacramento et buttato nel fango, et in somma fatto tutte le rubalderie che si può, tanto che mi raccapriccio a considerarle, vedendo che costoro benchè heretici pur christiani hanno fatto quello che mai si senti che in alcuno luogo facessino li Turchi. Vede adunque V. S. il povero papa per desiderare el bene et la pace et creder troppo dove ha condotto quella povera città, capo del mondo, la Chiesa et se; pur ci è qualche speranza che Sua S^tà^ con chi è in castello si salvi perchè lo exercito Franzese et de Venitiani andava tutto a quella volta e dovevono essere alli XXI al Isola. Ecci anchora lettere da Lione, che allegono lettere da Firenze de 29, che dicono essersi accostati al castello, che entravono et uscivano a lor posta, ma anchora non ce nè certeza. El s^or^ Renzo è col papa in castello et il s^r^ Horatio Baglioni. Doppo questi accidenti di Roma, Perugia per opera del duca d' Urbino è tornata alla devotione del s^or^ Malatesta et Horatio Baglioni. In Firenze anchora si è mutato lo stato et tornato come era inanzi che Medici vi entrassino, ma senza violentia o scandalo nessuno, et li Medici non son rebelli anzi possano starvi come cittadini et godere il loro pacificamento.

Io so che essendo lo Imperatore tanto catholico quanto dimostra harà grande dispiacere di questa nuova, perchè non ha

dimostro mai volere deprimere o suppeditare la Chiesa, anzi li sono sempre dispiaciuti molto questi Lutherani, et tanto più li dovera dispiacere intendendo Sua Santità essere stata ingannata per confidar troppo in sua M^{tà}, se ben chi lo ha causato ne ha portato le debite pene, ma il dolersene de sua M^{tà} non satisfarà alli danni et ruine nostre, le quali Dio voglia che finischino qui, perchè a me pare che adesso apunto ricomincia la guerra mandando questo re christ^{mo} mons^{r} di Lutrech con XXX mila fanti et V cento lance fra IIII giorni in Lombardia dove ne troverà altri X et buon numero di gente d' arme de s^{ri} Venitiani oltra li exerciti del duca d' Urbino e del marchese di Saluzo che sono verso Roma. Et a questa opera nuova che fa questa M^{tà} promette concorrer el ser^{mo} re d' Inghilterra alla paga di X mila fanti ogni mese. Vede adunque V. S. che questa non voglio dir vitorria di Roma, ma più presto uno assassinamento non ha giovato molto alli Caesarei, anzi commosso questi altri principi a far più che non volevono et d' ogni cosa la povera Italia ne porta le pene. . . .

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Nunziatura di Francia I, 2–5.]

50. Giovanni Battista Sanga to Uberto da Gambara.[1]

1527, Juni 27.

Del Sanga di galera sopra Porto de 27 di giugno 1527.

Rev. et ill. s. mio oss^{mo}. Questa è la prima comodità che dopo le ruine nostre mi occorre di poter dar a V. S. aviso che io son vivo, perchè da quel dì in quà son stato sempre in lochi donde non ho havuta comodità alcuna dimandarle lettere, et perchè delle cose publiche V. S. n' harà inteso tanto che ne saprà quanto io, non rinoverò con la commemoration il dolor mio quale è in quel summo grado che esser puo et mi trovo l' animo assai più debile che non harrei creduto per poterlo sostenere, pure levius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas. Mons. mio, che Gothi, che Vandali, che Turchi furono mai simili alle colluvie di questo esercito col quale si fa la grandezza del Imperatore. Horresco referens il stratio et la delusion che si è fatta di tutte le cose sacre ne mi basteria una risma di carta a raccorne pur qualche esempio l' haver buttato il sacramento per terra per rubbar li calici o le reliquie de santi per spogliarli di quello argento che haveano atorno. Ludus est a

[1] See *supra*, pp. 400, 404, 405, 408, 412.

rispetto delle cose più gravi. Non è stata chiesa, non monestero alcuno sicuro, le monache delle più religiose et di buona vita che fussero in Roma si son vendute per Roma ad un giulio l' una a chi se ne ha voluto satiar le voglie sue, li stridi et li ululati delle povere madri, alli quali son stati morti in seno li figlioli che lattavano o rapiti per farli recattare, et il lamenti delle povere persone tormentate crudeliss^te^ son stati tanti ut isthinc exauditos putem. Arseno infinite case, tutte le chiese diventate stalle, l' imagine del crucifisso del Populo et molte altre delle più divote di Roma son state bersaglii di archibusi; vestirono anche quel crucifisso che è ad uno delli 7 altari di S. Pietro alla lanzch. per delusion, ma io entro pur dove non vorrei et con effetto perdonimi Dio et di santi che di quello si è fatto in loro disprezzo. Ho ben horror grande, ma non compassion equale a quella che ho de' poveri homeni tormentati, perchè se Dio non vendica l' offese sue, anchor io non me ne dolero et se le testa di S. Pietro, S. Paolo, S. Andrea, S. Giov. Battista et di tanti altri santi buttate per terra, se li corpi di S. Piero et S. Paolo, che erano sotto l' altar grande di S. Pietro, li quali erano senza esser visti in tanta veneration, sparsi per terra con distratio, quale non haveriano havuto ardire di farne quelli stessi che li martirizorono, non moveno quei santi di chi son quelle reliquie a pregar Dio per la vendetta, ne anche io voglio chiamarla quanto alli destratii della Chiesa, ma si bene quanto al male fatto alla povera patria mia, a tanti amici et a me stesso, et se l' Imperatore comporta valersi di tali instrumenti alla grandezza sua et Dio seguiti d' aiutarla, non voglio dire di renegar le fede nec inquirere in iudicia Dei quae sunt abyssus multa, ma si bene creder che S. M^tà^ divina voglia ben noi christiani, ma creda farci tanto migliori quanto manco principi religiosi ci da, ma hor che ho dato questo poco sfogamento al dolor dal quale comincia ogni parlare et ogni lettera mia per haverne l' animo tanto pieno che tutti li sensi ne sono occupati, diro a V. S. di me, della salute. . . . He took refuge in the palace of the Marchioness Isabella; remained there eight days, and with her he left Rome and wandered round about.

Giberti comporta questa fortuna con quella grandezza d' animo che V. S. ha conosciuto nelle altre cose. He [Sanga] wants to find another home: poiche a Roma dispero di poter star mai; che quando ben mi fusse permesso non mi sufferiria mai il cor di

veder cadaver miserabile eius urbis, la quale ho visto gia in gloria et m' era cara più che me stesso. He asks for help as he has lost everything: ne chiedo beneficii o cosa eccles^ca^ perche son resolutissimo viver più presto povero nel secolo che ricco nella chiesa, nella quale come V. S. disse gia m' haveva fatto fuggire la povertà et hora me ne levo più voluntieri vendendola manifestamente ruinare.

[Ricci Archives, Rome.]

51. Pope Clement VII. to the Leaders of the Imperial Troops.[1]

1527, Juli. 23, Rom.

Capitaneis exercitus Caes. M^tis^. Molestum nobis fuit accepisse, nostram civitatem Narniae nostris commissariis in vobis intra civitatem recipiendis et charitative tractandis non paruisse; verum cum poenam propterea persolverint, vos tudiose hortamur et rogamus, cum illis miseris, qui superstites sunt, clementius agere eisque civitatem relinquere velitis. Quod vestra erit dignum virtute et ser^mi^ Caesaris bonitati consentaneum, nobis vero, qui illum populum vestrae clementiae commendamus, summe gratum.

Dat Romae etc. 23 julii 1527, a. 4°. Blosius.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 47, n. 197.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 432.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. IX.

ABBADINO, 143 n. 2.
Abbatis, 24 n.
Acciaiuoli, Roberto (Florentine envoy to France), 301, 305 n. 2, 318 n. 2, 327 n. 4, 361 n. 1, 368, 369 n. 1, 437, 439.
Accolti, Benedetto, Cardinal, 4, 12 n. 3, 17 n. 1, 112 n. 1, 188, 384, 414.
„ Bernardo (poet), 94.
Adorno, Girolamo, 60 n. 1.
Adrian VI., Pope, 8, 17 n. 1, 23 *seqq.*, 27, 28–49, 51 *seq.*, 53–77, 79–125, 127–132, 134–138, 141–161, 163–182, 184–230, 231 *seq.*, 240, 241 n. 2, 243 n. 2, 244, 259.
Agrada, Carastosa da, 90.
Alarcon, 423, 457, 459 *seq.*, 466.
Alba, Duke of, 449, 450 n. 2.
Albany, Duke of, *see* Stuart.
Albergati, Vianesio (envoy from Bologna), 14 n. 1, 105, 116 n. 1, 171 n. 3, 175 n. 1, 177 n. 6, 189 n. 2, 192 n. 5, 193, 224, 244, 332, 385 n. 3, 481.
Alberini, Marcello, 396, 397.
Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal (Archbishop of Mayence), 131 n., 141 n. 2.
Albert of Brandenburg (Grand Master of the Teutonic Order), 148.
Aleander, Hieronymus (Archbishop of Brindisi, Nuncio), 80 n. 3, 144 n. 1, 264, 273 n. 1, 274.
Alexander VI., Pope, 14, 83, 141, 437.
Alfonso I. (Duke of Ferrara), 2, 160 *seq.*, 245, 260, 269, 279, 282 *seq.*, 292, 313 n. 1, 343 *seqq.*, 350, 360 *seq.*, 370 n. 1, 374, 425, 448, 461.
Alfonso de Cordova (a Spanish captain), 504.
Altobello (Nuncio), 168.
Alvarez di Toledo, Juan (Dominican), 42.
Andrea, Laurentius (Swedish reformer), 149, 151.
Angelo (castellan of St. Angelo), 79.
Anguillara, Count of, 367.
Antonino, S. (Archbishop of Florence), 142, 143 n. 2.
Antracino, Giovanni (physician to Adrian VI.), 222 n. 3.
Arcas, Fabius (of Narni, chronicler), 402 n. 2.
Arcella, Fabio (Nuncio to Naples), 431 n. 1.
Aretino, Pietro, 9.
d'Arezzo, Paolo, *see* Paolo.

Argillense, Bartol., 27 n. 1, 30 n. 1, 31 n. 3.
Ariosto, Lodovico, 421.
Armellini, Francesco, Cardinal, 20, 104, 237, 333, 394, 457, 481, 506.
Aurelius, Cornelius, *see* Cornelius.
d'Avalos, Ferrante (Marquis of Pescara), 62, 169 n. 2, 210, 246, 262 *seq.*, 266, 290 *seq.*, 292, 295, 318.
d'Averragano, Bernardo, 195 n. 4.

Badoer (Venetian ambassador), 197.
Baglioni, Family of the, 22, 50, 160.
" Giampaolo, 2, 425.
" Malatesta, 2, 506.
" Orazio, 2, 362, 386, 503, 506.
Balbi, Girolamo (Bishop of Gurk), 77 n. 1, 114 n. 2, 186 n. 3.
Baldasinis, Melchior de, 59 n. 1, 477.
Bandini, Francesco, 329 n., 331 n. 1.
Barba, Bernardino della (Bishop of Casale), 257, 260.
Barbirius, Petrus (papal sacristan), 146 n.
Barozzi, Giovanni, 401.
Bartolini, Onofrio (Archbishop of Pisa), 422.
Bavaria, The Duke of, 309 n. 1.
Bellay, Guillaume du (Sire de Langey, French envoy), 325, 339 n. 4, 370, 397 n. 1, 419.
Bembo, Pietro (Cardinal), 247.
Bemelberg, Conrad von, 342, 431 *seq.*
Benedict XII., Pope, 58 n. 3.
Benno, S. (Bishop of Meissen), 142, 143 n. 2.
Bentivogli (the Bolognese Family), 283.
Bernard, St., 92.
Berni, Francesco (poet), 83, 116, 118, 332.
Bertolotti, Bernardo (Nuncio), 157, 177, 195.
Berzosa, J., 16 n. 2.
Betchen, Johann, 87, 474.
Bissy, Claude de, 182 n. 1.
Bladus (bookseller), 47 n. 1.
Bomisius, Jacob, 87, 474.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 198, 200, 204, 331.
Bonnivet (Admiral), 240 n. 4, 259.
Bontempi (chronicler), 222 n. 1.
Borell (procurator of Adrian VI.), 49 n. 1, 476.
Boschetti, Roberto, Count, 265, 424.
Bourbon, Charles, Duke of (The Constable), 240, 319, 360 *seq.*, 371, 373 *seqq.*, 376 *seq.*, 381–387, 390 *seq.*, 397, 448, 503, 505.
" Louis de, Cardinal, 234, 441.
Bracci, Bernardo (banker), 410.
Brandano [Bartolomeo Carosi], 379 *seqq.*, 418.
Brask, Johann (Bishop of Linköping), 149.
Bronzino, Angiolo (painter), 247 n. 3.
Buffalini, 392 n. 4.
Burmann, Gaspar (jurist), 228.

Cajetan, Thomas de Vio, Cardinal, 4, 23, 26, 78 n., 131 n., 190, 192, 410.
Callistus (Canon of Piacenza), 246.

Campeggio, Girolamo (Ferrarese envoy), 268.
" Lorenzo, Cardinal, 4, 25, 53, 68, 82, 86–91, 105 n. 4, 113, 117, 190, 332, 461, 466, 506.
" Tommaso (Nuncio, Bishop of Feltre), 63 n. 5, 82, 97, 103 n. 193, 248 n. 1.
Canisio, Egidio, Cardinal, 19, 87 n., 94, 112 n. 1, 117, 420, 439, 441 n.
Cano, M., 351 n. 1.
Canossa, Lodovico di (Bishop of Bayeux), 194, 197, 240, 277, 285–289, 295 n. 1, 297, 302, 318, 322, 348 n. 1, 352 n., 360 n. 1, 362, 369, 379 n. 2, 425 n. 2, 436 n. 3, 440, 441 n.
Cantelmus, Franciscus (Ferrarese envoy), 246 n. 1.
Capino da Capo (envoy), 298 n. 2, 300 *seq.*, 305, 385 n.
Capponi, Niccolo (gonfaloniere), 426.
Caracciolo, Marino (Nuncio), 60, 255, 294.
Carafa, Gian Pietro (Bishop of Chieti, afterwards Pope Paul IV.), 42, 117 *seq.*
" Vincenzo, Cardinal (Archbishop of Naples), 2, 465 n. 1.
Carastosa, Garzia (physician to Adrian VI.), 222 n. 3.
Cardona, E. de, Cardinal, 188 n. 1, 465 n. 1.
Carosi, Bartolomeo, *see* Brandano.
Carvajal, Bernardino Lopez de, Cardinal, 7, 14, 22 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 188, 236.
Casale, Gregorio (envoy to Henry VIII.), 288, 426 n. 5, 438, 441 n.
Casella, Matteo, 339 n. 3, 364 n. 1.
Castelnau de Clermont, Cardinal, *see* Clermont.
Castiglione, Baldassare, 2 n. *seqq.*, 14 *seq.*, 20, 52 n., 66, 104, 245, 257 n. 6, 260 n. 5, 264, 279, 302 *seq.*, 309, 316, 349 *seqq.*, 354 *seq.*, 365, 384 n. 4, 437, 439, 443 *seq.*, 449, 452, 454.
Casulano, Joannes, 163 n. 1.
Catherine of Aragon (Queen of England), 173 n. 2, 435.
Cati, L. (Ferrarese envoy), 71 n. 3, 108, 215 n. 1, 411, 424.
Cave, Jean (physician), 401, 402 n. 2.
Cavi, Prospero da, 13 n. 1.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 391 n. 1, 395, 430.
Ceri, Renzo da (envoy from Francis I.), 13 n. 1, 362, 364, 384 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*, 397 n. 1, 506.
Cesano, G., 307 n. 3.
Cesarini, Alessandro, Cardinal, 4, 29 n., 60, 408 *seq.*, 477, 506.
Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 17 n., 188, 245 n. 2, 316 n. 2, 357 n., 466, 495, 501.
Charles V. (The Emperor), 4, 7 *seq.*, 11, 22, 24 *seqq.*, 30 *seqq.*, 39–44, 54 *seqq.*, 60 *seqq.*, 79, 86, 89, 127, 154–158, 163–166, 167, 169, 171 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 182, 185, 189, 193 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*, 210, 213, 221, 231 *seq.*, 236, 241 *seq.*, 253–264, 270 *seqq.*,

Charles V.,—*continued.* 273 *seq.*, 277–305, 307–316, 320 *seq.*, 324, 328, 334 *seq.*, 342, 345 *seqq.*, 349–360, 363, 365, 367, 369 *seqq.*, 374, 397, 418, 428, 432–439, 442, 444–457, 459, 461 *seqq.*
Charles III. (Duke of Savoy), 262 n. 2.
Chiavelluzi, Pietro (of the Swiss guard), 98 n. 4.
Chieregati, Francesco (Nuncio), 112 n. 1, 127 *seq.*, 129, 131 n., 132 *seqq.*, 136 n., 139 *seq.*, 150, 332.
Chièvres, *see* Croy.
Christian II. (King of Denmark), 148, 150.
Cibo, Innocenzo, Cardinal, 12, 20, 25, 93, 298 n. 2, 360 n. 1, 436 n. 1, 439, 441, 452 n. 5, 499, 506.
Ciocchi, Antonio (del Monte Sansovino), Cardinal, 4, 19. 122, 206, 236, 460, 506.
Clement VII., Pope, 80, 121 n. 1, 147 n. 2, 224, 234 n. 1, 243, 245–271, 273–283, 285–305, 308, 310, 312–317, 320–328, 330–339, 341 *seq.*, 344–352, 353–360, 362–373, 375, 377 *seqq.*, 381–386, 394, 413 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*, 421 *seqq.*, 425 *seq.*, 429–444, 446 *seq.*, 449–460, 462–467. *See* Medici, Giulio de'.
Clerk, Dr. J. (English envoy), 12, 180, 201, 203, 278 n. 2.
Clermont, François Castleñau de, Cardinal, 165, 167, 181, 197, 199, 234, 241, 444 n. 1.
Colonna, Family of the, 275 *seq.*, 308, 312, 324 *seqq.*, 327 *seq.*, 330 *seq.*, 334 *seqq.*, 337, 339, 341 *seq.*, 349 *seq.*, 359, 367 *seq.*, 371, 397, 419, 422, 464 *seq.*, 502.
,, Ascanio, 68, 329, 367, 496.
,, Joh. de, 461 n. 1.
,, Pompeo, Cardinal, 5 *seq.*, 17, 20 *seqq.*, 29 n., 64, 172, 190, 232, 235, 237, 241, 244, 275 *seq.*, 292, 310, 312, 327, 329, 334 *seq.*, 339 *seq.*, 346, 370 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*, 461, 483, 496 *seq.*
,, Prospero, 1, 62, 169, 216, 326, 491.
,, Sciarra. 389, 466.
,, Stefano, 330.
,, Vespasiano (son of Prospero), 326, 329, 335, 367, 420, 496 *seq.*
,, Vittoria, 246.
Contarini, Gasparo (Venetian envoy), 32, 161, 247 n. 3, 248 n. 1, 251, 363.
Conti, Family of the, 308.
Copi, Joannes (Bishop of Terracini), 406.
Cordova, The Bishop of, 450 n. 2.
Cornaro, Francesco (Bishop of Brescia), Cardinal, 4, 24 *seq.*, 73, 242, 245, 332, 483.
Cornelius Aurelius (Canon of Gouda), 84.
Cortese, Jacopo, 98, 170 n.
Cristoforo da Urbino (musician), 249 n. 4.

Croatia, The Ban of, 178.
Croy, Adrian de (Imperial envoy), 257.
„ Guillaume de (Lord of Chièvres), 39.
Cupis, Giandomenico de, Cardinal, 23, 317 n. 2, 439, 444 n. 2.

DAINO (chronicler), 411 n. 4.
Dedel, the Family of, 35 n.
„ Johann, 41 n. 3.
Delfini, Pietro, 33, 97.
Demetrius (a Greek magician), 66.
Dinteville, François de, 420 n.
Doria, Andrea (Admiral), 308, 321, 366, 425, 437.
Du Prat, Antoine Bohier, Cardinal, 326, 336 n. 2, 385, 441, 465 n. 1.

ECK, Johann, 78 n. 1, 108 *seqq.*, 140 n. 1, 248 n. 1.
Eleanora (Duchess of Urbino), 94 n., 97, 420 n. 2.
Enea, Pio, *see* Pio.
Enkevoirt, Wilhelm von, Cardinal, 49 n. 1, 79 *seq.*, 87, 92, 95 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 120 n. 2, 122, 209, 213 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*, 225, 408 *seq.*, 474, 477 *seq.*
Erasmus, Desiderius, 37, 81, 143–146, 354.
Ercole of Ferrara (son of Duke Alfonso), 246 n. 1.
d'Este, Isabella (wife of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua), 98, 384 n. 4, 411, 504, 506, 508.

FARNESE, Alessandro, Cardinal, 4, 7 *seq.*, 17–21, 235, 238, 337, 363, 415 n. 1, 432 *seqq.*, 506.
Felice (Augustinian), 441 n. 2.
Ferdinand I. (The Archduke, brother to Charles V.), King of Hungary and Bohemia, 128, 132 n., 138, 171 n. 1, 172, 179, 186, 190, 194, 206, 271, 365, 423 n., 447.
Ferdinand the Catholic (King of Aragon), 39.
Ferrantius, Bart. (Vice-legate), 425 n. 3.
Ferreri, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 10, 23, 239, 242.
„ Zaccaria (Bishop), 78 n., 91 n.
Fiera, Bat., 79 n.
Fieramosca, Cesare (Imperial agent), 350 n. 2, 357, 365, 370 *seq.*, 373, 375.
Fieschi, Niccolò, Cardinal, 4, 19, 52 n., 107 n. 2, 178, 206, 235 *seq.*, 240.
Filonardi, Ennio (Nuncio), 147, 287.
Fine, Cornelius de, 30, 216 n. 1, 388 n. 1, 392 nn., 399 nn., 402 n. 1, 412 n. 1, 416 n. 1, 427 n. 1, 457 n. 2, 461 n. 2.
Fiori, Pietro (Bishop of Castellamare), 82.
Flaminio, Jo. Ant., 78 n.
Florens Boeyens (father of Adrian VI.), 34.
Foix, Odet de, *see* Lautrec.
Formicini, Orsola (nun), 388 n. 1, 407 n. 1.
Foscari, Marco (Venetian ambassador), 247 n. 3, 250, 254, 269 n. 6, 297.
Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, *see* Rovere.
Francis I. (King of France), 1, 10 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 49, 56 *seq.*, 61, 89, 154–158, 165 *seqq.*, 169, 172, 176 *seq.*, 180 *seqq.*, 185, 187, 193

Francis I.,—*continued.*
seqq., 197–205, 209, 221, 240 *seq.*, 253, 255 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, 262–270, 272, 274, 283 *seq.*, 289, 292, 298–302, 304, 306, 314 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 328, 336 *seq.*, 339, 345, 347, 362, 368 *seq.*, 423, 435–438, 440, 448, 456.
Frederick I. (King of Denmark), 148, 150.
„ III. ("The Wise," Elector of Saxony), 131 n., 139, 151 n.3
Frundsberg, George von, 342 *seq.*, 361, 374 *seq.*
„ Melchior, 389.
Fusconi, Franc. (physician to Adrian VI.), 222 n. 3.

Gabbioneta, Alessandro (Mantuan agent), 74 n., 120, 203 n. 4, 208 n. 1, 209 n., 210 n. 2.
Gaddi, Niccolò, Cardinal, 385, 466.
Gaetani, Family of the, 308.
„ Camillo (Lord of Sermoneta), 457 n.
Gaetano di Tiene, S., 118 n.
Gambara, Uberto da (Protonotary, Bishop of Tortona), 305, 347, 369 n. 1, 437, 442 *seq.*
Gattinara, Gian Bartolomeo da (nephew of Mercurino), 261, 278 n. 2, 389 n. 1, 418 *seq.*, 424, 446.
„ Mercurino di, Cardinal (Imperial Chancellor), 32, 166, 182, 299, 351, 355, 423 n., 428, 441 n. 1, 449, 462.
Gavardo, A., 388.
Gazzella, Tommaso (jurist), 42, 117.
Genet, Eleazar (musician), 249 n. 4.
Germanello, Angelo (Mantuan envoy), 106 n., 107 n. 3, 119 n. 2, 167 n. 1, 168 n. 1, 188 n. 1, 205 n. 1, 216 n. 1, 232 n. 2, 259 n. 1, 269.
Gertrude (mother of Adrian VI.), 35.
Ghinucci, Girolamo (Bishop of Ascoli and of Worcester), 82, 114 *seq.*, 122 n. 4, 188 n. 1, 299 n. 3, 336.
Giberti, Gian Matteo (Bishop of Verona), 24 n., 244, 254, 257, 259, 266 *seqq.*, 274, 277, 285–290, 296 *seq.*, 302, 304, 306, 309 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*, 326, 332, 346 *seqq.*, 362 n. 3, 365 nn., 366, 369, 372 *seq.*, 376, 382, 385, 394, 422, 426, 433 n. 1, 463, 508.
Giovio (Jovius) Paolo, 5 n. 1, 8 n. 1, 10, 18 n. *seq.*, 24 n., 76, 101 n. 1, 118, 125 n. 4, 212 n. 2, 225, 243 n., 263, 332, 394, 402 n. 2, 412.
Girolami, Giacopo (envoy to Spain), 434, 452 n. 5.
Giustiniani, L., S., 143 n.
Gonzaga, Abbate da, 18 n. 5.
„ Ercole, Cardinal, 384 n. 4, 385.
„ Federigo (Marquis, afterwards Duke of Mantua), 1, 51, 168 n. 2, 211, 243 n. 1, 462.
„ Ferrante, 398, 411, 504.

Gonzaga, Francesco (Marquis of Mantua), 48 n., 310 n. 2, 311 n. 1, 329 n. 335 n. 1, 343, 363 n. 1, 376 n. 3, 384 n. 4, 399, 400 n. 1.
„ Isabella, *see* Este, Isabella.
„ Luigi, 467.
„ Pirro, Cardinal, 465 n. 1.
„ Sigismondo, Cardinal, 7, 9, 15, 26, 51 n. 4, 232, 238, 244 n. 3, 384 n. 4.
Gradenigo, Luigi (Venetian envoy), 26, 71 n. 3, 96 n. 4, 174.
Grana, Lorenzo (poet), 317 n. 2.
Grassis, Achille de, Cardinal, 4, 7, 19 *seq.*, 238, 242.
„ Paris de (Bishop of Pesaro), 68.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 226 n. 4.
„ (The Great), Pope, 73.
Grimaldi, Ansaldo (banker), 430.
„ G., Cardinal, 465 n. 1.
Grimani, Marino, Cardinal, 4, 7 *seq.*, 12, 18, 51, 99 n. 1, 209 *seq.*, 211 n. 1, 385.
Grolier, 402 n. 2, 412.
Groot, Gerhard, 36.
Grünwald (landsknecht), 403.
Gualderonico, Teodoro (Roman notary), 388 n. 1, 399 nn., 416 n. 1, 417, 427 n. 1.
Guicciardini, Francesco, 1, 19 n. 3, 207 n. 1, 222 n. 1, 240, 243 n., 252, 254, 295 *seqq.*, 303, 307, 317 *seq.*, 319, 323, 336, 360, 376, 382, 424, 426, 439, 467 n. 1, 500.
„ Luigi, 378 n. 3, 389 n. 1, 397 n. 1, 402, 413 n. 3.
Guidiccioni, G., 421 n. 1.
Gumbert (Margrave of Brandenburg), 397 n. 2.
Gumppenberg, 398 n. 2, 413 n. 3, 456 n. 6, 459.
Gustavus I. Wasa (King of Sweden), 148 *seq.*, 150 *seqq.*

HANNIBAL (English envoy), 203 n. 2.
Hasselius, 37.
Heeze, Dietrich [Dirk] von, 37, 80 *seq.*, 96, 125, 226, 227 n., 480.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 7, 46, 56 *seq.*, 86, 117 n. 1, 155, 157, 172, 176, 180, 193, 201, 205 *seq.*, 231, 262, 270, 285, 302, 336, 366, 435, 438, 440 *seq.*, 453, 462, 466 n. 3.
Herrera, Miguel de (Imperial envoy), 294, 296, 315.
Hochstraten, Jacob von (Dominican), 78 n.
Hulst, Franz van der (inquisitor), 153 n. 1.
Hurtado de Mendoza, Lope, *see* Mendoza.

IMPERIALE, Francesco (messenger of Card. Soderini), 185, 186 n. 1.
Ingemar (Bishop of Vexjö), 149.
Ingenwinkel, Johann, 49 n. 1, 80 *seq.*
Innocent VIII., Pope, 106.

JACOBAZZI, Domenico, Cardinal, 4, 23, 105 n. 4, 107 n. 2, 235, 241 *seq.*, 245 n. 2.
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 129, 138.
Johann von Meissen (Bishop), 109 n. 1.
John XXII., Pope, 58 n. 3.
John III. (King of Portugal), 56, 86, 176, 180, 212 n. 1, 433 n. 1, 434 n. 3.
Jovius, *see* Giovio.
Julius II., Pope, 14, 79, 208, 234, 254, 274, 405, 429, 447.

KNIGHT (secretary to Henry VIII. of England), 466 n. 3.

LA CHAULX (Imperial envoy), 55.
La Motte, 410, 416.
Lanceolinus, 381 n. 2, 411 n. 4.
Landriano (Milanese envoy), 345, 357 n., 363 n. 1.
Lang, Melchior (Nuncio), 259 n. 2.
Langey, Sire de, *see* Bellay, G. du.
Lannoy, Charles de (Viceroy of Naples), 170 *seq.*, 172, 201, 203, 207, 208 n. 5, 265 *seqq.*, 277 *seqq.*, 282 *seq.*, 315, 344, 346 *seqq.*, 358 *seq.*, 362, 364, 366 *seqq.*, 371 *seqq.*, 376 *seqq.*, 381, 419, 424 n. 2, 436 n. 3, 451, 453, 455, 458.
Latomus, Jacobus, 37.
Launoy, J., 227 n. 1.
Lautrec, Odet de Foix, Vicómte de, 11, 33, 437, 448, 461, 463.
Leib, Kilian, 228.
Leo X., Pope, 1 *seqq.*, 10, 14, 17, 25 *seq.*, 41, 45, 51, 53, 59 n., 68, 70 *seq.*, 73, 75 *seq.*, 79, 81 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 94 *seqq.*, 98, 106, 108, 113 *seq.*, 118, 120. 127, 147 *seq.*, 160, 185, 199 *seq.*, 208, 216, 222, 224, 232, 235, 243 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*, 250, 252, 255, 320, 384 n. 4.
Leyva, Antonio de (Imperial general), 62, 263, 284, 360, 382 n. 3, 425 n. 3, 448.
Lisle Adam, de (Grand Master of Knights of St. John), 155 *seq.*, 173, 211 *seq.*
Loaysa, Garcia de (confessor to Charles V.), Cardinal, 248, 450.
Lochorst, Wilhelm von, 215 n. 2.
Lodron, Count of (brother-in-law to Frundsberg), 342.
Lombardi, Alfonso (sculptor), 247 n. 3.
Lorraine, Jean de, Cardinal, 234, 436, 441, 494.
Louisa of Savoy (mother of Francis I.), 205 n. 4, 262 n. 2, 284 *seq.*, 289.
Luther, Martin, 43, 111, 129 *seqq.*, 133 *seqq.*, 141 *seq.*, 144, 146, 148 *seqq.*, 228, 271, 354, 403, 451.

MACHIAVELLI, 281 n. 4.
Magni, Johann (Bishop of Vesterås), 149–152.
Malatesta, Sigismondo (Lord of Rimini), 2, 160, 425.
Maler, Petrus (musician), 249 n. 4.
Manfredi, Gio. Tom. (agent for Urbino), 97.
Mansi, J. D. (historian), 227.

Mantovano, Francesco (poet), 157 n. 1.
Manuel, Juan (Imperial ambassador), 4 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*, 30, 50 n. 1, 54, 57, 65, 76, 100, 163–167, 169, 175, 478.
Maramaldo, Fabrizio (Imperialist captain), 409.
Marcello, Cristoforo (Archbishop of Corfu), 410.
Maredini, Francesco, 25.
Margaret of Austria (aunt of Charles V.), 39, 166 n. 2.
„ The Princess (widow of Charles the Bold), 37.
Martin, Don (Portuguese envoy), 358, 410, 432, 433 n. 1, 434.
Martin V., Pope, 415.
Martinellis, Blasius de, 17 n., 105 n. 4, 216 n., 242 n. 2, 279 n. 2, 401 n. 1, 467 n. 1.
Martinus a Portugallia, 431 n. 2.
Massaini, C., 303 n. 2, 319 n. 2, 467 n. 1.
Massimi, Domenico, 384, 400.
Maximilian I. (The Emperor), 39.
Medici, Family of the. 1, 278, 383 n. 1, 439.
„ Alessandro de' (illegitimate son of Lorenzo II.), 248 n. 1, 426, 463 n. 4.
„ Catherine de', 269.
„ Clarice de' (wife of Filippo Strozzi), 334, 363, 502.
„ Galeotto de' (Florentine envoy), 64 n. 1, 79 n. *seq.*, 82 n. 2, 93 n. 1, 98 n. 4, 100 n.
Medici,—*continued.*
3, 102 n. 2, 104 n. 2, 164 n. 2, 174 n. 2, 233 n. 6, 234–240 n., 244 n. 2, 256 n. 1, 261 n. 4, 279 n. 2, 296 n. 1, 312 n. 3, 346 n. 2, 365 n., 418 n. 3, 463.
„ Giovanni de' (leader of the "Black Band"), 307, 336, 343, 344.
„ Giulio de' (afterwards Pope Clement VII.), Cardinal, 4 *seqq.*, 8, 11, 13 *seqq.*, 17–23, 63, 94, 97 n. 2, 104, 114 n. 1, 168 n. 2, 184–188, 195, 199, 201, 203, 206 *seq.*, 231 *seqq.*, 235, 237–242. *See* Clement VII., Pope.
„ Guido de' (castellan of St. Angelo), 333, 390 n.
„ Ippolito de', Cardinal, 426, 463 n. 4.
„ Lorenzo II., de' (Duke of Urbino), 248 n. 1, 275 n. 3.
„ Lucrezia de' (wife of Jacopo Salviati), 4.
„ Maddalena de' (wife of Franceschetto Cibo), 4 n. 2.
„ Malatesta de', 463.
Melancthon, 141, 445 n. 1.
Mendoza, Lope Hurtado de', 32, 54, 60, 121 n. 1, 169, 258, 269, 292 *seq.*
Merino, Stefano Gabriele (Archbishop of Bari, Nuncio), 56, 93 n. 2, 155.
Michael Angelo, 415.
Michaelangelo da Siena, 217.
Molossus, Tranquillus, 218.

Moncada, Ugo de (Imperial envoy), 309 *seq.*, 312, 315 *seq.*, 321, 324, 326, 333 *seqq.*, 338, 349 *seq.*, 359, 434, 462 *seq.*, 466, 496 *seq.*
Montanaro, Paolo (expeditor of Clement VII.), 460.
Monte, del, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
Monte, Giovanni Maria de' (Archbishop of Manfredonia), 286 n. 3, 422.
Montelupo, Raffaello da (sculptor), 387 n. 1, 395.
Montmorency, Anne de, 347.
Montorsoli, Giovanni Angelo (sculptor), 247 n. 3.
Moring, Gerhard, 227.
Morone, Girolamo (chancellor to Fr. Sforza), 290 *seq.*, 292, 294, 460, 463.
Moscatellus (musician), 249 n. 4.
Muratori, Lod. Ant. (historian), 227.
Muscettola, Giovanni Ant., 457.

NAJERA, The Abbot of, 291 n. 4, 309 n. 2, 419.
Naselli, 6 n. 4, 391 n. 1.
Navagero, B. (envoy), 450 n., 451 nn., 455 nn.
Negri, Girolamo, 52 n., 73, 99 n. 1, 115 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*
,, Tommaso (Bishop of Scardona, Nuncio), 158.
Nicholas V., Pope, 101, 415.
Nini, Ninus (Bishop of Potenza), 406.
Novarola, Alex. de, 504.
Numai, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 19, 238, 410, 439.

ODET DE FOIX, *see* Lautrec.
Oem van Wyngarden, Florentius (Syndic of Utrecht), *see* Wyngarden.
Olaus Petri, *see* Petri.
Orange, Prince of, *see* Philibert.
Orsini, Family of the, 269, 275 *seq.*, 312.
,, Franciotto, Cardinal, 23, 29 n., 64, 206, 241, 466, 506.
,, Giovanni Antonio (commander of the Papal cavalry), 384.
,, Napoleone (Abbot of Farfa), 367, 371 n. 1.
,, Virginio, 320.
Ortiz, Blasio, 44, 71, 82 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*
Osorio, Alvaro (Bishop of Astorga, Nuncio), 155.

PACE, Richard (English envoy), 7.
Pagnino, Santes (Dominican), 78.
Pallavicini, Giambattista, Cardinal, 5 n. 1, 245 n. 2.
,, Sforza (historian), 226.
Palmieri, A. M., Cardinal, 465 n. 1.
Panvinio, Onofrio, 174 n., 227.
Paolo d'Arezzo, 336, 367 n. 1.
Paolucci, Alfonso (Ferrarese envoy), 108.
Pappacoda, S., Cardinal, 465 n. 1.
Passeri, Bernardino (goldsmith), 393.
Passerini, Silvio, Cardinal, 63, 425 *seq.*, 436 n. 1, 439.
Paul II., Pope, 50.
,, III., Pope, 81.
Peñaloza, 346 n. 2.

Pepoli (the Bolognese Family), 265 n. 3.
Peregrino, Fabrizio, 81 n. 1.
Perelli, S., 405 n.
Perez (sec. to Spanish embassy), 327, 348, 350 n. 2, 356–359, 410, 428, 458 n. 1.
Pericoli, Niccolò, *see* Tribolo.
Peruzzi, Baldassare (artist), 217.
Pescara, Marquis of, *see* Avalos.
Peter Martyr, 39, 78 n.
Petri, Olaus (Swedish reformer), 149, 151.
Petrucci, Alfonso, Cardinal, 6.
„ Raffaello (Bishop of Grosseto), Cardinal, 22, 63, 184.
Petrus de Roma, *see* Pietro.
Philibert of Chalon (Prince of Orange), 390, 415 *seq*, 420 n., 422 n. 1, 428, 431, 448.
Philip the Fair (King of France), 200.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 433.
Piccolomini, Giovanni, Cardinal, 4, 9, 63, 408 *seq*
Pietro [Petrus de Roma] (Papal chamberlain), 96, 192.
Pighius, Albert, 37, 118 n.
Pimentel, Bernardo, 60.
Pimpinella, Vincenzo (Archbishop of Rossano, Nuncio), 12.
Pio, Alberto (Count of Carpi), 60 n. 2, 204 n. 2, 240 *seq.*, 255, 259 *seq.*, 268 *seq.*, 274, 286, 295 n. 1, 297, 317, 326 n. 1, 334, 346, 358 n. 3, 499.
„ Enea, 72 n. 2, 124 n. 1.
Piombo, Sebastiano del (painter), 247 n. 3.
Piperario, Andrea, 162 n. 4, 191 n. 1.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 4, 242, 463, 464 n. 1, 466, 506.
Pitigliano, Count of, 320.
Pius II., Pope, 217.
„ III., Pope, 217.
Planitz, Hans von der, 139 *seq.*
Poncher, Estienne (Archbishop of Sens), 56 n. 5.
Ponzetti, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 17 n. 1, 410.
Porta, Giovanni Maria della (envoy from Urbino), 5 n. 3, 6 nn. 1–4, 18 n. 5, 19 n. 4, 81 n. 1, 82 n. 6, 93 n. 2, 100 n. 2, 101 n. 4, 122 n. 3, 125 n. 4, 152 n. 2, 159 n. 3, 173 n. 1, 193 n. 5, 196–198 n., 203–206 n., 411, 420 n. 2.
Portugal, King of, see John III.
Praet, Louis de (Imperial envoy), 462.
Prospero, Bart., 103 n. 3.
Pucci, Antonio (Bishop of Pistoia), 422, 471.
„ Lorenzo, Cardinal, 4, 21, 104 n. 3, 112 n. 1, 245 n. 2, 394, 461, 504.
Puglioni, Giovanni Ant. (Baron of Burgio), 192 n. 5, 338 n. 5.

QUARANTINO, Giov. Batt. (Mantuan envoy), 223, 237, 243 n.
Quiñones, Francesco, Cardinal, 346, 348, 355 n. 7, 365, 432, 433 n. 1, 443, 451 *seq.*, 454, 460, 463, 465 n. 1.

RAINCE, Nicolas (sec. to French embassy), 6 n. 1, 15 n. 2, 308 n., 310 n. 1, 323, 345, 347, 370 n. 1.

Rangoni, Ercole, Cardinal, 457, 506.
„ Guido, 1, 307, 385 *seq.*, 398.
Raphael, 3, 74 *seq.*, 247, 251, 332, 415, 416 n.
Raynaldus, Odericus, 227.
Reuchlin, Johann, 42.
Riario, Tommaso (Bishop of Savona), 62.
Ricasoli, Simone, 422.
Ridolfi, Lorenzo, 422.
„ Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 51, 63, 104, 332, 436 n. 1, 439, 506.
Rio, Balthasar del (Bishop of Scala), 27.
Robertet, F., 285 n. 3, 369 n.
Roche, de la (Imperial envoy), 260 *seq.*, 262 n.
Rodendurch, the Family of, 35 n.
Romulus de S. Cruce, 78 n.
Rosso, Andrea (Venetian envoy to France), 301.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 2, 22, 50, 160 *seqq.*, 179, 187, 318 *seq.*, 320 n. 1, 321 *seqq.*, 342 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*, 370, 376, 382 *seq.*, 419, 421 n. 1, 506.
Rovigo, Zaccaria da, 90 n. 1.
Russell, John, Sir (English envoy), 366, 372.

Sadoleto, Jacopo, Cardinal, 76, 115, 244, 332.
Saffa, Stefano, 101 n. 2, 103 n. 5, 128 n. 2.
Saint Marceau (French envoy), 256, 259.
Salamanca, P., 423 n.
Salazar, 423 n., 428.
Salimbeni, J. C., 467 n. 1.
Saluzzo, the Marquis of, 323, 342, 382.
Salviati, Giovanni (Bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 51, 104, 266, 274, 280 *seq.*, 294, 296 *seq.*, 316 n. 2, 388 n. 1, 404 n. 2, 434 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*, 439, 441, 443 *seq.*, 450 n. 3, 452, 500.
„ Jacopo (husband of Lucrezia de' Medici), 297 n. 1, 320, 334, 371, 394, 422, 437 n. 1, 450 n. 3, 463.
„ Lucrezia, *see* Medici, Lucrezia de'.
Sanchez, Michael Girolamo (merchant), 430, 440.
Sandizell, Wilhelm von (Bavarian captain), 403.
Sanga, Giovanni Battista (poet), 322, 328, 332, 388 n. 1, 404 n. 2, 508.
Sangallo, Antonio da, 359.
Sanseverino, Antonio, Cardinal, 465 n. 1.
Sansovino, del Monte, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
„ Andrea, 217.
Sanuto, Marino, 16 n. *seq.*, 112.
Sanzio, Sigismondo (secretary to Carpi), 288 *seq.*
Sarni, Conte di, 341 n.
Sarpi, Paolo, 112 n. 1.
Sassatello, Giovanni da, 246, 425.
Sauermann, Georg (Imperial procurator), 78 n., 411.
Sauli, Bandinello, Cardinal, 188 n. 1.
Savelli. Giambattista, 397.
Schertlin von Burtenbach, Sebastian, 342, 414, 423, 432.

Schinner, Matthæus, Cardinal, 1, 4, 7 n. 6, 14, 17 n. 1, 19, 86 *seq.*, 93, 95, 103, 117, 155 n. 2.
Schio, Girolamo da (Bishop of Vaison), 460.
Schönberg, Nicolas von (Archbishop of Capua), 118 n., 254, 257, 260 *seqq.*, 264 n. 2, 276, 277, 286, 296 *seq.*, 302 n. 4, 346 *seq.*, 363, 365, 394, 421, 434, 465 n. 2, 496.
Schwarzenberg, Johann von, 141.
Schwegler, Kaspar, 421 n. 2, 429.
Scorel, Jan van (artist), 74.
Serapica, Giovanni Lazzaro, 4 n. 2.
Serenon (Imperial agent), 371.
Sergardi, F., 467 n. 1.
Sessa, Luis de Corduba, Duke of, 104, 121 *seq.*, 125 n. 5, 165, 170, 182, 185, 187, 196 n., 203, 205 n. 4, 216 n. 3, 231 *seqq.*, 234 n. 1, 241, 253, 255 *seq.*, 258, 260 *seq.*, 271, 276, 278 n. 2, 283, 288, 292, 297, 310 *seq.*, 312, 325, 349 n. 1, 487.
Severolus, Africano, 17 n.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 62, 194, 206, 249 n. 4, 278, 288, 290 *seq.*, 301, 304, 307, 309, 315, 319, 473.
Sickingen, Franz von, 152 n. 4.
Sigismondo Ferrarese, 416 n.
Sigismund (King of Poland), 148, 176.
Silva, Miguel da (Portuguese envoy), 63 n. 1, 174 n. 3, 179, 188 n. 1, 191, 333.
Soderini, Francesco, Cardinal, 4, 6 *seq.*, 15, 21 *seq.*, 112
Soderini,—*continued.*
n. 1, 122, 184–188, 195, 196 n., 197, 202, 207, 233, 234 n. 1, 240, 242, 260, 483.
Soria, Lope de, 446.
Soriano, Antonio (Venetian ambassador), 247 n. 3, 250 *seqq.*
Spinola, Agostino, Cardinal, 385.
Strozzi, Filippo (husband of Clarice de' Medici), 334, 363, 371, 522.
Stuart, John (Duke of Albany), 263, 268, 270, 275 *seq.*, 320.
Studillo, Antonio de, 44, 46, 51.
Sulieman I. (The Sultan), 155, 175 *seq.*

Tapper, Ruard, 37.
Tarasconio, Evangelista, 115 n.
Tebaldeo, Antonio (poet), 26.
Teodoli, G. Ruffo (Archbishop of Cosenza), 82, 113, 122, 478, 482
Theophilus (Patriarch of Alexandria), 152.
Thomas de Vio, *see* Cajetan.
Tibaldi, Pierpaolo, 397.
Tiene, Gaetano di, S., *see* Gaetano.
Tigoli, Vincentio da (of the Swiss guard), 98 n. 4.
Tizio, Sigismondo (of Siena), 31, 207 n. 3, 220 n., 226 n. 1, 254 n. 1, 401 n. 1.
Toledo, the Archbishop of, 449, 450 n. 2, 462 n. 5, 463.
Tommaso Illirico (Minorite), 78 n.
Torre, Sigismondo dalla, 387 n. 4.
Toscano, Lorenzo (French envoy), 285, 287.
Tribolo, il [Niccolò Pericoli], 217.

Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 5 n. 1, 23, 33, 95, 105 n. 4, 195, 206, 346, 359, 366, 373 n. 1, 402 n. 1, 405 n., 414, 416 n. 1, 439, 463, 466, 479, 506.
" Scaramuccia, Cardinal, 240.
Trolle, Gustav (Archbishop of Upsala), 150 *seqq.*

URBINO, Duchess of, *see* Eleanora.

VALDES, Alfonso de, 354.
Valeriano, Pierio (humanist), 224.
Valla Rhegiensis, Guillelmus, 78 n., 165 n.
Vallati, Giulio, 397.
Valle, Andrea della, Cardinal, 4, 21, 408 *seq.*, 409 n., 506.
" Lelio della, 68.
Varano, Giovanni Maria da (Duke of Camerino), 2, 121 n. 1.
" Sigismondo da, 2, 121 n. 1.
Varazano, Bernardo da (banker), 486.
Vasari, Giorgio, 74 n. 3, 247 n. 3.
Vasto, Alfonso del, 458.
Vaudemont, René, Count of, 366, 377, 438.
Vegerius, Conrad, 217.
Venier, Domenico (Venetian envoy), 335, 390 n. 4, 411.
Vettori, Francesco (Florentine envoy), 207 n. 1.
" Paolo (envoy), 267, 300.
Veyre, Pierre de, 454, 455 n. 1, 458 *seqq.*, 462 *seq.*
Vich, Raymond de, Cardinal, 4, 14.
Vignacourt, Jean de, 47 n. 2.
Vincenzo di S. Gimignano, Fra, 52 n.
Vitelli, Vitello (Papal general), 307, 341.
Vives, Joannes Ludovicus, 33, 85 *seq.*

WALLACHIA, The Waiwode of, 191.
Wied, Hermann von (Elector of Cologne), 438 n. 3.
Winkler, Johannes, 58, 80 *seq.*
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 6 *seq.*, 12, 174, 177, 180, 231, 299 n. 3, 435–441, 443, 453.
Wyngarden, Florentius Oem van, 47.

XIMENES, Cardinal, 39–42.

ZACCARIA DA ROVIGO, 90.
Zapolya, Johann (Voivode of Siebenbürgen), 365.
Zeigler, J., 447 n.
Zevenbergen, Herr von, 60.
Zisterer (Papal secretary), 121, 166, 175.
Zwingli, Ulrich, 147.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.*

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . .	xxxi

CLEMENT VII., 1523–1534.

Clement VII. in exile at Orvieto and Viterbo. The Imperialists leave Rome. Disaster to the French army in Naples. The weakness of the Pope's diplomacy. His return to Rome . . .	1–31
Reconciliation of the Emperor and the Pope. The treaties of Barcelona and Cambrai . . .	32–67
The meeting of Clement VII. and Charles V. at Bologna. The last Imperial Coronation. Restoration of the Medicean rule in Florence .	68–105
The religious divisions in Germany	106–140
Negotiations as to the Council, to the Pacification of Nuremberg, 1532	141–169
Clement VII.'s efforts to protect Christendom from the Turks	170–203
Clement the Seventh's second meeting with the Emperor at Bologna. The Conciliar question in the years 1532–1533. The Pope and Francis I. at Marseilles. The marriage of Catherine de' Medici	204–237
The divorce of Henry VIII. and the English Schism .	238–287

* For Bibliography see Volume VII.

70933

PAGE

The Protestant revolt in Scandinavia and Switzerland. Heretical movements among the Latin Races . 288–315

The close of the Pontificate of Clement VII. His position towards Literature and Art . . . 316–363

Clement VII. and the internal affairs of the Church. His attitude towards the questions of the Council and Reform 364–387

The beginnings of the Catholic Reformation. The Oratory of the Divine Love. Gaetano di Tiene and Carafa 388–423

Gian Matteo Giberti. The Somaschi and the Barnabites 424–453

Reform of the older Orders. The Capuchins . 454–477

Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 479–510

Index of Names 511

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.*

CHAPTER I.

CLEMENT VII. IN EXILE AT ORVIETO AND VITERBO. — THE IMPERIALISTS LEAVE ROME. — DISASTER TO THE FRENCH ARMY IN NAPLES. — THE WEAKNESS OF THE POPE'S DIPLOMACY.—HIS RETURN TO ROME.

A. D.		PAGE
1527	Deplorable situation of the Pope at Orvieto (December)	1
	And of the Cardinals	2
	Bull relating to graces bestowed during the captivity (December 18th)	3
	Poverty of the court at Orvieto	3
	Clement VII. receives congratulations on his deliverance	4
	He is compared to the Popes of the infant Church, but still represents a mighty power	5
	Eager competition to obtain his patronage. Correspondence with the Emperor (January 1528)	5
	Who as early as December proposes a formal alliance	6
	Clement unwilling to give pledges to the League or to the Emperor; writes to Francis I. (December 14th)	6
	And to Henry VIII. and others, describing his afflictions	7
1528	The Pope urged to join the League (January)	7
	Which makes tempting promises; but Clement refuses a decided answer, as he fears the Emperor	8
	Other motives for not trusting the League	9
	The Papal envoys arrive in Paris (January) and appeal to Francis to put pressure on Venice and Ferarra	10

* Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE

1528 Mission of Pucci to Spain—his instructions . 11
Lautrec leaves Bologna on the 10th of January . . 11
And enters the kingdom of Naples 12
The Imperialists recognize their peril . . . 12
Their army, ravaged by the plague, leave Rome, rendering the neighbourhood like a wilderness . 13
A rabble under the Abbot of Farfa enter the city (February 17th) 14
Efforts of the Pope to mitigate the distress . . 14
Deputation to invite the Pope to return to Rome . 15
The officials of the Curia return (end of April) . . 15
Harassing position of Clement VII. 16
Re-appearance of Brandano (March); his prophecies 16
Operations of Lautrec in Naples 17
The Imperial fleet destroyed by Doria (April 28th) . 17
Alarm in Rome and anxiety of the Pope . . . 18
Famine in Orvieto 18
Clement VII. moves to Viterbo (June 1st). Cardinal Farnese appointed Legate in Rome (June 8th) . 19
Unsuccessful attempt of the French fleet to take Civita Vecchia 20
Provocation given by Venice to the Pope . . . 20
Who complains to Contarini 21
His displeasure also with Francis I. 21
Arrogance of the French and firmness of the Papal representative, who insists on the surrender of Ravenna and Cervia 22
The scene of war in Naples—great distress in the city 23
Naples set free by sea (end of July), and Genoa is lost to France (September 12th) 24
Death of Lautrec (August 15th) and disorderly retreat of the French army from Naples (August 29th) 25
Complete triumph of the Emperor, to whom Clement VII. determines (September) to make approaches 26
Assurances of Orange to the Pope (September 18th) 27
Who decides to return to Rome in spite of Contarini. 28
Attempts of Francis I. to thwart the understanding between the Pope and the Emperor . . . 29
Clement VII. leaves Viterbo on the 5th of October and the following evening enters Rome . . 29
Horrifying picture of the misery of the city . . 29
The Pope orders all Cardinals to return (October 14th) and writes to Charles V. (October 24th) . 30

CHAPTER II.

RECONCILIATION OF THE EMPEROR AND THE POPE.—THE TREATIES OF BARCELONA AND CAMBRAI.

A.D.		PAGE
1528	Care of the Pope to restore order in Rome	32
	Wretched plight of the inhabitants—lack of church ornaments	33
	Quiñones nominated to the Cardinalate	33
	Clement VII. between the League and the Emperor	34
	Quiñones arrives in Rome (December 30th)	35
1529	Interview of Contarini with the Pope (January 4th)	35
	His suggestions	36
	Reply of Clement VII.	37
	The Pope sends Quinoñes and Schönberg to negotiate at Naples (January)	38
	Illness of the Pope (January 8th)—Ippolito de' Medici created Cardinal (January 10th)	39
	Critical condition of the Pope; dismay in Rome	40
	Anxiety of the Cardinals as to the freedom of the conclave	41
	Opinion of Mai, the Imperial envoy	41
	The Cardinals kept as hostages in Naples are set free	42
	The Pope recovers	43
	But on February the 18th has another attack; his alarm at report of the Emperor's descent upon Italy	43
	The Pope, the occasion of a diplomatic struggle between the League and the Emperor	44
	Giberti with the Pope. Anger of Mai	45
	Report of da Burgo to Ferdinand I. (March 2nd)	45
	Clement insists on his duty of remaining neutral	46
	Efforts of both parties to gain the Pope, who has a relapse brought on by excitement	47
	Restoration of Ostia and Civita Vecchia (March)	47
	Promises of the Imperialists concerning Florence, Cervia, and Ravenna; but Clement still hesitates	48
	Report of Cardinal Trivulzio (April 9th), who is mistaken	49
	Clement VII. makes up his mind	49
	And appoints a new Nuncio to the Imperial court	50
	The League seems deliberately to drive the Pope towards their adversary	51
	Giberti leaves Rome (April 26th)	52
	The Pope's attitude influenced by Florentine affairs	52
	State of things in Florence; everything done there to exasperate Clement	53

A.D. PAGE

1529 Anger of the Pope; his conversation with the English envoy and with Contarini 54
He writes to the Emperor on May the 7th and sends as Nuncio, Girolamo da Schio. Reports of Mai and da Burgo (May) 55
Schio arrives in Spain on the 30th of May and concludes with Charles V. the treaty of Barcelona (June 29th) 56
Terms of the alliance between the Pope and the Emperor 57
The conditions are favourable to the Pope . . 57
The friendship of Clement a necessity to Charles V. . 58
The treaty accelerates peace negotiations between Francis I. and the Emperor 58
The Archduchess Margaret and Louisa of Savoy . 59
Conclude the treaty of Cambrai (August 5th) . . 60
Its terms disadvantageous to Francis I. 60
The Pope rejects all the offers of the League (June 17th) 61
Schönberg and Salviati at Cambrai . . . 61
The treaty of Barcelona made known in Rome on the 15th of July. On the following day, Papal decision in the matter of divorce of Henry VIII . 62
Envoys from the Emperor have audience with the Pope in bed 63
Rejoicings in Rome at the conclusion of peace (August 1st) 63
Negotiations concerning Florence 64
The Abbot of Farfa; his capture of Quinoñes (August) 65
Agreement on the question of the subjection of Florence and Perugia 66
Gattinara created Cardinal (August 13th) . . . 66

CHAPTER III.

THE MEETING OF CLEMENT VII. AND CHARLES V. AT BOLOGNA.—THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION.—RESTORATION OF THE MEDICEAN RULE IN FLORENCE.

1529 On August the 12th Charles V. lands at Genoa. The Pope sends his nephew and three Cardinals to meet him 68
On account of the Turks, Charles obliged to act with caution towards Venice; his rude treatment of the Florentine envoys 69

A.D. PAGE

1529 Expedition against Perugia; its capitulation on September the 10th 70
Cardinal del Monte takes possession in the Pope's name (September 11th) 70
The Imperialist army advances on Florence . . 71
And arrives before the city on October the 24th . 72
The Florentines prepare to fight to the death . . 72
Michael Angelo, overseer of the fortifications . . 73
Popular excitement fanned by the Dominican preachers 73
Gibes against the Pope. Hatred of the Medici . 73
Request of Charles to be crowned at Bologna . . 74
Opposition of the Cardinals and Romans . . . 74
On September the 19th the treaty of Cambrai announced in Rome. The Pope announces his intention of going to Bologna 75
The Florentines send an envoy to Rome (September 22nd). Their obstinacy 76
The Pope leaves Rome (October 7th). His route . 77
Wish of Charles to settle Italian affairs quickly, on account of the advance of the Turks . . . 77
A Florentine deputation meets the Pope at Cesena . 78
His solemn entry into Bologna on October the 24th 78
Holds a Consistory (October 29th) to make the preparations for the coronation. The Turks abandon the siege of Vienna 79
Charles V. leaves Piacenza on November the 5th; at Reggio meets Alfonso of Ferrara . . . 80
Makes his entry into Bologna on November the 5th . 80
Prodigality of the decorations 81
Clement and Charles face to face 82
Careful preparation made by Charles for his conference with the Pope 83
Impression of Contarini. The Pope's advisers . . 84
Clement VII. still distrustful of the Emperor . . 84
Views regarding Milan, Ferrara, and Florence . . 85
Sforza summoned to Bologna; he is invested with Milan (December 3rd) 86
Venice makes concessions 87
1530 Treaty of peace proclaimed in the Cathedral at Bologna on January the 6th 88
The two points still left unsettled 89
The Pope's irritation against Alfonso of Ferrara . 89
Reasons for the coronation taking place at Bologna rather than in Rome 89

A.D. PAGE

1530 The Pope confirms the election of Charles (February 22nd) 92
The coronation takes place in the church of San Petronio (February 24th) 92
Description of the ceremony 93
Florence remaining stubborn, Clement makes two further concessions to Charles V. 96
Appoints three Imperialist Cardinals 96
And permits Alfonso of Ferrara to come to Bologna . 97
Influence of Charles V. over the Papal States . . 97
Italian independence at an end. The Emperor is supreme 98
Charles and Clement leave Bologna (March 22nd and 31st) 99
The Pope impatient for the capitulation of Florence. Deplorable state of his finances 100
"Would that Florence had never existed". . . 101
Battle of Gavinana (August 3rd) 102
At last Florence capitulates (August 12th) . . 103
Savage reprisals of the Medicean party 104
Clement VII. settles the government of the city . 105

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS IN GERMANY.

1523 Steady increase of Lutheranism 106
Consistory of the 2nd of December 106
Clement invites Eck and Aleander to furnish him with reports 107
Aleander on the means to be employed to suppress heresy in Germany 107
The report of an anonymous writer 108
The Pope decides to appoint Campeggio as legate; sends Rorario (December) as Nuncio to prepare the way 109
Aleander prepares instructions for the Legate . . 109
1524 Campeggio reaches Nuremberg on the 14th of March 111
Popular feeling against him on the journey . . 111
His great caution, and first speech in the Diet (March 17th) 112
"The complaints of the German nation" . . . 112
The Estates demand a National Council . . . 113
Campeggio objects to this 113

A.D. PAGE

1524 But promises to use his influence in favour of a General Council 114
And holds an assembly at Ratisbon (June) for the reform of the national clergy 114
Importance of this meeting. Ordinances published in a legatine decree (July 7th) 115
Consultation of Clement VII. with the Cardinals . 115
Determination arrived at 116
Charles V. prohibits the National Council and orders the observance of the Edict of Worms . . 116
1525 Campeggio's successes brought to an end by the outbreak of the social revolution 117
Delusion in Rome as to the real state of affairs . . 118
Recall of Campeggio (October) 118
His hopes soon shown to be entirely futile . . 119
Absurd reports that obtain credence in Rome . . 119
Even in Consistory (September 6th) . . . 120
Apostasy of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order 120
Consternation of the Pope 120
1526 Who appeals to King Sigismund and to the Emperor (January 31st) 121
"Cujus regio illius religio." Development of the Lutheran State Church system 122
Political troubles cause relations between Germany and Rome to be broken off 123
1529 Representation of the Holy See in Germany resumed 123
Extraordinary alteration in state of affairs . . . 124
The protesting party appeal (April 25th) to a "free council" 124
1530 Charles V. appoints (January 21st) a diet to be held at Augsburg. He arrives at Innsbruck (May 3rd) 125
Campeggio's letter to Rome of May the 4th . . 126
A General Council or a National Council? . . 126
Written opinion of Campeggio laid before the Emperor 127
Opening of the Diet of Augsburg (June 20th) . . 127
Speech of Campeggio (June 24th). The "Augsburg Confession" presented by the Protestants (June 25th) 128
False reports of the decline of Lutheranism . . 129
Optimism of the Roman Curia (July 10th) . . 129
Campeggio reports the three Protestant demands . 130
Which are deliberated upon in Consistory, and rejected 130
Opinions of Campeggio and of the Emperor's council on the treatment of the religious question . . 131

A.D. PAGE

1530 His conversation with Charles V. on the subject of a General Council 132
And declares a Council would be of no avail . . 132
But advocates firmness of action 133
The Emperor sends (July 14th) to Clement VII. a full account of the negotiations at Augsburg . 133
The Pope calls together the Cardinals to consider the question of a Council 134
Did Clement VII. really wish for a Council? Opinion of Loaysa. Conduct of Cardinal de Gramont . 135
The Pope states the conditions under which he consents to summon a Council 136
These conditions must be accepted by the Protestants 137
Great differences of opinion in the Curia . . . 137
"God grant a reformation may not be brought about by the Turks instead of by a Council" . . 138
Delusive hopes of Charles V. 139
His discussion with Campeggio (September 23rd) . 139
The Protestant princes reject the Emperor's message and leave the Diet (September) 140

CHAPTER V.

NEGOTIATIONS AS TO THE COUNCIL, TO THE PACIFICATION OF NUREMBERG, 1532.

1530 The transactions of the Diet, followed with strained attention in Rome. The Pope willing to give way on two points 141
All attempts at union miscarry—force the only resource 142
The patience of Charles V. exhausted; he determines to punish 143
And requests (October 4th) the Pope to invite other princes to co-operate with him 143
Indecision of Clement VII. He ultimately calls on the Italian States to help 144
They show no enthusiasm in the matter: Venice refuses 145
The Emperor abandons the whole scheme . . 145
And sends Cueva to Rome to renew the demand for a Council 146
Arguments used by Charles in support of this request 147
Clement VII. replies (November 18th) without committing himself definitely 148

A.D. PAGE
1530 The "pros" and "cons" considered by the Cardinals 148
The secret Consistory of the 28th of November . 149
Opinion of Loaysa on the vote of the Cardinals. . 149
And on the aim of the Pope 150
The Pope declares (December 6th) he has made up his mind to conform his opinion to that of Charles 150
And sends Gambara on a mission to the Emperor . 151
The six objections against a Council, presented by the Envoy 151
And the five conditions attached by Clement to the convening of a Council 153
1531 Charles delays replying to the Legate until the 4th of April 154
And thinks it necessary to sound Francis I. . . 154
The sincerity of whom is very questionable . . 155
The Emperor gives his answer touching the five conditions 156
Gambara draws up a counter reply 157
Clement agrees to summon the Council if the King of France consents (April 25th) . . . 158
The Cardinals determine that the Council be summoned for dealing with specific objects only . 159
Unfavourable answer from the King of France . . 159
Cardinal Gramont arrives in Rome on May the 17th . 160
His instructions show the intention of Francis I. to thwart the Council 160
Charles expresses to the Pope his displeasure at the hindrances raised against it (July) . . . 161
And suspects Clement of a secret understanding with Francis I.. 161
The responsibility for the failure of the Council . 162
The Emperor announces his intention of holding a Diet at Spires 163
Campeggio of opinion that force is the only method to pursue with the heretics. Clement VII. inclined to give way on three points, and is supported by Cajetan 163
Aleander appointed Nuncio to Germany (end of August) 163
Clement recommends caution in regard to concessions 164
The Diet postponed. 164
Aleander's interview with the Emperor on November the 14th 164
False report of the reconciliation of the Elector of Saxony (November 15th) 165

A.D. PAGE
1532 Clement assures the Emperor he is straining every nerve to ensure the Council (May) . . . 166
The League of Schmalkald 166
The Diet opens at Ratisbon on April the 17th . . 166
Fear of the Turks 166
Efforts made at Rome to find some *via media* (April 19th) 167
Indignation of the Nuncio at the Emperor's negotiations with the Protestants 167
Memorial of Aleander denouncing the concessions (June 1st). 167
The Catholic Estates blame the Emperor and demand a Council 168
Charles attributes the delay to the King of France . 168
Division of opinion in Rome and Germany as to the policy to be pursued 169

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT VII.'S EFFORTS TO PROTECT CHRISTENDOM FROM THE TURKS

1523 Clement deals with the question of Hungary in his first Consistory (December 2nd) . . . 170
1524 He sends Burgio as Nuncio to Hungary with a subsidy (April) 171
Burgio's experiences. The country torn by party strife 172
At Ofen (in August) he finds utter chaos, and appeals to deaf ears at the Diet 173
The Turks take Severin 173
1525 Tomori and the Archbishop of Kalocsa alone faithful 174
The former goes to the defence of Peterwardein (February) 174
Gathering of the nobles at Hatvan (July 2nd) . . 175
Zapolya and Verböezy overthrow the existing Government 175
But nothing is done for the defence of the kingdom . 175
1526 Alarming reports from Burgio (January) . . . 176
Clement urges the Christian princes to come to the aid of Hungary (February) 176
Indolence of King Louis 177
"The magnates are afraid of each other, and all are against the King" 177
The Sultan sets out from Constantinople (April) . 178

A.D. PAGE

1526 The resolutions of Hatvan annulled and Verböczy deposed 178
The Pope alone sends help. Fall of Peterwardein (July 28th) 179
Disastrous defeat at Mohács (August 29th) . . 179
Flight and death of King Louis 180
The Sultan enters the capital (September 10th) . 180
1527–8 Rival competitors for the Hungarian crown . . 181
1529 The Sultan sets out for the capture of Vienna (May). 182
Measures taken by the Pope (August 27th) . . 183
The Turks invest Vienna (September), but after a final assault (October 14th) withdraw . . 183
Letter of Suleiman to the Venetians (November 10th) 184
1530 Increased military preparations of the Turks . . 185
Speech of Clement VII. to the Ambassadors, who nearly all make excuses (June 24th) . . . 185
He again sends Briefs to the princes of Christendom (August) 186
But all his efforts are unavailing 187
The Pope and the Knights of St. John. Bestows Malta upon them (March 23rd) 188
1531 The Turkish difficulty "the only topic of conversation" (February 20th) 189
Peril to middle and lower Italy 189
The Pope endeavours to utilize the power of France 190
And urges the necessity of raising funds . . . 191
Allegations against the house of Hapsburg . . 191
Difficult position of Ferdinand's Ambassador . . 192
The Pope promises a subsidy (September 16th) . 192
Intelligence of preparations by the Turks for attack on Italy and Hungary (December) . . . 193
1532 Clement resolves to fortify the Papal seaports (January) 194
Party strife in Hungary. Repeal of Zapolya's excommunication refused by the Pope . . . 194
Refusal of the Venetians to interrupt the peace with the Turks 195
"The God of Venice is their own aggrandizement" . 196
Panic in Rome (March) 196
Measures taken by the Pope 197
Bad behaviour of King Francis I. His threats . . 198
The fortification of Ancona by Ant. da Sangallo . 199
Firmness of Clement in Consistory (June 21st). The Cardinals to be taxed 199
Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici despatched to Germany 200

A.D. PAGE
1532 The Sultan advances to the Austrian frontier, but has to fall back on Belgrade 201
Maritime successes of Andrea Doria 202
The hopes thus raised come to nothing . . . 202
The Italian soldiers refuse to go into Hungary . . 202
And the Protestants object to strengthen the Catholic Ferdinand 203
Charles V. decides on an interview with the Pope . 203

CHAPTER VII.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH'S SECOND MEETING WITH THE EMPEROR AT BOLOGNA.—THE CONCILIAR QUESTION IN THE YEARS 1532–1533.—THE POPE AND FRANCIS I. AT MARSEILLES.—THE MARRIAGE OF CATHERINE DE' MEDICI.

1532 Questions upon which Clement VII. and Charles V. are at variance 204
Predominance of the Emperor in Italy . . . 204
Charles arrives in Italy (October). His anxiety to soothe the Pope 205
He has but few adherents in Rome 205
Character of Cardinal de Loaysa; his quarrel with Mai 206
Negotiations in 1531 about the creation of Cardinals. 207
Giberti refuses the Pope's proposal to recall him to his service 208
Whatever Clement does, the rival parties complain . 209
He complains of the conduct of Loaysa . . . 209
Dissensions between the Emperor's representatives . 210
1531 Tact of the French envoy, de Gramont . . . 210
Who tries to bring about an alliance between the houses of Valois and Medici 211
The Pope, after long indecision, favours this project . 211
And consents to it by treaty of June the 9th, 1531 . 212
But will not break with the Emperor, and evolves a scheme to reconcile Charles and Francis . . 213
1532 Cueva arrives in Rome (October) to arrange for the conference between the Pope and Charles . . 214
Bologna fixed upon as the place of meeting . . 214
Clement VII. leaves Rome on the 18th of November 215
And arrives in Bologna on December the 8th . . 215
Where Charles V. makes his entry on the 13th . . 216
Eagerness of the Pope to reconcile Francis I. and Charles V. 217

A.D. PAGE
1533 Arrival of the French representatives (January) . . 217
The Emperor wishes Catherine de' Medici to marry Sforza 218
When Francis I. at once ratifies the marriage contract with his son, and invites the Pope to meet him 218
Treaty between the Pope and the Emperor signed on February the 24th 218
Negotiations with the Italian envoys concluded (February 27th) 219
Clement refuses to draw back from the French marriage agreement 219
Creation of Cardinals. The Imperialists little pleased 220
Negotiations and resolutions concerning the Council 221
Briefs sent to the Christian princes inviting their consent 221
Unsatisfactory reply from Francis I. 223
Instruction drafted by Aleander for Rangoni, the Nuncio for Germany (February 27th) . . 223
This contains eight conciliar conditions . . . 223
Charles agrees with the Pope's intentions and quits Bologna (February 28th) 224
The Pope also leaves (March 10th) 224
Agreement of Ferdinand and of George of Saxony (April and May) 224
The Nuncio visits all the Electors 225
Who on the whole give a ready consent . . . 225
Opinions of Melanchthon and Luther . . . 226
The Protestant princes demand a "free council" . 226
And reject the Pope's articles in offensive terms (June 30th) 226
Clement VII. returns to Rome (April 3rd) . . 227
Salviati sent to the relief of Koron 227
Francis I. presses for a conference 227
Continued enmity between the Emperor's envoys . 228
Cardinal Tournon turns this to advantage . . . 228
Opposition of the Curia to a conference with Francis 229
But Clement refuses to withdraw 229
Catherine de' Medici starts on her journey (September 1st) 230
Departure of the Pope (September 9th). He avoids Florence 231
Makes his entry into Marseilles on October the 12th . 232

A.D. PAGE
1533 On the 28th marries Catherine de' Medici to the Duke of Orleans 232
Nomination of French Cardinals (November 7th) 233
Secrecy of the transactions with Francis I. . . . 234
Falseness of the accusations against Clement . . 235
Who is deceived by Francis 236
The Pope's exhortations to a reconciliation with Charles X. fail 236
Substantial success for Francis I. 236
Transactions about the Council 236
Pliability of Clement, who returns to Rome (November) 237

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

Separation of England from the Holy See not like that of Germany 238
Character of Henry VII. His work 238
Popularity of his successor, Henry VIII. . . . 239
Exceptional position of Wolsey. His leniency to heretics 239
Henry VIII. no convert to Luther 240
Marriage of Henry with Catherine of Aragon . . 240
Her character 241
Henry's early adulterous relations 241
1526 His scruples about the validity of his marriage . . 241
Anne Boleyn. Her protectors are enemies of Wolsey 242
Who hope for his downfall by means of the divorce . 243
Wolsey not the originator of the divorce scheme . 243
Henry's cunning dishonesty 243
1527 Words attributed to the French Ambassador . . 244
Wolsey initiated for the first time (May 8th) . . 244
With Warham holds a court of justice (May 17th) . 245
Opinions invited from Bishops and Canonists . . 245
Fisher's reply causes Wolsey to reflect . . . 245
Wolsey dare not oppose Henry 246
Brutal order to Catherine (June 22nd). Her reply . 246
Wolsey starts for France (July 3rd) 247
Tries to win over Warham and Fisher . . . 247
Wolsey's project of marriage for Henry (August) . 248
Wishes to be made Papal Vicar-General (September) . 248
Mission of Knight to Rome 249
Wolsey kept in ignorance of its real object . 249

A.D. PAGE

1527 He hurries back to England, and at last perceives Anne Boleyn's position 249
And implores Henry to depart from his resolve . 250
The King again deceives Wolsey 250
The two drafts for a Bull of dispensation carried by Knight to Rome 250
The Bull given (December 23rd) to Knight by the Pope is conditional only 251
And therefore valueless 251
Five points raised by Henry to invalidate the dispensation of Julius II. 252
The Decretal Bull which Wolsey asks for . . . 253
Unheard-of powers demanded for Wolsey . . . 253
Knight and Casale unsuccessful 254
Two fresh envoys from England, Gardiner and Fox . 254
1528 Their negotiations with the Pope (March and April). 255
Insolence of Gardiner's demands 255
But Clement VII. not to be shaken 256
No justification for the charge against the Pope. . 256
Bull of Commission (June 8th) to Wolsey and Campeggio. Powers conferred by it. . . . 257
Wolsey not satisfied 258
His last effort to obtain the Decretal Bull . . . 259
And to deceive the Pope 259
Who promises to send it by Campeggio 260
The Bull, withheld from the free disposal of Henry and Wolsey, is rendered useless 261
Campeggio arrives in England. His audiences with Henry and Catherine (October 22nd and 27th) . 262
Wolsey dissatisfied. His falsehood 263
The Pope remains firm and refuses to do more. His declaration about the Decretal Bull (December 17th) 264
Catherine produces the Brief of Dispensation of the 26th of December 1503 265
Wolsey's attempts to nullify this 266
1529 Important letter from Campeggio to Salviati (February 18th) 267
Wolsey makes a last attempt for an extension of his legatine powers. 268
The court of the Legates constituted (May 31st) . 268
The pleading is on one side only. Courage of Bishop Fisher 269
Campeggio on the 23rd of July adjourns the court . 269
The case transferred to Rome. Departure of Campeggio 270

A.D.		PAGE
1529	Downfall of Wolsey (October)	270
1530	His arrest and death (November)	271
	Wolsey as a statesman and as a churchman	272
	Rise of Cranmer. Mission of Anne Boleyn's father to the Pope and the Emperor	273
	Opinions of the universities	274
	Address to the Pope by the English prelates and nobles	275
	The proposal of the "double marriage" (September)	275
	Henry's violent complaints to the Pope (December)	277
1531	The convocation of the English clergy (January)	278
	Catherine banished from court (August)	279
1532	Clement VII. remonstrates with Henry (January)	279
	Meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Boulogne (October)	280
	The Pope threatens excommunication	280
	Henry's retort	281
1533	His marriage with Anne Boleyn (January)	281
	Cranmer becomes Archbishop of Canterbury (March)	282
	And declares Henry's marriage with Catherine to be null and void (May 23rd)	282
	Excommunication of Henry VIII.	283
1534	Anti-Papal Acts of Parliament	284
	Final sentence of the Pope (March 24th)	285
	Pusillanimity of the English clergy	286
	Oppressive measures of Henry	286
	An "outburst of despotic caprice and adulterous passion." Its result	287

CHAPTER IX

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN SCANDINAVIA AND SWITZERLAND. —HERETICAL MOVEMENTS AMONG THE LATIN RACES.

1523	Frederick I. and Gustavus Wasa encourage Lutheran teaching	288
	The capitulation of the 3rd of August at the election of Frederick. Its anti-papal decrees	289
1526	Tausen appointed as chaplain to the King (October)	289
	The Diet of Odense (November)	290
1530	Lutheran preachers present a Confession of Faith at the Diet of Copenhagen	290
	They are supported by Frederick	291
1533	Death of Frederick (April 10th). Want of energy by the bishops during the interregnum	291
1525	Gustavus Wasa introduces Lutheranism into Sweden	291

A.D. PAGE
1525 His system of spoliation 292
Five sees uncanonically occupied. Johann Brask stands alone 292
The revolt in Dalekarlien quelled by the King . . 293
1526 Clement VII. addresses (September 19th) the bishops of Linköping and Vesterås 293
Catholics in Sweden completely cowed 294
1527 Execution of Knut and Sunnanväder 294
The Diet of Vesterås (June). Weakness of the bishops, except Brask 294
Complete surrender to the King. Exile of Brask (November) 295
1528 Schismatical consecration of bishops (January 5th) . 295
1529 National Council at Örebro 295
1531 Worldliness and servility of the clergy 296
Ease with which Gustavus Wasa destroyed the ancient Church 296
1523 Rise of Ulrich Zwingli in Switzerland 297
1525 The Pope sends Filonardi to Switzerland (February). Failure of his mission 298
The Curia pay little attention to the Church affairs in that country 298
1531 Defeat of the Zurichers at Kappel (October 11th). Death of Zwingli 299
Papal relief comes too late. The Catholic cantons make peace with Zurich (November 20th) . . 300
1532 The reports of Filonardi (July) 301
1533 His recall (October 17th) 301
1523 Activity of the Lutherans in France 302
1525 Firmly opposed by the Sorbonne and Parliament . 302
1528 Catholic feeling in Paris 303
1529 Execution of L. de Becquin (April) 303
1534 Doubtful attitude of Francis I. 304
Impediments to the diffusion of Protestantism in Italy 305
1519–20 First appearance of Luther's writings in Upper Italy 306
1524–28 Vigilance of the Pope 307
1530 His decree to the Inquisitor Butigella (January 15th) 308
Protestant tendencies in Geneva 310
1528–30 Luther's followers in Venice 309
1532 Memorial from Carafa to the Pope (October) . . 310
Carafa draws up a programme for reform of the clergy 312
1533 Is warmly supported by Aleander (March) . . 313
Outside Venice, only isolated Lutherans to be found . 315

CHAPTER X.

THE CLOSE OF THE PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT VII.—HIS POSITION TOWARDS LITERATURE AND ART.

A.D.		PAGE
1533	Return of Clement VII. from Marseilles	316
	Is viewed with suspicion by the Imperialists	316
	Spread of anti-papal feeling in Germany	317
	State of Bohemia	317
	Strange attitude of the Pope and the Curia	318
	Inadequate support of deserving Catholic scholars	319
	Craftiness of the King of France	319
1534	Who supports the Landgrave of Hesse	320
	And misleads the Pope	320
	Clement VII. refuses to support Ferdinand (June)	321
	And determines to defer the Council	321
	Bitterness aroused in Germany by this	321
	Clement VII. taken ill (June)	322
	Changes in his condition. Deaths among the Cardinals	323
	The Pope has a renewed attack (August 18th). Receives extreme unction (August 24th)	324
	Rallies on September the 8th. Is visited by Giberti	325
	His death on September the 25th	326
	Up to the last is occupied with the prospects of his nephews. His Brief to the Emperor	327
	Description of his tomb	327
	Clement VII. quickly forgotten in Rome	328
	Severity of contemporary judgments upon him	329
	Not altogether fair. His character	329
	His absorption in the interests of his family	331
	And his temporizing and dilatory policy	331
	His conduct of English affairs	332
	In all great questions his policy breaks down	333
1523	Delight in literary circles at the election of Clement VII.	334
	His earliest secretaries	335
	His measures to increase the Vatican Library	336
1526	The mission of Johann Heitmers	336
	Relations of Clement with Erasmus	337
	Sannazaro and Vida	338
	Services rendered by Guicciardini to the Pope	339
	Clement VII. and Machiavelli	340
	Agnolo Firenzuola—Francesco Berni	340
	Quarrel between Berni and Aretino	341
	The latter banished from Rome	342
	The number of literati associated with Clement	342

A.D. PAGE
1526 Disastrous consequences of the sack for art and literature 345
At the election of Clement artists flock to Rome . 346
Cellini, Giulio Romano, and others 346
The decoration of the Stanze resumed . . . 347
The work of Penni 348
Giulio Romano and his pupils 349
Experiences of artists during the sack . . . 350
1530–31 Giovanni da Udine and Sebastiano del Piombo . 350
The illuminator, Giulio Clovio 351
The works at St. Peter's 351
The "Fabbrica di S. Pietro." Peruzzi appointed architect for life 352
Completion of the court of St. Damasus . . . 353
Works at castle of St. Angelo 353
Restorations in many churches. Construction of streets 354
Quick revival of the city after the sack . . . 355
Fortifications in the States of the Church . . . 355
Clement's patronage of goldsmiths' work . . . 356
Benvenuto Cellini 357
Medallists and workers in intaglio 358
Works of sculpture in Rome 359
And on the Holy House at Loreto 359
Baccio Bandinelli's work at Florence 360
Michael Angelo and Clement VII. 361
The painting of the Last Judgment suggested by Clement 363

CHAPTER XI.

CLEMENT VII. AND THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH. —HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE QUESTIONS OF THE COUNCIL AND REFORM.

The converts of the New World 364
Two hundred friars sent to the East Indies . . 365
1524 Creation of the Patriarchate of the West Indies (May 11th) 365
1530–31 And of other Sees 365
1524–28 Negotiations with Russia 366
Clement VII. and the Maronites and Armenians . 367
Embassy from the King of Æthiopia 367
The Jubilee of 1525. Regulations for it . . . 368
The Passion Play in the Colosseum 369

A.D. PAGE
1524–28 Protestants ridicule the Jubilee 369
Beatification of saints 369
The Rosary encouraged. Special Bulls of this time . 370
Clement obliged to make concessions to temporal princes 371
The Inquisition in Portugal. The Pope protects the Jewish Christians against the King . . . 371
"Clement, the gracious friend of Israel" . . . 372
Disputes with Venice about bishoprics . . . 373
Appointments to the Cardinalate. Ruling motives in Clement's creations 374
Political character of these appointments . . . 375
Manner of life of the Cardinals 377
1524 Clement VII. on the reform of the Curia (January) . 378
His three administrative proposals (September) . . 378
Appoints a visitation commission. Urges the observance of the Lateran decrees 379
Decree against vagrant Minorites 380
Instructions to Carafa concerning candidates for holy orders 380
Enactments for reform of the clergy in many dioceses 380
1525 And of the Carmelites and Humiliati . . 381
But these measures lay almost dormant. The cause of this 382
Things drift back into a contrary course . . . 384
The demand for a Council. Clement shrinks from this 385
His objections to a Council. The recollection of Constance and Basle. 386
The influence of the Emperor and of Francis I. . 387
Painful feelings aroused by the Pope's attitude . . 387

CHAPTER XII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION.— THE ORATORY OF THE DIVINE LOVE.—GAETANO DI TIENE AND CARAFA.

True reformers always to be found in the Church . 388
The work of Ximenes in Spain 388
The one thing lacking to the Lateran decrees . . 389
Yet when all seems lost a change begins in perfect quiet 389
Rise of the Oratory of the Divine Love (*c.* 1517) . 390
Its unpretentious beginnings and main principles . 391
Strong Catholic feeling of its members . . . 391

A.D.		PAGE
	Raphael and the Oratory	392
	The "Confraternità della Carità" (founded in 1519 by Clement VII. when a Cardinal)	393
	Is endowed by Clement VII. with the church of S. Girolamo	394
	Many officials of the Papal household members of it	394
1524	Valerio Lugio describes its work	394
	Rise of other institutions	395
	Increase in members of the Oratory of Divine Love. Some of its most illustrious associates	395
	Sets an example to other Italian cities	396
	And causes a revival of spiritual life	397
	Gives rise to the Theatine Order	397
	Gaetano di Tiene, his birth (1480) and early life	398
	His work in Vicenza, Verona, and Venice	399
1523	His return to Rome and intercourse with Carafa	400
	Different characters of the two men	401
	Birth (1476) and early life of Gian Pietro Carafa	402
	Made bishop of Chieti (1504) and Nuncio to Naples (1506)	403
	Labours to set his diocese in order	404
	Sent to England (1513), and Nuncio to Spain (1515)	404
	Great importance of his residence in Spain	405
	His intercourse with Ximenes and Adrian of Utrecht	405
	His occupations on his return from Naples (1520)	406
	Adrian VI. calls him to Rome. The impression he makes	406
	His close intimacy with members of the Oratory of the Divine Love	407
	With Gaetano matures plans for founding the Theatines	408
	Fundamental ideas of the founders	408
	Opposition and difficulties. Carafa resigns his two sees	410
1524	Papal Brief founding the new Order (June 24th)	410
	Gaetano and Carafa distribute their property and take solemn vows (September 14th)	411
	Carafa chosen Superior. Manner of life of the Theatines	412
1525	Deep impression they make in Rome	413
	And the change wrought by their quiet labours	414
	Tommaso Campeggio and Carafa	415
1527	At the sack of Rome the Theatines escape to Venice	415
	Their life in Venice. Relations with Contarini, Pole, and Cortese	416
1530–33	Rules of the Order drawn up by Carafa	416
1533	Clement VII. enjoins the erection of a house in Naples	417
	Strictness in the reception of new members	418

A.D. PAGE
1533 The Order a "Seminary for bishops" 418
The Pope encourages the Theatines. Carafa is indefatigable 419
His correspondence with Bishops 420
Important position he acquires in Venice . . . 420
Where he combats heresy 421
His reports of abuses among the clergy 422
And unprincipled titular bishops 423
Corruption of the religious orders. All need regeneration, especially the Franciscans 423

CHAPTER XIII

GIAN MATTEO GIBERTI.—THE SOMASCHI AND THE BARNABITES.

Early piety of Gian Matteo Giberti (born 1495). . . 424
Enjoys the friendship of Leo X. and Cardinal Medici 425
His relations with the humanists, especially Vida . 425
Clement VII. appoints him Datary 425
1524 And Bishop of Verona (August). His irreproachable conduct 426
His intimacy with Carafa and loyal devotion to the Pope 427
1528 Withdraws to his diocese. State of things he encounters there 428
Begins the task of reform. Change in his character. Embraces a strict asceticism 429
Report of the change in Verona (November) . . 430
1529 Undertakes the visitation of his diocese 430
His mode of procedure 431
And stringent enactments 432
Regulations for confessors, even in externals . . 433
1530 Strong edict on preaching (April 10th) . . . 433
His visitation of the religious orders. Clement VII. gives him special powers 434
1531 His regulations for nunneries confirmed by the Doge of Venice 435
Difficulties with his Chapter. Their stubbornness . 435
Conflicts with the corrupt clergy. He receives steady support from the Pope 436
Social activity of Giberti 437
Founds the Society of Charity to cope with mendicancy 438
His only recreation is study 439
The "Accademia Gibertina." His private printing press 439

A.D. PAGE
1531 Many other prelates follow his example 440
Revival of Synods in Italy and in other countries . 441
Popular character of the Catholic reformation begun by Giberti 442
The distresses of the time give it an impetus . . 442
The sack marks the end of the Renaissance . . 443
"A world had disappeared; a new one had to arise" 443
Admission by Pierio Valeriano 444
Sadoleto on the gleam of a new dawn 445
Speech of Stafileo on the reassembling of the Rota on May 15th, 1528 446
The sack had "cleared the air" 446
Misery and distress in Lombardy 447
The Venetian noble Girolamo Miani (born 1481) . 448
Becomes a priest (1518). His labours in the year of famine and plague (1528) 448
His work among the poor children. Supported by the Venetian government 449
Orphanages founded in Brescia and Bergamo . . 449
The Somaschi; their special characteristics . . 449
Miani extends the work into the Milanese territory . 450
Tommaso Nieto introduces a procession of the Bl. Sacrament 450
Antonio Maria Zaccaria (born 1502) goes to Milan . 451
1530 Joins the confraternity of the Eternal Compassion . 451
1533 Founds the Barnabite Order 451
Constitutions and manner of living of its members . 452
In what they differ from the Theatines . . . 452

CHAPTER XIV.

REFORM OF THE OLDER ORDERS.—THE CAPUCHINS.

1517–23 Paolo Giustiniani and the Camaldolese Hermits . 454
Egidio Canisio and the Augustinian Hermits . . 455
The Benedictine reform of S. Justina, and Gregorio Cortese 455
Efforts at the reform of Franciscan Observants . . 455
1525 The "Riformati" supported by Quiñones . . . 456
Opposed by the General, Pisotti 457
1532 Clement VII. issues a Bull in their favour (November) 457
Rise of Matteo da Bascio (b. 1495, d. 1552) . . 457
His early life and entry into the Observants . . 458
1523 His self-denying activity at Camerino attracts the attention of Caterina Cibo 459

A.D.		PAGE
1523	His strict observance of the rule. Change in the habit	460
1525	Goes to Rome. His petition to Clement VII. . .	460
	The Provincial orders him to be incarcerated . .	461
	Is set free and joined by Lodovico and Raffaello da Fossombrone	462
	They are empowered to set up houses of their Order .	463
1528	The Brief confirming the new branch of Franciscans (Capuchins)	464
	Foundation of the first houses	465
	Bernardino da Colpetrazzo's account of their manner of life	466
	They are "preachers of repentance" to the common people	467
1528–29	Their heroic self-sacrifice during the plague . .	467
1529	The first General Chapter at Alvacina . . .	468
	Matteo da Bascio chosen Vicar-General . . .	469
	Constitutions of the new institute . . .	469
	First Capuchin settlement in Rome . . .	470
	Rapid extension of the new community . . .	470
	Opposition of the Observants	471
	Unreflecting zeal of Lodovico	471
1532	Papal decision (August 14th) in favour of the Capuchins	472
1534	Ochino and Bernardino of Asti join them . . .	473
	The Observants again complain to the Pope . .	473
	The Capuchins banished from Rome (April) . .	474
	Indignation of the Roman people at this . . .	475
	Action of Vittoria Colonna and Caterina Cibo . .	475
	Clement VII. sanctions the return of the Capuchins .	476
	Ignatius Loyola at Montmartre begins the Society of Jesus	476

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX

		PAGE
I.	Pope Clement VII. to Donato de Marinis	481
II.	Safe-conduct of Pope Clement VII. for Johann Heitmers	482
III.	Pope Clement VII. to the Dominicans of Ghent	484
IV.	Remarks on the oldest sources for the history of the Capuchins, and on the criticism of Boverius	485
V.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua	488
VI.	Cardinal Trivulzio to Girolamo N.	489
VII.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua	492
VIII.	Consistory at Bologna on the 22nd of December 1529	492
IX.	Pope Clement VII. to Cardinal Farnese	493
X.	Consistory of the 4th of February 1530	493
XI.	Andrea da Burgo and Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand I.	493
XII.	Pope Clement VII. to the Duke Charles of Savoy	494
XIII.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	496
XIV.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	496
XV.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	497
XVI.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	498
XVII.	Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	499
XVIII.	Girolamo Cattaneo to the Duke of Milan	499
XIX.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	500
XX.	Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua	500

PAGE

XXI. Pope Clement VII. renews the appointment of Baldassare Peruzzi as architect for St Peter's . 501
XXII. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 502
XXIII. Andrea da Burgo to Ferdinand I. . . . 502
XXIV. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 503
XXV. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 503
XXVI. Pope Clement VII. to Johann von Metzenhausen, Archbishop of Treves 503
XXVII. Pope Clement VII. to the Dominicans of Ghent 504
XXVIII. Pope Clement VII. to Petrus Eras . . . 505
XXIX. Pope Clement VII. to Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mayence 505
XXX. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 506
XXXI. Pope Clement VII. to his Nuncio in Naples . 507
XXXII. Giovanni Maria della Porta to the Duke of Urbino 507
XXXIII. Pope Clement VII. to Baldassare Peruzzi . . 508
XXXIV. Pastron to the Marchioness of Monferrato . . 508
XXXV. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 509
XXXVI. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua 510

CHAPTER I.

Clement VII. in Exile at Orvieto and Viterbo.—The Inperialists leave Rome. — Disaster to the French Army in Naples.—The Weakness of the Pope's Diplomacy.—His Return to Rome.

In the old town of Orvieto, guarded by its strong citadel on the cone-shaped hill which separates, like a boundary stone, the Roman and Tuscan territory, the personal freedom of the Pope was secure; yet his situation must still be described as a deplorable one. His ecclesiastical rank excepted, he had lost all he could call his own: his authority, his property, almost all his states, and the obedience of the majority of his subjects.[1] Instead of the Vatican adorned with the masterpieces of art, he was now the occupant of a dilapidated episcopal palace in a mean provincial town. Roberto Boschetti, who visited the Pope on the 23rd of January 1528, found him emaciated and in the most

[1] In consequence Clement VII. was not able to keep his promise to Cardinal Colonna with regard to the Legation of the March of Ancona; see the *despatch of G. M. della Porta to the Duchess of Urbino, dated Lodi, 1528, Jan. 24: *Da Orvieto s' intende quelli di la Marca non haver voluto obedire alli brevi del papa che comandava accettassero per legato il card. Colonna. Senza ch' io dicho altro la Ex. V. si deve imaginare il dispiacere che ne piglia S. Sta, la quale fu gran favore al sig. Malatesta Baglione, che sta in Orvieto (State Archives, Florence). As a compensation, Cardinal Colonna was appointed Governor of Tivoli for life on January 18, 1528. *Min. brev., 1528, III., vol. 20, n. 1706 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

sorrowful frame of mind. "They have plundered me of all I possess," said Clement VII. to him; "even the canopy above my bed is not mine, it is borrowed."[1] The furniture of the Papal bedchamber, the English envoys supposed, could not have cost twenty nobles. They describe with astonishment how they were led through three apartments bare of furniture, in which the hangings were falling from the walls.[2] In this inhospitable dwelling Clement was confined to bed with swollen feet; there were suspicions that poison had been given him by the Imperialists, but the mischief was caused by his unwonted exertions on horseback on the night of his flight.[3]

At first only four Cardinals,[4] then, on a special summons from the Pope,[5] seven betook themselves to Orvieto. Their position was also a hard one, for no preparations had been made for the fugitives in the town; provisions could only be got with difficulty and at the highest prices, and there was such a scarcity of drinking water that the Pope had at once to give orders for the construction of four wells.[6]

[1] See Boschetti's remarkable report of January 24, 1528, in BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 41–42.

[2] See Gardiner and Fox, report of March 23, 1528, in State Papers: Henry VIII., VII., 63, and in BREWER, IV., 2, n. 4090.

[3] OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 19–20.

[4] In a *letter of Bonaparte Ghislieri, dat. Orvieto, 1527, December 20, Monte, Pucci, Accolti, and Spinola are mentioned as being present (State Archives, Bologna).

[5] See the *Briefs, dat. Orvieto, 1528, January 4. Min. brev., 1528, IV., vol. 21, n. 6 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] FUMI, Orvieto, 188–189. *Cf.* BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 44; SANUTO, XLVI., 580, 662. Ghislieri remarks in his *letter of December 20, 1527: "It is not supposed that the Pope will remain long in Orvieto on account of the angustia e carezza. Il star di S. Sta qua dipende della speranza di ridrizzar le cose di Roma." On February 2, 1528, he reports that lodgings and provisions are not to be had, and that all wish to get away (State Archives, Bologna). G. M. della Porta writes on

In spite of the distress in Orvieto, little by little numerous prelates and courtiers made their way thither. The business of the Curia, for a long time almost wholly suspended, was again resumed. On the 18th of December 1527 a Bull relating to graces bestowed during the captivity was agreed to in secret Consistory.[1] The conduct of the more important affairs lay in the hands of Jacopo Salviati and of the Master of the Household, Girolamo da Schio, Bishop of Vaison.[2]

The poverty and simplicity of the new court at Orvieto were such that all who went thither were filled with compassion. "The court here is bankrupt," reported a Venetian; "the bishops go about on foot in tattered cloaks; the courtiers take flight in despair; there is no improvement in morals; men here would sell Christ for

January 31, 1528, from Lodi to the Duchess of Urbino: *Quà si sta in expettatione desideratissima d' intender che resolutione habbiano da far gli nemici di Roma da li quali questi nostri qua pigliaronno indrizo del governarsi et levarsi di questo allogiamento nel quale più non si po stare essendosi quasi in tutto mancato il modo del viver senza che al mondo non fu veduta mai la più noiosa stanza (State Archives, Florence).

[1] The *Bull contained the following: "During our captivity, owing to the insistence and incessant entreaties of ecclesiastics and laymen, many graces, privileges, dispensations, etc., were agreed to and granted more under compulsion than of our own free will, to the scandal, injury, and prejudice of the Church and contrary to the example of our predecessors. Now, being at liberty, *dictae sedis honorem conservare et futuris scandalis obviare volentes*, we repeal collectively, in agreement with and on the advice of the Cardinals, all privileges, graces, dispensations, etc., granted to clergy and laity, excepting those conferred on *veri et antiqui familiares*, *continui commensales*, and on Cardinals and laymen bearing the title of Duke or other higher degree. D. Orvieto, 1527, XV. Cal. Januar. A° 5°. Clement VII. Secret A., I.–VI., Regest., 1437 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the report in BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 42–43.

a piece of gold."[1] Of the Cardinals only Pirro Gonzaga was able to live as befitted his rank; the rest were as poor as the Pope himself, who, in the month of April, was still without the most necessary ecclesiastical vestments.[2] The congratulations on his deliverance, addressed to him in writing by the Cardinals assembled in Parma,[3] personally by the Duke of Urbino,[4] Federigo Bozzolo,[5] and Luigi Pisani, and in letters or by special envoys from nearly all princes and many cities, must have seemed to him almost a mockery.[6] As Clement had only a few troops at his disposal and the neighbourhood of Orvieto was rendered insecure by the bands of soldiery,[7] he was

[1] SANUTO, XLVI., 488.

[2] SANUTO, XLVII., 394; *cf.* XLVI., 488. See also FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 33.

[3] *Letters of Cardinals Farnese, Passerini, Cibo, Ridolfi, and E. Gonzaga to the Pope, dat. Parma, 1527, December 15, in Lett. d. princ., IV., f. 170. *That of Cardinal Salviati, dat. 1527, December 27, in Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 138–139 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] As a consummate diplomatist Clement VII. received the man, who had contributed so much to his misfortune, in a friendly way; see UGOLINI, II., 243; REUMONT, III., 2, 223.

[5] Clement VII. had soon to deplore his death; see MOLINI, I., 287 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XLVI., 447 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 325. The letter from Venice in SANUTO, XLVI., 401–402. The *reply of Clement of December 30, 1527, in Min. brev., 1527, IV., vol. 17, n. 414 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Clement wrote to the Marquis Federigo Gonzaga from Orvieto, 1527, December 24: *Haud necessaria nobiscum, tamen summe grata nobis fuit tuae Nobil^tis^ gratulatio, quam nobis de nostra liberatione per dil. fil. Capynum de Capys amantissime exhibuisti (original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Even Alfonso of Ferrara sent congratulations. *Cf.* the diplomatic reply of Clement of December 28, 1527, in FONTANA, Renata, I., 431.

[7] "No one can come to us without peril of his life," complained Clement in a *Brief, dat. Orvieto, 1528, January 11, to the dom. de Vere. Min. brev., 1528, IV., vol. 21, n. 24 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

practically shut up in his mountain fortress. He had to complain repeatedly that even communication by letter had become difficult,[1] while any attempt to escape into the surrounding territory was out of the question. The care-laden Pope, wearing the long beard which he had allowed to grow during his captivity, was seen passing through the streets of Orvieto with a small retinue.[2] Rumour exaggerated his poverty still further; he was compared to the Popes of the infant Church.[3]

In spite of spoliation and exile the Pope continued to represent a mighty power. This was best seen in the eager competition of both the forces inimical to him to obtain his patronage. The attempts of France and England in this direction were well known to the Emperor, who made it a matter of express reference in the letter of congratulation addressed to Clement. In his answer of the 11th of January 1528 Clement thanked him for the restoration of freedom, assured him that he had never held him guilty of the occurrences in Rome, and declared himself ready to do all that lay in his power to aid him in the questions of peace, the Council, and all other things which Charles desired for the highest good of Christendom;

[1] *See the Brief to F. Alarcon, dat. Orvieto, 1528, Januar. 16, *loc. cit.* n. 131.

[2] "Ha una barba longa canuda, cavalca con 8 cavalli et 30 fanti di la sua guardia. Sta sempre maninconico." Report in SANUTO, XLVIII., 226. A coin of Clement VII. shows him with the beard, and on the obverse Peter and the Angel with the inscription: "Misit Dominus Angelum suum. Roma"; see CINAGLI, 98, n. 52, and Vol. IX. of this work, page 467, n. 1. It had become forgotten that Julius II. wore a beard, and now offence was given by Clement wearing one. Pierio Valeriano therefore published in 1533 an "Apologia pro sacerdotum barbis" dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, page 591, and STEINMANN, II., 38, n. 1.

[3] SEGNI, I., 1 (ed. 1830, I., 47). *Cf.* the Sienese reports in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 32–33.

the Emperor, moreover, would see for himself how powerless the Pope was, as long as the hostages were retained and the ceded cities still occupied; Francesco Quiñones would report in detail on all other circumstances under consideration.[1] To an Imperial envoy who had come to Orvieto as early as December 1527 to propose a formal alliance with Charles on the basis of the restoration of the States of the Church, the answer was given that the question could not be considered until the occupied cities had been given back and the hostages set at liberty.[2]

Clement was as little willing to give definite pledges to the League as to the Emperor. In the autograph letter in which, on the 14th of December 1527, he announced his release to Francis I., he certainly thanked the King for the help he had rendered, but showed in no ambiguous terms how insufficient, in reality, it had been. Yet Lautrec's army had not hastened a step. It was clear from this letter that the Pope had no intention of giving pledges to France; he excused his treaty with the Imperialists as a measure wrung from him by force. "For months, together with our venerable brethren, we had endured the hardest lot, had seen all our affairs, temporal and above all spiritual, go to ruin, and your well-intentioned efforts for our liberation end in failure. Our condition grew worse, indeed, day by day, the conditions imposed upon us harsher, and we saw our hopes threaten

[1] LANZ, Korrespondenz, I., 257–259; also 256–257, the premature letter of congratulation from Charles of November 22, 1527. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 584, 588; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen 71, and WADDING, 2nd ed., XVI., 243 *seqq.* The text of the Pope's letter in Lanz is incorrect; see BALAN, Clemente VII., 86.

[2] SANUTO, XLVI., 382. After the above had passed through the press appeared FRAIKIN'S important article: La Nonciature de France de la délivrance de Clément VII. à sa mort (Decembre 1527 à 25 Septembre 1534) in the Mél. d'Archéol., 1906, 513 *seqq.*

to vanish away. Under these circumstances we yielded to the pressure of a desperate state of things. Neither our personal interest nor the peril in which each one of us stood was the mainspring of our action; for eight long months we suffered ignominious imprisonment, and stood daily in danger of our lives. But the misery in Rome, the ruin of the States which had come down to us unimpaired from our predecessors, the incessant affliction in body and soul, the diminished reverence towards God and His worship, forced us to take this step. Personal suffering we could have continued to endure; but it was our duty to do all in our power to remove public distress. Our brothers, the Cardinals, have not shrunk from submitting, as hostages, to a fresh captivity in order that we, restored to freedom, may be in a position to ward off from Christendom a worse calamity." The bearer of this letter was Ugo da Gambara, who together with Cardinal Salviati was to give fuller information by word of mouth.[1] On the same day (December 14) Clement wrote in similar terms to the Queen-Mother, Louisa of Savoy, to Montmorency, Henry VIII., and Cardinal Wolsey, referring also in these letters to Gambara's information.[2]

Ever since January 1528 Clement had been besieged with the most pressing entreaties to join the League, whose army persisted in its wonted inactivity. In company with Lautrec, who had advanced as far as Bologna, were Guido Rangoni, Paolo Camillo Trivulzio, Ugo di Pepoli, and Vaudemont.[3] In February they were joined

[1] MOLINI, I., 280-282. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 224-225.

[2] MOLINI, I., 283-285; RAYNALDUS, 1527, n. 49-51; EHSES, Dokumente, 10-11, and the **Brief to Cardinal Du Prat of December 17, 1527, in the National Archives, Paris.

[3] See Lautrec's letter to Clement VII., dat. Reggio, 1527, December 14. (His joy at the deliverance. Sends P. C. Trivulzio and G. Casale

by Longueville, who brought the good wishes of Francis I. As envoys of Henry VIII., Gregorio Casale, Stephen Gardiner, and Fox were active; the last-named was especially occupied with the question of the divorce on which the English King was bent.[1]

The League made the most tempting promises to the Pope. Not only should he receive back the Papal States, but also designate to the kingdom of Naples and be compensated for all damages and costs of the war.[2] But the events of the past year had made Clement very cautious.[3] Despite all the pressure brought upon him, he would give no decided answer, and insisted that he was of more use outside the League than within it.[4] His inmost sympathies at this time were certainly with the League,[5] for he feared the power of the Emperor, who, in possession of Naples and Milan, was the "Lord of all

to express the same and with other messages. Will do everything for the Pope.) Lett. d. princ., IV., f. 261 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* **Lautrec's letter of January 1, 1528, *ibid.*, V., f. 1, and the *reports of G. M. della Porta to the Duchess of Urbino, dat. Lodi, 1528, January 25 (Stamane è gionto qua il conte Guido Rangone mandato da M. di Lautrech a N. S., etc.) and February 6, in Florentine State Archives. *Cf.* also the Brief to Lautrec in FONTANA, Renata, I., 434 *seq.*

[1] State Papers: Henry the Eighth, VII., 63; BREWER, IV., 2, n. 4090, 4118, 4120; Lett. d. princ., III., 1 *seq.* *Cf. infra*, Chap. VIII. Montmorency announced Longueville's mission to the Pope in a letter dat. St. Germain, 1528, January 1; Lett. d. princ., V., f. 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 281.

[3] SCHULZ, Sacco, 161 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 410, 490, 543, 554 *seq.*, 557 *seq.*, 592; REUMONT, III., 2, 229. See also the report of *N. Raince, January 28, 1528, in RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 24. MS. Beth. 8534, now marked franç. 3009 in the National Library, Paris.

[5] See SANUTO, XLVI., 507, 508; *cf.* also FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 40.

things,"[1] and wished for the expulsion from Italy of those who had done him such unheard-of wrong.[2] But from any attempt of this kind he was deterred by weighing closely the actual state of things; a waiting attitude, giving to both parties a certain amount of hope, appeared to the Pope to be the best, and this policy was also in accordance with his natural indecision.[3]

Perhaps the conduct of the League itself had even more influence on Clement than his feeling of helplessness when pitted against the victorious Spaniard. He could not trust a confederacy, the members of which, each engrossed in his own interests, had left him to his downfall in the year of misfortune 1527. Might not this trick be played again at any moment? Above all—and this was decisive—the League had assumed a character which made it quite impossible for the Pope to enter into it. Florence, from which his family had been expelled, was supported by France, Venice had seized Ravenna and Cervia, the Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. Both were unwilling to give back their plunder, and yet such were the allies whom Clement was to join against the Emperor![4]

[1] "Omnium rerum dominus"; see report of Gregorio Casale in FIDDES, Life of Wolsey, 467.

[2] Cardinal Salviati represented to the Regent Louisa: *che io era certo che S. B., se bene haveva come catholico perdonato ogni injuria, non poteva desiderare alcuna cosa più che veder fuori d' Italia et delle sue terre quelli che havevono fatte tante impietà et tante scelerateze et offese a Dio et alla chiesa, se non per altro per non haver più da temere, etc. * Letter to Jacopo Salviati of January 1, 1528. Nuziat. di Francia I., f. 142 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] SANUTO, XLVI., 490. *Cf.* Casale's report cited *supra*, n. 1. See also GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5, and FONTANA, 108.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 543, 557, f. 592. Venice had expressly promised to restore Ravenna and Cervia as soon as the Pope was set free; see Salviati's *report of January 1, 1528, cited *infra*, p. 10, n. 1.

In view of this situation, the Pope and his diplomatists directed their efforts towards securing the restoration of the States of the Church under a guarantee of neutrality.

On New Year's Day 1528 Cardinal Salviati informed the French Government that the League must be satisfied with a benevolent neutrality on the part of the Pope, deprived, as he was, of all material resources. At the same time he made it clear that Clement insisted on the restoration of the cities taken by Venice, and would consent to no dishonourable agreement with the Duke of Ferrara, the originator of all the misfortunes of the Church.[1] On the 12th of January Gambara arrived in Paris; and, together with Salviati, made the most urgent appeals to the French Government to compel the Venetians and Ferrara to surrender their plunder; if they failed to do so, then the Pope would be forced to try some other means of getting back his possessions.[2] Salviati did not let the matter drop, but afterwards forcibly renewed his representations. But he gained little at first, since the French were afraid that Venice might quit the League, and hesitated to take any steps.[3] It was not until France and England had formally declared war against the Emperor that a stronger pressure was put on Venice.

It was almost coincident with this turn in affairs that Clement determined to send a new Nuncio to Spain in the person of Antonio Pucci, Bishop of Pistoja, who together

[1] *Report of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati, January 1, 1528. Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 142 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the *report of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati, January 16, 1528. Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 152 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati of February 1, 1528, and to Gambara, February 13, 1528, *loc. cit.*

with Castiglione was to open up the way to a general peace.[1] If Charles, declared Sanga,[2] now Clement's chief adviser in place of Giberti, would not agree to Pucci's conditions of peace, then the Pope would join the League, but only after his own just grievances had been redressed. The League, so ran the fuller instructions, must undertake to restore Ravenna, Cervia, Modena, and Reggio, settle upon whom Naples should devolve, and finally bring about a general pacification in Florence. Pucci was to travel through France, to treat personally with Francis I., and explain why the Pope was obliged, for the time being, to remain neutral. The French King, however, was by no means disposed to carry out the wishes of which Pucci was to be the exponent; the mission of the new Nuncio to the Emperor made him uneasy, and he made a plan to put obstacles in his way.

Lautrec's successes certainly encouraged Francis in his projects. The former had at last left Bologna on the 10th of January 1528, and was pressing towards Naples through the Romagna. Clement now recovered Imola, and, somewhat later, Rimini also.[3] On the 10th of

[1] See the Papal credentials, dated Orvieto, 1528, February 10, in Gayangos, III., 2, n. 337, 338, and the plenary powers for Antonio, episc. Pistorien. prelato et nuntio nostro. Dat. Orvieto, 1527 (st. fl.), V. Id. Febr. A° 5°. Clem. VII., Secret. Regest., 1437, f. 30 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Letter to Gambara, dat. Orvieto, 1528, February 9, together with the answer to Longueville, in Lett. d. princ., I., 111–114.

[3] When Lautrec came to Imola on January 11, Giov. da Sassatello at once surrendered the town; SANUTO, XLVI, 478. There were greater difficulties with Rimini (see *ibid.*, 514, 617; GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 5; BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 52–53, and the *report of G. M. della Porta, dat. Orvieto, 1528, May 19, State Archives, Florence). The Pope did not recover this city till June; see SANUTO, XLVIII., 132 *seqq.*; YRIARTE, Rimini, 366; ADIMARI, Sito Riminese (Brescia, 1616), II., 59; BALAN, Clemente VII., 89.

February the French army crossed the Tronto and entered the kingdom of Naples. In Rome, and throughout Papal circles generally, this advance of the French was coupled with the hope that a final deliverance from the dreadful incubus of the landsknechts was at hand.[1] Lautrec gave assurances on all sides that, after reducing Naples, he would set free the Papal States; since his whole course of action was only undertaken in the interest of the Pope, he renewed his insistent entreaties that Clement would now resume his place in the League.[2]

The Imperialists, at first, had not feared Lautrec;[3] now they recognized the peril threatening them. If they were unable to move their army from Rome, then Naples would fall without a blow into the hands of the enemy.[4] Philibert of Orange, who had been in chief command since January, Bemelberg, and Vasto negotiated with the mutinous troops. Money was scraped together in every possible way,[5] and even Clement had to raise 40,000 ducats.[6] Thus, on the 17th of February 1528, the

[1] *Cf.* OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 32 *seqq.*, and the certainly exaggerated report in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 44. How delighted Cardinal Ridolfi had been already by the appearance of Lautrec in October 1527 is shown by his letter in Mél. d'archéol., XVI., 417 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *letters of Cardinals Numai and B. Accolti, dat. Ancona, 1528, January 28 and 29, to Clement VII. Lett. d. princ., V., f. 75 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] This is proved by the intercepted letters of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza in SANUTO, XLVI., 584.

[4] See SANUTO, XLVI., 648.

[5] *Cf.* SCHULZ, Sacco, 166.

[6] Lautrec complained of these sums; see GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 6. 20,000 ducats were paid in the name of the Roman people and 20,000 for the release of Cardinals Orsini and Cesi, detained as hostages by the Colonna. This release, fervently urged by Clement (*Min. brev. 1528, IV., vol. 21, n. 118 and 147, Briefs to Cardinal Colonna of February 13 and 20, Secret Archives of the Vatican), is mentioned by

soldiery, who up to the last indulged in acts of violence and depredation,[1] were induced to move.[2] The army, which eight months previously had numbered twenty thousand men, had melted down to one thousand five hundred cavalry, two or three thousand Italians, four thousand Spaniards, and five thousand Germans; so great had been the ravages of the plague among the troops. On the 13th of January Melchior Frundsberg fell a victim; his tomb in the German national church of the Anima recalls one of the most terrible episodes in the history of Rome.[3] "The troops," says a German diarist,[4] "had destroyed and burnt down the city; two-thirds of the houses were swept away. Doors, windows, and every bit of woodwork even to the roof beams were consumed by fire. Most of the inhabitants, especially all the women, had taken flight."[5] The neighbourhood for fifty miles around was like a wilderness.[6] The columns of flame, rising up from Rocca Priora and Valmontone, showed the road which the landsknechts had taken for Naples.[7]

The sufferings of the unfortunate Romans were even

G. M. della Porta in a *report, dat. Orvieto, 1528, February 26. Cardinal Colonna now went to Naples; see *his report of February 27, 1528, in the State Archives, Florence. Cesi and Orsini went at once to Orvieto; see SANUTO, XLVII., 28.

[1] *Cf.* the statements in the diary in OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 29; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 262, 289, 302, and BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 42, 44.

[2] SANUTO, XLVI., 602, 613, 616, 645, 662. *Cf.* ORANO, I., 345 note. The Italian and some of the Spanish soldiers were already withdrawn by the 14th; see OMONT, 37; ROBERT, 170. The news reached Orvieto on the 20th; see SANUTO, XLVI., 662.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, XVIII., 6; *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 277.

[4] CORNELIUS DE FINE in his *Diary in the National Library, Paris.

[5] *Cf.* also GUALDERONICO, 92; ALBERINI, 360–361.

[6] MOLINI, II., 21.

[7] ALBERINI, 360. *Cf.* OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 40.

then not yet at an end. On the afternoon of the same day (February the 17th) on which the Imperialists departed, the Abbot of Farfa, with a leader of a band from Arsoli, accompanied by a pillaging rabble, who were soon joined even by Romans themselves, entered the city. The streets rang with shouts of "Church, France, the Bear (Orsini)!" and plundering began anew, where anything was left to plunder, especially in the houses of the Jews. All stragglers from the Imperial army were put to death, even the sick in the hospitals were not spared.[1]

On hearing of these fresh outrages Clement sent Giovanni Corrado, and afterwards a detachment of troops under the Roman Girolamo Mattei, to restore order.[2] At the same time the Pope made strenuous efforts to mitigate the distress in Rome caused by the scarcity of provisions and to guard against the danger of plague. The letters of Jacopo Salviati to the Cardinal-Legate Campeggio, who had remained in Rome, throw light on the difficulties which had to be encountered in re-victualling the city; transport on land as well as by sea was extremely difficult, and there were those in Rome who did not scruple to take advantage of the existing necessity to sell corn at prices advantageous to themselves. But Clement VII. persevered; the extortionate sale of corn came under the sharpest penalties, and to ensure free carriage to Rome Andrea Doria was appointed to guard the coasts.[3]

[1] See the reports in SANUTO, XLVI., 646, 649, 663. *Cf.* ALBERINI, 361; OMONT, 38 *seqq.*, and GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 289.

[2] *Cf.* the **letters of G. M. della Porta of February 20 and 27, 1528: "Intendendo N. S. che in Roma si continuava più che mai di far ogni sorte disordine, S. B. ha spedite a quella via compagnie de fanti et de cavalli: capo Hieronymo Matteo Romano" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* OMONT, 43.

[3] *Cf.* the *letters of Jacopo Salviati to Campeggio, written from Orvieto, from the 1st to 24th March, especially those of March 1, 5, 6,

In the beginning of March a deputation came from Rome to Orvieto to invite the Pope to return to his capital, where the desecrated churches had already been purified.[1] Clement replied that no one longed more eagerly than he to return to Rome, but the scarcity and disorder then prevailing, as well as the uncertainty of the issue of the war in Naples, made any immediate change of residence impossible. Thereupon the Roman delegates begged that at least the officials of the Rota and Cancelleria might go back.[2] Clement, after long hesitation, gave way, on the advice of Cardinal Campeggio; but the officials in question delayed complying with the Papal orders[3] on account of the famine in the city. But by the end of April the majority of the officials of the Curia had to return,[4] though the situation in Rome continued to be critical,[5] and Cardinal Campeggio's[6] position was beset with difficulties.

8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 24; Litt. divers. ad Clement VII., Vol. III. See also the *letter of Campeggio to Clement VII., dat. Rome, 1528, March 21; Lett. d. princ., V., f. 148 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). For Campeggio as Legate in Rome see EHSES, Dokumente, XXVIII., *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of T. Campeggio, dat. Orvieto, ult. febr. 1528 (State Archives, Bologna), and also for the expiatory procession then held. *Cf.* also the *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *letters of Jacopo Salviati to Campeggio, dat. Orvieto, 1528, March 5, 9, and 12, *loc. cit.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). T. Campeggio reports on the "carestia" in Rome in a *letter, dat. Orvieto, 1528, March 5 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] *Cf.* the **report of G. M. della Porta of March 14, 1528 (State Archives, Forence).

[4] *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[5] The scarcity in particular was excessive. *Calamitas intolerabilis ita quod multi pauperum fame interirent, writes C. de Fine, *loc. cit.* See also T. Campeggio's *letter, dat. Orvieto, 1528, April 8 (State Archives, Bologna).

[6] BONTEMPI, 337, calls him *vice-papa.*

The Pope's own position was so harassing that Jacopo Salviati wrote to Cardinal Campeggio, "Clement is in such dire necessity that, like David, he must, perforce, eat the loaves of proposition" (1 Kings xxi. 6).[1] In the beginning of March, Brandano, the prophet of misfortune of the year 1527, appeared in Orvieto. He foretold for Rome and Italy new and yet greater tribulations; these would continue until 1530, when the Turk would take captive the Pope, the Emperor, and the French King and embrace Christianity; whereupon the Church would enter on a new life.[2] The Papal censures, the hermit went on to say, were void, inasmuch as Clement, having been born out of wedlock, was not canonically Pope. When Brandano proceeded to incite the people of Orvieto against the Pope, the latter gave orders for his arrest.[3] On Palm Sunday (April 5) Clement addressed the Cardinals and prelates then present in earnest language on the need for a reform of the Curia, exhorted them to a better manner of life, and spoke emphatically of the sack of Rome as a chastisement for their sins.[4] On Holy Thursday the customary censures on the persecutors of the Church were published.[5]

Lautrec, in the meanwhile, had achieved successes beyond all expectation. The towns of the Abruzzi hailed him as

[1] *Letter, dat. Orvieto, 1528, March 14; Litt. div. ad Clem. VII., Vol. III. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Above statements are taken from **reports of G. M. della Porta of March 9, 1528 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] So reports TIZIO, printed in Novelle Letterarie, 1746, and PECCI, Brandano, 44.

[4] Letter of A. Lippomano of April 6, 1528; see SANUTO, XLVII., 235.

[5] SANUTO, XLVII., 269 *seq.* The Bull "In Coena" was at once printed in Rome; see OMONT, Suites du Sac de Rome, 60.

their deliverer; but after that his operations came to a standstill, for Francis I. sent no money for his troops; besides, this valiant soldier was deficient in promptness of decision. Consequently, the Imperialists found time to put Naples in a state of defence; they judged rightly that here the decisive issue must be fought out. Lautrec did not realize this, and wasted time in reducing the towns of Apulia, and not until the end of April did he approach Naples from the east. But the luck of the French did not yet desert them; dissensions, especially between Orange and Vasto, divided the Imperialist generals, the landsknechts were as insubordinate as ever, and hated the Spaniards.[1] On the 28th of April the Imperial fleet was totally destroyed by Filippino Doria off Capo d'Orso, between Amalfi and Salerno. Moncada and Fieramosca fell in the battle; Vasto and Ascanio Colonna were taken prisoners.[2] The fall of Naples, where great scarcity of food was already making itself felt, seemed to be only a question of time. The Emperor's enemies were already busy with the boldest schemes, and Wolsey, through the

[1] See SANUTO, XLVII., 241, 279, 350, 360.

[2] For the sea-fight off Capo d'Orso see the detailed account by P. GIOVIO (Lett. volg. di P. Giovio, Venetia, 1560, f. 4–8; also a more correct account in SANUTO, XLVI., 664 *seq.*); the accounts in SANUTO, XLVII., 381 *seq.*, 387 *seq.*, 389, 391, 411 *seq.*, 415, 467 *seq.*, and BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 56 *seq.*; *Vita di D. Alfonso d' Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, in Cod. 34, E 23, f. 156 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome; JOVIUS, Hist., XXV., 45 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 5. See also BALAN, Clemente VII., 93; DE BLASIIS, Maramaldo, II., 351; Arch. Napol., XII., 41 *seq.*; GAVOTTI, La tattica nelle gr. battaglie navali, I., Roma, 1898, 180 *seq.*; ORANO, I., 356 n.; Atti d. Soc. Lig., X. (1876), 659; Giorn. stor. d. Liguria, 1900, 457 *seq.*; ROBERT, 189 *seq.* F. Doria excused himself on July 17, 1528, for not having acquainted Clement VII. with his naval victory; *Lett. d. princ, V., f. 200 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

English envoys, called upon the Pope to depose the Emperor without delay.[1]

Clement VII. watched with strained attention the result of the great contest, on which for him so much depended.[2] The Neapolitan war filled the unfortunate Romans with renewed alarm; they dreaded a repetition of the sack; the landsknechts had, in fact, threatened to return and burn the whole city to the ground.[3] Clement sent Cardinal Cesi to support Campeggio, and later on some troops.[4] The Pope's anxieties were increased by the stormy demands of the English envoys insisting on the dissolution of their King's marriage, and by the not less stormy entreaties of the League, especially of Lautrec, to declare immediate war on the Emperor.[5] To crown all came the pressure of famine in Orvieto, which the Sienese would do nothing to relieve on account of their enmity towards the house of Medici.[6] Since a return to the capital, so much desired by the Romans, was impossible,[7] owing to the insecure state of the country, the Pope was counselled to change his residence to Perugia, Civita Castellana, or

[1] See in STRYPE, Eccles. Memorials, V., 427, some undated accounts belonging, according to RANKE (Deutsch. Gesch., III., 26), to April 28, 1528.

[2] *Cf.* the *letters of Jacopo Salviati to Cardinal Campeggio, dat. Orvieto, 1528, March 9, 11, 15, and 16. Litt. divers. ad Clement. VII., Vol. III. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] For the plans for the defence of Rome see Casale's account in MOLINI, II., 20 *seqq.*

[4] SANUTO, XLVII., 235, 336.

[5] *Cf.* the refusal of Clement to Lautrec in the *Briefs, dat. Orvieto, 1528, March 31, April 7, and May 15. Min. brev., 1528, vol. 21, n., 288, 310, 418 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 35; BALAN, Clemente VII., 94 *seq.*

[7] SANUTO, XLVII, 359. *Cf.* BALAN, Boschetti, II., App. 56.

Viterbo;[1] it was decided to remove to the last-named place, the fortress having come into the Pope's possession at the end of April.[2]

On the 1st of June Clement reached Viterbo[3] and was received by the pious and aged Cardinal Egidio Canisio; he first occupied the castle, and afterwards the palace of Cardinal Farnese. Here too, at first, suitable furniture was wanting,[4] while, at the same time, there was great scarcity in the town;[5] but a return to Rome seemed impossible until the Pope should be again master of Ostia and Civita Vecchia. In place of Campeggio, who was under orders to go to England, Cardinal Farnese was appointed, on the 8th of June, the Legate in Rome; three hundred men were to garrison the castle of St. Angelo,[6] and Alfonso di Sangro, Bishop of Lecce, was sent to the Emperor to effect the release of the three Cardinals detained as hostages in Naples[7]

On the 4th of June Gasparo Contarini, as Venetian envoy,

[1] With SANUTO, XLVII., 235, 260, 280, 351, 529, 537, *cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Orvieto, 1528, May 19 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] SANUTO, XLVII., 242; BALAN, Clemente VII., 94; *letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Orvieto, 1528, May 25 (Il papa è resoluto esser nanti pasqua in Viterbo), in the State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* Blasius de Martinellis in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 584, and Storia del Duomo d' Orvieto, 77; see also *Despatch of Fr. Gonzaga, dat. Viterbo, 1528, June 2 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). BUSSI, 306, is wrong in dating the Pope's arrival in Viterbo, June 11.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta, dat. Viterbo, 1528, July 7 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] SANUTO, XLVII., 128; FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 35.

[6] *Brief to Farnese of June 8, 1528; Min. brev., 1528, vol. 22, n. 471 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* Acta Consist. in EHSES, Dokumente, 205; SANUTO, XLVIII., 127.

[7] Clement VII. to the Emperor, 1528, June 13; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 452; HINOJOSA, 62.

and Giovanni Antonio Muscettola, commissioned by the Prince of Orange, made their appearance in Viterbo; the latter was instructed to try and induce Clement to return to Rome. The Pope, shrinking from thus placing himself in the hands of the Spaniards, laid the matter before the Cardinals, who were unanimous in declaring the return to Rome desirable but impossible of execution so long as the Spaniards were masters of Ostia and Civita Vecchia.[1] Just then a prospect of recovering these places was opened up; a French fleet appeared off Corneto, and Renzo da Ceri made an attempt, but an unsuccessful one, to take Civita Vecchia; the Pope, unmindful of his neutrality, gave material assistance towards this attempt.[2]

In the meantime Contarini had done all he could to persuade the Pope to surrender his claims on Ravenna and Cervia, but his endeavours were unsuccessful; Clement stood firm, and insisted that he was pledged by honour and duty to demand the restoration of those towns.[3] The support lent by Venice to the Pope's enemy, Alfonso of Ferrara,[4] and the provocation given to Clement himself by the excessive taxation of the clergy of the Republic and the usurpation of his jurisdiction, did not lessen the difficulties of Contarini's position. On the 16th of June the Pope complained to Contarini of such actions as constituting a breach of the treaty made with Julius II.; he had bestowed the bishopric of Treviso on Cardinal Pisani, but the Republic had not allowed the latter to take

[1] Report of Contarini of July 3, 1528, in DITTRICH, Regesten, 32. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVIII., 187, 231. The famine prevailing in Rome was also a weighty consideration. *Cf.* the *letter of T. Campeggio to Bologna, dat. Viterbo, 1528, July 10, in the State Archives, Bologna.

[2] SANUTO, XLVIII., 276, 320, 323.

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 128 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 93, and Boschetti, II., 49 *seqq.*

possession of his see. His disposal of patronage was entirely disregarded in Venice, and it seemed as if the Venetians wished to show him how little he was considered by them. "You treat me," he said, "with great familiarity; you seize my possessions, you dispose of my benefices, you lay taxes upon me." The Pope's irritation was so great that, a few days later, in the course of another interview with Contarini, he said to himself in a low voice, but so that the Ambassador could understand him plainly, that, strictly speaking, the Venetians had incurred excommunication.[1]

All doubt as to Clement's determination to recover the captured towns vanished in the course of Contarini's communications with Sanga, Salviati, and other influential personages of the Papal court. The Master of the household, Girolamo da Schio, informed the Venetian Ambassador that he had spoken in vain to the Pope of some compensation in the way of a money payment; Clement had rejected the suggestion at once with the greatest firmness and, moreover, had complained not only of the conduct of Venice but also of France.[2]

Clement VII. had good grounds for displeasure with Francis I., who had supported Alfonso of Ferrara[3] and at last taken overt measures against the Pope. Seized with alarm lest the new Nuncio, Pucci, should prepare the way for an understanding between Pope and Emperor, Francis I. determined to detain the Papal envoy by force.

[1] *Cf.* Contarini's letter in DE LEVA, II., 503, n. 3, and DITTRICH, Regesten, 33. Clement's violent language about Venice is also confirmed by a *report of Salimbeni, dat. Viterbo, 1528, June 29 (State Archives, Siena); according to the latter (*cf.* FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 35) the Pope exclaimed: "Costoro vogliono ch' io faccia l' Imperatore Signore d' Italia e io lo farò." For the encroachments of Venice on ecclesiastical territory *cf.* also SANUTO, XLVII., 200.

[2] DITTRICH, Regesten, 32.

[3] *Cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 94.

To this, however, his English ally would not agree; Henry VIII., who had more need than ever of the Pope's favour in the matter of his divorce, was doing all in his power to arrive at some accommodation with Clement in his demands on Venice.[1] The French Chancellor, on the other hand, told Pucci that Francis I. could not permit him to make his journey to Spain, since he was certain that he would otherwise lose the support of Venice, Ferrara, and Florence; rather than give up such indispensable allies, France would sooner dispense with the aid of the Pope and England.[2] The arrogance of the French increased with the news of Lautrec's successes.

At the end of April the French Chancellor gave the Nuncio, Pucci, to understand that the king insisted on an immediate declaration from the Pope. Salviati replied that his master would make his intentions known if Ravenna and Cervia were surrendered at once, and Modena and Reggio after the war.[3] In consequence of the firm behaviour of the Papal representative the French court at last became aware that something must be done, at least in the case of Cervia and Ravenna. Strong representations were made to the Venetians;[4] but at the same moment a grievous wound was inflicted upon Clement by the formation of an alliance of the closest kind with the Pope's bitterest enemy, Ferrara: Renée, the daughter of

[1] See the *letter of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati of March 1, 1528. Nunziatura di Francia I. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 255 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati of April 4, 1528, in EHSES, Dokumente, 257.

[3] *Letter of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati of May 5, 1528. Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 201 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati of May 25, 1528. *Ibid.*, I., f. 223 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Louis XII., was betrothed to Ercole, the hereditary Prince of Ferrara.[1]

The French proposals to the Venetian Government[2] proved futile. Contarini had, as hitherto, to try and justify the robbery. The Pope, however, prone as he was in other respects to give way, showed in this instance inflexible determination. He repeated his declaration that an agreement with the League was impossible while Venice and Ferrara withheld from him his legitimate possessions. Contarini thought he saw signs of a leaning towards the Emperor on the part of Clement, although the latter feared the power of Charles and placed little trust in him.[3]

A step, however, in this direction was taken after the opening of hostilities on the scene of war in Naples. The victory of the 28th of April had destroyed the Imperialist fleet, and since the 10th of June Naples had been completely cut off at sea by Venetian galleys; the necessaries of life were hardly procurable in the great city.[4] With the rising heat of summer came a new enemy with whom not only the besieged but also the besiegers had to engage. Typhus and a bad form of intermittent fever broke out and spread daily.[5]

[1] See SANUTO, XLVIII., 219, 260 *seqq.*; DECRUE, Montmorency, 128 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschrift., XXV., 132 *seq.*; FONTANA, Renata, I., 45 *seq.*, 50 *seqq.* *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., III., 22.

[2] *Cf.* for this the *report of the French Ambassador in Venice, J. de Langeac, to Clement VII., dat. Venice, 1528, June 25. *Lett. d. princ., V., f. 186 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 136–137. For the Pope's behaviour with regard to the acceptance of the "chinea" see Contarini's report in SANUTO, XLVIII., 402, *cf.* also 382; FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 39–41, and Lett. d. princ., III., 29[b] *seqq.*, 32.

[4] SANUTO, XLVIII., 161, 174.

[5] See SANUTO, XLVIII., 282, 301, 302, 365. *Cf.* Morone's report in DANDOLO, Ricordi, 270; ALBERINI, 363; SANTORO, 95 *seq.*, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris). For the nature of the plague see HAESER, III., 358.

In July, when the disease was at its worst, an event occurred bringing with it far-reaching results; this was the rupture between Francis I. and his Admiral, Andrea Doria. Charles consented to all Doria's demands; the Genoese squadron set sail,[1] and Naples, which the French had looked upon as certain to fall into their hands by the end of July,[2] was thus set free by sea. Later, Genoa also,[3] so important on account of its situation, was lost to France.

Lautrec had made the greatest exertions to bring about the fall of Naples. By the 5th of July it was believed, in the French camp, that further resistance was impossible.[4] But the Imperialists held out and defended themselves so skilfully that Philibert of Chalon, Prince of Orange, who had succeeded on Moncada's death to his command, was able to report to his master: "The French in their entrenchments are more closely besieged than we in the city."[5] The Imperialists' best ally, however, was the sickness which made great strides in the marshy encampment of the French. "God," said a German, "sent such a pestilence

[1] See SISMONDI, XV., 389 *seq.*; DE LEVA, II., 475–481; DECRUE, 112 *seqq.*; FONTANA, Renata, I., 61 *seq.*; PETIT, 75 *seq.*; ROBERT, 214 *seq.*; RANKE (Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 19, note 2), without particularizing more precisely, commented on the accounts in a "manuscript biography of Guasto in the Chigi Library." There is certainly some mistake here, as the passages mentioned by Ranke are in the *Vita di Don Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, in Cod. 34, E 23 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[2] "Costoro sono in certissima speranza che Napoli a questa hora sia del Christianissimo, et Madama ha usato di dir haverne tal sicurtà che non ne dubita punto et gia ragionono chi debba essere vicere." *Cardinal Salviati to Jacopo Salviati, 1528, July 26. Nunziatura di Francia I., f. 255 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] On September 12, 1528. DE LEVA, II., 486 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 108 *seqq.*

[4] Florentine account in SANUTO, XLVIII., 223.

[5] REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 92.

among the French hosts that within thirty days they well-nigh all died, and out of 25,000 not more than 4000 remained alive."[1]

Vaudemont, Pedro Navarro, Camillo Trivulzio, and Lautrec fell ill, and on the night following the Feast of the Assumption Lautrec died.[2] As Vaudemont also was carried off by the disorder, the Marquis of Saluzzo assumed the chief command. He soon perceived that the raising of the siege had become inevitable, and on the night of the 29th of August, amid storms of rain, began his retreat. The Imperial cavalry at once rode out in pursuit; Orange, with his infantry, turned back to meet them; but the sickly French soldiers could not face the onslaught; quarter or no quarter, they were forced to yield; they were stripped and disarmed and then left to the mercy of God and to the peasantry, "who put nearly all of them to death."[3] The wretched scattered remnant of the great French army wandered about in beggary; a few bands made their escape as far as Rome, where they

[1] See RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 20. According to Morone (in DANDOLO, Ricordi, 269) more than half the army died. CORNELIUS DE FINE reckons the number of dead at about 14,000. *Diary in National Library, Paris.

[2] SANUTO, XLVIII., 403, 409; Lautrec's body (see portrait in YRIARTE, Rimini, 365) was buried in camp (see DE BLASIIS, Maramaldo, II., 369) and later brought to Naples by a Spaniard and laid in the church of S. Chiara; see SANTORO, 115. Ferrante o Cordova, Duke of Sessa, "humanarum miseriarum memor," ordered a monument to be raised to the French general in S. Maria la Nuova. In Rome the Senate commanded funeral solemnities for Lautrec, and for long afterwards masses were said for one who was looked upon as the "liberatore di questa alma città." TORRIGIO, Grotte, 263; ORANO, I., 359, note; ROBERT, 222.

[3] REISSNER, 162_b. *Cf.* SCHERTLINS, Biography, 25–26; SANUTO, XLVIII., 484; SEPULVEDA, I., viii., c. 43; BALAN, Clemente VII., 104.

were compassionately succoured,[1] but forced to depart by the landsknechts. A German resident in Rome relates how he had supplied the sick and naked with food and clothing, and how in the streets and environs the corpses of those who had perished miserably lay exposed.[2]

"Victoria, victoria, victoria," wrote Morone on the 29th of August 1528 to the Imperial envoy in Rome. "The French are destroyed, the remainder of their army is flying towards Aversa."[3] Cardinal Colonna and Orange at once informed Clement of the victory, and at the same time sent more special messages. Orange added that he had tried persistently to describe as faithfully as possible the position of affairs, and had always foretold the issue as it had come to pass; he besought the Pope to attach himself as much as possible to Charles V.[4] The complete triumph of the Emperor was, in fact, no longer in question. Although the campaign still lingered on in Apulia and Lombardy, yet, such was the weakness of the French and the lukewarmness of the Venetians, that the end could be foreseen with certainty.

Clement thanked God that he had not accepted the baits of the League. "If he had acted otherwise," wrote Sanga, "in what an abyss of calamity should we now be."[5] In the beginning of September Clement VII. and Sanga determined, in spite of Contarini's warnings, to make serious approaches to the victorious Emperor. "The

[1] ALBERINI, 363 *seq.*

[2] *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris).

[3] MOLINI, II., 81, and SANUTO, XLVIII., 458 *seqq.*; *cf.* Riv. stor., XII., 419.

[4] Both *letters, that of Colonna, dat. Gaeta, 1528, August 30, and that of Orange, dat. Naples, August 31, I found in Lett. d. princ., V., f. 232 and 233 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] Letter to Campeggio (undated) in Lett. d. princ., III., 41[b].

Pope," as Contarini expressed it on the 8th of September 1528, "is accommodating himself to the circumstances of the hour."[1] His own position, as well as that of Italy, left him, in fact, no other choice.[2] In letters and messages Orange expressed his loyalty to the Pope; he assured Clement, in a letter of the 18th of September, that he might look upon the Imperial forces as his own and return without anxiety to Rome: "in case of necessity we are ready to sacrifice our lives in defence of your Holiness."[3]

[1] DITTRICH, Regesten, 34; *cf.* Lett. d. princ., III., 40b.

[2] REUMONT'S opinion, Toskana, I., 23. *Cf.* FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 40.

[3] *Cf.* the important and hitherto unknown *correspondence in *Lett. d. princ., V., f. 248: Orange to Clement VII., dat. Naples, 1528, September 12: Announcement of the mission of Count Guido Rangoni. f. 254: *Cardinal Colonna to Clement VII., dat. Naples, 1528, September 13: After the hard-won victory he had gone at the request of Orange to Naples, "et trovando che per anchora non era expedito alla S. V., si come il debito ricercava, ho procurato che si mandi il sig. conte Guido Rangone." f. 255: *Ascanio Colonna to Clement VII., dat. 1528, September 17: Assurances of loyalty; he is rejoiced to hear of the Pope's return with the court to Rome. f. 256: *Orange to Clement VII., dat. Torre del Greco, 1528, September 18: The Abbate di Negri, sent by Andrea Doria, had recently come with a report corresponding to the personal information given by the Nuncio Girol. Rorario. As Negri was about to return to the Pope he would not write a long letter. Negri is to be relied on. "Non perho tacerò che V. S. po interiamente fidarsi de li exerciti o ministri de la Ces. Mta non altramente che de li soi proprii et io o con to exercito o con mia persona sempre la servirò et farò soi mandati non altramente che si fosse la Mta Ces. Et cerco al venir de V. S. in Roma la supplico che venghi senza sospecto alcuno et stia in sua sede come li conviene che noi bisognando moririamo tutti per mantenercela et N. S. Dio la revma sua persona et soi stat guardi et augmenti come per epsa se desidera." f. 261: *Cardinal Colonna to Clement VII., dat. Naples, 1528, September 18: Thanks for the two briefs; assurances of loyalty. f. 263: *Orange to Clement VII., dat. Torre del Greco, 1528, September 29: He had heard of the Pope's great displeasure at the

Charles also tried to gratify the Pope in circumstances of a different sort, for he gave a promise, through Orange, to restore the Medicean rule in Florence.[1] But from Venice came the tidings, through the French envoy, that all his efforts to induce the Signoria to give back Ravenna and Cervia were unavailing. So great was the acquisitiveness and lust of possession of the Venetians that, instead of giving back the Pope his own, they were more likely to make further aggressions.[2]

In September Clement made up his mind to return to Rome, in accordance with the Emperor's strong desire, although Civita Vecchia and Ostia were still occupied by the Spaniards. Contarini vainly tried to dissuade him. Orange had given his solemn oath to protect the Pope, if the latter would only go back to Rome and save the Emperor, who was actually and in intent a faithful son of the Church, from the contumely which would certainly accrue to him if Clement VII. refused, from distrust, to return to his See.[3] Already, on the 17th of September

expedition of Sciarra Colonna to take Paliano and against other places held in sequestration by the Pope. He was himself much displeased, as he wished in everything to be in accordance with the Pope; he had therefore addressed to Ascanio as well as Sciarra Colonna the most urgent injunctions to respect all property subject to the Papal claims until the final decision should be pronounced. He hoped that the matter would thus be settled; in any case he would deal with the circumstances in such a way as to relieve the Pope of all anxiety (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] Sienese report of September 22, 1528, in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, 41, note 2. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVIII., 485, 490 *seqq.*

[2] *Letter of J. de Langeac to Clement VII., dat. Venice, 1528, August 29. *Lett. d. princ., V., f. 231 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 139. "The departure for Rome was certain, the day not fixed," reports *T. Campeggio on October 2, 1528, to Bologna (State Archives, Bologna).

1528, the Pope had sent Cardinals Sanseverino and Valle to Rome.[1] His own return was delayed owing to a violent feud between the Colonna and Orsini, whereby the neighbourhood of Rome was laid waste.[2]

At the last hour France made an attempt to thwart this beginning of an understanding between the Pope and the Emperor. On the 1st of October a messenger from Carpi approached the Pope. He brought a promise of the immediate restoration of Ravenna and Cervia as soon as Clement gave his adhesion to the League; while Modena and Reggio would be given back simultaneously with his acting in the interests of France. The Pope sent a refusal.[3] On the 5th of October he left Viterbo with his whole court, under the protection of about a thousand soldiers, and on the following evening, amid torrents of rain, re-entered his capital. He forbade any public reception on account of the distressing state of the times; he first paid a visit to St. Peter's, to make an act of thanksgiving, and then repaired to the Vatican.[4]

The city presented a truly horrifying picture of misery and woe. Quite four-fifths of the houses, according to the computation of the Mantuan envoy, were tenantless; ruins were seen on every side—a shocking sight for anyone who had seen the Rome of previous days. The inhabitants themselves declared that they were ruined for two genera-

[1] SANUTO, XLVIII., 542; XLIX., 18. *Cf.* also 19 and 21 for the probable departure of the Pope.

[2] ALBERINI, 366 *seqq.*; *cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 97 *seq.*, 113.

[3] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 589.

[4] See SANUTO, XLIX., 49; Contarini's report in DITTRICH, Regesten, 36; GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 576; the **letters of F. Gonzaga of October 7, 1528 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Cod. Barb. lat. 2799, Vatican Library.

tions to come.[1] The same authority, quoted above emphasizes the fact that of all his many acquaintances, inmates of or sojourners in Rome, hardly anyone was left alive. "I am bereft of my senses," he says, "in presence of the ruins and their solitude."[2] The churches were one and all in a terrible condition, the altars were despoiled of their ornaments, and most of the pictures were destroyed. In the German and Spanish national churches only was the Holy Sacrifice offered during the occupation of the city.[3]

A Papal Encyclical of the 14th of October 1528 summoned all Cardinals to return to Rome.[4] Clement wrote in person to Charles, on the 24th of October, that, relying on the promises of Orange and the other representatives of his Majesty, to whom this intelligence will be certainly acceptable, he had returned to Rome, "the one seat" of the Papacy. "We too," he added, "must rejoice on coming

[1] F. Gonzaga thus reports in his **letter of October 7, 1528, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* LANCELLOTTI, III., 410, 449, and Lett. d. princ., III., 46, 56[b]. The Ricordi di Bontempi, 238, puts the number of houses destroyed by the Imperialists at 13,600. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 590, thinks this an exaggeration.

[2] See in Appendix, No. 5, *F. Gonzaga on October 12, 1528 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). "Io no saprei con qual formula di discorso narrare le miserie di Roma dopo il sacco e quali fossero le lacrime de' cittadini, quali i sospiri profondi che durarono nel petto de' mortali, poichè tutti universalmente si lagnavano, chi piangeva la madre, chi il fratello e chi il padre e chi gli altre suoi più prossimi consanguinei," so runs the *Relazione delle miserie dopo il sacco in Cod. R, 6, 17 (Angelica Library, Rome).

[3] See the *Relazione quoted in note above: "Erant enim Romae omnes ecclesiae derelictae atque omnia sacra profanata, et in tota urbe non celebrabantur missae nisi in hospitali Teutonicorum et Hispanorum." *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[4] Min. brev., 1528, II., vol. 19, n. 898 (Secret Archives of the (Vatican).

safe to shore, after so great a shipwreck, even if we have lost all things; but our grief for the ruin of Italy, manifest to every eye, still more for the misery of this city and our own misfortune, is immeasurably heightened by the sight of Rome. We are sustained only by the hope that, through your assistance, we may be able to stanch the many wounds of Italy, and that our presence here and that of the Sacred College may avail towards a gradual restoration of the city. For, my beloved son, before our distracted gaze lies a pitiable and mangled corpse, and nothing can mitigate our sorrows, nothing can build anew the city and the Church, save the prospect of that peace and undisturbed repose which depends on your moderation and equity of mind."[1]

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1528, n. 15. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 232, who remarks that the Pope's words were so many reproaches to those who were the chief culprits. The letter to Castiglione sent together with this Brief is undated in Lett. d. princ., III., 56 *seqq.*

CHAPTER II.

Reconciliation of the Emperor and the Pope.—The Treaties of Barcelona and Cambrai.

On the day after his return to Rome, Clement assembled the Cardinals and conservators in order to confer with them on the restoration of the city.[1] The Pope's first care was to provide for the most pressing necessity, the import of articles of food, of which there was the greatest scarcity. Steps were also taken to set in order the despoiled churches, and to repair the destruction wrought on buildings. The business of the Curia now resumed its regular course; persons belonging to the court tried to install themselves as best they could.[2] Life in the city showed signs of a complete change; the luxury and frivolity of previous days had vanished, for the general poverty stamped an

[1] See the **letter of F. Gonzaga of October 7, 1528 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Sanuto, XLIX., 96, 134, 155; report of Contarini of December 19, 1528, in Brosch, I., 118; letter of Salviati in Serassi, II., 157 *seq.*; Lancellotti, III., 449; *Diary of Cornelius de Fine in the National Library, Paris. A terrible picture of the *gran carestia* which continued in Rome is given by G. M. della Porta in a *letter to the Duchess of Urbino, dat. Rome, 1529, January 9: "Ogni giorno si veggono gli morti per le strate—non si sente per la città altra voce che questa de poveri gridando; aiutatemi ch' io moro della fame" (State Archives, Florence). The Pope's endeavours. to give succour are *reported by F. Gonzaga on January 7, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also Studi e doc., III., 89 *seq.*

impress of seriousness and gloom on everything.[1] Instead of the throng of showy equipages, religious processions made their way through the deserted streets.[2] The unlucky inhabitants were in want not only of nourishment but of clothing; traders from Venice and other places came in numbers, but hardly anyone had money to make purchases.[3] Strangers were especially struck by the wretched plight of most of the Cardinals.[4] Ecclesiastical ceremonies, even those in which the Pope took a part, were shorn of their splendour owing to the lack of ornaments and vestments.[5] Yet, notwithstanding the general misery, the Pope was glad to be back in Rome, his own See.[6]

While in Viterbo, Clement had published the nomination of Quiñones, the General of the Franciscans, then at the Emperor's court, to the Cardinalate.[7] He awaited his

[1] *Relazione delle miserie dopo il sacco in Cod. R, 6, 17 (Angelica Library, Rome).

[2] Thus on November 25, 1528, in order to solemnize the restoration of the plundered relics; see BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Relazione, etc., *loc. cit.*

[4] See LANCELLOTTI, III., 449.

[5] *24 Decemb. 1528 fuerunt vesperae papales in capella magna, quia ob defectum mitrarum et paramentorum papa in consistorio sic ordinaverat. On December 25 also the service was held in the *capella magna*. BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] Report of F. Gonzaga of October 20, 1528, in SANUTO, XLIX., 134.

[7] PANVINIUS, 367, gives no day, and makes it appear that Quiñones had already been nominated together with the Cardinals mentioned above (see Vol. IX. of this work, p. 465). This is a mistake. According to CIACONIUS, III., 495 *seq.*, and CATALANUS, 303, Quiñones' nomination took place on December 7, 1527, but the publication, as SANUTO, XLIX., 20, proves with certainty, was deferred until September 25, 1528. This is in agreement with the *letter of T. Campeggio, dat. Viterbo, September 28, 1528 (State Archives Bologna).

return, with more precise information as to the Emperor's intentions, with anxious impatience.[1] In the meanwhile the agents of the League, led by Contarini, were active in trying to hinder the advances of the Pope to the Emperor, and a new French envoy was also busy in the same direction as Contarini.[2] These attempts were not, at the time, altogether without hope of success, for Charles V., with icy reserve, let the Pope feel that he was dependent on his favour.[3] The Emperor's servants in Italy did not fail their master in keeping up this impression.[4] The return of Quiñones was delayed in such a remarkable manner that the Pope was nearly worn out with impatience.[5] Expressions made use of by Clement VII. and by his advisers as well, in November and the first half of December, show how heavily the Emperor's preponderance weighed upon him, and how gladly he would have seen a weakening of the Imperial power, whether from the side of Bavaria or from that of the Voivode of Siebenbürgen.[6]

[1] *Cf.* *Lett. d. princ., III., 56[b] *seq.*, 61 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1528, n. 15; SANUTO, XLIX, 95, 133, 155 *seq.* *Cf.* the *reports of T. Campeggio, dat. Viterbo, October 2, and Rome, November 5, 1528 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 138 *seq.*

[3] Gregorovius' opinion, VIII., 3d ed., 605.

[4] This was seen most clearly in the negotiations for the surrender of Ostia and Civita Vecchia. Charles had already, on September 16, 1528, given orders that Civita Vecchia should be restored to the Pope; see VILLA, Italia, 249–250.

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIX., 158, 186, 218, 279, 280.

[6] *Cf.* along with the report of Giov. Joachim [Passano] of November 7, 1528, in MOLINI, II., 122, those of *Raince, December 14, 1528, and of Bellay, January 1, 1529 (National Library, Paris), made use of by RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 21 *seq.* The titles of the MSS. in question, missing in Ranke, are in DE LEVA, II., 494, where it is to be remarked that MS. Beth. 8534 now bears the sign. franc. 3009.

The Pope had begun to despair of Quiñones' return when, on the 17th of December 1528, came the intelligence that the latter had landed at Genoa in the company of Miguel Mai.[1] This was welcome news, for now there seemed a certainty of ascertaining the Emperor's position. On the 30th of December Quiñones reached Rome, and was immediately provided with a lodging close to the Papal apartments.[2] The hopes that the Emperor's attitude would now be clearly explained proved illusory, for Quiñones brought with him only civil speeches; all matters of detail were to be discussed with the Viceroy of Naples.[3]

Contarini considered this a favourable moment for expending all his gifts of eloquence on the Pope in order to persuade him to renounce his claims on Cervia and Ravenna, and to win him over to the League. He thought it necessary to show all the more energy in the matter as a report was current that the Pope had a mind to lay Venice under an interdict. On the 4th of January 1529 he entered the Papal presence; he announced that he had come not as the envoy of Venice, but as an Italian,

[1] Report to the Marquis of Mantua of December 17, 1528, in SANUTO, XLIX., 281, *cf.* 331, and Lett. d. princ., I., 118. In the *letters of credence of Charles V. for M. Mai, dat. July 17, 1528, the Emperor wrote to the Pope: "Si praesentes S. V. praesentem alloqueremur, non facilius animum nostrum ea perspiceret quam ex magnifico equite Michaele Mayo, consiliario et oratore nostro, quem ad S. V. mittimus." Lett. d. princ., V., f. 202 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] SANUTO, XLIX., 348 *seqq.* For the causes which delayed the arrival of Quiñones see R. ANCEL, D'un recueil de docum. appart. à l'héritage du Card. A. Trivulzio, Bruges, 1906–7.

[3] BROWN, IV., 186. Contarini's relation in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 262. It is interesting and explanatory of Charles's conduct as described above that, as Mai told Andrea da Burgo, he should have lost confidence in Quiñones since the latter became a Cardinal; see the *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, March 2, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

as a private personage and as a Christian, in order to submit to his Holiness his opinion on the state of affairs. The Pope having invited him to speak freely, Contarini set forth, in impressive language, that the whole question resolved itself into one point, namely, that at that given moment the Head of the Church should not, like the rulers of secular states, pursue particular interests only, but fix his eyes on the general welfare of Christendom, and thereby divert the other princes of Europe also from their purely selfish systems of policy. Proceeding further, Contarini suggested to the Pope nothing less than the renunciation of a portion, nay, even of the entirety, of the Papal States. "Let not your Holiness suppose," he said, "that the welfare of the Church of Christ stands or falls with these morsels of worldly dominion. Before their acquisition the Church existed, and, indeed, existed at her best. She is the common possession of all Christians; the Papal States are like any other states of an Italian prince, therefore your Holiness must set in the forefront of your responsibilities the welfare of the true Church, which consists in the peace of Christendom, and allow the interests of the temporal states to fall for a time into the background." The Pope made answer:

I well perceive that you are speaking the truth and that I, as one faithful to his trust, ought to act as you exhort me; but then, those on the other side ought to act in like manner. Nowadays it has come to pass that the craftiest man is held to be the most capable, and wins most applause in this world; of anyone who acts otherwise, all that is said is that he is a good-natured but impracticable fellow, and, with that, they leave him to himself." Contarini rejoined: "If your Holiness were to explore all the contents of Holy Scripture, which cannot err, you would find that nothing is prized therein more highly than truth. virtue, goodness, and a noble purpose. On

many private occasions I have tested this standard and found it true. Let your Holiness take courage and go on your way with a good intention, and God, without doubt, will support you and give you glory, and you will find the right path without toil and without intrigue."

In his reply the Pope kept to his former standpoint He referred to the danger of an alliance of the Emperor with Florence, Ferrara, and Venice. "You," he added, "would be allowed to keep all that you have got, while I, as the good-natured man, who has been robbed of all his belongings, would be left where I am without a chance of recovering one single thing." To Contarini's assurance that Venice would not conclued a separate treaty with Charles apart from the other members of the League, the Pope replied with the remark, "With you everything depends on a single ballot." All further representations of the Ambassador were in vain, although his words had not been without a certain effect. "I admit," said Clement, "that the course you recommend would be the right one; otherwise Italy falls entirely into the power of the Emperor, and you will try to get some advantage from the Turkish danger. But I tell you, we have no common ground to meet on, and the good-natured man is treated as a simpleton." [1]

Contarini's advice certainly sounds like that of an idealist; but a dispassionate critic will admit that the Venetian was confusing the interests of his native city and the still unrecovered independence of Italy with the welfare of Christendom.[2] The Medici Pope did not try to conceal that he was a practical politician to the core; if,

[1] Contarini's account of his famous audience, dated January 4, 1529, was first given in a summary by DE LEVA, II., 503–505; then more fully by DITTRICH, Regesten, 41–46.

[2] BAUMGARTEN is of the same opinion, Karl V., II., 676.

in an age when hardly anything was respected except material power, when political considerations controlled every question, even the purely ecclesiastical, he refused to renounce his secular sovereignty, he certainly was acting intelligibly from a merely human standpoint;[1] but higher and more Christian conceptions were demanded in one holding the office of the Vicar of Christ. The pursuit of temporal power was to a certain extent fully justified, but ought always to have been subordinated to the supreme interest, that of devotion to the supernatural claims of the Church. That Clement only too often forgot this, throws a heavy shadow over his pontificate.

In January 1529 Quiñones went to Naples in order to negotiate on the spot for the surrender of Ostia and Civita Vecchia, the liberation of the hostages, and an understanding between the Emperor and the Pope. Clement also appointed Schönberg as his colleague,[2] and sent a token of high distinction to the Viceroy.[3] At this time Miguel Mai arrived in Rome to represent the Emperor, "a bold, unscrupulous character, wholly devoted to his master's interests."[4] Mai announced that he had full powers to give

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 152. "If the Venetians treat me already in this way, now that they have need of me," said Clement, "what will they do later on!" Contarini's report of November 14, 1528, in DITTRICH, Regesten, 38.

[2] Contarini's relation in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 262. *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIX., 350, 384, and Salviati's letter of January 3, 1529, in the Lett. d. princ., I., 120[b].

[3] A consecrated hat and sword (*Brief of January 8, 1529, Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 7, Secret Archives of the Vatican) which, owing to the Pope's illness, were not presented until April 28, 1529; see DE BLASIIS, Maramaldo, III., 335, n.

[4] BAUMGARTEN, II., 685. For Mai's arrival see SANUTO, XLIX., 415, and SERASSI, II., 165; for his personal relations, GAYANGOS, IV., 1, Introd., x.

back Ostia and Civita Vecchia; the restitution would take place as soon as he had spoken with the Pope.[1] This was impossible, for, just at this juncture, Clement was taken with a serious illness, the consequence, very probably, of the agitation and suffering of the previous year.

In spite of a cold, contracted on the Feast of the Epiphany, in the Sixtine Chapel, Clement VII. had held a Consistory on the 8th of January;[2] thereupon he fell ill; on the evening of the 9th he was in a state of high fever, and the following morning his life was despaired of.[3] Although an improvement set in, the case seemed to give so clear a warning of his approaching end that on the night of the 10th of January the Pope summoned the Cardinals to him and with their approval bestowed the purple on Ippolito de' Medici.[4] Somewhat earlier the same honour had been intended for Girolamo Doria, nephew of Andrea Doria, who had promised to relieve the scarcity of food in Rome. After some hesitation, all the Cardinals

[1] SERASSI, II., 165.

[2] See F. Gonzaga's *letter, January 7, 1529, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Contarini's report in DITTRICH, Regesten, 46.

[3] *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican and Cod. Barb. lat. 2799, Vatican Library.

[4] *Die dominica X. ianuarii 1529 prima hora noctis cum Sanctitas Sua egrotaret fuit congregatio in qua fuit receptus r^mos^ sancte Crucis ad osculum ab omnibus dominis. Deinde clausum est [os] et statim appertum preter consuetudinem propter Sanctitatis Sue egritudinem. Deinde fuit assumptus ad cardinalatum dominus Hipolitus Medicis Sanctitatis Sue nepos ex statim publicatus cui fuit data in administrationem ecclesia Avinionensis cum retentione tituli sancte Praxedis. *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor (Consistorial Archives). The Bull by which Ippolito was made Cardinal (*Regest., 1438, f. 9 *seq.*) was published on January 22, 1529; see Varia polit., 47, f. 109 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the **report of F. Gonzaga of January 10, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and SERASSI, II., 164.

assented to this nomination also.[1] On this occasion Clement declared to the Sacred College that if God restored him to health it was his intention to journey into Spain in order to restore peace to Christendom.[2] During the next few days the condition of the sick Pontiff continued to be very critical,[3] and on the evening of the 15th of January Clement was so weak that it was not believed he could live through the night.[4]

The sudden assembling of the Cardinals at the Vatican had already thrown the Romans into dismay, and the excitement was increased by the spread of more and more alarming accounts of the Pope's illness. Not a few believed that he was already dead;[5] the citizens began to arm. The Cardinals met together in the Palazzo Monte for consultation, as the doctors had for the moment given Clement

[1] SANUTO, XLIX., 368–369, 384, 386, and DITTRICH, Regesten, 46. From Blasius de Martinellis in CIACONIUS, III., 501, it appears that Doria was nominated before Medici; the consent of the Cardinals to this came later, according to SANUTO, XLIX., 386, but before January 15, 1529.

[2] So Quiñones reported to the Emperor on February 15, 1529. GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 625.

[3] *Cf.* BOURRILLY DE VAISSIÈRE, Amb. de J. du Bellay, 548, n. 2.

[4] See Sanga's letter in SERASSI, II., 162.

[5] DITTRICH, Regesten, 46; *cf.* LUZIO, Aretino a Venezia, 31, and Röm. Quartalschrift, XIV., 257, 263 *seq.* As no one was admitted to the sick man's chamber, many contradictory reports arose. In the *despatches of F. Gonzaga the following bulletins were given :—Rome, 1529, January 12: The Pope is feeling better. January 13: In the *notte passata* the Pope had a *parossismo.* January 15: The Pope shows a marked improvement. January 16: The Pope is ill. January 17: Since yesterday the Pope's condition has greatly improved; he has risen from the dead. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) For the physicians of Clement VII. and Berni's verses upon them, see GIORDANO, App. 65, and MARINI, I. *seqq.* According to ALBERINI, 368, Mariano de Doxis della Palma cured the Pope in this illness.

up. Since Ostia and Civita Vecchia were still in the Imperialists' hands, and the unruly host under Orange was still encamped at Naples, the freedom of a Papal election seemed in serious danger. The majority of the Cardinals were therefore of opinion that the conclave ought not to be held in Rome. Even Quiñones, with his Imperialist sympathies, took this standpoint, and feared a schism, the responsibility for which would be thrown on the Emperor. Miguel Mai declared later that Wolsey had roused the anxiety of the Cardinals as to the freedom of the conclave in order to induce them to transfer it to Avignon, where this ambitious churchman considered his election would be sure.[1]

However that may be, it is a fact that the Cardinals took into consideration the issue of a Bull in which the seat of the conclave should be assigned to Bologna, Verona, Civita Castellana, or Avignon. Cardinals Enkevoirt and Quiñones approached Mai secretly, and told him that if the fortified places were not given up immediately there would be an uproar in Rome. Almost all the Sacred College threatened him with dismissal in the event of the Pope's death. "The majority of the Cardinals," Mai was forced to inform the Emperor, "are unfriendly to me on account of the ruthless havoc committed by our soldiery throughout

[1] Report in cipher of Mai of March 16, 1529, in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 653. *Cf.* also Valdes' letter in HOMENAJE Á MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, 399; EHSES, Dokumente, 263; SÄGMÜLLER, 164, *seq.*, the extract from A. da Burgo's *report, dat. Rome, 1529, March 7. Here with reference to the recent occurrences (for in February the question of a Papal election was still prominent): "Circa electionem novi pontificis scribit nihil aliud fuisse nisi confusionem et dubium de scismate, quum major pars sit de factione Gallica et quae decreverat ire in Avenionem et card. s. Crucis non erat alienus, sed orator Caesaris bono modo corripuit eum" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

Italy, from Piedmont to Apulia."[1] It was seen on the Imperialist side that something must be done to allay the excitement. Accordingly, the Cardinals kept as hostages in Naples were set free, and the order was given for the surrender of Ostia and Civita Vecchia.[2]

In the meantime Clement had made a remarkably quick recovery from his illness,[3] although the fever did not wholly leave him; his condition varied from day to day, but remained so far stationary that it was impossible for him to grant audiences.[4] It was feared in the Vatican that the constantly recurring fever would at last wear out the Pope's strength,[5] and a commission of Cardinals was appointed

[1] Mai's report of March 22, 1529, in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 657. In a cipher despatch of March 16, Mai said to the Emperor he feared the almost universal hatred, called forth by the excesses of the Spanish soldiery, more than all the allied forces together. GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 654. Francis I. also declared himself in favour of Civita Castellana as a meeting-place for the Cardinals; see DESJARDINS, II., 1044.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIX., 384, 386, the report of Quiñones in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 625, and the **letter of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of January 18, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *Acta Consist. of the Camerarius note under January 26, 1529: "Congregatio cardinalium: R. dom. Augustinus s. Hadriani diaconus cardinalis de Trivultiis ex Neapoli, ubi per aliquot menses detentus fuerat per capitaneos Caes. Majestatis exercitus, egit gratias s. collegio pro liberatione sua." Cod. Vat., 3457, P. II., Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* with SANUTO, XLIX., 386, 415, and SERASSI, II., 163, the Cardinal E. Gonzaga's **report of January 18, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See SANUTO, XLIX., 415, 424, 432, and the *letters of F. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1529, January 22 and 27; The Pope has fever. February 2: The Pope is still ill. February 3: Parossismo. February 4: Improvement (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *letter of T. Campeggio, dat. Rome, 1529, January 31 (State Archives, Bologna).

[5] Report of Guido da Crema of February 4 in SANUTO, XLIX., 433. In Rome many believed that the Pope had been poisoned; see *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

to despatch the most pressing business.[1] On the 18th of February Clement had another bad attack, and the question of the freedom of election came once more to the front. The negotiations of the Cardinals over the delivery of Ostia and Civita Vecchia proved as fruitless as ever, for, in spite of the orders from Orange, communicated by Mai, the commandants of the fortresses refused to evacuate them until their soldiers' clamours for pay had been satisfied.[2] "If the Pope were to die," reported Quiñones to the Emperor, "before the fortresses belonging to him are given up, a schism will be inevitable."[3]

By the middle of February the report gained ground that the Emperor was making serious preparations for his descent upon Italy. These tidings aroused great excitement among the diplomatists resident in Rome; the Pope was greatly alarmed, and declared himself ready to visit Spain and France in person, accompanied by six or seven of the Cardinals, on a mission of peace-making, in order to show his impartiality towards King and Emperor alike.[4]

The Pope's neutrality was displeasing to the representatives of the Emperor and of the League. The former saw in the Pope's projected journey only an attempt to thwart

[1] *Briefs for Antonio Portuen. et Laurentio Prenest. episcopis ac Augustino tit. s. Ciriaci in thermis. presb. card. camerario, dat. Rome, 1529, February 7. Min. brev. 1529, vol. 23, n. 79 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] SANUTO, XLIX., 496–497, 506; *cf.* Mai's report in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 636, 643; SERASSI, II., 165, and the *Acta Consist. of the Camerarius of January 26 and February 3, 1529 (Vatican Library).

[3] Report of March 1, 1529, in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 635. On March 22 Quiñones reports his renewed attempts to convince the Cardinals that Charles would not bring influence to bear on a Papal election. *Ibid.*, n. 658.

[4] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 636, 642; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 158.

the expedition of Charles; the latter hoped that Clement, in his alarm at the Emperor's coming, might be drawn to their side. Thus the Pope, not yet wholly recovered from his illness, became the occasion of a sharp diplomatic struggle in which neither threats nor enticements were spared on either side.[1]

The Emperor's agent, Miguel Mai, had been commissioned to obtain the Pope's consent to an offensive, or, if this was not possible, at least to a defensive alliance.[2] The League hoped to attain its object by inviting Giberti, who had so often already won Clement over to France, to come to Rome.[3] On the 23rd of February the Bishop of Verona arrived. He was at once able to corroborate Contarini, that Clement was now more inclined to a general peace. But, he added, two things are necessary: in the first place, no one must try to force him to change his views; and, secondly, no one must give him cause for fresh complaint. This last hint referred to Ravenna and Cervia, which the Venetians, in spite of the pressure

[1] *The Acta Consist. of the Camerarius note under February 8, 1529; "Orator imperatoris praesentavit sacro collegio litteras Caes. Mtis quibus hortatur rev. dominos, quod studeant et assistant S. D. N., ut universalis pax tractetur et concludatur." Cod. Vat., 3457, P II., Vatican Library. Mai himself informed the Emperor on March 6, 1529, of the threat he had used towards one of the Cardinals; see GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 643.

[2] "Dixit [Mai] praeterea se habere commissionem a Caesare procurandi ligam cum pontifice offensivam, quam si non posset obtinere, Caesarem esse contentum de defensiva." See *infra*, note 3, extract from A. da Burgo's *report of March 2, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] *Andrea da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, March 2. The letter consists only of a contemporary extract made in Ferdinand's Chancery in which it says: "Joh. Math. Giberti venit ad urbem suasu aliquorum ex parte ligae" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

brought to bear on them, especially by England, had no intention of giving up.[1]

Giberti was almost all day with the Pope, who was showing marked improvement.[2] Even though their conversation has not been reported, it is yet easy to conjecture its import. The Imperialists were fully aware of the danger threatening them. Miguel Mai wrote angrily to the Emperor that "these devils of Leaguers are besieging the Pope might and main, and spinning round him a web of lies and artifices of all sorts."[3] Andrea da Burgo, the representative of Ferdinand I., also saw with anxiety how the Pope, in his alarm and indecision, was being plied with every possible promise by the French and English, and encouraged in his distrust of the Emperor. Already, on the 2nd of March 1529, he reported that the French were promising Cervia and Ravenna, and anything else that the Pope wished, if he would only declare himself for the League. From his timidity, and the wholly French character of his surrounding influences, Andrea, and many others with him, inferred that Clement would certainly not make any advances towards the Emperor and Ferdinand I.; they ought to be glad, thought Andrea, if he remained neutral.[4]

In the meantime the Pope's condition had improved so much that on the 7th of March he was able to leave his bed,[5] and his audiences, although on a limited scale, were

[1] See Contarini's report in SANUTO, L., 13–14; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 159.

[2] SANUTO, L., 14, 16.

[3] Report of March 6, 1529, in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 643; *cf.* BARDI, Carlo V., 27.

[4] *A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., 1529, March 2 (Court and State Archives, Vienna, Romana).

[5] F. Gonzaga in a *report of the Pope's health, March 3, 1529: "S. Sta sta ben." In another of March 7: "S. Sta si puo metter par sana.

resumed. On the 9th of March Burgo sent a report to Ferdinand on Mai's negotiations with the Pope and Schönberg. Clement, in his conversation with Charles's envoy, insisted on his duty of remaining neutral, and on his poverty, which was so great that he was hardly able to afford the upkeep of his household. He refused an alliance, offensive or defensive, with the Emperor. At the same time he again went over his plan of visiting France and Spain in person, and, with this object in view, he spoke of sending Schönberg to the Emperor, and Giberti to Francis I. To Burgo the absence of Schönberg seemed dangerous, for the latter was the Emperor's most loyal representative in Rome,[1] and in his audiences with the Pope expressed himself in the same way.[2]

Miguel Mai was in close communication with the Cardinals as well as with the Pope; but he found out that the former were for the most part inclined towards France.[3] Even if Mai, occasionally, had recourse to threats,

Hoggi ha dato principio a levarse de letto" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, March 7: "Papa X. diebus fuit sine febre, et hodie exivit ex lecto et incipit aliquid audire" (Court and State Archives, Vienna, Romana).

[1] *A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., 1529, March 9 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 636, 647.

[2] A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., 1529, March 18 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Mai also complains of the inactivity of the Imperialist Cardinals. Report of March 22, 1529, in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 657. On March 16 he wrote in cipher to Charles V.: "I cannot deny that the Pope at present shows a certain amount of goodwill towards your Majesty and has a just conception of your Majesty's power and wisdom, whereby he distinguishes himself from the allied princes, whose hatred of your Majesty is deeply rooted. The Pope at the same time fears the members of the League; looking upon both parties as his natural enemies, he would gladly see the Ultramontanes, as he calls them, quit Italy. In this sense the Pope declared himself to Quiñones in past

yet his chief endeavour was, by meeting the Pope's wishes, especially in financial matters, to induce him to renounce his neutrality and ally himself with Charles.[1] But in all their efforts to gain the Pope, the Imperialists sought to drive home the argument that Charles could give assistance towards the restoration of the Medici as rulers of Florence.[2] To play on Clement's fears, the League made use of the reports, then taking definite shape, of the approaching arrival of the Emperor in Italy. He was told that in the end Charles would make himself master of the whole of the Papal States.[3]

The excitement occasioned by these transactions and the more threatening aspect of the divorce suit of Henry VIII. brought on a relapse, and Clement was unable to celebrate Mass in St. Peter's on Easter Day. On Easter Monday 18,000 ducats were paid into the hands of the Imperial envoy, whereupon Ostia and Civita Vecchia were restored to the Pope.[4] At the same time came the sorrowful news of Castiglione's death; this was a heavy loss for the Pope, for none stood higher in the Emperor's favour than this gifted diplomatist.[5]

years when the latter was leaving for Spain; he had added, however, that if he were forced to choose between Charles and Francis, he would certainly decide in favour of the former. On the other hand, he seems to fear the usual unsettled state of things in Spain where, as he says, promises are never kept." GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 653.

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, II., 687.

[2] *A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., March 9 and 18, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] *A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., 1529, March 28 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] SANUTO, L., 124 *seq.*, 126, 134 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.*, 166; *cf.* the *Despatches of Romeo of March 27 and 28, 1529, to the Duke of Ferrara (State Archives, Modena).

[5] See the report of March 29, 1529, in SANUTO, L., 127. Castiglione

The repeated promises of the Imperialists to render service[1] to the Pope both in respect of the restoration of the Medici as rulers in Florence, and of the restitution of Cervia and Ravenna, could not fail to make a deep impression on Clement. But, amid the uncertainty of affairs in Italy, nothing was less easy than a decision,[2] and thus he continued to hesitate. The feeling that, notwithstanding the surrender of Ostia and Civita Vecchia, his hands were as much tied as before, weighed heavily in the balance in favour of procrastination. On the whole, shrewd diplomatist that he was, Clement did not betray this; but sometimes his emotion had the mastery of him. Thus on the 9th of April he complained to Cardinal Trivulzio, whose

had already, on January 22, 1529, *written from Toledo to G. Calandra: "Io sto, Dio gratia, sano, cosa che non sono stato sempre in Hispagna che molte volte sono stato valetudinario" (copy in the Mantuan Library). Soon afterwards he had a bad attack of fever which caused his death on February 7, 1529. His last days were overcast by the reproaches of Clement VII. that he had trusted too much in Charles V. and had therefore incurred complicity in the sack of Rome. Castiglione tried to vindicate himself in a dignified letter from Burgos on December 10, 1527 (SERASSI, II., 147–152). His remains were brought home and laid in the famous resort of pilgrims, S. Maria delle Grazie in Mantua. Giulio Romano designed his tomb and Bembo wrote his epitaph; see MARTINATI, 56–57. Castiglione's mother recommended her grandchildren to the Pope; see her beautiful *letter, dat. Mantua, April 3, 1529, in *Lett. d. princ., VI., f. 21 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). In his *answer Clement warmly acknowledges Castiglione's services in Spain, and promises to befriend the children. The *Brief is dated Rome, 1529, April 27; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 143; *ibid*, n. 155, *a Brief to the heirs of Castiglione, dat. Rome, 1529, May 5, telling them to hand over to the Nuncio G. da Schio all monies, papers, and writings relating to his nunciature (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* the *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, April 2 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] BAUMGARTEN rightly lays stress on this, Karl V., II., 688.

sympathies were French, of the way in which the Emperor's agents tried to hurry him into a treaty with Charles. He would gladly withstand them if he could, but his position in this matter was still just as bad as it had been during his imprisonment in St. Angelo; the only difference consisted in this, that now, at least, he had personal liberty; in the former condition of things he had no other choice left him than to fly from Rome, leaving the Papal territory to its fate, or to come to the least disadvantageous terms with those whose troops were so close at hand that they might at any hour have overwhelmed him. "What the Pope will do in the last resort, I do not know," wrote Trivulzio; "it is certain that he is in the greatest anxiety and perplexity, and will avoid a settlement as long as possible. When at last he does make one he will be driven to it by main force, pulled along, as it were, by the hairs of his head."[1]

Trivulzio was mistaken, for a few days after his despatch was written, the Pope made up his mind. He had been greatly influenced by a personal letter from the Emperor, dated Toledo, the 28th of February, the contents of which were communicated to Contarini by the Pope on the 12th of April. Charles first of all congratulated his Holiness on his recovery, and then announced definitely his speedy voyage to Italy; he wished to start from Toledo as early as the 8th of March, since personal negotiations with his Holiness could alone conduce to that general peace for which the initial preparations must begin in Italy, the victim of so much calamity.[2] Therefore by the 16th of

[1] See Trivulzio's interesting *report of April 9, 1529, in App., No. 6 (National Library, Paris). *Cf.* also the anonymous cipher report of April 8, in MOLINI, II., 164 *seq.*

[2] Contarini's *report of April 13 (Cod. Marc., 1043, St. Mark's Library, Venice), runs: . . . "Io heri per intender meglio le nove di Spagna mi

April a new Nuncio to the Imperial court with full legatine powers was appointed to succeed Castiglione; this was Girolamo da Schio, Bishop of Vaison, Master of the Papal Household.[1] This staunchly Imperialist diplo-

son conferito alla Santità del Pont^ce^. Et per più d' un hora ho ragionato cum sua Beat^ne^, ma in brevità refferirò la summa di quello che da lei ho inteso; mi ha ditto haver lettere scritte de man propria delo Imp^tor^ de 2 del mese preterito da Tholedo, per le qual sua Maestà li scrive che per uno istesso corriero havea inteso la nova dispiacevole dela morte di S. Sant^tà^ et l' altra che li era sta gratissima dela sua convalescentia, dil che ne ringratiava Dio et si congratulava cum quella; doppoi li scrive che per il rev^mo^ card. de S. Cruce [Quiñones] li era fatto intender quanto alla venuta sua in Italia, che alhora non havea fatto rissolutione alcuna, ma subito che si havesse rissolta, non lo haria fatto intender ad alcuna altro prima che a Sua Beat^ne^. Et però che hora li significhava che essendo desiderosissimo de venir ad una pace universal et parendoli che non ci fusse modo di condurla se non si trovasse personalmente cum Sua Beat^ne^, però havea deliberato venir a vederla in Italia et che dovea partir da Tholedo adì 8 del preditto mese preterito et pensava ritrovarsi a mezo il presente mese a Barzelona, dove poi secondo come ritrovasse le cose disporte et le nove, delibereria quel che dovesse far circa questa sua venuta. Disseme etiam Sua Santità che in preditte lettere si conteniva una altra particularitade la qual scriveva, che lui havea gran compassion de le miserie de Italia et che li pareva conveniente, si come li travagli sonno principiati prima in Italia che in altri loci dela christianità cosi dovesseno prima quietarsi in Italia." This shows that there were not (as DITTRICH supposes, Regesten, 51) two letters of Charles V., but only one. The original of this letter, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, is dated, however: "De Toledo el postrero de hebrero." The contents are correctly reported by Contarini, only the passage about Quiñones is wanting. The letter has the Chancery endorsement: Ricevuta 15 Aprile. This cannot refer to the first receipt of the letter, but only to the day of registration by the Chancery clerks. The letter of Charles V., assigned by LANZ, I., 296, to April 1529, belongs to the year 1526 (see Vol. IX. of this work, p. 350, n. 2). LEVA, II., 521, requires correction on this point.

[1] See *Regest., 1438, f. 81 *seq.*, 85 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES, Concil. IV., xxvii. See also MORSOLIN, Girol. da Schio, Vicenza, 1875, 37 *seq.* Ehses

matist,[1] who had kept up assiduous intercourse with Miguel Mai and Andrea da Burgo, received secret instructions from the Pope.[2]

The complete reconciliation, the alliance between Emperor and Pope, was now close at hand, and with good reason, since the members of the League seemed deliberately to be doing their best to drive Clement into their adversary's arms.[3] Venice and Ferrara, now as before, refused to hand back their spoils, while France kept up a lingering warfare in upper and lower Italy, encouraged the obduracy of Florence, and even gave trouble to Clement in his own territory by protecting his enemies Malatesta Baglioni and the domineering Abbot of Farfa.[4] "The misdeeds which can be laid to the account of the Leaguers," said Salviati,

remarks very conclusively that the question of the Council did not influence Clement's decision to the extent ascribed to it by Mai in his report of May 11, 1529 (in HEINE, Briefe an Karl V., 520 *seq.*; again in BAUMGARTEN, II., 715 *seq.*, but unnecessarily and in ignorance of Heine's publication). I do not think it is conclusively proved that Mai was right in taking credit to himself in this matter. It is in any case remarkable that Burgo, in the report to Ferdinand I. (Court and State Archives, Vienna), makes no mention of the audience of the 24th of April, in which he and Mai set the Pope at rest about the Council and which Mai represents as having had such important results.

[1] Mai lays stress on this; see GAYANGOS, IV., 2–6. For Schio see GIORDANI, App. 90, and Vol. IX. of this work, p. 460.

[2] *Cf.* **A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. 1529, April 22 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] REUMONT, III., 2, 325.

[4] Clement VII., whose bodily health was better (*cf.* the *report of N. Raince of April 21, 1529: "N. S. Père fait bonne chère et se porte très bien," Fonds franç., 3009, f. 33–34, National Library, Paris), had on May 3 appointed Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici Legate at Perugia (*Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican). Malatesta attempted to murder the bearer of the Brief; see BONTEMPI, 333.

"are such that they must force the Pope to side with the Emperor."[1]

In addition to these considerations, it had been known in Rome since the begining of April that France was prepared to make, single-handed, conditions of peace with the Emperor. Even Giberti said at the time, "I am afraid that the French may make a treaty of their own with the Emperor, and then put off their allies with fair speeches." Contarini was not willing to believe this, but it was soon made evident that Giberti had discerned aright.[2] With a full knowledge of the state of affairs, a further sojourn in Rome seemed superfluous to this skilled politician; under the pretext of compliance with the duty of residence in his diocese, he earnestly begged for permission to return. Contarini and the Pope detained him for some time longer,[3] but he soon gave up all hope, and on the 26th of April, regardless of the entreaties of his friend Contarini, left Rome.[4]

Undoubtedly the Pope's attitude towards the Emperor was greatly influenced by the hope that, through the help of Charles, Florence would once more be governed by the Medici. With what dissimulation Clement tried to disguise this anticipation is described in the reports of Contarini[5] and other diplomatists.[6] He tried to keep the plan a secret even from his most trusted and intimate friends,[7] but without success, for in the beginning of March

[1] Report of Contarini, April 26; see DITTRICH, Regesten, 53.

[2] DITTRICH, Regesten, 51; *cf.* also EHSES, Dokumente, 265.

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 160 *seq.*

[4] SANUTO, L., 279; DITTRICH, Regesten, 52.

[5] DITTRICH, Contarini, 165.

[6] *Cf. e.g.* Report of Mai in GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 647.

[7] *Cf.* **report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., March 2, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). Also GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 191.

Girolamo Balbi said to Andrea da Burgo that Clement wished nothing so much as a change of government in Florence.[1]

Just at this moment news reached Rome of a turn in Florentine affairs which Clement attributed wholly to the help of Charles.

For a long time the Pope had hoped to attain his object in Florence by peaceable means. As long as Capponi, a well-disposed and moderate man, stood at the head of affairs there, this expectation was by no means altogether visionary, especially when the timid character of the Pope, then in such sore distress, is taken into consideration. Capponi formed a scheme for freeing his native city by means of an arrangement with the Pope; with Jacopo Salviati as a go-between, he opened up secret communications with Rome;[2] their discovery led to his fall on the 17th of April 1529.[3] His successor was Francesco Carducci, a violent partisan, in whose circle Clement was spoken of only as the tyrant and bastard. The hatred of this democrat towards the Medici made any accommodation impossible. The fate of Florence was thus decided; everything was done there to exasperate the Pope to the utmost. The half-forgotten fact of his illegitimate birth was dragged to light; he was made the butt of scorn

[1] "Balbus retulit Andreae, pontificem nihil plus appetere quam mutationem status Florent." Extract from a *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, March 7 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] CAPPONI, III., 226 *seq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 23 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 950 *seq.*; PERRENS, III., 186 *seq.*

[3] The disclosure was conveyed in a letter which Capponi lost. The text of the letter, still preserved in the State Archives, Florence, is in BIGAZZI, Miscell. storica, Firenze, 1840, Arch. stor., Append. VII., 259 *seq.* and in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, Assedio, I., 232; *cf.* also ROSSI, Guicciardini, I., 118 *seq.*, 126.

and ridicule in verses and pictures, and his Papal authority was often repudiated.[1]

On the 18th of April, Clement, as feudal lord of Perugia, had forbidden all its citizens, under threat of the severest penalties, to take foreign service. Nevertheless, on the 4th of May the Florentines appointed as their captain Malatesta Baglioni; further, they paid two hundred soldiers to occupy Perugia.[2] Clement was carried away by anger, and declared to the English envoy he would rather be the Emperor's chaplain or equerry than allow himself to be insulted by his rebellious subjects and vassals.[3] To Contarini he declared that the disgraceful mortifications inflicted on him by the Abbot of Farfa and Baglioni were instigated by the French and Florentines. They had compelled him to look to his private interests and no longer to maintain an indeterminate position. He did not wish to be made prisoner a second time and be carried off to Florence. To the counter-representations of Contarini the Pope replied, "What ought I, in your opinion, to do? I have taken no decided course, and thereby given satisfaction to none; rather have I exposed myself to the contempt of all." He feared that the peace negotiations between France and the Emperor would end badly for Italy, that both one and the other would leave him in the lurch as one who could not be safely relied on. "For appearance' sake there will be a stipulation that I am to be the protector of the peace, and with that they will rest satisfied. I tell you, Ambassador," said

[1] JOVIUS, Hist., XXVII., 90; VARCHI, I., 248 *seq.*, 492; PERRENS, III., 267

[2] *Cf.* **A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, May 17 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); BONTEMPI, 332; PERRENS, III., 201 *seq.*

[3] Report of Casale in HERBERT, 233; *cf.* RAUMER, Briefe, I., 256.

Clement in conclusion, "I am forced to act as I do. What do you wish me to do? I cannot act otherwise."[1]

The decisive step was taken in the first days of May.[2] On the 7th of that month the Pope sent to the Emperor an autograph letter of thanks for the restoration of the fortresses. His illness had hindered him from sending an earlier answer; he now sends to him his Master of the Household, Girolamo da Schio, Bishop of Vaison, whom his Majesty can trust as he would Clement himself, since the Nuncio knows all the secrets of his heart.[3] Schio, who carried together with this letter the Bull of the Cruzada and other tokens of grace, had full powers to conclude a treaty with the Emperor; he left Rome on the 9th of May.[4] Two days later, Andrea da Burgo reported to Ferdinand I. this mission of such decisive importance, and the favourable dispositions of the Pope.[5] Miguel Mai wrote at the same time to Charles V. that the choice of a Nuncio could not have fallen on a better man than Schio, since he was a person of marked distinction, and a good Imperialist at heart.[6]

[1] Contarini's report of June 7, 1529; see DITTRICH, Regesten, 57 *seqq.*, and CONTARINI, 166 *seq.*

[2] Lett. d. princ., III., 72; the *pass for G. da Schio is dated Rome, 1529, May 5, Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 154 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] In the Lettere di principi, where the letter is printed in I., 122[b], the date is given as May 7; BUCHOLTZ, III., 137, gives May 8. The official **letter to Charles V. with credentials for G. da Schio is actually dated May 5; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 160 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* the cipher **report of A. da Burgo of May 11, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). See also GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 2 and 6. For Schio's task see also MOLINI, II., 164. For the Bull of the Cruzada see EHRENBERG, Fugger, I., 128.

[5] *Cf.* the **report of A. da Burgo of May 11, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[6] GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 6.

Schio embarked on the 25th of May at Genoa for Barcelona, where Charles had been staying since the 30th of April. The Emperor ordered preparations to be made to receive the Papal Nuncio with every mark of honour.[1] He arrived on the 30th of May; the negotiations began at once, and ran very smoothly, and on the 10th of June Charles committed to Mercurino di Gattinara, Louis de Praet, and Nicholas Perrenot the necessary powers.[2] By the 23rd of June a compact relating to the marriage of Alessandro de' Medici with Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, had been concluded.[3] There was no longer any possible doubt for whom Florence was intended. On the 29th the signatures were attached to the treaty, to which the Emperor on the same day bound himself by oath before the splendid high altar of the Cathedral of Barcelona.[4]

In view of the Turkish encroachments and the trouble arising from heresy, a defensive alliance was struck between Pope and Emperor. The Emperor promised his help towards restoring the Medicean rule in Florence and reinstating the Church in her temporal possessions, by insisting on the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia on the part of Venice, and of Modena, Reggio, and Rubbiera on the part of Alfonso of Ferrara, the rights of the Empire being left unimpaired. The Duke of Ferrara was to be declared forfeited of his duchy, a fief of the Church, and the Emperor's support was to be given to the execution of the Papal sentence. In taking possession of the Duchy

[1] DITTRICH, Regesten, 54; SANUTO, LI., 19 *seq.*

[2] GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 39.

[3] GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 51; *cf.* n. 59. For the young bride see RAWDON BROWN, Margaret of Austria, Venice, 1850. *Cf.* REUMONT in Arch. Stor. Ital., 1880.

[4] GAYANGOS, IV. 1, n. 56.

of Milan, "the fountain-head of the troubles of Italy," Charles, in the event of Sforza being found guilty of felony, would act in conjunction with the Pope, although not bound to do so legally. All arbitrary usurpation of the patronage of the Neapolitan bishoprics on the part of the Imperial Government would cease. All amicable means of dealing with the reform in Germany having been exhausted, Charles and Ferdinand, his brother, who was included in the terms of the treaty, were to take forcible measures for the suppression of that movement. The Pope, on his side, supported these undertakings. In the renewed assumption of the Neapolitan fief he contents himself with the palfrey tax (*chinea*, in Spanish *hacanea*), hands over to the Emperor and his successors the nomination to four-and-twenty Neapolitan bishoprics, and permits the passage of Imperialist troops through the Papal territory. Two additional articles relate to the Pope's support of the war against the Turks. Besides the spiritual means at his disposal, Clement promises to further the work by guaranteeing to Charles and Ferdinand, for this purpose, a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues of their countries, on the same scale as under Adrian VI., and absolves the Imperial army from all the ecclesiastical penalties incurred in consequence of the attack on Rome. Lastly, Clement increases the privileges of the recently issued Bull of the Cruzada.[1]

At the first glance it seems astonishing that Charles should have conceded such favourable terms to the despoiled and vanquished Pope. But on closer inspection the leniency of the Emperor admits of an easy explana-

[1] DUMONT, IV., 2, 1–7; *cf.* SANUTO, LI., 120, 127, 252. See also DE MARTINIS, Le 24 chiese del trattato di Barcelona, Napoli, 1882, and CALENZIO, Metropolit. eccl. Neapolit. provisiones consistoriales, Romae, 1878.

tion. In spite of all humiliation, the status of the Papacy in human society was still one of high importance. The friendship of Clement was an imperative necessity to Charles, unless his interests in England, in Scandinavia, in Switzerland, in Hungary, and Germany were to suffer the most grievous injury.[1] Moreover, the exhaustion of the Imperial finances and the doubtful outlook of the continuation of the campaign in Italy came into consideration. Lastly, Charles hoped that his alliance with the Pope would deal a mortal blow to the League; and even if his concessions to Clement were considerable, his own interests in Italy were not nullified by the treaty.[2]

The treaty of Barcelona accelerated the peace negotiations between Francis and Charles.[3]

The contradictory reports from Lombardy had caused the French king to fluctuate between one policy and another. Sometimes he unfolded before the Italian envoys far-reaching plans of campaign, and spoke of attacking the Emperor in Spain or of leading in person a great army into Italy.[4] But these were passing paroxysms of warlike ardour. One look at his kingdom would have told Francis that the burdens of war were no longer endurable.[5]

[1] More fully in RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, III., 6th ed., 74 *seqq.*; *cf.* DE LEVA, II., 535.

[2] *Cf.* SISMONDI, XV., 447 *seqq*; CIPOLLA, 953. Charles V. tacitly renounced his claims on Parma and Piacenza, but not in express terms; see SUGENHEIM, Kirchenstaat, 414.

[3] That Clement, not merely through Schönberg, but personally, tried to influence the negotiations at Cambrai, is plain from the *Brief of July 24, 1529, to the Regent, the Archduchess Margaret (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Min. brev., vol. 26, n. 310).

[4] See Cardinal Salviati's *letter to Jacopo Salviati, dat. January 23, 1529. Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 385 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] BAUMGARTEN, II., 695 *seq.*

Then there was the dissatisfaction of the French Government with their English allies, who were liberal of criticism but not of money. The scheme for entering on peace negotiations grew in popularity at the French court. In November 1528 there were thoughts of appealing to the Pope's mediation, but the notion was soon given up. There was a greater leaning towards the Regent of the Netherlands, the Archduchess Margaret, and the Queen Mother, Louisa of Savoy, entered into direct communication with the Archduchess in order to bring about a peace.[1] Cardinal Salviati, in May 1529, was still disinclined to believe in the seriousness of these negotiations.[2] Nevertheless, these two women, distinguished alike for intellectual qualities and political experience, succeeded in their difficult task.

The French Government showed consummate skill in concealing their transactions from the other members of the League. On the 23rd of June 1529 Francis declared to their envoys that he would sacrifice his own life and that of his son to save the allied Leaguers; the Queen and the Admiral, Anne de Montmorency, spoke in the same sense. On the 10th of July the latter made the most solemn disclaimer of the report that France intended to desert Venice. Twelve days later the King, with equal solemnity, swore that Florence would be included in the treaty of peace, and on the 3rd of August Francis still affirmed that nothing would be concluded without the consent of his allies.[3] On the

[1] *Cf.* DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 123.

[2] Letter to Jacopo Salviati, May 2, 1529. Nunziat. di Francia I., f. 430 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Baldassare Carducci's reports from June 23 to 26, July 9, 10, and 22, and August 3, 1529, in DESJARDINS, II., 1064 *seq.*, 1069 *seqq.*, 1078 *seqq.*, 1081 *seq.*, 1087 *seq.*, 1098 *seqq.*; *cf.* DE LEVA, II., 544.

5th the treaty was signed at Cambrai in which he completely threw them over.[1] Up to the last there were still great difficulties to be overcome,[2] but matters were brought quickly to a conclusion by the news that de Leyva's victory over St. Pol at Landriano (21st of June) had made Charles master of Lombardy and at one with the Pope.[3]

The treaty concluded by Francis was highly disadvantageous; he saved nothing except the integrity of his own country. He had to promise that thenceforward he would abstain from all interference in Italian and German affairs; within six weeks all his troops were to be withdrawn from Italy; he was to compel Venice and Ferrara to surrender the stolen cities; in case of necessity to expel with arms the Venetians from Apulia; he was to pay Charles for the expenses of his coronation journey 200,000 thalers and furnish him with twenty galleys, and his son was to be set free at a ransom of two million crowns.[4]

In Rome the result of the negotiations at Barcelona and Cambrai had been watched with anxious attention, above all by Contarini, who, with the tenacity of a born diplomatist, had up to the last moment urged the cause of the League, but without the least success,[5] on the Pope, who

[1] *Cf.* the despairing despatch of Carducci on the treachery of the French King, dat. St. Quentin, 1529, August 5, in DESJARDINS, II., 1102 *seqq.*

[2] Louisa of Savoy even wished to leave on July 24, but was prevented by the Papal envoy. DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 131.

[3] *Cf.*, for what Francis I. said to Schönberg, SANUTO, LI., 372.

[4] DUMONT, IV., 2, 7–17; *cf.* SANUTO, LI., 373 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 388 *seq.* GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 5; LAVISSE, Hist. de France, V., 2, 62 *seq.*

[5] DITTRICH, Contarini, 167 *seq.* For Clement's continued ill-health

was still unwell. On the 17th of June Andrea da Burgo could report that Salviati, by order of the Pope, had told him that the latter rejected all the offers of the League.[1] Two days earlier Schönberg had left Rome in order to take part in the negotiations at Cambrai.[2] On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul the Pope, in presence of all the Cardinals, received the "Chinea" from Miguel Mai; on the same day came the news of the overthrow of the French at Landriano.[3] The reports then current as to the

see GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 4, 17: *A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, May 15 ("Papa nulli adhuc dat audientiam nec oratoribus nec cardinalibus; dicunt ex consilio medicorum." Court and State Archives, Vienna); Lett. d. princ., III., 72[b], 92; SANUTO, L., 320, 346, 385, 386 *seqq.*, 426, 458. Not till June 8 did G. M. della Porta report: "N. S. sta assai bene"; SANUTO, L., 477. The accounts of Clement's condition were so disquieting that Charles V. was seriously occupied with the question of the Papal election; see GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 17, 61, 63.

[1] *A. da Burgo to Ferdinard ., dat. Rome, June 17, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] Schönberg's mission was a certainty on June 5; see the *Brief to Charles V. of June 5, 1529 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Min. brev., vol. 26, n. 204). Schönberg left Rome on June 15 (GAYANGOS, IV., I., n. 42) and reached Cambrai on July 6, where his appearance was not welcome (SANUTO, LI., 168, 177; *cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 1080, and PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 75). The outcome of his action at Cambrai is not yet fully cleared up; Carducci ascribes it to him that the result was unfavourable to the League. Schönberg left Cambrai on August 2 (SANUTO, LI., 323) and returned to Rome on September 19 (not as early as the 12th, as Pieper [75] supposes); see SANUTO, LI., 602, 604, and the *despatches of N. Raince, dat. Rome, 1529, September 21, "Schönberg came on Sunday" (Fonds Français, 3009, f. 43-44, National Library, Paris). Cardinal Salviati, who was at Cambrai at the same time, was displeased at Schönberg's mission; he would have liked to have concluded the peace himself. Nuziat. di Francia, I., f. 325 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] SANUTO, LI., 19 *seqq.*, and GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 96.

Emperor's frame of mind justified Clement in having the best hopes.[1] On the 15th of July the conclusion of the treaty with the Emperor was made known for certain in Rome through the Abbate de' Negri.[2] On the following day came the decision on the divorce suit of Henry VIII., which the Pope cited before the court of the Rota in Rome.[3]

The treaty of Barcelona was conveyed to Italy by the Emperor's special messenger, Louis de Praet,[4] who arrived in Rome on the 22nd of July, where he was visited at once, by command of the Pope, by Salviati, Sanga, Alessandro de' Medici, and Cardinal Ippolito. Nor was the remainder of the Sacred College, the majority of whom now showed Imperialist leanings, wanting in marks of attention. In the afternoon of the 24th of July, Praet, together with Mai and Burgo, had an audience of the Pope, whom they saw in bed, bearing evident traces of his long illness. Clement read the Emperor's letter, brought to him by Praet, and expressed his delight at the peace, and his hope that Charles, on his arrival in Italy, would be a protection to the Holy See. For Florentine affairs he referred the Imperial envoys to Cardinal Pucci. After a conversation with this Prince of the Church, whose devotion to the Emperor and the Medici was entire, they had a

[1] *Cf.* the *despatches of G. M. della Porta of June 29, 1529 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] DITTRICH, Regesten, 57, and SANUTO, LI., 107, 109; MOLINI, II., 230 *seq.* Still, the Briefs in which Clement announced to Francis I. and Henry VIII. the conclusion of the treaty, are dated July 15; see RAYNALDUS, 1529, n., 65, 66.

[3] This is treated more fully in cap. VIII.

[4] Praet delivered an *Imperial letter, dat. Barcelona, July 8, 1529 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. XI., caps. I., n. 180); *cf.* EHSES, Concil., IV., xxviii. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 608, is mistaken in making Praet the bearer of the Treaty of Cambrai.

second audience, on the 25th of July, in which the Pope, still forced to keep his bed, swore fidelity to the Treaty of Barcelona. Salvos of musketry from the Vatican, St. Angelo, and the palaces of the Imperialists announced the great event to Rome. Clement's condition having much improved by the end of July, the envoys were able to discuss with him personally the Florentine enterprise which Praet had warmly advocated with the Emperor. On Sunday, the 1st of August, the Pope participated in person at the thanksgiving service in St. Peter's on the occasion of the conclusion of peace.[1]

Some days before, Philibert, Prince of Orange, had made his entry with a body of fifteen hundred foot.[2] The negotiations concerning the submission of Florence, with which those relating to Perugia were combined,[3] now reached a

[1] *1 Aug. 1529 Papa de improviso voluit interesse missae ex officio propter publicationem foederis cum Caesare, etc.; *Diarium of B. DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* the important despatches of Praet to the Emperor of July 30, August 3 and 5, 1529, in LANZ, I., 318 *seqq.*; see also DITTRICH, Regesten, 59 and 60; SANUTO, LI., 282, 292, 294 *seqq.*; *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, of Vatican Library, and BARDI, Carlo V., 39 *seqq.* For Clement's opinion of the Treaty of Cambrai see the latter and DE LEVA, II., 546. The absolution bestowed on all those who took part in the sack of Rome as agreed to in the Treaty of Barcelona was published on August 6, 1529; see GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 400, and FONTANA, Renata, I., 449 *seq.* The public announcement of the treaty with Charles V. is dated as far back as July 24; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 312 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). In the *Mandati secreti, 1529–1530, f. 45[a], dat. October 10, 1529, there is a bill for the wax used "pro missa publicationis pacis" (State Archives, Rome).

[2] See SANUTO, LI., 244 *seq.*; *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris); VARCHI, I., 363; ROBERT, 283.

[3] Already, on July 11, 1529, the *order was sent to Perugia for the withdrawal of all hostile troops from the city, otherwise the Imperialists

definite stage. Since the Treaty of Barcelona contained no terms relating to the cost of the war with Florence, serious difficulties were not wanting. It was said that the ambitious Orange demanded for himself nothing less than the hand of Catherine de' Medici, the Pope's niece—a marriage which would have made him master of Florence. In Clement's immediate circle it was pointed out to him that he would be exposing his native city to great peril if he turned against her an army composed of such different nationalities. Among those who opposed the Florentine expedition, Jacopo Salviati, Roberto Pucci, and Sanga were named—those, in fact, who were in the Pope's confidence.

No wonder that Clement fell back on his usual vacillation.[1] If there were difficulties in coming to an understanding, the blame lay to a great extent with the Florentines, who kept up their methods of provocation towards the Pope. They were not only in the closest alliance with Malatesta Baglioni, but also with that Abbot of Farfa who had already caused Clement so much trouble.[2]

would advance. This order was repeated on July 24 in a *Brief calling on the city to return to obedience. In a *Brief of August 5 complaint is specially made that Perugia tolerates the rule of Malatesta Baglioni, after the latter "nobis inconsultis et invitis ante exactum stipendii tempus" had gone over to another's service, although the Pope had done all that he could to retain him; also bitter reproaches that the Perugians, without informing the Pope, had accepted the offer of the King of France, the Florentines, and the other allies to send reinforcements into their city. Up to the present he had observed leniency, but in the end he would be forced to deal severely with a contumacious city. Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 281, 313, and 324 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* LANZ, I., 326 *seq.*; REUMONT, Caterina von Medici, 132 *seq.*, and Rom, III., 2, 239 *seq.*

[2] See Vol IX. of this work, p. 367. The *excommunication of Napoleone Orsini, on account of the kidnapping of some Franciscans,

To this turbulent leader of faction they sent 3000 ducats towards the recruiting of troops; this sum, however, was intercepted by the Papal party, whereupon the Abbot determined on revenge. In the beginning of August Clement had sent Cardinals Farnese, Medici, and Quiñones to greet the Emperor on his arrival at Genoa.[1] Quiñones was set upon in the hill forest of Viterbo and kept prisoner until the 3000 ducats were repaid.[2] How

is dated July 8, 1529. Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 269 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] The designation of the three Cardinals had already taken place on July 24, 1529; see *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican and the *deed of nomination, dat. Romae, 1529, IX. Cal. Aug. in Regest., 1438, f. 132b–133a; *ibid.*, f. 146–147, the *legatine faculties for the above, dat. Romae, 1529, VIII. Id. August. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). On August 3 Clement VII. informed the Emperor of the mission of the three Cardinals (Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 322, Secret Archives of the Vatican; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 70, and GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 93); and on August 8 he recommended the three Cardinals to Gattinara and other Imperial office-bearers (Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 329). In the *Mandati secreti, 1529–1530, f. 20, 1000 ducats are entered on August 2, 1529, for Farnese for his journey to the Emperor's court and the same amount for Quiñones (State Archives, Rome). For the departure see SANUTO, LI., 295–296. On August 11, 1529, Clement addressed from Rome an *autograph letter to Charles V. containing good wishes for the peace of Cambrai and his journey into Italy. The original letter in the Pope's hand, but without signature, in Lit. divers. ad Clement. VII., vol. I. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 5; *cf.* also SANUTO, LI., 313; ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 196; *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, of the Vatican Library, and *letter of T. Campeggio, dat. Rome, 1529, August 10 (State Archives, Bologna). In a *Brief of August 10 Clement informed Cardinal Farnese of the capture of Cardinal Quiñones, and ordered him to hasten his journey as the Emperor had already landed. A *Brief of August 12 to the Cardinals Farnese and Medici contains a similar command; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 334 and 337 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

bitterly the Pope must have resented this unprecedented occurrence[1] can easily be understood.[2] An agreement on the question of the subjection of Florence and Perugia was arrived at by the special interposition of Cardinal Pucci, who from his private resources advanced such a considerable sum that Clement was able to dispose of 36,600 scudi.[3] But with this he could only at first clear off a small instalment of his obligations, for, on the 17th of August, Clement had to concede the demands of Orange: 80,000 scudi to be paid down, 50,000 to be added after the capture of Florence, and a final 150,000 to be raised by taxation on the city.[4] The Pope, besides, was to support Orange with artillery and recruits, and once more Rome and the Papal territory became the scene of active military movements. The Pope's thoughts henceforward were absorbed in this unhappy enterprise against his native city.[5] On the 13th of August Mercurino da Gattinara received from Clement, now fully restored to health, the long-coveted rank of

[1] "Res inaudita," says BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in his *diary (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Acta Consist., 1529, August 10: "Stas Sua multum conquesta est de abbate [Farfae] propter capturam revmi d. s. Crucis legati de latere ad Mtem Caesaris et consuluit collegium, quid in hac causa sit agendum, super quo conclusum fuit quod S. Sua capiat penas de abbate capta occasione" (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican). Napoleone Orsini was treated as a rebel; Farfa supported Fr. de' Orsini; *cf.* the *documents of August 21 and 28 in Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 353 and 354.

[3] DE BLASIIS, Maramaldo, III., 339, n. 3.

[4] Lettere di G. Busini a B. Varchi (ed. MILANESI, Firenze, 1861), 65. In BARDI, 50, there is mention of an earlier agreement of August 12 fixing other amounts.

[5] "Quant à l'affaire de Florence ils sont tousjours en leur déliberacion de pousser oultre," *reports N. Raince from Rome on August 24, 1529. Fonds franç., 3009, f. 41 (National Library, Paris).

Cardinal, as a reward for his services in bringing the Treaty of Barcelona to a conclusion.[1]

[1] *Deed of nomination, dat. Romae, 1529, Idus Aug., in Regest., 1438, f. 152–153 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* **Clement VII. to Charles V., dat. 1529, August 18 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, LI., 359, 376, and the **Despatches of F. Gonzaga of August 15, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The red hat was sent to Gattinara in September 1529; see GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 149, and *Clemens VII. Mercurino tit. s. Joh. ante port. lat. presb. Card., dat. Romae, 1529, III. Non. Sept. in Regest., 1438, f. 209 and 1440, f. 34. The three Cardinal-Legates at the Imperial court were commissioned, in a *Brief of September 14, 1529, to invest Gattinara with the insignia of the Cardinalate as far as was admissible; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 24, n. 249 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

CHAPTER III.

THE MEETING OF CLEMENT VII. AND CHARLES V. AT BOLOGNA. —THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION.—RESTORATION OF THE MEDICEAN RULE IN FLORENCE.

ON the 12th of August, 1529, Charles V., with a stately retinue of Spanish grandees, had landed at Genoa, where he was welcomed with shouts of "Long live the Ruler of the World!"[1] The coming of the Emperor raised the hopes of his followers to the highest pitch. Typical of the pride with which Charles was regarded by the Germans in Rome is the diary of Cornelius de Fine, who even associates the plenteous harvest of the autumn of 1529 with the coming of the Emperor.[2] By command of the Pope, Cardinals Farnese, Medici, Quiñones, and his nephew Alessandro de' Medici[3] awaited his coming at Genoa. The Imperial troops, twelve thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, landed for the most part at Savona. With this force Charles might have attacked Venice and Sforza

[1] See ROMANO, Cronaca, 79 *seqq.*, and SANUTO, LI., 398 *seqq.* Charles V. informed the Pope of his arrival by a *letter, dat. Genoa [1529], August 13 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Arm., XI., caps. 1.

[2] CORNELIUS DE FINE praises Charles beyond measure; he is "vir rectus atque timens Deum et Deus cum eo in omnibus negotiis" (*Diarium in the National Library, Paris).

[3] ROMANO, Cronaca, 88 *seq.* Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Giberti also went to Genoa; but Giberti was received so ungraciously by Charles that he at once returned to Verona; see SANUTO, LI., 379, 415; DITTRICH, Contarini, 176.

successfully, had not his brother Ferdinand at this very moment reported the threatening advance of the Turks in Hungary. This intelligence forced Charles to act with foresight and caution; he gave up the idea of an aggressive movement against the Venetians and expressed himself in a pacific sense.[1] The hopes of the anti-Imperialists in Italy, those of Venice before all, were, in fact, based on the victory of the Turks; the Venetian Senate instructed their Ambassador at Constantinople, on the 25th of August, to stir up the Moslem to push on against Ferdinand.[2] In this state of things Charles was thrown more than ever on his friendship with the Pope; this accounts for the rude treatment of the Florentine envoys at Genoa who had come to plead for a postponement of the expedition against the city. Charles refused this peremptorily as an engagement undertaken without the cognizance of the Pope; he exhorted them, but certainly in vain, to come to terms with Clement. Gattinara spoke even more clearly, since he told the Florentines that they would have to reinstate Clement and his family in their former position.[3] This, indeed, was the whole end and aim of the Pope; heedless of all warnings and dangers, he pursued without scruple the policy of the aggrandizement of the house of Medici.[4]

Orange had left Rome in the middle of August.[5] His

[1] *Cf.* the important and strictly confidential letter of Charles V. to Ferdinand I., dat. January 11, 1530, in LANZ, I., 366 *seq.*

[2] ROMANIN, V., 462.

[3] SEGNI, I., 171; VARCHI, I., 358; REUMONT, III., 2, 243; PERRENS, III., 222 *seqq.* The letters of Charles in BARDI, Carlo V., 51 *seqq.*, show that the Emperor was in close understanding with the Papal Nuncio before meeting the Florentine envoys.

[4] PALLAVICINI (I., II., c. 16) had already condemned this policy. Among the moderns BROSCH (I., 113 *seq.*) is the most severe.

[5] See Praet's letter in BARDI, Carlo V., 42, and ROBERT, 293. At first the expedition against Perugia was not believed in at Rome; *cf.*

troops were gathered in the flat country between Foligno and Spello; there were three thousand landsknechts, the remnant of Frundsberg's army, and four thousand Italians under Pierluigi Farnese, Camillo Marzio, Sciarra Colonna, and Giovan Battista Savelli; the Spanish infantry were to be brought up from Apulia by Vasto.[1]

The expedition against the rebellious Malatesta Baglioni was carried out swiftly. While reconnoitring near Spello, Giovanni d' Urbino, the bravest of the Spanish captains, was indeed killed, but Spello surrendered in September. Vasto had now come up; on the 6th of September the army crossed the Tiber and pitched camp before Perugia, and by the 10th this stronghold had also capitulated. The conditions were very favourable to Malatesta Baglioni: he was allowed free egress for himself and his artillery, protection for his property, and permission to take service for Florence. Perugia returned to its former relations with the Holy See, retaining its privileges, and, on the evening of the 11th of September, Cardinal del Monte took possession of the city in the Pope's name.[2]

the **despatch of F. Gonzaga of August 17, 1529 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 5.

[2] Along with contemporary accounts in SANUTO, LI., 386 *seqq.*, 463, 494, 508, 542, 559, 562 *seqq.*, see especially BONTEMPI, Ricordi, 335 *seq.*, and also the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine in the National Library, Paris. *Cf.* also VERMIGLIOLI, Vita di Malatesta IV. Baglioni, Perugia, 1839, 66 *seq.*, XXXIX. *seqq.*; FABRETTI, Capitani venturieri, IV., 77, 113 *seq.*, and Documenti, 528 *seqq.*, 541 *seqq.*; PELLINI, III., 499 *seqq.*; FONTANA, Renata, I., 451 *seq.*; ROBERT, 300, and Lett. et Docum., 339 *seq.* For the ravages of the war see the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine. The *Monitorium against Malatesta, dat. Rome, 1529 (without day of month), in Regest., 1437, f. 314–318 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Also Lett. d. princ., VI., f. 65, a *letter of Orange to the Pope, dat. 1529, September 11, in which he begs for a ratification of the treaty with Malatesta Baglioni.

The hopes of the Florentines, that the campaign would be concentrated on Perugia, were thus baffled; once more the war was confined exclusively to their own territory. They also failed completely in their attempts to drive Orange off by means of negotiations. Since Malatesta had betaken himself to Montevarchi without giving a thought to the protection of the Florentine frontier towns, little resistance was offered to the Imperialist troops. In a short time they became masters of Cortona, Castiglione Fiorentino, and finally of Arezzo. The further advance of Orange into the valley of the Arno was very slow; this gave the inhabitants of Florence time to defend themselves.[1] Orange laid himself open to the suspicion of acting with a view to his own interests rather than to those of the Pope, but there is no adequate proof of this; on the contrary, his delay arose from altogether different causes. The letters of Charles V. to Orange show that the former expressly wished for a protracted advance against Florence, in order that, if possible, an agreement might be reached between the Pope and the citizens of his own town. Only in the case of this being altogether unsuccessful did the Emperor, that he might not incur the loss of Clement's friendship, consent to carry the expedition through.[2]

Clement VII. grants this at once; see the *letter of thanks to Orange of September 13, 1529, in Min. brev., 1529, vol. 24, n. 247; *cf.* vol. 26, n. 378, 379, and 380, the *briefs dated on the same September 13 to Perugia, Malatesta Baglioni, and the Cardinal del Monte.

[1] The work was carried on day and night; see Capello's report of September 24, 1529, in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 121.

[2] See Charles V.'s important letter to Orange in BARDI, Carlo V., 56 *seqq.*, 64 *seqq.* Before the publication of these documents PERRENS (III., 266) had already, on the evidence of the Sienese reports (in FOSSATI-FALLETTI, Assedio, II., 21, 42, 55, 76), rejected the imputation that Orange was pursuing personal aims; also ROBERT, 315 *seq.* Charles V. also instructed his envoy in Rome to obtain from the Pope

Orange's advance, moreover, was retarded, since he had to wait for artillery from Siena. Not until the 20th of October did he reach Ripoli, and at last, on the 24th, he took up his position on the lovely chain of hills by which Florence is bounded on the south-east.[1]

Up to the last, Clement had hoped that the Florentines, isolated from all help, would surrender and avoid the issue of a struggle with the fierce soldiery. He was doomed to see how far he had deceived himself. With admirable heroism, the Florentines had made preparations to fight for their freedom to the death.[2] With their own hands they had devastated the fair surroundings of their city in order to deprive the enemy of any points of advantage. By every means in their power, even to the sale of Church property, money had been raked together to provide pay for the troops. They would rather, declared some, see their city in ashes than stoop to obey the Medici.[3] The walls were manned by soldiers ready to resist any assault of the Imperialists. Orange had to make up his mind to invest the city, and at the end of October his artillery fire

an arrangement with Florence, and declared himself ready to make over to the Duke Alexander, as a compensation, a portion of the Duchy of Milan; see Despacho que el Emperador Carlos V. mandó escribir á sus Embajadores en Roma, para que procurasen arreglar con Su Santidad los asuntos de Milan y Florencia, 1 Octubre de 1529. Pubbl. da G. DE LEVA, Padova, 1859 (per nozze).

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 6; REUMONT, III., 2, 241 *seq.*; ROBERT, 319 *seq.*

[2] The earlier literature on the siege of Florence in GIORDANI, App. 24 *seqq.*, and REUMONT, III., 2, 850. Of modern works the most important is that of FOSSATI-FALLETTI, already quoted; for criticism of the latter *cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 4 Series, XVIII., 139 *seq.*, and Rev. hist., XXXII., 408 *seqq.* For the Russian work of V. PISKORSKY (Kiev, 1892) see Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, IX., 372 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 957.

was trained upon the heights of San Miniato. Michael Angelo, who, on the 6th of April 1529, had already been appointed[1] overseer of the fortifications, had transformed the noble basilica, on its lofty eminence, into a bulwark of such strength that the fire from Orange's guns was ineffectual.

The success of their measures of defence filled the Florentines with fresh courage. Preachers of the order of which Savonarola had been a member sought zealously to revive the old belief in the inviolable security of the city; the holy angels, it was declared, would be the saviours of Florence; to gainsay such teaching was deemed a transgression against the State. The popular excitement was fanned especially by the Dominicans Fra Zaccaria of San Marco and Benedetto da Fojano. Like Savonarola, once the object of their heated adulation, these religious made their pulpits resound with politics. Their sermons, according to the testimony of Varchi, were filled with derisive gibes against the Pope and flattery of the government in power. The hatred of the Medici in some amounted at last to madness. It reached the length of a proposal that vengeance in a shameful form should be visited on Catherine de' Medici, a child of ten, who was then detained as a hostage in a convent.[2]

While in Genoa, Charles V. had sent a request to the Pope that his coronation might be solemnized at Bologna.

[1] See decree in Giorn. stor. d. arch. toscan., II., 66-67.

[2] *Cf.* GRIMM, Michelangelo, II., 95 *seq.*; REUMONT, Caterina de' Medici, 120 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 160. For the Dominican Preachers see VARCHI, I., 292; PERRENS, III., 241 *seq.*; CAPPONI, III., 266; *cf.* also SANUTO, LII., 327. For the demand for a revision of Savonarola's case see FOSSATI-FALLETTI, I., 445. The "Epistola" addressed to Clement VII. by Girolamo Benivieni, in defence of Savonarola, was published by MILANESI as an appendix to his edition of Varchi and in pamphlet form, Florence, 1858.

Such threatening intelligence had come from Germany that it became more necessary than ever that the head of the Empire should speedily have recourse thither. The pressure to which Ferdinand was exposed from the Turks had altered the situation in such a way that it appeared impolitic for Charles to be at too great a distance from the hereditary domains of the Hapsburgs.[1] Nor could Clement deny the force of this argument; but the state of his health, only just restored, and the cost of the journey were against it. Moreover, an Imperial coronation outside the walls of Rome was something unknown, contrary to all precedent, the closest adherence to which was in Rome a fixed and unchanging principle. Many of the Cardinals, the Curia, and the Romans, almost without exception, were against the journey.[2] But the Legates who had followed Charles to Piacenza supported him in his wish, to which he gave renewed expression in a letter of the 20th of September 1529.[3] They also announced that Charles had sworn at Piacenza, as at Parma, to undertake nothing to the detriment of Holy Church.[4] Clement was strongly influenced by the knowledge that he was dependent on Charles for the Florentine enterprise and

[1] ROMANO, Cronaca, 94.

[2] DITTRICH, Regesten, 64.

[3] I also found this autograph *letter of Charles V.'s to Clement, "de Piacenza de XX. de Setiembre," in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XI., caps. 7.

[4] ROMANO, 95; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 177. On August 29, 1529, Charles V. wrote from Genoa to the Pope, how glad he was to make the acquaintance of Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici, and informed him of his departure for Piacenza (Lett. d. princ., I., 123[b], and GIORDANI, App. 2 *seqq.*), which took place on the 30th; see Capello in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 207. On August 23 nothing had been decided as to the Pope's departure for Bologna; see the *report of F. Gonzaga from Rome on that day (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the restoration of the Papal territory. He had also repeatedly previously announced his intention of going into Spain in the cause of peace. How could he now decline to make a comparatively trifling journey? By the end of August[1] he had made up his mind to gratify the Emperor's wish; but he kept his resolve a secret for some days, and allowed the belief to prevail that the notion of a Roman coronation had not been given up.[2] On the 19th of September the Treaty of Cambrai was officially announced in Rome; before the Pope proceeded to the ceremony of its publication he made known to the Cardinals his intention of going to Bologna, but he left it optional to the members of the Sacred College whether they accompanied him or not. On that the Cardinals withdrew any opposition, and the Romans were pacified by the arrangement that the Rota and Cancelleria were to remain in Rome.[3]

The date of the journey, for which preparations were now[4] beginning to be made, depended a good deal on the

[1] *Cf.* the Papal *injunction, dated August 29, 1529, with regard to the necessary quarters for soldiers and the Papal suite at Bologna during the approaching visit. Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 404 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 140; Lett. d. princ., III., 98[b]; *report of F. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1529, September 17 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Contarini's letter of the same date in DITTRICH, Contarini, 177.

[3] SANUTO, LI., 601 *seqq.*, and LII., 16; *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library); *Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS (Secret Archives of the Vatican); CLARETTA, Carlo V. e Clemente VII., 9. Clement's joy at the Peace of Cambrai and the reasons for his rejoicing are laid before the Emperor in a letter, in BARDI, Carlo V., 39 *seqq.*

[4] Report of F. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1529, September 20 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The "Gubernator generalis curiae" during the journey was Francesco Pesaro; see GARAMPI, 246.

news from Florence. The frightful danger hanging over his native city was a source of increasing agitation to Clement. He still hoped for a peaceful solution, and this hope was encouraged by Contarini.[1] On the 22nd of September a Florentine envoy arrived in Rome. As he was the bearer only of general expressions, the Pope determined to send Schönberg to Orange and to Florence with the task of arranging a peaceful settlement, if such were by any means possible. Schönberg, who had only returned from Cambrai on the 19th, was once more on his way by the 23rd. But his mission was as unsuccessful as was that of one of the Papal Chamberlains despatched by Clement when he was already on the road to Bologna.[2]

The obstinacy of the Florentines occasioned alterations in the Pope's travelling arrangements. Instead of going through Tuscany, he had to take the road through the Romagna. Before starting, Clement drew up a series of precautionary regulations. By a special Bull the freedom of the Papal election, in case he died at Bologna,[3] was secured. Cardinal del Monte was made Legate in Rome,[4]

[1] See DITTRICH, Regesten, 65, and Contarini, 178 *seq.*; BARDI, Carlo V., 42, 44. For the Pope's indignation against Florence see in App., No. 7, *the report of F. Gonzaga (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 178 *seq.* For Schönberg's departure see SANUTO, LII., 15. The *pass for Schönberg, as well as the letter recommending him to Orange, is dated September 22; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 392 and 393 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] DITTRICH, Regesten, 65, and Contarini, 179. The text of the Bull in RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 75 *seqq.*; *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 12.

[4] On October 1. See *Acta Consist. of the Camerarius in Cod. Vatic., 3457, P. II., Vatican Library, and the *report of F. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1529, October 2 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cardinal del Monte came to Rome on October 10, according to the Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library. The "Tavola di li prezzi del vivere" published by this Cardinal on October 25, 1529, is in the Studi e docum., III., 89 *seq.*, and shows that scarcity still continued in Rome.

and special Nuncios were ordered to go to France and England to acquaint their respective governments with the circumstances of the Pope's journey, and to ask that full powers should be sent to Bologna for dealing with the Turkish question.[1] Cardinal Cibo was instructed to make the necessary preparations in Bologna.[2]

On the afternoon of the 7th of October the Pope left Rome amid torrents of rain. In immediate attendance were Cardinals Accolti, Cesi, Cesarini, and Ridolfi;[3] most of the remaining Cardinals as well as the Ambassadors followed. The insecurity of the road made an escort necessary and considerably impeded the progress of the journey, which the Emperor, with renewed insistence, begged might be accelerated. The Pope's route lay by Civita Castellana, Orte, Terni, Spoleto, and Foligno to Sigillo on the Via del Furlo.[4] On the way, important despatches were brought by members of the Imperial court. They contained Charles's wish that the settlement of Italian affairs might be made as quickly as possible, seeing that the Turks were advancing on Vienna. He therefore would give up Parma to the Pope, although still in his (the Emperor's) possession, and would deal with the affairs of Milan in conformity with Clement's advice.[5] At Sigillo the new Imperial envoy, Gabriele

[1] PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 85. *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *report to Ferdinand I. of October 7, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] STAFFETTI, Cybo, 88.

[3] *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis de Caesena mag. caerem. Bibl. Barb., XXXV., 45 (now lat. 2801), f. 1 *seq.* (Vatican Library and Cod. 12547, National Library, Paris); *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 78; SANUTO, LII., 78.

[4] *See Diarium, *loc. cit.*; SANUTO, LII., 118; BONTEMPI, 338. The Itinerary was as follows: October 8, Civita Castellana; 9, Orte; 10, Terni; 11, Spoleto; 12, Foligno; 13, Nocera; 14, Sigillo.

[5] See Contarini's report, October 15, 1529, in DITTRICH, Regesten,

Merino, Bishop of Jaen and Archbishop of Bari,[1] together with Praet and Mai, had his first audience with the Pope, whom he found full of confidence in the Emperor's good intentions.[2]

On the 20th of October Clement was at Cesena, where a Florentine deputation appeared, to announce that their city would make a willing submission if honourably treated.[3] On the 21st the distinguished travellers were welcomed at Forli by the Bolognese envoys. On the 23rd *feux de joie* and peals of bells informed the inhabitants of Bologna that the head of the Church had reached the convent of the Crociferi,[4] one mile distant from the city. On the following day the solemn entry, for which preparations on a vast scale had been undertaken, was made.

The road to San Petronio was overspread by draperies from which hung green garlands enclosing the arms of the Medici. Magnificent triumphal arches in the Doric order

61 ; *cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 183, 184, and 186. See also F. Gonzaga's *despatch, dat. Spoleto, 1529, October 16 : "S. Sta si mantien benissimo et per il più del tempo cavalca lassando de andar in lettica : si continua li viaggio e forse si accelererà alquanto più che non s' haveva pensato per queste male nove del Turco, quali hanno penetrato nel cor di S. B^ne" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] Charles V. recommended him to Clement VII. in an *autograph letter, "De Placencia VIII. de Octubre" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XI., caps. 1).

[2] See Merino's report of October 16, 1529, in GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 190. "in sigello" is incorrectly translated "in secret." "In castro Sugelli Perus. dioc.," October 14, 1529, is the date of the *instruction of Clement VII. to the officials of the Cam. Apost., that during his absence from Rome no interdict was to be pronounced in cases of debt ; Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 434 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 137.

[4] GIORDANI, 6.

of architecture, with allegorical reliefs,paintings, and stucco groups of figures, had been constructed at the Porta Maggiore, the Palazzo Scappi, and on the Piazza Maggiore. The Pope made his entrance borne on the sedia gestatoria; sixteen Cardinals, numerous Archbishops and Bishops, as well as bodies of Bolognese officials, went with him to San Petronio, from whence, after giving his solemn benediction, he betook himself to the Palazzo Pubblico, where splendid apartments had been prepared for him.[1] A special messenger of the Emperor, Pedro de la Cueva, greeted Clement VII., a compliment acknowledged by the Pope in an autograph letter.[2]

In a secret Consistory held on the 29th of October, six Cardinals were appointed to make all the needful preparations for the Emperor's coronation, and it was decided, in the event of the rite being performed in Bologna, that a Bull should be issued declaring the solemnity to have the same validity as it would have had if carried out in Rome.[3] At the same time the Pope was able to proclaim the joyful news that the Turks had abandoned the siege of Vienna. In celebration of this event a solemn function was held in San Petronio on the last day of October, at which the Pope gave his benediction and absolution.[4]

[1] To the sources used by GIORDANI, 6 *seqq.* (especially MSS. chronicles of Negri and Ghiselli), have more recently been added ROMANO, Cronaca, 100 *seqq.*; SANUTO, LII., 138, 142 *seq.*, 144 *seqq.*, and the report in CLARETTA, Carlo V. e Clemente VII., 14 *seqq.*

[2] Printed in Lett. d. princ., I. 122[b]. The autograph *letter of Charles V. to Clement VII., "Dy Martes, XXVI. d' Octubre," delivered by P. de la Cueva (Secret Archives of the Vatican, *loc. cit.*).

[3] This Bull was issued on the coronation day; see Bull. Vat., II., 402 *seq.*

[4] RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 81. Clement VII. congratulated Charles on the deliverance of Vienna, October 29, 1529; see Lett. d. princ., I., 123.

The entry of Charles V. was looked for on the 5th of November. He had left Piacenza on the 27th of October. In Borgo San Donnino he received a letter from his brother announcing the complete failure of the Turkish attack on Vienna.[1] Thus Charles's position in Italy was remarkably improved, and his enemies, who had reckoned on the Turks, lost spirit.[2]

With renewed hopes Charles went by Parma[3] to Reggio, where the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara besought him on his knees to support him against the Pope. This crafty Prince made lavish promises in order to gain the favour of the powerful Emperor, whom he accompanied as far as Modena.[4] The personal intercourse between them was destined to have important results. When Charles reached Borgo Panigale on the 4th of November, he found almost all the Cardinals and a numerous company of prelates there assembled; Cardinal Farnese welcomed him in the Pope's name and escorted him to Certosa.[5] On the following day the Emperor made his state entry into the second city of the Papal territories.

On this occasion the decorations of Bologna far surpassed those employed on the arrival of the Pope. If on the

[1] ROMANO, Cronaca, 102. Ferdinand I.'s letter from Linz of October 19, 1529, in GEVAY, Urkunden u. Aktenstücke zur Gesch. der Verhandl. zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte. Gesandtschaft an Sultan Suleiman I., 1529, Vienna, 1840, 49 *seq.*

[2] J. PITTI, Apol. de' Cappucci in Arch. stor. Ital., I Series, IV., 2, 362.

[3] From here on October 31, 1529, Charles V. wrote to Clement VII.: "Yo continuare my camyno con el deseo que traygo de bazar los pies de V. S^d^ como dira su camarero a quien me remyto." *Original in Secret Archives of the Vatican, *loc. cit.*

[4] See ROMANO, Cronaca, 108 *seq.*; *cf.* CAMPORI in Arch. stor. Ital., App. VI., 144 *seqq.*

[5] Together with GIORDANI, 21 *seq.*, see the report in CLARETTA, *loc. cit.*, 15 *seq.*

former occasion the ecclesiastical element was the most prominent, the chief place was now occupied by secular pomp. In correspondence with the character of the Renaissance, now at its zenith, the festal decorations were marked by the utmost prodigality. Architects, sculptors, and painters competed in the creation of a scheme of ephemeral decoration striking the eye with magnificence and colour and transporting the spectator into the very heart of ancient Rome. From the windows of every house hung coloured tapestries, and awnings overspread the streets; garlands of green leaves formed an admirable contrast to the arches which make Bologna a city of arcades. On the ravelin of the Porta S. Felice, through which Charles was to enter, was seen, on one side, the triumph of Neptune surrounded by tritons, sirens, and sea-horses, and on the other, Bacchus in the midst of satyrs, fauns, and nymphs, with the inscription, "Ave Cæsar, Imperator invicte!" On the gateway itself were conspicuous the Papal keys and the Imperial eagle, inscriptions in imitation of those of ancient Rome, medallion portraits of Cæsar, Augustus, Titus, and Trajan, and lastly the equestrian statues of Camillus and Scipio Africanus. The architectural illusions were also, on this occasion, of exceptional splendour; the triumphal arches erected in the Doric style were all profusely adorned with stucco figures and paintings, mostly in chiaroscuro. Besides the painters of Bologna, those of other cities, such as Giorgio Vasari and a Flemish pupil of Raphael, were employed on these works.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the head of the Imperial procession reached the Porta S. Felice: first came lancers, then the artillery, two hundred landsknechts, cavalry, and again numerous foot-soldiers, followed by many princes and knights on horseback and in gleaming armour. Cardinal

Campeggio, recently returned from England, as bishop of the city, met the Emperor at the gate, before whom were borne the standard of the Empire, the banner of St. George, and an unsheathed sword. Surrounded by Spanish grandees in magnificent attire rode Charles, on a white charger, in flashing armour inlaid with gold. His baldachino was carried by nobles and senators of Bologna. Behind him came the Count of Nassau, Alessandro de' Medici, the Marquis of Montferrat, Andrea Doria, the Chancellor, Cardinal di Gattinara, Cles, Bishop of Trent, Bishop George III. of Brixen, Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, his confessor Garcia de Loaysa, and numerous ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries; the rearguard was composed of Spanish troops. While treasurers flung coins and medals to the closely packed crowds, who were shouting "Cesare, Imperio," the procession slowly made its way to San Petronio, before which a richly decorated platform had been raised; here the Pope, in full pontifical garb, the triple crown upon his head, with five-and-twenty Cardinals around him, awaited the Emperor, on whose approach fanfares from trumpets were blown, all the city bells pealed, and the cannon thundered forth salutes. Two members of the Sacred College led Charles to the platform, where he knelt, and kissed the foot, hand, and forehead of the Pope. Thus, for the first time, the two men came face to face who had been engaged in such a long and bitter contest until their common interests brought them together. Charles addressed the Pope briefly in Spanish, and Clement made a friendly reply. The Emperor was then conducted to the church by the Pope, who afterwards withdrew. A Te Deum was sung in San Petronio.

It was six o'clock in the evening when the Emperor left the church and betook himself to the Palazzo Pubblico,

where his lodgings also had been prepared.[1] His apartments immediately adjoined those of the Pope. A private door of communication enabled them both to hold intercourse, at any time, free from interruption and observation.[2] A well-known picture in the palace of the Signoria in Florence represents the Emperor and Pope in animated conversation.[3]

Charles as a politician was more than a match for Clement in shrewdness; nevertheless he made most careful preparation on each occasion of conference with the Pope, noting down on a slip of paper all essential points.[4] Italian writers of despatches were struck in Charles, who was not yet full thirty years old, by his seriousness, his sense of religion, and a certain slow

[1] For the decoration of Bologna and the Emperor's entry see GIORDANI, 12 *seqq.*, where the rare work, Il superbo apparato fatto in Bologna alla incoronazione della Ces. M^ta^ di Carlo V. (copy in the Trivulzio Library, Milan) is made use of, and other sources are given in App. 13 *seqq.* For the preparations of the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, see Mél. d'archéol., XXIII., 170 *seq.* *Cf.* also for the entry ROMANO, Cronaca, 113 *seqq.*; CLARETTA, Carlo V. e Clemente VII., 16 *seqq.*; SANUTO, LI., 180 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*, 184 *seqq.*, 187 *seqq.*, 192, 195 *seq.*, 197 *seqq.*, 205 *seqq.*, 209, 259 *seqq.*, 266 *seqq.*, 273 *seq.*, 275 *seqq.*; VANDENESSE, Journal d. voyag. de Charles V., II., 85; V. DUYSE in Bull. de la Soc. d'hist. de Gand, 1898. The allocution of Charles to the Pope (touched up in ULLOA, Vita di Carlo V., Venice, 1566, 118) is given accurately in a letter of Isabella of Este in Arch. stor. Ital., App. II., 320. For the understanding of the decorations of the city, *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 372 *seq.*

[2] ROMANO, Cronaca, 124; *cf.* SANUTO, LII., 267.

[3] Reproduced in HEYCK, Die Mediceer, 120.

[4] Contarini in ALBÈRI, Relazioni, 2 Series, III., 269 *seq.* That Clement had a very good memory is clear from A. da Burgo's *report to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1529, March 18, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

deliberation of speech. Contarini, who had followed the Pope to Bologna, was impressed by the Emperor's absorption in affairs while there; he seldom left the palace except in order to hear Mass. Of the Pope, then in his fifty-first year, he says that the traces of the long and dangerous illness he had gone through were plainly visible on his countenance. Among the Pope's advisers the Venetian Ambassador mentions as the most influential Jacopo Salviati, French in his sympathies, but now accommodating himself to the conditions of the time; then Sanga, the friend of Giberti; Cardinal Pucci, entirely occupied with the Florentine business; as well as Schönberg and Girolamo da Schio, both Imperialists.[1]

The negotiations of Clement VII. with Charles were made easier by the conclusion of the treaties of Barcelona and Cambrai. But there still remained certain points which were very difficult of adjustment between them. The Pope was still distrustful of Charles, and, if Contarini is to be believed, it was not until after long intercourse with him at Bologna that Clement's opinion in this respect underwent a change.[2]

Clement insisted, as was to be expected, on an exact fulfilment of the stipulations in his favour of the Treaty of Barcelona.[3] Charles, for his part, was determined to

[1] Contarini in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, III., 265 *seqq.*, 269 *seqq.*; *cf.* for Charles V., SANUTO, LII., 210. See also GIORDANI, App. 100. For J. Salviati *cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 787, 794; REUMONT, III., 2, 266; EHSES, Dokumente, 266.

[2] Contarini in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, III., 266.

[3] Gregorio Casale told Contarini that Clement VII. had threatened that, if Charles broke his word, he would return to Rome and there have the Treaty of Barcelona publicly printed, so that all the world might know that he had been duped (DITTRICH, Regesten, 70).

retain the Pope's friendship[1] in any event, on account of the Turkish danger, not as yet by any means extinct, the condition of Germany, and the exhaustion of his resources. But his views regarding Milan and Ferrara differed essentially from those of Clement.[2] The expedition against Florence gave rise to difficulties only in so far as Orange was incessant in his demands for money and reinforcements; an understanding on this point was made easier because Charles saw in the Florentine alliance with France a standing menace to his supremacy in Italy.[3] It was otherwise with the Milanese question, to a favour-

[1] *Cf.* the very important and interesting private letter, already quoted, from Charles V. to Ferdinand I., of January 11, 1530, in LANZ, I., 367 *seq.* "Je désire," says Charles, "ne plus perdre son amyte et pour le moings, si je ne lay pour amy, qu'il ne me soit ennemy."

[2] For the peace negotiations at Bologna the best source is Niccolò da Ponte's Maneggio della pace di Bologna in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, III., 147 *seqq.*, the importance of which GACHARD (Relations, VIII. *seq.*) rightly insists upon. Contarini's reports are more complete than those in SANUTO, LII., although the latter is of importance as enabling one to fix the dates of individual reports and in giving (LII., 376 *seqq.*) a number of new Mantuan despatches. *Cf.* also Contarini's relation in ALBÈRI, *loc. cit.*, 264 *seq.*, and the accounts in ROMANO, Cronaca, 126 *seqq.*, which confirm N. da Ponte's statements. The author of the Cronaca edited by ROMANO is, as the latter shows (59 *seq.* and 285–286), Luigi Gonzaga di Borgoforte, who, in parts, uses the words of the Mantuan envoys. For an understanding of the Pope's views on the peace there is important evidence in the Lett. d. princ., III., 95–99, where a letter is published addressed to the Bishop of Vaison, G. da Schio, while staying at the Emperor's court, coming, as RANKE (Deutsch. Gesch., III., 6th ed., 153) rightly supposes, from Sanga.

[3] *Cf.* LANZ, I., 367; GUICCIARDINI, XIX., 6; and BARDI, Carlo V., 31, 34, 72. For the unsuccessful negotiations with the Florentine envoys see FOSSATI-FALLETTI, Assedio, I., 373 *seqq.* For the consultations with Orange, who came to Bologna, see ROMANO, 132 *seqq.*; *cf.* CLARETTA, 20.

able settlement of which Charles attached the greatest value. Previous to the meeting at Bologna, negotiations on this matter had already begun. In September and October the Imperialist envoys had proposed to Clement that Alessandro de' Medici should be given Milan; but they received the negative reply that the Pope could not commit himself to so great an undertaking, productive as it would be of perpetual difficulties to those of his own house. Nevertheless, the Emperor at Bologna returned to this proposal, but with no better success; on the other hand, influences were at work to secure Milan for Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1] As things were, any investiture of the duchy on another than Francesco Sforza would have kindled afresh another war in Italy.[2] It was therefore fortunate that Charles listened to the representations of the Pope, Gattinara, and Contarini, and summoned Sforza to appear at Bologna to vindicate his claims. On the 23rd of November 1529 Sforza had his first audience with the Emperor; he conducted his case with such skill that the Pope succeeded in bringing Charles completely round. By the 3rd of December the investiture of Sforza with Milan was practically settled.[3]

The Venetian Government having already, on the 10th

[1] NICCOLÒ DA PONTE, Maneggio, 178 *seqq.*; ROMANO, Cronaca, 134. See DITTRICH, Contarini, 186, 192; DE LEVA, II., 573; DAVARI in Giorn. ligust., 1890, 461, according to documents in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Marquis of Mantua came to Bologna on November 20; see the *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Cod. Barb., XXXV., 45 (now lat. 2801), Vatican Library.

[2] NICCOLÒ DA PONTE, Maneggio, 183–184.

[3] ROMANO, Cronaca, 139, 140, 142; *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *loc. cit.*; NICCOLÒ DA PONTE, Maneggio, 179 *seq.*, 189, 192, 199 *seq.*, 212 *seqq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, LII., 304, 332 *seq.*; Giorn. ligust., 1891, 101; BARDI, Carlo V., 33 *seq.*

of November, given full powers[1] to Contarini to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, now declared themselves also ready to evacuate the Apulian towns; they objected, however, at first to enter into the defensive Italian league desired by the Emperor. On the 26th of November the Senate determined to make this concession also, in the hope that Charles would then make reductions in his demands for money from Milan and Venice. On the representations made to him by Contarini, the Emperor consented to a substantial reduction of the war indemnity payable by the Republic; but from Sforza he demanded as before, together with enormous sums of money, the castles of Milan and Como as security for payment. On the 12th of December a messenger from Venice arrived with instructions to Contarini to comply with the Emperor's wishes.[2]

The Pope, yielding to the requests of Venice, recognized

[1] NICCOLÒ DA PONTE, Maneggio, 171 *seq.*; *cf.* ROMANIN, V., 465 *seqq.*; DE LEVA, II., 585 *seq.* Even in Bologna, Contarini had repeatedly endeavoured, but in vain, to induce the Pope to waive the restitution of the cities; see DITTRICH, Contarini, 181 *seq.* On November 14, 1529, Clement VII. thanked Venice for the restitution as decided on, and promised to use his influence with the Emperor on behalf of peace. The Brief is published in PASOLINI, Documenti riguard. antiche relazione fra Venezia e Ravenna, Imola, 1881, 108–109; *cf.* Libri com., VI., 203 *seq.* The *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor note on November 15, 1529: "Item relatum fuit, Venetos velle restituere terras ecclesiae ut puta Cerviam et Ravennam per eos occupatas" (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican). Rome, January 21, 1530, is the date of Clement's order to "Leonello Pio praesidenti Romandiolae" to take charge of Ravenna and Cervia with their citadels until further orders; Min. brev., 1530, vol. 27, n. 23 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 193 *seqq.* Como and Milan were to be delivered over to a Spaniard chosen by the Pope out of five nominees of Charles; see Casale in MOLINI, II., 265.

the right of the Duke of Urbino to the possession of his entire dominions. The Emperor, made uneasy by the news from Germany and the renewal of danger from Francis I., now decided to bring the negotiations to an end at once. The interests of Ferdinand were no longer considered, and his representatives were obliged, perforce, to agree with the Emperor's determination. Thus, on the 23rd of December 1529, it became possible to conclude a treaty of peace, the parties to which were Clement, Charles, Ferdinand, Venice, Sforza, Mantua, Savoy, Montferrat, Urbino, Siena, and Lucca. On New Year's Day the treaty was solemnly proclaimed in the Cathedral of Bologna, and on the 6th of January 1530 ratified on oath by all the contracting parties.[1]

The only points still left unsettled were the dispute between Clement and Alfonso of Ferrara, and the conclusion of a confederacy against the Turks. The Pope's antagonism to Alfonso had been made all the more vehement by the encroachments of the latter on purely ecclesiastical matters.[2] With regard to political controversies, Clement let Alfonso understand that he was quite

[1] ROMANO, Cronaca, 151 *seqq.*, 161 *seqq.*, 174 *seqq.*, and the reports in SANUTO, LII., 307 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 438 *seqq.*, 445 *seqq.*, 475, 477. The text of the League in DUMONT, IV., 2, 56 *seqq.* *Cf.* GIORDANI, Doc., 38 *seqq.*; SUDENDORF, III., 195 *seq.*; Libri Com., VI., 204 *seq.* For the treatment of Ferdinand's envoys, STOEGMANN, 180 *seq.*, gives information from the letters of A. da Burgo to Cles in the Court and State Archives, Vienna. Use has not been made *of the reports of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., in the same collection, partly in cipher, dated Bologna, 1529, December 26; *cf.* also that of December 29, 1529. Clement VII. gave permission in a *Bull of January 17, 1530, to the Duke of Milan to raise a full tithe on all the benefices of the duchy in order to raise the large sums which he had to pay on his investiture.

[2] See FONTANA, Renata, I., 452 *seqq.*

willing not to interfere with him, but if he were to renounce his claim to Modena and Reggio, Parma and Piacenza would then be separated from the Papal States in such a way that it would be almost equivalent to their alienation. Clement appealed expressly to the promises given by Charles at Barcelona; but in vain, for Alfonso had succeeded in completely winning over to his side the Emperor's advisers, as well as the Emperor himself. In this he was greatly helped by the secret intention of Charles to curb the power and independence of the Papal States. In public Charles spoke threateningly to Alfonso's envoys; but they knew very well that his anger was all assumed.[1] The Pope, in his irritation, said to the French Ambassador, "I am being betrayed, but I must act as if I were unaware of it."[2] Yet he declared expressly that under no circumstances would he allow Alfonso to participate in the coronation of the Emperor.[3]

For a long time the claims of Rome to be the scene of this solemnity had been seriously considered; but at last, after lengthy deliberation, the choice had fallen on Bologna. The reason for this decision was principally the gloomy account of the state of Germany sent by Ferdinand I., which rendered necessary the presence of Charles, as speedily as possible, in that portion of his empire.[4]

[1] *Cf.* ROMANO, Cronaca, 171–173, 181, where two very interesting reports from the Gonzaga Archives are published. The Papal grievances against Alfonso were collected together in a special document for Charles V. It is printed in SUDENDORF, III., 187 *seq.*

[2] Letter of Gramont, Bishop of Tarbes, dat. Bologna, February 25, 1530, in LE GRAND, Divorce, III., 386.

[3] ROMANO, Cronaca, 196.

[4] The question whether Rome should be the place of coronation was again brought forward on account of Charles's wish to visit Naples and the difficulties raised by Gattinara against the choice of Bologna. For the Chancellor was afraid that the "Lutherans and others" might call in

Charles was desirous that a certain number of the princes of the German Empire should attend his coronation; but

question the validity of the rite. (See the despatch of G. B. Malatesta of November 4, 1529, in ROMANO, Cronaca, 145, n. 1; *cf.* also GAYANGOS, 147 n., 208; SANUTO, LII., 192; and GIORDANI, App. 71.) Charles V., who received the consecrated sword on Christmas Day (see Jahrbuch der kunsthistor. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses, XXII., 135 *seq.*), did not make up his mind for some time. On December 26, 1529, A. da Burgo *reported to Ferdinand I.: "De loco coronationis et tempore adventus imperatoris in Germaniam adhuc res stat in suspenso" (original in Court and State Archives, Vienna). Ferdinand's representative, A. da Burgo, was opposed to the coronation in Rome, since the Emperor's visit to Germany would be delayed, where the danger was very great. (See Burgo's *report to Ferdinand I., dat. Bologna, 1529, December 29. The answer of B. von Cles to this is given by BUCHOLTZ, III., 427 *seq.*) Some of Charles's advisers dissuaded him from going to Germany, the risks being too great. They advised him to return to Spain by Rome and Naples. Burgo strongly opposed them (see STOEGMANN, 183 *seq.*). Charles for his part wished, on account of the Florentine undertaking, to go to Siena and from there to his coronation in Rome. On January 4, 1530, Burgo informed Ferdinand I.: "The Emperor is *in recessu*" (*report of this date in Court and State Archives, Vienna; *cf.* SANUTO, LII., 483); on January 14: "The Emperor and Pope are going to Siena" (*report of this date; *cf.* SANUTO, LII., 490, 495, 497, 499, 501–503). On the 11th, in a long autograph letter (in LANZ, I., 360 *seqq.*), Charles V. asked his brother's advice on this important matter. As Burgo informed Ferdinand by letter on January 30, 1530, Charles impatiently awaited his answer. As the Emperor was unwell on the 22nd of January, the journey to Rome had to be put off (SANUTO, LII., 531; *cf.* 530). Burgo made use of this time to work for the coronation at Bologna. On January 28 (*letter of this date) he was able to tell Ferdinand that the Pope was prepared to comply; but Charles still clung to the Roman journey. On January 22 he wrote to Margaret of Austria that he was determined to be crowned at Rome (BARDI, 34). On January 30 Burgo made counter-representations to Charles which were so effectual that the former wrote to Cles that he had good hopes that the coronation would take place at Bologna (STOEGMANN, 184); and so, in fact, it was settled (*cf.* the information in GIORDANI, 87, from Negri, Annali

Burgo and Salinas, representing Ferdinand I., convinced him that there was no longer any time to await their arrival.[1] Ferdinand, wrote the envoys on the 12th of

MSS. for February 1, 1530). On February 1, 1530, Burgo informed his master: "The Emperor is not going to Rome. He remains in Bologna." (A p.s. dated Febr. 2, to *letter of Febr. 1, 1530, says: "Some are advising the Emperor to have himself crowned in Germany by a Papal Legate as soon as he is certain of Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans. Ferdinand must forward his view speedily.") On February 2 he *writes: "Hoc mane post deliberationem externam Caesar fecit expedire mulos quos conduxerat pro profectione Romae, et hic fiet coronatio die S. Mathie"; *cf.* SANUTO, LII., 553, 562, and in Appendix, n. 9, the *Brief of February 2, 1530, to Cardinal Farnese, who was summoned to Bologna for the coronation (Min. in Secret Archives of the Vatican; original in State Archives, Naples). On February 4: "A congregation of Cardinals was entrusted with the business of the coronation" (see in App., No. 10, *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives). In a *letter of Burgo's to Ferdinand I. of February 4, 1530, he says: "Si M^tas^ V. non dissuadebit coronationem hic fiendam, melius hic fiet, sed si scribit non esse fiendam hic, credimus Caesar omittet non obstante quod alii venerint." At last on February 5 came Ferdinand's answer, dated January 28, 1530 (in BUCHOLTZ, III., 430 *seqq.*, in extract; given entire in GEVAY, Urkunden und Aktenstücke v. Gesandtschaft König Ferdinands I. an Suleiman I., Vienna, 1838, 59 *seqq.*). In a *report of February 8, 1530, Burgo relates how Charles behaved on receiving this, the decisive answer (see Appendix, No. 11). He *reports on the 12th: "Caesar perseverat omni celeritate in provisionibus suae coronationis hic Bononiae": *cf.* also a **second letter of this date. On the 13th Charles informed Margaret, "After long deliberation Bologna has been chosen as the place of coronation" (BARDI, 35). The reason given by JOVIUS, Hist., XXVII., 105, that Rome was unsuitable for the occasion owing to its recent destruction, is not mentioned in any of the documents. The whole of the *letters of A. da Burgo quoted above, some of which are countersigned by Salinas, I found in the Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[1] See the p.s. of February 2 to Burgo's letter of the previous day. (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

February 1530, could make excuses for his brother to the German princes and show them that it had not lain in Charles's power to fix beforehand the date of the coronation, which he was now compelled to proceed with without preparation in order to accelerate his arrival in Germany.[1]

All the necessary arrangements were, in fact, made in great haste.[2] On the 16th of February the Pope confirmed, in a Bull, the election of Charles and his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, and gave orders that he should be crowned with the iron and the golden Imperial crowns.[3] As early as the 22nd of February, the festival of St Peter's Chair at Antioch, Charles received in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico the iron crown of Lombardy,[4] which had been brought from Monza.[5] Two days later the coronation as Emperor was to take place in San Petronio; Charles had chosen this day because it was his birthday and the anniversary of the victory of his forces at Pavia.[6]

Except as regarded the customary place for the enactment of this solemn rite, all other observances of the

[1] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's **report of February 12, 1530, *loc. cit.* The electors protested to safeguard their rights, on July 29, 1530, that the Imperial coronation had taken place in their absence and that others had partially fulfilled their duties. RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., VI., 6th ed., 139.

[2] See *Acta Consist. of February 16, 1532 (Consistorial Archives and Secret Archives of the Vatican), and *Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *loc. cit.*

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 5, 6.

[4] Together with Blasius de Martinellis in RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 7 (*cf.* GIORDANI, 99 *seqq.*, and Mel. d'archéol., XXIII., 171 *seq.*), see SANUTO, LII., 604 *seq.*, 610 *seqq.*, 633 *seqq.*, and ROMANO, Cronaca, 202 *seqq.*; see also KROENER, Wahl und Krönung der deutschen Kaiser in Italien, Freiburg, 1901, 96 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* GIORDANI, 95 *seqq.*

[6] It is worth noticing as a curiosity that FONTANA, Renata, I., 135, gives February 7 as the date of the coronation.

coronation were carried out with painstaking exactitude. In San Petronio the very side-chapels and the *rota porphyrea* itself were copied from St. Peter's, so that the entire ceremony could be held as if at the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Rome. A wooden bridge decorated with tapestries and garlands, and high enough to allow the passage of vehicles beneath, led from the palace to the church, which was adorned with Flemish tapestries of great value. Four hundred landsknechts guarded the bridge, two thousand Spaniards and ten pieces of artillery were drawn up on the piazza. All the city gates also were guarded by landsknechts and Spaniards.

At nine o'clock the Pope, clad in a mantle embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones, and wearing the triple crown, was borne to the church; the Cardinals and all the members of his court followed him. In the meantime the secular dignitaries, all, especially the Spanish grandees, wearing the most costly garments, had assembled in the palace to meet the Emperor. Pages and servants of the princes and the Emperor opened the procession; then came the nobles, the Imperial bodyguard, and all the envoys. Before the Emperor, the Marquis of Montferrat carried the golden sceptre; the Duke of Urbino, the sword; the young Count Palatine Philip, the nephew of the Elector, the orb of the Empire; the Duke of Savoy, the kingly crown. Charles wore the iron crown of Lombardy; having on his right Cardinal Salviati, and on his left Cardinal Ridolfi; the Counts of Lannoy and Nassau followed with a great train of nobles, mostly Spanish.

Before the church, on the right-hand side, a wooden chapel had been erected, representing S. Maria in Turri at Rome. After the Papal Bull relating to the coronation had here been read aloud by the Bishop of Malta, Charles swore on a book of the Gospels held before him by Cardinal

Enkevoirt, to be the faithful champion of the Holy Roman Church, whereupon he was received into the Chapter of St. Peter's. Charles had hardly crossed the wooden bridge when a portion of it fell in. In spite of this perilous incident he maintained his composure, and knelt down in the portal of the church, where two Cardinals recited the customary prayers. He was then conducted into yet a second chapel, to which the Roman name of S. Gregorio had been given, and was there clad in the Deacon's tunic and a *pluviale* sown with pearls, rubies, and diamonds. He then took his place at the *rota porphyrea*, going on to a spot arranged in imitation of the confession of St. Peter's, and finally passing into a chamber, representing the chapel of S. Maurizio at Rome, to be anointed with the holy oil. During these proceedings a sharp dispute arose between the envoys of Genoa and Siena as to precedence; not until this had been composed could the ceremonies proceed.

The solemn act of the coronation itself was reserved for Clement. After the reading of the Epistle, Charles was girt with the sword; then he likewise received from the hands of the Pope the orb and sceptre, and lastly the Imperial crown; whereupon Clement spoke the words: "Receive this symbol of glory and the diadem of the Empire, even this Imperial crown, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou, despising the ancient enemy and guiltless of all iniquity, mayst live in clemency and godliness, and so one day receive from our Lord Jesus Christ the crown of His eternal kingdom." Before the oblation the Emperor offered the three customary gold pieces and served as Deacon, bringing to the altar the paten with the wafers and the cruet of water, "in so seemly and devout a fashion, as one long accustomed to fulfil such services, that all standing around were filled with wonder and joy." After

receiving Holy Communion the Emperor kissed the Pope's forehead, after which the latter bestowed the benediction. Together the two heads of Christendom, in all the pomp of their respective dignities, left the Church. Although Clement tried to prevent him, the Emperor insisted on holding his stirrup and on leading his palfrey a few paces forward; then with youthful alacrity he mounted his own charger.

Then came the great cavalcade. "Under the same golden canopy," says a contemporary, "shone, like sun and moon, these two great luminaries of the world." In the procession, the gorgeous outlines of which the artists of the day were swift to fasten on their canvases, were conspicuous, first the banners of the Crusade, then those of the Church and of the Pope, followed by the standards of the Empire, of the city of Rome, Germany, Spain, the New World, Naples, and Bologna. Treasurers flung gold and silver coins among the vast crowds with which all the streets were filled. At San Domenico the Pope left the procession, while the Emperor from a throne conferred knighthood on about a hundred persons. Not until four o'clock in the afternoon was Charles, amid the jubilant greetings of his troops, able to regain his apartments. The coronation banquet brought the celebrations to an end.[1]

[1] The chief source for the solemnities of the coronation is the Diary of Blasius de Martinellis, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, the most important passages of which are in RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 17 *seq.* Many other accounts, some rare and unpublished, have been collected by GIORDANI for his description, 111 *seqq.*; here (Doc., 176 *seqq.*) also is printed the "Lettera inedita del Bolognese Ugo Buoncompagni (afterwards Pope Gregory XIII.) nella quale si descrive la incoronazione di Carlo V." This had been printed previously in Bologna in 1841. Giordani was not acquainted with the German account in BUCHOLTZ, III., 441 *seq.*, nor with two other authorities recently made accessible: (1) the Cronaca, edited by ROMANO, 207–223, and (2) the contemporary

At nightfall bonfires blazed everywhere. The Duke of Milan, although suffering from illness, allowed these demonstrations to last three days. On the 1st of March a Papal Bull was issued declaring the coronation as fully valid as it would have been if solemnized at Rome, and renewing the dispensation permitting Charles to combine the possession of Naples with that of the Imperial dignity.[1]

Since Florence remained stubborn in her resistance, Clement saw that he must make two further concessions of great importance to Charles; first of all by nominating three Cardinals acceptable to the Emperor. The appointments were made public on the 19th of March. These were Bernhard Cles, Bishop of Trent, on whose behalf Burgo had been active for some time past;[2] the Emperor's

notices in SANUTO, some of which are of great interest; see LII., 624 *seqq.*, 628 *seqq.*, 638 *seqq.*, 640 *seqq.* The curious statement of GUICCIARDINI (XX., 1), that the coronation took place "con piccola pompa e spesa," has already been refuted by GIANNONE, XXX., 6; *cf.* also GIORDANI, App., 73. This laborious compilation also treats thoroughly the pictorial representations of the great event (App., 117, and Doc., 69 *seqq.*, 165 *seqq.*, 175 *seqq.*). The finest of these pictures, still well preserved and often reproduced, is that of the Cavalcata, painted in the Palazzo Ridolfi, Verona, by the Veronese, Domenico Ricci, called Brusasorci; *cf.* G. B. DA PERSICO, Descriz. di Verona, I., Verona, 1820, 181 *seq.* Hogenberg's representation of the Cavalcata (*cf.* BLANC, Bibliographie, I., 597, 604, 612) has been recently reproduced in 250 copies only: The Procession of Pope Clement VII. and the Emperor Charles V. after the Coronation on February 24, 1530. Designed and engraved by Nic. Hogenberg, and now reproduced in facsimile with an historical introduction by W. Stirling Maxwell, Edinburgh, 1875.

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 46 *seqq.* Here also is the second Bull of March 1, concerning the ratification, with the consent of the Cardinals, of the Imperial election and the subsequent coronation.

[2] See the *reports of A. da Burgo of October 15, 1529, January 4 and February 12, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

confessor, Garcia de Loaysa; and the Savoyard, De Challant.[1] With much greater reluctance Clement granted his permission that Alfonso of Ferrara should, after all, come to Bologna. But although on this point also he gave way,[2] the Duke was not allowed to make his entry in state.[3] Clement also demanded once more the restoration of Reggio, Modena, and Rubbiera. An agreement was at last reached on the 21st of March; Alfonso was to cede Modena to the Emperor, who, on the expiration of six months, should pronounce a final decision as to the ownership of the three towns and the computation of the assessment of Ferrara.[4] This gave Charles, who had never acquired a real trust of Clement,[5] a decided influence over the fortunes of the Papal States; the exceptional favour shown by him to the Duke of Urbino was also of service in this direction.[6]

[1] The Spaniard Stunica was also nominated on March 9, according to the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, but not publicly announced. On March 19 Clement VII. nominated a French Cardinal, F. de Tournon, in order not to give too much offence to Francis I.; see CIACONIUS, III., 506 *seqq.*, 518; NOVAES, IV., 115 *seq.* *Cf.* the **report of A. da Burgo of March 9, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and the *Diary of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *loc. cit.*

[2] The decision was given on February 27; *cf.* the **report of A. da Burgo of February 27, 1530, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Et licet instantiam fecerit, ut sibi honor fieret in introitu, papa denegavit; ille autem noctis tempore ingressus magna quidem nobilium suorum comitiva. BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* ROMANO, Cronaca, 223 *seq.*, 229. The *Salvocondotto of Clement VII. for Alfonso, dated Bologna, 1530, March 2 (State Archives, Modena).

[4] MOLINI, II., 295 *seqq.*; SANUTO, LIII., 67; MURATORI, Ant. Esten., II., 237.

[5] *Cf.* the letter of Charles V. to Ferdinand I. of January 11, 1530, quoted *supra*, p. 69, n. 1.

[6] Francesco Maria came to Bologna on February 22, 1530 (GIORDANI, 106 *seqq.*), "with the intention of weakening the solidarity

Charles, moreover, knew how, in a masterly way, to widen the firm foundations of his power in Italy by means of the possession of Naples and the dependent position of the Duke of Milan, and to link closely to himself the minor states of the Peninsula. In order to secure Alfonso absolutely he invested him with the fief of Carpi, wrested from Alberto Pio as a punishment for his attachment to France. He gave Asti to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, who was at Bologna during his stay, and the marquisate of Mantua was erected into a duchy. He could reckon besides on the republics of Siena, Lucca, and Genoa with certainty. For centuries no Emperor had wielded so much power in Italy;[1] national independence was practically at an end. By no means the least share in this guilt belongs to Clement VII., even although a good deal may be said to excuse his ultimate reconciliation with Charles. But the Pope was not the only culprit; all the heads of the Italian states without exception contributed towards the subjection of their fair lands to the supremacy of the alien Spaniard.[2] Yet in the existing state of things even this was a boon; for otherwise Italy must have fallen

of the Papal monarchy." BROSCH well remarks, I., 115, "Charles consented also, evidently with satisfaction, to the recognition of the Duke of Urbino, although he pretended that he was only giving way to pressure from Venice!"

[1] RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 160 *seq.*; SISMONDI, XV., 473 *seq.* For the journey of the Duke of Savoy to Bologna see ROMANO, Cronaca, 196 *seq.* The investiture of Federigo Gonzaga with the ducal title is dated April 8, 1530; see VOLTA, Storia di Mantova, II., 352; C. D'ARCO, Studi intorno al municipio di Mantova, IV., Mantova, 1872, 38; DAVARI in Giorn. ligust., 1890, 467.

[2] REUMONT, III., 2, 237 *seq.*; *cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 127 *seq.*, 129.

a prey to the Turks,[1] to whose aid not only Venice but even Florence had appealed.[2]

When Charles left Bologna on the 22nd of March to take his journey into Germany he was able to do so with feelings of satisfaction.[3] Not so the Pope.[4] The Papal territories had certainly been restored in essentials, but in many respects they were dependent on the Emperor. More galling even than this was the continued resistance of Florence, for when he made his way to Bologna, Clement had expected its speedy subjection. During his residence there his impatience had grown greater day by day;[5] now, after five months, the heroic spirit of the Florentines flouted, as at the first, all the efforts of their besiegers. It was reported that as Clement's distrust of Orange grew more intense the latter might have fallen upon him in Bologna and renewed the lessons of the sack of Rome, and that this suspicion hastened the Pope's departure.[6] He left early on the 31st of March, touching Urbino, Gualdo, and Foligno on his way, and by the 12th of April he was once more in

[1] See Histor. Zeitschr., N.F., XIV., 273.

[2] With regard to the Florentines see Capello in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 279. With regard to Venice see *supra*, p. 69.

[3] ROMANO, Cronaca, 234 *seq.*; *cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 273.

[4] "Papa Clemente," says VARCHI, II., 37, "trovandosi senza danari e senza riputazione, si partì tutto malcontento."

[5] See ROMANO, Cronaca, 144.

According to Negri, Annali manoscritti di Bologna (GIORDANI, Doc., 182, and App. 173), this danger was discussed in Consistory; but there is no mention of it in the *Acta Consist. The latter, however, for this period, are certainly very incomplete. A. Soriano, in his report of March 23, remarks on the sudden decision of the Pope to take his departure (the cause of which Salinas could not find out); see GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 282 and 283: "Ha dubito di qualche inconveniente atento le gente del campo voleno danari."

Rome; his entry, however, was unaccompanied by any public reception.[1]

Consumed with impatience, Clement now waited daily for the capitulation of his native city, whose inhabitants were defending themselves with the courage of despair.[2] The war was consuming vast sums of money; besides, since June, the Pope had been engaged in attempts to suppress the Abbot of Farfa,[3] so that his finances, deplorable enough in any case, were threatened with total bankruptcy.[4] There was also the fear that France and England might help the Florentines;[5]

[1] VARCHI, II., 37, names the 9th; A. Soriano, in SANUTO, LIII., 149, gives the 12th April as the date of the Pope's arrival. I prefer the latter statement, as it coincides with the *Diary in the Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library), and Varchi, as regards dates, is inaccurate: thus, for example, he incorrectly gives October 25 as the date of the Pope's arrival in Bologna.

[2] The fact that no quarter was given to prisoners throws light on the mutual bitterness of the contending parties. Capello's report in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 242.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIII., 330, as well as the reports of *A. da Burgo of June 26, July 12, and August 30, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 319, 349, 352, 356, 361, 363, 374, 398, 404, 418, 420, 428, 452, 476, 535, 567.

[4] A. da Burgo *reported from Rome on June 13, 1530: "S. S^tas^ ita laborat in impensa hujus expeditionis Florentinae quod vix providet in victu curiae suae." On July 3 Burgo relates a conversation with the Pope, who remarked that he hardly knew how to provide for his financial needs any longer (quo vertere caput), "quia in illa necessaria expeditione Florentina usque nunc expendit supra septem centum millia ducatorum, quam speraverat posse finire cum 80,000." Both letters in Court and State Archives, Vienna. The total expenses, according to Soriano's (ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, III., 312) information, amounted to 1,900,000 gold guldens; *cf.* also the *Mandati of the Roman State Archives in GORI'S Archivio, IV., 112 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* for this GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 319, 320, 349, 361, and the *reports of A. da Burgo, dat. Rome, June 26 and July 12 and 23 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

but, on the other hand, in the city on the Arno things might be pushed to the last extremity and Florence be stormed and plundered.[1] What would then happen might be presaged from the frightful havoc and cruelty perpetrated by the ungovernable troops of the besieging army.[2] With these fears mingled the consciousness of the heavy reproaches levelled far and wide against this almost fratricidal enterprise. When the French envoy, Gabriel de Gramont, Bishop of Tarbes, in April 1530, represented this fully to Clement and earnestly exhorted him to come to terms, the Pope exclaimed distractedly, "Would that Florence had never existed!"[3]

Yet this same Florence still held out. As it was in May, so it was in June; as it was in June, so it was in July. Neither the enemy without nor dissension within, neither hunger nor pestilence, could break down the desperate resistance of the inhabitants. They were resolved to carry it on to the last extremity; better that Florence should be reduced to ashes than that their city should fall into the hands of the Medici.[4] There were even rumours that a plot had been made to put the Pope to death by poison.[5]

Affairs began to take a final turn after the failure of Francesco Ferruccio in his heroic attempt to raise the

[1] GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 342, 356, 374, 560.

[2] The *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE (National Library, Paris) is here very detailed.

[3] "Il me dist qu'il estoit contant que Florence n'eust jamais esté." Gramont to Francis I. from Rome, 1530, April, in Arch. stor. Ital., App., I., 476.

[4] See Capello in ALBÈRI, Relaz., 2 Series, I., 306; see *supra*, p. 72.

[5] SANUTO, LIII., 299–300, 302, 367; LANZ, I., 390; HEINE, Briefe, 12 *seq.* *Cf.* DE LEVA, II., 631; ROBERT, 391 *seq.* The matter was inquired into but without discovery of any certain grounds for further proceedings; see EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., XVIII., 360.

siege.[1] On the 3rd of August an engagement was fought at Gavinana, in the hills of Pistoja, in which Ferruccio, as well as Orange, met their death.[2] Florence, ravaged by

[1] The life of this commander, whom CIPOLLA, 962, compares with the generals of the first period of the French Revolution, was written by FR. SASSETTI, published in Arch. stor. Ital., I Series, IV., 2, 467 *seqq.*

[2] See ALVISI, La battaglia di Gavinana, Bologna, 1881, and D. CINI, La battaglia di Gavinana, Firenze, 1890; *cf.* further DE BLASIIS, Maramaldo, III., 367, and Fr. Ferruccio e la guerra di Firenze 1529–1530, racc. di scritti e doc. rari ed. F. CURZIO, Firenze, 1890, and ROBERT, 423 *seq.* Clement VII. received the news of the battle on the afternoon of August 5; see *A. da Burgo's report of August 5, 1530, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna. The attempt of ALVISI to rehabilitate Maramaldo has been met by VILLARI (Rasseg. settim., VIII., 278, repeated in Arte storia e filosofia, Firenze, 1884), RENIER (Preludio, V., 237), and LUZIO (Maramaldo, 32 *seqq.*): it is certain that Maramaldo assassinated Ferruccio during his captivity; *cf.* also BALAN, Clemente VII., 168, n. 1; G. SFORZA, F. Maramaldo, Parma, 1898; and RODONI, L' Animo e la fama di F. Ferruccio, Firenze, 1899. The place of Orange in Naples was taken by Cardinal P. Colonna, whose viceregal dignity had already been foretold in the autumn of 1528 (SANUTO, XLVIII., 543). A *Brief of the Pope's to Cardinal Colonna touches on this. It is dated Viterbo, 1528, September 22: "The Pope rejoices that the Cardinal is going to Naples: he is certain to attain a high position in the Emperor's service: Girolamo Rorario will give him fuller information" (copy in the Colonna Archives, Rome, Brevi, n. 69). Cardinal Colonna died at the end of June 1532, not from poison (see REUMONT, Caraffa, II., 35). The contrary grounds adduced by AIDA CONSORTI (Il Card. P. Colonna, Roma, 1902, 112) prove nothing. *Cf.* in App., No. 25, the *letter of F. Peregrino of June 29, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Colonna is said to have instigated a plot to poison Clement VII. BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS relates: *Circa principium Augusti [1532] decretum fuit et diffamatum, qualiter card. de Columna conjuraverat in mortem pontificis in die assumptionis b. Mariae de mense Augusti praesentis. Propter hoc d. Innocentius, secretarius d. cardinalis, incarceratus, deinde quidam Augustinus de Monteferrato et successive r. d. archiepisc. Surrentinus [F. Strozzi], qui est Florentinus, similiter retenti et incarcerati. D. Bernardus de Alexandris

famine and plague, was now lost. Malatesta Baglioni, who since the beginning of the year had chief command of the Florentine troops, made further resistance impossible by turning his guns against the city. On the 12th of August the final capitulation was agreed upon: within four months the Emperor was to appoint a constitution with "safeguards of freedom"; the exiles were to return home, 80,000 scudi to be paid to the Imperial troops, and the Florentine territory preserved without diminution; a complete amnesty to be declared for all who had acted as opponents of the house of Medici.[1]

ob timorem talis materiae aufugit et contra eum proceditur (Cod. Barb., lat. 2799, Vatican Library.) Pedro de Toledo now became Viceroy, and did more than anyone else to establish firmly Spanish rule in Naples and to beautify the city; *cf.* along with Giannone, especially REUMONT, Caraffa, I., 49 *seq.* The post of Vice-Chancellor was held by Ippolito de' Medici; see the *Bull with the signatures of Clement VII. and twenty-four Cardinals, dated Rome, 1532, V. Non Julii [=3 July], in Regest., 1440, f. 268[b] *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] VARCHI, II., 137 *seqq.*; FOSSATI-FALLETTI, Assedio, I., 458 *seqq.* *Cf.* also RANKE, Studien, 373. Clement VII. sent Domenico Centurione to Malatesta with a Brief of August 13, 1530, to thank him for having saved the city from a sack. (This Brief and a second, of August 23, are in VARCHI, II., 149-150.) The fear that the city might be plundered was the cause, as REUMONT, Toskana, I., 29, specially remarks, of Clement's negotiations with Malatesta, "who, if not to all intents and purposes a traitor, as many have accused him of being, nevertheless did all he could to keep the resistance of the besieged within such limits as should prevent a final and decisive struggle." *Cf.* also BALAN, Clemente VII., 171, n. 1. For the question of Malatesta's behaviour, the letters of Ferrante Gonzaga to his brother Federigo, given by Varchi, are of importance. RANKE, Zur Kritik, 84,* has thrown doubts on their authenticity; but without grounds, as REUMONT, in a recension which has fallen into undeserved oblivion, points out (Allg. Zeitung, 1875, No. 103, Biel.). VARCHI only gives the letters in part; they were first published in full from a Strozzi MS. in the Magliabecchiana Library by ALBÈRI, Docum. sull' assedio di Firenze, Firenze, 1840, 307 *seqq.*,

After Malatesta's departure (12th of September) two hundred landsknechts, under the Count of Lodron, occupied the city, where the Medicean party, in shameful violation of the terms of capitulation, began to take savage reprisals on their enemies. Carducci, Bernardo da Castiglione, and four other members of the former government were beheaded; numerous sentences of exile and confiscation were passed.[1] The Dominican, Benedetto da Fojano, who had inveighed heavily against the person of the Pope, was handed over to Rome by Malatesta, where, if Varchi is to be believed, Clement allowed him to suffer lingering imprisonment, on bread and water, in the foul dungeons of St. Angelo.[2]

The Pope, at first, gave Bartolomeo Valori, Francesco Guicciardini, and Roberto Acciaiuoli permission to rule the sorely visited city as they thought best, but afterwards he took things into his own hands. Valori was made governor of the Romagna, Guicciardini of Bologna; but in February 1531 Schönberg was sent to Florence.[3] The

and with more correct text by CAPPONI, III., 377 *seqq.* A letter from Clement VII. to Orange, of August 4, points also to an understanding between the latter and Malatesta (in FONTANA, Renata, I., 460–461). SANESI (Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, IX., 67 *seqq.*) shows that Malatesta on his departure from Florence was presented with no gifts, but was only paid what he asked in order to be got rid of. On the question of his guilt Sanesi says: "Nessun dubbio ch' egli tradi." For Clement's further dealings with Malatesta, who died on September 24, 1531, see VERMIGLIOLI, Vita di Malatesta, doc. XXX. *seqq.*, and BALAN, *loc. cit.*, 174, 177 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* RASTRELLI, Alessandro de' Medici, I., Firenze, 1781, 221 *seq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 30 *seqq.*; BARDI in Arch. stor. Ital., 5 Series, XIV., 9 *seqq.*; ROSSI, Guicciardini, I., 223 *seq.*, 231 *seq.*

[2] VARCHI, II., 154; *cf.* BALAN, Clemente VII., 173, n. 2.

[3] REUMONT, Toskana, I., 31–32; PERRENS, III., 351 *seqq.* For Guicciardini's appointment as Vice-Legate of Bologna see ROSSI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5 Serie, V., 51 *seq.*, and GUICCIARDINI, Op. I., 269 *seq.*

Emperor made no haste to despatch Florentine affairs; he allowed nearly a whole year to pass before paying attention to the wishes of the Pope, whose impatience grew from day to day. In the summer of 1531 he at last issued a decree which secured to the Medici "a sort of hereditary presidentship" in the Florentine republic, but also contained a reassertion of the Imperial supremacy. Alessandro de' Medici, bearing the decree, appeared in Florence in July 1531.[1] In the following year Clement succeeded in doing away with the Republican forms of the constitution, although their preservation was recognized by the Emperor's decree. In attaining this end he acted, as in other cases, according to the well-known saying of Varchi, that "he could sling a stone so that no one should see the hand of the slinger." On the 27th of April 1532 the new constitution was made known, whereby Alessandro de' Medici became hereditary Duke of Florence. The actual reins of government remained, none the less, in the hands of Clement VII.[2]

[1] See DUMONT, IV., 2, 72 *seqq.*; RASTRELLI, I., 75 *seqq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 34 *seq.*; RANKE, Studien, 378; PERRENS, III., 357 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT, *op. cit.*, I., 37 *seqq.*; PERRENS, III., 368 *seqq.*; CAPPONI, III., 327; ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., 34 *seq.*, 60.

CHAPTER IV.

The Religious Divisions in Germany.

THE grave political complications with which the first six years of the Pontificate of Clement VII. were filled reacted with decisive influence on the spread of the Lutheran heresy throughout Germany.

Immediately after his election Clement received disquieting reports on the subject; the adherents of the new belief were steadily increasing in numbers, and, the decentralization of the Empire having made great strides, it was practically impossible to put the Edict of Worms into execution.[1] Consequently, in his first consistory,[2] held on the 2nd of December 1523, Clement spoke of the dangers menacing Christendom, quite as much from the side of the Lutherans as from that of the Turks. In accordance with his own proposal, a commission of Cardinals, which soon included the names of Egidio Canisio and Numai, was appointed to[3] deal with both aspects of the question.

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of V. Albergati, Rome, 1523, November 24 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 86. In a *Brief to Cardinal Lang, 1523, December 1, Clement expressed the hope that the Cardinals would give him their help against the German heresy: "ut Germania, fortissima et piissima semper provincia et Rom. Imperii sedes inclyta, his venenis, quibus inficitur, libera christiano candori tua quoque praestanti opera restituatur." Arm., 39, vol. 43, n. 8 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 86; *cf.* Quellen und Forsch., III., 2–3, and SANUTO, XXXV., 278.

The immediate result of their deliberations was, that the commission, on the 14th of December, recommended the despatch of two Nuncios, one to Germany and a second to Switzerland.[1]

Clement, in his anxiety concerning the advance of Lutheranism,[2] also invited men thoroughly acquainted with German affairs, such as Eck and Aleander, to furnish him with reports as to what should be done with regard to the heretical movement. While Eck laid before him what was substantially a summary of his conversations with Adrian VI.,[3] Aleander composed a special memorandum on the means to be employed to suppress heresy in Germany. In this he requested the Pope to remove the abuses in the Curia, and to punish unworthy priests with the extreme penalty of deprivation; he further advised him not merely to summon the Emperor and the other temporal princes to take steps against the heretics, but also to exhort, under pain of censure, the negligent German bishops to the performance of their duties. The concordats should be strictly observed, and diocesan and provincial synods held under the presidency only of men of approved loyalty to the Holy See. The Inquisition Aleander wished to see transferred, not to princes or monks, who were objects of popular hatred, but to the bishops. He deprecated the total abolition of indulgences, but urged that they should be issued sparingly and with caution. The Nuncios in Germany should narrowly watch the monks, the men of learning, and the printers, since with these classes they would have to reckon before all others if they wished to provide an effectual antidote to the diffusion of poisonous doctrine. He then made very

[1] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 86.

[2] SANUTO, XXV., 320, 339, 348.

[3] See our remarks, Vol. IX. of this work, p. 108 *seqq.*

detailed proposals for dealing with the above-named classes of persons in order to foster the good in them and counteract the evil. In cases of contumacious heresy, Aleander counselled, with a reference to the procedure of a Gregory VII. and an Innocent III., the application of the severest penalties: the interdict and an embargo on trade for the cities of the Empire, withdrawal of privileges from the University of Wittenberg, and the proclamation of the Ban of the Empire and deposition against the Elector of Saxony. Since all the good-will of Leo X. and Adrian VI. had proved fruitless, lenient measures were no longer of any avail; they only helped to spread the evil, until it had at length reached Rome itself. For the sins of Christendom God had permitted this affliction to fall upon the Church; therefore the only real and lasting succour must be sought in the revival of her ancient virtues.[1]

The report of an anonymous writer is occupied with a thorough examination of the complaints of the German nation presented to the Diet of Nuremberg in the year 1523. The author, evidently a member of the Curia, seeks to throw the responsibility, for the most part, on the German Bishops. With a strange hallucination, he will admit no guilt on the part of the Roman Curia, and only recommends an improvement of the existing system in a few points. The report comes to a point in the proposal to send a Nuncio of unimpeachable character and eminent learning, with the powers of a Legate *a latere*, to the

[1] DOLLINGER'S version is not quite correct, Beiträge, III., 268 to 284. *Cf.* DITTRICH, Kath. Reformation, 367 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 347 *seq.* The latter has also more in detail concerning the advice of J. Haner, published by BALAN in Mon. ref., n. 141. The opinion of the Bishop of Breslau is given by EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XIV., 834 *seq.*; for that of Cochläus see SPAHN, 109 *seq.*

German Empire, there to use his authority with moderation and firmness towards the patrons of the erroneous teaching.[1]

Clement VII. followed the advice given in this document, but it was not easy to find the personage fully qualified for the German legation. The Pope's choice fell at last on Cardinal Campeggio, who had proved himself to be an experienced diplomatist and to have a knowledge of German affairs; a staunch Churchman, he was yet profoundly convinced of the necessity of thorough reforms. At the same time, at the end of December 1523, Clement VII. determined to send his chamberlain, Girolamo Rorario, as a Nuncio to Germany, to be Campeggio's forerunner and to prepare the way.[2]

For the instruction of the Legate, Aleander prepared a memorandum on the measures to be adopted in dealing with Luther. He here lays great stress on the necessity of the Legate and those with him being conspicuous for their good reputation and observance of all the laws and customs of the Church. The Legate himself must use his faculties with moderation and circumspection; all benefices are to be conferred only on good and learned men of German birth; in his demeanour he must show the utmost modesty, friendliness, seriousness, and dignity, and, above all, discretion; he is not to be drawn into disputations concerning truths of the Faith; he must be thoroughly acquainted with the points of controversy, and draw his proofs from the Scriptures and the Fathers rather than from the scholastic system, then in great odium in

[1] *Cod. Vat., 4896, f. 218 *seqq.*, in Vatican Library. Extracts in DITTRICH, Kath. Ref., 359 *seq.*

[2] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 136–140. Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, I., xlvi.; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 88 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, IV., 476, n. 2, *cf.* BAUER, Anfänge Ferdinands I., 221.

Germany; and especially he must avoid sophistries and paradoxes. Aleander examines in close detail the grievances of the German nation, declaring them to be only in part justifiable; for these redress should be promised; but he complains of the superfluous trouble caused to the Holy See by the manufacture of gravamina. For the refutation of unfounded complaints he gives full and thorough recommendations. He does the same with regard to dealings with the bishops and the mendicant Orders. On no account whatever is the Legate to show his instructions to anyone, so that he may not undergo experiences similar to those of Chieregati at Nuremberg. He is neither to promise nor refuse a Council; if he calls attention to the difficulties standing in the way of one, let him point out, in that connection, that, in the meantime, the laws against heresy must be put in force. Aleander tries to refute in detail the objections made to he collection of annates, and then concludes by once more imparting counsels to the Nuncio concerning his behaviour: he is not to be arrogant or violent, neither is he to show timidity, but to maintain a steady courage and, above all, a wise discretion. Especially must he and his personal following avoid all cause of scandal or offence, adapt themselves as much as possible to the customs of Germany, and with unbiassed minds recognize the existing good in that nation.[1]

Campeggio, whose appointment as Legate *a latere* for the whole of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the three northern kingdoms was ratified[2] in a consistory

[1] DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 243–267. For the date of composition see DITTRICH, Kath. Ref., 361; *cf.* Reichstagsakten, IV., 471.

[2] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 87; Bull of January 11, 1524; *Regest., 1242, f. 153 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* Reichstagsakten, IV., 471, n. 1, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVI., 373, n

held on the 8th of January 1524, was primarily and before all other considerations to represent the Catholic interests in the forthcoming Diet at Nuremberg, but also to urge on the support of Hungary against the Turks. In order to make fitting preparation for Campeggio's mission, and in support of it, Clement VII. undertook a series of steps the success of which had at first to be waited for.[1] For this reason the Legate did not leave Rome until the 1st of February,[2] and then travelled slowly; on the 26th of February he was at Trent, on the 3rd of March at Innsbrück, on the 9th at Augsburg, and on the 14th he reached Nuremberg.[3] In the course of this journey he had already an opportunity of realizing the critical and increasing alteration in popular feeling, due to the unscrupulous agitation conducted against Catholic institutions from the pulpit and the printing press, at the instigation of the Lutheran leaders. In Augsburg he was made the object of popular derision. At Nuremberg the ecclesiastical ceremonies of his reception were omitted, while the preacher Osiander was allowed to discourse on the Roman Antichrist.[4]

Campeggio received monthly 500 ducats; see *Lib. deposit. gen. 1524 (State Archives, Rome).

[1] *Cf.* RICHTER, Reichstag zu Nürnberg, 92 *seq.*

[2] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 87.

[3] The previous accounts of his journey (Reichstagsakten, IV., 471, n. 1) were enlarged in important particulars by a **report of some length (also interesting from a literary point of view) from Eremita [Girolamo Rigini] to B. Castiglione, dat. Nurenberga il 3° dì di Pasqua, 1524 (Mantuan Library), which I intend to publish in the Acta pontif.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVI., 279–280; UHLHORN, U. Rhegius, Elberfeld, 1861, 58 *seq.*; FÖRSTEMANN, Neues Urkundenbuch, I. (1842), 153 *seq.*, 158, 160; WILKEN, A. Osiander, I. (1844), 49; Reichstagsakten, IV., 467 *seq.*, 727.

In the presence of these hostile dispositions towards the Holy See, which were almost general throughout the Empire, and were specially dominant in Nuremberg,[1] Campeggio thought it wise to proceed with great caution. His first speech in the Diet, on the 17th of March, was therefore conciliatory in tone; nevertheless he spoke quite distinctly of the task assigned to him, for he called for the execution of the Edict of Worms. To the question of the Princes concerning the joint complaints of the German nation presented at the Diet of the previous year, Campeggio explained that the Pope had no official knowledge of the document, which had been transmitted to Rome only in a private manner; he, Campeggio, had seen a copy, but did not believe that a document of such "exceeding impropriety" could have been agreed to by the Estates. If he had no present instructions concerning this particular missive, yet he had full powers to treat with the Estates on the question of the national grievances; in his opinion, it was to be recommended that the Germans, like the Spaniards, should send envoys to Rome; he did not doubt that the Pope would meet the just demands of their nation. Thereupon the old complaints, with some fresh ones added, were presented.[2]

Although Campeggio, supported by learned Italians and Germans, such as Cochläus and Nausea,[3] was zealously

[1] Eremita in the *letter cited *supra*, p. 111, n. 3, remarks: "Certo è che queste genti sono pessimamente disposte verso la chiesa Romana" (Mantuan Library). For the hostile feeling in Nuremberg, see also the *letter of an intimate friend of Campeggio in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. G II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome).

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18th ed., 353 *seq.*; RICHTER, 98 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, IV., 468 *seq.*, 487 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DE LEVA, III., 326; OTTO, Cochläus, 138; GESS, Cochläus, 26; SPAHN, 115 *seq.*; RICHTER, 93; METZNER, Nausea, 24.

active in the Diet,[1] the negotiations over the new doctrines entered upon a new phase which was, to him, highly unacceptable. The Estates did not, indeed, deny their obligation to carry out the Edict of Worms, but at the same time they demanded a National Council empowered to deal, not merely with the complaints against the Curia and the complaints of the laity against the clergy, but with the controversies on religious doctrine. This proposal, full of danger to the Catholic cause, if not directly put forward by Bavaria, was at any rate supported by that Catholic country.[2]

The Cardinal-Legate, who represented the view that the reformation of the Church would be better carried out in any other way than by a General Council, must have been still more averse to an independent authoritative National Council. In consequence of his opposition, concessions were so far made that, in the resolutions presented at the recess of the Diet, only a provisional settlement of controversial questions was assigned to the National Council, the final ruling being reserved for the General Council; also the expression "National Council" was dropped, and "General assembly of the German nation"—to meet at Spires in November—substituted for it. To this also the Legate objected, but without result. The Lutheran towns and nobles protested, on their side, against the renewal of the Edict of Worms in the final decree, although to please the Estates the execution of the

[1] What great hopes were built on his ability and enthusiasm is shown by a *letter from Nuremberg to Clement VII. of March 23, 1524, describing vividly the danger from Lutheranism (original in Lett. div. ad Clem. VII., Vol. I., Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* v. DRUFFEL in Abhandl. der Münch. Akad., 3 Klasse, XVII., 659; RICHTER, 104 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 101; Histor. Zeitschr., LXIV., 204.

Edict was qualified by the significant phrase "as far as is possible."[1] Campeggio disclosed his attitude towards the decree of the Diet by promising to use his influence with the Pope in favour of a General Council, and declaring himself ready to enter into negotiations over the German grievances and the reform of the clergy; to the assembly at Spires he refused to give his approval. His standpoint seems to have been, so far, the correct one; for, if the Edict of Worms held good, a fresh investigation of the doctrines therein repudiated was an absurdity.[2]

During his stay in Nuremberg, Campeggio was kept closely informed of the serious defects of the German Church by men who had the Catholic cause deeply at heart; he had also convinced himself of the pressing necessity for that reform of the German clergy demanded by so many of the princes, if Lutheranism was to be successfully encountered.[3] On the receipt of his report at Rome, Clement VII., on the 14th of April 1524, gave him full authority to hold a convention in Germany for the reform of the national clergy.[4] This Assembly, in which the Archduke Ferdinand, the Bavarian Dukes, many bishops of South Germany, and the most important literary champions of German Catholicism (Cochläus, Eck, Johann Faber, and Nausea) took part, opened in June at Ratisbon. A scheme of clergy reform prepared by Campeggio and already produced at Nurem-

[1] See WEIZSÄCKER in the Histor. Zeitschr., XLIV., 200; *cf.* FRIEDENSBURG in Quellen und Forsch., III., 1.

[2] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 152, and also EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xviii.; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 359 *seq.*; RICHTER, 109 *seq.*; Reichstagsakten, IV., 521 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the proposals of the Franciscan A. Bomhouwer for encountering the Lutheran heresy, published by KIRSCH in the Histor. Jahrb., X. 807 *seq.*; see also GESS, Kirchenpolitik Georgs von Sachsen, 653.

[4] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 148; *cf.* RICHTER, 101.

berg was here discussed, accepted, and published for the whole of Germany in a legatine decree with full apostolic authority on the 7th of July. The ordinances formed a first and important step towards a reformation of the Church from within; in carrying them out she would be freed from many defects, and many grievances would be removed. At the same time Campeggio succeeded at Ratisbon in combining for the first time the forces of at least the South German Catholics (the Archduke Ferdinand, the Bavarian Dukes, and twelve bishops) by an act of union. The above-named pledged themselves to uphold the Edict of Worms, and to resist all religious innovations.[1]

At Rome the proceedings at Nuremberg had been followed attentively. The fatal delusion that only Saxony was on the side of Luther[2] had soon to give way in the face of facts.[3] In the beginning of May, Clement and the Cardinals consulted as to the measures to be taken to meet the resolutions of the Diet, and Cardinals Monte and Numai drew up special reports. It was determined not to refuse the demand for a General Council absolutely; attention, of course, was to be drawn to the hindrances in the way arising from the warlike complications in Europe, but at the same time the prospect of negotiations was to be held out. With regard to the grievances, redress was promised

[1] For the Ratisbon Reformation and union see JANSSEN-PASTOR, II., 18th ed., 360 *seq.*; FRIEDENSBURG, Regensburger Konvent, 502 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Kath. Ref., 382 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 374 *seq.* See also STOY, Bündnisbestrebungen (1888), 6; BRISCHAR, I., 63 *seq.*; SPAHN, 117 *seq.*, and NECKERMANN in the Augsb. Postzeitung, 1905, Beil. 23 and 25. For the great difficulties standing in the way of the Bishops' reforms *cf.* HAUTHALER, Kardinal M. Lang und die religiös-soziale Bewegung seiner Zeit, II., Salzburg, 1896. The Protestants attacked the Legate's reforms in pasquinades; see BUCHOLTZ, II., 67.

[2] SANUTO, XXXVI., 232.

[3] *Ibid.*, 268.

by the suspension of the regulations of the Lateran Council, and the appointment of a commission of Cardinals to investigate further. If on these two important questions an understanding was come to with the German opposition, the execution of the Edict of Worms was all the more strongly insisted on, and the National Council at Spires was not the less strongly opposed. Not merely the Emperor, but even foreign sovereigns, such as the kings of England, France, and Portugal, were asked to protest,[1] and a series of briefs, couched in this sense, was despatched in May. At the same time also the Nuncios were ordered to take action;[2] especially full instructions were sent to the Papal representatives at the Emperor's court.[3]

This action of Clement had as its result that Charles V. repeatedly and in sharp and peremptory terms prohibited the National Council of Spires, and ordered the observance of the Edict of Worms and the avoidance of all religious innovation.[4] If Charles directed his envoys at Rome to acquaint the Pope with these measures, he made it plain at the same time that he considered that it would be of advantage to summon a General Council; he recommended Trent, a place which was practically a German

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, II., 10; EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xviii. *seq.*; FRIEDENSBURG in Quellen und Forsch., III., 2 *seq.*, 6 *seq.*; SANUTO, XXXVI., 346, 387, 412. The Bull *In Coena, dat. 1523 (st. fl.) 9 Cal. April, condemns all heretics and especially Luther and his adherents; Regest., 1245, f. 152 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, II., 10; RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 15 *seq.*; EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xix.; BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 157; WEIZSÄCHER in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXIV., 205 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 363; and BRASSE, Die Geschichte des Speierer Nationalkonzils (Diss.), Halle, 1890.

[3] BALAN, Mon. ref., 154; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 365 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Notizenblatt zum Archiv für österr. Gesch., II., 97 *seq.*, 245, and also Histor. Zeitschr., LXIV., 208 *seq.*

town, although within Italian territory; but the Pope would be at liberty to transfer the Council to Italy at some later date.[1]

The union of Ratisbon and the reforms undertaken there, the Emperor's strict insistence on the observance of the Edict of Worms, and the obstruction of the National Council at Spires were undoubtedly remarkable successes. Campeggio, who remained in Vienna until the 8th of December, actively engaged from thence in his campaign against the Lutherans in Germany and in his reconciliation of the Bohemian Utraquists,[2] might well be proud of them; he believed that half of his principal task had been achieved.[3] But the great social revolution so soon to break out in Germany brought all his fair hopes again to an end.

Clement VII. was thoroughly informed by the reports of Girolamo Rorario, Nuncio to Ferdinand I., and through various private persons, of the bloodshed which was turning Germany into a second Bohemia. Campeggio also, who remained in Ofen till well on in June, sent him numerous communications.[4] The Pope was greatly alarmed,[5] and informed Ferdinand on the 29th of May of the despatch of a subsidy to the amount of 20,000 ducats; the Emperor, who, unfortunately, was still lingering in Spain, he exhorted to more strenuous action in order to avert yet greater

[1] See HEINE, Briefe, 518 *seq.*, and EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xix. Sessa was convinced on political grounds that it was better not to carry out the injunctions concerning the Council; see BERGENROTH, II., n. 675.

[2] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 79[b], and BALAN, Mon. ref., pp. 365, 371, 392 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*, 402.

[3] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 164, p. 362; *cf.* FRIEDENSBURG, Regensb. Konvent, 531 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 435.

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVIII., 293, 348, 356; XXXIX., 19.

dangers.[1] The disorders in Germany and the enmity between France and Spain were adduced by the Pope as reasons which prohibited him from convening a Council.[2]

Notwithstanding the detailed reports received in Rome, as in foreign countries generally, of the peasants' insurrection, there was no correct conception of the real state of affairs. The accounts that came in were fatally misleading, and men were under the delusion that Lutheranism had, to all intents and purposes, been suppressed simultaneously with the sanguinary extinction of the social revolution, in which both friends and foes of the new teaching had co-operated.[3] The only person who did not share in this delusion, Campeggio,[4] was recalled[5] because, in the opinion of many, his mission had not been sufficiently successful,[6] and also, as is most probable, because his sympathies were too Imperialist.

The functions of the Nunciature were now concentrated in the person of Rorario, the Nuncio to Ferdinand. And yet, in face of the difficult and complicated situation, not

[1] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 210, 216, 222; *cf.* Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 91; SANUTO, XXXIX., 9, 19 *seq.* Why only half of the 20,000 ducats was paid is explained by Sessa's *despatch to Charles V., dat. Rome, 1525, December 10, in Col. Salazar, A 35, f. 255 *seq.*, Biblioteca de la Acad. de Historia, Madrid.

[2] See SADOLETI, Epistolae, appendix, Romae, 1767, XXII.; *cf* EHSES, XXI.

[3] *Cf.* Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 91 *seq.*; see also G. de' Medici's *letter, dat. Rome, 1525, July 8 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] Campeggio had announced the end of the peasants' war on August 5, 1525, "but"—so he added—"things are not going well, as the princes and nobles are turning their advantage to account." LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 23.

[5] His return was under consideration on October 13, 1525; see *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives. Campeggio did not return to Rome until October 20; *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXIX., 33.

merely was the presence of a permanent Cardinal-Legate necessary, but also the despatch of a fresh Nuncio in the interests of accurate information. How defective information was as to the real state of affairs in Germany is best shown from the fact that, when Clement VII. on the 23rd of August 1525 wrote numerous letters of congratulation[1] to the German princes on their victory over the Lutherans, one of those thus addressed was the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.[2] The Pope, and the Cardinals appointed to sit as a commission on Lutheran affairs had evidently not the slightest notion that since the end of 1523 Philip had been a patron of the new teaching.[3] The affairs of Bohemia also had been grossly misrepresented in Rome. The sanguine hopes fostered by Campeggio of the return of the Utraquists to the Church and of the defeat of Lutheranism were soon shown to be entirely futile.[4]

What random and, in some instances, nonsensical reports obtained credence in the Curia, is illustrated by the circum-

[1] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 247, 248.

[2] See GEISTHIRT, Hist. schmalcald. in the Zeitschr. für henneberg. Gesch., III., Suppl.-Heft (1885), p. 68. In this letter, composed by Sadoleti and hitherto overlooked by all investigators, the peasants and the "impii et nepharii Lutherani" are completely identified.

[3] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 58, n. 1. Of the commission of Cardinals, consisting of fourteen members, there is, unfortunately, only a general mention in the *letters of G. de' Medici of the 24th and 27th May 1525 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forsch., 90, and Relat. orat., ed. FRAKNÓI, 148 *seq.* *Cf.* also *letter of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1525, February 25 (State Archives, Florence), and the Brief of Clement VII., quoted by WIEDEMANN, Gesch. der Reformation im Lande unter der Enns, I., Prag, 1879, 292. For the destruction of these hopes *cf.* PALACKY, V., 2, 537 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 84 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 446; GINDELY, Böhm. Brüder, I., 182 *seq.* For the ignorance of German affairs in Rome see also KALKOFF in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, III., 70.

stance that in the consistory of the 6th of September 1525 it was stated that Catholic worship had been restored at Wittenberg and that Luther had narrowly escaped capture.[1] It was excusable that the sentiments of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order should long have deceived the Roman court; for this prince had allayed with consummate ability the early awakened distrust of Clement VII.[2] The first certain intelligence of the apostasy of Albert of Brandenburg was brought to Rome in letters from German bishops in the latter half of March 1525.[3] Of the alliance of the Grand Master with King Sigismund of Poland so little was known that the Pope intended to present[4] the latter with the consecrated sword on the 27th of March. It was not known until the beginning of May that Albert had broken his oath to the Church, the Order, and the Empire, that he had constituted himself secular lord of the territory of the Order, and had received the latter as a fief from the Polish king.[5] The consternation of the Pope and his advisers was very great[6] on the subsequent receipt of a letter from King Sigismund, in which he tried to justify his behaviour and made protestation of his Catholic zeal.[7]

[1] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 92.

[2] *Cf.* JOACHIM, III., 91 *seq.*; TSCHACKERT, I., 29 *seq.*, II., 81 *seq.*, 105; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 77 *seq.*

[3] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 90.

[4] *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives; *cf.* Acta Tomic., VII., 295.

[5] See Acta Tomic., VII., 283 *seq.*, and Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 91.

[6] Acta Tomic., VII., 283.

[7] THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 429 *seq.*; BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 212. *Cf.* DITTRICH, Gesch. des Katholizismus in Altpreussen, I., Braunsberg, 1901, 11 *seq.*, 19 *seq.* *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor note on July 3, 1525: "Fuerunt lectae binae litterae ser. regis Poloniae, alterae continentes causam concordiae initae inter Majest. suam et magnum magistrum olim ord. Theutonic., alterae vero continentes indutias initas cum tyranno Turcarum" (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

Clement comforted himself with the assurance that the king, whose intentions were so good, would, if he could once more gain the ascendancy over Prussia, make amends for his faults and again help on the ancient faith to victory.[1] In a Brief of the 20th of July 1525 he urgently appealed to Sigismund to this effect.[2] On the 31st of January 1526 the Pope approached Charles with the entreaty that he would not give his sanction to Albert's alteration of the constitution of the Order.[3] A commission of Cardinals examined the whole case thoroughly,[4] whereon Clement, on the 21st of January 1527, empowered the loyal remnant of the Teutonic knights to elect a new Grand Master.[5]

Although the Bishop of Trent and the Nuncio Rorario himself had asked in August 1525 for the despatch of a special representative of the Holy See to Germany,[6] this

[1] Acta Tomic., VII., 333 ; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 20.

[2] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI, 165 *seq.* (n. 123).

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 121.

[4] *Cf.* Acta Consist. of January 14, 1527, in KALKOFF, 92. The Commission had been appointed on November 28, 1526: "S. D. N. deputavit rev. d. A. de Monte ep. Portuen., L. Campegium et de Cesis super rebus ordinis B. Mariae Theutonic. Prusiae et Livoniae" (*Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in Consistorial Archives). For the spread of the new teaching in Livonia, and Clement's anxiety to maintain the Catholic Church in that country, see PFÜLF'S articles in Stimmen aus Maria Laach, LII., 413 *seqq.*, 536 *seqq.*

[5] See v. PETTENEGG, Die Urkunden des Deutschordens-Zentralarchivs, I., Prag, 1887, 616. *Cf.* KARGE in the Altpreuss. Monatschrift, XXXIX., 394. Here, as well as in Pettenegg, the Brief has been assigned incorrectly to 1526. In the copy in the General Archives of the Teutonic Order in Vienna the date is clearly given: "Romae die 21 Jan. 1527 pont. nostri anno quarto." Clement's *Brief of January 21, 1527, to Ferdinand I. refers to the same circumstance (original in Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[6] BALAN, Mon. ref., n. 239, 242 ; *cf.* 257. HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 450–453.

had not been done. Consequently the final decrees of the Diets of Augsburg and Spires (9th of January and 27th of August 1526) were framed in a sense unfavourable to Catholic interests. The resolution of the Diet of Spires, that in the matter of the Edict of Worms each Estate, pending the summons of a General Council, should act in such a way as they could answer for before God and the Emperor, did not certainly afford a legal basis for the self-development of the Protestant system of State Churches, but it was used as a starting-point for their formation.[1] A change was in process of accomplishment, the vast scope of which was hardly understood in Rome, where purely political concerns were more and more absorbing men's attention. Luther conceded to the princely and civic authorities a power over their territories far greater than that hitherto possessed by the Pope. Not merely the constitution and government, but the worship and doctrine of the Church were surrendered to the princes and civic magistrates as State bishops; the latter forthwith determined what their subjects had to believe as their "Evangelium." From this absolute episcopate of the rulers of the State was reached, as a logical conclusion, the application of the axiom which flouts all freedom of conscience: "Cujus regio illius religio."

The development of the Lutheran State Church system and the forcible suppression of the Catholic Church, first in Hesse and the Saxon Electorate, and then in many of the territories belonging to the princes and cities of Germany, were singularly favoured by the unhappy strife between Emperor and Pope; while they were alternately checkmating one another, the half-political, half-religious opposition unfriendly to them was securing a firm

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 31 *seqq.*, 52 *seqq.*

footing in Germany. The Protestants rejoiced to see the heads of Christendom at warlike variance with each other, and made full use of this circumstance to spread their doctrines and apply coercive measures against Catholics. The conflict between Emperor and Pope weakened also the resistance of the Catholics, and checked the progress of the reform of the Church from within begun by the latter in 1524, and thus the fruits of Campeggio's labours were, for the most part, again wasted. In consequence of the same struggle, the activity of the Catholic scholars in defence of the ancient faith, so zealously encouraged by the Cardinal, and the significant action of Erasmus in taking part openly against Luther,[1] failed to have the anticipated effect. Political troubles made such claims on the attention of the Curia that the affairs of Germany gradually passed out of sight. It was a sign of the times that the Papal briefs dealing with Germany became fewer and fewer;[2] for a considerable length of time the relations between Germany and the Roman Curia were practically broken off.[3]

At last, in 1529, the regular representation of the Holy See in Germany was resumed by the mission of Gian Tommaso Pico della Mirandola, a layman, to the Diet

[1] *Cf.* the literary references in JANSSEN-PASTOR, 14th ed., 576, and MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 247 *seq.*

[2] Belonging to the year 1526, I noticed also *instructions to the Abbots of Tegernsee, Altaich, and so forth, to take strong proceedings against the Lutherans, and a *Brief to the Dominicans of Augsburg "Ad perseverandum adversus Lutheranos," dat. February 26; likewise *to the Convent of St. Catherine in that city, dat. February 27, and on the same date a *Brief for "Hebrardo de Chicis mag. provinc. per totam Germaniam ord. praed. (hortatorium in re Lutherana)." Min. brev., 1526, vol. 46, n. 59, 118, 119, 122 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] FRIEDENSBURG, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xlvii.

of Spires.[1] This nobleman announced on the 13th of April that the Pope was prepared to give hearty support to Germany against the Turks, to make efforts for the restoration of peace, and, finally, to summon a Council for the ensuing summer. But this declaration made no impression on the Estates.[2] To what an extraordinary extent things had altered to the disadvantage of Catholics was shown in the deliberations on the recess of the Diet. Although the latter confirmed to the Protestant States the retention of the new forms of doctrine and Church order within their own boundaries, and only asked for toleration towards the Catholics among them, a protest was raised on the 19th of April by the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneberg, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. On the 25th of April the protesting party appealed from all existing and future grievances to the Emperor and the forthcoming free council. This set the seal on the religious severance of the German nation.[3]

Two months later came the conclusion, at Barcelona, of the treaty of peace between Charles V. and Clement VII., coupled, in the February of the following year, with the meeting of the Emperor and the Pope at Bologna. At this conference, Charles, who had never lost sight of

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 15; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 90. Important additional information about Rorario is given in a *Brief of Clement's to Duke Henry of Brunswick, dat. Viterbo, 1528, June 12, announcing Rorario's arrival (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., 40, vol. 22, n. 477).

[2] REY, Gesch. der Reichstags zu Speier im Jahre 1529, Hamburg, 1880, 207 *seq.*

[3] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 153 *seqq.*

the conciliar question even during the recent troubles,[1] obtained Clement's consent to a General Council, to be held as soon as this means of overcoming heresy and restoring the unity of the Church should be proved to be necessary. It was the Emperor's object to induce the Protestants to submit temporarily to the authority of the Church, so that on this basis some reasonable expectation might be founded that the Council would terminate once for all the religious divisions of Germany. In the hope of attaining this end with the co-operation of the States of the Empire, Charles wrote from Bologna, on the 21st of January 1530, appointing a Diet to be held at Augsburg on the 8th of April.[2]

Charles left Bologna on the 22nd of March on his journey to Germany. He was accompanied by Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, who had been appointed Legate to Germany in the Consistory of the 16th of March 1530.[3] At Innsbruck, where the Emperor arrived on the 3rd of May with the intention, at first, of staying a few days in order to acquaint himself more fully with the state of affairs in Germany, his halt lasted until the 6th of June. Here Charles was awaited by his brother Ferdinand and the

[1] *Cf.* DE LEVA, III., 16.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows, especially EHSES, Concilium Tridentinum, IV., xxvii. to cxi.; also EHSES, Kardinal Lorenzo Campeggio auf dem Reichstage von Augsburg, 1530, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 383-406, XVIII., 358-384, XIX., 129-152, XX., 54-81; PASTOR, Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen, 17-89; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, Konzilengeschichte, IX., 699 *seqq.*

[3] Acta Consist. in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxii. Already on February 12, 1530, A. da Burgo had *reported to Ferdinand I. from Bologna: "Papa omnino vult mittere cum Caesare unum legatum et sermo est de card. Campegio, tamen adhuc ille non acceptavit. Apud M^{tem} V. vult S. S^{tas} quod nuntius suas perseveret" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

Cardinals of Salzburg and Trent, while the Dukes of Bavaria and George of Saxony came later.[1] Charles found special gratification in the reconciliation to the Church of his brother-in-law, Christian of Denmark,[2] which took place in the capital of the Tyrol. On the other hand, the reports brought in from the States of the Empire as to the religious conditions there existing were disquieting. On the ground of the information then received, Campeggio wrote on the 4th of May to Rome, to the Pope's private secretary, Jacopo Salviati, that Germany was, as he had supposed, in great disorder. A principal difficulty concerning the Council wished for by both parties was whether it should now be a General Council of the Church or a council of the nation; the Dukes of Bavaria, prominent Catholic princes, especially looked upon the council as the most effectual means of salvation. There were weighty reasons for opposing a national council; as regards a General Council, he would do his duty.[3] On the 8th of May the Emperor asked Campeggio to lay before him a written opinion on the most suitable means to be resorted to for the removal of the religious contentions—a request which was complied with on that or the following day.[4]

[1] EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 384 *seq.*, 387, 388.

[2] See *infra*, cap. IX.

[3] EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 385. The Italian text in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxii. *seq.*

[4] Campeggio on May 9 to the Papal private secretary, Giov. Batt. Sanga: see EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 386 *seq.*, and on May 13 to Salviati: see LAEMMER, Monumenta Vaticana, 35. The Italian text of this document, along with an appended "Sommario" (marked "Parecer sobre las cosas de Alemaña"), has been published from a copy in the Spanish Archives at Simancas by MAURENBRECHER, Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten, Düsseldorf, 1865, 3*–16*. For other copies *cf.* EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., IX., 406 *seq.*, XVII., 387 *seq.*; Conc. Trid., IV., xxxii.; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 65.

Campeggio did not expect much from the good-will of the Protestant princes; he was much more in favour of decisive measures against the innovators. He advised, in the case of failure to restore unity by measures of kindness,[1] the use of force, especially by the execution of the terms of the Edict of Worms. He also expressed himself in the same sense a few days later in conversation with the Emperor and King Ferdinand.[2] He was particularly opposed to negotiations on the subject of the Council; the Protestants, in demanding one, were not actuated by an honourable intention of submitting to its decisions, but only of keeping the Emperor in check so that, during his sojourn in Germany, he could take no serious measures against them. Thereupon the Emperor himself explained to him that he had come to an agreement with the Pope at Bologna that the Council should be held at a time of general peace and quiet in Christendom; but he hoped that, despite the many difficulties, all would yet go well, if the Kings of England and France did not encourage the Protestants in their opposition. Campeggio also discussed the circumstances with the other Catholic princes in Innsbruck, who were in favour of a council being held; he was successful in convincing Duke George of Saxony of the dangers therein involved.

On the 15th of June the Emperor entered Augsburg, and on the 20th the Diet was opened. After the Mass of the Holy Ghost the Papal Nuncio, Vincenzo Pimpinella, who had accompanied Campeggio, delivered an oration on the war against the Turks, and the unity of belief which that

[1] Clement had consented to employ such in the first instance; see *A. da Burgo's report of January 28, 1530, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna, in part in BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 24 n.

[2] Campeggio to Salviati on May 20, 1530; see EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 388 *seq.*; Conc. Trid., IV., xxxiii. *seq.*

undertaking demanded.[1] In the second session, on the 24th of June, Campeggio made a speech on the removal of disunion, in which he avoided any expression likely to offend the Protestants.[2] On the 25th of June the Augsburg Confession, as it came to be afterwards called, was read to the Diet. It began with a demand on the part of the Protestants that a "general free Christian council" should be held in the event of their failing to come to an agreement in the present Diet. The document, which was signed by the protesting princes of the Diet of Spires, and on behalf of the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, attempted to mitigate and disguise,[3] as much as possible, the deeply rooted points of controversy, in order to keep up the delusion that the innovators only formed a party within the Church, which could easily be reconciled by means of a mutual understanding. Immediately after the presentation of the Confession the Emperor had written to Rome declaring that it afforded an excellent beginning for the return of the Protestants to the Church.[4] In Papal circles the arrival of the Emperor in Germany and his accord with Campeggio on the religious question had given great satisfaction.[5] As early as the 3rd of June, Clement, in a letter addressed to the Emperor, had expressed the hope that the latter, after the expected fall of Florence, would devote himself without interruption to the Turkish war

[1] Contemporary publication; see KUCZYŃSKI, Thesaur. libell. hist. ref. ill., Lipsiae, 1870, n. 2156. For the oration *cf.* also PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 19–20.

[2] *Cf.* SCHIRRMACHER, Briefe und Akten, Gotha, 1876, 362; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 704.

[3] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 23 *seqq.*

[4] HEINE, Briefe, 13 (*cf.* Docum. ined., XIV., 36 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*); PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 52.

[5] See Salviati's letters of May 23 and 24, 1530, in EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 390.

and the cleansing of Germany from heresies. With reference to the reconciliation of Christian of Denmark through Charles's influence, the Pope remarked that already, on his first appearance, his resplendent virtue had begun to scatter the darkness. Christian's example would have an incalculable influence; he hoped in God that Charles would bring to a glorious conclusion an undertaking so happily begun for the welfare of Christendom and the Apostolic See.[1]

This sanguine hope was stimulated by false reports of the decline of Lutheranism,[2] as well as by the Catholic attitude of the Emperor, who was acting hand in hand with the Cardinal-Legate, and by the moderate terms of the Augsburg Confession. How great the optimism of the Roman Curia had become is shown by a report of the Venetian envoy on the 10th of July; it was hoped that the Emperor's appearance on the scene would soon make short work of Lutheranism.[3] Another noteworthy symptom of Roman opinion is apparent in a letter of Charles's former confessor, Garcia de Loaysa, who relates that in a Consistory held on the 6th of July the Emperor was hailed by almost all the Cardinals as an angel sent from heaven for the salvation of Christendom.[4] In this Consistory a despatch from Campeggio, dated the 26th of June,[5]

[1] Lett. d. princ., I., 123. *Cf.* Salviati's letter of June 5, 1530, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 392.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIII., 256, 266.

[3] SANUTO, LIII., 368; *cf.* 330.

[4] HEINE, Briefe, 16; *cf.* 10, and Docum. ined., XIV., 36. Already, on July 3, 1530, A. da Burgo had *reported to Ferdinand I.: "Et habuit S. Stas magnam voluptatem ex scriptis quod res bene sint inceptae in dieta" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[5] Best copy in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 395. The entry affixed to the letter "il 14 detto" (July) as the date of its receipt is a clerical error. The letters did not, at the most, take more than ten days, and in the *Acta

was read, containing the triumphant announcement that the Protestant princes had agreed to the Emperor's prohibition of Protestant preaching in Augsburg. Campeggio, who saw in this a first and hopeful step towards the attainment of his object, reported further that the Emperor, in matters of religion, and in a scheme for confuting the Augsburg Confession, was acting on his, the Legate's, advice. "I cannot write more to-day," he added, "but this I can say: things are in a good way." With regard to the Protestant demands, Campeggio in the same letter reports that they concern, apart from the Council, three points: communion under both kinds, the marriage of the clergy, and the reformation of the Canon of the Mass and many ecclesiastical ceremonies.

The concession of these demands was the subject of close deliberation in the Consistory of the 6th of July; the decision arrived at was a refusal. The demands were incompatible with faith and discipline, and in contradiction to the principles of the Church; they must therefore be rejected. It was decided further, however, to thank the Emperor for his zealous endeavours to bring back the adherents of error to the truth.[1] In order to accomplish this there was a willingness to make concessions, but none so prejudicial as those just dealt with could be considered.[2]

Consist. it says expressly July 6, 1530; "Lectae litterae Campegii in causa haeresis Luth." (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.)

[1] The fullest account of the Consistory of July 6, 1530, is in PALLAVICINI, III., 4, who relies on the authority of a *Diario* in the Ludovisi Library. By this is certainly meant some more detailed version of the Acta Consist., for which, unfortunately, I have looked without success in the Roman collections of MSS. *Cf.* also Mai's report in DE LEVA, III., 13, and in Appendix, No. 13, the *report of Gonzaga of July 18, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Appendix, No. 13. In 1529 Clement was still willing to make some concessions to the Protestants; see DE LEVA, III., 16.

All other decisions would depend on the course of the negotiations at Augsburg, where the Cardinal-Legate was indefatigable in his exertions, not only with the Catholic members of the Diet and the theologians engaged on a rejoinder to the Confession, but with the Emperor.

Campeggio, to whom Charles had given a Latin copy of the Confession, wrote for him on the 28th of June an opinion in Italian and Latin on the treatment of the religious question.[1] In this he opposed the Council in terms similar to those employed in his letter from Innsbruck of the 20th of May.[2] On the receipt of this memorial from the Legate Charles summoned his council, who handed him a written opinion[3] on the 30th of June or thereabouts. In this the Emperor was strongly advised to ask the signatories to the Confession if, in the first place, they would accept his adjudication on the religious questions. If they declined to do so, and if it appeared that a betterment could only be reached by means of a General Council, then the proposals for the latter would be made at the suitable time, but on condition that in the interval all innovations contrary to the belief and institutions of the Catholic Church should be put on one side and the Edict of Worms observed to the letter. Besides this, it seemed absolutely necessary, in order to gain the Lutherans more easily, that by means of the Papal and Legatine authority a stop should be put as soon as possible to the abuses in the Church and in the lives of the clergy. No public disputation was to be allowed ; but the Legate might choose men of learning to examine the articles of the Confession.

[1] The Italian text published by K. LANZ, Staatspapiere zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V., Stuttgart, 1845, 45 *seqq.* A fragment of the Latin text in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxv. *seq.*

[2] EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxvi.

[3] First published by EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxvi. *seq.*

Not until the Protestants showed themselves unwilling to submit either to the authority of the Emperor or to that of the Council, and remained stubbornly contumacious, should forcible measures against them be considered, subject to the express opinion of the Legate.

Campeggio, with whom the Emperor had a long conversation as to this view of his advisers, gave a general assent, but declared himself decidedly against a Council, while the Emperor explained that he still held to the standpoint agreed upon at Bologna between himself and the Pope; namely, that a Council would be good and useful if Christendom were at peace, but not under present circumstances, and that the convening of such a synod might be effective for good, provided that there was a recurrence to the former state of things.[1]

On the 4th of July, Campeggio handed to Charles V. his written reply to the Imperial suggestions.[2] In this he proceeded to show in detail that a Council would be of no avail to restore religious order, even if, at first sight, the contrary appeared to be the case. As the Lutherans had openly discarded previous Councils and their decisions, it was not probable that they had any serious intention of submitting themselves to a future synod. They persisted in their demand for one only in order to gain time in the meanwhile to push forward without hindrance their monstrous schemes, since they knew well that it would be a very long time before the Council itself could assemble. But the Emperor, if such were his pleasure, might consult the Pope further on the matter. Campeggio was in full agreement with the Emperor and the Catholic princes in their intention to insist on the

[1] Campeggio's letter, July 5, 1530; the chief sources in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxvii.; in full in the Röm. Quartalschr., XVIII., 358–361.

[2] In Latin text in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxvii.–xxxix.

observance of the Edict of Worms. As regards the removal of abuses, he recommended that men of approved virtue and pure life should be sent to Rome to report on these matters to the Pope; there was no doubt that the latter would prescribe remedies where proof of actual abuses was forthcoming, and he, as Legate, would not be wanting in his co-operation when cases were presented to him which, on due examination, were shown to be genuine abuses. To bring the religious division of Germany to an end, Campeggio held that the right and necessary way was to act with requisite firmness.

The Catholic princes, to whom Charles presented the answer of the Legate on the 5th of July, approved, in their reply of the 7th, and also in a second communication on the 13th,[1] of the Emperor's proposal concerning the Council.

On the evening of the 13th of July, Campeggio once more stated his objections, in the sense of his former declarations,[2] to Granvelle, who had been sent by the Emperor to inform him that he was on the point of writing to the Pope on the subject of the Council. Thereupon, on the 14th, the Emperor sent to Clement a full account of the state of the negotiations at Augsburg.[3] As things then stood, the Protestants refused to accept the Emperor as judge in religious questions; on the contrary, they held out for the Council, and if their wishes were not granted in this respect they would grow yet more obdurate;

[1] BRIEGER, Zeitschr., XII., 130 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.* *Cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxxix.

[2] Campeggio to Salviati on July 14, 1530, in EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XVIII., 362 *seq.*, and Conc. Trid., IV., xxxix.

[3] In original Spanish text in HEINE, Briefe, 522–525; German translation, *ibid.*, 284–289. *Cf.* also PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 52–54. A contemporary Italian translation in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th series, VIII. (1891), 129–134.

therefore the Emperor, in agreement with the Catholic princes, was also of opinion that this should be promised them on the condition that, in the meanwhile, they returned to the obedience of the Church.[1] Charles had also written shortly before to his Ambassador in Rome in similar terms.[2] On the 24th of July he again had a long conversation with Campeggio, in which he gave his opinion on the seat of the Council, expressing his strong preference for an Italian city, in opposition to the view of the princes, who were desirous that it should be held in Germany. He mentioned Mantua in particular, that city having already been spoken of in his discussions with the Pope at Bologna.[3]

On the 18th of July, immediately after the receipt of the Emperor's letter to the Ambassador, Clement called together the twelve Cardinals specially commissioned to deal with German affairs to hear their views on the question of the Council; no final decision was come to, as the Cardinals held that the matter was one for the full Consistory to consider. "Although many of the Cardinals," wrote Loaysa, one of the twelve, on the same day,[4] in his report of the conference to the Emperor, "object to the Council for factitious reasons, yet the most of us in this congregation held it fitting that a Council should be promised, on the condition that the Protestants in the meanwhile abandon their errors and live as their forefathers lived before them. It would be much better, however, if the Protestants would accept the Emperor as their arbitrator, since

[1] HEINE, Briefe, 532.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Cardinal Loaysa of July 18, 1530, in HEINE, Briefe, 18 *seq.* and 357 *seq.*

[3] Campeggio to Salviati on July 29, 1530, in EHSES, Röm. Quartalchr., XVIII., 367 *seq.* *Cf.* Conc. Trid., IV., xl.

[4] HEINE, Briefe, 18–20, 359–361. *Cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xl.

the success of a Council is in itself doubtful, and even its meeting perhaps impossible, owing to the difficulties that other Christian princes may in some way raise, and to the dangers of the Turkish invasion." Loaysa feared, however, that they would not accept the Emperor's arbitration with a good will, and that in the end no other means would remain but to have recourse to force.

On the arrival of the Emperor's letter of the 14th of July, Clement, at the end of the month, once more assembled the twelve Cardinals and acquainted them with its contents. Both the Pope and the Cardinals received it, as Loaysa wrote to the Emperor, with great satisfaction. Loaysa had not, indeed, been present at the meeting owing to illness, but he had a private interview with Clement afterwards, to whom he spoke in support of the Emperor's opinion. Clement replied that Charles was right, the Council could not be avoided; it was Loaysa's opinion, however, that Clement wished in his heart of hearts that it might not take place. He would certainly agree to one, and even go the length of convoking it, but in the meantime he would secretly use his influence with the Christian princes in order to put hindrances in the way. He was led to this presumption by the conduct of the French Cardinal, Gabriel de Gramont, Bishop of Tarbes, who in the first meeting of the Cardinals had spoken strongly in favour of a Council, while in the second conference he dwelt on all the difficulties, especially on those which had arisen on the part of the King of France; this inconsistency, Loaysa surmised, was due to the influence of the Pope. In spite of this "evil" suspicion, as he himself calls it, Loaysa was still in hopes that Clement, "on perceiving the truthfulness and uprightness of your Majesty's behaviour in this matter, and how necessary a Council is for the quieting of his conscience

and the avoidance of lasting dishonour," would eventually control events in accordance with the Imperial wishes.[1]

In two audiences held on the 28th and the 30th of July, Clement addressed Andrea da Burgo in terms favourable to the Council, provided that the conditions fixed by Charles should be fulfilled, namely, that until it assembled the Lutherans should desist from their innovations; Rome he considered suitable as the seat of the Council; but, if the Emperor objected, he would propose Mantua, Piacenza, or Bologna.[2] In this sense Clement sent a reply to the Emperor on the 31st of July.[3]

He first of all went thoroughly into the reasons against a Council adduced by some of the Cardinals, but, trusting to the good sense and insight of the Emperor, whose sojourn in Germany had made him a better judge of the situation than those at a distance, he promised to convene the Council when he deemed it necessary, and under the conditions of which he had already written, namely, that the Protestants should renounce their errors and return immediately to the obedience of their Holy Mother the Church and the observance of her customs and doctrine, so long as it was not otherwise appointed by the Council, to the decisions of which in all points and unreservedly they were willingly to submit. Apart from these conditions, a Council could only cause scandal and set a

[1] Loaysa to the Emperor on July 31, 1530, in HEINE, Briefe, 21–24, 359–361. *Cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xl. *seq.*, and **letter of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I. of July 28, with P.S. of July 29. The **letter of da Burgo to Ferdinand of July 23, 1530, shows the tone of gratification in which Clement spoke to him about the Emperor's correspondence.

[2] See the *reports of A. da Burgo of July 28 and 31, 1530, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The Italian text in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xli.–xliii Also Archivio storico Italiano, 5th Series, VIII., 134–138. *Cf* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 759–763.

most evil example. It was therefore absolutely necessary that the Emperor should insist on these conditions being accepted, so that there might also be certainty of their actual fulfilment; for otherwise, not the removal of error, but only pernicious and deadly effects, were to be expected. The Pope then promised that, as soon as the Emperor informed him of the acceptance and observance of these conditions by the Protestants, he would summon a Council at such time as appeared to him suitable; the Emperor might feel assured that the earliest possible date would be appointed, and that certainly no postponement would be allowed. Regarding the seat of the Council, since it was highly necessary that it should not be held anywhere else than in Italy, Rome had the first claim to consideration—a claim, moreover, favoured by the circumstance that, after all the misfortunes the city had undergone, another lengthened withdrawal of the Curia would involve total ruin. But if Rome were not acceptable, then the Pope proposed Bologna, Piacenza, or Mantua. Concerning abuses, Clement remarked in conclusion, he was waiting for the reply of the Legate, who would report wherein a reformation was called for; on receipt of this reply he would take such measures that everyone would acknowledge his intention to reform what was amiss, and to meet where it was possible the wise and charitable exhortations of the Emperor.

In the Curia the greatest difference of opinion on the question of the Council prevailed. Clement VII., partly from personal and partly from higher reasons, had such strong apprehensions that it seemed to him even less dangerous to tolerate the prolongation of the existing state of affairs in Germany than to summon a Council.[1] That the Pope's anxiety was to a certain extent justified was admitted

[1] HEINE, Briefe, 360.

by the Imperial envoy Mai himself.[1] On this account many doubted whether the Council would be held; but others looked upon this as certain.[2] It was not surprising that such an assembly, bound to take into consideration the question of reform, should be displeasing to the many prelates of a worldly type. The latter took comfort in the supposition that the Protestants were not in earnest in their demands for a General Council. The envoy of the Duke of Mantua had special satisfaction in knowing that his city was eligible as a meeting-place. "A reformation," he said in closing his report, "is certainly necessary in view of the great corruption. God grant that it may not be brought about by the Turks instead of by the Council."[3]

The Papal letter of the 31st of July reached Augsburg on the 7th of August, where a few days before the refutation of the Augsburg Confession had been publicly read.[4] This important document was presented by Campeggio to the Emperor on the 9th; but, in consequence no doubt of Loaysa's letter of the 31st of July already mentioned, he found Charles biassed against the Pope and distrustful of his good intentions.[5] The Emperor himself no longer held to his former tenacious insistence on the Protestant acceptance of the conditions, but now asked that, waiving the latter entirely, the Council so necessary for the general welfare of Christendom should, under any circumstances,

[1] See DE LEVA, III., 19–20.

[2] *Cf.* the **report of Guido da Crema to Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga of Mantua, dated Rome, 1530, July 28 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See **report of Francesco Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, 1530, July 24. *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* FICKER, Die Konfutation des Ausburger Bekentnisses, Leipzig, 1891, and JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 190 n.

[5] Campeggio to Salviati on August 11, 1530, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 49–54 (here dated August 10; for the correct date see EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xliii.).

be summoned as soon as possible, without prejudice to the objections and representations made by Campeggio in the sense of their former agreement. As regards the seat of the Council Charles avoided any definite pronouncement on the choice of Rome, as desired by Clement and recommended by the Legate, by calling attention to the Pope's own alternative suggestion of Bologna, Mantua, or Piacenza.[1]

Charles, meanwhile, was still possessed by the delusive hope[2] that he might succeed in arriving at a temporary suspension of the religious strife until such time as a general synod should assemble. On the 7th of September he once more ordered the promise of the Council under the specified conditions to be tendered to the protesting Estates, who thanked him for his exertions and urged speedy action, but refused in round terms the abandonment for the time being of the innovations.[3] On the 23rd of September Charles once more had a discussion with Campeggio on the Council;[4] after his experience, during this very month of September, of the obstinacy of the Protestant princes, he again declared to the Legate that the Council, quite irrespective of the Lutheran situation, was absolutely necessary, or otherwise, within the space of ten years, there would be no obedience left in Germany. He added, however, that, if Clement nevertheless thought otherwise, he, as an obedient son, would submit; but in that case he hoped the Pope would inform him openly and as soon as possible, as this would be better than that the Council should be hindered by the King of France, when in the

[1] EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xliii. *seq.*

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 193 *seq.*

[3] PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 54.

[4] Campeggio to Salviati, September 23, 1530, in LAEMMER, Mon Vat., 56–58; *cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV. xliv.

general opinion the blame would still be laid upon the Pope.[1]

In the draft of the decree of the Diet which Charles laid before[2] the protesting Estates on the 22nd and 23rd of September, he once more charged the latter "to discuss and consider among themselves, until the 15th of April of the forthcoming year, whether, as regards the articles on which there was still disagreement, they would reunite themselves with the Christian Church, the Pope, the Emperor's Majesty, and the princes of the Empire and other heads and members of Christendom at large, until such time as the future Council should open its discussions." The protesting princes rejected this message finally; their spokesman, the Elector of Saxony, at once left the Diet, from which the Landgrave of Hesse had already withdrawn on the 6th of August in precipitate haste. Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Chancellor Brück, and the Saxon theologians also left Augsburg. They thus destroyed all further possibility of reconciliation.

[1] This groundless suspicion of the Pope's integrity was aroused in Charles by Loaysa's letter mentioned above, see *supra*, p. 135.

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, 18th ed., 214 *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

Negotiations as to the Council, to the Pacification of Nuremberg, 1532.

In Rome the transactions of the Diet had been followed with strained attention. Even if as early as the beginning of August the provocative attitude of some of the Protestant princes had made the armed interference of the Emperor a possibility to be reckoned with,[1] there was still a desire to await fuller information,[2] and a temporary hope of a peaceful agreement, especially as Melanchthon continued to show his previous conciliatory disposition. When afterwards the Catholic princes succeeded in once more setting in motion negotiations for a settlement,[3] Salviati wrote, on the 8th of September, to Campeggio that the Pope was ready to permit communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy if the protesting party would give way on the remaining points.[4]

Clement VII. wished by these means to facilitate the Emperor's negotiations for a settlement. At this time

[1] *Cf.* *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, 1530, August 4 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See F. Gonzaga's *letter to the Duke of Mantua, dat. Rome, 1530, August 18 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] Pastor, Reunionsbestrebungen, 45 *seq.*

[4] *Salviati to Campeggio, dat. Rome, 1530, September 8, *Lett. d. princ., X. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Clement had already expressed himself in similar terms at the end of July; see Gayangos, IV., 1, n. 386.

he was especially active in his endeavours to gratify the wishes of Charles V.;[1] only in the matter of the Council did he raise difficulties. "This," wrote the Roman correspondent of the Duke of Mantua on the 7th of September, "will be a tedious matter, even if the Council takes place, which I do not believe."[2] The longer the question was treated in the Diet the greater grew the suspense in Rome.[3] On the 4th of October came the announcement of the departure of the Elector of Saxony;[4] it was now as clear as day that all attempts at union had miscarried. To the whole Sacred College it now appeared that force was the only resource available,[5] and it was hoped that Charles would have recourse to it.

The Emperor had certainly promised the Pope, in the Treaty of Barcelona, that, in the case of contumacy on the part of the Protestants, he would terminate the schism, which had been the cause of so much violence towards Catholics, with the sword. But such a policy was alien to his character; nor was he adequately prepared for it, and the support of the Catholic Estates was by no means certain. Urgent as were the recommendations of Campeggio to apply force, Charles still persisted in his

[1] *E cosa incredibile la osservantia chel Papa porta allo Imperatore e come S. Sta vadda reguardata e timorosa in tutte le cose che possino portar una minima molestia a S. M^ta^, writes F. Gonzaga on September 24, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Letter of F. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1530, September 7 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Hic sunt omnes in mirabili expectatione conclusionum illius dietae circa fidem et alia, writes A. da Burgo on September 23, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] *Letter of A. da Burgo, October 5, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[5] **Report of F. Gonzaga, October 6, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

preference for peaceful methods.[1] His patience seemed to have no limits, and only when he could no longer shut his eyes to the fruitlessness of all his efforts at peace did he turn his thoughts to a policy of repression, but without being able even then to come to a firm decision in its favour. "Force," he wrote to his Ambassador in Rome on the 4th of September 1530, "would certainly be the most productive of results, but the necessary weapons are not forthcoming."[2] The insulting departure from the Diet of the Elector of Saxony was certainly the cause of this change in the Emperor's feelings. Further obstinacy on the part of the Protestant princes, so he declared to the Cardinal-Legate, he was determined to punish, but it was an undertaking which he could not carry out single-handed.[3] On the 4th of October he addressed a letter to Clement VII. in which he expressed himself still more clearly and incisively. In it he announced his intention of putting forth all his power to subdue in open warfare the contumacious Protestants; the Pope would see that the other princes were invited to co-operate with him and support him with contributions in money.[4]

Clement VII. met this communication in a most characteristic way. Already, on the 13th of October, when the Ambassador Miguel Mai made known the contents of

[1] *Cf.* Campeggio's report, August 11, 1530, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 51, and more exactly in EHSES, Röm. Quartalschr., XIX., 129 *seq.*

[2] SANDOVAL, Carlos V., Barcelona, 1625, II., 103.

[3] Campeggio on September 24, 1530, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat. 57–58 For the discussions in the Imperial Council see MAURENBRECHER, Karl V., App. 16 *seq.*

[4] The Emperor's letter of October 4, 1530, is missing in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Its contents are to be found not merely in N. Raince's report (given by RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 2nd ed., 307) but also in the important *despatch of F. Gonzaga, October 19, 1530, in Appendix, No. 14.

the Imperial letter, Salviati had emphasized the Pope's confidence in the Emperor's course of action, since the latter had already exterminated by his might other and even greater heresies than those of Luther.[1] But after the letter had been received Clement relapsed into his habitual indecision and pleaded various objections. Besides the considerable pecuniary resources required he referred to the danger of an invasion of the Turks, with the Lutherans as confederates; but, on the other hand, the Pope realized the extreme danger of allowing the Lutherans to remain unpunished; the Imperial authority as well as the Catholic cause would, in such a case, suffer incalculable injury.[2] Soon afterwards Charles ordered Muscettola to unfold his plans more minutely in Rome. The defiance of the Lutherans, he was charged to explain, had been on the increase since the disbanding of the Imperial army; he therefore intended to collect a force of ten thousand Spaniards and Italians for service in Germany, in order not merely to strike fear among the Lutherans but also, if circumstances should call for it, to act on the offensive towards the Turks; to keep up such an army he must have financial help from the Pope and the princes of Italy.[3] Clement now called on the Italian States to help,[4] while Charles, in a letter of the 25th of October, in which he requested the Cardinals to further the cause of the Council, solemnly declared that he would, in the affair

[1] Salviati to Campeggio, October 13, 1530 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See in Appendix, No. 14, the *letter of F. Gonzaga, October 19, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See in Appendix, No. 15, the *letter of F. Gonzaga, October 27, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 459, 462, 472.

[4] See Salviati's *letter to Campeggio, dat. Rome, October 26, 1530 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 470 475, 476.

of Luther, spare neither kingdoms nor dominions in order to accomplish what was necessary.[1]

Immediately after the Emperor's first announcement Clement had invited the opinion of the Venetian Government concerning warlike operations against the Protestants; that their answer would be in the nature of a refusal he was led to infer from the objections previously tendered by the Ambassador of the Republic.[2] The remaining Italian states showed no enthusiasm in the matter, notwithstanding the Pope's advocacy,[3] and to Clement's great disgust the Republic sent a direct refusal.[4] The whole scheme fell through, for the Emperor, in view of the unreliability of the Catholic Estates,[5] soon abandoned it. On the 30th

[1] *Lettre de l'Empereur au collége des Cardinaux. Copy in MS. Franç., 3014, f. 8 (National Library, Paris). *Cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 2nd ed., 308.

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 14, the *letter of F. Gonzaga, October 19, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See *Salviati's letters to Campeggio, October 21 and 26, November 5 and 13, and December 6, 1530 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 476, 484, 499, and in App., No. 16, the *letter of F. Gonzaga, November 13, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, 1st Series, I., 69 *seq.*; and JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 220 *seq.* The final resolutions of the Diet of Augsburg deferred the decision (BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 36 *seq.*). Concerning the Council the official document runs thus: "Seeing that for many years a general Council of the Catholic Church has not been held, and that during this long period various abuses and troubles have arisen in Christendom, we, on the common advice and motion of our councillors and of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire and other princes and states, as well as of their representatives, here in Augsburg assembled, and indeed in answer to their humble request and petition, have therefore determined, in full accordance with them, to propose to the Holy Roman Pontiff and all Christian kings and potentates that a Christian Council should be convoked in a suitable place within six months from the end of this present assembly, and held as soon as possible, at the utmost within a year from the issue

of October he sent his majordomo, Don Pedro de la Cueva, to Rome to inform the Pope that owing to the advanced season of the year it was no longer possible to think of an immediate undertaking against the Lutherans, for which Clement might be engaged in preparations. Cueva was also instructed to represent to Clement that, since all hopes of converting the heretics by friendly means had been shattered by their obstinacy, the summons of a Council was the only means remaining of saving Germany from permanent apostasy; his Holiness should therefore take the necessary steps to convene the same as soon as possible, since every delay was detrimental. The choice of locality was left by the Emperor to the Holy Father; but the Ambassador was to do his best to secure the choice of some place as near as possible to German territory, say Mantua or Milan.[1]

Charles spoke in a similar sense in the letter to Clement to be personally handed to him by the Ambassador. He thanked the Pope for his reply of the 31st of July,[2] and showed him that he had left nothing undone to bring the Protestants to accept the conditions on which the Council was to depend. But notwithstanding the failure

of this summons, in the good hope and confidence that we thereby may bestow lasting and happy unity and peace on the spiritual and temporal affairs of Christendom," HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 743, 745; see here also 737 *seq.* on the renewal of the gravamina and the negotiations concerning them; also *cf.* EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., XVIII., 369 *seq.*, 373 *seq.* The resolutions of the Diet contained a promise that the Imperial Ambassador should treat with the Pope regarding the redress to be given.

[1] Istrucción original que dió ei Emperador á don Pedro de la Cueva in HEINE, Briefe, 525–529; in German, 289–295. *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 74.

[2] See *supra*, p. 136.

of these endeavours he was now of opinion that the Council, the demand for which came not only from the Protestant but also from the Catholic princes, must not be abandoned as, in view of these very circumstances, it offered the only remaining means of salvation. He held it to be his duty to declare plainly and distinctly "that the meeting of the Council must take place for the cure of the present errors, the welfare of Christendom, the settlement of belief, the elevation of the Apostolic See, and the personal honour of your Holiness; failing this, no adequate course is open, and far greater are the evils contingent on the Council not taking place than those which, it is supposed, would accrue from its deliberations, for the present errors are many, various, and daily increasing in number." Nor could the danger of the Turkish war be made a valid argument against the Council, for, on the contrary, it would afford the best means of uniting the whole of Christendom in effectual opposition to the infidels. Charles V. therefore begged the Pope, in the most urgent terms, to sanction the summons of the Council as soon as possible, and to obtain the agreement of the other Christian sovereigns. In the meanwhile Clement might also consider what steps could be taken against the Lutherans. The Emperor accounted for his wish that the Council should be held near German territory on the ground that, in this way, the Lutherans would be deprived of any excuse for non-attendance.[1] Cueva reached Rome on the 15th of November, and on the following day he waited on the Pope together with the Imperial Ambassador. In addition to the letter already referred to, he presented a second touching the election

[1] In HEINE, 530-533, 295-390; *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 74, and EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xlvi. *seq.* See also Loaysa's letter to the Emperor, November 18, 1530, in HEINE, 386-389, 62-68.

of Ferdinand I. as King of the Romans, and a communication on Florentine affairs.[1]

Clement VII. sent an answer to Charles as early as the 18th of November, without at first committing himself definitely. He had so much confidence in the Emperor's sympathy and discretion that he would like nothing better than to be guided by his advice entirely; but, as a matter of decorum, he must first consult the Cardinals; yet, seeing how important the matter was for Christendom in general, he would give a definite reply as soon as possible.[2] Accordingly the deputation of Cardinals was summoned to meet on the 21st of November. The "pros" and "cons" were thoroughly considered. Opinions differed so greatly that the final vote was postponed until the 25th of November.[3] The interval was made use of by the Imperialist Cardinals and envoys in trying to bring about a speedy decision favourable to the policy of Charles.[4] At the second meeting of the deputation the Cardinals who shirked reform again brought forward the dangers involved in a Council; still, the majority

[1] *Cf.* Cueva's report in GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 497 *seq.*, and a *letter of A. da Burgo, November 17, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] HEINE, 533 *seq.*, 301 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xlvii. Clement VII. told the Mantuan agent F. Gonzaga, before the meeting of Cardinals on November 21, that the holding of the Council would be determined upon; *letter of F. Gonzaga of November 21 in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A. da Burgo reports thoroughly on the dangers feared by Clement in his *letter of November 20, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *letter of November 22, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] *Interea Card. Osmen. et S. Crucis et alii Caesarei et ego non desumus praestare officia convenientia, ut fiat bona et celeris conclusio et quod principale et gravius periculum imminens sit si concilium non fieret aut differatur.] A. da Burgo, *loc. cit.*

were of opinion that the Emperor's advice should be followed, since still greater dangers were to be expected if the Council did not take place; yet, if the presence of the Emperor were called for, that of the other Christian princes ought also to be invited.[1]

On the 28th of November the Pope, who had still the gravest apprehensions, laid the matter before a secret Consistory, in which Cardinals Farnese, Monte, and Canisio spoke so warmly in favour of a Council that all the six-and-twenty Cardinals present gave their unanimous support.[2] Nevertheless Loaysa, and with him Mai and Cueva, did not alter their opinion that the Pope and Cardinals shrank from a Council and were working against it. "If they now vote otherwise," wrote Loaysa, "it is because they see that, in your Majesty's opinion, all is lost if the Council is not held; they realize that the consequence of their rejection would be to offend all Christian people and especially your Majesty. These Cardinals in thus voting are acting like merchantmen, who fling their goods into the sea in order to save their own lives. With the exception of five or six, among whom is Monte in particular, I do not know one among them whose heart is really in the matter. So true is this, that although the Pope has said exactly what I have written, I am yet afraid that, under the condition of inviting the other

[1] Along with passages from Salviati's letter of November 26, 1530, given by EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xlvii., and GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 510, 512, 517, 518, I have also made use of A. da Burgo's cipher *report of November 26, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] Loaysa to the Emperor on November 30, 1530, in HEINE, 391, 70 *seq.* *Cf.* the extract from the Acta Consistoria in EHSES, xlviii. *seq.*, the **report of Francesco Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua, dat. Rome, 1530, November 28, and **that of Guido da Crema to Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1530, December 2 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see also GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 518.

princes to the Council, opportunities will be sought and made to hinder and destroy the objects which your Majesty, as the servant of God, is aiming at. The Pope is so astute and crafty that we shall only find this out when your Majesty comes yourself to recognize the impediment, and to say that the Council is impossible; then the blame will not fall on the guilty party, but, with much greater probability, will be dealt out to the innocent."[1] On the other hand, there were those who believed that Clement really wished for a Council. One was the agent of the Duke of Mantua, to whom the Pope had spoken approvingly of Mantua as the place of assembly.[2]

On the 30th of November the deputation of Cardinals was consulted on the form of the briefs to be addressed to the princes. Already, on the following day, the 1st of December, the work of composing and despatching them began.[3] On the 6th of December the Pope sent a brief communication to the Emperor that he had written to the princes, and had made up his mind to conform his opinion to that of Charles.[4] Even Loaysa's unfavourable view of Clement underwent a change.[5]

[1] See HEINE, 392, and DE LEVA, III., 29. *Cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 520, 523.

[2] See **F. Gonzaga's reports of November 28 and December 4 and 6, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] EHSES, xlix.

[4] HEINE, 302, 534. *Cf.* Salviati's letter of December 6 in EHSES, xlix.

[5] He wrote on December 6 (HEINE, 397): "The affair of the Council depends on this: Should your Majesty set the Pope's mind at rest as to the difficulties, and your Majesty be of opinion that these would not arise out of the Council and that you are willing to be present at it, then one may take it as well-nigh certain that his Holiness will summon it with heartfelt joy. . . . My supposition is that he has a great dread and dislike of the Council, but that after reading your

For the purpose of closer verbal communication, Clement sent Uberto da Gambara, Bishop of Tortona, to the Emperor,[1] in place of Nicolas von Schönberg, Archbishop of Capua, originally nominated for the mission, but prevented by illness[2] from making the journey. In his instructions,[3] drawn up by Cardinal Cajetan, the objections to the Council, which the envoy was once more to lay before the Emperor in the name of the Pope and the Cardinals, held a special place. They were six in number. (1) If the heretics were allowed to raise fresh disputations concerning their errors, already condemned by several councils, a bad and dangerous precedent would be established; but if they were forbidden discussion they would complain that they had been condemned

Majesty's letters and those of Don Pedro de la Cueva and hearing the various reasons adduced by all your Majesty's ministers, I venture to declare that he will be profoundly influenced and, I believe, that already he is almost entirely persuaded, for he sets the highest value on the truthfulness, the virtue, the consistency, the good intentions, and the feelings of religion and honour in your Majesty's heart."

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of A. da Burgo of December 28, 1530, *ibid.*; in App., No. 17, the *letter of F. Peregrino of December 10, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and EHSES, xlix., l.–lxxiv.; see also PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 76 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 767 *seq.* For Gambara *cf.* GARAMPI, 252.

[2] According to A. da Burgo's account in a *letter of December 12, 1530, Schönberg said to him that, even if he had been in good health, he would not have gone: "cum non videat viam rei bene gerendae nec per concilium nec per arma." Pope and Emperor certainly are sincere as to the Council, but not the rest. Yet a war against the Lutherans is not to be recommended. Better to come to a peaceful agreement with them, conceding some things, while retaining intact the main articles of belief (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Printed in EHSES, lii.–liv. *Cf.* the statement of contents in HEINE, 106; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 76 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 767 *seq.*

unheard, and, while repudiating the decrees of the Council, would adhere more closely to their errors. (2) If they refused to acknowledge the authority of previous councils what ground was there for the hope that they would submit to the forthcoming one? But, this being so, the situation would be changed very much for the worse if conciliar decrees were to be passed which could not be put into execution. (3) The Protestants would stand by the letter of the Bible, and, rejecting the authority of councils and fathers, refuse to be convinced with the obstinacy habitual in heretics. (4) The whole conduct of the heretics at the Diet of Augsburg showed that in their demand for a Council, they were only carrying out their intention of persisting in their tenets up to the moment of its summons and decisions, in the hope that in this way much time would be consumed and that eventually the Council might be dissolved without coming to any general decision. (5) If, as might easily happen, the old controversy as to the supremacy of the Pope or Council were to be revived, a schism might thus be brought about and great injury would be inflicted on the authority of the Emperor as well as on that of the Pope. (6) It was open to question whether the other princes would attend a Council held under the protection of the Imperial power, while, on the other hand, the Pope could only preside if that protection were given. The dangers arising from the Turks, and the objections put forward on this score, were also urged for further consideration. Gambara, who had left Rome on the 30th of December 1530, reached Aix on the 15th of January 1531, just as Charles V. was taking farewell of his brother Ferdinand, and preparing to begin his journey into the Netherlands; on the 16th or 17th of January, in Liége, he had the first opportunity of speaking to the Emperor;[1] he

[1] EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., li. *seq.*, liv. *seq.*

handed him the Pope's letter and unfolded to him his objections in accordance with his instructions.[1]

It is impossible to say definitely whether, on the occasion of this interview, Gambara also laid before the Emperor the five conditions attached by Clement to the convening of the Council, or whether this took place at some other time.[2] These five conditions were: (1) The Council was to be summoned and held only for the discussion of the affairs of the Turkish war, the reconciliation of the Lutherans, the extirpation of heresies, and the adequate punishment of the contumacious. (2) The Emperor was to attend the Council in person from its beginning to its end, and on his departure the sessions were to terminate. (3) The Council was to be held in Italy and nowhere else, the Pope nominating beforehand a city for its seat. (4) Those only to have a decisive vote who were canonically qualified. (5) The Lutherans were to sue formally before the Council and to send their plenipotentiaries with proper mandates, a course which appeared to be of great use towards facilitating their safe return.[3]

The effect of Clement's present mood, who, during the deliberations with the Cardinals in November 1530, was prepared to carry out the Emperor's wishes in reliance on the latter's friendly dispositions, was to throw the responsibility of a decision entirely on Charles. If he gave a

[1] See EHSES, *op. cit.*, lv.–lvii.

[2] This apparently took place on the occasion of the second audience on January 25, 1531, at Brussels, when Bishops Gambara and da Schio were present. *Cf.* EHSES, *op. cit.*, lvii.

[3] "Capitula sive conditiones a Clemente VII. per Ubertum de Gambara episcopum Dertonensem Carolo V. exhibita," in EHSES, xlvii.; with the Emperor's reply in LAEMMER, Meletematum Romanorum mantissa, 137, and in HEINE, 537 *seq.*, *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 77; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 769 *seq.*

favourable reply and accepted the conditions, then without doubt the speedy summons of the Council would have been decided on.[1]

But it was now the Emperor who, by his delay in sending the anxiously expected answer to Rome,[2] hindered the further progress of affairs. It was not until the 4th of April 1531 that Charles, who was then in Brussels, caused his reply to be made known to the Legate, Cardinal Campeggio, and to the Bishops Gambara and Girolamo de Schio in Ghent through Covos and Granvelle.[3] He had, as he here explains, first informed his brother Ferdinand of the hindrances and objections to a Council as set forth by Gambara, and by Ferdinand they were to be made known to the other Catholic princes of Germany. The result of their consultation was that the princes declared themselves "bound by their former determination, and that no other adequate method of healing the existing disorders was to be found except in the Council; even if the matters to which the Pope had called attention were of great importance and significance, yet it appeared to them that neither the existing errors nor those to be looked for in the future could be met by any other means; nor had the evils in question reached such a pitch as to justify the abandonment of the Council." Charles showed less discernment in thinking that it was necessary to sound Francis I. beforehand on his opinion with regard to the Council.

Charles V., as well as the Pope, had allowed himself to be deceived for a while as to the real sentiments of his wily adversary by the letter written by Francis to

[1] EHSES, lviii.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Loaysa to Charles V. on February 25, 1531, in HEINE, 410, 102.

[3] In HEINE, 535–538, 303–308.

Clement VII. on the 21st of November 1530,[1] and communicated in December to the Emperor at Mayence. The French King's policy had been directed unfalteringly to frustrating a Council which was to heal the disunion in the German Empire. In his letter he seemed to proclaim his thorough good-will towards such a project, but he expressed himself in such a way that, in the event of the Council becoming a serious probability, many pretexts should remain open to him whereby he might yet nullify the action of that assembly. But when the letter was read in Consistory on the 5th of December 1530, such an impression was made that the Pope and Cardinals were filled with joy and thanked God that the two greatest rulers were now of one mind on this weighty topic.[2] On the 13th of December, Clement wrote a letter of thanks to Francis, full of lavish praise for having shown himself worthy of the title of "most Christian King."[3] Trusting to the present sincerity of Francis, Charles sent to him, on the 1st of February 1531, Louis de Praet to inquire of him how he stood with regard to the question of the Council. Francis kept the Emperor waiting two months for an answer; when at last it was received at Ghent, on the 28th of March, it was seen to contain the demand that the agreement of all princes to the Council should first be invited, and that for this object a convention should be held at Rome to which all Christian kings and princes should send their repre-

[1] In EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., l.

[2] Loaysa to Charles V. on December 6, 1530, in HEINE, 396, 79 *seq.* *Cf.* *the report of F. Gonzaga of December 6, 1530, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letter of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, January 12, 1531, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[3] EHSES, l.

sentatives.[1] "That," wrote Loaysa to the Emperor, when the terms of this answer were made known in Rome on the 14th of April, "makes the Council quite impossible and shows a determination that it shall not take place."[2] The further negotiations of Charles with the King had also no better success.[3]

The Emperor, in the answer already mentioned, which was at length given to the Papal Ambassador on the 4th of April, accounted for the long delay, for which he was not to be blamed, on the ground of his previous negotiations with Francis I., and announced that he left it to the Pope to make a final decision, with the petition that the latter would avoid the scandal which must be expected if the Council were delayed; he gave his assurances that the Pope might count upon him and his brother Ferdinand.[4] At the same time, Covos and Granvelle gave the Emperor's answer touching the five conditions under which the Council was to be summoned.[5] On the first point the Emperor remarked that, in order to safeguard the procedure hitherto observed in the Holy Councils and strictly regulated by law, as well as to obviate any opportunity for depreciating or calumniating a Council

[1] EHSES, lix. Loaysa's report of March 27 on the difficulties of Francis I., in Doc. ined., XIV., 134. *Cf.* also, for the sudden hesitation of Francis I., with the answer, the *report of A. da Burgo to Ferdinand I., dated Rome, March 20, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] HEINE, 416, 112 *seq.* *Cf.* the **reports of Guido da Crema from Rome to Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga of April 8, 1531, and of F. Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua of May 3, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] EHSES, lix.

[4] HEINE, 536 *seq.*, 305 *seq.*

[5] In EHSES, lx. Also in LAEMMER, Melet. Rom. mantissa, 137 *seq.*, and in HEINE, 537 *seq.* (German, 306–308), together with the text of the *Capitula.* *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 77; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 770.

held under such limitations, it seemed to be more fitting that it should be summoned simply and without restrictions. Having been summoned, the Pope could then decide what matters were to be brought forward and dealt with. To the second condition the Emperor assented, and, putting his own affairs in the background, promised to attend the Council so long as this was deemed to be conducive to favourable results. As to the seat of the Council, he expressed himself as personally satisfied with all the cities proposed by the Pope, but the German princes and others of that nation asked for Mantua or Milan. On the fourth point, the Emperor observed that the laws and usages of the Holy Councils must be observed in accordance with former precedents. The fifth condition had been already dropped by the Bishop of Tortona himself. The Emperor added that there was, besides, no object in disputing with the heretics in cases of recognized contumacy.

Gambara, on the receipt of this answer, should, in accordance with the Emperor's intentions, have left immediately for Rome,[1] but he wished to speak with the latter once more on the affair of the Council. He went to him at Brussels, Charles having deferred his journey from thence to Ghent, from which former place, on the 19th of April, he was dismissed, after an interview, with a letter for the Pope.[2] At the same time, Gambara had drawn up, while in Brussels, for the Imperial Council a counter document to the Emperor's reply on the five conditions; he explained, in particular, how much better it would be to restrict the synod to a definite task than to assign to it an entirely general purview.[3]

[1] See Charles's letter to the Pope on April 2, 1531, in EHSES, lx.

[2] EHSES, Conc. Trid. IV., lxi., n. 5.

[3] EHSES, lxi.–lxiv.

When the Emperor's answer was at last received in Rome, it was understood that the strange delay was not due to him, but that the obstacle standing in the way of the Council was Francis I., and that all efforts were unavailing if it proved impossible to bring that monarch to another mind. Clement VII. therefore agreed that the Emperor should continue his negotiations through Louis de Praet, and wrote himself to the Nuncio in France, Cesare Trivulzio, as to the methods for winning Francis. He also conceded to the Kings of England and France, who were preparing to raise difficulties about the seat of the Council, that to Milan and Mantua, already proposed by the Emperor, the choice of Piacenza and Bologna should be added, places to which no objection could be taken.[1]

On the 25th of April 1531, Clement VII. wrote to the Emperor that if the consent of the French King were procured, he would summon the Council at once; but if Francis were unwilling or made difficulties it would be better to refrain, since a Council held in the face of disagreement between two such sovereigns would only embolden the Lutherans to be more obstinate.[2] At the same time the Pope, through Salviati, informed the Legate Campeggio of the deliberations in Consistory.[3] The

[1] *Cf.* Salviati to Campeggio on April 24 (25), 1531, in HEINE, 541, 312. On April 20, 1531, A. da Burgo wrote from Rome to Ferdinand I.: *Disputavimus cum S. Sta multa de malis secuturis si amplius differatur providere istris periculis imminentibus ex Lutheriana et aliis sectis. In fine conclusit S. S^tas^ me vere dicere quod opus sit vel medio concilii vel medio armorum vel per concordiam cum Lutheranis providere, sed dolere se quod videat in omnibus tribus illis tot difficultates quod nesciat quid faciendum, tamen ex latere suo se non defuturum in quolibet illorum trium suprascriptorum mediorum (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, lxv.

[3] HEINE, 540–554, 309–316; EHSES, lxv. *seq.*

Cardinals were determined that the Council should not be summoned for general purposes, but with the specific object of dealing with matters of belief and the Turkish war. Moreover, the Cardinals, dissatisfied with the general terms of Charles's announcement, wished him to give a direct promise that he would assist at the Council throughout its entire duration, and they requested that the fifth point, too easily granted by Gambara, that the Lutherans should be represented, should be again withdrawn. If the Emperor made these concessions and the King of France agreed to its summons, then the Council would take place. But if Francis (and Henry VIII.) were not willing, then it would be better that the Council should fall through and no more time be wasted, and other steps taken to restore order in Germany, either by the Emperor endeavouring to suppress Lutheranism by force, in which case the Pope would assist him with all the means in his power, or by trying to bring them back to obedience by means of Confessions of Faith stated in terms not detrimental to Catholic belief. These letters were so long on the way that Campeggio could not discuss them with the Emperor before the 5th of June, and then without making any progress, for the latter was stubborn in his determination regarding the summons of the Council and his own attendance at it.[1] At the same time, he was informed by Charles that an answer had come from the King of France which was even more unfavourable than his previous communication on the subject.

Gambara returned from his mission on the 13th of May,

[1] *Cf.* Campeggio's letter to Salviati from Ghent, June 13, 1531, partly given in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 71 *seq.* The portion relating to the negotiations with Francis I., wanting in Laemmer, is given by EHSES, lxvi.

and gave a full report to the Pope.[1] Four days later Cardinal Gramont, whose coming was eagerly desired, arrived; on his instructions the fate of the Council depended.[2] Unfortunately, they no longer left it doubtful that Francis was determined to thwart the general assembly of the Church. He would never consent in any way to the Council, unless it were held in Turin and he present in person. If the Emperor also wished to attend, well and good, but in that case each of them must be attended by an equal number of armed men. To the question of Clement VII.: Why then did the king object to Piacenza or Bologna? Gramont answered, because His Majesty did not wish to travel through the Duchy of Milan if it did not belong to him. To the Pope's further remark that it was not really necessary that Francis should be present in person, and that he could send a representative in his name, Gramont rejoined that that was impossible. The Emperor must not suppose that he can lay down laws for the French.[3] That Clement VII. was not in any underhand way connected with this French policy, as has often been asserted without proof,[4] is shown also by Salviati's letter of the 31st of July 1531 to Campeggio on the subject of French practices.[5]

On the 23rd of June Charles V. informed Campeggio that

[1] See Guido da Crema's *letter, May 13, and that of F. Gonzaga, May 17, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, as well as A. da Burgo's *report of May 17, 1531, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See A. da Burgo's *report of May 20, 1531, in the Court and State Archives, Vienna, and that of F. Gonzaga *of May 20, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Loaysa's letter to the Emperor, May 26, 1531, in HEINE, 424 *seqq.*, 126 *seqq.*, and *that of F. Gonzaga of May 20, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 78; EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., lxvii.

[4] *Cf. contra*, PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 78.

[5] In EHSES, lxviii.

he intended to assemble a new Diet before his return to Spain. He expressed, indeed, a doubt whether he would be able in this way to produce any effect on the obstinate Lutherans; but he wished to hold the Diet, for he had promised at Augsburg that the Council should be held, and the latter was still a remote contingency.[1] On the question of the Council the Emperor held out the prospect of an answer at a later date; this was presented to the Legate by Covos and Granvelle on the 17th of July,[2] and on the 27th it was forwarded to Rome with a letter from the Emperor.[3] Charles expressed his displeasure at the hindrances always being raised against the Council; he did not fail to recognize their importance, but begged that the Pope would persevere in his efforts to remove them, since he knew of no other remedy than a Council. He would soon visit Germany in person and exert himself to the same end. Other expressions of the Emperor[4] showed that at this time he very strongly suspected that the Pope was in secret understanding with the French policy of obstruction. This suspicion was nourished by the French proposal for a marriage between Catherine de' Medici, Clement's niece, and the second son of King Francis, Henry, Duke of Orleans, by which alliance the French King thought to draw the Pope over to his side.[5] But on this occasion even Loaysa, who in prior circumstances had spoken his mind so sharply,[6] defended Clement's sincerity against the suspicions of Charles V. in letters of the 9th of

[1] Campeggio to Salviati, June 24, 1531, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 72–74; *cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 771 *seq.*; EHSES, lxviii.

[2] Campeggio to Salviati, July 17, 1531, in EHSES, lxviii.

[3] The Spanish in HEINE, 544; German, *ibid.*, 317 *seqq.*; EHSES, lxix.

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, lxix.

[5] *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 795 *seq.*, 797.

[6] See *supra*, pp. 135, 149 *seq.*

June and the 26th of July.[1] Loaysa also informed the Emperor that the arrangement of this marriage, so far as it depended on the Pope, was not by any means an accomplished fact.

The responsibility for the failure of the Council under Clement VII. falls undoubtedly in the first instance on Francis I. But it certainly was a great mistake on the part of the Pope to have been drawn into negotiations with the King of such a kind that he was bound to incur the suspicion of complicity with Francis in this question. In any case the prospects grew worse and worse, so that even Loaysa wrote to the Emperor, on the 12th of September, that he could only entreat him a thousand times "to withdraw as soon as possible from this dark undertaking, the Council; for on many grounds," he went on to say, "which are clear to me, I see no advantage in it for your Majesty, and what has hitherto taken place has only brought you harm. Your intentions could not be better; . . . but since you perceive plainly that you are here opposed by envy and pusillanimity, rest satisfied with having secured the favour of God, and lead your affairs some other way by which you will quicker attain your own advantage; the blame of having abandoned the good which you might have done will fall on others to their condemnation, while your glory will remain unimpaired."[2]

The communication to Clement of the Emperor's intention of holding a Diet at Spires on his return to Germany was received by the former with joy, which found expression in his letters to Charles on the 24th and 26th of July.[3] In the latter he even assented to certain concessions being made to the heretics in Germany, if

[1] HEINE, 429 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.*, 443, 157.

[2] *Ibid.*, 447, 163 *seq.*

[3] EHSES, lxxi.

there were good hopes that by this means their obedience could be secured, in order that undivided attention might be given to the Turkish question.[1] The Legate Campeggio held other views on the latter point. Having had opportunities of studying events close at hand, he could not discard his opinion that armed force, and armed force alone, was the only method to pursue with the heretics.[2]

The Pope was inclined to give way on three particular points: communion under both kinds; the marriage of the clergy as practised by the Greeks; and, further, that in respect of the transgression of ecclesiastical ordinances, only that which was forbidden *de jure divino* was to be looked upon as mortal sin.[3] Cajetan was especially in favour of an agreement based on such far-reaching terms, while other Cardinals were opposed to it.[4]

In the Consistory of the 11th of August 1531 it was determined that a special Nuncio should be sent to the Diet. A resolution was passed that the Pope should apply himself to the removal of the hindrances which stood in the way of the meeting of the Council. At the end of August, Aleander, who had been nominated Nuncio by the Pope, left Rome with Briefs for the Emperor, King Ferdinand, and other temporal and spiritual princes of the Empire.[5] In his Brief to the Emperor, Clement VII.

[1] EHSES, lxxi.

[2] Campeggio to Salviati, June 24, 1531, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 73; EHSES, lxxi.

[3] EHSES, lxxii.; HEINE, 154 *seq.*, n. *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Katholische Reformation, 329, 413.

[4] See FRIEDENSBURG in Quellen und Forsch., III., 4 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*

[5] Aleander's credentials are of August 29; see RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 6; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 78. Aleander had left Rome by August 27; see *F. Peregrino's letter of August 28 in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Aleander, in a *letter of Girolamo Gonzaga (Aug. 27) in this collection, is spoken of as "è molto caro a S. Sta et è persona stimata assai."

spoke especially of his wish, on which point the Nuncio also had received full instructions, to support Charles in his good intentions concerning the Council. In another letter to the Emperor, which reached Aleander when he was already on his way, Clement recommended special caution in the contingency of any concessions being made, if the Emperor were convinced of the necessity of such concessions, in order to avoid greater evils, he must take care that they were not entered into recklessly, for otherwise scandal might be given to the rest of Christendom. Charles must make such a settlement in Germany as should render a return to the former disorders impossible. Moreover, any concessions allowed to the Germans must be of such a character as not to give an impetus to other nations to make similar demands for themselves.[1]

As the Diet appointed to be held at Spires was postponed and transferred to Ratisbon at a later date, Aleander at once betook himself to the Netherlands to meet the Emperor, to whom he presented the Papal messages at Brussels on the 6th of November 1531. On the 14th Aleander had a long interview with the Emperor, to whom he read the Brief.[2] To the expressions of the Pope relating to the Council, Charles observed that he "thanked God that his Holiness kept true to his promise and gave the lie to those who asserted that he wished with heart and soul to be rid of the Council." Aleander replied that the Pope had no wish to be rid of it, if only it could be held in a befitting manner; that is, if Charles, before all things, were always present in person, as were the Emperors of old at œcumenical

[1] PALLAVICINI, III., 6; EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., lxxii. *seq.*; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 86 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 285 *seq.*; *cf.* IX., 22.

[2] Aleander to Sanga, November 19, 1531, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 86–88. *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 773 *seq.*; EHSES, lxxiii.

councils; if, further, there were solid grounds for hoping that the Lutherans would consent and return to the bosom of the Church, that no other schism with Catholic nations arose, as would happen if France, England, and Scotland did not join, and finally, that a good and holy reformation of the whole Church of God in head and members would be taken in hand. To this the Emperor replied that the Pope's first hope was well grounded; that, on the other hand, the fear of a schism had no foundation; with the desire for a reformation he was in entire agreement—the laity, indeed, stood in need of one themselves.

On the 18th of November 1531 the report reached Rome that the Elector of Saxony had become reconciled and had ordered the restoration of Catholicism throughout his territories. As this astonishing announcement came from the Imperial Court, it obtained credence with Clement.[1] But subsequently it proved just as fallacious[2] as the other numerous reports of Lutheran advances towards the Church, which were occasioned not a little by the vacillating and often ambiguous attitude of Melanchthon. Clement VII. in his hours of weakness gave only too ready an ear to such fantastic rumours.[3] In the beginning

[1] See in App., No. 22, the *report of F. Peregrino of November 19, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *cf.* also, *ibid.*, the *letter of Girolamo Gonzaga of November 21, 1531, and the *letter of V. Albergati, dated Rome, 1531, November 28 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] Salviati's doubts are first strongly expressed on December 9, 1531, in his **letter to Campeggio (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See SCHLECHT, Ein abenteuerlicher Reunionsversuch, in the Röm. Quartalschr., VII., 333 *seq.*; KOLDE in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XVII., 258 *seq.*; and KAWERAU, Die Versuche, Melanchthon zur katholischen Kirche zurückzuführen, Halle, 1902. *Cf.* Histor. Jahrb., XXIII., 628 *seq.*, and Röm. Quartalschr., XVIII., 361, 363; for Melanchthon's negotiations with Campeggio, 1530, see

of May 1532 Clement VII. again wrote to the Emperor that the Council must in any case be held, and that he was straining every nerve to ensure its assembling, only the consent of the French King must be obtained, for without that it might lead to results contrary to those hoped for.[1]

In the meantime the Protestants in Germany had created a strong political organization. This was the League of Schmalkald, formed in February 1531. Confident of their strength, they not only let the term allowed for their submission (15th April 1531) by the decree of Augsburg to pass by, but they also refused to give any help to the Emperor in his struggle with the Turks, now a serious menace to Austria and Hungary. Thus, at the opening of the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 17th of April 1532, Charles found himself compelled to enter on fresh negotiations. In these Campeggio, who had come in the Emperor's suite, took a part. The reports of the small attendance of princes at Ratisbon had from the first the most depressing effect on the hopes aroused at Rome on this occasion.[2]

In his crying need for help against the Turks, Charles was prepared to make extraordinary concessions to the Protestants. He was strengthened in this resolve by his fear lest the latter should put their threats into execution and turn their arms against the Catholics during an attack of the infidels.[3] Even in Rome this danger was fully

now also KOLDE, Die älteste Redaktion der Augsburger Konfession, Gütersloh, 1906; the Consistory placed by BUCHOLTZ, IV., 286, in the year 1531 belongs to the previous year, see EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xlviii., n. 2; Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte, XXVII., 333 *seqq.*

[1] Lett. d. princ., III., 129; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 290, n.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta, dat. Rome, 1532, March 10 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See Aleander's report in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 131, 135.

understood. Consequently Clement VII., as Muscettola relates, urged the Emperor, in March, to persevere in his negotiations with the Protestants; if he could not get all that he wished, he might at least get what was then practicable, so that, if the Turks should come, they would be met by a resistance not in any way weakened by the dissensions of Germany; although their opponents were Lutherans, they were yet, for all that, Christians. It is clear from a report of Muscettola, of the 19th of April, that efforts were being made at Rome at this time to find some *via media* whereby the German troubles might be disposed of.[1]

When the Papal Nuncio became aware of the Emperor's negotiations with the Protestants for a temporary religious peace, he gave way to an outburst of indignation. Campeggio, who, on other occasions, in opposition to Aleander, had advocated a policy of procrastination, was now entirely at one with his colleague. On the 1st of June he presented a memorial to the Emperor in which he pronounced the concessions offered to the heretics, especially the permission to adhere to the Augsburg Confession until the next Council should meet, to be pernicious in the highest degree; he also objected that no express statement about the Council had been made to the effect that it was to be held in conformity with the ancient œcumenical councils, and that submission to its decrees was to be promised. By the agreement as proposed, so Campeggio declared, the return of the erring would be made more difficult and the path of the Protestants' advance more easy.[2]

In spite of this urgent warning, the Emperor, taking into consideration the invasion of Hungary by the Turks, guaranteed his toleration to the members of the Schmal-

[1] See HEINE, Briefe, 257; *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 86.

[2] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 123 *seq.*

kaldic League, as well as to Brandenburg-Culmbach, and the cities of Nuremberg and Hamburg, to the greatest portion, that is to say, although not to all, of the Protestant Estates, "until the next general, free, Christian Council as decided on by the Diet of Nuremberg." He added that he would devote all his energy to having the Council summoned within six months and held within a year from then; should circumstances turn out to the contrary, a fresh Diet would be assembled to deliberate. These ample concessions were not made, however, on the authority of the Empire; the Emperor guaranteed them on his own personal responsibility.[1] Of this agreement he only laid before the Estates at Ratisbon the stipulation concerning the Council. This gave rise to heated debate; the Catholic Estates, under the influence of the Bavarian Chancellor, Eck, an old enemy of the house of Hapsburg, demanded a Council with unwonted vehemence, and cast upon the Emperor the blame for its delay. They even went so far as to abandon the Catholic standpoint altogether and to call upon the Emperor, if the Pope did not soon summon the Council, to exercise his Imperial authority by convoking one, or, at least, a council of the German nation.[2]

Charles informed the Estates that the delay in holding a Council was not to be attributed to the Pope, but to the King of France, from whom, regardless of all the letters and embassies sent to him, no agreement could be obtained either regarding its character or the place where it should be held. He would do all in his power to urge the Pope to send out his summons within six months and to hold the Council within a year. Failing this, he would convene a fresh Diet, lay before the Estates the causes of the

[1] See MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 339, 414.

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 280; EHSES, lxxvii., lxxix.

delay, and take counsel with them as to the best means of relieving the pressing needs of the whole German people, whether by a Council or by other means, and in a decisive way.[1] To the suggestion that he should call a Council on his own responsibility, the Emperor declined to listen, as it was not any affair of his.[2]

In Rome, as in Germany, opinion as to the policy to be pursued towards the Protestants was much divided. It seems that Clement personally, confronted with the appalling danger threatening Christendom from the Turks, was in agreement with the Emperor's policy of indulgence.[3] Aleander therefore from the first had pledged himself to the Pope to refrain from any approval of the religious compromise and to recommend complete neutrality on this very delicate question.[4] Clement VII., on his part, abstained from any express approval of the pacification of Nuremberg, which was followed by the participation of the Protestants in the war of the Empire against the Turks.

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 280 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 783. In a subsidiary agreement of August 2, 1532, concealed from the Catholics, Charles also promised that cases connected with belief should be carried before the Imperial private tribunals. HORTLEDER, Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges Karls V., I, 11.

[2] *Cf.* Aleander's report in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 143.

[3] See the *letter of G. M. della Porta to the Duke of Urbino, dat. Rome, 1532, August 17 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 134 *seq.*; MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 341.

CHAPTER VI.

Clement VII.'s Efforts to protect Christendom from the Turks.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Clement VII., like his predecessors, was repeatedly occupied with the Eastern question.

Already, in his first Consistory, on the 2nd of December 1523, the Pope dealt with the dangerous position of Hungary, of which kingdom he had, when Cardinal, been the Protector. A special Commission of Cardinals was appointed to deal with the conduct of Turkish affairs and the restoration of peace.[1] In view of the prevailing financial distress, it was exceptionally difficult to raise the sums necessary for the Turkish war. Clement VII., in extreme disquietude[2] on account of the powerful military preparations of the enemy, did what lay in his power. When he learned that the garrison of Clissa in Dalmatia was hard pressed, he sent thither considerable help, thus rendering possible the relief of that important frontier stronghold. To the Hungarian King Louis he gave the assurance that he would continue to do all that his predecessors had done in the interests of his kingdom.[3] The

[1] See Acta Consist. in Kalkoff, Forschungen, 86; *cf.* Sanuto, XXXV., 278.

[2] See the *reports of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1524, January 18 and 26, February 15 and 20, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] Fraknói, Relat. orat. pontif., xxx.

Cardinal-Legate for Germany, Campeggio, also accredited to Hungary, was commissioned to urge upon the Diet of Nuremberg the community of interests between these two countries and to work for the sanction of a liberal grant towards the expenses of the Turkish war.[1] Clement also sent a special Nuncio to Hungary in the person of Giovanni Antonio Puglioni, Baron of Burgio, in place of Cardinal Cajetan,[2] recalled on the 28th of January 1524. This accomplished diplomatist knew the country from former residence there, and was accurately informed on the extremely difficult circumstances of the situation.[3] Clement, like previous Popes, also formed an alliance with Achmed of Egypt, one of the intestine enemies of the Turk.[4]

Burgio was instructed to convey to the King of Hungary the subsidy, collected with difficulty by Clement, and the Papal permission to sell Church property in order to maintain the war against the infidel. In the beginning of April 1524 he reached Ofen, and was at once successful

[1] RICHTER, Regensb. Reichstag, 91; also 112 *seq.* for the negotiations relating to the help against the Turks. For the pleasure with which King Louis hailed Campeggio's mission see *Copia d' una lettera d' Ungheria de 29 Marzio as a supplement to the *letter of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1524, April 20 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 87.

[3] *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, Le Baron Burgio, nonce de Clément VII. en Hongrie, Florence, 1884, 6 *seqq.* The very interesting reports of Burgio and Campeggio, imperfectly and incorrectly given in THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., have been edited in full by FRAKNÓI in Mon. Vat. hist. Hung. illustr. Relationes orat. pontif., I., Budapest, 1884.

[4] RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 76 *seq.* Proposals on a large scale against the Turks were brought in March 1524 by a Jewish envoy from Arabia; see together with SANUTO, XXXVI., 76 *seq.*, and VOGELSTEIN, II., 42 *seq.*, the full report in *TIZIO, Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39, f. 243, Chigi Library, Rome. The safe-conduct for this envoy in BALAN, Mon. sacc., XVI., 28 *seq.*

in dissuading the King from his scheme of making peace with the Turks. For his remaining task, the organization of the defensive forces of the Hungarian kingdom, circumstances could not possibly have been less favourable. The country was torn by fierce party strife, and her ruler, youthful, pleasure-seeking, and empty-headed, was the personality the least fitted to counteract the elements of disruption working in the kingdom. The saying applied by his contemporaries to the last of the Jagellons, "Woe to the country whose sovereign is a child!" was about to receive a frightful fulfilment.[1] But among the magnates there was none who could have superseded the King. Party spirit, want of patriotism, combined with widespread corruption, held sway everywhere.[2] On his arrival at Zengg, where Burgio first set foot in Hungarian territory, he found that of all the stores of grain sent by Adrian VI. for the provisioning of the Croatian border castles, only the scantiest portion of each had reached the place of its destination, for the Captain of Zengg and his officials had sold the greater part and spent the proceeds on themselves.[3] In Ofen the Papal representative had no better experience; during his sojourn there of four months, he had convinced himself that neither from the King nor from the magnates at the head of the Government was the deliverance of the country to

[1] *Cf.* P. Piccolomini, Due lettere di Ludovico II. re di Ungheria, Siena, 1904, 8.

[2] Together with the reports, unfortunately incomplete, of Clement's representative, *cf.* especially those of the Venetian, V. Guidoto, in Firnhaber, Quellen und Forschungen zur väterländ. Gesch., 105 *seq.*, and Magyar tört. tár., xxv.; and among more recent, Fraknói, Ungarn vor der Schlacht bei Mohács, German translation by Schwicker, Budapest, 1886, 40 *seqq.*

[3] Clement VII. took measures against the Captain; see Fraknói, Ungarn, 40.

be looked for. Therefore in the beginning of July he left for Cracow in order to obtain help from Sigismund of Poland, the King's uncle. This mission also was a complete failure, for Poland was suffering from the same conditions of internal dissolution and decay as Hungary.[1]

In August 1524 Burgio returned to Ofen. There he found utter chaos; the nobility were in vehement opposition to the King and his associates, and were busy with the scheme of invoking, on their own authority, the intervention of a Diet. Meanwhile the danger in southern Hungary grew apace: the Turks were already besieging the fortress of Severin, the last bulwark of the kingdom on the lower Danube. Burgio did all he could to obtain relief for the besieged, but he appealed to deaf ears. The King referred him to his council; the council sent him back to the King; everywhere the most short-sighted selfishness prevailed. Burgio, during the Diet held on the Rákosfeld at Ofen, with emotion adjured the nobility to lay aside their old dissensions and come to the rescue of the kingdom in the hour of trouble. On this occasion he promised, if the Estates would do their duty, to place at once at the disposal of the kingdom the Papal subsidies deposited in the banking house of the Fuggers at Ofen. His words died away in a storm of party hatred, and thus Severin was lost, a calamity which only gave rise in Hungary to an outburst of mutual recrimination.[2]

On Burgio's invitation the Cardinal-Legate, Campeggio, left Vienna for Ofen in the beginning of December 1524.

[1] Relat. orat. pontif., ed. FRAKNÓI, XXXV., 6 *seqq.* Sigismund of Poland, although urgently called upon by Clement to give assistance, left Hungary in the lurch on the pretext of his armistice with the Turks; see RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 61 *seq.*; *cf.* FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 47 *seq.*

[2] See Relat. orat. pontif., ed. FRAKNÓI, 30, 36, 49 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, Burgio, 15 *seq.*, and Ungarn, 50 *seq.*

There he was received by King Louis with marks of friendship on the 18th of the same month.[1] Both the Papal representatives worked together to induce the King and the magnates to take steps to equip the border fortresses and to raise an army; but in Paul Tomori alone, the excellent Archbishop of Kalocsa and commandant of the troops in the southern division of the kingdom, did they find a faithful and self-sacrificing ally. When the latter, in the beginning of January 1525, came in despair to Ofen, bent on his resignation, they prevented him from taking this step, and also insisted on his receiving support in money from the Government. Campeggio, at his own cost, raised three hundred foot-soldiers for the defence of Peterwardein. These Papal troops were the only force which Tomori was able to take back with him from Ofen in the beginning of February 1525 to the hard-pressed fortress. As they marched out, the populace gathered on the banks of the Danube raised their voices in praise of the Pope who had not forsaken their country in its extremity.[2]

In the Diet also, held in May 1525, it was recognized that Clement VII. and his Ambassadors were doing all they could to help the kingdom. Stephen Verböczy, the head of the national party among the nobles, praised in enthusiastic terms the services rendered to Hungary by the Holy See. But Burgio's summons to war against the Turks, in obedience to the mandate of Clement VII., was uttered in vain. The Diet could attend to nothing but the complaints against the Palatine Stephan Bathory,

[1] *Cf.* Relat. orat. pontif., 101 *seq.* See also *Acta Consist. (December 14, 1524) in Consistorial Archives, Vatican.

[2] See Relat. orat. pontif., 114 *seq.*, 119 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 141 *seq.* *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, Burgio, 17 *seq.*, and FRAKNÓI, Leben Tomoris, in Századok, 1881.

the Primate Ladislaus Szalkay, the Treasurer Emmerich Szerencsés, and the hated German courtiers. The removal of the latter was angrily demanded by the followers of Johann Zapolya, the richest and most powerful of all the magnates. As the King's answer to this request was to some extent evasive, the resolution was passed that the combined nobility should meet in arms on the 24th of June at Hatvan, to the north-east of Ofen, to take counsel for the interests of the kingdom.[1] On the 2nd of July King Louis appeared in person at this gathering; he was accompanied by Burgio, now, on the recall of Campeggio, the sole representative of the Pope. The assembly, in which Zapolya's adherents had a majority, overthrew the whole existing government; the disloyal councillors were deposed, and Verböczy acclaimed as Palatine.[2] With regard to the most pressing need of all, the defence of the kingdom against the Turks, nothing was done then or even subsequently—only the Pope sent sums of money for the pay of the troops upon the frontier.[3] In Hungary itself the bitterness of party strife continued.

While this political chaos, productive of the gravest crisis in the State, prevailed, the Sultan Suleiman continued his offensive preparations on the most comprehensive scale. Burgio sent reports on these to Rome, on the 18th of January 1526, while at the same time deploring the deficiencies in the Hungarian defences. Not even the

[1] Relat. orat. pontif., 184 *seq.*, 188 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 101 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 527.

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, II., 6th ed., 288; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 146; HUBER, III., 528 *seq.*

[3] See the reports of Burgio of August 9 and 30, 1525, in Relat. orat. pontif., 251, 257 *seq.*; *cf.* POPESCU, Die Stellung des Papstums und des christl. Abendlandes gegenüber der Türkengefahr, Leipzig, 1887, 67 *seq.*

garrisons of the border strongholds could be paid; the King was so poor that he even often suffered from want of food; the great as well as the lesser nobility were split into factions. Moreover, there was little prospect of assistance from the powers abroad, or of a federation of the Christian princes. "Thus," said Burgio in conclusion, "your Holiness alone can give help; yet I know full well the hardships of the Church and that there is but little in her power to do, deserted as she is by all. My intelligence cannot fail to depress your Holiness; but it is my duty to write truthfully; willingly would I forward to you more favourable reports."[1]

In Rome, throughout the whole year (1525), the anxiety caused by the Sultan's preparations was intensified by the danger to which the Italian coasts had for some time been exposed from the attacks of Turkish pirates.[2] In November it was determined to send to Hungary fresh support in the form of liberal supplies of money, provisions, and ammunition.[3] On receiving Burgio's alarming reports, Clement called together the Sacred College in the beginning of February, 1526, and received on this occasion the representatives of the Christian princes. He communicated to them the reports that had reached him, and called upon them to urge their rulers to come to the aid of Hungary; as the time of year no longer permitted the despatch of troops, they might forward supplies of money

[1] Relat. orat. pontif., 305–306.

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1525, May 14 and 30, June 1 and 20, and July 8 (State Archives, Florence). In Cod. Vat., 3901, f. 184, Vatican Library, there is a *report belonging to the year 1525, by a traveller in Turkey, on the state of things there.

[3] See *Acta Consist. (November 6, 1525) in Consistorial Archives, and a *letter of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1525, November 17 (State Archives, Florence).

for recruiting. The Pope set in this respect a good example; he addressed invitations to the Emperor, to the King of France, and to many other Christian princes to come to the assistance of Hungary.[1] Clement VII. informed King Louis of these steps taken on his behalf and exhorted him to perseverance and a vigorous resistance. When Burgio, on the 4th of March 1526, informed the Council of State, assembled round the King, of the Pope's proceedings, many of his hearers were moved to tears; they vied with each other in expressions of gratitude and passed excellent resolutions to defend their country.[2] But this conversion to patriotism soon proved to be only a short-lived flare of excitement; the resolutions were never more than a dead letter. Even when there was no longer any possible doubt of the imminent approach of the Turks, no decisive measures of resistance were taken. In the Council of State, which met in the afternoon, when the King had thrown off his slumbers, nothing was done save to indulge in mutual accusations. Burgio, who reports this, adds: "Here there is neither preparation for defence nor obedience; the magnates are afraid of each other, and all are against the King; some even are unwilling to take precautions against the Turk." No wonder that the Nuncio repeatedly begged to be recalled. Of what use was he to a country that was rushing headlong to its ruin? "The spirit of faction grows more bitter every day," reported Burgio; "the King, in spite of my remonstrances, has gone hunting as if we were living in the midst of profound peace."[3]

[1] See THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 659, 661; RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 57; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 218 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Relat. orat. pontif., 327 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 346 *seq.*, 355, 360.

On the day after the King's departure, on the 13th of April, Tomori arrived with the alarming news that the Sultan had left Constantinople with the intention of making himself master of the capital of Hungary. The Nuncio thereupon betook himself at once to the King, and, representing to him the greatness of the danger, induced him to return to his capital. There a Council of State was at once held and Tomori, who had to defend Peterwardein, was promised ample help. The Nuncio supplied him with fifteen hundred infantry, two hundred hussars, and thirty small pieces of artillery; but his example produced little effect; the Council relapsed into their previous indolence. "If the Sultan really comes," wrote Burgio on the 25th of April 1526, "then I repeat what I have so often said before: your Holiness may look on this country as lost. Here the confusion is without bounds; every requisite for the conduct of a war is wanting; the Estates are given over to hatred and envy; and if the Sultan were to emancipate the subject classes, they would rise against the nobles in a bloodier insurrection than that of the Crusade (the Hungarian peasants' war of 1514); but if their emancipation were to come from the King, he would then alienate from himself the nobility."[1]

Some still hoped that a remedy would be found in the Diet then about to assemble. Here the victory of the court party was complete; Verböczy was deposed and fined; Bathory was restored to the office of Palatine; the resolutions of Hatvan were annulled and a sort of dictatorship conferred on the King. But Louis had no means of enforcing obedience, for the authority of the Crown had fallen into desuetude, and the finances of the country were as bankrupt as its defences. How could absolute power be

[1] *Cf.* Relat. orat. pontif., 363 *seq.*, 368.

wielded by a king whom nobody obeyed, whose credit was gone, and who, in the presence of overwhelming danger, slept undisturbed until midday?[1]

Neither the Diet nor the King brought deliverance. The foreign powers also, to whom the country had turned, did nothing; the Pope alone made the affairs of Hungary his own. He turned anew to the princes of Europe, gave his consent to a Crusade indulgence, sent 50,000 ducats, and permitted the taxation of ecclesiastical benefices and the sale of a large amount of Church property.[2] Had the King and the Estates of Hungary shown the same ready self-sacrifice and energetic action, the catastrophe then threatening might perhaps have been yet averted. Unfortunately, this was not the case; thus the doom drew nearer every day, and on the 28th of July 1526 Peterwardein fell. The garrison, half of whom were Papal troops, died like heroes. The Pope's representative continued up to the last to do all that was possible, and raised 4000 soldiers.[3] The forces of the King, with the reinforcements brought in at the last hour, amounted to 28,000 men. With them he moved southwards to the plain of Mohács. Here a battle was fought on the 29th of August which decided in an hour and a half the fate of the Hungarian kingdom. Many magnates, five bishops, and the Archbishops of Gran and Kalocsa, were left lying on the field of battle. Two thousand heads were ranged as trophies of victory before the tent of the Sultan; on the following day

[1] See FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 235 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 530–531.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 670; RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 58 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, Burgio, 37, and Ungarn, 254 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Acta Consist. (April 20, May 7 and 16, June 13, 1526) in Consistorial Archives, Vatican.

[3] FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 286 *seq.*, 289.

fifteen hundred prisoners were slaughtered.[1] King Louis was one of the few who succeeded in saving their lives by flight; but in crossing a small brook swollen by heavy rains his horse stumbled from exhaustion and buried the King in the watery morass.[2]

On the 10th of September 1526 the Sultan made his entry into the Hungarian capital; far and wide, as far as Raab and Gran, his hordes swarmed over the unhappy kingdom, and there was already a fear lest they should attack Vienna also.[3] But the approach of the colder season and the tidings of revolts in Asia Minor caused Suleiman to retire at the end of September, without leaving a garrison behind him in a single place.[4]

The forward advance of the Turks and the catastrophe of Mohács caused the greatest alarm in Rome, as in the rest of Christendom.[5] Clement VII. gave expression to

[1] *Cf.* the report of Steph. Brodarics, in KATONA, XIX., 616 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 355 *seq.*; KÁPOLNAI, in Századok, XXIV. (1890), Heft 10; KUPELWIESER, Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen, Vienna, 1895, 239 *seqq.* A contemporary estimate of the fallen in Cod. Vat., 3924, P II., f. 252 *seq.*; *cf.* Acta Tomic., VIII., 228 *seq.*

[2] See Burgio's account taken from the description of an eye-witness in Relat. orat. pontif., 451.

[3] The same fear was also prevalent in Rome. On *October 11, 1526, Landriano wrote from there: "Vienna is exposed to great danger"; and on *October 12: "Vienna tiensi perduta secondo li advisi si hanno perchè il Turco li era vicino et nulla o pocha provisione li era fatta." This report in cipher is in the State Archives, Milan.

[4] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, II., 655 *seq.*; SMOLKA, in Arch. für österr. Gesch., LVII., 16 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. of June 18 and 25, July 4, 13, 20, and 27, August 8, 17, and 24, 1526 (Consistorial Archives), and the Briefs in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 236 *seq.*; CHARRIÈRE, I., 152 *seq.* See also the *reports of F. Gonzaga of June 19, 1526, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and that of G. de' Medici of July 4, 16, 27, and August 17 and 22, 1526,

his grief in a Consistory held on the 19th of September, when he called on all Christian princes to recover their unity and give their aid, and declared himself ready to go to Barcelona to negotiate in person for peace.[1] On the following day the Pope saw himself plundered in his own capital by the troops of the Emperor![2]

If the dissensions between the two heads of Christendom had hitherto reacted most injuriously on the project of a Crusade against the Turks, so now the danger from the latter was almost entirely forgotten amid the raging flames of the present conflict between Pope and Emperor.[3] But in Hungary civil war was raging. The brother-in-law of Louis, Ferdinand I., and the Voivode Zapolya were rival competitors for the crown; the Sultan soon found himself the recipient of solicitations from both parties.[4] All the enemies of the Hapsburgs, especially France and Bavaria, favoured Zapolya, who also lost no time in making strenuous efforts to gain the Pope. Clement cannot be absolved from the reproach of having been drawn for a time into transactions of doubtful import[5]

in the State Archives, Florence. The first news of the battle of Mohács was received by the Venetian envoy on the evening of September 18. See G. de' Medici's *letter of that date, who further reports that the Pope was greatly overcome, but was in no way responsible, as he had done all that lay in his power (State Archives, Florence).

[1] See *Acta Consist. in Vol. IX., Appendix, No. 35. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 65; SANUTO, XLII., 681 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. IX., 328 *seqq.*

[3] Clement VII., Charles V., and Francis I. were all equally to blame. Acciaiuoli, in his *reports from Amboise, September 9, 1526 (Ricci Archives, Rome), and Poissy, February 5, 1527 (FRAIKIN, 253), throws the blame, in a one-sided way, entirely on the Emperor.

[4] ZINKEISEN, II., 656 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* SMOLKA, in Archiv für österr. Gesch., LVII., 118, and FRAIKIN, I., xlii., note.

with this man; but the statement of one of his bitterest enemies, that he had given pecuniary support[1] to the Voivode, is without confirmation; on the contrary, there exists a Papal letter, of the 30th of August 1528, in which Clement refuses a request of this kind.[2]

The warlike condition of Italy and the contest for the throne in Hungary, whereby the spread of Protestantism in that country was promoted,[3] encouraged the Sultan to mature his plan of striking a blow at the heart of Christian Europe. In the beginning of May 1529 "the ruler of all rulers," as Suleiman styled himself, left Constantinople at the head of a mighty host, bent on the capture of Vienna and the subjugation of Germany. Fortunately his advance was so slow, owing to heavy rainfalls and the consequent inundations, that he did not reach Belgrade until the 17th of July.[4]

Ferdinand I., whose forces were quite inadequate to cope with those of the Turks, looked round on every side for help. His Ambassador in Rome and that of the Emperor made the most urgent representations on the pressing danger.[5] Clement VII. therefore determined to send Vincenzo Pimpinella, Archbishop of Rossano,[6] as

[1] Ziegler in SCHELHORN, II., 308; RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., II., 6th ed., 293, rightly considers this account as lacking confirmation.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1528, n. 44.

[3] *Cf.* SZLAVIK, Die Reformation in Ungarn, Halle, 1884, 7 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, III., 632 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 105 *seq.*; Mon. eccl. temp. innov. in Hung. relig. illustr., I., Pest, 1902.

[4] *Cf.* Suleiman's Diary of his march on Vienna, edited by BEHRNAUER, Vienna, 1858.

[5] *Cf.* the numerous *reports of A. da Burgo (Court and State Archives, Vienna), beginning from March 2, 1529. See also F. Gonzaga's *report of April 30 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] Already reported by *G. de' Medici on May 30, 1529 (State Archives, Florence).

permanent Legate to the court of Ferdinand.[1] The subsidies in money, subsequently approved by the Pope and Cardinals, were perforce slender owing to the limited means at their disposal.[2] On the other hand, it was of importance that in the Treaty of Barcelona (29th June 1529) the Pope agreed to give the Emperor, for the expenses of the Turkish war, a fourth of the incomes of the ecclesiastical benefices to the extent already conceded to him by Adrian VI.[3] A Bull of the 27th of August 1529 gave full authority to Pimpinella to dispose, in upper Germany, of the treasures, and, in case of necessity, even of the landed property of churches and convents, in order to levy an army to meet the Turks,[4] who, welcomed by Zapolya, had captured Ofen on the 8th of September, and before the end of the month had invested Vienna. But all their attempts to take possession of this bulwark of Christendom were frustrated by the heroic spirit of the defenders. After a final ineffectual assault on the 14th of October, the Sultan withdrew, warned by the approach of adverse seasons and the news that relief was close at hand.[5] For the first time he saw an enter-

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 32 *seq.*; FRIEDENSBURG, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xlviii. *seq.*; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 91 *seq.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1529, n. 33 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist. (July 1, 1529) in Cod. Vat., 3457, P II. The contributions of the Cardinals in *Min. brev., vol. 22, n. 321. *Cf.* also the *Brief of July 9, 1529, to the Cardinals Farnese, del Monte, Piccolomini, Cupis, Cibo, and E. Gonzaga (Min. brev., vol. 26, n. 274, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See *supra*, p. 57, and *Regest. Vatic., 1438, f. 148 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Lett. d. princ., III., 91.

[4] *Regest. Vatic., 1438, f. 234 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., 1904, 381. In a *Brief to Ferdinand I. of August 31, 1529 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), Clement expresses his sorrow at being able to do nothing more against the Turks.

[5] *Cf.* HAMMER, Wiens erste türkische Belagerung, Pest, 1829;

prise, on which all his resources had been brought to bear, broken by an enemy whom he had likened to "the dust."[1] Hungary, certainly, was still in his power, and to the Venetians, who had done him service continually as spies, Suleiman wrote on the 10th of November: "I have overcome this kingdom and bestowed its crown upon Zapolya."[2]

After the disasters of the year 1529, a cessation of the Turkish lust of conquest was not to be thought of; the capture of Vienna was only postponed. In the West there were no illusions on this score. During the conferences between the Pope and Emperor at Bologna, the Turkish question played an important part. Clement VII. promised, on this occasion, to pay a subsidy of 40,000 ducats, a sum which certainly could not be raised without great difficulty.[3] Another and not less important result of the Imperial policy was the sentence of excom-

NEWALD in the reports of the Wiener Alterthumsverein, XVIII.; HUBER, IV., 23 *seq.* Further literary references in KÁBDEBO, Bibliographie zur Gesch. der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683, Wien, 1876; HÖFFINGER, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Türkenbelagerung Wiens (Programm), Budweis, 1897; Gesch. der Stadt Wien, II., 1, 334 *seq.*; Mitteilungen des k. und k. Kriegsarchives, 1882. The news of the deliverance of Vienna was communicated to the Cardinals in a consistory of October 29, 1529 (see *Acta Consist., Camer. III., in Consistorial Archives). *Cf. supra*, p. 79. Mention is made of a procession in Rome on November 11, 1529, to celebrate the withdrawal of the Turks, in the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552 (Vatican Library).

[1] RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 147.

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 172.

[3] *Cf.* the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor for December 10 and 17, 1529, in Consistorial Archives; GIORDANI, App., 31; GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 227, 251, 272; BONTEMPI, 340. See also the *reports of A. da Burgo of January 4, 6, 14, 15, 28, and 30, February 8, 16, and 18, April 12, 24, and 28, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

munication passed on Zapolya on the 21st of December 1529.[1]

As the consultations at Bologna on the comprehensive measures of defence to be taken against the Turks had led to no final result, it was determined to pursue the matter further at Rome.[2] This was all the more necessary as in the spring of 1530 news had arrived of increased military preparations on the part of the Turks.[3] A congregation of six Cardinals was entrusted, in the beginning of June, with the consideration of the whole matter.[4] On the 24th of that month the Pope assembled these six Cardinals and the Ambassadors, all of whom, including even the Venetian envoy, were present. Clement VII. made an opening speech, in which he insisted upon the necessity for taking steps to meet the attack which the Sultan was making vast preparations to deliver in the coming year. To the question of the Pope, whether the Ambassadors were furnished with the requisite mandates, only the representatives of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. replied in the affirmative. Cardinal Gramont and the English envoys announced that they had none; the Portuguese Ambassador made excuses for his sovereign, who was actively engaged in Africa; the Milanese envoy assured Clement that it would be impossible for his master to raise any extra taxes this year. When the

[1] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. of December 22, in Appendix, No. 8 (Consistorial Archives), and A. da Burgo's report in STOEGMANN, 182, 231.

[2] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *report of April 28, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] See the Brief of April 8 in RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 71, and Röm. Quartalschrift, XVII., 391. *Cf.* also the *letters of Bernhard Pomazaniki from Constantinople, March 5 and 8, 1530 (State Archives, Brussels, *Diètes*).

[4] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *reports of June 5 and 21, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

envoy of Ferdinand, Andrea da Burgo, observed that three things were necessary: money, money, and always money, Cardinals Farnese and del Monte agreed, with the remark that unity among the Christian powers was equally essential. It was resolved that the Pope should address himself to all the Christian princes and call upon them to support the holy war with all their might and supply their envoys with the fullest powers.[1] Briefs to this effect were drawn up on the 27th of June.[2] Since the answers of the princes were long in coming, Andrea da Burgo asked the Pope to make up his mind at once as to the sums to be guaranteed to Ferdinand I.[3]

Clement VII. was obliged to insist that his resources had been so drained by the war with Florence that he had no means left at his disposal. He made sanguine representations to the Ambassador as to the time when Florentine affairs would be settled;[4] once the city had fallen, the Turkish Crusade would be taken up again with energy. By the 9th of August fresh Briefs had been despatched to the princes of Christendom;[5] it was

[1] Above according to **A. da Burgo's reports of June 25, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See Min. brev., 1530, vol. 31, n. 221 *seq.*, in Secret Archives of the Vatican, and RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 178.

[3] *Report of A. da Burgo, July 18, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] *A. da Burgo's report, July 12 and 31 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Clement VII. then said: "Notum omnibus esse quod exposuit et exponit sanguinem in hac expeditione Florentina et superesse jam solummodo spiritum."

[5] See Min. brev., 1530, vol. 31, n. 335 and 337 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 182, gives the Brief to Lucca without date. From a copy in the Court and State Archives, Vienna, this must have been August 20. The original Brief *to Federigo of Mantua is dated August 19 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

proposed that a monthly levy of 80,000 ducats should be paid towards the war; of this the Pope and Cardinals were to raise 10,000, the Emperor and Francis I. 20,000 each, Henry VIII. 10,000, the Kings of Portugal, Scotland, and Poland jointly 15,000, the Italian States 5000.[1] All these efforts were unavailing; on the 23rd of August not one of the Ambassadors, except those of Charles and Ferdinand, had received full powers from their sovereigns.[2] Neither the Italian powers,[3] England or France were willing to support the Crusade;[4] the Pope alone gave Ferdinand assistance.[5] At a later date the Turkish war and the proceedings against the Lutherans were combined—but still no results were obtained.[6] The Pope, da Burgo reported from Rome on the 11th of December 1530, wished to raise funds for the Turkish war, but he had no means of so doing.[7] His relations with Ferdinand I. remained friendly, and it was of great value to the latter that Clement VII. promoted in every way the Hapsburg candidature for the kingship of the Romans and gave his recognition ungrudgingly.[8] In

[1] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *report, August 9, and the P.S. of the 18th to that of August 17, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). See also F. Gonzaga's *letter of August 18, 1530 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Report of A. da Burgo, August 23, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] See A. da Burgo's *report, August 30, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and the *Brief to the Duke of Urbino, December 14, 1530 (Min. brev., 1530, vol. 31, n. 600, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See GAYANGOS, IV., 1, n. 486, *cf.* 414.

[5] *Cf.* *Ferdinand's letter of thanks to Clement, Augsburg, November 13, 1530, Lett. d. princ., VI., 156 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 144.

[7] *A. da Burgo's letter, December 11, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[8] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, IX., 17 *seq.*; LANZ, I., 406 *seq*; RAYNALDUS, 1531,

March, 1531, he sent the King a consecrated sword and hat[1] by the hands of Albertus Pighius.

Of late the Pope had been repeatedly occupied with the affairs of the Knights of St. John. Clement VII. gave them hearty support in their efforts to reinstate themselves in the possession of Rhodes;[2] on their failure to do so he asked the Emperor to bestow Malta on the Knights as a residence. It was an excellent suggestion, for the central situation of the island made it a place of high strategical importance. Charles V. was favourable to the Pope's request; on his return journey from Bologna, on the 23rd of March 1530, at Castelfranco, he issued the document by which he bestowed on the Knights of St. John, Malta and its adjacent islands as a

n. 2, and Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., VI., 147 *seq.*; see also Acta Consist., January 23, 1531, in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 93. Under *February 12, 1531, is entered the reading to the Sacred College of the letter of Ferdinand I. on his election (Consistorial Archives).

[1] See the *Brief of March 8, 1531, to Ferdinand I. (Min. brev., 1531, vol. 37, n. 122, Secret Archives of the Vatican), and *that of the same day to Cardinal Cles (Arch. ep. Trid. in Vice-regal Archives, Innsbrück); *cf.* Jahrb. der Kunsthistor. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses, XXII., 144. This distinction was already resolved on by February 5, 1531; see BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[2] VERTOT, III., 401 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 153 *seq.* *Cf.* *Macharii cujusdam litterae ad Clementem VII. de insul. Rhodi iterum ad manus Christianor. reverti facienda, 1526, in Cod. Vatic., 3924, f. 244 *seq.* The plan of an expedition against the Turks met with Clement's full encouragement in a *letter to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, dated Rome, 1528, November 24 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, A. 44, t. 9, f. 347 *seq.*). For Leone Strozzi, appointed Prior of Capua 1527, who became a Knight Hospitaller, see PIERO STROZZI e ARNALDO POZZOLINI, Mem. p. l. vita di L. Strozzi, Firenze, 1890 (Nozze Publ.).

Sicilian fief.[1] The Order, now known as that of the Knights of Malta or the Maltese Order, fortified the new bulwark of Christendom in accordance with all the rules of military science as then known, and defended it with the utmost valour. Through the Knights the Pope was kept closely informed of the intentions of the Turks.[2]

In 1530 Clement VII. found the Turkish difficulty even more engrossing than in the previous year. For a time this filled the foreground of affairs so completely that all other considerations, even the threatening aspects of the Lutheran movement, seemed to become of minor importance. "This is the only topic of conversation here," wrote an envoy on the 20th of February 1531.[3] In March all preachers within the Papal States were directed to explain to the people the dangers to which they were exposed from the Turks.[4] The perils of the Mahommedan attack on Christendom were felt all the more keenly in middle and lower Italy, for the navigation of the Mediterranean was so insecure owing to the corsairs of Barbary that in many places, even in Rome, the difficulty of importing

[1] LÜNIG, Cod. It. dipl., IV., 1494; VERTOT, III., 406 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 154; CHARRIÈRE, I., 133; REUMONT, Beiträge, IV., 11. The Papal Confirmation in Bull. VI., 140 *seq.*, the date, "Kal. Maii," is here incorrect. According to *Regest. Vatic., 1440, f. 99–102 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), it should rather be, "7 Kal. Maii" (April 25).

[2] In order to obtain more accurate information, Clement sent a secret emissary to Constantinople; see A. da Burgo's *report, August 17, 1530 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] "Nuovo non ci è da dar perchè non si parla se non delle cose del Turco," *writes B. Buondelmonti on February 20, 1531 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the letter in MOLINI, II., 362.

[4] "Papa facit praedicare religiosos hic Romae et in aliis locis et terris ecclesiae de periculis Turcarum in Italia et alibi," *reports A. da Burgo March 12, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

provisions was beginning to cause distress. As a measure of relief the Pope was planning the despatch of a fleet under the command of Andrea Doria.[1]

Clement was assiduous in taking counsel with the Ambassadors and Cardinals on the subject of the Crusade. The question was especially considered whether the war should be carried out on defensive or offensive lines.[2] Francis I. let it be understood that he would take part only in operations of the former class; thereupon the Genoese and others withdrew from their previous agreements concerning the support to be given to the Emperor's forces. "The Pope alone," wrote Andrea da Burgo, "adheres to his promise to pay 12,000 ducats per month; in this case," he added, "I certainly cannot see how, wanting money as he does, he can give any help to your Majesty."[3]

In spite of the pretensions of Francis I., Clement was never weary of making plans to utilize the power of France on behalf of the common undertaking, as well as to raise the necessary sums for the protection of the Italian seaboard and the support of Charles and Ferdinand.[4] He met with not a little

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 302, 308, 329, 336, 360 *seq.*, 378, 385, 427 *seq.*, 481, 550; *letters of F. Gonzaga of January 31 and March 22, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *ibid.*, *report of Guido da Crema, March 18, 1531, in which the scarcity in Rome is said to be so great that the court can hardly remain there; *reports of A. da Burgo, February 26, 1531, and May 17, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); *Salviati's letter to Campeggio, March 24, 1531, Lett. d. princ., X. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the *report of A. da Burgo, February 26, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] BUCHOLTZ, IX., 90.

[4] See *A. da Burgo's reports of February 16 and March 13, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and of March 2, 1531, in

opposition on the part of some of the Cardinals. When the Pope urged the necessity of raising funds in presence of the common danger, it was put forward in reply that the princes had very often expended such levies for totally different purposes, and that, on that account, no one in Italy was willing to contribute. Clement VII. proposed that the sums intended for the protection of the coasts of Italy against the attacks of Mohammedan pirates should be collected and then forwarded to the spot where the most immediate succour was required. All the Cardinals were unanimous that the funds for the Crusade should not be raised by the creation of new Cardinals or the sale of Church property.[1] It was at last agreed that there should be a tax on grain.[2]

The enemies of the Hapsburgs pointed to the general policy of Charles V. and the increase of his brother's power by the acquisition of the Hungarian and Bohemian crowns, as standing in the way of the aggrandizement of Italy and of the Pope in particular. It was said plainly that the empire and monarchy of the Hapsburgs threatened to establish a world-power even more dangerous than that of Turkey: their agents in Italy were, it was alleged, on the one hand, always asking the Pope for money and, on the other, by their incessant demands for a Council, frustrated the very means by which money could be raised, and sowed the seeds of endless difficulties for the Holy See in Italy.[3] In addition, there was also the Emperor's

BUCHOLTZ, IX., 90 *seq.*; also the *letters of F. Gonzaga of March 4 and 22, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* the reports of A. da Burgo in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 93 *seq.*

[2] See SANUTO, LIV., 330, 336, 361; *report of Guido da Crema, March 24, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and A. da Burgo's *letter, May 26, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] A. da Burgo in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 94 *seq.*

decision in the dispute with Ferrara, which must have offended the Pope in the highest degree. Since Charles V., in spite of the counter-representations of Ferdinand I., clung obstinately to this determination, the negotiations over the subsidy against the Turks came to a standstill.[1]

Andrea da Burgo, Ferdinand's Ambassador, was in a difficult position. Repeatedly in the course of these negotiations he had been made to understand by the Pope that no serious arrangement could be come to in this matter unless the Emperor consented to some relaxation of the too rigid conditions of the treaties of Madrid and Cambrai.[2] In spite, however, of the imprudence of the Imperialists and the constant intrigues of the French, this indefatigable diplomatist achieved a great success in the autumn of 1531. In a Brief of the 16th of September of that year, Clement VII. promised Ferdinand, in view of the menacing reports of Turkish preparations,[3] the payment of 100,000 ducats in six months in the case of invasion, unless Italy itself were visited by a like calamity.[4]

Contradictory as the reports often were concerning the Turkish plans,[5] yet in the second half of December they

[1] *Cf.* STOEGMANN, A. da Burgo, 186, 195; BUCHOLTZ, IX., 99 *seq.*; SANUTO, LIV., 475.

[2] STOEGMANN, A. da Burgo, 207.

[3] *Cf.* the *letters of V. Albergati, dated Rome, 1531, August 5, 10, and 20 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] See reports of A. da Burgo, September 10 and 17, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); the Brief in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 103 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 614, and the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Rome, 1531, September 20 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] A. da Burgo reported on *November 11, 1531, that the Pope had received letters saying that the Sultan had been thrown from his horse; according to other reports he had gone mad (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

all agreed in announcing for the coming spring a fresh attack from the Sultan, for which he was making preparations in force.[1] On the first receipt of this information Clement showed great zeal.[2] On the 16th of December he informed a full Consistory of Cardinals that, according to most trustworthy intelligence, a Turkish fleet of three hundred ships, with forty thousand men on board, would in the early spring set sail for Italy, while at the same time the Sultan, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand, would advance on Hungary.[3] On the 26th of December the Cardinals again met to deliberate on the Turkish question.[4]

Two days later the Pope assembled the Cardinals and Ambassadors; of the latter none were absent except the Venetian envoy, whose Government was determined not to break the peace with Turkey, and the envoy of Ferrara. The Pope made a long speech, showing that a combined attack by sea and land was in preparation by the Turks for the coming spring, and urging the necessity of speedy assistance. The representatives of the Emperor and King Ferdinand gave the strongest assurances; those of Henry VIII. and Francis I. only proffered fair speeches, although the Pope had been urgent and even threatening in his appeal. In his closing words Clement again warned his hearers that

[1] The accounts came from L. Gritti; see, together with the letter of Burgo cited by STOEGMANN, 238, and HEINE, Briefe, 208, 210, 213 *seq.*, also Gritti's letter in HATVANI, Brüsseli okmány-tar, I., 81, and B. Buondelmonti's *report, dated Rome, 1531, December 26, in State Archives, Florence.

[2] See *report of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, 1531, December 10 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* **the letter of F. Peregrino, written in great alarm, dated Rome, 1531, December 17 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* the **letter of F. Peregrino. December 27, 1531 (*loc. cit.*).

not a moment should be lost, and declared himself ready to do his utmost.[1]

In the beginning of January 1532 the Pope's calls for help addressed in the preceding August to the Christian princes[2] were emphatically renewed.[3] At the same time it was resolved to fortify the Papal sea-ports, especially Ancona, the most exposed to danger, and to support with ample supplies of money the two Hapsburg brothers, whose extremity was the greatest. A commission of twelve Cardinals was appointed with full powers to deal with the whole Turkish question.[4] The coming invasion of the Turks seemed all the more perilous as there were three opposing parties at strife in Hungary; Ferdinand and his adherents, Zapolya, and a party of independence led by Peter Perényi.[5] The friends of Francis I. in Rome, including many of the Cardinals, had been trying for a long time to obtain from Clement the repeal of Zapolya's excommunication. In spite of all the pressure brought to bear on him by the French party, Clement refused to give way, but, on the other hand, he told several Cardinals that Ferdinand, who was not in a position to subjugate Hungary, might hand over that kingdom to the Voivode, as the latter, once in tranquil possession

[1] For the above see *A. da Burgo's letter, dated Rome, 1531, December 29 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* also HEINE, Briefe, 210; GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 871, and the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, 1531, December 28 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 68; Corp. dipl. Port., 332 *seq.*

[3] Min. brev., 1532, vol. 41, n. 4–8 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1532, n. 2–5; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 485 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, LV., 309, and LVI., 176, where the names of the members of the Commission are given.

[5] *Cf.* KRETSCHMAYR in Archiv für österr. Gesch., LXXXIII., 38 *seq.*

of the country would willingly break with the Turk and ally himself with the Christians. But the Pope took no decided step in favour of Zapolya.[1] His intervention in the troubles of Hungary was confined to the despatch of a letter on the 17th of February 1532 exhorting all the inhabitants of the country to unite in their own defence against the infidels; their danger had reached the present pitch, he said expressly, owing to some among themselves having courted the favour of the Turks; but they must not allow themselves to be deceived, only dishonourable subjection awaited them if they did not at once put aside their delusions.[2]

It would have been of exceptional importance if Venice had taken a part in the Turkish war. In January 1532 Clement had already instructed Giberti to make representations in this sense to the Signoria. The answer given to the Papal agent cut off all hope; Venice had no intention of interrupting the peace with the Turks.[3] The tension between Venice and Rome on the question of the bishoprics was thus strained much further, and the Signoria went the length of imposing war taxes on the clergy without asking for the approval of the Pope. Clement felt himself deeply aggrieved by such conduct; he issued a Brief threatening excommunication to all rulers who demanded taxes of the clergy on their own sole authority. Attempts were made in vain on the part of the Republic to move Clement; he often said that the Republic had never shown respect to the

[1] See STOEGMANN, Andrea da Burgo, 191 *seq.*

[2] BUCHOLTZ, IV., 104.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LV., 345; ZINKEISEN, II., 717; GIBERTI, Opera, XXIV. In Venice, however, every preparation was made for the war; *cf.* SANUTO, LV., 559 *seq.*, and the *Discorso di Ventiani sopra la guerra che preparava il Turco contra Don Carlo d' Austria l' Imperatore in Cod. 35, B 8, f. 1 *seq.* (Corsini Library, Rome).

Apostolic See.[1] Once before, on an earlier occasion, he had remarked that the God of Venice was their own aggrandizement, they always tried to fish in troubled waters.[2] How steady he was in his enmity to the overweening policy of Venice is shown by the fantastic schemes propounded by him in May 1532 to Andrea da Burgo, concerning the reconstruction of political conditions in Hungary and Italy.[3]

The intentions of the infidels continued to be the subject of the most varying reports in Rome during the spring of 1532. The Imperialists declared that all the rumours of Turkish invasion were inventions of the Venetians and French in their own interests.[4] They gave this as their opinion until a letter arrived from the Emperor which left no further doubt as to the gravity of the situation.[5] A Turkish fleet of two hundred vessels was bound for Sicily and Apulia and a large army was to attack Hungary. The result of this news was a regular panic in Rome.[6] The Pope declared on the 13th of March that he intended to levy taxes at the rate of 80,000 ducats a month for

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LV., 595, 627 *seq.*, 630, 632 *seq.*, 660 *seq.*, 679 *seq.*; HEINE, Briefe, 217 *seq.*; *reports of G. M. della Porta of March 17, 20, and 31, 1532 (State Archives, Florence); *letters of F. Peregrino, March 14 and 25, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] HEINE, Briefe, 432.

[3] For these see A. da Burgo's reports in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 110 *seq.*, and STOEGMANN, 208 *seq.*

[4] See the *reports of F. Peregrino of January 5 and 8, February 17 and 22, and March 3, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* the report of F. Peregrino, March 14, 1532 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] See *reports of G. M. della Porta, March 10 and 17, 1532 (State Archives, Florence), and the *letter of A. da Burgo, March 16, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf* also the *letter of Salviati to Campeggio, March 16, 1532 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); HEINE, 219, 221-223, and CHARRIÈRE, I., 197.

three months; it was matter of daily consultation how this sum was to be raised.[1] Although at the Pope's command processions passed through the streets [2] offering up prayers of intercession, the fickle-minded Romans very soon recovered their tranquillity.[3]

In the beginning of April Clement received letters from Constantinople dated the 18th of February; according to these an attack on Hungary was certainly impending; from the fleet, further reports declared, there was nothing to fear, as the ships would only make a demonstration.[4] In May these reports were confirmed;[5] nevertheless, Clement declared that all the measures of defence must be taken; he wished nothing to be omitted.[6] He was active in three directions. In the first place, he pushed on the equipment of a fleet at Genoa under the command of Doria to ensure the safety of the Mediterranean. At the same time he was anxious for the protection of the coasts of Italy; Ancona in particular was to be strongly fortified. Lastly, the Emperor and his brother were to receive 40,000 ducats monthly as a subsidy.[7] All this

[1] *Cf.* the letter of F. Peregrino, March 14, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *report of G. M. della Porta, March 17, 1532 (State Archives, Florence); and Burgo's *letter, March 26, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See the *report of A. da Burgo, March 27, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); HEINE, 234 *seq.*, 327; GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra, I., 295 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of F. Peregrino, March 25 and April 8, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Letters of G. M. della Porta, April 3 and 8, 1532 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also HEINE, 224 *seq.*

[5] *Letter of G. M. della Porta, May 25, 1532 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, I., 202.

[6] See *letter of G. M. della Porta, June 7, 1532 (State Archives Florence). *Cf.* SANUTO, LVI., 388.

[7] *Cf.* the report of G. M. della Porta, June 10, 1532 (State Archives,

demanded an immense outlay of money, and innumerable difficulties arose in obtaining it.[1]

The situation was still further complicated by the bad behaviour of King Francis, whose intentions with regard to Italy scarcely admitted of doubt. He had demanded from the Pope, under a threat of apostasy, the grant of a double tithe on the Church revenues in consideration of the danger from the Turks. Clement gave his consent, but added the condition that ten French galleys should join the Imperial fleet under the command of Doria. The French King replied that this would be inconsistent with his honour. He had likewise, on first hearing of the Pope's naval undertaking, launched out against Clement in very violent terms, in the presence of the Nuncio; he, the Pope, allowed himself to be plundered by the Emperor, who, under the cloak of the Turkish war, concealed designs against France; when the proper time came he, Francis, would come down on Italy with such a power that he would be able to drive thence Pope and Emperor. Let Clement look to it lest his protection of Genoa did not one day cost him the loss of Florence. All the Pope's attempts to make Francis give way were unavailing. Urged and harassed by the Imperialists, distrusting the French, Clement at last had no other course open to him than to withdraw his consent, already given, to the appropriation by France of the ecclesiastical tithes.[2]

Florence). *Cf.* HEINE, 229, 339. At the end of May the Corsairs had carried off about 100 of the inhabitants of Ostia, among them a number of Dominicans who had come to Rome for a general chapter of the Order. *Letter of F. Peregrino, June 1, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] See G. M della Porta's report, June 7, 1532 (State Archives, Florence); that in Corp. dipl. Port., II., 402 *seq.*, and the *letters of F. Peregrino, June 8 and 14, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] HEINE, 243, 248, 253, 255 n., 320 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*; STOEGMANN

The Pope addressed himself with all his energy to the fortification of Ancona, Ascoli, and Fano. Antonio da Sangallo was appointed master of the works; his plans for the fortification of Ancona are still to be seen in the Uffizi; a huge citadel arose manned in September by Papal troops. To the extreme dissatisfaction of Venice, the independence of Ancona was thus brought to an end, and the direct Papal authority established. This proceeding was uncommonly characteristic of the Pope; not less so was the sale of the legatine government of the marches of Ancona to Cardinal Benedetto Accolti for the sum of 19,000 ducats.[1]

All manner of proposals were made to raise money for the Turkish war, but no one showed any readiness to make sacrifices for the cause, and the Cardinals refused to hear of a reduction of their incomes. But Clement on this point stood firm, and in a Consistory held on the 21st of June 1532, carried a resolution that the Cardinals should be included in the Bull imposing on the whole

216 *seq.*; SANUTO, LVI., 294, 387, 399, 454, 553, 986; ZINKEISEN, II., 720 *seq.*; DECRUE, 187. For the threats of Francis I. see in Appendix, No. 23, the *report of A. da Burgo, June 5, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga, June 10, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* PERUZZI, Storia d' Ancona, II., 442 *seq.*; SANUTO, LVII., 24 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 188 *seq.*; and STORIA, VI., 247 *seq.*; BROSCH, I., 120 *seq.*; COSTANTINI, Il Card. di Ravenna, 24 *seqq.*, 45 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 511. That Antonio da Sangallo drew up the plans for the fortification of Ancona is stated *by G. M. della Porta from Rome, March 20, 1532 (State Archives, Florence). The mission of A. da Sangallo had been already announced by Clement VII. to the Governor of the March on January 19, 1532, *Min. brev., vol. 41, n. 39 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). For the dissatisfaction of the Venetians see the *letters of R. Maggio to J. Salviati, dated Venice, 1532, September 26 and December 16 (Nunziatura di Venezia, I., in Secret Archives of the Vatican).

body of the Italian clergy the payment of half their yearly incomes.[1] Later on a hearth-tax of one ducat was levied throughout the Papal States.[2]

In the same Consistory of the 21st of June the despatch of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici to the Emperor and Ferdinand I. was agreed to; the latter received 50,000 ducats for the pay of troops.[3] The preparations for his journey were hurried on as quickly as possible.[4] The Cardinal, who had always lived in the most secular manner, now assumed the Hungarian dress; he has thus been painted in a masterpiece of Titian's, now one of the ornaments of the Pitti Gallery. A robust figure clad in a reddish-brown garment with gold buttons; on the head a red biretta with peacocks' feathers; the left hand grasps a scimitar, with the right he rests a Hungarian mace upon his knee.[5] Ippolito de' Medici, whose mission gave rise

[1] See A. da Burgo's *report, June 21, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* also F. Peregrino's letters of June 11, 20, and 21 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). A copy of the *Bull, dat. Rome, June 21, 1532, in Colonna Archives, Rome, and in State Archives, Florence, MS. Torrig.

[2] *Cf.* the *Brief to Perugia, July 28, 1532 (Communal Library, Perugia).

[3] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's *report, June 21, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); *that of F. Peregrino, June 21, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and that of Buondelmonti, June 21, 1532 (State Archives, Florence). See also RAYNALDUS, 1532, n. 21 *seq.*; Lett. d. princ., III., 131; *Briefs to Ferdinand I. of July 4 and 7, 1532, in Vice-regal Archives, Innsbrück, Arch. ep. Trid.; SANUTO, LVI., 456, 480, 512; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 80; FERRAI, Lorenzino de' Medici, 131. Clement VII. first informed the Imperialists of Medici's mission on June 16, and begged that they would keep the matter as yet secret; see *cipher of A. da Burgo, June 16, 1532 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] F. Peregrino's *letter, June 21, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* JUSTI in the Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst., N.F., VIII., 37.

to various conjectures,[1] left Rome on the 8th of July,[2] and travelled by rapid stages to Ratisbon, which he reached on the 12th of August.[3]

A few days before, the Sultan with the bulk of his army had arrived before Güns, a few miles distant from the Austrian frontier. He at once opened the siege, but met with a very stout resistance. Nicholas Jurischitsch defended the small town with heroic determination and held out against the enemy until the 30th of August. The Sultan, who had set forth in true oriental pomp, reckoned on an easy victory on account of the divisions in Germany. On closer consideration he did not deem it advisable to risk a decisive battle at so advanced a season of the year and at such a distance from home; the accounts he had received of the strength of the Imperial army did not justify him in expecting a swift and certain triumph. Therefore the Turkish forces, after having made a rush forward as far as Oedenburg, fell back through Styria on Slavonia and Belgrade, suffering terrible losses on their way. In the Wienerwalde the

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 24, Cardinal E. Gonzaga's opinion of June 23, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* A. da Burgo's report, July 9, 1532 (Court and State Archives Vienna), and the *letter of G. M. della Porta, July 9, 1532 (State Archives, Florence); BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican); GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 971. C. Calcagnini was in Ippolito's suite; Ariosto declined to go with him; see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXV., 242. In the *Mandati, VIII. (1531–1534), of Clement VII. there is an entry on August 20, 1532, of *duc.* 20,900 *auri* for Cardinal Medici (State Archives, Rome).

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVI., 817 *seq.*; Lett. d. princ. (Venetian edition), III., 19[b]; CASANOVA, Lett. di Carlo V., 18 *seq*; Ferdinand's autograph *letter of thanks to the Pope for sending Medici, dated Regensburg, 1532, July 25, in the Lett. d. princ., VII., 167 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *ibid.*, an autograph letter of Medici to the Pope, dated Regensburg, 1532, August 21, describing Ferdinand's helpless condition.

army corps commanded by Kasimbeg was almost annihilated.[1]

Misfortune also overtook the Turks by sea; for Andrea Doria was successful in sweeping the Ottoman fleet from the Ionian waters as well as in capturing Koron and Patras.[2] To both these successes the Pope had materially contributed by his aid. Unfortunately, the hopes[3] thus raised came to nothing; Doria did not think his forces sufficient for further enterprises, and returned to Genoa after plundering the territory of Corinth. Charles V. also, notwithstanding the exhortations of Clement and Loaysa[4] to follow up the advantages of the fortunate opening of the campaign, remained inactive. The accounts that reached him of the unruly and undisciplined spirit of his army, composed as it was of the most incongruous elements, made it appear to him inadvisable to persevere in the war except under the most urgent necessity. Not merely the Italian soldiers but many troops of the Empire refused to go into Hungary; the Protestants took up the cry that the aid supplied by the Empire was intended exclusively

[1] *Cf.* HUBER, 41 *seq.* To the literary references here given must be added HOMENAJE Á MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, 408 *seq.*, and TÖRTÉNELMI-TAR, 1891, 160 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* together with SANUTO also JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI.; LANZ, II., 16; ZINKEISEN, II., 735 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra, I., 319 *seq.*; BALAN, Clemente VII., 194 *seq.*, and Storia, VI., 252 *seq.*; PETIT, 142 *seq.* His departure from Messina and the superior equipment of the Papal ships described by A. Doria to the Pope in a *letter, *Dat. di galera al Zante*, 1532, September 6; Lett. d. princ., VII., 347; *ibid.*, f. 477 *seq.* Andrea Doria's report, entirely in his own handwriting, *Dat. di galera nel golfo di Corone*, 1532, September 16, on the taking of Coron (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *report, September 11, 1532 (State Archives, Florence), and F. Peregrino's letters, September 17 and 28, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* HEINE, 264 *seq.*; STOEGMANN, 219 *seq.*

for the defence of Germany; they objected to strengthen the Catholic Ferdinand.[1] Above all there was the danger threatening the Emperor from France and England,[2] as well as the unfavourable condition of Italian affairs.[3] The latter as well as the question of the Council seemed to call imperatively for a personal discussion with the Pope. Therefore Charles made up his mind that on his journey to Spain he would take Italy on his way.

[1] *Cf.* ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, V., 342 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 733 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 46; RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 310; DE LEVA, II., 84; LUZIO, Pronostico, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HAMY, 153 *seq.*; LAVISSE, V., 2, 74.

[3] See DE LEVA, III., 85; BAUMGARTEN, III., 112.

CHAPTER VII.

Clement the Seventh's Second Meeting with the Emperor at Bologna.—The Conciliar Question in the Years 1532–1533.—The Pope and Francis I. at Marseilles.—The Marriage of Catherine de' Medici.

Although Pope and Emperor were drawn into a position of close interdependence on account of the dangers threatening them from the Turkish and Protestant side alike, there were yet, at the same time, many questions open between them which, unfortunately, gave rise to disagreement and friction. Arbitrary enactments concerning Neapolitan benefices, excesses and hostile behaviour of the Imperialist troops in Italy, drew forth many complaints from Clement, and in addition to these grievances he and Charles were at variance on the question of the Council.

The political predominance of the Emperor in Italy and the dependence of the Papacy on Spain, as the great world-power, were felt all the more bitterly by the Pope as Charles had, without any disguise, favoured the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara in every way, and confirmed to him in April 1531 the entire possession of his states as well as of Modena and Reggio, to which the Pope had a counter-claim. This decision, which was contrary to the Emperor's previous engagements, was disapproved of even by Ferdinand's representative in Rome.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Guicciardini, XX., 2; Fontana, I., 151 *seq.*; Bucholtz, IX., 99 *seq.*; Heine, Briefe, 125 *seq.*, 132, 150; Balan, Clemente VII., 181 *seq.*

This was a blow that Clement could never get over; his relations with Charles were henceforward destroyed.[1] In order to reconcile the Pope, to promote the cause of the Council in accordance with the promises of Ratisbon, and to restore some order in the unsettled condition of Italy, Charles was anxious to meet Clement personally; therefore, in October 1532, he came into Italy from Friuli. His anxiety to soothe the Pope would have been still greater if he had known how badly his affairs had been represented in Rome.

The number of Cardinals in the Curia on whom the Emperor could count was not great; most of the Italians adhered to France. The principal cause of this was the fear, only too well grounded, of the supremacy of Charles, which was a pressing burden on Italy and the Holy See. The Italian national feeling grew restive under the Spanish supremacy, represented by men who did nothing to wipe out the remembrance of the sufferings endured by the Romans during the sack of their city. Many of the Roman prelates were under obligations to Francis I. on account of pensions and preferments. Further causes of unpopularity were the insistence of the Hapsburgers on the dreaded Council, and injudicious demands on the part of Charles and Ferdinand which would have had the effect of diminishing the Cardinals' incomes.[2] As Cardinal Quiñones had almost altogether withdrawn from affairs, and Charles's close adherent Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci

[1] See Agnello's *report, May 15, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 218, *cf.* 223; GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 725, 747; BALAN, Clemente VII., 199.

[2] STOEGMANN, Andrea da Burgo, 187 *seq.* For the French pensions see JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 225. Cardinal E. Gonzaga was also won by French benefices: it was only after the second meeting between Charles and Clement at Bologna that he became an Imperialist.

was dead (September 1531),[1] the conduct of the Imperial interests was in the hands of Cardinal Garcia de Loaysa. He was without doubt a remarkable man, of high moral character and a great ecclesiastic, full of energy and ability, and thoroughly loyal to the Emperor, but wanting in the qualities of statesmanship; he showed a lack of consideration and a rigid hardness, not uncommon in Spaniards, which gave general offence.[2] Loaysa was entirely wanting in the one great essential of a diplomatist —tact; he was at the mercy of his impetuous temperament. He soon found himself in difficulties with everyone, even with the Emperor's Ambassador Mai, calling him in his despatches a blockhead in plain words,[3] and demanded of the Emperor his recall. The indignation of Mai, who was acquainted with all this, can be imagined. Andrea da Burgo, Ferdinand's clever representative, and much esteemed by Clement VII., had great difficulty in preventing an open breach between Mai and Loaysa; all the deeper on this account was the secret grudge between them.[4]

It cannot be matter of surprise that Loaysa should have also given free vent to his vehement nature, even towards the Pope, to whom he repeatedly gave open offence.[5] This was especially the case in the transactions over the appointment of fresh Cardinals, when the

[1] He was buried in the choir of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, near his patron Leo X.; see FORCELLA, I., 441 *seq.*

[2] For the following *cf.* STOEGMANN, *loc. cit.*; see also ESCHER, Glaubensparteien, 281; DITTRICH, Contarini, 198; GAYANGOS, IV., 1, Introd., xii. *seq.*, and HEIDTMANN, G. de Loaysa, Neustettin, 1850.

[3] HEINE, Briefe, 40 note; *cf.* 52, 76 nn.

[4] *Cf.* Burgo's reports in STOEGMANN, 188 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*; see also BALAN, Clemente VII., 199.

[5] *Cf.* HEINE, Briefe, 341.

Imperialist and French parties measured their strength. Clement VII. was averse to new creations chiefly because, if he made concessions to the Emperor's wishes, England and France would at once put forward claims of their own.[1] In March 1531, after the creation of two Spaniards, Alfonso Manriquez and Juan Tavera, the Pope was exposed to the gravest reproaches; the English Ambassador told him outspokenly that he had become the Emperor's slave.[2] In May 1531 the Consistory again became the scene of agitating negotiations; Francis I. demanded the nomination of a Cardinal, whereupon the Imperialists put forward claims for two. As no agreement could be come to, the matter was left in suspense.[3] In order to pacify Francis I. to some extent, Clement VII. determined, in June 1531,

[1] A. da Burgo *reported in cipher on March 12, 1531: "Tantum institerunt card. Osmen. et D. Petrus apud Pontificem quod consensit tandem ultra cardinalem, quem alioquin est obligatus facere ad omnem requisitionem Caesaris, etiam nunc facere alium Hispanum ad voluntatem S. M^tis^, sed quod permittant Suam S^tem^ quod illud possit facere sine scandalo, quia sunt multi alii, qui instant habere cardinales, et a quo S. St^as^ abhorret." After the nomination (decided upon March 21 and published on the 22nd according to the *Diary of Blasius de Martinellis, while the *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, II., 182 [Consistorial Archives] give February 22; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 92 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III., 519 *seq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 124 *seq.*) A. da Burgo *writes on March 26, 1531: "Incredibiliter laborarunt in eo cardinales Osmen. et D. Petrus. Papa erat aversus ob multa non minus pro bono Caesaris ut demonstrabat quam ne magis incenderet reges Franciae et Angliae, qui continue instant, ut Papa faciat etiam unum pro ipso rege Franciae et alium pro rege Angliae" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] "Longe pejora dicunt oratores Anglici, v. quod Papa dederit se in praedam Caesari nec audeat S. St^as^ facere nisi quod Caesar vult." *A. da Burgo on March 26, 1531, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MOLINI, II., 364, 366 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HEINE, Briefe, 133 *seq.*, and the *reports of A. da Burgo, May 25 and 27, 1531, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

in spite of Loaysa's opposition,[1] to concede to the French monarch the right of nomination for life to those abbacies which in virtue of their privileges had hitherto enjoyed powers of free election.[2] Soon afterwards Clement proposed to recall Giberti to his service. The Imperialists viewed the plan with anything but satisfaction, and the Pope's intentions were frustrated by the refusal of Giberti, who met this pressing invitation with the plea that his presence was necessary in Verona.[3]

As Clement in the following year showed himself ready to make special efforts to support the Emperor and his brother in their urgent need of aid against the Turks, the French were again in the highest degree dissatisfied with him.[4]

[1] See A. da Burgo's *report, June 2, 1531. According to this, Cardinal Gramont was the principal agent in the matter (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] A. da Burgo's second *report, June 2, 1531 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* for Clement's concessions: STAUDENMAIER, Bischofswahlen, 347; GÉRARDIN, 147; MADELIN, 164; BAUDRILLART, 93 *seq.* Clement made another concession in the Consistory of September 6, 1531: *S. D. N. ad supplicat. ducis Albaniae egit cum rev. dominis de concedendis litteris in forma brevis ipsi duci, in quibus illi polliceretur, cum primum aliqua cardinalium promotio fieret, creare unum ex fratibus ipsius ducis, in quo consenserunt omnes praedicti mei rev^mi (Consistorial Archives).

[3] *Cf.* the cipher *despatch of A. da Burgo, July 19, 1531, in Court and State Archives, Vienna; it says: "Papa autem de eo confidit et eum mirifice diligit." The *letter of Clement VII. to Giberti, dat. Rome, 1531, May 18, contains a postscript in the Pope's own handwriting: "Venias, si nobis satisfacere cupis, habita tamen tuae valetudinis et commodi ratione" (Cod. Barb., lat. 6508, f. 1, Vatican Library). On the 30th of January 1532 Clement VII. again made proposals to Giberti to settle in Rome; see Sanga's letter of January 30, 1532, with autograph postscript by the Pope (Cod. Barb., lat. 5698, Vatican Library). *Cf.* GIBERTI, Opera, XXIII.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 198, and G. M. della Porta's report, June 10, 1532 (State Archives, Florence).

He fared in the same way in the negotiations relating to the divorce of Henry VIII.[1] Whatever Clement might do, one of the rival parties was sure to complain of his conduct.[2]

In May 1532 Clement was willing to bestow the purple on G. A. Muscettola, the Imperial agent. Although the Sacred College objected to this, as generally to every other creation, Clement held to his resolve, for Muscettola stood high in his favour. But France now demanded the elevation of Giberti at the same time. Clement was quite willing, but found a strong opponent in Loaysa; Giberti, the latter protested, was a bastard, and on that account could not become a Cardinal; that this was a grave affront to the Pope did not trouble him a whit. Clement VII. complained of Loaysa's conduct to the Emperor's representative; he would rather live in a desert than endure such behaviour. Loaysa was so little conscious of his stupidity that he stubbornly declared that he had only done his duty, and would not depart from it; if the Pope showed his displeasure, he would then take up his residence in Naples until the Emperor came![3] The costs of this wanton outburst fell upon his friend Muscettola, who had already

[1] *Cf. infra*, Cap. VIII.

[2] *Cf.* the report of F. Peregrino, June 8, 1532: "L' Imperiali dicono haver sospetto che N. S. habbia intelligentia con Francesi et mostrano di dolersene, da l' altro canto Francesi dimostrano mala satisfation verso di loro di S. S. Hor veggia V. E. in quanti dubbiosi pensieri debbia rimaner S. S. et che via o modo ella possi tenere a dover contentar l' una et l' altra parte, che è cosa quasi impossibile, ce ritroviamo fra li calci et l' muro" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] Together with the *reports of A. da Burgo, May 25, 1532, in Court and State Archives, Vienna, made use of by STOEGMANN, 188 *seq.*, see BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, 1532, May 22 and 24. Also the **letter of G. M. della Porta, May 10, 1532, in State Archives, Florence, and HEINE, Briefe, 341.

given orders for his Cardinal's insignia; for the Pope now gave up all idea of a creation.[1]

The breach between Loaysa and Mai also showed itself in their opinion of the Pope, concerning whom their views were in direct contradiction. While the former accounted and made excuses for Clement's constant vacillation by his character and the circumstances in which he was placed, Mai saw in all the Pope's dealings only duplicity and dangerous craft. His hatred of Clement was also extended to Muscettola, who was regarded favourably by the Pope. The relations between the two assumed in time the character of an actual feud. Things had gone so far in the autumn of 1530 that Muscettola applied for his recall; but he nevertheless remained two years longer in Rome. Obviously a dissension of this kind between the representatives of the Emperor must often have given a very unwished-for turn to his affairs in the Roman Curia.[2]

The French envoys worked with much greater tact, and they had also this advantage over the Imperialists, that, being supplied with plenty of money, they were able to keep up a great establishment and make handsome presents. Their leader, Gabriel de Gramont, Bishop of Tarbes, a Cardinal since the 8th of June 1530,[3] understood admirably how to play constantly on the Pope's distrust of the Emperor, and even to intimidate him in case of necessity

[1] "La nova creation de cardinali per questa volta è ita a niente non ostante che chel Musettola s' havesse fatto fare gli habiti cardinaleschi et la mazza d' argento ancora." G. M. della Porta, May 25, 1532 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 2, Introd., vii. *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. in Cod. Vat., 3457, P II., of the Vatican Library. Gramont was with the Pope at first, from June 1529 till November 1530, then together with Tournon from November 1532 until autumn 1533; see BOURILLY-DE-VAISSIÈRE, Du Bellay, 53.

by open threats.[1] Gramont at the same time was trying to bring about a family alliance between the houses of Valois and Medici which should bind Clement inseparably to France. The second son of Francis I., Henry, Duke of Orleans, was to marry Catherine de' Medici, born in 1519, daughter of Lorenzo of Urbino.[2] When Gramont brought the matter forward in the autumn of 1530, he also hinted that Parma and Piacenza might go with the bride as her dowry. Clement VII. refused to agree to such an alienation of Church property, and indeed acted as if the whole scheme were not seriously meant; evidently he did not wish then to go further into the affair out of regard for Charles V., who, on his side, looked with favour on a marriage between Catherine and the Duke of Milan.[3] Clement for a long time acted in the matter with his habitual indecision. That finally he decided in favour of France cannot cause surprise. What comparison was there between the Dukedom of Milan, with its precarious tenure, and the brilliant alliance with the royal house of France, which at the same time guaranteed a hope of firm support against the Spanish supremacy in Italy! The Venetian Ambassador Soriano was also of opinion that another inducement to incline the Pope in favour of this marriage was the hope of gaining thereby the French partisans in

[1] STOEGMANN, A. da Burgo, 189 *seq.* How also in the summer of 1531 (the *diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, dates his arrival on August 18) the French Ambassador to Rome, François de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, forwarded this *politique d'intimidation*, is shown by DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, 184 *seq.* For Dinteville (the *credentials from Francis I., of April 25, 1532, are in Lett. d. princ., VII., Secret Archives of the Vatican) see also Rev. d. Bibl., IV., 84 *seq*, and Rev. d. quest. hist., 1902, I. 490. He was recalled on January 26, 1533; see the letter *of Francis I. to Clement VII. in *Lett. d. princ., VIII., *loc. cit.*

[2] For earlier plans see Vol. IX. of this work, p. 269.

[3] BASCHET, Catherine de Médicis, 276 *seq.*

Florence.[1] In addition, the project of marriage was espoused by the French themselves with the greatest eagerness. In the beginning of November 1530 John Stuart, Duke of Albany, arrived in Rome on a mission from Francis to push forward the arrangements initiated by Gramont. Catherine had left Florence in October, where she had lived with her aunt, Lucrezia Salviati. The Milanese envoy who saw her in the streets of Rome thought her tall and comparatively good-looking, but still of such a tender age that he was of opinion her marriage could not be thought of for another year and a half.[2] Nevertheless, the affair was negotiated more ardently than ever. Clement's indecision was increased by his fear of Charles' and Albany's great demands. As Gramont in the meantime was once more in Rome, the Pope gave his consent in secret to the marriage and to the conditions which Francis attached to his "gift of the Danai." In a treaty of the 9th of June 1531 Clement VII. declared himself ready to give Catherine, after her marriage with the Duke of Orleans, Pisa, Leghorn, Modena, Reggio, and Rubbiera, and also to hand over Parma and Piacenza in return for a compensation to be agreed upon. He even was willing to assist in the reconquest of Urbino; only as regards Milan and Genoa, which Francis had also demanded for the young bridal couple, he gave no conclusive answer.[3] A few days later Cardinal Gramont returned to France: the Pope gave orders that he should be received in Florence with all honour.[4]

[1] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 291.

[2] BASCHET, 279 *seq.*, 282. Albany's arrival took place on November 3, 1530; see *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* BASCHET, 285, 309 *seq.*; RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 313; STOEGMANN, A. da Burgo, 204.

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta, June 13, 1531, in State Archives, Florence.

The members of the French court were under a great delusion if they believed that the old influence over Clement VII. had been regained and that he was once more securely in their hands. When the Pope weighed more closely the conditions of the agreement of June, he was alarmed at having committed himself in advance to such an extent; he now tried, under different pretexts, to have the marriage postponed. So little was the "astute, circumspect, and timid" Medici thinking of a breach with the Emperor, that, on the contrary, he determined to work with all his power for the reconciliation of Charles and Francis. On this he brought to bear all his penetration and all his diplomatic ability.[1] Thus was conceived the visionary plan of bringing the two rivals together at the expense of Venice;[2] a project, however, which nowhere met with a favourable reception. As the Ottoman invasion later on drew attention in another direction altogether, the Pope bethought him of a fresh scheme applicable to the wholly altered state of affairs. Charles V. and Francis I. were to be reconciled and unite all their military forces in one comprehensive onslaught on the Turks, after whose destruction Ferdinand I. should receive Hungary and the adjoining territories, Venice the possessions taken from her in the Levant, and, finally, France should receive Milan, which until then should be retained by the Emperor and the Pope, as the friends of both parties![3]

But the situation had once again entirely changed; on the withdrawal of the Sultan the Emperor had abandoned the Turkish war and undertaken his journey

[1] STOEGMANN, 206 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 196 *seq.*

[3] STOEGMANN, 218 *seq.*; and at 245 *seq.* is the important *despatch of A. da Burgo of October 8, 1532.

to Italy to meet the Pope. For the place of conference Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, then also Genoa and Pisa, had been proposed; particulars were to be settled by Pedro della Cueva at Rome.[1] While the negotiations were in progress an accident threatened to interfere finally with the proposed meeting. On the 25th of October 1532 the Pope received a report of which he complained, with tears in his eyes, to Mai and Burgo: the Emperor had placed Cardinal Medici under arrest for a day; for the latter, displeased with the suspension of the Turkish war, had foolishly tried to play the part of commander-in-chief. The incident led to no further results,[2] owing to the apologies of the Imperialists, who wished to ward off a misunderstanding, and the hopes of Clement that the meeting would be efficacious in bringing about a peace with France.

Cueva reached Rome at the end of October and announced that the Emperor wished the conference to be held at Piacenza. The matter was discussed in Consistory; most of the Cardinals, Farnese at their head, declared it fitting that Charles V. should come to Rome. This was hotly opposed by the Imperialist group and was also contrary to Clement's own wishes. Since in the meantime Medici made it known that Charles agreed to Bologna, as proposed by the Pope, the departure of the latter thither was fixed for the 12th of November in a Consistory held on the 4th. Owing to the necessary

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 46, 97, 126, 133, and the *reports of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, October 13 and 14, 1532 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, 1532, October 25, in State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 197; GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 301; STOEGMANN, A. da Burgo, 239; GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 1007, 1009, 1014; FERRAI, Lorenzino de' Medici, 132; LUZIO, Pronostico, 84.

preparations the departure was put off until the 18th, and before this a Bull was issued making regulations in the event of a Papal election; Cardinal Salviati acted as Legate in Rome.[1]

The late season of the year, unfavourable weather, and the bad condition of the roads made the journey a very arduous one for the Pope, who was hardly recovered from the gout. Six Cardinals travelled through Tuscany, and six others went with the Pope. Their way was by Castelnuovo, Città Castellana, Narni, Terni, Trevi, Perugia, Città di Castello, S. Sepolcro, S. Agata, Cesena, Forlì, and Castel S. Pietro. On Sunday the 8th of December he entered Bologna on horseback, where he was received with the customary solemnities.[2] On the following day a Consistory was held in which it was

[1] SANUTO, LVII., 198, 217 *seq.*, 258. *Report of F. Peregrino, October 17, 1532, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 1014. *Letter of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, 1532, October 28 (*Gionse finalmente in Roma quel D. Petro della Cova expettato tanto tempo per la resolution dell' aboccamento di S. M. con N. S., col quale è stato hoggi), and November 4 (*N. S. dice esser resoluto partire ad ogni modo per Bologna alli 12), in State Archives, Florence. *Report of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of November 4, 1532, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Already on November 2, 1532, Clement VII. had asked the Italian States to send representatives to the meeting at Bologna; see Min. brev., 1532, vol. 41, n. 375, dated incorrectly in Raynaldus on October 2. *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Duke of Milan (State Archives, Milan) and to the Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), both of November 2. On November 5, 1532, Clement VII. wrote about the meeting to the city of Bologna, and again on November 23; see Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 563 and 592.

[2] *Cf.* BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium in Archives of the "Ceremonieri" in the Vatican, also in Cod. Barb., lat. 2801 (formerly XXXV., 45), and Cod. lat., 12547, National Library, Paris; RAYNALDUS, 1532, n. 55 *seq.*; BONTEMPI, 350; SANUTO, LVII., 335, 365; E. Bonner's report in State Papers, VII., n. 337; N. D. TUCCIA, 429 *seq.*

resolved to send Cardinals Grimani and Cesarini to meet the Emperor.[1]

Charles, on the 13th of December 1532, made his entry into Bologna with military pomp and was received with great ceremony by the Papal court and the most prominent citizens. Over five thousand men-at-arms escorted him; he rode between Cardinals Farnese and Spinola; in his suite were noticed the Dukes of Milan, Mantua, and Florence. The Pope awaited him in San Petronio on his throne, in full pontificals and wearing a costly tiara. Charles made the customary triple obeisance on bended knee and kissed the Pope's foot. The latter, waiving the kissing of his hand, rose and embraced the Emperor. After the Emperor's suite had paid their reverence to his Holiness, Clement led the Emperor to the state apartments prepared for them in the Palazzo Publico. On the following days also there was no lack of demonstrative friendliness between Pope and Emperor, the latter receiving on Christmas Eve as a gift of honour a sword and hat.[2] Great as were the confidence and friendship displayed in public between the two potentates, in the long conferences, held almost always in private, it was only too evident that there was a lack of unanimity.[3] In Bologna the influx of strangers[4] had given rise to a high cost of living,[5] and the Emperor, on this account, would have been glad to quit the city soon,[6] but the

[1] SANUTO, LVII., 363, 365; LANZ, II., 43.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1532, n. 57 *seq.*; SANUTO, LVII., 388.

[3] SANUTO, LVII., 368, 384, 385; BALAN, Clemente VII., 201.

[4] Titian also was then there; see GIORDANI, App., 150, 153.

[5] *Letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Bologna, 1532, December 24 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] *Letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Bologna, 1532, December 29 (State Archives, Florence).

negotiations shaped themselves with such difficulty that his departure was deferred from week to week.[1]

Clement VII. was eager to make a reconciliation between Francis I. and Charles V.[2] The Emperor considered this quite hopeless, and thought only of securing Milan and Genoa against any French attacks; with this object he proposed the formation of an Italian defensive league. On his instructions Granvelle, Covos, and Praet conducted the matter with Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, Francesco Guicciardini, and Jacopo Salviati. It was soon evident that such a confederacy was little in keeping with the policy of a Pope who was considered neutral; his representatives asserted that Venice would absolutely oppose such a league; they also made it clear that Clement still clung to the restoration of Modena and Reggio, and would not suspend his claims on this score during the existence of the League.[3] But the influence which bore with most force on Clement VII. was the threatening attitude of Francis I., the ally of Henry VIII.,[4] when the representatives of the former, Cardinals Gramont and Tournon, appeared in Bologna in the beginning of January 1533.[5]

[1] The following *statement by G. M. della Porta, Bologna, 1533, January 6, is noteworthy: "S Sta remanda la maggior parte della famiglia sua a casa e remane con pochi volendo continuar appresso S. M^ta per accompagnarla sino a Genoa entro la galera" (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See SANUTO, LVII., 369, 383 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; PALLAVICINI, III., 12.

[4] See the *reports of G. M. della Porta of December 23, 1532, and January 7, 1533, in State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 389.

[5] *Cf.* *letter of G. M. della Porta, dat. Bologna, 1533, January 2, in State Archives, Florence; *Acta Consist., Camer. III., in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; SANUTO, LVII., 418, and BASCHET, 290 *seq.*

To make sure of Milan the Emperor wished Clement to give his niece Catherine de' Medici in marriage to Francesco Sforza. The Pope's objection to this was that the contract with Francis had priority, and the King would feel it to be an extreme affront if the intended wife of one of his sons were to wed his declared enemy. Unfortunately, the Emperor was under the impression that Francis I. had not been in earnest over the marriage contract; he therefore asked the Pope to urge upon Francis that the marriage should speedily take place. He assumed in this that Francis would refuse, and then the Pope would convince himself that he had been the dupe of vain words. In this case the friendship of Clement for Francis would certainly have been turned into bitter enmity. But the contrary came to pass; Francis, perceiving the impending danger, sent at once to the Cardinals above-named full powers to ratify the marriage contract of his son with Catherine de' Medici; at the same time he sent an invitation to the Pope to meet him in Nice. Clement VII. now declared that such a wish was all the more to be complied with as he had already on two occasions undertaken a journey in order to meet the Emperor. Thus the latter saw the connection between the Pope and France only further strengthened. He suspected that Clement would combine with Francis in order to conquer Milan for the Duke of Orleans, but the Pope did all he could to convince him that such a suspicion was groundless.[1] Thus a secret treaty between Pope and Emperor was signed on the 24th of February, a day of momentous significance to Charles, for it was the date of his birth, of his victory at Pavia, and of his coronation. Clement VII. and Charles gave mutual pledges not to form alliances with other princes; they

[1] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; PALLAVICINI, III., 12.

exchanged promises as to the holding of the Council, help against the Turks, the maintenance of the existing state of things in Italy, and the hearing of the English divorce case in Rome.[1]

The negotiations with the Italian envoys, already begun in January,[2] were brought a few days later to a conclusion. On the 27th of February Clement VII., Charles V., Ferdinand I., the Dukes of Milan, Mantua, and Ferrara, with Siena, Lucca, and Genoa, united themselves on acceptance of certain contributions of troops and money to defend Italy against any attack. The difficulty with Ferrara was removed in this way, that Clement VII. undertook, only for eighteen months, to leave the Duke in peace. Florence and Savoy, and above all Venice, were not named in the bond.[3] If this was annoying to the Emperor, much more so was the failure of his then renewed attempts to draw Clement out of the French marriage agreement. The Pope stood firm; in this he could take no backward step.[4]

The negotiations concerning the nominations of Cardinals demanded by the Emperor went also contrary to his wishes. He had proposed Schönberg, Muscettola, and Stefano Gabriele Merino, Archbishop of Bari. The Pope's nominees were Giberti, Simonetta, Auditor of

[1] The text of the secret treaty after the original in Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm. XI., Caps. II., n. 67) has been published by EHSES in the Römischen Quartalschrift, V., 301 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 481 *seq.*, 486 *seq.*, and the *reports of G. M. della Porta of January 21, 24, 25, and 30, 1533 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Pap. d'État de Granvelle, II., 7 *seq.*; SANUTO, LVII., 564, 567, 574, 577, 600 *seq.*; GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI.; BALAN, Clemente VII., 203.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 506, and the *report of G. M. della Porta, dat. Bologna, 1533, February 18 (State Archives, Florence).

the Rota, and the Bishop of Faenza, Rodolfo Pio. But at the same time Francis I. and Henry VIII. demanded the purple for three of their dependents. The general feeling of the Sacred College was against new creations; an effort was therefore made to defer the question until the Pope had returned to Rome, and Clement, who inclined to this view, handed over the matter to Cardinals Farnese, Campeggio, and Cesi to report upon.[1] On the 19th of February the Consistory debated the subject far into the night without coming to a decision. Loaysa took up the cause of Muscettola with all his energy but met with the most decided opposition.[2] On the 21st of February the Cardinals voted for the elevation of Merino in order to defeat the creation of Muscettola and Schönberg. Also, as a satisfaction to France, the nomination of Jean d'Orléans to the Sacred College was soon afterwards made public.[3] The Imperialists were little pleased with this result.

Not less stirring were the negotiations at Bologna on the question of the Council. On the 15th of December 1532 Charles had already discussed the question with Clement in an interview lasting two hours. On the following day the Consistory was consulted; only a few Cardinals

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 537, 539; *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican; *letter of G. M. della Porta, 1533, February 18 (State Archives, Florence). See also SÄGMÜLLER, 167.

[2] *Letter of G. M. della Porta of February 10, 1533 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* SANUTO, LVII., 553.

[3] *Acta Consist. in Cod. Vatic., 3457, P II. (Vatican Library); SANUTO, LVII., 547, 551, 585, 590; JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 219; CIACONIUS, III., 523 *seq.*; NOVAES, IV., 129 (with wrong date). The concession of two-tenths on February 10, 1533, shows that Clement VII. wished also in other ways to ingratiate himself with Francis I.; see CHARRIÈRE, I., 239 note.

were in favour of an immediate summons; the majority were of the opinion that peace must first be restored to Christendom and the agreement of all the princes be secured; a decision was postponed until the next sitting.[1] In this, held on the 20th of December, the whole matter was once more thoroughly considered. The use of the temporal sword against Protestants was also made subject of remark. Only a few, however, voted for such measures; the majority of the Cardinals were for a Council; they certainly objected to it being held in Germany, and still more to a national council of that nation, as the latter would only give occasion to the Kings of France and England to bring about a schism. The final resolution was that the Council should be held in a suitable place, and after the consent of all Christian princes had been invited.[2] For the execution of this decision a congregation was formed in which the Pope was represented by Farnese, Campeggio, Cesi, and Aleander, and the Emperor by Merino, Covos, Granvelle, and Mai.

After the Emperor had agreed to the Council meeting in Italy, it was possible, as early as the 2nd of January 1533, to prepare the Briefs to the Kings of France and England, and to other Christian princes inviting their consent to and presence at the Council.[3] More protracted negotiations were occasioned by the question whether the princes and States of the German Empire should also be written to at the same time. This was agreed to, for

[1] SANUTO, LVII., 368, 369. *Cf.* the letter of the Bishop of Auxerre in RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 316, and DE LEVA, III., 104; see also EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., lxxxii.

[2] Besides SANUTO, LVII., 385, and the letter of the Bishop of Auxerre cited in note above, *cf.* also in Appendix, No. 32, the *report of G. M. della Porta, December 23, 1532 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., lxxxii.

Aleander was strongly in favour of such a step. Accordingly, about the 10th of January, letters of the Emperor were addressed to all the States, as well as from the Pope to King Ferdinand I., the six Electors, and the six Circles of the Empire.[1] In these letters the Pope praised the Emperor's zeal on behalf of the Council, whereby he had been led to consent to its summons, although for other reasons he was not yet quite prepared for it. But as it was necessary that all members and nations of Christendom should participate, he would not neglect to procure the consent of other princes than those of Germany by means of letters and Nuncios. While the answers, that of France in particular, were awaited, the Emperor did not desist in the course of negotiations in demanding through his deputies that the Council should be summoned at once, for he had given his promise on this point to the German princes, and in no other way could the desire for a national German council be successfully opposed. On the other hand, the Papal deputies insisted that Clement was ready to proclaim the Council in accordance with the usage hitherto observed by the Church, and on condition that the dogmatic decrees of earlier synods were acknowledged by all, and that all promised their willingness to submit to the decrees of the forthcoming assembly; but in any case the answers of the princes must still be waited for.

As the Emperor was always insistent and the time of his return was drawing near, while no answers had as yet been received, the Papal deputies proposed that under these circumstances Nuncios should be sent to Germany, France, and England, an arrangement with which Charles expressed his agreement. The Nuncio appointed for

[1] EHSES, lxxxiii. The text of the letter to the Electors and Circles of the Diet is given by RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 6; that to King Ferdinand, in some parts differently drawn up, in EHSES, lxxxiv.

Germany was Ugo Rangoni, Bishop of Reggio; for France and England the Papal chamberlain and protonotary, Ubaldino de Ubaldinis.[1] On the 20th of February the two Nuncios were presented with the Briefs of which they were to be the bearers.[2]

In the meantime Cardinals Tournon and Gramont had presented the long-expected answer of Francis I. It was short, cold in tone, and insisted on the necessity of the questions of religion being dealt with in a becoming manner, in accordance with the wishes of those taking part in the Council assembled in a place agreeable to them, and of the decrees being of such a kind that no one afterwards would refuse his consent to them.[3] This reply was all the more unsatisfactory as Francis, besides these general observations, said nothing about his wishes regarding the representation at the Council.

The Instruction drafted by Aleander for the Nuncio Rangoni on the 27th of February 1533 contained the conciliar conditions under eight articles:—(1) The Council is to be free, and to be held according to the customs obtaining in the Church since the first General Councils. (2) The members of the Council are to promise obedience to its decisions and their unbroken observance. (3) Members unable to be present for legitimate reasons are to send deputies with full legal powers and satisfactory mandates. (4) In the meantime, no fresh matter of controversy is to be introduced into the religious questions in debate in Germany until the Council shall have given its decisions. (5) A choice, on which all should agree,

[1] EHSES, lxxxiv. *seq.* *Cf.* *report of G. M. della Porta, February 10, 1533 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] The Brief addressed to King Ferdinand, with which the others agree in essentials, in EHSES, lxxxvi.

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, lxxxvi.; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 801.

must be made of some suitable place; the Pope proposes Mantua, Bologna, or Piacenza. (6) Should any princes, without just cause, reject the summons and meeting of the Council, the Pope is nevertheless to proceed with the same. (7) Against those princes who wish to put obstacles in the way of the Council, the remainder are to support the Pope in its favour. (8) On receipt of the consenting replies the Pope shall convene the Council within six months and take steps for opening it within a year.[1] To Lambert von Briaerde, who accompanied Rangoni as Imperial orator, Charles communicated special instructions[2] agreeing with the Pope's intentions. The Emperor left Bologna on the 28th of February and the Pope on the 10th of March.[3]

Rangoni and Briaerde first visited the court of Ferdinand I. at Vienna and stayed there from the 1st of April to the 13th of May. Ferdinand expressed his full agreement with the meeting of the Council and the articles. Duke George of Saxony did likewise, whom they visited at Dresden on the 25th of May.[4] Thence they made their way to Weimar, where on the 3rd of June they were courteously received by the Elector John Frederick[5] and listened to by him; in his answer to the Nuncio, communicated on the following day, he expressed his joy at the prospect of

[1] The text of the Instruction in EHSES, lxxxvii. *seq.* *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 87 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 801 *seq.* Rangoni received 240 ducats for two months; see *Introit. et Exit., 1533–1534, in State Archives, Rome.

[2] EHSES, lxxxviii. *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, LVII., 568, 571 *seq.*, 574. *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., lxxxix. *seq.*

[5] Authentic documents on the Nuncio's address to the Electors and the answer of the latter published in EHSES, xc.–cxiii., from the Vatican Archives.

a Council but explained that, greatly as he wished personally to give a definite answer at once, he could only do so in company with his allies, who in the approaching assembly of Protestant princes at Schmalkald would take counsel on the matter. With this message Rangoni and Briaerde left Weimar on the 5th of June and proceeded to Mayence to Cardinal Albert, who expressed personally his full agreement and his adhesion to everything that the Pope and Emperor might further determine, even with regard to the meeting-place of the Council, but for a definite answer he referred them to the Congress of the Catholic Electors about to be held at Mayence. The same answer was given by his brother, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, with whom the envoys discussed the question at Berlin on the 17th of June.[1] Through Brunswick, where they missed Duke Henry, they came to Cologne on the 5th of July, and on the 9th at Bonn had an interview with the Elector Hermann of Wied; on the 13th they were similarly occupied at Coblentz with Johann von Metzenhausen, the Elector of Trèves, and on the 20th at Heidelberg with the Elector Palatine Louis.[2]

After all the Electors had thus been visited, the Imperial envoy Briaerde, having accomplished his mission, returned to the Netherlands, while the Nuncio Rangoni went yet further to Munich in order to treat also with the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria.[3] To the meeting of a General Council all the princes interrogated had, on the whole, given their ready consent; in respect of the articles enumerated above, only the two Bavarian Dukes were unwilling to give a final reply on their own responsibility. The Nuncio and Briaerde were not without grounds for indulging in hopes on the

[1] EHSES, xciii. *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, xciv. *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, xcv. *seq.*

close of their round of inquiries. In the course of the foregoing deliberations the principal question under discussion had been the meeting-place of the Council. On this as on the other points, by the exercise of a little good-will on all sides, there ought not to have been difficulty in coming to an agreement. This was especially the case as the Elector of Saxony himself had shown apparently the best intentions, and in all probability at the last would have given his final decision in a favourable sense. But his theologians and the other princes of Protestant Germany were of a different way of thinking. John Frederick, in the first place, asked the theologians of Wittenberg to give their opinion and furnish him with reports. Melanchthon, indeed, declared that on account of the other nations the Council could not well be refused, nor had he any objections to Protestants appearing there under a safe-conduct, but he repudiated in the most express terms the article on the duty of submission to the conciliar decrees.[1] Luther spoke in the same sense, only in a much more offensive manner, for he called the Pope a "liar" and a "cursed bloodhound and murderer."[2] This position of the theologians corresponded therefore with the answer, dated the 30th of June 1533, of the Protestant princes and Estates[3] assembled at Schmalkald. They demanded a "free council" to be held in Germany, with the Bible as the only standard; the Pope's articles were rejected in coarse and offensive terms. By this declaration all previous exertions on behalf of a Council were brought to nothing.

No better success attended the mission of the Nuncio

[1] EHSES, xcvi.; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 88 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 803.

[2] EHSES, xcvi. *seq.*; PASTOR, 88.

[3] In EHSES, xcvii.–ci.

Ubaldino to Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England. Both monarchs avoided any definite declaration.[1]

On leaving Bologna Clement VII. had gone first to Fano in order to compose the disorders which had broken out in that place; he then paid visits to Ancona and the sanctuary of Loreto; on the 3rd of April 1533 he was once more in Rome.[2] Here awaited him a mass of business which had accumulated in his absence. There was, moreover, anxiety on account of Koron, hard pressed by the Turks,[3] and still greater anxieties arising from the divorce suit of Henry VIII.[4] The Pope's nephew Bernardo Salviati was sent to the relief of Koron with twelve galleys.[5] Francis I., meanwhile, was pressing for the conference agreed to by the Pope, and the conclusion of the family alliance;[6] his representatives, the Cardinals Gramont and Tournon, encountered, however, unsuspected difficulties. These were in part the outcome of the intrigues of the Imperialists, who were naturally doing all they could to frustrate the dangerous interview and still more dangerous marriage.

Before the conference at Bologna was over, a fundamental change had taken place in the diplomatic service of the Emperor at Rome. Charles V. had at length come

[1] EHSES, ci. *seq.*

[2] Besides the sources cited by RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 36 *seq.*, *cf.* also SANUTO, LVIII., 11 *seq.*, 27, 35, and BALAN, Clemente VII., 204. The Pope's return to Rome had been eagerly expected; see the *reports of F. Peregrino of March 1 and 23, 1533 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVIII., 35, 56, 194, 227, 240.

[4] See *infra*, Cap. VIII.

[5] BALAN, Clemente VII., 206.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of F. Peregrino, April 30, 1533 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

to see that Loaysa with his immoderate temper, and Mai with his brusque ways, were not the men to conduct his affairs aright. With Loaysa fell also Muscettola. In their place Fernando da Silva, Count of Cifuentes, was appointed Ambassador, and Rodrigo Davalos as agent; in the Sacred College the place of Loaysa was taken by the Cardinal of Jaen, Stefano Gabriele Merino, as representative of the Imperial interests. Charles soon found out that the change was in no way a fortunate one, for the evil of disunion had been handed on and made itself felt with undiminished intensity, as the enmity between Cifuentes and Merino was acute.[1]

The French party reaped the advantage of this feud. Cardinal Tournon played his part with great skill; he knew how to paint in the most glowing colours the advantages of the French alliance to Clement, and even to encourage in him the hope that this connection would be a means of bringing order into the tangle of the English divorce. Personally the Pope was strongly inclined to an alliance with France in order to secure a counterpoise to the Emperor's power in Italy.[2] But unexpected hindrances now arose on the side of the Cardinals. Farnese and others adduced the most various objections; Cardinal Gramont declared haughtily: "The Pope has more need of my king than my king of him."[3] Meanwhile a letter came from Charles to the effect: "Since his Holiness persists in

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 122. Cifuentes had come to Rome on April 17, 1533; R. Davalos not until June 14; see GAYANGOS, IV., n. 1059, 1083.

[2] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 223 whose information is confirmed by wo cipher reports of **F. Peregrino of September 4 and December 28, 1533 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See SANUTO, LVIII., 135, 163, 228. *Cf.* the *report of Agnello, dat. Venice, 1533, May 5 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

his interview with Francis, he (the Emperor) makes no further difficulties but warns him to look to the preservation of peace in Italy." On the 25th of May 1533 Clement showed the letter to a full Consistory; but although he used every argument to prove the necessity of the conference, the majority of the Cardinals remained quite unconvinced. As the question was one of such great importance, a decision upon it was deferred.[1]

Notwithstanding the almost general opposition of the Curia, Clement did not in the least abandon the plan of the conference, but put it off until the month of September.[2] On the 28th of May he wrote in this sense to Francis I.[3] At the same time he sent to him the Bishop of Faenza to settle the details of the interview which was to take place at Nice.[4] A fresh postponement was subsequently caused by the breach with England which took place in July, at the very moment when the marriage treaty signed by the French King reached Rome.[5] Francis I. would now have willingly put off the interview, but Clement refused to withdraw.[6]

[1] Besides SANUTO, LVIII., 241, see the **report of G. M. della Porta of May 25, 1533, in State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* also ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., 53, and CASANOVA, Lett. di Carlo V., 20.

[2] See the *letters of F. Peregrino of May 24 and 27, 1533, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta of May 27, 1533, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Brief of May 28, 1533, in Min. brev., 1533, vol 46, n. 254 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The answer of Francis I. in Lett. d. princ., I., 126 *seq.*

[4] Lett. and pap. of Henry VIII., VI., n. 548; GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 1082; SANUTO, LVIII., 241, 278; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 87.

[5] See the **letter of G. M. della Porta of July 17, 1533 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, III., 123 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* the *letter of Ant. Maria Papazzoni of July 21, 1533, in State Archives of Bologna, and the *report of G. M. della Porta of July 24, 1533, in State Archives, Florence. On July 31, Clement VII. said he

On the 1st of August the Papal officials were formally notified that their presence would be required at Nice on the 3rd of September.[1] As no reply came from France concerning the ship on which the Pope was to be conveyed to the latter place, many looked upon the journey as doubtful, but the majority believed that it certainly would take place.[2] The Pope also expressed himself in the same way.[3] Then there was a rumour that Marseilles would be the place of meeting, as the Duke of Savoy, in consideration of the Emperor, had made difficulties about Nice.[4] This was unacceptable to the Pope, for on French soil Francis could bring to bear upon him a preponderant influence. Meanwhile the bride's dowry was settled; on this occasion Clement laid aside his usual parsimony; the jewels alone were valued at more than 30,000 ducats.[5] On the 1st of September Catherine de' Medici set forth on her journey, accompanied by Caterina Cibo, Duchess of Camerino, Maria de' Medici-Salviati, the widow of Giovanni "delle Bande Nere," Filippo Strozzi, and the historian Guicciardini. At Portovenere the galleys of the Duke of Albany awaited her.[6]

would leave at the latest on September 8; *report of F. Peregrino of July 31, 1533 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] "Il Papa fece intimar alla Cancelleria et altri offitiali che si devessero trovar in Nizza alli 3 di Settembre." G. M. della Porta on August 1, 1533 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* the **letter of G. M. della Porta of August 11, 1533 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Report of G. M. della Porta of August 22, 1533 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., ciii.

[5] See the *letter of G. M. della Porta, July 17, 1533 (State Archives Florence), and BASCHET, 176 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Röm., XII., 376 *seqq.*

[6] See BASCHET, 186 *seqq.*

The departure of the Pope, who at the end of August had heard with delight of the relief of Koron,[1] took place on the 9th of September.[2] Three days before, the death had taken place of the man who, among the Pope's relations, had been his peculiarly trusted adviser, Jacopo Salviati.[3] Cardinal del Monte remained behind in Rome as Legate, and Salviati's place, whose death was generally lamented, was taken by Alessandro Farnese.[4] The Pope's departure was a hard blow for the Romans; their city had now the appearance of being deserted.[5] Clement on this journey[6] avoided his native city, Florence, and passed slowly through Sienese territory to Pisa, which he reached on the 24th of September, remaining there on

[1] Andrea Doria announced this success to the Pope in a *letter dated Koron, August 9, 1533; *Lett. d. princ., VIII. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the Brief to Ferdinand I. in RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 93, and Nuntiaturberichte, I., 118.

[2] See Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 78, and the *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 119 *seq.* For Salviati's position and the jealousy in Clement's circle see Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 286 *seq.* See also Histor. Jahrbuch, V., 631.

[4] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. in Cod. Vatic., 3457, P II. (Vatican Library); see *Regest. Vatic., 1451, f. 322 *seq.*, 326 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, LVIII., 676, 750; RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 78. For Monte see the *report of F. Peregrino, September 24, 1533 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See the complaints in F. Peregrino's *letters of September 19 and 24, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[6] For the journey to Marseilles see Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*, the *Acta Consist., Camer. III. (Consistorial Archives), and BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Itineratio in Archives of the "Ceremonieri" of the Vatican, in Cod. Barb., lat. 2801, f. 187 *seq.* (Vatican Library), and Cod. lat. 12547 (National Library, Paris). *Cf.* also BALAN, Clemente VII., 208 *seq.*; LUZIO, Pronostico, 40 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 130; DECRUE, 212 *seq.*, and MAZZINI, Cat. de' Medici e Clemente VII. alla Spezia nel 1533, La Spezia, 1901.

account of bad weather until the 3rd of October. On the 22nd of September, at San Miniato al Tedesco in the valley of the lower Arno, he saw Michael Angelo for the last time.[1]

Not until the 5th of October did Clement set sail from Leghorn. The Papal galley was entirely covered with gold brocade; ten French vessels, and many others, especially those of the Knights of St. John, accompanied the Pope, in whose suite were nine Cardinals. A favourable wind carried the stately fleet—consisting in all of sixty sail—to Villafranca on the 7th of October, where Catherine de' Medici was taken on board. On the 11th the fleet entered the harbour of Marseilles, in which city the Grand Master Anne de Montmorency had made splendid preparations for the solemn entry of the Pope. This took place on the 12th of October. Fourteen Cardinals and nearly sixty prelates surrounded the Pope, who was carried on the *sedia gestatoria* by nobles of the highest rank. On the following day Francis I. made his state entry, after having had already a secret interview with Clement. Both were lodged so near to each other that visits could be exchanged without remark.[2]

Despite the youth of Catherine de' Medici, her marriage with Duke Henry of Orleans took place on the 28th of October; the Pope himself performed the ceremony.[3] In

[1] GOTTI, I., 225.

[2] *Cf.* BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican); JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI.; GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; FONTANA, I., 170 *seq.*; DECRUE, 212, and HAMY, Entrevue de François Ier avec Clément VII. à Marseilles, Paris, 1900. See also J. PELISSON, Panegyricus de Clementis VII. ad christ. regem in terram Franciam magnifico adventu etc., Lugdun., 1534.

[3] See the reports in BASCHET, 319 *seq.*; in Arch. Stor. Lomb., I., 20 *seq.*; in LUZIO, Pronostico, 42 *seq.*; FONTANA, I., 174 *seq.*, and HAMY, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.* *Cf.* for the solemnities, which Vasari

the brilliant festivities of the wedding Cardinal Medici was conspicuous; his display of magnificence surpassed even that of the King himself.[1] On the 7th of November three French Cardinals were nominated in Consistory (Jean Leveneur de Tillier, Claude de Longuy, and Odet de Coligny); a fourth (Philippe de la Chambre) was publicly declared as such.[2] Long and animated transactions had preceded this act, for Clement himself seems to have had objections to this large increase of the French element in the Sacred College.[3] The Imperial envoys objected that a creation should only take place in Rome; the majority, however, led by Gaddi and Sanseverino, and under pressure from Francis I., determined otherwise; Clement gave his consent reluctantly.[4]

Pope and King vied with each other at Marseilles in displays of friendship and exchanged rich gifts.[5] During the

immortalized in a painting in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the *letter of G. M. della Porta of October 28, 1533, in State Archives, Florence. The Emperor's good wishes, bound up with the credentials of the envoy sent on behalf of Ferdinand I. in his appeal for help against the Turks, in the *letter to Clement VII., November 4, 1533, in Lett. d. princ., VIII., 163 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Letter of G. Sanchez to Ferdinand I. of December 20, 1533, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* Acta Consist., Camer. III., in Consistorial Archives; Gaulterius, *Diarium in Secret Archives of the Vatican; CIACONIUS, III., 525 *seq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 132 *seq.*; DECRUE, 214 *seq.*; MARCKS, Coligny I., 16.

[3] GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Sanchez of December 20, 1533 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), who names as opponents Quiñones, Piccolomini, and Pucci.

[5] See the *report of T. Cardi, dat. Marseilles, 1533, October 18, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Sanchez' letter of December 20 in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 122; JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 225; Arch. stor dell' Arte, I., 18 *seq.*; the Bull of Absolution in CHARRIÈRE, I., 240 note, was also a present.

ecclesiastical ceremonies Francis made an ostentatious show of his subjection to the Papal authority.[1] Notwithstanding the numerous festivities, Clement and Francis, during their meeting of more than four weeks' duration, completed numerous negotiations, the nature of which, however, was kept a profound secret.[2] All the accounts given by envoys and chroniclers of these oral transactions, carried on without any intermediary, are mere conjectures. The only written document of importance is the draft of a secret treaty drawn up in Francis' own hand; according to this not merely Urbino, but Milan also, was to be taken possession of for the Duke of Orleans, whereupon Clement would raise no difficulties even on account of Parma and Piacenza.[3]

[1] Blasius de Martinellis reported November 1, 1533: "Post evangelium Papa osculatus est librum, rex vero noluit, licet porrectus sibi fuerit, ob reverentiam papae et honorem Sedis Ap., quandoquidem multum laudabile ex magna humilitate et devotione quam habebat, non sic alter Bononiae" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See besides, State Papers, VII., 522, and JOVIUS, Hist., XXXI., 224; also the reports of G. M. della Porta, dat. Marseilles, October 16 (*Il Re è stato ogni giorno una volta in secreto longamente con S. Sta, ma persona insin qui pare non si trovi che penetri queste loro trattationi, tanto vanno secrete), and October 24, 1533 (*Il Papa et il Re cenaro heri insieme in secrete soli), in State Archives, Florence, and the *letter of Sanchez, December 20, 1533, cited *supra*, p. 233, n. 4.

[3] Text in BASCHET, 325-326. BAUMGARTEN (III., 124 *seq.*) is of opinion that one may labour in vain to arrive at any accurate knowledge of the conversations held between the Pope and King Francis at Marseilles. Yet in contradiction hereto he assumes a knowledge of what Clement consented to on these occasions. *Cf.* for a criticism of Baumgarten also EHSES, Dokumente, 273, note 3. In a *report, half written in cipher, to the Duke of Urbino, dated Marseilles, October 30, 1533, G. M. della Porta dismisses the reports concerning the promises supposed to have been made by Clement to Francis I. on the following grounds: "Questo raggionamento par ch' abia del colorato assai, ma in una cosa parmi ben tutto contrario al verisimile,

How far Clement agreed to demands of this kind is uncertain; in any case he cannot here have gone beyond verbal assurances, since no written agreement was completed;[1] but even in conversation so experienced a politician would most certainly have observed the utmost caution.[2] The enemies of Clement VII., at a later date, brought against him, among other accusations, the charge of having acquiesced at Marseilles in the alliance between Francis I. and the Turks and Protestants; the onus of proof rests with them. Clement VII. was so little in agreement with the shameful project of giving support to the hereditary foe of Christendom, spoken of by Francis at their conference, that he had information of the same conveyed to the Emperor.[3] As to the support given to Philip of Hesse in his forcible restoration of the Protestant Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, the communications of Guillaume du Bellay[4] appear to

che non è da credere, ch' el papa huomo cauto sopra tutti gli huomini del mondo s' habia lasciata uscir di bocca una minina parola che li possa portare danno appresso hic [=Cesare], et tanto più è verisimile così quanto che si sa ch' el papa ne la negotiation sua non s' è fidato d' altro che di se medesimo, e il cardinal de' Medici m' ha giurato, che nè il Guicciardini reputato consultor d' ogni suo secreto nè huomo del mondo sa l' intrinsico di questa negotiatione col re, col quale molte volte S. Sta è stata da solo a solo in secreto le quatro e cinque hore continue, mostrando pur nel dir suo che vi potesse essere qualche extravagante, ma che nol sapea. Io poi me credo che [u]na parte bona di questa trattatione così secreta sia stata sopra la materia del Concilio" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; *cf.* ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., 56. See also SOLDAN, I., 126.

[2] See G. M. della Porta's *despatch, October 30, as above.

[3] See Pap. de Granvelle, II., 341. *Cf.* the critical paper especially directed against DE LEVA (III., 114) in the periodical, Bessarione, III., 489 *seq.*; see also BALAN, Clemente VII., 209 *seq.*

[4] HERMINJARD, Corresp. de Réform., III., 183 *seq.*

exonerate "Clement VII. as having been deceived by Francis."[1]

All the Pope's exhortations to a reconciliation with Charles fell on the French King's pugnacious temperament like seed on a barren soil. It is undoubted that during the conference Clement exerted himself to bring about a peace between the two; very well-informed envoys state this expressly.[2]

Substantial successes for Francis I. were, besides the above-mentioned nomination of Cardinals, the gift of the last tithe for the Crusade[3] and the recall of the Swiss Nuncio Filonardi.[4] Clement excused himself to Ferdinand I. for this act of submissiveness by suggesting that he had found himself at Marseilles in the French King's power, and that the latter had threatened him with apostasy from Rome.[5]

Very important transactions also took place on the subject of the Council. Francis was inflexible in his opposition to one held in Italy; he also insisted that in the actual condition of Christendom such an assembly should be deferred until more propitious and peaceable

[1] Opinion of BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 126 note. See also BUCHOLTZ, IV., 297 *seq.*, and BRISCHAR, I., 80 *seq.* *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 35, the report of F. Peregrino, March 6, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See especially the *report of G. M. della Porta, dat. Marseilles, 1533, October 19, in the State Archives, Florence; the *report of F. Peregrino, dated Rome, 1533, September 10; and that of *Pastron, Marseilles, 1533, November 10, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix, No. 34. *Cf.* Clement's interesting letter to Charles V. in EHSES, Dokumente, 274 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Bull of November 4, 1533; original in National Archives, Paris, L 937.

[4] See WIRZ, Filonardi, 94 *seq.*

[5] See A. da Burgo's report in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 122 *seq.*

times. His arguments succeeded in inducing Clement, with feeble pliability, to consent to a postponement.[1] Even in the divorce suit of Henry VIII. he yielded to the request of Francis I., and on the 31st of October 1533 consented to a fresh respite of a month before giving effect to the threatened excommunication.[2]

Clement VII. left Marseilles on the 12th of November 1533, whereupon Francis started for Avignon. The Pope's voyage to Spezia was made under difficulties owing to heavy storms; as far as Savona he made use of French vessels; from thence he was conveyed to Civita Vecchia by Doria's squadron, and three days later he re-entered his capital, where he was joyfully received.[3] Soon afterwards an event occurred of vast consequence to the Church and the world. The complete separation of England from the Holy See, long threatened, became an accomplished fact.

[1] See EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., civ. *seq.*

[2] Consistory of October 31, 1533. *Acta Consist., Camer. III., in Consistorial Archives. *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 214.

[3] See *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS in Secret Archives of the Vatican, and *Acta Consist., Camer. III., in Consistorial Archives. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 88; BALAN, Clemente VII., 210; FONTANA, I., 181 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*; PETIT, 145.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Divorce of Henry VIII. and the English Schism

THE separation of England from the Holy See was not like that of Germany, the result of a combined movement of the common people and the learned classes; it arose rather from the sensual passion and autocratic temper of the sovereign, and consequently for a considerable length of time had a schismatical rather than an heretical character. The separation was favoured by the ecclesiastical and political development of the nation, which since the fourteenth century had begun to slacken its ties with Rome.[1] The dependence of the clergy on the throne had already become close under the first Tudor, Henry VII., whose accession, in 1485, not only put an end to the "War of the Roses" of the houses of York and Lancaster, but was the beginning, especially for England, of a new epoch. Henry VII. resembled in character Ferdinand the Catholic. A man with strong gifts of government, imbued with a sense of the prerogatives of the Crown, he let the weight of his authority fall heavily on the nobility and the Church. When he died, on the 21st of April 1509, he had laid deep the foundations of absolute monarchy in England; the Parliament had learned docility, the nobles and churchmen submission. His successor, Henry VIII., then in his eighteenth year, determined in these respects to walk firmly in his father's footsteps. The capricious and

[1] See Vol. I. of this work, p. 159 *seqq.*

despotic side of his character was at first kept in the background; all the more conspicuous was his love of pleasure and enjoyment. Good-looking, expert in all chivalrous accomplishments, the youthful King made a most favourable impression on the people by his spendthrift liberality, his splendid appearance, and the endless succession of festivities at his court. Nor was England long in playing a great and often successful part in the politics of Europe. After the dissolution of Parliament in 1515 the King and his Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, governed without it.

Wolsey's position, not only as a politician but as an ecclesiastic, was an exceptional one. Since 1518 he had held the rank of Papal Legate; this office had been conferred on him at first for one year, and the tenure of it was afterwards prolonged to three. The extensive faculties thus acquired, and the extraordinary plenary powers, as visitor of monasteries, wrung by him from Leo X. in August 1518, gave him an altogether abnormal influence over Church affairs. He made use of it without scruple to gratify his love of power and wealth.[1] Still dissatisfied with what he had already attained, this ambitious man demanded from Adrian VI. that his legatine office should be extended to the term of his natural life.[2]

Luther's new doctrine had found adherents also in England. Wolsey was comparatively lenient in his punishment of such; he indeed threatened them with the laws against heresy, but was restrained from enforcing them by his temperament of man of the world.[3] The

[1] *Cf.* GASQUET, Henry VIII., I., 67 *seq.*, and BROSCH, England, VI., 106.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 180. Clement VII. confirmed his predecessors' concessions; see GASQUET, I., 74 *seq.*

[3] BROSCH, VI., 135; *cf.* ZIMMERMANN, Die Universitäten Englands in 16 Jahrhundert, Freiburg i. Br., 1889, 38.

Cardinal endeavoured to maintain discipline and order among the clergy. Worthy also of recognition are his benefactions to the University of Oxford, where he raised a lasting memorial to his name in the truly regal foundation of Christ Church. It was characteristic of him that he obtained the necessary means by the dissolution of monasteries, under special powers obtained after a struggle from Clement VII.[1]

The English King, in recompense for his book against Luther, had received from Leo X. the title of "Defensor Fidei," from Clement VII. the golden rose, and from Luther, on the other hand, a "counter-reply of unspeakable coarseness and obscenity."[2] Henry complained of Luther's insults to the Elector of Saxony, and employed Thomas More and John Fisher to compose fresh refutations of the reformer. Nevertheless, Luther for some time afterwards indulged in the flattering hope that he might make a convert of the King of England, to whom with this object he addressed a very servile letter in September 1525 begging for pardon. But Henry dismissed his approaches with contempt.[3] Ten years later the same King tried by flattery to obtain from the doctor of Wittenberg an opinion favourable to his divorce. Only this one circumstance, only the desire to discard his lawful wife in order to marry a wanton, was the cause that led Henry to rend asunder the links that for nearly a thousand years had bound his kingdom to the See of Peter.

Soon after his accession, Henry VIII. had married the widow of his brother Arthur, Catherine of Aragon, who, as a daughter of King Ferdinand the Catholic, was the

[1] *Cf.* GASQUET, I., 72 *seq.*

[2] Opinion of K. MÜLLER, II., i., 514.

[3] WALCH, XIX., 470 *seq.*; ENDERS, Luther's Briefwechsel, V., 229 *seqq.*, 412 *seqq.*

aunt of Charles V. On the 26th of December 1503 Pope Julius II. had issued a Bull[1] granting the necessary dispensation from the obstacle to a valid marriage caused by the first degree of affinity. Catherine was five years older than Henry, but from the first the marriage appeared to be a perfectly happy one. Five children, three boys and two girls, were born, but the only one who lived was Mary, born in 1516. The Queen, as pious and virtuous as she was tender-hearted, bore these successive losses with Christian resignation. Like others of her countrywomen she aged early; she also had frequent illnesses, and the hope of a male heir vanished. Consequently the passionate King turned to other women. As early as 1519 he had adulterous relations with Elizabeth Blount and later with Mary Boleyn. Yet so little did the thought of a divorce occupy his mind that in 1519 he commissioned the Florentine sculptor, Pietro Torregiano, who had also executed the monument of his father, to prepare for him and his wife a common tomb.[2]

That Henry VIII. had other mistresses besides the two already named is probable, but not proven. According to his own testimony, conjugal relations between him and the Queen had ceased since 1524. The King, moreover, asseverated that serious scruples had arisen in his mind regarding the validity of his marriage; as the Scripture forbade marriage with a brother's wife, he feared that he

[1] For the Brief of Dispensation and its close connection with the Bull of Dispensation see *infra*, p. 265. There is no important difference between the two documents; in each case the impediment of affinity by marriage is removed and the way opened for the possibility of a valid declaration of consent.

[2] *Cf.* BREWER, III., 1, 2; BROSCH, VI., 212–213; LINGARD, VI. 130 *seq.* See also JUSTI in Jahrb. der preussischen Kunstsamml., XXVII. (1906), 254 *seq.*

might have been living incestuously with Catherine. It became evident only too soon that this scruple coincided with the passion, amounting almost to an obsession, which seized him in 1526. A lady of Catherine's court, Anne Boleyn, had by her attractions aroused the King's sensual admiration. Her resistance to his unlawful addresses, mingled as it was with coquetry, kindled her suitor's ardour to the highest pitch. Anne was sister of that Mary Boleyn who had previously been Henry's mistress. A marriage with her was confronted by exactly the same obstacle, only in an intensified degree, as that which now so grievously troubled the tender conscience of the King with regard to his union with Catherine.

The bold thought of ousting the legitimate Queen and supplanting her could hardly have entered into the head of Anne Boleyn.[1] Behind her stood two members of the great English nobility: her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Suffolk. For long these two had looked with jealousy and hatred on the position of Cardinal Wolsey in the councils of the King. From this quarter came the notion of a divorce; the idea itself originated in a subtly contrived plan to overthrow the all-powerful

[1] This "frivolous, pert, and intriguing young woman," says EHSES (Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 610 *seq.*), "insignificant both in intellect and character, was personally and morally no better than her sister Mary, who had been seduced by Henry VIII. If Anne Boleyn had not been taken aback by the contemptuous brusqueness with which the Royal libertine and niggard brushed aside the discarded instruments of his lust, she would have had as little need to play off upon the King her feigned prudery and affected maidenliness as upon any others who before or after sought her favours." For the actual existence of an illicit intercourse between Henry VIII. and Mary Boleyn (b. after 1503, married 1520, in the Queen's service since 1523) see POCOCK, Records of the Reformation: The Divorce, Oxford, 1870. *Cf.* GAIRDNER, Engl. Hist. Review, 1893, 53 *seq.*

Chancellor. Should the divorce and the marriage with Anne succeed, the downfall of the Cardinal would follow upon them; if they did not succeed, then Wolsey would incur the King's wrath on account of their miscarriage, so that in either case the fall of the hated favourite seemed certain.[1] In entire contradiction to the facts is the theory, at one time often upheld, that Wolsey, who was at first antagonistic, had, against his better conscience, and to his own undoing, consented to become the King's tool in carrying out the business, and was the originator of the scheme of divorce.[2]

It is impossible to say precisely at what moment the thought of divorce in order to remarry with Anne Boleyn took possession of Henry, at first as a secret between him and his advisers of the Norfolk party, and without Wolsey's previous knowledge; the scheme can be traced back as far as the spring of 1527, when Henry took the first steps towards its realization.[3] With a cunning dishonesty he managed at first to conceal the design lurking in his heart from those who were not initiated, even from Wolsey. The strange circumstance that, all at once, after eighteen years' marriage with Catherine, conscientious objections to the validity of that union should have arisen within him, he explained by referring to expressions used by the French Bishop, Gramont of Tarbes, who, in March and

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 610 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 590; BUSCH, in Histor. Taschenb., 1889, 280 *seqq.*

[2] Against this view see also GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 674 *seqq.*

[3] Brewer's view (BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 163 *seq.*) that already in 1526 negotiations with Rome concerning the divorce were in progress, is based on an erroneous construction of a document relating to an entirely different circumstance. *Cf.* for the contrary view EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 614; GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 676.

April 1527, stayed in England as head of an embassy to the English court, and then discussed a proposal of marriage between Mary, Henry's daughter, and Francis I. or one of his sons. The Bishop, so Henry asserted at a later date, had given utterance to suspicions of the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, as the marriage of Henry and Catherine had not been valid. There can be no doubt that the words attributed to the Bishop of Tarbes were a pure invention and Henry's pretended scruples sheer hypocrisy.[1]

On the day after the departure of the French Ambassador (May 8th) Wolsey appears to have been initiated, for the first time, into the secret of the divorce, but not in any way into the ulterior object, the fresh marriage with Anne

[1] Historians of more recent date, however, have still been taken in and take both statements as of genuine value; thus REUMONT, Beiträge, III., 75. See on the other hand EHSES, in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 612 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Charles V., III., 637; GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 675 *seq.* BUSCH (Histor. Taschenb., 1889, 285 *seq.*) says "that pangs of conscience on account of a sinfully contracted marriage with his brother's widow led the King to suspect the validity of his marriage is hypocrisy and falsehood. It would have required a sensitively scrupulous conscience to have raised religious objections to the immunity given by the Church itself. The Pope and the Church did all they could and offered all they could to allay any existing scruples of conscience, but Henry, with ever-increasing irritation, waived such attempts aside: for he did not wish his conscience to be set at rest. He wished the divorce. . . . In the whole process the most pitiable part played was that of the King." BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 178: "Granting that the King was troubled with thoughts of his succession, and doubts of the legitimacy of his marriage with Catherine, can anyone imagine that a pure and scrupulous conscience would have adopted such a method as this for removing his perplexities?" *Cf.* also DREUX, Le premier divorce de Henry VIII., in Posit. de thèses de l'école d. chart., 1900, 42 *seq.*, and BOURILLY-DE-VAISSIÈRE, Amb. de J. du Bellay, 464 note.

Boleyn. If at first he made objections and pointed out difficulties, later events showed that his opposition could not have lasted very long nor have been of great importance;[1] for on the 17th of May he was already holding, after previous arrangement with Henry, as Apostolic Legate, with Archbishop Warham of Canterbury as assessor, a Court of Justice before which the King was cited "to answer for eighteen years' sinful cohabitation with Catherine."[2] The whole business had been preconcerted; by means of this farce a sentence of divorce in Henry's favour was to be concocted, so that the King, by contracting a fresh marriage, might establish as soon as possible an accomplished fact.[3] After two further sittings, on the 20th and 31st of May, it became evident that this was not the way by which the desired end was to be reached. It was now determined to try to obtain, as far as possible, episcopal sanction for the divorce. Opinions were invited from bishops and canonists, but not with the wished-for result; the reply of Bishop Fisher in particular—and he did not stand alone among the rulers of the Church — was unconditionally in favour of the validity of the marriage. This probably caused Wolsey to reflect; but the Cardinal had taken the first fatal step, and he could now withdraw only with the greatest difficulty. As he allowed the whole month of June to go by without carrying the matter any further, Henry showed him clear signs of his dissatisfaction, so that he thought it well henceforward to beat down all objections and pursue the business with the utmost energy.[4]

The Cardinal had now come to be pointed at generally as the originator of the whole affair, and his enemies lost no

[1] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 614.

[2] EHSES. *loc. cit.*, 614 *seq.* [3] *Ibid*, 615. [4] *Ibid.*, 615 *seqq*

time in spreading this report in all directions. In reality Wolsey had entered only with great reluctance into a matter which appeared to him almost hopeless. As he knew the King's obstinate will, he held that no other choice was possible for him than to maintain his position. On former occasions he had always bowed before Henry's expressed wishes, and only ruled his master by convincing him that in a given case the conduct of his servant was the means most suitable for attaining the royal end. Confronted with the fierce passion of the King it now never entered his mind to offer a direct opposition; and to exhibit negligence seemed a course full of danger.

On the 22nd of June 1527, Henry, in a brutal manner, ordered Catherine to separate from him; he told the unhappy woman in plain words that after questioning various theologians and canonists he had become certain that during the whole of their married life she had been living in mortal sin. Catherine refused with determination to admit the charge, and in her rejoinder she brought into prominence a point which hitherto had been overlooked. Even if it were granted that serious objections might be raised against the Papal dispensation permitting a marriage with the wife of a deceased brother, yet in her case they could not apply, for, as her husband well knew, she had been Arthur's wife only in name, for their marriage had never been consummated.

For this disclosure Wolsey and the other advisers of the King were not prepared. They consulted as to what should now be done. On the 1st of July, just as the Cardinal was on the point of starting for France, the King caused him to be told that he was no longer deceived, that he, the Cardinal, seemed to be calling in question the justice of the King's "secret business." Wolsey at once replied with the assurance that this was not the

case. Even on the assumption that the marriage with Arthur had never been consummated, the fact still remained that he and Catherine had been married "in facie ecclesiæ"; this established the impediment of open wedlock from which the Papal Bull gave no dispensation. Therefore the invalidity of the King's marriage could be asserted as much as ever, for the dispensation had been insufficient.

After Wolsey had thus completely identified himself with the King's cause he started on his journey to France on the 3rd of July, in order to meet Francis I. at Amiens, and as representative of his master conclude the treaty with the French King. On his way from Westminster to Dover he made an attempt to win over, or rather to circumvent, Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher. To the latter he alleged, with total want of truthfulness, that the recent steps had been taken only in order to refute the objections to the validity of the marriage. He had another object in view as well: to blacken Catherine in the eyes of Fisher, who possessed the Queen's confidence, by suggesting that it was a totally unjust supposition on her part that Henry was aiming at a divorce, and that by her violence and impatience she was thwarting the good intentions of the King.[1] Wolsey, in acting thus dishonestly, had not the least suspicion that he himself throughout the whole affair was playing the part of the duper duped; he was still in entire ignorance of Henry's ulterior aims and of the sordid character of the business of which he had made himself an agent. He therefore believed that he would achieve a masterpiece of political ability if, when in France, where his mission, besides its main and avowed task, had also the secret object of

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Hist. Jahrb., 1888, 617; GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist Review, 1896, 679 *seq.*; BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 194 *seqq.*

cautiously initiating Francis into the scheme of divorce, he were to pursue, on his own responsibility, the project of preparing the way for a second marriage at some future time between Henry and a French Princess, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII.[1] As he remained in France after the conclusion of the treaty with Francis (16th of August 1527) up to the middle of September, it is presumable that during that month he set his plan in motion. He believed that under the circumstances of the hour he could carry the divorce through before the Pope became aware of it. His ambitious scheme was nothing less than this: he wished during the continuance of the imprisonment of Clement VII. to be appointed Papal Vicar-General, with the fullest conceivable powers, and by means of this delegated authority to settle the marriage question in Henry's favour.[2] To secure this appointment he sent, on the 15th of September 1527, the Protonotary Uberto da Gambara to the Pope.

Meanwhile Henry VIII. himself was about to take steps totally destructive of the schemes of the Cardinal, who hitherto was under the belief that he held in his hands the conduct of the whole affair. In the beginning of September Wolsey was informed that Henry was on the point of sending his secretary Knight to Rome. Anticipating mischief, he wrote on the 5th of September to the King dissuading him from this step; nevertheless Knight arrived at Compiègne on the 10th of September. As Wolsey himself had despatched agents to Rome on the King's behalf, he hoped that Knight's mission would be regarded as superfluous, and that the next King's messenger, Christopher Mores, would bring with him his recall. In

[1] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 620 *seqq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 680 *seqq.*

[2] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 221 *seq.*; GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 680. *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 440 *seq.*

order to avoid suspicion, Knight consented to wait for Mores' arrival; as the latter did not bring with him Knight's recall, the Cardinal had, on the 13th of September, to allow the latter to continue his journey to Rome. To deceive Wolsey, Knight was enjoined to take instructions from him; therefore the Cardinal gave the King's secretary the draft of a Bull conferring on him the appointment of Vicar-General of the Pope.[1] But Wolsey was carefully kept in ignorance of the real object of Knight's mission. Henry, in fact, had given the latter a draft of a Bull by which the King should obtain a dispensation to contract a fresh marriage, and that too either without a dissolution of his marriage with Catherine—in other words, to commit bigamy—or after a legal divorce.[2]

Knight's mission must have convinced Wolsey that the intention now was to take the management of the whole affair out of his hands. Now for the first time the suspicion arose that Anne Boleyn was the person designed to supplant the Queen. Accordingly he changed his plans and determined to return to England as quickly as possible, in order to regain that place in the King's confidence now imperilled by the secret intrigues of his enemies. Before leaving Compiègne he addressed, on the 16th of September, together with four other Cardinals, a letter to the Pope praying him to delegate his authority during the period of his captivity;[3] then, on the following day, he began his journey to England. On his first reception at court he at once perceived what a recognized position Anne Boleyn now

[1] In POCOCK, I., 19–21.

[2] *Cf.* BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 224; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 224 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 684 *seq.*

[3] EHSES, Dokumente, 6 *seq.*

held with the King.[1] The Cardinal's eyes were at last opened to the real state of things. Then it was that he remained upon his knees long imploring Henry to depart from his resolution. Bitterly he repented the willingness with which he had flung himself from the first, under mistaken suppositions and unconditionally, into the scheme of divorce; but now it was too late to draw back; he saw that his position and his life depended on this issue.

The only point on which Wolsey was able to move Henry was that the latter should at least at first abstain from the scandalous demand for a dispensation involving bigamy, to which the Pope, even if he were in the last extremity, could not be expected to consent. Consequently the King agreed to send Knight a fresh draft of a dispensation to take the place of that previously given him. But even now the King was again deceiving Wolsey. While Henry and Wolsey between them drew up a new draft of dispensation, destined for Knight, the King had already secretly despatched another draft, of the contents of which Wolsey knew nothing; moreover, Knight had received a strictly confidential intimation not to make use of the draft concocted with Wolsey until the secret draft should prove impracticable. The Bull of dispensation which Henry asked for in order to contract marriage with Anne Boleyn after divorce from Catherine, was to contain a clause dispensing from the impediment of affinity in the first degree caused by his previous illicit and adulterous intercourse with Anne Boleyn's sister.[2]

Knight reached Rome in November 1527, but owing to the Pope's confinement in St. Angelo he could not gain

[1] *Cf.* FRIEDMANN, I., 58 *seq.*; EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 625 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 224 *seq.*

access to him. Through intermediaries, however, he received Clement's assurance that, if he would withdraw from Rome and wait at Narni, he should obtain all that he asked for.[1] After the Pope's liberation Knight went with him to Orvieto, and here he actually obtained, after some hesitation, the Bull desired by Henry. It certainly had been revised in form by the Pope and the Grand Penitentiary Pucci, but in substance was in agreement with Henry's draft. The Bull was drawn up on the 17th of December 1527 and sent off on the 23rd.[2] It was only a conditional Bull dependent on the proof of the invalidity of the marriage with Catherine. Before this proof was clearly established, the Bull was absolutely valueless. Its contents were unimpeachable. The only evil results that might follow from it were that it tended to harden the King's determination to procure a divorce, and gave him a hope that Clement would be ready to give a prompt adhesion to his wishes.[3] The King was all the more prone to indulge in such expectations as the political situation was highly favourable to him.

[1] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 225.

[2] Printed in EHSES, Dokumente, 14–17; *cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 226 *seq.* In opposition to BREWER-GAIRDNER (II., 231 *seq.*) and FRIEDMANN (I., 64 *seq.*), who speak severely of Knight's stupidity and incompetence in drawing up a document, without any value, as long as Henry's first marriage was binding, EHSES maintains (*loc. cit.*, 227 *seq.*) that Knight on his first visit to Orvieto secured all that he was commissioned to obtain. His task was not to obtain the divorce but simply a dispensation for Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn in the event of the union with Catherine being at a later date legally dissolved. The whole transaction was certainly inept (*cf.* GAIRDNER, in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 687), but the ineptitude lies rather on the shoulders of the King than on those of his agent.

[3] BROSCH, VI., 217, well describes the dispensation as a knife without blade or handle.

The Pope, smarting from the deep injuries inflicted on him by the Emperor, was, together with Francis I., still his ally. The material and moral support guaranteed to him by France was subsequently of still greater importance.[1] On his journey home Knight met, near Bologna, an English courier carrying fresh instructions for him, Gregorio Casale, and the Protonotary Gambara. He was therefore obliged to return to Orvieto.

The instructions contained the above-mentioned draft of dispensation, as jointly composed by the King and Wolsey, but also a document of much greater importance, by which Wolsey, in accordance with an original plan of his own, sought to intervene decisively in the whole train of circumstances. This was the draft of a Decretal Bull to be signed by the Pope, transferring to Wolsey the entire adjudication of the case. On the English side five points were raised to invalidate the dispensation of Julius II. of the 26th of December 1503:—[2]

1. The Bull states falsely that Henry VIII. wished for the marriage with Catherine, whereas his father, Henry VII., without his son's knowledge, had procured the Bull.

2. The reason adduced for the issue of the dispensation, the maintenance of peace between England and Spain, was null or at least insufficient, as the two States had not been previously at war.

3. Henry VIII. was at the time (1503) only just twelve years old, and therefore not yet capable of a marriage dispensation.

4. The dispensation had lapsed, for at the time of the consummation of the marriage one of the persons, between

[1] This with special reference to the decisive years 1531–1534; see TRÉSAL in the Rev. d. quest. hist., LXXIX., 359 *seqq.*

[2] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 216; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, XI. 600.

whom peace was to be maintained by this alliance, Isabella, Queen of Castille, was dead.

5. Henry VIII. had protested against the marriage with Catherine before its consummation, and thereby had renounced the benefits of the dispensation.

In the Decretal Bull which Wolsey asked Clement to publish, the Pope was to declare that these five points, if capable of substantiation, were sufficient to invalidate the dispensation of Julius II. and therewith the marriage itself.[1] Nothing therefore now remained to be done but to test the soundness of these five points, and if their validity were established in one single instance only, then Wolsey, either alone or along with the Illyrian prelate Stafileo, was to have full powers given him to declare null and void the dispensation of Julius II., and therewith the marriage of Henry and Catherine; for this decision, placed in Wolsey's hands, the Papal ratification was to be guaranteed unconditionally and irrevocably. Never before had such a demand as this of Henry's been submitted to a Pope and his spiritual authority.[2]

The draft of this decretal commission was laid by Knight and Gregorio Casale before the Pope at Orvieto at the end of December. They appealed to the King's submissiveness towards the Church and urged that if the

[1] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 217, 231; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 597 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 231. *Cf.* BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 236: "Never was a more extravagant demand made on a Pope's good nature, and never was a stronger proposal submitted to the highest spiritual authority of Christendom. A man of even less firmness than Clement VII. and less regard for justice would have resented the suggestion that he should abdicate his functions of supreme judge and lend himself a willing and unresisting instrument to such a gross act of injustice."

doubt concerning the dispensation of Julius II. were not laid to rest there was the greatest danger in England of a contested succession. Greatly as Clement appreciated the dangers that threatened England from the failure of a male succession to the crown, yet it appeared to him impossible to accede to the immoderate demands of the English envoys. He first of all referred them to Cardinal Pucci, who was charged with the management of this affair. The envoys had no greater success in this quarter; an attempt to bribe Pucci failed. The latter moreover declared, after an examination of the draft, that the Bull as it then stood could not be granted without bringing indelible disgrace on the Pope as well as on Henry VIII. and Wolsey.[1] The envoys obtained instead a commission for Wolsey and Stafileo, drawn up by Pucci, from which the very point was omitted on which Wolsey set the greatest value, namely, the declaration that the five points laid down, if substantiated, would suffice to annul the marriage, so that he was also deprived of the wished-for possibility of a final decision being given in England. As a matter of fact the plenary powers conferred on Wolsey were thus made worthless.

Two fresh envoys were therefore sent to Orvieto, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's chief secretary and one of the most gifted canonists in England, and Dr. Edward Fox, with instructions to obtain the decretal commission in its original form, only, this was no longer to be drawn up for Wolsey alone or in conjunction with Stafileo, but a Papal Legate, if possible Campeggio, was to be sent in order to decide the case together with Wolsey. In the case of the decretal commission being unobtainable, the envoys were instructed at least to secure a general commission

[1] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 232; GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 690.

of the most comprehensive character possible for Wolsey and Campeggio, or even for Wolsey alone, or for him and Archbishop Warham of Canterbury.[1] Gardiner and Fox left London on the 11th of February 1528, and on the 21st of March, at Orvieto, met the Pope, now stripped of every vestige of temporal power. The negotiations began on the 23rd of March and lasted until the 13th of April. During their progress the English envoys were unceasing in their efforts to wring from Clement the plenary powers as specified in the English drafts. Almost daily the Pope and Cardinals held discussions of from three to four hours' duration, and on one occasion a conference of five hours lasted until one in the morning. According to his own reports, Gardiner, even if he exaggerated a good deal in order to emphasize his own zeal, displayed towards the Pope the most unblushing arrogance; but he did not succeed thus in extorting a full consent to the English demands.[2]

The Pope and the Cardinals were on their guard, and met the importunity of the English officials with great calmness and self-control. In spite of the insolence of Gardiner's demands, Clement never for a moment allowed himself to give way to a hasty expression. He as well as the Cardinals were firm in their rejection of terms which they could not and dared not concede.[3]

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 234 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 598.

[2] The reports of Gardiner and Fox in POCOCK, I., 95–140. One of Cardinal Pucci addressed to Clement himself, written with thorough knowledge of the affair, and clear exposition of the negotiations, is in EHSES, Dokumente, 22–27. *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 217 *seqq.* See also GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 696 *seqq.*

[3] GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 696; the Pope and Cardinals were determined "never to make such concessions as would enable injustice to be done with the sanction of the Holy See."

The Pope was not shaken even by the intervention of Francis I., who, in a special letter, gave his advice on the affair of Henry VIII. There is no justification for the charge then brought against Clement by the English party,[1] and renewed in our own days by recent historians,[2] that throughout the whole matter he was actuated entirely by political motives, that fear of the Emperor was the only ground on which he resisted the claims of England. The fear of the Emperor was a catchword constantly in men's mouths, and it was often used by the Pope himself as an excuse for his lack of acquiescence in the English demands. But in this particular case this was not the ruling motive; that was to be found in his conscientious regard for the duty of the chief ruler of the Church. What Gardiner had at last perforce to content himself with were

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 241 *seq.*, 641 *seqq.*

[2] BUSCH in Histor. Taschenb., 1889, especially 307. Against him EHSES, in Histor. Jahrb., 1892, 470 *seqq.* BROSCH, who (221 *seq.*) takes the same standpoint, at least admits (222), "If the Pope's attitude was open to censure, some excuse at least was to be found for him in his precarious situation and the fear which haunted him since the sack of Rome. When, on the other hand, Wolsey made every effort to bring about the divorce, and in the same breath overflowed with solemn protestations of the sanctity of wedlock, this was sheer hypocrisy and inexcusable."—"Even," says EHSES (*loc. cit.*, 1888, 242), "if Clement had had nothing to expect or fear from Charles, was he not bound, in a matter so highly affecting the honour of the Emperor, to avoid the least semblance of partiality? Even if it had been possible to dissolve, in accordance with law and justice, the union between Henry and the Emperor's aunt, it would have been imperative to have done this in a way congruous with the strictest law and precedent. . . . Henry could not have demanded of the Pope that he should take into consideration all the pleas he put forward on his own behalf and entirely ignore those of the Emperor." GAIRDNER also (Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, 699 *seq.*) rejects the charge against Clement VII. that he and his advisers were influenced by fear of the Emperor in their decisions in the English divorce suit.

the Bulls of commission of the 13th of April and the 8th of June 1528 respectively, which, in order to leave an opening for two possibilities, were drawn up in similar terms for Wolsey and Warham as well as for Wolsey and Campeggio.[1] The first Bull was despatched at once on the 13th of April, the second, also dated from Orvieto, the 13th of April, with the commission for the two Cardinals, was not officially executed until the 8th of June, at Viterbo.[2] As the mission of Campeggio to England was a certainty, the second Bull only was made use of. By this Bull the Cardinals received full powers thoroughly to examine whatever could be brought forward for or against the marriage of Henry and Catherine, and especially for or against the dispensation of Julius II.; then, after hearing both sides, to take summary proceedings, to declare the dispensation and the marriage severally, according to the just circumstances of the case and their convictions, to be valid and legal, or invalid and null, if judgment should be called for by one of the parties. In case of invalidity, in the same summary proceedings, the decree of divorce was

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 245 *seqq.*

[2] The Bull of commission for Wolsey and Campeggio is given in POCOCK, I., 167–169, and in EHSES, Dokumente, 28–30; *ibid.*, 30 *seq.*, the *Promissio Clementis VII.*, with which Röm. Quartalschr., XII., 225 *seq.*, may be compared. Under the date of April 13, 1528, yet a second and more comprehensive Bull of dispensation for a fresh marriage on Henry's part was prepared in the event of that with Catherine being declared invalid; published by GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1890, 544-550, and by EHSES, Dokumente, 33–37; *cf.* also GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1896, *loc. cit.* For the matter still pending this Bull also was without practical importance. It did not come near the question of the validity of the marriage with Catherine; see Katholik, 1893, II., 309. Gairdner says justly that Henry's conduct in submitting such a proposal to the Pope was a piece of incredible effrontery. If Clement had entered into it this would have been the culmination of subserviency.

to be declared and liberty be given to the King and Queen to contract a fresh marriage, but in suchwise that, if it seemed good to the Cardinals, the children of the first marriage, as well as those of the second, should be declared legitimate, and their legitimacy protected from all question under the usual punishments and censures of the Church.[1]

The two Cardinals were jointly delegated for this examination and adjudication; the English envoys, however, had carried the clause that either of the two would be justified in carrying on the proceedings alone, if the other were either unwilling or prevented by death or by some other just cause. Against the procedure of the Cardinals no objection, no appeal would be admissible; on the contrary, they were the representatives of the full and unlimited Papal authority. But the Bull did not contain that which for Wolsey had become the essential thing. There was no guarantee that the Pope would confirm the decision of the Cardinals; there was no specification of the ground on which the invalidity of the dispensation and of the marriage in the given instances was to be pronounced.[2]

When Fox returned to England with these results he was received on the 3rd of May by Henry and Anne Boleyn with great delight; it seems that both were of opinion that the goal was now almost reached. Wolsey, on the contrary, who saw deeper, knew that from the results brought back by Fox nothing was gained for the final decision of the case in England; but on closer reflection he concealed his dissatisfaction in order at least to gain time and postpone as far as possible the downfall that he knew to be inevitable.[3] He therefore immediately

[1] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 247 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 248 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 249 *seq.*; GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist. Rev., 1896, 702; FRIEDMANN, I., 70 *seq.*

made a last effort to obtain the Decretal Bull by means of Gardiner, who had remained behind in Italy. In connection with this scheme Wolsey, on the 10th of May 1528, arranged a curious scene.

In the presence of Henry VIII., Fox, and several of the King's procurators, he gave utterance to the solemn declaration: Although no other subject was so devoted to his prince as he was to his King, and though, on that account, his obedience, truth, and loyalty to Henry were so steadfast that he would willingly sacrifice goods, blood, and life to satisfy his "just desires," yet he felt that his duty towards his God was greater, before whom he must once for all give an account of his actions, and therefore in this matter he would rather incur the King's gravest displeasure, rather allow himself to be torn limb from limb, than do any act of injustice, or that the King should demand of him in this question anything that justice could not sanction. On the contrary, if the Bull (of Julius II.) should be pronounced sufficient, he would declare it so to be.[1] It was a pure piece of acting, got up simply in order that Fox, who was taken in by it, and on the following day was to send Wolsey's new instructions to Gardiner, should send an account of it to the latter, who would in turn relate the incident to the Pope. In this way Clement would be brought round to such an assurance of Wolsey's conscientiousness and love of justice that he could have no further objections to granting him the Decretal Bull.[2]

The instructions sent by Fox to Gardiner on the 11th of May were to the effect that he must carry through in any possible way the secret execution of the Decretal Bull. It must be represented to the Pope that Wolsey's esteem

[1] Fox to Gardiner, May 11, 1528, in POCOCK, I., 153 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 1897, 3; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 629 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 629 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 3 *seq.*

and influence with the King, and therewith the esteem attaching to the Holy See itself, are greatly dependent on the granting of such a Bull. In order to remove the Pope's objections Gardiner and Casale were instructed solemnly to declare and swear in Wolsey's name that the latter would "never on the ground of this Bull begin the process of divorce, nor show the document to a single person or in any way make use of it so as to expose the Holy See to the least prejudice or scandal. He would only show it to the King, and then keep it in his own private custody simply as a pledge of the Pope's fatherly disposition towards Henry, as a token of personal confidence in himself, as a means of maintaining and strengthening his position in the King's esteem with a view to the best interests of the Pope."[1] There is no doubt that these solemn promises were only attempts to deceive, and that they would not have been kept if the Pope had committed the blunder of placing unreservedly such a compromising document in the hands of so unscrupulous a diplomatist as Wolsey;[2] for, if the promised secrecy were observed, the Bull, on the whole, would be useless.

After repeated and lengthy negotiations and much pressure from the English envoys, Gardiner was at last able, on the 11th of June 1528, to report to Henry VIII. that Campeggio's mission to England was settled and that the Pope had promised to send the Decretal Bull by him.[3] In granting the Bull, Clement had carried consideration for Henry and Wolsey to its furthest limits, but he had taken

[1] EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 628 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 634 *seq.*

[3] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 635. GAIRDNER in Engl. Hist. Rev., 1897, 6. On the earlier controversies as to the existence or not of such a Decretal Bull *cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 28 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 607 *seq.*

the precaution to do so under such conditions that in reality it could never be anything more than what Wolsey, in asking for it, had pretended it to be. The latter saw to his great disgust that he had, in the strictest sense of the words, been taken in.[1] The object, put forward by Wolsey as a pretext, that the Decretal Bull was only a means of protecting his position as much as possible and proving to the King that he had done all that lay in his power to carry out his wishes, was attained when Campeggio showed the document and read it aloud to the King and Chancellor. But the misuse of the Bull, in spite of all Wolsey's promises, could only be prevented by Campeggio keeping the document in his own hands and destroying it at the right moment. The contents of this document can only be conjectured, but it must have been of such a character as to have made the divorce between Henry and Catherine possible and even an accomplished fact, had not the Pope entirely withheld it from the free disposal of Henry and Wolsey.[2] Even if Clement, in granting this illusory document, which confirmed the demands of Henry to their full extent, was guilty of incredible weakness, yet he was acting under the belief that the grievous blunder thus committed could be repaired by depriving the Bull of any possible practical use, and that he could avoid all difficulties and misunderstandings, by declaring firmly and clearly that he could never have allowed it to be put into execution, since, as the guardian of faith and truth, he must have repudiated its contents.[3]

Campeggio, who entered on his mission in July 1528,[4] was instructed to prolong his journey as much as possible,

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 636 *seqq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 6 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 640.

[3] *Ibid.*, 643.

[4] *Cf.* the Itinerary in EHSES, Dokumente, xxix. *seq.*

to defer crossing the channel as long as he could, and even when in England to do his utmost to protract the process of the divorce, and if possible to bring about a reconciliation between the King and Queen, but in no case was he to pronounce a final verdict without fresh and express faculties from the Pope; for it was hoped that in the meantime God's saving grace would perhaps incline the heart of the King to abstain from asking the Pope to grant what could only be granted with injustice, danger, and scandal.[1] Campeggio reached London on the 7th of October, suffering severely from gout.[2] Although the court rejoiced, his reception by the people was cold and even unfriendly. He appeared, among other aspects, to be the harbinger of a closer approximation to France. Men said openly that he came to be the ruin of England and to complete a deed of injustice.[3] After several interviews with Wolsey he had his first audience of Henry on the 22nd of October.[4] On the very next day the King in his impatience came to Campeggio, and in a long conversation announced his inflexible resolve to separate from Catherine. He urged strongly that in order to facilitate this step the Queen should spontaneously renounce her rights and retire into a convent. Campeggio and Wolsey were on the following day to begin to use all their arts of persuasion on the unfortunate woman. Before seeing her they were both received by the King;

[1] Sanga to Campeggio on September 16, 1528; see EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 643; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 609 *seq.*

[2] Campeggio to Salviati, October 17, 1528, in EHSES, Dokumente, 47.

[3] EHSES, Dokumente, 259; BROSCH, VI., 226.

[4] See for this and the events of the next day Campeggio's report to Salviati, October 26, 1528, in EHSES, Dokumente, 53 *seqq.* *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 36 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 610 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seqq.*

in this audience, held on the 24th of October, Campeggio read both the Bulls, of the 13th of April and the 8th of June respectively, in which the examination of the case was entrusted to the two Cardinals. Afterwards Henry expressed a wish to see the Decretal Bull; Campeggio showed it to him and read it aloud, but did not let it leave his hands, nor did anyone see it except the King and Wolsey. If no other order came from the Pope the document, after it had achieved its object, was to disappear. After this the Cardinals repaired to the Queen, who received them with deep distrust; the proposal that she should betake herself to a cloister was refused decisively on this as well as on a second occasion on the 27th of October.[1] Nothing would have been gained even if she had consented, for the question of the validity of the marriage was still open. That Catherine should have clung to her rights is quite intelligible. A Spaniard, a daughter of the Catholic King, she certainly could not have admitted to all the world that she had been anointed and crowned unlawfully, that for four-and-twenty years she had been her husband's concubine, while in her inmost heart she believed in the validity of her marriage. She therefore was convinced that she durst not endanger, by an act of surrender, the right of her only child to the succession to the throne.

Wolsey, much dissatisfied with the course things had taken up to this time, made yet another attempt to obtain the Pope's permission that the Decretal Bull should be shown also to the King's advisers, for in the instructions to Gregorio Casale of the 1st of November 1528 he wrote down the deliberate falsehood that it was the Pope's intention that the Bull should be used for the information

[1] End of the report to Salviati, October 28, 1528, in EHSES, Dokumente, 59 *seq.*

of Cardinal Campeggio and the King's councillors. The Pope, who now clearly perceived how imminent the danger was that the English double-dealing might lead to some misuse of the Bull, bitterly bewailed, when Casale presented to him Wolsey's demands, his previous complaisance, accused the English Cardinal of falsehood, and declared that if it were possible he would willingly lose a finger of his hand to undo what he had done. All Casale's further representations were useless, even his suggestion of the evil results which would follow on the Pope's refusal, the apostasy of the King and with him that of the country. But Clement now stood firm and disclaimed the responsibility for the effects upon England of Henry's action; he had done all that he could do, reconcilable with his conscience, to serve the King.[1] According to a later report from J. Casale to Wolsey of the 17th of December 1528, he repeatedly declared that he had drawn up the Decretal Bull in order that it might be shown to the King and after that burned forthwith.[2]

If from the date of Campeggio's arrival in October 1528 until far on in the following year nothing essential was done, not even the Court of Justice itself being constituted, this delay was certainly in correspondence with the Legate's intentions. It was, however, on the whole, occasioned by Wolsey's persevering efforts to guard the decision to be given in England from any uncertainty regarding its legality and to be forearmed against any appeal, before the suit began. In order to secure this he was bent either on obtaining the Papal confirmation beforehand or on so tying the Pope's

[1] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 638 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 611; BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 320 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 38.

hands that it would be impossible for him to refuse his ratification.[1]

An incident highly unfavourable to Henry's case and at the same time the cause of further delays was the sudden appearance in England of a hitherto unknown Brief of Dispensation of the 26th of December 1503, a copy of which Catherine had procured from Spain from Charles V. and produced, probably, in November 1528. By this document Henry's plea against the validity of the dispensation resting on the phraseology of the Bull of Dispensation was shaken. This Brief, auxiliary to the Bull of Dispensation, differed from the latter in certain particulars. In the Bull the actual consummation of the marriage of Catherine with Arthur was left open to doubt, by the addition of the word "perhaps," while in the Brief this word was absent, the consummation of the marriage thus being taken for granted; again, in the Brief, after stating the grounds on which the dispensation was given, the words were also added, "and on other definite grounds." [2]

[1] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 40 *seq.* "Whoever," says EHSES (p. 40), "will give himself the trouble to examine closely the policy of Wolsey and his agents in Rome, will not dispute our assertion that in the English demands the regard for law and admissibility was pushed into the background, and their one underlying practical motive was the unbridled passion of Henry, who was determined at any cost to be divorced from his wife Catherine. On this point also Wolsey stood firm, not because he approved of the King's passion but, at least from the year 1528, because he foresaw the apostasy of the Church of England if Henry was baffled in forcing his will on Rome."

[2] *Cf.* HERBERT THURSTON, The Canon Law of the Divorce, in the Engl. Hist. Review, XIX. (1904), 632-645, who sees in this latter point, not in the presence or absence of the "forsan," the essential difference between Bull and Brief and the particular ground why, in the eyes of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, the Brief was viewed as dangerous to their intentions. For the genuineness of the Brief, on which Froude has of late thrown doubts, *cf.* EHSES, Das Dispensbreve Julius II. für die Ehe

Wolsey exerted himself to render the Brief innocuous[1] in two ways. He first tried to obtain possession of the original, the Queen herself being treacherously induced, as though it were in her own interest, to obtain this from the Emperor. As this attempt failed, an endeavour was then made to get the Pope to declare that the Brief was a forgery; this was the main object of the mission of Bryan and Vannes at the end of November 1528, who were followed by Knight and Bennet on the same errand. The dangerous illness of Clement VII. in the beginning of 1529, when his death seemed not improbable, once more aroused Wolsey's longing for the tiara and in Henry the hope that all he wished for might be obtained without trouble; but the progress of negotiations was thereby suspended. On his recovery the Pope declared definitely that he could not pronounce the Brief to be a forgery.[2]

Even Campeggio felt so certain of the reports from various quarters of the Pope's death that on the 4th of February 1529 he discontinued his despatch of reports to Rome. He did not again resume them until the 18th

Heinrichs VIII. von England mit Katharina von Aragonien, in the Röm. Quartalschr., 1893, 180–198; also in his Dokumente, xxxi.–xliii. Further, BELLESHEIM in Katholik, 1893, II., 305 *seq.*, and in the Histor.-polit. Blättern, CXXIV. (1899), 578 *seqq.* *Cf.* also FRIEDMANN, II., 328–337; BORÉE, 34 *seqq.*; POCOCK, I., 181–201.

[1] *Cf.* BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 307–333. GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1897, 237 *seqq.*

[2] BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 332 *seqq.* "It is not easy to see at what other conclusion the Pope could have arrived consistently with the least respect to himself or his high position. Even a man of much less firmness and self-respect than Clement would have hesitated before he committed himself to such an extraordinary step as to pronounce a Brief of his predecessor to be forged, on an *ex parte* statement, when he had not yet seen the original."

when he addressed a letter[1] to the Secretary of State, Jacopo Salviati. This document, written for the most part in cipher, is in many respects of great importance and throws a very interesting light on the "whole tragic wretchedness of the subject." It relates how Wolsey with clasped hands adjured the Legate to co-operate with him so that the Pope, at any price, might give a decision favourable to the King, as in no other way could the impending calamities be kept back. "And in fact," Campeggio continues, "so far as I can see this passion of the King's is a most extraordinary thing. He sees nothing, he thinks of nothing but his Anne; he cannot be without her for an hour, and it moves one to pity to see how the King's life, the stability and downfall of the whole country, hang upon this one question."

[1] Campeggio's letter, February 18, 1529, was first published by EHSES in an article in the Röm. Quartalschrift, 1900, 263 *seq.*, who has finally relegated to the sphere of fable the assertion of several historical writers, derived from untrustworthy sources, that Clement VII. proposed to the King as a way out of his difficulties that the latter should pronounce an arbitrary and to a certain degree bigamous dissolution of his marriage. The original letter in the Carte Farnes., f. 689, litt. C, of the Neapolitan State Archives, was published by Ehses from a copy made by one of the other side and in many places incorrect. The necessary corrections kindly put at my disposal by Mgr. EHSES are as follows:—Page 264, line 9, insert after R^{mo}: "Eborancense et etiam a questa M^{ta} con la giunta del R^{mo}." In line 14, after che: "N. S^{re} omnino indicat inducias biennales et poi." Line 28, instead of "mostrano" read "S. M^{ta} monstrò." Line 30, "sua" instead of "sola." Line 31, instead of "han" read "ha." Page 265, line 1, instead of "in cio" read "tunc si." Line 4, instead of "nell' ultimo caso" read "in illud tempus"; line 6, instead of "possa" read "ponno"; line 35, insert "che" after "potendo." Page 266, lines 17–18, instead of "sato restar da gi" read "ma usato questo stratagema." Page 267, line 13, instead of "A.," read "lei." Line 16, instead of "in termine," read "per pentirsene." Line 21, instead of "meo saltem a terra et regno perpetuo exilio" read "me o saltem me terriano perpetuo exule."

Wolsey made through Gardiner one more attempt to obtain from the Pope an extension of the legatine powers so as to include absolute power of decision; but Clement now stood firm against any further concessions.[1] In the meantime also Charles V. had intervened at Rome on behalf of Catherine, with such success that already in April the question had arisen of revoking the powers given to the Legates in England, and transferring the whole case to Rome. In presence of this danger Wolsey found it advisable to abstain from pushing any further his unattainable demands, and to open the suit and bring it as quickly as possible to an end.[2]

On the 31st of May the court of the two Legates was constituted,[3] and the King and Queen were cited to appear on the 18th of June.[4] Catherine appeared on the first summons only in order to protest against the tribunal.[5] At the next sitting, on the 21st of June, at which the King and Queen were present, the latter repeated her protest, threw herself at the King's feet to entreat him once more to have compassion, declared that she would lodge an appeal with the Pope, and withdrew,[6] never to appear again

[1] *Cf.* GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, 1897, 243 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 41; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 613 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 231.

[3] For his negotiations, see Campeggio's reports in EHSES, Dokumente, 98 *seqq.* Other papers in POCOCK, I., 206 *seqq.* *Cf.* BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 338 *seqq.*; BORÉE, 49 *seqq.*; EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 41 *seqq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 614 *seq.*; BUSCH in Histor. Taschenb., 1890, 65 *seqq.*; GAIRDNER in The Cambridge Modern History, II., 431 *seqq.* See also STEVENSON, Henry VIII. and Card. Campeggio, in The Month, 1882, October.

[4] Campeggio to Salviati, June 4, 1529; EHSES, Dokumente, 99.

[5] Campeggio to Salviati, June 18, 1529; *ibid.*, 103 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* the two reports of Campeggio to Salviati, June 21, 1529; *ibid.*, 106, 108 *seq.*

before the Legates' court. She was consequently declared to have acted *in contumaciam*, and the case proceeded without her with great rapidity and on the pleading of one side only. In a cipher despatch to Salviati, Campeggio complained: "In the house of a foreigner one cannot do all one wishes; the case has no defence. A king, especially in his own house, has no lack of procurators, attornies, witnesses, and even laity who are hankering after his grace and favour. The Bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph have spoken and written in support of the marriage, also some men of learning have done the same, but in fear and on their own responsibility; no one comes forward any longer in the Queen's name."[1] The only person who championed the unhappy princess with unfaltering courage was John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester. The marriage of Henry and Catherine, so he declared in the fifth sitting, on the 28th of June, was indissoluble, no power could break their union; for this truth he was ready, like John the Baptist, to lay down his life.[2] Contrasted with the diplomacy and temporizing of almost all the rest, this declaration roused twofold sympathy. But all Fisher's determination was powerless to effect anything. Notwithstanding Campeggio's objections, the case was hurried on with precipitate speed and the decision was already looked for on the 23rd of July.[3] This, however, Campeggio prevented, for in the sitting of that date he adjourned the court during the Roman law vacations until the 1st of October. The sittings were never resumed, and in this way Wolsey was defeated.

[1] EHSES, Dokumente, 119–120.

[2] See the report of Campeggio's Secretary, Floriano, June 29, 1529, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 116 *seq.* *Cf.* BRIDGETT (German translation by Hartmann), 178 *seq.*

[3] Campeggio to Salviati, July 13, 1529, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 119.

It was high time for the case to be transferred to Rome; there had been too much delay. Not until Clement VII. felt that he was strongly backed by his alliance with Charles V. did he urge him to take decided steps. A Consistory of the 16th of July 1529 determined that on the ground of the Queen's appeal the case should be brought before the judicial court of the Rota at Rome.[1] This did away with the powers of the English Legates. On the 19th of September Campeggio had his farewell audience of Henry and took leave of him on friendly terms.[2] His journey was delayed by an attack of gout; he had intended to leave Dover, where he had been since the 8th of October, on the 26th of that month, but before he could do so he had to submit to treatment of a most disrespectful kind; his luggage was searched on the pretext that he might be taking to Rome treasure and compromising letters from Wolsey; the real reason, at all events, was that it was hoped in this way still to get possession of the Decretal Bull. As this, however, had been long since destroyed, this inquisition was without result.[3]

Before Campeggio left, the news of Wolsey's downfall had already reached him. The latter was now paying for the miscarriage of the divorce suit; by the 9th of October the proceedings against him had begun; on the 16th he was called on to deliver up the Great Seal. Robbed of

[1] The appeal presented in the Queen's name and countersigned by the Pope in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 122–123. The ratification of the transfer of the case to the Rota was communicated to the Queen and Wolsey on July 19; see the letter in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 120 *seqq.*; the further letters of the Pope of August 29 and September 4, *ibid.*, 125 *seqq.*

[2] Campeggio to Salviati, dated Canterbury, October 7, 1529, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 133–135.

[3] *Cf.* BREWER-GAIRDNER, II., 375 *seq.*; FRIEDMANN, I., 96 *seq.*; EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 46 *seq.*; EHSES, Dokumente, 137 *seq.*

his property and forbidden the court, again for a brief moment appearing to be restored to his sovereign's favour, he was finally charged with high treason. Arrested at Cawood on the 4th of November 1530, he died on the 29th of that month at Leicester Abbey, a house of Augustinian canons, on his way to London, where, it may well be, the supreme penalty awaited him.[1]

Together with Henry VIII., whose adulterous passion would submit to no check, Wolsey, by his base servility to the King, undoubtedly shares a great portion of the guilt of the severance of England from the Church.[2] He himself passed judgment on his conduct in the words spoken shortly before his death: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done my King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward I must receive, for in my diligent pains and studies to serve the King, I looked not to my duty towards God, but only to the gratification of the King's wishes."[3]

[1] *Cf.* especially in BREWER-GAIRDNER (II., 378–464) the full account of Wolsey's fall; see also STEVENSON'S excellent article in the Month, 1883, January. For Wolsey generally *cf.*, apart from the literature of the divorce, the article "Wolsey" by BELLESHEIM in the 2nd ed. of Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexikon, XII., sp. 1747–1756; among earlier writers A. v. REUMONT, Kardinal Wolsey und der Heilige Stuhl, in his Beiträgen zur italienischen Geschichte, III., Berlin, 1855, 1–100; FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS, Lives of the English Cardinals, II., London, 1868, 246 *seq.*; HOOK, Archbishops of Canterbury, N.S., I., London, 1868; CREIGHTON, Card. Wolsey, London, 1888.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 644 *seq.*

[3] As related by Cavendish; see EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 647, and REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 98. "A severe but nevertheless certainly the justest epitaph which could be placed upon his monument," says EHSES, *loc. cit.* Shakespeare has made use of the words in his Henry VIII., Act III., Scene 2. If the recent publication of original documents has brought to light in all its grandeur the hitherto insufficiently appreciated statesmanship of Wolsey, this ought not to lead to a one-sided admiration for

In the light of history Wolsey stands out as the powerful statesman to whom the England of Henry VIII. was indebted for her greatness and importance, but also his whole personality, viewed from this side exclusively, so as to make us forget that the very same documents in equal proportion reveal him to us in a saddening light as a servant of the Church. EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 647 *seq.*, sums up: "So long as it was only a question of external policy and calm, diplomatic calculation, so long as only his qualities as a statesman were called into action, Wolsey's position was a brilliant and lofty one, if not in the achievement of conspicuous successes, yet in the constant defence and elevation of the influence and reputation of England. The period subsequent to his fall, as has often already been remarked, offers his best panegyric. But where moral character and inner personal consistency ought to have shown themselves, there was revealed a deplorable weakness which places him in sharp contrast to a great predecessor in a similar position, Thomas Becket. With the frivolous king he could, when occasion called for it, be frivolous himself; proud and arrogant both above and below the surface, he was obsequiously devoted to his sovereign and therefore could not subordinate the glamour of the court and the favour of the wayward king to the thorny conflicts of conviction and duty. When Henry's passion proved itself stronger than the Cardinal's craven tears and abject entreaties, he preferred to lower himself beneath that passion and, reluctantly indeed and with protesting wishes in his heart, but outwardly at the hazard of all his ecclesiastical and political position, to become the contemptible agent of a contemptible job." BELLESHEIM writes in the Kirchenlexikon, XII., 2nd ed., 1755: "Misunderstood amid the pressure of the religious passions of the 16th century, Wolsey, judged by the various collections of State papers, is to the modern historian one of the greatest statesmen of his age and a founder of England's present position in the world. His private life, however, was not free from shadows, and Campeggio's despatches give us the picture of a minister who was double-tongued, dishonest and servile, and dissembling before his king. Wolsey's services to the Church were wholly bad, for, by his repeated threats to the Holy See, his combination in himself of the highest temporal and spiritual power as Legate and Lord Chancellor, and his disgraceful dissolution of monasteries, he taught Henry VIII. a lesson which the latter carried still further into practice by the introduction of the Royal supremacy and the dismemberment

as the pliant and unconscientious prelate who, by his unworthy obsequiousness in subserving the King's shameful desires, became in a degree responsible for the unhappy rupture in the Church which he wished to avoid. Too willing courtiers and servile diplomatists, even when clothed in ecclesiastical garb, have in all ages only been a cause of misfortune to the Church.

After Wolsey's fall, Anne Boleyn, as the French Ambassador clearly pointed out, wielded through her uncle and father an influence in the Cabinet as unlimited as that which she had hitherto for long held over her suitor, the King. There now appeared gradually on the scene another counsellor not less ambitious and not less unscrupulous than Wolsey, who was ready to shrink from nothing that could serve the purposes of the lustful king. This was Thomas Cranmer, the domestic chaplain of the Boleyns. He eagerly pursued the scheme of procuring from the most famous universities of Europe opinions favourable to the divorce. In England the same attempt was made by the issue from the press of writings unfit for publication. In France and Italy recourse was had to bribery.[1]

At the same time Henry made a fresh effort to win over to his side the Emperor as well as the Pope. In the beginning of 1530 he sent Anne Boleyn's father, recently raised to the earldom of Wiltshire, to Bologna with the ostensible mission of conferring with the Pope and Emperor on the general peace and confederation against the Turks; in reality he was sent in the interests of the divorce.[2] He

of his kingdom from the unity of the Church." See also BELLESHEIM in the Histor.-polit. Blättern, CXXIV. (1899), 582.

[1] *Cf.* FERET in the Revue des quest. hist., 1898, II., 63 *seq.*, 66 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* FRIEDMANN, I., 105 *seqq.*; BUSCH in Histor. Taschenb., 1890, 81 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, The Cambridge Modern History, II., 433 *seq.*

was to lay before the Emperor strong arguments against the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine, but Charles made short work of his representations. He was not more successful with the Pope, who eight days before Wiltshire's arrival had, by a Brief of the 7th of March 1530, transferred the matter of the English marriage to Capisucchi, Auditor of the Rota.[1] A Brief of the 21st of March prohibited anything being said or written against the validity of the marriage. The presence of the English Ambassador was made use of to deliver to him the citation summoning Henry to appear at Rome before the tribunal of the Rota. Yet the Pope consented to a postponement of the case, if Henry would promise in the meantime not to make any alteration in the state of things in England,[2] and the King accepted the offer upon this condition.[3]

In the meantime the opinions of the universities, extorted by force and cunning, were coming in. Henry's delight at the favourable replies, many of which he was particularly successful in obtaining from French seats of learning,[4] was diminished by the fact that other universities declared that the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine was only justifiable on the ground of the consummation of her marriage with Arthur, which the Queen denied on oath and the King was unable to prove. The hope also that the favourable opinions of the universities would move the Pope to give way proved idle. It now occurred to Henry VIII. that a meeting of Parliament might bring pressure to bear on the Holy See. On the 13th of July

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 139 *seq.*

[2] Clement VII. and Henry VIII., Bologna, March 26, 1530, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 140–142.

[3] April 10, 1530; *ibid.*, 143–145.

[4] See HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 809 *seq.*, and BOURRILLY, 99 *seq.*

1530 an address to the Pope, composed at Henry's instigation, was issued by the English prelates and nobles.[1] In it, with a reference to the opinions of the universities, the demand was put forward that Clement without delay should pronounce the dissolution of the King's marriage; with this was coupled the threat that otherwise England would settle the question unaided. The Pope's answer, of the 27th of September,[2] was a calm refusal of this demand. His decision would be given with such speed as was consonant with justice; neither the King nor his subjects could demand any other treatment.[3]

About this time the English envoys seem again to have importuned the Pope with a demand for his sanction of a double marriage. Gregorio Casale, on the 18th of September 1530,[4] sent a report on the matter giving the impression that the proposal had come from the Pope, and that the latter was inclined towards such a solution of the difficulty. Casale represents himself as having, "with an astonishing semblance of sanctimoniousness,"[5] replied that he durst not write in such terms to the King, as he

[1] In POCOCK, I., 429–433; *cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 153 *seq.*

[2] In POCOCK, I., 434–437; *cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 161 *seq.*: on p. 163 *seq.* another rendering, in substantial agreement, of this answer.

[3] "We shall not go wrong," remarks BROSCH (VI., 244), "if we see in this correspondence between Parliament and Pope the opening of the period in which Henry's marriage controversy became a conflict between England and Rome. For even if all hope of a mutual understanding had not yet disappeared, it is still obvious that Henry at this time had in view the possibility of a breach with Rome, although without any fixed plan, and Parliament was prepared to follow the King if he were willing to take the first steps towards a rupture."

[4] POCOCK, I., 428: "Superioribus diebus Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi posse vestrae Majestati, ut duas uxores habeat." *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., 1892, 477 *seq.*

[5] So characterized by EHSES, *loc. cit.*

feared that the Royal conscience, which it was the main object in this whole affair to pacify, would not consent to such an issue.

How unreliable this account was is shown by the despatch of William Bennet, in any case a more trustworthy man, sent to Henry on the 27th of October 1530.[1] Soon after his arrival[2] Clement had engaged him in conversation on the subject of a dispensation to have two wives, but his remarks were so ambiguous that Bennet suspected that the Pope either intended to draw from Henry a recognition of the unlimited nature of the dispensing power—since a dispensation to contract a bigamous marriage was at least no easier matter than the previous one for the marriage with Catherine—or that he wished in this way to keep the King in check in order to gain time. "I asked Clement VII.," Bennet continued, "if he were certain that such a dispensation was admissible, and he answered that he was not; but he added that a distinguished theologian[3] had told him that in his opinion the Pope might in this case dispense in order to avert a greater evil; he intended, however, to go into the matter more fully with his council. And indeed the Pope has just now informed me that his council (known as the Consistory of Cardinals) had declared to him plainly that such a dispensation was not possible." If Clement had thus really hesitated for a

[1] In POCOCK, I., 458 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 479 *seq.*; with PAULUS in the Histor.-polit. Blättern, CXXXV. (1905), 89 *seq.*

[2] PAULUS, *loc. cit.*, 89, "therefore well on in summer 1529, for Bennet had his first audience of Clement VII. on June 21."

[3] Cajetan is very likely meant, for he held the view that polygamy was not against the law of nature and nowhere forbidden in the Old Testament, although he did not share Luther's standpoint regarding its admissibility under the law of Christ. *Cf.* PAULUS, Cajetan and Luther on Polygamy, in the Histor.-polit. Blättern, CXXXV., 81 *seqq.*, 90 *seq.*

time over the possibility of a dispensation for a dual marriage, his uncertainty was soon brought to an end[1] by this categorical denial of its admissibility, and there are not the remotest grounds for speaking of a parallel between Clement's attitude and that of Luther towards double wedlock.[2]

On the 6th of December 1530 Henry VIII. wrote a letter to the Pope containing violent complaints and taunting him with complete subserviency to the Emperor.[3] Cardinal Accolti was instructed to send a reply. "As," said Clement, "we stand between the Defender of the Faith on one hand and the Advocate of the Church on the other, no suspicion

[1] PAULUS, *loc. cit.*, 90.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, article in literary supplement to Köln. Volkszeitung, September 11, 1902, No. 37. See *ibid.*, 1903, No. 48 (November 26), NIK. PAULUS on Luther and Polygamy. W. KÖHLER (Die Doppelehe Landgraf Philipps von Hessen, in the Histor. Zeitschr., N.F., LVIII., 1905, 407) admits frankly: "It cannot be doubted that Catholicism *in puncto* bigamy comes off better than Luther. Pope Clement VII. who, in the case of King Henry VIII. of England, had to face the problem of bigamy, did not declare for the possibility of a dispensation to contract a double marriage, although to all appearance he was not convinced of its impossibility: his Cardinal, Cajetan, had certainly laid down that polygamy was not contrary to the law of nature and was nowhere forbidden in Holy Scripture, but he did not on that account come near to asserting its admissibility. 'For,' it has been rightly observed (by NIK. PAULUS in the literary supplement of the Köln. Volkszeitung, April 30, 1903, No. 18), 'together with the authority of Holy Scripture there exists for the Catholic that also of tradition and the Church. But Cardinal Cajetan never thought of disregarding the canon law, which most strictly forbids polygamy.' It is quite clear that on this point the legitimation by the State, society, and civilization under the law of nature are on the side of Catholicism, while Luther's view, as is to be noticed in other instances, was much more sharply dualistic."

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 167–170; Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 244 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 811.

of partiality ought to be raised against us, since we are governed by the same sentiment of affection towards the one as towards the other. Besides, we call on God as our witness and give the surety of our pontifical word that the Emperor has never asked of us anything except simple justice. For he said to us that if the Queen's cause was unjust it was not his intention to uphold it, rather must he in that case cast the burden of the matter on those who were the means of bringing such a marriage about. But if the Queen was in the right he would then be doing shameful despite to his honour if he allowed her to be unlawfully oppressed. Whether the English envoys have demanded justice from us in like way is a matter of which the King cannot be ignorant." The Pope protested that his decision would be given only in accordance with justice.[1]

A Papal Brief of the 5th of January 1531 renewed the edict of the 7th of March 1530 containing the threat of ecclesiastical punishments and censures for Henry VIII. and any female who should contract marriage with him while the case was under adjudication by the Rota.[2] Henry, who had now no further hope of bending Clement to his will, took, without further delay, the first step on the road leading inevitably to the total separation of England from the Holy See. A general convocation of the English clergy, held in the middle of January 1531, was called upon to acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church and clergy of England, to which declaration convocation, now forced to abandon their previous opposition,

[1] EHSES, Dokumente, 172; Histor. Jahrb., 1888, 244 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 811.

[2] In POCOCK, II., 104–108. *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 175 *seq.* BROSCH, VI., 246.

added at least the clause "so far as the law of Christ permits." [1]

The inquiry set on foot in Rome made no advance of any importance in the year 1531.[2] Henry neither appeared in person on his citation nor did he send a representative, but he protested through his Ambassador and Dr. Carne,[3] who had been sent to Rome as "Excusator" for his non-appearance and to demand that the case should again be remitted to England. The proposal, by way of compromise, emanating from Rome that the case should be transferred to[4] some neutral locality, such as Cambrai, was rejected both by the English King[5] and by the Emperor as Catherine's representative.[6] Henry then proceeded to discontinue the recognition of Catherine as Queen *de facto*, for in August 1531 he banished her from court, while the apartments formerly belonging to her were occupied by Anne Boleyn.[7]

On the 25th of January 1532, Clement, according to an agreement with the Emperor, addressed a Brief to Henry containing earnest but temperate remonstrances against his course of action and exhorting him to recognize Catherine as his lawful wife and to dismiss Anne Boleyn until the decision in the case was given.[8] This Brief was

[1] *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 247 *seq.*; BRIDGETT (German translation by Hartmann), 200 *seqq.*

[2] GAIRDNER, Cambridge Modern History, II., 436 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, Dokumente, 195 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 436 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Salviati's letter to Campeggio, June 9, 1531, in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 176 *seq.*

[5] Henry VIII. to the Pope, December 28, 1531, in POCOCK, II., 148-151. *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 191.

[6] *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 179.

[7] *Cf.* FRIEDMANN, I., 149; BROSCH, VI., 248 *seq.*

[8] In POCOCK, II., 166-168. *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 192 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 249.

delivered to the King on the 13th of May, but produced no effect. On the contrary, in the spring of this year he took another and more important step hostile to the Holy See, for he carried an Act of Parliament abolishing annates, the execution of which was left to the King's discretion.[1] At the end of October 1532 a meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I. took place at Boulogne. The former hoped at that time that Francis would succeed in inducing the Pope to lay aside his opposition to the divorce. France in that case might depend on the support of England in the event of a war with the Emperor.[2]

Francis entered into this plan. He sent Cardinals Gramont and Tournon to Rome with instructions to threaten the apostasy of the Kings of France and England if the Pope did not assist the one in his schemes for the acquisition of the Duchy of Milan and the other in his marriage with Anne Boleyn. In consequence, however, of Charles's successful campaign against the Turks, the terms of this message were considerably toned down.[3] Before leaving Bologna the Pope once more addressed an admonition to Henry[4] which was also couched throughout in gentle language. This was occasioned by the elevation of Anne Boleyn on the 1st of September 1532 to the rank of Marchioness of Pembroke, and her journey in company with Henry to Calais in October, when she was presented to Francis I. as the future Queen. The Pope threatened the adulterous couple with excommunication if they did not

[1] *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 249 *seq.*; GAIRDNER, *loc. cit.*, 437, 439.

[2] *Cf.* the detailed description in HAMY, Entrevue de François Ier avec Henry VIII. à Boulogne-sur-Mer en 1532, Paris, 1898.

[3] PALLAVICINI, III., 11. The original instructions for the two Cardinals in the Preuves des Libertez de l'Église Gallicane, 630 *seq.*

[4] In POCOCK, II., 378 *seqq.* *Cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 200 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 252.

separate before the expiration of a month and Henry did not return to his legitimate consort; at the same time he renewed all former enactments against attempts to procure a divorce in England and the marriage with Anne Boleyn, and declared afresh the nullity of all such proceedings. Henry retorted by the strict prohibition "of the publication of anything whatever against the Royal authority if coming from Rome, or any attempts to hinder the execution of those Acts passed in the last Parliament for the removal of abuses abounding among the clergy."[1]

On the 25th of January 1533 Henry VIII. was secretly married to Anne Boleyn, whose pregnancy as affecting the future child's right of succession made further delay impossible, although of the final decision regarding the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine not a syllable had hitherto been uttered.[2] On the 12th of April (Easter) Anne Boleyn appeared publicly for the first time as his consort.[3]

In the meantime the death of Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, in August 1532, was of great advantage to Henry, for he was thus enabled to appoint a successor to

[1] BROSCH, VI., 253.

[2] *Cf.* FRIEDMANN, I., 182 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 253. Several historians have given November 14 as the date of the marriage; this ante-dating, however, rests on purposely false statements made later by the court party in order to make it appear that Elizabeth, born on September 7, 1533, was conceived in wedlock and not in adultery. The undutiful priest who performed the ceremony has usually been spoken of by earlier writers as Dr. Lee. According to FRIEDMANN (II., 183 *seq.*), he was more probably the Augustinian, George Brown, Prior in London in the spring of 1533, Provincial 1534 (afterwards Protestant Archbishop of Dublin). GASQUET (Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries [German translation by ELSÄSSER, Mainz, 1890, I., 131]) also thinks this likely.

[3] FRIEDMANN, I., 199.

the see on whose entire subserviency he could depend. His choice fell on Thomas Cranmer,[1] who had become his secretary through Anne Boleyn's influence. He was "an obsequious servant and an intriguer, fertile in ideas, whose services were also at the disposal of his master's wishes."[2] Although for long alienated at heart from the Church, this immoral priest succeeded in deceiving the Pope as to his position, so that after receiving the confirmation of his appointment on the 30th of March 1533, he was able to be consecrated. In him Henry and Anne found a worthy instrument ready to carry out all their wishes. Henry, in previous collusion with Cranmer, went through the farce of a judgment on his marriage.[3] Cranmer cited Henry and Catherine before his court at Dunstable, where the proceedings began on the 10th of May. Catherine, however, only signed two protests, for she refused to recognize Cranmer as judge, and took no further notice of his proceedings. On the 23rd of May Cranmer pronounced the marriage of Henry with Catherine null and void, and on the 28th he declared the marriage with Anne Boleyn valid. Thereupon the latter was, on June the 1st, crowned with great pomp as Queen.

On being informed of these proceedings, Clement VII. hesitated in characteristic fashion for some time, and then at last, on the 11th of July 1533, he gave sentence against Henry,[4] pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn null

[1] FRIEDMANN, I., 174 *seqq.*

[2] Thus the author of the article on Anne Boleyn in the Allgemeine Zeitung, 1893, Supplement No. 195. *Cf.* STEVENSON, Cranmer and A. Boleyn, in Hist. pap., of J. Morris (S.J.), I., London, 1892 (Publicat. of the Cath. Truth Society).

[3] *Cf.* FRIEDMANN, I., 201 *seqq.*; GAIRDNER, Cambridge Modern History, II., 439 *seq.*; EHSES, Dokumente, 202; Briefs and Documents in POCOCK, II., 473 *seqq.*

[4] In EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 212 *seq.*; less accurately in POCOCK, II., 677 *seq.*

and void, and the offspring, if any, of the union illegitimate, and laid the King under the greater excommunication. But even yet a time of grace was given him up to the end of September. The excommunication was not to take full effect until he showed his final disobedience in retaining Anne Boleyn and refusing to restore Catherine to her rightful place as Queen and wife. Cardinal Tournon succeeded in obtaining from Clement a further respite of a month[1] from the 26th of September. The latter hoped, it would seem, that a reconciliation might be brought about, although all hope of one had for long been abandoned,[2] and consented, on his meeting Francis I. at Marseilles, to a yet further postponement to the end of November at that King's request and out of regard for the new English envoys whose arrival was expected. The mission, headed by Gardiner, treated Clement, to the great disgust of Francis,

For the Consistory see also the *report of F. Peregrino, dat. Rome, July 11, 1533, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 262 *seqq.* The latter remarks: "The Pope himself was no longer under delusion as to the importance and consequences of this sentence; he was aware that Henry would renounce his obedience and estrange England from the Apostolic See, and he said so often. 'I am sure,' he declared (Bishop Merino's despatch to Charles V., August 18, in GAYANGOS, IV., 2, 772), 'that I have now lost the obedience of England for good and all.'" On this Brosch observes from his one-sided, purely political view of the Pope's behaviour: "But Clement durst not oppose his just insight into the position of things to the wishes of the Emperor. For Charles was lord of Italy; at a sign from him the rule of the house of Medici in Florence would have vanished." This criticism entirely overlooks the fact that if the Pope had acted otherwise than he did he would have committed a gross outrage on his sacred office.

[1] LE GRAND, III, 569; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 214.

[2] In August the English envoys were recalled from Rome (*cf.* BROSCH, VI., 263 *seq.*). *Letter of F. Peregrino of August 16, 1533, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

with extreme insolence and demanded the withdrawal of the sentence against Henry. To the Pope's friendly proposal that the whole case should be reheard at Avignon by special Legates, on condition that Henry recognized the Papal authority and promised to accept the final decision, Gardiner replied that he had no powers. On the 7th of November 1533 the English envoys presented to the Pope Henry's appeal to a council.[1]

In the session of Parliament opened on the 15th of January 1534 Henry passed a series of resolutions of an anti-Papal tendency;[2] the annates and other payments to Rome were finally abolished; the power of jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the Pope was transferred to the King; the bishoprics were to be filled by capitular election, which, however, was to be determined in favour of the person chosen by the King. A further Act contained a declaration against the "usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome," as the Pope henceforward was to be designated. By the Act of Royal Succession the marriage with Catherine also was declared null from the beginning and the Princess Mary illegitimate, while on the other hand the children of Anne alone were in the rightful succession to the throne. The sanguinary measures against the opponents of Henry's policy began with the trial of the "Maid of Kent"; the execution of this nun and her fellow-sufferers opened up a period which lasted throughout the following thirteen years of Henry's reign and may well be described[3] as a "reign of terror."

[1] FRIEDMANN, I., 247–253. *Cf.* also HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 812, and HAMY, Entrevue à Boulogne-sur-Mer, 194 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 271 *seq.*

[3] BROSCH, VI., 270. *Cf.* GASQUET, Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries (Elsässer's German translation), I., 96–126; BRIDGETT (Hartmann's German translation), 248–277.

Almost simultaneously with Henry's last step, so long dreaded[1] by the Roman Curia, towards severing the bonds which for a thousand years had linked England with the Church and the Papal authority, came the final decision in the Rota on the question of the divorce. If the Pope, hoping that the King's passion would cool down with time, had previously carried compliance to too great a length and repeatedly arrested the course of true justice, while also exposing himself by his imperturbable silence to the unjust reproaches of the English envoys, there was one thing still remaining which he would not sacrifice at any cost, namely, the sanctity of the marriage bond. Even at the risk of losing England to the Church he withstood the tyrannical king on this point from the consciousness of a higher duty. After long and thorough deliberation[2] Clement, on the 24th of March 1534, pronounced in secret Consistory the final sentence,[3] in which the marriage with Catherine was declared valid and lawful and the King bound in duty again to receive and honour the unhappy woman as his wife. As a rejoinder thereto Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell now proceeded to carry out without scruple the recent Parliamentary enactments.[4] Those who, like Sir Thomas

[1] *Cf.* the **reports of F. Peregrino of November 30 and December 16, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Besides EHSES, Dokumente, 214 *seq.* and 228, *cf.* also the **reports of F. Peregrino of January 10 and March 22, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and **those of Andreasius of January 14, February 6, 14, 24, and 27, 1534, in State Archives, Milan.

[3] In EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 215 *seq.*; less accurately in POCOCK, II., 532 *seq.* *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 278. A printed copy of the *Sententia diffinitiva* in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, as a supplement to F. Peregrino's *report of May 10, 1534.

[4] BROSCH, VI., 278 *seq.*

More and Bishop Fisher of Rochester,[1] refused the new oath of the Royal succession, containing by tacit implication a recognition of the King's supremacy over the Church, fell victims to the tyrant's wrath. The severity of Henry's action surprised his people, who had not anticipated so extreme a crisis, and in a credulous optimism had hoped that the storm would soon pass over.[2] In addition there was the unfortunate circumstance that the exceptional position long held by Wolsey as Chancellor and Legate had habituated men's minds to the combination in one person of the highest temporal and spiritual power.[3]

The boundless pusillanimity of the majority of the clergy was fatal. The full significance was now made clear of the principle of the supreme authority of the English Crown in matters spiritual which was involved in the so-called statute of Præmunire passed as long ago as 1365. If so learned a man as Thomas More held erroneous and perverted views on the Primacy[4] until closer study brought him to the light, we can measure the extent to which such views were current among the majority of Englishmen. The oppressive measures of Henry, unflinchingly carried out, did the rest. When, in the summer of 1534, the oath was tendered to the whole of the secular and regular clergy, abjuring the Papal and acknowledging the Royal supremacy over the Church, almost all submitted. The Observants of the Franciscan Order were conspicuous in their resistance, but among the secular clergy the threat of the confiscation

[1] *Cf.* BRIDGETT, 277 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* CAMM, Lives of the English Martyrs, I., London, 1904, Introd.

[3] *Cf.* MARTIN, 87.

[4] *Cf.* CAMM, I., 194, and ZIMMERMANN in Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Germania, 1906, n. 6.

of their benefices had for the most part the desired effect.[1]

When Clement VII. died on the 25th of September 1534, the English schism had become an accomplished fact.[2] The Parliament and most of the clergy were in complete subjection to the King, who now held the temporal and spiritual authority combined, and had raised his mistress to the throne. If Henry, in dragging down the English Church to a state of schism in an outburst of despotic caprice and adulterous passion, had not at first thought of more inward revolutions in faith and worship, yet assuredly it was only a matter of time that by the further exercise of the arbitrary power of the sovereign, that Church should be transformed into a community based on principles of Protestantism.

[1] *Cf.* BROSCH, VI., 278 *seq.*; GASQUET, I., 130 *seq.*

[2] Henry VIII. is said to have remarked on hearing of Clement's death: "Whoever is elected Pope, I will take no more notice of him than of any priest in my kingdom." BROSCH, VI., 282.

CHAPTER IX.

The Protestant Revolt in Scandinavia and Switzerland. —Heretical Movements among the Latin Races.

The separation of the Scandinavian kingdoms from the centre of Christian unity had a close affinity with the same movement in England. In the former case as in the latter the momentous change originated with and was accomplished by the despotic authority of the Crown. One feature, however, differentiated the two; while Henry VIII. was an opponent of the teaching of Luther, the latter was encouraged by all the means in their power by Frederick I. of Denmark and Gustavus Wasa of Sweden.

That the overthrow of the ancient Church among the vigorous peoples of the Scandinavian kingdoms was carried out in a comparatively short space of time is more easily understood if we reflect that Christianity was of late growth in those regions and that, lying at the furthermost bounds of the sphere of Papal authority, they felt but feebly the influence of the Holy See. Other circumstances leading up to an apostasy and making it easier were the secular lives of so many of the clergy, the great riches of the Church exciting the covetousness of needy kings, and last, but not least, the deep implication of the episcopate in political affairs.[1]

In order to ward off the dangers threatening the

[1] *Cf.* v. Schubert in the Zeitschr. für schleswig-holstein. Gesch., XXIV., 104 *seq.*, and Schäfer, IV., 136, 138.

Catholic religion, the bishops of Denmark had inserted in the capitulation on the election of the new King, formerly Duke Frederick of Holstein, not merely a promise to protect "Holy Church and her servants," but also the express stipulation never to permit a "heretic, whether a follower of Luther or others, to spread his teaching privately or publicly" in his kingdom. The capitulation of the 3rd of August 1523 established further that only Danish nobles were to be appointed to bishoprics, only Danish subjects to benefices, and that no foreigner — thus not even the Pope — should dare take proceedings against Danish prelates, or pronounce any decision in Rome in connection with the Danish episcopate on any ecclesiastical matter. These decrees can only be partially explained and excused on the ground of the abuses in the Roman Curia, but they shot far beyond the mark; indeed, they opened the road to a Danish National Church on the lines of the Gallican,[1] and that at a moment when it was of vital importance that the ties of Church unity should not be relaxed. From this time onwards the spirituality were compelled, in their opposition to the Protestant teaching already permeating Denmark, to seek their only support in the nobles and the Crown. That no reliance could be placed on either was, only too quickly, to be shown.

As soon as King Frederick I. felt himself secure on his throne, he began with great caution and shrewd calculation to take steps prejudicial to the Church. He broke his oath and gave assistance to the Protestant movement; on the 23rd of October 1526 he appointed as his chaplain[2] Hans Tausen, a Knight Hospitaller who had

[1] See PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 515. For Clement's foresight with regard to Denmark *cf.* MARTIN, Gustave Vasa, 191 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RÖN, J. Tausens Liv, Kopenhagen, 1757; SCHÄFER, IV., 134

broken his vows. At the Diet at Odense in November of the same year he demanded that the fees on presentation to livings paid to the Papal treasury, as well as the annates, should in future be spent on the defences of the kingdom. The Royal Council agreed, and, as it seems, the Bishops also, who hoped to save the main position by making concessions. Their endeavours to win over the nobility through a "questionable servility" to take part against Luther's "unchristian teaching" also came to nothing, and all further compliance proved useless.[1] The King extended his protection to the Protestants in an increasing degree, tolerated their violence towards Catholics, and filled vacant sees with creatures of his own, who were neither consecrated, nor acknowledged by the Pope. At the Diet at Copenhagen in 1530 upwards of one-and-twenty Lutheran preachers appeared and presented as their Confession of Faith forty-three articles containing passionate and injurious attacks on Catholics.[2] The Catholic prelates, who were accompanied by their ablest theologians, in particular by the Carmelite Paulus Heliä,[3] a noted disputant, raised bitter complaints of their unjust

seq.; SCHMITT, Der dänische Luther, in the Hist.-pol. Bl., CXIV., 629 *seq.*; J. Tausen, by the same, Köln, 1894, and Sthyr's Theologisk Tidskrift, VII.

[1] SCHÄFER (IV., 138) says: "It leaves a sorrowful impression to trace in detail the helplessness and defencelessness of the Danish clergy, oppressed on every side and curtailed of their rights, retreating step by step, always hoping that the surrender of untenable positions would at least secure the safety of essentials, while the enemy, cheered by success but never satisfied, kept up their relentless pursuit."

[2] See PONTOPPIDAN, Annal., II., 836 *seq.*; MÜNTER, Kirchengesch. von Dänemark, III., 308; SCHÄFER, IV., 163.

[3] See L. SCHMITT, Der Karmeliter P. Heliä, Freiburg i. Br., 1893. *Cf.* also his Verteidigung der katholischen Kirche in Dänemark gegen die Religionsneuerung in 16 Jahrhundert, Paderborn, 1899.

treatment. They appealed to the election capitulation, and demanded the suppression of the Protestant movement. It was all in vain. Frederick I. came forward openly on the side of the Lutheran preachers and declared that throughout the kingdom "he who had grace" should have permission to teach.

Under cover of the King's favours the Protestants in Copenhagen and other places took possession by force of churches and convents.[1] A further impetus was given to the Lutheran cause by the unsuccessful attempt of Christian II.,[2] who had ostensibly become reconciled to the Church, to recover his kingdom. After the death of Frederick I. (10th of April 1533) an interregnum ensued in the hands of the nobles and bishops, who deferred the election of a new king. While this lasted the majority in the Royal Council who were still Catholic tried to restore the Church to her ancient rights, but the attempt was a complete failure from the beginning, for the higher clergy thought more of power and property than of the old faith. Although the recess of the Diet in June 1533 afforded legitimate opportunity for strenuous action against the preachers, the bishops showed no energy. Therefore the Lutheran agitation, even if not quite openly, was able to pursue its course.[3]

Almost at the same time as Denmark, Sweden was torn from the Catholic Church. Here also the decisive steps were taken by the Crown; Gustavus Wasa knew that the introduction of Lutheran teaching was the surest

[1] *Cf.* SCHÄFER, IV., 169 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Mon. Vatic., 35; Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 391; RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 58 *seq.*; SCHÄFER, IV., 172 *seq.*; MARTIN, 427 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SCHÄFER, IV., 212 *seq.*, and SCHMITT, in Hist.-pol. Bl., CVI., 660 *seq.*

method of breaking down the power of the bishops and improving his scanty revenues from Church property.[1] Although Clement VII. showed a very conciliatory spirit, and at the end of 1525 confirmed Johann Magni in the administration of the Archbishopric of Upsala[2] until the affair of Trolle should be settled, the King gave powerful support to everyone who showed hostility to Catholicism; members of religious orders especially who were disloyal to their vows could be sure of his protection. At the same time, on the plea of the "revolutionary axiom that necessity knows no law, human or divine," he set to work, by a system of open spoliation, to destroy the material foundations of the ancient Church.[3]

It was a circumstance of great advantage to the King that five sees (Upsala, Strengnäs, Vesterås, Skara, and Åbo) were uncanonically occupied and that Bishop Ingemar of Vexjö was aged and compliant, so that the noted Bishop Johann Brask of Linköping, "the cleverest and most learned Swede of his day and the truest friend of his country," stood alone.[4] Yet the majority of the

[1] "The King," says WEIDLING (156), "made his compact with the reformation with the intention of pocketing the pecuniary results, and, with the acute perception of the practical man, saw that a reformation in Luther's sense gave him the means of breaking up the hierarchy and appropriating their riches to himself. How well Gustavus understood how to look after his own advantages is best proved by the circumstance that at the end of his reign 12,000 former Church properties had passed into the Royal treasury." Allgem. Zeitung, 1893, Suppl., 29.

[2] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gustave Vasa, 300.

[3] See WEIDLING, 150 *seq.*, 152 *seq.*, 162 *seq.*; GEIGER (II., 42) says that Gustavus Wasa, in introducing the new doctrines, acted with a characteristic mixture of cunning pliancy and audacity; *cf. ibid.*, 45 *seq.*

[4] GEIGER, II., 49, 54.

nation, especially the country folk, held fast to their old faith. The brave and stubborn inhabitants of the province of Dalekarlien, with whose help Gustavus Wasa had once gained his victory over the Danes, were, in particular, roused to serious revolt. Their uprising was fanned by former favourites of Gustavus who had quarrelled with him: the deposed Bishop Peter Sunnanväder of Vesterås and his capitular provost Knut. The poverty and suffering among the people was a punishment, they declared, for the conduct of the King, who although, on his election, he had sworn to defend the Church, was now despoiling churches and convents, priests and monks, and carrying off monstrances and chalices and shrines of saints.[1]

Gustavus Wasa, however, knew well how to get the upper hand of the movement in Dalekarlien; judicious leniency and promises of money quelled the rebellion; Sunnanväder and Knut fled to Norway. Yet the King only displayed greater ruthlessness towards the property of the Church, and the truly catholic Johann Magni he got rid of by sending him on an embassy to Poland and Russia.[2]

On the 19th of September 1526 Clement VII. addressed the Bishops of Linköping and Vesterås. He complained that the Swedish clergy took wives, changed the ritual of the Mass, gave Communion in both kinds, and neglected Extreme Unction; he ordered the bishops to invoke the aid of the secular arm, and adjured his beloved son Gustavus and the nobles of Sweden to take up the cause of the endangered faith.[3] That the Pope even now continued to hope in Wasa shows strikingly how insufficiently they were informed at Rome as to the true state of things in the north. By the next year all illusions on the subject

[1] WEIDLING, 164 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 173 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*; MARTIN, 308 *seq.*

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 128; MARTIN, 325 *seq.*

of the Swedish King's position were at an end. The conflict between the Pope and Emperor had entered on its most acute phase when Gustavus broke away. On this occasion as on others he had grasped, with the intuition of genius, the appropriate moment to choose. With no less skill he knew how to turn opinion against Clement VII.[1]

At this time the Swedish Catholics were completely cowed. Under letters of safe-conduct Gustavus had enticed into Sweden the two leaders of the Dalekarlian rising: first Knut and afterwards Sunnanväder as well. As soon as they were there he gave them over to the harshest insults and later ordered their execution.[2] While the impression made by these vindictively penal measures against two great ecclesiastics was still fresh, the separation of Sweden from Rome ensued by means of the *coup d'état* of the Diet of Vesterås in June 1527. Before the assembly had yet opened the bishops drew up a protest against the threatened persecution of the Church; but none had the courage to present it! In the Diet itself, the Bishop of Linköping, Johann Brask, alone at first had the spirit to speak out against the proposals of the King; without the Pope's assent he could not agree to alterations in doctrine and the existing condition of the Church. After the leader of the nobles had spoken in the same sense, the King announced with tears that he must abdicate the crown and leave the country he had freed from Danish servitude to its fate. This "brilliant piece of acting" did not fail of its effect. As the Bishop-elect of Strengnäs, Magnus Sommar, weakly counselled compliance, and the nobles saw a vision opening before them of a share in the plunder of the Church, the acceptance of the King's demands was

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, 345.

[2] GEIGER, II., 53; WEIDLING, 196 *seq.*; MARTIN, 250 *seq.*

not withheld. Accordingly the Crown took free possession of the appointment to bishoprics, chapters, and convents, with the disposition of their revenues. "The pure word and Gospel of God" was also to be preached within the realm; the nobility were empowered to demand back gifts made by their predecessors since 1454, and the bishops declared in a special decree that "they rejoiced to leave their riches or their poverty to the King's will."[1] By a special enactment the Church in Sweden was thus at once made dependent in every respect on the will of the sovereign. The first step that followed was a great spoliation of churches and convents in which the victims were specially enjoined to submit to secularization "without making much fuss." Bishop Brask went into exile, and on the 7th of November 1527 Gustavus instructed the Bishop-elect of Strengnäs that, as the common people would not be contented with unconsecrated bishops, he might take steps for his early consecration, although the rite in itself was not necessary.[2] Thereupon the above-named, together with two others, had himself consecrated by Bishop Magni of Vesterås on the 5th of January 1528. Magni had given his consent to this schismatical act on receiving a written promise from the *consecrandi* that they would afterwards seek confirmation from Rome.[3] Naturally the matter was never heard of again. In February 1529 a "National Council" held at Örebro agreed to the retention of many Catholic externals in order to deceive the people, the majority of whom were averse to a change of faith. Nevertheless, the people on the whole refused to

[1] GEIGER, II., 66 *seq.*; WEIDLING, 201 *seq.*; MARTIN, 351 *seq.*

[2] Gustav d. Förstes Registratur, IV., 368.

[3] MARTIN, 378. The validity of Swedish orders is challenged in Mém. hist. sur la prétendue succession apost. en Suède, par Msgr. DE FORTEMPS DE WARRIMONT, 2nd ed., Liége, 1854.

be deceived. In many provinces, especially in Småland, East and West Gothland, and also in Dalekarlien, risings occurred; but the King, by judicious kindness in some cases, by merciless severity in others, was able to overcome such troubles.[1]

In 1531 Gustavus ordered the election to the Archbishopric of Upsala of Laurentius, younger brother of Olaus Petri. The Bishops of Vesterås and Strengnäs, who at heart were still Catholics, drew up a protest against it. Indeed, even the Bishops of Skara and Vexjö declared that they only consented because otherwise they had nothing to expect but imprisonment and the ruin of their churches—a clear evidence that Lutheranism had not sunk deep into the Swedish clergy.[2] Still, the opposition of the Catholic-minded clergy could only be expressed in private.[3] For their overthrow the Swedish clergy were not free from responsibility. Weak-spirited servility and worldliness of life[4] made it easy for a monarch gifted intellectually and possessed of all the resources of an effective monarchy, to destroy the ancient Church and from its wealth bestow on the Crown a solid basis of material power. In Sweden as in Denmark the monarchy had of course to surrender to the nobility a share of the plunder of the inheritance of the Church; for the great bulk of the people the social and

[1] *Cf.* GEIGER, II., 69 *seq.*; WEIDLING, 247 *seqq.*, 283 *seq.*; MARTIN, 399 *seqq.*, 438 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MARTIN, 416 *seqq.* The recently discovered protest of the Bishops of Vesteräs and Strengnäs, in the Svensk. Hist. Tidskrift, 1897, 61. Johann Magni, finally appointed by Clement VII. Archbishop of Upsala, naturally was unable to take possession of his see; see RAYNALDUS, 1532, n. 88.

[3] WEIDLING, 288.

[4] *Cf.* Olaus Magnus in RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*; see also GEIGER, II., 39.

political consequences of the change of religion were highly unfavourable.[1]

The Swiss were more fortunate than the Swedes in their opposition to the introduction of the new teaching. The man who headed the Protestant movement in Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli, had certainly come under Luther's influence, but in many respects was entirely independent of him. There were points of essential difference in their doctrines. This man, who at the same time was flinging himself into schemes of vast scope and of grave danger to the existence of the Confederation,[2] went far further than Luther, and in his antagonism to the Catholics was more uncompromising. The movement for the overthrow of the Catholic Church let loose in Zurich by Zwingli had spread itself very soon over a considerable portion of German Switzerland, yet Lucerne, Zug, and the three forest cantons Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, the original nucleus of the Confederation, remained true to the Catholic faith. Clement VII. had already turned his attention to Swiss affairs in a Consistory held on the 14th of December 1523. The Swiss Nuncio Ennio Filonardi was recalled to Rome to make a report and receive fresh instructions. At the end of February 1524 Filonardi returned to his post, but he was obliged at first to remain at Constance, for the French envoys were working against him in the Catholic cantons; but in Zurich, now given over to the new teaching, the very mention of a Papal representative was scouted.[3] Clement, on his part, made the payment of the outstanding arrears of pay to Zurich

[1] *Cf.* the evidence in DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 97 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*

[2] See GHINZONI in Boll. d. Svizz. ital., XV. (1893), and Theol. Zeitschrift a. d. Schweiz, XIII., 131 *seq.*

[3] WIRZ, Filonardi, 62–63.

dependent on the fidelity of the canton to the Catholic religion.[1]

The Catholic cantons, in view of the wide dissemination of the new doctrine, wished a learned theologian to be sent them who should make head against Zwingli and at the same time have full powers to provide for the reforms to be taken in hand for the remedy of ecclesiastical evils. To the latter request Clement gave an evasive answer,[2] and in February 1525 once more delegated Filonardi, a man who had proved himself a clever diplomatist in secular affairs but who, notwithstanding all his knowledge of the situation in Switzerland[3] was wanting in the deeper understanding of the ecclesiastical question. No wonder that his mission was a failure.[4] How little the real state of things was understood in Rome is shown by Clement's action in sending in 1526 a summons to the Government of Zurich to send deputies to Rome to discuss the settlement of questions in dispute.[5] The Curia was at that time so engrossed in high policy of state that it was impossible to bestow the necessary attention on the Church affairs of Switzerland. For this reason the success obtained by the Catholics in May 1526 at the Disputation of Baden was

[1] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 192 *seq.*; RIFFEL, III., 43; WIRZ, 64.

[2] The Catholic statesmen of central Switzerland—but without success—tried to take in hand the work of reform without the Pope and in opposition to him. *Cf.* ROHRER in Geschichtsfreund der fünf Orte, XXXIII., 27 *seq.*; OECHSLI, Das eidgenössische Glaubens-konkordat von 1525, in Jahrb. für schweiz. Gesch., XIV., 236 *seqq.*, and in Anz. für schweiz. Gesch., XXI. (1890), 18 *seq.*

[3] This is emphasized by Clement VII. in the Brief in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 78, 81, 84, 88.

[4] WIRZ, Filonardi, 66 *seq.*, 68 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XV., 469, who also refers to Acta in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, still left unnoticed by Wirz.

[5] See the Brief in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 246 *seq.*

never adequately followed up; support from Rome was lacking; communication with the Holy See grew less and less,[1] while the ecclesiastical revolution sped upon its way.

Even after the settlement of Italian affairs the Pope, irresolute and parsimonious, did not give sufficient support to the champions of the Catholic cause in Switzerland. Even when Zurich laid an embargo on the transport of provisions to the Catholic cantons, thus conjuring up the outbreak of the civil war, Clement confined his assistance to the despatch of briefs and recommendations. Things reached a climax when at last he forbade the transport of grain and salt, and tried to rouse the Catholic princes, especially the Emperor, to intervene with military force.[2] Charles V., summing up the situation coolly, refused to be drawn in. Although the Catholic cantons were thus thrown on their own resources, the wager of battle was in their favour. On the 11th of October 1531 the men of Zurich were defeated at Kappel, and Zwingli, who had taken part in the fight in full armour, was among the slain. The illusions already cherished[3] by Clement VII. regarding the Zurichers now acquired fresh strength; he hoped that the success just gained would bring to an end the Swiss revolt from Rome.[4] "Now," after the Catholic victory, wrote Loaysa from Rome on the 24th of October

[1] It at last ceased altogether; see WIRZ, Filonardi, 70.

[2] See the Briefs in Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., II., 16 *seq.* *Cf.* ESCHER, Glaubensparteien, 256, 260 *seq.*; WIRZ, Akten, 230 *seq.*; HYRVOIX in the Rev. d. quest. hist., 1902, I., 499.

[3] See the flattering Brief to Zurich of May 7, 1531, in RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 22, and WIRZ, Bullen und Breven, 331 *seq.*

[4] Proof is furnished by the letter of good wishes of October 23, 1531 (Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., II., 17), described by HYRVOIX, *loc. cit.*, as "banal." See also Albergati's *report, dated Rome, 1531, November 28, in State Archives, Bologna.

1531, "Clement will persevere in trying to persuade them to return and retrace their steps"; only if the other cantons are determined on revenge, should help, in the Pope's opinion, be given to the Catholic cantons.[1]

When this proved to be the case, Clement at last, on the 29th of October 1531, sent 3000 ducats to the gallant defenders of the Catholic cause.[2] In November, after long consultation, he gave orders for the enlistment of four thousand men, and appointed Filonardi Legate to the Swiss and Commissary-General of the Catholic forces. Further generous help would be raised by a tax on the Italian clergy in general; this plan, however, was frustrated by the opposition of Venice,[3] and the Papal relief came too late, for by the 20th of November 1531 the five cantons had made peace with Zurich on very moderate conditions —so moderate that Luther deeply deplored that "they had left any room in their treaty for the continuance of Zwinglism, and had not even condemned that error, but allowed it to exist alongside of what they call their ancient, unquestioned faith."[4] Clement also regretted that the Catholics had not followed up their victory more completely, and expressed the hope that the unity of Switzerland might be restored by the return of the

[1] HEINE, Briefe, 177.

[2] See the *letters of Girol. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1531, October 29 and 31, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Mandati, 1531–1532, in State Archives, Rome; WIRZ, Akten, 237; Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., II., 18, and FONTANA, I., 477 *seq.* *Cf.* Eidgenössische Abschiede, IV., 1[b], 1305; ESCHER, 295; HYRVOIX, *loc. cit.*, 500.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 557; LV., 126, 195, 241, 338; HEINE, Briefe, 180 *seq.*, 199; *letter of F. Peregrino, November 19, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in Appendix, No. 22; WIRZ, Akten, 243 *seq.*; Geschichtsfreund der fünf Orte, XII., 226; BROSCH, I., 125, note 2; WIRZ, Filonardi, 75; ESCHER, 304.

[4] DE WETTE, IV., 349.

separated members to the Church.[1] What took place in the latter respect was greatly exaggerated by Filonardi. His despatches[2] to Rome show how his judgment on affairs was influenced by his optimism.

The Swiss Catholics also overestimated the success at first secured in a series of places by the restoration of Catholic order.[3] Only gradually did the Nuncio, who had hoped to recall the rebellious to their obedience by means of friends and money, begin to realize the deeper significance of the movement of revolt.[4] Once more despatched to Switzerland in July 1532, Filonardi's reports dwelt no longer on the reconquest of the lapsed cantons by the Church; on the other hand, his presence in the country proved to be of even greater utility for the religious strengthening of those portions which remained true to the faith.[5] Since he was the rallying-point for the true elements of the Catholic system, his recall, ordered from Marseilles on the 17th of October 1533, out of consideration for Francis I., was a measure bound to do harm to the interests of that system in Switzerland.[6]

If the Swiss Catholics did not make as good a use of their victory as they might have done, this was due, in great part, to the envoys of Francis I., who, in pursuit of their master's policy of conquest, encouraged the religious

[1] Brief of December 10, 1531, in Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., II., 18 *seq.*

[2] See Acta Consist. in WIRZ, Akten, 250.

[3] SANUTO, LV., 378.

[4] See Relatio V. N. Joannis Basadone, in RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 265. *Cf.* SANUTO, LV., 377.

[5] WIRZ, Filonardi, 80, 91.

[6] HYRVOIX, *loc. cit.*, 533. Out of consideration for the Emperor, Clement VII. withdrew the recall later on, but Filonardi refused to remain; see Nuntiaturberichte, I., 160, 182.

dissensions of Switzerland as well as those of Germany.[1] In his own country, in which Luther's followers had already begun to be active,[2] although at first only within a narrow circle, the King's attitude from the beginning had been an undecided one. As a man "in whom an insatiable love of pleasure was joined with a thoroughly Gallic frivolity," Francis was entirely wanting in that genuine catholicity of feeling which animated his rival Charles V. The King's sister, Marguerite of Angoulême, was in open sympathy with the reformers. The French Catholics had strong support in the Parliament and the Sorbonne; the latter had immediately declared against Luther,[3] and, notwithstanding an attitude by no means friendly to the Papacy, was stoutly opposed to the Protestant doctrine. Also the Chancellor Du Prat, since 1525 Archbishop of Sens, and the Grand Master of France, Anne de Montmorency, stood firm for Catholic interests.[4] The captivity of Francis I. appeared to earnest Catholics to be a punishment for his previous negligence regarding the heretics. The Queen Regent now associated herself with the Pope in taking penal measures, and the Parliament took several steps against the reformers, two of whom were executed.[5] In December 1527 the clergy demanded, in return for their financial support of the King, among other things, the "destruction of the Lutheran sect," to

[1] *Cf.* HYRVOIX, *loc. cit.*, 521.

[2] Besides SOLDAN, I., 85 *seq.*, *cf.* STHYR, Reformationens forberedelse og begyndelse i Frankrig indtil 1523, Kopenhagen, 1870, and Lutheranerne i Frankrig 1524–1526, Kopenhagen, 1879. See also FRAIKIN, 397 *seq.*, 428 *seq.*

[3] See our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 39.

[4] See DECRUE, 217; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 627 *seq.*

[5] See BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 344 *seq.*, *cf.* 146 *seq.*; SOLDAN, I., 104 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 629; Mél. d'Archéol., XII., 316 *seq.*

which Francis had to agree.[1] In several provincial synods, to the satisfaction of Clement VII., measures were taken for the reform of ecclesiastical evils and the punishment of the new teachers.[2] The latter injured their cause seriously by seizing, on a night in May 1528, in Paris, a picture of Our Lady and the Infant Christ, and throwing it in the mud. The Catholic feeling of the populace was aroused by this impiety to such a degree that even Francis I. found it advisable to take part in the procession of reparation which followed.[3] As the total defeat of the French army in Naples in August 1528 forced the King to seek the friendship of the Pope, the Government completely threw over the Protestant party. The Lutheran, Louis de Becquin, who had on two occasions been protected by Francis (1523 and 1526), was now condemned and executed (April 1529).[4]

That Francis I., in questions of religion, was governed by motives of political expediency only, is proved by his alliance in 1531 with the German Protestants, whose support seemed to him valuable since they were a source of weakness in the Emperor's dominions. It is worth noting in this connection that immediately after his meeting with the Head of the Church at Marseilles, Francis engaged in a conference with the most enterprising of all the leaders of Protestantism in Germany, Philip of Hesse.[5]

[1] *Letter of Cardinal Salviati, December 28, 1527, Nunziatura di Francia, I., f. 127 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 629 *seq.*; Mél. d'Archéol., XII., 315 *seq.*

[3] See the *letter of Cardinal Salviati, June 16, 1528, *loc. cit.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and the Brief in RAYNALDUS, 1528, n. 80.

[4] *Cf.* ROLLAND in Mél. d'Archéol., XII., 314 *seq.*, 324 *seq.* For the severe proceedings against Lutherans in Toulouse in June 1532, see SANUTO, LVI., 527.

[5] SOLDAN, I., 124, 127.

On his way back from Marseilles, where Clement VII. had issued a Bull against the French Lutherans,[1] he sent written instructions to the Bishop of Paris to take proceedings against heresy in the capital.[2] But six months later the King's Councillor, Guillaume du Bellay, was opening up negotiations with Melanchthon to bring about an agreement on the religious question.[3] Du Bellay gave the German Protestants to understand that Francis was inclined to approve of the Lutheran doctrine and prepared to enter into an alliance for the protection of that sect from the attacks of the Emperor.[4]

Such was the position of things in the spring of 1534, when Clement VII., who with an eye to the spread of heresy in France had sharply prohibited[5] preaching without episcopal permission, died. The attitude of the French King was more than doubtful, while the Sorbonne continued as before to maintain a strongly Catholic position.[6] At this juncture two circumstances combined to the advantage of the Catholic cause; the Church, bound up with the greatest traditions of the French nation, was dear to the bulk of the population; an opposition between the

[1] *Bull, dated Marseille, IV. Id. Nov. (November 10) 1533, in National Archives, Paris, L. 333, 13.

[2] Letter of December 10, 1533, in Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. des protest. franç., I., 436.

[3] *Cf.* SCHMIDT in the Zeitschr. für histor. Theolog., XX., 25 *seq.*; SCHMIDT, Melanchthon, 268 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 877 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* LANZ, II., 144

[5] *Bull, dat. Rome Id. Febr. (13 Februar) 1534, in National Archives, Paris, L. 333, 15.

[6] How strong was the opposition of the Sorbonne not merely to every sign of Lutheranism but to the writings of Erasmus is shown by DELISLE, Notice sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la fac. de Théol. de Paris 1505–1533 (Notices et Extr. des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat., XXXVI.), Paris, 1899.

people and the clergy, such as was to be found in many places in Germany, did not exist.[1] Another factor of not less importance was the absence, owing to the Concordat, of any temptation for the Crown to lay hands on Church property; on the contrary, it was to the advantage of the monarchy that the *status quo* should be maintained in France.

Like France, Italy did not escape the impact of the new teaching; but in the latter country there were almost insuperable impediments to a widespread diffusion of the Protestant doctrine. In the first place, throughout the length and breadth of the Italian people there existed, in spite of all ecclesiastical abuses, a great body of traditional religious feeling of a genuine Catholic character.[2] This raised a barrier against any defection on a large scale from the Church of the past ages. In no other country in Europe, with the exception of Spain, had the Catholic faith struck deeper roots and knit itself more completely into the fibres of national life. The manifold development of Christian beneficence and, not less, the magnificent creations of art, bore witness to the living energy of this Catholic force.[3] The genuine Catholic instinct, resident in all classes of the Italian people, taught them to distinguish, with precision, between persons and things.[4] Therefore the dangerous feeling of hostility to the secularized Papacy was kept within strict limits and in all matters of importance was limited to the middle and higher ranks of society. Yet the latter were influenced by material and national points of view which made any idea of a breach with the Holy See abortive. The Italian saw with pride that Italy comprised the central point of Christendom

[1] *Cf.* MARCKS, Coligny, I., 268 *seq.*

[2] Our remarks, Vol. V. of this work, pp. 11 *seq.*, 21 *seqq.*, 89 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 59 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, pp. 181–182.

together with the highest civilization in art and learning, and thus acquired the sure position of leader among all the countries of the West. Again, there were the countless but very tangible advantages, especially to the middle and higher classes, accruing from the fact that the "magisterium" of the Church was wielded on Italian soil. Granted that indignation at the secularization of the Papacy was sometimes acute, a sober consideration of actual facts brought men back to the conviction that the general interest lay not in the destruction but in the maintenance of the Holy See. Again, the Pope and the deeply Catholic-minded Emperor possessed a political power in Italy which made any support of Lutheranism by the minor principalities of the peninsula a sheer impossibility. Lastly, it was a point of vital importance that Clement VII. was thoroughly informed on Italian affairs and was therefore in a position to intervene in them with success.

The first intrusion of Lutheran views began, naturally enough, in upper Italy, where communication with Germany and Switzerland was always active. A constant stream of travellers, drawn mainly from the mercantile and student classes, passed to and fro and very early brought Lutheran notions and Lutheran writings into these localities. As early as 1519 and up to 1520 Luther's writings were sold not only in Venice but also in Pavia and even in Bologna,[1] and in the spring of 1520 a monk named Andrea da Ferrara, who followed Luther's doctrine, preached sermons in Venice;[2] a similar preacher in Milan was

[1] *Cf.* BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 2, where read 1519 for 1518. There is a very complete bibliography of the history of the Reformation in Italy in HERZOG, Realencyklopädie, IX., 3rd ed., 524 *seq.*; *cf.* also BENRATH, Über die quellen der ital. Ref.-Gesch., Bonn, 1876.

[2] For Andrea *cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 41, note, where the literature is given.

mentioned in despatches in the following year.[1] Leo X., as well as the Patriarch of Venice, was not slow in taking preventive measures corresponding to the occasion.[2] Nor was Clement VII. deficient in vigilance; on the 24th of January 1524 he urged on the Nuncios at Venice and Naples that the decrees of the Lateran Council concerning preachers and printers should be observed.[3] At the same time the Pope took measures against those who were suspected of heresy in Mirandola, Padua, and Naples.[4]

Not merely Luther's views but the far more advanced tenets of Zwingli found early acceptance in Italy. Letters of the Augustinian Egidio della Porta of Como prove that he and some of his associates were prepared in 1525 to quit Italy and throw in their lot with Zwingli.[5] In November 1526 Clement VII. instructed the Chapter of Sitten, and in January 1527 the Minorite, Tommaso Illyrico, to take proceedings against the Lutherans in Savoy.[6] A Papal Bull of July 1528 ordered the Bishop and Inquisitor of Brescia to support the gratifying activity of the citizens of that city against Lutheranism, and in particular to pronounce judgment on the Carmelite Giambattista Pallavicini, who in the preceding Lent had proclaimed Lutheran doctrines from the pulpit.[7] In Bergamo the

[1] See the epigramm of 1521, in SCHELHORN, Amoenit., II., 624. *Cf.* also Arch. Stor. Lombard., VI., 480.

[2] BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 2 *seq.*

[3] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 76 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 78 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*

[5] See HOTTINGER, Hist. Eccl. Saec. XVI., VI., 2, 611; M'CRIE, History of the Reformation in Italy, 38 *seq.*; CHRISTOFFEL, H. Zwingli, Elberfeld, 1857, 179 *seq.*

[6] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 96–101 (read here 1527, not 1547).

[7] Bull. VI., 115 *seq.* Pallavicini, who also caused scandal in Chieri (Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd Series, XXIII., 442 *seq.*), laid before the Pope in

excellent Bishop Pietro Lippomano had been busy since 1527 in preventing the spread of Lutheran writings smuggled in from Switzerland.[1] On the 27th of August 1528 Clement addressed from Viterbo a circular letter to the bishops of Italy exhorting them as good pastors of the flock of Christ to suppress the heresy now beginning to penetrate the fold; the penitent were to be treated graciously, but the obstinate punished severely with the help of the secular power.[2]

The decree sent by Clement VII. from Bologna on the 15th of January 1530 to the General of the Dominicans, Paolo Butigella, inquisitor in Modena and Ferrara, had also a general character. In it the Pope dwelt on the spread of Lutheran error among clergy and laity in various parts of Italy, so that some by speeches, some even by sermons in church, were trying to turn away the faithful in Christ from their obedience to the Church. The Arian heresy, at first merely a spark, had, because unsuppressed, become a conflagration embracing the whole world; he wished therefore to take measures in time. Butigella and all inquisitors of his order were therefore exhorted to act vigorously against Luther's adherents; at the same time full powers were given for the reconciliation of the penitent as well as spiritual graces for the associations founded by the inquisitors for the prevention of erroneous teaching.[3] Besides these general directions special orders were also sent in individual

a *letter dated Turin, 1529, June 8, a penitent statement of his errors (Lett. d. princ., VI., 47, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* UCCELLI, Dell' Eresia in Bergamo, in La Scuola Catt., Milano, 1875.

[2] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 103.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1530, n. 51 *seq.* *Cf.* GIORDANI, 68, and App. 46.

instances, and these especially concerned the Duchy of Savoy and the Venetian Republic.

The propagation of Lutheran views in the Duchy of Savoy was another outcome of the proximity of Switzerland. Clement VII. called on the inquisitors, the bishops, the Nuncio, and before all the Duke Charles III., to take measures.[1] Charles viewed the whole situation from a purely political point of view. The outbreak of Protestant tendencies in Geneva was very advantageous to him, as he was now able to invest his long-standing dispute with that city with a religious character.[2] His reports to Clement of the state of things in Geneva were so bad that the Pope, in his increased anxiety, placed at his disposal a portion of the Church revenues for the subjection of the city.[3] Clement was not aware that Charles had greatly exaggerated the danger to Catholicism in Geneva, nor had he perceived that the Duke, working only in his own interest, was rendering a sorry service to the Church by mixing up the political question of Genevan independence with that of the religious innovations.[4] The Pope only saw in the Duchy of Savoy a strong bulwark against the intrusion of Protestantism into Italy, and therefore issued exhortations in all directions to give support to Charles III.[5]

While Clement VII. was alarmed at the introduction of Protestant views into the west of upper Italy, their

[1] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 104, 109, 110.

[2] KAMPSCHULTE, Calvin, I., 100.

[3] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 105 *seq.* *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 21.

[4] KAMPSCHULTE, Calvin, I., 101. *Cf. ibid.*, 107 *seq.*, for the bad results of Clement's declaration of the general Jubilee Indulgence, "unwarned by the experience of his predecessor," in Geneva in 1532.

[5] RAYNALDUS, 1531, n. 23–25; FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 119 *seq.* *Cf.* RENATA, I., 488 *seq.*

influence had already become firmly established in the east. Notwithstanding the repeated burning of heretical books[1] and the sermons of Dominican preachers,[2] Luther's followers had increased to such an extent that at Easter 1528 he was able to give public expression to his delight.[3] In March 1530 the Council of Ten expressly refused to take action, as the Republic of Venice was a free state.[4] The purveyors of Lutheran teaching were, in the main, members of religious orders who had broken their vows. The activity of such Protestant "brothers" was not confined to Venice; they were busy in many other places as well.[5] The attitude of the Venetian Government made the position of the Nuncio and his sympathetic predecessor Gian Pietro Carafa by no means an easy one. The latter, in October 1532, had sent the Pope a memorial which made the dangers of the situation clear as day.[6] Herein Carafa, in the plainest terms, drew the Pope's attention to the half-hearted fidelity of the Venetians to the ancient faith shown in their neglect of fasts and the confessional, and in their toleration of heretical teaching and heretical

[1] *Cf.* BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 4. See also ELZE, Gesch. der protest. Bewegung in Venedig, Elberfeld, 1883, 3 *seq.*

[2] SANUTO, XXXV., 449.

[3] DE WETTE, III., 289.

[4] SANUTO, LIII., 66.

[5] See F. Negri's letter in CANTÙ, Eretici, III., 153, in full in the Riv. Cristiana, 1872, 122 *seq.*; *cf.* BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 40 *seq.* Lutheranism was spread in Padua by Michael Geismayr, the peasant leader who had fled from Salzburg; see BUCHOLTZ, IX., 650. There is exaggeration in a *letter of Jerome Ferrus, dated Venetiis, 1531, VI. Cal. Dec. (November 26): "Patavium quoque haec impridem invasit pestis, ut jam nemo in ea civitate litteras scire videatur qui Lutheranus non sit." Cod. Vatic., 3922, f. 241 (Vatican Library).

[6] There is a copy of this important document in *Caracciolo, Vita di Paulo IV., II., 9 (Casanatense Library). It is printed in part in

books. The leaders of the movement were members of religious orders, many of whom had broken their vows and were roaming about. Carafa named some of them, disciples of a deceased Franciscan. He announced that the Franciscans Girolamo Galateo and Alessandro of Pieve di Sacco were in confinement, while their associate and sympathizer Bartolomeo Fonzio had fled to Augsburg.[1] The latter had powerful friends in the Curia[2] who had procured for him a Papal Brief; to this Carafa opposed earnest remonstrances. "A heretic," he said, "must be treated as such; the Pope lowers himself if he writes to him and flatters him or even allows graces to be procured for him; it is, indeed, possible that in this or that instance some good result may follow, but as a rule the recipients of such favours are only made more obdurate and gain fresh adherents." He then urged the Pope to hold the reins more tightly on his officials and to be less generous in the matter of apostolic Briefs. In the cause of God's honour and his own responsible office he must apply

BROMATO, I., 101 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, and in RANKE, Päpste, III., App., No. 29; given in full in Riv. Cristiana, Firenze, 1878, 281 *seqq.* but not by any means correctly. The best text is that of the authentic copy in the Carafa papers which I found in *Cod. Barb., lat. 5697, f. 1–10 (Vatican Library). BENRATH (Reformation in Venedig, 8) places the memorial "about 1530," which is a mistake, for A. Averoldo, who did not die till November 1, 1531, is spoken of in the document as dead. The exact date I venture to establish from the credentials of the bearer, P. Bonaventura, Provinciale de' minori osservanti (without date in BROMATO, I., 205); it is the 4th of October 1532. I found the credentials among the Carafa papers in *Cod. XIII., AA 74, n. 3, of the National Library, Paris.

[1] *Cf.* for the persons mentioned, BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 8 *seq.*; Riv. Cristiana, I., 18, and COMBA, I nostri Protestanti, II., Firenze, 1897.

[2] Pietro Carnesecchi, Clement's influential private secretary, is probably meant.

himself to measures of opposition; in times of danger such as the present, it is inadmissible to remain in the old grooves. On the outbreak of a war every day some new preparations for defence are called for, so also in the spiritual contest in which the Church is now engaged the Pope must be ever on the alert. His Holiness should provide an able inquisitor, such as was Martino da Treviso, and despatch a special Papal Legate to Venice. Since heresy, in most cases, is the product of erroneous writings and preaching or of evil living, the attack should be made in that direction. Owing to the apathy of the bishops and heads of religious orders the Pope should insist strongly on the faculties for preaching and hearing confessions being exclusively confined to priests of blameless character. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary that an end should be made to the monstrous prevalence of vagrant monks—"the apostates," as Carafa calls them. The Penitentiary should abstain henceforth from dispensing permissions to leave the cloister; for these "apostates," to the incalculable scandal of religion, had unfortunately become masters within a wide circle of the cure of souls and only too often were the servants of heresy and men of evil life. The Pope therefore would do well to reserve to himself the permission to leave the cloister, and only grant such permission in cases of pressing necessity; but to the "apostates" no pastoral charge should be given. Carafa, in addition, drew up a formal programme of reform of the secular and regular clergy, of which further mention will be made later on.

As a fountain-head of heresy Carafa noted the dissemination of heretical writings which were sold in Venice without any attempt at concealment, were bought by many persons, clerical and lay, by whom they were read, sometimes in contempt of the ecclesiastical censures

thereby incurred, and sometimes on appeal to the possession of the necessary permission. Such licences must in future be granted very rarely, while those already issued should be recalled.

Clement VII. was not the man to carry out such stringent precautions; in single instances, *e.g.* with regard to the sale of heretical writings, he certainly directed his Nuncio to take steps,[1] and also renewed some earlier ordinances against itinerant monks.[2] But the comprehensive regulations for reform called for by Carafa, especially in the case of the regular and secular clergy, came to nothing. Since in this way the sources of heresy were not dammed up, repressive measures, such as the appointment of the Augustinian Callisto da Piacenza as Inquisitor-General for the whole of Italy,[3] gave only a superficial help. Although Carafa in his struggle with heresy was warmly supported by Aleander, sent as Nuncio [4] to Venice in March 1533, the situation continued to be dangerous.

Aleander's reports as Nuncio contain many complaints both of the corruption of the clergy and of the growth of heresy, now making its way in Venice even among the lower classes.[5] Among the preachers of Lutheran opinions there was a carpenter [6] who, on being brought to trial at the instance of Aleander, defended himself by

[1] FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 128.

[2] *Ibid.*, 114, n. 1.

[3] January 4, 1532; FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 127 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 3, 37 *seq.*

[5] *Nunziatura di Venezia, I. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* BENRATH, Reformation in Venedig, 114 *seq.*, 116 *seq.* (instead of 1523 read 1533, instead of 1524 read 1534), and TOLOMEI, Nuziat. di Venezia, 39 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* Aleander's **report, May 9, 1533 (State Archives, Munich).

quoting sentences from the Bible. In October 1533 Aleander set in motion a Papal prohibition against the misuse of the Pauline epistles as commented upon from the pulpit in Italian by some illiterate members of the mendicant Orders.[1] The ferment in the city was increased by the preaching of the Florentine, Fra Zaccaria, who publicly depicted in glowing colours the corruption in the Curia, and even spoke of the Pope in insulting terms. The Signoria, then on strained relations with Clement VII., took no steps against the offender,[2] and in the matter of heresy Aleander repeatedly had to complain of their indifference. Not until an improvement took place in the Pope's relations with Venice, consequent on the change in his political and ecclesiastical position, did an alteration begin.[3] The trial of the Lutheran carpenter, who had found many protectors,[4] now came to a close after having dragged on through a whole year, and ended in the condemnation of the accused to perpetual imprisonment. The same punishment befell Pietro Buonavita of Padua, who held Lutheran views.[5] While Aleander was occupied in contending with other promoters of Lutheranism, among them being a French glovemaker,[6] he received the news in June 1534 of the appearance of the new doctrines in

[1] See FONTANA, Docum. Vatic., 137 *seq.* *Cf.* Aleander's *edict in Cod. Vatic., 3889, f. 17 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* TOLOMEI, 45.

[3] See *ibid.*, 43 *seq.* *Cf.* BENRATH, 115.

[4] "Questo heretico mastro di legnami ha molti favori da ogni banda." *Aleander, May 29, 1533 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* TOLOMEI, 50. Aleander's *Sententia contra Antonium fabr. lignarium haereticum, dat. June 2, 1534, I found in Cod. Vatic., 3889; also f. 25: *Articuli haereticales de quibus judicio meo magister Antonius Marangonus delatus convictus est per testes (Vatican Library).

[6] *Cf.* Aleander's *report, July 2, 1534 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Istria.[1] In Venice itself the announcement of the success of the Protestants in Würtemberg reacted on the Government and their zeal against the Protestants slackened.[2]

Outside Venetian territory, in the closing days of Clement VII., only isolated followers of the German teachers were to be found in Italy,[3] although writings by Luther and Melanchthon, in Italian translations, were scattered about among the people, sometimes under false names.[4]

[1] See Aleander's *report, June 28, 1534 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), also *Cod. Vatic., 3889, f 21 (Vatican Library), and Vergerio's letter, August 30, 1534, in the Nuntiaturberichte, I., 301 *seq.*

[2] See Aleander's *report, June 20, 1534 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] This was the case in 1529 in Florence, where Cerretani, as early as 1520, had declared himself a Lutheran (see Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 179 *seq.*). For G. Buonagrazia, who was banished from Florence as a Lutheran on December 19, 1531, see Arch. stor. Ital., 4th Series, III., 337 *seq.* For the crypto-protestant P. A. Manzolli of Ferrara see BURCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 289; II., 7th ed., 263 *seq.* For Lutherans in Rome in Clement VII.'s time see SANUTO, LIV., 284, as well as the evidence quoted by HYRVOIX in the Rev. d. quest. hist., 1902, I., 497. Unfortunately authentic information in fuller detail is wanting. For the burning of a witch on the Capitol in September 1525 see the account in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri del libero pensiero, Roma, 1892, 13, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 33 *seq.*

[4] Luther's letter to the Christian nobles appeared in 1533 under the title: Libro de la emendatione et correctione dil stato christiano (*cf.* BENRATH, 11 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 166, 170; Wissenschaftl. Beil. zur Germania, 1896, No. 4, 1897, No. 17), Melanchthon's Loci, as: I principii della teologia di Ippofilo da Terra Nigra (see Corp. Ref., XXXII., 654 *seq.*); *cf.* also M'CRIE, Reformation in Italy, 37 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

The Close of the Pontificate of Clement VII.—His Position towards Literature and Art.

When in December 1533 Clement VII. returned from Marseilles to Rome, a Milanese envoy reported that the Holy Father was in such good health that he looked as if he had only come back from an excursion to his villa on Monte Mario.[1] No one suspected, at that moment, that the life of this man of fifty-three was nearing its end. Least of all did it occur to the French party that all the far-reaching schemes interwoven with the marriage of Catherine de' Medici were destined to come to nothing. On the Imperialist side this alliance had been looked upon with the greatest suspicion. Both before and during the conference at Marseilles, Vergerio, the resident Nuncio at the court of Ferdinand I., "had sent reports of his distrust"[2] —a distrust which grew although Clement laboured to counteract it. The Nuncio found his position one of increasing difficulty. Little fitted for diplomacy,[3] this representative of the Pope was surrounded by the worst feelings of suspicion and by bitter animosity against Clement himself.

[1] Baschet, 296. *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report of December 12, 1533, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *that of Ant. Maria Papazzoni of January 10, 1534, in State Archives, Bologna.

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 115 *seq.*, 129, 132, 139, 144, 146 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*, 192 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 29, and besides, Mitteilungen aus der historischen Literatur, XXI., 34.

Vergerio's communications on German affairs were a source of grave anxiety. In the very first despatch sent to Rome after his arrival in Vienna he had to report the advance of Lutheranism and the evil plight of the Catholic Church in Germany.[1] The anti-Papal feeling which had taken possession even of circles loyal to the old faith was intensified by various ill-sounding rumours concerning the Marseilles conference. "It is my belief," he wrote on the 18th of November 1533 to the Papal private secretary, Carnesecchi, "that here not only the Pope and Italians, but also the Catholic faith and Jesus Christ, have many enemies; but in Rome they have no real notion how corrupt the minds of almost all men here have become."[2] From Prague, whither he had followed the court, he sent on the 28th of December to Rome a despatch of a very agitating character. "Listen," he appealed to Carnesecchi, "to the state of the Church of Christ in this country. In the whole kingdom of Bohemia at this time only six priests have been ordained, and these are quite poor men to whom, on account of their necessity, I gave gratuitously the dispensations enabling them to receive their orders from any bishop. The Bishop of Passau told me that in his entire diocese within four years only five priests have been ordained. The Bishop of Laibach said that out of his diocese in eight years only seventeen had become priests. The reports of benefices standing empty on account of this lack of clergy are quite incredible. But this is not the case merely in schismatical Bohemia, but in the whole of Austria and the whole of Germany."[3]

With his reports on the existing decline of the Catholic

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 84, 85, 86; *cf.* 88, 97, 99, 145.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 140.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 152. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII., 14th ed., 419 *seq.*

faith in Germany, Vergerio combined urgent representations that efforts should be made in Rome to supply so many endangered souls with the needed succour; he recommended especially the support of the literary champions who, like Eck in Bavaria, Cochläus in Saxony, Nausea on the Rhine, and Faber in the Austrian patrimonial states, were courageously defending the Catholic faith.[1] The behaviour of Clement in this particular matter is only too significant of his ecclesiastical policy. Already in 1530 Campeggio, and in 1532 Aleander, had called attention to the necessity of giving substantial help to these writers who were, for the most part, men of very slender means.[2] Cardinal Cles had discussed the matter personally with the Pope at Bologna and received the best assurances; nevertheless, by the spring of 1533 practically nothing had been done. Cles therefore made serious representations to Vergerio, and the Nuncio himself left nothing undone to advance the matter at Rome. He was even ready, he said, to spend 200 ducats from his own pocket on these learned men, if he could entertain the hope of being repaid.[3] The attitude of the Curia also was a strange one. There was certainly no attempt to deny the necessity of supporting the Catholic men of learning, but a warning was given not to exceed the strictest economy in so doing, since the finances were in a very distressed condition; Ferdinand I., it was suggested, could do something much more easily.[4] It is stranger still that even when the opportunity arose of contributing to the support of these scholars it was not made use of. In conformity with an evil custom of

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 84, 141, 156.

[2] See LAEMMER, Mon. Vatic., 59, 99, 119.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 84, 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 120. *Cf.* BIRCK in the Preuss. Jahrb., LXXXV., 279.

long-standing, rich livings continued to be given to men who had no need of them. Thus in October 1533 a man who had already an income of 4000 ducats received 1000 ducats more in rents by the transference of some German benefices. Vergerio protested against this with justice; such a proceeding would give occasion of fresh complaint to numerous enemies of the Church, and drive the few deserving Catholic scholars to despair in their continual supplications for benefices.[1] Nevertheless, the Curia withheld any adequate support. In the following spring Vergerio could still report that the poor Catholic scholars were being starved to death; still, something might be done for them in Rome, for in Germany there were no benefices to dispose of; the few that were vacant he had bestowed upon them, but on account of certain reservations they were of no use. It was therefore urgently requisite that the Pope should supply them with support in hard cash;[2] no guarantee for such was given. Further, the Nuncio himself was so badly paid that he was not in a position to give pledges to any great extent.

All this proves how lacking in earnestness Clement VII. was as regards duties of an essentially ecclesiastical kind, and at the same time it shows how greatly he underestimated the danger with which the Papacy was threatened from the side of Germany. In this he was encouraged by the crafty King of France, who succeeded in producing the impression in Rome that the leaders of the Lutheran cause were dependent on France, and that French mediation would easily bring about an agreement with them.[3]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 134.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 184.

[3] See A. Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 304. The report was also then current in Rome that Francis intended to marry two of his

How little Clement appreciated the full significance of the politico-religious tendencies in Germany and how blindly in this respect he trusted in Francis I., is shown by his behaviour in a matter of great moment to the existence of the Church in southern Germany. In the spring of 1534 the Landgrave of Hesse, who received French support, began war for the restoration of the Protestant Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg to his duchy. Francis I. managed to conceal so cleverly from the Pope that the successful issue of this conflict would be the surrender of Würtemberg to Protestantism that Clement looked upon the Landgrave's whole enterprise as merely a counter-stroke to the private interests of the Hapsburgs, involving no danger to the Church.[1] The Ambassadors of Ferdinand I. sought in vain to turn him from this erroneous view, and in vain appealed to him for help. Clement assured them of his sympathy, but excused himself on the score of his exhausted treasury. The war, the Pope considered, misled by French misrepresentations,[2] was a personal contest in which he could not interfere unless the Landgrave did something against the Catholics; also, without the consent of the Sacred College, no such support as he was called upon to give would be possible.[3] But among the Cardinals

daughters to Protestant German princes and thereby convert them to Catholicism; see the *letter of F. Peregrino of February 28, 1534 (in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), who certainly had reasonable doubts on the matter.

[1] *Cf.* SUGENHEIM, Frankreichs Einfluss auf Deutschland, I., 57 *seq.* RANKE (Deutsche Gesch., III., 6th ed., 332, n.) supposes that Francis I. had given his word to the Pope that the Landgrave's enterprise would not entail any consequences to the Church.

[2] See HEYD, Ulrich von Würtemberg, Tübingen, 1841, II., 490–491.

[3] See Sanchez' report of June 15 (not July), 1534, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 247 *seq.*

Francis had secured a certain majority by means of liberal pensions,[1] thus preventing any help being given to Ferdinand.[2]

Accordingly, in a Brief of the 16th of June 1534, any support of Ferdinand was flatly refused.[3] This inexcusable conduct called forth not merely at the courts of Charles and his brother, but also among the most loyal adherents of Rome in Germany, strong expressions of disapproval.[4] Finally came Clement's behaviour in the question of the Council. In accordance with the engagements made at Marseilles the Pope had already, in March 1534, officially declared his determination to defer, until a more propitious and peaceable season, the Council announced in the previous year.[5] In a letter from Duke George of Saxony to Vergerio the clearest expression is given to the bitterness aroused in the German Catholics at this fresh postponement by the Pope, under the influence of fear and his French sympathies. In this document the most Catholic of all the Catholic princes of Germany complains with vehemence that the Pope, in the question of the Council, has allowed himself to be befooled by Francis, the inveterate enemy of Germany. If the Roman Church, he exclaims in his indignation, were

[1] On October 19, 1533, G. M. della Porta reported from Marseilles: "Il Re ha publicato voler dar pensione a tutti li rev^mi ch' anno seguitato N. S^re qua. (Medici was said to have had 10,000 *franchi*, Salviati and Ridolfi 5000 each, and so forth.) Se Roma non fosse ruinata, potriasi dir quelle parole: Urbem venalem cito perituram si emptorem invenerit" (Florentine State Archives).

[2] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, IX., 251; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 271, n.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1534, n. 16.

[4] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 271 *seq.*, 274 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the letter of March 20 to Ferdinand I. in LAEMMER, Melet., 144 *seq.*, and that to the German Circles in EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., cvi.–cviii.

to lose 10,000 ducats of her revenues, excommunications would be hurled and swords drawn and all Christendom called upon for aid; but if a hundred thousand souls, through the fraud of the devil, are brought to ruin, the Chief Shepherd listens to the counsels of him who is continually bent on injuring and enslaving Christendom.[1] Utterances such as these, the violence of which could hardly be surpassed, were dictated by a genuine anxiety for fatherland and religion.

Under these circumstances it must be considered fortunate for the Church that the Pope's days were numbered.[2]

In June 1534 Clement VII. was taken ill;[3] this was attributed to the agitation caused by the senseless conduct of his nephew Ippolito de' Medici.[4] After a short improvement[5] his condition changed for the worse, and gave rise to great anxiety. The doctors were uncertain as to the nature of the malady; some thought that the Pope had been poisoned on his journey from Marseilles, and accusations were not wanting in which the Florentines on one hand and the French on the other were charged with the crime.[6] In

[1] See GESS, Die Klostervisitationen Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, Leipzig, 1888, 48 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, I., 266, n.

[2] For Clement's weak behaviour towards the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Kulmbach see GESS in the elucidations to Janssen's Gesch. des deutschen Volkes, edited by Pastor, V., 312.

[3] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., IX., 297, and A. M. Papazzoni's *letter of June 20, 1534, in State Archives, Bologna. The first signs of indisposition were announced by him as early as May 30.

[4] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's cipher *reports of June 19 and 25, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] *Cf.* A. M. Papazzoni's *letter of June 27, 1534, in State Archives, Bologna.

[6] *Cf.* Sanchez' *letter of July 25, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

reality his complaint was probably a gastric one, perhaps of a malignant character. As the doctors were unable to agree, Clement lost confidence in them;[1] his condition meanwhile underwent extraordinary changes. At the beginning of July he seemed to have recovered,[2] but then followed a relapse of such a dangerous kind that he was reported to be dead,[3] but this rumour, in consequence of which all Rome had taken to arms, was premature; the strong constitution of the Pope was once more victorious, and by the beginning of August he showed a marked improvement.[4] On the 30th of July he had made his will, by which Florence was left to Alessandro and all his remaining possessions to Cardinal Ippolito.[5]

Rome was not then in a healthy condition, and many deaths occurred in the ranks of the Sacred College. On the 19th of July 1534 Enkevoirt died;[6] on the 4th of August

[1] *Cf.* the *report of July 25, 1534, published by TEZA in the Atti. d. Ist. Venet., 6th series, VII., 902; here also for information on the Pope's physicians. A. M. Papazzoni speaks expressly of a gastric complaint in his *reports of June 20, 1534, in the State Archives, Bologna. That Clement VII., like Leo X., also suffered from a fistula, is mentioned by Card. Gonzaga in a *report of October 19, 1532, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See F. Peregrino's *letter of July 6, 1534, in Appendix, No. 36.

[3] See Sanchez' *report of July 28, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna. "Omnia Romae armis scatent," he says.

[4] See the *letter of C. H. Denonville, Bishop of Macon, dated Rome, 1534, August 4, in MSS. franç. 2968, f. 86, National Library, Paris; the *report of Sanchez of August 8, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna, and Peregrino's *letters of August 10 and 14, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* TEZA, *loc. cit.*, 905 *seq.*

[5] Giorn. d. Arch. Toscani, II., 126 *seq.*; *cf.* Carte Strozz., I., 106. For his anxiety about Ippolito see also Appendix, No. 36.

[6] *Letter of Sanchez of July 25, 1534, in Court and State Archives Vienna. *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 290 *seq.*

he was followed by Cardinal della Valle.[1] The renowned Cajetan was also stricken with grievous illness, and died in the night of the 9th or early on the 10th of August. It was the wish of this high-minded and learned Cardinal to be buried in the simplest manner.[2]

The Pope, meanwhile, continued to improve, although he was still very weak.[3] On the 18th of August, while the Romans were filled with alarm[4] at the news of the sack of Fondi by the pirates employed by Chaireddin Barbarossa, the city was moved to its depths by the announcement that the Pope was lying between life and death owing to a renewed attack of fever and sickness.[5] On the following day Clement's condition seemed so dangerous that on the evening of the 24th of August he received Extreme Unction. The day after that death seemed certain; fever was exhausting his strength, and as he lay writhing in cramp

[1] *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, *loc. cit.* Sanchez, who announced the decease on August 8, speaks in the *letter with anxiety of the preponderance of Frenchmen in the Sacred College (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] According to Sanchez' *letter to Ferdinand I. of August 17, 1534, Cajetan died on the 10th (ECHARD, II., 15, gives the 9th): "jussit se sepeliri sine ulla pompa"; he was "homo integer vitae et servitor V. et Ces. M^tis^" (Court and State Archives, Vienna). For Cajetan's tomb see CARDELLA, IV., 45, and FORCELLA, I., 443.

[3] See Trivulzio in MOLINI, II., 370, and Sanchez' *letter of August 17, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of F. Peregrino of August 10 and 14, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Sanchez, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2; Corp. dipl. Port., III., 85; BALAN, Clemente VII., 214; FUMI, Ippolito de' Medici, 66.

[5] See Sanchez' *report in Court and State Archives, Vienna, and *that of F. Peregrino of August 18, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the excitement and fear of Turkish invasion in Rome during the Pope's long illness see FANTINI, Lettera dei successi di Roma per l' infermità di Clemente VII., Roma, 1534.

he rejected all nourishment.[1] But again, in the beginning of September, there was another sudden change for the better. Notwithstanding their patient's great exhaustion, the doctors believed that he would make another rally.[2] The vital crisis lasted until the 8th of September;[3] after that his condition daily became more hopeful.[4] Giberti visited the sick man, whose delight at seeing his old and trusted friend was intense.[5] "The improvement continues," reported Ferdinand's Ambassador on the 21st of September: "The Pope talks with those about him and laughs over the manœuvres and ambition of the Cardinals. He still has a certain amount of fever; the court oscillates between hope and fear; but the former predominates so greatly that all conclave intrigues have ceased."[6] But on

[1] See the full *reports of F. Peregrino of August 19, 22, 23, 24, and 25, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. F. Chieregati's *letter of August 26, 1534 (the Pope received Extreme Unction "et S. Sta per due volte rispose Amen"), *loc. cit.* Also BASCHET, 352 *seq.*; TEZA *loc. cit.*, 909; FUMI, Ipp. de' Medici, 67; Carte Strozz., I, 104.

[2] See besides F. Peregrino's *letter of September 4, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *copy of a letter dated Rome, 1534, August 28, in the *Romana* of Court and State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. ibid.*, Sanchez' *report of August 30, 1534; the *Diarium of P. P. Gualterius in Secret Archives of the Vatican; Corp. dipl. Port., III., 87, and FUMI, 67 *seq.*

[3] See the *letter of Sanchez of September 18, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* COSTANTINI, Card. di Ravenna, 225.

[4] See F. Peregrino's *letters of September 15 and 17, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See Sanchez' *letter of September 18, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the *letters of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Covos and G. Agnello of September 19, 1534, in Cod. Barb., lat. LXII., 48, Vatican Library, and the *Aviso of September 14, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] The last remark is in cipher. *Sanchez on September 21, 1534 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

this very 21st of September there came a permanent change for the worse. The fever increased in intensity and day by day his strength ebbed away.[1] On the 25th of September, three hours after midday, Clement VII. was released from his sufferings after hovering for a month between life and death.[2]

Many troubles had combined against him during his last days. While corsairs were plundering his coasts and filling Rome with terror,[3] his own position between Francis I. and Charles V. was one of acute anxiety.[4] Then a dangerous quarrel threatened to break out in his own family; Cardinal Ippolito, whose dissolute life had already

[1] See the *reports of F. Peregrino of September 22 and 25, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; of *Sanchez, September 23 and 25, in Court and State Archives, Vienna, and the *letters of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua of September 23 and 24, 1534, in Cod. Barb., *cit.* *Cf.* FUMI, 70.

[2] "Hora tertia post meridiem," says Sanchez in his first *letter, September 25, 1534, in Court and State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter of September 25, 1534, to G. I. Calandra, in Cod. Barb., lat. LXII., 48, Vatican Library; F. Peregrino's *report of September 25, 1534, and *that of Guido da Crema of the same day (he died "christianamente et quietamente") in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; the *Diary of P. P. Gaulterius in Secret Archives of the Vatican and the *Diary in Cod. Barb., lat. 3552, Vatican Library. See also GATTICUS, 442; Firmanus in STEINMANN, II., 110. *Cf.* STAFFETTI, 126; BALAN, Clemente VII., 215, and Storia, 272; Corp. dipl. Port., III., 116 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, IV., 248 *seq.*; Rime e lett. di v. Gambara, 211, note; FUMI, 70, and L. Granae oratio in funere Clementis VII., in Anecd. litt., IV., 255 *seq.*

[3] On February 22, 1534, Clement VII. addressed a *letter to all the authorities of the Papal States with reference to preventive measures. Min. brev., vol. 48, n. 83, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] See Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 308–309. The Colonna were also a trouble to the Pope in the summer of 1534; see ALBERINI, 382 *seq.* There was also the insolent behaviour of B. Accolti; see Giorn. di lett. Ital., XXXIX., 229.

caused him many hours of care,[1] wished to renounce the purple in order to expel Alessandro de' Medici from Florence.[2] In order that this "foolish devil," as Clement once called his nephew, might be otherwise employed he bestowed upon him, on the 5th of September 1534, the Legation of the Marches, which Accolti was obliged to vacate.[3] In the delirium of fever Clement was still occupied with the prospects of his nephews, and one of the last briefs of the dying Pope, addressed on the 23rd of September to the Emperor, contained, besides the entreaty that he should care for the interests of Italy and the Church, a warm recommendation of Ippolito and Alessandro.[4] The trusted Carnesecchi was to be the bearer of the letter.[5]

The mortal remains of Clement VII. were at first laid in St. Peter's and afterwards transferred to S. Maria sopra Minerva. There on the right side of the choir, opposite the tomb of Leo X., Baccio Bandinelli, from plans drawn up by Sangallo, erected a monument to Clement VII. in the form of an antique triumphal arch in white marble that might be mistaken for the monument of his cousin. In the central niche is a seated statue of Clement,

[1] See the *report of G. M. della Porta of May 15, 1532, in State Archives, Florence, and LUZIO, Pronostico, 143 *seq.*

[2] See Soriano, *loc. cit.*, 309. *Cf.* REUMONT, Toskana, I., 58 *seq.*; ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., 66, and LUZIO, Pronostico, 143 *seq.*

[3] Acta Consist. in BALAN, Clemente VII., 214.

[4] In RAYNALDUS, 1534, n. 67. The last sentence here missing runs: "Sed haec M^ti Tuae dicet copiosius et particularius idem protonotarius, cujus verbis illa haud minorem fidem habere velit quam si nos praesentes eam alloqueremur." Dat., etc., Blosius. Min. brev., vol. 48, n. 341, in Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* also the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga in Cod. Barb., *cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 120, note, and AGOSTINI, P. Carnesecchi, Firenze, 1899.

sculptured by Nanni di Baccio Bigio, surmounted by a relief representing the coronation of Charles V. In the niches on either side are statues of St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist; the reliefs above show the former saint in the desert, and the Baptist in the act of preaching.[1] There is hardly another spot in Rome conducive to more serious reflection than these tombs of the two Popes of the house of Medici. Differing widely in character and fortunes they were both, in their pontificates, of momentous import to the Church.

Clement has been called the most unlucky of all the Popes.[2] This verdict is justified not merely as regards his reign but as regards his memory. It was astonishing how quickly he was forgotten in Rome.[3] The Romans remembered only the misfortunes of his reign, his financial disasters, and his heavy taxation;[4] they no longer recalled

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 473 *seq.*; LITTA, Medici, 124; KENNER, 145, and Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst., XI., 141 *seqq.* For the first sketch see WICKHOFF in Jahrb. der kunsthistor. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses, XIII., cclxxx., No. 212.

[2] RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 82. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, V., 51, note 1. See also MATHIEU, Pouvoir Temp. des Papes, Paris, 1863, 496.

[3] See ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., 70. *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *letter of September 24, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Clement VII., whose total income is computed by Foscari in 1526 at 499,000 ducats against an expenditure of 412,250 ducats (ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 139), suffered from the first from the prodigality of Leo X. (see *op. cit.*, 269) and from the stoppage of the sums of money which, in earlier days, had come in from Germany (*cf.* on this point SANUTO, LIII., 16). The gravest incident, from the financial side, in Clement's reign was the duplication of the public debt, for in addition to the "offici vacabili," which ceased with the death of the owner, there were the "monti non vacabili" or simply "monti." A beginning was made in 1526 of raising money through consolidated loans by the erection of the "monte della fede" with a capital of

the judicious regulations of the deceased Pope for the commissariat of the city.[1]

Clement VII. has had no biographer, and almost all the historians of his time, with Guicciardini and Giovio at

200,000 ducats and 200 "luoghi" (shares), with interest at ten per cent. paid through the Customs (*cf.* COPPI, Discorso s. finanze d. stato pontif. dal sec. xvi al xix, Roma, 1855, 3, and RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 266 *seq.*). To 1526 also belongs the "monte di sale ed oro" (284,000 ducats, interest at 8 per cent.). These loans were totally inadequate to meet the enormous ransom demanded by the Imperial army in 1527. A third loan, on the "monte del macinato" (290,000 ducats), had to be taken up, thus raising the new public debt to 774,800 ducats (COPPI, *loc. cit.*, 3–4). The sack of the city, the expedition against Florence, on which two millions must have been spent, and the Turkish war also led to fresh burdens of expense and to the sale of Church property and Legations (see REUMONT, III., 2, 285 *seq.*; *cf.* ADEMOLLO in the Riv. Europ., 1877, II., 421). Much of the aversion to Clement VII. in Rome (*cf.* the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine, National Library, Paris, even from the year 1526, and JOVIUS, Columna, 157) and elsewhere (*cf.* TIZIO, Hist. Senen. in Cod. G II., 39, f. 366, of the Chigi Library, Rome) was due to the levies of taxation. Even the Italian clergy offered, in many places, a violent opposition to the Papal demands for tithes; see LANCELLOTTI, IV., 310 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*

[1] Clement's agricultural policy has generally been praised as enlightened; *cf.* BENIGNI, Getreidepolitik der Päpste, 25, 32 *seq.*, 123; REUMONT, III., 2, 289 *seq.*; NAUDÉ in Schmoller's Jahrb. des Deutschen Reiches, 1899, N.F., XXIII., 3, 10. The famous "Bulla de agricultura in districto urbis" of February 26, 1524 (Bull. VI., 56–62, incorrectly dated; according to *Regest. Vatic., 1245, f. 269–277, we ought to read IV. Cal. Martii), for which TRIPEPI (Papato, VII., 221), ZAMA (Agro Romano, Roma, 1879, 54 *seq.*), and ARDANT (Papes et Paysans, 47, 127 *seq.*) are still consulted, was enlarged by a second constitution on August 1, 1524; see DECUPIS, Per gli usi civici nell' agro Romano, Roma, 1906, 20. The troubles of the war made these excellent regulations of no effect. In 1529 a "carestia incredibile" was reigning in Rome; see Contarini in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 262; REUMONT, III., 2, 290.

their head, pass severe judgments upon him.[1] Even those who recognize his praiseworthy qualities, his piety, purity of life, and indefatigable love of work, blame "the coldness of his heart, his indecision, his weakness coupled with duplicity, his pettiness of spirit."[2] To judge with fairness it ought to be borne in mind that Clement in many instances had to expiate the sins of his predecessors, that only too often he was the victim of circumstances for the existence of which he was not responsible. Terrible was the retribution brought on him for the introduction of the Spaniards into Naples by Alexander VI. Vettori has already pointed out that "Clement VII. was not cruel, nor proud, nor a simonist, nor avaricious, nor dissolute, but temperate, simple, pious, zealous in the fulfilment of his religious duties — nevertheless, upon him and Rome came dire calamity, and others who were full of vices lived and died happily as far as this world goes."[3]

Even granting that this eulogy is just, yet the second Medici Pope cannot escape the reproach that during his eleven years' pontificate he never showed himself competent to deal with the difficulties of the situation. Incapable of large calculations, he allowed himself to be led by petty considerations when great interests were at stake. Timid in the extreme, he only arrived at a decision slowly and then was easily induced to alter it, for he was only too prone to substitute for every good plan some other that he considered better. With him "the fresh hues of determination were sicklied o'er with the pale

[1] Both certainly are by no means impartial; see BALAN, Clemente VII., 216. For the pasquinades on the Pope's death see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXI., 401, 402, 405.

[2] REUMONT, III., 2, 266.

[3] VETTORI, 381; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 641.

cast of thought." He was entirely wanting in masterly initiative and courageous decision. What the reign of so irresolute a personality must inevitably produce has been hit off to perfection by Berni in an epigram of excessive bitterness:[1]

> "Un papato composto di rispetti
> Di considerazioni e di discordi,
> Di piu, di poi, di ma, di si di forsi
> Di pur, di assai parole senza effetti."

The most regrettable feature of Clement's pontificate was his absorption in politics and family interests, whereby he was blinded to the specially spiritual tasks of the Papacy, the most essential thing of all. Consequently he must undoubtedly bear a share of the blame for the loss of great portions of Germany to the Church. Clement was not sufficiently informed on German affairs, and therefore did not realize the momentum with which events were developing. If Germany was the central point of the interest of Adrian VI., the very reverse was the case with Clement VII. At first greatly disturbed by Luther's success, he was too much a Medici to allow anxiety for Germany to take precedence of political and Italian preoccupations.[2] By making himself the centre of resistance to Charles V. he allowed the politico-ecclesiastical upheaval in the German Empire to have full scope. Later on he swung between two extremes, between plans of forcible suppression of the reformers and plans of mutual agreement. A temporizer by nature, he was incapable of

[1] BERNI, Rime, ed. Virgili, 43 *seq.*; *cf.* VIRGILI, Berni, 100 *seq.*, and REUMONT, III., 2, 268.

[2] I refer in this connection to a hitherto unnoticed remark of Vergerio's. He wrote on July 1, 1535, to Aretino: "Tutte le faccende di Clemente erano rivolte in ogni altro luogo che in Germania"; Lett. al Aretino, I., 179. *Cf.* also CREIGHTON, V., 249.

a strong, clearly defined course of action, all the more so as the King of France cleverly kept him deceived as to the dangers in Germany.

His conduct in English affairs is also open to objection. The charge that the Pope, by his precipitate sentence of excommunication on Henry VIII., made himself responsible for the separation of England from the Holy See is certainly without justification.[1] On the other hand, it does not admit of doubt that he was wanting in the necessary resolution to intervene firmly and, before it was too late, place an imperative alternative before Henry VIII.[2] As the King had come forward decidedly against Luther his threats of apostasy had not been taken seriously at Rome where, hoping against hope, it was thought that time would cool the adulterous passion which had reached a pitch almost of frenzy. The Pope therefore adopted a dilatory policy, did not speak out at once and unmistakably, made unintelligible concessions, and even consented to the elevation to the episcopate of opponents of the Holy See. While the Curia still clung to the empty expectation that sooner or later some settlement must be reached, Henry was paving the way towards separation. However much Clement's weakness may admit of explanation from the point of view of human nature, it was inconsistent with the ideal of the high office with which he was invested,[3] and did injury to the interests of the Church.[4]

[1] Against this view (see Histor. Zeitschr., XXXIX., 451 *seq.*; *cf.* PIEPER in the Histor.-polit. Bl., XCIV., 482 *seq.*), which later was also widely spread in Rome, see LINGARD, VI., 226 *seq.*, note, and FERET in the Rev. d. quest. hist., 1898, II., 85 *seq.*

[2] Hist. Jahrb., XIV., 923.

[3] RANKE (Englisch. Gesch., I., 177) calls attention to this.

[4] "What a different shape things would have taken" is the opinion of ZIMMERMANN (Wissensch. Beil. zur Germania, 1906, No. 6), "if

Clement had no greater success in his European policy than he had in Church affairs. Employing with restless activity all the arts of a diplomatist of the Renaissance and conducting all his undertakings with cleverness and acumen, he yet achieved nothing. His constantly shifting policy, the outcome of over-subtlety and a lack of courage and stability, could produce only small results. In all great questions his policy completely broke down, and involved him in incessant discomfiture.[1] Clement VII. dug the grave of Italian freedom, while the great political authority of the Papacy moved steadily to its downfall. Nothing but misfortune attended Clement's purely political machinations, so much so that one might be tempted to see therein a sign that Providence was bent on once more leading back the Papacy to its special vocation. This much was evident when Clement passed away; all his political schemes had come to nothing; the road along which he had travelled was henceforth closed. A radical change was necessary if the Church was not to lose still more than she had already lost within the last few years.

The ill-fortune which set its stamp on the pontificate of Clement VII. also threw its shadow over his relations to literature, science, and art.

True to the traditions of his family, the Pope, during his Cardinalate, had already gathered round him a throng of poets and men of letters. To this day the Vatican Library preserves an imposing series of works dedicated to him at this period.[2]

Rome had made public the document so deeply compromising to the King, if the Pope had exposed to light the whole course of the marriage proceedings."

[1] *Cf.* VOIGT-HAUCK in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, IV., 3rd ed., 147.

[2] Cod. Vatic., 3641 ; *Francisci Priscianensis in hymnos secundum

It is easy to imagine the delight with which, on the death of the unsympathetic Adrian VI., the election of such a man as Giulio de' Medici was hailed in literary circles.[1] Amid eulogies of the house of Medici, always

Romanam Curiam Castigationes cum metrorum reformatione (dat. ex Florentia Nonis Sextilib. 1517).

5797: *Veturii Rubei Lictii Carmen sive somnus de Italia et Insubria a Gallis oppressa.

5798: *Andr. Daxii Sylva.

5800: *Christ. Marcelli (archiep. Corcyr.) Dialogus de fato Julidas inscriptus.

5801: *Christ. Marcelli (archiep. Corcyr.) Quaestio de cadentis Angeli ordine.

5802: *Luciani Dialogi maritimi interprete Livio Guidolacto Urbinate.

5803: *Octavii Roscii Carmina (with his miniature: the poet presenting his work to the Cardinal).

5804: *Zachar. de Rhodigio, Quaestio de donatione Constantini (the latter still exists *de jure*!).

5805: *Opusculum incerti auctoris contra medicos qui negligunt astronomiam in medendis aegritudinibus.

5806: Pii Bononiens. Tropheum Julii Card. Medicis de victoria contra Gallos habita in Insubria (carmen bucolic.).

5807: *Bernardi Guicciardini (monachi) Opusculum angelicum (on the angels, after S. Thomas Aquinas).

5808: *Aegidii Viterbi (ord. S. Aug. gen.) Explanatio litterar. hebraicar.

5809-5810: *Guidi Posthumi Silvestr. Elegiar. lib.

5811: *Jacobi Argyropuli Epistola (dedicating to him the work of his father Johannes, De institutione eorum qui sunt in dignitate).

5812: *Franc. Speruli Villa Julia Medica versibus fabricata. Almost all these MSS. are the original dedication copies. To this period also belongs the work of P. Bembo: "Prose nelle quali si ragiona della volgar lingua scritte al Card. de Medici (poi Clemente VII.)," Firenze, 1549, and often reprinted. *Cf.* NARDUCCI, Catal., 632; Atti d. Lincei, 4th Series, X., 15; Lett. d. princ., I., 117[b]; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 382; REUMONT, III., 2, 364.

[1] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., I., 101, 102.

the patron of the learned, the return of the golden age was proclaimed in prose and verse, and many voices began to celebrate the events of the new reign.[1]

Clement VII. had every wish to continue the traditions of Leo X. In spite of the misfortunes of the time he did more in this respect than is commonly supposed.[2] Among his secretaries names of note appear early: Angelo Colocci, Blosio Palladio, Evangelista Tarasconio, Giovanni Battista Sanga, Sadoleto.[3] The latter, however, returned in April 1527 to his diocese of Carpentras. Pietro Bembo also had friendly relations with Clement VII. through letters and dedications, and saw the Pope during the Jubilee year of 1525, and afterwards at the first meeting of the latter with Charles V. at Bologna.[4] On this occasion Romolo Amaseo delivered before the Emperor and Pope his oration on the Latin language which excited an admiration that is hardly intelligible at the present day.[5]

[1] *Cf.* *Capit. in laude del S.S. N.S. P. Clemente VII. et della sua ill. et fel. casa de Medici composto et scripto per Jacomo Bartholi, 1523; Cod. Vatic., 3700, of the Vatican Library. Raimondo Lepido da Sulmona published in 1523 a poem on the coronation of Clement VII.; see PANSA in the Rasseg. abruzzese, IV., 10. See also C. Silvani Germanici In pontificatum Clementis VII. panegyris prima, Romae, 1524, and C. Ursini Velii Germani ad Rhodum gratulatio ob Clementis VII. electionem, Romae, 1524. Ant. Ferrosius* says already in 1524: "Reversa sunt Saturnia regna"; Cod. Vatic., 4125, f. 206 (Vatican Library). How quickly Clement's parsimony dispelled the illusion, see SANUTO, XXXVI., 388.

[2] See CIAN in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 386.

[3] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 214; RENAZZI, II., 81; GIORDANI, App., 122, 124, 126; JOLY, 134 *seq.*; Histor.-polit. Bl., XCV., 929 *seq.*

[4] See MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 743; a mark of favour of Clement VII. for P. Bembo in the *Regest. Vatic., 1527, f. 88 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See FLAMINI, 98, and CIAN in Miscell. in onore di A. Grat. Bergamo, 1903.

The attention bestowed by Clement VII. on the Vatican Library[1] is shown remarkably in this; that, following in the steps of Leo X. he took measures, notwithstanding the necessitous times, to increase the printed and manuscript treasures of this collection. Thus, in the year 1526, Johann Heitmers, who had already been entrusted with a literary mission in 1517, was again sent to the North to make fresh discoveries.[2] He was assisted by the Dominican Wilhelm Carnifex, whose activity Clement sought to encourage in every way.[3] The Pope on this occasion was not merely recalling the exertions of Leo X.; he bore expressly in mind those of Cosimo, Giuliano, and Lorenzo de' Medici in finding out new Greek, Latin, and Hebrew manuscripts.[4] If the Pope hoped by these searches after manuscript treasures to confer an advantage also on religion in the hour of danger, this may be explained by the fact that a clue was supposed to have been found to the existence of a valuable manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles.[5] From the Gonzaga, Clement borrowed a manuscript of Eustathius to which Lascaris had called his attention.[6] The Pope, who was also interested in the reform of the calendar,[7] is entitled to special honour for

[1] *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Bibl., 65 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the Brief of January 17, 1526, to Christian of Denmark in Dipl. Norvegic., VI., 2, 736 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *pass for Carnifex and the *Brief to the Dominicans in Ghent, January 17, 1526 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), in Appendix, Nos. 3 and 27.

[4] See in Appendix, No. 2, the remarkable *pass of January 17, 1526.

[5] Dipl. Norvegic., VI., 2, 736 *seq.*, 756.

[6] See Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 25 *seq.*

[7] See MARZI, 215 *seq.*; also 51, for the dedication of a writing by P. a Middelburg. *Cf.* Atti d. congress. stor. di Roma, III. (1906), 649, for the dedicated works of R. Cervini.

the attitude he assumed towards the new system of Nicolas Copernicus; in 1533 he ordered the learned Johann Albert Widmanstadt to explain it in the gardens of the Vatican.[1]

Clement VII. also had friendly relations with Erasmus, who tactfully greeted the Pope on his accession by presenting him with a copy of his paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles; he also wrote a very respectful letter in which he apologized for the imprudent tone of his earlier writings by saying that at that time he could not have anticipated the outbreak of the religious divisions. Clement VII. thanked him in a very kind letter on the 3rd of April 1524, accompanied by a present of 200 gold gulden; he exhorted Erasmus to place his talents at the service of the Church, and assured him that his enemies would be ordered to hold their peace.[2] On this friendly footing they continued to stand, all the more so when Erasmus, in the autumn of 1524, attacked the heart of the Lutheran doctrine in its denial of the freedom of the will.[3] Clement so highly appreciated[4] the outspoken opposition of Erasmus to Luther that in 1527 he imposed silence on the Spanish opponents[5] of the former,

[1] See MARINI, II., 351, and Histor.-polit. Bl., LXIII., 497 *seq.*; PROWE, I., 2, 273 *seq.* *Cf.* COSTANZI, La Chiesa e le dottrine cop., Roma, 1893.

[2] See ERASMI, Opp., III., 1, 783, VII., 651 *seq.*, and BALAN, Mon. ref., 324, and Mon. saec., XVI., 10 *seq.*, 12 *seq.*; *cf.* HARTFELDER, 148.

[3] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, VII., 14th ed., 576. There is an *entry in the account books under October 24, 1524: "10 duc. a uno chorier che portò uno libro di Erasmo a S. Sta" (State Archives, Florence, S. Maria Novella, 327).

[4] *Cf.* BALAN, Mon. ref., 380.

[5] See VILLA, 253; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., II., 631; EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., 1894, 477; MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Ref., 270, 406. That Maurenbrecher attributes much too great a part to Erasmus

and kept silence himself regarding Erasmus' own attempts to bring about a reconciliation, which were in part not easy to understand, and the objections to which had been brought before the Pope's notice.[1] If Clement had hitherto always kept himself aloof from the learned controversies between the friends and foes of Erasmus, he now thought it a counsel of expediency that such a man should be spared as much as possible and that he should express himself satisfied with his assurances of loyalty.[2]

Among the poets to whom Clement VII. extended his favour, Sannazaro and Vida hold the first place. The former dedicated to the Pope, in the autumn of 1526, his celebrated poem on the Nativity of Christ, to the appearance of which Leo X. had looked forward so eagerly. Seripando had the honour of presenting the work to the Pope, who, in a Brief composed by Sadoleto, thanked the poet, for whom he foretold an immortality of renown.[3] The Pope's invitation to come to Rome was declined by Sannazaro on account of the period of calamity which had begun to break over the Eternal City. He remained in Naples, where he found his resting-place in the church of his own foundation, S. Maria del Porto on the Mergellina. His monument, the work of Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, does not discredit the pupil of Michael Angelo. The tomb is flanked by marble statues of Apollo and Minerva;[4] inscriptions added by a later hand have

is well brought out in the Histor. Zeitschr., LIII., 155. For the Spanish affair of Erasmus see HESS, Erasmus, I., 317 *seq.*, and MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, Hist. de los heterodoxos expañ., II., 36 *seq.*

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 138, 139. For the proposals of mediation see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VII., 14th ed., 576 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, in Histor. Jahrb., II., 613 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, I., 469; Histor. Zeitschr., LIII., 155.

[3] *Cf.* ROSCOE-HENKE, III., 87 *seq.*, 533 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* B. CROCE, La tomba di G. Sannazaro, Trani, 1892.

transformed these figures into a David and a Judith. Strange as is the admission into a Christian church of these two pagan deities, they are yet strikingly appropriate in the case of a poet like Sannazaro, who in his works indulged to excess in illustrations drawn from heathen mythology.[1]

Vida, still at work on his Christiade, begun under Leo X., was made Bishop of Alba[2] by Clement VII. However fitting this post may have been for the poet, the bishopric of Nocera de' Pagani was certainly not the place for Paolo Giovio the historian, appointed in 1528.[3] Giovio badly requited the favour shown to him by Clement.

Early in 1524 Francesco Guicciardini was made President of the Romagna, where a very bad state of things prevailed; he succeeded, although his task was often made difficult from Rome, in restoring order.[4] The part taken by him in the campaigns subsequent to the League of Cognac has been already narrated. After a short interval of rest he re-entered the Papal service in 1530 and gave valuable assistance towards the

[1] See the remarks, Vol. V. of this work, p. 141 *seq.*, and Vol. VIII., p. 202 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 200 *seq.*, the writings quoted, and VAIRINI, Mon. Crem., II., 8 *seq.*, 109.

[3] See Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XVII., 300; *cf. ibid*, XXXVI., 385 *seq.*, the characteristic letter of Giovio of 1524. On July 6, 1527, Clement wrote *ex arce* to Lannoy that he had chosen the eminent physician and historian P. Giovio for the vacant bishopric of Nocera; Lannoy might see to it that Giovio obtains possession. In that way he can confer an obligation on the historian of present events (*Min. brev., 1527, vol. 14, n. 132). A "licencia testandi usque ad 2000 duc." for "P. Jovius" in *Brev., 1533, vol. 53, n. 407. Other favours shown to P. Giovio in *Regest. Vatic., 1252, f. 139[b] *seq.*, and 1438, f. 118[a] and 129[b] (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] BROSCH, I., 77 *seq.*

restoration of the Medicean rule in Florence. From June 1531 Guicciardini was Vice-Legate of Bologna, and not merely here but in other directions also, especially against Ferrara, he rendered most important services to the policy of the house of Medici.[1]

Machiavelli visited Clement VII. in 1525 in order to present him with the five books of his Florentine history. His reception was gracious, and a gift of 100 ducats was accorded him. He made use of this occasion to recommend to the Pope his old plan of a national militia. Clement for a moment seemed disposed to enter into the scheme, but he very soon drew back from the dangerous undertaking.[2]

In spite of their dissolute lives Agnolo Firenzuola and Francesco Berni[3] received tokens of favour from the Pope. From 1524 Berni was secretary to the Datary Giberti, who with extraordinary patience and certainly with too great indulgence put up for a considerable time with the eccentric behaviour of the highly talented poet; but at last he had to be dismissed. At a later date Berni attached himself to the court of Ippolito de' Medici, of all the Cardinals the most devoted to pomp, enjoyment, and secularity.[4]

[1] *Cf.* ZANONI, Vita pubbl. di F. Guicciardini, Bologna, 1896; Nuova Antologia, 4th Series, LXVII., 459 *seq.*; ROSSI, F. Guicciardini e il gov. fiorent., Bologna, 1896 *seqq.* (2 vols.); Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, V., 20 *seq.*, XI., 386 *seq.* For the Bolognese Legation see TEZA in the Atti d. Ist. Venet., 6th Series, XIII., 897 *seq.*

[2] See VILLARI, Machiavelli, III., 2nd ed., 326 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GUERRINI, Le novelle di A. Firenzuola, Firenze, 1886, 173, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 172; see also KRAUS, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, II., Bd. II., 1, 18 *seq.*

[4] See VIRGILI, 95 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 433 *seq.*, and REUMONT in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1881, Beil. 250; *cf.* also FERRAJOLI in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLV., 67 *seq.* For Ip. de' Medici's brilliant court see JOVIUS, Elogia vir. bell. virt. ill., Florentiae, 1551, 273 *seq.*

Berni's irreconcilable enemy appears in the person of Pietro Aretino, the master of the art of scandalous pasquinade, of which he considered himself to have the monopoly.[1] The friction between the two dated from the very beginning of Clement's reign, into whose favour Aretino had already insinuated himself. Berni liked Giberti as much as Aretino detested him. Although Giberti's opponents, Girolamo da Schio and Schönberg, took sides with Aretino, whose pen inspired fear, the latter got the worst of it and had to fly from Rome at the end of July 1524; but he was back again in November, now singing the praises of Clement [2] and receiving rewards for so doing.[3] On a night in July in the following year Aretino was implicated in a stabbing affair and was wounded in several places. As his assailant was in Giberti's service and went unpunished, Aretino attacked the Datary in the bitterest terms and finally went on to revile the Pope also.[4] The scandal was so great that he left Rome and joined Giovanni "delle Bande Nere." After the death of the latter he lived at the court of the Marquis of Mantua, from whence he launched forth such biting invectives against the Pope and the Roman court that Clement's confessor complained to the Mantuan envoy.[5] Meanwhile Aretino had found a safe refuge in Venice. Here he displayed a most remunerative industry, for, by sending his poisoned shafts in every direction, he extorted huge sums of money from

[1] See LUZIO, P. Aretino e Pasquino, Roma, 1890.

[2] Laude di Clemente VII. (copy in the State Library, Munich); *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIX., 231 *seq.*

[3] *1524 December 13: "50 duc. a Piero Aretino d' ordine di S. Sta" (State Archives, Florence, Sta. Maria Novella, 327).

[4] See VIRGILI, 102 *seq.*, and BERTANI, 42, 45, 48 *seq.*; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLIII., 193 *seq.*

[5] See LUZIO, P. Aretino, 8 *seq.*, 62; *cf.* BERTANI, 32.

those highly placed in the world and the Church. The sack of Rome gave Aretino an opportunity for composing a touching elegy and a pasquinade of savage ferocity. The latter was of such a tenor that Clement flung it to the ground exclaiming, with tears: "Is it to be borne that a Pope should be spoken of in such cruel terms!"[1] This time Clement's displeasure lasted longer. Aretino's attempts, through influential persons, to obtain pardon were unavailing. It was only when no less a personage than the Doge Gritti himself applied to the Pope that he succeeded, in September 1530, in obtaining an official reconciliation. But the banishment from Rome continued in force, and so for a long time to come did the feelings of rancour and hatred in the mind of Aretino.[2]

The great throng of literati of all sorts, poets and men of learning, who since the days of his Cardinalate had been associated with Clement, would form a catalogue too long to enumerate. The following only may be mentioned: Zaccaria Ferreri,[3] Bernardo Accolti,[4] Giangiorgio Trissino,[5] Giovanni Rucellai,[6] Fra Sabba da Castiglione,[7] Pietro Alcionio,[8] Giglio Gregorio Giraldi,[9] Andrea

[1] See LUZIO, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seq.*

[2] See LUZIO, *loc. cit.*, 29 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 50; *cf.* also MORSOLIN, G. da Schio, 68 *seq.*, and LUZIO, Pronostico, XVIII., 12, 79. For a condemnatory edict of Clement's of 1525, which certainly was not strongly enforced, see BONGI, Annali di Gioliti, I., xxxiv., II., 469 *seq.*, 483 *seq.*, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XX., 507 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 208 *seqq.*

[4] See GUARNERA, Accolti, 117.

[5] MORSOLIN, 117 *seqq.*, 125, 131; see also Vol. VIII., 218 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* MAZZONI, Opere di G. Rucellai, Bologna, 1887.

[7] *Cf.* V. RANIERI, Fra S. da Castiglione, Lugo, 1821; GIORDANI, App. 11, and the articles quoted by FLAMINI, 569.

[8] MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 378.

[9] *Cf.* WOTKE, L. G. Gyraldus de poetis nostri temp. (preface), Halle, 1894.

Fulvio,[1] Maria Fabio Calvo,[2] Pierio Valeriano,[3] Johann Eck,[4] Santes Pagnino,[5] Cardinal Cajetan,[6] Cristoforo Marcello,[7] Antonio Pigafetta,[8] Achille Bocchi,[9] Stefano Joanninense,[10] Giovanni Gennesio Sepulveda[11] Albert Pighius,[12] Giano Lascaris,[13] and many others.[14]

[1] See A. Fulvii Antiquitates Urbis Romae, Praef. The licence is the composition of Sadoleto; *cf.* LANCIANI, I., 229.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, pp. 244, 248; GIORDANI, App. 65; CIACONIUS, III., 474, and LANCIANI, I., 240 *seq.*

[3] See CALI, Valeriano, 27 *seq.*

[4] CIACONIUS, III., 474.

[5] For his translation of the Bible see ROSCOE, II., 165; ECHARD, II., 114, and Frieb. Kirchenlexikon, II., 2, 138, IX., 2, 1270.

[6] Comment in Pentateuchum, Romae, 1531, and De fide et operibus adversus Lutheranos, both dedicated to Clement VII.; see NIEDNER, Zeitschr. für Theol., 1858, 455 *seq.*

[7] Ch. Marcelli *In psalm: Diligam te Domine, fortitudo mea, expositio ad Clementem VII., Cod. Vatic., 3649, Vatican Library.

[8] Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 39 *seq.* WIESER, Magelhaenstrasse, 48 *seq.*

[9] *Cf.* GIORDANI, App. 62 *seq.*, and the *Brief of March 6, 1533, Arm., 39, vol. 53, n. 106, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[10] In Mediceam Monarchiam Penthatheucus ad div. Cle. Mediceum VII. P. M., Anconae, 1524. Very rare and of importance for history of Leo X.

[11] Graces for him of 1528 and 1530 in *Regest. Vatic., 1271, f. 19 *seq.*, and 1447, f. 175 *seq.*, of Secret Archives of the Vatican. On September 24, 1524, the *account books enter: "50 duc. a Giov. Sepulveda philosopho che traduce" (State Archives, Florence, S. Maria Novella, 327).

[12] *Cod. Vatic., 4575, and 6176: A. Pighius, De progymnasmatis geographicis, and 7804: Adversus Graecorum errores, both dedicated to Clement. Payments to Pighius in the *account books (Florentine) for 1526.

[13] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 209 *seq.*; NOLHAC, Bibl. de F. Orsini, 156 *seq.*

[14] The following may be briefly mentioned: G. V. Bonomi (see MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1683; FANTUZZI, II., 308) Cl. Tolomei (*ibid.*,

The sack of Rome brought ruinous loss to all men of

58), Cinzio de' Fabrizi (GRAF, Cinquecento, 378), G. Casio (see our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 217 n.; FANTUZZI, III., 131, and Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVIII., 59), Matteo Franco (NARDUCCI, Cat., 394), I. F. Ferretti (KEHR, Röm. Berichte, 1903, 87, 91). In addition to the dedications mentioned above (see *supra*, p. 334 n.) I also call attention to the following:—

Cod. Vatic., 3577: *Caroli Pinelli ord. praed. Epist. ad Clem. VII. (dedication copy with miniature).

3665: *Ad. S. D. N. Clem. VII. Petri Albiniani Tretii De confessione epistola (against the Lutherans; dedication copy with miniature).

3709: *Callisti Placentini [can. reg.] Dialogus ad Clem. VII. de recte regendo pontificatu (dedication copy).

3721: *G. T. Galli Epist. ad Clem. VII.

3728: *Hieron. Maripetri In d. Francisci vitam, I. IX. ad Clem. VII.

3742: *Ant. Allii ep. Vult. de vitis et gestis sanctor, I. X. ad Nic. V. unacum epist. A. card. de Monte ad Clem. VII., cui hoc opus denuo transscriptum in melioremque formam reductum dedicat. See our remarks, Vol. II. of this work, p. 206.

3743: Hier. Balbi ep. Gurc. De virtutibus liber tertius ad Clem. VII. (*cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 474, and RETZER, 97 *seqq.*, 103 *seq.*, 107 *seq.*; ASCHBACH, Wiener Universität, II., 159).

5795: *P. Martyris Epist. ad Clem. VII. (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1523, n. 134 *seq.*).

5799: *A. Admoracti Granarien. Civit^is^ Florentiae Mediceorumque laudes (poem) ad Clem. VII.

5828: *J. Ferretti, Defensorium fidei sive de max. Sed. Ap. auctoritate contra omnes haereticos, with Praef. ad Clem. VII.

5829: *J. Ferretti, De ecclesia Dei in haereticos omnes ad Clem. VII.

Reg. 1980. Jacobi Flori (presb. Samnitis e Fonte Roseo), Fasti christiani sive de sanctor. gestis ad Clem. VII. versu hexametro.

Barb. XXIX., 166 (lat. 1822): *Balac Arimin. Epist. ad Clem. VII. (1528).

Barb. XXXIV., 64 (lat. 2747): *Evangel. Tarasconii Parmen. ad Clem. VII. in calamitatum Italiae comment., lib. IV.

Barb. XXXII., 73 (lat. 2282): *Io. Staphylei In bullam Julii II. super elect. Rom. pontif. (dedicated to Clement VII.).

To Clement VII. and Giberti is dedicated *the History of the Turks

letters living there, while many perished.[1] The humanist Pierio Valeriano described the fate of individuals in his well-known treatise "On the Misfortunes of the Learned."[2] The Roman University was completely ruined. Clement VII. had shown the greatest interest in its erection, and gave orders that the buildings should be restored. He failed, indeed, in securing the services of Erasmus, but was successful in his invitations to many other scholars.[3] The Papal archives and the Vatican Library also suffered badly in the year of misfortune 1527, but Clement VII. made vigorous efforts to make good the losses.[4]

The consequences of the sack were perhaps more disastrous for art than for literature. Not merely had the whole brilliant group of painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths been scattered in all directions, and many of their works destroyed, but the exhaustion of the finances was injurious, for it made all work impossible for a great length of time, and then, when the worst difficulties had been overcome, no one was able to come forward as a general patron of the arts. In this respect, too, Clement VII. differed from

by Teod. Spandugnino Cantacusino in Addit. MS. 15316 of the British Museum, London. Gammarus dedicated to Clement VII. his Commentary on the Bull of Julius II. on the Papal election; see PAULUS in Katholik, 1899, II., 379 *seq.* For Folengo and Clement VII. see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIII., 454.

[1] Besides REUMONT, III., 2, 369 *seq.*, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 594 *seq.*, see also Rev. d. Bibl., V., 16; KALKOFF, Forsch., 28; FANTUZZI, 278; ROSSI, Pasquinate, 111 *seq.*, and VOGELSTEIN, II., 49.

[2] De Infelicitate Litteratorum, Venetiae, 1620.

[3] See RENAZZI, II., 82 *seq.*; MARINI, Lettera, 117 *seq.*, 119; Arch. Veneto, N.S., I., 2 (1901), 134 *seq.*

[4] See the Brief of 1529 that CIAN published in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 454, and for the search for MSS. in 1532 the Brief of that year, July 22, in Dipl. Norvegic., VI., 2, 756 *seq.*, and in Appendix, Nos. 26–29, the *Briefs of 1532.

his cousin Leo X. The heedless prodigality of the latter was as foreign to Clement as his rich versatility of culture; dry, earnest, sparing of his purse, he was not the man to act the Mæcenas for whom the world of art had been hoping; they were soon to undergo a great disappointment.

On the announcement of the election of Clement VII. most of the artists who had been driven from Rome by the death of Leo X. and the pontificate of Adrian VI. at once returned. Their recollections of the reign of the first Medici filled them all with the most pleasing hopes for the future. To have survived the day of the "barbarian" Pope and of the plague filled the joyous band with fresh spirit. "Friends sought each other out again," says Benvenuto Cellini, "and embraced and greeted with cheering words those whom they once more met alive. Painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, the best in Rome, drew closer together in a society founded by the jovial Michael Agnolo of Siena, and held joyous festas in which Giulio Romano and Penni also took part."[1] What Cellini tells us of these festas makes it clearly evident that the austere Adrian VI. would have nothing to do with such folk. Clement VII. himself was soon obliged to take steps against Marcantonio Raimondi for having made copper-plates of some obscene drawings of Giulio Romano; had the latter not already made his way to Mantua, the anger of the Pope would have fallen upon him heavily.[2]

In spite of the financial difficulties which Clement VII.

[1] CELLINI, Vita, I., 5; DOLLMAYR, 352.

[2] See DOLLMAYR, 353, and DELABORDE, M. A. Raimondi, Paris, 1888, 52 *seq.*, 238 *seq.* Vasari's story, that Aretino at that time had composed for his scandalous pictures still more scandalous sonnets, is not in accordance with the dates of Aretino's life. His sonnets must belong to a later period.

had to contend with from the first, in spite of the political embarrassments and the unprecedented blows of fate which were so soon to overwhelm him, he had set on foot many works of importance, while in another direction his pontificate saw the development in Rome of artistic activity on no small scale.[1] The most remarkable work of painting belonging to this reign was undoubtedly the decoration of the great hall leading to the Stanze, then called the Papal Hall, and later the Hall of Constantine; for the victorious entry of Christianity into universal history under that Emperor is there depicted.

The programme of this monumental work was, as regards essentials, settled under Leo X.[2] But as yet nothing had been executed, except the general division of subjects and the figures of Virtue and Justice which Raphael's pupils, Giulio Romano and Penni, had painted in oil on the wall; besides this the background of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge had been begun. This, however, was taken down when Clement gave orders for the resumption of the work interrupted by his cousin's death. The new method of painting chosen out of consideration for the co-operation of Sebastiano del Piombo was now given up and the customary use of fresco retained. In this great undertaking Giulio Romano executed the "Apparition of the Cross" and the battle-piece, while the "Baptism" and "Donation" of Constantine fell to Penni.

These great frescoes are painted apparently in the style

[1] REUMONT, III., 2, 433 *seq.*, where the buildings of private persons, especially the most beautiful, the Palazzo Massimo, are commented upon. More will be said of the Palazzo Farnese (see GEYMÜLLER, Les Du Cerceau, 13) in the next volume. The villa Salone of Cardinal Ag. Trivulzio has been excellently treated of by v. FABRICZY in the Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., XVII., 190 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* GOTTI, I., 138; WOLTMANN, II., 653.

of vast tapestries stretched along the walls, an evidence how fashionable this kind of decoration had become since the production of Raphael's famous hangings. Only the incomparable "Battle of Constantine" was sketched by the great master himself, and it was his thought that placed in the centre of this colossal picture, at the head of the band of horsemen pressing forward in the irresistible onset of victory, the youthful Emperor mounted on a noble white charger, with lance in poise, while the angels hovering over him point to his opponent Maxentius, who falls headlong into the rushing Tiber. The turning-point in this world-famed battle is thus most happily indicated. All around rages the turmoil of battle with its thrilling episodes represented with vivid fidelity to truth.[1]

The results of the victory, the "Baptism" and "Donation" of Constantine, were painted by Penni; in both frescoes St. Sylvester is represented with the features of Clement VII. The former event takes place in the baptistery of the Lateran; the "Donation," which by a stroke of genius is symbolized by the presentation of a golden figure of Rome, gives an admirable sketch of the interior of the old church of St. Peter.[2]

Between these two powerful frescoes are throned in painted niches under baldachini the figures, larger than life size, of famous Popes of the early Church, among whom Clement I. and Leo I. bear the traits of the two Medici

[1] A good description of the "Battle of Constantine" by GRIMM, Leben Raphaels, 482 *seq.* *Cf.* also PASSAVANT, II., 365 *seq.*; WOLTMANN, 655; MOLTKE, Wanderbuch, 131; LILIENCRON in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1883, Beil. 309; GRAF VON SZÉCSEN in the Ungar. Revue, IX. (1889), 560.

[2] BURCKHARDT'S favourable criticism (Cicerone, 671) of the "Baptism" and "Donation" requires to be considerably discounted in the light of Dollmayr's arguments. In the "Baptism" Clement appears with, in the "Donation" without, a beard.

Popes.[1] Around these likenesses of the predecessors of Clement VII. are grouped angels and allegorical figures, whose crudely realistic forms as well as the almost nude mythological figures on the pilasters are characteristic of the age.[2] Giulio's pupils, Giovanni da Lione and Raffaello del Colle of Borgo San Sepolcro, executed the ornaments and arabesques which border the frescoes as well as the caryatides with the badges of the Medici on the brackets.[3]

According to the account books the above-named painters were engaged for the greater part of the year 1524 in the Hall of Constantine, which might perhaps be better named after St. Sylvester. The last instalment of the stipulated 1000 ducats was paid on the 3rd of July 1525,[4] but the work, in all essentials, was finished as far back as September 1524.[5] Giulio Romano thereupon left Rome in October 1524, for no more work of importance was to be expected there. Clement VII. was not merely struggling with his money difficulties, but politics were making increas-

[1] The Popes, whose names are often incorrectly given, are Peter, Clement I., Urban I., Silvester I., Damasus I., and Leo I. *Cf.* PALIARD, Remarques sur les Papes représentés dans la salle de Constantin au Vatican, Chronique des Arts, Paris, 1884. Here also the indentification of two figures with Felix III. and Gregory VII. is rejected, although it is overlooked that the inscriptions under the figures are in some instances incorrectly attributed. As a proof, the inscription under Clement I., who unmistakably bears the features of Leo X. It is not to be supposed that the painter here meant Clement I., but his intention certainly was to represent Leo I.

[2] DOLLMAYR, 348, says that the Popes with the allegorical figures were always painted by the same artist who executed the principal picture on that wall.

[3] *Cf.* DOLLMAYR, 348.

[4] See Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 447 *seq.*

[5] This is proved by a hitherto unnoticed letter of B. Castiglione in SERASSI, I., 142.

ing claims on his attention;[1] thus it was that Penni and Giovanni da Udine also came to be engaged on tasks of only a trivial character, the painting of banners in particular.[2]

The catastrophe which befell the artistic world in the sack of Rome was so terrible that it must once more be considered. The few, such as Benvenuto Cellini and the sculptors Lorenzo Lotto and Raffaello da Montelupo, who were able to find occupation as gunners on St. Angelo, were to be counted lucky. The remainder underwent the hardest experiences. The painter Maturino died of the plague; Perino del Vaga, Marcantonio Raimondi, Giulio Clovio, and many others were tortured and robbed of all they had. Those who could took refuge in flight, and the school of Raphael was completely broken up.[3] Although Clement VII., after 1530, made strenuous efforts to restore the patronage of art, the life-blood of art itself had been drained. The gifted Giovanni da Udine was now extensively employed. He restored, in 1531, the mosaics in the apse of St. Peter's, and painted, two years later, the ceiling of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo in Florence; the glass windows of the Laurentian Library are, probably rightly, also attributed to him.[4] The artistic activity of Sebastiano del Piombo was affected by his appointment in 1531, by Clement VII., to be a "Bullarum plumbator" or medallist of Papal Bulls, a remunerative function. After that this distinguished painter confined himself almost entirely to portraits.[5]

[1] See DOLLMAYR, 358. Giulio Romano was not paid for finishing the "Transfiguration" until 1526; see Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 449.

[2] Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 448 *seq.*

[3] MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 232; REUMONT, III., 2, 445 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 593 *seq.*; Graphische Künste, 1883, 91.

[4] Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 448; GOTTI, I., 170.

[5] See CROWE, VI., 410 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 444. Here and in Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 450, for other painters of that period. For Master Andrea see also ROSSI, Pasquinate, 106 *seq.*

Clement VII. had always taken a special interest in the art of illumination.[1] He ordered several specimens to be executed for the choir books of the Sixtine Chapel.[2] But in the account books, which, to be sure, are not in complete preservation, the name of Giulio Clovio, the greatest illuminator of the age, does not appear.[3]

The troubles of the time were the principal cause why Clement, in the domain of architecture, had to restrict himself to what was absolutely necessary. The reconstruction of St. Peter's had a prior claim to anything else. One of the Pope's first acts of administration was the appointment of a commission of sixty members for the special purpose of seeing that the money collected for this purpose was not diverted to other objects.[4] To raise the necessary sums, the right application of which was a matter of such extreme importance with the Pope,[5] the same measures were used as under Leo X.;[6] but the same

[1] For his missals that he had executed when Cardinal (now in the cabinet of copperplates in Berlin), see Repert. für Kunstwissensch., VII., 84.

[2] See MÜNTZ, Bibliothèque, 73 *seq.*, and HABERL, Bausteine f. Musikgesch., II., 66. *Cf.* PASINI-FRASSONI, Armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906, 34.

[3] *Cf.* KUKULJEVIČ-SAKCINSKI, Leben des J. Clovio, 3rd ed., Agram, 1868; Atti Mod., III., 259 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, G. Clovio, Modena, 1882; BRADLEY, G. Clovio, London, 1891.

[4] Bull., VI., 48 *seq.* A contemporary printed copy of the Bull (dated 1523, December 12) in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen. in the Chigi Library, Rome.

[5] See F. Gonzaga's *report of December 31, 1524, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua

[6] *Cf.* Bull, ed. COCQUELINES, IV., 1, 49 *seq.*; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 206, 213; LANCELLOTTI, IV., 179 *seq.* Numerous pieces relating to this in the volumes of *Briefs: *cf.* vol. 44 (1524), n. 18, 329, 621; vol. 45 (1525), n. 65, 444; vol. 46 (1526), n. 164; vol. 52 (1532), n. 79, 348, 351, 478, 479; vol. 53 (1533), n. 107 (Secret

difficulties had also to be met.[1] As the clumsy machinery of the College of Sixty proved unsuccessful, a special congregation of the "Fabbrica di S. Pietro" was afterwards appointed.[2] The seal of the Fabbrica was the work of Benvenuto Cellini.[3] The accounts from 1525 have been preserved,[4] and afford a good survey of the slow progress of the work, the completion of which, as the Venetian Ambassador remarked in 1523, would hardly be seen by the generation of their grandchildren.[5] Giuliano Leno continued to be master of the works under Clement VII. Before the sack Baldassare Peruzzi had been appointed architect of St. Peter's for life; during the catastrophe he saved his life with difficulty, and on the 1st of July 1531 Clement VII. renewed his former appointment.[6]

Archives of the Vatican). That Clement VII. was lukewarm towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's is one of the many unproved assertions of H. GRIMM, Michelangelo, II., 5th ed., 379.

[1] See Sessa's *report, October 5, 1525, in the Biblioteca de la Acad. de Hist., Madrid, Salazar, A 36.

[2] See VESPIGNANIUS, Compend. privileg. fabricae S. Petri, Romae, 1762, 9, *cf.* 106 *seq.*

[3] PLON, 193 *seq.*, only gives two entries for this seal for 1531. In the *"Conti," however (p. 3[a]), mentioned in note below, we find, as early as January 30, 1527, seven scudi paid to Benvenuto Cellini for a seal of the Fabbrica.

[4] The most important is a folio volume entitled: *Conti della Fabbrica sino al tempo di Clemente VII., from 1525 to 1529 inclusive. Here are to be found the payments made to Antonio da Sangallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, Francesco da Sangallo, and Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo. Also a folio volume with the title: *Entrata et uscita del 1529 sino al 1542. A more thorough examination of the archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's would be well worth the trouble. The extracts in Cod. H, II. 22, of Chigi Library, are insufficient.

[5] See ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 103. In the raid of the Colonna the money-chest of the Fabbrica was stolen; see SANUTO, LII., 727.

[6] See in Appendix, No. 21, the important Brief of July 1, 1531 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), by which the hitherto accepted

Although the nomination in this instance also was for life, Peruzzi withdrew himself from Rome for a long time, so that in April 1533 Clement VII. had to summon him back.[1]

In the palace of the Vatican Clement VII. completed the court of St. Damasus. Here[2] as well as in the castle of St. Angelo[3] many minor works and improvements were carried out. In the castle, the defences of which were strengthened, two chambers are shown at the present day, one of which served as the Pope's bedroom. The most recent restorations have also brought to light the Pope's bathroom; it contains mythological scenes from the life of Venus very characteristic of the licence which marked the spirit of the age.[4] The decoration also of the Papal villa on the eastern slope of Monte Mario, which was

view, that Peruzzi occupied a subordinate position (BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Gesch. der Renaissance, 127), is upset. Peruzzi's name disappears from the *account books in 1527 and reappears in February 1532, not 1535, as given by JOVANOVITS, 75.

[1] See in Appendix, No. 33, the *Brief of April 30, 1533. Min. brev., 1533, vol. 46, n. 162 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* *Introit. et Exit., 561, f. 205[a]: "Juliano Leno civi Rom. pro fabrica palat. apost. duc. 160" (monthly statement), Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also the *Mandati of 1527 in State Archives, Rome, and S. Maria Novella, 329 (payments for work on the Belvedere, 1528–9), in State Archives, Florence, as well as STEINMANN, II., 8. The collapse of the corridor leading to the Belvedere, wrongly placed by Michaelis (Jahrb. des deutschen archäol. Instituts, V., 32) in the year 1534, caused great talk at the time. *Cf.* the *letter of Girol. Cattaneo of January 7 in State Archives, Milan, and of F. Gonzaga of January 9, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix, Nos. 18–19.

[3] *Cf.* CLAUSSE, II., 297 *seq.*; BORGATI, 121.

[4] Over the marble doorway of the entrance to the "Bagno," formerly used as a latrine, is the inscription: Clemens VII. P. M. The paintings are in the style of Giulio Romano.

partly destroyed by fire during the sack, was purely mythological in character.[1]

In Rome itself, besides the rebuilding of the Mint (now Banco di S. Spirito)[2] restorations were undertaken by Clement in the baptistery of the Lateran,[3] in S. Agostino, S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Matteo in Merulana,[4] S. Gregorio de' Muratori,[5] S. Maria in Domnica,[6] and in the cloister of S. Maria in Ara Coeli.[7] On S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, Jacopo Sansovino was employed. On the northern portion of the Campo Marzio Clement VII. in 1525 finished Leo X.'s construction of the three streets leading to the Porta del Popolo.[8] The Pope also did a great deal for the improvement of traffic in Rome.[9] The sack, which had reduced the population from 55,000 to 32,000;[10] the plague, and the great inundation of the Tiber in 1530[11] had done heavy damage to the Papal capital.

[1] *Cf.* for the Villa Madama, Vol. VIII. of work, p. 370 *seqq.*

[2] By Antonio da Sangallo; see CLAUSSE, II., 152; *cf.* SCHULTE, I., 209.

[3] This is recalled by the inscription on the fresco of the Baptism of Constantine: Clemens VII. | Pont. Max. | a Leone X. | coeptum | consummvait. | 1524.

[4] See ARMELLINI, Chiese, 465.

[5] LANCIANI, I., 244.

[6] CIACONIUS, III., 476.

[7] The arms of Clement VII. were still there in 1879. Since then all has been destroyed to make room for the monument to Victor Emmanuel.

[8] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 127. The inscription of 1525 in REUMONT, III., 2, 873.

[9] *Cf.* LANCIANI, I., 226, 247; II., 10.

[10] See GNOLI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 382, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 3rd ed., 592. The statement in LANCELLOTTI, III., 459: 20,000, is certainly exaggerated.

[11] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXX., 54 *seq.* See also FORCELLA, I., 441.

Notwithstanding these calamities Rome had revived with comparative alacrity, and at the time of Clement's death the condition of the city was fairly satisfactory.[1] For fortifications in Rome [2] and elsewhere throughout the States of the Church Clement VII. availed himself of Antonio da Sangallo and Michele Sanmicheli.[3] The former, at his orders, constructed at Orvieto the great well (Pozzo di San Patrizio) which, after the cathedral, the inhabitants look upon as the second wonder of their city.[4] In Fano the reconstruction of the harbour, and in Loreto the erection of the apostolic palace were undertaken.[5] In Florence in 1533 the erection of the citadel of S. Giovanni Battista was set on foot.[6]

[1] See REUMONT, III., 2, 449, and LUZIO, Pronostico, 107.

[2] "N. S. fa fare certe bastioni verso la porta di S. Spirito e su quelle colline di S. Onofrio et anche a lo ponte Syxto." *Letter of Casella of October 2, 1526 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] See RAVIOLI, Notizie s. lavori di arch. milit. d. Sangallo, Roma, 1863, 46 *seq.*; A. Sangallo (il giov.) e Sanmicheli, Relaz. sullo stato delle rocche di Romagna nel 1526, Milano, 1902. *Cf.* the scarce publication: Intorno alla relazione delle rocche della Romagna pontificia fatta nel 1526 da Ant. Picconi da Sangallo e da Michele Sanmicheli, Roma, 1855. For the fortifications of Parma, Modena, Piacenza, and Ancona see LANCELLOTTI, II., 341 *seq.*, and CLAUSSE, II., 291 *seq.*, 294. See for Ancona also *supra*, pp. 197, 199. On December 22, 1529, Clement VII. sent Antonio da Sangallo to the army, as he had recommended his capacity to the Imperial generals; *Min. brev., 1529, vol. 26, n. 494, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] Besides CLAUSSE, II., 255, *cf.* also Hist.-polit. Bl., LXXIX., 366 *seq.*; PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, 233 *seq.*; NOHL, Tagebuch, 135; FUMI, Orvieto, 189 *seq.*, and PARDI, Guida storico-artistica di Orvieto, Orvieto, 1896, 36 *seq.* For a strengthening for the cathedral at Foligno see FALOCI-PULIGNANI, XVII° centenario di S. Feliciano 210 *seq.*

[5] *Brief of June 16, 1526; see Cod. Barb., XXXII., 219, of the Vatican Library.

[6] LANDUCCI, 371.

Clement VII. was too true a Medici to neglect the adornment of the Vatican with noble tapestries,[1] costly faience,[2] carved doors,[3] and gold and silver vessels. Here also the sack caused serious losses, but it was not long before the work of restoration began. This was especially the case with regard to the goldsmiths' art, which under Clement VII. was in a most flourishing condition. As soon as to any extent his finances permitted it, the Pope began to renew his personal appointments.[4] His principal commissions were for the golden roses, swords of honour and other Papal gifts, and for articles of ecclesiastical use. Besides Caradosso, who died in 1527, his most famous workmen were Benvenuto Cellini, Valerio Belli, and Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese. In the accounts many other names occur of more or less note.[5]

[1] *Cf* our statements, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 298. BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Urbinati in Roma, Urbino, 1881, 54; MÜNTZ, Tapiss. de Raphaël, 36 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*, and Hist. de la tapiss., 139 *seq.*; Athenaeum 1896, July, 72 *seq.*; Carte Strozz., II., 647, as well as FARABULINI, 35, and DOLLMAYR, 325 *seq.*, 350. *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 31, the *Brief of November 12, 1532; LANCIANI, II., 29.

[2] *Cf.* State Archives, Florence, S. Maria Novella, 329, f. 20. Many pieces of this work perished in the sack; see Rev. d. Bibl., IV., 86. A fine plate of Master Giorgio of Gubbio, with the arms of the Cardinal del Monte, of 1531 in the Museo Art.-Indust., Rome; *cf.* Riv. d' Italia, 1898, II., 341. Clement VII. supported a "fabbrica di vetri' in Bologna; see Arch. dell' Arte, II., 169.

[3] The carved doors in the Loggie, with the arms of Clement VII. and great lions' heads are, according to BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER (Renaissance, 314), perhaps the finest existing pieces of work of this description. One of the doors has the inscription: Munificentia Clementis VII. P.M. *Payments for G. Barile, see State Archives, Florence, S. Maria Novella, 327, f. 50, 52, 59, 70, 77.

[4] In March 1529 a new tiara was ordered; see MÜNTZ, Tiare, 78.

[5] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI in Gori's Archivio, I., 31 *seq.*, 78 *seq.*, and Artisti Lombardi a Roma, Milano, 1882; MÜNTZ in Arch. dell' Arte, I., 14

This brilliant coterie of artists does not, perhaps, always appear in the most favourable light; fierce, reckless characters predominate, and acts of violence were frequent. The well-known autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini[1] reveals with a startling fidelity to nature the sharp contrasts between culture and savagery, faith and superstition, the fantastic mixture of outward splendour and moral laxity which gave the tone to these artistic circles. In June 1529 Clement bestowed on this versatile genius the post of an engraver in the Roman Mint.[2] Vasari considers that no such beautiful coinage had ever been designed for the Popes before; the pieces that have been preserved are certainly splendid works of art.[3] The bust of Clement reproduces with remarkable fidelity his cold though handsome features; many of the designs drawn by Cellini for Papal coins are uncommonly original. Thus on a gold doubloon the Pope and Emperor are represented upholding the cross together; on the reverse side of a silver piece a very effective composition shows the Saviour rescuing Peter from the waves, with the inscription, "Wherefore hast thou doubted?" A medal with Moses bringing water from the rock refers to the well made by

seqq., 35 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*, VII., 372 *seqq.*, and PLON, Cellini, 10 *seq.*, *cf.* 143 *seq.*, 162, 316 *seq.* For the "Nécessaire de toilette" with Clement VII.'s name and arms, see BARBIER, Bibl. Vatic., 109. A sword sent by Clement to Charles V. in the armoury at Madrid. *Cf. supra*, p. 90, note.

[1] Vita di B. Cellini, testo critico con introd. e note storiche p. c. di Bacci, Firenze, 1890–1891; *cf.* REUMONT, Beiträge, III., 333 *seqq.*, and FLAMINI, 563. Goethe's translation is unfaithful literally and artistically; *cf.* VOSSLER in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1900, No. 253.

[2] *Cf.* MÜNTZ, L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Paris, 1884, 35 *seq.*, and PLON, Cellini, 194 *seq.*

[3] Fine specimens in the Papal collection of coins in the Vatican.

Clement at Orvieto; another medal of 1534 celebrates the then prevailing peace.[1]

As a medallist Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese held an even more distinguished place than Cellini.[2] In the art of "intaglio" Valerio Belli of Vicenza surpassed all his contemporaries.[3] Distinguished also as a medallist, this artist executed for Clement VII. the costly crystal reliquary presented to the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Florence.[4] But his most famous work was the magnificent casket of which the principal adornment was scenes from the life of our Lord cut in crystal; this, executed on the occasion of the marriage of Catherine de' Medici, is now an object of admiration in the galleries of the Uffizi.[5]

The best-known work of sculpture in Rome, belonging to the reign of Clement VII., is Lorenzetto's not very successful statue of St. Peter placed, at the Pope's command,

[1] See FRIEDLÄNDER, Münzen und Medaillen des B. Cellini, Berlin, 1885; CIABATTI in Period. di numismatica, I., Firenze, 1868; HABICH in the Frankfurter Zeitung, 1900, No. 300; PLON, 196 *seq.*, and ARMAND, I., 148. *Cf.* ARMAND, I., 136, 138 *seq.*, 141; II., 165 *seq.*, 302; III., 144, 227, 231, for other medals of Clement VII. CINAGLI (94 *seq.*) enumerates 120 coins of Clement VII. See also KOCH-LOCHNER, Samml. merkwürdiger Medaillen, XXII. (1744); GIORDANI, Docum., 176; GENTILI DI ROVELLONE, Di una moneta ined. di Clemente VII., Camerino, 1882, and MONTI, Motti sopra alc. monete di pontefici, in Period. di numismatica, V., 3.

[2] *Cf.* LIVERANI, Gior. da Castel Bolognese, Faenza, 1870; Atti Mod., IV., 1 *seq.*; ARMAND, I., 137 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, L'Atelier, 36 *seq.*, and Hist., III., 711.

[3] MÜNTZ, III., 711.

[4] See LANDUCCI, 370; RICHA, Chiese fiorent., V., 45 *seq.*; MORENI, S. Lorenzo, I., 188, 277, 347; *cf.* Chronique des Arts, 1895, 72. About other gifts for Florence see PELLI, Saggio stor. d. Galleria di Firenze, II., 14, 53.

[5] See VASARI-MILANESI, V. 379 *seq.*; BASCHET, 180 *seq.*; PLON, 296, 389.

in 1530, alongside of Paolo Romano's statue of St. Paul at the lower end of the bridge of St. Angelo.[1] For the fortress, Raffaello da Montelupo executed a new angel of colossal size to take the place of the bronze effigy which had been melted down.[2] At Monte Cassino the sepulchral monument of Pietro de' Medici was begun in 1531 and only completed in 1559.[3] At Loreto, Sansovino made progress with work on the Holy House remarkable for beauty and truly Christian feeling; as early as 1523 he had finished the relief of the Annunciation, which is conspicuous for its dramatic movement; the relief of the Adoration of the Shepherds with its noble group of angels, set up in 1528, is full of sincerity; the Adoration of the Kings, the Birth and Espousals of Mary, already begun by Sansovino, were finished by his pupils after his death in 1529; to his drawings is also to be referred the panel of the Visitation. Of the statues placed in the twenty niches, that of Jeremias belongs for the most part to Sansovino; all the others came from his pupils. The latter also carried out the subordinate decoration of the structure. Tribolo, Sangallo, and Montelupo have here left work which is very effective. The lions' heads, eagles and festoons of Mosca are especially good, and the same can be said of the panels with pictorial decorations introduced at the sides and at the foot of the doors. The former contain the arms of the Medici, and the latter ornamental figures of angels praying, tritons, sphinxes, birds, vases, and candelabra.[4]

[1] See CIACONIUS, III., 456.

[2] VASARI-MILANESI, IV., 545; Studi e docum., XIII., 302.

[3] *Cf.* GAYE, II., 356 *seq.*; CARAVITA, I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino, III., 80 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, II., 277 *seq.*, and Orig. Bénédict., Paris, 1899, 154.

[4] SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 27 *seq.*; LÜBKE in the Zeitschr. für bild.

The Pope's predilection for Baccio Bandinelli was unfortunate.[1] The latter, ambitious and self-seeking, tried to enter into a discreditable competition with Michael Angelo which was only productive of unpleasing creations. Bandinelli's best work was the copy of the Laocoön executed for Leo X. and placed, under Clement VII., in the second court of the Palazzo Medici at Florence. It is now in the Uffizi.[2] On the right of the principal entrance of the Palazzo Vecchio stands Bandinelli's marble group of "Hercules slaying Cacus," as a pendant to Michael Angelo's "David." The satirical wit of the Florentines soon made a butt of this pompous composition. Another work entrusted to Bandinelli, the Archangel Michael triumphing over the seven deadly sins, and intended to adorn the castle of St. Angelo, was never executed.[3]

Like Bandinelli, Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli had an apartment set apart for him in the Belvedere. Montorsoli

Kunst, VI., 158 *seq.*; Kölner Domblatt, 1862, No. 211–212; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 412; GRAUS in Kirchenschmuck, 1891, 37; Arte, III., 254; CLAUSSE, II., 242 *seq.*, III., 145 *seq.*, Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., XXVI., 100. See also CIACONIUS, III., 475, Rassegna naz., 1884, and SACCONI, Relaz. dell' ufficio reg. p. I. conservaz. d. monum. delle Marche e dell' Umbria, 2nd ed., Perugia, 1903.

[1] *Cf.* PERKINS, Sculpt. Ital., II., 442 *seq.*

[2] See REUMONT, Beiträge, III., 445 *seq.*; Kunstblatt, 1849, No. 7; Arch. dell' Arte, II., 108 *seq.*; Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, XIX., 163; Jahrb. des deutschen archäol. Instituts, V., 30; Jahrb. des preuss. Kunstsamml., XXVII., 160. The copy of the Laocoön was brought to Florence earlier than is usually supposed. *Cf.* Cod. Barb., XXXII., 219, and *Introit. et Exit., 561; "10 Dec. 1524; duc. 144 auri de camera de mand. sub die prima pres. Barth. merciario S. D. N. pro pluribus expen. factis in conducendo statuam marmoream Laocoontis ex urbe Florentiam" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* A. JANSEN in the Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, XI., 98 *seq.*

was accounted a master in the art, then coming into repute, of restoring antique statues by additions which were often the result of a correct calculation. At Clement's bidding he added the left arm to the Belvedere Apollo and the right to the figure of Laocoön. The Pope, who liked to visit the Belvedere in the morning when saying his office, took great interest in the progress of this work.[1]

Like many other artists, even the greatest of all saw in the elevation of Clement to the Papacy ground for far-reaching expectations. "You will have heard," wrote Michael Angelo on the 25th of November 1523 to a friend, "that Medici is chosen Pope. This, it seems to me, has been a matter of general congratulation, and I believe we shall see great things." Clement VII. had, in fact, throughout the whole of his pontificate a strong appreciation of the worth and greatness of this unique genius. The letters in particular of Sebastiano del Piombo and Giovan Francesco Fantucci bear eloquent testimony to this feeling. In the letters of the latter we have often verbatim reports of the conversations he had with Clement VII. Full of kind feeling, the Pope bore with truly astonishing patience the rudeness and ill-temper of the irascible artist. On one occasion he asked him to remember two things; first, that he is not able to make everything himself; and secondly, that we have only a short time to live. The thought that Popes do not for the most part have long reigns was recalled by Clement on another occasion in a postscript written in his own hand, in which he begged that he would make as much speed as

[1] See REUMONT, III., 2, 439; Jahrb. des deutschen archäol. Instituts, V., 30 *seq.* In the account books for September 30, 1525, is the *entry: "Duc. 500 a M. Jac. Liryco per certe maschere antiche" (State Archives, Florence, S. Maria Novella, 327).

possible in the execution of some work on which he was engaged.[1]

Three tasks of great magnitude were entrusted by Clement to Michael Angelo: the construction of the Medici memorial chapel (Sagrestia Nuovo) of S. Lorenzo, the execution of the monuments to be placed therein, and the erection of the Laurentian Library in Florence.[2] At first Michael Angelo devoted himself with all his energy to this new and fascinating work, but the political events between 1527 and 1529 deprived him of all artistic capacity. Inflamed with love of the freedom of his native city, he flung chisel and hammer aside and undertook the indispensable service of providing defences for Florence, especially for the protection of San Miniato. When the Medici finally prevailed Michael Angelo was in very great danger; but Clement not only shielded him

[1] See FREY, Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelangelo Buonarotti, Berlin, 1899, 271. *Cf.* GOTTI, I., 199 *seq.*, 211 *seq.*, 215, 217, 226; JUSTI, 308 *seq.*, and STEINMANN, II., 478 *seq.*, where on p. 742 there is the Brief of November 21, 1531, also published by H. Pogatscher, showing the paternal interest of Clement VII. in the great artist's failing health. The *two letters of F. Gonzaga of June 5 and 24, 1531 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), are also of importance for the relations of Clement VII. with Michael Angelo; see Appendix, No. 20.

[2] See MORENI, Descriz. stor. crit. d. cappella de' principi nella basilica di S. Lorenzo, Firenze, 1813 (also p. 36 *seq.* for the building of the Laurentiana). *Cf.* MORENI, S. Lorenzo, I., 260; GAYE, II., 222 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*; RIEGEL, Beitr. zur Kunstgesch. Italiens, 131 *seq.*; RIO, IV., 378 *seq.*: Allgem. Zeitung, 1898, Beil. 61; GRIMM, I., 5, 504 *seq.*, II., 5, 157 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*, 224; MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 396 *seq.*; SPRINGER, 380 *seqq.*, 402 *seq.*; GOTTI, I., 150 *seq.*, 164, 166, 200; FREY in Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml., XVII., 5 *seq.* While this volume was in the press STEINMANN's Das Geheimniss der Medicigräber Michelangelos, Leipzig, 1906, appeared. For the Laurentiana *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 456; BLUME. Iter Ital. II., 46, and BIGAZZI, Iscriz. di Firenze (1887,,120 *seq.*

from the injuries instigated by a pitiless party hatred, but preserved unimpaired the old terms of intercourse. With what deep sorrow and anger Michael Angelo once more grasped his chisel can be seen clearly in the immortal verses laden with despondency which he composed for his statue of Night. At the end of his reign Clement had in his mind yet another work to be executed by Michael Angelo in Rome: the painting of the Last Judgment.[1] It was certainly his greatest service to art that he should have suggested this magnificent subject for the display of the great painter's Titanic power.

[1] *Cf.* GOTTI, I., 225; CROWE, VI., 414; STEINMANN, II., 479. As the accounts of the beginning of the great work are meagre, importance attaches to the extract from a letter contained in a *report of Agnello, dated Venice, March 2, 1534, and running thus: "Del Nino [probably Rodrigo Nino, Imperial Ambassador in Venice] alli 20 [febr.]: Chel Papa ha tanto operato che ha disposto Michelangnolo a dipinger in la capella et che sopra l' altare si farà la resurrectione, si che gia si era fatto il tavolato" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua)

CHAPTER XI.

CLEMENT VII. AND THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH.—HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE QUESTIONS OF THE COUNCIL AND REFORM.

WHILE in Europe the ancient Church was suffering loss upon loss, many thousands were coming within her obedience in the newly discovered countries beyond the Atlantic.[1] Exposed in her former domains to the bitterest reproaches and insults, from the lips of the converts of the New World came blessings for their deliverance from the darkness of heathendom, gratitude for protection from the cruelty of their conquerors.[2]

To the sons of St. Dominic and St. Francis this beneficent work was mainly due. The two Orders vied with each other in sending out a continuous stream of devoted missionaries to the continent of America, and in this work were supported in many ways by Clement VII. How ample were the measures taken by the Pope to forward the missionary work in Spanish America may be

[1] In a *letter of March 25, 1534, directed to "Balth. episc. Scalen," Clement VII. thanks him for the accounts of the new discoveries which may be of such importance for the spread of religion, and adds: "Agimus igitur Deo omnipotenti gratias quod in dies temporibus nostris illud propheticum implere dignatur: In omnem terram ex. son. eorum." Min. brev., 1533, vol. 46, n. 119, where the date is pasted over and the document is therefore wrongly included in the year 1533.

[2] Already in 1524 America had felt the first pulsation of the conciliar life of the Church; see HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 389 *seq.*

clearly seen from a letter written on the 19th of October 1532 to Charles V., empowering him to choose a hundred and twenty Franciscans, seventy Dominicans, and ten Hieronymites for the East Indian colonies, and to send them there, in case of necessity, even if contrary to the wishes of the rulers of the Orders.[1]

Clement VII. gave strong support to the Christianizing of the newly discovered portions of America by constituting a hierarchy for the purpose of providing regular ecclesiastical guidance for those who had become converts. On the 11th of May 1524 he created the new Patriarchate of the West Indies, entrusting this post to Antonio Rojas, Bishop of Palencia.[2] On the 28th of December 1528 the two dioceses of Haiti were consolidated into the single bishopric of San Domingo.[3] The autumn of 1530 saw the creation of the see of Mexico and the appointment of Gabriele Merino as Patriarch of the West Indies; in 1531 sees were erected in Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Honduras, and in 1534 S. Marta and Panama in Colombia were made bishoprics.[4] Clement bestowed similar attention on the

[1] Bolet. de la R. Académia de la Hist., XXI., Madrid, 1892, 380. *Cf.* Docum. selecta e tabul. sec. Vatic. quae Romanor. Pontif. erga Americae populos curam ac studia . . . testantur phototypia descripta, Typis Vatic., 1893 (only 25 copies printed), n. 23, p. 42; *ibid.*, n. 22, p. 41, a letter of Clement VII. of July 7, 1526, to the General of the Franciscan Order, Fr. Quiñones, encouraging the latter to adhere to his intention of visiting in person the missions of the Order. The great successes of the Franciscans in Mexico, described in 1532, by N. Herborn; see PAULUS, Dominikaner, 157. Much material in WADDING, XVI.

[2] The date, wanting in Gams (138), from the Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor, II., 24 (Consistorial Archives).

[3] Acta Consist. of Vice-Chancellor, II., 145 *loc. cit.*

[4] Acta Consist., edited by EHSES, in the Röm. Quartalschr., VI., 225 *seq.* *Cf.* HÄBLER in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1894, Beil. 285; F. SOSA,

possessions of Portugal. The bishopric of Funchal in Madeira, created by Leo X., was elevated on the 31st of January 1533 into an archbishopric, with four suffragan bishoprics attached to it.[1] These were San Miguel in the Azores, the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde group, St. Thomas in Ecuador, and Goa in the East Indies. This formed certainly the largest Metropolitan see in the world.

In harsh contrast to the happy results in the New World was the complete failure of the attempts to re-unite Russia and the Holy See. Clement had already written on the 25th of May 1524 to the Grand Duke Vasili calling upon him to recognize the Roman Primacy and appealing to the negotiations that had already taken place under Alexander VI. and Leo X. This recognition he made conditional to his bestowing upon him the kingly title. Thereupon in the autumn of 1525 Demetrius Gerasimov appeared in Rome as Russian Ambassador and was treated with the most marked attention. Gerasimov was admirably fitted to foster the Pope's optimism with regard to the views prevalent at the Russian court. At the end of 1525 he went back to Russia accompanied by the Minorite, Francesco da Potentia, Bishop of Skara, as Papal Legate. The latter certainly was successful in arranging an armistice between Poland and Russia, but on the other hand he failed in the question of ecclesiastical union. In 1527 another embassy visited the Pope from

El episcopado mexicano, México, 1877, and ICAZBALCETA, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo de México, México, 1881. For Texas Juan Xuarez was nominated in 1528 to the newly created bishopric; see E. J. P. SCHMITT, A Catalogue of Franciscan Missionaries in Texas, Austin (Texas), 1901, 5 and 12 *seq.*

Acta Consist., edited by EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 230; *cf.* also Corp. dipl. Port., II., 416 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*

Russia, and a meeting took place at Orvieto in January 1528. From the Briefs handed to them by Clement VII. on their return, it is clear that the Pope's illusions concerning Russia were as strong as ever. The true state of affairs remained hidden from the Roman Curia; this was not surprising on account of the great distance and the difficulty of means of communication.[1]

Clement VII. tried to confirm the Maronites and Armenians in their loyal adherence to the Union of Florence, and with this object he wrote many Briefs and sent many special messengers.[2] During his second meeting with Charles V. at Bologna he received an embassy from the King of Æthiopia bearing letters and gifts and tendering solemn obedience.[3]

In the year 1525 the great Jubilee took place. Although the disturbed state of ecclesiastical and political affairs

[1] Besides FIEDLER, Ein Versuch der Vereinigung der russischen mit der römischen Kirche (Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., 1862), 38 *seq.*, *cf.* especially PIERLING, I., 291–315. See FRAKNÓI, Ungarn, 75 *seq*, and UEBERSBERGER, I., 205 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1526, n. 79 *seq.*, 1532, n. 77; *Brief, dat. January 25, 1531, A. 8°, to the Patriarch of the Maronites (Min. brev., 1532, vol. 41, n. 55), in Secret Archives of the Vatican; ASSEMANNI, Bibl. Orient., I., 523; Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift, 1845, 48. For the delegation of the envoy to the Maronites see *Acta Consist. of July 20, 1526, in Consistorial Archives. The *appointment of the "Nuntius ad regem Armeniae, dat. 1526, XIII. Cal. Aug.," in Regest. Vatic., 1439, f. 207 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Bottschaft des grossmechtigen Königs David aus dem grossen und hohen Morenland, den man gemeinlich nennet Priester Johann, an Papst Klemens den Siebenden, zu Bononia verhort in offenem Consistorio am XXIX. tag Januarii A° 1533, Dresden, W. Stöckel, 1533. *Cf.* for this extremely rare pamphlet HARRISSE, Bibl. Americ., n. 177, and HEIRSEMANN, Bibl. Mejicana, n. 542. See also for the Æthiopian Embassy, RAYNALDUS, 1533, n. 20 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III. 459 *seq.*, and GIORDANI, App., 69.

made it seem to many injudicious to hold this solemnity, Clement had already decided on the 18th of April 1524 that it should take place.[1] Nor did the outbreak of the plague in Rome move him from this decision.[2] He took account of the altered circumstances by a reform of the Roman clergy[3] and by setting aside the obligation of paying a sum of money to obtain the Jubilee indulgence.[4] Stringent regulations were enacted to ensure the safety of pilgrims.[5] Nevertheless, principally on account of the rupture of peace and terrible confusion in Germany, the pilgrims came in smaller numbers than at any previous Jubilee.[6] Some alterations in the ceremonial were intro-

[1] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 88.

[2] For the plague and the fast ordered by Clement to avert it *cf.* the *reports of Castiglione of June 18 and 28, 1524, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letters of G. de' Medici, dated Rome, 1524, April 1, 6, 8, 11, 17, 20, May 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21, 25, 27, June 1, 3, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22, 25, and 28, July 13 and 29, in State Archives, Florence. According to them the plague diminished from June 20; in July it ceased.

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 378 *seq.*

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1525, n. 1. On the other hand, those who did not come to Rome, while obtaining by an exceptional privilege the Jubilee indulgence, were expected to pay a sum of money; see the Brief in FONTANA, Renata, I., 419.

[5] See the *Bando in Tizio, Hist. Senen. in Cod. G, II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome). *Cf.* *Arm., 39, vol. 44, n. 657, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[6] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 350, 357 *seq.*; MANNI, 107; NÖTHEN, 88 *seq.*; PRINZIVALLI, Anni Santi, 240. The statement in TARTINIUS, I., 1027, about a great concourse of people is without value when set against other evidence. The close of the Jubilee (*cf.* also RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*; RODCANACHI, Capitole, 64; THURSTON, 52 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*, 224) is described by the Mantuan envoy in his *reports of December 24 and 27, 1525, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The warlike aspect of the Holy Year is dwelt on by Cornelius de Fine in his *Diary (National Library, Paris). For a little book on Rome of the

duced on this occasion; among others the Pope, on opening the Holy Door, made use of a golden hammer.[1] A noteworthy feature was the resumption of the impressive Passion Play in the Colosseum during the year of Jubilee.[2] To the hindrances already mentioned were soon added the perils of a Turkish[3] descent on the coasts of Italy and a fresh outbreak of the plague in August 1525.[4] Almost up to the end of the Jubilee year the plague prevailed in Rome. Also during the extension of the Jubilee into the following year the Pope insisted that the money contributions of the faithful should be left to their free discretion.[5] Nevertheless, the Protestants continued to declare that the Jubilee was instituted only to gain money, ridiculing it in coarse and odious satires.[6]

The Bull announcing the beatification of Archbishop Antonino of Florence, delayed owing to the death of Adrian VI., was published by Clement VII.[7] He canonized the Venetian, Lorenzo Giustiniani and the

year 1525 see MOLL, Kirchengesch. der Niederlande, II., 734 *seq.* For the memoir of Bernhard von Luxemburg see PAULUS, Dominikaner, 110.

[1] THURSTON, 218; MORONI, LII., 69.

[2] See VATASSO, Per la storia del dramma sacro in Italia, Roma, 1903, 84.

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1525, March 17, June 20, July 8, in State Archives, Florence.

[4] *Cf.* *reports of G. de' Medici, dat. Rome, 1525, August 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, 30, September 1, 5, 15, 19, 22, 25, 29, October 4, 18, 21, 24, 28, 31, November 4, 5, in State Archives, Florence.

[5] See SANUTO, XL., 754; THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 590 *seq.*; NÖTHEN, 90.

[6] *Cf.* PANTZER, II., 395, 2836; GÖDEKE, II., 280; THURSTON, 83; KAWERAU, H. Sachs, 61. That Luther's (Erlanger Ausg., XXIX., 297) opinion, that the Jubilee originated only in greed, has no historic foundation is shown by KRAUS in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1900, Beil. 76.

[7] Bull., VI., 26–38.

Cardinals Aleman and Peter of Luxembourg.[1] The Pope also sanctioned the cultus of St. Hyacinth of Poland and the office composed by Bernardino da Busti in honour of the Name of Jesus.[2] In many ways he encouraged devotion to Our Lady and the recitation of the Rosary.[3] Special Bulls dealt with the Rota, the Vice-Chancellorship, the observance of the German Concordat, and the prohibition of duelling.[4]

In ecclesiastical policy Clement repeatedly found himself forced to make great concessions to temporal princes who, like the sovereigns of Spain,[5] France,[6] Poland,[7] and Bavaria,[8] did not yield to the inducement to apostatize. Owing to his powerlessness when opposed to the Emperor, his representations of the constantly recurring encroachments on the freedom of the Church in Spain,[9] and especially

[1] *Cf.* Acta Sanctorum, January 8, September 5; CIACONIUS, III., 459; SANUTO, XXXVI., 509 *seq.*; MANNI, Vita e culto del b. L. Alemani, Firenze, 1771; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, IX.², 1924; ROBERT, 331 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1527, n. 105; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, IX.², 27; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 468 *seq.* Other enactments in CIACONIUS, III., 475 *seq.*, and WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 348. Decrees against witches in HANSEN, Quellen, 36 *seq.* For exemptions from episcopal authority see Rev. d'hist. ecclés., I., 482 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 475 *seq.*, and Bull., VI., 168 *seq.*

[4] Bull., VI., 81 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 169 *seq.* The *Bulla contra duellium facientes, dated 1524, Id. Febr. A° 2°, in Regest. Vatic., 1276, f. 80ª *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf. supra*, pp. 55, 57, and PHILLIPS-BERING, VIII., 201. See also SANUTO, LIV., 191, and HEINE, Briefe, 90.

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 208.

[7] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 437 *seq.*

[8] *Cf.* SUGENHEIM, Bayerns Volkzustände, 184 *seq.*; M. RITTER, Deutsche Gesch., I., 303.

[9] *Cf.* BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 226 *seq.*, 228 *seq.*; SERASSI, II., 33 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv für Kirchenrecht, X., 28.

in Sicily, produced no effect.[1] In this respect the Pope had many causes of complaint against other princes, Francis I. in particular.[2] Even King John III. of Portugal, otherwise so friendly to him, had to be strongly admonished in the year 1524 for the arbitrary imprisonment of two bishops.[3] At the end of his pontificate the question of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in Portugal gave rise to serious differences.[4] Clement only gave a partial assent to the wishes of King John when, on the 17th of December 1531, he appointed a Commissary Apostolic and Inquisitor for the whole of Portugal, to institute, in conjunction with the bishops, an inquiry into the accused Jewish Christians, with orders to punish the guilty. As the King, on the 14th of June 1532, by a new law tried to subject the Jews and Jewish Christians to his arbitrary authority, they appealed to the Pope, complaining of the violent treatment and the unjust and harsh proceedings of the King and the Inquisition.

Clement would not associate himself with the King's unjust treatment of his subjects. He first suspended, on the 17th of October 1532, the Bull of December 1531. As all his representations remained ineffectual, on the 7th of April 1533, to the entire exclusion of the Portuguese Inquisition, he cited the guilty before his own special court and gave the Nuncio full powers to effect the reconciliation on the easiest terms possible. He thus declared expressly that

[1] *Cf.* CARUSO, Discorso d. Monarchia di Sicilia, ed. Mira, Palermo, 1863, 71, 240, 242.

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1524, n. 99 *seq.*; BALAN, *loc. cit.*, 22 *seq.*

[3] BALAN, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.* For his friendly behaviour in other respects towards John III., whose rights over the Orders of Knighthood were extended, see MACSWINEY, III., 187 *seq.*, 195 *seq.* *Cf.* also Vol. IX. of this work, p. 433, n. 1.

[4] The whole matter will be discussed later on under Paul III.

the Jews who had been treated so severely were not to be punished as heretics. John III. raised objections to these injunctions, and forbade their publication. The Pope therefore instructed his Nuncio to defer the publication of the Bull for a while; in a Brief he justified himself against the King's complaints by explaining the reasons for his clemency towards the Jewish Christians. Already nearing his end, on the 26th of July 1534 he ordered the Nuncio to execute the orders of April 1533, which were as just as they were merciful.[1]

In other instances as well the Pope showed such tenderness and large-hearted good-will towards the Jews that a learned member of their nation of that day did not refrain from calling him "Clement, the gracious friend of Israel." The position of the Jews in Rome as well as in the Papal States was, in consequence, a prosperous one.[2]

The absolutism of the Venetian Republic was a source of repeated and angry conflict. Towards the jealous Signoria, Clement, in several questions of ecclesiastical policy, showed

[1] *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 319 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*, III., 1 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*; KUNSTMANN in Münch. Gel. Anz., XXIV., 638 *seq.*; HEINE in Schmidt's Zeitschr. für Gesch., IX., 162 *seq.*; SCHÄFER, III., 336 *seq.*; ERLER in Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LIII., 26 *seq.*; TANNER in Kath. Schweizerbl., I. (1885), 337 *seq.*; HERCULANO, Inquisicão em Portugal, I.[6], Lisboa, 1897, 259 *seq.*; MACSWINEY, III., 210 *seq.*

[2] See VOGELSTEIN, II., 38 *seq.*; BERLINER, II., 82 *seq.*, 86, 91 *seq.*, 98, 104; Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XI., 398 *seq.* *Cf.* VERNET in L'Université Cath., XIX. (1895), 100 *seq.*; LEVI, Clément VII. et les juifs du comtat Venaissin, in Rev. d. études juiv., 1896, 63 *seq.* Vernet made use principally of the *Cameralia*; I collected numerous documents bearing on this question among the registers of Briefs in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; they will be published in another place.

great readiness to conciliate;[1] nevertheless, the Venetian Government renewed their claim, abandoned expressly in the treaty of peace of 1510, to the right of appointing to bishoprics within their territory. This treaty was infringed with the utmost disregard of obligations, and treated as if it were non-existent. The disputes about the possession of bishoprics began as early as 1524.[2] Afterwards,[3] particularly between 1530 and 1532, the question played a prominent part and, in the latter year, became acute owing to the Venetian Government taxing, on its own initiative, the clergy of the Republic for the purposes of the Turkish war.[4] In this question of nomination to bishoprics Clement showed great steadfastness; the consequence was that the Signoria finally yielded in June 1533 as far as five bishoprics were concerned,[5] but would make no concession concerning Treviso or Corfù, although Clement VII. in May had already threatened the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties.[6] The Pope made passionate complaints to the Venetian Ambassador; in Venice itself the procurator Francesco Donato said that "Christ had deputed the pastoral office to Peter; do not let us interfere in questions of Church benefices which belong to the Pope." Others

[1] *Cf.* CECHETTI, Venezia e la corte di Roma, I., 321 *seq.*, and 440 *seq.*; Libri Comm., VI., 207, and CANTÙ, Scorsa di un Lombardo, negli archivi di Venezia, Milano, 1856, 107. For the *Clementina cf.* also LEBRET, Venedig, II., 2, 1180 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVI., 508, 511, 522.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 20. For 1527 see SANUTO, XLV., 636, 650 *seq*

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIII., 120, 193, 279, 379, 484; LIV., 19, 120, 152 *seq.*, 224, 266, 402, 423, 523, 557, 572, 582, 615; LV., 72, 102, 142, 679 *seq.* and *supra*, p. 20 *seq.*

[5] SANUTO, LVIII., 361 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report, May 14, 1533, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

pointed to the danger of Clement, in his approaching conference with Francis I., making terms unfavourable to the Republic. The majority therefore decided in favour of giving way as regarded Corfù; on the other hand, the controversy over Treviso, which had been in suspense since 1527, remained unsettled. Up to the last the Venetian diplomatists hoped that from political motives the Pope would in the end give way.[1]

The appointments to the Cardinalate made by Clement VII. are uncommonly characteristic of his reign. The assertion, however, that, of all his nominations, he did not make one as a free agent, is an exaggeration; but, in justice, it must be admitted on the other hand that in the majority of cases the ruling motive in his creations was political expediency or compulsion.[2]

In the first four years of his reign Clement VII. was especially reluctant to increase the number of the Sacred College.[3] Although the Emperor had already, in June 1525, asked for the appointment of two new Cardinals, and there was repeatedly talk of approaching creations,[4] the Pope always deferred as long as possible the decisive step. His first creation was not made until the eve of the sack of Rome. To the six Cardinals then appointed seven others

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LVIII., 270, 363, 485 *seq.*, 537 *seq.*, 560 *seq.*, 570, 579, 601, 610 *seq.*; ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 311; LEBRET, II., 2, 1183 *seq.*, and GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 529.

[2] See REUMONT, III., 2, 273.

[3] He appealed at first to the necessity, in accordance with the election capitulations, of agreement on the part of the Cardinals. See *Brief to Archduke Ferdinand, October 25, 1524, Min. brev., 1524, vol. 8, n. 477 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of G. de' Medici, April 27, June 14, and October 4, 1525, in State Archives, Florence, and Sessa's *letter, October 5, 1525, in the Biblioteca de la Acad. de Hist., Madrid.

were added[1] on the 21st of November of the same year, with whom on the 7th of December Quiñones,[2] and on the 20th of December 1527 Francesco Cornaro were associated.[3] In the beginning of 1529 Ippolito de' Medici, who had only entered his eighteenth year, and Girolamo Doria, were made Cardinals. The nomination of Mercurino di Gattinara took place on the 13th of August of the same year.[4] During the first conference at Bologna on the 9th of March 1530, Clement agreed to the elevation of four Imperialists[5] (Cles, Loaysa, de Challant, and Stunica). To satisfy Francis I., Tournon was received into the Sacred College on the 19th of March and Gramont on the 8th of June.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, pp. 384 and 465. The publication of Cardinal Grimani, nominated *in petto* on May 3, 1527, did not take place until later. See the letter of thanks from Grimani to Clement VII. on his elevation, dat. Venice, 1528, February 19, *Lett. d. princ., V., 111 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 33.

[3] See CATALANUS, 503; CIACONIUS, III., 500, and *CONTELORIUS, De Pontif. et Cardinal, Miscell. Arm., XI., 48, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[4] *Cf. supra*, pp. 39, 66 *seq.* Gattinara died soon after, on June 5, 1530; see EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xxx., n. 4. *Cf.* also CLARETTA in Mém. de la Soc. Savoisienne, XII., Chambéry, 1898; HUART, Le Card. de Gattinara, Besançon, 1876; BORNATE, Ricerche intorno alla vita di M. Gattinara, Novara, 1899. On Ip. de' Medici, *Contelorius, *loc. cit.*, remarks: "Hic in 18 anno creatus Card. diaconus cum tunc temporis esset tantum clericali caractere insignitus de quo mentio facta non fuerat nec fuit dispensatus sup. defectu aetatis nec se fecit promoveri ad diac. vel subdiaconatus ordinem licet pluries monitus fuisset, quare Clemens absolvit a censuris et poenis, restituit ad beneficia, ecclesias et cardinalatum et declarat eccles. presbyt. s. Laurentii in Dam. esse tenendam uti diaconalem ut in brevi D. R. 30 Julii 1534" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 96 *seq.* B. Cles well deserves a monograph. The Vita, by GAR, Trento, 1856, is not satisfactory; *cf.* BAUER, Anfänge Ferdinands I., 173 *seq.*

On the 24th of March 1530 Clement VII. promised the Duke of Savoy that he would make his son, then a child of three years, a Cardinal as soon as he had reached the lawful age.[1] This very strange engagement was never carried out, for the person whom it concerned preferred later on to follow a secular career. The influence of Charles V. secured the nomination, on the 22nd of March 1531, of the Spaniards Alfonso Manriquez and Juan Tavera; on the 25th of September Antonio Pucci was made Cardinal. During the second conference at Bologna the Emperor only carried one candidate, instead of three, in the person of Gabriele Merino; soon afterwards the Frenchman, Jean d'Orléans, was appointed. Francis I. was luckier than Charles V., for at the conference of Marseilles in 1533 he secured the elevation of four of his dependants.[2]

The total number of Cardinals made by Clement, in fourteen creations, amounted to thirty-three, of whom nine were Spaniards, with an equal number of Frenchmen, one a German, and all the rest Italians.[3] The preponderating political character of these appointments shows that spiritual fitness for the post was not made of much account in the selection. Even if all were not personally so unworthy as the youth Ippolito de' Medici,[4] yet the greater

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 259, and *CONTELORIUS, *loc cit.* See the *Brief in Appendix, No. 12.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 207, 220, 233.

[3] STOEGMANN (232) gives incorrect figures. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 477 *seqq.*, and MAS LATRIE, 1214.

[4] Ippolito de' Medici, who was nominated in 1529 by Clement, when he was dangerously ill, under pressure from the Medicean party (see *supra*, p. 39), refused to receive deacons' order as his heart was set on Florence. Clement in vain sought to bring him round by the bestowal of the Vice-Chancellorship and the Legation at the court of Charles V. (see *supra*, p. 200 *seq.*). This refusal, along with his debts and immoral life (see MOLMENTI, Vita di Venezia 287, and

number consisted of worldly men of conspicuous rank. Many of them were only ecclesiastics in garb, and were occupied with any other interests than those of the Church.[1] How accustomed men had become to such incongruous conditions is shown by a very suggestive remark in the report of 1531 of Antonio Soriano, the Venetian envoy: "I will not say that the present Cardinals are saints; yet I cannot but speak of them with respect as of men of lordly rank who live in a manner worthy of their noble station."[2]

But how was this manner of life to be reconciled with the stringent decrees of the Lateran Council? This question is closely connected with the attitude assumed by the Pope towards the very necessary removal of ecclesiastical abuses. From the very first it was disastrous that under Clement VII. Church affairs did not, as in the days of Adrian VI., rank before all others. Medici, to his own misfortune and that of the Church, was eminently a political Pope; the necessity of a reform could not have escaped the observation of so clear-sighted an intelligence.

The activity displayed by Clement as Cardinal and Archbishop of Florence in carrying out the reformatory decisions of the Lateran Council[3] led to the hope that as Pope he would also prosecute his work in this sphere.

LUZIO, Pronostico, 61), was for the Pope a constant cause of trouble. The Cardinal, of whose eccentric conduct the strangest things were related, was a typical figure of his time. He was a genuine Medici in his love (see JOVIUS, Elog., I., vi.) of musicians, poets, savants, and artists; his circle deserves to be subject of an essay.

[1] REUMONT, III., 2, 275.

[2] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 289. The retinues of the Cardinals were enormous. The twenty-one Cardinals who passed through the experiences of the sack had a suite of 3108 persons. Under Clement VII. the Papal court numbered about 700; see GNOLI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 386 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 411.

As a matter of fact, in the first year of his pontificate he showed himself a zealous reformer, acting evidently under the influence of the excellent Giberti.[1]

Already on the 18th of January 1524 Clement had addressed a Consistory on the reform of the Curia and invited the Cardinals to make proposals.[2] Together with this went a scheme for a general reform of the conditions of the Church; for this purpose prelates and bishops of Italy and other countries, such as Spain, were summoned to Rome,[3] and a special commission of Cardinals was formed to consider the question of reform.[4] On the 24th of February 1524 the Pope made more detailed proposals to the Cardinals on a reform of the Curia and ordered the decisions of the Lateran Council bearing on this point to be strictly enforced.[5] In the autumn of 1524 the conditions of reform were dealt with in a series of consistories and drawn up with greater precision.

With express reference to the coming Jubilee the Pope introduced, on the 9th of September, three administrative proposals: first, a general visitation of the churches of Rome; secondly, an examination of the Roman secular clergy; those among them who were found to be unfitted for their functions should be prohibited from saying Mass at least during the Jubilee year; thirdly, precautions were to be taken to procure qualified confessors during this sacred time. These proposals were carried,[6] and were at

[1] See Engl. Hist. Review, XVIII., 272.

[2] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 87.

[3] This is clear from the Brief to Charles V., July 31, 1524, in BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 26 *seq.* *Cf.* also Engl. Hist. Review, XVIII., 271 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Quellen und Forschungen, III., n. 3.

[5] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 87. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXV., 423.

[6] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 88 *seq.*, and EHSES, Conc. Trid., xvii. See also ATANAGI, Lett. facet, I., 144. *Cf.* the proposals in

once put into operation. A strict supervision was also made of the observation of the rules appertaining to the dress of the priesthood and the disuse of the beard. The measures taken were so stringent that those ardent for reform began to indulge in the brightest hopes.[1] Many of the laxer prelates submitted only with great reluctance to these ordinances, but they did submit.[2] For the visitation a special commission was appointed, which met every Sunday and at the same time exhorted the Cardinals to support this salutary work, and to set good examples to those under their authority. Strong measures were also taken against open immorality.[3] On the 7th of November 1524 Clement again called the attention of the Consistory to the reform of the Curia. He insisted primarily on the observance of the Lateran decrees of the 5th of May 1514 on reform being pressed home, for they were weapons against a legion of abuses. He entrusted Cardinal Pucci with the drawing up of a Bull on this subject[4] which was agreed to on the 21st of November and forthwith published.[5]

*Cod. Vat., 3924, II., f. 234 *seq.* (Vatican Library), and the *letter of A. Germanello from Rome, September 24, 1524, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 88 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* G. B. Sanga's characteristic letter of October the 29th, 1524, in ATANAGI, Lett. facet, I., 144. See also *F. Gonzaga's letter, November 16, 1524, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 89.

[4] See Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, Forschungen, 89, and EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., xvii. For the decrees of the Lateran Council see, besides Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 410, the admirable treatment of the subject in GUGLIA, Studien zur Gesch. des fünften Lateran-konzils, N.F., Wien, 1906, 21 *seq.*

[5] I found in TIZIO, *Hist. Senen., Cod. G, II., 39 (Chigi Library, Rome), a contemporary copy of the Bull "Meditatio cordis nostri, dat. Romae, 1524, XI. Cal Dec." (Nov. 21).

In the execution of these reforms Giberti and Sadoleto were Clement's supporters.[1] In the beginning of December the Cardinals were exhorted to take care of their churches;[2] soon after three commissaries were appointed to visit all churches, convents, and hospitals in Rome.[3] Already on the 8th of September the Pope had issued an emphatic decree to remove the scandal of the Minorites frequenting Rome without wearing the habit of their Order. On the 30th of November he commanded the Roman magistrates to throw such vagrants into prison.[4]

A wholesome measure for the improvement of the clergy was the issue of instructions to Bishop Gian Pietro Carafa, then resident in Rome, concerning the candidates for holy orders, by which every form of simony was repressed.[5] In certain cases also Clement showed himself averse to the accumulation of benefices; while recognizing the gravity of this abuse, he was yet often compelled to yield to the force of circumstances.[6] A whole series of Papal enactments for the year 1524 dealt with the reform of the secular and regular clergy of the dioceses of

[1] See DITTRICH, Kathol. Reformation, 389.

[2] Acta Consist. in KALKOFF, 89. On February 25, 1524, Cardinal de Valle, archipresb. S. Mariae Maj., received the *facultas reformandi statuta ejusdem basilicae; Brevia, 1524, Arm., 39, vol. 44, n. 194, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[3] There is also a contemporary copy in TIZIO, *loc. cit.*, of this Bull, "Romanus Pontifex, dat. Romae, 1524, VI. Id. Dec." (Dec. 8).

[4] *Brief to "Almae urbis baricello, capitaneis caeterisque justitiae ministris, Dat. Romae, ult. Nov. 1524." Arm., 39, vol. 55, f. 15, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[5] *Brief of May 2, 1524; Brevia, 1524, Arm., 39, vol. 44, n. 340, in Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* BZOVIUS, 1524, n. 35, and BROMATO, I., 93 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., II., 214; MACSWINEY, Portugal, III., 191, and BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 39 *seq.*

Florence, Parma, Naples, Venice, Milan, Burgos, and Mayence.[1] In the same year the Pope gave orders for a general reform of the Carmelite Order,[2] and in 1525 similar measures were taken in regard to the Order of the Humiliati.[3]

Unhappily these hopeful beginnings had no corresponding results. Political distractions soon absorbed more and more the attention of the Pope, and, in consequence, the measures of reform slackened.[4] On the 2nd of March

[1] *Cf.* for 1524, Arm., 39, vol. 44, n. 241 : *Facultas abbati monast. Casinen. s. Benedicti alias Justinae reformandi prioratum s. Mariae Angel. Camaldul. Flor., dat. March 26; n. 247 : *Vincentio archiepiscop. Neapolit. (against bad clerics), dat. April 1 ; n. 253 : *Excommunicatio contra omnes intrantes monasteria monialium sub cura fratr. cong. Lat. sine licentia generalis dicti ord., dat. April 2 ; n. 341 : *Patriarchae Venet. committitur reformatio clericor. et religios. in dominio Venet., dat. May 5 (*cf.* the Brief of January 13 in SANUTO, XXV., 449); n. 385 : *Patriarchae Aquilej. facultas visitandi omnes ecclesias et monasteria monial. etiam exemptu eccl. Aquil. subject. et reformandi tam in capite quam in membris, dat. June 8; n. 403 : Reform of the Observantines in Navarre, dat. June 22 (WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 568); n. 493 : *Bull pro correctione cleric. in toto dominio ducis Mediol. delinquent., dat. September 17; n. 573 : *Card. Maguntino, dat. November 15 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Here also belongs the *Brief of March 28, 1524, for the reform of the monastery of the Paradiso (State Archives, Florence, Bonifazio). Reform of the French monasteries is treated in a *Brief of Clement VII., November 3, 1524 (National Archives, Paris). About the reform of the nuns of Parma see the *letter of Cardinal G. Salviati to Clement VII., dat. Parma, 1524, November 28; *Lett. div. ad Clem. VII. in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See the *Briefs to the General, February 1 and April 1, 1524. Arm., 39, vol. 44, n. 136 and 250 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See the *Briefs to the General, June 1 and November 10, 1525. Arm., 39, vol. 45, n. 210 and 312 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] Besides the Briefs for Verona, to be noticed later on, I noticed for 1525, in Arm., 39, vol. 45., n. 99 : *Episcopo Suessano, dat. February

1526 Clement stated in writing that he had certainly not abandoned his plans for a reformation of morals but that, owing to the adverse conditions of the time, he was forced to defer their execution.[1] During the troubles that afterwards arose practical measures of reform lay almost entirely dormant.[2]

That Clement VII. had always realized the necessity of raising the standard of life within the Church is evident from the earnest address made to the Cardinals at Easter 1528,[3] when he spoke of the sack of Rome as a judgment of God. But he still held back from decisive and comprehensive action.[4] Political and ecclesiastical troubles of every kind beset him but, over and above, he was preoccupied by the interests of the house of Medici.

The years 1529 and 1530 were marked, however, by a

23; n. 118: *Episc. Conchensi, dat. March 15; vol. 55, f. 22: *Generali et provincialibus ord. fratr. min. b. Francisci convent, dat. January 25 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 583; THEINER, Mon. Slav. merid., 587, and FONTANA, Docum. Vat., 92. For 1526 see Arm., 39, vol. 46, n. 34: *Vicario episc. Papien., dat. January 19; n. 67: *Vicario gen. fratr. ord. min. conv., dat. February 9; vol. 55, f. 41: *Francisco Angel. totius ord. fratr. min. gen. ministro, dat. January 5; f. 208: *Ministro prov. s. Francisci fratr. min. de observ., dat. December 10. See also the two Briefs in FONTANA, 93 and 94.

[1] BALAN, Mon. saec., XVI., 222.

[2] For 1527, except three documents in WADDING (XVI., 2nd ed., 603), I found only one *item: "Franc. fingo. can. eccl. Burgi s. Sepulcri facultas corrigendi monachos prioratus s. Victoris extr. mur. Gebennen. Cluniac. ord., dat. ex arce 1527, Aug. 6." Arm., 39, vol. 47, n. 248 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The Brief in FONTANA (101) relates to 1528.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 16.

[4] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Kathol. Reformation, 390.

series of special enactments of reform,[1] but inadequate to existing circumstances. There was no vigorous attack on abuses in the Curia, no thorough application of the measures already laid down.[2] In this respect Clement lies

[1] Besides the orders relating to Giberti we may mention for 1529 Arm., 39, vol. 49, n. 215: *Card. Pisano (Reform of clergy in Padua and Treviso), April 16; n. 235: *Io. de Zanettis et Aurelio de Durantis et Thomae de Capreolis, can. eccl. Brixien. (Reform of a convent of nuns), April 27; n. 240: *Card. Pisano (Reform of nuns in Padua), April 28; n. 242; *Priori et antianis et deputatis sup. reform. monast. monial. civit. nostr. Placent., April 29; n. 287: Herculi Card. Mantuan. (Reform of convent of S. Marco, Mantua), May 13; n. 378: *Vicario epis. Parmen. (Reform of the clergy there), June 16; n. 435; *Altobello nuntio Venet. (Reform of nuns), July 16; n. 450: *Item, July 24; n. 592: *Pro Ragusinis (Reform of nuns), September 23; n. 801: *Abbati monast. S. Spiritus prope Sulmon. ord. Coelest. (closure), dat. Bononiae, December 10; n. 818: *Generali ministro fratr. min. de observ., dat. Bononiae, December 14 (Mendicants in Poland, see THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 461 *seq.*).

For 1530 see Arm., 39, vol. 50, n. 446: *Ludovico episc. Barchin. (Reform of convents of nuns), September 5; n. 451: *Franc. Card. Pisano (Reform of convents of nuns), September 6; n. 769: *Generali et prov. provinc. ord. heremit. s. August., July 4; n. 780: *Priori prov. prov. Hispan. ord. regul. observ. (Convent in Aragon), August 12; n. 801: *Priori prov. fratr. ord. praed. prov. Tholos., September 28; n. 811: *Archiep. Arelat. (Reform of the Poor Clares), October 20; n. 812: *Episc. Magalon. (Reform of Benedictine nuns), October 20; n. 817: *Jacobo de Ancona ord. fratr. min. conv. vic. generali (Reform of Poor Clares), November 14; n. 825: *Didaco episc. Ovetan. (Reform of fratr. min. conv.), November 24; n. 826: *Abbati monast. s. Georgii Venet. (Reform of Benedictine nuns), November 26. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also OLIVIERI, Carte p. l. storia Genovese, 224. For discussions on reform, in August, 1530, see HEINE, Briefe, 37 n. Here also belongs the Bull against the sons of priests, June 3, 1530, in Bull., VI., 143 *seq.*

[2] In this connection F. Peregrino remarks in a *letter of October 26, 1531, in which he reports on the discussion held in Consistory on the previous Friday concerning reform: "L' ordini sono belli, buoni

open to the grave reproach of having receded from the path opened by Adrian VI.; he allowed things to drift back into a contrary course.[1] Outside Rome itself the condition of things was no better.[2] The evils had passed beyond the reach of special regulations,[3] and the cure lay

et laudevoli, se dureranno et non si facci all' usanza di Roma, dove un ordine et un bando suole durare tre giorni et non più" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] For the harsh opposition to Adrian VI. see GOMEZ, Comment. in reg. canc., Paris, 1547, 26.

[2] *Cf.* opinions of Sadoleto and Caracciolo in DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 390.

[3] In the Secret Archives of the Vatican I noted for 1531, Arm., 39, vol. 51, n. 118: *Ferd. ep. Venusin. (Visitation and reform in Apulia and the Basilicata), February 4; n. 190: *Electo Fesalun. Nuncio (Reform of convents in Piedmont and Savoy), February 27; n. 241: *Franc. Card. Pisano (Reform of nuns in Treviso), March 15; n. 249: *Vicar. gen. min. conv. facultas reformandi moniales s. Clarae in Italia et extra, March 18; n. 702: *Convent reform in Benevento, October 29; n. 860: *Visitatio et reformatio conv. ord. min. in Spain, France, and Portugal, December 29. See also the Brief to the Bishop of Cracow (convent reform) in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 475 *seq.*, and for the Roman clergy, F. Peregrino's *letter of September 2, 1531, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

1532. Arm., 39, vol. 52, *loc. cit.*; n. 112: *Vincent. Card. Neapolit. (Reform of convents of nuns), February 23; n. 142: *Jacobus de Ancona vic. gen. fratr. ord. min. conv. destinatur reformator fratr. ejusd. ord. et monial. s. Clarae in regnis Hisp., Franc. et Portug. ac civit. Aven. et comit. Venassin., March 10; n. 171 and 207: *Thomae Guerrierio (Reform in Reg. Sicil.), March 19 and April 5; n. 177: *Reform of Dominican nuns in Parma, March 22; *cf.* n. 406 (June 3); n. 210: *Nic. Audet gen. Carmelit. committitur reformatio ordinius totius, April 5; *cf.* n. 222 (s.d.), n. 229 (April 9), n. 239 (April 12), n. 508 (July 10); n. 509 (July 14); n. 263: *Episc. Camerin. (Reform of clergy), April 16 (Fontana, Docum., 129); n. 438: *Reform of the fratr. min. in Spain, June 11; n. 440: *Reform of Benedictine nuns in Benevento, June 14; n. 463: *Generali fratr. praedic. ituro ad visit. et ref. dom. int. et ext. Italiam, June 21; n. 476: Vic. ep. Mantuan. com-

beyond the scope of ordinary remedies. Far and wide the demand for a Council was raised; but this was an heroic measure from which Clement shrank with the utmost misgiving.

Clement dared not openly refuse a Council; but with the innate diplomacy of an Italian he tried by a policy of delay to weaken the necessity of convoking one; he was afraid that more harm than good would result from such an assembly. He weighed beforehand all the dangers that a Council undoubtedly might involve, and in his treatment of the whole matter showed such timidity and indecision that, in the end, he forfeited the belief of all

mittitur reformatio monast. s. Benedicti de Palodirone, June 28; n. 484: *J. Poggio fac. visitandi in regnis Hisp. et Nav. eccl. saec. et regul. et exemptas, July 7; *cf.* n. 703 (Nov. 14); n. 617: *Card. Cornelio (Reform of loca exempta eccl. Brixien.), October 19; n. 706: *Card. Ispalen. (Reform of nuns), November 15. See also Min. brev., 1532, vol. 41, n. 188: *To Francis I. (Reform of the fratr. ord. min. conv.), April 27; n. 323: *To the Doge A. Gritti (Reform of the Carmelite congreg. Mant. by the General, Jac. de Ancona), October 4.

1533. Min. brev., vol. 46, n. 47: *Card. Trident., March 1; n. 157: *Ministro gen. ord. min. de observ., April 27; n. 160: *Vicario gen. ord. min. convent, April 30; Arm., 39, vol. 53, n. 134: *Honorius Chaianus de Florentia ord. fratr. min. de observ. deput. commiss. ad visit. prov. Bonon. ejusd. ord., March 8 (*cf.* n. 170: *Card. Cornelio, April 8); n. 296: *Card. Pisano (Reform of convents in the dioceses of Padua and Treviso), June 30; n. 297: *Archiep. Bremen. committ. ref. monast. Verden. et Bremen. dioc., July 1; *cf.* n. 298: *Joachimo, march. Brandenburg., July 1.

1534. Arm., 39, vol. 54; n. 126: *Joh. archiep. Paris. fac. visit. et corrigendi monachos monast. s. Honorati insulae Lirinen. ord. s. Benedicti, April 22; n. 262: *Vicario gen. Carmelit. de observ., April 13; n. 268: To Aleander, February 9 (in Fontana, Docum., 139 *seq.*). In addition there are the Briefs to Giberti to be mentioned later on, to E. Gonzaga, and so forth, and the Curial **Reformatio vestimentorum prælat. et clericor. of January 11, 1534, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

men in his sincerity.[1] The Pope's objections to the Council were, in the main, half religious and half political. Nor was he unaffected by personal considerations; his illegitimate birth and certain defects of character counted for something, but this could not, as Charles V. and his party believed, have formed the decisive motive for the Pope's behaviour;[2] that was partly grounded on politics and partly on religion.

The synods of Constance and Basle, with their aggressive attempts to weaken Papal authority, were still fresh, with their ominous import, in the memory of the Roman See. What security was there that the controversy over conciliar authority might not revive again? Should this happen, developments beyond the ken of man were to be feared.[3] To the Pope, always a prey to anxiety, a not less serious consideration was the reaction which a thoroughgoing system of reform would effect in the conditions of life in Rome. If we grasp that the mere rumour of the summons of a Council caused a sudden fall in the price of all saleable offices,[4] we can estimate the amount of pressure brought to bear on the Pope in his financial necessity by the officials of the Curia. Further, there was the serious apprehension that the all-powerful Emperor would exercise a preponderant influence in the Council and practically annul the independence of the Holy See.[5]

Again, how often during the previous century had the

[1] See EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., cix.

[2] *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 584.

[3] *Cf.* REUMONT (V. Colonna, 125), who shows forcibly how complicated the conciliar question was. See also DITTRICH'S (Histor. Jahrb., II., 616) arguments against Maurenbrecher.

[4] Lett. d. princ., III., 121.

[5] See RANKE'S (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 76) defence of Clemente VII.; VOIGT-HAUCK go further, perhaps too far, in their vindication of the Pope in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, IV., 3rd ed., 149.

demand for a Council been basely misused by the Pope's enemies to subserve the worst purposes.[1] Already in 1526 Charles V. had not disdained, in his political contest with Clement, to employ the Council as a weapon against him. How easily might such proceedings be repeated! And a factor of great influence was the policy of the King of France, who laboured assiduously to prevent a general assembly of the Church, and in pursuit of this object did not seem to shrink even from schism. Finally, the conditions tendered by the Protestants with regard to the participation in "a free Christian Council" not merely of the temporal princes but even of heretical preachers, were such that no Pope could entertain them.[2] Thus there was urgent need for the greatest caution. Nevertheless, the most painful feelings were aroused[3] by the Pope's opposition to a general Council, and especially by his unnatural subordination of the religious and ecclesiastical tasks of his office to those which were political. This unfavourable impression was only partially mitigated by the encouragement given by Clement, in a measure, to the efforts at reform which took practical shape in the hands of men such as Gaetano di Tiene, Giberti, Carafa, Miani, Zaccaria, and others.[4]

[1] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. III. of this work, 129 *seq.*; IV., 359 *seq.*; VI., 35 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*, 428 *seq.*, and SCHLECHT, Zamometic, 75 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, II., 8; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 584.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 257.

[4] TUCKER (Engl. Hist. Rev., XVIII., 275) has raised a protest, with reference to the encouragement given to Giberti, against MAURENBRECHER'S (Kathol. Reformation, 231) view that Clement took up a position of complete indifference towards reform. Our statement of the case has adduced much fresh evidence to the contrary.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION.—THE ORATORY OF THE DIVINE LOVE.—GAETANO DI TIENE AND CARAFA.

EVEN in times of deepest depression true reformers have arisen within the Church. In spite of abuses and secularity in high places they have never sought occasion to renounce their loyalty to the divinely appointed authority, but have striven to bring about the necessary ameliorations in lawful ways and in closest adhesion to Catholic dogma and the Holy See. Working in this direction, they have rejected every change incompatible with the permanent and divine institutions of the Church, and with her authority and doctrine.

During the fifteenth century, in every country in Europe, men of high character were pursuing reforms in this spirit on the firm foundations of the Catholic faith. But nowhere were these efforts to secure a completely satisfactory renewal crowned with success. In Spain itself, where Cardinal Ximenes, that powerful and far-seeing Franciscan, was achieving, comparatively speaking, the most remarkable results in Catholic reform, his work was lamentably injured in its permanent effect by the absolutism of the Royal power.[1]

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., II., 608, who refers expressly to the inadequate representations of MAURENBRECHER in his Kathol. Reformation, 41 *seq.* It is difficult to understand how Maurenbrecher

In Italy Egidio Canisio of Viterbo had laid down the programme of the Catholic reformation at the opening of the Lateran Council in words of weighty meaning: "Men must be transformed by religion, not religion by men." Even if the Council drew up its decrees of reform in agreement with this principle, yet the most important thing of all was wanting: the practical execution of the same.[1] Even the outbreak of the religious severance did not draw Leo X. into a different course; consequently the state of the Church became so menacing that many despaired of a remedy. When all seemed lost a change for the better was coming to pass in perfect quietness, and this proceeded from the inner circles of the Church. It was essentially a new expression of the indwelling element of the divine life and an evident witness to the protection promised by Christ to the Church for all time.

While almost the whole official world of the Curia was given up to politics, and the Italian clergy, conspicuous among whom were the Roman prelates, to corruption and frivolity to an alarming degree,[2] while Leo X. himself, heedless of the threatening signs of the times, was sunk in æsthetic enjoyment amid the whirl of a gorgeous secular life, a certain number of men, clerics and laymen, noted for virtue and knowledge, had united themselves, under the guidance of the spirit of God, in a confraternity under

could have ignored HÖFLER'S important work "Die romanische Welt und ihr Verhältniss zu den Reformideen des Mittelalters," which was published as early as 1878. For criticism of Maurenbrecher, who greatly overestimates Spanish reform (*cf.* 153), see also BELLESHEIM in the Hist.-polit. Bl., LXXXVIII., 608 *seq.*, and GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 781. For Ximenes *cf.* HEFELE, Der Kardinal Ximenes, Tübingen, 1853; ULRICH, Ximenes, Langensalza, 1883, and NAVARRO Y RODRIGO, El Card. Cisneros, Madrid, 1869.

[1] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 410 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, Vita di Paolo IV., in JENSEN, Caraffa. 191–192.

the protection of St. Jerome bearing the significant name of the Society or Oratory of the Divine Love.[1] Deeply penetrated by the extent of the corruption around them, they started as true reformers with the view that they ought not to indulge in useless lamentations, but begin the much-needed reformation of the whole body with a reform of themselves and their immediate surroundings. From

[1] The accounts hitherto known of the "Compagnia ovvero Oratorio del Divino Amore" are contained in the description by A. Caracciolo in his Vita di Paolo IV. (one passage in RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 89, the rest in JENSEN, Caraffa, 190 *seq.*) and in Collect. de Paulo IV., 181 *seq.* These are the sources for the Vita Cajetani by J. B. CARACCIOLO in the Acta Sanctorum, Aug., II., 283; BZOVIUS, Annal.; SILOS, Hist. cler. regul., I.; BROMATO, I., 83; RANKE, I., 6th ed., 89 *seq.*; KERKER, Kirchl. Reform., 8 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 345 *seq.*, and BENRATH in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XIV., 2nd ed. 424. In the Secret Archives of the Vatican is to be found in the compilation of J. A. Brutius (Arm., 6, vol. 27, f. 64–65), otherwise so full of valuable material, only a fragment of a report on the "Stato della chiesa parrochiale di S. Dorotea" not bearing on our subject. On the other hand, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican I succeeded in discovering important information in Garampi's files and in a memorandum (see Vol. VIII. of this work, Appendix No. 5) of the time of Morone which form an important addition to the meagre statements of A. Caracciolo. To these sources can be added a hitherto unnoticed and very characteristic letter of one "Hieronimus de la Lama, presbyter indignus Ispanus," dated Rome, 1524, October 1, describing his reception into the "Società divini amoris" (SANUTO, XXXVII., 35 *seq.*). The earliest testimony, the important Bull of Leo X., is unfortunately only preserved in the following *register of Garampi's: "Pro confraternitate presbyterorum et clericorum ac laicorum sub invocatione divini amoris nuper in urbe instituta unio parochialis SS. Silvestri et Dorotheae regionis Transtib." Arch. bull. Leonis X. [A] 4 [=March 11, 1516, to March 10, 1517] T. 24, p. 177. The subsequent dissolution of this parochial union by Clement VII., with the consent of the members of the confraternity, is, on the other hand, twice preserved (see Appendix, No. 1). The archives of the confraternity apparently disappeared during the first French occupation. In the Roman State Archives, into which much matter of

these small and unpretentious beginnings they, in the fulness of their holy enthusiasm, laid the foundations of a citadel for the observance of the means of grace, for the contest against vice and abuses, and for the exercise of works of charity.[1]

The main principle of the members of the Oratory of the Divine Love, to begin with the inward renewal of their own lives through religious exercises, common prayer, and preaching, frequentation of the sacraments and works of neighbourly love, and to point the right way to reform by means of example, was a thoroughly Catholic one; for the Church, in accordance with the will of her Founder, has always considered and set forth inward sanctification as the essential thing. All the members of the Oratory were also united by a strong Catholic feeling. Not one of these men thought even remotely of abandoning the foundations of Church doctrine on account of defects in the clergy, high and low, or of seeking reforms in unlawful ways.[2] Their

this kind has found its way, I came across, in the series "Chiese," only the *following: "SS. Silvestro e Dorotea. Busta IV. L' archiconfraternità del Divino Amore di S. Gaetano fu istituita dal medesimo Santo l' anno 1517 nella Chiesa di S. Dorotea in Trastevere e sussequentemente l' anno 1750 ai 13 Settembre fa trasferita nella Chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle già de' Padri Teatini, dove fa le sue funzioni, specialmente quelle che riguardano la devozione di S. Andrea Avellino nella sua capella ivi esistente."

[1] See A. CARACCIOLO, Vita di Paolo IV. (Casanatense Library, Rome).

[2] With the doubts, now generally abandoned, of Contarini's orthodoxy (who besides, as KERKER had already pointed out in the Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr., 1859, 8 *seq.*, was not one of the founders of the Oratory) was connected RANKE'S (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 88 *seq.*) inclusion of the Oratory among the "analogies of Protestantism in Italy." This fundamental error of the great historian (*cf.* besides KERKER, *loc. cit.*, also BUSS, Die Gesellschaft Jesu, 601 *seq.*, and LAEMMER, Misericordias Domini, Freiburg, 1861, 98) is now rejected on the Protestant

place of meeting was the little church of SS. Silvestro and Dorothea, which, near to S. Maria in Trastevere, lay in a quarter of the city to which the then existing tradition assigned the dwelling-place of St. Peter; on the adjoining slope of the Janiculum the Prince of the Apostles had, as was then believed, suffered martyrdom. Thus when the members of the confraternity betook themselves to their meetings the loftiest associations of Christian Rome were called up before their eyes.

As the Oratory was founded in 1517 at the latest,[1] it is probable that its institution was an echo of the intensified religious feeling connected with the Lateran Council closed on the 16th of March of that year. This religious feeling had found incomparable expression in the visions of Christian art displayed in the masterpieces of Raphael. What devotion radiates from the forms of the Sixtine Madonna and the Divine Child whom she shows to mankind from her height of glory! It has been said with justice that the great lustrous eyes with which the infant Christ meets the gaze of the beholder might well urge an unbeliever to confess the faith.[2] The same deep life of faith and grace

side (see MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 208 and 399 *seq.*; *cf.* BENRATH in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XIV., 3rd ed., 424, and HARNACK in Schürer's Theol. Literatur-Zeitung, 1882, 254). Doctrines alien to Catholic dogma cannot be attributed to any member of the Oratory. It is quite as erroneous when Ranke represents the Oratory as "a literary reunion tinged with religion." There is no evidence in support of this view. It was a confraternity, and as such subsists to this day.

[1] This follows from the Bull of Leo the Tenth quoted *supra*, p. 390, n. 1, and is in agreement with the fact that Gaetano di Tiene left Rome as early as 1518 (Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 244). The early date of the foundation shows clearly that this was not connected, as GOTHEIN thinks (Ignatius, 99), with the dangers of the Lutheran movement.

[2] WOLTMANN, II., 670. *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 333 *seq.*

is mirrored in the Transfiguration. The ancient Umbrian piety speaks here in the more powerful accents of the art of a new age.[1] There is certainly no evidence that Raphael was a member of the Oratory of the Divine Love; but with two of its most distinguished members, Sadoleto and Giberti, he was on terms of friendship and spiritual sympathy. It may be said at least that these, his greatest masterpieces, were executed in the spirit of the Oratory.[2]

The greater elevation of religious feeling in those days found expression also in the foundation of yet other confraternities which, together with the encouragement of a Christian tone of life, especially devoted themselves to works of practical charity. In the first rank mention must here be made of the "Confraternità della Carità." It had been founded in 1519 by no less a man than Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., for the support of poor persons above the mendicant class, for the visiting of prisoners, and the burial of the destitute. As early as 1520 this association numbered more than eighty members, including bishops, prelates, and officials of the Curia. Leo X., on the 28th of January 1520, raised it to the status of an archconfraternity and bestowed upon it indulgences and spiritual graces.[3] In the first year of his pontificate Clement provided for this, his own institution, by endow-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 336 *seq.*

[2] This connection was first pointed out by BURCKHARDT (Cicerone, 659), later by HETTNER (Studien, 236 *seq.*), SELL (Raffael und Dürer, Darmstadt, 1881, 15), SCHNEIDER (Theologisches zu Raffael, Mainz, 1896), and SPAHN (Cochläus, 35). The last-named goes somewhat too far (*cf.* KALKOFF, Capito, 46). It is certain that Raphael enrolled himself in a confraternity in Urbino; see PUNGILEONI, 147.

[3] See the Bull of January 28, 1520, in Bull. ed. Cocquelines, III., 473. *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Le prigioni di Roma, Roma, 1890, 5, and the *Cenni sulle Confraternità di Carità in Cod. Vat., 5796, f. 1 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

ing it with the Church of S. Girolamo,[1] in the neighbourhood of the Farnese palace, and ever since known as "della Carità," together with the buildings belonging to it. The protectorate, which Clement as Pope had to resign, was held by Cardinal Antonio Ciocchi del Monte; he was followed by Enkevoirt (1529), Cupis (1533), Carafa (1537), and Morone (1553).[2] During Clement's lifetime we find among the deputies of this confraternity, together with lesser officials, the Pope's Master of the Household, Girolamo da Schio, and the Cardinals Enkevoirt, Quiñones, and Ercole Gonzaga.[3]

The Confraternity of S. Girolamo della Carità was, by the autumn of 1524, in such prosperity that Valerio Lugio saw therein the hand of God. "Twelve chaplains," he reported to Venice, "attend to divine worship in the church; the members are unwearied in visiting the hospital, the poor, the wounded, the sick, the imprisoned; they bestow burial on the dead and perform every imaginable work of charity."[4]

The members also of the Oratory of Divine Love did not restrict themselves to purely religious exercises. They were not less diligent in offices of neighbourly charity, and there is an express tradition that in the days of Leo X.

[1] Bull of September 24, 1524, in Archives of the Compagnia di S. Girolamo della Carità, Rome. *Cf.* WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 574 *seq.* Previously the meetings had been held in S. Andrea in Arenula.

[2] List of Protectors in Archives of S. Girolamo della Carità.

[3] In the *list of the "deputati charitatis" I noted:—1524: Giov. Pietro Crivelli, Milanese. 1525: Fr. Pallavicino, episc. Alerien.; Evangelista Tarasconi, segret. del papa; G. B. Gibraleon, scritt. apost.; Eduardo Cicala, abbrev.; Aless. de Cesena, doctor. 1526: Card. Enkevoirt; Biagio di Cesena. 1530: Bald. de Pescia. 1532: Card. s. Crucis and Card. E. Gonzaga. 1536: Giberti, vesc. di Verona (Archives of the Compagnia di S. Girolamo della Carità).

[4] SANUTO, XXXVII., 88.

they devoted themselves to the maintenance of the ancient Hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili. Here arose another confraternity in which Leo X., all the Cardinals, and many prelates and courtiers were enrolled.[1] The convent for female penitents on the Corso owed its origin to the Oratory of the Divine Love.[2] Cardinal Medici obtained the sanction of Leo X. for this institution, and when Pope continued his support.[3]

The members of the Oratory of the Divine Love, whose numbers rose in course of time to between fifty and sixty, were men differing from one another considerably in culture and social position. Together with those whose interests lay exclusively in ecclesiastical life, such as Giuliano Dati, parish priest of SS. Silvestro and Dorotea,[4] Gaetano di Tiene, Gian Pietro Carafa, Luigi Lippomano, with whom, later on, in the person of Giberti, a politician and diplomatist also became associated, we find several humanists like Sadoleto, Latino Giovenale Manetti, and Tullio Crispoldi.[5] The influence of these latter explains

[1] This hitherto unknown fact rests on the memorandum of 1553 in Vol. VIII. of this work, Appendix, No. 5.

[2] See Vol. VIII. of this work, Appendix, No. 5.

[3] See Bull., V., 742 *seq.*; VI., 92 *seq.* Clement VII. conferred on the ancient Confraternity of the Gonfalone the distinction of the gift of the golden rose; see RUGGERI, L'Archiconfraternità del Gonfalone, Roma, 1866, 209 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* UGHELLI, IX., 514; the inscriptions in FORCELLA, II., 344, VII., 429, IX., 359, 362, and Caracciolo in JENSEN, Caraffa, 191. G. Dati and the Romans Bernardo di Mastro Antonio and Mariano Particappa composed for the Brotherhood of the Gonfalone the oldest Passion play. First printed at Rome, 1515; last edition, Amati, Roma, 1866.

[5] It is uncertain when the individual admissions took place. Gaetano certainly was one of the first members, but he was no longer living in Rome in 1518, and Sadoleto left the city in 1523. The letter of

to some extent the curious form of the single contemporary memorial that brings back to day in Rome the memory of the Oratory at S. Dorotea. This is a holy water vessel in stone in the shape of an ancient heathen altar, bearing on the front side the name, title, and arms of Giuliano Dati, who died previous to 1524. The inscription on the right side shows that it was composed by persons who delighted in expressing their thoughts in the language of classical antiquity.[1] Here, if anywhere, is evidence that the employment of phraseology not only classical but even pagan in tone, does not warrant the conclusion that this was the outcome of unchristian sentiment.

It was of great importance that the quiet activity of the Oratory of the Divine Love, the members of which, under Clement VII., also showed care for the poor class of pilgrims to Rome,[2] should have set an example to different cities of Italy, Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, and Venice being among the earliest to imitate the Roman model.[3] These

Hieronymus de la Lama, in SANUTO, XXXVII., 36, shows that Giberti was not a founder, as GOTHEIN (Ignatius, 180) thinks, but joined the society subsequent to October 1524.

[1] The inscription on the front of this stone, now standing on the right side of the lower floor of the Presbytery adjoining the church, runs thus: Julianus || de Dathis || penitentiarius || et rector; on the right: D. O. M. || Divo Silve || stro ac dive || Dorothee v. || manibus la || ribusq. avi || tis sacrum || an. jubilei. Not given correctly in FORCELLA, IX., 361.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, Appendix, No. 5.

[3] Gaetano di Tiene at once procured a Brief from Leo X. for the Confraternità segreta del SS. Corpo di Cristo, founded about 1517 in Verona; see BARZIZA, S. Gaetano in Verona, Mantova, 1719, 24 *seq* At the end of 1518 the Olivetans handed over to this confraternity, which still exists to this day and has comprised many artists among ts members (see Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., 1903, 63), the church of SS. Siro and Libera, standing on the upper half of the Roman theatre. *Cf.* V. SALVARO, La Chiesa dei SS. Siro e Libera e la ven. compagnia m essa eretta, Verona, 1882, 16 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*, 43 (Ratification of the

communities were connected with their brethren in Rome. They held to the same genuine Catholic principle that the sanctification of the individual must necessarily precede any attempt to bring a reforming influence to bear on others. How important for the revival of the inner life of the Church was the Oratorian practice of the frequent use of the sacraments of penance and of the altar, long before the days of Jesuit activity had come, is evident from the well-authenticated fact that, prior to this, the number of those who approached the altar more than once a year, namely, at Easter, was very small.[1]

Important and full of blessing as the work of the Oratory and its offshoots proved to be, yet, from their very nature, associations of this kind were debarred from exercising a wider and more penetrating influence. As confraternities they lacked a strict organization. In addition to the constant fluctuation in the number of members, there were the repeated claims of duties and business of other sorts calling them away from the good work for the sake of which they had united together.[2]

The recognition of these drawbacks led to a plan for the formation of a special order of regular clergy, the so-called Theatines. This Order, which was essentially a product of the Oratory of the Divine Love, soon won a position of exceptional importance in the progress of Catholic reform and restoration. We can thus understand the enthusiastic praise lavished by the historian of the

conveyance by Leo X., 1521, July 29). Here also for the Brotherhood of S. Girolamo in Vicenza (*cf. infra*, p. 398 *seq.*). The existence of confraternities in Brescia and Venice is shown from the letters of Hieronymus de la Lama in SANUTO, XXXVII., 35 *seq.*

[1] See CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV. (Casanatense Library); BROMATO, I., 5.

[2] See CARACCIOLO, *loc. cit.*

Theatines on the Oratory of the Divine Love as the cradle of their society.[1] If at first the Oratory was only a hopeful omen of the quiet reaction towards reform[2] working within the Church, its full significance became known at last through the new and powerful organization which owed to it its birth.

To two men of very different character the foundation of the new Order was due; they were Gaetano di Tiene and Gian Pietro Carafa.

The ancestors of Gaetano di Tiene were nobles of Vicenza who bore the title of Count.[3] Born about 1480, he studied jurisprudence at Padua and came to Rome in 1505, where he was appointed Protonotary-Apostolic by Julius II. Not until he had reached his thirty-sixth year, in the autumn of 1516, did he receive minor and sacred orders. It is evident from the letters of this devout priest to the Augustinian nun Laura Mignani of Brescia that he had hitherto held back from entering the service of the sanctuary from humility and a holy fear of that high vocation. Gaetano, who devoted eight hours a day to prayer, dwells in these letters in touching language on his unworthiness to offer up the sacrifice of the Mass wherein he, "a poor worm of earth, mere dust and ashes, passes, as it

[1] SILOS, Hist. Cler. Regul., I., 6.

[2] *Cf.* KERKER, Kirchliche Reform., 9.

[3] See Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 240 *seq.*, also 280 *seq.*, for the older biographies, of which the most important, that of A. Caracciolo, published 1612, is reproduced. *Cf.* also J. B. CARACCIOLUS, Vita, Pisis, 1738; MAGENIS, Vita, Napoli, 1749 (reprint, *ibid.*, 1845); ZINELLI, Mem. Stor., Venezia, 1753; BARRAL (Paris, 1789); DUMORTIER (Paris, 1882); LÜBEN (Regensburg, 1883); DE MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE (Paris, 1902; *cf.*, for this unsuccessful work, SCHRÖRS in the Lit. Rundschau, 1904, 4 *seq.*). Documents concerning the Tiene family in Cod. 152 of the Library of Ferrara. *Cf.* also BORTOLAN, S. Corona, Vicenza, 1889, 360 *seq.*

were into heaven and the presence of the Blessed Trinity, and dares to touch with his hands the Light of the sun and the Maker of the universe." Such a priest must have found in the Oratory of the Divine Love the expression of his innermost soul. If Gaetano nevertheless left Rome as early as 1518, it was in obedience to a call of filial duty bidding him return to Vicenza, where his mother had just undergone a heavy loss in the death of a second son. There he worked in the spirit of the Oratory in Rome and urged worthy and repeated reception of the sacraments. In this direction Gaetano's efforts were specially effective, for he infused fresh life into the Confraternity of S. Girolamo.[1] It was he also who induced this society to take over the administration of a decayed hospital for incurables. On this work of compassion he spent large sums of money, and also obtained for it from Leo X. all the privileges and indulgences belonging to the great Hospital of S. Giacomo in Rome.[2]

In the summer of 1519 a brotherhood at Verona, the Secret Confraternity of the Most Holy Body of Christ, which had also been one of Gaetano's revivals,[3] addressed a petition to the confraternity at Vicenza to be admitted into fellowship with them in spiritual possessions, prayers, and good works. In his great humility Gaetano inverted the petition and requested admission to the brotherhood in Verona, whither he went, accompanied by the leading members of the community of Vicenza. When it came to the signing of the form of aggregation he made his

[1] Diarium Vicent. Sodalit. from Caracciolo in Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 283. BARZIZA, *loc. cit.*, 22. The confraternity founded 1494 was originally called the Compagnia segreta della Misericordia; see BORTOLAN, *Nozze* Bottazzi-Bertolini, Vicenza, 1887, 1888.

[2] *Cf.* the documents in BORTOLAN, *loc. cit.*, 11–12.

[3] *Cf.* the work of Salvaro, cited *supra*, p. 396, n. 3.

companions take precedence. His own subscription was as follows: "I, Gaetano di Tiene, wholly unworthy to be a priest of God, have been received as the last among the members of this holy community in July 1519."[1]

From 1521 to 1523 Gaetano, with the exception of a short visit to Brescia where he saw Laura Mignani, devoted himself to works of spiritual and temporal compassion in the city of Venice. There also he bestowed much attention on the hospital for incurables, and in an astonishingly short time brought it into a better condition.[2] In spite of this success he was not satisfied; the worldliness of life in the city of the lagoons grieved him deeply. From thence on the 1st of January 1523 he wrote to his friend Paolo Giustiniani: "How pitiful is the state of this noble city! One could weep over it. There is indeed not one who seeks Christ crucified. Jesus waits and no one comes. That there are men of good will among this fine people I do not deny. But they will not stand forth 'for fear of the Jews.' They are ashamed to be seen at confession or Holy Communion."[3]

These discouraging conditions probably led to Gaetano's return to Rome at the end of 1523. There, in the Oratory of the Divine Love, he found Bonifazio da Colle, Paolo Consiglieri, and Gian Pietro Carafa all full of reverence for his own ideals. His intercourse with Carafa especially was to be followed by most important results.

Seldom have two such different characters combined in the pursuit of the same aim as these two men whose

[1] See SALVARO, *loc. cit.* In Cod. DCCLXXXIII., f. 252, Chapter Library, Verona, there is a copy of the registration with the date July 10, 1519.

[2] *Cf.* the quite unbiassed testimony of SANUTO, a thorough man of the world, XXXIII., 299; XXXIV., 38; XXXVI., 103.

[3] LÜBEN, 61; DE MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, 59 *seq.*

activity in the beginning of the great movement of the Catholic reformation was fertile in influence. A waft of sacred poetry breathed through the life of Gaetano, who, like the saint of his deep veneration, Francis, glowed with a mystic love for the poor Child in the manger. Amid all the fire of his religious emotion he was yet a personality of exceeding gentleness and tenderness. Yielding, given to self-communing, silence, and reserve, it was only with great reluctance that he took a public place. He thus gave rise to the remark that he wished to reform the world, but without letting the world know that he was in it.[1] A beautiful saying, and the best description of the peculiar character of a man who was filled with a boundless trust in the providence of God. In long hours of meditation Gaetano prepared for the sacrifice of the Mass. He was often seen to burst into tears at the moment of consecration. Daily, in the sacrament of penance, he clad his soul in the purest wedding garment, and was himself unwearied in the duties of the confessional and in the visitation of the sick and poor.

Carafa also was full of love towards God and his neighbour. His sense of religion was not less deep than that of Gaetano; but in him, the typical southern Italian, it found a very different expression. Brimming over with eloquence, impetuous, glowing with a zeal not always tempered with wisdom, capable of inconsiderate obstinacy and hardness, he flung his whole being into the work that seemed to him to be necessary. The embodiment of strength of will, and driven by an irresistible urgency to work and originate, he formed a striking supplement to Gaetano, the tranquil servant of prayer and meditation.

Carafa's career was also much more troubled and full of

[1] See RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 114.

vicissitude than that of his friend.[1] Born on the vigil of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 28) 1476, this scion of one of the oldest, noblest, and most influential families in the kingdom of Naples wished, while yet in his twelfth year, to enter the Dominican Order, but was prevented by his father, Gian Antonio, Baron of S. Angelo della Scala and, in right of his wife, Vittoria Camponesca, also Count of Montorio.[2] Gian Pietro's sister Maria, eight years his senior, felt the same vocation for the cloister. On Christmas night 1490 they both escaped from their parents' house. The brother sought out the Dominicans, the sister the nuns of the same Order. Once more the father snatched his son from the cloister; but, on the other hand, he gave him permission to study theology for, as the nephew of an Archbishop and Cardinal, brilliant advancement seemed certain. On completing his studies in 1494 Gian Pietro received the tonsure, and in accordance with his father's wishes he went to Rome to his uncle, Cardinal Oliviero

[1] For the early lives of Carafa see C. BROMATO (Bartol. Carrara), Storia di Paolo IV., I., 1 *seqq*. The most valuable materials on which Bromato relied for the greatest part of this work are in Ant. Caracciolo's (d. 1642) industrious compilation of sources: (1) Collect. Hist. de Vita Pauli IV., Coloniae, 1612; (2) *Vita di Papa Paolo IV. (2 vols., frequently in manuscript, as in Cod. 993 of the Casanatense Library; Cod. Barb., lat. 4953, 4961, 5370; Secret Archives of the Vatican, XI., 101; British Museum, 20011–20012). Three MSS. of the Vita, one of which is apparently from the hand of Caracciolo, are in the Library of the National Museum in the Certosa di S. Martino, Naples. This exceedingly important life is based partly on original papers of Carafa. I was successful in finding two volumes of such original papers which often give additions to Caracciolo; in the first place, one ought to mention here the *Collection of letters in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697, Vatican Library, and in the second that in Cod. XIII., AA 74, of the National Library, Naples.

[2] *Cf.* PANSA in the Rassegna abruzz., IV. (1900).

Carafa. The latter wished at once to procure a bishopric for the lad of eighteen, who conscientiously refused to entertain the notion. Even later (about 1500), when a Papal chamberlain, he only accepted benefices to which the duty of residence was not attached. Entirely given up to study, prayer, and works of charity, he passed through the corrupt court of Alexander VI. pure and unspotted. The keen insight of Julius II. soon recognized his worth; by 1503 he had appointed him a Protonotary and in 1504 Bishop of Chieti in the Abruzzi. Carafa accepted this honour unwillingly. From this and from the opposition of the Spanish government to the appointment of an offshoot of a family always inimical to their interests, we can explain why Carafa's consecration did not take place until 1506. Immediately afterwards he was sent by Julius II. as Nuncio to Naples to welcome Ferdinand the Catholic on his arrival from Barcelona. On this occasion also Carafa had to experience the hardness of the Spanish character. Ferdinand flatly refused to pay the annual tribute on investiture with the kingdom demanded by the Nuncio in the Pope's name. He rejoiced when, in 1507, his mission came to an end, and at once returned to Chieti to find his diocese in an evil plight.

Carafa as a genuine reformer began to introduce an improvement by his own example and the change of behaviour in his household, in accordance with the motto adopted by him at this time: "For the time is, that judgment should begin at the house of God."[1] In his new position Carafa had often to resist the encroachments of the Spanish officials on his own jurisdiction. But no obstacle turned back this man of iron purpose. In every way, especially by his visitations, he laboured for

[1] *Cf.* 1 Petr. iv. 17.

five toilsome years to raise the standard of the diocese; so intent was he on this work that he did not attend the first four sittings of the Lateran Council. As soon as his diocese was to some extent set in order he went to Rome in the beginning of 1513 where, as a member of the commission for the restoration of peace and the removal of the schism, he soon attracted the attention of Leo X., who in 1513 appointed him Legate to Henry VIII. During his stay in England he came to know Erasmus, on whom he urged the duty of preparing an edition of the works of St. Jerome. Erasmus praised Carafa in a letter, speaking with admiration of his dignity, his eloquence, and his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and theology.[1] Leo X. in 1515 sent him as Nuncio to Spain. On his journey thither he formed a friendship in Flanders at the court of Margaret of Austria with the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, an earnest supporter of reform. At first his reception at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic was of the best; the King gave him a place on his Council and made him Vice Grand Chaplain. Carafa tried to make his influence felt in Aragonese affairs, on behalf of the independence of Naples. But all his attempts to move Ferdinand to a renunciation of that kingdom were unsuccessful. He appealed in vain to the conscience of the dying King, reminding him of his broken pledges to Frederick of Naples and his sons. This attitude also reacted on his relations with the new King, Charles. Although Carafa was on the King's side during the revolt of the Comuñeros, he was viewed with dislike at court. He was suspected of disclosing State secrets to the Pope,

[1] BROMATO, I., 63 *seq.* Since Erasmus could not at that time expect much from Carafa, his praises were sincere; see GOTHEIN, Ignatius 171 The Episcopal Archives at Chieti, so far as they have been arranged, unfortunately contain nothing relating to Carafa.

and one of his colleagues on the Council even taunted him with the words: "If the Neapolitans had their deserts, they would get dry bread and a stout stick."[1] When, on the appointment of a new Grand Chaplain, Carafa was passed over, he requested leave to retire. Charles V. tried to reconcile him by appointing him Archbishop of Brindisi, but Carafa withdrew from the court in bitter displeasure. Henceforth a deep-rooted distrust and dislike of the Hapsburg King of Spain took possession of him.

But in other respects his long residence in Spain had been of great importance to Carafa. While it lasted he had formed friendly relations with the men who were anxious to carry out a scheme of reform on sound Catholic principles and without making a breach in the established order of things. He was in near touch not merely with Cardinal Ximenes but with Adrian of Utrecht and the Neapolitan, Tommaso Gazzella of Gaeta. Powerful as the Spanish influences were in this connection, yet they must not be overrated. Like Adrian, Carafa had been a friend of reform long before he had come to know in Spain the fruits of the activity of a Ximenes.[2] In one important point his plan of reform differed from the Spanish programme. He abominated any intrusion of the secular power into the ecclesiastical sphere, and had, especially, a higher sense of his position as a churchman than the Spanish prelates. What was the amazement of the latter when Carafa once in the Chapel Royal replied to a court official who had asked him to delay beginning Mass until the King arrived: "Within these sacred walls I represent the person of Christ, and therefore, vested with such an office, would

[1] *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 74.

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrbuch, II., 610 *seq.*

deem it an indignity to await the coming of an earthly king."[1]

Carafa returned to Rome from Spain by Naples, where he restored the Confraternity of the Bianchi, who ministered to persons lying under sentence of death.[2] When in 1520 he reached Rome, the affair of Luther was being discussed. Leo X. made use of him during the deliberations; he also may have had a share in formulating the Bull of Condemnation,[3] otherwise his chief occupation in Rome was the pursuit of works of charity; he was most constantly seen in a hospital for incurables he had founded earlier with the help of Ettore Vernacci,[4] and in the Oratory of the Divine Love. Devoted as he was to the objects of this association, agreeing as they did with the motto of his choice, yet he was soon once more in his dioceses of Brindisi and Chieti, where a great field lay open for his reforming energies. He did not return to Rome until an express summons from Adrian VI. called him back in 1523. He gladly obeyed the request of the Pope, who was determined to give practical shape to his idea of reform. Of the impression made in Rome by Carafa we have some information from a letter of Paolo Giustiniani in which he gives an account of some of the devout men whose acquaintance he had made in the city. Carafa, he says, was a man of learning and humility, and so holy in his manner of life that no one in Rome could be compared

[1] CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, *Vita di Paolo IV.; BROMATO, I., 76.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Vita di Paolo IV.; BROMATO, I., 77; BENRATH in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XV., 3rd ed., 41; A. SCHULTE (Quellen und Forschungen, VI., 39) has overlooked Carafa's participation in this matter. It seems to me doubtful whether Carafa's treatise "De justificatione" had yet appeared.

[4] BROMATO, I., 36, 83.

with him.[1] How much might have been hoped if such a man had been permitted to co-operate for long with the lofty-minded German Pope in his reforming efforts! But Providence had decreed otherwise. Carafa, in July 1523, had just obtained for Paolo Giustiniani a confirmation and extension of plenary powers for the congregation of the hermits of Camaldoli when Adrian died.[2]

Carafa, with the penetration which was peculiar to him in such matters, perceived that Clement VII., notwithstanding his previous good intentions, could not be expected to follow the course on which his predecessor had entered. For a moment he dwelt on the thought of withdrawing himself into the solitude of the hermits of Camaldoli: fortunately for the Church, the bent of his character towards energetic work had the upper hand. Carafa was not mistaken in supposing that political interests would more and more predominate at the court of Clement VII.

In closest intimacy with the members of the Oratory of the Divine Love, and especially with Gaetano, he drew up new plans. With all their enthusiasm for the Oratory, these two friends were well aware that a mere confraternity offered no guarantee for a comprehensive and permanent renewal throughout the Church. Besides, since all ordinances from higher authority and all Papal decrees of reform were almost a dead letter, the idea was pressed home to them that, by the force of example, the deeply needed improvement might be begun first of all among the ranks of the secular clergy. Thus there ripened in the conversations of Carafa and Gaetano, to which some other friends, such as Bonifazio da Colle of Alessandria and the Roman Paolo Consiglieri had been admitted, the plan of

[1] The letter, addressed to Gaetano di Tiene, is in SANUTO, XXXV., 252.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 117 *seq.*

substituting for the Oratory a special foundation with fixed rules and a life in community consisting of regular clerics in immediate dependence on the Holy See.[1] Instead of the old orders which, partly from deterioration, partly from their organization, were no longer adapted to the needs of the times, a new institution, instinct with life, was to arise, the members of which, as simple priests of blameless life and faithfulness to their vocation, were to shed a guiding light of example before the great mass of the secular clergy, numbers of whom were sunk deep in the prevailing corruption. The fundamental idea of the founders was to form a society of devoted priests who should give themselves up entirely to the administration of the sacraments, the work of preaching, and the conduct of ecclesiastical ceremonies so as to set an example before the Church. Of friars there were plenty, and many were disreputable men; the members of the new Order, therefore, were not to bear names, many of which had fallen into wide discredit. At their head there was to be neither prior nor guardian, but simply a superior. Attention was also paid to the form and colour of their clothing; the customary black garment of the ordinary priest seemed the only suitable one for a community with the primary task before it of effecting by example and hard work a thorough reform in the secular clergy, and a return to apostolic standards of life.[2]

[1] The first idea certainly came from Gaetano; Caracciolo himself (*Vita di Paolo IV., II., 1) says this, appealing to the lost biography of Gaetano by G. A. Prati. The Bull of Beatification therefore rightly speaks of Gaetano as the founder (Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 246. Carafa, therefore, cannot be called (CARACCIOLO, *loc. cit.*, II., 2), "autore et fondatore"; but he is justly entitled to be regarded as joint founder of the Theatines; see ZINELLI, Memorie, 38.

[2] See CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV., II., 1, 2, 3. *Cf.* CARACCIOLO in the Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 285, § 19, and BROMATO, I., 109 *seqq.* His intention in founding the Theatine Order is very clearly expressed

While any imitation of the externals of the existing orders was thus avoided, Carafa and his associates were all the more anxious to be true to the inner character of lives devoted to a religious rule. They therefore demanded a secluded community life and the observance of the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty. On this last point they went much further than the followers of the poor man of Assisi. The members of the new institution were to practise poverty in its most rigorous form. They were to have no capital, no income; they might not even once ask for alms. Depending calmly on the divine providence, they were to wait for spontaneous gifts and in this way bring back clergy and people to the enthusiasm of the first Christians. A fountain-head of evil in the Church was the immoderate striving after possessions, whereby so many were enticed without vocation into the sanctuary. This grievous abuse was to be torn up by the roots by an association of priests subject to vows, and leading lives of poverty in the fullest sense. This idea had taken possession of two men sprung from families of noble descent, who thus sought to make expiation for the scandals brought on the Church by others in their own station in their pursuit of worldly possessions.

This summons to absolute poverty aroused in the Curia of Clement VII., where most men were absorbed in money

in a *letter to Giberti, dated Venice, 1533, January 1, in which he asks him to obtain from Clement VII. a fresh and, in some points, revised Bull of approval; he *says: "Et per ricordo riverentemente si fa intender a V. S. che nella detta bolla tra le principal cose si voria contenire la approbatione di questo instituto clericale talmente, che non paresse che si volesse far nova religione, si como in verità non volemo nè potemo, et si ben potessimo non voriamo perchè non volemo esser altro che chierici viventi secondo li sacri canoni in commune et de communi et sub tribus votis, perciocchè questo è il mezzo convenientissimo a conservare la commune vita clericale." Cod. Barb., lat. 5697 f. 32 (Vatican Library).

and the acquisition of money, general observation and great opposition. If amid the chilling of Christian love the mendicant Orders were hardly able to exist, how could a new order maintain itself by repudiating the appeal to the alms of the faithful? To such objections Gaetano replied in the words of Christ: "Be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat; nor for your body, what you shall put on." So fervently did he dwell on God's providence in the presence of the Pope that the latter exclaimed: "I have not found such faith in Israel." But difficulties of a more serious kind were not wanting. Gaetano had scruples in allowing Carafa to become a member, as he was already a bishop. Clement VII. on his side saw with reluctance so capable a man, to whom he had given an important function in respect of the reform of the Roman clergy, removed from his service. The Pope also feared the difficulty of finding a substitute for him in the dioceses of Chieti and Brindisi. But the fervent Carafa, supported by his old friends Giberti, Sadoleto, and Schönberg,[1] gave Clement no rest until he yielded and consented to his resignation of the two sees.[2] The decisive Brief, drawn up by Sadoleto, was issued on the 24th of June 1524. It gave permission to Carafa, Gaetano, and their associates, after solemnly taking the three essential vows, to live in community as regular clergy while wearing the garb of the ordinary ecclesiastic. They were to be in immediate subordination to the Pope, to choose a superior holding office for a period not longer than three years, while secular clergy and laymen were to be admitted to the vows after a probation of one year; they, moreover, held all the privileges of the Canons of the Lateran, together

[1] *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 96.

[2] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 52; SANUTO, XXXVI., 326.

with permission to accept benefices with a cure of souls. The special constitutions were not to be presented for acceptance until later, when greater experience of their working had been acquired.[1]

Gaetano now resigned all his benefices and handed over his patrimony to his kinsfolk. "I see Christ in poverty and I am rich," he wrote on the 24th of August 1524; "He is despised, and I am honoured. I wish to draw one step nearer to Him, and therefore have resolved to renounce all yet remaining to me of this world's goods."[2]

Carafa also distributed his property among needy relations and the poor; at the same time he resigned both his sees. This instance of a self-sacrifice unprecedented in that age created a great sensation; to many such a heroic step was simply unintelligible; others indulged in depreciation or ridicule,[3] but Gaetano and Carafa went on their way unheeding. On the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14), 1524, in company with Bonifazio da Colle and Paolo Consiglieri, after receiving Holy Communion they presented, at the tomb of St. Peter, to Bonziano, Bishop of Caserta, as Apostolic Commissary, the Brief by which their institute was recognized as an Order, and then proceeded to take the solemn vows.[4] Carafa was immediately afterwards

[1] Bull., VI., 73 *seq.* *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 112, 115, 117 *seq.* The original Brief is in the General Archives of the Theatine Order in Rome.

[2] Copies were very soon circulated of this beautiful letter, justly extolled by the saint's biographers (see LÜBEN, 89), and signed "Frater Gaietanus miser presbyter." One of these old copies is in the General Archives of the Theatine Order in Rome.

[3] BROMATO, I., 105 *seq.*

[4] The notarial deed in SILOS, 37, and Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 248 *seq.* *Cf.* also SANUTO, XXXVII., 35; ATANAGI, Lett. facet., I., 138, and the *report of Germanello of September 24, 1524, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

chosen Superior, retaining, according to the desire of Clement VII., his title as Bishop. The new foundation was in closest communication with the Holy See, and its members, directly subject to the Pope, looked upon St. Peter as their special patron.[1]

The new regulars, who were called Theatines or Chietines from Carafa's first see, and sometimes Cajetans or Clerks Regular of the Divine Providence, were clad entirely in black; they always wore the cassock, high collar, and white stockings, and their head covering was the clerical biretta. Carafa strictly required them to be clean shaven and wear a large-sized tonsure.[2] They lived, as much as possible, in seclusion; but when they appeared in public their demeanour was full of dignity. They began with a small house in the Strada Leonina, leading to the Campo Marzio, once the property of Bonifazio da Colle.[3] On the 30th of April 1525 the first novice was received; he was the learned priest Bernardino Scotti, afterwards a Cardinal.[4]

Before the close of 1525[5] Giberti provided the Theatines with a new dwelling on the Pincian, then quite unbuilt upon, where the Villa Medici now stands.[6] There

[1] *Cf.* Carafa's characteristic *letter to Giberti of March 1, 1533, in the Vatican Library, Cod. Barb., lat. 5697.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVII., 90.

[3] The house was near the little church S. Nicola di Campo Marzio, and was given to the Order on September 13, 1524. CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV., II., 3.

[4] CARACCIOLO, Vita di Paolo IV., II., 4; BROMATO, I., 131 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Dichiaratione di bona fede di Giberti che la vigna comprata a Monte Pincio per il prezzo di duc. 1000 fu comprata di denari prop. della congreg. Teat., dat. October 7, 1525 (original in General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome).

[6] In the deed of sale (in CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 4) the situation is *described: "Inter moenia urbis, in loco qui dicitur lo monte de' Pinci,

they gave themselves up assiduously to prayer, meditation, the study of Holy Scripture, and the care of souls. Especially were they diligent in preaching, avoiding all profane alloy in their sermons and fervently teaching devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the frequentation of the sacraments. At the same time they aroused violent enmity and vulgar contempt; Carafa in particular suffered in this respect,[1] for he stood high in Clement's favour and, being the Superior of the community, was a representative personality.[2] The worldly-minded ridiculed the new Order as a collection of laughable eccentrics who were neither monks nor simple clergy,[3] but among the people respect for them increased on account of their mortified lives and their exemplary devotion to the sick and the poor pilgrims during the outbreak of the plague in the Jubilee year of 1525. A deep impression was made by the sight of men of illustrious and noble lineage, to whom all the enjoyments of life might have lain open, choosing of their own accord the strictest poverty and, without fear of infection, visiting the poor and plague-stricken in hospitals and private houses, to tend, cheer, and succour them in the pains of death. It was then that a nun

cui ab uno latere sunt res s. Mariae de populo, ab alio vinea, quae nunc possidetur per dom. Emilium de Capisucchis, ab altero moenia urbis et ante viculos vicinales"; *cf.* BROMATO, I., 133. Clement VII. wished to assign S. Girolamo to the Theatines, but this church seems to have been in an unquiet neighbourhood; see the *letter of A. Germanello, September 24, 1524 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and SANUTO, XXXVII., 10.

[1] See SANUTO, XXXVII., 357. *Cf.* ROSSI, Pasquinate, 111, and LUZIO, Pronostico, 8, 12, 16, 30, 62.

[2] *Cf.* *Annales Venetae domus (General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome).

[3] See CARACCIOLO in the Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 287, and SANUTO, XXXVII., 37.

of Ravenna declared that God was now sending His saving help to reform the Church and renew the lives of men.[1]

Whoever led a more interior life, with greater piety and strictness than others, was spoken of as a Theatine.[2] Even among the Roman clergy the earnestness and asceticism of the new Order, whose members, notwithstanding the almost insupportable scarcity, never lacked the necessaries of life, began to produce a wholesome effect. What a change was brought about in Rome by the quiet, plodding labours of the first Theatines is seen from a letter written on the 5th of January 1527[3] by one of themselves to their friends of like mind in Venice, who had charge of the Hospital for Incurables there. "Christ," he says, "is now more feared and honoured here than in days past. The proud humble themselves, the good praise God, the wicked are without hope. Let us pray for their conversion, pray for the fathers, and specially for Carafa! God is making use of his own in the Church. Bethink you, the first prelates and lords in Rome, who at first despised us in their pride, now come daily to us with such submission, as if they were our servants, that I am quite ashamed. They show a willing spirit of penitence, prayer, and pious works. They do all that the fathers bid them. And yet more—daily the Holy Father asks for the prayers of us poor wretches." He then goes on to relate how the great Tommaso Campeggio came one day to Carafa and asked him very humbly to bestow on him the episcopal consecration, which he had hitherto deferred, as he desired henceforward

[1] See CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 1 and 4; BROMATO, I., 128 *seq.*; RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 115, and DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 392 *seq.*

[2] CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 3, in DITTRICH, 393. *Cf.* ATANAGI, Lett. facet., I., 24; Lett. volg., I., 178 *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, XLIII., 609 *seq.*

to be a true bishop of the see of Feltre. Although Campeggio was a man of learning, Carafa examined him as if he had been a simple priest. He submitted with touching humility, and might have received all the grades at once, and even have asked for consecration at the hands of the Pope himself; but he preferred to act in obedience to Carafa's wishes. He fasted with the Theatines, kept the canonical hours along with them, and at each ordination communicated with such humility that all present were put to shame. Giberti too, at that time next to the Pope the most influential man in Rome, visited Carafa daily, and often shared with him his frugal meals. Just then Clement VII. showed his attachment to the Theatines by the bestowal of new indulgences. The new community grew day by day in men's regard, but their labours in support of the hospitals and other benevolent institutions did not diminish in zeal.[1]

Carafa and Gaetano looked to the future in hope and joy. Then came the catastrophe of the sack of Rome; Carafa, Gaetano, and their twelve associates were brutally treated by the soldiers and thrown into prison.[2] They managed, as by a miracle, to escape from the hands of their tormentors. The Venetian envoy, Venier, took compassion upon them in Ostia and was the means of enabling them to make the journey to Venice, which they reached in June. The Confraternity of the Hospital for Incurables, with whom they had always had close ties, procured for them in their entire destitution a refuge at S. Eufemia.[3] Thence they migrated to S. Gregorio, and finally found

[1] SANUTO, XLIII., 611–612; *cf.* 533.

[2] CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 5; BROMATO, I., 153 *seq.*

[3] SANUTO, XLV., 343. For the connection with the Hospital for Incurables see BROMATO, I., 138 *seq.*

a suitable community house in the Oratory of S. Nicola da Tolentino.[1]

The Theatines, who had, on the 14th of September 1527, chosen Gaetano as Superior, lived as retired a life in Venice as in Rome, so that they were spoken of as the "hermits." They continued to urge the frequent use of the sacraments; they were also occupied with raising the observance of divine worship to a higher level of solemnity and with the improvement of the Breviary by the excision of unhistorical narratives.[2] Their pastoral zeal, their heroism amid the famine and plague of 1528, won them an increase of friends, and one of their greatest benefactors was the Doge Andrea Gritti.[3]

It was of the greatest importance for the Theatines that in Venice they came into closer relations with such eminent advocates of Catholic reform as Gasparo Contarini, Reginald Pole, and the regenerator of the Benedictine Order, Gregorio Cortese. The garden of S. Georgio Maggiore, Cortese's monastery, was the scene of many learned and pious conversations, for which reason Bruccioli chose it as the background for his "Dialogue on Moral Philosophy."[4]

Carafa drew up the earliest rules for the Theatines, over whom he was again Superior from 1530 to 1533. The object of these statutes was the formation of a

[1] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO in the Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 290, and *Vita, II., 6; see also SANUTO, XLVI., 193, 333, 418, and BROMATO, I., 160 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, 173.

[2] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 7; BROMATO, I., 174 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*; BAÜMER, 412 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Annali dei Teatini della casa di Venezia (General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome).

[4] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 212 *seq.* A fine eulogy on Pole in *Carafa's letter to Giberti, January 1, 1533, in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697, . 33 (Vatican Library).

blameless type of priestly character enjoying the utmost possible freedom for the exercise of the different branches of the pastoral office. The several rules were not to bind the members of the Order under sin.[1]

Carafa showed great prudence in his guidance of the Order. When Clement VII., in February 1533,[2] enjoined the erection of an affiliated house in Naples, the Superior raised difficulties, for he feared lest his slender forces should be broken up.[3] The Pope, in entire confidence, left the matter to Carafa's sole decision. The latter did not make up his mind until August, and then sent two of his best colleagues, Gaetano and Giovanni Marino, to Naples, where the Theatines, supported by Gian Antonio Caracciolo, soon secured a firm footing. Gaetano, who was the Superior in Naples, although in other respects a gentle character, was inflexible in the observance of the strictest poverty, as he showed in his resistance to the Count of Oppido, who wished to press upon the Neapolitan house settled revenues. In order to escape from him Gaetano moved into the Hospital for Incurables. Afterwards he obtained a new house through the good offices of the devout Maria Laurenzia Longa, who was to become the foundress of the Capuchin nuns.[4]

[1] See BROMATO, I., 143 *seq.* There is nothing in the earliest rule in support of BENRATH'S statement (Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XV., 3rd ed., 41) that "the peculiar characteristic of the new Order" was that the members should devote themselves to detecting and encountering heretics.

[2] Acta Sanctor., Aug., II., 291 *seq.*

[3] See the letter to Fuscano in BROMATO, I., 234. The missing date (March 29, 1533) is in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697.

[4] *Cf.* *Annali della casa di Napoli in the General Archives of the Theatine Order; CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 8 and 10; Acta Sanctor., *loc. cit.*; BROMATO, I., 229 *seq.*; VOLPICELLA, Studi, Napoli, 1876, 214.

Gaetano was also quite as strict as Carafa in the reception of new members.[1] This and the requirement of complete poverty accounts for their numbers not having exceeded, after nine years, one-and-twenty persons.[2] Consequently the burden of work falling on the individual members became so heavy that Clement VII., in 1529, ordered other forms of prayer to be substituted for the daily office to relieve those who were already overcharged with the duties of study, visiting the sick, and the confessional.[3]

The system of scrupulous selection observed by the founders of the Order had thoroughly justified itself. The great success of the Theatines undoubtedly is to be attributed to no small extent to this characteristic, that here a small, carefully chosen circle of men, deeply schooled in obedience to the Church, formed, as it were, a *corps d'élite* with which Carafa won his victories. Thus the Theatine Order was not so much a seminary for priests, as at first might have been supposed, as a seminary for bishops who rendered weighty service to the cause of Catholic reform.[4] One of the chief causes of the failure attending the efforts of Adrian VI. was the want of a suitable organism to carry into effect the right measures; such an organism was found in the new Order.

In Rome Carafa had many opponents, especially among the worldly minded Cardinals.[5] It is to the credit of Clement VII. that he almost always was on the side of

[1] *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 115, 145 *seq.*, 224 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*

[2] Letter to Silvago in BROMATO, I., 236. The date (March 23, 1533), according to Cod. Barb., lat. 5697 (Vatican Library).

[3] BROMATO, I., 173; further facilities, 1533; see Bull., VI., 161.

[4] *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 111. A copious *collection of lives of Theatine bishops is preserved in their General Archives in Rome.

[5] See SANUTO, LV., 171; CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 10.

Carafa in his many encounters, and that he fostered the development of the Order by means of extensive privileges.[1] In the presence of the secularized character of the episcopate, Carafa held it to be of the greatest importance that his community should remain in direct dependence on the Holy See.[2] He knew no rest until this vital point was expressly settled by a Brief issued on the 7th of March 1533, which also contained yet other graces and privileges.[3]

Full of rejoicing and encouragement at the Pope's support the Theatines worked, as Carafa expressed it in writing, day and night.[4] Although often visited with illness[5] Carafa was indefatigable in hearing confessions and preaching; an ardent lover of souls, he sought out the erring, thinking the conversion of sinners the priest's first task.[6] It is astonishing how he also found time for other occupations as well. From the time when Clement VII., in 1529, had appointed him to bring order into the complicated situation of the Greeks in Venice[7] and to renew a better life in the eremitical settlements in Dalmatia,[8] his activity had gone on increasing; where the question of reform arose he was at once active. He endeavoured to influence the Pope through Giberti, and made representa-

[1] CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 10.

[2] See *Carafa's letter, March 1, 1533, in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697 (Vatican Library).

[3] Bull., VI., 161. *Cf.* *letter to Giberti, March 31, 1533, in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697 (Vatican Library).

[4] *Letter to the Theatines in Naples, dat. Venice, 1534, January 1, in Cod. Barb., *cit.*

[5] See *letters, September 15, 1530, and December 1, 1531, in Cod. Barb., *cit.*

[6] See a very beautiful *letter, August 25, 1530, in Cod. Barb., lat. 5697.

[7] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLIX., 93, and BROMATO, I., 170 *seq.* Materia belonging to this period in Cod. Vat., 9464 (Vatican Library).

[8] See CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 17; BROMATO, I., 172 *seq.*

tions to him with frankness and courage. In his correspondence he addressed himself not merely to members of religious orders[1] who had gone astray, but to bishops who neglected their duties. "Why do you not preach?" he wrote to one of them, "if you are not able to, you ought not to have taken the bishopric."[2] In Verona, again at the Pope's special request, he supported the work of Giberti. In Naples in 1530 his advice was of powerful aid to his sister in her reform of the Dominican convents.[3] In the same year Clement entrusted him with the process against the Lutheran Galateo and with the much-needed reform of the Franciscans of the province of Venice.[4] A more suitable choice seemed impossible, for Carafa was on excellent terms with the Venetian authorities and he praised the Republic as the seat of Italian freedom and the bulwark against the barbarians. In course of time he acquired in Venice a peculiar and important position. He intervened in the politico-ecclesiastical disputes between the Republic and the Pope; in this as in other instances it was to his advantage that the Signoria preferred the services of a man uninfluenced by private interest, who was more than a prelate merely in name and not absorbed in ecclesiastical affairs only, to those of the Nuncio.[5] Carafa's reputation in the highest circles stood so high that the ambitious Signoria, even in purely political affairs, such as the boundary disputes with Ferdinand I., made use of his

[1] See BROMATO, I., 202 *seq.* (according to Cod. Barb., lat. 5697, p. 44, this letter belongs to 1531, not to 1532).

[2] *Letter dated Venice, 1532, October 9; Cod. Barb., lat. 5697.

[3] BROMATO, I., 177 *seq.*, 184 *seq.*

[4] SANUTO, LIII., 212; BROMATO, I., 190 *seq.* Many *letters in Cod. Barb., *cit.*

[5] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 174. Carafa's letter to Contarini, dated Venice, 1533, October 17, printed in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V, 586, is characteristic of him as a strong censor of morals.

services[1] and asked him to draw up for them a memorial on the reform of ecclesiastical conditions. Even if his intention to punish heresy before all things[2] met with no response, his position in the Republic was none the less a most influential one.[3]

Carafa was not discouraged when his endeavours to meet heresy in Venice with severity fell through.[4] He now had recourse to Rome, for in October 1532, in an exhaustive memorial to the Pope, he drew a deplorable picture of the religious condition of Venice and with the greatest candour made far-reaching proposals for the removal of abuses.[5] Together with stringent measures against heretics Carafa called most emphatically for a thorough reform of the degenerate Venetian clergy; for he knew well that mere measures of repression would only touch the symptoms of the disease without being able to cut at its root.

Carafa laid down that the sources of heresy were threefold: bad preaching, bad books, and bad ways of living. What he had already for three or four years been calling the attention of his Holiness to, he once more exposed: a commission, consisting of the Patriarch, the bishops, and some men of approved piety, should be appointed to examine all clergy desirous of preaching and hearing confessions, with regard to their probity and manner of life, their vocation, and the Catholic faith. Those only who were found worthy should be allowed in future to exercise pastoral functions. Henceforth no exceptions should be

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 26, 33, 138. But Ferdinand refused Carafa as *sospetto*; *ibid.*, 266.

[2] CARACCIOLO, *Vita, II., 8; *cf.* BENRATH, Ref. in Venedig, 6.

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIII., 311, 568.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 239, 241.

[5] For this memorial, to which GOTHEIN (Ignatius, 175) rightly attaches much importance, see our remarks *supra*, p. 310 *seq.*

made to this rule. Carafa, without hesitation, gives a warning against these examinations being left in the hands of the generals of orders. He dismisses as absolutely unworthy of notice the fear that monks suspended from the pulpit and the confessional would become heretics, or that the number of qualified priests would be a small one; better that they should be few but good. How much depends on the preacher requires no illustration. Of still greater importance is the function of the confessor; what Carafa here reports of the abuses that had crept into this institution make his indignation intelligible. There were convents of Conventuals in which friars, who were not even priests, installed themselves in the confessionals in order to filch a couple of soldi. In consequence of the horrible scandals caused by such proceedings, the majority of the Venetian upper classes neglected their Easter confession. In this connection Carafa went on to speak of the monstrous abuse of the vagabond monks, against whom the strongest measures should be taken. The penitentiaries, greedy of fees, must be restrained from the heedless issue of dispensations to leave the cloister. A new Grand Penitentiary[1] having just been appointed, now was the exact moment to take steps, and monks who had become secularized should be deprived of all pastoral charges.

Carafa saw a further source of grave abuses in the decay of the episcopate. The great majority of the bishops neglecting the duty of residence, the office of chief shepherd had become an unreality. Ambition led the bishops from court to court, while they relegated their

[1] The aged Cardinal Grand Penitentiary L. Pucci (see Vol. VII. of this work, p. 83) had died in the autumn of 1531; see CIACONIUS, III., 338. For Pucci and the affairs of M. Bandello in the year 1526 see Giorn. d lett. Ital., XXXIV., 85 *seq.*

diocesan duties to degenerate monks who called themselves titular or suffragan bishops. These subordinates conferred orders in many instances for money on unworthy and incompetent men, even on boys of sixteen. Hence the contempt for the priesthood and the Holy Mass among the people. In the presence of such scandals, what reply could be made to the heretics who saw in them cause of exultation? So noisome is this state of things, exclaims Carafa, that every place reeks with its foulness. If, in spite of the excellent enactments of 1524, there are still to be found in Rome many who will without conscience bestow holy orders, what measure can one take of the state of things in Venice? All these unprincipled titular bishops should be deprived of ordaining faculties, but those already ordained must be thoroughly examined, and all who are unworthy be suspended.

Carafa ends by speaking once more of the incredible corruption of the religious orders, on whose condition the salvation or the ruin of mankind depends. That Carafa does not exaggerate in his description of the disorders here prevailing is proved by the contemporary reports of the Nunciatures. But deep as the wounds of the Church at large were, Carafa still saw the means of healing if only the Pope would make use of them. Two things, above all, were necessary: in the orders in which abuses prevailed, further decay must be arrested; a free hand must be given to the few good remaining by separating them from the bad. Thus only can a real reform be opened up, as even Eugenius IV. had perceived in his day, and as Spain and Portugal have attempted with good results in more recent times. Although every Order has need of a regeneration, yet this is especially the case with the Franciscans; therefore with them a beginning might be made, and that certainly at once in Venice.

CHAPTER XIII.

Gian Matteo Giberti.—The Somaschi and the Barnabites.

THE comprehensive reform of the secular and regular clergy as demanded by Carafa for Venice in his memorial of 1532, had already been begun since 1528 in the diocese of Verona by a member of the Oratory of the Divine Love. The man from whom, in this case, came the impetus towards improvement was one of Carafa's most sincere friends, and at the same time deep in the confidence of Clement VII., Gian Matteo Giberti.[1]

He was born at Palermo in 1495, the illegitimate son of a Genoese admiral, and while yet a youth of eighteen became a secretary to Cardinal Medici, greatly against his wish, for, being of a pious disposition and fond of retirement, he had longed to enter some religious order.

[1] *Cf.* the still valuable biography by P. Ballerini in J. M. Giberti, Opera (Veronae, 1733, and Hostiliae, 1740, together with the documents there collected), as well as Kerker, Kirchl. Reform., 13 *seq.*, and Dittrich, Kathol. Ref., 1 *seqq.* *Cf.* also Spotorno, Stor. lett. di Liguria, III., 112 *seq.*; Tucker in the Engl. Hist. Review, XVIII. (1903), 24 *seq.*, 266 *seq.*, 439 *seq.* Much fresh material was recently produced by G. B. Pighi, Gian Matteo Giberti, Verona, 1900, where in Appendix, III. *seqq.*, there is also a revised copy of Giberti's "Giustificazione" to the Venetian Government, a document of great importance for the history of his life. Papers not yet made use of referring to Giberti exist in the archives of the Missini-Giberti family at Orvieto; unfortunately they are not accessible.

He submitted, however, to his father's wishes.[1] As secretary to the Cardinal, Giberti showed such devotion to his work that he not only won the entire confidence of his master, but also the special favour of Leo X.[2] As time went on he was initiated into the most important political and ecclesiastical business. In the completion of the offensive alliance of the 8th of May 1521, between the Pope and the Emperor, he took a part of no small importance.[3] Notwithstanding his many political preoccupations, Giberti found time as well for his spiritual and mental development. He was in close relations with many of the humanists of Leonine Rome, who were glad to find a rallying-point in his house; one of his particular friends was Vida, who had also celebrated Giberti's ordination to the priesthood in a beautiful ode.[4]

After Leo X.'s death Giberti continued to be of the household of Cardinal Medici, who sent him on a mission to Henry VIII. and Charles V. On his return from Spain he came with Adrian VI. to Rome. Even then, although he looked young in years, he seemed to have the wisdom and virtue of the aged;[5] it therefore caused no surprise when Clement appointed him his Datary and at once made use of him as his first minister.[6] Giberti would have preferred the quiet fulfilment of his priestly duties to his novel position, which, although highly influential, was also an agitating one. But he did not possess

[1] See "Giustificazione," in PIGHI, VI.

[2] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 142.

[3] "Giustificazione," in PIGHI, VII.

[4] GIBERTI, Opera, V.; *cf. ibid.*, 332 *seq.*, other poems to Giberti. For his relations with M. A. Flaminio see CUCCOLI, 53 *seq.*, and Atti d. Ist. Veneto, LXV. (1905–1906), 208 *seq.*

[5] ORTIZ, 224.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 254.

enough determination to say "No" with firmness; his loyalty to his master turned the scale against himself. For the same reason, from having been in the highest degree friendly to the Emperor, he became one of the most ardent champions of the League of Cognac.[1] In these years of unresting political activity at Rome, as well as on foreign embassies, he displayed astonishing capacity for work; but the excessive strain sowed the seeds of great irritability. As Datary his conduct was irreproachable; in other respects also he gave evidence of a sterling character in close sympathy with the noblest personages of his time, among others with Vittoria Colonna.[2] The Pope was justified in placing full confidence in him.

In August 1524 Clement had already bestowed upon him, to his great reluctance,[3] the bishopric of Verona.[4] He would now gladly have broken with Rome, and devoted himself to the administration of his neglected see; but the Pope held back his trusted servant. Giberti from Rome did all he could to regenerate morally and intellectually the regular and secular clergy of Verona, a work in which Clement gave him ready support.[5] He

[1] *Cf* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 286 *seqq.* How Giberti apprehended his position comes out very clearly from the "Giustificazione" in PIGHI, VI. *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 180, and REUMONT, V. Colonna, 45, 84 *seq.* See also Lett. di V. Colonna to G. M. Giberti, ed. GIULIARI, Verona, 1868 (*Nozze-Publ.*); FERRERO-MÜLLER, Carteggio di V. Colonna, Torino, 1892, and P. D. PASOLINI, Tre lettere ined. di V. Colonna, Roma, 1901 (*Nozze-Publ.*).

[3] *Cf.* Lett. d. princ., II., 49[b].

[4] See *Acta Consist. of the Vice-Chancellor in Consistorial Archives. *Cf.* SANUTO, XXXVI., 522 *seq.*, 526 *seq.*, 584. For a poem then published, "Verona ad Clementem VII.," see GIORDANI, App. 7.

[5] *Cf.* Ballerini in GIBERTI, Opera, IX. *seq.*; PIGHI, 51 *seq.*; see also SANUTO, XLI., 82, 142, 289.

also took an active share in the efforts at reform during the opening years of this pontificate, as well as being the animating spirit of all that was good in Rome.[1] With Carafa he was on terms of closest intimacy, and rendered him most important services in connection with the founding of the Theatine Order.[2] His greatest delight was to pass his time in their pious circle and that of the Oratory of the Divine Love, regretting that there was so little of it to spare from the hard claims of his political engagements.

Notwithstanding his increasing distaste for political life,[3] Giberti persevered in his loyal devotion to the Pope; with him he passed through the calamitous years 1526 and 1527 in Rome, and shared the captivity in St. Angelo. Thence he went as a hostage to the Imperialist camp, where he was placed in chains and narrowly escaped execution.[4] During those terrible days the old unquenched longing for a life of tranquil occupation in sacred things revived with increased energy. He now reproached himself bitterly for not having listened earlier to the voice of God calling him to carry out his duties as a bishop resident amid his people. From his captivity, he begged Carafa, on the 15th of November 1527, to go to Verona in his stead and reform that diocese; at the same time he expressed the hope that his misfortunes might open a way for that which had so long been the object of his desire — to withdraw from political life and give himself up entirely to his ecclesiastical work. "Willingly will I carry these fetters," he added, "if they should become the occasion for freeing myself

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 378, 380, and KERKER, Kirchl. Ref., 11.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 407 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XLIII., 533.

[3] *Cf.* the letter in PIGHI, 40 and xxix.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 463.

from other bonds which I have found not less heavy to bear."[1]

Giberti succeeded in escaping from his persecutors, and at Orvieto informed the Pope of his resolve to withdraw to his diocese;[2] Clement tried in vain to keep him at his side. On the 7th of January 1528 he had already reached Venice. One of the first whom he visited was Carafa,[3] with whom he was in full agreement on the points of Church reform, the better preparation and closer examination of the clergy, and the radical restoration of discipline in the religious orders.[4] If Carafa had been formerly his counsellor in spiritual matters, so was he also now when the arduous work was about to begin of transforming a diocese given over to the secular spirit into an example of what a reformed bishopric should be.

What he did in this respect is best understood from a description of the state of things he had to encounter on entering his see. Many of the clergy were non-resident, leaving the cure of souls to hirelings who, for the most part, were persons of demoralized habits. The ignorance of many of them was so great that Giberti had to order the rubrics of the Missal to be translated into Italian for the sake of those who knew no Latin. Preaching in many places had been given up altogether. The confessional was treated with laxity, and the churches were so neglected that they looked like stables. There was a corresponding

[1] GIBERTI, Opera, 239–240. *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 166 *seq.*

[2] See *Salviati's letter to Castiglione of January 29, 1528, in Nunziat. di Francia I., 159 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 463.

[4] The great resemblance between the ideas of reform of these two men has been well brought forward by BENRATH in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, VI., 3rd ed., 657.

disorder in the lives of the people, who had sunk into the worst vices.[1]

Giberti entered on the difficult task of reform with great courage, but with even greater wisdom and calmness. First and foremost he relied on the influence of his personal example. In accordance with the bad custom of his times, even Giberti had gone further than was right in the accumulation of benefices;[2] now he resigned all those to which a cure of souls was attached. The incomes of the rest, which he conscientiously believed himself entitled to retain, he spent only on worthy objects.[3] But in other respects also he underwent a great change of character. The geniality, which no burdens of statecraft could destroy, disappeared, and he embraced the strict asceticism for which he became famous.[4] His day was divided between prayer and work, and his table was one of the most frugal. In the performance of his ecclesiastical functions he set the best example.[5] Unwearied in giving audience, he first gave access to the poor, then to country-folk, and lastly to the citizens of Verona. Naturally prone to impulsiveness, he listened with the utmost patience to everything brought before him; in deed and word he was at every man's disposal.[6]

[1] See GIBERTI, Opera, lxi. *seq.*, and KERKER, Kirchl. Reform., 14 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides Giorn. d. lett. Ital., VI., 273, and XLV., 68, Clement's *bestowal of graces in Regest. Vatic., 1244, f. 17; 1245, f. 4, 41; 1246, f. 69; 1247, f. 42[b]; 1248, f. 217; 1260, f. 106; 1263, f. 235; 1275, f. 245; 1283, f. 162[b]; 1291, f. 220; 1297, f. 4 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See GIBERTI, Opera, IX., and PIGHI, 65 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* FERRAJOLI in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLV., 68 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* SANUTO, XLVI., 604, and LV., 96.

[6] See GIBERTI, Opera, 304 *seq.*, 312 *seq.* In SANUTO, XLI., 289, Giberti is described as "colerico."

In his diocese he at once started on trenchant reforms in which he displayed the practical sense acquired during long years of experience of affairs. How much depended on the presence of a resident bishop was now made apparent. Formerly he had made attempts at reform through his representatives, but in an inadequate way; now, under his own eye, a different state of things was set in motion. In November 1528 it was already reported from Verona: "The priests in this diocese are marked men; all are examined; the unworthy or unsuitable suspended or removed from their offices; the gaols are full of concubinarii; sermons for the people are preached incessantly; study is encouraged; the bishop, by his life, sets the best example."[1]

In January 1529 Giberti undertook the visitation of his diocese.[2] He wished in this way to carry into practical effect his numerous ordinances, and devoted the closest attention to the visitation, which was partly conducted in person and partly by delegates.[3] With a small retinue he

[1] SANUTO, XLIX., 161.

[2] See PIGHI, 71, 99 *seq.* *Cf.* for the following, especially BALLERINI, De restituta per Gibertum ecclesiastica disciplina, and P. F. ZINI, Boni pastoris exemplum, in GIBERTI, Opera, lxi. *seq.*, 253 *seq.*, as well as the excellent accounts in KERKER, 15 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, 28 *seq.* The former describes the visitation of his diocese as the nerve of Giberti's episcopal administration. Giberti has laid down his principles in the famous "Constitutiones Gibertinae" (Opera, 1 *seq.*), which will be discussed in our next volume.

[3] In the Episcopal Archives of Verona the following volumes of *visitation deeds are still preserved: (1) Documents of the fifteenth century; (2) Visitatio dioc. Veron. facta per rev. d. vicar. Calist. Amadosi A. 1525 et 1527 sub rev. ep. J. M. Giberto (interesting illustrations of the moral degradation of the laity); (3) R. d. J. M. Giberti ep. visitatio ecclesiarum Veronae, 1529, 1530–1531, 1534, 1537; (4) Visitatio dom. Marcelli episc. commiss. et vicar., 1529; 5 and 6

went from village to village undeterred by any obstacle, so great was his holy zeal; on one occasion he was nearly drowned in a flooded stream. When he reached a parish he chose in preference the worst quarters for the night, and went into a minute examination of the conduct of the clergy, the condition of the churches, and the lives of the common people. In a volume specially set apart for this purpose he noted down the actual facts of each case. That his information might not be one-sided, he also heard laymen and gave them practical encouragement in their troubles. In order to bring long-standing enmities to an end, this man of refined culture did not shrink from seeking out the rudest peasants and exhorting them on his knees to be reconciled to one another. He had a wonderful way of combining gentleness with strength. In cases of gravity he was inexorable in using excommunication and public penances. With his clergy he was urgent in insisting on the exact observance of the duty of residence and the maintenance of irreproachable conduct.[1] Whoever failed in these respects was dismissed without regard to the patron, even if he were a bishop. At first Giberti refused to allow any female, not even a sister, to be the inmate of a priest's house; but at a later date he

were wanting in 1897 when I visited the Archives; (7) Visit. rev. d. episc. Veronen. inc. die 18 Aprilis 1532, usque ad diem 17 Aug. 1533 facta per rev. d. Philippum Stridonium deleg. a rev. d. Giberto; (8) Visitationes Veronen. dioc. a J. M. Giberto (begins thus: "In nomine dom. amen. A° 1541 die vero merc. 4 mensis Maii rev. J. M. Gibertus Dei et apost. sedis gratia episc. Veron. et ejusdem s. Sedis legatus post generalem visitationem civitatis factam intendens similiter visitare diocesim contulit se primo ad hospitale aurificum," etc.); (9) Visit. dioc. Veron. facta per J. M. Gibertum begins with May 30, 1541. Further documents for Giberti's time are not forthcoming.

[1] The edict of 1535 in GIBERTI, Opera, 234 *seq.*, shows how very difficult it was to put in force the duty of residence.

somewhat relaxed on this point, and permitted women of whose integrity he was personally convinced to act as housekeepers. In order to put a stop to the tenure of a plurality of benefices with cure of souls attached, he caused all dispensations, hitherto given in such cases by Rome, to be revoked. The execution of the visitation orders was to be carefully watched over by his *vicarii foranei*; in addition to which the parish priest or preacher was to send him reports.

In order to ensure a regular and continuous discharge of the cure of souls, Giberti took particular pains to restore the former dignity of the office of parish priest.[1] He therefore forbade stringently any encroachment on their rights by the religious orders, and insisted on parishioners attending on Sundays and festivals the parish priest's Mass, while the latter was not to be celebrated in the other churches. The erection of new chapels and the saying of Mass in private houses he tried to limit as much as possible.[2]

The worship of the parish church was to be conducted with the utmost possible solemnity and dignity; therefore the closest observance of the ritual and due reverence on the part of the celebrant were strictly enjoined. Giberti's exactitude in these respects is shown by his reprimanding such an apparently insignificant offence as a priest laying his biretta on the altar. But of greater importance to him than any externals were inward piety and purity of heart. He therefore enjoined on all priests weekly confession. He sought to ensure a faultless administration of the sacraments by numerous instructions, some of which went into minute details. The reservation of the Holy Eucharist in

[1] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 189, who rightly calls attention to this point.

[2] See GIBERTI, Opera, lxxvi. *seq.*

a locked tabernacle on the high altar, and the ringing of the bell at the elevation seem to have been introduced first by him.[1] He also sought to promote the adoration of the most Holy Sacrament by means of confraternities. He subjected confessors to the strictest discipline, and by the suspension of all who were unfit and by repeated examinations he cleansed their ranks inexorably. Here also he was not indifferent to externals; confessors were always to exercise their office wearing cotta and stole and seated as judges, not standing, as often happened when the penitents were persons of high station. It is not improbable that the confessionals of the shape now generally in use originated with Giberti.[2]

Parish priests were also exhorted to administer conscientiously the revenues of their churches, and to keep a watchful eye over the schools, hospitals, associations and confraternities, the poor, the widows and orphans; but especially he bade them lay to heart the need of a fruitful ministry of preaching. This was well timed in view of the danger of Lutheran teaching being introduced, against which Giberti had already issued a strong edict on the 10th of April 1530.[3] In every parish church throughout the year on Sundays and festivals the Gospel of Christ was to be preached to the people in "love and simplicity of heart, without superfluous quotations from poets or the discussion of theological subtleties." Without the permission of the bishop, preaching was not to be allowed, and preachers from without were enjoined to consult the parish priest as to the special requirements of the congregation. Giberti tried to secure the best preachers in Italy for

[1] See Zini in GIBERTI, Opera, 272; DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 34; *cf.*, however, PROBST in Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 2nd ed., 591.

[2] *Cf.* ZINI, *loc. cit.*, 273, and DITTRICH, 36.

[3] GIBERTI, Opera, 232 *seq.*

the cathedral and conventual churches of Verona. He often despatched them into country places where the priests were frequently not competent to preach; he also instituted instructions for children on Sunday afternoons. Even the peasants gathered round the church doors before the beginning of divine service were not forgotten by this zealous bishop; an acolyte was to be sent out to them to read aloud from some sacred book.

Together with the reform of the secular clergy went that of the Orders. There were certainly still some monasteries of excellent character, but in many others corruption had reached an unbearable pitch. Giberti entered on the campaign with spirit.[1] Clement VII. gave him special powers with regard to the exempt convents of men. All preachers and confessors were put under the same strict regulations as the secular clergy, and visited with the severest punishment in cases of moral delinquency.[2] With great vigour Giberti also set himself against the abuses connected with the system of indulgences, which for the most part was carried on by monks. Through his representations to the Holy See it was settled that in future no *quæstor* was to collect alms in the diocese of Verona without Giberti's permission, and all powers to the contrary, even if they originated with the Pope himself, were to be declared null.[3] In the autumn of 1528 Giberti had already begun the visitation of the convents of nuns. He often made his appearance at an entirely unexpected hour. He collected detailed information on all points. Some convents he closed; others he improved by the introduction of good elements; in all he took care, as a matter of

[1] *Cf.* PIGHI, 89 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*

[2] Examples in SANUTO, LVIII., 67, 70.

[3] "Constitutiones Giberti" in the Opera, 129 *seq.*; *cf.* KERKER, 20 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, 36 *seq.*

the first importance, to have good confessors.[1] In some convents of women where the corruption was deep-seated, and where rich and powerful relatives were mixed together, Giberti met with incredible difficulties.[2] He therefore in 1531 had his regulations for the reform of nunneries confirmed by the Doge. In these convents he even forbade the use of the organ and artistic choir singing. The severest precautionary rules were drawn up for the observance of the enclosure and the probation of novices. Here Giberti recurs to the principle of his old friends Gaetano and Carafa: better to have few and good, than many and useless.[3]

Still greater difficulties than those caused by refractory nuns awaited Giberti in his Cathedral Chapter. Here as elsewhere exemptions stood in the way of the execution of his enactments. On this account Clement VII. had already given him, in 1525, full jurisdiction over all exempts.[4] As the Canons proved stubborn, the Pope on the 26th of March 1527 removed by express order the Cathedral Chapter from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia, and placed them directly under that of the Holy See, naming Giberti, for life, *Legatus natus*[5] for the city and diocese of Verona. When Giberti, on the ground of this appointment, installed a provost in 1529, the Canons

[1] *Cf.* BIANCOLINI, Chiese di Verona, I., 120, III., 78, IV., 376; PIGHI, 93 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PIGHI, 95 *seq.*

[3] GIBERTI, Opera, 183 *seq.* The authentic copy of the "Constitutioni de le monache" is now in the Communal Library of Verona Cod. 1359. *Cf.* also SANUTO, LVIII., 148.

[4] Brief of May 23, 1525; GIBERTI, Opera, xi. *seq.*

[5] See GIBERTI, Opera, xii. On April 8, 1534, Giberti also received the *facultas absolvendi quoscunq. laicos et clericos a casibus reservatis except. cont. in bulla Coena Dom. Brev., 1534, vol. 54, n. 97, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

left the cathedral and held their choir services in S. Elena. Although Rome pronounced in the Bishop's favour, the Chapter kept up their resistance. Not until January 1530 was Carafa, as mediator, able to bring about an agreement to which Giberti, with great magnanimity, consented. Nevertheless, at a later date there were fresh misunderstandings with the Chapter.[1]

On other occasions also serious conflicts arose with the corrupt clergy as well as with the citizens;[2] Carafa, and on one occasion also Gaetano, had to intervene.[3] It went so far that Clement VII. thought that Giberti ought to give up his difficult post and return to Rome,[4] but he had no intention of doing so. He certainly obeyed the Pope's summons to come to him in 1529 and 1532,[5] but he went back to his diocese as soon as it was possible. Even the Cardinalate, in connection with which his name was so often mentioned, had no attraction for him.[6] Patiently and gently he worked at the reform of his clergy, always receiving steady support from Clement.[7]

[1] See GIBERTI, Opera, xvii. *seq.*; DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 25 *seq.*; PIGHI, 71 *seq.*, and in particular the special Notizie spett. al capitole di Verona, Roma, 1752 (composed from the most opposite points of view), and De privilegiis et exempt. capit. cath. Veron., Venetiis, 1753. The arrangement of 1530 in UGHELLI, V., 963 *seq.* See also SANUTO, LIV., 46, 63 *seq.*, 87, 121; LV., 24.

[2] *Cf.* SANUTO, LI., 113.

[3] See BROMATO, I., 177 *seq.*, 219.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 208.

[5] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 13 *seq.*

[6] See BERGENROTH, II., n. 358. *Cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 749, 751; SANUTO, XLVIII., 385, LVI., 91, 109, 302.

[7] Besides the examples already cited, reference may be made to the following Papal enactments belonging to this period. Min. brev., 1532, vol. 41, n. 130: *Zach. Zuccensi ord. praed. prof. Venetiis commor. (is to betake himself to Giberti at once), dat. March 19. Brev., 1533, vol. 53, n. 65: *Pio episcopo Veronen., dat. Bologna, March 3

Giberti never allowed his devoted efforts to relieve the physical and moral wretchedness of his people to relax. The social activity of the Bishop of Verona was an almost unique phenomenon in that age. It formed a beautiful complement to his activity as a Church reformer, although in that capacity he always kept his eyes steadily fixed on the broad ranks of the people. With fatherly love he provided for the accommodation of the sick, poor, and orphaned children, and opened Sunday schools for the lower classes. He founded in Verona a refuge for poor young women in way of temptation, and another for those who had fallen. A sign of the practical sense which was uppermost in all he did was his endeavour to find domestic service or husbands for those who, under such circumstances, had come back to a better life. At the same time he made regulations to check the prevalence of public immorality in the city.[1]

Giberti endeavoured to give an entirely new start to works of public benevolence by reforming the confraternities intended to carry out such purposes, but most

(against such regulars who wish to get out of the way of reform by obtaining Briefs from Rome). Brev., 1534, vol. 54, n. 12: *Episc. Veron. committitur, ut moneat rectores eccles. paroch. civit. et dioc. Veron. tam non residentes quam residentes, qui ad regendas eor. eccles. per seipsos idonei non sunt, ad providendum suis ecclesiis de idoneis capellanis per eum approbandis infra compet. termin., quo elapso ipse auct. apost. provideat et compet. portionem fructuum dict. eccles. eis assignet, dat. January 18. n. 95: *Episc. Veron. dispensatur, quod, quoties sacris lectionibus et aliis piis operibus fuerit occupatus, loco officii possit recitare orat. domin. decies et symbolum apost. semel etiam in suo cubiculo, dat. April 8 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* Ballerini in GIBERTI, Opera, xxi.; PIGHI, 99 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 191. See also BAGATTA, Storia degli Spedali in Verona, Verona, 1862.

of which had become disorganized. On the model of the Monte di Pietà at Verona he caused similar institutions to be set up by the country priests in their parishes. They were not to be used merely as pawnshops, but also as mutual loan societies which should prevent the peasantry from having recourse to Jewish usurers.[1]

In order to remedy the mendicancy which, in true Italian fashion, had become intolerable in Verona, he founded the Society of Charity, composed of clerical and lay members, and obtained for it from Clement VII. all the graces conferred on the "Societas Pauperum" in Rome. The new association, which met every month, was a sort of Society of St. Vincent de Paul for the material and moral elevation of the poor.[2] The members supplied the really deserving with money, provisions, and articles of clothing, procured medical attendance for the sick, furnished dowries for poor girls, dissolved concubinage, undertook legal proceedings for widows and orphans, and made peace between obstinate enemies. Francesco Zini is right in calling this "society of Christian love" the greatest and noblest of all Giberti's works, surpassing all the rest together in the way that charity surpasses all other virtues.[3] This most benevolent institution, which Giberti first of all raised with such care in Verona, was afterwards spread by him throughout the country. In every parish seven men were chosen to carry out, together with the priest, all works of Christian charity, and at the same time to act as a sort of moral police. The object of such an association, writes Francesco Zini, is "that no

[1] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, 192.

[2] *Cf.* KERKER, Kirchl. Ref., 18 *seq.*; and DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 45 *seq.*

[3] GIBERTI, Opera, 295.

man should offend God, no man suffer hunger, no man do injury to his neighbour, no man, above all things, commit sin, no man be deprived of the necessities of life; finally, that enmity and all hatred and anger should be taken away, so that we, as men once did in the first and happiest days of the Church, should all live with one heart and one soul in the fear and praise of God."[1]

Giberti, in the midst of his strenuous exertions, found his one recreation in the pursuit of knowledge and the society of learned men. Every leisure hour he devoted to study, especially of the Holy Scriptures in the original text and the commentaries of the Fathers; from the primitive sources he wished to become familiar with the discipline of the ancient Church, the ever-present ideal of his efforts at reform. To many of the humanists, scattered abroad by the tempest of the sack of Rome, his see of Verona became an asylum of hospitality. Under his patronage arose an association of men of learning and poets known as the Accademia Gibertina.[2] In the pleasant loggia of the episcopal palace, looking down on the Adige, this company met together within sight of one of the most beautiful of Italian landscapes. But even in this atmosphere Giberti did not forget the question of ecclesiastical reform. He tried to entice the poets from the profane to the religious muse, he urged the philologists to translate and comment on works of religion, notably the Greek Fathers. For this purpose he set up in his house a private printing press in which Greek types were specially prepared. The humanist Tullio Crispoldi, a member of the

[1] See Zini in GIBERTI, Opera, 295, 296.

[2] *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI (edit. Neapolit.), VII., 1, 117 *seq.*; KERKER, Kirchl. Ref., 26; GOTHEIN, 182; PIGHI, 126 *seq.*

Oratory of the Divine Love, prepared, at his instance, a small Catechism and a Manual for Preachers.[1]

The example thus set was not lost on other bishops. To confine oneself to the reign of Clement and his personal encouragement,[2] among the foremost may be named Cardinal Bernhard Cles in Trent, Cardinal Cornaro in Brescia, Pietro Lippomano in Bergamo, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in Mantua, Cardinal Ridolfi in Vicenza, Aleander in Brindisi, Vincenzo Carafa in Naples, Vida in Alba, Federigo Fregoso in Salerno and Gubbio, Girolamo Arsagi in Nice, Sadoleto at Carpentras, Ludovico Canossa at Bayeux, who were all followers of Giberti's reforming zeal.[3] Each of these prelates had a high sense of his official responsibility; some of their ordinances, for example the visitations conducted by Cardinal Gonzaga in his diocese, point unmistakably to the influence of the Bishop of Verona.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Ballerini in GIBERTI, Opera, xiv. *seq.*. xl., L. *seq.*; DITTRICH, 19, 31; PIGHI, 129; GIULIARI, Tipogr. Veron., Verona, 1871; FUMAGALLI, Lex. typ. Ital., Florence, 1905, 515.

[2] *Cf.* Brev., 1533, vol. 53, n. 170: *Pro F. Card. Cornelio eccl. Brix. admin. facultas per se vel alium visit., corrig. et reformandi ecclesias et personas tam saec. quam cujusvis ordin., dat. April 8. 1534, vol. 54, n. 67: *Nicol. Card. de Rodolphis episc. Vicent. conceditur quod non obstant. revalidat. privileg. regularibus civit. et dioc. Vincent. concessis possit uti priore facultate sibi concessa circa eor. visit. et correct., date March 8. n. 113: *Herculi Card. Mant. conceditur quod quamdiu praefuerit eccl. Mant. possit per se vel alios visitare omnes parroch. ecclesias civit. et suae dioc. Mant., dat. April 14. n. 123: Fuller powers for the reform of the parishes in his diocese, dat. April 22. n. 162: *Extension of these powers to chaplaincies also, dat. May 25 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] More details about the activity of the above-named persons in the next volume of this work in the proper context.

[4] The visitation documents of the diocese of Mantua, beginning from 1534, and found by me in the Episcopal Archives of Mantua, will be dealt with in the next volume of this work.

That this change in the character of the episcopate was due in great part to Carafa's untiring energy is substantiated by not a few witnesses,[1] and his influence was often direct.[2]

There was, at the same time, a slow but gradual revival of synodal life in Italy. Clement VII. while yet a Cardinal had organized a Provincial Council[3] at Florence in accordance with the regulations of the Lateran Council. Cardinal Farnese, supported by his excellent Vicar-General, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, after beginning in 1516 to lay the foundations of reform in his diocese of Parma by visitations, held in the same city in November 1519 a diocesan synod.[4] Rangoni, in 1522, did the same in Modena,[5] and in the autumn of 1534 Giberti was thus active in Verona. Synods held in Poland, Germany, France, and England[6] showed, under Clement VII., the same interest in Church reform. Amid the general confusion signs of fresh life were stirring at points of the Church's life the most remote from one another. That this reaction should have found its greatest impetus soonest and most decisively in Italy was due largely to Giberti. His example was a stimulus raising a zealous emulation in an increasing number of bishops; St. Charles Borromeo himself did not disdain to follow in the steps of Giberti, and the voice of the latter has been embodied in not a few of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Verona,

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 30, F. Perugino's characteristic *letter of October 17, 1532 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Thus on Aleander; see PAQUIER, 351 *seq.* For Aleander's altered attitude *cf.* CIAN in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 157 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our remarks in Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 411 *seq.*

[4] See SCHWEITZER in the Röm. Quartalschr., XX., 42.

[5] BERNABEI, Vita del Card. Morone, Modena, 1885, 4.

[6] *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 576 *seqq.*, 629 *seq.*, 856 *seq.*

although a see of small extent, became a source of superabundant blessing to the Church at large.[1]

The Catholic reformation set on foot by Giberti was eminently popular in character. It was not devised in a scholar's study, and thus did not primarily apply to the learned but to the great bulk of the middle and lower classes. Among the latter a point of contact was reached with an undercurrent of religion which, even in the worst days of the Italian Renaissance, had always been a living force.[2]

The distresses of the time—and this was a point of great importance for the carrying through of Catholic reform—played their own part in giving a stronger impetus to this movement. The horsemen of the Apocalypse, war, famine, and death, depicted at the close of the fifteenth century by Dürer as portents of things coming on the earth, made the circuit of Italy with their accompanying horrors. Like a hurricane let loose the furies of war harried the land, devastating dwellings and fields and driving men before them. The garden of Europe was changed at last into a field of slaughter covered with dead, and soon to become a hotbed of pestilence. The frightful events they saw, the sufferings they underwent, roused the population to a pitch of excitement which was not diminished by the constant predictions of hermits and solitaries.

An exceptionally deep impression was made by the crowning catastrophe of the sack of Rome, by which the leading members of the Oratory of the Divine Love were driven from the city to upper Italy, where a fresh sphere of fruitful activity was opened to them. The moral

[1] See DITTRICH, Kathol. Ref., 49 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our arguments, Vol. V. of this work, p. 9 *seqq.*, 89 *seqq.*, with which TUCKER agrees in the Engl. Hist. Review, XVIII., 268.

effect of this disaster was greater even than the material loss.

Throughout all Italy, and in all other countries of Europe as well, the sound of lamentation arose over the ruin of a city which, from century to century, had exercised a matchless witchery over the minds of men. Unheard-of atrocity and infamy, murder, violence, robbery, plunder, fire and sacrilege of the worst kind had visited Rome the eternal, and turned the scene of a brilliant civilization, the centre of the literary and artistic Renaissance, the seat of the supreme government of the Church, into a waste place over which hovered the breath of pestilence. As in the days of St. Jerome so now many a writer bewailed in prose and verse the downfall of the lordly city. In a letter to Sadoleto, Erasmus expressed himself in the words: "It is not the city, but the world that has gone to ruin."[1] Here spoke the humanist. The sack marked, in fact, the end of the Renaissance, the end of the Rome of Julius II. and Leo X.

A world had disappeared, a new one had to arise in its place. The connection between the Papacy and the Renaissance on its pagan side was doomed to be dissolved in time, and the catastrophe which brought their union to such a pitiful end introduced the subsequent great sobering of human society and prepared the way for the Catholic reformation. This terrible event became one of the great landmarks not merely of literary and artistic but also of religious history. Generally, among heretical Germans as well as orthodox Spaniards and easy-living Italians, the horrors of the sack of Rome were looked upon as a just judgment of God on the deep depravity of the chief city of Christendom, a frightful retribution for the evil example given to the world

[1] Opera, epist., 988

by many prelates and not a few Popes during the age of the Renaissance. In Italy this was the view taken not merely by the educated,[1] but by the masses of the people.[2]

The knowledge that God had punished with fire and sword the iniquity that cried to heaven from the Eternal City[3] brought many to examine their own hearts. Even so ardent a disciple of the culture of the Renaissance as Pierio Valeriano had now to admit that they had had no firm principles of life to offer, and that a revolution in morals had become a necessity.[4] In the school of suffering men were beginning to learn better and purer things. As once amid the storms which accompanied the downfall of the Roman Empire, so now many men of noble birth took

[1] *Cf.* G. Negri in SADOLETI, Epist., I., Romae, 1760, 189 *seq.*; VETTORI, 380 *seq.*; PICCOLOMINI, Tizio, 113, n. 2; *L. Canossa's letter to Francis I., dated Venice, 1527, May 16, in the Communal Library, Verona; CAJETANUS, Exposit. evang. S. Matth., c. 5, as well as the famous Dos diálogos escritos por Juan de Valdés (ed. LUIS USÓZ Y RIO in Reformist. ant. Español., IV., Madrid, 1850). For J. Valdés *cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Ref., 268 *seq.*, 406; BAUMGARTEN, II., 632 *seq.*, and PFÜLF in Freib. Kirchenlexikon, XII., 2nd ed., 536 *seq.* To the special literature here mentioned must be added HOMENAJE Á MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, I., Madrid, 1899, 396 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LANCELLOTTI, III., 263, 304, and the *Diary of CORNELIUS DE FINE in the National Library, Paris.

[3] A vivid picture of the immorality of the Rome of Leo X. is given in the "Propalladia" (Libros de antaño, IX., Madrid, 1880; *cf.* SCHACK, Dramatische Literatur in Spanien, I., 181), and for the days of Clement VII. the "Lozana Andaluza" (written before the sack in 1524) of F. Delicato in the Libros esp. rar. e curios, I., Madrid, 1871, and Paris, 1888; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIII., 316 *seq.* See also our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 171 *seqq.*, as well as ADEMOLLO, Teatri di Roma, 3; LUZIO, Pronostico, 47 *seq.*, 61, and Giorn. ligust., 1890, 195 *seq.*

[4] See GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 96.

refuge in solitude and penance.[1] All the better elements in the Church recognized the guilt in which all more or less were implicated. This self-knowledge was bound by degrees to bring on a reaction. No less a person than Sadoleto saw therefore, with prophetic vision, in the misery of the present the gleams of a new dawn, the coming purification of the souls of men. "If," he wrote to the Pope, "the wrath and might of God have been satisfied by our calamities, if this fearful punishment should open a way once more for a better morality and better laws, then perhaps our misfortune has not been the greatest that could befall us. What is God's own, God can take care of; but we have before us a life of renewal that no power of the sword can wrest from us; only let us so direct our acts and thoughts as to seek the true glory of the priesthood, and our own true greatness and strength in God."[2]

Clement VII. and many Cardinals and prelates with him had indeed, in their hour of calamity, entered into their own hearts.[3] But the former, a Medici to the core, was brought back only too soon into the labyrinth of politics; many prelates also led lives as before, but an entire restoration of the previous state of things was

[1] The *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo dwells on the number of solitaries who appeared after the sack, when so many persons fled from the world (General Archives of the Capuchin Order in Rome).

[2] Letter, dated Carpentras, 1527, September 1, printed in Anecd. litt., IV., 335. The original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, XLV., 42.

[3] In the remarkable account of the sack by Francesco Pesaro, he describes minutely the religious life led by the besieged in St. Angelo: "El Papa celebrava spesso ecc.—et in vero, ancora che fusseno molta zente in castello, pareva però che fusse una religione." SANUTO, XLVI., 132.

impossible. With Clement's successor came the immediate perception of the task imposed on the Papacy for a century to come by the apostasy of the North. The speech delivered by Bishop Stafileo on the reassembling of the Rota on the 15th of May 1528 is a remarkable proof of the serious change in many members of the Curia as well. After a description of all that Rome had undergone through plunder, pestilence, and famine, the Bishop put the question why the capital of the world had been so sorely visited. He answered with a frank confession of sin recalling that of Adrian VI.: "Because all flesh has become corrupt, because we are not citizens of the holy city of Rome, but of Babylon, the city of corruption." Stafileo did not shrink from applying to Rome the apocalyptic image of the woman of Babylon. From the terrible catastrophe whereby the Lord had driven the buyers and sellers from His temple he drew for himself and his colleagues the lesson that they should now amend themselves and administer justice incorruptibly. "We have all sinned grievously," he exclaimed; "let us reform, turn to the Lord, and He will have pity upon us."[1]

The sack had, like a storm, cleared the air of Rome and left ineffaceable traces behind. The city had suffered too much ever again to become the brilliant, deeply corrupt Rome of Leo X.[2] The indiscriminate enthusiasm for classical antiquity, the life of splendour and festivity with its moral decay, which the great masters of art with difficulty concealed, all the joyous spirit of the Renaissance, had gone for ever. The feast of Pasquino, once neglected but restored in 1525, became a failure;[3] the frolics of the Carnival fell

[1] "Oratio ad Rotae auditores hab. per rev. episc. Staphyleum," in SCHARDIUS, Script., II., 613 *seq.*

[2] BUCKHARDT, Kultur, I., 7th ed., 134 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* LUZIO in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 99; *cf.* XXXIII., 43 *seq.*

flat.[1] Instead of the half-pagan masquerades on feast-days religious processions were now seen in the streets, and the voices of preachers of penance had more attraction for the Romans than the compositions of poets and musicians.[2]

The destruction had, indeed, been so great,[3] so much that was good had been swept away with the bad, that Rome at first was but a barren field for such religious efforts. The Oratory of the Divine Love, indeed, renewed its life,[4] but Carafa's attempt to bring about a fresh settlement of the Theatines did not succeed.[5]

The horrors of war were not confined to the Papal States. Lombardy in particular suffered hardly less, on the whole, than Rome; war, hunger, plague, and the Spanish methods of extortion drove the inhabitants to despair.[6] The

[1] See SANUTO, LIV., 303. The old carnival festivities were not renewed until 1536; see *letter of F. Peregrino of February 18, 1536, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] The Imperialists were much displeased at the preachers constantly calling to remembrance the horrors of the sack; see GAYANGOS, III., 2, 943.

[3] G. Casale wrote on May 23, 1528, from Orvieto: "50 miglia di quà da Roma non solamente non vi è vittuaglia, ma non vi è grano di biave seminate nè cosa del mondo; similmente 30 et 40 miglia di là da Roma." MOLINI, II., 21. *Cf.* the report of September 1528, *ibid.*, 87.

[4] BENRATH (Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XIV., 3rd ed., 424) is mistaken in supposing that the Oratory had not survived the storm of the sack. From a *letter of Carafa, dat. Venice, 1533, March 1 (Cod. Barb., lat. 5697, f. 45^{b}, Vatican Library), it seems rather that existence of the Oratory in that year is proved.

[5] See Carafa's **letter to Giambattista Silvago the Genoese of May 23, 1533, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Kultur, II., 7th ed., 211, who refers to G. Capella and Burigozzo. See also the Ambassador's report in State Papers VII.: King Henry the Eighth, V., 226.

most productive portions of the country resembled a desert infested by prowling wolves; by 1528 the famine was so great that the peasants looked on the flesh of dogs, cats, and mice as dainties. These half-famished wretches fled to Venice in such numbers that there also there was a heavy rise in prices. Among those who were foremost in their heroic efforts of charity to aid the prevailing misery, the Venetian noble Girolamo Miani was conspicuous.[1]

Born in 1481, Miani had devoted himself to military service and had lived entirely for the world. In the war of the Republic with Maximilian I. he was taken prisoner, but had a wonderful deliverance and in consequence became converted. By penitential exercises and works of charity he sought to atone for his former life; his favourite prayer was, "Most sweet Jesus, be not my judge but my redeemer." In 1518 he entered the priesthood and thenceforward lived only for good works, closely attached to Carafa and directed by him. His labours in the famine and plague year of 1528 aroused the admiration of all; he sold the whole of the furniture of his house to help the needy; at night he buried the dead, their bodies, on account of the great mortality, often being left lying on the streets. An attack of typhus, contracted during his self-sacrificing work, raised him to still higher stages of perfection. On his recovery he renounced, in February 1531, all his means of living in order to devote himself as a mendicant to the service of the poor. He was specially moved to compassion by the troops of orphan children wandering about

[1] Miani's life has been written by Sc. Albanus, Andrea Stella, and Aug. Turtura; see Acta Sanctorum, Febr., II., 217 *seq.* *Cf.* also C. DE ROSSI-BORGOGNO, Vita di S. G. Miani, Roma, 1867; HUBERT, Der hl. H. Emiliani, Mainz, 1895, and Notizie stor. s. vita di S. G. Miani, Sondrio, 1896.

in utter destitution. He collected them in a house near San Rocco, where they were simply provided for, received religious instruction, and were trained in some handicraft, a point which he thought of great importance. In order that the children might not in tender years become accustomed to ways of idleness and beggary, he repeated to them constantly, "The man who will not work, shall not eat." The Venetian Government supported his philanthropic efforts, in which Miani was helped by a settler from Vicenza.[1]

Orphanages were also founded on the same footing by Miani in Brescia and Bergamo; in the latter town he also instituted a house of refuge for the fallen. He soon included in his programme instruction for the country people, and gathered round him a number of excellent priests and also devout laymen. Thus a religious association was formed occupied in the first instance with the management of the orphan asylums founded by Miani, but with the special care besides of other victims of misfortune, the sick, the poor, the ignorant. From their place of meeting, the lonely village of Somasca, near Bergamo, the members got their name of Somaschi.

Miani had always followed Carafa as his spiritual guide; if the latter declined the honour of being at the head of this new association of Clerks Regular, he was yet their intellectual founder.[2] So impartially did the founder of the Theatines watch the growth of the community of Somasca that he never attempted to win over Miani to his own congregation. As soon as he recognized Miani's special characteristics he handed over to him even the orphan schools hitherto conducted

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, LIV., 419.

[2] Opinion of GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 194. *Cf.* BROMATO, I., 169 *seq.*

by the Theatines in the Hospital for Incurables in Venice.[1]

It was also due to Carafa that Miani extended his work into the Milanese territory.[2] For the mitigation of bodily and spiritual suffering hardly any field was more suitable at that time than that district, ravaged as it had been by unspeakable inroads of war, hunger, and plague. In Milan, as in Venice, many were converted by the troubles of the time. What had seldom happened before, the sons of distinguished families now gave up riches and honours in order to follow Christ as His poor.[3] Preachers called on the people to repent; among them one especially distinguished himself, the Spanish Dominican, Tommaso Nieto. In the year 1529 he introduced a solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament, when the Host was carried in a sort of ark borne by four priests.[4]

More hidden and more permanent work in Milan was carried out by Antonio Maria Zaccaria,[5] a nobleman of

[1] BROMATO, I., 199.

[2] See Acta Sanctor., Febr., II., 251.

[3] In Venice in the one year 1531 four sons of the most distinguished families were Friars; see SANUTO, LIV., 600. In Milan the conversion of J. A. Morigia presents a typical instance; see *Vita del v. Morigia in the General Archives of the Barnabite Order in Rome (Y, a 3). Cornelius de Fine, in the entries in his *diary for 1525, speaks very remarkably of the rarity of entrances into the cloister.

[4] *Cf.* BURIGOZZO, 485 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*, 498.

[5] Besides the writers of the Order, Bascapé, Tornielli, Barelli, and Gabuzio, *cf.* especially A. M. TEPPA, Vita del v. A. M. Zaccaria, Moncalieri, 1853 (6th ed., Milano, 1897), a work which, although the author unfortunately gives no quotations, is based throughout on the rich *collection of materials for Zaccaria's life preserved in the General Archives of the Barnabite Order in Rome and kindly placed at my disposal. A series of passages, tested off-hand, convinced me how

Cremona, whose character strongly resembled that of Gaetano di Tiene.

Zaccaria, who was born in 1502 and was at first a doctor, turned in his twenty-sixth year to the study of theology, and after his ordination as priest he displayed an eager pastoral activity in his native city. At the end of 1530, at the wish of the pious Countess Lodovica Torelli of Guastalla,[1] he went to Milan. There, in the Confraternity of the Eternal Compassion, he made friends with kindred souls in Bartolommeo Ferrari and Jacopo Antonio Morigia, who had already become famous for conspicuous works of charity. These good men believed that the best way of checking the misery and immorality caused by the war was to form a society of Clerks Regular primarily devoted to the instruction of the young and the cure of souls. After the adhesion of two other Milanese, Jacopo de' Casei and Francesco Lecchi, Clement VII., in a Brief drawn up at Bologna on the 18th of February 1533, gave permission to Bartolommeo Ferrari and to Antonio Maria Zaccaria to live in community with three other associates in accordance with special statutes, under a superior, but subject to the jurisdiction of their Ordinary, to receive new members, and make their vows before the Archbishop of Milan.[2] The new community took possession in autumn 1533 of a small house near S. Caterina, not far from the Porta Ticinese of Milan.

carefully the author had done his work. On Teppa (of whom a German edition appeared at Fulda in 1900) is also based the Vita de S. A. M. Zaccaria, Firenze, 1897, by F. A. MOLTEDO.

[1] *Cf.* for L. Torrelli and her conversion, AFFÒ, Storia di Guastalla, II., 160, 180 *seq.*

[2] Bull., VI., 160 *seq.*, and Litt. et constit. s. pontif. pro congr. cleric. S. Pauli. Apost., Romae, 1853, 3 *seqq.*

This they soon enlarged with the permission of the Duke of Milan.[1]

The constitutions, as drawn up by Zaccaria, who was chosen Superior, have many points of resemblance with those of the Theatines.[2] The manner of living of these "sons of St. Paul," as they called themselves in their deep veneration for the Apostle of the Gentiles—a name long afterwards changed to that of "Barnabites," from the seat of the community in the ancient Milanese monastery of St. Barnabas—closely resembled that led by the members of the foundation of Gaetano and Carafa. In the foreground they placed a life of mortification, an eager care for souls, and the visiting of the sick. The chronicler Burigozzo relates the astonishment caused by these priests, who went about their duties in threadbare garments and round biretta, their heads bent and, in spite of their youth, an air of earnestness about them all.[3] Zaccaria instructed his sons to influence especially priests and parents; only in this way could the coming generation be improved. He therefore very soon opened his house to priests desirous of making spiritual exercises and founded a confraternity of married people. The Barnabites differed from the Theatines in seeking publicity. They took pains to stir the feelings of the ruder sort of people by open-air missions and public exercises of penance; they were to be seen, crucifix in hand, preaching in the most crowded thoroughfares; some

[1] *The original of the ducal decree of October 27, 1533, permitting Zaccaria and Ferrari to buy landed property up to the amount of 600 gold ducats, is in the General Archives of the Barnabite Order in Rome, Z, f. 2.

[2] The original of the statutes is to be found in the General Archives of the Barnabite Order, Rome. As to the period when they were drawn up, see Teppa, 72 *seq.*

[3] BURIGOZZO, 522.

carried heavy crosses, others confessed their sins aloud. Complaints were made that they were disturbers of the peace, but as Zaccaria in his full trust in God had foretold, they came through this first persecution completely justified. This community, though slow in growth,[1] became a powerful instrument of which St. Charles Borromeo made use in reforming his diocese.

[1] *Cf.* the *Registro dell' atti di professione, beginning in 1534, in General Archives of Barnabite Order, Rome.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reform of the Older Orders.—The Capuchins.

While the new foundations of the Theatines, Somaschi, and Barnabites were rising into existence, the older orders also were awakening to the necessity of reform. In their case also the movement started from small and obscure circles. In order to withdraw themselves from the spirit of the world, which was now too generally prevalent, the better spirits in the older orders sought out a life of solitude. Paolo Giustiniani of the Camaldolese had already introduced in this way improvements in the Order under Leo X., for he had erected [1] at Pascelupo in the Apennines and Massaccio in the province of Ancona, hermitages of Camaldolese under very strict regulations. Each member lived by himself in a small separate hut, and together with a strict observance of the vows, Giustiniani attached a high importance to complete seclusion. In one of his letters he extols this manner of life, far apart from the movement of the world in a sublime isolation, as the best way to attain the peace of the soul and spiritual perfection.[2] Like Adrian VI., Clement VII. also gave encouragement to this congregation of Camaldolese hermits. Giustiniani's (d. 1528)

[1] *Cf.* Fiori, Vita del b. P. Giustiniani, Roma, 1724; Bromato, I., 90; Heimbucher, I., 206; Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, XII., 64 *seq.*

[2] See the letter to Carafa in Bromato, I., 136 *seq.*

second successor, the recluse Giustiniani of Bergamo, made Monte Corona at Umbertide in the upper valley of the Tiber the headquarters of the foundation, which has given the whole congregation its name. The industry of these hermits changed the inhospitable slopes of the mountain into one of the most picturesque settlements of recluses in the world. Here also Clement VII. gave his support by graces and privileges, and confirmed the statutes.[1]

Among the Augustinian hermits the learned General, Egidio Canisio, also pursued under Leo X. the reforming activities[2] on which he had previously entered,[3] while the congregation of Benedictines of Monte Cassino settled at S. Justina in Padua were led in the same direction by the classical scholar, Gregorio Cortese.[4]

Serious efforts at reform had also already been made by the Franciscan Observants under Leo X. Their excellent General, Francesco Lichetto, in 1517 advised those of stricter aspirations to follow the Spanish example and make use of the houses of so-called Recollects, that is, convents to which they might voluntarily repair in order without disturbance there to carry out as strictly as possible the rules of the Order, and to devote themselves especially to penitential exercises and continual meditation. The oldest houses of this kind, Fonte Colombo and Grecio, lay in the valley of Rieti, hallowed by the

[1] Bull., VI., 117–119; HELYOT, VII., 313. In Monte Corona also, since the expulsion of the Orders, the former aspect of the spot has been altered to its disadvantage. The beautiful woods of great antiquity have been cut down, a crowning act of destruction.

[2] See the *letter of Egidio Canisio, dat. Rome, 1515, July 8, in Cod. 1001, f. 298b, in the Angelica Library, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Beiträge zur Kirchengesch., 65 *seq.*

[4] See GREG. CORTESII, Opera, I., Patavii, 1724, 19 *seqq.*; for Cortese *cf.* DITTRICH in Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, III., 2nd ed., 1135 *seqq.*, and GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 110 *seq.*

sojourn of St. Francis himself. The inmates were called Brothers of the Stricter Observance, and later, Riformati.[1] They found, however, more resistance than encouragement from the cismontane commissary-general Ilarione Sacchetti, who was a strong upholder of the unity of the Order. On the other hand, the earnest Spanish reformer,[2] Quiñones, chosen General in 1523, was a great friend of the Brothers of the Stricter Observance, to whom he at once gave a strict rule in Spain, and assigned five houses of Recollects.[3] When Quiñones came to Italy in 1525 he supported these special reforms,[4] as well as all others in the Order. Two high-minded fellow-countrymen, Martino di Guzman and Stefano Molina,[5] could congratulate themselves on his special favour. He appointed them to plant the new institution of the Stricter Observance—afterwards known as that of the Riformati—in the Roman province. These Riformati led an exceptionally hard life. Only on two days of the week did they eat cooked food; for the rest they were satisfied with bread, fruit, and vegetables; their bed was either the bare ground or a board, and the day began and ended with prolonged meditation; at night there was prayer in common. Had Quiñones remained longer at the head of the Observants this institution would certainly at that time have risen to

[1] DOM. DE GUBERNATIS, Orbis Seraph., III., 1, 263; *cf.* MORONI, XXVI., 154; BENEDETTO SPILA, I santi luoghi della Palestina e la Francescana Riforma, Napoli, 1892, 26.

[2] *Cf.* WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 188 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 167 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Croniche dei frati minori, III., 302; GONZAGA, De orig. seraph. relig., Venet., 1603, I., 56, II., 110; DOM. DE GUBERNATIS, Orbis Seraph., III., 1, 262 *seq.*; B. SPILA, I santi luoghi, 28.

[5] WADDING, XXI., 220 *seq.*; SIGISMUNDO DA VENEZIA, Biografia Serafica, Venezia, 1846, and the Chronicle of the Roman Province, I., 282, 293.

great importance, for, especially in the years of terror after the sack of Rome, the number of those Observants who were working for the most exact possible compliance with the rule,[1] increased greatly. Unfortunately the new General, Paolo Pisotti, was an opponent of this and every other tendency to strict observance.[2]

At this critical moment Clement VII., on the advice of Carafa, took up the cause of the Riformati. In a Bull of the 14th of November 1532 he ordered the General and Provincials of the Observants to abstain from molesting in any way the Riformati, but rather to give them every assistance and to reserve for them an adequate number of convents. The Riformati were now privileged to receive novices, and to choose for themselves a Guardian in each province. But their dress and hood were not to differ from those of other Observants, and they were to be subject to visitation from the Provincial.[3]

Although the Pope thus showed his favour towards the new institution, it did not at first make much way in Italy. All the more remarkable was another reform which grew up among the Italian Franciscan Observants. This was begun by Matteo da Bascio (born about 1495, died 1552), a native of the hill-country of Umbria. Nowhere else in Italy did the mystic and yet popular spirit of St. Francis survive with such vitality as among the poor, contented, believing, and brave-spirited populations dwelling in the remote valleys and gorges of this picturesque district, which, in a wider sense, included also the territory beyond

[1] *Cf.* *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo in the General Archives of the Capuchins in Rome.

[2] *Cf.* WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 303, and *Cronica del. P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I., in the General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome.

[3] Bull. Rom., VI., 155 *seqq.*; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 328; BOVERIUS, I., 988 *seqq.*; BROMATO, I., 219.

the Apennines. Here, on a hill not far from Pennabilli, lay the market town of Bascio,[1] politically under the Dukes of Urbino and ecclesiastically within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Montefeltro.

The earliest accounts of Matteo's youth as well as of his later years already bear a legendary character; it is no longer possible to examine their statements, but the historical residuum may be given as follows:—At an early age, about his seventeenth year, as alleged, Matteo entered the Order of Franciscan Observants at Montefalcone in the March of Ancona. Here he was conspicuous for piety and his strong grasp of his vocation. On his entry into the Order he brought with him little education,[2] nor did he afterwards make much progress beyond what was necessary for the immediate tasks of his calling. Perhaps it was exactly on this account that the homely sermons of the simple peasant's son won the hearts of the poor folk dwelling among the hills. Matteo became known to a wider circle by the spirit of self-devotion displayed by him in 1523, when Camerino was visited by the plague.[3]

[1] See AMATI, Dizionario geograf. d' Italia, I., 640. "Matteo de Grassis" in GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 107, is an error.

[2] Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, here certainly an unimpeachable witness, says: "Nell' età tenera frequentò alcuni mesi la schuola e imparò un pogo di grammatica positiva, ma perchè suo padre faceva il contadino, non puote il buon fanciullo sequitar le lettere, gli restò nondimeno non so che de buona creanza, e perchè sapeva leggere, se diede con molta devotione a legger libri spirituali." *Cronica, I., General Archives of the Capuchin Order, Rome; *cf.* the remarks in Appendix, No. 4, on the earliest sources for the history of the Capuchins.

[3] SANTONI (I primordii del Cappuccini, 8), on the authority of LILII (Hist. di Camerino, II., 301), places the epidemic in 1524; but the *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo (General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome) states repeatedly 1523. Perugino in 1524 was carried off by the plague.

Voluntarily he left his convent at Montefalcone and hastened to the above-named town, where he shrank from no peril of death in order to succour the sick and dying. This self-denying activity of Matteo drew at once the attention of the Duke of Camerino, Giovan Maria Varano, and his wife Caterina Cibo to the humble Franciscan.[1]

Caterina Cibo belonged, like Vittoria Colonna,[2] to that class of women of the Italian Renaissance who combined wide cultivation with deep piety and a great purity of life.[3] She knew Latin and Greek, and also took lessons in Hebrew in order to read the Old Testament in the original. As a niece of Leo X. and Clement VII. she often visited Rome, where she came into contact with the men of letters living there.[4] She was interested in an exceptional degree in religious matters, and especially in the reform of the clergy in her husband's duchy.[5] Herself a rough and almost virile character, she must have been attracted by Matteo's strong qualities.

After the plague had ceased at Camerino, Matteo returned to his seclusion at Montefalcone; while there he often withdrew into the woodland solitudes so beloved

[1] *Bernardino da Colpetrazzo testifies to this expressly, and adds that Matteo among others had attended to two noblemen of the Duchess's court.

[2] On V. Colonna, who at the end of 1525 retired into the convent of S. Silvestro in Capite in Rome, more will be said in the next volume.

[3] "Donna di santissimi costumi" is VARCHI'S (I., 173) expression; *cf.* also FELICIANGELI (p. 140) in the work mentioned in the next note. For Blessed Battista da Varano (died 1526, May 31) of the Order of Poor Clares, see Miscell. Francesc., I., 161 *seqq.*; *cf.* IV., 18 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* REUMONT, Beiträge, IV., 205 *seq.*, and V. Colonna, 132 *seq.*, 269, as well as FELICIANGELI, Notizie e docum. sulla vita di Cat. Cibo-Varano, duchessa di Camerino, Camerino, 1891. Caterina became a widow in 1527.

[5] FONTANA, Docum., 129.

of St. Francis. The life of his brethren seemed to him to correspond less and less to the original severity of the Order. He seemed to hear the voice of the seraphic Patriarch calling to him in threatening tones, "I wish my rule to be observed, to the letter, to the letter, to the letter." Deeper and deeper grew Matteo's resolve to live entirely according to the holy rule in the utmost possible solitude and in strictest poverty. While such thoughts were working in his inmost soul he learned by accident from a pious countryman that his dress was not in keeping with that of the founder of the Order, who had worn a habit of the coarsest sort on which was sewn not a round but a four-cornered pointed hood.[1] After receiving this information Matteo did not rest until he had procured for himself this new habit. All his fervour for the strict observance of the rule was now concentrated on this one point; wearing his new hood, he started without leave on the road to Rome in the Jubilee year 1525.[2] He had to endure much on this journey on account of his unusual attire. Nevertheless, he reached Rome safely and made his way into the presence of Clement himself. He made his petition that he might retain his new habit, live as a

[1] The controversy over the real habit of St. Francis and the correlated question as to the true and uninterrupted succession of his sons was carried on in the seventeenth century with such violence between Franciscans and Capuchins that the Congregation of the Index and Rites repeatedly had to intervene; see REUSCH, Index, II., 260; *cf.* also GAUDENTIUS, 276 *seq.* That the Capuchins were genuine and undoubted sons of St. Francis was declared by Paul V. and Urban VIII.; see Bull. Capuc., I., 57 and 77 *seqq.*

[2] SANTONI, 61, has taken up the earlier opinion which places the origin of the Capuchins in 1524. This view became authoritative in 1624, on the occasion of the centenary celebrations. The *Cronica of P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, however, repeatedly gives 1525 in agreement with Joh. de Terranova (*cf.* Appendix, No. 4).

solitary according to the rule of St. Francis, and preach the Word of God. Clement VII.—so it is related—gave his consent, but imposed the condition that Matteo should annually declare his adhesion to the Observant Order by presenting himself before the Provincial Chapter.[1]

When Matteo, in April 1525, obeyed this injunction, but could produce no written authorization from the Pope for his new manner of life and garb, the Provincial of the March of Ancona, Giovanni da Fano, who was as energetic as he was learned, ordered the too simple-minded brother to be incarcerated as a runaway and contumacious. Giovanni could appeal to the authority of John XXII., who had already forbidden the introduction of a new hood, while Leo X. and Clement VII. had forbidden any absence without leave from the society of the Order.[2]

[1] Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, *Cronica, relates that Matteo had said to the Pope: "Sappiate, P. S^to^, che a questi tempi nostri non s' osserva universalmente la regola, e io desidero de osservarla ad lettera, e per questo humilmente vi prego, che me concedete de portar quest' abito e osservar la regola ad lettera, e perchè i nostri padri non vorrebbono che tra di loro quest' habito si portasse, vi prego che vi piaccia de concederme ch' io possa andare per il mondo predicando i commandimenti di Dio e più con l' esempio che con le parole secondo la mia semplicità esortar ogn' uno alla via di Dio e all' opere buone; respose S. Sta: così è la voluntà nostra e nostra intentione che la regola si osservi a lettera secondo il voler del N. S. Giesu Cristo e di S. Francesco e per questo di bonissima voglia ve concedemo quanto voi me dimandate per l' osservanza della regola, ma in segno de obedienza in tempo del capitolo," etc. Thus the extension of the Papal permission to other persons is not as yet to be found here. On the other hand, this version is given by MATTHIAS DE SALO, I., 74, and after him by BOVERIUS, I., 43; for criticism on this point see Appendix, No. 4. That Matteo asked the Pope's permission for himself only and not for others is also clearly stated by Joh. de Terranova, Acta Sanctor., Maji, IV., 284.

[2] See Miscell. Francesc., IV., 153; WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 576 *seq.*, and SANTONI, 11–12, and 62.

Matteo's misfortune did not long remain unknown; even the Duchess Caterina Cibo became aware of it. Through her powerful intercession Matteo was free again by July; he now betook himself to Camerino, and had a great success as a preacher of penance, and was soon joined by other Observants. Among the first were the two brothers Lodovico and Raffaello da Fossombrone, the first a priest, the other a lay brother. Matteo had no thought of founding an order; all he desired was to carry out to the very letter the rule of St. Francis.[1] In Lodovico he was joined by a kindred spirit, who by his energy and boldness was well fitted to carry far what Matteo had set in motion.

At first, indeed, the co-operation of the two brothers with Matteo led to a serious crisis. The Superiors, bent on maintaining the unity of the Order, threatened the former with excommunication for having left their convent without leave, and even tried to get permission from Rome to arrest them.[2] Lodovico da Fossombrone, convinced that his case was a thoroughly sound one, himself made haste to Rome in the beginning of 1526 with letters of recommendation from the Duchess of Camerino, and there addressed himself to Carafa, "the friend of all reforms."[3]

[1] Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, who always treats Matteo as *santo huomo*, insists on this in his *Cronica I. (General Archives of Capuchins, Rome).

[2] This hitherto unknown fact I derived from **a letter of Clement VII., dat. Rome, 1526, March 8, found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm., 39, vol. 55, f. 36[b] *seq.*), and the text of which I intend to publish in the Acta Pontif. In it are specially mentioned "Lud. et Raphael de Forosempronio ac Mattheus de Bascia."

[3] *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I., *loc. cit.* To these sources BOVERIUS (I., 63) also appeals, and afterwards BROMATO (I., 140 *seqq.*). Boverius, however, has elaborated the matter; of a testing of Lodovico's intentions by Carafa the *Cronica says nothing. *Cf.* also Appendix, No. 4.

The latter, on principle, was by no means favourably disposed to those religious who separated themselves from their Order; but he very soon perceived that in this case the cause of separation was not laxity but its opposite, and this, like all other efforts at reform, also received his support. Through Carafa's influence Lodovico soon attained his object. The Cardinal Grand Penitentiary, Lorenzo Pucci, on the 18th of May 1526, gave vouchers to Lodovico and Raffaello da Fossombrone as well as to Matteo da Bascio by which, in the case of their Superiors refusing the permission asked for, they were empowered by Papal authority to lead the life of anchorites under the rule of St. Francis outside the houses of their Order in the new district, but certainly subject to the supervision of Bishop Giangiacomo Bongiovanni of Camerino.[1]

The quiet hill town now became the centre of the new movement, which Giovanni da Fano continued to look upon as an unlawful act of separation.[2] Firmly convinced that he was dealing here with a case of apostasy, he did all that lay in his power to compass its suppression. He had no idea that the reform of the Order, which even he was striving for, was to come from below, from very simple and insignificant men. The position of the Franciscan hermits, as Matteo's associates at first were called, became so bad that for some time they had thoughts of going out as missionaries to the infidels.[3]

[1] BOVERIUS, I., 64–65; Bull. Capuc., I., 1–2, from the original in General Archives of the Capuchins in Rome, where the document is not now to be found. MAURENBRECHER (Kathol. Ref., 231) is incorrect in speaking of a Papal Brief. FONTANA (Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 346) even mentions a Bull. HEIMBUCHER (I., 316) attributes the document, in error, to 1528.

[2] "Setta," says the *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo in General Archives of the Capuchins in Rome.

[3] This statement is found in the *Cronica aforesaid, I., *loc. cit*

In this time of distress, the Bishop of Camerino, the like-minded Camaldolese, and especially the ducal family stood by the persecuted community. But these simple men won the love of the people in the terrible times of trouble which broke over Camerino after 1527. When all others fled before the plague they remained steadfast at their posts. On the 10th of August 1527 the Duke himself fell a victim to the disease.[1]

In consequence of the continued hostility of the Observants, Lodovico da Fossombrone put himself into communication with the Provincial of the Conventuals in the Marches, who later took him and his colleagues into his province, on condition that they reported themselves once a year either to him or to the Chapter and submitted themselves to visitation. Through the influence of the Duchess Caterina Cibo,[2] Lodovico obtained the Pope's confirmation of this ordinance. This was contained in a Papal brief addressed from Viterbo on the 3rd of July 1528, to Lodovico and Raffaello da Fossombrone. It conveyed the ecclesiastical confirmation of the branch of the Franciscans, subsequently known, from their habit, as the Capuchins. This document sanctioned the mendicant life in hermitages or other places according to the rule of St. Francis; the beard was permitted to be worn as well as the new habit with the four-cornered hood. Finally, new members were permitted to be chosen from the ranks of the secular clergy and the laity. At the same time, all

[1] BOVERIUS, I., 109, places the Duke's death in 1528, but wrongly. *Cf.* SANTONI, 64.

[2] The statements in the *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I. (General Archives of the Capuchin Order in Rome), about the intercession of Caterina Cibo, are confirmed by an entry on the original minutes of the Brief in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see *infra*, p. 465, n. 1.

the privileges of the Conventuals and of the Camaldolese hermits were extended to the new congregation.[1]

The Bishop of Camerino ordered this Brief to be solemnly published, and then followed the foundation of the first settled establishment outside the gates of the episcopal city.[2] Within the territory of the latter a second convent on Monte Melone very soon arose.

[1] The document, a Bull in the fuller sense (*littera* with formal greeting and *sal. et apost. bened.*, year of our Lord and date of day according to the Roman Calendar), beginning "Religionis Zelus," is published from a copy in the Archives of the Order in Bull. Capuc., I., 3–4. The copy in BOVERIUS, I., 94–96, is inadequate ; the same must be said of the copy in WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 257 *seq.* ; see Bull. Rom., VI., 113, 114, where the Brief is also. In the form of a Brief "dat. 3 Julii 1528" the document appears without the preamble and beginning at once with "Exponi nobis" in Min. brev. in Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm., 40, vol. 20, n. 1191). Towards the end it runs: *Volentes quoque ut, si vobis videbitur opportunum, has litteras nostras etiam sub plumbo expediri facere valeatis. Under the date come the following signatures: *Visa Ja. Symoneta—Videtur concedendum A. Car^{lis} de Valle Protector—L. Car^{lis} S. Quattuor.—Evangelista. On the back one reads: *Julii 1528. "Intercedente ducissa Camerin. pro Ludovico et Raphaele fratribus et fratribus ord. conventualium minorum. R^{mus} S. Quattuor et protector viderunt." The General Archives of the Capuchin Order in Rome still preserves the *petition of Lodovico and Raffaello da Fossombrone. In this petition much was asked that was not immediately granted. Thus, permission: "unum superiorem et custodem, qui in eos similem auctoritatem, habeat quam ministri provinciales dicti ordinis fratres provinciarum suarum habent, eligere necnon omnibus et singulis tam clericis *etiam ordinum quorumcunque religiosis*, superiorum suorum licentia petita licet non obtenta, quam laicis qui divinia inspiratione ducti similem solitariam et austeram vitam ducere voluerint, ut ad illam commorari seu transire et eam agere et in illa[m] per dictos fratres et socios recipere libere et licite valeant."

[2] The little convent lay one and a half miles from Camerino, near the church S. Cristoforo, on the road to Varano. Since it soon proved to be too small, Caterina Cibo prevailed on the Hieronymites to hand over to the Franciscan hermits their nearly deserted convent at Colmenzone

Though the number of Franciscan hermits at that time was comparatively small, yet their activity must be described as exceptional. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, who had personally known the earliest fathers, has left a sketch of their first entrance on their mission, which is striking in its bare simplicity.[1] Their garments were the roughest that could be procured. They went barefoot always, even in winter, holding the crucifix in their hands. Their nourishment consisted of water, bread, vegetables, and fruit; flesh was eaten only very seldom; the fasts were kept rigorously—many fasted almost continually. Their dwellings, built by preference in lonely places, were as inconspicuous and poor as possible; they were composed only of wood and loam. A board served for a bed; for those who were weaker there was a mat; the doors of the cells were so low that they could not be entered without stooping; the windows were very narrow and small, and unfurnished with glass. This simplicity extended even to the churches. Everything, even outwardly, was to preach the utmost poverty in an age in which not only the worldly, but also many great ecclesiastics, and even members of the mendicant Orders themselves,[2] worshipped the lavish display of wealth.

close to S. Marcello. The five Observants named in the indult of Cardinal Pucci of September 11, 1528, here took possession (BOVERIUS, I., 987 to 988). As the spot was unhealthy they built themselves, four years later (so says Bernardino da Colpetrazzo in his *Cronica, I.), again assisted by Caterina Cibo, a modest convent at Renacavata, in a retired neighbourhood, three miles from Camerino, on the road to Tolentino. This convent is still standing; see SANTINI, 37 *seqq.*, where there is also a sketch.

[1] *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I. *Cf.* also MATTHIAS DA SALO, *Hist. Capuc., I. (General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome).

[2] WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 323. DOM. DE GUBERNATIS, Orbis Seraph., III., 1, 279.

The inmates of these literally poverty-stricken convents had, in the first period of their existence, two main objects in view, and, above all, to be preachers of repentance to the common people. The plain speaking of these simple men, which spared no man, had such power that the hardest hearts quailed and the most stubborn sinners were converted. People often went five or six miles to hear the Franciscan hermits. "They preached," says Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, "the Holy Scriptures, especially the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, exhorting their hearers to fulfil the commandments of God."[1] The same chronicler mentions as strange novelties that they brought with them a crucifix into the pulpit and urged a frequent reception of the Blessed Sacrament.[2]

The behaviour of the poor hermits during the epidemic called forth even greater admiration than their preaching. A rich field for heroic acts of genuine Christian charity was opened up during the terrible days of the sack of Rome. The plague was soon followed by scarcity of food and famine, which lasted, according to Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, during 1528 and 1529.[3] Like other contemporaries, this narrator saw in the sufferings by which Italy was visited a punishment of the general wickedness. The streets and roads were covered with dead, some cut

[1] "Predicavano la scrittura sacra, principalmente il vangelo santo del N. S. Gesù Cristo, esortando le persone all' osservanza de' commandimenti di Dio." *Joh. de Terranova (Acta Sanctor., Maji, IV., 284) says of Matteo da Bascio that he preached: "ad infernum usurarii ad infernum concubinarii, et sic de reliquis vitiis: tanta erat libertas dicentis, ut nulli personae parcens, saepe a minus consideratis contemptui habitus propterea fuerit."

[2] Bernardino da Colpetrazzo in Cronica, I. (General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome), frequently draws attention to this.

[3] "De quando i frati Capuccini si diedero a servire agli appestati." *Cronica, *ut supra.*

off by the plague, some by famine, some by the sword; wolves gnawed the corpses, for in the districts devastated by war there were none left to dig graves. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, who at that time was also suffering from the plague, was unable in after years to find words to describe the panic that prevailed.[1] As watchers of the sick could not be got in Camerino and its neighbourhood, the Franciscan hermits voluntarily undertook their duties. They carried the Viaticum to the dying and buried the dead; they took care of orphan children and collected alms for the famishing survivors of the population. They refused all offers of gifts to themselves; all was done for the love of God. With heroic self-csarifice the little band worked on until the plague died out at the close of 1529; half of the population had fallen prey to its ravages.[2]

This example of Christian love, which, to the end of the century, clung to the memory of the thankful people,[3] combined with their inspired preaching, drew to the Franciscan hermits after the extinction of the plague many new members. The two first settlements were no longer sufficient, two more had to be built; one at Alvacina in the district of Fabriano, the other at Fossombrone in the Duchy of Urbino. For these four places, all, with the exception of the last, in the diocese of Camerino, guardians were appointed in 1529 at the first General Chapter held in a wretched hut at Alvacina. At this meeting Matteo da Bascio, in spite of his

[1] "*Pareva che l' aria piangesse."

[2] *Cronica, *ut supra.*

[3] "E tanto fu il rumore che si sparse la fama loro per tutta Italia e tutti quei popoli se scolpirono nel cuore quei servi di Dio che insino ad hoggi se ne ricordano e non puoco giovò alla povera congregatione quest' ottimo esempio." *Cronica, *ut supra.*

resistance,[1] was chosen Vicar-General,[2] and at the same time the constitution of the new institute was sketched in outline. The main principle was the closest observance of the rule of St. Francis, particularly in respect of the "virtue of holy poverty." Therefore, in collecting alms they were never to accept provisions beyond a week's supply at the utmost. Their cells were to be very narrow, more like jails than dwellings. Their very churches were to reflect their poverty; precious metals and stuffs were banished, and the psalmody was not to be sung. Moreover, the most austere life was prescribed, nightly prayer, severe discipline, the roughest and worst clothing; bare-headed and unshod, they were never to journey except on foot. The duty of earnest preaching for those thus gifted is still a noticeable feature of the rule. They are to avoid all flowers of speech and all subtle speculations, to keep in view the practical needs of their hearers, and to proclaim "purely and simply the Holy Gospel of our Lord."[3]

The change in the direction of the new community was of great importance. Matteo, who wished to give himself entirely to preaching, resigned his post in a very short time, whereon, with the Pope's consent, the energetic, self-confident Lodovico da Fossombrone took his place. He

[1] The *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo relates that Matteo had pleaded that preaching was his real vocation and that, even if the Pope would have it so, he was not fitted to rule the Friars ("e di più io no ho gratia di regger frati").

[2] Under the General of the Conventuals. This arrangement lasted till 1619; see Bull. Capuc., I., 62. Strictly speaking, it is not until that date that one can speak of a new and independent order.

[3] BOVERIUS, I., 117 *seq* *Cf.* HEIMBUCHER, I., 317.

entered into communication[1] with a number of Calabrian Observants who were at the same time seeking a stricter compliance with the rule, and established a settlement in Rome. Here also it was Caterina Cibo who, through her brothers, opened a way for these Observants, already known as Franciscan hermits. Her brothers were guardians of the Hospital of S. Giacomo for incurables. The little church of S. Maria dei Miracoli, near the Piazza del Popolo and attached to the hospital, became the first Capuchin settlement in Rome.[2] They now took charge of the hospital, and the care which they there bestowed on the sick drew to them the sympathy of the lower as well as the higher classes in Rome.[3]

The rapid extension of the new community made a deep impression on the Observants, and spurred them on to fresh action against the hermits. Many saw in the behaviour of the members of the new body an excess of enthusiasm on the part of some, on the part of others defiance and rebellion. The latter view found favour with the masterful Giovanni da Fano, who was convinced that he was carrying out a good work in opposing the upstarts.[4] In other Observants the

[1] "Instrumentum aggregationis frat. Calabriae," dat. 1529, August 16, in BOVERIUS, I., 133 *seq.* *Cf.* F. SECURI, Mem. stor. s. prov. d. Capuccini di Reggio di Calabria, Reggio di C., 1885.

[2] *Cf.* the sound and scholarly discussion, directed at Boverius, of EDOARDO DA ALENÇON, Il primo convento dei Capuccini in Roma: La Madonna dei Miracoli, Alençon, 1907. Later the Capuchins settled on the Esquiline at S. Eufemia, near S. Pudentiana, where now stands the Hospital of the Bambino Gesù. The old church of S. Maria dei Miracoli stood where now the Ponte Margarita begins.

[3] "Come il P. fra Ludovico andò a Roma e come prese il primo luogo in Roma." *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo (General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome); afterwards BOVERIUS, I., 131 *seqq.*

[4] *Non fu mai Abel tanto odiato dal suo fratello Chain e meno Giacob così perseguitato dal suo fratello Esau quanto furono per-

leading motive was simply jealousy, and in Paolo Pisotti, then their General, there was undoubtedly a repugnance to all reform.[1]

To all these antagonists Lodovico now gave good grounds for complaint, for in his unreflecting zeal to obtain as many new members as possible for his community, he drew into it[2] not a few Observants. The reception of the latter was a consequence of the Grand Penitentiary's indult. The Observants, fearing a gradual dismemberment of the whole Order, made such passionate representations to the Pope of the injuriousness of the indult and of the misuse of it, that Clement VII. in May 1530 cancelled all his concessions to the new Franciscan offshoot. But the Papal Brief of July 1528 was not expressly mentioned in this enactment. Lodovico, in his opposition to the new measures, was able to take his stand on the earlier

seguitati et odiati i poveri Capuccini da questo venerabile padre fra Giovanni da Fano, ministro in quel tempo della provincia della Marca, e fu con ammiratione molta d' ogn' uno ch' un huomo tanto da bene, dotto, attempato, giuditioso e di buonissima conscientia preciptasse in un errore così grande, ma da molti servi d' Iddio di quel tempo ne fu fatto giuditio che no da lui si muovesse e con malignita, ma per zelo della religione parendogli veramente di far bene e cosa grata a Dio e per questo parve che quel che faceva il facesse con grand' odio, non era pero odio sicome egli medesimo disse dipoi quando venne tra Capuccini, ma perchè era huomo spiritoso, di bell' ingegno, in tutte le sue cose procedeva resoluto e nelle sue operationi era huomo efficacissimo; nondimeno da quei che pescavano più al fondo fu fatto giuditio che questa fusse una permissione di Dio per maggior prolatione di quei venerandi padri, primi Capuccini. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo. *Cronica, I., *loc. cit.*

[1] See DOM. DE GUBERNATIS, Orbis Seraph., III., 1, 279. Joh. de Terranova states expressly that Pisotti intrigued against the Franciscan hermits with Clement VII. Pisotti got at first the Brief of December 14, 1529, published in WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 279–280.

[2] Even BOVERIUS admits this, I., 137.

document; besides, he and his patrons did all in their power to show that the complaints raised were unfounded, and to nullify the Pope's severe regulations. At first they were unsuccessful,[1] but at last they succeeded in having the whole dispute referred by Clement VII. to the Cardinals Antonio del Monte and Andrea della Valle for fresh examination; these gave as their decision, on the 14th of August 1532, that in future the Franciscan hermits must not receive any more Observants, but that the Observants must abstain from any molestation of those who had left them for the Franciscan hermits, and of the hermits themselves.[2]

This decision, pronounced in the Pope's name, was a striking success for the new institution over the old. The Franciscan hermits now spread their settlements not only through the Marches and in Calabria, but in other parts of Italy and even in Sicily.[3] A certain increase of

[1] The documents relating to events of this period in WADDING (XVI., 2nd ed., 291 *seqq.*, 300 *seqq.*, 605 *seq.*) and the narrative in the *Cronica of P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo are so incomplete that much remains to be cleared up. Unfortunately I only succeeded in finding in the Secret Archives of the Vatican two documents relating to these events, viz.: (*a*) The *commands of May 27, 1530 (and again on December 2, 1531; see FONTANA, Docum., 122 *seq.*) to the Vicar-General of the Observantines to reinstate in their convents those who had gone away, repeatedly mentioned in the Bulls given in WADDING; Brevia, 1530, vol. 50, f. 750. (*b*) A *Brief of July 3, 1532, in which all, who after May 27, 1530, had left, are ordered to return to their convents; Arm., 40, vol. 39, n. 184.

[2] The decision is given in BOVERIUS, I., 172-175. *Cf.* WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 335.

[3] Already by 1530 they were firmly established at Naples (see GALANTE in La Scienza e la Fede, 3rd Series, XVIII. [1872], 7, and BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, I Capuccini della prov. monast. di Napoli e Terra di Lavoro, S. Agnello di Sorrento, 1879) and at the same time in Liguria (see F. Z. MOLFINO, Cod. dipl. d. Capuccini

difficulty as regards admission into their ranks was nothing but beneficial, for there were some who presented themselves from motives which were not without worldly alloy.[1] All the storms through which the new foundation had to pass served only to impart inward strength. The defection of the Observants was mainly due to the aversion of the General, Pisotti, to all plans of reform. When Clement VII. was in possession of the proofs of this man's bad government, he insisted on his resignation (December 1533).[2] By neglect of the lax and persecution of the strict, Pisotti had brought his Order to the brink of ruin; no wonder that the better spirits passed over to the Franciscan hermits. In 1534 they were joined by the most famous preachers in Italy, Bernardino Ochino and Bernardino of Asti.[3] In the same year the man who had been their most violent opponent, Giovanni da Fano, took the same step.

The Observants were as much convinced as ever of the danger in which their Order was placed; their complaints were so importunate that Clement thought that he must once more give them a hearing. On the 9th of April 1534 a Brief was addressed to Lodovico and to all his associates forbidding them henceforward, without special Papal permission, to receive any Observants or take over any convents belonging to them. This prohibition was also

Liguri, Genova, 1904, xxiii. *seq.*), and by 1532 in Tuscany (*cf.* SISTO DA PISA, Storia d. Capuccini Toscani, Firenze, 1906, I., 35 *seq.*).

[1] This is confirmed by *MATTHIAS DE SALO, Hist. Capuc., I., 259: "Vi entrarono da principio ogni sorte di frati che uscirno dagli osservanti fra quali molti ve n' erano portati da caprici, da sdegni et da altri rispetti humani."

[2] WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 303 *seqq.*, 323 *seqq.*, 342 *seqq.*; DOM. DE GUBERNATIS, III., 1, 279 *seq.*

[3] Bernardino da Colpetrazzo (*Cronica, I.) often gives the year 1534 as the date of Ochino's entry into the new congregation.

extended to those who had gone over to the Conventuals or had left the Order entirely.[1] To this document the first use of the expression "Capuchin," in the mention of Lodovico, can be traced.

The opponents, emboldened by this success, now hoped to achieve the overthrow of the whole hermit congregation. But Clement VII. positively refused to repeal the Bull of 1528, although he consented to the banishment of the Capuchins from Rome. On the 25th of April 1534 appeared the edict enjoining their departure. The fathers were just about to partake of their simple mid-day meal when the order was brought to them; without a moment's demur they obeyed the command of the Head of the Church, and without touching their food they went forth. Thirty in number, they walked, two and two, with the cross carried before them, through the city to S. Lorenzo outside the walls, where they were kindly received. While the majority stayed there temporarily, a few, among them Giovanni da

[1] WADDING, XVI., 2nd ed., 380-381, and Bull. Capuc., I., 11-12, give the text of the Brief which proves that the story told by BOVERIUS (I., 191 *seq.*), that Clement VII. had broken off his intended injunctions against the Capuchins on account of a terrible storm, is fabulous. In the *original minutes in the Secret Archives of the Vatican the words, afterwards struck out as being too harsh, are still standing: "Vitamque admodum austeram et rigidam ac fere non humanam ducentes." Here also belongs a supplementary *Brief of Clement VII. to Cardinal della Valle, dated Rome, 1534, April 15, dealing with the return of the Observants who had gone over to the Capuchins. The minute of this Brief has the following *endorsement: "Non videtur decens ut religiosus invitus cogatur ad laxiorem vitam; si tamen S. D. N. aliquo respectu id velit, nullo modo approbo quod procedatur per Sanct. Suam, sed committatur alii, non enim talis processus est dignus processu per ipsummet Papam. Hier. [Ghinucci] Auditor." Arm., 40, vol. 47, in Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Fano, went into upper Italy, there to found new settlements. Thus the misfortunes of the Capuchins turned eventually into a blessing.

The banishment of the worthy friars from Rome caused a storm of indignation among the people, who had come to value them as the succourers of the sick. As interpreter of public opinion the hermit Brandano, so well known during the sack, appeared on the scene. "All the wicked, all the sinful," he exclaimed, "can come to Rome; the good and the virtuous are driven out."[1] At the same time many of the Roman nobility came forward on behalf of the exiles. It was precisely the utter poverty and entire contempt of the world of the Capuchins that had made an ineffaceable impression on the nobler characters. Among the Roman aristocracy, Vittoria Colonna hastened from Marino, and she and Camillo Orsini made representations to Clement as frank as they were touching. Caterina Cibo also made

[1] *Come i frati Capuccini per una grave persecutione furono discacciati dell' alma città di Roma al tempo di Clemente VII. *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I. (the prophet is here called: "Meo Sanese detto il Brandano, il quale era romito del Sacco"), and MATTHIAS DE SALO, Hist. Capuc., I., 195 *seqq.* He expressly says: "erano da trenta frati." Bernardino da Colpetrazzo speaks of 150 who had been brought to Rome by Lodovico a few days before, a statement accepted by BOVERIUS, I., 190. Matthias de Salo also related that the Pope's decree was executed with greater severity than he had originally intended. "Hebbe (the General of the Observants) per tanto da quanti prencipi erano amorevoli della religione lettere in favore a S. Sta et il mezo di molti Cardinali della corte e quello singolarmente del protettore, e tanto fù l' instanza et importunità sua, che il pontefice stimò di non poter resistere e lasciosi uscir di bocca che i Capuccini fossero mandati fuor di Roma, il che fù esseguito molto più rigorosamente di quello che il pontefice ne intendeva ne detto haveva. Imperocchè accesa la candela fù intimato a Capuccini che prima che ella finisce fossero fuori di Roma" (General Archives of the Capuchins, Rome).

her way to Rome, but when she reached the city Clement VII. had already sanctioned the return of the Capuchins.[1]

So this storm also passed over happily. Others, heavier still, were to arise under Clement's successor, but they too had their hour, and the Capuchin Order grew up in the Church to be a great instrument of reform and restoration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Poor themselves, they became the friends of the poorer classes, whose needs and sufferings they knew as few others did, and to whom in the time of trouble they brought aid with heart and hand.

The pursuit of practical aims, before all others the care of souls, preaching, and the tending of the sick to which the Capuchins, as well as the Theatines, Somaschi, and Barnabites, in accordance with the needs of the age, had devoted themselves, was to reappear even more sharply accentuated in another company of regular clergy which, in activity and diversity of aims, in inward power and outward range of influence, was far to surpass the older orders as well as their more recent successors.

The days of Clement VII. were drawing to a close when this new organization started on its career. It was on the Feast of the Assumption, 1534, that Ignatius Loyola, on the height of Montmartre, on the spot where the first Apostle of Paris had met a martyr's death, unfolded to a gathering of six trusted friends his plan of enlisting a spiritual army "whose leader should be the Saviour Himself, whose banner the Cross, whose watchword God's honour, and whose meed of victory the salvation of men and the

[1] Above according to the *Cronica of Bernardino da Colpetrazzo. MATTHIAS DE SALO, *Hist. Capuc., I., 282, relates that such was the love of the people that the expelled Fathers had in S. Lorenzo more means of subsistence brought to them than they ever had had given them in Rome. See also FELICIANGELI, Cat. Cibo, 161 *seq.*

glory of the Church."[1] Only one of these inspired men was a priest, Peter Faber, a Savoyard. From his hands, on consecrated ground, the group of friends received Holy Communion; into his hands, together with the vows of poverty and chastity, they laid yet another—to go, at the close of their theological studies, to Jerusalem, to engage in the conversion of the infidels, or, if this were not possible, to place themselves at the disposal of the Pope for any apostolic mission on which he might choose to send them.

Such was the origin of the Society of Jesus, destined to attain to a world-wide importance in the history of the Church as the most powerful bulwark of the Papacy during the catastrophe of the sixteenth century.

[1] HEIMBUCHER, II., 47. In the Middle Ages Montmartre was covered with convents and hermitages of which, except the Church St. Pierre, dating in part from the ninth century, close to the new Church of the Sacré Cœur, not a trace remains. The chapel in which St. Ignatius and his companions assembled on August 15, 1534, was destroyed in 1790; it stood where the Chaussée des Martyrs abuts on the Rue Antoinette. See L. Michel's note to BARTOLI, Hist. de S. Ignace, Bruges, 1893, 380.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Pope Clement VII. to Donato de Marinis.[1]

1525, September 15, Rom.

Grata familiaritatis obsequia . . . Cum itaque postmodum parrochialis ecclesia sanctorum Silvestri et Dorothee in regione Transtiberim de urbe confraternitati societati christifidelium divini amoris nuncupate sub invocatione s. Jeronymi canonice institute perpetuo unita annexa et incorporata ex eo, quod nos unionem annexionem et incorporationem predictas, dilectis filiis modernis confratribus sociis nuncupatis confraternitatis huiusmodi in hoc expresse consentientibus, harum serie dissolvimus, per dissolutionem huiusmodi apud sedem predictam vacaverit et vacet ad presens nullusque de illa preter nos hac vice disponere potuerit sive possit reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supra dictis, nos tibi presbitero et etiam continuo commensali nostro asserenti confratres predictos seu eorum maiorem partem forenses existere premissorum obsequiorum et meritorum tuorum intuitu specialem gratiam facere volentes . . . ecclesiam predictam, cuius et illi forsan annexorum fructus redditus et proventus vigintiquatuor ducatorum auri de camera secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum ut etiam asseris non excedunt, . . . cum dictis annexis ac omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illa etiam providemus. . . .

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnacionis dominice millesimo quingentesimo vicesimoquinto decimoseptimo kal. octobr. pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Orig. with leaden seal in Arm. XI., caps. 1, n. 217 (a tergo: A° inc. d. 1525 die XII. Novemb. rev^i confratres presentes consentierunt dissolutioni . . .). Cf. Regest. Vat. 1481, f. 288–290.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 390.

2. Safe-conduct of Pope Clement VII. for Johann Heitmers.[1]

1526, Januar. 17, Rom.

Universis et singulis patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis ac quibuscunque in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutis, presbyteris quoque et clericis nec non ducibus, principibus, baronibus, comitibus, nobilibus, officialibus, communitatibus, hominibus et particularibus personis inclytarum nationum Germaniae, Franciae, Daciae, Angliae et Scotiae, aliarumque nationum, ad quas dilectum filium Ioannem Heytmers commissarium et accolitum nostrum[2] declinare contigerit, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum in minoribus adhuc essemus animo nostro cogitantes, Cosmum et complures progenitores nostros et praesertim Iulianum et Laurentium de Medices necnon fel. rec. Leonem Papam X. praedecessorem et patruelem nostrum secundum carnem in primis infinitam curam et sollicitudinem impendisse ac incredibiles impensas fecisse, ut ad communem studiorum ac studiosorum utilitatem veteres libros Graecae, Latinae et Haebraicae linguae in diversis et remotissimis mundi partibus etiam infidelium ditioni subiectis latentes per viros doctos inquirerent ac in Italiam conduci et in publicis bibliothecis per eos erectis et constructis reponi et custodiri curarent : nos, qui etiam hos linguarum viros ex omni studio generali et in omni scientia peritissimos semper enutrivimus ac magnis stipendiis et donis traximus et vocavimus talemque inquirendi libros diligentiam imitari desideramus eorumque in privata domo nostrorum praedecessorum et progenitorum bibliothecam a doctis omnibus frequentatam servamus, postquam ad summi apostolatus apicem, divina favente clementia, assumpti fuimus, inter alia revolventes, librorum copiam Christinae religioni in primis fructuosam esse indeque multis nostrae fidei arcana et secreta elici, nihil duximus omittendum, quod ad eam rem conducere arbitrati fuimus, ut in his miseris et afflictis Christianae reipublicae temporibus et perfidorum haereticorum tumultibus divina et humana omnia permiscentibus tum caeteris curis et sollicitudinibus tum hoc etiam perquirendorum librorum studio orthodoxam fidem iuvaremus. Et propterea certiores facti quamplurimos desideratos vetustos libros in diversis provinciarum

[1] See *supra*, p. 336.

[2] In MS. there follows: ad quas ipsum.

et regnorum praedictorum locis latere, qui si in lucem ederentur, rempublicam litterariam diu antea periclitantem et pene intermortuam plurimum iuvare et praecipae Christianam religionem iam aliquantulum fluctuantem ac etiam studiosorum animos inflammare possent, dictum Ioannem nostrum commissarium et accolitum istuc destinamus, ut bibliothecas omnes dictarum provinciarum et regnorum perlustret librosque omni studio et diligentia inquirat et illos vel eorum exempla ad nos transportet seu transportari faciat. Quare vos omnes et singulos et in primis charissimos in Christo filios nostros Carolum Romanorum regem in imperatorem electum necnon Franciae, Daciae, Angliae et Scotiae reges illustres paterna hortamur charitate ac maiori quo possumus studio et affectu requirimus, ut pro nostra et in hanc sanctam sedem reverentia atque Christianae religionis et doctrinae intuitu velitis ipsum Ioannem benigne recipere sinceraque charitate tractare ac permittere, ut quascunque bibliothecas ingredi possit, eidemque, si ei videbitur, de opportunis salvis conductibus providere; demumque in exequenda huiusmodi commissione nostra circa tam laudabile opus ita favere atque adesse, ut quod nos de re litteraria et fide orthodoxa ac de commodo et ornamento studiosorum omnium mente concepimus, idipsum, auctore Domino, vobis etiam adiuvantibus facilius perficere valeamus. Offerentes nos vestram in nos et hanc sanctissimam sedem voluntatem et observantiam memori animo prosecuturos et quandocunque se occasio tulerit in Domino parem etiam vobis gratiam relaturos. Detentoribus insuper et occupatoribus huiusmodi librorum et ad nos et dictam sedem illos mittere indebite recusantibus ac scientibus occupatores et detentores huiusmodi et non revelantibus sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena, quam ferimus in his scriptis, et a qua non nisi per nos quemvis absolvi posse volumus, districte praecipientes mandamus, quatenus visis praesentibus dictos libros vel exhibeant vel manifestent, ut censuras et poenas praedictas effugiant ac de obedientia et religionis Christianae conservatione, promptitudine a nobis et dicta sede atque omnibus litterarum studiosis merito commendari necnon a Deo bonorum omnium remuneratore immortale praemium sperare et consequi possint. Et ut facilius et citius dictus Ioannes praemissa exequi valeat, damus per praesentes [ei] facultatem substituendi unum vel plures ad praemissa et quodlibet praemissorum

cum pari aut limitata potestate et ab eisdem rationem gestorum et administratorum exigendi et cogendi. Super quibus plenam etiam harum serie concedimus ei potestatem. Dat. Romae etc. die XVII ianuarii 1526 anno 3°. Ja. Sadoletus.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 46, n. 31.]

3. Pope Clement VII. to the Dominicans of Ghent.[1]

1526, Januar. 17, Rome.

Dilectis filiis priori et conventui ordinis praedicatorum civitatis Gandensis. Dilecti filii salutem etc. Rempublicam litterariam diu antea periclitantem et pene intermortuam, a quibusdam vero annis reviviscentem volentes Deo propitio, fel. rec. Leonis X praedecessoris et secundum carnem patruelis nostri vestigiis inhaerendo, fovere prospicientesque ei rei magno usui fore, si nonnulli libri, qui propter iniquas hominum conditiones adhuc incogniti latent, ad communem studiosorum omnium utilitatem in lucem edantur, nihil duximus omittendum, quod ad eam rem pertineret. Certiores itaque facti a dilecto filio Ioanne Heytmers commissario et accolito nostro, quem istuc in praesentiarum destinavimus pro huiusmodi inquirendis vetustissimis libris utriusque linguae auctorum desideratorum in diversis locis regnorum et provinciarum diversorum latentibus, a fel. rec. Leone X praefato ad hoc laudabile opus alias emisso, dilecti filii fratris Wilhelmi Carnificis ordinis sancti Dominici opera et industria se in primis fuisse adiutum eiusdem auxilio et virtute non minus quam antea ad dictos libros inquirendos . . . [sic] indigere, vos et eundem Wilhelmum pro sua in nos et erga hanc sanctam sedem reverentia et devotione ac in bonarum artium studiosos officio impenso plurimum in Domino commendamus et discretiones vestras impensius hortamur in Domino et in virtute sanctae obedientiae requirimus, ut ipsi Wilhelmo plenam et liberam facultatem et potestatem concedatis sex menses extra vestrum ordinem et claustra monasteriorum ipsius ordinis exeundi, manendi, standi et pernoctandi ac una cum dicto Ioanne commissario nostro omnia et singula loca, civitates, terras et provincias perlustrandi ad huiusmodi inquirendorum librorum effectum duntaxat, prout etiam nos per praesentes eidem

[1] See *supra*, p. 336.

Wilhelmo plenam et liberam facultatem et potestatem, ut praefertur, auctoritate apostolica concedimus et elargimur. Mandantes insuper eidem et sub excommunicationis poena districtius praecipientes, ut dicto commissario in quantum poterit omnem suam operam, industriam, auctoritatem, diligentiam et animi promptitudinem dicto semestre durante ad huiusmodi libros in quibusvis bibliothecis et locis existentes perquirendos et inveniendos et ad commissarii manus ac potestatem tradendos impendat et exhibeat. Non obstantibus quibusvis dicti ordinis et monasterii vestri generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus iuramento vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, quibus caveatur, quod religiosi extra ordinem et monasteria sua permanere nec debeant nec possint, a quibus omnibus et singulis praefatum Wilhelmum ad huiusmodi laudabilem effectum per dictos sex menses absolvimus et eximimus eadem auctoritate. Quod erit nobis a discretionibus vestris gratum et acceptum, vobisque et monasterio vestro in iis gratiis, quas haec sancta sedes in Domino potest concedere, grati animi signa ostendemus. Ac nihilominus eidem Wilhelmo pro simili alias suscepto labore et pro ea, quam, sicut in Domino confidimus, . . . [sic] et diligentem in huiusmodi libris investigandis nostro intuitu eidem Ioanni modo praestabit operam, si quando nobis iusta se occasio obtulerit, grati animi effectum demonstrabimus. Dat. Romae etc. die XVII ianuarii 1526 anno 3°. Ja. Sadoletus.

[Secr. Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 46, n. 30. *Ibid.*, Brief to the Dominican Guillelmus Carnifex of the same date.]

4. Remarks on the Oldest Sources for the History of the Capuchins, and on the Criticism of Boverius.[1]

Boverius in his important work (I., 33 *seq.*) has treated the rise of the Capuchins and their earliest history in the most interesting way, but sometimes to the disadvantage of the objective side of history; he is not always free from bias in dealing with the Franciscans. This naturally aroused vehement opposition on the part of the latter, especially from Wadding (XVI., 209 *seqq.*). The Bollandists (Acta Sanctor., Maii, IV., 205 *seqq.*) summed up the controversy with unprejudiced judg-

[1] See *supra*, pp. 458, 460, 461, 462.

ment; they weighed calmly the relative claims of the old and the new foundations.

An original document of primary importance, the account of Joannes de Terranova (Capuchin from 1532; †1573), has also been made accessible (Act. Sanct., *op. cit.*, 283 *seqq.*) in a Latin translation.[1] It is of the utmost importance to examine the authorities cited by Boverius to see whether he has been impartial; Wadding made a beginning by pointing out clearly that Boverius made use of an interpolated edition of the "Chroniche de' frati minori" by Marco da Lisboa, which appeared in 1598 in Venice (an edition had already appeared in 1597), and that he had added to it on an important point (the permission given by word of mouth by Pope Clement to Matteo da Bascio), in a party sense favourable to the Capuchins. Perhaps, Wadding concludes, the additions are to be found in the four unpublished Chronicles to which Boverius appeals as his principal authorities, but which until now have not appeared. The authors of these Chronicles, according to Boverius, were the Vicars-General of the Capuchins, "Marius a Forosarsinio" and "Hieronymus a Monteflorum" (the former elected 1567, the latter 1575), and the Capuchins, "Matthias Salodiensis" (†1611) and "Bernardarius a Collepetracio," who had been a contemporary of Matteo da Bascio and Bernardino of Asti. A part of the chronicle of Marius a Forosarsinio is at Venice in the Museo Correr (Cicogna, 551); the three others, in the General Archives of the Capuchin Order, I was able to make use of through the kindness of the archivist, Fr. Edouard d'Alençon. The *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo fills two volumes, or 1392 quarto pages: it is divided into three books—(1) "Una simplice et divota istoria dell' origine della congregatione de' frati Capuccini"; (2) "Le vite et miracoli di s. huomini d. congreg. d. frati Capucc."; (3) "Del modo di vivere, delle virtù et buoni costumi di quei primi padri che

[1] The original of this chronicle is unfortunately lost; but an excerpt from it ("Dell' origine et principi della congregatione de' padri Capuccini nella provincia della Marca et di Calabria, cavato dagli scritti del P. Fr. Giovanni di Terra nova") is contained in the rare work, "Historia sagra intitolata Mare Oceano di tutte le religioni del mondo da D. Silvestro Maruli o Maurolico," Messina, 1613, 375 *seq.* A new edition is being prepared by F. Edouard d'Alençon.

diedero principio alla s. riforma de' Capuccini." We learn from the introduction that Bernardino da Colpetrazzo was born in that place (near Todi) in 1514, and had already entered the Capuchin Order in his sixteenth year; he was led to compose his work by a false report, set in circulation against the Order, that Ochino was their founder. Girolamo da Montefiore, Vicar-General from 1575 to 1581, following his example, undertook a historical refutation of this legend; he wrote to all the early fathers of the foundation and asked for their reminiscences. "I too," says Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, "was asked: 'massimamente per esser stato familiarissimo della maggior parte di quei primi padri.'" Some time before this, Fra Mario de Mercato Saracini had taken part in this task; Bernardino adds that he was not master of the "alto stile" of this writer, he only related the "semplice verità." A portion of the Chronicle was finished by 1580; the Vicar-General intended to have a history of the Order printed in 1584; Bernardino was therefore called to Rome and there resumed his work. His excellent memory stood him in good stead, his whole aim being to set down everything as truthfully as possible. Bernardino said on this point: *"E quei primi tutti gli ho conosciuti eccetto tre che morsero che io non gli veddi perchè stettero poco nella nostra congregatione e quel che più m' importava fù che io hebbi stretta familiarità con tutti quei padri che governorno in quel principio la nostra congregatione, i quali familiarissamente mi riferivano tutte le cose secrete che eran trattate così in corte come ne' capitoli per esser da loro molto amato, come fù il P. frate Bernardino d' Asti, il P. f. Francesco da Jegi, il P. f. Bernardino da Monte del Olmo, i quali furono che qualche spatio di tempo miei maestri. Conobbi il P. f. Matteo, il P. f. Lodovico da Fossombrone che quando egli reggeva io mi feci capuccino. Non mi curarò di molto abellire, ma solo mi sforzerò di narrare la semplice verità di quelle cose che co proprii ochi ho visto o intese da quei che l' hanno viste e son testimonii degni di fede." The work, which was not finished until 1592, is, notwithstanding a want of artistic form, very valuable, and, together with Joannes de Terranova, whose information is also drawn from the recollections of the earliest fathers, is, up to the present time, the most important of our existing sources.

The author of the interpolated passage in the "Croniche de' frati minori" (III., 289 *seqq.*) was in all probability acquainted with the "Cronica" of Bernardino. In the *"Historia Capuccina" of Matthias Stellintani da Salo (2 vols.) also, which I saw in the General Archives of the Order, frequent use has been made of Bernardino da Colpetrazzo; for although Matthias has a few good pieces of information which partly come from the "old fathers," still his work is based upon that of Bernardino. Boverius did not notice this circumstance; he uses Matthias da Salo when the statements of the latter suit his purpose; thus, for example, in relating the audience given to Matteo by Clement VII. (I., 43), he passes over in silence the fact that Bernardino as well as the Venetian edition of the Chronicle know nothing of the Pope's amplified permission (see *supra*, p. 461, note 1). But in another instance Bernardino's improbable statement, that as early as 1534 about 150 Capuchins were already gathered together in Rome, is made use of because it gives an impression of the rapid increase in numbers of the Order; on the other hand, the statement of Matthias da Salo, which has an appearance of credibility in it, that the number of Capuchins in Rome in 1534 was thirty, is disregarded by Boverius. The manuscript cited by Santoni (63): *Del principio della riforma e congregatione de' frati Capuccini, in Cod. D. VI., 24 of the Casanatense library, is not an independent work but an excerpt from the *Cronica of Bernardino da Colpetrazzo. On this last authority, together with the *Documents in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and Joannes de Terranova, I especially rely for my representation of the facts in the text, freed from the exaggerations and embellishments of Boverius.[1]

5. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[2]

1528, October 12, Rom.

Ho recercato Roma a questi dì et retrovatola in effetto molto ruinata et deshabitata, tanto che è cosa maravigliosa; infenite

[1] The work of Mario de Mercato Saracini will be augmented by the *Chronicle of Girolamo da Montefiore, containing an account of the lives of the early Capuchins.

[2] See *supra*, p. 30.

case ce sono senza patroni et destrutte de solari et de tetti, prive de porte, fenestre et simile altre cose, di modo che è una compassione ad vedere tanto exterminio; molta gente conoscea a tempi passati si de Romani come de forestieri, hora non ce ne vedo alcuno di quelli, et havendone dimandato, ritrovo che sono morti quasi tutti, maxime li Romani, che hora non se ne vede pur uno, mancato ogniuno di peste. Io certamente resto stupefatto vedendo appresso le ruine una tanta solitudine; potria essere che poi che la corte è qui almeno multiplicarà la gente, et conseguentemente seranno restorate le case, ma non spero gia de vedere questo così presto, perchè da fare ci serà prima che si reduchino le cose a primi termini, che a dire il vero la ruina è stata troppo grande.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Cardinal Trivulzio to Girolamo N.[1]

1529, April 9, Rom.

M. Hieronymo, non havendo prima possuto trovarmi con N. S. per altro che per visitarlo per la indispositione sua hoggi terzo giorno hebbi comodità di vederlo et anche de ragionare delle occurrentie che al presente accascano. Trovai Sua S^{tà} non molto ben contenta si per le cose passate di Cervia et Ravenna, delle quali ha recentissima memoria, si anche del appontamento fatto di Malatesta parendoli non esser ragionevole che Sua M^{tà} lo pigliasse a servitio et soldo suo et levarli un suo subdito; pur attribuisce tutto più presto ad Firenza, Ferrara et Urbino che ad alcuna mala intentione del re. Furno sopra queste due cose longhi discorsi per il che io me igegniai quanto fù in poter mio responder al uno et l' altro articulo mostrando ad Sua S^{tà} quale me haveva detto haver espettato hormai 18 mesi et non posser star più in questo modo; li dissi che la restitutione delle sue terre era propinqua et ch' a Venetia si aspettava la venuta del mar^{al} Trivultio che per questo effetto principalmente era destinato dal re benchè ne da voi ne dal s^{or} Pomponio non ne habbiamo adviso, pur Sua S^{tà} lo sapeva et dice che dal canto suo non si pretermetteva cosa alcuna perchè si metta in opera questa

[1] See *supra*, p. 49.

restitutione. Alla parte de Malatesta Baglione li dissi ch' io non sapeva questa certeza del suo appontamento per esser cosa trattata nel tempo che Sua S^{tà} etiam in Roma era tenuta per morta et che non era maraveglia che in quella occasione havesse Sua M^{tà} appontato questo homo per la importanza de Perogia non per far danno et deservitio ad Sua S^{tà}, ma per assecurarsi che non pigliasse appontamento con li inimici et benchè li ragionamenti fussero più longhi nondimeno questo è la substantia del tutto. Non lassaro de dirvi che Sua S^{tà} quasi ridendo me disse che discorrendo Sua M^{tà} con il legato le provisioni fatte per le cose de Italia aggionse ch' haveva anche appontato Malatesta Baglione, io li resposi che da qui posseva far iudicio certo non esser fatto che per bene, perchè se malitia et malignità vi fusse l' harebbe Sua M^{tà} celato et ascosto guardandosi de dirlo maxime al legato. Intrò poi Sua S^{tà} in discorso de la pressa li fanno questi agenti del Imp^{or} per condurlo ad appontamento et declaratione, il che dice esser molto alieno dalla voluntà et judicio suo, purchè potesse resister che se vede ad mal partito trovandosi da lhoro[1] serrato in Castello et pregione più che mai fusse, ne cognioscie altra differentia, se non che hora potrebbe andarsene in posta et alhora non posseva, tal che ad lui è necessario overo fugire da Roma et abbandonare lo stato suo di qua, overo accomodarsi men mal che si po a star ben con quelle genti che li sono tanto vicine che hora per hora possano farli insulto et danno; de gia incomenciano voler, che Sua S^{tà} se advedi de la necessità et intendi per discretion et hanno mandato il s^{or} Gio. Bap^{ta} Savello sotto color de sue differentie particulari a turbar et metter rumor nelle terre sue vicine et altre genti hanno incominciato ad levar ad Asculani verso il Tronto de molti castelli et, benchè del uno et del altro si escusino et dichino che faranno provisione, pur se cognioscie la causa perchè lo permettano. Sua S^{tà} ne sta de mala voglia vedendo dove si trova et parli che imperiali vorrebbano che senza alcun suo profitto se mettesse in manifesta ruina, per il che non havendo genti ne maggior forze che se habbino cognioscie che stringersi con lo Imp^{re} non serveria ad altro che ad ruinarsi, et me dice che cognioscie bene chel debito suo serrebbe dir lhoro[2] a bona cera io non voglio farlo perchè non mi si pertiene, ne meno

[1] = loro. [2] = loro.

conviene che io me stringhi con lo Imperatore perchè ruini la Christianità et levar il mezo de posser condurre la pace de Christiani, perho ch' stando ne termini dove si strova è sforzato per mantenere quel poco che li resta intertenersi como po; ad me parse in questo proposito far intendere ad Sua S^{tà} non como servitore del re, ma como cardinale et Christiano desideroso del ben de Sua S^{tà} et de la Chiesa, alla quale son più obligato ch' ad altra cosa, quanta consideratione li tocca haver in questa pratica vedendo in manifesta anzi certa ruina di quel ch' è restato ogni volta che S. S^{tà} passi in quella parte, mostrandoli quanto poco po creder a chi l' ha ingannato tante volte, quello che possi seguir sopra tutto il stato temporale de la Chiesa et quel che possi seguire in lo spirituale vedendo Sua M^{tà} et altri suoi collegati non esser stimati da Sua S^{tà}, ch' da judice et arbitro sia fatto parte, incontinenti li levaranno la obedientia et dolerannosi quanto potranno de Sua S^{tà} havendo fatto tutto per servitio della Chiesa, che pur è vero che per causa sua tutta la ligha si trova nel stato che si trova et hora intender che Sua S^{tà} sia condisciesa ad far convention che debbi portar preiudicio alli affari lhoro[1] et con molte più ragioni mi son sforzato senza rispetto et certo non ho havuto molta faticha perchè Sua S^{tà} non solo accetta quel che se li dice, ma discorre il medesimo con argumenti maggiori et ragioni efficaci. Io non so quello sia per far se benchè Sua S^{tà} sta in grandissimo affanno et perplessione et se per caso venesse mai ad effetto alcuno vi verrà per viva forza et tirato per li capegli et lo differirà quanto più potrà; credo per quel che ne vedo et per le parole non posser de far di meno se accomodarà di sorte che chi vorrà judicar bene dirrà che non ha possuto far di mancho. Mi ha anche detto che questi Imperial fanno instantia grande per la cruciata et che in effeto non possendo altramenti se ne contentarà, imperho con conditione da non darla insino ad 6 mesi et così ne ha pregato et fatto scriver allo Imperatore pensando in questo tempo haver occasione di condursi a confini per la pace universale et alhora donarla et che de gia se ne era scritto al legato quale lhaveva fatto intendere al re et che Sua M^{tà} gli haveva detto ben N. S. P. non darà altro et tanto ad nos. Questo me lo diceva in proposito del discorso faceva con Sua S^{tà} che se pur non posseva far di manco di darla

[1] = loro.

che era cosa che si posseva pareggiar dando altretanto a Sua M^{tà}, ma che de venir ad alcuna particulare conventione per secreta che fosse che pur se intenderebbe et ne seguirebbe troppo inconveniente, me dice haver fatto intender lhoro che per amor de Dio non lo astringhino alla ruina sua et che non vole ne restitutione di terre ne de cosa che li possino dar purchè non lo sforzino far contra il iudicio et voler suo et certo che da uno homo da bene che tiene la parte del Imp^{re} et mio amico intendo che Sua S^{tà} ha fatto il medesimo discorso et pregatolo vogli persuadere alli agenti del Imp. che non voglino senza proposito ruinarlo a fatto.

Non scrivo le querele che mi ha fatto Sua S^{tà} de portamenti de s^{ri} Fiorentini verso de lui et suoi perchè penso che siate da ogni banda informato et di questo et daltro ho parlato ad longo con lo ambassador che è qua, quale penso non harrà manchato de scriver il tutto.

In Roma alli IX d' aprile 1529.

[Orig. Concept. National Library, Paris, Fonds Franç. 3091, f. 27–30.]

7. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.[1]

1529, October 7, Rom.

. . . Non potrei dire el martello chel papa ha, che Firenze non vada a saccho, intendendose che dentro vi sono cinquanta cervelli galiardi de citadini inimici della casa de Medici, li quali si sono coniurati de stare saldi et non volere accordo per modo alcuno. Molti homini da bene si sono absentati per fugire quel periculo che è iminente a quella città, et de questi una bona parte c' è delli amici de S. S^{tà}, de modo che non è punto in proposito per la pratica dello accordo. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

8. Consistory at Bologna on the 22nd of December, 1529.[2]

Die merc. 22 decembris [1529]. Rev. dom. Senen. ut unus ex deputatis cum rev^{mis} de S. Severino et Cesarino qui egritudine

[1] See *supra*, p. 76. [2] See *supra*, p. 185.

impeditus adesse non potuit retulit super privatione comitis Iohannis Baiboda Transilvani tanquam eius qui iniverit amicitiam cum Thurcarum tiranno qui ipsius ductu et promissis regem Ludovicum tunc et nuperrime totum regnum occupaverit, incenderit et deleverit, ex quibus privatus, excommunicatus et declaratus existit iuxta tenorem minutae per rev. primum diaconum lectae.[1]

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

9. Pope Clement VII. to Cardinal Farnese.[2]

1530, Februar. 2, Bologna.

Posteaquam fraternitas tua discessit a nobis, occurrerunt gravissima quaedam, propter quae aliquibus etiam diebus hic permansuri sumus, and must request Farnese to be present. Earnest entreaties that he should be in Bologna within twenty days, as the Pope would then proceed with the Imperial coronation. Similia card. Senen., Sanseverin., Neapolit., Materan., Pisan., Nurcen., Iporegien.

[Min. brev. 1530, vol. 27, n. 83, in Secret Arch. of the Vatican; original despatch for Farnese in State Archives, Naples, Perg. Farnese.]

10. Consistory of the 4th of February 1530.[3]

Die 4 februarii [1530] fuit consistorium Bononiae in loco consueto, in quo S^{tas} Sua declaravit mentem Imperatoris coronandi se Bononiae in festo s. Mathiae, et fuerunt deputati ad cogitandum necessaria ad incoronationem rev^{mus} d. Anconitanus, d. Dertusen. et rev. d. de Cibo. . . .

[*Acta consist. vicecanc. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

11. Andrea da Burgo and Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand I.[4]

1530, Februar. 8, Bologna.

Die quinta venit posta cum litteris M^{tis} V. datis die 29 praedicti et dum extraherentur ex ziferis, quae longae et multae

[1] The Bull, "Cum supremus coeli terraeque moderator," dat. Bononiae 1529, XI Cal. Jan., was already printed in 1529. A copy (s. l. 1529) is in the British Museum.

[2] See *supra* p. 91. [3] See *supra*, p. 91. [4] See *supra*, p. 91.

erant, ego Salinas portavi Caesari litteras M^{tis} V. ad manus proprias qui illas legit. Ego etiam legi illa quae mihi scripta erant in lingua hispani a M^{te} V. Caesar legit integre litteras M^{tis} V. et attente etiam audivit mihi scripta et nihil aliud mihi respondit nisi quod postea intelligeret nobis scripta in latino quando essent extracta. Post autem illas litteras acceptas subito mandavit, ut cum diligentia mittatur ad providendum de necessariis pro solemni banchetto fiendo per S. Caes. M^{tem} in coronatione quae fiet die 24 praesentis, et ad eam vocati sunt vocandi et etiam revocati cardinales qui recesserant. Iussit etiam Caesar ut ego Andreas denuo scriberem domino Friderico ut accelleret adventum suum et etiam aliquorum Tridentinorum ad finem quem scripsit M^{tas} V^{ra}. . . Hodie post prandium fuimus cum Caesare ad longum et particulariter declaravimus scripta per M^{tem} V. circa singula. Audivit attente omnia et dixit M^{tem} V. etiam manu sua multa sibi scripsisse et unum punctum magis vid. quod M^{tas} V. responderat circa illud quod scripserat M^{ti} V. in genere circa coronationem quando omnino vellet ire Romam. Praeterea dixit quod nunc venit praepositus de Felwich qui retulit quod Germani non habebant gratum quod Caesar accipiet hic coronam et melius esse ire Romam. Demonstravimus credere nos, quod M^{tas} V. et d. Tridentinus respondissent posse hic accipi corona et melius esse quam ire ad perdendum tempus ad profectionem Romae et credere nos ita bene intelligere res Germaniae sicuti ipse praepositus, tamen quod M. Sua Caes. intellexerat litteras manu propria M^{tis} V. et scripta nobis et faceret ut sibi placeret. Respondit iam esse tardum ire amplius Romam et ob causas scriptas a M^{te} V. nolle ire, sed hic accipiet coronam, sed post illam die prima martis recederet hinc venturus in Germaniam.

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna.]

12. Pope Clement VII. to Duke Charles of Savoy.[1]

1530, Mart. 24, Bologna.

Dil. fil. etc. Cum nuper tam cariss. in Christo filius noster Carolus V. Imp. semper august. quam nob^{as} tua ac dil. in Christo filia nobilis mulier Beatrix infans Portugalliae conjux tua ipsiusque imperatoris sororia summa cum instantia a nobis petierint, ut

[1] See *supra*, p. 376.

vestrum secundogenitum infantem in S. R. E. cardinalem assumere dignaremur, nos in hujusmodi petitione non illud quidem affinitatis vinculum, quo nobis et fe. re. Leoni P. X. fratri patrueli et predec. nostro conjunctus es, ne carni et sanguini indulgere in hiis videremur, sed praeclara ipsius imperatoris erga nos merita ac tuam et predecess. tuorum erga sed. apost. inconcussam devotionem fidemque perpendentes, testis est nobis Deus cujusque nostrum scrutator cordium, tam piis in ipsum infantem desideriis vestris satisfacere posse optavimus, nec quicquam quod ad conceptum cordis nostri faceret pretermisimus; licet enim res nova et penitus inusitata ac propterea impossibilis potiusque difficilis videretur, cum non presentibus sed futuris promovendi infantis cardinalis meritis foveretur, non multo post tamen, quam requisiti fuimus, cum ven. frat. nostris in consist. nostro secreto super hujusmodi negocio non minus pie quam provide verbum fecimus scrutantes pariter et petentes a quolibet vellent libenter annuere libereque proferre quod tibi et conjugi tuae circa praemissa cum nostro et et hujus s. sedis honore concedere et gratificari possemus; verum hujusmodi nostra propositione audita, et si cardinales ipsi in omnibus quae Imperatori et nobilitati tuae ejusque conjugi possint satisfacere se paratos et prontos ostenderint, propositionem tamen ipsam velut rem novam et inusitatam et quae si in exemplum transiret plus detrimenti ap. sedi quam tibi et conjugi tuae honoris et commoditatis allatura foret, abhorrentes adeo se difficiles reddiderunt, ut non parum nos et Imperatori ac nobilitati tuae ejusque conjugi facturos in hoc satis arbitrati fuerimus; postquam praefatos cardinales concurrentibus omnium votis in hanc sententiam adducere trahereque potuimus, ut praefatum infantem secundumgenitum vestrum quem speramus talem futurum ut merito ad cardinalatus honorem promoveri posset, cum legitimae aetatis fuerit in cardinalem ex nunc prout ex tunc et de eorundem cardinalium voto et consensu eligemus idque eidem nobilitati tuae de eorundem cardinalium consilio et unanimi consensu in verbo veri Ro. pontificis nos indubie facturos esse vigore praesentium promittimus et pollicemur.

Dat. Bononiae die 24 martii 1530, a° 7°. Evangelista.

[Cop. Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. XI., vol. 48, f. 197–201.]

15. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1530, Juli 18, Rom.

. . . Si sono fatte a questi dì alcune congregationi et uno consistorio sopra le cose che ultimamente hanno ricercato questi Luterani, et secondo intendo la resolutione che si farà per N. S^re^ e per il collegio sarà in la negativa parendo che portava troppo grande alteratione alle cose della fede a consentir alle dimande che si fanno, ma si cercarà di trovare qualche altro expediente per aquietare l' animi loro al meglio si potrà con concessioni non tanto prejudicali como seriano queste.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[2]

1530, October 19, Rom.

L' imperatore per queste lettere de IIII che sono venute ultimamente fa instantia al papa che se resolva de la intentione sua circa l' impresa contra Lutherani et che parimente contribuisca de denari alla spesa che occorrerà havendosi a fare la impresa contra essi, persuadendosi S. M^tà^ che S. S^tà^ habbia da essere conforme alla voluntà sua in fare la guerra a detti Lutherani. Così questi oratori de Spagna et Hungaria stimulano molto S. S^tà^ per l' una e l' altra cosa. Ella sta suspesa sopra la resolutione che habbia a fare, perchè li pare che undique sint angustiae e far questa guerra al presente non si sa come la sia cosa bene intesa, che oltre la gran spesa che gli occorrerà serà uno incendere maggiormente la voluntà del Turco contro Christianità et a farne la impresa. Et essi Lutherani faranno tutte le opere che potranno per tirarlo al soccorso loro, depingendoli la facilità che esso Turco haverà de eseguire lo intento suo de venire contra Christiani havendo loro per compagni et per complici in questa impresa. Da laltro canto a lassare che non si faccia demostratione contra essi Lutherani essendo seguito quello che è in Augusta et havendo fatto lo imper^re^ tanta bravura come fece nel partire del duca di Sassonia, de là serà un perdere de riputatione, et le cose catholiche si

[1] See *supra*, p. 130. [2] See *supra*, pp. 143, 144, 145.

diminuiranno di sorte che poi se' li vorrà dare rimedio e non si potrà, tanto più che hora si pensa che questa maladetta setta Lutherana si andrà augumentando, già che è anichilato quel rispetto che si havea allo imperatore, et reuscita in nulla la speranza et la espettatione in che si stava che S. M^tà^ havesse a fare qualche bona resolutione in questa sua dieta. Il papa ha fatto recercare a Venetiani il parer loro in questa materia per il loro ambassatore quale ha scritto, ma anchor non c' è la resposta. Ben esso ambass^re^ iudica per quello chel sa dell' animo de quel dominio, chel consiglio suo serà che si fuga la guerra più che si può, et che a questi tempi, che si veddeno de che sorte siano li preparamenti che fa il Turco per la guerra, sia molto mal a proposito a suscitare questi fuochi, quali potranno portare tanto incendio a tutta Christianità, che mal beato chi se gli incapparà, et dice quello che in effetto a me anchora par vero, chel dritto era a non escludere questa pratica della sorte che è stata fatta, che considerata la qualità di tempi si era da vedere di venire a qualche compositione con Lutherani, tollerando alcuna di quelle sue opinioni più presto che romperla in tutto con loro come è stato fatto. Perchè Dio sa se ci serà il modo de mostrarli il volto così gagliardamente come si dice, et se così de facili si potranno sradicare con le armi et con la forza come se dissegna. Staremo a vedere et pregaremo dio che ne aiuti. . . .

Roma 19 de ottobre 1530.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1530, October 27, Rom.

N. S. ha mandato oggi per me et me ha fatto intendere che a questi dì, doppoi la resolutione de la dieta fatta sopra il caso de Lutherani vedendo lo imperatore la ostinatione de li seguaci de quella secta, perchè era cessato quel timore che haveano a principio che S. M^tà^ se transferisse in Ellemagna, il che non era proceduto da altri che dal vedere la dissolutione del exercito de Italia, pareali in proposito tirare in Ellemagna una summa de X^m^ fanti, fra Italiani et Spagnoli, et perchè si persuadea che quella

[1] See *supra*, p. 144.

demostratione era causa de reprimere la insolentia et temerità de essi Lutherani, perchè se riduriano a qualche termino ragionevole, dubitando del castigo de l' arme, si anche che una banda de questa sorte intertenendola per questo inverno, in caso chel Turcho pensasse al danno de Christianità, potria fare bono servitio per opponersi a la venuta sua; augumentando poi il numero de le fantarie cum la natione todescha a la summa che si judicasse essere expediente; ma perchè ad fare quella spesa S. M^{tà} non si conosca sufficiente insieme cum il re suo fratello de portare tanto peso, implorava lo aiuto di S. B^{ne} et de li altri principi d' Italia et potentati a fine che si potesse mandare ad executione quello suo laudevole pensiero, il quale concernendo il beneficio universale de tutta Christianità si persuadea che ciascuno per la parte sua non mancaria de contribuire volentieri pro rata, secondo che da S. S^{tà} seria taxato et ordinato. Però p^{ta} S. S^{tà} havendo a questi dì fatto matura consideratione sopra tal proposta, et parendoli che le ragioni addutte per S. M^{tà} habino del ragionevole, et che il far quanto la ricerca sia per portare bon servitio et sicurezza ad le cose de Christiani, ha determinato significare a li oratori de li s^{ri} de Italia che se ritrovano appresso S. B^{ne} la comprobatione che ella fa del partito, accioche ciascuno ne dia aviso a li loro principi, cum ordine che li scrivano oltra li brevi che li manda S. S^{tà} anchel parere et intentione sua, et che si conferisca a la spesa che occorrerà per sei mesi, secundo la limitatione che è stata fatta. Dove che per tal causa havea mandato per me, come l' havea fatto anche per li altri, accioche ne scrivessi a V. Ex. et la exhortassi et pregassi in nome suo ad volere essere contenta de consentire a la resolutione presa sopra ciò, et satisfare per la parte sua, secundo che li era stato deputato, che per quanto me ha ditto S. B^{ne} sonno mille ducati al mese. . . .

Roma alli 27 de ottob^{e} 1530.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1530, November 13, Rom.

[In cipher:] Venetiani hanno disuaso extremamente S. B^{ne} a concorrer in opinione della guerra contra Lutherani et per molte

[1] See *supra*, p. 145.

ragione li hanno demostrato che questo serà la ruina de la Christianità quando non si muti proposito. S. B^ne^ è stata sopra di se quando se li è fatta questa relatione, et pare che in effetto hinc inde sint angustiae: da un canto la guerra non è bona, da l' altro il concilio non piace; staremmo a veder.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

17. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1530, December 10, Rom.

. . . Si è resoluto di mandare un personaggio al' imp^re^ per l' interesse del concilio, et doppoi molta discussione de chi sarebbe al proposito come l' arcivescovo di Capova o il Theatino o l' arcivescovo di Brindisi mes^r^ Girolamo Alleandro, persona litterata molto et dotta, alla fine sonno calati al protonotario de Gambera, quale s' aspetta hoggi overo dimane, et in suo luogo in Bologna se lasserà il vescovo di Casale, mes^r^ Bernardino della Barba. . . .

Roma 10 decembre 1530.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

18. Girolamo Cattaneo to the Duke of Milan.[2]

1531, Januar. 7, Rom.

. . . Hoggi ad hore 17 vel circa al medesimo solito che S. S va in Belvedere è caduto el muro dil corridore che va a Belvedere de la zima sino al fondamento et sonno 3 volte una sopra de " altra perchè sonno ancora tre gli corridori. La longhezza del muro fracto ponno passar 20 canne alusanza romana. La causa è stata che mai fu coperto dipo che lo fece fare papa Julio et è quella parte fora dil muro di Nicola, dove sta quella porta bella de trevertino et dove è quello cordone duplicato di pietra cotta et in mezzo certe lettere majuscule de lettera nostrana di marmaro che cominciano Julius II Pont. Max. etc.

[Orig. State Archives, Milan.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 151. See *supra*, p. 353.

19. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1531, Januar. 9, Rom.

. . . Erano XVI hore e mezza che N. S. havendo udita la messa si mosse per inviarsi verso Belvedere, dove S. S^{tà} è solita di andare spesso la matina, pur aprendo la fenestra della camera sua et vedendo chel tempo era humido e tristo, mutò proposito. Non stette un ottavo d' hora, che del corridore per il qual si va a Belvedere, ne ruinò dalla cima in fino alli fundamenti più di XXX braccia per lungo e per traverso, talmente che se S. B^{ne} andava, portava grandissimo pericolo inseme con quelli che erano in sua compagnia, di ritrovarsi in quel luoco a punto quando accadette il caso. Et se per disgratia cossi fosse stato, tutti saressimo morti, dove che non si ha poco da ringratiare Dio di haver schivato un tanto periculo. . . .

Di Roma il IX di gen^{ro} 1531.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Francesco Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[2]

1531, Juni 5, Rom.

Ho parlato cum N. S^{re} sopra quanto V. Ex^{a} me scrive per la sua de 26 del passato, del desiderio che ella haveria che mes^{r} Michele Angelo li facesse qualche opera de sua mano per mettere nel pallazo suo del Te, et havendo fatto intendere a S. S^{tà} la difficultà che esso mes^{r} Michelangelo fa de poterla compiacere, la ho supplicata ad volersi dignare de non solo darli licentia de potere lavorare, ma commetterli anche chel voglia servire p^{ta} V. Ex., che per una gratia S. B^{ne} al presente non li po fare la maiore de questa. Ella me ha risposto che la pensa chel sia impossibile

[1] See *supra*, p. 353.

[2] See *supra*, p. 362. On the 24th of June Francesco Gonzaga wrote: ". . . *Hor regratio S. B^{ne} de l' haver fatto scrivere a Michelo Angelo, secondo che a questi dì V. Ex^{ia} ne la supplicò, la quale me ha ditto che non accade renderli altre gratie, ch' ella haverà charo che V. S. Illma resti compiaciuta, purchè il cervello di esso Michel Angelo se accomodi a satisfare al desiderio suo. . . ."

che egli attendesse a pictura se V. S. Illma volesse opera de quella sorte, perchè essendo lui occupato in la scolptura, come è et è per essere per molto tempo, non può havere la mano disposta al dipingere, sel non interlassarre per un tempo lo exercitio del scarpello, per essere totalmente diversa luna cosa da laltra. Et oltra ciò S. S^{tà} dice conoscere la natura del homo, de sorte che nel termino chel se ritrova de presenti, occupato nel lavorero che de sopra è detto, non se mettaria ad fare cosa de pictura, dubitando che de l' opera chel facesse non ne riportasse più presto carico che laude, per essere molto severo nelle cose sue. Pur cum tutto ciò ella non mancarà di satisfare alla rechiesta de V. Ex. facendoli scrivere in bona forma, acciochè se possibile ela sia compiaciuta di qualche cosa rara,[1] et per lei non restarà de darli la commodità del tempo, ancor che li sia molto al core chel vaddi perseverando indesinentemente l' opera chel ha per mano, che è artificio de multa longhezza. Io non ho voluto differire altrimente ad fare l' officio cum S. S^{tà}; havendo per lettere de mes^{r} Gio. Borromei inteso che egli non è per venire de presenti in Roma, le sue le indrizarò, et daroli aviso de la risposta havuta da S. B^{ne}, procurando che si scriva a Firenze secundo la promissione de quella. . . .

Roma alli V de zugno 1531.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. Pope Clement VII. renews the Appointment of Baldassare Peruzzi as Architect for St. Peter's.[2]

1531, Juli 1, Rom.

Dil. filio magistro Baltassari Perutio Senensi, nostro ac fabricae basilicae S. Petri de urbe architecto.

Dil. fil. salut. etc. Cum nos dudum ante ruinam urbis proximam te nostrum ac fabricae basilicae S. Petri de urbe architectum cum salario annuo centum quinquaginta ducat. auri de camera ad vitam tuam deputaverimus, nos operam et scientiam tuam in futurum continuare cupientes te de novo nostrum et dictae fabricae architectum ad vitam tuam cum salario annuo 150

[1] Or: rica.

[2] See *supra*, p. 352.

duc. auri praedicto auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium deputamus mandantes .

D. Romae 1 julii 1531 A. 8°. Blosius.

[Min. brev. vol. 37, n. 301. Secret Arch. of the Vatican.]

22. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1531, November 19, Rom.

. . . Hier sera vi furono littere dalla corte Cesarea et fresche, che fanno aviso come il duca di Saxonia è ritornato a essere buon Christiano, et mandati bandi per tutto il suo dominio, che si debbiano aprire le chiese, che si faccino l' oratione, le processione, et se dicano le messe, come prima, et che si vole conformare con la buona Christiana. Et tal nuova questa mattina che è il giorno della sua creatione, S. S^{tà} con allegrezza grande l' ha publicata a tutti i r^{mi} s^{ri} card^{li} et per certa ge lha confirmata, che veramente è una segnalada et boniss^{a} nuova. La pred^{ta} S^{tà} in aiuto et soccorso delli cinque cantoni de Svizari Christiani, manda di presente il cap^{no} Zuccharo con cento cinquanta cavalli et doi millia fanti tutti archibuxeri, quali penso farà fra Spoleti et Perosa, dimorando esso capitano a Spoleti per stanza già parecchi mesi sonno, et la p^{ta} S^{tà} dice che l' imper^{re} ancora dal canto suo promette di mandarne altri doi millia et di più se bisognaranno, quali già debbano essere inviati. .

Roma XVIIII di novembre 1531.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

23. Andrea da Burgo to Ferdinand I.[2]

1532 [Juni 5, Rom].

Hodie in congregatione fuit proposita temeraria et inhonesta peticio Galli qua petit decimas dominiorum suorum adjungens impudenter quod nisi concedatur occupabit ipse propria temeritate. Horret Papa hominis impudentem audaciam et quid faciat dubitat. Si concedat videt suppeditari arma Italiae, si denegat temet sublatum iri obedientiam prout minatur. Dixere sententiam, nihil tamen conclusum propter rei magnitudinem, tum quod duo

[1] See *supra*, pp. 165, 300.

[2] See *supra*, p. 199.

ex senioribus vid. Fre[nese] et Monte aberant. Dilata est res ad proximam congregationem. Creditur tamen quod abnegabitur regis peticio.

P.S. [in cipher]: Subscriptam cedulam misit mihi card. s. Crucis quinta junii.

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna.]

24. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1532, Juni 23, Rom.

Long report (in cipher) explaining why Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici is sent as Legate to Hungary, with statement of different opinions. Io per me dico che la potissima [causa] sia stata la desperatione del papa di removerlo mai dalla vita che tiene senza mandarlo alla disciplina del imperatore la quale è grave e severa.

Sanga and Salviati exercise the greatest influence over the Pope.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

25. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[2]

1532, Juni 29, Rom.

Cardinal Colonna died at Naples from drinking cold water,[3] "et altri disordini." Clement VII. and the Medici had lost a "grande e grosso nemico." Cardinal Colonna was the instigator of the sack.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

26. Pope Clement VII. to Johann von Metzenhausen, Archbishop of Treves.[4]

1532, Juli 20, Rom.

Venerabili fratri . . . Archiepiscopo Treverensi.

Ven. frater, salutem etc. Cupientes quantum cum Deo licet bonarum litterarum et artium splendorem multa superiorum temporum negligentia obscuratum in lucem restituere volventesque animo, quantum et fidei Catholicae, ac humani generis ornamentis litterae prosint, quae ingenia alunt, animum corroborant, intelligentiam illustrant, avocant a vitiis, impellunt ad

[1] See *supra*, p. 201.

[2] See *supra*, p. 102.

[3] Alberini (372) says the same.

[4] See *supra*, p. 345.

virtutes, statuimus librorum, et auctorum veterum monumenta ad hoc facientia ubique perquirere, in eaque re nec impensis parcere nec laboribus. Misimus igitur dilectum filium Ioannem Heitmerum[1] clericum Leodiensis dioecesis capellanum nostrum multorum testimonio probatum commissarium nostrum ad partes istas diligentem operam, ut speramus, daturum, quo nostro desiderio satisfiat. Intelligentes autem quantum tuae fraternitatis auctoritas nobis et huic studio nostro possit esse proficua, illam hortamur in Domino, tequc pro tua majorumque tuorum virtute vehcmenter requirimus, ut praefato Ioanni commissario nostro ad mandatum sibi opus libere expcditeque exequendum assistere omni tuo favore atque auxilio velis et de salvo conductu, si ita duxerit, providera. Quod ita nobis gratum facturus es ut si, quodamodum confidimus, sperati ex opera tua fructus proveniant, praeter aeternam laudem, quam ab omnibus reportabis, nos tibi vicissim et honoribus et commodis tuis, data occasione, largius sentics responsuros.

Dat. Romae etc. die XX julii 1532 anno IX. Evangelista.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 52, n. 536; *ibid.* 538, a similar Brief of July the 20th, 1532, to Cardinal Eberhard de la Mark, Bishop of Liége.]

27. Pope Clement VII. to the Dominicans of Ghent.[2]

1532, Juli 20, Rom.

Priori et conventui domus Gandaven. ord. praed. Tornacen.[3] dioc.

Rempublicam etc.[4] . . . desidcratorum per dil. fil. Wilhelmum Carnificem istius conventus vestri professorem ex diversarum provinciarum bibliothecis collectos et praescrtim Ciceronis de gloria, consolatione, republica et ioculatione equestri in domo vestra seu illius bibliotheca existere, ipsum Joannem commissarium istuc destinare curavimus, qui librorum hujusmodi fidelia exempla ad nos adducat. They must therefore hand over to him the aforesaid codices. Exhortation to obedience. Dat. Romae 20 julii 1532, anno 9°.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 52, n. 537.]

[1] MS.: Heitinerum. [2] See *supra*, pp. 336, 345. [3] MS. irrig: Treveren.
[4] Exordium, the same as in document No. 3, p. 484 *supra*.

28. Pope Clement VII. to Petrus Eras.[1]

1532, Juli 20, Rom.

Dilecto filio Petro Eras professori et bibliothecario conventus divi Francisci Mechlinien. Cameracensis dioecesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Quia sicut nobis retulit dilectus filius Ioannes Hytiners [sic] clericus Leodiensis dioecesis, capellanus noster, quem alias pro inquirendis et colligendis vetustissimis probatissimorum auctorum codicibus quadam superiorum temporum incuria fere deperditis ad diversas mundi partes destinavimus, te in huiusmodi pio et sancto opere semper sibi plurimum utilem extitisse, hanc tuam operam plurimum in Domino commendamus, teque paterne hortamur, tibi nihilominus in virtute sanctae obedientiae iniungentes, ut ab incoeptis non desistas, sed ut consuevisti, eidem Ioanni adiumento esse, etiam ad quaecunque loca utriusque Germaniae et Franciae et Angliae regnorum cum dicto Ioanne commissario, vel sine eo, prout ipsi Ioanni magis expedire cognoveris te conferendo perseveres. Et ut tutius et liberius valeas huiusmodi operi intendere, tibi, ut per 4^{or} menses a die qua per praefatum Ioannem super hoc fueris requisitus ad loca praedicta ad effectum praemissum tui superioris vel cuiusvis alterius licentia minime requisita, tuo tamen habitu semper retento, te conferre et in eis stare et pernoctare absque alicuius censurae vel poenae incursu libere et licite valeas, licentiam et facultatem concedimus per praesentes pariter et elargimur. Laborem autem et officium tuum huiusmodi habita occasione tibi ac conventui Mechliniensi dictae dioecesis, cuius, ut accepimus, bibliothecarius existis, proficuum fuisse enitemur.

Dat. Romae etc. die XX iulii 1532 anno IX. Evangelista.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 52, n. 539.]

29. Pope Clement VII. to Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mayence.[2]

1532, Juli 23, Rom.

Dilecto filio nostro Alberto tituli S. Petri ad vincula presbytero cardinali Maguntino nuncupato.

[1] See *supra*, p. 345. [2] See *supra*, p. 345.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem etc. Magno studiosorum omnium, quinimmo totius humani generis commodo et decori cedere non ignorantes, si antiquissimi codices, praesertim disertissimorum auctorum, qui hactenus quadam superiorum temporum incuria variis in locis infructuosi latent, in lucem ederentur, nihil duximus omittendum quod ad hanc rem pertinere cognovimus. Commisimus itaque dilecto filio Ioanni Heytmero[1] clerico Leodiensis dioecesis capellano nostro, cuius fides et integritas iamdiu nobis cognita est, ut pro huiusmodi codicibus inquirendis et colligendis diversas mundi partes perlustret. Cum autem, sicut a fide dignis accepimus, tres decades celebratissimi historiographi Titi Livii Patavini, eiusdem Livii tempestate, ut creditur, exaratae, et nonnulli alii tam Caii Plinii quam aliorum authorum desideratissimi codices in bibliotheca tuae ecclesiae Maguntinae et castro tuo Genelemstcyn[2] reconditi sint, circumspectionem tuam et capitulum tuum Maguntinum hortamur et attentius in Domino requirimus, ut huiusmodi libros, et si qui alii in tuis dioecesi et dominio fuerint reperti, quos praefatus Ioannes dignos putaverit qui exemplentur, ad effectum ut exempla ex eis sumere possit, edi facias, eique pro tua solita in nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem reverentia omne auxilium et favorem praestes, ut, quod de re litteraria mente concepimus, id auctore Domino, perficere valeamus. Erit autem id nobis gratissimum et tuae laudis et gloriae non modicum preconium et augmentum.

Dat. Romae etc die XXIII julii 1532 anno IX.

Evangelista.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 39, vol. 52, n. 548.]

30. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[3]

1532, October 17, Rom.

. . . Questi s^ri prelati quando nell' animo loro gli entra qualche mala satisfatione mi pare habbino preso per costume de ritirarsi alle loro chiese a fare il santo et dicono al servitio di Dio contrafacendo il Chiettino et sua vita sancta, et in exempio vediamo un

[1] MS.: Heytinero.

[2] Probably Giebichenstein is here meant.

[3] See *supra*, p. 441

vescovo di Verona Baiosa morto, l' arcivescovo di Salerno et Eugubio, un vescovo de Nizza[1] in Franza predicare la sanctimonia al re Christ^mo^ et alle madame, et hora l' arcivescovo de Capova a fare il medesimo, et ognuno havere incominciato a raspare e santi giù dalle mura, gittare le berette a i crucifixi et altre simili cose, che per me non le voglio già chiamare ypocrisie perchè non ho il secreto del cuore del huomo quale el si sia, che alle volte potrei errare in volere giudicare altri et altro giudicasse poi me. De secolari non habbiamo ancora visto se non la del s^r^ Ascanio Colonna, ma di già è passata parecchi giorni sonno. . . . Roma XVII d' ott^e^ 1532.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. Pope Clement VII. to his Nuncio in Naples.[2]

1532, November 12, Rom.

Nuntio Neapolitano. Dil. fil. nob. vir marchio Villaefrancae vicerex Neapolis inclyta pietate usus curavit nobis restitui plura tapetia et quattuor cum una parte alterius petias serici a quibusdam militibus . . . tempore direptionis Urbis ex palatio nostro ablata. He tells the Nuncio to remove all censures, penalties, etc., which have been incurred by the theft of the aforesaid articles; with special acknowledgment to the Viceroy. Dat. Romae 12 nov. 1532, anno 9°.

[Min. brev. vol. 41, n. 402, Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

32. Giovanni Maria della Porta to the Duke of Urbino.[3]

1532, December 23, Bologna.

Qua s' è comenzato a raggionare delle cose Luth^ne^, alle quali si ha per resoluto, non fosse expediente remedio il concilio particolar in quella natione che darebe assetto a modo suo alle sue oppenioni et non v' essendo forma di sperarlo generale per la discordia de principi Christiani correno de pareri, fosse ben fatto intimare questi Luth^ni^ unitam^te^ con Christiani alla deffensione contra il Turco lasciandoli in pace insin che Dio mandara occasione chel Concilio generale si possa far, et questa openion

[1] Girol. Arsagi; *cf.* Gallia christ. III. 1291.

[2] See *supra*, p. 356. [3] See *supra*, p. 221.

è la più universale, contraria a quella d' alcuni che persuadeno a dar aiuto alli Catholici che potesseron usar la forza contra Lutherani.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

33. Pope Clement VII. to Baldassare Peruzzi.[1]

1533, April 30, Rom.

Dil. filio Balthassari Perutio Senen. architecto nostro.

Dil. fili, salutem. Cum opera tua uti intendamus, volumus ut statim receptis presentibus ad nos venire matures, quod, ut commodius ac securius facere possis, tibi, ut, non obstantibus quibusvis repressaliis contra communitatem et homines civitatis Senarum ratione quorumvis tam publicorum quam particularium etiam tuorum debitorum et ad quarumcunque personarum etiam camerae apostolicae instantiam emanatis et concessis, ad almam urbem nostram venire ac in ea et toto S. R. E. statu tuto ac secure stare et permanere possis et valeas ad sex[2] menses a dat. presentium computandos et interim ad nostrum beneplacitum cum disdicta octo dierum, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus et indulgemus, mandantes omnibus et singulis urbis et status eorundem gubernatoribus officialibus barisellis et executoribus presertim eiusdem camerae generali auditori, ne te contra presentium tenorem molestare quoquomodo audeant vel presumant sed eas tibi iuxta suum tenorem inviolabiliter observent et observari faciant, premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis . . . non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Dat. Romae etc. ultima aprilis 1533, a° X°.

Car^lis de Salviatis. Blos.

[Secret Arch. of the Vatican, Arm. 40, vol. 46, n. 162 (Min. brev.).]

34. Pastron to the Marchioness of Monferrato.[3]

1533, November 10, Marseille.

Da poi l' altre mie, oghi essendo andato a visitare uno gran prelato et mio amicissimo, stringendolo pur amorevolmente de intendere

[1] See *supra*, p. 353.

[2] On the margin, "sex," in another hand; in text, "duos," erased by "quatuor," which is also erased.

[3] See *supra*, p. 236.

quello particulare, al fin me ha dicto queste parole: Pastron, io non posso manchar de dirti qualche cosa, te prego ben se pur vorai dirlo et scriverlo, non me ne faci auctore. Sia certo che la S^{tà} di N. S. non cercha altro ne mira ad altra cosa che di unire in bona intelligentia lo imper^{re} et il Christ^{mo} re, ma lo imp^{re} se trova tanto buono in mano chel non vol consentire a moversi ne disconzarsi in grado alcuno. Da l' altro canto il re se trova tanto carizato ne li capituli sono tra loro, che per niente vol stare cussì. La S^{tà} del N. S. fa tutto per removere l' una parte e l' altra da queste loro tanto ferme deliberationi, ma li vede poco modo. Questi s^{ri} Francesi se havessero mille catene a piedi non se potriano tener che non rumpeno. Quello altro li pare essere in grande reputatione, non vol lassarsi condure di sorte chio tengo per certo vedaremo la più grande et crudel guerra che sia stata a tempi nostri. . . .

In Marsilia X novembre 1533. Di V. Ex. hum. ser. el Pastron.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

35. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1534, Mart. 6, Rom.

. . . Ancora di qua dicono che l' ancravio d' Assia principe grande de Alemania et gran Lutherano o è venuto o debbe venire a ritrovare el re Ch^{mo} in Francia et abbocarsi con S. M^{tà}; la cagione per ancora non s' intende per il certo, ma si crede che più presto sia per generare qualche sospetto a l' Imperiali, ch' insieme habbino intelligentia et unione, che per altro conto, ben che hoggi da un r^{mo} card^{le} mi sia detto, che quando N. S. fù a Marsilia dal p^{to} re Ch^{mo} li fù ragionato di volersi abbocare con il p^{to} lancravio a benefitio et servitio di S. S^{tà} et della sede apost^{ca}, che per altro conto, che se così fossi farebbe l' opera da quel buon Ch^{mo} re che S. M^{tà} è et debbe essere tenuto. . .

Roma 6 di marzo 1534.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 236.

36. Fabrizio Peregrino to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.[1]

1534, Juli 6, Rom.

. . . Di nuovo altro non ve è per hora eccetto chel N. S. è assai bene convaluto della sua indispositione et risanato et il r^mo^ di Medici hormai dimostra havere diposta quella sua fantasia di non più scappellarsi et vuole attendere al ecclesiastico et essere buon figliuolo come sempre è stato et, se non ha incominciato presto incominciarà a prendere li ordini sacri per non possere più tornare addietro, cosa ch' al giuditio mio credo ch' l se ne renderà beniss^o^ consigliato. S. S^tà^ gli paga tutti i debiti che sonno di molta somma et gli dona 100 ducati al mese per sua provisione del vivere, restando in questo grado se ritrovarà un bello, riccho et adventurato prelato. Se ragiona pur de i card^li^ che a divotion sua si faranno, et di quelli che a V. Ecc^a^ già ho scritto. . . .

Roma 6 di julio 1534.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 323, and Luzio, Pronostico, 144.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL X.

Acciaiuoli, Roberto (Florentine envoy), 104, 181 n. 3.
Accolti, Benedetto, Cardinal, 2 n. 4, 12 n. 2, 77, 199, 327.
„ Bernardo (poet), 326 n. 4, 342.
Achmed of Egypt, 171.
Adrian VI., Pope, 57, 107 *seq.*, 183, 239, 331, 334, 346, 369, 377, 384, 405, 406 *seq.*, 418, 425, 446, 454.
Agnolo, Michael (of Siena), 346.
Alarcon, F., 5 n. 1.
Albany, Duke of, *see* Stuart.
Albergati, Vianesio (envoy from Bologna), 165 n. 1.
Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal (Archbishop of Mayence), 225, 505.
„ „ (Grand Master of the Teutonic Order), 120 *seq.*
Alcionio, Pietro (poet), 342.
Aleander, Hieronymus (Archbishop of Brindisi, Nuncio), 107–110, 163 *seq.*, 167, 169, 221 *seqq.*, 313 *seq.*, 318, 385 n., 440, 441 n. 2, 499.
Aleman, Cardinal, B., 370.
Alessandro of Pieve di Sacco (Franciscan), 311.
Alexander VI., Pope, 330, 366, 403.
Alfonso I. (Duke of Ferrara), 9 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*, 56, 80, 88 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*, 204, 219.
Alvarez de Toledo, Juan (Dominican), 404.
Amaseo, Romolo, 335.
Andrea, Master (painter), 350 n. 5.
Andrea da Ferrara, 306.
Antonino, S. (Archbishop of Florence), 369.
Aretino, Pietro, 331 n. 2, 341 *seq.*, 346 n. 2.
Ariosto, Lodovico (poet), 201 n. 2.
Arsagi, Girolamo (Bishop of Nice), 440, 507.
Arthur of England (Prince of Wales, brother of Henry VIII.), 240, 246 *seq.*, 265, 274.
Averoldo, A., 311 n.

Baglioni, Malatesta, 1 n., 51, 54, 64, 70 *seq.*, 103 *seq.*, 490.
Balbi, Girolamo (Bishop of Gurk), 53.
Baldassare de Pescia, 394 n. 3.
Bandello, M., 422 n.
Bandinelli, Baccio (sculptor), 327, 360.
Barba, Bernardino della (Bishop of Casale), 499.
Barton, Catherine (the "Maid of Kent"), 284.
Bathory, Stephan, 174, 178

Beatrice of Portugal, 494.
Becket, Thomas, St. (Archbishop of Canterbury), 272 n.
Becquin, Louis de, 303.
Bellay, Guillaume du (Sire de Langey, French envoy), 235, 304.
Belli, Valerio (medallist and lapidary), 356, 358.
Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, 48 n., 334 n., 335.
Bemelberg, Conrad von, 12.
Benedetto da Fojano (Dominican), 73, 104.
Benivieni, Girolamo (poet), 73 n. 2.
Bennet, William (English envoy), 266, 276.
Bernardi, Giovanni, da Castel Bolognese (lapidary and die-sinker) 356, 358.
Bernardino of Asti (preacher), 473, 486, 487.
" da Busti, 370.
" da Colpetrazzo (Capuchin), 458 n. *seq.*, 463 n., 466 *seqq.*, 475 n., 486 *seq.*
" da Monte del Olmo (Capuchin), 487.
Bernardo di Mastro Antonio, 395 n. 4.
Berni, Francesco (poet), 40 n. 5, 331, 340 *seq.*
Biagio di Cesena, 394 n. 3.
Blount, Elizabeth (mistress to Henry VIII.), 241.
Bocchi, Achille, 343.
Boleyn, Anne, 242 *seqq.*, 249 *seq.*, 251 n. 2, 258, 273, 279–284.
" Mary (sister of Anne, mistress to Henry VIII.), 241, 242 n. 1, 250.
Bomhouwer, A. (Franciscan), 114 n. 3.
Bonaventura, P. (Provincial of the Minorites), 311 n.
Bongiovanni, Giangiacomo (Bishop of Camerino), 464, 465.
Bonomi, G. V., 343 n. 14.
Bonziano (Bishop of Caserta), 411.
Borromeo, Charles, St., 441, 453.
" Giovanni, 501.
Boschetti, Roberto, Count, 1.
Boverius, 462 n. 3, 485 *seq.*
Bozzolo, Federigo, 4.
Brandano, 16, 475.
Brask, Johann (Bishop of Linköping), 292 *seq.*, 294.
Briaerde, Lambert von (Imperial orator), 224 *seq.*
Brown, George (Augustinian), 281 n. 2.
Bruccioli, 416.
Brück, Gregor, 140.
Bryan (English envoy), 266.
Buonavita, Pietro, 314.
Buondelmonti, B., 189 n. 3, 200 n. 3.
Buongrazia, G., 315 n. 3.
Burgio, *see* Puglioni.
Burgo, Andrea da (envoy of Ferdinand I.), 35 n. 3, 44 n. 3, 45 *seq.*, 51, 53, 55, 61 *seq.*, 83 n. 4, 90 n., 91, 96, 100 n. 4, 136, 148 n. 2, 158 n. 1, 186 *seq.*, 190, 192 n. 5, 196, 206, 214, 494.
Burigozzo (chronicler), 452.
Butigella, Paolo (General of the Dominicans), 308.

Cajetan, Thomas de Vio, Cardinal, 151, 163, 171, 276 n. 3, 277 n. 2, 324, 343.
Calcagnini, Celio (scholar), 201 n. 2.

Callisto da Piacenza (Augustinian, Inquisitor-General), 313.
Calvo, Mario Fabio, 343.
Campeggio, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 14 *seqq.*, 18 *seq.*, 82, 109 *seq.*, 112, 114 *seq.*, 117 *seqq.*, 121 n. 4, 123, 125–134, 139, 141, 154, 158 *seqq.*, 163, 166 *seq.*, 171, 173 *seqq.*, 220 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 257, 260–264, 268 *seqq.*, 318.
„ Tommaso (Bishop of Feltre), 15 n. 5, 28 n. 3, 414 *seq.*
Camponesca, Vittoria (mother of Gian Pietro Carafa), 402.
Canisio, Egidio, Cardinal, 19, 106, 149, 389, 455.
Canossa, Lodovico di (Bishop of Bayeux), 440.
Cantacusino, Teod. Spandugnino (chronicler), 345 n.
Capisucchi (Auditor of the Rota), 274.
Capponi, Niccolò (Gonfaloniere of Florence), 53.
Caracciolo, Gian Antonio, 417.
Caradosso, Ambrogio (goldsmith), 356.
Carafa, Gian Antonio (father of Gian Pietro), 402.
„ Gian Pietro (Bishop of Chieti, afterwards Pope Paul IV.), 310–313, 380, 387, 394 *seq.*, 398, 400–407, 409–423, 424, 427 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 452, 457, 462 *seq.*
Carafa, Maria (sister to Gian Pietro), 402.
„ Oliviero, Cardinal, 402 *seq.*
„ Vincenzo, Cardinal (Archbishop of Naples), 381 n. 1, 384 n. 3, 440.
Carducci, Baldassare, 60 n. 1, 61 n. 2.
„ Francesco, 53, 104.
Carne, Dr. (English envoy), 279.
Carnesecchi (papal secretary), 311 n. 2, 317, 327.
Carnifex, Wilhelm (Dominican), 336, 484, 504.
Carosi, Bartolomeo, *see* Brandano.
Carpi, *see* Pio.
Casale, Gregorio (envoy of Henry VIII.) 8, 9 n. 1, 54, 84 n. 3, 252 *seq.*, 260, 263 *seq.*, 275, 447 n. 3.
„ Johann, 264.
Casei, Jacopo de', 451.
Casio, G. (poet), 344 n.
Castiglione, Baldassare, 31 n. 1, 47, 48 n., 50, 349 n. 5.
„ Bernardo da, 104.
Catherine of Aragon (Queen of England), 240 *seqq.*, 244–247, 249, 251, 253, 257 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*, 265, 268 *seqq.*, 274, 276, 278 *seq.*, 281 *seqq.*, 284 *seq.*
Cattaneo, Girolamo, 353 n. 2.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 346, 350, 352, 356 *seq.*
Centurione, Domenico, 103 n. 1.
Cerretani (Lutheran), 315 n. 3.
Cesarini, Alessandro, Cardinal, 77, 216, 492.

Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 12 n. 6, 18, 77, 121 n. 4, 220 *seq.*
Chaireddin Barbarossa, 324.
Challant, Louis de, Cardinal, 97, 375.
Chambre, Philippe de la, Cardinal, 233.
Charles III. (Duke of Savoy), 93, 98, 230, 309, 376.
„ V. (The Emperor), 5 *seq.*, 8–11, 16 *seq.*, 21, 23 *seq.*, 26, 28, 30, 34 *seq.*, 38, 41, 43–47, 49, 51 *seq.*, 54–58, 60, 62 *seq.*, 65, 68 *seq.*, 71, 73 *seqq.*, 77, 80–99, 103, 116 *seq.*, 121–140, 142–169, 177, 181 n. 3, 184 *seq.*, 187 *seq.*, 190–194, 196 *seqq.*, 200, 202 *seq.*, 204–211, 213 *seq.*, 216–222, 224, 227–230, 235 *seq.*, 241, 256, 265, 268, 270, 273 *seq.*, 279, 299, 302, 304, 306, 321, 326, 328, 335, 357 n., 367, 376, 386 *seq.*, 404 *seq.*, 425, 483.
Chieregati, Francesco (Nuncio), 110.
Christian II. (King of Denmark), 126, 129, 291.
Cibo, Caterina, 230, 459, 462, 464, 465 n. 1, 466 n., 470, 475.
„ Innocenzo, Cardinal, 4 n. 3, 77, 183 n. 2.
Cicala, Eduardo, 394 n. 3.
Ciocchi, Antonio (del Monte Sansovino), Cardinal, 2 n. 4, 70, 76, 115, 121 n. 4, 149, 183 n. 2, 186, 231, 394, 472, 503.
Clement VII., Pope, 1 *seq.*, 4–12, 14 *seqq.*, 18–23, 26–30, 32–49, 51–66, 69, 71–80, 82–89, 92–101, 105 *seqq.*, 109, 111, 114–117, 119–127, 129, 132–158, 160–169, 170 *seq.*, 174–177, 179–199, 202, 204–222, 224, 227–237, 240, 248–256, 259 *seqq.*, 266 *seqq.*, 270, 273–280, 282 *seqq.*, 287, 292 *seqq.*, 297–300, 303 *seq.*, 306–315, 316–342, 345–358, 360 *seqq.*, 364–387, 393–396, 407, 409 *seq.*, 412, 415, 417–421, 424–428, 434 *seqq.*, 438, 441, 445 *seq.*, 451, 454 *seq.*, 457, 459, 461, 471–476, 486, 503.
Cles, Bernhard von, Cardinal (Bishop of Trent), 82, 90 n., 96, 121, 126, 318, 375, 440.
Clovio, Giulio (miniaturist), 350 *seq.*
Cochläus, Joannes, 112, 114, 318.
Coligny, Odet de, Cardinal, 233.
Colle, Bonifazio da, 400, 407, 411 *seq.*
„ Raffaello del (painter), 349.
Colocci, Angelo (poet), 335.
Colonna, Family of the, 12 n. 6, 29, 352 n. 5.
„ Ascanio, 17, 27 n. 3.
„ Pompeo, Cardinal, 1 n., 12 n. 6, 26, 27 n. 3, 102 n. 2, 503.
„ Sciarra (leader of mercenaries), 27 n. 3, 70.
„ Vittoria, 426, 459, 475.
Consiglieri, Paolo, 400, 407, 411.
Contarini, Gasparo (Venetian envoy), 19 *seqq.*, 23, 26

Contarini, Gasparo—*continued.* *seqq.*, 34–37, 38 n. 1, 44, 52, 54, 60, 76, 84, 85 n. 2, 86 *seq.*, 416.
Copernicus, Nicolas, 337.
Cornaro, Francesco (Bishop of Brescia), Cardinal, 375, 440.
Corrado, Giovanni, 14.
Cortese, Gregorio (Benedictine), 416, 455.
Covos, 154, 156, 161, 217, 221.
Cranmer, Thomas, 273, 282.
Crispoldi, Tullio (humanist), 395, 439.
Crivelli, Giov. Pietro, 394 n. 3.
Cromwell, Thomas, 285.
Cueva, Pedro de la (Imperial envoy), 79, 146 *seq.*, 149, 214, 215 n. 1.
Cupis, Giandomenico de, Cardinal, 183 n. 2, 394.

Dati, Giuliano (parish priest), 395 *seq.*
Davalos, Rodrigo (Imperial agent), 228.
David (King of Æthiopia), 367.
Dinteville, François II. de (Bishop of Auxerre), 211 n. 1, 221 n. 2.
Donato, Francesco (Venetian Procurator), 373.
Doria, Andrea (Admiral), 14, 24, 27 n. 3, 82, 190, 198, 202, 231 n. 1.
„ Filippino (Admiral), 17.
„ Girolamo, Cardinal, 39, 40 n. 1, 375.
Doxis della Palma, Mariano de (physician), 40 n. 5.
Du Prat, Antoine Bohier, Cardinal (French Chancellor), 7 n. 2, 22, 302.

Eck, Johann, 107, 114, 168, 318, 343.
Elizabeth (afterwards Queen of England), 281 n. 2.
Enkevoirt, Wilhelm von, Cardinal, 41, 94, 323, 394.
Eras, Petrus (Franciscan), 505.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 123, 304 n. 6, 337 *seq.*, 345, 404.
Ercole of Ferrara (son of Duke Alfonso), 23.
Eremita, *see* Rigini.
Ernest of Bavaria, Duke (Bishop of Passau), 317.
„ of Lüneburg, Duke, 124, 140.
d'Este, Isabella (wife of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua), 83 n. 1.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 423.

Faber, Johann (Dominican), 114, 318.
„ Peter (Jesuit), 477.
Fabrizi, Cinzio de', 344 n.
Fantucci, Giovan Francesco, 361.
Farfa, Abbot of, *see* Orsini, Napoleone.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 4 n. 3, 19, 65, 68, 80, 91 n., 149, 183 n. 2, 186, 214, 216, 220 *seq.*, 228, 231, 441, 493, 503.
„ Pierluigi (leader of mercenaries), 70.
Ferdinand I. (brother to Charles V.), King of Hungary and Bohemia, 45, 51 n., 55, 57, 69, 74, 85 n. 1, 88 *seq.*, 91, 114 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*, 125, 127, 148, 152, 154, 156, 163, 181 *seqq.*, 185 *seqq.*, 190, 192 *seqq.*, 200, 201 n. 3, 203, 205, 219, 222, 224, 236, 316, 318, 320 *seq.*, 325.

Ferdinand the Catholic (King of Aragon), 240, 403 *seq.*
Ferrari, Bartolommeo, 451, 452 n. 1.
Ferreri, Zaccaria (Bishop), 342.
Ferretti, J. F., 344 n.
Ferrosius, Ant., 335 n. 1.
Ferruccio, Francesco, 102.
Ferrus, Jerome, 310 n. 5.
Fieramosca, Cesare (Imperial agent), 17.
Filonardi, Ennio (Nuncio), 236, 297 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*
Fine, Cornelius de, 26, 68, 368 n. 6, 450 n. 3.
Firenzuola, Agnolo (poet), 340.
Fisher, John, B. (Bishop of Rochester), 240, 247, 269, 286.
Flaminio, Marcantonio (humanist), 425 n. 4.
Floriano (secretary to Campeggio), 269 n. 2.
Foix, Odet de, *see* Lautrec.
Fonzio, Bartolomeo (Franciscan), 311.
Foscari, Marco (Venetian ambassador), 328 n. 4.
Fox, Edward, Dr. (English envoy), 2, 8, 254 *seq.*, 258 *seq.*
Francesco da Jegi (Capuchin), 487.
,, da Potentia (Minorite, Bishop of Skara), 297, 366.
,, Maria, Duke of Urbino, *see* Rovere.
Francis I. (King of France), 6, 8, 11, 16 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 24, 42 n. 1, 46 n. 3, 58 *seqq.*, 64 n., 88, 101 n. 3, 116, 127, 135, 139, 154 *seqq.*, 158 *seqq*, 161 *seq.*, 166, 168, 177, 181 n. 3, 187, 190, 193 *seq.*, 198, 205, 207, 211 *seqq.*, 217 *seq.*, 220 *seq.*, 223, 227, 229 *seq.*, 232–237, 247, 252, 256, 280, 283, 301–304, 319 *seqq.*, 326, 371, 374 *seqq.*, 387, 483.
Francis, Duke of Lüneburg, 124.
Francis of Assisi, St., 456, 460 *seq.*
Franco, Matteo, 344 n.
Frederick I. (King of Denmark) 288–291.
,, III. ("The Wise," Elector of Saxony), 124, 140, 142 *seq.*, 165, 240.
Frederick of Naples, 404.
Fregoso, Federigo (Archbishop of Salerno and Gubbio), 440.
Frundsberg, Melchior, 13, 70.
Fuggers, Family of the (bankers), 173.
Fulvio, Andrea (poet, archæologist), 343.

Gaddi, Niccolò, Cardinal, 233.
Gaetano di Tiene, S., 387, 392 n. 1, 395, 396 n. 3, 398–401, 407, 408 n. 1, 410 *seq.*, 415–418, 435 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*
Galateo, Girolamo (Franciscan), 311, 420.
Gambara, Uberto da (Bishop of Tortona), 151–154, 157, 159, 248, 252.
,, Ugo da, 7, 10, 499.
Gammarus, 345 n.
Gardiner, Stephen, Dr. (English envoy), 2, 8, 254 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, 268, 283 *seq.*
Gattinara, Mercurino di, Cardinal, 56, 66, 67 n, 69, 82, 86, 89 n. 4, 375.

Gazzella, Tommaso (jurist), 405.
Geismayr, Michael (leader of peasants), 210 n. 5.
George, Bishop of Brixen, 82.
,, Duke of Saxony, 126, 127, 224, 321.
,, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, 124, 168, 322 n. 2.
Gerasimov, Demetrius (Russian envoy), 366.
Ghislieri, Bonaparte, 2 nn. 4, 6.
Giberti, Gian Matteo (Bishop of Verona) 44 *seqq.*, 52, 68 n. 3, 84, 195, 208 *seq.*, 219, 325, 340 *seq.*, 378, 380, 383 n. 1, 385 n., 387, 393 *seq.*, 409 n., 410, 412, 415, 420, 424–442.
Gibraleon, G. B. (scritt. apost.), 394 n. 3.
Giorgio da Gubbio (miniaturist), 356.
Giovanni da Fano (Provincial of the Franciscans), 461, 463, 471 n., 473.
,, da Udine (painter), 350.
,, d'Urbino (Spanish captain), 70.
Giovio [Jovius], Paolo, 329, 339.
Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio (humanist), 342.
Girolamo da Montefiore (Vicar-General of the Capuchins), 486, 487, 488 n. 1.
Giulio Romano, 48 n., 346 *seq.*, 349, 350 n. 1, 353 n. 4.
Giustiniani of Bergamo (Camaldolese hermit), 455.
,, Lorenzo, S. (Patriarch of Venice), 369.
Giustiniani, Paolo (Camaldolese), 400, 406 *seq.*, 454.
Goethe, 357 n. 1.
Gonzaga, Family of the, 336.
,, Ercole, Cardinal, 4 n. 3, 42 n. 2, 68 n. 3, 183 n. 2, 205 n. 2, 215 n. 1, 323 n. 1, 385 n., 394, 440.
,, F. (Mantuan agent), 29, 40 n. 5, 42 n. 4, 138, 142, 148 n. 2, 150, 500 n. 2.
,, Federigo (Marquis, afterwards Duke of Mantua), 4 n. 6, 86, 98 n. 1, 103 n. 1, 138, 142, 219.
,, Ferrante (brother of Federigo), 103 n. 1.
,, Francesco (Marquis of Mantua), 341.
,, Girolamo, 163 n. 5, 165 n. 1.
,, Isabella, *see* Este, Isabella.
,, Luigi (di Borgoforte), 85 n. 2.
,, Pirro, Cardinal, 4.
Gramont, Gabriel de (Bishop of Tarbes), Cardinal, 101, 135, 160, 185, 208 n. 1, 210 *seqq.*, 217, 223, 227 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 375.
Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (Bishop of Arras), 82.
,, Nicolas Perrenot de, 56, 133, 154, 156, 161, 217, 221, 280.
Gregory VII., Pope, 108.
Grimani, Marino, Cardinal, 216, 375 n. 1.
Gritti, Andrea (Doge of Venice), 342, 416, 435.

Gritti, L., 193.
Guicciardini, Francesco, 104, 217, 230, 235 n., 329, 339 *seq.*
Guidiccioni, Bartolommeo, 441.
Guido da Crema, 42 n. 5, 190 n. 1.
Gustavus I. Wasa (King of Sweden), 288, 291–296.
Guzman, Martino di (Franciscan), 456.

HANER, J., 108 n. 1.
Heitmers, Johann, 336, 482 *seq.*, 484, 504 *seqq.*
Heliä, Paulus (Carmelite), 290.
Henry VII. (King of England), 238.
„ VIII. (King of England), 7 *seq.*, 22, 47, 62, 116, 127, 158 *seq.*, 187, 193, 209, 217, 220 *seq.*, 227, 237, 238–254, 256–287, 288, 332, 404, 425, 483.
Henry, Duke of Brunswick, 124 n. 1, 225.
„ Duke of Orleans (2nd son of Francis I.), 161, 211 *seq.*, 218, 232, 234.
Herborn, Nic. (Franciscan), 365 n. 1.
Hieronymus de la Lama, *see* Lama.
Hogenberg, Nic. (engraver), 96 n.
Hurtado de Mendoza, Lope, *see* Mendoza.
Hyacinth of Poland, St., 370.

IGNATIUS of Loyola, St., 476.
Ingemar (Bishop of Vexjö), 292, 296.
Innocent III., Pope, 108.
Isabella the Catholic (Queen of Castille), 253.

JAMES IV. (King of Scotland), 187, 483.
Jerome Emilian, St., *see* Miani.
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 225.
Joanninense, Stefano (historian), 343.
John III. (King of Portugal), 116, 187, 371 *seq.*
„ XXII., Pope, 461.
John Frederick (Elector of Saxony), 224, 226.
„ of Terranova (Capuchin) 460 n. 2, 467 n. 1, 471 n. 1, 486 *seq.*
Jovius, *see* Giovio.
Julius II., Pope, 5 n. 1, 20, 241, 252 *seqq.*, 257, 259, 403, 443.
Jurischitsch, Nicholas, 201.

KASIMBEG (Turkish general), 202.
Knight (English envoy), 248 *seqq.*, 251, 266.
Knut (Provost of Vesterås), 293 *seq.*
Kolpehk, Sebastian (Bishop of Laibach), 317.

LAMA, Hieronimus de la, 390 n., 396 n., 397 n.
Landriano (Milanese envoy), 180 n. 3, 185.
Lang, Matthæus, Cardinal, 106 n. 2, 126.
Langeac, J. de (French envoy), 23 n. 2, 28 n. 2.
Langey, Sire de, *see* Bellay, G. du.
Lannoy, Charles de (Viceroy of Naples), 93, 339 n. 3.
Lascaris, Giano, 336, 343.
Lautrec, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de, 6 *seq.*, 8 n., 11 *seq.*, 16 *seqq.*, 22, 24 *seq.*
Lecchi, Francesco, 451.
Lee, Dr., 281 n. 2.

Leno, Giuliano (architect), 352, 353 n. 2.
Leo X., Pope, 108, 239, 240, 307, 323 n. 1, 327, 328 n. 1, 335 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 351, 354, 360, 366, 389, 393 *seqq.*, 396 n. 3, 399, 404, 406, 425, 443, 446, 454 *seq.*, 459, 461, 482, 484, 495.
Lepido, Raimondo, da Sulmona (poet), 335 n. 1.
Leveneur de Tillier, Jean, Cardinal, 233.
Leyva, Antonio de (Imperial general), 60.
Lichetto, Francesco (General of the Observants), 455.
Lione, Giovanni da (painter), 349.
Lippomano, Luigi, 395.
„ Pietro (Bishop of Bergamo), 308, 440.
Loaysa, Garcia de, Cardinal, 82, 97, 129, 134 *seq.*, 138, 149 *seq.*, 156, 161 *seq.*, 202, 206, 208 *seqq.*, 220, 228, 375.
Lodovico da Fossombrone (Capuchin), 462 *seqq.*, 465 n. 1, 469, 470 n. 3, 471, 473, 475 n., 487.
Lodron, Count of (brother-in-law to Fundsberg), 104.
Longa, Maria Laurenzia (foundress of the Capuchin nuns), 417.
Longueville (French envoy), 8.
Longuy, Claude de, Cardinal, 233.
Lorenzetto (sculptor), 358.
Lotto, Lorenzo (sculptor), 350.
Louis XII. (King of France), 23, 248.
Louis (Duke of Bavaria), 126, 225.
Louis (King of Hungary and Bohemia), 170–180, 493.
„ (The Elector Palatine), 225.
Louisa of Savoy (mother of Francis I.), 7, 9 n. 2, 59, 60 n. 2, 302.
Lugio, Valerio, 394.
Luther, Martin, 109, 115, 116 n. 1, 120, 123, 144 *seq.*, 226, 240, 276 n. 3, 277 n. 2, 288 *seq.*, 297, 300, 302, 307 *seq.*, 315, 331 *seq.*, 337, 406.

Machiavelli, 340.
Magni, Johann (Bishop of Vesterås), 292 *seq.*, 295 *seq.*
Mai, Miguel (Imperial envoy), 35, 38, 41, 42 n. 1, 43 *seqq.*, 51, 55, 61 *seq.*, 78, 138, 143, 149, 206, 210, 214, 221, 228.
Manetti, Latino Giovenale (humanist), 395.
Manriquez, Alfonso, Cardinal, 207, 376.
Manzolli, P. A. (crypto-Protestant), 315 n. 3.
Maramaldo, Fabrizio, 102 n. 2.
Marangonus, Antonius, 314 n. 5.
Marcello, Cristoforo (Archbishop of Corfu), 343.
Marco da Lisboa (Franciscan), 486.
Margaret of Angoulême (sister of Francis I.), 302.
„ of Austria (aunt of Charles V.), 404.
„ of Parma (natural daughter of Charles V.), 56, 58 n. 3, 59, 90 n.
Marinis, Donato de, 481.

Marino, Giovanni (Theatine), 417.
Mario de Mercato Saracini (Capuchin), 487.
Marius a Forosarsinio (Vicar-General of the Capuchins), 486.
Martin, Don (Portuguese Ambassador), 185.
Martinellis, Blasius de (Papal Master of Ceremonies), 83 n. 1, 95 n. 1, 234 n. 1.
Martino da Treviso (Inquisitor), 312.
Mary Tudor (daughter of Henry VIII.), 244, 284.
Marzio, Camillo (leader of mercenaries), 70.
Mattei, Girolamo, 14.
Matteo da Bascio (Capuchin), 457–463, 467 n. 1, 468 *seq.*, 486 *seqq.*
Matthias da Salo (Capuchin), 475 n., 486, 488.
Maturino (painter), 350.
Medici, Family of the, 18, 47 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 62, 69, 72, 101, 103, 105, 211.
" Alessandro de' (Duke of Florence), 56, 62, 68, 72 n., 74 n. 4, 82, 86, 105, 323, 327.
" Catherine de', 64, 73, 161, 211 *seq.*, 218, 230, 232, 316, 358.
" Cosimo de', 336, 482.
" Galleotto de' (Florentine envoy), 119 n. 4.
" Giovanni de' (leader of the "Black Band"), 230, 341.
" Giuliano de' (brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent), 336, 482.
Medici, Ippolito de', Cardinal, 39, 40 n. 1, 51 n. 4, 62, 65, 68, 74 n. 4, 103 n., 200, 201 n. 2, 214, 217, 233, 235 n., 321 n. 1, 322 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*, 340, 375 *seq.*, 503, 510.
" Lorenzo II. (Duke of Urbino), 211, 336, 482.
" Lucrezia de' (wife of Jacopo Salviati), 212.
" Pietro de', 359.
" (-Salviati), Maria de', 230.
Melanchthon, 141, 165, 226, 304, 315.
Mendoza, Lope Hurtado de, 12 n. 3.
Merino, Stefano Gabriele (Archbishop of Bari, Imperial envoy), 78, 219 *seq.*, 221, 228, 365, 376.
Metzenhausen, Johann von (Archbishop of Treves), 225, 503.
Miani, Girolamo [St. Jerome Emilian], 387, 448 *seqq.*
Michael Angelo, 73, 232, 338, 360–363, 500.
Mignani, Laura (Augustinian nun), 398, 400.
Mirandola, *see* Pico.
Molina, Stefano (Franciscan), 456.
Moncada, Ugo de (Imperial envoy), 17, 24.
Monte, del, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
Montelupo, Raffaello da (sculptor), 350, 359.
Montferrat, Marquis of, 82, 88, 93.
Montmorency, Anne de (Grand Master of France). 7, 8 n. 1, 59, 232, 302.

Montorsoli, Giovanni Angelo (sculptor), 338, 360.
More, Thomas, Sir, 240, 286.
Mores, Christopher (English envoy), 248 *seq.*
Morigia, Jacopo Antonio, 450 n. 3, 451.
Morone, Giovanni, Cardinal, 394.
,, Girolamo, 26.
Mosca, Simone (sculptor), 359.
Muscettola, Giovanni Antonio, 20, 144, 167, 209 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*, 228.

Nanni di Baccio Bigio (sculptor), 328.
Nassau, Count of, 82, 93.
Nausea, 112, 114, 318.
Navarro, Pedro, 25.
Negri de', Abbate, 27 n. 3, 62, 99 n. 6.
Nieto, Tommaso (Dominican), 450.
Nino, Rodrigo (Imperial envoy), 363 n. 1.
Norfolk, Duke of (uncle to Anne Boleyn), 242.
Numai, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 12 n. 2, 106, 115.

Ochino, Bernardino, 473, 487.
Odet de Foix, *see* Lautrec.
Oppido, Count of, 417.
Orange, Prince of, *see* Philibert.
d'Orléans, Jean (Archbishop of Toulouse), Cardinal, 220.
Orsini, Family of the, 29.
,, Camillo, 475.
,, Fr. (Commendator of Farfa), 66 n. 2.
,, Franciotto, Cardinal, 12 n. 6.
,, Napoleone (Abbot of Farfa), 14, 51, 54, 64 *seq.*, 66 n. 2, 100.
Osiander, 111.

Pagnino, Santes (Dominican), 343.
Palladio, Blosio (poet), 335.
Pallavicini, Fr., 394 n. 3.
,, Giambattista (Carmelite), 307.
Paolo Romano (sculptor), 359.
Papazzoni, A. M., 229 n. 6, 316 n. 1, 323 n. 1.
Particappa, Mariano, 395 n. 4.
Passerini, Silvio, Cardinal, 4 n. 3.
Pastron, 236 n. 2, 509.
Pedro de Toledo (Viceroy of Naples), 103 n.
Penni, Gianfrancesco (painter) 346 *seq.*, 348, 350.
Pepoli, Ugo di, 7.
Peregrino Fabrizio, 193 n. 3, 200 nn., 209 n. 2, 231 n. 5, 236 n., 322 n. *seqq.* 383 n. 2, 441 n. 1.
Perényi, Peter, 194.
Pericoli, Niccolò, *see* Tribolo.
Perrenot, Antoine (Bishop of Arras), *see* Granvelle.
,, Nicolas (Imperial envoy), *see* Granvelle.
Peruzzi, Baldassare (artist), 352, *seq.*, 501, 508.
Pesaro, Francesco, 75 n. 4, 445 n. 3.
Peter of Luxemburg, B., Cardinal, 370.
Petri, Laurentius (Archbishop of Upsala), 296.
Philibert of Chalon (Prince of Orange), 12, 17, 20, 24 *seqq.*, 27 *seq.*, 30, 41, 43, 63 *seq.*, 66, 69, 71 *seqq.*, 76, 85, 99, 102, 104 n.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, 119, 124, 140, 235, 303, 320.

Philip, The Count Palatine (Bishop of Freising), 93.
Piccolomini, Giovanni, Cardinal, 183 n. 2, 233 n. 4.
Pico della Mirandola, Gian Tommaso, 123.
Pigafetta, Antonio, 343.
Pighius, Albert, 188, 343.
Pimpinella, Vincenzo (Archbishop of Rossano, nuncio), 127, 182 *seq.*
Pio, Alberto (Count of Carpi), 29, 98.
,, Leonello, 87 n. 1.
,, Rodolfo (Bishop of Faenza), 220, 229.
Piombo, Sebastiano del (painter), 347, 350, 361.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 20, 383 n.
,, Luigi, 4.
Pisotti, Paolo (General of the Franciscans), 457, 471, 473.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 416.
Pomazaniki, Bernhard, 185 n. 3.
Porta, Egidio della (Augustinian), 307.
,, Giovanni Maria della (envoy from Urbino), 2 n. 6, 32 n. 2, 199 n. 1, 217 n. 1, 234 n. 2, 321 n. 1.
Portugal, King of, *see* John III.
Praet, Louis de (Imperial envoy), 56, 62 *seq.*, 78, 155, 158, 217.
Pucci, Antonio (Bishop of Pistoja, Cardinal), 10 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 376.
,, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 2 n. 4, 62, 66, 84, 205, 233 n. 4, 251, 254, 255 n. 2, 379, 422 n., 463, 466 n.
Pucci, Roberto, 64.
Puglioni, Giovanni Antonio (Baron of Burgio), 171–175, 176 *seqq.*

Quiñones, Francesco, Cardinal, 6, 33 *seqq.*, 38, 41, 43, 46 n. 3, 50 n., 65, 68, 205, 233 n. 4, 365 n. 1, 375, 394, 456.

Raffaele da Fossombrone (Capuchin), 462 *seqq.*, 465 n. 1.
Raimondi, Marcantonio (engraver), 346, 350.
Raince, Nicolas (secretary to French Embassy), 51 n. 4, 61 n. 2, 66 n. 5.
Rangoni, Ercole, Cardinal, 441.
,, Guido, 7, 8 n., 27 n. 3.
,, Ugo (Bishop of Reggio, envoy), 223 *seq.*, 225.
Raphael, 346 *seq.*, 393.
Renée [Renata], daughter of Louis XII. of France, 22, 248.
Ricci, Domenico (artist), 96 n.
Ridolfi, Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 4 n. 3, 12 n. 1, 77, 93, 321 n. 1, 440.
Rigini, Girolamo [Eremita], 111 n. 3.
Rojas, Antonio (Bishop of Palencia), 365.
Romano, Giulio, *see* Giulio Romano.
Rorario, Girolamo (nuncio), 27 n. 3, 102 n. 2, 109, 117 *seq.*, 121, 124 n. 1.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 4, 88, 93, 97.
Rucellai, Giovanni (poet), 342.

Sabba da Castiglione, Fra (poet), 342.
Sacchetti, Ilarione (Franciscan), 456.
Sadoleto, Jacopo, Cardinal, 119 n. 2, 335, 338, 380, 393, 395, 410, 440, 443, 445.
Salinas, Martin de, 91, 99 n. 6, 494.
Salo, Matthias de, *see* Matthias.
Saluzzo, the Marquis of, 25.
Salviati, Bernardo (nephew of Clement VII.), 227.
„ Giovanni (Bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 4 n. 3, 7, 9 n. 2, 10, 22, 59, 61 n. 2, 93, 215, 321 n. 1.
„ Jacopo (husband of Lucrezia de' Medici), 3, 10 n., 14, 16, 21, 53, 61 *seq.*, 64, 84, 141, 144, 158, 165 n. 2, 217, 231, 267, 269.
„ Lucrezia, *see* Medici, Lucrezia de'.
Sanchez (envoy of Ferdinand I.), 233 n., 324 n.
Sanga, Giovanni Battista (poet, papal secretary), 11, 21, 62, 64, 84, 208 n. 3, 335.
Sangallo, Antonio da, 199, 352 n. 4, 354 n. 2, 355.
„ Francesco da, 327, 352 n. 4, 359.
„ Giovanni Francesco da, 352 n. 4.
Sangro, Alfonso di (Bishop of Lecce), 19.
Sanmicheli, Michele (architect), 355.
Sannazaro, Jacopo (humanist), 338 *seq.*
Sanseverino, Antonio, Cardinal, 29, 233.
Sansovino, Andrea (sculptor) 359.
„ del Monte, Cardinal, *see* Ciocchi.
„ Jacopo (architect), 354.
Sanuto, Marino (chronicler), 400 n. 2.
Sassatello, Giovanni da (condottiere), 11 n. 3.
Savelli, Giovan Battista (leader of mercenaries), 70, 490.
Savonarola, 73.
Savoy, the Duke of, *see* Charles III.
Schio, Girolamo da (Bishop of Vaison), 3, 21, 48 n., 50, 55 *seq.*, 84, 85 n. 2, 153 n. 2, 154, 341, 394.
Schönberg, Nicolas von (Archbishop of Capua), 38, 46, 58 n. 3, 61, 76, 84, 104, 151, 219 *seq.*, 341, 410.
Scotti, Bernardino (Theatine), 412.
Sepulveda, Giovanni Gennesio, 343.
Seripando, Cardinal, 338.
Sessa, Ferrante of Cordova, Duke of, 25 n. 2.
„ Luis of Cordova, Duke of, 118 n. 1.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 57, 86 *seqq.*, 96, 98, 211, 218 *seq.*, 452.
Siebenbürgen, Voivode of, *see* Zapolya.
Sigismund (King of Poland), 120 *seq.*, 173, 187.
Silva, Fernando de (Count of Cifuentes, Imperial ambassador), 228.
Simonetta (Auditor of the Rota), 219.
Sommar, Magnus (Bishop of Stregnäs), 294 *seq.*, 296.

Soriano, Antonio (Venetian ambassador), 99 n. 6, 100 n. 4, 211, 377.
Spinola, Agostino, Cardinal, 2 n. 4, 216.
Staffileo, Giovanni (Bishop of Sebenico, nuncio), 446.
Stafileo (Illyrian prelate), 253, 254.
Strozzi, Filippo, 102 n. 2, 230.
,, Leone, 188 n. 2.
Stuart, John (Duke of Albany), 208 n. 2, 212, 230.
Stunica, Cardinal, 97 n. 1, 375.
Suffolk, Duke of (brother-in-law to Henry VIII.), 242.
Sulieman I. (The Sultan), 175, 178, 180 *seqq.*, 183 *seq.*, 192 n. 5, 193, 201, 213.
Sunnanväder, Peter (Bishop of Vesterås), 293 *seq.*
Szalkay, Ladislaus (Primate of Hungary), 175, 179.
Szerencsés, Emmerich, 175.

Tarasconio, Evangelista (papal secretary), 335, 394 n. 3.
Tausen, Hans (Danish reformer), 289.
Tavera, Juan, Cardinal, 207, 376.
Thomas de Vio, Cardinal, *see* Cajetan.
Tiene, Gaetano di, S., *see* Gaetano.
Titian, 200.
Tolomei, Cl., 343 n. 14.
Tommaso Illyrico (Minorite), 307.
Tomori, Paul (Archbishop of Kalocsa), 174, 178 *seq.*
Torelli, Lodovica (Countess of Guastalla), 451.
Torregiano, Pietro (sculptor), 241.
Tournon, F. de, Cardinal, 97 n. 1, 210 n. 3, 217, 223, 227 *seq.*, 280, 283, 375.
Tribolo, il [Niccolò Pericoli], 359.
Trissino, Giangiorgio (poet), 342.
Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 42 n. 2, 48 *seq.*, 347 n. 1.
,, Cesare (nuncio), 158.
,, Gianjacopo (condottiere), 489.
,, Paolo Camillo, 7, 25.
Trolle, Gustav (Archbishop of Upsala), 292.

Ubaldinis, Ubaldino de, 223, 227.
Udine, Giovanni da (painter), *see* Giovanni.
Ulrich (Duke of Würtemberg), 235, 320.

Vaga, Perino del (painter), 350.
Valeriano, Pierio (humanist), 5 n. 2, 343, 345, 444.
Valle, Andrea della, Cardinal, 29, 324, 472.
Valori, Bartolomeo, 104.
Vannes (English envoy), 266.
Varano, Battista da, B. (Poor Clare), 459 n. 3.
,, Giovan Maria da (Duke of Camerino), 459, 464.
Varchi (chronicler), 73, 100 n. 1, 104.
Vasari, Giorgio, 81, 346 n. 2, 357.
Vasili (Grand Duke of Moscow), 366.
Vasto, Alfonso d'Avalos del, 12, 17, 70.
Vaudemont, René, Count of, 7, 25.

Venier, Domenico (Venetian envoy), 415.
Verböczy, Stephen, 174 *seq.*, 178.
Vergerio (nuncio), 316–319, 321, 331 n. 2.
Vernacci, Ettore, 406.
Vettori, Francesco (Florentine envoy), 330.
Vida, Marco Girolamo (humanist, Bishop of Alba), 338 *seq.*, 425, 440.
Villafranca, Marquis of (Viceroy of Naples), 507.

WADDING (Franciscan annalist), 486.
Warham (Archbishop of Canterbury), 245, 247, 255, 257, 281.
Wasa, Gustavus, *see* Gustavus.
Widmanstadt, Johann Albert, 337.
Wied, Hermann von (Elector of Cologne), 225.
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 126, 225.
Wiltshire, Earl of (father of Anne Boleyn), 273.
Wolfgang (Prince of Anhalt), 124, 140.
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 7, 17, 41, 239 *seq.*, 242–250, 252–255, 256 n. 2, 257–264, 266–273, 286.

XIMENES, Cardinal, 388, 405.
Xuarez, Juan (Bishop of Texas), 366 n.

ZACCARIA, Fra (Dominican), 73, 314.
" Antonio Maria, St., 387, 450–453.
Zapolya, Johann (Voivode of Siebenbürgen), 34, 175, 181, 183 *seqq.*, 194 *seq.*, 493.
Zengg, The Captain of, 172.
Zini, Francesco, 438.
Zwingli, Ulrich, 297 *seqq.*, 307.

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK, AND DIRECTOR OF THE AUSTRIAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE IN ROME.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XI.

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XI. and XII.	vii
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XI. and XII.	ix
Table of Contents	xxxi
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lvii

PAUL III., 1534–1549.

Introduction	1–40
The Conciliar question in the years 1534–1537	41–92
The Conciliar question in the years 1537–1539	93–132
The work of Church reform prior to the Council of Trent	133–181
Renewal of the College of Cardinals. Reform commissions	182–217
Peace and the Crusade. Charles V. captures Tunis and visits Rome	218–260
The Holy League and the war against the Turks. The Congress of Nice (1538)	261–296
The Papal States and the rise of the Farnese family. Disputes with Cosimo de' Medici. Subjection of Perugia, and of the Colonna. Life in Rome, and the Carnival	297–358
The Conciliar question and the Imperial efforts at reunion in the years 1539–1541	359–398
The Conference at Worms	399–419

70934

PAGE

The mission of Contarini to Germany. The Diet of Ratisbon 420–455

Continuation of the Diet of Ratisbon. Its close and failure 456–479

Return of Contarini. His death. Apostasy of Ochino 480–501

The Catholic reformation under Paul III. and the Italian bishops. The work of the Theatines, Barnabites, Ursulines, and Capuchins 502–541

Appendix of Unpublished Documents 543–595

Index of Names 596–615

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XI. AND XII.

AIX (Provence)—Méjanes Library.

BERLIN—Royal Library.
BOLOGNA—State Archives.
BRUSSELS—Royal Library.
——— State Archives.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—Graziani Archives.
CONSTANCE—City Archives.

FERRARA—Communal Library.
FLORENCE—National Library.
——— State Archives.
FRANKFURT A. M.—City Archives.

GENOA—State Archives.

INNSBRUCK—Vice-regal Archives.

LONDON—British Museum.
LOUVAIN—University Library.
LUCCA—State Archives.

MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
——— Chapter Archives.
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
——— Archiepiscopal Archives.
——— Trivulziana Library.
MODENA—State Archives.

MONTEPULCIANO — City Archives.
MUNICH—Court and State Library.
——— State Archives.

NAPLES—National Library.
——— State Archives.

ORVIETO—City Archives.

PADUA—Seminary Library.
PALERMO—Communal Library.
PARIS—National Archives.
——— National Library.
PARMA—Palatina Library.
——— State Archives.
PERUGIA—Archives of the Monastery of S. Maria di Monte Luce.
——— Communal Library.
PETERSBURG, ST. — Imperial Library.

REGGIO (Emilia) — Episcopal Archives.

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(a) *Archives:*
the Colonna.
the Consistorial.[1]
the Doria-Pamphili.

[1] Under Pius X. included in the Papal Secret Archives.

ROME—*Archives—continued.*
- the "Fabbrica" of St. Peter's.
- General, of the Augustinians.
- General, of the Barnabites.
- General, of the Capuchins.
- General, of the Theatines.
- of the Inquisition.
- the Papal Secret (Secret Archives of the Vatican).
- the Ricci.
- the Secretary of Briefs.[1]
- the Spanish Embassy.
- of the State.

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- Alessandrina.
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- Vatican (including the former Barberini Library).
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SIENA—State Archives.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
SPOLETO—Faloci-Pulignani Library.
STRASBURG—District Archives.
STUTTGART—Royal Library.

VENICE—Archives of the Capuchins.
——— Library of St. Mark.
——— State Archives.
VERONA—Chapter Library.
VIENNA—Court and State Archives.
——— Court Library.

WEIMAR—Secret Archives.

[1] Under Pius X. included in the Papal Secret Archives.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XI.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

A.D.		PAGE
	Paramount importance of the pontificate of Clement VII.	1
	Supremacy of Spain in Italian affairs. The blow given to the culture of the Renaissance. The disruption of belief	1
	Rise of a motley confusion of religious societies and formation of national churches	2
	Torrent of abuse showered on the Church, which stands firm	3
	And from Rome itself comes the first sign of recovery	4
	The Oratory of the Divine Love. The older orders and the new foundations	4
	Somaschi, Barnabites, Capuchins, Ursulines, and Jesuits	5
1534	Meeting of the conclave on October the 11th	6
	Position of the Cardinals composing it	7
	The Imperialist, Italian, and French parties	8
	The Emperor and the King of France do not attempt to impose their influence	9
	Alessandro Farnese, the most important of all the Cardinals	10
	The many grounds for his election	11
	His preponderant influence	12
	Unanimity of the election	13
	The new Pope takes the name of Paul III. (October 13th)	14
	Origin of the Farnese family	15
	Its rise to greatness, riches, and possessions	16
	Birth (1468) and education of Alessandro Farnese	17

[1] Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE

The great scandal of his sister Giulia 17
His successive appointments 18
His excellent relations with Alexander VI. and Julius II. 19
The latter legitimizes Farnese's two sons . . . 19
1513 Moral change in his conduct. Farnese and the Lateran Council 20
1519 He becomes a priest and yields to higher influences . 21
His intimacy with Leo X. and Clement VII. . . 22
His influence with the latter on behalf of Pier Luigi Farnese 23
Shares Clement VII.'s imprisonment in St. Angelo . 24
Commanding personality and great experience of Farnese 24
1534 Delight of the Romans at his election—preparations for his coronation (November 3rd) 25
General satisfaction at the election of Paul III. . 26
Bembo and Sadoleto on the election 27
Energy of the new Pope in spite of his years . . 28
His personal appearance. Portraits by Titian . . 29
Paul III.'s rare sagacity and peculiar tact . . . 31
His avoidance of a positive "yes" or "no" allied with great strength of will 32
And has no chosen confidential circle . . . 33
His treatment of the College of Cardinals . . . 34
Complaints of diplomatists. Diplomatic superiority of Paul III. 35
Who avoids a quarrel with either Charles V. or Francis I. 35
The high aims and energy of the Pope marred by extreme nepotism 36
Contrast between his treatment of political and ecclesiastical affairs. Spiritual interests occupy his earnest solicitude 37
"Things new and old contend within him" . . 38
Paul III. stands at the "parting of the ways" . . 39
The real significance of his reign 40

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION IN THE YEARS 1534–1537.

1534 The Pope at his first consistory (November 13th) approaches the subject of a General Council and calls eminent prelates to Rome . . . 41

A.D. PAGE

1534 Vergerio acquaints the Pope of the true state of things in northern Europe 42
And expresses his opinions. His words are not thrown away 43
The representatives of Charles and Ferdinand press for a decision 43
1535 Course of action taken by the Pope in consistory (January 15th) 44
The Cardinals of the opposition and Vergerio . . 45
The altered direction of the Papal policy . . . 46
Nuncios appointed to the Emperor and Ferdinand I. (January 15th) 47
Scope of Vergerio's mission 48
His departure from Rome and arrival at Vienna (March 23rd) 49
Where he meets with a general distrust 50
His despatches on the subject of the Council and its place of meeting (April 7th, 12th) 51
His conference with Adrian de Croy (April 9th–16th), and begins his journey through the Empire (April 17th) 52
Reaches Munich (April 30th), where the Duke William expresses his satisfaction and his opinion on choice of locality 53
Vergerio continues his journey—friendly reception at Ratisbon and Augsburg 54
His letter to Ferdinand (May 16th). Charles V.'s instructions on the question of the locality of the Council 55
Return of Vergerio to Munich (end of May). He there meets with difficulties 55
These are instigated by Leonhard von Eck, who makes impracticable proposals 56
Vergerio returns to Vienna (June 6th) 56
And presents a memorial to Ferdinand (June 23rd) . 57
But does not receive a satisfactory reply 57
He communicates his objections in a letter (June 23rd) to the Pope's private secretary 57
Letters (July 23rd, 29th) from the Pope endeavouring to obtain an explicit declaration from Charles V. 58
In the meantime Vergerio starts (July 19th) on his second journey through the Empire 59
His negotiations with George of Brandenburg, who writes to the Pope on August the 4th . . . 60
Submissive language of this letter. Vergerio forms fresh hopes of success 61

A.D. PAGE
1535 Declaration of the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg 62
Effect in Germany of Charles V.'s success at Tunis . 62
Vergerio continues his visits, meets the Elector Palatine (August 24th), and experiences great disappointment 63
But receives favourable answers from other princes and prelates 64
So far the results of the journey seem to justify his hopes 65
Meets the Elector of Mayence at Halle and passes through the territory of the Elector of Saxony to Berlin 66
His stay at Wittenberg and interview with Luther . 67
Declaration by Luther. Vergerio's letter (November 13th) describing the interview . . 68
Vergerio's conference with the Elector of Saxony. His address to members of the Schmalkaldic League (December 1st). Their reply (December 21st) . 69
And impossible demands 70
Henry VIII. and Francis I. pay court to the League . 71
The latter poses as the protector of the Protestant States in Germany 71
But in Rome his ambassador uses very different language and is instructed to support the Council . 72
Assurances also given to the nuncio at the French court 73
Vergerio returns to Vienna (December 7th) . 73
What had he achieved? 74
How much value was to be placed on the fine words of the authorities? The example of Augsburg! . 75
As far as the Protestants are concerned the mission is a failure. 76
1536 Vergerio returns to Rome, arrives on January 7th, and makes a report to the Pope, who sends him to Naples to meet the Emperor 76
Charles V. in Rome (April 5th–18th) . . . 77
Decision on April the 8th to summon the Council . 77
Granvelle and Covos remain in Rome as plenipotentiaries 77
The differences with the French ambassador and Vergerio on the draft of the Bull of convocation. 78
Which is passed in consistory on May the 29th . . 78
And published and promulgated (June 2nd and 4th) . 79
The contents of the Bull 79
Nomination (June 9th) of Legates to announce the publication of the Bull 80

A.D. PAGE

1536 Difficulty of the nunciature to Germany of Peter van der Vorst 81
Who enters on his journey through Imperial territory on October the 13th 82
His endeavours to meet the Elector of Saxony, who persistently avoids an interview 83
1537 Van der Vorst arrives at Schmalkald on February the 24th 84
Representations of the Vice-Chancellor Held to the Protestant Estates 84
"A turning-point for the German people" . . 84
Some of the Protestants dread a permanent breach—opinion of Melanchthon 85
Violent language of Luther. The Articles of Schmalkald 87
Their insulting language and contrast with the Confession of Augsburg. They are essentially the work of Luther 88
Satisfaction of the Elector of Saxony. 88
The treatment of the Pope's representative by the Elector (February 25th) without a parallel . . 89
Dignified reply of Van der Vorst 90
Who receives (March 2nd) the written reply of the League, flatly rejecting the Council and returning the briefs unopened 90
Melanchthon commissioned to draw up a justification of this action 91
The notion of an "evangelical" assembly or "free" council 91
Van der Vorst arrives at Zeitz on March 13th, having visited various bishops and princes. End of his mission 92

CHAPTER II.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION IN THE YEARS 1537–1539.

Antagonism of Francis I. to the Council 93
Memorial to the Pope by Johann Faber dealing with the questions affecting the Council 94
Contarini's studies on the question. The "de Concilio" of Bartolommeo Guidiccioni 95
1536 Commission of reform nominated by the Pope (December 22nd) 95
1537 Paul III. speaks (February) of a speedy assembly of the Council at Mantua 96

A.D. PAGE

1537 Communications between the Pope and the Duke of Mantua (February 24th and March 21st) on the subject 97
The Duke demands an armed guard of the city of Mantua 98
The Pope replies (April) that this is unnecessary and harmful 98
As a consequence, on April the 20th the Council is prorogued until November the 1st and another place to be selected 99
Giovanni Guidiccioni sent to inform the Emperor of the position of the question 100
The Pope suggests several alternative places . . 101
And asks the Emperor and Ferdinand for a speedy answer 102
The latter shows little inclination to meet the Pope's wishes. He suggests Trent 102
Continued hostility of Francis I. His statement to the nuncio, F. Ferreri 103
Paul III. addresses a brief (August 29th) to the Venetians 104
Who consent (September 21st) to Vicenza as the seat of the Council 105
In consistory on October the 8th the prorogation is prolonged to May the 1st, 1538 105
These measures announced by briefs (October 18th) to the Christian princes 106
The Pope's wish to start on his journey northwards . 106
Two nuncios nominated (December 5th) for Venice and Vicenza 106
Legates appointed (December 19th) to the Emperor and Francis I. 107
Obstacles raised by the German Protestants and Henry VIII. 107
Conditions made by Francis I. Ferdinand expresses his joy and gratitude to the Pope 108

1538 A commission of nine Cardinals nominated (January 7th) to make preparations for the Council. It sets to work at once 109
Questions considered by the commission . . 110
Three Cardinals appointed (March 20th) as Legates for Vicenza 111
Causes which retard their departure from Rome and entry into Vicenza 112
Paul III. has by this time (March 23rd) set out on his journey to Nice 113

A.D. PAGE

1538 A further postponement on April the 25th. But the solemn entry of the Legates into Vicenza takes place on May the 12th 114
Effect on the opening of the Council of the meeting between the Pope and the Emperor and Francis I. 115
The result is a further prorogation (June 28th) until Easter 1539 116
Nuncios sent to explain this. The Pope not to blame 117
Joachim of Brandenburg suggests (in May) certain concessions to the Lutherans. Ferdinand confers with Morone about this 118
The scheme of a "Concordia". 119
The decision to send Aleander to Germany (July 4th) 119
In September Ferdinand and Aleander meet at Linz. The mission quite unsuccessful 120
The religious policy of Charles V. and his brother . 121
Non-committal attitude of the princes and diplomatists 122
Entreaties of Bishop Faber and other prelates for holding the Council 122
1539 To whom Cardinal Farnese writes to assure them of the sincerity of the Pope's intentions (February). 123
Unpropitious attitude of France in spite of the armistice of Nice 123
Explanation of Montmorency. Reply of Francis I. to the Papal envoy Manetti (January) . . 124
Farnese's instructions to the nuncio Ferreri (March 30th). Manetti returns (May 13th) to Rome and reports the objections of Francis I. . . 125
Compliancy of the Imperialist diplomatists with the Protestants. The "Respite" of Frankfort (April 19th) 126
Its stipulations. Aleander opposes it 127
Opinions in Rome divided on the conciliar question . 128
Paul III. has no inclination for further postponements 128
Three conciliar Legates nominated (April 21st) for Vicenza 129
The answer of the Emperor at last arrives (May 15th or 16th). Its negative tenor 129
In consistory of May the 31st the Council is suspended on account of the attitude of the Emperor, Ferdinand, and Francis I. 130
Declarations of Ferdinand and Charles V.. . . . 131
The chief blame rests upon Francis I. 131
The conciliar episode of Vicenza closed. The policy persisted in by the house of Hapsburg . . 132

CHAPTER III.

THE WORK OF CHURCH REFORM PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

A.D.		PAGE
	Demands for a thorough reform of the Church. Treatise by Giov. Bat. Caccia	133
	Who lays it before the new Pope. Its outspoken language	134
1534	The Pope declares (November 13th) that a reform of Cardinals and Curia must precede the meeting of a Council	135
	Appoints (November 30th) two commissions for reform of morals and for an inquiry into all offices	135
1535	And exhorts them to earnest activity (January 8th)	135
	The extraordinary difficulties confronting the work of reform	136
	Draft of a general Reform Bull presented in consistory (April 31st)	137
	Spirit of secularity pervading the College of Cardinals	137
	To remedy this, the Pope creates new Cardinals (May 21st)	138
	Who are distinguished for their merit	140
	Their nomination meets with violent disapproval in the Sacred College	141
	This is withdrawn and six new Cardinals are nominated, also a seventh on May the 31st	142
	This decisive action of Paul III. wins general approval	143
	Gasparo Contarini: his character and career	144
	Joy in Venice at the news of his elevation	148
	Earnestness of the Pope, who appoints a new commission on reform by a Bull, dated August the 23rd	149
	Its fine exordium. The task set before the commission. Reform of the city and the Curia	149
	The enormous difficulty of introducing changes	150
1536	Discussion of ordinances for the improvement of the Roman clergy (February 11th)	150
	Enactments for removal of many abuses	151
	These regulations confirmed in consistory	152
	Frankness of Contarini, who speaks his mind	152
	And is upheld by the Pope. The necessity of abolishing crying abuses as a preliminary to the Council	153

A.D. PAGE

1536 Proposal to call prominent supporters of reform to Rome 153
But few are inclined to come forward. Letter of Sadoleto (March 13th) to Contarini . . . 154
Briefs of invitation sent (July) to nine reforming prelates calling them to Rome 155
Distinguished character of this commission of nine . 155
Speech by Sadoleto on the reform of the Curia and the clergy 156
Paul III. declares that the unconditional reform of the Church in head and members was necessary. Gives fresh evidence of his sincerity by the nomination of Cardinals on December the 22nd 158
Names of the new Cardinals 159
Who are convinced of the necessity of an ecclesiastical reformation 160
Gian Pietro Carafa. Jacopo Sadoleto . . . 161
Reginald Pole: his lineage, career, and character . 162
His intimate relations with Contarini . . . 164
"The opening of a new epoch" marked by the creation of Cardinals 164
1537 Importance of the memorial signed by all the members of the commission (February) . . 165
Its firm and outspoken language and drastic proposals for removal of abuses 166
And its exhortation to the Pope himself . . . 169
The memorial shows that in Rome the first steps had been taken in earnest 170
It is presented to the Pope (March 9th) and a copy sent to each Cardinal 171
Remarkable character of this pioneer work to the Council 172
Owing to impediments in the way of the Council the Pope severs the question of reform from that of the Synod (April 20th) and places it in the hands of four Cardinals 173
Contarini presides over the new commission . . 173
Reform of the Dataria 174
Deliberation on the "Compositio" 175
1538 A copy of the memorial of 1537 falls into unauthorized hands and is printed (January) . . 177
It is used by the Lutherans as a justification for their apostasy 178
Luther publishes it in German with injurious comments. It is defended by Cochläus . . . 179

A.D. PAGE
1538 Outspoken report by Contarini to the Pope on the "Compositio" 180
Who accepts it in the best spirit (November) . . 181
Sadoleto recalled to Rome (September) . . . 181

CHAPTER IV.

RENEWAL OF THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS. REFORM COMMISSIONS.

1538 Creation of Cardinals on December the 20th, in which political considerations predominate, yet the nominees are of high character . . . 182
Ippolito d'Este and Pietro Bembo reserved *in petto* . 183
The change that had taken place in the latter . . 184
The members of the reform commission increased to eight Cardinals—two assigned for reform of each department 185
1539 The Pope bids them make serious effort towards the reform of the "Compositio" (March 5th) . . 185
"The poor Penitentiaria also is undergoing a fierce attack" 186
One of the greatest difficulties in the work of reform . 187
The commission works assiduously. Conflict of opinion in the College of Cardinals . . . 188
Signs of the good-will of Paul III. His difficulties with some of the very best men 189
Giberti refuses to leave Verona, but B. Guidiccioni comes to Rome 190
On December the 19th the nomination of twelve new Cardinals agreed upon 190
Their names (Jacopo Savelli reserved *in petto*) . 191
Nearly all are men of distinguished personality . . 192
1540 In spite of the labours of the commission, no conclusive results had been reached. The Pope takes energetic personal action (April 21st) . 193
And orders curial reform to be put into practical execution 194
This is a signal for the attacks by opponents. Calumnies circulated about Carafa . . . 194
Violent opposition of Cardinal Antonio Pucci . . 195
"But," Aleander writes (April 27th), "the work of reform goes on busily from day to day" . . 196
Even Cardinal Gonzaga admits this, notwithstanding Pucci's complaints against Contarini . . . 197

A.D. PAGE

1540 "The reform of the Penitentiaria was despatched and settled" 197
Sweeping changes in the Apostolic chancery . . 197
The reform deputations raised to twelve members, who are to give practical effect to the principles of reform 198
Wisdom and circumspection of the Pope . . . 199
1541 Contarini has to leave Rome (January 28th) for the Diet of Ratisbon 199
Reform of the pulpit. Contarini's "Instructio" on preaching 200
Deaths of Aleander (February 1st), Contarini (August), and Laurerio (September) 200
1542 The Pope's proposal (May 31st) to create new Cardinals meets with great opposition 201
But in vain; the nominations take place on June the 2nd 202
These are made principally with a view to the Council 203
The Dominican, Tommaso Badia 203
The Benedictine Abbot, Gregorio Cortese. . . . 204
His friendship with Contarini and Sadoleto . . 205
Giovanni Morone, Bishop of Modena—his diplomatic talent 206
Contarini and Pole rejoice at these appointments . 207
Faculties granted (July 14th) for the execution of the Bull on reform of curial offices 207
Full powers (November) for the reform and visitation of the Roman clergy. The question of "residence" as affecting bishops 208
1540 The archbishops and bishops residing in Rome summoned before the Pope (December 13th). His offer to them 209
1541 Claims of the bishops. Their just demands conceded (March 23rd) 210
Draft of a Bull laid before consistory (December 2nd). Difficulties with religious orders. The Pope insists (December 9), and the Bull on episcopal residence finally drawn up 211
Difficulties raised by the different Governments . 211
Who thwart the jurisdiction of the Church. Nevertheless, there is a remarkable change for the better 212
Contarini's assertion to Ferdinand I. (June 25th) is confirmed by Sadoleto 213
Although many serious defects continue, the way to thorough improvement is opened up and matter supplied for many enactments of the Council of Trent 214

A.D. PAGE

Paul III. by his reform commissions supplies the ground-plan for the Council. His other great service to the Church: the infusion of new life into the College of Cardinals 215
As a whole his creations were dominated by a regard for the requirements of the Church—from their ranks come his four immediate successors . . 216

CHAPTER V.

PEACE AND THE CRUSADE.—CHARLES V. CAPTURES TUNIS AND VISITS ROME.

1534 Paul III.'s conception of political affairs. Restoration of peace to Christendom. The war against the Turks 218
His attitude towards Francis I. and French policy . 219
His rebuke to Cardinal Trivulzio—determination to remain neutral 220
This is disagreeable to the Hapsburg Sovereigns . 221
Charles V. undertakes his expedition against Barbarossa 221
The Pope does all in his power to help . . . 222
Asks Francis I. to support Doria against Barbarossa . 223
Secret treaty between the latter and the French King. The Papal fleet (November 20th) . . . 224
1535 Andrea Doria, admiral-in-chief. The Pope goes to Civita Vecchia to bless the fleet (April 18th) . 225
Enthusiasm of Charles V.—he puts out to sea on June the 13th 226
Siege of Goletta, which is taken on July the 14th . 227
Sufferings of the troops. Capture of Tunis. The bolts and lock of the city gate sent to Rome . 228
Return of Charles V. (August 22nd). "The great ideal of his life" 229
Reception of the news in Rome. The Pope orders thanksgivings (July 28th) 230
And himself sings the Te Deum on August the 15th . 231
Expectations as to the further movements of Charles V. 231
Venice and France oppose a renewal of the war . 232
Anxiety of the Pope about the Emperor's visit to Rome. His fears of Spanish supremacy in Italy 233
Pier Luigi Farnese sent on a mission to Charles V. (August–November) 234
Its total failure (December) 235

A.D. PAGE

1535 The Emperor's demands handed to Pier Luigi on December the 9th 236
Two Cardinals sent to welcome the Emperor . . 237
And propose a compromise (December 22nd). Reply of Charles V. The Pope preserves his neutrality and forbids his subjects to take service with foreign princes 238
The candidature of the Duke of Angoulême for Milan 239
1536 Violent proposals of the Imperialists. The Pope prepares St. Angelo against attacks. But Charles V. gives in 239
And the tension between Paul III. and the Emperor is suddenly relaxed (March) 240
Two Cardinals sent to receive the Emperor on the borders of the Papal States 241
Extensive preparations in Rome for the reception of Charles V. 241
Who makes his entrance on April the 5th . . . 243
Magnificence displayed—route of the cavalcade . 244
The Pope receives the Emperor in the portico of St. Peter's 245
Conferences between Paul III. and Charles V. . . 246
The speech delivered by the Emperor in the presence of the Pope, Cardinals, and ambassadors (April 17th) 247
Reply of the Pope. Charles V. and the French envoys 248
Painful astonishment caused by the Emperor's outburst 251
The French envoys ask for an explanation. Charles V. declares he had only wished to vindicate himself 251
Charles V. and the French envoys on the question of Milan 252
The Emperor leaves Rome. Satisfaction of Paul III. with his guest's demeanour 253
Charles V. attempts to influence the Pope by lavish promises to the Farnesi. But Paul III. continues neutral 254
Covos and Granvelle succeed (April 24th) in coming to an agreement with the Pope 255
Despair of the French party at this 256
Anxiety of Paul III. to reconcile the two antagonists and preserve peace 257
This is annihilated by the invasion of Provence and Picardy by Charles V. 258

A.D. PAGE

1536 The Emperor tries to bring the Pope round to his side—but fails. Paul III. again attempts to mediate, but without success 259

He characterizes the contending monarchs as "barbarians" 260

CHAPTER VI.

THE HOLY LEAGUE AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE CONGRESS OF NICE (1538).

1536 Danger from the Turks owing to the contest between Charles V. and Francis I. The latter in alliance with the Sultan 261

1537 Decision to levy taxes for territorial defence and once again to send Legates to Francis and the Emperor (January) 262

This mission fails entirely. Venice tries to prolong her peace with the Sultan. The Pope flung on his own resources for defence 263

Ancona and Civita Vecchia put into a state of defence 264

The Pope inspects the ships at the latter place (April) 264

Charles and Ferdinand complain of the Pope's continued neutrality. He refuses to excommunicate the French King 265

And requests Charles and Francis to send envoys to Rome (June). The Pope right in maintaining his neutrality 266

Impediments put in the way of collecting funds for the Turkish war 267

Rome and all towns within a circuit of sixty miles are put in a state of defence. Paul III. remains in Rome (August). 268

The Turkish ships appear in Italian waters and attack Apulia 269

Barbarossa lands near Otranto and makes incursions . 269

The Turks unexpectedly leave Italy and attack Corfù 270

But do not succeed. Venice now forced to join the Pope and the Emperor against the Turk . . 271

Joy of Paul III. at the conclusion of the treaty (September 13th–15th) 272

Barbarossa seizes the Venetian islands in the Ægean Sea. The Hungarian border raided (October) . 273

Owing to the success of the League, Paul III. again endeavours to promote peace between Charles V. and Francis I. 274

A.D. PAGE

1537 Armistice of Monzon (November 16th) for three months. Two Legates appointed to the Imperial and French courts (December 19th) . . . 275
Nothing gained except a prolongation of the armistice. Milan still the apple of discord 276
1538 Terms of the "Holy" League. It is proclaimed on February the 10th 277
M. Grimani, Legate to the Papal fleet . . . 277
Activity at Civita Vecchia, Ancona, and Venice . 278
The Pope proposes to meet Charles and Francis at Nice 278
The French King disinclined for this . . . 279
But Paul III. holds by his purpose 279
And leaves Rome on March the 23rd . . . 280
His stay in Lucca and Piacenza 281
Difficulties about the citadel of Nice. The Emperor arrives at Villafranca (May) 282
The Pope arrives at Nice (May 15th), but is refused entrance into the citadel 283
Conferences between the Pope and Charles V. . . 284
Delay of the French King 285
The Pope is unwearied in his representations . . 285
He probably underrates the difficulties. Francis I. arrives on May the 31st 286
And shows the greatest reverence to the Pope at their meeting (June 2nd) 287
But refuses to hold personal intercourse with Charles V. 288
Conditions of Francis I. Mutual distrust of the two adversaries 288
The three "Legati volanti" (June 5th). Rumoured collapse of the congress. New proposal by the Pope (June 9th) 289
Permanent peace impossible. An armistice for ten years agreed upon, from which the Pope hopes a general peace will ensue 290
The Pope leaves Nice (June 20th), is met by Charles V., and they enter Genoa together (June 22nd) . 291
And come to an understanding about the Council. The proposal to marry Ottavio Farnese to Margaret of Austria 291
And Vittoria Farnese to a French prince . . . 292
To the surprise of Paul III., the Emperor and Francis I. meet at Aiguesmortes (July 14th–16th) 292
The Pope enters Rome on July the 24th. Joy of the citizens 293

A.D. PAGE

1538 The Emperor loses heart in the war against the Turks 293
Grimani fails in the attack on Prevesa (August 10th) . 294
Barbarossa puts out to sea again 294
The fault of Doria ends in a disgraceful retreat. Fresh activity of the Turkish sea-power. The League, in fact, is played out (November) . . 295
The Venetians make overtures for peace. Other interests claim the attention of the Pope . . 296

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPAL STATES AND THE RISE OF THE FARNESE FAMILY.—DISPUTES WITH COSIMO DE' MEDICI.—SUBJECTION OF PERUGIA AND OF THE COLONNA.—LIFE IN ROME, AND THE CARNIVAL.

1534 The situation in the Papal States at the time of Paul III.'s accession 297
Troubles in Umbria (October 19th and 20th) . . 297
Rodolfo Baglioni forces his way into Perugia. His excesses 298
1535 The soldiers of the Vice-Legate clear the city (January) 298
The Pope comes to Perugia (September 10th). The Baglioni are forbidden the city 299
Early moderation of the Pope in the matter of taxation—but is later driven to impose new taxes . 300
Sources and amount of the Papal revenue . . 301
Which afterwards improves. Some items of expenditure 302
Paul III. not proof against the ties of blood. Pier Luigi Farnese comes to Rome and rapidly acquires wealth 303
The disputed succession to Camerino . . . 304
The Pope prohibits the marriage of Giulia Varano with della Rovere. He is disobeyed (October). The desire to prevent the union of Camerino and Urbino 305
Giulia and her husband excommunicated. Camerino assigned to Ercole Varano 306
Who is invested with the duchy in May 1535 . . 307
Pier Luigi and Costanza Farnese intercede with the Pope. Difficulty of a military undertaking. A compromise arranged 308

A.D. PAGE

1536 Firmness of the Emperor. Suspension of the censures (May 8th) 309
1535 The case of Cardinal Benedetto Accolti. His misdeeds 310
His arrest (April 5th), imprisonment, and trial . . 311
Sudden death (August 10th) of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. Suspicion of poisoning against his cousin Alessandro 312
Alessandro Farnese made Vice-Chancellor (August 14th) 313
1537 Murder of Alessandro de' Medici (January 5th). He is succeeded by Cosimo. Ambitious plan of Pier Luigi Farnese 314
Paul III.'s aversion to the Medici. Charles V. proposes to marry his daughter Margaret, widow of Alessandro, to Ottavio Farnese 315
Unsuccessful attempt to marry Vittoria Farnese to Cosimo de' Medici 315
Strained relations between Rome and Florence. . 315
P. L. Farnese made Gonfaloniere of the Church . 316
He is sent against the Rangoni—and to the fortresses of the Papal States 317
Is made commander of the Papal forces and Duke of Castro (October) 318
Defeat of Strozzi and Valori by Cosimo de' Medici (July 31st) 319
Whose relations with the Pope become worse and worse 319
1538 On the death of the Duke of Urbino (October 21st) the question of Camerino revives. It is claimed by Paul III. as a fief revertible to the Church . 320
He sends an army against Giulia and her husband . 320
1539 The Pope complains of the attitude of Florence and Siena (January). 321
Camerino is surrendered to the Holy See . . . 321
Investiture of Urbino conferred on Guidobaldo della Rovere 322
A commissary appointed to Camerino (January 8th) . 322
With which Ottavio Farnese is ultimately (November 1540) invested 323
1538 Charles V. proposes to marry his daughter Margaret to Ottavio Farnese. 324
The marriage treaty concluded on October the 12th . 324
And takes place on November the 4th. Dissensions of the married couple 325
Margaret only submits with reluctance to her lot . 326

A.D. PAGE

Financial necessities of the Pope (1539–1540) . . 327
1539 Complaints against the salt tax, specially from Perugia 328
1540 Which rebels (February). Agitation in the city (April) 329
Paul III. sends an army into Perugian territory (May) 330
Baglioni recalled (May 16th). But the Emperor refuses to help the Perugians 331
Suppression of the rebellion (July) 332
A deputation from the city supplicate the Pope's pardon 333
Paul III. orders the erection of the "Pauline" citadel in Perugia (October 16th) 334
And visits the city, staying there two days . . 335
Misunderstandings with Ascanio Colonna . . . 336
Who is called upon to appear in person before the Pope (June 10th) 337
1541 He withdraws to Genazzano with 2000 men (February) 338
Efforts for an agreement are unavailing . . . 339
And the war begins (March) 340
Fall of Rocca di Papa and Paliano (April–May) . 341
The power of the Colonna completely broken . . 343
1542 Increase of the Pope's ascendency in the States of the Church 344
1543 The tax of the "Sussidio" (May). The salt tax lapses 345
State of the Papal finances 346
Increase of prosperity in Rome 347
Brilliant festivals—popular delight at these . . 349
Revival of the Carnival in all its splendour (1536) . 350
The Carnivals of 1538, 1539, 1541, and 1545 . 351–356
Paul III. often yields to secular impulses—the display of luxury and pleasure 357

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONCILIAR QUESTION AND THE IMPERIAL EFFORTS AT REUNION IN THE YEARS 1539–1541.

1539 Fresh losses to the Church in Germany . . . 359
Joachim II. of Brandenburg. Causes of the failure of the Catholics 360
The German episcopate. Condition of Catholics in the towns and villages. Observations by Morone (1536–1538) 361
1538 The state of religion in Austria as found by Aleander 362
1539 Report of the nuncio Fabio Mignanelli . . . 363

A.D. PAGE

1539 In consequence of disasters the Pope again urges a Council 364
And endeavours to accelerate peace between Charles V. and Francis I. Sends Cardinal Farnese as Legate to the two monarchs (November) . . . 365
Farnese's instructions. He is accompanied by Cervini 366
And enters Paris on December the 31st. Francis I. and Charles V. arrive the next day . . . 367
1540 Farnese has an audience of the King on January the 3rd, and another on February the 9th. His declaration to Francis I. 368
Reply of the French King 368
The two Cardinals leave France, arriving at Ghent on February 23rd, and have an audience with the Emperor 369
Charles V.'s statement to Poggio (March 3rd) . . 370
His attitude arouses the distrust of the Legates . . 371
Morone's representations to Ferdinand I. . . . 371
A change comes over the Imperial policy. The suggestion of a conference on religion . . 372
The fundamental mistake of Charles V. 373
Incredible confusion of ideas—even among good Catholics 374
Startling memorial of the Wittenberg theologians (January) 375
Luther's letter to the Elector of Saxony (January 18th) 375
The demand for a "Christian and rightly organized conference." Charles V. believes the impossible to be possible 376
Influence of Granvelle. He is summed up by Held . 377
Charles V. resolves (April 18th) to summon a Diet at Spires 377
And a conference on religion (June 6th). He conceals this step from Farnese 378
Farnese points out the serious danger in a letter to the Pope (April 17th) 379
Granvelle tries to defend the Emperor's action. The Legates protest against middle courses . . 380
Uselessness of conferences 381
Reasons for a General Council 382
Farnese requests (April 21st) to be recalled . . 382
Is unwearied in urging a Council. The Emperor's unconditional refusal. Morone has no better success 383
Charles V. wishes a nuncio to be sent to Spires. His determination 384

A.D. PAGE

1540 The matter discussed in consistory (May 7th). Cervini ordered to go to Germany 385
He reaches Brussels and has interviews with Granvelle (June 3rd) and the Emperor (June 6th) . . 386
Discussion in consistory on the declaration of Granvelle 387
The decision to send another Legate to Germany (May 21st) 387
Appointment of Contarini for this mission . . 388
Reasons for delay of his departure 389
Morone's instructions. Firmness of the Pope . . 390
The Diet transferred from Spires to Hagenau (May 25th) 391
Morone and King Ferdinand I. Complaints of the latter, and Morone's reply (June) . . . 392
Doubtful attitude of the Catholic princes at Hagenau 393
Difficult position of Morone 394
Contarini's mission abandoned in consequence of the reports from Hagenau (June) 395
Unity of the Protestant delegates. Divisions on the side of the Catholics. End of the conference (July 28th) 396
A "Christian colloquy" to be opened at Worms. The concession made by the Catholics—its importance 397
"Unless the Pope intervenes decisively, the whole of Germany will fall a prey to Protestantism" . 398

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONFERENCE AT WORMS.

1540 Anxiety in Rome at the development of affairs . . 399
Position of the Holy See as defined by Contarini . 400
And by the letter from Cardinal Farnese to Morone (July 24th) 401
Dangers of these conferences and dissatisfaction of the Pope (August 19th) 402
In spite of Cervini's protests the Emperor assents to the conference 403
Difficult situation of the Pope 404
Tommaso Campeggio chosen (September 6th) for the mission to Worms 405
Significant terms of his instructions (October 8th) . 406
Granvelle is the Emperor's commissary at Worms . 407
Instructions of the Elector of Saxony. Campeggio arrives at Worms (November 4th) . . . 408

A.D. PAGE

1540 And Morone (November 27th). Report spread by the Protestants. Assurances of Morone find little credence 409
Address by Campeggio to the Estates (December 8th) 410
Its utter failure, and his fatal illusions 411
Morone reproaches Campeggio. Influence of the former at Worms 412
The dividing line between Morone and Granvelle . 413
The Catholic position very precarious. The allotment of votes prejudicial to the Catholics . . 414
Danger of Granvelle's proposal (December 30th) perceived by Morone 415
1541 Morone's interview with Granvelle (January 2nd). Its result 416
Inadmissible demand by the Protestants. Rejected by Bavaria and Mayence. Granvelle threatens to call a national council 417
All obstacles overcome by Granvelle, and the conference makes a beginning on January the 14th 418
But after a heated controversy of four days over original sin the assembly is adjourned to the Diet at Ratisbon 419

CHAPTER X.

THE MISSION OF CONTARINI TO GERMANY.—THE DIET OF RATISBON.

1541 The desire for the presence of a Cardinal-Legate at the Diet 420
Reasons for this. Appointment of Contarini (January 10th) 421
The sanguine expectations of Charles V. and the Imperial court are shared by Campeggio and Poggio. Morone of a very different opinion . 422
His remarks to Campeggio (February) 423
Wauchope, Morone, and Giustiniani on the dangers of the conferences on religion 424
The Bavarian Dukes also hostile to this method . 425
Implacable attitude of the Elector of Saxony . . 426
Apparent friendliness of Joachim of Brandenburg and Philip of Hesse 426
The compromise by which Charles V. hopes to win over his opponents 427

A.D. PAGE

1541 Contarini starts on his mission on January the 28th. His important and careful instructions . . 428
These are supplemented on two important points, viz. the Catholic League and care in conferring graces 431
Contarini arrives at Ratisbon on March the 12th and the next day has an audience with Charles V. . 432
Sincerity of Contarini's intentions. He is eminently a peacemaker 433
And at first does not grasp the character of the Protestant movement. The political obstacles confronting him 434
Determines to enter on a *via media* 435
The Diet opened on April the 5th. The Imperial proposition 436
Charles V. nominates (April 21st) the Catholic and Protestant collocutors for the conference . . 437
Production of the "Book of Ratisbon" (April 23rd). Contarini's objections to the draft of this document 438
Attitude of Eck. Influence of Contarini 439
Even upon the Protestants. He is assiduous in smoothing the way 440
The articles of the "Book of Ratisbon" 441
The doctrine of a "duplicate justice" 442
Apparent unanimity. Scepticism of Morone (May) . 442
The justice of his observation 443
The articles on the authority of the Church and the Primacy are shelved. Discussion on the Sacraments 444
And on transubstantiation. Firmness of Contarini . 445
Who now realizes the enormous difficulties in the way of unity 446
Tenacity of the Protestants to their errors. . . . 447
Discussion on the Sacrament of penance (May 14th) 448
Contarini's outspoken bearing is displeasing to the Emperor 448
"The verity of the Faith must be upheld" . . 449
The dependency of the Protestant theologians upon the princes 449
Things grow more and more hopeless 450
End of the disputations (May 22nd). The "Ratisbon Book" and counter-articles presented to the Emperor (May 31st) 451
A "prolix and botched-up affair." Contarini's hopes dwindle down 451

A.D. PAGE

1541 His views as expressed in a letter to Farnese (May 29th) 452
The Imperialists look for another way out of the "labyrinth" 453
Tactics of Granvelle 454
Luther's reply to the embassy sent to him by Charles V. (June) 455
Opposition on all sides to the Emperor's scheme . 456

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE DIET OF RATISBON.—ITS CLOSE AND FAILURE.

1541 Observant attitude maintained by the Curia. Caution recommended to Contarini 456
Who asks for a final decision on justification. Divergency of opinions among the Cardinals . 457
The decision in consistory on May the 27th . . 458
The Pope's injunctions to Contarini 459
Any formula in which the authority of the Holy See is not clearly affirmed is to be rejected . . 460
And the Legate urged to watchfulness and caution (June 8th). His reply 461
Instructions sent to Contarini and Morone on June the 10th 463
Particulars of these 464
Contarini communicates them to the Emperor (June 24th) 465
Reply of Charles V. His objections to the immediate summons of the Council 466
Non-compliance also of Ferdinand I. (June 25th) . 466
What the Emperor really wishes 467
The "Ratisbon Book" handed by the Pope to a special commission 468
The resumption of the sittings of the Council voted in consistory on July the 8th 468
The question of aid against the Turks 469
Anger of Charles V. at the failure of his schemes for reunion 470
The Protestants also refuse his plan of toleration . 471
Contarini's protest to the Emperor (July 16th) . . 472
Renewed danger of a national council in Germany . 473
The prelates urge the necessity of a General Council . 473
Contarini's interview with Charles V. on July the 22nd 474

A.D. PAGE
1541 Who renews his conciliar proposal 475
Contarini's letter to the Diet (July 24th) . . . 475
Reply of the Estates requesting the Pope to hold a General Council 476
Contarini's final interviews with Ferdinand and the Emperor. He leaves Ratisbon (July 29th) . 477
Failure of his mission 477
Advantages gained by the Protestants . . . 478
Suicidal statecraft of Charles V. 479

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN OF CONTARINI.—HIS DEATH.—APOSTASY OF OCHINO.

1541 Bitter complaints of Contarini (August 23rd) . . 480
1542 His conduct questioned—but the Pope shows him fresh marks of confidence and makes him Legate at Bologna (January) 481
He writes a treatise on confession. His death (August 24th) 482
Contarini's theory on justification fundamentally different from that of Luther 482
The nature of Contarini's error, which is shared by Pole 483
The "spirituali" of Viterbo 484
". . . on no account . . . to allow ourselves to be separated from the unity of the Church Catholic" 485
Valdes, Ochino, and Vittoria Colonna 486
Great reputation of Ochino as a preacher (1534–1538) 487
He becomes Vicar-General of the Capuchins (1541) . 488
Falls under the influence of Valdes. Is defended by Vittoria Colonna 488
Charged with spreading false doctrine. His artfulness 489
1542 Paul III. becomes alarmed and invites Ochino to come to Rome (July 15th). He hesitates . . 490
Is again summoned by Papal brief (July 27th) . . . Giberti persuades him to obey 491
But under the influence of Vermigli he apostatizes . 492
Great surprise and scandal at Ochino's revolt . . 492
How Vittoria Colonna receives the news . . . 493
The firm position taken by her 494
And by Giberti and Claudio Tolomei 495
Also by Morone and Pole. "To preserve inviolable their obedience to the Pope" is the opinion of the circle of Viterbo 497

A.D. PAGE
1542 Confidence of Paul III. in Vittoria Colonna. She and her companions in no sense Protestants . 498
The defection of Ochino and his like in reality clears the air and obscurities disappear . . . 499
The view of Paul III.: "Reform in the Church and by the Church . . . the way of safety" . . 500
Mere repression is not sufficient 501

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION UNDER PAUL III. AND THE ITALIAN BISHOPS.—THE WORK OF THE THEATINES, BARNABITES, URSULINES, AND CAPUCHINS.

Great difficulties of the Pope's comprehensive scheme of reform 502
Extensive area covered by the Papal reforming ordinances 503
Their success dependent upon the co-operation of zealous bishops 503
1542 Reform decrees of Giberti, Bishop of Verona (May) . 504
1543 Grief of the Pope at his death (December 29th) . 505
Ercole Gonzaga. His early life. His strict government of the diocese of Mantua 506
Makes repeated visitations 507
Activity also of Contarini at Belluno 508
And of many other bishops 509
Girolamo Seripando and the reform of the Augustinian Hermits 511
Paul III. makes a general visitation of the Dominicans (1543 and 1547) 513
The older Orders had become deeply contaminated by the world 514
1535 Paul III. and the new Orders. He wishes the Theatines to return to Rome 515
1536 After repeated solicitations Carafa reaches Rome (September 27th) 516
1538 Gaetano and the sister of Carafa, Maria, in Naples . 517
1540–1543 His work in Venice 518
And last years in Naples. The Theatines and the Somaschi amalgamate (1546). Death of Gaetano (1547) 519
1547 Bonifazio da Colle becomes head of the Order . . 520
Admiration excited by the Theatines 521
Growth in importance of the Barnabites . . . 521

A.D.		PAGE
1535	Privileges granted them by Paul III. (July 20th)	522
	Foundation of the "Angelice" nuns in Milan	522
	Origin of the name "Barnabites." Rise of the devotion of the "Forty Hours"	524
	Birth (1469) and early life of St. Angela Merici	525
	She founds the Ursulines. Spread of the Order	527
	Revival of Apostolic life in Spain. John of Avila	528
	Louis of Granada and John of God	529
	The Capuchins—continued animosity of the Observants to them	530
	Difficulties with Lodovico da Fossombrone	531
	Vittoria Colonna champions the cause of the Capuchins	533
1536	Paul III. confirms (August 25th) the approbation of the Order	534
	The Observants still raise complaints against them	535
1538	But Vittoria Colonna is outspoken in their defence	536
1534–1540	Gradual spread of the Capuchins	537
	The apostasy of Ochino is a great blow to them and calumnies are revived	538
	Paul III. orders a thorough inquiry	539
	And restores their licence to preach. Inherent vitality of the Capuchins	540

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX

		PAGE
I.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	546
II.	Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua	546
III.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	551
IV.	Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua	551
V.	Gerardo Busdraghi to Lucca	554
VI.	Gabriel Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.	555
VII.	Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Milan	556
VIII.	Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.	557
IX.	Pope Paul III. to Andreas Cricius, Bishop of Plock	558
X.	Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.	560
XI.	Pope Paul III. to the Emperor Charles V.	561
XII.	Journey of Paul III. to Perugia	562
XIII.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	563
XIV.	Edict of Pope Paul III. for the reform of the clergy of the Roman States	563
XV.	Lorenzo Bragadino to Venice	569
XVI.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	569
XVII.	Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.	570
XVIII.	Giovanni Agnello to the Duke of Mantua	571
XIX.	N. N. to Cardinal R. Pole	572
XX.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	572
XXI.	Giovanni Maria della Porta to Urbino	573
XXII.	Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua	573
XXIII.	" " "	574
XXIV.	Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Ricc in Venice	574
XXV.	Giovanni Bianchetto to Cardinal Aleander	575
XXVI.	Blasius de Martinellis on the creation of Cardinals in December 1538	575
XXVII.	Extract from the relation of Marcantonio Contarini (1538)	576

PAGE

XXVIII. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . 578
XXIX. ,, ,, ,, . . 579
XXX. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua . 580
XXXI. Bonifazio Ruggieri to the Duke of Ferrara . 581
XXXII. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . 581
XXXIII. ,, ,, ,, . . 581
XXXIV. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Poggio 582
XXXV. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. . 583
XXXVI. ,, ,, ,, . . 583
XXXVII. ,, ,, ,, . . 584
XXXVIII. Averrardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence 584
XXXIX. Deputation of the poor of Rome to Pope Paul III. 585
XL. Cardinal Marcello Cervini to Cardinal Carpi . 585
XLI. Girolamo Seripando, General of the Augustinians, to the Lombard Congregation of his Order . 586
XLII. Ordinances of Cardinal Morone as Legate of Bologna 586
XLIII. Reforming activity of M. Cervini as Bishop of Reggio 587
XLIV. Ordinances for reform by Pope Paul III. 589

INTRODUCTION.

FEW epochs in the history of the Holy See have exhibited so many events and changes of paramount importance as the pontificate of Clement VII. The radical transformation of domestic and social life, of human knowledge and political conditions, begun in the 15th century, proceeded, under this Pontiff, without a halt upon its onward way. While the great discoveries of this century opened up to Europe a new world and to the Church a vast field of labour, while the transition from the disjointed fabric of the mediæval state to the solid unity of the new age was beginning, and the titanic conflict between France and Spain was turning Central Europe into an arena of war, the flood-tide of Islamic conquest from the East, accelerated by the disunion among Christian princes, was threatening the West with total annihilation. Under the vacillating and irresolute policy of Clement VII. the fate of Italy was decided. Her political independence was sacrificed to the supremacy of Spain, while at the same time the culture of the Renaissance received a blow from which it never rallied. And finally, as the climax of all these events, in which the Popes were vitally implicated, came the disruption of belief, one of the gravest crises which the Church has had to encounter.

Since the captivity of the Popes in Avignon and the great Western schism, in every country in Europe, more or less, grave abuses, galling inequalities, and a dangerous spirit of unrest had heaped up, within the area of the

Church, a mass of inflammable material which, if once unexpectedly kindled, was bound to break into a terrible conflagration.

Scandalous as the disorders in the Church certainly were, damming up the well-springs of grace and truth, there was, nevertheless, no ground for despair of recovery. Everywhere healthy forces still abounded by which gradually the elements of combustion might have been removed. That, instead of such a process of regeneration, instead of the reform in head and members longed for by all good men, the world-wide catastrophe arrived which began by separating from the centre of Christian unity a great part of Germany and, in course of time, one-third of Europe, seemed in the minds of contemporaries a judgment of God, whose long-suffering was exhausted. The secularized clergy, episcopate, and Papacy needed chastisement; they must be cleansed and purified through stern calamity.

The peoples and their shepherds made atonement together, but Europe lost her most precious possession, the unity of belief. Instead of the one Catholic Church there arose on local or national foundations a motley confusion of lesser or greater religious societies, torn and split among themselves into many divisions, with new doctrines, new constitutions, new forms of worship. These territorial or national churches were at union on one point only: they rejected the primacy of the Pope and surrendered to the good pleasure of the secular authorities—civic magistrates, princes, and kings—the settlement of man's highest and most sacred relationship, that between him and God.

It was a shock without parallel, involving social and domestic relationships, knowledge and art, for all these things had grown up in close connection with the old Church. Very few ecclesiastical institutions of bygone days remained unaffected by this violent breach with the

past. What for fifteen hundred years onwards from the days of the Apostles had been for millions in life and death their supreme consolation and peace, what numberless martyrs and saints had sealed by heroic sacrifices and even their very blood, what the most gifted artists, poets, and scholars had ennobled and illuminated by works of undying fame—was all now destroyed and reviled as the invention of man and the deception of the devil. All the weapons at the disposal of the new age were turned with fury against the teaching and institutions of the old Church and the centre thereof, that Apostolic See which even in respect of civilization had lavished so many blessings on Europe. A vast torrent of abuse in hundreds and thousands of pamphlets and caricatures poured down upon clergy and laity, upon educated and uneducated. The leaders of the religious innovations displayed in this respect an almost superhuman energy; Luther, at their head, could not do enough in the attack on the Church of his fathers. "Let us, dear friends," he wrote the New Year of 1526, "begin to write afresh, to compose tales and rhymes and pictures. Cursed be he who is idle at this work. It will be a long time yet before the Papacy has had enough of our tongues in pamphlets and songs and lampoons and caricatures."

Even when bleeding from many wounds and mourning the loss of such noble members as the several states of Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian kingdoms and England, the Church still stood firm[1] amid the storm. This indeed was the very moment when the strength of Divine life dwelling within her was made manifest to the

[1] See MACAULAY, Essay on Von Ranke's History of the Popes (Critical and Hist. Essays, 3rd ed., Vol. III., 215): "When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."

eyes of men. It was during the unhappy pontificate of Clement VII., when the climax of trouble had been reached and all seemed lost, that the first signs of recovery appeared. They came from the quarter where they were least looked for; from the heart of the Church itself, which to many seemed doomed to destruction.

Already in the last years of Leo the Tenth the Oratory of the Divine Love had been founded in Rome. From this association, which drew noble priests and laymen to a more earnest observance of their religious duties and to works of charity, the Catholic reformation sprang.

Two members of the Oratory, Gaetano di Tiene and Gian Pietro Carafa, founded a new order of regulars, the Theatines, and thereby created a training school for admirable bishops. Like Carafa in Rome and Naples, the peaceful, wise, and cultivated Gian Matteo Giberti, once also a member of the Oratory, carried out as Bishop of Verona an extensive and effectual work in the ecclesiastical and social spheres. The self-sacrificing enthusiasm of these two men kindled others. Giberti's incomparable work especially was an incentive to similar efforts; the bishops of Italy began to imitate his pastoral virtues and reforms.

Hand in hand with these Catholic reformers, and true to their principle that men must be altered by religion but not religion by men, others, inspired to the work, began the heavy task of bringing improvement into the conditions of the Church as called for by Clement VII. and the circumstances of the time; for the horrors of the war, and, in particular, of the sack of Rome, had given a serious turn to many minds and brought with them a realization of the one thing needful. While in the older orders, often in a very corrupt condition, a real enthusiasm for reform had been awakened, new foundations, after the manner of the

Theatines, were arising. Paolo Giustiniani reformed the Camaldolesi, Egidio Canisio the Augustinian Hermits, Gregorio Cortese the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, Francesco Lichetto the Franciscan Observants. A Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Miani, founded the Society of the Somaschi for the alleviation of bodily and spiritual misery in northern Italy; Antonio Maria Zaccaria of Cremona founded in Milan a society of regular clergy called at first Sons of St. Paul and afterwards Barnabites; and the Umbrian Matteo da Bascio was the pioneer of the Capuchin Order, which, after overcoming many difficulties, was to become of the greatest importance in raising religiously and morally the life of the common people.

While these institutions were in process of creation Angela Merici, who found support and encouragement from Clement VII., was laying the plans of her life's work, the Ursuline Order, a congregation of women aspiring after their heavenly reward through sacrifice and prayer. At the same time Ignatius of Loyola was assembling on Montmartre in Paris the first members of the Company of Jesus, a spiritual army placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Holy See for the accomplishment of Catholic reformation and restoration.

No one then certainly had any idea that these springs of fresh life welling up in so many different places would soon become a mighty stream destined to spread blessings of cleansing and refreshment over Church and Papacy. All these preliminaries to happier conditions in the Church were at first partly hidden and partly confined to such small circles that, in view of the corruption prevailing at the time of Clement's death and the extent of the apostasy of Europe, it seemed to most contemporaries that the complete disorganization of the Church, already so

severely injured by unbelief and heresy, was inevitable.[1] To crown all there was the critical condition of the Papal States; if in Rome, in consequence of timely precautions, order was in essentials maintained,[2] yet in many cities of the Papal territory serious disturbances had broken out.[3]

In the midst of a situation thus strained and dangerous, the conclave met on the 11th of October 1534. Thirty-five Cardinals were present.[4] Only one, Alessandro Farnese, had been appointed by Alexander VI., and a second, Matthæus Lang, by Julius II. All the others had received the purple from the two Popes of the house of Medici. Among the creations, however, of Leo X. and Clement VII. there was so little union and solid co-operation that

[1] In 1534 Giov. Batt. Caccia wrote as follows: *Spectabam enim animo summum illum Asiae imperatorem Christi hostem Christiani cervicibus imminentem, intuebar Germanicam seccessionem, revocabam ad memoriam meam sanctam matrem ecclesiam, quae priusquam Mahumetana tetra tartareaque caligo Asiam Africamque occecaret, humanum omne genus suo sanctissimo gremio complexa est, nunc in has Europae angustias coactam, in diversas sententias distractam, scissis fractisque articulis ita deformatam, ut ad interitum properare videatur. Cod. Vat., 3659, f. 5, Vatic. Library. For Caccia, see *infra*, 133 *seq.*

[2] See GAYANGOS, VI., n. 93, 98. The Bolognese reports in ACCAME, 15–17; ALBERINI, 384 *seq.*; *cf.* in Appendix No. 1 the *despatch of F. Peregrino, Aug. 24, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and those of L. Sergardi, Sept. 27 and Oct. 1, 1534 (State Archives, Siena). For the vacancy of the Holy See, see also Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 442 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SAGGIATORE, I. (1844), 22 *seqq.*; FUMI, Legaz. del Card. Medici, 80 *seq.*, and the *Brief to Uberto Pallavicini, 1535, Feb. 25, Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 4 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See Blasius de Martinellis and Firmanus in GATTICUS, 325 *seqq.* For the number of electors, see *Diarium in Cod. Vitt. Em. 269, f. 260, of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, and PAGI, Breviar, VI., 1. According to P. P. Gualterius the entry into conclave took place "hora 13¾," XII., 58, f. 335 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

they were powerless. The position of several Cardinals was, up to the last, pretty well a matter of conjecture. The Sienese envoy Lodovico Sergardi, on the 8th of October 1534, reckoned the Italian party at nine: Pucci, Salviati, Ridolfi, Medici, Cibo, Spinola, Grimaldi, Cupis, and Cesi. As four Cardinals of Italian nationality (Gaddi, Trivulzio, Sanseverino, and Pisani) belonged to the French side, the above-named diplomatist believed that the adherents of Francis I. would amount to twelve. One of the Frenchmen, however, Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont, did not arrive in time, so that his vote was lost.[1] In Sergardi's opinion the Imperialists fairly counterbalanced the French: two Spaniards (Merino and Quiñones), two Germans (Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, and Cles, Prince-Bishop of Trent), and seven Italians (Piccolomini, Cesarini, Vincenzo Carafa, Palmieri, Ercole Gonzaga, Doria, and Campeggio). The neutrals he considered were Farnese, Ferreri, Cornaro, Grimani, and Accolti.[2] Yet only two days later Sergardi

[1] Castelnau reached Rome on Oct. 21. See L. Sergardi's *report, Oct. 23, 1534 (State Archives, Siena), and *the Diary of a Frenchman in Cod. Barb. Lat., 3552, f. 55[b], Vatican Library. That out of the eight French Cardinals mentioned in Sergardi's *report of Oct. 8, only seven appeared, is proved by the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, where under Oct. 5 it is stated: "Ingressi sunt Romam 7 cardinales Galli" (Vatican Library). According to the same source (*cf.* POGATSCHER in Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXIX. 399), Lang and Cles entered Rome on Oct. 8. The same in P. P. Gualterius, XII., 58, f. 335 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also FUMI, Legaz., 79.

[2] *L. Sergardi, dated Rome, Oct. 8, 1534, in State Archives, Siena. (The numbers only give eight Italians, but the names on the accompanying list are nine.) Of the candidates Sergardi says: *Ogniuno vorria el papa a suo modo. Li Franzesi per quel che si vede hanno in conto Ivrea e Sanseverino, l' imperatore S. Croce, Bari, Siena, e Campegio avanti che s' interdesse la cattura del figlio. La setta de li Italiani vorrebbero Pucci, Cibo, Cesi et anco il Camerlengo, benche si pensa che questa setta de li Italiani in conclavi non habbi da

wrote that Palmieri was more inclined to the French, Doria to the Italians, while Grimani and Accolti showed Imperialist leanings.[1] That Accolti was already at that time counted on as an adherent of Charles V. is clear from a despatch of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of the 10th of October 1534, which differs, however, in many other respects from the statements of Sergardi. According to this document, there was close accord between Grimani, Cesarini, Salviati, and Accolti, whose negotiations with the Imperialists came to nothing. "The Italian party," remarks Cardinal Gonzaga, "boast of having ten members, but in reality they are only four." With regard to the French, the Cardinal comes to the same reckoning as Sergardi.[2]

The leader of the French was the energetic Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, although Tournon carried on the negotiations with the other members of the conclave.[3] The adherents of Francis I. formed a compact body, and went very cautiously to work; they kept their choice of a candidate a close secret; only one thing they made known, that they would exclude any Spaniard, or German, or even an Italian favourable to the Emperor.[4]

It was of great importance for the freedom of the conclave that it was held at a time when a certain political

esser unita, ma andar ciaschuno dore ben li verrà. Of Campeggio Sergardi writes on Oct. 6: *Un figlio del Card. Campegio andava in Francia per far offerte al Re da parte del padre e guadagnarsi li voti de li cardinali Francesi. È stato preso da Antonio da Leyva. Il card. Campegio non lo confessa e non lo niega, ma dice che non sa niente. (State Archives, Siena.)

[1] L. Sergardi, Oct. 10, 1534 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] *Cf.* Appendix 2, Cardinal E. Gonzaga's despatch, Oct. 10, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), differing from the optimist view of Sanchez (in WAHRMUND, 255).

[3] See the Bishop of Aosta's account in PETRUCELLI, II., 3.

[4] See Appendix 2, Cardinal E. Gonzaga's despatch, Oct. 10, 1534.

exhaustion, following, by a natural reaction, on the violent events of Clement's pontificate, had settled on men's minds. The fear expressed by many towards the close of Clement's life, that the antagonism between the French and Imperialist parties would lead to a schism,[1] was fortunately not realized. Francis I. saw that the election of one of his own partisans was an impossibility; he announced that he would be satisfied with a neutral such as Farnese,[2] and left the accomplishment of his wishes entirely in the hands of his party. Charles V. also did not attempt to impose his influence more strongly, and was content to admonish the Cardinals to keep in view the credit of the Holy See and the peace of Christendom, and to give their votes for one unbiassed by party. His ambassador also mentioned Farnese as suitable, besides Cornaro, Ferreri, and Grimani, but remarked that his master had given him no special commands with regard to any of these candidates. The intervention of the two great European powers in this election was thus so limited that King Ferdinand I. was under the belief that he was acting in accordance with his brother's intentions when he instructed his agent in Rome to work with all his might on behalf of Cardinal Bernhard von Cles.[3] Of the remaining States of Christendom there was not one that took any steps worth recording to influence the choice of the electors.

The position of affairs on the eve of the conclave was

[1] See F. Peregrino, Aug. 24, 1534, in Appendix No. 1 (Gonzaga Archives, Milan).

[2] See G. Feruffini in CAPASSO, Politica, I., 4.

[3] BUCHOLTZ, IX., 125; WAHRMUND, 255; LANZ, II., No. 381; GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 85, 89, 92, 98, 100; SÄGMÜLLER, 170 *seq.*, 229. For the Imperial envoy Cifuentes, see also *E. Gonzaga's letter, Oct. 10, 1534, in Appendix 2. Vergerio suggested the election of Cles; see his **report "in materia electionis Pontificis" (St. Mark's Library, Venice).

thus summed up by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga: the elevation of a Frenchman or an Imperialist was as impracticable as that of an Italian openly attached either to Francis I. or Charles V. Under the circumstances of difficulty then pressing upon political and ecclesiastical affairs, the only possible candidate was a neutral such as Cornaro or Farnese.[1] According to all accounts Farnese's prospects were the best.[2] The French, and especially their ally Trivulzio, worked for him actively; the other Italians and also the Imperialists were, at least, not opposed to him,[3] but, in the opinion of Ercole Gonzaga, the aforesaid Cardinal must needs be elected speedily, or it would go with him as it did in the conclave after the death of Leo X.[4]

Alessandro Farnese, Dean of the Sacred College, of which he had been a member for forty years, was not only the oldest but intellectually the most important of all the Cardinals. A penetrating intelligence, fine culture, great diplomatic experience and ability could not be denied him even by his enemies. Amid the keen spirit of faction shown by the French and Imperialist Cardinals he had succeeded with admirable tact in maintaining an indepen-

[1] *Letter of Oct. 10, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Appendix 2.

[2] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., IX., 309; Papazzoni in ACCAME, 19, and F. Saraceni in CAPASSO, Politica, I., 8. Peregrino on Sept. 26, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), had written of Farnese's great prospects; so also G. Busdraghi on the same date (State Archives, Lucca). L. Sergardi wrote on Sept. 27, 1534, that the betting gave Farnese the first and Piccolomini the second place. On Oct. 10 he says: "*Circa le scommesse Farnese va in cielo che oggi è ito a 50 per cento e li altri stanno terra terra, pur il papa lo fanno li cardinali e non i mercanti con le scommesse" (State Archives, Siena). See also Peregrino's *letter of Oct. 10, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Gerardo Busdraghi, *reports of Oct. 3 and 10, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca).

[4] See Appendix 2. *Cf.* FUMI, Legaz., 79.

dent position. Even if his relations with the French Cardinals were good, it was to his exceptional advantage with the Imperialists that repeatedly on previous occasions and especially now, just after the death of Clement VII., he had expressed himself in favour of a general Council, and with it of a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs.[1]

The dead Pope had repeatedly designated Farnese as his most fitting successor, and had begged his nephew, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, to secure for him the votes of his friends, as there was no other man among the Cardinals so competent to uphold the dignity of the Holy See and to govern in Church and State.[2] This recommendation made a great impression on Medici and his friends.[3] The younger Cardinals were influenced by the consideration that Farnese was sixty-seven years of age and his apparently enfeebled health did not hold out the prospect of a prolonged life. Above all, the conciliatory charm, which was one of the Cardinal's characteristics, was a powerful influence in his favour.[4] While so many different grounds for Farnese's election presented themselves, it was also strongly to his advantage that there was a lack of candidates who were at once neutral and of intellectual distinction.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 313; BREWER-GAIRDNER, VII., n. 1262; Conclavi de Pontef, I., 211 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, 170; see Vol. X. of this work, pp. 149, 441.

[2] See GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 85; JOVIUS, Historiae Lib., 32; GUICCIARDINI, Storia, XX., 2. ACCAME'S doubts, 4 *seq.*, are not justified.

[3] *It revmo de Medici è stato in grandissimo aiuto et de principali a fare questa creatione, writes F. Peregrino on Oct. 17, 1534, from Rome to the Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, XX., 2.

[5] E. Gonzaga in his despatch of Nov. 6, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see Appendix, No. 4.

On two previous occasions—in the conclaves from which Leo X. and Adrian VI. had emerged—Farnese had come very near to the Papacy, and now at last his hour had come. It seemed as if he were already the elected Pope when he entered the conclave; as such he actually quitted it, in contradiction to a well-known proverb. At the very beginning, it is true, a serious difficulty arose; Cardinal Tournon was of opinion that the French, knowing their power, should make an attempt to impose political conditions on Farnese; he was to be informed that the French votes would only be given as part of a bargain; he must bind himself to give up Milan to Francis I. Tournon, however, did not put this proposal into effect.[1]

Already on the evening of the 12th of October the rumour ran through the city that Farnese had been chosen Pope. This was stated so positively that the mob were ready to plunder his palace. The Romans, however, could not obtain certain information, as the Borgo was barriered off to prevent the intrusion of armed bands into the conclave.[2]

The rumour was founded on truth; Farnese's election had taken place so quickly that the conclave can hardly be spoken of by that name.

On the first assemblage of the Cardinals on the morning of the 12th, Farnese's preponderant influence was evident,

[1] *Cf.* together with *report of Sanchez, Oct. 12, 1534 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), as a corrective to him, the *letter of Card. E. Gonzaga, Nov. 6, 1534, in Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 25[b] *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] Second *despatch of Sanchez, Oct. 12, 1534, *loc. cit.*, and the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 137. See also *L. Sergardi's letter, Oct. 13, 1534 (State Archives, Siena), and Cardinal P. Cesi's MS. *notice relating to the same in the printed Ephem. of the Vatican Library. (Printed works 1 R. IV., 1898.)

as, in spite of Campeggio's opposition,[1] his proposal that the voting should not be secret was carried. Moreover, no articles of capitulation were drawn up.[2] In the afternoon Jean de Lorraine assembled the French Cardinals, and in the name of Francis I. proposed Farnese as Pope. This was communicated to the Italians in sympathy with France, whose leader Trivulzio had already been active on Farnese's behalf,[3] and to Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, also engaged in the same cause. The Frenchmen then went with Medici to Farnese to announce to him his elevation. The first to pay him homage was the nephew of Clement VII., and after the Cardinal of Lorraine had obtained the consent of the Imperialists, all the Sacred College met in the Chapel of Nicholas V., where Piccolomini, as the Cardinal-Bishop next in seniority to Farnese, announced the election.[4] That

[1] Mentioned by Busdraghi in his *letter, Oct. 14, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca).

[2] See A. M. Papazzoni's despatch of Oct. 13, 1534, in ACCAME, 20, and also Firmanus in GATTICUS, 330 (instead of 11 read 12, as found also in the MS. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 26, f. 16b).

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 10, and Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *report of Nov. 12, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *account of Nov. 7, 1534, in Appendix No. 4 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). This authentic narrative disposes of the hitherto accepted version in the "Conclavi dei Pontefici," I., 209 *seqq.* (repeated in the unreliable MS. accounts of the conclave as well as in the relation in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 619 *seqq.*), that Trivulzio, in combination with Medici, effected Farnese's elevation in the face of Lorraine's opposition. See also SÄGMÜLLER'S criticism (59, 170) of the "conclavi." The compact between Farnese and Ippolito de' Medici alleged by PETRUCELLI, II., 2, 3, is hardly authentic, since Gonzaga says nothing about it. A. M. Papazzoni, whose despatch (in ACCAME, 20), Oct. 13, agrees substantially with Gonzaga, is also silent on this point. Likewise Busdraghi in his *letter of Oct. 14, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca).

the precedents might be observed, a formal scrutiny took place on the following morning, the 13th of October, at which Campeggio, who on the previous day had refused to vote for Farnese, also gave in his adhesion with the rest.[1] Not for a very long time had a conclave done its work so quickly and so unanimously.[2]

The new Pope, who took the name of Paul III., was a member of an old and distinguished family belonging to the Papal States, of Lombardic origin according to some, of French according to others.[3] The possessions of the Farnesi stretched southwestward from the lake of Bolsena through the volcanic region, famous for its vintage. In the

[1] Blasius de Martinellis in GATTICUS, 327; *Diarium Card. Camerarii, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 58, f. 332; BREWER-GAIRDNER, VII., n. 1262; Notarial note in GORI, Archivio, IV., 254.

[2] See Cardinal Salviati's letter, Oct. 15, 1534, in Carte Strozz., I., 186.

[3] *Cf.* F. M. ANNIBALI, Notizie storiche della Casa Farnese, Montefiascone, 1817–18, 2 vols., and Dei Farnesi della storia ined. di Ronciglione del can. G. CARABELLI, Firenze, 1865 (perhaps quite unreliable). See also MORONI, XXIII., 193, and FRANGIPANE, A. Farnese, 13 *seq.* The history of the Farnesi by F. Oderici in LITTA, Famiglie Celebr. Ital., is, as REUMONT (Allgem. Zeitung., 1877, Beilag No. 39) justly remarks, the model of what genealogies ought *not* to be. Soriano (ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 320) mentions the French origin with a "si dice." The early history of the family before emerging from obscurity is very uncertain. There is a collection of genealogical notes taken, for the most part, from the registers subsequent to Benedict XII. in the *Varia. ad. Cam. Ap. spect. Arm., 37, t. 40, f. 259 *seq.*, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See *ibid.*, f. 17, Contelorius' Miscellanies, and Arm., 6, c. 6, n. 20: *Bullae instrum. et script. ill. dom. de Farnesio Paul III. bore as arms, or six lilies azure, formerly hyacinths, see PASINI FRASSONI, Essai d'armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906, 34. For his emblem with the motto "Festina lente," see BARBERI, III., 379. The Pope, on his election, chose as his motto: Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis.

history of Viterbo,[1] and especially in that of Orvieto, the lords of Farnese played a great part, from the twelfth century onwards. When Pope Adrian IV., in 1154, fled to Orvieto, Prudenzo Farnese received him as representative of the city; in 1177 Pepo Farnese was a signatory of the Treaty of Venice in the name of the Orvietans.[2] Members of the family were also entrusted with high ecclesiastical functions; in 1309 Guido Farnese, as Bishop of Orvieto, consecrated the cathedral.[3] Most of the males of the house followed the profession of arms; as zealous Guelphs they stood true to the Popes, who rewarded their services with fiefs and other marks of favour. Cardinal Albornoz[4] did the same, for even during the exile in Avignon the Farnesi struck many a blow for the Holy See. In later days Cardinal Alessandro the younger had his magnificent castle of Caprarola adorned with numerous frescoes celebrating the warlike deeds of his race. Pier Nicola Farnese was there honoured as the restorer in 1361 of Bologna to the Holy See. Piero Farnese distinguished himself in 1363 in the Pisan war and had a monument erected to him in the right aisle of the Duomo of Florence which is still standing.[5]

During the terrible period of the schism most of the family adhered to the Roman Popes. Urban VI., Boniface IX., and Gregory XII. on that account showed

[1] In a *Brief to the officials of Viterbo concerning the restoration of order in that city, dated Nov. 10, 1534, Paul III. says the Farnesi are "Cives antiquissimi" of Viterbo. Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 484 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See FUMI, Orvieto, 99 *seqq.*; *cf.* FUMI, La prima entrata di Paolo III. in Orvieto, Orvieto, 1892, 5.

[3] See UGHELLI, I., 1473.

[4] *Cf.* FABRE, Un registre caméral du Card. Albornoz, Paris, 1887, 7.

[5] See LITTA, Tav., X.

them many favours.[1] The actual founder of the greatness of the house, which had kept steadily on the ascendant, was Ranuccio Farnese, nominated a Roman Senator on the 27th of April 1417 by Martin V.[2] The Colonna Pope also honoured the family in other ways. During the first troubled years of Eugenius IV., Ranuccio, as General of the Papal troops, did great service, rewarded, owing to the scarcity in the Papal treasury, by fiefs of which the investiture was for a time limited but afterwards became perpetual. In this way Ranuccio became master of Latera, Valentano, Marta, Montalto, Cassano, and Canino.[3]

The riches and possessions of the Farnese family had already reached a notable height when by the marriage of Ranuccio's son Pier Luigi with Giovanella Gaetani, sister of Nicola, lord of Sermoneta, they came into near relationship with the house which had given to the Church the powerful Boniface VIII.[4] Hereby the Farnesi entered the ranks of the Roman nobility without abandoning the original seat of the family on the lake of Bolsena, where, on the Isola Bisentina, Ranuccio in 1448 erected the family mausoleum.[5] The issue of Pier Luigi's marriage was a

[1] Petrus de Farneto, domicell. Castren. creatus capitaneus in prov. patrimon. b. Petri in Tuscia, dat. Perusii, IX. Cal. Dec. A° 10°. Lib. II., Bull. Urbani VI., f. 118, Arm., 37, t. 17, f. 468. *Cf. ibid.*, t. 40, f. 275, a *document of Boniface IX., dat. IX. Cal. Oct. A° 13° (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and ANNIBALI, I., 30, 33 *seqq.* A Nicola Farnese in the service of the Antipope Clement VII. is mentioned in FUMI, Orvieto, 102.

[2] See THEINER, Cod. dipl. dom. temp., III., n. 165.

[3] See GUIRAUD, L'état pontifical après le grand schisme, Paris, 1896, 130 *seqq.* *Cf.* CARABELLI, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.*; MORONI, XXIII., 195.

[4] Paul III. called attention to this relationship in sending the red hat to "Cardinal. Caietanus tit. s. Nic. in Carc. Tull.," dated March 22, 1538. Arm., 41, t. 9, n. 257 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] FRANGIPANE, A. Farnese, 9, note.

daughter Giulia, called "la bella" on account of her great beauty, and two sons, Alessandro and Bartolommeo. The latter, Lord of Montalto, married Iolanda Monaldeschi and founded the ducal line of Latera, which became extinct in 1668, after the Castello Farnese had been sold on account of debts to the Chigi, who derive from it the title of Count.

Giulia, already married in 1489 to Orsino Orsini, caused great scandal[1] by her amour with Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, but thereby led to the further aggrandizement of her family. Her daughter Laura married Niccolò della Rovere, nephew of Julius II.[2] Alessandro Farnese was born at the end of February 1468 at Canino or, as some state, at Rome.[3] Thus his youth fell in the heyday of the Italian Renaissance, of which the lights and shadows were reflected in his life. In Rome Alessandro enjoyed the instruction of the famous humanist Pomponio Leto;[4] later on he finished his education in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence and at the University of Pisa. Under Innocent VIII. he returned to Rome, and soon won the approval of the powerful vice-chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia. His entrance into the Papal service was hindered, for Alessandro Farnese had incurred temporary imprisonment and the ill favour of Innocent VIII.[5] on account of his

[1] Vol. V. of this work, p. 417.

[2] *Cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 150.

[3] The house in Canino was for long pointed out; see ANNIBALI, *loc. cit.*, II., 45. R. AMASAEUS, 4, gives Rome as the birthplace. See also CARABELLI, 33, note.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, pp. 41 *seqq.*, 56 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* with PANVINIUS, Vita Pauli III. (as a supplement to Platina, Hist. Coloniae Agr., 1626, 367), the *Brief of Innocent VIII. to the Gubernator Patrimonii in which he says: "Fraternitati tue tenore presentium precipimus et mandamus, ut nulla interposita mora exequi cures, que proxime in mandatis a nobis habuisti (three words are here

behaviour in some family quarrel. Notwithstanding the warm recommendations of Lorenzo de' Medici,[1] he was not appointed Apostolic secretary and notary until 1491,[2] when, on the elevation of Borgia to the Papacy, in the following year the fortune of Giulia's brother was made. He was treasurer-general and already on the 20th of September 1493 Cardinal-Deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian.[3] On the 14th of November 1494 he was given the legation of the Patrimonium Petri,[4] and in 1499 the Bishopric of Corneto and Montefiascone.[5] The benefices received by him [6] were

unintelligible), in eorum subditos videlicet procedendo, donec mater eorum vere libertati fuerit restituta et sive Viterbii sive in aliis terris ecclesie habitare libere permissa. Nam ubi nunc est, non suo sed aliorum arbitratu eam degere certo scimus. Quod ad nos attinet, Alexandrum non prius e custodia eximere decrevimus, quam senserimus matrem ejus in sua libertate positam esse, Date etc." (before ult. Aug. 1484). Arm., 53, t. 18, f. 135 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The doubts of Frangipane are thus groundless.

[1] *Cf.* Lanfredini's account in FABRONIUS, Laurentii Medices Vita, II., 376, and REUMONT, Lorenzo, II.,[2] 293.

[2] *Innocentius VIII. Magist. Alex. Farnesio clerico Romano, not., script. et familiari nostro. Dat. Romae, 1491, VIII. Cal. Julii A° 7°. Regest. Vat., 695, f. 300[b]. In the *Regest. Lat., 912, f. 149, the *grant of an "altare portatile." Dat. 1491, Non. Aug. A° 7°, and f. 285[b] the "facultas eligendi confessorem" of the same day. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.)

[3] See Vol. V. of this work, 416 *seq.* The title was conferred on Sept. 23, 1493. *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives. Farnese's successor as treasurer-general was Franciscus Borgia Can. Valent.; see the *deed of appointment, dated Rome, Sept. 20, 1493. *Regest. Vat., Alex. VI., 876, f. 85 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See BURCHARD, Diarium, ed. Thuasne, II., 195.

[5] *Cf.* UGHELLI, I., 987.

[6] *Cf.* Regest. Lat., 949, f. 38 (appointment to a canonry "eccl. s. Laurentii Viterb.," dat. Romae, 1493, X. Cal. Julii A° 1°), and Regest. Vat., 869, f. 260 (Reservation, dat. 1494, IX. Cal. April). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

not rich, and his income was limited, consequently his position in the Curia was not a prominent one.[1] When in October 1502 he was given the legation of the March of Ancona,[2] his position improved, and gave him the opportunity of showing his cleverness and capacity.

A proof of the Cardinal's extraordinary versatility was the excellent footing on which he stood with Julius II., the great opponent of Alexander VI. He not only kept the legation of Ancona, but received many other marks of favour from Julius.[3] The ambassadorial reports show clearly how close was his intercourse with the Pope.[4] It was also Julius II. who legitimatized the Cardinal's two natural sons, Pier Luigi and Paolo.[5] Besides these the Cardinal also had an illegitimate daughter, Costanza, and about 1509 a third son, Ranuccio.[6] The mother of Pier

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, I., 871; II., 843. For his revenues in the year 1500, see Vol. VI. of this work, p. 92.

[2] See BURCHARD, Diarium, III., 224; SANUTO, IV., 444, 495; SCHWEITZER in Röm. Quartalschrift, XX., 35 *seq.*; see also *Div. camer., 55, 22 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* *Julii II., Brevia (Arm., 39), I., f. 80b, 104b; II. 478, 511, 530, 533, 688, 744; III., 486. *Cf.* *Regest. Vat., 984, f. 150 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also GAMS, Series 651.

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, VIII., 39; IX., 132; XI., 838; XII., 94.

[5] Julius II. Petro Loysio et Paulo de Farnesio dat. Romae 1505 VIII. Id. Jul. Regest. Vat., 984, f. 147 *seqq.* (Julii II., Secret div. an.). The documents prove that Pier Luigi was then "in secundo vel circa," Paulus "in primo aetatis anno" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the notarial deeds in the Sitzungsberichten der Münchner Akademie, 1872, p. 516 *seq.* These and the others mentioned in notes 2 and 4 show that the panegyrist of the Farnese family has no grounds for stating that the Cardinal had been married previously (SALAZAR, Glorias de Casa Farnese, c. 3, 34). It is surprising to find that MAS LATRIE (Chronologie, 1142) still maintains this.

[6] The legitimation of Costanza Farnese is not forthcoming. According to Massarelli, her mother was of Bolsena; see MERKLE, Conc. Trid., I., 195. Leo the Tenth's *deed of legitimation for Ranuccio,

Luigi and of Paolo, who died young, was a lady of the Roman aristocracy who lived in the Cardinal's house in the neighbourhood of the Arenula.[1] It was not until 1513 that this illicit connection of Alessandro's came to an end;[2] up to that date he had not yet received priest's orders.

The first sign that a moral change had taken place in Farnese was disclosed by the way in which he administered the diocese of Parma, conferred upon him by Julius II. at the end of March 1509. As his Vicar-General he appointed a very conscientious man, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, in whom, as in his superior, more serious principles had taken the place of a careless laxity.[3]

Cardinal Farnese threw himself heartily into the work of the Lateran Council, at the opening of which he had the honour of representing the Pope. In order to give effect to the decrees of that assembly, Farnese held in 1516 a

dat. Romae, 1518, XI. Cal. April, A° 7°, Reg. 1208, f. 231 ("Raynutius," it says, was "in decimo anno aetatis constitutus"); *ibid.*, 233: *Appointment of Ranuccio as "notarius ap. sedis cum dispensatione, dat. ut supra" (it says here that Ranuccio was "de diacono cardinali genitus et soluta"). (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The *original draft of the first document is in the Neapolitan State Archives, Arch. Farnese.

[1] It cannot be stated with certainty whether the name of Farnese's mistress was Ruffina, or, as RABELAIS (Oeuvres, II., 598) says, Lola, as might be concluded from the verses of Tranquillo Molosso, the Cardinal's private poet (*cf.* AFFÒ, Vita di B. Molosso, Parma, 1779). That she belonged to the aristocracy is shown in the document of Leo the Tenth's, quoted in the following note. That she lived in her own dwelling-house is clear from the *document of Julius, July 8, 1505, cited *supra*, p. 19, n. 5. *Cf.* NAVENNE, 251, where the Cardinal is incorrectly spoken of as titular of SS. Cosmas and Damian, since from the time of Pius III. he was titular of S. Eustachio; see Contelorius, Arm., 11, t. 47. For the Cardinal's house, see Div. camer., 57, f. 184 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] From Regest. Leonis X., ed. HERGENROETHER, n. 3316.

[3] See SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 36 *seq.*

visitation of his diocese, at that time a rare example of ecclesiastical energy. In 1519 he instituted a diocesan synod at which new constitutions for the reform of the clergy were introduced and some old ones made more stringent.[1] In June 1519 the Cardinal, hitherto only in deacon's orders, sought priestly ordination,[2] and on Christmas Day in that year he said his first Mass.[3] There is trustworthy evidence that from that time onwards his moral conduct was without reproach. Even if Farnese in some respects remained a child of this world, yet he belonged henceforward to that number of Cardinals who had yielded to the higher influences now at work. It is deserving of all recognition that he was able to make men forget the stain attaching to his elevation to the Cardinalate by strenuously working his way above the low moral sphere with which, as the favourite of Alexander VI. and the offspring of an evil time, he had been conversant.

Cardinal Alessandro's relations with Leo X. were very advantageous to him, for they had been friends in youth. The rich benefices bestowed upon him by the Pope[4] made such a large addition to his income that he

[1] See SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 41 *seqq.* See also Atti dell' Emilia, N.S., VI., 360.

[2] *1519. Die Dominica 26 Junii factus est presbyter a card. s. Quattuor. Hodie autem, quae est dies sabbati solemnitas visitationis Mariae, consecratus est episcopus per S. D. N. papam in camera, in quae solebat esse signatura papae Julii, sic ipso papa volente. . . . Papa donavit annulum cum gemma cardinali. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, XII., 23, 354 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Farnese then became Bishop of Tusculum. Garampi's statement in his *Schedule, that he had received the bishopric as far back as 1503, is incorrect.

[3] Paris de Grassis, *loc. cit.*, 363 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SANUTO, XVII., 101; XVIII., 396; and Regest. Leonis X. *passim.*

was able to begin building the huge palace on the Via Giulia which has handed down his name to posterity. Leo X., who personally inspected the edifice while under construction, was also a frequent guest of Farnese on his hunting expeditions, when the Cardinal entertained him with royal splendour in his castle of Capodimonte.[1] When in 1518 Farnese declined, on the pretext of an illness, to accept the post of Legate to the Emperor,[2] the Pope seems to have taken it in good part. That Adrian VI. should have granted Farnese a reservation deserves special mention in view of the restraint observed by this strict Pontiff in bestowing favours.[3]

In the long conclave of 1523 Farnese's exertions to obtain the tiara had every prospect of success, but in the end he had to make way for his rival, Medici.[4] It can be understood that at first their relations were somewhat strained. It always rankled to a certain degree that, as Farnese complained, Clement VII. had deprived him of ten years of Papacy; but he was too much the man of the world not to make good his footing with the new ruler as soon as possible. As time went on he succeeded in winning not only the respect but the confidence of Clement VII.[5] In the unhappy years 1526–27 their relations had to

[1] *Cf.* SANUTO, XVII., 471, and our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, 117 n., 157.

[2] Vol. VII. of this work, p. 237.

[3] *Reservatio omnium fructuum mensae archiepiscop. Benevent. Adriani VI., I., 18, f. 52. This citation from Garampi's *schedules (Secret Archives of the Vatican) refers to the Regest. Later., from which, however, the volume in question is now missing.

[4] See our remarks in Vol. IX. of this work, 235 *seqq.* That Farnese's former manner of life was used against him in the conclave, is stated by Blasius de Martinellis (CREIGHTON, Hist. of the Papacy, V., 325).

[5] *Cf.* Soriano's narrative for 1526 in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 130.

undergo a severe test. While one of the Cardinal's sons, Ranuccio (d. 1529[1]), remained loyal to the Pope, another, Pier Luigi, went over to the enemy—the Colonna and the Imperialists. A proof of Cardinal Alessandro's great influence lies in the fact that he was successful in obtaining an amnesty from Clement for Pier Luigi,[2] then, on account of his high treason, lying under the sentence of greater excommunication. Nevertheless, the latter did not venture to return to Rome, but took service under Charles V. and, from 1528 to 1529, fought for him in the war in northern Italy, and later he was present at the siege of Florence. The reckless ferocity of Pier Luigi, a genuine condottiere of the Renaissance, showed itself betimes in these campaigns.[3] He married Girolama Orsini of Pitigliano, and by her he had one daughter Vittoria and four sons: Alessandro, Ottavio, Ranuccio, and Orazio.[4]

[1] *Cf.* NAVENNE, 252.

[2] Paul III. confirmed later this absolution only orally bestowed. This *Renovatio absolutionis pro Petro Aloisio de Farnesio et aliis, qui in pontificem Clementem VII. conspiraverunt dat. 1536 Id. Octob., in the Regest. Vat., 1647, f. 134 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican), throws a wished-for light on the relation of Pier Luigi to Clement. *Cf.* also the *despatch of B. Agnello to the Marquis of Mantua on Pier Luigi's participation in the "Sacco," dat. Nepi, May 21, 1527 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Indult for Alexandro de Farnesio electo Parmen. et Octavio etiam de Farnesio clericis Rom. fratribus, dat. Romae 1528, XVIII. Cal. Febr. A° 6°, Regest. Vat., 1437, f. 313 (habilitatio ad successionem in bonis, de quibus privatus fuerit Petrus Aloisius de Farnesio, eorum pater, qui crimen laesae majestatis commiserat.). Petrus Aloisius is described as "de ven. fratre nostro Alexandro episc. Ostien. Card. de Farnesio et soluta genitus" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 461, 581; IV., 1, n. 4, 96; AFFÒ, 15 *seq.*; NAVENNE, 262 *seq.*

[4] See NAVENNE, 256. For Titian's portrait of Pier Luigi in Naples see FISCHEL, 91, and CLAUSSE, 110, 121 *seqq.*

Cardinal Alessandro, since 1524 Bishop of Ostia, shared Clement's imprisonment in St. Angelo until permission was given him, in 1527, to leave the fortress and go to Spain. He went first, however, to the free Cardinals at Parma.[1] From that city on the 13th of December 1527 he congratulated the Pope on his liberation.[2] Clement was not slow to avail himself of the services proffered in that letter, for in 1528 he appointed Farnese Legate in Rome.[3] When in 1529 the Pope lay seriously ill the Cardinal was the candidate for the tiara approved by the Kings of France and England; nevertheless, he was so acceptable to Charles V. that when the latter came to Italy he was appointed to bid him welcome.[4]

During Clement's last years he was undoubtedly the most commanding personality after the Pope; as a diplomatist he had no rival. His long Cardinalate had afforded him opportunity to amass a greater experience than any of his colleagues; in all important consultations, especially those concerning the Council, he took a predominant part. In the most varying posts—in 1533 he was once more Legate in Rome[5]—he behaved so ad-

[1] GAYANGOS, III., 2, n. 146.

[2] This *letter, entirely in his own hand, dat. "ex Parma die XIII. Decemb. 1527," I found in the *Lett. d. Princ., IV., 250 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Vol. X. of this work, p. 19.

[4] See GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 97; SÄGMÜLLER, 165, 173, and for the Legation to Charles V. our remarks in Vol. X. of this work, pp. 65, 68. Clement VII. bestowed on Farnese, May 24, 1530, "Castrum Ronciglione ad cam. apost. spectans ad vitam." *Div. camer., 89, f. 190b (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, p. 231. Farnese also acted as mediator for the Republic in the dispute between Venice and Clement VII.; see SANUTO, LVIII., 406. In 1532 Farnese took part in the meeting between the Pope and Charles V. at Bologna; *cf.* GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 1014; AMASAEUS, II.

mirably that he was loved by high and low. The Romans especially delighted in his brilliant state;[1] there was therefore general rejoicing at his election as Pope.[2]

Farnese was looked upon as one of Rome's own sons, and the citizens congratulated themselves that the tiara had fallen to one of their own number, a thing that had not come to pass since the days of Martin V., more than a century before.

The preparations for the coronation took time,[3] for the Romans were making ready a great act of homage to the new Pope. On the evening of the 29th of October a torch-light procession, in which the civic magistrates and great nobles took part, made its way to the Vatican. In its ranks were observable three triumphal cars, the decorations of which symbolized the beginning of a new and more spiritual era; the figure of Rome was supported by those of the Church and Faith.[4] The coronation, held with all splendour on the 3rd of November, gave the Romans a fresh outlet for their enthusiasm; they were entertained with a display of fireworks, and two days later with

[1] Just before the "Sacco" Farnese's household comprised 366, that of the Pope 700, persons; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 453, 471.

[2] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., ed. GAIRDNER, VII., n. 1262, 1263; ACCAME, 20. See also: *Memorie di Jacomo delli Herculani, in Cod. Gesuit., 170, f. 64[b] (Vittorio Emanuele Lib., Rome).

[3] *Cf.* *letter of Imperio Recordato, dat. Rome, Oct. 27, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lombardi, I., 44.

[4] See Firmanus in GATTICUS, 331 (instead of November read October); ALBERINI, 386 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 91; FORCELLA, Feste, 14 *seq.*; *letter of L. Sergardi of Oct. 30, 1534 (State Archives, Siena); *Diary of a Frenchman in Cod. Barb. lat., 3552 (Vatican Library), and Busdraghi's letter of Oct. 31, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca).

festivities on the Piazza of St. Peter's.[1] The rejoicings increased when Paul III. gave lavish alms[2] to the poor and sick, and removed the oppressive taxes with which Rome had been burdened since the pontificate of Sixtus IV.[3]

Beyond Rome also the choice of Farnese gave almost general satisfaction.[4] In wide circles, especially in Germany, the new Pope's reputation stood high in men's favour. In the latter country his utterances on behalf of a council were well known.[5] The humanists in

[1] *Die 3 Novembris Paulus 3s coronatus est hora 18a presentibus cardinalibus 35 et coronavit eum Innocentius cardinalis Cibo et fuit factus sumptuosus et pulcher apparatus et celebratum solemne convivium 32 revmis cardinalibus et aliis quod faustum fuit (*Diarium card. Camerarii. Miscell. Arm., 12, t. 58, f. 335b, Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the reports of A. M. Pappazoni of Oct. 15 and 19, 1534, in ACCAME, 22, and the *letters of the same of Nov. 2 and 5, 1534 (State Archives, Bologna); *letters of F. Peregrino, Oct. 23 and Nov. 6, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and of *Busdraghi, Nov. 7, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca); ALBERINI, 587; Fantini in CAPASSO, Politica, I., 101 *seq.*, and CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 91–92. Here also for the "Possesso," which did not take place until April 11, 1535.

[2] See F. Peregrino's *letter of Nov. 6, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Then appeared the "Motu proprio sopra i poveri e carcerati," printed 1534 s. d. (in the collection: Edicts of the Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Prigioni, 20.

[3] *Qua in Roma se sono fatte da Romani tre giorni continui de feste et allegrezze, con fuochi, suoni de campane et artigliarie, perchè Sua S. ha levate tutte le angharie, carichi, et paghamenti de gabelle, che da Papa Sisto in qua e da altri Papi in poi gli sono stato messi, che ascendono alla summa de più de cinquanta milia ducata ogni anno. F. Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua, dat. Rome, Nov. 25, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] For the rejoicings in Viterbo see Chronache di Viterbo, ed. CIAMPI, 435; in Parma, GUALANO, 14; in Milan, BURIGOZZO, 522.

[5] See Vergerio's despatch, FRIEDENSBURG'S Nuntiaturberichten, I., 315. *Cf.* the favourable notices in the State Papers, VII., 573, and in HERMINJARD, Corresp. d. Réform., III., 221, n. 10.

Italy[1] and France, including even those more or less affected by Protestant ideas, showed their pleasure in letters and poems.[2] From Padua Pietro Bembo wrote to the new Pope that his election was a matter of joy for the sake of all Christendom, and especially of the Romans, who had gone through such heavy trials: "With you at the helm, no shipwreck is to be feared, not even the least deviation from the right course."[3] Among diplomatists the hope reigned that there would now be an end to the continual restless oscillations characteristic of the policy of Clement VII., and men drew their breath[4] with a sense of relief. The friends of reform also set great hopes on the new Pope, who gave promise of the best intentions, commanded respect by his conduct, and heard Mass daily.[5] Sadoleto gave eloquent expression to the expectations raised by this side of Paul's character. In his letter of congratulation he sets no bounds to his expressions of admiration for the new head of the Church: never had an election caused such joy among men; never had any Pope received more numerous expressions of honour; the wishes of Christendom were now fulfilled, and a Pontiff of excellence and wisdom steered the bark.

[1] See the *Ode to Paul III. P. M. in Arch. Farnese, fasc. 689 (State Archives, Naples).

[2] See Ioannis Vultei Remensis Epigrammaton Libri, III., Lugduni, 1537, f. 78–79. *Cf.* BUISSON, L. Castellion, I., Paris, 1892, 56 *seq.*

[3] BEMBO, Opere, IV., 232.

[4] See the report of Peregrino of Oct. 13, 1534, in ROSSI, Guicciardini, II., Bologna, 1899, 70.

[5] Aleander attests to this; see Quellen und Forsch. des preuss. Instituts, VII., 260; *cf.* also AMASAEUS, 29. For Paul's dignified demeanour in Church we have the notes of an eye-witness in the *Liber reformat. vel memorialis monasterii S. Marie Montislucidi extra menia Perusina. Original in the Monastic Archives of S. Maria di Monte Luce.

To God be given thanks for having in times of such danger given them so great a leader, one who would without doubt do all to encourage the best interests of Christendom.[1]

One circumstance alone cast its shadow over the general rejoicing. The health of the Pope, now in his sixty-seventh year, who as late as 1533 had gone through a serious illness,[2] seemed so shattered that only a brief reign was expected.[3] But within that frail body there was a stout spirit and an iron force of will. This energy, combined with a judicious mode of life and a wise economy of strength—plenty of exercise in the fresh air and frequent sojourns in the country,[4]—belied the fears of some and

[1] SADOLETI, Opera, Mogunt., 1607, 199 *seq.*; ed. Veronae, 1737, I., 197 *seq.* *Cf.* also Junioris Lud. Pariseti. Regiens, Epistolae Regii, 1541, lib. 2.

[2] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 13.

[3] "Credo che per puochi giorni o mesi haveremo Papa, perchè costui è vecchio, mal conditionato, consumato et afflitto et molto delinato, non serebbe gia el bisogno ch'el mancasse cosi presto," *writes F. Peregrino on Oct. 17, 1534, to the Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the letter of Nov. 29, 1534, in LUZIO, Pronostico, 59; BUSINI, Lett. a B. Varchi, ed. Milanesi, Firenze, 1861, 238; the letter in Rime e lettere di V. Gambara (1759), 218, and the letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Nov. 10, 1534, in Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 31 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] Together with Vergerio's letters (Nuntiaturberichten, I., 324), see FICHARD, Italia, 71; DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 534; CANCELLIERI, Sopra il tarantismo, Roma, 1817, 34; CAPASSO, Politica, I., 56 *seq.* See also Sanchez' **Aviso* of March 15, 1535, sent to Ferdinand I. (Sanctitas Sua valet recte, quae ultraquam semper de salute sua curare soluit, nunc precipuae ita et victus temperantia et frequentibus, huc it illuc recreandi animi causa itineribus suae rectae valetudini prospicit, ut in dies vegetior evadat, licet valde annosa sit), and the *despatches of Sanchez, April 22 and Aug. 20, 1535 (Stas Sua assueta est semper loca mutare crebrisque aut deambulationibus aut itineribus se exercere atque ob istam consuetudinem parat inter XII. dies ad Loretum

rebuked the hopes of others. It was decreed that this man, whose life seemed to have such a slender tenure, was to have the longest pontificate of any Pope of the 16th century.

At first sight Paul III. presented the appearance of a weary, worn-out old man. He spoke in low tones, with great deliberation and prolixity.[1] His bright complexion and small sparkling eyes, which struck everyone,[2] alone denoted the choleric temper, over which, however, he had remarkable control.[3] Consummate discretion kept in check a naturally mettlesome temperament.

Of the many painters, sculptors, and medallists who have handed down to posterity [4] Farnese's outward features, none has succeeded so admirably as Titian. He has painted three portraits of this pontiff; each is incomparable in fidelity to life and suggestive portrayal of the characteristics of the original. The first of these three,

proficisci. From the Court and State Archives, Vienna). The best guide for the numerous excursions of Paul III. is the *Diarium of Blasius de Martinelli's (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). Cardinal Cervini wrote to Sirleto on Aug. 14, 1552: "La Santa me. di pp. Paulo che non voleva partir mai di Roma fino la prima bona acqua d' Agosto per non trovarsi in Roma il mese di Settembre, dannato etiam da Horatio come sapete" (Cod. Vat., 6178, f. 3). Paul's solicitude for his health is shown also in his choice of wines, of which, according to his chief cellarer, he was a great connoisseur; *cf.* I vini d' Italia guidicati da Paolo III. e dal suo bottigliere Sante Lancerio p. da G. FERRARO, Roma, 1890 (previously in the Rivista Europea, VII. (1876), 2, 94 *seqq.*).

[1] See M. Dandolo's report in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 338.

[2] *Cf.* Vergerio's description in Nuntiaturberichten, I., 234.

[3] See A. Soriano's report in ALBÈRI, *loc. cit.*, 319; *cf.* CAPASSO, Politica I., 51.

[4] A compilation in STEINMANN, Sixtina, II., 480, n. 6. The portraits of Paul III. by Scipione Gaetano and Pulzone are wanting; see Emporium, XXVII. (1908), 138.

belonging to the year 1543,[1] shows the lean, middle-sized figure of Paul III. seated in an armchair. He is deep in thought, the body slightly bent forward; the *mozetta*, a light red tippet trimmed with ermine, covers his shoulders; beneath is seen the fine white Papal garment. All the details are strictly true to nature; the dress, the thin hands, the intellectual head with its long aquiline nose, the piercing eyes and gloomy forehead; the shrewd countenance is framed in a full beard of a greyish-white colour. In a portrait painted later the Pope appears much older;[2] the composition is almost identical with that of the former picture, only the Pope here wears the *camauro*, or Papal cap, and his posture is still more bent forward; the beard has become more silvered. The fallen-in, shrunken form with the left hand hanging loosely down—the right holds a piece of writing—represents in a striking way the weariness of one well stricken in years. The third portrait, however, reveals the strength and energy dwelling in this apparently failing man, and also gives a glimpse into the family history of the Farnesi.[3]

[1] The copy of this portrait, once belonging to the Farnesi and now in the Naples Museum, is considered by many (CROWE, Titian, II., 444; FISCHEL, Tizian, XXI., 79; FILANGIERI DI CANDIA in Gall. naz., V. [1902], 212) to be an original Titian, while WICKHOFF (Kunstgeschichtl. Anz., I., 98) asserts positively that it is by Paris Bordone.

[2] The copy (original?) in the Naples Museum (FISCHEL, 80) is in bad preservation; there is a copy in the Imperial Collection of paintings in Vienna; see CLAUSSE, 81 *seq.*; ENGERTH, Kat. der Gemäldegalerie im Belvedere, Wien, 1864, 15. CROWE, II., 447 *seq.*, classifies the copies of Titian's portraits of Paul. He does not mention the fine one belonging to the Marquis Persichetti at Aquila; this, as well as the portrait in the Pitti Gallery, is the work of Paris Bordone.

[3] The portrait is unfinished, and is in the Naples Museum. There is a copy in the Academia of S. Luca in Rome (CROWE, II., 471 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, 321 *seq.*; WOLTMANN, II., 760; GRONAU, Titian, 132 *seq.*,

In a chamber of the Vatican hung with red tapestry sits Paul III. in an armchair, his small head covered with the red *camauro*; the shrunken figure speaks of old age and the burden of care—the hour-glass on the table gives warning of the flight of time. On the Pope's right hand, behind his chair, stands Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in his robes, wearing on his head the red biretta, while on the left, in the front of the group, the youthful Ottavio Farnese bends before the Pope, whose diminutive stature is accentuated by the lofty presence of the younger man. The latter appears to be presenting some petition or apology, and the Pope to be speaking in a low voice; but the energy with which the Pontiff addresses him, the piercing look with which he regards him, betoken the fiery soul still aglow under the weight of years.

Titian's portraits have a rival in the noble bust by Guglielmo della Porta,[1] in which the rare sagacity of the man of ripe experience has been imperishably transferred to marble.

One result of this sagacity was the careful consideration preceding all his undertakings, the deference shown to the opinions of men of experience, and the peculiar tact with which Paul III. handled all his affairs. The slowness of his speech, partly natural to him and partly the result of old age,[2] was increased on formal occasions by his anxiety

and WOERMANN, Die ital. Bildnismalerei, Esslingen, 1906, 87) and another in the Ambraser collection in Vienna, No. 447; see Jahrbuch des österr. Kaiserhauses, XVII., 146 *seq.*

[1] Reproductions of this noble work, now in Naples, in CLAUSSE, 90, where there is also more detailed information; *cf.* MÜNTZ, III., 235. The decorations of the drapery are—a characteristic of the time—in an antique style little befitting a papal vesture.

[2] *Cf.* the report of the Venetian embassy in LONGO, *Comment. della guerra del 1537; Cod. it., 573, f. 263, Court and State Library, Munich.

to express himself both in Latin and Italian in the choicest and most refined manner, often drawing on his memory for classical allusions, as well as by his scrupulous avoidance of tying himself down by a positive "yes" or "no." While trying to arrive at a definite settlement of matters under negotiation, he yet liked to have a free hand up to the last moment.[1] So report the Venetian ambassadors, in agreement with Paolo Giovio. This historian lays great stress on the fact that the Pope employed this method even with the Sacred College. With a most significant play of features he listened, as a lover of free discussion, to all they had to say, but reserved for himself complete independence in the use he made of their opinions, for he always maintained a position above party. The control that the Pope had over himself was matter for admiration. Always knowing the point at which he aimed and possessing great strength of will, this skilled diplomatist succeeded in tracing out the most secret intentions and schemes and turning them to his own uses. With the same skill he knew how, in a conflict of opinion, to steer clear on a middle course.[2]

The caution and hesitation which preceded the decisions of Paul III., and were so often the mark of Pasquino's witticisms,[3] did not arise, as in the case of Clement VII.,

[1] *Cf.* M. Dandolo's description in ALBÈRI, 2 Series, III., 338. The long and ceremonious speeches of Paul III. are criticised in the *despatch of G. M. della Porta (State Archives, Florence) of Aug. 14, 1537, and in a *letter of Aurelio Manni Ugolini of July 5, 1544 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Historiae lib., 42 (Opera, II., 527), and in Appendix No. 27 the Relation of M. A. Contarini (Méjanes Library, Aix).

[3] Sanchez complains on June 27, 1535, of the Pope's dilatoriness in the despatch of business: *Cum propter assiduas ingentesque ejus occupationes, tum quia ex ingenio suapteque maximus ac pene incredibilis pendinator est, adeo ut et jam Pasquillus in eam tarditatem facetissime

from lack of courage, but from shrewd calculation. He was determined always to be the master of his negotiations, and to grasp the favourable opportunity. Once secure of the latter, he acted with a swiftness which surprised even those in his confidence; they came to perceive that in most cases the projects which the Pope was most hopeful of realizing were those of which he spoke the least.[1]

It has been pointed out as a special characteristic of Paul III. that he had no chosen confidential circle.[2] Although always friendly and accessible to Cardinals and ambassadors, no one was admitted into the secret recesses of this independent character. The Florentine influence, which had played such an important part in Clement's pontificate, was at an end.[3] According to Vergerio, at the beginning of Paul's reign Cardinals Trivulzio and Palmieri were his nearest advisers; together with them the private secretary Ambrogio Ricalcati held a place of high importance, destined, however, to end tragically at the close of 1537. This unfaithful servant became a prisoner in

irriserit vocans papam Paulum "vas dilationis" per transsumptionem epitheti divi Pauli, qui vocatior a Deo vas electionis (Court and State Archives, Vienna). For Paul's cautious temporizing, see also the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga, October 24, 1534, Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 16b *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] See RANKE, Popes, I., 6th ed., 159, who refers to the expressions of Cardinal Carpi and of Margaret in Mendoza's despatches. *Cf.* also the *letter of the Abbate di Gonzaga of May 29, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Sanchez' *despatch of Sept. 10, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 331; Corp. dipl. Port., III. 182; SADOLET, Opera, I., 247 *seq.* The Abbate di Gonzaga reports on May 29, 1535: *Il papa mostra far questa professione di far le cose senza communicarle con persona (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] From this and the dispute with Cosimo arise the enmity and "parti pris" of the Florentine historians, especially Varchi and Segni, towards Paul III.; see Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 54.

St. Angelo, and in the beginning of 1538 the conduct of state affairs and the official correspondence with the Papal representatives at foreign courts was entrusted to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the youthful nephew of the Pope, and to Marcello Cervini, his first secretary.[1]

Paul III. treated the Sacred College with the greatest consideration, and was, as far as possible, on the same footing with all. He was assiduous in consulting them, and gave them always the right of access before ambassadors, so that the latter complained of the difficulty of obtaining audience.[2] What displeased the diplomatists most was the Pope's prolixity and tediousness in the transaction of

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., lv. f. 324; II., 248 *seq.* When Cervini became Cardinal in December 1539 he was followed by Niccolò Ardinghello, and the latter, soon afterwards, by Dandino; see *ibid.*, VIII. 12. During Dandino's repeated absences Bernardino Maffei carried on the correspondence. For the changes introduced into the secretariat in June 1549, see in Vol. XII., App. 38, the *despatch of Buonanni of June 29, 1549 (Florentine State Archives). For Ricalcati, *cf.* also Atti del Emilia, N.S., II. (1877), 64 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, Politica, I., 434, n. 2. J. J. Firmanus notes in *Diarium, Ricalcati was arrested "propter multa secreta, ut aiebant, ipsius pape litteris revelata Imperatori et infinitas extorsiones factas diversis modis" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Ricalcati was not reprieved until 1544; see Babbi's *despatch, Jan. 12, 1544 (State Archives, Florence). On January 2, 1538, the Pope sent the following *Brief to "Jo. Ant. Pulleo," Baron of Burgio, nuncio in Naples: "Cum nos ex nonnullis rationalibus causis eam curam tractandi nostra et huius s. sedis nuntios et legatos scribendi, quam hactenus Ambrosius Recalcarius habuit, dilecto filio et sec. carnem nepoti nostro Alex° car^li^ de Farnesio S. R. E. vicecancellario demandaverimus, volumus ac tibi mandamus, ut litteris, quas idem Alex. car^lis^ ad te nostro nomine scribet, fidem indubiam adhibeas. Dat. Romae 2 ianuarii 1538. A° 4°. Blosius." (Cod. Q. q. G. 22, f. 96, of the Communal Library, Palermo.)

[2] *Cf.* Sanchez' *despatch of Jan. 28, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); Nuntiaturberichte, III., 510, IV., 38; Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, CVIII., 816; and Corp. dipl. Port., III., 182.

affairs.[1] They gave way to bitter complaints of the difficulties in negotiating with him, of the impediments in the way of access, of his avoidance of definite decisions,[2] of his being as difficult to inveigle as a cunning fox;[3] it would be easier to get into heaven than to bring him to a final issue.[4] Everyone felt the diplomatic superiority of Farnese, who, as Cardinal, had been able to remain on good terms with six Popes of the most different tendencies and so to preserve his neutrality between the two hostile factions of the Imperialists and French as to arouse distrust in neither and to gain the respect of both.

On his elevation to the Papacy, Paul III. set himself to carry out his "diplomatic masterpiece"—to avoid any quarrel either with Charles V. or Francis I.,—and for ten years his success was undeniable.[5]

If the policy of neutrality to which he clung with nervous tenacity, as appearing to him with his wide experience and wise calculations to be not merely on political but on ecclesiastical grounds the only right course to pursue, occasionally brought him into collision with the Emperor, the reason was to be found in the Spanish supremacy in Italy. The French, however, did not on this account gain

[1] See the report of the Portuguese Envoy in Corp. dipl. Port., III., 182.

[2] *Cf.* with Dandolo, *loc. cit.*, M. Foscari in Mon. Slav. Merid., VII., 132; Lett. and Pap., ed. GAIRDNER, VIII., n. 713, 807, and especially the bitter complaint of F. Peregrino in his *letters of Nov. 29, 1534, Feb. 4 and 25, and March 18, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see also *Gallo's despatch of Oct. 11, 1537 (State Archives, Florence, Urb., 134).

[3] See DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 96.

[4] Thus Lorenzo Monaldeschi in a *letter to the Conservatori of Orvieto, dat. Rome, Jan. 5, 1547 (City Archives, Orvieto).

[5] See BROSCH in the Mitteilungen des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 128.

an advantage in proportion to their hopes and wishes.[1] As a mediator free from party spirit, Paul, recognizing better than his unfortunate predecessor his position as head of the Church, endeavoured to restore that peace to Christendom for which the need was doubled in view of the ever-present menace of the Turk. With an energy equally worthy of acknowledgment he strove to secure not only a permanent equipoise between the two great powers of Europe, but also the political independence of the Holy See in Italy, and to rescue[2] the last fragment of national liberty left to that unhappy country after the entrance of foreign domination under Clement VII. Unfortunately these high aims were from the beginning marred and frustrated by a nepotism often exceeding all bounds.

Paul III. repeatedly sacrificed higher interests, even when of importance to the Church, to those of the Farnese family.[3] Only too often, in his solicitude for those of his own house, whom he loved tenderly, did he prefer their claims to those of peace and the Crusade,

[1] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 45, and FREIDENSBURG in Hist. Zeitschrift, XCII., 288. The latter makes the following pertinent remarks: "The dismal experiences which Clement VII. went through, in consequence of his alliance with France against Spain, show that the Papacy with its adherents was not strong enough in joining sides with one of the two competing powers to give to one the preponderance over the other. Besides, partisan action on the part of the Papacy could bring only a trifling advantage in the case of its ally gaining a complete victory, while the contrary eventuality would inflict irreparable damage, quite apart from the circumstance that the entire subjection of one or other of the rival powers could not in any case be wished for by the Curia, since the effect would be to make the yoke of the victor, be he friend or foe, in every way unbearable." *Cf.* also CARDAUNS, Karl V., Paul III., und Franz I., I., 148 *seq.*

[2] See CAPASSO, Politica, I., 41 *seq.*, 55.

[3] WENSING tries in vain to deny this, Paus Paulus III. (s' Hertogenbosch, 1888), V., 889 *seq.*

and always, where it was possible, did he bind the two together.

The combination of such contradictory interests, together with his adroit efforts to be always the master of circumstances, gave to the policy of Paul III. that tinge of hesitation, that calculated outlook for the auspicious moment, which often drove the most skilled and wily diplomatists to despair.[1] If, from the political point of view, Paul III. followed the unfortunate tradition of the Popes of the Renaissance, he occupied a much loftier standpoint in regard to ecclesiastical affairs. During the two generations subsequent to Sixtus IV., the chief charge of each successor of St. Peter, the spiritual rule of Christ's flock, had been thrust into the background. Farnese was fully alive to the serious condition of things and the pressing danger; he saw during his long Cardinalate that a system had grown up which threatened the Holy See with destruction, and with which there must be a break. Determined to do all he could to maintain the credit of his high position,[2] he addressed himself from the beginning of his reign to ecclesiastical affairs in a manner widely different from that of his two Medici predecessors. Spiritual interests claimed more and more the constant attention of the Holy See. The Council, the removal of the many abuses, the infusion of fresh life into the Cardinalate, the limitation of the spread of heresy even now threatening Italy itself, the encouragement of the new orders—all these objects occupied the Pope's earnest solicitude. His services in this direction appear all the greater, if we reflect that they were developed at a period of history when the claims of the

[1] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's despatch, Nov. 29, 1535, in LUZIO, Pronostico, 59.

[2] *Cf.* the *Brief to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, Nov. 18, 1534 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

Church on the interest and affection of mankind were at their lowest ebb. As a Cardinal, Farnese had himself paid his tribute to the spirit of the age. When later on he devoted himself to the reform of the Church, his conduct had a certain magnanimity which cannot be gainsaid. The rejection of his previous manner of life, which he thus indirectly condemned, confers on him a special title of honour; to have made such a change, in the fulness of years, wrung even from those reasonably opposed to him a tribute of respect.

It cannot, however, be said of Paul III. that he was a man of the Catholic Reformation in the fullest sense of that expression.[1] Things new and old contended within him, so that to his contemporaries his character was always somewhat of an enigma.[2] In many respects, especially in his nepotism, he continued as Pope to be a child of the Renaissance under which he had grown up. Into what crooked ways he was led by his affection for his own family is only too often recorded in the history of his pontificate. The court life also by which he was surrounded had many of the worldly characteristics of the Renaissance period.[3] A painful impression, moreover, is produced by the circumstance that he was addicted, after an evil custom of the day, to consulting astrologers as to the propitious hour[4] before

[1] MÜNTZ (Hist. de l' Art, III., 31) goes too far in this respect.

[2] See Soriano's and Vergerio's description in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 314, 331, and Nuntiaturberichte, I., 57 *seq.*, 325 *seq.* *Cf.* RANKE, 6th ed., I., 159.

[3] See *infra*, Chapter VII.

[4] Sanchez reports on Jan. 28, 1535: *At papa, qui semper et nunc precipue multum tribuit astronomiae, habet pro certissimo quod usque ad XXXVII annum erit pax et tunc incipient bella sevissima et durabunt usque ad XXXX et tunc omnia erunt subjecta Imperatori et jam Gran-Turcho debellato ecclesia Dei erit reformata (Domestic,

entering on any transaction of importance, consistories, audiences, journeys, and so forth. Not less deplorable was his frequent oversight of evils which he himself recognized and condemned. Notwithstanding these great weaknesses, Paul III. had sufficient wisdom and adaptability to take into account the altered conditions of his high position and the irresistible onset of ecclesiastical tendencies. He stood at the parting of the ways, so that, although in many respects still the representative of an epoch that had come to a close, yet again he often appears as the inaugurator of a new era. Thus, during the whole of his pontificate he was

Court, and State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* the Portuguese report in Corp. dipl. Port., III., 182; GAYANGOS, VI., 2, n. 108; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 107; Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 6; FRIEDRICH, Astrologie, München, 1864, 20, 22; DRUSSEL, Beiträge, I., 95; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 700; *F. Peregrino's letter of Aug. 30, 1535 (Domani alle hore 14 et uno quarto N. S. partirà per Perosa, così vuole el ponto della astrologia del Gaurico), in Gonzaga Archives. The most famous of the astrologers, Luca Gaurico, who had foretold in 1529 and 1532 the elevation of Paul III., was loaded with honours; *cf.* GABOTTO, Appunti p. la vita di L. Gaurico, Napoli, 1892, 14 *seq.*; CAPASSO, Politica, I., 27 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Mon Trid., I., 303, n. 3; Atti Mod., VII., 77 *seqq.*; PERCOPO, L. Gaurico in the Atti d. Accad. di Archeol. di Napoli, XVII. (1896), 2, 28 *seqq.* In the *treatise of Vincent. Franciscuccius Abstemius "De laudibus astrologiae" the Pope is praised for his patronage of this art (Cod. Vat., 3687). *Ibid.*, 3689: *Martii Alterii genitura Horatii Farnesii Castri ducis ad Paulum III. 3690: *M. Alterii de revolutione anni octogesimi primi aetatis Pauli III. 3691: *M. Alterii genitura Alex. Farnesii Octavii ducis maj. natu filii ex Margarit. These are the original dedication copies filled with astrological wisdom and lore: *Luna in occidentali quarti coeli parte constituta denotat matrimonium ad aliquot annos esse protahendum (Cod. Vat., 3689). In *Cod. Vat., 3691, favourable predictions concerning Paul's "nepotes" and his own health. "Ego," says the composer, "beatissime Pater, vere tibi possum affirmare nihil hoc anno mali, quod momenti alicujus sit, S^ti^ Tuae eventurum" (Vatican Library).

the moving spirit in Catholic reform, and the pioneer of the Catholic restoration. Under him a strong Catholic movement gained step by step a sure foothold, and herein lay the practical value and the real significance of his reign. In the history of the Papacy he marks the point of transition between an old age and a new.

CHAPTER I.

The Conciliar Question in the Years 1534–1537.

Paul III., who already, as a Cardinal under Clement VII., had been consistently friendly to the cause of the Council and had also in the conclave expressed himself to this effect, showed, from the beginning of his reign, that he was still bent on the furtherance of this important object. On the first assembly of the Cardinals after his election, on the 17th of October 1534, he dwelt on the necessity of summoning a General Council,[1] and again on the 13th of November in the first consistory after his coronation.[2] To the ambassador of Ferdinand I. he declared that the Council occupied his thoughts day and night, and that he would know no rest until it had been convened.[3] Among other eminent prelates summoned [4] to Rome in anticipation of the Council was Aleander, at this time nuncio in Venice; he was bidden on 23rd November. Pietro Paolo Vergerio, nuncio at Vienna to King Ferdinand, who in his letter to the newly elected Pope had given without disguise a true description of the dangerous state of Germany, and re-

[1] See Ehses, Conc. Trid., IV., cxi, 3, n. 2. *Cf.* the *despatch of F. Peregrino, dat. Rome, Oct. 23, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Acta Consist. in Ehses, IV., 3, n. 2.

[3] Sanchez' despatch of Nov. 30, 1534, in Bucholtz, IX., 126. Paul III. expressed himself in similar terms to Seripando; see Döllinger, Tagebücher, I., 3, and Merkle, Conc. Trid., II., 402.

[4] Ehses, IV., cxi *seq.*, n. 10. Hefele-Hergenröther, IX., 866.

peatedly pointed out the necessity of immediate conciliar action,[1] was also called to Rome at his own express wish in order to supply the Pope with the fullest information. He arrived in Rome at the end of 1534. In order to have close and uninterrupted intercourse with the nuncio, the Pope took him in the beginning of January 1535 to his hunting lodge at Magliana near the capital. There, in the solitude of the Campagna, the two stayed for some time.[2]

Vergerio soon discovered that the Pope was but little acquainted with the true state of things in northern Europe; it seemed to him that Paul III. considered Hungary of more importance than Germany.[3] The ignorance of German affairs had been accompanied under Clement VII. by serious results,[4] and it is in a high degree to the credit of Paul III. that he showed, in this respect, a much more serious appreciation of the subject than his predecessor, and tried to obtain the most authentic information. Vergerio seemed to be the very man for the situation; during his nunciature in Vienna he had had opportunities of studying the evil conditions of the Catholic Church in Germany and of becoming accurately acquainted with the spread of Lutheranism.[5] All his earnest representations had but little effect on Clement VII., but with Paul III. the result was different. He received Vergerio's communications with the closest attention, and seemed also determined that they should have a practical sequel.

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 308 *seqq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, I., 24, 433, note. *Cf.* Blasius de Martinelli's *Diarium, XII., 56 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Vergerio's despatch, Jan. 27, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 326.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, 118 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*, 139.

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, 316 *seqq.*

In these consultations the question of the Council naturally had a foremost place. Vergerio upheld, only with greater emphasis, the points of view which he had expressed in his letters; Germany, with regard to the Council, had centred hopes on the new Pope which it would be dangerous to disappoint. The daily increasing religious dissension from which the nation was suffering was attributed to the dilatoriness of the Holy See in facing the question of the Council, now looked to as the only effectual remedy; if some speedy change of attitude were not assumed, there was a fear that the Germans, by an appeal to a national council, might settle their ecclesiastical affairs with a free hand; only if they felt perfectly sure that the Pope would summon a council without delay, could any hope be entertained of their refraining from carrying out such intentions.[1]

Vergerio's words were not thrown away. Paul III. declared his readiness to summon a council with despatch and consulted the nuncio as to a suitable locality. The Pope was not in favour of any city in Germany, and proposed Verona or Turin. Vergerio, on his part, suggested Mantua, although it seemed to him open to question whether the Germans would go there.[2]

The representatives of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. in Rome were as active as Vergerio in pressing for a speedy decision on the conciliar question, so long hanging in the air. Both felt alarm, especially after the elevation to the Cardinalate in the preceding December of Paul's two young nephews, that the Pope might again become negligent. The Imperial and Royal ambassadors were therefore untiring in their representations. All other means had been tried in vain by Clement VII.—only an imme-

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 311 *seqq.*, 313 *seq.*, 315 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 327.

diate summoning of a council remained—otherwise the whole of Germany would be lost to the Holy See. On the 13th of January 1535, Sanchez, Ferdinand's representative, repeated once more his earnest warnings to the Pope and adjured him to close his ears to the siren song advising a postponement of the Council; in the latter lay the only means of quenching a conflagration that had already spread too far. "By to-morrow," reiterated Paul III., who had been pondering the question more and more deeply,—"by to-morrow the decisive step shall have been taken."[1]

In fact, on the 14th of January 1535, a general meeting of the Cardinals took place, and on the 15th a consistory was held, in which the Pope earnestly insisted on the necessity of calling and holding a council without delay. In the course of the discussion it became evident that the majority were not of this opinion. On the subject of the preliminary invitation to the Princes to give their consent, on which alone the Cardinals were questioned, a great difference of opinion prevailed. Some considered this an unnecessary step, but the majority, as Ferdinand's ambassador suspected, were determined to put off the dreaded assembly. Paul III. took a middle course; through his nuncios the Princes were to be informed that he had made up his mind to summon a council, and in this sense the matter was decided.[2]

[1] For above, see Sanchez' *despatch, Rome, Jan. 15, 1535; see Appendix No. 6 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] The account in the Acta Consist. by Paul's Vice-Chancellor, printed in EHSES, IV., 3, n. 2, is unfortunately very brief and says nothing of the attitude of the Cardinals. Information on this point is found in Cardinal Gonzaga's letter of Jan. 18, 1535 (Vatican Library), and in Sanchez' *despatch to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, Jan. 10, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). See both in Appendices Nos. 7 and 8.

The Cardinals of the opposition knew well, from their worldly point of view, what they had to expect from a council. Highly characteristic of the opinions prevailing in these circles was a conversation held by Vergerio with an eminent member of the Sacred College. Speaking to the latter of the bad condition of things in Germany, he was met by the observation, "That is exactly what we Romans wish; the German Princes have now got all they wanted, because from the first they abstained from interference." To Vergerio's reproachful inquiry whether the loss of so many souls was a thing to be regarded thus lightly, the Cardinal in question, whose name unfortunately has not been given, answered: "We do not regard that with unconcern, but before any reform could be begun the whole Church system would have to be broken to pieces." To this frivolous reply Vergerio could not refrain from retorting: "See then that you take heed of the bodies of the Germans if you will not trouble yourselves about their souls! You have no notion how great is the wrath they feel against you all and what a powerful force they represent." "*In summa*," Vergerio says, at the end of his letter to Ferdinand I., relating the conversation, "these lords of the Church are so preoccupied with their pleasures and schemes of ambition that they know nothing of what is going on in distant Germany."[1]

The Cardinals were soon to be made aware that Paul III. did not share their superficial notions and indifference. As time went on they were confronted more and more with the fact that in this, as in many other important circumstances, the elevation of Farnese to the Papal throne had been the beginning of a remarkable change in affairs. If Clement VII. had paid too little attention to Germany, Paul III., at the beginning of his pontificate, showed more

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 327.

than ordinary interest in that country.[1] This was seen both in his patronage of German Catholic scholars,[2] so culpably neglected by his predecessor, and in the instructions to his nuncios, in which he insisted on the closest observation of the spirit of revolt from Rome shown by the German people.[3] The altered direction of the Papal policy was finally made manifest in the question of the Council. If the Cardinals[4] and their friends threw doubts on the *bona fides* of Paul in this matter, such insinuations gained no credence with the representative of Ferdinand I.[5] He reported that the Pope was then showing great enthusiasm for the Council, and spontaneously expressed to all persons his wish that it should assemble. Evidence of

[1] "Tutte le faccende di Clemente erano rivolte in ogni altro luoco che in Germania, queste di Paolo sono qui quasi tutte hora," wrote Vergerio on July 1, 1535. Lett. al. Aretino, I., 172.

[2] In 1535 valuable benefices were bestowed on Cochläus, Nausea, and Erasmus; see Nuntiaturberichte, I., 506 *seq.* In subsequent years also preferment was conferred on the above named and other learned Catholics, such as Faber; see *ibid.*, II., 84, 134, 178, 196, 209, 257; III., 252; IV., 16, 17.

[3] Vergerio seems to have had oral instructions only. On the other hand, Morone had detailed directions sent him as to the conduct to be observed by Vergerio and his colleague. In his instructions of Oct. 24, 1536 (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 61 *seqq.*), everything was attended to with the utmost possible precision; their sojourn in inns, where no debts were to be incurred, their acceptance of presents, their clothing, the use of their faculties, their visits to churches and observance of the fasts. The Pope's representative was to be neither too free nor too sparing in expenditure. He was to avoid extremes of seriousness or geniality. Miltitz was cited as an example to be shunned. For Vorst's instructions see *infra*, 81 *seq.* It was understood how necessary it was considered at Rome "to take care to maintain a good reputation" (RÄNKE, Ränke, III., 42*).

[4] See Appendix No. 7, Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *despatch of Jan. 18, 1535 (Vatican Library).

[5] See Appendix No. 8, Sanchez' *despatch, Jan. 20, 1535.

his sincere good-will was also shown in the commissions received by the nuncios nominated in the consistory of the 15th of January 1535.[1]

Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, was sent to France; Giovanni Giudiccioni, Bishop of Fossombrone, to the Emperor in Spain. As the conciliar question made the nunciature to Ferdinand I. a matter of great importance, this post was entrusted anew to Vergerio, in accordance with the wishes of the King of the Romans,[2] and on account of his previous activity within the sphere of German affairs.[3] It was at first doubtful whether Vergerio would

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., cxix, n. 3. *Cf.* Cardinal E. Gonzaga's letter, Jan. 18, 1535, in Appendix No. 7.

[2] See letter of Ferdinand I. to Paul III., Dec. 24, 1535, in Quellen und Forschungen, VII., 183 *seq.*

[3] Vergerio's letters during this mission were published, with valuable explanatory comments by Friedensburg (1892), in the first volume of the Nuntiaturberichte. This admirable work has practically exhausted all the documentary material on the subject; still it admits of certain literary strictures. Thus, *e.g.*, the letter of Ferdinand's of May 21, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 396, had already been published in the Opere del commend. Gianrinaldo Conte Carli XV., Milano, 1786, 29 *seq.*, where also the life of the Nuncio is discussed. From the letter to Ricalcati from Ratisbon of May 10, 1535 (Nuntiaturberichte, I., 374 *seq.*, 616), the passage about the Council had already been given in the Atti dell' Emilia, N.S., II., 70, n. 2. It differs somewhat from the original draft. While fully recognizing Friedensburg's editorial services, I cannot concur in his opinion of Paul's attitude towards the Council. With EHSES (see especially Conc. Trid., IV., cxii, cxxiii), STICH (Literaturblatt der Leo-Gesellschaft, 1892, 375 *seq.*), PIEPER (Literar. Handweiser., 1904, 389), and PAULUS (Histor. Jahrb., XXVI., 171, 853), I do not think that the charge is proved that Paul's exertions on behalf of the Council were merely feints. The view that the Pope was insincere in this matter can be traced back to Sarpi, of whose arguments R. A. MENZEL (II., 71) remarks that, if valid, they would render all judgment on historical transactions impossible, "for the excuse was always ready to hand that if the opponents accepted

be entrusted with the mission, nor until the Pope had examined him closely during his sojourn at Magliana was the final decision reached.[1]

Vergerio was commissioned to approach not only Ferdinand I., but also the Electors and the other most prominent princes, secular and ecclesiastical, in order to present to them the briefs proclaiming the Council. The nuncio's task was twofold; on the one hand, he was to render possible the actual session of the Council, by coming to a special understanding as to the spot in which it should be held, the preference being given to Mantua;[2] on this point he received the important intimation to pass over in silence the previously determined conditions by which the question had been encumbered in Germany. On the other hand, Vergerio was to cut the ground from under the feet of those striving to bring about the dangerous experiment of a German national council.[3] With regard to the place of meeting, the nuncio's position was a difficult one, for not merely the Protestants were averse to the Council being held on Italian soil, but several Catholic princes and bishops were advised that they were bound by the decisions of the Imperial Diet calling for a council in Germany. The greatest caution had to be observed to prevent the wishes of Paul III. on this point from seeming to be dictatorial, and yet it was the nuncio's duty to uphold intact the authority of the Holy See on this very question. Vergerio resolved in dealing with this incident to take the ground that although the Pope had

the proffered invitation, they would be doing the exact opposite of that which they declared they wished to do."

[1] See Vergerio's letters in the Nuntiaturberichte, I., 24, 238, 433.

[2] Besides Mantua, Turin, Piacenza, and Bologna were also to be proposed. *Cf.* EHSES, IV., cxii; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 53, 342, 362.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, I., 24, 385; PALLAVICINI, l. 3, c. 18, n. 2.

the right to summon the Council where he chose, he was yet determined, out of fatherly good-will and respect for the German nation, to invite the previous assent of the latter to his choice of the appointed locality.[1]

Vergerio received his credentials on the 10th of February 1535, but did not leave Rome until somewhat later.[2] Before his departure, Paul III. wrote to various prominent German scholars, among whom was Frederick Nausea, and begged them to support the nuncio in his exertions on behalf of the Council.[3] The brief to Ferdinand I. bears the date of the 10th of February.[4] In it the Pope informs the King that on his recommendation he has again bestowed the nunciature on Vergerio, not only to his court, but to all the Princes and Circles of the Empire, with the task, in precedence of all others, of bringing about the Council on which his, the Pope's, heart was so set. Shortly before Easter, probably on the 23rd of March,[5] the nuncio, after a hazardous journey, reached Vienna. In his despatch to the Papal private secretary, Ambrogio Ricalcati, on the 25th of March,[6] he describes his first negotiations on the question of the Council with King Ferdinand, Cardinal

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 488 *seq.*, 498. The letter to Ricalcati here printed, under date of Aug. 26, is the same referred to by PALLAVICINI, l. 3, c. 18, n. 5, although he gives the incorrect date of Aug. 16.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 25 *seq.*

[3] PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 90.

[4] Printed in RAYNALDUS, Annales Eccle. a. 1535, n. 32; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 329 *seq.* Further letters of recommendation for Vergerio, also of Feb. 10, 1535, to Anna, Queen of the Romans, Cardinal Cles of Trent, the Electors and other German Princes, are given here also, I., 330 *seqq.* Vergerio himself wrote in the beginning of February, and again on the 11th of the same month, to King Ferdinand (Nuntiaturberichte, I., 328 *seq.*, 334) to announce his approaching return, together with assurances of Paul's determination to go on with the Council for the purpose "instaurandi religionem christianam."

[5] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 26.

[6] *Ibid.*, 340 *seq.*

Cles of Trent, and other personages then resident in Vienna, especially the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick.

In spite of his urgent representations, Vergerio at first found the court of Ferdinand little inclined to believe in the honesty of Paul III.'s intentions. According to Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, it was said that the Pope and Cardinals had as little interest in the Council as they had in the things of the world to come. They knew only too well that a council meant, first of all, the confiscation of their own temporal possessions, and to the clergy, in general, a prohibition of pluralities. They would be restricted to single benefices, the duties of which they would be pledged to fulfil in return for revenues received.[1] This sort of temper had been fostered by the repeatedly disappointed hopes of a council during the reign of Clement VII. The general distrust thus caused was not the only difficulty Vergerio had to encounter in carrying out his task in Vienna; he was also beset by grave political disagreements.[2]

The result of a conversation with King Ferdinand on the 3rd of April was committed to writing by Vergerio on the same day in a minute[3] for the King. Herein the necessity

[1] See Contarini's despatch from Vienna of April 2, 1535, in Calendar of State Papers, Venet., V., n. 42, and Nuntiaturberichte, I., 341, n. 1; *cf.* 355, n. 3.

[2] *Cf. infra*, Chap. V. and VI.

Nuntiaturberichte, I., 343 *seq.* In his first introduction of the conciliar question between the 25th and 30th of March (*ibid.*, I., 342), Vergerio had summed up the chief points of his task in the "materia concilii" thus: Summus Pontifex deliberavit illud velle facere realiter. Modum proponit illum, qui hactenus fuit observatus in conciliis praeteritis a tempore primorum conciliorum usque modo. Locum Mantuam, vel Thurinum vel Placentiam vel Bononiam Tempus statim quando concordavero ego de loco et modo.

is set forth of inviting the Emperor's opinion and asking him to confer greater prestige on Vergerio's journey to Germany by giving him the support of an Imperial envoy. With regard to Ferdinand's wish that the Council should be held at Trent, Vergerio desired to apply *ad interim* to the Pope and ask his permission to propose that city. Ferdinand would himself write to Paul to thank him for his intentions and to exhort him to their execution, while, pending the Emperor's reply he would inform the German Princes of the decision arrived at, and of the nuncio's early arrival.[1]

In a despatch to Ricalcati, on the 7th of April 1535,[2] Vergerio speaks of the King's great satisfaction, of that of the Cardinal of Trent, the Privy Council, and the court at the Pope's intention of taking the Council seriously in hand. Even the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, although in other respects never losing an opportunity of casting ridicule on the Catholic religion, had shown himself favourably disposed on the question of the Council, although declaring that it could not possibly be held elsewhere than in Germany. Duke Henry of Brunswick, also present in Vienna, had spoken of Trent as a suitable place, and one to which the Lutherans also were not likely to offer objections. In his despatch of the following day, Vergerio returns to the subject of Trent in greater detail.[3] King Ferdinand, the Duke of Brunswick, and the whole court are in favour of it. The nuncio then gives his own reasons why Trent recommends itself under the given circumstances as the place of convocation, and begs permission to propose it as most helpful to his mission in Germany, especially

[1] *Cf.* Vergerio's despatch to Ricalcati of April 7, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 347 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 344–347.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 350–352, Vergerio to Ricalcati, April 8, 1535.

with the Protestants, and likely to enhance belief in the honesty of the Pope's intentions. Vergerio thinks that the Council, in order to facilitate its realization, might be opened at Trent and then transferred later on to Mantua. On the 9th of April the Grand Master of the Imperial court, Adrian de Croy, arrived in Vienna; he at once conferred with the nuncio on the subject of the Council, and was able to report on the Emperor's great interest in the general gathering of the Church.[1] On the 16th of April Croy left Vienna to visit, at his master's commands, the German Princes, beginning with the Bavarian Dukes, and to encourage opinions favourable to the Council.[2]

Vergerio himself began the first part of his journey through the Empire on the 17th or 18th of April.[3] His first business was with the Princes of Bavaria and with some of the Suabian and Franconian Circles. As he had no plenary instructions from Rome concerning Trent, he confined himself to his original commission of recommending Mantua to the German Princes, a city already provisionally assented to by Ferdinand subject to the expression of the Emperor's opinion.[4] Cardinal Matthæus Lang of Salzburg, to whom Vergerio went first,[5] set before him the necessity of first awaiting the answer of Charles V. before visiting the other Circles; for no Prince or Estate of the Empire would give him a certain pledge with regard to the Council and its appointed place of meeting if he could not meet them with the previously ascertained agreement of the Pope with the

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 354–356, same to same, April 11, 1535.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 357 *seq.*, same to same, probably on April 16, 1535.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 357, 360.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 54.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 363, Vergerio to King Ferdinand, from Salzburg, April 28, 1535.

Emperor and the King on this question of locality; he also recommended that he should be accompanied by an Imperial envoy, and told him that he might at once pay his visit to the Bavarian Princes to ask their advice. Vergerio, therefore, sent a request to Ferdinand to apply again to his brother for an early reply.

The nuncio reached Munich on the 30th of April,[1] where Duke William expressed to him his great satisfaction at the Pope's decision and earnestly besought him not to relax his efforts. He personally, William declared, had the Council at heart, and was prepared, like his brother Louis, to be present wherever it might be held. He advised the nuncio now to visit the other Princes and Prelates of the Circle in order to meet the generally prevailing doubt as to the Pope's intentions by this express announcement of his decision. The Duke wished afterwards to call a diet of the Circle in order to bring before it the question of the Council; he was particularly anxious that the question should be discussed by the different Circles, but gave a warning against a general assembly of the Empire as likely to lead to a national synod.[2] In respect of the question of locality, Duke William also thought that a previous agreement between the Emperor and the Pope was indispensable; to Mantua he had objections, as the other Circles would put difficulties in the way of such a choice; he therefore recommended the proposal of Trent.

Pursuing his journey from Munich, Vergerio visited Duke Louis, Bishop Philip of Freising, Count Palatine of the Rhine,[3] the administrator of Ratisbon, the Count Palatine John,[4] the Bishop of Eichstadt, Gabriel von Eyb,

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 364–366; see for what follows Vergerio's letter to Ricalcati of May 2, 1535, from Munich.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 366 *seq.*, 372 *seq.*, 383 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 369.

[4] *Ibid.*, 374 *seqq.*

and the Count Palatine, Philip of Neuburg;[1] lastly, the Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion,[2] who gave him full information about Suabian affairs. In his reports the nuncio, full of sanguine expectations, shows himself uncommonly gratified by his reception by all these Princes and their great desire to meet him on terms of understanding. He found that a favourable opinion of Paul III. was general, and that his own mission and manner of conducting it made a good impression.[3]

Vergerio's hopes of successful results were not a little strengthened by the very friendly reception he met with, contrary to expectation, in Ratisbon and Augsburg. All these cities of the Empire had gone over almost entirely to Protestantism—in Ratisbon Catholic worship drew to it not more than twenty persons. The municipal authorities received the Pope's representative with all the honour due to him; the customary present of fish and wine was sent to him as a welcome; in Ratisbon some of the members came to meet him and bore him company at dinner. On this occasion they were eager to be informed whether the Pope was really thinking of calling a General Council. When Vergerio replied in the affirmative, they lifted up their hands, thanked God, and broke out into praise of Paul III. Some of the councillors spoke without reserve of the spiritual confusion among them and said how greatly they desired some authoritative decision on religious matters.[4]

Vergerio had the same experience in Augsburg. He entered the city, not without fear of popular hostility, for here it was still a matter of life and death to say Mass. All the greater was his astonishment when he

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, 385, 389. [2] *Ibid.*, 392 *seqq.*, 395.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 386 *seq.*, Vergerio to Ricalcati, May 17, 1535.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 375 *seq.*, same to same, May 10, 1535.

found himself respectfully received not merely by the civic authorities, but by the populace. He inferred from this that the magistracy, on hearing of the summons of the Council, would now exercise more restraint in the introduction of innovations.[1] In a letter to Ferdinand from Neuburg on the 16th of May, he expressed the hope that gradually the former disappointment and distrust with regard to the sincerity of the Pope's intentions would give way to the conviction of his earnestness in the question of the Council; at the same time he begged that he might be informed at once of the Emperor's decision, as this was an imperative necessity for the further execution of his mission.[2] This decision Vergerio received in a letter from Ferdinand of the 21st of May.[3] The contents, however, were such that not much was gained in the interests that the nuncio had at heart. Charles V.'s instructions were, in fact, that he would give no definite directions as to the place where the Council should be held, but leave the choice and authoritative decision to the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, and that he would agree to any place unanimously chosen by the Estates. In Rome, shortly before, information had been received through the Spanish nuncio that the Emperor approved of Mantua.[4]

After visiting the Bavarian, Franconian, and Suabian Circles, Vergerio returned to Munich at the end of May. He then found that new and very serious difficulties[5] had

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 390, 391, 394, same to same, May 19, 1535; *cf.* 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 383 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 396 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 379, Ricalcati to Vergerio, May 13, 1535; *cf.* Vergerio to Ricalcati, *ibid.*, 412 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 399-402, Vergerio to Cardinal Lang of Salzburg, May 28, 1535; Vergerio to Ricalcati, May 30, 1535, *ibid.*, 402–405; also in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 175–177. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 378 *seqq.*

arisen. Their instigator was the Chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, and they were fundamentally a part of the anti-Imperial policy of this schemer. During the nuncio's absence Eck had come forward with fresh proposals and had persuaded Duke William to adopt them; their substance was simply that the Pope and Emperor, without further consultation with the German Princes, should come to an agreement as to the meeting of the Council. Paul III. was, first of all, to obtain from Charles V. the promise that the decrees of the Synod should be strictly carried out "even in the teeth of the whole German nation, if that were necessary, and by armed force." If the Pope obtained this guarantee he might on his own initiative, without any further negotiations with the Electors or other persons in Germany, choose and appoint a city of Italy agreeable to him as the scene of the Council, immediately proclaim the Synod, and open it without delay, even in the absence of the Germans, if they were unwilling to appear on the simple proclamation. But afterwards they should be compelled with a strong hand to acquiesce in the decrees of the Council. Vergerio pointed out the impracticability of such proposals, but he was hardly successful in changing the Duke's mind. The nuncio saw through the Chancellor Eck; he knew well that the latter was not actuated, as he wished it to appear, by Catholic zeal, but by the old rivalry between Bavaria and Austria; hate of the house of Hapsburg lay behind these crude proposals; the Emperor, drawn into opposition to all Germany, would be placed in a troublesome and dangerous position. From that moment nothing more was said of a Bavarian Diet to discuss the Council as previously mooted by Duke William.

On the 6th of June Vergerio returned to Vienna, where, before entering further on his journey through the Empire, he hoped at last to learn clearly what the Emperor intended

as to the seat of the Council and to settle the arrangements for his further progress with Charles and his council.[1] He lost no time in telling Ferdinand[2] that great danger would arise if he were obliged to announce that the Emperor had not declared himself in favour of any particular place, but had left the choice to the Princes; this could only lead to a national synod or to the choice of some spot in Germany prejudicial to the interests of the Church.

In a memorial[3] presented to Ferdinand before the 23rd of June 1535, Vergerio urged on the King the necessity of providing him, before he renewed his journey, with a Royal letter to all the Estates and Circles of the Empire dealing with an agreement between King, Pope, and Emperor in respect of Mantua. He waited, however, in vain for any such declaration. As the negotiations at court concerning his further proceedings went on,[4] he was met with the request that he should confine himself at first to laying before the Princes the instructions of Paul III.; but if he were asked expressly what the Emperor and his brother thought of the question of the locality of the Council, he should reply that "he believed that their Majesties would not dissent from the Pope's wishes." In a letter of the 23rd of June 1535, Vergerio laid before the Papal private secretary, Ricalcati, the serious objections that he had to such a course. Such a reply would not for a moment accomplish anything to the good of the Council among the really Catholic Princes, while among Protestants its effect on the Council and the reputation of the Holy See would be injurious, and the worst and most dangerous course would be to allow the negotiations about it, once begun, again to become

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 421 *seqq*, Vergerio to Ricalcati, from Vienna, June 18. 1535

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 424–426.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 426–428; see Vergerio's letter to Rome of June 23

dormant; on the contrary, they must be kept in motion to show that on the Pope's part at least there was no remissness; on these lines he intended to carry on his mission, but, for a while, would confine his visits to the Catholic Princes. Meanwhile Paul III. might exert himself to get a clear statement from Charles V. in favour of Mantua. With such a statement in his hand the nuncio would at once procure the assent of King Ferdinand and all German Catholic Princes, and could then enter into negotiations with the Protestants also on a secure basis. It did not, however, fit in with the policy of the Emperor, then occupied with the expedition against Tunis, to make such a declaration immediately, leading, as it might, to difficulties in Germany.

From Rome Ricalcati wrote to Vergerio on the 23rd of July 1535[1] that Paul III. was astonished that Charles V., who had already given his consent to Mantua, held back from an express declaration on account of Germany. The nuncio was on no account to give his consent to the choice of place becoming the monopoly of the German Princes. For the rest, the Pope, to whom the speedy assembling of the Council is a matter of sincere and vital interest, exhorts the nuncio to continue to promote its interests to the utmost of his ability. On the 29th of July Paul III. wrote again[2] to Guidiccioni, his representative at the court of Charles V., to try and bring the Emperor to make an explicit declaration in the face of his brother and the German nation. Meanwhile Vergerio was given a free hand as knowing the Pope's intentions and his determination that the Council should be held; only, he was once more warned to keep clear of any forbidden concessions

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 448 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 462, note; EHSES, IV., cxxiii. *Cf.* Ricalcati's letter to Vergerio, July 31, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 462.

on the question of place, as a city out of Italy could not be thought of.[1]

Vergerio had now, on the 19th of July, started from Vienna on his second journey through the Empire. In accordance with his last transactions with Ferdinand, he resolved to travel slowly in expectation of the Emperor's answer, for which the King of the Romans had again applied, and at first to visit only Catholic Princes, especially the Bishop of Bamberg, the head of the Franconian Circle, and the Elector Palatine.[2] In his despatches he dwells, as always, on his devotion to the cause and the advantages which would accrue to the Emperor and his brother, at this particular moment, if they were to take a firm initiative in the matter of the Council, so that the Pope might in a special manner bind the German Princes to him by his decisive furtherance of this affair.[3] At Ratisbon Vergerio met the Counts Palatine Philip and Frederick and was invited by them to the marriage of the latter at Heidelberg on the 15th of September. They personally accompanied him on the journey.[4] Both Princes promised, in letters expressing loyalty to the Pope, to proclaim their ardour for the Council.[5] If this already filled the nuncio with intense pleasure, his hopes were raised still higher by the marks of honour awaiting him on his reception by the Lutheran Margrave, George of Brandenburg.

Vergerio, in accordance with his original programme of addressing himself at first only to the Catholic Estates,

[1] Nuntiaturberiche, I., 463. [2] *Ibid.*, I., 453–456.

[3] *Ibid.*, 455. For Joh. Haner of Bamberg's memorial for Vergerio, see EHSES in the, Wissenschaftl. Beilage der Germania, 1907, No. 48.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 464 *seq.*, for Vergerio to Ricalcati from Neumarkt, Aug. 2, 1535; also in HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 924–944.

[5] These letters, dat. Aug. 4 and 6, 1535, in EHSES, IV., cxii. *seqq.*, Vergerio sent to Rome, Aug. 7; see Nuntiaturberichte, I., 471.

had not thought of visiting this Prince. But when he heard in Neuburg that George's residence at Ansbach was only eight miles away, doubts arose in his mind whether the Margrave, whose connections were so influential, would not take it amiss if a visit to him were omitted, especially as it was impossible to avoid touching his territory. Vergerio therefore came to the rapid decision on the 3rd of August to visit George at his seat. The Margrave at once sent an escort of honour to meet him and invited him to alight at his castle. At Ansbach itself the nuncio was received with tokens of the greatest pleasure; during his two days' stay his host was unwearied in his hospitable attentions. In the course of their negotiations on the question of the Council, the Margrave showed good-will and the utmost readiness to come to an understanding; he declared that certainly the previous resolutions of the Diet of the Empire stood in the way of a council being held out of Germany, but promised to use his influence with the other members of the Schmalkaldic League, apart from whom he could give no independent promise, in a sense corresponding to the wishes of Paul III. and Charles V. The resolutions in opposition to a council in Italy could be again repealed by the Princes; but he was glad that the Pope had determined, as was now the case, before fixing a specified place, to consult the Princes on this point, whereas to adopt the view of the Bavarian Chancellor Eck would be kindling a fire of hostility towards Pope and Emperor in Germany. George had also no objections to raise against the retention of the ancient forms in the Council. Vergerio became convinced that on this important point he would also exert himself to restrain the other Protestants from putting forward fresh demands. The Margrave's declaration by word of mouth was in keeping with a letter to the Pope of the 4th of August handed

by him to the nuncio. This was couched in the most submissive language, and expressed the hope that the future Council would remove the discord in the Church and restore unity, objects towards which he was determined to co-operate to the best of his power.[1] Vergerio thought it impossible to doubt that here he was dealing with something more than fine words. Indeed, the tears sprang to the Margrave's eyes when the nuncio, on taking leave, referred to the responsibility for the welfare of his subjects' souls that he had brought upon himself by introducing the Protestant teaching. George excused himself for the innovations on the grounds of the wishes of his people and the example of other States, and said earnestly that things should thus continue only until the Council. In farewell George remarked: "I indeed wish that the good Pope himself could have seen the few tokens of my attachment that I have been able to show you during the last two days; then I might still have hoped that his Holiness would have looked upon me as his servant. Commend me to him, and inform him that I place myself at his disposal."[2]

After all this it is easy to understand how Vergerio formed fresh hopes for the success of his mission as regards the Council, and for the solemn reconciliation of those who had fallen away.[3] He now considered that the time had come to visit Augsburg also. There he found the like friendly welcome; to his proposals concerning the Council,

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 472, note, will be found the letter of Vergerio sent to Rome Aug. 7, at the same time as the above-mentioned letter of the Count Palatine.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 468–471, 474–477, where Vergerio in his letters to Ricalcati, of Aug. 7 and 9, 1535, describes in full his reception, his transactions, and certain expressions made use of by the Marquis.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 477, 480 *seq.*; see *ibid.*, 482, Vida's letter.

the civic authorities replied that they would not be wanting in support of such a Synod if it were held in agreement with the Emperor and the King of the Romans.[1]

The Bishop of Bamberg, Wigand von Redwitz, to whom Vergerio delivered two briefs, one private and one for the Franconian Circle, declared that he agreed to Mantua or any other place on which the Pope was at one with the Emperor and King Ferdinand.[2] Also, the Bishop of Würzburg, Conrad von Thüngen, spoke in the same sense in spite of objections raised by his counsellors.[3]

In the meantime the news of the brilliant success of Charles V. at Tunis had reached Germany. This gave the nuncio fresh hope. The Emperor now stood as a free agent before the German Princes, and could, if necessary, enforce obedience, without bowing any longer to those diplomatic considerations by which his hitherto evasive attitude towards the Council was explained. The Pope, thought Vergerio,[4] might, under these more favourable circumstances, seize the opportunity to exhort Charles to use his authority with greater force. If the Emperor did this, even within limits, by so doing he would now afford the best prospect of a speedy as well as peaceable meeting and session of the Council. But the near termination of Vergerio's mission laid on the Curia also the necessity of now urging the matter on at once, for it would do

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 478 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 479 *seq.*, Vergerio's letter to Ricalcati from Bamberg, Aug. 9, 1535. *Cf.* also I., 480, for Bishop Wigand's letter to the Pope of Aug. 11, given in extracts in EHSES, IV., cxiii.

[3] Vergerio to Ricalcati from Würzburg, Aug. 15, 1535, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 488–490. The Bishop's letter to the Pope of Aug. 17, 1535, in EHSES, IV. cxiii.

[4] Vergerio to Ricalcati from Würzburg, Aug. 15, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 485–488. The latter wrote in this sense to the nuncio Guidiccioni on Aug. 28, 1535; EHSES, IV., cxxiii *seq.*

irreparable harm to the Pope's reputation and the interests of the Church if the propitious moment now within reach were allowed to pass by unused. Vergerio repeats the proposal he had already made,[1] to come at once to Rome on the close of his mission, in order to make a report to Paul III. from his own lips, and then, if need be, to proceed from Rome to the Emperor to lay before him also information on the position of affairs in Germany.[2]

After visiting the ancient episcopal cities of Franconia, Vergerio passed on by way of Heidelberg to the Rhine. Still joyfully elated by his hitherto successful journey, he had no suspicion that a great disappointment was in store for him. This came from the Elector Louis of the Palatinate, who, although he certainly passed externally for a Catholic, was already strongly under the influence of Protestantism. It was only with great difficulty that the nuncio was able to get a hearing from the Elector at all.[3] At last, on the 24th of August, he succeeded in meeting and laying his case before him. In his answer, which the Elector gave in writing,[4] the latter certainly thanked the Pope, and praised his fervour on behalf of the Council, but explained that the previous resolutions of the Diet did not permit him to accept Mantua, an Italian city, as its seat. In his oral communications with the nuncio beforehand he had used much blunter language on

[1] Vergerio to Ricalcati from Bamberg, Aug. 9, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 480 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 491 *seq.* Vergerio wrote from Heidelberg on Aug. 24, 1535, to King Ferdinand, asking him to support his mission on his recall to Rome to make an oral report to the Pope. He himself renews once more his proposal in his letter to Ricalcati of Aug. 26 (*ibid.*, I., 500 *seq.*).

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 493 *seq*, note.

[4] *Ibid.*, 493-495. *Cf.* EHSES, cxiv.

this point,[1] saying that it was not the business either of Paul III., or of the Emperor in conjunction with the Pope, to appoint the place of meeting; that belonged only to the Diet of the Empire. Vergerio pointed out in his reports to Rome the necessity of encountering with determination this dangerous opinion, which, if it obtained many supporters, would probably lead to a national council; the Pope must make efforts, through the Emperor, to dislodge the Elector from this standpoint. Vergerio himself tried to bring the influence of Louis' thoroughly Catholic-minded brother to bear. He therefore wrote to the latter,[2] as well as to King Ferdinand.[3]

In view of the attitude of the leading secular Elector, it was for Vergerio a matter of great gratification that he received at that time favourable answers from a succession of other Princes and Prelates: as, for example, from the Master of the Teutonic Order, Walther von Cronberg, whom Vergerio had visited at his castle of Mergentheim;[4] then from the Bishop of Spires, Philip von Flersheim;[5] from Bishop Henry of Worms, Count Palatine of the Rhine;[6] from the Margrave John Albert of Brandenburg, coadjutor of Madgeburg and Halberstadt, as Vicegerent of the Cardinal Albert, absent in Mayence;[7] from the Elector of Trèves, Johannes von

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 495 *seqq.*, for Vergerio's report from Heidelberg, Aug. 24, from Spires, Aug. 26, 1535, and for his letter to King Ferdinand from the latter place (*ibid.*, 501–503).

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 500.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 503.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, I., 490, n. for his answer to the Pope, Aug. 20, 1535.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 503 *seq.*: Vergerio to Ricalcati from Spires, Aug 27, 1535. The Bishop's answer to the Pope, Aug. 28, *ibid.*, 504, note.

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 505: same to same, from Worms, Aug. 29, 1535.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 508: same to same, from Mayence, Sept. 4, 1535.

Metzenhausen;[1] and the Cardinal of Liège, Eberhard de la Mark.[2] The latter said that in his opinion the Council certainly was a dangerous measure, but one which, in the existing state of things, had also become an unavoidable remedy. He approved thoroughly of the way in which the question had hitherto been handled, and also declared himself in favour of Mantua as a very suitable place. Duke John of Cleves, whom Vergerio visited at Düsseldorf, gave indeed, on account of his connection with France, a more reserved answer, but his demeanour was such that there appeared to be no ground for serious anxiety.[3] The Duke of Guelders and Vergerio were unable to discuss the matter together, as the neighbourhood round Münster was unsafe on account of roving bands of soldiers. The nuncio, therefore, addressed this Prince by letter.[4] The Elector Hermann von Wied, whom Vergerio met in Paderborn after vainly awaiting in Cologne his return from Westphalia, displayed, contrary to expectation, a gratifying spirit of friendliness in the matter of the Council.[5]

Thus, so far, the progress of the journey, after most of the Catholic Princes had been visited, among whom only the Elector Palatine had assumed an unfriendly attitude, seemed to justify the best hopes, as Vergerio, always at pains to extol his own services, had also informed the Pope in a letter written at his direction by Frederick Nausea.[6]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 513: Vergerio to Ricalcati, from Coblenz, Sept. 7 (12?), 1535.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 516–519: same to same, Sept. 24, 1535, probably from Huy (Vergerio writes "Hovi"); *cf.* EHSES, IV., cxiv, n. 9.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 525 *seq.*: same to same, Oct. 15, 1535.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 527 *seq.*: letter is dated Essen, Oct. 18, 1535.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 528 *seq.*; *cf.* 532: same to same, Paderborn, Oct. 22, 1535. The Elector's answer to the Pope, Oct. 22, *ibid.*, 529, n.

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 511 *seq.*: from Mayence, Sept. 7, 1535.

But the most difficult moment of the nuncio's mission was yet to come. During a six days' journey from Paderborn to Halle, to meet Cardinal Albert of Mayence, rendered very troublesome on account of the cold season having set in, Vergerio had an opportunity of realizing from personal experience the dangers arising from the hostile temper of the Protestant populations.[1] Satisfied with his negotiations with the Cardinal,[2] he went on from Halle to Berlin to the Elector Joachim II., whom Albert had still been able to hold back from a public acceptance of Lutheranism,[3] by pointing to the Council as a future certainty. All the greater was Vergerio's satisfaction when this Prince also spoke in conciliatory terms. Joachim's written reply contained, indeed, certain reservations. On the assumption that the Pope and Emperor agreed on the choice of Mantua, he declared himself in favour of that city, and accepted provisionally the decrees of the Council so far as they did not deviate from the word of God and the Gospel.[4]

On his way from Halle to Berlin, Vergerio passed through the territory of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, then resident in Vienna. The danger of traversing this most Protestant country was increased by an outbreak of plague. Nevertheless, the nuncio went on, but on account of the epidemic did not take up his quarters in one of the villages, but in Wittenberg. To his astonishment he found himself cordially welcomed by the electoral captain Hans Metzsch. The castle of the Elector was assigned to him as a lodging, where he also had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a Lutheran

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 533 *seqq.*: Vergerio to Ricalcati from Halle Nov. 3, 1535.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 535 *seqq.*: same to same, Halle, Nov. 5, 1535.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 534, 536.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 537 *seq.*

religious service. Vergerio reported to Rome that all the respect and honour due to his position were paid to him just as if they were living in the good old days. Metzsch and other officials were profuse in their praises of the Pope who was so friendly to the Council; from this behaviour of the greatest opponent of the Holy See, Vergerio drew hope and consolation. He was strengthened in his opinion that the summoning of the Council would detach many from Protestantism by the meeting which took place in the electoral castle between him and the originator of the German schism, Luther, who appeared accompanied by Bugenhagen, wearing his best clothes, with a gold chain round his neck, carefully shaved, and having his hair neatly trimmed; "for," he had said to his astonished barber, "in the presence of the Pope's ambassador I must look young, so that he may think that I am still good for some time to come to have a hand in many things." And he succeeded in his object; Vergerio, in his report to Rome, remarked that, although Luther was fifty years of age, he was strong and hearty, and that he looked not yet forty. "The first question he put to me, as I remained silent," Vergerio proceeds, "was whether I had heard in Italy the current report that he was a German sot." In further talk Luther boasted of his marriage with Catherine Bora, and defended the arbitrary ordination of his followers. Vergerio listened to all his defiant remarks with great self-control, and only retorted now and then with a word or two. His restraint, however, came to an end when Luther declared: "We, through the Holy Spirit, are certain of all things, and have no need in truth of any Council; but Christendom has need of one, that those errors may be acknowledged in which it has so long lain." When Vergerio rebuked this arrogance, and put to Luther the question whether he thought that the assembly of the

universal Church sitting under the protection of the Holy Spirit had nothing to do but decide what he deemed good, his antagonist interrupted him with the words: "I will yet appear at the Council, and may I lose my head if I do not uphold my cause against all the world; that which proceeds from my mouth is not my wrath, but the wrath of God."

From Luther's often repeated declaration that he would present himself in Mantua, or in any place chosen for a like purpose, Vergerio too hastily concluded that on this point also the Elector of Saxony was in agreement with him. On the 13th of November he despatched from Dresden to the private secretary of the Pope a detailed report of this remarkable interview. In it he also described Luther's outward appearance, laid stress on his faulty Latin, and on something demoniacal that lurked in his character. The eyes of the great foe of the Papacy, restless, deep-set, and flashing with a certain fire of rage and frenzy, made a great impression on him.[1] From Berlin Vergerio betook himself to Duke George of Saxony, who, in his answer

[1] Besides Vergerio's despatch of Nov. 13, 1535, already used by PALLAVICINI (l. 3, c. 18, n. 6), and by LÄMMER (Anal. Romana, 128 *seqq.*), and later still published by CANTÙ (Eretici, II., 107 *seq.*) and FRIEDENSBURG (Nuntiaturberichte, 539 *seqq.*), *cf.* also WALCH, XVI., 2296 *seqq.* See also KÖSTLIN, Luther, II., 5th ed., 370 *seq.* SARPI'S account of Vergerio's interview with Luther (I., 77 *seqq.*) does not admit of verification. It has been pointed out in the Histor. Zeitschrift, V., 207 *seq.*, that SIXT (Vergerius, 45 *seqq.*) lets Sarpi down rather easily, and at the same time notes with justice that Vergerio's own account also is not too reliable. It is certain that Vergerio, and not Luther, made the first advances. For another instance of Vergerio's lack of truthfulness, see Nuntiaturberichte, I., 351. The rapid conclusion which Vergerio drew from Luther's words about his coming to Mantua, as to an understanding with the Saxon Elector, also misled the leading personages in Rome; see EHSES, IV., cxviii, n. 8.

to the Pope, gave his decided approval of the choice of Mantua, already designated by him as a suitable place.[1]

As the nuncio had already at an earlier date met in Vienna[2] one of the two heads of the Schmalkaldic League, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, nothing now remained to do but to meet the other, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony. The latter tried to avoid a meeting with Vergerio, but he was not to be put off; he waited for the Elector in Prague, and stated his case personally with seriousness and dignity. In this conference John Frederick did not pronounce Mantua to be absolutely impossible, but at the same time referred to the resolutions of the Diet in which there was the demand for a German council. A definite answer he declined to give, on the ground that he must first consider the matter with his confederates, who were to meet at Schmalkald in December. In view of this, Vergerio might submit his proposals in writing.[3]

Vergerio's address to the members of the Schmalkaldic League was dated the 1st of December 1535.[4] On the 21st of that month the League drew up their answer, signed by the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, Duke Francis of Brunswick-Lüneberg, and also by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. They made it clear that they were conscious of their political preponderance and were now inclined to refuse the Council,[5] when it was offered, for which in the days of their weakness they had been loud in demand; before the general feeling in favour of it, which was

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 547 *seqq.*, and EHSES, IV., cxiv.

[2] See *supra*, p. 51.

[3] See Spalatin's report in Corp. Ref., II., 982 *seqq.* *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 553, n. 1; EHSES, IV., cxv.

[4] Printed in Corp. Ref., II., 991 *seqq.*

[5] MENZEL, II., 78.

widely spread even in Protestant circles, the Schmalkaldic Princes dared not venture to say this openly. But in their reply they clearly and in terms insulting to the Pope rejected any council the forms and order of which should be of Papal appointment, and generally any assembly held outside the borders of Germany. Even if they considered a council necessary, it must yet be one entirely free, to which should be chosen, on the combined decision of the Emperor, kings, potentates, princes, and authorities, suitable and impartial persons of all ranks, to examine into the controversies of religion and decide upon them according to God's word.[1]

As the Schmalkaldic League knew perfectly well that such a Council was impossible,[2] they only wished to indicate by this demand that they had no desire for a General Council at all. The declaration touching the forms and order of the Council was especially characteristic of the absolutely negative character of the Schmalkaldic proposals. When Clement VII. had wished two years before to have the former fixed and settled, the reformers had protested against this. In their reply they had characterized such a proceeding as deceitful. They now predicted the same of the new Pope, although Paul III. had declared that it should be left to the assembled Council itself to treat and deliberate as to the manner in which the procedure should be carried out; now they went so far as to demand that this should be determined beforehand, and indeed, as in their answer they went on to show, in such a way that the Pope, as their opponent, should not even be permitted to have any influence on the Synod, since he was

[1] Corp. Ref., II., 1018–1022; EHSES, IV., cxvi–cxix.

[2] A synod such as the Protestants desired "would," says RIFFEL, II., 194, "have far outstripped the French National Convention in its motley and amorphous formation."

to appear there not as a judge, but simply as a party to or rather as the accused in a suit in which he would be called upon to clear himself of his sins and errors.[1]

In this attitude of total rejection of the Council the Schmalkaldic Princes were strengthened by Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France. The English King had sent a special embassy to Schmalkald to submit the proposal that he should ally himself with the League, especially in the refusal to accept the Council at Mantua as well as any other of which the Pope was President; he was ready to defend the Confession of Augsburg if only one or other of its articles were, as the result of a common agreement, improved.[2]

Francis I. also paid his court to the Schmalkaldic confederates and endeavoured to confirm them in their opposition to the Emperor and the Pope. He feared, as the Venetian ambassador knew well, that if the Council should result in a balance of the religious situation, the restoration of the authority of Charles throughout the Empire would ensue;[3] against this every energy was to be directed. While Francis in his own country was taking cruel measures against his Protestant subjects, he was posing as the protector and friend of the Protestant States in Germany. In the autumn of 1535, just as Vergerio was travelling to the German court, the French envoy Guillaume du Bellay was urging the Protestant Princes of Germany to give no countenance in any way to a General Council such as that for which Charles V. and Paul III.

[1] See K. A. MENZEL, II., 78. For a criticism of the Schmalkaldic reply, see PALLAVICINI, l. 3, c. 18, n. 11 *seqq.*; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 303 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., cxvi-cxix, in the notes.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 15. *Cf.* RANKE, Engl. Geschichte, I., 201.

[3] See M. Giustiniani's Relation, 1535, in ALBÈRI, 1st Series, I., 159,

were striving, since in such an assembly the majority of votes would be on the side of the latter; Lutheranism, should the Council take place, would be undone. At the same time the envoy was instructed to work for the summoning of national councils in Italy, France, and England.[1]

In Rome the ambassador of Francis I. used very different language. When Jean du Bellay, just nominated Cardinal, was appointed to the Papal court at the end of June 1535, he was instructed by his treacherous master, to whom religion was merely a political tool, to give the Pope the fairest assurances with regard to his support of the Council and the return of the German Protestants to the Church. Nothing, the Cardinal was to insist, was a matter of such desire to Francis as a good Catholic Council bent on the extirpation of error. With regard to place, the King was resolved to be guided by the opinion and wishes of the Holy Father, both on account of the Papal authority and of his own attachment and loyalty to the person of Paul III., who certainly in all his transactions had always before his eyes the welfare and peace of Christendom. The King's transactions with the Protestants, so the Pope was to be further assured, aimed at bringing them to a recognition of Paul's supreme authority as chief ruler of the universal Church. If success attended the King's efforts, Paul III. might go on to summon a council at Rome and there display that authority in fitting splendour![2]

[1] See Du Bellay's communications to the English envoy Monts, of Sept. 1535, in State Papers, VII., 626. *Cf.* BOURRILLY, Guillaume du Bellay, Paris, 1904.

[2] Jean du Bellay's instructions, dated Corbie, June 24, 1535, in LE PLAT, II., 520 *seqq.* *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 873 *seqq.*; EHSES, IV., cxxi, n. 1; and BOURRILLY, Le card. J. du Bellay en Italie, Paris, 1907.

Assurances quite as flattering were given to Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, who had been appointed nuncio to France in January 1535, and arrived at the French court at St. Germains on the 17th of February.[1] Thenceforward he was constantly in close proximity to the King.[2] In the very first audience granted to him Francis praised the Pope's firm determination to hold the Council, and recommended Turin for its sessions; at the same time he expatiated on his exertions to bring the German Protestants into submission to the Holy See. When later on the nuncio returned to the question of the Council, Francis declared that such an assembly had his sympathy, but that the Emperor was determined that it should meet only within his own dominions, and to that France could not consent. This difficulty was always subsequently raised on the French side in order to avoid a direct promise. Carpi was unwearying in making counter-representations; at last he succeeded in obtaining the King's conditional consent to Mantua.[3] On account of this declaration and of Cardinal du Bellay's assurances, there were grounds for the indulgence of the hope in Rome that the assembling of the Council would at least meet with no hindrances on the part of Francis.[4]

Vergerio, who had returned to Vienna on the 7th of December 1535, still took an optimistic view of the results

[1] Information on Carpi's journey in his *letter to Ricalcati from St. Germains, Feb. 19, 1535: *Scrissi a V. S. da Genova alli quatro et poi di Leone alli XI. . . . gionsi qui alli XVII. Lett. d. princ., X., 179[b] (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 99 *seqq.*, and EHSES, IV., cxix *seqq.* See also Nuntiaturberichte, I., 65 *seqq.*

[3] Carpi's correspondence with Ricalcati on the Council, from Feb. 1535 to April 1536, in EHSES, IV., cxix–cxxx. *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 65 *seqq.*

[4] EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 307.

of his journey.[1] He had, in fact, succeeded in renewing hope[2] in the Council among the Catholics of Germany, dispirited and embittered by the behaviour of Clement VII., and in checking the threatened reference of ecclesiastical affairs to a national council. Yet he had not achieved much more than this negative success;[3] for even if the Catholic Estates, with the exception of the Palatine, had agreed to Mantua, it was on condition that they were first sure of the Emperor's consent; the latter, however, maintained an obstinate reserve.

On one portion of the Protestants, especially on the cities of the Empire, among whom there was a vague feeling of enthusiasm for the Council[4] as the panacea for the ills and divisions of the Church, Vergerio's ever-increasing fervour had certainly a great effect. But the nuncio's overhopeful temperament had exaggerated this result to so remarkable an extent that he looked upon the acceptance of the Council and the reconcilation of the Protestants to the old Church as things close at hand.

The aversion of a great number of Protestants to any council, giving vent to itself in popular agitation, was overlooked by Vergerio[5] as well as the fact that with

[1] Again shown in Ferdinand's letter to Paul III., Dec. 11, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 555.

[2] There is a characteristic letter, in this connection, of Ludwig Ber to Aleander of Jan. 5, 1536, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XVI., 485 *seq.*

[3] Well brought out by FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 57.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 55, and also JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 376–377.

[5] He only once speaks of this, in a letter of May 17, 1535 (Nuntiaturberichte, I., 387), and then cursorily and without any full understanding of the matter. The "pittura" there mentioned is, no doubt, Melanchthon's "Papstesel," just published in 1535, to which Luther subscribed his "Amen." *Cf.* LANGE, Papstesel, Göttingen, 1891, 87,

regard to the General Synod of the Church two fundamentally opposed conceptions existed. The Catholics continued to hold fast to the belief that the Council came to its decisions assisted by the Holy Spirit, and that therefore such decisions were unconditional. The Protestants, upholding the dead and ambiguous letter of the Bible to be the supreme arbiter in matters of belief, would only consent to the decisions of the Council in so far as they agreed with their own interpretations of the Scriptures. The Council they aimed at was one so constituted that the acceptance of their doctrines was a matter of certainty.[1] Thus the praises of the Council in Protestant mouths were to a great extent discounted.

How much value, generally speaking, was to be set on the fine words of the authorities of the Imperial cities is disclosed by the fact that a year later the civic council of Augsburg took forcible possession of the cathedral and of the monastic churches and drove the Bishop and Chapter, together with all the rest of the clergy, out of their city.[2] The very cordial reception given to Vergerio by George of Brandenburg, to which the former attached so much weight, had not in any way led to favourable results for the Church. The Margrave remained afterwards, as before, a partisan of the Protestant cause.[3]

who remarks that the moment seized upon for the appearance of this pamphlet, just when Paul III. was evincing a friendly disposition towards the Council, was chosen with the "keen penetration of a demagogue." For other agitations of Luther's against the Council, see JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 382–383.

[1] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, III., 288, and MARTIN, Hist. de France, VIII., 4th ed., 250.

[2] More in JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 365 *seqq.*

[3] Together with JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 360, *cf.* also GÖTZ, Die Glaubenspaltung im Gebiete der Markgrafschaft Ansbach-Kulmbach in den Jahren 1520–35 (Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen

But of greater and more decisive importance was the Schmalkaldic declaration of the 21st of December 1535, of which the nuncio certainly knew nothing before he left German soil. The Elector Palatine had now as associates in his opposition to the Papal Council two such powerful magnates as the rulers of Saxony and Hesse. On a sober consideration of the facts, it must be admitted that, as far as the Protestants were concerned, Vergerio's mission had been a failure.[1]

In Vienna he was met by the command to return at once to Rome[2] to make a personal report. Accordingly, on the 11th of December 1535, he began his journey across the Alps, and on the 7th of January 1536 he was in Rome,[3] and made his report to the Pope, who at once sent him to Naples[4] to inform the Emperor how the affairs of the Council stood in Germany. It was here that he received the answer from Schmalkald, which had been sent after him, and which he also wished to communicate to Charles. The Emperor, he wrote to Ricalcati, shall thus learn how the shamelessness of these Princes increases when they see how lukewarm the head of the Empire is in these matters.[5] The excited tone of the letter shows how great a blow to the nuncio was this shattering of his illusions. After repeated negotiations with Granvelle and Covos, whom Vergerio pressed hard, he hoped that he had convinced them and the Emperor of the Pope's earnest-

zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes V., 3 and 4 Heft), Freiburg, 1907, 250 *seq.*

[1] EGELHAAF, II., 301.

[2] Ricalcati's letter, dated Rome, Oct. 22, 1535, in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 530 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 554, 556, 562, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 562, Paul's recommendation of Vergerio to Charles V., Jan. 22, 1536.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 563, Vergerio to Ricalcati, from Naples, Feb. 7, 1536.

ness respecting the Council and of his sincerity towards Charles.[1]

The presence of Charles in Rome was of decisive importance for advancing the affairs of the Council. Although the opposition of the French party was maintained[2] on this occasion, the two supreme heads of Christendom came to a complete agreement on the conciliar as well as on other questions. Three days after the arrival of the Emperor, on the 8th of April, it was decided, in an extraordinary congregation of Cardinals, in spite of the opposition of the anti-Imperialists, to summon the Council, and a commission was appointed to draw up the Bull. The members were the Cardinal-Bishops Piccolomini and Campeggio, the Cardinal-priests Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Contarini, the Cardinal-deacons Cesi and Cesarini, with whom Aleander, Bishop Ugo Rangoni of Reggio, and Vergerio were also included.[3] The drafting of the Bull was entrusted to Aleander.

The Emperor was so much gratified by the Pope's conduct with regard to the Council that the day before he left Rome, Easter Monday, the 17th of April 1536, in presence of the Cardinals and the diplomatic body, he thanked him for the good disposition he had shown on this occasion.[4] He then left Granvelle and Covos in Rome to act as plenipotentiaries. They were to submit the Bull convening the Council, after it had been received from the commission, to a further examination. Their amendments, which gave

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 564–566, reports of same to Ricalcati from Naples, Feb. 9 and 13, 1536.

[2] See *ibid.*, I., 564.

[3] See Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 1, and in Appendix 1º Agnello's *letter of April 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the only account of the anti-Imperialist opposition.

[4] For Charles's speech of April 17, 1536, see *infra*, p. 247 *seqq.*

greater prominence to their master's endeavours to call the Council into existence,[1] were complied with. Upon that the French ambassador made a similar demand that mention should be made of his sovereign's services. The opposition of the Imperial representatives was so violent that with difficulty a compromise was arrived at whereby the wishes of the Frenchman received[2] consideration in a somewhat modified form. Vergerio also animadverted in two particulars on the draft of the Bull. In a special minute[3] he recommended the omission of the phrase "according to the form of the earlier Councils" (*Secundum morem antiquorum conciliorum*), as provocative of passionate disapproval in Germany and prohibitive, at the outset, of the participation of the Protestants in the Synod. This alteration was accepted. Vergerio's second proposal was that before the Council was summoned to meet at Mantua the assent of the German Princes should once more be invited. This strange suggestion, by which everything already attained would again have been made an open question, threw the representative of Ferdinand I. into the greatest dismay, for at the same time the anti-Imperialist opposition was unabated. Fortunately the suggestion was not accepted.[4]

On the 29th of May 1536 the Bull of Convocation was passed in consistory. At the same time Paul III. issued a decree that, in the event of his death during the Council, the Papal election should be vested in the Cardinals only, and not in the general assembly of the Church.[5] In the follow-

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 583 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 75 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 584–588; *cf.* I., 76 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 3, c. 19, n. 2; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 76; *ibid.*, I., 584, for Aleander's remarks on this treaty; the **letter of Sanchez, June, 4, 1536 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[5] PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 10; EHSES, IV., 2.

ing consistory on the 2nd of June the Bull, bearing this date, was published;[1] two days later it was promulgated on placards at St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Cancelleria, and on the Campo de' Fiori.[2]

In this document Paul III. dwelt on the anxieties to which he was exposed by the Protestant errors, the reform of the Church, the wars in Christendom, and the distress attendant on them. After mature consideration he had come to the conclusion that no better remedy was to be found than in following the truth, which in like circumstances had approved itself as the best to his predecessors—the convening of a General Council. During his cardinalate he had already wished this, and since his elevation had spoken openly in favour of a council, and communicated his views to the Princes. Now, with the consent of the Cardinals, he summoned one at Mantua, a place secure, well situated, and adapted for the reception of such an assembly. All Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots were invited to meet there on the 23rd of May 1537. The Princes were to send envoys if they themselves were hindered from coming, but he hoped that they would appear in person. The Emperor, indeed, in his own name and that of his brother Ferdinand, had both in the past and now again during the present pontificate urged the necessity of a council; Francis I. also had declared his agreement. He called upon the Princes to give unimpeded access to the Council to all of their subjects who were minded to take a part in it, in order that such an assembly might ordain things profitable and serviceable to the honour of God, the exaltation of the Church, the extirpation of

[1] The text of the Bull in EHSES, IV., 2–6. For the correct date (2nd, not 4th, June), *cf. ibid.*, 3, note, and EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XII. (1898), 225.

[2] The documents in EHSES, IV., 6.

error, the unity and well-being of the faithful, and the accomplishment of a combined movement against the infidel. All mention of the form to be observed, as well as any reference to former councils, so objectionable to the Protestant Estates and theologians, was avoided in the proclamation.

The next step was the nomination in consistory on the 9th of June 1536 of three Cardinal-Legates to announce to the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of the Romans the publication of the Bull—Caracciolo to the Emperor, Trivulzio to Francis I., and Quiñones to Ferdinand.[1] By the end of July the other envoys of the Council were appointed.[2] On the 10th of September the Netherlander, Peter van der Vorst,[3] Bishop of Acqui, the nuncio for Germany, and Panfilo de' Strasoldi, the nuncio for Poland, and on the 24th of October the General of the Servites, Dionisio Laurerio,[4] designated for Scotland, received the briefs and instructions appertaining to their office. To Strasoldi were also assigned the arrangements for the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.[5]

The announcement of the summons of the Council in Hungary and Bohemia fell to the lot of Giovanni Morone, Vergerio's successor at the court of Ferdinand.[6] He was accredited as permanent nuncio on the 21st of October 1536,

[1] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 7, n. 1. The letters of credence for Caracciolo and Trivulzio, of June 14, and their instructions, *ibid.*, 7 *seqq.* *Cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 308.

[2] See Peregrino's *letter, dated Rome, July 27, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] EHSES, IV., 29–37. *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 42 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 43. For the nuncios sent to different countries, see also PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 1, n. 1 *seqq.*

[5] EHSES, IV., 37–40. For the fulfilment of his mission, *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 41 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 51 *seqq.*

[6] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 12.

the special instructions concerning the Council dating from the 24th of the same month.[1] The most difficult of these nunciatures was that of Peter van der Vorst to the Princes of Germany. The very choice of this Netherlander, who in the days gone by had come to Rome[2] with Adrian VI., implied a friendly disposition on the part of the Pope, to which a further emphasis was given by the fact that the staff of the nuncio's mission was entirely composed of Germans and Netherlanders.[3]

Van der Vorst was strictly enjoined in his instructions not to be drawn into religious disputations, as experience had taught that these only stiffened the dissentients in

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 58–61.

[2] *Petrus hic noster jurium doctor felicem Adriani Florencii fortunam sequutus eidem Hispaniis adhaesit. Ad summum pontificem evectum ex Hispania in Italiam Romamque comitatus est atque S^m D^ni capellanus fuit; thus the "Encomium ill. et rev. d. P. Vorstii" in Cod. 1081 of the University Library, Louvain, communicated to me by Professor Floss. For his further career, see SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 271, 349, 362 *seq.* Vorst did not die in 1549, as Schmidlin supposes, but on Dec. 8, 1548; see EHSES, IV., 140, n. 5.

[3] The nunciature of P. van der Vorst has been discussed by DE RAM in the Nouv. Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique, XII. (1839), and in, Compte rendu de la Commiss. Roy. d'Hist., IIIe Série, VI. (1864). Here are given from Cod. Vat. 3915 the instructions and some of the despatches of the nuncio, as well as the diary of his secretary, Cornelius Ettenius, "Liber Itineris" and so forth, of which ARENDT has given a German version in Raumer's Histor. Taschenbuch, X. (1839), 465 *seq.* The documents from the Cod. Vat. 3915, often inadequately presented by De Ram, are completely and admirably reproduced in EHSES, IV., 31 *seqq.*, 44 *seqq.* Extracts from the despatches in SCHLECHT, Sendung L. Hallers in the Sammelblättern der Histor. Vereins Eichstätt, V. (1890), 13 *seq.* Also the diary of Ettenius, for which De Ram made use of the copies in University Library of Louvain and in the Royal Library of Brussels, is insufficiently edited. For a new edition, the original now in the British Museum, addit. MS. 32275, would have to be produced.

their opposition. The discussion of such subjects must be declined on the ground that the Council was close at hand, wherein every man would be allowed the free utterance of his opinion. Van der Vorst above all was to preserve uniformity in the delivery of his message, and when difficulties were raised about Mantua, to point out that that city had been the consentaneous choice of the Emperor, the Pope, the King of the Romans, and a great number of the German Princes; whoever had objections to bring forward was at liberty to apply directly to the Pope.

Peter van der Vorst entered Imperial territority on the 13th of October 1536, at Trent. He then visited Brixen and passed through the Pusterthal to Steiermark, where, in the beginning of November, he met Ferdinand at Bruck and accompanied him to Vienna.[1] The nuncio, of whose journey an attractive account by his secretary Cornelius Ettenius exists, on leaving Vienna, first visited the Princes of the Bavarian Circle: the Bishop of Passau, Cardinal Lang of Salzburg, Duke William of Bavaria, Bishop Philip of Freising and his brother, the Palatine Frederick, and lastly, the Bishops of Eichstatt and Augsburg. All the above Catholic Princes gave van der Vorst a friendly and sympathetic reception. They praised the Pope's determination to hold the Council regardless of the fresh outbreak of hostilities between Charles V. and Francis I.

The nuncio then turned, not without fear, to the Protestant Estates; first to the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and to the Council of the Imperial city of Nuremberg. Vorst found no unfriendly disposition in either. The Margrave certainly made no concealment of his Lutheran sympathies, but received the intimation of the Council with a courteous expression of thanks. He, however, like the Nurembergers, declared his inability to

[1] EHSES, IV., 44 *seq.*

give any promises without a previous understanding with the Schmalkaldic League. In Bamberg, where the Bishop received his invitation to the Council with respect, van der Vorst was detained six days owing to an inundation. From Wurzburg, on whose aged Bishop the nuncio lavished praise, he proceeded to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, upon whom, as the most powerful of all their magnates, the decision of the Protestants depended.[1]

The Saxon Elector treated the nuncio from the first with the most unseemly lack of consideration. Vorst had announced to him, in the most courteous terms, the object of his mission. John Frederick answered from Grimma on the 1st of February 1537 that he had already begun his journey to Schmalkald to join the League, and that it was impossible for him to fix a place of meeting; the nuncio might, if he chose, go there, and there was all the more reason for his so doing as the matter in question would come under discussion by the League, while the Elector himself could give no individual decision.[2] To this John Frederick adhered, and on the 5th of February he came to Weimar, where Vorst was at that moment staying. The latter now hoped to obtain an audience, but the Elector kept out of his way; he went so far as to turn off the road leading past Vorst's inn, so that the nuncio might not even catch sight of him.[3]

After this treatment Vorst was undecided whether he should fall in with the invitation to appear at Schmalkald. But as the Elector of Mayence, whom he visited at Calve, near Halle, strongly advised him to do so, he made up his mind to make one more final endeavour. In spite of

[1] "Cum quo est summa rerum," says Vorst in his report to Paul III., Jan. 23, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 67.

[2] EHSES, IV., 68.

[3] See Ettenius in, Compte Rendu, IIIe Série, IV. (1864), 395 *seq.*

illness, in spite of ice, snow, hail-storms, wind, and floods, he made the six days' journey to Schmalkald, arriving there on the 24th of February.[1]

There the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Held had already been making urgent representations to the Protestant Estates that, having constantly appealed to the Council, they ought, now that it was summoned, to accept their invitation and send delegates. Held was able to show that the Synod which the Emperor had so zealously promoted was now a matter of real earnest; since almost all other nations and the majority in the Empire as well had agreed upon it, the Protestants alone ought not to fall short of the rest of Christendom in foresight and zeal. The Pope had proposed a council without limitation of reference, and without enumeration of conditions. It was to be held, even if not in Germany, yet in a fief of the Empire, in some city lying near to the boundaries of Germany. It was to be the means of restoring unity to the Church, securing peace to the Fatherland, and enabling the nations of Christendom to offer a united resistance to the attacks of the Turk.[2]

It has been correctly remarked that this was a turning-point for the German people, of the same cardinal importance as that of the year 1523, when, in the Diet of Nuremberg, Adrian VI., trusting to his German compatriots, appealed to them for help in upholding within the Empire the laws and order of the Church. If the

[1] *Cf.* Vorst's despatch of March 2, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 87, and the narrative of Ettenius in the Nouv. Mém. de l' Acad. Roy. de Belgique, XII. (1839), 16 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 383 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., 71 *seq.* For Held's mission, *cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, III., 273 *seq.*; HEIDE in the Histor.-polit. Bl., CII., 712 *seq.*; Mitteilungen des Vereins f. d. Gesch. Nürnbergs, VIII., 161 *seq.*, and ROSENBERG, 3 *seqq.*

Council were now to be rejected, there remained, as the Papal representative foresaw, hardly any hope of the reconciliation of the lapsed, or of a removal of the scandals from which Germany was suffering.[1] Even on the Protestant side there were many, Melanchthon foremost among them, who dreaded the results of a permanent breach. This spokesman of the party therefore once more maintained his opinion at Schmalkald: that the Council ought not to be summarily rejected. For even if in such an assembly the Pope could not act as judge, he was yet within his right in convening it. Nuremberg, among the cities, had directed its envoy to do all he could to prevent the confederates at Schmalkald from refusing to attend the Council.[2] But the decision lay neither with the theologians nor with the cities; it had long since been in the hands of the Princes, who were not slow to perceive that the Pope's invitation touched the matter to the quick. It struck at the combination of the ecclesiastical and temporal authority; at the subordination of the Church to the secular power; at the tenet *cujus regio ejus religio*, even if this expression had not yet been formulated.

When, in 1530, in the Confession of Augsburg, the Protestant Estates demanded a council, they had no clear conception of how that assembly was to be formed, or how its decisions were to be given. Even later they came no nearer to a solution of this question, for, on the whole, they did not seriously believe that the Council would ever meet.

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18, 384.

[2] See SODEN, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Reformation, II., Nürnberg, 1855, 444. As regards the Strasbourg envoys, however, P. Polz wrote on Jan. 26, 1537: "Propediem abituri sunt legati ad Saxoniam, quod coeptum est, confirmaturi et antemurale futuri concilii exstructuri." HORAWITZ-HARTFELDER, Briefwechsel des B. Rhenanus, Leipzig, 1886, No. 310.

Indeed, the stronger their hopes of failure were, the noisier and more reckless were their complaints that the Pope was making a dupe of Christendom.[1] And now, when the Papal invitation stared them in the face, great was their perplexity. They had to take their stand on one side or the other. The first to recognize this was the Elector John Frederick of Saxony.[2]

Already on the 24th of July 1536 the Elector had asked his theologians and jurists at Wittenberg to draw up an opinion on the Council.[3] His own view, expressed in a memorial composed by himself, was in favour of the rejection of the Papal citation; he even thought that the nuncio should be refused a hearing, and that on his arrival in Germany he should be met by a messenger bearing a protest against the summons of Paul III.[4] The first opinion of the theologians and jurists,[5] most probably drawn up by Melanchthon, did not satisfy the Elector. While certainly opposed to the Council, it did not express this opposition in sufficiently downright terms, and in particular did not give due consideration to the proposal that the promulgation of the Bull convening it should be met by a counter protest.

On the 6th of December the Wittenberg theologians

[1] *Cf.* Luther's "Auschreibung eines heiligen, freien christlichen Conciliums," 1535 (Erlanger edition, XXXI., 411 *seq.*).

[2] The documents are for the most part published in Corp. Ref., III., two more in BURCKHARDT, Briefwechsel Luthers, 256 *seqq.*, 271 *seqq.* *Cf.* also H. VIRCK, Zu den Beratungen des Protestanten über die Konzilsbulle vom Juni 1536, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XIII. (1892), 487–512. *Cf.* also PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 93 *seqq.*

[3] BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 256-258.

[4] Corp. Ref., III., 99–104; *cf.* VIRCK, 488.

[5] "De Gelehrten zu Wittenberg erster Ratschlag des künstigen Concilii halben," in Corp. Ref., III., 119–125; *cf.* VIRCK, 489 *seqq.*, P493; ASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 93.

handed to the Elector a fresh opinion with which he was satisfied. Here the contingencies which might follow the Council were discussed. If, for example, the marriage of priests was forbidden, that was to be regarded as an injury to the common welfare against which "measures of self-defence might be taken such as one would take against murder in the street." Princes and authorities are in duty bound to prohibit "open violence and immorality as they would a violation of the marriage tie. All the more are they in duty bound to prohibit open idolatry." Luther affixed his signature to this announcement with the words, "I, Martinus Luther, will help you with my prayers, and also, if needs must, with my fists!"[1]

Somewhat earlier the Saxon Elector had asked Luther to draw up the articles on which, as on an authoritative and unalterable basis, the Protestants were to take their stand against the Council. By the end of 1536 this work was finished, and the approval and subscription of the Wittenberg theologians obtained, Melanchthon making the remark that, if the Pope would accept the "Evangelium," his superiority over the rest of the episcopate, according to human law (*jure humano*), might be admitted for the sake of peace.[2] These articles were known as the Articles of Schmalkald; they were twenty-three in all, agreeing in many points with the Confession of Augsburg. But an entirely different spirit animated the present document;[3] its whole tendency was in opposition to the Augsburg

[1] Theol. Witeb. de concilio, in Corp. Ref., III., 126–131; *cf.* PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 94. For date, see VIRCK, *loc. cit.*, 496 *seq.*

[2] In the, Tractatus de potestate et primatu Papae, composed in 1537, Melanchthon drops his previous attitude and attacks the Pope as Antichrist; see HERZOG, Realenzykl., XVIII.,[3] 644. See also PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 100, n. 3.

[3] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 100.

Confession. The latter was an endeavour to remove points of difference, and to retain as nearly as possible the semblance of Catholic teaching. As regards its composition it rested theoretically on old Catholic principles in its appeal to a General Council summoned by the Pope. The Augsburg Confession in its essentials was certainly the work of Melanchthon, but the Schmalkaldic articles, the work of Luther, declared in the very preamble that Protestants had no need of a council. They asserted the contrary sharply, and in the most bitter and most insulting language; they said, for example, of the Holy Mass: "Above all, from the evils of this dragon the scum and vermin of all manner of idolatry has been begotten." Purgatory was called a "phantom," celibacy a "doctrine" of the devil. Of the Pope they declared that, "since he was not *jure divino*, *i.e.* by God's word, the head of Christendom, it therefore followed that all that he had done and purposed in the name of such false, impious, iniquitous, and usurped authority had been and still was an empty and devilish business, bringing corruption on the whole Catholic Church and destroying the first article of belief in the redemption of Jesus Christ." "As it is impossible for us," this document goes on to say, "to worship the devil himself as Lord and God, so is it impossible for us also to suffer his apostle, the Pope or Antcihrist, to be head and lord within his government, since the Papal rule is lying and murder and destructive both of body and soul; therefore we cannot kiss his feet or say, Thou art our gracious Lord; but rather, with the angel in the book of Zacharias, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan!"[1]

The Elector of Saxony was highly satisfied with this declaration of war, and in entire agreement with it. If the

[1] See WALCH, XVI., 2326 *seq.*, Erlanger edition, XXV., 106 ff.; Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel vom Jahre 1537. For Luther's interpretation, see ZANGEMEISTER, Heidelberg, 1883.

Schmalkaldic articles, owing to Melanchthon's influence and Luther's illness, were not accepted officially,[1] still the League acted in the question of the Council in full accordance with their spirit. The Emperor's representative, the Vice-Chancellor Held, was informed that the holding of the Council in an Italian city must be unconditionally rejected. In the further course of their reply they even denied to the Pope and his ecclesiastical court the right to participate in the Council on account of their "errors and abominations."[2]

The treatment of Paul III.'s representative at Schmalkald has hardly any parallel in the history of diplomacy.[3] Vorst was received by the Elector on the 25th of February. After stating his case he presented an authentic copy of the Bull of citation and two briefs, one of which was addressed to John Frederick as Elector and the other to the same Prince as convener of the Saxon Circle. He took the documents and laid them on a table in front of him. All he said to Vorst was that he had nothing more to communicate to him, then stood up laughing and left the room to take advice with his counsellors, leaving the Bull and briefs behind him. His council afterwards made excuses for him, saying that the other Princes had requested him to meet them in order to discuss matters of grave importance. They also declared that their master could give no answer until he had first conferred with his allies of the League; under the circum-

[1] See MÖLLER-KAWERAU, III.,[3] 134.

[2] *Cf.* WALCH, XVI., 2433 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 63 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, III., 297; EGELHAAF, II., 320–321.

[3] Besides Vorst's report of March 2, in EHSES, IV., 90, *cf.* for the following the detailed description by Ettenius in the Nouv. Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique, XII. (1839), 16 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, II., 2, 424. Melanchthon said that Vorst had been treated with gross vulgarity (φορτικῶς), Corp. Ref., III., 297.

stances the nuncio could only return to his lodgings and take the briefs with him. Van der Vorst replied calmly and with dignity to this somewhat summary intimation. He begged his Grace the Elector to read the briefs and the Bull, as he would then be better able to consult the Princes about them. But John Frederick's chancellor insisted that the nuncio should take the briefs away. Van der Vorst replied that it was neither fitting nor right to do so; once they had been placed in the Elector's hands, he, the nuncio, could not withdraw them. Granted even that the Elector had not said in express words that he accepted them, he had yet given it to be understood by his silence that he did not refuse them; the chancellor ought to convey the briefs to his master, for how, without having read them, could the latter take counsel upon them? The chancellor now broke out and accused the nuncio of scholastic and sophistical devices. Van der Vorst persisted in his refusal to take back the briefs as a proceeding incompatible with the dignity and honour of his mission.

The others also treated the nuncio with a mortifying want of consideration. The Landgrave of Hesse, and the Dukes of Pomerania, Württemberg, and Lüneburg refused him audience altogether if he had nothing else to say than what he had addressed to the Elector. It was not until the 2nd of March that the written reply of the Schmalkaldic confederates was delivered. This, corresponding to the one received on the 24th of February by the Vice-Chancellor Held,[1] contained a flat rejection of the Council; the briefs were handed back unopened to the nuncio. These clumsy insults, which were totally wanting in finesse, showed that a spirit of irreconcilable opposition had taken possession of the Princes and theologians assembled at Schmalkald. From their former demand for a council

[1] In EHSES, IV., 73–78; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 106–108.

they had now advanced to the stage of unconditional rejection.

How strange this repudiation of the vehement demands of the Augsburg Confession must have seemed. Although it would have been easy for van der Vorst to have answered the charges brought against the Pope in the Schmalkaldic reply, he refrained, in accordance with his instructions, from all disputations, and all the more willingly because, although a German by birth, he felt that his personal safety was threatened. The partisans of the National Church movement had done all they could to stir up a temper of hostility to the Council and to the Pope by scattering broadcast ribald lampoons in verse. In these van der Vorst also was personally attacked.[1]

At the close of the Diet at Schmalkald on the 6th of March 1537 those present undertook to meet together again at a future date to consider the Council.[2] Melanchthon was commissioned [3] to draw up in the name of the Estates, for the Kings of France and England, a justification of their action in rejecting the Synod. Not satisfied with the mere refusal of the General Council summoned by the Pope, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse had actually entertained the idea of opposing to the Papal Council a national and "evangelical" assembly of their own, to be convened by Luther together with his "assistant Bishops and ecclesiastics." This "free" council was to meet in Augsburg under the protection of an army of at least 15,000 foot soldiers and 3000 horsemen, and it was

[1] *Cf.* VOIGT for the Pasquille, Spottlieder und Schmähschriften des 16. Jahrh. in Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch, IX. (1838), 418 *seq.* For "Pasquilli de concilio Mantuano judicium," see TSCHACKERT in Der Neuen kirchl. Zeitschr., XII. (1901).

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 385 *seq.*

[3] PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 101.

hoped that the Emperor might be induced to be present.[1] But what with Luther's illness at Schmalkald and the dissensions amongst the Protestants themselves, this venturesome scheme came to nothing.[2]

Van der Vorst had gone away from Schmalkald to Zeitz, where he arrived on the 13th of March 1537 and proclaimed the Council to the Princes staying there: the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick. They returned favourable answers. In a report from Zeitz on the 23rd of March Vorst declared that it was by no means the case that all the Lutherans were against the Council, and that popular expectation was still hoping for one although the Schmalkald faction had done all they could to bring discredit on the proposal.[3] In the course of his journey the nuncio visited the Bishops of Bremen, Hildesheim, and Münster, and later on the Duke of Cleves and the three ecclesiastical Electors on the Rhine. While all the above named accepted the Council, the Elector Palatine Louis was not more friendly than in the days of Vergerio. Vorst's mission came to an end with his visit to the Netherlands; and on his return he also proclaimed the Council in Switzerland.[4]

[1] According to a computation of the Electors at the end of 1536, in Corp. Ref., III., 139 *seqq.* *Cf.* PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 95; Zeitschr. für Kirchenrecht, XVII., 237 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 387 *seq.*

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 388 *seqq.*; MÖLLER-KAWERAU calls the project "adventurous," III., 3rd ed., 132.

[3] EHSES, IV., 97.

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 100 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, II., 46 *seq.* Vorst returned to Heidelberg. The Bishop of Strassburg he probably did not attempt to see, since Paul III. had invited the latter to the Council directly without reference to Vorst. The *original of the Brief, dated Rome, Sept. 10, 1537, is in the Bezirksarchiv at Strassburg, G, 1405. *Cf.* also WIRZ, Akten, XXVII.; MAYER, Konzil von Trient und Gegenreformation in der Schweiz, I. Stans, 1901, 9.

CHAPTER II.

The Conciliar Question in the Years 1537–1539.

In addition to the internal hindrances arising from the brusque refusal of the Schmalkaldic leaders, a still greater difficulty sprung up in external affairs; this was the renewal of hostilities between Francis I. and Charles V. in the summer of 1536.

The French King, always antagonistic to the Council, now found the wished-for excuse. On the 5th of September 1536 he informed the nuncio, Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, that in the existing conditions of war it would be impossible for his prelates to go to Mantua; the Council would be under the influence of the Emperor, and would only represent particular interests; such an assembly would only aggravate the evils existing in Christendom.[1] When Carpi, raised to the Cardinalate and withdrawn from France in April 1537, was taking leave of Francis, the latter spoke in still stronger terms of his objection to Mantua.[2] In like manner he showed himself an outspoken opponent of the Council to Carpi's successor Cesare de' Nobili; with Catholic assurances on his lips, he was in substance upholding the demands of the German Protestants.[3]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 47; Ehses, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 309 *seq.*; Ehses, IV., 109–111.

[2] According to Carpi's report to Ricalcati of May 3, 1537; *cf.* Ehses, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 310.

[3] Ehses, *loc. cit.*, 312.

How seriously in Rome and elsewhere within the sphere of Catholic sympathies the question of the Council was taken is shown by the comprehensive preliminaries now in the meantime claiming attention. As soon as the general assembly of the Church at Mantua was announced, Johann Faber, the zealous Bishop of Vienna, prepared an exhaustive memorial[1] for the Pope dealing in detail with all the questions affecting the Council. Paul III., in the reply which he ordered to be sent to Faber,[2] commended his earnestness, agreed to his proposals, and begged him to devote himself to the new work which this indefatigable prelate had undertaken—the compilation and refutation of the errors of their opponents. Fuller intercourse with the German theologians was the mission entrusted to the nuncio Morone, who on his arrival in Vienna had at once placed himself in close communication with Faber and the Cardinal of Trent.[3]

In Italy Gaspar Contarini was foremost, as soon as

[1] Praeparatoria futuri universalis, nuper indicti Concilii per S. N. D. Paulum hujus hominis Papam tertium. Auctore Ioanne Fabro, Episcopo Viennensi. Ex Oeniponte sexta die mensis Julii anno a nato Jesu 1536, in EHSES, IV., 10–23; also in RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 37. *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 103; DITTRICH, Contarini, 352; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 12 f. For the date (not July 4, as generally given hitherto from Raynaldus, but July 6); *cf.* EHSES, IV., 10, n. 2. The memorial was sent to the Pope by Cardinal Cles on the 27th of July from Innsbruck; see EHSES, IV., 28.

[2] Responsio Pauli III. Papae ad Fabri episcopi "Praeparatoria" towards the end of 1536, in EHSES, 23–36; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 13 *seq.* Friedensberg assumes that Aleander composed the answer. EHSES disagrees, see IV., 23, n. 5.

[3] Morone to Paul III. from Vienna, Dec. 7, 1536, in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 74. Morone had delivered to Faber the Papal reply to the "Praeparatoria," and sent to the Pope an answer from Faber on Dec. 17; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 77 *seq.* For the further activity of the German divines, especially Faber, see *ibid.*, II., 14 *seq.*, 78 *seq.*

the Council had been proclaimed, in entering on a wide range of studies in order to prepare himself and others for the work of the Council. In the winter months of 1536–37 he finished a review of the history of earlier councils intended to supply the Pope with rules for the conduct of a council, and with a summary of former decisions against false doctrines. In presenting it to Paul III. he at the same time expressed his thankfulness and joy that the summons of the Council was an accomplished fact.[1] Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, formerly the intimate friend of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and for many years his Vicar-General in Parma, whom Paul III, soon after his election, called to Rome[2] to listen to his advice on the initiation of works of reform and on questions of the Council, also threw himself, on his return to Carignano from Rome in the summer of 1535, into close study of all questions concerning the General Council. The result was a manuscript work "de Concilio," presented to the Pope.[3]

In July 1536 Paul III. formed his long-planned Commission of Reform with the object of having at his disposal practical and consultative help in making preparations for the Council.[4] One result of this Commission, begun in November 1536, of whose members Sadoleto, Carafa, and Pole were nominated Cardinals on the 22nd of December, was the famous report on ecclesiastical reform, which must be considered as the programme of the Council's reconstructive work.[5]

[1] DITTRICH, Contarini, 333 *seq.* For the "Conciliorum magis illustrium summa," see *ibid.*, 333–339.

[2] *Cf.* SCHWEIZER, Kardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, 50 *seqq.*

[3] Paul III.'s letter of thanks to Guidiccioni for the provisional despatch of the Index of the work; see SCHWEITZER, *loc. cit.*, 52, and EHSES, IV., 27, n. 1. Guidiccioni's work *de Concilio, is in Cod Barb. lat. 1165 and 1175 of the Vatican Library.

[4] See further *infra*, 154 *seqq.*

[5] See also *infra*, 164–171.

Paul III., in spite of all the difficulties caused by the opponents of the Council as well as by the existing political embarrassments, never gave up the thought of a punctual opening of the Synod. In February 1537 he still spoke of a speedy assembling at Mantua, and began to make preparations for the journey thither.[1] He held fast to this intention even afterwards, although the majority of the Cardinals on the commission, excepting only Contarini, Sadoleto, and Carafa, were of opinion that no beginning could be made before the Germans appeared in Mantua.[2] But at the last moment difficulties arose in a quite unexpected quarter—they came from the Duke of Mantua himself.[3]

In a brief of the 15th of February 1537[4] the Pope, referring to the high confidence he reposed in him in

[1] Sadoleto to Nausea on Feb. 22, 1537, in DITTRICH, Regesten Contarini, 95. The declarations of the Pope to the Venetian envoy Bragadino, in his letters to Venice in, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 47 *seqq.* As to the authenticity of the former, see EHSES, IV., cxxxiii *seq.*, n. 4; see also STICH in Literaturblatt der Leo-Gesellschaft, II., 107. That the report at that time spread abroad by the Protestant party, that the Pope was not in earnest about the Council, was discredited by the more reasonable members of that party, is shown from a letter of Melanchthon to Brenz of Dec. 6, 1536, quoted in JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 384, n. 1.

[2] See the reports **of F. Peregrino of March 20 and 25, 1537. He still writes on April 5: *N. S. va pur continuando della venuta sua a Mantoa per il concilio (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] The Pope's correspondence with the Duke Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua, in EHSES, IV., 70 *seq.*, 72 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 101–104, and in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 425 *seqq.* More in EHSES, cxxxi–cxxxviii, with the letters of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to his brother, the Duke of Mantua. See also DITTRICH, Contarini, 341 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 3.

[4] EHSES, IV., 70 *seq.* *Cf.* also the letters of Cardinal Gonzaga of Jan. 31 and Feb. 11 announcing the Brief, and the letters of Feb. 16 accompanying the latter, *ibid.*, cxxxii, cxxxiv.

choosing Mantua as the seat of the Council, invited Duke Federigo Gonzaga to make the necessary preparations in his capital for that event. In his answer of the 24th of February[1] the Duke thanked the Pope for his announcement and for the honour conferred upon him by the Council holding its sessions in his city—a circumstance which he had hitherto, in the absence of anything like authorized assurances,[2] regarded merely as "rumour." He expressed his willingness to make preparations, but declined to incur a general responsibility for the security of the Council, and begged the Pope to send someone with plenipotentiary authority with whom the necessary matters might be arranged. The Pope thanked the Duke on the 21st of March[3] for his ready willingness, and set his anxiety at rest by the assurance that no further protection would be necessary than would be sufficient to maintain public order in the city; at the same time he bestowed upon him the Golden Rose by the hands of his chamberlain, Giovanni Battista de Grassis.[4]

Before receiving the brief of the 21st of March Duke Federigo, in a letter to his brother Cardinal Ercole, of March the 24th,[5] had explained in full that for the pro-

[1] EHSES, 72 *seq.*; also Nuntiaturberichte, II., 425 *seq.*

[2] See Cardinal Gonzaga's letter to his brother, Aug. 2nd, 1536 (EHSES, IV., cxxxi *seq.*), from which it is clear that the Cardinal, when Mantua was under discussion in the consistory, offered this city in his brother's name, afterwards accepted its selection, and at once communicated the news to his brother. Agnello confirms the same in his *letter of April 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see App. No. 18), and also Aleander in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 438; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 103, n. 2.

[3] EHSES, IV., 94 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, II., 426 *seq.*; also EHSES, IV., cxxxv *seq.*

[4] EHSES, IV., 95, n. 2, and cxxxvi, n. 3.

[5] EHSES, 98 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 427–430.

tection of the Pope and Council as well as for his own security and that of the city of Mantua an armed guard of exceptional strength must be provided. Cardinal Gonzaga hesitated to communicate this letter at once to the Pope, as his brother had intended him to do. Paul III. was thus able on the 3rd of April to recall Cardinal Carpi from France in prospect of the impending opening of the Council and his own early journey to Mantua.[1]

It was not until the 9th of April, when the Pope in consistory wished to come to a decision on the date of his journey, that Cardinal Gonzaga delivered to him the Duke's letter of the 24th of March, which was then read aloud. On the same day the Pope directed Ricalcati to inform the Duke that his demand, as unnecessary as it was harmful, could not be acceded to; at the same time he asked for an answer, by return of courier, informing him of the Duke's final decision.[2] Upon this the Duke sent his secretary, Abbatino, to Rome, where he arrived on the 15th of April, and on the following day laid his message before the Pope.[3] The Duke's answer, orally conveyed, was that he adhered to his demand. Abbatino defined this in precise terms; it would be necessary for the Pope to have in his pay a bodyguard of 1500 foot soldiers and 100 horsemen, the total number of whom, indeed, need not be levied at first, but, in the Duke's candid opinion, they would have to be brought up to full strength as the concourse of visitors to the Council increased.

[1] The Brief of April 3, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 100. FRIEDENSBERG disputes the Pope's honesty in this matter, since he must have become convinced already of the impossibility of opening the Council (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 49, n. 2); for the contrary, *cf.* EHSES, IV., 99 *seq.*, n.

[2] EHSES, IV., 101 *seq.*; also Nuntiaturberichte, II., 430–432.

[3] Abbatino's instructions of April 12, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 102–104; also in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 432–435.

In two consistories held to consider this incident, the Cardinals as well as the Pope were of opinion that Gonzaga's demand could not be entertained. Even if, according to the declaration of the Schmalkaldic League, their Princes were no longer to be reckoned with on the representation of the Council, still no pretext should be afforded them for decrying the Council as incapable of free action.[1] The majority of the Cardinals were in favour of prorogation; only Sadoleto and Schönberg voted for the opening of the Council on the appointed day, but in another place; the former proposed Piacenza and the latter Bologna.[2] Accordingly, in the consistory of the 20th of April,[3] in presence of the princely envoys, the prorogation of the Council until the 1st of November was announced. The reason given in the Bull[4] was the impossibility of meeting in Mantua in consequence of the Duke's unrealizable demand—unrealizable not merely on account of the cost involved, but especially because the Pope thought it unfitting, and that a council held under arms would form a vicious precedent.[5] In the meantime another suitable place was to be decided on.

In special letters the Pope announced to the Princes

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 343.

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*; EHSES, IV., 104, n. 3. Aleander presented to the Pope on April 16 a double memorandum on the dual possibilities: one based on the assumption that the Pope would prorogue the Council and summon it again in autumn in some other city; the other to meet the case of his proceeding at once to Bologna and there opening the Synod. Nuntiaturberichte, II., 435–441.

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 104–108; Sadoleti Epist. prop. nomine script., II., 494 *seq.*, and EHSES n Histor. Jahrb., XXIX., 601 *seq.*

[4] Of April 20; in EHSES, IV., 111 *seq.*; see O. CLEMEN in the Theol. Stud. und Krit., 1909, 298 *seqq.*

[5] "Nisi rem incongruam et mali exempli judicassemus, armatum concilium celebrare."

and nuncios the prorogation of the Council.[1] In order that the bishops already on their way to Mantua should be spared the unnecessary continuance of their journey, the Bishop of Segni, Lorenzo Grana, was sent to meet them at Trent.[2] He wrote from thence to the Pope[3] on the 14th of May, after a nine days' stay, that no bishops had as yet arrived, and none were any longer expected. Only the Bishop of Würzburg had made inquiries of Cardinal Cles concerning the Council and had received the information required. The German nuncio Morone[4] was also entrusted with the like task of intercepting visitors to the Council who might already have started on their way.

Paul III. gave special directions to the nuncio Giovanni Guidiccioni to inform the Emperor thoroughly on the whole position of the conciliar question.[5] The Pope had not experienced for a long time anything more disagreeable than the action of the Duke of Mantua, so regardless as it was of the Holy See and of the general welfare of Christendom. Nevertheless he was firmly resolved to hold the œcumenical Council under any circumstances, and that too in a place

[1] The Brief to the Emperor of April 23, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 112 *seq.*; the letter to Vorst, dated April 21, 1537, in State Archives, Parma.

[2] Paul III. to the Cardinal of Trent on April 27, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 113 *seq.*

[3] EHSES, IV., 121 *seq.*; also Nuntiaturberichte, II., 161–164.

[4] Ricalcati to Morone on April 21, 1537, in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 151.

[5] The nuncio's instructions of April 30, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 114 *seq.*, already given by PASTOR in Reunionsbestrebungen, 481 *seq.*, from a MS. in the Royal Library, Berlin, but without date or the nuncio's name. G. M. Della Porta, writing on May 26, 1537, has some interesting remarks on the Pope's suspicion of Charles V.: "*Il Papa ha detto esser certo che Mantoa gli negò la sua città per satisfar l' Imperatore, ma che ringratiava Dio ch'el tempo se aproxima da castigar questi signori d' Italia che erano più tosto tiranni che signori" (State Archives, Florence).

to which no Catholic could reasonably object. The Lutherans, by their answer given at Schmalkald to the nuncio and the Emperor's representative, had shown that they were wholly averse to a council. The matter therefore had now become the concern of Catholics only.

His Holiness, however, was unwilling that a single Catholic nation should hold itself aloof, as otherwise there arose the danger of a schism. Mantua was now out of the question not merely on account of the Duke's unfair behaviour, but also because the French, whose tacit consent had been gained previously with difficulty, would not now, after the prorogation, listen to the mention of such a locality. The Pope therefore wished to obtain the Emperor's opinion as to some place in Italy to which no Catholic could take exception. As there was no time to lose, he begged for as speedy a reply as possible; failing that, he had thought of asking the Venetians to consent to one of their cities, Verona possibly or Padua, being set apart for this sacred function. As the Venetians were the common friends of Europe, it might be assumed that no one, even in Germany, would be dissatisfied with such an arrangement. In the event of a refusal on the part of the Republic, the Pope had made up his mind to summon the Council as soon as possible at Bologna or Piacenza. These places offered all that was necessary, and recommended themselves to all Catholics as cities of the Church, the common mother of Christendom, where especially the Holy See observed a constant neutrality. Further, in order to obviate any objection to the choice of one of these two Papal cities on the plea that it would hamper the freedom of the Council, the Pope promised to place the particular city, in which the General Council should be held, under the jurisdiction of the Synod so long as the

sessions lasted. Paul III. asked the Emperor for a speedy answer in order to be able to give timely notice of the locality chosen, whither he himself would go in the beginning of October, in order, with God's help, to open the Council, which the afflictions of the Church had made a crying necessity, and which in days long before his elevation to the Papacy had been the object of his great desire. An instruction for the information of King Ferdinand, corresponding in substance to the message to the Emperor, was also sent to the nuncio Morone.[1]

The King of the Romans showed little inclination to meet the Pope's wishes. As soon as he heard of the prorogation through Morone,[2] and the latter suggested to him Bologna or Piacenza, he declared himself opposed to a city within the Papal States on account of the Lutherans; this difficulty he raised again when the nuncio laid before him the Pope's intentions as contained in the instruction of the 27th of April.[3] Morone vainly represented that the Lutherans, who would have nothing more to do with the Council, were ruled out of court; the nuncio's request that some of the Princes should be informed of its postponement, Ferdinand also dismissed as useless. So long as a state of war existed between Francis I. and the Emperor, the Council could not be held, even if the Pope renounced his neutrality and made an alliance with Charles. For the rest, Ferdinand again suggested Trent as a suitable place, but explained that he would acquiesce in all particulars with the Emperor's wishes. Udine was also

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 152–155: Ricalcati to Morone, April 27, 1537.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 160: Morone to Ricalcati, from Prague, May 11, 1537.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 165–167: Morone to Ricalcati, from Prague, May 16, 1537.

mentioned as a fitting locality, convenient for persons of all nations, if a choice were to be made in Venetian territory.

Francis I. continued as hostile to the Council as before. In the first audience granted to the new nuncio, Filiberto Ferreri, Bishop of Ivrea, he adhered to his opinion that in the existing conditions of war it was impossible to hold a General Council; he added, however, that in default of his personal presence he would also forbid his prelates to undertake the journey to the Council.[1] To the nuncio's request that the conciliar Bulls might be published in France, he made no reply. At Ferreri's next audience, not obtained till a month later, through the good offices of the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, Francis still held by his assertion that a council was impossible during the war. On this occasion the King informed the nuncio that he could not give an immediate decision with regard to the place to be determined on. If the Pope proposed a city free from objections, he would give his adhesion, as he intended to appear in person and bring with him the collective Gallican hierarchy to the Council.[2]

Notwithstanding the unfavourable replies from France, the Pope's endeavours to compass the assembling of the Synod were not relaxed.[3] By briefs of the 22nd of June 1537, the Cardinals absent from Rome were recalled to take

[1] Ferreri to Ricalcati, June 20, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 130, and in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 194, n. 2. *Cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 312 *seq.* For the nuncio's representations concerning the King's attitude towards the Bull, made to Cardinal Jean du Bellay, and the latter's attempt at justification, see *ibid.*, 313.

[2] Ferreri to Ricalcati, July 30, in EHSES, IV., 132. *Cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 313 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Ricalcati to Morone later than July 22, 1537, in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 194.

part in discussions preliminary to the Council.[1] A special summons was also sent to Filippo Trivulzio, Archbishop of Ragusa, in a brief dated the 31st of July.[2]

The question of locality, since the choice of a city belonging to the Papal States had been given up on account of the anticipated opposition of the Princes, was at last happily solved after long negotiations with Venice.[3] On the 29th of August 1537 Paul III. addressed a brief[4] to the Doge and Signoria. As in the present divided state of the Princes of Christendom there was hardly a spot in the whole of Italy acceptable and without suspicion to all parties for the meeting of a General Council, the Pope, under these circumstances, turned to Venice as the one neutral body politic in the peninsula in possession of cities suitable for the above purpose, and begged the Republic, by granting the use of one of the latter, to assist him in this pious undertaking. At first the Signoria declined on account of the difficulties then besetting them from the advance of the Turks against Corfù, and entrusted this reply to their orator at the Papal court on the 6th of September.[5] But the assiduous efforts of the nuncio Verallo and Cardinal Grimani[6] succeeded at last in obtaining a favourable result; although the scale was certainly turned by the news of the raising of the siege of Corfù by the Turks. The decree of

[1] EHSES, IV., 126 *seq.*, 133. Morone expresses in his letters to Ricalcati and to Aleander, of Aug. 20, 1537, his satisfaction at these measures of hopeful import for the Council (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 198).

[2] EHSES, IV., 132 *seq.*

[3] For the Council at Vicenza and all appertaining to it, *cf.* BERNARDO MORSOLIN, Il Concilio di Vicenza, Venezia, 1889, and Nuovi particolari sul Concilio di Vicenza del 1538, Venezia, 1892; G. CAPASSO, I Legati al Concilio di Vicenza del 1538, Venezia, 1892.

[4] EHSES, IV., 134. *Cf.* MORSOLIN, Il Concilio di Vicenza, 6 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 8 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, Doc. I.

[6] MORSOLIN, Il Concilio di Vicenza, 10 *seq.*; CAPASSO, Legati, 5 *seq.*

the Venetians consenting to Vicenza as the seat of the Council was drawn up on the 21st of September,[1] and on the 25th of that month their envoy was ordered to communicate this decision to Paul III.[2] He delivered his message on the 28th of September at Nepi, where the Pope was then staying.[3]

Paul III., highly delighted at the permission to use a city so well adapted for the purpose,[4] at once gave the necessary instructions, and returned almost immediately to Rome to make preparations for his journey to Bologna.[5] The Pope would have much preferred the 1st of November for the opening of the Council; but since the short interval made it hardly possible for the Transalpine Bishops to arrive punctually, he thought at first of deferring the Council until the 1st of January.[6] To the Signoria of Venice the Pope sent his thanks at once in a brief that was read aloud in Venice on the 5th of October.[7] In a secret consistory on October the 8th it was agreed that the prorogation of the Council should be prolonged to the 1st of May 1538.[8] The Bull announcing the choice of Vicenza and the second

[1] Against Morsolin's statement that the decree was issued on Sept. 15, see EHSES, IV., 135, n.

[2] MORSOLIN, 47, Doc. II.

[3] Letter of Cardinal Farnese (or of some other, at the Pope's command) to the "maestro di casa" Alessandro Guidiccioni, from Nepi, Sept. 29, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 134 *seq.*

[4] For the readiness of Vicenza to receive the Council at that time, see MORSOLIN, 17–20.

[5] See Contarini's letter of Oct. 1, 1537, in Quellen u. Forschungen, II., 174, and F. Peregrino's *report, Rome, Oct. 8, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] "Non per via de prorogation, ma de extensione"; see *supra*, n. 3, for the letter of Sept. 29, quoted by EHSES, IV., 135.

[7] MORSOLIN, 13 *seq.*

[8] EHSES, IV., 135 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 217 *seq.*

prorogation up to May the 1st is also dated the 8th of October;[1] Aleander was the draftsman. In briefs of the 18th of October these measures were announced to the Christian Princes.[2]

It was thought in Rome in November that the Pope, as soon as the Christmas celebrations were over, would leave for Bologna and from there proceed to Vicenza. As usual, opposition was shown by the Cardinals to the departure of the Supreme Pontiff, but Paul III. did not show any inclination to consider their wishes. In December he spoke decidedly of his wish to undertake the journey northwards in January. Nevertheless, there were not a few in Rome who persisted in their belief that the Synod after all would meet there; others suspected the good-will of the Venetians.[3]

On the 5th of December 1537 the Bishops Matteo Giberti of Verona and Ugo Rangoni of Reggio were nominated nuncios in secret consistory. They were first to go to Venice and express the Pope's thanks in person to the Signoria, and then to Vicenza.[4] After they had both fulfilled their mission to Venice[5] they left that city for Vicenza[6] on the 23rd of January 1538 in order to set on foot the

[1] EHSES, IV., 135 *seq.* *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 13 *seq.*; MERKLE, I., 409 *seq.*

[2] The Brief to the Emperor in EHSES, IV., 138 *seq.* *Cf.* the announcement of the same by Ricalcati to Morone on Oct. 10, 1537, in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 217, 218, n.

[3] Together with reports in MORSOLIN, 29 *seqq.*, *cf.* also the **letters of F. Peregrino of Nov. 6 and 10 and Dec. 12, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Ibid.*, a *letter of N. Sernini to Cardinal Gonzaga of Jan. 28, 1538, according to which the Pope had declared his intention to make an early start, which Sernini doubted.

[4] MORSOLIN, 23 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 141, n.

[5] Giberti had reached Venice by Jan. 14 and was waiting for Rangoni's arrival (MORSOLIN, 25).

[6] MORSOLIN, 25.

external preparations for the Council. Their first business was to arrange quarters for the expected Princes and prelates, and then to see to the structural alterations in the cathedral, where the sessions of the Council were to be held.[1]

In a consistory of the 19th of December 1537 Legates were appointed to discuss the affairs of the Council together with the preliminary peace negotiations : Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi to the Emperor, and Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi to the King of France.[2] Jacobazzi, who joined the Emperor's court at Barcelona on the 17th of January 1538, afterwards had repeated conversations with Covos and Granvelle. The latter declared that Charles V. would leave nothing undone to secure the accomplishment of this sacred and necessary work The only point, therefore, that called for discussion was whether the Pope would be successful in obviating the hindrances arising in other directions, especially the opposition of the German Protestants, who were not only themselves animated by hostility to the Council and striving for a national synod, but by their threatening attitude were also hindering the Catholic Princes and prelates of Germany from attending the Council. A second obstacle of importance was created by the position taken up by the King of England, who was doing all in his power to incite Francis I. and Charles V. against the Holy See.

The promptings of Henry VIII. produced no effect on

[1] *Cf.* the reports of the Bishop of Reggio to Cardinal Farnese from Vicenza on Jan. 27 (EHSES, IV., 145 *seq.*), Jan. 30 (*ibid.*, 146), and Feb. 5 (*ibid.*, 150 *seq.*). *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 26 *seqq.*, 48, Doc. III.–V., and CAPASSO, Legati, 6 *seq.* The citizens of Vicenza do not seem to have shown much enthusiasm for the Council. It was very difficult to find proper persons who were willing to undertake the preparations for the accommodation of the members.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, 147–149 ; EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 315 *seqq.* ; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, No. 115 ; KORTE, 8 *seqq.*

the Emperor.[1] With Francis I., on the contrary, they were not unsuccessful. Cardinal Carpi, as well as the nuncio Ferreri,[2] reported the King to have declared that he would have nothing to do with the Council previous to the conclusion of peace. According to Carpi's despatches the King made his participation in the war against the Turks and the Lutherans, as well as in the Council, contingent upon the prior surrender of Milan into his hands. On the other hand Ferdinand I., in his reply to the brief of the 18th of October, expressed great joy and his gratitude to the Pope, as well as his entire readiness to help on the Council in every way.[3]

The beginning of the new year saw the Pope actively

[1] See in EHSES, 147 *seq.*, Jacobazzi's letter to Cardinal Farnese of Feb. 1, 1538. Jacobazzi also sends a like account of the Emperor's good-will in a later letter of March 7, in EHSES, IV., 148.

[2] Cardinal Carpi to Cardinals Jacobazzi and Farnese, from Moulins, Feb. 8, 1538; Ferreri to Cardinal Farnese, from Moulins, Feb. 13, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 148 *seq.*; *cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 316 *seq.*

[3] King Ferdinand to the Pope, from Krems, Dec. 15, 1537, in EHSES, IV., 142. *Cf.* also Morone's report to Ricalcati, Dec. 15, 1537, in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 241 *seq.* Morone previously had given repeated intimations that opinion in Germany called for a council under any circumstances as the only means of warding off the threatened national council (to Ricalcati, Oct. 12, 1537, in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 221; Oct. 22, 1537, *ibid.*, 229 *seq.*). On the first announcement of the prorogation from Nov. 1 to May 1 he had expressed, from the same point of view, his great displeasure at this step (to Ricalcati, Oct. 30, 1537, *ibid.*, 234 *seq.*). On Feb. 11, 1538, Morone again wrote (*ibid.*, 252 *seq.*) that the Council must be opened on the date fixed if the Pope were not to lose all credit with the Catholics of Germany, whose expectations had so long been at such a pitch. The Emperor, besides, as Morone reported later (to Farnese, March 6, 1538, *ibid.*, 257), expressed his disapproval of King Ferdinand's letter to the Pope, mentioned above, with its unconditional compliance.

engaged in making preparations for the general assembly of the Church. In the consistory of the 7th of January 1538 he nominated for this purpose a commission of nine Cardinals: this consisted of the Cardinal-Bishops de Cupis and Campeggio, the Cardinal-priests Ghinucci, Simonetta, Contarini, Carafa, and Sadoleto, the Cardinal-deacons Cesarini and Pole, who were also the most distinguished members of the Sacred College[1] and the most friendly to the movement of reform. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga then wrote to Contarini that he could not believe that the Princes could maintain much longer their opposition to the Council. Gonzaga's expectations and hopes went so far as to lead him to suppose that the influx of those attending the Council would be so great that the walls of Vicenza would be incapable of holding them.[2]

The commission appointed in January lost no time in setting to work. There was a mass of questions to be answered. Who should preside over the Council—the Pope or his Legates? Who was to have the right of voting? How were votes to be given? What learned experts were to be asked to assist? Were settled points of doctrine to be reopened to discussion? A question of great importance was whether attempts at union with the Protestants were to be made, or whether the Council was to rest satisfied with an authoritative repudiation of their doctrines. Further still, what position was to be taken towards the grievances of the German nation, and the demands made even in Catholic quarters for the administration of the chalice to the laity and the permission of marriage to the clergy? And there yet remained the problem, how discussion on the Pope's relationship to the Council, a point never definitely settled by the Synods of

[1] EHSES, IV., 142. *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 33 *seq.*; KORTE, 13.

[2] See letter in Quellen und Forschungen, II., 183.

the 15th century, was to be prevented. Nor was it of less importance to meet on some assured basis the claims of the Princes to intrude on the juridical sphere of the Church.

Outside of German affairs the English schism and the recovery of the Scandinavian kingdoms called for consideration. Together with these questions of supreme moment there were others, such as the utilization of monastic buildings either abandoned or despoiled, and the efficient maintenance of peace and order in Rome—questions, seemingly no doubt of inferior importance, but not on that account to be treated with indifference.[1] Business of such magnitude necessarily called for a division of labour. Accordingly Campeggio was requested by the commission to make proposals as to the position to be taken with regard to the "grievances of the German nation." This choice hardly calls for explanation, since this Cardinal, together with his brother Tommaso, had already, in 1536, gone thoroughly into the circumstances, and had drawn up an exhaustive report on the difficulties of the question. Points of dogma were entrusted to the experienced hands of Contarini, who for the purposes of his task formed a special sub-committee of theologians with whom he was in constant consultation.[2]

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 345 *seq.* The same author published (Regesten, 290–294) two documents on the work of the commission of Cardinals, which he is inclined to ascribe to Contarini. EHSES, who has once more published them (IV., 151 *seq.*), shows, however, that the first of the two certainly belongs to Lorenzo Campeggio. As regards the second, nothing certain can be affirmed, coming, as it does, as an instruction from the commission as a whole. To this group belongs also Campeggio's report on the procedure of the Council, given by EHSES in two different versions of January (IV., 143 *seqq.*) and March 10 (IV., 151 *seq.*).

[2] See Contarini's letter, Feb. 8, 1538, in Quellen und Forschungen, II., 188 For the rejoinder of the two Campeggio's to the 100 gravamina

The commission of Cardinals also submitted to thorough discussion the question whether the Pope should go in person to Vicenza or send Legates in advance. Their decision was given in consistory on the 20th of March 1538; it was to the effect that, in view of the uncertainty of the opening of the Council on account of the continuance of the war, the Pope should not run the risk of a premature appearance in Vicenza, but be preceded there by Cardinal-Legates. At the same time, however, proof should be given that, where the welfare of Christendom was under consideration, the aged Pope would not shrink even from personal exertions. Accordingly it was resolved that, in order to promote peace between the Emperor and Francis I., Paul III. should betake himself to northern Italy. If this great and difficult task were accomplished, the Council would also become a certainty, and the Pope then might without danger proceed to Vicenza.[1]

The Legates appointed on the 20th of March 1538 were Cardinals Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander.[2] All three seemed eminently suited for the task; Campeggio had taken a very important part in the discussions of the commission, and proved his acquaintance with the questions under debate; Simonetta ranked high as an expert in canon law; Aleander, who only a week before, on the 13th of March,

of the German Nation, see Nuntiaturberichte, II., 1 *seq.*, where the whole tractate is carefully published in the appendices (342 *seq.*).

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 6, n. 1–2. The passages of the Acta Consist. on the Legates in EHSES, IV., 156, n. 1. The only notice of the Pope's journey is: *Creavit [S. D. N.] legatum de latere rev. dom. Neapolitanum, ut esset legatus urbis in discessu S^tis^ Suae Niciam versus, quem parabat ad conciliandos inter se christianos principes jam pridem dissidentes non sine pernicie fidei et reipublicae christ. (Consistorial Archives, Vatican).

[2] The Bull of nomination of March 20, in EHSES, IV., 156 *seq.* *Cf.* MORSOLIN, 35; CAPASSO, Legati, 7 *seq.*; MERKLE, I., 411.

had received the purple, was undoubtedly one of the most competent judges of the intricate affairs of Germany, and had also already in the two previous years applied himself thoroughly to conciliar affairs.

The Legates ought, as soon as they were nominated, to have set out for Vicenza. But their departure from Rome was somewhat retarded, as the necessary funds were not forthcoming, and there was also a delay in the preparation of the necessary Bulls.[1] Aleander started on the 1st of April and Simonetta on the following day,[2] but Campeggio, owing to illness, was unable to follow them at once. Aleander, in the first instance, went to Venice to procure from thence books and documents which he had need of for the Council; then, on the 15th of April he went on to Padua, there to await both his colleagues, in order to make a simultaneous entry with them into Vicenza.[3] The intention of the Legates to make their solemn entry into that city on the 1st of May was frustrated by Campeggio's illness. It was not until the 24th of April, when Aleander already had been waiting nine days in the Benedictine monastery of St. Justina in Padua, and Simonetta in the adjacent Benedictine house in Praglia,[4] that news reached them from Campeggio, who informed them from Loiano, in the neighbourhood of Bologna,[5] that he had reached that place on the 22nd of

[1] *Cf.* CAPASSO, Legati, 9 *seqq.* See also **R. Sernini's report of March 23, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] According to Aleander's letter to Farnese, written before the departure, on April 1; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 40, n. 5; EHSES, IV., 158, n. 5.

[3] Aleander to Paul III., from Venice, on April 13, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 157 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 162.

[5] Campeggio to Simonetta and Aleander, April 22, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 158 *seq.*

April and left on the following day to keep Easter week in Bologna, but that he intended to begin his journey to Padua on April the 29th, where he hoped to arrive in about four days. Thereupon Aleander and Simonetta hesitated whether they should wait for Campeggio or make their entrance without him on the 1st of May into Vicenza—a step which seemed to them of great importance in view of the tone of feeling in Germany. In the event they determined, out of consideration for Campeggio, to wait until May the 4th,[1] and communicated their resolve to him. The Papal Master of Ceremonies, Giovanni Francesco Firmano, who was to have assisted at the entrance of the Legates, reached Vicenza on the 14th of April, but on the 24th was again recalled by the Pope to Piacenza.[2]

Paul III. had set out on his journey to Nice to negotiate a peace between Charles V. and Francis I. on the 23rd of March, but while on his way he had received tidings from Vicenza that no one had appeared there from Germany or elsewhere to attend the Council.[3] The date of the opening was close at hand without there being any possibility of giving effect to it. The Pope therefore saw himself compelled to announce from Piacenza on the 25th

[1] Aleander to Simonetta from Padua on April 24, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 159 *seq.*; *cf.* Aleander's letter to Farnese from Padua, April 25, 1538, given in part by EHSES, IV., 162 *seq.* Campeggio thanked him on April 26, and wished him to hasten his arrival in Padua by some days; *cf. ibid.*, 164, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 160, n. 4, 163, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* Rangoni's letter from Vicenza to Farnese of March 20, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 157. Here also he writes that the Vicentini do not place any belief in the Council. A later letter of Rangoni's to Farnese, of April 24, on the continued abstention of the prelates, did not reach Piacenza till the 28th, after the prorogation (*ibid.*, 160).

of April 1538 that the Council was once more postponed until a further decision was arrived at.[1]

On receiving this intelligence the Legates thought that there would only be a short respite; they wished, even if the Pope should further decide not to furnish them with official powers to open the Council, to carry out nevertheless their solemn entry into Vicenza as previously intended, for they considered that their presence there was now necessary, as otherwise they would only confirm the ill-disposed in their belief that the Council had never been seriously intended. After Campeggio had met his two colleagues in Padua on the 1st of May, their entry was positively fixed for the 12th, unless in the meantime they received a prohibition from the Pope. As this did not take place, and the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, was actually sent by Paul III. to assist them, the entry was made on the appointed day with full ceremonial, as the Legates at once reported.[2] The burgesses of Vicenza, who had hitherto viewed the whole proceeding with indifference, ordered a costly baldachino to be got ready for the Legates; still much remained to be done to complete the repairs of the Cathedral.[3] Only five bishops

[1] The decree of the congregation of Cardinals of April 25 and the Bull dated the same day are in EHSES, IV., 161 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 163 *seq.* Cardinal Ghinucci's letter of April 27, to the conciliar Legates, accompanied by a brief of the 25th, and Aleander's answer to Ghinucci of the 28th.

[2] Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander to the Pope from Vicenza, May 13, 1538, in CAPASSO, Legati, 36 *seq.* Simonetta to Farnese on the same day, *ibid.*, 38. *Cf.* MORSOLIN, Nuovi particolari, 6–10; CAPASSO, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 166, n. 5.

[3] The Papal chamberlain, Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, sent to Vicenza to be overseer of the works, came there from Venice on March 28, bringing with him the architect Jacopo Sansovino; he stayed three days, and on April 2 reported to Farnese from Venice on the

took part in the entry with the Legates, namely, in addition to Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, the Cardinal's brother, the two nuncios Rangoni and Giberti, Pietro Paolo Vergerio of Capo d'Istria, and Filippo Donato of Retimo.[1] There was also present in Vicenza since the 30th of April[2] Johannes Magnus Store, Archbishop of Upsala, banished from Sweden and now sojourning in Rome. He, however, was hindered by illness from taking part in the solemnities of the entrance.[3]

While Paul III., on meeting the monarchs at Nice, achieved a partial political success and on the 18th of June was able to conclude between them a ten years' cessation of hostilities, he found that both evinced towards a speedy opening of the Council a disposition than which nothing could be less favourable. The Emperor was as much convinced as ever of the necessity for a General Council, but in presence of the widespread indifference throughout the world, his enthusiasm also began to slacken. Francis I., instigated against the Council[4] by Henry of England, made no further concealment of his objections to the choice of locality. In his second conference with Paul III. Francis rejected, with laughter, the proposal that Milan should be held for three years by King Ferdinand while he should at once give up

state of affairs. *Cf.* MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 12 *seqq.* On April 8 Farnese instructed Ricci for the second time to see to the repairs of the cathedral of Vicenza. *Letter of that date in the Ricci Archives, Rome.

[1] *Cf.* the Legate's letter of May 13, quoted *supra*, p 114, n. 2. See also CAPASSO, *loc. cit.*, 15 ; MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 10 *seq.*

[2] Rangoni to Farnese, April 30, 1538, from Vicenza, in EHSES, IV., 164.

[3] Report of the Legates of May 13 ; CAPASSO, 15 ; MORSOLIN, 10 *seq.* Compare also the letter of the Legates to Farnese from Vicenza of July 8, 1538, in EHSES, IV., 170 ; also 171, n. 2.

[4] See Chastillon's reports in KAULEK, 20, 60 ; KORTE, 15.

his alliance with the Turks and agree to a council. It would be much "more honourable," he observed, if the Pope, perhaps, or Venice, were to be the depository of Milan, but even in this case he could give no pledges to the Emperor regarding the Council.[1] The Pope's proposal, that Francis as well as Charles should send at once the prelates at their respective courts to Vicenza with commands to the others to withdraw, had not the slightest chance of success. On their journey together to Genoa the question of the Council was once more made the subject of close discussion between Paul III. and Charles V.[2] Both at last came to the agreement that the Synod must again be put off until Easter in the following year.[3] This was settled in a congregation of Cardinals at Genoa on the 28th of June 1538.[4] The Bull[5] dated from that city on the same day gave as the reason for this third prorogation the wishes of the Emperor, of the King of France, and of King Ferdinand, as well as the non-appearance of the bishops at Vicenza.

The Bull of the 28th of June 1538 was not sent off until August the 2nd, and reached the Legates on the 9th, on which day accordingly their functions came to an end.[6]

[1] See Venetian Despatches, I., 130 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KORTE, 16 *seq.*

[3] This was not on April 21, as MORSOLIN, Il Concilio di Vicenza, 42, and CAPASSO, *loc. cit.*, 28, reckon, but on April 6, 1539: in 1538 Easter fell on April 21, see KORTE, 78.

[4] EHSES, IV., 167.

[5] *Ibid.*, 167 *seq.* *Cf.* also MORSOLIN, 42; CAPASSO, 17 *seq.*; KORTE, 16 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*; also, Massarelli Diarium Secundum, in MERKLE, I., 412. The reasons for the prorogation were also set forth in the writing: Causae, propter quas Sanct^mus^ D. N. ad praesens prorogat celebrationem concilii, c., 14 Julii 1538, in EHSES, IV., 171–173.

[6] EHSES, IV., 171, n. 2, 3. The first information reached them through a letter of Cardinal Ghinucci to Aleander of June 29 (*ibid.*,

Copies of this document were despatched to the nuncios at the court of the Emperor, of King Ferdinand, and of the Kings of France and Portugal, with orders that they should be published and disseminated through the press.[1] The nuncios in Spain, France, and Portugal were also specially enjoined,[2] in letters dated the 30th of August from Cardinal Farnese, to impress strongly on the prelates of those countries to assemble at Vicenza at the following Easter without waiting for fresh citations, for it was the hope of Paul III., now that concord had been restored between the two monarchs, that the Council, by God's grace, might be enabled to meet, under any circumstances, at the time indicated.

The Pope had done all he could to show the sincerity of his wish to make the Council at Vicenza a reality. If circumstances had stood in the way and made the opening in May 1538 an impossibility, he at least was not to blame; no ground could be adduced to throw doubt on the sincerity of the zeal displayed by him on that important occasion.[3]

No mention had been made in the Bull of the 28th of June of a point which had a bearing on the prorogation of the Council to the following year. This was the notion

168 *seq.*); afterwards the Bull was announced in a letter of Farnese's to Aleander of July 6 (EHSES, 169, and Nuntiaturberichte, III., 100 *seqq.*).

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 318. The Brief to Morone of Aug. 26, in EHSES, IV., 170. This was renewed on Oct. 7 for Morone's successor Fabio Mignanelli; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, III., 215. The Briefs to the nuncios in France, Spain, and Portugal are dated Aug. 27 (EHSES, IV., 173).

[2] EHSES, IV., 174; *cf.* EHSES, Franz I., 318.

[3] *Cf.* KORTE, 17 *seq.*, who defends the sincerity of the exertions of Paul III. on behalf of the Council in the summer of 1538, but perceives a reaction in his conciliar policy at a later date owing to the failure of his previous efforts.

first suggested personally[1] in May 1538 by the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg to King Ferdinand, that independently of the Council, which was still indeed rejected by the Lutherans, an attempt should be made in Germany to come to an understanding with the latter, for which purpose the Pope might send commissaries to that country. Joachim was of opinion that certain concessions, especially with respect to the administration of the chalice to the laity and the marriage of the clergy, would be indispensable. Ferdinand, who grasped eagerly at the idea of such an attempt at an understanding—for in the interests of a strong movement against the Turks his whole heart was in the unification of Germany—wished Joachim to make the suggestion to the Emperor, who could discuss it with the Pope.[2] He took the nuncio Morone into his confidence in order that the latter might inform Paul III. beforehand of the scheme. Morone did so in a despatch of the 2nd of June, although the plan seemed to him open to objection on account of the demand for concessions; but he suggested that the Pope might perhaps during the Council order a committee to sit,[3] in lieu of the Synod, to consider terms of agreement with the Protestants, although certainly not in the sense of Joachim's proposal. Very soon afterwards Ferdinand again returned to the subject with the nuncio,[4] and the latter now took the view that the Pope must either go forward with the Council and propose concessions or send commissaries to Germany as desired, for otherwise

[1] See Morone's report to Farnese from Breslau, June 2, 1538, in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 294; *cf. ibid.*, 52 *seqq.*; KORTE, 16 *seq.*; and ROSENBERG, 41 *seq.*

[2] Ferdinand's letter to Charles V. from Breslau, June 3, in Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 445 *seqq.*

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 53, 295.

[4] See Morone's reports (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 300), June 7 and 10, *ibid.*, 300.

the Papal authority and obedience in Germany would be in the greatest danger.[1]

When Charles V. and Paul III. had their last conference in Genoa at the end of June 1538, the former had come round to his brother's suggestion of a "Concordia," while the Pope had also been informed of this scheme in Morone's letter of June the 2nd.[2] Ferdinand's proposal strengthened the Emperor in his wish to obtain a postponement of the Council to a very decided degree; the Pope, under existing circumstances, had no other course left to him than to assent. Thus simultaneously with the prorogation of the Council the despatch of Cardinal Aleander to Germany was agreed to between the two supreme heads of Christendom.[3]

The first intimation of the mission awaiting him was received by Aleander through Ghinucci's letter of the 29th of June.[4] His nomination took place at Lucca in a consistory held on July the 4th.[5] From the same day dated the Bull[6] conferring on him full powers "to take measures not repugnant to the Christian religion and the orthodox faith" to restore the separated members of Germany to the unity of the Church in accordance with the idea originated by the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg and advocated by the King of the Romans. Further details concerning his mission were communicated to him by Fabio Mignanelli, who had formed one of the Pope's suite at Nice and Genoa and been appointed to accompany Aleander into Germany.

[1] See Morone's report, June 14, in Nuntiaturberichte, II., 308 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 55.

[3] KORTE, 17, 75 *seq.*; ROSENBERG, 38 *seq.*

[4] EHSES, IV., 169; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 102.

[5] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 93; *ibid.*, 93 *seq.*, the three Bulls for his commission in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, with the instructions.

[6] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 93 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 95, the Brief to King Ferdinand of July 5, by which Aleander was accredited to him.

Mignanelli was instructed to convey to the latter Farnese's letter of the 6th of July, and to supply him provisionally with further instructions.[1]

Aleander, in a letter dated July the 14th,[2] announced to the Pope his acceptance of the task proposed to him. He was under orders to start from Vicenza for Germany as quickly as possible,[3] but owing to various causes his departure was delayed; it was the 13th of August[4] when he at last got away. In the beginning of September Aleander and King Ferdinand met at Linz.[5] Mignanelli,[6] appointed to succeed Morone as nuncio to Ferdinand on the 3rd of September, followed him in the same month. Aleander's mission to Germany,[7] as far as it concerned questions of religion, was quite unsuccessful. He personally was full of enthusiasm and devotion for his task, but neither with the King, to whom his appointment was from the first unacceptable,[8] nor in any other quarter did

[1] EHSES, IV., 169; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 102.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 103 *seq.*

[3] Farnese to Aleander, July 15, 1538, in the Nuntiaturberichte, III., 111 *seq.*

[4] Aleander to Farnese, Aug. 15, 1538, *ibid.*, III., 129.

[5] Aleander to Farnese from Linz, Sept. 7, 1538; *ibid.*, III., 150.

[6] The documents concerning his mission, *ibid.*, III., 137 *seqq.* Mignanelli reached Linz on Oct. 5; *ibid.*, 188.

[7] The documents in their entirety have been made accessible by FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, Vols. III. and IV.: Legation Aleanders, 1538–1539. In IV., 229–401, of the same, Aleander's diary during his legation in Germany from Oct. 1538 to Aug. 1539. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 8; KORTE, 19 *seqq.* See also, for a criticism of the Legation, L. ROCCO, Aleandro, Treviso, 1896, 61 *seqq.*

[8] On the announcement of Aleander's appointment, Ferdinand, who was in favour of the delegation of several commissioners and not of a single Cardinal-Legate, expressed to Morone his objections to the mission of Aleander who, precisely on account of his strong opinions, was an object of hatred to the Lutherans. The King was of opinion

he meet with sympathy and support. By the Protestants, to whom he was an object of particular odium as the author of the Edict of Worms, his presence in Germany was as good as totally ignored, and the Legate found himself excluded from any participation in negotiations passing between the two parties.[1]

Nor was the question of the Council helped by Aleander's legation. The religious policy of Charles V. and his brother had received a direction from their adoption of the scheme of concord, which stood for years to come in the way of the realization of a General Council of the Church. When on the 2nd of November the nuncio Mignanelli presented to Ferdinand the Bull for the prorogation,[2] the latter certainly gave the fullest assurances with regard to his future attitude towards the Council, but very soon afterwards he changed his tone.[3] In the course of a long conversation with Aleander on the 8th of December he spoke of the necessity of a "true and general reform in Christendom" as the only remedy, but said not a word in mention of the Council.[4] Mignanelli, to whom the

that he ought to have been accompanied at least by one other Legate, Sadoleto or Contarini, less objectionable to the Protestant party, if Morone were not to be coupled with him as a coadjutor. Morone to Farnese, July 24 (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 320) and Aug. 2, 1538 (*ibid.*, 325 *seq.*); *cf. ibid.*, II., 55 *seq.*; III., 55.

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, III., 56.

[2] Aleander and Mignanelli to Farnese, Nov. 2, 1538; *ibid.*, III., 227 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* KORTE, 23 *seq.*

[4] Aleander and Mignanelli to Farnese from Vienna, Dec. 10, 1538, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 293; Aleander's Diary for Dec. 8, 1538 (*ibid.*, IV., 246 *seq.*). When on Feb. 26 Aleander complained of the abstention of the prelates, Ferdinand excused their conduct: the prelates had never seriously believed in the assembly of the Council, and therefore wished to spare themselves trouble and expense; the matter therefore lay with the Emperor, who could have induced them

Imperial envoy Johann von Weeze, formerly Archbishop of Lund, as well as Cardinal Cles of Trent and others at court gave only negative replies when the question of the Council was brought up, came himself to think that it would be useless to hold one without the assistance of the lapsed Catholics and without the power of bringing them under obedience; to do so would only bring on the Pope personally needless trouble, and expose Rome and the Holy See to great danger without any previous certainty of success.[1]

Aleander, after his experience of the non-committal attitude of the Princes and diplomatists, could not have any hope of anything better even if, in the circles of the Catholic theologians, he still found much earnest sympathy with the Council. As from the Bishop of Vienna, Johann Faber, who had also submitted to the Pope, through his agents in Rome, a forcible entreaty to hold the Council, so also Aleander reported to Farnese,[2] on the 22nd of February 1539, that there reached him numerous written and personal inquiries as to the Synod from other prelates and learned men who in the ecclesiastical distress of Germany were clamouring for the Council as drowning men clamour for succour. The substance of his answer had always been that the Pope, by the summonses to the Council already issued, had shown his sincere wish to convene that assembly, but the hindrances to it had become so formidable that only the most limited hopes of success could be entertained. But,

to come if he had expressed his fixed intention of being present himself. Since he had not done this, the prelates also stayed away. See Aleander's Diary for Feb. 26, 1539, in Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 324 *seq.*

[1] Mignanelli to Farnese from Vienna, Feb. 21, 1539, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 455.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., 457 *seqq.*

on the other hand, he had also called attention to the nature of those hindrances: to the attitude of the Lutherans, who, in contradiction to their earlier appeals to a council, were now declaring that they were determined to adhere to their errors; to the non-appearance of the prelates at the appointed time for the opening of the Council in the past year at Vicenza for, whether unable or unwilling to come themselves, they had not, in a single instance, sent procurators or written letters of apology; and lastly, to the notorious behaviour of the temporal Princes, as yet the reverse of friendly to the meeting of the Synod. This ought to convince them that the Pope was as sincere in his intentions concerning the Œcumenical Council as he was in his efforts to bring about peace between Christian Princes, and that the fault did not lie with him if the Council were not held. In this sense he had replied to Faber and Nausea and written to Eck and Cochlaeus, who were to communicate his opinion to all those whose demands for the Council found such vehement expression. Aleander thought it would be an excellent thing if similar answers to inquiries were to be sent from Rome also, and corresponding instructions issued as well to every nuncio abroad.

Not less unpropitious was the attitude of France in spite of the armistice of Nice.[1] The nuncio Filiberto Ferreri wrote from Laon on the 28th of October 1538[2] that, on presenting the Bull of prorogation to the Constable Montmorency, he had represented to the latter that, notwithstanding the Turkish danger, there would be no impossibility in holding the Council at the time appointed and getting through its most important business quickly and easily, if the King of

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 318 *seqq.*; KORTE, 22 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 174 *seq.*

France and the Emperor would throw for a while their particular interests into the background and make common cause together to bring the German Protestants into submission and a temper of obedience to the Church; the war against the Turk would not thereby suffer, but at last be put in a condition, through the combined participation of united Christendom, to achieve substantial success. Montmorency certainly showed that personally he was in sympathy, but he explained to the nuncio that the King would not agree to the Council, nor permit the publication of the Bull of prorogation, unless his "own" (that is, Milan) was first of all restored to him; on the German Protestants he could only bring friendly representations to bear; to take in hand an understanding with them was the affair of the Emperor. To the nuncio's reply that the Pope was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Montmorency's only rejoinder was to repeat once more that without a peace and the restoration of Milan neither the Council nor the Turkish war could be thought of. In January 1539 the Papal chamberlain, Latino Giovenale Manetti,[1] sent to France with special instructions, also reminded Francis of the Council in his presentation audience.[2] He received the answer that no success could be anticipated from such an assembly until peace had previously been concluded between the King and the Emperor, and both could intervene with their authority for the execution of the decrees of the Council.

Farnese at once informed the ambassador at the Imperial court, Giovanni Poggio,[3] and the Legate Aleander,[4] of

[1] His instructions, Dec. 24, 1538, in PIEPER, 160–162.

[2] His report of Jan. 21, 1539, to Farnese in Nuntiaturberichte, III., 379 *seq.*

[3] Of Feb. 12, 1539, in Nuntiaturberichte, III., 427 *seqq.*

[4] Of Feb. 13, 1539, *ibid.*, 431 *seqq.*

Manetti's mission to France and the reply made to him by Francis I. Paul III., in the first instance, wished that, in the interest of the Turkish war, the Emperor should be in Italy in the spring; this would also be of advantage to the affairs of the Council; with regard to the latter, the Pope was of opinion that it was neither serviceable nor honourable to have repeated prorogations, since thereby an opportunity was only given for the ill-disposed and calumnious to vent their fury.[1]

Paul III., in spite of the unfavourable reports that continued to come in from the various courts, did not despair of the possibility of holding the Council. On the 30th of March 1539 Farnese instructed the nuncio Ferreri[2] to urge incessantly on Francis I. that the bishops of his kingdom should now go to Vicenza. But the only answer given to the nuncio, as he informed Farnese on May the 9th,[3] was the declaration of the Constable that the Pope must not open any council, which would still be only an Italian council, until he had succeeded in bringing back the Lutherans to the Church. On the 13th of May, Manetti left France on his return to Rome, and reported that Francis would have no council without the Lutherans, and therefore objected to Vicenza, as they would not go there; but he was also against one in Germany, and proposed Lyons, or at any rate a French city.[4]

In April 1539 the Pope was still waiting for a favourable decision on the Emperor's part concerning the Council,

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 431, 432. So also to the nuncio Ferreri, March 30; see the following note.

[2] EHSES, IV., 176. In like manner the other nuncios were enjoined to urge on the Princes concerned the appearance of their prelates at the Council; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 177.

[3] EHSES, IV., 176, n. 2; Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 55, n. 1.

[4] Farnese to Aleander, May 15, 1539, *ibid.*, IV., 54 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 179, n.

and asked for one repeatedly, as the date of opening was drawing near and the despatch of the Legates to Vicenza could not be deferred much longer.[1] Instead of this, the compliancy of the Imperial diplomatists led at this moment to the conclusion, in Germany, on the 19th of April 1539, of certain very questionable agreements with the Protestants known as the Respite of Frankfort.[2] According to this arrangement, from the 1st of May onwards, for fifteen months, a "Respite" was to be guaranteed to the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg, during which period none of them was to be molested on account of his religion, while the procedure of the Imperial Court of Chancery was also to be suspended. In return the Protestants were to refrain from all acts of aggression against the Catholics, but on the 1st of August a committee of

[1] Farnese to Poggio, April 12, 1539, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 535. The document concerning the Council also in EHSES, IV., 176. Farnese to Poggio, April 23, 1539, in Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 26 *seq.*, and in EHSES, IV., 177.

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 508 *seqq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 425 *seqq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Geschichte Karls V., III., 385 *seqq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 80 *seqq.*; EHSES, IV., 178, n. 2; 181, n. 1. For the connection between this proceeding, which was also of such great importance for the Council, with the treacherous policy of Francis I., *cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 320 *seq.*: "The primary reason for this pernicious arrangement of Frankfort must again be sought for in the policy of Francis I. For the compliance of Charles and Ferdinand towards the Protestants was wrung from them by the imperious necessity of finding funds for the Turkish war; but if Francis had not been the keenest ally of the Turk as well as of the Protestants, and at the same time ready at any moment to fall upon the Emperor while the latter was at grips with the enemy of Christendom, there would have been no necessity for the Imperial brothers to trouble themselves about Protestant help against the Turks, and still less, if even they had done so, to make to them such comprehensive concessions.'

learned theologians and pious, peace-loving laymen was to meet at Nuremberg to discuss the terms of an agreement in matters of religion. The stipulation to include the laity encroached upon the constitution of the Catholic Church, and was therefore inadmissible by the Pope and the Catholic Estates.[1] According to the Catholic conception the decision on matters of faith was vested exclusively in the authorities of the Church, the Pope and the Council. The Protestants, on the contrary, wished to set aside Pope and Council and decide on matters of religion through a conference of theologians and laymen approaching closely[2] in form to a national council. This was in conformity with the Respite of Frankfort, against which the Cardinal-Legate Aleander opened a campaign bearing witness to the vehemence of his temperament.[3] In consequence of his reports, the Pope, taking advantage of the mission of condolence on the death of the Empress, despatched to Spain in May under Cardinal Farnese,[4] laid before the Emperor, as he also did later through Giovanni

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 508 *seq.* See also LANZ, Staatspapiere, XIX., and ARMSTRONG, I., 325.

[2] LANZ, *loc. cit.*, I., 393.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 83 *seq.*; IV., 80 *seq.*, 88, 90 *seq.*, 119 *seq.*, 519 *seqq.* See *ibid.*, 583 *seq.*, Faber's opinion. Pole and Contarini also spoke strongly against the Frankfurt decisions; see DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 509 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 9; QUIRINI, Ep. Poli, II., cclxxxi *seqq.*; PIEPER, 118 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 69, 156, 466. The instruction for Farnese, published by PIEPER, 163 *seq.*, is also in Inf. polit., XII., 155 *seq.* of the Berlin Library. A better MS. from Naples was seen by me in 1897 in the Antiquar St. Goar at Frankfurt-am-Main. According to it we ought to read in PIEPER, p. 163, line 1 from bottom, "vehemente" instead of "vilmente"; p. 163, line 14 from bottom, "il prolungarlo" instead of "di prolungare"; p. 165, line 3 from top, "sforzara" instead of "sforza"; line 1 from bottom, "et che" instead of "il che."

Ricci,[1] appointed nuncio for that purpose, his complaints against the Frankfort resolutions, and begged Charles to refuse to them his ratification.[2]

At the time of the Frankfort negotiations there was much discussion in Rome as to the issue of the conciliar affairs. Opinions were divided; three possibilities were considered: either to open the Council at the time appointed, a course favoured by the majority of the Cardinals, or to prorogue once more, or finally suspend it. The Pope's inclination certainly was to open the Council, but, if again there was no attendance of prelates at Vicenza, to suspend it indefinitely, against which proposal the Imperial ambassador entered a protest in order to demand a fresh prorogation. Paul III. showed, however, as he had already repeatedly declared, that he had no longer any inclination to keep postponing the Council from one date to another, as it was sufficiently well known what injury was thus inflicted on the repute of the Holy See. He succeeded in a short time in winning over the greater number of the Sacred College to his view that the Council must either be held at once or indefinitely postponed until circumstances

[1] *Cf.* for this Garampi (the confidential servant so often entrusted with diplomatic missions by Paul III.), App. 289 *seq.*, and A. Mele, *Genealogia d. famiglia Ricci (MS. in Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] Ricci's instruction, Aug. 20, 1539, in QUIRINI, III., ccic–cccviii; LAEMMER, Mon. Vat. 246–252; improved text in PIEPER, 168 *seq.* See also Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 162, n. 4; partly in BAUMGARTEN, III., Appendix 365–371, which does not know the accepted copy. Ricci received for his journey, on Aug. 20, 1539, 200 scudi, *Mandat., 1537–1541 (State Archives, Rome). The answer of Charles V. to Ricci's representations of Sept. 1539 (DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 22 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 537) was to the effect that what was needed was a reform, and not a ratification, of the Frankfort Recess, which would make a good understanding with the Protestants possible: he was then urgent to arrange for a religious conference, and begged the Pope's approval.

were once more so altered as to offer a real prospect of the Synod becoming a practical possibility.

Accordingly, in a consistory held on the 21st of April, the nomination of the three Conciliar Legates who should proceed to Vicenza took place. At first the three appointments of the previous year—Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander—were reaffirmed. In place of Campeggio, who was already ill and died not long afterwards (20th July), the Cardinal of Ivrea, Bonifacio Ferreri,[1] was chosen on the same day. The departure of the Legates, however, was delayed until the arrival of the Emperor's expected answer.[2] On the 15th of May Aleander was ordered[3] to start for Vicenza as soon as possible, as both his colleagues would also shortly betake themselves thither. But these orders were cancelled on the 26th of May,[4] for in the meantime the suspension of the Council had taken place.

On the 15th or 16th of May[5] the long-expected answer of the Emperor at last arrived. He had communicated it at the end of April to Poggio; its tenor was entirely negative.[6] Nothing could be done under present circumstances with regard to the Council. While the negotiations

[1] GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 54; EHSES, IV., 177, n. 2; MERKLE, I., 413; CAPASSO, Legati, 28; KORTE, 26 *seq.*, 78.

[2] Farnese to the nuncio Poggio, April 23, 1539, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 26 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 177.

[3] Farnese to Aleander, May 15, 1539, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 53.

[4] Durante de' Duranti, Bishop of Alghero, as substitute for the absent Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Farnese, to Aleander, May 26, 1539, in the Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 67. Aleander therefore started from Vienna on his return to Rome on Oct. 9. For his notes on the journey, *ibid.*, 398 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* KORTE, 78 *seq.*, n. 103.

[6] Poggio's letter to Rome is not forthcoming. The content of the Emperor's message is, however, discernible from his letter to Cardinal Pole from Toledo, May 2, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 40; EHSES, IV., 178, n. 3. *Cf.* KORTE, 27.

for concord with the Protestants were pending, Charles could send neither prelates nor any other persons to Vicenza. As at the same time the final and equally negative reply of the French King,[1] as well as the news of the Frankfort resolutions, reached Rome, the possibility of convening the Council seemed now at an end. In a consistory of the 31st of May[2] the suspension for an indefinite period, at the discretion of the Pope and the Holy See,[3] was agreed to. This measure was made known to the Catholic Princes by briefs of June the 10th.[4] The reasons alleged were the attitude of the Emperor, the French King, and King Ferdinand, to whose representations the Pope had yielded.

King Ferdinand, to whom the brief was delivered on the 6th of July[5] by the newly appointed nuncio Morone, to-

[1] See *supra*, p. 125.

[2] In PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 9, n. 1, 10, the wrong date, 30th instead of 31st May.

[3] EHSES, IV., 178; MERKLE, I., 413; Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 67, n. 4. On May 14 Morone had delivered to the Pope a memorial on the means of reconciling the Lutherans to the Church, in which he warned him against the closure of the Council. As long as it remained open it was an object of fear to the Lutherans and of hope to the Catholics, while in the event of its being withdrawn from view the Catholic Estates would be drawn into arbitrary proceedings in religious matters towards their subjects, and thus the danger would be conjured up of the religious questions being dealt with in a Diet of the Empire. Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 406, 407; *cf.* KORTE, 28 *seq.*

[4] The Brief to the Emperor in EHSES, IV., 178, and Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 67, n. 4. In EHSES, IV., 179, the letter accompanying the brief to the King of France, addressed to the nuncio on June 19, 1539. PALLAVICINI'S statement (l. 4, c. 9, n. 1) that on June 13 a Bull was also promulgated, is probably erroneous, as no evidence to this effect is in existence; *cf.* EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 321; EHSES, IV., 179, n. 2.

[5] Morone to Durante, July 6, 1539, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 130; LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 244.

gether with further oral exposition of the reasons for suspension, expressed on this occasion to the nuncio, and again afterwards in a letter to the Pope of the 17th of July,[1] his satisfaction at the suspension under the actual circumstances, while assuming that Paul III. would renew his exertions on behalf of the Council as soon as the condition of affairs permitted. The Emperor, to whom Cardinal Farnese, on the 20th of June, personally communicated the news of the suspension,[2] declared that he would have preferred another prorogation to a fixed date as affording less occasion for unfriendly criticism. Charles V. still wished to preserve the appearance of having always shown on principle a sincere enthusiasm for the Council.[3] The larger share of the blame undoubtedly lay with Francis I.[4] The Pope, least of all, can be held responsible for the failure of the Council of Vicenza, for up to the very last, and to the furthest limits of possibility, he did all in his power to overcome the obstacles before him.[5]

[1] EHSES, IV., 182.

[2] Farnese to Paul III. from Toledo, June 21, 1539, in EHSES, IV., 180. For Farnese's Legation, *cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 9, n. 4 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* KORTE, 29.

[4] EHSES, Franz I. und die Konzilsfrage, 322.

[5] *Ibid.*, "One thing is quite certain: no more unjust charge can be brought against Paul III. than to accuse him of unwillingness to hold the Council. It would be nearer the mark to maintain that his reputation would have suffered less if he had not so often incurred the risk of failing to hold the Council at the appointed time. For since the Council, for which all the world—with the Protestants in the forefront—were clamouring, was now beset by obstacles on all sides, the bitterest opposition coming from Protestant quarters, the Pope might, without blame, have withdrawn into a position of quiet expectancy and awaited a reshaping of affairs which would have excluded the danger of failure. But because he was in earnest to the core he preferred to become the target of his enemies' sharpest ridicule, and the cause of grave misunderstanding to his friends, rather

The conciliar episode of Vicenza was finally closed.[1] In the years immediately following, the dominant idea was the restoration of German unity by means of religious discussions, a policy persisted in by the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand in spite of all the representations and protests of the Pope against this dangerous experiment.[2] If the treatment of religious questions was to be opened by a series of debates, then the idea of the Council was expunged from practical politics. As long as the two rulers of the house of Hapsburg continued on this path, the way was closed to a general assembly of the Church in Council.

than give room for the reproach that he had left any step untried by which to secure for Christendom a truly general and œcumenical Council by which peace within and without its borders might be assured."

[1] MORSOLIN (Il Concilio di Vicenza, 45) is incorrect in assuming that the idea of Vicenza as a meeting-place for the Council was henceforward entirely abandoned; *cf.* for the contrary, CAPASSO, Legati, 32 *seq.*

[2] For the opposition between the Papal and Imperial standpoints on the question of reunion, *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 169 *seqq.*

CHAPTER III.

The Work of Church Reform prior to the Council of Trent.

THE demands for a root-and-branch reform of the Church, which were urged with ever-increasing vehemence, were closely bound up with the question of the Council. It was impossible that a man of such experience as Paul III., for forty long years a member of the Sacred College, could have been blind to the disorders among the higher and lower clergy, prevalent everywhere, but especially in Rome. Moreover, at the very opening of his pontificate he had been informed with perfect candour, by men of noble aspirations, of the true condition of things and the imperative need of a revival of fresh life in the Church.

Most of the works of this character are still unpublished, including the remarkable treatise of the renowned jurist Giovan Battista Caccia of Novara, on the necessity of Church reform.[1] This memorial had been committed to writing while Clement VII. was still on the throne, but its author had not ventured to lay it before the second Pope of the house of Medici.[2] Paul III. stood so high in

[1] *Io. Bapt. Cacia (Novarien. jur. cons.) De fide integranda ac de ecclesia reformanda ad Paulum III. in Cod. Vat., 3659, Vatican Library. For Giov. Batt. Caccia, a pupil of F. Decio, see L. A. Cotta, Museo Novarese, Milano, 1701, Stanza, II., n. 365; and *Mazzuchelli in Cod. Vat., 9263, f. 14.

[2] "*Non quod eum impium et crudelem existimarem," says the author, "sed quod non tanta pietate munitum esse sciebam quantum in te esse boni et fideles omnes praedicant." Cod. Vat., 3659, f. 1, Vatican Library.

the esteem of all friends of real reform that Caccia dedicated his work to him. He had all the more inducement to do this since the election of Farnese had been accomplished with a swiftness, unanimity, and probity for which for a long while there had been no precedent. Like other contemporaries,[1] he also saw in this the good omen of a pontificate rich in blessings.[2] Caccia laid his work before the new Pope without altering a word. In it, as the outcome of long years of familiarity with his subject, he drew a disturbing picture of the tragic conditions of the Church. Caccia's pure and lofty views, his burning eagerness for a "holy reform" and the restoration of "evangelical discipline," are everywhere apparent, even if, as often happens too easily in such cases, the strongly rhetorical colouring in which he indulges fixes the attention almost exclusively on the dark traits of the picture. He cannot therefore be acquitted of the charge of a one-sided exaggeration; yet at the very outset he says: "I see that our holy Mother, the Church, on whom our salvation depends, has been so transformed that she seems to have no tokens of her evangelical character, and no trace can be found in her of humility, temperance, continence, and apostolic strength."[3]

In order to show his sympathy as much as possible with the general demand for the removal of the gigantic mass of abuses, Paul III. at the beginning of his reign not only accepted the dedication of such an exceptionally outspoken writing as Caccia's, but also introduced a series of important

[1] Such as Bart. Guidiccioni; see SCHWEITZER, 48.

[2] *Fama enim attulit, te cardinalium omnium suffragiis sine largitione, sine fraude, sine vi, sine potentia, sine contentione, sine controversia, sine nequissima ambitus suspitione in excelsa b. Petri sede cum summa omnium gratulatione fuisse collocatum, quod forte nostra patrumque nostrorum memoria ante et contigit nemini. Cod. Vat. 3659, f. 1[b], Vatican Library.

[3] See *Cod. Vat., 3659, f. 78; *cf.* 90[b].

regulations and measures which announced a final break with the dilatory policy of Clement VII. Already on the 17th of October 1534, in his address to the Cardinals on the great questions of the day, he touched, along with the Council and the restoration of peace to Christendom, on the reform of the clergy, which would have to begin in high places.[1] In the first consistory after his coronation on the 13th of November 1534 he declared that the general assembly of the Church must be preceded by a reform of the Curia and of the College of Cardinals,[2] and insisted on all the clergy without exception wearing clerical dress.[3] Accordingly on the 20th of November he appointed a commission, consisting of Cardinals Piccolomini, Sanseverino, and Cesi, to consider the reform of morals; at the same time Cardinals Campeggio, Grimani, and Cesarini were entrusted with an inquiry into all the offices belonging to the States of the Church.[4] Both commissions entered on their labours together. They were exhorted to more earnest activity[5] on January the 8th, 1535, after the German nuncio, Vergerio, then staying in Rome to make his personal report, had represented in the most urgent manner[6] that reform would admit of no longer delay. In a *motu proprio* of the 15th of January

[1] See Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, 1534, n. 2.

[2] *Romae die veneris 13 Nov. 1534 S. D. N. primum consistorium habuit, in quo morum honestatem et gravitatem summa cum prudentia rev^morum^ dominorum laudavit (Acta Cancell., 3, f. 115, in Consistorial Archives, Vatican). *Cf.* Sanchez' report of Nov. 20, 1534, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 126.

[3] See G. Busdraghi's *report, Nov. 14, 1534 (State Archives, Lucca), in Appendix No. 5.

[4] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 451.

[5] *Ibid.*, in EHSES, IV., 451.

[6] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 33, 393; *cf.* 396. The summons of B Guidiccioni in Feb. 1535 is also connected with the consultations on reform; see SCHWEITZER, 50 *seq.*

the Datary Jacobazzi and the Regent of the chancery, Pietro Fiori, Bishop of Castellamare, were ordered to put into thorough execution the Bulls of Leo X. of the 13th of December 1513 relating to reform and taxation. Every infringement was to be severely punished, and for every excessive demand restitution exacted.[1]

The extraordinary difficulties confronting the work of reform soon became apparent. It was seen to be impossible to make changes for the better in the Curia with that rapidity which the impatience of many good men demanded. A sudden alteration in the personnel and machinery of court and government could not be effected unless the Pope wished to cut the ground from under his feet. Paul III. still remembered well,[2] from his experience of the reign of Adrian VI., how fraught with danger any reckless attempt at reform would be. His wisdom counselled him not to add to his enemies without, others in the immediate proximity of his throne by altering everything too quickly and doing injury to a thousand relationships and interests of long standing. To bear this in mind is to understand why, in a consistory of the 3rd of March 1535, when reporting on the activities of the reforming Cardinals, he exhorted them to "consider well the circumstances of the time"; in other words, not to suppose that the ultimate and highest aim of reform was already attainable, but in the meanwhile, together with the whole Cardinalate, to advance the cause by means of their influence and good example.[3] On the 14th of April the decrees enjoining on the Sacred College and the Curia as a

[1] See Regulae Cancell. Pauli III., Lugduni, 1536, 70 *seq.* The Bull of Leo X. in Bull., V., 571 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. IX. of this work, 124 *seqq.*

[3] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 451. *Cf.* the Portuguese envoys' report in Corp. dipl. Port., III., 182.

whole the maintenance of a worthy and well-ordered life were read in consistory.[1]

On the next occasion the discussion turned principally on the question whether a general Reform Bull should be issued before the assembling of the Council. The draft of such a document was presented in consistory on the 31st of April,[2] but it was evident that, quite apart from those generally opposed to a reform,[3] there were objections on the part of the well-disposed to such a proceeding. The latter argued that all that such a Bull could contain had already received legal validity through the wisdom of earlier centuries; nothing more, therefore, was required than to observe the decrees of their predecessors, and apply them to the conditions of the present time.[4] Before this question was decided, Paul III. had already taken another important step on the way to reform.

One of the chief obstacles to the noble regenerative efforts of Adrian VI. was the strong spirit of secularity pervading the College of Cardinals, whereby the measures of reform were deprived of their organic means of execution.[5] It was necessary to infuse new elements of life into a body consisting only, at the time of Paul's elevation, of men who, with the exception of Lang and Clermont, were

[1] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 451.

[2] For this hitherto unknown fact, see the *report of G. M. della Porta to the Duke of Urbino, dated Rome, May 1, 1535: "Heri in concistorio fu raggionato del reformar la chiesia et letta sopra questo una bolla di mille baye che la brigata se n' arride et veggono che venendo l' Imperatore bisognava ad ogni modo far il concilio." State Archives, Florence, Urb., 133.

[3] The envoy of Urbino belonged to this party; see preceding note.

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten unter Paul III., in the Röm. Quartalschr., XV., 155 *seq.* These authoritative studies have at last placed the exertions of Paul III. for reform in a clear light.

[5] See Vol. IX. of this work, 116 *seq.*

the creatures of the Medici Popes.[1] If things were to be bettered, the Pope required suitable fellow-workers.[2] This was the object of the famous nomination of Cardinals of the 21st of May 1535, by which the bad impression caused by the bestowal of the purple on the 18th of December 1534[3]

[1] 15 made by Leo X., 25 by Clement VII.; see Tacchi Venturi, I., 8.

[2] See the fine letter of congratulation in, Junioris Ludovici Pariseti Regiensis Epistolae, lib. 2, Regii, 1541.

[3] The nomination of the two "nepotes" was announced by F. Peregrino in a *letter of Dec. 9, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cardinal E. Gonzaga writes from Rome on Dec. 15, 1534, to Giov. Agnello: *Domani si parlerà in concistoro di far i doi nipoti del papa cardinali et poi venerdi si publicheranno. Francesi hanno fatta grandissima instantia di haver il vescovo di Parigi [J. du Bellay], ma S. Sta che n' ha assai mala oppenione, non li ha voluto per questa volta attender (Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 52, Vatican Library). The Acta Consist. relate: *Romae, die merc. 15 Decemb. 1534 fuit consistorium in loco consueto, in quo ex sententia S^tis^ Sue atque ex omnium consensu constitutum est creare in cardinales duos nepotes.—Romae die veneris 18 Decembr. consistorium in quo negotium creationis cardinalium S^tis^ S., quod dilatum in sequens consistorium [fuit], uno omnium consensu decretum est. Creati itaque sunt. etc. (Acta Cancell., 3, in Consistorial Archives, Vatican). R. Amaseo reported on Dec. 18, 1534, to Bologna that the nomination had taken place: *con tanto consentimento di tutti il concistorio che N. S. più presto ha approvato il voler di tutti che li rev^mi^ cardinali habbino consentito a quello di S. B^ne^. . . Tutta Roma ne jubila (State Archives, Bologna). Cardinal Palmieri expressed himself (see NAVENNE, 266) in still more emphatic terms. That this view was not shared generally is evident from Soriano (ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 313) and the letters of Joh. von Kampen in HIPLER, Zur Geschichte des Humanismus. Briefwechsel des J. Dantiscus, Braunsberg, 1890, 49. The Cardinals looked even younger than they really were; in the *Liber memorialis monasterii S. Marie Montislucidi extra moenia Perusina (in the Archives there) they are put down as of the age of twelve years at the visitation of this monastery in Sept. 1535. The letter of congratulation of Card. Ippolito de' Medici to both the "nepotes," dated Romae 1535, Cal. Jan., in the State Archives, Parma.

on the two youthful nephews of Paul III., Alessandro Farnese and Guido Sforza of Santafiora, was effaced.[1] The

[1] Alessandro Farnese, son of P. L. Farnese and Girolama Orsini (see *supra*, p. 23), was born on Oct. 7, 1520, in Valentano, and was therefore at this time entering on his fifteenth year! The red hat was conveyed to him at Bologna, where he was studying. Contelorius remarks (Arm. 11, t. 48, Secret Archives of the Vatican): *Hic eo quod in tradendis cardinalatus insignibus et ore aperiendo servatae non essent antiquae consuetudines, obtinuit perinde valere die ult. Maii 1535. The form of oath in RAYNALDUS, 1534, n. 15. On May 10, 1535, the Cardinals voted for the introduction of the two youths into the Sacred College. On May 12 the ceremony was held, when the Pope exhorted the newly appointed members to uphold their position worthily (Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican). By Dec. 7, 1534, Alessandro had already been made governor of Spoleto (*Documents in the State Archives, Naples, Arch. Farnese. Perg.); on Jan. 18, 1535, he received the Castello di Grotte in the diocese of Montefiascone (*Documents, *ibid.*); on Sept. 1, 1535, he was made governor of Tivoli (see CONTELORIUS, *loc. cit.*). In addition he held a multitude of benefices, bishoprics, abbeys, priories (see besides *CONTELORIUS, *loc. cit.*; also Corp. dipl. Port., III., 182; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 359, 381; CIACONIUS, III., 560; Gallia Christ., XIV., 134; CARDELLA, IV., 136 *seq.*; CAPASSO, Politica, I., 97 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 340., n.; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 389, 417; CLAUSSE, Farnèse, 124 *seq.*, 169 *seq.*). Although the Pope's nepotism was generally censured (Sanchez writes on Aug. 20, 1535: *In qua re ab omnibus valde notata est S^tas^ Sua nimis precipitanter et non multum considerate res gerere; Court and State Archives, Vienna), he raised Alessandro to the Vice-Chancellorship on Aug. 13, 1535, on the death of Card. Ippolito de' Medici, and gave him the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso and soon afterwards the abbey of Tre Fontane (Aug. 17, 1535) near Rome and the Archbishopric of Avignon (*Brief of Aug. 29, 1535; see *CONTELORIUS, *loc. cit.*; Acta consist. Cancell. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican); in 1538 the direction of State affairs largely devolved (see *supra*, p. 34) on the young Cardinal, who showed for his years great ability and a general capacity for affairs (*cf.* QUIRINI, Imago, 17 *seq.*, 25 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*). Alessandro Farnese, since May 13, 1541, also Legate of Avignon (*see CONTELORIUS, *loc. cit.*), lived in Rome in great state (for the number of his servants in 1544, see LANCIANI, Golden Days, 108); his expendi-

selection made on this occasion showed clearly that the Pope was thinking seriously of Church reform. Among those nominated were men distinguished for purity of life, piety, and learning. The claims of different nations were also considered; Germany, France, and England were worthily

ture caused him, despite the open-handedness of Paul III., frequent financial trouble (see LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 155 *seq.*); to this, however, also conduced the Cardinal's lavish support of artists and men of learning—his education and culture had been assiduously cared for by the Pope,—his generous protection of the poor, and of Church buildings (see CIACONIUS, III., 560 *seqq.*). The Cardinal's activity in these directions and his life generally well deserved a monograph, for C. T. FRANGIPANE'S Memorie sulla vita del Card. Aless. Farnese, Rome, 1876, are not sufficient, although full of interesting information; they are also in too strong a vein of panegyric; for it ought not to be slurred over in silence that Farnese's moral conduct was not free from stain (for his daughter, see Riv. bibliogr., XVII., 119; *cf.* DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 576), and only gradually was turned in a more serious direction. Among the portraits of Farnese the two by Titian (one in the Corsini Gallery in Rome and the other in the Naples Museum) are pre-eminent; see CLAUSSE, 171 *seq.*; FISCHEL, 82.

Guido Ascanio Sforza of Santafiora, born at the end of 1518 as son of Costanza, daughter of Paul III., married to the Count of the same name, was only in his seventeeth year. He studied at Bologna, and was also richly endowed with bishoprics and benefices (see CIACONIUS, III., 566; CARDELLA, IV., 141 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 359, 381). In March 1537 he was Legate of Bologna and the Romagna; on Oct. 22, 1537, Chamberlain; on April 6, 1541, Patriarch of Alexandria (see CONTELORIUS, Arm. 11, t. 48, f. 252[6] *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican). Santafiora was also very liberal; the following statement of A. Serristori in a *letter dated Rome, Jan. 21, 1542, throws a questionable light on his morals: "Il male di S. Fiore si risolve in mal francese per quanto s' intende" (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3264). For Santafiora's character, see F. Peregrino's *report of June 28, 1539: "Il rev. Camerlengo come giovane è persona un poco timida et di rispetto massime con N. S[re] ancor che gli sia nipote" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

represented by Schönberg, Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester, then a prisoner of Henry VIII., and under impending sentence of death. Amongst Italians the Pope had at first fixed his eyes on two men whose knowledge and integrity in the conduct of great affairs he had specially tested since his accession to the throne.[1] They were Girolamo Ghinucci of Siena, the learned Auditor of the Camera, and Jacopo Simonetta, a Milanese. To them the Pope bethought himself of attaching a third. He was one spoken of among the men of highest character in Italy as "the peerless." This unique personality was Gasparo Contarini.

It was significant of the frame of mind prevailing amid the majority of the Sacred College that the nominees of Paul III. met with violent disapproval. The question came under discussion in the beginning of May.[2] Neither did political difficulties fail to arise; Charles V. did all he could to hinder the elevation of the Bishop of Paris to the purple, and would have liked nothing better than the withdrawal of each nomination.[3] In order to pacify the Emperor the Pope resolved on the appointment of Marino Caracciolo, whose sympathies were staunchly Imperialist. Three others thus formed a counterpoise on which the Emperor could rely to du Bellay and Ghinucci,

[1] *Cf.* the Portuguese report in Corp. dipl. Port., III., 181.

[2] G. M. della Porta mentions in *letter of May 5, 1535, the intention, "di far una squadra di Cardinali novi per sbatter questi vecchi" (State Archives, Florence, Urb.). Blasius de Martinellis (*Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56) mentions a consistory held to consider this matter on Oct. 10.

[3] *Cf.* besides the sources in CARDAUN'S Paul III., 160, G. M. della Porta's *reports of May 13 and 18, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

who was counted in the French ranks; they were Schönberg, Caracciolo, and Contarini.[1]

Not until the 20th of May was all opposition withdrawn,[2] so that on the following day it was possible to hold the decisive consistory. In this congregation, which lasted longer than usual,[3] six new Cardinals were nominated: Fisher, du Bellay, Contarini, Schönberg, Ghinucci, and Simonetta; as the three latter were present they received the red biretta at once. The Pope reserved another nomination *in petto*, but this was made public on the 31st of May, simultaneously with the bestowal of titular rank on the new creations; his choice had fallen on Caracciolo.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, May 22, 1535: "La promotione è stata honoratiss^a et spero che sarà di servigio anchora all Imp^re, perchè oltra l' arcivescovo di Capova et il protonotario Caraciolo vi sarà il Contarino, quale non è manco servitor di S. M^ta di quello che le siano i già nominati" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *G. M. della Porta, May 20, 1535, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] "A summo mane usque ad horam 21," says Blasius de Martinellis (*Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican). "Fuere publicati cardinales non sine magna patrum discordia et altercatione," says the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978.

[4] See Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican, and Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 7. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 567 *seq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 145 *seq.* See also our remarks, Vol. IX. of this work, 254, on Schönberg. Ghinucci had introduced the case against Luther (see Vol. VII. of this work, 363; *cf.* for him also GARAMPI, App., 236 *seq.*). For Simonetta, see Annal. de St. Louis, VI., 397 *seq.*; VII., 5 *seq.* Through du Bellay (see *supra*, p. 72) two Frenchmen came to Rome who turned the impressions gained there to purposes of satire: Rabelais and Joachim du Bellay (see REUMONT, III., 2, 552, 786 *seq.*; *cf.* also DUMESNIL, Voyag. Franç. en Italie, Paris, 1865, 4 *seq.*; THUASNE, Rabelais, Paris, 1904; STOPPOLANI in Riv. d' Italia, 1906; CHAMARD, Joach. du Bellay, Lille, 1908; Rev. de la Renaiss., 1908). The day of Schönberg's death, so hotly disputed, has lately been assigned by EHSES (IV., 613), relying on the chronicle in Cod. Vat., 6978, to

Many persons, the Venetian ambassador Soriano among them, were of opinion that the Pope, in appointing men of such high merit and distinction, was anxious to cancel the bad impression made by the elevation of his young nephews.[1] But this was not his only or indeed his guiding motive; the nomination of men of high reputation was an imperative necessity in view of the future of the Church, of the coming Council, and of the demand for some fresh infusion of life into the Sacred College itself.[2] By his decisive action Paul III. won the approval of all men; even those whose feelings towards him were unfriendly had to admit that he had made an admirable selection.[3] The friends of genuine reform were jubilant.

Aug. 9, 1537. This is a mistake, since G. M. della Porta, on Aug. 26 and 29, 1537, is still sending *reports of Schönberg's serious illness (State Archives, Florence). F. Peregrino at last *announces on Sept. 4, 1537: "Il card. di Capoa sta in estremo di morte," and on Sept. 7, *Il card. di Capoa è morto (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 313 *seq.*

[2] Together with the evidence in EHSES, IV., cxxi, n. 4, cxxii, n. 3, and G. M. della Porta's *reports of May 5 and 18, 1535 (State Archives, Florence), who says emphatically that the new Cardinals would be a counterpoise to the senior; see the speech of Paul III. in the public consistory on May the 24th, 1835. Blasius de Martinellis says concerning it: *Habuit brevem sermonem significando publice omnibus causas, qua re motus fuerat ad tatem promotionem istorum novorum Cardinalium, tum propter eorum excellentes virtutes et doctrinas ac rerum experientias, tum propter concilium futurum, quod indicere volebat ad compescendum haereses et tumultus christianorum ac etiam consulendum reipublicae christianae et fidei contra infideles, contra quos jam principes christianos convocaverat et classem instruxerat. . . . (*Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56).

[3] See along with F. Peregrino's *report of June 4, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga's of May 22, 1535 (quoted *supra*, p. 142, n. 1), one of the bitterest of the Pope's opponents. Gonzaga's agents reported gladly the worst and often most unfounded gossip. They are to be used therefore with great

"What," wrote one of them, "from the human point of view is more advantageous to the Papacy or more likely to bring sagacious and timely redress amid many evils than this choice of men, who by their virtues, enlightenment, learning, experience, and exemplary conduct are as well qualified as they are ready to carry on the government of the Church?"[1]

The nomination of Contarini, a layman whose name implied a programme of reform, produced an especially powerful impression. Reginald Pole at this time gave it as his opinion that he had often read of virtue receiving the due meed of honour, but never hitherto had he known, in his own experience, of so signal an instance of its realization, for the Pope, out of pure recognition of the man's noble character, had thus chosen Contarini for high honour, although he had never previously had any personal relations with him.[2]

All who wished well to the Church and were longing for reform now turned with expectation to the new Cardinal, whose life of strenuous work had exhibited the combination of force and gentleness of character, and of spiritual and human virtues. The German Lutherans—so the Venetian ambassador reported—were amazed and knew not what to say.[3]

Gasparo Contarini[4] was a member of one of the oldest

caution. For their love of scandal, quite ignored by SOLMI (Fuga, 80 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*), see Giorn. Stor. d. lett. Ital., 1892, 100.

[1] L. Bonamico to Contarini in, Epistolae clar. viror. selectae, Coloniae, 1586, 10.

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 321; *cf.* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 199 *seq.*

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 146, n.

[4] After the publication of two good contemporaneous biographies of Contarini by Lodovico Beccadelli and Giovanni della Casa (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 580, and LAEMMER, Anal., 9), DITTRICH has in his

families of the Venetian nobility. Born in 1483, he proceeded to the University of Padua, and by a carefully arranged course of studies grounded himself thoroughly in theology and philosophy. On his return to his native city he followed the usual career of a nobly born Venetian, took his place on the Great Council, and in 1518 became a member of the commission of the sinking fund. Three years later, at a very critical juncture, the Republic sent him as ambassador to Germany to the court of Charles V. In this post he rendered his country important service and acquired for himself a wealth of fresh experience. At Worms he had no personal intercourse with Luther and did not even see him, but everything he heard about him was distasteful in an exceptional degree to his high ideals and to his refined and aristocratic temperament. Later on Contarini accompanied the Emperor to England, and afterwards to Spain; thence he returned in 1525 to Venice, where he devoted himself to the studies he loved so well. But already in 1527 the confidence of his fellow-citizens had conferred on him the post of ambassador to the Curia, at that time a position of exceptional difficulty. Although during this mission he served the

Regesten (1881) and his Monograph (1885) raised a worthy monument to the great Cardinal. (*Cf.* for both publications my references in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 131 *seq.*; VIII., 107 *seq.*) Since then the material has been increased by PELLEGRINI (Arch. Veneto, XXXIII. (1887), 435 *seq.*), DITTRICH (Duo docum. Card. Contarini laud. praedicant., Brunsburgae, 1888), and especially by FRIEDENSBERG'S excellent publication of Contarini's correspondence with Cardinal E. Gonzaga in the Quellen und Forsch. des preuss. Instituts, II., 161–222. SOLMI added some supplementary matter in Nuovo Arch. Veneto, VII. (1904), disfigured unfortunately by an entirely unfounded prejudice against Friedensberg. Among other publications BIADEGO, Lett. di M. A. Flaminio al Card. Contarini, 1536–1537, Venezia, 1906, calls for notice. For biographies of Contarini, see also BECCADELLI, I., 2, 3 *seq.*

interests of Venice devotedly at the court of Clement VII. and also later at that of Charles V., he suffered many vexations. Yet this was compensated for by the grateful recognition felt towards him by the great majority of his fellow-men.

From the spring of 1530 Contarini was living again in Venice among his books and his friends. His house was the rallying-point for men of commanding intellect and character, while with many others he kept up an active correspondence. He attracted to himself respect from all, from politicians as well as humanists, from philosophers as well as theologians. His many-sided learning, his open-mindedness and gentleness, combined with an exemplary course of life, secured to him the respect and affection of all who came into contact with him. He was eulogized as "advancing the Italian nation."

Contarini was indeed a really great personality, pre-eminently gifted intellectually, besides being the soul of candour and full of a deep and unaffected piety. A friend to humanist culture, he yet was an unbiassed censor of the exaggerated value set upon it and of the perverted uses to which it was applied. With the same independence of thought he had in his early student days opposed his otherwise highly respected teacher Pomponazzo in his assertion that it was impossible to attain to philosophical proof of the soul's immortality.

Contarini's great characteristics and virtues were consecrated by his profoundly Christian and genuinely Catholic convictions. Reginald Pole wrote with perfect fitness when he said that Contarini knew full well how much the human understanding could discover through its own investigation, and how much the grace of God had conveyed to man. Contarini's whole personality, like his writings, was cast in one perfect mould. Unswervingly

loyal in his convictions, he was yet to the core a man of peace, in his intercourse with others genial above all things, affectionate and worthy of affection, and always strongly inclined to an optimistic view. His outward appearance, moreover, was uncommonly attractive; he had a beautiful head with refined, intellectual, gentle features.[1]

Although a layman, Contarini was yet well versed in theology. The great Church fathers and the scholastics, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, above all Thomas of Aquinas, were his favourite authors. Nothing was more natural than that this distinguished man should have turned his attention to the blots on the ecclesiastical life of his country and have been drawn into friendly relations with men such as Gian Pietro Carafa, the leader of the newly founded Theatines, Gian Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, and Gregorio Cortese, the reformer of the Benedictine Order, who were just at that time making efforts to bring into the domain of Church life in upper Italy the necessary improvements in connection with dogma and rightful adherence to the Holy See. These promoters of a true Catholic reformation admired Contarini as the author of the masterly treatise on the office of a bishop, in which he had grappled with the evil at its roots. It is difficult to say with what exultation they hailed the summons of such a man to take a place in the supreme senate of the Church.

It was a Sunday afternoon. The Great Council was in session, while Contarini, as the youngest member, had a place near the balloting urn. Suddenly there appeared a messenger from Rome with the news of his nomination to

[1] Contarini's fine features are reproduced in a striking manner in the marble bust by A. Vittoria on his monument in S. Maria dell' Orto in Venice (given in Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1877, 232). For other portraits, see DITTRICH, 865, n.

the cardinalate. The whole Council arose and, surrounding their colleague, congratulated him, wholly overcome with surprise; Alvise Mocenigo thought that Venice was losing her best citizen; the whole city was filled with joyful excitement in which Contarini alone did not share. As those who knew him best had foreseen,[1] he wished to decline the honour. Not until Matteo Dandolo had represented to him that he could not, especially at such a time of danger to the Church, frustrate the Pope's noble intentions, did he declare himself prepared to accept the purple.[2]

Contarini had not yet arrived in Rome when on the 9th of June 1535 an important decision was come to in consistory. It was resolved that the promulgation of a general Bull on reform should be dropped, and a beginning at once made on the thing itself so far as the betterment of morals and the alteration in official posts was concerned—the legislative form of procedure to be fixed at a later date.[3] The Pope showed himself to be so much in earnest that, according to the Mantuan envoy, there was a regular panic among the anti-reforming Cardinals.[4] On the 27th of August a Bull dated the 23rd was published appointing a new commission on reform. This document began with the fine exordium: the object of the Incarnation of

[1] "Molti furono dubbii se accetterà o non questa dignità et massime chi ha cognitione della natura sua," *writes F. Peregrino on May 24, 1535, from Rome (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Similar *reports from G. M. della Porta on May 27, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See BECCADELLI, Contarini, c. 10, and CASA, Vita, c. 13–14. *Cf.* Daniele Barbaro to D. Venier in Lett. Volgari, I., 3.

[3] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 451.

[4] "Gli Cardinali incomminiano entrare in qualche spavento di questo Papa vedendo che egli ha puoco rispetto et dimostra di volere rivedere gli conti di ciascuno; pero bisogna che le brigate stiano in cervello." *F. Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, June 10, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the Son of God was not merely the redemption of fallen mankind, but the protection of Christ's holy Church and the union of all its members with one another in the strongest conceivable bond of love and the bestowal of eternal dominion on the Christian world. Therefore the Pope, in order that the Church, Christ's bride, might render due service to her Head our Redeemer and be purged from all stains and errors, especially from the pernicious teaching of Luther, had agreed to a General Council. But as so difficult an undertaking could not be carried out in haste, he had determined provisionally to reform the city of Rome, the Papal court, and its officials, in order that, "when our own house is cleansed, we more easily take in hand the cleansing of others." With this object Cardinals Piccolomini, Sanseverino, Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Cesi, and three bishops resident in Rome, including the Netherlander Peter van der Vorst, were appointed reformers for the city and the Curia, with unlimited powers to extirpate from the spiritual as well as secular sphere all abuses, trangression, and errors, to punish with the utmost severity the disobedient and contumacious, and if necessary to call in against them the support of the secular arm.[1]

The task set before the commission must be characterized as one of exceeding difficulty, for, in consequence of the development of the absolving, dispensing, and reserving authority of the Church, such a formidable apparatus of government had been formed within the Curia, with multiplex offices and a vast horde of higher and lower officials, that it had become in and by itself almost unassailable. Since Rome in the era of the Renaissance, under Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., had entered on a phase of the worst secularization, an all-pervading venality had found an entry

[1] Bull "Sublimis Deus" in EHSES, IV., 451 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, cxviii, n. 6, 75, n. 5.

far and wide among the official departments. Adrian VI., in his brief reign, had not been able to alter anything in this respect, and under Clement VII. things had remained essentially as they were before. To introduce changes into a state of affairs of such long duration and such deeply rooted precedent and bound up with so many personal interests in the closest way was a gigantic task which certainly could not be resolved in the compass of one pontificate. The commission of reform very soon learned this from experience.

No protocol on the deliberations of the commission has as yet been discovered; even for the proceedings in consistory, where the proposals of the commission came up for re-discussion, the consistorial minutes, which for that period were of remarkable conciseness, give no information. In default of these, some welcome accounts are to be found in the ambassadorial despatches.[1] On the 11th of February a series of ordinances for the improvement of the Roman clergy, which the Cardinals were at once to put into execution,[2] came up for discussion. The higher as well as the lower order of clerics were forcibly reminded of

[1] *Cf.* following new testimonies collected by myself:—(1) *Letter of F. Peregrino, dated Rome, Jan. 16, 1536: "Nel concistoro d' hoggi N S^re è stato molto occupato circa alla reformatione della corte, del' habito et vestire de preti, etc." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); (2) Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium for Jan. 19, 1536: "Consistorium in quo inter alia de firmitate reformationis praelatorum et cleri tractari et concludi debeat" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56); (3) Report of F. Peregrino of Jan. 28, 1536, in Appendix No. 13.

[2] *Cf.* the report of the Venetian envoy Bragadino of Feb. 12, 1536, with wrong date and arbitrarily altered beginning in DE LEVA, III., 354; correctly in EHSES, IV., 453, n. 1. The "Bolla" here mentioned was hitherto unknown; its prescriptions are contained in the "Decretum reformationis generalis," which is missing in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and in all the Roman libraries. I found it in the Library of St. Petersburg; see text in Appendix No. 14.

the canonical injunctions as to clerical attire, and this was not by any means a mere matter of externals; it touched a dangerous and corrosive evil, for the extent of which the writings of some of the friends of reform impart characteristic details.[1] The clergy were further recalled to the duty of saying their office, and the holders of benefices were granted a final delay of four months before receiving the suitable form of ordination.

The removal of an abuse which specially roused Carafa's indignation was aimed at in the regulation that henceforth no one in Rome should receive priest's orders who did not possess the qualifications canonically demanded and was without a title to a benefice. The Canons and beneficiaries of the Patriarchal and collegiate churches of Rome were placed under fresh obligations to frequent Divine worship and solemnly to officiate on Sundays. More important was the provision that all parish priests in Rome were to exercise the cure of souls in person; where there was a just impediment, a substitute was to be secured at a suitable salary, but the latter must first be examined by the Vicar-General. Further enactments dealt with the worthy reception and administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The clergy who were only in minor orders were to communicate at least four times a year, priests on all festivals of obligation; the latter also were to celebrate not less than once a month. Again, precautions were taken for the orderly maintenance of the sacred vessels, for securing inventories of Church property, and for defraying the expense of necessary repairs in the house of God. The clergy were forbidden to hold intercourse with persons of doubtful character, to visit taverns or other unfit resorts, or to take part in gambling or the theatre. Clergy as well as laity were exhorted to guard themselves against

[1] *Cf.* the *treatise by Caccia, Vatican Library, quoted *supra*, p. 133.

blasphemy, to observe the prescribed fasts, and to behave reverently in church. Preachers, before accusing anyone of Lutheran doctrines, were to put themselves into communication with the Master of the Sacred Palace or the Vicar-General, and the latter was to see to the removal of a further array of scandals justly offensive to the laity. In this respect prominence was given to the dissensions between the secular and regular clergy, the saying of Mass by ignorant priests, and the incessant alms-gathering of the Mendicants. Henceforward no member of an Order was to be allowed to perambulate the city without a companion or without special permission of the Vicar-General.

The consistory in which these regulations were confirmed also dealt with the business procedure of the Penitentiary, the Datary, the Chancery, and other offices. In all this initiative, so full of promise, it was impossible not to detect the influence of some strong guidance and foremost that of Contarini. The Pope's determination to uphold the worth of the clerical office now made itself felt even on the Cardinal-nephews. He forbade them to take any part in the Carnival—a restriction not lightly borne by these exuberant youths.[1]

It soon became evident in other ways also what remarkable force the entrance of Contarini into the Sacred College had brought with it. With characteristic frankness he spoke his mind on the many things requiring correction in the Curia. Naturally, in this way he made many enemies, who gibed at the Venetian who had come to Rome with the intention of reforming the Curia without even knowing the Cardinals by name. Attempts were also made to undermine his influence with the Pope by representing to the latter that it showed a want of consideration

[1] See *report of F. Peregrino from Rome, Feb. 18, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

to be so ready to give his opinion in consistory without restraint and without invitation. But Paul III., who had assigned apartments in the Vatican to Contarini, did not allow himself to be led astray. He contemplated making him one of the Presidents of the Council, and made use of his advice in this matter as well as in many others.[1]

The Bull of the 2nd of June 1536 summoning the Council stated that the task of that assembly would be, in the second place, the moral reform of Christendom. It was represented to Paul III. from different quarters,[2] and in entire agreement with his own views,[3] that it would not do to await the coming together of this great assemblage, but that, as a preliminary, at least the most crying abuses must be put out of the way. Thence the necessity that these important questions should form the pioneer work of the Council, so that on the foundation thus laid ulterior labours might be carried out with success. It was on this account that the Pope lent a willing ear to Contarini's proposal that, for the sake of the Council as well as of reform, a certain number of the most prominent supporters of strong Church opinions should be summoned to Rome.

Contarini, who gave the chief impetus to this step,[4] prepared his friends beforehand for their invitations. But how-

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 328, 335 *seq.* For Contarini's residence, see App. No. 23, F. Peregrino's *report of Dec. 14, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II, 421, 424.

[3] See Acta Consist. of May 29, 1536, in EHSES, IV., 453.

[4] DITTRICH'S doubt (Contarini, 350) was resolved by the express *testimony of F. Peregrino on Oct. 26, 1536: "Quà sono li vescovi di Chieti, di Verona et l' Sadoleto di Carpentras con l' arcivescovo di Salerno per opera et instigatione del card. Contarino chiamati da N. S. per riformatione di s. chiesa et sede apost." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

ever eloquently he urged the interests demanding their presence in the Curia and their participation in the labours of the reform commission, he found that there were few who showed any inclination to come forward. To what an extent timidity had taken possession of even the noblest hearts is shown plainly in the answer he received from Sadoleto.

"Oh most learned and most excellent Contarini," began his letter, dated the 13th of March 1536, "would that thy hopes never at any time deceived thee! The exceeding goodness and open-heartedness of thy nature raise in thee such hopes that thou seest already accomplished that which thou esteemest best and profitable. Alas! quite other is the course of things. Believest thou not, that I, if there were any hope whatsoever, to establish some good and salutary reform, would offer and devote myself to the work, I do not say in pursuit of honour, but, in the words of the chief Apostle, even unto the cross and death; for if I to my own loss could bring some advantage to the Church, I should count it my greatest gain! But, believe me, the vices and evil passions of our time cannot understand open-heartedness and wisdom. It is true we have in our Pope an eminent ruler of the Church who only thinks and wishes what is worthy of him; but he is not stronger than the perversity of the age, for the body of Christendom is sick, sick too of a malady for which momentary help is of no avail; it would be better by wide and circuitous methods to bring in a partial remedy, just as in the gradual course of time this disease itself was brought in little by little. Many night vigils must there be, many changes of medicine, and a treatment the object of which is often obscure, in order to restore to the Church her health and dignity."[1]

In the second half of July 1536 special briefs of invita-

[1] SADOLETI, Opera, I., 216; *cf.* DITTRICH, 351 *seq.*

tion to a sort of provisional council at Rome were sent to Gian Pietro Carafa, Gregorio Cortese, Giberti, Sadoleto, Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio, and lastly, to the prominent Englishman, Reginald Pole, who, like the others, belonged to Contarini's circle of friends, among whom Church reform for a long time past had been not only a matter of discussion but also of serious endeavour.[1] Most of the above named were in Rome in the last week of October.[2] The aged Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, who had been invited to Rome at the same time, was permitted by the Pope to remain at home for the present, but he was bidden to furnish material for the transactions on reform.[3] Contarini, the soul of the whole movement, induced the Pope to add yet two other members, Aleander and the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, the first an ardent reformer and exceptionally well versed in German affairs, the second noted for piety as well as learning.

Worldlings such as the Mantuan envoy treated the summons, even to such distinguished men as these, with derision.[4] But, as a matter of fact, the formation of the commission of nine was quite as important a step towards Catholic reform as the nomination of Cardinals in May 1535. The members were not only in every respect distinguished, but they were entirely independent men, almost all without places in the Curia, and therefore in a position to review and criticize freely the given circumstances with-

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 40, and EHSES, IV., 26 *seq.* *Cf.* Quellen u. Forschungen, II., 221 *seq.*; DITTRICH, 353.

[2] With Dittrich, 354, *cf.* also the report of F. Peregrino of Oct. 26, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See *supra*, p. 153, n. 4.

[3] See SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 142 *seq.*

[4] *Qua debonno arrivare li vescovi di Verona et di Chieti et per meglio dire che fu di Chieti, chiamati da N. S. con loro sanctimonie et fra puochi giorni vi sarà l' Sadoleto. Peregrino, dated Rome, Oct. 12, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

out being cramped by the forces of tradition.[1] The Pope enjoined upon them, as binding on their consciences, to commit to writing every point on which, in their opinion, measures of reform should be undertaken, and declared emphatically that if they failed in this obligation he would at once call them to account before the judgment-seat of God.[2]

The deliberations, as to which the members of the commission were sworn to secrecy, were worthily ushered in by a fine speech by Sadoleto on the reform of the Curia and the clergy. It says much for the impression made on the humanists by the sack of Rome and for the different views of that event taken by the paganized and the Christian wings of that party, that Sadoleto took his starting-point from the terrible event which befell the Eternal City in 1527, and declared that this great disaster, of which the traces were not yet wiped away, was not, as some supposed, a mere accident of misfortune, but a just sentence of God on the guiltiness of men. And yet there were worse things in store: the Turks were threatening the total destruction of Christendom; here, too, the guilt lay in the sins and disunion of Christians. Sadoleto then boldly adduced the culpability of earlier Popes; in eloquent language he went on to say that the misfortunes of the Church and of the world sprang from the source whence once had come their deliverance—namely, from the occupants of the Roman See. After the latter had left the path of holiness and began to make religion a source of gain, princes and people had become envious. When it was seen that the Popes did nothing to remedy the disorders of the clergy, the Roman Curia fell into contempt and discredit, the authority of the Holy See and of the Church was brought low, and the clergy became the objects

[1] See KERKER, Kirchliche Reform, 39.

[2] *Cf.* BECCADELLI, Contarini, c. 12.

of universal hatred. How deep this hatred was a glance at the condition of the world would show. Germany and England were lost, Italy herself was often hostile to the jurisdiction of the Pope; the Eternal City was without a defender in face of the menace from the Turk. In this general distress a champion had been raised up in the person of Paul III. Amid the strife of princes he remained neutral and devoted his efforts to peace; he had summoned a General Council, and further had now called to the Curia men of eminence to consult together on the means of remedying the shortcomings of the Church. There was the learned and loyal Fregoso, in his morals and earnest enthusiam a pattern of ancient piety; there was Gian Pietro Carafa, strict in his life, winning in his words, the heroic friend of poverty; there was Gian Matteo Giberti, firm and earnest as one of the bishops of old, living only for God and goodness; there was Reginald Pole, a scion of the royal house of England, whose learning and virtue were not unknown in Rome; there was Gregorio Cortese, worthily renowned for his learning and his blameless career; lastly, there was Cardinal Contarini, whose one thought was the restoration of their pristine glory to the Apostolic See and the Sacred College. If the other Cardinals would combine their efforts with those of Contarini and give their aid to the commission, and, as was to be hoped, would co-operate effectually with the Pope, then, without a doubt, they would restore to the Cardinalate its former dignity, to the Papacy its authority as of old, to the priesthood favour with God and honour among men as enjoyed of yore.[1]

[1] I. Sadoleti de Rom. curiae et cleri moribus reformandis oratio, Cracoviae, 1561. The distinction conferred on Sadoleto by Paul III. on Dec. 3, 1536, was probably a reward for his discourse; see SCHWEITZER in Röm. Quartalschrift, XXII., 134.

While the reform commission was holding its sittings under Contarini's presidency, Paul III., in a consistory held on the 13th of November 1536, declared that the unconditional reform of the Church in head and members was necessary; he would not fail to do his part, only the Cardinals could not perform a more acceptable thing than in bringing to his notice all matters open to blame.[1] This was followed on the 22nd of December by a nomination of Cardinals, affording fresh evidence of Paul's sincerity in the matter of reform. The well informed were already aware in the beginning of November that important additions to the College of Cardinals were under consideration; even then a list of names was mentioned of unexceptionable reputation.[2] The surmise that Contarini's influence was here at work was not incorrect.[3] The openly expressed intention to break down in this way the preponderance of the Medici party[4] naturally stirred the latter to opposition. Private communications, as well as a consistorial discussion on the 20th of December, led to no understanding.[5] But as the

[1] Extract from Bernhard von Cles' *letter to King Ferdinand, 1536. "Deinde 13 Novemb. pontifex in consistorio proponi fecit qualiter ad generale (concilium) requiritur prima reformatio sui et collegii; de se autem promisit facturum, ut nullus locus reprehensioni supersit quantum patietur humana fragilitas, rogando et obsecrando cardinales, ut si quid viderent et audirent in eo reprehendendum cum monerent, quodque nihil in eo sibi gratius essent facturi" (Court and State Archives, Vienna, Rom. 7).

[2] See F. Peregrino's *letter of Nov. 2, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See DITTRICH, 360 *seq.*

[4] See G. M. della Porta's *report, dated Rome, Dec. 21, 1536 (State Archives, Florence, Urb.).

[5] Blasius de Martinellis (*Diarium) relates under Dec. 17, 1536: "His diebus practicatum et concertatum est de novis cardinalibus" (12 it was believed); and under Dec. 20: "Consistorium de novis

Pope's determination was none the less unflinching, he carried out his purpose. On the 22nd of December the purple was bestowed on Gian Pietro Carafa; Gian Maria Ciocchi del Monte, Archbishop of Siponto; Ennio Filonardi, formerly nuncio in Switzerland, now Prefect of St. Angelo; Jacopo Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras; Cristoforo Jacobazzi, Bishop of Cassano and Datary; Charles Hémard de Denonville, Bishop of Mâcon and French ambassador in Rome; Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza and nuncio at the court of Francis I.; Reginald Pole, Apostolic Protonotary; and Lodovico Borgia, Duke of Gandia. Three appointments were also reserved *in petto*, one of which was to be subject to the Emperor's nomination.[1] On the 23rd of December, del Monte, Filonardi, Sadoleto, Jacobazzi, Denonville, and Pole received the insignia of their new dignity, the others receiving them

cardinalibus, et multos nominavit, sed, ut apparet, vota habuit tantum pro octo infra nominandis nec quidem firmiter ut conjecturare potui" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). G. M. della Porta, in a *letter of Dec. 20, 1536, names Piccolomini and Gonzaga as opponents.

[1] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 49. Blasius de Martinellis (*Diarium), however, narrates: "Die igitur veneris 22 Decembris aliud consistorium, et antequam pontifex egrederetur de talamo secreto fecit ad se vocari alternis vicibus plures et diversos cardinales, quandoque unum quandoque duos vel tres seorsum cum illis loquendo, practicando et disponendo" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 600 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 159 *seqq.* For Filonardi, see BENIGNI, Miscell., V., 160 *seq.*; for Denonville (1493–1540), see BRISAY in the Rev. Hist. de l'Ouest, V.–VII. (1889–1891). The *letter of Francis I., in which he asks the Pope to elevate Denonville, is in MS. Franç. 3053, f. 1, in the original *despatch of 1536 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). In the *deed of nomination for Carpi it says he was created "ob praeclaram doctrinam, eximiam integritatem, singularem prudentiam, in arduis magnanimitatem, in consulendo gravitatem et in peragendo diligentiam," Reg. Vat., 1718, f. 305 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

by deputy.[1] Contrary to the expectations of all men and to his own in particular, Aleander was not at this time made a Cardinal; only on the 13th of March 1538 did he reach the long-coveted distinction,[2] together with Niccolò Gaetani of Sermoneta, a youthful nephew of the Pope. Apart from the latter, the not less youthful Lodovico Borgia, and del Monte,[3] who fell later under the suspicion of grave moral defects, this increase of the Sacred College was not undeserving of the appreciation accorded by contemporary opinion.[4] All the rest were virtuous, seriously minded men, widely experienced in affairs, for the most part possessed of literary culture, and convinced of the necessity of an ecclesiastical reformation. Three of them were members of the reform commission, and these three

[1] See *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. The bestowal of title on Jan. 15, 1537, is in RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 47; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 39 *seq.*, and L. ROCCO, G. Aleandro, Treviso, 1896, 48 *seq.*, where an interesting letter of Aleander is given. Pole raised an objection to Gaetani's elevation on account of his youth (see N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 13, 1538, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the *deed of nomination it is said of Niccolò Gaetani: "Tu qui notarius noster de numero participant. ac ex fratre nostro consobrino secundum carnem nepos et in quartodecimo vel circa tuae aetatis anno constitutus." In the *Brief of March 22, 1538, on the delivery of the red hat, the affinity ("affinitas materno genere nostro ex eo ducto prosapia") was expressly mentioned (Contelorius, XI., 48, Secret Archives of the Vatican). CARDELLA (IV., 197) places Gaetani's nomination incorrectly in the year 1536.

[3] For del Monte, see MERKLE, II, 147, and also HERZOG'S Realencykl., IX.,[3] 626. Borgia's letter of thanks to Paul III., dated Gandiae, 1537 Id. Febr., in the Lett. d. princ., 13, 63 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Borgia's speedy death was hailed by the Romans from hatred of Alexander VI., as G. M. della Porta relates on Aug. 8, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* the reminiscences of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob. 1614 of the Vatican Library.

likewise the most distinguished recipients of the purple at the Christmas consistory of the year 1536.

The foremost place must be given to the strong, unbending personality of Gian Pietro Carafa, who now, together with Contarini, became joint head of the reform party in Rome,[1] although his impetuous character was fundamentally different from that of the gentle and pacific Venetian, who bore more resemblance in many respects to the temperament of Jacopo Sadoleto,[2] although the latter was lacking in Contarini's unruffled calm and knowledge of mankind. A still more important contrast distinguished the two men, for Sadoleto was so steeped in humanism that even his theology was thereby fundamentally influenced. On the eve of the sack of Rome Sadoleto had withdrawn to Carpentras, his episcopal see, and there devoted himself to his diocese and studies. He was so happy in this sequestered spot that it was only with great reluctance that he obeyed the call of Paul III. to Rome.[3] During his long sojourn in Carpentras, Sadoleto, who was by nature an optimist, fell for a time into the opposite extreme of a hopeless pessimism.[4] As he was very sensitive, this despondency was increased when the Master of the Sacred College, Badia, forbade the publication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. This dealt him a deadly wound; under the painful circumstances he appealed to the mediation of his friend Contarini, and succeeded

[1] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 120 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* for him our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, 197 *seqq.*, and the special literature there enumerated. In his "Dialogus de Concilio" (Venet, 1541) Marc. Mont. Bonavitus mentions, among the great Cardinals of Paul III., first, Carafa, then Contarini, Sadoleto, and so forth.

[3] See SADOLETO, Opera, I., 226. For his work as Bishop, see JOLY, 144 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 154.

in obtaining, on the alteration of certain passages, the removal of the prohibition.[1]

Of even a deeper piety than Sadoleto was the Englishman, Reginald Pole.[2] He also was more a humanist than a theologian, and in his attitude towards religious innovations was much more for clemency than rigour. Like Contarini, he had not been ordained priest at the time of his elevation. Born in Staffordshire in 1500, he was nearly related through his mother, Lady Margaret Plantagenet, to the reigning house of England. After a careful training at Oxford he passed to the University of Padua, where he studied for six years at the cost of Henry VIII. His long intercourse with this famous seat of learning had an important influence on Pole's development, for here he became familiar with the whole domain of Italian humanism; here he formed ties of lifelong friendship with men like Longueil, Bembo, Giberti, and Sadoleto. England, whither he had returned, he soon left again on the trouble consequent on the King's divorce.

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 484 *seq.*, and BENRATH in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XVII.,[3] 330, where Sadoleto's nomination is incorrectly antedated 1535. The same mistake occurs in LEHMANN, Herzog Georg von Sachsen, in Briefwechsel mit Erasmus und Sadolet, Neustadt i. S., 1889, 57.

[2] Chief sources are still QUIRINI, Epist. R. Poli et alior. ad ips. collectio. 5 voll, Brixiae, 1744 *seq.*; see here also Beccadelli's Vita. *Cf.* also PHILIPP'S Life of Pole, Oxford, 1765; HOOK, Archbishops of Canterbury, N.S., III., London, 1869, and also the important recension of REUMONT in Theol. Literaturblatt, V., 964 *seq.*, 993 *seq.*; FREEMAN, Card. Pole (Essays, 4th Series), 1869; KERKER, R. Pole, Freiburg, 1874; ZIMMERMANN, R. Pole, Regensburg, 1895; MARTIN in Bullet. de l'Archiconfr. de N. D. de Compassion, IV., Paris, 1903, 146 *seqq.* A series of still unpublished *letters of Pole's is to be found in the State Archives, Parma There is a fine portrait of Pole, by Sebastiano del Piombo, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; very good reproduction by MAUD F. JERROLD, Vittoria Colonna, London, 1906.

This unhappy affair was also the turning-point of his life for Pole, who was by nature a recluse and a scholar. As soon as he reached Paris he was involved in a business of a very painful character, for the King, his benefactor, called upon him to procure from that University an opinion favourable to his divorce. Pole, a man of a sensitive and obliging nature, had not the determination to reject unconditionally such a commission.[1] He soon, however, found out the falseness of his position, for on returning to England he did not present himself at court, but withdrew into studious retirement at the Charterhouse of Sheen. On Wolsey's death Henry offered him the Archbishopric of York, but in an audience with the King he boldly told the latter that for him, in the matter of the divorce, the Pope's word was law.

Before the English schism had taken place Pole had left England. He visited Sadoleto at Carpentras, and formed a close friendship with this man of kindred spirit; afterwards he went to Padua, renewing there, and in the neighbouring Venice, old associations and forming new ones. Pole now entered into close intercourse with the leaders of Catholic reform: Giberti, Cortese, Contarini, and Carafa. While the last named wished the teachers of error to be treated with the utmost rigour, Pole, like the others, was of opinion that friendly measures should be employed. Pole's closest ally was undoubtedly Contarini, to whom he

[1] So much is proved from his letter to Henry VIII. of July 7, 1530 (Col. of State Papers: Henry VII., ed. Brewer, n. 6505), from which it is clearly deducible that Pole was active in the matter (see REUMONT in Theol. Literaturblatt, *loc. cit.*, 970). He considers "that the position which Henry VIII. was more and more taking up before the world might serve as an excuse for Pole, but not as a justification for his own conduct." I am unable to agree with ZIMMERMANN'S Rechtfertigungsversuch (38 *seq.*). See also GAIRDNER in the Engl. Hist. Review, IX., 576.

looked for fatherly friendship and counsel, and submitted to him his writings for examination. But Contarini on his part also was not satisfied with his own productions until they had met first with Pole's approval. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful relation of friendship than that existing between these two men of lofty ideals. Their correspondence bears witness how they supported and were the complement of each other.[1]

Contarini alone was in a position to overcome Pole's humble objection to his nomination. All the friends of reform praised him as the actual originator of the creation of December 1536. "This action of Paul III. is certainly an act of God," wrote Cosimo Gheri to Beccadelli, "and your, or better our, Cardinal has given a fine instance of his goodness in bringing about so brilliant a promotion." But Contarini congratulated Gheri that God raised from "the seed of his Cardinalate" men like himself in order to bring back the Church to its primitive dignity. There was a general expression of opinion that this nomination of Cardinals marked the opening of a new epoch, and that since no longer birth but actual service was the determining factor, there was a hope of a betterment of Church affairs.[2] "The Pope as a man is best to be judged," said Hosius, "from the choice of advisers he has made."[3]

The first fruit of the reform commission, deliberating almost daily under Contarini's presidency since the first half of November 1536, was a memorial produced in the

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 215, 427 *seqq.* Here also more in detail concerning Contarini's censure of the passionate tone of Pole's famous treatise, "De Unitate Ecclesiae."

[2] See DITTRICH, 360 *seq.* *Cf.* also in App. No. 23 the two *letters to Pole of Dec. 30, 1536, State Archives, Parma.

[3] Stan. Hosii epist., ed. HIPLER-ZAKRZEWSKI, I., 44.

middle of February 1537, signed by all nine members.[1] It was entitled: Opinions of the appointed Cardinals and Prelates of the Roman Church on Ecclesiastical Reform, drawn up at the command of Paul III.[2]

The extraordinary importance of this memorial lay first and foremost in the fact that through it the Pope struck at the very root[3] of the evils existing in Rome itself. It showed the value of the motto chosen by Carafa on his election: "Judgment must begin in his own house."

This remarkable document, in which the abuses of the Curia and Church are fully exposed with the greatest freedom and in the strongest terms but always with a

[1] The above dates are based on EHSES' researches, Kirchliche Reformarbeiten, 159, 163, and Histor. Jahrb., XXIX., 598, only with the addition that I am able to fix the date of Pole and Giberti's departure, placed by Ehses in the middle of February, still more exactly. G. M. della Porta in fact writes on Feb. 19, 1537: *Il Papa volse che li nuntii poi col legato partissen heri et non prima, tutti in una hora medesima che furono le xviii (State Archives, Florence, Urb.). SCHWEITZER (Röm. Quartalschrift, XXII., 133 *seq.*) places the beginning of the negotiations between 25th and 30th of Nov. 1536; but the passages on which he relies in the letters of Sadoleto (May 13) and Ortiz (Nov. 24, 1536) are so general that it is impossible to conclude from them that at that time no steps had yet been taken. That the members of the commission should have remained so long inactive seems improbable in view of their zeal for reform; according to old custom the official work of the Curia was resumed at Rome at the end of the holiday month of October, and therefore the commission would not have been dilatory for so long.

[2] Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prelatorum de emendanda ecclesia S. D. N. et Paulo III. petente conscriptum et exhibitum anno 1537, already printed in Milan and Rome in 1538 (a copy of this rare Roman edition belongs to the Library of the Histor. Verein of Würzburg; see Serapeum, XIX., 178), and often later, as in MANSI, Suppl. V., 593 *seq.*, and LE PLAT, II., 596 *seq.* German extracts in KERKER, Kirchl. Reform, 39 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, Contarini, 364 *seq.*

[3] See RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 97.

devout earnestness, begins with an expression of joy that Paul III. had set himself seriously to the task of supporting the tottering Church and bringing her back to her original dignity and beauty. With this aim in view he had called the commission together and charged it to set forth clearly all the abuses under which the Church, and especially the Roman Curia, had so long suffered, and that too without respect for the Pope or any other person. Accordingly the memorial points out as the root of all ecclesiastical abuses the reckless exaggeration of the Papal authority by unscrupulous canonists asserting, with sophistical flattery, the Pope to be not merely the legitimate dispenser of benefices but their absolute master, with the right of selling them without thereby incurring the guilt of simony, since it was generally permissible for him to act in all things according to his own pleasure. From this source, as it were *ex equo Trojano*, had issued all the abuses which had brought the Church to the verge of destruction and on themselves an evil repute among unbelievers.

Following on the strong words of this preamble, the commission explains that in the performance of their task it is their intention to pass over entirely the Pope's position as sovereign of the States of the Church and to deal only with what concerns him as head of the Church Universal and as Bishop of Rome. Then comes once more a serious exhortation to the head of the Church. In the Church also as well as in the State described by Aristotle in his *Politics*, existing laws must be observed before anything else, dispensations granted only on grounds of strict necessity, and the exercise of the power of the keys removed from all taint of venality.

The memorial applies itself at once to the Papal obligation to secure good bishops and priests. Here an unsparing picture is drawn of the widespread corruption, and

counsels given for its removal. The great laxity in admitting to holy orders is rebuked as the first of abuses; from this has arisen countless scandals, the depreciation of the clerical order, and the decay of the worship of God. Therefore in Rome, as in every diocese, three virtuous and learned prelates should be appointed to superintend ordinations, and no candidate should be ordained by anyone except the Bishop or with his permission.

With this first abuse a second was closely connected: the appointment to benefices without regard to the worthiness to the nominee. In future no one should be nominated to a bishopric or charge of souls who was not of blameless life, ready to perform his office personally and keep residence; an Italian therefore should not be appointed to a foreign benefice nor a foreigner to an Italian one.

In the third place, the many abuses connected with the renunciation of benefices comes under remark. The memorial condemns as grave irregularities the countless artifices invented by crafty curialists to circumvent canonical enactments, the provisos in the renunciation of livings, expectancies, and reservations; not less so the combination in one person of several incompatible preferments, thus rendering the duty of residence impossible. On this ground also Cardinals ought no longer to accept bishoprics, at least from princes, whereby their loss of independence is involved; provision must be found for the suitable maintenance of their position in some other way. The memorial then proceeds to rebuke in the severest way the neglect of pastoral duty consequent on the non-observance by bishops and priests of the duty of residence. "Throughout the whole world," it says, with some exaggeration indeed,[1] "almost all the shepherds have deserted their flocks

[1] Insisted upon by KERKER, R. Pole, 42, and EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 397.

and entrusted them to hirelings." This should be met by censures and confiscation of stipend; the absence of the Cardinals from Curia ought also to be as much as possible restricted. Not less sharp measure is dealt out to the hindrances put in the way of the bishops in the administration of their dioceses, especially in the exercise of their punitive powers, by means of exemptions, presentation of appeals to the Penitentiaria and Dataria, where immunity could easily be procured, unfortunately often through bribery.

The commission called for the most thorough regulation of the monastic orders. All houses that had become corrupt should be suffered to die out and then put in possession of new and zealous monks. Preachers and confessors must be carefully chosen by the heads of Orders and only accepted after examination held before the bishop. In future, convents of women must be subject to the bishops, as their visitation by members of monastic orders had led to scandals and sacrilege. For the rest, a cancerous evil was touched upon which had contributed not a little to the letting loose of the storm against the Church in different countries: the venal exercise of spiritual authority by Legates and nuncios, whereby the Holy See was dishonoured and the people stirred to disaffection. The bishops, especially those of Italy, were to keep sharper watch over the public schools and the books in use in them; they were to prohibit public discussions on difficult theological questions and to keep an eye on the publication of printed books.

The demand for the utmost possible restriction of dispensations and other graces given through the Curia was founded on the enumeration of a whole series of abuses. Mention was made in particular of the frequent sale of dispensations from wearing the monastic dress, the

misuse of contributions given to them for a good object by collectors of alms, the lax dispensations given in cases of contract of marriage within the prohibited degrees, the release from vows, and the absolution of simonists; confessional letters and portable altars were seldom to be allowed, and indulgences proclaimed only once a year in the larger cities. In conclusion, the Pope was reminded that, as Bishop of Rome, he was especially under the obligation to care for the worthy observance of worship, purity of morals, and the prosperity of the charitable institutions in his city; for strangers were justly shocked at the neglect of public worship even in St. Peter's, as well as at the open immorality.

"We have," the memorial ends, "satisfied our consciences, not without the greatest hope of seeing, under your pontificate, the Church of God restored to a fair and dovelike purity and to inward unity, to the eternal glory of your name. You have taken the name of Paul. We hope that you will imitate his charity. He was chosen as an instrument to carry Christ's name to the heathen; you, we hope, have been chosen to revive in our hearts and deeds that name long since forgotten among the heathen and by us the clergy, to heal our sickness, to unite Christ's sheep again in one fold, and to avert from our heads the wrath and already threatening vengeance of God."

Then follow the signatures of Cardinals Contarini, Carafa, Sadoleto, and Pole, of Bishops Fregoso, Aleander, and Giberti, of the Abbot Cortese and of Fra Tommaso Badia.[1] The unbiassed exposure of all abuses by these

[1] The sequence of the signatures denotes the ecclesiastical rank of the members of the commission. The question as to the single or plural authorship of the *Consilium* is still undecided. A strange impression is made by the anxiety of the different biographers to secure

noble men was an action deserving of the highest respect. They could not have looked the defects of their own Order so clearly in the face if they had not had a sound confidence in the strength of their case. Their memorial shows more than anything else that in Rome the first steps towards reform had been taken in earnest. Without that the process of dissolution would have gone on yet further, the ulcer have permanently spread. The preliminary

this honour for their particular heroes. CARACCIOLO and BROMATO (II., 11 *seq.*) are for Carafa, BALLERINI for Giberti (Op. Giberti, xxxii), QUIRINI (I., 370) and ZIMMERMANN (120, n.) for Pole, while DITTRICH, (362 *seq.*) ascribes it to Contarini. The latter, however, admits impartially that the question is open to debate. For Carafa's decided share in the composition we have not only Vergerio's testimony (SIXT, Vergerio, 415, and Serapeum, XIX., 72), but also the *note "opera et stilo J. P. Caraphae" on the copy of the *Consilium* among his papers in the National Library at Naples (Cod. XIII., AA 74, n. 73). Still, the question does not seem to me to be settled. I am inclined to agree with SCHWEITZER (Rom. Quartalschrift, XXII., 135) that with the material at our disposal it cannot be affirmed with certainty who had the chief hand in the memorial, and more especially since certain ideas and thoughts which are found in Carafa and Contarini were the common property of all the participators in the work of reform. ZIMMERMANN (121, note) rightly calls attention to this; but he is mistaken in appealing to Beccadelli on behalf of Pole's authorship, for the former says in his Vita del Card. Pole (BECCADELLI, Mon., I., 2, 241): "Fecero *questi signori deputati* con gli altri suoi colleghi una santa riforma," and so on. I also cannot agree with SCHWEITZER (*loc. cit.*) when he concludes from Aleander's report (Quellen und Forsch., VII., 261) that to three out of the midst of the deputation (Aleander, Cortese, and Badia) fell the task of sketching out the memorial to which afterwards Aleander gave the last touch of revision, for the *nos* must refer to all the members of the commission, since it is further said that the latter had not only composed (*composuerimus*) the "capita reformationis" but also discussed (*discusserimus*) them. The *cardinales* afterwards mentioned are not Contarini, Carafa, and Sadoleto, but the other members of the Sacred College, not upon the commission, who attended its sittings.

condition for every cure, a thorough knowledge of the disease itself, had been fulfilled; the wounds had been laid bare, and now the remedy could be applied.

The memorial was presented to the Pope on the 9th of March 1537.[1] This took place at a meeting of the reform commission held on the second story of the Vatican in the Camera di Papagallo, near the Chapel of Nicholas V. Paul III. was present in person, and most of the Cardinals took part.[2] Contarini read out the report and explained it; a special opinion of Sadoleto's was also presented, to which, however, the rest of the commission had not agreed. On a suggestion of Aleander the Pope decided that a copy of the memorial as signed by the nine members of the commission, together with an extract from Sadoleto's separate report, should be sent for examination to each Cardinal; at the same time he withdrew the previously imposed oath of secrecy, but under a condition, proposed by Aleander, that this important document should not be published until it had undergone a final revision.[3]

Thus, pending the authoritative settlement of the text, the way was left open to the deputation for further labours

[1] For this, see the very valuable autograph draft by Aleander, published by FRIEDENSBERG in Quellen und Forschungen, VII., 260 *seq.* From the same source we have been enabled above to give more precise information as to the locale of the commission.

[2] Campeggio was unable to be present on account of sickness. Of the members of the commission no longer resident in Rome, were Pole, Giberti, and Fregoso.

[3] Cardinal Schönberg consequently was fully justified in sending the memorial to a confidential friend in Germany, probably Cochläus. Thus there can be no question of any secret transaction, as asserted by Sleidan. Other suspicions adduced by Sleidan have also been refuted by EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XXXIX., 600 *seq.* The evidence here brought forward, that Schönberg incurred no guilt by making the memorial known in Germany, is fully confirmed in our remarks *infra*, p. 177.

in which the opinions of the Cardinals might afterwards receive consideration.[1] But even without alteration the draft corresponded perfectly in essentials with the object for which the great reform commission had been summoned by Paul III., namely, to draw up a programme for the reform work of the Council appointed to assemble on the 23rd of May 1537.[2] The fresh hindrances opposed to the opening of the Synod in Mantua[3] were a heavy blow to the Church, for a General Council was the only means capable of coping with the gigantic task of reforming so huge an organism. The remarkable character of the pioneer work of the commission of nine, its suitability as a basis for a general reform of Christendom, was recognized by the most competent contemporary judges.[4] Their verdict has been confirmed by history; for the great work on which the Council of Trent, at its close in 1563, was able to look back, had been anticipated and prepared for in all important points by the memorial of 1537, rightly named the "aureum consilium."[5] Only when this is considered can we realize what a notable landmark in the Church's history is formed by the commission of Paul III. and its recommendations.[6]

[1] Nothing more is known of this. Contarini wrote his "Epistola de potestate Pontificis in usu clavium" as an apologia against criticisms adverse to the *Consilium* on the part of the Sacred College; see DITTRICH, Contarini, 374 *seq.*

[2] It is the merit of EHSES (Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 162) to have first called attention to this point.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 98 *seq.*

[4] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 368, n. 1, and EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 161, n. 1.

[5] So EHSES (*loc. cit.*, 162) thinks, the most competent authority on this transaction. The description "aureum consilium" originated with Cardinal Quirini.

[6] "The appointment of this commission," says JUSTI (Michelangelo, 346), "was the signal for the spiritual movement which led to the rehabilitation of the reputation of the Papacy."

The impediments to the opening of the Council brought the Pope face to face with the question whether the way to comprehensive reforms might not be reached apart from the Synod. He gave fresh evidence of his sincerity by deciding at once, without hesitation, that such a course was possible. In the self-same consistory of April the 20th, 1537, in which the postponement of the General Council until November was resolved upon, Paul III. severed the question of reform from that of the now distant Synod and placed it in the hands of four of the best, most-learned, and most experienced Cardinals: Contarini, Carafa, Simonetta, and Ghinucci.[1] That this step raised high the hopes of Contarini is clear from his letter to Pole of the 12th of May 1537. "The Pope," he says, "has begun the work of reform, and the first step certainly has been taken on his own initiative. We four, chosen on the commission, shall not renounce our duty as Christian bishops. Almost all the Cardinals are on the side of reform; a change is coming over the views of consistory; proposals are not settled with nearly so much despatch as formerly; canons are cited, what may and what may not be done is carefully weighed, so that I cherish—I will not say I form, for I have never despaired—a great hope that our cause will prosper from day to day. Much have I wished that you and Cardinal Carpi were with us, in order that reform might advance with greater speed."[2]

The task committed to the new commission, again presided over by Contarini, was at first wisely limited by the Pope. Reform was to begin with the Dataria.[3] Paul III. had already made an attempt to introduce changes into this department by placing Giberti at its

[1] See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 164, and Histor. Jahrb., XXIX., 601 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, Chap. II.

[2] QUIRINI, Epist. Poli, II., 32.

[3] See *ibid.*

head in place of Jacobazzi, made a Cardinal on the 22nd of December 1536. Giberti, however, declined;[1] the Pope thereupon sought to promote that eminent man, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, but he also, being far advanced in years, could not be persuaded to accept, so that at last the post was given to Pietro Durante.[2]

The reform of the Dataria, which had already presented itself to the clear sight of Adrian VI.,[3] was exceptionally difficult, because this tribunal, for the bestowal of graces, dispensations, privileges, indults, and benefices reserved for Papal patronage, brought into the Curia yearly not less than 110,000 ducats, very nearly one half of the total receipts.[4]

On the other hand, there was hardly any other point in ecclesiastical administration over which such loud and violent complaint and accusation against the Church in general and the Roman Curia in particular was raised, as over the constant and heavy demands for money accom-

[1] "S. Sta ha voluto far datario l' vescovo di Verona con molti preghi et esso non ha mai accettato." *Report of F. Peregrino, dated Rome, Dec. 22, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] The statements in MORONI (XIX., 134) are sometimes incorrect. For amplification and confirmation of SCHWEITZER (Guidiccioni, 144 *seq.*) the following *report of F. Peregrino's, characteristic in other respects as well, is of use. It is dated Rome, Jan. 6, 1537: "S. Sta ha deputato per castellano di S. Angelo l' vescovo di Camerino già suo mastro di casa, M. Francesco [correctly Bartolommeo] Guidiccione Luchese, già suo vicario à Parma, per datario, se esso vorrà accettar l' officio, perche fa molto l' santo et l' Chiettino et hora che è cardinale fa [rà] l' Chiattone" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The Bishop of Camerino also seems to have declined his office (see BENIGNI, Miscell. di Stor. eccl., V., 162, 166). The nomination of P. Durante took place on Feb. 8, 1537; see the *letter of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, Feb. 9, 1537 (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 133).

[3] See Vol. IX. of this work, 111 *seq.*

[4] See Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 327.

panying the grant of ecclesiastical graces or the transaction of ecclesiastical business; this was especially the case with regard to the new tax (*compositio*) introduced by Sixtus IV. and payable to the Dataria on presentation to a benefice.[1] The reform commission went into this matter very thoroughly, calling in as aids to their deliberations such learned specialists as Aleander and Badia.

A leading question in this matter was, to what extent the Dataria, *i.e.* the Pope, could receive money for ecclesiastical graces without becoming guilty of simony. On this point great differences of opinion arose; all were agreed that he who serves the altar ought also to be maintained by those for whom he offers his ministrations; but when the question arose whether the Pope could enforce this duty on the faithful, views were divided. The application of punishments and excommunications seemed to some of the commission to be violent and arbitrary: some other method should be found which yet would not in any way be contrary to divine and natural law. With regard to this method, the great friends of reform, Contarini, Carafa, Aleander, and Badia, were of opinion that the payment of the tax should never be a condition of the bestowal of a grace, and that on no occasion should it be required for the preparation of the necessary documents. The scale of charges for expenses and clerks' fees must be regulated with great caution, so that there might be no appearance of these sums being fixed in proportion to the value of the grace by a simply automatic process, *i.e.* as if the payments made were to be regarded as a sort of *quid pro quo.* It would be best of all to abolish such sources of income altogether. The distinction drawn by the less stringent reformers, Ghinucci, Simonetta, and Laurerio, the General of the Servites, between the bestowal of the grace and the

[1] *Cf.* our remarks in Vol. IV. of this work, 420.

preparation of its documentary forms, did not meet the approval of the stricter party; the taint of simoniacal traffic remains if the grant of ecclesiastical property depends on a corresponding payment of money, and is not valid so long as this payment is withheld.[1]

During the deliberation anxiety was expressed lest the total abolition of the *compositio* might be made use of by the Lutherans as a censure on former Popes. Contarini and his friends did not attach importance to this. Nothing, in their opinion, would blunt the edge of Protestant invective more effectually than curial reform. "How," they further urged, "can we be so concerned for our good name, and not gladly reform what has become disordered, thereby making our good name secure? In fact, it was asking a good deal, to defend all transactions of the entire Papacy."[2]

[1] See EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XIV., 105 *seq.* Here is (108 *seq.*) a copy of the original memorial (in the Secret Archives of the Vatican) on the reform of the system of Papal graces, which DITTRICH (Regesten, 279 *seq.*) published from defective copies under the title of "Consilium quatuor delectorum a Paulo III. super reformatione Romanae Ecclesiae." In this important document, signed by Contarini, Carafa, Aleander, and Badia, the stricter tendencies find expression; Contarini was its sole author, as EHSES (*loc. cit.*, 107) shows. The more lenient view is contained in the "Compositionum defensio" published at the same time by DITTRICH in the Index of the Braunsberg Lyceum, 1883, and reveals, as EHSES (*loc. cit.*, 104) has shown conclusively, the authorship of Dionisio Laurerio, a fact confirmed by an Italian extract in Cod. Barb. lat. 5362, f. 188 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library, which also names Laurerio as the author. To these must yet be added a document from the Trivulzio Library in Milan, published by FRIEDENSBURG in the Quellen und Forschungen, VII., 263 *seq.*, in which Contarini sums up the result of the deliberations, gives reasons repeatedly for his strong opinions, but reserves a decision for further consultation.

[2] See Consil. quatuor delect., *loc. cit.*, 118.

At this moment a circumstance occurred which might have had serious consequences. The report of 1537, in spite of its confidential character, fell into unauthorized hands, by whom, in the beginning of 1538, it was sent to the printers. The exact truth concerning this breach of trust, generally condemned in Rome, has never been known. As all the Cardinals had copies of the document, it is probable that some dishonest servant made a transcript of one and sold it.[1] According to the statement of a Mantuan agent, the first issue appeared in Milan, a second in Rome.[2] Of the latter Morone procured a copy in Prague in March 1538, and at once expressed a fear that the Lutherans would twist the document into a sense of their own.[3] Nevertheless, the Governor of Rome did not take steps to prevent the sale of this unauthorized publication until the beginning of June, but in the meantime numerous copies had been widely circulated.[4]

[1] "Non si è mai," writes Ottaviano Lotti on Nov. 18, 1538, "potuto sapere di comissione di chi siano stati stampati, se non che le copie che S. Sta ne fece dare ai cardinali lo causorno" (LUZIO, V., Colonna, 46). Then, as at a later date, the Curia was often deficient with regard to the safeguarding of secret business (*cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, III., 157, 505; see also Röm. Quartalschrift, XXII., 138 *seq.*, and *infra*, n. 4, the passages from the *Ephem.).

[2] See the reports of Plotis to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of June 3 and 24, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), now printed by SOLMI, Fuga, 32. In Rome the *Consilium* was printed by Bladus and Gotardus de Ponte. SCHWEITZER (Röm. Quartalschrift, XXII.) has also called attention to a copy issued at Cesena.

[3] See Morone to Farnese, March 3, 1538, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 256.

[4] Plotis remarks in the letter of June 24, quoted *supra*, n. 2: "Il giorno medesmo, che haveva mandato a V. S. Ill. il consiglio stampato sopra la reformatione de' preti fu dal Governatore inhibito al stampatore che non se ne vendessi più, ma a giuditio mio sono state le inhibitione molto tarde, perchè già credo che n' havessi venduto una infinità et oltra di questo intendo che prima era stato stampato a Milano." *Cf.*

The German Lutherans did not let slip the opportunity of making the most of the document for their own purposes in unfair and odious ways. The good effect anticipated with such certainty by the idealizing Contarini proved a failure. Not even a lukewarm appreciation was accorded to the merits of the memorial, which bears lasting testimony to the insight and integrity of its originator.[1] Rather there was a repetition of the experience of Adrian VI., when with his outspoken recognition of ecclesiastical abuses he turned to the German nation. The Protestant reformers misrepresented with malicious glee the confession of so many faults and used it as a justification for their apostasy. Johann Sturm of Strassburg, who published the memorial, with a preface addressed to the Cardinals, exhorted the latter to pursue the work of reform, since the worst had not yet been disclosed; they had only shown a few wounds on the limbs without observing that the blood in the body of the Church was vitiated—liver, heart, lungs, and kidneys were attacked.

In strange contrast with certain flattering allusions to some members of the commission, Contarini in particular, which Sturm had dropped from his pen, was his reproach that, while they had said nothing of the neglect of instruction in the pure Gospel, they had done this out of hate or fear of the Pope and thereby had broken their oath.[2]

also the evidence in *Ephem. of the Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 142, which hitherto has been overlooked: "1538 Mense Julio proxime elapso consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de reformanda ecclesia Paulo III. P. M. jubente conscriptum et inconsiderate exhibitum vero subinde deinde prohibitum" (Vatican Library). The controversy between Quirini and Schelhorn (*cf.* LAUCHERT in the Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, XXIV., 248 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 372, n. 2) was thus finally closed.

[1] See F. K. KRAUS, Essays, I., 288.

[2] DITTRICH, Contarini, 369 *seq.*

Luther went further still; he published the memorial in German, together with such scornful and injurious comments that even his admirers tax him in this instance with unfairness.[1] He calls the authors "liars," "desperate rascals reforming the Church with cajolery." Their reformation is nothing, "since it reforms nobody." "Yet," he concludes, "one must not curse, but pray that God's name be hallowed and honoured, the Pope's name reviled and cursed together with his god, the devil."[2] In all this there is not the slightest understanding that a genuine spirit of reform was active in Rome.[3]

Sturm in his letter to the Cardinals had reproached Sadoleto in particular for repeatedly making false statements in his works about the Protestants and condemning them unread. Sadoleto refuted this in July 1538, regretting that Sturm in his otherwise well-written letter should have disfigured it with insults and calumnies; up till then he had been under the impression that it was only a peculiarity of Luther to burst out upon his opponents with clamour and invective, but that other and more cultivated men scorned such polemics.[4]

In Germany Cochläus entered into the lists in defence of the memorial. Contarini, who had read his work in manuscript, praised the moderation with which he conducted the controversy. His letter is evidence of the Cardinal's magnanimous temper, but shows also that he was insufficiently acquainted with Luther's teaching and in consequence judged it much too leniently.[5]

[1] See HASE'S opinion, Kirchengeschichte, 471.

[2] WALCH, XVI., 2398.

[3] See MÖLLER-KAWERAU, III., 3rd ed., and HERZOG, Realenzykl., XV., 3rd ed., 34.

[4] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 371, n. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, 373.

In the question of the *compositio* Contarini never slackened. He therefore at last addressed a report to the Pope himself, in which he once more gave the grounds for his strong opinion, and with his habitual candour declared the root of the preposterous system of the Curia to lie simply in the teaching of the extreme curialists that the Pope had unlimited power in the disposal of patronage, and in his jurisdictional authority, and might also traffic in them for money without committing simony. In proportion to the Cardinal's high estimate of the plenary power of the Papacy was his emphatic warning against any misuse of the same and his opposition to those who would have raised it to the level of absolute and arbitrary dominion. It is against the law of Christ, which is a law of freedom, he insisted, that Christians should be subject to an absolute and purely autocratic Pope. Without doubt the highest power in the Church has been given to the Pope by Christ, but it is a dominion of reason exercised over men of free will. His commands, prohibitions, dispensations, must not be arbitrary but according to the rules of reason, the Divine commandments, and charity, which ever have regard to God and the good of all mankind. After one more warning against the erroneous teaching of the extreme curialists, whereby occasion had been given to the Lutherans to write such books as the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Contarini thus sums up his arguments: "Most Holy Father, Christ has bestowed upon you the highest jurisdiction over Christian people, but this power is a government by reason. May your Holiness take heed not to swerve from this rule and not to yield to the impotence of the will, which chooses evil, and so fall into the slavery of sin. Avoiding this, you will be the mightiest of potentates, because in the highest sense free; and under such a rulership something, as

it were, of the life of heaven will be brought down to earth."[1]

It speaks well for Paul III. that he accepted this outspoken utterance in the best spirit. Contarini, who had well-nigh begun to despair, found this out as he accompanied the Pope on an expedition to Ostia on a fine November day in 1538. "On the road thither," he wrote to Pole, "our good old Pope spoke to me privately about the reform of the *compositio*. He said that he had with him the little treatise I had written on the subject and had read it in the morning hours." From the conversation that followed Contarini plucked up spirit.[2] His hopes, now rising, now sinking,[3] must have been quickened afresh by the approval with which the memorial of 1537 was received in Spain. Sepulveda fully acknowledged in a letter the noble intentions of its author and believed himself justified in now expecting that the Council would soon meet and the abuses in the Church be done away.[4]

In September 1538 Sadoleto was recalled to Rome to take part in the deliberations on reform.[5] On the 5th of October the consistorial minutes note, "The reform of the Church in head and members was dealt with."[6]

[1] Contarini, De potestate Pontificis in compositionibus, in LE PLAT, II., 608 *seq.* *Cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 384 *seq.* For the curialist theories, see IMBART DE LA TOUR, Origines de la Reforme, II., Paris, 1909, 57 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the letter to Pole of Nov. 11, 1538, in QUIRINI, Epist. Poli, II., 141.

[3] See N. Sernini's report in LUZIO, V. Colonna, 44.

[4] DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 392.

[5] *Ibid.*, 389.

[6] EHSES, IV., 453. The progress of the consultations on reform is given in Bianchetto's *letter of Oct. 28, 1538 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), printed in Appendix No. 25.

CHAPTER IV.

Renewal of the College of Cardinals. Reform Commissions.

On the 20th of December 1538 a fresh creation of Cardinals took place.[1] If political considerations predominated on this occasion,[2] yet the nominees were men of the highest character. The French party had an addition to the ranks of their supporters in Robert de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Châlons; the Imperialists the same in the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos, a kindred spirit to Carafa, and in Pedro Manriquez, Bishop of Cordova. Nevertheless, the Emperor, for whose sake Paul III. had also on the 18th of October 1538 invested the Bishop of Compostella, Pietro Sarmiento, with the sacred purple,[3] was still dissatisfied; for on the 20th of December, together with the above named, the Scotsman, David Beaton, was nominated and he was

[1] See Acta Consist. in Raynaldus, 1538, n. 47, and in App. No. 26, Blasius de Martinellis (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). *Cf.* Ciaconius, III., 644 *seq.*; Cardella, IV., 200 *seq.* For the above transactions, see N. Arch. Veneto, VI. (1893), 236 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978 of the Vatican Library.

[3] In the *Bull of nomination dated Romae 1538, XV. Cal. Nov., it is expressly stated that the nomination was the result of Charles's recommendation (*Contelorius, XI., 48, Secret Archives of the Vatican). But another influence also at work was the marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret, the Emperor's daughter; see N. Arch. Veneto, VI., 238.

counted on the French side.[1] Two others who were to be named in the interests of France and Venice the Pope reserved *in petto.* The first of these, Ippolito d'Este, whose appointment on the 5th of March 1539[2] followed on the final peace with the Duke of Ferrara,[3] stood high in favour with Francis I. The second, proclaimed on the 24th of March 1539,[4] was Pietro Bembo. His elevation excited much attention;[5] it had been preceded by a sharp contest. Many, especially Cardinals Quinoñes and Carafa, took exception to the previously loose life of this distinguished humanist.[6] There was a further difficulty that the Venetian Government had another candidate.

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, III., 395, and N. Arch. Veneto, VI., 243. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, I., 338 *seq.*

[2] See Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican. For Ippolito d' Este, who was a great patron of art and antiquity, see Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, VII., 3 *seq.*, 7; LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 186; CAMPORI, Gl' Intagliatori di stampe e gli Estensi 6; *cf.* also, besides the works generally cited *supra*, p. 182, n. 1, PÉRICAUD, Hipp. d' Este archev. de Lyon, Lyon, 1865, and Bullet. Ital., I., Bordeaux, 1901, 111 *seq*

[3] On Jan. 21, 1539; see N. Arch. Veneto, VI., 243.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 510, n.

[5] Bembo thanked the Pope for his intention on Dec. 28, 1538, and again for its fulfilment (see Bembi Opera, III., 4, and IV., 232 *seq.*). Casa and Beccadelli are quite wrong in saying that Bembo had not made efforts to be made Cardinal; see MORSOLIN, Il cardinalato di P. Bembo: *Nozze* Biadego-Bernardinelli, Verona, 1896, 30 *seqq.*

[6] Ottaviano de Lotti *reports on Jan. 8, 1539, to Cardinal E. Gonzaga: "Si sta nel chiarire di quei doi Cardinali che il papa si serbò nel stomaco, delli quali V. S. R^{ma} deve essere meglio informato di me, pur dirò bene chel Bembo ha de gran personaggi chel favoriscano, ancora chel r^{mo} Theatino facesse si mal uffitio contra di lui, il qual intendo che gli fo fatto far da doi r^{mi} Venetiani" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the two reports of N. Sernini in Giorn. Stor. di lett. Ital., XXXVII., 208, n. 1, and Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 543. For Bembo and his life, see our information in Vol. VIII. of this work, 191–196.

The nuncio at Venice, who was invited to send in a report, spoke strongly in favour of Bembo; the other candidate also had charges of former delinquencies against him; in Bembo's case no anxiety on that score was now forthcoming. Besides, this great man of letters had so many good qualities that he had claims above all others.[1] It was decisive for the Pope that Cardinals Farnese, Carpi, and Contarini himself supported Bembo's nomination.[2] The result showed that he was right, for Bembo had taken a much more serious attitude, a change which naturally only took place gradually.[3] In honouring the old man of sixty-nine, who, besides representing the golden age of Leo X. was regarded as the prince of learning and eloquence,[4] Paul III. won over the whole party of humanists, who still continued to influence public opinion in a remarkable way. The Pope still remembered how much harm Adrian VI. had done himself by his brusque treatment of this coterie,[5] and if he pursued the opposite course he certainly acted with far-seeing wisdom. The way was paved for the humanists and literati of the

[1] See CAPASSO in N. Arch. Veneto, VI., 240 *seq.*, where it is shown that the Venetian Government observed a strictly passive position with regard to Bembo.

[2] This is expressly stated by N. Sernini in a letter of March 24, 1539, in SOLMI, Fuga, 87–88. Farnese's influence on the nomination is brought out by Giovio in his letter of congratulation to Bembo, Lett. volg., III., 175 *seq.*; see also Bembo's letter of thanks to Farnese in Bembi Opera, III., 29–30.

[3] See CIAN in Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., 439 *seq.*; *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 767, and GOTHEIN, 117 *seq.* On his reception by the Curia, Bembo wrote on Nov. 20, 1539: "Io sono stato ben veduto qui più che io non pensai," Lett. ined. di P. Bembo a G. B. Ramusio, Venezia, 1875, 26.

[4] See the characteristic entry in the otherwise dry Acta Consist. Nuntiaturberichte, III., 510.

[5] See Vol. IX. of this work, 97 *seq.*, 115, 116, 225 *seq.*

Renaissance to pass over into the Church.[1] Not merely in Italy but in Germany also the bestowal of the purple on the foremost champion of humanism met with general approval among Catholics as well as Protestants.[2]

As the Rota, Cancelleria, Penitentiaria, and the Courts of Justice had to be reformed together with the Dataria, in the spring of 1539 the members of the commission of four were increased to eight. They now consisted of Cardinals Cupis, Campeggio, Ghinucci, Simonetta, Contarini, Carafa, Cesarini, and Ridolfi. The reform of each department was assigned to two Cardinals apiece; thus Contarini and Carafa undertook the Penitentiaria, Ghinucci and Cupis the Courts of Justice. The results of these four special commissions were afterwards to be dealt with in a general meeting of all the members.[3]

The Pope, who from the beginning had stimulated the reform commission to the most zealous activity,[4] put on still further pressure in a consistory of the 5th of March 1539, in view of the Council.[5] Immediately afterwards he called the members of the commission to him and bade them make serious efforts towards the reform of the *compositio*; however embarrassing to him a diminution of his revenues might be, he was determined that the work of reform should proceed. The commission again met to deliberate, but were unable to come to any decision. As the agent of Cardinal

[1] See KERKER, Kirchliche Reform, 40 *seq.* Aretino's flattering letter to Paul III. in praise of Bembo's nomination (Lett. d. Aretino, I. [1609], 67 *seq.*) is wrongly dated in this edition: April 1, 1538, instead of 1539.

[2] See Aleander's report in Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 15.

[3] This important new information I took from N. Sernini's letter of March 19, 1539; see *infra*, p. 186, n. 1.

[4] See Contarini's letter of July 23, 1537, in DITTRICH, Regesten, 278.

[5] N. Sernini also reports this in a *letter to Cardinal E. Gonzaga on March 14, 1539, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Gonzaga was informed, Contarini, although Carafa himself no longer gave him his support, stood out unflinchingly for the absolute inadmissibility of the *compositio.* The general feeling was such that it was thought that at least two-thirds of the tax must go. "The poor Penitentiaria also," relates the above-named writer, "is undergoing a fierce attack. No one knows whence these changes come, and the most diverse views are expressed. Many think that the Pope has secret intelligence of a reconciliation between Charles V. and Francis I., whereby the Council will be brought about, and deems it better that the Curia should have reformed itself beforehand."[1]

[1] See the important letter of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, March 19, 1539: Li deputati sono otto cardinali Trani Campeggio, Ghinucci, Simonetta, Contarino, Chieti, Cesarino et Ridolfi, li quali si adunorono venardi passato nella stanza, dove si fa il consistorio, et N. S. gli mandò a chiamare, decendogli in sustantia ch' essi sapevono come sempre haveva desiderato che si facesse la riformatione et al presente lo desiderava più che mai, però voleva senza alcun rispetto si assettassono prima le compositioni del datario, et fece dimandare il datario commettendogli che facesse quanto da loro S. r^{me} gli fosse ordinato, le cui conscientie incaricava et bene diceva liberamente fuor di denti, acciò sapessono qual fusse l' animo suo, et ancora che conoscesse che per sostenere il grado della sede apostolica nel modo che si conviene vi fusse assai male il modo, non di meno per questo non voleva restare che non si facesse questa sant' opera, et con questa commissione si partirono da lei. Si sono puoi ridunati una sol volta; sono venuti a qualche particulari, ma non però a nissuna risolutione, et per quanto intendo tutti procedono assai ritorosamente, ma sopra tutti Contarino, il quale dice, che il papa come papa non può far cosa alcuna per dinari, et a questa parte Chieti non gli consente allegando motte ragioni in contrario; Simonetta et Ghinucci procedono con più rispetto, il che non fanno gli altri. Ridolfi non vi s'è ancora truovato, Cesarino et Campeggio l' accostono assai a Chieti, di modo che si fa giuditio, che almeno li dui terzi delle compositioni se leveranno, che sono gli regressi, riservationi di frutti, coadiutorie et dispense di matrimonii. Questi medesimi hanno da riformare la Ruota, la

Unfortunately the members of the commission could arrive at no agreement on the admissibility of the *compositio.* In view of their divisions the Pope shrank from giving a decision,[1] all the more so because if the tax were repealed some equivalent would have to be found unless the finances were to become utterly bankrupt. One of the greatest difficulties of the work of reform, as the Venetian ambassador Soriano had perceived in 1535, lay in the fact that the removal of abuses was equivalent to robbing the Pope of his means of subsistence.[2] A further difficulty arose from the circumstance that many flaws in the curial system acted as counter-checks on each other.

Cancelleria, il Sommista, la Penitentieria, li tribunali che amministrono giustitia, et infra di loro rev^mi^ hanno partite questa cure, dandone carico a dui d'esse, come dire a Contarino et Chieti è tocca la Penitentieria, a Ghinucci et Trani gli tribunali, et così d' in mano in mano ; et li dui hanno da riferire a gl' altri, et tutti insieme puoi risolvere in quel miglior modo che li dettarà la lor conscientia et che vorrà il dovere. Certo è che la povera madonna Penitentieria sta a male mani et sotto a barbieri che l' escusaranno pelerella. Venerdì che viene s'hanno a ritruovare un altra volta insieme. Io non mancherò di scriverne tutto quello che intendarò et che sarò atto a capire col mio poco ingegno. Non si sa indivinare dove proceda in un tratto tanta mutatione, et ognuino discorre come gli piace ; molti pensono che S. Sta habbia qualche aviso che altri non sappia, et che pensi accordandose il re et l' Imperatore che si potrebbe fare il concilio, et però è meglio truovarse per se stessa riformata. L' abocamento ancora che si dice che faranno li detti due principii [*sic*] insieme, fa dubitare assai, di modo che per ogni rispetto è a proposito ripararvi per virtù et non forzatamente (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). SOLMI published the foregoing in the Bullett. Senese, XV., 35, in his article "La fuga di Ochino," but very incorrectly, so that the above version, collated with the original by A. Luzio, may be welcome.

[1] *Cf.* Carafa's testimony in ANCEL, Paul IV. et le Concile, Louvain, 1907, 18, n. 1.

[2] See ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 315 ; *cf.* also RIBIER, I., 504.

While the reorganization of the Dataria was left unsettled, the deliberations on the reform of the other departments were being pushed forward. The commission, as even the enemies of Paul III. had to admit, worked assiduously.[1] The year 1539 was devoted principally to further inquiries and investigations, carried on as far as possible in secrecy,[2] as a precaution against fresh Lutheran attacks. How little encouragement was given in some quarters is shown from an entry in the diary of Blasius de Martinellis, the Papal Master of Ceremonies. In April 1539 he writes: "To-day, while I was ill, Cardinals Carafa and Contarini, as reformers of the curial offices, began to fall foul of the Masters of Ceremonies, as if the latter received exorbitant pay and were guilty of all manner of arrogant pretensions. But after they had been informed what the rights of the Masters of Ceremonies were and how little remuneration they got for their extensive services to the Pope and the Cardinals, they were silent and pressed their inquiries no further."[3]

In the College of Cardinals a conflict very soon arose between the strong party of reform and the more opportunist section. Cardinal Carafa, who had rightly condemned in the strongest terms the abuse of a Cardinal holding a plurality of bishoprics, found a special opponent in Campeggio.[4] On this important point Carafa was supported by Contarini, Pole, and Quinoñes. When, in 1537, a third bishopric, that of Narni, was about to be

[1] See report of Lotti of March 18, 1539, in SOLMI, Fuga, 37.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 505.

[3] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 165.

[4] With more detail than Bragadino (in DE LEVA, III., 385, n. 1), but certainly not in agreement with Carafa, F. Peregrino reports on this in a *letter of Jan. 29, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see Appendix No. 20.

bestowed on Cardinal Sforza Santafiora, already holding two, the above named rose in open opposition. It is deserving of notice that Paul III., in spite of all other weaknesses for members of his family, decided on this occasion in accordance with the views of the stricter Cardinals.[1] It was also another satisfactory sign of the times that a beginning was made to limit the bestowal of monasteries *in commendam*,[2] and that the character of nominees to bishoprics was made matter of examination.[3] It is still further significant of Paul III.'s good-will that he was ready to accept information and advice on the subject of Church reform from lay persons such as Vittoria Colonna and Camillo Orsini, even when their language was downright and outspoken.[4]

With regard to the introduction of distinguished men into the Curia, so incessantly urged by Contarini[5] as the best means of forwarding reform, the Pope remained of the same opinion as before. But here he met with an opposition among the very best men, which shows perhaps more clearly than anything else what difficulties were linked with the reforming movement. He was thus unsuccessful in drawing Giberti into the Curia; however urgently the Pope might represent to him that the services he could render at Rome to the Church at large were of more importance than his reforming activity in his own

[1] This fact, hitherto unknown, I took from G. M. della Porta's *report from Rome, Dec. 14, 1537 (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 133).

[2] EHSES, IV., 453, n. 2.

[3] A specimen in Studi Storici, XVI., 250.

[4] See QUIRINI, Epist. Poli, II., 123 *seq.*, and Imago, 62 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 395; TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna in the Studi e doc., XXII., 178.

[5] See BECCADELLI, Vita di Contarini, c. 13.

diocese, Giberti succeeded with equal insistency in proving to Paul, through his friends Contarini and Pole, that his continued presence in Verona was indispensable, and the Pope therefore gave him permission to remain.[1] On the other hand, a fresh attempt to capture Bartolommeo Guidiccioni for the work in Rome did not miscarry. The Pope at first renewed to him his offer of the Dataria in June 1539, but Guidiccioni again declined.[2] When, however, the Papal Vicar-General, Pietro Capizucchi, died in August, Paul III. refused to take any more excuses from the aged Guidiccioni, and he was obliged to accept this important post.[3] It was soon rumoured that he was destined for the purple; the confirmation of this report came more rapidly than was expected.

As early as the second half of October 1539 it was understood that a creation of Cardinals would take place at Christmas,[4] but it was not until the beginning of December that decisive negotiations began[5] On this occasion they were more difficult than ever, for not merely the great numbers but also the qualifications of several of the candidates roused objection.[6] At last, in a consistory held on the 19th of December, the nomination of the follow-

[1] See EHSES, IV., 189 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Niccolini's *letter to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, July 12, 1539 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3262).

[3] SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 153 *seq.*

[4] See F. Peregrino's *report, Oct. 18, 1539 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] Bracci's *report to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, Dec. 8, 1539 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3262).

[6] See in Appendix, Nos. 28 and 29, the *reports of N. Servini of Dec. 18, 19, 1539, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also the *reports of Bracci of Dec. 18, 19, 20, in State Archives, Florence, and Blasius de Martinellis in his *Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

ing twelve was agreed to:[1]—Federigo Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio; Pierre de la Baume, expelled from his bishopric of Geneva by the reformers; Antoine Sanguin, Bishop of Orleans; Uberto Gambara, repeatedly a nuncio, and since 1528 Bishop of Tortona; Ascanio Parisani, Treasurer-General and Bishop of Rimini; Pier Paolo Parisio, a distinguished jurist, and Uditore della Camera; Marcello Cervini, private secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; Bartolommeo Guidiccioni; Dionisio Laurerio, General of the Servites, and a noted theologian; Errigo Borgia, titular Bishop of Squillace; Jacopo Savelli, and one more reserved *in petto*.[2]

The objections to Savelli were so far justified, as he was only sixteen years old, but otherwise good hopes had been formed concerning him.[3] Of the strong exception taken

[1] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1539, n. 38; *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 660 *seq.*, and CARDELLA, IV., 216 *seq.*, who, however, is wrong in placing the creation on Dec. 12. For A. Parisani, see GARAMPI, App. 255 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 258, for Parisio (died 1546); see also MARINI, Lettera, 29 and 120, and FORCELLA, IX., 159. For Guidiccioni, see SCHWEITZER, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.* E. Borgia, nominated out of gratitude to Alexander VI. (brief of Dec. 19, 1539, Min. brev., vol. 15, n. 1264, in Secret Archives of the Vatican), died on Sept. 16, 1540 (not 1539, as in the monumental inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 69), amid general regret; see Antella's *report to Cosimo de' Medici, Sept. 18, 1540, in State Archives, Florence. For U. Gambara, *cf.* references in index to Vols. IX. and X. of this work and Appendix No. 50 in Vol. IX., as well as GARAMPI, App. 252 *seq.*; GIORDANI, Della venuta in Bologna di Clemente VII., Bologna, 1842, App. 5, and F. ODORICI, Il Card. U. Gambara di Brescia, 1487–1549, Brescia, 1856 (only thirty copies printed). His sister, the pious poetess Veronica Gambara (*cf.* FLAMINI, 197, 548), celebrated Paul III. in several poems published in BIGI, Matilda e Veronica Gambara, Mantua, 1859, 58 *seq.*; *cf.* Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XIV., 444 *seq.*

[2] Miguel de Silva, a Portuguese, first publicly announced on Dec. 2, 1541; see *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Achives of the Vatican).

[3] See *Cod. Vat., 7248, f. 147 (Vatican Library).

to Gambara, Paul III. remarked that this candidate had now changed the tenor of his life.[1] Gambara's active supporters had been the Emperor,[2] Pier Luigi, and in particular Costanza Farnese.[3] To the powerful influence of the latter Parisani also was indebted for the red hat.[4] With the exception of the above-named three, all the rest were distinguished men and personalities from whom the Catholic world might expect the best; this could be said especially of the learned Dionisio Laurerio, of Bartolommeo Guidiccioni,[5] and of the indefatigable workers after high ideals, Marcello Cervini and Federigo Fregoso. The latter, a scion of a noble Genoese house, had declined in 1533 the Archbishopric of Salerno and retired to Gubbio, where he lived entirely for his diocese. Fregoso was not only an ardent reformer, but a sound scholar, being

[1] N. Sernini thus reports to Cardinal E. Gonzaga in a *letter of Dec. 24, 1539, in which, at the same time, he says that Cardinal Trivulzio had opposed Gambara strongly, as well as all the new Cardinals (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Bracci's *report to Cosimo de' Medici, Dec. 21, 1539 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3262).

[3] As early as Feb. 24, 1539, N. Sernini informs Cardinal E. Gonzaga: *Intendo che il S. Pier Luigi et la S^ra^ Costanza hanno data grandissima battaglia a N. S. acciò che facesse cardinale l' abbate di Farfa et il Gambara (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Massarelli, Diarium, ed. MERKLE, I., 195, who gives a bad account of Costanza's traffic in livings. Of her great influence over her father there is repeated mention in the envoy's correspondence; *cf.* G. M della Porta's *letters of Nov. 18 and 26, 1536 (State Archives, Florence, Urb.), and *F. Peregrino of Oct. 4, 1539. *Aurelio Manni Ugolini advises the Siennese on May 28, 1544, to apply to Costanza, "della quale nissuna persona dicono potere più disporre di S. Sta" (State Archives, Siena).

[5] Cesare de' Nobilibus calls him the "Gloria et honor" of Lucca in a *letter dated Rome, Dec. 13, 1539, in which he says his "integrità, exemplar vita et dottrina cattolica" were well known in Rome (State Archives, Lucca).

eminent as an Orientalist; as a father of the poor he was beloved by all.[1] In 1536 he had already refused the Cardinalate,[2] and on this occasion also the nomination was sorely against his wishes.[3]

Although the reform commission throughout the year 1539 had pursued their labours with determination, and the question of general reform had been discussed in a general congregation,[4] the spring of 1540 came round without any conclusive results having been reached.[5] This was all the more distressing to Paul III. since his nuncios abroad were also pressing[6] for an acceleration of the labours now so long retarded in consequence of the silent, unswerving, and persevering opposition of those whose interest it was to maintain the *status quo.* At last the Pope took energetic action in person; the consistorial minutes for the 21st of April 1540 report that "His Holiness gave

[1] *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 358; BELLUZZI, 179; CANTÙ, Eretici, I., 419; BONGI, Annali di Giolito, I., xxxix *seq.*, 34 *seq.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 49; Pariseti Epist., I., 6, and *letter of F. Peregrino, Dec. 22, 1536: "L' arcivescovo di Salerno non ha voluto accettar l' capello allegando tal dignità non esser la salvatione de l' anima sua" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] QUIRINI, III., cclxxiv. Fregoso died on July 22, 1541. This distinguished man, whose funeral oration was pronounced by Sadoleto (in CIACONIUS, III., 661), deserves a monograph. His tomb is to be seen in the Cathedral of Gubbio.

[4] EHSES, IV., 453. *Cf.* also DITTRICH, Nuntiaturberichte Morones, 92, n. 1, and BROMATO, II., 37 *seq.* The Mantuan Envoy reported on Aug. 6, 1539: *"Qui s' attende continuamente a fare congregationi per reformare le cose della chiesa," but no decision had yet been reached (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also Sernini's report of Sept. 26, 1539, in SOLMI, Fuga, 37 *seq.*

[5] If the reports given by SOLMI (*loc. cit.*, 38 *seq.*) are to be trusted, much time was lost over side issues.

[6] *Cf.* Morone's letter of April 18, 1540, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 260.

orders that the matter of curial and official reform should be wound up, *i.e.* put into practical execution."[1]

This success of the reforming party was the signal for their opponents to make new and vigorous attacks on the advocates of radical change. Previous to the Papal decision everything that could possibly be done in the way of opposition had been done. The curial officials who gained great personal advantages from the abuses, and all whose existence depended on the curia, formed themselves from motives of self-interest into a weighty and compact body of resistance to all attempts at thorough-going reform. It was not, by a long way, the worst attempt from this quarter to depreciate reform when the latter was represented as merely superficial, and it was roundly asserted that the old system would nevertheless go on just as before.[2] Many went so far as to ridicule or revile[3] the high-minded purposes of the reform party, the "Chietini," as all the serious-minded men in Rome were called, by a play on the name "Theatine." After the Pope's decision calumnies of the lowest kind were circulated in order especially to damage Carafa's moral character. Just as at an earlier

[1] EHSES, IV., 454.

[2] *Cf.* the jesting remark of the French ambassador Monluc in RIBIER, I., 503, and especially a *report of Vincenzo da Gatico to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Feb. 21, 1540, in which he writes: . . . "In questi dì si sono fatte alcuni congregationi per ritrovare denari per quanto intendo et per riformare le cose di questi preti; nel primo negotio credo che senza dubbio si trovarà partito, nel secondo che la riforma non si stenderà piu avanti che di non lasciargli portare le scarpe di velluto et similia" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* in App. No. 20 the *report of F. Peregrino of Jan. 29, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the *Chietini*, see GASPARY, Gesch. der Ital. Lit., II., 478, 590 *seq.*, and our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, 412. For the suspicions, *cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta of Nov. 22, 1537: "Trani spera col suo far l' ecclesiastico arrivar al papato et il Gambara al capello" (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 133).

date Adrian VI. had been exposed to such attacks, so now the Cardinal of Chieti was assailed with groundless charges of immorality.[1]

Even those who acknowledged that the Pope had been successful in his proceedings against the misgovernment of the Curia were yet enraged that a time of scarcity had been chosen as the exact moment to carry out reforms by which the incomes of the officials were bound to be curtailed.[2] So narrow-minded a standpoint, keeping only personal interests in view, was self-condemned; yet even among some of the Cardinals this opinion was upheld. Thus, in dealing with reforms in the Penitentiaria, Contarini and Carafa had to encounter the most violent opposition from Antonio Pucci, the Grand Penitentiary.[3] Important, however, as the difficulties were, even in this instance Contarini did not despair as long as he felt convinced of the Pope's good intentions. Moreover, he was certainly correct in holding to the view that abuses forbidden to the Peni-

[1] See Vincenzo da Gatico's *letter of May 4, 1540, filled with scorn and hatred of the "santo Cardinale di Chieti" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The lascivious tone of this letter shows on whose side the immorality lay. Navagero bears witness to the consistent purity of Carafa's life. ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 380.

[2] F. Peregrino makes use of this point of view in a very characteristic *letter of Feb. 20, 1540 (see App. No. 30), which must certainly belong to March 20: "S. Sta attende alla reformatione di tutti li officii della corte et tribunali et fa correggier molte insolencie, perchè in verità si facevano de molte extorsione contra del dovere et le cose erano ridotte che andavano a chi posseva più robbare; hora saranno corretti et non faranno più tanto" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] "Siamo molto avanti nella riformatione, alla quale mi pare che N. S. li atendi da dovero. Mons di Chieti et io havemo il cargo della penitenciaria et combatiamo con Mons. di S. Quattro," wrote Contarini on April 10, 1540, to Cardinal E. Gonzaga (N. Arch. Veneto, VII. (1904), 263). *Cf.* also the letter of April 18, 1540, in the Quellen und Forschungen, II., 204 *seq.*

tentiaria must also be forbidden in other departments, especially in the Dataria. Here again Paul III. was on his side.[1] An important step towards the reform of the Courts of Justice was the nomination on the 17th of February 1540 of Cardinal Guidiccioni as Prefect of the Segnatura.[2]

Aleander, writing to Morone on the 27th of April 1540, says: "The work of reform goes on busily from day to day. To-day a general meeting took place in the apartments of Cardinal Cupis, the Dean of the Sacred College." Aleander regretted that he was prevented from taking part, as there was a prospect of a sharp discussion with Cardinal Pucci. The Pope had given orders that Aleander, in spite of his impaired health, was to listen to the reports of all the deputies. Aleander thought that the difficulties raised by the many interested parties would certainly be very great, but notwithstanding this a successful issue might, with God's help, be hoped for since the Pope was thoroughly in earnest.[3] Even one so unfriendly to Paul III. as Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* Contarini's letters to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of April 18 and May 5, 1540, in N. Arch. Veneto, VII., 268–270.

[2] See SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 189.

[3] *De publicis non ho che scriver' altro, se non che ogni di battiamo sull' ancugine della reformatione, et hoggi è fatta congregatione de tutti li deputati in casa del R^mo de Trani decano, nella qual non ho potuto andar per essere stato occupato nelle cose del Palazzo, e mi duole, perchè si dovea far un gran conflitto co 'l r^mo Penitentiere, et ancor che al mio arrivar qua fussero già fatti molti deputati per diversi punti della reformatione, et ch' io desideri et habbi grande bisogno di reposarme alquanto, nondimeno N. S. ha voluta, ch' io mi trovi alle relatione di tutte le deputationi, il che è a me molto grave, non per la cosa in se, la qual è buona e pia, ma per trovarmi tanto fiacho, ch' ogni piccol moto a diverse parti mi è de incredibil molestia a comportarlo. Tuttavia ogni fatiga mi parerà iocunda, purchè questa cosa habbi buon successo. Il che ancora che pari difficillimo per tanti interessati, i quali strideno al cielo, nondimeno è però impossibile, attenta la ottima

Ercole Gonzaga had to admit that reform was making progress.[1] The Grand Penitentiary, Pucci, made no concealment of his opposition, and when the decisions of the reform commissioners were laid before the consistory, he defended his case so ably that several Cardinals were brought over to his side. Pucci was loud in his complaints against Contarini for his peevish appeals to his conscience.[2] If the matter, in spite of Pucci's opposition, was pursued further, it was not merely owing to Contarini's determination but to the intervention of Paul III. as well. The consistorial minutes for the 6th of August 1540 report: "The reform of the Penitentiaria was despatched and settled."[3]

We have no more precise information as to the manner in which the reform of the Apostolic Camera and the tribunals of the city of Rome was carried out by the commission of Cardinals. On the other hand, it is made clear from a series of documents how the process was effected in the Apostolic Chancery. There was first an inquiry comprising all officials, from the Vice-Chancellor down to his lowest subordinates; the commission then examined in retrospect the original institution of the various offices, the regulations of earlier Popes and of the Lateran Council, and afterwards drew up new statutes of reform with a discreet regard for the altered conditions of the time. In the Chancery sweeping changes were made,

voluntà di N. S. et la speranza de l' adiuto de Dio. Aleander to Morone, dated Rome, April 27, 1540. Nunz. Germ., 58, f. 108b–109b (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] Letter of May 20, 1540, to Contarini, Quellen und Forschungen, II., 208.

[2] See Plotis to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, July 14, 1540, in N Arch Veneto, XIII. (1907), 10–12.

[3] EHSES, IV., 454.

especially where the illegal increase of rate in many taxes was concerned. The three other commissions certainly acted in like manner.[1] On the 27th of August 1540 a consistory was held in which the Pope confirmed the resolutions presented by the four commissions of reform, and in order to supervise their execution appointed yet a third Cardinal to each commission. The reform deputations were thus raised from eight to twelve members. For the Penitentiaria, accordingly, Contarini, Carafa, and Laurerio were appointed; for the Apostolic chamber, Cupis, Ghinucci, and Pole; for the Rota, Cesarini, del Monte, and Guidiccioni; for the Chancery, Grimani, Aleander, and Ridolfi.[2]

The task entrusted to these commissions consisted not merely in enforcing the general principles of reform in their several departments, but much more in giving practical effect to these principles, by organizing special reforms and taking measures to remove abuses according to the exigencies of each particular case. In this connection the annalist of the city of Rome reports on the 13th of December 1540: "In the Chancery court certain resolutions were announced abolishing abuses in the Roman Curia, especially in relation to the payment of monies."[3]

It very often happens that a man of eminent reputation succeeds in carrying out practical changes where the best legislative enactments fail. Paul III. may well have had this in mind when he resolved to make rearrangements in the staff of the Dataria. On the 21st of February 1541 the Datary, Vincenzo Durante, who had succeeded his uncle in

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 167 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 454.

[3] See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 167, and IV., 454. The publication of the Reform decrees in the Chancery followed on Dec. 18, 1540; see Miscell. Arm., 12, t. 58, f. 361 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

that office, was relieved of his post and the former Treasurer, Girolamo Capodiferro, appointed in his stead.[1]

It must not be inferred from the Pope's energetic action in this particular instance that he was, on the question of reform in general, too precipitate in his measures; on the contrary, he displayed herein also great wisdom and circumspection. Before the directions of the commission of Cardinals became law he issued a Bull giving an opportunity for all who came within the scope of reform to express their opinions. The fullest use was made of this permission; the Chancery officials in particular sought by counter-representations to avert any diminution of their incomes drawn from taxation; unfortunately we are not in possession of information as to how far they were successful.[2] In the same way the progress of the work of reform has been but scantily reported; the question of indulgences was, in particular, a cause of very great difficulty.[3]

The business continued to be transacted privately under the presidency of Cardinal Cupis. It was a disadvantage that Contarini, appointed Legate to the Diet of Ratisbon, had to leave Rome on the 28th of January 1541. As Carafa was also kept away from the sittings through illness, the commission in February 1541 was reduced to ten members,[4] and in the summer death removed two of the most eminent, Ghinucci and Fregoso.[5] If, in spite of these misfortunes, tangible results were attainable towards

[1] EHSES, IV., 454.

[2] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 169 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, Feb. 1, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See N. Sernini, as cited in preceding note.

[5] Ghinucci died, according to Gualterius (*Diarium, XII., 58, Secret Archives of the Vatican), on July 3, 1541: he is here described as "magnae vir auctoritatis singularisque prudentiae et ingenii." Fregoso died on July 22, 1541.

the close of the year, this was due primarily to the energy of Paul III. It was he who, on the 21st of November 1541, reinforced the commission by the appointment of the Cardinal-Dean, the senior Cardinal-Priest and Cardinal-Deacon, strengthened by expert assistance from the official class.[1]

In autumn of 1541 the Pope had approached yet another matter: this was the reform of the pulpit, which in Italy as well as in other countries exhibited grave deterioration. Cardinals Contarini and Aleander were therefore enjoined to draw up written rules and instructions for preachers. This was the origin of Contarini's *Instructio* on preaching, in which special suggestions are given for dealing with the most disputed points in the Protestant controversy, with a warning to avoid above all things unintelligible subtleties and to adapt the teaching of the pulpit to the mental capacities of the hearers.[2]

In the following year the commission suffered exceptionally heavy losses. Aleander died on February the 1st, and soon afterwards Cesarini.[3] In August, Contarini passed away, and Laurerio in September.[4] To compensate for

[1] EHSES, IV., 455.

[2] See DITTRICH, Regesten, 385, and Contarini, 791 *seq.*; *cf.* also Chap. IV., *infra*, 508.

[3] On Aleander's death Gualterius remarks (*loc. cit.*): *Multiplicis doctrinae et plurium linguarum peritissimus, ex cujus ammisione curia et senatus magnam jacturam passus est. For Aleander's will, see ROCCO, Aleandro, 78 *seq.*, and Rev. d. Bibl., II., 51 *seq.* Cesarini died, according to Gualterius, on Feb. 14, 1542. The Florentine envoy Serristori, announcing Aleander's decease on Feb. 2, 1542, dwells on the sorrow and loss of the Imperialists: *quali resteranno con pochi cardinali se di nuovo non ne sono provisti perchè credo che ci sarà per pocho tempo del Rev. Cesarino et S. Marcello [Laurerio]. State Archives, Florence, f. 3264.

[4] For Laurerio, *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 972.

such men Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos, Sadoleto, and Parisio entered the commission.[1]

To fill up the gaps in the ranks of the Sacred College, on the 2nd of June 1542 Paul III. made nominations which had been expected by many as far back as the previous Christmas.[2] That the Pope on this occasion again asserted the mastery of his will, shows the independence and vigour with which he encountered the Cardinals; for never before had the opposition to his nominees been so strong. In a consistory of the 31st of May 1542 all the Cardinals, with the exception of two, declared themselves against the Pope's proposals; but he held to them firmly all the same.[3] The most various reasons were adduced for this opposition; with an excess of numbers the Sacred College lost reputation, and nothing had been turned to such account by the Lutherans against the Church as the great promotion made by Leo X. in July 1517. Besides, moral objections, not altogether unfounded,[4] were raised against individual candidates, as against the Castellan of St. Angelo, Gian Vincenzo Acquaviva, Roberto Pucci, and Marcello Crescenzi.

[1] N. Sernini announces on *March 18, 1542 (see App. No. 37), that Aleander's place was taken by the Cardinal of Burgos. Parisio and Sadoleto are mentioned as colleagues in an undated *letter to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, but certainly belonging to May, as the Consistory on the 5th of that month is mentioned (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the later sitting of the reform commission, see SILOS, I., 242.

[2] Thus Giovio, according to N. Sernini's *report of Dec. 10, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* the **report of N. Sernini of May 31, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] Thus much, I think, may be taken from the reports of Sernini of the 2nd and 10th June 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, now printed in SOLMI, Fuga, 90), although they ought certainly to be used with great caution. That Crescenzi had a natural daughter is confirmed by

In addition there were political difficulties; towards the end of 1540 Francis I. had already urged an increase of his adherents in the Cardinalate, although he had been for some time strongly represented.[1] Paul III., disinclined to disturb further the equilibrium between the French and the Imperialist parties, made up his mind to disregard the claims of all foreigners for the time being and to nominate Italians only.[2] The Roman nobility and the business world were greatly dissatisfied because no rich and important men of rank were found among the candidates.[3] The Sacred College endeavoured up to the last hour to make objections, but in vain.[4] On the 2nd of June the following nominations took place:—Marcello Crescenzi, Bishop of Marsico and a distinguished jurist; Gian Vincenzo Acquaviva; the Papal Vicar-General, Pomponio Ceci; Roberto Pucci, Bishop of Pistoia; Giovanni Morone; Gregorio Cortese and Tommaso Badia.[5] On July the 3rd, 1542, Cristoforo

Massarelli, ed. MERKLE, I., 859; *cf. ibid.*, 177, for Pucci's mean capacity.

[1] *Cf.* Dandino's **letter to Farnese of Dec. 31, 1540 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Serristori's reports of May 29 and 31, 1542 (State Archives, Florence, F. 3264).

[3] While the earlier nominations of Italians had caused great joy, Serristori reports on May 13, 1542: *Hoggi si è fatto il contrario, che vedete ogni huomo di bene stupefatto, attonito e disperato, li plebei allegri, sentendo che sia il tempo loro, i mercanti et altri disperati che non venderanno pure una beretta nuova et ci è una malenconia et una desperatione, che come querta città habbi la peste o vadi a saccho et ci sia obsidione atorno, et ogni galante huomo ha smarrito et perso la tramontana (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See N. Sernini's report of June 2, 1542; *cf. supra*, p. 201, n. 4.

[5] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 58; *cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 676 *seq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 236 *seqq.* (with incorrect date May 31). For Acquaviva, see BENIGNI, Miscell., V., 170 *seq.*

Madruzzo, Bishop of Trent, reserved *in petto*, was declared Cardinal.[1]

The nominations of June 1542 were made principally with a view to the Council.[2] Among those promoted there were, in fact, three men who had peculiar qualifications for that assembly as well as for the furtherance of the work of reform. In the highest degree was this true of Tommaso Badia. Born in Modena in 1483, this distinguished scholar held, since the reign of Clement VII., the responsible position of Master of the Sacred Palace. His opposition to Sadoleto's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans shows how rigorous he was as a censor of books. The combination of learning with genuine piety and the most sensitive conscientiousness soon won the confidence of Contarini, who chose Badia as his confessor and in 1541, during the negotiations at Ratisbon, appointed him his theologian. In the previous year Badia had attended the religious conference at Worms by order of the Pope; he played a most important part in the establishment of the Society of Jesus. The touching humility of this true son of St. Dominic was disclosed when Paul III. communicated to him his intention of conferring

[1] Not first on Dec. 19, as FRIEDENSBERG (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 23) states; see CIACONIUS, III., 686. Madruzzo, whose portrait Titian painted (see OBERZINER, Il ritratto di C. Madruzzo di Tiziano, Trento, 1900; and Rev. d'art ancien et mod., XXI.), was a man of very worldly temperament and a great friend of artists and men of learning (see CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, VI., 287, 454; Atti Mod., VI., 507; Riv. Trident., 1902, 52 *seq.*). Glarean dedicated to him his book on music (see Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck, *Ambras. Akten, VII., 162). His enduring monument is the government palace at Trent, the construction and decoration of which he continued on the lines laid down by his predecessors; see MERKLE, I., 157.

[2] See Farnese's *letter to Poggio, June 4, 1542 (Chigi Library, Rome, LIII., 65).

on him the purple. Badia implored the Pope to desist; early on the very day indeed of the consistory he hastened to Pole and begged him to use his influence that he might remain what he had hitherto been, a simple member of a religious order. But Paul III. replied that the more Badia resisted the more worthy he showed himself, and therefore gave all the more grounds for his elevation. He appointed him apartments in the Vatican, and here Badia passed his days in the same austerity that he had before practised in the cloister.[1]

Gregorio Cortese[2] was also born in Modena and in the same year as Badia. In his eighteenth year he had already gained the degree of doctor of laws at Padua; he then entered the service of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. A brilliant future lay open before the gifted youth, but he felt ill at ease in the life of courts, and the Roman climate was also unsuited to him. He therefore returned in 1500 to his native place and in 1507 entered the convent belonging to the Congregation of St. Justina of Padua at Polirone, near Mantua, happy at being able to live amid

[1] *Cf.* ECHARD, II., 132 *seq.*; MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 24 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 258; DITTRICH, Contarini, 353, 408 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 460 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*, 533 *seq.*, 537 *seq.*, 610 *seq.* See also BARALDI, T. Badia, Modena, 1830. As Master of the Sacred Palace, Badia received ten florins a month (*Mandato, 1534–1537, State Archives, Rome). Massarelli, writing of Badia's death, says: "Erat vir eruditissimus in omnibus scientiis, praesertim theologia, bonae vitae et famae." MERKLE, I., 693.

[2] Sketch of life by Gradenigo in first volume of Opera Cortesii, Paris, 1786; G. PRANDI, Il Card. Cortese, Pavia, 1788; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 254 *seq.*; ANSART, Vie de G. Cortèse, Paris, 1786; and especially DITTRICH in Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlexicon, III.,[2] 1135 *seq.* See also DITTRICH, Contarini (*passim*), and GOTHEIN, 110 *seq.*, who, however, places the nomination as Cardinal in the wrong year 1541. *Bonanni announces Cortese's christian death to Cosimo de' Medici on Sept. 21, 1548 (State Archives, Florence).

exercises of piety and his theological and humanist studies. In the pursuit of such duties he saw at the same time the best means of carrying forward the reform of the Benedictine congregations then already begun. His own literary studies were principally guided by the endeavour to restore to the exposition of theological and philosophical subjects something of the beauty and purity of style characteristic of the ancient Fathers. He succeeded to such an eminent degree that Bembo himself paid him a tribute of recognition.

Entrusted in 1516 with the reform of the noble monastery of Lerins, near Cannes, on the Riviera, he there founded an academy of humanist studies and was Abbot from 1524 to 1527. After a temporary sojourn in Modena and Perugia he undertook in 1532 the direction of the monastery of S. Georgio Maggiore in Venice, which then became a rallying-point for men of learning. Amid the lagoons he afterwards formed an intimate friendship with Contarini, who spoke of him as "the apple of his eye." Contarini and Sadoleto drew the attention of Paul III. to this distinguished man who had already exhorted Leo X. to begin reforms, and under Adrian VI. had vindicated against the religious innovators, in a work of classic diction, the residence of St. Peter in Rome. Cortese's whole character bore a striking resemblance to that of his fellow-countryman and friend Sadoleto: gentle, tender, peace-loving, and in his criticism of the Protestant reformers often lenient to a fault.[1] It was Sadoleto also who afterwards begged Paul III., upon the vacancy in the Sacred College caused by Fregoso's death, to replace him by Cortese, as one possessing all the requisite qualifications, talent, learning, eloquence, wisdom, piety, a true priestly spirit, and integrity of morals.[2]

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 537. [2] See Sadoleti Opera, II., 17 *seq.*

Worthy to rank with the two learned and devout regulars, Badia and Cortese, was the Bishop of their native city, Giovanni Morone.[1] Born in Milan on the 25th of January 1509 as the son of that statesman to whom Pescara offered the crown of Italy, his early studies were directed to jurisprudence, but afterwards he dedicated himself to the service of the Church. As early as 1529 Clement VII. gave him the bishopric of Modena and employed him on a mission to France. His actual diplomatic career, in which he attained such success, did not begin, however, until the pontificate of Paul III., who in the autumn of 1536 committed to him the German nunciature. For two years he filled this difficult and thorny position with great prudence and loyalty to duty, winning general respect on account of his exemplary manner of life. A keen observer and cool-headed judge of men, he sent concise and clear reports of the dangerous situation of things to Rome, even at times when he had good reason to fear that what he had to say would be unpalatable to his Sovereign. The despatches of this nuncio, not yet thirty years of age, whose personality is modestly kept in the background, while they fascinate by the interest of their contents and the agreeable style in which they are written, often astonish the reader by their accurate grasp of events and the maturity of their judgments. Paul III. understood the value of such a diplomatic talent, and by July 1539 Morone had to return to Germany. As nuncio, first to King Ferdinand and afterwards to the Emperor, he subsequently

[1] *Cf.* Fricke in SCHELHORN, Amoenit, XII., 537; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 260 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, *passim*; Histor. Jahrbuch, IV., 397; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 164 *seq.*; SCLOPIS, Le Card. Morone, Paris, 1869; BERNABEI, Vita del Card. Morone, Modena, 1885. FRIEDENSBERG in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 7 *seqq.*; GOTHEIN, 141 *seq.* See also our remarks in Chaps. I., XII., XIII., and Vol. XII., Chap. XIII.

rendered most important services to the Church. He had well earned his Cardinalate, conferred upon him as he entered his thirty-third year, at the moment when, with characteristic lenity, he was about to begin his contest with Protestantism in Modena.

Contarini, as well as Pole, rejoiced that the Pope, by means of such men, should have contributed to strengthen so powerfully the party of reform. He was of opinion that neither in Italy nor in any other country could three similar personalities be found; the Sacred College was to be called happy in being adorned with jewels of such price. "Praise and thanks be to God, who in His goodness does not forget His Church, but day by day gives signs of His providence. We must all thank his Holiness as the accomplisher of so much good. May God continue to enlighten the Pope to make choice of such instruments for the welfare of the Church and of His flock entrusted by Him, in a time of confusion and stress, to the control of such a Vicar. May God send him a life full of years, that he may yet see the fruits of his planting and be able to rejoice therein."[1]

Shortly before the important nomination of Cardinals on the 12th of May 1542 the Bull on the reform of the curial offices was at last assented to in consistory and soon afterwards made public.[2] On the 14th of July the most comprehensive faculties were granted to Cardinals Cupis, Carafa, and Ridolfi for its execution. The penal and executive powers conferred on the above-named on the 12th of September were so wide in their scope and applied so unsparingly by Carafa that the Pope, on the

[1] Contarini to Farnese, dated Bologna, June 3, 1542; BECCADELLI, I., 2, 215 *seq.*

[2] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 171; *cf.* also the *letter of N. Sernini of July 8, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

8th of January 1543, was obliged to modify them.[1] This did not cause any slackness in the administration of the published decrees. On the 9th of March 1543 Paul III. again reminded them, in reference to the approaching Council, that there must be no falling off in this respect.[2] In November 1542 the Pope had already given his Vicar-General, Filippo Archinto, the fullest powers of visitetion and reform among the Roman clergy.[3]

The reform of the Penitentiaria, on which Contarini had insisted to the last[4] and against which Pucci had so stoutly contended,[5] was at last brought to a decided issue[6] in the spring of 1545 through Carafa's energy. The settlement of another very important question was even more protracted: the renewal of the ancient regulations concerning the duty of residence as affecting bishops and the entire clergy, especially in benefices to which a cure of souls was attached. This was one of the fundamental evils in the Church system, the remedy for which could not possibly be deferred until the meeting of the Council at some date beyond the reach of calculation owing to the hostility between Francis I. and Charles V. Campeggio had already, in 1522, called

[1] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, and IV., 455 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 456.

[3] Bulla facultatum Ph. Archinti ep. Burgi S. Sepulcri, S. D. N. Papae vic. general. (Licet . . ., dated Romae, III. non. Nov.). Copy of the same date in the Casanatense Library, Rome. For Archinto, see G. P. GIUSSANI, Vita di F. Archinto, Como, 1611.

[4] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 846.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 195. See also the *report of B. Ruggieri of Nov. 12, 1541 (State Archives, Modena).

[6] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 173 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., 456 *seq.*; *cf.* BROMATO, II., 98 *seq.* That the reformation of the Penitentiaria was an accomplished fact is clear from a *letter of G. Tiranno to the Duchess of Urbino, dated Rome, March 28, 1545 (State Archives, Florence).

the attention of Adrian VI. to the necessity of some radical change in this direction.[1] Numerous writings on reform, including in particular the Cardinals' memorial of 1537, had made this a matter of sharp stricture.[2] On the 13th of December 1540 Paul III., with a magnanimous reduction of his Papal rights, took the first decisive steps towards the removal of the mischievous abuses arising from the neglect of residence. More than eighty archbishops and bishops residing in Rome were summoned in a body before the Pope, who, in carefully chosen words, represented to them the necessity of returning to their sees to guide their flocks. In order to make them more amenable to this injunction, he offered to them during their period of residence a free alternative in the appointment to benefices, jurisdiction over the exempts, and other graces.[3] On hearing of this Cortese wrote joyfully to Contarini: "If this injunction is attended to and adequately carried out a beginning will have been made which will carry us more than half way through; a blessing will be conferred not merely on the neglected flocks but on the shepherds themselves; and if other acts correspond with this beginning I behold already, in the spirit, the Holy Church renewed in beauty and comeliness."[4]

Even in Germany the Pope's conduct, as Vergerio reported to Aleander, made the best impression.[5] But it was very soon to be made plain that between the decree and its execution there lay a long interval, in the course of

[1] See Vol. IX. of this work, 87 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 167 *seqq.* Cardinal Simonetta in strong terms also lays the blame of the decline of the Church on the Episcopate; see Epist. ad Nauseam, 225.

[3] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 398, and EHSES, IV., 454.

[4] Opera Cortesii, I., 142; DITTRICH, Contarini, 404.

[5] See LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 310.

which innumerable difficulties would have to be overcome. The bishops declared themselves ready to obey the Pope as soon as he put them in a position to reside in their sees with usefulness and dignity. Paul III. referred the matter to the commission on reform, where a searching examination was made into the episcopal revenues.[1] In the process of these transactions a spirit of opposition soon arose in the Sacred College. Individual members were strongly displeased that the scheme of reform would deprive them of a status at the Papal court that cost them nothing. The Pope, however, made it known in a consistory at the end of January 1541 that he would not modify the conditions relating to the duty of residence.[2] At a meeting of the reform commission at the house of Cardinal Cupis the claims of the bishops were once more examined,[3] and in consistory on the 11th of February a respite of twenty days was given, on the expiration of which the bishops had to betake themselves to their dioceses.[4] When subsequently the reform commission also gave their detailed reply to the bishops' demands,[5] nothing more seemed to stand in the way of drawing up the necessary Bull. Paul III., in a consistory held on the 23rd of March, insisted on the matter being speedily despatched and the demands of the bishops conceded;[6] nevertheless, the settlement dragged on to the end of the year. On the

[1] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 339 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., 481 *seqq.*

[2] See in Appendix No. 32 N. Sernini's *report of Jan. 29, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Feb. 1, 1541, in Appendix No. 33, *ibid.*

[4] See N. Sernini's *report of Feb. 11, 1541, *ibid.*

[5] See EHSES, IV., 486 *seqq.*

[6] See N. Sernini's *report of March 24, 1541, in Appendix No. 35 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

25th of November the Pope again brought up the question of reform in consistory.[1] Thereupon, on the 2nd of December, Cardinal Ridolfi at last laid before consistory the draft of a Bull.[2] But now a fresh obstacle arose, as it was immediately pointed out how much was contained in the document that was disadvantageous to the religious orders. It was therefore resolved that a hearing should first be given to their procurators.[3] The Pope's earnestness, no longer doubted in any quarter, was evinced on the 9th of December, when he strongly insisted in consistory on the settlement of the business,[4] whereupon the Bull containing the first attempt to solve the question of episcopal residence was finally drawn up.[5] Contrary to all expectation,[6] however, its publication was, at the last moment, deferred. The principal ground for this was to be found in the difficulties that the different Governments

[1] See N. Sernini's *report of Nov. 25, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 455.

[3] See Appendix No. 36, N. Sernini's *report, Dec. 3, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] N. Sernini *reported to Card. E. Gonzaga on Dec. 30, 1541 : In yesterday's consistory were discussed (1) the improvement of the financial position ; (2) the Venetian tithe ; (3) "Si ragionò poi de la reformatione et che ognuno andasse in abito secondo il grado suo et gli vescovi andassero alle lor chiese et si provedesse alla bestemia." He also reports further at the same time : . . . "N. S. disse poi havere inteso che gli tre r^mi deputati alla publicatione della riforma, si come per l' ultime mie ho scritto a V. S. R^a attendevano del continuo a detta publicatione et che n' haveva gran piacere essendo risolutissimo che in ogni modo si facesse et tiensi per fermo che si farà" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 400 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., 489 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* the B. Ruggieri's *report of Dec. 19, 1541 (State Archives, Modena).

were prepared to raise. Morone told this openly to Granvelle in January 1543, when the latter, then in Trent, complained that so little had yet been done for the general betterment of the Church. In his reply Morone said plainly that the difficulties standing in the way of reform came not only from the side of the prelates or from the scarcity of priests, but also from the laity themselves and the secular princes, by whom the jurisdiction of the Church was thwarted, and who enticed those on whom the measures of reform would fall to become Lutherans, as had actually happened in several instances.[1]

If on this as in other questions of reform ante-conciliar action took no legislative shape, the reason was that no one was satisfied with half measures or wished to anticipate the decisions of the illegally suspended General Council. The extensive measures of reform undertaken at the instigation of Paul III. were not on that account by any means lost labour. To begin with, they introduced, prior to the Council, a sensible improvement in ecclesiastical affairs. On the point of episcopal residence this can be established by direct proof;[2] but even in other directions keen observers testified to a remarkable change for the better. As early as 1537 an enemy of reform complained of the abolition of the former methods of the curial officials; and that reforms were continued in spite of the fact that already these reforms had been too stringent.[3] The

[1] See EHSES, Kirchl. Reformarbeiten, 156, 403.

[2] See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 403, n. 1.

[3] *Spesso si fanno congregationi de cardinali, hora per conto del concilio, hora per riformare la corte cioè l' vivere [et] l' habiti de cortegiani troppo gia riformati [di sorte che] rimangono quasi tutti falliti. F. Peregrino, dated Rome, Jan. 11, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Venetian ambassador, Marc Antonio Contarini, observed in his report of 1538 that the court of Paul III. showed such auspicious changes that in future the best hopes might be maintained with regard to reform.[1]

Still more important was the verdict of Contarini, who, at the Diet of Ratisbon on the 25th of June 1541, impressed upon Ferdinand I. the difference between the past and present condition of the Curia, to the great advantage of the latter. The Cardinal begged the King to reflect that to carry out reform at one stroke was impossible, but that he, Contarini, who had had a share in the proceedings of reform, could testify that even if the results had not by any means been generally successful, yet many abuses had been done away with; precautions had been taken that bishops should reside in their dioceses; the Pope had called the worthiest men to places in the Sacred College; lastly, it was obvious that the Roman Court had undergone reform of such a sort that any comparison between the morals now obtaining and those of the reigns of previous Popes must result in a verdict favourable to the former.[2] The truth of Contarini's assertion was confirmed by Sadoleto, who also drew particular attention to the fact that graces and dispensations were no longer bestowed with such facility as before, and that in the granting of indulgences it had become a strict rule to dispense them in moderation and with the avoidance of the suspicion of venality.[3] The arbitrary sentences of excommunication, in support of which many

[1] An extract from this report, which is missing in the Venetian Archives, I give in Appendix No. 27 from a MS. in the Library of Aix.

[2] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, I., 348 The value of Contarini's testimony is also brought out in the Histor Zeitschrift, LXXXVII., 358. See also DITTRICH, Contarini, 796.

[3] See Sadoleti Opera, II., 347 *seqq.*, 363

ecclesiastical dignitaries appealed to ancient privilege, had been entirely swept away by Paul III. in 1541.[1] A great many isolated enactments of reform clearly showed, moreover, that the Pope was seriously bent on encountering the abuses prevailing among the secular and regular clergy not only of Italy but of all countries in Christendom.[2]

Owing to the inconsistency and weakness shown by Paul III. in these as in other matters, many serious defects continued, however, to exist in the sphere of ecclesiastical affairs,[3] but the way to a thorough improvement, calling in the nature of things for ample time, had, all the same, been opened up; many abuses, even if they were not done away with altogether, were so violently shaken that succeeding Popes, and, above all, the Council of Trent, were able to lay the axe to their roots, thus giving to Catholic reform its full shape and establishing it upon a firm legal basis.[4]

Herein precisely is seen the importance of the reforming labours of Paul III. They supplied the Council of Trent in 1545 with a great body of extraordinarily valuable material from which not a few enactments in the

[1] Bull, VI., 312 *seq.*; SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 157 *seq.*

[2] For more concerning these enactments, see the *Briefs of the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix No. 44.

[3] Numerous examples in SCHELHORN, De consilio de emend. ecclesia. Tiguri, 1748, 57 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, 72. *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 322; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 10 *seq.* See also the opinion in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 298, which, probably derived from Vergerio (see DRUFFEL, Karl V., III., 14 *seq.*), is certainly not free from partisanship. Druffel, like Döllinger, has overlooked that the document had appeared in print long before (in [Dressel] Vier Dokumente aus römischen Archiven, Leipzig, 1843). For the worldly tone of court life, see *infra*, Chap. VII.

[4] *Cf.* KERKER, Kirchl. Reform., 55.

final decrees of that Synod are taken almost word for word.[1]

It is therefore a mistake merely to deplore the postponement of reform—a postponement, moreover, which in many ways deepened the foundations of reforms to come—and to assert with Seripando that Paul III.'s efforts at amelioration were nothing more than talk.[2] Rather ought the Farnese Pope,[3] who followed the same high aims as Adrian VI., to be credited with a substantial share in the work of reform consummated later on by the Council of Trent and for which in many particulars he had himself supplied the ground-plan.[4] If this service has only been fully brought to light by the most recent research, he performed another not overlooked by his contemporaries[5] and celebrated by them in the frescoes of the Roman Cancelleria. This was the infusion of new life into the Sacred College. It is to the secularization of the supreme senate of the Church under Sixtus IV. and his successors that the real beginnings of decay must be traced back; the Lateran Council attempted in vain to effect a change in this respect. By his great creation of Cardinals

[1] "Whoever takes the trouble," says EHSES (Kirchliche Reformarbeiten, 411), "to examine narrowly the preparatory work of the Farnese Pope will find in the case of numerous decrees, if not the whole system of the Tridentine Reformation, at least its foundations and not seldom its specific phraseology."

[2] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Tagebücher, I., 7 (MERKLE, II., 405), and CALENZIO, Documenti, 222. Seripando besides takes pleasure in witty sayings which are not always relevant to the matter in hand. His opinion of Julius III. also is erroneous. See SCHWEITZER in the third, Vereinschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft for 1907, 51 *seq.*

[3] "Paulus III. Adrianum [VI.] in omnibus est imitatus," says GOMEZ, Comment. in regula cancell., Paris, 1547, 174; *cf.* 27.

[4] EHSES, IV., 512.

[5] Along with DITTRICH, Contarini, 321 and 361, *cf.* also MORSOLIN, Trissino, 242; AMASAEUS, 42 *seq.*; and STEUCHI, Opera, III., 242.

on the 1st of July 1517, Leo X., compelled by necessity, took the first step in the only right direction by introducing into the Cardinalate forces of regeneration.[1] Adrian VI. was unfortunately only granted the opportunity of making one Cardinal. Clement VII. was almost exclusively swayed by political motives in his creations, so that spiritual fitness for the position was disregarded as an element of choice.[2] Not so with Paul III. Even he, as was inevitable, allowed himself on not a few occasions to be led by political and also unfortunately by personal considerations,[3] but, taken as a whole, his creations were dominated by a regard for the requirements of the Church.[4] In this as in so many other matters the Farnese Pope was the initiator of a new epoch.[5] By far the greater number of those on whom he conferred the purple were worthy of the distinction, not a few had such rare characteristics that in the opinion of some the chief senate of the Church has hardly ever seen such a combination of men endowed with all the best gifts of their age as the Sacred College fashioned at the hands of Paul III.[6] From their ranks came his four immediate

[1] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. IV. of this work, 119 *seqq.*, 408 *seqq.*; Vol. V., 355 *seqq.*, 416 *seqq.*; Vol. VII., 200 *seqq.*

[2] Vol. X. of this work, 374 *seqq.*

[3] It is therefore an exaggeration of the contemporary Manente (p. 294) when he says that all the seventy-one Cardinals appointed by Paul III. were worthy in the highest degree of the purple.

[4] See REUMONT, III., 2, 491.

[5] *Cf.* FRIEDENSBURG, who in Quellen und Forschungen (VI., 63) says: "As under this Pope the Chancery was placed on a new basis, a different tone was given to the College of Cardinals and many reforms in the Curia were initiated, so also to him is attributable, during his comparatively lengthy pontificate, the reorganization of the court, as evidenced in the later Rotuli." The Constitutions of Paul III. on these points in MORONI, XXIII., 60 *seq.*

[6] See KRAUS, Essays, I., 288, and TACCHI VENTURI, I., 17; *cf.* QUIRINI, Imago, 78 *seq.*

successors, conspicuous for the services they rendered to the cause of Catholic reform and of the Council.[1]

[1] The frescoes in the Cancelleria (see Vol. XII. of this work, Chap. XIV.), as well as those in the *Sala de' fatti Farnesiani* of the castle at Caprarola, refer to this. The inscription in the latter place runs: Paulus III. P. M. collegium cardinalium cooptatis viris clarissimis, in his quatuor in pontificatu perpetua serie successuris, illustrat. STEUCHUS (*loc. cit.*), speaks of Paul III. in this connection as the originator of the restoration of the Church.

CHAPTER V.

Peace and the Crusade.—Charles V. captures Tunis and visits Rome.

In political as well as in ecclesiastical affairs Paul III. showed a wholly different conception of the high responsibilities laid upon him from that of his predecessor. Together with furtherance of the Council, he told the Augustinian, Seripando, in 1534, he considered the restoration of peace to Christendom and the prosecution of the war against the Turks to be his most sacred duties.[1] Among other tokens of the dawn of a new era were the changes made in the distribution of the nunciatures.[2]

The diplomatists of Charles V. and Francis I. watched with strained attention from the first each step of the new Pope; with laborious exactitude they reported every indication of his attitude towards the two great antagonists. The excellent relations maintained by Cardinal Farnese with the Imperialist as well as the French party filled both with far-reaching hopes.

The French Cardinals celebrated the election of Farnese

[1] See Döllinger, Tagebücher des Konzils, I., 3 *seq.*, and Merkle, II., 402.

[2] In January 1535 Cesare Trivulzio was replaced in France by the Bishop of Faenza, Rodolfo Pio of Carpi; at the same time Giov. Guidiccioni was accredited to the Emperor, who afterwards took part in the African expedition; see Pieper, Nuntiaturen, 94 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*; Garampi, Osservazioni, App. 286; Capasso, I., 103 *seq.*; Ehses, IV., cxix *seq.*

with brilliant festivities.[1] On account of the decisive share they had taken in his elevation to the Papacy, they indulged in the confident expectation that the new Pontiff would throw himself into the plans of their King and before all do his best to secure the recovery of Milan. But to hints addressed to him in this direction the Pope gave no heed. Bitterly disappointed, they deputed Trivulzio to take steps to bring about a more definite issue. Although the Cardinal represented the French claims in the most moderate form, Paul III. rejoined with severe emphasis that he had not any intention of taking up one side or the other; as the father of all he must preserve a complete neutrality. This the Pope repeated a few days later in Trivulzio's presence to Cardinals de Lorraine, Bourbon, and Tournon, who had come previous to their departure to have their farewell audience; they referred in vain to the services rendered by Francis during the conclave, but no promise to support the French policy could they extract.[2] Even the alluring prospects held out by them of the promotion of Pier Luigi Farnese made no impression; he was Pope, Paul III. declared, and as Pope he intended to reign unless he were to act contrary to his own conscience and to the hurt of the Holy See.[3]

The exasperation of the Frenchmen rose higher when

[1] *Cf.* the report in LUZIO, Buffoni ecc. dei Gonzaga, Roma, 1891, 10, n. 1.

[2] See the *reports of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, Nov. 6, 1534 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5778, f. 25[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library), and to the Duke of Mantua of Nov. 7, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *Littera passus pro 3 card. Gallis of Nov. 9, 1534, in the Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 321 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to the Duke of Milan of Nov. 7, 1534 (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 29[b] *seq.*), and that to the Duke of Mantua of Nov. 12, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

they found that their demand for the appointment of another of their countrymen to the Cardinalate and the transference of the Legatine post to Jean de Lorraine was dismissed; they reproached Trivulzio bitterly for having induced them to be parties to the election of such a man.[1] The Cardinal thereupon betook himself once more to the Vatican and in a state of great agitation made a scene in the Pope's presence: if, he said, the French returned home without hopes, Francis I. would take heavy vengeance; for his own part, he added, he preferred death to the disfavour of the King. Paul III. rejoined with dignity that it was right and fitting that Trivulzio should be a faithful servant of the King, but he would also like him to remember that he was a Cardinal and an Italian, and that his days were spent not in France but in Rome; for his own part, he stood in no fear of French menaces, and was determined as Pope to remain neutral.[2]

Already, on the 17th of October 1534, in a gathering of the Sacred College, Paul III. had spoken strongly in this sense; that he was resolved to work for a general peace as well as for the Council and Church reform.[3] Accordingly, in December 1534 he appointed Girolamo Rorario to mediate for peace between Ferdinand I. and Zapolya,[4] and declined the suggestion of Charles V. that he should renew the league entered into by Clement VII. in 1532.[5] By the former step he displeased the French King and, by the latter, the Emperor. When the Pope afterwards tried

[1] *Cardinal E. Gonzaga's letter to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, Nov. 10, 1534 (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 31b *seq.*, of the Vatican Library).

[2] *Letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, Nov. 17, 1534 (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 39 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library).

[3] Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1534, n. 2.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 59 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 77 *seq.*

[5] See the *report of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to G. Agnello of Dec. 14, 1534 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 50b *seq.*, Vatican Library).

to soothe the French with fair words the Imperialists observed this with deep mistrust.[1] For all their efforts neither of the two parties could come to any secure settlement.[2]

The Papal neutrality, disagreeable though it was to the Hapsburg sovereigns, had yet a cooling effect on the warlike appetite of Francis I., so much so that Charles was able to undertake a long-planned expedition against Chaireddin Barbarossa. This daring corsair chief, who was subject to the Porte and in alliance with Francis I., had succeeded in capturing Tunis in the summer of 1534. If the ships of the Dey of Algiers had for long been harrying Spanish and Italian coasts, the peril to which the whole Western Mediterranean was now exposed had become unendurable. Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy were menaced by a common danger.

To be the champion of Christendom against Islam had been the ideal of the Emperor's youth; thus, in preparing to deal a powerful blow at the piratical forces of Africa, he was only putting into execution a long-cherished scheme. His summons to the Crusade was especially popular among the Catholics of Spain, but Portuguese and Italians also took their part in the cause. Seven thousand German landsknechts followed Maximilian von Eberstein from South Germany to Genoa,[3] while the

[1] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *report to G. Agnello, Dec. 23, 1534 (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 62[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library), and the *letters of the same to the Duke of Milan of Dec. 29, 1534, and Jan. 2, 1535 (*ibid.*, f. 68 *seq.*; 71[b] *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 6, Sanchez' *report of Jan. 15, 1535 (State and Court Archives, Vienna).

[3] In a *Brief of Feb. 22, 1535, Paul III. begs Antonio de Leyva not to allow the passage of troops through the already sorely harassed States of the Church. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 502 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Emperor himself, to the astonishment of many,[1] placed himself at the head of the Crusaders.[2] On the 31st of May 1535 his fleet put to sea from Barcelona. Owing to contrary winds the harbour of Cagliari (the appointed rendezvous for all enlisted against the Crescent) was not reached until the 10th of June.

Paul III. had, from the first, done all that lay in his power to aid this resistance to the hereditary enemy of the Christian name. The measures to be taken had been discussed, under his presidency, by a commission of three Cardinals appointed on the 24th of October 1534.[3] Immediately afterwards Paul III. treated with the envoys of Savoy, Milan, Ferrara, and Siena as to the contributions payable by these States to the expenses of the Turkish war.[4] On the 17th of November the Pope had conveyed to Andrea Doria the expression of his wish for a personal interview,[5] and at the same time

[1] *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, dated Rome, May 27, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* VOIGT in the transactions of the Phil.-histor. Klasse der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, VI., 163 *seq.*; HAMMER, II., 130 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 761 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVI., 181 *seq.*; JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, Doria et Barbarossa, Paris, 1886; GRAMMONT, Hist. d'Alger, Paris, 1887; BAUMGARTEN, III., 165 *seq.*; EGELHAAF, II., 241 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 114 *seq.*; Cat. de rebus in Africa a Carolo V. gestis, Paris, 1891; CEREZEDA in the Relaciones hist. de los siglos 16, 17, III., Madrid, 1896; MANFRONI, Marina, 309 *seq.*; Riv. maritt., 1896; LUGLIO, 16 *seq.*; DURO, Armada española, I., Madrid, 1895; HÄBLER, I., 235 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*; BEGOUËN, Not. et doc., p. s. à une bibliogr. de la Tunisie, Paris, 1901.

[3] *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican. The activity shown by Paul III. in supporting the Turkish war from the beginning of his pontificate is recognized even by the Venetian historian Paruta (III., 716), who is none too well disposed towards the Pope.

[4] L. Sergardi's *letters of Nov. 1 and 3, 1534 (State Archives, Siena).

[5] *Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 12 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

he recommended the Knights of St. John to all the princes of Europe.[1] In December he conceded to the Emperor a subsidy of two-tenths from the clergy of his dominions.[2]

Paul III., in an urgent letter, applied also to Francis I. asking him to support Doria against Barbarossa. Many thought at the time that this appeal would be as ineffectual as the Pope's exertions to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Emperor.[3] The reply received from France was, as it proved, most unsatisfactory;[4] therefore the grant of two-tenths, conceded on the 15th of February 1535 at the request of Francis, was accompanied by the condition that he should assist the Holy See either with money or ships as his contribution to the

[1] *Min. brev., 49, n. 97, dated Rome, Nov. 22, 1534 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] In the Consistory of Nov. 13, 1534: *[S. D. N.] renunciavit M^tem^ Suam petere decimas in regnis suis ut classem contra piratas Turcas parare posset. R^mi^ domini jussi sententias dicere laudaverunt S^tis^ Suae [propositum] circa mores corrigendos, quantum vero ad petitionem Ces. M^tis^ acquieverunt prudentiae S^tis^ Suae. In the consistory of Dec. 2 (not 11, as KORZENIOWSKI gives it, 33): *S. D. N. jussit bullas legi in quibus decimae concedebantur Ces. M^ti^ ad parandam classem contra praedones et piratas Turcas. R^mi^ domini jussi sententias dicere S. S^tis^ propositum laudaverunt, supplicaverunt tamen ut in impositionibus aliquam adhiberet rationem rev. dominorum. Deinde S^tas^ Sua exemit omnia et singula beneficia ordinis S. Ioannis Rodiensis a dictis decimis (Consistorial Archives, Vatican). The *Bull "Miserator Dominus," dated Romae, 1534, XIX. Cal. Jan. (Dec. 14), is in Arm. 32, t. 36, f. 24 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Spanish Military Orders and to the Spanish Cardinals, Stunica, Loaysa, Tavera, and Manriquez, of Dec. 14, 1534, in Min. brev., t. 49, n. 166, 465 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Letter of F. Peregrino, dated Rome, Dec. 9, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See *report in cipher of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Agnello, Jan. 9, 1535. Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 78 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library.

maintenance of the war.[1] Although it was expressly provided that the French ships should be under Papal and not Imperialist command, Francis would not agree to the condition in question. The Bull of taxation accordingly was not despatched.[2]

If Paul III. was as yet unaware of the secret treaty between Francis and Barbarossa, still it could not have escaped his notice that the former was making preparations for a fresh war with the Emperor. By his imploring, almost passionate, entreaties that Francis would at least not put hindrances in the way of the expedition against Tunis, the Pope at last succeeded in wringing from him a temporary abstention from hostilities.[3]

It was the Pope's intention to assist the Emperor with ships also. The Papal fleet, placed on the 20th of November 1534 under the command of Gentil Virginio Orsini, Count of Anguillara, consisted then of three ships only;[4] nine more were to be fitted out at Genoa[5]—not an easy task seeing that Clement VII. had left his successor an empty exchequer.[6] The Pope was therefore

[1] See *Acta Consist. for Jan. 29 and Feb. 17, 1535, in Consistorial Archives, Vatican. *Cf.* GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 137; Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to Agnello (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 93b *seq.*), and the *report of Sanchez to Ferdinand I. of Feb. 12, 1535, in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to the Duke of Milan, May 14, 1535 (Cod. Barb. cit., f. 148b), and Nuntiaturberichte, II., 174.

[3] *Cf.* CARDAUNS, Karl V., 150 *seq.*

[4] See GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 392 *seqq.*; *cf.* L. Sergardi's *letter of Nov. 20, 1534 (State Archives, Siena).

[5] Together with the briefs cited *supra*, p. 223, n. 2, dated Dec. 14, 1534, *cf.* the Papal *letters to Genoa and A. Doria of Feb. 24, 1535. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 504, 505 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] For the financial needs of Paul III., see the testimony of Cardinal E. Gonzaga in a *letter to G. Agnello of Dec. 14, 1534 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 50b, Vatican Library). See also GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 117; the

compelled to draw on the Italian clergy for financial assistance;[1] nevertheless, it was impossible to get more than six ships ready in time;[2] the manning of the vessels with adequate crews was also beset with great difficulties.[3]

Paul III. who, at the beginning of the year, had sent[4] a suit of consecrated armour to Andrea Doria, the admiral-elect of the fleet, looked upon the expedition against Tunis as the first step towards a general war against the Ottoman power, and would therefore have rejoiced to have seen the operations more widely extended, but this, in the opinion of Charles V., was at first impracticable.[5] On the 18th of April Paul III. went in person to Civita Vecchia; from the top of the Torre della Rocca he prayed God to give victory to the fleet of Crusaders anchored beneath his feet in the harbour below, and bestowed upon them with all solemnity

*Briefs to the chamberlain Cardinal Spinola of Dec. 15, 1534 (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 149, 151, Secret Archives of the Vatican), and the letter to the Spanish nuncio, CAPASSO, I., 125.

[1] *Cf.* *Min. brev., t. 49, n. 149, 151, 152, 153, 215 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 398. Fermo gave 12,000 ducats for the armament of the Papal ships and held as security the Castle of S. Petri de Alteis (*Bull of June 8, 1535, Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 86).

[2] *Cf.* letter of Charles V. in LANZ, II., 187; MANFRONI, Marina, 310; and CAPASSO, I., 125, n. 2.

[3] Deserters were condemned to the galleys; see the *instructions to the Papal officials of Dec. 15, 1534, and March 12, 1535. Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 474, 507 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See the *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis for Nov. 1, 1535, and the *Brief "Andreae de Auria, princ. Melfie et classis Caesareae admirato," dated Jan. 9, 1535. Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 50, n. 166 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also CERVETTO in the Riv. Ligur., XXIX., 3.

[5] Together with CARDAUNS (Paul III., Karl V., 147), *cf.* also *Acta consist. of March 10 and April 12, 1535 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

the pontifical blessing. An inscription and a medal perpetuated the memory of this remarkable scene.[1]

While Paul III. returned to Rome the Papal ships set sail for Cagliari, where the Emperor held a review of his entire armament. This consisted of 64 galleys, 30 smaller ships of war, and about 300 transport vessels.[2] It was, boasts a contemporary, the finest, biggest, and best-armed fleet ever equipped in Christendom.[3]

The Emperor and his Spaniards as well as the Pope looked upon the undertaking as a holy war, as a crusade in the true sense of the word. Before starting on his expedition Charles had made a pilgrimage to the monastery of Montserrat to invoke the blessing of the Queen of Heaven at the beginning of his enterprise; on the mast of the Admiral's ship he ordered an ensign to be hoisted bearing the image of the Crucified, and pointing to the symbol of our redemption, he said to the grandees who accompanied him: "The Crucified Saviour shall be our Captain."[4]

On the 13th of June 1535 the Christian Armada put out

[1] See Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). According to him the Pope left on April 18, and returned on 28th. *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *letter of April 24, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the sources in GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 401 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, I., 123 *seq.* On April 29 the Pope made a report in consistory on his journey and the crusading fleet (*Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican). As commissary-general of the Holy See Bonaventura de Leone O. M. de obs. accompanied the fleet, provided with extensive faculties. See the *brief dated March 13, 1535, Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 432 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the Emperor's letter of June 12, 1535, in Colección de docum. inéd., III., 544. See also BELLOZZI, 42, 164.

[3] *Letter of Romulo Amaseo to Bologna, dated Rome, June 21, 1535 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] See F. Peregrino's *letter to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, June 9, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* SANDOVAL, I., 22, n. 7, 9.

to sea. As the wind was favourable, they sighted on the following morning the African coast, and the disembarkation of the troops in the harbour of Carthage was effected without mishap. More difficult was the siege of the fortress of Goletta, lying on the tongue of land between the sea and the lagoon El Bahira, and at once the arsenal of Barbarossa and the key of Tunis. In order to reduce the forces of the enemy Charles promised full pardon to all apostate Christians serving in their ranks who should come over to him.[1] Although great numbers complied, the siege was still an arduous business. The troops suffered severely not only from the heat of the climate but from want of water and adverse winds which blew dust-storms in their face. The garrison made repeated attempts to destroy the siege-works by sallies from within. These and subsequent engagements under the blazing African sun were portrayed in colours in large cartoons by a Fleming, Jan Vermayen, who was in the Emperor's suite. He was an artist of intelligence, devoted to his craft and efficient in execution; his pictures now adorn the Imperial galleries in Vienna.[2]

The fortress of Goletta, bombarded by land and sea, was not taken till the 14th of July; many guns and nearly a hundred baggage-waggons fell into the hands of the victors. Although the majority in the council of war were of opinion that further operations should be confined to

[1] *Cf.* the *brief to "Episc. Guadicens. et Joh. Lopez de la Quadra milit. S. Jacob. de Spata sub. reg. S. Aug. cappellano Caroli V." of Aug. 24, 1535. Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 63 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] From these cartoons the valuable tapestries now admired at Madrid were restored; see Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses, II., 144 *seqq.*; IX., 419 *seq.*; XI., 113 *seq.* WOLTMANN (II., 352) mentions an illustrated poem on the Tunisian expedition.

sea against Bona and Algiers, Charles decided to press on to Tunis. The army began to move on the 20th of July; after a toilsome march they came in touch with that of Barbarossa, and a battle ensued, described in vivid terms by the Emperor in an autograph letter to his sister Maria.[1] The enemy, notwithstanding his numerical superiority, was routed; pursuit, however, was impossible, as the troops were almost exhausted from thirst and heat.

In spite of victory, the army was placed in a critical position owing to the want of water. On the following day decisive aid was given to the Imperialists by the insurrection of the 20,000 Christian slaves in Tunis; Barbarossa was, in consequence, forced to evacuate and abandon his city to the enemy. In order to stimulate the spirit of his troops, Charles V. had promised them the plunder of Tunis; they now took a cruel revenge for the forays whereby the bands of Barbarossa had for so long tormented the coast-dwellers of the Mediterranean.

With the capture of Tunis the expedition had achieved its chief object. The near approach of the equinoctial gales was an obstacle to the prosecution of the war; Charles therefore postponed to a later date the conquest of Algiers; he now proposed to visit his Neapolitan kingdom, hitherto unknown to him, and Tunis was handed over as a Spanish fief to its former ruler Muley Hassan. At the same time all Christian slaves in the Tunisian kingdom were set at liberty, and free domicile with the undisturbed exercise of their religion secured to Christians generally; a Spanish garrison was left in Goletta.

In the middle of August the army re-embarked; thousands of Christians, now set free, returned to their homes. The Emperor sent to Rome as a gift "to St. Peter" the lock and bolts of the city gate of Tunis, where

[1] LANZ, II., 194.

this trophy was placed in the vestibule of the Basilica, to be removed at a later period to the room belonging to the sacristy in front of the Archivio.[1]

On the 22nd of August Charles V. landed at Trapani. Even if he had not completely crushed Barbarossa he had yet added greatly to his renown and reputation by his brilliant successes against the infidel, successes greeted with particular delight in Germany, and by the deliverance of so many thousands of Christian captives. Full of self-reliance, he seems now to have cherished the hope of realizing the great ideal of his life: to deal, as the champion of Christendom against the unbelievers, by means of an expedition against Constantinople, a crowning blow at the power of the Turk.[2]

In Rome, as in all Italy, the operations of war in Africa had been followed with closest attention.[3] The Pope was kept carefully informed through the reports of the nuncio in attendance on the Emperor.[4] Above all, intercessions were offered up to Heaven for the success of the Christian arms. At first, indeed, the withdrawal of the fleet had been followed by the appearance of corsairs before Civita Vecchia, against whom the Pope at once ordered measures of defence to be taken.[5] On the 20th of June a triduum of fasting and processional litanies was ordered to supplicate

[1] GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 430.

[2] *Cf.* the Carta del conde de Nieva in SANDOVAL, lib. 23, n. 4. For the rejoicing in Germany, see the *letter of Eck to the Abbot of Weingarten, dated Ingolstadt, Oct. 1, 1535, Library, Stuttgart.

[3] *Cf.* *F. Peregrino's letter, dated Rome, June 9, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *letter of R. Amaseo to Bologna, dated Rome, July 2, 1535 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 182.

[5] See *brief to Gasparo Taparelli of May 8, 1535, Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 70 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report of May 6, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the Divine succour. Three days later, the first procession, in which the populace joined in great numbers and devotion, wended its way from S. Marco to S. Maria del Popolo. On the 25th and 26th of June similar processions went from S. Maria sopra Minerva to Ara Caeli, and from S. Lorenzo in Damaso to St. Peter's.[1]

In the beginning of July unfavourable reports of the Tunisian expedition were disseminated by the French party. It was also given out that an envoy of the French King was exercising an evil influence on Barbarossa.[2] The Pope, however, in a very friendly brief to the Emperor on the 15th of July, expressed his hope that the latter would be fully successful.[3] When on July the 28th the news arrived of the taking of Goletta,[4] the Pope at once wrote congratulations and ordered thanksgivings.[5] At last, on the 2nd of August, came the first announcement that Tunis had fallen,[6] and this was confirmed

[1] See *Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56); he remarks: "Et nota quod magna multitudo populi utriusque sexus interfuit magna cum humilitate et devotione." *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 482 n.

[2] *Letters of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua of July 6 and 15, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See the brief in Appendix No. 11 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *letter of July 28, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 137, of the Vatican Library, and Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium: "28 Julii novum supervenit de Goletta Tunisi capta pro Imperatore, de qua re tota curia exaltavit in gaudio et laetitia et multi fecerunt ignes et signa laetitiae in nocte" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). The *Maestro di Poste* of the Pope announced also on the 28th the "presa di Goletta" to the Sienese (State Archives, Siena).

[5] Brief to Charles V. of July 28, 1535, in RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 52; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 463, and Epist. ad Nauseum, 158.

[6] See G. M. della Porta's *report to Urbino, dated Rome, Aug. 2, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

on the following day in letters from the Emperor.[1] In Rome the rejoicing was general except among the Emperor's enemies, who had hoped for his ruin. The Pope ordered displays of fireworks and thanksgivings throughout the States of the Church. On the 15th of August a solemn Mass was said in S. Maria Maggiore, attended by all the Sacred College; the Bishop of Viterbo, Giovanni Pietro Grassi, preached on this occasion; the Pope himself chanted the Te Deum and took part in the procession.[2]

In the Curia, as in many other quarters, it was believed that the Emperor would now turn his forces against Constantinople. Men had visions of the victorious overthrow of the Turkish dominion and the conversion of Islam to the true faith.[3] Even the Pope shared this view, to which some expressions of Charles V. lent support. He had therefore, as early as the 3rd of August, given orders for increased expenditure on the fleet,[4] and expressed a

[1] "In questa medesima hora, che sono alli xxiv, sono venute della Ces. M^ta^ lettere [to his ambassador] delli xxi del passato della presa di Tunisi." *F. Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua, Aug. 3, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56); *letter of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, dated Rome, Aug. 10, 1535 (State Archives, Florence); *Notice of P Cesi to the Ephem. (see *supra*, p. 12, n. 2) of the Vatican Library; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 463, 467, 474, n. 1, and BONTEMPI, 365. On Aug. 27, 1535, the *Acta Consist. relate: "Recitata sunt foedera descripta a card. de Cesis pacta ab imp. Carolo V. cum rege Tuneti" (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 474; *cf.* Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins, N. F., X., 611.

[4] See the *brief to Alfonso (Manriquez) et Garsie [Loaysa] card. Hispan. of Aug. 11, 1535, Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 52, n. 399; *cf. ibid.*, n. 400: Subditis eccl., dat. Perusiae, Sept. 30, 1535 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

wish to hold an interview with the Emperor.[1] Again, in December, he sent the General of the Franciscans to Charles, who since the 25th of November had been resident in Naples, to urge him to more extensive operations against the Turks.[2]

In the face of hard facts, however, such ambitious projects were impracticable. The reappearance of Barbarossa before the Balearic Islands, and his descent on the harbour of Mahon in September, showed that the power of this adventurous pirate was still unbroken. But to a renewal of hostilities on a larger scale Venice and France were opposed. The answer of the Venetian ambassador to Cardinal Cles showed clearly that the Signoria clung to its commercial policy and was bent on pursuing friendly relations with the Sultan.[3] The attitude of Francis I. was worse; in presence of the remarkable situation created for the Emperor by his successes in Africa the King took up, without disguise, an even more menacing posture towards his rival, and forced him to renounce any bolder plans for the protection of Christendom. In Rome the French diplomatists, Cardinal du Bellay and the Bishop of Mâcon, made every effort to win the Pope to their monarch's side; their promises were unlimited; Francis I. would secure politically the Pope's independence, and ecclesiastically the return of the German Protestants to the Church. But their chief aim was to awaken and foster in the Curia apprehensions of the Emperor's supremacy.[4]

[1] See CARDAUNS, Karl V., 165.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 55; *cf.* also GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 215, 236; EHSES, IV., cxxviii.

[3] See DE LEVA, III., 150; *cf.* GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 192.

[4] See Soriano in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 320, 323. *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 130 *seq.*; CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*, 156 *seq.*; BOURRILLY, Le card. J. du Bellay en Italie, Paris, 1907.

As reports from various quarters, even from the nuncio at Charles's court, concerning the sinister designs of the Hapsburgs upon Italy[1] reached Paul III., he too began to dread this supremacy. Grave anxiety beset him as he contemplated the Emperor's visit to Rome.[2] It was of little avail that the latter declared that, as a proof that his aim was not that of universal monarchy, as his enemies asserted, he was coming with only a slender escort of troops.[3] Even if the Pope announced officially the pleasure it would afford him to see the Emperor in Rome,[4] and ordered the clergy of Naples[5] to give a solemn reception to the conqueror of Barbarossa, yet his real feelings were of a very different kind. The first outburst of joy at the humiliation of the corsair gradually gave place to fears of the Spanish supremacy, against which Paul III., quite in vain, had tried to find a bulwark in Venice.[6] French diplomacy knew how to make adroit use of the situation; they worked with undiminished activity to bring Charles into discredit with the Curia.

It was of advantage to them that recent misunderstandings had arisen between the Imperial and Papal

[1] *Il nontio che sta per S. B^ne^ presso S. M^tà^ scrive le più horribile cose del mondo chel Imperatore ha nel animo al papa et a tutta Italia. Cipher *report of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, July 17, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, dated Rome, Aug. 8, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's letter to the Duke of Mantua of Aug. 18, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Sanchez' report to Ferdinand I., dated Rome, Aug. 28, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[5] See the *brief to the Religiosi Neapolitani of Aug. 29, Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 52, n. 222; *ibid.*, n. 247, about the nomination of Fabio Arcella to be nuncio in Naples, dated Aug. 11, 1535 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] CAPASSO, I., 131 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

courts, owing in part to the nepotistic tendencies of the Pope.[1] In order to remove these differences and to ascertain clearly the Emperor's intentions, it was resolved at the end of August to send Pier Luigi Farnese into southern Italy.[2] He was to take with him the brief of invitation to Rome in the Pope's own hand, and to treat of the peace, the Turkish war, the Council, the expedition against the Varani in Camerino, and the punishment of Henry VIII., as well as to justify the appointment, without the Imperial consent, of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to the Bishopric of Jaen.[3]

Pier Luigi Farnese, detained from sickness or other causes,[4] did not meet the Emperor, at Cosenza, until the middle of November, when he was most unfavourably received. Both as regarded the visit to Rome and the affair of Camerino, Charles made evasive statements; as for the Council, he thanked the Pope for his zeal, but observed that further negotiations must be deferred until

[1] *Cf.* DECRUE, 237, 239, and CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 159 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Alessandro Guglielmi to Siena, dated Rome, Aug. 24, 1535 (State Archives, Siena). From a *report of G. M. della Porta of June 18, 1535, the mission of P. L. Farnese to Charles V. was already intended; he was to dispense with great pomp. Much to his disgust, his retinue was restricted to twenty-five horsemen (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also Cifuentes' despatch to Charles V. of June 21, in GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 177.

[3] For P. L. Farnese's mission, *cf.* along with the report of P. A. Alalcone to Cardinal A. Farnese, dated Rome, Sept. 23, 1535 (already made use of by CAPASSO, I., 132), (Farnese Archives in State Archives, Parma), and the authorities cited by EHSES, IV., cxxv, also the *reports of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua, dated Sept. 15, 24, and Oct. 1, 1535, and the *letter of F. Peregrino of Sept. 24, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, dated Rome, Nov. 9, 1535 (State Archives, Florence), and the sources collected by CARDAUNS, Karl V., 165.

the King of the Romans had expressed his intentions. The excuses in the case of the Bishopric of Jaen he declined to accept, and protested with heat against this infringement of his rights. He also made bitter allusions to the Francophile sympathies of Paul III., who had worked for a secret league with Venice; instead of that, Charles demanded that he should make an alliance with him against France.[1]

Paul III. awaited with impatience the result of Pier Luigi's mission.[2] The accounts that he received[3] of the marks of honour bestowed on his nephew were not calculated to console him for the miscarriage of the very first negotiation. In the hope that a personal meeting would lead to better results, he gave orders for the recall of Pier Luigi on the 19th of November.[4]

By the middle of December the news of the total collapse of the mission reached the Vatican.[5] It had never entered the mind of Paul III. that Pier Luigi, who for a long while had been on good terms with the Emperor, would fail so completely. His choleric temper now, for a moment, got the better of him, and in the greatest agitation he turned to the French party and used sharp language

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 67, and CAPASSO, I., 133 *seq.* *Cf.* GAYANGOS, V., 1, n. 227, 235; V., 2, n. 34.

[2] *G. M. della Porta announces this to Urbino on Nov. 19, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] "Avisano di Napoli di molti favori exteriori che fa S. M^ta al S. P. Loyso. . . . In la corte di S. M. vien teunto grande imperiale con desiderio ch'el padre fosse cosi; è huomo per saperlo benissimo mostrar quando ben non fosse di questo animo,"* writes G. M. della Porta on Nov. 29, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] Ricalcati to Pier Luigi on Nov. 19, 1535; see CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 166.

[5] *"Il S. P. Loyso devea partir il giorno di S. Lucia senza conclusione di cosa alcuna che l' habia desiderata da S. M^tà." G. M. della Porta from Rome, Dec. 15, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

about the Emperor.[1] But his wiser instincts prevailed, and prevented him from going further, although the inducements held out from the side of France were tempting.[2]

The Emperor's demands are made clear in a document handed to Pier Luigi on the 9th of December 1535: first and foremost came the summoning of the Council. The Pope must not be diverted from this course by the opposition of France, and must also forbid Francis I. to have any dealings with Henry VIII. Charles then goes back to his old wish that Paul III. should conclude an alliance with him not only against the Turks but against all the aggressors of Christendom. The Pope must openly declare himself for the house of Hapsburg against France.[3] This was to overstep the political system of strict neutrality which seemed to Paul the only correct one; again and again he emphatically declared that to this policy he intended to adhere. On the other hand, he was prepared to convene the Council; that he was taking steps to issue the summons was com-

[1] *Cf.* Bragadino's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, I., 67 *seq.*, of whose criticism CAPASSO very justly remarks (I., 156): "La fonte è di dubbia autorità." *Cf.* further, EHSES, IV., cxxviii *seq.*, and CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 185. Also BAUMGARTEN (Karl V., III., 192) thinks that Bragadino's report that Paul III. had called upon Francis I. to invade Italy "is hardly credible." The Pope evidently had not gone beyond threats. Farnese's wise diplomatic restraint on his return to Rome is worthy of remark. How far he went in this direction is shown by a *letter of F. Peregrino's to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Dec. 22, 1535, in which he says: "Lo S. Pier Loisio hoggi è ritornato in Roma, riporta esser stato accharezzato molto della M^ta^ Ces. con buonomissima ciera et di quella molto si loda" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the **letter of Sanchez, Dec. 23, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). Later Pier Luigi certainly displayed his great dissatisfaction; see CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 184.

[2] *Cf.* the **report in cipher of Guido da Crema of Nov. 13, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 505 *seq.*

municated to the French King. Strong representations were also made to Francis I. concerning his advances to England, his intrigues in Germany, his alliance with the Turks, and his arbitrary exaction of tithes.[1]

Cardinals had to be sent to welcome the Emperor, but it was not easy to find suitable persons. A consistory discussed the matter on the 26th of November without arriving at any decision; at last, on the 29th, Cardinals Piccolomini and Cesarini were appointed.[2] They started from Rome on December the 5th,[3] as the Emperor was expected at the end of the month.[4] The two Cardinals only undertook the mission unwillingly, for they had not only to fulfil the courtesies of welcome, but to discuss the questions handled with such infelicitous results by Pier Luigi Farnese, and there yet remained a most important topic bristling with difficulty: the ill-starred question of Milan. This had entered on an acute phase owing to the death on the 1st of November, without legitimate heir, of Duke Francesco Sforza. Francis claimed Milan for his second son Henry, Duke of Orleans. As Charles V. refused unconditionally to hear of the husband of Catherine de' Medici and claimant of Florence and Urbino, the renewal of the war between the two rivals was imminent. Paul III. was not wanting

[1] See CARDAUNS, 170 *seq.*

[2] Consistory of Nov. 26, 1535: *S. D. N. fecit verbum de legatis mittendis ad Caes. M^{tem} jam e Sicilia adventantem in Italiam. Quae res fuit dilata in futurum consistorium. Nov. 29, 1535: *S. D. N. decrevit duos legatos ad Caes. M^{tem} vid. rev. Senen. episc. Ostien. et rev. Caesarinum diac. cum facultatibus in diplomate exponendis (Consistorial Archives, Vatican). For the first discussion on Nov. 8, 1535, see Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56).

[3] See G. Negri's letter in Lett. di princ., III., 148^{b} (edition of 1577).

[4] See Niccolò Cusulano's letter to Siena, dated Rome, Dec. 4, 1535 (State Archives, Siena).

in efforts to preserve peace;[1] he took a middle course, and proposed that the Duchy should be given to the third son of Francis, the Duke of Angoulême. The two Cardinals proposed this compromise to the Emperor on the 22nd of December at Naples. Charles replied that he must first be more closely acquainted with the conditions of this solution of the question, since experience had shown that the French, if in possession of Milan, would wish to have Naples also in their grasp.[2]

The candidature of the Duke of Angoulême was rejected as impossible by the French. They tried to draw the Pope to their side by proposing that Milan should be given to Pier Luigi Farnese's son, Ottavio, together with the hand of a French Princess. Notwithstanding his great affection for his nephew, Paul III. did not enter into this scheme,[3] but continued to preserve his neutrality.[4] As long as this was not infringed he showed friendliness to Charles V. in the bestowal of graces,[5] but he gave an unconditional refusal to the latter's request that he might enlist troops within the States of the Church. As he wished to remain neutral, this was a concession he could not make to either party,[6] and on the 28th of February 1536 the prohibition to all his subjects in the States to take service with foreign princes without special permission was promul-

[1] *Cf.* CARDAUNS, Paul III., 180 *seq.*

[2] See Cardinals Piccolomini and Cesarini, report of Dec. 23, 1535, in EHSES, IV., cxxvii.

[3] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 150.

[4] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report of Feb. 7, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* the *brief to Charles V. of Feb. 14, 1536 (permission that the clergy, "regni Siciliae ultra Pharum," should contribute to the sum of 250,000 ducats "promissa per magnates regni"). Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 1, n. 94 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 34; CARDAUNS, Karl V., 187 *seq.*

gated.[1] In January 1536 the Pope made his Milanese policy sufficiently clear to the Venetian ambassador; the Duchy must not belong either to the Emperor or Francis I.; only by conferring it on a third party, such as the Duke of Angoulême, who would thereby become an Italian prince, would it be possible to safeguard Italy against foreign subjugation and incessant warfare.[2]

The Papal proposal, however, had no prospect of acceptance even with the Imperialists. The Spanish statesmen did not, indeed, actually decline the candidature of Angoulême, but they bound it up with conditions which gave the Duke up entirely into the hands of Charles.[3] In order to make the Pope amenable it was even proposed in the Imperial Council that Parma and Piacenza should be occupied. As the troops of Charles occupied Siena and the Neapolitan kingdom and the Colonna were at his service, Paul III. felt himself threatened in Rome, where there was a great concourse of Spaniards and the recollection of the sack of 1527 lived on. He ordered St. Angelo to be prepared against attack, levied troops, and even seriously contemplated flight to the hill stronghold of Civita Castellana in order to secure his freedom.[4]

When intelligence of such plans reached Charles he thought it advisable, in view of the imminent renewal of war with France, to give in. It was rumoured in diplomatic circles that Charles had written a submissive letter to the

[1] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 1, n. 149 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Bragadino's report of Jan. 18, 1536, in CAPASSO, I., 151.

[3] See WEISS, Pap. d'état, II., 395 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 181 *seq.*

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 68 *seq.*, 70 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 157; CARDAUNS, Paul III., 182 *seq.* The assembly of troops in Rome is also mentioned in the *Vita di D. Alfonso d'Avalos in Cod. 34, E 23, f. 236, of the Corsini Library, Rome. A pasquil of Feb. 28, 1536, with a reminiscence of the sack in the Lett. and Pap., ed. Gairdner, X., n. 367.

Pope in which he agreed to the prohibition of enlistments in Rome.[1] According to another report, the ambassador Cifuentes had been instructed to refrain from importuning the Pope further to renounce his neutrality. Thereupon the tension hitherto existing between the Emperor and the Pope became suddenly relaxed.[2] Whether the Emperor had actually gone as far as this is open to doubt.[3] It was afterwards to be shown clearly that he had never seriously thought of abandoning his efforts to draw the Pope to his side, but his prospects were as yet very unfavourable, for on the 21st of March the Pope had already declared that, in view of the war that had broken out on the entry of Francis I. into Savoy, he would observe the strictest neutrality.[4] On this as on all other questions he hoped to come to a clear understanding with the Emperor by means of personal negotiation.[5]

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 15 Bragadino's *report of March 10, 1536 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No 16 F. Peregrino's *report of March 14, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), on the Pope's recent reversal of opinion. From a *letter of Sanchez' of March 24, 1536 (Court and State Papers, Vienna), Paul III. seems now to have consented to close his eyes to *secret* Spanish solicitations in Rome; see Appendix No. 17.

[3] CARDAUNS (Karl V., 171) thinks it highly improbable that Charles V. recognized the Pope's neutrality. The Imperial letter, unfortunately missing from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, was probably in ambiguous terms.

[4] In the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives, Vatican) the consistory of March 21, 1536, is not mentioned. Accounts of this assembly are to be found in the *letter of Bragadino's of March 22, 1536 (State Archives, Venice), and in *those of Matteo Casella and Filippo Rodi of March 31, 1536 (State Archives, Modena); see Nuntiaturberichte, I., 71, and CAPASSO, I., 158.

[5] *Cf.* Ricalcati's *letter to Guidiccioni of March 22, 1536 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); also used by CARDAUNS (Karl V., 189).

On the afternoon of the 26th of March Paul III. and his Master of the Ceremonies drew up the last regulations for the reception of the Emperor in Rome. On the following day he deputed Cardinals Cupis and Sanseverino to receive the head of the Hapsburgs on the borders of the States of the Church on his approach from Naples. They started on the 1st of April, and early on the following day met the Emperor at Sermoneta.[1]

The entrance of the Head of Christendom into the Eternal City was fixed for the 5th of April. The Pope had made most extensive preparations,[2] although the Emperor had begged that there might be an abstention from special festivities.[3] Notwithstanding the precarious state of the finances, nothing was spared of genuine Roman pomp[4] to do honour to the conqueror of Bar-

[1] See Blasius de Martinellis in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 318–320 (instead of May 27 read March); *F. Peregrino's letter of March 28, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *report of M. Casella and F. Rodi of March 31, 1536 (State Archives, Modena). For Charles V. in Naples, see TORRACA in the Rassegna settim., 1881, and Arch. Stor. Napolit., VII., 355 *seqq.* Already, on Jan. 11, 1536, Gratia dei Banchi. Florent. was deputed as commissary "ad providendum de victualiis in locis per que Cesar iter faciet, ad faciendum aptari et complanari vias per quas transibit." Arm., 41, t. 1, n. 61 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] F. Peregrino reported on Nov. 3, 1535: *Hieri N. S. di sua bocca fece intendere all' officiali qua della corte di Roma che s' apparrechiassero di metter a l' ordine di honorare S. M^ta^ (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* for the further preparations the *letters of G. Peregrino of Nov. 20 and 22, 1535, and Jan. 28, 1536, and the very full report of Fr. Chieregati of Jan. 15, 1536 (*ibid.*). See also Sanchez' *letter of Dec. 23, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's **letter of Jan. 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* for the following: Ordine, pompe, apparato et ceremonie della solenne entrato di Carlo V. Imp. semper Aug. nella città di Roma,

barossa, already celebrated in high-flown verse[1] by the poets of the Eternal City. The whole city was to appear in its utmost splendour, and the Emperor, as the successor of the Cæsars, to make his way along the ancient Via Triumphalis through the arches of Constantine, Titus, and Septimius Severus, over the ruins of ancient Rome and past the Capitol till, having traversed the whole length of the new city, he reached the Vatican. All buildings interfering with the route were accordingly demolished. Rabelais, who was an eye-witness of the destruction, says that upwards of two hundred houses and three or four churches were pulled down.[2] Through the Forum a straight road was laid down and this historic site raised and levelled by an accumulation of loads of débris. The works were under the direction of the talented Latino Giovenale

1536 (rare impression, copy in the Bibl. Alexandrina, Rome, published, not quite correctly, by CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 94 *seq.*, and FORCELLA, Feste, 39 *seq.*), as well as the narrative of Blasius de Martinellis, Master of the Ceremonies, together with selections from the account-books of Paul III. in PODESTÀ in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 303–344. *Cf.* also FIRMANUS in the Extr. d. manscr. du Roi, II., 631; *letter of the Sienese envoy of April 5, 1536 (State Archives, Siena); *report of F. Peregrino of April 6, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat. 3552, f. 58, Vatican Library; ALBERINI with Orano's notes in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XIX., 43 *seq.*; RABELAIS, Œuvres, II., 580 *seq.*; FICHARD, Italia, 36, 42, 51; CEREZEDA, III. (see *supra*, p. 222, n. 2); SANDOVAL, c. 23, n. 5; VANDENESSE, II., 117 *seq.*; CRESCI, 120 *seq.*; GUAZZO, 195 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 161 *seq.*; LANCIANI in Boll. Com., XXX., 229 *seq.*, and Scavi, II., 58 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, I., 39, 112 *seq.*; BERTOLETTI, Speserie, 175 *seq.*; Riv. d' Italia, III., (1900), 769; Jahrbuch der kaiserl. archäolog. Instituts, 1896, 130; ROCHI, Piante, 179; DENGEL in the work "Des Palazzo di Venezia," Vienna, 1909, 97 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXI., 428.

[1] *Cf.* Carmina apposita ad Pasquillum, 1536.

[2] RABELAIS, Œuvres, II., 588, 600. See also LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 61. *Cf.* also the report *of Cesare de Nobilibus of Jan. 29, 1536 (State Archives, Lucca).

Manetti, who, in the short space of fifteen weeks, had rendered extraordinary services.[1] The decorations in the city itself were arranged by Antonio da Sangallo the younger; Battista Franco, Raffaello da Montelupo, and other artists carried out his instructions.[2] Another collaborator in this work was Baldassare Peruzzi.[3]

Charles V., accompanied by the two Cardinal-Legates, reached Marino on the 3rd of April, where he was received by Ascanio Colonna and Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Santafiora.[4] The next day he betook himself to S. Paolo fuori le mura, where he was welcomed in the Pope's name by Giuliano Cesarini, Gonfaloniere of the Roman people.

On the 5th of April, at eleven in the forenoon, the Imperial procession set forth from S. Paolo. While many prelates and nobles, among them Pier Luigi Farnese, as well as the civic magistrates, had already come as far as the latter Basilica to meet him, the Emperor was awaited by the College of Cardinals at the Church of "Domine quo vadis" on the Appian Way.

The head of the procession was formed of 4000 Imperial foot soldiers marching seven abreast and 500 horsemen. Then came the envoys of Florence, Ferrara, and Venice, the Roman barons and Spanish grandees, while the Senator and Governor of Rome brought up the rear. Immediately in front of the Emperor advanced fifty youths chosen from the first families in Rome, all dressed in violet silk.

[1] LANCIANI, Golden Days, 111.

[2] *Cf.* VASARI, XIII., 185; X., 14; XI., 317; XII., 55.

[3] See H. EGGER in Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses, XXIII., 2 *seqq.*

[4] See VANDENESSE, II., 117, and the *report of the Sienese Envoy of April 3, 1536 (State Archives, Siena). The Itinerary in STÄLIN (Forschungen zur deutsche Geschichte, V., 573) is incorrect.

Amid the dazzling glitter and pageantry displayed by the Roman and Spanish nobility the simplicity of Charles V. stood out in striking contrast. The monarch, on whose realms the sun never set, the glorious conqueror of the dreaded infidel, whose latest achievements in Africa were grandiloquently set forth in the language and style of ancient Rome in the inscriptions on artistic triumphal arches, made his appearance without any decorations or tokens of his rank. Wearing a simple garment of violet velvet and a cap of the same colour, he rode on a charger between Cardinals Cupis and Sanseverino with the Caporioni and Conservatori on both sides; the latter, in ancient garb, described to their illustrious guest the remains of antiquity through which he was making his way. Close behind the Emperor rode the Cardinals, two and two; they were followed by the ranks of lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries; last of all came the Emperor's bodyguard, 200 strong.

The splendid cavalcade rode through the Porta S. Sebastiano, richly decorated with frescoes and stucco work, to the Baths of Caracalla, past the Septizonium, still rising proudly on the southern point of the Palatine, and through the Arch of Constantine. After leaving this point the Emperor was confronted by the huge mass of the Colosseum, recently stripped of its obnoxious outbuildings. The Emperor, struck with astonishment, reined in his horse in order to gaze on the wonderful amphitheatre. He then rode under the Arch of Titus across the Forum to the Arch of Severus. In front of the Temple of Divus Romulus an annexe, obstructing the view of the porphyry pillars of the entrance and doors of bronze, had been pulled down. The mediæval baronial tower before the Temple of Faustina had also been removed. From the Arch of Severus the procession turned to the right into the Via di Marforio on to the Piazza di S. Marco, where, from designs

by Sangallo, an immense arch had been erected, the statues and paintings on which aroused the admiring wonder of his contemporaries. Among other Germans engaged on the decorations was that Martin Heemskerk whose sketches and famous panorama offered to the Romans a valuable picture of this occasion. From S. Marco the next point reached was the Via Papale. Thence the procession turned to the left to the Campo di Fiori and by way of the Via de Banchi struck the Tiber. Amid the thunder of cannon from St. Angelo the castle bridge, adorned with statues, was passed and the Borgo entered, where the houses were hung with tapestries as on the Festival of Corpus Christi.

In the Piazza of St. Peter's the Emperor alighted and paid the customary homage to Paul III., who, wearing the tiara, awaited him in the portico of the Basilica. The two heads of Christendom then entered St. Peter's, where a religious ceremony was held. When this was ended, the Pope led the Emperor to the Sala Regia, and at the chapel of Nicholas V. he withdrew. Several Cardinals escorted Charles to the Curia Innocentiana, where apartments had been made ready for him.[1]

The next day, the 6th of April, was at once devoted to

[1] See Blasius de Martinellis in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 331 *seq.* The statement that Charles V. stayed in the Palazzo Caffarelli-Vidoni has been shown by HÜLSEN (Bilder aus der Geschichte des Capitols, 29) to be highly improbable. TOMASETTI (Il Palazzo Vidoni, Roma, 1905) thinks (p. 36) that the tradition has yet a grain of truth in it; Charles may have passed a day there and held audiences; *ibid.*, 34 *seq.*, pictures of the frescoes from the history of Charles V. of the end of the 16th century in the style of Perino del Vaga in the great hall where audience must have been given. About the lodging of Charles V., Jacomo delli Herculani reports in his *Memorie (68): "Allogiò in palazo . . . cioè in lo apartamento che fece Alexandro [VI.] et quello che fece Innocentio [VIII.].

the discussion of the many unsettled questions which for so long a time had been calling for solution. The diplomatists reported that this first private interview between the Emperor and the Pope lasted for more than six hours.[1] On Friday and Saturday Charles V., with a small suite, visited the most famous churches and monuments of antiquity in the capital of the world. From the roof of the Pantheon he enjoyed a panorama of incomparable views.[2]

During his stay the Emperor honoured with visits Vittoria Colonna and also the wives of Ascanio Colonna and Pier Luigi Farnese. On Saturday evening he conferred with the Pope for three hours.[3] It was rumoured that Charles would soon take his departure, with the intention, it was supposed, of making an impression on the Pope.[4] The Emperor, however, prolonged his visit over Holy Week, and on Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, and Good Friday took part with great devoutness in the striking solemnities of the Church, customary from distant ages at this season. On Holy Saturday he made a

[1] See in App. No. 18 the *report of Agnello of April 8; *cf.* the *letter of F. Peregrino of April 10, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also EHSES, IV., 1, n. 3.

[2] JOVIUS, Hist. lib., 35. Crescenzi's story that the Emperor wished to pull down the Pantheon (see CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 93) finds no place here. It is no more than gossip. FICHARD'S (Italia, 56) silence is decisive.

[3] *Cf. supra*, note 1, the report of Agnello. See also LUZIO in the Riv. Stor. Mantov., I., 23. Charles V. gave gifts to the Flemish Hospice of S. Giuliano (see FORCELLA, III., 522); his suite gave alms to the poor (SCHMIDLIN, 324).

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of the Sienese envoys of April 5, 6, 8, and 9, 1536 (State Archives, Siena). On April 14, 1536, took place the *deputation of Christoph. Cornetus as commissary "ad providendum de hospitiis et victualiis in locis eccles. per que Imperator transiturus est. . . . cum brevi a nobis discessurus Mantuam versus profecturus." Arm., 41, t. 2, n. 73 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

pilgrimage to the seven churches, and on Easter Sunday he assisted at High Mass in full Imperial state.[1]

On the first Sunday after Easter, the 17th of April, Charles V. suddenly presented himself in the Sala dei Paramenti and there, in the presence of the Pope, Cardinals, and ambassadors, delivered a speech in Spanish which caused an immense sensation.[2] He began by thanking Paul III. for his friendly disposition in the question of the Council, and then went on to vindicate thoroughly his conduct towards the French King, against whom he adduced a formal catalogue of misdeeds. In his characteristic way Charles expatiated at large on this topic; beginning with the days of Leo X., he described one by one all the phases of the struggle with his inveterate rival, the Milanese war, the Treaty of Madrid, the campaign of the Holy League, and the Peace of Cambrai, which Francis I. had not adhered to. Regardless of its stipulations, the King had hatched plots in Germany, as had been specially brought to light in the war of Würtemberg. Notwithstanding this he, the Emperor, upon the death of Sforza, had been willing to concede

[1] Blasius de Martinellis in PODESTÀ in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 332–339. *Cf.* VANDENESSE in Gachard, Voyage d. Souv., II., 117 *seq.*, and the broad-sheet in PICOT, III., 502. The "magna devotio" of Charles V. on Palm Sunday is specially mentioned in the short *Ephem. (Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 138).

[2] See Blasius de Martinellis in RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 10, and PODESTÀ, *loc. cit.*, 339–340 (instead of "noluit" read "voluit"); SANDOVAL, lib. 23, n. 5, and F. Peregrino's *letter, dated Rome, April 17, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), from which it is clear that RANKE (Deutsche Geschichte, IV.,[6] 621) is wrong in placing, with Vandenesse, the proceeding in the "Consistorium." The other authorities also, the *Ephem. (Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 138) and G. M. della Porta's *report of April 17, 1536 (State Archives, Florence), name the "Sala paramentorum." F. Peregrino, who was present when Charles V. made his speech, says expressly that the Emperor spoke "in lingua spagnuola."

Milan to the Duke of Angoulême, and even, upon certain conditions, to the Duke of Orleans. Ignoring this great mark of conciliation, the King, in defiance of pacific assurances, had entered Italy in arms, had invaded Savoy, a fief of the Empire, and demanded the life reversion of Milan. And yet, Charles went on, for the general welfare of Christendom he was still prepared to make peace ; but if the King was absolutely determined on war, then it would be better that they should both meet in single combat in accordance with old custom, the price of battle to be, on the one side Milan, on the other Burgundy ; within twenty days Francis must decide.[1]

The Emperor had spoken for an hour and a half with so much dignity and sagacity, with such remarkable powers of memory and such admirable arrangement of his subject, that all present were astonished.[2] The impression made by

[1] The true contents of the speech, incorrectly reproduced in the contemporary news-sheets, are to be gathered from the despatches of Charles to his ambassador in France, J. Hannart (in LANZ, II., 223 *seqq.*), and from the collective letters of the French envoys (in CHARRIÈRE, I., 295 *seq.*, and GACHARD, Bibl. Nat., II., 77 *seq.*). See also VANDENESSE, II., 119 *seq.*, and the *letter of F. Peregrino of April 17, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* the letter of an anonymous Italian, who heard the speech, dated Rome, April 17, 1536, with a postscript of the 18th, which, under the title *Ragguaglio del [or: Lettera sopra il] ragionamento havuto dall' Imp. Carlo V. in Roma con Paolo III. et col collegio de cardinali a dì 17 d' Aprile 1536, has been widely copied : Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arch. Borgh. Ser., 1, n. 596, f. 87 *seq.*, and often in Varia Polit. (*cf.* EHSES, IV., 4, and CARDAUNS, Karl V., 211); Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 5314, f. 142 *seq.* ; 5656, f. 135 *seq.* ; Court and State Library, Munich, Cod. it., 2 (790), f. 1 *seq.*.; National Library, Florence, Palat., I., n. 410 ; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, see MARSAND, I., 375 *seq.*, and GACHARD, I. 474 *seq.* The latter (pp. 474–477) has reproduced the whole letter partly in a translation and partly in the original. Cardauns, who has again (*loc. cit.*) published the letter, has overlooked

his speech was enhanced by the powerful accent of personality that his words carried with them.

In order to understand the pitch of temper aroused in Charles and his defiance of diplomatic conventionalities, it must be borne in mind that the rupture of peace on the part of Francis had taken him completely by surprise and greatly exasperated him. While the French envoys expressly and solemnly assured him that Savoy would not be touched, there came in March the invasion of that country and the occupation of the chief city, Turin. In the same category of offences was the declaration of Francis that he must at once be put in possession of the life reversion of Milan. At the same time the Emperor received news of Sulieman's return to Constantinople and of Barbarossa's journey thither. While the French King was in close relations with the infidel, he was seeking to calumniate the Emperor in Rome, accusing him and his brother of being the cause of all the misfortunes in Christendom, both as concerned the faith and as concerned the Turk. Against these lying charges Charles felt it to be his duty to vindicate himself by appealing at this critical moment in his own way to the verdict of publicity.[1]

The Pope acknowledged that the Emperor, in his speech and also in his private conversations, had made evident his love of peace. Charles, who had wished to bring the Pope round to an unambiguous expression of partisanship, was

this, as also the editor of Cresci's historical work, 209 *seq.* See also F. Peregrino's report in SEGRE, Doc. Sabaud., 134, n. 8, and *G. M. della Porta's to Urbino, April 17, 1536 (State Archives, Florence); Porta says that the speech lasted "più di dua hore." The historian of French diplomacy, FLASSAN (I., 380), describes the speech as an "energetic reflection of the Emperor's soul."

[1] *Cf.* LANZ, II., 226 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 321; CARDAUNS, Karl V., 190 *seq.*

not satisfied with this statement; he therefore allowed himself to interrupt Paul in his reply. In order, however, somewhat to soften the effect of this unusual proceeding, he glanced down at a paper he held in his hand and observed that he had forgotten to request his Holiness to say definitely who was in the wrong, he or Francis I.; if the Holy Father found that he, the Emperor, was in the wrong, then let him support the King against him; but if he found to the contrary, then he called upon God, the Pope, and the whole world as against the ruler of France.

Paul III. thereupon rejoined that Charles had, in fact, publicly and repeatedly in private openly disclosed his peaceful intentions, and for so doing he deserved praise. But it was also his belief that Francis too was well disposed, and this belief made him hopeful that a way could still be found to allay all differences. As for the duel proposed in the present instance, he dismissed it as unpermissible; nor should two such valuable lives be so lightly staked. He, the Pope, however, would make every endeavour to restore peace between the two monarchs; in order to do this the more equably and in the way least open to suspicion he had, with the approval of the Cardinals, determined to remain neutral; he only asked that on both sides there should be fair dealing and a readiness to listen to reason.

Of the French envoys present at this scene, one, Charles Hémard de Denonville, Bishop of Mâcon, had not understood the Emperor's speech, being ignorant of Spanish; the other, de Vely, asked permission to make a reply, but Charles would not consent. In excellent Italian he again told the two envoys that the contention between him and their King could only be settled in the way he had stated: by a great war, or a personal encounter, or by an honourable peace, the terms of which he expected within twenty days. In the meantime the Pope had put on his

pontifical attire in order to go to St. Peter's; as they went out the representatives of Francis I. asked for a copy of the Emperor's speech, which he consented to give them.[1]

This outburst of the Emperor's, unexpected as it was by all, caused a general and, in some, a painful astonishment.[2] Paul III. tried to soothe the French by declaring that he would not have suffered the speech if he had had any inkling of it beforehand.[3]

When the Emperor on the following day was taking leave of the Pope and the Cardinals, once more a disagreeable incident arose. The French envoys asked for an explanation of the speech of the day before, especially if it were the Emperor's intention to challenge their King to a duel. Charles V., this time speaking in Italian, declared it was far from his thoughts to defame or attack the French King; he had only wished to vindicate himself, and regretted that any other construction could have been put upon his words. Even if he had been obliged to complain of certain acts of the King, he was nevertheless desirous not of war but of the maintenance of peace; only, the peace must not be compulsory, and if he should be forced to wage war he would defend himself with all his might; even if the very Turk were to be invading his States, he would first repel the attacks of France. The proposal of a personal encounter had been made only in the case of peace being impossible, and was

[1] For the proceedings after the Emperor's speech, *cf.* together with the collective letters of the French envoys, cited *supra*, p. 248, n. 1, published by BUCHOLTZ (III., 311 *seq.*), and the anonymous letter (*supra*, p. 248, n. 2), also DU BELLAY, Mémoires, ed. 1594, lib. 5, 219 *seq.*, and F. Peregrino's *report of April 17, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See V. Colzado's report in CAPASSO, I., 174.

[3] See the French ambassador's report in GACHARD, Bibl. de Paris, II., 83.

not intended as a direct challenge to the King, at least in presence of the Pope. He also knew well what the odds were against him in such a combat, pitted against the strength and valour of Francis I. He wished only a means of avoiding a war which must issue, amid the dangers threatening from Turks and Protestants, in the total ruin of Christendom. He saw this catastrophe so clearly that no one need have been surprised at his speech of the day before; he therefore called upon the King to withdraw his troops within twenty days, whereby he had no intention of dictating a term to the King's movements but only of warding off a premature rupture.

As Charles thereupon wished to withdraw, the French envoy de Vely put to him the question how it stood with his project of giving the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans. Charles replied that, as a matter of fact, he had ordered his ambassador to communicate the plan to the King, but that he had never believed, and did not now believe, that adequate security for such an agreement could be found, nor that the King would accept the necessary conditions. Thereupon the representative of Francis I. retorted: "If your Majesty makes proposals to the King, believing them incapable of realization, you thereby show want of confidence in the highest degree." The Emperor replied: "Every promise that I have made to the King about Milan has always been made on the assumption that my allies agree to do what they do not wish to do: further, they have been made contingently on the King withdrawing his army, and his army has not been withdrawn: besides, the proposal has not been accepted within the stipulated time. Nevertheless, if Francis I. wishes Milan for his younger son, the Duke of Angoulême, he will find us quite ready to come to terms with him."

In the course of these sharp rejoinders and counter-

rejoinders the Emperor dropped an ironical allusion to the singularity of his having to request the French King to accept Milan for one of his sons.[1] With this note of discord the visit of the Emperor to Rome, which had begun so brilliantly, came to an end.

The withdrawal of the Imperialists from Rome was carried out in the most orderly manner; they left behind the best impression, not the smallest infringement of discipline having taken place.[2] The satisfaction at the excellent behaviour of the soldiers of Charles V. was exceptionally great, for many of the citizens could not forget the days of the sack and had entertained the worst fears of the coming of the Germans and Spaniards.[3]

During the Emperor's visit Paul III. had given repeated signs of his great satisfaction with his guest's demeanour, He had not concealed his expectation that Charles would make upon him much more unreasonable demands than were actually put forth.[4] In their personal interviews many doubts were solved, misunderstandings cleared up, and grounds of suspicion removed.[5] Charles V. presented the Pope with a magnificent diamond worth 14,000 ducats.

[1] For the proceedings of April 18, see the collective letters of French envoys, cited *supra*, p. 248, n. 1. *Cf.* GACHARD, Bibl. de Paris, I., 476; F. Peregrino's letter in CAPASSO, I., 175; the *report of the Sienese envoys, dated Rome, April 19, 1536 (State Archives, Siena), and Ricalcati's *letter to Carpi of April 19, 1536, Arm., 8, Ord. 1, t. 1, f. 29 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *letters of April 17 and May 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also BONTEMPI, 371; Salina's report in VILLA, Carlos V. y su corte, Madrid, 1902, n. 304, and the *report of the Sienese envoys of April 17, 1536 (State Archives, Siena).

[3] See the Modenese reports in CAPASSO, I., 162.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 72.

[5] See **report of F. Peregrino, May 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Paul III. in return sent two Turkish horses and a prayer-book bound in covers begun by Benvenuto Cellini but left unfinished, for which this craftsman made apologies.[1]

The efforts that Charles made to influence the Pope in his favour are apparent in the lavish promises made to the Farnesi. Pier Luigi was to have Novara as a Marquisate with 20,000 ducats, his son Ottavio a state within the kingdom of Naples with a yearly pension of 10,000 ducats, and Cardinal Alessandro the rich Bishopric of Monreale or Jaen.[2] Notwithstanding this, the Emperor failed to attain his object, for the Pope could not be induced on any conditions to give up his neutrality. It cost much trouble to obtain his intervention in other questions; the affair of Camerino in particular gave rise to serious difficulties.[3]

Paul III., in accordance with his habit, prolonged the negotiations to such an extent[4] that the final settlement

[1] CELLINI, Vita, II., 7.

[2] See Sanchez' *report of April 20, 1536 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); the letter of April 18, 1536, in Gachard, *loc. cit.*, I., 477; the **report of F. Peregrino of May 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and RAYNALDUS, 1536, No. 10. G. M. della Porta reported on April 25, 1536: *L' intrata degli XX^m duc. che l' imperatore offerse al S. P. Loyso fu detto di darglila unita col stato di Novara, che parve strano a tutti (State Archives, Florence). The investiture with Novara, into possession of which Pier Luigi tried to enter in open resistance to Paul III., did not take place until 1538 (NAVENNE, 271). See LEVA, III., 242 *seq.*; AFFÒ, 33; *cf.* also Contarini in Fontes rer. Austr., XXX., 10, 47.

[3] See in next note G. M. della Porta's *report of April 17, 1536.

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of G. M. della Porta to Urbino from Rome of April 9, 11, 17, and 19. In that of the 17th he describes his audience of the Emperor: "Poi venni al particolare di Camerino et dissemi chel papa era tanto longo in le parole sue che non si potea venir mai al fin d' alcun negotio, ma che in questo non potea star se non come certo d' alcun sospensione all' armi temporali, perchè non la facendo con effecto bisognava chel papa venessi alla rottura con lei, et che

of points of detail was not reached when Charles took his departure. Covos and Granvelle stayed behind in his stead, and succeeded at last, on the 24th of April, in bringing everything to a happy conclusion.[1] The principal point of agreement was that, on the outbreak of a war between Charles V. and Francis I., the Pope's support should be given to neither and his neutrality be strictly observed. He was neither to promote nor hinder a defensive league of the Italian States; he bound himself to suspend for the next six months the dispute with Urbino about Camerino and that with Ferrara, and also, for the same period of time, all ecclesiastical censures threatened against Urbino. The Pope promised besides to continue to the Catholic Swiss cantons the same support as had been given by Clement VII., and in case of a Turkish invasion to come to the Emperor's help.[2] With regard to the dispute

lasciava mons. Granvella et il commendatore maggiore qua doi o tre giorni doppo la partita sua perchè concludessero il negotio" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] G. M. della Porta *wrote on April 25, 1536: "Questa mattina mons. di Granvella e Covos sono partiti havendo finalmente dato fine al negotio della neutralità col papa nel modo che se potuto per scrittura sottoscritta di mano di S. S^tà^ et sigillata del suo sigillo." The greatest difficulties arose from the affair of Camerino: "Il papa prima che condescendesse a confirmar questa scrittura di neutralità tentò di poi nel particolar di Camerino le piu extravaganti conditioni del mondo, farono tutte rebuttate" (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 947 *seq.*; *cf.* GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 44; CAPASSO, I., 176 *seq.*; and CARDAUNS, Karl V., 197, 231 *seq.* EHSES (IV., cxxx) has established the right date by means of a letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga; the place there called Monterosolo is not, as Ehses supposes, Monterotondo, but Monterosi (*cf.* Forschungen zur deutsche Geschichte, V., 573). The suspension of ecclesiastical penalties against Camerino and the Varani "ad 6 menses" was brought about by the *brief to the vic. gen. ep. Camerin. of April 26, 1536 (Arm., 41, t. 2, n. 160, Secret Archives of the Vatican). As regards the Turkish subsidy, see

between Ferdinand I. and Zapolya, articles were drawn up on the basis of which peace in Hungary was established.[1] Finally, and this was of the greatest importance, the summons of the Council to Mantua was definitely settled and the 23rd of May in the following year fixed as the date of meeting.[2]

The agreement between the Pope and the Emperor filled the French party with despair.[3] Many believed in a secret understanding about Milan, the special aim, as was said, of Pier Luigi Farnese.[4] In view of the success achieved with so much difficulty, the Emperor might well console himself for his failure to shake the Pope's neutrality and to bring him over entirely to his side. It speaks strongly for the satisfaction that was felt at the Imperial Court that Granvelle should have said, "The Pope is now an out-and-out Imperialist."[5] This view was as little justified as the complaints of Francis I. who, hard hit from the first by these arrangements, protested to the nuncio, with a threat of schism, that the head of the Church had attached himself on every question to the side of the Emperor.[6] The Pope in reality asserted his neutrality, then as before,

the *brief to Charles V. of June 12, 1536 (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 2, n. 339, Secret Archives of the Vatican). A final arrangement with Ferrara was not made till Jan. 23, 1539; see Nuntiaturberichte, III., 405.

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, I., 73 *seqq.*, for details concerning the unsatisfactory progress of this affair.

[2] See our remarks *supra*, p. 77 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *report of April 30, 1536 (State Archives, Florence), and Nuntiaturberichte, I., 73.

[4] See F. Peregrino's *report of May 8, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* the Venetian report in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 72. See also G. da Crema's **letter of June 5, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] See Bragadino's letter in Nuntiaturberichte, I., 73, n. 2, and in CAPASSO, I., 190; *cf.* CARDAUNS, Karl V., 198.

between the two parties whose relations were so strained that many diplomatists by the end of April had already given up all hope of the maintenance of peace.[1] Paul III. was as anxious as before to reconcile the two antagonists; for this purpose he proposed anew the candidature of the Duke of Angoulême,[2] and spoke in this connection of going in person to Bologna and further still to the north.[3] On May the 7th he took part in the great procession along the Via Papale to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where prayers were offered up for the preservation of peace.[4]

As an answer to the Emperor's speech, extracts from which had been distributed widely by the Chancery,[5] Francis I., on May the 11th, addressed a letter to the Pope, and likewise on the 25th of May ordered a violent protest to be read in the Sala dei Paramenti which even questioned the validity of the Peace of Cambrai.[6] As France also refused to evacuate Savoy, the outbreak of war was inevitable. Paul III. made every exertion to avert the unhappy

[1] See F. Peregrino's letter of April 28, 1536, in SEGRE, Doc. Sabaudi, 135. *Cf.* the *letter of Agnello of April 18, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 193.

[3] See Ricalcati's letter of April 27, 1536, in EHSES, IV., cxxx.

[4] Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56).

[5] See Quellen und Forschungen, XI., 366 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 13 (instead of 22 read 25); GAYANGOS, V 2, n. 52, 56; SUDENDORF, Registrum, III., 220 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 316 note; GACHARD in the Biogr. Nat., III., 603 *seq.*; and CARDAUNS, Karl V., 218. In the *Ephem. of the Cod. Vat. 6978 of the Vatican Library it says of the speech of the French ambassador: "quod fuit ab omnibus laudatum!" G. M. della Porta reported on May 26, 1536, the speech of the ambassador, adding: *S B^me^ respose sul generale (State Archives, Florence). For the reply of Charles V. and the reiterated statement of Francis I., see CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 196 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*

strife even at the last hour, and ordered the nuncio at the Emperor's court, Giovanni Guidiccioni, to do all that was possible to assist him.[1] He wrote with his own hand to Francis I.[2] exhorting him to peace, and on the 9th of June despatched Cardinal Marino Caracciolo to the Emperor and Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio to the King.[3]

The hope of preserving peace, cherished apparently by the Pope up to the last moment,[4] was annihilated by the entry on the 25th of July of a powerful Imperial army into Provence. Soon afterwards France was also attacked in Picardy.[5] Francis I. thereupon informed Trivulzio that as long as the enemy was within his kingdom there could be no talk of negotiating for peace. As the King was finally induced to state his terms more definitely, the impossibility of coming to an understanding was made manifest. For he demanded nothing less than the immediate surrender of Milan and Asti; with the Duke of Savoy he would consent to a six months' armistice and the settlement of their dispute by Papal arbitration. As was to be foreseen, the Emperor refused.[6] The invasion of Provence failed entirely, for Montmorency had turned the whole country between the Rhone and the passes of the Alps into a wilderness, thereby exposing the Imperialist forces to hunger and sickness. An engagement in the open field the French declined.

[1] See Ricalcati's letter of May 26, 1536, in BINI, 2, n. 3.

[2] As *postscript to the brief of May 24, 1536. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 2, n. 215 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 14–15; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 78 *seq.*; PIEPER, 111; MINUTOLI, I., xx *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 7 *seq.*

[4] See F. Peregrino's report of July 12, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See DECRUE, 253 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 210 *seqq.* *Cf.* also CHESI, La guerra in Piemonte tra Carlo V. e Francesco I., Reggio nell' Emilia, 1889.

[6] BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, III., 213.

Soon after the war began the Emperor made another attempt, through Ascanio Colonna, to bring the Pope round to his side,[1] but Paul III. still persisted in the neutrality which alone afforded him any possible means of mediation.[2] At the end of August, with this end in view, he sent his trusted private secretary, Ambrogio Ricalcati, to the Emperor and the learned Latino Giovenale Manetti to Francis I.[3] Neither had any greater success than the ordinary nuncios Giovanni Guidiccioni and Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, of whom the latter, even after the departure of the envoys-extraordinary, was active, but unfortunately in vain, up to the end of the war.[4]

At the end of October the Pope sent Luigi Farnese to the Emperor at Genoa.[5] As his exertions for the restora-

[1] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 207, and CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 199 *seq.*, 238 *seq.* On Aug. 19, 1536, F. Peregrino still *reports that Ascanio Colonna, the Emperor's confidential agent, is daily with the Pope (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See the Edict of Aug. 12, 1536. Bull. V., 226 *seq.*

[3] See the brief to Charles V. in RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 18. The *letter of credence to Francis I. for L. Giovenale, dated Aug. 27, 1536, who was sent with condolences immediately after the Dauphin's death, is in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 3, n. 113; likewise *ibid.*, n. 114: duci Aurel., delph. Franc.; n. 115: Cater. duciss. Aurel.; n. 116: mag. Franc., card. Lothr. et Turnonio (dated as above; Secret Archives of the Vatican). The departure of the two envoys was to take place at once (see *T. Campeggio's letter, dated Rome, Aug. 26, 1536; State Archives, Bologna). They actually left on Aug. 28 (see the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 138). According to the same authorities, Ricalcati returned on Oct. 10, 1536 (*letter in State Archives, Parma, Arch. Farnese). Pier Luigi Farnese congratulated Ricalcati in the above letter of Oct. 11 on his expressing his hopes of a successful outcome. Ricalcati's mission, however, effected nothing (see G. M. della Porta, *report of Oct. 14, 1536; State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* PIEPER, 112; CAPASSO I., 218.

[5] See BINI, 48 *seq.*, 55; MINUTOLI, II., 64 *seq.*, 70; EHSES, IV., cxxx, n. 3. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, III., 219, n.

tion of peace were also fruitless, the Pope gave way to great indignation, and to the Venetian ambassador characterized the two contending monarchs as barbarians. He blamed the Emperor in particular that, instead of agreeing to a personal interview at Piacenza, he left for Spain on the 15th of November in order to obtain from the Cortes the necessary funds for continuing the war.[1]

[1] See CAPASSO, I., 226 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Holy League and the War against the Turks.—The Congress of Nice (1538).

THE bloody contest between the two chief powers of Christendom gave time for the Sultan Suleiman's plans for a fresh onset on Western Europe to ripen. The danger was all the greater as Francis I. since January 1536 had been in alliance with the infidel,[1] and the latter had been engaged in preparations for war on an unwonted scale. As early as August 1536 reports had come in from all quarters that the Sultan was getting ready for an expedition against Italy in the coming spring in order to erect his seat of empire in Rome.[2]

A commission of nine Cardinals was appointed on the 1st of December 1536 to discuss the measures to be taken.[3] Although many attributed the reports of the Turkish armaments to the exaggeration of the Venetians, the Pope did not

[1] *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, I., 283 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 759 *seq.*; MANFRONI in the Riv. maritt., 1896; LUGLIO, 62 *seq.*

[2] Along with CHARRIÈRE'S accounts, I., 310 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, I., 276 *seq.*, see the *Avisos de Levante from August to October 1536, in the Acta Simancas in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (K. 1632, 76 *seq.*, 100, 114, 119), and the **letter of F. Peregrino of Dec. 2, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *Ephem. hist. of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob. 1614, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, Dec. 1, 1536 (State Archives, Florence), and Bragadino's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 71.

share this view; he was seriously disquieted.[1] In accordance with the recommendations of the commission it was decided, at the beginning of January 1537, to tax the Italian clergy in two-tenths and to raise a hearth tax of one ducat on every family in order to procure the sums necessary for territorial defence. It was also proposed once more to send Legates to Francis and the Emperor on embassies of peace.[2]

The continuance of the war between Charles V. and Francis I. threw the Pope for a time into a mood of despair. He ventilated his annoyance at the Emperor to the Venetian ambassador, accusing the former in particular of quarrelling with France on a comparatively trivial point and thereby imperilling the whole position of Christendom. If he spoke of the Turks, he was told in reply that he must renounce his neutrality, declare himself the enemy of France, and threaten the King of that country with excommunication on account of his alliance with the unbelievers. But the separation of rich and powerful France from the unity of Christendom was surely not the way in

[1] *Cf.* *reports by G. M. della Porta of Dec. 8 and 15, 1536 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's letter to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Jan. 5, 1537; the *reports of G. M. della Porta of Jan. 5 and 9, 1537 (State Archives, Florence); the **report of F. Peregrino of Jan. 5, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); CHARRIÈRE, I., 324; FERRAI, 54; Bull relating to tenths, dated 1536 (st. fl.) III. Cal. Febr. A° 3° (printed copy in the Colonna Archives, Rome); the *Acta Consist. of Jan. 31, 1537 (Consistorial Archives, Vatican), and the *brief to the Duke of Ferrara of March 4, 1537, in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 92; see *ibid.*, n. 91, 94, 102. Similar *briefs of March 6 to Federigo Gonzaga, Florence, Siena, Lucca, Genoa, and to Cardinal Caracciolo as Governor of Milan. By *Bulls of March 20, 1537 (*ibid.*, n. 96), the two-tenths were also extended to the city of Avignon and the county of the Venaissin.

which to oppose the power of the Sultan. In this conversation Paul III. even went the length of laying the responsibility of the English schism on the Emperor because the latter had led Clement VII., by the promise of his assistance, to take steps against England. Charles had also been dilatory and had allowed the proper time to go by for taking measures against the Lutherans of Germany, and had perhaps even favoured the growth of heresy in order to plant his foot more firmly on the neck of Italy and the Church.[1]

The agitation of the Pope increased when the mission of Mario Aligeri, Bishop of Rieti, and that of Cesare de' Nobili, both appointed in the middle of February to approach once more the hostile monarchs in the name of peace, failed entirely.[2] Since nothing could be hoped for from Venice, always trying to prolong her peace with the Sultan from a deep distrust of the Emperor, the Pope found himself flung upon his own resources for the protection of his territories against the impending Turkish attack;[3] with all possible haste he levied troops and had

[1] See Bragadino's letter of Jan. 3, 1537, in R. BROWN, V., 52 *seq.*; *cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 228 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 1–2, 48; PIEPER, 100 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 129 *seq.* The secretary of Cardinal Gonzaga reported fully on the transactions of the commission of Cardinals concerning the mission of the two peace envoys "al castellano di Mantova" in a *letter dated Rome, Feb. 12, 1537 (Cod. Barb. lat., 5789, f. 18[b], of Vatican Library). The departure of Aligeri is announced by *F. Peregrino on Feb. 22, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to the *Ephem. (Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139, Vatican Library), the two nuncios as well as Pole left on Feb. 17, 1537; according to G. M. della Porta (see *supra*, p. 165, n. 1), not until the 18th.

[3] *Del Turcho ogni giorno rinfrescano le nuove del apparato grande che fa per mare et per terra, relates Niccolò Cusano from Rome on Feb. 10, 1537 (State Archives, Siena).

the harbours of Ancona and Civita Vecchia put into a state of defence.[1]

The danger was not lessened when in March 1537 the border fortress of Clissa, lying north-east of Spalato, fell into the enemy's hands.[2] Paul III. had sent Ferdinand I. money and troops for the defence of this important position,[3] commanding the security of Dalmatia, and if taken exposing the coasts of Romagna and the Marches to serious danger. The Pope therefore gave fresh orders for the defence of the port of Ancona.[4] At the end of April he visited Civita Vecchia to inspect his ships destined

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 48; GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 12, and the **letter of F. Peregrino of Jan. 5, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See BUCHOLTZ, V., 101; RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 47; CAPASSO, I., 292. The tidings about the fall of Clissa reached Rome on April 2, 1537; see *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139 (Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 21–22; BUCHOLTZ, *loc. cit.*; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 80, 122; II., 73 *seq.*, 87, 101 *seq.*, 103 *seq.*, 115, and Sanchez, **report of Dec. 23, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). On Jan. 3, 1537, *Paul III. ordered 4000 ducats for the defence of Clissa to be paid to Jacobus de Hermolais, the agent of Ferdinand, in the name of the Pope (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 173; *ibid.*, 275, a brief to the "Communitas Clyssii," dated Feb. 20, 1537, with a promise of further help. See RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 46, and n. 302, a *letter of Morone of March 8, 1537, concerning the permission to tax the Hungarian clergy. This is the letter that FRIEDENSBURG (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 125) passed over.

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, II., 171. By a *brief of April 26, 1537, Paul III. ordered "Hieron. Grassus" to bring all "tormenta et munitiones" from the cities and castles of the Papal States to Ancona; as the Turks had taken Clissa in March, they could "pava velificatione" fall upon the coasts of these territories; but there the "propugnaculum" was Ancona (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 6, n. 52; Secret Archives of the Vatican). Here also belong the Istruzione per la guardia della costa Adriatica contra l' armata turchesca 1537, printed in Due documenti di storia Anconit., Pesaro, 1886 (*Nozze-publ.*). See also the *reports of G. M. della Porta of May 19 and June 12, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

for Naples, there, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, to protect the coast of Italy.[1]

Notwithstanding the strained relationship with the Emperor, the Pope renewed the privileges of the "Cruzada" and promised him, in the event of the Turks making any advance, a monthly subsidy of 20,000 ducats. Charles V., however, as well as Ferdinand I., was not satisfied with this. They both renewed their complaints of the Papal neutrality whereby Paul III. was subordinating general interests to his own. In answer to this charge Ambrogio Ricalcati, in a letter of the 17th of May 1537 to Morone, the nuncio at Vienna, addressed a reply in which he made mention of the assistance given to the Emperor and also to his brother.[2]

Paul III. desisted from excommunicating the French King, for his implication in a Turkish alliance, because it seemed to him to show a great want of sagacity to take extreme measures against a sovereign who was constantly threatening the Church with schism. Considering the sensible losses sustained by the Church in England and Germany, the Roman Curia felt that the greatest caution must be observed towards France; the only hope of salvation lay in a mutual reconciliation of the two sovereigns

[1] The above statements also taken by GUGLIELMOTTI (I., 432) from the *report of F. Peregrino, dated Rome, May 8, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 174; *cf.* CAPASSO, I., 303, and for the payment of the subsidies the *brief to Fabius Arcella, nunt. Neapol., of June 27, 1537 (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 6, n. 168; *cf.* n. 186; Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* too the *report of G. M. della Porta of June 27, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). The Imperialists were not satisfied with 20,000 ducats, they demanded 40,000 per month; see Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara of April 21, 1537 (Cod. Barb. lat., 5789, f. 56, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the reports of April 22 and May 4, 1537 (approval of the Cruzada), from G. M. della Porta to Urbino (State Archives, Florence).

and in their accepting terms of peace.[1] But the outlook in this direction was as unfavourable as it possibly could be. When the Pope, in June, asked the French King and the Emperor each to send to Rome an envoy fully accredited,[2] the Emperor declined, on the pretext that he was already sufficiently represented by his ambassador, the Marquis d'Aguilar. Angry at the Papal neutrality, in which he saw an inclination towards France, he stood aside and repeatedly complained that Paul III. dealt out to him the same treatment that he bestowed on Francis I.[3]

Even if it does not admit of doubt that the Pope's neutrality, in view of the French alliance with the Turk, put him in a position of extreme embarrassment, the impartial verdict yet must be that in the immediate position of affairs Paul III. acted rightly. If he had yielded at once to the Emperor's demands and declared himself

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, II., 174; *cf.* CAPASSO, I., 303.

[2] See the briefs of June 16 and 17, 1537, in RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 49; *ibid.*, n. 50, a second letter to Charles V. of July 15, 1537. The original of the Papal letter of June 16 and that of the Cardinals of the same day to Charles are in the Simancas Acta of National Archives, Paris (K. 1642, 11–12). In his answer of Aug. 20, 1537, the Emperor renewed his complaint that the Pope treated him exactly as he did Francis I. (minute, *loc. cit.*, K. 1642, 13; copy in WEISS, Papiers d'état, II., 520; *cf.* also EHSES, IV., 138). According to the *Cause della guerra de 1537 (Bibl. Pia, 180, f. 4; Secret Archives of the Vatican), the Turks landed on Aug. 26 at Corfu; A. Longo (*Commentarii Cod. it., 538, of the Court and State Library, Munich) gives the date as Aug. 27.

[3] See MINUTOLI, II., 141, 149, 158; *cf.* CAPASSO, I., 291 *seq.* Aguilar was the successor of Cifuentes; his instructions of Nov. 15, 1536, in GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 119. Aguilar's "ingressus" is noticed in the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139 (of the Vatican Library) for Feb. 23, 1537, hora 22; *cf.* the *report of A. Strozzi to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, Feb. 24, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). For Aguilar's entry and the preceding negotiations, see Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56).

openly against Francis I., the danger was present that the latter might have apostatized and aided the Turks in an attack on Rome. Against such an eventuality Paul III. took military precautions in the city. If very different motives were, in this respect, attributed to him by his enemies, it soon became apparent that all such misconstructions were the outcome of idle conjecture.[1]

Not less painful than such aspersions were the impediments put in the Pope's way in Italy itself towards collecting the funds for the Turkish war, although the reports of the Sultan's projects were more and more threatening.[2] The curial officials, the Roman citizens, the envoys from foreign courts, the cities and barons of the Papal States all remonstrated and heaped up difficulty upon difficulty.[3] The Pope pertinently and repeatedly pointed out that when the head suffered all the members must suffer.[4] At

[1] See STAFFETTI, La Politica di Papa Paolo III., in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXIII., 74 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 192, n. 2; the *letter of Cardinal Piccolomini to Siena, dated Rome, June 15, 1537 (State Archives, Siena), and the *reports of A. Strozzi to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, June 15 and 23, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's characteristic **letters, dated Rome, June 14, 21, July 6, 23 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *reports of A. Strozzi of June 23, 1537, and A. Thebaldesco, June 28, 1537, to Cosimo de' Medici in State Archives, Florence, and *ibid.*, the *letters of G. M. della Porta to Urbino of June 13, 22, 25, and July 5, 6, 10, 14, 1537. On July 30, 1537 "Io. Bapt. Quietus deputatus commissarius cum 100 equitibus ad loca status eccles, quae 1 duc. pro foculari non solverint, ut mulctet et cogat" (Min. brev. Arm 41, t. 7, f. 481). A *Bull of Oct. 6, 1537, appointed a reduction on the impost of one ducat "pro centenario" of the Convents on the half of the income, and permitted the sale of conventual property; *loc. cit.*, t. 8, n. 271; *cf.* t. 7, f. 501, 502 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See the account of the Bolognese envoy in CAPASSO, I., 297.

the end of June he ordered prayers, fasts, and a procession from S. Marco to the church of the Minerva; all the religious orders and confraternities took part in this solemnity, and in the ranks of supplicants the Pope was seen walking barefooted.[1] The preparations for defence were carried on with fervour, for it was reported that the Turk had never before put forth his strength to such an extent as at this crisis.[2] How great the danger seemed is shown from the circumstance that not merely the ports of Ancona, Civita Vecchia, Ostia, and Terracina, but also Rome and all towns within a circuit of sixty miles were put in a state of defence.[3] Paul III. resolved to remain in Rome; those, he declared, who had fears might leave the city; he would abide at his post.[4] In August he had assembled upwards of 6000 men in the city. To Pier Luigi Farnese was committed the command of the troops appointed for

[1] *Cf.* the Diary in CASIMIRO, Aracoeli, 327, and the *reports of F. Peregrino of June 20 and 30, 1537. In the latter it says: *N. S. lunedi proximo di S. Marco alla Minerva anderà in processione a piedi scalzi (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *Ephem. of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob., 1614, and the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139^{b}, of the Vatican Library, and MERKLE, Diaria, I., 409.

[2] *Cf.* the *Ephem. of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob., 1614, of the Vatican Library. "Roma sta in grandissima timor de Turchi," *reports A. Thebaldesco, June 28, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also SADOLETI, Opera, I., 249.

[3] See the report of June 20, 1537, in CHARRIÈRE, I., 330, and the *letters of G. M. della Porta of June 19, 22, July 25, and Aug. 2, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). *Steph. Tarusius appointed commissary for the strengthening of the fortified places "intra 60 miliaria ab urbe," July 1537 (Indice 300, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For the plan of enlisting German soldiers, see Nuntiaturberichte, II., 192 n. Giov. Batt. Bianchieri reported to Bologna from Rome of June 13, 1537: *Hoggi in consistoro si è statuito fare xv^{m} fanti per la guardia di Roma e delli porti (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] Report of F. Rodi, June 26, 1537, in CAPASSO, I., 298.

defence of the coasts.[1] These preparations called for great sums of money, the collection of which was an endless source of chagrin to the Pope; as in Rome itself, so elsewhere, only to name Spoleto, Perugia, Ferrara, and Urbino, the new levies caused the greatest opposition.[2]

The Turkish ships, with the French envoy on board, appeared in Italian waters at the end of July;[3] but their attack was directed not, as had been feared, against Rome but against Apulia. The Imperial Admiral, Andrea Doria, who had previously engaged some of the enemy's fleet successfully,[4] was, in spite of the five Papal galleys, the seven Neapolitan ships and various Maltese craft at his command, too weak to encounter the preponderant naval forces of the enemy; he therefore withdrew into the harbour of Messina. The Turks, under Barbarossa, landed on the mainland near Otranto, in the roadstead of Castro, and from thence made incursions, laying waste the country and making many captives.[5]

[1] CAPASSO, I., 300 *seq.*

[2] See the *reports of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, July 30, Aug. 2, 8, 10, 14, 21, and 24, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] "Del Turcho s' intende che è partito da la Vellona ma non si puo sapere dove si fermerà," says *Niccolò Casulano from Rome, July 25, 1537 (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* the *letters of G. M. della Porta of July 19, 22, and 25, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). Antonio Longo gives in the *Commentarii della guerra de Venetiani con Sultano Solimano, 1537–1540, the strength of the Turkish fleet at "400 legne." Cod. 670 the Méjanes Library at Aix, and Cod. it. 538 of the Court and State Library, Munich.

[4] *1537 Julii 30. Novum quod Andreas Doria cepit xi triremes Turci interfectis ad internecionem hostibus apud insulam Corcyram (*Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139[b], Vatican Library). G. M. della Porta reported from Rome, July 30, 1537, that Doria's booty had amounted to fourteen ships (State Archives, Florence).

[5] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Hist. lib., 36; report in CHARRIÈRE, I., 330 *seq.*; PARUTA, cviii; HAMMER, 138 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 764; GUGLIEL-

The news of the fresh Turkish invasion of Italy caused widespread alarm. The court of Ferdinand I. saw Rome in occupation of the foe.[1] The Pope hastened on the fortifications of the city, and sent troops to Terracina and Civita Vecchia.[2] But, as has often happened, the unexpected came to pass. The Turkish contingent in Apulia was recalled, together with their fleet, and Corfù instead of Italy became their objective. The primary cause of this most unexpected movement was probably the failure of Francis I. to make a simultaneous descent on the Peninsula.[3]

Before the attack on Corfù the Sultan had already declared war on Venice, a dangerous power in the case of her alliance with the Emperor, by ordering the confiscation of all the property and merchandise of the Republic in his

MOTTI, I., 434 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 303 *seq.*; PETIT, 167 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Copie d'une relation du succès de l'armée du Turc depuis le 12 juillet jusques et compris le 11 août 1537 (State Archives, Brussels, Lettres d'Italie, n. 434); the *Ephem. of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob., 1614, and the *Diary in Cod. Barb. lat., 3552, f. 59 (Vatican Library).

[1] See Morone's letter from Prague, Aug. 20, 1537, in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 199.

[2] See the *reports of G. M. della Porta of Aug. 2 and 4, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). He reported on Aug. 17 that an inventory of the bells of the Roman churches was to be taken, as they were to be made use of for ammunition.

[3] See CAPASSO, I., 306 *seq.* The first tidings of the Turkish landing in Apulia were brought to Rome on Aug. 2 (see *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 139[b], Vatican Library). By Aug. 18 the Romans had heard of the withdrawal of the Turks (see F. Peregrino's *report of that date). On Aug. 20 he announces the "ritirata del Turco della Puglia et Velona" as confirmed. In his *letter of Aug. 31 he gives as the reason: "La carestia grande de le vettovaglie, la peste grandissima in suo esercito, l' infirmità grave d' un figliuolo con'l mancamento de re di Franza che non gli ha risposto alla promessa" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *report of G. M. della Porta of Aug. 31, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). For the attack on Corfù, see *supra*, p. 266, n. 2.

dominions. The garrison of Corfù defended themselves with such valour that, in the middle of September, the enemy raised the siege, and further, on receipt of disquieting news from Persia, sailed back to Constantinople. Christendom had a breathing-space. The Pope offered thanks in St. Peter's, and ordered a medal to be struck on which a dolphin was engraved vanquishing a crocodile.[1]

The Turkish declaration of war against Venice forced the Republic to join sides with the Pope and the Emperor. Hitherto the efforts of Paul III. to draw the first sea-power of Europe into the defensive forces of Christendom had been a failure. He had conceded rich sources of revenue to the Venetians in the hope that they would renounce their commercial system of politics, but in vain. Even his special emissary Fabio Mignanelli, sent to the Signoria in connection with the Turkish attack on Apulia, had effected nothing.[2] The interests of the mart outweighed the remonstrances of the Pope; the former held the scales in favour of a peace with the Porte.[3] Now at last, under the

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 60; BONANNI, Numismata rom. pont., I., 199, and GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 445. The principal authority for the attack on Corfù is ANDR. NUKIOS, Ἀποδημιῶν κεφ. οή—πγ τοῦ λόγον γ., ed. M. Mustoxidis, Kerkyra, 1865; *cf.* HOPF, 170, and *Cause della guerra del 1537 (see *supra*, p. 266, n. 2). The reasons for the Turkish withdrawal from Corfù are explained by A. Longo (*Comment. Cod. it., 538, of Court and State Library, Munich).

[2] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 318 *seq.* For Mignanelli's mission, see RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 52; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 198, n. 4, and the *letters of G. M. della Porta of July 6 and 10, 1537 (see App. No. 21). Of the tenths he reports on June 13 and 27 (State Archives, Florence). The "decreto dell' uditore della camera et del patriarca di Venezia che impone 3 decimi di tasse sulle rendite di luoghi religiosi del dominio Veneto per la guerra di Venezia contra i pirati" (dated July 13, 1537) I found in a contemporary copy in the Colonna Archives, Rome.

[3] Longo (*Commentarii Cod. it., 538, Court and State Library, Munich) admits this openly.

pressure of the violent breach of treaty on the part of the Turks and of the menace to Corfù and the Ægean Archipelago,[1] Venice determined, on the 13th of September 1537, to enter into an alliance with the Pope against the Moslem. The Emperor's participation in this separate agreement could be reckoned upon as certain after the declarations of his ambassador.[2] The Venetians now armed in good earnest; among other measures they took steps to engage the services of 8000 German auxiliaries.[3]

When on the evening of the 15th of September the news of the conclusion of the treaty reached Rome, the Pope's joy was indescribable.[4] He at once summoned from his country house Blasius de Martinellis, his Master of the Ceremonies, in order to make special regulations for the publication of the treaty in Rome. This official recommended a great public solemnity, since ten Popes had endeavoured without success in time past to win over Venice against the Turk. Steps were taken accordingly; and on the 23rd of September the Venetian Cardinal, Contarini, sang a solemn high mass in St. Peter's during which the Governor of Rome made an oration while the Pope closed the proceedings by intoning the Te Deum. Immediately after this celebration came the news of the relief of Corfù.[5]

[1] For their depredations, see the *report of Girolamo Fantuzzi, Florence, Oct. 27, 1537 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] See CAPASSO, I., 324–325.

[3] Compare Gabriel von Ortenburg of Sept. 27, 1537. Programm des Gymnasiums zu Feldkirch, 1860, 243 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *letter "al nuntio di Venetia" of Sept. 16, 1537 (Concept in State Archives, Parma, Arch. Farnese), and Longo, *Commentarii (Cod. cit., f. 19).

[5] See Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56); *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 140, Vatican Library; the report in CHARRIÈRE, I., 339, and F. Peregrino's *letter,

The momentary cessation of the Turkish peril, and still more the incompatible interests of Venice and the Emperor and their mutual distrust, led to an extraordinary delay in the final ratification of the treaty. Although at the end of November the news came that the Sultan's attacks would be renewed in the coming year,[1] and the Pope did all in his power to bring the negotiations in Rome to a fortunate issue, the delay still continued.[2]

The Turks, in the meanwhile, were not inactive. After the raising of the siege of Corfù, the Sanjak of Morea was ordered to invest Malvasia and Napoli di Romania; Barbarossa was to make himself master of the Venetian islands in Grecian waters. As the latter were without adequate defences, the infidel swooped down on Ægina, Skyros, Patmos, Pharos, and Naxos.[3] On land the Pashas of Bosnia and Semendria raided the Hungarian border. Katzianer, the captain-general of Ferdinand I., met the enemy on the 9th of October 1537 at Gorian near Diakovár

dated Rome, Sept. 23, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *reports of G. M. della Porta to Urbino of Sept. 15, 16, 18, 1537. In that of Sept. 16 it says: "Tutta Roma excettuati solamente gli confederati col Turco fa di questa resolutione quella grande allegrezza che non fece mai più tempo fa d' altra nova" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] See in App. No. 22 F. Peregrino's *letter of Nov. 30, 1537. For the deliberations of a commission of four Cardinals appointed at the beginning of Nov. 1537 to treat of the Turkish war, see G. M. della Porta's *reports of Nov. 7 and 22, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* CAPASSO'S detailed account, I., 330 *seq.* In his opinion: "Senza dubbio però il più sincero tra tutti era il pontefice." On Dec. 12, 1537, Paul III. directed his nuncio at Venice to consent to the levy of another tenth and a half in addition to the three-tenths agreed upon by Venice for the war. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 109 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See A. Longo, *Commentarii della Guerra del 1537–1540 (Cod. it., 538, of the Court and State Library, Munich). *Cf.* HAMMER, II., 2nd ed., 145 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 772 *seq.*; HOPF, 170.

and suffered a crushing defeat.[1] Zapolya himself now began to fear the Turkish power.[2]

The success of the great Papal league against the Turks, as well as the meeting of the Council, was only possible on the war between Francis I. and the Emperor being brought to a conclusion.[3] Paul III. therefore set himself, under the maintenance of his neutrality,[4] to promote the efforts for peace as assiduously as he had undertaken his measures for resisting Turkish invasion.[5]

The prospects of the termination of the destructive warfare in the heart of Christendom developed very slowly. If the danger of Hungary was an anxiety to Charles V., not less cause of solicitude was given to Francis I. by the circumstance that under the pressure of the Eastern question the Pope and Venice had been driven towards the side of the Emperor. Besides, there was the exhaustion to which both parties were gradually giving way.

[1] See JOVIUS, Hist. lib., 36; HUBER, Gesch. Österreichs, IV., 60 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 223 *seq.*, 238.

[2] Zapolya opened peace negotiations with Ferdinand I. which led on Feb. 24, 1538, to the Peace of Grosswardein; see KAROLYI, Adalék a Nagyváradi béke s az 1536–1538 évek történetéhez (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Friedens von Grosswardein in den Jahren 1536–1538), Budapest, 1879, 225 *seq.*, and UTIEŠENOVIĆ, Lebensgeschichte des Kardinals Utiešenović, 2 *seq.*, 12 *seq.* Paul III. took advantage of the peace to send Rorario to Austria and Poland in the interest of the prosecution of the Turkish war in the summer of 1539; see PIEPER, 134 *seq.*; LIPOT in the Mon. Hung. Hist. dipl., XVI., 75 *seq.*

[3] See FOSCARI in the Mon. Slav. merid., VIII., 134.

[4] *Cf.* the Edict of Oct. 31, 1537, in RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 57.

[5] *Cf.* Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 63: "Universis subditis," dated 1537, Dec. 12, for the coast defences; n. 177: "Card. de Monte, legato Cispad.," dated 1537, Oct. 29, for the defence of the Papal States; n. 349: "Universis officialibus," dated 1537, Oct. 27, concerning the making of oars (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Although no terms of peace were agreed to, yet on the 16th of November 1537 an armistice was arranged at Monzon for three months, and further transactions, including even an interview between the two rivals, were kept in view.[1]

The Pope made use of this position of things, having shortly before the armistice made arrangements for a new mission of peace,[2] by intervening once more on his own part in order to put an end once and for all to the unhappy warfare. He at once gave orders for demonstrations of joy at the conclusion of the armistice and for prayers for the final cessation of hostilities.[3] Then on the 19th of December 1537 he appointed two Legates, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi for the French, and Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi for the Imperial court; with a view to the Turkish war and the Council they were to use all their influence to turn the armistice into a durable peace.[4] But to the French ambassador in Rome the Pope at the same time declared that, after all his hopes had thus been deceived, he could no longer preserve his neutrality but would

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 230 *seq.* ; *cf.* CAPASSO, I., 350 *seq.*

[2] For F. Mignanelli's mission to the Emperor and that of Messer Baldassare to Francis I., see, together with PIEPER, 115, also CAPASSO, I., 351.

[3] *Cf.* Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium: P. P. Gualterii *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and the Indulgence Bull, dated Non. Dec. 1537 (contemporary copy); *cf.* PINCELLOTTI, Della imagine del S. Salvatore, delle processioni, Roma, 1863, 12.

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 58–60; *Letter of N. Sergardi of Dec. 19, 1537 (State Archives, Siena); Nuntiaturberichte, II., 242, n. 3; PIEPER, 115 *seq.* The *deed of nomination of Carpi as Legate, dat. XII. Cal. Jan. 1537, in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 180; *ibid.*, n. 188, extended faculties for Jacobazzi, dat. Dec. 23, 1537 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The departure of both took place on Dec. 23; see Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium.

become the antagonist of that party on whose wilful obstinacy the indispensable peace was wrecked.[1]

Paul III.'s agitation was shown not only in the distrust inevitably aroused in him by his exclusion from the peace negotiations,[2] for immediately afterwards the result of the meeting between the representatives of Francis and the Emperor was made known,[3] and this was in no way matter for congratulation. Nothing had been gained except a prolongation of the armistice for three months, up to the 1st of June. Now as before Milan was the apple of discord over which no agreement could be reached.[4]

Even more than by the Papal declaration of December the French were made apprehensive by the fact that, in spite of all their opposition,[5] the great league against the Turks, over which Paul III., the Emperor, and Venice had been so long negotiating, became a reality. On the 8th of February 1538 the articles of the League, called "the Holy" on account of the Pope's participation in it, were at last ready for signature in the Vatican.[6]

[1] CHARRIÈRE, I., 358. Already in October (*ibid.*, 354), and before that in March, Paul III. had used similar language. *Cf.* the cipher *report of F. Peregrino from Rome, March 6, 1537: "Io ho da persona ch'è molto appresso al Papa che l' altra sera essendo in camera disse haver mandato el vescovo d' Arienti (Rieti) dal imperatore et Cesare de Nobili dal christianissimo re per ridurli a pacificarsi insieme et far ogni sforzo, ma da chi rimarà serà constretto essergli contra et inimico et non più neutrale" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See *N. Sergardi's report, dated Rome, Dec. 8, 1537 (State Archives, Siena).

[3] See *report of the same, dated Rome, Dec. 15, 1537, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the account by Giustiniani in ALBÈRI, 1st Series, I., 200 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 173; DECRUE, 332 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 356 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the report in CHARRIÈRE, I., 364 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *letter to the Duke of Urbino, dated Rome, Feb. 8, 1538 (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 265), and the *report of the Imperial ambassador L. de Soria to the Governess of the

This compact, in which Charles V., Ferdinand I., Venice, and Paul III. were partners not only defensively but offensively against the Turks, began by setting forth distinctly the costs of the war. A sixth was laid upon the Pope, a third on Venice, and one-half on the Emperor. The campaign was to be undertaken with 50,000 infantry, 4500 cavalry, artillery in proportion, and 200 three-oared galleys; of the latter the Pope was to contribute 36 and Venice and the Emperor 82; the contribution of the Italian States was to be fixed by the Pope. Ferdinand I. had an immunity from war payment but was to organize an army in Hungary; entrance into the League remained open to other States, even France; the land forces were to be under the command of the Duke of Urbino, the fleet under that of Andrea Doria. All questions of dispute arising out of the expedition were to be arbitrated upon by the Pope; a supplementary agreement already laid down the principles for the partition of the Turkish dominions. Charles V. was to become Emperor of Constantinople.[1]

On February the 10th the Holy League was solemnly proclaimed in St. Peter's. On this occasion Marco Grimani, appointed Legate to the Papal fleet, received the insignia of his new dignity. As he was to superintend the equipment of the galleys at Venice, he took leave of the Pope

Netherlands, dated Venice, Feb. 18, 1538 (State Archives, Brussels, No. 434: Lettres d'Italie).

[1] The treaty, then already printed (see PICOT, III., 508) in RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 4 (*cf.* LEBRET, Magazin, VII., 199 *seq.*; Mon. Slav. merid., VIII., 118 *seq.*); the codicil in POMETTI, Per la storia della marina italiana, Roma, 1898, 83 *seq.* See further, Libri commem. di Venezia, VI., 231 *seq.* In a *brief of Nov. 6, 1537, Paul III. promised the Duke of Urbino that he should be unmolested in his possession of that Duchy (specially of Camerino) as long as he took a part in the expedition, without prejudice to the claims of the Holy See on Camerino. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 129 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

and Cardinals on the 2nd of March and travelled on the following day to Civita Vecchia.[1] In this seaport as well as in Ancona and Venice the greatest activity prevailed,[2] for the Pope was determined that the promised help should be got ready in good time. No expense was to be spared, and all that could be done was to be done without attention to the less vigorous efforts of the allies.[3] The treasurer, Giovanni Ricci,[4] worked assiduously, and travelled backwards and forwards between Ancona and Venice to hasten on the naval preparations.[5]

Before the conclusion of the League the Pope had declared his readiness to meet the Emperor and Francis in order personally to mediate for peace, without which a successful campaign against the Turks was out of the question. Nice had been proposed as the scene of the conference, and Charles V. had announced his agree-

[1] See P. P. Gualterius, *Diarium; Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f., 140, of the Vatican Library. Grimani's appointment as Papal Legate with the fleet was made on Jan. 7, 1538 (see *Acta Consist. and the *Ephem. *loc. cit.*; *cf.* also Bessarione, V. [1899], 239). With the position assigned to the Duke of Urbino went his investiture with the sword of honour at the hands of Cardinals Ferreri and Trivulzio, while Cardinal Pucci wished that this distinction should be reserved for P. L. Farnese; see the *report of G. M. della Porta to the Duchess of Urbino, dated Rome, Feb. 1, 1538 (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 265).

[2] *Cf.* L. MELE, *Genealogia d. famiglia Ricci (Ricci Archives, Rome), and GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 18 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*

[3] See Farnese's *letter to G. Ricci, dated Borgo Sandonnino, April 15, 1538, and Alessandria, May 6 (Ricci Archives, Rome); *cf.* Longo, *Commentarii Cod. it., 538 (Court and State Library, Munich). See further, Appendix No. 24.

[4] Brief dated Rome, March 4, 1538. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 9, n. 199 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] MELE, *Genealogia, *loc. cit.*

ment.[1] As new and reliable information of a very threatening kind concerning the plans of the Sultan had been received,[2] it was settled in a consistory held on the 28th of January that the departure of the Pope for Bologna should be fixed for the 8th or 10th of February.[3] But Francis I., deeply chagrined at the conclusion of the Holy League, showed, to the Pope's great disgust, a total disinclination for the meeting. He was convinced that Paul III. was by this time completely gained over by the Emperor, and therefore put difficulties on the top of difficulties.[4] The Pope, nevertheless, did not allow himself to be dismayed. Even though the unfortunate state of things forced him repeatedly to put off his departure from Rome, yet, with characteristic tenacity, he held by his purpose and at last carried it into execution.[5] The French King, whose alliance with the Turks caused great dissatisfaction in his own country,[6] could not indefinitely put off his appearance, since the aged Pontiff was prepared to enter on a journey attended by so many hardships and risks.[7]

[1] See RUA, Carlo V., 41 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of N. Sergardi, dated Rome, Jan. 26, 1538 (State Archives, Siena).

[3] *Cf.* N. Sergardi's *report, dated Rome, Jan. 29, 1538 (State Archives, Siena), and RIBIER, I., 90 *seq.* See also the *letter of the *Tesoriere* to G. Ricci of Jan. 30, 1538 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[4] See the reports in RIBIER, I., 95 *seqq.*, 128 *seq.*, and GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 183.

[5] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 372 *seq.*, and STAFFETTI in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 80 *seq.*

[6] See F. Giustiniani in ALBÈRI, 1st Series, I., 213.

[7] On Feb. 29, 1538, Paul III. wrote to the Duke of Savoy about the cession of Nice (see Raynaldus, 1538, n. 8). Of the same date is a *brief to Mag. et convent. Rhodi: They are to prepare "triremes" "pro itinere Nicee"; he sends on this account Ioh. Maria Stratigopolus (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 9, n. 185; Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, I., 366 (instead of 1537 read 1538).

Cardinal Vincenzo Carafa having been named Legate of Rome[1] on the 20th of March, the Pope, to the great surprise of many, left the city on the 23rd.[2] He went by Monterosi, Ronciglione, Viterbo, Montefiascone and Acquapendente to Montepulciano, where he was honourably welcomed at the command of Cosimo de' Medici.[3] From Montepulciano, without touching Siena, he made his way by Monte Oliveto, Castelnuovo, Poggibonsi, Castelfiorentino, and Fuecchio to Lucca. This city, into which

[1] See *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican and Papazzoni's *letter of March 20, 1538 (State Archives, Bologna). For Carafa's activity, see TACCHI VENTURI, I., 409, 440 *seq.*

[2] See N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 23, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *Diarium of P. P. Gualterius and of Blasius de Martinellis. "La partenza di N. S. è molto riscaldata," *wrote the treasurer to G. Ricci on March 18, 1538, "da tre dì in quà per la nuova ch'il rè christ. è per venire al colloquio" (Ricci Archives, Rome). For the Pope's journey, see together with Gualterius, *Diarium, (XII., 58 f., 347[b] *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican), the full account in Blasius de Martinellis (*Itineratio Pauli III. versus Placentiam et Niceam, *ibid.*, 243 *seq.*, and XII., 57, f. 74 *seq.*; also in Cod. lat., 12547, f. 209[b] *seq.*, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), whose attendance on the Pope, however, was only temporary; the *Ambassadorial reports quoted below and the *letter of Cardinal Farnese's to G. Ricci (IX., 186 *seq.*, Ricci Archives, Rome). The following itinerary can thus be composed:—March 23, as far as Monterosi; 24, Ronciglione; 25, Viterbo; 26 and 27, Montefiascone; 28, Acquapendente; 30 and 31, Montepulciano. April 1, Monte Oliveto; 7, Lucca; 8, Pietrasanta; 9, Sarzana; 10, Pontremoli; 11, Berceto; 12, Fornuovo; 13, Parma; 15, Borgo Sandonnino; April 16 to May 5, Piacenza; May 10 to 15, Savona. G. FERRARO (I vini d' Italia giudicati di P. Paolo III. e dal suo bottigliere Sante Lancerio in the Riv. Europ., VII. [1876], 2, 94 *seq.*), gives the route accurately but without dates. There is a fine poem on the Papal journey of pacification in the Rime e lett. di V. Gambara, 4.

[3] *Cf.* SPINELLI BENCI, Storia di Montepulciano, Fiorenza, 1646, 100 *seq.* *Cf.* the *deliberazioni del consiglio, 1537–1542 (State Archives, Montepulciano).

Paul III. entered on the 7th of April, was freed on its entreaty from the interdict under which it had lain on account of the arbitrary taxation of the clergy.[1]

Although the Pope received in Lucca the disagreeable news that the Duke of Savoy was raising difficulties over the cession of the citadel of Nice, the sole remaining fortress left to him, to be used as the Papal residence, he started off again on April the 8th by Pietrasanta, Massa, Sarzana, Aulla, Pontremoli, the high Apennine passes of Colle della Cisa, Bercerto, and Fornuovo to Parma, arriving there on the 13th, the day before Passion Sunday. As one of his officials was assassinated there, he quitted the city in anger on the 15th and betook himself by Borgo Sandonnino and Fiorenzuola to Piacenza. Here he received Niccolò Tiepolo and Marc Antonio Contarini, sent by Venice to the congress as ambassadors-extraordinary. He assured them that he was determined to work resolutely for peace without regard for personal disadvantages and unpleasantnesses.[2]

Paul III. spent Holy Week and Easter in Piacenza, intending there to await the decision on the surrender of the citadel of Nice and the arrival of the Cardinal-Legates Jacobazzi and Carpi,[3] who were expected on the 25th of

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 10; *cf.* *Libro di spesa (State Archives, Lucca).

[2] N. Ludovisi to Bologna, dated Parma, April 13, 1538 (State Archives, Bologna); Venetian despatches, I., 10 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 380; STAFFETTI in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 82. In Parma Paul III. took part in the blessing of the palms; as a former Bishop of this city he presented the Cathedral with the golden rose (Longo, *Commentarii Cod. it., 538, the Court and State Library, Munich). For the assassination of the *Maestro di stalla* in Parma, see MANENTE, 260.

[3] See *report of Agnolo Niccolini, dated Piacenza, April 23, 1538 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3261).

April, but deferred their arrival for some days on account of delays over the matter of the citadel of Nice.[1]

In the meantime very unfavourable rumours had come in with regard to the conclusion of peace. Pier Luigi Farnese and Cardinal Ghinucci imparted in confidence to the Florentine ambassadors their conviction that the outlook was hopeless; at the utmost an armistice might be arrived at, but even this was beset with the most serious difficulties.[2]

After the arrival of the two Legates on the 28th of April the Pope showed more hopefulness.[3] On May the 1st he heard that the Duke of Savoy had placed the fortress of Nice at his disposal;[4] he therefore left for Savona by way of Tortona and Alessandria, where he made his solemn entry on the 10th of May.[5]

Some days earlier the Emperor and his suite had reached the harbour of Villafranca. On the arrival of a

[1] *"Li Rev^mi Jacobacci et Carpi si espettavano alli 22 così teneva S. Sta et tutta la corte, ma inteso che hebbero per la via la difficultà de la rocca di Nizza ritornono a dietro," reports the Bishop of Bologna, N. Ludovisi, from Piacenza, April 25, 1538 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] *Intendo . . . che S. B^ne ha da questi signori Cesarei più gagliardi promesse che mai della fortezza di Nizza et circa il maneggio della pace si tien al tutto desperata come m' ha detto *el S. Pier Luigi et il card. Ghinucci* e quali confidano habbia a concludersi una tregua lunga. A. Niccolini from Piacenza, April 17, 1538 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3261). The words italicized are in cipher.

[3] *Report of A. Niccolini, dated Piacenza, April 29, 1538 (*loc. cit.*), and letter of N. Ludovisi of May 2, 1538 (State Archives, Bologna). On April 30 the Cardinal-Legates reported on their mission in Consistory (*Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives, Vatican).

[4] Report of A. Niccolini, dated Piacenza, May 1, 1538 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Venetian despatches, I., 26; RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 10; ABATE AGOSTINI, Cronache Savonesi publ. dal Assereto, Savona, 1897, 119; PICOT, III., 473 *seq.* STAFFETTI (Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 83) refers besides to the *reports of G. Salvago in the State Archives, Genoa.

message conveyed by a Papal envoy he altered his original plan of visiting the Pope in person at Savona and accompanying him to Nice, by sending seventeen ships to the former place to meet him. Paul III. was anxious to allay every suspicion of partisanship, but could not avoid meeting the Emperor first, and in order to set at rest any disquietude on the part of the French King, he sent to him Latino Giovenale Manetti.[1]

Although many were of opinion that no peace but only an armistice would be arrived at, still the Pope and his party deluded themselves with the hope that a permanent settlement would be secured.[2] Paul III. thought that from sheer political expediency Charles would make peace.[3]

Pier Luigi Farnese left on the 13th of May to take possession of the citadel of Nice.[4] Two days later the Pope sailed thither; as he drew near the harbour he was met by the bad news that the surrender of the citadel was refused. Charles V. had even up to the last hour tried to induce the Duke to give way on this point, when the garrison and distrustful inhabitants of the town rose in revolt and declared that they would not suffer the fortress to be handed over either to Pope or Emperor. Paul III. found himself compelled on May the 17th to take up his dwelling in the Franciscan convent without the city.[5]

[1] Venetian despatches, I., 20 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*, 39; CAPASSO, I., 391 *seq.* The *brief to Francis I. with L. Giovenale's credentials is dated Savona, May 11, 1538. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 10, n. 343 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the *reports of A. Niccolini, dated Savona, May 11, 13, 1538 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Venetian despatches, I., 39.

[4] See A. Niccolini's *report of May 13, 1538 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] See Venetian despatches, I., 45 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, II., 287, n. 2. There is no documentary proof that the Pope and Emperor in their

To the toils already undergone on the journey were now added the inconveniences, not less great, of the sojourn in the convent; but the aged Pope, full of ardour in the cause of peace, bore with a youthful vigour all the irksomeness of his position.[1] The Emperor kept on board his galley at Villafranca, and two days later he made his first visit to the Pope with a great retinue about him; this first conference took place in the Franciscan convent. As the Pope informed the Venetian ambassador, the topics of conversation were principally the refusal to give up the fortress and matters of ceremonial, while as regards the peace only some general inquiries were exchanged. The Emperor was very indignant at the Duke of Savoy; he suspected that the revolt of the garrison was only a pretence, and had thoughts of holding his conferences with the Pope for the future under fitting military protection or perhaps on board his own galley. Paul III. was also highly displeased at the non-surrender of the stronghold, not simply because it forced him to go into uncomfortable quarters, but on another ground as well. He was afraid that Francis I. would make this incident the excuse for keeping away, and he therefore sent the nuncio Ferreri on another mission to the King.[2]

demand regarding the Castello had any *arrière pensée* against Charles of Savoy; the Emperor probably only wished to prevent the fortress from falling into the hands of France (see SEGRE in the Atti. d. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. stor., V., 10, 82 *seq.*; SEGRE, Carlo, III., 6. I had not access to the small treatise by BESSE, Entrevue à Nice, Nice, 1901.

[1] *Cf.* *the letters to the Portuguese nuncio, dated Nice, May 22 and June 19, 1538 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Carte Farnese, 2).

[2] Venetian despatches, I., 48, 51 *seq.*, and PENDAGLIA, ed. Antonelli, 16 *seq.* The latter says the conference lasted five hours, while Gualterius (*Diarium, Papal Secret Archives) says one and the Venetians one hour and a half. The report in GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 206, gives three hours.

Owing to stormy weather the Pope and Emperor were unable to meet again until the 21st of May. To this conference Paul III. came unaccompanied by a Cardinal or any other person, while the Emperor appeared with a large suite and even a bodyguard of 500 men. He did not trust the French, and therefore the interview was held not in the Franciscan convent but in a pavilion in an orange garden between Nice and Villafranca, on the seashore near where his galleys lay. The chief subject of discussion was the expedition against the Turks, which Charles V. wished to be carried out only defensively during the current year and not offensively until 1539. With this the Venetians disagreed. Paul III., bearing in mind the work of peace and the action of France, was in favour of holding back all preparations for offensive warfare so long as the conference lasted.[1]

While the French King still tarried the Pope was unwearied in his urgent and detailed representations of the insufficiency of an armistice and the necessity of a peace. As the idea of a conference had originated with him alone, so at Nice also the most important negotiations were conducted by him in entire independence of others. On the College of Cardinals he could not lean for support, as that body was split into two factions.[2] The policy of Paul III. bore now a much more personal stamp than on other occasions, while, since the 1st of January 1538, through the fall of the private secretary Ricalcati and his replacement by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, a decided alteration had taken place in the treatment of State affairs.[3]

[1] See Venetian despatches, I., 54 *seq.*, 84, and STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 85.

[2] See Venetian despatches, I., 79 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, I., 434.

[3] See *supra*, p. 34.

Among the Cardinals who stood firm by Paul III. in the interests of peace, Sadoleto was conspicuous.[1] If the Pope had succeeded in his efforts, good ground would have been afforded for the hope that a new era in the political and religious spheres was at hand. A reconciliation between Francis and Charles would have been of incalculable importance for the removal of the Turkish danger, for the Council, and for the appeasement of the religious strife in Germany. And to what an eminence would the reputation of the Papacy have been raised if the holder of that office had been able to dispense to the nations that peace for which they waited with such longing expectation! Nor was it a trifle in the scale that by such a felicitous issue of events the interests of the Farnese family might be powerfully enhanced.[2]

With so many dazzling prospects before him, it is conceivable that the Pope may have underrated the difficulties confronting his designs. This was partly owing to the too favourable reports given by Cardinal Carpi.[3] How unwillingly Francis I. consented to the conference can be seen from his strange delay in appearing at Nice. He had already on different occasions ordered his arrival to be announced; first it was to be on the 25th, and then again on the 29th of May. When at last, on the 31st, he did

[1] SADOLETI, Opera, I., 259.

[2] Whether Paul III. then wished to secure Milan for his family is a point that cannot be settled from the materials at present existing; in any case, the despatch adduced by CAPASSO (I., 30, n. 4) is not sufficient evidence. Since the Pope's ardent desire for the restoration of peace was unshaken (*cf.* on this point the report of Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, 1st Series, II., 84 *seq.*, and also RANKE'S opinion, I., 6th ed., 160), the accusations of his bitter enemies (see STAFFETTI, Cybo, 191), repeated by Sarpi, that the Pope only used the peace as a cover for his nepotistic schemes, fall to the ground (see BRISCHAR, I., 109).

[3] See CAPASSO, I., 434.

arrive, the Congress might have been considered opened.[1] The King, who was lodged at Villeneuve, some miles from Nice, set forth on the 2nd of June, magnificently dressed and with a stately following, to meet the Pope, who awaited him in a small house one mile outside Nice. Cardinals Contarini and Ghinucci had already been sent forward to meet the French King. Francis I. displayed the greatest reverence in the presence of the Pope; he stood up, always with head uncovered, in speaking to the Vicar of Christ; he made courteous apologies for his late arrival; he could not, however, be induced to treat personally with his adversary. For the space of four hours this first interview between the Pope and the King was carried on in private in a chamber to which they had withdrawn after the first ceremonial greetings were over.[2]

[1] Gualterius reports on the conferences immediately preceding the arrival of Francis I.: *Die 28 maii comestabilis Franciae et cardinalis Lotharingie venerunt ad S^{mum} D. N. cum magna comitiva nobilium et fuerunt cum Sua San^{te} per quatuor horas, deinde redierunt ad Villam novam, quae est sub ditione Franciae regis.—Die 29 Rex Gallorum venit ad Villam novam.—Eadem die 29 maii Covos et Granvela fuerunt cum S^{mo} D. N. per tres horas et incepimus sperare de pace.—Die ultima maii comestabilis Franciae pransus est cum S^{mo} D. N. et deinde cum duabus triremibus regis, quae venerunt Niciam, profectus est comes Tendac ad Villam francam ad Caesarem et duxit oratorem ducis Moscoviae, qui fuerat liberatus a manibus pyratorum.—Die prima junii comestabilis Franciae et cardinalis Lotharingiae profecti sunt cum 7 triremibus ad Caesarem et fuerunt excepti maxima cum laetitia et redeuntes in itinere loqunti sunt cum SS^{mo} D. N. hora caenae et Covos et Granvela iverunt ad regem Franciae cum tribus triremibus (Secret Archives of the Vatican). So also the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 141^{b}, Vatican Library.

[2] See PENDAGLIA, 17 *seq.*; DECRUE, Montmorency, 352; STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 87 *seq.*; P. P. Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 12, and the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 141^{b}. For the extravagant pomp of Francis I., see the *Memoranda of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob., 1614, f. 143 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

The obstinate refusal of Francis I. to hold speech in person with Charles V. diminished the importance of the conference and added very seriously to the Pope's difficulties as a mediator. The weightiest factor of all in such negotiations—personal communication, with its illimitable opportunities of influence—was thus directly excluded. How could a removal of the deep distrust, felt mutually by the two opponents, be thought of under such circumstances? And with what caution had the Pope to walk in order to avoid misunderstandings of momentous import!

Francis I. had at once strongly declared himself against the Peace of Cambrai and announced his unwillingness to take any steps against the Turks; no steps, certainly, likely to give support to the Emperor, as long as Milan was not given absolutely into his hands. Whatever the Pope might say, the King's counsellors insisted on the cession of the Duchy with its fortresses to the Duke of Angoulême, who since the Dauphin's death had also become Duke of Orleans. As Charles V., in another conference with the Pope of three hours' duration,[1] held on June the 3rd, spoke with a wise reserve, the latter once more became hopeful. But Granvelle soon after made it known to him that his master would, at the end of three years, withdraw from Milan, provided King Francis previously gave his adhesion to the Turkish war and his consent to the Council.[2]

The Emperor was steeped in distrust of his old adversary.

[1] "Die 3ª Papa fuit cum Imperatore per tres horas," says *Gualterius (Secret Archives of the Vatican). "Le cose si vanno stringendo di modo che tutti giudicano che la cosa si debba resolvere fra 3 giorni," *writes N. Ludovisi on June 4, 1538 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] Venetian despatches, I., 100 *seqq.*, and STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 88.

The Pope tried in vain to persuade him and his counsellors Granvelle and Covos to set to work from the standpoint of the discussion held by the latter with Montmorency and the Cardinal of Lorraine.[1] An understanding was all the more difficult because the rivals persisted in declining a personal interview. The Pope therefore, on the 5th of June, fell back on the makeshift of appointing Cardinals Cupis, Ghinucci, and Cesarini *legati volanti*, who, as the exigencies of the case required, were to address themselves first to the one and then to the other sovereign.[2]

Nevertheless, no progress was made; the proceedings threatened rather to break down, and rumours of the collapse of the Congress were already in the air. At this critical moment the Pope, who on the 8th of June had received a state visit from the wife and sister of Francis, the Queens Eleanor and Margaret,[3] proposed to the Emperor in a fourth interview on the 9th of June a new way out of their difficulties: Milan was to be handed over to Ferdinand I., who should give the most binding pledges to bestow one of his daughters in marriage on the Duke of Orleans and after three years yield back the Duchy. Charles V. gave his consent, but demanded that Francis should at once break off his alliance with the Turks and consent to the Council. When in his second conference with the King, Paul III., on June the 13th, brought forward this proposal,

[1] Together with Venet. Desp., I., 110, *cf.* also *Gualterius: "Die 4 fuerunt cum S^mo^ D. N. post prandium per longum tempus Covos et Granvela et comestabilis Franciae et cardinalis Lotharingiae.—Die 5 iterum supradicti quatuor fuerunt cum Sua S^te^ et ea die cecidit spes pacis" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Venetian despatches, I., 109.

[3] See for this G. M. della Porta's interesting **report, dated Nice, June 10, 1538, to be published in the Acta Pontif. (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 141^b^, and Riv. Europ., VII., 2, 99.

Francis I. laughingly rejected it.[1] As yet another scheme of agreement was refused by the French Council, it became as clear as day that a permanent peace was impossible.

The Pope, in reporting the state of things in consistory on the 14th of June, must have been glad that he had at least been able to establish an armistice. But even this was no easy matter; the French King, bent on remaining as long as possible in possession of Savoy, wished the terms to be extended to fifteen or twenty years, while Charles V. was willing, at the outside, to agree to five or ten. Each of the contracting parties was to remain, as regards possession, *in statu quo* during the period agreed to, and, in order to reach a full settlement, it was proposed to hold deliberations in Rome.[2]

On the afternoon of June the 17th the ambassadors of Charles V. assembled in the convent where the Pope was staying. The latter, after having had a last interview with Francis in the morning, had retired to his chamber; the ambassadors were in an apartment close by; Cardinal Ghinucci acted as go-between, for there were still many difficulties.

It was late in the evening when all at last was settled. When the Venetian, Marc Antonio Contarini, informed the Pope, now thoroughly exhausted, the latter exclaimed that he rejoiced more than on the day of his election; he hoped that from this beginning, with God's help, a general peace might ensue.[3]

[1] Venetian despatches, I., 117 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*, and STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 89 *seq.* *Cf.* also Giorn. ligustico, XXIII. (1898), 415, and *supra*, Chap. II.

[2] *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 419 *seqq.*

[3] Venetian despatches, I., 151 *seq.* A memorial of the conference exists at Nice at this day in the shape of a marble cross on the Place Croix de Marbre; see RUA, 45.

On the 18th of June Charles V. and Francis I. affixed their signatures, and two days later the Pope left Nice. He had suffered there not less from the discomforts of his quarters than from the exacting and agitating nature of the transactions. The fleet on which he made his return voyage consisted of six Imperial and six Royal galleys; at Villafranca Charles joined him with twenty-four. At Oneglia, where the Pope said Mass, he had a long interview with Charles, and on the 22nd of June they entered Genoa together in state; Paul III. alighted at the Fieschi palace and the Emperor at the Doria. During their sojourn an understanding was come to about the Council;[1] at the same time Paul did not forget his own interests in the general ones, for he always managed adroitly to combine the two together. With regard to the contract of marriage of November 1537 between the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, and Ottavio Farnese, it was now finally settled that the Imperial ambassador Aguilar should draw up the treaty relative to this union in Rome. Paul III. therefore bestowed on the Emperor the "Cruzada" for five years and other Church revenues in Spain, estimated at the value of two million ducats.[2] He, however, had no intention then of acting unconditionally on the Emperor's side and giving up his neutrality. Assurances of a tranquillizing character were given to Francis I. on this point, and a marriage between a French

[1] *Cf. supra*, Chap. II.

[2] Venetian despatches, I., 154 *seq.*, 172, 177. *Cf.* VANDENESSE, II., 142 *seq.*; STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXIII., 92 *seq.* Gualterius reports: *Die 25 [Junii] fuit congregatio cardinalium Genuae.—Die 25 papa ivit ad Caesarem qui erat in palatio Andreae de Auria, et detinebatur podagra. Die 29 Junii papa fuit cum Caesare a 21 usque ad mediam horam noctis (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

prince and Vittoria, daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese, was proposed.[1]

While the Pope was still in Genoa came the astonishing report that Charles and Francis, who had refused to see each other at Nice, were to meet at Marseilles. When the Venetian ambassador interpellated the Pope on the subject on the 28th of June the latter replied that the report might well have a basis of truth, as Queen Eleanor had had a conciliatory influence on the tempers of both princes.[2]

The meeting, for which Montmorency in particular had exerted himself, took place from the 14th to the 16th of July at Aiguesmortes and was throughout most cordial. What actually passed in the tiny city, which preserves to this day its old-world features, remains a secret. It must therefore always be a matter of conjecture whether or not the satisfaction expressed by both monarchs at their encounter corresponded with the facts of the case. According to letters of the Emperor, Francis promised his help in bringing back the German Protestants to the Church by kindly treatment, a policy to which the Pope had already consented in Nice.[3] To the Venetian

[1] *Cf.* RIBIER, I., 251, and STAFFETTI, *loc. cit.*, 93 *seq.* For other projects of marriage for Vittoria, see *infra*, pp. 315, 344, and SEGRE, Carlo, III., 15 *seq.*

[2] Venetian despatches, I., 170.

[3] See LANZ, II., 287, and State Papers, 278; Laemmer, Mon. Vat., 141 *seq.*; CRESCI, 141; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 329; BAUMGARTEN, II., 286 *seq.* *Cf.* EGELHAAF, II., 338; ROSENBERG, 37 *seq.*; DECRUE, Montmorency, 353 *seqq.*; STAFFETTI in Giorn. ligustico, XXIII., 1898, 216 *seq.*; RUA, 50 *seq.* See also LINDNER, Lobgedicht auf die Zusammenkunst in Aiguesmortes, Rostock, 1875, and ACCAME, Relaz. sul convegno di Acquemorte; Giorn. Stor. et lett. d. Liguria, VI., Genova, 1905, 10-12; SEGRE, Carlo, III., 7. Montmorency had hoped, after the meeting at Nice, to procure the Legation of Avignon for his nephew, Cardinal Châtillon. In spite of assiduous efforts, he was unsuccessful.

ambassador the Emperor declared that the King was in any case still bound for eight months by his treaty with the Sultan, but that after that time he would do everything.[1]

The Pope had taken a very friendly farewell of Charles V. in Genoa, and on the 29th of June embarked for Spezia. There he resumed his land journey, returning to Rome by the way he had come.[2] On July the 24th he entered the city amid great pomp; the Senator, the Conservatori, and Caporioni met him at the Ponte Molle; the people received him with signs of joy. On the gaily decorated Porta del Popolo the inscription was read: "To Pope Paul III., to whose wisdom and authority we owe peace among Christians and warfare against the Turks, the Senate and people of Rome wish health and victory."[3]

Actual peace indeed had not been attained; but the ten years' armistice, as the manifestations of joy in and out of Italy gave token, justified the hope that henceforth better relations and at last a final settlement would be reached.[4]

No advantage accrued from the armistice to the undertaking against the Turks; Francis I. was as unwilling as ever to give it his countenance.[5] But even the Emperor had lost heart in his war with the infidel; he

Paul III. in April 1541 conferred the post on Cardinal Farnese; *cf.* RIBIER, I., 484, 488, 517, 559; DECRUE, 390 *seq.*

[1] Venetian despatches, I., 188.

[2] *Cf.* Gualterius, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII,. 58). See also STAFFETTI, Cybo, 198.

[3] *Cf.* Plotis' *letter of July 30, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and FORCELLA, Feste, 53 *seq.* See also Chronache di Viterbo, 436; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 101; GAIRDNER, Lett. and Pap., X., n. 683; CRESCI, 142; LANCIANI, II., 68; CAPASSO, I., 433; SOLMI, Fuga, 53.

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 18. *Cf.* poems dedicated to Paul III. in Cod. Vat., 3701 (Vatican Library).

[5] ZINKEISEN, II., 778.

trusted the French King so little that he was inclined rather to come to a peace with the Porte, with which object negotiations with Barbarossa were set in motion.[1] This explains the curious negligence of the Imperialists in supporting the Venetian and Papal fleets.[2] When at last the viceroy of Naples, Ferrante Gonzaga, now appointed commander-in-chief in place of the Duke of Urbino invalided, appeared before Corfù the Venetian Admiral Capello, and Grimani in command of the Papal squadron wished to seek out the enemy in Grecian waters. But Gonzaga declared that they must first await the arrival of Andrea Doria with his thirty-two galleys.[3] Thus precious time was flung away; Grimani could wait no longer, and on the 10th of August, with his thirty-six galleys, attacked in the Gulf of Arta the rock fortress of Prevesa, opposite the promontory of Actium. His intention evidently was to force the Imperialists to a blow by opening hostilities, but contrary to expectation, Grimani met with such fierce resistance that he had to return to Corfù after a drawn battle.[4]

The attack on Prevesa was the signal for Barbarossa to sweep out of the Gulf of Arta with his fleet of 150 sail. This was the situation when, on the 7th of September 1538, Andrea Doria at last entered the harbour of Corfù, but with only a portion of his fleet, for he had left large contingents behind to protect Tunis and the Spanish coasts from piratical descents. It was now decided to begin the assault of Prevesa, and on the 27th of September

[1] *Cf.* Longo, *Commentarii (Cod. it., 538, Court and State Library, Munich).

[2] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 41 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Longo, *Commentarii, *loc. cit.*; PARUTA, IV., 53; ZINKEISEN, II., 779. Paul III. had already on July 18, 1538, sent a letter of warning to Ferrante Gonzaga (see RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 22).

[4] *Cf.* Grimani's report in GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 34 *seq.*

an engagement took place. The plan was to enclose Barbarossa's fleet in the Gulf of Arta and annihilate it, but the whole enterprise failed pitiably; different causes were assigned to the disaster; according to the accepted version it was the fault of Doria, then in negotiation with Barbarossa, that the attack ended in a disgraceful retreat closely resembling a rout.[1]

With the ill-omened day of Prevesa the sea-power of the Turk sprang into fresh activity. It signified little that in October, Castelnuovo, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, was taken, since Doria could not be moved to further operations, but sailed away towards Sicily. Grimani also was no longer to be relied upon; in utter despair he sailed with the Papal galleys to Ancona, and then repaired to Rome to lay his story of events before the Pope.[2]

The League was, in fact, played out. On the 3rd of November 1538 measures were indeed taken in Rome for a fresh expedition early in the following year,[3] but they came to nothing. In view of the Emperor's dubious

[1] See Longo, *Commentarii, *loc. cit.*; Cause della guerra (Secret Archives of the Vatican; *cf. supra*, p. 266, n. 2); PARUTA, IV., 56 *seq.*; JOVIUS, Hist. Lib., 37; RIBIER, I., 256; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 201 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 42 *seq.*; MANFRONI, 330 *seq.*, and Contarini's report in Appendix 27. In opposition to the general opinion, Doria has been defended and acquitted of all guilt by G. CAPASSO in the Rendic. del r. Ist. Lomb. d. sc. e. lett., 2nd Series, XXXVIII. How far this is justified can only be decided when we know more of the illicit relations of Spain with Barbarossa than we do at present (*cf.* MANFRONI in the Riv. Maritt. [1896], III., 278, and in Arch. Stor. Sicil., XXX., 63 *seq.*). G. Ricci had informed Farnese of the defeat on Oct. 4, 1538; the latter replied on the 16th that the Pope was sorry, but had not yet lost hope (see *letter in Ricci Archives, Rome). To this corresponds the brief to Charles V. in RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 24.

[2] See GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 78 *seq.*; MANFRONI, 343 *seq.*

[3] BUCHOLTZ, V., 110; BAUMGARTEN, II., 344.

attitude, a cause also of suspicion to the Pope,[1] the Venetians began overtures for peace. Lorenzo Gritti first arranged an armistice for three months, which was eventually followed in October 1540 by peace. Venice, besides paying a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats had to give up Napoli di Romania and Malvasia in the Morea, with some places in Dalmatia, as well as all the small islands of the Archipelago captured by Barbarossa.[2] The Pope had made repeated efforts to keep back Venice from concluding a peace with the Porte,[3] but he also gradually let the Turkish war fall into the background of his thoughts. Other interests, religious and political, the condition of the States of the Church and the advancement of his own family, were making claims upon him with ever-increasing ascendency.

[1] *Cf.* RIBIER, I., 447.

[2] See ZINKEISEN, II., 803 *seq.*; ROMANIN, VI., 54 *seq.*; LUZIO, Lett. di Giovio, 40. The news of the peace reached Venice on Nov. 12, 1540; see *letter of that date from Hieron Hieremia to Madruzzo (Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] Nuntiaturberichte V., 74 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*, 124.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPAL STATES AND THE RISE OF THE FARNESE FAMILY.—DISPUTES WITH COSIMO DE' MEDICI.—SUBJECTION OF PERUGIA AND OF THE COLONNA.—LIFE IN ROME AND THE CARNIVAL.

TOGETHER with the great questions of European politics, Paul III. from the beginning of his reign was often occupied with the affairs of the Papal States. If Clement VII. had handed over to his successor an overwhelming burden in every relation of the Papacy, this was specially the case with regard to the immediate possessions of the Church. The capital brought low[1] by the sack and other disasters, the provinces drained dry and ruined by many campaigns, the State treasury exhausted,—that was the situation into which Paul III. entered on his accession.[2]

Notwithstanding the short vacancy of the Holy See, troublesome unrest continued. In Perugia especially and in the neighbourhood, the Baglioni had brought about serious developments; in addition there was a savage feud between Spoleto and Cascia. By the 19th and 20th of October 1534 the Pope had ordered a commissary and troops to proceed to Umbria.[3] For a moment the disorder in Perugia

[1] *In effecto la città è povera e consumata dal sacco et da diluvii d' acque, writes F. Peregrino on Jan. 22, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Storia, lib. 20, c. 2; CAPASSO, I., 18 *seq.*

[3] See the *briefs for Sixtus Zuchettus and Camillus Robertinus, dat. Oct. 19 and 20, 1534; Min. brev. Arm., t. 49, n. 102, 103 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 356; FUMI, La legazione del card. Ippolito de' Medici, 82 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*

was thus quelled; but already on the evening of November the 1st, Rodolfo Baglioni, Malatesta's son, appeared before the city with a great company of exiles and succeeded in forcing his way in. The Vice-Legate, the Bishop of Terracina, was at that moment in session with the Priors in the Communal palace; the enemy rushed in, fell upon them, dragged them by the beards, and slew them; other acts of bloodshed followed; the whole quarter of Porta S. Angelo was plundered, and the like fate befell many dwellings of the Braccio and Staffa in the city. During the night the Vice-Legate's palace was set on fire, so that this building and the adjoining Bishop's court was burned to the ground. "It was," says the chronicler Cesare Bontempi, "a gruesome sight and unheard of since our city has stood."[1]

Paul III., on receiving tidings of these events, issued summonses against the guilty parties[2] and then sent troops under the Counts of Santafiora and Pitigliano,[3] who routed the "men of blood." On the 1st of January 1535 a new Vice-Legate appeared in Perugia whose soldiers cleared those under banishment and robbers out of the city.[4] There still remained the work of overawing the fomenters

[1] BONTEMPI, 356 *seq.* *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 91 *seq.*; FUMI, *loc. cit.*, 92 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*

[2] Briefs for Rodolfo and Joh. Paul. Ballionibus, dated Oct. 30, 1534 (Min. brev. Arm., t. 49, n. 255). *Cf. ibid.*, n. 257, the *brief for Zuchello commissario, of Nov. 4, 1534 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* the *brief to the "subditi ecclesiae" of Nov. 8, 1534 (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 259), and BONTEMPI, 358. See also MANENTE, 250.

[4] Besides BONTEMPI, 358 *seq.*, see the *brief for Phil. Bonagratiae commissario, of Dec. 16, 1534 (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 284, Secret Archives of the Vatican). The Duke of Urbino banished Rodolfo Baglioni from his territories; see *letter of G. M. della Porta of July 4, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

of sedition in the neighbourhood; this task was entrusted to Giovanni Battista Savelli.[1] In July the Papal troops captured Spello and other strongholds of the Baglioni and destroyed them. The restoration of order in Perugia was beset by difficulties; a new Vice-Legate appointed by Paul III. laboured in vain.[2] Tranquillity was not finally restored until the Pope came in person, on the 10th of September 1535, to Perugia and installed the illustrious Cardinal Grimani as Legate. The Baglioni were forbidden to come within forty miles of Perugian territory, gifts of grain were bestowed on the inhabitants, and for the maintenance of order a garrison was established within and without the city.[3]

In 1535 the Pope was occupied in putting a stop in like manner to the disturbances in Spoleto, Nepi, Ascoli, and Fano, occasioned for the most part by revolutionary agitators suffering sentence of banishment.[4]

[1] *Cf.* MANENTE, 250 *seq.*

[2] See BONTEMPI, 361 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 58; *report of G. M. della Porta of July 21, 1535 (State Archives, Florence). Further details in the *briefs to the Papal commissary of May 8, to the officials of the Papal States of June 19, to the commissary Leon. de Gallesio of July 30, to the commissary Phil. de Ponte Corvo of Aug. 28, 1535 (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 52, 54; t. 52, n. 80, 98). *Ibid.*, n. 216, the *order to the commissaries to destroy the walls of the strongholds of the Baglioni. The Baglioni were banished from Perugia on June 24 (*briefs to the Vice-Legates of Perugia, *loc. cit.*, t. 51, n. 215).

[3] For the Pope's journey and his stay in Perugia, see App. No. 12. BONAZZI'S date (II., 144) is, like many statements of this writer, incorrect. Rodolfo Baglioni was cited on Oct. 14, 1535, "infra X dies," before the governor as representing the Pope; see *Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 53, n. 146 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] On Jan. 3, 1535, *orders were issued to all officials and subjects of the Papal States to secure the disturbers of the peace and exiles from Spoleto and to deliver them up (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 50, n. 180); the same was ordered with regard to the exiles of Parma and Fano

If Paul III. showed firmness in this, he was, at the beginning of his reign, very cautious and moderate in the matter of taxation.[1] The new imposts to which he found himself driven, owing to the Emperor's visit and still more to the Turkish danger,[2] were all the more galling from their contrast to the lighter burdens of the earlier period. They could not, however, be avoided ; for when he mounted the throne Paul III. had found his coffers at such a low ebb that Rabelais remarked that for three centuries there had not been so poverty-stricken a Pope.[3] By economy

(*ibid.*, n. 118, 120, 136, 181, 182, 274, 275, 284 ; *cf. ibid.*, n. 183 : **Hortatorium* of March 1, 1535, to the Duke of Mantua to deliver up the banished from Parma ; n. 186 : *Bull of March 20, 1535, "ad reprimendas violentias et rapinas bannitorum Fani"). Against the Nepesi, who in their conflict with the governor had taken the citadel, the *brief of Feb. 19, 1535, is addressed (*ibid.*, n. 123). To Ascoli refers the *brief of April 4 to the "gubernator Marchiae Anconit." and *those to the "gubernator Asculi" of April 7 and 10 (*ibid.*, t. 51, n. 23–25), to Fano the *briefs to the "gubernator Marchiae" of April 1 and 3, 1535 (*ibid.*, n. 129, 130). Paul III. had quieted Ascoli by the beginning of 1536 ; the Pope had a citadel built there (see *briefs to the "commissarius electus Papiensis [de Rubeis]" of Jan. 10 and 11 and Feb. 1536 ; see *ibid.*, Arm., 41, t. 1, n. 10–12 ; *ibid.*, n. 14, the *order of March 10, 1536, to the "gubernator Asculi" to banish six guilty citizens). For Paul's anxiety about Parma, *cf.* also GUALANO, 15 *seq.*

[1] BROSCH, I., 173 *seq.*, is wrong in regarding the abatement for Ravenna as a single instance. Similar reductions were made for Cascia on Dec. 15, 1534 (*Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 382) ; Viterbo, Nov. 10, 1534 (*ibid.* n. 485) ; Fano, June 2, 1535 (*ibid.*, t. 51, n. 131). (Secret Archives of the Vatican.)

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 241 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, I., 18 *seq.* See criticism by CAPASSO of Gualano's work, cited in note 1 in the Riv. stor., XVIII. (1901), 52 *seq.*

[3] RABELAIS, II., 580. According to a *letter of F. Peregrino of Sept. 26, 1534, Clement VII. at his death had only 12,000 ducats (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

and good government he tried to extricate himself from this necessity.[1]

The Venetian ambassador, Antonio Soriano, in his report for the year 1536 gives a summary of income and expenditure.[2] The compositions or transfers of ecclesiastical offices from one hand to another and the vacancies in saleable offices brought in yearly 110,000 ducats. The Roman customs yielded annually 72,000 ducats, of which, however, 8000 went to the Cavalierati and 14,000 to the Montisti, so that only 50,000 ducats were left over for the Pope. The patrimony of St. Peter and the Campagna, being completely ruined, showed an annual revenue of only 1000 ducats. The resources from the other provinces were equally slender, and were reduced to a still greater extent by the oppressive drafts made upon them. Thus out of 3000 ducats coming from Umbria nothing remained; out of 22,000 from the March only 7000, out of 17,000 from Bologna and the Romagna only 10,000, out of 24,000 from Parma and Piacenza only 8000 came into the Pope's hands. In like manner the board of the salt and cattle taxes drew not more than 9000 ducats; the alum works of Tolfa yielded

[1] While Paul III. was often parsimonious in an uncalled-for way, yet he cannot be accused of avarice. AMASÄUS (pp. 29–30) makes statements about his generous almsgiving which are confirmed by the registers of expenditure; see BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 172, 181, 182, 186, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199; see also Cronache de Viterbo, ed. CIAMPI, 435, and CAPASSO, I., 20 *seq.* *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, II., 20.

[2] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 327. The report printed here from a Cod. Capponi and a Cod. Magliabechi bears the date 1535. The same year is given in the copy of the report in the Court and State Library at Munich (Cod. it. 8), in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, (Manuscr. it. 271), in the Court Library, Vienna (Cod. 5974, 6302, 6313); notwithstanding, it is incorrect; since the presence of Charles V. in Rome is mentioned in the report (ALBÈRI, 322), it belongs, as RANKE already assumed (Päpste, III., App. 21[a]), to 1536.

only 2000. If to these sums are added annual fines of 5000 ducats, a sum-total is obtained of a little more than 200,000 ducats, consequently a very appreciable diminution compared with the time of Clement VII., who in the year 1526 still drew 499,000 ducats.[1] The Venetian ambassador was of opinion that Paul III., on account of this financial weakness, could not undertake any war; it is characteristic that he reports with some anxiety a sensible improvement in the financial situation at the close of the reign. Among the outlays appear in the first rank those payable to the Papal relatives, among whom Pier Luigi Farnese is cited in receipt of 500 ducats and his wife in receipt of 100. The number of private chamberlains under Clement VII. was 24; under Paul III. it was raised to 56, and afterwards again reduced. The bodyguard consisted of 200 landsknechts, each of whom, besides free lodging, received 3½ ducats per month.[2]

The interest taken by the Venetian ambassador in any warlike undertaking is intimately connected with the pronounced nepotism of Paul III., which is certainly the greatest blot on his pontificate.

At the beginning of his reign it seemed as if Farnese as Pope intended to restrain the unmeasured affection for his own kindred which as Cardinal he had openly displayed.[3]

[1] See our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, p. 328, n. 4. See the succession of Tesorieri of Paul III. in MORONI, LXXIV., 288 *seq.* The *motu proprio* of the Pope's of March 27, 1544, whereby the "Ufficio del Presidentato della Camera Apostolica" was reconstituted, in GARAMPI, 287.

[2] ALBÈRI, *loc. cit.*, in 1547 the landsknechts were replaced by Italians (see Nuntiaturberichte, X., 605). In the year 1548 the Swiss guard was again restored (see LÜTOLF, 30 *seq.*; WIRZ, Filonardi, 101; Quellen und Forschungen, IV., 91, and BENIGNI, Miscell. dist eccl., V., 163).

[3] See SANUTO, XLVIII., 463.

Immediately after the close of the conclave Pier Luigi paid a clandestine visit to Rome, but Paul III. ordered him to leave the city at once, and never to appear before him again without special permission. The Mantuan envoy, who relates this, was of opinion that this discretion would not last long, and that the ties of blood would prove stronger than all his good resolves;[1] and such was in fact the case. Many other relations besides Pier Luigi ventured at first secretly,[2] and afterwards openly, to find their way to Rome; they were all before long enjoying to the full the Papal favour.

In view of the Pope's advanced age, the Farnesi lost no time in rapidly acquiring wealth. Pier Luigi from the first played the leading part; by the end of November 1534, according to the Mantuan envoy, he was keeping an expensive table and, like the Pope, ate his meals alone.[3] But Pier Luigi Farnese had no thought of renouncing his wasteful and immoral course of life, although his health was already deeply impaired.[4] His contemporaries were

[1] See in Appendix No. 3 the *report of F. Peregrino of Oct. 17, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *letter of L. Sergardi of Oct. 21, 1534, in State Archives, Siena; *ibid.*, a *letter from P. L. Farnese to Siena from Capodimonte, Oct. 19, 1534, in which he sends thanks for congratulations on the Papal election.

[2] "Il S. P. Loyso s' aspetta qua dimani, ma secretamente come le altre volte," reports G. M. della Porta to Urbino on Nov. 16, 1534 (Florentine State Archives).

[3] See AFFÒ, P. L. Farnese, 19; LUZIO, Pronostico, 59; and CAPASSO, I., 71, 97.

[4] Already on Dec. 23, 1534, and Jan. 19, 1535, G. M. della Porta had *reported an illness of P. Luigi's (State Archives, Florence). On Feb. 10, 1535, *F. Peregrino announces that he is lying ill in St. Angelo. On Jan. 22, 1536, he writes again: P. Luigi is at "S. Paolo fuori le mura più presto peggiorato del suo male che altramente, vol disordinare et non haversi cura" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to G. M. della Porta, who in his *reports of Feb. 15, 16, 17,

already so accustomed to the advancement of even the most undeserving relatives that neither the favour shown to Pier Luigi[1] nor the nomination in December 1534 of the two young Farnesi to the Cardinalate caused them any particular shock.[2] But when the Pope, from motives of nepotism, interfered at the same time in the disputed succession to Camerino, his conduct was generally condemned.

In this lawsuit the claimants were Giulia, daughter of the last Duke, Giovanni Maria Varano, who had died in 1527, and Ercole Varano. Giulia's mother Caterina wished her daughter to marry Guidobaldo della Rovere, hereditary Prince of Urbino, although it was to be foreseen that no Pope would suffer the union of Camerino with Urbino. The arrangement was therefore pushed on with the greatest secrecy as well as expedition during the vacancy of the Papal chair. The conclusion of the marriage treaty was effected in complete secrecy at Camerino on the 12th of October 1534. As the bride was just eleven years and six months old, the consummation of the marriage had to be deferred.

27, and 28, 1535, writes of Pier Luigi's critical condition, he was suffering from a gastric complaint like that of Clement VII. But his illness was certainly complicated by the effects of his excesses (*cf.* AFFÒ, 20 *seq.*). On March 10 and 13, 1535, his condition, G. M. della Porta relates, was bad one day and better the next. On April 28, 1535, Porta announces a fresh indisposition caused by carelessness in drinking cold water. On Dec. 10, 1536, writes Porta: "P. Luigi was dangerously ill yesterday, but to-day is better" (Porta's *account in Florentine State Archives, Urb.). Sometimes Pier Luigi's illness was certainly feigned. So *says M. Bracci on July 17, 1540: "Il duca di Castro fa il malato et non si lassa visitar se non da chi li da piacer" (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263).

[1] The Bolognese envoy Papazzoni *writes from Rome on Jan. 1, 1535: "Hier sira venne in Roma il S. Pier Luigi, *quale è alloggiato nel palaggio di S. Sta*" (State Archives, Bologna). Not therefore in the Palazzo Farnese, as stated by Navenne (p. 267).

[2] See *supra*, p. 139 *seq.*

A few hours after the signatures had been attached to the instrument a messenger arrived from Rome with a letter from the Sacred College prohibiting such an alliance without the Pope's consent.[1] The prohibition was renewed by Paul III. on the 14th of October, but in milder and more friendly terms,[2] but Caterina as well as Guidobaldo took no notice; on an understanding with his father, the latter took possession of Camerino on the 17th of October.[3]

The Pope was determined not to tolerate this contempt of his sovereignty; also he probably contemplated a marriage between Giulia and Ottavio, the son of Pier Luigi Farnese; but his primary consideration was to hinder the extension of the power of Francesco Maria, the old enemy of the Holy See, and a union of Camerino and Urbino, since otherwise the connection with the northern provinces of the Papal States would be seriously threatened. To a foreign envoy Paul III. said quite plainly that in the event of Camerino falling to a prince already so powerful as the Duke of Urbino he would feel himself threatened in Rome.[4] On the 21st of October he cited Giulia and her mother

[1] See FELICIANGELI, 173 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*, and CAPASSO, I., 82 *seq.*

[2] Brief to the Duchess of Camerino, dated Oct. 14, 1534 (*Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 11, Secret Archives of the Vatican); according to the original in Florence, published by Feliciangeli, 180 *seq.*

[3] LILI, II., 323; FELICIANGELI, 183; CAPASSO, I., 83.

[4] Guidobaldo reported in a *letter to his father, dated "di la rocha di Camerino," Feb. 6, 1535, on the negotiations of Giovanni da Pescia with Paul III.; the Pope declared, "che lui era deliberato di non comportar mai che la fosse signore de la stato di Camerino, et suggiungendoli M. Giovanni queste parole: Pater sancte, la S. V. ha sempre detto che in questa cosa la non vuole più che se ne vogli la giustitia; quando la giustitia volesse chel s. duca fosse signore di Camerino non dovrebbe despiacer a V. S., le rispose più presto con alteratione che altrimenti: la giustitia non vuole chel duca d' Urbino sua tanto gagliardo su le porte di Roma et basta" (State Archives, Florence, Urb. I G, 108, f. 430).

Caterina, and on November the 9th Guidobaldo also, to appear before him in Rome. In a special brief he expressly forbade Guidobaldo to consummate the marriage.[1] His summonses were not obeyed; this contumacy gave the Pope matter for thought,[2] all the more so as he soon learned that the disobedience was connived at by Venice and the Emperor. Without taking this into consideration, he followed the advice of Jacopo Simonetta, Bishop of Pesaro,[3] and let the law take its course. When the Venetian ambassador interceded on behalf of the refractory vassals, Paul III. rejoined that the Signoria in a similar instance had acted in the same manner.[4]

The Imperialists believed that in the Pope's conduct the hand of Francis I. was discernible.[5] They were very indignant when the duchy of Camerino was assigned to Ercole Varano, Giulia deposed and, together with Caterina and Guidobaldo, excommunicated, and her city and territory laid under an interdict.[6] Paul III. seemed

[1] FELICIANGELI, 184, 302 *seq.* The marriage was not consummated until Feb. 1537 (*ibid.*, 179).

[2] See the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Nov. 7, 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also the *letters of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Dec. 10, 12, 14, and 19, 1534, in Cod. Barb. lat., 5788 (Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *report to Urbino, dated Rome, Dec. 24, 1534 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] The Pope said: * "che al vassallo non tocca di voler dar legge al superiore et chei signori Venetiani anch' essi sogliano far il medesimo" (Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Agnello [in cipher] of Jan. 27, 1535, Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 93, Vatican Library). On the intervention of the Venetian and Imperial ambassadors, G. M. della Porta *reports on Dec. 31, 1534 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] See Sanchez' *reports of Jan. 28 and March 25, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna), and Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to Agnello (in cipher) of May 1, 1535. Cod. Barb. cit., f. 137[b] *seq.*

[6] According to LILI (II., 325), who is followed by FELICIANGELI (p. 200), the deposition of Caterina, Giulia, and Guidobaldo, with which

resolved to employ military force to carry out these measures. Latino Giovenale Manetti and Girolamo Verallo, who in the beginning of April 1535 were sent to the Emperor and King Francis, received special instructions regarding the duchy of Camerino,[1] with which Ercole Varano was formally invested in May.[2]

A great many of the Cardinals, especially Ercole

the excommunication was coupled, was declared on Feb. 17, 1535, the interdict on March 28. The latter statement certainly is incorrect; for F. Peregrino sent with the *letter of March 18, 1535, the following *sentence published in Rome: Illustrissimi D. Guidobaldus de Ruveris et nobilis puella Julia de Varano ac Catarina Cibo mater tutrix ejusdem Julie . . . litteris apostolicis non paruerunt. Sic auctoritate apost^ca excommunicati declarati, aggravati, reaggravati, et interdicti ac rebellionis et alias penas in dictis litteris apostolicis contentas incidisse denunciantur, nec non omnes et singule terre, loca, ville seu oppida in quibus ipsos Guidobaldum, Iuliam et Caterinam morari seu ad que applicare contigerit, ecclesiastico interdicto denunciantur supposita (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). G. M. della Porta reports on *March 13 "the excommunication of the above has been printed and will be published to-morrow" (*cf.* also the *Aviso of March 12, 1535, Court and State Archives, Vienna). On March 17 G. M. della Porta *relates the ineffectual attempt of a relation of the Pope's to dissuade the latter from further action against Camerino: "Anzi più tosto par che tutti l' officii fatti habiano nociuto havendo publicati excommunicati questi signori non in uno et due luoghi, come si sole, ma per tutta Roma." On *March 18 G. M. della Porta reports the Venetian ambassador to have deplored, but in vain, the excommunication. On March 19 he announces the issue of the interdict against "cità et contado di Camerino. Il papa levò la casa qua di Roma alla duchessa di Camerino" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] See G. M. della Porta's *letter of April 5, 1535 (State Archives, Florence); PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 110.

[2] All conclude, writes the Imperialist Cardinal E. Gonzaga, always ill disposed towards Paul III., "che s' el papa havesse Camerino, il darebbe agli suoi et non alla chiesa, ne a quelli che vi pretendono ragion dentro." *Ciphered letter to Agnello of May 15. 1535, in Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 152 (Vatican Library).

Gonzaga, a strong opponent of the Pope and entirely dependent on the Emperor, disapproved of measures of force against Camerino.[1] Pier Luigi Farnese determined to try the effect of personal intervention; even if at first he achieved nothing, yet he thought that in this way he might smooth the way to a change of mind on the part of Paul III. His ground of hope was that the Emperor would arrive at a settlement, especially as the Pope presumably would be influenced by the Turkish peril. Costanza Farnese, the wife of Bosio Sforza, Count of Santafiora, also promised the envoys from Urbino to intercede with her father.[2] Guidobaldo's adherents placed their chief hopes on the Emperor; however unbending Paul III. might appear, they still believed that, if the Emperor stood firm, the Pope would not run full tilt against such an obstacle;[3] they were not deceived in their anticipations.

The difficulty of a military undertaking against a town highly fortified and on a lofty situation, and still more the Emperor's opposition and the power of the Sultan, brought about a change of disposition in the Pope. Through the mediation of Pier Luigi Farnese a compromise was arranged in June; the object of contention was to be

[1] *Una buona parte de cardinali comenza a prehender ardir di biasimar il disegno che ha il papa di far guerra benche pochi siano quei ch' abiano animo di dirgline malo. Cibo ancora lui comenza a recognoscer l' errore suo dicendo non haver mai creso che s' andrà su tanto avanti. G. M. della Porta to Urbino, dated Rome, March 20, 1535 (State Archives, Florence, Urb.).

[2] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *letters to Urbino from Rome, April 5 and 12, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *letter to Urbino from Rome, May 5, 1535. Here he says: "Mons. di Palermo disse in capella ad alcuni cardinali senza rispetto: l' Imperatore viene in Italia et patron di tutti, na non sarà già mai patron di papa Paolo che ha l' animo invicto" (State Archives, Florence).

deposited in the keeping of the Imperial ambassadors and all further proceedings suspended until the arrival of Charles V. in Rome.[1] However strongly the Pope subsequently might urge the Emperor to allow him a free hand in the affair of Camerino, he gained nothing. The Emperor would not yield,[2] and afterwards, during his stay in Rome, succeeded in bringing Paul III. to make further concessions; on the 8th of May 1536 the censures pronounced on Camerino were suspended for six months and, later on, at the Pope's pleasure.[3]

Together with the question of Camerino the Pope was

[1] See in Appendix No. 10 Sanchez' *report of June 3, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna); the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Milan of June 5, 1535 (Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 162 *seq.*, Vatican Library); the letter of Ricalcati of June 11, 1535, in CARDAUNS, Karl V., 161, and G. M. della Porta's *report of June 30, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 161 *seq.*

[3] *Brief to the *vicarius general. episcopi Camerinensis*: "Licet Guidobaldus de Ruvere, Iulia de Varano et Catherina Cibo ejus mater . . . hujus sanctae sedis gratia se indignos reddiderint, tamen . . . dictos Guidobaldum, Juliam et Catherinam ac complices et conrebelles eorum a censuris ecclesiasticis ad sex menses a dat. pres. . . . et interim ad beneplacitum nostrum . . . absolvimus interdictumque ecclesiasticum in civitate, diocesi, territorio et districtu Camerini . . . ad dictos sex menses et interim ad similem nostram beneplacitum suspendimus. Decernentes quod statim dictis 6 mensibus elapsis vel beneplacito nostro interea revocato . . . Guidobaldus . . . nisi efficaciter et plane paruerunt, in easdem censures ipso facto reincidisse . . . dictaque civitas, dioc., territ. et districtus Camerini eidem interdicto ecclesiastico ut prius subjecta censeantur. Dat. Romae die VIII. Maii 1536, A° 2°" (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 2, n. 2, Secret Archives of the Vatican). The fear that Paul might still proceed against Camerino lasted on; see G. M. della Porta's *reports of Nov. 7, 14, 18, and Dec. 14, 1536 (State Archives, Florence). The suspension of the censures was afterwards repeatedly postponed; see G. M. della Porta's *reports of Nov. 5, 7, 9, and 15, 1537.

busily engaged in the year 1535 with the trial of Cardinal Benedetto Accolti; this case was also a legacy of the Clementine pontificate.

Benedetto Accolti, sprung from a family of Arezzo, was in the truest sense a creature of the Medici Popes. Having entered holy orders without a vocation, this polished humanist, who was on terms of intimacy with all the most prominent literati, won the good graces of Leo X. by his poetic talent. Under Clement VII. his rise was swift; he became successively Bishop of Cremona, Archbishop of Ravenna, and in 1527 Cardinal; in 1532 he purchased, as he had purchased the former dignities, the governorship of Ancona and the Legation of the March.[1] In this position the tyrannical character of this genuine product of the Renaissance, steeped to the core in all the corruption of his age, reached its rankest development. The unfortunate people of Ancona underwent a veritable reign of terror.[2] Accolti, whose cruelty and immorality passed all bounds, carried things to such a pitch that even the patience of Clement VII. was worn out. He was deprived of the Legation and on the 5th of September 1534 replaced by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici; but Accolti refused to resign. Then came Clement's death. The new Pope on October the 31st, 1534, appointed Paolo Capizucchi governor of the March and reserved to himself the decision on the Legation.[3] Being well acquainted with the affairs of Ancona, he determined to visit with punishment the scandals that had there been perpetrated. On the 31st of March 1535 one of the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, 384, and X., 199.

[2] *Cf.* for the following COSTANTINI'S Monograph (p. 45 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*, 103 *seqq.*), which LUZIO (Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 99), with justice, praises highly.

[3] See COSTANTINI 224 *seq.*, 250.

citizens, Vicenzo Fanelli, was arrested for having brought false accusations against one of Accolti's opponents, in order to bring about his execution. The trial of this perjurer was the prelude to the arrest and detention in the fortress of St. Angelo of Cardinal Accolti, orders carried out suddenly on the 5th of April 1535. On hearing of this the Imperial ambassador went at once to the Pope and asked that Accolti might be interned provisionally in his palace or in the Vatican. Although this request was supported by the College of Cardinals, Paul III. was inflexible.[1] All Rome was dismayed at such strict justice; it was soon feared that there might be a repetition of the sequels to the discovery of Cardinal Petrucci's conspiracy under Leo X.; many Cardinals thought of flight.[2] Accolti, from fear of poison, would hardly touch food. At the request of the representatives of Charles and Ferdinand the Pope gave the prisoner permission to make his own arrangements for his board;[3] but the legal proceedings took their course. The revelations made during this inquiry disclosed monstrosities bordering on the incredible. Accolti pleaded guilty to some of the charges but afterwards, false to the last, retracted his confessions. His counsel, the famous jurist Silvestro Aldobrandini, employed all his skill to save him; finally the scale was turned in his favour by the Emperor—no one rightly knew why—intervening warmly for him. A compromise was arrived at by the end of October by the terms of which the Cardinal regained his freedom on payment of a fine of 59,000 scudi. He had,

[1] See COSTANTINI, 260 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*; *cf.* CAPASSO, I., 98.

[2] * "Hec res adeo vehementi timore perculit animos reliquorum cardinalium ut multi de discessu cogitent," reports Sanchez on April 6, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] *Sanchez to Ferdinand I., dated Rome, April 10, 1535 (*ibid.*).

however, to admit his guilt, which he did under protest, resign Ancona and Fano, and promise not to quit the Papal States without the Pope's permission. On his liberation Accolti at once went to his friend Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, equally the enemy of Paul III., at his palace in the Via Alessandrina. There he remained till the spring of 1536; then, with the Pope's permission, he went to Ferrara, later on to Venice, until finally Cosimo de' Medici gave him hospitality.[1]

Just before the settlement of Accolti's case his mortal enemy, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who had left Rome in the beginning of July 1535,[2] died suddenly (August the 10th, 1535) at Itri. Ippolito believed he had been poisoned, and accused the steward of his table of acting at the instigation of Duke Alessandro de' Medici. The charge does not seem incredible; for years the cousins had been at bitter enmity; since the death of Clement VII. the palace of Ippolito had been the rallying-point for the refugees from Florence most deeply disaffected towards the tyranny of Alessandro. Although the inquiry instituted by Paul III. led to nothing, it was widely believed that the guilt of the Florentine Duke admitted of no doubt. The most recent research, however, has shown that Ippolito, weakened by a dissolute course of life, had succumbed to a malignant fever.[3]

[1] See COSTANTINI, 289 *seq.*, 306 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, 341 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*

[2] BELLUZZI, 167. M. D' ERCOLE (Il Card. Ippolito de' Medici, Terlizzi, 1907, 80) has no new light to throw on this mysterious flight.

[3] *Cf.* LUZIO, Pronostico, 143 *seq.*, with whom CAPASSO agrees (I., 98). Also G. M. della Porta, who was the first to speak of poison (*letters, Aug. 10 and 14, 1535), states on Aug. 20 the belief is growing that Ippolito's death was not caused by poison but by his own "disordini" (*cf.* also his *letter of Aug. 26, 1535, State Archives, Florence).

The death of Cardinal Medici made vacancies in the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso and the Vice-Chancellorship; Paul III. at once bestowed both offices on his beloved grandson, Alessandro Farnese,[1] who took the oath as Vice-Chancellor on the 14th of August in the palace of S. Marco and took possession of his new dignity. The Pope took this opportunity of exhorting his subordinates to faithful and just execution of their duties, wherein he would set them a good example.[2]

The attempt of the Florentine refugees to secure the

Since poison is out of the question, VARCHI'S (II., 285 *seq.*) accusation of Paul III. falls to the ground, which M. D' ERCOLE (who adheres to the poison theory) also considers unproved (*loc. cit.*, 85). Here as in other passages can be discerned the influence of Cosimo de' Medici, Paul's deadly enemy, on Varchi, who was in his pay (see LUPO GENTILE, Sulle sfonti di storia fiorent. di B. Varchi, Sarzana, 1906, 18 *seq.*). From *Blasius de Martinellis' diary it appears that the news of Medici's fatal illness reached Rome on Aug. 10; on the 11th came the tidings of his death; on the 13th of his funeral (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also the *Diarium of P. P. Gualterius (*ibid.*). The latter's remark, "tota urbe collacrimante," is incorrect; for in reality Ippolito was greatly disliked in Rome. F. Peregrino *reports on Oct. 17, 1534, to the Duke of Mantua: "la partita di Roma del Car^le de Medici, credo che ancor ne sia cagione, perchè in questa corte da ogniuno quasi è mal veduto, perchè non s' ha fatto niuno amico de niuna sorte, perchè mai ha stimato ne fatto conto di persona se non de bravi et sbricchi, hora s' avedrà quanta differentia sia da favori à disfavori. Da cardinali, da prelati, da cortegiani et sopra ogn' altro da Romani è molto odiato; me increscie di doverlo scrivere à V. E. che vorei fosse in contrario, ma bisogna pur scrivere il vero" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] Consistory of Aug. 13, 1535; see *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] "Habuit nonnulla verba satis accomodata in latino sermone de se bene et juste regendo et similiter exhortando officiales omnes cancellariae," Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Emperor's support failed entirely.[1] On the 29th of February 1536 Alessandro de' Medici brought home Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V., but in the night between the 5th and 6th of January 1537 the Duke, hated on account of his unbridled violence, fell by the dagger of his cousin Lorenzino; thereupon the Senate of the Forty-Eight chose on the 8th of January Cosimo de' Medici, the son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, to be head of the State.[2]

The assassination of the despot in Florence aroused the attention of all Italy as well as of Rome;[3] no one had expected events to take this turn. Cardinals Salviati, Ridolfi, and Gaddi, as well as many Florentine exiles, started at once for Tuscany. Paul III. had been on very good terms with the above-named Cardinals as well as with their countrymen in Rome; no wonder, therefore, that the new Duke observed his attitude with much suspicion. In other quarters also the notion was prevalent that Paul III. would be glad of the opportunity to fish in the troubled waters to the advantage of Pier Luigi Farnese. The latter, devoured by ambition, cherished the plan of securing dominion over Tuscany;[4] but no evidence was

[1] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 60 *seq.* That the Pope did not approve of the Emperor's intervention is seen from Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter [in cipher] of June 5, 1535, to the Duke of Milan in Cod. Barb. lat., 5788, f. 164[b] (Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* VARCHI, Storie, lib. 15, c. 2; UGHI, Cronica di Firenze in Arch. Stor. Ital., App. VII., 186 *seq.*; NERLI, lib. 12; SEGNI, lib. 7–8; NARDI, lib. 10; ADRIANI, lib. 1, c. 1; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 68 *seq.*; STAFFETTI, 150 *seq.*; GAUTHIEZ, Lorenzaccio, Paris, 1904, 204 *seqq.*; FERRAI, 9 *seqq.* See also the *Ephem. hist. of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob. 1614 (Vatican Library).

[3] See G. M. della Porta's *reports from Rome, Jan. 9 and 10, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See AMMIRATO, Storie, lib. 32; FERRAI, 19–20; STAFFETTI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXIII., 70; LUPO GENTILE, Politica di Paolo, III., 12 *seq.*

forthcoming that the Pope entered into his schemes. In this instance the Pope's ruling motives were higher than those of family aggrandizement. Together with his aversion to Medici as his enemy there was the justifiable fear, since the latter was drawing close to the Emperor, that the power of Spain in Italy, already great, might be increased still more.[1] Charles V. knew the Pope's feelings well; he also knew that Francis I. was deceiving himself with the hope of gaining Florence to his side by means of the exiles, and therefore did all he could to secure the Pope. With this end in view he proposed a marriage between his daughter Margaret, the widow of Alessandro, and Ottavio, the son of Pier Luigi; this resulted in the triumph of Imperialist over French diplomacy.[2]

Paul III., who was very clever in combining personal with general interests, had yet another alliance in view: Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese, was to become the wife of Cosimo de' Medici. With this object Gian Giacomo de' Rossi, Bishop of Pavia, was sent on a secret mission to Alessandro Vitelli. He was, however, unsuccessful, and the relations between Rome and Florence became daily more strained.[3] In spite of his undeniable dislike of the Medici government, the Pope, out of regard for the Emperor's influence and mindful of the Turkish danger, observed his neutrality strictly when Filippo Strozzi and his friends attempted by force of arms to overthrow Cosimo.[4] He issued stringent orders forbidding the expatriated Florentines from enlisting soldiers

[1] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 78; FERRAI, 19 *seq.*; CAPASSO, I., 240, and LUPO GENTILE, 7.

[2] See BAUMGARTEN, Karl V., III., 229.

[3] See LUPO GENTILE, 7 *seqq.*

[4] See CARLO CAPASSO'S rare and valuable treatise: Firenze, Filippo Strozzi, i fuorusciti e la corte pontificia, Camerino, 1901.

within his territories; nevertheless, Cosimo did not trust him, and was as disinclined as before to a marriage with Vittoria Farnese, and would hear nothing of the levy of a tithe in Tuscany for the Turkish war.[1]

The estrangement between Rome and Florence grew more marked on account of the favours heaped by Paul III. on Pier Luigi Farnese in the year 1537. On the 26th of January the Pope told his Master of Ceremonies that he intended to make him Gonfaloniere of the Church. The special ceremonies to be observed on the occasion were settled with great care; after the nomination had taken place in a consistory held on the 31st of January, Pier Luigi took the oath on the following Candlemas Day. This act, at which he was accompanied by the Imperial ambassador and the foremost Roman barons, including Ascanio Colonna, took place in St. Peter's; the proceedings took the shape of a great solemnity.[2] Early in the spring Pier Luigi had received the town of Castro[3] and the direction of the military measures of defence to protect the Papal States against the Turks,[4] and in the

[1] See LUPO GENTILE, 20 *seq.*

[2] Along with the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), *cf.* especially the full description in the *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis, from which there is a passage in CAPASSO, I., 235, n. 2. *Cf.* also the *letter of G. Peregrino, Feb. 2, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also G. M. della Porta's *reports of Jan. 18 and Feb. 2, 1537 (State Archives, Florence), and the *Diarium of I. F. Firmanus, who also gives the descriptive touch that the Pope "prae gaudio magno aliquantulum lacrimavit." That the plan of nominating Pier Luigi as Gonfaloniere was already existent in 1535 is clearly proved by a *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga's of Feb. 14, 1535 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, Vatican Library), and from G. M. della Porta's *report, March 3, 1535. For the stipend of Pier Luigi, see BERTOLLOTTI, Speserie, 178.

[3] See G. M. della Porta's letter to Urbino, dated Rome, April 13, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* CAPASSO, I., 234; AFFÒ, 22 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 268.

beginning of May he left Rome to bring the Counts Guido and Lodovico Rangoni back to their obedience to the Holy See and to put the fortresses of the Papal territory into a proper state of defence.[1]

Pier Luigi went first to Spoleto, then to Ancona, Fano,[2]

[1] See GAET. CAPASSO, Il primo viaggio di Pier Luigi Farnese nelli stati pontifici, Parma, 1892.

[2] At this place, as Farnese's enemies afterwards asserted (Accolti first, in a letter of April 7, 1538; see LUZIO, Pronostico, 151), Pier Luigi made a criminal assault on Bishop Cosimo Gheri and thereby caused his death. VARCHI (II., 425 *seq.*), Vergerio, and other Protestant writers sedulously fostered this charge, which gained credence all the more readily as Pier Luigi's unnatural practices were well known and the subject of constant derision (see COSTA, Pasquinate contra I. Farnesi, in the Rassegna Emil., I., 2, 357). The 18th century controversy as to the authenticity of the alleged deed seems to have ended with the investigation of CAPASSO (*loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*), who, like BALAN (VI., 315, n.), came to the conclusion that the story was highly improbable and in future to be rejected. Even LUZIO (*loc. cit.*, 150 *seq.*), who, with ROSSI (Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXIX., 399), thinks Capasso goes too far, says: "non voglio dire che l' accusa sia pienamente provata." MASSIGNAN (Atti d. deput. di stor. p. p. le prov. delle Marche, N. S., II. [1905], 249 *seq.*) declares, on the other hand, that the whole story is an invention of Farnese's enemies. BENASSI (Riv. Stor., 1908, 218) agrees with him. Of Pier Luigi's vicious propensities the following *letter is significant. It was written by command of Paul III. by Ricalcati on Oct. 17, 1535. "N^{ro} S^{re} con tutte l' occupationi grandi, che ha alle spalle, non puo far che non pensi anche alli casi vostri, come quello, che non meno sta geloso dell' honor di V^{ra} Ecc^{d} che del suo medesimo. Havendo adunque ritrovato che quella ha menato seco quelli giovanetti, delli quali li partò alla partita sua per Perugia, n' ha preso tanto fastidio che non li, potrei mai esprimere, dolendosene per tre cause, l' uno per servitio di Dio, che parendoli che fino che persevera in simile error 'sia impossibile che li possa succeder' ben cosa che la voglia, l' altra per l' honor della casa, et la terza per il poco conto che quello mostra far delli commandamenti di Sua Beat^{ne} havendoglilo tante volte et in diversi propositi prohibito. Questa cosa gli è penetrata per più vie et sa anche esser penetrato al conte

and Rimini, and finally to Parma and Piacenza; the Rangoni submitted before his superior forces. This business having been successfully accomplished, Paul III. ordered him to return to the March of Ancona, where, as in all parts of the Papal States, defensive operations against the Turks were in full progress.

Pier Luigi was designated as commander-in-chief of the Papal forces.[1] On October the 31st, 1537, Paul III. conferred on him and his rightful heirs the Dukedom of Castro, newly formed out of the Farnese fief in the Patrimony, together with the towns of Nepi, Ronciglione, and Caprarola.[2]

All this gave the Pope's enemies occasion for envy and suspicion. In the spring some of them were already hinting at an intended attack on Camerino,[3] and others

di Cyfontes, asserendosi che Sua Ecc. ne sta admirata e con dispiacere per l' affection che porta a V. S. Sua Sta ha voluto che del tutto l' advertisca et l' esorti a rimandarli in dietro, perchè andando in corte del Imperatore che tanto abhorisce simil vitio, è certissimo che non li potrà portar il non grandissima infamia et dishonore, non sol apresso a Sua M^tà^, ma etiam delli altri grandi, si che quella sarà contenta proveder al honor suo et non dar causa che Sua M^tà^ habbia a pigliar mal odore di lei" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Princ., X., 517).

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 268.

[2] The Bull "Videlicet immeriti" is dated 1537 prid. Cal. Nov. (see MORONI, X., 223; XXIII., 197; NAVENNE, 274). Cardinal Cupis protested; see App. No. 22 *F. Peregrino's report of Nov. 30, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also G. M. della Porta's *letter from Rome, Dec. 18, 1537 (State Archives, Florence), and the *Acta Consist. of Dec. 19, 1537, in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. A *brief of Dec. 22, 1537, ordered the subjects to take the oath of allegiance from Pier Luigi's procurator (Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 204, Secret Archives of the Vatican). Pier Luigi did not in person take possession of Castro till 1543 (see AFFÒ, 29, 45, and Atti Mod., I, 151). For the coinage of Castro, see GROTTANELLI, Il ducato di Castro, Firenze, 1891, 12.

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of G. M. della Porta of April 17, May 26, and June 12, 1537 (Florentine State Archives).

thought then that some project was in hand to support the Florentine exiles. Not merely Cosimo de' Medici but Charles V. also shared this anxiety, which, however, proved groundless; Paul III. never deviated from his neutrality, and in July he renewed, under threats of severe chastisement, the prohibition to his subjects of any participation in the enterprise of Strozzi against Cosimo.[1]

The fortune of war was in favour of the Medici. Filippo Strozzi and Baccio Valori, the chiefs of the Florentine republicans, were defeated and taken prisoners at Montemurlo between Prato and Pistoia on the 31st of July 1537. The hope of restoring liberty to Florence was now crushed once and for all, for Cosimo checked further opposition by sanguinary regulations and sought to make his position firm by close adhesion to the Emperor.[2]

The Pope's applications on behalf of Filippo Strozzi were unavailing; his relations with Cosimo became subsequently worse and worse, and fresh causes of difference were constantly springing up;[3] among them the question of the Turkish war tithe led even to a temporary imposition of the interdict.[4] There was less likelihood, too, of an improvement in the situation taking place since

[1] See RIBIER, I., 45: CAPASSO, Firenze e la corte pontif., 12.

[2] *Cf.* SEGNI, lib. 8; NARDI, lib. 10; NERLI, lib. 12; ADRIANI, I., c. 4; PAOLI, La sconfitta dei fuorusciti Fiorentini a Montemurlo, Firenze, 1876 (*Nozze-Publication*); REUMONT, Toskana, I., 84 *seq.*; FERRAI, 63 *seq.*

[3] See LUPO GENTILE, 22 *seq.*, where these things appear in a one-sided light, since they rest on exclusively Florentine documents. In consequence of the quarrels about inheritance between Margaret, Ottavio Farnese's wife, and the Medici, Lucrezia Salviati was banished from Rome by Paul III. in 1538. For this harsh proceeding, see VARCHI, II., 420.

[4] See LUPO GENTILE, 25 *seqq.*

Cosimo's secretary of state, Francesco Campana,[1] incited the Florentine officials and clergy against the Holy See and the Florentine agents in Rome raised unfounded suspicions against the Pope's private life.[2]

Cosimo's behaviour gave occasion for a renewal of misunderstandings when, on the death of Francesco Maria of Urbino on the 21st of October 1538,[3] the question of the possession of Camerino was once more opened up. Paul III. now claimed the Duchy, all right to which the Varani had already renounced[4] in July 1537, as a fief revertible to the Church. Guidobaldo and his wife Giulia were commanded on the 15th of November to relinquish the territory, under pain of confiscation, of all their property and fiefs;[5] they were determined, however, to offer resistance. The Pope thereupon, with the consent of the Cardinals, ordered Pier Luigi Farnese to take steps to enforce with arms obedience on his rebellious vassals. Cardinal Ennio Filonardi was appointed as Legate to the army.[6]

[1] See DINI, F. Campana in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXIII., 309 *seq.* In a *brief to Cosimo de' Medici, dated July 13, 1539, Paul III. complains of a foray made by Florentine subjects on the Bolognese. The Pope demands restitution. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 14, n. 741 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the letter of Oct. 18, 1539, in LUPO GENTILE, Farnesiana, Sarzana, 1906–1909 (*Nozze-Publication*).

[3] See BELLUZZI, 91, 176. The news reached Rome on Oct. 24, 1538 (see *Diarium of Firmanus, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 26). Four days later Paul's decision was taken (see Nuntiaturberichte, III., 222).

[4] *Cf.* the *despatch of G. M. della Porta, dated Rome, July 30, 1537 (State Archives, Florence), who was unable, however, to obtain details of the conditions. The latter must have been loosely defined, as the Varani afterwards renewed their claims; see *infra*, p. 322.

[5] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 11, n. 1002 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] See Acta Consist. of Nov. 20, 1538, in Nuntiaturberichte, III., 277. The *Bull dated 1538 Cal. Decemb. in Cod. Barb. lat. 2708.

Cosimo de' Medici would very willingly have supported Guidobaldo openly, but Charles V. would not consent to this.[1] The attitude of Florence and also of Siena was of such a kind that on New Year's day Paul III. complained bitterly of both cities to the Imperial ambassadors,[2] but the latter dared not give open help. Nor had Guidobaldo any grounds for serious hope of assistance from Venice, preoccupied with the Turkish war, or from Ferrara.[3] As he was also sorely in need of money he had to make up his mind in the beginning of January 1539 to complete submission. On the advice of the Imperial ambassador and of Venice he gave his representative full powers to surrender the Duchy of Camerino to the Pope in exchange for a compensation to be settled by his Holiness; Paul III. at once issued orders to his troops to stay their advance.[4]

(Vatican Library). On Dec. 1 Francisc. Bentius Florent. was made treasurer-general of the forces against Guidobaldo, with orders to take commands from Pier Luigi as to the pay (Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 1064; *ibid.*, n. 1164, the brief for the "officiales et communitates status eccles."; Praestent fidem et obedientiam episc. Hierapolitano quoad expeditionem contra Guidobaldum de Ruvere, dat. 1538, Dec. 23, Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also BONTEMPI, 375; UGHI, Cronica di Firenze in Arch. Stor. Ital., App. VII., 206, and TH. TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE, Jean de Monluc, Paris, 1868, 45 *seq.*

[1] See DE LEVA, III., 304.

[2] RIBIER, I., 337.

[3] *Cf.* LONGO, *Commentarii (see *supra*, p. 294, n. 1), and BELLUZZI, 107.

[4] "Hier sera a dui hore venne la risposta del duca d' Urbino, il quale si è contentato seguitar il consiglio et la fede di questi signori oratori Cesareo et Venetiano. Pero ha mandato la procura a relassar liberamente nelle mani del papa Camerino col suo stato rimettendosi quanto alla dotation et l' altre conditioni all' arbitrio et declaration di S. B. per virtu del qual mandato questo mattina avanti la messa alla presentia delli p^ti oratori li ambasciatori del duca hanno fatta la dedition," relates A. Niccolini to the Duke of Florence on Jan. 6, 1539,

The settlement of the sum to be paid in compensation still presented difficulties, as Guidobaldo had originally demanded 100,000 ducats; he received, however, only 64,000, as well as the freeholds of the Varani. The investiture of Urbino, hitherto refused, was also conferred upon him.[1]

The Duchy of Camerino, which since the middle of the 13th century had been under the rule of the Varani, now came under the immediate dominion of the Holy See. As early as the 8th of January 1539 a commissary was appointed to take possession of the newly acquired territory.[2] At the end of February it was expected in Rome that Ottavio Farnese, since the 1st of November 1538 Prefect of the city, would receive the fief of Camerino; there was an obstacle, however, in the claims on the Duchy still put forward by the Varani.[3] The Emperor also was not

from Rome, adding that the Pope is glad "ma più allegri assai si mostrarono li ambasciatori Cesareo et Venetiano come si havessino debellato il Turco" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* the *Diarium of P. P. Gualterius (Secret Archives of the Vatican for Jan. 6, 1539) and the *Obligatio et promissio de relaxando statum Camerini S° D° N° P., dated Jan. 7, 1539 (Arm., 34, t. 36, f. 1 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also Nuntiaturberichte, III., 304, 339 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of A. Niccolini to the Duke of Florence of Dec. 27 and 28, 1538, Jan. 4, 8, 11, 13, and Feb. 2, 7 and 24, 1539, in the State Archives, Florence; and *ibid.*, Arch. di Urbino, I., D. C. 7ª, XVI., n. 33: *Transattione di Camerino fatta dal duca Guidobaldo e dalla duchessa Giulia per scudi 64 mila a Paolo III. See also the *Acta in Cod. Ottob. 3137 (Vatican Library). By them the statements in LILI, 337; UGOLINI, II., 271; REUMONT, III., 2, 482, and BROSCH, I., 171, are to be corrected.

[2] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 12, n. 18 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* A. Niccolini's report of Jan. 18, 1539 (State Archives, Florence); LILI, 338, and Nuntiaturberichte, III., 340, 368.

[3] *Cf.* A. Niccolini's *report to Florence, dated Rome, Feb. 20 (State Archives, Florence). For the investiture of the Prefecture of the city,

wholly favourable to the scheme, and his opposition was not relinquished until 1539.[1] At the same time Paul III. visited his new possession,[2] which was under the rule of a Papal governor.[3] After Ercole Varano had been cajoled and threatened into the renunciation of his claims,[4] the Duchy was at last, on November the 5th, 1540, invested in Ottavio Farnese as an hereditary fief.[5]

This climax was brought about by circumstances which

see RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 7; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 223; the *letter of N. Sernini to E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, Nov. 1, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Diarium of Blasius de Martinellis (Secret Archives of the Vatican). By a *brief of March 31, 1539, Ottavio received the "gubernium Interamni, Reati et Ameriae" (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 12, n. 335, and Brief Archives, 50, f. 75).

[1] See the *reports of Gatico, dated Rome, Sept. 23 and Oct. 7, 1539 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 7, n. 2.

[2] See BONTEMPI, 376; LILI, 338 *seq.*

[3] On May 28, 1539, the Gubernator Camerini received *orders to absolve the community from all *delicta* (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 13, n. 559; *ibid.*, n. 460, the *Bull of Absolution for Caterina Cibo, dated May 6, 1539, Secret Archives of the Vatican); the *Bull for Guidobaldo and Giulia, dated 1539, XVII. Cal. Iunii (May 16), in Cod. Barb. lat. 2708 (Vatican Library).

[4] See LILI, 340 *seq.* The Varani received later a compensation of 32,000 ducats, for which they renounced all claims against the Apostolic Chamber; see Serristori's *report of Feb. 3, 1542 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* FELICIANGELI, 216 *seq.*

[5] *Paulus III. Octavium Farnesium et ejus filios et nepotes aliosque descendentes masculos primogenitos, foeminis omnino exclusis, creat duces civitatis et ducatus Camerinensis et eis in feudum nobile, franchum et antiquum sub annuo censu tempore Clementis VII. solvi consueto concedit, dated Nov. 5, 1540 (Cod. Barb. lat. 2708, f. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library). The original of the deed of investiture in the State Archives, Parma. The *order to surrender the Duchy to Ottavio Farnese was sent to the *Gubernator Camerini* on July 12, 1541; see Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 21, n. 566 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). For a coin of Ottavio's as Duke of Camerino, see PIGORINI'S learned treatise in the Atti. Mod. VI., 197 *seq.*

for some length of time had occupied the attention of both Pope and Emperor.

During the conference at Genoa in June 1538, as already mentioned, Charles V. had proposed a marriage between his natural daughter Margaret, the widow in her sixteenth year of Alessandro de' Medici, and Ottavio Farnese. By this alliance, the first rumour of which had caused the greatest agitation among the French party and given rise to grave threats against the Curia,[1] Charles hoped to fetter the Pope to himself. On this occasion he had no more regard for the wishes of his child than he had in 1536 when the girl of fourteen was given in marriage to Alessandro. Margaret would much rather have taken as her husband her suitor the Duke Cosimo of Florence; she felt a deep repugnance to bestowing her hand[2] on the boy Farnese, only in his thirteenth year and the inheritor of his father's tainted constitution. But no heed was given to such considerations. On the 12th of October 1538 the Imperial ambassador, Aguilar, Pier Luigi, and Ottavio Farnese concluded the marriage treaty[3] at Rome, to ratify which Margaret's presence was demanded.[4] On the 3rd of November, the Pope's coronation day, she entered the

[1] *Cf.* besides the letter of April 25, 1537 (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 39, n. 4), Cardinal Carpi's *report, dated Amiens, May 3, 1537, Nunt. Gall., I. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* for what follows, GACHARD, Corresp. de Marg. d'Autriche avec Philippe, II., I., xi *seq.*, II., iii *seqq.*; REUMONT in Arch. Stor. Ital., 4th Series, VI., 23 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, 11 *seq.*

[3] See GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid, 52; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, III., 200, and Bianchetto's *letter to Aleander of Oct. 20, 1538, Nunz. Germ. II.,[a] 110 *seq.*

[4] *Bull "Universis subditis" of Oct. 20, 1538. The Pope sent Guidiccioni to meet Margaret, and ordered him to give her a worthy reception. *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 11, n. 924 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

city. The mourning garments worn by her as the widow of Alessandro de' Medici, and by her suite, contrasted sharply with the festal reception prepared for her as the daughter of the Emperor. The marriage ceremony was performed forthwith on November the 4th, when, as she herself afterwards declared, she refrained from uttering the nuptial affirmative,[1] and with unconcealed contempt she met her boyish and uncouth husband, even refusing to consort with him in wedlock; all the Emperor's exhortations were at first ineffectual. The disunion between husband and wife, who, as Cardinal de Lenoncourt remarked, were on the footing of cat and dog, soon became the daily subject of Roman gossip. It was the occasion of pleasantry of the worst kind,[2] and an abundant source of disgust to the Farnesi as well as to the Emperor. The dissensions of this married couple promised to be interminable; by the interference of unauthorized persons they were made more acute and led to the most disagreeable negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope.[3] Paul III.

[1] See GACHARD, Bibl. de Paris, I., 498. Gaulterius (*Diarium, XII., 58, f. 352) *reports: "Die 3 novembris D. Margherita Austriae ingressa est urbem per portam Populi hora circiter 22 comitantibus cardinalibus Farnesio et Compostellano et multis episcopis et baronibus sine pompa et magno concursu plebis, osculata est pedes S^mi D. N.; deinde ex palatio apostolico profecta est ad domum cardinalis de Caesis in qua erat habitatura exceptaque a quamplurimis puellis et matronibus cum esset fessa, ingressa est cubiculum ut quiesceret et omnes, qui convenerant discesserunt.—Die 4 novembris hora circa 22 fuerunt coram S^mo D. N. et pluribus cardinalibus per Margheritam de Austria ratificata gesta olim circa matrimonium per marchionem de Aguilar et D. Octavius Farnesius dedit ei annulum fecit verba Philippus Archintus, lectum fuit instrumentum dotis et postea cenatum est in palatio apostolico cum S. Sanctitate" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* Studi Storici., XVI., 249 *seq.*

[3] See RIBIER, I., 508, 518, 532 *seq.*; GACHARD, Corresp. de Marg. d'Autriche, II., v *seq.*, III., 7 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 99, 103, 104,

rued the alliance, and by the end of December 1539 had already declared that his family was being overwhelmed by the same misfortune as that which had befallen the Medici.[1] It was only after a long time, and then with reluctance, that Margaret submitted to the hard lot laid upon her by the iron necessities of statecraft. In August 1545 she bore her husband twins, but even this did not bring to pass any real inward sympathy between her and her husband;[2] neither the one nor the other had any superiority of character, and each gave full play to the impulses of a violent nature.

The succession of Camerino as well as the Turkish war exhausted the Papal treasury entirely.[3] The opening up

113, 118, 124, 127, 129; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 68, 85, 88, 95, 109 *seq.*, 137, 145 *seq.*, 163, 167, 238, 256, 270, 281, 318, 320, 351 *seq.*, 354, 357 *seq.*, 359, 378, 394. *Cf.* also the *reports of Antella to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, April 20, 1540 (see FERRAI, 141), May 13, July 29, Aug. 30, Sept. 24 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263).

[1] Cipher *report of Marco Bracci to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, Dec. 21, 1539: "Continuo sento per vero che infra il papa et madama de Austria sono moltissimi dispiacere con male parole et che il papa si pente del parentado et dice che vede lassare la rovina dentro casa sua come è stata quella de' Medici" (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3262).

[2] See RACHFAHL, 15. The consummation of the marriage, which must have taken place before Jan. 1, 1539 (see Farnese's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, III., 337, and SOLMI, Fuga, 54), is placed in Aguilar's report to the Emperor as late as Oct. 18, 1540 (see GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 139; so also in the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978, Vatican Library), but GIOVIO (ATANAGI, Lett. facet. Venetia, 1565, 62) gives June 1543. For the quarrel of the bridal pair in 1548, see DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 15, and DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 85.

[3] Already in Nov. 1537 Paul III. had spoken strongly of his financial difficulties to the French ambassador (see RIBIER, I., 69). For the huge expense of the expedition against Camerino, see Nuntiaturberichte, III., 429. How difficult it was to raise money is made clear by the *Impignoratio mitrae pontificalis [the precious stones

of new sources of revenue was seen to be unavoidable, as the war was continually calling for great sums of money. Already, in May 1539, two-tenths were therefore levied on all ecclesiastical benefices in the Papal States,[1] and in July this tax was extended to the whole of Italy.[2] Duke Cosimo of Florence again raised difficulties; he prevented the collection of the tenths required by the Pope. This aroused Paul's anger in such a way that, in the beginning of February 1540, he said threateningly to the Florentine envoy, "We shall see who is Pope, I or the Duke of Tuscany."[3]

The excitement of Paul III. is the more intelligible if we consider that, at this precise moment, his financial necessities had reached a climax.[4] In order to obtain relief from monetary distress the price of salt had already, in 1537, been appreciably raised throughout the Papal States. The scarcity then prevailing made this ordinance all the more galling,[5] and from all sides deputations came to Rome

of which were removed] et consignatio factæ d. Benvenuto de Oliveriis facta per cameram occasione contractus XV^{m} scut., dated May 20, 1539. Instr. camer. Arm., 34, t. 29, f. 56 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] The *order addressed to "Guido Ascanius, card. camer.," is dated May 10, 1539. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 14, n. 478 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the *brief to "Card. Sfortia camerarius," dated Sept. 6, 1539, Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 14, n. 948.

[3] See the report in FERRAI, 301 *seq.*, and LUPO GENTILE, 51.

[4] See the deliberations in the *Acta Consist. of March 3 and April 10, 1540, in Consistorial Archives, Vatican. *Cf.* Antella's *report to the Duke of Florence, dated Rome, Feb. 26, 1540 (State Archives. Florence).

[5] *Cf.* the *Relazione in Cod. 209, f. 54 *seq.*, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican; BELLUZZI, III., 120, 127 *seq.*, and BUCHOLTZ, IX., 255. As to what amount the price of salt rose, the statements are contradictory; see BELLUZZI, 128, 179.

begging for a repeal of the duty; but Paul III. would not listen; he only granted a suspension. Most of the communes of the Papal States now made their action dependent on the course resolved upon by Perugia,[1] a clear proof of the important place still held by the former Queen of Umbria.

The Priors of Perugia had already, in September 1539, when Paul III. visited the city on his journey to Camerino, prayed for a remission of the arrears of taxation. This the Pope had refused in view of the then imminent pressure of the Turkish danger,[2] but in other respects had shown himself kind and sympathetic towards the city, then

[1] See BOTTONI, Annali di Perugia in Arch. Stor. Ital., XVI., 2, 407, n. Here also we have two leading sources of information in the Ricordi di Bontempi and the full description of Girolamo di Frolliere: La guerra del sale ed. p. c. di F. Bonaini, *loc. cit.*, 405 *seqq.* See also C. Crispolti, *Annali di Perugia (Cod. C, 33 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*, Communal Library, Perugia); MARIOTTI, Saggio di mem. civ. ed eccl. di Perugia I., Perugia, 1806, 113 *seq.*; GIANCARLO CONESTABILE, Mem. di A. Alfani, Perugia, 1848, 60 *seq.*; TORDI, V. Colonna in Orvieto durante la guerra del sale in Bollett. d. Soc. Umbra di stor. patria, I., 473 *seq.*, 483 *seq.*; A. BELLUCCI, *ibid.*, IV., 535 *seq.*; Abd-el-Kader-Salza, Fr. Copetta dei Beccuti in Giorn. di Lett. Ital., Suppl., III. (1900), 19 *seq.* Fumi has recently opened up a new and interesting source by the publication of a Ragguaglia della rebellione di Perugia, Perugia, 1908, emanating from the Vice-Legate M. Aligeri. The first information about the plan of an impost on salt I find in the *report of G. M. della Porta to Urbino, from Rome, July 27, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See BONTEMPI, 376, and MARIOTTI, III., 361. Already in 1537 great trouble had been caused by the resistance of Perugia to the hearth tax. G. M. della Porta stated on June 25, 1537: *"Perugini et Spoletini vorebono dar al papa in loco del ducato per foco gente pagate et sul bisogno." The Pope therefore threatened them "lamentandosi del legato che non eseguisse animamente contra di quelli." G. M. della Porta states later that Perugia paid 500 scudi. *Letter of Aug. 24, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

suffering from the consequences of civil strife.[1] He therefore felt himself doubly injured when the Perugians refused to pay the salt tax, appealing to a privilege granted in 1431 by Eugenius IV.[2] Cardinal Jacobazzi, who since April 1539 had been Legate of Perugia, tried in vain to bring about a friendly understanding, and when on the 7th of February 1540 a fresh Papal brief demanded, under threats of the severest penalties, the payment of the new tax,[3] Perugia raised the flag of rebellion; Paul III. replied in March by pronouncing an interdict.[4]

As the Perugians called upon the Vice-Legate, Mario Aligeri, to hand over the artillery and the keys of the citadel, he left the city, whose citizens were hoping for succour from without. Negotiations for this purpose were opened with Ascanio Colonna, Cosimo de' Medici, Siena, Orvieto, Spoleto, and some cities of the Romagna.[5] Whether, as the Vice-Legate Aligeri reported, they had even the intention of forming an alliance with the Lutherans, must remain a question.[6] The agitation then reigning in Perugia is disclosed by the proceedings of April the 8th, recalling the events in Florence in the time of Savonarola. On that day a great procession was formed in which the Priors, all the confraternities, and great multitudes of people took part, while, on account of the interdict, the religious orders kept aloof. The procession went from S. Domenico through the principal street to the Cathedral of S. Lorenzo; at the great doorway a halt was made, where-

[1] See REUMONT, V. Colonna, 181.

[2] *Cf.* Arch. Stor. Ital., XVI., 2, 410, 627; BALAN, VI., 337.

[3] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 16, n. 92 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] BONTEMPI, 377, and FABRETTI, II., 87 *seq.*, 189. *Cf.* the *brief to Ioh. Gasp. Argulus, March 30, 1540. Arm., 41, t. 16, n. 229 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* AFFÒ, 36 *seq.*; Tordi, 515; and FUMI, Ragguaglio, 10 *seq*

[6] *Cf.* FUMI, *loc. cit.*, 5, 13.

on the chancellor of the city, Mario Podiani, addressed a crucifix erected on the spot and implored the Redeemer to give help, while he proffered to him the keys of the city. Three times from the masses of the people rose the cry of "Misericordia!"[1] The gentle Cardinal Jacobazzi sought up to the last hour to bring about an agreement between the Pope and Perugia, for an arrangement was still possible, and that too without disadvantage to the city.[2] But the committee of the Twenty-Five, the "defenders of justice," who had seized upon the Government, forbade any reply being given.[3] They claimed absolute power, and minted coinage with the inscription, "Perugia, the City of Christ"; the Government, however, were not deterred by this consecration from robbing the churches of their treasures in silver.[4]

Paul III. collected an army of 10,000 men, Italians, Spaniards, and landsknechts, under the command of Pier Luigi Farnese, Alessandro Vitelli, Giovanni Battista Savelli, and Girolamo Orsini, which at once entered Perugian territory.[5] The first encounter took place on the 8th of May,

[1] *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 378; FROLLIERE, 456 *seq.*; FABRETTI, II., 88, 124, 189.

[2] See BONTEMPI, 381; REUMONT, III., 2, 484.

[3] See FROLLIERE, 426 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* VERGMIGLIOLI, Della zecca e delle monete Perugine, Perugia, 1816; Giorn. d. erudiz. art., I., 55; BELLUCCI in Bullett. d. stor. per l' Umbria, IV. (1898), 505 *seq.*, and BELLUCCI, Collez. di monete di zecche umbre, Perugia, 1907, 9. Two specimens of the gold coinage in Vatican cabinet of coins.

[5] See FROLLIERE, 428 *seq.* *Cf.* FABRETTI, II., 89 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 190 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 219, 222, n.; GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 106. By a *brief of April 30, 1540, the Bishop of Casale, Castellario della Barba, held the post of commissary-general for the Papal army (Arm., 41, t. 17, n. 357, Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also together with BUCHOLTZ, IX., 255, the *report of Antella of April 20, 1540 (State Archives, Florence), and the Mantuan reports of April 25, May 1 and 4,

and soon the whole district was filled with the turmoil of war and given over to the ravages of the soldiery.[1] All hopes of a settlement proved fallacious;[2] Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte in vain advised the Perugians to give up the futile struggle.[3] The latter had recalled their banished fellow-citizens, and when, on the 16th of May, Rodolfo Baglioni appeared in Perugia, where previously he had run riot, he was joyously greeted by the infatuated inhabitants as if he had been their deliverer.[4] But their hopes of assistance from without were disappointed; Ascanio Colonna, it is true, harried the cattle of the Papal States, but gave no real support to Perugia; Cosimo de' Medici, to the Pope's great disgust, gave permission to Rodolfo, then in his service, to return to Perugia and to mass troops on the frontier, but he himself took no part in the struggle but maintained an attitude of observation. Cosimo in the meantime tried to move the Emperor to come to the assistance of the Perugians; he even sent a special envoy to Charles. The Emperor, however, had no inclination to make the Pope his deadly enemy for the sake of the rebels, and he left the city to its fate;[5] nor was this long in being decided.

Already on May the 30th Ascanio della Corgna, a nephew

1540, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the Sienese report of June 5, 1540 (State Archives, Siena), and the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine (Vatican Library). The State Archives of Orvieto contain a series of *reports, unclassified, on the war.

[1] On devastations see *Liber reform. vel memorialis monasterii S. Mariae Montislucidi extra moenia Perusiae, 82, in the Archives of that convent.

[2] *Cf.* Antella's *report of May 13, 1540 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See Arch. Stor. Ital., XVI., 624 *seq.*

[4] BONTEMPI, 379, and FROLLIERE, 459 *seq.*

[5] LUPO GENTILE, 56 *seq.* *Cf.* BALAN, VI., 338; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 255–256, 262, 271, 280; FUMI, Ragguaglio, 4 *seq.*, 13.

of Cardinal del Monte, had been obliged to capitulate in Torgiano. Perugia also could not hold out much longer; money and provisions were running short in spite of the oppressive taxation imposed by the Twenty-Five. The inhabitants, in consequence, repented of their rebellion, and would now have been glad to have paid even a higher salt tax; the dissatisfaction with the government of the Twenty-Five was so great that there was already talk of their deposition.[1] In this state of things any serious resistance could not be thought of. On the 1st of July Rodolfo Baglioni and Girolamo Orsini consulted together as to the surrender of the city, the inhabitants to have free egress and pardon. On July the 4th the Baglioni and the council of Twenty-Five, to whom the chronicler Bontempi attributes the downfall of Perugia through their hindrance of every fair understanding, left the city. On the following day Pier Luigi Farnese and the other Papal captains, with the Italian infantry, entered, while the cavalry and the Spaniards remained in the neighbourhood. Twenty citizens were entrusted with the work of billeting, all weapons and the silver plate of the city were impounded, and the refugees called upon to return within six days under pain of confiscation.

The Duke of Castro soon left the subjugated city, in which the Bishop of Casale, Bernardino Castellario della Barba, with a strong garrison, was left behind. The devastation of the surrounding country and the burden of maintaining the quartered soldiers weighed most heavily on the inhabitants. Bontempi says plainly that they might yet thank God that things had fallen out as they had; considering the madness of the whole undertaking, the consequences might have been much worse.[2]

[1] *Cf.* FROLLIERE, 459, 467.

[2] *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 380–383; FROLLIERE, 463–472. The news of the fall of Perugia had reached Rome on June 5 (*cf.* Gualterius, *Diarium);

The Pope's delight on hearing of the suppression of the rebellion was lessened by the simultaneous announcement of a compact between Venice and the Turks.[1] The emigration of many families from Perugia and the huge expenses of the expedition also embittered the sweets of victory.[2] A portion of the troops employed against Perugia were sent to Civita Vecchia and Corneto, then threatened by the corsairs ; Pier Luigi and the cavalry went to Ancona.[3]

On the 27th of June 1540 a deputation of twenty-five distinguished Perugians started for Rome in order to supplicate the pardon of their deeply injured sovereign. In long mourning garments, with ropes round their necks, they waited for the Pope at the portico of St. Peter's, where he was celebrating the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. On his appearing they threw themselves on the ground

see also the *report of G. B. Casolano, dated Rome, June 6, 1540 (State Archives, Siena). The transfer of the "gubernium Perusiae" to B. Castellario della Barba was made by a *brief of June 17, 1540 ; on the same day B. Castellario received the "gubernium in comitatu olim Perusiae," now separated by the Pope from the city (*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 17, n. 529, 530 ; *ibid.*, n. 557–558, *"Deputatio" of Castellario "in locum tenentem generalem" of the Pope in Perugia and the country, Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* G. B. Casolano's *reports, dated Rome, June 20 and 21, 1540 (State Archives, Siena).

[1] See G. B. Casolano's *report of June 8, 1540 (State Archives, Siena) ; *cf.* Farnese's *letter of June 9, 1540, in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 281.

[2] See G. B. Casolano's *report of June 15, 1540 (State Archives, Siena): "S. B^m si trovi de le cose di Perugia peggio contenta oggi che prima che molto travaglio li ha dato la partita di tante famiglie et ha havuto a dire che di Perugia non li è restato altro che le mura et che non sa che farsene." On the cost he *reports on June 12, 1540: "Dicon costare al Papa le cose di Perugia più di 250^m duc. fin oggi."

[3] See the *reports of G. B. Casolano of June 24 and 26, 1540 (Sienese State Archives).

and cried "Misericordia!" Paul III. stopped, and committed to the Grand Penitentiary Cardinal Ant. Pucci the absolution of the city and its district, which was pronounced in the chapel of Pius II. On the 3rd of July the Perugians had an audience; the Pope showed himself gracious, and informed them that the settlement of Perugian affairs had been entrusted to Cardinal Jacobazzi.[1]

In Perugia, in the meantime, Bernardino Castellario della Barba had removed the numerous chains used for barring the streets and appointed a new magistracy called the Conservators of the Peace of the Church; at the same time, in order to prevent another rebellion, Antonio da Sangallo was ordered to construct a strong fortress on a commanding position.[2]

A Bull of the 16th of October ordered the application of all the confiscated property, as well as of all the official incomes of the city and its territory, to the building of the Pauline citadel, as the new fortress was called.[3] Some time before this the privileges of Perugia had been annulled;[4] only with regard to the quartering of troops was some subsequent alleviation introduced; the abroga-

[1] See G. B. Casolano's *report, dated Rome, June 29, 1540 (State Archives, Siena); Gualterius in RAYNALDUS, 1541, n. 46; BONTEMPI, 383 *seq.*; FROLLIERE, 473–496; BONAZZI, II., 202 *seq.*; SOLMI, Contarini, 19.

[2] See BONTEMPI, III., 334 *seq.*; FROLLIERE, 473; FABRETTI, II., 278; BONAZZI, II., 199 *seq.*; TORDI, 474. *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, Cap. XV.

[3] The *Bull in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 19, n. 906 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). A *Bull of April 22, 1542, addressed to the "Communitates Perusiae et civitates Umbriae," giving them an exemption from all other burdens in connection with the building of the citadel since they had agreed with the Legate to pay a given sum towards its construction (*ibid.*, Arm., 41, t. 24, n. 340).

[4] *Cf.* the *ordinance to the "thesaurarius Perusiae" of July 20, 1540 (*ibid.*, t. 18, n. 623).

tion of the ancient liberties remained. As the beloved Cardinal Jacobazzi had died in the beginning of October 1540, Bernardino Castellario della Barba was appointed, on the 11th of the same month, Papal representative with extended powers over the whole of Umbria.[1]

A year later, on his return from Lucca, the Pope in person came to Perugia, where a solemn reception awaited him. He remained, however, only two days, visited the works at the citadel, and began his journey back to Rome on the 26th of October.[2] Notwithstanding the prayers of the inhabitants he refused to make any alteration in the existing conditions; not till September in the following year, on the occasion of a second visit to the city, did he make any concession. He agreed once more to the removal of all censures, confirmed the statutes, gave exemption from taxes freshly imposed after the rebellion, instituted a civic magistracy of forty persons, of whom every ten should exercise for three months the authority of the former Priors, appointed captains for the country districts, and remitted the hearth tax. "God and his Holiness be praised," remarks Bontempi, "this is more than the city expected; we have brighter hopes for the future."[3] But these expectations were not fulfilled, for although Paul III. afterwards visited Perugia on many occasions, he held by the ordinances of September 1542. The largest part of the independence of former days was irretrievably lost; all now depended on the personality of the Legate.[4]

[1] *Min. brev. Arm., 31, t. 19, n. 891 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 385, and FROLLIERE, 486.

[2] BONAZZI (II., 250) places the Pope's residence in September, following Mariotti's incorrect date.

[3] See BONTEMPI, 388–390, and BONAZZI, II., 208 *seq.*

[4] REUMONT, III., 2, 487. For Paul's visit to Perugia in the years 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, and 1547, see BONTEMPI, 391 *seq.* Here also

Quite as unfortunate in its issue as the opposition of the Perugians to the increase in the price of salt was the attempt of Ascanio Colonna to defy this measure. The beginning of Paul III.'s reign had already been marked by misunderstandings with Ascanio, who wished to be invested with Frascati. As the Pope showed no inclination to strengthen the position of this already powerful vassal[1] and most important of the Imperial partisans among the Roman nobility, Ascanio left Rome in smothered anger.[2] Thenceforward the Pope kept an anxious eye on the Colonna; he was never free from the dread that there might be on their part a repetition of the troubles of which he had been a witness under Clement VII.

All attempts to win Ascanio[3] by friendly overtures were

there is fuller information concerning the Legatine government of Tiberio Crispi, denounced as a tyrant by the chroniclers and replaced, Sept. 1548, by Giulio della Rovere, Prince of Urbino. "E giovinetto di 15 anni," says BONTEMPI (p. 395), "ma ha persone appresso di gran governo e massime l' arcivescovo di Ragusa suo vicelegato." The latter Giov. Angelo de' Medici ascended the Papal throne as Pius IV. For Crispi's encouragement of letters, see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., Suppl., III., 29 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*

[1] For Ascanio's resources, *cf.* Letters and Papers, ed. GAIRDNER, XIII., 2, n. 687.

[2] See the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Duke of Urbino, dated Dec. 19, 1534 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 59, Vatican Library). G. M. della Porta reported on Dec. 23, 1524, to the Duke of Urbino: *Il signor Ascanio questi dì dicono col mezzo del card. Cesarino fece offerir al Papa che volendo far cardinale l' arcivescovo di Rossano [Francesco], fratello del sig. Camillo Colonna, pagarebe del suo secretamente 50,000 duc. et che S. S^tà gli respose, quanto poco si convenesse a buon cardinale di proporre di far cardinali per denari et di si fatta razza che pur heri havevano ruinata questa sancte sede (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See G. M. della Porta's *report to Urbino of May 26, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

failures; the payment of the hearth tax imposed in 1537, on account of the Turkish danger, was unconditionally refused by him, on the ground that he was able to defend his own possessions himself.[1] When, afterwards, Paul III. required workmen for the fortifications of Rome, Ascanio forbade his subjects to take any part in this most necessary work—a proceeding felt bitterly by the Pope.[2]

The tension was increased still more by the interference of Pier Luigi Farnese in Ascanio's private affairs.[3] The final breach, which Vittoria Colonna had tried in vain to ward off,[4] came at last as a sequel to the increase of the salt duties. Trusting to the Emperor, the old protector of his house, Ascanio refused to submit by appealing to privileges granted by Martin V. to the domains of the Colonna.[5] The rebellion in Perugia prevented the Pope from taking immediate steps against his refractory vassals, but hardly had the subjection of that city been completed than energetic measures came under consideration in Rome. On the 10th of June 1540 a brief was drawn up calling upon Ascanio Colonna to appear in person before the Pope within three days to vindicate his behaviour; if he failed to put in an appearance, the Auditor-General was to carry out the most severe penalties.[6] It

[1] *Il papa per brevi particolari chiamò a se li baroni della terra di Roma per dimandarli l' aiuto contra il Turco del ducato per foco. Il sig. Ascanio venne et ha recusato il pagamento dicendo volle diffendere luoghi suoi da se, writes G. M. della Porta, June 22, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See G. M. della Porta's *reports of Aug. 31, Sept. 5 and 14, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* TORDI, V. Colonna, 475.

[4] *Cf.* LUZIO in Riv. Mantov., I., 24 *seq.*

[5] See COPPI, Mem. Colonnesi, 174, 306.

[6] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 17, n. 549 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

appears, however, that this document was not despatched ;[1] fear of the Emperor, the disputes with the Duke of Florence,[2] and lastly, a temporary yielding on the part of Ascanio[3] were sufficient reasons for the Curia to pause. It soon, however, became evident that Ascanio had no intention of keeping up his attitude of obedient vassalage to the Pope; and during the year 1540 he still prevented the transport of grain to Rome. When in February of the following year some of his own followers, who had refused to pay the higher price for salt, were arrested in Rome, he gave orders that travellers passing through his lands on the way to Rome should be thrown into prison, and that his troops should make raids in Papal territory on the cattle belonging to the lessee of the salt pits at Ostia. Ascanio also fortified the Rocca di Papa and withdrew to Genazzano, where he assembled 2000 men.[4]

Paul III. thought that his authority would be destroyed

[1] It is not to be found in the Colonna Archives, Rome, which contain the brief of Feb. 24, 1541.

[2] The fierce dispute with Cosimo de' Medici over the tenths was not finally settled till the end of 1540, when the interdict was removed ; see DITTRICH, Contarini, 570, and LUPO GENTILE, 77.

[3] On this Marco Bracci reports from Rome with characteristic dissatisfaction on June 13, 1540 : *Questi subditi cominciano a calare et il s. Ascanio et Stefano Colonna sono stati li primi a mandar a pagar lo augmento del sale che erano tanto bravi al non voler pagare et per consequentia questi altri fanno il medesimo (State Archives, Florence, Med., 3263).

[4] "Die februarii 23 fuerunt capti et incarcerati plures vassalli Ascanii Columnae, quia negligebant solvere augmentum salis."—"Die 24 februarii idem D. Ascanius ob suos detentos feci capi et detineri quamplures ex terris ecclesiae ad urbem venientes et depredari vacchas Jacobi Zambeccarii urbis salinatoris." Gualterius, *Diarium, XII., 58, f. 362, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican ; *cf. ibid.*, XI., 81, f. 54. See the *Relazione della guerra di Paolo III. contro A. Colonna.

if he left unpunished the daring affront offered him by his vassal.[1] He therefore determined to act at once and with energy. On the 25th of February 1541, Ascanio was summoned to appear before the Pope in person within three days, otherwise the Governor of the city would proceed against him.[2] Colonna protested that he was an obedient vassal of the Church, but disregarded the citation and prepared to take arms against his suzerain. Knowing well that his forces were not sufficient to cope with those of the Pope, he turned for help to the Duke of Florence.[3]

Paul III. had levied a considerable body of troops in Rome, and Pier Luigi Farnese was placed in command; at the head of the cavalry was Giovanni Battista Savelli, at that of the infantry Alessandro Vitelli of Città di Castello.[4] In addition to the Italian troops there were Germans who had already fought against Perugia; among them there was no small proportion of disorganized rabble.

At the last moment Don Pedro of Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and the Marquis d'Aguilar, Imperial ambassador at Rome, made an attempt to prepare a way for an agreement. Although Ascanio's sister Vittoria did all she could to promote the negotiations, her efforts were unavailing. Paul III., with the experiences of Clement VII. before his eyes, asked for guarantees, which Ascanio positively refused; his proposals were so inadmissible that it

[1] *Cf.* Farnese's letter to Contarini in Balan, VI., 341; ADRIANI, II., c. 2.

[2] The deed, hitherto only known in a copy (see TORDI, V. Colonna, 477; MÜLLER, Carteggio, 215), is to be found in the original in the Colonna Archives, Rome. The publication of this *Monitorium* was announced by N. Sernini at once to Cardinal E. Gonzaga by *letter on Feb. 26, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See TORDI, V. Colonna, 481.

[4] *Cf.* MANENTE, 268.

was the impression in Rome that he only wished to gain time to complete his preparations.[1]

In the middle of March 1541 the war began, the issue of which could hardly be doubtful, for the Emperor did not intervene and the Colonna were by no means united among themselves.[2] The details of the struggle and the misdeeds of the soldiery are described in the reports of Giovanni Guidiccioni, who, as president of the disturbed Romagna, had upheld his position[3] under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and now accompanied the Papal army as commissary-general.[4]

[1] See ADRIANI, II., c. 2; REUMONT, V. Colonna, 182 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 595 *seq.*; TORDI, 485 *seq.*; MÜLLER, Carteggio, 214 *seq.* On the fears of Paul III. N. Sernini reported to Cardinal E. Gonzaga on March 5, 1541: *Dice che lei sta il gastigar gli suoi vasalli et per non esser colta al improviso come accade a papa Clemente s. memoriae ha cresciuta una banderia d' Italiani alla guardia del palazzo, del quale ha fatto murare quante portelle e borse v'erono ne vi si puo entrar se non per le porte principali (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Marzio Colonna stood by the side of the Pope, who gave him the order to take Ardea in April 1541. *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 21, n. 291-292 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See MINUTOLI, II., 171 *seq.* From the reports here given it is clear that Guidiccioni had great difficulties to fight against, as his efforts were only feebly supported at Rome and often counteracted.

[4] See GUIDICCIONI, Lettere, ed. Bini, Lucca, 1855, 174 *seq.*; Atti dell' Emilia, VI., 367 *seq.*; MINUTOLI, Opere, II., 369 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 436, a letter of Pier Luigi of May 26 and others on the war addressed to Cardinal Farnese, in the State Archives, Parma. See also N. Sernini's *letters to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, March 31, 1541; April 2, 3, 9, 16; May 6, 7, 11 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); Ruggieri's *reports (State Archives, Modena), used in part by Balan (VII., 341); the *Relazione (Secret Archives of the Vatican, see *supra*, p. 338, n. 4), and the *Diary of Cornelius de Fine (Vatican Library, see *supra*, p. 314, n. 2). Many details also in the *reports of Adriano Franci, dated Rome, 1541, March 29, 30, April 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 23, 27, 30 May 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 27 (State Archives, Siena).

By the beginning of April the stronghold Rocca di Papa had already fallen,[1] and the possession of Paliano was now the turning-point on which the result of the campaign depended. This strongly fortified town, near the main-road from Rome to S. Germano, situated on an isolated hill, was from its position and strength almost impregnable under the then existing deficiencies of siege warfare. Ascanio Colonna was indefatigably active, sometimes within, sometimes without the fortress, and did all he could to hold the important place, the defence of which was conducted by his cousins Fabio and Torquato de' Conti. The Pope gave orders that all the strength of his forces should be concentrated against Paliano, for on its possession the issue of the conflict depended.[2]

While most of the other fortresses of the Colonna fell quickly,[3] Paliano held out successfully until May.[4] The besieged had hopes of help from the viceroy of Naples, who had collected trocps in the Abruzzi. Willingly as the viceroy would have helped the Ghibelline Colonna, he was yet withheld from active intervention by his fear that the Pope might be driven thereby into the arms of France. At the same time his attitude was so

[1] See N. Sernini's *report of April 3, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On April 6 A. Guidiccioni was sent *orders to take possession of the place in the name of the Holy See (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 21, n. 307); *cf.* MINUTOLI, II., 389, and the *letter of "capitano Aless. da Terni" to Cardinal Farnese, dated Rocca di Papa, April 8, 1541: "in quest' hora a hora 19 havemo havuto il possesso de la Rocca" (State Archives, Parma).

[2] *Paul III. to Cardinal Farnese, dated "dalla Magliana," May 8, 1541 (State Archives, Parma).

[3] Joh. Arditus was appointed commissary "oppidorum olim Asc. d. Columna excepto Neptuno" by a brief of May 1, 1541. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 21, n. 371 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* MANENTE, 269 *seq.*

ambiguous that the Papal forces were constantly in fear of a diversion on the part of the Imperialists, and whole companies, from 300 to 400 strong, raised on Neapolitan territory, might have reinforced the garrison of Paliano with copious supplies of arms and ammunition.[1] This, as well as the desultory methods of warfare employed at the time, accounts for the long-protracted siege of Paliano.

A turning-point was reached at last when the garrison, hearing of the defeat of a body of 400 men sent to their help, mutinied against their own leaders and thus compelled the surrender of the lower town, into which Pier Luigi made his entry on the 10th of May. A small remnant, faithful to the last, held out in the upper quarter of the city; when this also fell, the remainder of the defenders took refuge in the citadel or "Rocca." In the keep they held their ground until the 26th of May, on which day they surrendered to the Duke of Castro, who was waiting impatiently for the return to Rome.[2] The

[1] *Cf.* Farnese's letter of complaint to the viceroy of April 3, 1541, in the Atti dell' Emilia, VI., 372, n. See also DITTRICH, Contarini, 596. The attitude of the viceroy had already, during the Perugian revolt, been equivocal; see Antella's *report of July 22, 1540 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263).

[2] *Cf.* MINUTOLI, II., 428 *seq.*, 431 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 488, and V. Colonna, 185. The controversy between Dittrich and Druffel over the fall of Paliano (Histor. Jahrb., IV., 158, 421) is solved as follows: The lower town fell, according to the *Ephem. in *Cod. Vat. 6978, as early as May 9. A. Franci states on the 11th, "yesterday Pier Luigi made his entry there" (State Archives, Siena), which agrees with N. Sernini's report of May 11, 1741 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and Druffel's hypothesis, that Cardinal Farnese had antedated the capture intentionally, falls to the ground. The upper town was taken on May 22, was announced to be impending by A. Franci in his *letters of May 16 and 20 (see MINUTOLI, II., 431); the Rocca held out until the 26th (*ibid.*, 436). On May 27 A. Franci announces: *"La guerra fra S. Sta et il s. Ascanio è finita e ieri entrò in possessione de la rocca,

remaining castles of the Colonna also soon fell into the power of the Papal troops.[1]

The power of the Colonna was completely broken by this sanguinary war. The efforts of the Emperor to induce the Pope to deal a lenient measure of punishment to the house which had shown such attachment to the Empire proved ineffectual.[2] Paul III. did not allow the opportunity of crushing his most powerful and most dangerous vassal to escape him ; all the possessions of the Colonna, amounting to nearly twenty places, were confiscated and incorporated in the province of the Campagna.[3] The fortresses of Marino and Rocca di Papa, and later that of Paliano also, were razed to the ground,[4] and it was rumoured that

quale si dè a discretione del duca di Castro." *Cf.* also N. Sernini's *letter of May 28, in which Paliano's almost impregnable position is fully described, and *Cornelius de Fine, *loc. cit.* On May 15 Cardinal Farnese wrote from Rome to his father: *"Quanto al disegno del venire a Roma non pare punto a proposito a S. Sta finche non sia totalmente spedito questo poco che resta, si per non dar occasione di disordine al exercito come per ogni altro buon rispetto" (State Archives, Parma).

[1] *Cf.* MANENTE, 270 ; TORDI, 498.

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 396 *seq.*; Histor. Jahrb. IV., 421 *seq.*

[3] See the *Bull of May 28, 1541, in Arm., 41, t. 21, n. 453 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Ephem. : "Hoc mense Januarii 1543 Papa mandavit et fecit dirui arcem Paliani" (Cod. Vat. 6978, Vatican Library). *"Il Papa applicò il stato di Paliano alla chiesa e non si fidando de vassalli Colonnesi benche in Paliano tenesse 500 fanti di guarnigione e sospettando anco delli Spagnoli, che il Vicere teneva in Abruzzo a confini della chiesa, all' improviso vi mandò 1500 guastatori e la fortezza e le mura in gran parte fece gettare a terra e poco mancò che non facesse ruinare anco tutte le case" (*Relazione, Secret Archives of the Vatican ; see above, p. 338, n. 4). *Cf.* ADRIANI, III., c. 4 ; see here also for Paul's proceedings against the Abbot of Farfa. The determination to destroy Paliano was announced by N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga in a *letter of June 16, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the Pope also intended to demolish all baronial fortalices within a radius of forty miles.[1]

Ascanio and those members of his family who had adhered to him went into exile in Naples. During his meeting with the Pope at Lucca the Emperor interceded on behalf of this sorely stricken house; he proposed that Paliano should be given over to Marcantonio, Ascanio's son, who was betrothed to Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi. But Paul III. would come to no agreement prior to the liquidation of the expenses of the war. Further attempts on the Emperor's part to reconcile the Pope and Colonna by the ratification of a marriage between Fabrizio Colonna and Vittoria Farnese[2] proved as unavailing as the efforts of Vittoria Colonna on behalf of her brother. Not until Paul III. was in his grave did better days return for the shattered fortunes of this ancient race.[3]

The struggle provoked by Perugia, as ineffectual as that of the Colonna, and generally spoken of as the "Salt War," led certainly to a remarkable increase of the Pope's ascendency in the States of the Church, but did nothing to check the opposition to the hated salt tax. Already in the spring of 1542 the Legate of Bologna had to give orders for the payment, under the severest penalties, of this impost,[4] and in the same year a new "Monte" was established

[1] "Si dice, ma in non ne ho certeza, che N. S. vol che si spianono tutte le fortezze delli baroni che sono intorno a Roma a 40 miglia e volendo gli sarà facile a farlo poichè le sono si po dir tutte in suo potere," *writes N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga from Rome on May 28, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 173 n.

[3] See COPPI, 308; REUMONT, V. Colonna, 190 *seq.*; TORDI, 498, 529 *seq.*; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 329. The intercession of poetess for A. Colonna in, Carmina ill. poet. Ital., III., 194 *seq.*

[4] *Brief of March 22, 1542, in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 23, n. 253 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

for purposes of revenue.[1] Paul III.'s position was then so critical that repeated sales of Church property had to take place.[2] In January 1543 even the sum of 16,000 ducats could only be raised with the greatest difficulty.[3] A new method of direct taxation, such as had been made available in other countries of southern Europe, was now to bring succour; this was the so-called "Sussidio," and on its introduction in May 1543 the salt tax was allowed to lapse; for the new tax, estimated at the amount of 300,000 ducats, all the subjects of the Papal States, even if exempt and privileged, were to be responsible.[4] Originally introduced as terminable at the end of three years, this tax became, through prolongation, a permanent one. It brought odium on the name of its author, but never reached the high scale of exaction orginally planned.[5]

Together with the taxation of his subjects Paul III. brought his hand to bear on ecclesiastical property. The prospects of war against the Turks, which laid extraordinary burdens on his government,[6] forced him again and again to

[1] The "Monte della fede," with a capital of 280,000 scudi; see COPPI, Finanze dello stato pontif. del. sec. XVI., Roma, 1855, 4. *Cf.* MORONI, LXXVI., 289. RANKE, I., 6th ed., 267, is to be corrected hereby.

[2] See the *brief to Cardinal del Monte, Legate of the Romagna, of Feb. 5, 1542 (Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 170), and the *Bull of April 25, 1542 (*ibid.*, t. 24, n. 354).

[3] See Atti Mod., I., 151 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Bull., VI., 365 *seq.*; Collez. d. disposiz. su li censimenti dello stato potificio, I., Roma, 1845, 1 *seq.*, 5 *seq.*; MORONI, LXXIV., 289; RANKE, I., 6th ed., 267; REUMONT, III., 2, 594. Bologna was already exempt from the salt tax in June 1542; see DITTRICH, Contarini, 801.

[5] See Collez. d. disposiz., 1 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*; Bull. congreg. Salv., 5 *seq.*; PANVINIUS, 384; RANKE, I., 6th ed., 268; Nuntiaturberichte, X., xv.

[6] *Cf.* the complaints of May 1540 in the Nuntiaturberichte, V. 242; *ibid.*, 124, charges of parsimony even against Cardinal Farnese, and pp. 135, 137, on the nuncio's need of money. For 1541, *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 548.

appeal to the Italian clergy for financial assistance. For this purpose tithes were levied in 1537, then in 1541, 1543, and 1544,[1] and in August 1546 Paul III. had recourse to the same means for defraying the cost of the Schmalkaldic war.[2] By February 1547 the Pope was complaining of the inroads made on his exchequer by this contest.[3] In order to repay the sums then borrowed, Portugal in September and Naples in December 1548 were made liable to a tenth.[4] The Romans, who since 1537 had already been taxed on the necessaries of life,[5] found themselves, in the year above mentioned, exposed to a new tax on meal.[6] On the death of Paul III. the Papal finances were in a very precarious condition. Julius III. in 1551 raised the complaint that his predecessor had mortgaged all his revenues and in addition had left behind him yet

[1] *Cf. supra*, Chap. VI., and Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 20, n. 141; "Impositio 2 decim. in statu eccles." of Feb. 8, 1541 (*cf.* Div. camer., 122, f. 25 *seq.*); t. 26, n. 262: Item of April 23, 1543; t. 29, n. 154: two fresh tenths for Tuscany of March 9, 1544 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xv *seq.*, where also more as to the reconciliation of the Jews and Papal officials. The Bull on the two tenths omitted by Friedensburg is given in a contemporary copy of 1548 in the Editti, I., of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and also in Bull. congreg. Salv., 15. It is dated prid. Id. Aug. (Aug. 12) 1546.

[3] Brief to the knights of Rhodes of Feb. 6, 1547. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 38, n. 65 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 43, n. 590: "Impos. 4 decim. in Portug." of Sept. 10, 1548; n. 808: Sebast. Martio; "Impositio 2 decim. in regno Neapol.," Dec. 8, 1548 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* G. M. della Porta's *report to Urbino, dated Rome, July 10, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). The Romans repeatedly were obliged to contribute to works of public utility, *e.g.* the fortification of the city (see DITTRICH, Contarini, 348).

[6] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 632.

another debt of half a million scudi.[1] In ready money 266,000 scudi were forthcoming under Paul III.[2]; and that was all, although, as the estimate furnished by the Venetian ambassador Dandolo clearly shows, the ordinary revenues of the Papal States had risen to the annual sum of nearly 700,000 scudi.[3] In Dandolo's return the Customs receipts of Rome are put down at 92,000 ducats, almost 20,000 more than in the year 1536. This increase is significant of the rebound to prosperity of the Roman revenues under the Farnese rule.

As Rome had been spared the troubles of war, the wounds inflicted in the days of Clement VII. had time gradually to heal. As there was an increase of prosperity, so was there also of population; the popular hopes which clustered

[1] RANKE, I., 6th ed., 268 *seq.* ADRIANI (III., c. 4) calls particular attention to the heavy charges on the Cavalieri di S. Paolo. For this association, founded by a Bull of June 25, 1540 (contemporaneous copy in British Museum), see besides MORONI, VII., 41, 141, 185, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 262, G. B. Casulano's *report, dated Rome, June 23, 1541. The latter stated on June 12: * "Il papa a tutti li officii cresci l' numero cioè chi è 20 fa 25 donde è per caverne uno pozo d' oro et li officii sono molte calati" (State Archives, Siena). According to a later *reckoning (Arm., 11, t. 91, f. 100, Secret Archives of the Vatican) Paul III. received from the 200 Cavalieri (*cf.* ADRIANI, I., 286) 201,000, from the 100 knights of Loreto (Bulla erectionis et augmenti milit. Lauretan., Roma, 1547) 51,000 gold ducats. How much the 350 Cavalieri del Giglio (*cf.* MORTIER, 132 *seq.*) contributed is not said.

[2] Massarelli (DÖLLINGER, Tagebücher, I., 267) gives 266,000 ducats, with which L. Sergardi's *report of Nov. 11, 1549 (260,000 ducats, State Archives, Siena), is in substantial agreement. The higher figures in the Carte Strozz., I., 1, 432, can be explained in this way, that like those given by ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 343, founded on BROSCH (I., 188), the items of decoration are included. According to Buonanni's *report of Nov. 12, 1549, there were only 150,000 scudi in the Castello (State Archives, Florence).

[3] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 351 *seq.*

round the elevation of a man born on the soil were not disappointed. The Pope encouraged agriculture on the Campagna and made provision for ample supplies of food, especially during the years of scarcity.[1] The activity displayed by him in the sphere of art, especially his construction of new thoroughfares in Rome, was of great advantage to the inhabitants; not less so his regulation of the currency.[2]

His efforts to repress mendicancy, to this day an abiding nuisance in Rome, were unfortunately not successful.[3] The public safety also, despite the Pope's strong administration of justice, left much to be desired.[4] But these and other unsatisfactory conditions appeared as matters of secondary importance; the people had to live.[5] The splendid court of

[1] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 58; VENUTI, Numismata, 75; BENIGNI, Getreidepolitik, 32; MILELLA, Papi e l' agricoltura, 85 *seq.*

[2] An ordinance was issued in 1542 bringing the coinage of the States of the Church under the same "peso e lego" as the Mint in Rome (VETTORI, Il fiorino d' oro, Firenze, 1738, 343; *cf.* GARAMPI, App. 256 *seq.*, 262 *seqq.*). To-day the Roman country-people count by "Paoli." Coining at Rome is mentioned by F. Peregrino in a *letter of Feb. 22, 1537 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in Benevento by the Neapolitan nuncio *writing to Monsig. Durante on May 3, 1544 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, A 1, Ordo 1, vol. Q).

[3] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 39 the *letter of the "deputati delli poveri mendicanti" to Paul III. of Dec. 6, 1542 (State Archives, Parma).

[4] See *Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978, f. 139[b], Vatican Library. AMASAEUS (p. 59) and PANVINIUS (p. 377) praise the strict justice. *Cf.* also the *Relazione in Cod. Bolognetti, 209, f. 4–5 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); GIOVIO, Lettere, 93[b], and RODOCANACHI, Les institutions communales de Rome, Paris, 1901, 264, 268 *seq.* See also the *Diarium of BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS of Nov. 9, 1537 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The excellence of Pier Antonio de Angelis, governor of Rome, is made clear from the Atti Mod., VI., 204 *seq.*

[5] See REUMONT, III., 2, 784. For prostitution in Rome, see LUZIO, Aretino, 122, and Pronostico, 62; LANCIANI, Golden Days, 68. As early as 1539 the city had taken measures against immorality (see

Paul III. brought to all classes of the population ample sources of income.[1] Calamities of the graver sorts, so frequent in the earlier times, did not occur, and the delight of the Romans in festal occasions was gratified in full measure.

The triumphal progress and the tournaments accompanying the Papal coronation had already given a foretaste of what was yet to come. Secular and ecclesiastical festivals, the entries of ambassadors and princes, alternated with processions in a series of gay and brilliant pageants.[2]

In the very first year of his reign the Pope gave orders that the Feast of the Assumption should be celebrated with all possible solemnity.[3] In 1536 the Carnival was revived with all its time-honoured diversions and pleasures, and the coming of Charles V., expected about that time, gave occasion for this.[4] Indescribable was the popular delight at the restoration of the licence of the masquerade as it was in the days before the sack of the city.[5] Paul III. was particularly

RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.*, 256). An *Ordine del Card. Camerlengo, dated Sept. 18, 1549, orders the banishment of the "meretrices in vicis et vicinatis putei albi et Pizimeroli vulgariter nuncupat. circum circa usque ad plateam montis Iordani inclusive." Div. Camer., 159, f. 119 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] On this account even a brief withdrawal of the Court was keenly felt. "What is Rome without the Court!" exclaims N. Sernini in a *letter to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 8, 1543 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56).

[3] ALBERINI, 392.

[4] *Ibid.*, 398.

[5] In January 1536 Blasius de Martinellis notes in his *diary: "Istis diebus licentia pro larvis fiendis in festivitatibus fiendis Romae in carnisprivio et sic omnia fuerunt in laetitia" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report, dated Rome, Feb. 18, 1536, who says since the sack the "festa di Agone et Testaccio" had been discon-

anxious that the central glory of the Carnival, the festa on the Piazza Navona, should take place in all its splendour. In the triumphal show customary on this occasion, and produced under the direction of Latino Giovenale Manetti, the learned archæologist,[1] thirteen gala chariots were seen representing, in allusion to the Pope's name, the triumph of the consul Æmilius Paulus. The brilliant procession started, exactly as it had done in the days of Leo X., from the Capitol, entered the Via Papale, crossed the bridge of St. Angelo, and, passing to the Vatican, thence returned to the Piazza Navona. Paul III. witnessed the scene from the Castle of St. Angelo. On Carnival Sunday races were run on the open ground below Monte Testaccio, and barbaric sports, handed down from the Middle Ages, were held on the same spot. The populace shouted with wild delight as a herd of swine and some thirteen oxen were pushed down from the summit of the hill and hacked in pieces by riders armed with lances.[2]

A month later the Romans witnessed the splendid spectacle of the state entry of Charles V.[3] The next year wore a graver aspect, for the Turkish power was menacing.

tinued (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to a Frenchman's *diary (Cod. Barb. lat. 2552, f. 58, Vatican Library) the Carnival ceased to be celebrated with its former brilliancy after the death of Leo X.

[1] "1536 Die februarii agonalia fuerunt celebrata Romae magna cum pompa et sumptu, in quibus fuit effectus triumphus Macedonicus L. Pauli Aemilii curante d. Latino Juvenali magistro stratarum et conservatore urbis." *Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978 (Vatican Library).

[2] According to the *reports of Count Campeggio of the 4th and of F. Peregrino of the 6th March 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), *cf.* FORCELLA, Feste, 39 *seq.*, and CLEMENTI, 179 *seq.*; see also Mél. d'archéol., XXII., 296.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 241 *seqq.*

But in 1538 the Carnival was again kept amid gaiety.[1] At the end of this year the marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V. and widow of Duke Alessandro de' Medici, took place. The 3rd of November, the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, had been chosen for the ceremony. The Duchess received the homage of the Senate, Conservators, and Roman nobles in the villa of Clement VII. on Monte Mario, now part of her Medici inheritance and henceforward known as the Villa Madama. At the Porta del Popolo she was welcomed by Cardinal Farnese, the Ambassadors, and the Papal Court, and she proceeded in state to the Vatican, where her husband awaited her. In the ante-camera de' Paramenti she paid her respects to the Pope, surrounded by the Cardinals. Paul III. placed her on his left hand and presented her with costly wedding gifts. In her magnificently furnished apartments in the palazzo Cesi, Margaret received the noblest ladies of Rome. During the following days festivities followed close on each other; banquets, balls, illuminations in which the whole city, especially the Castle of St. Angelo, seemed to soar upwards in fire, competitions between horses, oxen, and buffaloes, took place in bewildering variety. The most beautiful of these festas, that on the Piazza Navona, was described by the Portuguese painter Francesco d'Olanda, then staying in Rome. He saw the twelve richly gilt chariots, ornamented with designs in relief and suitable devices and carrying the Caporioni in magnificent antique garments, descend from the Capitol, preceded by a hundred Roman youths dressed in exact accordance with classical attire. The antique mode was so faithfully reproduced

[1] See N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 4, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); CLEMENTI, 184, requires to be corrected by this witness.

that Francesco seemed to see before him the Emperors and conquerors of old.[1]

The Carnival entertainments of the next year, 1539, were also highly characteristic, eclipsing previous years in splendour, and were marked by many novelties. The rude sports of Monte Testaccio were now transferred to the Piazza of St. Peter's; the triumphal cars for the *Festa di Agone* on Carnival Thursday were of such unusual size that each required four buffaloes to draw it; the decorations also seemed more magnificent than ever; the allegorical groups and figures typified events of the day, but the antique form was adhered to throughout. The two first cars celebrated the Pope and Emperor; those that followed, the neutrality of Paul III., his protecting care for Rome, his conflict with false doctrine and Islam. One of the novelties was the appearance of all civic authorities in ancient costumes. The contemporary observers could hardly express their admiration for the array of splendour thus unfolded,[2] but there was loudly expressed disapproval of the preponderance of the pagan tone of feeling to the exclusion of the Christian in this particular pageant. As

[1] See BLASIUS DE MARTINELLIS, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican); partly in FORCELLA, Feste, 65 *seq.*; GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 23, and *supra*, p. 325 *seq.* For Francesco d'Olanda, see RACZYNSKI, Les arts en Portugal, Paris, 1846; REUMONT, Kunst und Künstler zur Zeit Pauls III., in Preuss. Staatsanzeiger, 1487, No. 205–206, and Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, XXVIII., 300 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Li triomphi fatti in Roma il giovedi grasso per la festa di Agone, Roma [1539] (photographic reproduction by Danesi in only 92 copies); FORCELLA, Feste, 71 *seq.*; CLEMENTI, 186 *seq.* See also the *Diarium of GUALTERIUS (Secret Archives of the Vatican); the *reports of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Feb. 8 and 15, 1539 (in the latter it says: "La festa d' Agon è ruiscita mirabile"; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *descriptions of Niccolini of Feb. 15 and 18 (State Archives, Florence).

the Pope had contributed to the expenses and had looked on at the procession from St. Angelo, only a few, such as Cardinals Carafa and Contarini, ventured to give open expression to their censures.[1]

What judgment would these men of austere observance have passed on the Carnival of 1541, on which occasion Paul III. invited his sons, and even their wives, to an entertainment at the Vatican that recalled the days of Leo X.! Before the banquet, at which the Pope himself took part, the guests were entertained partly with music and partly with the jests of the buffoon Rosso; after the meal there was a small masked ball. On the 20th of February Cardinal Farnese gave an even more brilliant party to which came the ambassadors and the Papal family but not the Pope. The designs for the antique dresses worn by the youths who took part in the entertainment were from sketches by no less an authority than Giulio Clovio himself. On this occasion the "Clizia" of Macchiavelli was produced under the direction of Molza, but, as one of the ambassadors reports, with some alterations.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the report of Grignon of Feb. 19, 1539, in RIBIER, I., 384. A. Catharinus also blames in the dedication of his Speculum Hereticorum to V. Colonna the "ferina spectacula" before St. Peter's. Expenditure on the festivals in the Piazza Navona and Monte Testaccio in the *Mandati of Jan. 22 and 29, 1539 (State Archives, Rome).

[2] *Cf.* SOLMI, Contarini, 25 *seq.*, 28 *seq.* The following *letters addressed to Cardinal Farnese belong to this period:—(1) From Francesco Casale, dated Rome, Feb. 14, 1541: "La sig^ra Vittoria in compagnia di altre bellissime donne hè stata vista per Roma su un caretto dorato tirato da 4 cavalli bianchi." Bull-fights and cavalcades interest the Romans. (2) From Bern. Maffei, dated Rome, Feb. 15, 1541: "Il sig. prefetto fa il debito con le mascare senza molta spese . . . Le cose de la comedia passano benissimo." It was said that the Pope would be present (State Archives, Parma). In 1543 Paul III. witnessed the production of the Adelphi of Terence (REUMONT, III., 2, 691).

There was thus some hesitation in performing without reserve a comedy that was an imitation of one of the most objectionable of the pieces of Plautus.

The obstinate tenacity with which the old tendencies of the Renaissance held their ground in spite of certain considerations is shown clearly in the Carnival celebrations of 1545. The Sienese envoy reported expressly on the 31st of January that on this occasion there was a disposition to give up an exclusively antique pageant as in former times, and substitute one suggestive of present conditions, the victory over the heretics and the Turks, the triumph of the Christian faith and of the Holy See.[1] Nevertheless, ample room was afforded for the display of classical reminiscences. The procession on Carnival Thursday, February the 12th, 1545, which took its way from the Capitol to the Piazza Navona, was composed of thirteen cars, one from each quarter of Rome, accompanied by the city guilds. On the first Paul III. was represented as Androclus taking the thorn from the paw of the lion, the type of heresy. The inscription ran: "The obedient shall receive graces, the proud shall be brought low." On the second car sat Fortune, clad in silver, with a golden wheel; on the third was seen the investment of Constantinople, with the words, "Except the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it"; the fourth displayed a golden

He also once allowed a comedy to be played in St. Angelo (see BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 199). For Cardinal Farnese's support of the theatre, see also FLECHSIG, Die Dekoration der modernen Bühne, Dresden, 1894, 72 *seq.*

[1] *Si attende a la festa e si farà com effetto bellissimo, in la quale non si rappresentarà un trionfo anticho come in l' altre si soleva fare, ma ogni carro harà una inventione secondo l' insegna e nome del suo rione tirato al senso loro alcuni miracoli già visti con accennare la destructione di heretici et infideli e la exaltatione de la fede di Cristo et de la Sede Apostolica (State Archives, Siena).

dragon guarding the garden of the Hesperides; the fifth the goddess Cybele holding the pine-apple, the symbol of Rome; on the outside was depicted the story of Troy; the sixth triumphal car conveyed seven figures in the act of disputation; and the seventh a shepherd, made of gold, strangling a silver snake. Both these groups, according to the inscriptions, again referred to the contest with error. The three next (the one-eyed Arimaspians vanquishing the griffin, Heraclius as victor over Sidrodus, and a combat between three Turks and three Christians) contained, as did the twelfth (Trajan overcoming the barbarians), allusions to the defeat of the Turks. The eleventh, on which was a galley passing between the pillars of Hercules with the inscription, "Their word has gone out into all the world," symbolized the spread of Christianity in the New World. The last car, with Prometheus chained, was in honour of the Emperor, symbolized by an eagle, as the conqueror of the Turks.

The cars were followed by the Roman nobles, splendidly attired, some in Turkish, some in Indian garb, and attended by pages dressed as nymphs. The musicians wore antique costumes with garlands and olive branches. The triumphal car of the Pope now appeared, forming the central point of all this splendour. Paul III. was seen in full pontifical vesture, on either side of him a unicorn supporting the lilied shield of the Farnesi, before him Righteousness and Peace, behind him the device of a chameleon and a dolphin, the slowest and the swiftest moving of animals, bound together to indicate that a ruler in his actions should be neither too swift nor too slow. Behind this imposing vehicle rode the Pope's most prominent civil officials, among whom some attracted special attention; these were Giuliano Cesarini, Gonfaloniere of Rome, his clothes embroidered with precious stones valued at more than 50,000 scudi, three

Conservatori in antique attire, and lastly the Senator in a ducal mantle of cloth-of-gold.

The Pope, surrounded by his whole family and many Cardinals, watched the procession from the Farnese palace. The following day he treated the populace to cattle and horse races, and the festa at Monte Testaccio brought the proceedings to a close.[1]

Magnificent displays of this sort, with their numerous reminders of antiquity, show, like many of the festivities given by Cardinals, how much there was of transition in the pontificate of Paul III. The Renaissance was still a powerful influence, and the new ecclesiastical tendencies were met by a vigorous opposition. When in the middle of March 1549 the French in Rome prepared to celebrate the birth of a son to Henry II. with noisy as well as brilliant entertainments,[2] Cardinal Carafa protested

[1] FORCELLA, Feste, 87 *seq.*, publishes an account of the Carnival of 1545. A German translation of this, with a postscript hostile to the Pope, is contained in the pamphlet: "Ein köstlich Triumph-Gespreng und Fastnachtspil, so man diss jar dem Babst zu Ehren in Rom gehalten, nachvolgends in Welscher sprach fleissig beschrieben und zu Rom getruckt hat, ganz fleissig verteutscht." With its publication, "Adi May 28, Anno 1545, in deutsch jezt erstlich getruckt" (copy in the University Library, Innsbrück, 169/16 C.), see also the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978 (Vatican Library). For the Carnival of 1545, *cf.* also SAGGIATORE, I., 129 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, IV., 43; CLEMENTI, 192 *seq.*; CALCAGNO, Mostra di topogr., Roma, 1903, 35. An oil painting representing the festival at Monte Testaccio, and forming an authority for this passage, was shown to me at Rome in 1908 by the Brazilian minister, Signor Ferreira da Costa (*cf.* also BARRACONI, 514). For the Carnival of 1542, see the *letter of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Feb. 18, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] For the festivities given by Cardinal du Bellay in 1549 in honour of the birth of the Duke of Orleans, see RABELAIS, II., 555 *seq.* (*cf.* also DUMESNIL, Voyag. franc., 12); FORCELLA, 115 *seq.*; CLEMENTI, 203 *seq.* See Buonanni's **report cf July 21, 1549 (State Archives,

strongly; although he laid emphasis on the bad example that would thus be set, while Lent was in progress, his remonstrances had no effect.[1] Paul III. let the French have their way; he cannot, on the whole, be acquitted of the charge that he himself often yielded to secular impulses little in accordance with the seriousness of the times. As in previous pontificates, luxury and pleasure were still displayed not merely in the palaces of Cardinals[2] but in the Vatican itself. Musicians,[3] improvisatori,[4] even female singers,[5] dancers and buffoons[6] appeared upon the scene. Now, as in earlier days, the chief pastor of Christendom was seen setting forth on clamorous hunting

Florence). Probably the Girandola, the magnificent firework display from St. Angelo, dates from the days of Paul III.; see CRACAS, 3rd Series, 1894, 319 *seq.*; BENIGNI, Miscell., V., 164.

[1] *Messessi ancora hier mattina in consistoro a persuadere nella audientia che S. S. R^ma^ [Carafa] hebbe da S. Sta che non era bene che queste feste si facessero, perchè era di troppo mal esempio, che le si celebrassero in questi giorni così santi et di penitentia et nel luogo dov' era il capo della religione christiana. Ma i nostri cavalieri havevano di gia fatte tante contramine ch'el voto di S. S. R^ma^ non hebbe luogo. Letter of Buonanni from Rome, March 14, 1549 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* SOLMI, Fuga, 53 *seq.*

[3] That Paul III. was a great lover of music is clear from the expenditure on musicians of his court (*cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 179, 187, 191–193, 197, 199, 201, 209; Artisti Lombardi, I., 380; Art. Bolog., 122, 125; BARBIER, III., 478 *seq.*). For the Papal chapels in Paul's time, see ADAMI, Osservaz. p. ben regolare il coro dei cantori d. cappella Pontif., Roma, 1711, and Riv. music Ital., XIV. (1907), 97 *seq.* See also HABERL, Musikkatalog des päpstl. Kapellenarchivs, Leipzig, 1888, 2 *seq.*, 5 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*, 11, 66.

[4] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 182, 185, 192.

[5] *Ibid.*, 187, 191, 192.

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 353, for the buffoon Rosso; see also BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 183 (here also 197, on a "Moresca" for Paul III.), Artisti Veneti, 54; MÜNTZ, III., 71.

parties,[1] receiving the ladies of his family as guests at his table, and taking part in the brilliant receptions of the young Farnesi.[2] A long time had yet to elapse before Popes should come to whom it would be impossible to attach the reproach of conduct so incongruous with their high office.

[1] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 183, 184, 193, 204. *N. Sergardi reports on Dec. 19, 1537, that after Epiphany the Pope would "fare la caccia di Canino si come fece la s. m. di Leone." N. Spinelli *writes on Dec. 29, 1539: "Venerdì prossimo si cominciaranno a mandar le provisioni per la caccia a Montalto et altri luoghi, dove andarà S. B^ne^, il s. duca di Castro, Madama, il s. Ottavio e un gran numero di gente et serà bella cosa da veder" (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* also Sforza's letter of Jan. 25, 1540, in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 76, and for 1543, AFFÒ, 29, 45; Atti Mod., I., 152.

[2] At one of the first banquets given by Paul III. on Feb. 7, 1535, the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, notes: "Papa habuit 8 vel 10 mulieres secum in prandio" (*Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican). It was characteristic that Paul III. should not have hesitated to appoint the anniversary of his coronation (Nov. 3) for the baptism of his grandson, the twin, borne by Margaret to Ottavio Farnese on Aug. 27, 1545. Several Cardinals were present, but the Pope stayed at the Villa Madama; see Massarelli, Diarium, ed. MERKLE, I., 318; DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 198, n. 2, and the full account by Blasius de Martinellis in his *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Conciliar Question and the Imperial Efforts at Reunion in the Years 1539–1541.

THE year 1539 brought new and heavy losses to the Church in Germany. While the peace negotiations at Frankfort were still in progress two deaths took place which opened to the Protestant party the opportunity for further victorious advances. On the 26th of February 1539 Duke Frederick died, the last surviving son of George, Duke of Saxony, and on April the 17th George himself passed away, who hitherto had been the pillar of the Church in North Germany. He was succeeded by his only brother Henry, a very dissimilar character. This prince, who in 1533 was still giving solemn assurances to the nuncio Vergerio that he would never desert the Catholic Church,[1] had since attached himself to Lutheranism. He now at once began, under the protection and with the help of the Saxon Elector and his other associates of Schmalkald, to oppress the Catholics in the Duchy of Saxony and to introduce by force the Lutheran doctrines.[2]

Almost at the same time the Electorate of Brandenburg was lost to the Church. Joachim II., the ruling Elector since 1535, had sworn on oath to his father to remain true to the Catholic faith, and firmly to maintain the existing ecclesiastical conditions throughout the Electorate. He

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 92.

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 433 *seq.*

had taken an oath of like import in September 1535 on the occasion of his marriage with the Polish Princess Hedwig, daughter of King Sigismund. Nevertheless, under the powerful influence of George of Anhalt, this Hohenzollern, on the conclusion of the agreement of Frankfort, passed over to the Protestant side. On the 1st of November 1539 he received at the hands of Bishop Matthias von Jagow of Brandenburg, long a supporter of the Lutheran teaching, the Communion under both kinds.[1]

In the following year Joachim II. introduced a new system of Church order, which retained the local episcopate and many Catholic ceremonies, so that the bulk of the people did not realize what was actually taking place. Joachim himself denied that in his new Church system he had introduced the innovating doctrines into his country; resting on the groundwork of the ancient Church, he had removed abuses that had crept in and established a sound policy in religious affairs. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that by his ecclesiastical ordinances the Elector had usurped a primacy over the Bishops of Brandenburg.[2]

The Emperor and the Catholic Princes stood crippled in the presence of all these events. While the Protestants were acting on the offensive everywhere with spirit and strength, the Catholics were often incapable of assuming the defensive. For the development of such a situation the blame lay partly with the absentee Emperor and the failure of the Catholics[3] to recognize the strength of their

[1] *Cf.* HEIDEMANN, Die Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg, Berlin, 1889; JANSSEN-PASTOR, 18th ed., 438 *seq.*; STEINMÜLLER, Die Reformation in der Kurmark Brandenburg, Halle, 1903, 63 *seqq.*; N. MÜLLER in Jahrb. f. brandenb. Kirchengesch., IV., 168 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BRANDENBURG, Moritz von Sachsen, I., 99; BEZOLD, Reformation, 690; MEINE, Die vermittelnde Stellung Joachims II., Lüneburg, 1898, 28 *seq.*

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 63 *seq.*

opponents, but principally with the German episcopate. It was characteristic of the latter that on the conclusion, on the 10th of June 1538, of the Catholic league of defence at Nuremberg, only the Archbishop of Salzburg and Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, as Archbishop of Madgeburg and Administrator of Halle, were present; all the other bishops shrank back from fear of their Protestant neighbours. The petty spirit and worldliness of most of the German ecclesiastical magnates, combined with "Lutheran licence," had brought about, even in professedly Catholic territories, a state of disorganization of the very worst augury for the future. On this point the testimony of the Papal nuncios is unimpeachable. If Vergerio's reports had previously given a very unfavourable account of Church affairs in Germany,[1] those of his successors were still more discouraging.

The observations made by Morone in November 1536 on his journey to Vienna, in the Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria, must have filled this earnest lover of souls with horror. In the latter countries, under good Catholic rulers, he found a large number of parishes in towns as well as villages without priests, the convents almost deserted, the people living in religious neglect and confusion. That under such circumstances numbers should fall away from the Church was no matter for astonishment.[2] In May 1537 Morone wrote from Prague to Aleander that the affairs of religion and of the Holy See in Germany were in such a deplorable state that he despaired of their being remedied; above all, there was need of good bishops.[3] In Breslau, in June 1538, Morone found the Lutherans so strong that those who still clung to the old Church denied their faith through fear.[4] Further defections were

[1] See *supra*, p. 41 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, II., 80, 83, 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, 169.

[4] *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.*

to be foreseen with certainty. Morone even thought that he already saw signs of weakness on the part of many ecclesiastical princes in consequence of Lutheran enticements. In view of this danger there was nothing, moreover, to be expected for the Church from King Ferdinand, whose influence in the Empire was insignificant; nor had he the energy of character required; he was dependent too upon his councillors, many of whom were Lutheran in sympathy.[1]

When about the same time, in the autumn of 1538, Cardinal Aleander reached Austria, he found even in the Catholic territories a widely spreading apostasy in progress. Already in Bozen he heard from a Franciscan that the town was deeply infected with heresy and that the principal church had been given over already to a Lutheran teacher. In the diocese of Trent as well as in that of Brixen he found a large proportion of parishes without priests. At Innsbrück the clergy did not appear at his reception; the town council excused them on the plea that in the foremost of Ferdinand's residential cities, as Aleander does not fail to note, hardly a dozen clergy were to be found. In the Abbey of Wilten there was, besides the Abbot, only one regular! On his return journey Aleander received the like bad impressions. On the 9th of September 1538 he wrote to the Pope from Linz that the religious condition of Germany was well-nigh ruinous; divine worship and the administration of the Sacraments had for the most part ceased, the secular princes, with the exception of Ferdinand I., were either entirely Lutheran or full of hatred of the priesthood and greed of Church property, the prelates lived just as extravagantly as before and merely held positions in the Church. The religious orders had dwindled down to handfuls, the secular clergy

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, 123, 182 *seq.*

were not much more numerous, and so immoral and ignorant that the few Catholics there were shunned them. More than fifteen parishes were vacant; he was forced to say, with tears, that the condition of religion was one vast chaos.[1]

That Aleander did not take too gloomy a view is evident from the accounts sent to him by Fabio Mignanelli, Morone's successor as nuncio. From Trent to Linz, a stretch of nearly 300 hundred Italian miles, wrote Mignanelli, he had found the churches and convents almost entirely abandoned by secular and regular clergy, the practices of piety had ceased from among the people, the churches were no longer frequented, and even alms were discontinued. With regard to the scarcity of clergy, Ferdinand entirely confirmed the nuncio's statements; he was himself unable, save with difficulty, said the King of the Romans, to supply his private chapel with suitable chaplains. The Protestant propaganda made full use of this bad state of things; everywhere, even in the court itself, there were lapses from the faith. Cardinal Cles of Trent, in consequence, was more and more anxious concerning Ferdinand's power of resistance to the Lutheran influences surrounding him.[2]

Even if this alarm was groundless as far as the person of the King was concerned, it yet seems doubtful whether Ferdinand was in the position to uphold in the Austrian dominions the authority, hitherto paramount, of the Catholic Church; and this, all the more, seeing that in Bohemia and Hungary also Lutheranism had made remarkable advances.[3] If the successes of Protestantism in the northern parts of the Empire are also taken into consideration it becomes intelligible that, from the point of

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, III., 148, 149, 161, 181, 190, 208.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., 191, 362.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 452; IV., 132, 245.

view of merely human foresight, the complete apostasy of Germany from the Holy See should be expected at the end of thirty years if events went on developing in the direction they had hitherto taken.[1]

It was the Pope, impressed by all these grave disasters befalling the Church, who again became the prime instigator of the Council,[2] from the verdict of which Catholic as well as Protestant Germany still continued to hope so much that it is permissible to speak of a special group, the so-called party of "Expectants."[3]

Now, as in the past, the failure to secure a final peace between the Emperor and the French King formed the chief hindrance to the convocation of a General Council. It was at this very moment, the late autumn of 1539, that a good opportunity seemed to offer itself for the reconciliation of the two sovereigns, for it was widely rumoured that Charles V. was seriously contemplating a complete understanding and a closer family alliance with his old enemy Francis I. The latter proposed that the Emperor, who on account of the revolt of the citizens of Ghent and his claims on Guelders was hastening from Spain to the Netherlands, should, in order to expedite his journey, pass through France. When, to the astonishment of all, Charles entered into this scheme, his opponents in Germany at once showed signs of agitation.

It was characteristic of the time that even ecclesiastical

[1] *Cf.* Morone in his letter to Farnese, dat. Vienna, 1539, Oct. 24, in DITTRICH, Morone, 38 *seq.* Morone was even afraid that the pressure of the Turkish invasion and the spread of Protestantism would eventually lead to Ferdinand's apostasy. *Cf.* also the passages in Rorario's report of Oct. 28, 1539, in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 12, n. 2. See also Morone's report of Jan. 4, 1540 (DITTRICH, 78 *seq.*), and Eck's account of the situation in March 1540 in RAYNALDUS, 1540, n. 6 *seq.*

[2] KORTE, Konzilspolitik, 42.

[3] PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 115 *seqq.*

authorities, such as Johann von Metzenhausen, Archbishop of Treves, should, from fear of an increase of the Emperor's power, have tried to come to an understanding with the Protestants. The old foe of the Hapsburgs, the Bavarian chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, informed the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, uneasy on account of the Bavarian preparations for war, that the latter were not directed against the Protestants but against Charles V., whose alliance with Francis I. was a menace to German liberty.[1] It was generally stated that peace between Francis and the Emperor was settled—nothing more remained to be done but to make public the terms.[2]

Under these circumstances the Pope on his side was unwilling to neglect any means of accelerating the peace between the two monarchs upon whom the successful issue of the Council depended. As soon as he had heard from Luis de Avila and von Gye of the Emperor's intention to pass through France to the Netherlands, and had been informed of the proposals of peace,[3] Paul III. determined to send his own grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, as Legate to Charles and Francis. In a secret consistory of the 24th of November 1539 the majority of the Cardinals assented to this arrangement.[4] On November the 26th Farnese received the Legate's cross; two days later he

[1] WINKELMANN, Korrespondenz Strassburgs, II., 643; LENZ, I., 401 *seq.*, 431 *seq.*; RANKE, IV., 1st ed., 183.

[2] For the strong belief in Rome in the treaty of peace, see F. Peregrino's *report, dat. Rome, Nov. 15, 1539 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] According to a *letter of F. Peregrino, dat. Rome, Nov. 22, 1539, Avila came to Rome on the 20th, Gye on the 21st (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 88, 89, 93, 97; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 1621 (here on line 14 "2 dì" should be read for "4 dì").

[4] See GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 93; the *reports of N. Sernini and Vincenzo Gatico, dat. Rome, 1539, Nov. 24 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the authorities given in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 39 *seq.*

left Rome with his suite. For the transaction of the current affairs of state his place was taken by Cardinal Sforza Santafiora.[1]

In the instructions handed to Farnese before his departure the Pope acknowledged his satisfaction that the seeds of peace formerly sown by him at Nice were now bearing the longed-for fruit, which he already looked upon as ripe. Acting on this supposition, Farnese was to move the two monarchs to send their prelates to the Council. As the place of meeting, Vicenza, favourably situated for all nations, was, in the first instance, again proposed, and, as an alternative, with a view to French feeling, Milan. If the Council met and thereby the return of the Protestants was effected, an undertaking against Henry VIII. as well as against the Turks might, under the circumstances, be kept in view.[2]

The Cardinal-Legate Farnese was accompanied on this occasion, as he had been on his mission to Spain, by the learned Marcello Cervini, as his private secretary. In order that this eminent man, whom the Pope had already a few months before appointed Bishop of Nicastro, might take part personally with the Legate in the important transactions with the two monarchs, he received the purple on the 19th of December 1539. To the younger Cardinal the Pope, moreover, sent the intimation that, in the Netherlands, where the Protestants were numerous, he was never to lay aside ecclesiastical attire, and also to see

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 40. The proof-sheets of this important publication—with the exception of the introduction, which is not yet ready—I have been able to make use of through the kindness of the editor, who, in this work, has with the greatest diligence collected and explained all the *Acta* of Farnese's legation.

[2] Farnese's instructions of Nov. 28, 1539, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 40 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 43 *seq.*, details relating to the visit to the French court. *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 163.

that among his suite the same rule was observed. Farnese was also to use his Legatine faculties with discretion.[1]

The Cardinal travelled slowly in order to avoid encountering the Emperor on French soil. Paul III. had given express injunctions on this point, as it was to be foreseen that Francis would not discuss affairs with Charles so long as the latter was his guest, while Charles would certainly be averse to entering into any transactions of state prior to his return to his own dominions. The Cardinal, however, found himself obliged to change his plans; for the Emperor, loaded by Francis with every conceivable mark of honour, advanced very slowly. Farnese, who had already reached the immediate neighbourhood of the French capital, could not possibly retard his journey longer without giving rise to unpleasant surmises. He therefore resolved to seek audience of both monarchs before the termination of their meeting, but to confine himself to tendering the good wishes of the Pope on the establishment of their friendship, and to reserve all other business until the departure of the Emperor. He then hoped to obtain from Francis fuller information as to his arrangements with Charles V. and thus to facilitate an understanding with the latter on his arrival in the Netherlands.[2]

Farnese, on the personal invitation of Francis I., made his solemn entry into Paris on the 31st of December 1539, accompanied by five French Cardinals. On the following day Francis I. and Charles V. arrived. The Emperor greeted the Cardinal in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame so graciously that all present were astonished. Afterwards both rode, together with the Dauphin, to the newly erected palace of the Louvre, where Francis I. welcomed

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1539, n. 37 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 54.

[2] PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 10, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 56 *seq.*

them and a banquet was given in the evening. On the 3rd of January 1540 Farnese had an audience of the King, to whom he explained the motive and aim of his mission; on the following day he made the same announcements to the Emperor. From the latter's reply the Cardinal concluded that Charles wished to postpone all negotiations until the arrival of his brother Ferdinand in the Netherlands.[1]

Francis I. escorted his Imperial guest, who had stayed in Paris until the 7th of January 1540, as far as St. Quentin. Here they took farewell of each other on January the 20th. While the Emperor went on to Valenciennes, Francis betook himself to Amiens; thither Farnese hastened, full of impatience to lay before the King his latest instructions. On the 9th of February he had an audience at which, besides Cardinal Cervini, the French nuncio Ferreri was present. Making his previous declarations at Paris his starting-point, Farnese explained that even if the special object of his mission presupposed the publication of a peace, he was yet induced to believe, in view of the intimate relations between the two monarchs, that this event might he regarded as a certainty. With the exhortation that Francis would soon give effect to the desired consummation, he coupled the request that his Majesty would give the sorely needed assistance against the Turks and towards the recall of the Protestants and Henry VIII. to their obedience to the Church. In this connection he showed how, in view of the necessity of reform in ecclesiastical matters, the Council brooked of no delay.

The reply of Francis I., delivered in French, was highly unsatisfactory. Until the peace had first been firmly concluded he could not commit himself either to a

[1] See Farnese's report to Paul III. of Jan. 4, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 59 *seq.*

general undertaking against the Turks and heretics or to a sanction of the Council, as he did not wish to expose himself to the obvious danger of losing hitherto existing friendships. Besides, it seemed to him very doubtful whether the Emperor would agree to action against England, since, as was generally reported, he was bent on beginning the war about his claims on Guelders.[1]

Farnese and Cervini afterwards still kept up negotiations with Montmorency, who, as well as the King, encouraged them in their farewell audience to urge peace on the Emperor. Cervini, on this occasion, touched on the marriage of Vittoria Farnese, Ottavio's sister, with a French prince, an alliance still, as in past years, favoured by the Pope, as a means of showing that he stood firmly on the neutral line.[2] On the 15th of February 1540 the two Cardinals left Amiens; they travelled slowly, as they did not wish to meet the Emperor until he had quelled the revolt in Ghent. This was also in accordance with the wishes of Charles, who on February the 14th had marched into Ghent with his troops ready for action and speedily reduced the city to order.

On the 23rd of February the two Cardinals made their entry; their audience with the Emperor was fixed for the following morning. In this interview Cardinal Farnese explained the object of his mission, while at the same time he gave an account of his course of action with Francis I. Charles V. thanked him for his communications thus made, and promised that the peace negotiations with France, on the issue of which all the rest depended, should be energetically

[1] See Farnese's report to Paul III. of Feb. 9, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 79 *seq.*

[2] See Farnese's *report to Paul III., dat. Amiens, Feb. 10, 1540 (Bibl. Pia, 127, f. 115 *seq.*; Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 83, n. 1.

pursued as soon as Ferdinand I. arrived. With regard to his undertaking against England he declared himself doubtful, since a war might easily be begun but not so easily ended. The Emperor here gave a glimpse of his conviction that, for the same reason, it would be preferable to allay the troubles in Germany by peaceful methods.[1] Four days later Morone arrived in Ghent; as Poggio came there at the same time, there were now four Papal diplomatists at the Imperial court; they must soon have convinced themselves that the prospects of peace were much more unfavourable than they had surmised.[2]

A sudden light was thrown on the actual state of affairs by an expression which escaped the Emperor's lips during an audience granted to Poggio on the 3rd of March. To an inquiry of the nuncio with regard to the prospects of peace, Charles V. answered drily that that was a matter that caused him more anxiety than almost any other that he had had to deal with in the whole course of his life; it would require the most mature consideration between himself and his brother Ferdinand.[3] The latter, however, saw in the Emperor's proposal to Francis that the hand of his daughter, with the Netherlands as her dowry, should be bestowed on the Duke of Orleans, a grave infringement of his own interests. He had no need to disquiet himself, for Francis was soon to show that he had no intention of paying the price demanded by the Emperor, the renunciation of Milan and the surrender of Piedmont and Savoy.[4]

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, V., 85, 87 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, for Farnese's reports to Paul III. of Feb. 12, 13, and 24, 1540.

[2] *Ibid.*, 99; *cf.* WINKELMANN, III., 22.

[3] Farnese's letter to Paul III., March 3, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 104.

[4] *Cf.* RIBIER, I., 509 *seq.*; RANKE, IV., 186; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 144.

Moreover, it seemed open to question whether Charles was in earnest regarding the proposals that he was then submitting to the French. Unembarrassed by such considerations, the Papal representatives endeavoured to further the cause of peace in every way; but they found little opportunity for so doing, for the Emperor, more reserved than ever, would not initiate them into his transactions with France. Such an attitude was bound to arouse distrust in the Legates.[1]

The disquietude of the Papal diplomatists was still further increased by the appearance of an embassy from the Protestant princes with the object of quashing the proceedings in the Imperial Court of Chancery, securing a solid peace, and the ratification of the agreement of Frankfort.[2] As it was rumoured that the Emperor had listened favourably to this deputation, Farnese, through Morone, represented to Ferdinand I. that the only right course to pursue was the rejection of such dangerous wishes. Ferdinand I. replied that he and his brother must hear both sides, but gave his assurance that the respite of Frankfort would not be ratified and that the other points would be adjudicated on upon their merits. Morone replied that as the Hapsburgs would not listen to a word on the question of Guelders, so it would be on the question of religion, which was of not less importance. The King of the Romans tried to soothe him by the declaration that the agreement of Frankfort would certainly never be ratified. Granvelle gave the same assurances, adding at the same time that no transactions would be carried on with the Protestants without an understanding with the Cardinals. Farnese therefore believed that he might re-

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 160 *seq.*, 162, 165 *seq.*, 168.

[2] DITTRICH, Morone, 90 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 97, n. 2, 105 See also JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 469.

assure himself as far as the non-ratification of the agreement of Frankfort was concerned.[1] But he very soon began to feel renewed anxiety when he observed the Emperor's conciliatory bearing towards the Protestant emissaries; he thought that the sinister influence of the Imperial diplomatist, Johann von Weeze, who had already in 1539 played such a suspicious part in the negotiations of Frankfurt, were here perceptible.[2]

It was an unhealthy and unpromising symptom that with regard to the religious as well as the political situation the Imperial party observed the same reticence towards the Papal statesmen. Granvelle's promise, that in the former sphere of affairs nothing was to be done without Farnese's previous knowledge, lapsed into silence.

The change which then, with the utmost possible secrecy, came over the Imperial policy was of fateful importance. Charles V. certainly did not ratify the agreement of Frankfort, but still he acted in the spirit of this agreement that the Pope had rejected.[3] Under the pressure of the political situation, the Turkish danger, the strained relations with France, the hostile attitude of many of the States of the Empire, especially of Bavaria, and the increased strength of Protestantism, he fell back upon the scheme already suggested to Ferdinand in 1538 by the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II., that by means of a national assembly, and a conference on religion, the discords of belief in Germany should, independently of

[1] See Farnese's letter to Paul III., March 5–6, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 105 *seq.*, and Morone's report of March 6, 1540, in DITTRICH, Morone, 89 *seq.*

[2] See Farnese's letter to Paul III. of March 13, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 115 *seq.* For Weeze, *cf.* RANKE, IV., 6th ed., 95 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RANKE (IV., 6th ed., 96, 123), and specially EHSES (IV., 183, n. 2).

the Council, be brought to a solution.[1] In spite of all representations to the contrary, he followed up this project with his characteristic tenacity of purpose.[2]

If the Emperor hoped, by the introduction of peaceable negotiations for reunion, to hinder communications between the Schmalkaldic Protestants and France and to obtain help against the Turks, he, at the same time, overlooked the circumstance that by this latest phase of policy he was crippling the Catholic defensive league and throwing over the Council.

It entirely escaped Charles V., who was unversed in theological questions and dependent on the advice of his councillors,[3] what a fundamental mistake it was to set on foot public assemblies in which laymen were to discuss and pass judgment on matters of belief in the presence of

[1] The Papal party heard of the Brandenburg proposals through Morone, who was in Ferdinand's confidence; see *supra*, Chap. II, (p. 118).

[2] In September 1539 Charles had already informed the nuncio Giovanni Ricci of Montepulciano that he wished a religious conference to be held between learned and moderate men of both parties in the presence of the Papal nuncios and the ambassadors of the Emperor, King Ferdinand, and the King of France, in order to discuss the restoration of unity in matters of religious belief (*cf.* EHSES, IV., 181 n. 1). On Nov. 28, 1539, Morone had permission to present a written memorial on the subject to King Ferdinand, who had already made him acquainted with the Emperor's plan, which on Nov. 30 he communicated to Morone (in DITTRICH, Morone, 60 *seqq.*). On Dec. 2 he was able to inform Farnese further that Ferdinand agreed to his proposals; the decision, of course, lay with the Emperor. When the latter, in spite of the counter-representations of the Pope and Ferdinand, adhered to his scheme, Morone was allowed to recommend that not only German, but also Italian, French, and Spanish theologians should be deputed to take part in the discussions (see DITTRICH, Morone, 64 *seq.*).

[3] See ARMSTRONG, I., 330.

secular estates. Since the Protestants had entirely rejected the doctrinal function of the Church, such transactions would be carried on without a competent judge and a common ground of disputation. It was also a matter of certainty that discussions on religion only made the heretics more obdurate.[1] Nevertheless, only a very few realized that the path on which the Emperor had entered held out no prospect of leading to the goal aimed at by so many.[2]

Men's ideas were in a state of incredible confusion. Many even, who were set upon being thoroughly good Catholics, seemed to have lost any real conception of the Church. Only in Rome was the seriousness of the situation understood in all its gravity. Not merely because the discussions on religion involved the danger of spreading the apostasy, but also because the objection to such transactions was grounded on principle. Catholics were allowed —and even this only with permission of the Holy See—to make arrangements concerning Church property and the details of worship and discipline, such as ceremonies, the administration of the chalice to the laity, the marriage of priests and the like; but in matters of doctrine such a discretion was entirely withheld. If, moreover, they began to treat and bargain with their opponents on matters of dogma, they were bound to come into contradiction with themselves and with the Church;[3] were they to be

[1] Gropper insisted on all this later in his *Consilium*, published by SCHWARZ in Hist. Jahrb., VII., 408 *seq.*

[2] Cochläus was one of the number. He rightly insisted on the primary necessity of union on the doctrine of the Church; see SPAHN, 280.

[3] Conrad Braun, in a memoir published in the autumn of 1540, aptly remarked that only such conferences on religion were admissible as served to instruct those in error; conferences aiming at an agreement with heretics on matters of doctrine were not permissible, since the

satisfied with ambiguous formulæ which only concealed the dogmatic differences between them, no permanent advantage would thereby be gained, for sooner or later the slumbering elements of disagreement would be aroused into as sharp an antagonism as before. But, on the other hand, no one could seriously suppose that the Protestants would again accept as the result of a religious conference the ancient dogmas of the Church that they had just discarded.

In January 1540 the theologians of Wittenberg formulated with startling candour their fundamental position towards the approaching negotiations. A memorial of that time, signed by Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon, declared that the Emperor and the bishops had simply to renounce "their idolatry and error." As only two courses were open, they must either encourage and adhere to idolatry, blasphemy, error, unchastity, and other sins, or openly adopt new and "pure doctrines." At best some compromise might be thought of on external points common to both parties, but there could be no "patchwork" in matters of doctrine; the Augsburg Confession and its defence must be upheld in their entirety. "Even if the Pope were to concede to us our doctrines and ceremonies," this document continued, "we should still be obliged to treat him as a persecutor and an outcast, since in other kingdoms he would not renounce his errors."[1]

On despatching this manifesto Luther wrote on the 18th of January to the Elector of Saxony: "It is all up with the Pope, as it is with his god, the devil. They are both

Catholic faith must not be called in question; still, in the matter of Church abuses an agreement might be arrived at. See PAULUS in Histor. Jahrb., XIV., 528.

[1] Corp. Ref., III., 927–945; *cf. ibid.*, 958 *seq.*, Melanchthon's letter to the preachers of Nuremberg.

impenitent and sin consciously against the truth, so that they are beyond prayers and hope."[1]

The Hessian theologians took the same standpoint as their colleagues of Wittenberg, and accordingly at Schmalkald the Protestant preachers displayed complete unanimity,[2] as also did the Princes. In their reply, handed at this Diet, on the 2nd of April, to the Imperial envoy, they certainly asked for a "Christian and rightly organized conference" in order to come, "under God's blessing, to an understanding" with the other estates of the Empire, but explained that by an "understanding" they did not mean one which would confirm the old errors or permit any lapse from the truth. This truth was contained in the Confession and defence of Augsburg, to which they intended unconditionally to adhere.[3]

With all this before him it is difficult to conceive how the Emperor still hoped to cure, by means of peaceable discussion, the deep-seated religious divisions of Germany. That Charles believed that the impossible was possible admits of explanation in the first place, independently of the pressure of political events, from the changed attitude of the most aggressive of the Schmalkaldic princes, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who, in contemplation of his double marriage, durst not incite the Emperor's anger, since bigamy was an offence punishable by death.[4] Of importance also on the Catholic side were the undiminished illusions with regard to the voluntary submission of

[1] De Wette, V., 258.

[2] See Neudecker, Aktenstücke, 177; Moses, 14 *seq.*

[3] Walch, XVII., 432–450. Even Strassburg gave its adhesion to the Schmalkaldic opinion; see Winkelmann, III., 48 *seq.*

[4] Weeze had already convinced himself in Frankfort of Philip's change of mind and had reported to the Emperor accordingly; see Lenz, I., 423 *seq.*; Kannengiesser, 8 *seq.*

many apostates, in which the wished-for conversion of Melanchthon played, in particular, a leading part.[1] Moreover, there was the powerful influence of Granvelle.

The latter, an out-and-out politician, looked at ecclesiastical affairs purely with the eyes of a man of the world, so that Held thus summed him up: "In matters of belief he must have the upper hand, bargain, buy, and sell, as if God had committed the faith, not to the successors of Peter and the other apostles, but to ministers, jurists, and pettifogging lawyers."[2] Supported by Weeze and the vice-chancellor Naves, he dissuaded his Imperial master from all repressive measures against the Lutherans, and kept on recommending amicable negotiations with a view to a compromise.[3] In this way the Emperor's perception was dulled and, filled as he was with the best intentions, he believed that he could accomplish the object on which his heart was so firmly set. King Ferdinand, who was naturally inclined to manœuvring, was also much attracted by the notion of religious conferences, as he wished to prevent, at all costs, warlike developments in Germany and to obtain aid against the Turks from the Estates of the Empire.[4]

Thus it was that Charles V. resolved on the 18th of April 1540, in order to terminate the religious dissensions of Germany, to summon the Catholic Princes to a Diet at

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, III., 63 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*, 174 *seq.*, 227, 232 *seq.*, 408, 520; and KAWERAU, the essay: Melanchthon zur kathol. Kirche zurückzuführen, Halle, 1902, 26 *seq.*; *cf.* in Appendix No. 9 the *brief to Andreas Cricius of March 18, 1535 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 624.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 18th ed., 469 *seq.* For Granvelle, see also WINKELMANN, III., 159; BRANDENBURG, Moritz von Sachsen, I., 96. For Naves and his free tendencies in religion, see Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXVI., 280 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*

[4] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 472; BUCHOLTZ, IV., 349.

Spires on the 23rd May, there to deal with Lutheran affairs and those of the Catholic League; in connection with this assembly a conference on religion was to be held on the 6th of June with the Protestant leaders. The heads of the Schmalkaldic confederation, the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, were invited and permission given them to come with a full escort.[1] The two Princes replied that they could not attend in person, as too short a notice had been given of the date of the conference, but they were willing to appoint representatives and, if things went in the direction of peace, to put in an appearance themselves. At the same time they had the assurance to demand of the Emperor that, in the case of the Catholics supporting opinions contrary to the Word of God, Holy Scripture, and Apostolic doctrine, he would command them to abstain from them.[2]

The Emperor, contrary to his promise, concealed from the Cardinal-Legate Farnese the momentous step he had taken.[3] Not until the 20th of April, after the invitations to Spires had been sent out, did he officially inform Farnese through Granvelle.[4] The announcement did not take the Legate by surprise; for he had already received

[1] Both the invitations were sent out on April 18, 1540; that to the Protestants has been repeatedly printed (HORTLEDER, I., 130; WALCH, XVII, 453; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 183, n. 2), that to the Catholics is still unprinted. The substance is to be found in the Court and State Archives, Vienna (see Nuntiaturberichte, V., 189), copies in Secret Archives, Weimar (MOSES, 25), and in the City Archives of Frankfort-on-Main.

[2] WALCH, XVII., 456 *seq.* In his *reply, dated Antwerp, May 22, 1540, Charles speaks of his hope that the Protestant Princes will appear in person (City Archives, Frankfort).

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 152 n.

[4] See Farnese's letter to Paul III. of April 20, 1540, in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 184 *seq.*, and the Legate's memorial in EHSES, IV., 183.

tidings of the Emperor's plans[1] from Morone and Poggio, who at Farnese's bidding had interpellated Ferdinand I. and Granvelle. To the reports of his two colleagues Farnese added, in a letter to the Pope of April the 17th, a description of the serious danger which was bound to be incurred by the attempts of Charles to unify Germany on the questions of religion, in entire independence of the Holy See. At the same time he again insisted on the necessity of strengthening the Catholic League by the enrolment of Paul III. and the mission of one or more Cardinals to Germany with instructions suited to every eventuality. Farnese suspected indeed that the Hapsburgs did not wish for any Legatine mission, and had only delayed the official announcement of the Diet at Spires in order to leave no more time for the despatch of a Papal representative. This, the Cardinal thought, might be met by sending Contarini to his bishopric of Belluno and Pole to Verona, whence they might make an appearance in Germany before it was too late.[2]

[1] On April 11 King Ferdinand had only informed Morone that the Emperor would, before four or six weeks, but within the conclusion of peace with France, hold a conference with the Electors and other Catholic princes, without the Lutherans, at Spires (Morone to Paul III., Ghent, April 11, 1541, in DITTRICH, Morone, 109). On April 14, Morone had already heard that not only the Catholics, as Ferdinand had told him, but also the Protestants were to assemble at Spires (Morone to Paul III., April 14, 1540, in DITTRICH, 111). In two conversations with Ferdinand, of April 15 and 16, Morone at last received from the latter fuller information (Morone to Cardinal di Santafiora, Ghent, April 15, 1540, in DITTRICH, 113–116: to the same on April 16, in Laemmer, Mon. Vat., 261 *seq.*). On April 16, Poggio complained to Granvelle of the silence observed on religious matters, and then received the same information as Morone; see Poggio's report to Paul III. of April 17, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 172 *seq.*

[2] See the important letter of Farnese's to Paul III., April 17; *ibid.*, V., 176 *seq.*

Farnese's reply to Granvelle's official communication came briefly to this: that experience had shown the prejudicial consequences of religious discussions, wherefore the Pope had enjoined him to press the urgent need of the Council in place of negotiations of the former kind. Granvelle tried to defend the Emperor's action on the ground of necessity. Regardless of all the objections of Cardinal Cervini, who was present at the interview, the representative of Charles did not show the least inclination to depart from the decision arrived at; he would not even agree to a postponement in order to inform the Pope of the new turn in affairs and to await the expression of his wishes. Notwithstanding this the two Legates on the following day made one more energetic protest against this dangerous policy of middle courses by tendering to the Emperor a memorial dealing with the question in detail.[1] This contained a clear and precise summary of the reasons which, from the Catholic standpoint, demanded attention.

In the first place, the fruitlessness of all attempts hitherto made to come to an agreement with the Protestants was pointed out. The latter had never kept strictly to the Confession of Augsburg; they also taught many things inconsistent with Catholic belief which were not contained in that Confession, and thus slipped like eels through the

[1] Given in RAYNALDUS, 1540, n. 15 *seq.*; LE PLAT, III., 634 *seq.*, and EHSES, IV., 182 *seq.*; German in WALCH, XVII., 465; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 185, n. 1. The memorial fell into the hands of the Protestants, and was ridiculed by them in the following rare pamphlet: Concilium || Papae. || Ein seer väterlicher rath || schlag des Römischen bischoffs Pau || li (des namens) des dritten, Keyser || licher Maiestat in Niderland || durch den Cardinal Förnesi || um, des Bapsts vettern, || für die Lutherischen || uberantwort. || Anno 1541. || Dabey ein Gotsälige und heilsa || me ausslegung genants Rhat || schlags durch Eusebium || Pamphili. || s. l., s. a.; kl. 8°, 59 pages ("Euseb. Pamphili" is a pseudonym of Calvin, see KAMPSCHULTE, I. 335).

Catholics' hands. The transactions at Frankfort in the previous year had shown that what the Protestants were working for was not the removal of abuses but the abolition of the Papacy. What hope of unity lay in that direction? As peace with France was uncertain and the Turks were threatening Hungary, it was to be expected that the Protestants would now show themselves more defiant than before. In view of the contradiction of their own dogmatic instrument, the Confession of Augsburg, in view of the opposition of the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and other sects, any permanent solution of the points of controversy was, moreover, impossible.

Concessions such as communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy could only be made with the sanction of the whole Church. Once points of this sort were yielded there would be no more talk of a Council, and in the absence of the consensus of other nations only one more and a greater breach in the organic unity of the Church would be the consequence. Besides, a unification by compact would also lead, against the Emperor's wishes, to a complete separation from the Holy See.

Nor could anything be hoped for the political pacification of Germany from well-intentioned negotiations. As the Protestants had made use of every interval of peace only to extend their power unscrupulously, to depose bishops and to tear up the judgments of the Imperial courts, the outcome of these attempts at agreement would be a peace destructive of the Catholic religion.

In this condition of affairs the Legates pointed to the Council as the lawful and canonical means always employed in dealing with such errors; they appealed to it again in the Pope's name in order that it might be promptly set in motion. The Catholics had always desired a general assembly of the Church; quite recently the King of

Poland had asked for one through a special envoy,[1] so also had the Catholic League. The Council would strike a wholesome fear into the minds of Protestants, who would perhaps attend its sessions. The state of the world was favourable, for Charles V. and Francis I. had quite recently been showing much reciprocal friendship and had entered into negotiations for peace; the Council besides removed from the Catholic Princes all responsibility. It would thereby be highly advantageous to the house of Hapsburg, since the reference of the religious questions to the most competent tribunal also afforded the possibility of settling other affairs. At the Council the strengthening of the League of Nuremberg and the defensive operations against the Turk might be decided upon. The Emperor might, above all, conclude a final peace with France, on which the safety of Christendom depended.

Cardinal Farnese, who had already on the 17th and 23rd of March, when the prospects of peace were dwindling and the religious questions were coming to the front, asked for his recall, renewed this request on April the 21st.[2] Sent and instructed only on account of the peace, he found himself all the more incompetent to meet the situation, as he was now for the first time only beginning to understand the real position of things in Germany. If the youth of the Legate is taken into consideration, it is conceivable that he shrank from assuming responsibilities for the future and wished to see his "perilous honour" transferred to stouter shoulders.

[1] Joh. Wilamowsky, Bishop of Caminiecz; see EHSES, IV., 186, n. 2, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 94, n. 1; *cf.* DEMBINSKI, Die Beschickung des Tridentinums durch Polen, Breslau, 1883, 4.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 122. In Rome at the beginning of April the outlook was already very pessimistic. On April 5 Antella *wrote from there to the Duke of Florence: "Qui si tiene commune opinione che l' accordo fra l' imperatore et il re non debba più seguire, ma più presto l' opposito" (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263).

Farnese, however, during his legation did all that lay in his power to guard the Catholic standpoint in the question of the religious conferences. He was at the same time unwearied in exhorting the Pope to carry out real reforms in Rome, to summon the Council as soon as possible, even without France, to come to an agreement with the Catholic princes of the Empire, to nominate German Cardinals independent of the Emperor, and especially to have a more express consideration for the conditions of Germany, to which, after the first outburst of interest, less attention than was adequate had afterwards been given in Rome.[1]

The nuncios Morone and Poggio also were not backward, but all their representations to the Imperialists fell on deaf ears. The answer of the Emperor to the Legates' memorial was one of unconditional refusal: the Council was an impossibility so long as the Catholic princes did not consent and were unrepresented; the Protestants opposed any Council outside Germany, nor could the Synod impose taxation for the Turkish war subsidy.[2] The Emperor retorted on Poggio with irritation that the Council was made use of to frighten him; on that question he had not been remiss in any respect, nor would he in future expose himself to any reproach. With rising temper Charles thrice exclaimed: "His Holiness has only to declare the Council open"; whereupon he then set forth in detail that there was no prospect of a Synod at that time, that the only possible course was a convention.[3]

Morone had no better fortune with his representations addressed to King Ferdinand. All he was told was how

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 87, 98, 118, 136, 147, 148, 199, 225 *seq.*, 232.

[2] See EHSES, IV., 188 *seq.*

[3] See Poggio's report of April 24 from the original in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 192 *seqq.*

upset the Emperor and his brother had been by the memorial of April the 21st, which they had looked upon as in a certain measure a protest against them. In order to give no further offence to their Majesties, the nuncio, as well as Farnese, advised the Pope not to read the document in consistory nor to allow its publication.[1]

The Emperor urgently wished Paul III. to send a special nuncio to Spires; he let it be understood that the personage most acceptable to him would be the pacific Contarini.[2] Ferdinand, on the contrary, did not consider the appointment of a Legate necessary; he thought that Morone's presence would be sufficient.[3]

Paul III. complied with the Cardinal-Legate's petition for recall on the 24th of April; at the same time he sent him a letter of credit for his contribution to the Catholic defensive League to the amount of 50,000 ducats. His formal entrance into the League was not to take place until he had received a copy of its stipulations.[4]

The Emperor's determination with regard to the proposed negotiations at Spires was officially communicated to the Pope by the ambassador Aguilar, who took the opportunity of trying to justify this step. However much Paul III. may have trusted in the catholicity of the Hapsburg brothers, the false path they were entering on must have been regarded by him with deep displeasure.[5]

[1] See Morone's letters, April 22 and 25, in DITTRICH, 120 *seq.*, 126.

[2] See Farnese's reports of April 24 and 26, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 197 *seq.*, 201.

[3] DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 125.

[4] See GAYANGOS, VI., 1, n. 106, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 214 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 238, the letter of May 10 from Cardinal Sforza Santafiora to Farnese, with which the mandate for joining the Catholic League was sent.

[5] See EHSES, IV., 188; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 125; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 238 *seq.*

Altogether apart from the dangers bound up with conferences of this kind, the latter would always in a certain sense be injurious to the reputation of the Papacy.[1] With his habitual sagacity the Pope formed the opinion that, since his representatives were unable to hinder the religious discussion from taking place, he must, by bringing his influence to bear on its subsequent course, check any move prejudicial to the Catholic cause. He therefore gave weighty consideration to the Emperor's wish that a Legate might be sent. On the 7th of May the matter was discussed in consistory; but no decision was reached on that day.[2] The Pope was inclined to gratify Charles, all the more so as it was currently reported that the Protestant Princes would not attend the Diet of Spires.[3] Taking the short time at his disposal into consideration, he decided provisionally to give up the notion of sending a special Legate from Rome and to order Cardinal Cervini, already on his way home with Farnese, to return to the Emperor and Ferdinand, and, if necessary, to be present at Spires. In a consistory on the 12th of May this was agreed to unanimously by the Cardinals. At the same time the Pope ordered the red hat to be sent to Cervini, so that the Legate could enter on his fresh mission with the full prestige of his position.[4]

[1] *Cf.* BRISCHAR, I., 115.

[2] This assembly, which is not noted in the *Acta Consist. of the Vatican, is vouched for by Gatico's *report of May 8, 1540: Yesterday a *Consistorium* on the Spires Conference; the Pope said, "che questa cosa era di molta consideratione, pero che S. Sta giudicava che fusse bene mandarvi legati," but nothing was decided upon (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 11.

[4] The acts and briefs are in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 249 *seq.*, 252, where also there is a very complete collection of the *acta* of Cervini's legation from May to October 1540.

Cervini had got as far as the neighbourhood of Lyons when the Papal order for his return to the Imperial court reached him. After consultation with Farnese, who now presented to him the Cardinal's hat, he determined to retrace his steps to Flanders by the same way that he had come, in order to lay before Francis I. the reasons of his new mission. This he succeeded in accomplishing by the end of May at Fontainebleau; he begged at the same time the King's help in the question of religion, explained the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, which was without prejudice to the neutrality of the Holy See, and also discussed the situation regarding the peace. Francis I. gave Cervini a friendly welcome, and assured him that his representative at Spires would take his place by the side of the Papal nuncio.[1]

On the 3rd of June Cervini reached Brussels, and on the following day laid before Granvelle the grounds of his mission to the Emperor, with whom, in the last resort, the decision at Spires would lie. He also explained the Pope's hesitation in sending thither a Legate, since it was still open to question whether the latter would there occupy a position consonant with the Papal dignity. Granvelle took great pains to reassure him with regard to the programme of the convention at Spires. On the 6th of June Cervini had an audience of the Emperor, and begged him to detain the Protestants at the Convention until such time as the Catholics had united themselves together. Charles stated that he still would prefer to wait until he had received information from his brother, and thanked the Pope for his entrance into the Catholic League. Finally, the peace transactions with France were discussed.[2]

[1] See Cervini's reports of May 23, 29, and 30, 1540, in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 254, 262 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 267 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*

Simultaneously with the appointment of Cervini, in order to conciliate the Emperor as much as possible, the despatch of another Legate, and certainly of Contarini, was taken into consideration, but there was also thought of Aleander, so thoroughly versed in German affairs. The latter declined on grounds of health, and recommended very warmly his friend Contarini. A final decision was deferred until further information was received from the Imperial court.[1] This soon arrived, and was made matter of discussion in a consistory held on the 14th of May. The Cardinals at this meeting heard read aloud and discussed the declaration made by Granvelle to Cardinal Farnese before the latter left Ghent on May the 11th. They dealt with the proposed conferences with the Lutherans, the sending of a Legate to Spires, and the peace with France. Although the Pope at that very moment had bitter cause to complain of the Viceroy of Naples on account of the failure to supply Sicilian corn for the support of the Papal States, and the recall of the Spanish troops employed against the Perugian insurgents, he considered that he ought to meet the Emperor's wishes in respect of the special Legatine mission to Germany.[2] On the 21st of May this post was entrusted to Contarini.[3] Against this appointment a hidden current of opposition had been moving,[4] yet, fortunately,

[1] *Ibid.*, 253, 258 *seq.*, 418.

[2] See the important report of Sanchez of May 27, 1540, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 252–256.

[3] See Acta Consist. in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 259, n. 1, and Contarini's letter of May 29 in FRIEDENSBURG, Briefwechsel, 209. *Cf.* the *report from Ghinucci in SOLMI, Contarini, 7, and *Gatico's letter of May 22, 1540 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] Aleander speaks of this with great secrecy in his letter to Leone Maffei of May 21, 1540 (Nuntiaturberichte, V., 258). What Contarini's enemies were saying is shown in the following passage from a *letter of Marco Bracci of May 31, 1540: Contarini was to start on Friday '

without effect; for certainly the Curia contained few Cardinals who, for integrity of character, popularity, and pacific intentions, were so well qualified for this difficult task as this noble Venetian. He wrote modestly that he was well aware that the heavy burden laid upon him was far in excess of his intellectual and physical powers, but nevertheless he had accepted it joyfully, placing his trust in God, in order to prove his obedience to the Pope, and to work for God's glory[1] in this the closing term of his life.

The choice of Contarini gave general satisfaction. Sadoleto hailed it as the most joyful event of his time, and expressed the hope that if the affairs of Germany could yet after all be turned into a better course, this could only be expected from a man possessing so much wisdom and authority as Contarini.[2]

Contarini was to repair first to his see at Belluno in order to await the development of affairs in Germany, whether they would seem to make his presence at the convention expedient and were not prejudicial to the Council and the authority of the Holy See.[3] He stayed on in Rome, and was still there when Cardinal Farnese arrived on the evening of May the 31st.[4] The latter, who had returned by France, had had a very friendly reception

"Dio voglia che facci qualche cosa buona et non s' accordi con li Lutherani perche è fratello carnale di Lucifero" (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263).

[1] BECCADELLI, I., 2, 81; also DITTRICH, Regesten, 311.

[2] BECCADELLI, I., 2, 82; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 517 *seq.*

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 269 *seq.*

[4] "Hier sera arrivò il card. de Farnese in poste" (F. Peregrino from Rome, June 1, 1540, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). "Die ult. mensis maii reditus card. de Farnesio ex Gallia in urbem, noluit habere consistorium, sed sic in abscondito intravit." Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

from Francis I. He quieted the King with regard to the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, the character of which was purely defensive, and assured him that the Holy See would maintain a strict neutrality.[1] The marks of honour conferred on Farnese by the King could not, indeed, really console him for the complete failure of a mission on which he had entered with the highest expectations: he had done nothing to further the cause of peace in State or Church.

It had been at first supposed that Contarini would set out in the first days of June.[2] But this was not the case, for the news had arrived of the conclusion of peace between Venice and the Turks; consequently, the Pope had doubts whether Contarini, as a Venetian, would be *persona grata* to the Emperor. An arrangement was therefore come to with the Imperial ambassador that the Cardinal should put off his departure until this point was cleared up.[3]

No one wished for Contarini more eagerly than Morone, who, as the most capable diplomatist in the Curia, had, in accordance with the proposals of Farnese and Cervini, been appointed on the 15th of May to watch over Catholic interests at the convention of Spires.[4]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 243 *seq.*, and PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 11. According to the latter, Farnese succeeded in getting Francis I. to take precautions against the spread of the Protestant reforming movement in France. But as yet no confirmation of this statement has appeared.

[2] *Cf.* *M. Bracci's letter of May 31, 1540 (State Archives, Florence), and the *report of F. Peregrino of June 2 and of Gatico of June 5, 1540 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Farnese's letters of June 5 and 9, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 269, 281; *cf.* also SOLMI, Contarini, 8.

[4] See the credentials of May 14, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 413 *seq.*; the instructions in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 262–265, and Pap. de Granvelle, II., 583 *seq.*; *cf.* also DITTRICH, Contarini, 518, and Morone, 417.

Morone's instructions, dated May the 20th, 1540, were further supplemented by a letter from Aleander of the same day.[1] It is evident from both documents how firmly the Pope held to the Catholic standpoint. In opposition to the Emperor, who on political grounds considered the religious conferences necessary, Paul III. insisted with emphasis that such proceedings in and by themselves alone were injurious to the interests of Christendom as a whole and to the authority of the Holy See; the doctrines of the Church were not valid for one country, but for all; differences of such importance and weight as those now manifest in Germany could not, without detriment to the Church at large, be submitted to the decision of one nation. They belonged to the authoritative tribunal of the Council and the Pope, guaranteed by the experience of centuries; they ought not to be entrusted to the judgment of an assembly consisting of a few incompetent persons met together in an unsuitable place. No pressure of outward circumstances could be allowed to push into the background the responsibility for the salvation of souls, for, according to the words of the Apostle, wrong must not be done in order that good may come, or, at the very least, a wrong so great that from it would ensue general evil and destruction for neighbouring countries. Therefore the Papal representative could have no unlimited powers committed to him to make binding agreements in matters of religion. Morone was in particular strictly enjoined, in the event of anything being done at the Spires convention adverse to the dignity and rights of the Holy See, to withdraw at once from the city, without, however, going to the length of a breach with Ferdinand and the Catholic princes. In such a case he was to retire to some neighbouring town and from thence

[1] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 267, with additions in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 419 *seq.*

report on the further course of the proceedings. Even if Morone were not obliged to leave Spires, he was to keep as passive an attitude as possible and to keep aloof from all religious disputation; his action was to be limited to keeping a sharp watch on affairs, to giving advice to the Catholic princes and men of learning, to restraining them from alterations in religious matters without consent of the Holy See, and to strengthening the Catholic League.

In the meantime, owing to the prevalence of the plague in Spires, the convention was transferred to Hagenau.[1] When, on the 25th of May, Morone and Ferdinand I. arrived in the latter Imperial city at the same time, none of the princes had as yet appeared. The Catholic Estates, surprised and annoyed by the announcement of the convention, showed themselves backward in responding to it; the heads of the Schmalkaldic League had decided to keep away from the Diet.[2] The Protestants of the Oberland had at that very time held a Diet at Ulm at which it was resolved that at the assembly convened by the Emperor the "orthodox evangelical doctrine" as contained in the Confession and *apologia* of Augsburg must be steadily upheld without deviation.[3]

From all that Morone heard in Hagenau he was afraid that the Protestants would be treated in a very conciliatory

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 184 *seqq.* See also WINKELMANN, III., 51, 55 *seq.* To the documents here published may be added Morone's reports in DITTRICH, 130 *seq.*, and the important supplements in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., 421 *seqq.* The monograph of MOSES: Die Religionsverhandlungen in Hagenau und Worms, Jena, 1889, treats the subject superficially and incompletely (Histor. Jahrb., X., 661 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschr., LXIV., 292 *seq*)

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Morone, 131 *seq.*; PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 184 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, III., 52 *seq.*

[3] *Recess of the Diet of the Confederation of the Oberland at Ulm, Whitmonday, 1540 (=May 17), City Archives, Frankfort-on-Main,

way, for they were acting boldly and were better organized than the Catholics. In a report to Farnese on the 26th of May he pointed to the possibility of the proceedings being carried on to the complete exclusion of the Holy See.[1] On June the 1st he presented King Ferdinand with a brief that had just arrived. He declared as well that the Pope, although he found some discrepancy between the importance of the subject and the short time given to prepare for its discussion, had yet, relying on the Catholic feeling of the King and his brother, sent back Cardinal Cervini as Legate to the Emperor in order that he might be able to attend the convention if the negotiations there rendered such a course admissible; he might perhaps also send another Legate from Rome, having only been temporarily withheld from so doing by the short time given for preparation. In his reply Ferdinand raised weighty complaints against the Catholics, especially the ecclesiastical princes, and their evil manner of life; he bitterly reproached them for their neglect and dilatoriness in coming, so that probably the Lutherans would be first on the ground, thus introducing danger and confusion into the negotiations. On Ferdinand asking if the new Legate had full powers to arrange terms of agreement between the contending religious teachers, Morone replied that he had not, and added: "If an angel from heaven were to be sent he could not bring with him any such mandate." In other respects the Pope would give consent to all things permissible, if he were himself appealed to.[2]

At the same time Morone gave expression to his conjecture that the convention would lead only to greater confusion and, like previous diets, be the cause of further apostasy to Lutheranism. In view of such dangers he

[1] DITTRICH, Morone, 132.

[2] Morone to Farnese, June 2, 1540, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 269–273.

exerted himself in his twofold capacity as nuncio to King Ferdinand and protector of the Catholics to prevent the latter from receiving further injury; he was specially urgent in warning Bishop Stadion of Augsburg, who openly supported the administration of the chalice to the laity, the marriage of priests, and the use of the liturgy in German, to make no changes in religious usage without the approval of the Pope.[1]

A number of princes, among them the Elector Palatine, Louis, having in the meantime made their way to Hagenau, Ferdinand, on the 12th of June, opened the assembly with a proposition to which Morone raised objections, as in it, contrary to Granvelle's assurances, the Holy See was never once mentioned. This oversight, as well as the attitude of most of the Catholic princes, particularly those of ecclesiastical rank, among whom the zealous Bishop Faber of Vienna and Madruzzo of Trent were exceptions, boded no good from the assembly. A large number of the ostensibly Catholic Estates were openly inclined to surrender the Catholic position by concessions in order to purchase union with the Protestants. In this way, thought Morone, Germany might certainly be united, but the unity would be Lutheran.[2]

A special source of anxiety to the nuncio was the Elector Louis, whose counsels were almost entirely Lutheran, and who, in spite of his drunken habits, enjoyed the highest consideration among the princes. Louis openly opposed the Catholic League, while the cowardly bishops made their adhesion to the latter dependent on

[1] Report to Farnese, June 8, 1540, in DITTRICH, Morone, 138 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 425 *seq.* For Stadion, see also the report of June 2, LAEMMER, 272, and Quellen und Forschungen, IX., 150.

[2] Report to Farnese of June 15, 1540, in LAEMMER, 275 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 284.

the action of the ecclesiastical Electors. The Dukes of Bavaria and Brunswick were on the whole unfavourable to the religious discussion, against which Morone also was working. But if the latter was certainly influenced by religious motives only, the objections raised by Bavaria to the friendly negotiations proposed by the Emperor and his brother were of a political cast.[1]

This division in the Catholic party placed Morone, who had no special instructions and received no support from the majority of the ecclesiastical princes, in a very difficult position. He therefore derived great satisfaction from Contarini's appointment, the first news of which reached him on June the 11th.[2] To Cervini also, who was still with the Emperor, and who had asked him on the 9th of June if it was advisable that he should come to Hagenau, he replied on the 16th by a pressing invitation to do so.[3] King Ferdinand wished to see him there; the presence of a Legate would be of more use than that of a mere nuncio. Moreover, if Contarini, appointed on the 21st of May, were to arrive punctually to his time, there would not be even then too many representatives of Catholicism in the field. "God knows," wrote Morone on June the 19th to Farnese, "how I long for the coming of Cardinal Contarini, as I do not possess as much authority as the pressure of the time demands."[4]

To Contarini himself Morone wrote on the 19th of June and urged upon him how desirable his presence was, in agreement as it would be with the wishes of the Emperor and

[1] *Cf.* LAEMMER, 274, 277; DITTRICH, Morone, 145; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 433; RIEZLER, IV., 304.

[2] LAEMMER, 274; QUIRINI, Ep. Poli, III., cclxii.

[3] In DITTRICH, Morone, 141 *seqq.*, from the copy sent to Farnese on the same date.

[4] LAEMMER, 279 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 522.

Ferdinand.[1] The presence of a Legate, he explained later on to Cardinal Farnese, necessary as it seems to be on the one hand, has also certainly its questionable side, since there is danger in assenting to the manner of proceeding and to dissent from it is useless and odious. All are of opinion that Contarini ought to be here, in order that their Majesties may have no reason to complain of their treatment, and that the Pope may be able to say: "What more is there that I could yet have done?"[2]

The departure of Contarini from Rome. which should have taken place at the beginning of June, was at first postponed in order that there might be time to observe how things at Hagenau shaped themselves. Since the reports received from there pointed to the presence of a Legate as inopportune, Contarini's mission was at last altogether abandoned. Even Cervini, although he had been nominated in the first instance as Legate to the Diet, received an intimation to remain at the Imperial court and not to go to Hagenau.[3]

Morone thus remained there alone in the midst of his difficulties, displaying the keenest activity. As the Catholic Estates could not agree among themselves, they entrusted to Ferdinand the selection of spokesmen for them during the negotiations. He appointed the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves, the Bishop of Strassburg and Duke Louis of Bavaria. It was an unfortunate choice; the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bavaria were mortal enemies, while the latter was also averse to any agreement. The most inexplicable appointment was, however, that of

[1] See DITTRICH, Regesten, 154. Ferdinand also wrote to Contarini and asked him to hasten his journey (LAEMMER, 280; DITTRICH, Contarini, 522).

[2] Morone to Farnese, June 23, 1540; LAEMMER, 285.

[3] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 523 *seq.*

the strangely vacuous Elector Palatine, who was led entirely by his Lutheran advisers. When Morone complained of this to Ferdinand, the latter replied that he had chosen this prince only in order to have a hold on him, so that he should not become worse than he was already![1]

In the meantime the Protestant delegates had also arrived. They had been instructed to hold fast by the Recess of Frankfort, to take part in a religious discussion only if based on the form there determined upon, and to exclude from it Papal representatives. They were also strictly enjoined to adhere, if not to the words, yet to the meaning of the agreement of Schmalkald, *i.e.* to show inviolable loyalty to the Confession of Augsburg.[2] Confronted with this compact unity, the division on the Catholic side was all the more conspicuous.[3] The proposal of the princes who were acting as mediators to pass over the points adjusted at Augsburg and only to deal with those left over for settlement, was rejected by the Protestants, who clearly wished to conduct the proceedings on the basis of the unratified resolutions of Frankfort, a design which Morone did all he could to frustrate.[4]

In face of the obstinacy with which the Protestants clung to their schemes and the want of purpose on the side of the Catholics, Ferdinand resolved on the 16th of July to prorogue the conference, which after protracted discussion was dismissed on the 28th of July.

[1] *Cf.* LAEMMER, 282 *seq.*; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 191.

[2] MOSES, 34.

[3] *Cf.* WINKELMANN, III., 72 *seq.*; MOSES, 36.

[4] *Cf.* LAEMMER, 285 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, Morone, 168 *seq.* On July the 7th Morone, as his memorial says, proposed privately to the King that an international conference of sixty divines should be summoned to discuss the questions in dispute. Ferdinand expressed approval, should the Council fall through owing to the French opposition (LAEMMER, 286 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 444).

Accordingly, subject to the Emperor's approval, a "Christian colloquy" for the provisional settlement of religious affairs was to be opened at Worms on the 28th of October, to be followed by an Imperial Diet for the purpose of coming to further decisions. To this colloquy or conference each party was to send eleven members. The reception of a Papal representative, negatived at Frankfort, was left by the Protestants to the Emperor's decision, saving that, as they insisted, his primacy was not to be acknowledged. The Catholics on their part proposed that the Augsburg Confession with its *apologia* should form the ground of discussion.[1] Herein lay an important concession; for this was precisely the point to which the Protestants attached great value, since they hoped, in such a way, by a declaration of their doctrines before a great audience, to win over fresh adherents. Their rejoicing, however, over this success was not unmixed with bitterness, for they were compelled to admit to themselves that the attainment of their main object, the maintenance of the Frankfort Recess, was thus thwarted; they had not succeeded in excluding the Pope; they had failed also to carry through the double committee, the great and the small, stipulated at Frankfort, whereupon Bucer had bitterly complained that they were now willing to transfer the discussion to a "mere handful of people."[2]

But the Holy See also had grounds for viewing the arrangement of Hagenau with great dissatisfaction. It represented a defeat of the Curia,[3] inasmuch as, despite all their efforts to the contrary, a fresh discussion of the religious question was agreed to, and this on a basis which was still very unsatisfactory. Ferdinand at once

[1] RANKE, VI., 279 *seq.*

[2] See LENZ, I., 188 *seq.*; KANNENGIESSER, 9 *seq.*

[3] EGELHAAF, II., 377.

appointed the Catholic representatives; the Protestants were allowed freedom of choice. It was also unfavourable to the Catholics that Ferdinand, in making his selection, set to work without the necessary precaution. It was perceived that Morone left Hagenau with the gloomy impression that, from the course on which the two Hapsburg rulers had entered, with its religious conferences and Imperial Diets, no restoration of order in Germany could be expected, but only further and heavy losses for the Church. "Unless the Pope intervenes decisively," he wrote to Farnese on the 27th of July, "the whole of Germany will fall a prey to Protestantism."[1]

[1] See Morone's report to Farnese of July 23 and 27, 1540, in LAEMMER, 290–292, and DITTRICH, Morone, 177 *seq.*; the "danno parole alle lor M^ta^" in LAEMMER, 291, is wrongly translated by DITTRICH, Contarini, 527.

CHAPTER IX.

The Conference at Worms.

THE anxiety in Rome rose to a high pitch when the development of affairs at the Diet of Hagenau became known. It was not mere indifference which led, first to the postponement and then to the abandonment of Contarini's journey. Even the existing differences between Emperor and Pope, though impinging to some extent on the Farnese interests, had no determining influence;[1] the cause lay much deeper.

The tone of the deliberations at Hagenau, the total ignoring of the Holy See by Ferdinand I., had taken away all hope of any effectual intervention on the part of a Papal legate. It seemed doubtful whether such an emissary could play any part in the conference at all worthy of his high position. On this account even Cervini was prohibited from joining the Imperial court at Hagenau. On the identical 26th of June 1540 on which Farnese communicated to him this injunction, Contarini defined, in the name of the former, the position held by the Holy See and its plenipotentiaries towards the negotiations for agreement on the matter of religion. We must weigh well, said Contarini, the disadvantages which must accrue if the assembly were to come to any decision derogatory to the Holy See, of which the Legate would have to be a witness. The Pope already regards as an affront

[1] Here MOSES (page 38) is mistaken.

any treatment of religious questions set in motion without prior reference to him and approval on his part. Nor should it by any means be overlooked that it was only with the greatest reluctance that the Catholics went to the conference, from which his Holiness thinks that Cervini could only go to Hagenau on their pressing invitation, and on their pledge being given that they would consent to no terms of union or agreement unacceptable to the Pope, Christ's Vicar. The same pledge must be given in writing by the Emperor and the King of the Romans, otherwise the Pope considers that the presence of Cervini or of any other Legate at the conference could be of no advantage to the Church. For the rest, the Pope wishes his representative to show charity not only to Catholics but to Lutherans also, to the learned as well as to the noble, and especially to the Princes, and to make known his desire that they should return to the unity of the Church: all without reproach or expression of displeasure, for they are still sons of the Holy Father, although led into error, whom no man ought in any way to embitter.[1]

On the 13th of July Farnese, writing to Cervini, stated strongly that Paul III., owing to the course hitherto taken by the assembly at Hagenau, could not yet determine to send Contarini thither, as he did not wish to risk the honour of the Holy See.[2]

Contarini himself thoroughly approved the "weighty reasons" alleged by the Pope for his retention. "I shall always," he wrote, "be obedient to the Holy Father, who, in his great wisdom, best perceives the time for sending me."[3]

[1] See DITTRICH, Regesten, 312–313, and Contarini, 524; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 317.

[2] *Ibid.*, V., 340.

[3] BECCADELLI, I., 2, 88; DITTRICH, Contarini, 525.

The essential reason which withheld Paul III. from sending either Contarini or Cervini to Hagenau was clearly given in a letter of July the 24th, from Cardinal Farnese to Morone, in which he, at the same time, set forth the fundamental position of the Holy See towards the religious negotiations in Germany. From all that he heard of the Diet of Hagenau, especially concerning Ferdinand's proposals and efforts to secure an agreement at any price with the Lutherans, the Pope had renounced all hope of the Diet coming to a favourable issue, so that he was afraid of inflicting some fresh injury on the dignity of the Holy See, and, by the despatch of a Legate, of conferring a certain amount of authority on decisions which might easily turn to the advantage of the Lutherans.

However much, the letter goes on to say, Paul III. may desire the real union and reconciliation of the Lutherans with the Church, he recoils quite as strongly from any guarantee of concessions from which only still greater harm and division would inevitably be introduced into religious affairs. For if one of the things claimed by the Lutherans as of positive right were conceded to them, and the other points belonging to the Catholic faith were left over for the decision of the Council, thereby the essential doctrines of our religion would at once be prejudiced ; for doubt would then also be cast on what the decisions of previous councils and the authority of so many saints have established. Moreover, if the meeting of the Council were much longer deferred, it would of necessity be very difficult to avoid further concessions to the Lutherans, since the latter, taking advantage of what they had already secured, would have a very favourable opportunity for leading the people astray on cardinal points of doctrine as well. Cardinal Farnese finally reminds Morone that a one-sided change in ecclesi-

astical customs, handed down by centuries of usage in all nations of Christendom, must give rise to grievous scandal.[1]

A letter of the 19th of August from Farnese to Cervini shows how great was the Pope's dissatisfaction at the outcome of the Hagenau Conference. In clear and concise terms the dangers of such conventions are set out and the Legate enjoined to make efforts for the transference of religious questions from such assemblies to the Diet of the Empire, where the sound Catholic feeling of the Emperor would afford hope for better results. If Charles V. did not act upon his representations, the Legate was at least to try and bring him to consent to a diminution in the number of disputants, so as to check the introduction of the more suspicious elements of debate. He must also ask the Emperor not to leave the choice of deputies merely to the Princes, and to provide that men of eminent learning like Eck and Pighius should take part in the deliberations, certainly, if possible, in the official number of disputants, or else as his representatives or in some other capacity. For the reasons already given, the Pope had renounced the idea of sending men of learning to the Diet, especially as his representatives might perhaps not even obtain admission or a hearing, and thus at the utmost be witnesses of decisions inimical to the Papacy, a danger which Ferdinand himself had in view when he advised the Pope not to send envoys to the assembly in any official capacity. Nevertheless, as a proof of goodwill, the Holy Father would have suitable persons in readiness should the case arise in which the Emperor wished to make use of their services in his own name or for the common good. Yet the Pope was cherishing a confidant expectation that it would

[1] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 294 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, V., 455 *seq.*

all come to nothing, and that the Emperor of his own accord would reject the conference.[1]

This was certainly a vain hope. In spite of all Cervini's protests, Charles V., in the middle of August 1540, gave his assent to the conference on religion settled upon in the Recess of Hagenau; he declared, however, that the decisions of the latter were not to be finally binding, but would be referred to the decision of the Imperial Diet, which he hoped to attend. The Emperor further expressed his strong opinion that the dangers of religious discussion would be greatly lessened if the Pope would send a nuncio and his theologians to Worms, which the Recess of Hagenau certainly left him at liberty to do. If this were done, then he and his brother for their part would also appoint commissaries who could then co-operate with the Pope's representatives in order to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory ending.[2]

The Cardinal-Legate Cervini and the nuncio Poggio strongly advised the Pope, for the avoidance of greater dangers, to send a Legate, accompanied by competent theologians, to Worms. Cervini named Contarini as acceptable to all, and in a conversation with Granvelle, of which Poggio gives an account on the 10th of August, the former also suggested Contarini. "If the Pope does not decide to send a Legate and learned men," wrote Poggio, "to the conference, then the whole of Germany, indeed the whole of Christendom, will think that his Holiness does not trouble himself about religion and this nation, as many have already openly declared."[3]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 374–376.

[2] For Cervini's report, *ibid.*, V., 407 *seq.*, and Santio's report to Morone of Aug. 15, 1540, in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 645 *seq.*

[3] Cervini's letter of Aug. 10, 1540, in Nuntiaturberichte, V., 367, that of Poggio in DITTRICH, Morone, 202.

Paul III. was in an extremely difficult situation. On the one hand, the reasons which had prohibited the mission of Contarini to Hagenau held equally good for the assembly appointed to be held at Worms; on the other hand, it seemed a very dangerous proceeding to let the development of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany take its own course and to accustom the princes and peoples more and more to the idea that even without the Pope the affairs of religion could be carried on.

Forbearance towards the fundamentally unsuccessful efforts of the two Hapsburgs was also called for by the miserable condition of divided Germany and the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of holding an œcumenical council under such conditions. To these circumstances was added yet another; in the teeth of much Protestant opposition, it had been settled in the Recess of Hagenau that the Emperor might invite Papal plenipotentiaries to Worms. Now, if the latter did not appear, it would look as if the Protestants in this matter had come out victorious, and the absence of Papal representatives would thus assume the character of their exclusion.[1]

The Pope referred these difficult questions to the opinion of Cardinals Ghinucci, Contarini, and Aleander. The latter knew well that in order to avert the threatening dangers there was only one choice left, to send as quickly as possible a Legate to Germany. On the 5th of September they united in proposing that Contarini should be entrusted with the post. As his theological advisers they recommended the General of the Franciscan Conventuals, the Benedictine Abbot, Gregorio Cortese, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Pedro Ortiz, and Marcantonio Flaminio.[2]

[1] PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 11.

[2] DITTRICH, Contarini, 532 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Morone, 206 n.

Contarini had already made preparations for his departure on the 6th of September in order first of all to visit the Pope at Viterbo, when, on the evening of the 5th, instructions from Farnese arrived that the three Cardinals might propose a prelate, not being a member of the Sacred College. Paul III. was here meeting the wishes of Charles V., who, as Aguilar, the Imperial ambassador, had explained on September the 4th, wished a Cardinal-Legate only at the forthcoming Diet of the Empire, and at the Conference of Worms a simple prelate but with good qualifications. On the 6th of September their choice fell on Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre.[1]

The Pope had at first misgivings, as he was afraid that Campeggio, as brother of the Cardinal, might perhaps be looked upon unfavourably in Germany.[2] He would have preferred to have sent Bishop Giberti of Verona, but most probably put his appointment aside as his French leanings would have made him the less acceptable to Charles.[3] Finally, he nominated Tommaso Campeggio on the 1st of October as nuncio for the colloquy of Worms. His theologians were to be Gregorio Cortese, Tommaso Badia, the Frenchman, Pierre Girard, and the "Scottish Doctor," Robert Wauchope, Archbishop-designate of Armagh. Out of consideration for the Protestants the Orders had been

[1] *Cf.* CORTESII, Opera, I., 53; DITTRICH, Contarini, 534 *seq.*, and Regesten, 134; SOLMI, Contarini, 9–10. Also *the letter of L. Strozza, Rome, Sept. 20, 1540 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] DITTRICH, Contarini, 535.

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 11, n. 9; DITTRICH, Contarini, 536. On Oct. 16, 1540, Morone wrote to Farnese that King Ferdinand had complained to him of the Pope's partiality for the King of France, and had also spoken of Giberti's nomination to the conference as a proof of this (DITTRICH, Morone, 220 *seq.*).

excluded.[1] In addition, the ordinary nuncios to Charles and Ferdinand, Morone and Poggio, were ordered to proceed to Worms.[2]

Campeggio left Rome on the 8th of October;[3] the instructions which he carried with him were couched in significant terms. Although it was not only impossible for the Pope to approve but even necessary for him to repudiate negotiations of this kind, in which religion was made the subject of debate, since they were set on foot without the consent of the Holy See, yet it was his desire to follow the example of Him of whom he was the unworthy representative, and who for the sake of mankind had brought down His majesty to the depths of humiliation. At Worms Campeggio was, in the first instance, to associate himself closely with Morone and to allow himself to be enlightened by the latter's thorough knowledge of German affairs. In his intercourse with Catholics whose faith was shaken he was recommended to observe the greatest caution; before all things Campeggio must be swift to hear and slow to speak. Faithful Catholics the nuncio will support and advise; towards Protestants also he will show friendliness and kindness and yet demonstrate by his whole behaviour that this

[1] See Acta Consist. in MORAN, Spicil. Ossor., I., 13, and PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 138; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 475 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 536 *seq.*; SOLMI, Contarini, 10. L. Strozza *reports on Oct. 2, 1540, that Campeggio's selection had been made "non senza maraviglia di molti" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For Wauchope see MORAN, Spicil., I., 13 *seq.*; BELLERHEIM, Irland, II., 70, and Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXIII., 438 *seqq.*

[2] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 139, and Nuntiaturberichte, V., 476.

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 479. Cervini returned directly to Rome, as L. Strozza informed Cardinal E. Gonzaga, on Oct. 9, 1540 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). He was received in Consistory on the 15th; see *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives, Vatican.

conciliatory temper does not result from weakness or mistrust of his own cause, but from apostolic charity. Campeggio and his colleagues are not to enter into any disputations, since they have been sent not for the sake of verbal strife or to give decisions, but only to attend the assembly in compliance with the request of Charles and Ferdinand. To take counsel with the Catholics, to be peaceably disposed towards the Protestants, and to examine their projects judiciously, to receive all proposals of agreement solely for the purpose of fully reporting them pending the decision of Rome, and, finally, to take care that the position of the Church was not yet further impaired,—such was the task assigned to them at Worms.[1]

The Emperor appointed his minister and most trusted counsellor Granvelle to act as commissary at Worms, and conferred upon him large discretionary powers. The functions of Presidents of the Estates were given to the nominees of the Electors of Mayence and of the Palatinate, of Duke Louis of Bavaria, and of the Bishop of Salzburg. Although Granvelle was known to be very conciliatory towards the Protestants, the latter showed no inclination

[1] The instruction is not correctly given in RAYNALDUS, 1540, n. 54–56 (*ibid.* also for the accompanying briefs for Campeggio of Oct. 1, and for A. Pighius and Ant. Granvelle of Oct. 4), and in HOFFMANN, Nova Script. collectio, I., 589 *seqq.* The date here given, Oct. 5, is correct; not so that of Oct. 11 in Raynaldus. The 5th is also found in the copies in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (see PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 11) and in Pieper's (Nuntiaturen, 140, n. 1) sources, in the copy in the State Archives at Munich (Instruct. nunt. apost., I., 535–550) and in collection originating from Naples (Instrutt. diverse di Paolo III.), which I inspected in 1887 at St. Goar the antiquarian, Frankfort-on-Main. In the Graziana Archives of Città di Castello (Istruzioni, I., 317) is a manuscript of the instruction, also with the date of Oct. 5, 1540, and the following notice: "Discesserunt [Campeggio and his companions] postridie id est die 6 Octobris."

on their part to make concessions. In a gathering of their theologians and statesmen at Gotha at the end of October, it was resolved, in opposition to the many tricks of "the Papists," to adhere simply and without further explanation to the articles of the Confession of Augsburg, to give way on no single point, and with regard to any concessions contained in the agreement of Augsburg, to dismiss them from their memory. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony expressly instructed his envoys that, in the event of any of the Protestant Estates declaring themselves ready to yield, they were to offer a steady opposition, regardless even of the possibility of schism. He commanded them to hold fast to the resolutions of Schmalkald, to decline the Council convoked by Paul III., and to repudiate any primacy of the Pope.[1]

When Campeggio entered Worms on the 4th of November he found the beginning of negotiations was still a long way off. Having made his journey with sanguine hopes,[2] he very soon found that the Protestants were making all their efforts, not to secure unity but to gain time in order to win over fresh adherents, wherein they derived great advantage from the exclusive character of their proceedings. Three things in particular, Campeggio thought, were obstacles to the return of the Protestants to obedience: their fear of the superior power of the Hapsburgs, concern lest, after reunion, they should have to contribute to the Turkish defence funds, and unwillingness to make restitution of Church property.[3]

Granvelle, detained by affairs of state, did not reach

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 200; MOSES, 61 *seq.*

[2] Campeggio's optimism was strengthened by the friendly reception given him by the Protestants on his journey (see DE LEVA, III., 401).

[3] See Campeggio's letter of Nov. 6, 1540, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 302; *cf.* also Farnese's *letter to Poggio of Nov. 27, 1540. Original in Chigi Library, Rome, L, III., 65.

Worms until the 22nd of November. On the 25th he opened the conference in the Emperor's name, with a speech exhorting to peace; to this a reply was made on the following day by Johann Gropper on behalf of both parties. Campeggio, on the advice of the Imperialists, was not present on the 25th, but contented himself with having his place reserved for him.[1]

On the 27th Morone also arrived. The Protestants at once spread the report that he had come to put a stop to any plan of union.[2] Even Granvelle shared this suspicion,[3] which Morone, in a letter to Farnese on December the 5th, emphatically declared to be groundless. "If," he writes, "I now say, with just grounds for doing so, that we must proceed with caution, and if I refer to the unfriendly intentions of our opponents, by whom we have been disappointed up to the last, my remarks are taken to mean that I wish to put hindrances in the way of this conference."[4]

These assurances on Morone's part found as little credence with Granvelle, who favoured, from political motives, an agreement at any price, as his warnings against the Protestant schemes. When he laid before the Imperialist minister a document throwing a sinister light on the aims of the Protestants, Granvelle questioned its authenticity, thereby disclosing that he thought Morone capable of a fabrication in order to upset the negotiations. The nuncio in reply said pointedly that the fraud was not on the Papal but on the Protestant side.[5]

[1] See PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 12; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 203 *seq.*; GULICK, Gropper, 70.

[2] *Cf.* Corp. Ref., III., 1184.

[3] *Cf.* Wauchope's report, Dec. 9, 1540, in MORAN, Spicil. Ossor., I., 19.

[4] RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., VI., 293; *cf.* Zeitschr. für Kichengesch., III., 651 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 640, and Histor. Jahrb., X., 661.

[5] Morone's letter of Dec. 5, 1540, in RANKE, VI., 294 *seq.*

In order to quash the report that the Papal representatives wished to prevent the conference, Morone thought at first that it would be well if Campeggio were to address the Estates, exhorting them to religious peace. Granvelle shared this view, but afterwards hesitated from fear of offending the Lutherans, who might bring forward a violent protest against the Holy See. Even Morone, as well as Campeggio, became at last convinced that the advantages of such an appeal would not counterbalance the danger that might thereby be incurred. But when Granvelle once more changed his mind and urged Campeggio with all his might to address the Estates, the latter was weak enough to give in.[1] On the 8th of December the wished-for oration was delivered. In substance it ran as follows: The bond of unity is love; this is the new law of our Lord, whereby His disciples are known. If this commandment had constantly been borne in mind, Germany would not have been visited for twenty years with accursed wrangling and strife, hatred and disunion, calumnies and blasphemies, war, bloodshed, and every form of misery. The Pope, burning to do away with this evil, had found entreaties, exhortations, embassies unavailing; the "free Christian Council" itself, summoned to Vicenza by Paul III., was ineffectual, for it was virtually unattended. This conference must now be the forerunner of the Council, and therefore I enjoin upon you peace and reconciliation.[2]

In order to curry favour with the Protestants, Granvelle had assigned to Campeggio an inferior place; also, in the

[1] See Morone's reports of Dec. 5 and 12, 1540, in RANKE, IV., 294, 296. That Granvelle at last compelled Campeggio to speak is stated by Wauchope in his report to the Pope on Dec. 9, 1840, in MORAN, Spicil., I., 19.

[2] Corp. Ref., III., 1193 *seq.*

course of the address, he did not uncover his head at the mention of the Pope's name, while he did so when that of the Emperor occurred. Campeggio, moreover, had to be a witness of the long deliberations in his presence over the answer to be given to his speech. Melanchthon had prepared a sharp protest against the Pope's claim to decide on the religious question, and Granvelle had with difficulty prevented him from reading it. In the dry reply which Campeggio at length received he was simply informed that his Christian exhortation was acknowledged and that all would be done that was serviceable to the cause of peace. The Pope was not mentioned once, and when Campeggio at last withdrew he was followed by ironical laughter from the Protestants.[1] Morone in indignation reported to Cardinal Farnese: "Unheard of! The Lutherans have succeeded in omitting all mention of the Pope as though he were the Turk, or, as they say, Antichrist."[2] From the highly coloured account sent by Campeggio to Rome one would almost infer that he was perfectly unconscious of the humiliation and annoyance to which he had been exposed.[3]

Campeggio's unfitness for the task entrusted to him is otherwise made evident. At first he was so completely possessed by his fatal illusions that Provost Hötfilter, of Lübeck, wrote: "The good prelate is under the impression that everything can be put right by easy manners and pleasant speeches."[4] When Morone pointed out to him the harsh reality he was much annoyed. The

[1] See Cruciger's report in Corp. Ref., III., 1124 *seq.* *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 206; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 148, with the corrections in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, 1884, 587; DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., X., 662.

[2] Letter of Dec. 12, 1540, in RANKE, VI., 296.

[3] Campeggio's letter of Dec. 9, 1540, in Histor. Jahrb., X., 662.

[4] DITTRICH, Contarini, 546.

antagonism between the two Papal diplomatists became more and more apparent; Morone declared that he could not work together with Campeggio, and might also have pleaded on his own behalf that the latter alone was vested with full Papal authority. Morone, who felt deeply aggrieved, reproached Campeggio with imparting his counsels to anybody and everybody; and even if this and other accusations require to be considerably discounted, there yet can be no doubt that Campeggio was unequal to his post. Bishop Bernardo Santio of Aquila, who happened to be at Worms at the time,[1] also came to the same conclusion.

While the actual representative of Paul III. was thus reduced to play a very subordinate part in the conference, Morone's influence at Worms was great, although he kept strictly within the limits of his position as nuncio to Ferdinand I. In this capacity he left nothing undone to protect Catholic interests from further detriment, heedless of Granvelle's accusations that he was damaging the conference when, in pursuance of his duty, he called attention to the dangers inherent therein and endeavoured to safeguard the Catholics.[2] As a thorough-going opponent of discussions on the truths of religion by mere theologians in which even laymen might participate, he adduced on every opportunity, in the most emphatic way, the disadvantages which must arise from such debates. But this was no reason for describing him as an opponent of any union whatever. Like his sovereign, the Pope, Morone undoubtedly was also in favour of union, but such a union

[1] *Cf.* LAEMMER, 330. For Morone's charges against Campeggio in his letter to Farnese of Feb. 7, 1541, see Histor. Jahrb., IV., 430 *seq.*

[2] See Morone's reports in RANKE, VI., 298, 299 *seq.*, 306, 309 *seqq.* Morone was strongly supported by the staunch Catholic Dr. Braun (see Histor. Jahrb., IV., 400; XIV., 532).

only as was reconcilable with Catholic principles.[1] This was the dividing line between his position and Granvelle's. The latter, for political reasons, was striving after a positive result, and therefore overlooked many things. Morone was also in diametrical opposition to many Catholic men of learning with whom, as he justly complained, the schemes of their secular masters were of paramount authority, and thus theology became subservient to human passions.[2]

Morone's position was rendered still more difficult by the separation[3] of the German from the Papal theologians, and by the appearance at Worms of the Bishop of Capo d' Istria, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, who intruded himself uninvited into the negotiations.[4]

As Granvelle concurred in the slighting treatment of Campeggio, and indeed to a certain extent was its instigator, the Protestants boldly approached the preliminary discussions over the form of the conference with demands of

[1] DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., X., 661.

[2] Letter of Jan. 12, 1540, in BECCADELLI, I., 2, 100, and in LAEMMER, 325.

[3] See Badia's complaint in QUIRINI, III., 260 *seq.*

[4] It is impossible to say with certainty, from the materials at hand, what Vergerio's task at Worms actually consisted in. There is a good deal which points to intervention in the interest of Francis I. and to the detriment of an agreement (*cf.* DITTRICH in Index lect. Lycei Hos., 1879; DITTRICH, Contarini, 542; Histor. Jahrb., X., 662; HUBERT, 7, 243). The statement of Sleidan, afterwards repeated by Pallavicini and in our own day by Moses (p. 91 *seq.*), that Vergerio came to Worms at the Pope's command, is not warranted by any evidence (*cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 12; BRISCHAR, I., 117 *seq.*; DE LEVA, III., 406). *Farnese's letter to Poggio of Feb. 28, 1541 (Chigi Library, Rome), given in Appendix 34, is conclusive. In this the leader of the Papal policy remarks that the Pope had done his best to have Vergerio removed from Germany. The Imperialists ought simply to have sent him away and not have unjustly complained of the Pope (*cf.* also the Mantuan report in SOLMI, Contarini, 74).

a very comprehensive character. These concerned the notarial oath, the observance of secrecy as to the proceedings, and the submittal to the Emperor of the original acts of the conference. Since Granvelle, compliant on all other points—he still confirmed the continuance of Protestant preaching in Worms,—stood firm on these questions, the Protestants were obliged to give way.[1] Nevertheless, the Catholic position was a very precarious one; they were far from being united. Bavaria and Mayence were the only really staunch Catholic states; the other representatives of the old faith were mostly very lax—some openly evinced their leanings towards the new.[2]

In Hagenau each of the two opposing parties was permitted to have eleven votes. While the Protestants had freedom of choice, Ferdinand at once designated the Catholic representatives. Their places were allotted accordingly: the three ecclesiastical Electors, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, Duke William of Juliers, the Archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg, and, lastly, the Bishop of Strasburg. But the Elector of Brandenburg had now openly joined the Protestants, while the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Juliers were so strongly inclined to Lutheranism that hardly any doubt could exist as to their attitude. Thus there remained only eight Catholic votes, three more of which, at the same time, were not firmly Catholic; the Protestants could count on fourteen votes, if not more, for certain. Thus on a ballot of the twenty-two deputies the Catholics were bound to be completely outvoted. In order to prevent this, Morone made every effort in his power; he proposed, instead of

[1] *Cf.* MOSES, 74 *seq.* For the Protestant preaching, see WINKELMANN, III., 148.

[2] *Cf.* Wauchope's report of Dec. 9, 1540, in MORAN, Spicil., I., 19.

an oral conference, an interchange of written opinions, and was assiduous in impressing upon Granvelle the dangers accompanying an appeal to the vote. The Imperial minister could not turn a deaf ear to these representations; he therefore pronounced himself also in favour, in the first place, of written communications, and sought by means of separate consultations to unite the Catholic representatives in an orthodox declaration on the articles of belief first to be brought under consideration, relating to original sin and justification. This showed that the apprehensions with regard to Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Juliers were thoroughly justified; for their representatives now declared that their views on the articles in question were in agreement with those of the Protestants.

The latter were naturally anxious to secure this advantage; they therefore refused to hear of any alteration of the Recess of Hagenau, and insisted on an open debate.[1] At the end of December Morone was afraid that they would gain their point.[2]

On the 30th of December Granvelle made, in fact, a fresh proposal indicative of a retreat. The eleven heads of each party were certainly to meet, but only one from each side was to speak and argue, in the name of all; the others were afterwards to be permitted to add somewhat to the speeches of their principal spokesmen.[3]

The keen insight of Morone at once perceived the danger to the Catholic cause concealed in this proposal, as it left room for verbal negotiations and also indirectly for the dangerous recourse to the vote on questions of religious belief; he therefore plied Granvelle with earnest counter-

[1] PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 207 *seq.*; MOSES, 78 *seqq.*, 86 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* his letter of Dec. 28, 1540, in RANKE, VI., 312.

[3] See MOSES, 96.

arguments. With reference to the Lutheran sympathies of three out of the eleven Catholic representatives, he observed that the declarations of the chief spokesmen ought only to be supplemented by others if a majority of the party considered it necessary; also the supplementary points should be brought forward only by the chief speakers themselves. At first Granvelle refused to listen; although, he rejoined, learned canonists declared that a conference might be held in writing as well as by word of mouth, he still thought it best to adhere to the resolution of Hagenau, as was also the Emperor's wish. He had besides made his fresh proposal after consulting Campeggio, whose objections were by no means so strong as Morone's. As the conversation proceeded Granvelle grew more and more excited. Morone replied to him firmly and calmly.[1] The result of the interview was a new proposal on Granvelle's part, on the 2nd of January 1541, in which the nuncio's fears were to a certain extent taken into account. Only members of the majority on each side would be allowed to add anything to the statements already made, in their name, by the chief speakers; the views of the minority would be transmitted to the Imperial commissary to be dealt with at his discretion.[2]

Morone was at first completely set at rest by this turn of affairs, and had reported to Rome that the danger of the ballot was averted. Afterwards he had renewed apprehensions, which only to some extent disappeared on Granvelle's informing him that in the event of the conference taking a bad turn he could have it dissolved in a moment. In consequence of the Emperor's proximity he had only to obtain from him the written notification of what he thought necessary. Granvelle promised solemnly that in this

[1] Morone's report of Jan. 2, 1541, in RANKE, VI., 312–315.

[2] Corp. Ref., IV., 5 *seq.*

contingency he would allow nothing to be done to the detriment of the Catholic cause.[1]

On the 5th of January the Protestants accepted the proposal that the disputation should be conducted by each of the two chief speakers, but demanded that after they had spoken the rest of the deputies on both sides should be allowed to give utterance to their views.[2] If this were agreed to, then the representatives of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Juliers would make open declaration of their Protestantism and thus their party would be able to boast themselves of the victory.[3] The representatives of Bavaria and Mayence therefore declared such a concession inadmissible, though Granvelle tried in vain to tranquillize them by new proposals. They went even further than Morone, with whom in other respects they were in closest understanding.[4] Granvelle was in despair; as before, he threatened the Papal representatives even now with a national council, but this they saw was no more than a device to intimidate them.[5]

In consequence of the obstinacy of the representatives of Bavaria and Mayence, Granvelle at last lost patience. He requested the Emperor on the 11th of January 1541 to send him the order to dissolve the assembly, as under the existing circumstances the conference could only make their differences more acrimonious.[6]

[1] See Morone's reports of Jan. 2 and 6, 1541, in RANKE, VI., 318, 320–321.

[2] See ROEDER, De colloquio Wormat., Norimb., 1744, 121 *seq.*, and also FRIEDENSBURG in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXIII., 115.

[3] *Cf.* Campeggio's letter of Jan. 13, 1541; better in BECCADELLI, I., 2, 106 *seq.*, than in copy by SCHULZE in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 648.

[4] See Morone's testimony in BECCADELLI, I., 2, 96, 101.

[5] See BECCADELLI, I., 2, 100; RANKE, VI., 307 *seq.*

[6] FRIEDENSBURG in Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXIII., 116, is the first to put these proceedings in a clear light.

Such a step had been expected by penetrating observers at the beginning of the year.[1] Since Granvelle was certain that he would receive the wished-for mandate, he could now listen to all the suggestions made to him. How he succeeded in detail in overcoming all obstacles so that, at the last hour, the conference was yet enabled to make a start, is not known; probably Bavaria and Mayence were admitted into the secret.[2] The Protestants declared themselves satisfied with the concession that all their deputies should be allowed to speak. Morone thought this would be favourable to the Catholic side, as in all probability there would be a recrudescence of the old controversy between Melanchthon and Bucer on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Against Melanchthon it was proposed to put up Eck as speaker; no one on the Catholic side would venture to rise in debate against him. In this way the danger was obviated of the Brandenburg, Palatine, and Juliers delegates giving vent to their Protestant views. Morone might assert with justifiable satisfaction that he had done all he could to avert the dangerous procedure of casting votes on matters of belief and to give another direction to affairs.[3]

Thus on the morning of the 14th of January 1541 the conference on religion summoned for October the 28th, 1540, was able to make a beginning. The basis of discussion was the Confession of Augsburg, the language of debate the Latin tongue. Eck, who in the morning had already had a conversation with Campeggio, observed pertinently at the very outset that the copy of the Confession lying

[1] See the *letter of the Frankfort deputy, Ogier van Melem, dat. Worms, Jan. 3, 1541; City Archives, Frankfort on Main, Gesprächshandlung zu Worms, f. 81.

[2] FRIEDENSBURG, *loc. cit.*, 126 note.

[3] See Morone's report of Jan. 12 in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 327.

before them differed from that presented at Augsburg. Melanchthon tried to shelve this critical point by explaining, not entirely in conformity with the truth, that the discrepancies did not touch the sense but only the letter of the document.

Upon the first article of the Confession, on the Holy Trinity, there was unanimity; not so with regard to the second, on original sin. The disputation here turned particularly on the Protestant assertion that even the first wholly involuntary movements of concupiscence are actual sins.[1]

After four days spent in heated controversy over original sin, Granvelle had a formula of agreement on this doctrine drawn up, on the 17th of January, by Eck, Mensing, Melanchthon, and Bucer, which was accepted by Catholics and Protestants, by the latter certainly with the reservation that with regard to the development and grounds of the dogma they appealed to the declarations of Melanchthon.

On the following day Granvelle made known the mandate of the Emperor, which in the meantime he had received, whereby the assembly of Worms was adjourned to the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, where Charles in person intended to set his hand to the restoration of religious peace in Germany. A general feeling prevailed that a turning-point of great importance had been reached.[2]

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 215 *seq.*

[2] "If no agreement is come to at Ratisbon it is all over with Germany," says a *letter from Chuonradus to the Frankfort deacon, Joh. Hoffmann, of Jan. 26, 1541; City Archives of Frankfort on Main, Bartholomäusstift, No. 3857.

CHAPTER X.

The Mission of Contarini to Germany.—The Diet of Ratisbon.

During the assembly at Worms a widespread conviction had gained ground that at the Diet of Ratisbon the Pope must be represented by a Cardinal-Legate with fuller authority or even by two Cardinals. Such a wish was expressed on the 15th of December 1540 by the Bishop of Aquila, Bernardo Santio, in a letter from Worms to Farnese and Cervini.[1] After an interview with Granvelle, who had also asked for the presence of at least two Cardinals at the Diet, he remarks in another letter to Farnese of the same date,[2] that no good result can be expected from the "colloquium" or from the Imperial Diet if the Pope does not send thither some distinguished personage also acceptable to the Emperor; Farnese himself, for instance, or Cardinal Cervini or Ghinucci, or a man of the stamp of Carafa, or finally, Contarini or Sadoleto, in both of whom great confidence is placed in Germany.

Granvelle again recurred in conversation with Morone and Campeggio to the request that one or more Legates might be sent with more ample authority and powers.[3] In this connection he made special mention of Contarini

[1] Laemmer, Mon. Vat., 309.

[2] Dittrich, Regesten, 136 *seq.*; *cf.* Dittrich, Contarini, 542 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Dittrich, Contarini, 544 *seq.*, 546 *seq*

and Cardinal Fregoso.[1] Even Morone himself insisted on the necessity of sending Legates, since the nuncios "did not suffice, and neither had enough favour nor prestige."[2] Campeggio and Poggio expressed the same opinion.[3]

The Imperialists' demand for Legates was certainly grounded on reasons other than those of the nuncio. The former wished for the presence of the Pope's representatives with the fullest powers possible in order that they might confirm decisions in whatever way they were drawn up. On the contrary, Morone thought that only by the presence of the Legates could harmful and dangerous decisions be prevented, while mere nuncios could not bring the necessary influence to bear upon the Emperor.

Contarini, who throughout the whole duration of the assembly at Worms had been ordered to hold himself in readiness to depart on his mission, and to whom all reports of the nuncio from Worms had been made known,[4] had in the meantime arrived in Rome before the last letter from Worms had reached there. Already on the 8th of January 1541 Farnese announced to the nuncio Poggio the Pope's decision and the approaching departure of Contarini.[5] On the 10th of January Paul III. appointed the latter in consistory his *Legatus a latere* for Germany.[6] The noble Venetian accepted the task joyfully; he had no

[1] Morone to Farnese from Worms, Jan. 10, 1541, in LAEMMER, 324, and in DITTRICH, Regesten, 140. *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 544.

[2] DITTRICH, Regesten, 140.

[3] See LAEMMER, 340, 341.

[4] DITTRICH, Contarini, 538.

[5] *Ibid.*, 547 *seq.* The letter in Hist. Jahrb., IV., 648 *seqq.*

[6] Extract from the Consistorial acts in DITTRICH, Regesten, 140. *Cf.* letter of Farnese to Poggio of Jan. 31, 1541, in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 652; Massarelli, *Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 415; SOLMI, Contarini, 17.

competitor in Rome for the post, for this Legation was the most arduous of all; so much so that the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara thought it was almost impossible to bring it to an end with honour.[1]

The appointment of Contarini—from the strictly ecclesiastical point of view in itself a great concession[2]—shows that the Pope on his part was doing his utmost to enable Charles to bring the proposed negotiations to a happy issue.[3] In the Imperial court at Spires the most sanguine expectations were cherished. Charles hoped that the purity of mind, the dignified bearing and the transparent sincerity of life of this eminent Cardinal would, without fail, impress the Protestants and induce them to make greater concessions than they had hitherto done;[4] what was to be conceded the Imperialists did not divulge. Strange was the suggestion made by Granvelle to the Papal nuncio; he asked, in fact, that a sum of money should be sent to Germany by the Pope, so that in this way the Protestants might be enticed into a return to the Church. But Paul III. refused, considering such a proceeding dangerous and far from honourable.[5]

The confident expectations of the Imperialists regarding the outcome of the proceedings of Ratisbon were shared by Campeggio and Poggio, who in other respects as well cherished much too sanguine hopes of German affairs.[6] Morone was of a very different opinion; before he left

[1] See in Appendix No. 31 the *despatch of Ruggieri of Jan. 12, 1541 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] Rightly emphasized by BEZOLD, p. 732; *cf.* p. 731.

[3] See RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 101.

[4] See LAEMMER, 345, 347; DITTRICH, Regesten, 143; VETTER, 26.

[5] See LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 338; Histor. Jahrb., IV., 653, 656, 661 *seq.*, 664; DITTRICH, Contarini, 548 *seq.*

[6] See LAEMMER, 352, 353 *seq.*

Worms he invited three of the most prominent Protestant preachers, Melanchthon, Capito, and Sturm, to his house, and earnestly recommended to them unity and moderation, but in the course of the interview it was borne in upon him that they were resolutely averse to any steps towards union. It was also a sinister omen that when he reached Ratisbon on the 31st of January Morone found that not one of the princes had yet come thither.[1]

The Emperor, detained by an attack of gout, reached Ratisbon on the 23rd of February, but was obliged to wait some time longer before the Estates assembled. From Granvelle's communications Morone received the impression that the Emperor would work for unification at any price, as he was anxious to obtain aid against the Turks.

To Campeggio, whose departure was fixed for the 25th of February, his presence at Ratisbon not being considered necessary, Morone drily remarked that he need inform the Pope of one thing only, that it would do no great harm to expect nothing from the approaching Diet. Morone abstained from stating the reasons for this pessimistic outlook, as he knew that Campeggio was possessed by diametrically opposite views, but on the same day he explained them in a letter to Farnese. The Emperor, he there declared, has not the power sufficient to settle the religious difficulties; besides, he is in pressing need of assistance against the Turks. To obtain this he must, first of all, in order to secure the peace of Germany, shut his eyes to many particulars affecting the Catholic cause, forgo the restitution of the confiscated Church property, and suspend the high courts, or at least admit Protestants to their deliberations. In questions of religion, on which the Emperor was

[1] Histor. Jahrb., IV., 429 *seq.* Why Morone's report is marked "Claudius" has at last been explained by EHSES in Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 293 *seq.*

dependent on his ministers and which in many points he did not even clearly understand, he would unite with the Protestants on the so-called positive articles and endeavour to bring the Legates and the Pope to acquiesce, but agreement on the essential article he would relegate to a Council, the holding of which would be very doubtful. Thus in a short time, under the outward semblance of success, the ruin of religion and of the entire discipline of the Church would ensue.[1]

A few days before, Wauchope had also warned Farnese from Nuremberg of the dangers of the religious conferences. The past had taught them that the Protestants encouraged such negotiations only as levers for further apostasy from the Church and as means of facilitating the capture of the people to doctrines which were publicly avowed and defended.[2]

That Morone and Wauchope did not take too gloomy a view is evident from the fact that even the Venetian ambassador Marino Giustiniano came to the same conclusion. In his very interesting report on the Emperor's position this acute observer remarks as follows: Three members of the Electoral College are favourably disposed towards the new ecclesiastical order: Brandenburg openly, the Elector Palatine and the Archbishop of Cologne secretly. The position of four others is such that they would never consent to a compact of union; they are the two Dukes of Bavaria, their brother, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and, lastly, Cleves. The three first are good Catholics and would do all for their faith, but at the same time nothing is more antagonistic to them than the Emperor's power. Since, then, an increase of strength to the latter would be the immediate result of the unification of Germany, they will

[1] Histor. Jahrb., IV., 435 *seq.*

[2] LAEMMER, 356.

make every effort to render such unification impossible, and that indeed all the more as they hope, in the intestine war which would subsequently break out, to make themselves masters of the cities of Ratisbon and Augsburg. Therefore the Ratisbon conference will either lead to no unification or else to some result injurious to the Pope.[1]

Morone was also well acquainted with the motives by which the Bavarian Dukes were led to their hostile attitude towards any agreement. Therefore, in his interviews with them at Ratisbon, he maintained the same reserve as in his intercourse with the French ambassador, who was at the same time pursuing similar objects for political reasons.[2] When the Bavarians spoke plainly to Morone of the necessity for employing force he replied that, as they themselves acknowledged that everything depended on the Emperor's will, they yet might use their influence in such a way as to enable him to declare his will and to bring the lukewarm bishops of Germany, who thought only of their momentary tranquillity, into some sort of union.[3]

To the Emperor also the Bavarian Dukes made no concealment of their conviction that to proceed by way of conferences on religion was a complete failure. In support of this view they could adduce that in authoritative Protestant circles any reconciliation with the Pope met with root-and-branch opposition.[4] A special example was the Elector John Frederick of Saxony; in spite of all the Emperor's advances he refused to come to

[1] ALBÈRI, 1st Series, II., 145 *seq.* *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 220 *seq.*

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 560 *seq.*

[3] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 364.

[4] "Fundamentally," says RIEZLER (IV., 305 *seq.*), "the Bavarians view was correct."

Ratisbon; he instructed his envoys to reject any accommodation with the "murderous, idolatrous" Catholics and on no points, not even those that were neutral, to give in. Melanchthon, whose pliability John Frederick feared, was appointed from the political point of view of the Saxon Electorate.[1]

Charles V. could console himself for the absence and implacable attitude of the Elector by the fact that two other powerful Protestant princes disclosed an apparent leaning towards a friendly settlement; they were the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II., and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

Joachim II. on intruding the new ecclesiastical institutions into his territories had still retained much that was Catholic and even at a later period followed a middle course. His representatives appointed for Hagenau were instructed not to attach themselves to the Protestants. At Worms also they sat with the Catholics, although on the doctrine of justification by faith they were ordered to adhere unconditionally to the Lutheran definition. On the Emperor's summons Joachim repaired to Ratisbon, making his entrance there on the 13th of April. It is indeed impossible to say how far he was in genuine sympathy with the Emperor's attempts at a settlement; in any case Charles knew that, as circumstances required, much might be expected from the zealous services of this Hohenzollern.[2]

The Landgrave of Hesse, afraid that the Emperor might inflict upon him the penalties incurred by his bigamous marriage, had entered into secret negotiations with Granvelle and declared his readiness to support Charles against the

[1] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 218 *seq.*, 227 *seq.* *Cf.* VETTER, 9 *seq.*; KORTE, 37 *seq.*

[2] See PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 225 *seq.*

Turks and other external enemies and to observe neutrality in the question of Guelders. The adroit Granvelle insisted on an agreement with Charles's policy of ecclesiastical reunion as an accessory. Thus in the middle of December 1540 there took place at Worms a secret conference on religion between Bucer and Capito on the one side and Johann Gropper and the Imperial secretary, Gerhard Veltwick, on the other, the result of which was the draft of a formula of agreement. In this document a compromise on the doctrines of original sin and of justification appeared to have been found. Granvelle hoped that, in like manner, an accommodation might be reached on the remaining articles. Not until the 5th of January 1541, after Philip had given notice of his consent to the Congress at Worms, did he receive the declaration of the Imperial favour that he had so greatly longed for; but the Landgrave had to pledge himself to put in a personal appearance at the Diet of Ratisbon.[1] Thus Charles was entitled to hope that he had won over to his schemes one of his most dangerous opponents and the most turbulent of the Protestant princes. The Elector Joachim II., to whom Bucer, without naming the authors, had shown the draft agreement of Worms, also declared himself to be in substantial agreement.[2]

In this way it seemed to the Imperialists that a basis had been found on which the negotiators of Ratisbon could build further with greater success than, as at Worms, by confining themselves within the limits of the Confession of Augsburg, which was indeed the very apple of discord and the acceptance of which by the Catholics

[1] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, IV., 357 *seq.*, note; ROMMEL, I., 449 *seq.*; VARRENTRAP, 112 *seq.*; LENZ, I., 490 *seq.*; GULICK, 70 *seq.*, and also HASENCLEVER in the Histor. Zeitschr., XCIII., 385 *seq.*

[2] MOSES, 137; VETTER, 82.

could not be assumed after it had once been rejected by their theologians and Charles V.[1]

It was now of the greatest importance how Contarini would act with reference to the new plans of reunion.

The Cardinal had left Rome on the 28th of January. The Pope, wrote Farnese to Poggio on the same day, had only sent the Cardinal in order to meet the Emperor's wishes; the Legate was fully informed of everything.[2] This can only apply to oral communications, for the written instructions, dated the 28th of January, were not sent to the Cardinal until after his departure.[3]

In these important and carefully considered papers the Pope dwells on his earnest wish to allay the religious strife in Germany but, as was intelligible from the Catholic standpoint, refuses to confer on the Legate, as wished by the Emperor and his brother, full and unlimited powers to conclude an agreement with the Protestants, whose demands are still not precisely known, but according to current reports it must be assumed that concessions would be required to which no Legate, nor indeed the Pope himself, could for a moment assent, without imperilling the salvation of souls and without causing general scandal, before the verdict of other nations had been given in a General Council. Nevertheless, the instructions did not exclude any negotiations whatever. Inquiry must first be made whether those who have lapsed from the Church are still in agreement with the Catholics on matters of principle, so that on this basis

[1] HERING, Gesch. der kirchl. Unionsversuche, I., Leipzig, 1836, 44; *cf.* WOLF in the Deutsche Zeitschr. für Gesch., N.F., II., 41 *seq.*

[2] Histor. Jahrb., IV., 657 *seq.*

[3] Many MS. copies exist of these instructions; printed in QUIRINI, III., cclxxxvi *seqq.*, and BECCADELLI, I., 2, 112 *seq.*; see PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 171 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 565 *seq.*

efforts may be made to come to an understanding on the remaining points of controversy. Among such principles the Pope includes the divine institution of the Primacy, the Sacraments, and some other points resting on the authority of Holy Scripture and the unchanging practice of the whole Church, and known to Contarini. This indefiniteness was deliberate; it left the Cardinal a certain freedom of action and cleared the way for the possibility of good results.[1]

The points, the instructions go on to say, on which agreement is impossible must be produced before the Holy See, to await decision in a General Council or in some other similar way. While Contarini points out to the Emperor this way of unification, he is at the same time to back up in every way the conclusion of peace with France, by which the pacification of Germany and the repulse of the Turks are conditioned.

If this peace is not attainable and the Emperor shows himself ready to win over the Protestants by inadmissible concessions regardless of God's honour and the authority of the Apostolic See, despite his repeated promises to the contrary, then Contarini must oppose him with all his power, and with this object in view demand a General Council as the surest remedy against heresy and schism. As champion of the Church, the Emperor was in duty bound to promote the meeting of the Council, so serviceable to the cause of general peace and the defeat of Turkish invasion, rather than to commit himself to measures which in the eyes of the Church are destructive. Should the Emperor nevertheless persist in such measures, Contarini must then boldly, yet in measured language, raise his protest against them, declaring them null and

[1] See RANKE, I., 6th ed., 106; III., 6th ed. 32*. *Cf.* BRISCHAR, Kontroversen, I., 120 *seq.*; and BUSS, I., 603.

void of authority, and leave Ratisbon; not, however, without a fresh Papal mandate, withdrawing himself from the Imperial court. In the same way he must raise objection if the Emperor should permit any action to be taken against the faith on the pretext that the final decision is reserved to the forthcoming council, or should agree to the demand, often put forth, for a German national council. Such an assembly, whereby the Lutherans might easily carry through their erroneous doctrines, would have to be refused even though the Germans were under the authority of the Pope and it was proposed to hold it in the presence of a Legate and with the assistance of theologians of other nations.

With regard to his intercourse with his opponents, Contarini was left a free hand to influence them in a concilatory manner without betraying fear or rousing suspicion of any wish to deceive.

Owing to an unfavourable season, Contarini's journey was attended by many difficulties. Florence was reached on the 5th of February, and on the 8th he made his way over the snow and ice of the Apennines to Bologna, where he rested a few days. In Verona, which he reached on the 14th, he stayed a few days with his friend Giberti, and four days later with Madruzzo at Trent.[1] Here at last he received

[1] See ATANAGI, Lettere, 372 *seq.*; BECCADELLI, I., 2, 31, n. 44; PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 360 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Regesten, 145 *seq.* My discovery of the most important reports of Contarini on his German legation was only possible through the permission granted by Cardinal Hergenröther to inspect the catalogue of the Bibl. Pia. His Eminence was unable to allow me to use the entire catalogue of the Archives, as at that time the wisdom of Leo XIII. had not yet sanctioned the withdrawal of the existing limitations. Thus I was prevented from seeing the original register of the briefs in Arm., 62, t. 36, which at a later date Dittrich and Pieper (169 *seq.*) were able to make use of. I had to content myself with the copies in the Bibl. Pia,

the looked-for instructions and a letter from Farnese of February the 20th. This supplemented the instructions on two points: with regard to the Catholic League, Contarini was to make known that the Pope not only wished it to be maintained but strengthened, and was as ready as ever to do all in his power in this direction. The Legate, however, was only to touch on this point if the Emperor first opened the subject, so as not to arouse a suspicion that the Holy See was more favourable to the settlement of the disputes in Germany by force than by the Council. With regard to the second point, the payment of the 50,000 scudi asked for by Granvelle as a bribe for the Protestants, Farnese stated that the Pope thought this a dangerous expedient, and one that was far from honourable, but he was willing to yield so far to the renewed solicitations of the Emperor as, in the event of a successful reconciliation of the Protestants, to become responsible for any sums expended on this object up to the amount of the proposed 50,000 scudi; this, however, only upon the condition of the Emperor acting on his own initiative and in his own name in the matter and making no mention of the Pope. Further, the Cardinal-Legate was once more reminded to take great care in conferring graces to avoid even the semblance of venality. Contarini was to prevent the intended exclusion of Eck from the conference by the Protestants, and yet, should the negotiations take a favourable course, to induce this violent

drawn up by unskilful penmen and thus in many places corrupt, to which I called attention in the publication of Contarini's correspondence (p. 335 *seq.*). Dittrich had already suggested a number of better readings; the rest, which he had left over (see Pieper, *loc. cit.*), I would have added here if they were not certain to appear in the Fortsetzung der Nuntiaturberichte, presently to be published under the editorship of L. Cardauns.

controversialist to show some corresponding moderation in his disputations.[1]

After crossing the Brenner Pass, on which the snow still lay deep, Contarini reached Innsbruck on the 11th of March, where, in accordance with his wishes, he was received without any ceremony.

On the following day Poggio also arrived in Innsbruck. From him Contarini learned that the Emperor had already taken up his residence in Ratisbon, but that he had still to await the coming of the princes. Although under these circumstances there was no need for special haste, the Cardinal left Innsbruck on the same day and travelled by Rosenheim and Erding to Landshut. Here, at the Emperor's request, he had to halt, as the preparations for his solemn entry into Ratisbon as Legate were not yet finished. This took place on the 12th of March;[2] early in the afternoon of the following day he had an audience, accompanied by Morone and Poggio. The Cardinal unfolded the object of his mission, and expressed his readiness to support the Emperor with all his power in

[1] *Farnese to Contarini (Rome), Feb. 20, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, D 129, f. 99 *seq.*). For the money matters, see Histor. Jahrb., IV., 408 n. For the discussions on Contarini's instructions Cardinal Cervini *reports on Feb. 15, 1541, from Rome to Cardinal Farnese: "Sabbato a sera io fui col. r. card. Brundusino secondo l' ordine di N. S. per discorrer sopra la instructione et expeditione da farsi per il rer. Contarino, quale expeditione si manda hora a V. S. R. affinche mostrandola a S. S^{tà} pigli resolutione di quel che la piace si debba inviar, ne si e possuta mandar prima per esser stata questi dì in mano del card. Ghinucci. Hora V. S. R. sarà contenta resolver con S. B^{ne} quel che si habbia d' agguinger o diminuir et avisare favendoli perche si faccia speditione per Germania quanto prima. Altro non ect." (State Archives, Parma.)

[2] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 361 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Regesten, 150 *seq.*; and Contarini, 573 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, III., 171; SOLMI, Contarini, 71.

the religious pacification of Germany. At the close of the audience Morone presented a Papal brief by which he was accredited as nuncio in Poggio's place.[1]

Contarini had come to Ratisbon full of zeal and animated by the most sincere intention to do all in his power to allay the religious confusion in Germany. Peacemakers are for the most part inclined to optimism, since under the sway of one enthusiastic idea they overlook, or are only slightly affected by, the difficulties of which the actual world is full. Of such was Contarini. Possessed by the best intentions and the most ideal aspirations, he was too much inclined to presuppose in others the existence of those dispositions by which he himself was directed. Luther's teaching, which he had not studied deeply, he judged far too leniently and therefore incorrectly.[2] He could not and would not believe that the noble German nation had lost the way to religious unity and that the schism instigated by the evil enemy was past cure. "Even in the most desperate circumstances," he wrote to Eck, who had represented to him the futility of conferences on religion, "the Christian ought not to abandon hope, since he must go on hoping even against hope, and being ever mindful of the words of St Paul: 'I rejoice in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may be made manifest in me, through whom I become strong wherein I was weak.' So also must we, the less hope we have in man, trust the more to the Divine Providence and the compassion of Christ. He Himself whose very word is true has promised to be with us to the end of the world. But it is our duty to continue steadfast in prayer to the God of peace and unity, that He may send down His Holy Spirit from heaven

[1] See Contarini's letter to Farnese of March 13, 1541, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 150 *seq.*

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 308 *seq.*, 373.

into our hearts and restore again the unity of His Church. Therefore I believe it is our part to strive, by goodwill and well-doing, to put our opponents to shame, or bring them to think shame of themselves for separating from brethren who are filled with love. Thus must we do, and leave the issues to God."[1]

It cannot be denied that Contarini at first did not sufficiently grasp the character and impetus of the Protestant movement, and therefore underestimated the difficulties standing in the way of the restoration of concord. He was confirmed in his optimism by the agreement on the doctrine of original sin arrived at at Worms. "I hope to God," he wrote, on hearing of it, to Farnese from Bologna on the 12th of February, "that the eternal differences may not again interpose themselves; as I have often told the Pope, the disagreements on essentials were not so serious as many supposed. Would to God that many had never taken up their pens on behalf of the Catholic cause, doing thereby more harm than good."[2]

The political obstacles standing in the way of reunion confronted Contarini at Ratisbon, especially in his dealings with the Bavarian Dukes, the Elector of Mayence, Albert of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick. These rejected both "colloquium" and Council, and called for armed intervention. The attempts of these irreconcilables to win over the Legate to their schemes were doomed to failure, for Contarini knew as well as Morone that not

[1] DITTRICH, Regesten, 314 *seq.* Contarini, if we are to believe his secretary, had for a time in Rome given rise to a much less favourable view of the situation (see SOLMI, Contarini, 18); but his hopes prevailed over his fears (see GAYANGOS, V., 12, 198). Also in Appendix No. 31 the *despatch of Ruggieri of Jan. 12, 1541 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 360; DITTRICH, Regesten, 146.

zeal for religion but longing for greater political power was the impelling motive behind the demands of this group of princes. The Legate could not, indeed, venture to estrange such powerful personages; he therefore observed towards them the greatest courtesy and circumspection. By pursuing a tranquillizing policy he hoped to be able to overcome this difficulty also.[1]

The position of the Legate towards the Imperialists was not less embarrassing; these were directly opposed to the Bavarian standpoint, and hoped by peaceable tactics to secure an agreement with the Protestants.

In this perplexed condition of affairs Contarini determined, in conjunction with Morone, to enter on a *via media*: the Imperialists must be withheld from making lavish concessions, injurious to the welfare of the Church, in their politically motived efforts after a settlement at any price; Bavaria and the allied princes must be dissuaded from their schemes of war which, under existing circumstances, would be fraught with peril.[2]

Other dangers, however, threatened the work of unification. King Francis was as assiduous as ever in his scheme for creating a league of German princes, under the protective suzerainty of France, with the object of upholding what the Emperor's enemies were pleased to call the liberties of Germany.

With this aim before him he instructed one ambassador at Ratisbon to warn the Protestants, and another the Catholics, against coming to any agreement. The Turkish

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 577 *seq.*; PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 343 *seq.* See also Contarini's letter to Dandolo in BECCADELLI, I., 2, 200 *seq.* For the meaning of Bavaria as "the tongue of the balance," see RIEZLER, IV., 309.

[2] See Morone's letter of March 17, 1541, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 615 *seq.*

trouble also exercised an unfavourable influence on the negotiations at Ratisbon, as the Protestants were only thereby encouraged to make larger claims. Moreover, the relations between the Emperor and the Pope became troubled on account of the rising of the Colonna, which the Neapolitan viceroy favoured, while Charles strongly recommended indulgent treatment of the rebels.[1]

At the beginning of April a sufficient number of princes and envoys had arrived to admit of the opening of the Diet on the 5th of the month. The Count Palatine Frederick as President read the Imperial proposition. Contarini by his firmness had succeeded at the eleventh hour in having adequate recognition of the authority of the Holy See introduced into this document.[2]

The proposition took a retrospective survey of the Emperor's endeavours to heal the religious divisions and proposed to entrust to him, without prejudice to the Recess of Augsburg, the choice of certain learned and peace-loving men from the moderate section of each party; the latter would once more examine the controverted articles of religion and report to him the points on which they were in agreement, whereupon he would inform the Papal Legates and determine on the further course to be pursued.[3]

The extremists on both sides felt great distrust of the Emperor's claim to appoint collocutors. On the Protestant side the opposition was led by Saxony and Würtemberg,

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 501 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 561 *seq.*, 589 *seq.*; *cf.* also RANKE, Päpste, I., 6th ed., 109, note 1, and Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 305 note. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 343.

[2] See Contarini's report of April 5, 1541, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 169 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 174. See also the *letter of C. Zwick to Constance, dated Ratisbon, April 3, 1541 (State Archives, Constance, F 19).

[3] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 231 *seq.*

on the Catholic by Bavaria and Mayence; but in the one case as in the other counsels of moderation prevailed. Charles was only to concede that no one should be nominated against whom it was possible to raise any objection. Of this condition no use was made, as the Emperor on the 21st of April nominated on the Protestant side Melanchthon, Bucer, and the Hessian preacher Johann Pistorius; on the Catholic, Gropper, the Bishop-elect of Naumberg, Julius Pflug, and Eck. Gropper and Pflug were known to be middle-course theologians; Contarini and Morone had insisted on the addition of Eck. The presidency of the conference was assigned to Granvelle and the Count Palatine Frederick. The latter, like the nominees of the Emperor, was suspected of partiality to the new doctrines.[1] As the same assertion was made, probably unjustly, against Pflug and Gropper also, the Catholics felt uneasy.[2] Not merely Morone, but Contarini as well, was afraid that if the majority of the theologians should agree on some erroneous doctrine the Germans would take their part and all his subsequent protests would be fruitless. The Legate therefore took up the position of insisting on daily information as to the course of the negotiations, to which the Emperor, in accordance with the promise already given by him, had to consent.[3]

At last, on the 23rd of April, Charles V. ordered the Legate, under the seal of the strictest silence, to be made

[1] See VETTER, 64 *seqq.*, 71 *seq.* For Eck's admission, see Contarini's report, April 18, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 365 *seq.*

[2] See Negri's letter in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 636, 638 *seq.*, and the Augsburg report in the Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., III., 42; *cf.* PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 367, and Reunionsbestrebungen, 232 *seq.*, as well as HEYD, Ulrich, Herzog zu Württemberg, III., 235.

[3] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 609.

acquainted, as the work of theologians of the Netherlands, with the draft of an agreement secretly prepared to take the place of the Confession of Augsburg as the basis of negotiation. This document, known later as the "Book of Ratisbon," was the outcome of secret promises entered into at Worms in December 1540. In three-and-twenty articles the most important points of controversy were dealt with as gently as possible. The whole, emanating chiefly from Gropper, placed the doctrines on which there was a common belief in the foreground, while the differences were toned down as much as possible or passed over. Many doctrines were upheld in the Catholic sense, yet in so Protestant a garb or in one so capable of a Protestant interpretation that in case of necessity even that party could find the formulæ satisfactory.[1]

Contarini pointed out objections to the draft in more than twenty instances, to which Gropper at once yielded, from which it was supposed that he was the author of the document. Contarini declared that in this form the document did not displease him, but he gave this only as his private opinion, which might easily err.[2] At the request of the Imperialists the document was also shown

[1] The "Regensbürger Buch" has often been published from the copies sent to the Estates at the close of the conference, the latest in Corp. Ref., IV., 191 *seq.* The original draft was only recently made known by LENZ (III., 31 *seq.*). For the document itself, see MEUSER in Dieringers Zeitschrift, II. (1845), I., 357 *seq.*; SCHAEFER, De libri Ratisbon. origine atque historia, Euskirchenae, 1870; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 234 *seq.*; DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., XIII., 196 *seq.*, and Miscell. Ratisbon. a. 1541, Brunsbergae, 1892; GULICK, Gropper, 75 *seq.*, 79 *seq.*

[2] See Contarini's report of April 28, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 368 *seq.* (improved by DITTRICH, Contarini, 612). Contarini's explanation contains the furthest extent of accommodation ever reached on the Catholic side (BEZOLD, 732).

confidentially to Contarini's theological adviser Tommaso Badia and to the three Catholic collocutors.[1]

The revision was then returned to the Emperor and by him on the 27th of April, at the opening of the conference, laid before the collocutors. Melanchthon seemed inclined to reject it, but gave way, remarking that it was Eck's intention to assume the rôle of opposer.[2] The latter, from some strange infatuation, would have preferred to have treated on the basis of the Augsburg Confession. "From zeal for religion," wrote Morone, "or from dislike of his opponents or on account of his hitherto assured position as protagonist against the Lutherans, or perhaps relying on his memory, his talents, and his learning, he sought to assume a sort of sovereign and judicial authority in the deliberations and showed himself, to the disapproval of all men, more than necessarily contentious."[3]

At this critical moment Contarini intervened. By gentleness, wisdom, and learning he succeeded in moderating Eck's impetuous zeal. He also obtained such an influence over the two other disputants that they allowed themselves to be guided by his theological directions. Granvelle willingly agreed that every morning Pflug, Gropper, and Eck, before going to the conference, should visit the Legate for an hour in order to place themselves in agreement with him regarding the coming subjects of discussion. Morone also and Granvelle and, at times, Badia took part in these deliberations.[4]

[1] See VETTER, 77.

[2] *Ibid*, 85.

[3] See Morone's letter of April 28, 1541, in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 449; *cf.* Contarini's letter to Dandolo in BECCADELLI, I., 2, 201 *seq.* For Contarini and Eck, see also REIZLER, IV., 58, note 1.

[4] See Contarini's important report of April 28, 1541, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 370, and that of Morone, supplementary to it, in the Histor.

The Imperialists were highly satisfied with Contarini's activity, yet on all sides his influence was used to reconcile and mitigate men's tempers. Even the Protestants were not long able to withstand the force of his personality and example. "Contarini's manner of life and that of his companions was such that the Pope's enemies were in amazement," says Negri.[1] A great impression was made, in particular, by the Cardinal's rejection for himself and his officials of all graces and preferments. "The Legate," wrote Morone, "increases in favour every hour, and Granvelle as well as the other ministers say that God in His goodness has created him for this very purpose; for he displays the greatest gentleness, sagacity, and learning, surpassing in the last respect all others here in the general opinion, so that even his opponents are beginning not only to love but to reverence him."[2]

Contarini was, in fact, assiduous in smoothing the way, where it was possible, for better relations with the Protestants. Not only the strict Lutheran, Johann Sturm, and the apostate Dominican, Bucer, were the objects of his kind and friendly solicitations, but also with the Protestant princes, especially the powerful Elector of Brandenburg, he strove to establish amicable communications.[3] All his behaviour to those who differed from him in religion was founded on mildness and conciliation. With a scrupulous-

Jahrb., IV., 449 *seq.* (*cf.* QUIRINI, III., cclvi; DITTRICH, Contarini, 611, 612, 618). Without previous knowledge on the part of the Papal Legate not a word was dealt with by the divines of the other side, says C. Zwick in his letter to Constance of May 16 (State Archives, Constance); *cf.* Corp. Ref., IV., 261, 291, 301, 383.

[1] Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 633; *ibid.*, 635 *seq.*

[2] Letter of May 3, 1541, in Hist. Jahrb., IV., 454; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 616.

[3] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 337, 373 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 617.

ness which almost amounted to anxiety he endeavoured to avoid everything which might hurt the feelings or rouse the animosity of those severed from the Church; thus he even refrained from announcing the Jubilee Indulgence granted by Paul III. to supplicate the Divine help in the work of unification. In his letters he never ceased to insist that the Protestants must be met with love, gentleness, and friendliness;[1] although at the same time he certainly dwelt on the necessity of firmness and determination. Throughout the whole course of the Diet of Ratisbon he was consistent to these principles. It was due to him that the beginning of the conference was favourable beyond expectation. He bridled Eck's impetuosity with such success that Melanchthon, who had counted on the opposition of this passionate opponent, remarked, "If Eck were to fight in his usual fashion, he would be doing our work for us."[2]

The first four articles of the "Book of Ratisbon," dealing with the original state of man, of free-will, of the origin of sin and of inherited sin, gave rise to no serious difficulties.[3] But over the fifth article, in which the doctrine of justification was set forth at length, the controversy was sharp. The statement of this important doctrine as contained in the "Book of Ratisbon" was opposed by Eck as well as by Melanchthon. The disputation became open; more than one formula was produced without any agreement being

[1] See PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 388 *seq.* The Bull of Indulgence was sent to Contarini on April 16, 1541, together with a *letter from Farnese: "N. S^re per non mancare dal canto suo di alcuna diligentia, per la quale si possa impetrare la unione della s. chiesa et massime in questi tempi che più ne hanno bisogno, ha concesso la indulgentia che V. S. R. potrà vedere per la bolla qui alligata" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Corp. Ref., IV., 239; *cf. ibid.*, 186.

[3] See VETTER, 88 *seq.*

reached.[1] Suddenly, on the 2nd of May, a fresh scheme was offered for acceptance. In this formula of unification, one-third of which emanated from Gropper, Catholic and Protestant views were curiously combined by the assumption of a duplicated justice; together with the inherent justice of which, according to the Catholic teaching, men become partakers through the grace of Christ, a yet higher justice, that of Christ Himself, becomes necessary in order to attain perfect renewal, this latter being given and imputed to men through faith.[2]

Contarini agreed with this doctrine of a duplicate justice, first formulated by Pighius and then more widely disseminated by his disciple Gropper, as it was in harmony with his own views, had been advanced by theologians of undoubted catholicity, and appeared to offer the only possible means of healing the German schism; the deviation from the old theology and the traditional terminology did not, however, escape him; he therefore sent the formula to his friend, and at the same time appended to it an explanation. The Cardinal's mind was all the more set at rest as Morone also considered the formula beyond suspicion and Pflug and Badia likewise assented to it; Eck alone had objected, and afterwards he gave in.[3]

On the 3rd of May Contarini wrote to Farnese: "God be praised! Yesterday the Catholic and Protestant theologians

[1] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 244; DITTRICH, Contarini, 621 *seq.*; VETTER, 90 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Vortrid. Theol., 184 *seq.*; BRIEGER, De form. conc. Ratisbon. orig., 1870; PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 246 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 622 *seq.*, 651 *seqq.*, and Miscell. Ratisbon., Brunsbergae, 1892, 2 *seq.*; Histor. Jahrb., X., 663, and XIII., 197; KAWERAU in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXIV., 296 *seq.*; GULICK, 76 *seq.*

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 622 *seq.*, 658 *seq.*, and Miscell. Ratisbon., 3 *seqq.* Here also there is fresh light thrown on Eck's relations with Contarini, for which see also PAULUS in Histor. Jahrb., XVII., 573 *seq.*

came to an agreement on the doctrine of justification. I, Morone, Badia, Eck, Gropper, and Pflug hold the formula to be Catholic and correct. Pighius also and Cochläus are of this opinion." At the same time the Legate requested the Pope to give his.[1]

So great was the joy at unanimity having been reached on a point of doctrine, divergence on which was of capital importance, that even calm and experienced men overlooked the equivocal terminology of the agreement and believed that at last the work of peace had borne fruit. It seemed as if the impossible were in the act of realization, the mediation of Contarini had reconciled Rome and Wittenberg.[2] Even the sceptical Morone thought on the 3rd of May that the documents sent by the Legate to the Pope might afford the latter "comfort and beget in him a hope" that the remaining difficulties might be overcome, although many a knotty point had yet to be negotiated.[3]

The justness of this observation was made evident when the next, but not less important, article on the authority of the Church came under consideration. Controversy was here particularly animated, for one of the roots of the religious schism was probed. Together with the question of jurisdiction, the doctrine of the Church was the very point of difference by which the real character of the new ecclesiastical system was most clearly revealed. The Protestants, with Melanchthon at their head, insisted before

[1] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 372.

[2] DITTRICH, Contarini, 624, who however (p. 627, n. 1) justly objects to the exaggerated importance given to this incident by RANKE (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 107, 111) and BRIEGER (Contarini, 56 *seq.*), as I had done previously in the correspondence (p. 356 *seq.*). *Cf.* VETTER, 96, and KANNENGIESSER, 14 *seq.*

[3] See Histor. Jahrb., IV., 453.

all else on the liability even of councils to err; only in so far as the decisions of a council were based on a right understanding of God's word had they any binding authority on men. As the Catholics were unable to assent to a proposition so destructive of the foundations of faith, the settlement of the question was left unsolved.[1]

The doctrine of the Primacy ought now to have come up for discussion. But Contarini, contrary to Eck's opinion, wished this article also to be shelved for a while; in the first place, because he thought it would be a lesser evil if the negotiations were to miscarry on the question of the Sacraments rather than on that of the Primacy, and also because he hoped that if unanimity were reached on other points, the tempers of their opponents would be mollified and they would be more amenable to the acceptance of this doctrine also. Contarini dreaded nothing more than that the negotiations should be wrecked on this point, since, in that case, all the odium of failure would fall on the Holy See, whereas it was precisely the Cardinal-Legate's chief object in trying to open the way for a genuine peace, to demonstrate the good-will of the Roman See towards the Protestants throughout the whole proceedings.[2]

In the discussion on the Sacraments in general, as well as on such special points as holy orders, baptism, and confirmation, no differences of importance arose.[3] But at the fourteenth article, treating of the Sacrament of the Altar, a critical stage was reached. It was now seen that the Protestants not only rejected the term "transubstantiation"—the definition of the change in the eucharistic

[1] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 250 *seq.*, and Korrespondenz Contarinis, 372, 375 *seq.*; VETTER, 108 *seq.*; Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., I., 92.

[2] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 339, 375 *seq.*

[3] VETTER, 109 *seq.*

elements laid down by the Fourth Lateran Council,—but with it also denied the essential nature of the Sacrament, viz. the true change of the substance of the bread and the wine into the body and the blood of Christ, a denial which was, moreover, closely linked with a fresh heresy, wherein it was asserted that the body of Christ was only present for communicants, and therefore that the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament was idolatrous. Contarini was all the more astonished at these errors as he had found no trace of them either in the Confession or the Apologia of Augsburg.[1] Hitherto he had carried his compliancy to its furthest limits, and had strongly insisted on the necessity of avoiding those controversial questions on which Catholic divines themselves were not at one, *e.g.* the superiority of the Council to the Pope, and of keeping exclusively to ground common to both sides.[2] But when the attempt was made to call once more in question a fundamental doctrine of the Church, the doctrine of transubstantiation as formulated by an œcumenical council, he stood forth without hesitation in support of Catholic truth.

Granvelle and the Emperor himself did not at all sufficiently appreciate the importance of this doctrine, which Contarini felt so deeply. The proposal that he should be satisfied with the declaration that Christ is really and personally present in the Blessed Sacrament, and that all the rest should be left to the decision of the Council, he emphatically rejected. His aim, he declared, was the establishment of the truth; but this, in the instance under discussion, was so clearly expressed in the words of Christ and of St. Paul, and had been laid down by all the doctors and theologians of the Church, ancient and modern, as well as in the decrees of a famous Council, that he could

[1] See Contarini's letter of May 9 in PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 376 *seqq.*

See Contarini's second letter of May 9, *ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

not in any way consent to its being made once more a matter of doubt. If union were unattainable on this doctrine, the foundations of which were already laid, then the future course of events must be committed to the goodness and wisdom of God, but there must be no deviation from the truth. When the Cardinal was advised to give way on this one point, in which the controversy centred only round a word and was therefore a mere logomachy, he declined such counsels; much more was he convinced that under the pretext of merely rejecting one word an attempt was being made to delete the idea of which that word was the symbol. He was fully in the right when he recalled the Arians and the Council of Nicæa, where also the debate had turned upon a single word. The Papal Legate perceived clearly that this one word betokened a cardinal doctrine of the Church to which men were bound to be faithful unto death.[1]

Contarini, trusting without doubt in the justice of his cause, had at first indulged in exaggerated hopes of the outcome of the Ratisbon deliberations; he had represented to himself the doctrinal differences as much less than they were in reality.[2] It was not until the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist came under discussion that he saw clearly in their full compass the colossal difficulties standing in the way of religious unity. While hitherto he had believed that the ailments which clung to the Church owed their tenacity to the mistaken treatment of previous physicians, he now saw that the seat of the evil really lay much deeper. He did not delay at once to set forth his conviction in his despatches to Rome. "Unless God works a miracle," he wrote on the 13th of May, "the self-opinionative-

[1] See Contarini's letters of May 9, 11, 13, and 15, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 376 *seqq.*, 382 *seqq.*, 388 *seqq.*

[2] Letter of Feb. 12; see *supra*, p. 434.

ness and obstinacy of the Protestant theologians will make agreement impossible." To the timid Catholic collocutors Gropper and Pflug, as well as to Granvelle, Contarini declared with great frankness that he saw that the difference with the Protestants was a difference about things, and that therefore no unification could be found in words. He personally had no wish for an illusory peace, a mutual betrayal, nor would he suffer the doctrine of the Church to be made ambiguous by a multiplicity of words; he was resolved not to move an inch from Catholic truth.[1]

The Protestants were not less tenacious of their errors; even the proposal that the doctrine of transubstantiation should be tolerated in Catholics if they abstained from reservation and worship of the Blessed Sacrament, met with no acceptance by the majority.[2]

Granvelle was beside himself at this unfortunate turn in the negotiations; he addressed the most serious remonstrances to the Protestants; the Emperor would not submit peaceably to be treated, together with all his predecessors and all the subjects of his empire, as an idolator. But all was in vain; Melanchthon was firmly resolved that the conference should be broken up rather than that transubstantiation should be acquiesced in. On the 13th of May the deliberations on the Sacrament of the Altar had to be suspended.[3]

[1] Letter of May 13, 1541, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 386 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* report of D. Hel to Augsburg, May 10, 1541, in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., III., 62 *seq.*

[3] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 253 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 631 *seq.*; Histor. Jahrb., IV., 413 *seq.*; VETTER, 113 *seq.* *Cf.* also MENZEL, II., 225 *seq.* The unyieldingness of the Protestant theologians is asserted with satisfaction by C. Zwick in his *report to Constance, dated Ratisbon, May 9, 1541 (State Archives, Constance). *Cf.* also the Augsburg reports in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., III., 53 *seq.*, 58.

Fresh differences revealed themselves when the four collocutors—in consequence of Eck's illness Pistorius was also included—on the 14th of May entered on the discussion of the Sacrament of Penance. Contarini, taught by what had gone before, now kept a sharp look-out that no words should be adopted into the terms of the agreement capable of being understood in a Catholic as well as a Protestant sense. He wished a genuine, honourable peace, not a mere verbal agreement; therefore, because he was afraid that the Emperor might not be sufficiently informed on the actual position of affairs, he had an audience on the 15th of May at which Morone was also present. "Up till now," he said, "the two parties had been divided as to the two most important Sacraments, the Eucharist and Penance, and the Protestants had brought forward with regard to both great errors of doctrine; if they would not renounce them, an agreement was impossible." At the same time, he urged upon the Emperor the disadvantages of a trumped-up peace; he suggested that, in his opinion, further measures should be taken against the Protestants.

The Emperor, to whom Contarini's outspoken bearing was displeasing, vouchsafed no reply to this latter observation. He admitted that he was no theologian, but insisted on Granvelle's information that the whole matter turned only on the one word *transubstantiation*; in spite of everything he thought that it would be more reasonable to persevere and to get as many concessions as possible from the Protestants, for although it was an easy matter to break up the conference, and one that could be effected at any time, yet it was a step incurring serious consequences. Contarini assured him that he was also longing for an agreement, but he held it to be his duty to set forth the real position of affairs and the actual significance of the religious differences; once more he dwelt on all that

was involved in the one word *transubstantiation*, and presented a memorial explanatory of his own position.[1]

The principles upon which Contarini acted were laid down by him on the following day in a letter to Farnese. First of all, he said, the verity of the Faith must be upheld; secondly, there must be no yielding to the inducement to express Catholic doctrine in equivocal terms, a proceeding certain to lead only to greater dissension; thirdly, steps must be taken to convince Germany and Christendom at large that the strife proceeds neither from the Holy See nor from the Emperor, but from the obdurate adherence of the Protestants to their errors.[2] These incisive words, coming from one as lenient and placable as Contarini, carried twofold weight. The Cardinal-Legate was thus emphatic because he had arrived at the conviction that the Protestants could make no appeal on behalf of their Eucharistic teaching to any ground of probability, let alone to any doctrinal authority, but solely and simply to their own arbitrary opinion.[3]

A further hindrance of importance in the way of agreement was, as Contarini correctly perceived, the dependent position of the Protestant theologians.[4]

That the actual decision lay not with the latter but with the princes became more and more evident to Granvelle and the Emperor. They therefore resolved to make earnest representations to the latter, but permitted the theological discussions to proceed. Their course, however, was such that the hope of an agreement became fainter and fainter. The article dealing with Church discipline and

[1] Letter of May 15, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 387–390. The memorial in DITTRICH, Regesten, 325 *seq.*

[2] See the letter of 16th (not 18th) May in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 391.

[3] Letter of May 9; see PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 378.

[4] Letter of May 13; *ibid.*, 342, 384.

government gave rise to vehement debate. Melanchthon had no share in the views of the extreme right of his party—although a year before he had spoken in favour of the full retention of episcopal authority,—but was at the service of the Elector of Saxony, who was the decided opponent of the ecclesiastical power of the bishops; he therefore thought himself bound to stand firm on this point, although thus brought into contradiction with his previous declarations. His position became more and more singular, so that he was brought into conflict with even the members of his own party.

The "wrangling" was more violent than ever when the invocation of saints, the mass, celibacy, and the monastic life came under discussion. On all these points the Protestants presented counter-articles.[1] During the discussion they purposely overlooked the temperate tone in which the "Ratisbon Book" expounded the contentious doctrines, they constantly reiterated the old accusations of abuses of indulgences, in the veneration of the saints, and so forth. If the Catholics admitted the particular abuses, they were none the less dissatisfied; for in that case they found everything to be still in such a state of darkness that the roots of such abuses still remained. When the Catholics agreed that a reformation was of the highest necessity, the Protestants replied that the best reformation would consist in the entire abolition of the monasteries. Things grew more and more hopeless, for Melanchthon, in accordance with the will of his master, the Saxon Elector, showed on almost all points the greatest inflexibility.

Naturally the Catholic collocutors also lost patience

[1] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 258 *seqq.*; *cf.* Korrespondenz Contarinis, 390 *seq.*, and DITTRICH, Regesten, 183. See also the *report of C. Zwick to Constance, dated Ratisbon, May 21, 1541 (State Archives, Constance).

little by little, and carried on the controversy with a greater degree of stubbornness than they had shown at first.[1]

On the 22nd of May the disputations ended, and on the 31st the "Ratisbon Book" was returned to the Emperor and the Protestant counter-articles presented to him, which dealt in part directly with the most important doctrines of faith.[2] That theological discussions, taken generally, were not remedies for religious discord was shown also in the fate of the article on justification, the only one on which completely harmonious assent had been reached. The Saxon Elector was highly dissatisfied with the "prolix and botched-up affair." Luther had chimed in with this view on the 10th of May 1541; he would suffer the formula provisionally only on a declaration from the Catholics that hitherto they had taught another doctrine, and he tried to dissuade the Elector from attending the Diet of the Empire unless he wished to come to terms with the Devil himself![3] Gropper and Pflug, however, represented to the Emperor that the formula would require much ampler explanation in order to bring it into correspondence with the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The leaders of the middle party showed thereby that they were not capable of bringing about an agreement.[4] Although Rome had not as yet spoken, still, under this position of affairs, there was no longer any doubt that the conference was a complete failure.

Even Contarini's hopes were dwindling down, as the Protestants clung obstinately to some entirely erroneous assertions. "I am vexed to the soul," he wrote, "to see

[1] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 259 *seq.*

[2] See C. Zwick in his *report to Constance from Ratisbon, May 30, 1541 (State Archives, Constance).

[3] DE WETTE, V., 353 *seq.*

[4] PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 270.

things thus hurrying on the road to ruin." The one thing that brought him consolation in the midst of failure was that at least the Holy See was not held culpable for the frustration of the attempt at union, as the article in dispute did not concern the Primacy or any other matter concerning which private interest might be presupposed.[1] What more was to be done he set forth at length on the 29th of May in a letter to Farnese. As the primary cause of the establishment of Lutheran views not merely in the hearts of Protestants but also in the brains of those who still called themselves Catholics, he specified the seductions of novelty and the congeniality of the new doctrines to men of this world, with its abrogation of the duties of confession, of hearing mass, of frequently visiting churches, of keeping the rules of fasting and abstinence. As preventives of the dissemination of heresy he proposed to the Pope three measures. In the first place, there must be a decree passed in the Imperial Diet forbidding the Protestants to admit into their confederation any of those Catholic Estates still for the time being Catholic; secondly, it was imperatively necessary that a genuine Christian reformation should be carried out in Germany; this must consist in the good example set by the bishops and in their diligent administration of their office, and in their care to appoint efficient preachers and instructors in the Catholic faith, as the Protestants in their case do, devoting every effort to widen the spheres of influence of their sects. This must be made matter of serious concern, otherwise God will demand a heavy reckoning. Thirdly, Contarini recommended the restoration of the chalice to the laity, for he knew from personal experience how important this point was in the eyes of Germans, especially among the nobility; even some German bishops were of opinion that, on this ground only,

[1] Letters of June 2 in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 477.

very many had become Lutherans who would otherwise have remained firm Catholics.[1]

Contarini's views were shared by Morone,[2] while the Bavarian Dukes and the Elector of Mayence saw no promise of success save in the formation of an offensive alliance and the declaration of war against the Protestants. But even now Contarini still thought such a step dangerous and not conducive to the aim to be pursued.[3]

In the meanwhile the Imperialists were looking for another way out of the "labyrinth" into which the religious conference had led them, a way not less fallacious in principle. The religious situation was still as much as before regarded by them as a matter of politics in which the doctrines of belief could be bandied hither and thither for treatment, one dogma being given up by this party and another softened down by that. Granvelle, a master of such tactics, knew even now of a way of escape, of the success of which he was all the more confident as it had met with the approbation of the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg. The articles agreed upon were to be proclaimed as doctrines common to the Empire; the articles still under dispute were to be suspended and tolerated until a Council or some other authority should pronounce a decision. In order to appreciate the entire monstrosity of this so-called project of toleration it must be remembered that the articles, agreement upon which was suspended, dealt with the fundamental doctrines of the Faith.[4] The dangers of such a proposal could not escape even the Emperor; but the "three evil spirits," as Vice-Chancelior

[1] PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 475 *seq.*

[2] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 373.

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 703 *seq.*

[4] Also noted by VETTER (p. 139); *cf. supra*, p 446 *seqq* See also ARMSTRONG, II., 337.

Held called Granvelle, Naves, and Johann von Weeze, knew well how to keep Charles from leaving the wrong track once he had entered upon it, just as if it were part of the Imperial office to lay down regulations in matters of faith.[1]

It was characteristic of the perplexity of counsels reigning at Ratisbon that in June Charles V. gave his assent to a step almost without a parallel in German history; a special embassy—ostensibly in the name of the Elector Joachim and the Margrave George, but really by order of the Emperor—was sent to Luther, proscribed under the ban of the Empire, in order to gain his adhesion to the new attempts at reunion.[2] The Saxon Elector, the enemy of any agreement with the "murderous and idolatrous Catholics," was roused to fierce indignation, and warned Luther. He might have kept quiet, for the author and instigator of the religious schism was at one with his prince, and allowed the latter to shape his reply in yet sharper terms. The answer ran thus: He could not believe that the Catholics were in earnest about terms of agreement, since after unification over the four first articles they held firmly to their errors in all the rest; let the Emperor give orders for the "pure and clear" preaching of the articles agreed upon, by the admission of Protestant preachers into Catholic congregations.[3] The majority of Protestant theologians, with Melanchthon foremost among them, were of precisely the same mind. The Landgrave of Hesse refused to renounce even one of the disputed articles; all attempts to bring him round were wrecked.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Corp. Ref., IV., 346.

[2] *Cf.* BRIEGER, Contarini, 67 *seq.*

[3] Luther's scheme in BURKHARDT, Briefwechsel, 386; the final reply in DE WETTE, V., 366 *seq.* *Cf.* also BEZOLD, 134, and ARMSTRONG, I., 337, whose judgments are more correct than those of Brieger, *loc. cit.*

[4] See PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 262; VETTER, 153.

As among the above-named Protestants so also among Catholics all persons of any authority pronounced against this strange scheme of the Emperor. Not merely Bavaria and Mayence, but the Papal Legate also spoke in determined opposition, for the latter, with more acumen than the purblind middle party, had a prevision of the consequences of this project. Contarini would rather have suffered all things, death itself, than, in order to win toleration for false doctrine, have raised his voice against the positive decisions of the Church.[1]

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 707 *seq.*, 725 *seq.* *Cf.* Histor. Jahrb., IV., 416.

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Diet of Ratisbon.—Its Close and Failure.

Although in Rome, from the beginning, and on grounds of principle, the Imperial attempts at reunion had been viewed with serious misgiving, Charles V. had been allowed a free hand, while the Curia, maintaining an observant attitude, had held all judgment in suspense. If Contarini was repeatedly recommended to observe the utmost caution, this did not mean that the Pope's reliance upon him was weakened. His transactions with the Bavarian Dukes met with Paul III.'s fullest approval.[1] Farnese informed him on the 16th of April that the Pope was in complete agreement with his way of conducting affairs with Granvelle; at the same time his Holiness commended his caution and circumspection, and exhorted him to persevere.[2] A fortnight later Farnese told the Legate that he had laid all letters received from him before the Pope; since these only contained reports of the transactions at Ratisbon, it was not necessary to go into detail, especially as Contarini enjoyed the Pope's entire confidence. Even here the recommendation to caution recurs, since the principal object of the Legate's mission was that he should maintain unimpaired the truth of religion and the authority

[1] *Letters of Farnese of March 9 and April 4, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., 64, t. 20).

[2] *Ibid.*

of the Holy See.[1] A letter of the 12th of May shows clearly how lively an interest the Pope took in the proceedings at Ratisbon, and again recommends that they should be followed with the closest attention.[2]

The Curia could not maintain their attitude of reserve for ever, especially as Contarini himself on the 3rd of May asked for a final decision on the questions touching the doctrine of justification. When Contarini admitted that the formula contained innovations and that also he was not positively certain that the statements were orthodox and Catholic, it was not surprising that a great divergency of opinion existed among the Cardinals. With the exception of Pole, the Cardinals on friendly terms with Contarini had more or less serious misgivings, Carafa in particular, who yet, like Fregoso, quieted himself with the assumption that the formula was capable of admitting a Catholic interpretation. Aleander, who was reckoned to have the most accurate knowledge of German affairs, held by the perfectly sound opinion[3] that even if the theologians were at last to arrive at a common basis of reunion the German people would still refuse to submit to their consensus of opinion.[4]

In Rome it was clearly understood that the union aimed at on the doctrine of justification was only a means of evading the real inner differences and did not represent

[1] Contarini must "proveder cautamente et haver ben l' occhio che la vera religione et authorità di questa s. sede non riceva alteratione e preguiditio essendo questo il carico principale di V. S. R. circa il quale ella parti di S. Sta così bene et così particolarmente instrutta." *Letter of April 29, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Letter of Farnese of May 12, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] BEZOLD'S opinion, 733.

[4] See Priuli's report to Beccadelli in QUIRINI, III., diatr. c. 5, xlvi *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 680 *seq.*, and VETTER, 104 *seq.*

a successful effort to gain a common standpoint on matters of principle. The decision in consistory was pronounced on the 27th of May. As on previous occasions,[1] so now Contarini's letters to Rome were read out and led to some spirited discussion. Cardinal Dionisio Laurerio attacked the Legate sharply, while Fregoso, in Pole's absence, defended him with equal learning and warmth. Even if now the majority of the Sacred College withheld from Contarini the praise justly due to his attempts to bring about a conciliatory issue, they yet expressed themselves unmistakably against concessions vaguely formulated and of indeterminate scope.[2]

[1] See Acta consist. cancell., 4: *Die merc. 30 Martii 1541, lecte fuerunt littere rev. d. card. Contarini leg. de lat. ad Imp., quibus significabat quam honorifice Mai. Ces. eum exceperit (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the report in SOLMI, Contarini, 72, according to which Contarini's letter of March 13 (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 150) was read aloud. For the consistory of April 29, see *Acta consist. cancell., 4: *Lecte fuerunt littere ex Germania a rev. d. Contareni leg. miss., quibus continebatur de initio diete Ratisbon. N. Sernini makes in a *letter of April 30, 1541, to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, the express statement that on the 5th, 12th, and 17th letters of Contarini were read. On May 7 he reports: *Mercordi fu concistoro dove non fu trattato di cosa alcuna importante. S. S^tà^ disse che la mente del legato da Ratisbona se [half destroyed: ricava . .?] quello che esso haveva di fare in caso che S. M. venisse in Italia, sopra il che si era ragionato e risoluto che si governasse come meglio paresse a detta M^tà^ et esso guidicasse che lo star suo fosse per fare qualche buon effetto conquesto aviso, perchè la venuta di S. M^tà^ habbia da esser in breve, ma il rev. Cesarino è di contraria opinione tenendo al fermo che non si vorrà partir se prima non vede bene il fine di quelle cose di la et si chiarisca de la mente del Turco. On May 14 N. Sernini writes of the consistory of the 13th: *Furono lette certe lettere del rev. legato dat. in Ratisbona, delle quale per via del rev. Farnese vedrò d' havere copia (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] The Acta consist. cancell., 4, contain for the consistory of May 27 unfortunately only the following: *Lecte fuerunt littere rev. dom.

Two days later Ardinghello, in the name of Farnese, conveyed this expression to Contarini in careful and conciliatory terms. The Pope, he said, had neither approved nor rejected the new formula; all who had become acquainted with it were of opinion that its meaning might have been more clearly expressed, and that in this article the same degree of care had not been taken, as was the case in others, to avoid all equivocal expressions and the semblance only of agreement. Then followed the distinct injunction to observe henceforward great vigilance lest any article or portion of such should be accepted, expressly or tacitly, indirectly or directly, or even be allowed to pass with only a slight show of opposition, which did not in sense as well as in verbal expression conform clearly and unequivocally to the Catholic conception, as laid down by the Church, or which contained words capable of more than one interpretation; the Cardinal would do well, in accordance with his instructions, to submit all points to the decision of the Holy See, since great scandal would be inflicted on the Church and injury to the cause of truth if the Protestants were able

Contareni legate ad Imp. et dietam significantes de rebus dieti (Consistorial Archives, Vatican). We have therefore to depend upon the accounts given by Bembo in his letter of May 27 (BECCADELLI, I., 2, 167 *seq.* Here letters of Contarini of the 9th, 10th, 12th, and 15th are said to have been read, while, as a matter of fact, only those of the 9th, 11th, 13th, and 15th are known. DITTRICH [Contarini, 682] believes that the Ratisbon formula was not read in consistory; this very improbable hypothesis is also adopted by Vetter [p. 106]. It is quite possible that in the copy of Bembo's letter a mistake in the dates crept in), and by N. Sernini in a report of June 25 (SOLMI, Contarini, 82). From the latter document it may also be decided with certainty that the "Card. di S. Marcello," which RANKE (Päpste, I., 8th ed., 108) mistakenly supposes to be a proper name, is not M. Cervini, as VETTER (p. 105) thinks, but Laurerio of the Servite order; he is twice designated as "frate."

to appeal to the Legate, with even only a show of right, in favour of their doctrinal opinions.

Concessions made solely for the sake of peace and charity would secure only doubtful advantages with the certainty of loss. The Legate therefore ought, as the open and outspoken advocate of Catholic truth, to entertain such overtures as he had done, to the Pope's great satisfaction, in the articles on the Eucharist and Penance. He was to pursue this course in particular with regard to the doctrine of the Primacy and the authority of councils. The mild and, as far as was possible, general formulization on those important points, forwarded to Rome by Contarini on the 9th of May, had not been approved by the Pope nor by his advisers, as the language lay open to various interpretations and the main principles were not outlined with sufficient precision. In this document it was left open to doubt, from want of clear and definite statement, whether the summoning of the Council, as well as the confirmation of its decrees, was the prerogative of the Pope alone. In the article on the Primacy, in order to guard against any double sense, the immediate institution by Christ Himself of this office ought to have been brought clearly into prominence; any slackness on this point would only be exploited by the Protestants to their advantage. If there were any lack of clearness of thought or expression on this matter, union on all others would be entirely futile. Contarini was to withhold his consent to any formula in which the authority of the Holy See in the Catholic sense was not plainly affirmed, even if the Emperor had repeatedly given his assurance that not the slightest prejudice would accrue to the Holy See; only on this ground had the Pope consented to send his Legate to the Imperial Diet.

The postponement of the discussion on the Primacy, to

which Contarini, contrary to his instructions, had consented, in order that the conference might not be broken up on that point, had not displeased the Pope; yet the Legate must still bear the fact in mind that, eventually, as the Bavarian Dukes had already pointed out, the Protestants might give way on all the other articles, especially if they were equivocally expressed, in order afterwards to concentrate all their opposition on this one point and bring it into odium as being the one and only stone of offence. Certainly it was also a matter of much importance to the Pope that neither he nor his representative should incur the blame for a failure of the negotiations for reunion, but the purity of the Catholic Faith was to him a concern of yet higher consideration, wherefore Contarini was to be watchful and upon his guard against any ambiguity or obscurity of statement.

The Cardinal finally was requested to urge greater discretion on his surroundings, and with reference to the complaints made to the nuncio Dandino by King Francis regarding the Legate's subservience to the Emperor and his coolness towards the Catholics, was admonished to be for the future somewhat more forward and decided in his support of the truth and to avoid even the appearance of too great compliancy.[1]

Contarini received this first caution, couched in terms of the greatest moderation and courtesy,[2] on the 8th of June. He answered on the following day. Since he was unconscious of any omission or blameworthiness on his part, he met the reproaches brought against him with a decided disclaimer. First of all, as regards the formula on justifica-

[1] QUIRINI, III., ccxxxi *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 717 *seq.* The original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican is endorsed "Ric. alli 8 di Giugno" (PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 478, n. 3).

[2] DITTRICH, Contarini, 720.

tion, he admitted that the form of words might appear ambiguous to one person or another but the sense was strictly Catholic; not a clause, not a word was therein ambiguous in the sense of admitting an erroneous explanation. If the Curia was of another opinion they ought to communicate the ambiguity to him so that he might have it removed. For the rest, he referred them to his treatise on Justification, of which he had sent a copy to Bembo. As regarded the secrecy of the matters transacted at Ratisbon, he had given his entourage positive directions on the subject; to Pole he certainly had sent the formula, since he was of opinion that in such matters the Cardinals ought to be informed.

With regard to their wishes concerning the article on the Primacy, Contarini regretted that they had not been made known to him sooner, that they might have been introduced into the "Ratisbon Book" in a marginal note by the Catholic collocutors. He had tried to supplement this defect, but without success. Even if, like Morone, he had cherished the notion that the less opposition there was among the Protestants against the Primacy the better it would be for the Papacy, he yet subordinated his opinion to the Pope's will. He would obey, and on the revised reading of the document with the collocutors would insert a stronger statement. Therewith he enclosed a copy of the "Ratisbon Book" with the Protestant articles side by side of his own remarks and those of the Catholics.

Contarini reserved to the end of his letter his defence against the charge of coldness: "Truly, most illustrious lord, I am not guilty of coldness in matters of truth, but am as warm as it behoves me to be; but in my other relations I am at pains, and rightly so, to control my warmth, since it is not necessary to add fuel to the great fire now spreading from Denmark and Sweden over all the north and over-

leaping Alps and rivers even to the regions of Italy; much better to try and apply as much as possible the means of quenching the conflagration. Here no decision will be pronounced; in no single point will I pronounce a verdict, but await all directions from Rome."[1]

Contarini's letter of the 29th of May, in which he had described the precarious state of the Church in Germany, developed his programme, and asked for new instructions, induced the Pope, who had received simultaneously Morone's reports, to decide on his attitude towards the new situation called forth by the collapse of the Ratisbon conference. After a thorough discussion in consistory on the 10th of June an instruction was sent, five days later, to Contarini and Morone.[2] All the questions which once more came to the front, the Catholic League, projects of toleration, Council and reform, were here treated with all the clearness desirable.

In order to strengthen the League, the Pope declared himself ready to pay at once the 50,000 scudi already promised and in case of urgency to raise more by further taxation; generous help was also pledged in the case of the Catholics having to assume an attitude of attack instead of defence against the Protestants; although Paul III. at that time did not think war the right way of expelling error from the world. With regard to Granvelle's request for a sum of money to be used in reconciling Protestants, the Pope sanctioned the expenditure of 50,000 scudi,

[1] PASTOR, Correspondenz Contarinis, 478 *seq.*

[2] Best copy in QUIRINI, III., ccxl *seq.* Other and the two first original drafts in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 595 *seq.* The passage on the Council from the original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican is given by EHSES, IV., 195 *seq.* For the consistory of June 10, of which nothing is said in the *Acta Consist. as far as Contarini is concerned, see the report of N. Sernini in SOLMI, Contarini, 84.

only no pretext was to be given for the supposition that there was any intention of buying a Protestant out of his religion; cases of reconciliation were also to be genuine and not matters of formality.

While Paul III. on this point made concession to an Imperialist wish, he none the less determined to reject the so-called project of toleration as inadmissible and harmful. The articles on which the accommodation had been reached could not be held on sufferance, since they concerned essential portions of the Faith and it was forbidden to do evil in order that good might come. The Faith was one indissoluble whole; one part could not be accepted and another part renounced. If the See of Rome, called to be the custodian of the purity of the Church's doctrine, were to permit in any degree erroneous teaching, then Christians would cease to seek from her the *regula fidei*; while by such a project the Protestants, to whom their errors certainly would be conceded, would not be won to the Church, the latter would also lose her hold over the remaining portion of Christendom.

Instead of the project of toleration, instead of the difficult and dangerous arbitrament of war, the Pope recommended the Council as the most available remedy at hand; in time past under like circumstances it had always been invoked, and was also the object of the Emperor's constant desire. As the reasons which at an earlier stage had led to a suspension of the Council out of consideration for the Hapsburg sovereigns no longer stood in the way, and efforts of a different kind had miscarried, the assembling of the Council could no longer be deferred, especially as previous postponements had only led to public misfortunes. The Holy Father had hitherto given in to Charles V. in respect of these particular religious negotiations in order to evince his good-will towards him; now, when religion

was in such grave peril, the Emperor ought once more to allow the Pope, to whom the precedence was due by right, to steer the ship. The Legate was enjoined to lay this resolve before Charles V., in the first place, and also to ask him what time he considered appropriate; yet he was to avoid giving the impression that he was asking the Emperor's permission. The removal of the suspension would be announced immediately on receipt of the Emperor's reply. Only if Charles could suggest a better remedy was the Legate to delay any longer in promising a Council, otherwise he was to put himself at once into communication with the princes and prelates. If the Emperor, although unable to offer any better suggestion, refused to accept the Council, the Legate was then to make public protest, and to agree to nothing which was un-Catholic or open to ambiguity.

The question raised by Contarini, whether the German laity could be promised the administration of the chalice, was reserved by the Pope for the Council. With regard to reform, on the other hand, the Legate was at once, in common with the German bishops, to take the necessary preliminary measures so that on his return to the Curia these matters might be taken in hand with some prospects of success. Contarini received this instruction, conveyed by a special courier, on the 21st of June, but as that was the date also of Ferdinand's arrival, he could not have an audience of Charles until the 24th.[1]

The Emperor who, notwithstanding all failures, was resolved to pursue his previous policy, was so unpleasantly surorised by Contarini's announcements that he had to

[1] Contarini reported on this to Farnese on June 24, 1541; the letter was published by SCHULTZE in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 176–179. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 15, n. 1; DITTRICH, Contarini, 734; KORTE, 40.

fall back on clumsy objections and excuses. All attempts to bring him to a definite decision in the matter of the League were repelled as on earlier occasions,[1] while on this one he remarked that the Bavarians were only scheming to implicate him in a dangerous war. His objections to the immediate summons of the Council only showed plainly that here also he was bent on his former policy of procrastination.

He thought, in the first place, that the Pope would have done better to have waited for the close of the Diet, since then the princes themselves probably would have asked for a Council. The Legate thereupon pointedly replied: "In that case, it would be still better if this proposal came from them personally." To the Emperor's further objection that if the Synod were summoned while the Diet was still in session the princes might come forward again with a demand for a Council in Germany, or even for a national council, Contarini explained that a definite course had been settled upon already in consistory; at the same time he begged for a final reply, as the courier had to be sent back in two days. Charles, however, was not prepared to give such an answer until he had consulted his brother Ferdinand, who had arrived on the 21st of June. Contarini remarked besides that the Emperor's refusal was caused in part by the suspicion which he nourished that the Pope's decision was due to the solicitations of the Bavarian Dukes.

On the 25th of June the Legate found Ferdinand also in a mood of non-compliance.[2] Morone's efforts at the same time to dispose the Emperor and Granvelle favour-

[1] *Cf.* Contarini's report of June 19 in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 484.

[2] Contarini to Farnese, June 27, 1541. Given partly by PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 487 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Regesten, 205, and Contarini, 735 *seq.*

ably towards the Council were equally unsuccessful;[1] Ferdinand held that reformation must precede the Council. As long as the Pope took no definite measures in that direction, he remarked with a spiteful laugh, he could not believe in the Council. In place of further answer he referred to the Emperor's written reply, which might soon be expected. This was handed by Granvelle to the Legate on the 27th of June; Charles V. had drawn up the document in French, and directed that a Latin version should be prepared for Contarini. In this he acknowledged the summons of the Council to be within the Pope's competency, and promised his support, without expressing any wish concerning time or place. As to the temporary enactments relating to Germany, he spoke in general terms, probably with the intention of leaving open a door of entry for his project of toleration.[2]

Contarini, who was as much astonished as he was gratified, at once reported the new turn of affairs to Rome,[3] but asked for fuller explanation of the indefinite declaration on the settlement of German affairs. Granvelle, on the 4th of July, informed him through Morone that the Emperor wished to see the League consolidated, and was determined that the religious questions should be brought before the Council, but that in the interim a peace should be concluded in Germany, for any infraction of which by the Lutherans he was resolved to take severe reprisals.[4]

In Rome it was perceived, with keener insight than by Contarini, that the Emperor, with his apparently friendly approaches to the Pope, had no other object in view than

[1] Morone to Farnese, June 27, 1541, in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 625; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 736 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 196 *seq.*; *cf.* KORTE, 42 *seq.*

[3] Letter of June 27, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 488.

[4] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 738.

to bring about the acceptance of his plan of toleration. On the 23rd of June the "Ratisbon Book," with the documents appertaining to it, at last made its appearance, and was handed over by the Pope to a special commission of examiners.[1] On the evening of the 5th of July, Contarini's despatches of the 27th and 28th of June, with the Emperor's reply on the question of the Council, arrived. Cardinal Farnese at once laid it before the Pope, who immediately summoned a consistory for the 6th of July, at which, on the basis of Contarini's reports, the Ratisbon negotiations were submitted to full consideration. Due allowance being made for the importance of the topic, no final resolution was arrived at, but on the 7th Farnese was able to tell Contarini that the Pope held the removal of the suspension and the early meeting of the Council to be necessary. The Emperor did not seem to grasp correctly the task of the Synod, which consisted in the establishment of dogmas of faith and in the removal of abuses. The toleration of heresies excluded the only remedy, the general Synod of the Church, and would only aggravate the existing evil.[2]

In a second consistory, on the 8th of July, in which the later despatches of Contarini, of the 19th, 20th, 22nd, and 24th of June, received on the evening of the 6th, were read, the final decision was taken. After one more hearing of the Cardinals the removal of the suspension of the Council of Vicenza and the immediate resumption of its sittings were voted. Farnese informed Contarini to this effect on the 10th of July, and also that the government of Venice had already been applied to for the renewal of their per-

[1] See *Farnese's letters to Contarini, June 23 and 27, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Farnese to Contarini, July 7, 1541 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., 64, t. 20, f. 32 *seq.*, with endorsement: "Ric. alli 21").

mission to use Vicenza. If this city were not conceded for the purpose, the Pope would designate some other suitable place. At the same time the Legate was directed once more to beg the Emperor to support the Council, and to refrain from the toleration of error; above all, to give no consent to anything which could be prejudicial to religion.[1]

At Ratisbon, in the meantime, the question of aid against the Turks, which, to the astonishment of those present, had fallen into the background, was once more brought to the front.[2] Ferdinand I. displayed in this respect unflagging activity. The nuncio was able to inform him that a special Papal envoy was on his way with a sum of money for the defence of Hungary. The Protestant Estates of the Empire were not to be moved to give any unconditional help, so that by the beginning of July the eventuality had to be faced of protecting Hungary without their assistance.[3]

The willingness of the Catholics to defend the eastern frontiers of the Empire made a deep impression on Ferdinand. He now saw the necessity of a nearer approach to the Catholic leaders, just as later on his judgment on the Bavarian Dukes became less harsh than that of the Emperor. But even the latter showed symptoms of a change of disposition. The stubbornness of the Protestants on religious questions, and their refusal to take part against Turkey except on conditions of an exorbitant character, had soured his temper. According

[1] See *letter of July 10 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); extract in EHSES, IV., 197 n. *Cf.* also N. Sernini's letter in SOLMI, Contarini, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of C. Zwick, May 30, 1541 (City Archives, Constance).

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 743 *seqq.*; *cf.* WINKELMANN, III., 190 *seq.*

to a statement made by Ferdinand to Morone, Charles had declared that he would stake his life and abide by it that the further spread of the sectaries should be stopped. Morone now began to hope that a change for the better in the Emperor was setting in.[1]

Contarini, on his side, complied with the Emperor's wishes, and urged the bishops present at the Diet to set to work on a real reformation.[2] On being asked by the Imperialists, in connection with a resolution of the Catholic Estates, to make a statement once more on the "Ratisbon Book," he declared his determination to insist that the established articles of faith should not be called in question, and that the ultimate decision should rest with the Holy See, whether speaking through a Council or in other ways.[3]

Charles V. saw matters in another light. The change of opinion, on which Morone had built such great hopes, proved itself illusory. When, on the 10th of July, Contarini presented Morone's opinion, prompted by the League, upon the "Ratisbon Book," he was received with discourteous coolness, although Morone only repeated what the Legate already had often propounded.[4] The Emperor, stung by the failure of his schemes of reunion, poured out his anger on the Legate. When the latter dwelt on the importance of his longer sojourn in Germany, Charles replied that he must now look exclusively to his own interests, as the others had consistently done.

When the Papal promise of the Council was mentioned,

[1] DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 742 *seq.*; *cf.* Histor. Jahrb., IV., 417 *seq.* For the Protestants and the Turkish subsidy, *cf.* the Augsburg reports in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., IV., 228, 233, 337 *seqq.*; see also the *report of C. Zwick of June 22, 1541 (City Archives, Constance).

[2] *Cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 749 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 490 *seq.*; VETTER, 186.

[4] KORTE, 42; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 750.

a promise at the moment most unacceptable to Charles, the latter exclaimed: "When it takes place, I shall believe in it"; whereupon Contarini rejoined that the Council was a matter of certainty. With regard to the League, he wished some articles changed; besides, Charles added, he had heard that the Pope was ready, even without his participation, to arrange a defensive League in Italy together with Venice and France. The Legate protested emphatically against such erroneous suppositions; the Pope nevertheless had placed his household under Imperial protection. When Contarini finally brought forward the strong grievance of the Catholics, that they were constantly assailed from Protestant pulpits, the Emperor expressed his belief that that would only be a matter of a few days' duration, as he was thinking of a very early departure.[1]

Two days after this audience Charles received the answer of the Protestants to his plan of toleration. It was a refusal, in accordance with the wishes of the Saxon Elector.[2] This, in combination with the Catholic resolution of July the 5th, sealed the fate of the Emperor's scheme. Yet on this very 12th of July the latter presented to the Estates his proposition for the Recess of the Diet, in which, without even taking notice of the Pope's formal offer of a Council, he still tried to force through his scheme of toleration; the articles on which there was agreement were to be acknowledged and accepted as Christian doctrine, the articles on which there was not agreement were to be postponed until the General Council gave a decision; this also was the Legate's opinion. But if the Council were not held at all, or, as seemed necessary, were to be deferred

[1] Letter of Contarini, July 10, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 492 *seq.*

[2] Corp. Ref., IV., 497 *seq.*; *cf.* EGELHAAF, II., 397; DITTRICH, Contarini, 757; WINKELMANN, III., 197.

to a later period, the negotiations on religion would again be resumed in a Diet of the Empire. The Emperor added that he was very shortly to have an interview with the Pope, and would then endeavour to learn from the latter what might be expected concerning the Council. Until a decision was come to, the publication of libellous writings was to cease, the Imperial Court of Chancery to continue its sittings, the peace of Nuremberg to be maintained and, finally, subsidies to be raised against the Turks.[1]

Contarini was not a little astonished at the Emperor's behaviour. Besides the total omission of any mention of the Pope, he was particularly displeased at Charles's intention of giving his approval to the articles of agreement, thereby constituting himself and the Diet judges in religious matters, and that too in the name of an understanding with him as Legate. Therefore, in an audience on the 16th of July, he protested against the way and manner in which the Emperor had overstepped the limits of his authority. Charles tried to excuse his conduct and to pacify Contarini.[2] The Legate, however, thought it fitting, on the following day, to remind the Emperor in writing that to the Pope alone belonged the right of sanctioning articles of belief.[3] In order to free his position from all uncertainty, he made a declaration to this effect to the Electors also.[4]

The reception given by the Estates to the Emperor's

[1] LE PLAT, III., 96; Corp. Ref., IV., 510 *seq.*; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 752 *seq.*

[2] Letter of July 17, 1541, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 495 *seq.*, and also DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 753, n. 2.

[3] See Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 606.

[4] Letter of July 19, 1541, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 180; *cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 754.

proposals showed that the danger of a national council was once more close at hand.[1] The Protestants, in their reply of the 14th of July, recommended the acceptance of the articles agreed upon, but under impossible conditions; they demanded a free Christian council within the German nation, over which the Pope should have no jurisdiction, or, if that were unattainable, a further treatment of religious affairs in a convention of the Estates of the Empire. Scarcely better was the position adopted by the Electoral College in which, against Mayence and Treves, the majority, Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Cologne, carried a resolution that the articles agreed upon should be held valid until a free council or national convention should be held. Under the authoritative influence of Bavaria the Catholic princes threw their weight into the scales against the articles. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to use his influence with the Pope to obtain the meeting of a General Council, or, if that were impossible, of a national council in Germany. Thus from all these quarters came the demand for a council on German soil, or in any case for a council of the German nation.

In corresponding terms came the written reply[2] of the 18th of July, from the Cardinal of Mayence and the rest of the prelates assembled at Ratisbon, to the reform proposals of Contarini of July the 7th.[3] The signatories, while reproaching the Pope, laid stress upon the necessity for a General Council as the only remedy by which the Church in her present sorely burdened condition could be relieved;

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 272 *seqq.*; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 755 *seq.*; KORTE, 43 *seq.*

[2] In EHSES, IV., 197–200; *cf.* KORTE, 43, 44

[3] See PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 491; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 749 *seq.*

they approached his Holiness, through the Legate, with earnest supplications that the meeting should be held without delay, and promised their hearty co-operation; but in addition they besought on their own part that the Council should be held in Germany, where the need was most pressing.

During these proceedings threatening news came in from Hungary concerning the Turks. The Catholic Estates agreed to give help, the Protestants were obstinate in their refusal unless religious concessions were made to them. On the 21st of July, Girolamo Verallo, appointed nuncio to Ferdinand I., arrived with a subsidy for the war less in amount than that sovereign had desired.[1]

On the 22nd of July, Contarini, soon after the receipt of letters from Farnese, dated the 7th and 10th, had an audience of the Emperor; Morone and Verallo were also present. On being told that the Pope had already applied to Venice on the subject of Vicenza, Charles replied that the Germans wished the Council to be held in their own country. The Legate, apart from other reasons, drew special attention to his certain knowledge of the Pope's strong desire to attend the Council in person, which on account of his great age would be impossible if the meeting-place were to be in Germany.

As regards the League, Charles declared that he would enter into it only on the condition that no other confederate tried to involve him in war for the furtherance of his private interests. On the question of the plan of toleration, Contarini, on his side, asked the Emperor to make the concession, so distasteful to the latter on general grounds, that he would, in accordance with the Pope's wishes,

[1] See Morone's reports of July 13 and 22 in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 637 *seq.*, 640; *cf.* PIEPER, 105.

dismiss the project and leave all to the decision of the Council.[1] All the more painful was the Legate's surprise when he was brought face to face with the Emperor's renewed proposal,[2] brought forward, in disregard of his previous assurances, without any communication with Contarini, in which Charles declared that in the course of his approaching conference with the Pope he would come to an understanding with regard to the speedy assembling of a council; if this were to fall through, he would work for a national council and, failing that also, would convene a Diet of the Empire once more and attend in person.[3]

In order that the promise of a national council should not be allowed to pass by in silence, Contarini on the 24th of July addressed a letter to the Emperor and another to the Diet, through the Cardinal of Mayence, in which he called upon the Estates to cancel the rider as to the national council, such an assembly being incompetent to

[1] Contarini to Farnese, July 22, 1541, in SCHULTZE, Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 181–183; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 761 *seqq.*, and Regesten, 217.

[2] In EHSES, IV., 200 *seq.*, with the date July 20, 1541, but probably not before the 23rd or 24th (*cf. ibid.*, 200, n. 2). *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, 18th ed., 508; DITTRICH, Contarini, 763; KORTE, 44.

[3] For the relation of this draft to the final form of the Recess, read aloud at the close of the Diet on July 29, *cf.* EHSES, IV., 201, n. 1. The former does not contain the later resolution that the General Council should be held in Germany as soon as possible, nor the limitation of time whereby it is decreed that a fresh Diet shall be summoned, if within eighteen months the General or national council has not taken place. KORTE (page 46) says: "Most remarkable of all was the attitude of the Emperor. After having been a vehement opponent of the reassembling of the Council, he suddenly places everything at the Pope's pleasure, to end up by becoming, after protracted manœuvring, the supporter of the tendencies which were most odious to the Curia, and all this in the course of a month."

decide on the controversies of belief then under discussion, and of which the decisions when passed would be null and void.[1]

On the 26th of July the Estates sent a written reply through the chancellor of Mayence.[2] The Legate might easily prevent the religious controversies being brought before a national council if he would induce the Pope to summon and hold a General Council without delay; but since the promise of such a Council, so often made to them and now again brought forward by the Legate, was never fulfilled by the Apostolic See, the existing necessities of the Empire and the German nation demanded that their religious controversies should be settled and removed at the hands of a national council or a Diet of the Empire, but in presence of and under the guidance of a Legate provided with adequate faculties by the Holy See. Albert of Mayence, however,[3] pronounced decidedly against a general synod in Germany as well as against a national council, and was of opinion that, if the Pope and Emperor agreed to the meeting of a General Council in Italy, the Catholic princes would participate in it either in their own persons or through representatives. In any case, the only possible human remedy remaining was the speedy meeting of an œcumenical synod.

When Contarini, on July the 26th, took leave of King Ferdinand, the latter told him that the final message of the Recess had not yet been settled; but that it would not give satisfaction to anyone, neither to Pope nor Emperor,

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 764, and Regesten, 219; PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 15, n. 8.

[2] In EHSES, IV., 202 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 764.

[3] Sententia Alberti cardinalis Maguntini de loco et modo concilii celebrandi, Ratisbonae, c. 27, Julii 1541, in EHSES, IV., 403 *seq.* *Cf.* DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 767 *seq.*; VETTER, 207.

neither to Protestants nor Catholics.[1] As the King declined to explain more precisely, the Legate made further inquiries and found out in other ways that Charles, under pressure from the Estates, was actually ready to yield on the question of a council in Germany. He therefore, on the 27th of July, together with the nuncios Morone and Verallo, waited on the Emperor and made counter-representations.[2] First to accept the Council and then attach to it impossible conditions was, he declared, to reject it altogether; he had formerly, however, been of a different opinion, and had promised to withstand the German demands on this point. Charles told the Legate in reply that he had been misinformed; he had not consented to the meeting of the Council in Germany, but at the urgent prayer of the princes had promised only to try and obtain the consent of the Pope. In the Recess the clause was included that he would petition the Holy Father to consent to the Council being held in Germany, and that in case this did not happen, a national council or another Diet should be held. Thus Contarini's objections were of no avail. He was unacquainted even with the text of the Recess[3] when, on the 29th of July, he left Ratisbon with the Emperor; as soon as he was able to get a sight of it at Trent he saw that on many points it differed from previous engagements and promises to such an extent that it asserted, in direct contradiction to the truth, that the Legate had given his word that the Council should be held in Germany. In a letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg of September the 19th, 1541, he

[1] Contarini to Farnese, July 26, 1541, in SCHULTZE, in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 183; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 767, and Regesten, 219.

[2] See his report to Farnese, July 27, 1541, in PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 498 *seq.*; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 767, and Regesten, 220 *seq.*

[3] WALCH, XVII., 962 *seq.*

entered a protest, and begged that either the publication of the Recess might be stopped, or, if that were no longer possible, that a supplement might be added containing the necessary corrections.[1]

By determined refusal to give help towards the Turkish war, the Protestants, on the 29th of July, had further extorted a secret declaration or recognition of the points in the Recess of the Diet which were of most importance to them. In this way they obtained even greater advantages than before, since the confiscated Church property was not only secured to them and the "reformation" of the territorial religious foundations sanctioned, but the exclusively Catholic constitution of the Imperial Chancery and the application of the Recess of Augsburg to religious questions were cancelled.[2]

Thus the attempt at Ratisbon to unite irreconcilable differences came[3] to an end with striking advantages for the Protestants, who met the future with the most joyous expectations.[4] In the background there certainly loomed a menace of no small import; for, before the Ratisbon

[1] In DITTRICH, Regesten, 348 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 225, and Contarini, 788 *seq.* There is a payment for the translation of the Recess of the Diet into Latin in the *Mandati 1539 to 1542 (State Archives, Rome); *ibid.*, 1540–1543, under date of Jan. 19, 1541, the entry: *Dom. card. Contareno S. S^tis^ leg. de lat. Wormatiam profecturo sc. 1500 ad bonum computum provisionis sue et expensarum hujus modi itineris.

[2] See WALCH, XVII., 999 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1541, n. 35; LENZ, III., 129 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 509 *seq.*

[3] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 504; KANNENGIESSER, 113 *seq.*; *cf.* BEZOLD, 731, 733.

[4] * "In summa," Joh. von Glauburg wrote on July 10, 1541, "ob die stende uff gegenwertigem reychstag der religion halben schon nit ains werden, so wird man doch gewiszlich nach dem reychstag seltzame enderung der religion under den stenden vernemen." Reichstagsakten, XLVII., 94 (State Archives, Frankfort-on-Main).

negotiations came to an end, the Imperialists had successfully thrown their net over two great potentates of the new ecclesiastical movement. Philip of Hesse, in a secret compact of the 13th of June, forswore all alliance with Jülich-Cleves or any other foreign power. In return Charles V. assured to him the abrogation of all penalties for his previous illegal acts, in which his bigamous marriage was also thus included; as far as religion was concerned, the Emperor added, he could not single out the Landgrave as an opponent, for, in that case, as he suggestively implied, war would have to be declared against the Protestants at large. Joachim II. bound himself on the 24th of July to give assistance against Jülich-Cleves and France in return for the Emperor's acquiescence in his new form of Church government until a Council or Diet of the Empire should meet and decide.

By this act of suicidal statecraft Charles V. covered, for the moment, his retreat from his previous political battlefields; he had "saved his face" before the Duke of Cleves, Francis I, and the Sultan.[1]

[1] See LENZ, III., 91 *seq.*; RANKE, VI., 337 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 8th ed., 505, 509; KANNENGIESSER, 15 *seq.*; EGELHAAF, II., 400.

CHAPTER XII.

Return of Contarini.—His Death.—Apostasy of Ochino.

Contarini was conscious that during his Legatine mission in Germany he had done his duty, and to the best of his knowledge had represented faithfully the interests of the Church. All the more sorely did he feel the charges brought against him in the Curia, and especially the imputations on his sincerity. These accusations were so exaggerated by rumour that for a time the Cardinal's usual tranquillity of mind completely gave way. "This is fine coinage," he remarked, "in which to reward one's labours."[1] In a letter from Milan to Cardinal Farnese on the 23rd of August 1541, he complained bitterly that in Rome he was looked upon as a Lutheran, and that a Papal Legate and a man of such learning and high character as Badia should be exposed to such calumny. He hoped to God that he was in a position to render a satisfactory account of himself and of all his dealings to the Pope and all others. If the final verdict on the doctrine of justification were only deferred until his arrival in Rome, he would make clear as daylight the truth of his opinion on that matter, and those who said that the formula on justification was Lutheran were but ill instructed in the Lutheran doctrine and ignorant of the utterances of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. How far the Ratisbon formula was consistent with good Lutheran teaching might be seen from Luther's

[1] Beccadelli, Vita di Contarini, c. 19.

own adverse criticism of it in a letter to Melanchthon and from the Protestant declaration that they would like to discuss more closely their views on this point.[1]

Before this Contarini had already replied to an old friend in Brescia who had questioned him as to his conduct with regard to the extravagant articles which he had subscribed to at Ratisbon to please the Lutherans. "This," he said, "is one of Pasquino's calumnies, since without the authority of the Church he would not only not consent to a doubtful doctrine, but would decline to accept St. John's Gospel itself."[2] This allusion to the well-known saying of St. Augustine was alone sufficient to destroy the phantom of Contarini's Protestantism. A man, to hold such an opinion, must be a Catholic in every fibre.[3] In a quarter too of the highest importance no credence was given to Contarini's accusers, for when at the beginning of September 1541 he met the Pope at Lucca, he found the most friendly welcome. Paul III., who throughout all suspicions had never been led astray in his judgment of Contarini, urged him to dismiss from his mind all such idle talk, thanked him for his exertions, and soon showed him a fresh mark of confidence by attaching him to the work of ecclesiastical reform.[4] In January 1542 he appointed him his Legate at Bologna; by conferring upon him the most important as well as the most dignified Legation in the Papal States, he did more than anything else to show how little the Pope's trust in and respect for Contarini had been shaken

[1] PASTOR, Korrespondenz Contarinis, 500.

[2] BECCADELLI, Vita di Contarini, c. 19.

[3] I called attention to this strongly in 1880 on the issue of Contarini's correspondence in the Histor. Jahrb., I., 352. Reumont remarked that "this authentic testimony gave clear proof of the catholicity of Contarini's views" (Allg. Zeitung., 1882, App. No. 46).

[4] See *supra*, p. 200.

by the conduct of affairs at Ratisbon or by the numerous hostile allegations of the last few months.[1]

In March 1542 Contarini entered on his difficult duties. The heavy burden of work thus laid upon him did not prevent him from continuing his studious pursuits. A treatise on Confession shows that, in spite of all the experience which he had gone through, in spite of the opposition which he had met with, he held fast, up to the hour of his death, which took place from inflammation of the lungs on the 24th of August 1542, to the peculiar theory of justification which he had supported at Ratisbon.[2] That this was not in entire accordance with Catholic teaching was a notion of which he had no conception. On the contrary, he held his view to be perfectly sound and truly Catholic.

That he should have erred on this difficult question is explained by his great love of peace and his inadequate acquaintance with Luther's writings, whose doctrine he therefore judged at times from much too lenient a point of view.[3] Contarini's theory of mediation in the doctrine of justification is, however, fundamentally different from the Lutheran *sola fides* doctrine, which, in his instructions to the preachers, the Cardinal emphatically rejected. He there speaks in so many words of the Lutheran poison.[4]

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 798.

[2] See DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 820 *seq.*, 847, 853. For the Pope's sorrow, see *the Florentine envoy's report of Aug. 30, 1542 (Archives, Florence) in Appendix No. 38.

[3] *Cf. loc. cit.*, 308, 311, 316, 373; see also GOTHEIN, 136.

[4] See Regesten, 308; *cf.* PASTOR in Histor. Jahrb., IV., 137. Ranke's view (I., 6th ed., 90 *seq.*) that Contarini and his friends had supported "the same doctrine of justification which in Luther had been the mainspring of the whole Protestant movement," is untenable (see SCHMID in the Lit. Rundschau, 1881, 213; *cf.* also PASTOR in Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlex., III., 2nd ed., 104, and in Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 206; KÖHLER, in the Deutsch. Lit.-Zeitung, 1903, 2860 *seq.*).

And this was the man on whom the stigma of Protestantism was placed! the man who on all other disputed doctrines was the staunch upholder of the Catholic standpoint, and who at the same time was the warmest friend of the newly arisen Society of Jesus. Contarini, as his correspondence shows, lived in unconditional obedience to the Holy See, and even if he erred on one particular point, his error concerned the doctrine of justification, a dogma still open to discussion so long as no conciliar decision had been passed upon it.[1]

Among the few in Rome who had nothing to add to Contarini's definition Reginald Pole was the most conspicuous. Subject for many years to the influence of his friend, this devout Englishman was led on grounds which were partly mystic and partly ascetic to accept Contarini's theory. From motives of deep humility Pole, as his disciple Priuli wrote, shrank from resting for support on his own justice, although he had more right than others to do so. A theory which threw all its weight on the Divine compassion and the merits of Jesus seemed to him the only true one. With characteristic effusiveness the English Cardinal appraised Contarini's formula as a jewel of great price, a sacred and fruitful truth. The strictures passed upon it in Rome seemed to him utterly unfounded, nor had he the slightest doubt that the new presentation of the doctrine was free from error.[2]

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 248, and Korrespondenz Contarinis, 349 *seq.* *Cf.* also BENRATH in the Histor. Zeitschr., XCIII., 107, who replies in the negative to the question whether Contarini, although holding the Catholic conception of the Church and ready to follow that conception to its conclusions, was "not at the bottom of his heart an evangelical."

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 678, 687, 698 *seq.* That Pole thought correctly in essentials on the process of justification is shown from his warning to V. Colonna (see CUCCOLI, 107, n. 1).

If so learned a theologian was mistaken it cannot cause surprise that a man like Morone, who was before everything else a diplomatist, should have been attracted by Contarini's theory.[1]

In Viterbo, where Pole had resided since September 1541 in the honourable position of a Legate of the Patrimony of St. Peter, theological questions formed a general ground of discussion, and especially since the negotiations of Ratisbon Contarini's formula had stood in the foreground of interest and formed the principal subject of conversation in Pole's circle.

This pious company, the *spirituali* as their contemporaries called them,[2] welcomed the new tenets on justification on the same mystical and ascetic grounds which had recommended them to Pole. In contradistinction to many preachers to whom outward works were all in all, they, conscious of human weakness and instability, were disposed to emphasize the redeeming grace of Christ. From this temper of mind the new theory had sprung of which they became the enthusiastic adherents. Without ceasing to be Catholics they could do this while as yet the Council had issued no decree; the idea of going out from the Church had never entered their minds. A clear testimony to this was given by a man who, according to Luigi Priuli of Venice and Lodovico Beccadelli of Bologna,[3] was a foremost member

[1] See DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 678, n. 4. Sadoleto was against the Ratisbon formula, as he was alive to its theological weakness (see *ibid.*, 692 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* LUZIO, V. Colonna, 40. "Spirituales = verae pietatis amantes" (in CATHARINUS, Specul. haeretic., Lugd., 1541, 22).

[3] For L. Beccadelli, whose portrait by Titian is known to all visitors to the Uffizi, see Vol. I. of the Monum. di varie lett. di L. Beccadelli, Bologna, 1797. Numerous still unprinted letters of Beccadelli's are in Biblioteca Palatina of Parma in Cod. 1009, 1010, 1018–1032. From

of Pole's circle, the poet Marcantonio Flaminio.[1] Even if all the theological opinions of this good man were not infallible he was yet entirely free from that which, according to the teaching of the Catholic Church, alone constitutes formal heresy: the arrogance of a stubborn will and opposition to Church authority. Pole therefore found it easy to wean him from errors instilled into him by Juan Valdes of Naples. Flaminio died in 1550, a devoted son of the Church, leaving behind him a letter written in 1543 to another prominent member of the Viterbo circle, the humanist and protonotary Carnesecchi. This is of great importance as indicating his frame of mind. In it he blames severely those cantankerous critics who dissent from the dogmas and usages of the Church. "We," so he writes, "wish to humble ourselves before God and on no account, however cogent the reasons may appear, to allow ourselves to be separated from the unity of the Church Catholic."[2]

The man to whom this was addressed disregarded, at a later period, its warning, for Carnesecchi in 1567 preferred to be executed as a heretic rather than to submit to the authority of the Church. The conversations held in Viterbo had at that time afforded cause of complaint to the

this material has sprung the publication of A. VITAL: Tre lettere [di L. Beccadelli] a Michelangelo, Conegliano, 1901.

[1] *Cf.* the thorough investigations of CUCCOLI (M. A. Flaminio, 77 *seq.*, 86 *seqq.*), and my own article on Flaminio's letter of Feb. 12, 1542, in the Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 112 *seq.* RANKE (Päpste, I., 6th ed. 90, 91) draws from this very letter the conclusion that Flaminio's sentiments were Lutheran. A learned authority on dogmatic theology, the late Cathedral Dean, Heinrich, considered the letter to be perfectly consonant with Catholic doctrine. "Analogies with Protestantism" can only be predicated of those who, like Ochino, separated themselves from the Catholic Church (*cf.* BUSS, I., 601).

[2] See CUCCOLI, 100.

Inquisition.[1] From Carnesecchi's admissions it was proved that Vittoria Colonna, the most celebrated poetess of Italy, had, in consequence of her intimacy with Contarini and Pole, likewise adopted the new theory of justification, just as she held in high respect the memory of Juan Valdes, who had died in the outward unity of the Church, without recognizing that his views deviated from Catholic doctrine.

Among the associates of Valdes was also the Capuchin, Bernardino Ochino, for whom Vittoria Colonna evinced the greatest veneration, until his open apostasy led her to break off all connection with him.

Bernardino Ochino[2] was born in 1487, at Siena, in the same quarter as St. Catherine. He at first entered the Franciscan Observants, where, however, the lax discipline repelled him; he therefore attached himself to their offshoot, the strict Capuchins. Endowed with a vivid imagination and great eloquence, he soon became the most celebrated preacher in Italy. His words were powerfully strengthened by his ascetic and inspiring appearance, and it was said of him that he could draw tears from stones. During the Lent of 1534, and often afterwards in following years, he preached at S. Lorenzo in Damaso before distinguished congregations, including many Cardinals. He used great freedom of speech; "his sermons," said Agostino Gonzaga,

[1] Estr. del processo di Carnesecchi, ed. MANZONI, in the Miscell. di stor. patr., X., Torino, 1870.

[2] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, I., 297 *seqq.*; SCHELHORN., Ergötzlichkeiten, I., 635 *seq.*, II., 216 *seq.*, III., 765 *seq.*; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 29 *seq.*; BENRATH, Ochino, Braunschweig, 1892; HETTINGER in the Histor.-Polit., Bl. XCIV., and Aus Welt und Kirche, I., 3rd ed., 258 *seq.*; HILGERS in Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlex., IX., 2nd ed., 659 *seq.* All the above-named, even Benrath, are the important authorities on Ochino of recent years, passed over by LUZIO (V. Colonna, 26 *seq.*).

"declare the Gospel and show the way to a truly Christian life; he does not shrink from saying what is necessary for the salvation of his hearers, and blames sharply those in high places, so that all Rome streams to hear him."[1] Since the days of Savonarola no preacher enjoyed such a reputation; cities and princes made the most strenuous efforts to secure his services; especially during Lent, when, in accordance with Italian custom, special preachers are called to occupy the pulpits, it was difficult for him to decline the invitations. As it often happened that he was bidden to different places at one time, the Pope himself had to take the matter in hand and settle which town was to have the good fortune to receive him within its walls.

One of Ochino's warmest admirers was Vittoria Colonna, who favoured him and his Order where she could, looking upon this as an opportunity for advancing the cause of Catholic reform, which she had embraced with all the depth of feeling of her ardent nature.[2] Like many others she turned with reverence to the great popular orator whose earnest life appeared to her to be that of a man of God.[3] In September 1538 Ochino reached the highest position in his Order; still greater things appeared to be in store for him. In October of the following year he was strongly recommended as a candidate for the Cardinalate,[4] and in

[1] See A. Gonzaga's report of March 12, 1535, in LUZIO, V. Colonna, 26 *seq.* *Cf.* MUZIO, Le Mentite Ochiniane, 12[b]; see also BELLUZZI, 39 *seq.*, 163.

[2] See TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna, 161 *seqq.*

[3] See REUMONT, V. Colonna, 136 *seq.*

[4] Vincenzo da Gatico to the Duke of Mantua: *Si è levata fama che S Sta vuole creare di nuovo cardinali, et in questo predicamento sono gli infrascritti: il thesoriere, il Gambaro, Mre Durante, Mre Marcello secretario, l' auditore della camera, il castellano, fra Bernardino da Siena et fra Dionisio generale da Servi. Dat. Roma il 24 di Ottobre, 1539 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

1541 he was again chosen Vicar-General of his Order, and his appointment confirmed by the Pope.[1]

The election took place in Naples, where for the first time Ochino had preached in 1536. There it was that he came under the fascination of the Spaniard Juan Valdes, who, in disagreement on important points with the Catholic Church, was the votary of a vague religion of sentiment.[2] His reverence for this man of "sweet utterance" was such that he allowed Valdes to prescribe to him the subject and scheme of his sermons.[3] Subsequently, through Valdes, he came to know the writings of Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. The results soon showed themselves, and voices arose accusing the Capuchin monk of heresy. The viceroy wished to prohibit him from preaching, but Ochino defended himself so cleverly that the continuance of his Lenten course was sanctioned. Vittoria Colonna, on hearing of the accusations, attributed them to the envy of other preachers.[4] Almost everyone shared her opinion, and Ochino continued as before to secure triumphs as an orator; the viceroy Ferrante Gonzaga wished to have him at Palermo, Venice claimed him through no less a person than Pietro Bembo, who declared that he had never heard more profitable or more edifying sermons. "He expresses himself," so he wrote to Vittoria Colonna, "in quite a different and in a much more Christian way than any other preachers who fill our pulpits to-day; he gives unbounded pleasure to everyone, and when he leaves here he will carry all hearts with him." Even Pietro Aretino, that obscene jester, gave

[1] BENRATH, Ochino, 54.

[2] For Valdes, see our remarks in Vol. XII. of this work, Chap. XIII.

[3] See Estr. del processo di Carnesecchi, *loc. cit.*, 196.

[4] See Carteggio di V. Colonna, 138 *seq.*; BENRATH, 67 *seq.* An interesting letter of Ascanio Colonna to A. Ricalcati of May 7, 1537, in defence of Ochino, in TACCHI VENTURI, I., 501 *seq.*

expression to emphatic praises of the great preacher; in a letter to Paul III. he announced to him his conversion under the trumpet-blast of the apostolic monk and begged forgiveness for the unjust attacks upon the Curia contained in his ribald productions. This conversion, if such it were, certainly did not last long, just as his praise of Ochino was not altogether disinterested, since the latter had been induced to accept with favour[1] one of the edifying compositions which Aretino then found it useful to manufacture. There can, however, be no manner of doubt that at that time Ochino was, in the eyes of all the world, the ideal of a spiritual orator. "We have among us," reported Ottaviano de' Lotti to Cardinal Gonzaga from Rome during the Lent of 1539, "many eminent preachers; but none can be compared to Ochino."[2]

The reputation of the Capuchin was so securely established that the charge of spreading false doctrine, brought against him for the second time by the Theatines in Naples in 1539, gained no belief. Ochino certainly set about the dissemination of his views with great artfulness. Carnesecchi, who heard him at Naples in 1540, said later, during his trial, that Ochino certainly had preached justification by faith, but so cleverly and cautiously that no one had been offended at it.[3] Consequently, only very keen observers were aware that any change of doctrine had taken place.[4] He still, as before, was looked upon as a remarkable and holy preacher whose influence was excellent; even when, in Lent 1542, his intervention with the

[1] See LUZIO, V. Colonna, 34 *seq.* *Cf.* his essay on Aretino as a composer of religious writings (LUZIO, Opere ascet. dell' Aretino; Fanfulla d. Domenica, II. [1880], n. 22).

[2] The interesting letter of Feb. 24, 1539, in LUZIO, *loc. cit.*, 37.

[3] See BENRATH, 68 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Grillenzoni's letter to Morone in BENRATH, 69, n. 1.

nuncio Fabio Mignanelli on behalf of Giulio da Milano, accused of heresy, gave rise to misunderstanding, this at first had no evil consequences. The Venetians took up the cause of their beloved preacher so warmly that the nuncio thought it the lesser evil of the two to let him alone.[1]

Nevertheless, the disagreement in Venice was the prologue to the catastrophe. Paul III., who had hitherto valued Ochino beyond measure, had become alarmed; but it was sorely against his will to take steps against a man who had done so much good and whose character stood so high among all classes. In any case he was determined to proceed only after thorough inquiry and with the greatest consideration.[2] In a very courteously worded letter from Cardinal Farnese he invited Ochino, on the 15th of July 1542, to come, as quickly as his health would permit, to Rome in order to discuss the religious views of certain Capuchins, as the Pope did not wish to act in the matter without taking counsel with him.[3] Ochino just at that moment was at Verona, where he was lecturing to his brethren in the Order on St. Paul's Epistles in his own sense. Conscious of his guilt, he hesitated to obey the summons of his highest superior; his indecision was increased by the

[1] See the *Chronicle of Mario da Mercato Saracini (Archives of the Capuchins, Venice).

[2] REUMONT, V. Colonna, 198 *seq.*

[3] "Per una lettera del card. Farnese molto cortese," says Giberti in his letter to the Marchese del Vasto of Sept. 11, 1542 (in BENRATH, 284); not, therefore, as the latter supposed, through the Inquisition (p. 96). The reconstitution of the Inquisition dates from July 21, 1542; the summons to Ochino, however, took place on July 15, 1542. *Farnese's letter (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Princ., 146 C) is published by PICCOLOMINI under the title: Documenti Vaticani sull' eresia in Siena durante il secolo XVI. Estratto dal Bullett. Senese di storia patria Ann. XV. fasc. 3, Siena, 1908 (not publ. until 1909).

friendly, indeed confiding and flattering, terms in which the invitation was couched. Ill at ease and unable to make up his mind what to do, he tried at first to find a respite; he asked Cardinal Farnese to allow him to postpone his appearance at Rome, for which he declared himself ready, until the hottest days were over.

Giberti, always well disposed towards him, and little knowing how wide the inner breach between Ochino and the Church had already become, backed up this request through his friends at Rome. Before the answer came a Papal brief of July the 27th, 1542, arrived renewing the invitation and ordering Ochino, under penalty of disobedience, to start without delay for Rome, as his advice under the circumstances was indispensable.[1] This time Giberti also refused to listen to any more excuses for delay; if Ochino had been at fault, let him show his humble submission by his acts and not in words only; if he had not been at fault, then it was all the more his duty to obey the Pope's commands, whom God had set over the Church as head; he ought not to do the Pope the wrong of assuming that he would act unjustly towards him, especially as the Holy Father already in similar instances had shown more benevolence than severity.[2] Thereupon, towards the middle of August, Ochino set out upon his journey, and in Bologna he saw Contarini on his deathbed.[3]

[1] The brief (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 24, n. 624) is also published, *loc. cit.*, by P. Piccolomini. Both documents show that Ochino was making a false statement when he afterwards averred that he had been cited "con furia mirabile" (BENRATH, 291), and when he spoke of his citation as preconcerted with the Inquisition (*ibid.*). It was not until he had taken flight that the case came before the Inquisition.

[2] See Giberti's letter, quoted *supra*, p. 490, n. 3.

[3] The statements concerning Ochino's meeting with Contarini, in parts diametrically opposed, have been subjected to a searching

In Florence he went to the convent of Montughi; he had gone there with the intention of going on to Rome; there he fell in with the Augustinian, Pietro Vermigli, who, in a like plight with himself, had been summoned to Genoa by the Chapter of his Order and had already made the resolve to shun the responsibility by flight. Under the influence of Vermigli's representations Ochino determined to do the same. In advance of the former he again turned northwards, intending to hasten across the Alps to Calvin at Geneva.[1] His open revolt and apostasy from the Church were now consummated.

As elsewhere so in Rome the news of the desertion of the General of the Capuchins, the most renowned preacher of his time, caused the greatest surprise and the most painful impression; it was a scandal without a parallel. The general opinion, reported Cardinal Gonzaga's agent in Rome, is that Ochino has committed the greatest blunder possible from baffled ambition and in desperation, because at the last nomination of Cardinals he did not receive, as he had hoped, the red hat like the Dominican, Badia.

According to a further letter from the same writer Ochino at first saw no menace in the citation to Rome, but, on the contrary, a preliminary step towards the high honour

scrutiny by DITTRICH (Contarini, 849 *seq.*), of which, strange to say, BENRATH, in the new edition of his monograph, takes not the slightest notice (p. 99 *seq.*). Dittrich says aptly that there can be no complete clearing up of the matter without access to new documents. See also REUMONT, V. Colonna, 200.

[1] For the flight also LUZIO (V. Colonna, 42 *seq.*) brings new information which Benrath (p. 108) has overlooked. His data are confirmed and amplified by details taken from Ochino's companions, who related them to Bernardino da Colpetrazzo (see his *Chronicle in the General Archives of the Capuchins at Rome). *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, p. 487. See also SOLMI, Fuga, 95 *seq.*

for which he strove so eagerly.[1] If this is correct, and there is much in favour of the supposition,[2] then the tradition in the Order holds good that Ochino was first made aware in Florence by Vermigli that what awaited him in Rome was not the purple but a prison and death.[3] But Ochino at that time had no longing for martyrdom, although he had often before declared that he would gladly die for Christ. He states this repeatedly in a letter from Montughi to Vittoria Colonna, written immediately before his flight on the 22nd of August 1542. In this letter, which clearly reflects his agitation and confusion of mind, he excuses his behaviour on the ground that he was acting upon the advice of others; at the same time he tries in all manner of ways to justify himself.[4] Vittoria Colonna received the unhappy man's letter at the convent of St. Catherine in Viterbo; without the slightest hesitation she at once took up the Catholic standpoint. The downfall of this man, who once had stood so high in the respect of his fellow-men, could not have been wholly unexpected, since in August 1541 she had exclaimed, on hearing it said that all men held Ochino to be a true Christian man, "God grant that he may so persevere." [5]

Anxiety had thus already been awakened in this great woman's soul; nevertheless, that which now had come to pass must have shaken her to the depths. She discussed

[1] See the two accounts of N. Sernini of Sept. 31 and Oct. 14, 1542, by LUZIO, *loc. cit.*, 39, 40.

[2] Among others also the passages quoted by BENRATH (p. 101) from Ochino's Prediche, I., 10: "Di poiche cominciarono a suspicare di me, Paolo Papa ditto terzo non mancò colla sua prudentia d' usar mezzi per tirarmi alle sue voglie con invitarmi a dignità."

[3] BOVERIUS, I., 298.

[4] See CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 45 *seq.*; BENRATH, 287 *seq.*; Carteggio di V. Colonna, 247 *seq.*

[5] CONTILE, Lettere, I., Venezia, 1565, 19.

the whole matter with her director Pole, to whom naturally she also showed Ochino's letter of the 22nd of August. When the ex-Capuchin wrote her a second letter from Geneva, together with a justification of his apostasy, she sent them at once, on Pole's advice,[1] to Cardinal Cervini with the significant remark: "It grieves me deeply that the more Ochino tries to excuse the more he accuses himself, and the more he strives to save others from the shipwreck the deeper he sinks into the whirlpool, since he places himself outside the ark of salvation and security."[2] The firm position taken by Vittoria at this critical moment is in entire correspondence with the Catholic feeling to which she gives expression in many of her noble sonnets.[3]

Giberti, like Vittoria Colonna, condemned Ochino's

[1] "That Pole," observes Frantz (Lit. Rundschau, 1882, 432), "should have referred her to this strict disciplinarian, says as much for him as for Vittoria."

[2] Carteggio di V. Colonna, 256, 257.

[3] "These poems," says HAUCK (V. Colonna, Heidelberg, 1882, 53), "throw light on Vittoria's attitude towards Protestantism. They certainly afford no proof that she was attached to the movement, a fact which is not contradicted by the suspicion of Protestant opinions with which she was viewed by the Inquisition. What is exactly wanting in her *is* the Protestant spirit. She was fervent in her devotion to Our Lady and the saints. Nor was she less devoted to the institutions of the Romish Church. Just as in the sonnet to Charles V. she describes the Pope as the true shepherd, so at a later period she was also incapable of thinking of the Church apart from the Papacy." That REUMONT, in repelling the attacks of BENRATH in the Allg. Zeitung, 1882, Supplement No. 4, was "more in the right than Benrath," is also HARNACK'S opinion (Theol. Lit-Zeitung., 1882, No. 11). For Vittoria's Catholic feeling, *cf.* also KÖRTING, Gesch. der Literatur Italiens, III., 247; CAMPORI in the Atti dell' Emilia, III., 2, 18 *seq.*; FRANTZ in the Lit. Rundschau, 1882, 429 *seq.*; HÖFLER in Histor. Jahrb., IX., 70 *seq.*; GRAUERT, *ibid.*, X., 472 *seq.*; LUZIO (see *infra*, p. 498, n. 3); F. X. KRAUS, Essays, I., 291; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., L. 272.

apostasy without reserve and would not admit any extenuating circumstances. In a long letter to the Marchese del Vasto he gave expression to his feelings and at the same time clearly laid down the limits within which, for a Catholic, intending to be loyal to his faith, the work of Church reform might be pursued. Indignation at abuses in ecclesiastical government was no excuse for Ochino's action, since evils had always existed. "Even in time to come good and evil will coexist side by side. The saints and sages of the past in even worse times than ours did not on that account hate the authorities set over them, but felt sympathy for them, and took the only right course open to them by exhorting them by word and writing, offering up prayers and supplications to God, and fulfilling their own duties in a conscientious manner. This they did without bringing everything into confusion through unwisdom and passion, and leaving to religious innovators a false pretext to act upon."[1]

Charitably and temperately, but even on that account with annihilating force, Claudio Tolomei criticised the step taken by Ochino, and especially his declaration that to the Pope as antichrist he owed no obedience, in a letter of remonstrance addressed to his famous fellow-citizen, the friend of former years, now so grievously led astray. Whither would it lead if everyone had a right to fly from the commands and ordinances of his rulers, to whom obedience was a bounden duty? Whether he had erred or had not erred, the summons to Rome ought to have been obeyed. "If the charges brought against you were unfounded, what was there to fear in the presence of your lawful sovereign who had done so much for you? Like

[1] See BENRATH, 285. The letter confirms PIGHI'S (133 *seq.*) arguments regarding Giberti's orthodoxy, who had fallen under suspicion owing to his relations with Ochino (see SOLMI, Fuga, 93).

gold that has been tried in the fire, your reputation for purity of life and virtue might have shone the brighter. But if the charges are true, then I know not what to think; whether you have spread false doctrine among the people through ignorance or through wickedness. I admit that to me the former supposition is hardly credible and the latter quite incredible. But whether it be the one way or the other you ought, in the first instance, if you acted through ignorance, to be deeply grateful to your accusers for having by their charges brought you to the acknowledgment of the truth, whereby, being saved from the darkness of error, you may return again to the light of truth, to Christ Himself as the highest truth, the source, the beginning and end of all truths. But if you acted through wickedness, then this ground of action is guilty in itself and I know not anything that can exculpate you."

"Perhaps," Tolomei continued, "it will be urged in your defence that neither ignorance nor wickedness were your inducements, but that a higher enlightenment, that Christ had revealed to you hidden truths just as He also enlightened the apostle Paul and turned him from Judaism to the true faith. Christ in that case must have taught you the opposite of what He committed to His apostles and their successors, and by so doing have transformed Himself from the highest truth into the grossest falsehood! Thus Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, and the rest of the great servants of God were deceived and the deceivers also of others! Are we really to believe that Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, and so many other holy and admirable teachers of the law of Christ all erred, and instead of showing us the light wrapped us in darkness, instead of teaching us truth ensnared us with falsehood? No reasonable man can open his mind to such a false

conception. The Church cannot have been deserted by Christ until Luther arose, for we have His promise that He would be with us to the end of the world. Believe me, on this dark and stormy sea of conflicting opinions a star is shining to which we can look up, which can show us the way to bring us to God. This is, and alone can be, as many holy and learned men have testified, the Roman Church, which, founded by Peter, whom Christ chose to be the rock of His Church, has through an unbroken line of Popes come down to these our own days."[1]

Morone and Pole also shared the opinions of Tolomei, Giberti, and Vittoria Colonna. They were determined to remain in the "Ark of Salvation" and to preserve inviolable their obedience to the Pope.[2] This strong will to believe the teaching of the Church, and to subject private opinion to the authority of the Church, is what constitutes a Catholic a true son of the Church. A transitory error, especially in matters which have not yet been defined, cannot destroy this sonship. Therefore even in Rome, if zealots murmured suspiciously against the circle of Viterbo, good men only laughed, as an agent of Cardinal Gonzaga reports on the 2nd of September 1542, adding: "The Inquisition may examine the writings of Valdes through and through, but concerning Pole and his companions the best opinion prevails."[3] That Paul III. thought the same was shown later when he appointed Pole a President of the Council of Trent. In what high consideration the English Cardinal's great friend Vittoria Colonna always stood with

[1] See Lettere di Cl. Tolomei, III., Fermo, 1783, 8 *seq.* The strongly rhetorical letter of Carafa's to Ochino in SILOS, I., 213 *seq.*

[2] Even BENRATH (in HERZOG, Realenzykl., XV., 3rd ed., 705) acknowledges this as regards Pole. *Cf.* also QUIRINI, III., Praef., 59 *seqq.*; ZIMMERMANN, 216; CUCCOLI, 106 *seqq.*

[3] LUZIO, V. Colonna, 39.

Paul III. has just recently been illustrated by a striking incident, hitherto unknown, of the Pontiff's closing years. In August 1546 the aged Pope believed his end to be at hand; the question of his successor caused him constant preoccupation, and he, the ancient foe of the house of Colonna, turned to Vittoria for intimate counsel and advice.[1]

It was not until a much later period, when the rising aggressiveness of the Protestants made the necessity of severe measures of repression apparent even to those who were in themselves averse to such a forcible exercise of authority, that serious suspicions arose against persons like Pole, Morone, and Vittoria Colonna, who were in reality the ornaments of the Catholic Church.[2] But to represent them on that account as advocates of Protestant principles is, not to use any stronger expression, totally unhistorical.[3] The only charge to which they are justly liable is that they displayed towards persons who were experts in concealing their radically destructive tendencies a spirit of determined leniency and a great lack of discretion. But even here we must always endeavour to realize that the period was one of transition and uncertainty; at such times many things are possible. How confused the conditions then were may perhaps be most clearly perceived by recalling the fact that, shortly before the flight and apostasy of Vermigli, Morone and Contarini had recommended this very man to preach at Modena a course of

[1] See the documentary evidence in LUZIO, V. Colonna, 49.

[2] REUMONT in Allg. Zeitung, 1882, Supplement 46. More will be said about these suspicions in the future volumes of this work.

[3] Since in Italy, V. Colonna's Protestantism is still repeatedly alleged, it is not superfluous to recall the verdict with which LUZIO (V. Colonna, 50) closes his very thorough investigation: "Per chiunque sia guidato dal solo criterio della verità storica, e non da un qualsiasi preconcetto partigiano, il parlare d' un preteso protestantismo della Colonna è assurdo."

sermons against the heretical doctrines.[1] Lattanzio Tolomei was still anxious on the 11th of August 1542 that the Pope should appoint Ochino as preacher at Siena.[2] Indeed, the Roman agent of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga received a letter from the latter on the 22nd of August 1542 expressing a hope that he might be able to secure Ochino for Mantua.[3]

Under these circumstances, the defection of men like Ochino and Vermigli, however painful in itself and disastrous to their own souls, was so far a fortunate event inasmuch as it at last cleared the air. A crisis had come; there was a cleavage of spirits, and inner antagonisms that had hitherto lain dormant awoke to the light of day. The period of transition, during which elements fundamentally opposed were able to work together, disappeared and with it many momentous obscurities. Every day it became clearer that the question no longer turned round particular

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 817. What a favourable opinion the "Vicarius Generalis" of the "Canonici Regolari" had had of Vermigli up to the last is shown by the *letter to Lucca, dated Mantua, May 15, 1542 (State Archives, Lucca).

[2] See Vol. XII. of this work, App. 16. L. Tolomei had already, on June 20, 1542, *written to Siena: "Ogni giorno sollicito il rev. S. Croce sopra la expeditione del breve per fra Bernardino" (State Archives, Siena).

[3] See N. Sernini's letter of Aug. 23, 1542, in LUZIO, V. Colonna, 38. This as well as another letter of N. Sernini of Jan. 31, 1542, have once more been given by SOLMI, Fuga, 49 *seq.*, as if they had never been printed before; he treats (p. 51) in the same way the letter of Sept. 2, long since published by LUZIO, 39; on p. 69 Solmi prints a passage from one of N. Sernini's letters with the meaningless "poco di heresia" instead of "foco," as rightly given by LUZIO, 40; p. 78 this letter reappears in Solmi with the same mistake; in SOLMI, 75, there is a letter of Sept. 31, 1542, which Luzio has printed p. 39. Besides all this Solmi is acquainted with Luzio's work and even, on p. 77, enters into a polemic against him.

theological opinions and errors, but centred on the foundation principle of subjection to the highest ecclesiastical authority. Among those who remained loyal to the ancient Church the consensus was as united as ever that ecclesiastical reform was necessary and at the same time the agreement that, as Isidoro Clario, Bishop of Foligno, said: "No corruption can be so great as to justify a break with the holy communion of the Church." "Is it not better," he urged, "to restore that which we possess than to commit ourselves to uncertain attempts to bring in something else in its place? Our only thought should be how to improve the old institutions and purify them from their defects."[1]

Like Paul III., the high-minded men called by him to the Sacred College espoused this view of reform. Reform in the Church and by the Church, reform not external to nor antagonistic to the Church—therein they saw the way of safety. But as regards the methods to be pursued towards the innovators, there existed for some time longer great differences of opinion.

Like their leader Contarini, Pole, Morone and, for a longer time still, Sadoleto[2] held as before to the opinion

[1] *Cf.* BUSS, I., 601-602, and especially LAUCHERT in his Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, XXIX. (1908), 611-622. Moral defects in ecclesiastics are, says Ambrogio Catarino in his "Speculum Haereticorum" (Cracoviae, 1540), deplored by the true Catholic more than by any other, but they give him no ground for refusing obedience to his duly ordained ecclesiastical superior and separating from the Church.

[2] Sadoleto, who in his gentleness and aimiability towards Melanchthon had gone such lengths, reaped therefrom nothing but mortification (see KAWERAU, Die Versuche, Melanchthon, 48 *seq.*). Even Calvin sharply rebuffed him in his reply to Sadoleto's appeal to the Genevese to return to the Church (see Corp. Ref., XXXIII., 368 *seq.*, 385 *seq.*). Whether this caused the change in him it is impossible to say. It is certain that in 1545 the bloody chastisement of the Waldensians met with his approval (see HERZOG, Realenzykl., XVII., 3rd ed., 331).

that the best and most certain way of recovering lapsed members of the Church was to deal with them with the utmost gentleness, friendliness, and charity. Opposed to them were the strict party with Cardinals Carafa and Alvarez de Toledo at their head, who advocated, especially after the failure at Ratisbon to come to a peaceable agreement with the Protestants, that, in view of the great peril to which the purity of the faith was exposed almost everywhere and even in Italy itself, the sharpest measures of defence should be adopted, and that the heretical bodies should be met with the full force of that material power which the Church had once wielded in the 13th century against the Waldensians and Cathari. When Paul III., in July 1542, under pressure of the danger which threatened to rob the Church of such great cities as Modena and Lucca, resolved to reorganize the Inquisition[1] as the instrument of this system of repression, he opened up a new era.

Mere repression, however, was not sufficient to drive off the dangers threatening the Church. Not less important than the repulse of her foes within was the reformation of clergy and laity; the burden of ecclesiastical transgression must be thrown off if apostasy was to be checked at its source. On this arduous task Paul III. did not cease to fix his attention; its happy completion had to be left to his great successors, who were men filled with the spirit of Catholic reform.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, Chap. XIII.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION UNDER PAUL III. AND THE ITALIAN BISHOPS.—THE WORK OF THE THEATINES, BARNABITES, URSULINES, AND CAPUCHINS.

ONE of the greatest difficulties confronting a government which has entered on a wrong track is to retrace its steps and once more strike the right road. This was also the experience of Paul III. in the midst of those labours of reform which, from a deep conviction of the necessity of a radical improvement in the ecclesiastical conditions of the time, he inaugurated immediately after his election, and pushed forward amid the greatest hindrances for ten years, until the Council met which was finally to settle and consolidate his policy in this respect. The Pope's comprehensive scheme, although not crowned with complete success, embraced, apart from the restoration of the Sacred College, the reform of the Roman Curia on the one hand and, on the other, the obligatory residence of bishops in their dioceses and of the pastoral clergy as a whole in their parishes.[1] But Paul III.'s conception of a genuine Catholic reform extended in other directions as well; by means of numerous particular ordinances he sought to improve the organization of the secular and regular clergy, who in many cases had sunk into habits of decadence. This side of his energetic government demands closer attention, because the evidence for it is for the most part contained in hitherto

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 133 *seqq.*

unpublished sources, and thus up to the present time has entirely escaped observation.

The isolated ordinances of a reforming character began immediately after his coronation,[1] and by the year 1535 they had already covered an extensive area. They were principally directed at the Italian clergy, especially at the members of the older Orders, whose deep corruption and obstinate resistance to any reformation often made repeated interference necessary. A large number of regulations also apply to Spain and Portugal.[2] Nor in the following years of his long pontificate was Paul III. less assiduous in promoting similar measures for the reform of the clergy; above all, he sought to grapple with the restoration of monastic discipline. It is particularly striking how often his intervention was necessary in the affairs of cloistered women; out of the fifty-one volumes of his briefs there are only a few which do not contain some directions of reform; for many years, such as 1539, 1540, and 1542, one decree follows another. Almost all concern the countries inhabited by the Latin races; the rest fall into the background, for the turmoil of their religious divisions was already making a peaceable work of reform impossible.[3] The soundest and most successful results of the reforming legislation of Paul III. were to be found in places where his orders could be carried out with the co-operation of men whose zeal was as genuine as his own.

Pre-eminent among such stands the lofty figure of Giberti, the great Bishop of Verona. The shining example of pastoral devotion, already set by him[4] in the midst of

[1] See Appendix No. 44 from the *Min. brev. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Appendix No. 44.

[3] See Appendix No. 44.

[4] See our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, 428 *seqq*. On the decline of the episcopate, see TACCHI VENTURI, I., 159 *seqq*.

the debasement of the Italian episcopate in the days of Clement VII., lasted to the end of his life. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties which some communities, and especially the Cathedral Chapter of Verona, had in store for him,[1] his work of reform may be looked upon as achieved when in 1542 Giberti sent to Paul III. for confirmation the entire collection of his decrees of reform, which the Pope received with high marks of recognition on the 25th of May.[2]

These edicts of the Bishop of Verona treated exhaustively of the worthy manner of life, the attire, and general behaviour of the priesthood, the proper celebration of Divine worship, especially of Holy Mass, the profitable exercise of the preacher's office, the duty of pointing out errors of doctrine, the administration and dispensing of the Sacraments, the decent condition of churches, the abuses of the system of Indulgences, cases of reservation, processions, wedlock, the management and expenditure of church revenues, the punishment of clerical offenders—in short, almost all ecclesiastical questions were therein handled in the spirit of a Catholic reformation.[3] For such matters this collection is a document of great importance. Giberti had it printed so that even a parish priest might possess and study it as his manual.

These masterly regulations were at a later period taken as models by such devoted bishops as St. Charles Borromeo; indeed, many of the enactments of the Council of Trent

[1] Besides the sources produced in Vol. X. of this work, 435 *seq.*, *cf.* also N. Arch. Veneto, VII. (1904), 250 *seqq.*, 257 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*, and Atti d. Ist. Veneto, LXV. (1905–6), 210 *seq.*, 227 *seq.* For the convent of S. Maddalena, which gave Giberti so much trouble for ten years, see DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., VII., 38 *seq.*, 266 *seq.*, and PIGHI, Giberti, 95 *seq.*

[2] Opera, Giberti, xcix.

[3] *Ibid.*, 11–53; *cf.* PIGHI, 107 *seqq.*

were borrowed from them almost word for word.[1] Paul III. supported where he could the reforms of Giberti, whom he had already appointed *Legatus Natus* in 1536.[2] His grief, like that of all the friends of a renewed condition of ecclesiastical affairs, was great when this illustrious prelate died on the 29th of December 1543. "Our Bishop," said the Carmelite Angelo Castiglione, "lived like a saint and died like a saint." The Pope in consistory expressed regret at this great loss to the Church. In poetry and prose the deceased was celebrated as the restorer of Church discipline, as the type of a good shepherd, as a model bishop.[3] Such to a great extent had been his reputation during the lifetime of Clement VII., and still more so under Paul III. Among those who were personally influenced by Giberti in the direction of reform, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga deserves special mention. In the better government of his diocese of Mantua, Giberti was a strong support both as an adviser and an auxiliary.[4]

Ercole Gonzaga,[5] born in 1505, was the son of the Marquis Francesco and the celebrated Isabella d'Este.

[1] See DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., VII., 49 *seq.*

[2] *Documents dated Rome, 1536 ult. Junii, in Cod. DCCLXXXIII., f. 258 (Capitular Library, Verona).

[3] See DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*, 47 *seq.* "Fu a noi," say the *Annali di P. Teatini a Venezia, "acerba una tale perdita, assai grave alla sua città et gravissima a tutta la chiesa, attesochè in lui si vedeva tolto un prelato di grande esemplarità, di singolare dottrina, di ardente zelo e che tanto aveva travagliato per la riforma del clero e per mantenere inconcussi ed incontaminati i dogmi dell' cattolica credenza, vescovo in vero degno d' immortale memoria" (General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome).

[4] "Addens calcaria sponte currenti," says CORTESE (Opera, I., 137).

[5] *Cf.* SUSTA, I., xlii. *seq.* and the writings there mentioned. For the nomination of Cardinals, see Vol. IX. of this work, 384, n. 4. A monograph on E. Gonzaga is much needed. There is ample material in Mantuan, Roman, and Viennese sources.

He had been educated in the zenith of the Italian renaissance, of which in his youth he was a votary.[1] Administrator of the bishopric of Mantua since 1520 and seven years later created a Cardinal, he afterwards began to take life more seriously. Ercole formed close relationships with Giberti, Carafa, Contarini, and other leaders of Catholic reform and became himself a convinced adherent of the movement.[2] In consequence of the quarrel between himself and Paul III., a disagreement called forth principally from a conflict of personal interests,[3] Cardinal Ercole lived always in Mantua, where his predecessor Cardinal Sigismondo had already endeavoured to check the decay of clerical life.[4] Ercole followed in his steps forcibly and successfully. When in 1540 his brother Federigo died, leaving an heir still in his minority, he was also called upon to exercise the regency; strong as a secular ruler, he was even more so in the government of his diocese.

He ruled the Mantuan bishopric with a rod of iron and, especially in the convents, some of the conditions he had to deal with could not have been worse. In order to carry out his plans of reform he gave directions, after the example set by Giberti, that in the beginning of 1534 a thorough visitation should be held of the churches

[1] Litta's report, questioned by SUSTA (*loc. cit.*), that Ercole had natural children, is confirmed by documents in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] How displeasing Giovio's mundane disposition was to the Cardinal, see LUZIO, Lett. di Giovio, 11.

[3] This concerned ecclesiastical benefices to which Paul III. laid claim to for his family. A deep enmity arose in consequence, which is reflected in the reports of the Cardinal's Roman agent, thus making them tainted sources of authority.

[4] *Cf.* Cardinal Sigismondo's *letter to the Marquis of Mantua, dated Rome, Feb. 13, 1513 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

of Mantua, during which in each parish the citizens of most importance should give an account of the vocation, conduct, and sacerdotal ministry of the clergy. This commission went from parish to parish taking notes of the actual condition of things.[1] Ercole kept eager watch over the execution of his regulations of reform.[2] The visitation of all places in his diocese was repeated afterwards at fixed periods, and in this way a real improvement was effected.[3] Constitutions on the plan of Giberti's were also laid

[1] See the *Informationes de qualitate, vita et moribus rector. parochial. sive ab eis substitutor. receptae et habitae de mandato Card. Mant., which begin with Jan. 30, 1534; from them it is plain that there were still in Mantua many parish priests of high character (Capitular Archives, Mantua).

[2] See, among other evidence, the *letter of the Cardinal to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, July 13, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *cf.* also the letter of June 16, 1536, in Quellen und Forschungen, II., 169 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* besides Arch. stor. Lomb., 1884, 490 *seq.*, especially the *Liber visitationum factar. in dioc. Mantuana, 1544, a folio volume of 148 pages beginning Aug. 12, 1544, reaching to Sept. 1546, with later additions. The Cardinal's Vicar-General, Franciscus Marnus, here gives a full description of the spiritual and material condition of the diocese and the reforms ordered by him. As a specimen I give the report on Pietole of May 22, 1547: *Anime 544 omnes sunt confessi et communicati de anno praesenti nullo excepto. Duo societates. Sub dicta parochia nullus est blasphemator publicus, nullus fenerator nec concubinarius nec superstitiosus (Capitular Archives, Mantua). *Ibid.*, the *fragment of a visitation of 1540 and 1542. For the reform of convents, see many *documents in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (especially the Cardinal's *letter to the Duke, dated Rome, Oct. 26, 1536). *Cf.* also Quellen und Forschungen, *loc. cit.*; N. Arch. Veneto, VII., 264, 269 *seq.*; and the *letter of the Cardinal to Cardinal Cervini, dated Mantua, Dec. 23, 1537, in Cod. Barb. lat., 5789, f. 82 *seq.* (Vatican Library); *ibid.*, f. 129 *seq.*, *exhortation to the Chapter of the Canons Regular of the Lateran to do away with abuses, dated Mantua, April 22, 1539.

down.[1] The former disciple of Pomponazzi, Cardinal Ercole, nevertheless took very stringent measures against heresy.[2]

In the reforms at Mantua, as well as in those at Verona, Contarini's participation was active;[3] in the diocese of Belluno, conferred upon him by Paul III. on the 23rd of October 1536, the Cardinal laboured entirely in the spirit of the treatise written in his youth on the duties of a bishop. When recalled to the Curia, he was at first only able to exercise an indirect influence; but in the summer of 1538 he took in hand personally the removal of abuses, of which there was a rich crop in the see of Belluno. His assistant, Girolamo Negri, a man of great merit, was ordered by this otherwise so mild a ruler to proceed with rigour against defaulting clergy, especially those of immoral life.[4]

In the same way, with the support of Paul III., reforming bishops arose such as Giberti's successor Pietro Lippomano,[5]

[1] A copy of these Constituzioni del Card. Ercole in the Capitular Archives, Mantua.

[2] See DAVARI in Arch. Stor. Lomb., VI., 588; LUZIO, V. Colonna, 43, n. 2; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIV., 452; XL., 325 *seq.*

[3] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 398 *seq.*, 401, and FRIEDENSBURG in Quellen und Forschungen, II., 163, 168 *seq.*, 185, 196 *seq.*, 206 *seq.*

[4] DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 411 *seq.*, and Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 271 *seqq.*

[5] See besides UGHELLI (*passim*), who is also always to be consulted for the following bishops, on P. Lippomano, who did good work in Bergamo from 1517, GARAMPI, App. 277 *seq.*; FINAZZI, Lettera di Vida al P. Lippomano, Genova, 1870, and Cod. DCCLXXXIII., f. 272 *seq.*, of the Capitular Library, Verona. The *description here given (f. 268 *seq.*) of the Intrada di P. Lippomano in Verona à di 26 Ottobre 1544 (a publication rarely met with, Verona, 1870), is interesting on account of the inscriptions, the ecclesiastical character of which are in marked contrast to those of earlier times, when even on the entry of a Pope the emblems smacked of a pagan humanism. Convent reform in Verona is dealt with in two *letters of Lippomano to Cardinal Cervini of July 22 and 24, 1549 (State Archives, Florence C. Cerv., 22).

Marco Girolamo Vida of Alba,[1] Fabio Vigili of Spoleto,[2] Isidoro Clario of Foligno,[3] Ferdinando Pandolfini of Troja,[4] and others.[5] To these may be added Cardinal Aleander in Brindisi,[6] Bernhard von Cles in Trent,[7] Francesco Cornaro in Brescia,[8] Francesco Pisani in Padua and Treviso,[9] Carpi in Faenza and Nocera,[10] Sadoleto in

[1] See Arch. Stor. Lomb., 1894, 24 *seq.*; 1898, 197 *seqq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., L., 110 *seq.*; LI., 232 *seq.*

[2] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 183.

[3] *Cf.* FALOCI PULIGNANI, S. Feliziano, Foligno, 1903, 59, 91 *seq.*, 198, and *supra*, p. 500.

[4] See Cronica in Riv. bibl., XVII., 76.

[5] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 79.

[6] Besides PAQUIER, Aléandre, 356 *seq.*, see the *letter of Dominicus de Mussis, dated Brindisi, March 20, 1533 (Lett. d. princ., VIII., 36, 44, Secret Archives of the Vatican), and especially *Ant. de Beccariis ep. Scodren. vic. card. H. Aleandri in archiep. Brundus. institutio et praecepta quaedam christiana suis gregibus (CAPPONI, XXIII., f. 187–202, National Library, Florence), which is a testimony to the author's reforming zeal.

[7] Cles, a great patron of arts and letters, had ordered in 1524 a visitation of his diocese (Arch. Trid., Caps. 43, n. 22, Viceregal Archives, Innsbrück); the peasants' war hindered the undertaking. In 1531 he ordered anew the visitation of his diocese (ALBERTI, Annali di Trento, 1860, 478). A further visitation took place in 1536. The Const. synodales episc. Trid. were published in 1538.

[8] *Cf.* GRADONICUS, Pontif. Brix., 362 *seq.* See the *brief to Cardinal Cornaro of Dec. 6, 1542 (Arm., 41, t. 25, n. 926, Secret Archives of the Vatican). Cornaro had already in 1532 held a visitation of his diocese (see his *letter to Clement VII. of Aug. 26, 1532; *ibid.*, Lett. d. princ., VII., 303).

[9] *Cf.* the *brief addressed to him on June 14, 1539 (Arm., 41, t. 13, n. 629, Secret Archives of the Vatican), and Appendix No. 44.

[10] For Faenza, see the *brief to him of Jan. 27, 1540 (Arm., 41, t. 16, n. 66, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For convent reform in Nocera, see the *letter of Carpi of Nov. 13, 1542, in Cod. Vat., 4105, f. 180, Vatican Library.

Carpentras,[1] Carafa in Chieti,[2] Doria in Genoa,[3] Marcello Cervini in Reggio;[4] lastly, Morone in Modena and as Legate in Bologna.[5]

Contarini had already experienced the difficulty arising from his retention at Rome by his duties as Cardinal and had therefore accepted, only with reluctance, the see of Belluno. At a later period the advocates of stricter discipline at Rome called more loudly for a limitation to the nomination of Cardinals to bishoprics. Accordingly Paul III. issued a constitution in the beginning of 1547 by which the Cardinals within an appointed interval were called upon to resign their bishoprics save one.[6] All obeyed with the exception of the French Cardinals, who were confronted with difficulties concerning the maintenance of their establishments in becoming dignity—difficulties which the Pope sought means to obviate.[7]

Together with the Italian bishops who distinguished themselves in the cause of reform, a foremost place must be given to one General of a religious Order, Girolamo Seripando.[8]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 161.

[2] See BROMATO, II., 20 *seq.*, 24, 37 *seq.*

[3] SOLMI, Fuga, 30.

[4] Appendix No. 43.

[5] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 88; the monograph of Bernabei (see *supra*, p. 206, n. 1) and Appendix No. 42.

[6] See Acta consist. cancell., 5, f. 14 *seq.*, and Castel S. Angelo, A 18, Ordo 16, n. 1, f. 10 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 2; THEINER, Acta, I., 454; MERKLE, I., 135; Corp. dipl. Port., VI., 268; DRUFFEL, Akten, I., 115 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*

[7] From the hitherto unknown *brief to Francis I. of March 8, 1549. Arm., 41, t. 45, n. 155 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[8] Although the National Library, Naples (see CALENZIO, Docum., 353 *seq.*), the Vatican Library, the Court Library, Vienna (see SUSTA, I., lxiii *seq.*; MERKLE, I. and II.), and the general archives of the Augustinian Order in Rome are replete with material for Seripando's

Great in his discernment of suitable men, Paul III., on the 12th of December 1538, had appointed as Prior-General of the Augustinian Order a Neapolitan eminent as a preacher, theologian, Ciceronian, and Hellenist, but above all as an ally of Catholic reform.[1] The hopes of the kindred spirits in the Order at once centred upon him,[2] and Seripando, as a matter of fact, at once drew up reforming regulations.[3]

Before the meeting of the General Chapter in Naples in May 1539 Paul addressed to him and to the definitors of the Augustinian Hermits a brief, in which, referring to his anxiety for the restoration of the Mendicant Orders, he ordered, under pain of excommunication, the purging of all Lutheran elements from the Order together with the rehabilitation of its pristine sanctity.[4] The Chapter elected Seripando as General, an office which he continued to administer for twelve years. With the greatest energy he set himself to the task, so full of difficulty, of regenerating an Order from the depths of its decay. Not content with

biography, this work has not yet been undertaken. To Naples we owe the *Diarium of Seripando, not fully published by CALENZIO (*loc. cit.*, 153 *seqq.*), to the archives of the Order the correspondence with Hoffmeister in PAULUS, 395 *seqq.* *Cf.* also CIACONIUS, III., 905 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 7 *seq.*; OSSINGER, Bibl. August., 836 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 266 *seqq.*; SUSTA, I., lvii *seq.*; N. Crusenii pars tertia monasterii Augustin. c. addit., I. Lanteri, I., Vallisoleti, 1890, 105 *seq.*, 604 *seq.* I had not access to FR. LINGUITI, Della vita e delle opere di G. Seripando (1862).

[1] The *documents of Dec. 12, 1538, in *Registrum H. Seripandi, XVIII., 1 *seqq.* General Archives, Augustinian Order, Rome.

[2] See the letter of Fra Nicola da Trento to Seripando, dated Trent, Jan. 9, 1539. National Library, Naples, XIII., AA 47.

[3] *Cf.* his *letters of Feb. 2 and 9, and March 24 and 26, 1539. General Archives, Augustinian Order, Rome.

[4] Brief of April 6, 1539. Arm., 41, t. 13, n. 343 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

written admonitions despatched in all directions, he undertook the personal inspection and reformation of all the houses of Augustinian Hermits.[1] Italy came first on the roll, the visitation there beginning in autumn 1539 with the kingdom of Naples, going on to Rome, Siena, Florence, Perugia, Fermo, Recanati, Ancona, Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Bologna, and closing with Padua and Venice. Everywhere he exercised the strictest discipline;[2] and at the same time made his journey the opportunity for frequent preaching. On the 19th of May 1540 he was able to write from Venice that he had visited, with the exception of Lombardy, all the Italian settlements, and now had thoughts of visiting France.[3] This intention he also carried out with the strong support of Paul III.[4]

From the autumn of 1540 to the spring of 1541 he was occupied with the French houses and then with those of Spain and Portugal. This indefatigable reformer did not return to Italy until February 1542; he kept Easter in Rome, and from thence wrote a letter of exhortation to the Italian province enjoining a strict observance of the

[1] A much fuller account than that in the *Diarium in CALENZIO (Docum., 353 *seqq.*) is to be found in the *Registrum Seripandi, XVIII. (1538–1540); XIX. (1540–1542); XX. (1542–1544); XXI. (1544–1546); XXII. (1546–1548); XXIII. (1548–1550). General Archives, Augustinian Order, Rome.

[2] "Cavendum nobis est non modo a malo, sed a quavis vel levissima mali suspitione," he *wrote on Oct. 14, 1538, to the Provincial of Apulia. Registr. Seripandi, XVIII., *loc. cit.*

[3] *Letter to the Provincial of France (*ibid.*).

[4] See Paul III.'s *ordinance against the *vagantes* (*apostati*) of Feb. 22, 1540 (Registr., XVIII., 145 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*); *cf. ibid.* (Bolle) a similar *ordinance of Paul's of Sept. 8, 1540. Seripando's deputation as Apostolic commissary for all Orders, "citra et ultra montes," of June 10, 1540, in Arm., 41, t. 17, n. 514 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *ibid.*, t. 20, n. 264, the *Bull to the King of Portugal (dated March 23, 1541) supporting Seripando.

reforms.[1] With the house in Venice Seripando was afterwards to have the greatest trouble; nowhere else did his remedial measures meet with such strong opposition.[2] Still greater confusion was caused by the intrusion of Lutheran elements, particularly in the Lombard province of the Order.[3] In order to meet this danger and at the same time advance the cause of reform, Paul III.[4] convoked a fresh General Chapter at Rome in May 1543. The result of this meeting was unrelaxed effort on the part of Seripando to reform his Order; special resolutions had been passed with regard to preaching and the revision of the Augustinian rules.[5] At the same time he was determined to extirpate Lutheranism from the Order,[6] and found a strenuous supporter in the Pope.[7] When at a later date Seripando was occupied exclusively with the affairs of the Council of Trent, the Pope took care that his reform work was not brought to a standstill.[8]

Paul III. was similarly engaged in the renovation of other Orders.[9] The Dominicans claimed his special attention; twice, in 1543 and 1547, a general visitation

[1] *Letter of April 27, 1542. Registr., XIX., *loc. cit.*

[2] See the letter to the convent in Venice of July 26, 1542, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *letter of Feb. 24, 1542, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the brief of March 30, 1543, in RAYNALDUS, 1543, n. 58, and that of April 18, 1543. Registr., XX., *loc. cit.*

[5] See PAULUS, Hoffmeister, 167 *seq.*

[6] See in Appendix No. 41 the letter of March 26, 1544. *Cf.* also Seripando's retrospect of his work in the *letter of Feb. 1, 1548. Registr., XXII., 148, *loc. cit.*

[7] See the *briefs of April 7, 1541, June 26, 1542, and (*s. d.*) 1544. Arm., 41, t. 24, n. 310; t. 21, n. 333; t. 31 *seq.*, f. 356 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[8] *Brief of March 26, 1546 (General Archives of the Augustinian Orders, Rome [Bolle]).

[9] For the congregation of Meleda, founded by order of the Pope, see Katholik, 1860, I., 209 *seq.*

was set on foot and carried out in obedience to Papal instructions.[1] This Order underwent the same system of scrutiny as the others; special provision was made on the one hand against careless preachers or those who were contaminated by heresy,[2] and on the other against itinerant friars who, in spite of all prohibitions, had become an unmanageable nuisance.[3]

The unrelaxed efforts of the Pope, Seripando, and the bishops in sympathy with them, to restore the old Orders to something like their primitive condition, shows more clearly than anything else how deeply these institutions had been contaminated by the world and how little recuperative power they still retained.[4] Under such circumstances it seems directly providential that the Church should have proclaimed her inextinguishable vital force in a succession of new foundations which, under the blessing and patronage of the Holy See, laid the foundations of a deep inward renewal of Christendom and infused into that body in a wonderful way the currents of reinvigorated life and strength.

[1] See *the briefs to the General of the Order of Oct. 27, 1543, and June 25, 1547. Arm., 41, t. 28, n. 689; t. 39, n. 545 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the Papal ordinance of March 30, 1543, in FONTANA, Docum., 390 *seq.*

[3] An ordinance, addressed to all bishops, against the "fratres vagantes sine facultate superiorum" of April 1, 1546, in WADDING, XVIII., 410 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 430 *seq.*; and Bull., VI., 380 *seq.*, the ordinance against the *vagantes* of the Franciscan Conventuals of Jan. 7, 1547. *Cf.* the rare work of FRANCISCUS TURRENSIS, In monachos apostatos, Romae, 1549.

[4] For the corruption in the convents of both sexes in Italy, see the information in TACCHI VENTURI, I., 43 *seqq.*, 51, 143 *seq.* How often the monastic orders were themselves to blame for the contempt under which they had fallen is clearly shown in Sebastiano del Piombo's letter to Aretino of Dec. 4, 1531, in GUHL, I., 230 *seqq.*

During the reign of Clement VII. there had already arisen, independently of the religious schism and without any relation to it, certain communities of regular clergy, or, as they were popularly called, of reformed priests, who had devoted themselves, as followers of the evangelical life and as true subjects of the Holy See, to such practical engagements as the intensifying of the spiritual life, preaching, care of the sick, and other works of Christian charity.[1] One of the great services rendered to the Church by Paul III. was his recognition of the adaptability of these new organizations to the altered circumstances of the time and his readiness to extend to them his favour and protection.

The oldest of these new foundations, the Order of the Theatines, which sprang from the "Oratory of the Divine Love" in Rome, was still under the direction of its founder, Gaetano di Tiene, and his colleague, Gian Pietro Carafa. The former was head of the Neapolitan house, while in Venice, Bonifazio da Colle was superior.[2]

The actual direction of the Order had hitherto been in the hands of Carafa; fearing that the forces of the Order would be weakened by disruption, he consented, not without reluctance, to the establishment of the Neapolitan branch in 1533. When in 1535 Paul III. expressed the wish that the Theatines should resume their work in Rome, suspended after the sack, and that Carafa should himself

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, 393 *seqq.* My conviction, there expressed, that the Oratory of the Divine Love arose quite independently of the Lutheran apostasy, is confirmed by the discovery by TACCHI VENTURI (I., 407 *seq.*) that the first of these oratories was existing in Genoa as early as 1497.

[2] His election took place at the General Chapter held in September 1534 and was confirmed a year later; see *Annales Venetae domus and *Annales Neapolit. domus (General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome).

return to the Eternal City, the latter was less than well pleased. A return to the restless atmosphere of the Curia filled him with repugnance and alarm. He was devoted to his sequestered life in Venice among his Theatines, and to his work in the hospitals, for which he made heroic sacrifices. He had, however, eventually to yield to the repeated and increasingly urgent solicitations of the Pope, and on the 27th of September 1536 he reached Rome with three fathers and two lay brothers, leaving behind him as vicar in Venice, Giovanni Bernardino Scoto.[1] Carafa's fears were justified; the Pope kept him in Rome, and on the 22nd of December clothed him with the purple. Carafa had hitherto repelled this honour, and now, in his agitation, he fell ill. His cell in the Dominican convent of the Minerva, whither he had repaired, was so bare of furniture that he had not even a table on which to place his Cardinal's biretta, which was hung upon a nail on the wall. Gaetano di Tiene, who had come to Rome to attend the approaching General Chapter, remarked in his simple way that Carafa should have declined the honour. The latter, however, made it clear to him that the Pope's will was irresistible. "I have decided," said Carafa to his sister Maria, a Dominican nun in Naples, to "place my neck under the yoke."[2]

Carafa as Cardinal lost none of his devotion to the Theatine Order, but Gaetano di Tiene was then the ruling spirit, first as superior of the Neapolitan house, and afterwards as the unofficial referee to whom, personally, all the

[1] *Cf.* the *extract from the diary of Gregorio Marini Veneziano (once in the Archives of S. Silvestro, Rome, now in the General Archives of the Theatine Order, Rome) and BROMATO, I., 274 *seq.*, 282.

[2] *Cf.* Card. Ant. Carafa, *Apologia alla relat. del Navagero (National Library, Naples, X. F., 55, f. 4); CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV., lib. 2, c. 11, 12 (Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome); BROMATO, I., 286 *seq.*

affairs of the community were submitted with the utmost respect and obedience.[1] Gaetano set no limits to his pastoral energy. He preached and heard confessions constantly; the sick and those under sentence of death were never left unvisited; his retreats for the clergy, during which he urged without ceasing that the priesthood knew neither rest nor leisure, were crowned with blessings. He threw himself heart and soul into the direction of the Dominican nunnery of the Sapienza, over which the sister of Carafa, Maria, was Superior.[2] Early in 1538 Gaetano was able to connect with the Church of St. Paul, which in time to come was to be his place of sepulchre, a chapel which, on account of its size and situation in the heart of the city, permitted him and his colleagues to have a fair field for their work in Naples.

The services in St. Paul's were conducted in the most solemn manner, subject to certain special liturgical uses; thus on either side of the altar hangings were suspended so that the officiating priest should not be exposed to distractions. In the church itself men and women were not allowed to worship together. Even the gravestones were removed from the church, which became a model of cleanliness and order. While in many other churches, in accordance with the lax customs of the Renaissance, the behaviour of the people was highly irreverent, St. Paul's was spoken of as a centre of silence and recollection. To bring the vivacious Neapolitans to such a degree of self-discipline can have been no easy matter.[3] On the

[1] See ZINELLI, Mem. stor., Venezia, 1753, 110; SILOS, I., 191 *seq.*, 200.

[2] Paul III. confirmed the choice by a *brief, May 28, 1537. Copy in General Archives of Theatine Order, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* SILOS, I., 201 *seq.*, 206 *seq.*; LÜBEN, 190 *seq.*; MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, 140 *seq.* See also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 123 *seq.* For the

other hand, Gaetano won great popularity by restoring at Christmas the general custom, as old as the days of St. Francis, of erecting in all churches a representation of the holy manger.[1]

In 1539 the seeds of heresy sown by Juan Valdes in Naples, and more widely scattered by Ochino in his sermons, did not escape the vigilance of Gaetano and his colleague Marinoni, yet he was unable to carry out regulations against these dangers.[2]

From 1540 to 1543 Gaetano's government of the house in Venice was not less energetic. Here also he was determined that an example of divine worship should be set, and encouraged the faithful to practise frequent communion. In the beginning of 1541 he held, at the request of his friend Giberti, a mission in Verona, the results of which were largely blessed.[3] In the following year he was again engaged in efforts to counteract the teaching of Ochino, who was then, as in 1539, preaching the Lenten

second *palla* used by the Theatines as a corporal for the host, see GAVANTI-MERATI, Thes. s. rituum, I., 2, 1. The *Concessione della casa e chiesa di S. Paolo fatta alli Theatini di Napoli dal Card. Vinc. Carafa, is dated April 3, 1538. In the *deed addressed to the Praepositus of the Neapolitan Theatines it says: "Cum, sicut accepimus, vos proprium non habeatis, sed de elemosinarum oblationibus Christifidelium vivatis, adeo exemplaris vitae exercitio et divinorum officiorum celebrationi salubribusque monitis intenti hucusque existatis, ut merito totius civitatis nobilium et civium benevolentiam consequuti fueritis et ex vestrum religiosa vita et doctrinis nobiles et cives ipsi non parvam spiritualem consolationem suscipiant, locum tamen in prefata civitate, in quo juxta ipsius congreg. instituta altissimo in ejus beneplacitis famulando habitare possitis, non habeatis etc." (General Archives of Theatine Order, Rome).

[1] *Cf.* MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, 129.

[2] See CARACCIOLO, Vita di Paolo IV. (Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome); *cf.* BENRATH, Ochino, 68; SILOS, I., 222 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, 144.

course of sermons to great congregations; but he was again unsuccessful in obtaining the removal of the man who was so dangerously at variance with the Church.[1]

Gaetano's last years were spent in Naples, in unceasing labours of compassion for the bodily and spiritual infirmities of his fellow-men. In July 1545 he visited Rome and there made acquaintance with the founder of the Society of Jesus. In May 1547 he was again in Rome, called thither in order to take part in the Chapter of the Order held in the house of Carafa. This was an occasion involving an important decision; the Somaschi, founded by Girolamo Miani with the co-operation of Carafa, and in Venice and Milan the centre of beneficent work among orphans and reclaimed women, had on the 5th of July 1540 received confirmation as an association from Paul III.[2] They had now expressed a wish to submit themselves to the care and superintendence of the Theatines; the Pope entrusted the matter to Carafa's judgment, who, after careful examination, declared himself in favour of granting the request. The Pope and the Chapter of the Theatines concurred in this decision and the two bodies were amalgamated.[3]

In the same year 1547, on the 7th of August, Gaetano died a holy death amid all the disturbances called forth by

[1] See *supra*, p. 489 *seq.*

[2] Bull., VI., 285 *seq.* For the foundation of the Somaschi, see Vol. X. of this work, 448 *seqq.* For a leading follower of Miani's, see PALTRINIERI, Vita di Primo del Conte Milanese della congreg. Somasca, Roma, 1805.

[3] *Cf.* *CARACCIOLO, *loc. cit.*, I., 3, c. 12; SILOS, I., 240 *seq.*, 256; BROMATO, II., 1057. The Papal *approval, dated Oct. 8, 1546, in the General Archives of the Order of the Theatines, Rome; *ibid.*, copy of the *Acta capit. general. a. 1547. The copyist remarks, *Acta integra comitiorum anni 1547 b. Gaetani manu subscripta in epistola ad patres Venetos in nostro S. Silvestri archivo invenimus,

the attempt to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Naples. Before his decease he exhorted his associates to place all their trust in Providence, since on that their congregation had been built. At the same time he besought them to be grateful to their benefactors, to have a care for the adornment of the House of God, and to love their neighbours and, above all, the sick. He offered up his life in expiation for the city of Naples, praying God that He would preserve its people in the faith.[1] The guidance of the Order now passed to Bonifazio da Colle, who had entered it at its foundation on the 18th of September 1524, and in November 1548 the Englishman, Thomas Goldwell, was received at Naples as the first member not of Italian birth.[2]

The members of Gaetano's community, who according to the intention of their founder were to form a company of priests devoted to the cure of souls and in direct dependence on the Holy See, were at this time officially styled Clerks Regular, those in Naples being known from the title of their house as Priests of St. Paul, and those in Venice of St. Niccolò da Tolentino.[3] By the people they generally were spoken of either as reformed priests[4] or as Theatines or Chietines, from the name of Carafa's bishopric

[1] See LÜBEN, 243 *seq.*; MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE, 154 *seq.*, where there are details on the few relics and the grave of Gaetano.

[2] See BELLESHEIM in the Histor. Pol., Bl. LXXX., 964; SILOS, I., 302 *seq.* [Thomas Goldwell (1500–1585) returned to England with Cardinal Pole, and in 1555 became Bishop of St. Asaph. Exiled in 1559. The only English bishop present at the Council of Trent, 1561. Died in Rome 1585, being the last survivor of the English hierarchy. —EDITOR'S NOTE.]

[3] *Cf.* the preface to L. DAVIDICO, Anatomia delli vitii, Firenze, 1550, and the *Informatione della religione dei p. Theatini (a. 1598) in Cod. L. 23 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 41 *seq.*, 62.

of Chieti. The latter designation, often bestowed in jest on all friends of Carafa and on the supporters of the strict reform party in particular, came into notice as early as the thirtieth year of the 16th century and afterwards became widely current.[1] The Theatines excited admiration and wonder by their abject poverty; they never begged, but waited quietly for the alms bestowed upon them. "Poverty," wrote the Theatine Bernardino on the 12th of September 1539, "is the only means at the present time of maintaining the clergy in independence and the Church in dignity."[2] The strict manner of life among the Theatines very soon became proverbial,[3] and their example pointed the way with irresistible force to the reform of the clergy throughout Italy.[4]

Besides the Theatines another community of Clerks Regular, on which the friends of reform looked with great hopefulness, grew in importance under Paul III.[5] This was the society founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria, and was in many respects similar to that of the Theatines. Clement VII., in a brief of the 18th of February 1533, had approved of the congregation founded in Milan, the members of which renounced the world and surrendered themselves wholly to God for the salvation of souls. To attain this end two chief objects were kept in view: the improvement, on the one hand, of the clergy, in order thus to influence in a Christian sense the generation then growing up and, on the other hand, the reform of the rude and

[1] See *supra*, p. 194. *Cf.* also GIOVIO, Lettere, 87, 110; BROMATO, I., 269 *seq.*; Histor. Jahrb., V., 393; DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 358, 373; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 240.

[2] See DITTRICH in Histor. Jahrb., V., 393.

[3] See LUZIO, Lettere di Giovio, 45.

[4] Opinion of PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 17.

[5] *Cf.* Preface to L. Davidico, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 520, n. 3).

uncultivated classes by means of open-air missions and preaching.[1]

At the request of Zaccaria and his colleague Bartolommeo Ferrari, Paul III., in a brief of July the 20th, 1535, confirmed his predecessor's sanction and enjoined candidates for admission to take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience at the hand of any secular or regular priest. He also gave permission to the community to choose one among them as their Superior, to be appointed for three years, to admit other clerics and also laymen into their body, to observe publicly in their churches the hours of prayer, and to administer the sacraments of penance and of the altar at all times, with the exception of Easter. The Pope also thought it good that the first church to be built by the Order should be dedicated to St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles being held by them in special veneration, and he conferred upon them all the privileges belonging to Canons of the Lateran. Finally, he placed the community under the immediate authority and protection of the Holy See; this last privilege, however, was at first limited to five years.[2]

In order to support the missions among the people of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul, as the new community at first was called, by means of the evangelization and direction of women, the widowed Countess Luigia Torelli founded a sisterhood of pious women which Paul III. approved on the 15th of February 1535.[3] This body, directed by Zaccaria, was known as that of the "Angelice." This was approved by Paul III. in a brief of the 6th of August 1549, while at the same time he added to their privileges

[1] See Vol. X. of this work, 451 *seq.*

[2] Bull., VI., 190 *seq.*, and Litt. et Constit. s. pontif. pro congreg. cleric. reg. S. Pauli apost., Romae, 1863, 5 *seq.* *Cf.* BARELLI, I., 114.

[3] TEPPA, A. M. Zaccaria, 88.

especially by removing them from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop and placing them under the direction of the Superior of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul.[1]

As the seat of the Angelice, Luigia Torelli had erected a convent in Milan near S. Euphemia; the house formerly occupied by them near S. Ambrogio they presented to the Clerks Regular of St. Paul who, on leaving their residence near S. Caterina, settled there and set up a small oratory which in 1542 they enlarged into a church for public worship. Here they laboured unceasingly, dispensing the Sacraments, preaching, and frequently holding spiritual conferences for the clergy as well as for the laity. An accusation of heresy brought against Zaccaria and his colleagues ended in the complete acquittal of the unjustly incriminated priests. On the 15th of April 1536 Jacopo Antonio Morigia, a friend of Zaccaria, was chosen Superior. The latter had now greater freedom at his disposal for directing members of the Angelice and holding missions out of Milan. At the request of Cardinal Ridolfi he held a mission in Vicenza in 1537, and two years later he was at Guastalla, acting as peacemaker among the citizens; there he was taken seriously ill. He was taken to his home at Cremona and there, worn out by labours of charity and exercises of penance, he died on July the 5th, 1539, having just reached his thirty-sixth year.[2]

[1] See ROSSIGNOLI, Vita di contessa di Guastalla L. Torella, Milano, 1686; HELYOT, IV., 116 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 519 *seq.* (II.,[2] 287 *seq.*); TEPPA, *loc. cit.*, 88 *seq.* Many details in (1) *Origine delle Angeliche di S. Paolo 1530–1537; (2) *Chronichetta delle Angeliche di S. Paolo scritta dall' Angelica Paola Antonia Sfondrati (autograph); (3) Libretto scritto da una Angelica di S. Paolo di Milano. These documents are in the General Archives of the Barnabite Order, Rome.

[2] See BARELLI, 117 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*; TEPPA, 109 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 134 *seq.* For Zaccaria's grave, see La cripta del b. A. M. Zaccaria nella chiesa di S. Barnaba in Milano, Roma, 1895.

"The Church has need of such men," said Paul III.[1] His foundation, which clung specially to Milan,[2] continued to flourish; the house near S. Ambrogio was found too small and the church there also was not roomy enough. For these reasons Zaccaria had already cast his eye on an ancient church dedicated to St. Barnabas standing in a very favourable position on a quiet open place not far from the so-called ship canal and within easy reach of the most populous quarter of the city. By the autumn of 1545 the acquisition of this spot was secured, and Morigia began the erection of a convent and a church from plans of his own. The convent was occupied by All Saints' Day 1547, and the church dedicated to St. Paul. The people, however, kept to the old name of St. Barnabas, and the members of the Order were known among them as the Barnabites.[3] On the 1st of December 1543 Paul III. had already confirmed in perpetuity the privilege of 1535, then limited to five years.[4] Thus the foundations were firmly laid of the Order from which proceeded that reform of Milan and other cities of Lombardy which at a later period was consummated by St. Charles Borromeo.

A devotion of a very special character spread gradually over the whole Catholic world through the influence of the Barnabites and the Capuchins. This was the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament during the public Exposition of the Forty Hours. It is impossible from the material at

[1] See TEPPA, 108.

[2] See the *Elenchus sodalium omnium qui congregat. habitum susceperunt ad diem XIII. Cal. Decemb. 1552 quo primum religiosae professionis lex in congregat. indicta (General Archives of the Barnabite Order, Rome).

[3] See BARELLI, I., 201 *seq.*; TEPPA, 122 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*

[4] Bull., VI., 193 *seq.*; Litt. et constit. (see *supra*, p. 522, n. 2), 10 *seq.*

our disposal to decide with certainty whether this beautiful custom owes its origin to the founder of the Barnabites or to the Capuchin, Guiseppe Plantanida of Fermo.[1]

While the Angelice, the true helpmates of the Barnabites, were even at a later date confined to northern Italy, another community had arisen which, in course of time, embraced in its activity the whole Catholic world. In this case also the beginnings were small and obscure. The foundress, Angela Merici,[2] born in 1469 at Desenzano on the Lago di Garda, lost her parents in childhood and, together with her sister, was adopted by an uncle at Salo. The sudden death of this dearly loved sister was a blow which Angela felt all the more deeply as she had passed away without receiving the last Sacraments. She now flung herself with greater devotion than before into a life of piety and became a tertiary of St. Francis. On her uncle's death Angela returned to her brother at Desenzano, where she soon began to gather round her young girls of like disposition to her own. One day while in prayer in a vineyard on the road from Desenzano to Salo she had what seemed to her a revelation from heaven calling upon her to found a community of women who should strive heavenwards in a life of active charity; she saw, indeed, a ladder reaching from earth to heaven on which maidens,

[1] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 199, and the special documents there produced. Plantanida's claims as originator are pleaded by P. EDOARDO in the Annal. eccl., 1897, 424 *seq.*, and P. NORBERT in Katholik, 1898, II., 151 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* POSTEL, Hist. de la Sainte Angèle Mérici, Paris, 1878, 2 vols. Here (I., xxviii *seq.*) are details regarding the forthcoming sources and biographies of the saints (G. Cozzano, F. Landini, G. B. Nazari, M. Bellintani). *Cf.* also the monographs of SALVATORI (Rome, 1807); GIRELLI (Brescia, 1871 and 1888); AT (Nôtre Dame d'Alet., 1885) and Gesch. der hl. Angela Merici, von einer Ursuline, Innsbruck, 1873; also HEIMBUCHER, I.,[2] 273.

with lilies in their hands and crowns about their brows, were ascending led by angels.

Hitherto absorbed in her personal sanctification, she now turned to a work of neighbourly love; gathering about her the often neglected girlhood of Desenzano, she taught them simple lessons in religion and in the knowledge of common things. Invited to Brescia by the noble family of the Patengola, she there showed the same activity from 1516 onwards. According to contemporary statements she reconciled many in that city who had been enemies for years. When a cousin of her own went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1524 she bore him company, and during the Jubilee of the following year she was a pilgrim to Rome. Through a Papal chamberlain whose acquaintance she had made on her journey to the Holy Land she was admitted to the presence of Clement VII., who would gladly have seen the centre of this pious maiden's work transferred from her native district to Rome, but, on Angela's entreaties, he put his wishes aside and allowed her to return to Brescia. There her quiet labours were interrupted by the tumult of the war which, after the League of Cognac, swept over almost the whole of Italy.

Like many others, Angela also sought refuge in the autumn of 1529 in Cremona from the encroachments of the savage soldiery. When the worst danger was over she returned to Brescia, where she took a house near the Church of St. Barnabas and began to contemplate her scheme of founding a religious community with the object of "practising Christian love in tending the sick, teaching young children, and pursuing individual holiness." On a pilgrimage to the sacred mount of Varallo, Angela disclosed her projects to her female friends. On the 15th of November 1535 they all partook of Holy Communion in St. Afra in Brescia, in confirmation of their vow of entire

dedication to our Lord. Angela placed the young community under the patronage of St. Ursula, from whom it received its name. The community was not to be an Order: the members, in order to be able to carry out their work in the world, were to make their homes as before with their parents or relations, but were to meet together at fixed hours, to hear Mass daily, and to use certain prayers. As there were no special vows so there was no special clothing. For the direction of the community a Mother Superior was to be chosen for life. This rule, which Angela dictated to the priest Gabbriello Cozzano, was confirmed in August 1536 by Cardinal Cornaro, Bishop of Brescia. The community, then numbering seventy-six persons, chose Angela as their head in March 1537.[1] The Canons of St. Afra placed at her disposal a dwelling in a favourable situation near their church, and a pious widow gave them a chamber in her house on the piazza of the Cathedral to serve as an oratory.

Angela lived to see her community spread all over Brescia and the villages around. She died on January the 15th, 1540, and found a resting-place in St. Afra, in accordance with a permission granted to her on the 2nd of December 1532 by the Grand Penitentiary.[2] She was followed in the government of her community by the Countess Lucretia of Lodron, who was strongly opposed by a portion of the sisterhood, tenacious of the original regulations of the foundress, in her wish to add a leathern girdle in sign of their virginity to the habit hitherto worn. The disagreement very nearly led to a rupture when, at the critical moment, on the 9th of June 1544, Paul III. intervened with a Bull which not merely confirmed the community of virgins

[1] *Cf.* SALVATORI, 54; *ibid.*, 161 *seq.*, the rule of Angela.

[2] The saint is named in the documentary act, "Angela de Salodio, mulier Brixien., soror tertii ordinis s. Francisci" (SALVATORI, 216).

founded in Brescia under the patronage of St. Ursula and approved by the Bishop of the see, but also settled the question of a special badge of chastity by granting a special indulgence to all members who should wear such a token.[1] Thereupon the use of the girdle became general among the Ursulines.

The Bull of Paul III., which also gave the Superior the right from time to time and under change of circumstances to lay before the Holy See alterations in the statutes, was the first step towards the transformation of the community into a regular Order. This development, as well as the diffusion of the Ursulines over northern Italy, was accomplished later when their congregation had become one of the most important factors in the revival of Catholic religion throughout the Peninsula.[2]

While Italy was thus refreshed by new streams of life within the Church, apostolic men were also arising in Spain who, after passing through the experience of inward renewal in their own lives, were by work and example evoking a regeneration of the Catholic spirit on the sure foundations of the ancient religion. Such were John of Avila, Louis of Granada, and John of God.

John of Avila, born at the end of the 15th century, was at first bent on devoting himself to the conversion of America, but was restrained from leaving his native country by Alonso Manriquez, Archbishop of Seville. Here he devoted his life to converting hearts to God by his persuasive utterances. The jealousy of other preachers exposed him to many persecutions; he was even on one occasion cited before the Inquisition, but his innocence was soon recognized at that tribunal. His work as a preacher increased greatly as time went on; so many

[1] SALVATORI, 217 *seq.*, gives the deed wanting in the Bull. Rom.

[2] GRÜTZMACHER in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, XX.,[3] 357.

were the towns and cities that he visited that he was called the Apostle of Andalusia. In addition to his labours in the pulpit and the confessional he still found time for those of the desk. His life was written by his pupil and friend, Louis of Granada, then the second great luminary in the ecclesiastical firmament of Spain.[1] Louis, who entered the Dominican Order at the age of nineteen, was, like his teacher, an earnest preacher. He excelled him as a writer of ascetic theology, and is reckoned among the classic authors of Spain. His most famous works are *The Memorial of a Christian Life* and *Guide for Sinners*, both masterpieces of ascetic literature.

John of God[2] also belongs to the spiritual sons of the Apostle of Andalusia. At first, like Ignatius of Loyola, a gallant soldier, he was led to the path of his subsequent achievements by hearing a sermon by John of Avila at Granada in 1539. He left the army and gave expression to his contrition with such genuine southern fervour that he was looked upon as having lost his reason, and he was taken to the great hospital at Granada founded by Charles V., where he regained his balance of mind. Dismissed as cured, he made a pilgrimage to Guadeloupe in New Castille and thence returned to Granada. Here in 1540 he founded a hospital and a community of persons living in the world who should take care of the sick. In time he extended his heroic work of service, as far as his

[1] *Cf.* for both, ZINGERLE in Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlex., I.,[2] 1763 *seq.*, VIII.,[2] 248 *seq.*, and the literature there given. See also GAMS, Kirchengesch. Spaniens, III., 2, 159 *seq.*, and LONGARO DEGLI ODDI, Vita di Giov. d' Avila, Rome, 1894.

[2] See F. DE CASTRO, Vida del b. Juan de Dios, Granada, 1588 (lat. Acta SS. Bolland, Mart., I., 813 *seq.*), and A. DE GOVEA, Vida, etc., Madrid, 1624. *Cf.* LECHNER, Leben hl. Johannes von Gott, München, 1857; F. DEL POZO, Vida de Juan de Dios, Barcelona, 1908.

position as a layman would permit, from the bodies of men to their souls; he exerted himself specially in the reclaiming of women who were leading lives of vice. An act of humanity, the rescue of a boy from the waters of the Xenil, cost him his life in March 1550. Under his successors the association founded by him continued to flourish, although these nursing brothers had no fixed rule. At last Pius V. raised them to the rank of an ecclesiastical order; they were known in Spain as Hospitallers, in Italy as "Fate-ben-Fratelli," and in Germany as Brothers of Pity. The praise of their humane works of compassion is common to all parties.[1]

Paul III., like Clement VII., was repeatedly engaged with the claims of a new order which grew to be one of the most popular of all, and from which blessings without end were to descend upon the Church—this was the Order of the Capuchins.

The youthful creation, which aimed at restoring "even to the very letter" the spirit of the Poor Man of Assisi, went through repeated crises with no diminution of acuteness during the pontificate of Paul III. The claims already put forward by the Observants under Clement VII. were now again advanced with still greater violence. It was folly on the part of the Capuchins to attach so much importance to their hood, since they could not produce a single proof that St. Francis ever wore one; it was only done to attract attention, and their dress in its wretched condition was at bottom nothing else than contemptible vainglory. Besides, it was not the intention of the founder of the Order that his rule should be observed literally, since this was possible only for a very few and he had himself relaxed its severity. Finally, the Observants challenged

[1] *Cf.* HAEFER, Gesch. der Medizin, I., 866; see also PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 14.

the usefulness of the friars to the Church, since the latter heard no confessions and allowed no funeral rites or burials in their churches. It was not difficult for the Capuchins to reply to such accusations levelled at them in the blindness of passion, especially as regarded the objection that they heard no confessions; they could point to the repeated conflicts which had arisen between the Franciscans and the secular clergy on this very subject; besides, they had not relinquished this duty for the sake of convenience, as their zeal as preachers would prove; when necessity demanded they had never hesitated to give help to their colleagues among the clergy.[1]

If therefore such unfounded charges failed to have any effect on the new Pope, the latter might yet feel anxious when so eminent a personage as Cardinal Quiñones represented to him that the Capuchins were disturbing the peace of the Seraphic Order, of which he was protector, that they were preventing the introduction of the good elements of the Observants into the strict convents where the rule of St. Francis was observed in all its purity.[2] Consequently, Paul III. on the 18th of December 1534 not merely confirmed his predecessor's prohibition concerning the admission of Observants, but extended it to all other Orders until the meeting of the General Chapter.[3] Although this very severe regulation was on the 12th of January 1535 again restricted to the transfer of Observants,[4] it was yet in no common degree detrimental to the extension of the Capuchins.

Not less hurtful was the behaviour of Lodovico da Fossombrone, the head of the young Order since 1529,

[1] See De origine ordin. fratr. min. Chronica F. Ioannis Romaei de Terranova, cura P. Eduardi Alenconiens., Romae, 1908, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna, 161 *seq.*

[3] Bull. Capuccin, I., 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, 13.

and a man of self-assertive character. Hitherto he had filled his office as Vicar-General most zealously; he looked upon himself as indispensable, and was so fond of rule that it was his ambitiom to hold his office permanently; therefore he looked out for any pretext to prevent the General Chapter being held. At last a Papal command forced him to summon it. The Chapter, which assembled in Rome in November 1535, chose in his stead Bernardino of Asti. Lodovico felt the smart keenly, accused his brethren of ingratitude, and withdrew from the further proceedings of the Chapter. At his request Paul III. called a fresh Chapter in the spring of 1536. As this resulted in the re-election of Bernardino, Lodovico refused his obedience, although the choice was confirmed by the Pope. The unhappy man, whose behaviour had found support in Cardinal Quiñones, was allowed a respite until autumn; as he then continued contumacious, he was expelled from the Order with the Pope's approval.[1]

At the same time the Capuchins had an accession in the famous writer Francis Titelmans, hitherto an Observant. This remarkable man, who at first was attached to the Hospital for Incurables in Rome, was soon afterwards made Provincial of the Roman Province, but unfortunately he died on the 15th of December 1537 on his second visitation journey.[2]

The painful incident of Lodovico's expulsion was natur-

[1] See BOVERIUS, I., 199 *seq.*, 208 *seq.*, 213 *seq.* Interesting details about the obstinacy of Lodovico da Fossombrone in the *Narratione dell' origine della Congregatione de' frati Capuccini by Fra Mario de Mercato Saraceno (Archives of the Capuchin Order, Venice).

[2] See BOVERIUS, I., 252 *seq.*; Wetzer and Weltes Kirchenlex., XI.,[2] 1779 *seq.*; HURTER, Nomencl., II.,[2] 1307; SBARALEA, Suppl. ad. script. Ord. Min., I., Romae, 1908, 303 *seq.*; PAQUAY, F. Titelmans, Hasselt, 1906.

ally made the most of by the enemies of the Capuchins.[1] To what measures they had recourse is best seen from the fact that Quiñones was successful in persuading the Emperor to write, on the 4th of December 1535, an autograph letter to the Pope asking him to forbid any further extension of the Capuchin Order, and in particular to refuse them permission to enter Spain.[2]

But in the meantime powerful influences were at work in support of the new branch of the Franciscans. They found an enthusiastic champion in Vittoria Colonna, who had already in August 1535 drawn Contarini's attention to the Capuchins and obtained from Paul III. an immediate modification of the renewed prohibition against transference from the Observant communities. Accordingly the Capuchins were permitted to receive Observants whose superiors had not designated within two months convents in which they could live under the reformed rule.[3] On the 29th of December 1535 Vittoria wrote to Cardinal Gonzaga: "I had applied to Bishop Giberti of Verona asking him to certify you that I was speaking the truth in recommending to you these reverend fathers of the holy and true rule of St. Francis. I now send you his letter in confirmation of this." The Emperor, she continued, had been opposed to them, but was already of a different mind and would continue to be so, she hoped, after what he had seen in Rome.[4] She was not mistaken, for after his visit to the humble Capuchin settlement Charles bore the most favourable testimony concerning them to the Pope. Paul III. reminded him of the letter

[1] See the *Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I., 489 (General Archives of the Capuchin Order, Rome).

[2] See TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna, 162, 173.

[3] Bull. Capuccin., I., 14–16.

[4] Carteggio di V. Colonna, ed. FERRERO-MÜLLER, 100.

which he had written in December 1535. Charles replied, "I never withdraw my orders, but I do withdraw my letter, for I was badly informed."[1]

In this way the Capuchins were restored to favour, while Vittoria Colonna, in her veneration for St. Francis, continued to afford them her indefatigable protection against unjust attacks. The evidence is afforded by her letters addressed in all directions: to the private secretary of the Pope, to Contarini, and to the Duchess of Urbino. While she besought the latter to protect the Capuchins of Fossombrone from molestation, she deplored in particular the persistent hostility of Cardinal Quiñones. "He vents his hatred," so she wrote, "on the Capuchins because they have exposed so clearly the defects of his own Order."[2] The representations of Cardinals Sanseverino and Contarini, who were supported by Pole, succeeded in overcoming all the scruples of Paul III. On the 25th of August 1536 he issued a Bull in which, in consideration of the rich fruits already brought forth by the new community and in expectation of fresh services to the militant Church, he confirmed the approbation of the Capuchins pronounced by his predecessor on the 3rd of June 1528 and conferred on the General Chapter the right to elect a Vicar-General who, as hitherto, should be subject to the General of the Conventuals. At the same time the Pope forbade, under penalty of excommunication, the Capuchin habit to be worn by anyone outside their Order.[3] This last ordinance fell heavily on the original founder, Matteo da Bascio, when in 1537 he returned from his wanderings as a preacher of repentance to Rome, where the Capuchins in the previous year had

[1] Cronica del P. Bernardino da Colpetrazzo, I., 495, *loc. cit.*

[2] Carteggio di V. Colonna, 107 f.

[3] Bull., VI., 229 *seq.*; Bull. Capuccin., I., 18 *seq.*; BOVERIUS, I., 221 *seq.*

settled on the Quirinal, near the Church of S. Nicola de Portiis.[1]

Clement VII. had appointed Matteo to special work as a preacher without attaching him to any convent. In consequence of the recent Papal decree the latter qualification became necessary, but Matteo was unable to make up his mind to conform to it.[2] This incident naturally offered a fresh opportunity for the opponents of the Capuchins to renew their attacks.

The young community was far from securing peace; the Observants found their curtailed activity intolerable and raised incessant complaints. Paul III. appointed a commission of inquiry of nine Cardinals,[3] and in accordance with their proposal he gave orders in the beginning of January 1537 that until the General Chapter was held in Rome the Capuchins should not extend their operations beyond Italy and that no Observant should, without written permission from his Superior, go over to the Capuchins, and *vice versa* no Capuchin go over to the Observants. If any of the latter wished to live by a stricter rule he might betake himself to a house appointed for him by his Superior; where no such convents existed, they were to be established.[4]

But even now dissensions were not yet at an end. The

[1] See E. da ALENÇON, La Chiesa di S. Nicola de Portiis, Roma, 1908.

[2] See BOVERIUS, I., 238 *seq.* According to Bernardino da Colpetrazzo (*Cronica, II., 602) Matteo died at Venice on Aug. 6, 1552.

[3] See F. Peregrino's *report of Dec. 15, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Bull. Capuccin., I., 22–24. According to the *Chronicle of Mario da Mercato Saraceno, cited *supra*, p. 532, n. 1, the commission consisted of six Cardinals; Cardinal Sanseverino showed himself at an early period the ardent advocate of the new Order (Archives of the Order of Capuchins, Venice).

Observants did all they could to have the Capuchin habit prohibited in order that the latter might be subordinate to—*i.e.* in subjection to—themselves. The new Order, however, had powerful supporters. They were in favour with many of the Cardinals, Contarini and Piccolomini in particular, and with the Imperial ambassador Aguilar.[1] Vittoria Colonna came once more to the rescue of her protégés. In the autumn of 1538 she appealed not only to Contarini but to the Pope himself. Her letter to the Pontiff was dated from Lucca on the 16th of September 1538, and contains a most outspoken defence of the Capuchins as loyal and serviceable sons of the Holy See.[2]

To Cardinal Contarini, Vittoria represented that the new Order contained so many remarkable members that it might with certainty be looked upon as the work of Christ. Let the example of the Capuchins and their admirable preaching witness in their behalf. It was her firm conviction that the pure gold would be proved in the fire of persecution and the mere dross be consumed. One by one she met the charges brought against the Capuchins: that they were Lutherans because they preached the freedom of the spirit, that they had no authorized status, that they disobeyed the General of the Order, wore a different habit and received Observants. To the first charge Vittoria replied: "If St. Francis was a heretic, then are his followers Lutherans; if to preach spiritual freedom and to rebuke iniquity in submission to the ordinances of the Church is false, then is the Gospel also false in which it is written, 'It is the Spirit which giveth life.'"[3]

[1] See *letters of Card. Senens (Piccolomini) of April 2 and 25 and June 15, 1537, to Siena (State Archives, Siena).

[2] TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna, 178 *seq.*

[3] See Carteggio di V. Colonna, 110 *seq.*, and also TACCHI VENTURI, 169 *seq.*

These eloquent words were not without effect. The Observants failed in their chief demands—prohibition of the new habit and the subordination of the Capuchins. On the other hand, the Pope made more stringent his decree of the 23rd of August 1539 forbidding the Capuchins to receive any Observants except those who had a written permission to show from their Superior or from the Holy See,[1] and a Bull of the 5th of August 1541 repeated this injunction.[2] In other respects the Capuchins remained unmolested; they spread gradually all over Italy; in 1534 they had reached as far as Dalmatia and in 1540 they were in Corsica.[3] Among the people love and respect

[1] *Vicario gen. ord. s. Francisci de observant. Capuccinor. nuncupat. . . . Tibi et successoribus tuis . . . in virtute s. obedientiae precipimus et mandamus quatenus deinceps nullum fratrem professum ex ordinibus medicantium reformatorum de observantia venientem cujuscunque conditionis extiterit nisi de sui generalis aut nostra et Sedis Apostolici speciali et expressa licentia recipiat aut recipiant. . . . Dat. Romae, 1539, Aug. 23, with the note: Est de mente S. D. N. Hier. c. Ghi[nuccius], Arm., 41, t. 14, n. 908 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] The Bull Romani Pontificis, dated Rome, 1541, Aug. 5 (Concept. in Arm., 41, t. 22, n. 630, *loc. cit.* Another copy in the Casanatense Library, Rome).

[3] See BOVERIUS, I., 197 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*, 274 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*; also ROCCA DA CESINALE, Missioni d. Capucc., I., 93; BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, I Capucc. d. provinc. monast. di Napoli e terra di lavoso, S. Agnello di Sorrento, 1879, 70; FILIPPO DA TUSSIO, I frati Capucc. d. monast. prov. degli Abruzzi, *ibid.*, 1880, 5; F. SECURI, Mem. stor. s. prov. dei Capucc. di Reggio di Calabria, Reggio, 1885, 15; APOLLINARIS A VALENTIA, Bibl. frat. min. Capucc., Romae, 1886, 6–8 (convent in kingdom of Naples); BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, I Conventi dei Capucc. della città di Napoli, Napoli, 1889, 15, 101; VALDEMIRO DA BERGAMO, I conventi dei Capucc. Bergamaschi, Milano, 1883, 12, 28; the same, I conventi ed i Capucc. Bresciani, *ibid.*, 1891, 20, 21; VALDEMIRO BONARI, I conventi ed i Capucc. del antico ducato di Milano, I., Crema, 1893, 39, 55 *seq.*, 145 *seq.*; MOLFINO, Codice dipl. d. Capucc. Liguri, 1530–1900, Genova, 1904, xxiii *seq.*;

for them increased from year to year, while their settlements were spoken of as types of the strictly cloistered life.[1] Then came a blow, one harder than which it would be impossible to conceive; the head and glory of the Order, Bernardino Ochino, renounced the faith and married.[2]

The downfall and disgrace of the Vicar-General set the enemies of the Capuchins on fresh intrigues and calumnies. "Such a tempest arose," wrote a chronicler of the Order, "that without God's help we had assuredly been lost."[3] In order to involve the whole Order in disgrace, it was bruited about that Ochino had been its founder, and although the untruthfulness of this statement admitted of easy proof, it often obtained credence, while many even who wished well to the Order were made distrustful by Ochino's apostasy.[4] There was good reason to fear that the members might be contaminated by the heresy of the head; a certain number of Capuchins did actually follow the example of their General; others by degrees

SISTO DA PISA, Storia dei Capucc. Toscani, I., 1532–1591, Firenze, 1906, 51, 57 *seq.* (*cf.* MORENI, Bibliografia Toscana, I., 113); MUSSINI, Mem. stor. sui Capucc. Emiliani, I., Parma, 1908, 21, 27, 28. For the Capuchin nuns of S. Clare, founded at Naples by M. L. Longa in 1538, see HELYOT, VII., 203 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, II.,[2] 486 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* Negri's letter of 1541 in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch., III., 635.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 492. By 1539 G. Battista, the Capuchin who had preached Lutheran doctrine in Lucca, had already fled from Venice (see FONTANA, Docum., 270 *seq.*).

[3] *Chronicle of Mario da Mercato Saraceno (Archives of the Capuchins, Venice).

[4] BOVERIUS, I., 319, 350. In order to refute the fable that Ochino was the founder, Cardinal Sanseverino and the Vicar-General, Girolamo da Montefiore, urged Bernardino da Colpetrazzo to write his valuable history that was preserved in the General Archives of the Capuchins in Rome (see Vol. X. of this work, 487 *seq.*).

reinstated themselves.[1] In Rome Ochino's apostasy was known first in September 1542, but the Pope had been in receipt of information earlier in Perugia.[2] How great was his agitation is shown by an expression which fell from him as, on his return journey, he caught sight of the Capuchin monastery on the slopes of Terni: "Very soon there will be an end to the Capuchins and their convents."[3]

That an Order in which such a calamity should have occurred were better abolished was also the opinion of most of the Cardinals; only Cardinal Sanseverino spoke warningly of any hasty steps. Paul III. was guided by this eminent man's advice, and gave orders for a thorough inquiry. Cardinal Carpi, as Protector of the Seraphic Order, summoned, at the Pope's command, all the Superiors to Rome, who were there closely examined as to the purity of the faith. The result of the inquiry was that no sufficient ground was established for the abolition of the Order even if, in the case of a proportion of the fathers, suspect opinions could be proven; taking the latter point into consideration, all the members were inhibited from preaching for the time being. Francesco of Jesi was appointed Commissary-General and soon afterwards elected Vicar-General in the Chapter of the Order held at Rome. He organized a thorough visitation of the Order, taking

[1] BOVERIUS (I., 319) tries to conceal this; but Mignanelli writes on Nov. 2, 1542, to Cardinal Farnese: *Si pensi presto a quel remedio che si puo et vuol fare alla congregatione de Capuccini, de quali ogni giorno si sente che gittano l' abito et seguitano il mastro loro (Lett. d. princ., XII., 228, Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also in Appendix No. 40 Cardinal Carpi's letter of June 27, 1543.

[2] According to the Chronicle cited *supra*, p. 538, n. 3, Ochino wrote to the Pope, "una lettera nefandissima," which Paul III. received in Perugia.

[3] BOVERIUS, I., 321

special care to go into the question of purity of doctrine, with close scrutiny, in the provinces of Venice and Emilia.[1] That, notwithstanding this, distrust existed in Rome for some time later is shown by the presentation to the Capuchins, in 1545, of nineteen articles of faith on which they were required to make explicit declarations. The Vicar-General's answer was so satisfactory that the Pope restored to the Order the licence to preach.[2] With this the Order passed safely through the last storm which might have had for them such disastrous consequences.

By this series of trials the Capuchin Order had gone through an ordeal of purification and emerged in such strength that henceforth there were no longer grounds for fear, although the enmity of the Observants did not cease.[3]

The idea of such an Order originating from a perfectly simple man proved itself to possess an inherent vitality in no common degree. Although still temporarily confined within the limits of Italy, the Capuchins yet attained such importance that they more and more outdistanced the Theatines. The reason for this was that the Theatines always preserved a certain stamp of aristocracy, while the Capuchins acted primarily on the broad masses of the people and stirred them to the depths by their penitential preaching.[4] In their outward appearance the poorest of the poor, they were already a living sermon and in immediate touch with that lower scale of men and women of whom they became the favourites and the counsellors. Bare-

[1] BOVERIUS, I., 331 *seq.*, 339.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 372.

[3] As before, Observants continued to pass over; but cases were not wanting on the other side also. An example from the year 1546 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, Mon. Trid., 523.

[4] For example, the inhabitants of Orvieto in the year 1549 (see MANENTE, 292).

footed and bareheaded, wearing only a coarse frock girt round them by a rough cord, these genuine disciples of St. Francis carried among the waifs and strays of the Italian provinces a truly apostolic missionary power. To know the depths of poverty for Christ's sake, to be spent in works of spiritual and bodily compassion for the love of their fellow-men, were the two guiding stars which led these heroic men on their toilsome way.

A middle place, as it were, between the Theatines and the Capuchins was reserved for yet another Order which, in enthusiastic devotion to the Church and lofty self-surrender for the salvation of souls, had a task of surpassing grandeur to fulfil. This was the Society of Jesus. This association, which was to supply the Church with a yet more powerful weapon than that wielded by the Capuchins in the work of reformation and restoration, had this in common with the rest of the new Orders—the pursuit, in the first place, of practical aims; yet there were also many points of difference between them, and among them this particular one that, during the lifetime of Paul III., the work of the Jesuits had already extended far beyond the confines of Italy. Quite apart from their surprisingly rapid extension and from the striking personality of their founder, the Society of Jesus deserves separate consideration for this reason that, among all the Orders of the modern era, they have formed the greatest support and the greatest defence of the Papacy.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE documents here brought together are intended to substantiate and supplement the text; it did not form part of the plan of my work to make a special collection of original records. I have given, as correctly as possible, the source from which each has been taken, and, from considerations of space, been sparing of explanatory notes. I have, as a rule, conformed to the original spelling in the documents and letters; the alterations as regards capital letters and punctuation require no justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned; small mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without special remark. My own additions are placed within square brackets, obscure or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or "sic." Passages which, on comparison or, later, in preparation for the press, I have purposely omitted as irrelevant, I have distinguished by dots (. . . .).

I take this opportunity of tendering my most grateful acknowledgments to Professor Dr. Pogatscher and the Rev. Dr. Bruder for their invaluable assistance in correcting the following documents and in revising a considerable portion of my fifth [English ed., Vols. XI. and XII.] volume, also for that of Mgr. Ehses in the section relating to the Council of Trent. I am also under obligation to Dr. J. Schmidlin

for the accurate excerpts of the Briefs of Paul III. and of the letters of Cardinal Gonzaga in the Barberini Library [now included in the Vatican Library], and to Dr. Gutmensch for the extracts for the years 1535–1536 from the "Romana" of the Court and State Archives at Vienna. In respect to the citations from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, it is to be noted that, unless otherwise stated, the first Latin numeral denotes the "Armarium" and the second the number of the volume.

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1. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1534, August 24, Rom.

. . . La città sta pacifica nè si sente un minimo tumulto, perchè già son fatte le bone provisioni a tempo et non contra tempo; spero doveremo passare quietamente. Mi è detto et da buon loco, che Francesi incominciano a murmurare di volersi sforzare di far papa il cardinale di Tornone e quando non possano di vol tarsi al cardinale Farnese; non so come li imperiali lo comportarano, et Dio voglia che in queste loro contencione et garre non ne nasca qualche scisma per ruinare al tutto la chiesia et questa povera sede apostolica. . . . Roma 24 d' agosto 1534 a hore XX.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1534, October 10, Rom.

. . . Dopo la morte di N. S. la maggior parte di questi signori s' unirono insieme non come fattiosi, ma come amici particolari et la prima unione fu di mons. di Grimani, Cesarino, Salviati et Ridolphi, quali avenga che molto tempo prima fosseno grandi

[1] See *supra*, pp. 6, 9.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 8, 9, 10.

amici, pure si sono hora di tale maniera uniti, ch' io la tengo per la più ferma et salda unione che vi sia; questi come che prima che adesso hanno al presente caso pensato si sono posti per guadagnar delli altri cardinali in loro compagnia et per facilitar il disegno loro hanno facto di molte cose l' una de quali è stata il dire di non haver alcun fine determinato o certo se non quello, che debbono havere i buoni cardinali, di far un papa degno di quel grado et in proposito di tempi presenti et ciò hanno fatto perchè se si fossero lasciati intendere d' aver determinato fine et che per caso quel fine non fosse piaciuto a quelli ch' essi practicavano per unirli con loro, non havessero difficultata la cosa di tirarli et ancho perchè più facilmente, chi entrà in tale compagnia, si lascia persuader ad entrarvi vedendo che le cose non siano determinate et concluse che altramente che quando è fatta la risolutione pare a chi viene di nuovo essere mero adherente et non compagno, cosa che molto in questo tempo è abhorrita, come dirò qui appresso. Io anchora fui ricercato d' unirmi et perchè il disegno mio è stato sempre di non far nè il capo nè la coda in simile caso cioè di non mi presumere di tirar altri a miei pensieri nè ancho d' esser tirato, perchè l' uno mi pareva troppo superbo et arrogante, l' altro troppo vile et abietto, vedendo io il camino che costoro tenevano di voler guadagnar adherenti et non compagni, risposi a cui me ne parlò in nome loro che non potea risolvermi nè volea farlo finchè non havessi parlato colli amici miei et intesa l' opinione loro et che poi gli risponderei et questo dissi per non concluder nè romper la pratica; così feci, parlai col cardinale di s. Croce[1] et col cardinale di Bari[2] et trovai loro signorie molto ben disposte a voler che noi ci unissemo insieme et con questi signori Alemani facessimo una bona testa per impedir il male et aiutar il bene et concludessimo che si dovesse a questi altri rispondere che l' unione ci piaceva d' ognhora che fosse senza fine come loro dicevano et al servigio di Dio et di Sua M^tà^ et che non volevano pigliar alcuna risolutione se non unitamente insieme come fra noi era promisso; quando costoro uddero che le cose non passavano a loro modo et che noi intendevamo il camino loro si ritirarono et poca molestia hanno dapoi data se non che noi siamo andati tratenendo con buone parole la pratica con essi senza conclusion perhò, et essi con noi et questi dui signori Spagnuoli et io ci siamo stretti di modo che

[1] Quiñones. [2] Merino.

confido che faremo et il bene universale et ancho il nostro particolar. Io reputai che mi si convenesse di far questa dimostratione all' imperatore d' unirmi con persone che S. M^tà tiene per suoi devotissimi servitori et ancho perchè ho sempre havuto molta amicitia col cardinale di s. Croce prima ch' io fossi in questa servitù dell' imperatore et hallo sempre conosciuto gentilhuomo molto cristiano et schietto et mio amicissimo. Di mons. di Bari mi persuadevo ogni cosa per rispetto di V. E., del s. duca di Milano et di quello di Urbino, quali sono da lui singolarmente observati, et . . .[1] non mi sono punto ingannato, perchè l' ho trovato tanto ben disposto al mio particolar per li già detti rispetti quanto dir si possa. Ora queste due unioni sono in essere nè si sciolgeranno mai al creder mio, pur ogni cosa è possibile et mi rimetto al fine; fin qui ho questa opinione fondata nelle precedenti ragioni et tanto più spero che la nostra debba esser ferma quanto chel ambasciator di S. M^tà la lauda et procura per servigio di quella che duri et non solamente in questo numero, ma in maggior disegnando giugnervi et i doi Alemani et il card. di Ravenna[2] della voluntà del quale a quest' hora così sono sicuro come della mia propria. L' altra unione è quella di mons. di Medici, la quale è di dieci come dicono, ma nel vero forse manco di quattro. I dieci nominati in essa sono Palmieri imperiale, S. Quattro[3] più tosto Francese che altramente, Salviati, Ridolphi, Perugia[4] camerlengo, tre Genovesi Cibo, Grimaldi et Oria, Cesis et alcuni dicono Ivrea,[5] ma io no' l so nè 'l credo per quello che V. E. intenderà. Di questa unione non si fa troppo buon giudicio quanto alla fermezza per molti rispetti . . . et poi in esso numero non si vede che possa essere quella perfetta confidentia che bisognerebbe per venir alla discussione del suggetto quale s' ha da far papa . . .

C' è poi l' union Francese, la quale è ben concertata et di grosso numero perchè con loro signori Francesi giuntamente tirano i cardinali di Trivultiis, di Pisani, di Gaddi et di s. Severino, si che per quanto si vede fanno il numero di XII et negociano molto cautamente nè fin hora s' è potuto saper a cui inclinino, ma si ben de quali diffidino che sono Spagnuoli et Alemani et del certo Campeggio et Siena[6] et per coniettura vi si può giunger et ancho

[1] Obliterated. [2] Accolti. [3] A. Pucci.
[4] Ag. Spinola. [5] B. Ferreri. [6] Piccolomini.

per ragione ogni imperiale scoperto, perchè si come noi non condescenderemo mai di far papa un appassionato Francese nè di quella natione, il med^{mo} faranno essi in uno apertamente imperiale et in uno Spagnuolo et Alemano. Essi Francesi dicono molte cose della voluntà del re, generali perhè et di nissuno partiacolre parlano se non che laudare Farnese, ma non in quel modo che bisognerebbe per farlo papa, onde l' opinion mia è che loro debbano dar molto poca credenza ad alcun Italiano et vogliano essi med^{mi} veder di scoprir le nature di quelli che sono reputati neutrali et risolversi poi come parea spediente alloro disegni et anchora che volessero m. di Farnese, perchè alcuni sono di questa opinione essendo stato in casa sua m. di Lorena, quale è quello che tiene il carico di tutta questa negociatione et gli altri gli cedono come a signore, penso io che voranno farglielo saper buono con non si risolver così tosto et con fargli conoscere che senza loro non si può esser papa come in effetto non può, et poi forse il potrebbono favorir, ma la cosa d' esso Farnese non è tanto al sicuro che non potesse ancho esser impedita. Di più cercano essi Francesi con ogni loro poter di guadagnar un altro cardinale se poteranno per fornir il numero di XIII accio che senza loro non si possa far il papa perchè essendo in conclavi piu che XXXVI o XXXVII i due terze de quali bisogna che in uno convengano.

No one knows on whose side the French are. Eight days ago the Emperor's Ambassador said to all the friends of Charles V. in the Sacred College that they ought to choose an Imperialist or even a neutral, and named four: Cornaro, Ivrea et Grimani, che non havendo particular commissione di S. M^{tà} sopra alcuno determinata. I also remarked that he would agree to the elevation of Farnese or Cornaro, that Grimani (40 years old) appeared too young. Quanto al Ivrea cercai dimostrargli la sua dapocagine et le gratificazioni fatte dai re di Francia al padre suo che fu generale in Milano. Then I again called on the Imperial Ambassador, per avertirlo a non pigliar ombra di me nella venuta di questi Francesi et di mandar ad incontrar quelli signori Alemani per far loro intender che non si determinassero a cosa alcuna pertinente a questa elettione prima che gli fosse da noi altri parlato . . . così egli fece quanto gli consiliai. . . . Quanto mo al giudicio che si può far del papa futuro, quella saperà che

si tiene per certo che nè Francese nè Spagnuolo nè imperiale scoperto Italiano nè Francese scoperto Italiano possa essere et questo per le ragioni dette di sopra. Essendo donque la cosa batte fra neutrali quali sono dui riuscibili per l' ordinario Farnese et Cornaro. Farnese è in grandissima reputatione dall' uno et l' altro lato, et se non si rovina in mostrar di tenere troppo conto de Francesi mi pare di vederlo riuscir papa et quello che piu l' ajuta è, che molti quali non hanno buona voluntà verso lui, temono, che senza loro opera non diventi papa et non ardiscono scoprirsi contra di lui et gli daranno i voti loro et sono tanti che se vedessero rivoltata contra esso la fattione imperiale per isdegno di quello ho detto farebbono insieme con lei un così grosso numero che sarebbe atto a disturbarlo, et perchè questa sua rovina può esser governandosi male et ancho non può esser governandosi bene mi risolvo a creder che se da lui non manca et che faccia quanto deve, riuscirà papa. Vero è che se V. E. vede che fra 8 giorni dopo l' entrata del conclave non gli riesca, può pensar habbia tratto et che al caso suo non sia rimedio, se perhò non restasse di correr al scrutinio per lasciar sfocar alcuni quali hanno voglia di provar la ventura loro con speranza che chiariti che fossero, egli havesse poi più facilità; ma se ciò non è et che alli 8 dì del conclave non riesce, come è detto, del tutto io tengo spedito et la cagione è questa presso l' altra che ho detta della scoperta delli nimici, che come si perde una volta in simile caso la reputatione, mai più non si ricupera, perchè ognuno prende l' animo et per uno nimico se ne fanno dieci, et il med^mo^ gli accascò nel conclave dove si fece papa Adriano che havendo havuto in uno scrutinio 22 voti nell' altro non ne hebbe se non dui o in circa. Se Farnese mo fosse battuto, si potrebbe sperar qualche cosa di Cornaro. . . .

M' era scordato dirle che Campeggio non ha una riputatione al mondo et Francesi scopertamente stanno risoluti di non volerla. Campeggio had also damaged himself with the French by sending his son to France (see *supra*, p. 7, n. 2). Postscript of October 11: I am now going to the Mass of the Holy Ghost.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (placed incorrectly among the Briefs of 1550). Concept Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 7–15, of the Vatican Library, with some formal deviations.]

3. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1534, October 17, Rom.

. . . Qua era venuto secretamente il s^r Pier Loygi de Farnese figliuolo de S. S^tà, ma ella l' ha fatto ritornare fuor di Roma al stato suo con ordine et commissione che per quanto ha a chara la vita el non ve ritorni senza sua licentia. Sono demostrationi se fanno nelli principii, ma poco durano, si come fece papa Alessandro et delli altri hanno fatto, che l' amore de parenti et specialmente de figliuoli è troppo grande, et se voremo anchor attendere a fare delli duchi et delli re, non so come le cose andaranno.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1534, November 6, Rom.

. . . Ora quanto alla creatione del papa avenga che diversamente se ne parli secondo le passioni et voluntà delle brigate, et che per questo paia molto difficile trarne giudicio fermo, tutta via come l' ho intesa io così gliela scriverò, lasciando poi il tutto alla consideratione di Vostra Eccellenza se bene haverò magramente discorso. La persona di Sua Beatitudine ha havute di molte cose chell' hanno favorita a questo grado, ma spetialmente una più dell' altre, qual' è stata la carestia de soggetti che insieme fossero sufficienti et neutrali, perhò prima che s' entrasse in conclavi, universalmente si teneva, che dovesse succedere quello che poi è successo, cioè ch' ella havesse da esser papa, et benchè alquanto si dubitasse de' Francesi quali non si volevano d' alcuno lasciar intendere a cui disegnassero di favorir, nondimeno sempre si fece giudicio, che anch' essi dovessero condescendere in Nostro Signore non essendovi altro più a proposito loro. Et poichè fummo entrati in conclavi la mattina seguente che si parlò in congregatione del modo di far lo scrutinio, cioè s' haveva da esser publico o secreto, si vide tanta conformità in assentir a quello che Sua Santità già haveva proposto essendo stata d' oppenione, che

[1] See *supra*, p. 303.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 11, 13.

dovesse esser palese che si puote molto bene comprendere ch' ella era per riuscir papa; il dopo pranso i rev^mi Francesi fecero tra loro senza gl' Italiana amici d' essi congregatione et monsignor di Lorena propose in nome del suo re il cardinale di Farnese, et benchè Tornon mostrasse che non fosse ben a risolversi così tosto ma aspettar i doi altri cardinali Francesi, che vi mancavano cioè Aus[1] et Giuri[2] et ancho per più loro reputatione et per chiarir ogniuno che senza essi non si poteva far il papa, nondimeno Lorena volse che si risolvessino et risoluti che furono communicare il tutto con gli amici loro et col cardinale de' Medici, col quale prima havevano tenuta intelligentia, per ch' egli, quando vennero, mandò il Valerio suo segretario ad incontrarli et offerir loro ciò che poteva in suo servizio; parve donque a Francesi di far tale dimostratione a Medici d' avertirlo di quanto havevano tra essi concluso; poi con loro insieme andò a trovar Nostro Signore et gli fecero intendere, come volevano farlo papa, la onde Medici gli si gettò a piedi et glieli baciò et fatto questo Lorena parlò con Cesarino et poco da poi meco dicendomi quello che havevano risoluto et instando che si concorresse in Farnese. Cesarino andò a trovar i Tedeschi et con loro parlò et anch' io v' andai, ma essendovi Campeggio per divertirli sell' havesse potuto fare non volsì altramente dirgli cosa alcuna, se non che essi dissero a me ch' io dovessi andare in camera di Bari[3] quale stava in letto con la podagra, che loro anchora vi verrebbono et che insieme ci parleriamo. Et così feci, poco dapoi vi vennero con tutti i cardinali della fattione, tra i quali fu ancho Medici, et Cesarino propose la risolutione di Francesi lodandola molto, la quale fu seguita incominciando a Siena[4] che tra noi era il primo fin' all' ultimo: fatto questo uscimmo tutti et in compagnia di Francesi et neutrali andammo in cappella de' Nicola dove stava Nostro Signore et ivi l' abbracciammo et monsignor di Siena, primo vescovo dopo Sua Santità, l' elesse in papa per nome di tutti. L' altra mattina che venne, per servar l' ordine si fece lo scrutinio et uscimmo di conclavi. A questo modo mi pare che sia passata la cosa, dico mi pare, perchè c' è diversità d' oppenione; alcuni vogliono che la sera inanzi chel conclavi si chiudesse l' ambasciator di Sua Maestà si lasciasse intender da Medici di

[1] Castelnau de Clermont.
[2] Claude de Longuy.
[3] Merino.
[4] Piccolomini.

voler escludendo tutti i servitori di lei monsignor di Farnese papa, ma il fatto andò in tal modo che havendo esso ambasciator detto a molti e tra gli altri a me ch' egli desiderava che vi fossero quattro capi della fattione, quali havessimo a governar il resto, cioè i doi Tedeschi, Cesarino et io, disse questo suo pensier a Medici, quale vedendo non esser lui uno d' essi molto si turbò et gli rispose che non intendeva d' esser obligato al servitio dell' imperatore, se Sua Eccellenza non gli diceva quale fosse la mente di Sua Maestà perchè da esso ambasciator et non da altri disegnava intenderlo, il quale per non lo sdegnar et non perderlo, gli rispose alla libera, che Sua Maestà voleva Farnese quasi escludendone tutti i servitori di lei, in tanto che Medici il giorno seguente fece saper a Francesi la risolutione dell' ambasciator dell' imperatore con aggiunta, che se loro non condescendevano in Farnese, ogni modo senza loro riuscirebbe papa, onde essi per questo dubbio si risolsero come di sopra ho detto, si che la cosa batte qui ch' io tengo che Francesi siano stati primi a risolversi et risoluti loro, noi anchora li habbiamo seguiti perchè così pareva in proposito della Sede Apostolica et delle cose dell' imperator poichè l' ambasciator di Sua Maestà haveva fatto intender agli amici et servitori di lei, che la persona di Farnese l' era confidente : altri tengono il contrario, l' oppenione mia mo è fondata in molte ragioni, et primamente chell' ambasciator non disse mai a me di non voler potendosi haver più tosto un servitor dell' imperator che un altro che solo gli fosse confidente, ma si ben che non potendo riuscir un' imperiale scoperto per la difficultà quale si vedeva nei Francesi di consentirvi, in quel caso si facesse uno confidente di Sua Maestà et non diffidente a Francesi nominandomi Farnese et Cornaro, la onde mi parebbe strano che nel conclavi m' havesse taciuto quel che per lui fosse stato poi detto a Medici del quale meno assai confidava che di me, et sono come certo se pur così è che Medici facesse quella inventione per levarsi d' intorno Campeggio et gli altri che lo stimulavano a volerli aiutar ; mi potrei ben ingannar, ma questa è la mia oppenione, et dico a Vostra Eccellenza, che la creatione è stata così unitamente fatta da tutti ch' io per me non so quale di noi vi habbia maggior parte quanto al buon valere, avenga che alcuni più delli altri se siano travagliati per farla riuscir, come Trivultio, Pisani et Palmieri et vogliono molti che esso Trivultio v' habbia havuto gran parte per havervi tirato

Francesi; ma so dir io di certo a Vostra Eccellenza ch'essi senza altro erano disposti alla persona di Nostro Signore perchè così pareva loro che fosse in proposito delle cose del suo re, e perhò calorono subito senza aspettar i doi di loro che mancavano a favorirlo et così ombrosi vennero di Francia sopra Italiani che quando non havessero discorso che Farnese fosse stato alloro proposito non saria bastato il mondo a poterli voltar non che Trivultio, ma perch' egli certamente ha fatto quanto ha potuto et ha consiliato Nostro Signore a quel che gli pareva di suo profitto, è stato stimato in gran parte cagione dell' essaltatione di Sua Santità. Pisani già molt' anni era suo amico et servitore et non ha mancato del debito suo; Palmieri ha fatto ciò che egli ha saputo con riportar ad imperiali quel che intendeva di Francesi per mezzo di Trivultio, et medesimamente quello che d' imperiali a Francesi et tanto s' è dimenato che anch' egli è nominato tra i principali, ma non senza qualche nota di doppio et cativo huomo. Medici ha havuto ventura che sendo secondo il suo parere capo di nove o dieci cardinali, ma secondo il vero se non di Cesis, Doria et Santi Quattro,[1] ha trovato gli altri sei talmente disposti al particolar di Nostro Signore che per esser stato de primi insieme con Francesi ad assettar le cose sue con Sua Santità è paruto a molti quali non penetrano il secreto di questa pratica, ch' egli vi habbia havuto gran parte . . .

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 20 *seqq.*, of the Vatican Library.]

5. Gerardo Busdraghi to Lucca.[2]

1534, November 14, Rom.

Sua Sta sta benissimo et attende a riformare le dissolutioni pretesche havendo rigorosamente ordinato che tutti li prelati et persone ecclesiastiche nemine excepto di ogni tempo vadino in habito conveniente, cosa che non piace molto a questi cardinali più giovani et altri simili assueti in ogni licentia.

[Copy. State Archives, Lucca.]

[1] A. Pucci.

[2] See *supra*, p. 135.

6. Gabriel Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.[1]

1535, Januar. 15, Rom.

Demum scripsi praefata die videri mihi frigere pontificem circa effectuandum concilium, quia S^{tas} Sua fecerat duos cardinales nepotes suos pueros tam contra ius fasque, ob quod maximam suspitionem injecerit omnibus, per simulationem et non ex corde promisisse concilium nobis. Accedebat etiam, quod iam transierant plura consistoria, quibus ne ullum quidem verbum de concilio S^{tas} Sua fecerat atque quod S^{tas} Sua consulens, ut postea ex secretissimo loco scivi, Capuanum parabat in Germania congregationem facere praelatorum omnium sub pretextu consultandi cum eis de modo, tempore ac loco concilii, sed re vera, ut postea ex dicto bono loco scivi, non erat hoc ad alium effectum nisi ad quaerendum aliquod remedium pro evitando concilio. Sed has omnes practicas rupimus optimis modis, simulac scivimus orator Caesaris et ego persuadentes S^{ti} Suae eas vias omnes inutiles et iam tentatas a Clemente et quod, si iterum tentarentur, non solum nihil proficeret, sed magnum incendium et ultimam desperationem in Germania excitaret. . . . Adduximus S^{tem} Suam, ut statim principibus indicat concilium ad maium mensem primo venturum celebrandum et forsan citius, de loco autem ipse cum oratore Caesaris ad partem designabat in Mantua vel Verona, sed ea res extra opera nostra, ut per nuntios ad hanc rem mittendos consultetur cum Caesare et cum M^{te} V^{ra}. Speaking to the Pope on the matter of the Council I told him: debere S^{tem} Suam occlusis auribus tanquam mortiferos syrenarum cantus pertransire consilia eorum, qui concilii celebrationem differre student . . . festinaret effusis habenis ad celebrandum concilium generale, quod unicum remedium restat ad [ex]stinguendum hoc incendium tam late vagans. During this discussion in Salviati's presence the Pope was momentarily wrapped in thought: et mox levatis manibus ad coelum in hanc sententiam mihi respondit: "Deus et vos atque Caesaris orator praeter alios multos testes mihi estis me velle et procurare concilium, quando sine eo tantis malis remedium haberi non potest. Serenissimus autem rex vester merito est mihi charissimus cuique in hac re et in aliis honestis, quales suae sunt, morem gerere cupimus. Ut autem M^{ti} Suae ac

[1] See *supra*, pp. 44, 221.

Caesareae constet nos ad hoc opus sanctum properare velle, cras congregabimus istos reverendissimos dominos et dabitur ordo, ut nuntii mittendi ad Caesarem et ad regem vestrum et ad christianissimum mittantur per medias postas, ut concilium indicant et ad effectum illius properari faciant." Et sic heri die jovis XIIII praesentis habita fuit congregatio universalis cardinalium ibique expediti modo, ut supra Faventinus ad Galliam, protonotarius quidem Lucensis et nunc gubernator huius Urbis et antiquus servitor papae ad Caesarem et episcopus Mutinensis, filius Moroni, de quo per alias meas scripsi ad M^{tem} V. Et hi omnes intra quatriduum, ut puto, proficiscentur. Episcopus vero Regiensis, comes de Rangonibus, qui destinatus et vulgatus erat nuntius ad Cesarem non mittitur, cum propter aliquot alias causas, tum quia gravis homo est neque aptus ad eundum celeriter, ut Sua S^{tas} vult.

Quantum ad secundum punctum[1] procurandum per dictum marchionem Baury, etsi diu multumque per eum nunc instantissime et per oratorem antea laboratum est, nihil tamen eos profecturos spero. [In cipher:] quoniam pontifex pertinacissime decrevit neutralitatem servare, quamquam hodie venturus est d. Petrus Aloisius, filius S^{tis} Suae, ad rogandum et astringendum vehementissime S^{tem} Suam, ut hoc fedus faciat, quoniam est antiquus Cesaris servitor et ante hoc tempus valde bene tractatus et liberaliter etiam donatus a M^{te} Caesarea. Neque erit abs re, si V^{ra} M^{tas} ad eum scribat gratiose, de quo etiam particularius eam monebo.

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna, "Romana," fasc. 7.]

7. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Milan.[2]

1535, Januar. 18, Rom.

Nel concistoro di venerdì N. S. propose che havendo in brieve a mandare i nuntii a principi christiani per le cose del concilio desiderava sapere da noi altri come ci pareva che ci dovessimo governare in tale materia mostrando quanto fosse necessario

[1] Viz. according to the beginning of the despatch: 1. de concilio accelerando: 2. de foedere inter S^{tem} et Caesarem ad conservationem Italiae; 3. de particularizando auxilio contra Barbarossam.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 44, 46, 47.

celebrare il detto concilio; d' alcuni fu detto che si poteva ricercare a principi il consenso d' intimarlo, et da altri che ciò non bisognava, toccando principalmente a S. S^{tà} d' intimarlo senza consenso di veruno, ma che intimato che fosse poteva poi con essi principi trattar del luogo et d' altre particolarità non essendo ogni luogo a proposito d' ogni principe. N. S. in questa diversità di pareri disse che si poteva pigliare una via di mezzo che sarebbe il commettere a nuntii che facessino intendere a principi come S. S^{tà} stava deliberata di fare il concilio et così non veniva a chiedere loro il consenso, nè anche dare sospetto di dilatione per non farlo, et di questo modo havevano da portare le instruttioni, mostrando gran desiderio di volerlo con effetto, oltra che liberamente a ciascuno che parla con lei lo dice. Il vescovo di Faenza qual' è deputato nuntio in Francia m' ha detto che N. S. ogni modo vuole il concilio perchè tutte le commissioni sue tendono a questo fine, ma io per le solite vie, dove intendo l' altre cose, sono avertito, che S. S^{tà} mostra di volerlo, stimando certo che i principi no 'l vogliano in fatti, ma solam^{te} in dimostratione, et che per le discordie et voluntà di Francia sopra le cose d' Italia non si possa in alcun modo fare.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5788, f. 85, of the Vatican Library.]

8. Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.[1]

1535, Januar. 20. Rom.

XV praesentis scripsi ad M^{tem} V. ultimo per viam r^{mi} d^{ni} Tridentini,[2] eodem vero die dum ego scriberem habuit consistorium S^{tas} Sua, in quo, ut ex optimo loco compertum habeo, proposuit haec verba cardinalibus: "propter causas apprime necessarias atque urgentissimas deliberavimus et proposuimus indicere concilium generale. Volumus et petimus consilium vestrum, an primo debeamus petere consensum principum christianorum." Responderunt omnes nemine discrepante nullomodo debere concilium generale celebrari, subiungentes aliquas apparentes rationes. Verum replicans illis Sua B. dixit: "D^{ni} r^{mi}, video vos parum intellexisse mentem meam. Nos enim non consulimus, an debeat indici concilium vel ne, quia mens

[1] See *supra*, pp. 44, 46. [2] Cles.

nostra firma est illud indicere, sed, an ad hoc faciendum debeamus primo petere consensum principum vel ne." Tunc omnes unanimiter censuerunt consensum principum debere peti atque ita est deliberatum.[1] Hoc enim faciunt cardinales, ut protrahant et differant negotium concilii. Quia, licet pontifex habeat in hoc bonam voluntatem, totum collegium cardinalium renititur et propterea in tractatu huius rei cavendum esset ab eis. Licet certe non possum dicere, nisi quod cardinalis Salviatus servit bene M^ti^ Vestrae.

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna, "Romana," fasc. 7.]

9. Pope Paul III. to Andreas Cricius, Bishop of Plock.[2]

1535, Mart. 18.

Venerabili fratri Andree episcopo Plocensi. Venerabilis frater salutem etc. Dudum per fe. re. Clementem papam VII predecessorem nostrum accepto, quod nonnulli partium Germanie pestifere heresis Lutherane labe respersi ad cor redeuntes ad regnum Polonie ut communioni ecclesiasticae restitui possent se conferebant, dictus predecessor paternitati tue quascunque utriusque sexus tam ecclesiasticas quam seculares personas huiusmodi Lutheran[a] aut quavis alia heresi refertas undecunque existentes ad dictum regnum ut in eo habitarent pro tempore se conferentes ad veritatis lumen redire et[3] huiusmodi heresim abiurare volentes, postquam errores suos deposuissent ac de premissis doluissent idque humiliter petiissent, si alias relapsi non forent, receptis prius ab eis abiuratione heresis huiusmodi legitime et publice facienda prestandoque[4] per eos iuramento, quod talia ex tunc deinceps non committerent nec talia aut hiis similia committentibus seu adherentibus consilium, auxilium vel favorem per se vel alium seu alios prestarent, aliisque in similibus servari solitis servatis ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis, quas propterea quomodolibet incurrissent et ab huiusmodi

[1] From this point onwards, frequently interlined in cipher.

[2] See *supra*, p. 377.

[3] Corrected from "ut."

[4] "Prestandoque," originally corrected to "prestitique," and afterwards altered back.

delictis, excessibus et criminibus ac alias in forma ecclesie consueta absolvendi et super irregularitate premissorum occasione quomodolibet contracta dispensandi omnemque inhabilitatis et infamie maculam sive notam penitus abolendi ac eos rehabilitandi ac ad honores, famam ac pristinum et eum,[1] in quo ante premissa erant, statum necnon ad nostrum et eiusdem sedis gremium, gratiam et benedictionem restituendi reponendi et plenarie reintegrandi ac alia in premissis et circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet oportuna faciendi et exequendi plenam et liberam auctoritatem et facultatem per suas in forma brevis litteras ad eius beneplacitum concessit, prout in eisdem literis plenius continetur. Cum autem postmodum dictus Clemens predecessor ab hac luce, sicut Domino placuit, subtractus[2] fuerit sicque facultas tibi per eum ad eius beneplacitum concessa expiraverit et, sicut accepimus, fraternitas tua facultatis predicte vigore Philippum Melanchthonem a partibus Germanie et erroribus illorum tam literis quam nunciis solerti cura et diligenti studio revocare studueris ac postmodum causantibus nonnullis supervenientibus impedimentis et aliquorum detractionibus et calumniis id interumperes, sed, cum inpresentiarum voluntatem ipsius Philippi exploratam habeas; ceptum per te opus huiusmodi superni favoris auxilio et auctoritate nostra tibi suffragantibus ad effectum perducere nullisque propterea sumptibus et expensis parcere intendas, maxime cum hoc reipublice christiane plurimum profuturum fore speres: Nos pium et laudabile propositum tuum plurimum in Domino commendantes ac sperantes, quod tu religionis zelo fructuosos orthodoxe fidei palmites transplantare pro viribus conaberis, eidem fraternitati tue, de qua in hiis et aliis specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, prefatum Philippum et alios quoscunque utriusque sexus tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares huiusmodi pestifera Lutherana aut alia quavis heresi infectos undecunque existentes et ad dictum regnum se conferentes ac ad veritatis lumen redire et huiusmodi heresim abiurare volentes, postquam errores suos deposuerint ac de premissis doluerint idque humiliter petierint, si alias relapsi non fuerint, receptis prius ab eis abiuratione heresis et prestando iuramento huiusmodi aliisque

[1] "Statum" follows, but is erased.

[2] Looks as if it were "substractus," but is pretty certainly merely "subtractus."

in similibus servari solitis ab excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis, quas propterea quomodolibet incurrerint, et ab huiusmodi delictis excessibus et criminibus absolvendi et super irregularitate premissorum occasione quomodolibet contracta dispensandi omnemque inhabilitatis et infamie maculam sive notam abolendi eosque rehabilitandi et ad honores famam ac pristinum et eum statum, in quo ante premissa erant, necnon ad nostrum et eiusdem sedis gremium, gratiam et benedictionem restituendi, reponendi et plenarie reintegrandi ac alia in premissis et circa ea necessaria faciendi et exequendi plenam et liberam auctoritatem et facultatem similiter ad beneplacitum nostrum concedimus per presentes, non obstantibus premissis ac quibusvis apostolicis necnon in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.[1] Volumus autem quod Phy[lippus] et alii predicti ad loca car^mo^ in christo filio nostro Sigismundo Polonie regi ill. subdita absque ipsius regis consensu non accedant nec in eis absque eodem consensu permaneant.

Dat. Romae etc. 18 Martii 1535 a° primo.

Hie[ronymus] audit. Blos[ius].

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 50, n. 6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

10. Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.[2]

1535, Juni 3, Rom.

With regard to Camerino, the Pope will not on any account enter into an amicable understanding . . . asserens sibi pudori et vituperabile fore, when it is the business of his subject to submit to his decision; antea velle perdere papatum suum quam quicque indecorum committere; verum demum labore magno et praesertim domini Petri Aloisii condescendit hodie in hoc medium, quod dux ponat eam civitatem et illius arcem in manum et potestatem oratoris cesarei . .

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna, "Romana," fasc. 7.]

[1] Dat. . . . follows, but is erased. (Volumus autem . . .) The following in another hand (very likely that of Hier. audit.).

[2] See *supra*, p. 309.

11. Pope Paul III. to the Emperor Charles V.[1]

1535, Juli 15, Rom.

Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Romanorum Imperatori. Carissime in Christo fili noster salutem etc. Ex relatione dilecti filii, comitis de Sifuentes oratoris Vestrae Caesareae Majestatis et ex literis nuntii nostri proxime allatis non sine singulari gaudio et letitia accepimus felicem Serenitatis Vestrae ad Africae litora appulsum et quae ipso expeditionis exordio pro votis successerint quidve rursum levis incommodi (neque enim fortuna secunda et laeta esse omnia patitur) acceptum sit. Nobis itaque totam simul rem et belli statum, qui refertur, ante oculos ponentibus et vires opportunitatesque nostras itemque hostium aequa lance pensantibus summa profecto et indubitata spes offertur fore, ut propediem victoria optata succedat et certe, si majorum gesta animo revolvimus, nunquam ex Italia atque occidentis partibus Africae sine successu arma sunt illata. Ex nulla provincia tanta triumphorum series, tot tropheorum decora sunt relata, sive ad Carthaginem olim sive ad Tunetem praelia sive etiam in reliquam Africam consideremus. Et caeteris quidem bene gerendae rei fortuna non defuit, M^{ti} Tuae Ser^{mae} etiam superest. Quare omnium cordibus summa spes insita est, illud hoc maxime tempore impletum iri, quod psalmographus olim vaticinatus est, inimicorum defecerunt frameae in finem.

Nos ad propitiandam Dei in suos voluntatem nihil hucusque intermisimus, humiles ad ipsum preces, licet peccatores atque indigni, assidue fudimus. Indicto jejunio concessisque indulgentiis supplicationes ad omnia templa, ad universas aras, non in urbe solum atque Italia, sed et per omne christianum nomen, pro salute et victoria Vestrae Ser^{tis} perquam diligenter fieri et continuari curavimus. Et fiducia summa est in omnium animis Omnipotentem suae causae non defuturum ac justas piorum preces exauditurum, ut Caesaream M^{tem} V. cum suo invicto exercitu gloriosis victoriae titulis insignitam incolumem Nobis et fidelium plebi restituat.

Interea, hoc admonendum, car^{me} fili noster, te duximus, ut saluti tuae quam exquisitissime consulas, neu te periculis prae nimia fortitudine objicias. Plus consilio, quam manu et viribus, ab Imperatore praestatur. Existimet Ser^{tas} Tua ac vere sibi

[1] See *supra*, p. 230.

persuadeat in capite suo constitutam esse Christianorum salutem, ea incolumi, Nos de Africa Asiaque deque caeteris Christiani nominis hostibus, cum Dei auxilio, feliciter triumphaturos. Reliqua Imperatrix M^tas^ V. ex nuntio nostro cognoscet, cui uberius mentem animumque et affectum nostrum largiore sermone commisimus explicandos. Feliciter valeat Ser^ma^ V. M^tas^, vincat gloriose et se ad majora conservet.

Datum etc. Romae apud sanctum Marcum etc. Die XV julii 1535 anno primo.

Fab. Vigili.

S^mus^ D. N. addidit hec verba manu sua: Preghamo et exhortamo V. M^tà^ Cesarea attenda sopratutto ad conservare sua imperiale et dignissima persona in la salute, della quale consiste il bene et felicità de tutta la republica christiana havendola Dio a tal fine eletta et sublimata. A[lexander].

[A tergo:] 15 julii 1535 anno p°.

Imperatori super ejus applicatione in Africam.

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 52, n. 144. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

12. Journey of Paul III. to Perugia.[1]

September 1535.

Like the first great journey of Paul III., this has been specially described by his Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis: Recessus S. D. N. Pauli Papae III ex urbe versus Perusiam ad civitatem illam quietandam a seditionibus illorum (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 57, f. 58 *seqq.*, and 58, f. 229 *seq.*, as well as in Cod. lat., 12547, f. 204 *seq.* of the National Library, Paris). The following itinerary is thus obtained: Dei veneris 3 Sept. 1535 ex palatio S. Marci associatus a multis cardinalibus to S. Maria del popolo and from there to Castelnuovo; on the 4th September from Castelnuovo to Città Castellana: together with the Pope travelled Cardinals Palmieri, Ghinucci, Farnese, and Santafiora. On the 5th to Narni, the 6th to Terni, the 7th to Spoleto, the 8th to Foligno; here at an especially solemn reception "carmina" were recited which the Pope heard with great pleasure. On the

[1] See *supra*, p. 299.

9th to the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli at Assisi; here the Pope heard Mass and had a meal in the convent at mid-day; in the evening to the convent of S. Pietro fuori le mura. His entry into Perugia, "pontificaliter et cum pompa," on the 10th is described in detail. On the 30th he left Perugia for Todi and on October the 8th returned to Rome.

13. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1536, Januar. 28, Rom.

Hoggi in consistoro Sua S^tà^ è stata sopra della reformatione della corte et delli habiti de preti e altre persone ecclesiastiche dicendo voler che a ogni modo si osservi sotto escomunication, privation de beneficii et altre gravissime pene et incominciarasi a osservar alli 13 del mese che viene . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Edict of Pope Paul III. for the Reform of the Clergy of the Roman States.[2]

1536, Februar. 11, Rom.

Edictum reformationis generalis personarum et locorum ecclesiasticorum in Urbe de mandato S. D. N. domini Pauli divina providentia papae III.

In primis quod patriarchae, archiepiscopi et episcopi tam in Urbe quam extra Urbem incedant in habitu condecenti, videlicet cum mantello seu gabbano extra Urbem, ita tamen quod per Urbem, videlicet per loca, ubi sit frequentia virorum, et ad palatium non vadant sine rocchetto et caputio episcopali et in ceteris vestibus, et in aliis servent modestiam eis convenientem, et in domo teneant vestem longam.

Item quod ipsi patriarchae, archiepiscopi et episcopi curent, ut eorum familiae honeste et recte iuxta eorum gradum vivant serventque et[iam] infra scripta, prout singulos respective concernunt, nec familiaribus suis in sacris ordinibus vel in aliqua dignitate ecclesiastica constitutis utantur in vilibus exercitiis nec in officio parafrenariatus.

Item quod inferiores praelati et clerici omnes, presertim

[1] See *supra*, p. 150. [2] See *supra*, p. 150.

beneficiati, portent tonsuram clericalem, ita ut praesbiter habeat maiorem quam diaconus, et diaconus quam subdiaconus, et tonsura subdiaconi non sit minor uno julio. Qui si tonsuram clericalem non portaverint, non gaudeant privilegio clericali, et nihilominus clerici, qui beneficiati aut in sacris ordinibus constituti fuerint, possint per urbis ordinarios arbitrio ipsorum puniri.

Quod vero ad habitum: omnes clerici beneficiati; exceptis parafrenariis, portent vestem longam usque paululum supra talos, exceptis clercis, qui nec beneficiati nec in sacris ordinibus constituti fuerint, quibus liceat portare gabbanum longum subtus genu et biretum cum plica. Parafrenarii vero, ne impediantur in incessu, possint portare gabbanum longum usque ad mediam tibiam vel cappam sine cappucio et biretum cum una plica. Omnes autem clerici, quicunque sint, abstineant a vestibus a iure prohibitis, nec utantur alio colore quam nigro vel violaceo aut leonato. Et similiter abstineant a diploydibus[1] et says[2] et caligis frappatis et desuper incisis,[3] et a pannis pilosis, qui vulgo dicuntur cottonati, nec portent camisias ornatas auro vel serico, neque utantur monilibus sive collanis, quae appareant. Abstineant etiam omnes clerici ab ornamentis equorum seu mularum, et etiam a vestibus ad usum personarum suarum ab extra ex velluto, serico, vel damasco aut tali; possint tamen, si voluerint uti in diploydibus et says vel aliis vestimentis copertis et non apparentibus, exceptis iis, qui in sacris ordinibus vel in dignitate ecclesiastica sunt constituti et canonici cathedralium ecclesiarum, qui velluto, serico, damasco ac tali uti non possint praeterquam in diploydibus. Ab eo autem, quod supradicitur de coloribus et serico, intelligantur excepti familiares continui commensales Sanctissimi D. N., qui iuxta antiquam consuetudinem possint colore rubeo, immo ad honestandam maiestatem sedis apostolicae, saltem in publicis actibus, uti. Quod vero ad penas, repetitur quod in proxime praecedente capitulo dicitur.

Item quod omnes clerici, qui beneficia ecclesiastica possident, vel qui in sacris ordinibus constituti sunt, divinum officium quotidie recitent et habentes pensiones super beneficiis ecclesiasticis saltem recitent officium beatae Virginis.

Item quod clerici in Urbe existentes, qui beneficia ecclesiastica

[1] Lined cloak (see DU CANGE, III., Niort, 1884, 122).
[2] Serge. [3] Buskins, pinked.

possident in Urbe vel extra, infra quattuor menses a die edicti desuper decreti ad ordines, ad quos ratione suorum beneficiorum tenentur, se promovere faciant, et ad tollendas excusationes Sanctissimus D. N. ex nunc dat licentiam iis, qui habent curam ordinandi in Urbe, ut tales possint etiam extra tempora diebus festivis ordinare, durantibus dictis quatuor mensibus, quibuscunque dispensationibus non obstantibus.

Item quod nullus ad sacros ordines in Urbe promoveatur nisi habeat qualitates a sacris canonibus requisitas et beneficium ecclesiasticum.

Item quod canonici et beneficiati patriarchalium et collegiatarum ecclesiarum Urbis et in ecclesiis, in quibus sunt canonici et beneficiati, iuxta ipsarum statuta, etiam si praetendatur non esse in usu, divinis personaliter et intersint et serviant et modestiam debitam in choro servent et canonici, quando in ecclesiis eorum sunt in divinis et etiam in suplicationibus et processionibus publicis, sint induti superpeliciis habentes almutias ex pellibus variorum, sicuti eos decet, ubi est solitum almutias portari, et hi, qui soliti sunt portare cappas, illas portare teneantur.

Item quod qualibet dominica et aliis diebus, quibus ex statuto ecclesiastico vel consuetudine a servilibus operibus abstinetur, in patriarchalibus et collegiatis ecclesiis almae Urbis unus ex canonicis cum duobus aliis canonicis officium diaconi et subdiaconi gerentibus missam celebret.

Item quod rectores parochialium ecclesiarum alme Urbis cessante legitimo impedimento per seipsos curam gerant animarum, si vero impediti fuerint, per idoneum vicarium, cui ex fructibus ipsius ecclesiae congruam portionem impartiantur per vicarium Urbis statuendam et nullus deputari ad curam possit, nisi fuerit per vicarium vel eius deputatum examinatus et approbatus, absque tamen aliqua solutione.

Item quod in patriarchalibus et collegiatis ecclesiis, praesertim tempore resurrectionis D. N. Iesu Christi, sacramentum eucharistiae ministretur per unum ex antiquioribus canonicis, debita praevia erga suscipientes sacramentum monitione et exhortatione, rectores vero parochialium ecclesiarum per seipsos et tam canonici quam rectores id faciant cum debita reverentia et in loco convenienti designando per cardinalem, qui illi ecclesiae praefuerit, vel per vicarium Urbis.

Item quod capitula patriarchalium et collegiatarum ecclesiarum et rectores aliarum necnon monasteria et conventus religiosorum, tam in Urbe quam circa eam existentes curent, quod eucharistia et alia sacramenta decenter teneantur et nitide et in locis convenientibus et clausis et quod ante eucharistiam semper lampas habeatur accensa tam die quam nocte, sub penis arbitrio vicarii Urbis et in utilitatem ecclesiae exponendis.

Item quod quilibet clericus in aliis sacris ordinibus infra tamen praesbiteratum constitutus fructus ecclesiasticos quoslibet percipiens saltem quater in anno, videlicet in paschate resurrectionis, nativitatis Domini, penthecostes et assumptionis beatae virginis praevia sacramentali confessione sacramentum eucharistiae sumat, praesbiteri vero in omnibus festis, quae sunt de precepto Ecclesiae et etiam in solennibus et ulterius semel in mense saltem celebrent, legitima causa cessante.

Item quod vasa et omnia alia ad cultum divinum destinata sint in sufficienti numero et pura et nitida nec ad alium quam ad divinum usum deserviant.

Item quod diebus dominicis et aliis ex statuto Ecclesiae servari praeceptis missae, quae maiores vocantur, votive in dictis ecclesiis non celebrentur.

Item quod tam capitula quam rectores ecclesiarum librum aliquem in sacristia teneant, in quo omnia mobilia et immobilia bona ecclesiarum sint descripta.

Item quod tam clerici quam laici a blasfemia in Deum et Dominum nostrum, beatam Virginem et sanctos et sanctas et a sortilegiis et incantationibus et demonum invocationibus abstineant nec fiant in Urbe publice sortes sub penis in aliis bandis contentis.

Item quod clerici cuiuscunque qualitatis et dignitatis abstineant a commercio suspectarum personarum et a tabernis et inhonestis locis.

Item quod clerici abstineant a ludis et aliis actibus illicitis nec se gerant pro histrionibus in comediis et tragediis ac publicis spectaculis.

Item quod in quadragesima et aliis diebus prohibitis ab Ecclesia ab ovis, butiro, caseo et aliis lacticiniis et carnibus abstineant nisi de consilio utriusque medici.

Item quod provideatur aliquo honesto modo circa venditionem carnium tempore quadragesimali et de hoc curam suscipiat Urbis gubernator et dictus vicarius.

Item quod tam clerici quam laici, dum sermones fiunt ad populum, per ecclesiam, non spacientur vel deambulent, et mendicantes non vadant per ecclesias dum divina celebrantur.

Item quod predicatores verbi Dei, dum in specie volunt in eorum sermonibus damnare aliquas haereses, praesertim Lutheranas, communicent modum, quem circa id servare intendunt, cum magistro sacri palatii vel vicario Urbis et servent id, quod ipse magister vel vicarius eis circa hoc ordinabit.

Item quod in ecclesiis Urbis, quae indigent reparatione, ex ipsarum fructibus et redditibus congrue reparentur solum necessaria portione pro victu rectoris servata, si rectorem habeat; si vero collegiata et dicti canonici et rectores alios redditus habuerint, unde congrue sustentari possint, donec ecclesia congrue reparata fuerit, praedicta portio eis non detur, arbitrio vicarii iuxta formam motus proprii desuper ei concessi.

Item quod in ecclesiis Urbis, quarum canonici ex fructibus et redditibus suorum canonicatuum substentari non possunt, canonicatus extinguantur et ex eis una rectoria erigatur, sine tamen praeiudicio modernorum possessorum.

Item quod ecclesiae Urbis, quae reparatione indiguerint et ex eorum fructibus et redditibus reparari non possunt, aliis ecclesiis uniantur non habentibus sufficientes redditus, ut ex eorum fructibus valeat substentari unus rector, qui ex unius fructibus sustentari non poterat. Et hoc fiat per cardinalem, cuius titulo ecclesia unienda subest assistente sibi vicario Urbis.

Item quod monasteria in Urbe et circa eam existentia et religiosorum quorumlibet loca cuiuscunque ordinis, etiam si sint data in commendam assidue habeant sufficientem numerum religiosorum arbitrio protectoris eiusdem ordinis; quod si redditus dictorum locorum non sufficiant, quod deest ex aliis monasteriis et religiosis locis dictorum ordinum extra Urbem existentibus suppleatur.

Item quod provideatur, ne in exequiis defunctorum super ceris et vestibus dividendis fiant rixae, cum ex hoc laici non parum scandalizentur, et merito; hoc curet vicarius Urbis.

Item quod sedentur discordie inter clericos et regulares super precedentiis in processionibus et aliis propter scandala, et hoc curet vicarius Urbis.

Item quod nulla ecclesia Urbis vel monasterium sit ex-

emptum a processionibus, etiam sub praetextu quorumcunque privilegiorum.

Item quod male sentientes de fide et suspecti per iudices ordinarios ecclesiasticos inquirantur et puniantur.

Item, quia quamplures presbiteri legere nesciunt missas et qui intersunt scandalizantur, quod in dicta Urbe nullus presbiter missam celebrare audeat, nisi docuerit in scriptis se ad hoc respective approbatum fuisse per vicarium Urbis, qui si presbiter Germanus fuerit etiam per administratores sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum, si vero Gallus fuerit per administratores sancti Ludovici, et si Hispanus per administratores sancti Iacobi Hispanorum et si fuerit Anglus per rectores hospitalis Anglicorum vel penitentiarium Anglicorum in basilica principis apostolorum existentem, si fuerit Ungarus per Ungarorum, si Polonus per Polonum penitentiarium, si Sclavonus per aliquem Sclavonum, si Bohemus per aliquem Bohemum, si vero fuerit Italus etiam per Thomam Guerrerium et Franciscum de Vannutiis, et in defectu praedictorum suppleat vicarius Urbis arbitrio suo.

Item quod mendicantes non possint in dicta Urbe vel districtu mendicare sine licentia habita a Thoma Guerrerio vel Francisco Vannutio aut altero eorum.

Item quod qui predictis statutis contrafecerint et culpabiles inventi fuerint, per iudices, ad quos spectat, iuxta iuris et sacrorum canonum dispositiones puniantur et, ubi non esset certa pena, suppleat ipsorum iudicum arbitrium.

Et praemissa omnia per gubernatorem Urbis, auditorem camerae et vicarium Urbis, prout ad quemlibet iurisdictio spectat, executioni demandentur.

Item quod nullus monachus aut alius cuiusvis ordinis regularis professor incedat per Urbem sine socio sui ordinis vel sine licentia vicarii Urbis.

[Contemporary publication, *s. l. et a.*, in 4°. 6 ll.[1] Imperial Library, St. Petersburg.]

[1] The Florentine antiquary Olschki sold in 1898 to the Imperial library in St. Petersburg this very copy of the first Edict of Reform, which is undoubtedly that spoken of by the Venetian envoy, Lorenzo Bragadino, in his despatch of February 12, 1536 (Ehses, Conc. Trid., IV., 453, A 1), and which he calls "la bolla della reformatione delli habbiti delli cherici." This description is evidently given because at the beginning of the Edict and also in the course

15. Lorenzo Bragadino to Venice.[1]

1536, Mart. 10, Rom.

La Maestà del imperator ha scritto ultimamente una lettera al pontefice molto più dolce et humana di quello, che era solito prima di scriver, nella qual Sua Cesarea Maestà scrive, ch'el contenta et lauda la opinion di Sua Santità di esser neutrale, et così accetta in bona parte la prohibition del far delli fanti sopra il dominio della Chiesa, et che venirà in Roma et che in ogni sua trattation, quando Sua Santità conoscerà ch'el torto sii dal canto di Sua Maestà, il mondo tuto conoscerà quanto conto et stima la facci della Beatitudine Sua et ha rimesso de richiederli di far più fanti di quà, ma li fa in altri luochi, et ne passano tutavia de ditti de qui et se ne fanno etiam secretamente qui in Roma per questo conto, li qual fanti fanno la massa sopra il Senese, dove alloggierano a descritione, fine che lo imperatore li mandi la paga.

[Contemporary copy. State Archives, Venice, Dispacci da Roma al Senato. Filza IV., f. 52[b] *seq.*]

16. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1536, Mart. 14, Rom.

. . . A questi giorni il conte de Cifuenta ambassatore quà de Sua M[tà] de ordine et comissione di quella fece grandissima instantia con N. S. che Sua S[tà] se volesse dichiarare o per l' imperatore o per il re di Francia, desiderando Sua M[tà] Ces[ea] di sapera in qual modo ella si potesse assicurare de Sua S[tà] et massimamente venendo a Roma, alla qual proposta quella rispose et non senza qualche sdegnio et collera; che mai era per dechiararsi con niuno; ma essere neutrale et in la neutralità al tutto fermata, nè volersi

of the document the clothing of the clergy is spoken of frequently and as a matter of importance. That Bragadino makes use of the expression "bolla" is of no consequence, and also the additional remark "che non si publicasse in stampa" is confirmed rather than contradicted by the extraordinary rarity of the copy. There exists, as Mgr. Ehses also believes, no doubt therefore that the Edict was made known in the consistory of February the 11th, 1536.

[1] See *supra*, p. 240.

[2] See *supra*, p. 240.

impacciare fra questi dui principi in le loro garre et differentie se non a componerle et sforzarsi di mettergli buona pace et concordia a ogni suo possere, ma altrimenti che lassarebbe il pensiero a loro, sperando che Iddio con questa sua buona voluntà et migliore intentione l' aiuterebbe non curando punto de niuna altra cosa che gli possesse intervenire, si che non mancharebbe mai di fare quel bono offitio che al bon pastore si conviene, con molte altre parole convenevoli al grado et alla dignità de Sua S^{tà}; la qual risposta subito che Sua M^{tà} l' intese ha scritta al detto ambas^{re} che sopra di ciò più non debbia molestare nè esasperare Sua Beat^{ne} della quale non vole nè richiede se non quel tanto che sia de sua buona volontà, tanto più chiarendolo N. S. con promesse di volere osservare a ogni modo la neutralità, et che ella pensa et certifica qual si voglia persona che più vale la fede et promesse sue et vole che vaglion che quante sicurezze S. S^{tà} egli possesse dare et aspettare S. M^{tà} per posserla meglio chiarire a boccha et honorarla. Et hora S. B^{ne} ha fatte murare alcune porte nel palazzo aciò che secretam^{te} essa et Sua M^{tà} possino essere insieme et andare l' uno da l' altro senza saputa de persona da tutti li tempi et hore che gli parerà, et dicendo volere che S. M^{tà} propria tenghi la chiave della camera de S. S^{tà} con ogni confidentia . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

17. Sanchez to King Ferdinand I.[1]

1536, Mart. 24, Rom.

The Pope will not allow the Emperor to raise troops. Quinimo edictum fecit severissimum prohibens ne quisquam subditorum sub maximis penis alteri cuiquam principi militaret, allegans se patrem esse eiusque fore officium non iuvandi, sed dirimendi belli pacemque exhortandi. Sed privatim allegabat se scire certo regem Franciae cum Francia in Lutherismum iturum, si pontifex adiuvaret Caesarem, nolletque, ut sua culpa id fieret, sed paulatim redacta est S^{tas} Sua, ut hic secrete colligantur milites Hyspani . . .

[Orig. Court and State Archives, Vienna, "Romana," fasc. 7.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 240.

18. Giovanni Agnello to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1536, April 8, Rom.

Essendosi fra il papa et l'imperatore concluso esser bene et espediente alla republica christiana far il concilio et intimarlo per l'anno che viene per l'aprile o maggio, hoggi S. S^{tà} ha fatto questa proposta in congregatione, la quale quantumque sia stata damnata per alcuni cardinali della fattione contraria all'imperatore parendo loro, che il concilio havessi a tornar a servicio di S. M^{tà}, nondimeno il parere delli più fu che l'intimatione si havessi a fare, et a questo effetto furono eletti li cardinali di Siena,[2] Campeggio, Trento,[3] Ginuccio, Simoneta, Contarini, Cesis et Cesarino, li quali havessero a consultare et concludere il modo si havessi a tenere in far l'intimatione, ma haver il cardinale di Trento a partir fra dui o tre giorni, non potrà intender in questo negocio. Il luogo dove il concilio s'haverà a fare, se perhò si farà, che gli più dubitano per gli rispetti noti, sarà Mantova, la qual si nominarà nell'intimatione, sopra la qual' parte mons. r^{mo} cardinale disse in congregatione che sue S^{tà} et M^{tà} non havevano da considerare altro, salvo si il luogo fosse al proposito per il concilio; che della buona voluntà di V. Ex. et di tutta la casa, se non puotevano promettere come di qual' si voglia loro affetionato et obediente serv^{re} et amico. Quando S. S^{tà} fece la proposta del concilio et fu concluso che si havessi ad intimar, non si palese che l'intimatione dovessi esser con conditione niuna. Alcuni dicono, che serà con conditione, se tutti li nationi christiane se ne contenterano et vi havrano ad intravenire.

Secondo ch'io habbia inteso dal ambass. Contarino, heri S. M^{tà} disse a lui et alli altri dui ambass^{i} Venetiani, che non era rissoluta di partir il marte, nè avanti pasqua, ma che aspettava certa resposta da Milano, secondo la quale si governarebbe nella partita sua; la opinione delli più è che S. M^{tà} non debbia partir avanti pasqua.

Il giovedì sera S. M^{tà} stete col papa per spatio di sette hore continue; questa sera sono stati insieme tre hore, no vi è intravenuto niun' altra persona; l'imperatore è stato hoggi a spasso per Roma et ha visitato la moglie del s. Ascanio Colonna et la signora marchesa di Pescara . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 77, 97, 246. [2] Piccolomini. [3] Cles.

19. N. N. to Cardinal R. Pole.[1]

1536, December 30, and 1537, Januar. 1.

1. Congratulation to the Cardinal on his elevation, which he owes to his own merits. Nam etsi in Contareno singulari viro idem prius factum erat, eo tamen minus pontificis animus apparebat quo plures varie interpretabantur pontificis propositum : nunc vero ipsius constantia omnia ad rem christianam constituendam referendi ea fundamenta iecit, ut sperent omnes istam dignitatem, in qua te virtus tua collocavit, multo apud omnes augustiorem ac venerabiliorem fore, quod utinam aliquot iam annis factum esset ; istius enim ordinis auctoritatem, quae nunc non ita magna est, amplissimam habemus—Much is hoped from him in the cause of religion. Dat. III. cal. ian. 1537 [sic !].

2. Second letter of congratulation, dat. Bononiae, cal. ian. 1537. Est vero rerum summa eo deducta, ut aut pessumire ac perire omnia necesse sit, aut, quae iam ad rectissimam perniciem prolapsa sunt, tuo et paucorum tui similium hominum consilio, diligentia, auctoritate et vitae sanctimonia erigi posse atque excitari videantur.

[Copy. State Archives, Parma.]

20. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1537, Januar. 29, Rom.

Già incomincia l' cardinale de Chieti[3] a voler far delle sue santimonie et voler metter a partito in consistoro che i cardinali non debbeno tenere più d' una chiesa per ciascuno di modo tale che dalla maggior parte de essi et fra l' altri dal rev^mo di Campeggio gli fu risposto per le rime et fatto intender che troppo presto incominciava a voler tassar l' collegio et dare la norma lui di quello che l' papa può et debbe fare, sopra di che furono usate de molle et a chiarirlo che meglio haverebbe fatto de remanere alla sua vita di prima et farebbe ancora di ritornarvi . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 164. [2] See *supra*, pp. 188, 194. [3] Carafa.

21. Giovanni Maria della Porta to Urbino.[1]

1537, Juli 10, Rom.

. . . Mostrò[2] non havere una speranza al mondo che la Illma S^{ria}[3] fosse per fare altro che di starsene a vedere, dicendo che a lei intraverebe come intervenne quando consultando se devevano dare passo a Phylippo re di Macedonia contra gli Phocensi si resolverono di darglilo con speranza ch' l' non ritornasse più indietro et di più tosto mettersi a pericolo di ruinare che di farselo di presente nemico, sicome intervenne che da quella deliberatione di dargli il passo ne nacque poi la ruina loro; che così intraverebe a' Venetiani che sperando nelle occasioni et nel tempo lasciariano ruinare altri per non si mettere hora in aperte inimicicie del Turco, ma che ad ogni modo ruinariano poi anco essi et certamente questa sua oppenione è l' universale quà de tutti . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Urb. 133, f. 756^{b}.]

22. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[4]

1537, November 30, Rom.

Di novo altro non cè eccetto che dicono il Turco intese la lega fatta fra N. S. l' imperatore et Venetiani, entrò in grandissima colera et volere ordinare con gran minaccie di fare a tempo nuovo esercito di 300^{m} cavalli et 500 vele per l' impresa incominciata l' anno passato se gli riuscirà. Si intende haversi per conclusa la lega fra l' imperatore et Franza per termine di tre mesi da durare fra essi con sospensione de l' arme et che il re di Franza ritornerà di là da monti, et dicono per sancta Lutia sarà ritornato, così se ne mettano scomesse qua a XXX per cento. Hieri in consistoro N. S. fece espedire et sottoscrivere la bolla di Castro et Nepe dati in pheudo al signor Pierloisio per se et suoi heredi; tutti li cardinali sottoscrisseno eccetto chel cardinale di Trani[5] che mai vi fu modo, allegando essere fortezze che dalla Chiesa et dalla sede apostolica non se debbano alienare, non sarebbe maraviglia che S. S^{tà} forse de havesse preso qualche sdegno . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 271. [2] Paul III. [3] Venice.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 273, 318. [5] De Cupis.

23. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1537, December 14, Rom.

. . . Martedì notte venendo el mercore fu quà un così terribile temporale che rovinò molti tetti di case et alcune case insieme, et folgori con saette che batterono nel campanile di s. Pietro. Nel palazzo di N. S^re^ in le stanze del card^le^ Contarini et card^le^ Campeggio, poi in castello s. Angelo, et levata una longa colonna o sia stanga di legno, che in cima haveva un angelo et un giglio di metallo l' uno et l' altro, abbrusata detta colonna di modo che mai fu rimedio di posser amortare il foco, per insino che tutta fu abbrusiata.[2] Ha data nel cuppola de s. Maria del popolo, nella chiesa della Trinità et nel campanile di s. Giovanni Laterano. In Belvedere et nel giardino del sig^r^ Pier Loisio a stirpati l' arbori delli lauri. Cosa mai più audita nè appresso d' antiqui nè de moderni. N. S. di tali prodigii ne rimane sospeso molto . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

24. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Ricci in Venice.[3]

1538, April 8, Pietrasanta.

P. S. Ms. Giovanni non voglio lasciar di dirvi che in questa santa impresa N. S^re^ dice da dovero et è prontiss^o^ a mettervi sino la mitra se bisognerà, ma è bene da advertire che l' homo non sia tenuto corrivo et che non si veda quello che gl' altri fanno. Pero sia officio vostro di haver bon occhio che da un canto non si mancha di quel che è debito et honor nostro et dall' altro si

[1] See *supra*, p. 152, and Vol. XII. See also the pamphlet: Newe Zeytung von Rom, welchergestalt das weter erschrockenlich eingeschlagen hat, den xiij. tag Decembris Anno 1537 [fresh news from Rome, of the terrible tempest which broke over the city on December 12, 1537], with woodcut on title-page, 4to.

[2] For the two angels which were placed on the fortress, see Fabriczy in Arch. d' Arte, VI. (1893), 126; *cf.* the passages from Fichard in Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XIV., 137; for the restorations which were made necessary by the lightning strokes, see Bertolotti, Speserie, 266.

[3] See *supra*, p. 278.

veda chel gioco vadi di paro et che ogniuno faccia quel che se li appartiene ecc. Credo che mi intendiate però che non m' allargherò altramenti. State vigilante al tutto secondo che N. S^re^ spera et desidera . . .

[Orig. Ricci Archives, Rom.]

25. Giovanni Bianchetto[1] to Cardinal Aleander.[2]

1538, October 28, Rom.

. . . Hoggi si è fatto una congregatione di deputati alla reformatione che sono Trani,[3] Ghinucci, Contarini, Chieti,[4] Cesarino et gli altri di prima; se ne congregherà una altra deputata alle cose d' Inghilterra, le quale N. S. nel ultimo consistoro ha mostrato havere molto a cuore et dice tanto che vuole prima lasciare l' impressa del Turcho che quella. Campeggio, Ghinucci, Contarini, Chieti et l' Inglese[5] sono deputati a trovare via et modo da castigare quel ribaldo, sacrilego, heretico, scelerato[6] . . . .

[Orig. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Nunz. di Germania, 2^a^, f. 110.]

26. Blasius de Martinellis on the Creation of Cardinals in December 1538.[7]

Die mercurii 18. decembris fuit consistorium tempore quatuor temporum, in quo inter alia concertatum est de creatione novorum cardinalium et licet proposuerit et de XV cardinalibus et ultra divulgaretur et multi multa loquerentur, cum tamen aliter non fuerit conclusum, sed res indecisa sic remanserit, die veneris 20. decembris, antequam veniret in consistorium, vocari nos magistros fecit et sursum in camera exposuit nobis suum conceptum de cardinalibus creandis, de modo et forma illos creandi, duos videlicet ad instantiam imperatoris, duos Hispanos videlicet Burgensem et Cordubensem episcopos, unum Gallum ad instan-

[1] Official of the Secretaria de' brevi.
[2] See *supra*, p. 181, and Vol. XII. p. 468.
[3] De Cupis. [4] Carafa. [5] Pole.
[6] Henry VIII. [7] See *supra*, p. 182.

tiam regis Christianissimi, unum in Scotia et alium Venetum ad preces Venetorum, et habita forma creationis a nobis et utrum pilei transmittendi vel ne requisiti, responsum dedimus negative, nisi ex magna vel urgenti causa deberent transmitti, prout in libro nostro de cardinali creato noviter, si in aliqua provincia crearetur legatus de latere; tunc enim liceret transmittere ad eum cappellum rubeum, ut posset uti insigniis et habitu cardinalatus sui, alias non.

His auditis et resolutis intravit consistorium, ubi iam cardinales aderant, et mox in sede iterum me vocavit quaerens, ex quo cardinales Neapolitanus[1] et de S^to^ Severino absentes erant a consistorio, an esset requirendus eorum consensus seu vota; et cum respondissem hoc esse bene factum, sed prius hoc perscrutandum fuerat, respondit, quia putaverat eos venturos; et illic vocato domino Aurelio camerario assistente misit eum ad capiendum vota dominorum cardinalium absentium . . .

[Copy. Diarium. Arm. 12, t. 56, f. 606,607. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

27. Extract from the Report of Marcantonio Contarini (1538).[2]

Nine ambassadors represented Venice in Rome during the pontificate of Paul III.: 1534–1535, Ant. Soriano; 1535–1536, Lorenzo Bragadino; 1536–1538, Marcantonio Contarini; 1538–1540, Giov. Basadonna; 1540–1542, Gabrielle Venier; 1542–1544, Francesco Venier; 1544–1546, Giov. Ant. Venier; 1546–1548, Niccolò da Ponte; and 1548–1550, Matteo Dandolo. Reports are only known of Soriano and Dandolo (Albéri, 2nd Series, III., 295 *seqq.*, 333 *seqq.*). An extract from Marc Antonio Contarini's report for 1538, missing in the Venetian State Archives, was cited by Ranke (Päpste, 6th ed., I., 158[a]) from a MS. about the Turkish war in my possession entitled: "Tre libri delli commentarii della guerra 1537, 1538, 1539," and a passage given. I found this MS. in 1882 in the Méjanes Library at Aix, in Cod. 670, under the title: "Dei Commentarii della guerra del 1537 con Sultan Soliman signor de' Turchi." A later hand has

[1] V. Carafa.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 32, 213, 295.

added: "scritto il tutto dal sig. Longo." Later my attention was called to further copies, namely in St. Mark's Library, Venice (It. cl., VII., Cod. 1285, quoted by DE LEVA [III., 254] and also made use of by RANKE [Deutsche Gesch., IV., 118], where certainly only the Venetian MS. is used), in the Seminary Library, Padua, in the Library, Siena (Cod. K, III., 3), and finally in the Court and State Library, Munich (Cod. Ital., 537 and 538); the earlier Munich manuscript is, however, incomplete; it is just the extract from Contarini's report which is missing. This in the Aix MS. (f. 186[b]) runs as follows: Relatione di Marcantonio Contarini tornato dall' ambass[a] di Roma. Poi m. Marcantonio Contarini cavalier tornato dall' ambasciaria di Roma fece la sua relatione. Disse che egli era stato a quella corte ventiotto mesi, nel qual tempo era seguita la rotta della guerra, la lega col pontefice et con l' imperatore. Trascorse tutte le cose successe. Accusò Andrea Doria che l' anno passato non s' havesse curato di liberare la christianità da i pericoli della tirannide de Turchi et disse che il pontifice, tutta la corte et tutti i Christiani si tenevano offesi da lui. Narrò il maneggio dello accordo del duca d' Urbino col pontifice delle cose di Camerino. Disse che il pontifice havea bonissimo animo verso questo stato, si perchè era consigliato a tenere buona intelligentia seco, come anco perchè da se medesimo conoscea che di qui dipendeva la quiete di Italia. Disse che Sua Santità havea animo di stare neutrale tra il re et l' imperatore, ma che l' imperatore havea giudicato che egli inclinasse alla parte Francese, perchè l' havea esortato più volte alla restitutione dello stato di Milano et l' havea fatto perchè temeva che fino che non si facesse la restitutione, l' Italia non potesse haver quiete. Disse del stato della corte che molti anni innanti i prelati non erano stati in quella riforma di vita che erano allora, et che i cardinali havevano più libertà di dire la opinion loro in concistoro che havessero havuto già gran tempo et che di ciò non solamente il pontifice non si doleva, ma ne era studiosissimo. Onde per questa ragione si potea sperare di giorno in giorno maggior riforma. Considerò che tra cardinali vi erano tanti huomini celebri che per opinione comune il mondo non ne havea altretanti. Disse che erano cinquantasei[1] cardinali, parte Italiani parte Oltramontani. Non parlò particularmente di

[1] Cod. Ital., 538, in Munich has 60.

alcuno, eccetto che di Teatino,[1] di Durante[2] et di Bonsio.[3] Et del Teatino disse che amava grandemente questo stato. L' istesso giorno tre di luglio fu eletto m. Marco Foscari amb. all' imperatore.

28. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[4]

1539, December 18, Rom.

. . . Intendo che N. S. parlò a certi cardinali a parte, prima che entrasse in concistorio, fra quali furono Trani,[5] Chieti[6] et Trivultii, di poi alla sedia separatamente parlò a molti et in ultimo disse le cagioni che movevano S. S^{tà} a creare nuovi cardinali, e quali, se ben me ricordo, furono queste, che n' erano morti molti et d' importanza; ricordò Liegio,[7] Trento[8] et Siviglia,[9] d' Italiani Campeggio et Simonetta, tanto necessarii et deputati al concilio, al che era necessario pensare, et ch' oltre gli morti v' erono delli infermi, disse delli absenti, ricordando Ivrea[10] per obligatione, Cibo et V. S. Illma per eletione, nè menzionò il nome d' altri, ma gli passò in genere, et che S. B^{ne} per fargli piacere comportava stesson fora di la corte, però era spediente creare degl' altri. Le fu risposto, et a questo concorsono tutti gli cardinali, salvo quelli più intrinsechi che si rimessono a S. S^{tà}, che non bisognava venire a questo per adesso, poichè essa sarebbe sempre a tempo di fargli, et ancora che fussono morti gli dui soprad^{ti} non però restava il collegio così nudo che non vi fossono ancora di quelli che sapevono et valevono, al che replicò S. S^{tà} esser vero, ma che delli huomini di valore non se potevono mai far tanti che fossono di vantaggio, et se pure ve n' erano di presente era ancora necessario pensare che havendosi a fare il concilio era conveniente ve ne fossero tanti che bastassono per mandarne et ritenerne ancora appresso di se. Hor questa fu la somma et, come ho detto, tutti gli voti furono conformi, parendo

[1] Carafa.

[2] Vgl. Migne, Dictionnaire d. cardinaux, 868 *seq.*; Ciaconius, III., 703.

[3] Or Bonfio; apparently a corruption of the name.

[4] See *supra*, p. 190, and Solmi, Fuga, 88, an extract from the letter is given, not altogether very correctly.

[5] De Cupis.

[6] Carafa.

[7] De la Mark.

[8] Cles.

[9] A. Manriquez.

[10] B. Ferreri.

assai a loro s. r^me^ potendo imputarla senza venire di presente alla creatione. Ho inteso per buona via che el r^mo^ di Ferrara[1] disse l' openione sua come gli altri con accommodate parole et tant' alto che fu benissimo inteso, et in somma si fece honore. La conclusione fu che vi si pensasse sopra, et dimani in l' altro concistorio si risolveriano. S. S^tà^ hier mattina disse la messa, et m' è stato detto che Contarino disse a certi cardinali con tutto il suo senno che sperava le cose dovessero sucorere per questa cagione bene, et vi sarebbe l' inspiratione divina. Si ritiene al fermo che le ragioni di S. B^ne^ havrano luogo et non quelle delli cardinali et così dimani si ha per certo si publicherano almeno XII cardinali . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

29. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1539, December 19, Rom.

. . . S' el concistorio di mercordi fu lungo, quello de heri fu lunghissimo et non finì prima che alle 2 hore di notte. Ho inteso che N. S. fino passate XXII hore parlò separatamente con li cardinali et con quelli manco domestici fra li quali fu il r^mo^ Cesarino con cui parlò più d' un hora et mezzo; finito il parlamento S. S^tà^ disse essersi risoluta a far gli cardinali nuovi, il primo come arcivescovo propose Salerno il quale lodò sommamente di virtù et bontà et in questa strema carestia haveva fatta molta buon opera in aiutare li poveri; io non so mo che ordine tenesse in nominare gli altri, però io gli dirò secondo mi verrano in memoria; si disse haver fatto Ginevra a richiesta del imperatore et del re di Romani, et Orleans a preghi del re christianissimo, di Borgia haveva detto assai nell' altro concistorio quando gli dette il vescovato di Squillacio che era per le sue virtù et l' obligatione che haveva a quella casa, havendo havuto il capello da papa Aless^ro^, di Guidiccione ancora havea detto abastanza, di modo che se la passò leggiermente. Del Parisio per essere letterato et rico della sua professione et di cui il collegio de cardinali haveva bisogno, et similmente di m^ro^ Dionisio per essere reputato buon theologo et il tempo che era stato generale haveva molto ben

[1] Este.

[2] See *supra*, p. 190.

governata la sua religione. Il Gambero per essere stato antico cortigiano et havendo oltre la nobiltà havuta molta fatiga per la sede apos^ca^, il thesoriere ancora disse haver meritato assai per essere stato longamente in questa corte. Messer Marcello misse sopra le stelle concludendo in somma che non haveva al mondo pare. Il Savello per li meriti del padre, per la nobiltà de la casa et per essere giovane virtuoso et che attendeva alle lettere et ne faciono testimonio il Brondusino[1] et il Bembo, et per buon rispetto se ne servasse uno nel stomaco . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

30. Fabrizio Peregrino to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1540, Februar. 20, Rom.

Sua S^tà^ spesso fa congregatione per reformar la corte con tutti li magistrati et officii ; questo puoco ancor ce mancha per fornire de rovinar noi poveri cortigiani, che ce morimo di fame, atteso la caristia grande che è del venire con le poche facende, che si fanno nella corte che veramente è una compassione grandiss^a^ solamente a considerarlo et le brigate sonno tutte desperate ; insino a qui 'l grano siciliano è venduto à VIII ducati 'l rubbio, hora è a XII et 'l romanesco a XIIII. Hor pensi V^a^ Ex. come debbiamo far ; sono in Roma de poveri mendicanti et bisognosi del pane da X o XII millia et molti di fame ne pericolarebbeno, se dalli tre cardinali cioè Trani, Santi quatro et Sancta Croce non fussero sovennuti, perchè ogni giorno continuamente fanno fare de grande lemosine, 'l resto del popolo Dio è testimonio come del vivere se ritruovi ; molte brigate partirebbono di Roma, ma per tutte le terre della Chiesa è charistia grandiss^a^. Dio ce aiutti et habbia misericordia alli poveri bisognosi ; sia certa V. Ex. che i poveri cortigiani sono condotti a tale, che chi teneva quatro servidori hora ne tiene doi et chi doi è redotto uno et ch' uno a niuno et da per se stesso se fa la coccina et questo ch' io scrivo, sta certa V. Ex. che così è la pura verità et ognuno è desperato del vivere . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] Aleander.

[2] See *supra*, p. 195.

31. Bonifazio Ruggieri to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1541, Januar. 12, Rom.

Viene notato che questo signore[2] mostra di andar molto volentieri forse confidando per la bona mente che tiene di poter trovar qualche modo et forma a questa unione della chiesa. No[i] altri pare che anco il valore suo sia molto l' habbia accettato una dura provincia et ad uscirne con honore sia cosa più divina che humana et non v' è alcun di questi altri r^mi^ che ne gli habbia una invidia al mondo.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

32. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[3]

1541, Januar. 29, Rom.

. . . Disse poi che voleva in ogni modo come s' era già deliberato che gli vescovi andassero alle loro chiese, et così si tiene al fermo che vi anderanno, cosa che non piacerà a qualche reverendissimo ch' era benissimo accompagnato senza spesa. Fu poi risoluto che si publicasse la bolla contra la plematica[4] di Spagna et di Bretania et Savoia et in quel regno et ducati non potevono havere pensione se non chi v' era nato . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

33. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[5]

1541, Februar. 1, Rom.

. . . Domenica si fece congregatione delli r^mi^ deputati sopra la riformatione in casa del cardinale di Trani, sono restati X, essendosi partito Conterino et Chieti, sono molti giorni che non van nè in concistoro nè in congregatione, et non si essendo quel giorno concluso quello che s' era trattato sopra le dimande che fanno gli vescovi havendo d' andare agli loro vescovati et avendosene a fare un altra dalli deputati sopra il modo di trovare dinari, il cardinale Cesarino disse a Trani che era a proposito ch' esso desse da fare colatione hier mattina alli

[1] See *supra*, pp. 422, 434.
[2] Contarini.
[3] See *supra*, p. 210.
[4] Pragmatic.
[5] See *supra*, p. 210.

deputati sopra il trovare denari et facessono la loro congregatione la mattina, et il giorno poi vi andarebono gl' altri di la reformatione, et così la cosa cominciò di burla et riuscì da vero, che vi andorono cinque o sei r^mi^. Le dimande di vescovi le mando a V. S. Ill. et le manderò poi quello che gli sarà concesso. Dimandai hoggi al cardinale Fregoso quello che s' era fatto in la congregatione, mi rispose, poco bene, poichè non si ha possuto pur vincere che le indulgentie non si vendono et che gli questori non vadino al usato in rotta. Mi covenne chel r^mo^ Cesarino vi haveva interesso, et S. S. R^ma^ mi rispose haverlo inteso; m' è poi stato detto chel cardinale Cesarino si contenta che si levino quelli di s. Antonio pur che non siano soli, ma che si levono tutti gli altri secondo che gli vescovi dimandono . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

34. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Poggio.[1]

1541, Februar. 28, Rom.

Dittrich (Hist. Jahrb., IV., 666 *seq.*) for this letter made use of a copy in Cod. Barb., LXII., 17, where, however, the letter is undated and incomplete. Page 667, line 5 from bottom, read "solo dirò" instead of "solo che so"; after "altro" then follows in the original: può redurlo a mente et farlo toccare con mano a chi mostrasse di non conoscerlo, essendo ben informata di quanto si è fatto da ogni parte da molti anni in quà. Al che di novo la esorto di non mancare, et per non lasciare indetro il Vergerio, poichè di questo ancora vogliono, che si habbia a render conto; dico, che il vantarsi lui di stare in Germania di consenso di S. S^tà^ doverebbe essere argomento suffiticnte ad far credere il contrario, quando le altre conditioni et circunstanzie, che sono assai non bastassero a levare questo sospetto; ma perchè io non voglio et non debbo credere, che nè S. M^tà^ Cesarea nè mons. di Granvela habbino il sospetto che V. S. accenna in questa parte, sapendo molto ben chi ce lo tiene et chi ce lo ha mandato, resta solo, che poichè la stanza del Vergerio in Germania dispiace, si faccia partire. Al che S. B^ne^ non ha mancato per la parte sua in quel modo, che la poteva convenientemente, havendolo fatto esortare più volte di ritornare alla sua chiesa col mezo del

[1] See *supra*, p. 413.

cardinale Santa Croce, come V. S. è ben informata, et però tocca a loro che se ne dolgono di procurare il medesimo per quelle vie che giudicano più a proposito et non darne il carico a S. S^{tà} senza ragione, la quale harà sempre piacere, che si parta di Germania per mezo loro o di altri che si sia . . .

[Orig. Chigi Library, Rome, L–III, 65, f. 141, 142.]

35. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[1]

1541, Mart. 24, Rom.

. . . Nel concistoro di hieri ancora fatto poco, N. S. disse che si maravigliava che la reformatione non fusse andata avante et voleva gli vescovi andassono agli loro vescovati et gli fusse concesso quello che dimandavano, essendo cose honeste, et per spedirgli furono remessi alli r^{mi} deputati. Di poi disse che havendosi a fare la dieta dove si truova S. M^{tà} per cose di tant' importanza voleva che si facessono processioni et dessesi l' indulgentia come s' è fatto altre volte a quelle persone che si confessassono et comunicassono, et così credo se farà; d' altro non fu ragionato . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

36. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1541, December 3, Rom.

. . . Hieri al solito fu concistoro, in nel quale si ragionò di la bolla che s' ha da espedire in favore degli ordinari dove sono molte cose in disfavore de frati con gli procuratori di quali Santi quattro disse ch' era bene di parlare prima acciochè potessono dire le loro ragioni et aiutarse, et così non harebbono poi cagione di lamentarsi et rompere la testa a S. B^{ne}, et essa fosse poi forzata concedergli un breve in pregiuditio di gli ordinari. Et così fu concluso che tutti gli r^{mi} ch' hanno protetione di frati facciono congregatione, la quale pare che si farà, stando bene, in casa del r^{mo} Cesarino dove saranno chiamati gli procuratori di tutte l' ordini. Questo è segno che N. S. di nuovo comanderà che tutti gli vescovi stiano alle loro chiese secondo che già s' era ordinato . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 210. [2] See *supra*, p. 211.

37. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[1]

1542, Mart. 18, Rom.

. . . Nel concistoro di mercordi passato furono spedite alcune chiese di poca importanza, di poi N. S., si come già scrissi a V. S. Illma che farebbe, propose il luogo del concilio et elesse Trento, sopra il qual luogo fu disputato assai et aiutato dalli r^{mi} Imp^{li} dicendo non essere sospetto, poichè si vede chiaramente chel re di Francia et esso lo dice in Alemagna ha parte di modo che vi possono venire imperiali et Francesi da quali fu risposto che se bene il re vi haveva parte, Trento era tutto alla devotione de al M^{tà} Ces^{ea}, et quel vescovo dipendeva dal re de Romani. Li nipoti di S. S^{tà} et cardinale di Sta Croce favorirono la propositione fatta, si come è ragionevole che si faccia sempre per loro, ma perchè gli cardinali Francesi sono più otteneno che Trento essendo sospetto non era al proposito nè luogo sicuro. Fu poi proposto Cambrai, et essendo luogo libero ambo le parti consentirono non essere sospetto et che con ragione non si poteva ricusare et ancora che se ne parlasse lungamente non fu però fatta altra conclusione, et Dio sa se sene parlerà più prima delle feste. Ho inteso che Trani essendo il primo rispose che le cose del mondo non stavano di sorte da celebrare concilio, al che S. B^{ne} rispose che ogniuno lo dimandava et voleva che si conoscesse chiaram^{te} che da lei non restava chel non si facesse. Di questo suggetto non fu detto altro. El r^{mo} Burgos fu eletto in luogo di Brindisi in le congregationi che alle volte si fanno per la riformatione, et in detto concistoro non fu parlato d' altra cosa . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

38. Averrardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence.[2]

1542, August 30, Rom.

S. S^{tà} s' è intratenuta dua giorni in Nepi con il rev. Farnese et duca di Castro con il quale si è reconciliata essendoci stata gran disparere. La causa è stata che S. B^{ne} voleva che il duca concorressi a 400 ducati il mese al palazzo che murano in campo di Fiore in Roma et quello facendo resistentia se ne replicò che

[1] See *supra*, p. 201, and Vol. XII.

[2] See *supra*, p. 482, and Vol. XII.

intendeva che tal fabbrica si facessi di quelli de preti et stringendolo S. S^{tà} lui venne a tanto che mandò un suo secretario a Roma a dimandare licentia al papa che non voleva essere più huomo della Chiesa et che si voleva andare con Dio, che non gli, manchavano partiti con che sapeva bene, che al servire preti era servire tanti [sic!]. Finalmente S. B^{ne} vinta dal amore del figlio si è contentata che il duca non concorgi a detta spesa, ma il rev. Farnese et qualche altro et così hanno fatto buona pace.

Paul III. about Contarini: Quando quella hebbe la nuova della morte disse publicamente che questo colleghio già 100 anni non haveva fatto la maggior iactura.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

39. Deputation of the Poor of Rome[1] to Pope Paul III.[2]

1542, December 6, Rom.

Havemo fin quà fatta ogni diligenza perchè i poveri non andassero mendicando per Roma provedendo loro di modo che non potessero dolersi. Ma perchè sono moltiplicati in gran numero ne le solite distributioni suppliscono mancando le limosine che si speravono et bisognando de scudi novanti in cento per settimana nè potendosi far calcolo di cosa ferma, se non delli 50 scudi il mese che V. S^{tà} ha detto di voler dare et delli cento pagati dalli r^{mi} card^{li}, siamo sforzati dar licenza a detti poveri che si provedano da loro non accattando però per le chiese.

[Orig. State Achives, Parma.]

40. Cardinal Marcello Cervini to Cardinal Carpi.[3]

1543, Juni 27, Parma.

Li presenti due frati scappuccini instigati dal demonio si erano partiti dalla religione per andar a trovare fra Bernardino, ma aiutati fra via dalla bontà di Dio si sono ravisti del loro errore; et così tornati indietro l' hanno confessato et domandatone l' absolutione, il che per haverne havuta autorità da N. S^{re} ho fatto

[1] I deputati delli poveri mendicati.

[2] See *supra*, p. 348; see also Tacchi Venturi, I., 394.

[3] See *supra*, p. 539.

io. Invioli hora a V. S. Rev^{ma} a fin che essendoseli dato per penitentia di servire qualche settimana all' hospitale dell' incurabili di San Jacomo costi, per parermi ciò cosa salutifera all' anime loro, le piaccia ordinare che vi sieno admessi. Et intanto che loro serviranno qui, il che si rimette a V. S. Rev^{ma}, si potrà pensare quid sit agendum de casi loro. Et a lei mi raccomando humilmente.

Di Parma alli XXVII di giugno 1543.

[Orig. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Bibl. Pia, 126, f. 2–2^{b}.]

41. Girolamo Seripando, General of the Augustinians, to the Lombard Congregation of his Order.[1]

1544, Mart. 26.

. . . Qua in re quantum nostrum nomen suspitione, ne infamia dicamus, laboret, recte nostis et ex litteris S. N. D. ad generale nostrum capitilum scriptis abunde cognoscere potuistis. Vestrum igitur erit ad hanc rem omnem adhibere curam et vulnus, quod leviori medicamento sanari non potest, ferro et igne persequi, cum praesertim ex eo doctrinae genere nonnulli ansam acceperint ad carnis tuendam libertatem, quae res, quantum nomini vestro observantiae officiat, nihil attinet commemorare.

Nos certe . . . nulla habita distinctione vestri fratris qui ad turrim Nonam iam biennium detinetur, causam egimus saepissime apud S. D. N. et rev. dominos card. deputatos.[2] . . . Quantum perfecerimus videtis: quo moveri omnes debent, ne se ipsos, congregationis famam et ordinis totius in discrimen conjiciant.

[Copy. General Archives of the Augustinians, Rome, Registr. H. Seripandi, ad a. 1544.]

42. Ordinances of Cardinal Morone as Legate of Bologna.[3]

1544:

Mai 31: against blasphemies; forbidden "di passeggiare per le chiese" during Mass and sermons; stricter enclosure in convents;

[1] See *supra*, p. 513.

[2] Omission refers to the Roman Inquisition.

[3] See *supra*, p. 510.

"prohibitione di giocare di dadi et di carte"; against abuse of asylum for malefactors. November 7: banishment of vagabonds "et persone sviate." December 10: separation of the poor in hospitals into men, women, and children.

1545:

Mart. 8: Lege suntuaria delle pompe. Mart. 28: dress of "meretrici." Juli 30: bakers must deliver "di qualità et peso conveniente" according to the "calmiero."

1546:

Mart. 10: on fast-days meat must only be sold to the sick. Mai 24: against "homicidii." Mai 26: dangerous weapons forbidden. Mai. 27: Ordinance for special reverence during public processions of the Blessed Sacrament.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican, Nunz. di Bologna, CLXXVII., f. 237 *seq.*]

43. Reforming Activity of M. Cervini as Bishop of Reggio.[1]

G. Sacconi (I vescovi di Reggio-Emilia, *ibid.*, 1902, 119, 120) was the first to call attention in brief to the Acts of Visitation (in Episcopal Archives, Reggio), issued by command of M. Cervini as administrator of the diocese of Reggio in 1543. The importance of the fact that here previously to the Council of Trent the reform of ecclesiastical affairs had been taken in hand in the only right way, has been justified by further communications made to me by the Italian translator of this work, Professor A. Mercati. The *diary of Visitation of 1543 is contained in small 4to fasciculi; the first fascicule (43 numbered pages) begins on p. 1, thus: In Christi nomine Amen. A° circumcis. eiusdem millesimo quinquagesimo [sic!] quadringentesimo [sic!] tertio indict. prima die septimo mensis februarii: r^dus^ jur. utr. doctor d. Antonius Lorencinus de Montepoliciano in hac parte iudex commissarius a r^mo^ et ill^mo^ d. d. Marcello Cervino miserat. divina presbytero cardinali tit. s. Crucis in Hierusalem perpetuo administratore ecclesiae et episcopatus Regii visitando, ecclesiam

[1] See *supra*, p. 510.

etc. Then follow the memoranda of the Visitation, reaching up to April 13, 1543, but with certain interruptions (from the 19th up to the 27th of February and from March the 2nd to April the 9th); the arrangement is not strictly chronological.

The second fascicule, of 77 pages, contains the continuation of the Visitation beginning April 16, 1543, and ending May 26, yet here also are interruptions from April 22 to May 6 and from May 7 to 15.

The memoranda of the separate Visitations begin with the date and the names of the parishes concerned; the incumbents are then given in detail, the yearly incomes, the names of the other priests, the benefices, the condition of the church buildings and the church fittings. Sometimes there are notes on the qualifications of the clergy, such as: "B. idoneus, sufficiens, male legit et peius intelligit, legit et non intelligit quod legit, nihil scit nec intelligit, de capellano omnes conqueruntur"; concubines and social intercourse of an objectionable kind are also noticed. Then follow frequent injunctions regarding sentences of punishment and directions for the repairs of building and church furniture. At the end there is a notice in another hand and ink that in 1544 various priests came to Reggio to give an account concerning the measures commanded by the Commissary. Some of these directions are on loose sheets of paper. The following will serve as a specimen: Intendendo il r^{do} et eccellente dottore de leggi messer Antonio Lorenzini da Montepolzano commissario del r^{mo} et ill^{mo} mons. cardinale s^{ta} Croce perpetuo administratore della chiesa et vescoato di Reggio che nel dominio dell' ill^{mo} s. co. Giulio Boiardo molti chierici et persone ecclesiastiche bestemiano, giuochano et portano armi in grave danno de le anime loro et vergogna di tutto il clero, sua signoria per questo presente bando ordina et comanda ad ogni persona ecclesiastica del detto dominio che non ardiscano ne presumano bestemiare il nome di Dio o de santi, ne giuochare a giuocho alcuno prohibito nè in publico nè in privato, nè a giuocho lecito o tolerabile come alla balla o al ballano, et altri simili in publico nè portare arme di sorte alcuna, excetto che uno fagiolino in viaggio e l' haste del quale non exceda la longhezza di brazza tre, et il ferro la longhezza di uno palmo sotto la pena di scuto uno d' oro per ciascuna volta et per ciascuna persona che serà trovata di

contrafare, da essere applicata per una terza parte allo accusatore e per l'altra terza parte al m^co^ s^re^ podestà di Scandiano et per l' altra terza a poveri et a persone miserabili ad arbitrio del p^to^ ill^mo^ s^re^ co. Giulio et del ven. pievano di Scandiano dando et concedendo S. S. ogni sua autorità, facultà, et arbitrio al detto s^re^ podestà di inquirire et condennare tali delinquenti et di exequire tale pene non obstante cosa che facesse in contrario.

Sacconi (*op. cit.*, 120, A. 1) quotes further: Statuta ecclesiae et dioec. Regiensis, edita a Marcello Card. Cervino episc. Regiensi, conservata nell' Arch. Vatic. A. A. Arm. 9, c. 3, n. 30, and surmises that these statutes "o siano una copia di questa visita, oppure le constitutioni del cardinale riguardo l' officiatura del coro." At present (1909), the piece in question is missing in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. In Index 66 of the Archives S. Angelo on p. 291 the content is thus given: Bulla Pauli III confirmat. statutorum editor. a Marc. card. Cervino episc. Regiensi pro reformatione cleri et populi (Arm. 9, c. 3, n. 30).

44. Ordinances for Reform by Pope Paul III.[1]

1534.

*Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 273: *Vicario spirit. episc. Urbevet. (clergy), November 23; n. 401: *Vicar. gen. Bonon. (nuns, S. Christine Bon. ord. Camald.), November 9; n. 404: *Bull. of December 4 (Dominican Order); n. 405: Card. s. Susannae (Spanish Dominicans), December 11. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1535.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 289: *Episc. Suessano ("Facultas procedendi" against bad Seculars and Regulars), Mart. 4; n. 439: *Iac. de Ancona, gen. O. min. conv. (Poor Clares in Italy), Januar. 25; n. 446: *Lucensib. (Canon. reg. cong. s. Salv. in Lucca), Mart. 17; n. 447: *Card. s. Severini prot. serv. B. M. V., Januar. 8. Arm. 40, t. 51, n. 310–311: *Nuntio Portug.; n. 312: Provinc. O. eremit. s. August. Castell.; n. 313: Card. Portug. (all of 7th June) respecting the scandalous sermons of the Augustinian Hermits, especially a certain Alfonsus; n. 317: *Bull of 7th April 1535 (Pro congregat. Cassin. mandatum

[1] See *supra*, pp. 214, 503, 509.

contra apostatas); n. 320: *Vic. gen. congregat. Mant. Carmelit. regul. observ. (strict regulations about the maintenance of good customs), April 18; n. 338: *Abbatissae s. Patritie Neapolit. O. S. B., Mai 10. T. 52, n. 336: Provinc. prov. Rom. O. Pr. ref., dat. Perusiae, Sept. 26; n. 337: *Provinc. prov. s. Ludov. O. min. conv. (Jac. de Ancona to prosecute the reform of monks and nuns as ordered by Clement VII.), Juli 27; n. 343: *Generali ord. s. Hieronymi congregat. b. Petri de Pisis, August 31; n. 348: *Patriarch. Venet. et primicerio s. Marci (moniales conv. in dom. Venet.), Juli 7; n. 349: *Episc. Catharen. (Poor Clares in Venetian territory), Juli 7; n. 354: *Generali serv. B. M. V., August 17. T. 53, n. 243: *Alf. Card. Ispalen. (Augustinian Hermits), October 21; n. 260: *Cipriano de Verona, General Abbot of the congreg. montis Oliveti, October 31. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also Wadding, XVII., 623.

1536.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 1, n. 236: *Card. Trivultio (as protector, to urge reform of the Humiliati), Januar. 30; n. 270: *I. Poggio nunt. (plenary authority for visiting and reforming churches and convents), Februar. 22. T. 2, n. 278: *Abbatib. O. S. B. (Monast. de Rothonio, dioc. Venet.), Mai 13; n. 288: *I. Verallo nuntio Venet. (total decay of the Poor Clares in Capo d' Istria, to be made to reform), April 7; n. 302: *Vic. gen. archiep. Neapolit. (commission for reform of convents), April 28. T. 3, n. 127: * Patr. Venet. (reform of convents), Juli 17; n. 260: *Gen. et provinc. O. min. conv. (Poor Clares), Juli 24; n. 270: *Episc. Mutin. (nuns of S. Geminiani Mut.), August 21. T. 4, n. 147: *Gen. serv. B. M. V. et nuntio in Scotia (convents in Scotland), October 23; n. 221: *Episc. Amerin. (convents of women in Ameria), November 3; n. 223: *Vic. gen. archiep. Ianuens (Poor Clares), November 7; n. 227: *Francis I. (to protect the General of the Servites in promoting reform), October 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1537.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 317: *Nunt. Venet. (Convent of S. Spirito), Mart. 12. T. 6, n. 279: Nuntio Hispan. (against "frat. O. min. de observ. vagantes"), Juni 10. T. 7, f. 496:

*Card. s. Crucis protect. O. s. Franc. de penit. in regn. Hispan. (Visitation of Brothers and Nuns), Juli 12. T. 8, n. 138: *Card. Jacobazzi (ecclesiastics in Cassano), December 14; n. 277: *Duci et dom. Venet. (to support the proposed visitation by Carafa of the Dominicans of S. Giovanni e Paolo), October 7 (*cf.* Ripoll., IV., 564 *seq.*). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1538.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 9, n. 2: Archiepisc. Rodiens. (in Rosi, Riforma relig. in Liguria, 1894); n. 23: *Eidem (convents), Januar. 6; n. 5: in Fontana, Documenti, 161; n. 82: *Card. s. Crucis (Poor Clares in Naples), Januar. 28; n. 136: *Reform of the fratr. O. s. Hieron. congregat. b. Petri de Pisis in Ancona, Februar. 11. T. 10, n. 547: *Monialibus Corp. Christi Bonon. (clausura), Juni 24; n. 648: *Archiep. Ianuensi (Augustinian nuns), August 12. T. 11, n. 934: *Reform of the Portuguese Dominicans, October 25. Secret Archives of Vatican.

Paul III. to Cardinal Grimani about reform of convents in Perugia, April 22. Communal Library, Perugia.

1539.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 12, n. 123: Card. Burgens. (strolling nuns), Februar. 5; n. 143: *Reform of S. Iuliana extra muros Perusiae, Februar. 11; n. 160: Mag. gem. O. min. conv. (moniales s. Clarae Neapol.), Februar. 20; n. 185: Ioanni electo Laudensi (convents of women), ult. febr.; n. 198: in Fontana, Doc. 371. T. 13, n. 368: *Reform of the Dominicans in Portugal, April 12; n. 512: *Card. Jacobazzi (Reform of S. Juliana in Perugia), Mai 18; n. 586: *Bano Cracoviae (against "apostatas O. min. de observ."), Juni 2; n. 629: *Card. Pisano: in Fontana, 373 *seq.* T. 14, n. 954: *Reform of the Benedictine nuns in Palermo, September 6; n. 995: *Reform of the Dominicans in Portugal, September 23; n. 1000: *Card. Tolet. et Ispal. (Visitation of convents of women in Spain), September 23. T. 15, n. 1022: *Card. Grimano (convents of women in Aquileja), October 1; n. 1139: *Reform of the Benedictine nuns in Benevento, November 11; n. 1162: *Carafa's Reform of the "Congr. heremit. b. Petri de Pisis" confirmed, November 22; n. 1207: *Reform of the Poor Clares in Verona, December 6; n. 1240: Card. Este

(reform of convents of women in dioceses of Milan and Lyons), December 15. For 1539 see also Corp. dipl. Port., IV., 1 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 43 *seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1540.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 16, n. 17: Episc. Serniensi (Benedictine nuns), Januar. 9; n. 26: *Reform of the Dominicans in Portugal, Januar. 10; n. 31: Card. Tournon (nuns), Januar. 11; n. 66: *Card. Carpi (Visitation of the diocese of Faenza), Januar. 27; n. 72: *Card. Carpi legato Marchiae (visitation of his Legation), Januar. 28; n. 149: *Reform of the Spanish Premonstratensians, Februar. 26; n. 113: *Io. Butrio (process against the Archbishop of Amalfi), Februar. 12; n. 154: *Episc. Gerundin. (against bad clerics), Februar. 27; n. 165: *Card. Portug. (moniales b. Mariae de Cellis near Lisbon), Mart. 7; n. 215: *Card. Este (convents in diocese of Milan), Mart. 19. T. 17, n. 283: *Generali et priorib. O. Pr., April 10; n. 314: *Generali O. min. conv., April 20; n. 494: *Io. episc. Gerund. (ecclesiastics), Juni 5; n. 523: *Card. Ridolfi (convents in Vicenza), Juni 15. T. 18, n. 579: *Reform of the Benedictine nuns in Benevento, Juli 5; n. 604 and 607: *Reform of the Poor Clares in Dalmatia, Juli 15; n. 634 and 638: *Reform of convents of women in Capua, Juli 26; n. 676: *Reform of convents of women in Spanish dominions, August 4; n. 668: *Reform of Spanish Hieronymites, August 2; n. 696: *Reform of Spanish Premonstratensians, August 14; n. 751: *Card. Pisano (reform of convents), August 25; n. 828: *Reform of convents of nuns in Naples, September 28. T. 19, n. 977: *Provinc. O. min. de observ. Alemanniae inf., November 9; n. 994: *Reform of the nuns of S. Clarae Theatin., November 15; n. 1079: *Reform of the Dominicans in Naples, December 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1541.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 20, n. 253: *Episc. Cavensi (clergy), Mart. 20; n. 271: *Epsic. Thean. (Benedictine nuns), Mart. 26 T. 21, n. 361: *Congregandis in capit. can. regul. s. Aug. cong. s. Salvat., April 30; n. 602; *Reform of the frat. O. min. conv. in Venice and Padua, Juli 26. T. 22, n. 616: *Reform of the

frat. O. min. conv. in Venice and Padua, August 5; n. 696: *Reform of the Benedictine nuns in Benevento, September 12; n. 851: *Reform of the Benedictines of S. Maria de Capella in Naples, December 10. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1542.

*Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 23, n. 4: *Octaviano Siculo O. min. conv. (convents of women, "ultra montes"), Januar. 1; n. 74: *Episc. Mutin. (cure of souls), Januar. 7; n. 148: *Gen. O. min. de observ. (convents in Portugal), Februar. 20; n. 169: *Reform of the frat. O. min. conv. in Portugal, Mart. 1; n. 212: *Franc. archiep. Neapol. (reform of convents), Mart. 13; n. 232: *Archiepisc. Neapolit. (plenary authority against exempt clerics), Mart. 18; n. 246: *Nuns of S. Bernardino in Orvieto, Mart. 20. T. 24, n. 403: *Convent of nuns of the Congreg. of Cassino., Mai 13; n. 458: *Archiepisc. Neapolit. (visitation), Mai 31. T. 25, n. 666: *Reform of Premonstratensians, Laudun. dioc., August 11; n. 678: *Archinto episc. Burgi s. Sepulchri (Seculars and Regulars), August 15; n. 766: *Card. Este (S. Mart. Lugdun. O. S. B.), September 17; n. 769: *Episc. Liciensi (nuns), September 18; n. 787: *Episc. Spolet. (nuns), September 25; n. 926: *Card. Cornelio (convents of women in diocese of Brescia); n. 947: *Card. Cibo (convents of women in the diocese of Turin), December 17; n. 971: *Fabio ep. Avers. (Nuns), December 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican. For the reform of Dominican nuns in Portugal (1542, July 26), see Ripoll., IV., 609.

1543.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 26, n. 115: *Card. Ridolfi (Seculars and Regulars of the diocese of Florence), Februar. 20. T. 27, n. 423: Card. Pisano (against exempts of the dioceses of Padua and Treviso), Juli 5. T. 28, n. 815; *Generali O. min. conv. (nuns), December 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1544.

*Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 29, n. 69: *Nuntio Venet. (Mendicants), Februar. 1; n. 72: *Petro archiep. Gnesnensi (convents), Februar. 4; n. 163: *Card. Rodolphi (nuns of the diocese of

Vicenza), Mart. 11. T. 30, n. 369: Card. Farnesio (convents of women of the diocese of Monreale), Mai 31; n. 400: *Reform of the Dominicans in Venice, Juni 27 (see BECCADELLI, I., 1, 84); n. 411: *Nuntio Portug. (convents), Juni 27. T. 31, n. 349: *Reform of the Conventuals in Valencia; n. 359: *Card. Bembo (against exempts of the diocese of Bergamo); n. 377: *Reform of convents of women in Venice. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1545.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 32, n. 23: *Epis. Salpensi (Dominicans), Januar. 13; n. 76 and 85: *Reform of exempts of the diocese of Vercelli, Februar. 8; n. 95: *Card. Santafiora (nuns of the diocese of Parma), Februar. 23; n. 113: *Reform of the Conventuals in Valencia, Mart. 3; n. 177: *Petro archiep. Panormit. (against exempts), Mart. 20. T. 33, n. 305: *Convents of women of the diocese of Cremona, Juni 14. T. 34, noted in index: *Card. Cortesio (Benedictines in Rieti); n. 695: *Reform of the Dominicans at Carpentras, November 24. T. 35, n. 6: *Card. Carpi (Benedictine nuns at Girgenti), Januar. 1; n. 69: *Card. Sabello (diocese of Nicastro), Januar. 28; n. 71: *Electo Alexandrino (nuns), Januar. 29; n. 163: *Sebastiano electo Mogunt. (convent), Mart. 3; n. 169: *Samueli episc. Cracov. (convent), Mart. 5. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1546.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 36, n. 462: Reform of the Conventuals of the province of Ragusa, Juli 16 (in WADDING, XVIII., 419); n. 473: *Nuntio Venet. (nuns), Juli 29; n. 565: Reform of nuns at Barcelona, August 27. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1547.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 38, noted in index: *Franc. archiep. Brundus. (nuns); n. 160: *Vicario archiep. Panormit. (ecclesiastics), Mart. 20; n. 405: *Iac. magistro gen. congregat. Coelestinor., April 5; n. 442: *Reform of the nuns of S. Marcellini O. S. B. in Naples, April 25. T. 39, n. 544: *Reform of nuns at Sorrento, Juni 24. T. 40, n. 836: *Reform of Dominican nuns in Valencia, November 17. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1548.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 41, n. 63: *Reform of the convents of nuns in Catalonia, Februar. 1; n. 92: *Card. Carpi (Reform of nuns in the diocese of Girgenti), Februar. 15. T. 42, n. 540: *Reform of convents of nuns in Catalonia, August 20; n. 554: *Reform of convents of nuns in the diocese of Girgenti, August 28. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1549.

*Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 45, n. 186: *Reform of French Benedictine nuns, Mart. 24; n. 197, 198: *Reform of Poor Clares at Parma, April 1 (see n. 211; *cf.* GUALANO, 84). T. 46, n. 485: Reform of the Conventuals in Portugal (August 23), in WADDING, XVIII., 484. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

To which must be added, for the years 1540 to 1549, the documents printed in the Bullarium, VI., 270 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, and in WADDING, XVII., 651, 652 *seq.*; XVIII., 341 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 386 *seq.*, 392, 430, 436, 481.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XI.

ABBATINO (secretary to the Duke of Mantua), 98.
Abstemio, Vincenzo Francesco (astrologer), 39 n.
Accolti, Benedetto, Cardinal (of Ravenna), 7 *seq.*, 310–312, 548.
Acquaviva, Gian Vincenzo, Cardinal, 201 *seq.*
Adrian IV., Pope, 15.
„ VI., Pope, 12, 22, 81, 84, 136 *seq.*, 150, 178, 184, 205, 209, 215 *seq.*
Agnello, B., 23 n. 2.
„ Giovanni, 77 n. 3, 97 n. 2, 138 n. 3, 221 n. 1, 224 n., 246 n. 1, 257 n. 1, 306 n. 4, 307 n. 2, 571.
Aguilar, Marquis of (Imperial ambassador in Rome), 266, 272, 291, 324, 325, n. 1, 339, 384, 405, 536.
Alalcone, P. A., 234 n. 3.
Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal (Elector of Mayence, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Administrator of Halle), 64, 66, 83, 361, 407, 414, 434, 453, 473, 475 *seqq.*
Albornoz, Cardinal, 15.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro (jurist), 311.
Aleander, Hieronymus, Cardinal (Archbishop of Brindisi, nuncio), 27 n. 5, 41, 77, 78 n. 4, 99 n. 2, 106, 111 *seqq.*, 119–124, 127, 129, 155, 160, 169, 171, 175, 196, 198, 200, 209, 361 *seqq.*, 387, 390, 404, 457, 509, 575, 580.
Alexander VI., Pope, 6, 19, 21, 149, 160 n. 3, 551, 579.
Aligeri, Mario (Bishop of Rieti), 263, 328 n. 1, 329.
Alterius, Martius, 39 n.
Alvarez de Toledo, Juan, Cardinal (Dominican, Archbishop of Burgos), 182, 201, 501.
Amaseo, Romolo (humanist), 138 n. 3, 226 n. 3, 229 n. 3, 301 n. 1.
Angelis, Pier Antonio de (Governor of Rome), 243, 272, 339, 348 n. 4.
Angoulême, Duke of, *see* Charles.
Anna (wife of Ferdinand I., King of the Romans), 49 n. 4.
Antella, Giovanni dell' (Florentine envoy), 191 n. 1, 243, 326 n., 327 n. 4, 330 n. 5, 342 n. 1, 382 n. 2, 482 n. 2.
Arcella, Fabio (nuncio in Naples), 233 n. 5, 265 n. 2.

Archinto, Filippo (Papal vicar-general, Bishop of Borgo S. Sepolcro) 208, 325 n. 1.
Ardinghello, Niccolò (secretary), 34 n. 1, 459.
Arditus, Joannes (Papal commissary), 341 n 3.
Aretino, Pietro, 185 n. 1, 488 *seq.*, 514 n. 4.
Argoli, Alessandro (Bishop of Terracina), 298.
Argulus, Joannes Gasparus, 329 n. 4.
Aristotle, 166.
Augustine, St., 147, 481.
Avalos, Alfonso de, 239 n. 4.
Avila, Luis de, 365.

Babbi, Francesco, 34 n. 1.
Badia, Tommaso (Master of the Sacred Palace), Cardinal, 155, 161, 169, 175, 202 *seqq.*, 404 *seq.*, 413 n. 3, 439, 442 *seq.*, 480.
Baglioni, Family of the, 297, 299, 332.
„ Astorre (Senator of Rome), 243, 293, 356.
„ Giampaolo (Tyrant of Perugia), 298 n. 2.
„ Malatesta (son of Giampaolo), 298.
„ Rodolfo (son of Malatesta), 298, 299 n. 3, 331 *seq.*
Baldassare (envoy to Francis I.), 275 n. 2.
Banchi, Gratiadei, 241 n. 1.
Barba. Bernardino Castellario della (Bishop of Casale), 330 n. 5, 332, 334 *seq.*
Barbaro, Daniele, 148 n. 2.
Barbarossa, *see* Chaireddin.
Basadonna, Giov. (Venetian ambassador), 576.
Basil, St., 147.
Battista, G. (Capuchin), 583 n. 2.
Beaton, David, Cardinal (Archbishop of St. Andrews), 182.
Beccadelli, Lodovico, 144 n. 4, 164, 170 n., 183 n. 5, 457 n. 4, 484.
Beccariis, Antonino de (Bishop of Scutari), 509 n. 6.
Bellay, Guillaume du, 71.
„ Jean du, Cardinal (Bishop of Paris), 72 *seq.*, 103 n. 1, 138 n. 3, 141 *seq.*, 232, 251 n. 1, 356 n. 2.
„ Joachim du, 142 n. 4.
Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, 27, 162, 183 *seq.*, 205, 462, 580.
Benedict XII., Pope, 14 n. 3.
Bentius, Franciscus (Papal treasurer), 321 n.
Ber, Ludwig, 74 n. 2.
Bernardino (Theatine), 521.
„ of Asti (Capuchin). 532, 585.
„ da Colpetrazzo (Capuchin), 492 n. 1, 533 n. 1, 535 n. 2, 538 n. 4
Bianchetto, Giovanni (official of the Secr. of Briefs), 181 n. 6, 575.
Bianchieri, Giovanni Battista, 268 n. 3.
Bibra, Conrad von (Bishop of Würzburg), 83, 100.
Bladus, Antonius Asulanus (printer), 177 n. 2.
Bonagratia, Filippo (Papal commissary), 298 n. 4.
Bonamico, L., 144 n. 1.
Bonaventura de Leone (O.F.M.), 226 n. 1

Bonavitus, Marcus Mont., 161 n. 2.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 16.
„ IX., Pope, 15.
Bonifazio da Colle, *see* Colle.
Bontempi, Cesare (chronicler), 298, 328 n. 1, 332, 335.
Bora, Catherine (Luther's wife), 67.
Borgia, Errigo, Cardinal (titular bishop of Squillace), 191.
„ Francesco (treasurer-general), 18 n. 3.
„ Lodovico (Duke of Gandia), Cardinal, 159, 160.
„ Rodrigo, Cardinal (afterwards Pope Alexander VI.), 17 *seq.*
Borromeo, Charles, St., 504, 524.
Bosnia, Pasha of, 273.
Bourbon, Louis de, Cardinal, 103, 219.
Bracci, Marco (Florentine envoy), 190 n. 6, 192 n. 2, 304 n., 326 n. 1, 338 n. 3, 387 n. 4.
Braccio, family of the, 298.
Bragadino, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 96 n. 1, 105, 144, 150 n. 2, 188 n. 4, 232, 236 n. 1, 239 n. 2, 240 n. 4, 256 n. 6, 260, 263 n. 1, 569, 576.
Braun, Conrad (jurist), 374 n. 3, 412 n. 2.
Bucer, Martin, 418 *seq.*, 427, 437, 440, 488.
Bugenhagen, Johann (protestant theologian), 67, 375.
Buonanni, Benedetto (Florentine envoy), 34 n. 1, 204 n. 2, 347 n. 2, 357 n. 1.
Busdraghi, Gerardo (envoy from Lucca), 10 n. 2, 13 n., 25 n. 4, 135 n. 3, 554.
Caccia, Giovanni Battista (jurist), 6 n. 1, 133 *seq.*, 151 n.
Cajetan, Thomas de Vio, Cardinal, 16 n. 4.
Calvin, John [*anonym* Eusebius Pamphili], 380 n. 1, 488, 492, 500 n. 2.
Campana, Francesco (Florentine secretary of state), 320.
Campeggio, Count, 350 n. 2.
„ Lorenzo, Cardinal, 7, 13 *seq.*, 77, 109 *seq.*, 111–115, 129, 135, 171 n. 2, 185, 188, 208, 548, 550, 552 *seq.*, 571, 572, 575, 578.
„ Tommaso (Bishop of Feltre), 110, 115, 259 n. 3, 405–413, 416, 418, 420–423.
Canisio, Egidio, Cardinal, 5.
Capasso (historian), 317 n.
Capello (Venetian admiral), 294.
Capito, Wolfg. Fabritius (Protestant theologian), 423, 427.
Capizucchi, Paolo (Governor of the March of Ancona), 310.
„ Pietro (Papal vicar-general), 170.
Capodiferro, Girolamo, Cardinal, 199.
Caracciolo, Marino, Cardinal, 80, 141 *seq.*, 258, 262 n. 2.
Carafa, Gian Pietro, Cardinal (Bishop of Chieti, Archbishop of Naples and later Pope Paul IV.),

Carafa, Gian Pietro—*continued.* 4, 109, 147, 153 n. 4, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 169, 173, 175, 183, 185 *seq.*, 188, 194 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*, 353, 356, 457, 501, 510, 515 *seqq.*, 519 *seqq.*, 575, 578, 581.
„ Maria (sister to Gian Pietro, Dominican nun in Naples), 516 *seq.*
„ Vincenzo (Archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 7, 95 *seq.*, 280, 497 n. 1, 506, 576.
Carnesecchi, Pietro (protonotary, afterwards an apostate), 485 *seq.*, 489.
Carpi, *see* Pio.
Casa, Giovanni della (nuncio), 144 n. 4, 183 n. 5.
Casale, Francesco, 353 n. 2.
Casella, Matteo, 240 n. 4.
Castelnau de Clermont, François, Cardinal, 7, 137, 552.
Castiglione, Angelo (Carmelite), 505.
Casulano, G. B., 333 n., 347 n. 1.
„ Niccolò, 237, 269 n. 3.
Catarino, Ambrogio (Dominican), 353 n. 1, 500 n. 1.
Catherine of Siena, St., 486.
Ceci, Pomponio (Papal vicar-general), Cardinal, 202.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 254.
Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal (Bishop of Nicastro, later Pope Marcellus II.), 29 n., 34, 191 *seq.*, 366, 368 *seq.*, 380, 385 *seqq.*, 389, 392, 394 *seq.*, 399–403, 406 n. 3, 420, 432 n. 1, 459 n., 494, 510, 580, 585, 587.
Cervini, Marcello—*continued.*
Cesarini, Alessandro, Cardinal 7 *seq.*, 77, 109, 135, 185, 198, 200 n. 3, 237, 289, 336 n. 2, 546, 552 *seq.*, 571, 575, 579, 581.
„ Giuliano (Gonfaloniere of the Romans), 243, 355.
Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 7, 12, n. 2, 77, 135, 149, 325 n. 1, 548, 554, 571.
Chaireddin Barbarossa, 221, 223, 224, 227 *seqq.*, 233, 249, 269, 273, 294, 295 n. 1, 556 n. 1.
Charles V. (the Emperor), 8 *seqq.*, 22 *seqq.*, 35, 43, 47, 51 *seqq.*, 55–60, 62 *seqq.*, 71, 73 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, 79 *seq.*, 82, 84, 93, 100 n. 6, 101 *seq.*, 107, 111, 113, 115–119, 121, 124 *seq.*, 127–132, 141, 145 *seq.*, 159, 208, 218, 220–260, 262 *seq.*, 264 *seqq.*, 270–274, 276–279, 282–286, 288–293, 295, 300, 306–309, 314 *seq.*, 319, 321, 324 *seq.*, 331, 338, 340, 344, 349 *seqq.*, 360, 364 *seq.*, 367–373, 376–386, 389, 391 *seq.*, 397, 399 *seq.*, 402–407, 416, 419, 422 *seq.*, 425–432, 436 *seq.*, 447 *seqq.*, 454, 456, 460 *seq.*, 464–472, 474 *seq.*, 477, 479, 529, 533, 549, 560, 582.
Charles, Duke of Angoulême and Orleans (third son of Francis I. of France), 238 *seq.*, 248, 252, 257, 288.

Charles Duke of Savoy, 258, 279 n. 7, 281 *seq.*, 284.
Chatillon, Cardinal, 292 n. 3.
Chieregati, Francesco, 241 n. 2.
Chigi family, the, 17.
Christopher of Brunswick (Bishop of Bremen), 92.
Chrysostom, John, St., 147.
Chuonradus, 419 n. 2.
Cibo, Caterina (Duchess of Camerino), 304–306, 309 n. 3, 323 n. 3.
„ Innocenzo, Cardinal, 7, 26 n. 1, 548, 578.
Cifuentes, Fernando de Selva, Count of (Imperial ambassador), 9 n. 3, 240, 266 n. 3, 569.
Clario, Isidoro (Bishop of Foligno), 500, 509.
Clement VII., Pope, 1, 4 *seqq.*, 9, 11, 13, 22, 24, 27, 32 *seq.*, 36, 41 *seqq.*, 45, 50, 70, 74, 133, 135, 150, 206, 216, 220, 224, 297, 300 n. 3, 302, 304 n., 310, 339, 347, 504 *seq.*, 515, 521, 526, 530, 558.
„ VII. [Robert of Geneva], Anti-Pope, 16 n. 1.
Cles, Bernhard von, Cardinal (Bishop of Trent), 7, 9, 49 n. 4, 50 *seq.*, 94, 100, 122, 158 n. 1, 232, 363, 509, 571, 578.
Clovio, Giulio (miniaturist), 353.
Cochläus, Joannes, 46 n. 2, 123, 171 n. 3, 179, 374 n. 2, 443.
Colle, Bonifazio da (Theatine), 515, 520.
Colonna, Family of the, 23, 341, 343 *seq.*, 436, 498.
„ Ascanio, 243, 246, 259, 316, 329, 331, 336–339, 342 n. 2, 344, 488, 571.
„ Camillo, 336.
„ Fabrizio, 344.
„ Francesco (Archbishop of Rossano), 336 n. 2.
„ Marcantonio, 344.
„ Marzio, 340 n. 2.
„ Stefano, 338 n. 3.
„ Vittoria (Duchess of Amalfi), 189, 246, 337, 339, 344, 486 *seqq.*, 493 *seq.*, 497 *seq.*, 533 *seq.*, 536.
Colzado, V., 251 n. 2.
Contarini, Gasparo, Cardinal, 50, 77, 94, 96, 109, 121 n., 127 n. 3, 141 *seq.*, 144–148, 152–155, 157 *seq.*, 161, 163, 169, 172 n. 1, 173, 175 *seq.*, 178–181, 184 *seqq.*, 188 *seqq.*, 195, 197–200, 203, 205, 207 *seqq.*, 213, 272, 287, 353, 379, 384, 387 *seqq.*, 394 *seq.*, 399 *seqq.*, 403 *seqq.*, 420 *seqq.*, 428–435, 437–449, 451 *seqq.*, 454–463, 465–468, 470–477, 480–484, 491, 498, 500, 506, 508, 510, 534, 536, 571, 575, 579, 581, 585.
„ Marc Antonio (Venetian ambassador), 213, 281, 284, 290, 295 n. 1, 576.

Contelorius, 139 n.
Conti, Fabio de, 341.
,, Torquato de, 341.
Corgna, Ascanio della, 331.
Cornaro, Francesco, Cardinal (Bishop of Brescia), 7, 9 *seq.*, 509, 527, 549 *seq.*, 553.
Cornetus, Christophorus, 246 n. 4.
Cortese, Gregorio, Cardinal (reformer of the Cassinese Benedictines), 5, 147, 155, 157, 163, 169, 202, 204 *seqq.*, 209, 404 *seq.*
Covos, Francesco, 76 *seq.*, 107, 255, 287 n. 1., 289.
Cozzano, Gabriele, 527.
Crema, Guido da (Mantuan envoy), 236 n. 2, 256 n. 5.
Crescenzi, Marcello, Cardinal (Bishop of Marsico), 201 *seq.*
,, (daughter of above), 201 n. 4.
,, the younger, 246 n. 2.
Cricius, Andreas (Bishop of Plock), 377 n. 1, 558.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal, 336 n.
Cronberg, Walter von (Master of the Teutonic Order), 64.
Croy, Adrian de (Lord Steward to Charles V.), 52.
Cruciger, Gaspar (protestant theologian), 375, 411 n. 1.
Cupis, Domenico de, Cardinal (Bishop of Camerino), 7, 109, 174, 185, 196, 198 *seq.*, 207, 210, 241, 244, 289, 318 n, 2. 573, 575, 578.
Cusano, Niccolò, 263 n. 3.

Dandino, Girolamo (secretary to Paul III., Bishop of Caserta and Imola), 34 n. 1, 202 n. 1, 461.
Dandolo, Matteo (Venetian envoy), 32 n. 1, 148, 347, 435 n. 1, 439 n. 3, 576.
Davidico, L., 520 n. 3.
Decio, Filippo (canonist), 133 n. 1.
Dénonville, Charles Hémard de (Bishop of Mâcon), Cardinal, 159, 232, 250.
Dionisio, Fra (General of the Servites), *see* Laurerio, Dionisio.
Donato, Filippo (Bishop of Retimo), 115.
Doria, Andrea (Admiral), 222 *seq.*, 225, 269, 277, 294 *seq.*, 577.
,, Girolamo, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 510, 548, 554.
Durante, Pietro (datary), 174, 348 n. 2, 487 n. 4.
,, Vincenzo (nephew of Pietro, datary), 198.
Duranti, Durante de', Cardinal (Bishop of Alghero), 129 n. 4, 130 n. 5, 578.

Eberstein, Maximilian von (leader of landsknechts), 221.
Eck, Johann, 123, 402, 418 *seq.*, 431, 437, 439, 441 *seqq.*, 444, 448.
,, Leonhard von (Bavarian chancellor), 56, 60, 365.
Eleanor (wife of Francis I. of France), 289, 292.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 46 n. 2.
Ercole II. (Duke of Ferrara), 183, 262 n. 2, 265 n. 2, 422.
Ernest of Bavaria, Duke (Bishop of Passau, Archbishop of Salzburg), 82, 361, 407, 424.
d'Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, 183, 579.

d'Este, Isabella (wife of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua), 505.
Ettenius, Cornelius (secretary to Van der Vorst), 81 n. 3, 82, 84 n. 1, 89 n. 3.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 329.
Eyb, Gabriel von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 53, 82.

Faber, Johann (Bishop of Vienna), 46 n. 2, 94, 122 *seq.*, 127 n. 3, 393.
Fanelli, Vincenzo (of Ancona), 311.
Fantuzzi, Girolamo, 272 n. 1.
Farfa, the Abbot of, 343 n. 4.
Farnese, Family of the, 14 *seqq.*, 19 n. 5, 36, 286, 325.
,, Alessandro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul III.), 6 *seq.*, 10–14, 17–24, 546, 549, 552 *seq.*
,, Alessandro, Cardinal (son of Pier Lugi *the younger*), 15, 23, 31, 34, 120, 122, 127, 129 n. 4, 131, 139, 184, 234, 243, 254, 285, 293 n., 313, 342 n. 2, 343 n., 345 n. 6, 351, 353, 354 n., 365–369, 371, 373 n. 2, 378 *seqq.*, 382 *seqq.*, 385, 387 *seqq.*, 392, 394 *seq.*, 399–402, 405, 409, 411, 420 *seq.*, 424, 428, 431, 432 n. 1, 434, 452, 456, 459, 468, 480, 490 *seq.*, 562, 574, 582, 584.
Farnese Alessandro (son of Pier Luigi *the elder* and Giovanella Gaetani), 17.
,, Bartolommeo (son of Pier Luigi *the elder* and Giovanella Gaetani, married to Iolanda Monaldeschi), 17.
,, Costanza (daughter of Alessandro, afterwards Cardinal, and Pope Paul III., married to Bosio Sforza, Count of Santafiora), 19, 140 n., 192, 308.
,, Giulia (daughter of Pier Luigi *the elder*, sister to Paul III., wife of Orsino Orsini), 17 *seq.*
,, Guido (Bishop of Orvieto), 15.
,, Laura (daughter of Giulia, wife of Niccolò della Rovere), 17.
,, Margaret (natural daughter of Charles V., wife of Ottavio Farnese), *see* Margaret of Austria.
,, Nicola, 16 n. 4.
,, Orazio (son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 23, 39 n.
,, Ottavio (son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 23, 31, 39 n., 182 n. 3, 238, 254, 291, 305, 315, 319 n. 3, 322–325, 351, 358 n., 369.
,, Paolo (son of Alessandro, afterwards

Farnese, Paolo—*continued.* Cardinal, and Pope Paul III.), 19 *seq.*, 218.
,, Pepo, 15.
,, Petrus, 16 n. 1.
,, Pier Luigi *the elder* (son of Ranuccio, Senator of Rome), 16.
,, Pier Luigi *the younger* (son of Alessandro, afterwards Cardinal, and Pope Paul III.), 19 *seq.*, 23, 139 n. 3, 192, 219, 234–238, 243, 246, 254, 256, 259, 268, 278 n. 1, 282 *seq.*, 292, 302 *seqq.*, 308, 314–318, 325, 330, 332 *seq.*, 337, 339, 344, 551, 556, 560, 573 *seq.*
,, Pier Nicola, 15.
,, Piero, 15.
,, Prudenzo, 15.
,, Ranuccio (Senator of Rome, grandfather of Paul III.), 16.
,, Ranuccio (son of Alessandro, afterwards Cardinal, and Pope Paul III.), 19, 23.
,, Ranuccio, Cardinal (Archbishop of Naples, son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 23.
,, Vittoria (daughter of Pier Luigi *the younger*, 23, 292, 315 *seq.*, 344, 353 n. 2, 369.
Ferdinand I. (brother to Charles V.), King of Hungary and Bohemia, 41, 43–52, 55, 57 *seqq.*, 62, 64, 79 *seq.*, 82, 102, 108 n. 3, 115–121, 130, 213, 235, 256, 264 *seq.*, 277, 289, 311, 362 *seq.*, 364 n. 1, 370 *seqq.*, 373 n. 2, 377, 379, 383 *seqq.*, 391–398, 399–402, 405 n. 3, 407, 412, 414, 428, 465 *seq.*, 469 *seq.*, 474, 476 *seq.*, 555, 557, 560, 570.
Ferrari, Bartolommeo (Barnabite), 522.
Ferreri, Bonifacio (Cardinal of Ivrea, nuncio), 7, 9, 129, 278 n. 1, 284, 368, 548 *seq.*, 578.
,, Filiberto (Bishop of, Ivrea, nuncio), 103, 108, 123, 125.
Feruffini, G., 9 n. 2.
Fichard (jurist), 246 n. 2.
Filonardi, Ennio, Cardinal, 159, 320.
Fine, Cornelius de, 160 n. 4, 261 n. 2, 268 n. 2, 270 n., 287 n. 2, 314 n. 2, 331 n., 340 n. 4, 343 n.
Fiori, Pietro (Bishop of Castellamare), 136.
Firmano, Giovanni Francesco (Papal master of ceremonies), 6 n. 4, 13 n. 2, 25 n. 4, 34 n. 1, 113, 242 n., 316 n. 2, 320 n. 3.
Fisher, John B. (Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal), 141 *seq.*
Flaminio, Marcantonio (humanist), 404, 485.
Flersheim, Philipp von (Bishop of Spires), 64.
Foscari, Marco, 35 n. 2, 578.
Francesco of Jesi (Capuchin), 539.

Franci, Adriano, 340 n. 4., 342 n. 2.
Francis I. (King of France), 7–10, 12 *seq.*, 24, 35, 71 *seqq.*, 79 *seq.*, 82, 91, 93, 103, 107 *seq.*, 111, 113, 115 *seqq.*, 124 *seq.*, 126 n. 2, 130 *seq.*, 159, 183, 186, 202, 208, 218, 220 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 230, 232, 236 *seqq.*, 240, 247–253, 255–259, 261 *seq.*, 265 *seqq.*, 270, 274, 276, 278 *seq.*, 283–294, 307, 315, 364 *seq.*, 367–370, 382, 386, 389, 405 n. 3, 435, 461, 479, 553, 569, 573.
,, of Assisi, St., 530 *seq.*, 533 *seq.*, 536, 541.
,, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, 69, 90.
,, the Dauphin (eldest son of Francis I.), 259 n. 1, 288, 367.
,, Duke of Orleans (afterwards Francis II., K. of France), 356 n. 2, 370.
Franco, Battista (artist), 243.
Frangipane, Antonino, 18 n.
Frederick, Palsgrave of the Rhine, 59, 82, 436 *seq.*
,, Duke of Saxony, 359.
Fregoso, Federigo, Cardinal (Bishop of Gubbio, Archbishop of Salerno), 155, 169, 171 n. 2, 191 *seq.*, 193 n. 3, 199, 205, 421, 457 *seq.*
Frolliere, Girolamo di, 328 n. 1.
Gaddi, Niccolò, Cardinal, 7, 314, 548.
Gaetani, Giovanella (wife of Pier Luigi Farnese *the elder*), 16.
,, Niccolò (of Sermoneta), Cardinal, 16 n. 4, 160.
,, Nicola (Lord of Sermoneta), 16.
Gaetano, Scipione (painter), 29 n. 4.
,, di Tiene, S., 4, 515–520.
Gallesio, Leon de (Papal commissary), 299 n. 2.
Gallo, Jacopo (humanist), 35 n. 2.
Gambara, Uberto da (Bishop of Tortona), Cardinal, 191 *seq.*, 487 n. 4, 580.
,, Veronica, 191 n. 1, 280 n. 2.
Garampi, G., Cardinal, 128 n. 1.
Gatico, Vincenzo da, 194 n. 2, 323 n. 1, 365 n. 4, 385 n. 2, 487 n. 4.
Gaurico, Luca (astrologer), 39 n.
George of Anhalt, Prince, 360.
,, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, 59–61, 75, 82, 454.
,, Duke of Saxony, 68, 92, 359.
Gheri, Cosimo (Bishop of Fano), 164, 317 n. 2.
Ghinucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 77, 109, 114 n. 1, 116 n. 6, 119, 141 *seq.*, 149, 173, 175, 185, 198 *seq.*, 282, 287, 289 *seq.*, 404, 420, 432 n. 1, 562, 571, 575.
Giberti, Gian Matteo (Bishop of Verona), 4, 106, 115,

Giberti, Gian Matteo—*continued.* 147, 153 n. 4, 155, 157, 162 *seq.*, 165 n. 1, 169, 171 n. 2, 174, 189 *seq.*, 405, 430, 490 n. 3, 491, 494, 495 n. 1, 497, 503–508, 518, 533.
Giovio [Jovius], Paolo, 32, 184 n. 2, 201 n. 2, 506 n. 2.
Girard, Pierre (French theologian), 405.
Girolamo da Montefiore (Capuchin), 538 n. 4.
Giulio da Milano, 490.
Giustiniani, Marino (Venetian envoy), 71, 276 n. 4, 424.
,, Paolo (Camaldolese), 5.
Glarean [Loriti], Heinrich (humanist), 203 n 1.
Glauburg, Johann von, 478 n. 4.
Goldwell, Thomas (Bishop of St. Asaph, Theatine), 520.
Gonzaga, Abbate di, 33 n. 2.
,, Agostino, 486.
,, Elisabetha (Duchess of Urbino), 208 n. 6, 278 n. 1, 534.
,, Ercole, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 10, 28 n., 3, 33 n., 44 n. 2, 96 n. 3, 97 *seq.*, 106 n. 3, 109, 138 n. 3, 142 n. 1, 143 n. 3, 159 n., 186, 197, 224 n. 6, 307 n. 2, 308, 312, 489, 492, 497, 499, 505–508, 533, 546, 551, 556, 578 *seq.*, 581, 583 *seq.*
,, Federigo (Marquis, and after 1530 Duke of Mantua), 23 n. 2, 26 n. 3, 96–101, 142 n. 1, 219 n., 262 n. 2, 300 n., 313 n., 546, 551, 563, 569, 571–573, 574, 580.
,, Ferrante (brother of Federigo, Viceroy of Naples, Governor of Milan), 294, 488.
,, Francesco (Marquis of Mantua), 505.
,, Isabella (wife of Francesco), *see* Este, Isabella.
,, Sigismondo, Cardinal, 506.
Grana, Lorenzo (Bishop of Segni), 100.
Granada, Louis of, *see* Louis.
Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (son of Nicolas, Bishop of Arras), 407, n.
,, Nicolas Perrenot de (statesman), 76 *seq.*, 107, 212, 255, 287 n. 1, 288 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*, 377–380, 386 *seq.*, 393, 403, 407–419, 420, 422 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*, 431, 439 *seq.*, 445, 447, 453 *seq.*, 456, 463, 466 *seq.*, 582.
Grassi, Giovanni Pietro de' (Bishop of Viterbo), 231.
Grassis, Giovanni Battista de (Papal chamberlain), 97.
,, Paris de (Papal master of ceremonies), 21 n. 2.
Grassus, Hieronymus, 264 n. 4.
Gregory XII., Pope, 15.
Gregory Nazianzen, St., 147.
Grignon (envoy), 353 n. 1.
Grillenzoni, 489 n. 4.

Grimaldi, Girolamo, Cardinal, 7.
Grimani, Marco (Patriarch of Aquileia), 277, 278 1, 294 *seq.*
,, Marino, Cardinal, 7 *seqq.*, 104, 135, 198, 299, 546, 548 *seq.*
Gritti, Lorenzo, 296.
Gropper, Johann (theologian), 374 n. 1, 409, 427, 437 *seqq.*, 442 *seq.*, 447, 451.
Gualterius, P. P., 6 n. 4, 200 n. 3, 284 n. 2, 287 n. 1, 288 n. 1, 289 n. 1, 313 n., 325 n. 1.
Guelders, Duke of, 65.
Guglielmi, Alessandro, 234 n. 2.
Guidiccioni, Alessandro, 341 n. 1.
,, Bartolommeo (Vicar-general of Parma, afterwards Cardinal), 20, 95, 135 n. 6, 155, 174, 190 *seqq.*, 196, 198, 579.
,, Giovanni (Bishop of Fossombrone, nuncio), 47, 58, 100, 218 n. 2, 258 *seq.*, 324 n. 4, 340.
Gye, Von, 365.

Haner, Johann, 59 n. 3.
Hannart, J. (envoy), 248 n. 1.
Hedwig (daughter of K. Sigismund of Poland, wife of Joachim II. of Brandenburg), 360.
Heemskerk, Martin (artist), 245.
Hel, Dr., 447 n. 2.
Held, Matthias (Imperial vice-chancellor), 84, 89 *seq.*, 377, 454.
Henry II. (King of France), 356.
,, VIII. (King of England), 24, 71, 107, 115, 141, 162 *seq.*, 234, 236, 366, 368.
,, Duke of Brunswick, 50 *seq.*, 92, 394.
,, Duke of Orleans (2nd son of Francis I.), 237, 248, 252, 289.
,, Duke of Saxony. 359.
,, Palsgrave of the Rhine (Bishop of Worms), 64.
Herculani Jacomo degli, 245 n.
Hermolais, Jacobus de (agent of Ferdinand I.), 264 n. 3.
Hieremia, Hieronymus, 296 n. 2.
Hoffmann, Johann (Dean of Frankfort), 419 n. 2.
Hohenstein, Wilhelm von (Bishop of Strassburg), 92 n. 4.
Hosius, Stanislaus (Bishop of Ermeland), 164.
Hötfilter (Provost of Lübeck), 411.

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 5, 529.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 17.
Isabella of Portugal (wife of Charles V.), 127, 562.

Jacobazzi, Cristoforo, Cardinal (Bishop of Cassano), 107, 108 n. 1, 136, 159, 174, 275, 281, 329 *seq.*, 334 *seq.*
Jagow, Matthias von (Bishop of Brandenburg), 360.
Joachim II. (Elector of Brandenburg), 66, 92, 118 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*, 372, 414, 424, 426 *seq.*, 434, 440, 453 *seq.*, 479.

John III. (King of Portugal), 117.
John, Duke of Cleves, 65, 92, 424, 479.
,, Palsgrave of the Rhine (administrator of Ratisbon), 53.
,, Albert (Margrave of Brandenburg, coadjutor of Magdeburg and Halberstadt), 64.
,, Frederick (Elector of Saxony), 66, 69, 76, 83, 86–91, 359, 375, 378, 408, 425 *seq.*, 450 *seq.*, 454, 471.
,, of Avila, St., 528 *seq.*
,, of God, St., 528 *seq.*
Jonas, Justus (protestant theologian), 375.
Julius II., Pope, 6, 17, 19 *seq.*
,, III., Pope, 215 n. 2, 346.

Kampen, Johann von, 138 n. 3.
Katzianer (capt.-gen. of Ferdinand I.), 273.

La Baume, Pierre de (Bishop of Geneva, Archbishop of Besançon), Cardinal, 191.
Lancerio, Sante (butler to Paul III.), 29 n.
Lanfredini, 18 n. 1.
Lang, Matthæus, Cardinal, 6 *seq.*, 52, 82, 137.
Laurerio, Dionisio (General of the Servites), Cardinal, 80, 175, 176 n. 1, 191 *seq.*, 198, 200, 458, 459 n., 487 n. 4, 779.
Lenoncourt, Robert de (Bishop of Châlons), Cardinal, 182, 325.
Leo X., Pope, 4, 6, 10 *seq.*, 19 n. 6, 21 *seq.*, 184, 201, 205, 216, 247, 310 *seq.*, 350, 353.
Leone, Bonaventura de, *see* Bonaventura.
Leto, Pomponio (humanist), 17.
Leyva, Antonio de (Imperial general), 8 n., 221 n. 3.
Lichetto, Francesco (reformer of the Franciscan Observants), 5.
Lippomano, Pietro (Bishop of Bergamo), 508.
Loaysa, Garcia de, Cardinal, 223 n. 2, 231 n. 4.
Lodovico da Fossombrone (Capuchin), 531 *seq.*
Lodron, Lucrezia, Countess of (Ursuline), 527.
Lola, 20 n. 1.
Longa, Maria Laurentia (foundress of the Capuchin nuns), 538 n.
Longo, Antonio (historian), 266 n. 2, 269 n. 3, 271 n. 1, 278 n. 3, 281 n. 2, 295 n. 1, 321 n. 3.
Longueil, Christophe (humanist), 162.
Longuy, Claude de, Cardinal, 552.
Lopez de la Quadra, Joh., 227 n. 1.
Lorraine, Jean de, Cardinal, 8, 13, 103, 219 *seq.*, 287 n. 1, 289, 549, 552.
Lotti, Ottaviano de, 177 n. 1, 183 n. 6, 188 n. 1, 489.
Louis (Duke of Bavaria), 53, 395, 407, 414, 424 *seq.*, 434, 453, 456, 461, 466, 469.
,, (Elector Palatine), 59, 63 *seq.*, 65, 74, 76, 92, 393, 395 *seq.*, 407, 414, 424.
,, of Granada, 528 *seq.*
Ludovisi, N. (Bishop of Bologna), 282 n. 1, 288 n. 1.

Luther, Martin, 3, 67 *seq.*, 74 n. 5, 87 *seqq*, 91 *seq.*, 142 n. 4, 179, 375, 451, 454, 482 n. 3, 488, 497.

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolò, 353.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 203, 296 n. 2, 393, 430.
Maffei, Bernardino (secretary to Paul III.), Cardinal, 34 n. 1, 353, n. 2.
,, Leone, 387 n. 4.
Manente, 216.
Manetti, Latino, Giovenale (humanist), 124 *seq.*, 243, 259, 283, 307, 350.
Manriquez, Alonso (Archbishop of Seville), Cardinal, 223 n. 2, 231 n. 4, 528, 578.
,, Pedro (Bishop of Cordova), Cardinal, 182.
Marcello, (Papal secretary), 487 n. 4.
Margaret of Austria (natural daughter of Charles V., married, 1st, to Alessandro de' Medici; 2nd, to Ottavio Farnese of Parma), 33 n. 1, 182 n. 3, 291, 314 *seq.*, 319 n. 3, 324–326, 351, 358 n. 2.
,, of Navarre (sister to Francis I.), 289.
Maria (Governor of the Netherlands, sister to Charles V.), 228, 276 n. 6.
Marini, Gregorio (Veneziano), 516 n. 1.
Marinoni (Theatine), 518.
Mark, Eberhard de la, Cardinal (Bishop of Liège), 65, 578.
Marno, Francesco (Vicar-general of Cardinal Gonzaga), 507 n. 3.
Martin V., Pope, 16, 25, 337.
Martinellis, Blasius (Papal master of ceremonies), 6 n. 4, 14 n. 1, 22 n. 4, 29 n., 42 n. 2, 114, 141 n. 2, 142 n. 3, 143 n. 2, 150 n. 1, 158 n. 1, 159 n. 1, 188, 230 n., 242 n., 272, 313 n. 2, 316, 349 n. 5, 454, 562, 575.
Martio, Sebastiano, 346 n. 4.
Massarelli, Angelo (a secretary of the Council of Trent), 19 n. 6, 192 n. 4, 204 n. 1, 347 n. 2, 421 n. 6.
Matteo da Bascio (Capuchin), 5, 534 *seq.*
Maximilian I. (the Emperor), 22.
Medici Popes, the, 138, 219.
Medici, Alessandro de' (Duke of Florence), 312, 314, 324 *seq.*, 351.
,, Catherine de' (wife of Henry, Duke of Orleans), 237.
,, Cosimo de' (Duke of Florence), 33 n. 3, 204 n. 2, 280, 313 n., 314–316, 319 *seq.*, 321, 324, 327, 329, 331, 338 *seq.*, 584.
,, Giovanni de' (of the "Black Band"), 314.
,, Giovanni de', Cardinal, 204.
,, Giovanni Angelo de' (Archbishop of Ragusa, afterwards Pope Pius IV.), 336 n.
,, Ippolito de' (nephew of Clement VII.), Cardinal, 7, 11, 13, 138 n. 3, 139 n., 310, 312 *seq.*, 548, 552.

Medici, Lorenzino de', 314.
,, Lorenzo de', 17 *seq.*
Melanchthon, Philip, 74 n. 5, 85–89, 91, 375, 377, 411, 418 *seq.*, 423, 426, 437, 439, 441, 447, 450, 481, 500 n. 2, 559.
Melem, Ogier van (deputy from Frankfort to the conference at Worms), 418 n. 1.
Mendoza, Francisco de, Cardinal, 33 n. 1.
Mensing, Johann, 419.
Mercato Saracini, Mario da, 490 n. 1, 532 n. 1, 535 n. 4, 538 n. 3.
Merici, Angela (foundress of the Ursulines), 5, 525 *seqq.*
Merino, Gabriel, Cardinal, 7, 547, 552.
Metzenhausen, Johannes von (Elector of Treves), 65, 92, 365, 395, 414, 473.
Metzsch, Hans (electoral captain), 66 *seq.*
Miani, Girolamo [St. Jerome Emilian] (founder of the Somaschi), 5, 519.
Michael Angelo, 485 n.
Mignanelli, Fabio (Bishop of Lucera, nuncio), 117 n. 1, 119 *seqq.*, 271, 275 n. 2, 363, 490, 539 n. 1.
Miltitz, Karl von, 46 n. 3.
Mocenigo, Alvise, 148.
Molosso, Tranquillo (poet), 20 n. 1.
Molza, Francesco Maria (poet), 353.
Monaldeschi, Iolanda (wife of Bart. Farnese), 17.
,, Lorenzo, 35 n. 4.
Monluc (French envoy), 194 n. 2.
Monte, Gian Maria Ciocchi del, Cardinal (President of the Council of Trent, afterwards Pope Julius III.), 159 *seq.*, 198, 274 n. 5, 331 *seq.*, 345 n. 2.
Montelupo, Raffaello da (sculptor), 243.
Montmorency, Anne de (Constable of France), 123 *seq.*, 258, 287 n. 1, 289, 292, 369.
Monts (English envoy), 72 n. 1.
Morea, Sanjak of the, 273.
Morigia, Jacopo Antonio (Barnabite), 523 *seq.*
Morone, Giovanni (Bishop of Modena), Cardinal, 46 n. 3, 80, 94, 100, 102, 104 n. 1, 108 n. 3, 117 n. 1, 119 *seq.*, 121 n., 130 n. 3, 177, 196, 202, 206, 212, 265, 361 *seqq.*, 364 n. 1, 370 *seq.*, 373 n., 379, 383 *seq.*, 389–396, 398, 405 n. 3, 406, 409–418, 421 *seqq.*, 424 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*, 435, 437, 439 *seq.*, 442 *seq.*, 448, 453, 462 *seq.*, 466 *seq.*, 470, 474, 477, 484, 497 *seq.*, 500, 510, 556, 586.
Muley, Hassan (Bey of Tunis), 228.
Mussis, Dominicus de, 509 n. 6.

Nausea, F. (Bishop of Vienna), 46 n. 2, 49, 65, 96 n. 1, 123.
Navagero, B. (envoy), 195 n. 1.
Naves (Imperial vice-chancellor), 377, 454.
Negri, Girolamo, 237 n. 3, 440, 508, 538 n. 1.
Niccolini, Agnolo, 190 n. 2, 282 n. 2, 321 n. 4.
Nicola da Trento, Fra, 511 n. 2.

Nicolas V., Pope, 13, 171, 245.
Nobili [Nobilibus], Cesare de' (nuncio), 93, 192 n. 5, 242 n. 2, 263, 276 n. 1.

Ochino, Bernardino (General of the Capuchins, afterwards apostate), 485 n. 1, 486–495, 499, 518, 538 *seq.*
Olanda, Francesco d' (painter), 351 *seq.*, 352 n. 1.
Oliveriis, Benvenuto de, 327 n.
Orano, 242 n.
Orsini, Camillo, 189.
„ Gentile Virginio (Count of Anguillara), 224.
„ Girolama, of Pittigliano (wife of Pier Luigi Farnese *the younger*), 23, 139, 246, 302.
„ Girolamo, 330, 332.
„ Orsino (Lord of Monterotondo, husband of Giulia Farnese), 17.
Ortenburg, Gabriel Salamanca, Count of (envoy), 272 n. 3.
Ortiz, Pedro, 165 n. 1, 404.

Pallavicini, Uberto, 6 n. 3.
Palmieri, Andrea Matteo, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 33, 138 n. 3, 548, 553, 562.
Pamphili, Eusebius, *see* Calvin.
Pandolfini, Ferdinando (Bishop of Troja), 509.
Papazzoni, A. M. (Bolognese envoy), 13 n., 267 n. 4, 304 n. 1.
Paris Bordone (painter), 30 n. 2.
Parisani, Ascanio (Bishop of Rimini), Cardinal, 191 *seq.*
Parisetus, Ludovicus, 28 n. 1, 138 n. 2.
Parisio, Pier Paolo, Cardinal, 191, 201, 579.
Patengola, family of the (in Brescia), 526.
Paul III., Pope, 14, 25–39, 41–46, 47, 49 *seq.*, 52–60, 62–72, 76–79, 84, 86, 89, 94–109, 111, 113–120, 125, 128, 130 *seq.*, 133–138, 140 *seqq.*, 148 *seq.*, 153, 157–161, 164 *seqq.*, 171 *seqq.*, 181–216, 218–226, 229–241, 245 *seqq.*, 249–259, 262–293, 297–321, 323 *seq.*, 327–331, 333–341, 343–357, 364–367, 379 *seqq.*, 384 *seq.*, 400–406, 408, 410, 412, 421 *seqq.*, 431, 441, 456, 459 *seqq.*, 463–469, 471–477, 481, 487 *seq.*, 490 *seq.*, 497–501, 502–506, 508, 510–513, 515, 519, 521 *seq.*, 524, 527 *seq.*, 530–535, 537, 539, 541.
Pendaglia, 284 n. 2.
Peregrino, Fabrizio (Mantuan envoy), 10 n. 2, 26 n. 3, 28 n. 3, 35 n. 2, 39 n., 140 n., 148 n. 1, 150 n. 1, 153 n. 4, 155, 174 n. 2, 188 n. 4, 193 n. 2, 195 n. 2, 212 n. 3, 231 n. 1, 236 n. 1, 240 n. 2, 241 n. 2, 247 n. 2, 259 n. 1, 270 n. 3, 276 n. 1, 297 n. 1, 303, 307 n., 349 n., 388 n. 4, 546, 551, 563, 569, 572 *seq.*, 574, 580.
Persichetti, Marquis, 30 n. 2.
Peruzzi, Baldassare, 243.
Pescia, Giovanni da, 305 n. 4.
Petrucci, Alfonso, Cardinal, 311.
Pflug, Julius (Bishop-elect of Naumberg), 437, 439, 442 *seq.*, 447, 451.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, 50 *seq.*, 69, 76, 91 *seq.*, 365, 376, 378, 426 *seq.*, 454, 479.

Philip, the Count Palatine (Bishop of Freising), 53, 59, 82.
„ Palsgrave of Neuburg, 54, 59, 82.
Piccolomini, Giovanni (Bishop of Ostia), Cardinal, 7, 10 n. 2, 13, 77, 135, 149, 159 n., 237, 536, 548, 552, 571.
Pighius, Albert, 402, 407 n., 442 *seq.*
Pio, Rodolfo (of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza), Cardinal, 33 n. 1, 47, 73, 93, 98, 107 *seq.*, 159, 173, 184, 218 n. 2, 259, 275, 281, 286, 509, 539, 557, 585.
Piombo, Sebastianodel (painter), 162 n. 2, 514 n. 4.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 7, 509, 548, 553.
Pistorius, Johann (Hessian preacher), 437, 448.
Pius II., Pope, 334.
„ IV., Pope, 336 n.
„ V., Pope, 530.
Plantagenet, Lady Margaret (mother of Cardinal Pole), 162.
Plantanida of Fermo, Giuseppe (Capuchin), 525.
Plautus, 354.
Plotis de (Mantuan agent), 177 n. 2, 197 n. 2, 293 n. 3.
Podiani, Mario (chancellor of Perugia), 330.
Poggio, Giovanni Francesco (nuncio), 124, 129, 370, 379, 383, 403, 406, 421 *seq.*, 428, 432 *seq.*, 582.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 95, 109, 127 n. 3, 129 n. 4, 146, 155, 159, 160 n. 2, 162 *seqq.*, 165 n. 1, 169, 171 n. 2, 188, 190, 198,
Pole, Reginald—*continued.* 207, 379, 462, 483 *seqq.*, 494, 497 *seq.*, 500, 520 n. 2, 572, 575.
Polz, P., 85 n. 2.
Pomponazzo, Pietro, 146, 508.
Ponte, Gotardus de (printer), 177 n. 2.
„ Niccolò da (Venetian ambassador), 576.
Ponte-Corvo, Phil. de (Papal commissary), 299 n. 2.
Porta, Giovanni Maria della (envoy from Urbino), 100 n. 6, 137 n. 2, 141 n. 2, 143 n. 2, 165 n. 1, 194 n. 3, 235 n. 3, 247 n. 2, 249 n., 254 n., 255 n. 1, 257 n. 6, 269 n. 4, 273 n., 303 n. 2, 307 n., 308 n., 312 n. 2, 320 n. 4, 328 n. 1, 336 n. 2, 573.
„ Guglielmo della (sculptor), 31.
Priuli, Luigi, 457 n. 4, 483 *seq.*
Pucci, Antonio, Cardinal, 7, 195 *seqq.*, 208, 334, 527, 548, 554.
„ Roberto, Cardinal, 201 *seq.*, 278 n. 1.
Puglioni [Pulleo], Giovanni Antonio (Baron of Burgio), 34 n. 1.
Pulzone (painter), 29 n. 4.

Quietus, Joh. Bapt., 267 n. 3.
Quiñones, Francesco, Cardinal, 7, 80, 183, 188, 531, 534, 547.
Quirini, Angelo Maria, Cardinal, 172 n. 5.

Rabelais (satirist), 142 n. 4, 242 n., 300, 356 n. 2.

Rangoni, Guido, 317.
„ Lodovico, 317.
„ Ugo (Bishop Reggio, nuncio), 77, 106, 113 n. 3, 115, 556.
Recordato, Imperio, 25 n. 3.
Redwitz, Wigand von (Bishop of Bamberg), 59, 62, 83.
Ricalcati, Ambrogio (private secretary to Paul III.), 33, 34 n. 1, 49, 51, 57 *seq.*, 73 n., 76, 98, 259, 265, 285, 317 n. 2.
Ricci, Giovanni (of Montepulciano, Archbishop of Siponto, nuncio), 114 n. 3, 128, 278, 280 n. 2, 295 n. 1, 373 n. 2, 574.
Ridolfi, Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza, Archbishop of Florence), Cardinal, 7, 185, 198, 207, 211, 314, 523, 546, 548.
Robertinus, Camillus, 297 n. 3.
Rodi, Filippo, 240 n. 4.
Rorario, Girolamo (Papal chamberlain and envoy), 220, 274 n. 2, 364 n. 1.
Rossi [Rubeis], Gian Giacomo de' (Bishop of Pavia), 315.
Rosso (buffoon), 353, 357 n. 6.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 137 n. 2, 277, 278 n. 1, 294, 305, 320, 548, 577.
„ Giulio della, 336 n.
„ Guidobaldo della, 304–306, 308, 309 n. 3, 320 *seqq.*
„ Niccolò della (husband of Laura Farnese), 17.
Rubeis de, *see* Rossi.
Ruffina (supposed mistress of Card. Alessandro Farnese), 20 n. 1.
Ruggieri, Bonifazio (Ferrarese envoy), 208 n. 5, 211 n. 6, 243, 340 n. 4, 422, 434 n. 1, 581.

Sadoleto, Jacopo (Bishop of Carpentras), Cardinal, 27, 95 *seq.*, 99, 109, 121 n., 153 n. 4, 154 *seqq.*, 159, 161 *seqq.*, 179, 181, 193 n. 3, 201, 203, 205, 213, 286, 420, 484 n. 1, 500, 509.
Salamanca, Gabriel, *see* Ortenburg.
Salinas, Martin de, 253 n. 2.
Salvago, G., 282 n. 5.
Salviati, Giovanni, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 314, 546, 548.
„ Lucrezia, 319 n. 3.
Sanchez, Gabriel (Roman agent of Ferdinand I.), 12 n. 1, 28 n. 4, 32 n. 3, 38 n. 4, 44, 135 n. 2, 139 n., 240 n. 2, 311 n. 2, 555, 557, 560, 570.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 243, 245, 334.
Sanguin, Antoine (Bishop of Orleans), Cardinal, 191.
Sanseverino, Antonio, Cardinal, 7, 135, 149, 241, 244, 534, 535 n. 4, 538 n. 4, 539, 548.
Sansovino, Jacopo (architect), 114 n. 3.
Santafiora, Cardinal, *see* Sforza, Guido Ascanio.
Santio, Bernardo (Bishop of Aquila), 403 n. 2, 412, 420.
Saraceni, Fr., 10 n. 2.
Sarmiento, Pietro (Bishop of Compostela), Cardinal, 182.
Sarpi, Paolo, 47 n. 3, 68 n., 286 n. 2.

Savelli, Giovanni Battista (leader of mercenaries), 299, 330, 339.
„ Jacopo, Cardinal, 191, 580.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 329, 487.
Savoy, Duke of, *see* Charles.
Schönberg, Nicolas von (Archbishop of Capua), Cardinal, 99, 141 *seq.*, 143 n. 171, n. 3.
Scoto [Scotti], Giovanni Bernardino (Theatine), 516.
Segni, Bernardo (historian), 33 n. 3.
Semendria, Pasha of, 273.
Sepulveda, Giovanni Gennesio, 181.
Sergardi, Lodovico (Sienese envoy), 7 *seq.*, 12 n. 2, 25 n. 4, 222 n. 4, 224 n. 4, 243 n. 4, 246 n. 4, 253 n. 1, 303 n. 1, 347 n. 2, 354.
„ N., 275 n. 4, 276 n. 2, 279 n. 3, 358 n. 1.
Seripando, Girolamo (General of the Augustinian Hermits), 41 n. 3, 215, 218, 510–514, 586.
Sernini, Nino, 106 n. 3, 192 n. 1, 201 n. 1, 211 n. 4, 339 n. 2, 340 n. 1, 344 n. 1, 349 n. 1, 352 n. 2, 458 n. 1, 499 n. 3, 578 *seq.*, 581, 583 *seq.*
Serristori, Averrardo (Venetian envoy), 140 n., 200 n. 3, 202 n. 3, 584.
Sfondrato, Paola Antonia (Angelice nun), 523 n. 1.
Sforza, Bosio (Count of Santafiora, father of the Cardinal), 140 n., 298, 308.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 237, 247, 548, 556.
„ Guido Ascanio, of Santafiora (Bishop of Parma), Cardinal, 139, 140 n., 189, 243, 327 n., 366, 384 n. 4, 562.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 360, 382, 560.
Silva, Miguel da (Bishop of Viseu), Cardinal, 191 n. 2.
Simonetta, Jacopo (Bishop of Pesaro), Cardinal, 77, 109, 111 *seqq.*, 129, 141, 142 n. 4, 149, 173, 175, 185, 209 n. 2, 306, 571, 578.
Sirleto, Guglielmo (humanist), 29 n.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 26, 37, 149, 175, 215.
Sleidan, John (historian), 171 n. 3, 413 n. 4.
Soria, L. de (Imperial ambassador), 276 n. 6.
Soriano, Antonio (Venetian ambassador), 14 n. 3, 29 n. 3, 38 n. 2, 138 n. 3, 143, 187, 301, 576.
Spalatin, George, 69 n. 3.
Spinelli, N., 358 n. 1.
Spinola, Agostino, Cardinal, 7, 548.
Stadion, Christoph von (Bishop of Augsburg), 54, 75, 82, 393.
Staffa, family of the, 298.
Store, Johannes Magnus (Archbishop of Upsala), 115.
Strasoldi, Panfilo de' (nuncio), 80.
Stratigopolus, Joannes Maria, 279 n. 7.
Strozza, L., 406 n. 3.
Strozzi, A., 267 n. 3.
„ Filippo, 315, 319.
Stunica, Cardinal, 223 n. 2.

Sturm, Johannes (protestant theologian), 178 *seq.*, 423, 440.
Suleiman I. (the Sultan), 249, 261, 263, 267, 270, 279, 293, 479.

TAPARELLI, Gasparo, 229 n. 5.
Tarusius, Stephanus (Papal commissary), 268 n. 3.
Tavera, Juan de (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 223 n. 2.
Tendac, Count, 287 n. 1.
Terence, 353 n. 2.
Terni, Alessandro da, 341 n. 1.
Terranova, Joannes Romæus de (chronicler), 531 n. 1.
Teutleben, Valentin von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 92.
Thebaldesco, A., 268, n. 2.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 480.
Thüngen, Konrad III. von (Prince-bishop of Würzburg), 62.
Tiene, Gaetano di, S., *see* Gaetano.
Tiepolo, Niccolò (Venetian envoy), 281, 286 n. 2.
Tiranno, Girolamo (envoy), 208 n. 6.
Titelmans, Francis (Capuchin), 532.
Titian (painter), 23 n. 4, 29, 30 n. 2, 31, 140 n., 203 n. 1.
Toledo, Pedro de (Viceroy of Naples), 339, 341, 342 n. 1, 387, 436.
„ *see* Alvarez.
Tolomei, Claudio, 495–497.
„ Lattanzio (Sienese envoy), 499.
Torelli, Luigia (Countess of Guastalla), 522 *seq.*
Tournon, F. de, Cardinal, 8, 12, 219, 546, 552.
Trajan (the Emperor), 355.
Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 7, 10, 13, 33, 80, 192 n. 1, 218 n. 2, 219 *seq.*, 258, 278 n. 1, 548, 553, 578.
„ Filippo (Archbishop of Ragusa), 104.
Turrensis, Franciscus, 514 n. 3.

UGOLINI, Aurelio Manni, 32 n. 1, 192 n. 4.
Ulrich (Duke of Würtemberg), 90, 436.
Urban VI., Pope, 15.

VAGA, Perino del (painter), 245 n.
Valdes, Juan, 485 *seq.*, 488, 497, 518.
Valori, Baccio, 319.
Varani, family of the, 234, 322, 323 n. 4.
Varano, Caterina (wife of Giovanni Maria), *see* Cibo, Caterina.
„ Ercole, 304, 306 *seq.*, 323.
„ Giovanni Maria (Duke of Camerino and Nepi), 304.
„ Giulia (daughter of Giovanni Maria, wife of Guidobaldo della Rovere), 304, 305 *seq.*, 309 n. 3, 320, 322 n. 1.
Varchi (chronicler), 33 n. 3, 313 n.
Vasto, Marquis del (Governor of Milan), 490 n. 3, 495.
Veltwick, Gerhard (Imperial secretary), 427.
Vely, de (French envoy), 250, 252.
Venier, D., 148 n. 2.

Venier, Francesco (Venetian ambassador), 576.
„ Gabrielle (Venetian ambassador), 576.
„ Giov. Ant. (Venetian ambassador), 576.
Verallo, Girolamo (nuncio), 104, 307, 474, 477.
Vergerio, Pietro Paulo (Bishop of Capo d'Istria, nuncio), 9 n. 3, 33, 41 *seqq.*, 45, 46 nn., 47 n. 3, 48–69, 73–78, 80, 92, 115, 135, 170 n., 209, 214 n. 3, 317, n. 2, 359, 361, 413, 582.
Vermayen, Jan (painter), 227.
Vermigli, Pietro Martire, 404, 492 *seq.*, 498 *seq.*
Vida, Marco Girolamo (Bishop of Alba), 509.
Vigili, Fabio (Bishop of Spoleto), 509.
Vitelli, Alessandro (condottiere), 315, 330, 339.
Vittoria, A. (sculptor), 147 n.
Vorst, Peter van der (Bishop of Acqui), 46 n. 3, 80–83, 89–92, 149.
Vulteius, Joannes (humanist), 27 n. 2.

WALDECK, Franz von (Bishop of Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück), 92.
Wauchope, Robert (Archbishop-elect of Armagh), 405, 409 n. 3, 410 n. 1, 414 n. 2, 424.
Weeze, Johann von (Archbishop of Lund), 122, 372, 376 n. 4, 377, 454.
Wied, Herman von (Elector of Cologne), 65, 92, 414, 424, 473.
Wilamowsky, Johann (Bishop of Caminiecz), 382 n. 1.
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 53, 56, 82, 394, 414, 424 *seq.*, 434, 453, 456, 461, 466, 469.
„ (Duke of Julier and Cleves), 414 *seq.*, 417.
Wolsey, Thomas (Cardinal), 163.

ZACCARIA, Antonio Maria, St. (founder of the Barnabites), 5, 521–524.
Zambeccarius, Jacobus, 338 n. 4.
Zapolya, Johann, 220, 256, 274.
Zuchello (Papal commissary), 298 n. 2.
Zucchetus, Sixtus, 297 n. 3.
Zwick, E., 436 n. 2, 440 n., 447 n. 3, 451 n. 2.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XII.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . .	xxix

PAUL III., 1534–1549.

Ignatius of Loyola and the Society of Jesus . .	1–57
Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Its work in Europe and the Indies	58–123
The Turkish war. The meeting between Paul III. and Charles V. at Lucca. The conciliar question, 1541–1543	124–168
The meeting between Paul III. and Charles V. at Busseto. Suspension of the Council. The Pope's neutrality and exertions for peace. Misunderstandings with the Emperor	169–203
Spread of the German schism. Cardinal Farnese's mission to Worms. Negotiations for an alliance between Paul III. and Charles V. against the Protestants. Investiture of Pier Luigi Farnese with Parma and Piacenza. The convening of the Council of Trent	204–239
Transactions and decrees of the five first sessions of the Council of Trent (December 1545 to June 1546)	240–271
The Papal-Imperial league of June 1546. The Schmalkaldic war	272–299

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XI.

70935

PAGE

Dissensions between Paul III. and Charles V. . . 300–336

Progress of the Council of Trent. Its removal to Bologna. The Schmalkaldic war ends in victory for the Emperor. Assassination of Pier Luigi Farnese 337–374

The Emperor in opposition to the Pope and the authority of the Council 375–408

The Interim. Last days of Paul III. His death . 409–455

The completion of the ecclesiastical revolution in England and Scandinavia. The Protestant propaganda in France 456–487

The Protestant propaganda in Poland and Italy. Foundation of the Roman Inquisition. The Pope's support of Christian missions outside Europe, and his activity in other spheres of work . . . 488–522

Paul III. as the patron of learning and art . . . 523–648

Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 649–683

Index of Names 684–707

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XII.[1]

CHAPTER I.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Birth of Ignatius of Loyola (1491 or 1495) during the pontificate of Alexander VI.	1
	The chief sources for his life and works	1
	His family and birthplace	2
1521	Early life and subsequent conversion	4
	He makes a pilgrimage to Montserrat and goes to live at Manresa. His manner of life	6
	Manresa may be called the birthplace of the Society of Jesus	8
	Ignatius begins to give "spiritual exercises"	9
	Examination and description of the "Book of the Exercises"	9
	Its object and effect	13
	Literary sources of the "Spiritual Exercises"	15
	Little borrowed from other writers—taken as a whole it is a new and original work	16
	Paul III. declares the book to be "full of piety and holiness"	17
	Ignatius says of it, "This is our armoury"	17
	Influence of the "Exercises" on the great spiritual teachers of the age	18
1523	Ignatius arrives in Rome (March 29th) for the first time and proceeds to the Holy Land	19
	His return to Barcelona, and life there	20
	Incurs the suspicion of the authorities and is imprisoned	20

[1] Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE
1528 He goes to Paris (February 2nd), and followers gather round him 21
1534 The vows taken by Ignatius and his six companions at Montmartre (August 15th) 22
1536 They leave Paris and go to Venice 23
To await a vessel to take them to Palestine . . 24
This being impossible, they resolve to visit the Italian Universities 25
Ignatius and the first Jesuits in Rome 26
1538 Ten members of the Society now in the city—their work 27
Attacks on the Society—Ignatius' interview with Paul III. at Frascati 29
The Jesuits completely acquitted—Ignatius says his first Mass on Christmas Day 30
The Society placed "unreservedly at the disposal of the Pope" 31
Discussion on the vow of obedience 32
The "Constitutions" submitted for examination . 33
1540 They are confirmed by the Pope (September 27th) . 34
1541 Ignatius chosen (April) General of the Society . . 36
Various privileges granted by the Pope 37
1549 These are ratified by a Bull (October 18th) . . 38
Beginnings of the house and church of the "Gesù" . 39
Works undertaken by the Society in Rome . . 40
The houses of S. Marta and S. Caterina 42
Work in the hospitals 44
Ignatius and the dispute between Paul III. and the King of Portugal 45
The work of instruction in Christian doctrine . . 50
1547 The Roman clergy enjoined to attend lectures by the Jesuits 51
Ignatius declines the direction of convents of nuns 52
Difficulties with Isabel Roser and her associates 52
Refusal of Ignatius to amalgamate with other Orders 54
And opposes the acceptance of dignities 55
Method of Ignatius in training his companions . . 56

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—ITS WORK IN EUROPE AND THE INDIES.

Need of a Rule consolidated in writing 58
1547 Ignatius begins to commit his work to writing . . 58
1550 The final "Formula of the Institute" confirmed by Julius III., July 21st. 59

A.D.		PAGE
1552	The Constitutions promulgated throughout the Society. Method followed by St. Ignatius in writing the Constitutions	60
	The scope, object, and description of the enactments of the Constitutions	61
	The definition of "blind obedience"	67
	End for which the colleges are called into being	69
	The fourth solemn vow	70
	The educational rules of the Constitutions	71
	The Society, despite its complexity, must maintain its characteristic of unity	73
	Means of attaining this solidarity	74
	St. Ignatius rejects the old methods	76
	"To the greater glory of God"	77
1545	The first Jesuits at the Council of Trent	78
	Instructions given to them by Ignatius	79
	Laynez and Salmeron at Trent	80
1546	Letter of Salmeron to Ignatius (July)	81
1547	As a consequence of the work of the Jesuits at the Council, many bishops wish to have them in their dioceses	82
1545	Beginnings of the Society in Venice	83
	Whither Laynez is sent by the Pope	84
	Many Italian bishops obtain the services of the Jesuits	84
	Who go to Montepulciano, Verona, Minori, Faenza	84
	Belluno and Modena; in the latter place Salmeron has difficulties with Cardinal Morone	85
	Le Jay sent to Modena to counteract the influence of the Duchess Renée	86
	The Society in Florence and Parma	87
	In Casola, Correggio, and Castiglione, etc.	88
1547	Beginnings of the Society in Sicily	89
	Canisius and ten others go to Messina	90
1539	The first Jesuits to enter Spanish territory	91
	They are defended by Prince Philip	92
1544	In spite of opposition many colleges are founded	92
	Salamanca is the centre of this opposition	93
	The Dominican, Melchior Cano, and the Jesuits	94
	Early life of Francis Borgia	96
1548	His profession in the Society (February 1st)	97
	The King of Portugal asks for Jesuit missionaries for the East Indies	98
1545	Rodriguez in Portugal—foundation of the College of Coimbra	99
1542	Salmeron and Broët visit Ireland, passing by way of Scotland	100

A.D. PAGE
1542 Beginnings of the Society in France . . . 101
Work of Peter Faber at Louvain 102
1540 Commencement of his work in Germany . . . 103
1542 Visits Spires, Mayence, and Cologne. . . . 104
At the latter place founds the first Jesuit settlement in German territory 105
Work of Le Jay in Bavaria and other parts of Germany 106
1543 Activity of his colleague, Bobadilla 108
The first German Jesuit: Peter Canisius . . . 109
1549 Jesuits sent to the University of Ingolstadt . . 111
Canisius begins his lectures there (November 26th) . 112
Missions of the Society to Abyssinia and the Congo . 113
1540 St. Francis Xavier starts (March 16th) on his mission to the Indies 114
His labours at Goa and in the neighbourhood . . 115
His manner of life and work—his successes . . 116
1549 Is named Provincial for India 118
Starts from Malacca for Japan (June 24th) . . 120
Ignatius and Xavier what they were through the Papacy 122
"Manresa the grammar school, Rome the University" 122

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKISH WAR.—THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AT LUCCA.—THE CONCILIAR QUESTION, 1541–1543.

1541 Ferdinand I. retreats from Ofen, which is captured by the Sultan (August 26th) 124
Alarm aroused by this in Vienna and Rome . . 125
Charles V. determines to attack Algiers . . . 125
Paul III. arrives at Lucca on September the 8th and the Emperor on the 12th 126
Conferences of the two heads of Christendom—subjects claiming their attention 127
Milan, the religious affairs of Germany and the Catholic League 128
Charles V. sails from Spezia to attack Algiers (September 28th) 129
Total failure of the campaign (October 24th) . . 130
The Pope begins to make preparations for the Council 131
Contarini and Aleander to make proposals regarding time and place 131
Mantua proposed as the place of meeting . . . 132
Attitude of Francis I.—opinions as to the place vary widely, Trent strongly recommended . . . 133

A.D. PAGE
1542 Mission of Morone to Germany 134
His unceasing activity 135
Announces the Pope's determination to summon the Council 136
His arrival at Spires (September 8th), and the opening of the Diet 137
His interview with, and remarks to, King Ferdinand . 138
Morone receives permission to lay his instructions before the Diet, and states that the Pope would be glad to summon the Council to Trent (March) 139
And proposes August the 15th as date of opening . 140
The Protestants at once raise a protest . . . 140
Cambrai is then proposed 141
Attitude of Ferdinand towards the demands of the Protestant Estates 142
The Diet and the Turkish war—worthlessness of the troops raised 143
Utter failure of the attack on Ofen 144
The Pope finally decides to summon the Council to Trent (April–May) 144
The Bull to this effect (dated May 22nd) is promulgated 145
Francis I. meets it with a flat refusal 145
The Protestants renew their protest and the Emperor also is unfavourable 146
Efforts of Paul III. to promote peace between Charles and Francis 147
But war breaks out between the two monarchs (July) 148
The Pope appoints Legates to the Emperor and the King of France 149
The Papal neutrality unbearable to Charles V. . . 150
His embittered letter to the Pope (August 25th) in reply to the conciliar Bull 150
But Paul III. will not be moved to depart from his neutral attitude 152
Preparations commenced at Trent for the Council . 153
Three conciliar Legates nominated (October 16th) . 154
Continued opposition of the Emperor and the King of France 155
The Pope decides (November 10th) to address a brief to both monarchs 156
The Legates arrive at Trent, but very few prelates . 157
Ferdinand expresses his delight at the beginning of the Council and the Emperor nominates orators . 158
1543 Granvelle and his companions arrive at Trent (January 7th) 159

A.D. PAGE
1543 And appear before the Legates (January 9th) . . 160
Suspicious proceedings of Granvelle 161
The Italian bishops urged to a speedy attendance at the Council (January) 162
Truchsess sent to the Diet at Nuremberg; he complains of the neglect shown by the German bishops (February) 163
And has interviews with King Ferdinand, Granvelle, and the Bishop of Augsburg 164
Who on the whole confine themselves to empty promises 165
At last a few more bishops arrive at Trent . . 166
Small attendance owing to the conduct of the Emperor and the French King 168

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AT BUSSETO.—SUSPENSION OF THE COUNCIL.—THE POPE'S NEUTRALITY AND EXERTIONS FOR PEACE.—MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE EMPEROR.

1543 Paul III. leaves Rome (February 26th) and arrives at Bologna (March 17th) 169
Discussion in consistory (May 11th) on the postponement of the Council 170
Granvelle and Morone discuss this question at Trent 171
Charles V. lands at Savona (May 24th) and is invited to a conference with the Pope 172
Difficulties caused by the Emperor—the Pope leaves Bologna on June the 11th 173
And reaches Busseto on the 21st 174
Negotiations with the Emperor 175
The Milanese question again a difficulty . . . 176
Charles V. makes an emphatic speech before the Sacred College (June 24th) 177
No agreement come to on the conciliar question . 178
Discussions at Trent on the question of a translation or suspension of the Council 179
A suspension is decided upon in consistory of July the 6th 181
And permission given to the prelates to leave Trent . 181
Renewed tension between the Pope and Charles V. . 182
Tactful attitude of Francis I. 183

A.D. PAGE
1543 The Emperor enters into an alliance with Henry VIII. 184
The Pope will not move from his neutrality, and sends (November) Cardinal Farnese to Charles and Francis 185
Altercation between the Pope and the Cardinal of Burgos (December 19th) 186
1544 Farnese goes first to France and then to the Emperor, with whom he enters Worms on January the 23rd 187
Painful interview of Farnese with Charles V. . 188
Total failure of the mission—Farnese leaves Worms 189
Resolutions of the Diet at Spires—concessions to the Protestants (June–July) 190
Result of Farnese's mission to France . . . 191
Exasperation of the Imperialist party in Rome . . 192
Undisturbed calm of Cardinal Farnese . . . 193
Cardinal d'Este arrives in Rome (June 9th) as ambassador from France 193
The Pope still clings to his policy of neutrality . . 194
Measures taken in consistory (July 30th) with respect to the Recess of Spires 195
Brief of remonstrance addressed to Charles V. (August 24th) 196
Who refuses to receive the Legate 198
The peace of Crespy between Charles and Francis (September) 199
Charles V. feels that in the Recess he had agreed to more "than he could be responsible for" . . 200
His statesmanship—renewal of diplomatic relations with the Pope (November) 201
The nomination of Cardinals on December the 19th . 202

CHAPTER V.

SPREAD OF THE GERMAN SCHISM.—CARDINAL FARNESE'S MISSION TO WORMS.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—INVESTITURE OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE WITH PARMA AND PIACENZA.—THE CONVENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1541 Spread of the authority of the Schmalkaldic League . 204
1542 Apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne in opposition to his cathedral chapter 205
1543 Overthrow by the Emperor of the Duke of Cleves (September) 206

A.D. PAGE

1544 Results of this victory—the secret clauses of the peace of Crespy 207
Nuncios sent to the Emperor and the King of France about the holding of the Council (October) . 208
Removal of the suspension of the Council (November 19th), which is summoned for March the 15th, 1545 209
1545 Conciliar Legates appointed (February 6th) . . 210
Their powers—entry into Trent (March 13th) . . 211
Not many prelates arrive 212
Tortuous policy of the Emperor regarding the Council 213
Violent pamphlet by Luther (March) 215
The "Scholia" of Calvin and addresses of Sleidan . 216
Difficulties of the situation 217
Mission of Cardinal Farnese 218
Who arrives at Trent on April the 25th 219
Delay in opening the Council 219
Anxieties of Farnese's journey 220
His experiences in traversing Protestant states . . 221
He arrives at Worms on May 17th and has an audience of the Emperor 222
Evasive answers of Charles V. and Granvelle . . 223
The proposal to use armed force against the Protestants 224
Opinion of the nuncios about this plan 224
Farnese returns (May 28th) to Rome to bring the compact between the Pope and Charles V. to a conclusion 225
Paul III. is prepared to give extensive help . . 225
And orders preparations to be made for war . . 226
Difficulties spring up and the undertaking is postponed 227
Andelot's announcement about the Council and the war 228
Painful surprise of the Pope 228
The plan of conferring Parma and Piacenza upon Pier Luigi Farnese 229
Opposition of the Emperor and some of the Cardinals 230
But Pier Luigi is invested with these cities (August 26th) 232
Opinions of Cardinals Gonzaga and Carafa . . 233
The Pope's proposals to the Emperor about the Council (September 13th) 235
Interviews of the nuncios with Charles V. (October) . 236
Decision in consistory to open the Council . . 237
The Schmalkaldic League capture Duke Henry of Brunswick 238

A.D. PAGE
1545 Brief for the opening of the Council sent to the Legates (December 7th) 238

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSACTIONS AND DECREES OF THE FIVE FIRST SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (DECEMBER 1545 TO JUNE 1546).

1545 The Council solemnly opened on December the 13th 240
Principal members of the Council present . . . 242
The important question "dogma or reform first" at the first Congregation—suggestion by the French prelates 244
1546 Discussions on procedure and on the title of the Council 245
Election of the conciliar officials (January) . . 247
Impressive exhortation from the Legates read at the second session (January 7th) 248
Renewed discussion on the title of the Council . 249
The Pope wishes decisions on dogma to precede measures of reform 250
Resistance to this from the Imperialists . . . 251
It is decided to deal with both questions simultaneously 252
But matters of faith to be considered of primary importance 254
Attitude of the Protestants. Death of Luther (February 18th) 256
Charles V. and the Protestants 257
Intrusion of the Imperial policy into the procedure of the Council (April) 258
Discussion and decrees on the canon of Holy Scripture (April 8th) 259
The Council at work—the Bull "Superni dispositione" 261
Discussion on the reform of the Episcopate and the Dataria 263
Approbation of decrees published at the fourth session 264
Debate on reform of the pulpit (May) 265
And on original sin and the Immaculate Conception . 266
Dogmatic decree on these subjects (June) . . . 267
Decrees on reform 268
The Emperor wishes dogmatic decrees to be omitted 269
Ambassadors from France arrive at Trent (June 26th) 270
"Justification" to be discussed in the sixth session . 271
Unforeseen difficulties suddenly arise 271

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPAL-IMPERIAL LEAGUE OF JUNE 1546.—THE SCHMALKALDIC WAR.

A.D.		PAGE
	Growing organization of the Schmalkaldic League	272
	Stubborn refusal of the Protestants to attend the Council	273
1545	The Emperor proposes an offensive alliance with the Pope against the Protestants	273
	Difficulties in drawing up the articles of this alliance	274
	Anxiety of the Emperor at the aggressions of the Protestants	275
	Protracted negotiations with the Pope (December)	276
	Various tendencies at the Imperial court	277
1546	Charles V. allows (January 27th) another religious conference to begin at Ratisbon	278
	Attitude of the Protestants towards this	279
	Proceedings at the conference—the speeches on both sides	280
	The Protestants recall their representatives (March 20th) and publish two memoirs against the Council	281
	Charles V. arrives at Ratisbon (April 10th)	282
	He is suspected of playing a double game	282
	The instructions of his envoy to Rome—irritation of the Pope	283
	Perverse schemes of Cardinal Accolti	284
	The quarrel between Rome and Florence	285
	Despite the appearances to the contrary, the Emperor really wishes for war against the Protestants	286
	The negotiations at Ratisbon (May)	287
	The treaty signed (June)	288
	Conditions of the alliance	289
	It is sent to Rome for the Pope's ratification (June)	290
	Opposition by some of the Cardinals—the treaty signed by Paul III. on June the 26th	291
	The Emperor's description of the situation	292
	His tactics—incapacity of the Schmalkaldic League	293
	Operations of the leaders of the League	294
	Lack of unity among the Protestants	295
	Arrival of the Papal troops in Germany (August)	296
	Extreme caution of Charles V.	297
	Break up of the Schmalkaldic forces and their retreat (November)	298
	Charles V.'s belief in toleration leads to breaches of amity with the Holy See	299

CHAPTER VIII.

DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V.

A.D.		PAGE
1546	Barriers to a permanent understanding between the Pope and the Emperor	300
	Complaints of Charles V.	301
	The Pope's distrust is not unjustified. Cardinal Farnese's audience with the Emperor (August 24th)	302
	Disappointment of the Pope and of the Farnese family	303
	The Fathers at Trent fear an attack from the Protestant troops	304
	But the Pope will not allow the sessions to be suspended (July)	305
	The proposal for a removal of the Council	306
	Excited discussion on this at Trent (July 28th)	307
	Violent outburst of the Imperialist prelates	308
	Irritation of the Emperor at the proposal (August)	309
	The Bull authorizing a translation of the Council if necessary	310
	In the meanwhile the Council to continue its labours	310
	Indignation of the Pope at the attitude of Charles V.	311
	Fresh instructions sent to the Legates (August 17th)	312
	Futility of the negotiations	313
	Remarks of the Pope to the ambassador Vega (September)	314
	Difficulties of the question of the translation	315
	The proposition that the Pope should suspend the Council (October 9th)	316
	The matter to be left to the Council's own decision	317
	Reply of the Legates on the question (October 25th)	318
	Declaration of Charles V. in his instructions to Mendoza	319
	Effect of the Spanish supremacy in Italy	320
	The Gonzaga and Pier Luigi Farnese—conflict between Papal and Imperial interests	321
	Altercation between the nuncio Verallo and Granvelle (November 12th)	322
	The Pope deeply hurt, but still desires peace	323
	The danger of his being drawn into the strife between Charles V. and Francis I.	324
	What had been gained by the great sacrifices made by Paul III.?	325
	Violations by the Imperialists of the treaty with the Pope	326

A.D. PAGE
1546 Disloyal agreement with the Protestant Estates . . 327
The Pope determines to refuse the renewal of the treaty 328
1547 Brief to the Emperor (January 22nd) announcing the recall of the Papal forces 328
Verallo's audience with the Emperor (February 2nd) . 330
Anger and violent behaviour of Charles V. . . 331
Calculated purpose of his threats 332
Firmness and dignity of the Pope 333
Aim of the French policy 333
Design of Ferrante Gonzaga 334
Death of Henry VIII. (January 28th), and project of the Pope for the recovery of England . . 335
Renewed anger of Charles V. 336
Unexpected measure of the translation of the Council from Trent 336

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.—ITS REMOVAL TO BOLOGNA.—THE SCHMALKALDIC WARS END IN VICTORY FOR THE EMPEROR.—ASSASSINATION OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE.

1546 Cardinal Farnese endeavours to bring about an agreement between the Papal and Imperialist interests in the Council (November) 337
Points upon which an agreement is reached . . 337
But Charles V. refuses this (December) . . . 339
1547 The sixth solemn session (January 13th)—its importance 340
Discussion of the decree of justification . . . 341
Conferences of theologians on the subject . . . 343
Publication of the decree—its contents . . . 344
Satisfaction of the Pope. Rejoinder to the Imperial policy (January 30th) received by Mendoza . 347
Seventh session—discussion and decree on the Sacraments 348
The reform decree (February 26th–28th) . . . 349
Outbreak of an epidemic in Trent 351
Discussion on the suspension or translation of the Council 352
Decision (March 11th) in favour of translation to Bologna 353
On the following day the majority of the Fathers leave Trent 354

A.D. PAGE

1547 The Pope gives his consent to the translation (March 25th) 355
Charles V. expresses his extreme displeasure . . 356
Declaration by Paul III. to the Imperial ambassador . 357
The Emperor takes the field against the Elector of Saxony (April)—angry remarks to the nuncio Verallo 358
The Elector defeated at Mühlberg and taken prisoner 359
This is followed (June 19th) by the submission of Philip of Hesse 360
Efforts of Cardinal Farnese to compose the differences between the Pope and the Emperor . . . 361
The mission of Cardinal Sfondrato, who meets the Emperor on July the 4th 363
All the Legate's proposals are refused. Charles V.'s continued discourtesy 365
Memorial sent by Sfondrato to Rome (July 31st) . 365
Where his behaviour is strongly criticised . . . 366
Determination of the Pope that the Council must remain free 367
But consents to a postponement of the next session, fixed for September 15th 368
Italian policy of Charles V. Plan of Gonzaga to overthrow Pier Luigi Farnese 369
Conditions of the duchy of Parma-Piacenza . . 370
Ferrante Gonzaga's plot against Pier Luigi . . 371
Who is assassinated at Piacenza on September the 10th 372
Deeply as the Pope feels this calamity, he does not lose his composure 373
And sends Cardinal Cervini (September 13th) to Piacenza 374

CHAPTER X.

THE EMPEROR IN OPPOSITION TO THE POPE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL.

1547 The Emperor's conception of religious unity—his claims 375
Unworthy behaviour of the Imperialists towards the Pope and Cardinal Sfondrato (September) . . 376
The Legate's interview with Charles V. and with Granvelle 377
The Emperor and Ottavio Farnese 378
Colourless replies of the Emperor to the Legate . 380

A.D. PAGE
1547 No steps are taken to punish the murderers of Pier Luigi 381
Firmness of the Pope and dignity of his conduct . 381
His address in consistory on the murder . . . 382
Troops collected together in Rome 383
Negotiations for an alliance between France and the Pope 384
Rumours of an attack on Rome—the Pope looks on all sides for support (November) . . . 385
Negotiations with Genoa, Venice, and France . . 386
Charles V. opens the Diet at Augsburg (September 1st) 386
The situation in Germany 387
Difficulties by which Charles V. is confronted . . 388
The affairs of religion in the Diet—division of opinions 389
The Imperial "resolution" of October the 18th . 390
The representatives of the towns oppose the Emperor 392
The conciliar question in the Diet 393
Efforts to browbeat the Pope into subjection to the Emperor's will. Cardinal Madruzzo sent to Rome (November) 394
His interview with the Pope 395
Who consults various Cardinals 396
The opinion of the Fathers at Bologna to be taken before a final decision is given 397
The conditions laid down by the Council at Bologna . 398
Charles V. expects Pope and Council to bend before his will 400
1548 The Imperial agents appear at the Council (January 16th) 401
The Emperor's protest is presented to the Council . 402
Rejoinder of the Cardinal-President 403
Declaration by Mendoza to the Pope in consistory (January 23rd) 404
Proposals of the Legates at Bologna 405
Dignified reply of the Pope to Mendoza (February 1st) 406
The Emperor shrinks from the extreme step . . 408

CHAPTER XI.

THE INTERIM.—LAST DAYS OF PAUL III.—HIS DEATH.

1548 The long-cherished plan of the Emperor . . . 409
His new expedient 411
Astonishment of the Cardinal-Legate, Sfondrato . 412
Charles V. conscious of the risks he was running . 412

A.D. PAGE

1548 The "Interim," or "Declaration . . . on the observance of religion . . . until the decision of the General Council" 413
Private negotiations of the Emperor with each Estate in the Diet 415
Opposition of the Catholic Estates to the Interim . 416
Concession made to them by the Emperor . . 417
The Imperialist pretensions 418
Sfondrato and the Interim 419
Endeavours to drive the Pope into the arms of Henry II. 420
Charles V. and the nuncio Santa Croce . . . 421
The Emperor tries to make the Interim acceptable to the Catholic Princes 422
But it meets with growing dislike 423
Charles V.'s scheme of reform for the Catholic clergy . 424
He takes steps to prevent a combination of the discontented spirits 425
To outward appearance the Emperor succeeds . . 426
Varied acceptance of the Interim 427
Agitation of the Protestants against the "papistical" Interim 428
Reception of the Interim by Paul III. (May) . . 429
Should the Council be again transferred? 431
Mission of Dandino to France (June) 432
And of Pietro Bertano to Charles V. 433
Bertano and Sfondrato received in audience by the Emperor (July 2nd) 434
New dissensions between the Pope and the Emperor. 435
French mission to restrain the Pope from making concessions to Charles V. 435
Three Legates appointed for Germany (August 31st). 436
Uselessness of the Interim. Anxiety of Charles V. . 437
The decrees of the Diet quite ineffectual 438
1549 Reception of the Legates by the Emperor (January 3rd) 439
The Pope endeavours to satisfy Charles V. . . . 440
Who still continues unconciliatory 441
The missions of Giulio Orsini about Piacenza . . 442
Nomination of new Cardinals on April the 8th . . 443
Reply of the Emperor to the demand for Piacenza (June 12th) 443
Astonishment and alarm in Rome 444
Paul III.'s letter to the Emperor 445
Again the project of a Franco-Papal alliance . . 446
Impossible conditions laid down by Charles V. . . 447
Invitation to Rome of bishops from Bologna and Trent 448

A.D. PAGE
1549 The French alliance and Ottavio Farnese . . . 449
Ottavio leaves Rome secretly for Parma (October 20th). Anger of the Pope 450
Who is attacked by a violent fever 451
Death of Paul III. on November the 10th . . 453
His burial in St. Peter's. The monument erected to him 453

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMPLETION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.—THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE.

State of religious affairs in England since 1533 . . 456
Terrors of the new statutes 457
1535 Execution of More, Fisher, and others . . . 458
Indignation throughout Europe 459
Anger of the Pope. Bull against Henry VIII. (August) 460
But Charles V. and Francis I. will not interfere. . 461
Division of opinion in the Sacred College (November) 462
1536 Death of Queen Catherine, and execution of Anne Boleyn 463
Dissolution of the monasteries 464
Catholic rising in the north of England. Paul III. contemplates sending Pole to Henry VIII. . 465
1537 And sets great hopes on this mission . . . 466
Which is, however, a failure. Reasons for this . . 467
1538 The Pope determines on the publication of the Bull against Henry VIII. (December 17th) . . 468
Pole quite unsuccessful in his mission to the Emperor and Francis I. 469
1541 Execution of his mother (May 27th). The confiscated monastic property 470
The obstacles to Henry's reconciliation . . . 471
1542 The situation in Scotland. Death of James V.. . 471
1543 Cardinal Beaton. Mission of Grimani . . . 472
1546 Murder of Cardinal Beaton (May 29th) . . . 473
1547 Death of Henry VIII. (January 28th). Action by the Pope 474
Doctrinal standpoint of Henry VIII. . . . 475
Protestantism of Cranmer and Somerset . . . 476
1542 Spread of heresy in Sweden. Revolt of the peasants 477
Quelled by Gustavus Wasa 478

A.D. PAGE
1536 State of the Catholic cause in Denmark. Arrest of the bishops 479
1537 Construction of a new Church system . . . 479
Inglorious end of the Catholic episcopate. Gradual extirpation of the Faith 480
Lutheranism established in Norway and Iceland . 481
The heretical movement in France 482
1535 Declaration of Francis I. (January 29th) . . . 483
His double game. Edict against the Protestants (July) 484
1540 And another, "The Edict of Fontainebleau" (June 1st) 485
Severity dealt out to the French Protestants. The Waldensians 486
Calvin's work, *Handbook of Christian Doctrine* . . 487

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN POLAND AND ITALY.—FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—THE POPE'S SUPPORT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS OUTSIDE EUROPE, AND HIS ACTIVITY IN OTHER SPHERES OF WORK.

Spread of Lutheranism in Poland 488
Causes of the failure to expel heresy from the kingdom 489
The political situation compels the King to turn to the bishops 490
Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermeland . . . 490
Protestant propaganda in Italy. Renée, duchess of Ferrara 491
Clemency of Paul III. to those who recant . . 492
Surreptitious character of the Protestant propaganda . 493
In Venetian territory, Lucca, Modena, and Siena . 494
Juan Valdes in Naples, 1532–1541 495
Character of his teaching. The "Spirituali" . . 496
Valdes and his circle. Pietro Martire Vermigli. . 497
1541 His sermons at Lucca 498
1542 He flies from Lucca, and with Ochino leaves Italy . 500
Spread of Lutheran opinions at Modena . . . 501
The "Accademia" a focus of religious rebellion . 502
Action by Morone and Contarini 503
Six Cardinals appointed (July 4th) as Inquisitors-General 503
The Roman Inquisition 505
1547–49 Attitude of the Italian States towards the Inquisition 509

A.D. PAGE
Especially of Naples, Milan, and Venice 510
1549 Apostasy of Pietro Paolo Vergerio 511
Measures to extirpate Lutheran errors, but precipitate zeal is little to the liking of Paul III. . . . 512
An index of forbidden books published 513
Paul III. and the foreign missions 513
1534–38 In Ethiopia and the Congo 514
1534–47 Missions in America; foundation of new sees . 515
The East Indies. The bishopric of Goa . . . 517
1543 The American Indians. Bartolomé de las Casas . 518
The Pope forbids the slavery of the Indians . . 519
His interest in the Armenians and Maronites . . 520
Processes of canonization during the pontificate . 521
1549 Preparations for a General Jubilee 522

CHAPTER XIV.

PAUL III. AS THE PATRON OF LEARNING AND ART.

The Pope, during his cardinalate, a warm friend to men of learning 523
At his accession the Renaissance had passed its zenith 524
Duality of the character of Paul III.'s patronage of letters 525
His first undertaking is the restoration of the Roman University. His steps to obtain good professors 526
Success of the undertaking 527
Lectures in medicine—teachers of rhetoric . . 528
Care bestowed by Paul III. in the education of his relatives 529
Support extended to men of learning by the Farnesi . 530
Theologians and canonists more in favour with the Pope than poets 531
Poets associated with the reign of Paul III. . . 532
The academies and the popularity of satire . . 534
Pietro Aretino and Niccolò Franco 535
Paolo Giovio. The physician, Fracastoro, and others 536
The classical scholar, Manetti 537
Giovanni Guidiccioni—Blosius Palladius . . . 538
Canonists and theologians encouraged by Paul III. . 540
Eminent Cardinals created during the pontificate . 541
Paul III. and Erasmus 542
Theologians called to Rome in view of the Council . 543

A.D. PAGE
1549 Great influence of Spanish divines 544
Paul III. and the Vatican Library 545
Orders search to be made for rare manuscripts . . 547
Increased importance of the custodian of the Library 547
Many works of this period are dedicated to Paul III. 548
Copernicus and Paul III. 549
"The last great Pope of the Renaissance" . . 550
Paul III. reassembles in Rome the great artists of the Medicean era 551
His support and employment of Michael Angelo . 552
And of Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo . . . 554
The work of repairing and renewing the fortifications of Rome 555
Sangallo's plan for the new defences 556
Numerous architects and engineers employed to carry these out 557
Description of the works 558
Fortification of the Leonine city 560
Paul III. appoints L. G. Manetti to take charge of the antiquities of Rome 563
Notwithstanding this, acts of destruction are still continued 565
Betterment of the conditions of the Roman streets . 566
Construction of new thoroughfares 567
Reconstruction of the Capitol 569
Magnificence of Michael Angelo's plan for this work . 572
Extensive restorations and embellishments in the Vatican 573
The Cappella Paolina and the Sala Regia . . . 574
Decorative work in the castle of St. Angelo . . 575
1535–46 Construction of the Farnese palace . . . 579
1546 And that of S. Marco 583
1544 Restoration of various churches 585
And of fortifications of towns in the States of the Church 586
1540–43 The new fortress of Perugia 587
Embellishment of Orvieto 588
Work at Viterbo and Frascati 589
And other works of general utility 590
Construction of the "Cava Paolina" 591
Buildings by Pier Luigi Farnese at Nepi and Caprarola 592
Work of Vignola at Castro, the Vatican, and Bologna 593
Place held by sculpture under Paul III. . . . 594
Almost all the sculptors employed are Tuscans . . 594
Renown of and homage paid to Michael Angelo . 595

A.D. PAGE

The minor arts and handicrafts 596
But few relics of these are now in Rome 597
Coins and medals of Paul III. 598
Benvenuto Cellini and Leone Leoni 599
Cesati, Marmitta, Belli, and Cherubino 600
Work executed by Perino del Vaga 601
The "Congregazione Ponteficia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon" 601
Visits of Titian to Rome in 1543 and 1545. Daniele da Volterra 603
Frescoes by Vasari at the Cancelleria 604
And by del Vaga and others. The illuminators, Raimondi and Clovio. Work by Pastorino . 608
1536 Michael Angelo begins the fresco of The Last Judgment in the Sixtine Chapel (April–May) . . 609
1541 Which is finished and solemnly uncovered on the eve of All Saints 612
Extraordinary impression made by the fresco . . 612
But it also meets with criticism 614
Invectives of Aretino 615
And censure by Lodovico Dolce and others . . 617
Decision of the Congregation of the Council of January the 21st, 1546, on pictures. This is carried out by Daniele da Volterra 618
Repeated repainting of parts of the fresco . . . 619
Composition and design of the fresco 621
Influence of Dante upon the genius of Michael Angelo 627
And his deviation from conventional usage . . 629
Michael Angelo undertakes the decoration of the Cappella Paolina 631
Subjects of the frescoes in the chapel 633
The monument to Julius II. at last terminated . . 634
The last great work of Michael Angelo: the rebuilding of St. Peter's 635
1535–44 Measures taken by the Pope to raise the necessary funds 636
1544 Discovery of the sarcophagus of Maria, wife of Honorius 638
The plan and model by Sangallo of the new building 639
Michael Angelo's criticism of this 640
1546 On the death of Sangallo, Michael Angelo is appointed 641
And Paul III. grants him unrestricted powers . . 642
Attacks on Michael Angelo by the partisans of Sangallo 643

A.D. PAGE

1549 *Motu proprio* by the Pope in support of Michael Angelo 644
Who makes the fullest use of the freedom guaranteed to him 645
And makes a model of his plan 646
The dome of St. Peter's 647
Importance of the Pope's share in the work done by Michael Angelo 648

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Pope Paul III. to Baldassare Peruzzi . .	651
II.	„ „ to Antonio da Sangallo . .	652
III.	„ „ to Francis I., King of France .	653
IV.	List of churches demolished in Rome for the Emperor's visit	654
V.	Pope Paul III. to Antonio da Sangallo . .	655
VI.	„ „ grants to the "Fabbrica" of St. Peter's the river Anio	655
VII.	Giovanni dell' Antella to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence	658
VIII.	Cardinal Aleander to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese	659
IX.	Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . .	659
X.	„ „ „ . .	660
XI.	Giovanni Ricci to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese	661
XII.	Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . .	661
XIII.	Pope Paul III. to Francis I., King of France .	662
XIV.	Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga .	662
XV.	Averrardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence	663
XVI.	Lattanzio Tolomei to Siena	663
XVII.	Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Poggio	664
XVIII.	Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . .	665
XIX.	„ „ „ . .	665
XX.	Instruction for Dionysius, Guardian of the convent of Sion in Jerusalem, as Visitor of the Maronites of Lebanon . . .	666
XXI.	Instruction for M. Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileja, as nuncio in Scotland. . .	668
XXII.	Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Ferrante Gonzaga	670
XXIII.	„ „ to Monsignor de Rossi	672

PAGE

XXIV. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara 672
XXV. „ „ „ „ 673
XXVI. „ „ „ „ 673
XXVII. „ „ „ „ 674
XXVIII. „ „ „ „ 674
XXIX. „ „ „ „ 675
XXX. Cardinal Farnese to Cardinal Morone . . 676
XXXI. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Camillo Capilupi . 677
XXXII. „ „ to Ferrante Gonzaga . 677
XXXIII. Girolamo Tiranno to Urbino 677
XXXIV. Pope Paul III. to King Ferdinand I. . . 678
XXXV. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Madruzzo . . 679
XXXVI. Pope Paul III. to Antonino Sirleto . . . 680
XXXVII. A. Cattaneo to Cardinal Madruzzo . . . 681
XXXVIII. Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany 681
XXXIX. Uberto Strozzi to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . 682
XL. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Camillo Orsini 683

CHAPTER I.

Ignatius of Loyola and the Society of Jesus.

At the very moment when the Church in Italy was assuming daily a more and more mundane character, and the corrupt elements of the Renaissance were, in the person of the Spaniard Alexander VI., degrading the Holy See, a man was born in Spain who was destined to contribute more powerfully than any other, by the force and the unequalled range of his activity, to purify the Church and to restore by means of new conquests the balance of her recent losses. This was Ignatius of Loyola.[1]

[1] The chief sources for Loyola's life and works, besides the "Spiritual Exercises" and the "Constitutions of the Society of Jesus," which will be discussed more fully in the text, are (1) his letters, *Cartas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, in six volumes, published in Madrid, 1874–1889, by Spanish Jesuits. Since 1903 there has appeared (already about thirty volumes) in the great authoritative *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, also published at Madrid under the editorship of Spanish Jesuits, a new critical edition which will furnish as many letters again: *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Ser. I., Matriti, 1903 *seqq.* (on two letters falsely ascribed to Ignatius, see Heitz in the Rev. d'Hist. Eccles., IX., 47 *seq.*, 506). (2) The "Autobiography" or "Confessions." On the solicitation of his disciples Ignatius († 1556) related between 1553 and 1555 some of his experiences to P. Luis Gonsalvez de Camara, who in the course of the narration made short notes and afterwards dictated all he had heard in full, in Spanish and Italian, to his amanuensis. These memoranda appeared in a Latin translation in the Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII. (Antwerpiae, 1731), and, as a separate work, Acta quaedam S. P. Ignatii a Ludovico

The Loyola family belonged to the lesser nobility of the beautiful Basque country. There, in the province of Guipuzcoa, hidden away among mountain solitudes to the west of the little town of Azpeitia on the road to Azcoitia, stood the cradle of the race, which differed in no respects from the other seats of Basque noblemen. The small

CONSALVO excerpta, in Paris, 1873, in the original tongue in the Monumenta Ignatiana, Ser. IV., t. 1 (Matriti, 1904). The authenticity and value of this source has recently been pointed out by JOSEPH ŠUSTA (Ignatius von Loyolas Selbstbiographie: Eine quellengeschichtliche Studie) in the Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung, XXVI. (1905), 86–106. (3) The Portuguese *Memoriale* or *Diarium* of P. Gonsalvez. This is founded on the notes which Gonsalvez took down in Rome day by day from June to October 1555 from the answers given to his questions by Ignatius, especially concerning private occurrences. In 1573 Gonsalvez put all his notes into order and added explanatory remarks; the first copy is in the already named volume of the Monumenta. (4) A more important account of Ignatius's life from 1521 to 1547, by the Spaniard Diego Laynez, one of his first nine associates and his immediate successor in the Generalship, written in Spanish in the form of a letter in 1547; published for the first time in 1904 in the same volume of the Monumenta. (5) *De Vita P. Ignatii et Societatis Jesu initiis.* The Spaniard, Juan de Polanco, who as Secretary of the Order was the founder's right-hand man from 1547 up to the death of the latter, drew up, but in the last years of his life (†1577), from the numerous letters and reports he had received and from his own recollections, a *Chronicon Societatis Jesu*, to serve as a deposit of material for the future historian, and afterwards set to work at a life of Ignatius extending to the year 1543 but practically only to 1539; both first published in the Monumenta Historica (Matriti, 1894–1898, 6 vols.); *cf.* Anal. Bolland., XXVI., 487 *seq.* (6) *Vita Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Jesu Fundatoris*, written by the Spaniard, Pedro de Ribadeneira, at the command of Francis Borgia, General of the Order, in Latin and also later in Spanish, and founded on his own observation, on the autobiography of the saint and that contained in the letter of Laynez, finally on the communications collected throughout the whole Order about 1567; first edition issued at Naples in 1572, that with

building with its thick walls is only two stories high; over the doorway can be seen in stone the armorial bearings of the house of Loyola. In this abode,[1] carefully preserved from decay by the pious regard of posterity, at the beginning of the ninetieth year of the 15th century,[2] Iñigo, who was later known as Ignatius,[3] first saw the

important additions by the author himself at Madrid in 1583. (7) De vita et moribus Ignatii Loyolae, qui Societatem Jesu fundavit, Libri III., auctore JOANNE PETRO MAFFEIO, S.J. (Romae, 1585 and often since), in Ciceronian Latin, an intelligent use being made of the autobiography and other sources (*cf.* ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*, 74). (8) Historia Societatis Jesu prima pars, auctore NICOLAO ORLANDINO, S.J. (Romae, 1615), describing the Generalship of Ignatius from Polanco's Chronicon and the letters made use of by the latter; carefully compared with the printed work of Ribadeneira and others who were intimate with the founder. Orlandino's skill is recognized by RANKE (Päpste, III., 10th ed., Leipzig, 1900, 114). (9) Della Vita e dell' Istituto di S. Ignatio, Fondatore della Compagnia di Giesù. Libri cinque del P. DANIELLO BARTOLI, S.J. (Roma, 1650 and often), written in good Italian, with careful employment of his authorities, contains much that had been previously overlooked or purposely passed over (*cf.* Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII., 598, and Analecta Bollandiana, XII. [1894], 70; XV. [1896], 450, 451). (10) The very copious *Commentarius praevius* to the acts of Ignatius, composed by the Bollandist JOANNES PINIUS, S.J., in the same volume of the Acta Sanctorum. Various other sources will be referred to as occasion arises. For GOTHEIN'S criticism (Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation, Halle, 1895), *cf.* Histor. Jahrb., XVII., 561–574, and Anal. Bolland., XV., 449–454 (see also ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*). For earlier and more modern biographies of the saint, see also HEIMBUCHER, Die Orden und Kongregationen der kathol. Kirche, III., 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1908, 10–12.

[1] It is now enclosed in a wing of the vast Colegio de Loyola, of which the lofty-domed church was built by Fontana about 1683.

[2] It is an old controversy whether the birth-year was 1491 or 1495; for the literature on the subject, see Analecta Bollandiana, XIX., 468. Recently a plea has been put in for 1492 (Šusta, 95).

[3] His baptismal saint was not St. Ignatius of Antioch, the disciple of the apostles, but a Spanish saint, the Benedictine Abbot, Iñigo

light of day. After a childhood passed in the lonely valley, he was taken while yet a lad under the protection of a friend of his family, Juan Velasquez, grand treasurer to Ferdinand the Catholic, who resided sometimes at Arevalo and sometimes at the King's court.[1] The boy's education did not pass the customary limits of that age; he learned to read and write, and after the death of Velasquez he entered military service under the Duke of Najera, viceroy of Navarre. He lived as a genuine child of the Spanish chivalry of those days, filled with the spirit of the Catholic faith, which that chivalry had defended in centuries of wars against the Moors. Always in readiness to deal a blow, rejoicing in the stress of battle, and noble of heart, he was in the rest of his conduct far from being a saint. Juan de Polanco, afterwards his companion of long years' standing, relates that in his youthful days Ignatius had been a gambler and had had amorous adventures.[2]

Then came a turning-point. Ignatius's life was to take a direction which should turn the hot head of the camp into a champion of the Church and the Holy See and the founder of a new Order.

(Enecho) of Oña. Up to 1537 he signed himself only Iñigo (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I, 99, 156, 246); from 1537 to 1543 alternately Iñigo and Ignacio; from 1543 onwards with one exception we meet only with Ignacio or Ignatius. He seems to have thought erroneously that this was synonymous with Iñigo (*cf.* ASTRAIN, I., 2, 3).

[1] FITA in Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, XVII., Madrid, 1890, 492–520.

[2] Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu historia, I., Matriti, 1894, 10; *cf.* further evidence in ASTRAIN, I., 13 *seq.* See also the Process in the Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 580–597, which does not, however, establish whether the accusation there dealt with, of serious offence committed at night with previous intent and by cunning, was justified or not It is also unknown whether a sentence was passed or not.

When the French were besieging Pampeluna in May 1521 Ignatius was determined to hold the fortress to the last extremity; nor did it yield before the valiant soldier had been severely wounded in the leg.[1] He was conveyed to his father's house, and there it was discovered that the limb had been badly set, and would have to be broken again. Ignatius bore the excruciating pain with no other sign of suffering than the hard clenching of his fists, but it was long before the limb was healed, and in order to while away the time the sick man asked for romances of chivalry. There were none such in the house, therefore he was given a Spanish *Lives of the Saints* and a translation in the same language of the great *Vita Christi* compiled by the Carthusian, Ludolph of Saxony, from the Gospels and patristic writings. Ignatius read and pondered the sacred story herein narrated. Still, fancies and thoughts of this world came back to him again. "For two, three, four hours," he relates, "he called before his mind the deeds of valour which he wished to perform in honour of a certain lady. She was not," he affirmed, "a lady of ordinary nobility, no Countess, no Duchess—she was one of still higher rank."[2] Yet there came hours of reading once more in the doings of the saints. "What," he asked himself, "if I were to do the deeds of a St. Dominic or a St. Francis?"

So his moods and plans varied. Thus he acquired this experience: mundane thoughts fascinated him, it was true, yet in the end they only left his soul parched and discontented; but when he purposed to himself to imitate the strenuous lives of the saints, he not only found comfort in such contemplations themselves, but afterwards felt satis-

[1] Autobiography, n. 1, 2 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 38).

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 6 (pp. 40, 41). ŠUSTA (p. 81) makes the not altogether inconceivable suggestion that Ignatius means here a princess *in genere*, an imaginary and ideal personage.

faction and joy. He came gradually to fix his mind on this contrast, and perceived that in the one case he was moved by an evil spirit and in the other by a good.[1]

Finally, the thoughts of religion prevailed. They took possession of his whole soul; he determined to be God's knight and not the world's. In order to strengthen this resolution he copied, as far as his strength permitted him, in ornamental letters, an extract from Ludolph's *Vita Christi* into an exercise book; even then, as Laynez[2] assures us' he had a special devotion for the mother of our Lord.

Cured at last, he broke away from his family, determined to emulate the great deeds of the saints. He made a pilgrimage to the great Catalonian shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat. There in the rugged mountain wilderness he withdrew, a prey to deep contrition, into seclusion with a Benedictine monk and during three days poured forth the penitential avowals of his past. On the night of the Annunciation he held a vigil after knightly fashion before the time-honoured miraculous picture of Our Lady in the conventual church. He wore a rough garment of penance —a cord round his loins and a pilgrim's staff in his hand; sword and dagger he hung up by the altar; his knightly apparel he bestowed on a beggar.[3]

In order to escape observation and remain in complete concealment he now bent his steps to the neighbouring small town of Manresa, where he was received into the

[1] Autobiography, n. 6–10 (pp. 40–42).

[2] Letter of P. Diego Laynez, S.J., on Ignatius, to Polanco, dat. Bologna, June 17, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 101).

[3] Autobiography, n. 16–18 (pp. 46–48). The sword was afterwards placed in the Church of Nuestra Señora de Belén in Barcelona and is still there (see CREIXELL, 145–160). Recently, on insufficient grounds, its authenticity has been disputed, see Revista Montserratina, I. (1907), 120 *seq*

hospital. In spiritual exercises he was as yet unversed; outward acts of penance seemed to him the one and only standard of holiness.[1] He led accordingly the most austere life, begged his bread, fasted all the week except on Sunday, and three times a day gave himself the discipline; every week he made his confession and received the sacrament of the altar; daily he attended Mass and vespers; every night he rose from his bed to pray and daily passed seven hours on his knees in prayer;[2] the principal scene of his prayers and penitential exercises was a cave near the city.[3] No wonder that by the end of the year Ignatius was seriously ill. Pious women in the higher ranks of life tended him in their homes, but he determined to change his dwelling, and in clothing and living to approximate more nearly to the customary ways of men.[4]

For the first four months he felt an inward joy that was almost without a cloud, but then came bitterest anguish and conflicts of the soul. Once he resolved neither to eat nor drink again until he had found peace. He persevered for a whole week, and only the command of his confessor availed to make him take some nourishment at last. His director also calmed him when he wished again and again to confess sins already laid bare. Peace returned once more, and his heart rejoiced in God.[5]

Great illumination ensued. God treated him, as Ignatius himself expressed it, "exactly as a schoolmaster treats a

[1] Letter of Laynez (see *supra*, p. 6, n. 2).

[2] Autobiography, n. 19–23 (pp. 48–51); letter of Laynez, 102; ASTRAIN, 34.

[3] Cueva Santa, above which afterwards the Church of St. Ignatius was built (*cf.* PINIUS, Comment. praev., n. 49–53; Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII.; ASTRAIN, 33–34).

[4] Autobiography, n. 32–34 (pp. 55, 56).

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 20–25 (pp. 49–52); letter of Laynez, 103.

child whom he is teaching."[1] He bestowed upon him the gift of contemplative prayer. Often, so he confidently stated at a later time, "he thought to himself that even if no Holy Scriptures had been given us to teach us the truths of faith he would nevertheless have determined to give up life itself for them, solely on account of what he had seen with the soul."[2] To his bosom friend Laynez he said, in speaking of the days at Manresa, that once in the neighbourhood of the city he had learned more in the course of an hour than all the sages of the world could have taught him.[3] It was by the river Cardoner; Ignatius had sat down on the brink and was gazing into the stream;[4] many of the things then made known to him swept across his vision at a later day when he came to found his Order.[5] In this sense it may be said that Manresa was the birthplace of the Society of Jesus. But that Ignatius then knew clearly and certainly that he was to be the founder of such an Order is a subsequent tradition which does not admit of proof. As the most recent sources of information made public show, Ignatius and those in his confidence spoke in a very different fashion.[6]

While still at Manresa Ignatius led many to a change

[1] Autobiography, n. 27 (p. 53).

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 28–31 (pp. 53–55); letter of Laynez, 103–104.

[3] Memoranda of P. Ribadeneira, *De Actis Patris Nostri Ignatii*, apparently previous to the first appearance of his Life of Ignatius and therefore prior to 1572 (see *supra*, p. 2, note; first published in the Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 337–393; see *ibid.*, n. 1).

[4] Autobiography, n. 30, 31 (pp. 54, 55); BARTOLI (see *supra*, p. 3, note), I., 1, n. 14.

[5] So asserts P. Jeronimo Nadal, Loyola's right hand in Rome (Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal, IV., Matriti, 1905, 652). *Cf.* also P. Luis Gonsalvez in his Memoriale (see *supra*, p. 2, note), n. 137 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., p. 220).

[6] See *infra*, p. 31 *seq.*

of life by giving them "spiritual exercises."[1] This was the origin of the little book written simply and intelligibly, with the utmost brevity and compression of style, which belongs to the most remarkable books of mankind—the Book of the Exercises,—not that it was written down at one stroke. Ignatius himself replied to the question of Gonsalvez: "The Pilgrim—so was Ignatius called in his self-confessions—observed in his soul now this, now that, and found it profitable; then, thought he, this might also be useful to others, and so wrote it down." Ignatius particularly gave it to be understood that the directions as to the choice of a vocation and as to the formation of resolutions in weighty matters belonged to the time of his serious illness at Loyola.[2] The rules concerning thinking in conformity with the mind of the Church (*ad sentiendum vere cum ecclesia*) were added years afterwards in France or Italy. But already in 1547 Laynez had declared that Ignatius had made the Exercises his first consideration from the early days in Manresa.[3] Everything points to the probability that there also he wrote out their first draft.[4]

The Book of the Exercises calls for a closer examination. The contents are divided into four "weeks." Each week can be curtailed or lengthened at need. The indispensable foundation of the whole work is formed by the aim and end of man. "Man was created that he might praise God our Lord, show Him reverence, and serve Him, and by so

[1] POLANCUS, Vita, c. 3 (p. 25).

[2] Autobiography, n. 99 (L. 97).

[3] Letter, 103.

[4] RIBADENEIRA, Vita, I., 7, c. 8 (*cf. supra*, p. 2, note), in the edition Vita Ignatii Loiolae . . . a Petro Ribadeneira . . . conscripta, Ingolstadii 1590, 30; ASTRAIN, 149; H. WATRIGANT, S.J., La Genese des Exercises de St. Ignace de Loyola. Extrait des Études. Reproduction avec pièces et notes complémentaires, Amiens, 1897, 25–27.

doing save his soul. All other creatures upon earth were created for the sake of man and to help him to reach his goal. It therefore follows that man must use these creatures so far as they help him to this goal, and abstain from them so far as they hinder him from attaining it." If he does not thus act, he sins. The meditations of the first week awaken a horror of sin and a dread of its consequences. The soul cleanses herself by confession; she breaks her fetters, reaches the true freedom of the children of God, and presses on with all her strength to her Creator. For no man can there be any other way than the imitation of Christ, which for Ignatius was his life's ideal, one which he pursued with the sincerity and strength of will peculiar to him.

In the first meditation of the second week Christ appears as the God-sent heavenly King; He must rule over all hearts, and therefore extend His sway over the whole world; He calls upon all to enlist in His army, and places Himself at the head of His loyal troops. All true souls cleave to Him closely. Following the steps of the Evangelists, the meditations now accompany the Saviour through all the passages of his life, with frequent prayers to the Heavenly Father that grace may be given to know and to love the Redeemer more, and to be more faithful to His example.[1] Here the right moment has arrived to make a choice of vocation. The Exercises offer a wise and searching introduction to the treatment of this momentous question; at the same time they serve as the pole-star for any important decision in life, whether such be made in the Exercises or in the world without. Now, in the Exercises, all, whom a choice of vocation no longer concerns, must in their several stations "reform themselves."

[1] Second week, first day, first and second meditation; third prelude, fifth meditation.

Ignatius makes it perfectly clear that this is a question not merely for priests and religious, but those also whom God calls to wedlock, to power, and to riches.

Every man in his calling and position must, by living faith and practical love, participate in the work of Christ's kingdom. That is the ultimate goal of the Exercises. In order to attain to it the meditation on the two standards (*duæ vexillæ*), that of Lucifer and that of Christ, shows us with complete perspicuity the contrast between the ruinous principles of the evil spirit and the principles of Christian perfection as taught by Christ. Two other meditations keep the same aim in view, that of calling forth strong and effectual resolutions; one deals with the "three classes of men," the other with the three grades or "modes" of humility. The third week, devoted to the sufferings of our Lord, confirms the penitent in his renunciation of evil and in his wholesome resolves. The fourth is a rapturous meditation on the risen and glorified Son of God.[1]

The meditations are interspersed with various counsels and rules of life which, like the directions for making a choice, are serviceable not merely for periods of contemplation but for the whole course of life: such for instance are the rules for the "discernment of spirits"; for the treatment of scruples; for the right expenditure of income; for moderation in food, drink, and sleep; for the practice of meditation, examination of conscience, and other forms of prayer; for the duty of mental obedience to the Church. These last especially are worth their weight in gold.[2] At their head stands the primary maxim: "We must be ready

[1] *Cf.* M. MESCHLER, S.J., Die Aszese des hl. Ignatius: Stimmen aus Maria Laach, LXXV. (1908), 269–280, 387–399.

[2] *Cf.* Les Règles du pur Catholicisme selon St. Ignace de Loyola per Le P. MAURICE MESCHLER, S.J.: Collection de la Bibliothèque des Exercices de St. Ignace, Enghien, 1907, n. 7.

to renounce from our heart our private judgment, to obey in all things the bride of Christ, and this bride is that Holy Mother the Church." We must, he says further, exhort to frequent confession, communion, and attendance at Mass, not forgetting also prayer in choir, religious vows, the veneration of relics, pilgrimages, indulgences, rules of fasting and abstinence, exercises of penance; and these not only in their inward but also in their external practice. We must also praise the building and adornment of churches and the veneration shown to sacred images and pictures. Above all ought we to praise the precepts of the Church, always defending her teaching and never opposing it. We should always be more ready to praise than to blame the statutes and conduct of those set over us as superiors, even if the persons themselves should not always be praiseworthy, "since to attack them in sermons or in intercourse with the common people would be more likely to give rise to murmurings and scandals than to edification." In speaking of the predestination of men, of faith, and of grace such expressions should be avoided as are likely to cool the zeal of the faithful for good works.[1] The holy fathers should be read diligently, yet without depreciation of the scholastic teachers.[2] With great emphasis Ignatius insists on the duty of the unconditional surrender of the understanding to the judgment of the Church led by the Holy Spirit.[3] The Spiritual Exercises close in the contemplation of the divine love which finds expression in a striking prayer of absolute self-surrender to God.

[1] Rule, 14–17.

[2] Rule, 11. C. MIRBT (Ignatius von Loyola, Histor. Zeitschr., LXXX., 68) thinks notwithstanding that it cannot be proved that Ignatius "felt driven to test the substance of his belief by Scripture and Church doctrine."

[3] Rule, 13.

One who has no knowledge of a spiritual world, to whom the power of prayer is a negligible quantity, and in whose scheme of life there is no room for the inroads of grace, can neither fully grasp the meaning of this book nor explain its effects. Besides this the Exercises were intended to be gone through and not merely read. Their object has been described as the attainment of that tranquillity of soul which consists in the annihilation of the personal will, the surrender of volition. On the other hand, a non-Catholic scholar has recently pointed out with truth that, as a matter of experience, those who have gone through the Exercises and are to this day going through them, have received moral forces which previously they had not possessed. The effect of the Exercises is not to weaken but to intensify and strengthen personality. They are the masterpiece of "a sapient educational system."[1]

Ignatius himself called his book "Spiritual exercises whereby a man may be enabled to conquer himself and so order his life that he is never under the domination of any inordinate affection whatever."[2] Thus prayer is not to

[1] Die Geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola: Eine psychologische Studie, von Prof. Dr. KARL HOLL, Tübingen, 1905, I., 2, 35. Holl is in conflict with widespread opinions which GOTHEIN (p. 235 *seq.*) also shares. The strong opponent of the Jesuits, JOH. HUBER (Der Jesuitenorden, Berlin, 1873, 25), admits on the whole that Ignatius in the Exercises shows "a great knowledge of the human heart" and "proves himself to have deep insight as a teacher of Christian ascetics."

[2] "Exercicios espirituales para vencer á sí mismo, y ordenar su vida, sin determinarse por afeccion alguna que desordenada sea." Title of *Anotaciones* at the beginning of the book (Exercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola, Barcelona, 1892, 26). The Exercises were written in Spanish, yet he himself often made use of a Latin translation. The book, especially in the Latin rendering, has often been printed since 1548, but mostly for members of the Order only. There is a list of editions in C. SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie

him an end in itself. He will not merely teach men prayer as such, he will rather offer them a selection of reflections, readings, oral prayers, examinations of conscience, exercises, penance, which in a determined sequence and combination shall lead up to the point when, as the book itself says, "a man may set himself free from all inordinate affections and, having done so, seek for and find the will of God in conformity with which to rule his life and secure the salvation of his soul."[1] Through abundant prayer and works of spiritual and corporal penance he seeks to receive the grace of heaven; with this grace the whole man, under the guidance of a wise director,[2] enters into co-operation. Memory, supported by the power of imagination, places before the soul[3] the doctrines and facts of revelation, especially those contained in Holy Scripture; the internal and the external correspond; for the daily work of life are substituted loneliness and silence; yet all this is only a means to an end. The central activities are those of the understanding and the will; the truths of

de Jésus, nouv. éd., Bibliographie, V., Bruxelles-Paris, 1894, 59–74; IX., 1900, 608, 609. *Cf.* also HEIMBUCHER, III., 2nd ed., 28, n. 2. A new critical edition will appear in the Monumenta Ignatiana (*cf.* Ser. I., I., 7, 8). The original autograph copy of the Exercises has not been preserved; on the other hand, the Spanish copy, written in an unknown hand and containing some thirty alterations in Ignatius's own writing, still exists. A photographic reproduction by DANESI in Rome, 1908.

[1] Anotaciones, n. 1 (*loc. cit.*, 9, 10).

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 2, 6, 7, 17, and so forth. The necessity of such direction is strongly insisted on in the *Directorium*—an introduction or key to the Spiritual Exercises which was taken in hand by order of a General Congregation of the Society in 1558 and after much consultation was drawn up in its final form in 1599 by the General, Claudius Aquaviva (Directorium Exercitiorium spiritualium, c. 2, n. 6, 7: Institutum Societatis Jesu, III., Flor., 1893, 510).

[3] Exercises. Second week, second meditation, first point.

faith are to be weighed calmly and then applied to the action or inaction of the individual life.

Reasonable reflection, independent calculation, magnanimous resolves going into all the details of life, that it is which Ignatius requires. What have I done for Christ? What am I doing for Him? What do I intend to do for Him?[1] Fear and shame, admiration and gratitude, trust and a generous and enthusiastic love must be called forth and the whole character possessed by such sentiments. The master of the Exercises must take care that this possession be not distorted into a morbid excitement, that zeal be not too precipitate. He must give warning against rash and inconsiderate vows,[2] must prevent injury to health from austerities of penance and, however holy the religious life may be, must not recommend it while the Exercises are in progress. Now is the time "when the Creator and the creature, the creature and the Creator, must deal together alone without the mediation of man."[3]

In the preface which was prefixed in 1548[4] to the first impression of the Exercises, the author says that he had drawn his material not so much from books as from his own inner experiences and the knowledge acquired in directing the souls of others. The literary sources of the Spiritual Exercises have been industriously explored. It

[1] Anotaciones, n. 2 and 5. First week, first meditation, first point and colloquy. Directorium, c. 8, n. 1; c. 9, n. 4, 5, 9–11; c. 34, n. 1–3.

[2] GOTHEIN (p. 239) asserts incorrectly that Ignatius declares all vows taken during the Exercises to be invalid. Such a declaration, moreover, would have been powerless as being contrary to the laws of natural and Christian morality

[3] Anotaciones, n. 14, 15, 18. First Week, tenth addition.

[4] Exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ignatii de Loyola, Romae, 1870, xvi-xvii; *cf.* also Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 511. See also HETTINGER'S fine work, Die Idee der geistl. Übungen nach dem Plane der hl. Ignatius, 2nd ed., Regensburg, 1908; see also HEIMBUCHER, 28-32.

is probable that while at Montserrat, Ignatius had become acquainted with the *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual* which Garcia de Cisneros, nephew of Cardinal Ximenes and first Abbot of the reformed Benedictine convent of Montserrat, had composed for the use of his community and had had printed there in 1500.[1] From him he may have borrowed the title of his book and even some of its details.[2] Cisneros himself, to all appearance, was largely indebted to the writings of two Netherlanders, "Brothers of the Common Life," Gerhard Zerbolt of Zutphen and Jan Mombaers, who in their turn again had been influenced by St. Bonaventure and others. Ignatius has taken some things from the *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis and some from Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ.* The meditation on the Two Standards is found in part in a mediæval sermon attributed to St. Bernard,[3] while the teaching on the three degrees of humility has a striking affinity with remarks of Savonarola on this subject.[4]

But these are only single stones. The building, taken as a whole, is a compact and uniform work of art constructed on new and original lines.[5] In particular, none of the writers prior to Ignatius have given such sound and thorough instruction on that form of prayer which, in a restricted sense, we speak of as meditation. There is an entire absence of all emotionalism, he addresses himself to the reason and to faith and imparts his teaching in a manner fitted for the school of life.

[1] WATRIGANT, 28–31; ASTRAIN, 152–160.

[2] *Cf.* J. M. BESSE in Rev. d. Questions Historiques, LXI. (1897), 22–51.

[3] MIGNE, Patr. lat., clxxxiii, 761. For another example from the Middle Ages, see MICHAEL, Gesch. des deutschen Volkes, IV., 229.

[4] WATRIGANT, 102; *cf. ibid.*, 50–59, 77.

[5] HOLL even recognizes this (pp. 4, 5).

One remarkable phenomenon always remains. Here was a soldier, who had learned no more than to read and write and had only just said farewell to a life adrift among the temptations of the world, who yet was able to compose a spiritual work remarkable for inwardness, lucidity, depth, and strength. By Ignatius himself and his first disciples this was regarded as a special instance of the overruling power of the Spirit of God.[1] Paul III. handed the book over for examination to three theologians, who had full permission to amend and to improve, and without altering a single word they gave their *approbatio*.[2]

At the request of Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Paul III., on 31st July 1548, issued a brief declaring the Exercises to be full of piety and holiness; they had contributed much to the greatest successes achieved by Ignatius and his institution; he (the Pope) gave his unreserved approval, and urged upon the faithful that they should use the work to their own advantage.[3]

Ignatius wished that by means of the Exercises the spirit of his Order might be stamped upon the novices. "This is our armoury," he used to say; he did not wish to see any other method of prayer observed in the Society.[4] The Exercises were, moreover, the means of bringing to him, in 1543, his first German adherent. Peter Canisius, then a young man of twenty-two years of age, wrote about them from Mayence to a friend: "They taught me to pray in spirit and in truth; I felt new forces, as it were, within

[1] Autobiography, n. 27 (pp. 52, 53); letter of J. Polanco of Dec. 8, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 526).

[2] Preface to edition of 1548, p. xvii (see *supra*, p. 15, n. 4). The testimonials of the three censors are often printed at the beginning of the Exercises (*cf. ibid.*, xvi).

[3] *Ibid.*, xii–xv.

[4] BARTOLI, I., 1, n. 20 (*supra*, p. 3. note).

me; they poured themselves from my soul over my body; I was completely transformed into a new man."[1]

The Society of Jesus in all ages has seen in the Exercises, and particularly in the meditation on the "Two Standards," the pattern of its existence.[2]

Their influence soon spread beyond the limits of the Order and was felt by the great spiritual teachers and saints of the age: Louis of Granada, John of Avila, Ludovicus Blosius of the Order of St. Benedict.[3] Gerhard Kalckbrenner, Prior of the Carthusians of Cologne, wrote on the 31st of May 1543 to one of his brethren, "Such a treasure would be worth seeking for even if one had to go to the Indies."[4] The scholastic theologian Joannes Cochlæus rejoiced that "now, once more, a teacher had at last arisen who could speak to the heart."[5] Dietrich van Heeze, private secretary and confessor to Adrian VI., affirmed in 1543 that "he had gained so much from the Exercises that he would not give them away were he offered the whole world in exchange."[6] St. Francis of Sales also recommended the Exercises,[7] and St. Charles Borromeo introduced them among the clergy of the province of Milan.[8]

[1] Canisii Epistulae, ed. BRAUNSBERGER, I., 77.

[2] ORLANDINUS, Historiae Societatis Jesu, P., I., 1, 10, n. 66 (*cf. supra*, p. 3, note); BARTOLI, I., 2, n. 36; PINIUS, Comm. praev., n. 344–346; CHISTOPH. GENELLI, S.J., Das Leben des hl. Ignatius von Loyola, Innsbruck, 1848, 123, 124; J. WIESER, S.J., in the Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol., VIII., 85, 87.

[3] Canisii Epistulae, I., 104; BARTOLI, I., 1, n. 18.

[4] Cartas y otros escritos, del B. P. Pedro Fabro, I., Bilbao, 1894 421, 422.

[5] "Magistri circa affectus" (*ibid.*, 335, 336).

[6] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 55.

[7] Traité de l'amour de Dieu, I., 12, ch. 8 (Œuvres, V., Annecy, 1894, 334).

[8] Concilium provinciale, IV., p. 23 (Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis, Mediolani, 1599, 143, 171).

All Orders have adopted the custom of going through the Exercises at stated periods. "The little volume of Exercises of Loyola," says a modern historian, "has exercised on his own Order and the Catholic priesthood generally an influence of a powerfully pronounced character."[1] He might have added that this transforming and sanctifying influence has also been felt, and will continue to be felt, by laymen in the most varied conditions of life.[2]

Ignatius remained about a year at Manresa. Then the craving for occupation drove him, the man of action, again into the world. He set out for Palestine, that region of the world which, in the Middle Ages, had been the magnet of so many crusaders. Wearing the garb of the poorest pilgrim, he sailed from Barcelona to Gaeta and from there made the journey to Rome; he set foot, for the first time, in the Eternal City on Palm Sunday, the 29th of March 1523, when he stayed for fourteen days and received the blessing of Pope Adrian VI. From Rome he proceeded, begging his way, to Venice, and there took ship to the Holy Land.

In Jerusalem heavenly consolations filled his soul; he would, there and then, have given himself up to missionary work among the Mohammedans, but the Franciscan Provincial, appealing to the Papal decrees, ordered him, under ecclesiastical censure, to return to his native country. The pilgrim bowed to the will of God and returned to Barcelona, as he had come, a beggar.[3]

What was he now to do? He thought of entering a religious house, but his decided preference was for a life

[1] M. RITTER, Ignatius von Loyola, Histor. Zeitschr., XXXIV., 317.

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV., 16th ed., 405.

[3] Autobiography, n. 29, 40, 45–47 (pp. 54, 60–65); RIBADENEIRA, Vita, l. 1, c. 10. For fresh details about the journey, see CREIXELL (p. 35 *seqq.*), quoted *infra*, p. 20, n. 2.

dedicated, in freedom, to God's glory. But one thing before all else was clear to him—the need of a well-grounded education.[1] Thus at the age of thirty he took his place for two years on the benches of a boys' school at Barcelona and learned Latin amongst the children. Two pious women, Isabel Roser and Iñes Pascual, supplied him with food.[2] For higher studies he went to the universities of Alcalà and Salamanca. In all the three towns he gave the spiritual exercises and devoted himself to other works of fraternal charity. The followers who attached themselves to him wore all alike coarse brownish clothing and were thus nicknamed by the people the "Ensayalados."[3]

Many pious souls, especially women, came to Ignatius for spiritual instruction and comfort. His studies suffered in consequence, and he became inevitably the subject of remark. Ignatius incurred the suspicion of being an emissary of the fanatical "Alumbrados," who, under the pretext of being the recipients of signal gifts from God, were spreading distinctive errors throughout Spain, and he was put in prison. In Alcalà his detention lasted forty-two days, in Salamanca twenty-two; he refused to employ legal aid, and in both towns he was adjudged innocent by the ecclesiastical authorities. Ignatius afterwards was able to assure King John III. of Portugal that he had never had intercourse with the Alumbrados or known any of them.[4]

[1] Autobiography, n. 54 (p. 68); POLANCUS, Vita, c. 5 (p. 31).

[2] For Ignatius's residence and charitable work in Barcelona before and after the pilgrimage to Jeusalem, see J. CREIXELL, S. Ignacio in Barcelona, 38 *seq.*, 91 *seq.* According to CREIXELL (p. 46, n. 3) the name ought to be written "Roses"; she herself signed "Roser" (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 338, 341 *seq.*).

[3] Autobiography, n. 56–61 (pp. 69–73); POLANCUS, *loc. cit.*; records of the trial at Alcalà (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 608).

[4] Autobiography, n. 57–62, 69, 70 (pp. 70–74, 78, 79); POLANCUS, c. 5 (p. 34 *seq.*); Ignatius to John III., dat. Rome, March 15, 1545 (Mon.

He was now, however, drawn towards that institution, which still maintained the reputation, centuries old, of being the centre of European learning—the Sorbonne in Paris. Ignatius reached the French capital on the 2nd of February 1528. Seven years were now spent in methodical study; after three and a half years of philosophical training he took his master's degree;[1] then succeeded the course of theology. In order to collect alms for his support he appeared repeatedly during the vacations in Bruges and Antwerp, and once visited London.[2]

In Paris also Ignatius came under the suspicion of heresy; but the inquisitors, Matthæus Ori and Thomas Laurentius, both of the Dominican Order, established his innocence. Laurentius drew up for him and his associates a highly honourable testimonial; he was so much pleased with the Book of Exercises that he asked to be furnished with a copy.[3]

The followers Ignatius had gathered round him in Spain had left him again; in their place he found at the Sorbonne a company of friends from whom he was never to be separated. The first was Pierre le Fèvre, commonly called Peter Faber, a Savoyard of the simplest piety and keenest intelligence, who was among those who shared board and lodging with him at the College of St. Barbe.[4]

Ignat., Ser. I., I., 297); records of trial at Alcalà (Ser. IV., I., 598–603). *Cf.* F. FITA in Boletin de la r. Acad. de la Hist, XXXIII. (1898), 429, 457 *seq.*

[1] POLANCUS, c. 6 (p. 41); RIBADENEIRA, l. 2, c. 1.

[2] Autobiography, n. 73, 76 (pp. 80–82); POLANCUS, c. 6 (p. 41), ASTRAIN, 59.

[3] Autobiography, n. 81, 86 (pp. 85, 88). The evidence in Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII., n. 185.

[4] Autobiography, n. 82 (p. 85); Memoriale B. P. Fabri, nunc primum in lucem editum a P. MARCELLO BOUIX, S.J., Lutet. Paris, 1873 (large edition), 7, 8.

In the same company was a young nobleman of Navarre, endowed with brilliant gifts and filled with far-reaching plans: his name was Francis Xavier. Ignatius won the affection of the young professor and withdrew him from associates who at heart had become estranged from the teaching of the Church. Francis finally went through the Exercises and placed himself unreservedly in the hands of his friend.[1] Through the Exercises the Spaniards Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmeron came to the same determination; they were followed by Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese; by Nicolas Bobadilla, a Spaniard; by the Savoyard, Claude Le Jay; and the Frenchmen, Pascal Broët and Jean Codure. They almost all had taken the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.[2]

On the Feast of the Assumption, the 15th of August 1534, an important step was taken which has often been described as the laying of the foundation stone of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius and six of his first associates—Le Jay, Broët, and Codure had not yet joined the band—passed beyond the city to Montmartre, on the declivity of which lay the sequestered chapel of St. Denis belonging to the Benedictine nuns.[3] Peter Faber, the only priest among them, celebrated Mass, and during the Holy Sacrifice each one vowed on the Blessed Sacrament to observe the rules of poverty and strict chastity and to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there to work for the salvation of souls; yet they determined, as long as their studies lasted, to retain possession of their means. For the sake of their pilgrim's

[1] Autobiography, n. 82 (p. 85); POLANCUS, c. 7 (p. 48); Monumenta Xaveriana, I., Matriti, 1899–1900, 204.

[2] POLANCUS, Vita, c. 7 (p. 49 *seq.*).

[3] See H. JOLY, St. Ignace de Loyola, Paris, 1899, 116, n.; CH. CLAIR, S.J., La Vie de St. Ignace de Loyola, Paris, 1891, 162–175. *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 476 *seq.*

journey they resolved to go to Venice and await during the course of a year an opportunity of securing a passage; if none offered, they vowed to throw themselves at the Pope's feet and place their services at his disposal.[1] The next two years saw the same solemnity repeated and, at least in the year 1536, three new members were among the participants.[2]

In the meantime Ignatius had been obliged, on account of impaired health, to revisit his home; from there he went to Venice. Among those whom he introduced to the Spiritual Exercises were Pietro Contarini and Gasparo de Doctis, the auditor of the Papal nuncio Girolamo Verallo. Even here Ignatius was not beyond reach of calumny, and things went so far that judicial proceedings were opened against him; the sentence, however, was in his favour, and de Doctis lavished praise on his teaching and his character.[3]

Ignatius was the first of the ten comrades to enter Venice. Francis Xavier and the remaining eight wandered on foot from Paris in the winter of 1536, leathern knapsacks on their backs containing the Bible, the Breviary, and their college note-books, the rosary round their necks, towards the city of the lagoons.[4] There they stayed two months

[1] Autobiography, n. 85 (pp. 87, 88); Memoriale P. Fabri, 12; P. Simonis Rodericii Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Jesu (account of the origin and progress of the Society of Jesus, compiled at Lisbon in 1577 by Simon Rodriguez at the command of the General, Everard Mercurian) in the Epistulae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Jaii, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii, Matriti, 1903, 457–459.

[2] Memoriale P. Fabri, 13; RODERICIUS, Commentarium, 459.

[3] Autobiography, n. 92, 93 (p. 92). The text in Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII., n. 255–258. P. Contarini was not the Cardinal's nephew (*cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 444, n.).

[4] RODERICIUS, 462–474; letter of Laynez, 113–114; Memoriale Fabri, 13.

and a half; they worked in the hospitals, ministering to the souls and bodies of the sick; then they started for Rome to obtain the blessing of the Pope on their coming pilgrimage.[1]

Only Ignatius was left behind. He feared two men in Rome: Cardinal Carafa, with whom he had had shortly before serious differences of opinion in Venice, and Pedro Ortiz, the Imperial plenipotentiary at the court of Rome, to whom, as a teacher in the University of Paris, he formerly had been obnoxious.[2] But it was no other than Ortiz who gave his friends a warm recommendation to the Pope. Paul III. ordered the Parisian theologians to carry on a debate with several Roman doctors while he was eating his dinner. When he had finished his meal he called the former to him and, with outstretched arms, said he was delighted to see so great learning combined with so great modesty. He gave them willingly his permission to go to Jerusalem, sent unsolicited on two occasions money for the journey, but remarked that he did not believe that they would ever reach that city.[3] Cardinal Carafa also showed great signs of favour.[4]

The pilgrims now returned to Venice. There, in virtue of special permission from the Pope, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, and five others were ordained priests.[5]

A ship had now to be waited for. The ten dispersed themselves over various towns of the Republic during the time of suspense, and Verallo gave them authority to preach

[1] Letter of Laynez, 115, 116.

[2] POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 56); Ignatius to Carafa, Venice, 1536 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 114–118); Autobiography, n. 93 (p. 93). The opposition between Carafa and Ignatius has not yet been fully cleared up (see Stimmen aus Maria Laach, XLIX., 533).

[3] RODERICIUS, 486, 487.

[4] Autobiography, n. 96 (p. 94).

[5] RODERICIUS, 487, 488; letter of Laynez, 117.

and hear confessions.[1] But the experience of previous years was now repeated; owing to the war between Venice and the Turks the whole year went by without a single ship setting sail for Palestine;[2] they were thus free from their vow of pilgrimage and had to see in Rome the Jerusalem of their quest. First of all they resolved, however, to visit the Italian universities, "in order to see," as Laynez expressed it, "whether God was calling the one or the other student to their manner of life."[3] But here a doubt arose. In Paris the companions of Ignatius had come to be called "Iñigista."[4] They now asked themselves: "When questioned as to what congregation we belong to, what answer can we give?" They agreed to say that they belonged to the Society of Jesus.[5] The love of Jesus had united them; Jesus was their leader, and His glory the only thing they strove for.[6] True servants of Christ two of them were also recognized to be by Vittoria Colonna in Ferrara, the city which had fallen to their lot. This great woman supported them—they were Le Jay and Rodriguez,—consulted them in cases of conscience, and called them to the attention of Duke

[1] Documents in Acta Sanctorum, *loc. cit.*, n. 252–254.

[2] Letter of Laynez, 116.

[3] *Ibid.*, 118; *cf.* RODERICIUS, 491; POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 62).

[4] Epistolae P. H. Nadal, I., 2.

[5] The name "Jesuit" is older than the foundation of the Society. In the course of the 15th century it was used sometimes of a pious Christian, sometimes of a Mendicant brother. It seems to have been given to members of the Society first in the Netherlands in 1544, and certainly as a term of odium. The name was for a long time unpleasing to the Society, but they gradually got reconciled to it and finally made use of it themselves (N. PAULUS in the Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol., XXVII., 174, 175; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 378–380, and BRAUNSBERGER, B. P. Canisii Epistulae, I., 121, 134, 135).

[6] POLANCUS, Vita, c. 9 (pp. 72–74); Bartoli, I., 2, n. 36.

Ercole II., who heard them preach and had recourse to Le Jay as confessor.[1]

Ignatius himself, with Faber and Laynez, went on foot to Rome, to prepare the way for the others. At their last halting-place, La Storta, where Ignatius was at prayer in the little church, he had a deep spiritual experience. He believed that he had a vision of Christ, and heard Him say, "I will be gracious to you." Ignatius told his companions, and observed, "I know not what awaits us at Rome; perhaps crucifixion; but one thing I know certainly, Christ will be gracious to us."[2] This vision also heartened him strongly to inscribe the name of Jesus on his banner and on that of his companions.[3]

Their reception by the Curia was on the whole a chilling one. Ignatius said that he felt that the windows were shut;[4] yet the Pope accepted willingly the services of the new association. Faber and Laynez were to lecture on theology at the Sapienza, while Ignatius endeavoured to propagate his Spiritual Exercises. The Imperial ambassador, Pedro Ortiz, went with him for forty days to Monte Cassino; when he had gone through the Exercises he appeared to himself to be a different man: he had, in his own words, in those forty days learned a philosophy of which he had never dreamed in the long years of his activity as a teacher in Paris.[5] Cardinal Contarini also

[1] RODERICIUS, 496; letter of Laynez, 118; POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 63); BARTOLI, I., 2, c. 38; TACCHI VENTURI, V. Colonna, 152 *seqq.*

[2] POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 63 *seq.*); RIBADENEIRA, De actis S. Ignatii, n. 83. *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 413 *seqq.*

[3] POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 64); RIBADENEIRA, *loc. cit.*; J. P. MAFFEIUS, S.J., De Vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae (*supra*, p. 3, note), l. 2, c. 5 (in the edition Ignatii Loiolae vita, postremo recognita, Antverpiae, 1605, 72); ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 29–31, 62. *Cf.* also TACCHI VENTURI. I., 587.

[4] Autobiography, n. 97 (p. 95).

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 98 (p. 95); POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 64); BARTOLI, I., 1, n. 18.

underwent the same under the guidance of Ignatius, and was so enchanted that he copied the Book of Exercises with his own hand; he thanked God that He had at last sent the man on earth for whom he had been longing. Ortiz and Contarini became great friends and patrons of the new Society.[1]

Ignatius and his followers first found shelter in a villa on the slope of the Pincian Hill near Trinità dei Monti; Quirino Garzoni, a Roman nobleman, had handed it over to them for the sake of Christ. They begged alms for their support, but the house was too remote; they therefore moved at Easter 1538 into the inner city to a spot which was no better situated, and afterwards in the same year hired from Antonino Frangipani a roomy building in the neighbourhood of the Capitol near Torre del Melangelo which is standing to this day.[2]

In May 1538 the ten members of the Society were all assembled in Rome. They found, wrote Ignatius to Spain,[3] a soil bearing few good fruits and many evil. The Cardinal-Legate, Vincenzo Carafa, gave them full powers to preach and dispense the Sacraments.[4] They began to preach and give instruction in Christian doctrine in different churches and in public places. The Romans opened wide their eyes when they saw men mount the pulpit who did not wear monastic dress; this was so unprecedented that many said, "We thought that no one

[1] Cartas del B. P. Fabro, 6; POLANCUS, *loc. cit.*; MAFFEIUS, l. 2, c. 6, 12; ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 34; BARTOLI, l. i, n. 18.

[2] Now the Palazzo Delfini in the Via Delfini, No. 16; RODERICIUS, 499; POLANCUS, c. 8; TACCHI VENTURI, Le case abitate in Roma da S. Ignazio di Loiola, Roma, 1899, 9, 13–18.

[3] To Isabel Roser, dat. Rome, 1538, Dec. 19 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 138).

[4] Memoriale Fabri, 14, 15. Text of the document in Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII., n. 295–298.

but monks had a right to preach."[1] Another innovation also was preaching after Easter; it was not customary in Rome to have sermons except during Advent and Lent.[2] Ignatius preached in Spanish in S. Maria di Monserrato.[3] Many now began to go to confession and to communicate frequently. This practice, Rodriguez relates, had almost become obsolete in many places in Italy; if a man went every eight days to the Lord's table, he became the town's talk; he was spoken of in letters to friends at a distance as a strange novelty.[4]

The "reformed priests," as Ignatius and those with him were called, continued to gain the confidence of the people. They were soon able to say, "If our number were quadrupled we should not be able to satisfy all wishes."[5] Those were auspicious beginnings; but the storm was soon to break which threatened to snap the tender plant.

Paul III. in March 1538 went to Nice to restore peace between Charles V. and Francis I.;[6] the Augustinian, Agostino Piemontese, now thought that the moment had come to disseminate in Rome the Lutheran doctrine which

[1] RODERICIUS, 499.

[2] Ignatius to Isabel Roser, dat. Rome, 1538, Dec. 19 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 139).

[3] POLANCUS, c. 8 (p. 64).

[4] RODERICIUS, 477. Ignatius, on the contrary, in the Exercises notes the practice of weekly communion as a sign of genuine Catholic feeling (Regulae ad sentiendum vere cum ecclesia, n. 2). He goes further and recommends daily communion as circumstances require (see his letter to the Sister, Teresa Rejadella, of Nov. 15, 1543, in Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 275 *seq.*). *Cf.* also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 230 *seqq.*

[5] Roman memorial of the first companions, 1539, first published in the Constitutiones Societatis Jesu latinae et hispanieae cum earum declarationibus, Matriti, 1892, 298.

[6] See Vol. XI. of this work, pp. 279 *seqq.*

he cherished at heart. He preached it from the pulpit, yet with caution, but Loyola and his helpmates saw through the man, and after ineffectual exhortations addressed to him in private, they began to refute him publicly. This infuriated the friar, and also certain Spaniards among the circle of his admirers. They scattered the gravest suspicions abroad against the new preachers. As their reports obtained wide credence, Ignatius demanded an investigation; it was an easy matter for him to convict the principal organ of these calumnies, a Navarrese, of falsehood, and obtain his expulsion from Rome. The others now made a declaration that they held the Fathers to be free from blame; but with that they wished proceedings to come to an end and the matter to be buried in oblivion; they won over the Cardinal-Legate[1] and the Governor of the city to acquiesce in this escape from the difficulty.

But Ignatius and his comrades would have been debarred from any successful work unless every taint of suspicion were removed from the integrity of their conduct and doctrine. Ignatius, therefore, was immovable in his determination that the case should go on; he went to Paul III. at Frascati and in a long interview obtained the Pope's permission that the trial should go on to the end and the decision be given in accordance with strict judicial formality. This, however, was not obtained without difficulty; the opposing party had powerful connections and were not inexperienced in the art of intrigue. But circumstances intervened favourable to Ignatius, for at that very moment there were in Rome three of the judges before whom he had previously appeared: the episcopal

[1] Not to the Imperial ambassador, as translated by H. BÖHMER (Die Bekenntnisse des Ignatius von Loyola, Stifters der Gesellschaft Jesu, Leipzig, 1902, 64).

Vicar of Alcalà, the Parisian Inquisitor Ori, and the auditor of the nuncio at Venice; these were unanimous in insisting on his innocence and that of his friends. From Vicenza, Bologna, Siena, where they had worked, came glowing testimonials, as also from Cardinal Contarini and the Duke of Ferrara. At last, after the troublesome suit had dragged on for eight months, Benedetto Conversini, as senior judge in temporal and ecclesiastical cases at Rome, gave his decision: he pronounced complete acquittal on all the ten; all the charges brought against them were groundless.[1]

Ignatius was now able to say his first Mass in peace of mind. It took place on Christmas Day 1538 at S. Maria Maggiore.[2] This coincided with a fresh opportunity of showing acts of charity to the Roman poor. The winters of 1538 and 1539 were marked by the severity of the cold and the scarcity of food,[3] and people lay on the open street stark and half dead. Towards evening the fathers went their rounds, gathered the unfortunates in groups, and took them to the roomy chambers of the Frangipani dwelling-house; there they distributed bread which they had begged, spread out beds of straw, and gave instructions in the faith and prayed; sometimes from 200 to 400 persons were thus tended. Their example kindled others; Cardinals and other great personages collected money; in

[1] Ignatius to Pietro Contarini and to Isabel Roser, dat. Rome, 1538, Dec. 2 and 19 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 134–136, 138–143): Autobiography, n. 98 (p. 96); letter of Laynez, 148; POLANCUS, c. 9 (pp. 67–69); RODERICIUS, 502–507; Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 385, n. 1. The original judgment is given in Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 627–629.

[2] Ignatius to his brother in Loyola, dat. Rome, Feb. 2, 1539 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 147).

[3] *Cf.* BONTEMPI, 376; MANENTE, 263, and the **memoranda of Cornelius de Fine (Cod. Ottob., 1614, Vatican Library).

the hospitals of the city upwards of 3000 poor and sick were ministered to.[1]

"After we had been declared innocent," Peter Faber relates in his *Memoriale*,[2] "we placed ourselves unreservedly at the disposal of Paul III." The Pope accepted the offer gladly, and showed willingness to send some of the community into different spheres of work. The latter, however, had come already to important determinations. Ignatius himself at a later date[3] directed the secretary of the Order, Polanco, to give explanations on this point to the rector of the college at Bologna, who was at work on an account of the origin of the Society. Polanco wrote: "The first of those whom our father Ignatius drew round him in Paris, as well as he himself, betook themselves to Italy, not with the intention of founding an Order but with the purpose of going to Jerusalem to preach among the infidel and there to die. But they were unable to get to Jerusalem and had to remain in Italy; and as the Pope afterwards availed himself of them for the service of God and of the Holy See, then the idea of forming themselves into a corporate society came under consideration."[4] Polanco wrote more explicitly in his Life of the founder: "When they had come together again in Rome in 1538 they were still without any intention of forming any perpetual association or order."[5] But in 1539, so Laynez relates

[1] Letter of Laynez, 146; Polancus, c. 8 (pp. 65, 66); RODERICIUS, 499, 500.

[2] Memoriale, 15.

[3] On July 29, 1553.

[4] This important letter was first published in Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., V., 259, 260.

[5] POLANCUS, c. 9 (pp. 69, 70); *cf.* letter of Laynez, 114; J. CREIXELL, S.J., Explicación critica de una cuestión hagiográfica; Razón y Fe, XX., Madrid, 1908, 215–222; on the contrary side, FR. VAN

later on, "we gave ourselves to prayer and afterwards came together and weighed the circumstances of our vocation point by point. Each one set forth as it seemed to him the pro and contra of the matter. In the first place, we were of one accord that we should found a society having a permanent existence and not one limited to the term of our natural lives."[1]

At first there were great differences of opinion on the question of obedience. Towards Ignatius all indeed had shown persistently the utmost reverence and submission; but the office of Superior, to whom voluntary subjection was offered, had changed in the different groups from week to week and afterwards, when they were altogether at Rome, from month to month.[2] Were they now, in addition to the vows of poverty and chastity which they had taken already in Venice at the hands of Verallo, to pledge themselves to yet another, that of obedience to one of their own body and so constitute themselves an order? From contemporary memoranda it is evident that nearly three months of prayer and penitential exercises preceded their decision. Finally, they all agreed to take the vow.[3]

To Ignatius was assigned the task of drawing up the draft constitution of the Order. Cardinal Contarini, who

ORTROY, S.J., Manrèse et les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus; Analecta Boll., XXVII. (1908), 393–418.

[1] Letter of Laynez, 146, 147.

[2] RODERICIUS, 489, 490.

[3] The notes were first published by P. J. J. DE LA TORRE, S.J. (Constitutiones Soc. Jesu lat. et hisp., 297-301); *cf.* also RODERICIUS, 508, 509. The resolution of April 15, 1539, to take the vow of obedience, with the autograph signatures of Ignatius and his companions, is in the Museum of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons; facsimile in P. M. BAUMGARTEN, Die kath. Kirche, III., Munich, 1902, 33, and in Les Missions Cath., XIV. (1882), 571; *cf. ibid.*, 576.

looked upon the members of this company[1] as his "special spiritual sons in Christ," undertook to recommend their rules for confirmation to the Pope. But the latter referred the document to the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Badia, a Dominican, who after two months' examination pronounced the scheme to be "pious and holy."[2] On September the 3rd, 1539, Contarini was able to write the news to Ignatius from Tivoli, where Paul III. was sojourning, that he had received the draft with Badia's opinion. "To-day I read aloud to the Pope all the five heads. He was much pleased with them, and confirmed them with expressions of strong approval."[3] From other witnesses we learn that the Pope, after receiving Contarini's report, exclaimed: "There is the finger of God!" He then lifted up his hand in blessing and said, "We give this our benediction; we approve it and call it good."[4] Cardinal Ghinucci, Paul III. enjoined, was to draw up a brief appropriate to the occasion, or, at his own discretion, a Bull.[5]

But before such a document appeared there was much ground to be covered. Paul III., in the first instance, ordered three Cardinals to examine the draft. One of them, the influential Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, was opposed, on principle, to new orders; it would be much better, he said, if the existing orders were cut down to the number of four; he would not even look at the scheme of Ignatius.

[1] Ignatius to Cardinal Contarini, dat. Rome, 1540, March–April (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 156).

[2] Evidence of Cardinal Contarini in DITTRICH, Regesten, 305, and BARTOLI, I., 2, n. 45.

[3] Cartas de San Ignacio, I., Madrid, 1874, 433, 434 (*cf.* above, p. 1 *seq.*, n. 1). The minutes, which were approved by the Pope orally on Sept. 3, 1539, are in TACCHI VENTURI, I., 412.

[4] RODERICIUS, 508, 509; ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 83.

[5] Cartas, *loc. cit.*; DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*

But Loyola did not give in; he obtained many prayers, and vowed that he would have three thousand Masses said. Meanwhile good news came from without; Cardinal Ennio Filonardi was full of praise of Faber and Laynez, whom he had besought the Pope to send to his Legation, and Cardinal Francesco Bandini, Archbishop of Siena, gave very favourable accounts of Broët.[1] Suddenly Cardinal Guidiccioni asked to see the plan of the Society; he was delighted with it; here, he declared, an exception ought to be made, and used his influence strongly for its confirmation.[2] The preparation of the Bull was carried out forthwith.[3]

This important document was issued by Paul III. at Rome on the 27th of September 1540.[4] It begins with the mention of the first ten members. These men, "impelled, as we may well believe, by the Holy Spirit,"[5] had left the world, formed themselves into a community, and for many years worked in the Lord's vineyard. Then follow the ground lines of the constitution of the Order, commonly called the "formula of the institution." The word *societas* is used in the military sense of a troop or squadron, which is "emblazoned with the name of Jesus,

[1] Letter of Laynez, 147; Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 203; BARTOLI, l. 2, n. 46.

[2] Letter of Laynez, 122, 123, 147, 148; RODERICIUS, 514, 515; POLANCUS, c. 9 (p. 72); MAFFEIUS, l. 2, c. 12; ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 113, 114.

[3] For Cardinal Ghinucci's fears, see L. Tolomei's letter of Sept. 28, 1539, in DITTRICH, *loc. cit.*, 379. *Cf.* also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 579 *seq.*

[4] Litterae Apostolicae, quibus Institutio, Confirmatio et varia Privilegia continentur Societatis Jesu, Antverpiae, 1635, 7–16; Bull VI., 303–306.

[5] "Spiritu sancto, ut pie creditur, afflati." In the second Bull of confirmation of Julius III., of July 21, 1550, the expression is simply: "Spiritu Sancto afflati" (Litt. Apost., 8, 58).

and consists of men who fight for God under the banner of the Cross and serve none other than Christ the Lord and His representative on earth, the Pope of Rome." The special aim of the Order is defined to be the furtherance of Christian thought and practice and the propagation of the faith by means of preaching, spiritual exercises, Christian doctrine, confession, and other works of charity. To the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience another was joined whereby the Society was pledged in a special way to the Pope's service; in virtue of this, it was said, "We must, where the salvation of souls and the spread of the faith are concerned, we must do all within our power to execute on the spot every command of the present Pope and his successors without any hesitation or evasion, whether we be sent to the Turks or to any other infidel peoples, even in the regions named the 'Indies,' or among heretics or schismatics or even, if needs be, among the faithful." As especially necessary and profitable the explanation of the fundamental grounds of the Christian faith was then insisted on. The Superior, to be chosen by the members, shall appoint to and distribute the offices. Capital or settled incomes shall not be held by individuals or by the Society, except in the case of the colleges serving as seminaries for the younger members, whose spiritual discipline and educational training are entirely in the hands of the Society. The daily office is to be said by the members individually and not in common.

The Pope confirmed these constitutions, took the members under his own special protection and that of the Apostolic See, and gave permission for the formation of more detailed regulations. The number, however, of members of the Order was not to exceed sixty. Ignatius was highly gratified at thus provisionally securing so much, and expressed himself in terms of warm gratitude to Cardinal

Contarini;[1] nor was Cardinal Guidiccioni passed over without marks of recognition from the whole Society.[2]

In the April of 1541 Ignatius was chosen General of the Order[3] by the unanimous voice of the other nine, present and absent, only one of the latter abstaining from sending his vote. "I chose him," wrote Jean Codure, "because I have always recognized in him a fervent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls. He also has always been amongst us as the least of all and the servant of all."[4]

On the 22nd of April 1541 the six members resident in Rome made a pilgrimage to the seven principal churches and in a chapel of the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura took these solemn vows while Ignatius celebrated Mass.[5]

The newly professed conducted themselves so well that the Pope, not quite three years later (March 14th, 1544), cancelled entirely the restriction of the Society to sixty members; at the same time he enjoined that the rules drawn up for itself by the Society should at once receive confirmation.[6] In a brief of June 1545 he further gave the Society, "in view of the great advantages it had conferred and continued to confer on the House of God," full

[1] Ignatius to P. Contarini, Rome, 1540, Dec. 18 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 168).

[2] Francis Xavier wrote on March 18, 1541: "We have said 250 Masses for Cardinal Guidiccioni" (Mon. Xaver., I., 245, 295) Simon Rodriguez also writes from Lisbon on Oct. 8, 1540, of 55 Masses which he had recently said for the same Cardinal (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae, Florentiae, 1887, 4); *cf.* also BARTOLI, l. 2, n. 46.

[3] The account of the election by Ignatius himself is in the Constitutiones Soc. Jesu lat. et hisp., 313, 314.

[4] Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 419.

[5] POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 26.

[6] This and following Papal letters are in the Litterae Apostolicae, 17–32.

powers to preach everywhere, to give absolution for all sins, even in cases reserved for the Holy See, the exceptions of the Bull "Cœna Domini" alone being retained, to administer the Eucharist and other Sacraments without obtaining previous permission from the bishop or parish priest, yet without prejudice to any third person.

In the meantime it had become evident that there were very many excellent priests who had been of great help as coadjutors to the Order but yet were inadequately furnished with the educational and theological requirements demanded in the professed members of the Society. In 1546 Paul III. therefore ordered their admission; after a period of probation they were to be allowed to take the vows, but in their simple, not their solemn, form. Likewise, according to the usage existing in other orders, lay brothers were to be received for domestic service.

In the following year the Pope bestowed a plenary indulgence, obtainable once in a lifetime, on anyone offering up prayers in honour of our Lord's Passion after making confession to a Jesuit priest.[1] Paul III. conferred besides extensive indulgences[2] transferable to others on the founder, and encouraged the formation of new settlements by special graces.[3]

[1] OLIVERIUS MANAREUS, S.J. (†1614), De rebus Societatis Jesu Commentarius, Florentiae, 1886, 120, 121. In the *Mandati, 1542–1546, f. 65, is included: *"Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu Christi de Urbe rubrum unum cum dimidio salis nigri gratis et amore Dei, dat. 1543, Sept. 12" (State Archives, Rome).

[2] BRAUNSBERGER, IV., 30; *cf.* also Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 172, 526 *seqq.*; perhaps the letter here printed, of June 11, 1547, led RANKE (Päpste, I., 10th ed., 123) to make the strange statement that "Loyola, and later on his adherents, had, like the Spanish 'Alumbrados,' made a general confession a condition of absolution."

[3] Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in causa Societatis Jesu, I., Florentiae, 1887, 4–8; BRAUNSBERGER, I., 362, n. 1, 696.

The Pope crowned these enactments by the Bull issued, at the instance of Francis Borgia, four weeks before his death. For years Ignatius had wished the Society to possess such a "Mare Magnum" as that granted by Sixtus IV. to the Franciscans—a Bull, namely, which should amalgamate once for all the various decrees, privileges, and graces for which otherwise special application for reconfirmation would always be necessary in each particular case.[1]

The Bull appeared on the 18th of October 1549. It conferred exemption on the Society from taxation and from all episcopal jurisdiction; without the General's consent no member of the Order can accept a bishropric or any other ecclesiastical dignity; the Order cannot be called upon to undertake the spiritual direction of women; the faithful are permitted to confess to and receive communion from the priests of the Order without asking permission of their parish priest—save at Easter and on the administration of the Viaticum. Then follow many other grants and plenary faculties in favour of the Order; the earlier guarantees are confirmed and in respect of missionary countries largely extended.[2]

After the year 1539 and the first authorization of the Society of Jesus its external circumstances began to improve. The fathers who had hired the Frangipani dwelling were joined by Pietro Codacio, who relinquished his rich benefices. This first Italian Jesuit was a man of noble family, much beloved by ecclesiastics of the higher ranks;[3]

[1] Ignatius to Oviedo, dat. Rome, 1547, Nov. 24 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 653, 654; POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 273). *Cf.* S. Franciscus Borgia, III., Matriti, 1909, 28.

[2] Litterae Apostolicae, 35–56; Bull. Rom., VI., 394–401.

[3] POLANCUS, *loc. cit.*, n. 11; MAFFEIUS, l. 2, c. 14; TACCHI VENTURI, Le case, 6, 28, n. 2.

he undertook to provide a dwelling, sustenance, and clothing for his colleagues.

The first great requisite was a church. Ignatius had his eye on the parish church of S. Maria degli Astalli—popularly known as S. Maria della Strada—not far from the foot of the Capitol and near S. Marco, the Papal summer residence. The building was narrow and inconvenient but in a very good situation for mission work.[1] Codacio went to the Pope and asked him to bestow the church on the Order; they received it in 1540; in 1541 the Bull was drawn up, and in 1542 Ignatius took possession of the church and its appurtenances. Codacio took over the administration of the parish.[2] Besides this he acquired in 1543 the neighbouring and almost abandoned parish church of S. Andrea de la Fracta, with permission to let the church and parish lapse. Six years later the Pope added two other parish churches to the above and in exchange erected four chapels in S. Marco and transferred thither the parochial cures of these four churches.[3] In order to be better able to supervise his church, Ignatius settled in 1541 in a hired lodging of small cómpass near at hand. Codacio begged from Cardinals and bishops, enlarged the church, and built alongside of it the General's house; this was occupied in 1544.[4] The picture of Our Lady over the high altar, then scarcely noticed, became afterwards an object of great veneration.[5] On the site of S. Maria della Strada was afterwards erected, by the

[1] Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, 1547, Oct. 31 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 616, 617); ORLANDINUS, I., 3, n. 15.

[2] TACCHI VENTURI, Le case, 28, 29, 39; POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 49; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 415 *seq.*

[3] Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis, I., 9, 10.

[4] POLANCUS, *loc. cit.*; TACCHI VENTURI, Le case, 19, 20, 32.

[5] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, 27, 38–40, where the current representations of the picture and the Church are for the first time corrected.

munificence of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the magnificent church of the Gesù.

The devotion and gratitude of the new Order towards the Pope was displayed in the work undertaken by them in Papal Rome. Here there were unbelievers and sinners in plenty to convert. Among the numerous Jews there were many who recoiled from the acceptance of the Christian faith through an anxious fear for their temporal belongings. Ignatius succeeded in obtaining from the Pope, whose behaviour towards the Jews was marked by traditional leniency,[1] a brief dated the 21st of March 1542 which stated that no Jew was to lose his property because of his conversion to Christianity. Even children who became Christians against their parents' will were to receive their full portion of inheritance. What had accrued through usury or other unjust means must be restored to the rightful owners, where the latter were to be found otherwise it belonged to the convert. The same concessions were granted to all unbelievers who received baptism.[2]

[1] Besides RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN, II., 61 *seq.*, *cf.* also Revue juive, IX., 81; Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LIII., 36 *seq.*; Univ. Cath., XIX., (1895), 102 *seq.* In order to protect the Jews in Rome from outrages, the celebration of the Passion play in the Colosseum was instituted in 1540 (see ADINOLFI, II., 388; DEJOB, Influence, 210 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Schriften, III., 189; VATASSO, Per la storia di dramma sacro, Roma, 1903, 86). The decree of Paul III. of May 12, 1540, which forbade the persecution of the Jews under the severest penalties and anathemas, has been published from the original text by SEEBERG in Hengstenbergs Evangel. Kirchenzeitung, 1900, No. 50. As a remedy for the usury which was practised in Rome, certainly not by the Jews only, Giovanni da Calvi, the Franciscan, succeeded in opening a Monte di Pietà in Rome which was approved and privileged by Paul III. in a Bull of Sept. 9, 1539. Cardinal Quiñones was appointed Protector of the Compagnia del Monte (see TAMILIA, Il. s Monte di Pietà di Roma, Roma, 1900, 24 *seq.*).

[2] Bull. VI., 336, 337. RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN (II., 63) is as wrong in his dating of the Bull as in his comments upon it.

In order to facilitate conversions two houses, on Loyola's advice, were established for catechumens, the one for men and the other for women; a confraternity was also founded composed of distinguished and influential personages in Roman society, and Cardinal Marcello Crescenzi was named Protector.[1] Paul III. issued a Bull in February 1543, praising the work and conferring spiritual graces.[2] On Whitsunday 1544, amid a great concourse of people, five Israelites were solemnly baptized, one of them being a Rabbi with a great reputation for learning. In 1544 Jews, Moors, and Turks to the number altogether of forty were baptized, and at the beginning of the following year ten others received the same sacrament.[3]

Another undertaking had still better results. This aimed at the removal of a permanent evil which the Renaissance had bequeathed to Rome. Prostitution was a sore from which the capital of the world suffered now as in times past.[4] It was not enough to provoke to tears by penitential sermons; if there were to be no relapses some asylums of refuge would have to be provided. The convent of the Maddalena was indeed in existence for those who wished to take the veil; but it was not sufficient for all those who sought admission, and among the latter were also married women who had left their husbands. Ignatius determined to create a home for such as these; many showed a willingness to help, but no one wished to be the first to begin;

[1] Ignatius to Francis Xavier, dat. Rome, July 1543, and to the Society, 1543 or 1544 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 249, 268, 269).

[2] Bull. VI., 353–358.

[3] Ignatius to the Society, dat. Rome, 1543 or 1544 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 249, 250); Jeronimo Doménech, S.J., to Simon Rodriguez, dat. Rome, 1545, Jan. 29 (Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 773–774).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 348, n. 5, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXI., 413.

he therefore set his hand to the work. Codacio had unearthed a number of antiquities on his building site and sold them for about a hundred ducats. The General gave them for the erection of an institution which was to be called the Casa di Santa Marta. Here married women could stay until they were reconciled with their husbands or remain permanently if they wished to persevere in a moral life; as also could sinful women in the single state until they entered wedlock or professed religion.[1] Cardinals supported the undertaking, and the Pope sent help in money and recommended the work in a special Bull.[2]

Leonora Osorio, the wife of the Spanish ambassador Juan de Vega, who confessed weekly to Ignatius, took an energetic part in the work. Also Margaret of Austria, the wife of Duke Ottavio Farnese of Camerino, gave effectual help.[3] The young Jesuit, Peter Faber of Halle, wrote on the 29th of April 1546 from Rome to Cologne, "Every day one of us goes to pray for S. Marta's house."[4] In order to secure the permanency of the institution high ecclesiastics, nobles, and other distinguished persons formed themselves into the "Compagnia della Grazia" under the patronage of Cardinal Carpi, at whose request the Society

[1] Ignatius to F. Xavier, dat. Rome, 1543, July 24, and Jan. 30, 1544, (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 269–271); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I, n. 68; RIBADENEIRA, De actis S. Ignatii, n. 46. *Cf.* especially TACCHI VENTURI, I., 420 *seqq.*

[2] Doménech to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, 1545, Jan. 29 (Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 774); Ignatius to F. Xavier, dat. Rome 1543, July 24, and 1544, Jan. 30, and to Simon Rodriguez, dat. Rome, 1545, Nov. 21 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 269, 329, 330); RIBADENEIRA, Vita, l. 3, c. 9.

[3] Report written by order of Ignatius in Rome, 1545 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 305, 306).

[4] Rheinische Akten zur Gesch. des Jesuitenordens, 1542–1582 Bearbeitet von JOSEPH HANSEN, Bonn, 1896, 51.

undertook for a while the religious direction of the institution.[1] On the other hand, Ignatius gave to three noble ladies of Rome the three keys of S. Marta.[2] He was told that his work was hopeless; that these unfortunates were already too hardened in vice. He replied: "If I only succeed in rescuing one of them from one night of sin, I shall not regret my trouble."[3] His success far exceeded his hopes; in 1545 he was able to write to Spain: "There are now from thirty-seven to thirty-eight women in S. Marta; most of them are doing spontaneously penance for their past life."[4] Up to the end of 1547 more than a hundred women of this class had been brought to a better way of life.[5]

Another institution almost contemporaneous, which also owed its existence to Ignatius or in which he was at least one of the original co-operators, was that of S. Caterina dei Funari. Maidens whose innocence was imperilled by poverty or bad upbringing were here educated until they married or entered a convent.[6]

The Roman orphanages found a warm friend in the General of the Jesuits. Margaret of Austria sent him on one occasion 300 ducats for distribution among the poor.

[1] Ignatius to Francis Xavier and the Spanish Jesuits, dat. Rome, 1543, July 24, and beginning of 1544; Bartolomé Ferron, S.J., to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, 1546, April 12 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 269, 270, 286, 287, 371, 372); RIBADENEIRA, l. 3, c. 9; ORLANDINUS, l. 4, n. 75; BARTOLI, l. 4, n. 18.

[2] Ignatius to Leonora Osorio, dat. Rome, 1546, July or Aug. (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 564).

[3] RIBADENEIRA, l. 3, c. 9.

[4] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 305.

[5] Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, Oct. 31, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 613).

[6] RIBADENEIRA, l. 3, c. 9; ORLANDINUS, l. 4, n. 8; *cf.* LANCIANI, II, 64 *seq.*

He was told that the Princess wished in this way to assist him and his associates in their poverty, but he never appropriated a penny of it; all was sent to the convents and benevolent institutions of Rome and an exact account rendered.[1]

Ignatius in the first year of his generalship entered the Archconfraternity of S. Spirito in Sassia with the promise of a yearly alms to the hospital.[2] One of the tests which he imposed upon his novices consisted in ordering them to work in the Roman hospitals.[3] The priests of the Society observed with sorrow that many of those whom they visited on sick-beds departed life without the Church's means of grace; Ignatius thereupon remembered the ordinance of Innocent III., ratified by the twelfth General Council, the tenor of which was that the aid of the physician of the soul should be invoked before that of the physician of the body. He earnestly recommended the observance of these enactments with this alleviation, that on the first and second day of illness a doctor should be allowed to attend the patient, but not again on the third and fourth day, unless the latter had in the interval made his confession. All the theologians and canonists of the Penitentiaria signified their approval in writing. The Pope was much pleased with the proposal; about Epiphany in the year 1544 it began to be put into execution.[4]

Two years before this the indefatigable General of the

[1] RIBADENEIRA, Dichos y hechos de N. P. Ignacio (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 413); *cf.* also letter of Laynez, 120.

[2] The deed of admission in Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 554–558.

[3] *Cf.* HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 145.

[4] Ignatius to Cardinal Cervini, dat. Rome, June 24, 1543, and to Francis Xavier, dat. Rome, Jan. 30, 1544 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 261–267, 271); POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 48.

Jesuits had supported a regulation which was destined to have an important bearing for Rome and the whole of Italy. While the Inquisition was especially active, sometimes too active, in the exercise of its functions in Portugal, here and there in Italy it seemed as if the watchmen on the roofs of Sion were fast asleep. "For this reason," wrote Ignatius to Portugal on the 28th of July 1542 to the Cardinals Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Giovanni Pietro Carafa, "I often made urgent representations; they spoke repeatedly to the Pope; now his Holiness has appointed six Cardinals" who were to form a Board of Inquisition. The Papal Bull appeared on the 21st of July 1542.[1]

The reconciliation of enemies was a work of charity which commended itself to the Jesuits' circle of activity.[2] Ignatius himself travelled in the year 1548 to Tivoli and to Città Sant' Angelo in order to pave the way for the restoration of amity between these two places, then at feud. He was successful in getting them to accept as arbitrator Cardinal de la Cueva, and also called in the help of Margaret of Parma and the Bishop, Archinto, and finally ensured the conclusion of a treaty of peace.[3]

The most difficult and most important pacification due to Ignatius was that between Pope Paul III. and King John III. of Portugal. John was afraid that his country might be ruined through the machinations of the Jews, who, in his father Manuel's reign, had been often compulsorily baptized but in secret remained loyal to Judaism. He thought that he ought to protect himself against these

[1] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 218, 219; *cf.* also POLANCUS, *loc. cit.*, n. 66. The Bull in Bull., VI., 344–346. *Cf. infra*, pp. 504 *seqq.*

[2] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 618. *Cf.* also Anton Vinck's letter to the Iesuits of Louvain and Cologne, dat. Rome, about May 1548, in HANSEN, 128.

[3] POLANCUS, n. 228; ORLANDINUS, l. 8, n. 5.

"New Christians" by an exceptionally severe jurisdiction in matters of belief on the lines of the Spanish Inquisition. The disputes into which he had thus been led already with Clement VII.[1] were renewed in an accentuated form under Paul III.[2] At first the Pope had suspended the last decrees of his predecessor,[3] but on closer examination he confirmed on October 12, 1535, those relating to the New Christians, which were as just as they were lenient.[4] King John III., filled with deep hatred for these Jews in disguise, now tried to compass his object by means of diplomatic negotiations in Rome. As Charles V. intervened on his side, Paul III. gave way, for on the 23rd of May 1536 he ratified the institution of a permanent Inquisition in Portugal.[5] The King disregarded the stipulations which the Pope had inserted to protect the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, 371 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the numerous documents in Corp. dipl. Port., III., IV., V., and VI.; SCHÄFER, III., 337; SCHMIDT, Zeitschr. für Gesch., IX., 167 *seq.*; ERSCH-GRÜBER, XVIII., 471 *seq.*; Atti dell' Emilia, N.S., IV., 1, 111 *seq.*; Kathol. Schweizerbl., I. (1885), 341 *seq.*; Archiv für kath. Kichenrecht, LIII., 27 *seq.*, and the characteristic works of Herculano and Kunstmann given there; see also Histor. Zeitschr., IX., 121; further, PINCHEIRO CHAGAS, Hist. de Portugal, V., Lisbon, *s.a.* Numerous documents still unpublished concerning the conflict are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (*Min. brev., Carte Farnes., 2, and Nunz. di Portug., I., A) and in Cod. H 33 Inf. of the Ambrosian Library in Milan. The instructions for Girol. Capodiferro sent to Portugal in 1537 (dat. Feb. 17, 1537), in the Altieri Library, Rome (VII., E IV., f. 263), those for J. Lippomanno sent in 1542, in the Royal Library, Berlin (Inf. polit., XII., 67 *seq.*), and in the Doria Pamphili Archives, Rome (Istrug., I., 329 *seq.*). A series of documents relating to the subject in Cod. 264, N.B., 3, Vol. I., of the Library of Ferrara.

[3] Corp. dipl. Port., III., 171 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 254 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, III., 302 *seqq.*

New Christians, and serious complaints were raised in Rome, for John III. did all he could to turn the Inquisition into a Royal tribunal. In vain Paul III. raised protests against the King's arbitrary behaviour; all the Pope's endeavours on behalf of justice and moderation towards the Jews, and the preservation of the ecclesiastical character of the Inquisition, were without avail. Negotiations were bandied to and fro without result and fresh difficulties arose over and above those already existing.

Miguel de Silva, Bishop of Viseu, a noble of the highest rank, had left Portugal and gone to Venice contrary to the King's wishes. Nevertheless, Paul III. made him a Cardinal and summoned him to Rome. John III. now confiscated his episcopal revenues and moreover forbade the Bishop to hold intercourse, even by writing, with his diocese. He was also unwilling to admit a Papal nuncio into the country. Ignatius took the matter very seriously, and wrote a confidential letter to his old friend and colleague Simon Rodriguez, who was resident at the court of Lisbon. It was reported in the Curia, he said, that Rodriguez gave absolution to persons who had helped the King in his aggression on the Cardinal of Viseu and thus laid themselves under the bann of the Church; he, the General of the Order, was, however, unable to believe this; Rodriguez indeed had no faculty empowering him to do so; he would, besides, thereby do injury to the things of God, the Church and the Holy See.[1] At the beginning of 1542 the situation was so embittered that Portugal was on the point of breaking off communication with the Holy See.[2]

[1] Ignatius to Simon Rodriguez, dat. Rome, March 15, 1542. The letter was first published in Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 196–199.

[2] See the Florentine envoy's *despatch of Feb. 3, 1542 (Florentine State Archives).

Ignatius, who, like many others,[1] laid the blame not on the King but on his counsellors, sought then in every way to arrive at a peaceable solution.[2] The dispute was prolonged for some years to come; Ignatius, however, never halted in his exertions as peacemaker. On the 14th of December 1545 he wrote to Rodriguez that for the sake of the Inquisition and the bishopric of Viseu he had gone to see the Pope at Montefiascone; he had there spoken very fully to the Pope and had made a favourable impression. This communication was followed directly by another announcing that an agreement had been reached. The Pope would withdraw the brief directed against the action of the Inquisition; the New Christians would be allowed a respite to admit of their expatriation; after their departure the Portuguese Inquisition should be put on the same footing as the Spanish. The confiscated revenues of the bishopric of Viseu were to be dealt with in accordance with the advices from Lisbon; all were to be placed in the hands of Cardinal Farnese.[3] The desired Bull on the Inquisition appeared on the 16th of July 1547, and the New Christians were given a year's grace. The King was earnestly recommended to employ gentle measures; Cardinal Farnese was made administrator of Viseu, received the revenues of the bishopric, and pledged himself under his own hand to remit them to Cardinal Silva; only a sum was to be deducted for the stipend of the bishop-coadjutor placed in charge of the diocese;[4]

[1] Thus the Portuguese nuncio (see his *report of July 13, 1535, in the Nunz. di Portug., I., A, f. 6, Secret Archives of the Vatican), and later also Paul III. (see RAYNALDUS, 1545, n. 58).

[2] *Cf.* his letter to Rodriguez of March 18 and July 28, 1542 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 195 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*).

[3] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 346–350.

[4] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 193, 194, 348, 349; Cartas de S. Ignacio, I., 224, n. 8, 496–509; RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 131, 132; ORLANDINUS,

the nomination of the latter was to be left to the King.[1]

About this time a certain Fra Valentino Barbaran sent

I., 5, n. 27; Corp. dipl. Port., VI., 166 *seq.*; HERCULANO, Hist. de Inquisição em Portugal, III., 6th ed. (1897), 282 *seq.*; MACSWINEY, Le Portugal et le Saint Siège, III., Paris, 1904, 210–212.

[1] Ignatius has quite recently been blamed for having, in the face of ancient Church discipline and the proposals for reform just then in progress, procured for Cardinal Farnese, already richly endowed with Church benefices, additional possession of a Portuguese bishopric. But Farnese was merely bishop in name and, for the sake of peace, Rome wished to find for the King an honourable way of retreat. A few years later Viseu received a new bishop. As regards the New Christians, the latter had agents at Rome who were trying to prevent the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition into Portugal. One of them, Diego Hernandez, wished to bring Ignatius round to his side. They had a two hours' conference in the Pantheon. Hernandez, according to a letter from Ignatius to Rodriguez of Aug. 17, 1542, in Spanish, "made solemn professions, always bringing forward something new digressing from the subject. I therefore determined to cut the matter short and gave him my oath before the Blessed Sacrament that in this matter my desire was the same as his, to be of the greatest service to all erring souls. I was, however, of opinion that no obstacle should be put in the way of the Inquisitors, on the assumption that their functions were authorized and that they carried out their duties properly, and that this should specially be observed in cases where the Inquisitors received no material recompense for their labours and reaped injury rather than advantage from them. He tried, however, always to adduce fresh reasons and to spin out the conversation. At last I broke it off: I said to him, he need not waste any more time on the subject with me and I had no wish to waste mine with him. My conscience forbade me to think otherwise than I did. Since then ten or twelve days have passed and I have not seen him again" (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 225, 226; Cartas de S. Ignacio, I., 142, 143). For the wrong translation, a mutilation of this letter by A. N. DRUFFEL (Ignatius von Loyola an der Römischen Kurie, Munich, 1879, 12) and those who have followed him, see Anal. Boll., XIII., 72; DUHR, S.J., Jesuitenfabeln, 4th ed., Freiburg i. Br., 1904, 33–39. For a criticism of Druffel, see also Zeitsch. fur. kathol. Theol., IV., 380 *seq.*

to Paul III. a memoir containing far-reaching complaints against the Jesuits. They were desirous, he said, of reforming the whole world; they had no permission from the Pope to carry out their work at S. Marta, and wished to drive all married women who had been untrue to the marriage vows from Rome, with many other accusations. Cardinal Crescenzi, by command of the Pope, perused the document and drew up a report. He considered it to be of no importance.[1]

In obedience to the Pope the Jesuits tranquilly pursued their good work among the Roman people. They frequently occupied the pulpit,[2] and Vittoria Colonna, who had withdrawn into retirement with the Benedictine nuns of S. Anna de' Funari, asked to have one of them as her preacher.[3]

The General set a good example to his subordinates in giving instruction in Christian doctrine; no sooner had he entered on his office than he began in S. Maria della Strada to expound the elementary principles of the Christian faith; many grown-up persons were among the audience. Although he had little time for preparation and spoke an Italian strongly marked by Spanish idioms, yet his addresses made a great impression. He usually closed with the words: "Let us love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our will!" He uttered this with great emphasis and animated visage; many, as Laynez and

[1] Ignatius to Miguel Torres, dat. Rome, Oct. 13 and 18, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 447, 448; Cartas de S. Ignacio, I., 304, 305). Druffel has not understood the Spanish letter which forms the source of this report; what Barbaran wrote has been put by Druffel (*loc. cit.*, 28) in the mouth of Cardinal Crescenzi, "the incorruptible."

[2] Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 774; Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 332, 373

[3] Report to the Spanish Jesuits, dat. Rome, 1545, about May (Mon. Ignat, Ser. I., I., 306, 307).

Ribadeneira who both saw and heard him testify, sought the confessional forthwith in deep contrition.[1]

Among the Roman clergy were many, as Polanco wrote to Spain in 1547, "badly in need of instruction." On this account Nadal gave three times a week in S. Eustachio a lecture on the professional duties of the priesthood; the Vicar of the Pope enjoined attendance on all who had the cure of souls.[2] The success attending this regulation gave rise, apparently, to another determination. From all parts candidates for Holy Orders came to Rome who were unfitted for their office; it was therefore decided in 1547 that in future none should be ordained who had not previously made a general confession to a Jesuit and had undergone an examination in morals and learning by that Order. Ignatius had no other course open to him than to undertake this arduous task at least temporarily. "Up to the present," he wrote to Louvain in December 1548, "we have given a certificate of fitness to hardly a quarter of those who have presented themselves."[3]

The new Order was reserved with regard to the religious direction of women. When Ignatius and his companions came to Rome, he said to them, "We must be very careful to avoid intercourse with women, for there are many of high station"[4] whose influence and example might be of great advantage to many souls. Such a one, in his opinion,

[1] RIBADENEIRA, De actis, etc., n. 47; *cf.* also Maffeius, l. 2, c. 14.

[2] Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, Oct. 31, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 617); Report to Araoz and the Jesuits of Louvain and Cologne, dat. Rome, Oct. 31, 1547, and 1548, end of December (*ibid.*, Ser. I., I., 617, II., 286).

[3] Bishop Archinto to Ignatius, dat. Bologna, Dec. 17, 1547; Opinion of Ignatius, dat. Rome, 1548, end of January; letter to the Jesuits of Louvain and Cologne, dat. Rome, 1548, end of December (Mon. Ignat. Ser. I., I., 658, 703, 704; II., 286).

[4] "Illustri," Autobiography, n. 97 (p. 95).

was that virile character Margaret of Austria, whose marriage with the young Farnese was so unfortunate. Ignatius was confessor to her and her household, and when in 1545 she gave birth to twins, he was called upon to baptize one of them.[1] To please Cardinal Farnese, Ignatius also undertook that his Order should draw up rules and act as confessors[2] for the enclosed nuns near St. Peter's, known as the "Murate"; but this was an exceptional case. Requests often came to him from pious women living in the world, from individual religious, and from entire convents of nuns to be received into the obedience of his Society, but Ignatius in all such cases refused.[3] "We who live here in the Curia," he said, "see every day how things are with the Franciscans and Dominicans and their convents of nuns, how much embarrassment is caused to the friars; we should fare no better."[4]

Nevertheless, it seemed at one time as if a female offshoot of the Society would spring up in Rome. The widow Isabel Roser, who had once been Loyola's pupil in spiritual things and in temporal matters his great benefactress, came in 1545 from Barcelona to Rome. She and some other women asked Ignatius to affiliate them to his Society. On his refusal they made such clamorous entreaties to Paul III. to order the General to receive them, that the Pope granted their request. Thus Isabel Roser, Lucrezia Bradine, and Francisca Cruyllas took the

[1] Report to the Spanish members of the Order, dat. Rome, beginning 1544; Ribadeneira and Faber to Araoz, dat. Rome, 1545, Aug. 29 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 290, 316, 317).

[2] Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, Oct. 31, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 613).

[3] *Cf.* POLANCUS, Chronicon, 2, 475 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 421).

[4] To Miguel Torres, dat. Rome, Sept. 10, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I. I., 421)

solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience at the hands of Ignatius as Superior of their Order.[1]

Isabel Roser betook herself with great devotion to the work at S. Marta,[2] but she had no idea of obedience. The direction of the new sisters cost much time and trouble, and they and those under their protection required bodily support. Roser in addition was surrounded by a swarm of relations; it was said in Rome that the Jesuits wished to get possession of all their means and were keeping them in Rome by force. Through Ardinghello, Ignatius had representations made to the Pope, who was in residence at Orvieto, that such occupations were not befitting for men

[1] For the "supplicatio ad Pontificem, ut emittere Societatis vota permitterentur," *cf.* the remarks by POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 87, p. 149, n. 1. A document of Dec. 25, 1545, concerning a gift of Isabel Roser, wherein Ignatius appears as "Prepósito de la venerable Compañia de Jesus, Perlado y Superior de la dicha Señora Isabella, y en cujus manibus ella hizo profession" is given in the Cartas de S. Ignacio, I., 471, 472. "La hermana y madre Isabel Roser," "Sor Lucrecia," "La Madre Sor Lucrecia," "La Hermana Cruyllas," say the Jesuits Antonio Araoz and Andrés de Oviedo in letters which (dat. Valencia, Dec. 22, 1545, and Gandia, Jan. 26, 1547) they sent to Bartolomé Ferron, S.J., and to S. Ignatius at Rome. Araoz addresses I. Roser in a letter from Valencia to Rome, Dec. 22, 1545, as "Charisima Hermana." An old notice of I. Roser's letter to Ignatius, dat. Barcelona, Dec. 10, 1547, says: "Haec fuit professa Societatis, propter quam deinde cautum fuit, ne curam susciperemus monacharum" (Epistolae mixtae ex variis Europae, locis ab anno 1537 and 1556 scriptae, I., Matriti, 1898, 245–247, 335, 450; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 29). That Cruyllas vowed "de commissione suae Sanctitatis obedientiam . . . Ignatio, et forsan pro tempore existenti Praeposito Societatis . . ., atque castitatem et paupertatem . . . in ejusdem manibus solemniter," appears from a document drawn up at Rome, Nov. 3, 1546, at the command of Paul III., by his vicar, Bishop Filippo Archinto (Acta Sanctorum, Julii VII., n. 416–420).

[2] Ferron to Rodriguez, dat. April 12, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 372).

who ought to be working all over the world in the great interests of the Church.[1] The Pope agreed, and gave directions that the Order should be released from the obligation of receiving women into their obedience or of undertaking permanently the direction of their souls.[2] Accordingly, in the autumn of 1546 a Papal dispensation released Roser and her companion Cruyllas from their vows of poverty and obedience; they were, however, permitted to enjoy the graces and indulgences of the Society exactly as if they were still members.[3] Ignatius wrote to Roser telling her that he therefore had no longer any claim on her as a spiritual daughter under his obedience, but that he would always regard her as a good and affectionate mother, as indeed she had been for so many years.[4] Isabel felt herself deeply hurt; she even made a claim for damages which, however, the courts did not uphold.[5] Full of complaints and anger, she returned to Barcelona; but in a few months' time she was writing from there for forgiveness, and later she made a distribution of her property and became a Franciscan nun.[6]

Ignatius had impressed a special stamp on his foundation and he took care that it should not be effaced. The suggestion that he should amalgamate his Order with that of the Somaschi he flatly refused.[7] Miani's community

[1] Ferron to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, Nov. 21, 1545; Ignatius to Torres, dat. Rome, Oct. 9, 1546, and March 3, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 329, 330, 437–441, 488–493). *Cf.* also RIBADENEIRA, Vita, l. 3, c. 14; MAFFEIUS, l. 2, c. 7; ASTRAIN, I., 186 *seq.*

[2] POLANCUS, Chronicon, n. 172; *cf. supra*, p. 38 (Mare Magnum).

[3] Acta Sanctorum, *loc. cit.*, n. 419.

[4] Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 424, 425.

[5] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV., I., 645–659.

[6] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 449, 450; II., 54. CREIXELL, 113.

[7] To P. F. de Medde, dat. Rome, March 15, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 474 *seq.*).

had less affinity with the Jesuits than the disciples of Gaetano di Tiene; the name of "Theatines" given to the latter was for many years extended also to the former. Ignatius tried very seriously to come to an arrangement with Cardinal Carafa for the recall of the Theatines to Rome[1] but he was steadily averse to any project for a fusion of the two Orders, and Cardinal Carafa was, on the whole, of the same opinion himself.[2] Later, in 1551, the Barnabites made similar overtures to Ignatius, but he rejected them, although they had the strong support of Archbishop Sauli of Genoa.[3] On the other hand, Ignatius welcomed with delight the invitation of the strict Carthusian Order—without detriment to the individuality of the one or the other constitution—to mutual approximation and special communion in prayer and other good works.[4]

With equal determination the founder set himself to hold his spiritual children aloof from the strivings of ecclesiastical ambition. King Ferdinand I. in 1546 longed to see Le Jay made Bishop of Trieste. Ignatius entreated the King to renounce this scheme, but Ferdinand, on the contrary, desired Paul III. to command Le Jay to accept the dignity in virtue of his obedience to the Holy See; the King's ambassador at Rome was instructed to bring all pressure to bear. Thereupon Ignatius, as he reported to correspondents in Spain, made "incredible efforts" to frustrate the nomination. He succeeded in keeping the matter in suspense until the King declared that he would no longer

[1] Ignatius to Giovanni Bernardino Scotti, dated Rome, Aug. 18 and Sept. 8, 1548 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., II., 194–198, 229).

[2] RIBADENEIRA, Dichos, etc., Gobierno, n. 91 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 439, 440); BROMATO, II., 101 *seq.*

[3] RIBADENEIRA, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cartas de S. Ignacio, I., 403, 447, 448.

insist on his wishes; Ignatius ordered Masses of thanksgiving to be said and the Te Deum to be sung.[1]

To whatever extent his disciples might aim at Christian perfection and union with God through love, their master never estimated their progress by their demeanour nor even by the greater or less promptitude of their disposition, nor by their sensible enjoyment of prayer, but by the measure in which they exerted themselves to curb their unruly inclinations.[2] "Overcome thyself" was his favourite maxim. Far from depreciating bodily asceticism, he set a value on "fasts, the use of the discipline and other instruments of penance as useful and under certain circumstances necessary," but he esteemed far higher the subjection of an ambitious and selfish spirit.[3] Obedience he asked for before everything else, not a forced and slavish, but a willing and high-hearted obedience. From time to time he would set a test. This happened at the beginning of 1548, when the college at Messina was established. Everyone in the house was to make a written declaration whether he was ready to go there, and when there to take up any office that the General might think good to appoint him to. Canisius assured him that he was equally willing to remain in Rome or to go to Sicily, India, or wherever else it might be; if it must be to Sicily, he was then ready to go as cook, gardener, porter, scholar, or teacher in any

[1] Ignatius to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, Dec. 1546; Ferron to Torres, dat. Rome, March 2, 1547 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 450–453, 460–467); Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Venice, Sept. 25, 1546, and Cardinal Pio of Carpi to Ferdinand I., dat. Rome, Dec. 4, 1546 (Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 314–332, 392, 393).

[2] RIBADENEIRA, De actis, etc., n. 64, and Vita, l. 5, c. 10. *Cf.* the Exercises: second week: "De emendatione et reformatione vitae."

[3] RIBADENEIRA, De ratione S. Ignatii in gubernando, c. 2, n. 4, 5 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 447); Ignatius to the College of Coimbra, dat. Rome, May 7, 1547 (*ibid.*, Ser. I., I., 507).

department. All the five-and-thirty members who were with him gave wholly similar answers.[1]

In order to train his children in humility Ignatius often allowed their acts of negligence and other faults to be inveighed against from the reading-desk of their dining-hall by a lay brother, Antonio Rion, a man of very humble origin who was an adept in the art of cooking and also had the gift of administering rebukes which could be as witty as they were sharp.[2] At the same time Ignatius always made allowance for individual temperament. One, said Ribadeneira, he would treat with the tender love of a mother, another with the authoritative love of a father. In distributing the more important offices and tasks,[3] "in virtue of holy obedience," he often kept in view the inclinations of those under his control.[4] In converse with others Ignatius was earnest and thoughtful, yet for all his economy of words always friendly, so that his spiritual sons could say that they never went away from him other than contented and happy.[5]

[1] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 262, 263.

[2] O. MANAREUS, Comment., 128; MAFFEIUS, l. 3, c. 6.

[3] RIBADENEIRA, De ratione, etc., c. 4, and Dichos, etc., Gobierno, n. 12 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 419, 454).

[4] Dictamina S. P. Ignatii generalia, collecta a P. Lancicio (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 478).

[5] Responsio P. Manarei, n. 11 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 513); Dictamina (*ibid.*, 491). See also CAROL. LINEK, S.J., Imago absolutissimae virtutis . . . verbis et exemplis S. P. Ignatii de Loyola . . expressa, Pragae, 1717, 214–221.

CHAPTER II.

Constitutions of the Society of Jesus.—Its Work in Europe and the Indies.

THE principles on which Ignatius governed his Society could not remain in perpetuity as an unwritten tradition. There was need of a rule consolidated in writing. The professed members resident in Rome therefore met repeatedly and drew up a series of resolutions for the life of the new organization.[1]

Their work was handed over for complete revision in 1541 to Ignatius and Codure; but as the latter died soon after, the task fell solely into the hands of Ignatius;[2] he began to commit his work to writing in 1547.[3] About the same time he prepared, at the wish of his first companions and in close co-operation with his secretary Polanco, an amplified copy of that first draft of the rule of the Society which was contained in the Bull of confirmation of 1540. In this, not to mention other alterations, the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are designated as solemn vows, while this at first had only been predicated of the vow of chastity. At the same time it was clearly declared that the supreme government normally was vested in the General. Together with "vows of the professed" the

[1] First published in the Constitutiones Societatis Jesu lat. et hisp., 300–313, 316–329.

[2] ASTRAIN, I., 125.

[3] Ephemerides P. Nadal (Epistolae P. H. Nadal, II., 2).

simple vows of the coadjutors and the scholastics were also mentioned. The first Papal confirmation of this second and final "Formula of the Institute" of the Society was contained in the Bull issued by Julius III. on the 21st of July 1550.[1]

The first draft of the Constitutions was finished by Ignatius at the beginning of 1550.[2] He then summoned all the professed living out of Rome, who could conveniently attend, and other prominent members of the Society to the capital, and there laid his work before them for examination. From the notes which each one individually made[3] he introduced alterations with Polanco's assistance. Even then he looked upon the work as still lacking completion. From 1552 onwards Nadal was ordered to promulgate and explain the Constitutions in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy; Antonio Quadrio did the same in India. Experience was to be the test of all. As regards their substance the rules were now, generally speaking, completed; verbal changes Ignatius continued to make here and there up to his death in 1556. In 1558 at the first General Chapter of the Order they were, after improvement in some unimportant particulars, confirmed and held the force of law.[4] As, in their leading principles,

[1] Litterae Apostolicae, 57–71; ASTRAIN, I., 126–134.

[2] First published in Constitutiones lat. et hisp., 365–418.

[3] Some are given in the Const. Soc. Jesu lat. et hisp., 337, 338.

[4] At that time also Polanco's Latin translation was compared with the Spanish original (there is a photographic reproduction by DANESI, Rome, 1908) and approved by the assembly (Ignatius to Achilles, dat. Rome, 1548, May 30; to Torres, dat. 1548, Sept. 1; to Oviedo, dat. 1548, Dec. 8; to Viola, dat. 1549, Oct. 28; Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., II., 126, 214, 268, 584, 585; Ephemerides P. H. Nadal: Epistolae P. H. Nadal, II., 2, 4, 7–10; I. I. DE LA TORRE, S.J., in the Constitutiones lat. et hisp., vi, viii–ix). Many later Popes from Gregory XIII. down to Leo XIII. have approved and confirmed these Constitutiones,

the Constitutions were fully shaped at the time of the death of Paul III., this seems the proper place to form an appreciation of them.

Ignatius had, it would appear, read the rules of the earlier Orders;[1] but when he came to write his own the only works upon his table were the Gospels and the *Imitatio Christi.* Following the rules concerning choice which he had laid down in the Book of the Exercises, he pondered the pro and contra of each particular question not merely once but repeatedly; later on he submitted the subject to renewed examination. He often wrote down the result on a sheet of paper and laid the latter on the altar on which he was wont to say Mass; hereupon he prayed to God for illumination[2] just as if he had not yet taken any action at all. Gonsalvez relates that Ignatius had told him that at such times God had granted him many illuminations. "He told me," Gonsalvez continues, "that he could assert this all the more easily as he was in the habit of writing down daily the experiences of his soul. He read aloud to me a considerable portion of these."[3] If not all, yet a certain number of these revelations have been preserved, and they form a remarkable memorial of Christian mysticism.[4]

The actual Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, which

which are valid to this day (Constitutiones lat. et hisp., 1). For the constitution of the Society, *cf.* HEIMBUCHER, III., 2nd ed., 21–28.

[1] BARTOLI, l. 3, n. 3.

[2] ORLANDINUS, l. 10, n. 54, 55. *Cf.* also Constitutiones lat. et hisp., 348, 349.

[3] Autobiography, n. 100, 101 (pp. 97, 98).

[4] A fragment had already been given by ORLANDINI (l. 10, n. 59–62). They were first published in Spanish from the original transcript by Ignatius in the Constitutiones lat. et hisp., 349–363. Hence they were translated in French by L. MICHEL, S.J., Hist. de St. Ignace de Loyola, II. (1893), 392–412.

consists of ten parts, are preceded by an "Examen"; it states what tests the Order applies to those who are to be accepted as members and how the latter for their part test the life of the Order before pledging themselves for ever by its vows.

"The object of this Society," so we are told at the very beginning of the "Examen," is "not only to pursue the salvation and perfectioning of the individual soul by God's grace, but, with the help of the latter, to seek zealously the salvation and perfectioning of the soul of our neighbour." The same thought recurs in the course of the Constitutions themselves. "The particular object of the Society is this: we wish to help our own souls and the souls of our neighbours to reach the final end for which we have been created." The Society of Jesus is "founded for the greater glory of God, for the highest general good, and the profit of souls."[1]

Other Orders had attached to personal sanctification, the common aim of all monastic life, such accessory observances as meditation on divine things, or solemn celebration of worship, or the service of the sick, or other charitable works; in like manner Ignatius set as a special task for his community the salvation and sanctification of others; this would redound to the greater glory of God and to the extension of His kingdom over the whole world under the leadership and through the imitation of Christ. Among the Mendicant Orders, and especially among the Dominicans and Franciscans, preaching and similar agencies had been employed already; but Ignatius had set the salvation of souls more emphatically in the foreground, and had adapted with greater consistence, to this end, the choice of members of the Order, their training and education, and the whole disciplinary system of their lives.

[1] Examen, c. 1, n. 2; Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 1, n. 9; P. 4, proœm.

A repulsive outward appearance, disordered intellect, intractability of character, bad reputation, uncatholic habits of thought were barriers to admission. None also could be admitted who had worn, even if it were only as a novice, the clothing of another Order. "For," said Ignatius, "such a one ought to have remained true to his first vocation."[1] Some were received as "indifferent"; as long as it was uncertain whether they were qualified for the priesthood or fitted for lay brotherhood, they were to hold themselves in readiness for either alternative and submit to be appointed to the one sphere or the other at the discretion of their Superiors.[2]

The term of probation, in the narrower sense of the word, did not last, as in other Orders, for a term of one but of two years. During this period novices had to undergo various tests; each one had to give a month to the spiritual exercises, to visit the sick in hospitals, and go from door to door on a quest for alms; they had also to attend to the house and do other domestic services. Moreover, they were bound to explain the Catechism, and, if they were priests, to practise themselves in preaching, and in hearing confessions.[3]

On the expiry of the probationary period it was usual in other orders to proceed at once to the assumption of the solemn vows. In this instance Ignatius made a trenchant alteration. By his rule novices only took

[1] Constitutiones, P. I., c. 1–4; Examen, c. 2, n. 36. The most recent edition, 3 vols., of the "Institutum Societatis Jesu" (Florentiae, 1892–1893), gives the Constitutions together with the Examen in 2 vols., pp. 1–145. It is the Latin translation in general use in the Order. For the "Institutum," *cf.* Heimbucher, III., 2nd ed., 10, 21, 22. Newest edition of the Constitutiones: Romae, Typ. Vatic., 1908.

[2] Examen, c. 1, n. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. 1, n. 12; c. 4, n. 9–16, 28.

upon them the so-called scholastic vows, namely, the simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, together with the promise to allow themselves at a later period, on the injunction of their Superior, to be incorporated finally into the Order as a professed or formal coadjutor; these final vows, however, were only confirmed after a long and varied probation. In most cases he had to spend yet another year as a scholastic in study; when this was ended, there then remained yet a third year of probation to go through; during this period he had to regain in the "school of the heart" what he might have lost of fervour in the school of learning. Lay brothers were already excluded from the circle of the professed, inasmuch as priests only could assume the solemn vows.[1] The former, however, and generally speaking all who, after the two years' probation, had taken simple vows, had the consolation of knowing that in virtue even of the latter they were sons of the Order in a true and specific sense.[2]

A large discretion was left to the Superiors of the Order in the matter of dismissing incompetent and unworthy

[1] Examen, c. 1, n. 10; c. 4, n. 16; c. 7, n. 1; Constitutiones, P. 5, c. 1, n. 3; c. 2, n. 1; P. 10, n. 7. For coadjutors, see *supra*, p. 37.

[2] "Vere et proprie religiosi," thus Gregory XIII. in the Bull "Ascendente Domino" of May 25, 1584, in express terms (Bull., VIII., 461–464). Since the essential portion of the Order, that of the professed, take solemn vows in the canonical sense, the Society of Jesus thus belongs not to "ecclesiastical congregations" but to the religious orders in the strictest acceptation of the words. Pius V. declared in the Brief "Dum indefessae" of July 7, 1571, that the Society was one of the "Ordines Mendicantium" (Bull., VII., 923–926); Gregory XIII., in the Bull before mentioned, calls them "Ordo regularis" (*ibid.*, VIII., 459, 461). The Council of Trent uses the term "Religio Clericorum" (Sess., 25, De reg. et mon., c. 16). It is not a monastic order but an order of regular clergy. For the expression "clericus saecularis Societatis Jesu," see BRAUNSBERGER, III., 743, 744.

members. This too not only in the case of novices but of those under the scholastic vows; on their part certainly the dedication and obligation were binding for life, but the vows were taken on the tacit understanding that their vows were revocable, on valid grounds, by the Order and their membership dissoluble. In certain cases also a professed might be dismissed, and even the General himself.[1]

For the spiritual life of each member effectual support was forthcoming; the daily Masses, frequent confession and communion, examination of conscience twice a day, meditation, the recitation of the Rosary, festivals of Our Lady, spiritual reading, private exhortations, and edifying readings during meals.[2] All who had not become professed or formal coadjutors had to renew their vows twice a year.[3] All the members must open their whole conscience to their directors or to the Superior in order to guard against self-deception.[4] The professed also must be ready, at least once a year, to give an account of the state of their conscience to the Superior.[5] It must be each one's endeavour to direct his undertakings with a good and pure intention, more from love of God than from hope of reward and fear of punishment.[6]

In order that ambition may be shut out by bolt and bar, it is strongly prohibited to strive for any post of dignity or pre-eminence in the Order. The professed have to take a special vow in this sense, and even to promise to inform on anyone who shall solicit such honours, and the

[1] Constitutiones, P. 2, c. 2, n. 3, 4; c. 3, n. 5, 6 A; P. 5, c. 4 B; P. 9, c. 4, n. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 5, 10, 20, 21; P. 4, n. 3, 4 B; P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, P. 4, c. 4, n. 5 D; P. 5, c. 4, n. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, P. 6, c. 1, n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 26.

acceptance even of any dignity outside the Order can only be permitted when this is enjoined under pain of sin by one having authority to do so.[1]

The love of relations must be pure and spiritual.[2] "The closer a man draws to God," exhorts Ignatius, "and the more generously he devotes himself to the Divine Majesty, the more generous will he find God to be towards him."[3] This magnanimous love of God must be the fundamental law and mainspring of the whole life of the Order; from this as from its source must spring also the desire to draw ever nearer to the Incarnate Son of God on His Cross and to imitate Him in the joyful endurance of suffering and shame.[4]

The scope of the vows of the Order is accurately measured in the Constitutions. In order to avoid any appearance of covetousness, all spiritual functions must be fulfilled without remuneration. Neither the professed nor the formal coadjutors can hold or inherit any personal property; the houses and churches of the professed have no fixed incomes; professed and non-professed alike must support themselves on alms.[5] On the other hand, colleges and noviciates have fixed incomes whereby the inmates, free from anxieties of subsistence, can devote their whole attention to teaching and learning. Those who have not yet taken the solemn vows can certainly still hold property, but not at their own free disposition; they must also be ready to renounce it before taking the solemn vows, and even earlier still if the Superior should at any time enjoin

[1] Constitutiones, P. 10, n. 6.

[2] Luke xiv. 26, Matt. xix. 29, Examen, c. 4, n. 7.

[3] Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 1, n. 22.

[4] Examen, c. 4, n. 44; Const. procem. *Cf.* FRINS in Wetzer u. Weltes Kirchenlexikon, VI., 2nd ed., 1384

[5] Constitutiones, P. 6, c. 2, n. 2–4, 7, 12.

them to do so. Without permission of the latter no one can make use of anything or dispose thereof by loan or alienation.[1] Also, as opportunity occurs, each one must practically experience that he is a poor man. Poverty is and always must be the "strong bulwark of the life of the Order"; for that reason all the professed must swear to withstand any alteration of the rules concerning poverty; in such a case it would behove them to make the regulations more severe.[2]

As regards the vow of chastity, one exhortation is addressed to all "to watch with the utmost care over the doorways of the senses, especially the eyes, ears, and tongue, in order that all that is irregular may be kept at a distance." They must be assiduous in observing silence when this is enjoined, in having regard to reserve and edification when called upon to speak, in maintaining a modest demeanour, a composure of step and bearing in all their movements. "Fasts, vigils, and similar corporal hardships are certainly not to be indulged in immoderately," but also "not so sparingly as to chill the fervour of the spiritual, and inflame the lower and merely human motions of the soul." In private no room must be left for "indolence, the beginning of all vices"; a strict regulation of daily life is therefore necessary.[3]

Obedience was a primary consideration in the spiritual contingent levied by the knight of Loyola for the army of the Church. His soldiers must be capable of "any task, not openly sinful, however difficult and repugnant to the senses" it may be. They must be trained to exhibit obedience not only where formal obligations command, but

[1] Examen, c. 1, n. 4; c. 4, n. 4; Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 2, n. 5; c. 4 E.

[2] Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 1, n. 7, 8, 25; P. 6, c. 2, n. 1, 11 A, H.

[3] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 4, 5, 15; c. 2, n. 2; P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

even on the slightest intimation of their Superior's wish.[1] Commands must be carried out promptly, completely, and perseveringly; yet their fulfilment must not be merely mechanical and external. Ignatius insists repeatedly on conscious, spontaneous, joyful obedience; therefore his subordinates must make "the will and judgment of their Superior the standard measure of their own judgment and will."[2] In this sense they are to practise a "blind obedience";[3] blind not in relation to the thing commanded, but certainly in relation to the deceits and illusions of their own darkness, pettiness of soul, and sensuality.

St. Basil in one of his monastic maxims had once compared obedience to a carpenter's tool:[4] in like manner Ignatius drew his image from the staff in an old man's hand; he did not even forget to repeat, at least in a few words, the comparison that St. Francis of Assisi had worked out in such detail for his disciples[5]—that the perfectly obedient man resembled an inanimate corpse.[6]

[1] Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 1, n. 23; P. 6, c. 1, n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 23.

[3] The translation has "caeca quadam obedientia," the Spanish original simply "con obedientia ciega" (P. 6, c. 1, n. 1). Francesco Suarez supports this doctrine of blind obedience by many sayings of fathers and teachers of ancient Christendom and of the Middle Ages, and concludes: "Ignatius clearly had either borrowed his teaching from them or at least given expression to it in a like spirit to theirs" (Tractatus de Religione Societatis Jesu, l. 4, c. 15, n. 4–11: Opera, ed. CAR. BERTON, XVI., Parisiis, 1866, 778–782). *Cf.* also DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 531–533; HEIMBUCHER, III., 3nd ed., 27; HEINER, Die Jesuiten, Munich, 1906, 40–46.

[4] Constitutiones Monasticae, c. 22, n. 5 (MIGNE, Patr. Gr., XXXI., 1409).

[5] S. BONAVENTURA, Legenda (major) S. Francisci, c. 6 (Seraphici Doctoris S. Bonaventurae legendae duae de Vita S. Francisci Seraphici, Ad Claras Aquas, 1898, 90).

[6] Constitutiones, P. 6, c. 1, n. 1.

In order to attain this perfection we ought, Ignatius warns us, "to have God, our Creator and Lord, before our eyes in order that for His sake a man may render obedience to his fellow-man," "to look upon our Superior whomsoever he be as the representative of Christ," and therefore to give as "prompt obedience to his word" as though it came from the mouth of Christ.[1] At the same time the Constitutions repeatedly concede the right to the subordinate to make counter-representations to the Superior; only they must have been made the subject of previous prayer and be accompanied with the resolve to do, as best, what the Superior finally determines.[2] Ignatius also adopts the clause in the Dominican Constitutions[3] that, the vows of the Order excepted, the regulations of the Order as such do not bind under sin;[4] in that case the Superior must

[1] Constitutiones, P. 6, c. 1, n. 1; P. 3, c. 1, n. 23. St. Benedict had already taught the same: "Obedientia, quae majoribus praebetur, Deo exhibetur; ipse enim dixit: Qui vos audit me audit" [Lc. 10, 16] (Regula Sancti Patris Benedicti, c. 5, ed. EDM. SCHMIDT, O.S.B., Ratisbonae, 1892, 27, 28). Benedict also describes obedient monks as "voluntatem propriam deserentes," "ambulantes alieno judicio et imperio" (*ibid.*, 26, 27).

[2] Examen, c. 8 A; Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 2, n. 1; P. 5, c. 4 F; P. 7, c. 2 J.

[3] "Volumus et declaramus ut Constitutiones nostrae non obligent nos ad culpam, sed ad penam, nisi propter preceptum vel contemptum" (Constitutiones Ordinis Praedicatorum, Prologus, recension of St. Raymond of Pennafort, given by P. HEINR. DENIFLE in Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, V., 534).

[4] "Obligar á peccado mortal ni venial": "Obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere" (Constitutiones, P. 6, c. 5). That the expression "obligatio ad peccatum," occurring also in the Franciscan and Dominican rules, does not mean an obligation to commit sin but an obligation incurring sin or "under sin," if violated, is recognized by Ranke, Gieseler, Steitz, Gardiner, and other Protestant scholars and is now pretty generally admitted (*cf.* DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln,[4] 525, 541).

enjoin something in virtue of obedience. Besides this Superiors can, on good grounds, release a subordinate from the observance of a particular rule.[1]

The General of the Society of Jesus, as sketched by Ignatius, ought not to limit himself to the sanctification of those under him, he must aim also at influencing through them the world around. The renunciation of the world did not drive the hero of Pampeluna, as it had driven the other great monastic founders, to silent, sunlit mountain peaks or to caverns hidden from the approach of men; Ignatius went in search of sinners in great cities; he bade his young followers cross the seas to deal blows at heathendom. But as yet most of those who rallied round him were not yet stout enough to fight under his banner; they must first be schooled and trained. To this end therefore the colleges were called into being, and with this aim in view the youthful scions of the Order were here instructed in frequent disputations, trained as preachers and Christian instructors, exercised in literary compositions. None could become professed until he had spent four years in theological study and gone through severe examinations.

The scholastics must have a fund of bodily and spiritual health to draw upon; they were therefore never to be deprived of their needful times of sleep and not to be too much engrossed in household duties, nor were they also to study too long at a stretch or at unsuitable times. Prayers and penitential exercises were not to take up so much of their time as of that of the novices; for, as the Constitutions express it, "God will be as well pleased, indeed better pleased, if with a good intention they serve Him by devotion to those studies which, so to speak, make a claim upon the whole man."[2] When ordained priests they must

[1] Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 10 B; P. 9, c. 3, n. 8 D.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 2, n. 4; P. 4, c. 4, n. 1, 2; c. 6, n. 2, 3.

associate themselves with all the means afforded by the Catholic Church for the fostering of piety: prayer and Holy Mass, the confessional, preaching and catechizing, spiritual exercises, and the labours of the pen. In the vows of the professed and formal coadjutors great stress is laid on the instruction of children in the elements of the Christian faith, since, says Ignatius, in this way "a great help is given to souls and a high service to God."[1]

The wide powers conferred by the Holy See on these apostolic workers are to be used with wisdom and discretion and with the wholly unalloyed intention of making them profitable to souls only.[2] The field of labour was coextensive with the world. Their fourth solemn vow binds the professed to go whithersoever the Pope's word commands them, without even asking him for money for their journey or for any other sort of temporal aid. As often as a new Pope is chosen the General must inform him of this vow and of its scope.[3] The General can send all, even the non-professed, to any place and in the performance of any office coming within the purview of the Society. His fundamental principle must be that "the more general a good is, the more divine is its character;" therefore those spheres of spiritual service are to be preferred through which the influence of good may have the widest expansion: bishoprics, principalities, magistracies, seats of learning and universities, and great nations.[4]

Another engine of activity touched more remotely the salvation of souls, and yet in the hands of the Society of Jesus became a powerful lever thereto: this was the

[1] Constitutiones, P. 5, c. 3, n. 3, 6 B; c. 4, n. 2; P. 7, c. 4, n. 2–11.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 10, n. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, P. 5, c. 3, n. 3; P. 7, c. 1, n. 1, 3, 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, P. 7, c. 2 D, E; P. 9, c. 3, n. 9.

education of extern scholars. In the first conception of the founder this had no place; originally his aim was solely to provide seminaries for his own Order. The novices and junior members of the Order had a common dwelling-place in a university city; thence they went to attend the public lectures. Soon the strength of the Order increased so greatly that he was able to think of allowing its offshoots in the colleges to develop their own educational capacities. Finally, at the request of the founders and benefactors, permission was given to receive extern pupils for instruction, or also to take over middle and high schools which were almost exclusively intended for the tuition of externs.[1]

On these lines then even at an early period the educational rules of the Constitutions were moving. They embraced the whole system of teaching from the alphabet to the curriculum of the university.[2] In the front rank of educational functions stood the exegesis of Holy Scripture and the scholastic theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. The sentences of Peter Lombard were at the same time set down for reading. If the exigencies of the time required it, some other theological text-book might be introduced with the consent of the General and on the advice of men of ripe experience; canon law was also taught with the exception of such portions as concerned the practice of legal tribunals;[3] civil law and medicine might

[1] FERD. TOURNIER, Mons. Guillaume du Prat au Concile de Trente: Etudes, XCVIII. (1904), 477–484.

[2] These are published in Latin and German by G. M. PACHTLER, S.J., in the Mon. Germ. paed., II.: Ratio studiorum et Institutiones scolasticae Societatis Jesu, I., Berlin, 1887, 8–69.

[3] That is the meaning of the words "sin entrar en la parte de Cánones que sirve para el foro contencioso": "non attingendo tamen eum partem Canonum, quae foro contentioso inservit" (P. 4, c. 12, n. 1). Gothein's explanation is incorrect: "that Ignatius also thought

be taken up by extern pupils; in philosophy Aristotle was master. The collegiate course consisted of five classes: three for grammar, followed by humanity and rhetoric. Together with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Arabic, the Indian and other languages might be studied where this would be of use; mathematics and history were not to be omitted, and instruction in reading and writing was a labour of love which the Order in no way excluded.[1] To pass Master in the liberal arts three years and a half must be given to philosophy; for the doctor's degree in theology it was required that the customary four years of study should be supplemented by another two. Promotions were free of charge, and entertainments on taking the doctor's degree forbidden on account of the expense.[2]

Higher value was attached to the moral discipline of youth. The works of classical authors, therefore, were purged of unseemly passages and expressions. A book unobjectionable in itself but by an author of bad repute was not to be used as a school-book, otherwise an attraction might be felt towards the author and admiration for what he says rightly be transferred to those things which he asserts wrongly. Where laziness and bad habits do not give way to persuasion bodily punishment must ensue; but the chastisement must never be given by a fellow-member of the Order. All scholars, even the University students, ought to go to confession at least once a month; they must also attend Mass daily, hear a sermon every Sunday, go once a week to the explanation of the Catechism, and also listen once a week to an edifying discourse in Latin which one of the scholars shall be appointed to deliver.

that many parts of the canon law were of no use save for fostering a spirit of litigation" (p. 441).

[1] Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 12, n. 1, 2, 4 A, B, C; c. 14, n. 1, 3 B, C.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 4, c. 15, n. 2, 3, 4 F.

The teachers, in and out of hours of instruction, shall avail themselves of every opportunity to stimulate in their pupils a love of God's service and of virtue.[1] For scholars belonging to the Society itself a special course of study must be drawn up with the General's approval; in this attention must be given to the requirements of time and place. Besides, each college is to have its own regulations going more fully into details.[2] In this part of the Constitutions, as in all the rest, to the rules are often added the words "as far as this is possible." The "when" and "how" are constantly committed to the wise discretion of the Superior.[3] It is evident that the educational rules of the Constitutions were copied from those obtaining in Paris, where Ignatius and his first comrades had studied.[4]

The working of the Society must, despite its complexity and great local expansion, maintain its characteristic of unity. Of service for this was the correlated distribution of the Society into a varied membership of novices, scholastics, lay brothers, ecclesiastical coadjutors, and professed, with their hierarchical order and dependence, as well as the combination of individual houses into provinces and of these into assistances under one common head. The functions of obedience and command ascend in an ordered series of succession from the subordinates upwards through the immediate, mediate, and highest authorities, and *vice versa* from the latter downwards. The Provincial must make frequent visitation of the houses.[5]

[1] Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 5 E; c. 7, n. 2; c. 14, n. 2 A; c. 16, n. 1–5.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 4, c. 7, n. 2; c. 13 A.

[3] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 15, 18, 21 B, C, F, I, R; c. 2, n. 1, 5 E, G; P. 4, c. 4 A; c. 6 A; c. 15 C–F; P. 6, c. 2 M; c. 3 A.

[4] More fully in B. DUHR, S.J., Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu: Bibl. der kathol. Pädagogik, IX., Freiburg i. Br., 1896, 3–5.

[5] Constitutiones, P. 8, c. 1, n. 4 J.

The secret *par excellence* of the powerful solidarity of the Jesuit Order lies in the supreme authority of the General. Chosen by the general assemblage of the Order, he alone among all the officers holds his office for life; he it is who has power to admit all and to dismiss all, who nominates and removes not only the provincials but also all rectors of the novitiates and the colleges,[1] who dispenses spiritual powers and graces, limits them and recalls them, who convenes and presides over the general assemblies of the Order. To him every third year each province of the Order must send a confidential member to report to him on the condition of the province. In difficult affairs indeed the General must attend to the counsel of the Assistants, about four in number, given him as assessors by the general assembly, but their counsel has not binding power.[2] Yet on the other hand again, this supreme authority in the Order is moderated not only by the divine and ecclesiastical commandments but also by the Constitutions of the Society itself; their alteration belongs only to the General Congregation of the Order. This highest tribunal is composed of the General, his Assistants, the Provincials, and each couple of professed chosen in each province by a Provincial Congregation consisting of the Provincial, the Rectors, and the rest of the professed. The General Congregation also alone has the right to dissolve a college. The General is recommended to give a wide scope for the activity of his subordinate officers. It is the duty of his Assistants to watch over his personal tasks;

[1] At first Ignatius allowed or commanded, from time to time, the members of a house to elect their own Superior—such was the case in Gandia (letter to them, dat. Rome, July 29, 1547; Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 560).

[2] Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 10, n. 3; c. 17, n. 1; P. 8, c. 2 B.; P. 9, c. 1, n. 1 A; c. 3, n. 1-17; c. 6, n. 10, 11.

they must take care that he does not injure his health through too severe a manner of life or through excess of exertion. Further, the Order sets beside him an Admonitor, who, whether he be likewise chosen by the General as his confessor or not, has in case of necessity to call his attention to faults in his behaviour or in the conduct of his office. It is also the Assistants' duty to take care that a General who is incapable of work or is unworthy of his place should be provided with a coadjutor or a successor.[1]

A second unifying tie in the Order is brotherly love. A common system of life, uniformity of doctrine in sermons, lectures and writings, mutual discussion in Provincial and General assemblies bind their hearts together. "In their ceremonies" the Society "shall, so far as it is practicable in different localities, follow the Roman usage, as this is the more general and is in a more particular way adopted by the Apostolic See." The officers shall in their commands show good-will, modesty, and charity, so that their rule shall be more by love than by fear. The Provincials and Rectors must always have certain members of the Order marked out for them with whom in matters of importance they can consult even if the decision rests entirely in their own hands.[2]

Ignatius showed exceptional skill in turning correspondence into an instrument wherewith to direct the Order and cement its unity. Frequently, at appointed times, the General must receive reports from the Provincials and Rectors, the Provincials from the Rectors, and the latter from those whose work lies outside the houses, to all of whom, in return, replies and instructions must be sent.

[1] Constitutiones, P. 4, c. 2, n. 3; c. 10, n. 2; P. 8, c. 2, n. 2; c. 4, n. 1; P. 9, c. 4, n. 1–7; c. 5, n. 3; c. 6, n. 2; P. 10, n. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 3, c. 1. n. 18; P. 4, c. 8, n. 2; P. 8, c. 1, n. 8 G; P. 9, c. 6, n. 14.

Moreover, in each house of the Order an account must be given of anything consolatory or edifying that has been reported from the rest. To serve this purpose, at appointed times letters are set in circulation. Thus mutual remembrance is maintained, the different fields of labour are passed in review, lessons are learned from the experiences of others, comfort is afforded in moments of misfortune, and the spur applied to a noble emulation.[1]

The originality of the founder of the Society of Jesus was displayed not merely in his choice of new weapons but in his rejection of old methods of warfare. Nothing was further from his thought than a desire to subjugate the world; his only purpose was to supply the Papacy with a band of auxiliary troops always ready to march and easy to handle in the defence and extension of the Church. For this reason the men of the Order were never to be hampered by the episcopal staff or tied down to one fixed spot by the regular direction of women's souls. After giving in the Constitutions solid guarantees for the inner life of the individual members, Ignatius felt that, for the sake of the tasks set before them, many external means of protection, which for centuries had been of the greatest blessing and service to the religious orders, must be cast aside. Among them was the special dress of the orders. To the enemies of the Church the monk's garment was an abomination; nor was this all: stained by the immoral and renegade, the habit even in many Catholic districts was more likely to find doors and hearts closed against it than opened to receive it. Ignatius ruled that his followers should wear the dress of the countries in which they were living; at the same time they were always to be mindful of respectability and poverty.[2] Also in their keep and

[1] Constitutiones, P. 8, c. 1, n. 9 L, M.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 6, c. 2, n. 15.

the other external observances of life they were to conform to local customs without being bound by a general rule to observe special fasts and other acts of penance; in the practice of the latter they were rather to be guided each one by the direction of their confessor or superior.[1]

In the same spirit Ignatius also took another bold step which the founders of the Theatine Order had not yet ventured upon, and for which ten years after his death he was still unforgiven by many pious and learned men. Strongly attracted as he was personally to the solemn observance of the Church prayers in choir,[2] he yet released his Order entirely from this practice in order that the work of preaching, hearing confessions, and giving instruction might meet with no impediment; those who wish to seek edification in prayer in choir could find, he said, churches enough wherein to satisfy their wishes.[3]

It would seem that the founder of the Society of Jesus in all these regulations had before his eyes the saying of St. Thomas Aquinas: "Strictness in external things is not the main point in the life of an Order. . . . That Order does not stand highest which exceeds others in strictness in externals, but which in the external ordering of its life adapts itself most reasonably to the special object for which it exists."[4] A computation has been made of the number of times in which in his Constitutions Ignatius makes use of the phrases "to the greater glory of God," "to the greater service of God," and such and

[1] Constitutiones, P. 3, c. 1, n. 15; P. 6, c. 2, n. 16; c. 3, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* RIBADENEIRA, De actis, etc., n. 29 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 348).

[3] Constitutiones, P. 6, c. 3, n. 4.

[4] S. theol., 2, 2, q. 188, a. 6 ad 3. P. HEINR. DENIFLE, O.P., has some excellent remarks on the Jesuit system in his work: Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwicklung, I., Mainz, 1904, 175–179.

similar expressions are found to occur in more than two hundred and fifty places.[1] The Constitutions are the shafts of light which irradiated from his soul, and his soul was filled with love — the love of God and of his neighbour. If in his Exercises Ignatius revealed himself as a great director of souls, in his Constitutions he appears as a great lawgiver to his Order.[2]

A great opportunity for vindicating this zeal for God's glory occurred to the Order at the end of 1545, when the Council of Trent was opened. Ignatius had placed Le Jay at the disposal of the Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, who appointed him his procurator at Trent in December 1545. Le Jay had his seat by the Bishop's side, although only with a consultative voice.[3] He was one of the two to whom, on the 23rd of February 1546, the first draft of the decree on the Holy Scriptures and tradition was entrusted.[4] With Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, Prince-Bishop of Trent, he stood on a footing of great confidence.[5] But the Pope himself also wished to send some Jesuits to Trent. Ignatius had

[1] Acta Sanctorum, Julii, VII., n. 677.

[2] VICTOR NAUMANN (Pilatus) says: "The constitution of the Society is a masterpiece of art which does high honour to its inventor" (Der Jesuitismus, Regensburg, 1905, 95). *Cf.* also BUSS, I., 554–594.

[3] The mandate (dated Dillingen, Dec. 1, 1545) whereby provost Andreas Rem von Kötz and Claude Le Jay were appointed procurators is given by EHSES (Conc. Trid., IV., 1, 440–442; *cf. ibid.*, 540). Rem remained only a short time in Trent.

[4] Notes of the promoter of the Council, Ercole Severoli, and diaries of the secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, in MERKLE, Conc. Trid., I., i., 3, 33, 88, 93, 105, 352, 430, 592. *Cf.* also Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 302.

[5] So Canisius in his autograph notes in RIBADENEIRA'S Life of the saint, Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 719.

to select them; he named Faber, Laynez, and Salmeron.[1] Faber, however, died soon after at Rome. From the instructions which the General gave them for their conduct at Trent we see that the care of souls was to be a primary consideration. In preaching they were to avoid exposition of the doctrines on which the Protestants were at variance with the Catholics; their sermons and instructions were to end with a prayer for the Council. In speaking they were to be very cautious and unassuming.[2]

From the presidents of the assembly, the Cardinal-Legates del Monte and Cervini, Laynez and Salmeron met with a very cordial greeting—their reception by the bishops was not so warm; the Spanish prelates in particular were almost ashamed of the youth and shabby clothes of their fellow-countrymen.[3] The latter made haste to visit the poor, who had been gathered together in a house outside the city. On alternate days Laynez, Salmeron, and Le Jay went thither and said Mass, expounded the cardinal doctrines of the Faith, and administered the Sacraments.[4] "With great matters," they wrote conjointly to Ignatius on the 4th of June 1546, "we do not mix ourselves up beyond what is imposed upon us by our duties."[5] They had no respite from work; all bishops and divines at Trent were forbidden to preach in public; at the request, however, of some of the Fathers, Laynez was ordered by the Cardinal-Legates to occupy the pulpit, and he preached to great congregations on Sundays and feast-days in

[1] Ignatius to Francis Borgia, dat. Rome, April 23, 1546; Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 381.

[2] The reference in Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., 386–389.

[3] ORLANDINUS, l. 6, n. 21, 23.

[4] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 128. *Cf.* note 1, *loc. cit.*, 388, 389.

[5] Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmeronis, Societatis Jesu ex autographis vel originalibus exemplis potissimum depromptae, a Patribus ejusdem Societatis nunc primum editae, I., Matriti, 1906, 16.

S. Maria Maggiore.[1] Before this the Legates had already bidden him and Salmeron take part[2] in the gatherings of theologians, who were not Fathers of the Council—the so-called lesser theologians,—in which divines of the first rank from different countries discussed before Cardinals and bishops the burning questions of the hour. Here Laynez and Salmeron dealt with the question of justification with such soundness and learning that many members of the Council asked them for copies of these disquisitions.[3] Laynez refuted Seripando's view of "imputed justice" in a treatise which threw light on the whole question.[4]

Peter Canisius, who was appointed in February 1547 by Cardinal Truchsess as an assistant theologian to Le Jay, wrote from Trent to Rome: "Other theologians have barely an hour to speak in; but Laynez was allowed by the Cardinal-President to speak for three hours and even longer."[5] The Bishop of Foligno declared a year later that none had expressed themselves at Trent so clearly and intelligibly as Laynez and Salmeron.[6] From justification the discussion passed to the Sacraments;

[1] Ignatius to Torres, dat. Rome, Oct. 9, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 435); POLANCUS, I., n. 131; Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 16.

[2] Laynez and companions to Ignatius, dat. Trent, June 4, 1546 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 15, 16).

[3] Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Trent, July 3, 1546 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 310 *seq.*); *cf.* the diaries of Massarelli in MERKLE, I., 459, 461, 463, 580, 605, 609, 610, 615.

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 11, n. 9, The treatise is given by HARTM. GRISAR, S.J.: Jacobi Lainez Disputationes Tridentinae, II., Oeniponte, 1886, 153–192. Theiner's edition is faulty.

[5] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 245.

[6] Silvestro Landini to Ignatius, dat. Foligno, Dec. 1548 (Litterae quadrimestres, I., Matriti, 1894, 124); *cf.* also Ignatius to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, Aug. 19, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 413).

Laynez and Salmeron were instructed by the Legates to summarize the errors of the Protestants and the contrary statements of Fathers and Councils. Cardinal Cervini presented this work to the Fathers as a basis for the negotiations.[1] Salmeron, in the middle of July 1546, in a letter meant only for the General himself, stated: "The doctrine of some of the theologians is bad; Cardinal Cervini therefore takes care that in the meetings of theologians one of us is among the first speakers and explains the subject; the other is kept in reserve for the end; it is his special business to refute the less correct opinions that have been expressed. Almost all the bishops, Italian, Spanish, and French, are on our side; and among the Spaniards those who at first were most against us now speak openly in our praise, invite us to their tables, and impart to us what they intend to say in the congregations. . . . Many learned prelates come to us before the congregations to consult us about their votes. Others who are better versed in other subjects than theology receive our instruction willingly and thoroughly. Cardinal Cervini gives us his entire confidence."[2]

At the beginning of 1547 Ignatius, at the request of the Duchess of Tuscany, wished to send Laynez to Florence; but Cardinal Cervini declared that he was indispensable, and Bishop Archinto, the Vicar of Paul III., wrote to the General that his sons could not do more good at any place in the world than at Trent.[3] When in March

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 459, 604, 605; Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Trent, Jan. 30, 1547 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 333); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 177.

[2] Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 26, 27; *cf.* also ORLANDINUS, l. 6, n. 25, and ASTRAIN, I., 526, 527.

[3] BARTOLI, Istoria della Comp. l' Italia, l. 2, c. 4 (Opere V., Torino, 1825, 35–38). *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI in Civ. Catt., Ser. XVIII., vii (1899), 156–166.

1547 the transference of the Council to Bologna was decided on, Laynez and Salmeron were also sent there by the Legates. Le Jay and Canisius wrote repeatedly to Cardinal Truchsess, to whom the removal was highly displeasing, and asked for instructions. As the reply was long in coming, they betook themselves to Bologna as Ignatius had ordered. At last Le Jay received from Truchsess the hint not to appear as his procurator in Bologna: he was now a simple theologian.[1] Although the assembly at Bologna was, owing to the Emperor's opposition, only a troublesome waste of time, the Jesuits stayed there a considerable time. Laynez spoke for three consecutive hours on the sacrament of penance; Canisius also sometimes spoke. The secretary of the Council, Massarelli, wrote in his diary on the 15th of May 1547: "This afternoon I was with Messers Claudius, Jacobus, and Alphonsus, of the Society of Jesus, and showed them the censures and opinions on the Canons on the Eucharist; we conversed for four hours over these opinions. I then drew up my report of this for my very honourable masters." Salmeron in November 1547 was still working for the Council.[2]

These exertions were also of advantage to the Society. Bishop Guillaume du Prat of Clermont came to the conviction that the Jesuits would be of service to the Church

[1] "Alias Tridenti procurator R^mi Otthonis cardinalis Augustensis" (Massarelli on the assembly of theologians of May 6, 1547: Diarium, IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 649; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 670); Letter from Truchsess to Le Jay, dat. Dillingen, April 18, 1547 (Epistolae Mixtae, I., 356, 357); POLANCUS, n. 177.

[2] Massarelli, Diarium, IV., *loc. cit.*, 644-649, 652, 660, 671-674, 679, 683; BRAUNSBERGER, I., 684, 685; Salmeron to Ignatius, dat. Bologna, Nov. 26, 1547 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 59); ORLANDINUS, l. 7, n. 24. *Cf.* also GUIS. BOERO, S.J., Vito del Servo di Dio P. Giacomo Lainez, Firenze, 1880, 70-75.

of France, and resolved to found two colleges for them, one in Paris, the other in Billom. Many other bishops also expressed a wish to have some Jesuits in their sees. The Bishop of Badajoz sent very favourable reports to the Spanish court of Laynez and his colleagues at Trent. He also sent Salmeron's printed sermon to the council of the Inquisition as the best that had been delivered on the Council. The Inquisitors were much pleased with it. "Thus," wrote the Provincial Araoz from Madrid to Rome, "others have done more for us by their speeches than we have ourselves with all the sweat of our brows in Spain."[1]

Venice was the first city, with the exception of Rome, in which the Jesuits found a foothold. The Venetian patrician Andrea Lippomano offered the young members sent to study at Padua by Ignatius a residence in the priory of the Teutonic Order belonging to him there; he soon went a step further and without any solicitation declared himself ready, with the Pope's permission, to assign this benefice entirely to the Society. Paul III. ordered an investigation of the circumstances to be made, and then as supreme administrator of the property of the Church ordained that the priorate of Padua should be set apart for the maintenance of two houses of students of the Society of Jesus, one to be established in Padua and another in Venice.[2] Philip, the Spanish heir-apparent, wrote to the Doge that the priorate might certainly be

[1] Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Trent, May 10, 1546 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 307–309); Salmeron to Ignatius, dat. Trent, Sept. 30, 1546 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 29); Araoz to Ignatius, dat. April 24, 1547 (Epistolae Mixtae, I., 359); ORLANDINUS, l. 6, n. 30; SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 478, 479.

[2] Ferron, S.J., to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, Nov. 21, 1545 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 330). Report on the Society of Jesus, 1547, sent from Italy to the court of Charles V. (Const. Soc. Jesu lat. et hisp., 347, 348); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 37, 51, 86.

given to the Jesuits and every favour be generally shown to them, as he knew them to be men of zealous, learned, and edifying conversation.[1] When the vote was afterwards taken in the Senate there was also a very large majority in their favour.[2]

In compliance with their desire Laynez was sent to the Venetians by Paul III., and together with other duties he gave lectures thrice a week on St. John's Gospel. Cardinal Cervini succeeded in securing for a while the services of Pascal Broët for his native place, Montepulciano. In Verona, Salmeron, sent thither by Ignatius on the invitation of the learned and pious Bishop Luigi Lippomano, preached on Sundays to the people on the Epistle to the Romans. To another very learned bishop, the Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, Bobadilla was given for his see of Minori.[3]

In Faenza, Lutheran teaching had been disseminated by the apostate General of the Capuchins, Ochino; moreover, in the city and throughout the whole Romagna many vendettas existed, some of which had been handed down for more than a century; assassinations constantly ensued. There Broët appeared and in seven schools of the city gave Christian instruction; his sermons produced such an effect that on one occasion more than a hundred persons were at the same time solemnly reconciled. He also founded the Compagnia della Carità for the purpose of seeking out the sick poor, moving them to confess and receive communion, and providing for their nourishment and medical aid.[4]

[1] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 570, 571.

[2] RIBADENEIRA, De actis, etc., n. 52. *Cf.* K. SCHELLHASS in Quellen und Forschungen VII., 91–120. The later attempts of the German Order to cancel the transfer were ineffectual.

[3] POLANCUS, 43, 50, 235, 238, 391, 393.

[4] Broët to Francis Xavier, dat. Faenza, March 1, 1545, and to Ignatius, dat. Faenza, Nov. 1, 1545 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broeti, 34–37); POLANCUS, n. 910.

Belluno underwent a like transformation. Attendance upon sermons had dropped out of practice; un-Catholic views on confession, purgatory, and the saints were diffused. In 1549 Bishop Giulio Contarini made an arrangement with Ignatius that Salmeron should come to Belluno, and in that year the Sacraments were frequented by nearly a thousand more persons than in the year before; Lutheran books, translated into Italian, were cast into the fire; the city made public declaration that Salmeron had wrought a new birth and total renovation.[1]

The first beginnings of the Order in Modena were less fortunate. The academy in that city had a reputation of years' standing as a centre of error and free thought. As early as 1536 and 1539 Paul III. had taken serious steps to remedy the evil. In 1543 the bishop of the city, the noble, peace-loving Cardinal Morone, invited Salmeron to fill the pulpit of the Cathedral. He began a course of sermons; the members of the academy soon began to accuse him of caustic and acrimonious allusions. Morone having returned home in the meantime heard one of the sermons himself. He received the impression that in it the good works had been rated too highly, and made representations to Salmeron on the subject. The quick-tempered Spaniard made a reply which was somewhat disrespectful; thereupon the Cardinal, as he expressed himself later on, got rid of his man upon the spot.[2] When, fourteen years afterwards, Morone was imprisoned in St. Angelo by Paul IV. on suspicion of heresy, this brush with Salmeron formed

[1] Salmeron to Ignatius, dat. Venice, April 27, 1549 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 74–77); Peter Schorich, S.J., to Leonhard Kessel, dat. Rome, May 14, 1549 (HANSEN, 152, 153); POLANCUS, n. 429, 430.

[2] POLANCUS, n. 50, 66; Salmeron to Ignatius, dat. Bologna, Sept 24, 1547 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 52, 53); CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 172, and specially TACCHI VENTURI, I., 533 *seqq.*

one of the points of the indictment. The magnanimous Cardinal, however, was not diverted by this misadventure from his leaning towards the Jesuits; their college at Modena was the outcome of his insistence.[1]

One of the great supporters of the innovators in religion was Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, wife of Duke Ercole II., a French princess deeply implicated in Calvinistic teaching. Her husband's confessor, the archdeacon Guido Guidoni of Modena, therefore made use of a favourable hour to warn the former that he, who had so many counsellors at his disposal for the government of his temporal affairs, should at least have the assistance of one man to be his exhorter and helper in the things that concerned his salvation. Ercole assented, and ordered the Pope to be asked to send to him Le Jay, whom Ignatius instructed, while in Ferrara, to look upon the Duke as his true and only superior. Le Jay came and took up his abode in the hospital; the Duke, in whom Ignatius was deceived, troubled himself, however, very little about him. It was reported that Ercole had said that he did not wish to have anything to do with Theatines, as he had no wish to be called one himself.[2] Le Jay, at the Pope's orders, went in 1549 to Germany.

The favourable prospects of the erection of a college in Florence were destroyed in 1547 by the young Polanco. The General had commissioned him to carry spiritual aid to the people of Florence under the direction of

[1] ORLANDINUS, l. 12, n. 17. Morone in 1563, after his appointment as first President of the Council of Trent, declared to the General, Laynez, that he was ready to shed his blood for the Society (BRAUNSBERGER, IV., 978).

[2] Ignatius to Le Jay, dat. Rome, 1547, beginning of August (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 569); Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Ferrara, 1547, summer or autumn (Epistolae P. Pasch., Broëti, 336–338; *cf. ibid.*, 394, 395); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 182.

the Duke and the Archbishop of that city; he, however, was carried away by such excess of zeal that he attempted to enforce written advice on the Duke Cosimo and the Duchess Eleanora, instructing them how to reform their life and government; this gave grievous offence at court. Ignatius gave him severe reproof: "Such a course," he wrote, "can only then be undertaken when the sympathy, confidence, and esteem of such high rulers has been secured"; Polanco must now try and remove the soreness he had caused by services to the sick in the hospitals and similar exhibitions of a humble spirit.[1] Laynez indeed appeared, at the wish of the Duchess, in 1548, and on the Sundays in Lent preached to concourses of 8000 to 9000 persons in the Duomo; but it was not until 1551 that the college was able to make a beginning.[2]

The Society had to face an actual outburst of storm in Parma, where the opposition was led by a member of a religious order. The principal cause of offence was the frequency of communion introduced by the missionaries; in particular much comment was passed on the conduct of Giulia Zerbini, a woman of high position and great piety, who not only practised the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius herself, but gave them to friends of her own sex. She received communion during a sickness every day and, it was said, on those days on which she received the Lord's Body she took no other food. The judicial investigation instituted by the

[1] Attempts have been made recently to show from this circumstance that Ignatius had lax notions of the duties of a Court confessor (DRUFFEL, Ignatius von Loyola, 17, 18, 32; GOTHEIN, 340). On the other hand, see reply of W. Kreiten: "If Ignatius displayed laxity on this occasion, then laxity must be a characteristic of reason itself" (Stimmen aus Maria Laach, XLIX. [1895], 543).

[2] POLANCUS, n. 233; ORLANDINUS, I., 11, n. 11–24; ED. FUETER, Das erste Auftreten der Jesuiten in Florenz: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII. (1907), 432–453.

Bishop of Parma, Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, led on the 30th of December 1543 to a complete acquittal of the Jesuits.[1]

In the Jesuit, Silvestro Landini, Italy then possessed a missionary of the first rank. A priest of Casola wrote of him to Ignatius: "When he, accompanied by five or six ecclesiastics to whom he had given the Exercises, went through the country, the people in the fields laid down implements of work, left their oxen, and came running up to them, sometimes ten, twenty, thirty at a time, begging them to hear their confessions." The town of Correggio had for more than twenty years been rent by feuds, two parties, a French and an Italian, were opposed; on one occasion, within a short time five-and-forty men were slain, nothing was spoken of but murder and revenge, and men even came to church carrying weapons. Landini by his preaching made an entire change; arms were flung away, and all—women, children, the aged—exclaimed, "Peace, peace." With sobs and entreaties for forgiveness they fell into one another's arms; some hundred went at the same time to the Sacraments.[2]

From Castiglione in the Lunigiana the magistrate Baldassare Turiano wrote to Ignatius on the 27th of November 1547 begging that "Padre Silvestro" might not be sent elsewhere. "He makes peace between relatives, between neighbours, between communities; he induces runaway monks to return to their convent; he stirs men up to give means of subsistence to convents and to the poor; he procures rules against profane swearing and for the reverent observance of Sunday; he preaches in churches and public places, explains the Catechism, exhorts men to enter the religious life; he fasts daily, his food is a coarse

[1] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 584; ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 76.

[2] Reports from Casola and Correggio to Ignatius of 1549 (Litterae quadrimestres, I., 161–163, 178–180).

bread of millet seed, his drink a little water. Great and small model their lives on his; even if he were not to preach, his example alone would be a constant sermon." Six months later Raffaello Augustini reports from Fivizzano: "Padre Landini has been with us for about three weeks. He imitates the Apostles and other saints of the primitive church, being ever occupied in prayer, preaching, penance, and works of charity. He is making great efforts to banish hence the plague of Lutheranism, which has forced its way from Lucca into the diocese of Luni." After some months' work in Foligno, the Bishop of the see, the Benedictine, Isidoro Chieri, gave his testimony in the words, "We thought that an angel from heaven and not a human being was dwelling among us."[1] Also in Bologna, Brescia, Naples, Pisa, Pistoja, Reggio, and other cities Jesuit missionaries were welcomed. They often tried to give some perpetuity to their work by forming confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, associations of women for the protection of penitents of their own sex, and similar communities.[2]

The first Jesuit to set foot in Sicily was a native of the Netherlands, Jacob Lhoost; he had been sent by Cardinal Rodolfo Pio to his diocese of Girgenti. Laynez, at the bidding of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, brought reforms into the Archdiocese of Monreale; in the cathedral he delivered lectures on the Book of Ecclesiastes. Jeronimo Doménech came in May 1547 to the capital Palermo; he became confessor to the viceroy Juan de Vega and his

[1] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 445, 446, 497, 498; Litterae quadrimestres, I., 156. *Cf.* also BARTOLI, S.J., Degli uomini e de' fatti della Compagnia di Gesù: Opera postuma, I., Torino, 1847, 196–217.

[2] The Jesuits, like Paul III., were instrumental in spreading throughout Italy the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (*cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 194 *seqq.*).

wife, restored order to a convent of female penitents which had fallen into the most neglected condition, worked hard for the erection of orphanages for boys and girls, and had a catechism printed for the schools of the island. The Bishop of Patti, Sebastiano de Aragon, Inquisitor for Sicily and one of the foremost men in the kingdom, went through the Spiritual Exercises, together with his vicar and chaplains. At the request of the viceroy, Ignatius in 1549 procured a brief from Paul III. ordering the reformation of the Sicilian convents of nuns. In the same year a college of the Society was opened in Palermo.[1]

A year earlier Palermo's mercantile rival, the rich city of Messina, had received a similar institution in answer to requests addressed to Paul III. and to Ignatius. It was the first of the Order which from its beginning and primarily was set apart for the education of extern scholars. The General wished to make of it a typical specimen. His choice of the first teachers was characteristic; they included a Spaniard, an Italian, a German, a Frenchman, and a Savoyard; before they left Rome they were put through the test of giving instructions before him. He then sent the ten, who had been selected for Messina, to the Pope to ask his blessing; their spokesman was Peter Canisius. The Pope gave an extempore address which lasted half an hour, full of affection for Sicily and the Society of Jesus. Jeronimo Nadal, the first rector, gradually modelled the college on the plan of Paris, where he had himself studied.[2]

[1] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 193, 198; Doménech to Ignatius, dat. Palermo, 1547, July 4, and 1548 (Litterae quadrimestres, I., 47–53, 131); Nadal to Ignatius, dat. Messina, July 1549 (Epist. P. H. Nadal, I., 67); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 193–200, 242, 373, 379; ORLANDINUS, l. 7, n. 19; l. 9, n. 27.

[2] *Cf.* EMMAN. AGUILERA, S.J., Provinciae Siculae Societatis Jesu ortus et res gestae ab a. 1546 ad a. 1611, Panormi, 1737, 7–13.

In the autumn of the year 1548 a new scheme of studies was extended throughout Sicily, and also in Calabria. The scholars showed great diligence; as an efficient means of moral discipline frequent confession proved its influence among them. Messina was so delighted with the new school that already in 1548 it ventured to apply to the Pope for powers to change the collegiate system into that of an university. The time for that, however, had not yet come, and the hopes which the founder of the Order had built on this foundation were not fully realized, but the work in Palermo and Messina bore continuous fruit. "The whole of Sicily," wrote Canisius, "is in the grip of a moral renovation."[1]

The first among all the disciples of Loyola to enter on Spanish ground was one of his relations, Antonio Araoz, who had joined the Society in Rome. His arrival was at the end of 1539, when he preached in various places with success. He himself informed Ignatius how on the Holy Cross day of 1540, the pulpit had to be erected for him in the open air near Azpeitia; over 4000 men had come to hear him; many climbed to the roof of the church or the branches of trees in order to have a better hearing.[2] In 1541 Peter Faber came to Spain; in the

[1] Canisius to Kessel and Adriani, dat. Rome, Feb. 8, 1548, and Messina, Aug. 12, 1548 (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 265, 284); Report of the Jesuits in Rome to those of Louvain, dat. Rome, March 19, 1548 (HANSEN, 116–118); Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, March 27, 1548, and Ignatius to Doménech, dat. Rome, April 7, 1548 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., II., 51, 52, 75); Nadal to Ignatius, dat. Messina, May 7, 1549 (Epist. P. H. Nadal., I., 57); Vita P. Cornelii Vishavaei (*ibid.*, IV., 875); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 231, 243, 244, 339, 350; F. MEYER, Die Missionspläne des Ignatius von Loyola: Histor. Zeitschr., CI., 237–252.

[2] Vergara, dat. July 4, 1540 (Epist. Mixtae, I., 47); *cf.* ASTRAIN, I., 205, 230 *seq.*

following year he was in Germany, and in 1544 went from there to Portugal, where he met Araoz. Soon, bearing with them letters of recommendation from King John III. of Portugal, they both made their way to Valladolid to the court of the Spanish heir-apparent, Philip. There they found powerful patrons in Cardinal Juan Tavera, in the Grand Inquisitor Diego Tavera, and in the Papal nuncio Giovanni Poggio, who undertook the maintenance of the Fathers.[1] On Prince Philip removing his court to Madrid Araoz was frequently resident there. He defended earnestly the practice of frequent communion, which many at that time regarded as unpermissible and stigmatized as a Jesuit invention; he also laboured with success at the moral renovation of the convents of women of Catalonia. At Philip's request Ignatius, in concert with the Spanish ambassador in Rome, had obtained from Paul III. the requisite instructions and faculties.[2]

In 1547 Araoz was appointed by Ignatius first Provincial of the Society in Spain. Within two years a college was started at Valladolid; the house which was assigned to the Fathers was fitted up by the nuncio Poggio at his own expense. Between 1544 and 1546 colleges also arose in Valencia, Gandia, Barcelona, and Alcalà.[3] Hostility, however, was not wanting. This was no subject of alarm to Ignatius, on the contrary, he felt cause for depression when the colleges enjoyed long intervals of peace; for then he began to fear that the zeal of the Society might be

[1] POLANCUS, I., n. 33, 143, 266; ORLANDINUS, l. 5, n. 64, 65; ASTRAIN, I., 235, 242.

[2] Philip to Ignatius, dat. Monzon, Aug. 18, 1547; Polanco to Araoz, dat. Rome, Oct. 31, 1547; Araoz to Polanco, dat. Barcelona, Jan. 12, 1549 (Epist. Mixtae, I., 395, 396; II., 37, 38; Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., I., 612, 613).

[3] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 264; ASTRAIN, I., 265–278.

languishing.[1] In Saragossa the Prior of the Dominicans did his utmost towards the foundation of a Jesuit college; the Viceroy, the Inquisitors, the civic council, and many notables were on his side, but the Carmelites, Franciscans, and Augustinians joined hands with the local clergy and for a time made the execution of the scheme impossible.[2] The new Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, Juan Martinez Siliceo, was also unfavourable to the Society; he issued orders prohibiting any but parish priests to administer communion in his diocese. This ordinance was directed against the Jesuits who, it was reported, had been spoken of as heretics by the Archbishop.[3]

Salamanca was the centre of the most violent storm of opposition to the new Order. Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Coria, had in Rome proposed to the General that he should erect a Jesuit college in that city of Spain in which the first university had been opened. This had taken place in Salamanca in 1548. In the learned and wealthy Doctor Alonzo Ramirez de Vergara the school had a liberal benefactor.[4] There an antagonist of the new community arose in the person of the

[1] ORLANDINUS, l. 14, n. 9; Dictamina S. Ignatii (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., I., 478).

[2] Francesco de Rojas, S.J., to Araoz, dat. Saragossa, Aug. 1548 (Epist. Mixtae, I., 555–557); ASTRAIN, I., 441–452.

[3] Francesco de Villanueva, S.J., to Ignatius, dat. Guadalajara, Oct. 31, 1549 (Epist. Mixtae, II., 302).

[4] Vergara wished to join the Society, but was prevented by external circumstances all his life long (POLANCUS, I., n. 463). This has recently been adduced erroneously as evidence that he was throughout his life a secret member, and has given rise to the curious identification of the class of "Indifferentes" (see *supra*, p. 62) with a class of "Secret Jesuits." No such class exists among the members of the Order. For the beginnings of the College at Salamanca, see ASTRAIN, I., 298–303.

Dominican Melchior Cano, since 1546 first professor of theology in the University of Salamanca, and a man whose brilliant gifts and deep learning had made him the pride of Spain. The strange hallucination took possession of him that the Jesuits were the forerunners of Antichrist. He first gave public utterance to this notion during the Lenten sermons of the year 1548. At the close of the same year, on the 25th of November, the Jesuit Alvarez had to inform Ignatius: "To-day Doctor Cano preached before the whole University: one of the curses of Christendom is the short-sightedness of those prelates who, in order to please some pious souls, give their sanction to new and laxly regulated orders; I mean orders whose members go to and fro about the streets like other people—an order of loungers, I call them; they are given up to indolence, they take good care not to mortify the body, they procure for themselves permission to say their prayers out of the curtailed Roman breviary." Fourteen days later Cano was understood to say, "Signs shall go before the Last Judgment. Among them hypocrisies, 'Alumbrado'—revelations, exercises, and what now is deemed holy shall then be accursed and led down to hell."[1]

Cano did not name the Jesuits, but everbody knew of whom he spoke. Fingers were pointed at them in Salamanca; to hold converse with them was to forfeit reputation. The persecuted teachers suffered quietly for a time and waited; they then sought out Cano and privately addressed to him explanations and arguments. When this was unavailing Ignatius bethought him of a more telling means of defence. At his instigation the General of the Order of Preachers, Francisco Romeo, sent from Rome in December 1548 a

[1] Cartas de S. Ignacio, II., 485-488; Epist. Mixtae, I., 491, 492; Ignatius to J. de Avila and to M. Torres, dat. Jan. 24 and 26, 1549 (Mon. Ignat, Ser. I., II., 319, 320, 331); ASTRAIN, I., 321-333.

circular letter to all brothers of his Order in which he announced "that the Society of Jesus had the approval of the Pope, and was doing an extraordinary amount of good by its labours and example; he therefore, in virtue of holy obedience, forbade any attack, public or private, on the new Order, which ought rather to be looked upon as an ally in their spiritual warfare and to receive their protection and help."[1] Somewhat before this Pope Paul III., at the request of Cardinal Mendoza, had written already to the Bishops of Cuença and Salamanca in which he bitterly complained that evil men in Salamanca and in some other parts of Spain had blackened the Society and its members in sermons, lectures, and confidential conversation, thereby depriving them of popular confidence and undermining their influence for good; the Pope therefore appointed the two bishops protectors of the Order and gave them all the necessary powers.[2] Cano now held his peace for some time.

The feeling of enmity towards the Jesuits began to wane in Salamanca. To this change of disposition contributed especially, together with Estrada's Lent sermons and the devotion of his comrade Miguel Torres to those in prison and under sentence of death, the Apologia of the Jesuits, written by a member of Cano's own Order, the distinguished Dominican Juan de Peña. Louis of Granada also, great as a master of Spanish style, greater still as a master of the Christian life, one of the noblest ornaments of the Dominican Order in that century, was a staunch and outspoken friend of the Society. For some time indeed it seemed as if another great spiritual teacher, Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valencia, were about to take his place among the opponents of the Jesuits; to him, the stern Augustinian monk, many things in the new Order

[1] Printed in the Cartas de S. Ignacio, II., 492–494.

[2] Published in the Cartas de S. Ignacio, II., 480–484.

seemed dangerous and suspicious, but when the saintly man was shown how all had been approved at Rome, he disquieted himself no longer and became a great benefactor of the Order.[1] John of Avila, the Apostle of Andalusia, deplored that old age and illness hindered him from joining the Society; but, he wrote to Ignatius, he wished to do all that he could for them; from the first he had seen in them a work of God and a gift of Providence.[2]

Much closer to the Society was yet another saint to be drawn. When Ignatius in 1527 was brought prisoner to Alcalà on a charge of heresy, he was met in the street, so the story goes, by the young Marquis Francisco de Lombay, eldest son of Duke Juan III. of Gandia,[3] mounted high on his steed, with a retinue of friends and servants. Little did either of the two men dream in what altered circumstances they should meet together in the years to come.

Appointed viceroy of Catalonia by Charles V. in 1539, Francis Borgia, who was in 1542 a Tertiary of the Franciscan Order, heard through Peter Faber of the Society of Jesus. Soon afterwards his father Juan III. died, and Francis succeeded to the Dukedom of Gandia. One of the responsibilities he now felt most strongly was the care for the newly converted Moors; in order to give them religious help he founded at Lombay a large Dominican convent. For the education of the young Moriscos he wished to found a school in the town of Gandia and hand it over to the Jesuits; Ignatius, however, urged him to found a special

[1] Epist. Mixtae, I., 256–258; ASTRAIN, I., 333–339, 657–669.

[2] Ignatius to Avila, dat. Rome, Jan. 24, 1549, and Polanco to Villanueva, dat. Rome, Jan. 25, 1549 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., II., 317, 325); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 465.

[3] BARTOLI, Ignazio, l. 1, n. 33; P. SUAU, St. François de Borgia, Paris, 1905, 11.

college. While hitherto these institutions had been reserved for young members of the Order only, now for the first time admission would be given to Moorish children as well and to others from outside. The college was opened in 1546, and Paul III. raised it in the following year to the rank of a university. The Duchess did not live to see this, for she died on the 27th of March 1546. Thereupon Francis went through the Exercises and took a vow to enter the Order.[1] He could not, however, refuse to take his place by the side of Philip on the assembling of the Estates of Aragon in 1547. The Prince wished also to make him his "Major-domo"; but Borgia now resolved to withdraw gradually from the world. Ignatius obtained for him the Papal permission to take the vows of solemn profession and notwithstanding this to administer during three years his temporal possessions; by that time his children would be provided for and his foundations completed.[2]

On the 1st of February 1548 Francis made profession at Gandia before a few witnesses; the documents were put on paper in secret characters and sent to Rome.[3] Borgia continued to dress as a layman and to keep princely state. The step that he had taken was not publicly known in Spain until 1551.[4] Six months after his profession the General had to shorten by half Francis' periods of prayer and to prohibit his macerating scourgings and fastings; "otherwise," wrote Ignatius, "his bodily strength will be ruined"; there must be "*mens sana in corpore*

[1] POLANCUS, I., n. 107; Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, II., Matriti, 1903, xx–xxi, 504, 532, 535; SUAU, 64–66, 80–83; ASTRAIN, I., 275, 284, 285, 287, 303, 304.

[2] POLANCUS, I., n. 211, 274; PETRUS RIBADENEIRA, S.J., Vita Francisci Borgiae, P. Andrea Schotto interprete, c. 3, n. 52 (Acta Sanctorum, Octob., V., 246).

[3] Printed in Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, II., 545.

[4] POLANCUS, I., n. 276.

sano."[1] Now already, while yet amid the preliminaries to his ordination as priest, Francis was setting forth "the greater glory of God" by his exemplary virtue, his wisdom, his influence over the wielders of spiritual and temporal power. Since his Duchy was the exclusive heritage of his eldest son and his remaining seven children had not means adequate to their position, Paul III. sanctioned, at his petition, on the 23rd of January 1549, his appropriation, as a provision for the latter, of 25,000 ducats from the residuary estate of his great-uncle, Giovanni, Duke of Camerino and Nepi, who had died intestate.[2]

On their way to India the members of the Society touched the soil of Portugal. The Portuguese doctor Diego de Gouvea wrote from Paris to his former pupil Ignatius to ask whether he and his associates did not wish to evangelize the Portuguese Indies. Ignatius sent him the reply that "they were ready to go joyfully to the Indies when the Pope sent them." On this King John III. applied to Paul III. for six Jesuit missionaries for the East Indies. Ignatius, however, could only spare two, Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez. In Lisbon they had to await a passage, but there they so captivated the people by their apostolic fervour that they were implored to abandon their journey; finally, with the Pope's consent, Rodriguez at last resolved to remain in Portugal.[3] The

[1] Ignatius to Borgia, dat. Rome, Sept. 20, 1548 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., ii, 233–237).

[2] The brief is in Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, I., 655–660; for the date, *cf.* SUAU in the Etudes, CII. (1905), 186. The arrangements for raising a monument to Alexander were altered by Pius IV., and finally the scheme appears to have been altogether abandoned (*cf.* SUAU, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Peter Faber to Gouvea, dat. Rome, Nov. 23, 1538 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 132–134): RIBADENEIRA, De actis etc., n. 88, 89; Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., i, 380–383; Vita Ignatii, I. 2, c. 16; l. 3, c. 3.

King entrusted the Society with the spiritual direction of the young noblemen who, to the number of nearly a hundred, were brought up at court. Almost all, Ignatius reported in 1542, go to confession and communion weekly and hear sermons every Friday.[1] Many young men sought admission to the Order, and the King sent them to study at his University of Coimbra; the college which he established there for the Society numbered in 1547 already 115 members of the Order, including 92 scholastics; John spent yearly 3000 ducats on their upkeep. In 1545 Ignatius had to yield to the King's pressing request that Rodriguez should undertake the tuition of his son. In the following year Rodriguez was also nominated Provincial of Portugal. For the college of Coimbra in the years 1545–46 he composed, on a basis given him by Ignatius in Italy, a series of general rules and some also for special employments, which later were widely adopted throughout the whole Order. The Blessed Peter Faber praised the piety and discipline which he maintained among the Portuguese brethren.[2] They were popularly called "the Apostles." When they passed through the country in their poverty, preaching and administering the Sacraments, every town and every village was open to them.[3]

In 1548 the Jesuits Gonsalvez and Nuñez passed over from Portugal to Morocco and conveyed to from 500 to 600 Christian captives in the Moorish city of Tetuan the

[1] Report to the Jesuits in Italy, dat. Rome, June 1, 1542 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 204); *cf.* also ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 103, 105.

[2] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 98, 99, 214; ORLANDINUS, l. 5, n. 57; l. 6, n. 98. The rules were first given to the public in the Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 822–873; *cf. ibid.*, 539, and Cartas del b. P. Fabro, I., 246, 247.

[3] Johannes of Aragon, S.J., to Martin Santacruz, S.J., dat. Lisbon, June 5, 1548 (Epistolae Mixtae, I., 514, 515).

consolations of religion. Deeply touched by their afflictions, they returned to Portugal and collected clothes and medicines and money to the amount of over a thousand ducats. The King also committed to the Society the task of delivering captives.[1]

It was at the instance of Paul III. that the first Jesuits went to Ireland. His choice fell on Alfonso Salmeron and Pascal Broët; they brought with them three Papal letters: one contained many ecclesiastical faculties; the second recommended them to the Irish bishops; the third concerned their free passage through the country.[2] The bearers were to visit in the Pope's name the Irish bishops and native princes, confirming them in their loyalty to the Church, exhorting the clergy, reforming convents, urging the erection of schools for Latin, pawnshops and similar beneficent institutions, and finding out suitable occupants for vacant Church offices. Ignatius specially urged upon them to adapt themselves as much as possible to Irish customs and "become all things to all men"; if they had to collect fines or burdens they were at once to distribute the money through others among the poor or see that it was spent on religious objects.[3]

Salmeron and Broët reached Scotland under great difficulties. There Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and other leading men strongly dissuaded them from pursuing their journey. They would accomplish nothing, they were told, and in view of the hostility of Henry VIII. to Rome were imperilling their lives. Nevertheless, they determined to go on, and James V. of Scotland, the father of Mary Stuart,

[1] POLANCUS, I., n. 289, 290; Peter Doménech to Araoz, dat. Almeria, March 1, 1549 (Epistolae Mixtae, II., 91).

[2] The letters are given in Epist. P. Pasch. Broëti, 204–214; *cf.* A. BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 80, 81.

[3] See Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 174–181, 727–731.

gave them letters to the Irish grandees and a companion for their journey. They landed on the island in the Lent of 1542; the Irish chiefs were entirely under the yoke of Henry VIII., and they had pledged themselves to a man to recognize the King as their ecclesiastical head and to deliver up the emissaries of the Pope. Loyal bishops had to go into concealment; the convents were for the most part deserted, the people savage and split into factions: "Not one stone has been left upon another," wrote Salmeron. They heard a few confessions, bestowed indulgences and other graces, but the English were on their track and they had no place of refuge to receive them. Thus after a sojourn of thirty-four days they returned, in accordance with their instructions, by way of Scotland to Italy.[1] "To outward appearance a failure," says one versed in Irish Church history,[2] "this first mission of the Jesuits to Ireland was destined in course of time to bear much fruit."

In France also the beginnings of the Order were not noticeable. Some young men were sent by Ignatius to Paris to study in 1540, and from time to time others joined them. In 1548 a group of eighteen students lived together in an annexe of the Lombards' college; they had their Superior and observed the rules of the Order, yet only a few knew that they belonged to the Society of Jesus;

[1] Salmeron to Ignatius, dat. Edinburgh, Feb. 2 and April 9, 1542; Salmeron and Broët to Cardinal Cervini, dat. Edinburgh, April 9, 1542 (Epistolae P. A. Salmeronis, I., 2–9, 11–13; Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 23–31); EDM. HOGAN, Ibernia Ignatiana, I., Dublinii, 1880, 2–7.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 82. Even R. W. DIXON (History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction, III., London, 1902, 421), writing from the Anglican point of view, admits that this mission, "though unsuccessful," was yet "not without fruit."

the majority were lads who dressed as laymen in clothes of different cut and colour.[1]

When in 1542, on account of the war between Francis I. and the Emperor, proclamation was made to the University of Paris that all subjects of Charles V. must quit France under pain of death and confiscation of property, eight members of the Jesuit colony in Paris migrated to Louvain. Here two of the most prominent citizens went through the Spiritual Exercises: the Inquisitor Dietrich von Heeze, once the confidential minister of Adrian VI., and the learned theologian Ruard Tapper, Chancellor of Louvain University. Heeze was ready to enter the Society, but Peter Faber, to whom he had made known his resolve, dissuaded him on account of his age and the great influence for good he was able to wield outside the Order. The first recruit from Louvain was Cornelius Vischhaven,[2] a priest of great piety and strictness of life. Peter Faber during a short stay in Louvain had so ingratiated himself and his cause in the hearts of the youth of the University that, on the rumour of his departure for Portugal, nineteen undergraduates declared their wish to accompany him; nine of them he sent thither.[3] In 1547 the members of the Order in Louvain chose Vischhaven as their Superior and drew up regulations for the ordering of their common life. Ignatius confirmed the latter, but enjoined on the community that the permission of

[1] Viola, S.J., to Polcano, dat. Paris, July 19, 1549 (Epistolae Mixtae, II., 257); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 439; OLIV. MANAREUS, Commentarius, 63, 64; ORLANDINUS, l. 9, n. 56.

[2] POLANCUS, I., n. 42, 55.

[3] *Cf.* Faber to F. Xavier, dat. Cologne, Jan. 24, 1544 (Cartas del b. P. Fabro, I., 209–216); ORLANDINUS, l. 4, n. 37–40, 82; W. VAN NIEUWENHOFF, Leven van den H. Ignatius van Loyola, II., Amsterdam, 1892, 50–52.

the Bishop of Liège should be invited for their corporate settlement.[1]

As in the Netherlands, so in Germany the first appearance of the Jesuits was, so to speak, the result of accident. Peter Faber had been instructed by Paul III. to accompany the Imperial ambassador Ortiz into Spain. Then Ortiz received orders to attend the conference on religion at Worms: he took Faber with him, and both reached their destination in 1540. Faber occupied himself with the confessional and the Exercises;[2] afterwards he went with Ortiz to Ratisbon, whither the conference had been transferred and a Diet summoned. Here so many applied for the Exercises that Faber's time was insufficient; some who had gone through them undertook to give them to others; thus Cochlæus initiated the Bishop of Meissen and Robert Wauchope the Bishop of Spires; Faber himself took charge of the Prince Abbot of Kempten and the Portuguese envoy. Ecclesiastical and secular princes became penitents of Faber, among them the Duke of Savoy. In a letter from Ratisbon of June the 8th, 1541, the Pope was informed: "No small benefit, as we know from experience, has accrued from the Exercises both among the princes and their subjects. Some were faltering, now they are strengthened; some had already fallen away, now they are restored."[3]

From Ratisbon in the summer of 1541 Faber had to go with Ortiz into Spain. But he was soon to be back again

[1] VINCK, S.J., to the Cologne Jesuits, dat. Maestricht, March 31, 1547; Crusius and Ignatius to the Louvain Jesuits, dat. March 1 and May 24, 1547, in HANSEN, 72, 76, 77, 87, 88; *cf.* L'établissement de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas, Bruxelles, 1886, 8.

[2] Faber to Ignatius, dat. Worms, Dec. 27, 1540, and Jan. 1, 1541 (Cartas del b. P. Fabro, 31, 32, 38, 39); ORLANDINUS, l. 2, n. 107.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1541, n. 125.

in Germany. Paul III., on the strength of reports received from the citizens of Ratisbon, summoned Faber with Le Jay and Bobadilla to Germany in 1542. Faber reached Spires on the 17th of April and awaited the instructions of the Papal nuncio Morone; the Rhenish district was assigned to him as his sphere of work. In Spires itself he gave the Exercises to the Cathedral cantor, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who afterwards as Cardinal and Bishop of Augsburg was one of the chief pillars of the Church in Germany.[1] Morone then ordered him to go to Mayence. The Archbishop and Cardinal, Albert of Brandenburg, wished to make full use of his services for the restoration of the spiritual and moral condition of his clergy, fallen into deep decay. In Mayence also he was chosen as master of the Exercises by two of the best bishops in Germany: one was the gentle, high-minded Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumberg, and the other the learned and eloquent Michael Helding, then Bishop-coadjutor of Mayence, later Bishop of Merseburg. Faber lived with the parish priest of St. Christopher and turned him, as Canisius expressed it, from a "concubinarius into a Carthusian." At the Cardinal's wish he began, in the winter of 1542, a course of lectures on the Psalms. Albert also had a plan of appointing him, with other theologians, to attend the Council of Trent.[2]

In the following summer Faber, with the Archbishop's consent, complied with repeated and pressing invitations to visit Cologne. The Archbishop, Hermann von Wied,

[1] Cartas del b. P. Fabro, 73–100, 139–153; Memoriale Fabri, 17–21; DUHR, Gesch. der Jesuiten, 7 *seq.*

[2] Faber to Ignatius, dat. Mayence, Nov. 7 and Dec. 22, 1542 (Cartas del b. P. Fabro, 163–166); Canisius to Busäus, dat. Freiburg i. d. Schw., Jan. 2, 1596, in HANSEN, 10 *seq.*; *cf.* also FRID. REIFFENBERGIUS, S.J., Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum inferiorem, Coloniae Agripp., 1764, 3–12.

an ignorant man and of totally mundane character, had summoned the apostate Dominican, Martin Bucer, in 1542 to protestantize the archiepiscopal foundations of Cologne. A substantial portion of the Cathedral chapter, the secular Estates, and some of the Council of the Imperial city of Cologne were on his side; the Catholics held back through fear of the Archbishop. Faber now bestirred himself and went to Bonn, where the Emperor and Hermann had a meeting in order to present to the Papal nuncio a memorial from the University of Cologne setting forth the necessity of some serious intervention. The representations addressed by the Emperor to the lax ruler of the archdiocese were productive of at least some good results; soon afterwards a petition from Cologne reached the nuncio in which he was implored not to allow Faber to depart from the city. This was followed by a Papal command which provisionally detained Faber in Germany.[1] Faber, whose sermons in Cologne were a great success,[2] hired a house there and made it a home for the seven young Jesuits who, in the meantime, had gathered in the city. He was thus the founder of the first Jesuit settlement in German territory.[3]

In July 1544 Ignatius called him back to Portugal, and two years later he died in Rome; the Church venerates him as Blessed. In his spiritual diary Faber noted on the 10th of June 1543: Since he had come to know Germany the thought of such a people falling away from the Church

[1] DUHR, 9–14. Canisius in his censure (made *c.* 1572) of Ribadeneira's Life of Ignatius affirmed that Faber also "on certain occasions had disputed with Bucer and other heretics" (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., i. 716).

[2] Cartas del b. P. Fabro, I., 235, 236; R. CORNELY, Life of Blessed Peter Faber, Freiburg i. Br., 1900, 150–154.

[3] Memoriale 327; DUHR, 13, 14.

filled his soul with continual anguish. This sacred compassion was never extinguished; among the seven persons for whom he specially prayed were, besides the Pope and Emperor, also Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer, and among the seven cities for which he had all his life long undertaken to intercede Wittenberg held the first place.[1]

The lovable and popular qualities which adorned Faber were also conspicuous in his companion Claude Le Jay; he also looked for salvation much more in a reformation of morals than in the contests of theologians.[2] The nuncio Morone in 1542 sent him to work about the Danube and in Bavaria. "I have hopes that his work will be of service," wrote Morone to Cardinal Contarini.[3] Le Jay came with Wauchope to Ratisbon, where they presented the Papal letters to the Bishop and Chapter;[4] they could not, however, obtain a footing. In the city Le Jay incurred odium because he urged the removal of a preacher of bad repute; many of the clergy too were unwilling to change their mode of life, and the two strangers were threatened with expulsion from the city or immersion in the Danube. "We told them," said Le Jay, "that heaven can be reached by water as easily as by dry land."[5] But at the beginning of 1543 Le Jay had to leave Ratisbon; he went to Ingolstadt and gave lectures at the University on the Holy Scriptures; he was called upon to introduce Moritz von Hutten, Bishop of Eichstätt, then living in his neighbour-

[1] Memoriale 22, 29, 30, 299; *cf.* also PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 233, 306.

[2] RODERICIUS, Commentarium, 453; JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV., 16th ed., 397–400.

[3] HANSEN, 2. For Le Jay, see DUHR, 15–24.

[4] Wauchope to Farnese, dat. Ratisbon, April 13, 1542 (Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie, XXI., 603).

[5] Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Ratisbon, April to August 1542 (Epistolae P. Pasch., Broëti, 270–276).

hood, to the Spiritual Exercises; then, in obedience to the Pope's commands, he went to Dillingen to Cardinal Truchsess.[1] Here he was met by an invitation from Duke Ernest of Bavaria, Archbishop of Salzburg, to attend a Provincial Synod, at which he should sit as a member and vote. But he was aware that it would be contrary to the Pope's wishes to take part in deliberations on religious questions at the approaching Diet at Worms, and he was under the impression that this assembly at Salzburg would prepare the way directly for such deliberations; he therefore confined himself to receiving the resolutions in his chamber and expressing his opinion upon them. At Salzburg he also composed two theses: one maintaining the Bishop's responsibility for prohibiting, without special permission from the Pope, participation in the ecclesiastical debates in an Imperial Diet; the other, proving that Protestants were still heterodox if, even while holding another doctrine of the Faith, they denied solely and exclusively the primacy of the Pope of Rome. At the same time he made use of the opportunity of urging on the Archbishop the need of establishing a boarding-house for boys who were to be trained for the priesthood.[2] On his return to Dillingen the Cardinal had already set out for Worms; Le Jay had to follow him. His sermons in Italian, delivered during the Diet, pleased King Ferdinand and others in high station; the bishops often invited him to their tables and asked him to visit their sees.[3]

[1] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 72; ORLANDINUS, l. 4, n. 22–25.

[2] Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Dillingen, Nov. 14, 1544; Doménech to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, Jan. 29, 1545 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 281–285, 775, 776); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 72.

[3] Le Jay to Ignatius, dat. Dillingen, Sept. 21, 1545 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 293–296); Canisius to Peter Faber, dat. Cologne, Aug. 12, 1545 (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 159).

Other tasks were allotted to Nicolas Bobadilla, Le Jay's colleague from the Order. Morone was of opinion that he should accompany the Imperial forces into Hungary, there to put a curb on the Lutheran preachers, attend to the spiritual interests of the soldiery, and exercise an improving influence on the clergy.[1] He was kept, however, in Vienna; the nuncio Girolamo Verallo wished to have him in his house, but Bobadilla preferred to lodge in a hospital; he preached, gave expositions of the Epistle to the Romans, and prepared Jews and Turks for baptism; King Ferdinand often had conversations with him. But soon afterwards began for Bobadilla a period of constant shifting to and fro with the most varied activity. With Verallo, whose nunciature to the Emperor was soon changed for that to the King, he visited Nuremberg, Spires, Worms, Brussels, and Ratisbon. In the intervals he was engaged in writing, preached in Latin at Passau and Ratisbon, visited, at the bidding of Cardinal Farnese, the Imperial camp during the Schmalkaldic war and took care of the Italian hospital, engaged in the reconstruction of the University curriculum at Cologne, and supported the Catholics of that city in their contest with the apostate Archbishop.[2] In the address of a letter from the Bishop of Vienna, Frederick Nausea, to Bobadilla, the latter was termed "the most vigilant agent of the Apostolic See in all Germany."[3]

Bobadilla was always ready to speak and had much

[1] Morone to Cardinal Contarini, dat. Modena, May 21, 1542 (HANSEN, 1–2).

[2] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 40; Ferron by order of Ignatius to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, April 12, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 377); DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 20 *seq.*; DUHR, 25–31; GIUS. BOERO, S.J., Vita del Servo di Dio. P. Nicolò Bobadiglia, Firènze, 1879, 22–50.

[3] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 365–368.

to say, sometimes with a touch of braggadocio. He spoke his mind to ecclesiastical and temporal magnates alike, with a frankness which more than once was disfigured by bluntness and discourtesy; it was on account of this that his German career came to an abrupt end. The asperity of his language with regard to the Interim led the Emperor to dismiss him from Augsburg;[1] he went to Rome, where Ignatius gave him a cold reception.[2] Canisius some years later gave him testimony: that he had worked hard for the Germans in war and peace, run great dangers, and "put a sturdy shoulder to the wheel" on behalf of the Catholic cause, especially at Diets of the Empire.[3]

Bobadilla and his two comrades had worked on German soil as strangers; the first German Jesuit and at the same time the greatest among them was Peter Canisius. Born in Nymegen in 1521 of a family of good standing, he studied at Cologne as a youth, taking his degree of doctor in philosophy in 1540.[4] Three years later he was led through the Spiritual Exercises by Peter Faber; there, as he himself tells us, he heard the voice of God calling him to join the Order. He took the vows on the 8th of May 1543.[5] Returning to Cologne from Mayence, he pursued his

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 327, n. 1.

[2] Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., i, 467.

[3] Censure on Ribadeneira's Life of Ignatius (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., i, 715).

[4] Canisii Liber primus Confessionum (composed in 1570), c. 1–4; Canisii Testamentum (his spiritual testament, composed at Freiburg i. d. Schw. about 1596, shortly before his death), c. 12; (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 7–21, 34–40).

[5] "One of the most important gains which ever accrued to the Society," says FRIEDENSBURG (Die ersten Jesuiten in Deutschland, Halle, 1905, 34). His "acquisition," remarks E. Zirngiebl, "was productive of a rich harvest to the Order in Germany" (Studien über das Institut der Gesellschaft Jesu, Leipzig, 1870, 262).

theological studies; in addition he began at once to lecture on academic subjects, gave Latin addresses to students and ecclesiastics, and preached simple sermons to the people; he was also anxious to promote frequent communion, especially among young students.[1] He was the first member of the Order to appear publicly as an author; in 1543 he published at Cologne an enlarged and improved edition of the writings of the mystic John Tauler the Dominican; in 1546 this was followed by a Latin translation in three folio volumes of the works of Cyril of Alexandria and of Leo the Great.[2] The small band of Jesuits, consisting almost entirely of students, which had been formed at Cologne in 1544, was supported for the most part on the paternal inheritance of Canisius.[3] The part taken by him in the struggle with Archbishop Hermann von Wied was an active one. He went, at the bidding of the clergy and University of Cologne, in quest of help and protection to the Emperor and the Papal nuncio in the Netherlands, then to Bishop George of Austria in Liège, and again to the Emperor and nuncio in Suabia.[4] From this last mission he was unable to return to Cologne, for Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg sent him to the Council of Trent.[5] Then, in obedience to the General of

[1] Canisius to Adriano Adriani, dat. Cologne, Aug. 2, 1546 (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 208, 209); Testamentum, c. 2 (*ibid.*, 38; *cf. ibid.*, 112, 124, 143, 160).

[2] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 79–93, 176–188, 215–222; SOMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 617, 618; VIII., 1974.

[3] HANSEN, II, 23–27; SACHINUS, De Vita P. Canisii, Ingolstadii, 1616, 32.

[4] Canisius to Faber, dat. Cologne, Aug. 12 and Dec. 22, 1545, and to Johannes Gropper, dat. Geislingen, Jan. 24, 1547, and Ulm, Jan. 28, 1547 (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 162–165, 233–240; *cf. ibid.*, 674–676); MATTH. RADERUS, S.J., De Vita Petri Canisii, Monachii, 1614, 36, 37.

[5] See *supra*, p. 80.

the Order, he went to Bologna, Rome, and Messina; his continuance in Italy, however, was not to be for long; he belonged to Germany.

After the death of Johann Eck the reputation of the University of Ingolstadt began to decline. In order to infuse new life into the institution the firm Catholic Duke William IV. of Bavaria sought permission from Paul III. to levy three-tenths on every convent and benefice in his dominions for this purpose.[1] At the same time he asked the Pope to send him some Jesuits as professors of theology; among them was to be Le Jay. The Duke found every encouragement in Rome, for Paul III. and those in his confidence were anxiously desirous of establishing Jesuit colleges in Germany.[2] At the Pope's bidding Ignatius appointed Le Jay, Salmeron, and Canisius for Ingolstadt;[3] Canisius was first sent for from Messina to Rome. On the 2nd of September 1549 he and his colleagues received the Papal blessing. On the way to Germany the three future professors of theology submitted themselves in the University of Bologna to an examination by Bishop Ambrogio Catarino and two other Dominicans, and then received from the Papal Legate, Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte, the cap of doctor of theology.[4]

Meeting as they advanced with friendly receptions from the Cardinals of Trent and Augsburg and from the Duke of Bavaria, they reached Ingolstadt on the 13th of November 1549. The University prepared for them a

[1] The brief of Paul III. is given by JOS. NEP. MEDERER: Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiae, IV., Ingolstadii, 1782, 271–275.

[2] Ignatius to Salmeron, dat. Rome, Aug. 10, 1549 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., ii. 509).

[3] POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 428; *cf.* Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., ii. 360, 361, 378; BRAUNSBERGER, I., 200, 680–688; DUHR, 53.

[4] POLANCUS, I., n. 548; BRAUNSBERGER, I., 685, 686.

public reception, and on November the 26th Canisius opened his course of lectures.[1] It was one of the last successes within reach of Paul III. that he was able to send Peter Canisius to the field of work for which he was the right man. The time had now come when a summons to halt was to be given to the victorious onrush of Protestantism, since of its previous conquests a portion were to be re-won. Canisius was one of the best leaders in these successful contests; during their continuance under the successors of Paul III. he won for himself the name of a second Apostle of Germany and elevation to the altars of the Church by his academic exertions, his countless sermons and instructions, his composition of catechisms and many other writings, the accomplishment of arduous tasks laid upon him by the Pope, indefatigable work at the diets and other assemblies, the foundation and direction of colleges of his Order, and finally by his life of prayer and genuine holiness.[2]

Before the call to Bavaria had come the Jesuits had received an invitation to cross over into Africa. The occasion was in some ways a remarkable one. King John III. of Portugal received one day a letter from Claudius Atanaf Sagad, the Negus of Abyssinia. The latter wrote: Some years before a man had appeared before him who stated that he had been recognized by the Pope of Rome as Patriarch of Æthiopia, but personally

[1] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 689-691; POLANCUS, I., n. 432-434; FLOR. RIESS, S.J., Der selige Petrus Canisius, Freiburg i. Br., 1865, 81-86; *cf.* also IGN. AGRICOLA, S.J., Historia Provinciae Societatis Jesu Germaniae Superioris, I., Augustae Vindelicorum, 1727, 19, 20.

[2] For judgments of Catholics and non-Catholics on Canisius, see BRAUNSBERGER, I., xviii-xxiii. See also the exhaustive work of X. LE BACHELET: Canisius (Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, II., Paris, 1905, 1507-1537).

he evinced himself to be unfitted for such a post. The Negus wished to be informed if this man were really Patriarch, and if not, asked the King to send him one with due authority, for the Abyssinians wished to obey the Pope.[1] King John could think of nothing better than to turn to Ignatius for help. His wish was, he wrote, that one of the Jesuits should undertake the Patriarchate.[2] This was a case in which there was sore need of help. The cleric Juan Bermudez, who had joined himself in 1541 to a troop of Portuguese on their journey to Abyssinia, had certainly played the part, in that country, of Catholic Patriarch, but he had received from Rome neither consecration nor jurisdiction; he was an interloper, not to say an impostor.[3] Ignatius did not reject the petition, since it did not concern the acceptance of a dignity bringing with it pomp and leisure but of heavy and difficult burden.[4] The transaction was not finally settled until 1555, when the Portuguese Jesuit, Nuñez Barreto, was consecrated to the office.

The Order was more speedily settled on the Congo. The mission of the Jesuits was already begun here in 1548, but unfortunately the promise of its inception was not fulfilled. Loyola's disciples were happier in their Brazilian mission of 1549, when they successfully laid the foundations of the conversion of the South American Indians.[5]

[1] Rodriguez, S.J., to Ignatius, dat. Almeirim, March 18, 1546 (Epistolae P. Pasch. Broëti, 543, 544).

[2] John III. to Ignatius, dat. Santarem, Aug. 1546; Ignatius to Rodriguez, dat. Rome, Oct. 1546, and to Torres, dat. Rome, Oct. 9, 1546 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 428–430, 434).

[3] *Cf.* C. Beccari, S.J., Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores occidentales inediti, V., Romae, 1907, liii–lx. See also reports of Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. Phil.-histor. Kl. (1904), 70 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., i, 430.

[5] See *infra*, 516 *seqq.*

All these undertakings were as nothing compared with the results to which the Order could already point in the newly discovered regions of Asia, where history is linked with the fame of a man whose name is still reverenced to this day by friend and foe alike: with that of Francis Xavier.[1] On the 16th of March 1540 Xavier left Rome to go at the Pope's orders to the East Indies. On May the 30th he reached Lisbon, where he received four briefs: the first, dated July the 27th, 1540, appointed him Papal nuncio for the Portuguese Indies on both sides of the Ganges, and of the Cape of Good Hope, with full ecclesiastical powers; two other briefs enlarged his powers, and in a fourth he was recommended to the Princes and rulers of these territories.[2] While Francis was waiting for a passage at Lisbon high and low showered marks of respect upon him: he consoled himself for the absence of tribulation by the thought of the sacrifices he should be able to offer in India; to be long without suffering, he thought, was to be no true soldier of Christ.[3] Suffering awaited him on the voyage, which lasted more than a year.

On the 6th of May 1542 he landed in Goa. At once, as one of his biographers[4] relates, he threw himself at the feet of the Bishop of the country, the Franciscan Juan de Albuquerque, showed him his faculties, and declared that he wished to use them simply at the bidding

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 22.

[2] Text of first brief and main substance of the rest in L. J. M. CROS, S.J.: St. François de Xavier, Sa vie et ses lettres, I., Toulouse, Paris, 1900, 484–486.

[3] POLANCUS, n. 23.

[4] P. Sebastian Gonsalvez, S.J., who went to the East Indies in 1593 and died at Goa in 1619. He composed a history of the Society while in India which is still unpublished (Mon. Xaver., I., xxiv–xxv); his account of Xavier's first stay in Goa is in CROS, I., 214, 217.

of the Bishop. He looked upon himself only as the fellow-worker of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and other apostolic men whose labours lay in this difficult region. The Christian population of Goa was morally in a bad condition. Xavier quickly made up his mind; he made his dwelling in a hospital and began a fight in good earnest against the immorality of the Portuguese colonial officials;[1] he collected alms from house to house for the sick, the poor, the prisoners; ringing a little bell as he went, he called to the children and male and female slaves in the streets to come and listen to Christian teaching; he also taught them to sing songs in which truths of the Catholic faith were conveyed in verse.[2] Already on the 20th of September 1542 he was able to inform his brethren at Rome that so many had come to confession that in order to satisfy all he would need to multiply himself by ten; he had also induced the prisoners to make general confessions; the lepers outside the city had all become his good friends, and the viceroy was now sending him to a quarter where he had hopes of many conversions.[3] This was the so-called Fisherman's Coast or Cape Comorin. Eight years before the baptism of several heathens had taken place, but as the place was barren and poverty-stricken, no Portuguese could settle there; the inhabitants were out of reach of all spiritual help. Xavier took with

[1] *Cf.* A. HUHN in Katholik, 1899, II., 538 *seq.*

[2] GONSALVEZ, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* also HORATIUS TURSELLINUS, S.J., De Vita B. Franciscici Xaverii, Coloniae Agripp., 1621, l. 2, c. 23 (112–120).

[3] Mon. Xaver., I., 256–258. The Monumenta historiae Societatis Jesu (*cf. supra*, p. 1, see n. 1) contain in the first volume of the Monumenta Xaveriana an edition of the letters of the saint. These were taken from the autograph copies in Spanish (*cf.* also CROS, II., xxi-xl; for earlier editions see SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 1748; V., 882; VI., 1126; VIII., 140–143, 1326–1336; GROS, I., xvi-liv).

him three natives; afterwards he was joined by two of the Order. For a year he went from place to place leaving behind him written prayers which the inhabitants were to learn by heart and repeat daily.[1]

The chief opponents of Christianity, the Brahmins, tried to bribe him, but he inexorably exposed their shams and had the idols destroyed. Many sick persons, for whom he prayed or had prayers said by the Christian children, were healed. Sometimes he gave baptism to a whole village; "Often," he wrote on the 15th of January 1544, "my arms are weary from baptizing and I cannot speak another word from having so repeatedly recited the prayers to the people, one after another, and given instructions in Christian duties to them in their native tongue." But, as he says in the same letter, he thereby feels an indescribable inner consolation. Only one thing caused him sorrow: "How many there are here who are not Christians because no man troubles himself about the pious and holy work of making known the faith!"[2]

Details of Xavier's work in India were brought to Portugal by young Juan Vaz, who for six months had been his companion in these countries. "I will send you," says Martin Santacruz to Peter Faber on the 22nd of October 1545, "some of the things Juan Vaz has told us": "Father Xavier goes about with bare feet; his garments are shabby and torn. He is called the 'great father' and all love him well. A king has given orders throughout his kingdom that all are to show obedience to his brother, the 'great father,' as though it were to himself; all who wish are free to become Christians. He also gave him much

[1] Francis Xavier to Ignatius, dat. Tutucorin, Oct. 28, 1542, and to the Roman Jesuits, dat. Cochin, Jan. 15, 1544 (Mon. Xaver., I., 273, 278–289); POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 47, 62, 64.

[2] Mon. Xaver., I., 283–286, 293.

money, but Xavier gave it all away among the poor. Along the coast he has built from forty-four to forty-five churches. He has four native-born Indians with him whom he has had ordained as priests. Six other Indians from the College of Goa are on the point of taking Orders. He takes with him two, three, four, yea six thousand men into the open country, mounts on a tree, and then preaches to them."[1] In the following years Xavier made flying visits, preaching everywhere to Christians and heathens, to cities and districts on the frontier and in the interior of India; he carried his teaching to the island of Ceylon, and spent nearly a year in the Moluccas and the Isle of Amboina.[2]

All that was related of his ecstatic prayer, of his compassionate love for the children, the slaves, the sick, the sinners, the soldiers, of his prophecies, of his gifts of healing, of his raising of the dead,[3] gave to his preaching an almost irresistible power. On the 27th of January 1545 he was able to write from Cochin to Rome that in the short space of a month he had baptized more than ten thousand men.[4] He took special care to protect the newly made Christians from the greed of European adventurers and the violence of Portuguese officials. He called upon John III. in

[1] Epistolae Mixtae, I., 231, 232.

[2] See FR. CH. DANVERS, The Portuguese India, I., London, 1894, 481; P. COURTENAY, Le Christianisme à Ceylon, Lille-Rome, 1900, 156–166.

[3] Testimony of Gaspar Coelho, then vicar of St. Thomas's Church at Meliapur (in CROS, I., 308–310); Gaspar Berse, S.J., to the Portuguese Jesuits, dat. Dec. 13, 1548 (*ibid.*, I., 395); Francis Perez to the Jesuits of Coimbra, about 1548 (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 67, 68); ORLANDINUS, l. 3, n. 99; l. 4, n. 64; l. 8, n. 127, 129; FRANC. DE SOUZA, S.J. (†1712), Oriente conquistado á Jésus Christo, I., 2nd ed., Bombaim, 1881, 20–31.

[4] Mon. Xaver., I., 366, 367.

strong and outspoken language to abolish such misdeeds.[1] What he had set on foot as a pioneer of the Gospel in different places is shown in the catechetical writings which he left behind him[2] and in the number of the members of the Order who, in ever-increasing numbers, were sent out to him from Europe. At the beginning of 1550, without speaking of Goa, the ground for colleges had been laid already in Bassein, Cochin, Quilon; other Jesuits were at work in the Moluccas, in Malacca, in the island of Socotra, on the coasts of Comorin.[3] Xavier, named Provincial for India in 1549 by Ignatius, could give him witness that amid the dangers of the greatest moral corruption these men had led unsullied lives.[4] The new viceroy of the Indies wrote to Portugal that the labours of the Jesuits resembled the labours of the Apostles of old.[5] In the sensual mercantile city of Malacca in the year 1548 there were already many who frequented the Sacraments weekly—by 1550 the city was almost entirely transformed. On the fisher coast the Jesuit, Antonio Criminali, displayed special zeal; he fell there under the blows of savage assailants, the first victim of fidelity to pastoral duty.[6]

[1] To John III., dat. Cochin, Jan. 20, 1544; Jan. 20, 1548; Jan. 26, 1549; Malacca, June 20, 1549 (Mon. Xaver., I., 356–361, 450–455, 509–512, 527–530); *cf.* also ORLANDINUS, l. 4, n. 143, 153.

[2] *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, VIII., 1336. An exposition of the Confession of Faith, composed by Xavier in 1546 in the Moluccas, is in the Mon. Xaver., I., 831–844; other catechetical writings, *ibid.*, 819–831.

[3] Xavier to Ignatius, dat. Cochin, Jan. 12, 1549 (Mon. Xaver., I. 476); Lancillotti to Ignatius, dat. Quilon, Jan. 27, 1550 (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 126, 127); Register of the missionaries in CROS, I., 481.

[4] POLANCUS, n. 498; ORLANDINUS, l. 9, n. 1.

[5] To Simon Rodriguez, dat. Cochin, Jan. 5, 1551 (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 130).

[6] Perez to the Jesuits of Coimbra about 1548; Lancillotti to Ignatius, dat. Quilon, Jan. 27, 1550; Enrique Enriquez to Ignatius, dat. Punicale, Nov. 21, 1549; report of the Jesuit Cyprian on Criminali's

Xavier's steps were closely followed by the Netherlander, Gaspar Berse, who was sent in 1548 from the East Indies to the island of Ormuz. He lived in a thatched hut, gave daily instruction to children and slaves, preached three times a week, and disputed on Saturdays with the Jews in the synagogue. Thirty shocks of earthquake which visited the island on his arrival he made the occasion for penitential preaching. Every day he heard many confessions, feuds and illicit connections disappeared, all priests reformed themselves, and the Jesuit was looked up to by all, Christian and non-Christian, as a prophet and a worker of wonders.[1]

From Cochin Francis Xavier wrote on the 20th of January 1548 to Ignatius and the other members of the Order in Rome: "When I was in the city of Malacca some Portuguese merchants informed me that a short time ago certain very large islands had been discovered in this part of the world, which are called the islands of Japan. There, so they affirmed, our holy faith might be spread with great success; there more than any other country of the Indies were great things to be hoped for, since the people of those islands were quick-witted and eager to learn."[2] In Malacca

death, dat. S. Thomé, Dec. 3, 1549 (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 70, 91, 92, 98–100, 127). *Cf.* [TACCHI VENTURI] Nuove mem. e preziosi docum. intorme al P. A. Criminali, Protomartire d. Comp. di Gesù, Venezia, 1900.

[1] Lancillotti to Ignatius, dat. Quilon, Jan. 27, 1550; Nuove di M. Gaspar quali guinsero a Goa a' 10 di Ottobre del 1549; letter on the foundation of the College of Goa about 1550 (Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 77–79, 120–122, 125–126; POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 534–543; *cf.* also NIC. TRIGAULT, S.J., Vita Gasparis Barzaei, Coloniae, 1611, 96–275).

[2] Mon. Xaver., I., 433–435. Japan was discovered by some Portuguese certainly about the year 1543 (HANS HAAS, Gesch. des Christentums in Japan, I., Tokio, 1902, 15–49).

also the Japanese, Angero,[1] came to Xavier, who converted him and determined to go with him to Japan. From Angero's accounts he had learned that in China, Japan, and Tartary the same religion, Buddhism, was professed, and his convert wished him to become acquainted with the "great schools" and to overcome them. From the universities Christian doctrine would penetrate among the people.[2] The Indian friends of Francis Xavier were beside themselves when they heard of his plans. They set before him the exceeding dangers of the journey; the sea was infested by pirates, and it was precisely Europeans, when they fell into their hands, on whom they were wont to perpetrate cruel tortures; besides, there were many hidden reefs and frightful storms, "when out of four ships two are saved, this is much"; Xavier was well aware of this, but he trusted in God, who has power over winds and robbers.[3]

Before his departure he wrote a letter to the General on his knees, as he himself tells us, asking his prayers for the undertaking.[4] With two brothers of the Order and a few Japanese converts he left Malacca on the 24th of June 1549 for the island kingdom. As no other ship was to be found, he took the small junk of the Chinaman Necoda who, it would seem, was more of a pirate than a merchant.

[1] So Xavier calls him. In Japanese his name was probably Anjiro. Xavier himself was called by the Japanese historian Arai Hakuseki, "Frankusu Saberius" (HAAS, I., 27, 28, 57).

[2] Xavier to Rodriguez, dat. Cochin, Jan. 20, 1549 (Mon. Xaver., I., 487, 488).

[3] Xavier to Ignatius, dat. Cochin, Jan. 12, 1549, and to Rodriguez, dat. Feb. 1, 1549 (Mon. Xaver, I., 477–479, 513).

[4] Dat. Cochin, Jan. 12, 1549 (*ibid.*, 482).

[5] ALEX. VALIGNANI, S.J., Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales, I., 1, c. 16 (Mon. Xaver., I., 88, 89). Valignani († 1606), visitor of the Order in India and Japan,

They landed in Kagoshima, the home of Angero, on the 15th of August 1549. The latter converted his relations, and the Prince of Satsuma, to whom the city belonged, permitted all his vassals to become Christians. In November 1549 Francis Xavier addressed letters from Kagoshima in various directions in which he thus expressed himself: Among all the peoples who have recently been discovered, the Japanese seem to be the best; they have a high sense of honour, are valorous, seekers of knowledge; a great portion of the people can read and write; they listen willingly to speech concerning God; only the Bonzes are addicted to unnatural vices. Xavier wished to go to the Emperor at Miako, the modern Kioto, then the university of Japan; he was also thinking already of making his way, with the Emperor's help, into the Chinese Empire. He recommended to the leading teachers of the college at Goa the Chinese and Japanese youths who were studying there, begged the Jesuits of Malacca to show the greatest kindness to two Bonzes who were to land there, and called for three members of the Order to come to him in Japan.[1]

The later work of Xavier in Japan and his plans for the

composed in India an Indian history of the mission in two parts. The first contained Xavier's Life; the FF. Enrique Enriquez and Francisco Perez, who had stayed in India with Xavier, supplied information; P. Manuel Teixeira, who had been with Xavier there also, collected much material. The Life appears to have been finished by Valignani in 1574; it was first published in the Mon. Xaver. (*cf. ibid.*, xxiii, xxiv, 199).

[1] Francis Xavier to Paolo da Camerino, Anton Gomes, Gaspar Berse, to the Jesuits of Goa, to Pedro da Silva, etc., dat. Kagoshima, Nov. 3 and 11, 1549 (Mon. Xaver., I., 573–601, 642–655; *cf.* also H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J., The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier, II., new ed., London, 1881, 225–282); DELPLACE, Le Catholicisme en Japon. S. Fr. Xavier et ses premiers successeurs, Malines, 1909.

mission to China, up to the day in December 1552 when he died on the island of Sancian in sight of the coast of China, lie outside of the pontificate of Paul III. He had now proved himself to be already a great propagator of the kingdom of Christ. From Rome Xavier had been drawn to the farthest East, and from thence he was ever looking back to Rome. "I will," he wrote on the 5th of November 1549 from Kagoshima to Goa, "give an account to his Holiness the Pope, who is Christ's representative on earth and the shepherd of those who believe in Him, and also of all those who are on the point of coming to the knowledge of their Saviour and obedience to the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction."[1]

Xavier and his master Ignatius both alike became what they were through the Papacy. The latter once spoke of Manresa as his grammar school,[2] his university was Rome. There the comrades of Montmartre received their call to form a new Order; there Ignatius met with the Church's approval of his designs, was chosen General, wrote the Constitutions of the Order, received from the Pope his sphere of work and spiritual authority; from thence he sent out his faithful followers into the wide world. The reputation and power of the Papacy were then shaken well-nigh to the ground; a great portion of the clergy was defiled by greed and unchastity; many convents were deserted or disorganized; the influence of the Church over the schools had, for the most part, vanished. Wide strata of the people were ignorant of and indifferent to sacred things; the stream of heresy from the north threatened to sweep over Europe in a flood. On the other hand, new worlds had been discovered; millions were waiting for

[1] Mon. Xaver., I., 599.

[2] RIBADENEIRA, De actis etc., n. 40 (Mon. Ignat., Ser. IV., i, 353, 354).

the message of salvation. It was therefore, so to speak, inevitable that a new Order should arise such as the Society of Jesus, with its devotion to the Roman See, its catechisms and spiritual exercises, its system of education, its message of war to error at home, and its message of the Gospel to the heathen abroad.

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKISH WAR.—THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AT LUCCA.—THE CONCILIAR QUESTION, 1541–1543.

THE ambiguous attitude assumed by Charles V. at the close of the Diet of Ratisbon inflicted serious injury on the Imperial authority and on the Catholic cause.

The Pope, like the German Catholics, was filled with deep mistrust, a mistrust intensified by the representations made to him by Francis I.;[1] but the Protestants, as had all along been feared in Rome,[2] felt emboldened[3] to make further encroachments by the concessions they had succeeded in exacting. The situation was made still worse by the unfortunate turn taken by the Turkish war. The consent of the Diet to a subsidy from the Estates had come too late; before the resolution was passed the troops of Ferdinand I. had raised the siege of Ofen and on the 21st of August 1541 had begun their enforced retreat. The Sultan, who appeared before Ofen on the 26th, deceived Isabella, Zapolya's widow, and by a combination of force and cunning made himself master of the capital of Hungary, which henceforth for one hundred and forty-five years was to remain subject to the Crescent. The whole country,

[1] *Cf.* Dandino's *report, dat. Lyon, Sept 28, 1541. Nunz. di Francia, 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the letter in EHSES, IV., 216, n. 4.

[3] See JANSSEN-PASTOR,[18] 512.

from the Danube to the Theiss, was incorporated in the Turkish empire.[1]

With the Christian princes at variance with one another, Cardinal Aleander saw in the loss of the largest portion of Hungary the prelude to the subjugation of the whole of Europe to the house of Osman.[2]

In Rome the news aroused such alarm that it seemed to many as if the infidel were already at the gates of the city;[3] not less was the consternation in the territories of the Hapsburgs. In Vienna the thought of a second siege filled men with terror, but fortunately the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria were left unmolested by the Turks; on the contrary, the Sultan on the 22nd of September left Ofen on his return march to Constantinople.[4] One reason for this certainly was the extensive warlike preparations of the Emperor,[5] who had determined in person to strike a blow at the Turkish power in its most opposite extremity, the city of Algiers. With this object in view, as soon as the Diet of Ratisbon was over he made his way by Trent to Milan and from there to Genoa; thence on the 10th of September 1541 he journeyed to Lucca to hold a conference with Paul III.[6]

[1] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, V., 153 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*; DE LEVA, III., 449 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 80.

[2] See *letter of Sept. 12, 1541 (State Archives, Parma), in Appendix No. 8.

[3] See N. Sernini's *report, dat. Rome, Sept. 17, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, II., 845 *seq.*

[5] Paul III. was made distrustful (see TURBA, Algier, 7, 8); precautionary measures were therefore taken in Rome (Le Legaz. di Serristori, 113 *seq.*; BENIGNI, Miscell., V., 170 *seq.*).

[6] VANDENESSE, II., 190 *seq.* For the negotiations as to place of meeting, see DITTRICH, Contarini, 780 *seq.*; SIMONETTI, 7 *seq.* Cardinal Guidiccioni's *letter to Lucca, dat. Rome, Aug. 10, 1541 (State Archives, Lucca), gives interesting details.

The Pope, despite the representations of his physicians and of the French party, left Rome on the 27th of August,[1] leaving Cardinal Carpi behind as Legate.[2] On the 8th of September he entered Lucca in state, amid festive decorations and surrounded by Cardinals Farnese, Santafiora, Contarini, Henry of Portugal, Gambara, Cervini, Guidiccioni, and Trivulzio. He went first to the Cathedral and then to the episcopal palace, which was to be his resting-place.[3] On the 10th of September Margaret, the wife of Ottavio Farnese and daughter of the Emperor, arrived, the latter himself coming on the 12th, accompanied by the Dukes of Ferrara, Florence, and Camerino. Paul III. had sent Cardinal Farnese and four other Cardinals to meet him at the Porta S. Donato. The two heads of Christendom exchanged greetings in the Cathedral. On the 13th of September Charles V. had a long conversation with the Pope in the bishop's palace. The latter returned the visit on the following day at the Palazzo della Signoria, where the Emperor was lodged. Return visits were paid to Paul III. on the 14th and 15th, and on the 16th he

[1] For the journey on which Siena was purposely avoided, see *the reports of A. Serristori of Aug. 2, 7, 31, and Sept. 3, 1541 (State Archives, Florence), *Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 22 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and SIMONETTI, 13 *seq.*, 19. Samminiato wrote on Aug. 31, 1541, from Acquapendente: "S. Sta questa mattina partendo da Acquapendente et entrando in su il Senese volse la sua guardia seco" (State Archives, Lucca, Anz., 621).

[2] Carpi was appointed on Aug. 12, 1541 (see Acta Consist. Cancell., Consistorial Archives, Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* SIMONETTI'S full account (p. 19 *seq.*). See also the Diario in FUMI, Aumenti del Archivio di Lucca, Rocca S. Casciano, 1907, 44 *seq.* In the *Memorie di Lucca di M. BERTOLANI, f. 144 *seq.*, the lodgings of the Cardinals are mentioned. Contarini stayed at the Abbey of S. Frediano, Cervini at the Bishop's palace, and Farnese with V. Guinigi (State Archives, Lucca).

went to see the Emperor. The two final conferences took place on the 17th and 18th; Charles left Lucca on the 18th, while the Pope remained until the 20th.[1] On his way home he stopped at Bologna, Loreto, and Camerino; October was drawing to an end when he again entered Rome.[2]

To the mass of subjects claiming the attention of Pope and Emperor fresh material was added by the arrival of the news of the capture of Ofen,[3] whereby the Turkish question was opened out afresh. The time at their disposal was much too short to admit of the numerous political, religious, and private differences between them being discussed and final decisions formed upon them.[4]

The point of first importance for the Emperor was to secure the Pope's aid in dispelling the menace of war from France, which was looming in the near foreground, on account of the attempt on the lives of the French diplomatists Rincon and Fregoso, and threatened to obstruct the expedition against Algiers. Paul III. promised to do his best, and while still in Lucca a capable diplomatist, Girolamo Dandino, was despatched to France. He was to urge the maintenance of the armistice and to lay before the French King, Charles's proposal that the Netherlands instead of Milan should be the dowry to

[1] See SIMONETTI, 29 *seq.*, 31 *seq.*; *cf.* MAZZATINTI, Archivi, V., 106. The Pope presented the Emperor with a valuable cross, two candlesticks, and a pax, works of Belli (see Lett. inedit. di C. Gualteruzzi di Fano, Pesaro, 1834, 42), and also gave him a Bull relative to half of the ecclesiastical income of the Netherlands (see Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 213).

[2] See Acta Consist. Cancell. (Consistorial Archives, Vatican) and the *notes of Cornelius de Fine in Cod. Ottob., 1614, f. 55 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See HASENCLEVER in Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXVI., 30[illegible]

[4] *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., IV., 398.

be brought by his daughter to the Duke of Orleans.[1] Paul III. had advised the cession of Savoy to Francis I., while the dispossessed Duke of that country would be compensated with Milan. He was probably led to suggest this scheme, which was rejected by Charles, by some *arrière pensée* with regard to Ottavio Farnese, whose name, however, had not yet been mentioned.[2] The Papal policy concerning Milan was dismissed in the same way as the recommendation that the Emperor, instead of attacking Algiers, should go directly to the aid of his brother Ferdinand.[3] As regards the religious affairs of Germany, the Pope spoke openly on the Recess of Ratisbon, against the terms of which Contarini addressed a protest from Lucca to the Cardinal of Mayence.[4]

The Papal decision, which the Emperor wished for, on the Catholic League and the reform of the German Church had to be postponed, as there were not Cardinals enough in Lucca to form a consistory; still, a prospect of the gratification of his wishes was held before Charles.[5] The question of the Council was also gone into thoroughly at Lucca.[6] The Emperor now showed himself to be so far

[1] Dandino failed, as did N. Ardinghello, who was sent, on the return of the former, in the middle of Nov. 1541 (see PIEPER, Nuntiat., 122 *seq.*).

[2] See DE LEVA, III., 455; *cf. ibid.*, 476, n. 3, according to whom there was talk of Siena as well as Lucca, but no authentic proof of this is forthcoming (see CARDAUNS in Quellen und Forschs., XII., 194). From Antella's *letter of Dec. 18, 1540, it is probable that Paul III. was then thinking of Milan for Ottavio (State Archives, Florence), see Appendix No. 7.

[3] See JOVIUS, Hist., i, 40; *cf.* TURBA, 38 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 477 *seq.*

[5] See DE LEVA, III., 456; DITTRICH, Contarini, 788 *seq.*; HASENCLEVER in Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXVI., 305; SIMONETTI, 37 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 206 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 16, n. 1, 2; DITTRICH, 788; KORTE, 48 *seq.*; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 141 *seq.*

compliant to the Pope's wishes as to be ready to accept Vicenza as the place of meeting. The Pope, who had spared himself no pains to obtain, before his meeting with Charles should take place, the acquiescence of Venice in this choice, received an inopportune check at this very moment by the final announcement, after long delays, of the Republic's refusal, actuated out of consideration for Turkey and France.[1] It appears that the Emperor, with an appeal to the Recess of Ratisbon, suggested Trent as a place specially suitable.[2] On this as on the other questions under consideration no definite pronouncement was reached at Lucca; the Pope reserved himself for consultation with the Sacred College.

On the 28th of September the Emperor, in whose suite was Ottavio Farnese, left the harbour of Spezia with his galleys. By a rapid descent on Algiers, which under the Turkish Pasha, Hassan Aga, had become a nest of piracy, he hoped to put an end to the almost unceasing pillage of the coasts of Spain, Naples, and Sicily and to divert the Sultan from an attack on Austria. The latter object was attained, but the undertaking against Algiers was a total failure.

This had been foreseen by experienced observers, for at the advanced season of the year violent storms might be expected with certainty. Paul III. had already drawn the Emperor's attention to this at Lucca.[3] The obstinate determination of Charles to carry out his plan was a grave mistake which he had to rue bitterly. When, on the 20th of October, the African coast came in sight, the sea

[1] Letter of the nuncio in Venice, the Bishop of Chiusi, to Farnese, of Sept. 3, 1541; *cf.* for this and the foregoing negotiations with Venice, CAPASSO, Legati, 32–34.

[2] EHSES, IV. 207, n. 1; KORTE, 49; SIMONETTI, 36 *seq.*

[3] See TURBA, as quoted in n. 2, p. 18.

was so stormy that the landing of the troops had to be put off for three days. Even then heavy seas hindered the disembarkation of cavalry, artillery, and provisions. The troops, 22,000 in number, pitched their camp before the city; they were full of courage and assurance, but all their hopes were soon shattered by the inclemency of the elements. During the evening of the 24th of October a storm broke out which lasted all night; torrents of rain, with the volume of waterspouts, submerged the camp, so that the soldiers were wading knee-deep in slush and water. On the following morning the storm had risen to hurricane pitch and in a short space of time annihilated before the eyes of the army ten great galleys and more than a hundred transport vessels. Even more sensibly felt than the sacrifice of life demanded by this tempest was the loss in artillery, ammunition, and food-stuffs. The critical position of the camp was intensified, as the soldiers could not make use of their rain-soaked muskets against the onsets of the enemy. It was a desperate business to ward off the incessant attacks; the courage and presence of mind of the Emperor alone saved the army from total ruin. As the most necessary supplies were lacking, the troops were compelled at great sacrifice and amid persistent engagements with the enemy to fall back upon Cape Matifou, where the remainder of the fleet had taken refuge. Here the soldiers were got on board, but fresh storms brought loss and disaster on the homeward voyage; at last, on the 1st of December, the Emperor landed at Carthagena.[1]

[1] *Cf.* together with SCHOMBURGK, Die Geschichtschreibung über den Zug Karls V. gegen Algiers, Leipzig, 1875; TURBA in Archiv für Österr. Gesch., LXXVI. (1890), 25 *seqq.*, who also examines the question of Charles's responsibility for the failure of the expedition (see L. PASTOR in Histor. Jahrb., XII., 184 *seq.*; see also SEGRE, Carlo II. di Savoia, 21; ARMSTRONG, II., 7 *seq.*; Arch. Stor. Sicil., XXXI., 372).

When in the middle of November news reached Rome of the unhappy issue of the Algerian expedition, the central point of public interest was, together with discussions on ecclesiastical reform, the question of the Council.

Immediately after the conference at Lucca the Pope had thrown himself with energy into the preparations for the Council.[1] Cardinal Farnese had already on the 5th of October 1541 commissioned from Bologna two of the most prominent members of the Sacred College, Contarini and Aleander, to make proposals regarding the time as well as the place of the Council irrespective of the circumstance whether the Christian princes were at peace or at war, or whether there was agreement between them or not. The persons named were also to consider carefully the reform of the German Church as desired by the Emperor at Ratisbon, to propose personages fitted for the task, and to draw up a draft of instructions for the preachers. All this was to be got ready so as to admit of a speedier settlement on the return of the Pope to Rome.[2] As Aleander fell ill Contarini took the work in hand alone. It was ready by the middle of October; as introductory to the reform of Germany, Contarini recommended the appointment as nuncio of Giovanni Morone, Bishop of Modena, to be accompanied by the Scotsman, Robert Wauchope, and two members of the Society of Jesus. With regard to the Council, Contarini abode by his opinion of its urgent necessity, which he emphasized with great precision. On the question of locality his unfortunate experiences had brought a change of mind and he also

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 791. "There cannot now," says Korte (p. 48), "be the slightest doubt of the Pope's sincerity in wishing the Council to be held."

[2] Farnese to Contarini, dat. Oct. 5, 1541, in DITTRICH, Regesten 385; *cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 791; EHSES, IV., 208, n. 2.

rejected Trent. Any German town he ruled out, not only on account of the existing unrest and the strength of Protestantism, but also because of the opposition of other nations. Besides, the Pope would be putting his life in danger if he were to visit such a cold climate at his advanced age.

Yet a further reason there was; since the Recess of Ratisbon had demanded a council in Germany, it might seem a concession of weakness to give way on this point, as if the Council should assemble in virtue of a resolution of the Diet and not in virtue of the Papal authority. A council in Spain was out of the question, while to a city in France no Germans would go; thus no other country remained but Italy. Here, since the Germans were opposed to Milan and the French to Ferrara and Bologna, Mantua had the strongest recommendations. It was near Germany, was an Imperial city, although not wholly subject to the Emperor, and offered all the requirements for such an assembly. Since the Germans did not travel during the winter, the right time would be eight days after Easter. As to the Recess of Ratisbon, it called for no further consideration, having been passed without the co-operation, indeed without the knowledge of the Legate and nuncio.[1]

With these well-grounded proposals Paul III. was in substantial agreement. All the efforts of the Imperialists to turn the Pope's choice on a German city were in vain. They only gained one point, that a final decision should be deferred until Morone, appointed on the 7th of November 1541 nuncio-extraordinary to the Diet at Spires, should have

[1] EHSES, IV., 208 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Nov. 11, 1541: "M'ero scordato scriver di sopra come io ho inteso che facendosi il concilio si ragiona incominciarlo a Pasqua o al più lungo a quello del Spirito Santo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

given his report on the opinion of the German Catholics; in the meantime, Ardinghello, who had been sent to France on the 11th of November, would also have furnished fuller information on the attitude of Francis I.[1] On December the 17th Paul III. addressed a request to the latter as well as to the Emperor that they would allow their Cardinals to come to Rome to take part in the deliberations there to be held on the question of the General Council.[2]

Francis I. adhered, even after this fresh exhortation of the Pope, to his old standpoint. Out of consideration for the Protestants and the Turks he was now, as before, against a Council;[3] his objections to the Cardinals' journey were put so strongly that the nuncio Capodiferro saw there was little to be hoped for.[4] Paul III., nevertheless, held firmly to his plan. On the 3rd of January 1542 he discussed both the time and place of the Council with his Cardinals. They were all agreed that Whitsunday (May 28) should be adhered to as the latest date for the opening. The opinions as to place varied widely; besides Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Piacenza, Trent was also strongly recommended; no determination, however, was yet arrived at.[5] On January the 4th Morone left Modena on his journey to Germany,[6] where twice already he had

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 207 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*; KORTE, 50 *seq.* For Morone's appointment, see Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 206, n. 5.

[2] EHSES, IV., 212. *Cf.* Ruggieri's *report of Dec. 19, 1541 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] See Capodiferro's, Dandino's, and Ardinghello's reports in EHSES, IV., 205 *seqq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 16, n. 8.

[4] See Capodiferro in EHSES, IV., 214, 215 *seq.*

[5] Together with Contarini's letter of Jan. 7, 1542, in Quellen und Forschungen, II., 217 *seq.*, see also N. Sernini's *report of Jan 4, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see Appendix, No. 12.

[6] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 398.

supported the interests of the Holy See with distinguished success.[1] In accordance with Contarini's proposal he had, as colleagues in the reform of ecclesiastical affairs, Robert Wauchope and three sons of St. Ignatius: Peter Faber, Nicolas Bobadilla, and Claude Le Jay.[2]

In Trent and Brixen Morone left traces of his reforming activity. In Munich he dealt with Duke William of Bavaria on the subject, and in Dillingen with the Bishop of Augsburg and the Cathedral Chapter. To the latter he made serious representations on the disregard of celibacy, on the lavish tables, drinking bouts, gaming and hunting parties in which the clergy indulged, and on their ignorance and want of mental culture. The capitular clergy listened to his remonstrances willingly, and showed a disposition to alter their manner of living. The Bishop, who was counted one of the most learned of the Prince-Bishops of Germany, thanked Morone for the Papal messages delivered to him and said that he would do his utmost to give effect to those admonitions; at the same time he deeply deplored that the predecessors of Paul III. had not twenty years before taken the reformation of Germany in hand. Now, in his opinion, their efforts would be fruitless since the bishops, even with the best wish to do so, could effect nothing more. He proceeded to enumerate the chief hindrances: the exemptions of the Chapters, the ungovernable character of the German nobles, the support which the bad example of the clergy in moral relations finds in the licence of the Lutherans, the tyranny of the secular princes, and the deficiency of Catholic priests. Even from a council, the Bishop remarked, he no longer hoped for a remedy for such great disorders unless Germany first became united and laid aside her particular dissensions. In the course of

[1] KORTE, p. 52.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 104 *seq.*

these arguments he attacked now the Bavarians, now the Emperor and the other princes. Morone met this despairing pessimism with exhortations to pluck up courage and not to follow the example of the soured and listless who, while they bewail the past and despair about the future, stand with folded hands and let the opportunities of the present slip away, while the bad goes from worse to worse. The bishop must not imitate such, but use his gifts and learning in God's service, and if for the reasons adduced he cannot reckon on the full extent of his jurisdiction, he yet ought to try at least and unite the few souls over whom his authority extends.[1]

Apart from the ecclesiastical reforms which Morone was to introduce with the co-operation of the German bishops, Contarini's instructions also comprised important business bearing on the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, the Turkish war, and lastly the Council.[2] As the document relating to the Catholic alliance contained some expressions prejudicial to the Papal jurisdiction, Paul III. wished them to be recast in such a way as securely to establish

[1] Report of Feb. 8, 1542, in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 402 *seq.* The pessimistic description given by the Bishop of Augsburg of the state of things even in those parts of Germany which remained Catholic, was confirmed later to Morone by Cardinal Albert of Mayence (see LAEMMER, 412 *seq.*). For Morone and reform, see PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 290; PIEPER, 142, n. 3; and DUHR in Zeitschr. für kathol. Theologie, XXI., 594 *seq.*, and Gesch. der Jesuiten, 7 *seq.*, 16 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS (1542, n. 2 *seq.*) gives the text of the Instruction, dat. Jan. 9, 1542, from a very corrupt copy which PALLAVICINI (l. 4, c. 17) uses, a manuscript from the Secret Archives of the Vatican. There is also a copy in the Sec. Arch. Vat. in Varia Polit., 20, f. 238. See also ÆHSES, IV., 214 *seq.* Another copy in the Graziani Archivis, Città di Castello, Istruzioni, I., 320 *seq.* For Contarini as the composer, see PIEPER, 142.

his rights. As a subsidy the Pope was willing to give, not, as was demanded, a fourth, but a sixth only of the whole. He was ready to send 5000 men against the Turks if the Emperor would command the army in person, otherwise only half that number, and even that amount merely in the event of the Papal States being unmenaced by a Turkish landing.

With regard to the Council, Morone's instructions were to announce the Pope's determination to summon one, but at the same time to state the reasons why the place of meeting could not be Germany. In the first place, the Pope wished to take part in it himself, or at least to be not far away, and at his great age it would be impossible for him to undertake the journey to or encounter the climate of Germany. Further, it was to be feared that owing to the agitated state of that country the treatment of ecclesiastical questions there would only heat men's tempers the more and make the breaches between them still wider, even to the outbreak of war, a thing most repugnant to the Pope, whose wishes were directed only to the restoration of peace in Christendom. Paul III. wished, however, in the choice of a place to consult as much as possible the convenience of the German people; he therefore recommended in the first place Mantua, a city lying almost at the foot of the Alps, in the neighbourhood of Germany, and in other respects peculiarly suited. In case this proposal could not possibly be carried out he named in the second place Ferrara, also very favourably situated and well fitted for the purpose; since, however, the latter place, although certainly a fief of the Church, but not under immediate Papal rule, could not with certainty be offered by the Pope, the Legate might propose Piacenza or Bologna, cities of the Papal States; he was also fully empowered, if the Germans were in agreement with him on the point, to offer definitely one

or other of these cities. Whitsunday was to be fixed upon as the date of opening.[1]

Morone, who in the course of his journey had discussed the subject of reform as well as that of the Council with Duke William of Bavaria at Munich and with the Bishop of Augsburg at Dillingen, reached Spires on the 8th of February,[2] where the Diet was opened on the following day. The German princes were divided, as formerly, on the question of the Council. Duke William of Bavaria declared the Synod to be absolutely necessary and was in favour of its immediate opening. Mantua he preferred to any other place, but, if this were impossible, Trent; but he announced his intention of agreeing entirely with all that the Pope decided.[3] Morone was displeased at finding on his arrival at Spires that almost all the spiritual princes were absent, so that there was no means of coming to an understanding with them. He regretted this all the more as he had a suspicion that the Imperial orators, Montfort and Naves, and King Ferdinand as well, were inclined to consent to the settlement of religious affairs by a national

[1] The proposal of the above-named four cities and of the Whitsuntide term correspond with the results of the consistorial discussion on Jan. 3, 1542 (*cf. supra*, p. 133). On Jan. 28 Farnese wrote to Morone that he would adhere to his proposal of those four places as being the most suitable for the purpose; he recommended Bologna for preference, but Morone was to report on the feeling there so that further steps should be taken in accordance therewith (PIEPER, 176). Farnese wrote in the same sense to Poggio on Feb. 5, observing that Trent in itself was certainly not regarded with dislike by the Pope, but that the latter saw objections to it in other quarters (Francis I.) and therefore fell back on the other four cities: Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Piacenza (EHSES, IV., 216 *seq.*).

[2] See Verallo's report of Feb. 12, 1542 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Morone in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 403.

[3] Morone to Farnese, dat. 1542, Feb. 8 (LAEMMER, 401).

council or by another Diet[1] in order to guarantee the help of the Protestants against the Turks. The King of the Romans, moreover, who was then only occupied with the demand for support throughout the Empire against the Turks, saw with dissatisfaction that the Pope's representatives were bent on separate negotiations with the Catholic Estates.[2] Already in the first audience, given on the 9th of February, he tried to induce Morone to explain the task with which he was entrusted in a session of the Diet. Morone had to refuse, since he was not instructed to this effect and had no letters of credence to the Diet but only to certain individual princes.[3] He told the King and the vice-chancellor Naves that he was not at Spires to negotiate with the Diet but with the Emperor and the King of the Romans, in the Pope's name. On further pressure, however, from Ferdinand he applied through Farnese to the Pope for power to address the Diet on the subject both of the Turkish war and of the Council.[4]

Ferdinand thought, as Morone did not fail to observe, that in the public session no one would venture to declare himself against the Recess of Ratisbon, while he feared that the nuncio might succeed in isolated negotiations in winning over individuals to a hostile position.[5] The King was also displeased at the promptitude with which Morone had announced openly that the Pope had resolved to open the Council at Whitsuntide.[6] The Bishop of Spires, who was the only ecclesiastical prince present at the time

[1] Same to same, dat. 1542, Feb. 10 (LAEMMER, 404). *Cf.* KORTE, 52 *seq.*

[2] Same to same, dat. 1542, Feb. 10 (LAEMMER, 404, 411). *Cf.* KORTE, 53.

[3] Same to same, dat. 1542, Feb. 10 (LAEMMER, 407 *seq.*).

[4] *Ibid.* (LAEMMER, 409, 410).

[5] LAEMMER, 404.

[6] *Ibid.*, 410 *seq.*

of the nuncio's arrival, said that he would accept the Pope's orders, but recommended the Council to be held in Germany in order to cut off all further excuse for calumnious statements about the Holy Father; he proposed Metz or Trent, both of which places in a certain degree were in Germany and yet out of Germany.[1] The Cardinal of Mayence, on the contrary, with whom after his arrival Morone had long consultations, declared that the hindering of the council in Germany would be dangerous even although certain bishops were in favour of it, but the speedy assemblage of the Synod he thought very necessary.[2]

In a letter written by Farnese on the 6th of March[3] Morone received the permission desired by Ferdinand. He was now at liberty to lay before the Diet all his instructions regarding the Turkish subsidy and the Council. As regards the Council, he was to explain that the Pope, who had always been ready to hold the Synod and had offered it, was now more than ever determined to carry out his wishes. In order on his part to remove every doubt and impediment, the Pope would also be glad to summon the General Council to Trent, if none of the cities of which prior mention had been made were found suitable.[4] With regard to the opening of the assembly, the Pope

[1] LAEMMER, 404.

[2] Morone to Farnese, dat. 1542, Feb. 20 (LAEMMER, 413).

[3] In PIEPER, 177–181. For portion relating to Council, see also EHSES, IV., 217 *seq.*

[4] KORTE (p. 54) thinks that the Pope's sudden compliance in the matter of Trent is to be explained by the conviction at Rome that neither Francis I. nor the Emperor wished the Council to be held. The danger of the situation was thus diminished, while at the same time a more favourable complexion was given to the Pope's obligingness. The actual course of events showed, on the contrary, that the Pope was acting quite honestly in trying to obviate the slightest pretext for objection on the part of the Emperor or Germany.

even now would prefer that it should be fixed for Whitsuntide; but if, as time was advancing, it should be found desirable to postpone the date, he left the settlement of that point to Morone's discretion; as soon as his answer was received the Bull of summons would be prepared.

On the receipt of these instructions Morone, on the 23rd of March, laid before the Diet the Pope's proposals regarding the subsidy for the Turkish war and the Council.[1] He spoke strongly of the Pope's determination, and remarked that matters had hitherto been in suspense only at the request of the Emperor and King Ferdinand. In accordance with his previous instructions he unfolded the reasons which had led the Pope ostensibly to object to a German meeting-place for the Council; he mentioned the four cities which had been proposed at first, but then explained that his Holiness, if these places for various reasons should be deemed less suitable, offered to summon the Council to Trent in order to meet more fully the wishes of the German nation and to obviate all hindrances. As the date of opening he proposed the 15th of August, the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady.

The Protestants, who had abstained from appearing at the session, at once raised a protest[2] against a Council the summons to which depended on a Pope, while the Electors and Catholic Estates were satisfied with the proposals. Subsequently, on the 30th of March, Morone received a fresh letter from Farnese of the 21st according to which the seat of the Council had been again dealt with in

[1] Propositio facta per Io. Moronum episcopum Mutinensem nuntium Apostolicum in dieta Spirensi die 23 Martii 1542 (EHSES, IV., 218 *seq.*). *Cf.* also Morone's letter to Farnese of March 28 in LAEMMER, 420, and that to E. Gonzaga of March 29 in SOLMI, Contarini, 90 *seq.*; *cf.* also WINKELMANN, III., 252.

[2] EHSES, IV., 219 *seq.*

consistory on March the 15th, and besides Trent, Cambrai had also been taken into consideration, the latter appearing to a majority of Cardinals to be preferable to Trent on account of its situation and out of regard for the existing political relations. To the Pope both places were acceptable; Cambrai indeed was less convenient owing to its being further off; but as the object of the Council was the general good of Christendom, he would give his decision in favour of that one of the two cities which should be considered most adapted for that object. The nuncio was to confer with the King on the subject and with any other person whom he thought it good to speak to.[1]

Morone was upset by this message.[2] He feared, not without reason, that fresh suspicions would be aroused in the Germans concerning the sincerity of the Pope's intentions. On the 1st of April, having on that day received the verbal reply of the Estates to his former proposals, he laid before the Diet, on the advice of King Ferdinand, a fresh proposition in which, besides Trent and the four Italian cities, he recommended Cambrai.[3] Previously, however, he had already made corresponding communications to the Electors of Mayence and Treves, and to Bavaria and some other Catholics.[4] As he had feared, this new proposal was no better received by the Catholics than by the Protestants; even on the Catholic side it was suspected

[1] In PIEPER, 181–183. Cardinal E. Gonzaga, *writing to the Marchese del Vasto, says of the consistory of March 15, 1542 (*cf.* EHSES, IV., 218, n. 1): "Il card. Trivultio ha nominato Genova per luogo confidente a tutti i principi christiani da congregarvi il concilio, della qual cosa ognino e massimamente il Papa s' é maravigliato." Cod. Barb. lat., 5790, f. 151, Vatican Library.

[2] Morone to Farnese, dat. April 3, 1542 (LAEMMER, 424–428).

[3] EHSES, IV., 220.

[4] Morone to Farnese, dat. April 3, 1542 (LAEMMER, 424 *seq.*).

that the Pope had no intention of holding the Council and was trying in this way to evade it. The nuncio was accused of disingenuousness and vacillation.[1] On the 4th of April Morone received the written answer of the Estates,[2] which corresponded to the verbal declaration of their deputies made on April the 1st. Cambrai was not even mentioned; on the other hand, the Estates declared that if no more suitable city in the Empire, Ratisbon for instance, or Cologne, was to be obtained from the Pope, they wished, in that case, for Trent in preference to the other places named, and they earnestly begged that the Council might be convened and held without further delay.

The attitude of Ferdinand towards the demands of the Protestant[3] Estates caused Morone and the nuncio Verallo not less anxiety than the question of the Council. The Papal representatives were not sparing of warnings against further concessions; but the King had an eye for his necessities which forced him to give his consent to things of which at first he had taken no thought.[4] By the Recess of the 11th of April the Ratisbon conditions of peace, together with the suspension of all causes affecting matters of religion pending before the Imperial Courts, were extended over another five years. As regards the Council, the Recess held to the 15th of August as the date for its opening and reiterated the wishes expressed in the letter of April the 4th; the protest of the new religionists was

[1] Morone to Farnese (LAEMMER, 427); Morone to Farnese, dat. April 4, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 221, n. 1).

[2] EHSES, IV., 221.

[3] *Cf.* Verallo's letter of March 30, 1542 (Nunziat. di Germania, Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also Morone's report of March 28, 1542, in LAEMMER, 421 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Verallo's *report of April 6, 1542 (LAEMMER, 421 *seq.*).

expressly mentioned.[1] Ferdinand justified his fresh compliance by the state of his affairs which, at the present juncture, forced him to shut his eyes.[2] The King of the Romans was soon to learn from experience what the Turkish war subsidy voted in the Diet of Spires was worth.

The Diet had promised to raise 40,000 foot and 8000 horse soldiers within six months. These troops were to be assembled at Vienna by the beginning of May; but the promise was not kept either with regard to time or numbers. It was the beginning of July before 30,000 were in readiness, in addition to which Paul III., to the disgust of the French,[3] sent 3000 infantry and 500 horsemen,[4] somewhat more than he had stipulated; these troops reached Vienna on the 3rd of July. With the contingents raised by Hungary and the Austrian and Bohemian Estates the host increased to upwards of 55,000 men. Want of money, with the accompanying lack of discipline and insubordination among the soldiery, put a check to any active operations. At last, in September, the army

[1] See Neue Sammlung der Reichsabschiede, II., 444 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, V., 16 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 521; EHSES, IV., 223, n. 2; KORTE, 55 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Verallo's *report, April 12, 1542 (Nunziat. di Germania, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] "Dicono il Papa inclinar alla banda imperiale, anchora che mostri pur di starsene nella sua neutralità, perche S. B. ha chiariti Francesi, che vuol aiutar l' Imperator et il re de Romani contra 'l Turco, di che non si contentano molto," *wrote Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Marchese del Vasto on March 27, 1542. Cod. Barb. lat., 5790, f. 145 (Vatican Library).

[4] The infantry was commanded by Paolo Vitelli, the cavalry by the Marchese Sforza Pallavicini (great-grandfather of the Cardinal). *Cf.* the *briefs to Sforza Pallavicini of Jan. 5, 1542, to Ferdinand I., and to the "Protonotarius de Medicis," appointed commissary-general, the two latter of May 29, 1542. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 23, n. 12; t. 24, n. 446, 456 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

took the field. If this ended in a scandalous disaster the chief blame rested on the incompetent commander-in-chief, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, and the spirit of disaffection among the unpaid soldiers which culminated in open mutiny. As the assault on Ofen by the Papal troops was not supported by their German comrades, the attempt failed; without having effected the most meagre results Brandenburg decided to withdraw; and the great army disbanded itself "amid the derision of all Christendom." [1]

In a consistory held on the 26th of April 1542, Paul III., notwithstanding the French [2] opposition, finally decided to summon the Council to Trent [3] out of regard for the wishes of Germany. After this important matter had been discussed again on the 5th and 12th of May in consistory the Bull was read aloud on the 22nd and its publication agreed to.[4] This took place on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.[5]

[1] *Cf.* KÁROLYI, A német birodalom nagy hádi vállata Magyarországon 1542 ben, Budapest, 1880; HUBER, IV., 86 *seq.*; TRAUT, Joachim II. und der Türkenfeldzug von 1542, Gummersbach, 1892; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 524 *seq.* In 1543 Fünfkirchen and Gran were taken by the Turks (see BUCHOLTZ, V., 189 *seq.*; HAMMER, III., 248 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 850 *seq.*).

[2] See in Vol. XI., App. No. 37, the report of N. Sernini of March 18, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* Acta Consist. and Farnese's letter of April 28, 1542, in EHSES, IV., 223, and the *reports of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of April 22 (see App. No. 14) and April 30, 1542. In the latter it says: There was a consistory "Mercordi: N. S. ordinò che si spedisca la bolla del concilio a Trento." Then the question arose, who was to be Legate? "si dice di Contarini, Parisio e Chiete et S. Croce; ma Dio sa se bisogneranno et sel Turco vien così potente, come si dice, si penserà più alla guerra che al concilio" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 223.

[5] See Farnese's letter of June 29 in EHSES, IV., 232; *cf.* MERKLE, I., 416 *seq.*

In the important document drawn up by Sadoleto[1] and dated May the 22nd, Paul III. glanced back at his endeavours to promote the Council since the beginning of his pontificate, on his various earlier convocations and the reasons then existing for the frustration of his plans; he then announced that he was determined to wait no longer for the consent of any princes, but fix his eyes only on the will of Almighty God and the general good of Christendom. He summoned the Council to Trent on All Saints' Day, the 1st of November.[2]

The Conciliar Bull met with a most unfavourable reception. Francis I. met it with a flat refusal; he declared to the nuncio Capodiferro that since Trent had been chosen without his consent, and was a city which offered no security to his subjects, he would not suffer the Bull to be published in his kingdom. The nuncio made counter-representations in vain. The King angrily remarked he would see to it if anyone dared to act contrary to his command; his determination to refuse recognition to the Council of Trent, which served only the Emperor's interests, was irrevocable.[3]

Not less troublous were the experiences of the nuncio Verallo and the Papal private chamberlain Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who was sent specially to convey the Bull to the Diet opened at Nuremberg in August 1542. Both gave notice of the Council[4] in lengthy orations to the

[1] This interesting fact, hitherto unknown, I took from a *report from N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, May 27, 1542: "L' ultimo consistorio fù lunedi passato, nel qual il card. Salviati lesse la bolla del concilio fatta dal card. Sadoleto" (Gonzaga Arch., Mant.).

[2] Best and latest copy of the Bull, also of all editions of the Tridentine Canons and Decrees, in EHSES, IV., 226–231.

[3] See the nuncio Capodiferro's report of July 24, 1542, in EHSES, IV. 233.

[4] See EHSES, IV., 234 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*

Diet on August the 13th. While the Protestants renewed their protest, the Catholic Estates gave answer to the envoys of Paul III. first orally on the 17th of August and afterwards in writing; they thanked the Pope, and expressed their readiness to attend the Council either in their own persons or, in case of hindrance, in those of their envoys and procurators.[1] King Ferdinand, in his letter of reply to the Pope of September the 21st, 1542, notified his joyful readiness in complying.[2] While the Protestants had nothing but ridicule for the Council, the Catholics, as Verallo learned in private conversation, doubted for the most part whether the Synod, in view of the disturbed state of Europe, would ever meet at all.[3] In the Recess of the Diet the Council was not even mentioned, an omission significant of the general opinion.[4] Otto Truchsess, in obedience to his orders, went from Nuremberg to Poland, where, on the 15th of October, he gave intimation of the Council to King Sigismund in Cracow.[5] He likewise presented the Bull to the Archbishop of Gnesen, who forthwith communicated its contents to his clergy and the episcopate in a Provincial Synod.[6]

The summoning of the Council called forth marked signs of disfavour from the Emperor. This was connected with the neutrality strongly maintained by Paul III. and the renewed outbreak of war with France

[1] EHSES, IV., 237, n. 3, and 237 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, IV., 248; *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 417.

[3] See Farnese's letter of Sept. 4, 1542, in EHSES, IV., 237, n. 3. *Cf.* the *report of Verallo, Aug. 18, 1542, Nunziat. di Germania (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* KORTE, 58.

[5] EHSES, IV., 259–261.

[6] The Archbishop of Gnesen (Petrus Gamiat) to Paul III., dat. Krakau, Nov. 7, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 279 *seq.*).

Paul III. had done all in his power to prevent the unholy conflict between the two most powerful sovereigns of the West. When the Pope in December 1541 sent his chamberlain Giovanni Ricci to Siena to report to Granvelle on the ineffectual mission of Ardinghello, the Emperor's representative thanked him in the warmest terms for the Pope's intervention in behalf of peace.[1] At the end of March 1542 Ricci was again sent by the Pope,[2] always hopeful of maintaining peace, to the two contending princes.[3] He carried with him on this occasion a brief for Francis I. with an autograph postscript by Paul III. containing earnest exhortations to peace.[4] Not till the 24th of May did Ricci, eagerly awaited by the Pope, return to Rome,[5] only to set forth again immediately on the 30th of May to hasten [6] with fresh pacific messages to the French and Imperial courts. On the 7th of June he reached

[1] See Appendix No. 11 for Ricci's *report of Dec. 29, 1541 (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[2] On March 29, 1542, N. Sernini *wrote to Cardinal E. Gonzaga: "Ho inteso di nuovo per buona via che N. S. ha buona speranza che debbia succedere pace fra l' Imp^re^ et Francia, pure il più che non credono, ricordandose delle cose passate, pure l' occasione fanno mutare proposito" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to the Marchese del Vasto (Cod. Barb. lat., 5790, f. 156, Vatican Library).

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 21.

[4] See the *brief of March 27, 1542, in Appendix No. 13, from the original in Ricci Archives, Rome. Ricci left on March 28; see the *report of A. Serristori of March 29, 1542 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3264).

[5] See Serristori's letter of May 26, 1542. Ricci on his return reported the Pope's longing and hope for peace in his *letters of May 1, 5, 8, and 14, 1542 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] See the *brief to Charles V. of May 29, 1542 (Ricci Archives, Rome). *Cf.* Farnese's *letter to Poggio of June 4, 1542 (Chigi Library, Rome, LIII., 65).

Francis I.[1] Although the King's demeanour offered but little prospect of peace, Ricci, on the 16th of June, was with the Emperor with new proposals of mediation.[2]

In Italy, at this time, the renewal of hostilities was looked upon as inevitable. Even the Pope's optimism was shaken,[3] and he began to see that he was cherishing but dwindling hopes of the prevention of the unholy strife. Nevertheless he was determined, under cover of his unbroken neutrality,[4] to press to the utmost his proposals for mediation.

The Imperial ambassador Aguilar and the Roman envoy of the Duke of Florence took every opportunity at this time to influence Paul III. to become the partisan of Charles V. When the war actually broke out in July they redoubled their efforts in this direction, but without success. They reminded the Pope that he himself previously had undertaken to declare against Francis if he made common cause with the Turk. Paul III. thereupon replied that he was only waiting for Ricci's return,[5] which took place on the 22nd of July.[6] It was evident that he had effected nothing.[7] Still the Pope's attitude underwent

[1] See Ricci's *letter to Farnese, June 15, 1542 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); Lett. di Princ., XII., 334 *seq.* (*cf.* PIEPER, 124).

[2] N. Sernini reported on July 24, 1542, on Ricci's mission (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] On June 20, 1542, Lattanzio Tolomei *wrote: To-day the Pope came back "et le prime parole che disse al Card. de Viseo [M. de Sylva], chell andò incontro farono queste: Anco non è rotta la guerra intra Francesi et l' Imperatore" (State Archives, Siena).

[4] *Cf.* L. Tolomei's *report of July 6, 1542 (State Archives, Siena).

[5] Legazioni di A. Serristori, 128.

[6] L. Tolomei's *report of July 22, 1542, who adds: "Ricci si mostra in cera molto allegro" (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 22; PIEPER, 124.

[7] L. Tolomei's *report of July 24, 1542 (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* Serristori's *letters of July 24 and 31, 1542 (State Archives, Florence).

no change. He thought it too hazardous to declare openly against Francis I., since then the latter might apostatize. In that case, he represented to the Emperor, the French King would seize upon the property of the Church and then become a more powerful opponent of Spain than before.[1] When on the 31st of July Ricci gave a report of his mission in consistory, Paul III. deplored with emotion the war between Francis and Charles, but no decision was reached.[2] On August the 7th, with the consent of the whole Sacred College, the Pope appointed two of the most famous and most experienced Cardinals to be Legates for peace: Contarini was to go to the Emperor, Sadoleto to the King of France.[3] The departure of the latter was prepared with such despatch that he was ready to start on the 17th.[4] Paul III. once more was now confident of a good result,[5] but the unexpected death of Contarini necessitated the appointment of a successor; the Pope first thought of Morone, but afterwards gave the Legation

[1] See Cardinal Farnese's *letter to Poggio of Aug. 7, 1542 (Chigi Library, Rome, LIII., 65).

[2] See N. Sernini's *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, Aug. 1, 1542, who adds: "S. Sta mostra haver ancor speranza di pace" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] That the appointment took place not on the 5th but on the 7th August, as EHSES (IV., 283) insists, is established by N. Sernini's *report of Aug. 7, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), by that of *L. Tolomei of the same day (State Archives, Siena), and by the *letter of Cardinal Farnese to Poggio of Aug. 7, 1542 (Chigi Library, Rome, LIII., 65).

[4] See Farnese's *letter of Aug. 19, 1542, in Appendix No. 17 (Chigi Library, Rome); *cf.* the *letter of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, Aug. 11, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The briefs which Sadoleto took with him are dated Aug. 17 (RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 27, and *Min. brev. arm., 41, t. 25, n. 683 *seq.*; *ibid.*, n. 688: *Delph Franciae; n. 689: *Reginae Navarrae; n. 690: *Cancell.; n. 692 *Card. Turonens. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See L. Tolomei's *report, Aug. 1542 (State Archives, Siena).

to the Portuguese Cardinal Miguel de Silva, who had eagerly solicited the post; he had little idea, however, of the Emperor's mood.[1]

The strict neutrality to which the Pope saw himself driven in consequence of the French King's threats of apostasy[2] was unbearable to Charles V. Since Francis I., who was in alliance with the Turk, had been the aggressor, he was convinced that it was the Pope's duty to declare himself against him. In Paul III.'s rôle of mediator he saw the action of a partisan of his enemy. He was deeply wounded that the Bull of the Council in its exhortations to peace should speak of him, the champion of Christendom, in exactly the same tone in which it spoke of Francis, his deadly enemy, and in his estimation the sole destroyer of peace.

At first Charles fought against his agitation, so that it might not seem as if he wished to hinder the Council, and also advised his brother to take no offence at the phraseology of the Bull.[3] But when the French declaration of war arrived soon after, his long-suppressed indignation at the Papal neutrality found vent with extreme violence. In his detailed reply to the Bull, dated from Monzon the 25th of August 1542, Charles bitterly complained that he was placed by the Pope on a level with Francis I. He had always been an obedient son to the Father of Christendom; at incalculable cost, at the peril indeed of life itself, he had fought the Turks by sea and land; he had used every resource to suppress heresy in Germany, while the boundless

[1] *Cf.* L. Tolomei's *report of Aug. 26, 1542 (State Archives, Siena), and that of N. Sernini of the same date in Appendix No. 18 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The brief of credence for Sylva in LANZ, II., 357 *seq.*; in GAYANGOS, VI., 2, n. 50, incorrectly dated.

Cf. Serristori's *report of Aug. 4, 1542 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See the letter of Aug. 11, 1542, in KORTE, 59, 83.

ambition of Francis I. had turned the sword of the infidel against the Christian, stiffened the obstinacy of the Protestants, put difficulties in the way of the Council and even now, under the flimsiest pretexts, had broken up the armistice concluded through Papal mediation. The ample statement of all his disputes with the French King had been interspersed by the Emperor with numerous hits at the Pope. At the very beginning, he says, Paul III. might take as an example the father in the Gospel, who indeed welcomes back the lost son, but still does not set him above the industrious and obedient one. Then follows the complaint, which he, the Emperor, cannot refrain from uttering, that the whole College of Cardinals is subservient to the will of Francis I. in order to purchase an ostentatious profession of faith. In conclusion, Charles V. observes without disguise that if the Pope rightly understood his duty he would make cause against Francis without reserve; in this way alone can the Council be held and a possible remedy for the scandals of Christendom be found; whether under other conditions the Council can be attended by the Estates of the Empire and the bishops of the Imperial States is a question which the Pope in his own wisdom must answer.[1]

On the 18th of September the Imperial ambassador handed this embittered letter of his master to the Pope, then in sojourn in Perugia; the ambassador took the opportunity of again asking the Pope to take sides decisively against Francis I. But Paul III. still adhered now to what in former years he had once said to Granvelle, the Chancellor of Charles V.: "Neutrality in Rome, like our daily bread, must be regarded as a necessity."[2] This view was shared by the

[1] In the Latin text in EHSES, IV., 238–245; *cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 1, n. 1, 2; KORTE, 58 *seqq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 245, n. 1.

Cardinals, with the exception, naturally, of the adherents of Francis I. and Charles V. Among the latter, Cardinal Dionisio Laurerio went so far as to demand that Francis should be deprived of the title of Most Christian King and that excommunication and war should be declared against him.[1]

What specially withheld the Pope from taking extreme measures against Francis I. was the total miscarriage of the ecclesiastical penalties passed on Henry VIII. To attempt now similar proceedings against the French King would, it appeared to him, be a downright act of folly, as he would thereby not only sever a member from the Christian body, but split Christendom itself into two portions.[2] With regard to the Emperor's letter, Farnese told the nuncio Poggio on the 19th of September 1542 that an answer would be sent after the Pope's return to Rome; at the same time, for the information of the nuncio, certain objections made by Charles to the composition of the Bull were refuted.[3]

In the meantime the more immediate preparations for the Council had begun. On the 2nd of June, in express anticipation of the coming Synod, the College of Cardinals was increased by seven new members, among whom was Morone.[4] In August a prelate and some other officials were sent to Trent,[5] and on the 18th of September the Pope appointed Bishops Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona and Gian Tommaso Sanfelice of Cava as commissaries to

[1] For the discussions then held, see JOVIUS, Hist., l. 42.

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 2, n. 1.

[3] EHSES, IV., 247.

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 1, n. 7; Farnese to Poggio, dat. June 4, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 231 *seq.*), and Vol. XI. of this work, p. 203 *seqq.*

[5] Farnese to the Cardinal of Trent, dat. Aug. 19, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 238). In the consistory of August the 11th the speech "De mittendis clericis ceremoniarum et foreriis ad locum concilii" (*ibid.*, n. 4).

superintend the further preparations.[1] Of these two the latter only, who left on the 23rd of September[2] and reached Trent on the 5th of October,[3] was in a position to meet the requirements of his task. That he did this actively and prudently his despatches to Farnese show. In consultation with the Bishop of Trent preparations, carefully considered and arranged, were made for the lodgment of the Cardinals, bishops, envoys, and their suites, for a regular postal service, for the internal and external security of the city, for the security of the streets, and for the provisioning and commissariat.[4] Sanfelice, to his great dissatisfaction, had besides to encounter the doubts of the citizens of Trent whether the Curia was really in earnest about holding the Council, since up to the 25th of October not a word had been heard of the nomination of the conciliar Legates.[5]

[1] The brief in EHSES, IV., 246.

[2] Farnese to Sadoleto, dat. Sept. 25, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 246, n. 1); *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 1. On the 18th Sept. Orlando Ricci was also sent as a commissary to Trent to assist the Bishops of Cava and Trent in the preliminary labours. See his brief in EHSES, IV., 246.

[3] His report to Farnese of Oct. 6, 1542, in EHSES, IV., 251.

[4] See the reports of the Bishop of Cava to Farnese of Oct. 6, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 251 *seq.*), Oct. 9 (*ibid.*, 252–254), Oct. 13 (*ibid.*, 254–259, with the supplement "Consultatio," dat. 13 Octobris 1542), Oct. 19 (*ibid.*, 264–266), Oct. 25 (*ibid.*, 266 *seq.*), Nov. 4 (*ibid.*, 278 *seq.*), Nov. 10 (*ibid.*, 280), Nov. 15 (*ibid.*, 284), Nov. 30 (*ibid.*, 290), Dec. 6 and 9 (*ibid.*, 291), Dec. 15 and 22 (*ibid.*, 293); also Farnese's answers of Oct. 20 (*ibid.*, 266), Oct. 28 (*ibid.*, 275) Nov. 1 (*ibid.*, 276), and Farnese's letter to the conciliar Legates of Dec. 2 (*ibid.*, 290). *Cf.* KORTE, 62 *seq.*, who expresses the view that "notwithstanding all these preparations it may well be doubted whether the Curia really thought seriously of holding the Council."

[5] *Cf.* his letter to Farnese of Oct. 25 begging the Cardinal to forward him frequent instructions concerning the Council so that he may have his letters to appeal to in order to silence doubts. Farnese, in his reply on Nov. 1, assured him of the Pope's firm determination.

On the 16th of October 1542 the Pope nominated, after prolonged consultation, the three conciliar Legates.[1] They were Cardinals of distinction: Parisio, Morone, and Pole.[2] Three days later they received the Legatine cross.[3] Their instructions were, at the command of Paul III., drawn up by the Cardinals Giovanni Maria del Monte, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, and the Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio; they bear the date the 26th of October, 1542.[4] Pole left Rome for Trent on the 26th of October, and Morone and Parisio on the 27th and 28th.[5] The delay in their journey was apologized for by Farnese in a letter of October 28th to the Bishop of Cava[6] in which the latter and the Bishop of Trent were commissioned to receive the prelates on their arrival until the coming of the Legates. On the 30th of October the Pope renewed the decree of the 29th of May 1536 on the Papal election in case such an emergency should arise during the Council.[7]

Sanfelice thanked him on Nov. 10 for this letter, which enabled him to meet the doubters with greater confidence.

[1] *Cf.* N. Sernini's *report of Oct. 14, 1542, in Appendix No. 19 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See *report of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, Oct. 17, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The Bull of appointment of the same day in EHSES, IV., 261 *seqq.*

[3] Farnese to Sanfelice, dat. Oct. 20, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 266); Farnese to Poggio, dat. Nov. 3, 1542; EHSES (IV., 277) gives the date as Oct. 20; also PALLAVICINI (l. 5, c. 4, n. 1).

[4] In EHSES, IV., 267–275. For Guidiccioni's memorial and his previous labours in other ways on behalf of the Council on which the memorial is based, *cf.* SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 190–194.

[5] Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 418; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 261, n. 2.

[6] EHSES, IV., 275 *seq.*

[7] *Report of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, Nov. 2, 1542 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); EHSES, IV., 268, n. 1; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 1, n. 8.

Immediately after the appointment of the Legates the remaining requisite steps for the approaching opening of the Council were taken. In briefs of October the 16th those foreign Bishops whose previous summonses to Rome in view of the Council had not been followed by any result, were again urgently addressed by the Pope.[1] On November the 3rd Farnese directed the nuncio Poggio[2] to intimate to the Emperor the nomination and departure of the Legates, and to beg him to send the prelates of his States to the Council. The invitation to the Spanish Bishops was entrusted to the Portuguese Cardinal de Silva of Viseu, who had succeeded Contarini, on the death of the latter, as Legate to the Emperor.[3] Sadoleto, who had been sent in the interests of peace as Legate to France, tried to get Francis to look favourably on the Council; he was unable, however, to move the King from his stiff attitude of refusal. His interposition on behalf of peace was equally unsuccessful.[4]

Cardinal de Silva fared still worse. In disgrace with his own King, he received from the Emperor, who had come to terms of friendship with the Portuguese monarch, the worst reception. The mission of the Legate was still more objectionable than his person, and he determined simply to dismiss him; on the 8th of October he communicated to the Pope his intention. The letter is full of dry remarks on the Pope's mediation for peace which had only made Francis I. more daring; as his Holiness was the originator of the armistice, it was his duty to avenge its violation; the longer sojourn of the Legate was purposeless, negotiations with him were superfluous, as

[1] The brief to the Cardinal of Lorraine in EHSES, IV., 262; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 277, n. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 276 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 283, n. 2.

[4] See PIEPER, 124; EHSES, IV., 283.

they only afforded the French King fresh opportunities of exercising deception.[1]

After this very clear declaration no other course remained to the Pope but to recall the Legate; which he did on the 2nd of November. The Pope now resolved to try once more the experiment which had been successful in 1538. After long discussion in consistory[2] it was decided on the 10th of November to address an almost identically expressed brief to both sovereigns with the proposal that, for the sake of negotiations on the subject of the peace which the Turkish danger made so necessary, they should meet the Pope personally in Lombardy. The Pope, in making this proposal, dwelt on the great duty which his office imposed upon him of never failing to exercise the authority of the father as well as of the judge.[3]

The date fixed for the opening of the Council had in the meantime been exceeded by three weeks when the Legates made their solemn entry into Trent.[4] This proceeding seems at first to have evoked favourable and hopeful impressions. Hitherto, as Robert Wauchope had found in September, public opinion in Germany had been tepid and inactive,[5]

[1] LANZ, II., 378 (with wrong date); *cf.* GAYANGOS, VI., 2, n. 65; EHSES, IV., 264, n. 1, 283, n. 1.

[2] See Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 247, n. 1, 287, n. 5, and *report of N. Sernini to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Rome, Nov. 7, 1542, dealing specially with the Turkish war. The latter was also discussed in consistory on Nov. 24 (see *report of N. Sernini of Nov. 25, 1542, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See *Acta Consist. for Nov. 10, 1542 (Consistorial Archives, Vatican); *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 31 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 287, n. 5.

[4] The Bishop of Cava to Farnese, dat. Nov. 23, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 285). The three Legates to Farnese, Nov. 24, 1542 (*ibid.*, 286 *seq.*). PALLAVICINI (l. 5, c. 4, n. 1) gives Nov. 22 as the day of their arrival in Trent.

[5] Wauchope to Cardinal Cervini from Salzburg, dat. Oct. 1, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 250).

those who were well disposed towards the Council were shy of expressing themselves, while those who declared themselves ready to attend the Council in person were determined to wait until the Pope had begun his journey to Trent; among these were the Bishop of Ratisbon and the Archbishop of Salzburg, who promised that he would then appear with his provincial bishops. On the 13th of November came the Cathedral Dean of Salzburg, Ambrosius von Lamberg, to inform himself of the position of things in Trent.[1]

The three Legates, on their arrival in Trent, sent to Farnese[2] a list, which has not been preserved, of the German bishops who sent envoys to the Council with the promise to attend themselves or by representatives; they thought that they had grounds for hoping that now that their coming was an established fact that an increasingly great number would attend. Less optimistic was Gian Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of Cava, who wrote to Farnese[3] on the 30th of November: "As yet no one has come; we must at least, this once, take care that Italian prelates appear, especially such as belong to the Curia." In Sanfelice's letters of December the 6th and 9th[4] the same view is expressed concerning the participation of the German bishops, and he calls attention to the fact that the forthcoming Diet at Nuremberg would decide whether the Germans generally would attend the Council or not. On December the 17th Sanfelice urged again[5] that the Italian bishops must put in an appearance first. The Archbishop of Salzburg certainly wrote a letter on the 28th of

[1] Sanfelice to Farnese, dat. Nov. 15, 1542 (EHSES, IV., 284).
[2] Nov. 24, 1542 (*ibid.*, 287).
[3] *Ibid.*, 290.
[4] *Ibid.*, 293.
[5] *Ibid.*, 291.

November to Morone[1] in which he declared that, since he had been informed of the Legates' arrival, he was now ready, together with his provincial bishops, to come to Trent as soon as he heard that the Council would pursue its course. He also instructed the Dean of his Chapter to tell Morone, on the delivery of his letter,[2] that he would appear in person with eight of his suffragans within eight days if he heard that as many prelates from Italy and other countries had arrived as would secure the constitution of the Council. The Dean thought, moreover, that all the other German prelates would follow as soon as the participation of the other nations became known and the certainty of a General Council thus secured; he also declared that it was taken for certain in Germany that King Ferdinand would go to Trent at the close of the Diet. On the 14th of December came from Ferdinand himself the message to the Bishop of Trent[3] bidding him express to the Legates the King's delight at the beginning of the Council and to keep in view the early arrival of his envoy; his own absence he excused on account of the Diet, but intended when that was over to go to Innsbruck in order to be able, in case of necessity, to reach Trent without difficulty.

Charles V. had nominated, on the 18th of October, the Chancellor Granvelle, his son Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, the Marquis de Aguilar, and his ambassador at Venice, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to be his orators at the Council.[4] Granvelle, however, did not

[1] EHSES, IV., 287 *seq.*

[2] The Legates to Farnese, Dec. 11–15, 1542 (*ibid.*, 292).

[3] *Cf.* the letters of the Bishop of Cava of Dec. 15, and of the Legates of 22nd, 1542, to Farnese, in EHSES, IV., 293, and n. 3.

[4] Mandatum Caroli V., dat. Barcinone, 18 Octobris 1542 (EHSES, IV., 263 *seq.*). For their entrance into Trent, *cf. ibid.*, 297, 298; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 1–19; KORTE, 64–68.

leave Spain before December. On his arrival in Italy he not only avoided paying a previous visit to the Pope, but his intention of going to Trent was also carefully kept a secret from Paul III. when Granvelle's younger son Thomas de Chantonnay and the Imperial ambassador Aguilar had an audience of him on December the 24th. For the sake of complete secrecy it was also arranged that Aguilar should remain in Rome and not take a part in the embassy.[1]

The Florentine secretary Lorenzo Pagni, who accompanied Granvelle into Italy, was certainly of opinion, as he reported to his sovereign the Duke from Piacenza on the 28th of December,[2] that the Imperial Chancellor was going to Trent with the intention of bringing about an adjournment of the Council. In any case, the Imperial diplomacy was directed towards leaving the Pope and the conciliar Legates entirely in the dark as to the intended mission and its object; the latter were to be entirely unprepared and taken by surprise, a manœuvre which in the event proved completely successful.

The arrival of Granvelle and his companions at Trent took place on the 7th or 8th of January 1543.[3] They at once visited the Legates. During the proceedings on the following day[4] Granvelle requested a public audience for the orators in the Cathedral in which they could tender excuses for the Emperor's absence and the delay in the despatch of his orators, then publicly notify their appearance and receive an official acknowledgment that this

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 297, n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] EHSES (IV., 297 n. 2) takes Jan. 7 as the correct date of arrival, although the reports say Jan. 8.

[4] See the Legates' report to Farnese of Jan. 9, 1543, in EHSES, IV. 297–300.

had taken place. The Legates did not comply with this demand; the precedents of former Councils must not be departed from, for before the Council had been solemnly opened, after previous fasting and prayer, it did not appear to be becoming to proceed to any public act; the presentation of the mandates had always taken place after the inauguration in the congregations. But if they wished a certificate from the Legates of their appearance and the presentation of the mandates, they were ready to give them one. Granvelle replied with warmth that the refusal of a public audience was an affront to the Emperor; he threatened, if the Legates persisted therein, to put forward a plea of nullity against the Council and to have the same affixed to the doors of the Cathedral. The Legates stood firm; it was not in their power to grant an audience in the Cathedral; an understanding, however, was arrived at by an assurance that the orators should be heard in the house of Cardinal Parisio. Here they appeared with a retinue on the 9th of January.[1]

The Bishop of Arras made a speech in which he first spoke of the necessity of a Council and of the Emperor's persistent zeal in its behalf, now once more manifested in the despatch of his orators, whose presence in his name would be an effectual help to the carrying out of the Council. If Charles V. was unable to be present himself, he had an adequate excuse in the preoccupations of war which prevented him leaving his dominions; their own late arrival also was caused by the danger and insecurity of the journey and the existing condition of affairs; the bishops in the same way had been hindered

[1] See the notarial documents: "Comparitio oratorium Caroli V Imperatoris coram legatis Apostolicis. Oratio habita ab Antonio Perenoto, episcopo Atrebatensi. Tridenti 9 Januarii 1543" (EHSES, IV., 300–303).

from coming up to the present time by this very insecurity; they promised, however, in the Emperor's name, that he would himself appear later, unless he was hindered, contrary to his wishes, in the case of his presence being of use to the Council, and that he would send his bishops as soon as they could undertake the journey. They were now here themselves with full powers to assist the Council in every way. After this discourse the Emperor's mandate was read out and then, at Granvelle's request, a notarial deed was drawn up registering the whole proceeding. At the close of this public transaction the orators again assured the Legates, but not in the presence of witnesses, of their best wishes, but on the following day, January the 10th, Granvelle informed the Legates individually that he was obliged to return to Nuremberg to the Diet.[1] Accordingly, on January the 11th he left Trent, together with his son.

The whole manner of his arrival, combined with his departure for Germany, filled the Legates with justifiable suspicion. They surmised[2] that Granvelle had come to Trent only in order to ascertain that the Council had not yet begun; they were also in anxiety lest the Imperial diplomacy, as soon as the eighteen months fixed by the Recess of Ratisbon had expired, should pursue the object, at the Diet of Nuremberg, either of deciding on a national council or of yielding to the demands of the Protestants in order to secure their aid against the Turks. To meet this danger it was represented to the Pope by the Legates that he ought not now to delay in inducing the bishops to betake

[1] "Sommario del ragionamento havuto da Monsgr. di Granvella col. card. Morono alli 10 da gennario 1543 in Trento" (EHSES, IV., 304 *seq*). "Ex ejusdem Granvellae colloquiis cum Parisio et Polo cardinalibus habitis Tridenti 10 Januarii 1543" (*ibid.*, 305 *seq.*).

[2] The Legates to Farnese, dat. 1543, Jan. 12 (*ibid.*, 306–308; *cf.* 297, n. 1).

themselves to Trent to enable the Council to be held; he ought also to send someone from Rome to Nuremberg to make, simultaneously with the nuncio Verallo, the necessary representations to King Ferdinand and Granvelle, in order to turn them from their ruinous schemes, since the whole question of religion and reformation must be reserved to the Council. Notwithstanding the promises and the decisive protests made by the Legates, Mendoza, who had remained behind temporarily in Trent, also returned on January the 17th to his post as ambassador to Venice.[1]

Orders were at once given from Rome corresponding to the Legates' admonitions. In his answer to the letter of the 9th of January 1543 Farnese had informed them on the 20th[2] that the Pope had given orders that steps should be taken to secure the presence at Trent of an appreciable number of Italian bishops. Cardinal Cervini was commissioned on January the 19th,[3] and again, on the receipt of the fuller reports, on the 22nd,[4] to inform the Italian bishops appointed for that purpose that they must hold themselves in readiness for their journey. On the 29th of January the Pope, in addition to his preparations for the journey to Bologna, had been specially occupied with urgent reminders to the Italian and other bishops of their journey to Trent. To a great number of prelates present in Rome, wrote Farnese on the 14th of February to the nuncio Poggio,[5] the orders for departure have been sent, while others are every day holding themselves in readiness to start.

Corresponding measures were taken with regard to the remaining bishops in and out of Italy. The nuncio Poggio

[1] The Legates to Farnese, dat. Jan. 17, 1543 (*ibid.*, 308).

[2] *Ibid.*, 300, n. 1.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 309, n. 2.

[4] Farnese to Cervini, dat. Jan. 22, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 308 *seq.*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 309–311.

was at the same time instructed to urge upon the Emperor to send without delay the bishops of all his territories and to exhort the King of Portugal to do the same.[1] To King Sigismund I. of Poland, on the 18th of February, a brief[2] was sent. The Pope thanked him for his reply, sent by Otto von Truchsess, and prayed him to send off his orators and the prelates of his kingdom. On February the 25th orders were sent to the Sardinian metropolitans and their suffragans to repair with the abbots and other prelates of their dioceses to the Council without delay; similar instructions were sent to many other prelates as, on the 5th of March, to the Bishops of Sitten and Chur and the Abbots of St. Gall and St. Urban.[3]

To the Diet at Nuremberg Otto von Truchsess was sent as in former years. He brought with him a brief addressed to King Ferdinand and the archbishops, bishops, and princes[4] assembled in the Diet, drawn up on the 18th of February 1543, complaining of the neglect of the invitation to the Council shown by the bishops of Germany up to that time. The object of Otto's mission was described to be the enforcement of this invitation with the co-operation of Verallo.[5] Truchsess left Rome on the 26th of February;[6] in accordance with his instructions,[7] he was first to visit Trent to transmit orders to the Legates and to receive from them advice regarding his mission to

[1] On March 13 and again on April 6 Poggio was again commissioned to urge the appearance of the Spanish prelates (*ibid.*, 316).

[2] *Ibid.*, 312, 316, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 314, n. 7, 315.

[4] *Ibid.*, 311 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, 312; *ibid.*, 313 *seq.*, a letter of an unidentified correspondent to Granvelle of Feb. 21, 1543, in which the latter is begged to prevent resolutions in the Diet which might put hindrances in the way of the Council.

[6] *Ibid.*, 311, n. 3.

[7] Dat. Spoleto, March 4 (*ibid.*, 315)

Germany. On his arrival in Nuremberg he was, if King Ferdinand, Granvelle, and the nuncio were there, to seek out the latter first and go with him to the King to lay before him the object of his mission and convey to him information about the Pope's journey to Bologna; his instructions for Granvelle were similar. If, however, Ferdinand and the nuncio had already started for Bohemia, he was to give his information to Granvelle and then follow up the King and Verallo, returning to the Diet from there, if the nuncio thought good, on the accomplishment of his instructions. Truchsess reached Trent on March the 12th and continued his journey on the 15th, after transacting his business with the Legates.[1] They gave him, further, a letter for Verallo[2] which, while referring him for the most part to Truchsess's verbal communications, contained special injunctions to do everything in combination with him that could check dangerous resolutions in the Diet.

Truchsess who, on his onward journey from Augsburg had transacted business with Duke William of Bavaria and received in Eichstätt the solemn promise of Bishop Moritz von Hutten to attend the Council at Trent, reached Nuremberg on the 22nd of March.[3] In accordance with his instructions he had an interivew with King Ferdinand on Holy Saturday, in the presence of the nuncio; the King gave him benevolent assurances of the presence of the German bishops at the Council. He then saw Granvelle, who complained with emotion of the distrust felt towards him in Rome, but finally also promised his assistance in the matter of the Council. On March

[1] The Legates to Farnese, dat. March 15, 1543 (*ibid.*, 317 *seq.*).

[2] Dat. March 14, 1543 (*ibid.*, 316 *seq.*).

[3] Truchsess to Farnese from Nuremberg, dat. March 31, 1543 (*ibid.*, 319 *seq.*).

the 26th Truchsess went to see the Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, who enlarged on the necessity for the Council and the dangerous condition of Germany, and likewise declared his readiness to give support.[1] On April the 6th Truchsess reported again[2] that he had sent the briefs addressed to princes who were absent from Nuremberg through their envoys; the archbishops he intended to visit personally. Truchsess at this time was full of hope for his mission and that after the Diet was over the Catholics would go to Trent without delay, as so many had already determined to do: thus the Cardinal of Mayence had already given orders to that effect to the Bishop of Hildesheim, to his own coadjutor, and to two theologians.[3]

On the whole, however, the Catholics confined themselves to fine words and empty promises, since King Ferdinand, notwithstanding his ostensible goodwill, was implicated in his brother's policy. The Bishop of Vienna, Nausea, whose enthusiasm for the Council had led him repeatedly to ask the Pope to call him to his side, since it was in his power to give him important information, could only on receipt of the brief of February the 18th send a letter of excuse to Paul III.[4] to say that on account of express

[1] The full account in his letter above mentioned of March 31 (*ibid.*, 320–325).

[2] *Ibid.*, 325, n. 6.

[3] Further reports from Truchsess, who soon afterwards, on the death of Christoph von Stadion (April 15), was chosen Bishop of Augsburg on May 10, do not appear to be forthcoming (EHSES, IV., 326, n.). The Bishop of Hildesheim, Valentine von Teutleben, came to Trent after the Diet, but not with the Archbishop of Mayence, but with his suffragan (see *infra*, p. 167).

[4] Dat. Vienna, April 25, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 326 *seq.*). For his subsequent summons to the Pope and his journey to the latter at Parma, see *infra*, p. 174.

counter-orders from the King he was obliged to abandon his departure for Trent; his immediate journey must be put off, but he hoped as soon as possible to attend the Council and to pay a visit beforehand to the Pope. On the other hand, the apprehensions aroused by the Diet in the Catholic party were not fulfilled. The Protestants certainly, as Verallo wrote to Farnese on the 12th of April,[1] were not backward in trying, if possible, to bring Charles to summon a national council; but no conclusion was reached on the further treatment of the religious question, nor was the question itself discussed in the Diet. Granvelle on his return to Trent from Nuremberg took to himself the credit for this.[2] The Protestants on this occasion had to be content with another protest against the Council.[3] The danger of a national council was not removed in this way; it was only pushed somewhat into the background.

One by one and at long intervals a few bishops arrived at Trent; they were Italians, for the most part, attached to the Curia, and a few Germans. On Granvelle's first arrival in Trent, besides the Bishop of Cava, Bishop Richard Pate of Worcester had already arrived and was a witness of the proceedings on the 9th of January.[4] On March the 10th came Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre,[5] and on the 11th Cornelio Mussi, Bishop of Bertinoro;

[1] EHSES, IV., 317, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Morone's report to Farnese of May 26, 1543 (*ibid.*, 335 *seq.*).

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 17; EHSES, IV., 336, n. 2.

[4] EHSES, IV., 303.

[5] T. Campeggio to Farnese, dat. March 15, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 318); the Legates to Farnese, dat. March 15, 1543 (*ibid.*); the Legates to the nuncio Verallo, dat. March 14, 1543 (*ibid.*, 316). Campeggio immediately on his arrival had been struck by the unsuitableness of Trent for the Council on account of the scarcity of accommodation and lack of means for keeping up its provisionment. In his letter of March 15 he gave his opinion that the Council ought only to be

on the 20th of March they were followed by the Archbishop of Corfù, Giacomo Cauco, and Bishop Giacomo Giacomello of Belcastro.[1] On the 28th of March the procurators of three German prelates presented their mandates,[2] and on April the 4th the Legates[3] mentioned the presence of the Archbishop of Otranto, Pietro Antonio da Capua. The good feeling and zeal of the prelates who up to April 15th had appeared on the scene is praised in a letter of the Bishop of Trent to Farnese on the 30th of April[4] from Brixen, the former having come to that city a fortnight before. About this time also the Bishop of Chironia (Cheronæa), Dionigi Zannettini, was at Trent.[5] On the 10th of May arrived the Bishop of Hildesheim, Valentine von Teutleben, and his coadjutor Balthasar Waneman; the two bishops, who were accompanied by the jurist Dr. Conrad Braun, came together in the name of the Cardinal of Mayence.[6] The Bishop of Hildesheim made special excuses in a letter to the Pope for the absence of Albert,[7] laid stress on the necessity for a Council, and made strong representations that everything should be done to avert the threatened national council and to obtain from the Emperor in the meantime the revocation and cancellation of that consent to the Recess of Ratisbon

opened formally and then without delay transferred elsewhere or, better still, not be opened at all but at once relegated to some other locality. The Legates also on March 28 called attention to the inconveniences of provisionment: to Farnese (*ibid.*, 319).

[1] The Legates on March 20 to Farnese (*ibid.*).

[2] The same on March 29 to same (*ibid.*).

[3] To Farnese (*ibid.*, 328, n. 3).

[4] *Ibid.*, 327 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 328, n. 6.

[6] Parisio and Morone to Farnese (*ibid.*, 329).

[7] *Cf.* the letter to Farnese of May 20, 1543 (*ibid.*, 330 *seq.*). Ehses could not find the letter of May 16 to the Pope himself.

which the Protestants had wrung from him under pressure. The Bishop of Würzburg, Conrad von Bibra, since he could not attend in person, appointed on the 1st of June as his representatives the Bishops of Eichstätt and Hildesheim.[1] The former of the two, Moritz von Hutten, came to Trent at the end of June and went thence to visit the Pope at Bologna.[2] The hope that after the close of the Diet a still greater number of German bishops would arrive proved deceptive. In consonance with the policy of Charles V., the Spanish bishops who appeared were as few in number[3] as the French, the latter being forbidden to travel by Francis I.[4] The further time advanced the more nugatory seemed the prospect of the opening of the Council.

[1] His letter to the Pope of June 1, 1543 (*ibid.*, 342).

[2] Morone to Farnese, dat. June 30, 1543 (*ibid.*, 346; *cf.* 342, n. 4). In the beginning of July representatives of the Elector of Treves came to Trent (*ibid.*, 352, n. 3).

[3] Some Spanish Bishops came to Italy in the Emperor's suite on his visit to the Pope, but not before (see *infra*, p. 180).

[4] On Feb. 20 or 21 the ambassador of Francis I., de Siney, came to Rome. He brought with him the King's refusal to take part in the proposed meeting, and at the same time informed the Pope that neither the French King nor his prelates would appear at the Council (EHSES, IV., 310, n. 1, 314; *cf.* also 337 *seq.*, n. 5).

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEETING BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AT BUSSETO.—SUSPENSION OF THE COUNCIL.—THE POPE'S NEUTRALITY AND EXERTIONS FOR PEACE.—MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE EMPEROR.

PAUL III. had left Rome on the 26th of February 1543 for Bologna, partly on account of his endeavours to secure peace and partly that he might be nearer to Trent. His journey was opposed by many in Rome, where the worst reports were in circulation[1] as to the Emperor's intentions. Nevertheless, the Pope set out; he did not listen to the complaints of the Romans, the representations of the Cardinals, and the prayers of his relations, who brought before the aged man the dangers of a journey at such an unfavourable season of the year. Cardinal Carpi again remained behind as Legate. To the General of the troops, Alessandro Vitelli, was committed the safe custody of the castle of St. Angelo.[2] Paul III. entered Bologna on the 17th of March;[3] in order to personally acquaint himself

[1] See the letter to Granvelle of Feb. 21, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 313).

[2] See JOVIUS, Hist., I., 43, and EHSES, IV., 316, n. 7.

[3] See Gualterius, *Diarium (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Miscell. Arm., 12, t. 58, f. 368b). According to this source the Pope left Bologna on April 2 for Modena, from thence to Parma (April 5 and 6); on 8th he reached Piacenza, returned to Parma on the 15th, remained there until 19th, and then went to Ferrara, where he made his state entry on April 22. (For his stay there and the objects thereby obtained, see FONTANA, II., 177 *seq.*, and RODOCANACHI, Renée de France, 160

with the state of things in Trent and to be better informed as to the views of the Legates, he summoned Cardinal Pole to him on the 3rd of May.[1] Pole started on the 5th.[2] A discussion was held in consistory on the 11th of May whether, under existing circumstances, affairs at Trent should be allowed to drift or the Council be postponed to a more favourable time. The prevailing view among the Cardinals was that the Pope's efforts hitherto had been more than sufficient to prove his zeal. If the experiment of the Council were persisted in much longer, the only result would be to make the disobedience of the Catholics appear all the more culpable and inconsiderate and increasingly to diminish the respect for Papal authority among the party of error. It would therefore be the lesser evil to dissolve the assembly now with a promise of resumption at a time when the members of the Christian body seemed better disposed thereto.[3] The Pope, however, was unwilling to make a decision until he had personally conferred with the Emperor, who on May the 1st had embarked at Barcelona for Italy. On the 13th or 14th of May, Parisio was also summoned to Bologna.[4] In Trent the sudden departure of the two Legates, the object of

seqq.) On April 25 the Pope returned to Bologna, whither on April 27 Capodiferro came from France; on May 12 Dandino was despatched to France (*cf.* PIEPER, 126).

[1] Farnese to Pole from Bologna, dat. May 3, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 328).

[2] Parisio and Morone to Farnese, dat. May 6, 1543 (*ibid.*, 329).

[3] Thus PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 19, who is mistaken, however, in stating that Parisio had already been summoned to Bologna before Pole. The extract from the Consistorial Acta of May 11 in EHSES (IV., 329, n. 2) gives only the names of the eight Cardinals named deputies in the affair of the Council in this consistory.

[4] Parisio and Morone to Farnese, dat. May 16, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 330; *cf.* n. 1 for the date).

which was a matter of mere surmise, produced a dispiriting impression. The assembled prelates felt that their last hope of meeting in Council had slipped from them.[1]

On the 26th of May Granvelle, with the Bishop of Arras and his two other sons, arrived at Trent on his return from Nuremberg.[2] In discussing the question of the Council with Morone, who was the only Legate left in Trent, he regretted that the two others had been called away, since when this became known in Germany the Council would be regarded with general incredulity, the Protestants would become bolder than ever, and the Catholics correspondingly depressed. If it were the Pope's intention to dissolve the Council, then it would be fitting that he should first consult the Emperor and the King and even himself as to the manner and way of doing so. Morone replied that he was not aware that Paul III. had summoned to him his colleagues for the purpose of dissolving the Council. He thought it much more likely that he wished to take their advice as to what ought to be the next matter for negotiation with the Emperor. For the rest, no decision had been taken whether the Council was to go on or be suspended; if the Pope had already resolved on the latter course, he would not have allowed Morone himself and the other prelates to remain longer in Trent. He was also certain that the two Legates would return. If the Emperor came to Italy and had a meeting with Paul III., it would only be reasonable that the question of the Council should be dealt with

[1] *Cf.* letter from Tommaso Campeggio to Cardinal Cervini of May 21, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 331 *seqq.*). The two Hildesheimer bishops repeated to Campeggio their expressions of anxiety lest the failure to hold the General Council would be followed, in accordance with the Recess of Ratisbon, by a national council (EHSES, IV., 332 *seq.*).

[2] See Morone's full reports to Farnese on May 26 and 28, 1543, of his negotiations with Granvelle (EHSES, IV., 335-342). *Cf.* KORTE, 68 *seq.*

and settled between them; but it was no matter of surprise if the Pope wished also to confer with two of his Legates beforehand. As his own opinion, which, as he observed, he had not imparted to the Emperor or the King, Granvelle gave it to be understood that the Council ought not now to be actually opened and held, or dissolved, but allowed to remain in its present unsettled condition; so that an Imperial army in Germany might find in it precisely the kind of weapon with which to curb the Lutherans, while on the other side it would bring moral support to the Catholics and the wavering.[1]

Charles V. had landed at Savona on May the 24th and then gone on to Genoa,[2] where he found Pier Luigi Farnese sent by the Pope to invite him to a conference at Bologna. The Emperor, who was little inclined for peace negotiations for their own sake and was in haste to reach Germany, declined the invitation, but on the other hand showed himself willing to meet the Pope at some spot convenient to himself, such as Parma or Mantua.[3] Charles V. adhered to this even when Cardinal Farnese proposed a town not far from Bologna; he could not go so far out of his route. It was believed by many that the Emperor, out of consideration for Henry VIII., with whom to the general astonishment he had concluded on February the 11th, 1543, an offensive alliance against Francis I., wished to create the appearance of being forced reluctantly into a meeting with the Pope.[4]

[1] EHSES, IV., 337–341.

[2] On this journey Charles V. dictated the famous instructions for his son (see GACHARD, Biogr. nat., III., 666).

[3] GAYANGOS, VI., 2, n. 153.

[4] JOVIUS, Hist., I., 43, confirmed by GAYANGOS, VI., 2, p 400 *seq.*; for the alliance with Henry VIII., which was at first to be kept secret, see State Papers, IX., 355, n. 2; RYMER, XIV., 768 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 338, n. 1; BROSCH, VI., 359 *seq.*; GACHARD, *loc. cit.*, 663.

Farnese arrived at Bologna with the Emperor's answer on June the 8th, just in time to take part in the consistory held on that day. The views of the Cardinals were divided; not a few were of opinion that the aged Pope should not risk his health by any greater excitement nor expose the majesty of his office to any further humiliation. Sadoleto, however, interposed in a contrary sense; as regarded the question of health he imparted their decision, as a matter of course, privately to the Pope; as far as the Papal office was concerned none other existed—for the servants of the Church—to the care of which the salvation of Christendom could be committed. Nor could there be any doubt that the conclusion of peace might be awaited with greater certainty if the Pope appeared personally as a mediator. Besides, the contemplated meeting would also be of service in dissipating the rumours of a serious quarrel between the two sovereign heads of Christendom. The Pope yielded to this advice, and the consistory agreed unanimously that the conference should be held at Parma or in some other conveniently situated place.[1]

The Pope accordingly left Bologna on June the 11th and reached Parma on the 15th,[2] where he found the Marquis del Vasto with an autograph letter from Charles. Great difficulties were caused at the last moment by the Emperor's intention of appearing with a large military force. The Papal party remembered then full well the claims of the Emperor on Parma, raised in his letter of complaint to Clement VII. In order to obviate all grounds of danger, it was agreed on the 17th of June that the meeting should take place in Busseto, a small town belonging to the Marchese

[1] Together with the very laconic entries in Acta Consist. (EHSES, IV., 344, n. 1), see SADOLETO, Opera, II., 210 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Lett. ined. di C. Gualteruzzi di Fano, Pesaro, 1834, 47; GUALANO, 65 *seq.*

Pallavicini; both parties were to be accompanied by an equal number of retainers. A consistory on the 18th of June approved of this arrangement, whereupon Cardinals Parisio and Cervini were appointed Legates to the Emperor.[1]

In Parma Paul III. received the Bishop of Vienna, Frederick Nausea, who, as he had repeatedly asked permission to do, communicated his views to the Pope and handed him the manuscript of his *Sylvæ Synodales*.[2]

Paul III. reached Busseto with fourteen Cardinals on June the 21st. They remained there till the evening of the 25th of June, when the Pope returned to Parma and the Emperor went on to Cremona.[3] In the long and repeated interviews between the Emperor and the Pope all the points of dispute between them were examined.[4] It was decided

[1] See the original sources collected in EHSES (IV., 334, n. 1).

[2] The invitation to join the Pope was sent to Nausea by a brief of May 16, 1543, as an answer to his last letter of April 25 (see *supra*, p. 165). Nausea proposed to the Pope, Cologne or Ratisbon for the Council, but met with great opposition. Notwithstanding he held firmly to his proposal and published in 1545 a work specially in its favour (*cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 293, n. 2, where Nausea's communications with the Pope are assigned incorrectly to 1542). *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 327, n. 2.

[3] See Gualterius in EHSES, IV., 344, n. 1; VANDENESSE, II., 256, and the *letter of Charles V. to Ferdinand I. of June 29, 1543 (Court and State Archives, Vienna). V. Gambara wrote a fine sonnet on the meeting (Rime e lett., 9; *cf.* Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 338).

[4] See for the following the important *letter of Charles V. to Ferdinand I. of June 29, 1543, in Court and State Archives, Vienna (from which KORTE [p. 87] gives a passage relating to the Council; the date July 29 in Korte is a printer's error), as well as the Imperial explanations to Philip and de Vega in GAYANGOS, VI., 2, n. 153, 282, pp. 376, 560 *seq.* Among the historians the account of JOVIUS (Hist. I., 48) stands high. Adriani, Sandoval, and Sarpi err, as EHSES (IV., 349, n. 1) well observes, in bringing forward excessive charges against Paul III., and Pallavicini (l. 5, c. 2-3) goes into the opposite extreme

that further negotiations should be held in Rome over the Spanish pragmatic policy. The nomination of Cardinals of Imperial leanings, as wished for by Charles, fell through, for Paul III. held firmly that in the event of such a creation corresponding claims on the part of France would have to be considered. Charles V. proposed further that the hostile relations between the Pope and Ascanio Colonna should be brought to an end by the marriage of a son of Ascanio with Vittoria, the Pope's niece, an arrangement which meant the rupture of the negotiations begun over a marriage of this lady with the Duke of Orleans. Another question handled at Busseto related to the possession of Milan; this was a matter closely bound up with the most important topic with which the diplomacy of that day had to deal: the reconciliation of Charles V. and Francis I.

The plan already ventilated of conferring Milan on a third party was one which had been brought to the Emperor's immediate attention by his warmest adherent in the Sacred College—Cardinal Carpi. The latter had maintained in a memorial on the subject that Charles ought not to be Count, Duke, or Prince, but solely the Emperor; he ought to be the owner not of many provinces but of great fiefs. With the possession of Milan his luck had deserted him. The restoration of the Duchy to Francis I. would not satisfy the latter's thirst for territory but only whet that appetite the more; but he himself also ought not to be the owner, since thus he increased the number of his enemies and raised the suspicion that he was covetous of foreign countries. In the case of his wiping out this suspicion by erecting Milan into a special Duchy, Francis I. would no longer have adherents, Charles on the contrary would have Germany and Italy on his side, his

of advocacy (*cf.* also AFFÒ, 49 *seq.*; RANKE, Päpste, III., 36*; BRISCHAR, I., 131 *seq.*).

banners would fly over the most remote lands, and he would win undying glory.[1]

If the Emperor, then, was neither to resign Milan to the French nor keep it as his own, it might appear to him to be a good way of escape out of the difficulty to bestow it as a favour on Ottavio, his son-in-law, the Pope's nephew. This scheme, which was not a new one, was recommended to Charles at Genoa by Pier Luigi Farnese and now at Busseto made a subject of serious consultation. Charles had, in fact, no counter-project to suggest as to how he could then compass the desired peace.[2]

It seems that at the outset a hope had arisen of coming to an agreement on this basis, if it were true that the viceroy of Milan, the Marquis del Vasto, had already greeted, as was said, Margaret as Duchess of Milan. That Charles should have entered seriously into a "bargain over Milan" certainly appears questionable in view of the strategical importance of the place, but the Farnesi were counting on the financial necessity of the Emperor, who had only just handed over to Duke Cosimo the fortifications of Florence and Leghorn for money.[3]

[1] See *Discorso de Rev. Card. di Carpi del 1543 a Carlo V. Cesare del modo del dominare (Corsini Library, Rome, n. 443). RANKE (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 162), who used this manuscript, thinks that the discourse perhaps dates from 1542; but there are also other copies, as the three in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cod. Ital., 10075, n. 3; 10076, n. 14; and Cod. 1067 [St. Victor]), and Cod. Urb., 855, f. 66 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library, which have the date 1543.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 349, n. 1.

[3] See Giovio's letters of June 15 and July 19, 1543, in ATANAGI, 63 *seq.* Giovio's opinion that Siena was also under consideration has been otherwise confirmed (see Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 129, n. 1). Aquila and Tarento were also spoken of, as the *reports to the Duchess of Urbino of June 16, 1543, clearly show (State Archives, Florence, Urb. 266, f. 534).

The amount which Paul III. was to give for Milan had been discussed already in Genoa with Pier Luigi. The Emperor's demands were enormous; at first two, then one million ducats, with perhaps yet other hard conditions such as the retention of the citadels of Milan and Cremona. It was owing to the exorbitant demands of Charles that the negotiations on this point at Busseto came to a standstill.[1] They were not broken off; as Charles instructed his son to discuss[2] the matter with the Spanish Council of State, the Farnesi still cherished a hope of attaining their object.

Although on this question Paul III., under family pressure, made himself deeply subservient to nepotism, he never lost sight of active endeavours to effectuate a peace. Giovio bears witness with what rare shrewdness and wonderful memory he availed himself of every opportunity that was of service to that object. As the Emperor in the bitterness of his enmity to Francis I. would not listen to the Pope's representations, the latter asked him to hear the Cardinals. Charles assented, and on June the 24th he appeared in the midst of the Sacred College. To the brilliant speech in which Cardinal Grimani recommended peace the Emperor replied with emphasis and conviction. With rising emotion he defended his old standpoint, so often explained before. As Paolo Giovio on taking his departure kissed his hand, the Emperor remarked: "Get ready to write, and give a correct account in your history book, for the war that is about to take place will furnish you with fresh and troublesome material." Paul III. expressed astonishment at the Emperor's passionate

[1] See together with the authorities cited, *supra*, p. 174, n. 4, the *letter of June 16, 1543, from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosimo I. (State Archives, Florence), already produced by RANKE (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 164, n.).

[2] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, VI., 2, p. 377 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 453, 481.

temperament, but gave assurance that in any case he would stand by King Ferdinand in his resistance to the Turks—a promise which was kept.[1]

With regard to the Council the Pope, taking into consideration the war in Europe and the danger arising from the Turk, proposed to the Emperor at Busseto[2] that the Council should be suspended to a more suitable moment and at the same time that some place should be chosen other than Trent, which was unhealthy, cramped, and ill supplied with provisions. To this the Imperial ministers objected that the Diet of Ratisbon had agreed to Trent and demanded the immediate tenure of the Council; therefore, without consulting the Estates, the Emperor could not consent either to the suspension or the translation of the Council. As no agreement was reached, the Pope finally promised to take the advice of the Cardinals.

In Trent during the last days of June Morone, in compliance with instructions from Farnese, drew up an interrogatory circular for the prelates asking what they thought ought to be done.[3] The opinions were divided; immediate translation to another place was favoured by the Archbishop of Corfù and the Bishops of Chironia, Feltre, Bertinoro, and Belcastro. Their principal reason rested on the consideration that the Synod, if it were to take place in Trent, would be essentially a Council of Germans under the influence of the Emperor, since the French bishops would not come to that city. Also, the assembly being authorized as a General Council by the Pope might easily, under

[1] For the troops sent by the Pope (4000 men), see MANANTE, 275; EHSES, IV., 250.

[2] According to the Emperor's own instructions to his new orator at the Roman Curia, Juan de Vega, of July 4, 1543 (GAYANGOS, IV., 2, n. 282, p. 560; EHSES, IV., 347, n. 1).

[3] Morone to Farnese, dat. June 30, 1543 (EHSES, IV., 345-348).

those circumstances, be more dangerous than even a national council in Germany, to which also, perhaps, obstacles of the same kind might arise. The above-named bishops also put their objections in writing, and sent them to Farnese.

The Archbishop of Otranto, on the contrary, saw the greatest danger in the threatened national council and was of opinion that the most important question now was how to prevent the latter, since during the existing period of unrest it was impossible to carry out the Council at Trent or elsewhere; the best course, he thought, would be to sustain the hope of a Council as it had existed hitherto, since a translation undertaken without the consent of the German princes, who had approved of Trent, would only offer them a temptation to take arbitrary proceedings. If, sooner or later, peace were brought about, the Council then could either be held in Trent, as the removal of external disadvantages was a matter of possibility, or be transferred elsewhere with the consent of all parties. This opinion of the Archbishop of Otranto, Morone added, was also in agreement with that of the Bishop of Hildesheim and the other agents of the Cardinal of Mayence, who recently had been so much disturbed by the departure of the two Legates from Trent and whose last hope for the rescue of the Catholic remnant in Germany was bound up with the stability of the Council at Trent, while the dissolution of the latter or its removal from thence might be followed by the worst results. The present war also might soon come to an end, and with its cessation the chief obstacle to the Council would disappear. The Bishop of Eichstätt, when Morone was writing, was on his way to visit the Pope.

Morone himself, in view of the great danger to Germany under all circumstances, was with difficulty able to adopt

a decided attitude. On the one side there was present to his mind the assumption that the General Synod of the Church was now certainly impossible, on the other that the national synod or a Diet dealing with matters of religion was hardly avoidable, in which case the best course perhaps would be to revoke the publication of the Council and to announce by a Bull the impracticability of convening that assembly at Trent. In that case a Christian reformation might be carried out at once in those countries where the Papal obedience still prevailed. But Morone was still unable to make up his mind to recommend this method. He gave as his reason that this involved the assumption that Germany was lost beyond hope, an assumption from which conclusions must be drawn perilous to the rest of Christendom. Nor was Morone more attracted by the recommendation to prorogue the Council, since such a step, taken without the consent of the German princes, would affect the Empire in exactly the same way as a complete dissolution. He was therefore most inclined to associate himself with the opinion of the Archbishop of Otranto, as thereby at least he would not be an accomplice in the inevitable ruin of Germany.

After his meeting with Paul III. the Emperor began his journey towards Trent, while the Papal decision on the question of the Council was awaited, and took up his quarters in that city from the 2nd to the 5th of July.[1] In the suite of Charles V. were some Spanish bishops who now, when it was too late, expressed their willingness to take part in the Council and immediately afterwards departed.[2]

In Bologna, whither the Pope had returned on the 1st of

[1] Morone to Farnese, dat. July 2 and 4, 1543 (*ibid.*, 348 *seqq.*).

[2] EHSES, IV., 251.

July,[1] he was delayed only by the expectation of Morone's report and that of the bishops assembled in Trent. On the arrival of these documents it was decided in a consistory held on July the 6th that the Council should be suspended until a more convenient date; the resumption of the Synod was reserved for the Pope's decision. The Bull of suspension is of the same date, July the 6th; it makes retrospective mention of the Pope's efforts, calls attention to the six months' period of suspense in Trent, and states as reasons for the momentary impossibility of holding the Synod the war between the Christian princes and the Turkish danger; Morone was recalled, and the prelates assembled in Trent dismissed.[2] The Bull was not published until September the 19th;[3] a brief of July the 6th informed Morone of the consistorial decision.[4] He and the bishops waited in vain for the arrival of the Bull to enable them to take their departure,[5] but not until July the 25th did a brief arrive giving permission to leave Trent. Morone thereupon took his departure and the others dispersed;[6] at the same time briefs announcing the suspension of the Council and giving the grounds for this decision were sent out to a number of metropolitans and princes.[7]

[1] Diary of Gaulterius (*cf. supra*, p. 169, n. 3), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[2] The Bull of suspension of July 6, 1543, in EHSES, IV., 352–355. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 20; KORTE, 69 *seq.* See Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 419.

[3] EHSES, IV., 352, n. 4; MERKLE, *loc. cit.*

[4] EHSES, IV., 352.

[5] Morone to Farnese, dat. July 12 and 25, 1543 (*ibid.*, 352, n. 3, 356).

[6] *Ibid.*, 356, n. 3.

[7] The brief to the Cardinal of Mayence from Bologna of July 10, 1543 (*ibid.*, 335 *seq.*); similar briefs to the Archbishop of Salzburg Treves, Bremen, Besançon, Gnesen; on July 21 to the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria and to the King of Poland (*cf. ibid.*, 356).

The suspension was undoubtedly justified, since under the existing circumstances nothing beneficial could be expected from the Council.[1] Probably a certain number of votes were given vindictively as a retort to the Emperor's frustration of the Papal scheme concerning Milan. How far Charles V. shared this opinion must remain a matter of conjecture; what is certain is that as every prospect of his holding Milan for Ottavio Farnese melted away his relations with Paul III. became more and more delicate.[2] To this many other causes contributed; in order to keep the Protestants in a state of inaction, the Imperial diplomatists took care that they should be made aware of the tension which had arisen between the Pope and their master. With this object the bitter letter that Charles V. had addressed to Paul III. on the 25th of August 1542 was translated into German and circulated in printed copies.[3] The document thus acquired an increased importance, and what a damaging effect such a measure must have had in Rome can easily be imagined.[4]

The fresh state of tension between the Emperor and the Pope led of necessity to nearer relations between the latter and Francis I., an approximation which might become all the closer as the party of Charles V. in the Sacred College

[1] K. A. MENZEL, II., 310.

[2] According to the *Vita di Alfonso d' Avalos, Marchese del Vasto (MS. in Cod. 34, E. 23, f. 267, of the Chigi Library, Rome), Charles V. had looked upon the Pope in this matter as a downright simpleton.

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 238. For the long and violent letter of excuse from Francis I. in 1543, in which he tried to throw all the blame on the Emperor, *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 1, n. 3; EHSES, IV., 245, n. 2.

[4] Paul III. (see *Diarium of Gualterius, Secret Archives of the Vatican) left Bologna on July 11, stayed in Ancona from the 20th to the 23rd, from July 30 to Aug. 8 in Perugia, from 13th to 16th in Viterbo, and returned on 19th to Rome.

had been reduced to very slender dimensions.[1] The French King had for a long time been making efforts in a very tactful way to wipe out to some extent the stigma which he had incurred by his alliance with the infidel. When the Turkish flotilla under Chaireddin Barbarossa appeared at the mouth of the Tiber at the end of June 1543, the French commissary who was on board made it publicly known that the Papal territory had nothing to fear. The Turks in fact refrained from any acts of plunder and soon afterwards withdrew from the coasts of the Papal States.[2] The attitude also taken by Francis towards the religious innovations in France could not fail to produce a favourable effect upon the Pope. A few weeks after the declaration of war against Charles V. the King had ordered the Parliaments to take severe measures of

[1] On March 30, 1543, Cardinal E. Gonzaga had already spoken in a *letter to the Marchese del Vasto of the "pochi servitori, che si truova S. M. nel collegio nostro, per la qual cosa un dì potriamo vedersi far un papa tutto francese" who could do great harm. On Dec. 12, 1543, the Cardinal insists in a *letter to D. Ferrante, in connection with the death of Cardinal Grimaldi, "that there are but few servants of the Emperor in the Cardinalate, and such as there are (Accolti, Cibo) are so powerless that he beseeches earnestly that some steps may be taken to strengthen the party" (Cod. Barb. lat., 5790, f. 150, and 5791, f. 165, of the Vatican Library.) *Cf.* also in Appendix No. 22 E. Gonzaga's letter of March 18, 1544.

[2] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Hist., I., 43, the reports in the Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 130, and the *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, t. 148: "Die 29 Junii 1543 Romae disseminatum est Turcarum classem Ostia capta infestam adventare, eoque nuncio populus ita consternatus est, ut plerique metu aufugerint, omnes autem exsangui vultu formidabundi huc illuc concursaverint. Indignum facinus, quae urbs olim orbi terrarum pavori fuit eam tunc inani timore perculsam trepidasse! — Hoc mense junio 1543 Regium Iulium civitas Brutiorum a Turcarum classe duce Barbarossa direpta et incensa est, incolis omnibus secum captivis abductis" (Vatican Library).

repression against all who showed disobedience to the Church; throughout the whole kingdom proceedings against the Protestants were ushered on to the stage with demonstrative effect. In this way not only was the Pope favourably impressed, but Charles V. and Ferdinand I. were also at the same time, with their obsequiousness towards the German Protestants, placed in a very prejudicial light before the eyes of Catholic Christendom.[1]

As the crowning touch of all came the alliance of the Emperor with Henry VIII. of England. Charles V. made necessity his excuse for this connection whereby he was to protect himself against the combination, far more perilous to Christendom, of France and the Turks. His ambassador in Rome renewed his demands that the weapons of ecclesiastical and temporal power should be wielded against Francis; this was all the more urgent since the King had provided the Turkish ships with every supply which could enable them to attack Nice. Paul III. replied to the Emperor's representative that if he were to direct his arms against the French, he could not dispose of them at sea and on land in Hungary, as was at present the case, to the advantage of the house of Hapsburg, but that if he brought ecclesiastical pressure to bear on Francis he would be exposing the Holy See to the danger of losing France just as it already had lost England. Besides, he saw himself placed in the necessity of now exercising also his functions as a judge and of examining with which of the two contending parties lay the guilt of hindering the consummation of the peace which was so necessary for the world.[2]

The Imperialists tried to excuse the policy of their master by calling attention to the dissimilarity of the alliances

[1] *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 179 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 22.

[2] PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 25 *seq.*

formed by Charles and by Francis. The alliance of the Emperor and Henry VIII. aimed solely at victory over the French and consequently over their allies the Turks, it did not mean the support of the English monarch in his aggressions on the Holy See; much rather was there ground for hope that the Emperor would be successful in bringing Henry once more into the right way.[1]

Paul III. was not moved from his standpoint of neutrality.[2] As the mediator of peace he determined on November the 21st, 1543, to send Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as Legate to both the sovereigns.[3] In order to gain the support of the German princes for his endeavours on behalf of peace, the Bishop of Sarno, Francesco Sfondrato, was despatched soon after; he was at the same time directed to justify the Pope's attitude in the question of the Council.[4]

Farnese was given the Legatine cross in an assembly of Cardinals on the 27th of November 1543. The Imperial ambassador, Juan de Vega, who had replaced Aguilar[5] in the summer of 1543, took this opportunity of trying to induce the Pope to come to an open breach with France. He laid, in fact, before the Pope a letter from Francis I. to his son the Duke of Orleans, together with a supplementary instruction to the latter from which it appeared that the King was seeking the friendship of the Landgrave of Hesse and showed himself ready to introduce Protestantism into

[1] PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 4, n. 25 *seq.*

[2] See Legaz. di A. Serristori, 130 *seq.*

[3] Acta Consist. in PIEPER, 126. *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 7 *seq.*

[4] Sfondrato's instructions of Nov. 30, 1543, in EHSES, IV., 257 *seq.*; Morone's memorial for Farnese, based on the same grounds, of Nov. 25, 1543, in PIEPER, 183–185. For Sfondrato's execution of his task, see DRUFFEL, *loc. cit.*, I., 8 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* GAYANGOS, VI., 2, xlv *seq.*; *ibid.*, n. 282, the instructions for Vega, dated July 4, 1543.

Luxembourg. But Paul III. was not to be drawn into any precipitate measures; he postponed an inquiry into the circumstances until the next consistory. On this occasion he discounted the Imperial ambassador's eulogies of his master's adherence to the Holy See, the reward of which fidelity was to be a forced alliance on the Pope's part against France, by ordering a report to be presented through Cardinal Parisio on certain pragmatic decrees issued in Spain by Charles V. of a nature derogatory to the rights and freedom of the Church. With regard to the documents impleaded against the King of France, since they were the originals, it was resolved that the nuncio should have speech with the King upon the matter and receive from him his justification.

In the consistory of the 19th of December 1543 a heated altercation took place between the Pope and the Cardinal of Burgos, Juan Alvarez de Toledo. The latter complained of the severe sentence passed on the pragmatic measures taken in Spain, while similar enactments in France and other countries passed into law without criticism. When Paul III. remarked that he was opposed in general to all such legislation, but that the Spanish was much the most objectionable, the Cardinal retorted: "The French alliance with the Turks and yet other things worse than that were winked at." The Pope brought the discussion to an end by referring to the Emperor's alliance with Henry VIII., which was worse than a compact with the Turks.[1]

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 5, and the copious authorities given in EHSES, IV., 378, n.; see here also for the Spanish Pragmatic of April 2, 1544. For the efforts of Charles V. in Spain to carry out an anti-papal and State Church policy, see RANKE, Osmanen, 225 *seq.*, and ARMSTRONG, II., 65 *seq.* Here are some remarks on Paul III. and the Spanish Inquisition on behalf of which Charles intervened. With regard to the French Pragmatic arrangements, see SCHMIDT, Französ.

Cardinal Farnese, accompanied by Giovanni Ricci and Niccolò Ardinghelli, had left Rome on the 28th of November 1543. He travelled first to the seat of the French court, where a very respectful reception greeted him; thence on the 6th of January 1544[1] he went to the Emperor. On reaching Brussels on the 12th he found that Charles had already left, and not until the 20th of January did the Cardinal come up with him, at Kreuznach; on the 23rd both made their entry on horseback into Worms.

Farnese delivered a letter from the Pope to the Emperor exhorting to peace. In order to conduce to the restoration of peace between the Emperor and the King he made certain proposals in which the surrender of Milan or the cession of Savoy to France were suggested. Charles V. was convinced that the Pope's peace proposals were mere words which held out no prospect of results. He was determined, as he himself said, neither to allow himself to be caught nor to give up the execution of his plans and the pursuit of the military undertakings which he had entered upon in order to re-acquire what had already been wrested from him. He declared to the Cardinal that, as long as a hand's breadth of Italian soil was in the grasp of France, a peace was impossible. The Emperor was so excited that he hardly allowed Farnese to finish his speech, and he broke

Gesch., II., 685. For the tension then existing in the relations between the Pope and the Emperor, *cf.* Serristori's *reports of Dec. 12, 16, and 22, 1543 (State Archives, Florence). The accusation brought in 1546 by L. Malatesta that the Farnese family had, previous to the meeting at Busseto (!), conspired through Matteo Varano against the life of Charles V. (see Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XVI., 98), deserves no credence (see BROSCH in the Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 131 *seq.*; *cf.* specially MASSIGNAN, Di una supposta congiura ordita dai Farnesi contra la vita di Carlo V., Padova, 1901).

[1] *Cf.* Dandino's *letter, dat. Paris, Jan. 9, 1544. Nunz. di Francia, 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

in upon his explanations with the words: "Monsignore, through us you hold the Archbishopric of Monreale, your father became Duke of Novara, Ottavio Farnese received the hand of our daughter with an income of 20,000 ducats; in order to come to agreement with his Holiness we have suffered the loss of two of our best friends, the Duke of Urbino and Ascanio Colonna; and now we are so treated, and must submit to it, that the Vicar of Christ, who has received so many benefits at our hands, is ready to join forces with the King of France or rather, we should say, with the Turk. He may well look to it that we do not deal the same measure to him that we dealt to Clement VII."

The Cardinal's attempt to justify the Pope's action was dismissed by Charles with the remark that he knew more than enough of the obstinacy of Paul III. It was therefore superfluous to have more words on the matter. The Cardinal, who during this painful interview had shown great self-command, asked at its close that he might have the Emperor's permission to discuss the question further with Granvelle; to that Charles V. offered no objection.

With the Emperor in this frame of mind there was little to hope for from negotiations with Granvelle and Idiaquez. On the 24th of January the Cardinal had once more an audience of the Emperor to which also Granvelle, Idiaquez, and the nuncio Poggio were admitted. The long debates, in which religious questions as well as political were bandied to and fro, were entirely fruitless. On Farnese entreating that at the coming Diet the interests of religion should be borne in mind, the Emperor asked him what counsels in particular the Pope had to impart to him. When the Cardinal replied to this apologetically that he had no instructions, Charles rejoined that at previous Diets the representatives of Rome had done more harm

than good; at the ensuing Diet the reform of the Church and the removal of abuses would be dealt with; he was resolved to do his duty as a Christian prince.

Farnese could not conceal from himself that his mission was a total failure. The Emperor rejected all overtures to France and showed openly that in the approaching Diet he would have no impediment raised to his negotiations with the Protestants by the presence of a Papal Legate. The Cardinal was still sufficiently master of himself to avoid an open rupture, and in order to facilitate the re-adjustment of relationships he declared the Pope's readiness to give 50,000 ducats to the funds of the Catholic League. Sfondrato remained behind to attend to the settlement of this point, while Farnese at once began his return journey to Rome.[1]

The Emperor went from Worms to Spires for the Diet, where he hoped the Estates would give him open-handed support in obtaining a full reckoning from France. In this he was successful, since in the Recess of June the 10th 1544 he made such large concessions to the powerful confederates of Schmalkald as well-nigh to give away the Catholic cause.[2]

In this Recess the Council was spoken of in a manner

[1] The principal authority for Farnese's negotiations with the Emperor is the report intended for Vega's information in LANZ, Staatspapiere, 346 *seqq*. *Cf.* also Comment. de Charles V., 80; DRUFFEL, Karl V., i, 14 *seq*., and GAYANGOS, VII., 7, n. 18 *seq*. That the report in Lanz should be dated Jan. 25, 1544, had already been pointed out by Gachard before Druffel (Biogr. nat., III., 682). A very important addition for the audience given to Farnese by Charles V. is contained in the letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 18, 1544, given in Appendix No. 22, and found by me in the Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* MENZEL (II., 325), who concurs with this opinion, MAURENBRECHER (p. 61), JANSSEN-PASTOR (III., 18th ed., 579) and BEZOLD p. 747).

and in terms which were entirely Protestant; the authority of Pope and Church were passed by without mention. As it was uncertain whether and how soon "a common, Christian, free Council" would be held, a fresh Diet ought to be summoned before the expiry of another year or a German national synod called to settle the religious question in Germany pending the meeting of a General Council, all to be done without participation by the Pope, in accordance with proposals emanating from the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire through their theologians. During the interval concessions surpassing all their boldest hopes would be made to the Protestants in respect of the sequestrated Church property, the reconstitution of the Imperial Court of Chancery, and the cases affecting religion still in litigation. The cases were to be quashed and assessors belonging to the Protestant party admitted to the Court of Chancery. Finally, the Catholics were bound to contribute to the churches and institutions which had been taken possession of by the Protestants.[1]

The resolutions of Spires, a copy of which reached Rome through Verallo in the middle of July, must have given the greatest offence to the Pope. The French party in Rome exulted; they hoped now to bring Paul III. completely round; as early as March, after Farnese's return,[2] the French thought that their goal was in sight. The Cardinal-Legate's ungracious reception and speedy dismissal by the

[1] See Neue Sammlung der Reichsabscheide, II., 495 *seq.* For the Diet of Spires, *cf.* HÄBERLIN, XII., 473 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 576 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, III., 358 *seq.*, and DE BOOR, Beitr. zur Geschichte des Speirer Reichstages von 1544, Strassburg, 1878.

[2] The Cardinal re-entered Rome on March 1, 1544; see RAYNALDUS, 1545, n. 1

Emperor made all the more impression on the susceptible Pope[1] as they were in sharp contrast to the brilliant advances of the French court. The results of Farnese's mission to France consisted in the agreement of Francis I. to the marriage of the Duke of Orleans and Vittoria Farnese, whose dowry was to be made up of Parma and Piacenza. In return the King demanded of the Pope an open declaration in his favour and against Charles V. This Pier Luigi now sought to prevent with all his power. This man's influence over Paul III. was then unusually great, for Farnese was at the time making ostensibly a change for the better in his mode of life. According to the account given by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Pier Luigi did not cease to represent to the Pope that a war with the Emperor must inevitably bring with it in its train the ruin of the family of Farnese.[2] In consequence of this no express and public hostility to Charles was evinced, but it was perceptible from other signs that the Pope's preference was veering towards France.

It was not merely the censure on April the 2nd of the Spanish pragmatic measures which filled the Imperial party in Rome with anxiety; they found no less cause for apprehension in the Pope's repeated evening conversations and the secret proceedings in consistory.[3] About this time the ambassador de Vega had begun to drop all diplomatic considerations. When on the 3rd of April he met, at the house of Margaret, the Emperor's daughter and wife of

[1] He had been much displeased at Charles V. for not awaiting the Cardinal's presence in the Netherlands; see F. Babbi's *report. Jan. 17, 1544 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 22 Cardinal E. Gonzaga's important letter of March 18, 1544 (Vatican Library). Pier Luigi's reformation, if meant seriously, did not last long (*cf.* LUZIO, Pronostico, XXXIV.).

[3] See Legazioni di A. Serristori, 133, 135.

Ottavio, Cardinal Alessandro, and the latter used expressions of courtesy towards the Emperor, de Vega replied that such words were worthless; he wished to see deeds. Passing on to the secret transactions in consistory, the ambassador observed that he knew that the betrothal of Vittoria to the Duke of Orleans had been discussed; such a violation of neutrality would bring with it the ruin of his Holiness, the ruin of the Holy See and of the house of Farnese.[1]

Matters became still more acute when Margaret in her impetuous way took up the Imperial party with intensity and allowed herself to make disparaging remarks on the "Farnese brood."[2] Paul III.'s enemies, Cosimo de' Medici and Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, flung oil on the flames.[3] Cosimo's representative informed de Vega that his Duke had been informed that with the favourable connivance of the Farnesi, French recruiting was going on in the Papal States.

De Vega forgot himself so entirely as to reply to Pier Luigi, who, before leaving for Parma, had conveyed to him his willingness to do something for the Emperor, that he would certainly let the latter know how badly his servants and relatives demeaned themselves.[4] A similarly sharp expression was used by Charles himself towards the Papal nuncio.[5] Yielding to the pressure from Henry VIII., he at last even made up his mind to recall his ambassador from Rome.[6]

[1] See Legazioni di A. Serristori, 136.

[2] *Ibid.*, 139.

[3] *Cf.* Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letters to D. Ferrante of March 18 and 25 and April 5. Cod. Barb. lat., 5792, f. 20, 23, 26[b] *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[4] Legazioni di A. Serristori, 139.

[5] See B. Ruggieri's report in BALAN, VI., 363, n. 3.

[6] See DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 63, and EHSES, IV., 377, n. 8.

On the evening of May the 22nd de Vega secretly left Rome[1] without taking leave of the Pope and without leaving any representative behind. While this critical situation lasted Alessandro Farnese maintained the undisturbed calm of the practised diplomatist. A short time before, when Margaret one day blurted out, "Don't you see that in view of the Emperor's indubitable victory you are preparing the ruin of your house?" he replied, "Madam, when the Emperor's victory is an assured fact—then our position will at once be clearly taken. But who knows what is going to happen?"[2]

These words denote plainly the actual situation of affairs. Papal diplomacy before taking a definite position wished to know what the outcome of the great contest was to be. A friend of Cardinal Gonzaga was of opinion, in the beginning of June, that Paul III. would think more than thrice before he made open cause with Francis I.[3] But that in view of the Emperor's threatening demeanour the Pope should have thought of making his position sure by an alliance with Venice and the Catholic Estates of Germany can cause no surprise.[4] On the 9th of June Cardinal Ippolito d'Este arrived in Rome as French ambassador, after having previously, certainly without success, tried to woo the Republic into an alliance.[5] The reception prepared for him was exceptionally magnificent, and his apartments were in the palace of the Cancelleria. The Romans now believed that the triple

[1] He only informed Margaret and Serristori; see the *report of latter of May 23, 1544 (Florentine State Archives).

[2] Legazioni di A. Serristori, 140.

[3] See Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to Granvelle of June 3, 1544. Cod. Barb. lat., 5792, f. 64 (Vatican Library).

[4] See EHSES, IV., 377, n. 8.

[5] See BROSCH in the Mitteil. des österr. Inst., XXIII., 132 *seq.*; Atti Mod., IV., 142, 158 *seq.*

alliance of Rome, France, and Venice was already concluded, especially as the city was full of rumours of the seductive offers held out by Francis to the members of the Farnese family.[1]

The Romans were as much deceived as those diplomatists who thought that the Emperor's ominous attitude at Spires and other signs of enmity from the Imperialists[2] would drive the Pope to an open rupture with the temporal head of Christendom; Giovio, as was shown, was a much shrewder judge of the situation when he wrote, in his caustic way, on June the 7th to the Duke of Ferrara, "Pope Paul as a man of common-sense and high character will certainly remain neutral. The day after to-morrow the Cardinal of Ferrara will be here knocking at a door which won't open. His Holiness will wrap himself up tightly and hang weights on his feet so as to elude any temptation to take flight. It is said that the Cardinal of Ferrara will, as he did in Venice, pray here also for help; but St. Peter will stand just as neutral as St. Mark."[3]

Even if Paul III. had secret inclinations towards the side of France,[4] he still avoided an open declaration; for ten years he had kept his neutrality, and to that policy he clung as before. Therefore, when rumours were abroad of negotiations between the two opponents, he determined, notwithstanding his hitherto discomfiting rebuffs, in a consistory held on the 30th of July, to support the cause

[1] *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., Append., VI., 171 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, *loc. cit.*, I., 64. *Cf.* also ADRIANI, IV., c. 4.

[2] Besides Vega's departure another weight was thrown into the scale, the rumour that Charles V. had sent for Ascanio Colonna; see Serristori's *report of June 23, 1544 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] DESJARDINS, III., 49, 50.

[4] See ADRIANI, IV., c. 4; *cf.* BROSCH, I., 180, n. 1, and STAFFETTI, in Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XV., 71.

of peace by the despatch of Legates. Cardinal Morone was sent to the Emperor and Cardinal Grimani to Francis I.[1]

In the same consistory measures were taken with respect to the Recess of Spires, which had been so injurious to Catholic interests. Already at the beginning of June the Pope and Cardinals had discussed this question. 'To pass over in silence resolutions so damaging to religion and the authority of the Holy See seemed irreconcilable with the Pope's duty as the chief ruler of the Church.[2] Every effort ought to be made to induce the Emperor to withdraw his concessions. Giovanni Ricci, Archbishop of Siponto, who had been appointed nuncio to Portugal on the 27th of July 1544, was instructed accordingly to bring the influence of the King of Portugal, of Prince Philip of Spain, and other prominent personages in that kingdom to bear upon Charles V.[3] A very severe letter of remonstrance for transmission to the Emperor himself was drawn up and read aloud in the consistory of July the 30th.[4]

This important document, the composition of which was largely the work of Cardinal Carafa, was at last completed on August the 24th after yet another discussion on the Recess of Spires in a special congregation of Cardinals. Besides the letter to the Emperor, others of similar import were addressed at the same time to his confessor Soto and to Granvelle. They contained exhortations to act counter to the Spires resolutions.

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1544, n. 20; PIEPER, 128; EHSES, IV., 363, n. 4.

[2] See Farnese's letters of July 22 and 23, in EHSES, IV., 358, *n.* 2; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 5, n. 5.

[3] See EHSES, IV., 362 *seq.*

[4] Acta Consist. in EHSES, IV., 364, n. 2.

Protests against the Recess[1] were also sent to King Ferdinand and the Catholic princes of the Empire.

In the comprehensive brief addressed to Charles V.[2] on the 24th of August 1544 the Pope began by enforcing the duty that lay upon him of protesting against the decrees of Spires. He did not wish to incur the penalties of the high priest Heli, who left unchastised the evil doings of his sons, but to shield himself as well as the Emperor from the wrath of God. The resolutions of the Recess of Spires excluded from the treatment of religious affairs the very person who, from the first existence of the Church, had wielded the first and highest authority in that sphere. In his place laymen, even the votaries of condemned teachers of error, were indiscriminately to pronounce their decisions. Yet the Emperor ought not to listen to those enemies of the Church who whispered in his ear that the priests and pastors of the faithful were neglecting their duties and that he ought to step into their place, for even the best will and intention could not justify in the affairs of the Church, any more than in the affairs of a private household, the intrusion of alien authority into matters placed by the ordinance of God in the hands of another. Even Oza, who wished to uphold the tottering Ark of the Covenant and certainly was inspired by the best of motives, was yet instantaneously struck down by the hand of God because he did that which only the priests and Levites had a right to do. Why were Core, Dathan, and Abiron swallowed up

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1544, n. 8, 9; EHSES, IV., 364, n. 2. For the participation by Carafa, see SILOS, I., 243; Bromato, II., 94 *seq.*

[2] Best edition in EHSES, IV., 364–373; an Italian translation in PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 6. Another version, sharper in tone, was first published by RAYNALDUS (1544, n. 7), who supposed (mistakenly) that this was the brief actually sent to Charles V. and which is reproduced by EHSES (IV., 374–379); it is probably an early draft which afterwards was softened down in form.

in an earthquake if it were not that they arrogated to themselves the dignity and functions of the priesthood? And yet the priesthood of the Covenant was only the shadow of the Christian priesthood. King Ozias, otherwise so distinguished, was carried away by pride at his successes and, despite the opposition of the priests, entered into the holy place to kindle incense on the altar, and straightway became a leper all the days of his life. Yet to what a pitch of power and renown had God raised those Emperors who, like Constantine and Theodosius and Charles the Great, had shown honour to the priesthood of His Church. How evil had been the end of such enemies and persecutors as Anastasius, Maurice, Constans II., Justinian II., Philippinus, Leo III., and, later, Henry IV. and Frederick II. Next to the people of the Jews, who had denied the Saviour Himself, no nation had suffered severer punishments than the Greeks, whose stubborn obstinacy had hardened them in separation and apostasy from the Holy See. How then should Charles V. escape the wrath of God if he walked in the footsteps of such hostile Emperors, he the successor of those who in days gone by had been careful to render to the Church the same meed of honour which they had received from her?

The settlement of the religious difficulties lay nearer, the Pope continued, to no man's heart than to his own; but even in the pursuit of so beneficent an aim he could not yield to the Emperor the place of leadership, but only concede to him the mighty office of champion and pray him to exercise the same. More than that was not required, since on his own initiative the Pope had greeted with joy any opportunity which gave the least hope of opening the Council. On every occasion when the most slender possibility of holding the Synod showed itself he had sent his Legates; the Germans, whose reconciliation

was made increasingly difficult by the Emperor's ever-enlarged concessions, he had treated with more compliancy than any other nation, inasmuch as he had appointed Trent to be the meeting-place and had sent his Legates thither; but "I came, and there was not a man: I called, and there was none that would hear" (Isa. l. 2). Even now the Pope is not to blame if the Council is not a reality; one thing only is wanting, and that is the conclusion of peace between the Emperor and the Christian princes, Francis I. in particular, since the war is the only obstacle which has caused the postponement of the Council. The Emperor therefore has it in his power to open up the way for the Council; to the Emperor it belongs to listen in matters of faith to the Pope's voice and to give the latter a free hand in the matters appertaining to his office; to the Emperor it belongs to withdraw the concessions made with untimely leniency to the enemies of the Church. Otherwise the Pope cannot rest satisfied with mere admonition, in which even Heli was not sparing towards his sons, but with the help of God will take all those steps the neglect of which brought upon Heli so grievous a punishment.

This hortatory letter was to be delivered by Cardinal Morone. But Charles V., then in the midst of his war with Francis I., refused in the most positive way to receive the Legate. Cardinal Farnese lost no time in informing Morone of this on the 9th of September; the latter received the news at Lyons on the 15th of September and thereupon began his return journey.[1] As soon afterwards peace was concluded between Charles and Francis at Crespy, Grimani's mission also was rendered superfluous.

The Papal chamberlain David Odasio was entrusted with the delivery to Morone of the letter of expostulation.

[1] See PIEPER, 128; EHSES, IV., 365, n.

When he reached the Imperial headquarters he found, contrary to expectation, that Morone was absent. Since he had no instructions to deliver the letter to the Emperor in person, he only left a copy of it at the court and brought back the original with him to Rome, but the letters addressed to Soto and Granvelle he delivered. The presentation of the original letter to the Emperor was then committed to Flaminio Savelli, a relative of Charles, who started for Worms at the end of January 1545 in order to convey to Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, the insignia of the Cardinalate.[1]

The communication of the letters to King Ferdinand and the Catholic Estates was entrusted to Giovanni Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of Cava, who on the 27th of August 1544 had been appointed nuncio-extraordinary to Germany. The latter accomplished his mission with such despatch that Ferdinand I. was already in possession on September the 24th of the letter addressed to the Emperor.[2] At the moment of its delivery the contents of this important document had already been anticipated by facts. Peace between Charles V. and Francis I. had been concluded.

The conditions agreed to at Crespy on the 17th of

[1] The duplicate despatch of the brief through Odasio and Savelli is witnessed to by Massarelli in his Diary, I., on March 25, 1545 (ed. MERKLE, I., 163). *Cf.* also the explanations in EHSES (IV., 364 *seq.*, n. 2), who discusses the opinions impugning the correctness of Massarelli's statements in DRUFFEL (Karl V., I., 73 *seq.*), FRIEDENSBURG (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 24), and MERKLE (I., 421, n. 1).

[2] See EHSES, IV., 364, n. 2. At the Diet of Worms on April 7, 1545, Granvelle complains vehemently to Mignanelli of the Bishop of Cava's mission, especially as the brief had thus fallen into the hands of the Lutherans and afforded them opportunity for attacks (see Mignanelli's report of April 9, 1545, in the Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 97; *cf.* DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 42).

September, to the exclusion of the Pope,[1] signified for the French King an honourable peace. In order to settle the dispute over Milan it was stipulated that the Duke of Orleans, Francis' second son, should marry either the eldest daughter of the Emperor, Maria, or a daughter of King Ferdinand, receiving in the former case the Netherlands and in the latter Milan. The Emperor renounced his claims on Burgundy, the King restored Savoy and gave up his claims on Milan, Naples, Flanders, and Artois. Both monarchs engaged themselves to join in common warfare against the Turks and to give mutual support to each other towards the "reunion of religion." In the latter connection secret articles were agreed to that both princes should support the Council and carry out its decrees by armed force. Francis I. promised to make no more fresh alliances, especially with the Protestants of Germany.[2]

The conclusion of peace removed one of the principal causes of the Emperor's irritation against the Pope. Further, as a wise statesman Charles V. perceived that an answer to the letter of expostulation could not well be sent without inflicting serious injury on the honour and reputation of the two heads of Christendom;[3] he also felt that in the Recess he had agreed to more "than he could be responsible for."[4] After calm reflection he could not but see that the Pope's complaints on this score were not unjustified; statesmanship and Catholic

[1] *Cf.* CAPASSO, Politica, I., 44.

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN in the Histor. Zeitschr., XXVI., 31, and DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 49 *seq.*, for the date of the treaty (17 or 19 Sept.). For the sense of the last somewhat indefinitely worded article of peace and the secret tendency of the parties to the treaty, see SOLDAN, I., 186 *seq.*

[3] Commentaires, 98; EHSES, IV., 371, n. 2, and 382, n. 1.

[4] Conversation with the Elector of Saxony (see SCHMIDT, Gesch. der Deutschen, XII., 333 *seq.*).

sentiment were equal determinants in the decision to give only a verbal answer to the Pope's letter. Taking into consideration the great importance of the matters dealt with in the letter and the manner in which expressions used in that document affected the Imperial authority, dignity, and reputation, it seemed better that the Emperor's detailed reply should be reserved for a more suitable occasion. Then it could be explained and clearly proved that he had no guilty responsibility for the doleful condition of Christendom, but that personally as well as indirectly he had persistently endeavoured to avoid and ward off such calamities, as was the duty not only of a good Emperor and as the dignity and authority of the Empire demanded, but as befitted every Catholic prince who was loyal to the reverence due to the Apostolic See. If everyone according to his position and rank had so acted, the present distresses of Christendom would have been avoided.[1]

The admirable self-restraint then observed by Charles V. redounded to his lasting reputation as a Catholic and a statesman. It shattered the hopes of the Protestants that the two heads of Christendom would be involved in sacrilegious strife and led the way to a combination between Pope and Emperor from which the greatest results would follow. The state of affairs demanded that a good understanding should exist between the two highest powers in the world. That these two should, especially at first, have approached each other with grave misgivings is only too intelligible from the course of previous events.

First of all, at the end of November the interrupted diplomatic relations were resumed in the regular way by the return of Vega to the post[2] from which he had with-

[1] DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 78, 79.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 15. *Cf.* Charles V.'s instructions to Vega of Dec. 2, 1544, in GAYANGOS, VII., 1, n. 258.

drawn in May. Opportunity for a fresh fit of petulance was given by the nomination of Cardinals on the 19th of December, at which certainly three Spanish prelates (Francisco Mendoza de Coria, Gasparo d'Avalos of Compostela, and Bartolomé de la Cueva) were appointed to the purple, but to the exclusion of Charles's principal nominee, Pedro Pacheco. The Emperor was so unable to suppress his annoyance that he forbade the prelates above mentioned to assume their Cardinal's dress.[1] Under these circumstances it was not surprising that Pier Luigi Farnese's secretary, Annibale Caro, who was to sound the Emperor as to his master's investiture with Parma and Piacenza, met with the very worst reception.[2] The Bishop of Trent, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, and the Bishop of

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 18 *seq.* Red hats were also bestowed on Dec. 19, 1544, on: two Frenchmen, George d'Armagnac and Jacques d'Annebaut; one German: the Bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, and seven Italians: Francesco Sfondrato, Federigo Cesi, Niccolò Ardinghello, Andrea Cornaro, Girolamo Capodiferro, Durante de' Duranti, and Tiberio Crispo. With the exception of the two last all were excellent men who had often distinguished themselves in ecclesiastical posts. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 688 *seqq.*, and CARDELLA, IV., 253 *seq.* (in the names of the bishoprics here attributed to the above named there are numerous errors). For Truchsess, see Histor. Jahrb., VII., 177 *seq.*, 369 *seq.*, XX., 71 *seq.*; Allgem. deutsche Biogr., XXIV., 634 *seqq.*; WETZER and WELTE, Kirchenlexicon, XII., 2nd ed., 114 *seq.*; the Cardinal's brief for Truchsess is in EHSES, IV., 440, n. 2. For Cesi, see GARAMPI, App. 253; *ibid.*, 262 *seq.*, for Capodiferro and Cornaro. For N. Ardinghello, see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 981 *seq.* For Mendoza, see Fonds grec de l'Escorial, 43 *seqq.* The elevation of Durante and Crispo, in surprising contrast to the usual caution of Paul III. in his nominations, is attributed by Massarelli to the influence of the covetous Costanza Farnese who had deceived the Pope (Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 195, 196).

[2] See AFFÒ, 62 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 21, 638.

Augsburg, Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, then undertook with success to renew closer relations between the Pope and the Hapsburg brothers.[1]

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 23 *seq.* For the very strained relations between Paul III. and Charles V. in the spring of 1545, see the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of March 7, 1545, in Appendix No. 23 (Vatican Library).

CHAPTER V.

SPREAD OF THE GERMAN SCHISM.—CARDINAL FARNESE'S MISSION TO WORMS. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN PAUL III. AND CHARLES V. AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—INVESTITURE OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE WITH PARMA AND PIACENZA.—THE CONVENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

THE concurrent pressure upon the house of Hapsburg from the Turks and the French since the year 1541 had been used by the Schmalkaldic League as an opportunity for usurping authority over the Catholic Estates of the Empire and introducing the new ecclesiastical system into regions of Germany which hitherto had been Catholic. To the protestantizing of the bishoprics of Naumburg, Zeitz, and Meissen had succeeded the campaign of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse against Duke Henry of Brunswick, the last prince of importance who still held fast in northern Germany to the ancient faith. The enterprise was successful, for Henry was unprepared for war; the Schmalkaldic forces had no difficulty in taking possession of the Duchy, into which they at once introduced the new doctrines. After that the overthrow of the old Catholic conditions in Hildesheim and Thuringian Mühlhausen was also carried out by means of violence. In south Germany the year 1542 saw the introduction of the Protestant teaching into the city of Ratisbon, while in the following year the Count

Palatine, Otto Henry of Pfalz-Neuburg gave his adhesion to the same cause.[1]

On the Lower Rhine still heavier losses awaited the Church. There no less a personage than the Prince Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, threatened to secede. The total incapacity of this prelate in theological learning—he had never succeeded in becoming master of the Latin language—was in strong contrast with his passionate interference in theological questions. At first an opponent of the Lutheran heresies, this inconsistent prince of the Church showed later a suspicious inclination to patronize the advocates of the new system. Little by little the Archbishop, whose theological standpoint was hopelessly confused, found himself on a precipitous slope on which he entirely lost his footing. At the end of 1542 he summoned Bucer to Bonn and ordered his priests to administer the chalice to the laity and to preach Lutheran sermons. Although the Cathedral Chapter, the University, and the city clergy of Cologne held out manfully on behalf of the Catholic faith, Hermann persisted in his efforts to protestantize his diocese. In May 1543 Melanchthon visited Bonn in person, and in July the secular Estates declared themselves in agreement with the Archbishop's course of action.[2]

At the same time it was rumoured that Francis von Waldeck, Bishop of Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück, was on the brink of apostasy. This prelate, prone to intemper-

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 528 *seqq.*, 538 *seq.*, 548 *seq.*, 561 *seq.* See also KNIEB, Gesch. der kath. Kirche in der freien Reichstadt Mühlhausen, Freiburg, 1907, 37 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* VARRENTRAPP, H. von Wied und sein Reformationsversuch in Köln, Leipzig, 1878; FLOSS and PASTOR in the Annalen der Histor. Vereins für den Niederrhein, XXXVII., 121 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 562 *seq.*; POSTINA, Billick, 41 *seq.*; GULIK, Gropper, 44 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*, 86 *seqq.*; Histor. Jahrb., XXVIII., 138 *seq.*

ance and licentiousness, had for some length of time caused serious scandal in Catholic Westphalia by his personal conduct and his toleration of Protestant preaching. In the beginning of 1543 he solicited admission into the Schmalkaldic League.[1] The same step was taken by the Duke of Julier and Cleves, who since 1541 had been involved in war with the Emperor's sister, Maria, Regent of the Netherlands, on account of the succession to Guelders. William, who had been for long under the influence of Protestant-minded counsellors, promised the Schmalkaldic leaders that he would protestantize his states in return for their help against the Emperor. But since Philip of Hesse opposed the entrance of the Duke of Julier and Cleves into the League, the latter found himself alone when Charles appeared in the summer of 1543 with a greatly superior force. On the 24th of August, Düren, the chief stronghold of the duchy of Julier, was stormed and the entire country overcome. On September the 7th William appeared as suppliant at the feet of the Emperor in the camp of the latter at Venlo. Charles restored to his conquered enemy his ancient inheritance, but compelled him to renounce Guelders and Zutphen as well as his alliances with France and Denmark and also to cancel his introduction of religious innovations into his duchies.[2]

The overthrow of Duke William of Cleves had a decidedly reactionary effect on the development of affairs at Cologne. There the Emperor personally encouraged the Catholics to energetic resistance to the Archbishop's religious changes and insisted on Bucer's dismissal. Thereby the great danger threatening the Church on the lower Rhine was, if not indeed removed, yet substantially diminished.[3]

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 560 *seq.*, and FISCHER, Die Reformationsversuche des Bischofs F. v. Waldeck. Dissert., Münster, 1906.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III.,[18] 570 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GULIK, 97.

The Emperor's victory over the Duke of Cleves had, however, yet another important result: it opened Charles's eyes to the "weakness and political incapacity" of the Schmalkaldic group. He perceived, as he relates in his commentaries, that henceforward it was no longer simply impossible to curb their high spirit by force, but that this would be a very easy thing to do if only the attempt were made under suitable circumstances and with adequate means.[1] The Emperor's first requirement certainly was the unconditional support of all his subjects in his war against France, and thus the Schmalkaldic League had experienced once more a brilliant triumph at the Diet of Spires. Charles V., however, in his innermost heart disliked the concessions into which he had been coerced by the pressure of necessity; that he did not intend to adhere to them is shown by the secret clauses of the Peace of Crespy, by which Francis I. was pledged to give the Emperor support in restoring religious unity.[2] In this way the political situation was shifted in a manner favourable to the meeting of the Council.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace Charles V. and Francis conveyed through the nuncios accredited to their courts as well as through their ambassadors in Rome the expression of their wish that the Council should soon be opened at Trent.[3] Before their messages had yet reached Rome[4] Paul III., on his part, had already taken the initiative towards summoning the Council, now that the peace had cleared the way.

On the 29th of October 1544 Francesco Sfondrato, who had exchanged his former Bishopric of Sarno for the

[1] Commentaires, 101; BEZOLD, 746.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 189, 200; see also BEZOLD, 747.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 15 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 383, n. 1.

[4] EHSES, IV., 381, n. 1.

Archiepiscopal See of Amalfi, was sent as nuncio-extraordinary to the Emperor[1] in order, in the first instance, to be the mouthpiece of the Pope's congratulations on the peace, but also to point out that one of the most important fruits of that peace was the possibility now opened of summoning and holding the Council. He was once more to represent to the Emperor all the efforts which the Pope had made to hold the Council up to its last suspension and the great necessity of holding the Synod, and then to announce that Paul III. now wished to remove the suspension and to enter upon the Council without delay. Therefore he besought his Majesty to co-operate with the Pope, especially by the despatch of the prelates of his Empire to Trent; the Emperor, on the other hand, ought to prevent the discussion of religious questions at the forthcoming Diet of Worms; no Legate also would represent the Pope in that assembly. With regard to the seat of the Council his Holiness was averse to any change of place, notwithstanding the inconveniences which had arisen at Trent and his own inability to proceed thither, as an alteration on this point would only give occasion for fresh difficulties and delays. On the 31st of October, Girolamo Dandino, with similar instructions, went as nuncio to the court of Francis I.[2]

On the 7th of November the French ambassador, George d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, read aloud in consistory a letter of Francis I. of the 28th of October, in which, among other requests, he asked the Pope to open the Council within three months and certainly in Trent or

[1] His instructions, *ibid.*, 380-382. For his mission, *cf.* also MERKLE, I., 421, n. 5; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 8 *seq.* Contrary to Friedensburg's supposition that Sfondrato left in the first days of November, Ehses finds Oct. 29 as the date of his departure.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 380, n. 1; Campana, 358.

the place that seemed most suitable to the Emperor and the King.[1] About the same time, after Sfondrato's departure, a letter was also received from the nuncio in France which, at the King's command, communicated in similar terms the position of the latter on the conciliar question; there was also a letter from Poggio announcing what Granvelle, in the Emperor's name, had pronounced on the matter.[2]

As soon as the Pope was assured of the agreement of the two sovereigns, on November the 14th the unanimous assent of all the Cardinals was given in consistory to the removal of the suspension of the Council and the fresh proclamation of the same on the 25th of March 1545.[3] The final decision and the issue of the new Bull of summons took place in consistory on the 19th of November;[4] in place of the 25th of March, as intended, the fourth Sunday in Lent, the 15th of March 1545, was fixed for the date of opening. In the same consistory Cardinals Cupis, del Monte, Carafa, Parisio, Cervini, Guidiccioni, Crescenzi, Cortese, Pole, together with Grimani and Morone, who were temporarily absent, were deputed to attend to the affairs of the Council.[5] In a Bull also dated the 19th of

[1] Extract from the Consistorial Acts of Nov. 7, 1544, in EHSES, IV., 382 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Farnese's letter to Poggio of Nov. 14, 1544 (*ibid.*, 383, with n. 5). Francis I., however, was not, as later events showed, sincere, when in the period immediately after the conclusion of peace he displayed so much zeal for the Council (*cf. ibid.*, 384, n. 2; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 297).

[3] Farnese reported on this to Poggio on Nov. 14, 1544 (EHSES, IV., 384 *seq.*), and to Morone on Nov. 17, 1544 (*ibid.*).

[4] The text of the Bull "Laetare Hierusalem" of Nov. 19, 1544 (*ibid.*, 385–388). On the circumstance of the two decisions in the consistories of Nov. 14 and 19, *cf. ibid.*, 383 *seq.*, n. 6, with reference to Friedensburg's statement in Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 16.

[5] Extract from the Consistorial Acts in EHSES, IV., 385.

November[1] Paul III. renewed his earlier decree on the Papal election in case his death during the Council should render such a measure necessary. The publication of the Bull of summons followed on the 30th of November.[2] On December the 3rd all bishops of all nationalities absent from Rome were summoned thither for the Epiphany.[3]

In a consistory on the 6th of February 1545 the following were appointed conciliar Legates: the Cardinal-Bishop Giovanni Maria del Monte, the Cardinal-Priest Marcello Cervini, and the Cardinal-Deacon Reginald Pole.[4] On the 22nd of February the Legatine crosses[5] were distributed, whereupon Cervini left Rome on the 23rd and del Monte on the 24th of February.[6] Pole remained in Rome some time longer through fear of the machinations of Henry VIII., and rejoined the others later.[7] The Bull

[1] EHSES, IV., 388 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 387. For the despatch of briefs to various princes partly before and partly after this date, *cf. ibid.*, 384, n. 1. For the history of the delivery of the Bulls to the Bishops by the metropolitans, *cf. ibid.*, 389 *seqq.*; here also is the mandate of the Bishop of Hildesheim, Valentine von Teutleben, of Jan. 12, 1545.

[3] EHSES, IV., 384, n. 1. Cardinal E. Gonzaga, who hitherto had been the worst enemy of Paul III., thereupon thought it expedient to make peace with the Pope. For the Cardinal's own feelings, *cf.* his **letter to the Duke of Ferrara of Oct. 14, 1544; see E. Gonzaga's **letter to the Pope of Jan. 7, 1545, and **that of March 3 to Cardinal Farnese. Cod. Barb. lat., 5792, f. 112 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 143 (Vatican Library).

[4] *Ibid.*, 394, n. 2; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 8, n. 1; Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 422 *seq.*

[5] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 151; EHSES, IV., 394, n. 2.

[6] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 152; EHSES, IV., 394 *seq.*, n. 2.

[7] Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 423; EHSES, IV., 395, n.; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 8, n. 3.

of nomination for the Legates of the 22nd of February[1] was sent after them with another of the same date, empowering them, if the worst came to the worst, to hold the Council in some other city than Trent and to dissolve or continue it[2] at their own discretion. Not until the 27th of April was the brief, antedated at the wish of the Legates to the 10th of February, got ready. This gave them full powers to bestow an indulgence on their entry into Trent and on the opening of the Council.[3] The two Legates who had left for Trent brought with them a brief of the 22nd of February for Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent[4] in which he was directed to undertake the necessary preparations for the Council. On the 23rd of February Bishop Sanfelice of Cava was, as in September 1542, again sent to Trent[5] to make arrangements for lodgments and commissariat. The secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, had left Rome on the 23rd of February with the Legate Cervini, but was sent forward by the latter and reached Trent on the 6th of March, where he already found the Bishop of Cava.[6] By a brief of the 6th of March[7] the Legates were still further empowered to preside over the Council in twos or even singly if the others were absent or hindered.

The two Legates, Cervini and del Monte, reached Rovereto on the 12th of March and on the 13th made their solemn entry into Trent.[8] Besides the Cardinal of Trent

[1] EHSES, IV., 393 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 395 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 391 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 396.

[5] The brief in EHSES, IV., 397. The three following briefs also deal with reprovisionment (*ibid.*, 397 *seq.*).

[6] For his journey and arrival, see his Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 152 *seqq.*

[7] EHSES, IV., 398 *seq.*

[8] Described in Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 159. Their letter to Farnese from Trent of March 13, in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 18 *seqq.*

and the Bishop of Cava they found no other prelates. On the 14th the Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio, made his appearance.[1] Under these circumstances the Council could not be opened on the 15th.[2] On the 23rd of March the Imperial orator, Don Diego Hurtado da Mendoza,[3] came, was received on the 26th in the house of Cardinal del Monte by the Legates in public audience, and received on the following day their answer.[4] On the 8th of April the orators of King Ferdinand, Francesco de Castelalto and Antonio Quetta, presented themselves before the Legates.[5]

In the weeks supervening on the date of opening only a few more prelates appeared, among them the Bishop of Bitonto, Cornelio Mussi,[6] and the Abbot Jean Loysier of Citeaux.[7] In April a mandate of the viceroy of Naples, Pedro de Toledo, give occasion for counter-regulations.[8] The latter had given orders that of the bishops of the

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 160; EHSES, IV., 399, n. 3.

[2] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 160; Diarium, II., *ibid.*, I., 424; EHSES, IV., 399.

[3] On Feb. 20 appointed orator and procurator of the Emperor to the Council (EHSES, IV., 392 *seq.*).

[4] Comparitio Ill. Dni Don Didaci de Mendocia oratoris Caesarei in sacro concilio Tridentino, 26 Martii, cum legatorum responsio, 27 Martii 1545 (EHSES, IV., 399-402); Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 161-165. *Cf.* the reports of the Legates to Farnese, of March 26, 27, and 30, of their negotiations with Mendoza in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 29 *seqq.*

[5] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 171 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 408, n. 1. The mandate from King Ferdinand for the procurators was presented by them to the Legates on August 29 (EHSES, IV., 408 *seq.*).

[6] Came on March 24 (Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 162).

[7] Appeared with other Abbots of the Order before the Legates on April 12 (EHSES, IV., 403 *seq.*, and Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I. 173).

[8] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 10, n. 3, 4; EHSES, IV., 404-407.

Neapolitan kingdom only four, to be appointed by him, should go to the Council as procurators for the rest. The nuncio Poggio had already in March given notice of similar intentions on the Emperor's part with regard to the Spanish bishops.[1] The matter was all the more dangerous since Cardinals with Imperial leanings, such as Ercole Gonzaga, were dreaming of a deposition of the Pope by the Council after the manner of Basle.[2] In any case the freedom of the Council seemed to be threatened by the decrees of the Neapolitan viceroy, since the princes in this way might make themselves masters of the Council if it lay in their power to reduce hundreds of votes to those of a few of their satellites.[3] The mandate of the viceroy led to the publication of the Bull of the 17th of April 1545[4] by which the prelates were bound, save in cases of just impediment, to appear personally at the Council, and representation by procurators was forbidden.[5]

In the meantime the Imperial policy with regard to the Council had entered once more on its former tortuous path. In the proposition, presented by Ferdinand to the Estates at the Diet of Worms in the Emperor's name on the 24th of March 1545, the Council about to be held certainly was not passed over in silence, but on the other hand a promise was made that, in the event of the Council not having begun before the close of the existing Diet and

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 412 *seq.*, n. 6; see also Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 80, n. 2.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 210, n. 3, the Cardinal's hitherto unknown and very characteristic **letter of Oct. 14, 1544. Cod. Barb. lat., 5792, f. 112 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*, the letter of Bishop Corn. Mussi to Cardinal Santafiora from Trent of April 30, 1545 (EHSES, IV., 412 *seq.*).

[4] *Ibid.*, 404–406.

[5] In the case of the Germans the strict execution of this Bull was waived. *Cf. ibid.*, 404, n. 2.

taken in hand the work of reformation, the Emperor would summon afresh the Estates of the Empire, which would then enter upon the task of reform themselves.[1] In place of Verallo, transferred to the Imperial court, Fabio Mignanelli, Bishop of Lucera,[2] had been appointed permanent nuncio to Ferdinand. When he entered Worms on April the 2nd he was confronted by the difficult situation which the declaration in the Emperor's proposition had already caused. In his audience with Ferdinand on the 4th of April he received in reply to his official representations on the subject of the Council an evasively reassuring pronouncement, while Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg, with whom he afterwards conversed, put before him with urgency[3] the danger which threatened if the Council were not held at once. On the 7th Mignanelli visited Granvelle again, who was vehement in his complaints of the letter that had been sent to the Emperor. To Mignanelli's suggestion that it only contained fatherly admonitions, Granvelle replied that representations of that kind might certainly have been conveyed to his Majesty, but that the Bishop of Cava had no right to communicate the document to the Catholic princes; in this way the letter had been made known to the Protestants, who were on all sides circulating the most scurrilous refutations.[4]

The most passionate of these retorts had been written at the command of the Elector and Chancellor of Saxony

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 387.

[2] The brief of credence (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 81–83) contained a request that Ferdinand should take steps to inform the Council of the nature of any discussions which might arise at the Diet of Worms on the question of religion. For the mission of Mignanelli, *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 27 *seq.*

[3] Mignanelli to Farnese, dat. April 4, 1545; Nuntiaturberichte, 89 *seq.*; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 34 *seq.*

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 96 *seqq.*

by the originator of the religious disruption, now standing on the verge of the grave. This was the pamphlet which appeared in March 1545 "against the Papacy in Rome, founded by the Devil," the most violent effusion of Luther's pen. The chief ruler of the Church is here spoken of with wearisome iteration as "the most all-hellish father," "his Hellishness," and styled "Juggler," "the Ass Pope with long asses' ears," "desperate knave," "the destroyer of Christianity," "Satan's bodily dwelling-place," "the Devil's apostle," "the author and master of all sins," "Roman Hermaphrodite" and "Pope of Sodomites." By means of a Council the Pope and his followers could not be made better: "Since they believe that there is neither God nor hell nor a life after this life, but live and die like cow, sow, or any other cattle, it is indeed laughable that they should hold seal or brief or reformation. Therefore this were best; let the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire tell the vicious, scandalous knaves and the cursed dregs of the devil at Rome to go to hell for ever; yet there is no hope there that any good will be gained. We must work in other ways. Nothing was ever set right by Councils." What, however, ought to be done to extirpate "the devil-founded Papacy," Luther tells us in the words: "Fall to now, Emperor, King, Princes, Lords, and whoever will fall to along with you. God brings no luck here to idle hands. And first of all take from the Pope, Rome, Romandiol, Urbin, Bononia, and all that he has as a Pope; for he has with lies and tricks—ah! what say I, lies and tricks!—he has with blasphemies and idolatry shamefully filched, robbed, and robbed from the Empire and trampled them under foot, and therefore has he led to their reward in the eternal fire of hell countless souls through his idolatry and destroyed Christ's kingdom, wherefore he is called an abomination of desolation. Therefore ought he,

the Pope himself, his Cardinals and all the rabble of his idolatry and Papal holiness, to be taken and as blasphemers have their tongues torn out from the back of their necks and nailed in rows on the gallows just as they attach their seals in rows to their Bulls. Yet what a trifle is this compared to their blasphemy and idolatry! Therefore let them hold one Council, or as many as they please, on the gallows in hell, deep below all devils."

The contents of Luther's scurrilous libel correspond with the frontispiece, which represents the Pope on his throne in priestly robes but having asses' ears and surrounded by devils, who are crowning him from above with a scavenger's bucket and from below are dragging him down to hell.[1]

At the same time Calvin composed, in the form of forty-seven scholia on the Papal letter, a violent pamphlet against Paul III.[2] Johann Sleidan, once a French spy, afterwards the historian of the Schmalkaldic League, published two addresses to the Emperor and the Empire in which he called for measures of force against the Pope, who is identified with Antichrist.[3]

Undisturbed by the indignation displayed by the

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN, Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker, 99 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 373, n. 4.

[2] Admonitio paterna Pauli III. R. P. ad invict Caes. Carolum V. . . . cum scholiis, 1545 (*cf.* DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 80 *seq.*). Although Druffel says of Calvin's scholia, "They are in many places not merely sharp and incisive but coarse and foul," he yet in many respects makes himself the accomplice of the Genevan reformer and discharges the latter's scholia like barbed arrows against Paul III. and previous Popes. Ehses retorts in the Wissenschaftlichen Beilage zur Germania, 1900, No. 16, and in Conc. Trid., IV. 373, that Calvin in matters of exact knowledge is not the man behind whom an historical inquirer of the present day ought to take shelter (see also MERKLE, I., 174, n. 4).

[3] SLEIDANUS, Zwei Reden, neu herausgegeben von E. Böhmer, Tübingen, 1879; *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 591 *seq.*

Catholics and even the Emperor at the scandalous writings of Sleidan and Luther, the Protestants had these and other poisonous pamphlets and vulgar caricatures of the Pope distributed in the Diet. These proceedings, as well as their unconditional rejection of the Council, show how powerful they already felt themselves to be.[1] The situation was made worse by many on the Catholic side casting doubts on the sincerity of the curial efforts to bring about the Council.[2] To the remonstrances of Granvelle, who, opposed to the nuncio in this respect, had also called attention to the fact that since the notification of the resumption of the Council no further communications on the progress of affairs had been made to the Imperial ambassador on the side of the Pope, Mignanelli replied that Paul III. testified by his action that he wished for the Council, but in his report he gave a warning that the Curia had better make up for lost time. Mignanelli also instructed the Legates in Trent on the state of things in Worms; a letter from him in cipher full of details was sent on to Rome by the Legates on the 23rd of April.[3]

Mignanelli's reports, a warning letter from Cardinal Truchsess, and the advice of Cardinal Madruzzo were decisive in determining the Pope to yield to the earnest desires of Charles and to send Cardinal Farnese to Worms.[4]

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, 590, 592; DRUSSEL-BRANDI, 75; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 98, n. 101, n. 4. See also WENDELER, Luthers Bilderpolemik gegen das Papstum: Archiv für Literaturgesch., XIV., 16 *seqq.*

[2] Mignanelli to Farnese, dat. April 9, 1545; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 98 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Karl V., I., 41 *seq.*

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 99 *seq.*; *cf.* MERKLE, I., 178.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 28, 106, n. 3. For Madruzzo's advice, see in Appendix No. 24 Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter of March 28, 1545 (Vatican Library).

After Paul III., in a consistory held on the 14th of April had given fuller information to the Cardinals concerning this important mission, Alessandro left Rome on the 17th. So that no attention should be excited in Germany, he was attended only by a small suite.[1] After Farnese's departure a letter reached Rome from the conciliar Legates in which they fully set forth that the very imminent danger of a national council in Germany in consequence of the proposition of the Diet, made the early inauguration of the Council at Trent necessary, in any case before the close of the Imperial Diet.[2] Paul III. thereupon on the 23rd, and once more on the 27th of April, caused instructions to be sent to the Legates to open the Council on the 3rd of May 1545, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross. Out of consideration for Farnese's mission the command was not made absolute, but left the Legates at liberty to postpone the opening in case during the interval further information should come from Worms which would seem to make this expedient.[3]

Cardinal Farnese travelled very quickly. On the 21st of April he was already in Bologna,[4] and on the 23rd in Mantua, where the Regent, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, discussed with him among other matters the failing strength of the Pope.[5] The same evening the Legate hastened on to Peschiera, whence a ship belonging to Cardinal Madruzzo conveyed

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 107, n.; *cf.* CAMPANA, 480.

[2] See DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 55 *seqq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 10, n. 5–8; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 122, n. 2.

[3] EHSES, IV., 411; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 65.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 120, n. 1.

[5] *Cf.* in App. No. 25 Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter of April 26, 1545 (Vatican Library). San Benedetto, which the Cardinal touched on his journey and which Friedensburg (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 120) cannot identify, is the Abbey of S. Benedetto di Polirone near Mantua.

him to Riva. There the latter Cardinal and his two Legatine colleagues awaited him and in their company he entered Trent on the 25th.[1] Just as he was on the point of setting forth again on the 28th of April the order for the opening of the Council reached the Legates. Farnese, however, was successful in persuading the latter of the necessity of deferring this event until he had had speech with the Emperor. Since Mendoza also and the Cardinal of Trent were in agreement with Farnese, the Legates followed their advice and reported on the matter on the same day to Cardinals Santafiora, Cervini, and Morone.[2] Farnese also at the very moment of departure wrote to the Pope upon the subject.[3]

On May the 3rd the Legates called the ten bishops,[4] who up till then had appeared in Trent, to a meeting and communicated to them the Papal orders and their reasons for temporary delay, on which all were agreed.[5] The Pope ordered Cardinal Santafiora to write[6] to the Legates on the 4th of May with his approval of the postponement, but on the 21st communicated to them instructions that as soon as they were informed from Worms of the Emperor's

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 120 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 179.

[2] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 180, under date of April 28; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 66 *seq.*, 68 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 11, n. 4, 5.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 133, n. 1.

[4] They were the Bishops of Cava, Feltre, Cadix, Pesaro, Piacenza, Accia, Majorca, Bitonto, Belcastro, and Bertinoro.

[5] The accounts of this assembly in Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 183, and in EHSES, IV., 413. Letter of the Legates to Santafiora of May 4 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 80 *seq.* A memorial of the Bishop of Feltre on the question of the opening of the Council and other matters brought before the Bishops by the Legates in the assembly of May 3, in EHSES, IV., 414–417.

[6] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 82 *seq.*

consent to the opening of the Council they were to proceed thereto without delay and without waiting for a fresh Papal mandate.[1] That the Pope at this time assumed that there would be only a short interval of delay is proved by the fact that on the 9th of May he had instructions sent by Cardinal Santafiora to the nuncio in France to urge Francis I. to send the prelates of his kingdom to the Council at the earliest possible moment.[2]

Cardinal Farnese reached Brixen on the evening of the 29th of April 1545. There he met Bellagais, the secretary of Cardinal Truchsess, who assured him that King Ferdinand, Granvelle, and the Catholics hailed his appearance at Worms with great joy. A message received from Verallo, that the Emperor had rescinded the order forbidding the Cardinals nominated on the 17th of December 1544 to assume the insignia of their new dignities,[3] also helped to dissipate any misgivings as to the reception that awaited Farnese from Charles and Ferdinand.

The Cardinal's further progress was not without anxieties owing to the danger of his seizure in a Protestant ambuscade. On the advice of Cardinal Truchsess, who had sent his only brother to meet him, he abandoned the usual post-roads on foot and did not touch Augsburg. In the course of his journey Farnese fell in with Niccolò Madruzzo, brother of the Cardinal of Trent, who was to accompany him until he reached Worms. In Dillingen, which he

[1] EHSES, IV., 413, n. 3.

[2] *Ibid.* On April 29, 1545, this nuncio, Alessandro Guidiccioni, reported to Farnese that Francis I. had declared to him that before he sent his Bishops to the Council he would await the outcome of the Diet of Worms (*ibid.*, 412). The third conciliar Legate, Pole, entered Trent on May 4 (see Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 183 *seq.*; EHSES, IV., 395, 419).

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 133 *seq.*

reached on the 5th of May, the Legate found awaiting him a messenger from Cardinal Truchsess with urgent entreaties to suspend the journey as the Protestant Duke of Wurtemberg was not to be trusted. Farnese and his companion were burning with impatience to advance, and the Legate thought for a moment of braving the dangers and passing through the Protestant Duchy in disguise, but on further consideration he decided to choose the safer course and to go round the zone of danger. Therefore, under sufficient protection, with a guide of King Ferdinand, he made his way by Ulm, Scheer, Donaueschingen, and Freiburg to Spires and thence to Worms.[1]

When in Ulm the Cardinal had an opportunity of catching a glimpse of the Protestant world. The noble minster of that city he found to be in the interior "as white as a mosque," with a bare, undecorated altar. The desolation of this House of God, "as empty as a barber's basin," had a profoundly depressing effect on the Cardinal and his company. What a difference between this and the churches of Italy, richly adorned with works of art! Farnese, who naturally did not disclose himself, visited the booksellers' shops in Worms and found there only Protestant works. On this occasion he plunged with great boldness into religious discussion. On his representing that no one had a right to leave the old secure path at the bidding of a private person guided by his own passions, he was met with the rejoinder that no one should have any other guide than the clear words of Holy Scripture; they were perfectly sufficient, wherefore a Council was unnecessary. The animated counter-propositions of the Cardinal were without effect. He had shown so much eagerness on this occasion that his companions urged him to use greater caution in

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, 139 *seqq.*; KANNENGIESSER, 54, 123 *seq.*; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 80, 83, 85, 91

the future; nevertheless, the Cardinal soon afterwards was holding discussions, in Catholic places, it must be said, and on more than one occasion with a lettered member of the Protestant community.[1]

When Farnese entered Worms on the 17th of May he had already been preceded by Charles V. The delay caused by the Legate's circuitous journey had one good result; his appearance in Worms could be accounted for simply as bearing on the Diet and the subsidy required for the Turkish war.

Farnese's audience with the Emperor took place on the 18th of May. Charles made open display of his Catholic sentiments; he met, hat in hand, the Pope's representative in the foremost reception chamber, and when the latter withdrew, the Emperor reconducted him, in the same manner, to the door. The reception generally was such that in Farnese's opinion he had never before been greeted so well as on this occasion. Even if Charles V. did not disguise a certain dryness and firmness of demeanour, yet, when Farnese touched in a tone of apology on former misunderstandings, he remarked that it would be better to let bygones be bygones and turn over a new page. Further, the Emperor assured him of his determination to give his protection to the Holy See and the house of Farnese. The Legate's second mandate, like the first, met with the best reception. The Emperor offered a subsidy of 100,000 ducats for the Turkish war, to be deposited for that purpose in Augsburg. Farnese's third request was that Charles should support the Council by ordering his bishops to participate in it, and that he should put a stop to the attempt of the viceroy of Naples to substitute a small representative body for the collective episcopate of that kingdom and prohibit such attempts

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 149 *seq.*

in other parts of the Empire. To this Charles V. gave an evasive answer.[1]

Further transactions were carried on by Granvelle, who certainly praised the Pope's decision to open the Council, but pointed with emphasis to the danger with which this step was coupled — the danger of the Protestants then breaking up the Diet, of a massacre of Catholics in Germany, even of a vindictive enterprise against Rome itself; the Emperor alone could make but a feeble resistance against such an attack, if the German Catholics could not be counted on. All depended on the help of the Pope.

The Cardinal was amazed at these announcements. That the Emperor, whose illicit concessions to the Protestants in former years had drawn from the Pope the most serious remonstrances, should now be seeking an alliance with Rome to compass the forcible suppression of these very Protestants, seemed to him at first incredible. The cool treatment of the affairs of the Council, as well as the sudden announcement of the Emperor's extreme fear of the Protestants, aroused strong suspicion in the Cardinal. He rejoined that the task of getting the better of their opponents lay in the first instance with the Emperor, but that financial support from Paul III. towards their chastisement was not excluded. That the Emperor was really in earnest in the matter seemed to the Cardinal at first to be highly doubtful. His surmise was that Charles in reality would go no further than to extract as much money as

[1] See Farnese to the Pope and the conciliar Legates, dat. Worms, May 22, 1545, in DRUFFEL, Karl V., II., 57 *seq.*; III., 62 *seq.*, and in the Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 160 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 158 *seq.* Also a report of May 21 on the first impressions. (In FRIEDENSBURG, p. 159, line 10, for "chiesino" marked by a "sic" read "chietino"; it is a term for a pious man.) *Cf.* in Appendix No. 26 Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter of June 4, 1545 (Vatican Library).

possible from the Pope under the pretext of a war against the Protestants and then, indifferent to the interests of the Holy See, would, as he had done before, come to some accommodation with the Protestant Estates against levying the Turkish subsidy.[1]

In the course of the negotiations, however, this misgiving vanished. Farnese became convinced that the Emperor's plan of armed aggression on the Protestant Estates was seriously meant, and that his endeavours to put off the Council were only a feint to enable the opening to take place with all the greater prestige. The Emperor's proposal to use force against the Protestants with the Pope as his ally would rouse not merely an expectation of the restoration in Germany of the deeply injured Catholic Church, but also a hope that Charles would uphold the Papal authority against that of the Church assemblies instead of making himself, as was feared, the champion of the movements aimed at the limitation of the Papal power. Moreover, there was the prospect of the union between Emperor and Pope being also of the greatest advantage to the exaltation of the house of Farnese.[2]

The nuncios at Worms, Mignanelli and Dandino, could find nothing sufficiently favourable to say in their reports to Rome of the tact and sagacity displayed by the Cardinal-Legate during the negotiations. Both held the view that the Pope under all circumstances must agree with the Emperor's plan that they should make common cause in warfare against the Protestants.[3] Even Farnese

[1] Thus of May 22, 1545, to the Pope (see DRUFFEL, Karl V., II., 57; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 12).

[2] See Farnese's letter to the Pope of May 22, 1545, in DRUFFEL, II., 57 *seq.*; *cf.* KANNENGIESSER, 58, and the same in the *Festschrift* (217 *seq.*) of the Protestant Gymnasium at Strasbourg (1888).

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 169 *seq.*

was of this opinion, but without definite instructions on this entirely unexpected proposal, without powers to enter into so weighty and far-reaching a scheme, he could only give the general assurance that the Pope would support with all his might an undertaking of such importance to the Church.[1] In order by his personal mediation to bring to a conclusion so promising a compact between the heads of the Church and Empire as well as to keep his great secret safe, he resolved to return with all speed to Rome. He and his companion Aliprando Madruzzo put on German clothes in order to keep up their incognito and to escape the machinations of the Protestants, whose suspicions were now aroused. In the stormy night between the 27th and 28th of May the Cardinal left Worms.[2] By the 2nd of June they were in Trent, where he reported to the Legates the success of his mission with regard to the Council,[3] and on the evening of the 8th of June he rode into Rome.[4]

Cardinal Farnese brought with him an autograph letter from the Emperor in which he announced that he had come to a complete understanding with the Legate and prayed his Holiness to come to an early decision.[5] Paul III. at once resolved to accept the Emperor's offers. After discussing the important situation with the Cardinals, he declared himself prepared to give extensive help. He would pledge himself to bank at Venice 100,000 ducats in addition to the same amount deposited by Farnese

[1] He seems to have gone pretty far in this respect (see KANNENGIESSER, 58 *seq.*).

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 181.

[3] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 198–200; ESHES, IV., 422.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 37, 198; CAMPANA, 482

[5] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 183, n. 1.

at Augsburg; 12,000 Italian infantry and 500 light horse were to be maintained at his cost for four months; besides, the half-year's income of the Spanish Church, amounting to 400,000 ducats, would be assigned and permission given for the sale of the holdings of Spanish convents, which would be compensated in other ways, to the amount of 500,000 ducats. The Pope was also inclined to acquiesce in the postponement of the opening of the Council. On the other hand, he demanded that the money contributed should be spent exclusively on the operations against the Protestant Estates, and that no agreement should be concluded with the latter to which the Pope and Emperor were not both parties. By the 17th of June Farnese was able to communicate these offers to Granvelle. The day before he had written to Charles V. that the Pope's firm determination to place all his power at the Emperor's disposal had filled him with greater joy than he had ever experienced before.[1]

Paul III. then ordered preparations for war to be made on a vast scale, the objects of which could not be doubted.[2] The courier despatched on the 16th of June with the offers to the Emperor must have travelled with such extraordinary speed that on the 23rd he reached Worms.[3] Evidently the hammer was to strike while the iron was hot.[4]

The Emperor was all the more delighted with the Pope's

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 37, 198 *seqq.*

[2] Besides DRUFFEL, Karl V., II., 25, *cf.* in Appendix No. 27 the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of June 30, 1545 (Vatican Library).

[3] See DRUFFEL, II., 25; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 198 *seq.*, 204, 664, 665; MERKLE, I., 207, 221.

[4] All decisions were suspended until the Emperor's return; see *H. Tiranno, letter from Rome on June 27, 1545, to Urbino (State Archives, Florence).

offer as he was in expectation of soon having yet another 100,000 ducats, making 300,000 in all. He promised to expend the Papal contributions only against the Protestants and not to make any terms with them to which the Pope was not also a party. The war itself he intended to begin in the course of the year.[1]

As on the 27th and 28th of June so also on the 1st and 2nd July the nuncios were still able to report that Charles was occupied in the preparations for the campaign and seeking to form an alliance with Duke William of Bavaria, and to lull the suspicions of the Protestants by making arrangements for a religious conference. But already on July the 4th the nuncios received an intimation that difficulties had sprung up which might cause the war to be put off until the following year.[2]

The more the Emperor pondered over the state of affairs the more doubtful it seemed to be that a speedy beginning of the war was possible. Although a considerable time had passed by he was still hoping for the available ready money. In addition to this the negotiations with Bavaria, contrary to expectation, were not proceeding favourably.[3] The Emperor's fears were increased by Ferdinand and Granvelle, so that on the 5th of July the postponement of the undertaking was a settled affair. On the following day the High Steward of the Empire, Johann von Andelot, left Worms in order to lay before the Pope by word of mouth the changed condition of things.[4]

Andelot had an audience on the 15th of July. He first of all set forth the reasons which had compelled the Emperor to defer the war until the next year; in the mean-

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 41.

[4] *Cf.* KANNENGIESSER, 63; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 227, N

time measures might be considered for supporting the Catholics against the attacks of the Protestants, and a written agreement drawn up determining the shares in the burden of war to be borne by the Emperor and the Pope. In the second place, Andelot begged that the opening of the Council might not be premature; in any case, that the Emperor should have previous intimation so that by withdrawal from Worms he might escape the dangers threatening him from the Protestant side. Andelot pressed his requests further: that the Council after its opening should at once occupy itself with reform and not with dogma. He also asked for the Pope's consent that the Emperor should keep the Protestants in check by holding a religious conference and summoning a new Diet for the winter at which he promised to avoid any encroachments on the authority of the Holy See. Finally, Paul III. was asked to take steps against the Archbishop of Cologne, who might prove a serious obstacle to the Emperor's plans.[1]

The Pope, who from the Emperor's communications to Farnese and his lavish offers had become firmly convinced the outbreak of war was close at hand, was painfully surprised by Andelot's announcement; nevertheless, his reply was as accommodating as was possible. He was ready for war at any moment, but submitted to the more competent judgment of the Emperor with regard to its commencement. He was prepared to conclude an agreement on the basis of his existing offers. The opening of the Council, which he would gladly notify to Charles, did not admit of longer delay, but the proceedings would be such that the cause of religion and the war against the Protestants would derive advantage and not prejudice

[1] *Cf.* Farnese's report of July 19, 1545, in DRUFFEL, II., 72 *seq.*, and still more correctly in Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 249 *seq.*

from them. The best help the Catholics could have would be the continued presence of Charles in Upper Germany. The Pope on his side would, under any circumstances, continue to give them his protection; he was also willing to take summary measures against the Archbishop of Cologne even to the length of deposition.[1]

Whilst acceding to the latest wishes of the Emperor, Paul III. had hopes that the latter would raise no objections to the plan which he had long been maturing of conferring upon Pier Luigi Farnese the fiefs of Parma and Piacenza. This matter had already been a subject of conversation during Cardinal Farnese's sojourn in Worms.[2] Charles V. would have preferred to see the above-named cities bestowed upon his son-in-law, Ottavio Farnese. But this did not suit the views of Pier Luigi; he himself must be the master of those fertile territories. It was represented to the Pope that Parma and Piacenza were in constant danger of being lost in war, and their only security was the government of a prince with undisputed authority. Still the Pope hesitated before taking the final step. Pier Luigi therefore sent to Rome his confidential secretary, Apollonio Filareto. The eloquent representations of this

[1] The nuncio Verallo was more thoroughly instructed by Farnese (see letter of July 19, 1545, mentioned in preceding note) to represent at court, opportunely and tactfully, that the treatment of questions of the Faith, as the primary cause of the summoning of the Council, could not be shelved. On July 26 Verallo had an audience of the Emperor in which he acted simply in accordance with Farnese's letter and received from Charles in reference to the Council the reply that he was satisfied with the opening of the Council, but only wished it could be deferred until the Assumption (Aug. 15) or Nativity (Sept. 8) of our Lady (Verallo and Mignanelli to Farnese, dat. Aug. 3, 1545, in Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 265).

[2] See Affò, Pier Luigi Farnese, 69 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 42.

agent were at last successful, in the beginning of August, in allaying the lingering scruples of the Pope.[1]

Nothing now remained but to win the consent of the Sacred College. This Cardinals Farnese and Gambara undertook to do, the latter having been from the beginning a warm partisan of Pier Luigi. Everything seemed to be settled, and on the 7th of August a final vote was to be taken in consistory. Then on the evening of the 6th, just as the Pope was retiring to rest, Andelot and Marquina appeared on the scene with the announcement that the Emperor gave his consent only to the investiture of Ottavio. When Paul III. opposed his firm determination not to relinquish the cause of Pier Luigi, the representatives of Charles gave way to the length of assuring him that they would allow the case to proceed in silent acquiescence.[2]

But in the College of Cardinals an objection sprang up. Here undoubtedly the ambitious Ottavio had cards to play. On the 12th of August the Pope in person brought the subject before the consistory. He pointed out that the two cities were far too responsible and far too costly a possession for the Holy See, he therefore conveyed them to Pier Luigi and his heirs as fiefs in return for a yearly tribute of 9000 ducats. Pier Luigi was in a position to uphold these cities and to give to the Holy See in compensation Camerino and Nepi, the latter places, on account of their situation, being much more important and profitable, so that in the end their acquisition would be a gain. The opponents were, naturally, not satisfied with such flimsy arguments; they wished to know whether the Pope, who was only the trustee of the Papal States, had any right to alienate portions of their territory. The opposition was so

[1] See AFFÒ, 71 *seqq.*; *cf.* NAVENNE in Rev. Hist., LXXVIII., 13 *seq.*

[2] See A. Filareto's report of Aug. 6, 1545, in AFFÒ, 76 *seq.*

vehement that the Cardinals came to no conclusion.[1] In a second consistory on the 19th of August the treasurer produced accounts which showed that the yearly net income of Parma and Piacenza only amounted to 7339 ducats, while those of Camerino and Nepi reached 10,375; besides, the fortification and garrisoning of Parma and Piacenza during the existing pontificate had amounted to over 200,000 ducats.[2] But even these figures did not convince the opposition. The Pope in his financial estimates might not be altogether at fault, yet the fact stared them in the face that a small hill-town like Camerino and a place as paltry as Nepi could not be looked upon as more than an equivalent for such prosperous and wealthy cities as Parma and Piacenza.[3] The jest that the Farnese intended to take a closet (Camerino) in exchange for two stately chambers was not unjustified.[4]

The strongest opposition came from Cardinals Cupis and Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos. Pisani, Carpi, and Sadoleto also spoke against the project, but submitted their opinion to the superior judgment of the Pope. Trivulzio, Armagnac, and Carafa were far away from the consistory, so that the final decision lay with only a small group in the Sacred College.[5]

[1] See Acta Consist. in Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 289, n. 1, and Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 244 *seq.*

[2] See *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 290, n. 1.

[3] See in Appendix No. 28 the opinion of Cardinal E. Gonzaga in his *letter of August 18, 1545 (Vatican Library).

[4] The reasons adduced by MANENTE (p. 293) in excuse of Paul III. are not sound, but explicable in a work dedicated to Duke Alessandro Farnese.

[5] *Cf.* *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 14; AFFÒ, 83 *seq.*; MERKLE, I., 261. See also the *Vita di Paolo III. in Cod. Bolognetti, 209, f. 114[b] *seq.* of the

A Bull, antedated the 26th of August, decreed the incorporation of Camerino and Nepi into the States of the Church and the investiture of Pier Luigi with Parma and Piacenza, these cities being erected into a Duchy.[1] Ottavio was compensated for the loss of Camerino and Nepi by the Dukedom of Castro; the Prefecture of Rome fell to the lot of Orazio Farnese.[2]

The scandalous unconcern with which Paul III. indulged his nepotistic instincts on this occasion was shown by the fact that the famous Alessandro Cesati was ordered to strike a medal the obverse of which represented the naked Ganymede supported by the Olympian eagle in the act of watering the Farnese lily.[3]

The new allocation of territory brought with it a change in the jurisdiction of the Papal States. A new Legation was formed comprising Camerino, Spoleto, Terni, Narni, and Rieti. This Umbrian Legation was bestowed on Cardinal Durante, while Assisi and Città di Castello were transferred to the Legation of Perugia.[4]

Secret Archives of the Vatican. The speeches here given are not authentic, as BOTTA (Storia d' Italia, II., 109) supposes; on the other hand, it is quite correct that N. Ardinghello entered into the scheme.

[1] The question was not finally settled until the end of 1545 (see AFFÒ, 89; Histor. Jahrb., XXIV., 520; GUALANO, 71 *seq.*; MASSIGNAN, 58, and Istoria del dom. temp. d. sede ap. nel ducato di Parma e Piacenza, Roma, 1720, 353 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* NAVENNE in Rev. Hist., LXXVIII., 17 *seq.*; for the cession of Camerino, see LILI, 344 *seq.*

[3] See ARMAND, I., 172. A fine specimen of the medal in the Museum of Parma (see Atti Mod., II., 256, n. 6). Paul III.'s nepotism was so great that in October 1545 many persons believed "che il papa cerchi di lassarsi un successore" (Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 290). In August 1546 it was reported that Sfondrato had been selected; see LUZIO, V. Colonna, 49 *seq.*, and Lupo Gentile, Farnesiana, Sarzana, 1906, 10 (*Nozze-Publ.*).

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 290, n.

While the courtiers were heaping congratulations on the new Duke of Parma and Piacenza and throwing out hopes for the acquisition of Milan,[1] the opposition were enraged at the success of Paul III. in surmounting so many obstacles. In a letter of the 23rd of August 1545 to the Duke of Ferrara, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga gave expression to his bitter scorn of the "dear old man" who was about to raise the new Duke to the thrones of France and Spain, and indeed of the whole world. "To us scions of ancient princely houses, whose heritage was won by so much effort and is with such difficulty maintained, it seems strange indeed that so new a prince should spring up like a mushroom in the night."[2] Carafa gave nobler expression to his deep repugnance to this latest act of nepotism to which Paul III. had yielded, to the injury of the Church and the temporal power. On the day of the consistory, apparently with deliberate intention, he made a pilgrimage to the seven principal churches of Rome.[3]

In the face of this arbitrary proceeding of the Pope's, the Emperor found his hands tied by a twofold knot. On the 27th of August his daughter Margaret had at last borne the longed-for offspring of her marriage with Ottavio Farnese. It did not therefore become Charles V. to protest against a decree which opened up the prospect of a Duchy for his own grandson. But a still more decisive motive for silence lay in the plan of war against his Protestant subjects, towards which the Pope's help was

[1] AFFÒ, 85, who sees in this evidence of Farnese aspirations to Milan. See also BROSCH, I., 182, on this point.

[2] See text of the *letter in Appendix No. 29; *cf.* also the very characteristic **letters of the Cardinal of Aug. 31 and Sept. 5, 1545 (Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*).

[3] See CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV. (Casanatense Library. Rome); BROMATO, II., 121 *seq.*

indispensable. He therefore accepted the accomplished fact without expressing approval or the reverse.[1] Nevertheless, the relations of the Pope and the Emperor continued for some time to come to be anything but satisfactory.

The Recess of the Diet of Worms of the 4th of August 1545, which entirely ignored Council and Pope and promised a religious conference, continued, in spite of the tranquillizing assurances of Andelot and Vega, to be as much as ever an object of mistrust and anxiety[2] to the Papal party. There was, further, the difference of standpoint from which the question of the Council was regarded. This became apparent when Juan de Vega made excuses for the Recess to the Pope and at the same time requested that the Council should remain suspended throughout the whole of September, and that also subsequently, after the opening had taken place, no decisions on questions of faith should be declared, but that the transactions of the Council should be confined to disciplinary matters.[3] Upon this Paul III. turned the discussion to the question of the transference of the Council, which had for so long claimed attention.[4] As the ambassadors announced that

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, 44, 45.

[3] Farnese reported on this to the Legates on Aug. 26, 1545 (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 180 *seq.* ; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 15, n. 2).

[4] The question of transference was also discussed in Trent where, in consequence of the prolonged uncertainty whether or where the Council would be opened, the position was an uncomfortable one. On June 7 the Legates had already written to Farnese, in the memorials requested from them, on the question of a transference and had observed that if this became a matter of discussion the Emperor's wishes would have first of all to be considered (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 194, 195). Pietro Bertano, Bishop of Fano, repeatedly laid before Farnese his opinion that the Council ought to be transferred to a place agreeable to the Pope: Trent, July 3, 1545 (*ibid.*, 640 *seqq.*), July 12, 1545

they had no powers to deal with this point, Girolamo Dandino, Bishop of Caserta, was sent[1] as nuncio-extraordinary to the Emperor's court in order to obtain clear information as to Charles's intention in this respect as well as in regard to the war against the Protestants.

According to Dandino's instructions[2] dated the 13th of September 1545, he was to propose to the Emperor in the name of Paul III. that the Council should be no longer deferred, as Charles out of consideration for his plan of campaign desired, but opened at once, but in some place more convenient for the bishops of all nations, as well as for the Pope and Emperor, than Trent with its numerous disadvantages. In opposing the reasons adduced in favour of a transference to Italy, the predominant consideration that weighed for Trent, its suitability for the Germans, was no longer taken into account, since the Protestants expressly declined to appear wherever the Council might be held and the German Catholics also stayed away on the plea that, owing to the existing state of disturbance, they could not desert their churches. If the nuncio saw any inclination on the Emperor's part he was as far as possible to secure his consent to the choice of a new place being left entirely to the Pope ; but if Charles wished the Pope

(EHSES, IV., 427, n. 1), again on Oct. 5 (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 648 *seqq.*). Farnese on July 13 and 14 ordered the Legates to send a written opinion on an eventual transference (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 153). Through Lodovico Beccadelli the Legates made proposals to the Pope and Cardinal Farnese on the question in August (the instructions to Beccadelli of Aug. 13 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 171 *seqq.*). On July 14 the Cardinal of Trent, writing to the Legates from Brixen, said that he thought that the transference should be brought about through the Emperor's influence on the Pope (*ibid.*, 154 *seq.*).

[1] For Dandino's mission, *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 314 *seqq.* ; EHSES, IV., 430, n. 1 ; PIEPER, 145.

[2] In EHSES, IV., 430–432.

to make some specific suggestion, then Bologna was to be recommended.

Dandino, accompanied by Marquina, secretary to the Imperial ambassador Vega, reached the Emperor's court at Brussels on the 3rd of October. On the 4th he laid his instructions before the Emperor,[1] who at once declared his objection to a transference, an objection which was renewed on the pursuance of the negotiations by the regent Figueroa and the Imperial secretary Idiaquez.[2] On the 7th the nuncios Verallo and Dandino had another audience of the Emperor in which the latter went more thoroughly into his reasons for opposing the transference.[3] On the 10th the Emperor handed to the nuncios the written reply to be communicated to the Pope.[4] Therein he stated fully the grounds of his refusal, but on the other hand agreed to an immediate opening of the Council by the Pope, although he wished that at first there should be no discussion of the Protestant heresy. On the 19th Marquina, bearing the Emperor's reply to the Pope, reached Trent on his journey to Rome and handed to the Legates letters from Verallo and Dandino containing fuller information concerning the Emperor's position.[5] On the same day the Legates wrote to Farnese and the Pope.[6] They protested strongly against the Emperor's demand that the Council should deal only with reform and throw

[1] Dandino to Farnese from Brussels, dat. Oct. 5, 1545 (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 317 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 321, 324 *seq.*

[3] Verallo and Dandino to Farnese, dat. Oct. 8, 1545 (*ibid.*, 330 *seqq.*); *cf.* also Dandino to Farnese of Oct. 9 (*ibid.*, 345 *seq.*).

[4] In Spanish (*ibid.*, 647 *seq.*).

[5] Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 291 *seq.*

[6] The letter to Farnese in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 201 *seq.*; that to the Pope does not appear to be forthcoming (MERKLE, I., 293, n. 3). *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 293 *seq.*

the questions of faith into the background, and proposed that the Pope should send an answer through the Bishop of Caserta to the effect that, since the Emperor was set against a transference of the Council, he would proceed to open the same forthwith at Trent, but with the freedom and in the order which were the prerogatives of that body.

After the arrival of the Imperial embassy in Rome[1] it was decided provisionally in consistory on the 30th of October that the Council should be opened in any case before Christmas, the date to be determined in the next consistory.[2] This took place on the 6th of November, when it was finally settled that the opening should be held on the Third Sunday in Advent, December the 13th; the prelates absent from Trent were to be recalled.[3] When the news of the great achievement[4] of the Schmal-

[1] Marquina came to Rome on Oct. 24 (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 354, n. 4). On Oct. 26 Farnese wrote provisionally to the Legates that the arrival of their opinions had been most welcome (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 203 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 435, n. 5. On Oct. 31 Farnese informed the Legates of the decision (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 204; also in Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 317). They received this on Nov. 7 (Massarelli, Diarium, ed. MERKLE, I., 310). Their reply to Farnese of Nov. 8 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 209 *seq.* On Nov. 4 Farnese also informed the French nuncio Alessandro Guidiccioni (EHSES, IV., 434 *seq.*). On Nov. 4, 1545, L. Strozza *wrote from Rome to Mantua: "Di novo poco vi è che dire, non si parlando d' altro che del aprir questo concilio, del quale si parlerà ancora nel consistorio di venerdì" (Gonzago Archives, Mantua).

[3] Extract from Consistorial Acts in EHSES, IV., 435, n. 5. Farnese's communication to the Legates of Nov. 7, 1545 (*ibid.*, 436); also in Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 317 *seq.* This reached Trent on Nov. 13 (*ibid.*, EHSES, IV., 436). On the following day the letters were drawn up for those prelates who in the meantime had left Trent (Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 319).

[4] *Cf.* BRANDENBURG, Die Gefangennahme des Herzogs Heinrich von Braunschweig i. I., 1545, Leipzig, 1894.

kaldic League in capturing Duke Henry of Brunswick reached Rome, many believed that the Council would be prorogued once more.[1] But a letter of Cardinal Farnese of November the 21st[2] informed the Legates that the Pope remained determined that the Synod should be opened on the 13th of December. On the 24th of November Farnese communicated the same to Poggio,[3] and on the 26th to Verallo and Dandino.[4] A brief of the 24th of November exhorted the King of Portugal to send his prelates.[5] On the 27th of November Morone who, as Legate, was still in residence at Bologna, was recalled to Rome in anticipation of the approaching Council.[6]

At the repeated request of the Legates a special Edict of Inauguration was sent to them in a brief dated the 4th of December 1545.[7] After a congregation on the 7th of December of the Cardinal deputies for the affairs of the Council, Farnese sent the brief to Trent on the same day;[8] it reached that city on the 11th.[9] At the same time the Legates received a brief of the 5th of December which

[1] *Cf.* Ant. Borghesi's report, dat. Rome, Nov. 15, 1545 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] In DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 218. For the arrival of the letter in Trent on Nov. 27, *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 335 *seq.* with n. 3.

[3] In EHSES, IV., 439.

[4] Three versions of the letter from Nov. 24 to 26 in the Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 441 *seqq.* For Friedensburg's opinion that the letter "can hardly have been sent," *cf.* EHSES, IV., 439 *seq.*, n. 2.

[5] EHSES, IV., 438.

[6] *Ibid.*, 440.

[7] *Ibid.*, 442.

[8] The accompanying letter from Farnese to the Legates of Dec. 7 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 233. *Cf.* also EHSES, IV., 442 *seq.*, n. 3, who corrects several mistakes of Druffel regarding the letter.

[9] *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 350 *seq.*; the Legates' letter to Farnese of Dec. 12, 1545, in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 236 *seq.*

gave permission to the German bishops to be represented by procurators on account of the gravity of their position and notwithstanding the promulgation of the earlier decree;[1] the execution of the brief lay, however, at the discretion of the Legates, who did not, however, publish it, but reserved it for use should emergencies arise.[2]

A host of difficulties had now been overcome. All was ready for the opening of the Council on German soil and in the ancient episcopal city of Trent. The longing of many years, the event around which so many baffled hopes had centred,[3] was on the point of realization.

[1] In EHSES, IV., 443 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 15, n. 5

[2] EHSES, IV., 444, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* *Seripando's memorandum in his Register, xxi, 131[b] (General Archives of the Augustinian Order in Rome).

CHAPTER VI.

Transactions and Decrees of the Five First Sessions of the Council of Trent (December 1545 to June 1546).

On receiving the Papal brief giving orders for the opening of the Œcumenical Synod on the 13th of December the Legates immediately appointed fasts and processions for the 12th and proclaimed an indulgence for those who received the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. Since the shortness of the time did not permit of the observance, in the usual manner, of three previous days of fasting and prayer, those who found it impossible to prepare for the reception of the Holy Eucharist until the Sunday could obtain the indulgence on the following Sunday as well as if they fasted on the foregoing Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday and then made their communion. On the 12th of December the procession of the Tridentine clergy took place; in the afternoon a congregation of the conciliar prelates was held at Cardinal Cervini's lodgings, at which Cardinal Monte delivered an address and read aloud the brief of December the 4th, whereupon a discussion ensued on his proposals for the solemnities of the opening and the orders for the day of the first session.[1]

[1] Herculis Severoli de Conc. Trid. Comment., ed. Merkle, I., 1–4; Massarelli, Diarium, I., II., *ibid.*, 351, 400 *seq.*, 429; Ehses, IV., 445 *seq.* Differences arose on the question whether the mandates of the Legates should be read aloud. The Bishop of Jaén, Pedro Pacheco, at the instigation of the other Spanish prelates, the Neapolitans, and some others, demanded this. The Legates indeed declared, with an

Paul III. in a Bull of the 13th of December[1] ordered universal intercessions and processions to invoke God's protection on the Council and promised a plenary indulgence to all who took part in these pious exercises or, in case of hindrance, fulfilled some equivalent duty, fasted on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the week following the promulgation of the Bull, went to confession, and on Sunday received the Holy Eucharist. In Rome the intercessory processions were held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of December.[2]

On the 13th of December, the Third Sunday of Advent, the Council of Trent was solemnly opened.[3] The Fathers assembled with the Legates in the Church of the Holy Trinity and thence proceeded in copes and mitres, accompanied by the clergy of the city, in solemn procession, singing the Veni Creator Spiritus, to the Cathedral, the choir of which had been fitted up as the council hall. Here the senior President of the Council, Cardinal del Monte, celebrated the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost and published a plenary indulgence for those present. Bishop Cornelio Mussi of Bitonto then mounted the pulpit and preached a Latin

appeal to the procedure of the eighth General Council, that the demand was untenable, but at the same time gave way in order to avoid dissension over a point of very minor importance (*cf.* MERKLE, I., 3, 400; EHSES, IV., 446, n. 2; see also PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 17, where misstatements of Sarpi are corrected). The Legates were housed in the palazzo Giroldi, destroyed in 1845 (see ZANELLA, S. Maria di Trento, Trento, 1879, 32, and GIULIANI in Arch. Trentino, I., 158 *seq.*).

[1] EHSES, IV., 446 *seq.* The Bull reached Trent on Dec. 28 (*cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, I., under the above date, ed. MERKLE, I., 361 *seq.*).

[2] Massarelli, Diarium, I., under Dec. 17, ed. MERKLE, I., 353; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 447, n.

[3] The Acta of the opening session in EHSES, IV., 515–532. *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 4 *seq.*; Massarelli, Ordo aperitionis Conc. Trid., Dec. 13, 1545 (*ibid.*, 402–404); Massarelli, Diarium II. (*ibid.*, I., 429 *seq.*); PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 17.

sermon in which he gave his enthusiasm free course, not unmarked by faults of bad taste.[1] After Cardinal del Monte had read the prayers prescribed in the ceremoniale,[2] Bishop Tommaso Campeggio of Feltre read from the pulpit the Bull "Laetare Jerusalem" of the 19th of November 1544, and the Bull of the 22nd of February 1545 nominating the Cardinal-Legates.

After that Alfonso Zorilla, the secretary and theologian of the Imperial ambassador, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, presented a letter of apology from that diplomatist, who was detained in Venice by illness, and laid his mandate before the Council.[3] Finally, Cardinal del Monte gave another short address,[4] declared the Council open with the assent of the Fathers, and appointed the 7th of January for the second solemn session; the ceremonies ended with the singing of the Te Deum. Present at the opening session besides the three Papal Legates, Cardinals del Monte, Cervini, and Pole, were Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, four archbishops: Antoine Filheul of Aix, Olaus Magnus of Upsala, Pietro Tagliavia of Palermo, and Robert Wauchope of Armagh, one-and-twenty bishops, five generals of orders, and the ambassador of King Ferdinand.[5] Of the bishops the most noted were Juan

[1] In EHSES, IV., 521–529. PALLAVICINI (l. 5, c. 18) devotes an entire chapter to a vindication of this sermon against Sarpi's censures. On Pallavicini's defence, see EHSES' notes, *loc. cit.*, and MERKLE (I., 4, n. 3). See also BRISCHAR, I., 149 *seq.*, and DE LEVA, Le prime sessioni del Concilio di Trento: Mem. d. Ist., Veneto, XX., 367 *seq.* For the Cathedral of Trent, see HEIDER-EITELBERGER, Mittelalterl. Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs, I., Stuttgart, 1858, 155 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 516.

[3] *Ibid.*, 517 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 519 *seq.*

[5] The list of names and those of theologians and other personalities present in EHSES, IV., 529–532.

Pacheco of Jaén, soon afterwards made Cardinal,[1] Braccio Martelli of Fiesole, Tommaso Campeggio of Feltre, and Giacomo Nachianti of Chioggia. Among the generals of orders were the Servite, Agostino Bonucci, and the learned Augustinian Hermit, Girolamo Seripando.

The theologians present at the first session included four secular priests from Spain; all the rest were regulars, namely, six Dominicans, among them Ambrogio Catarino and the famous Domenico Soto, ten Franciscan Observants, eight Franciscan Conventuals, five Augustinian Hermits, as many Carmelites, and four Servites. On the following day the Legates sent to Rome the announcement of the opening of the Council and applied for further instructions.[2]

Three general congregations, occupied with the organization and procedure of the Council, formed a preparation for the second session.[3] In the congregation of December the 18th the Legates laid seventeen articles before the

[1] Together with Pacheco there were nominated Cardinals on Dec. 16, 1545 (*cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 707 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 273 *seqq.*): Georges d'Amboise, the Portuguese Infant Henry, 1533–1537, Bishop of Braga, since 1540 of Evora, which, out of consideration for him, was raised on Nov. 24, 1544, to the rank of a Metropolitan see (see GAMS, 99; *cf.* SCHÄFER, Portugal, III., 367 *seq.*), and the Pope's nephew Ranuccio Farnese. The last named, in accordance with the corrupt custom of the time, was made Archbishop of Naples in 1544, although only fifteen years old. It was quite unprecedented that two brothers should sit at the same time in the Sacred College, and Alessandro Farnese was displeased at the elevation of Ranuccio (see Massarelli, Diarium, I., ed. MERKLE, I., 311, 357, 364 *seq.*).

[2] The Legates to Farnese, dat. Dec. 14, 1545 (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 241–244).

[3] *Cf.* for these congregations the Acta in EHSES, IV., 533–546. Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 6–16; Massarelli, Diarium, I., *ibid.*, 353–367; Diarium II., *ibid.*, 430–432; Diarium III., *ibid.*, 469–471; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 12. KNÖPFLER in Wetzer and Weltes Kirchenlexicon, XI., 2nd ed., 2048 *seq.*

Fathers dealing with the external order of the Council and to be submitted for discussion in the next congregation.[1] The important question whether dogma or reform was to be discussed first in the Council was also brought before the Fathers in this first congregation and made the subject of debate.[2] As differences of opinion manifested themselves, a decision was for the time being postponed at the instance of Bishop Ferreri of Ivrea. In this congregation the Portuguese Dominican, Hieronymus ab Oleastro, as temporary ambassador of the King of Portugal, announced, in an address, the later arrival of orators from that monarch and presented his sovereign's letters of the 29th of July 1545 to the Council and the Pope, which were then read aloud.[3]

At the command of the King of France the Archbishop of Aix and the Bishop of Agde laid before the Legates, first in the congregation of December the 18th and then in that of the 19th, their instructions that the Council should not enter upon its deliberations before the arrival of the French ambassadors and the rest of the French prelates. This ominous suggestion, designed to put a check on the business of the Council, was, after previous deliberation with the prelates, met, on the 20th of December, by a refusal couched in intentionally vague and general terms and handed in writing to the two French dignitaries. The Council, it said, would always show becoming consideration for the King of France, as far as God's honour and that of the Synod permitted; but his Majesty, knowing

[1] The text in EHSES, IV., 533 *seq.*, and in Massarelli, Diarium I., ed. MERKLE, I., 354 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, IV., 534; Massarelli, Diarium II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 430, 469.

[3] EHSES, IV., 534–536; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 7; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 354, 430, 469 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 1. The letter of King John of Portugal in EHSES, IV., 425–426.

that the sessions of the Council admitted of no further delay, was requested to hasten the attendance of his representatives and bishops.[1]

Since the discussion of the article presented on the 18th of December concerning the formal procedure of the Council led to no practical result,[2] in a congregation on the 22nd of December a commission consisting of the three bishops, of Ivrea, Cava, and Feltre, and the Auditor of the Rota, Pighini, was formed to deal with the matter first of all with the Legates, and then to report to the general congregation.[3] Although the above named declined to serve, the three bishops were re-elected in the next general congregation of the Council on the 29th of December for a term of three months.[4] On December the 22nd the question of the right to vote belonging to abbots and generals of orders[5] had been left undecided. At the two next general congregations, on the 29th of December 1545[6] and the 4th of January 1546,[7] the subject came under discussion again. Opinions were widely divergent; some wished the voting to be vested exclusively in the bishops, others wished the decision to be deferred until the Council were more largely attended. Cardinal del Monte carried the point that the

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 536 *seq.*; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 7–9; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 358 *seq.*, 431, 470 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 1, I. The Legates' reports are in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 251 *seqq.*

[2] The vote of Bishop Tommaso Campeggio of Feltre on this in EHSES, IV., 539.

[3] EHSES, IV., 538; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 9.

[4] EHSES, IV., 540; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 10, 12; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 362, 431, 471.

[5] EHSES, IV., 538; Massarelli, Diarium, ed. MERKLE, I., 431, 471.

[6] EHSES, IV., 541; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 10 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 471.

[7] EHSES, IV., 543 *seq.*; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 16; *cf.* especially the note in MERKLE, I., 11 *seq.*, and PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 2.

right to vote of the generals of orders should be recognized. After long discussion, and likewise on the motion of del Monte, it was decided in the case of abbots that the three Benedictine abbots sent by the Pope should have one vote collectively, not as abbots but as representatives of their Order.

In the general congregation held on the 4th of January, the senior President, del Monte, informed the Fathers more fully of a letter of Farnese of the 31st of December,[1] by which the Pope approved of what had been done and ordered the Legates to deal in the first instance with matters of faith; in so doing, however, only the doctrines and not the persons of heretics were to be condemned, a measure which aimed at conciliating the Protestants.[2] Further, the brief of the 1st of January 1546[3] was read aloud, by which the Fathers in attendance at the Council were freed from contributions and permitted to draw upon their incomes. Later came up for recital and approval the decree appointed for publication in the second session, whereupon there arose, as was subsequently again repeated, a debate on the style and title of the Council.[4] Several Fathers proposed in particular that to the title "Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus" the clause used by earlier Councils,

[1] In DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 255–259. *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 542; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 12; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 16, n. 2.

[2] The Council consented. "De cette manière," says MAYNIER (p. 285), "le concile ne refusait pas aux protestants le droit de se défendre, puisque leurs livres seuls, et non leurs personnes, se trouvaient en cause, et on pouvait répondre, à ceux qui lui reprochaient de juger des accusés sans les avoir cités et convaincus, qu'il n'y avait d'autres accusés que des ouvrages répandus partout."

[3] In EHSES, IV., 545 *seq.*; *cf.* Severoli in MERKLE, I., 12; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 366, 432.

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 543; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 14; Massarelli, Diarium III., *ibid.*, 471; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 2, n. 8–10.

"universalem ecclesiam repraesentans," should be added. This proposal met with special opposition from Cardinals del Monte and Madruzzo. The first showed that it was uncalled-for to imitate thereby the precedents of Constance and Basle; the latter pointed out that this magniloquent title would only irritate the Protestants. The majority were in favour of rejecting the additional clause. Finally, on the 4th of January, certain conciliar officials were elected,[1] while some wished their nomination and appointment to proceed from the Pope, to which proposal some of the Fathers, zealous in their defence of the prerogatives of the Council, raised objection.[2] Paul III. had at first looked to the humanist Marcantonio Flaminio to be secretary to the Council; as the latter declined, the post was given provisionally on the 4th of January to Angelo Massarelli, hitherto private secretary to Cardinal Cervini, until the Council, which claimed for itself the right of appointment, should come to a final decision. Since Luigi Priuli, who, it would appear, had been chosen by the Council in the beginning of February, did not take up the office, Massarelli continued to hold it, and was tacitly recognized as secretary.[3]

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 544; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 14 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 432, 471.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, IV., 542; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 12 *seq.*; *cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 1, n. 2–9. For still later objections, see MERKLE, I., 18, n. 2.

[3] See for this MERKLE, I., xxxi *seq.*, who gives passages from the correspondence of the Legates with Farnese relating to the election of the secretary. MERKLE (I., lxviii *seqq.*) devotes pages to a close examination of Massarelli, concerning whose life and numerous writings a variety of opinions has been held. He comes to several new conclusions. He defends the secretary of the Council against Druffel's charges of falsehood, with complete success (p. lxxx *seqq.*), but on the other hand opposes the attempts of the Italian party to canonize Massarelli's reputation.

On the Pope's nomination Achille de' Grassi was appointed consistorial advocate; the post of abbreviator was given to Ugo Boncompagni, noted for his great knowledge of canon law.[1]

On the 7th of January 1546 the second session of the Council was held in the Cathedral of Trent.[2] It was opened by Bishop Juan Fonseca of Castellamare saying the Mass of the Holy Ghost and Bishop Coriolano Martirano of S. Marco preaching a sermon.[3] After the usual prayers and ceremonies the secretary, Massarelli, read aloud an impressive exhortation from the Legates to the Fathers,[4] composed by Cardinal Pole. In eloquent terms this document described the corruption of the Church and exhorted the Fathers to amendment and contrition of heart, whereby alone they could expect the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them. Especially urgent was the entreaty to expel all passions which can darken the reason, and never to lose sight of the sacred things of God by espousing the interests of the world.[5] The Bishop of Castellamare then ascended the pulpit in order to read the Bull of April the 17th, 1545, forbidding Bishops to be represented at the Council by procurators, the brief of December the 4th at the opening of the Council,[6] and lastly

[1] PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 1, n. 23; EHSES, IV., 544, n. 4. Achille de' Grassi arrived in Trent on March 4 (Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 509).

[2] The Acta in EHSES, IV., 547–564. *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 16–18; Massarelli, Diarium I.–III., *ibid.*, 367 *seq.*, 432, 472; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 5.

[3] In EHSES, IV., 557–561.

[4] Admonitio ill^morum^ legatorum ac patres concilii (EHSES, IV., 548–553).

[5] EHSES, IV., 548 *seq.*; *cf.* DE LEVA, Le Prime Sessioni, 372 *seq.*

[6] For the form in which the brief of Dec. 4, 1545, was read aloud, *cf.* EHSES, IV., 442 *seq.*, n. 3, 446, n. 1. Del Monte on the first reading

a decree on the blamelessness of life required of the Fathers. The last was approved unanimously; but the "placets" of nine Bishops were accompanied by protests against the omission in the title of the words "universalem ecclesiam repraesentans."[1] Bishop du Prat of Clermont, on the other hand, made complaint that in the decree the name of the King of France was not expressly mentioned together with that of the Emperor. Besides the three Legates and the Cardinal of Trent there were present four archbishops, six-and-twenty bishops, three abbots, and five generals of orders.[2]

In the interval between the second session and the third, appointed for the 4th of February, the position of the Legates towards the Pope and his Council had begun to be one of difficulty. General congregations were held on the 13th, 18th, 22nd, 26th, and 29th of January and on the 3rd of February.[3] As in the first congregation, so in that of the 13th of January, the title of the Council gave rise to prolonged debate. The Legates, mindful of the opposition

in the general congregation of Dec. 12 had omitted the words of the original text, "juxta formam litterarum indictionis nostrae," as he was afraid that the Bull on the prohibition of the Procurators might be prejudiced thereby. In their letter to Farnese of Dec. 14 the Legates urged this danger, and on Dec. 30 received accordingly a new version of the brief, in which the words "juxta formam litterarum nostrarum" were substituted for those objected to by the Legates. In this form (as also given by EHSES, IV., 442) the brief was read out on Jan. 7.

[1] EHSES, IV., 556. The individual contrary votes were noted down by Massarelli on a single sheet of paper discovered by Merkle and given by him, p. 18, n. 1. *Cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 5, n. 4.

[2] The list of those and of others present in EHSES, IV., 561–564.

[3] See the Acta in EHSES, IV., 565–578; also Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 18–27; Massarelli, Diarium I., *ibid.*, 368–399; Diarium II., *ibid.*, 432–434; Diarium III., *ibid.*, 472–476; PALLAVICINI, l. 5, c. 6–8; KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlexicon, XI., 2nd ed., 2050–2052.

shown in the previous session, wished to bring the question to a final issue. They spoke against the addition "universalem ecclesiam repraesentans." Cervini addressed the Fathers at great length,[1] followed by Madruzzo and Pacheco, who in this session appeared for the first time with the insignia of a Cardinal; then the Bishop of Astorga spoke, and also finally the Augustinian Seripando.

The last-named succeeded in silencing the opposition. Seripando pointed out in particular that there was no question of excluding that designation for ever; it was only a postponement until a larger attendance of members and the passing of important decrees gave a semblance of propriety to so pretentious a title. The opposing Bishops declared that they would not be fully satisfied until it was agreed that in future the words "œcumenical" and "general" should be inserted in the Decree, expressions already made use of by the Pope in his Bull of Convocation.[2]

These more formal controversies were trifling in comparison with the disputes occasioned by the very important question whether the Synod should begin with decisions on dogma or with disciplinary measures of reform. Paul III. wished for the former, Charles V. for the latter.

The primary consideration with the Emperor was the avoidance of offence to the Protestants, who would be embittered by the rejection of their new tenets at the outset of the Council; together with this he nourished a strong distrust of the Pope's intentions with regard to reform. The

[1] A fuller extract from Cervini's speech in Massarelli, Diarium I. ed. MERKLE, I., 374–377.

[2] EHSES, IV., 565; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 18–20. In Massarelli, Diarium II., III. (*ibid.*, 433–472) it says "universalis et œcumenica" instead of "œcumenica et generalis"; the latter words are used in the title of the Decrees of subsequent sessions. In the general congregation of Feb. 3 the protest of three Bishops was again renewed (EHSES, IV., 578; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 27).

latter started with the view that in accordance with ancient custom and the nature of the case, the safeguards of dogma, as the things of most importance, should first be settled. Paul III. also looked upon it as preposterous that instead of appearing as the accuser he should, of his own free will, place himself in the position of the accused, in order that in the meantime the contumacious might go unpunished while he submitted himself, as if they were the judges, to their criticism. Finally, he was afraid that the immediate treatment of the reform question by the Bishops would lead to a repetition of the occurrences of Constance and Basle.[1]

Weighty reasons could be adduced in favour of the Pope's standpoint, above all the usage of the ancient councils. The Imperial ambassador Mendoza, himself an expert in canon law, acknowledged this.[2] Besides, it was clear to everyone that not only the morals of the Catholics stood in need of improvement, but that the faith of Christendom, so violently attacked, demanded protection. Notwithstanding, when the Legates endeavoured to carry out the Pope's wishes at Trent they met with passionate resistance. Already in the general congregation of the 18th of January 1546, and afterwards in that of the 22nd, the debates were long and violent.[3] That reform should take the first place was urged especially by the Cardinal of Trent.[4] The opposite standpoint was championed by Cardinal Pacheco and the Archbishop of Aix. The Bishop of

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 7.

Cf. MAYNIER, 237.

[3] Acta in EHSES, IV., 567–572; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 20–24; Massarelli, Diarium, *ibid.*, 379 *seq.*, 382–384, 473 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 7.

[4] In the congregation of Jan. 18, the Cardinal of Trent, in the name of the Bishop of Capaccio, proposed that the Protestants should be once more invited. The proposal was rejected. (Massarelli, Diarium, ed. MERKLE, I., 380, 433, 473.)

Feltre, Tommaso Campeggio, brought forward on the 18th of January a proposal for a *via media*, that dogma and reform should be dealt with simultaneously.[1] As the Legates saw no possibility of carrying a resolution in the sense of the Papal instructions, they fell in on January the 22nd with the proposal of the Bishop of Feltre, whose reputation stood very high. Although Madruzzo still continued his opposition, the Legates were successful in carrying through the compromise of the Bishop of Feltre which was to be published as a decree at the next Session.[2]

Paul III., however, was in no way disposed to consent. On the 26th of January the Legates received a letter from Farnese dated the 21st and 22nd of January insisting on the Pope's determination that the treatment of matters of faith should have priority. The Legates, therefore, in order to gain time, put the question on the same day to the general congregation whether the date of the session might not be postponed, as the matters intended for publication then were not sufficiently advanced; no such decision, however, was reached. On the other hand, in the general congregation of the 26th an important resolution of another kind was carried. The negotiations as hitherto conducted had revealed the want of a settled order of business and of uniform guidance. Among the various proposals made in this respect, one at last which the Legates brought forward carried the day. It provided that the whole number of the Fathers should be divided into three separate classes, each of which should sit under the presidency and in the house of one of the three Legates, and prepare the agenda to be presented to the general congregation.[3]

[1] His vote in EHSES, IV., 568 *seq.*

[2] See EHSES, IV., 571.

[3] See EHSES, IV., 572; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 24; Massarelli, Diarium I., *ibid.*, 392.

In the meantime the Legates were endeavouring, in repeated despatches to Rome, to justify the resolution of January the 22nd as unavoidable, and thereby to gain the Pope's approval.[1] In the short period remaining before the day of the session, the 4th of February, they could not hope to obtain this. Moreover, on the 30th of January they received once more a letter from Farnese dated the 27th, according to which the Pope's intentions were inflexible.[2] Consequently, after previous understanding with Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco[3] on the same 2nd of February, when the three separated congregations met jointly for the first time, they brought forward the proposal that the decree appointing the simultaneous treatment of dogma and reform should not be published in the forthcoming session, nor for the present at all, but be reserved until the attendance at the Council had become more numerous. In the general congregation held on the following day it was resolved, in spite of the violent opposition of the Bishops of Badajoz and Astorga, that the decree should not be published at the session on the morrow, but be treated from henceforward as if it had been enacted.[4] The Legates were now able to make this concession, since on the very evening of February the 2nd they had received a letter from Farnese dated the 30th of January according to which the Pope consented that the resolution of January the 22nd should not be withdrawn; only, the Legates were to take heed that the treatment

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 7, n. 14–16; MERKLE, I., 399, n. 8.

[2] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, n. 312.

[3] On Feb. 1 (*cf.* Massarelli, Diarium I., ed. MERKLE, I., 369; *cf.* EHSES, IV., 544 *seq.*, n. 4). The general congregation which should have met on Feb. 1 was, on the receipt of the letter of Jan. 27, postponed, in order to gain time.

[4] EHSES, IV., 575–578; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 26 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium I., *ibid.*, 433 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 8, n. 6, 7.

of matters of faith should still be considered of primary importance.[1]

As nothing else had been prepared for the session, which nevertheless was now bound to be held, it was resolved to publish only two decrees, the first of which should declare the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed to be the common foundation of all Christian belief and the presupposition on which all future definitions of faith must depend; the second, out of regard for the prelates whose attendance at the Council was still expected, should fix the ensuing session for the Thursday following "Laetare" Sunday, which would fall on the 8th of April.[2]

On the following day, the 4th of February 1546, in the third solemn session,[3] at which the Archbishop, Pietro Tagliavia of Palermo, said Mass and the learned Dominican Ambrogio Catarino preached,[4] these resolutions were accordingly passed. Only the Bishops of Fiesole, Capaccio, and Badajoz handed in written protestations against the omission of the phrase "ecclesiam universalem repraesentans," while the two latter also objected to the non-publication of the decree of the 22nd of January.[5] Present at the session were the five Cardinals, six archbishops, six-and-twenty bishops, four generals of orders, and three abbots.

[1] EHSES, IV., 578, n. 1; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 7, n. 16.

[2] EHSES, IV., 577; Severoli and Massarelli, *loc. cit.*

[3] The Acta in EHSES, IV., 579–588. *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 27 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium II., III., *ibid.*, 434, 476 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 9.

[4] In EHSES, IV., 582–586.

[5] These protests called forth from the Legates in the next general congregation on Feb. 8 another complete vindication of their previous proceedings (Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 28 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 11, n. 1–3). The Bishop of Fiesole, notwithstanding his protest against the omission of the additional clause, also renewed his opposition to the decrees of the following sessions.

According to the resolution of the general congregation of January the 22nd, letters in the name of the Council were to be addressed to the Pope, the Emperor, and the Christian princes thanking them for the goodwill hitherto manifested by them, and praying them to send a greater number of prelates. When these documents came up for recitation in the general congregation of the 29th of January, strong differences of opinion were revealed; in particular, a dispute arose over the precedence of the King of France or of the King of the Romans at the reading aloud of the letters in the session. As no agreement was reached, the reading of the letters and their approbation in the session was deferred, and also their despatch.[1]

After the business under preparation had been settled and the order of procedure laid down in essentials,[2] the Council after the third session entered upon its active labours, and accomplished in the course of a year, up to the transference to Bologna, a considerable portion of its task, although the external condition of affairs was little favourable to the progress of a work undertaken in the greatest seriousness and with much enthusiasm.

The only German bishop present at the beginning of the Council, Michael Helding, Bishop of Sidon and auxiliary Bishop of Mayence, had, in obedience to a summons from the Emperor to the Colloquy at Ratisbon, been obliged to leave before Christmas, and was only able to attend the second session, leaving Trent immediately, on the following day, the 8th of January.[3] Germany since then had only

[1] EHSES, IV., 573 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium I., II., ed. MERKLE, I., 398, 433; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 8, n. 1–3.

[2] KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlexicon, XI., 2nd ed. 2053–2056, gives a clear account of the standing orders.

[3] Massarelli, Diarium, I., under Nov. 16, Dec. 23, and Jan. 8, ed. MERKLE, I., 327, 359, 369; Diarium, *ibid.*, 432.

been represented by the procurators of Cardinal Otto von Truchsess of Augsburg. German bishops were not to be expected for a while owing to the disturbed state of the Empire and the Emperor's attitude.[1] By the end of January and in the course of February various disquieting rumours were already current in Trent with regard to the intentions of the Protestants.[2] On the 29th of January Massarelli recorded that[3] he had heard from Cardinal Madruzzo that the Protestants had offered to recover Piedmont from France for the Emperor if the latter would renounce his alliance with the Pope and withdraw his support from the Council. On the 23rd of February Madruzzo again affirmed on reliable sources of information that a deputation of German Protestants was shortly to be expected at Trent to assert the illegality of the Council.[4] Luther's death, which took place on the 18th of February 1546, did not alter the hostile attitude of his followers towards the General Synod; Melanchthon, on the contrary, now issued at the bidding of the Elector of Saxony a work in opposition to the Council;[5] and soon afterwards two long pamphlets were printed by the Protestants, containing a rejection of the Council.[6]

From the side of the Imperial policy, the Council, after its opening on the 13th of December,[7] contrary to the

[1] On May 14 the Dominican, Ambrosius Pelargus at last made his appearance as procurator to the Elector of Treves (Massarelli, Diarium III., ed. MERKLE, I., 547 *seq.*).

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 559 n.

[3] Diarium I., ed. MERKLE, I., 396.

[4] Diarium III., *ibid.*, 490.

[5] KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2nd ed., 2059.

[6] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbeitrebungen, 326 *seqq.*

[7] On Dec. 18, 1545, the nuncio Dandino wrote from Bois-le-duc to Farnese that the Imperial court was still convinced that the Council would not be held (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 501). After the actual

hopes of the court, met at first only with restrictions, since the plans of Charles V. as then existent were not in favour of the undisturbed progress of the dogmatic labours of the Fathers. The Emperor, already resolved to meet the Protestants, if necessity demanded, on the field of battle, wished first of all to make one more attempt at reconciliation by means of a religious conference to be held during the Diet appointed to meet at Ratisbon. To meet the justifiable offence caused by the resumption of such religious conferences after the Council had been opened, Charles, before his departure for Ratisbon, gave the nuncio Verallo a general assurance that affairs would be conducted there in such a manner as to give the Pope satisfaction. The religious colloquy was only a mask. The Emperor, however, expressed a wish that the Council might for a while suspend its labours in order to avoid irritation of the Protestants.[1] The religious discussions at Ratisbon, opened on the 27th of January but actually begun on February the 5th, were just as ineffectual and resultless as all their predecessors,[2] and ended in the departure of the Protestant disputants from the city on the 20th and 21st of March without having even waited for the Emperor's arrival.

About this time the Cardinal of Trent in a confidential

opening of the Synod was made known, Verallo and Dandino wrote again, on Jan. 7, 1546, to Farnese that the Emperor had expressed to them his gratification at the news.

[1] Verallo to the Legates from Utrecht, dat. Feb. 4, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 547 *seq.*). Dandino and Marquina wrote likewise to Farnese (*cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 513); also Dandino to Cervini, dat. Feb. 4, 1546 (DRUFFEL, Karl IV., 528; *cf.* MERKLE, I., 482).

[2] See *infra*, p. 280 *seq.*; *cf.* also Cardinal Otto Truchsess' letter from Augsburg to Farnese and, in similar terms, to the Legates at Trent, dat. March 14, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 573 *seqq.*).

conversation with Massarelli[1] spoke of the danger of a transference of the Council to Germany, while the adoption of an Italian city would never meet with the consent of the Emperor and the Germans.

At last, on the 15th of March, the Imperial orator Francisco de Toledo also reached Trent. He was intended temporarily to replace Mendoza, who was ill, and afterwards, if it was necessary, to be joint representative with him of the Emperor at the Council. Francisco de Toledo paid his visit to the Legates on the 18th of March, and then, on Madruzzo's advice, went at once to Padua in order to confer personally with Mendoza and to come to a closer understanding. After his return he attended for the first time, on the 5th of April, a general congregation, and there presented his mandate; in the next general congregation, on the 7th of April, he received the written reply of the Council.[2] In the solemn session held on the following day all these documents were read aloud. From that time forward the intrusion of the Imperial policy into the procedure of the Council was carried on by the ambassadors with far greater want of consideration than had been shown hitherto by the Cardinal of Trent; for Charles V., in view of his attitude towards the Protestants, was seeking at any price to avoid the discussion of dogmatic questions. On the 25th of May, Mendoza also at last arrived in Trent.[3]

The Council in the meanwhile had applied itself to a subject which the Legates had brought forward in the general congregation of February the 8th: the establish-

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., under March 15, ed. MERKLE, I., 513; also in the Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 653.

[2] *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 436 *seq.*; Diarium, III., *ibid.*, 512, 517, 530; Severoli, *ibid.*, 44, 48; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 13.

[3] *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, II., ed. MERKLE, I., 439; Diarium, *ibid.*, 550.

ment of the Canon of Holy Scripture as the foundation and bulwark of the defence of Church doctrine. Here clear definition was all the more necessary as the Reformers appealed in the first instance to the Bible, certain portions, however, of which they rejected. The question therefore had to be examined, whether all the books of the Old and New Testaments in common use were to be regarded as parts of Holy Scripture; and also a point of no less importance, what respect was due together with the written word to that ecclesiastical tradition which the Protestants had entirely discarded.

One only among the Fathers of the Council, Nachianti, Bishop of Chioggia, a man of Protestant tendencies, was of opinion that tradition should be disregarded, since in the gospels all was written down that was necessary to salvation and the Christian life. This view, however, was rejected and refuted by appeal to Holy Scripture and the ancient Fathers. On the establishment of the Canon of Holy Scripture animated debates from time to time arose.

After long discussion in the general congregations of the 12th, 15th, and 26th of February, the 5th, 17th, and 27th of March, the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 7th of April, and in the particular congregations preceding them, which were accompanied by meetings of the theologians, the two decrees were at last agreed to which were published in the solemn session of the 8th of April 1546.[1] The first dogmatic decree,

[1] For the negotiations and events between the third and fourth sessions, *cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 28–48; Massarelli, Diarium, II., *ibid.*, 434–437; Diarium, III., *ibid.*, 477–533; EHSES, V., 3–89; PALLAVICINI, I. 6, c. 11–16: KNÖPFLER, in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2nd ed., 2056 *seq.*; EHSES, in the Röm. Quartalschr., XI., 598 *seq.*, in Histor. Jahrb., XXVI., 300 *seq.*, and in the Dritten Vereinschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft for 1908, 37 *seq.* For the fourth

"Of the Canonical Scriptures" (de canonicis Scripturis), declares not only the Old and New Testaments, but also apostolic tradition, to be the sources of the Church's doctrine, and sets forth the Canon of the Bible. The discussions on the misuses which had become current with regard to editions and translations of the Holy Scriptures, as well as with regard to their interpretation and use, led to the second decree of the fourth session, "Of the editing and use of the Sacred Books" (de editione et usu sacrorum librorum). Here it was in the first place declared that the ancient Latin version, preserved for so many centuries by the usage of the Church under the name of the "Vulgata," was in public recitals, disputations, sermons, and expositions to be held to be authentic, and no one was to dare, under any pretext whatever, to reject it. This, as had been set forth in the preceding discussions, did not assert that the language or form of the Vulgate was incapable of improvement, but only that in matters of faith and morals it contained no errors. In the same province of teaching it was enacted that all interpretations of Holy Scripture were forbidden which did not adhere to the sense held by the Holy Catholic Church, or disagreed with the clear consensus of the Fathers. Further, the decree prescribed the greatest care and accuracy in the future issue of editions of the Bible, and ordained that for the future no books on religious subjects should be published without ecclesiastical authority.[1]

sitting, of April 8, 1546, *cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 48–50; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 437 *seq.*, 534; EHSES, V., 90–104; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 16.

[1] For the two decrees, *cf.* KAULEN, Gesch. der Vulgata, Mainz, 1868, 379–419. No decision was come to with regard to the translation of the Bible into the vernacular (see PETERS, Kirche und Bibellesen, Paderborn, 1908, 24). That no adverse measures were taken, as

Besides these two decrees of the 8th of April, it had been intended to publish a third in the same session on a resolution of the general congregation held on the previous day. This was to contain an indictment "in contumaciam" against the bishops who still abstained from attending the Council. But before the proceedings began, the Legates were induced by the ambassadors of Charles V., supported by the two Imperialist Cardinals, to drop the publication for the present; it was represented that Charles V. and other princes would take offence, whereupon the majority declared themselves in favour of postponement.[1] At this session the Archbishop of Sassari sang the High Mass, and the Servite General, Agostino Bonuccio, preached, while the prelates in session were the five Cardinals, eight archbishops, forty-one bishops, four generals of orders, and three abbots.[2] The time between the third and fourth sessions was occupied with the transactions of the Legates with the Pope over an important matter of ecclesiastical reform.

After Paul III. had given his consent to the resolution of the 22nd of January 1546 that the Council should treat questions of reform and dogma concurrently, the Bull "Superni dispositione,"[3] probably drawn up in January 1542 but not published, was again produced, with fresh suggestions for revision,[4] and conveyed to the Legates

Cardinal Pacheco wished, was due to Cardinal C. Madruzzo, the single German prelate who was then present at the Council. (See EHSES in the Dritten Vereinschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft for 1908, 46.)

[1] *Cf.* Severoli, *loc. cit.*; PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*; EHSES, V., 93.

[2] EHSES, V., 101 *seq.*

[3] The text of the Bull in EHSES, IV., 489–498. For the date of its appearance, *ibid.*, 489 *seq.*, n. 6, and its subsequent fortunes, *ibid.*, 498 *seq.*

[4] In EHSES, IV., 499 *seq.*

for their opinion on the 17th of February 1546.[1] By this document the jurisdiction of the bishops in their dioceses was to be extended as against the limits imposed by the Roman Curia, and some of the most crying abuses done away. In their answer of the 7th of March[2] the Legates pointed out the necessity that, in this matter, the Pope's ruling should not be one-sided, but be preceded by consultation in the Council. At the same time, in their letter to Cardinal Farnese[3] they expressed themselves without reserve on the general expectation and demand for reforms, and showed that the programme contained in the Bull under consideration was quite inadequate. Paul III. was in no way displeased with their candour, and sent answers through his secretary Maffei and Cardinal Farnese on the 13th and 23rd of March 1546, consenting to the submittal of the question of reform to the Council, while reserving to himself a certain amount of co-operation by reconstructing the Bull in conformity with their observations.[4]

In a letter of acknowledgment dated the 10th of April 1546 the Legates again unfolded with much detail their reasons for insisting that the labours of reform should be a joint burden to be borne by the Council in combination with the Pope.[5]

They first laid stress on the necessity of reform of the Dataria, which must begin with deeds and not with the issue

[1] *Cf.* Farnese's letter to the Legates of Feb. 17, 1546 (DRUFFEL-BRANDI, II., n. 343, p. 390; EHSES, IV., 499).

[2] Considerationes legatorum concilii super bulla, quam proposuerat edere Paulus III. super reformatione, in EHSES, IV., 500 *seq.*

[3] In EHSES, IV., 501 *seq.*; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 13, n. 6; KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2nd ed. 2058.

[4] See DRUFFEL-BRANDI, n. 368, 386; EHSES, Kirchliche Reformarbeiten, 404.

[5] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 469. A full account of the contents in PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 2.

of Bulls. But besides the reform of this tribunal, that of the Consistory was also absolutely imperative. The primary consideration must be to bestow bishoprics with proper caution and sense of responsibility, and in places where the appointment lay in the hands of princes to accept such persons only as possessed the proper qualifications in age, worthiness, and learning, and were able and willing to reside in their sees. The appointment to a plurality of bishoprics must, even in the case of Cardinals, be entirely abolished.

The reform of the episcopate, the Legates continued, consists mainly in the enforcement of the duty of residence; with regard to the regular clergy, the presence of Generals of Orders at the Council permits of the necessary settlement being reached; as to the secular power, the canonical penalties against the transgressors of ecclesiastical jurisdiction must be renewed, and with an increase of severity. As far as the rights of the Apostolic See are concerned, all depends upon the just dealing of the Pope. The grievances of the bishops are specially directed against pensions, tenths, the ordination of unworthy priests, the exemptions granted to protonotaries and other privileged persons, against the absolutions of the Penitentiaria, and above all against the bestowal of benefices carrying with them a cure of souls on unfit recipients, who are non-resident and pluralists. The Dataria must be inflexible in filling up vacancies only with men of competent learning and approved piety, who have the inclination and the sense of duty to discharge their functions in person. For the training of a good body of clergy the Legates advised the encouragement of seminaries, and with justifiable severity they finally denounced the monstrous abuses of the so-called reversions.

In a letter to Farnese of the 15th of April[1] the Legates.

[1] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 474; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 2, n. 7, 8.

with a thorough recapitulation of the state of things, asked what matters were now first to be taken in hand. Farnese's answer of the 24th of April[1] expressed the Pope's full approval of the Legatine programme of reform, but insisted that their labours in this direction should not retard the progress of their dogmatic decisions, and that the Council should not pass resolutions without the Pope's consent, just as he wished to carry out the measures of reform immediately and directly affecting himself, only in agreement with the Synod.

The approbation of the decrees published at the fourth session of the Council by Paul III. gave rise to difficulties which were only removed after long negotiation.[2] Not only the commission of theologians appointed by the Pope to consider the decrees, but also the College of Cardinals, expressed unfavourable criticism of the proposition that the Vulgate, without previous revision or improvement, simply as it stood, was to be declared authentic. It was only after repeated and elaborate justification of the decrees on the part of the Legates that the approbation of the Pope was obtained.

After the fourth session the Council[3] in the general congregation of the 15th of April was occupied with the still unsettled questions of reform which were now to form the subject of discussion in the fifth. The Easter season offered a moment of respite. Then in the general congre-

[1] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 482; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 2, n. 10.

[2] *Cf.* KAULEN, Gesch. der Vulgata, 421–426; PALLAVICINI, l. 6, c. 17; l. 7, c. 12; KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 2059. The correspondence between the Legates and Rome belonging to this period in VERCELLONE, Dissert. Acad., Roma, 1864.

[3] For the time between the fourth and fifth sessions, *cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 50–80; Massarelli, Diarium, II., *ibid.*, 438–441; Diarium, III., *ibid.*, 534–554; EHSES, V., 105 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 3–12; KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 2059–2061.

gations of the 10th, 18th, 20th, and 21st of May the work proceeded.[1] There was a discussion on the erection of chairs of exegesis of Holy Scripture and the art of preaching. In dealing with the highly necessary reform of the pulpit, particular attention was directed to the limitation of the privileges of the monks. The debates on this point were occasionally very heated; as usual, Bishop Martelli of Fiesole gave way to uncurbed violence of language. He was met by the Dominican, Caselli, Bishop of Bertinoro, who in other ways also was at great pains to refute all the grounds of objection brought against the religious orders. A great impression was made by a speech from the General of the Augustinian Hermits, Seripando, who in very calm and effective words balanced the reasons for the exercise of the preacher's office by the bishops or the regular clergy. Seripando showed clearly that under existing circumstances the bishops and parish priests could not meet the exigencies of preaching in a diocese. After thus proving the necessity of calling in the regulars as auxiliaries, he went on to show how unreasonable it was that even in their own churches they should be entirely dependent on the bishops.[2] The bishops' duty of residence was also treated in the general congregation of the 10th of May, and again on the 9th and 10th of June. The decision on this difficult question was, however, postponed to a later date.

The Imperial ambassador, Toledo, supported by Cardinal Madruzzo and the other prelates of the Emperor's party, did all he could to prevent dogmatic questions also being prepared for the next session.[3] To this wish of the Emperor the Legates opposed the, for them, more authori-

[1] EHSES, V., 132 *seq.*

[2] The reform decree was passed on June 15 and 16.

[3] PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 3.

tative wish of the Pope. They wrote in any case to Rome for powers to enable them to suspend the Council rather than to be forced to yield to the Emperor's attacks on its freedom. After they had once more received, through a letter of Farnese of May the 13th, the intimation that they were to pay no regard to the Emperor's objections, they laid before the general congregation of May the 24th the article on original sin as the subject of discussion for the dogmatic decree of the forthcoming session. This important topic occupied the general congregation on the 28th and 31st of May, the 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, and 14th of June; on the 16th of June the decree was drawn up.[1] It contained a thorough and lucid definition, in opposition to the vacillating doctrines of the Protestants, of the nature of original sin, of its propagation, of its consequences, and its remission in baptism.

The Immaculate Conception of Mary was also the subject of deliberations of the most profound and weighty character. Cardinal Pacheco had already proposed the definition on the 28th of May.[2] The newly arrived theologians of the Pope, Laynez and Salmeron of the Society of Jesus, maintained the same view with ardour, and were supported by no inconsiderable number of the Fathers. The opposition came chiefly from the Dominicans. They were so strong that Pacheco on the 8th and 14th of June moved that the decree should only contain the words, "The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God is a pious opinion."[3] But even on this point Pacheco was not successful; the majority were against any immediate decision on the question.

[1] See EHSES, V., 163 *seq.*, 166 *seq.*, 172 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*; *cf.* Histor. Jahrb., XXVII., 70 *seq.*

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 64 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 3, n. 8; c. 7; DRÜFFEL-BRANDI, p. 539.

[3] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 70, 76.

The Synod at the end of the decree only declared that it was not their intention to include in this decree on Original Sin the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary and Mother of God (non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei Genitricem). The terms of the ordinances of Sixtus IV. on this question were adhered to.[1]

The decree on Original Sin was published on the 17th of June 1546 in the fifth public session.[2] This was attended by the three Cardinal Legates and Cardinal Pacheco,[3] nine archbishops, forty-eight bishops, two mitred Benedictine abbots, three generals of orders, many theologians, and the Imperial ambassadors. The solemn High Mass was sung by Bishop Alessandro Piccolomini of Piacenza, while the Dominican, Marco Laureo, preached. The final passing of the dogmatic decree raised once more objections from Cardinal Pacheco and a certain number of other bishops on account of the omission of an express clause on the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

After this dogmatic decree came another for publication of a sound reforming character. It dealt with the Holy Scriptures, instituted expert instruction in the same, and regulated preaching. Among particular enactments was one ordering that in cathedral churches, where foundations already existed for lectures on theology and

[1] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. IV. of this work, 394 *seq.*

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 88–82; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 441, 554; EHSES, V., 238 *seqq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 7, c. 13.

[3] Madruzzo was absent. He had gone on May 12, at the Emperor's request, to the Diet at Ratisbon (Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 547), and had indeed returned thence to Trent on June 14, but, after a visit to the Legates, had at once continued his journey to Rome, where he had to present to the Pope proposals from the Emperor (*ibid.*, 554; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., viii–xi, 46 *seqq.*).

Holy Scripture, the bishops must provide that those who drew the salaries also carried out the obligations. In other churches where no such foundations existed, vacant livings should be given to learned men, or a common contribution be levied to endow suitable lectureships on the Holy Scriptures. Nor should similar instruction be lacking in convents, and princes ought to be exhorted to supply such lectureships to universities where they were still lacking. But in order that, under the show of godliness, godlessness might not be sown, no one should be permitted to exercise such functions privately or publicly who had not been examined first by the Bishop as to his manner of life, his opinions, and his knowledge, and been found approved.

With regard to preaching, it was ordered that bishops, archbishops, primates, and all other prelates of the Church should be bound in duty themselves to preach the gospel, and in case of hindrance to find suitable persons to take their place; that parish priests should at least on all Sundays and feast days, either in person or through fitting substitutes, teach those things the knowledge of which is necessary to salvation, whereby in short and intelligible words they may point out the faults which men ought to shun, and the virtues after which they should strive. The regular clergy, even in the churches of their order, are forbidden to preach before they have received from their superior a certificate of character and learning and a permission from the bishop; preachers who disseminate errors or cause scandal must be forbidden the pulpit by their bishops, and if they have been teachers of heresy be dealt with according to the customs of the locality; the bishop, however, should be careful that no preacher is molested on false charges or otherwise given cause for just complaint. Regulars who are not enclosed and secular priests who have not undergone sufficient examination must not under any pretext

receive episcopal permission to preach until they have made application to the Holy See. The collectors of alms or questuaries shall never preach themselves or get others to preach for them.

At the request of the Archbishop of Sassari, the brief of June the 7th to the Legates, in which the Pope confirmed the decrees of reform, was then read aloud. Finally, the Promotor of the Council, Severoli, raised the charge "in contumaciam" against the still absent prelates. The proposed opening of the case against them was, however, deferred, since in the voting opinions were much divided as to which bishops should incur liability. Pacheco claimed immunity for the Germans; others wished to restrict the proceedings solely to those who were in Italy, or only in Rome, without making their appearance in Trent.

On the very day before the session a courier reached Trent from Ratisbon who brought to the Legates the Emperor's pressing entreaties that they should omit dogmatic decisions in the forthcoming session, out of consideration for his policy towards the Protestants. It was obviously no longer possible to give effect to this wish.[1]

The sixth session had been fixed for the 29th of July. In the general congregation on the 21st of June the Legates decided that the agenda for the session should comprise the dogmatic decree on justification and the measures of reform relating to episcopal residence and its hindrances.[2]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 76 *seq.*, n.; *ibid.*, Verallo's letter to Farnese of June 13 from Ratisbon.

[2] For the time between the fifth and sixth sessions, see Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 82–121; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 441–458, 554–601; PALLAVICINI, l. 8; KNÖPFLER, in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2nd ed., 2063–2065.

The Pope and the commission appointed for the Council were here entirely at one. The Legates were all the more in earnest as they held that on the article on justification all other dogmas depended, just as all other reform legislation depended more or less on the enforcement of episcopal residence. In order to give support to the discussion of these two important points the Pope deputed a band of distinguished theologians.[1] The envoy of the republic of Lucca affirmed with satisfaction that the fifth session had been held with the participation of nearly seventy voting members, so that opponents could now no longer point the finger of criticism at the slender number of those who attended the Synod.[2] Spirits rose still higher when on the 26th of June the ambassadors of France at last made their entry into Trent. They were Claude d'Urfé, Jacques de Lignières, and Pierre Danès. Their letters as plenipotentiaries were to be presented at the general congregation on the 30th. It seemed as if on this occasion the conflicting claims of the French and the representative of Ferdinand I. might lead to an unseemly quarrel over precedence. The wisdom of the Legates, however, found a way of escape which satisfied both parties. In consequence the Imperial ambassador, Mendoza, attended in person the solemn reception of the French envoys. In his oration Danès called to mind, yet in moderate terms, the services rendered by the French Kings to the Church, in order afterwards to lay special emphasis on the fact that Francis I. had always kept his kingdom pure from any stain of error. The most important passage in his speech was the exhortation to the Fathers to restore unity to Christendom on the firm basis of dogma, and thence to proceed to a thorough reform of ecclesiastical evils. In

[1] See PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 1.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XIX., 180.

the execution of this programme King Francis would array all his power on their side.[1]

The appearance of the French ambassadors and their declarations encouraged the hope that the Synod would soon be more amply constituted by the arrival of the French bishops. Meanwhile the Fathers threw all their energy into the settlement of the doctrine of justification, which, as yet, had hardly ever come within the scope of Conciliar treatment. They hoped in deep earnest that this subject, which struck at the capital doctrines of the Protestants, would be mastered in time for the sixth session, appointed to meet on the 29th of July.[2]

While thus everything warranted the prosperous continuation of the labours of the Council, suddenly unforeseen difficulties arose which threatened even to cut short its days. The long-impending war between Charles V. and the Protestant Estates had broken out, and the Emperor and the Council were links in a closely forged chain.

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 3; MAYNIER, 364 *seq.*

[2] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 181.

CHAPTER VII.

The Papal-Imperial League of June 1546. The Schmalkaldic War.

With ever growing success the political and military organisation of the Protestant Estates known as the Schmalkaldic League continued their efforts to weaken the Imperial authority in accordance with the principle, "Cujus regio ejus religio," to set up within their own boundaries the supremacy of religious absolutism, and to establish an order of things which should leave no room for the ecclesiastical princes, especially those who still clung to the belief and discipline of the Catholic Church.

The Emperor had laboured in vain to bring the ecclesiastical troubles to an end by means of a peaceable settlement and to appease the Confederates of Schmalkald by far-reaching concessions. Every new success only emboldened the latter to make fresh encroachments. Now, as before, they were suitors for foreign help; now, as before, their proceedings within the limits of the Empire bore everywhere the stamp of the negation of that Empire's laws.

If the existing system of the law was not to founder utterly, the aggressions of the Protestant Estates would have to be met by force of arms. Even the Emperor convinced himself of this at last. According to his own memoirs, the thought of encountering the Protestant Estates of the Empire on the field first came to Charles V. after his successful overthrow of the Duke of Cleves in the

summer of 1543.[1] At first the time was not fully ripe; some fresh provocations must yet be given. The strongest was undoubtedly the stubborn refusal of the Protestant Estates to attend the Council summoned by the Pope, because it was neither general nor free, nor even Christian.

In the meantime the peace with France had entirely altered the political situation, and created the possibility of giving a decisive turn to affairs in Germany by an appeal to the sword. The protestantizing Estates were not blind to the danger which they thus incurred. Nevertheless, with the temerity of previous successes, they demanded of the Emperor impracticable terms: either security against the decrees of the Council by a recognition under the laws of the Empire of a territorial ecclesiastical system, or a council without the Pope, which was identical with the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical constitution then existing.[2]

At the time of the Diet of Worms, when the Protestant policy of entire disavowal of the "papistical council" at Trent was made manifest,[3] the plan of Charles V. to apply force had already assumed so definite a shape that he proposed to Cardinal Farnese in May 1545, an offensive alliance with the Pope against the Protestant Estates. The Cardinal hastened joyfully to Rome, where the Pope at once entered into the scheme and ordered preparations for war to be begun at once. But it soon became evident that the Emperor, fully apprised of the greatness and difficulty of the undertaking, had made up his mind to defer hostilities until the following year.[4]

The Pope consented, and, in conformity with the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 206.

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 6th ed., 256, 258 *seq.*

[3] JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 587 *seq.*

[4] *Supra*, pp. 223, 227 *seqq.*

Emperor's wishes, took advantage of Andelot's presence to have a draft drawn up of the articles of the Papal-Imperial League for the overthrow of the protesting Estates.[1] To the terms of this proposal, however, the Imperialists had many objections. They disliked, to begin with, the wording of the preamble that the use of force appeared necessary to Charles V., since in consequence of the determined refusal of the Protestants no more hopes could be entertained of the removal of the religious troubles by the Council. They also took exception to the clause stating that the Emperor ought not, without the express sanction of Paul III., to enter into any negotiations with the Protestants. They also demurred to the subsidy being restricted to 200,000 ducats, and the payment of the auxiliaries to a period not longer than four months.[2] As the nuncios Dandino and Verallo did not feel authorized in introducing alterations of such importance into the document, Marquina, who had come to Rome in October 1545 on the matter of the Council, undertook to negotiate with the Pope concerning the objections to the draft treaty and other wishes of the Emperor as well, bearing on the taxes to be levied on the Spanish ecclesiastical funds.[3]

The political situation was further improved for the Emperor by the armistice concluded with the Turks in November 1545 by Ferdinand I.[4] Not less favourable was the continuance of war between France and England, which deprived the Schmalkaldians of any hope of support from either of those powers. But in the Empire

[1] The text of the draft in Deutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, III. (1890), 416 *seq.*

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 50 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, 326 *seq.* *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 3.

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 51 *seq.*

[4] See ZINKEISEN, II., 860 *seq.*

itself affairs were undergoing a development which almost forced the Emperor to take decisive steps against the Protestant Estates.[1]

The latter were always usurping new positions. In August 1545, Duke Augustus of Saxony appointed a Protestant "bishop" in Merseburg; in October, Sebastian von Heusenstamm was chosen, through the intrigues of Philip of Hesse and contrary to the wishes of the Emperor and the Pope, to succeed Albert of Brandenburg in Mayence, where the Protestant party promised themselves that he would follow the example set by the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied. The latter, when Paul III. took action against him, had appealed, on the 11th of July 1545, to a free Christian council to be held in Germany or to a Diet, and gave in his adhesion to the Schmalkaldic League.[2]

The affairs of Cologne caused anxiety to the Emperor, not merely because by the introduction of Protestantism on the Rhine his possessions in the Netherlands were seriously threatened, but because of other reasons beyond that. As the secession of the Elector Palatine Frederick to the new religion was to be expected, the Protestants, in the event of Hermann von Wied holding his own, would have a majority in the Electoral College. If the Catholic Church in Germany collapsed, the fall of the Roman-German Empire would follow.[3]

Charles V. was fully conscious of the gravity of the

[1] This is EGELHAAF'S opinion (II., 444). "Unless the Emperor," says HUBER (IV., 120), "wished to renounce all his plans for good and all and to forfeit all authority in Germany, only one course lay open to him—war."

[2] *Cf.* GULIK, Gropper, 114 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 611 *seq.*; HASENCLEVER, Politik der Schmalkaldner, 27 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 60.

[3] *Cf.* EGELHAAF, II., 446 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 613.

situation. In his memoirs he summed up his feelings at the time in the words: "Come what will, I am determined, dead or alive, to remain Emperor in Germany."[1]

Although Charles did not conceal from himself the greatness and difficulties of his enterprise, he did nothing precipitately. To the Pope he showed himself determined to have the form of the treaty altered. The negotiations over this were protracted, but when Marquina left Rome at last on the 13th of December 1545 he had gained weighty advantages for his master. On December the 27th he presented to the Emperor at Bois-le-Duc the answer of Paul III., containing important concessions. The preamble of the treaty was entirely altered; it now ran that the Emperor and Pope allied themselves in support of the Council. A larger subsidy than 200,000 ducats Paul III. refused, but, on the other hand, he consented to extend the payment of the auxiliaries over another two months, making a total of six months. Further, he declared his readiness to help the Emperor should he be attacked unjustly by any other prince—France was meant,—not only during the war against the Protestant Estates, but also for six months after its termination. The article which made it impossible for Charles V. to enter into pacific negotiations with the Protestants before the outbreak of war seems to have been allowed to drop out of sight at Rome. On the other hand, Paul III. insisted that while war continued, the Emperor, without the express consent of the Holy See, should be debarred from making any agreement with the Protestants, so far as the object of the war was concerned, and in particular any compromise on matters of religion.[2]

[1] Commentaires, 229. *Cf.* MOCENIGO in the Fontes. rer. Austr., XXX., 81 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 3; Karl V., IV., 1 *seq.*; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 239; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 53 *seq.*, 512 *seq*

If not all, yet the essential wishes of the Emperor were thus satisfied. It was therefore to be expected that the signature of the treaty thus amended would now take place, but instead of this, the decisive moment was again put off. At the Imperial court various tendencies were at work. The Emperor's confessor, Pedro Soto, was for war, and composed a report, exposing with great acumen the weak side of the Schmalkaldic League, in order to remove the Emperor's fears. To the confessor Granvelle stood opposed, and Charles, who on the whole liked to put things off, deferred his decision and declared he would not settle the treaty before he got to Ratisbon. He hoped not merely to obtain still further alterations in the agreement, but also was afraid lest in the event of a final determination the Protestants should get to know beforehand of the blow that was being aimed at them, and thus be able to take counter-measures the more easily.[1]

Besides deceiving the enemy, it was of the first importance for the success of the undertaking that alliances should be won and the right time chosen for delivering the first blow. With admirable circumspection the Emperor bent his mind on creating a political situation favourable to the approaching war. If even in this respect he achieved successes which were of no mean value, yet from time to time he was visited by grave doubts as to the possibility of carrying through an enterprise on the success of which his all was staked. The indecision with which in February and March 1546 he still continued to express himself with regard to his military plans justifies the conclusion that if a means had offered itself of attaining his

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 54 *seq.*, 518 *seq.*, 545; the letters of Charles V. of Feb. 16, 1546, in MAURENBRECHER, 36* *seq.*; for which compare DRUFFEL, Karl V., IV., 458; Soto's memorial in MAURENBRECHER, 29* *seq.*

end without having recourse to war, in no case would he have thrust that instrument aside.[1]

In the first place, Charles V. on the 27th of January 1546, allowed the religious conference, already promised in the Recess of Worms for the 30th of November 1545, to begin at Ratisbon. It must be assumed that he wished thereby to gain time and also to make an impression on the Pope,[2] since he can hardly have reckoned on any sort of success. The prospects of a friendly agreement were more unfavourable than ever. It was not merely that since the last attempt of this kind, made five years before, the feeling on both sides had altered essentially, and that all hope had departed of ever attaining anything by means of such conferences, but the position of the Catholics was one of the utmost difficulty since the sessions of the Council of Trent had begun. From nearly all the Catholic princes the Emperor had received refusals. The staunch Catholics were more than ever disinclined for conferences on religion, since the total failure in 1541 of the colloquy at Ratisbon arranged by the representatives of the middle party in conjunction with the Emperor. In these strict circles the opinion had been reached, not incorrectly, that in such conferences the Protestants had always come off as the winning side. Even from the side of the disputants themselves difficulties were in store for the Emperor. Julius Pflug, in whom Charles placed special confidence, and to whom, for that reason, he had offered the place of President, declined on grounds of weak health. Even the Bishop of Eichstätt, Moritz von Hutten, who thereupon consented to fill the post, declared that he was only there in order to attend to the external order of the conference, but not to express his opinions on matters of faith. The Catholic theologians,

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 57 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Beiträge, III., 508; HASENCLEVER, 217, 218.

the Spanish Dominican Malvenda, Eberhard Billick, the Provincial of the Augustinians, Johann Hoffmeister, and Cochläus, who obeyed the Emperor's summons, addressed letters to friendly curialists begging them to prevent the Pope from attaching an unfavourable meaning to their conduct.[1]

The Protestants, on their side, were much divided as to the attitude that should be taken towards the conference. To the strict Lutherans organizations of this sort seemed to be equally preposterous and superfluous. From their point of view the old believers had nothing else to do but simply to accept the new "Evangelium" proclaimed by Luther. This was approximately the opinion of the Saxon Elector and his theologians. The Landgrave of Hesse, having a diplomatic turn of mind, thought otherwise. Constantly under the influence of the slippery Bucer, he was again once more in favour of a certain amount of compliancy.

The opening of the Council of Trent threw the Protestantizers into no small perplexity. They had to choose now between participation in the Council or in the new conference on religion; they decided for the latter as being in their opinion the lesser evil of the two. Consequently, on the 17th of September the Elector of Saxony came to an agreement with the Landgrave that Melanchthon, Bucer, Schnepf, and Brenz should be spokesmen; the Elector nevertheless was indisposed towards the conference. He and his theologians were fully determined to prevent any

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 305 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Karl V., IV., 465 *seq.*; PAULUS, Hoffmeister, 198 *seq.*; SPAHN, Cochläus, 306; POSTINA, Billick, 82 *seq.* V. AMERBACH is an exception; in his work, Praecipuae Constit. Caroli Magni (Ingolst., 1545), he expresses a hope that Charles V. would be successful in terminating the religious schism in Germany.

agreement being reached at Ratisbon. At a later date Melanchthon's place was taken by Major.[1]

The conference opened on the 27th of January 1546, and there at once arose an unpleasant wrangle over matters of form. The actual proceedings began on the 5th of February with a speech from Malvenda which raised a protest from the opposite side. By order of the Emperor the fourth article of the Confession of Augsburg, on justification, was to be discussed first at the conference. Malvenda unfolded the Catholic view; Bucer replied to him from the 6th to the 11th of February. From the 12th to the 17th Billick spoke; he was opposed on the two following days by the Protestant theologians. From the 19th to the 22nd the debates were carried on "without notes or memoranda."

The speeches of the Catholic delegates, with whom on this occasion no representative of the middle party was present, breathed a very different spirit from those of five years ago. The semi-Lutheran doctrine of justification, then supported by Gropper, was now energetically rejected; the spirit of the Catholic revival was distinctly perceptible. The Protestant theologians had great difficulty in establishing Luther's doctrine of justification and in adducing as proofs on their side such Bible texts as the Catholic theologians had used on theirs. Not even an approximation, far less an accord, was reached between them. It was clearly recognized that this was not, as had been asserted at the conference in 1541, a mere logomachy, the misunderstandings of which might be cleared away with ease, but a controversy involving two conceptions of the most important doctrine of Christianity, which at the

[1] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Reformation, III., 323 *seq.*; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 307 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Karl V., IV., 468 *seq.*; POSTINA, Billick, 83 *seq.*; HASENCLEVER, Politik der Schmalkaldner, 219-228.

innermost core were diverse and irreconcilable. It was not, however, this consciousness of the fact which was decisive for the further course of the debate, but the publication on the 26th of February of an Imperial edict binding the disputants on oath to observe secrecy as to their transactions, in order to put a stop to unjustified attempts at interference from without. This reasonable and well-meant ordinance was welcomed by the Protestant party as an opportunity for recalling their representatives and thus bringing the conference to an end. On the 20th of March the Saxons departed after handing in a protestation. In spite of the most imploring entreaties on the part of the Presidents, the remainder of the party followed, appealing to the commands of their rulers. Even the gentle Pflug wrote at the time to Gropper that the repulsive and odious behaviour of the Protestants had nullified the conference, although the Emperor called it together at the urgent request of the opponents themselves.[1]

At the same time the Protestants had published two long memoirs in which they rejected the Tridentine Council and therefore demanded a free council, open to all Christians in common and without party, in a German city, to which the Emperor should summon not only the clergy but also the laity.[2] These declarations were peculiarly fitted to dispel any illusions as to the absolutely negative attitude of the Protestants towards the Council of Trent. The Landgrave Philip expressed himself in the

[1] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Reformation, III., 325 *seq.*; LÄMMER, Vortrid. Theol., 198; PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 314–344; HEYD, III., 323 *seq.*; BAUM, Capito und Butzer, 607 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, Karl V., IV., 472; PAULUS, Hoffmeister, 207 *seq.*; SPAHN, Cochläus, 307 *seq.*; POSTINA, Billick, 86–90; Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., V., 1 *seq.*, 375 *seq.*, and CÄMMERER'S (Berlin, 1901) Dissertation.

[2] See WALCH, XVII., 1112 *seqq.*, 1152 *seqq.*; MENZEL, II., 443 *seq.*

same sense in an interview which he had at Spires at the end of March with the Emperor. When Philip also met the Emperor's request that he should attend the forthcoming Diet with a qualified promise,[1] this certainly was not likely to allay the Emperor's displeasure at the Landgrave's behaviour.[2]

Charles thereupon made haste to reach Ratisbon, arriving there on the 10th of April 1546. His experience at the Diet there, as well as the outcome of the religious conference, could not but confirm him in his opinion that all pacific negotiations were in vain, and that nothing now remained but the appeal to arms.[3]

In Rome the Emperor's conduct had been watched with strained attention. He was as much as ever an object of distrust and suspected of playing a double game. The feeling in curial circles is described in a letter from Bishop Giovio to Duke Cosimo of Florence of the 18th of February 1546. "Never," he says, "will the Emperor's sword be drawn in reality against the Lutherans; such an undertaking would be too perilous and unbefitting his sagacity. Charles will so comport himself at Ratisbon as to win over the Protestants and secure their friendship in order to make use of them in his schemes against France."[4]

The Imperial ambassador Vega believed for his part that the Pope at heart was opposed to the wars against the Protestants. Paul III., he advised, should be taken

[1] See HASENCLEVER, Die Politik Karl V., und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen vor Ausbruch des Schmalkald. Krieges, Marburg, 1903, 39 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Commentaires, 117.

[3] *Cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 6th ed., 287, 296 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 617 *seq.*; Venet. Depeschen, I., 480.

[4] DRUFFEL, Karl V., IV., 533.

on his weakest side and gained by hopes of the aggrandizement of the Farnesi.[1]

Marquina reached Rome again on the 23rd of February 1546. His instructions were that the Emperor agreed to the conditions imposed by the Pope, but was not yet ready to ratify the treaty.[2] This fresh delay must, together with renewed attempts at friendly negotiations with the Protestants, have disquieted the Pope intensely.[3] Paul III.'s irritation at Charles was heightened still more by the want of consideration for his wishes and interests shown by the Imperialists in other matters. Quite apart from the interminable disputes over Spanish prize claims and Neapolitan tenths, there was a catalogue of grievances of other sorts: there was the Pragmatic question, the Emperor's demand that the Colonna should be reinstated, his attitude towards the matrimonial projects which were being forged for Vittoria Farnese, Pier Luigi's daughter; lastly, the question of the suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza.[4] A statement made by Granvelle in April to Buoncambi, Pier Luigi's agent, left no doubt that Charles held steadfastly to his Imperial rights over both these cities.[5]

For a long time the relations between Pope and Emperor were materially influenced by the violent disputes into which Paul III. was drawn with his old opponent Cosimo de' Medici.

The hostility of Cosimo to the Pope of the house of Farnese, whose intercourse with the Florentine exiles

[1] See Vega's report of March 12, 1546, in MAURENBRECHER, 69*; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 571, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* Vega's report of March 30, in MAURENBRECHER, 69*-70*.

[3] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, IV., 483; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 471, n. 3.

[4] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 43, 56, 488 n., 489 n., 510, 524, 572, 590.

[5] See AFFÒ, 109 *seq.*

seemed suspicious, was constantly fanned into flame by Cardinal Accolti, who was resident in Florence, and against whom Paul III. had sworn vengeance. This dangerous man busied himself with the most perverse schemes. In the summer of 1542, when the relations between Pope and Emperor were of extreme delicacy, he laid before Charles V. a detailed plan whereby Paul III. might be struck to the heart. The Emperor was to make himself master of Rome, put an end to the temporal power of the Pope, and once more assert the rights of the Empire.[1] In order to give Accolti an assured position, Cosimo in the autumn of 1543 had succeeded in obtaining his appointment as ambassador from Charles to Florence.[2] When the Pope thereupon uttered threats, Cosimo let Accolti know that he need have no fear, as he could easily obtain help from the Duke of Urbino, Ascanio Colonna, the Abbot of Farfa, and the Perugians. He refused unconditionally to give up Accolti, while in the dispute on tenths in the spring of 1545 he agreed to a compromise.[3] But immediately afterwards the question of the reform of the very decadent convents of Florence gave rise to fresh misunderstandings with Rome.[4]

Cosimo was a bitter enemy of the Dominicans of S. Marco. He complained that in remembrance of Savonarola they nourished republican tendencies and supported the opposition to the Medici. By a stroke of arbitrary power they were made an end of at one blow; on the 31st of August 1545 the Dominicans were expelled from S. Marco, S. Domenico at Fiesole, and S. Maria Maddalena at Mugnone because they had secretly har-

[1] DESJARDINS, III., 25 *seq.*

[2] COSTANTINI, 402 *seq.*

[3] LUPO GENTILE, Politica, 92 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

boured the exiles. The representations and complaints of the Pope at this proceeding were repudiated by Cosimo through his representative in the sharpest manner. Paul III. therefore brought before consistory in November a brief addressed to Cosimo threatening him with excommunication if within three days of notification he did not reinstate the Dominicans who had been driven forth without form or trial. This time Cosimo gave in. The Dominicans were allowed to return, but the envoy Del Caccia was recalled from Rome.[1] Only an agent named Francesco Babbi remained behind.

By March 1546 the quarrel between Rome and Florence was again in a blaze. The Dominicans of S. Marco complained that Cosimo had forbidden any alms to be expended on the convent. Paul III. thereupon, on the 15th of March, made a strong protest, and Babbi, who lodged with the Imperial ambassador, was put under arrest. For this the latter also now made a remonstrance. Cosimo, however, wrote a letter of justification to the College of Cardinals. Angry as Charles was at the Pope's severe proceeding, he yet counselled the Duke to show moderation, since a war between Rome and Florence would have been destructive of his plans in Germany. Vega exerted himself to bring about an agreement, which was reached in April.[2]

From the remonstrances to Cosimo, as well as from other sources, it is evident that the war against the Protestants formed the central point of the Emperor's policy.[3]

[1] LUPO GENTILE, Politica, 97–102. *Cf.* MONDAINI, La Storia di G. B. Adriani, Firenze, 1905, 31 *seqq.*

[2] By a brief of April 9, 1546, Paul III. asked the Duke to sanction the collection of alms, which the latter at once agreed to (see LUPO GENTILE, Politica, 114–115).

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 57.

Paul III. was in error when he doubted the Emperor's sincerity in this undertaking. But the Pope's apprehensions admit of explanation, since Charles even after his entry into Ratisbon continued to put off the signature of the treaty. The Emperor then disclosed to the nuncio Verallo that he must first obtain King Ferdinand's consent and know for certain what the Pope's concessions from the revenues of the Spanish Church would amount to. When the latter had come in, Charles declared that he could not sign the treaty until King Ferdinand had arrived. Verallo, who was unable to obtain any clue to the labyrinthine policy of the Emperor,[1] went through a painful time. Week after week went by and still no decision was reached; again and again it was reiterated that the Pope must still have patience. Verallo and Cardinal Truchsess were of opinion that Cardinal Farnese should appear once more in order to make all things clear. Farnese declined at first to undertake the journey, as he did not know whether his coming was wished for, and it seemed to all appearance as if the Emperor intended to give up the war.[2] At the beginning of May 1546 the outlook began at last to improve. Soto then informed Verallo that Charles, since King Ferdinand delayed his coming, only awaited the arrival of Duke William of Bavaria before ratifying the treaty. On the 6th of May Verallo wrote that the Emperor was altered and seemed now to think seriously of the war. In his subsequent despatches also he was able to report indications of a more favourable aspect of affairs. In the middle of May, Granvelle and Soto announced the prospect of a speedy decision, but still counselled reserve and close secrecy for yet a while longer. On the 18th Verallo had an audience of the Emperor, who still seemed

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., vii.

[2] *Ibid.*, IX., 8 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*, 21, 26, 29.

as determined as ever to let things drift and to avoid the appearance of openly avowed measures.[1]

When afterwards, on the 21st of May, Cardinal Madruzzo arrived in Ratisbon, a termination seemed at last to be assured. To his astonishment Verallo now found himself excluded from the negotiations which were taking place. Together with Madruzzo, Cardinal Truchsess was, on the other hand, admitted. As the nuncio subsequently was informed, Charles V. was ready to sign the treaty of alliance in exact conformity with the second draft, but Madruzzo was bidden to lay before the Pope a further series of demands. Before all, the Emperor wished the Pope to make a special agreement binding himself in case of necessity to supply troops for a longer period, if possible up to the end of the war, or at least for a period of certainly eight months. He also asked for a further extension of the time, fixed in the original draft as six months from the finish of the campaign, for taking steps against disturbers of the military operations, *i.e.* the French. Charles hoped thus in a circuitous way to compass what he had earlier striven for in vain for years, a permanent alliance with the Pope against Francis. The old wish that the Papal subsidy should be raised from 200,000 to 300,000 ducats was again expressed. Further demands included the Pope's permission to levy a half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands, an appeal for more vigorous support from the Catholic Estates, especially the bishops, and the payment of the war funds, not in Augsburg and Venice, but in Ratisbon and Trent; finally, the Legatine dignity for the war was asked for Cardinal Madruzzo, the negotiator, and for Cardinal Farnese.[2]

[1] See Verallo's letters in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 31 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*, 42 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., ix–x.

By the beginning of June all this was settled. Still a whole week went by before the treaty was signed. The cause of this fresh and final delay was that the negotiations with Bavaria lasted longer than Charles had expected. To gain the support of this power seemed to the Emperor an indispensable preliminary to his great undertaking. He thus secured a base of operations within the Empire, an arsenal and a provision store for the war.[1] On the 7th of June 1546 a treaty was made in closest secrecy between Charles V., Ferdinand I., and Duke William of Bavaria. The last-named undertook to supply 10,000 gold gulden, to place a great portion of his artillery with ammunition at the Emperor's disposal, and to maintain the Imperialist troops at a moderate cost in his territories.[2]

On the same day on which this compact was agreed to the Emperor summoned Verallo to his presence and with exhortations to profound silence initiated him into the secret of his arrangements with Bavaria and Madruzzo, and declared himself ready to ratify the treaty with the Pope. With Verallo standing by, Charles affixed his signature to the document, dated the 6th of June.[3] The treaty ran thus: "As Germany for many years, to its grievous hurt and in peril of total ruin, has been disturbed by erroneous teaching, and all remedies have proved fruitless, a General Council has assembled itself in Trent, the decisions of which are now rejected by the Protestants and the Schmalkaldic League. The Pope and Emperor have therefore determined to combine in the following alliance for the glory of

[1] See RIEZLER, Gesch. Bayerns, IV., 342. [2] *Ibid.*, 339 *seq.*

[3] See Verallo's *letter of June 7, 1546, and that of Cardinal Truchs ss of June 9, both to Farnese, in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 65 *seq.*, 71 *seq.* The original treaty with the signature of Charles V. is in the Se ret Archives of the Vatican (Nunz. di Germania sotto Paolo III., Vol. 3) (*cf.* Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., IX., 135).

God and the salvation of Christendom: The Emperor binds himself, after all friendly means have been unavailing, in the next month of June, with the aid of the Pope, to open war against the Protestants, the Schmalkaldic League, and other German teachers of error, in order to bring them back to the true and ancient religion, and to the obedience of the Holy See. The Emperor further binds himself, not, without the express consent of his Holiness or the Apostolic Legate, to make any terms of agreement with the above-named false teachers which can affect the reason and object of the present undertaking, or injure or prejudice its progress and success, and in particular to refrain from any concessions in matters of religion and the constitution of the Church. The Pope promises, within a month from the conclusion of the treaty, to deposit 100,000 ducats in Venice, which, with the 100,000 ducats at Augsburg, shall be spent exclusively by the commissaries of his Holiness on the purposes of the war. The Pope also engages to place, at his own charges, under the command of a Legate and necessary officers, 12,000 Italian infantry and 500 light horsemen as auxiliary troops for six months, or up to the close of the campaign if it should be of shorter duration. He consents, in addition, to set apart for the war, for one year, half the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain, with a further 500,000 ducats from the sale of conventual property. During the undertaking, and for six months afterwards, the contracting parties pledge themselves to render mutual assistance, should one or other of them be molested by a third party. Entrance into the alliance, which is to be confirmed by the Sacred College, lies open to the Catholic Estates of Germany, and to all Christian powers in general."[1]

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 575–578. A copy of the Imperial version of the treaty also in Cod. Barb., LVI., 107, f. 116 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

Cardinal Madruzzo was to deliver the treaty as ratified by Charles to the Pope, and to be the spokesman of the Emperor's further wishes. About midnight on the 7th–8th of June, Aurelio Cattaneo, the Cardinal's secretary, started for Rome to announce beforehand his master's coming. Madruzzo himself left early on the morning of the 8th, with such speed that he did not wait a moment for the documents requisite for his mission. These were conveyed by an Imperial courier on the 10th of June to the ambassador Vega.[1]

Verallo's reports from the 1st to the 4th of June, which reached Rome on the 9th, finally dispelled the doubts which had never ceased to prevail in the Curia of the Emperor's firm intention of beginning the war. Cattaneo arrived on the evening of the 13th, followed on the 18th by the courier, whereupon Vega made haste to see the Pope. On the evening of the 19th of June Cardinal Madruzzo's arrival was also announced. He was received at once on the following morning, together with Vega, by the Pope. Paul III. seized this opportunity to complain of the long delay, and to bring up his old grievances against Charles V.: the keeping back of the Imperial recognition of Pier Luigi as Duke of Parma and Piacenza, the disputes over prize cases in Spain, the tenths in Naples, and the maintenance of the Pragmatic. Madruzzo was not slow in offering tranquillizing assurances on all these points.[2]

As the consent of the Cardinals was one of the express

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 69, n. 1; Venet. Depeschen, I., 520; *cf.* KANNENGIESSER, Karl V. und Maximilian Egmont, Graf von Büren, Freiburg, 1895, 135 *seq.* The credentials prepared by Charles V. for Madruzzo and Vega, dated June 10, 1546, are given in Arch. Stor. Ital., 4th Series, XIX., 442 *seq.*

[2] See DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 580 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 88, n. 1; *cf. ibid.*, xi.

conditions of the alliance, the treaty had to be laid before a general congregation. This took place on the 22nd of June in the palace of S. Marco, the summer residence of the Pope. The French and Venetian Cardinals raised such strong opposition that Paul III. found himself compelled to intervene personally in the discussion. He was supported in particular by Madruzzo, who was a warm advocate of the war. The opposition's chief objection was to the sale of the Spanish Church property; at last it was generally agreed that this point should be allowed to drop, the Pope being left to his own discretion to find out some other equivalent. The treaty thereupon was accepted unanimously.[1] In drafting the document, the alteration above mentioned was not taken into consideration, in order to avoid any fresh delay, only, at the end of the treaty a supplementary note was added that by the June named as the future starting-point of the campaign the current month of June 1546 was meant. In this form the document was signed on the 26th of June by Paul III. in the presence of Madruzzo and Vega.[2] The day before, Cardinal Farnese had been nominated in a consistory *Legatus a latere* to the Emperor and the army.[3] On July the 4th a solemn ceremony took place in the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli,

[1] Together with Maffei's report of June 23, 1546, first made use of by DE LEVA (IV., 67), see also the Acta Consist. and the other reports published by FRIEDENSBURG in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 90, n. 1, as well as DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 565, 582. The news of the acceptance of the treaty in consistory reached Ratisbon on July 3, 1546 (see Venet. Depeschen, I., 561; *ibid.*, 677, for the attempts of the Venetian ambassador in Rome to influence the Cardinals against the treaty with Charles).

[2] See KANNENGIESSER, Die Kapitulation zwischen Karl V. und Paul III. (reprinted from the Festschrift des Protest. Gymnasiums zu Strasbourg, 1888), 215 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 576–578.

[3] See Acta Consist. in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 90, n. 1.

when Cardinal Farnese received the Legatine cross, and Ottavio Farnese was appointed commander-in-chief of the army and received the marshal's staff and the standard of war "against the Lutherans."[1] The most complete arrangements for the conveyance of the subsidies and the equipment of the troops were made at once.[2] There was all the greater necessity for despatch as the Emperor was placed in a position of great difficulty.

Charles V. had from the beginning surveyed the coming events with the greatest circumspection. In a confidential letter to his sister Maria, of the 9th of June 1546, he described the situation as one that was most favourable to him. "The war against the Duke of Brunswick has drained the Protestant finances. In Saxony and Hesse the greatest discontent prevails both among the nobles and the other subjects, who are tired of being kept in grinding poverty and bitterest serfdom. Then the Protestants are split up into different sects, and ample help is promised by the Pope. Further, I have hopes even of inducing some of the Protestant princes, such as Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg, to submit in matters of religion to the Council." He intended accordingly to begin the war by attacking the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse as destroyers of the public peace, and to justify his action by their conduct towards the Duke of Brunswick. Even if this pretext, he thought, did not prevent his opponents from thinking that the war was one of religion, yet it was through this pretext in any case that he would cut them off.[3]

[1] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1546, n. 105, and also other sources in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 98, n. 1; CASIMIRO, Aracoeli, 328, must also be added.

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xiv *seq.*, 97 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*

[3] LANZ, II., 486 *seq.*

At the same time, this first reckoning was to some extent mistaken. The Emperor certainly won over by secret agreements Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Margraves Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin and Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and also secured the neutrality of the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg; but South Germany remained true to the Schmalkaldic League, and armed with such rapidity that they might have forestalled Charles's attack. Even before war was declared, the Emperor found himself in Ratisbon already in serious danger from his enemies. While his troops lay at great distances in the Netherlands, Italy, and Hungary, or were gathering at the recruiting grounds of South Germany, the foe already had at his disposal in the immediate neighbourhood squadrons and regiments fit to take the field.

But the incapacity of the Schmalkaldic League was still greater than its strength. In the Commentaries, in which Charles enumerates with satisfaction the defects of his enemies, he speaks of them as if God had smitten them with blindness.[1]

As a matter of fact, the Schmalkaldic forces in the first weeks of the war might easily have obtained the victory if they had only understood in any degree how to avail themselves of the exceptionally great advantages of the situation. Their complete self-deception with regard to the attitude of Bavaria was of most momentous import to them. For long they never once suspected that Duke William IV. was in alliance with the Emperor, and even later never realized it with perfect certainty. They trusted Chancellor Eck that Bavaria would remain neutral and keep watch to see on which side fortune was leaning.[2] In

[1] Commentaires, 127.

[2] See RIEZLER, Gesch. Bayerns, IV., 350, 353, 354.

consequence the bold dash of the first detachment of the Oberland Leaguers, led by Schärtlin von Burtenbach and Schankwitz, was a failure. Their plan was to fall upon the Imperialist mustering-places in Upper Suabia, to seize the passes of the Tyrol, thus cutting off the Emperor's communications with Italy, and afterwards even to make a raid on the Council at Trent. On the 9th of July Schärtlin had already taken Füssen, but durst not follow up the Imperialists as they retired over the adjacent Bavarian frontier, since the order had come from Augsburg that they were not to push Bavaria into the arms of the enemy by a violation of the supposed neutrality of that power. Schankwitz on the night of July the 10th captured the strong Ehrenberger pass near Reutte, and afterwards had already pressed on to Lermoos when he also received counter-orders. The council of war at Ulm did not wish to anger Ferdinand, of whose neutrality they had hopes. As any further advance of Schärtlin's troops would become a source of danger to Ulm and Augsburg, he was obliged on July the 14th to fall back with all his forces.[1]

The Schmalkaldic forces now turned their thoughts to an entire concentration of their military strength, to be followed by an advance on the Emperor, who was still sojourning in Ratisbon. On July the 20th Schärtlin joined forces with the Wurtembergers and took Donauwörth; during the 3rd and 4th of August the Saxons and Hessians came up to that city with the South German contingent. The approximate numbers of the Schmalkaldic army now amounted to 30,000 foot soldiers, 4600 horsemen, and

[1] *Cf.* LADURNER, Der Einfall des Schmalkaldner in Tirol (Archiv für Gesch. Tirols, I., 145 *seq.*); EGELHAAF, II., 467 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 627 *seq.* See also Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 109 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*

about a hundred guns.[1] They greatly outnumbered the Imperialists.

Charles V. had made use of the breathing-space given him by his enemies, by gathering about him reinforcements. By the 3rd of August he thought that Ratisbon might be abandoned without danger. On the 4th he entered Landshut, where he hoped to effect a conjunction with the auxiliary troops called out of Italy. For the Schmalkaldic army everything depended on preventing this combination. But even this favourable opportunity for snatching victory was allowed to slip through their hands; not merely were they hindered at every step by consideration for Bavaria, but they were wanting in the self-sacrifice, spirit, and confidence which their cause demanded. Saxony and Hesse had brought no war funds; they thought they had done enough in adding their troops to those of the South Germans. The cities were getting tired of paying out moneys, and thought that the Word of God cost much too dear, that it would have been better to have stayed at home and come to some compact with the Emperor. When the hopes of foreign assistance proved illusory, the boastful assurances of victory with which they had started gave place to deep despondency. To the want of the necessary money, for which the plunder of churches and convents did not suffice, there was added the lack of unity among their leaders. What the impetuous Landgrave wished was displeasing to the slow-moving Elector; what Schärtlin von Burtenbach counselled was rejected by both.[2] Before the Schmalkaldic leaders had come to a decision, Charles

[1] See the investigations of LE MANG, Die Darstellung der Schmalkaldischen Krieges in den Denkwürdigkeiten Karls V., I., Jena, 1890, 25, n. 7, 61, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 638 *seq*

had joined hands with the expedition sent out of Italy by the Pope.[1]

This consisted of 10,000 infantry and more than 700 light cavalry. The latter, with Giovanni Battista Savelli at their head, entered Landshut on the 7th of August; the infantry appeared three days later, but were so exhausted by the long march that a rest was imperative. The commander-in-chief, Ottavio Farnese, waited on Charles V. on the 11th of August, and was received with the utmost marks of respect; two days later the order of the Golden Fleece was conferred upon him. He afterwards paraded his troops before the Emperor, who was highly delighted with their eminently soldierly appearance. "The men," wrote Verallo to Rome, "have surpassed all our expectations."[2] By this accession of strength and other reinforcements Charles was now numerically superior to his enemies, against whom he now published the Ban dated the 20th of July.[3]

On the 26th of August Charles occupied a well-fortified camp on the plains before the Bavarian frontier fortress of Ingolstadt. The enemy directed their fire on city and camp, but did not venture on an open attack. Their retirement, which began on September the 4th, was in glaring contradiction to the bombastic and insulting language of the letter of defiance which they had just delivered to the Emperor. Thus in the moral scale also

[1] The French court had counted it a certainty that the Schmalkaldic League would prevent this; see the *letter of Bishop Dandino of Imola to the Cardinal Camerlengo, dat. Fontainebleau, Aug. 8, 1546, Nunz. di Francia, 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxii *seq.*, 186 *seq.*; *cf.* also Mocenigo in the Fontes rer. Austr., XXX., 125 *seq.*, who criticises severely the choice of commanders (*cf.* p. 137). The names of all the captains of the Italian auxiliaries in MANENTE, 285 *seq.*

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 185, 197.

Charles was superior.[1] Failure also attended the attempt of the Schmalkaldic forces to cut off the supports coming to the Emperor from the Netherlands under the command of Maximilian Egmont, the Count of Büren. On the 15th of September Egmont's force joined that of the Emperor, who had now at his disposal over 50,000 infantry and 14,000 cavalry.[2] Notwithstanding his superiority, Charles was determined not to stake all on one throw; his plan was rather to keep the enemy in check and wear him out financially. The situation of the latter grew worse; the help which they had solicited from Denmark, France, and England never came, while even their strong hope that the Turks would open a way of relief to them was unfulfilled. The Emperor took Donauwörth, Dillingen, and Lauingen; the Schmalkaldic forces fell back until they took up their position about the middle of October in a fortified camp to the north of Ulm near Giengen. Here they remained inactive for six weeks while Charles lay encamped at Lauingen. Many fell victims on both sides to disease, the rough autumnal German weather telling with special severity on the unacclimatized Spaniards and Italians; the latter troops gradually melted away from sickness and desertion.[3] The Emperor refused to be drawn into a battle; his dogged caution was to crown his banners with victory.

At the end of October a new aspect of the Emperor's widespread plans was disclosed. Duke Maurice of Saxony

[1] See RIEZLER in Der Abhandl. der bayr. Akad. der Wissensch., XXI. (1895), 211; BEZOLD, 780; EGELHAAF, II., 470; LENZ in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXXVI., 467.

[2] *Cf.* KANNENGIESSER, Karl V. und Maximilian Egmont, Graf von Büren, Freiburg, 1895.

[3] For the wholesale desertion of Italians on the departure of Cardinal Farnese, see Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 310, n. 1, 312, n. 2.

declared war against his cousin John Frederick, and put into execution the Ban which had been pronounced against him. It was not, however, by the Saxon catastrophe that the war was decided against the fortunes of the Schmalkaldic League, but by their financial necessities. "The promised French money," wrote Philip of Hesse, "did not come. Wurtemberg and the cities cannot and will not give any, Saxony and ourselves have none; therefore we must give in."[1] On the 23rd of November the confederates broke up at Giengen. The Landgrave made haste home through Wurtemberg "to his two wives," as Schärtlin scornfully remarked; the Elector plundered on his way back weak dependencies of the Empire, whether, like Gmünd, Mayence, and Fulda, they were Catholic, or, like Frankfort, Protestant.[2]

The retreat of the Schmalkaldic forces quite unexpectedly made the Imperialist troops, who from wet, cold, and sickness were in a very precarious position, masters of the field. The war on the Danube was brought to a victorious close without a battle, almost without a skirmish, through the circumspection and iron persistency of Charles, who had displayed throughout great tranquillity and confidence. Seldom was a contest begun on the one side with greater braggadocio and carried out with greater incompetency. The strange spectacle was witnessed of an army originally the stronger retreating without having struck a blow, finally separating and hurrying homewards in rapid flight.

Scarcely had the Emperor entered on his victory than the cities and princes of southern Germany began to compete in abject entreaties for grace and pardon. Charles V. for-

[1] ROMMEL, Urkundenbuch, 262–263; *cf.* EGELHAAF, II., 475 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschr., XXXVI., 76; LXXVII., 468.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 648 *seq.*; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 364 *seq.*, 375.

gave, but he made the guilty pay roundly for the cost of war. In matters of religion he believed that at first in southern Germany general toleration must be observed.[1] This position, in which the Pope justly saw a violation of the treaty of June, was followed by other questions also which led afresh to serious breaches of amity with the Holy See.

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 650 *seq.*; EGELHAAF, II., 477.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dissensions between Paul III. and Charles V.

The insecurity of the foundations on which the friendship between Charles V. and Paul III. rested was shown by the circumstance that, while the signatures of the treaty of June 1546 were scarcely dry, fresh differences emerged. The old suspicions and exorbitant demands on the part of the Emperor raised barriers in all directions to a permanent understanding.

Charles V., in the first place, was offended that Paul III., in spite of the pleadings of Cardinal Madruzzo, would not consent to an extension in time of the obligations laid upon him by the treaty. Madruzzo, on the other hand, obtained the Pope's consent to the wishes of Charles with regard to the disbursement of the moneys in Trent and the attribution of the half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands.[1] Nevertheless, the Emperor was not satisfied. From the first he had assiduously placed the political motives for his hostile action against the Protestants in the foreground, while endeavouring to veil, in fact to repudiate, the religious motives. Since there were cogent reasons for this behaviour, he could not but feel aggrieved that in Rome the ecclesiastical objects of the war in common were emphasized unceasingly, and in

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xii *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 154, n. 1., the Bull, dated already Aug. 11, 1546, relating to the Church revenues of the Netherlands.

the briefs to the Kings of France and Poland, the Doge of Venice, the German archbishops and bishops, and the University of Louvain an open summons was given to a crusade against the German heretics.[1] In reply to this, however, the Pope could point out that Charles V. himself had demanded that the treaty should be discussed in consistory; and that the briefs, at the urgent request of the German ambassador, had been so discussed before they were sent off.[2] The Emperor's complaint that the treaty of June had been communicated to the Swiss Confederation was justified. In this way the German Protestants received authentic information concerning the object of the blow directed against them, and they did not hesitate to use the weapon placed in their hands to incite their co-religionists. The breach of confidence which this involved was inexcusable, and can only be explained on the assumption that Paul III., never free from suspicion, wished to make any agreement between Charles and the Protestants impossible.[3]

How little confidence was placed in the Emperor is evident from the fact that Verallo in the beginning of August 1546 recommended some consideration to be shown for his wishes in the affairs of the Council, since otherwise it was to be feared that some hurtful agreement might be made with the Protestants and Granvelle's threat of a national council be carried out.[4] Under these cir-

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1546, n. 58 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 98, n. 2, 122.

[2] See Farnese's letters in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 457, 465 *seq.* That the Protestants must have become aware of the alliance through the discussions in consistory is insisted upon by BROSCH in the Mitteil. des Österr. Instituts, XXIII., 136. *Cf.* also DE LEVA, IV., 159.

[3] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 622; KANNENGIESSER, Die Kapitulation zwischen Karl V. und Paul III., 23 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxxii.

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 172.

cumstances the nuncio and his master in Rome looked with misgiving on the cautious policy of Charles and his attempts to win over a portion of his adversaries by concessions.

The Pope's distrust, eagerly fomented by the French,[1] was in reality not unjustified, for the guarantees in matters of religion by which Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Margraves Hans von Brandenburg-Cüstrin and Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach were gained, could not be brought into accord with the treaty of June.[2] If Paul III. had heard of these agreements at once he might then have complained with much greater right of the non-fulfilment of the treaty, as Charles did with regard to the immediate payment of the war funds. The difficulties in this connection, as well as those regarding the compensation for the alienation of the Spanish Church property objected to by the Cardinals, were removed in essential points by the arrival of Farnese accredited as Cardinal-Legate to the forces. He was not, however, in a position to prevent further disputes over the management of the Italian auxiliaries and delays in their payment.[3]

Farnese, who had his first audience on arrival on the 24th of August 1546, also presented to the Emperor the Bull agreeing to the conveyance of the half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Netherlands. Charles V. thanked him, but declined to comply with the Legate's request of the 29th of August that he would openly declare the war to be a religious one. With regard to a series of minor contentions the Emperor promised redress.[4] He did not, however, go beyond fair words. The pettiness of Charles

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 107, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 622-624.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxx *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 205 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*

in shelving any arrangement in matters of trifling consequence caused an annoyance which was all the more bitter as the Pope was conscious that in all primary points he had discharged his heavy obligations.

Paul III. and his family had to learn that the hopes which they had cherished of greater consideration on the Emperor's part for their private wishes were not in the way of realization. The disappointment was all the greater as they had reckoned on the Emperor's gratitude for the very substantial assistance brought to him at a most critical moment by the Papal troops.[1] Instead of this, Granvelle came forward with reiterated complaints of the communication of the treaty to the Swiss. Charles V., however, showed himself only too much inclined to lay the personal responsibility for the daily grievances arising among the Italian soldiery on the Pope himself, who, he thought, was intentionally causing him difficulties in all directions.[2]

The extraordinary distrust with which the two heads of Christendom regarded each other, although the general situation demanded imperatively the best understanding, received its worst illustration in their mutual attitude over the affairs of the Council.

The war between the Emperor and the Schmalkaldic League was bound to react upon the Synod in session at Trent. The news of the capture of the Ehrenberger pass by Schärtlin von Burtenbach had caused such terror in that

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix, No. 31, Cardinal G. Gonzaga's *letter of July 23, 1546 (Vatican Library).

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxi, 227. Friedensburg observes on the mutual distrust of Charles V. and Paul III.: "Neither of the two trusted the other; each stood suspiciously on his guard and scrutinized closely the steps of his partner, always anxious lest the latter should gain an advantage over him, and therefore disinclined to make any concession above and beyond what was absolutely necessary."

city that many of the Fathers thought of immediate flight.[1] On July the 15th, 1546, as the doctrine of justification had now undergone thorough examination, four bishops were appointed in the general congregation to draw up the decree on that subject. The discussion then proceeded, in the course of which Cardinal Pacheco spoke. But when it came to the turn of Archbishop Jacopo Cauco of Corfù, the latter declared that he had not supposed that they would be discussing justification that day, but more probably, in view of the danger from the war, a removal or a suspension of the Council. The Archbishops of Siena and Matera[2] also dwelt upon the danger. The Legates themselves, in a letter of the 25th of June 1546 to Cardinal Farnese, had called attention to the distressing situation of the Council. They said it was neither decorous nor without danger to remain so close to the assembling of troops and fanatical enemies. There were no means in Trent of repelling an attack threatened by friends of the Lutheran party in the Grisons, an attack which was all the more sure of success as that canton had sympathizers in Trent itself, Verona, Vicenza, and other neighbouring places. But even the soldiery who were friendly to them would be burdensome owing to the decreasing supply of provisions; they covered the country like hordes of locusts; an assembly of defenceless clergy would be in a sad plight under such circumstances. It seemed at the least a hard demand to make upon them that amid such anxieties they should devote their attention to conciliar deliberations.[3]

The Pope, however, was not at all well pleased with the Legates' suggestion that the seat of the Council should be removed. The Emperor had repeatedly made known his

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 560.

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 89; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 5.

[3] DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 566; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 5.

wish that the Council during the war should under any circumstances continue assembled in Trent.[1] Paul III. was determined not to embroil himself at any price with Charles over this question at the very moment when he had entered into alliance with him to bring the Protestants into forcible submission to the Council. The Legates therefore received orders to remain in Trent, and to proceed with the deliberations. How disagreeable such instructions were is shown by a letter from Cervini to the Papal secretary Maffei of the 8th of July. Cervini declared that he bowed to the Pope's will, but expressed his fear that the time might come when it would be the business of the mail-clad Emperor to prescribe to the Council the course of its proceedings. Yet the Pope held fast by his determination, once for all expressed, that he would not for a moment consent to the proposal of the Legates that the sessions should be suspended on account of the approaching passage of troops;[2] on the other hand, he was not willing to meet the further wish of the Emperor, who was still pressing for a cessation of the dogmatic discussions. As long as the Synod in Trent remained open, it must continue, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, to carry out its tasks fully.

On the 21st of July Paul gave instructions to Cardinal Farnese, then on his way to join as Legate the Imperial army, that he might represent to Charles, if the latter demanded the avoidance of dogmatic questions, that such an interruption of the activities of the Council would only then be possible if the Council were transferred to some other spot.[3]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxxiii, 70.

[2] PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 5.

[3] See Cardinal Santafiora's letter to Farnese of July 21, 1546, in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 135 *seq.* On July 23 the same Cardinal wrote

The timorous Cervini again broached the subject of removal when Cardinal Farnese as Legate passed through the southern Tyrol with the Papal troops. Farnese's illness at Rovereto gave Cervini an opportunity of discussing the matter with him thoroughly. As Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga informed Camillo Capilupi, Cervini set before the Legate in such vivid colours the danger of Charles becoming supreme over the Council, as he would be supreme in the approaching war, that Farnese was won over to the proposal for a removal of the Council, and in that sense reported to Rome.[1] It seems that hopes were entertained there that Charles might be induced to give his consent to a removal. This certainly was not to be thought of now; Charles clung to his determination that the Council should be a dummy to serve as a prop for his scheme of policy. If the Pope thought that this was more than he could consent to, his reasons were not difficult to understand. It would be beneath his dignity and a thing impossible in itself to require the Fathers of the Council to regulate their conduct by the dilatory course of German affairs and sit idle in Trent squandering time and money until the cast of the iron dice should have decided the Schmalkaldic war.[2]

As Cardinal Cervini was lingering by the sick-bed of Farnese in Rovereto and Pole had gone on already on the 28th of June to recuperate his feeble health at

again that the Pope consented to a translation, but only in case of necessity, and if a continuance at Trent was actually impossible. In case too long a time would be required to enable him personally to make the necessary representations to the Emperor, he gave permission to send a prelate of high standing to Charles V., entrusted with this task. Ferrara and Lucca were to be proposed to the Emperor as suitable places (*ibid.*, IX., 141 *seq.*).

[1] *Cf.* Cardinal E. Gonzaga's *letter to C. Capilupi of Aug. 13, 1546, Cod. Barb. Lat., 5793, f. 157[b], Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., XIX., 182.

Padua,[1] Cardinal del Monte was left the sole President of the Council. His position was not an enviable one. Seeing that the Pope was opposed to any postponement of the sittings, he had proposed in the general congregation of the 28th of July to hold the session and there publish the dogmatic decree as it stood. Pacheco, on the contrary, with the almost unanimous consent of the Fathers, asked for a postponement of the session, and that too contrary to the view taken by del Monte that the prorogation should be indefinite. In opposition to Pacheco, the Archbishops of Corfù and Matera, Cauco and Saraceni, declared themselves in favour of a translation of the Council. The former remarked that to stay in Trent under the existing conditions was to tempt Providence and to inflict great indignity on the whole Church ; moreover, he had no doubt that if the Emperor were informed of the true state of affairs he certainly would be the first to approve of a removal of the Council to some safer place. At these words he was violently interrupted by Cardinal Pacheco exclaiming: "Speak to the business in hand, and do not digress upon the intentions of the Emperor, of which you know nothing." Cardinal del Monte, to whom the Archbishop's utterance of opinion had been by no means displeasing, refrained from calling the latter to order, and thereby brought on a passage of words between himself and Pacheco. The latter displayed no little excitement. Some of the Spanish bishops emulated him in violence of language, and it taxed the Legate to the utmost to restore calm.[2] In a

[1] As Pole's illness was protracted he was released on Oct. 27, 1546, from his Legatine duties and recalled to Rome (PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 7). It is certain that then, and for some time longer, Pole was in very bad health owing to the climate of Trent (see REUMONT in Theol. Literaturbl., 1870, 997).

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 95–97 ; PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 7.

letter of July the 29th the conciliar Legates represented to Verallo that, in view of the war, a removal of the Council seemed advisable, as otherwise it was to be feared that it might dissolve itself. They named as suitable places Ferrara or Lucca.[1]

On the 30th of July the general congregation continued the discussion of the decree on justification. At the close of the sitting Pacheco again demanded the appointment of a fixed day for the next sitting. As del Monte, who was again sole President, opposed him, the Imperialist Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco attacked him in the most reckless fashion. Madruzzo allowed himself to go so far as to accuse del Monte of conduct unbecoming a Christian, taunting him at last on his plebeian origin. The assembly broke up amid great excitement without having come to any decision.[2]

This outburst on the part of the Imperialists was exactly calculated to precipitate what, in the interests of Charles V., they wished to prevent. Del Monte, deeply chagrined at the contempt of his authority, was now more than ever in favour of a removal of the Council from Trent, where the authority of an Imperial master seemed to be quite as dangerous as the peril from foreign enemies. Madruzzo himself perceived that his anger had carried him too far; Cervini, on his return from Rovereto on the 31st of July, made warm representations to him. The incident was also made the subject of conversation with the Cardinal-Legate Farnese, who arrived in Trent on the 2nd of August. The result was surprising. On the 3rd of August Bishop Pietro Bertano of Fano, as representing not the Council but the Legates only, yet with the approval of Madruzzo and Pacheco, was sent to the Imperial court with the object of

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 155 *seq.*

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 98–100; PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 7.

favourably disposing Charles to the removal of the Council to Ferrara, Lucca, or Siena.[1] On the following day Achille de' Grassi was despatched to Rome to inform the Pope more thoroughly of the state of affairs. Bertano did not get far. In Brixen he met Aurelio Cattaneo, secretary to the Cardinal of Trent, returning from the Emperor's court. From him he received so vivid an account of the irritation shown by Charles at the proposal to translate the Council[2] that he was convinced of the futility of his mission and on August the 4th turned back to Trent. De' Grassi also was recalled thither by a special messenger, to be again sent forth on the 6th of August with the most recent information. He was the bearer of a letter to the Pope from Cervini, dated August the 5th, containing a report of the threatening language in which the Emperor had inveighed against him.[3] At the same time the Legates forwarded to Verallo a document of the 5th of August exculpating themselves, and Cervini in particular, from the charge of endeavouring to bring about the dissolution of the Council.[4] On the 7th of August Bertano also left for Rome, sent by Madruzzo.[5]

[1] His instructions are in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 589 *seq.*

[2] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 565. For the Emperor's anger and his repeated threats of vengeance on Cervini, whom he considered the chief culprit in the matter of the translation of the Council, *cf.* also Verallo's reports: to Farnese, July 30, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 163 *seq.*); to the Legates, July 31 (*ibid.*, 163 *seq.*, n.); to Santafiora, Aug. 7 (*ibid.*, 177 *seq.*; here an utterance of Granvelle is reported repeating the threat of a national council). On Aug. 12 Mendoza spoke to the Legates about the Emperor's temper (Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 566).

[3] *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 565; PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 8, n. 3; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 179 *seq.*, n. 4. Besides Cervini's letter to the Pope of Aug. 5 (not 15), *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 163. n. 2; MERKLE, I., 567, n. 1.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 590–592.

[5] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 566.

In the meantime, on the night of August the 7th, Montemerlo, Farnese's secretary, had arrived in Trent. He brought to the Legates, together with a letter from Cardinal Santafiora of the 3rd and 4th of August, in which Lucca was recommended, a Bull dated the 1st of August 1546 conveying full powers, in the case of prolonged continuance in Trent becoming impossible, to translate the Synod to some more suitable place with the consent of the Fathers or of a majority.[1]

Montemerlo was also authorized to show a letter from Santafiora to Verallo in which the latter was instructed to inform the Emperor of the proposed translation, while avoiding any appearance of soliciting his approval. The Legates were to use their discretion whether this open letter should be forwarded or not to its destination.[2] The Imperialist Cardinals and Mendoza received the communication with strong disapproval. Farnese, with the consent of the Legates, came to an understanding with them that neither should the translation be decided upon nor the letter to Verallo forwarded until they had once more received a reply from the Pope to the reports to be presented to him by Farnese and the Legates, in the meanwhile, the Council was to continue its labours in the congregations.[3] The plan of bringing the question of translation before the next general congregation was abandoned by the Legates on the receipt of a written

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 170 *seq.*, n. 2; see also PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 8, n. 4.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 171, n.

[3] Farnese to Paul III., dat. Trent, Aug. 9, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 179–182); the Legates to Santafiora, dat. Aug. 9, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, 181 *seq.*, n. 3). Cervini in a confidential letter to Maffei written at this time urged that the present opportunity should not be neglected and no postponement be permitted (*ibid.*, 182, n.).

expostulation from Farnese, who had left Trent on the 10th of August. On the contrary, del Monte, on the 13th of August, after an introductory address tending to allay the apprehensions of the Fathers for their safety in Trent, ordered the discussion of the decree on justification to be resumed.[1]

A letter of Bishop de' Nobili of Accia is descriptive of the situation then existing. He speaks strongly of the great disinclination of the Legates and a large number of the Fathers to see the work of the Synod obstructed by the Emperor's insistence that the decree on justification should not take shape out of consideration for the Protestants. It is matter of complaint, writes de' Nobili, that the Council has been deprived of its freedom, many Fathers on that account have left, others make the best of the situation.[2] In letters to Santafiora of the 16th and 17th of August the Legates complain that the Imperialists assiduously protract the work of the sittings, and beg to be removed from their posts.[3]

Paul III. displayed great indignation on hearing Cattaneo and Bertano's account of the attitude of Charles V. and of his threatening language towards Cervini. He also spoke very angrily of Madruzzo, accusing him of having incited the Emperor against the Legates.[4] It was only with great reluctance that the Pope made up his mind to defer the translation of the Council for a while. Already on the 16th of August he had, through Santafiora, renewed the authority given to the Legates to take this step, provided it conformed to the voice of the majority. They were,

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 566 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 8, n. 5.

[2] See EHSES in the Rom. Quartalschr., XIX., 182.

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 183, n.; MERKLE, I., 568, n. 2.

[4] PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 10, n. 2.

however, if possible, without delaying the opportunity for removal, to proceed as far as they could with the decrees on justification and the residence of bishops and to have them settled in their entirety or in part.[1] On the following day, however, news reached Rome that in the event of a translation the Emperor intended to come to an understanding with the Protestants, or to take steps to constitute a national council. Upon this the Pope resolved, all convinced though he was of the necessity of a translation, to meet the Emperor so far as to detain the Council at Trent for some time longer and to settle the decrees under consideration. Farnese was to use his influence to obtain from Charles a declaration that he would consent to the translation taking place at the end of September or the middle of October. The Legates in the meantime were to secure the consent of the prelates so as to be certain of having a majority in favour of the translation at any time at which the Pope might announce a fresh decision respecting it. These instructions were communicated to Farnese and the Legates on the 17th of August.[2] On the 24th Santafiora wrote to Farnese[3] that the Council must be moved at the latest by the end of October; the Emperor

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 191, n. 1. On Aug. 14, 1546, Vinc. Parenzi wrote from Rome to Lucca, that Lucca was one of the four cities in which eventually the Council would be held. The Government of Lucca wrote on Aug. 20 to Cardinal Guidiccioni requesting him to ask the Pope to omit their city from the number (State Archives, Lucca). The pros and cons for holding the Council in Ferrara were considered in a *letter from Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. Mantua, Aug. 17, 1546, Cod. Barb. Lat., 5793, f. 161 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] Santafiora to Farnese, dat. Aug. 17, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 191–193); Santafiora to the Legates (*ibid.*, 193, n. 1); *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c 10, n. 2.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 202 *seq.*

must also be led to ponder the danger of a schism arising if the aged Pope were to die while the Council sat at Trent.[1]

The Legates, taking into consideration the repugnance shown by the prelates to a much longer continuance in Trent, would gladly have taken their votes at once in the general congregation on the question of translation and then have awaited the subsequent orders of the Pope.[2] They would not have been displeased even if the order prohibiting the Fathers to leave the Council on their own initiative had been relaxed, so that the necessity of a translation to avoid dissolution from within might have been proved by facts. But the Pope, mindful of the negotiations with the Emperor then in the air, refused his assent to both suggestions.[3] The negotiations led to nothing. Farnese attempted in vain in an audience on the 29th of August in the camp at Ingoldstadt to win the Emperor's approval of a translation to Lucca.[4] Charles explained to the Legate that the presence of the Council in Trent was exactly the one thing essential to the assured success of his operations in the field, so that Farnese for the moment could only declare that he would advise the

[1] PALLAVICINI (l. 8, c. 12, n. 2) thinks that the principal reason, although not openly expressed in their correspondence with Rome, which led the Legates to wish for a translation of the Council was their anxiety lest the Pope should die suddenly. In that case the freedom of election would be endangered if the Council were being held in a place where the influence of the princes was so powerful.

[2] The Legates to Farnese, dat. Aug. 20, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte IX., 193, n. 3).

[3] PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 10, n. 3.

[4] Farnese to Paul III., dat. Ingolstadt, Aug. 30, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 210–212). That Lucca, in the letter to Santafiora of Aug. 28 (PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 8, n. 2), had already written to decline. could not yet have been known to Farnese (*cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 210, n. 5). Further discussion took place on Sept. 3 between Granvelle and Verallo in place of the sick Legate (*ibid.*, 222–224).

Pope to order the Synod to continue its sittings there for some weeks longer, under the assumption that it was now a certainty that after that the translation might be undertaken. To the conciliar Legates Farnese wrote on the 31st of August[1] that for the present they must not move in the matter. Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg also warned them with reference to existing circumstances, in a letter of the 31st of August, what the consequences of a translation would be.[2] Farnese found the Emperor, in consequence of the tardy progress of the war, in a less uncompromising mood on September the 8th.[3] The latter still declared that under the conditions of the moment all talk of a translation was out of the question, but he thought that perhaps later on the matter might admit of discussion when it had become apparent what the further course of the campaign would be.

The Pope was exceedingly mortified by the attitude of Charles V. In the beginning of September he remarked in a discussion with the ambassador Vega: "You have not yet been victorious over the Protestants, and nevertheless your demands are already insupportable; what will your first step be when the Emperor is victorious? . . . "[4] Paul III. was unshaken in his determination that the translation should take place, and on the 11th of September,[5] in his reply to Farnese's first report, bade him repeatedly call attention to its necessity, adducing in particular, among other reasons, the danger of schism in the case of his

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 10, n. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Verallo to Santafiora, dat. Sept. 11, 1546, and Farnese to Santafiora, dat. Sept. 11, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 236 *seq.*).

[4] CAMPANA, 503.

[5] Santafiora to Farnese, dat. Sept. 11, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 246).

death.[1] On the 15th of September the Pope ordered a letter to be sent to the Legates [2] making urgent inquiries as to the prospects of a majority when the question came up for decision by the votes of the Council. On the 20th of September, Paul III., after an interview with the Imperial ambassador to discuss the Emperor's objection to the translation, directed Santafiora to write [3] that he still held by his opinion that the removal ought to take place by the middle of October; this Farnese was at liberty to communicate to the Emperor, who would appreciate the Pope's reasons, with which he was already previously acquainted. The conciliar Legates were again, in a letter from Santafiora of the 22nd of September,[4] requested to state what result they anticipated on submitting the question to the vote in the middle of October. In the meantime they were to push on as far as possible the decree on justification as well as that on episcopal residence, so that it might not appear as if the Council were going to rise from its labours in order to evade reform.

Further difficulties at this time were raised, to the Pope's annoyance, by Francis I.,[5] who refused to consent to the choice of an Imperial city, but on the contrary wished the Council to be transferred to Avignon whither, he promised, he could induce even the English and Lutherans to come.

[1] *Cf.* also Maffei's letter to Farnese, dat. Oct. 14, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 288, n. 1).

[2] Santafiora to the Legates, dat. Sept. 15, 1546 (extract, *ibid.*, 246, n. 2).

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 264, n. 1.

[4] *Cf. ibid.* The letter was brought to Trent on Sept. 26 by Vega's secretary, Marquina, who, at the ambassador's bidding, was on his way to the Imperial court.

[5] Maffei to Cervini, dat. Sept. 19, 1546 (*cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 10, n. 6); Maffei to Farnese, dat. Oct. 6, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 271).

On the 2nd of October Maffei wrote to Farnese[1] that in his opinion the Pope, in case of necessity, would decide on a further postponement of the translation in order to avoid the convocation of a national council by the Emperor or something even worse than that; Farnese, however, was to do all he could to overcome the opposition of the monarch; the latter might hand over the management of religious matters to the Pope, just as the Pope had left the management of the war to his Majesty. As the month of October was half over without any fresh news coming from Farnese concerning the matter, the Pope had conveyed to him the expression of his astonishment and the reiterated intimation that the time was now fully come to proceed on the grounds already mentioned.[2]

The Legates on their part were now no longer willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of deciding on the question of translation through the votes of the Council.[3] On the contrary, they proposed on the 9th of October[4] that the Pope should suspend the Council after the close of the approaching sitting and then summon the prelates to Rome in order to establish the remaining reforms with their approval and consent. A principal reason for this proposal was the repeated opposition, on the part of the Imperialist prelates, to the further consideration of the dogmatic decrees which the Legates had to encounter at this time. Paul III.'s treatment of this proposal was vacillating.

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 272.

[2] Santafiora to Farnese, dat. Oct. 14, 1546 (*ibid.*, 287 *seq.*). On Oct. 14, 18, and 20 Verallo reported to Santafiora on his and Farnese's further negotiations with Granvelle, which left the question on the old footing (*ibid.*, 293, 296 *seqq.*, 302 *seq.*).

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 15, n. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 10. In further confirmation of this opinion, which emanated from Cervini himself, the latter wrote on Oct. 9 a special letter to the Pope (*ibid.*).

On October the 14th Maffei wrote to Farnese[1] that his Holiness seemed disinclined to it. On the other hand, he wrote again on the 16th,[2] Paul III. for a time was against any alterations with regard to the Council, but that he approved of a suspension if it could be arranged without opposition and with the consent of the Imperialists. A letter of Maffei to Cervini of October the 16th[3] also expressed fears lest the matter should be carried out contrary to the decision of a majority in the Council.

On the 20th of October Maffei informed Farnese[4] that the Pope now intended, so as to avoid any cause of offence to the Emperor, to give no order himself for a translation or suspension of the Council but to leave the matter to the Council's own decision, as a measure whereby the continued attendance of the Imperialist prelates at the Synod would be secured; then he intended to convene prelates of different countries in Rome for the purpose of drawing up a draft of reform. In the same sense Santafiora wrote to the Legates on the 20th of October.[5] Three days later he gave them to understand[6] that they had better take steps towards suspension as quickly as possible, before the aspect of affairs underwent a change.

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 288, n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 15, n. 11; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxxvi *seq.*

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 300 *seq.*

[5] Since the suspension "a beneplacito di Sua Santita," as at first desired by the Pope, he adds, although certainly approved by the majority, was yet sure to meet with considerable opposition, while a suspension for a fixed period, not less however than six months, would be agreed to unanimously, the Legates ought to have full discretion as to the steps to be taken (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 300 *seq.*, n. 5).

[6] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 309, n. 1; *cf. ibid.*, xxxvii.

The Legates in their reply of the 25th of October,[1] besides pointing out that the favourable opportunity which had offered at the beginning of the month was over, urged in particular how dangerous it would be if the powers of self-suspension were to be recognized in the Council when, like those of summons and dissolution, they resided in the Pope alone; such a measure, moreover, could only be passed in a session, and for this they were not sufficiently prepared. They designed, however, to consider carefully several ways by which the Pope's intentions might be carried out. First of all they must play upon the Imperialists' fears of a translation in order to obtain their consent to a suspension as the lesser of two evils. Madruzzo undertook to apply this argument to Pacheco and Mendoza. Mendoza seemed even to be in agreement,[2] and held out prospects of the Emperor's consent.

The last accounts received, on the 28th of October, from Farnese before his return from Germany, through his secretary Antonio Elio,[3] who had been sent on in advance, were not favourable to suspension.[4] According to these the Emperor in opposing the project adhered to the reasons he had already expressed, although he did not intend thereby to dispute in any way the right of the Pope to adopt such a measure even without his consent. For the rest he no longer intended to oppose the wishes of Paul III. in respect of the future action of the Council whether in matters of dogma or of reform. Charles V.

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l 8, c. 15, n. 11; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 309, n. 1; *cf. ibid.*, xxxviii.

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 15, n. 12; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 347, n. 1.

[3] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 582.

[4] Farnese's instructions for Elio on making his report in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 609 *seqq.*

set forth his standpoint with greater precision in his instructions to Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza,[1] who at the end of October had been sent as ambassador-extraordinary to Rome. Charles herein declared that it had never been his intention to hinder the proceedings of the Council in the deliberations on the article on justification; what was of interest to him was that this subject should be examined and tested with the greatest thoroughness on account of its importance in relation to the Protestants. He therefore thought it also appropriate that fresh invitations from the Pope and the Legates should be sent to the German bishops requesting their attendance at the Council or at least, so far as they had legitimate excuses to offer, that of their theologians, especially those who had taken part in the religious conferences of time past and knew all the ins and outs of their opponents' machinations. He also thought that it might be well to submit the article on justification to the opinion of some of the universities, such as Paris or Louvain.

Besides the affairs of the Council, Mendoza was to treat of delay in the payment of the subsidies promised by Paul III. for the war against the Protestant Estates and the appointment of Verallo with plenipotentiary powers to execute the functions of Legate to the army, hitherto vested in Farnese. The Cardinal, who suffered severely from the unaccustomed climate of Germany, had already applied for recall, but out of consideration for the Emperor his request had been refused. Now at last, on the approach of

[1] Oct. 18, 1540 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 612 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, xxxiv *seq.*). The conciliar Legates, as they wrote to Santafiora on Nov. 10, had been informed by Diego de Mendoza of the mission of Juan de Mendoza and the nature of his commission concerning the Council (*cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 15, n. 13; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 348, n. z; MERKLE, I., 584, n. 1).

the cold season, permission was granted to him, and on the 25th of October 1546 he began his return journey to Italy. Two days previously he had his farewell audience. In this all the questions still at issue, especially the Council and the agreement with Francis I., came under discussion, and finally an opportunity was given to treat of an incident which affected the conflict of interests on both sides in the Italian Peninsula. This was the dispute between Pier Luigi Farnese and the Count del Verme of Romagnese, whom the viceroy of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, protected.[1]

The supremacy of Spain bore heavily on Italy. For this reason Paul III. from the beginning of his pontificate felt that both as Pope and as an Italian ruler he was bound to oppose the establishment in Milan of the authority of a sovereign who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Naples and Milan under one ruler threatened not merely the remains of Italian autonomy but the independence of the Holy See. Paul III. would have liked best to have seen Milan in the hands of a Farnese, or at any rate of an Italian, but if this presented itself as an impossibility, then a French would have been more desirable than an Imperial prince, as in the former case at least an equilibrium of forces would have been restored in Italy. The peace of Crespy stipulated that either the Netherlands or Milan should be held by the Duke of Orleans, son of Francis I. After the Duke's death (September the 8th, 1545) had made this engagement void it was not to be expected that Francis would rest quiet without some compensation for his baffled prospects. The King, in fact, did hold Savoy for himself for a while, but in this question "the interests of France lay hidden by those of the Pope, to whom the establishment of Imperial

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 310, n. 1; *cf.* Venet. Depeschen, II., 57, 60, 62-66.

preponderance in Italy could not be less insupportable than it was to the King."[1]

The conflict of interests in Italy had become more acute when Charles V. in April 1546 appointed Ferrante Gonzaga as viceroy of Milan. Paul III. had hoped that Ottavio Farnese, the Emperor's son-in-law, would have received this important post. Instead of the latter there came to Milan in the person of Gonzaga a man who was a bitter adversary of the house of Farnese and one who at a former time had cast covetous eyes on Parma and Piacenza.[2] Ferrante's brother, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, did all he could to keep this enmity alive;[3] no wonder the conflict with Pier Luigi, whose recognition as Duke of Parma and Piacenza the Emperor stubbornly declined, was an endless one. In this contention the Imperial diplomacy interfered in favour of Gonzaga.[4]

As Pier Luigi, to counteract the hostility of the Imperialists, attached himself to France, the situation grew even more strained. Ferrante urged Charles V. to put an end to the matter by expelling Pier Luigi from Parma and Piacenza. What under such circumstances would follow when Charles made himself completely master in Germany? The old dread felt by Paul III. grew more intense, kept alive as it was by the machinations of France. The Imperial supremacy was bound to react with the worst effects on the Farnese family, on the States of the Church, and on the Council.

While the conflict between Papal and Imperial interests

[1] FRIEDENSBURG'S opinion in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xlii.

[2] See GOSELLINI, Vita de F. Gonzaga, 14, 18; MAURENBRECHER, 115 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 32 the *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga of Oct. 13, 1546 (Vatican Library).

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xlv, 316, 317.

was reaching its sharpest point the position of the nuncio Verallo at the court of Charles was one of poignant distress. On the 12th of November 1546 the nuncio and Granvelle came into violent collision during an examination of their respective grievances. Granvelle complained of the lack of support given to his master by the Pope; he once more turned the discussion in an uncalled-for manner on the disclosure of the treaty of June to the Swiss. Verallo's attempts at an excuse were brushed aside by the Imperial minister, who demanded angrily that the Pope should show more zeal in his behaviour. On Verallo asking what then his Holiness was to do, Granvelle referred him to the mission of Mendoza. The nuncio replied that Paul III. would certainly do all that was possible, but reciprocity demanded that the Emperor on his side should make some advances to the Pope. "What advances? What advances?" cried Granvelle. "We would like to send him a whole army who should fire him a salvo and blow an alarm." In consequence of this scornful rebuff Verallo on his part also broke through his restraint and enumerated a series of points in which Charles V. had failed to show any compliance: the still unsettled incident of the prebend of Barletta, the encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Naples and Spain, and other instances. Granvelle replied that general affairs and private ought not to be mixed, and said threateningly that if the Pope did not give more thorough and more substantial support it would be necessary to find out other ways of safeguarding the Imperial interests. When the nuncio then brought forward Pier Luigi's quarrel with the Count del Verme the two diplomatists fell into a renewed altercation. In the eagerness of their dispute they both sprang from their seats, a circumstance which Granvelle made use of to close the interview and bow the nuncio politely out. In

the report which Verallo at once sent to Rome of this occurrence he drew the conclusion that Charles V. was bent on making his supremacy effective over the whole of Italy.[1]

The impression made in Rome by these and other communications need not be described. It was the extreme of unwisdom on the Emperor's part to exasperate and wound the Pope's feelings at the very moment when he was asking for a prolongation of the treaty. Cardinal Farnese, who was once more in Rome on the 10th of December, found the Pope still undecided but deeply hurt that even in such a small matter as that of the "spolia" of the bishopric of Badajoz the Emperor showed not the smallest desire to oblige him. Nor did the Pope feel less painfully Granvelle's behaviour over the quarrel between Pier Luigi and the Count del Verme. Verallo was instructed on the 13th of December to bring both matters once more before the Emperor. In this letter Farnese impressed on the nuncio the necessity of establishing a secure peace between Charles V. and Francis I. as that upon which everything else depended.[2]

For such a peace the Pope had been working ever since November with an earnestness [3] proportioned to the clearness with which he gauged the consequences of a breach between the two monarchs. In this case he was in conflict with France, as his alliance with the Emperor was still binding. It was therefore of great importance to him to induce the Emperor to withdraw from Piedmont as a concession to Francis I. By taking the part of the French King in this matter he put the latter under an obligation, a circumstance of double value while his relations with the

[1] See Verallo's letter of Nov. 12, 1546, *ibid.*, IX., 339 *seqq.*

[2] See Farnese's letter of Dec. 13, 1546, *ibid.*, 387 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, IX., xliii.

Emperor were so strained. As an intermediary in the cause of peace the Modenese, Gurone Bertano, was on the 5th of January 1547 sent to Germany.[1]

In the meantime the question had become urgent whether the alliance concluded with the Emperor should be prolonged or not. It appears that Cardinal Farnese was in favour of a further guarantee of help, while the Pope from the first had leaned to a contrary opinion.[2] He was principally influenced by his old fear of the Emperor's supremacy, but also by the little inclination displayed by the latter for a peace with France.[3] Therefore, since the outbreak of another Franco-Imperial war seemed probable, Paul III. was confronted with the danger of being drawn into the strife with results in the sphere of politics and of ecclesiastical affairs which no man could foresee.

At the time of Farnese's mission to Germany Paul III., fully realizing this danger, had instructed him to bring his influence to bear on Charles V. in favour of a final peace with Francis. He had been untiring in pointing out to the Imperialist as well as to the French representatives in Rome the necessity of such a peace, had ordered the nuncio to work in the same sense,[4] and finally, when all else had proved vain, had sent Bertano. Until this question was settled Paul III. could not make up his mind to prolong his alliance with the Emperor. There was the further consideration that after the news of the war in Germany, received in December, a turn in affairs had

[1] See PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 130, 189 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 412 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 413, n. 1.

[3] For the Emperor's motives, see Nuntiaturberichte, XI., xlii-xliii.

[4] *Ibid.*, xliii-xliv, 335, n. 1.

taken place which apparently made the Emperor much more independent than hitherto of assistance.[1] The state of the Papal finances also threw weight into the scale. The despatch and upkeep of the Pope's contingent had cost 300,000 ducats.[2] How was it possible for the Pope, who had to bear also the burden of the not inconsiderable expenses of the Council, to produce the immense sums demanded by a fresh war? Finally, and this may well have been the master motive, the Pope was full of distrust of the intentions of Charles, who had addressed to Verallo the language of menace.[3] What had been gained by the great sacrifices already made? The answer did not admit of doubt. Simply that the political power of the Emperor had been greatly strengthened, while in matters of religion, even after his successes in south Germany, a state of uncertainty prevailed.

Apart from Cologne, where the removal of Hermann von Wied was rendered possible,[4] the Catholic cause at first derived very little advantage from the swing of the pendulum. The restoration[5] of a few convents in Wurt-

[1] Together with Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xliv, 387, *cf.* also the *report of the Sienese envoy, A. Sansedoni, dat. Rome, Dec. 8 and 17, 1546 (State Archives, Siena). See also H. Tiranno's *report to the Duchess of Urbino of Dec. 11, 1546 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., xxii.

[3] See in Appendix No. 33 the *report of H. Tiranno of Dec. 11, 1546 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] Hermann von Wied, already deposed by the Pope on April 16, 1546, had to resign on Jan. 26, 1547, the administratorship of Paderborn, and on Feb. 25 the Archbishopric of Cologne (see VARRENTRAPP, 272 *seq.*; BUCH WEINSBERG, published by Höhlbaum, I., Leipzig, 1886, 260; GULIK, Gropper, 117–120).

[5] The Imperialists pointed to this and Pflug's establishment in Naumburg as well as to the removal of Hermann von Wied from Cologne (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 456, n. 1).

emberg meant very little in presence of the fact that the Imperial policy was much more bent on bringing the defeated Protestants into civil subjection to the head of the Empire than into religious obedience to the Pope. On many grounds these tedious, cautious methods, which in their results indeed were not successful, seemed to be justified; but in any case it was the Emperor's duty to have fulfilled his treaty obligations in matters of religion. By them he was expressly bound not to make any agreement with the Protestants on matters affecting the cause or object of the war without the consent of the Pope or his Legate, and especially to refuse concessions which would run counter to the interests of religion and the constitution of the Catholic Church.[1]

The Imperial diplomatists had already infringed this stipulation by the engagements entered into at Ratisbon with Duke Maurice of Saxony and the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin. While in the treaty with the Pope the origin of the war as alleged was the refusal to submit to the Council sitting at Trent, in the agreement with the Duke and the Margrave the authority of the Council was altogether disregarded.[2] In those made with the Count Palatine Frederick and Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg the question of religion was not even mentioned.[3] Also in the treaties with the Estates of the Oberland the recognition of the Council was not made a condition, but only submission to the decrees of the Diet and the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chancery. In religious affairs the Emperor still

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 289.

[2] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 622 *seq.*, 671.

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 3; STÄLIN, Wirtemb. Geschichte, IV., 460. With the ratification of the treaty of Cadan the continuance of Protestantism was secured (see RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, IV., 6th ed., 339).

gave these Estates express security for the toleration of the "existing religion," on account of which they were not to be liable "to the sword or any other form of forcible authority."[1] Accordingly the Protestant preachers were at liberty, even under the very eyes of the Emperor, to go about as before declaiming against "the Antichrist in Rome."[2]

All these treaties with the defeated Protestant Estates were concluded without the consent of the Pope or that of the Legate's successor, the nuncio Verallo, having been invited, as was expressly laid down in the compact of June 1546.[3] That Charles was well aware of the violation of treaty thus committed is clear from his anxious endeavours to keep Verallo aloof from all negotiations. The nuncio only appeared upon the scene in order to hear the Emperor's complaints of the behaviour of the Papal troops and his threats against Paul III. if the latter should not consent to a prolongation of the treaty. It was a misfortune that here again Verallo was not equal to his task; a stronger man would have insisted more forcibly on the observance of the treaty.

If the whole of the previous behaviour of the Emperor had been of a kind to disgust Paul III. in the highest degree with the treaty, so must the disloyal agreement with the Protestant Estates, in the hour of their defeat, have revived the opinion in Rome that the Emperor was only making use of the Pope's assistance for the extension of

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, IV., 6th ed., 336 *seq.*; KEIM, Reformation in Ulm, Stuttgart, 1851, 375 *seq.*; EGELHAAF, II., 476; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 444, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* Venet. Depeschen, II., 137.

[3] *Cf.* Maffei's complaints in the letter of Jan. 23, 1547, in BALAN, VI., 282, as well as Farnese's letter of Feb. 5, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 456.

his own political power and that, heedless of the Papal interests, he was making a vital attack on the Church by illicit concessions to his adversaries in order to disarm their opposition. Under these circumstances, the Pope's determination to refuse the renewal of the treaty, which had expired in December, to suspend his subsidies and to withdraw his forces, is intelligible.

Intelligible as this course of action by Paul III. might have been under existing circumstances, undisputed as his formal rights were, yet the question may be asked whether a Pope led only by ecclesiastical considerations would have taken a step which was of a kind to give the Protestants the greatest advantage.[1] The quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope, moreover, never would have been of so violent a character if France had not continually fanned the flame. Paul III., in his dread of the Hapsburgs becoming masters of the world, was only too ready to listen to such insinuations, especially when Charles V. gave cause for just complaint. Both parties were to blame for the outbreak of fresh causes of dissension and the final dissolution of an alliance directed against the common enemy.[2]

The withdrawal of a benefaction is not seldom construed as an active offence. Paul III. was too well schooled in human nature not to know this; therefore the briefs drawn up on the 22nd of January 1547, announcing the recall of the Papal auxiliary forces, were couched in the most temperate language. Charles was congratulated in the handsomest terms on a victory in which indeed the Pope himself also had been a participator, and the expectation was expressed that his work in Germany would be

[1] RANKE (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 167) goes too far in saying that the Pope felt that he was then an ally of the Protestants.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER (Kirche und Staat, 220) thinks that not the smallest share of the blame lies on Charles V.

crowned by a restoration of the Catholic religion. With genuine diplomatic skill the most important point was introduced briefly at the close: "Since the war is as good as at an end, and your Majesty's position is wholly favourable and secure, we have determined to recall from Germany the troops sent to your aid and which now are terribly reduced in numbers, with the intention, in the case of such another occasion arising and your undertaking a similar war against the enemies of the Christian religion, of again springing to your side, as we have hitherto done, according to our own strength and that of the Apostolic See."[1]

To Cardinal Farnese, who still favoured an extension of the alliance, fell the disagreeable task of giving Verallo more precise instructions as to the manner in which he was to justify the contents of the brief on its delivery to the Emperor. The nuncio was to call attention to the Pope's deep regret that audience was so long refused to his representative and that the latter, contrary to treaty, had not been admitted to the negotiations with the Protestant Estates. In a drastic postscript written in his own hand Farnese gave lively expression to his keen annoyance at the turn affairs had taken. During his presence at the Imperial court a deaf ear had been turned to his expostulations that greater consideration should be shown to the Pope. Like Cassandra, he had foreseen everything that had come to pass.[2]

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 98; *cf.* also Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 422, n. 1.

[2] Farnese's letter to Verallo, dat. Jan. 22, 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 421 *seq.*). Concerning the refusal of an audience, FRIEDENSBURG says (*ibid.*, xlvi), correctly, that this complaint was unfounded. But that there had not been also a previous infringement of the treaty, I cannot agree to. That such had taken place is assumed by DE LEVA (IV., 184) and RANKE (Deutsch. Gesch., IV., 6th ed., 300).

Farnese's prognostications of evil were surpassed by the reception given to Verallo in an audience at Ulm, on the 2nd of February 1547, when he presented his instructions to the Emperor, then exasperated by the publication of the decree on justification at Trent and by the exhortations of Bertano to come to a peace with France.

As far as the recall of the Papal troops was concerned, Charles observed scornfully, he was thankful to be quit of a pack of Italian robbers who had done nothing but harm; only, the reasons adduced for the withdrawal were puerile and untrue. For the congratulations offered by his Holiness he kissed his feet, but did not believe in their sincerity; on the contrary, he had become more and more convinced that the Pope had entangled him in this war with the intention of destroying him. In order to give a hint that he saw through the cause of such conduct the Emperor, whose temper had been steadily rising, recalled a well-known Italian proverb to the effect that it was excusable in young men to contract the French sickness but not in the old. Although the nuncio tried to give another turn to the discussion, the Emperor applied the proverb, so insulting in its double meaning to the Pope, a little further by remarking that this was no new complaint with Paul III., as he had already suffered from it in his youth. Throwing off figures of speech, the Emperor said plainly that the Pope was getting out of his alliance on the inducement of France. He was certain that Paul III.'s one object in drawing him into war was to ruin him; but God had ordained otherwise, and he hoped, even without the Pope's help, to bring his undertaking to a victorious end. Charles accounted for his refusal to give an audience by his many preoccupations, his gout, and the conviction that Verallo only wished to ply him with empty speeches.

To the complaint that he had made agreements with the Protestant Estates without consulting the Pope, Charles replied in anger that he had acted with wise precaution, since the name of Paul III. was so hated in Germany and many other Christian countries on account of his evil deeds that its introduction would only have wrought harm. The Emperor then returned once more to his standing grievance of the disclosure of the treaty to the Swiss, whereby Paul III. sought intentionally to embroil him with the Protestants. He was conscious of having performed his own duty as a Christian prince better than the Pope had done his, and he hoped that the day would yet come when he should be able to tell the Pontiff so to his face. He cherished the certain expectation of bringing the war, from which Paul III. retired, to such a finish that he might perhaps prove a cause of inconvenience to a third party. A rejoinder from the nuncio he cut short by leaving the room upon the pretext that it was time for him to go to Mass. The Emperor had spoken so loud in his passion that those waiting in the antechamber understood his expressions of wrath at the Pope for being on so good a footing with the French.[1]

Even Granvelle, who in other respects was sorry for the violent behaviour towards Verallo, imputed Paul III.'s conduct chiefly to French influence.[2] The nuncio therefore tried in a second audience which he had together with Bertano to defend his master against all these accusations, by adducing the reasons which had been conclusive against a renewal of the treaty. While this parleying on these and other debatable points was going on, Verallo perceived in

[1] For Verallo's audience we have, as well as his report (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 444 *seq.*), that of Charles V. to Mendoza (MAURENBRECHER, 90* *seq.*); *cf.* also Venet. Depeschen, II., 163.

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 448.

the Emperor a more approachable frame of mind. Nevertheless, Charles could not refrain from saying that if France began to make war upon him and the Pope left him in the lurch he would come to terms with the Protestants. In the same audience Charles declared openly that the revolt of Genoa under Fiesco against the Imperialist Doria, hatched with the help of France, had taken place in understanding with the Pope. This Verallo emphatically challenged. At the close of the audience Charles stated that in future his bearing towards the Pope would depend upon the behaviour of the latter towards him.[1]

The outburst of anger, in which the Emperor had attacked the Pope personally and asserted, in direct contradiction to facts, that the latter had enticed him into war,[2] was not by any means a momentary fit of passion but had a calculated purpose. The threats, mingled with violent complaints, were intended to intimidate his former ally and force him to further compliance, especially in relation to finance.

The claims of Charles in this respect, now of long standing, led to nothing less than a vast scheme of secularization. All the churches and convents throughout his empire and states were to surrender a half of the movable property in gold and silver and a half of their yearly income from the funds for the support of edifices. Even in Madrid such a requisition was regarded with dismay.[3]

[1] For this audience also we have the reports of Verallo (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 462 *seq.*) and of Charles V. (MAURENBRECHER, 94* *seq.*; *cf.* MAYNIER, 455 *seq.*).

[2] That the Emperor himself determined on the Schmalkaldic war is incontrovertible (see *supra*, p. 223 *seqq.*); see also FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxix; *cf.* RIEZLER, 339.

[3] See MAURENBRECHER, 47* *seqq.*, 123; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 624.

The proposal, moreover, was made in a way most likely to offend Paul III. The haughty behaviour of the Imperialists in Rome betrayed clearly their intention of treating the Pope with insolence.[1] Paul III., however, did not lose his presence of mind;[2] he replied firmly that so immoderate a demand, the result of which was beyond conjecture, could not be acceded to; a specified amount somewhat over 400,000 ducats would admit of discussion. The Imperialists, however, would hear nothing of this, taunted the Pope with his partiality towards France, and declared plainly that in case of necessity they would proceed without the Pope's permission with their plan of secularization, which had received the sanction of their theologians. In audience on the 27th of February 1547 they even went so far as to threaten the Pope's person. Paul III., however, was no Clement VII. With much dignity he told them that an old man, whose days in any case could not be long extended, was not one to be frightened by such threats as these, and if he had to die a martyr for the honour of God, this for him would only be glorious—death indeed would bring him freedom from the care and toil which accompanied his position in such an age and among such princes.[3]

That Charles V. was determined to go to extremes Paul III. must have understood from the unprecedented language which he had indulged in to the nuncio Verallo. The French policy in the meantime aimed unremittingly at widening the breach between the Pope and Emperor and producing an incurable antagonism. Cardinal du Bellay drew the nuncio Dandino's attention to the Emperor's toleration of the Protestant confessions in the Estates

[1] Thus FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., li.

[2] *Cf.* Ruggieri's report of Feb. 16, 1547, in BALAN, VI., 382.

[3] See the contemporary reports in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 494, n. 4; *cf. ibid.*, li.

which had made their submission, and asked the question if that were not a betrayal of the Holy See.[1]

The Emperor's behaviour was, in fact, favourable to such insinuations. Although southern Germany was tranquillized, the state of religion remained just as it was; indeed it seemed as if the Emperor had abandoned the war against the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, now retired into northern Germany, and was once more directing his attention to Italy. While the Count Egmont of Büren was ordered to discharge a portion of the troops, new Spanish levies were recruited for purposes upon which Ferrante Gonzaga was called in to deliberate. He was of opinion that they should be sent to Siena in order to hold in check[2] the Pope and the Farnesi, who for a long time had had their eyes fixed on that city. Together with this went Ferrante's design, which was becoming more and more pronounced, of wresting Parma and Piacenza from the Papal family.[3]

In view of this situation it was not surprising[4] if Paul III., sorely menaced in the political as well as the ecclesiastical sphere by the domination of the victorious Hapsburg, should have seen not in the Protestants but in the Emperor the more dangerous enemy of the two, and would have been not altogether displeased if the Schmalkaldic forces in northern Germany had held their own against the Imperial army.[5]

[1] See DRUFFEL, Sfondrato, 310.

[2] *Ibid.*, 310, 311.

[3] See *infra*, p. 369 *seqq.*

[4] Thus DRUFFEL (Sfondrato, 311).

[5] In an *undated* letter of Du Mortier to the French King it says: S. S. a eu nouvelles de la defaite du marquis de Brandenbourg par l'industrie de la sœur du Landgrave et entendu que le duc de Saxe se trouve fort, dont elle a tel contentement comme celuy qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d'exécuter ses entreprises et connoist-on bien qu'il serait utile sous main entretenir ceux

The danger appeared all the greater to Paul III. since he could not count with certainty either on France or Venice. Under these circumstances he hit upon a strange plan whereby he hoped to evade giving his consent to the Emperor's ever more urgent demands for the great scheme of secularization: special Cardinal-Legates, Sfondrato and Capodiferro, were to invite Charles V. and Francis I. to avail themselves of the opportunity offered by the death of Henry VIII. (27th–28th January 1547) to undertake the recovery of England to the Catholic Church.[1]

When Verallo on the 11th of March 1547 communicated this project to the Emperor in Nördlingen, the latter grasped the opportunity of once more giving expression to his anger at the Pope's conduct. To please the Pope, who had treated him so shabbily in the present war, he cried out, he would not go to war against the commonest rapscallion, let alone the nation of England. As for the plan of secularization, he only refrained from carrying it into execution because he estimated the result at a low figure. Yet even Ferdinand the Catholic, who was much more of a Catholic than Paul III., had carried out such a scheme. For the future he would reserve his reverence only for St. Peter, but not for the Pontiff Paul. The war against the Protestants, which was in nowise yet settled, would be renewed immediately, and he hoped, even were it unpleasant for the Pope, to bring it to a good end. Since Paul III. refused him any other support, let them put the nuncio and the Legates in the forefront of the battle, so as

qui luy resistent, disant que vous ne scauriez faire depense plus utile (RIBIER, I., 637). This letter is so evidently written with a direct purpose that it can hardly be relied upon without some further proof of credibility.

[1] *Cf.* MAYNIER, 456; DRUFFEL, *loc. cit.*, 312 *seqq.*; PIEPER, 130 *seq.*; FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., lii, 493, 494; X., xxiii.

to set a good example to the rest, and let men see what they can do with their exorcisms and blessings.[1]

When things had gone thus far on the same 11th of March on which Verallo had had to submit to such outpourings of scorn and jeers on himself and the Pope, an event occurred by which the opposition between Pope and Emperor was sharply accentuated. This was the translation of the Council from Trent to Bologna. This most important measure came unexpectedly, as the Synod during the winter of 1546–7 had displayed much productive activity.

[1] For Verallo's audience at Nördlingen, see besides his letter of March 11, 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 511), the communications of Charles V. to Mendoza in MAURENBRECHER, 102* *seqq.*, and MAYNIER, 457 *seq.*; *cf.* also Venet. Depeschen, II., 191, n. 2, 195 *seq.*, 203.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.—ITS REMOVAL TO BOLOGNA.—THE SCHMALKALDIC WAR ENDS IN VICTORY FOR THE EMPEROR.—ASSASSINATION OF PIER LUIGI FARNESE.

WHEN Cardinal Farnese returned to Trent from his German legation on the 14th of November 1546, he there set to work to bring about an agreement between the opposed Papal and Imperialist interests in the Council. He succeeded, in fact, not merely in winning Cardinal Madruzzo but also Mendoza, the ambassador of Charles V., to agree to a suspension.[1] By this *via media* the translation might be avoided. After long and repeated conversations an agreement was reached on the following points: first, the postponement of the decree on justification; secondly, as it would not be fitting that a reform decree should be published by the Council without a dogmatic decree, but, on the other hand also, the reproach must be avoided that the Council wished to do nothing, the Pope must be asked to issue a Bull on the question of reform, to be afterwards read aloud and approved at the Council; thirdly, that the Council, on account of the Emperor's objection to a translation and of the danger of a suspension for an indefinite period, should be suspended at first for six months only. To this agreement the consent of the Pope and of the Emperor was to be invited. On the assump-

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 385 *seq.* See also PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 16, and Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 346 *seq.*

tion that the Emperor's consent was certain Farnese requested the Pope, in communicating the terms of the arrangement, to declare his consent also, and to intimate the same to the Legates.[1]

The Legates in their report to Santafiora of the 17th of November[2] remarked that since Mendoza had anticipated the Emperor's consent they also had done so in the case of the Pope without saying anything of the powers committed to them to accept this measure. They intended in the meantime to work energetically for the formulation of the decree on justification, and advised that the Pope should, if the Emperor did not consent to a suspension, make known his will concerning the immediate publication of the decree, so that the Council might proceed on its course and soon be ended. The Legates expressed stronger doubts of the possibility of carrying through a suspension in their next letter to Santafiora of the 19th of November.[3] Here they insisted that the favourable opportunity had already gone by, and doubted that the Emperor would confirm the agreement come to with his ambassador; in any case, they asked for the speedy transmission of regulations for the continuance of the work of the Council.

The Pope would have preferred, wrote Santafiora on the 23rd of November to Farnese,[4] on receipt of his report from Trent, and to the Legates on the 29th of November,[5] that the suspension had taken place at once after the arrangement had been come to with Mendoza without

[1] Letters of Nov. 16 and 17, 1546, *ibid.*, 346 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 351–353.

[3] *Ibid.*, IX., 353–355.

[4] *Ibid.*, 361 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 362, n. 1.

waiting any longer for a message from the Emperor. If this should come in the sense hoped for, then the Pope, according to the letter of the 29th, would like the suspension to take place, not as proceeding from him; he would much rather in this case send the Legates a brief commanding them to procure the suspension by means of the vote of a majority. This promised brief was sent by Farnese to the Legates on the 13th of December.[1]

The Emperor's answer was long delayed, and when it came contained a refusal. After Mendoza and Toledo in the meantime had left Trent, there appeared on the morning of the 20th, as representatives of the Imperial interests, Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco, with the Emperor's decision, which they made known to the Legates.[2] According to this Charles V. desired, out of consideration for German affairs, the postponement of the publication of the decree on justification and a further examination of the same. With regard to the duty of episcopal residence, he was in favour of the mode agreed to, namely, that the Pope should issue a Bull on the subject, but begged that the special interests of the Spanish bishops should be considered. The suspension of the Council he rejected entirely on the ground that now, after the success of his campaign, he hoped that Germany would submit to the decisions of the Council; but of that there could be no talk unless the Council remained in session, as otherwise its reputation was gone. Thereupon the Legates at once informed the Emperor's representatives that if under these circumstances the suspension was to be dropped, there was then no necessity to comply with the Emperor on the

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 390.

[2] *Cf.* the report of the Legates to Farnese of Dec. 20, 1546, *ibid.*, 398–403; *ibid.*, 401 *seq.*, n., a letter of Cervini's to Maffei of Dec. 20. *Cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 16, n. 11, 12.

other points. If the Council was to remain in session the decree on justification must be published, and afterwards the remainder of the work quickly settled. They would therefore now, without delay, propose to the Fathers the discussion of the question of episcopal residence and the fixture of a terminal date for the sitting. This they did notwithstanding the objections of the two Cardinals in the general congregation[1] held on the afternoon of the same day; the voting was to take place on the following day. This was on December the 29th.[2] In accordance with the Legates' proposal the sitting was fixed for the 13th of January by a majority of more than two-thirds as against the sixteen votes of the Imperialists, led by Pacheco. The date was well chosen, for the decree on justification was ripe for judgment. On the following day the discussion on episcopal residence began.

In accordance with the vote taken the sixth solemn session was held on the 13th of January 1547.[3] It was one of the most important of the whole Council, since in it the publication of the decree on justification took place. The Fathers of the Council had devoted all the more diligence and enthusiasm to this subject as it was in itself one of the most difficult questions of theology, and one in which, as Bishop de' Nobili said at the very beginning, the axe must be laid at the root of the Lutheran errors.[4] From

[1] *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 109 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 454, 594. The Legates' letter to Farnese of Dec. 20 in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 401 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 111 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 454, 496. The Legates to Farnese, dat. Dec. 29, 1546 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 403, n. 2); PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 17, n. 1.

[3] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 121 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 458, 601-603; PALLAVICINI, l. 8, c. 18, n. 10-13.

[4] See EHSES in Röm. Quartalschr., XIX., 181

the 22nd to the 28th of June 1546 the questions, often most difficult, appertaining to this subject were discussed first of all by the theologians and then from the 30th of June by the bishops. The debates were very animated. At the close of the general congregation of July the 17th, as the Fathers were taking their departure, a deplorable scene took place between two hot-blooded southerners when the Greek Bishop of Crete, Zanettini, roused Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, to such a frenzy of anger that the latter seized his opponent by the beard and plucked out the hair.[1]

The draft of a decree on justification, which had been entrusted to four bishops on the 15th of July, encountered strong opposition.[2] Consequently, Cardinal Cervini held a conference with a number of prominent theologians and committed to them the task of drawing up a fresh scheme. Among them was Girolamo Seripando, the learned General of the Augustinian Hermits. On the 11th of August he presented a first draft, afterwards revised at Cardinal Cervini's request, which formed the basis of the discussions conducted by Cervini together with the presiding Legate, del Monte, and many bishops and theologians.[3]

New propositions thus arose which were distributed on

[1] *Cf.* Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 444, 561.

[2] For the following, *cf.* EHSES, Joh. Groppers Rechtfertigungslehre auf dem Konzil von Trient, in the Röm. Quartalschr., XX., 178 *seq.*, where Seripando's *memoranda in Cod. VII., D 12, of the National Library, Naples, are used for the first time. See J. HEFNER, Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Trienter Rechtfertigungsdekretes, Paderborn, 1909. *Cf.* further, EHSES, Der Anteil des Augustinersgenerals Seripandi an dem Trienter Dekret über die Rechtfertigungslehre, in the Röm. Quartalschr., XXIII. (1909), 3 *seqq.* The whole collection of documents will shortly be published by Ehses in his 5th vol. of the Conc. Trid.

[3] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 569; EHSES, 179.

September the 23rd among the members of the general congregation. They differed to such an extent both in form and matter from those of Seripando that he could hardly recognize his original handiwork. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th of September the theologians discussed Cervini's proposals, and on the 1st of October the prelates made them the subject of a special debate which was sustained throughout with the greatest thoroughness.[1] It was in the course of these proceedings that Seripando on the 8th of October introduced the theory of a twofold justice, an inherent and an imputed—a theory already supported by certain learned and distinguished theologians in Italy and Germany. It was not his wish, however, he remarked, to affirm or deny in this question, but only to invoke the decision of the Council; if it were found that the doctrinal opinion of a twofold justice was erroneous, let it be rejected unconditionally; but if the contrary were shown to be the case, let not truth be condemned along with error; the great names of Contarini, Cajetan, Pighius, Pflug, and Gropper, on the Catholic side, ought not to be included in the disavowal of Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. It must have made a great impression when Seripando dwelt upon the necessity of submitting the apparently heterodox opinions of men who had been, and still in part were, the champions of the Church to such a full examination that no one could bring forward the charge that the Council had passed sentence against them without thoughtful consideration.[2]

Seripando's action gave rise to deliberations of the most thoroughgoing character not only on the doctrine of an

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 575 *seq.*; EHSES, 179 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, Acta, I., 234, and EHSES, 180 *seq.*, who justly insists on Seripando's great services throughout the negotiations.

imputed justice, but also on the difficult question of the assurance of salvation on the part of the justified. The debates lasted from the 15th to the 26th of October, through no less than ten conferences of theologians, almost all of whom submitted their opinions in writing at great length.[1] Upholders of the most different opinions, professors of the Sorbonne and Salamanca and members of the old orders, vied with one another in giving lucidity to a question upon which even the most devoted Catholics were widely at variance. Among the new orders the Jesuits were represented by men of such conspicuous learning as Salmeron and Laynez; both had come as theologians of the Pope, and as such enjoyed a certain precedence, but the importance of their position was due primarily to their deep erudition and brilliant powers of exposition. This was particularly the case with Laynez, whose opinion given at the final sitting was one of the most influential.[2]

As the result of the conference of theologians the doctrine of imputed justice was rejected by thirty-two votes to five, to Seripando's bitter disappointment. Still more unfortunate was the well-intentioned but unsuccessful theory of compromise produced at the special debate of the episcopate, which lasted from the 9th of November to the 1st of December. This proposal was rejected by all the Fathers, led by the unerring conviction that inherent righteousness through God's mercy contains already everything necessary to salvation, and that the acceptance of an imputed justice is quite unnecessary in order to venerate in the justifying and redeeming grace of Christ the basis and root of the justification of man. Even Seripando, who

[1] Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 580; THEINER, Acta, I., 239; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 182 *seq.*

[2] Best copy in GRISAR, J. Lainez, Disput. Trid., II., 153 *seq.*

still defended his favourite thesis with talent and composure, could not resist the force of this argument. He practically surrendered his position by clothing his opinion in words which did little more than express what was common to both opinions.[1]

In the general congregation of the 17th of December 1546 Cardinal del Monte once more drew the attention of the Fathers to a second central question: the assurance of salvation in the justified. Del Monte wished this topic, which must have caused further delay in the publication of the long-debated decree on justification, to be passed over as not strictly belonging to the subject. Cardinal Pacheco opposed him strongly. Both Cardinals had numerous followers, so that it was for long doubtful which opinion would carry the day. In the end del Monte was victorious; the article on final assurance was dropped, the Council having to restrict its decisions to publicly pronounced errors only.[2]

After repeated drafts, redrafts, and alterations, after thorough and impartial discussion, the decree on justification, composed with scrupulous care, was at last published on the 13th of January 1547. It contains sixteen chapters and three-and-thirty canons and is a masterpiece of theology, formulating with clearness and precision the standard of Catholic truth as distinguished from Pelagian error on the one hand and Protestant on the other.[3]

[1] EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 187 *seq.*

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 109.

[3] With HERGENRÖTHER'S opinion (Kirchengesch., II., 1, 405), *cf.* that of HARNACK (Dogmengesch., III., 605), who speaks of the decree "as in many respects admirably worked out," and even goes so far as to assert that "it may be doubted whether the Reformation would have developed as it did if this decree, for example, had been promulgated at the Lutheran council and had actually become incorporated into the doctrinal system of the Church." For Ranke's total misconcep-

Starting from the axiom that neither the heathen by their natural powers nor the Jews by the Mosaic law are capable of participation, *i.e.* of reaching a state of grace and of adoption as children of God, the decree first of all insists that Christ alone is the salvation of the world through the communication of the merits of His sufferings, and that only for those who believe in Him and have been born again in Him by baptism. In adults justification has its beginning in the calling of God through prevenient grace without any supernatural merit on the part of man. The latter can resist grace or co-operate with it. In both cases there is the exercise of free will, but the co-operation is also conditioned by grace.

With justification man receives not merely the forgiveness of sins but is also inwardly sanctified. This renewal also is not merely imputed as something adhering to the man from without but is a deep inward process fundamentally transforming the soul.

Faith, however, is not alone sufficient for justification, it must be accompanied by hope and love, and, as the Scripture says, faith certainly must work by love, since faith without works is dead. Faith working by love in a constant state of grace through the following of the commandments of God and the Church results in a continual advance from virtue to virtue.

In opposition to the Protestant assertion of an absolute assurance of salvation it was laid down as Catholic doctrine that no one in this life can fathom the secret of his predestination by God and, apart from a special revelation, know of a certainty that he is of the number of the elect.

tion of the decree (Päpste, I., 6th ed., 134), see Histor.-polit. Bl., XXXII., 399, n. For the sense of the 22nd Canon, see STRAUB in the Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., XXI., 107 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*

While the decree on justification was unanimously accepted in the session of January the 13th, 1547, the reform decree on episcopal residence met with manifold opposition on points of detail. Consequently, the Legates proposed to consider the objections in a general congregation and decide upon them. The 3rd of March was fixed for the next session, and the Fathers were prohibited from leaving Trent before that date. With this the momentous sixth session closed, at which the Archbishop of Spalato, Andrea Cornaro, had sung the High Mass, and the Bishop of Salpe, Tommaso Stella, preached. There were also present the two Legates, Cardinals Madruzzo and Pacheco, ten archbishops, forty-seven bishops, two procurators, five generals of orders, and two abbots. The Imperial ambassadors were absent, and the French kept themselves aloof.

With the publication of the decree on justification, produced under difficult circumstances and after long and serious labour, the Council, in its sixth session, reached the high-water mark of its endeavours.[1] Among the members there was general satisfaction over the announcement of this important decision. There was reason to believe that the Council might now proceed quickly to a finish, since with the publication of the decree the most important dogmatic decision had been reached, and nothing now remained to be done but to apply to the doctrine of the Sacraments the conclusions drawn from the premises thus established.[2]

The Cardinal-Legate Cervini derived such confidence from the success thus happily achieved that he no longer feared the renewed threats of a German national council and wrote to Rome that these declarations were to be

[1] *Cf.* KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2nd ed., 2065.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2066.

received with perfect composure and answered by the offer of a Legatine mission to Germany.[1] The Pope also showed great satisfaction at the results of the sixth session.[2] In the answer to his instructions[3] which Mendoza received before his departure from Rome on the 30th of January, the following rejoinder was made[4] to the Imperial policy: As the contumacy of the Protestants had gone so far that Charles V. himself had found it necessary to take up arms against them, it also seemed to the Pope superfluous to interrupt the Council on their account, especially as the success of the Imperial forces offered a possibility of recalling their opponents to obedience to the Holy See. The dogmatic decrees of the Council, which in the meantime had been passed, would only be a support and not a hindrance to such a movement. Nevertheless, the Pope, in accordance with the understanding come to with Diego de Mendoza during Farnese's sojourn in Trent, had been willing to meet the Emperor's wishes in regard to the postponement of the dogmatic decisions by means of a suspension; but as Charles had not consented to this, it had been necessary to let the Council pursue its course, if it were not to dissolve automatically, which undoubtedly would be the case if the Fathers had been obliged to remain inactive in Trent. As to the Emperor's request that the article on justification should be thoroughly examined before publication, enough had undoubtedly been done, since the Council had been occupied with it for six whole months. The proposal that the decree should be

[1] Cervini to Maffei, dat. Jan. 26, 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 424, n. 1).

[2] PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 1, n. 2.

[3] See *supra*, p. 319.

[4] *Cf.* Farnese's letter to Verallo of Feb. 5, 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 453–455; *cf. ibid.*, xxxix *seq.*); PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 3, n. 4

submitted to the Universities before publication, as wished for by Charles V., would not only be superfluous, seeing that the opinion of these bodies was already known, but in opposition to the authority of the Council.

The labours of the Council preparatory to the seventh session were now carried on without interference from without.[1] In the general congregation of the 15th of January, del Monte proposed to the Fathers as the subject of discussion for the seventh session the dogmas of the doctrine of the Sacraments, while in relation to reform further debate would be held on the duty of episcopal residence and the abuses and obstacles connected with it. On the 17th of January Cervini distributed among them a summary of the points to be considered under the dogmatic decree, namely, fourteen errors concerning the Sacraments in general, seventeen concerning baptism, and four concerning confirmation. They were first to be treated by the theologians; after preliminary examination by the latter and division into three classes they were, on the 7th of February, again referred to the Fathers and then came before the general congregation for discussion from the 8th to the 21st of February.

As the doctrine of the Sacraments had been the subject of very detailed disquisition by Peter Lombard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and their commentators, it did not appear necessary, as with the decree on justification, to set forth the Catholic doctrine in detail and connectedly; the decree was rather to consist of canons in which the various errors should be condemned. It was the wish of some of the Fathers that the condemnation should include the authors of the false teaching by name, but this was dis-

[1] *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 123–136; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 458–465, 603–621; PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 1–11; KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 2066–2069.

allowed. Here also, especially in the general debate on the sacrament of the altar, which was taken beforehand, the closest examination was made of all theological questions without curtailment or hurry. The final decree, which passed on the 1st and 2nd of March, after many alterations in the original draft, consisted of a preface, thirteen canons on the Sacraments in general, fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation.

For the preparation of the questions on reform a deputation of canonists consisting of Fathers of the Council was formed on the 20th of January. They sat, under the presidency of del Monte, from the following day until the 29th of January, when their transactions were transferred to the general congregation from the 31st of January to the 7th of February. These dealt, in part, retrospectively with the votes already given on the reform decree in the sixth session, and how they were to be regarded in conjunction with the various separate votes recorded on that occasion. During these first discussions the question was left open whether the previous decree should be taken as published or be submitted again for a final revision. It was not until the general congregation of the 24th of February, when the question of reform was resumed, that the Legates brought forward this point for settlement. On the following day it was resolved that the decree, as read at the sixth session, should be taken as accepted and approved by the majority in that assembly.[1]

The new reform decree for the seventh session, consisting of fifteen chapters, was finally settled on the 26th and 28th of February. It dealt with the qualifications of nominees to bishoprics, the visitation of sees, the maintenance and repair of churches, the powers of the Cathedral Chapter

[1] *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 132–135; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 464, 617–619.

during the vacancy of a see, the conferring of orders, the approbation of the presentee, the care of hospitals, and the legal position of ecclesiastics; the combination of bishoprics and benefices in one person was made matter of special prohibition. The express nomination of Cardinals, wished for by many, was prevented from becoming subject of discussion by the Legates, on receipt of instructions from Rome, as the reform of the Sacred College was a matter belonging exclusively to the Pope; the same restriction applied to the question whether the duty of episcopal residence was of Divine law. As a matter of fact Paul III., in a consistorial decree published the 18th of February 1547, issued orders prohibiting Cardinals from holding more than one bishopric, and enjoining on them the duty of residence. Del Monte communicated this to the Fathers on the 25th of February and the 2nd of March.[1]

The seventh solemn session held on the 3rd of March 1547[2] published the two decrees previously prepared. That on reform again called forth numerous objections from some of the Fathers. The celebrant was the Archbishop Jacopo Cauco of Corfù; the sermon was omitted, as the preacher, Bishop Martirano of S. Marco, was disabled, owing to hoarseness. Those present were the Legates and Cardinal Pacheco, nine archbishops, fifty-two bishops,[3] two abbots, and five generals of orders. The next session was fixed for the 21st of April.

[1] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. XI. of this work, p. 510; Severoli, ed MERKLE, I., 135; Massarelli, Diarium, III., *ibid.*, 619 *seq.* The decree in MERKLE, I., 621, n.

[2] Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 136 *seq.*; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., ed. MERKLE, I., 465, 621 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 12.

[3] List in Massarelli, Diarium, III., ed. MERKLE, I., 622. For the number, *ibid.*, n. 1.

After such a successful beginning it was not to be foreseen that the work of the Council, instead of being carried quickly forward to a fortunate end, would before long undergo an interruption of more than a year's duration. For some time complaints of the unhealthiness of Trent had been made by not a few of the Fathers. They were redoubled when, about the date of the seventh session, an infectious and in many cases fatal malady, the spotted fever (*mal di petecchie*), entered the city. It was said that, owing to the epidemic, external communication with Trent would be cut off. The fears thus aroused among the Fathers afforded an opportunity for removing the Council which the Legates on this occasion could not overlook. If the intolerable pressure which the Emperor, with his claims against the Council, brought to bear upon the Legates and Fathers, is taken into consideration, it is not difficult to understand that they made use of an opportunity, the weight of which is open to dispute, to restore independence to the Synod by withdrawal to a city removed from the reach of the dominating influence of Charles V.[1]

The Legates certainly lost no time in setting to work. In a letter of the 5th of March to Farnese the presiding Cardinal-Legates asked what they were to do if the sickness continued. They did not, however, await the arrival of instructions from the Pope. As the alarm among the Fathers was further increased on the following day, the 6th of March, by the death of Bishop Loffredo of Capaccio, they judged that no more time was to be lost, and after receiving a medical certificate of the infectious character of the disease from Balduino Balduini, private physican to del Monte, and from Girolamo Fracastoro, physician to the

[1] See EHSES in Röm. Quartalschr., XIX., 184 *seq.*; *cf.* VERMEULEN, Die Verlegung der Konzils von Trient, Regensburg, 1890.

Council, brought the matter on the 9th of March before the general congregation. Del Monte here announced that since the session twelve prelates had left, some without having received the required permission and some without having even asked for it; others again had now declared that they would go on account of the danger of infection; it was therefore necessary that the Council should come to some decision.

The Legates, as del Monte had made known, did not wish to influence their decision, but to be guided by the voice of the majority; only they could not give their consent to the dissolution of the Synod. Pacheco raised the objection whether they had any right to discuss the removal of the Council from Trent without previous knowledge on the part of the Pope and Emperor. He asked for a few days' postponement; he had with him the Spanish, Neapolitan, and some other prelates. The great majority, however, were for the quickest possible removal from Trent; opinions only differed as to how this should take place—by suspension, or translation, or free permission to individuals to absent themselves for a certain time. The voting was deferred to the following day. Del Monte then announced that the Legates were opposed to a suspension as well as to a general dispersal, as both courses might lead to dissolution. They thought it best to translate the Council to some more suitable spot at not too great a distance from Trent; for preference they recommended Bologna as pre-eminently the most fitted. Pacheco again spoke in opposition; the Pope alone could undertake to translate the Council; such a step would arouse the displeasure of the Emperor and other princes as well as of all Christendom if taken on insufficient grounds; the prevailing sickness did not constitute such a ground, since in the opinion of local physicians it was not nearly so

serious or dangerous as Balduini and Fracastoro had represented. To the opposition of the Legates, Pacheco once more declared that the measure was one solely within the Pope's competency, the Legates could not decide without special powers to do so. Pacheco was supported by the rest of the Imperialist prelates, who presented written statements. They concluded by declaring that if the rest of the Fathers left Trent on inadequate grounds, they would remain there, and with them also the authority of the Council. Many of the majority wished to go at once to the Cathedral and there resolve on the translation, but the Legates, in order to avoid the appearance of tumultuary proceedings, put off any further action to the following day.

In this eighth session,[1] held on the 11th of March, del Monte once more gave a summary of the previous discussions on the question, made known the ascertained facts concerning the sickness, and then read aloud the draft decree of translation. After Pacheco had once more protested and Archbishop Saraceni of Matera had encountered his objections, the voting took place, which resulted in a majority of two-thirds in favour of the decree for translation to Bologna.[2] Del Monte now informed the Fathers for the first time that the Legates had, all along, been empowered by a Papal Bull to undertake the trans-

[1] *Cf.* Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 142–144; Massarelli, Diarium, II., III., *ibid.*, 466, 625 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 15.

[2] The number of votes is differently stated: Pallavicini says that out of 56 Fathers 38 "ayes" voted unconditionally and 14 "noes," 2 "ayes" conditionally and 2 with a "non liquet." VERMEULEN (p. 18 *seq.*) and KNÖPFLER (Kirchenlex., XI.,[2] 2070) follow this calculation. Severoli gives 34 unconditionally for and 14 unconditionally against, 2 with "non liquet." Massarelli says 39 were unconditionally in favour and 14 against, while some ("aliqui") voted conditionally and some were "neutrales."

lation of the Council, a fact which they had hitherto kept secret so as not to prejudice the freedom of decision. They then ordered the Bull of the 22nd of February 1545 to be read aloud, and forthwith announced the translation of the Council to Bologna, where on the previously appointed day, the 21st of April, the next session would be held.[1]

On the same day the Legates informed Farnese of what had occurred, with a request that the Curia would take steps to see that the Council in Bologna was more numerously attended. They also addressed themselves to the nuncio Verallo, in order that he, correspondingly instructed as to the state of affairs, might defend the translation against the Emperor's objections.[2] On the 12th of March the Legates, with the majority of the Fathers, left Trent. On the 22nd Cervini and a certain number of bishops entered Bologna, and on the 26th he was followed by del Monte.[3]

[1] Sarpi's story that on the very day of the seventh session the Legates received a secret command from the Pope to transfer the Council is contradicted by PALLAVICINI (l. 9, c. 13, n. 2 *seq.*). For the entire freedom from interference from the Pope with which the translation of the Council was resolved upon, see also VERMEULEN, 20 *seq.*

[2] The letter of the Legates to Farnese of March 11, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 651–655. Extracts from the parallel letters of the Legates to Verallo, *ibid.*, 518 n. and 652 and 654 in the notes. *Cf.* also the letter of Pietro Foscheri, Podestà of Trent, to Duke Ercole of Ferrara, of March 12, 1547 (*ibid.*, 655 *seq.*), and the letter by an unknown writer in an opposite sense (perhaps by one of Madruzzo's circle), *ibid.*, 656–659.

[3] For the Council in Bologna and the contemporary events concerning it, *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium (IV.), de Concilio Bononiensi a 12 Martii, 1547, usque ad 10 Novembris, 1549, ed. MERKLE, I., 627–873; Severoli, ed. MERKLE, I., 144–147; PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 17 to l. 11, c. 6; VERMEULEN, 20 *seqq.* (*cf.* Liter. Rundschau, 1891, 355); VERMEULEN, Das XIX. allgemeine Konzil in Bologna, Regensburg, 1892; KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 2070–2072; Nuntiaturberichte, IX. and X.;

The Imperialist prelates, fourteen in number,[1] remained behind in Trent.

The precipitate removal of the Council to Bologna was for the Papal court as well as for all the rest of the world a surprise. The majority of the curialists rejoiced when the news reached Rome. Not so the far-seeing Pontiff, who with characteristic discernment perceived what misunderstandings might arise from a measure so hastily taken without his previous consent.[2] While he left the conciliar Legates in no doubt as to his private opinions,[3] he did not think it right, seeing that they had acted from a real regard for his interests, to disavow them officially. The translation, in fact, was to this extent unassailable, that it had been voted for by a majority in the Council.[4] In a consistory held on the 25th of March 1547 the Pope gave the measure his consent, the only opponents being three Cardinals, the Spaniards Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Francisco de Mendoza, to whom must be added Sadoleto.[5]

CARCERERI, Storia esterna del Concilio di Bologna, Montevarchi, 1903; EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschr., 1902, 429, and CARCERERI in Arch. Trentino, XVIII. (1903), 64 *seq.*

[1] See the list in Massarelli, Diarium, IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 638 *seq.* Carcereri's proposed work on "Il Concilio di Trento dalla traslazione alla sospensione" has unfortunately not yet appeared.

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 16; MAYNIER, 511 *seq.*

[3] He ordered Maffei to be informed that he would have preferred to have seen the Council in session at Trent for some months longer. Two further sessions would have sufficed to settle the necessary decrees, and then perhaps the Synod might have been brought to a close (PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 17).

[4] See Wiener Jahrb. der Litteratur, CXV., 115.

[5] PALLAVICINI (l. 9, c. 16) gives with Massarelli, Diarium, IV., ed. MERKLE, 633, the 23rd March, while the detailed report of Bonifazio Ruggieri places the consistory on the 24th (Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 528, n. 1). In the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) the date is not entered.

From the first Paul III., supported by Farnese, made every effort to prevent this unexpected incident from increasing the tension which already existed between him and the Emperor. But the ambassador Vega would hear of no excuses; to the assurance that the Pope had not been a party to the translation he refused to give the slightest credence.[1]

Charles V. was of the same opinion. On the 17th of March he had despatched a courier to Rome with instructions for Vega bidding the latter to express his extreme displeasure to the Pope and to demand the immediate recall of the Council to Trent. The ambassador, who received this command on the 24th of March, delivered his message on the same evening. Before the audience Cardinal Farnese adjured him to show moderation and "to throw water rather than fuel on the fire." "I bring neither water nor fuel," replied Vega, "but intend to carry out his Majesty's behests." As Paul III. was also much excited, the interview would have been a stormy one if the Pope at the last moment had not exercised a wise self-control. He calmly explained to Vega that he had taken no part in the proceedings that had led to the translation of the Council. The measure had been as great a surprise to him as to the Emperor. As the Council had agreed to the measure by a majority of more than two-thirds, he could not recall the Synod to Trent without derogating from its freedom; moreover, the sickness was still prevalent there. Should the Council resolve spontaneously to return, that would be all the more agreeable to him, as thereby the Emperor's wishes would be realized. But it was desirable that the Synod should first assemble in its entirety at the place to which it had been legitimately translated. Charles V. would therefore

[1] See Maffei's letter of March 26 and Farnese's of April 5, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 527 *seq.*, 530 *seq.*

do well to permit the bishops who had remained in Trent to proceed to Bologna, as thereby they would have the advantage of being able more easily to induce the other Fathers to return to Trent for the reasons adduced by the Emperor. The sojourn in Bologna could not be looked upon as suspicious since, as a matter of fact, a greater number of Councils had been held even in Rome itself.

Bologna, moreover, was encircled by territories the princes of which were known to be the most loyal adherents of the Emperor. This great city again offered all the necessary requisites for the tenure of such an assembly, just as it was suited for the eventual meeting in person of the Pope and the Emperor. Finally, what concerned the security of the Council, which Charles was bound to guarantee, could only be discussed when necessity demanded, a necessity, however, which at present had not arisen. Paul III. added, in conclusion, that if the Emperor considered himself to be the eldest son of the Church, he at the same time could not forget that as Pope, albeit unworthy, he was the Church's head.[1]

Verallo repeated the substance of these declarations on the 14th of April 1547 in an audience granted to him in Plauen by Charles V.

The Emperor, who had been suffering all through the winter, had for a long time intended to leave the subjection of the Saxon Elector, John Frederick, to his brother Ferdinand and the Margrave Albert of Culmbach; he thought of going himself to Frankfort-on-Main and from there conducting his operations against Philip of Hesse.[2]

[1] See Farnese's report of April 5, 1547 (*ibid.*, 531 *seq.*; here also is the report of the envoy of Ferrara), and that of Vega of March 26, 1547, in MAYNIER, 516, n. 1.

[2] See MAURENBRECHER, 54* *seq.*, and RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 6th ed., 369.

He was moved, however, to change his plans[1] by the news that John Frederick had, on March the 2nd, succeeded in taking prisoner the Margrave Albert in Rochlitz and that Ferdinand was threatened by the Bohemian Utraquists. Against the advice of his physician he resolved to hasten with all possible speed with his whole army to the aid of his brother and Duke Maurice, in order to deliver in person a decisive blow against John Frederick. By the 13th of April he had already crossed the Saxon frontier. His first night encampment was at Adorf, the second at Plauen.

The audience which Verallo had to undergo in the latter place made his position almost untenable. He would never believe, declared Charles, breaking in upon the nuncio's representations, that the translation of the Council took place without the Pope's knowledge, since the latter had never wished the Synod to meet in Trent; as for the outbreak of an epidemic, that was merely a pretext. On Verallo remarking that the Pope would not recall a decree of the Council, the Emperor interposed that he had long known well that the Pope knew how to turn things so as to bring them into accordance with his own wishes. He added angrily: "The Pope thinks of nothing but to prolong his days, to aggrandize his family, to heap up riches; in order to attain his own ends he rejects the duties of his high office. We know him. He is an obstinate old man, who is working for the destruction of the Church. Those who promised to submit themselves to the Council of Trent have now a just excuse for rejecting the Council of Bologna. But there will be a council forthcoming which shall correspond to the wishes of all Christendom and remove all abuses. We know the full extent of our authority, and that it belongs to us as

[1] Commentaries, 179. For the threats against Ferdinand I., see HUBER, IV., 125 *seq.*

Emperor to secure the freedom of the Council whether men wish it or not. If necessary we shall send the bishops not merely to Bologna but to Rome, and lead them thither in person."

Verallo tried to defend the Pope from such immoderate attacks. He remarked, among other observations, that the bishops who were in Bologna had gone there of their own free will, while those in Trent remained there at his Majesty's pleasure. It must therefore be said of the latter that they were deprived of freedom; no one could assert that of the former. This very apposite remark had such an effect on the Emperor that he exclaimed: "Go, nuncio; I am not going to argue with you. When you have any business to transact, take it to Granvelle."[1]

Ten days after this audience the arbitrament was settled on the field of Mühlberg on the Elbe; the Emperor in a few hours broke up the whole Saxon army and took the Elector John Frederick prisoner. It was not a battle, said Melanchthon, but a helter-skelter rout.[2] The Imperialist loss amounted to about fifty men, including those who succumbed later to their wounds. Of the Electoral troops more than 2000 fell. They lost all their banners, 21 guns, and 600 waggons with munitions and stores.[3]

On the 5th of May the Emperor stood before Wittemberg; on the 19th a treaty was there concluded, the terms of which included John Frederick's renunciation of the

[1] See Verallo's report, written also on April 14, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 536 *seq.*, and Charles V.'s letter to Mendoza of April 15, 1547, in MAURENBRECHER, 106* *seq.*, and MAYNIER, 520, n. 1.

[2] Corp. ref., VI., 587.

[3] See LENZ, Die Schlacht bei Mühlberg, Gotha, 1879; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 659 *seq*; Venet. Depeschen, II., 234 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IX, 547.

Electorate and the surrender of all his fortresses. The overthrow of the Elector was followed by the submission of the Lower Saxon Circle and on June the 19th by that of Philip of Hesse. Utterly discouraged and intimidated, the latter prince surrendered at discretion. The Emperor handed him over, like the Elector, to strict custody.[1] The victory was complete, and more brilliant than the cautious Emperor had dared to hope.

The news of the overwhelming success in north Germany made all the deeper impression in Rome[2] as shortly before deceptive reports had been received of the long struggle with his adversaries that still awaited Charles V. Instead of that the monarch, who had indulged in such menacing language to Verallo, had reached a fulness of power which no Roman-Germanic Emperor had possessed for centuries. The Pope's fears of Charles V. were increased, for with the death of Francis I. on March the 31st the check which he had hoped to find in France became very insecure. Not only did the Imperialist Montmorency regain his influence with the new King, but Henry II. also showed himself indisposed to favour a Council over which Papal influence prevailed.[3] Consequently, the new ambassador, Diego Mendoza, who had taken Vega's place on the 11th of April, found Paul III. much more accessible. Even when Mendoza brought out his threats of an Imperial protest and a national council Paul III. maintained his composure unruffled.[4] At the same time the Fathers in Bologna carried concession so far as to determine on the 19th of April to put off the publication of the decree until

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 661, 663 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* CAMPANA, 393, 394.

[3] See DRUFFEL, Sfondrato, 322–324.

[4] See Ruggieri's report of April 30, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxxii, n. 2.

the 2nd of June and in the session fixed for the 21st of April only to announce its prorogation.[1]

The victory of Mühlberg was first announced to Paul III. by Mendoza[2] and then in a letter from Ferdinand I. of the 25th of April.[3] The Pope answered on the 20th of May;[4] ten days later he wrote a letter of congratulation to the Emperor,[5] and the event was celebrated by a solemn service in St. Peter's.

Cardinal Farnese was at this time in a fever of anxiety to compose the differences between the Emperor and the Pope. With Mendoza on the one hand, with the Pope and powerful Cardinals such as Morone, Crescenzi, Ardinghello, and Santafiora on the other, he kept up indefatigable negotiations. He was successful in arriving at an arrangement with Charles V. on the promised subsidies from the Spanish Church. After Mendoza had agreed that the sum to be raised on the sale of conventual property was not to exceed 400,000 ducats, the Pope gave his consent to the preparation of the necessary Bull, although it seemed to him that, in view of the most recent events, the Emperor's opposition to the translation of the Council and the uselessness of the victory in Germany for the Church, he might well have refused.[6]

Cardinal Farnese held out hopes to the Imperialists of

[1] See Massarelli, Diarium, IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 642; PALLAVICINI, l. 9, c. 20, n. 4.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 532, 538.

[3] This letter is published in the Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 677 *seq.*, from the draft in Court and State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See *Brevia Pauli III. (Arm., 41, t. 39, n. 475, Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix No. 34.

[5] RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 101. On July 29 Paul III. congratulated Ferdinand on the successes in Bohemia (see *ibid.*, n. 104).

[6] See Farnese to Verallo, dat. May 31, 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, X., 5); *cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 84.

further generous support in money. Even Paul III. expressed himself favourably on this point. Farnese left Mendoza in no doubt as to the leading motive of his busy efforts at mediation; an arrangement, he thought, might be reached on all points if only the Emperor would invest Pier Luigi with Parma and Piacenza or Siena.[1] On the conciliar question Farnese and Mendoza were united on a middle course, the acceptance of which, however, by the Emperor was very doubtful. This was that the Council should again return to Trent or to some neighbouring city in German territory, as soon as the Emperor should have ascertained that the Diet or the individual Estates of Germany had pledged themselves to place the questions of religion under the arbitrament of the reassembled Council or to accept the decrees of that Synod. In the meantime the Fathers who had not left Trent should betake themselves to Bologna and there, while for the present avoiding dogmatic questions, continue to deal exclusively with measures of reform.[2]

Paul III. had refused at first to make any concessions on the question of the Council, having remarked to Mendoza that Christ had addressed to St. Peter and not to the Emperor the words: Upon this rock will I build my church.[3] Nevertheless he at last turned an ear to the new proposals, and on May the 31st Cardinal Sfondrato, who had already started on his journey to the Emperor on the 22nd of April, was given full powers to enter upon the arrangement agreed upon between Mendoza and Farnese.[4]

[1] See Mendoza's reports in DÖLLINGER, I., 57 *seq.*; *cf.* DE LEVA, 323 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxxiii, 3 *seq.*

[3] PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 1.

[4] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 2 *seq.* For the deep-seated distrust of Charles V. on the part of Paul III., *cf.* Legazioni di A. Serristori, 161 *seq.*

Before this suggestions had come from Rome to Bologna, where the Emperor's victory also had been celebrated, to await the result of the negotiations with Mendoza and to postpone the next session until the middle of August. The Fathers at Bologna therefore determined to fix a date later than the 2nd of June, the day appointed for the future session, since the Pope wished it; the 15th of September was accordingly the day chosen.[1]

This concession was due mainly to the hope entertained in Bologna as well as in Rome that Cardinal Sfondrato, in his Legatine capacity, would allay the quarrel with Charles V. This noble Milanese seemed to be the right man for the task, as in former days he had once done good service in the cause of Imperial policy. In addition to his previous instructions to obtain Charles's consent to an undertaking against England, he was also to secure from him the recognition of the Council at Bologna or at least a pledge that he would not take any measures detrimental to its success. Then, as an after-thought, he was to introduce the subject of the joint proposal of mediation in the matter of the Council arranged by Mendoza and Farnese.[2]

Cardinal Sfondrato, who entered on his difficult mission in no sanguine mood, travelled very slowly. It was the beginning of July 1547 when he first met the Emperor at Bamberg, where, on the 4th of that month, he had an audience. Charles accorded a friendly reception to the Legate, who first congratulated him on the victorious close of the campaign, but refused curtly and firmly to interfere in

[1] See Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 658 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 1; DE LEVA, IV., 321 *seq.*

[2] See DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 54 *seqq.*; DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 51 *seq.*, and Sfondrato, 374 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxiv; here (xxii *seq.*) there is also more concerning the personalities of the Legates. *Cf.* also for Sfondrato, Arch. stor. Lomb., 1894, 27 *seqq.*

English affairs. Germany, where enough still remained to be done, was nearer his thoughts ; he had, especially after his recent experiences, no inclination to look after the business of other people as commander-in-chief, and finally declared himself heartily sick of campaigning. Sfondrato, with eulogiums of Mendoza, then introduced the subject of mediation with regard to the Council, but here also the Emperor, determined on the unconditional meeting of the Synod at Trent, met him with a positive refusal. In the proposal that the Diet, before the return of the Council to Trent, should declare its submission to the conciliar decrees, Charles saw only a purposely devised scheme to get rid of the Council altogether. He said this openly, and remarked that methods would not be wanting of counteracting such a decision. The Legate dismissed this suspicion as unfounded, so far as the Pope was concerned, and insisted that it was against the dignity of the Council to be again recalled to Trent out of consideration for the German nation, if no guarantee were given that that very nation would suspend its hostility towards the Synod. When the Legate at last requested the Emperor at least to ratify the acceptance of the decrees as they now stood, while the stamp of victory was fresh upon him, he received a scornful rebuff. As he perceived, said Charles, that the Legate had been well instructed on all points, nothing remained for him to say save that in matters of religion he would do his duty and hoped that others would do the same. The Legate replied that this was also the intention of the Pope, and it followed that the only difference lay in the choice of means towards that end. He begged his Majesty to give the matter more mature consideration, as the proposals of mediation had commended themselves to Mendoza. The Emperor, however, rejoined that it would not be astonishing if Mendoza had made a mistake. It would not be neces-

sary for him now to give the matter further reflection, since he had devoted more thought to this than to the war itself. After this hard refusal of all his proposals, the Legate asked if, in view of the fruitlessness of further discussion, it would not be better that he should withdraw, to which the Emperor replied coldly "that he might do as he chose."[1]

The Emperor's rudeness and inflexibility made such an impression on Sfondrato that together with his official report on the 7th of July he sent a private letter to Farnese in which he implored him to come round on the question of the Council and at least to support a suspension of the Synod at Bologna, as otherwise there was a great danger of the powerful Emperor provoking a schism. The Legate was confirmed in this opinion by the continued discourtesy of Charles, who for a long time refused him any audience on the pretext of indisposition. Alba, Soto, and Madruzzo also begged Sfondrato, in the interests of the Church, to induce the Pope to consent to the return of the Council to Trent.[2]

In a letter to Maffei on the 31st of July, Sfondrato wrote that he would rather incur the blame of the public at large by advising a course of conduct unpopular at Rome than burden his conscience by silence. The Emperor, he set forth in a memorial sent at the same time, is unchangeable in his demand that the Council should return to Trent. If he is told that this cannot possibly be done without the consent of the Council, he replies that it depends solely and entirely on the Pope. If it is suggested that the Council of Trent has waited already two whole years for the German nation and that the Emperor now has the power in his

[1] See Sfondrato's report to Farnese of July 7, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 35 *seqq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 3; DRUFFEL, Sfondrato, 328 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 39 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, and DRUFFEL, *loc. cit.*, 332 *seq.*

hands to force that nation to return to the Church, the Imperial rejoinder is, that that is only possible by means of the Council and that the Council must be assembled in Trent. If it is pointed out that Trent cannot offer adequate certainty of freedom to the Council, the Imperial contradiction is ready that numerous decrees on dogma have been passed there in opposition to the express orders of the Emperor. If it is pointed out that in the case of Paul III.'s death the Council in Trent might introduce some innovation in the mode of Papal election or, *vacante sede*, some reform disadvantageous to the Holy See, the counter-allegation is raised that the very same objections were mooted when Trent was originally proposed as the seat of the Council and yet were at that time rejected. Besides, the same reasons are adducible also in the case of Bologna.[1]

In Rome, Sfondrato's behaviour was subjected to strong criticism. The most important Cardinals, Farnese, Crescenzi, Morone, Ardinghello, and Santafiora, took exception to the nuncio's precipitate declarations on his first audience.[2] The situation was made more complicated by an illness which for eight days incapacitated the Pope from holding audiences. It was only a case of obstinate catarrh; but at Paul III.'s great age even a slight indisposition might lead to fatal results. In that event it was more than doubtful that a Council would be held on German soil. No one, it was the general opinion, could, under such circumstances, feel perfectly certain of the security of the Papal election.[3]

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 64 *seqq.*

[2] See the report, *ibid.*, 55, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 80, 91, 97; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 55, n. 1; BUCHOLTZ, VI., 198, and Paolo Mario's *report to the Duchess of Urbino, dat. Rome, July 15, 1547 (State Archives, Florence), who insists on medical evidence on the strength of Paul's constitution.

Paul III. took counsel with his confidential advisers on the 17th of July as to what should be done. It was determined that the Council must remain free, and decide for itself whether it would return to Trent or move elsewhere. The Pope, reported the Florentine envoy on July the 18th, was much annoyed at the Emperor for not waiting until the Diet of the Empire met, but simply demanding the recall to Trent. That incited the Pope to equal obstinacy. Moreover, he certainly was counting upon the Emperor's want of money, his preoccupation with German affairs, and the probability that he might have to face difficulties in Italy as well.[1] The last remark referred to the Papal endeavours to prepare the way for an alliance with France and to extend this into a formal anti-imperialist coalition. Mendoza, who was informed of these intrigues, displayed no alarm. There is always talk going on, he said, of alliances against the Emperor, but these are so formed that the treaties have hardly been concluded before they end in a competition of all the allies for reconciliation with the object of their attack.[2]

[1] See Serristori's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 55, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* DE LEVA, IV., 319; Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxxix; BROSCH, I., 183; Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 141. The alliance with France was to be sealed by the marriage of Orazio Farnese with Diane de Poitiers; the betrothal took place in June 1547 (Nuntiaturberichte, X., 62, n. 1; *cf.* Atti d. soc. Ligur., VIII., Doc. 105). On June 29, 1547, the wedding of Vittoria Farnese with the Duke of Urbino was celebrated (see Mendoza's report in DÖLLINGER, I., 90; *cf.* also FELICIANGELI, 218). While the marriage was being arranged the Duke's younger brother, Giulio della Rovere (*cf.* MANNI, Osserv. s. i sigilli antichi, VII., 31; X., 143), was promised the red hat (DÖLLINGER, I., 69, 81; RIBIER, II., 25). When on July 27, 1547, a nomination of Cardinals took place, the only one named was Charles Guise of Lorraine, a second (Giulio) was reserved *in petto* (see the *report of Paolo Mario to the Duke of Urbino of July 27, 1547, in the State Archives, Florence, whereby CIACONIUS, III., 724 *seq.*, and

Although many expressed themselves in favour of a return to Trent, the Pope remained firm in his refusal, and with all the more tenacity as the prospects of the Council at Bologna were improving. It seemed as insupportable as ever that the Emperor, the head of secular dominion, should arrogate to himself the final decision in the spiritual sphere as well.[1]

From this certainly justifiable standpoint the Pope would not budge for some time longer; but at last he recoiled in alarm at the incalculable consequences of a complete breach with the victorious monarch. Cardinals Farnese and Crescenzi supported Mendoza's representations, who, in accordance with his master's instructions, did not omit to utter threats of a solemn protest against the Synod of Bologna.[2] Thus the Pope decided to make a partial surrender. At the beginning of September the following agreement was come to at the Pope's summer residence in Foligno. The sitting of the Council fixed for the 15th of September was postponed until the situation as developed by the Diet of Augsburg should be made known; in the interval no conciliar acts were to be undertaken; therefore the prorogation, which was to be for an indefinite time, was only settled in a simple congregation. If a session were appointed the Pope was to give fourteen days' notice to the Spanish ambassador. Paul III.,

CARDELLA, IV., 284 *seq.*, are to be corrected). Giulio's publication with that of Charles de Bourbon did not take place until Jan. 9, 1548 (see DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 90). The coat of arms of Cardinal G. della Rovere in the Pinacoteca of Todi, with the then customary Cardinal's hat with six tassels, in PASINI-FRASSONI, I cappelli prelatizi Roma, 1908, 10.

[1] See MAURENBRECHER, 149; DRUFFEL, Sfondrato, 335 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 86, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 87, n. 1, 515.

Cardinal Farnese, and the Legates at Bologna gave their word that the agreement would be observed.[1]

At this juncture a deed of blood, the assassination of Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, by the Imperialist Viceroy, Ferrante Gonzaga, cut asunder the threads which had just been reunited and threw all things into confusion.

The Italian policy of Charles V. had undergone a decided change since the appointment of Ferrante Gonzaga as Viceroy of Milan. With the zeal of a genuine renegade this man had courted the favour of the Emperor by stirring up his animosity against the Italians.[2] The determination of the Spaniards to strengthen, by annexations, the position which the possession of Milan and Naples gave them became clearer day by day. Besides enterprises in Genoa and Siena, the acquisition of Parma and Piacenza was further aimed at.[3] As early as June 1546 the Emperor had let Ferrante Gonzaga understand that he was only awaiting the death of the aged Pope to destroy Pier Luigi.[4] The latter had formed close connections with the French and was in association with all in Italy by whom the Spanish supremacy was regarded as unbearable. The Imperialists believed that in the conspiracy of Fiesco in Genoa the traces of the Farnese influence were to be discerned.[5]

The plan of Ferrante Gonzaga to overthrow his incon-

[1] *Cf.* MAYNIER, 530 *seq.* ; DE LEVA, IV., 339 ; DRUFFEL, Sfondrato, 344 ; Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxxv, 106 *seqq.*, 557 *seq.*, 569. In Bologna in a general congregation of Sept. 14, 1547, the next session was postponed *sine die* (Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 695).

[2] *Cf.* Mocenigo's report in FIEDLER, 130.

[3] See MAURENBRECHER, 155 *seq.*, 159 ; BALAN, VI., 391.

[4] See AFFÒ, 112 ; DE LEVA, IV., 355.

[5] *Cf.* DE LEVA, IV., 240 *seq.*, 244 *seq.* ; BELGRANO in Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, IV., 1, 216 *seq.* ; LANDAU in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1887, Beil. 35, who considers the evidence of Paul III.'s participation inconclusive ; so also MANFRONI, 365 *seq.*

venient and dangerous neighbour, with whom personal dissensions were constantly breaking out, was favoured by the internal conditions of the Duchy of Parma-Piacenza. Pier Luigi had here made for himself more bitter enemies by the rigour of his administration and the harsh assertion of his territorial authority than by his dissolute life. In general his government was no better and no worse than that of most of the petty Italian princes of that day. Like Cosimo de' Medici he also strove to form a homogeneous state out of the conflicting portions of his domain, but in this attempt he came into collision, before all others, with the insubordinate nobility. Accustomed to the lenient rule of the Church, these small barons chafed impatiently under the strong hand of the new ruler who, in proportion as he improved the condition of the people, set limits to the feudal privileges of their masters.[1]

The dissatisfaction grew when Pier Luigi formed under his own immediate command a territorial militia and, with characteristic disregard for others, began to erect in Parma as well as in Piacenza a huge citadel. By the end of 1546 Ferrante Gonzaga had made proposals to the Emperor that he should employ the discontented nobles to overthrow Farnese.[2] Impressed by Farnese's attitude towards the

[1] The first supporter of this view of Farnese, who had been appointed simply in the first instance as "Tiranno," is L. SCARABELLI: Dell' ultima ducea di Pier Luigi Farnese, Bologna, 1868. This defence, which certainly goes too far here and there (*cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 3rd Series, IX., 2, 226 *seq.*), has been adopted by REUMONT (III., 2, 501), BALAN (VI., 395), BERTOLOTTI (in the Atti dell' Emilia, III., 27 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*), and GIARELLI (Storia di Piacenza, Piacenza, 1889). Recently SCAPINELLI has treated the question from the like point of view (Rassegna naz., I. [1906], 182 *seq.*, Le riforme sociali del duca Pier Luigi) and MASSIGNAN (p. 61 *seq.*, *cf.* p. 111 *seq.*).

[2] See Gonzaga's letter of Dec. 30, 1546, in MAURENBRECHER, 156, n. 15. For the building of the citadel of Piacenza, see Atti Mod., I.,

conspiracy of Fiesco, the Emperor listened to Ferrante's schemes with assent, but only in the case of a vacancy in the Holy See.[1] Ferrante Gonzaga, embittered by personal quarrels and constantly goaded on by Doria against Farnese,[2] was loath to wait so long; he tried hard to obtain the Emperor's permission to hazard an early blow. In the spring of 1547 he set forth in detail how favourable the situation was for securing Parma and Piacenza by a sudden stroke.[3] But Charles V. had fresh scruples; he turned with a shudder from Gonzaga's murderous plot when it lay before him point by point; and he was also struck by the unwisdom of thus directly conjuring up the vengeance of the Pope. But afterwards, when the translation of the Council took place, he gave his consent on May the 31st to the forcible expulsion of Pier Luigi.[4]

Ferrante Gonzaga without delay made all the necessary arrangements with the malcontent nobles. Seeing that the works of the citadel of Piacenza were far advanced, and that there was a danger of the conspirators making an alliance with France, he urged upon the Emperor that the moment to strike had come at last. The latter gave his consent, but on the emphatic condition that the Duke's life should be spared. Gonzaga was at pains to obtain a

480 *seq.*; MASSIGNAN, 71 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., 4th Series, XIV., 105.

[1] See Charles V. to Gonzaga, Jan. 14, 1547, in the Atti d. Soc. Ligur., VIII., Doc. 36, and in MAURENBRECHER, 157.

[2] Scipio de Castro insists on this in the *Avvertimenti et ricordi al duca di Terranova, governat. di Milano, in the Inf. polit., XII., f. 17[b], of the Royal Library, Berlin. Another copy in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

[3] See the documents in ODORICI, 67 *seq.*; AFFO, 145 *seq.*; DE LEVA, IV., 357 *seq.*

[4] See MAURENBRECHER, 157; DE LEVA, IV., 361 *seq.*

promise from the conspirators, with the express approval of Charles;[1] but they firmly refused to enter into the conditions laid down by the Emperor. Gonzaga therefore let it drop and, indeed, assured all the participators in the deed of immunity from punishment for all murders committed in the execution of their design. After all the preparations had been made with scrupulous care a postponement was caused by the presence of Ottavio Farnese with his father.[2]

Ottavio had hardly taken his departure when the conspirators made ready for their crime. While the Duke, for whom his astrologer had predicted length of years, sat at table at midday on the 10th of September 1547 with a brilliant retinue, foreboding no evil, the murderers stole one by one into the citadel of Piacenza, unhindered by the unsuspecting German bodyguard. After the Duke had risen from table Count Giovanni Anguissola and two privy to the plot forced their way into his chamber and struck him down with a dagger. The rest of the band had in the meantime overpowered the guard and taken possession of the citadel. In vain Alessandro Tommasoni, commander of the ducal troops, tried to penetrate within the main building, from the window of which the bleeding corpse of Pier Luigi was flung into the trench.[3]

[1] *Cf.* AFFÒ, 157 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*; MAURENBRECHER, 158.

[2] *Cf.* AFFÒ, 164 *seq.*; ODORICI, 93 *seq.*; DE LEVA, 363 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* FALETI, 370 *seq.*; ADRIANI, VI., 2; AFFÒ, 179 *seq.*; ODORICI, 53 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 394; BERTOLOTTI, La morte di P. L. Farnese; Processo e lettere ined. (Atti dell' Emilia, III., 1, 25 *seqq.*; MASSIGNAN, 98 *seq.*). For the chief of the conspirators, G. Anguissola, and his relations with Spain, see BONARDI in Arch. stor. Lomb., 1895. The murder gave rise to several pamphlets deploring the crime (see Lamento p. la morte di P. L. Farnese p. da G. CAPASSO, Parma, 1894). Marmitta addressed poem of condolence to Paul III. (see Atti Mod., I., 153).

Among the people the murder met with no response; the city authorities likewise would not hear of any change of government. Nevertheless, the fate of Piacenza was already decided. Ferrante Gonzaga hastened thither and on the 12th of September occupied the city in the Emperor's name, after promising the conspirators on Charles's behalf that the city should never again be delivered to the Pope or a Farnese. It was only the vigilance of the commandant that prevented Parma also from falling into the Imperialists' hands. On the 16th of September, Ottavio, the murdered man's eldest son, had already made his entry.[1]

This terrible blow, which seemed to many contemporaries to be the punishment of heaven for the Pope's inordinate nepotism, struck the Pontiff like a lightning flash from a clear sky. On that very 10th of September Paul III., then staying in Perugia, had an interview with Mendoza in which he talked of the course of his career and extolled his luck.[2] On that same day, and perhaps at the self-same hour, his son fell dead at the hand of the assassin.

Deeply as the Pope must have felt this calamity as a father and as a sovereign, yet the aged man, weak in body and vigorous in mind, never lost his composure for a moment. When Cardinal Farnese brought him the fearful tidings he only lamented that he was too fortunate and therefore open to such a counter-stroke; but this event was

[1] *Cf.* AFFÒ, 181 *seq.*; DE LEVA, IV., 369; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 114, 115 n.

[2] See Mendoza's report of Sept. 18, 1547, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 114. The good fortune of Paul III. was the subject of letter from Giovio (Lettere 32), June 1547. For the stay in Perugia, see BONTEMPI, 394; *cf.* *Acta Consist., "Die iovis 25 Augusti 1547 S. D. N discessit ab urbe Perusiam versus. Die veneris ultima Septembris 1547 fuit reditus S. S. a civitate Perusiae ad almam urbem" (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

indeed too hard a blow.[1] To save Piacenza, whose magistrates had sent him a letter of condolence on the 10th of September with assurances of loyalty,[2] he despatched on the 13th Cardinal Cervini as Legate in order to rescue that city for the States of the Church.[3] By whom the blow had been delivered was not long a mystery to Paul III. By the 15th of September he was firmly convinced that all must have been done with the connivance of the Emperor and his servants, especially Ferrante.[4]

Such then were the circumstances under which the question of the Council and that of the reorganization of religion in Germany awaited a final solution.

[1] See Ruggieri's report of Sept. 17, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 115, n. 1; *cf. ibid.*, 116. The terrible news reached Perugia on Sept. 12 (BONTEMPI, 394) and was known in Rome on the 14th (see Nuntiaturberichte, X., 522; Legaz. di A. Serristori, 160 *seq.*).

[2] Printed in Spicil. Vatic., I. (1890), 74. There is a similar letter to Cardinal A. Farnese of Sept. 10, 1547, in the archives of the Spanish Embassy at Rome.

[3] *Brief to Cardinal Cervini, dat. Perusiae (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 40, n. 745; Secret Archives of the Vatican); original in the State Archives, Naples.

[4] See F. Rodi's *report of Sept. 15, 1547, in BALAN, VI., 395; *cf.* also Legazioni di A. Serristori, 161; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 115, n. 1; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 121.

CHAPTER X.

The Emperor in Opposition to the Pope and the Authority of the Council.

In the German war Charles V. had made a brilliant display of his superiority over all his opponents: the Schmalkaldic League was shattered, and its leaders, the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse, made prisoners. The Emperor seemed to have reached the summit of his power. The reorganization of the religious condition of Germany, which had been suspended during the war, no longer admitted of any postponement. With the destruction of the political power of the Protestant Estates only one-half of the task assigned to himself by Charles was fulfilled; the other and more difficult half had now to be accomplished: the restoration of religious unity. Deeply convinced of the truth of Catholic doctrine, the Emperor sincerely desired this unity, but only in the sense that he, the temporal head of Christendom, should outweigh in influence the spiritual head, the Pope.

As protector of the Church the Emperor held himself to be justified in claiming not only in the political but also in the ecclesiastical sphere the casting vote on all critical questions. Paul III., who saw clearly through this pretension, was not disposed, however, to sink himself to the level of an Imperial vassal or chaplain. It was by no means his nepotism only, but rather his determination from a sense of duty to preserve his independence and freedom as Pope which drew Paul III. into antagonism to the

monarch "who wished to have all Italy at his free disposal, to secularize in Spain, to dictate in Trent, and to adjudicate at his own tribunal on the great controversy on religion in Germany."[1]

The opposition between the two potentates, which had been declared openly during the Schmalkaldic war, appeared to have reached the point of rupture when Pier Luigi fell murdered at Imperial instigation and simultaneously Piacenza was seized without a semblance of legal right[2] by Ferrante Gonzaga, the Emperor's viceroy in Milan.

The situation was now made worse by the unworthy behaviour of the Imperialists towards the aged Pope and his Legate, Cardinal Sfondrato. At first the most deliberate dissimulation was practised in order to prove that the assassination had taken place without the Emperor's knowledge. Already on the evening of the 13th of September 1547 Granvelle hastened to Sfondrato and showed him a letter from Ferrante Gonzaga assuring the Emperor's minister that the first news of the murder had just reached him, after the event. On the 16th Granvelle came once more to announce that Piacenza had surrendered to the Emperor. Sfondrato was not at a loss to declare that the speedy re-delivery of the city to Ottavio Farnese, the murdered man's son and son-in-law of the Emperor, must be the touchstone of his innocence as regards the catastrophe and of his uprightness of intention towards the Pope.[3]

[1] BEZOLD, Gesch. der Reformation, 795; *cf.* also RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., 6th ed., V., 77.

[2] See BROSCH (I., 186), who describes Ferrante's act as that of a bandit.

[3] See Sfondrato's letter of Sept. 17 in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 117 *seqq.*

It was not until two days later that Sfondrato had an opportunity, after a High Mass, of seeing Charles, who had been laid up for some time with gout. The latter remarked on this occasion of his own accord and with every apparent sign of sorrow, that he had heard of the events at Piacenza with no other feelings than those of indignation both on account of the murdered Duke himself and of the Pope, and that he was longing for the arrival of an envoy from Gonzaga with fuller information. The Cardinal-Legate, knowing very well that the occasion did not permit of further discussion, confined himself to requesting the Emperor to take such measures as would be consonant with his lofty station, his justice, and his high reputation.[1]

After the arrival of Ferrante's emissary Granvelle once more gave assurance of the viceroy's innocence. He had found himself compelled to comply with the invitation of the inhabitants of Piacenza themselves, who would otherwise have handed over the city to the French; among the conditions to which he had to agree was one prohibiting the transfer of Piacenza either to the family of Farnese or to the Papal States. The Legate rejoined that he did not intend to investigate the question of Gonzaga's innocence; he was content with the fact that the city was occupied by Imperialist troops while belonging by every title of law to Ottavio Farnese. Granvelle replied vaguely that the Emperor would give orders such as the occasion required, but that astonishment was felt that no instructions had come from the Pope. The Legate was able to reply, with reason, that it was the duty of the Emperor and the person who had taken possession to give explanation to the Pope, who was the injured, and, he

[1] See Sfondrato's despatch of Sept. 18, 1547, in PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 5, n. 4; also partly in Nuntiaturberichte, X., 120, n. 1.

might add, the plundered party. Hereupon Granvelle assured him that such had been the Emperor's intention, but that he had awaited the arrival of Gonzaga's envoy and also had been afraid of a summons to the French from Piacenza. Sfondrato met this by saying that if the immediate delivery of the city were refused, the greatest embroilment in political and ecclesiastical relations would ensue.[1]

The Emperor even brought himself to despatch his court official, Figueroa, to Ottavio Farnese and the Pope with messages of condolence[2] and a denial of all complicity in the deeds committed in Piacenza. On his return from a hunting party on the 2nd of October he received both the Cardinal-Legate and Ottavio's representative, Count Sforza Pallavicini. The Legate, who was given audience first, remarked that although he had not yet received from the Pope any instruction with regard to his attitude towards the events at Piacenza, he could not refrain from saying that the occasion was of the utmost importance and one on which it was imperative that his Majesty should declare his mind. He made no concealment that no credence could be given to Ferrante's plea of justification, and once more urged the immediate restoration of Piacenza to Ottavio Farnese. Charles attempted to defend Gonzaga, and declared that his own affection for Ottavio was that of a father for his son; but he was of opinion that the Duke could not ask more from him than he was receiving from the Pope; the behaviour of Paul III. could not conduce to benefits towards Ottavio.

[1] Sfondrato's letter of Sept. 21, 1547, in PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 5, n. 5, and partly in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 120 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 126, 142. The letter of credence from Charles V. here printed, of Sept. 25, 1547, was already published in Spicil. Vatic., I., 76.

Here the Legate thought that he must interpose with the observation that the Emperor had made similar remarks on various occasions; he therefore could not avoid reminding his Majesty that the Pope not only on repeated occasions had refrained from courses injurious to the Imperial interests, but had expended a substantial portion of his income on services rendered to Charles, and that to those very contributions the victory in Germany was for the most part owing.

As the Emperor made no answer to these outspoken utterances, the Cardinal went on to describe the trouble which would arise everywhere, especially in the affairs of the Council, if on the question of Piacenza a miscarriage of justice were to be allowed. Charles replied that private concerns ought never to exercise an influence on public affairs, whereupon the Cardinal remarked that such influence was sure to be exercised when its source was, in both cases, the same, namely, mutual confidence or mutual distrust. The Emperor now tried to bring the interview to an end by assuring Sfondrato that his dutiful reverence and obedience towards the Holy See would never fail; in the Diet now begun he would do everything that was possible on behalf of the cause of religion and inform the Pope and the Legates on all points; as regarded Piacenza he had come to no decision, but he would not fail to take the measures proper to the occasion. To this concise and general statement the Legate replied: "Since your Majesty has not yet come to any decision on this subject, I beg permission to request that the decision may be come to in such a way that it may be not only salutary but swift."[1]

Immediately after the Legate, Sforza Pallavicini had an

[1] See Sfondrato's letter of Oct. 2, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 131 *seq.*

audience. Yet even he received the same colourless answers, but with this difference, that the Emperor remarked at the close that he did not wish misunderstandings to arise between him and the Pope over Piacenza, and that he would show his favour towards Ottavio Farnese. The spark of hope which this expression had kindled in the Legate and Pallavicini was very soon extinguished in both by a declaration made by Granvelle.[1]

The same devices which had been employed at Augsburg were also employed at Rome by Mendoza towards the Pope and Cardinal Farnese with the same unsuccessful results.[2] What else could have been expected when it was already known at the Papal court on the 17th of September that Ferrante Gonzaga had threatened Count Santafiora and Sforza Pallavicini with the Emperor's displeasure if they continued to protect Parma?[3]

Even if the Imperialists subsequently abstained from

[1] See Sforza Pallavicini's letter of Oct. 3, 1547, *ibid.*, 134, n. 1; here (137, n. 4) also in an Italian translation is Granvelle's Spanish document handed to the Legates and already cited by Pallavicini (l. 10, c. 5, n. 10).

[2] *Cf.* Mendoza's reports in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 119 *seq.*, 121, 126. For Diego Hurtado de Mendoza as statesman, humanist, and poet, see GRAUX, Orig. du fonds grec de l'Escurial, Paris, 1880, 163 *seq.*; FESENMAIER, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Progr.), Munich, 1881–1882, 1883–1884; Histor. Zeitschr., XXXIX., 404 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, Darstellungen aus der Gesch. Spaniens, Göttingen, 1850, 311; Nuntiaturberichte, X., xv *seq.*; EHSES in Histor. Jahrb., XXIX., 677. The extracts from Mendoza's letters made by the partisan writer AYMON (Maximes politiques du Pape Paul III., La Haye, 1716), from a codex in the Library of the Escurial, are so fragmentary and arranged with such a polemical intention that they are of no use for historical purposes.

[3] See B. Ruggieri's report of Sept. 17, 1547 (copy in BALAN is inaccurate, VI., 396), now authentically reproduced in Nuntiaturberichte, X., 522, n. 1.

vexing Parma, they yet took no steps to punish the murderers of Pier Luigi and to surrender Piacenza as Paul III. demanded.[1] The crime of the 10th of September was to be turned to the fullest account. The surrender of Piacenza on the guarantee of compensation was held out as an enticement by the Imperialists to bend the Pope to submission to their master's policy. Paul III. saw through the scheme, and now at last made plain his unmistakable disinclination to give way on the question of the Council.[2]

The Pope's inordinate love for his own offspring may have given the Imperialists some hope that the agitation and horror caused by the recent occurrences would put an end to a life now numbering eighty years; but the iron disposition of Paul III. was proof even against such a shock as this,[3] and henceforward his conduct gained in dignity. "In his relation to the Emperor he appears as the one who has received injury, and the sympathies of men are turned to him and withdrawn from the cold statecraft of his adversary."[4]

Next to the Pope, Cardinal Farnese was the most cruelly stricken. In his first moment of excitement he exclaimed: "If Piacenza is not given back, then will I help myself, as best I can, even if I have to summon hell to aid me."

[1] See the brief of Sept. 20, 1547, in RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 110, and Nuntiaturberichte, X., 116, n. 1, where there is fuller information about Mignanelli's mission; see also Spicil. Vat., I., 75 *seq.*; FONTANA, II., 502 *seq.*

[2] Already on Sept. 26, 1547, Mendoza had reported that the Pope had spoken of ordering a session to be held in Bologna (see DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 123).

[3] He told the Venetian ambassador that he hoped to outlive the Emperor (see DE LEVA, IV., 377, n. 1).

[4] FRIEDENSBURG in Nuntiaturberichte, X., xxxviii; *cf.* CAMPANA,

Later he threatened to deliver over Parma to the French.[1] Such utterances were intended to alarm the Imperialists, but at bottom Farnese hoped against hope that the Emperor would have the sense to give back his booty under certain precautionary measures and place Ottavio, his son-in-law, once more in possession of Piacenza. Mendoza tried to foster these vain hopes by showing a letter from Granvelle. Even after the disappointment caused by Figueroa's silence on the restoration of Piacenza, Farnese was of opinion that the Emperor, in view of the ferment in Germany and Italy and the threatening attitude of France, would not push things to extremities.[2]

The Pope also did not yet wish to bar a way of return to the Emperor. When Paul III. in the middle of October addressed a consistory on the murder of Pier Luigi, he declared that Ferrante Gonzaga was certainly the murderer, but he hoped that the crime had been committed unknown to Charles V. and that his Majesty would restore Piacenza to the Church, with which object Mignanelli had been sent to Augsburg. He cherished a distinct hope that the Emperor would fulfil this just expectation and not make himself a participator in wrongdoing. Even if, the Pope went on to declare, he were willing to forgive the injuries he had suffered as a man, leaving it to God to inflict punishment on the sinner, he could not tolerate and forget the acts of iniquity and robbery perpetrated against the Papacy and the Church, but must visit them with chastisement even if in doing so he should die a martyr's death.[3]

[1] See Mendoza's report in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 124, 129.

[2] *Cf.* DE LEVA, IV., 374 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 142 *seq.*

[3] Of the consistory, which is not mentioned in the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), nothing was known except from the extract given by RIBIER (II., 61), from a despatch of the French

In reality Paul III. believed that since the murder of September the 10th everything was to be feared from the Imperialists.[1] The fate of Clement VII., in which he had shared, rose before his eyes in vivid colours; after losing Piacenza, he observed, he had no wish to lose Rome also.[2] Measures of security were ordered to be taken without delay. While in Rome troops were collected together under pretext of danger from the side of the Colonna, secret negotiations were entered into with the ambassadors of Venice and France.[3] Henry II., on hearing the news of Pier Luigi's murder, had at once held out hopes of assistance to the Pope.[4] Du Mortier, hitherto French ambassador in Rome, was recalled and replaced by François de Rohan.[5] In the last week of October came also Charles de Guise, appointed Cardinal on the 27th of July, ostensibly to receive the red hat,[6] but really in order

ambassador in Venice, with the obviously incorrect date, Sept. 17. We are indebted to Friedensburg for further information by his publication of Mendoza's Spanish report of Oct. 16 in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 579 *seq.*

[1] "Who," observes Bezold pertinently (p. 803), "could any longer feel safe in the presence of a power which could stoop to employ such means?"

[2] See Mendoza's letter of Sept. 20, 1547, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 570.

[3] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, I., 113, 116 *seq.*, 119 *seq.*, 121, 124, 126, 129; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 570, 572, 574.

[4] See Dandino's *letter to Cardinal Farnese, dat. Fontainebleau, 1547, Sept. 17 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] His instructions (without date) in RIBIER, II., 39 *seq.* The *Acta consist. cancell. give Oct. 6, 1547, as the date of the consistory in which Rohan was received to do homage for Henry II. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); see the *declaration of obedience in Var. Polit., 46, f. 157b *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] The hat was given at last on Oct. 24, 1547 (see Acta consist. cancell., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

to negotiate about an alliance by means of which Paul III. hoped to be backed up by France.[1]

Guise, an ardent French partisan, once more set before the Pope in glowing colours the shamelessness of the Emperor's conduct: the murder of Pier Luigi by hired bravos, the forcible occupation of a city which Charles himself had bestowed on the Holy See in requital for the help given to him by Papal forces to conquer the Duchy of Milan, and finally, the refusal to restore it to the legitimate successor of the murdered prince and his own son-in-law, who had served him in the war with the happiest success. All the pent-up anger of the Pope, which in Mendoza's presence he had wisely curbed, now broke out afresh. All that he had done for the Emperor, especially by his participation in the Schmalkaldic war, he now rued bitterly. He could forgive his predecessors Leo X. and Clement VII. for the favours shown to them by Charles V., but not himself. From henceforth he was determined to renew in perpetuity the alliance with France which, as the course of history proved, had always been advantageous to the Holy See. He hoped that he might live long enough to see his friendship with the French King set upon a firm basis, his own family bound to him by indissoluble ties, and he himself an agent in raising Henry II. to be one of the most powerful princes in the world.[2]

The danger from the Emperor's side seemed so great to Paul III. that he forgot everything else. The warlike preparations which Charles V. was making in Germany and Italy caused alarm in Rome lest he should carry out the advice[3]

[1] For Guise's negotiations, see RIBIER, II., 71 *seq.*; DE LEVA, IV., 376; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 168, n. 1.

[2] See Guise's report of Oct. 31, 1547, in RIBIER, II, 74, 75.

[3] For the period of Clement VII., see our statements in Vol. IX. of this work, 453 *seqq.* During that of Paul III., Charles's chief

so often given him by his statesmen and the enemies of the Farnesi and invade the Papal States, already wedged in on the north and south, and confine the Pope within the limits of his ecclesiastical office. Rumours were already afloat of an armed expedition against Rome like that led in 1527 by Frundsberg and Bourbon.[1] No proof was forthcoming that Charles had formed any such plan, but, on the other hand, it is certain that Ferrante Gonzaga, in anticipation of a conjunction between France and the Pope, had made proposals of a similar kind. Gonzaga himself wished to seize Parma, Cosimo de' Medici, with the help of Rodolfo Baglioni, was to operate against Perugia, while Ascanio Colonna attacked Rome on the south.[2]

Against such a danger Paul III. thought of securing himself by a defensive alliance with France, Venice, Urbino, and Switzerland. This combination was to form "the door for offensive operations,"[3] and to free Italy from the Spanish yoke.[4] The Pope in his alarm looked on all sides for support: he even appealed to his mortal enemy Cosimo de' Medici,[5] and naturally appealed in vain. Far-reaching schemes were concocted. In Italy, Milan, Genoa,

counsellors were Cardinal Accolti (*ca.* 1542; see DESJARDINS, III., 25 *seq.*), Mendoza, 1543 (DE LEVA, IV., 479, n. 4), and Burlamachi (see *ibid.*, 234, n. 3; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 476).

[1] *Cf.* HENNE, VIII., 315; BROSCH in the Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 144. For Charles V.'s ascendency in Italy, see FIEDLER, Relationen, 58 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

[2] See Gonzaga's letters of Nov. 4 and 7, 1547, in MAURENBRECHER, 164.

[3] *Cf.* RIBIER, II., 75 *seq.*, 81; BROSCH, *loc. cit.* For the slender relationships between Paul III. and the Swiss, see Archiv für schweiz. Gesch., XIII., 272 *seq.*, and WIRZ, Filonardi, 98 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* CAMPANA, 417.

[5] See LUPO GENTILE, 121.

and Naples were to be wrested from the Emperor; for the undertaking against Naples the assistance of the numerous refugees was counted upon before all else, and even the services of the ruler of Algiers and of the Sultan were taken into calculation.[1]

With regard to Genoa, Spinola negotiated with Cardinals du Bellay and Guise; Giulio Cibò, who had been already implicated in the Fiesco conspiracy, came at this time to Rome.[2] As the secret of both plots was divulged, it may well be surmised that they were only intended to intimidate the Emperor.[3] Besides, the Pope, despite his great indignation, was far from intending to fling himself there and then into the arms of the French King. Only when Venice also entered into the compact would Paul III. bind himself to the league with France.[4] Henry II., on his side, had many considerations to bring forward against the draft of the Franco-Papal treaty, which Cardinal Guise had transmitted to him on the 10th of November 1547.[5] On neither side was a conclusion arrived at; for the time being everything was in suspense.

In the meantime Charles V., surrounded by Spanish and Italian troops, had opened at Augsburg on the 1st of September 1547 the Diet to which the epithet "armed" was given. All the seven Electors and almost all the temporal and ecclesiastical princes were present, and the

[1] See RIBIER, II., 81; DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 81; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 571, 575. In the beginning of 1548 Paul III. even put out diplomatic approaches to the Sultan; but nothing more is known (see BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 146 *seq.*).

[2] See DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 73, 74; *cf.* Atti d. Soc. Ligur., VIII., Docum., 136; F. MUSETTINI, Ricciarda Malaspina e Giulio Cibò, Modena, 1864; DE LEVA, IV., 379 *seq.*

[3] DE LEVA, IV., 382.

[4] *Cf.* CAMPANA, 411.

[5] See DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 80, 84 *seq.*, 86.

Venetian envoy observed with astonishment the "unbounded reverence" displayed towards the Emperor.[1]

To those who looked only on the surface, Charles certainly appeared to stand on the pinnacle of his authority, but he did not fail to perceive that a complete subjection of the Protestant Estates as a whole was out of the question. The northern portions of the Empire were as good as untouched by the events which had just come to pass; but in the rest of Germany also the situation seemed so difficult that the Emperor felt that he had not the means in his possession to carry out his wishes by force.[2] The circumstance that the Emperor had already been confronted by a confederation of numerous Protestant Estates was charged with weighty consequences.

In securing the neutrality of Duke Maurice of Saxony, concessions, on matters of religion, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty concluded with the Pope, had been made which flung over the authority of the Tridentine Council. In renewed violation of the above-mentioned agreement, Charles, in his treaties with the conquered Estates, had not made recognition of the Council one of his conditions, but only submission to the ordinances of the Diet. To the Estates he had given the express

[1] FIEDLER, Relationen, 146.

[2] WOLF, Interim, 44. As to the possibility of restoring the Church throughout the Empire by force, contemporary opinion was already divided. Among modern historians also the most opposite views are still held on this point. K. A. MENZEL (III., 282) is of opinion that forcible measures on behalf of the ancient Church would, humanly speaking, have brought about the same results in Germany that Ferdinand I. had achieved in Bohemia and Austria. MAURENBRECHER (p. 175) goes further, but overlooks entirely the hindrances which lay in the dissatisfaction of Bavaria and in the separate treaties which Charles entered into with the Protestant States.

assurance that they would be permitted to continue in their religion as before, and that no compulsory change would be forced upon them.[1] If, therefore, there were expectations among many that the victor in the Schmalkaldic war would take vigorous measures for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Germany, the fact was overlooked that the victor himself had already barred the way to any decisive policy of this sort.

The situation was still further complicated by the quarrel with the Pope over the Council, in regard to which the Emperor remained stubborn in his autocratic demand that the Fathers at Bologna should return without delay to Trent. Paul III. was ready to accede to this if the Emperor would give him assurances of the submission of the Protestants of Germany to the decrees of the Synod. Amid the great difficulties with which he was confronted, Charles V., looking upon the Council as if it were an Imperial Diet, seems to have contemplated the possibility of a re-discussion and re-statement of the dogmatic decisions already registered.[2] He completely failed to see that this was beyond the power of any Pope to allow; in theological matters Charles was somewhat at sea, and was also strongly biassed by his political advisers, who from the religious point of view were to some extent in favour of very questionable opinions.

The critical nature of the situation explains the very moderate attitude taken by Charles at the beginning of the Diet of Augsburg. The proposition which he laid before the Estates on the 1st of September 1547 reaffirmed, "as if there had been neither war nor victory," in relation to ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, the utterances of

[1] See *supra*, p. 327.

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, V., 6th ed., 3, 5 *seq.*

previous Diets.[1] The affairs of religion were handled with striking brevity. Since the disruption in Germany, so ran the message, has been the root and chief cause of all the disturbance in the Empire, and without its removal no restoration of peace was possible and to attain this object the Council in Trent had been summoned, the first and principal subject of deliberation must be how to effect an agreement and, pending the success of such efforts, how to deal with questions of religion; it would be the business of the Estates to submit proposals on this subject.

No doubt could exist as to the object Charles V. had in view. He was as determined as ever to carry out his wishes in the matter of the Council, in spite of the Pope and the Fathers in Bologna. He was bent on exercising pressure on the latter to transfer the Synod once more to Trent through the initiative of the Diet, and in the case of this form of intimidation failing, to cover his retreat by an arbitrary interim regulation of religion carried by the unanimous vote of the Diet.[2] He had taken steps preparatory to such an interim in August, before the opening of the assembly.[3] This finely devised plan was frustrated by the refusal of the ecclesiastical princes to give an expression of opinion before Charles had expounded his intentions more clearly. The secular Electors also of the Palatinate, Saxony and Brandenburg, while disclaiming any intention of anticipating his Majesty, begged, all the same, that a "general, free

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 675. As many of the Protestant princes objected to a "Papist" as President of the Diet, Charles V. conferred this position not on Cardinal Truchsess but on the Archduke Maximilian (see Venet. Depeschen., II., 336).

[2] WOLF, Interim, 48.

[3] Referred to by FRIEDENSBURG in Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., IV., 213 *seq.*

Christian council should be held at Trent or elsewhere in Germany" for the removal of erroneous doctrines and abuses, to the decisions of which Paul III. must submit. At this "free" council all bishops would have to abjure their oath to the Pope, a decisive vote be given to the Protestants, and the decrees already formulated at Trent be "reassumed," *i.e.* re-opened for discussion! Even the College of princes, prelates, and counts, in which there was a Catholic majority, demanded this "reassumption," a proceeding in direct contradiction to the principles of the Church. The Estates of the Empire declared that the best way to remove the religious dissensions would be to summon a new religious conference or a national council in which God-fearing persons of all stations in life should have a voice in the decisions! Regarding the Council of Trent, the Estates expressed their conviction that the Emperor would not take any steps towards its continuance, since that Synod "prematurely, without impartial hearing of the cause, had drawn up a medley of confessions and anathemas of doctrine on the most important articles under dispute, and from it nothing was to be looked for but trouble and injustice."[1]

Opinions being thus divided, the Emperor interposed with a resolution of a very peculiar kind. In this document, dated the 18th of October,[2] he declared, with a strange ignoring of contrary opinions, that he understood from the answer of the Estates, "in which he graciously

[1] SASTROW, II., 142 *seq.*; *cf.* MENZEL, III., 225 *seq.*; WOLF, 49 *seq.*

[2] SASTROW, II., 151 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, VI., 203; BEUTEL, 22 *seq.* WOLF (p. 51) remarks: "The idea of the Emperor was this, to obtain from the Protestants a declaration that they were ready to attend a council in a German city and to execute its decrees. Thereupon Charles, with this important concession in his hand, would, as executor of the proposals of the Estates, demand the reassembly of the Council at Trent." *Cf.* also PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 6, n. 4.

acquiesced, that the discussion on disputed points of religion by the General Christian Council appointed to be held and duly opened at Trent, should there be continued," and he "undertook that they would submit themselves to such a General Council and obediently await and accept its determinations for themselves and their successors, and thus in that place follow the footsteps of the Holy Fathers and ancients who in matters of religion had ever had recourse to holy councils of the Church." The Emperor went on to invite the co-operation of his subjects, especially those of the lower orders, to help as far as possible in supporting the Council in its continuance at Trent so that the deliberations might run their course the sooner and with greater dignity. He also called upon all Christian potentates and nationalities, and especially the German archbishops, bishops, and prelates, to be present personally or by representatives, giving also an assurance that the upholders of the Augsburg Confession might appear also, with safe-conducts there and back and the right to be heard if necessary. All the transactions and decrees of the Synod should be godly and Christian, all party spirit set aside, all discussions and decisions regulated by Holy Scripture and patristic teaching, and also a serviceable and Christian reform established in matters ecclesiastical and secular and all erroneous teaching and abuses duly abolished. The prayer of the Estates that means should be contrived whereby, until the General Council gave its decisions, they might live on good terms one with another, the Emperor was willing to consider.

Regardless of the objection of Sfrondato, the representative of the Pope, of whom not a single mention[1]

[1] Sfondrato at once complained, when Granvelle on October 18 submitted to him the Imperial resolution, that the promise of the reassembly at Trent was arbitrary, and dwelt especially on the absence of any

had been made in the Emperor's document, the latter endeavoured to induce the Estates, by acceptance of this vague resolution, to entrust to him "the sole management of the affairs of the Council." He succeeded with the Electors and princes, although they only pledged themselves thereby to a council which was to be held at once. The representatives of the towns withstood stubbornly all the endeavours of the Emperor's counsellors. Called before Charles V., they declared that it was not their province to overrule and improve on the opinion of the princes. At the same time they presented a declaration, which had been prepared some time before, demanding a free general Christian council not subject to Papal authority or a national council. The Emperor conveyed to them in reply that it was most acceptable to him that, following the example set by the higher Estates, they placed themselves entirely in his hands and were of the same mind as the rest!

mention of the Pope and of the Holy See. In reply he was told that the latter had been intentional in order to obviate difficulties from the Protestant side, and that even with this omission the authority of the Holy See was safeguarded by the express condition "according to the teaching of Scripture and of the Fathers." When Sfondrato further called attention to the lack of any definite pledge with regard to the restitution of Church property, he was silenced by the assurance that that lay within the intention of the Emperor but that it was impossible to do everything at once. Sfondrato finally pointed out the difficulties that might arise from the expression that the Council was in the first instance to be held at Trent. Granvelle was of opinion that no further alteration could be made, as the matter was now fully settled (see Sfondrato's letter of 21st October 1547 in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 154 *seq.*; *cf.* Pallavicini, l. 10, c. 6, n. 4, who here cites another letter from Sfondrato of 17th November 1547, belonging to this period, but no longer forthcoming). In the words "according to the teaching of Scripture and of the Fathers," BUCHOLTZ (VI., 205) sees "the fundamental preservation of the Papal rights if they are understood in the sense given them by the Church." Yes, if!

In this way an entirely different meaning was given to the declaration of the towns, for in reality they were not in agreement with the higher Estates at all. They only did not like to animadvert openly on their opinions of the latter in the presence of the Emperor. In order that this ambiguous behaviour might not be used against them in the future, they had set forth their true sentiments in the declaration before mentioned to which afterwards under all circumstances they could appeal.[1]

If the Emperor was satisfied with a "personal management" of the Council fenced about with provisions in this way, he was deceiving himself; for it was clear that the Protestants had never intended really to submit to the conciliar decrees, and that the towns made downright demands for a Council without the Pope, and such an one as should not be a continuation of the Synod of Trent.[2] In no case was he justified in allowing Cardinal Madruzzo to declare to the Pope that the Electors, the ecclesiastical and temporal princes, as well as the towns, had submitted

[1] *Cf.* HÄBERLIN, I., 263, who remarks correctly that in the case under discussion one party wanted to circumvent the other (see also BEUTEL, 24 *seq.*; WOLF, 52). One of the Nuremberg delegates at the Diet told Mocenigo in September that he did not understand how the Council could be general and free when the Pope granted a vote to prelates only and demanded from the Germans a recognition of the decrees hitherto passed in the Council without the concurrence of that nation (Venet. Depeschen., II., 340). Many towns did not agree with the negative attitude of their representatives. Thus the Council of Frankfort wrote on 3rd November 1547 to their envoy O. von Melem that they could not understand why their honourable city should repose so little confidence in the Emperor and thus act separately from the other Estates, and held strongly that since the Electors and princes had entrusted the matters of religion to the personal management of the Emperor, the towns should act in like manner (Reichstagsakten, LX., 44; State Archives, Frankfort).

[2] MAURENBRECHER'S opinion (Karl V., 176)

themselves unconditionally to the Council assigned to Trent and there opened, and that on these grounds the Fathers assembled at Bologna ought to return to the former place.[1] In order to give more force to a statement founded on an untruth the Emperor had already, without letting the Legates know, induced the German bishops, in a letter to the Pope, to describe in the most glowing colours the dangers and disadvantages arising to the Church from the translation of the Council to Bologna, and to demand the return of the Fathers of Bologna to Trent.[2]

Every means was to be used to browbeat the Pope into subjection to the Emperor's will. The despatch of the letter from the German episcopate, as well as Madruzzo's mission, was a continuation of the policy of terrorism which the murder of Pier Luigi had introduced.

Cardinal Madruzzo at a critical moment in the year 1546 had played the part of go-between for the Emperor with the Pope.[3] At the same time it was difficult to understand how, on this occasion, he could allow himself to be made use of for services which were doomed beforehand to hopeless failure. The instructions given him were contrary to fact when they spoke of unconditional submission on the part of all the Estates to the Tridentine Council, and made this a reason that the Emperor should demand a speedy return of the Council to Trent, and that too under threats of a protest if the Pope were to refuse his consent.

Sfondrato was right in his immediate surmise that by

[1] See Madruzzo's instructions of Nov. 10, 1547, in Nuntiaturberichte, X., 441 *seqq.*

[2] The letter dated Sept. 14, 1547, in RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 84 (*cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 119; Venet. Depeschen, II., 351 *seq.*).

[3] *Cf. supra*, pp. 287, 290 *seq.*

the demand for a retranslation of the Council nothing else was intended than to put the Pope in the wrong in case of his refusal, and thereby to lead up to an independent course of action in religious affairs. The Legate, on hearing of Madruzzo's mission, insisted that the latter should also have the fullest instructions with regard to the incident of Piacenza. The Imperialists would not at first consent to this, and only with difficulty was permission obtained that Madruzzo might bring the matter up for general discussion in Rome.[1]

Madruzzo left Augsburg on the 6th of November 1547. His instructions were sent after him a few days later by special courier. In this document the Emperor begged that, besides complying with his principal request, the reopening of the Council in Trent, the Pope would send officials with full powers to set in order temporarily the religious affairs of Germany; concerning the Papal election, the tranquillizing assurance was given that this, even during the assembly of the Council, would be vested in the Sacred College alone.[2]

On November the 23rd Madruzzo entered Rome, having been met by Mendoza, who had gone forward to accompany him and in accordance with the Emperor's wishes was to take part in the negotiations.[3] Madruzzo alighted at the Vatican, and on the following day was received in private audience. He knew well how deeply offended Paul III. had been by the Emperor's behaviour in the matter of Piacenza, and therefore dealt first of all with this subject only, on which certainly he was not able to bring forward much of importance. In an audience in which Farnese and Mendoza took part, on the 25th of November, Madruzzo

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 178 *seqq.*, 190.

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 441 *seqq.*

[3] See Charles V.'s letter of Nov. 10, 1547, in MAURENBRECHER, 124* *seqq.*

stated his case as regards the Council, and presented a copy of his instructions. Their phraseology deceived no one, and it was at once recognized that they only dealt with the submission of the Protestants to the first Council that should be held. Nevertheless, no hurried steps were taken; the Pope deferred his answer, as the opinion of the Cardinals had first to be taken.[1]

Paul III. had already, on the 6th of November, called Cardinal Cervini to Rome.[2] Opinions were also asked from Sfondrato, del Monte, and the deputation of Cardinals for the Council. Sfondrato drew a vivid picture of the dangers, but dared not offer any advice. Cardinal del Monte was of opinion that the Emperor was trying to find a means of inculpating the Pope and Cardinals for waste of time, and of then assembling a Council himself. As the Tridentine Synod had removed its seat of its own accord to another place, it was not within the Emperor's competency to transfer it again at his fancy to another city without the approval of the Pope and the rest of the Christian princes. It was impossible, only to please the Protestants, because they demanded a Council in Trent, to do such a thing against the wish of the Fathers and against the wishes of a great number of Catholic princes. In addition Trent had at an earlier period been thought dangerous as a seat for the Council, and this was now still more the case since the events at Piacenza. From dislike of a suspension del Monte advised that the Council should carry out its work in Bologna. Still stronger, he thought, would the Pope's position be against the Emperor if the sittings were removed to Rome. The deputation of Cardinals, in consequence of the deaths of Sadoleto and

[1] *Cf.* Farnese's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 211, 212, 214 n.

[2] Cervini left Bologna on Nov. 10 (see Massarelli, Diarium, IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 717 *seqq.*).

Badia and the absence of Sfondrato and Morone, now consisted only of Guidiccioni, Crescenzi, and Pole, and were at first unable to agree. The strict Guidiccioni was in favour of the continuance of the Council in Bologna, while his two colleagues preferred a suspension. At last they drew up together a memorial recommending, with regard to the despatch of a plenipotentiary to the Pope, that the opinion of the Fathers at Bologna should be taken on the question of the Council and afterwards a final decision given.[1]

The Pope approved of this compromise. On the 9th of December 1547 he let Madruzzo be informed of it in consistory, but at his request no resolution was come to until Mendoza had been heard. The latter allowed it to transpire that he would deliver a protest against the continuance of the Council in Bologna. In reality, however, he confined himself to a demand made in consistory on the 14th of December, in forcible but very courteous tones, that the Synod should forthwith without delay return to Trent. He was informed that in the next consistory a reply would be communicated to him. After Mendoza and the other envoys had left the consistory it was decided that the matter should be laid before the Fathers of Bologna, which was done in a brief of the 16th of December.[2] Madruzzo now despaired of any success for his mission, and avoided the conflict between his

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 6–8; LE PLAT, III., 662 *seq.*; BEUTEL, 31 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 212, n. 2. The memorial also insisted that Charles V. had obtained from the Protestants a promise of submission only to a Council to be held (*celebrando*) at Trent.

[2] See Farnese's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 212, 213; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 90; here (n. 91) is also the brief of Dec. 16, which, according to Massarelli (Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 727), reached Bologna two days later (see also PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 8).

position as Cardinal and that as representative of the Emperor by a hurried departure from Rome.[1]

In consequence the answer of the Council, to which Paul III. had left the decision, bearing date of the 20th of December, was presented to Mendoza in consistory on the 27th of the same month. In this document, drawn up in accordance with del Monte's proposals, the Fathers at Bologna expressed their readiness to return to Trent if this could be done without general prejudice to the interests of Christendom. As a preliminary step to this it would first be necessary for those who had remained behind in disobedience in Trent to attend the legitimately constituted Council as a mark of their recognition, as was due, otherwise an evil precedent would be created. In the second place, since the submission of the German nation was promised only to a Council which was still to be held in Trent, it must previously be established beyond possibility of mistake that the decrees on doctrine hitherto published in accordance with Catholic teaching shall be recognized

[1] He reached Trent by Dec. 23; he was expected at Augsburg on the Epiphany (see Sfondrato's letter in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 220). The Bishop of Fano, P. Bertano, *wrote on Dec. 15, 1547, from Rome to the Duke of Camerino: "Parte questa mattina il s. Cardinale di Trento malissimo sodisfatto et in grandissima rotta con costoro" (State Archives, Florence, Urb., 125, f. 204); *ibid.*, 108, f. 703, a *letter of the Duke of Urbino to his mother, dat. Pesaro, Dec. 21, 1547, on Madruzzo's visit (hieri et questa notte): "Dice che se ne torna con la guerra in pugno et che gli duole la ruvina d' Italia, la quale ha protestato et protesta per tutto et che senza dubbio fra quattro mesi al più lungo saranno in Italia cento mila fanti et venta mila cavalli Thodeschi, i quali non potevano havere la miglior nova di questa et che ogni cosa andarà a ferro e a fuoco, di che Dio per sua bontà tolga loro el potere in tutto et per tutto. Dice che la lega fra el papa e il re di Francia è al credere suo gia conclusa et che in ogni caso crede, che non vi sia più disegno di accordo; parte tanto mal satisfatto in ogni cosa, che non si potria aggiongervi."

as immutable and not under any pretext whatever liable to fresh examination. In the third place, since a Council has been spoken of consisting of members drawn from *all* conditions of men, an assurance must be given that no new form of conciliar discussion is intended. Not less necessary is it, in the fourth place, that on the return of the Council to Trent both the whole assembly in general and each individual member thereof in particular shall have perfect freedom to remain at or to depart from that place. Fifthly and finally, the right of the majority of the Fathers to decide upon the translation and termination of the Council must be recognized.[1]

The conditions laid down by the Council touched the core of the matter and made the situation clear. Even the Emperor could not fail to see that the "personal management" of conciliar affairs did not signify that unconditional submission to the Tridentine Council, so successfully begun, which he had ordered Madruzzo to offer; on the contrary, no one knew better than he that the Protestants had only been driven by the superiority of his armed power to consent to the "personal management" of this matter, and that under the general term of a free Christian Council the Protestants meant nothing else than what they had always declared before. In the same way he must also have been well aware that they had not the slightest intention of recog-

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 94, 95; *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, IV., 727 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 9, 10. By a brief of Jan. 1, 1548, the ecclesiastical Estates of the Empire were also at last given an answer to their representations of Sept. 14, 1547 (see RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 4–5; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 226 n. 1). Farnese again impressed strongly on Sfondrato on Jan. 10, 1548, that there must be no room left for doubt that, unless the conditions, formulated by the Council and acknowledged by Charles himself to be justified, were carried out, there could be no further question of the return of the Synod to Trent (Nuntiaturberichte, X., 226 *seq.*).

nizing the conciliar decrees already published on the Holy Scriptures, original sin, justification, and the Sacraments, whence it was that in their declarations they always spoke of a council to be held at Trent but not of the Council which had been in session there already. The removal of all these dangerous ambiguities was the more unpleasant to the Emperor since thereby the whole artificial fabric of his "personal management" of the Council by means of all Estates of the Empire fell tumbling to the ground; but on this his demand for the retranslation of the Synod to Trent had been based; since, moreover, the answer of the Council made it clear that, in the case of their suspicions not being removed within a suitable lapse of time, they would proceed with their deliberations, Charles V. felt that he must no longer delay the adoption of counter-measures. The dread of a schism would deter Pope and Council from proceedings such as would, he feared, prove the destruction of all his plans.[1]

Not for a moment did Charles accept the first of the conditions laid down by the Fathers at Bologna: that the Spanish prelates who had stayed behind in Trent must again unite with those in Bologna before the Council transferred its seat.[2] In everything must the Pope and Council bend before his will. The protestation, that appeal to terror, which hitherto he had only used as a threat, he now brought into immediate execution.[3] For this purpose he chose the most solemn form which he could find. Two of his officials, the attorney, Francesco Vargas, and the doctor of canon law, Velasco, who since the beginning of November 1547 had secretly held themselves in readiness in Bologna

[1] See PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 11.

[2] This first condition, in BUCHOLTZ's opinion (VI., 210), might have been complied with undoubtedly by the Emperor.

[3] *Cf.* Venet. Depeschen, II., 379 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 627.

for any emergency, appeared on the 16th of January 1548 in the general congregation of the Council, then engaged in discussing abuses of the Sacrament of penance, and demanded a hearing.[1] This was granted, as was also the attendance of the notary and witnesses of the two Imperial procurators. In the plenary instructions which were shown to the notary of the Council it said that the Emperor, in the service of religion and in the interests of the Church, found himself under the necessity of protesting against certain persons who usurped the title of Apostolic Legates and against a convention in Bologna styling itself a Council. The Council met this attack by a declaration read aloud by the notary Claudio della Casa and repeated later on. In this counter-protestation the Council affirmed: Although the congregation sitting under the presidency of the Cardinal-Legate del Monte was under no obligation to hear procurators who had been sent to the Council as to an illegal convention, yet they would grant a hearing in order that it might not be said that it was not open to every man to present his case; against all consequences of this permission granted to the procurators the Council would protect itself. By this declaration the audience of the Emperor's agents "was reduced to an almost insignificant act of courtesy and etiquette due to the Imperial Majesty."[2]

Vargas in a distinct and audible voice then delivered an address in which, with avoidance of the prescribed titles

[1] The text of the Bolognese protest of the Emperor in RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 6 *seq.*; *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 736; the letters addressed to Farnese by the Cardinal-Legate del Monte and the Archbishop Giov. Michele of Acerenza-Matera of Jan. 17, 1548, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 451 *seq.*, 453 *seq.*; see also PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 11.

[2] See BEUTEL, Interim, 37.

of the conciliar Fathers, he admonished the assembled bishops to take heed to that which he was about to announce in exact conformity with his Majesty's orders, and by their return to Trent to escape the inevitable ruin. As Vargas had begun with the words, "We are here as legally appointed plenipotentiaries of our Lord the Roman Emperor," so del Monte opened his reply by saying: "I also am here as Legate of the true and undoubted Pope Paul, the successor of St. Peter and Vicar of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ. Here also are the Fathers of the General Council legally translated from Trent. We all beg the Emperor to change his mind, for on the troublers of a General Assembly of the Church, whatever position they may occupy, fall the heaviest penalties. Come what may, we shall not surrender the dignity of the Church and of the Council."

Vargas hereupon presented the original Imperial mandate, dated Augsburg, August the 22nd, 1547, in protest to the secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, who read the document aloud, whereat the promotor of the Council, Ercole Severoli, and Cardinal del Monte repeated their protest already mentioned. Vargas then recited the Emperor's long-winded protest. The incidents of an earlier date were enumerated in a very one-sided manner; the translation to Bologna was attacked as having taken place illegally at the instigation of a few prelates without leave being asked of Pope, Emperor, or princes, and the return to Trent demanded, the latter on the false ground that all Estates of the Empire had promised unconditional submission to the Council summoned to Trent. The answer made by the Fathers of Bologna to the Pope was described as ambiguous and treacherous and the right of their assembly to prescribe laws for Christian people on matters of faith and of reform disputed: still, most of the

bishops present in Bologna were dependent upon the Pope's nod. This document, the tone of which towards the close increased in harshness, wound up with the significant declaration: "We declare aloud that our Emperor is ready to encounter the storm and tempest which he has feared and which he sees are about to break through your guilt and negligence and that of the Pope. The Church he will take zealously under his protection and do all he can that befits his right and office, his dignity and duty as Emperor and King, so far as the law permits and it has been established and observed by the laws, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the general consent of men."

Foreseeing that the Imperial procurators would not appear again to receive a written answer to their protest, the President of the Council, Cardinal-Legate del Monte, determined to reply at once. The violent attacks of the Emperor had exasperated even him, yet his rejoinder, although severe, was dignified. He solemnly called God to witness that all the allegations of the procurators against the honour of himself and of his colleagues and against the validity and legality of the translation were untrue, wherefore he refrained from producing the authentic proofs. He as well as his colleagues were true and legitimate Legates of the Holy See. The Emperor was the son, and not the lord and master of the Church. He as well as the Fathers of the Synod would rather suffer death than allow the temporal power to oppress the Church and rob her of her freedom.

The agitating proceedings which the Imperial procurators had brought about in this theatrical manner lasted from a quarter past two to a quarter past eight in the evening. The unruffled composure and firmness displayed by Cardinal del Monte on this occasion received the highest

tribute of recognition even from his enemies.[1] The same determination, however, was not shown by the majority of the Fathers. They inferred that the Emperor had been ill-informed because no mention had been made of the conditions on which the return to Trent depended.[2] The written reply therefore finally took the form of a very mild protest. When it was taken for delivery to the procurators they had already left.[3] Morone expressed his horror at the consequences which a breach between the Emperor and Pope must entail. Yet he had confidence that the Emperor was too wise and too high-minded to conjure up a strife the end of which no man could foresee.[4] Cardinal Cervini, who had returned to Bologna on the 23rd of January 1548, spoke in favour of a suspension, as Morone did on the 26th of January. In agreement with him was del Monte, who considered suspension to be the lesser evil. At the same time they sent proposals as to the answer to be made to the protest which Mendoza had lodged at Rome.[5]

In vain did well-intentioned Cardinals in Rome try to prevent a repetition of the scene enacted in Bologna; in vain the Pope attempted to put off Mendoza's audience, but the latter would not draw back. On the 23rd of January 1548, in a consistory before the Pope, Cardinals, and envoys, he declared ecclesiastical war in terms similar to those of the protest made at Bologna, subject to some necessary alterations. Notwithstanding all the accusa-

[1] See BEUTEL, Interim, 38.

[2] See in Appendix No. 35 Morone's letter of Jan. 23, 1548 (Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] See PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 11.

[4] See in Appendix No. 35 Morone's letter as above (Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck).

[5] See letter from the conciliar Legates to Cardinal Farnese in Nuntiaturberichte, X., 455 *seq.*

tions here raised against him, the sagacious Pope had sufficient self-mastery to abstain from an immediate reply. He wished to give an answer which should be the outcome of mature consideration, and invited Mendoza to attend a consistory on the 1st of February to receive his message.[1]

In the meantime, the proposals of the Legates at Bologna arrived. They advised, together with the suspension of the Council, the assumption by the Pope of the function of judge in the matter of the removal to Trent.[2] In private consultation with Mendoza the proposal was also made that, instead of the transference of the Council, three Cardinal-Legates should be sent to Germany to arrange a temporary settlement of religious affairs. The Emperor's ambassador, in an audience of the Pope on the 25th of January, in which he made most violent reproaches, rejected this plan with the remark, "The Council first, the Legates afterwards."[3]

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 18 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 242, n. 1; here (p. 628 *seq.*) additions to Mendoza's letter of Feb. 2, only incompletely given by DÖLLINGER in Beiträge, I., 134 *seqq.* See also Vincenzo Parenzi's **letter, dat. Rome, Jan. 23, 1548 (State Archives, Lucca); D. Lasso's report of Jan. 28, 1548, in DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 91 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 12; *cf.* also BROMATO, II., 140 *seq.*, and especially CAMPANA, 432. The Imperial protest was at once circulated in print: Allegatione o vero Pro || testa fatta per l' illustriss. S. Don Diego || di Mendoza, Ambasciatore della Cesa || rea Maesta alla S. di N. S. Pap || a Pauolo III. sopra le cose || appartenente al Concilio || generale di Trento. With the Imperial privilege, "impresso in Milano per Messer Gotardo da Ponte che sta appresso la Doana ne 1548 adi 3 Marzo," 10 sheets in small 4°.

[2] The letter of the conciliar Legates to Cardinal Farnese of Jan. 26, 1548, with the proposals as to the reply to be made to Mendoza's protest, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 455 *seq.*, 459; *cf.* Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 740.

[3] See Mendoza's letter of Feb. 2, 1548, cited *supra*, note 1

The answer given to Mendoza in consistory on the 1st of February 1548 to the protest of the 23rd of January was drawn up by Cardinal Pole with the utmost caution, tact, and wisdom, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the ultimate evil, a full and open rupture.[1] With this object, the offensive protestation was treated as an act of Mendoza's in which he had exceeded his master's instructions. Accordingly, the responsibility for the document was laid upon the ambassador, but even this in part in a very mitigated form. The latter, the reply began, could have no difficulty in forming an idea of the great grief felt by the Pope on receiving the protestation, as Mendoza himself apparently was not altogether a stranger to the same sentiments. The Pope, besides, could not believe that the Emperor intended to protest against the Pontiff's own person; his protest was lodged against the Legates as the authors of the transference of the Council. If it was said of the Fathers at Bologna that they were under special obligations to the Pope, his Holiness could only say that, apart from the relations in which he stood as Chief Shepherd towards his flock, he acknowledged no particular party, nor had he, during the negotiations hitherto carried on, yet found the necessity of having any such party to rely upon; on the contrary, he had urged upon the Legates as an express duty the maintenance of the freedom of the Council. As regards the complaint made of the answer sent in compliance with Madruzzo's proposal, the only rejoinder possible, until these general objections were more particularized, was that the strictest endeavour was made to adhere to the primitive usage of the Church, and also to the ordinances of the Emperor himself, provided the

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 29 *seq.*; QUIRINI, Ep. Poli, IV., 382 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 244; PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 13; BEUTEL, 39 *seq.*; CAMPANA, 432 *seq.*

following premisses were observed, that the dogmas already established could not be submitted to further examination, that private persons could not be accepted as judges, and that freedom of place and persons should be guaranteed.

The answer then went on to make an important concession whereby Paul III. abandoned his previous standpoint that the Council at Bologna should decide on the matter of translation. Since in the protestation many reasons had been adduced to prove the invalidity and illegality of the transfer of the Council, reasons which equitably demanded examination, the Pope, out of love of unity in the Church, consented to arbitrate on this question. For this purpose four Cardinals from different nations, namely, du Bellay, Alvarez de Toledo, Crescenzi, and Pole, would have full powers to make inquiry into the legality of translation; if their verdict was adverse, then the Pope would bring all his authority into play in order to bring about the return to Trent. In order that in the interval Germany might not suffer any disadvantage, his Holiness offered to send Legates or nuncios thither who should, for the time being, try to meet the most pressing necessities.

This temperate as well as dignified reply of Paul III. shows plainly he wished to keep a way of escape open to Charles V. As an alliance with France and Venice was not to be reckoned upon as a certainty, it seemed necessary to temporize, however bitter the Pope's feelings were, especially at the behaviour of Charles in the affairs of Piacenza.[1]

[1] See FRIEDENSBURG in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., xliii; *cf.* WOLF, Interim, 74; CAMPANA, 423 *seq.* "Hora ciascuno sta in dubbio," *writes V. Parenzi on Feb. 3, 1548, from Rome, "di quello sia per seguire. Poco bene si spera, ma si tiene che l' arme non s' habbino da pigliar si presto." Another *letter from the same of Feb. 5, 1548, is very pessimistic in tone: "D. Diegho partirà presto per Siena et

The endeavours to come to an understanding with Mendoza were fruitless, and he left Rome on the 15th of February.[1] It was of greater importance that Paul III., in accordance with the opinion of the Cardinal-Legates, resolved, in order to prevent a schism, to order a suspension of the Council so that all synodal transactions hitherto carried on in the congregations came to an end.[2] At the same time the preliminaries to a decision on the validity of the transfer of the Council were set on foot. On the 16th of February the Fathers at Bologna, and on the 25th those at Trent, were each directed to send at least three from their number in order that the Pope might give his decision after hearing the arguments on both sides.[3]

The Emperor in a Privy Council held on February the 13th, 1548, had confirmed Mendoza's protest. To the Pope's conciliatory and temperate reply of the 1st of February he ordered an answer to be prepared.[4] Nevertheless, he still shrank from the extreme step. For the present he was satisfied with the success of his policy of threats.[5] The point of capital importance was that the Pope did not reject absolutely the scheme of organizing religious conditions in Germany on a temporary basis. On this object the Emperor's whole mind was bent.

si crede, avanti che parta, farà qualch' altro atto forse più di mala sorte che la protesta" (State Archives, Lucca).

[1] PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 14; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 265, n. 4; DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 100. See also V. Parenzi's **report, dat. Rome, Feb. 18, 1548 (State Archives, Lucca).

[2] See KNÖPFLER in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XI., 2d. ed., 072.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 14; Massarelli, Diarium IV., of Feb. 25, 1548, ed. MERKLE, I., 746.

[4] See Sfondrato's report of Feb. 18, 1548, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 253.

[5] See *ibid.*, xliii; BEUTEL, 40; WOLF, 74.

CHAPTER XI.

The Interim.—Last Days of Paul III.—His Death.

Cardinal Madruzzo had reported to the Diet of Augsburg on the 14th of January 1548 the unsuccessful results of his negotiations in Rome. In conjunction with this the Emperor brought forward his long-cherished plan[1] of establishing, in virtue of his supreme authority in the Empire, with the co-operation of the Estates, a readjustment of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany which, pending the full reconciliation hoped for from the Council, and as a preparation for the same, should prove satisfactory to Protestants and Catholics alike.[2]

The idea of such an agreement finds its earliest expression incidentally in a letter of Charles V. of the 9th of

[1] A German version of Madruzzo's narrative and the Emperor's report in Sastrow, II., 179 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*; *cf.* also Nuntiaturberichte, X., 232, n. 1.

[2] The view specially upheld by Ranke (Deutsche Gesch., V., 6th ed., 32) and Janssen-Pastor (III., 18th ed., 679 *seq.*), that Charles V. originally intended the Interim to be a general law of the Empire and not an exceptional measure binding on Protestants only, was first attacked by Maurenbrecher and afterwards by Beutel, Druffel, and others, but not on valid grounds (see Wolf, 84 *seq.*, and also Postina, 96). While there is written contemporary evidence in favour of the opposite view, the Carmelite, Westhof, in his unpublished treatise on the *Interreligio Imperialis* of 1549, made use of by Janssen, says expressly that the Emperor wished, even if it were only for a time, to be the religious dictator for the Catholics.

January 1547, in which he asked his brother Ferdinand I. to give him advice concerning the measures to be employed in Germany. In his reply of the 19th of February the King of the Romans took up his brother's suggestion, and recommended in the first place the usual method of a Council, to be constituted, however, in such a way as to leave no door open for Protestant complaint; since it was very doubtful, if the Pope continued to act as he had hitherto done, that this object would be obtained, although a great deal of time would be spent on the negotiations, but in order to avoid further secessions, a temporary reorganization of religion or Christian reformation, which afterwards could be confirmed by the Pope and Council,[1] must be established, on the basis of the earlier religious conferences, by theologians of mature experience. When Charles V. accepted this proposal he certainly was not thinking of founding a Germanic Church on the pattern of the Gallican. He only wished, by means of a religious compromise and the removal of abuses in the Church, to put an end to the internal dissensions which were crippling his Imperial authority.[2] In a certain sense Charles was falling back on the earlier attempts at reunion, but with this difference, that on this occasion the formula of agreement was not to be drawn up by a conference, and was to be of a temporary character.[3] The Emperor still recognized as clearly as ever that the religious controversy turned upon two entirely contra-

[1] The important letters of the two Hapsburgs in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 403 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*

[2] This is rightly insisted upon by BEUTEL (p. 11), EGELHAAF (II., 505), and PAULUS in Katholik, 1894, II., 417 *seq.*

[3] The affinity of the Interim with the earlier attempts at reunion is an argument that, as then, so now, the new formula of agreement was looked upon as binding on both parties.

dictory systems which could not be harmonized by a "more" or "less." Charles hoped that his new expedient would create a state of things by which the gradual return of the Protestants to the Catholic Church would be rendered possible.

Even if the Emperor's idea of restoring, in the flush of victory, the sorely needed religious peace to the Empire in such a way as this, sprang from the best intentions,[1] yet the whole undertaking was already from the outset foredoomed to failure from the lack of ecclesiastical authority. Charles had indeed declared in October 1547, when he appointed four theologians to discuss with his confessor Soto the management of religious affairs in Germany until the conciliar decision should have been pronounced, that the work of this commission was to be laid before the Pope,[2] but this step was not taken. Even the request made through Madruzzo and Mendoza that the Pope should co-operate through plenipotentiaries in the Emperor's scheme of religious reorganization in Germany was not meant quite seriously.[3] The Pope certainly could not altogether be left out of the question, since through him only was it possible to get the German bishops to take a part in carrying out the "Provisorium"; but Paul III. was never permitted to exercise the decisive influence which as Head of the Church it was his prerogative to wield. The constant slights offered to Cardinal Sfondrato in the Diet, treatment of which he complains repeatedly in his

[1] In July 1547 the Venetian envoy was informed that the Emperor had declared that he felt himself bound by duty to Christ, to whom he owed his victory, to settle the religious troubles of Germany (Venet. Depeschen, II., 318).

[2] See Sfondrato's letter of Oct. 25, 1547, in Nuntiaturberichte, X., 163.

[3] BEUTEL, 30.

letters,[1] above all, his total exclusion from any knowledge of the negotiations over the establishment of the Interim, show clearly that even a new plenipotentiary, to whose mission Paul III. was willing to consent, would have done no more than occupy a merely formal position.[2] The Cardinal-Legate, Sfondrato, it is true, at once expressed his astonishment when Charles V. communicated his plan to the Estates that no representative of the Pope should have been consulted on the establishment of a new system of religious organization.[3]

Charles V. himself was conscious of the risks he was running in setting up his "Imperial Interim religion." He therefore tried to acquit himself by throwing the responsibility of its inception on the Diet. The consideration had also certainly great weight with him that success would only then be possible when he had with him the active participation of the Estates in the scheme.[4] It was therefore extremely displeasing to the Emperor when the ecclesiastical Electors refused to pronounce sentence on dogmatic questions which belonged to the Papal and conciliar tribunal. But many Protestants also had great objections to the scheme from distrust of the Emperor's Spanish theologians. Charles V. found himself in consequence obliged at last to form a committee of sixteen persons to deliberate on the means of securing Christian unity.[5] Their consultations brought a fresh disappointment to the head of the Empire; careful as he had been to choose the members so as to represent as nearly as possible all classes in the Estates, the upshot of the commission was that they

[1] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, Beiträge, III., 63 *seq.*

[2] See BEUTEL, 30.

[3] Sfondrato's letter of Jan. 16, 1548, and Nuntiaturberichte, X., 236.

[4] WOLF, Interim, 51.

[5] BEUTEL, 45; WOLF, 57; *cf.* Venet. Depeschen, II., 394–396.

were able to agree only on one point: that a removal of the religious dissensions was necessary![1]

The Emperor's attempt to shift the responsibility on to other men's shoulders having failed, no other course remained open to him save that of an arbitrary exercise of power.[2] The formula which was to be the instrument for realizing his schemes was fashioned with such secrecy that up to this day the most various opinions prevail as to the origin of the Interim. The first draft was from the pen of Julius Pflug, the follower of Erasmus, who hoped by yet further concessions to win over the Protestants. Other hands taking part in the work were those, on the Catholic side, of Michael Helding, Suffragan-Bishop of Mayence, the Carmelite, Eberhard Billick, and the Spanish theologians Soto and Malvenda; while on the Protestant side John Agricola, the conceited court preacher of Joachim of Brandenburg, took part in the composition of the formula which was to work the miracle of healing the religious breach which for a generation had been rending the Empire in twain. Many as the alterations were in the original draft, the main outlines of the ground-plan remained plainly visible.[3]

The Interim, or "Declaration of his Roman Imperial Majesty on the observance of religion within the Holy Empire until the decision of the General Council," consists of six-and-twenty chapters, the dogmatic statements of which are drawn up almost entirely in the Catholic sense but always in the mildest and often vaguest terms. Where

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 352 *seq.*; BEUTEL, 45 *seq.*; WOLF, 59.

[2] WOLF, 61

[3] *Cf.* PASTOR, *op. cit.*, 357 *seq.*; BEUTEL, 60 *seqq.*, 74 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschr., LXII., 326 *seq.* For the co-operation of Billick, see POSTINA, 96.

it could be done without detriment to dogma the form and statements approach very near to the Protestant standard, but fundamentally the definitions are mostly Catholic. On the seven Sacraments, the worship of Mary and the saints, monastic vows, fasts, and finally on the Pope and the episcopate, the Catholic doctrine is advanced. The doctrine of purgatory was passed over, and the definition of justification was wanting in the requisite precision; this was all the more suspicious as the Tridentine Council had already formulated the Catholic teaching on this crucial question. Although Charles had acknowledged in February 1547 this definition to be "most Catholic and holy," he now, in his zeal for the removal of the religious troubles, accepted in the "Interim," without regard for the authority of the Council, the discrepant formula of the mediatizing theologians.

Even the doctrine of the Mass, out of consideration for Protestant opinion, was represented in terms wanting in definiteness and precision. Still more unfortunate was the employment of expressions of such ambiguity on many articles that both parties were able to claim the statement of doctrine as favourable to their own particular view. The ceremonial of the Sacraments was left untouched. In every town and church possessing its own priests two Masses at least were to be said daily, and in the villages one was to be said on high festivals. The altars, vestments, vessels, banners, crosses, pictures, and images were to remain in the churches. Also the principal feasts, including Corpus Christi, the days of the Holy Virgin, of the Apostles and Saints, All Saints, and the patronal festivals of individual churches were to be more widely celebrated, Fridays and Saturdays kept as fasts, and the customary fast-days observed.

In order to facilitate for the Protestants entrance into the

old Church, which the Interim was to bring about, two important concessions were made: the marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds, but only provisionally until the Council made known its decision. Tacit assent was given to the possession of appropriated Church property.

Introductory to the official acceptance of the Interim, which was finished in its entirety on the 12th of March 1548,[1] the Emperor entered into private negotiations with each Estate. The Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg were easily won, the latter having attempted for some time to take up a middle position between the old doctrine and the new. Maurice of Saxony was more difficult to handle, although he was at last invested on the 24th of February with the Electorate taken away from John Frederick. Personally, Maurice declared that he was indeed ready to accept a clearly expressed resolution of the Diet, but refused to bind himself to obligations without previous consultation with his theologians and his Estates. He could on this point call attention to the fact that previous to the Schmalkaldic wars he had, with the Emperor's knowledge and at his wish, given his subjects assurances regarding the maintenance of their religion. In spite of all his persuasions Charles only succeeded in coming to a feeble compromise which secured to the crafty Maurice his freedom from obligations. The other Protestant confederates of the Emperor, the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin, as well as the representative of Strasburg, resolutely opposed, in the face of all expostulations, the acceptance of the Interim. On the other hand, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Augsburg gave in their adhesion.[2]

[1] This hitherto unknown date is supplied by a letter from Billick (POSTINA, 96).

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, V., 6th ed., 32 *seq.*; VI., 2nd ed., 264 *seq.*, 276 *seq.*; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 370 *seq.*, and particularly WOLF, 66 *seq.*

The strongest opposition to the Interim came from the Catholic Estates. Ecclesiastics as well as laymen were not willing that the Emperor, although only temporarily, should arrogate to himself the position of religious arbitrator for Catholics and attribute to the temporal power instead of to the infallible Church the determination of matters of faith.[1] The Catholic Estates were so far perfectly independent in their action that no Roman instigation could be proved. On the contrary, Bavaria had fanned and led this opposition far less from motives of Catholic zeal than from those of political rivalry. None save the Pope and the Council, declared the ecclesiastical Electors, had the right to consent to or to dispense and tolerate changes in respect of clerical marriage and communion under both kinds.[2]

Still more pointed was the protest of the Catholic princes and Estates, in the composition of which the Bavarian chancellor Eck had an important share. The Emperor was here made to understand in unmistakable terms that he was overstepping his authority when he presumed to handle definitions of doctrine which had been committed already to the Council; it was to be feared that general confusion, if not obstruction, to the Council would result. Let Charles use his influence with the Protestant Estates to make them repudiate their doctrines, those even of the Augsburg Confession, according to which they never lived. The concessions with regard to marriage and communion under both kinds were not permissible; both might be tolerated at the utmost in Protestant Estates until the Council gave its decision, but neither could be expressly permitted—no, not even by the Pope! Finally, there must be restitution of Church

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 685 *seq.*

[2] SASTROW, II., 320 *seq.*

property, free exercise of religion for those who had remained Catholic in a Protestant district, and absolute prohibition of innovations in districts that were already Catholic.[1] The Emperor refused to accept the protest of the princes, and used language of unprecedented harshness towards Eck, the Bavarian chancellor, whom he spoke of as "Judas," just as at a later date he simply expelled the Jesuit Bobadilla for having preached against the Interim in Augsburg.[2]

A remarkable concession on the part of Charles broke down the opposition of the Catholic princes. The latter finally determined, through their Council, to associate themselves with the milder remonstrance of the ecclesiastical Electors after having received the assurance that the Interim did not apply to Catholics, but had been arranged by the Emperor with no other intention than to draw the Protestant Estates once more to the Catholic religion with a view to their final submission.[3]

The motive for this important surrender was probably the fear felt by the Imperialists that the Pope might form an alliance with the Catholic princes of Germany in order to make common cause against the Interim.[4] This explains the startling fact that Charles, with all his Catholic orthodoxy, obstinately debarred the spiritual head of Christendom from taking a part in negotiations which vitally affected the highest interests of religion. He evidently thought that when his great effort was crowned with success the Pope and the Council, for good or for evil, would be compelled to give their consent.

[1] DRUFFEL, Beiträge, III., 98; *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 383.

[2] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, VI., 240 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 399; *cf. supra*, p. 109.

[3] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, VI., 235.

[4] WOLF, 75.

The Emperor's love of arbitrary procedure in matters of religion was exemplified afresh by his behaviour in the question of the Council. At an earlier date he had pressed the Pope to come to a decision on the subject of the transference of the Council; now, when Paul III. seemed prepared to comply, and had summoned witnesses from Trent, the Emperor forbade the latter to obey the injunctions of their highest ecclesiastical ruler.[1] Nothing could be more characteristic of the Imperialist pretensions than the experience of Giuliano Ardinghello, who was sent by Cardinal Farnese, in agreement with the Pope, to Germany on matters connected with the Council. On reaching Augsburg on the 13th of March 1548 he found that the Emperor's representative claimed to lay down for the Papal plenipotentiaries the limits of their ecclesiastical faculties.[2]

It was therefore no matter for surprise when, at the end of April, on the receipt of the text of the Interim, for presentation to the Pope, Cardinal Sfondrato was apprised that this did not mean that the Pontiff's opinion thereon was invited, but simply that he was put in cognizance of its contents.[3] Sfondrato on this occasion certainly did not delay in representing to the Emperor

[1] FRIEDENSBURG in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., xliii, n. 2. For the courteous but flat refusal of the Tridentine Fathers, dat. March 23, 1548, see PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 15, n. 3. Out of consideration for the Emperor the Pope temporarily withheld his decision on the question of the translation.

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., xliii–xliv, 277, 287; *ibid.*, 470 *seq.*; see the instruction for Ardinghello, dated March 5, 1548, according to which Paul III. was ready to agree to the postponement, as desired by Charles V., of the judicial inquiry into the validity of the translation and to the sending of Legates or nuncios into Germany.

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 295; PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 17; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 688.

that although the Interim formed no binding rule of faith, the promulgation of which was not within his Majesty's competence, but only a provisional permissive enactment, yet it must be taken into consideration that the draft in many places was so badly and ambiguously worded as to give the impression that what was aimed at was uniformity of words rather than unity of faith. Thus in the Interim the marriage of the clergy was conceded which, although forbidden by ecclesiastical and not by Divine law, could not be sanctioned by the temporal power, all the less so since the prohibition of marriage to those who have received priests' orders rests on an unbroken Apostolic tradition; further, the permission in the Interim to communicate the laity with the chalice was contrary to the decisions of many Councils. However that might be, he, Sfondrato, did not hold himself justified in pronouncing a verdict on matters of such grave importance. He would much rather await the sentence of the Pope and his special plenipotentiaries.

Charles had not the remotest intention of so doing. Urged by his political counsellors, and full of impatience to bring the religious reconciliation into being without delay, he believed that he would satisfy his conscience and the Catholic party if he made some alterations in the objectionable clauses of the Interim; provided, indeed, that such alterations would find favour with the Protestants.

From the Pope, Charles only looked with fear for hindrances to his intentions. His distrust was deepened by the prevalent belief in Augsburg that Paul III. was in alliance with France. It was also characteristic of the temper then reigning in the Emperor's court that Savonarola's sermons were largely read.[1] Suspicion and aversion increased on the journey of Prospero Santa

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 277 *seq.*, 297 n.

Croce,[1] appointed nuncio to King Ferdinand, which was long protracted. The worst surmises were indulged in as to the Pope's dependence upon France. The fear of interference on the part of the French Government seemed not unfounded, since that body was as determined as ever to prevent Paul III. from coming to terms with the Emperor. A breach between the two would at once drive the Pope into the arms of Henry II. No means came amiss that could forward this end. The mission of Ardinghello gave France a pretext for threatening to recall her bishops and prelates from Bologna, while in Rome Cardinal du Bellay was hard at work to prevent the despatch of plenipotentiaries to the Emperor. If unsuccessful in this attempt, he was at least to manage so that they should not be present at the Diet, but betake themselves to some place agreed upon with the Estates of Germany.[2] Du Bellay found supporters in Cardinals Cupis and Carafa, who were anti-Spanish; the interests of Charles V. were safe in the loyal keeping of Cardinals Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Francesco Mendoza, and Cueva.

Paul III. weighed the matter without coming to any immediate resolution. He invited provisional opinions from the conciliar deputies in Rome and from the Legates in Bologna in order to be fully armed in case a decision should become imperative without longer delay.[3] At last Santa Croce received instructions to represent to Charles V. that, in spite of several consultations, the difficulties of the Interim still appeared too great to admit of a final decision within the short space of time at the Pope's disposal. In order, however, to relieve the Emperor from suspense and uncertainty Santa Croce had been sent

[1] *Cf.* PIEPER, 108 *seq.*

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., xliv, 476 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 317; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 16.

to announce that, within ten or twelve days at the latest, plenipotentiaries would be despatched with the most comprehensive faculties.[1] For this proceeding a leading motive was also the knowledge that the Emperor intended the plenipotentiaries to have only a superficial and formal share in the new organization of religion.[2] Charles V. was all the more surprised at the fresh postponement of a decision, as he had expected, from a letter of the 27th of April of Farnese, that Santa Croce would certainly bring with him satisfactory instructions not only on the matter of the Council, but concerning the mission of the plenipotentiaries.[3]

As soon as Charles saw clearly that he had been deceived he determined to show no further consideration for the Pope, and to go on with his religious policy on his own initiative entirely. In order to cut off the possibility of any protest he refused on one pretext and another to give Santa Croce an audience until the decisive step had been taken. Not until he had read aloud the Interim to the Estates in a solemn session of the Diet did he receive the nuncio together with Sfondrato. When both arrived punctually at the hour of audience they were obliged to wait for a short time, as the Emperor was still detained by the Diet. Santa Croce declared drily that his instructions, which concerned both the mission of the plenipotentiaries and the restitution of Piacenza, had been rendered nugatory by the announcement just made of the Interim; but, in spite of that, he produced them. Charles V. tried to justify his conduct on the ground that the Diet could no longer be

[1] See Miscell. d. stor. Ital., V.[b], 1001 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 316 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the expression of Santa Croce in Vivaldini's report in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 511.

[3] Farnese's letter to Sfondrato, *ibid.*, X., 322, 323.

kept in any suspense. When the nuncio attempted to broach the subject of Piacenza he was interrupted by the remark that that was a private matter which was essentially one of domestic interest to the Farnese family and must be subordinate to affairs of public importance. The nuncio then tried to add something in reference to the Interim; but the Emperor rejoined haughtily and seriously that in this matter he had acted only as a legitimate and Catholic prince.[1]

Santa Croce had informed the King of the Romans openly, before his audience with Charles V., that the Pope did not see what object there could be in sending Legates if they were not to possess full powers in dealing with the matter of the Interim. Santa Croce also reminded Ferdinand that Charles had allowed it to be said that it would suffice if the Legates' share in the undertaking were restricted to maintaining the prestige of the Holy See, while in other respects they were simply to register his wishes and do nothing to destroy a plan which he had brought into existence with much trouble and anxiety. Paul III. was of opinion that if he were to send Legates to Augsburg only to execute the commands of Charles V., he would virtually be abandoning his office, and the Emperor would then become the Pope.[2]

In order to make the Interim acceptable to the Catholic princes and also perhaps to allay some personal scruples of conscience, Charles allowed at the eleventh hour some changes to be made in the formula. The proposal to the Diet was based on the understanding that the Interim should be "personally arranged" by Charles. In the

[1] The as yet undiscovered report of Santa Croce of May 16, 1548, in PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 17, n. 7; *cf.* also Sfondrato's letter of the same day in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 328 *seq.*

[2] Vivaldini's report of May 16, 1548 *ibid.*, X., 511.

deliberations in the Diet which immediately followed an opposition already made itself conspicuous, resting in part on the objection that the formula ought not to apply to all the Estates but only to the Protestant. Regardless of this, the Elector of Mayence declared in the name of the Estates that since they had entrusted to the Emperor personally the provisional settlement of the religious dissensions until such time as a decision was delivered by a General Council, it was right that they should pay obedience to the Imperial decree. As this declaration was received without contradiction, the Emperor drew the conclusion that his ordinances met with general acceptance. He was soon to learn a very different lesson.

Although the further proceedings were kept as private as possible, Sfondrato very soon became aware that the Elector Maurice was by no means enamoured of the Interim, and that in the towns the dislike of the scheme was still more intense. From conversations with Charles's confessor, Soto, and others he gathered that the Emperor intended in any case to push his new settlement of religious affairs in Germany to a finish without the Pope. In an audience given to Sfondrato on the 21st of May, Charles made no disguise of his distrust of Paul III., and declared that he would carry out his undertaking without Papal assistance; the Legates must appear with adequate faculties, otherwise their mission would be useless. In the matter of Piacenza he was determined to do nothing as long as his demands were unfulfilled.

With regard to the Interim, Sfondrato was able to report that the difficulties were steadily increasing.[1] Santa Croce said the same with fuller detail in his despatch of May the 22nd. In his attempts to control opinion in the towns,

[1] See Sfondrato's letters of May 19, 22, and 23, 1548, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 333 *seq.*, 337 *seq.*

Charles reminded them that he had promised to make no changes in matters of religion without the consent of the Council. Santa Croce thought that the Interim was only a threat by which Charles was endeavouring to browbeat the Pope.[1]

Undeterred by the strong opposition to the Imperial decree on religion manifested by the Protestants, Charles V. in the middle of June indulged in another act of aggression on the purely ecclesiastical régime by proposing to the Diet as supplementary to the Interim a long-considered scheme of reform for the Catholic clergy.[2] Here also he was acting once more from good intentions: by sweeping away abuses in her government the nearer approach of Protestants to the Church would be facilitated. But excellent as many of the provisions in the new ordinance of reform were, they were incapable from the first of being effectually enforced owing to the absence of any legitimate authority, the life-giving principle of all legislation, ecclesiastical or other. Ordinances dealing with the choice and ordination of the clergy, with the administration of the Sacraments, with Church discipline, with excommunication and the like, lay outside the province of the temporal ruler.[3] Even Sfondrato, who hitherto had suffered with an excess of patience the arbitrary proceedings of the Emperor, found this too much. The policy of the Emperor, he complained, was dictated by an unscrupulous selfishness; whoever dared to oppose

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 339 *seq.*

[2] "Formula reformationis" in HARTZHEIM, VI., 741 *seq.*; *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 392 *seq.*; POSTINA, 97; see also BRAUBURGER, De formula reformationis eccl. ab imp. Carolo V. in comit. Aug. statibus eccl. oblata, Mogunt., 1782.

[3] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 57; PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 2; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 691.

him was suspected and calumniated. The Emperor, Santa Croce reported at the same time, was puffed up with success and the knowledge that behind him was an army of four-and-twenty thousand men.[1]

This consciousness of armed power explains the attempt on the part of Charles not merely to reorganize the Protestant religion but also to reform the Catholic clergy without seeking the participation of the Pope. Had he succeeded in imposing his influence on the internal affairs of the Church so as to carry out both these schemes, he would inevitably have held a place as the head of the reunited and pacified Empire such as no Emperor had held for centuries, a place from which he could have dictated his commands concerning the questions of religion as well as the affairs of Italy to Pope and Council alike.

The declaration of the Elector of Mayence that the Estates would acquiesce in the Interim was much too premature. The Elector Maurice of Saxony, the Margrave Hans of Brandenburg-Cüstrin, and the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken put in protests almost at once. The towns of the Empire took up the position that they must first report home. Charles did all he could to prevent a combination of these discontented spirits with the rest of the Protestant opposition. He succeeded, and Maurice was prevailed upon to make a "roundabout" declaration and was then dismissed. Hans of Cüstrin, whose opposition was stubborn, was promptly ordered by the Emperor to quit the Diet. From the Count Palatine Wolfgang, Charles was content to receive the assurance that he would do all that his conscience allowed. The weaker towns were cowed by threats, and in the course of June the submission of the majority to the Imperial ordinance was received. It was a greater success for Charles V. that not merely the

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., xlvi, 374 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*

Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg but also the captive Landgrave of Hesse took the same course.[1] Thereupon Charles took steps to close the Diet, and with the pronouncement of the Recess on the 30th of June, amid no dissentient voices, the Interim became the law of the Empire. After the archbishops, bishops, and prelates present in Augsburg had declared their agreement on the 23rd of June with the formula of reformation, the latter was also published.[2]

To all outward appearance the Emperor had almost reached his goal. All that now remained to do was to carry the decrees into execution. For this the state of affairs in south Germany afforded the most favourable prospect, where Charles could make a strong impression by the weight of personality and the fear of his dreaded Spanish soldiery.

Even if all the South German States tried to save as much as was possible of their Protestant profession of religion by means of delays, excuses, and petitions, yet to all outward appearance they more or less submitted to the Interim. Where serious opposition was shown the Emperor took decisive measures of reprisal. The hostile preachers had now to yield and submit to the same fate which they had so often brought down on their opponents. In Augsburg and Ulm the opposition was broken down by a change of constitution. Even Constance had to accept the Interim and permit the restoration of Catholic worship. The city had indeed repelled successfully an onslaught of the Spaniards, but in view of the threatening attitude maintained by Charles V. deemed it advisable to

[1] See HÄBERLIN, I., 308 *seq.*; WOLF, Interim, 80 *seq*; WOLF, I., 427; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 391 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 353, 390, 391 *seq.*, 393.

[2] See HÄBERLIN, I., 371; DRUFFEL, Beiträge, III., 103.

place itself under the protection of his brother Ferdinand's suzerainty. Other places, on the contrary, with the powerful Nuremberg at their head, observed with success a course of conduct calculated simply to keep up the semblance of obedience. Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg also published the Interim only to the effect that no hindrances would be put in the way of its observance. Here the Catholic Church gained nothing by the ordinance, but on the contrary suffered much disadvantage.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse was ready to purchase his freedom at any price. His standpoint was certainly at first "to accept everything in order afterwards to observe nothing." After making closer acquaintance with the Interim, he formed the opinion, however, that the formula might be accepted without scruple, since it contained nothing contrary to Christian teaching. He afterwards tried to bring his preachers round to this opinion, but with a very scanty measure of success. In the Palatinate and Julier-Cleves things turned out well for the Emperor, and the new ordinance was there most thoroughly carried out. Even the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Kulmbach showed himself amenable, despite the opposition among his preachers. On the other hand, it was in the highest degree disconcerting that the Prince Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, who was often looked upon as the author of the new enactment, showed no enthusiasm for its execution, and tried to deceive the Emperor by a mere show of obedience. The wily Maurice of Saxony did his best to steer his course between the Emperor on the one hand and the Catholic Estates on the other. The Interim of Leipzig published by him contained, with the exception of some concessions, more semblance than reality. Generally speaking, this ambiguously worded document remained a thing of

ink and parchment; practically the religious conditions of the Electorate remained precisely where they were. An unconditional negative was offered to the Interim by the captive John Frederick, whose son had not much more to lose. Magdeburg and the Hanseatic towns followed suit, their remoteness from the centre of Imperial power rendering them immune from danger.[1]

The ill will of the majority of the upper ranks of society was combined in many quarters with the bitterest opposition from the mass of the people; the opinions and interests of countless numbers had already become deeply rooted in the Church system. It now became apparent with what success, in the course of a single generation, the reforming theologians had worked as preachers and writers to bring odium on all that was Catholic. Charles V. had not put an end, as, after his victory, he had the power to do, to this movement. The permission which he had granted, in the hour of success,[2] was now turned against him. The Protestant zealots were successful in augmenting, by means of a cleverly conducted agitation, the hostile feeling of the people towards the "papistical" Interim. Public opinion was worked upon by means of libels, ballads, caricatures, satirical woodcuts of the coarsest kind. In glaring colours the new organization was displayed to the common people as an anti-Christian monstrosity: as a three-headed dragon with a serpent's tail, a scorpion's sting, and claw feet. "In Latin the name of this worm is Interim." "The devil himself," it was announced, "was author of the Interim," and the Pope, his viceroy, wished to force it upon Germany.

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 696 *seq.* To the bibliography there given add: F. HERMANN, Das Interim in Hessen, Marburg, 1901.

[2] *Cf.* Corp. Ref., VI., 570 *seq.*; MENZEL, III., 128 *seq.*

"The Pope would drive the German land
To bend, a slave, at his command,
And for God's Word receive from him
That Devil's creed, the Interim."[1]

As soon as Paul III. received news of the Interim he ordered the new formula of religion to be laid before the expert theologians in Rome and Bologna. The latter found fault not merely with various points of detail contained in the Interim, but also laid stress on the principal sides of the question in the decision of which the Emperor, a layman, had overstepped the legitimate compass of his activity and directly infringed on the province of Papal and conciliar authority. The Legates of the Council called in the Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, and the Augustinian Hermit, Seripando, to examine the draft. They wrote on the 2nd of May 1548 to Cardinal Farnese that, in the exposition of the doctrines of original sin and of justification, the decisions of the Tridentine Council must not be departed from. With regard to the treatment of doctrines not yet decided upon by the Council, they presented a series of strictures on the formulæ contained in the Interim, into which they went in fuller detail in May in another declaration.[2]

[1] Besides the writings adduced by PASTOR (Reunionsbestrebungen, 394 *seq.*) and JANSSEN-PASTOR (III, 18th ed., 699), *cf.* also Serapeum, 1862, 289 *seqq.*, 320 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 10, c. 17; RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 51, 54, 56; Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 736 *seq.*, 773; CALENZIO, Documenti, 267, 268, 271. The Roman objections to the Interim are in the Vatican Library in *Cod. Vat., 3931: "Interim cum adnotationibus." Here in the preface (f. 1) to Paul III. it is laid down that in matters of dogma the decision rests with Pope and Council only; then follow: ff. 2–57, the text of the Interim; ff. 59-64, the strong objections of "Franc. de Castelione, general. praedic." (without author's name; also in Secret Archives of the Vatican, XI., 45, f. 515 *seqq.*); ff.

Mendoza saw in the Papal consultations over the Interim only the intention of protracting the decision on the affairs of Germany. Paul III. represented to him in vain that the Diet had no authority to deal independently with ecclesiastical matters; in vain he indicated objectionable passages in the Interim.[1] An assertion of such objections was cut short by the action of the Emperor, which was as sudden as it was arbitrary. When the news reached Rome on the 24th of May it naturally made the worst impression on the Curia. It seemed unprecedented that the Emperor should arrogate to himself the right of decision in matters of faith and attempt to exercise this authority by confirming erroneous teaching against the mind of the Church and the decrees of the Council. A consistory had been summoned for the 25th of May to draw up the faculties of the Legates about to be sent to Germany, but this was now abandoned. A more fitting subject of deliberation was the arbitrary conduct of the Emperor, which had aroused indignation in the whole College of Cardinals. The French were jubilant, for they now felt certain that a breach was inevitable between the Emperor and the Pope and that the latter would give his unconditional adhesion to their own King.[2]

Paul III. at first shared the feelings of the Cardinals; indeed, he said to the Florentine envoy, "The die is

67–68, **those of the "Epic. Scalens."; f. 76 *seq.*, further remarks on the Interim; see also Cod. Vat., 6222, f. 121 *seq.* *Cf.* also NOVAES, VII., 51; BERNINO, IV., 461; MERKLE, I., 771; and for Francesco Romeo de Castiglione, HEFNER'S work, Entstehung des Trienter Rechtfertigungsdekretes, Paderborn, 1909, 54.

[1] See Mendoza's letter of May 23, 1548, in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 679 *seq.*

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 343, 345, 688; DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 114 *seq.*; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. II, c. I.

cast."[1] It seems as if the Pope wished at once to give judgment on the validity of the translation of the Council, and immediately after the consistory he sent for the four Cardinals entrusted with this question. Yet it is doubtful whether he really intended to take such a step;[2] with cautious wisdom, he took no hurried action, but first invited the opinion of experienced advisers. The latter were greatly at variance. Del Monte, in the first burst of anger, had proposed a removal of the Council to Rome, but came round afterwards to the view of the French ambassadors at Bologna. The latter, on hearing of the publication of the Interim, declared immediately that the Pope should now pronounce in favour of the validity and then suspend the Council until a more convenient season should arrive. Cardinal Cervini, on the contrary, preferred that the Council should resume its work at Bologna, but that no session should be held until every effort had been made to try and arrive at an understanding with the Emperor.[3]

The Pope had entertained the idea, for a moment, of removing the Council to a Venetian city and so making an end to the controversy; but the Republic would not consent to this on account of the Turks and the Protestants.[4] As no decision on the validity of the translation was given, the Council remained for more than a year longer in Bologna without taking any action as regarded the Interimistic suspension. On the 4th of June Girolamo Dandino, Bishop of Imola, was sent to France, where he had represented Paul III. already from 1546 to 1547. The

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 360 (report of June 2, 1548); *cf.* the letter of the Portuguese envoy of June 12, 1548, in Corp. dipl. Port., VI., 259.

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., xlvi, 345.

[3] PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 1.

[4] CAMPANA, 517 *seq.*

ostensible pretext for his mission was the marriage of Orazio Farnese with Diana of Poitiers, the natural daughter of King Henry II., while the real purpose was the consideration of the conciliar question and the contemplated alliance.[1]

On the day before Dandino's departure Mendoza had an audience of the Pope. His attempt to excuse the Emperor was waved aside by Paul III., who said that it was to be deplored that Charles should allow himself to be led by bad advisers; apart from that, the Interim contained objectionable provisos, and was an infringement on the spiritual sphere. Mendoza tried, but in vain, to get a hearing on the question of the mission of the Legates, and of the decision on the validity of the translation. Paul III. also withheld any decision regarding the despatch of Pietro Bertano to Germany, which had been spoken of for some time. While on the affairs of Piacenza, the Pope insisted that the matter was not one only of private concern, but that it affected public interests, and could only be satisfactorily settled when good relations with the Emperor were restored.[2]

Soon after this audience orders were given for the recall of Cardinal Sfondrato and the despatch of Pietro Bertano, Bishop of Fano, in his place as nuncio to Germany.[3] The situation then became still worse owing to the Emperor's arbitrary behaviour with regard to the reform of the German clergy. In the first moment of excitement in Rome, it was believed that Charles only intended to represent the Pope as a defaulter to duty,

[1] See PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*; PIEPER, 132 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 363 n.; FONTANA, III., 381 *seq.*

[2] See Farnese's and Maffei's reports in the Nuntiaturberichte, X., 360 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, X., 372.

wherefore the temporal head of Christendom was forced to take the questions of reform and of the Council into his own hands.[1] The aged Pope was furious. The French drew such vivid pictures of the dangers to which his person was exposed that he took special measures of security. The watches were strengthened, and Ottavio Farnese had to sleep in the ante-chamber.[2] It was at this time that Paul III. told one of the Cardinals that he hoped to survive the Emperor, but that in any case, before he died, he would yet do something which would set the whole world talking.[3] Cardinal Farnese spread a report that Bertano had instructions to address to Charles the first admonition which precedes the greater censures of the Church.[4] That, however, was not by any means the object of his mission; as a matter of fact, the first outbreak of temper in the Curia at the attack of Charles on the privileges of the Church very soon gave place to a calmer estimate of circumstances. Seeing how uncertain French support was, and how determined the Venetians were to remain neutral, it seemed imperative to make use even of the situation created by the Emperor, and of the difficulties that situation involved; all the more so as Charles V., at the same time, was inclined to come round, having declared by word of mouth to the ecclesiastical Estates that he did not wish, by his reform ordinances, to limit episcopal authority, and even kept in view the restoration of ecclestiastical property.[5]

The choice of Bertano seemed excellent. This prelate, indeed, a member of the Dominican Order, possessed not only the entire confidence of the Pope, but that also of the

[1] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 384.

[2] Legaz. di Serristori, 168.

[3] Nuntiaturberichte, X., 385, 699.

[4] See Farnese's letter of June 13, 1548, in DE LEVA, V., 5.

[5] See DE LEVA, V., 3 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, X., 385 *seq.*

Emperor from the time of his previous mission. With Cardinal Madruzzo he was on terms of close friendship. In order to give no occasion for suspicion he did not pay a visit, on his journey through Bologna, to Cardinal del Monte, hated by the Imperialist party. He apologized for this want of courtesy on the score of his rapid journey.[1]

Bertano reached Trent on the 23rd of June, where Madruzzo instructed him frankly on the condition of Germany. On the 30th of June he reached Augsburg, and with Sfondrato was received in audience on the 2nd of July by Charles V. In this long interview it was made clear how much importance Charles attached to the mission of a Legate with full faculties, as without them his Interim must remain a dead letter. Santa Croce, as well as Sfondrato, advised the Pope to make the experiment by sending the Legates, a step which would also be of advantage in the matter of Piacenza.[2] The negotiations between the Emperor and Bertano seemed to give satisfaction to both parties. The nuncio, in his letter, said very confidently that Charles V. would be willing to accommodate the Pope in private matters if Rome would only show a spirit of concession in public affairs.[3] Bertano's proposal, that the reform of the Church should be undertaken in Rome by all or a portion of the Fathers of the Council, aimed at making a clean sweep of the old controversy over the validity of Trent or Bologna. Charles could not decline this proposal, as he had made it himself through Mendoza in February, but he wished that all this should be without prejudice to the Synod of Trent. Farnese shrank from giving a written promise to this effect to Fernando Montesa, who, as secretary to Mendoza, was at

[1] See PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 1; *cf.* DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 122.

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 388 *seq.*, 398 *seq.*

[3] See DRUFFEL, I., 128.

that time officially occupied in Rome. If, in spite of these difficulties, an agreement was reached afterwards, its terms were partly of a very general description.[1]

This was the source of new dissensions between Emperor and Pope. Each of the two parties in Rome described the contents of the agreement as being something different from what it was.[2] Paul III. sought, by threats of an alliance with France, to force the Imperialists to give way. The negotiations on this subject were again more actively carried on. Not in consequence of these, but in order to carry out his own designs in northern Italy, King Henry II. suddenly appeared in Piedmont in the beginning of August, avowedly to inspect the fortresses there, but really with another aim in view: Ottavio Farnese was at the head of a conspiracy against Ferrante Gonzaga, the murderer of his father, and the French King hoped, in case of its success, to derive some advantage. Henry sent his secretary Aubespine to Rome to restrain the Pope from making concessions to Charles and to gain his consent to the alliance in the form which the King desired. When Aubespine arrived in Rome on the 23rd of August the situation had already undergone a complete alteration. The conspiracy against Ferrante had been discovered, and disturbances in France had called Henry back again. The King still insisted on the immediate surrender of Parma to his vassal Orazio Farnese as the necessary condition preliminary to an active league and the recapture of Piacenza. Paul III. refused to enter into this compact; Aubespine therefore left Rome on the 26th of August without having settled anything.[3]

[1] See DE LEVA, V., 7.

[2] See DRUFFEL, I., 135; DE LEVA, V., 8 *seq.*

[3] See MAURENBRECHER, 202 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 156; DE LEVA, V., 12 *seq.*

Five days later the Imperial diplomacy experienced a triumph. Paul III. showed an inclination to meet the Emperor's wish that Legates should be sent to Germany. In a consistory on the 31st of August three bishops, not Cardinals, probably out of consideration for Madruzzo, were appointed. Besides Bertano there were also Luigi Lippomano, coadjutor of Verona, and Sebastiano Pighini, who shortly before had been nominated to Ferentino.[1] In the same consistory the Pope approved the Bull prescribing the Legatine faculties to be used in Germany; the document was read out without any further discussion or voting, as the French Cardinals wished.[2] Long consultations had taken place beforehand which presented great difficulties, as the Pope was anxious to avoid any appearance that his Legates were instrumental in carrying out Imperial ordinances which he had himself regarded as encroachments on his authority. Experienced theologians, Cardinals Cervini and del Monte as conciliar Legates, a deputation of the Segnatura, finally the commission of Cardinals appointed for the affairs of the Council, were asked their opinion. The opinions of the last named guided the decisions of Paul III. on the most important points.[3]

The faculties were drawn up in such a way that they gave an opportunity to the Legates in employing them to remind Charles of the incident of Piacenza. Even in other respects everything was so arranged that on the

[1] See Acta Consist. in MERKLE, I. 792.

[2] See Montesa's report of Sept. 10, 1548, in DRUFFEL, I., 155; Serristori's letter of Aug. 31, 1548 (State Archives, Florence); the Bull in LE PLAT, IV., 121 *seq.*; the instruction for the Legates in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 395 *seq.*, with the incorrect date 1542. *Cf.* also Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, 1884, II., 583 *seq.*

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 46 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 146 *seq.*; DE LEVA, V., 18 *seq.*

development of this question very much depended. The two Legates prolonged their journey purposely, and did not join Bertano in Brussels, where the Emperor in the meantime had come, until the 23rd of December.[1] Pighini's experiences on the road were more than depressing. He found an outward show of religion, occasioned by the Emperor's victory and his ordinances, but the temper of the people was more than ever in sympathy with the movement of innovation. Mass was said almost everywhere, but in empty churches; nobody asked the nuncios to exercise their functions, and not once were the customary observances of courtesy and respect shown to them. Pighini concluded, from all that he had seen, that the religious troubles in Germany would find no settlement by means of the Interim; nothing could be done in that direction except by measures of extreme severity.[2]

Charles V. was no stranger to the adverse turn of affairs in the Empire. In October 1548 he expressed to his brother Ferdinand his anxiety lest all his efforts for the pacification of Germany might be in vain.[3] How completely the policy of the Diet of Augsburg had failed he

[1] See DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 155; MAURENBRECHER, 209; DE LEVA, V., 21 *seqq.* Mendoza had already, on Sept. 1, asked for the alteration of the faculties (see Serristori's report of Sept. 1, 1548, in State Archives, Florence).

[2] See PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 2; DE LEVA, V., 23 *seq.* Pighini's comfortless *reports, dated Mayence, Nov. 5 and 16, 1548 (Carte Cerv., 22, f. 17 *seq.*, in State Archives, Florence), agree with Lippomano's observations. The latter *wrote on Dec. 6, 1548, from Cologne to Cardinal Cervini: "Siamo venuti in questa città già X giorni, nella quale anchora che sia catholicissima, non vi è mai compassa persona a vederci, nè del consiglio nè del clero, et il ℓ arcivescovo si trova absente in Vestvalia. Il caso è che costoro tutti non conoscono nè vogliono conoscere persona se non che dipenda da S. M^tà o che venga con suo ordine, et gia l' habbiamo provato per tutta l' Alta Germania."

[3] See DRUFFEL, I., 171.

certainly did not yet realize; on the contrary, to the astonishment of clear-sighted observers, he clung with characteristic tenacity for some time longer to the execution of his religious decrees, even after their total futility had been established beyond contradiction.[1] All these well-intentioned efforts were doomed to misfortune. Years before, the strict Catholic party had insisted on the radical defect that the management of ecclesiastical affairs by the laity without permission from the highest authority in the Church was inadmissible.[2] It caused profound grief that a monarch of such high reputation and of such sincere devotion to the Catholic faith should, at the cost of bodily suffering and sore anxiety of mind, have been led astray by erroneous judgments on matters of religious belief and by the unscrupulous counsels of politicians.

The decrees of the Diet on reform were not less ineffectual than those on the Interim. Here too the penalty had to be paid for issuing a whole series of reforming decrees on the duties of bishops, the visitation of dioceses, the foundation of chairs of theology, without consulting the authority of Church, Pope, or Council. Moreover, the Imperial ordinances only stated what reforms were to take place, but not how they were to be carried out, or how the difficulties, which certainly were to be expected, were to be overcome. All recognition is due to those German bishops who, in their provincial synods, not merely tried to give effect to the Augsburg decrees, but also to supplement them in such a way that they should be brought into line with the doctrinal decisions already pronounced by the Council of Trent. Even if this enthusiasm soon slackened, yet these Synods did effective work as pioneers

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 691.

[2] *Cf.* ORLANDINUS, Hist. Soc. Jesu, I., l. 4, n. 112; RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 6th ed., 255.

of subsequent reformation.[1] Still the religious affairs of Germany remained at first in a deplorable condition.

The reception given to Lippomano and Pighini, the Papal Legates, was far from promising. In the audience of presentation on the 3rd of January 1549 the Emperor complained of the Pope's dilatoriness and of the protracted journey of his representatives.[2] In their conversations with the ministers the greatest difficulties arose, as the Legates had not brought a general permission for the marriage of priests, but only a dispensation for particular cases where, unfortunately, no other course was possible. With regard to the permission in the Interim that priests who had entered into wedlock should not only preach, but also administer the Sacraments, the Emperor himself had at that time serious scruples. But Ferdinand I. and the Emperor's council were of opinion that this enactment must hold good, otherwise the Interim would be made impracticable owing to the want of priests. The Legates reported the matter to Rome; their opinion was that such a concession was not permissible.[3]

When the Imperialists, whose claims were always being pushed forward, advanced with yet a further demand that full powers should be transferred to the bishops and other suitable persons, the Legates interposed with clearly defined counter-demands: the expulsion of the Protestant preachers and authors, the prohibition to print or sell their books, the restitution of illegally appropriated Church

[1] *Cf.* HÄBERLIN, I., 498 *seq.*; WOLF, I., 440 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, Die Diözesansynode, Freiburg, 1849, 76 *seq.*; Histor.-polit. Bl., XXXV., 1154 *seq.*; Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr., 1884, 665 *seq.*; LOSERTH in Archiv für österr. Gesch., LXXXV., 143 *seqq.*

[2] See the nuncio's letter of Jan. 3, 1549, in DE LEVA, V., 24.

[3] LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 394, 396; DRUFFEL, I., 186 *seq.*; DE LEVA, V., 24 *seq.*

property, and the reform of the Church in Germany under the direction of the Pope. Charles V. declared with some excitement that such measures could not be considered until the salutary effects of the concessions of the Interim had been tested; he would not give permission to the prelates of Trent to go to Rome to discuss the question of reform until the faculties had first been put into operation. Paul III., who attached great importance to an early assemblage in Rome of the reforming episcopate, thereupon gave orders that no difficulties should be raised to the transfer of plenary powers to persons designated by the Emperor.[1]

Fresh delays were now caused by the further demand of the Imperialists for the issue of a Bull declaring that the dispensations at the bestowal of the Legates should be valid until such time as a Council pronounced a decision upon them. Cardinal Farnese, acting on a Papal order, sent instructions to Bertano on the 26th of April 1549 which removed this difficulty. It was to be left to the Legates' discretion to fix the time for which the dispensations to communicate under both kinds, or concessions of a similar kind, were to be granted, upon the condition however, that such period of time should not extend beyond the duration of the Council.[2] As soon as a satisfactory agreement had been reached in May concerning the transference of the faculties, the necessary Bulls were printed and sent by the Emperor to the bishops of Germany with the injunction that they were to proceed in compliance with them.[3]

[1] *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, 209; DE LEVA, V., 25–27.

[2] PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 2.

[3] See LE PLAT, IV., 121 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 224 *seq.*, 883 *seq.*; DE LEVA, V., 29. RANKE (V., 6th ed., 78) says: "On 18th August 1549 appeared Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, to whom if to anyone must be attributed the character of an orthodox adherent

If the Pope had entertained the hope that Charles V. would now show himself more conciliatory on questions still awaiting settlement, he was completely out of his reckoning. The despatch of the German bishops to Trent and the restoration of Piacenza were both matters on which the Emperor was as unwilling as ever to meet the demands of Paul III,

As a mediator in the affairs of Piacenza, Count Giulio Orsini had been employed by the Pope. Deceived by the compliments and general promises of the Imperialist minister, Orsini looked upon the surrender of Piacenza as

of the Roman Curia. He took his place in his cathedral-church of Augsburg with all the pomp due to his rank, preceded by his cross, the silver sceptre, and the Cardinal's hat. He mounted a pulpit specially erected for him and hung with red velvet in order to announce that the Interim contained nothing that was hurtful or onerous." From a letter of Cardinal Otto, dat. Dillingen, Aug. 3, 1549 (WINTER, I., 151), it is clear that his Indults comprised not only the Communion under both kinds but also priestly marriage. In DRUFFEL (Beiträge, I., 287) there is another letter from the Cardinal, dat. Dillingen, Sept. 18, 1549, according to which he had declared in Augsburg that "the Emperor had obtained from the Pope an Indult for communion *sub utraque specie* and for priestly marriage." EGELHAAF (II., 521) declares emphatically "that by this step on the Pope's part final recognition was now given by the Church to the Imperial decree; the opposition hitherto displayed by the adherents of the old Faith must now for good or evil be silenced, and this was of all the greater importance as the General of the Dominicans, Romäus himself, had associated himself with this opposition in a written protest. The Emperor at once issued instructions to the German bishops enjoining them henceforth to ordain clergy for pastoral duty on the basis of the Interim in Protestant countries, which had not hitherto been done according to ecclesiastical order." The proclamation of the Indult concerning marriage of priests and communion under both kinds was not, however, a recognition of the Interim as a whole, as no document to that effect is forthcoming. With regard to the Papal Indult, Ranke, for the sake of clearness, ought to have referred also to DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 292.

a certainty. On Christmas Eve 1548 he arrived in Rome, where his presence was awaited with all the greater expectation as Bertano's diplomacy was causing great dissatisfaction.[1] He brought no written, only oral, communications from Charles and Granvelle. These went so far that, as Cattaneo reported to Cardinal Madruzzo, it would have been a miracle if they were ever carried out. Long consultations followed,[2] and Giulio Orsini, to the great disgust of the French party, was again sent to the Emperor in January 1549. From this second mission he returned to Rome on the 27th of March with renewed hopes of the most sanguine kind; but Paul III. was now proof against deception. When Cardinal du Bellay congratulated him on the settlement of the dispute about Piacenza, he remarked that nothing was yet known for certain, Orsini had only brought back instructions for Mendoza empowering the latter to negotiate further.[3] There was afterwards some talk of sending Cardinal Farnese to the Emperor. In the end Orsini was again appointed in April, in order to push on the execution of the promises and to furnish documentary proof of the Papal rights over Piacenza. At the same time the nuncio Bertano was ordered to use his influence, in the same sense, with the Emperor.[4]

[1] See Buonanni's *reports, dat. Rome, Nov. 25 and Dec. 15, 1548 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See in Appendix No. 37 Cattaneo's letter of Dec. 29, 1548 (Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck); *cf.* also CAMPANA, 451 *seq.*

[3] See DRUFFEL, I., 187 *seq.*; *cf.* CAMPANA, 456 *seq.*; the *Istruttione al S. Giulio Orsini, dat. Jan. 11, 1549, in the Bibliotheca Pia, 222, f. 1 *seq.*, in Secret Archives of the Vatican, as well as in the Doria Pamphili Archives, Rome, Istruz, I., 362 *seq.*

[4] See CUGNONI, Prose di A. Caro, 136 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 216, 217 *seq.*, 883. Orsini left on April 26, 1549, according to Scipione Gabrielli's *report (State Archives, Siena).

On the 8th of April 1549 the long-expected[1] nomination of new Cardinals took place. Applications had been made from all quarters. Morone in December 1548 had advanced the claims of Paul de Varda, Archbishop of Gran, in the name of Ferdinand I.,[2] and at the same time Cardinal du Bellay had pestered Paul III. with importunate demands.[3] The Pope had given no heed to any of these solicitations. Only four Italians, who were in his intimacy and through whom he hoped to traverse the schemes of Cardinal Gonzaga with regard to the choice of his successor,[4] were appointed on the 8th of April 1549. They were Girolamo Verallo, Gian Angelo de' Medici, Filiberto Ferreri, and Bernardino Maffei.[5]

The Emperor's answer to the demand for Piacenza was anxiously awaited in the Curia. At first there were hopes which even Mendoza encouraged,[6] but the disillusionment came quickly. The answer which both representatives of the Pope received simultaneously on the 12th of June was as follows: From a minute examination of the documents submitted to Mendoza the conclusion had been come to that neither the Holy See nor the feudatories thereof had any rights to Piacenza or Parma. Nevertheless, the Emperor was willing to send his court

[1] *Cf.* Buonanni's reports of Sept. 25, Oct. 29, and Nov. 25, 1548 (State Archives, Florence). For the obstacle to the creation at Christmas 1548, see RIBIER, II., 179 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 183 *seq.*, 185.

[2] See Buonanni's *report, dat. Rome, Dec. 14, 1548 (State Archives, Florence); *cf.* DRUFFEL, I., 184.

[3] See Buonanni's **report, dat. Rome, Dec. 17, 1548 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See DRUFFEL, I., 223 *seq.*

[5] See CIACONIUS, III., 735 *seq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 292 *seqq.* For Cardinal Medici's previous life, see ŠUSTA, Pius IV., Prag, 1900, 8 *seqq.*

[6] See the *report of Serristori, June 11, 1549 (State Archives, Florence).

official, Martin Alfonso da Rio, with a proposal of agreement. This envoy, who also presented a written statement of the claims of the Empire on both cities, once more set before the Pope the necessity of his relinquishing his pretensions. He also announced that Charles, "not as a compensation but as a free mark of favour," would bestow on his son-in-law Ottavio Farnese a domain in the kingdom of Naples of the value of 40,000 ducats per annum in return for his surrender of Parma.[1]

Instead of restoring Piacenza Charles was now demanding the acquisition of Parma as well! The nuncio Bertano, who hitherto had been as hopeful as Orsini[2] and whose reports had been written in a corresponding tone, was quite dumbfounded by the turn which the Emperor had given to the incident of Piacenza. He now tried to raise difficulties for the Emperor in the matter of the dispensation.[3]

Rome was given over to astonishment, confusion,[4] and alarm. The agitation was all the greater since Cardinal del Monte early in the autumn had announced that he had come on traces of a conspiracy in Bologna to hand over that city to the Emperor.[5] The irritability of Paul III.

[1] The "Risposta data da S. M. al vesc. di Fano" is presented badly and with incorrect date in Lett. d. princ., III. (1577), 185[b] *seq.* (*cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 3; MAURENBRECHER, 211 *seq.*).

[2] See the Avisi of May 25, 1549 (not 1548), in MOLINI, II., 427.

[3] See MAURENBRECHER, 209; RIBIER, II., 216; DRUFFEL, I., 272.

[4] Bertano's letter to Cardinal Farnese, dat. Brussels, June 23, 1549, announcing that all his exertions had been in vain, was brought by G. Orsini on July 5 (see Nunz. di Francia, I., A, f. 419[b]). The Emperor's reply of June 12 was handed to Paul III. on July 18 (*ibid.*, f. 409, Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Corp. dipl. Port., VI., 320 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 3; DRUFFEL, I., 208; DE LEVA, V., 35. See also Legaz. di Serristori, 202.

was stimulated by incitements on the part of France,[1] and the provoking behaviour of Mendoza, who, on presenting the tributes from the kingdom of Naples to the Pope, made a public display of his contempt.[2] Although the spoken language of the Pontiff at this time was not kept under much restraint, yet his written reply, sent on June the 25th, to the Emperor's declaration on the subject of Piacenza was full of moderation. He would gladly have abstained from replying, if he could have done so without injury to the Holy See and himself; being forced to take the opposite course, he would not revert to the shameful proceedings in Piacenza or to the Emperor's promises, but confine himself to the instructions given to Martin Alfonso da Rio. According to the representations of Bertano and Orsini the Emperor wished, for the pacifying of his own conscience, to be made acquainted with the legal claims of the Holy See; the Pope therefore had been willing to enter into negotiations, but only on the condition of previous restitution; finally, however, in order not to appear suspicious or harsh, he had given way and laid before Mendoza the original documents. Mendoza had not been able to make any objections to them. The Emperor, on the contrary, now asserts that the Holy See has no legitimate title to possession, and offers Ottavio a compensation of 40,000 ducats, on condition that he, the Emperor, is also made master of Parma. Whether such conditions are acceptable, or whether they are hurtful to the Holy See and even Christendom itself, may be left to the judgment of God and of mankind. He only prays that the Emperor will consult the will of God and his own conscience afresh, in order that he may perceive that Piacenza belongs to

[1] See DRUFFEL, I., 270, and also Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXII., 419.

[2] *Cf.* Buonanni's *report of June 29, 1549 (State Archives, Florence), App. 38, and that of M. Dandolo of June 29, 1549 (State Archives, Venice).

the Holy See and that his Majesty, for many reasons, has no right to stay its re-delivery; the same reasons hold good in respect of Parma.[1]

The relations between the Pope and the Emperor having become disturbed once more, it was only natural that France should make every attempt to secure the upper hand in Rome. The policy of that kingdom was directed to the formation in the Pope's mind of a favourable opinion of the Catholic sentiments of Henry II. and the prevention of any concessions to the Emperor on questions of religion. On the 13th of July 1549 Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, brother of the Duke of Ferrara, appeared in Rome on a mission from the French King and was received with the highest marks of respect. He was to replace du Bellay, whose performance of his duties had not given satisfaction in Paris. Once more the project of a Franco-Papal alliance was ardently discussed.[2]

Olivier, the chancellor of Henry II., soon discerned, however, that the policy of Paul III. did not go beyond the acquisition of some amount of importance[3] in the eyes of the Emperor through the negotiations with France. Mendoza

[1] The "Risposta data a M. Alonso de ordine de N. S." is in Lett. d. princ., III. (1577), 186. DRUFFEL (I., 266) gives it again, although he must have inferred that it had been printed from PALLAVICINI (l. 11, c. 3), whom he himself cites as evidence for the date. The date is also certified by the copy in Cod. Urb., 1512, f. 93-97, and Cod. Barb., LVIII., 30, of Vatican Library. For Bertano's further ineffectual negotiations over Piacenza, see his *reports of Oct. 3, 22, 24, and Nov. 3, 1549 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See RIBIER, II., 222 *seq.*, 230 *seq.*, 234 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*; DE LEVA, V., 26 *seqq.* On July 19, 1549, Scipione Gabrielli *reported: "Il Papa è stato 3 o 4 giorni in castello, cosa contra la sua usanza in questi tempi, et ogni giorno fanno consiglio così in castello come in casa del rev. Farnese" (State Archives, Siena).

[3] RIBIER, II., 236 *seq.*

also was not deceived. He was firmly convinced that the Pope did not trust the French, and would not break with Charles V.[1] At first, certainly, it seemed as if a rupture over the Council was imminent between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul III. wished to remove the existing antagonism by summoning the universal episcopate to Rome to discuss the reform of the Church. As the Emperor could not openly oppose a proposal originally put forward by himself, he now tried to nullify it by suggesting impossible conditions. He demanded, firstly, that the system of reform to be proceeded with at Rome must not collide with the ordinances of the Interim and the recommendations for the improvement of the clergy made to the German princes at the Diet of Augsburg; secondly, that a Papal declaration should be made that the Tridentine prelates came to Rome simply as ordinary bishops and not as fathers of a General Council; this latter demand contained in it the tacit acknowledgment that the translation of the Council had been invalid. The Pope hoped to find a way out in the fact that he had not invited the Tridentine bishops to Rome expressly for the consideration of Church reform, and further that not all but only some had been summoned for that purpose. Such invitations were sent on the 18th of July to Cardinal Pacheco, Bishop of Jaen, Pietro Tagliavia, Archbishop of Palermo, Francesco Navarro, Bishop of Badajoz, and Giambernardo Diaz, Bishop of Calahorra. In order that it might be more clearly understood that the prelates were bidden only as individuals, summonses were sent also to four of the bishops at Bologna.[2]

[1] See DRUFFEL, I., 271 *seq.*, 274; *cf.* Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXII., 419.

[2] *Letter of Cardinal Farnese to Bertano, dat. 1549, July 27 (Inf. polit., XIX., 211^{b}–212^{b}, Royal Library, Berlin); PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 4; MAURENBRECHER, 133*; DE LEVA, V., 50 *seq.*

The briefs, which were sent to each bishop by a special messenger, declared that the urgent needs of the Church called for special consultations and measures which could not be adequately provided for by the Pope and the Sacred College alone. His Holiness had therefore determined to take the opinion of a portion of the episcopate and commanded them, in virtue of their pledges of holy obedience, to present themselves before him within forty days.

The bishops at Bologna at once declared their readiness to answer the call of their supreme head. Not so those of Trent. The reply in which they tendered their excuses for remaining where they were was dictated by Charles V., who thought that by inviting four bishops from Trent Paul III. intended to put a stop to the assembly in that city.[1] As the Pope expressed himself satisfied with their apologies, the Emperor threatened Bertano that he would address an appeal to a council and bring on a schism.[2]

In order to steer clear of this extremity Paul III. yielded so far to the Emperor's objections to the Council of Bologna as to communicate to Cardinal del Monte on the 13th of September his orders to dismiss the bishops there assembled, which were carried out on the 17th. On the 26th of September briefs were sent to the bishops who had left Bologna in which the Pope exhorted them to keep in readiness to resume the work of reform at the first call from him.[3]

The disobedience of the Tridentine prelates had not been taken calmly by Paul III.[4] On the 18th of September

[1] See PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 4; CAMPANA, 519.

[2] *Cf.* Charles V.'s letter to Mendoza of Aug. 18, 1549, in DRUFFEL, I., 278.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 4; Massarelli, Diarium IV., ed. MERKLE, I., 864.

[4] See the interesting *report of Serristori of Sept. 2, 1549 (State Archives, Florence).

they received a "Monitorium" rejecting their excuses. The Bishops of Badajoz and Calahorra, on the receipt of this brief, declared that they would obey the Pope. This was excessively disagreeable to the Imperialists. Granvelle ordered Mendoza to influence his Holiness "to pacify the consciences of the two prelates"; if this attempt was unsuccessful, he must raise a protest. Paul III. warded off this danger by declaring by word of mouth that the bishops who did not appear would incur no censures.[1]

To all the cares and excitements of these last months others undreamed of by the Pope were added about this time.

While the negotiations for an alliance with France were under consideration, a vital condition had been laid down, that Parma must be abandoned by Ottavio Farnese, son-in-law of the Emperor, in order that this city, so important on account of its situation, might be given to Orazio Farnese, the betrothed husband of Diana of Poitiers, natural daughter of Henry II.[2] In March 1548 it was thought in Rome that Ottavio, just made Gonfaloniere of the Church, would hand over Parma to his brother.[3] But herein popular surmise was entirely mistaken. Subsequently the most varied schemes were considered as to what was to be done should such an occurrence take place, especially as to the manner of compensating Ottavio.[4] Paul III. at last decided on a plan which put the Emperor in the dilemma of also refusing to the Holy See what

[1] See besides DRUFFEL, I., 289, 293, and CAMPANA, 520, the *report of Uberto Strozzi of Oct. 26, 1549 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] The marriage treaty was already completed (see RIBIER, II., 129 *seq.*).

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, X., 275, n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 202 *seq.*

he had stubbornly refused to his own son-in-law: Parma and Piacenza were to be given back to the Church, and Ottavio compensated by Camerino and a sum of money. The Imperialists, Margaret, Ottavio, and Cardinal Farnese sought in vain to dissuade the Pope. The orders were issued to Camillo Orsini to take possession of Parma in the name of the Holy See.[1]

Ottavio, whose temper was as fiery as his father's, was not, however, inclined to make place for his brother. Parma seemed to him too precious a possession—precious, moreover, on this account, that he believed himself to be held in great affection by the citizens.[2] Ever since the beginning of 1549 he had stood in intimate relationship with the viceroy, Ferrante Gonzaga, as he wished by all the means in his power to retain possession of his principality. Goaded on by Mendoza, Ottavio determined at last upon an act of desperation. On the 20th of October 1549 he left Rome secretly and hastened to Parma. There he attempted to obtain admission, first as lord of the place, and, when that plea failed, as vicegerent in the name of the Holy See. This Camillo Orsini refused before receiving direct authorization from the Pope.[3]

Paul III. was beside himself on hearing of Ottavio's departure. His anger was intensified by the general belief that at bottom he was in sympathy with Ottavio's proceeding, who had always been his special favourite.[4]

[1] See Dandolo, Relazione in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 341; PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 6; DE LEVA, V., 56.

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 202.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, l. 21, c. 6; MAURENBRECHER, 214; DE LEVA, V., 56.

[4] See BROSCH in the Mitteil. des österr. Instituts, XXIII., 151. Ottavio had already been described in a *letter of G. M. della Porta of Dec. 14, 1537 (State Archives, Florence), as "idolo" of Paul III.

Such a sympathy, however, was imaginary. On the contrary, the Pope wrote to Camillo Orsini forbidding him to countenance Ottavio's conduct. To the latter he sent by special messenger sometimes verbal, sometimes written, commands to return to Rome there and then. The Duke, far from obeying, had no scruple in appealing to Ferrante Gonzaga, the mortal enemy of his house, for aid. Gonzaga declared his willingness to furnish him with support upon condition that Ottavio would satisfy himself with a compensation for Parma or at least hold the duchy as a fief from the Emperor. Ottavio thereupon wrote to Cardinal Farnese that he would consent to Ferrante's conditions if the Pope did not immediately surrender to him the city.[1]

On the 5th of November, two days after he had kept the anniversary of his coronation,[2] Paul III. received authentic tidings of the disobedience and ungrateful conduct of his pampered grandson. On the following day he went, regardless of the intense cold, to the villa on the Quirinal which once had belonged to Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, where Cardinal Farnese read to him the letter from Ottavio. The Pope's indignation knew no bounds, and waxed greater when he perceived that the Cardinal was on the side of the rebel. He was attacked by a violent fever accompanied by a chill;[3] together with the agitation of the preceding days, this illness broke down the old man of eighty-two, who up

[1] PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 6; RIBIER, II., 247; DRUFFEL, I., 294; Lett. di B. CAVALCANTI, xv *seqq.*; Miscell. d. stor. Ital., XVII., 126 *seq.*; GUALANO, 89; DE LEVA, V., 56 *seq.*; Carte Strozz., I., 1, 431.

[2] RIBIER, II., 251 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* M. Dandolo's despatch in DE LEVA, V., 59; the report of d' Urfé in RIBIER, II., 252 *seq.*; that of Lasso in DRUFFEL, I., 294; that of Scipione Gabrielli of Nov. 7, 1549 (State Archives, Siena), and that of U. Strozzi (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) of Nov. 7 in Appendix No. 39; see also MERKLE, I., 873; II., 3, 491.

to that time had enjoyed an enviable vitality. Cardinal Farnese on the 7th of November ordered the castle of St. Angelo to be occupied by Astorre Baglioni and the gates of Rome to be closed.[1] On the 9th the Pope's condition was hopeless. His mind was unclouded, and he once more summoned the Cardinals round his bed. It was expected that he would appoint two Cardinals reserved *in petto*, but he did not. Paul III. only commended the affairs of the Church, and the interests of his beloved family,[2] in a few words to the Cardinals. If his inordinate family affection is taken into consideration, there is nothing incredible in the report that, at his last hour, on the 8th of November, during a brief rally, he dictated a brief ordering Camillo Orsini to deliver Parma to Ottavio as soon as the tidings of his death arrived.[3] This order to a certainty was given by Cardinal Farnese to Camillo Orsini on November the 8th, 1549.[4]

On the 9th of November Paul III. made his confession

[1] *"Che non entra nè esce un uccello," writes B. Ruggieri on Nov. 7, 1549 (State Archives, Modena). See also Scipione Gabrielli's *report of Nov. 7, 1549 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] See d' Urfé's report and that of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este of Nov. 9, 1549, in DRUFFEL, I., 294 *seq.* ("le card. de Ghity" is not, as Druffel supposes, Gaddi, but Chieti = Carafa); *cf.* also the *letter of B. Ruggieri of Nov. 9, 1549 (State Archives, Modena), and *that of F. Franchino of Nov. 9, 1549 (State Archives, Parma), who *inter alia* relates: "S. B. ancora sta in se e parla con sentimento e particolarmente ha dette a Madama et al s. Don Alessandro parole benigne et amorevoli, che havrebbe fatto scoppiar a pianger li sassi."

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, l. 11, c. 6, n. 3; Carte Strozzi, I., 1, 432; BROSCH, I., 188; RACHFAHL, 20; MERKLE, II., 16.

[4] See the letter in Appendix No. 40 (Altieri Library, Rome). A. Elio, Bishop of Pola, brought the letter on Nov. 11 to C. Orsini, who did not acknowledge it, since it came from Cardinal Farnese (see GUALANO, 90); he joined Ottavio on Nov. 14, 1549 (see Arch. Trent., II., 61).

and received the viaticum devoutly; towards evening there was a decided change for the worse,[1] and in the early morning of the 10th he expired.[2]

No one doubted that the ungrateful conduct of Ottavio was the immediate cause of death.[3] The Venetian ambassador, dwelling on this circumstance, remarked: "Pope Paul was good-hearted, obliging, intelligent, thoughtful. No man was ever more worthy to be called magnanimous."[4] Nepotism, his besetting fault, he acknowledged himself, and in his last hours he repeated to himself the words of the Psalm, "My sin is ever before me." "If they had not had the mastery over me, then should I have been without great offence."[5]

The Pope's body was brought without delay to the Vatican,[6] and placed in a temporary tomb in St. Peter's, behind the organ. Out of regard for the merits of the deceased Pontiff, the College of Cardinals, on the 13th of November, voted out of the treasure in St. Angelo a sum of 10,000 ducats, to be deposited with a bank, in order to erect a worthy monument in St. Peter's under the

[1] See Scipione Gabrielli's *report of Nov. 9, 1549 (State Archives, Siena).

[2] See Massarelli, Diarium IV. (ed. MERKLE, I., 873): "hora 14"; Lud. Bondini de Branchis Firmani, Diarium (*ibid.*, II., 491): "hora 13½." Ruggieri says, in his *letter of Nov. 10, Paul III. died "fra le 13 e 14 hore" (State Archives, Siena); Masius: "two hours before day" (LACOMBLET, Archiv, VI., 146); Cardinal Farnese in the *letter to C. Orsini of Nov. 10: "sul far del giorno" (Altieri Library, Rome). For the place of Paul III.'s death, see also the evidence in DENGEL, Der Palazzo di Venezia, 108, n. 4.

[3] See B. Ruggieri's report of Nov. 16, 1549 (State Archives, Modena).

[4] ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 343.

[5] See RAYNALDUS, 1549, n. 49; CIACONIUS, III., 553.

[6] See B. Ruggieri's *report of Nov. 10, 1549 (State Archives Modena); *cf.* MERKLE, II., 4, 491.

supervision of the Farnesi.[1] Cardinal Farnese committed the task to the Milanese sculptor Guglielmo della Porta. Although begun in 1550, the monument was not finished until 1576. The artist originally had intended that the principal decoration should consist of figures of the four seasons, but, on the advice of Annibale Caro, for these were substituted statues of Justice, Wisdom, Prosperity, and Peace. The monument was erected near the altar of St. Longinus; thence it was removed in 1628 by Urban VIII. and placed in the left niche of the principal tribune.[2]

Above a white marble sarcophagus rises the bronze effigy of the Pope, seated on a throne. He is represented as a venerable old man bent beneath the burden of years. He is clothed in mantle and pallium. Absorbed in meditation, the intellectual head, with its deep-set eyes, hollow cheeks, and ample beard, is bowed with calm dignity. With his right hand, as if slowly raised, he gives the Papal blessing. The sides of the sarcophagus are adorned with two masks and two *amoretti* in bronze. On the black tablet of inscription run the words in classic conciseness: "Paulo III. Farnesio Pont. Opt. Max." The Farnese lilies and other adornments have been introduced, but not a single religious symbol is visible. The base is of dark, coloured marble; above it, on volutes, lie the allegorical marble figures of Wisdom and Justice. The former, a matron, with serious even virile features, holds in the right hand a mirror, in the left a book. While this form recalls a Sibyl by Michael Angelo, the traits of Justice resemble rather the sensuous beauty of some

[1] See Massarelli, Diarium V., ed. MERKLE, II., 12.

[2] See A. CARO, Lett. fam., II., Padova, 1763, 3; VASARI, VII., 225, 546; Mél. d'Archéol., IX., 57 *seq.* *Cf.* ZANETTI, Monete d' Italia, 179; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 249; THODE, V., 235 *seqq.*

figure by Titian; originally this statue was nude, but in 1595 was covered with bronze drapery by order of Cardinal Edoardo Farnese, who wished to avoid the offence which might be caused by the exhibition of an unclothed figure in a Christian temple.[1] The two corresponding images of Peace and Prosperity, for which no room could be found in the niche, are now preserved in the Farnese palace.

This monument, like the character of the Pope whom it commemorates, has had to run the gauntlet of opposing criticism, as the representative of two epochs. If not certainly one of the most beautiful of the Papal monuments in St. Peter's,[2] this work of Guglielmo della Porta,[3] despite the *baroque* taste in its architectural details and a certain affectation in the allegorical figures, is yet a remarkable composition, distinguished by largeness and beauty of design. It is the first instance in Rome of the type created by Michael Angelo in the monuments of the Medici. The great bronze statue of Paul III. is full of dignity and majesty.

[1] See Mél. d'Archéol., IX., 68. Here (p. 64 *seq.*) there is also a refutation of the legend that the statue represents Giulia Farnese (see also CLAUSSE, Farnèse, 110; MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE, Rome, Paris, 1902, 195 *seq.*). Similar female figures, scantily draped, are still to be seen on the monument of Bona Sforza, erected in 1593 in S. Nicola at Bari.

[2] Thus GREGOROVIUS (Grabdenkmäler des Päpste, Leipzig, 1857, 148). Winckelmann's severe criticism represents the opposite extreme (*cf.* CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 42). For moderns, see BEISSEL in Stimmen aus Maria Laach, XLVI., 495, and especially RIEGL, Barockkunst, 146 *seq.*

[3] The artist's name appears no less than three times on the monument (see FORCELLA, VI., 70).

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMPLETION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.—THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE.

ALTHOUGH the diplomatic relations between Henry VIII. and Clement VII. had been broken off in August 1533 and in the beginning of the following year the English schism had taken place under Parliamentary sanction,[1] the King nevertheless maintained an unofficial agent in Rome. The latter, immediately after the election of Paul III., tried to arouse hopes in the Curia that the King might not be indisposed to come to terms with the new Pontiff. The Imperialists saw in this only a manœuvre to gain time by deceiving the Pope for the consolidation of the organized English schism.[2]

The immediate sequence of events showed that the Imperialists were right. The Parliament, which was opened on the 3rd of November 1534, enacted that the King and his successors should be recognized as the sole supreme head of the English Church and enjoy all the spiritual power and authority involved in that title, even in matters of dogma. This statute, which handed over the whole life of the Church to the secular authority, was supplemented by another declaring that not only all

[1] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. X. of this work, 284 *seq.*

[2] See Letters and Papers: Henry VIII., ed. GAIRDNER, VII., n. 1298, 1397, 1403; *cf.* 1257.

who conspired against the King's person or called him heretical and schismatical, but also all who disallowed him any one of the titles belonging to him, were liable to the penalty of high treason.[1] Since to his previous titles was now also added that of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England immediately under God," the "English Pope" was henceforth to hand over every loyal Catholic to the public executioner.

The new Act of Supremacy dropped the clause which had been introduced in 1531 in order to tranquillize Catholic scruples, "that the King was head of the English Church so far as the law of Christ permitted."[2] It was clear that England was to be torn asunder from the centre of Christian unity. The English clergy and laity were so steeped in confusion of ideas, pusillanimity, human respect, and servility that many did not recognize, or refused to admit that they recognized, this fact. They clung to the ambiguity of the figurative expression Supreme Head, and by means of fanciful explanations shut their eyes to the fact that the ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by Henry VIII. was something entirely new and incompatible with a sincere profession of Catholic faith. Under the terrors of the new statutes the majority of the English clergy acknowledged the King's supremacy and the Vicar-General appointed by him, a layman without the slightest link with the priesthood, the arbitrary and irreligious Thomas Cromwell.[3]

[1] Statutes of the Realm, III., London, 1817, 26th of Henry VIII., c. 1, 13; LINGARD, VI., 239 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, I., 96 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, 279; BELLESHEIM in Katholik, 1890, II., 75 *seq*; WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlex., XII., 2nd ed., 1219.

[3] *Cf.* BRIDGETT, Fisher, 340 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*; Lett. and Pap., VIII., i; TRÉSAL, 120 *seq.*; Cromwell's character according to MOLLER KAWERAU, 205. For the controversy concerning the official separation of the English Church, see Lit. Rundschau, 1908, 108 *seq.*

Widespread as was the dissatisfaction at the innovations,[1] yet only a few had the spirit to withstand them openly from the sense of duty. On these few fell the whole weight of the penal laws, the execution of which inaugurated in England a reign of terror bloodier than any which had yet been known within the pale of Christendom. Everyone suspected of denying the royal supremacy could be forced to accept an oath the refusal of which meant for the unhappy victim of tyranny the gibbet or the block.[2]

The first to lay down their lives, on the 4th of May 1535, were the Priors of the three Carthusian houses in London, a Brigittine monk, and a secular priest. They were hanged, cut down while yet alive, and then disembowelled and quartered. They all died with an intrepidity of soul worthy of the martyrs of the first persecutions.[3] The same Christian heroism was evinced by two other victims of the King's supremacy. They were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and his friend, Thomas More, who, since April the 17th, 1534, had been held prisoners in the Tower. Paul III. attempted to save the Bishop's life by naming him a Cardinal,[4] but thereby only hastened his end. On the 22nd of June 1535 the grey-headed old man, then in his sixty-seventh year, was brought out dressed only in sorry rags to the scaffold on Tower Hill and there beheaded, his naked body being afterwards exposed to the popu-

[1] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., VIII., ii; TRÉSAL, 122.

[2] A non-Catholic student (HOOK, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, III., London, 1869, 69) speaks of the rule of Henry VIII. as "a despotism under legal forms."

[3] *Cf.* [CHANCAEUS, M.] Historia aliquot nostri saeculi martyrum, Moguntiae, 1550, and Gandavi, 1608; SPILLMANN, I., 105 *seqq.*; TRÉSAL, 127 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 141.

lace.[1] On the 6th of July he was followed to the same place by Thomas More, once Chancellor of England, and renowned throughout Europe for his learning. Both Fisher and More declared before execution that they died in the Catholic faith and as loyal subjects of the King. The heads of both of these heroes were set up on London Bridge.[2]

Europe rang with grief and indignation on hearing of these judicial murders. Nowhere was the excitement greater than in Rome; Paul III., with characteristic caution, despite the pressure on the part of the Imperialists, had acted hitherto with restraint towards Henry VIII., especially as the French diplomatists had dazzled him with the prospect of a near reaction in that monarch's views and promised to do all that lay in their power in that direction. So strong was his confidence in the influence of Francis I. that he cherished hopes of Fisher's deliverance through French intervention until it was too late.[3] When the tidings of his execution came instead on the very morrow, as it were, of his elevation to the purple, the perhaps excessive forbearance of the Pope gave way at last. It was on the 26th of July, when a letter from the French nuncio announced in Rome the death of "the

[1] See BRIDGETT, 302 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, I., 124 *seq.*; *cf.* V. ORTROY in the Anal. Bolland., X. (1891); XII. (1893). For the martyrdom on June 19, 1535, of the Carthusian Newdigate and twelve of his associates, see CAMM, S. Newdigate, London, 1901.

[2] See RUDHART, Th. Morus, Nürnberg, 1829, 398 *seqq.*; SPILLMANN, I., 144 *seq.*; *cf.* BRIDGETT, Th. More, 2nd ed., London, 1892; BREMOND, Th. More, 2nd ed., Paris, 1906.

[3] Besides Lett. and Pap., VIII., n. 713, 746, 786, 812, 837, *cf.* *Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 454: Admirato Franciae, dat. May 21, 1535; n. 455: Card. de Giuri; n. 456: Episc. Favent.; n. 457: Regi christ. dat. May 21, 1535 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

martyrs of the supremacy."[1] The Pope's anger knew no bounds. He at once conveyed the tidings to the Cardinals,[2] and invoked by briefs on the same day the help of the Christian princes. In these letters he was able with justice to point out that for three long years the Holy See had, with the gentleness of the Good Shepherd, borne with the behaviour of Henry VIII., patiently hoping from day to day that the King would change for the better. As this latest act of wickedness had shown, all such hopes were futile, and the Pope now recognized the necessity of "using the branding iron" and declaring as worthy of deposition the King who for more than two years already had been living under excommunication, as a heretic schismatic, notorious adulterer, open murderer, sacrilegious despoiler, destroyer and transgressor against the majesty of God.[3]

The Pope was strengthened in this intention still further by the announcement, at the end of July, of the execution of Thomas More.[4] A month later a solemn Bull was issued in which Henry was urgently implored, after the enumeration of his misdeeds, to repent within three months, but in the case of contumacy the Pope as

[1] So called by DIXON (History of the Church of England, I., Lond., 1884, 25); *cf.* also KERKER, I. Fisher, Tübingen, 1860.

[2] *Hieri il Papa pece legger alcune lettere del nuntio suo di Francia concerning the "tragedia" of Fisher's death (*letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Agnello, dat. Rom., July 27, 1535, Cod. Barb. Lat., 5788, f. 198b, Vatican Library). G. M. della Porta had already by mistake announced the execution of Fisher in *letters from Rome to Urbino on May 29 and 31, 1535 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 10–13; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, I., 463 *seq.*, 466 *seq.*; Lett. and Pap., VIII., 24, 1144; *letter of Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dat. July 31, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and of F. Peregrino of July 28 and 31, 1535 (*ibid.*).

[4] See Lett. d. princ., I., 134 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 466.

supreme judge of the faithful would apply to him the severest penalties to which, in accordance with the then existing law, those remaining obdurately under the ban of the Church were exposed. He would accordingly be declared deposed, his country laid under interdict, his subjects absolved from their oath of obedience and called upon to make war against the rebel; foreign nations would be forbidden intercourse with the supporters of the schism and be vested with the right to make themselves masters of their persons and their property.[1]

The mere threat of these penalties made such an impression in the Low Countries that English trade suffered heavy loss.[2] It is therefore probable that if Charles V. and Francis I. had made a show of putting the Bull into execution, Henry VIII. would have been compelled, by an insurrection of his subjects,[3] to draw back from the schism he had initiated. But it soon became evident that the Pope's appeal for help would die away upon the air. Francis I. expressed the utmost indignation at Henry's deeds of violence, but declared that the first steps must come from Charles, as the person most closely interested; the latter, on the contrary, could not see his way to interfere unless certain of support from King Francis.[4]

Paul III. would have willingly proceeded[5] without delay,

[1] Bull., VI., 195 *seq.* (in RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 18, wrongly dated); *cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 673 *seq.*; Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., 1895, 609 *seq.*

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, I., 519 *seq.*, 524.

[3] See Lett. and Pap., IX., xv.

[4] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., IX., xiv. For the anger of Francis I., see the *letter of F. Peregrino of July 28, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See the *brief to the "Comes Kildariae in Hibernia" of Aug. 31, 1535, Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 52, n. 10 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* the *report of Sanchez of Aug. 20, 1535 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

but the attitude both of the French and the Imperialists forced him to hold back the Bull from day to day. Thus precious time was lost, which Henry made use of to consolidate the schism with all the energy, resolution, and ruthlessness of his character.

In addition to this the Sacred College was divided over the form of procedure and the composition of the document. When in a consistory held on the 26th of November 1535 the Bull was at last put to the vote, so many objections to it were made that yet another revision was ordered.[1] Paul III. hoped to arrive at a final decision on the 10th of December. He sent in minutes of his own, but neither of the two drafts, which he presented, met with the approval of the Cardinals. Although the Pope displayed much self-confidence and declared that he wished to surpass the great deeds of Julius II., no one but Schönberg shared his opinion that the publication of the Bull must be proceeded with at once. Unwillingly the Pope dismissed the consistory without a decision having been come to.[2] It was now thought that the Bull would appear without the Cardinals' consent; but Paul III. shrank from such an unusual step.[3]

In the beginning of 1536 the document was once more submitted privately to the Cardinals. According to the report of Pedro Ortiz, the Imperialist agent in Rome, it was afterwards produced in consistory on the 11th of January. On the 23rd Ortiz was able to announce that

[1] *Cf.* F. Peregrino's *report, dat. Rome, Nov. 27, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Cardinal du Bellay's somewhat one-sided report of Dec. 22, 1535, in the Lett. and Pap., IX., n. 1007, and also *ibid.*, n. 944, 983, 999. See also E. Gonzaga's *letter to his mother, dat. Rome, Dec. 10, 1535 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Lett. and Pap., IX., n. 999, 1024.

the Bull had now received the leaden seals and only awaited printing and fixture in public places.[1] Then at the last moment all was altered by the announcement of the death on the 7th of January of the innocent and defenceless Queen Catherine. Charles V. had no longer any interest in the fate of his unfortunate aunt, and the outbreak of war with France did the rest. Charles and Francis were soon suitors for the support of the powerful King of England. Under such circumstances Paul III. had no other course to follow than to withdraw the Bull.[2]

Queen Catherine's death was soon followed by that of her rival Anne Boleyn. Accused of the worst unchastity, she was executed on the 19th of May 1536 by order of the uxorious King, who, eleven days later, married Jane Seymour.[3]

The fall of Anne Boleyn seemed like a divine judgment. It rekindled in Rome the never extinguished hope[4] that the King, designated by Leo X. as "Defender of the Faith," would, on the removal of the *origo mali*, return and be reconciled to the Church. Paul III. had also himself yielded to this fateful delusion, and declared himself ready to smooth the way for the King's return.[5]

While the fulfilment of his desire seemed as easy as possible to the Pope, he failed to see that in place of Henry's fleeting passion another motive had stepped in, and this a financial one, which raised a permanent obstacle

[1] See GAYANGOS, V., 2, n. 5, 6, 11.

[2] See Lett. and Pap., X., xv.

[3] See LINGARD, VI., 263 *seqq.*; BROSCH, VI., 295 *seqq.*

[4] Soon after Catherine's death Paul III. renewed his hopes (see F. Peregrino's report of Feb. 12, 1536, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 26; Corp. dipl. Port., III., 307 *seq.*, and the letter of Casale, whose details are quite untrustworthy, in Lett. and Pap., X., n. 877.

to the King's return to the Church.[1] Since February 1535 the dissolution of the English monasteries had been going on with almost unexampled unscrupulousness and barbarity, a measure which reduced the most powerful adherents of the Pope to beggary and brought into the Crown an annual revenue of 32,000 pounds and a sum in hard cash of 100,000 pounds, amounts representing, at the present value of money, 175,000 and 600,000 pounds respectively.[2]

The King had all the less intention of refraining from this robbery as the Parliament and the higher clergy dared not show any resistance, and the continuance of the war between the Emperor and France left Henry in safety from any attack from without. But at the beginning of October 1536 he was surprised by an uprising in the county of Lincoln. This had scarcely been put down when the much more dangerous revolt known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace" ensued. From the Scottish border to the Humber and the Lune the people rose in anger against the brutal closure of the monasteries as well as against evil social conditions. They demanded the dismissal of the King's bad counsellors and the restoration to the Church of her rights. The "Pilgrims," whose numbers amounted to 40,000, used all their forces of influence to restore the banished religious to their monasteries.[3]

In Rome, where the hopes of Henry's return were now seen to be groundless,[4] the news of the Catholic rising in

[1] BROSCH, V., 304; GASQUET, II., 2nd ed., 4.

[2] SPILLMANN, I., 172. For particulars, see GASQUET, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, 2nd ed., London, 1888; in German, Mainz, 1890-1891, and the new edition in one volume, 1906. See also BAÜMER in the Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., XIII., 461 *seqq.*; WILSON, Zur Vorgesch. der Auflösung der Klöster in England, Halle, 1900.

[3] LINGARD, VI., 378 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 315 *seq.*

[4] See Lett. and Pap., XI., n. 230

Northern England was hailed with great joy. It seemed a happy coincidence that at that very moment, the beginning of November 1536, the news was circulated that James V. of Scotland, whom Paul III. had withheld from any alliance with Henry VIII., intended to marry a daughter of Francis I. The Pope recommended this match most warmly, while at the same time warning Francis against any support of Henry VIII.[1] After the conclusion of the wedding, on the 19th of January 1537, he sent the Scottish king the consecrated hat and sword[2] as encouragement to him to help the English Catholics. Already, on November the 17th, 1536, a letter had been sent to the English people to strengthen them in their attachment to the ancient faith and in their resistance to the tyranny of Henry VIII.[3]

A short time afterwards Paul III. contemplated a mission which might have been very dangerous to the English King.[4] Reginald Pole was to go as legate to France and the Netherlands in order to enter into communication therefrom with the defenders of Catholicism in England, and thus force Henry to give up the schism. Charles V. agreed to the scheme, and so also did the French ambassador. Thus on the 15th of February Pole was appointed legate to Francis I. and to the Regent of the Netherlands "for the settlement of the English concerns." As a companion

[1] *Cf.*, besides the letter in RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 29, also *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 4, n. 244: *Mag. Franciae, dat. Nov. 7; n. 245: *Regi Scotiae, dat. Nov. 9, 1536 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 40; BELLESHEIM, Schottland, I., 330.

[3] Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 259: *Eccles^cis^ et saecularibus Anglie, dat. 15 Cal. Dec. 1536 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] The French nuncio called Pole's attention to this in a *letter of Nov. 26–29, 1536 (Nunz. di Francia, 2, Secret Archives of the Vatican). Pole's mission was then fixed, according to a *letter of F. Peregrino, dat. Rome, Dec. 22, 1536 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

and adviser he was accompanied by an old politician, Gian Matteo Giberti.[1]

Paul III. set great hopes on Pole's mission.[2] His appointment seemed, in fact, a move in the right direction. The Cardinal had old relations with Henry VIII., who, on receiving his outspoken work on the "Unity of the Church," had invited him to return to England, where he hoped to come to an understanding with him. Although Pole rightly thought this too dangerous a request to comply with, yet no one seemed more fitted than he to influence the King in the direction of peace. On the other hand, Pole as a scion of the house of York might well cause Henry some alarm and be a stimulus to the spirits of the English Catholics. It was believed in Rome that two-thirds of the people of England were against Henry VIII.[3] As the French nuncio announced that James V. of Scotland was ready to cross the English border, the most favourable prospect seemed to open of forcing Henry to recant.[4] The latter therefore viewed Pole's mission with the most anxious apprehension, and determined to use all means, even murder if necessary,[5] to put the Cardinal out of the way.

[1] *Cf.* Acta Consist., in BRADY, II., 281, and the numerous briefs of Feb. 15, 1537, in *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 146–168, partly in RAYNALDUS, 1537, n. 38 *seqq.*; see also QUIRINI, Ep. Poli, II., 34 *seqq.*; LINGARD, VI., 285 *seq.*; PIEPER, 113 *seq.* For the departure, see Vol. XI. of this work, p. 165, n. 1.

[2] See G. M. della Porta's report, dat. Rome, Dec. 22, 1536 (State Archives, Florence, Urb.).

[3] See G. M. della Porta's *report, dat. Rome, Jan. 5 and 18, 1537 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., XII, 1., xxvii.

[5] Cardinal Carpi *wrote on April 21, 1537, from Amiens: "Sono certificato da Brian, nuovo ambasciatore Anglico et che per esser mignon di quel re, non viene mai qui che per cosa importante molto,

There were various causes of the failure of Pole's mission. In the first place, it came too late, for he did not receive the Legatine Bull until the 31st of March.[1] This delay, and still more the indecision and blind assurance of the "Pilgrims," gave Henry VIII. the time to subdue the northern districts. The whole movement was a demonstration rather than an actual phase of war, and this Rome did not understand.[2] It was precisely their moderation, the trust that their leaders displayed towards the English Government, which led to the victory of the latter. On the certainty of a general amnesty the insurrectionists laid down their arms, whereupon the King broke his promise and executed cruel vengeance. Another reason for the failure of Pole's mission was the shameful conduct of Francis I., who gave the Legate notice to quit his territories as soon as possible because the King of England desired his surrender as a traitor. Pole had to withdraw to Cambrai, an Imperial city; but even then, in the neighbourhood of Calais, he was not safe, as the English King had set a price of 50,000 crowns upon his head and had demanded his extradition from the Regent of the Netherlands. The town council of Cambrai, alarmed on the score of the trade with England,

era venuto per far l' ultimo conato d' haver nelle mani il signor legato et condurlo in Inghilterra per metterlo nel cathalogo de martyri, et non li essendo reuscito, ne stà desperatissimo et malcontento al possibile di costoro et brava, che se lo trovasse in mezza Francia, lo amazzerà di sua mano con simili altre parolaccie per le quali anchor si vede chiaramente l' animo di quel re et quanto bisogna, che S.S. rev^{ma} si guardi la vita per tutti i versi havendo a far con pazzi et cattivi et che temono più senza alcun dubbio di lei, per quanto ritraggo che d' altra cosa di Roma." Nunz. di Francia, 2, f. 76, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[1] Lett. and Pap., XII., 1, n. 779. What the hopes cherished in Rome were is shown in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., 126.

[2] DIXON (I., 457) calls special attention to this.

had the Cardinal conveyed to Liège. There he remained, with Giberti, in spite of all dangers, until the month of August, in the hope that he might still be able to do something for his unhappy country. The illusions by which he was still possessed had long since ceased to deceive his colleague Contarini and another observer, whose insight was clearer than his own, Pope Paul III.[1]

Although the Pope was now determined to bring the full force of ecclesiastical punishment to bear upon Henry, he yet did nothing precipitately. It was not until, at Nice, he had arranged an armistice between Francis and Charles and had pledged these princes to break off all relations with Henry VIII. after the publication of the Bull, that he revived that document, which had lain dormant for three years, and set about its publication with certain supplementary details. But even then the Pope took no measures until he had laid the matter before a commission of four Cardinals and had obtained their consent.[2]

In the Bull dated the 17th of December 1538[3] the Pope referred to the proofs of his previous long-suffering, which had now been brought to an end by the King's latest acts of iniquity, foremost among which were the cruel executions of prelates and priests and the robbery and desecration of some of the most sacred places in England. It was especially pointed out that Henry, in his infatuated rage, was now wreaking ruin even on the resting-places of the dead, hallowed by the veneration of

[1] *Cf.* DITTRICH, Contarini, 441 *seq.*; Lett. and Pap., XII., 1, xxxvii; *cf.* XII., 2, xxx *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1538, n. 45.; PALLAVICINI, l. 4, c. 7; Nuntiaturberichte, III., 221 *seq.*, 304; Lett. and Pap., XIII., 2. n. 684–686. See also in Vol. XI. of this work, Appendix No. 25, the *letter of Bianchetto to Aleander of Oct. 28, 1538 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Bull., VI., 203–205; *cf.* Lett. and Pap., XIII., 2, xli.

centuries. As special instances the Pope cited how the convent of St. Augustine, the founder of English Christianity, in Canterbury had been turned by the King into a receptacle for wild beasts and how, not satisfied with that, he had allowed the shrine, blazing with gold and jewels, of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of the see, to be plundered and utterly destroyed, and even the bones of the saint, venerated for ages by countless pilgrims, to be burned and the ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven.[1]

Notwithstanding the assurances given by Charles V. and Francis I. regarding the Bull, no one in Rome placed reliance on either prince.[2] All the more recognition is due to the self-sacrifice of Cardinal Pole, who even now undertook the difficult task of exhorting them both to be true to their word, heedless of the risks not only to his own life but also to that of his associate, which a mission of this kind involved. At the end of December 1538 he left Rome secretly, as his person was threatened by a plot of English assassins. He hastened to the Emperor at Toledo, but Charles was unwilling to take any definite steps against Henry, and in France, where he stayed for some time with his friend Sadoleto, Pole was quite as unsuccessful. The publication of the Bull was proved to be impossible. Owing to the policy of Charles and Francis, Scotland, where Cardinal Beaton was to have promulgated the Bull, had to remain inactive.[3]

[1] The destruction was so complete that, at the present day, the position of the shrine is only recognizable by the marks on the pavement made by the knees of innumerable pilgrims.

[2] See N. Sernini's *letter of Jan. 8, 1538 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] For Pole's second mission, *cf.* QUIRINI, II., cclxix, 142 *seq.*; LINGARD, VI., 318 *seq.*; PIEPER, 117 *seq.*; KERKER, Pole, 55 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 36 *seq.*; Lett. and Pap., XIV., i, v *seq.*; ZIMMERMANN, Pole, 164 *seqq.* For the controversy as to the publication of the Bull, see Lingard, VI., 318 n.; DIXON, II., 57; SPILLMANN,

Thus Henry's good luck tided him once more over a very serious danger. If the Emperor and the King had determined to put an embargo on trade, then Henry, as Paul III. calculated correctly, under the pressure of this coalition, which would have been greatly strengthened by a Scottish invasion and the attitude of the disaffected Catholics in England, would have been driven to have made his peace with the Church.[1]

Pole's grief at the failure of his mission was intensified by the news of the execution of his relations and the imprisonment of his mother, who, without the evidence of one single witness having been heard against her, was put to death in the Tower on the 27th of May 1541, in the eightieth year of her age, for no other reason than that she was a sincere Catholic and the mother of the Cardinal.[2]

Thanks to the huge sums which in ten years were gathered in from the confiscated monastic property—nearly sixteen million pounds[3] at present-day value—Henry VIII. was able to make the military preparations which were necessary to meet that coalition of Catholic princes of which he stood in constant dread. As time went on, however, it became evident that Rome could hardly expect any more assistance of that sort. The Pope had to satisfy himself with a policy of observation; nevertheless, he did not abandon all hope that some fortunate turn of affairs might bring about a reaction on the part of Henry. Such an opportunity seemed to present itself in the downfall of Cromwell. On the 28th of July 1540 the Vicar-General, to whom every weapon had come handy in the contest with Rome,

I., 143. *Cf.* also Nuntiaturberichte, III., 337, 399, 604; IV., 95; Lett. and Pap., XIV., 2, iii.

[1] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., XIV., 1, xiii *seq.*

[2] See SPILLMANN, I., 237 *seq.*

[3] See GASQUET, II., 534; SPILLMANN, I., 210.

met the same fate which he had meted out so often to others: death without legal trial. The Legate Cervini was now instructed at once to negotiate with the Emperor concerning Henry's conversion and the restoration of England to Catholicism. Such a change then seemed possible for this reason, that it was reported that Henry had explained the Six Articles of June 1539 in a Catholic sense.[1] Obstacles to the King's reconciliation, however, were not merely his rapacity, love of absolute power, and constant matrimonial entanglements, but also the fact that the higher nobility were interested, as against the Holy See, in participating in the plunder of the monasteries. All prospect of receiving help from the Emperor against England vanished when, on the 11th of February 1543, Charles concluded an alliance against France with Henry VIII.[2]

This turn of affairs was bound up with the situation in Scotland. King James V. had resisted all the enticements of Henry VIII. to follow him on the way of schism, and, in conjunction with Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had followed a policy which was summed up in the phrases: maintenance of the ancient Church, subjection of the insubordinate nobles, and alliance with France. The opposition thus caused was rendered still more acute when the Irish, exasperated at Henry's attempts to separate their country from Rome,[3] offered the Irish crown to James V. In August 1542 the long-impending war broke out; it ended in disastrous defeat for the Scots, whose nobles played the part of traitors. This catastrophe broke down the King's strength, who soon afterwards died, on the 13th of December 1542, at the age of thirty-one.

[1] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, V., 305, 311, 320, 345.

[2] *Cf.* *supra*, p. 172.

[3] *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 39 *seq.*

Bad times were now in store for Scotland. The nobles, divided into a French and English party, snatched at the supreme power and the Protestant party turned to account the religious troubles of the day. The latter favoured the Earl of Arran, chosen Regent of the kingdom, while Cardinal Beaton was put in prison by his opponents. Under these circumstances Henry VIII. considered the opportunity favourable for annexing[1] Scotland to the House of Tudor by a marriage between his son Edward and Mary daughter of James V.

Paul III. had already, on the 9th of January 1543, addressed a brief to James V. by which he granted him a tax on the incomes of the Scottish Church for the furtherance of the war against Henry, the "Son of Perdition."[2] He now received the news of James's death, Beaton's imprisonment, and Henry's dangerous schemes, and therefore decided to send to France and Scotland without delay Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia.[3] Grimani was to obtain Beaton's release, to confirm the Scots in their Catholic loyalty, to help in collecting the tenths levied for the war, and to make provision for further help against Henry VIII. He was first of all to consult Francis I. on these plans and to make his appearance in Scotland dependent on the King's judgment, but when there to place himself in communication with Beaton as the first thing and to allay the strife of parties.[4]

[1] *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, Schottland, I., 337 *seq.*, 343 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1543, n. 54; BELLESHEIM, I., 341.

[3] *Cf.*, besides RAYNALDUS, 1543, n. 55, also *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 26, n. 192: Card. S. Andreae; n. 193: Regi. Christ.; n. 194: Clero Scotiae; n. 195: Archiepisc. Glasgov.; n. 196: Grimani's pass, all dated March 25, 1543 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See in Appendix No. 21 the *instruction for Grimani of April 1, 1543 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); see *ibid.*, Arm., 32, t. 34, f. 141[6]

When Grimani entered Scotland in October 1543 he found Cardinal Beaton at liberty and busily engaged in organizing the national and Church party. The Legate, who remained in Scotland till March 1544, was able to present to the Pope the most favourable report of the state of things there prevailing.[1]

Paul III., who had been represented as the devil on a medal scurrilously struck by the English King,[2] supported the Scots in April of the following year in the war against England by sending them 20,000 scudi.[3] Cardinal Beaton, who, since the 30th of January 1544 had enjoyed the rank of a Legate, displayed as the champion of a policy of national independence and of loyalty to the ancient faith an activity to which the Pope gave his warm support.[4] Great then was the latter's sorrow when, on the 29th of May 1546, this eminent man, who had checkmated so adroitly all the schemes of Henry VIII., fell victim to a murderous plot to which the English King was privy.[5] Naturally the opposing party, which with the help of England was preparing the downfall of Catholicism, lifted

seq.; *Oratio facta p. rev. patr. Grimanum, legat. ad Scotos. *Cf.* *Costituzioni et ordini del rev. patriarcha d' Aquileja nella legat. del regno di Scotia (Communal Library, Ferrara, Cod. 264, N.B., 3 T., f. 290 *seq.*).

[1] See BELLESHEIM, I., 345.

[2] Aurelio Manni Ugolini in a *letter dat. Rome, June 7, 1544, says that the Pope saw the medal displaying a devil and an inscription in keeping with the figure (State Archives, Siena).

[3] Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd Series, XXVI., 374.

[4] *Cf.* *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 32, n. 222 : Card. Scotiae (April 17, 1545); t. 33, n. 253 : Item (May 1, 1545); t. 34, n. 592 : Archiepisc. Glasgov. (Oct. 12, 1545), Secret Archives of the Vatican; BELLESHEIM, Schottland, I., 345 *seq.*; HERKLESS, Card. Beaton, Edinburgh, 1891, specially pp. 217, 227.

[5] See BELLESHEIM, I., 351; BROSCH, VI., 337.

up its head. Victory seemed to smile upon them when, on the 10th of September 1547, the English inflicted a heavy defeat on the Scots. Still, they had not yet carried their whole policy to a successful issue. The Princess Mary was bethrothed to the Dauphin, and in August 1548 conveyed to France. From that country such important succour came to Scotland that the English plans of conquest had to be abandoned.[1]

Henry VIII., whose last days had been spent under the influence of fear and terror, was by this time no longer among the living. His death, on the 28th of January 1547, once more rekindled the hope in Rome that England might be won back to the Church. Paul III. determined to act at once and address an exhortation to the English Parliament with the request that by reconciliation with the Church they would remove any occasion for attack on England from a foreign enemy[2] On the 25th of February 1547 he appointed Cardinal Sfondrato Legate to the Emperor and Capodiferro to Francis I., in order to interest these princes in the recovery of England to Catholic unity. The nomination of a third Legate—men's thoughts turned to Pole—was held in reserve.[3]

The Pope left it to the French ambassador in London to feel the way as to the reception of such an envoy in England. The answer of Somerset, Protector during the minority of Edward VI., was unconditionally negative.[4] Charles V. declined to interfere in any way in English

[1] See BELLESHEIM, I., 363 *seq.* The letter in which Paul III. exhorted the Scots and Irish to keep the faith is in RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 125 *seq.* *A memorial addressed to Paul III., in 1547, on Scottish affairs is in the State Archives, Naples, C. Farnese, 6.

[2] The brief, dat. 1547, March 3, is in RAYNALDUS, 1547, n. 123.

[3] See PIEPER, 130; Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 492, 494, 499 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* ODET DE SELVE, Corresp. polit., 140; BROSCH, VI., 389.

affairs,[1] which were now going from bad to worse. Henry VIII. in his attack on the Church had aimed solely at the Pope; ancient doctrines and ceremonies, on the other hand, he wished to preserve, and protected them from the assaults of the reformers by the penalty of death. Nevertheless, the Catholic faith in England was doomed since the bond of Catholic unity had been severed. The Reformation articles of 1536 showed therefore quite consistently an approximation to the Protestant view. At a later date, certainly influenced by the Catholic rising in the north, Henry reverted to his old standpoint of guarding dogma from any material alteration. In 1539 the Six Articles were published. They enjoined, on pain of death, the doctrine of transubstantiation, Masses for the dead, auricular confession, and clerical celibacy. While loyal Catholics were still as liable as before to be hanged and quartered as guilty of high treason, not merely Anabaptists but Lutherans as well were now numbered among the offenders whom the scaffold could claim. The further inroads, however, of Protestant opinions were not to be prevented by measures such as these. It was shown to be impossible, as Marillac had urged in 1540, to fill a whole people with hatred of the Pope without at the same time giving them permission to adopt some of the Lutheran teaching.[2]

This see-saw of opinions, which could not possibly go

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 363 *seq.*

[2] See BROSCH, VI., 343; *cf.* RANKE, Engl. Gesch., I., 224, and Histor. Zeitschr., III., 131. For the details of the changes in the policy of Henry VIII., see DIXON, Hist., I., II.; TRÉSAL, 192 *seqq.* Personally, according to POLLARD (Henry VIII., London, 1905, 388), Henry was thoroughly irreligious, the embodiment of Macchiavelli's "Prince" (see also ZIMMERMANN in the Röm. Quartalschr., XIII., 271 *seq.*).

on for ever, was brought to an end under Edward VI.; the logical consequences were drawn from the new system which his deceased father had set up. The Protector Somerset and Cranmer had all the less difficulty in so doing as the supreme head of the Anglican Church was now a boy who had just entered his tenth year and was an irresponsible tool in the hands of the Regent and the Primate. A visitation of all dioceses and the removal of all images was at once ordered. To some of the bishops who had even approved of the breach with Rome, this was going too far. Their opposition, however, was overcome by force. Cranmer, the soul of all innovation, wrought successfully at widening the breach between Rome and England by introducing communion under both kinds, repealing the Six Articles, and constructing a new liturgy. The liturgy of Rome, bound up for more than a thousand years with the national life, secular as well as spiritual, ceased. It was replaced by Cranmer's "Book of Common Prayer," an invention of undeniable skill but untested by any Synod and carried through Parliament by intrigue and force.[1] In spite of the threat of severe penalties, which in the case of repeated disobedience amounted to lifelong imprisonment, serious opposition was shown.[2] In the summer of 1549 a series of popular risings occurred marked, however, by a social rather than a religious character. They were repressed with bloodshed; nevertheless, it was the opinion of the Venetian ambassador (1551) that the Catholics would again reassert them-

[1] Besides LINGARD (VII., 20 *seq.*), BROSCH (VI., 390 *seq.*), and TRÉSAL (230 *seq.*), *cf.* specially the work of GASQUET-BISHOP, Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, London, 1890 (*cf.* BELLESHEIM in Katholik, 1891, I., 1 *seq.*).

[2] See POCOCK, Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of 1549, London, 1884.

selves if they were to have at their head a competent leader.[1]

As in England so in the kingdoms of Northern Europe it was the exercise of monarchical power which carried Protestantism to victory and wrenched powerful nations from the Church to which they owed their culture and civilization.

In Sweden the crisis had been reached under Clement VII. By a *coup d'état* King Gustavus Wasa at the Diet of Vesterås in 1527 tore Sweden from the old religion.[2] This absolute monarch was also dissatisfied with the new clergy, whom he intended to make use of simply as subservient instruments of his will. The originators of the new movement, Olaf Petersson and Lorenz Andersson, fell into disgrace with Gustavus on account of their opposition to his intended changes in the constitution of the Church, were condemned to death, and only escaped the extreme penalty by paying a large ransom. The Catholic populace saw in this a judgment of God.[3] For long there was a widespread aversion to the new doctrines and order, and the excitement rose when the King robbed the treasure which their forefathers had amassed for the uses of the Church and introduced a new liturgy. In 1542 the discontent came to a head in the insurrection of Småland. It soon spread through West and East Gothland as far as Südermania. The peasants declared they would have Christianity re-established, do away with the Mass in Swedish, and bring back again the old order of things. The attention of the rest of Europe, imperfectly

[1] State Pap. Venet., V., 345. That the opposition in England was overborne for want of a good leader is insisted on by H. Tiranno in a *letter of Aug. 3, 1549, written from Rome to the Duchess of Urbino (State Archives, Florence, Urb., 266).

[2] See Vol. X. of this work, 294 *seq.*

[3] See MARTIN, G. Vasa, 475 *seq.*

informed as to the condition of those northern regions, was now aroused.[1] The Swedes expelled from their country the Count Palatine Frederick, son-in-law of the old King Christian; even Charles V. himself entered into negotiations with the insurgent peasantry. Gustavus Wasa succeeded, however, in the following year in quelling the revolt, whereupon fresh spoliation of the Church at once began.[2] But even then the Catholic remnant was so numerous that the King, at the Diet of Vesterås in 1544, complained of the sympathy shown by the Estates for the old dogma and worship and ordered new changes to be made in the "papistical" residuum.[3]

[1] Although the spread of heresy in Scandinavia was known in Rome (EHSES, IV., 35) in the autumn of 1536, yet on the 10th September of that year briefs of invitation to the council were sent to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden (*ibid.*, 41). The appellation "Charissime" shows how ill informed the Roman court was in details. In December Faber announced the apostasy of the north to Rome (*ibid.*, 53). In 1537 more was made known by Vorst (*ibid.*, 116; *cf.* p. 144); but a correct copy of the decrees of G. Wasa, of 1527, was not received by the Pope until the summer of 1538 through the conciliar Legates (see *ibid.*, 170, 614). The reports also conveyed by Morone in the beginning of 1537 are characteristic (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 108).

[2] See GEIJER, II., 91 *seq.*; MARTIN, 469 *seq.* A memorial on the claims of the Count Palatine Frederick to the northern kingdoms, with reference to a restoration of Catholicism, was presented by his orders to Morone in 1537 (Nuntiaturberichte, II., 165 *seq.*). Weeze, in opposition to Cervini, still believed in June 1540 that Frederick, with a subsidy of 100,000 guldens, would undertake a campaign against Denmark by which that country, as well as Norway and Sweden, would be won back to the Church (*ibid.*, V., 503). The exiled Archbishops of Upsala, Johannes and Olaus Magnus, were often supported by Paul III. (see TEGNER, Handskrifna Suecana i italienska arkiv: supplement to Svensk Hist. Tidskr., XII., 1, 43 *seq.*). For both Archbishops, *cf.* MARTIN in Univ. Cath. de Lyon, 1908.

[3] See TEGEL, Koning Gustaffs Historie, II., Stockholm, 1622, 201; MARTIN, 482 *seq.*

In Denmark a situation ruinous to the Catholic cause was introduced when, on the death of King Frederick I., the throne was ascended, on the 10th of April 1533, not by his youthful son John, whom the bishops desired, but by Christian III., a prince of Lutheran belief. Scarcely had the question of this succession been settled, after much bloodshed, than the final blow was struck. In August 1536 all the bishops of Denmark were arrested. At the end of October a Diet met at Copenhagen attended only by the nobles, burghers, and peasants; no clergy were present. After a gravamen had been read in which the bishops were represented as the chief instigators of the previous dissensions in the kingdom, the assembly proceeded to pass the resolutions of the King; the imprisoned bishops were deposed; in their place superintendents were appointed as teachers of the new "Evangelium"; the episcopal property passed to the Crown as a source of strength to the latter and for the better defence of the country.[1] A foreigner, John Bugenhagen, who had been called in July 1537 from Wittenberg to Copenhagen, worked with Danish preachers at the construction of a new Church system which abolished low Masses and celibacy but cleverly retained so much of the outward ceremonial that the common people at first hardly perceived that things were not still going on without alteration.

On the 2nd of September 1537 the new ordinance was made known on the sole authority of the King and under appeal to the sword which God had committed to his charge, and of which he would make use against the disobedient and rebellious.[2] On the same day the superintendents were consecrated in order that the people to

[1] See SCHÄFER, IV., 333 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*

[2] See ENGELSTOFT, Kirke-Ordinantsens Historie, II., 375 *seq.*; SCHÄFER, IV., 357 *seq.*; Histor. Polit. Bl., CXXV., 384 *seq.*

whom the ancient system was still dear should look upon them as genuine bishops. The imprisoned bishops were set at liberty only on giving a promise to do nothing in opposition to the new ordinance, in exchange for which apostate compliance they were each rewarded with their personal property and a convent.[1] This inglorious end of the Catholic episcopate can be understood when it is borne in mind that all seven bishops as well as the Bishop-coadjutor of Ribe were of noble birth and that four of them had been simoniacally intruded into the episcopal office by the King without consecration or Papal confirmation.[2]

The people accepted the Lutheran Church constitution with a repugnance which in particular places lasted for more than a century but yet was ineffectual in preventing the gradual extirpation of the Catholic faith. The most tenacious resistance was shown by the inmates of the religious houses, especially by the Mendicants, of whom many were banished and some even hanged. The evil results of the new Church system among the people had to be acknowledged by one of the new superintendents himself, Peter Palladius. The Diet of Copenhagen of 1546 declared all Catholics disqualified for office of any kind, and even deprived of the rights of inheritance. Catholic priests were forbidden, on pain of death, to enter the kingdom.[3] Draconian legislation was also carried out in Norway, which in 1536 had been declared a province of Denmark. Yet here, in spite of measures of repression, a century elapsed before the Catholic religion became extinct.

[1] See RÖRDAM, Mon. hist. dan., I., i, 219 *seq.*

[2] See Histor. Polit. Bl., CVI., 677.

[3] *Cf.* P. PALLADIUS in Histor. Polit. Bl., LXXXI., 91 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*, 280 *seq*; SCHMITT, P. Heliä, Freiburg, 1893, 160; HOLBERG, Dänische und norwegische Staatshistorie, Kopenhagen, 1731, 145 *seq.*

The unworthy Archbishop of Drontheim, who leaned to the Lutheran doctrine, having espoused the party of Christian II., was forced to fly in 1537; of the two Bishops of Norway the one resigned his office voluntarily, the other was removed into captivity. Although robbed in this way of their chief pastors, the people, proudly independent from days of yore, offered a stubborn and protracted resistance in combination with some of the clergy. At last they had to succumb to force. Royal commissioners took possession of the dioceses and plundered and laid bare the churches. Even the stately cathedral of Drontheim was desecrated and turned into a stable for horses. In the noble octagon choir of this edifice was the burial-place of St. Olaf the king († 1030), the founder of the national independence and political unity of Norway. For centuries pilgrims from all parts of Scandinavia had fared to this sacred spot until Drontheim became the Rome of Northern Europe. Now even this royal tomb was not spared. The shrine of the saint, a precious work of art, enriched the coffers of the avaricious King of Denmark with upwards of 6500 ounces of silver.[1]

Distant Iceland showed an even sterner opposition than Norway. The Catholic population had there a strong bulwark in Jon Aresson, Bishop of Holar, staunchly true to the Church. To all attempts to introduce the Danish ecclesiastical system he presented a determined resistance. By his side stood Ogmund Paalsson, Bishop of Skalholt, who in his eightieth year was carried away captive to Denmark. His successor, Gisfur Einarsson, was an adherent of the new system. After his death (1548) the Catholics, led by Jon Aresson, made every effort to throw

[1] *Cf.* SCHÄFER, IV., 430; BAUMGARTNER, Durch Skandinavien, Freiburg i Br., 1890, 128 *seq.*

off by force the fetters of the new religion. Paul III. exhorted them to courageous resistance and sent Aresson a magnificent cope which is preserved to this day in the cathedral of Reykjavik. In the struggle now about to begin Aresson was at first the victor, but in 1550 he fell into the hands of a petty chief on the west coast of the island who was of the party of Christian III. He delivered his captive to the Danes, who beheaded him in the sixty-eighth year of his age. Iceland now gradually became a Protestant country, and the treasures of the bishoprics and monasteries were diverted to the Danish exchequer.[1]

Together with the sorrow and anxiety felt by Paul III. as he saw the Catholic religion crumbling away in Scandinavia came the apprehension of dangers hanging over a country whose boast it had been for ages to be considered "the eldest daughter of the Church."

The Farnese Pope had only reigned a few months when news reached Rome that the Lutheran heresy was making dangerous inroads in France, and calling for active measures of opposition from Francis I.[2] To this course he had been challenged by the adherents of Luther themselves, as they had distributed pamphlets on the Mass offensive to Catholics even within the precincts of the palace.[3] It was in keeping with the ostentatious manner

[1] *Cf.* MÜLLER in the Zeitschr. für histor. Theol., 1850, 384 *seq.*; SCHÄFER, IV., 435 *seq.* The costly cope of Paul III. is still used once a year at the ordination of Protestant preachers (see Köln. Volkszeitung, 1896, No. 211). The brief of Paul III. to the Bishop of Holar of March 8, 1548, "the farewell at the same time of the Papacy to the hitherto Catholic Iceland," in BAUMGARTNER, Island, 3rd ed., Freiburg, 1902, 316.

[2] See F. Peregrino's **report, dat. Rome, Dec. 29. 1534 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 143; KAMPSCHULTE, I., 250; DE MEAUX, 23 *seq.*; MARCKS, 279

in which Francis I. then prosecuted the heretical teachers in his kingdom that his ambassador, in a consistory held on the 29th of January 1535, solemnly declared that the King wished all the world to know that he was a sincere Catholic.[1] It ought not to have escaped Paul III. that some strong political motive underlay the religious zeal of a monarch who, during the pontificate of Clement VII., had played a very ambiguous part in questions of religion. What had then been a matter of surmise was becoming every day more apparent; the King wished to employ the persecution of the Lutherans as a lever wherewith to move the Pope for purely political objects.[2]

Francis tried to quiet his Protestant friends in Germany with the assurance that he was punishing only people of bad character and instigators of disorder; at the same time he begged them to consider means of arriving at a peaceable settlement of religious affairs.[3] Since the spring of

[1] This fact, hitherto unknown and without mention in the *Acta Consist. of the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, I found in a *report by F. Peregrino of Jan. 30, 1535: "Hieri in consistorio fù admesso l' ambasciatore Francese, qual in nome del p^lo re christ^mo fece la sopradicta offerta con dire che a tutto l' mondo S. M^ta vol dimostrar che è buono, fidele, devoto et christ^mo et non infidele, non heretico ne luterano" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). How the partisans of Francis I. made political capital out of the rise of Protestantism in France, and tried to throw the whole blame on the Emperor is shown from F. Peregrino's **report of Jan. 14, 1535 (*ibid.*). For the Catholic demonstrations of Francis I., see also Hannart's *report to Charles V., dat. Paris, Jan. 31, 1535 (National Archives, Paris, Simancas, K. 1484, n. 20). By a *letter, dat. Terni, Sept. 5, 1535, Paul III. nominated Spiritus Roterus O. Pr. as Inquisitor in Toulouse (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 52, n. 207). The Inquisitor Matthäus Ori was on July 15, 1539, confirmed anew as Inquisitor-General for France (see FONTANA, II., 472).

[2] *Cf.* Lett. and Pap., VIII., n. 33. For the King's former attitude, see Vol. X. of this work, 303 *seq.*

[3] See FREHER, Script. ed. Struvius, III., 354 *seq.*

1535 the King had actually taken in hand negotiations directed towards the reconciliation of the Protestants with the Church, and Melanchthon on this account had been invited to visit France.[1] The whole proceeding, however, was nothing more than a political manœuvre. The efforts after concord, which harmonized so ill with the persecuting laws just enacted, were only part of the double game in which Francis was engaged: the strengthening of his political connection with the Protestant princes of Germany and the withdrawal of the Pope from his political neutrality. The latter seems at that time to have had a momentary belief that by means of irenic negotiations the religious conflict might be quelled and Melanchthon won back to the Church.[2] It was soon to appear how visionary all this was. The ecclesiastical policy of the French King was of such a kind that already in April 1535 the gravest fears had been awakened in the Pope and Cardinals that the enthusiastic zeal displayed by Francis would cool down to the opposite extreme.[3] As a matter of fact, an edict of July 1535 inaugurated the persecution of the Protestants.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Zeitschr. für histor. Theol., XX., 25 *seqq.*; BOURRILLY, Guillaume du Bellay, Paris, 1904, 130 *seqq.*

[2] See CARDAUNS, Karl V., 157 *seq.*

[3] Sanchez *reported on April 6, 1535, to Ferdinand I.: The announcement from Lyon on February the 16th that the French King demanded a third of the income of the small benefices, and a half of that of the greater, had caused great indignation in the Pope and the Cardinals, despite the reassuring declaration of the monarch: "immo ingens suspitio invasit paulatim Gallum posthac processurum in apertum Lutherismum et jam ipsum consensisse clam cum Anglo" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[4] See DE MEAUX, 25. The letter from Paul III. to Francis, mentioned in the "Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris" (p. p. LALANNE, 458), telling the King that he might show favour to the heretics, has not yet been discovered, and would seem to be of doubtful authenticity.

After the war with Charles V. had broken out in 1536 Francis I. was again busy with overtures to the Protestant princes of Germany, but now they stood aloof from him. In France itself, in the meantime, the legislation of 1535 was having a terrorizing effect. The Protestants kept silence or fled the country; many conformed outwardly to Catholicism and were attacked by the thorough-going of the sect as "Facing both ways," or "Nicodemites." Even the highly cultivated Margaret of Navarre wore her Catholic mask so well that no less a personage than Paul III. congratulated her on the 9th of January 1537 on her religious zeal and exhorted her to urge her brother to emulate her in this respect.[1]

The Catholics always found consistent support from the Sorbonne. This was all the more important since the attitude of Francis towards the religious questions of his kingdom was entirely conditioned by political considerations. It was only to draw the Pope closer to him that he published the Edict of Fontainebleau on the 1st of June 1540, the effect of which was to renew the persecution of the Protestants.

Political aims were again the leading motive when, a few weeks after the declaration of war against the Emperor, Francis I. insisted on the Parliaments taking

[1] The brief of Jan. 9, 1537, in FONTANA, Renata, III., 372 *seq.* For Margaret's correspondence with the Pope, see P. DE NOLHAC, Lettres de la Reine de Navarre au Pape Paul III., Paris, 1887 (*Nozze-Publication*), and Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, LXVIII., 320 *seq.* They furnish no conclusions as to the Queen's catholicity, nor can any be drawn from her participation in Catholic worship and sacraments. Her religious ideas are still involved in obscurity, even after the inquiries of LEFRANC (Marg. de Navarre et le platonisme, Paris, 1899; *cf.* also Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung, 1899, 787 *seq.*) and COURTEAULT (Marg. de Navarre: Revue du Béarn, 1904); they were certainly very far from orthodox; in secret she was a patroness of the new doctrines.

immediate measures against all who showed themselves disobedient to the Church. This, indeed, did not prevent the King from offering, two months later, to enter into alliance with the Schmalkaldic princes.[1] The next year (1542) shows the King again as the persecutor of French heretics and at the same time the friend of the Protestant chiefs of Germany. Even when the peace of Crespy forced Francis, certainly for a short time only, to make common cause openly with Charles V. against the German Lutherans, he was still keeping up in secret his old alliance with the Emperor's opponents.[2] In glaring contrast to the latter policy was the sanguinary persecution in 1545 of the Waldensians of Provence, who, by their provocative behaviour, had done much to draw down their punishment. Even Sadoleto, otherwise the advocate of clemency, thought their chastisement just.[3]

The severity dealt out to the French Protestants, everywhere indeed, but with especial rigour by the Parliament of Rouen, failed to check the spread of error, for the source of the apostasy from Rome, ecclesiastical corruption, had not been removed—nay, had only been strengthened by the King by means of the concordat.[4] The Venetian ambassador Marino Cavalli remarks in his report of 1546 that all the burnings of heretics throughout France had done nothing to check Protestantism: whole towns such as Caen, Poitiers, La Rochelle and many in Provence were silently united in living after the Protestant fashion.[5]

[1] See SOLDAN, I., 173 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DESJARDINS, III., 157, 159; MANENTE, 282; DE MEAUX, 29 *seq.*; ARNAUD, Hist. des Protestants de Provence, I., Paris, 1884; RONCHINI, Lett. del Card. Sadoleto, Modena, 1872, 122 *seq.*

[4] These matters will be discussed later on in their proper context.

[5] ALBÈRI, 1st Series, I., 227; *cf.* also MARCKS, 280 *seq.*, and St. Mauris' report in DRUFFEL, Karl V., III., 259.

This development made wide advances under the successor of Francis, Henry II. (1547–1559), although the persecution of the Protestants continued.[1] An entirely new and stronger stamp of character was impressed on French Protestantism by an erudite scholar of Picardy, John Calvin, who had fled to Basel at the end of 1534 and had dedicated to Francis I., two years later, his *Handbook of Christian Doctrine.* This work, which was at the same time a defence of his oppressed co-religionists in France, contained the programme of his life—a life devoted to unrelenting warfare with the Catholic Church and the Papacy.[2] Since the autumn of 1541 Calvin had laboured with iron consistency and grim strength of purpose to put this programme into execution in the city of Geneva. From this centre the influence of this extraordinary man radiated not merely over men of Latin or German race but over the Sclavonic populations. France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland became the soil from which the Calvinistic propaganda reaped fertile harvests.

[1] See SOLDAN, I., 221 *seqq.*; WEISS, La Chambre Ardente, Paris, 1889; MARCKS, 306 *seq.*

[2] See KAMPSCHULTE, I., 255. Calvin's doctrine and its conquests in European thought will be considered in a future volume.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROTESTANT PROPAGANDA IN POLAND AND ITALY.—FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—THE POPE'S SUPPORT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS OUTSIDE EUROPE, AND HIS ACTIVITY IN OTHER SPHERES OF WORK.

IN the kingdom of Poland Lutheran teaching had expanded in ever-widening circles, although King Sigismund I. and many Polish bishops as well had, since 1520, been taking energetic measures to check the advance. The proximity of the apostate Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albert of Brandenburg, and the active intercourse with Germany had exercised a strong influence in the direction of Protestantism. In order to grapple with the evil at its roots the King in 1534 forbade his subjects to study at the University of Wittenberg.[1] Paul III. repeatedly commended Sigismund's firmness of action; he seems indeed to have flattered himself that the suppression of heresy in Poland was an accomplished fact.[2] But this was far from being the case. The prohibition to visit Wittenberg was disregarded by the Polish nobles, while the ordinances of 1535 and the edict of 1541, which threatened

[1] *Cf.* Hist. Jahrb., XV., 377 *seq.*; FRIESE, II., i, 36, 53 *seq.*; KRASINSKI, 45 *seq.*; EICHHORN, I., 58 *seq.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 29; 1536, n. 41; 1537, n. 45. For Sigismund's oath of obedience on July 4, 1537, see KORZENIOWSKI, 92; *ibid.*, 93, on the financial support of the King by Paul III. In 1538 the Pope tried to gain Poland for the Turkish League (see Nuntiaturberichte, II., 283, 279 *seq.*).

with loss of nobility anyone who harboured a heretical priest, remained dead letters.[1] There were, moreover, encroachments of the temporal power upon the Church which called forth repeated admonitions from the Pope both to the King and to the bishops.[2]

A principal cause of the failure of all the efforts to expel heresy from Poland was to be found in the condition of the clergy. In that kingdom just as in Germany the higher ecclesiastical posts had become the appanage of the nobility without the moral obligations attaching to their possession being taken into consideration. Another factor was the influence of the ambitious Queen Bona, who for years had insisted on inspecting the letters despatched from the Royal chancery to Rome in the fear lest the vice-chancellor Maciejowski might obtain from the King nominations to bishoprics of which she did not approve.[3] No wonder that nominees thus appointed showed themselves feeble supporters of the Church and exhibited a laxity towards the fanatics of Protestantism which filled serious Catholics with deep anxiety.[4] Such was the situation when Sigismund died on the 8th of April 1548 and was succeeded by his son, Sigismund Augustus.

Already in November 1536 a Roman envoy sent to influence the heir-apparent in feelings of persistent loyalty to Catholicism had reported that the prince was showing an inclination towards Lutheranism.[5] In order to steady him

[1] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 257; KRASINSKI, 53.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1542, n. 48 *seq.*; 1543, n. 56.

[3] *Cf.* EICHHORN, I., 75 *seq.*; DEMBINSKI, 9; WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlex., III., 2nd ed., 762; Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., III., 107.

[4] See Hosius's cry of despair in his letter to Dantiscus of Feb. 6, 1548, in HIPLER, I., 251. *Cf.* also the complaint of Bishop Dzierzgowski of 1545 in EHRENBERG, Urkunden der Provinz Posen (1892).

[5] EHSES, IV., 50; *cf.* Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XVIII., 254.

Paul III. sent him in 1539 the consecrated hat and sword[1] through Girolamo Rorario. Regardless of this mark of distinction, Sigismund Augustus, who since 1544 had, as Prince of Lithuania, attained a very independent position, manifested a growing sympathy with the new teaching. In 1547 he appointed as court preachers two men who were at that time publicly expounding the Lutheran doctrine of justification. It is not surprising, therefore, that on his accession to the throne the Protestant party looked forward with certainty to his complete separation from Rome.[2] They were, however, deceived; the new King solemnly promised obedience to the Pope, and the Protestant preachers disappeared.[3] This change of position was not due to the exhortations of the nuncio Martinengo but to the political situation which compelled Sigismund Augustus to turn to the bishops for support.[4] The character of the King, however, was so irresolute and unstable that the fate of the Church in Poland would have become almost hopeless had not at this very juncture a man been sent in the person of Stanislaus Hosius, just appointed Bishop of Ermeland, who, defying all the storms of hostility, played the part of saviour with a force which seemed almost more than human.[5]

Nothing shows more forcibly the strength of the move-

[1] See KORZENIOWSKI, 96; RAYNALDUS, 1539, n. 29; Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 526; PIEPER, 134 *seq.* *Cf. infra*, p. 597, n. 2.

[2] See Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., IV., 329 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 334 *seq.*; for the oath of obedience, see CIAMPI, II., 28 *seq.*; KORZENIOWSKI, 103.

[4] *Cf.* Archiv für Ref.-Gesch., IV., 336 *seq.* For the mission of Martinengo, see RAYNALDUS, 1548, n. 81 *seq.* The *Instruttione for Martinengo, dat. Rome, July 15, 1548, in Cod. Ottob., 2716, f. 82 *seq.*, Urb., 865, f. 320 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library, and MS. Berzosa, n. 2062, in Archives of Simancas.

[5] EICHHORN, I., 57.

ment of secession, which shook the Catholic Church to the foundations, than the fact that the impact was felt in Italy itself. The Protestant propaganda certainly encountered here, late and early, its greatest obstacles;[1] but so woeful in many ways was the condition of the Church that in numerous quarters only too favourable a reception was given to the missionaries of error. This was specially the case in northern Italy, where intercourse with Germany and Switzerland was incessant. Not merely in Venice, where the staple trade in books was carried on with Germany, but in various towns in the territory of the Republic, Protestantism found a conspicuous foothold in the days of Paul III. as well as in those of his predecessor. While the Venetian Government, from mercantile considerations, allowed a considerable amount of latitude to prevail in the capital, they were much stricter in other towns.

Thus in 1535 in Vicenza a German named Sigismund was handed over, with the Doge's consent, to the Bishop's vicar for punishment on a charge of Lutheran heresy. Paul III. without delay expressed his acknowledgment of this proceeding in a special letter.[2] The Pope in like manner was active in taking measures against certain heretical teachers, many of whom came from religious orders, who had made their appearance at that time not merely in Piedmont and Lombardy but also in Ferrara and Siena.[3] In Ferrara the Duchess Renée, a

[1] See our arguments, Vol. XI. of this work, 511 *seq.*

[2] See FONTANA, Documenti, 145 *seq.*; BENRATH, Venedig, 30.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 45; FONTANA, 146, 149, 151 *seq.*, 155. Here also belongs the letter, overlooked by Fontana, to "Hieron. de Taurino O. Pr., inquisit. in princ. Pedemontano" (Facultas inquirendi contra fratres sui ord. [despite their privileges] et absolvendi poenitentes haeres. abjuraturos), dat. Jan. 19, 1535, Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 264 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

woman of high culture and daughter of Louis XII. of France, gave for a while some support and protection to Protestant refugees such as Clement Marot and Calvin, but concealed her real opinions so cleverly that even Paul III. was deceived.[1]

If Paul III. showed himself severe towards the contumacious, he was lenient towards those whose recantation of error was sincere.[2] He often showed greater clemency than the Inquisitors, as in the pardon of a Benedictine who sought reconciliation in 1538.[3] But neither clemency nor severity availed much; the religious ferment went on. In the towns of northern Italy especially the difficult questions of grace and free will were expounded from the pulpit and elsewhere in a manner which only left the

[1] FONTANA'S attempt (Renata di Francia, I., II., Rome, 1888–1893) to establish Renée's orthodoxy (II., 450) must give way under criticism (Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXV., 425 *seq.*; Civ. Catt., 1900, I., 721 *seq.*; *cf.* HERZOG'S Realencyklopädie, XIV., 3rd ed., 658 *seq.*; see also RODOCANACHI, Renée de France, Paris, 1896; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VIII., 101 *seq.*; XV., 510 *seq.*). How greatly deceived Paul. III had been doing his stay in Ferrara on the subject of this princess's orthodoxy is shown by his brief of July 5, 1543, safeguarding her from the Inquisition (see FONTANA, II., 184, 490; RODOCANACHI, 164 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 28; 1538, n. 43; FONTANA, Documenti, 361 *seq.*; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, IX., 900. The Franciscan, Bart. Fonzio, who came to Rome with a safe-conduct in 1536 (FONTANA, Docum., 146), succeeded in justifying himself so completely that he even obtained an ecclesiastical post; yet Fonzio did not alter his opinions (see HERZOG, Realencyklopädie, IX., 3rd ed., 529; *cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 505 *seqq.*).

[3] *Alphonso de Vives, O.S.B., dat. in domo s. crucis extra mur. Nic., Maii 29, 1538. After he had been deprived of his preaching faculties by the Inquisition, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with recantation, the Pope absolved him on his recantation and cancelled the sentence. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 10, n. 393 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

hearers in a whirl of doubt and uncertainty.[1] This happened oftener as the Council had not as yet made any pronouncement of doctrine. Generally speaking, however, only particular tenets of Protestantism were adopted in Italy, and for the most part without thought of the logical conclusions which were deducible from them.[2]

As the governments of Italy had no intention of giving countenance to a religious revolution and the great bulk of the population held fast to the faith of their fathers, the dissentients from the teaching of the Church were obliged to take refuge in subterfuges and disguises.[3] The surreptitious character of the Protestant propaganda made it a difficult object of attack, while the faith ran all the greater danger of contamination. The Order of the Augustinian Hermits, from which Luther had emerged, contained many dangerous elements. The manner in which members of that body handled in the pulpit the topics of justification, free will, and predestination gave widespread offence.[4] Paul III. addressed on the 6th of April 1539 an exhortation to the General Chapter to extirpate "the Lutheran malady" which was bringing the Order into disrepute.[5] In June 1539 the Pope was also obliged to proceed against a member of the young Order of Capuchins for preaching heresy in Lucca. At the same

[1] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 482.

[2] *Cf.* CUCCOLI, 72 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 334 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*; CUCCOLI, 80.

[4] *Cf.* Aleander's **letter to G. Bianchetti, dat. Vicenza, July 22, 1538 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 13, n. 343 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* the *Registr. fr. erem. s. Aug., XVIII., 246 *seq.*, in General Archives of the Augustinian Order, Rome; *ibid.*, XVIII., 176 *seq.*, the **sentence upon Nicolas Veronens., of June 22, 1540. In May 1543 the General Chapter passed **ordinances against Lutherans in the Order (see *ibid.*, XX., 64 *seq.*).

time Cardinal Grimani was given full powers against heretics who had been discovered in Aquileia, Ceneda, and Concordia. In July 1540 the Bishop of Venosa was instructed to take steps against a Minorite for attacking the indulgence bestowed on contributors to the building fund of St. Peter's.[1]

The principal danger seemed as before to emanate from Venetian territory, especially from Vicenza, where the Pope, in November 1540, forbade all disputations on predestination and free will; but disquieting reports came also from Milan, and even from Bologna and Florence.[2] The danger was further magnified by rumour; the German Protestants made frequent boasts of their successes in Italy, and Wauchope reported on the 19th of November 1540 from Worms to the Pope that the German reformers bragged of having 30,000 adherents in Italy.[3] This was a gross exaggeration: only in a few places did their errors penetrate wide circles of the people; in general the votaries of innovation were persons of education and humanistic culture, and members of the religious orders who had broken their vows. It was not until the beginning of the fortieth year of the century that, in Lucca and Modena, and, to a certain extent, in Siena,[4] any considerable number of the population were infected.

It is always a most serious danger for the Church when erroneous opinions, under the guise of strivings after a

[1] See FONTANA, Docum., 370, 374, 377.

[2] *Ibid.*, 378, 380, 382; MORAN, Spicil., I., 21. *Cf.* WINKELMANN, II., 2, 627; BATTISTELLA, S. Offizio in Bologna, 11 *seq.*, 24. For Bishop Vida's proceedings in Alba, see Arch. Stor. Lomb., I. (1894), 26.

[3] MORAN, Spicil., I., 20.

[4] *Cf.* P. PICCOLOMINI, Docum. Vatic. sull' eresia in Siena durante il sec. XVI., Siena, 1908, 7 *seq.* Further communications on this subject are to be published by P. Piccolomini from the State Archives of Siena.

higher level of piety, are secretly disseminated without the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities. This was pre-eminently the case in Naples. The central figure in the movement was a stranger, who drew round him a large circle of friends who became the recipients of teaching the dangers of which did not cross their minds. This was the Castilian, Juan Valdes, a twin brother of the humanist Alfonso Valdes, who in September 1526 had composed the Imperial state documents directed against Clement VII. in language generally associated with the disciples of Luther.[1] Juan had also in his dialogue, *Mercury and Charon,* which appeared simultaneously with his brother's anti-Papal diatribe *Lactantius,* taken part in polemics which were essentially political. Nevertheless, when Clement VII. and Charles V. were at peace again Juan was made a Papal chamberlain. At the end of 1532 or the beginning of 1533 he betook himself to Naples where, with the exception of a visit to Rome, he remained up to his death in 1541, in outward communion with the Church.[2]

In Naples Juan Valdes who, like his brother, was an enthusiastic admirer of Erasmus, devoted himself to æsthetic and theological studies as well as to social intercourse with his friends. A spiritual address, a Spanish translation of the Psalter and portions of the New Testament, and lastly some edifying meditations were the fruits of his pen. In these writings echoes of Lutheran teaching were already recognizable. They became more distinct in a

[1] See our remarks, Vol. IX. of this work, 354.

[2] *Cf.* BOEHMER, Bibl. Wiffen., I., Argentorati, 1874; MENÉNDEZ PELAYO, Heterod. esp. 2, Madrid, 1880; Arch. Stor. Napolit., XXVIII., 151; SCHLATTER, Die Brüder Valdes, Basel, 1901; further literature in HERZOG, Realencyklopädie, XX., 3rd ed., 380 *seq.*, and in Studi Storici, IX., 506; see also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 322 *seqq.*, whose opinion of Valdes is more unfavourable than my own.

treatise, *On the Benefit of Christ*, first circulated in manuscript and afterwards put through the press in 1542 and 1543, which had been composed by one of his pupils, Benedetto da Mantua, an Augustinian of the convent of S. Severino, and revised for purposes of style by Marcantonio Flaminio.[1]

Like so many others, Valdes does not seem to have realized that the doctrine here unfolded came very close to the Lutheran thesis of justification by faith. A lay theologian, wanting in clearness of thought, he inclined to a vague emotional religion compounded of intellectuality and a false mysticism.[2] He, like the majority of his adherents, who were known[3] in Naples as the "Spirituali," had no deliberate intention of abandoning the Church. Their number was very considerable.[4] The

[1] Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Gesù Cristo crocifisso verso i Cristiani, Venezia, 1542 and 1543, new edition by BABINGTON, London, 1855; this was for long erroneously attributed to A. Paleario, who wrote a similar work (*cf.* DE LEVA, III., 369 n.). As to its true author there can be, according to the Compendium Inquisit. (Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 272), the less doubt since in the trial of Carnesecchi (ed. MANZONI, 1870: Miscell. d. Stor. Ital., X., 539) the same statement is found (*cf.* BENRATH in the Riv. Crist., IV., 3 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 90 *seq.*, DE LEVA; see also REUSCH, I., 383 *seq.*; HERZOG, Realencykl., IX.,[3] 524, 542). For the content, see CANTÙ, I., 380 *seq.*; HEFNER in the work (p. 182 *seq.*), quoted *supra*, p. 429, n. 2, and CUCCOLI, 96 *seq.*; see here (pp. 80 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*) for the religious position of M. A. Flaminio. See, moreover, Vol. XI. of this work, p. 485, note 1.

[2] See PLÜLF in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., XII.,[2] 537, and, independently of him, CUCCOLI, 84 *seqq.*

[3] See AMABILE, Il s. Offizio di Inquisizione in Napoli, I., 162, 168, 187.

[4] The 3000 of the Compend. Inquisit. are naturally a great exaggeration. It is a gross error of RANKE (Päpste, I.,[6] 93) to understand thereby 3000 "school-pupils" (*cf.* AMABILE, I., 164; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 343).

emotional religion of Valdes, which had for its background the smiling shores of the Bay of Naples, attracted, by the very nature of things, many sentimental women, some of whom were persons of genuine piety. His circle included some of the noblest and most distinguished women in Naples. Vittoria Colonna was one of them, so also the Duchess of Amalfi, Isabella Manriquez, the sister of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, and, most noticeable of all, Giulia Gonzaga, reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Italy.[1] While the latter as well as Isabella Manriquez fell under the spell of the new doctrine, Vittoria Colonna soon retraced her steps to the right way.

How dangerous the opinions of Valdes were — their erroneous character having first been perceived by the Theatines[2]—is shown by the circumstance that his two most gifted disciples, Pietro Martire Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino, were precisely those whose careers ended in total rupture with the Church. Ochino's disastrous fall has been already described.[3] It remains to be said that this event formed the critical turning-point in the movement of Catholic reform in Italy at which the minds of men decided finally for one side or the other.

Pietro Martire Vermigli,[4] born in Florence in 1500, entered, while he was yet but sixteen, against the will of his parents, the Augustinian convent at Fiesole. He was

[1] *Cf.* AMABILE, I., 151 *seq.*; the monograph of AMANTE (Bologna, 1896) and of BENRATH (Halle, 1900). For Giulia's portrait, see Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst., N.F., XVIII., 29 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the evidence of Castaldo in G. A. GALANTE, De' vani sforz. fatti da' Protestanti per introdurre in Napoli la riforma nel sec. xvi, Napoli, 1872, 12 *seq.*

[3] See Vol. XI. of this work, pp. 488 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHMIDT, P. M. Vermigli, Elberfeld, 1858; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 69 *seqq.*; WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlex.., XII.,[2] 789 *seq*

sent to the University of Padua as a promising youth, and from 1525 onwards he was employed as a Lenten preacher. As such Vermigli worked earnestly and with profit to his hearers. He addressed large congregations in Brescia, Mantua, Bergamo, Pisa, Venice, and also Rome. Afterwards Abbot at Spoleto, he finally became Prior of the convent of S. Pietro "ad aram" in Naples. Vermigli was here fated to enter the circle of Valdes, become the friend of Ochino, and make acquaintance with the writings of the Germans. This resulted in the adoption of dangerous opinions which were soon introduced into his sermons. At first this was done only tentatively, in conformity with his cautious character; but the vigilant Theatines were on the watch, and induced the viceroy to prohibit him from preaching. Vermigli, however, succeeded, through Cardinal Contarini, who had been won over to his side by Marcantonio Flaminio, in destroying all suspicion and having the prohibition removed.[1]

In 1541 Vermigli was visitor of his Order in Italy. As such he came to Lucca, where he was chosen Prior of S. Frediano in the middle of the same year.[2] In a surprisingly short space of time he had gained the affection of all the community; the Lucchesi came in swarms to hear him preach, and the great basilica of S. Frediano could hardly hold them. Then a band of enthusiastic disciples soon rallied round the Prior, whose learning equalled his eloquence. The closer Vermigli came to know Lucca the clearer it became to him that here was a favourable soil on which to sow his new seed. The mercantile traffic with Germany had brought Lutheranism within the ken of many of the citizens, and there were not a few of the clergy, especially in the religious

[1] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 301.

[2] See BONGI, Invent. d. arch. d. Lucca, I., Lucca, 1872, 352.

Orders, who had become infected with Protestant opinions. The Archbishop, moreover, was absent, and the authorities, when not more or less secretly inclined to favour the new doctrines, were lax and inattentive; already, indeed, the strict laws with regard to Lent and the observance of saints' days had been abolished, and the participation of the magistrates in public worship suspended.[1] All this encouraged Vermigli, in his sermons and in other ways, to push his erroneous opinions more and more to the front, to imbue his novices with the same spirit, and even in S. Frediano to exhort the communicants to look upon the Blessed Sacrament as merely a memorial of the Passion of Christ. In spite of all Vermigli's caution it was impossible to conceal such conduct from his superiors and the Curia. By April 1542 he was already in fear of official measures against him; these he tried to circumvent by obtaining from the Senate a letter of commendation to his superior. What the effect of his Lenten sermons had been it was hardly possible to say, but it was hoped that so excellent a man would be permitted to deliver them for yet a long time to come.[2]

In the meantime Cardinal Guidiccioni in Rome had been informed by the Vicar-General of the true state of things. The Cardinal thereupon wrote on June the 28th, 1542, to the authorities of his native city reproving them for their negligence and exhorting them to take proceedings.[3]

The Lucchesi did all they could to appease the Pope and the Cardinal. They sent a special embassy with the

[1] See *loc. cit.*, 352 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SFORZA, Nikolaus V. (German trans. by HORAK, Innsbruck, 1887), 143, 276 *seq* ; BENINCASA, Guidiccioni, 101 *seq.* ; SCHWEITZER, Guidiccioni, 195 ; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIV., 50 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BONGI, *loc. cit.*, 353 ; SCHWEITZER, 196.

assurance of their constant fidelity to the ancient faith and to the Holy See,[1] while to one of Vermigli's chief followers, Celio Secondo Curione, they counselled flight, an intimation which was followed.[2] In July 1542 measures were taken with regard to forbidden books, and the Church festivals, which had been abolished, were restored. Vermigli was invited to appear before the Chapter of the Order in Genoa, but, never a man of particular courage, he resolved to fly at once, and on the 12th of August he went to Florence, where he met Ochino, whom he prevailed upon to leave Italy without delay.[3] Vermigli found an appointment as professor of Hebrew in Strasburg, while Ochino turned to Geneva, where the cautious Calvin had a long and searching colloquy with the refugee before he gave him permission to preach to the colony of Italians in the city.

Ochino immediately threw himself into literary work on behalf of a Protestant propaganda in Italy, against which the combative Dominican, Ambrogio Catarino, took up arms conspicuously.[4] Ochino left Geneva by 1543, having there married his maidservant,[5] and then began his years of restless wandering which brought him in 1547 to England. There he wrote his Latin *Tragœdia*, soon afterwards translated into English, in which he sought to prove that the

[1] BONGI, *loc. cit.*

[2] For Curione, see HERZOG, Realencykl., IV.,[3] 353 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 308; here also is evidence that Curione's, "Pasquillus ecstaticus," had already appeared in 1543.

[3] See BONGI, *loc. cit.*, and Vol. XI. of this work, p. 492.

[4] *Cf.* LAUCHERT in the Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., XXXI., 40 *seq.* Luther's Italian opponents are to be made shortly the subject of a special study by Lauchert in the "Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen" of Janssen's History of the German People which he is preparing for publication.

[5] *Cf.* Corp. Ref., XLVIII., n. 4146; BENRATH, Ochino, 159 *seq.*

Pope was anti-Christ and introduced the devil as one of the *dramatis personæ*.[1]

The flight of two of the most gifted Protestants, Vermigli and Ochino, in search of personal safety, was a loss to the cause in Italy which was felt all the more sensibly as at the same time the Holy See was taking strong measures of defence.[2] For this there were weighty reasons, as Modena as well as Lucca threatened to fall away. It was a circumstance of fateful importance that at this time the Bishop of Modena, Morone, was kept away on the duties of his nunciature.[3] His representative does not seem to have been equal to the task imposed upon him by the seething difficulties of the time.

The spread of Lutheran opinions was no new thing in Modena. When in the Advent of 1537 an Augustinian monk publicly advertised the sale of a heretical work, his conduct only gave rise to a protest. The new opinions gained ground increasingly. Men and women, relates a chronicler, held arguments everywhere on questions of faith and appealed to teachers of the Church whom they had never read and quoted wrongly. Preventive measures were not wanting. The work in question, the *Sommario della Sacra Scrittura*,[4] was confuted by Ambrogio Catarino and consigned to the flames. A Franciscan conventual, who had attacked the Holy See under a pseudonym, was arrested

[1] *Cf.* BENRATH, 117 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BENRATH, Ochino, 137.

[3] For the religious troubles in Modena, *cf.* CANTÙ, II., 148 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 803 *seqq.*; CAVAZZUTI, Castelvetro, 43 *seq.* For the Academician, Franciscus Portus, see the Programm von J. STURM, Würzburg, 1902–1903.

[4] The writing is only a translation of a Dutch work (see Jahrb. für protest. Theolog., VII., 127 *seq.*; VIII., 681 *seq.*; IX., 328 *seq.* TOORENENBERGEN, Het oudste nederlandsch verboden boek, Leiden 1882).

and taken to Ferrara, but all this produced little result, and when Morone at last, in the spring of 1542, returned to his diocese, he heard with amazement of the state of things there prevailing. The focus of religious rebellion was a society of learned men, formed sometime about 1536 and known as the "Accademia."[1] Morone had undoubtedly the best will in the world to check the new teaching in his diocese, but his position was a very delicate one, since, like Contarini, he had no very definite standpoint on the question of justification. It was certainly with the best intention that he allowed the work on the *Benefit of Christ* to be published in his diocese and circulated,[2] little knowing that it contained the starting-point of the very errors which he was now called upon to assail. Morone also hoped to restore order by lenient measures. In agreement with Contarini he resolved to place before the suspects a confession of faith drawn up by Contarini in the simplest form. If it should be thus established that the accused—most of whom were members of the "Accademia"—adhered to the faith of the Church, then, so Morone thought, he could confidently receive them. If the contrary were the case, it was his intention to try and bring them back from their error by gentle measures.[3]

In the meantime attention had also been drawn in Rome to the affairs of Modena.[4] Although the gentle Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., I., 8 *seq.*; SANDONINI, L. Castelvetro, Bologna, 1882, 155 *seq.*; CAVAZZUTI, 48 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Reformation, III., 312. In the prevailing uncertainty it would have been very useful if A. CATARINO, in his Compendio d' errori et inganni Luterani (Romae, 1544), had disclosed the tendency of the work "Del beneficio."

[3] DITTRICH, Contarini, 806.

[4] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 509 *seq.*, 551.

Sadoleto did all he could to protect his fellow-countrymen, Paul III. on the 23rd of June 1542 directed that a brief should be sent to Morone in which he commanded him, taking into consideration the secret and gradual advance of error in Modena, to search out the suspected and bring the guilty to punishment.[1] Morone did not consider it opportune to make use of this document to the letter; it was more congenial to his kind-hearted and tolerant disposition to try to influence the "Academicians" through private negotiations and representations and thus persuade them to renounce their innovations.

Contarini's inexhaustible patience was also shown in his treatment of the heterodox in Bologna, with whom he dealt gently and in a spirit of friendly advice. Morone, who had the support of Sadoleto, succeeded at last in getting forty-one noted citizens and men of learning to sign the declaration composed by Contarini; but this only allayed for a while the religious troubles in Modena.[2]

The danger which threatened in 1542 of important cities like Lucca and Modena gradually lapsing from the Church, determined Paul III. to take a decisive step by appointing, on the 4th of July 1542, six Cardinals to act as Inquisitors-General.[3] He did this on the advice of the

[1] FONTANA, Docum., 388 *seq.*

[2] See DITTRICH, Contarini, 810 *seq.*, 817 *seq.* *Cf.* SANDONINI, *loc. cit.*, 172 *seq.*; CAVAZZUTI, 51 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the report of Caracciolo in BERNINO, IV., 485 *seq.*, and *supra*, p. 45. On June 28, 1542, Cardinal Guidiccioni wrote to Lucca: "qui è nova per diverse vie quanto siano multiplicati quelli pestiferi errori di questa condannata setta lutherana in la nostra città" (Arch. Stor. Ital., X. [1847], Docum., 163). Already on July 8, N. Sernini could write that in the last consistory (mercordì) "S. Sta disse havero inteso che in Lucca, in Modena et in Parma essersi scoperte sette di Luterani (credo che vi mettese ancora Napoli) et che bisognava rimediarvi. Il card. di Ravenna [Accolti] mi ha detto che questa cura

more rigid party, above all, of Cardinal Carafa and of the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Burgos, and, moreover, of Ignatius of Loyola. After having on the 14th of January cancelled all indults which withdrew clergy and laity from the authority of the Inquisition,[1] Paul III., on July the 21st, issued a Bull by which the whole office of the Inquisition was reconstituted and a central authority for all countries erected in Rome whose energies were to be directed first of all to the suppression of heresy in Lucca.[2]

In the preamble of this document[3] Paul III. insisted on the desire which he had cherished from the beginning of his pontificate, to preserve the purity of the Christian faith by preventing the approach of error, to bring back to the acknowledgment of the truths of the Church those led

s' è data a sei cardinali." The chief danger lay in Lucca (see SOLMI, Fuga, 63, 64). On July 10, 1542, Serristori *wrote: "S. Sta . . . ha fatto 4 [sic!] inquisitori sopra questa heresia scopertasi nuovamente in Lucca, i quali sono questi rev^mi cioè il Guidiccione, S. Marcello [Laurerio] S. Croce [Cervini] et un altro per levare via tale infectione si quella città, essendo cosa di malissima digestione" (State Archives, Florence). Then followed the appointment of Inquisitors on July 4, 1542, as given in the text.

[1] FONTANA, Docum., 383 *seq.*; *cf.* RIPOLL, IV., 607 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Pole to Contarini, dat. Viterbo, July 18, 1542 (QUIRINI, III., 59 *seq.*; *cf.* BROMATO, II., 60). See also in Appendix No. 16 L. Tolomei's very characteristic letter of Aug. 11, 1542 (State Archives, Siena).

[3] Constitution "Licet ab initio" (*Regest. Vat., 1695, f. 429 *seq.*; on margin, "Blo. el. Fulgin."; at the end, "A. Barba"), printed in Bull., VI., 344 *seq.*, but not quite correctly (lines 15–16 read "doctorum" for "dictorum"; line 17, "et, si" for "etsi"). The Jesuit J. B. Faure's very rare "Commentarium in bullam Pauli III. Licet ab initio, dat. a. 1542, qua Rom. Inquisit. constituit et ejus regimen non regularibus sed clero saeculari commisit" (1750), was put at last in 1757 on the Index (*cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, III., nova ed., 559). The reduction of the authority of the "secretario intimo" by the "secretario del S. Offitio" is emphasized in the "Informatione" in LAEMMER, Mon. Vat., 468 *seq.*

astray by the deceit of the devil, and so to deal with the obstinate and perverse that their punishment might serve as an example and deterrent to others. Hitherto he had put off any definite measures in these directions as he had hoped that, through the Divine compassion and the efficiency of learned preachers, those in heresy would be brought to see their errors, recant, and return to the Holy Catholic Church; and if they should still hesitate, would, at least, in awe of the authority of the approaching Council, embrace the true faith and return to the path of justice. The Council, however, owing to various reasons, chief among them the war between Christian princes having been unable to make a beginning and the inroads of error in the meanwhile being daily on the increase so that the unity of the Church was more and more impaired by religious discord, he found himself compelled to take measures prohibitive of yet greater evils. Considering that he was beset by claims of the gravest importance and could not therefore give his undivided attention to the matter, the Pope had resolved upon a commission of six Cardinals of approved faith, learning, and virtue.

At the head of the number thus appointed to be "general and most general Inquisitors" were Carafa and Juan Alvarez de Toledo; with them were afterwards associated Cardinals Pier Paolo Parisio, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, Dionisio Laurerio, and Tommaso Babia.[1]

[1] As it was not stated in the constitution that the individual Cardinals should have successors, the temporary character of the institution was thereby implied (see HENNER, Beiträge zur Organisation und Kompetenz der päpstlichen Ketzergerichte, Leipzig, 1890, 368). Parisio died in 1545, Laurerio in 1542, Badia in 1547. SILOS (I., 230) names M. Cervini, Sfondrato, and Pio of Carpi as successors (*cf.* MERKLE, I., 816). In a letter of Cardinal Farnese of June 1546 it is stated that the four Inquisitors, Carafa, Juan de Toledo, Cervini, and

The sphere of action assigned to this commission included all Cisalpine and Transalpine Christendom, the whole of Italy, and the Roman Curia itself. The Inquisitors were expressly authorized to delegate in any place their full powers to clerics versed in theology and canon law or to other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and to decide in their own court on any appeals from the ruling of the latter tribunals.

The commission was further empowered to examine, try, and pronounce sentence upon all who had lapsed from the Catholic Faith or were suspected of heresy, with like jurisdiction over the open or secret adherents, patrons, advocates, and advisers. Against all such, in any station in life, the Inquisitors were ordered to proceed, even without the consent of the bishops, and that too in cases where the latter had the right to act.

In the Bull the punishments to be meted out were specified: imprisonment, execution, and confiscation of goods in the case of those condemned to death. In order to carry out these injunctions the commission had the power to appoint the necessary temporal and ecclesiastical authorities, to regulate everything connected with the degradation and surrender to the secular arm of the guilty, even of those possessing the higher orders, and to inflict censures on the contumacious, whereby all appeal to a court of higher instance would be excluded.

Extensive as the powers of the commission of Cardinals were, when directed against obstinate heretics, they yet lacked any jurisdiction over those who sincerely repented of their errors. The Pope reserved to himself expressly the right to confer pardon in such cases.

Sfondrato, met together once every week (see CAMPANA in the Studi storici, XVII., 275). It is remarkable that Guidiccioni is not mentioned here.

The essential feature of the new organization thus created by the Bull was its centralization in Rome, whence all appointments by the new authorities now came, and in the plenary powers of taking measures immediately and promptly in all countries and against all persons of whatever rank, independently of the existing ecclesiastical courts.[1] Cardinal Carafa, the chief originator of the new institution, proceeded to put it into working order with fiery enthusiasm. It was reported that, without waiting for a financial grant from the Camera Apostolica, he fitted up a house at his own expense as a place where the Inquisition might hold its sessions.[2]

Any description or estimate of the work of the reorganized Inquisition as it proceeded under Paul III. is impossible to an historian, as no records are at his disposal. The archives of the Holy Office in Rome must certainly have documentary evidence to some extent, but inspection is absolutely refused.[3] If the present congregation of the Holy Office still persists in maintaining a system of absolute secrecy, which has almost universally been abandoned elsewhere, with regard to historical documents now more than three centuries old, it inflicts an injury not merely on the work of the historian but still more upon itself, since it thus perpetuates belief in all

[1] *Cf.* BROMATO, II., 59 *seq.*

[2] See Caracciolo in BERNINO, IV., 488.

[3] At the end of 1901 I made my first request to be allowed access to the archives of the Roman Inquisition, which was followed by two other applications. The only piece of information I could obtain from the archivist, Fr. G. M. van Rossum, after fourteen months' endeavours, was that the records of the proceedings against heresy under Paul III. had been lost, although the "Decreta" of the Inquisition had been preserved. An inspection of the latter, in spite of solicitations from influential quarters, was absolutely refused me by the Congregation.

and in the worst of all the innumerable charges levelled at the Inquisition.

The want of authentic sources of information is not compensated for by the information of individuals. We know, for example, that Carnesecchi, in 1546, was cited before the Inquisition and acquitted[1] for want of evidence, while other relapsed or obstinate heretics, such as the Spaniard Jayme Enzinas, were handed over for execution to the secular arm.[2] Of importance is the severe edict issued on the 12th of July 1543 by the Inquisitors-General against the diffusion of heretical books in Rome, Ferrara, and Bologna.[3]

Without access to the archives of the Holy Office it is impossible to substantiate how far this edict attained its purpose, nor, deprived of the same means of information, can it be known for certain to what extent Cardinal Seripando's judgment was well founded when he said: "At first this Institution was a temperate and lenient tribunal corresponding to the personal character of Paul III., but at a later period, when the Cardinals presiding had increased in number and the jurisdiction of the courts in strength, but above all when the superhuman rigour of Carafa held sway, the Inquisition acquired such a reputation that from no other judgment-seat on earth were more horrible and fearful sentences to be expected, sentences the justice of which cannot be called in question, if they are seasoned

[1] See Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 286; *cf.* AGOSTINI, P. Carnesecchi, Firenze, 1899. For Ochino's case, see Vol. XI. of this work, p. 491.

[2] See ORANO, Liberi pensatori, Roma, 1904, XIV.; HERZOG, Realencykl., XVIII.,[3] 582; CAMPANA in the Studi Storici, XVIII., 282.

[3] See BROMATO, II., 80; REUSCH, Index, I., 170 *seq.*; HILGERS, 483–486; *cf.* CAMPANA, XVII., 275. For the diffusion in Rome of Lutheran books, see BALUZE, Miscell. (ed. Lucca), III., 505; *cf.* CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 361.

with that charity which Jesus Christ, appointed by God the Father to be judge of all men, both taught and practised."[1]

From the scattered notices that survive we cannot give even a comparatively faithful sketch of the Inquisition in its working under Paul III. In the same way it is impossible to gauge accurately the attitude of the minor Italian States towards the Roman Inquisition. All that is known is that the majority either obeyed or by individual legislation succeeded in warding off excessive interference on the part of the Roman institution.[2] By an arrangement with the Spanish viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, the Inquisition was reorganized in Naples and was made to depend on that of Rome. The Neapolitans were under the impression that the hated Spanish Inquisition was to be thrust upon them, and therefore showed a violent

[1] DÖLLINGER, Berichte und Tagebücher zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trent, I., Nördlingen, 1876, 7; MERKLE, II., 405. It is evident that, in spite of the Inquisition, many in Rome held secretly to Lutheran doctrine; see F. Archinto's letter of Dec. 25, 1545; see TACCHI VENTURI, I., 328 *seq.*, 519 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 345 n. 3. L. Lippomano's complaint of Nov. 16, 1547, that proceedings against the numerous Lutherans in the Roman States were slack, thereby confirming the previous statements of Seripando. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 335, for Giuliano da Colle, and p. 521 *seq.*, the letter of Cardinal D. de' Durante of Jan. 11, 1546, on the great number of secret heretics in Italy.

[2] The Sienese envoy L. Tolomei recommended independent action in his *letter of Aug. 11, 1542 (State Archives, Siena); see App. 16, also App. 15, letter of Serristori. Although in Lucca on May 12, 1545, a special "Offizio sulla religione" was appointed, heresy continued to spread secretly and not without blame to the government (see BONGI, Invent. del Arch. di Lucca, I., 354 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIV., 59 *seq.*), which at a later period, especially in 1562, took severe measures (see CANTÙ, II., 468 *seq.*; PUCCINELLI, La Republicca di Lucca e la repress. dell' eresia nel sec. xvi, Fossano, 1900). With regard to Ferrara, see FONTANA, II., 250; for Tuscany, CANTÙ, II., 418; REUMONT, I., 129 *seq.*; for Lucca, see also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 528 *seqq.*

opposition; they gained nothing, however, thereby, for Cardinal Carafa, the founder of the Roman institution, was appointed their Archbishop in 1549.[1] In Milan a tribunal was appointed on the Roman model, and from it measures were directed against the Protestants in Locarno.[2]

The Venetian government was the most difficult to deal with, although Paul III. pointed out that a revolution against the Faith meant a revolution against the State.[3] It was not until the whole Venetian territory had become affected by the enterprises of the Protestant party, among whom the Anabaptists had made themselves, from time to time, conspicuous, that the Signoria, upon whom the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League had also made a deep impression, took steps, but not indeed so as to derogate from their functions as a government, to support the Inquisition. A decree of the Doge of the 22nd of April 1547 insisted on the three "Savii sull' eresia" co-operating with the proceedings of the Inquisition. The Council of Ten in the autumn of 1548 ordered the Rectors of Padua, Treviso, Udine, Feltre, Cividale, Capo d'Istria, Adria, Chioggia, Vicenza, Bergamo, and Brescia to take part in the detection and punishment of heresy.[4] On the 8th of June 1549 Paul III. was able to express his satisfaction that the

[1] See AMABILE, I., 196 *seq.*; BENRATH, Isabella Gonzaga, 80 *seq.* *Cf.* also Arch. Stor. Napolit., II., 205 *seqq.*; DE LEVA, IV., 341 *seq.*; BALAN, 383 *seq.*; G. DEL GIUDICE, I tumulti del 1547 in Napoli, Napoli, 1893.

[2] Benrath, Ochino, 205 *seq.*

[3] Thus, *e.g.*, in the brief of May 1, 1545, in FONTANA, Docum., 398 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* BENRATH in Herzog's Realencykl., IX.,[3] 164, 531; Studien und Kritiken, LVIII., 14 *seq.*; BATTISTELLA, Il S. Offizio in Friuli, Udine, 1895, 48. COMBA gives a list of all the charges of heresy before the Venetian Inquisition since 1541 in the Rev. Crist., III., 28 *seq.*; see also CAMPANA, XVII., 152 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*

government had given assistance to the Papal commissary in Istria towards the suppression of heresy.[1] A few days later, on the 3rd of July, the Pope announced in consistory the deposition of Pietro Paolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d' Istria, who had already in May fled from Italy, as the outcome of his trial in Venice for apostasy to Lutheranism. Formerly nuncio in Germany, and there the antagonist of Luther, this ambitious and restless man, with no competent training in theology, had been led by the reading of Lutheran writings to an open rupture with the Church. The keen wit and glowing hate of an apostate were now devoted to the warfare against the Papacy.[2]

Paul III. continued to be harassed by preachers who, under a semblance of Catholic doctrine, conveyed teaching which was in reality that of Protestants. In 1541 he had already tried to lay an embargo on this mischief by confining the Lenten preaching, in Bologna and Modena, to one church.[3] On the 30th of March 1543 he sent letters to the

[1] *Valde gaudemus Deoque et nobis per nobilitates vestras complacitum esse videmus quod brachium et favorem vestrum nostro commissario ad extirpandas in vestra provincia Istriae aereses [sic !] sicut vobis erat dignum tribuistis. Since many still remained obdurate, he exhorted them to bring the matter to an end "sine ullius quidem personae respectu" (Paulus III. duci et senatori Venetiar., dat Romae ap. S. Marc. 1549 Junii 8. Original in State Archives, Venice, Bolle).

[2] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Mantissa, 205 *seq.*; CANTÙ, II., 116 *seq.*; ASCHBACH, Kirchenlex., IV., 1119 *seq.*; COMBA, I nostri Protestanti, II.; FERRAI in Arch. Stor. Ital., 1885, and in the Studi storici, Padova, 1892; Arch. Stor. p. Trieste, II., IV.; BENRATH, Venedig, 119 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXIV., 290 *seq.*, 453; CAMPANA, XVII., 171 *seqq.*, 257 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 525 *seq.*; HUBERT, Vergerios publizistische Tätigkeit, Göttingen, 1893; Vergerio is described as "ambitious and untruthful" in the Jahrb. für Gesch. des Protest. in Österreich, XV., 117; *cf.* also DE LEVA, III., 409; FERRAI, Studi, 90 *seq.*

[3] See LANCELLOTTI, VII., 20.

Augustinian Hermits, the Franciscan Conventuals, the Canons Regular of the Lateran, and the Dominicans of the Lombardic and Roman provinces to take measures in their chapters-general to extirpate Lutheran errors, the spread of which in Italy was daily on the increase.[1] In the following year the Benedictines of Monte Cassino were specially exhorted to be very vigilant, lest any taint of error should creep into their sermons or confessionals; the former permission to read Lutheran writings was withdrawn from the whole Congregation.[2]

All these measures of precaution could not spare the Pope the experience that all over the States of the Church, in Rome as well as elsewhere, the Lutheran heresy was showing signs of existence.[3] When the danger was so great it is not surprising that in many places steps were taken from precipitate zeal. That these were little to the liking of Paul III. is evident from an injunction of the 26th of March 1547 to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, as Protector of the Canons of the Lateran, to the effect that he must check any excess of zeal in the detection of errors whereby dissension between members of the community might arise.[4]

[1] See FONTANA, Docum., 390 *seq.*; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 397 *seq.*, 401, 403 *seq.*, 404 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 394 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 400, 403; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 320, 343, 345, 411; BATTISTELLA, *loc. cit.*, 4, 26, 96 *seq.*, 119, 132. For Lutherans in Faenza, see TACCHI VENTURI, I., 523 *seq.*, and the *facultas absolvendi issued by the President of the Council, M. Cervini, dat. Bologna, May 11, 1548, Concilio di Trento, 40, f. 50 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Brief of March 26, 1547 (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 38, n. 175, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For Cardinal Gonzaga's proceedings against heretics in Mantuan territory, see DAVARI in Arch. Stor. Lomb., XI., 556 *seq.*; LUZIO, V. Colonna, 43 *seq.*

Probably with the Pope's consent, the Venetian nuncio Giovanni della Casa published in 1549 an Index of forbidden books.[1] The Italian Protestants revenged themselves on Paul III. by "an open letter" filled with the most violent personal abuse and ending with a summons to the princes to destroy the "unworthy one." This libel, which in parts was not free from obscenity, was ascribed, but without grounds, by contemporaries to Vergerio or Ochino.[2]

It is a magnificent feature of the Papal history that the occupants of the Holy See, amid the engrossing claims of the ecclesiastical troubles in Europe, never relaxed their efforts to extend the borders of Christendom in other quarters of the globe.[3] Paul III., like his predecessor, honourably fulfilled his duty in this respect, and the missions in Africa, America, and Asia felt his pastoral care.

The Mendicant Orders, who had made mission work a special province of activity, found in the lands thrown open by the new discoveries a widened sphere in which to devote themselves with indefatigable zeal and self-sacrifice, and in this they were firmly supported by Paul III. To

[1] *Cf.* REUSCH, Index, I., 204 *seq.*; HILGERS, 6. See CAMPANA, XVII., 272 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.*, besides CANTÙ, II., 61, especially BENRATH, in the Riv. Crist., II., 258 *seq.*, where it is shown that this obscene pasquinade was related to the filthy "Epistola de morte Pauli III. P. M. deque iis quae ei post mortem ejus acciderunt, a. 1549, mense Decemb. in lucem edita." The charges of unbelief and the worst forms of immorality here brought against the Pope are demonstrably false (see ERSCH-GRUBER, XIV., 43).

[3] Into the details of the history of missions, for which rich materials are stored in the "Bullaria" and the historians of the different orders, it is impossible here to enter owing to the limits assigned to this work. Unfortunately the history of missions has been to a great extent neglected, and there is urgent need for a Catholic historian to arise who will carry out this task with the assistance of the most authentic sources.

their labours were added, under this Pontiff, those of the Jesuits, a source of inestimable strength.

Paul III. helped on missionary work in three ways. He supported the missionaries themselves, he extended the hierarchy, and he threw into the scales all the weight of his influence with the rulers of the countries to which Christianity was to be brought. What a wide sphere of communication was therein opened up is shown by the fact that he applied personally to the Kings of the Congo and of Æthiopia.[1]

In Western Central Africa the kingdom of Congo, on the river of that name, had accepted Christianity even to the reigning house. With the then ruler, King Alfonso, the Pope had at once put himself in communication.[2] The conversion of those born within the diocese of San Thomé, founded on the 3rd of November 1534,[3] was the special object of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians. In 1548 they were joined by the Jesuits, who at once displayed a far-reaching activity. It was a special source of pleasure to the negroes that the fathers never asked

[1] A Papal *letter to David rex Aethiopiae, dat. Oct. 4, 1540, in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 19, n. 872 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Paul III. recommends to him two missionaries sent by him to India. In 1546 King John III. of Portugal reported concerning one Juan Bermudez, who falsely gave himself out to be the Catholic Patriarch of Æthiopia, and begged that a member of the Society of Jesus might assume the Patriarchate (see Mon. Ignat., Ser. I., II., 428 *seq.*), which, however, was not then possible; *cf. supra*, p. 113.

[2] *Alfonso regi de Congo, dat. March 17, 1535; recommendation of the Bishopric of St. Thomé (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 110, Secret Archives of the Vatican). A second letter, with an exhortation to persevere in the introduction of Christianity, dat. May 5, 1535, in RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 59; *cf.* VICOMTE DE PAIVA MANSO, Hist. do Congo, Lisboa, 1877, 64; Bull. patronat. Portug., I., 164.

[3] See Corp. dipl. Port., III., 140 *seq.*; Bull. patronat. Portug., I., 153 *seq.*

for a farthing in return for their toil. The fairest prospects seemed to lie before them; the relations between the King and Paul III. were also friendly. Unfortunately, a reaction set in destructive of their work when the missionaries began to denounce open vices.[1]

The principal burden of the vast work of christianizing America was borne under Paul III. as in previous days by the sons of St. Dominic and St. Francis, aided also by Augustinians and those of other Orders. No danger held back these devoted men; a Franciscan, Juan de Padilla, head of the Kansas mission, met his death in 1542 at the hands of savages; he was the first martyr of the faith in North America.[2]

The successes obtained by the old orders in Central and South America were so great that Paul III. undertook to extend the hierarchy and thereby make possible an organization to meet the needs of the new converts. The consistorial minutes register the creation of many new bishoprics. According to these authentic documents the following sees were founded:—Guatemala on December the 18th, 1534; Antequera, June the 21st, 1535, and Michoacán, August the 18th, 1536, both in Mexico; Cuzco in Peru, January the 8th, 1537; Ciudad Real (Chiapa de los Españoles) in Guatemala on March the 19th, 1539; Ciudad de los Reyes in Peru on May the 13th, 1541; Quito, January the 8th, 1546; Papayán in New Granada, at the foot of the Andes, on August the 22nd, 1546; Rio de la Plata on July the 1st, 1547.[3] The Metropolitan of the

[1] *Cf.* BAESTEN in the Précis hist. Bruxelles, 1892, XLI., 544 *seq.*; XLII., 61 *seq.*, 107 *seq.*

[2] See BANDELIER, I. de Padilla: American Cath. Quarterly Review, July 1890.

[3] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 59; 1536, n. 48; 1539, n. 36; 1546, n. 154, 157; 1547, n. 135; Röm. Quartalschr.

American bishoprics had hitherto been the Archbishop of Seville. With his consent and that of the Emperor this connection was dissolved on the 11th of February 1546 and a new arrangement made suitable to the altered circumstances. The sees of Mexico and Lima were raised to the rank of archbishoprics and metropolitan churches as well as that of San Domingo.[1] The first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, a Franciscan, could boast of belonging to an Order which had converted a million heathens.[2] On the death of Cardinal Gabriel Merino on the 8th of October 1546 Ferdinand Nimo, Archbishop of Granada in Spain,[3] received the title of Patriarch of the West Indies.

In the same year the Jesuits were invited by an old friend of their founder, who lived in Mexico, to come to America. Their numbers did not at that time admit of such a mission,[4] and it was not until 1549 that the first Jesuits landed on American soil, where so great a career awaited them. Six fathers accompanied the Portuguese fleet bound for Brazil; in the neighbourhood of Villa Vieja arose a new city which afterwards was called San Salvador or Bahia. While soldiers and settlers were occupied on building work, the missionaries erected a church, learned the native language, opened schools for the Indians, and expended untold labour in trying to turn

VI., 229 *seq.*; Records of the Americ. Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, X. (1899), 2 *seqq.* According to Gams, Lima (1539), Paraguay (1547), and Gudalaxara (1548) still belonged to the Metropolitan jurisdiction of Seville.

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1546, n. 156; Panvinus in PLATINA, Vitae Pontif., Coloniae Agripp., 1626, 382; GAMS, 148, 153, 156; Records, *loc. cit.*, 14.

[2] *Cf.* ICAZBALCETA, Juan de Zumarrága, Mexico, 1881.

[3] Acta Consist. in the Records, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seq.*

[4] See Araoz to Ignatius, dat. April 24, 1547, Epist. mixtae, I., 360.

the savage inhabitants from a life of wandering and from cannibalism. By Whitsunday 1549 the first hundred converts were ready to receive baptism, and from 600 to 700 others were under instruction.[1]

In the East Indies also Christianity had been introduced by the Portuguese colonists. Here the Gospel was preached by the Dominicans and Franciscans; the seaport town of Goa, on the western coast of Lower India, was the centre of Christian teaching as of the Portuguese possessions. Paul III. carried into effect what Clement VII. had already planned, and on the 3rd of November 1534 he raised Goa into a bishopric which should embrace the vast area from the Cape of Good Hope to the borders of China. On this occasion the Pope confirmed to the Portuguese crown the rights of patronage conferred by his predecessors over this gigantic diocese also, which on the 8th of July 1539 was placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created Archbishopric of Funchal. In return for the rights of patron the King of Portugal undertook to maintain the cathedral of Goa and the ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese, to erect and furnish churches and chapels as necessity arose, and finally to provide in every place a cure of souls.[2]

Ecclesiastical conditions in Goa as well as the extension

[1] Nobrega to Simon Rodriguez, dat. S. Salvador, 1549, and to Dr. Navarro, dat. *ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1549 (Materias e Actrēgas para a Historia e Geographia do Brasil, publicados por ordem do Ministerio da Hazienda, II., Rio de Janeiro, 1886, 48, 65, 66; POLANCUS, Chronicon, I., n. 493–497; ORLANDINUS, l. 9, n. 85–101; SIMÃO DE VASCONCELLOS, S.J. [† 1671], Cronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, I., 2nd ed., Lisboa, 1865, 31–37).

[2] Corp. dipl. Port., III., 151 *seqq.*; MÜLLBAUER, Gesch. der kathol. Missionen in Ostindien, Munich, 1851, 51 *seq.*; see also CONTZEN, Goa im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, Berlin, 1902. The Bull of July 8, 1539. in Bull patronat. Portug., I., 170 *seq.*

of Christianity throughout the Portuguese possessions suffered to an extraordinary degree from the deep moral corruption into which the greater number of Portuguese officials had sunk. These nominal Christians had as much need as the heathen of a thorough conversion, but only a man of exceptional gifts could bring the needed aid. In the spring of 1540 he came in the person of Francis Xavier, sent by Paul III., and with him began a new epoch in the Christian civilization of the East. In the short space of six years he succeeded, by means of an apostolate fired with divine inspiration, in so reorganizing the mission field in India and wherever Portuguese rule extended, that it became the starting-point for a yet wider activity embracing the whole of eastern Asia.[1]

Paul III. conferred not merely great services on missionary work but also on civilization by openly protecting the freedom of the American Indians. The Dominicans, with the enthusiastic Bartolomé de las Casas at their head (nominated on the 19th of December 1543 Bishop of Chiapa),[2] for long waged war with intrepidity and self-devotion against the harsh and cruel tyranny by which the Spanish conquerors bent the American aborigines to their yoke.[3] The Bishop of Tlascala brought their complaints to the ears of Paul III., who resolved to make a decisive attack on the system. Two justly celebrated Papal edicts come under consideration. The first, of May the 29th, 1537, was addressed to

[1] DAHLMANN'S opinion (Indische Fahrten, I., Freiburg, 1908, 399). *Cf. supra*, p. 115.

[2] Acta Consist. in the Records, *loc. cit.*, 9.

[3] See BAUMSTARK, B. de las Casas, Freiburg, 1879; HÄBLER, I., 382 *seq.*; WALZ, B. de las Casas, Bonn, 1905; MACNUTT, B. de las Casas, London, 1909.

the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Juan de Tavera. The Pope here acknowledges that Charles V., by a general law, had forbidden slavery among West or East Indians; he had therefore taken their freedom and their property under his protection even if they were outside the Church. "They must never be extirpated by slavery, but on the contrary by instruction and example be prepared for life eternal." Paul III. finally gave full powers to the Cardinal to protect the Indians to the utmost; everyone was to be forbidden specifically to inflict any kind of slavery on an Indian or to rob him of his goods; the transgressor was to be subject to excommunication irremovable save by the Pope only, except in danger of death and after previous restitution made. The Cardinal, in conclusion, had absolute power given him to take any other measures against the recalcitrant which might seem to him necessary and expedient in accordance with the claims of wisdom, justice, and religion.[1]

The second document, of the 2nd of June of the same year, was a Bull addressed to Christendom at large, forbidding absolutely the slavery of all Indians, even of those in regions as yet undiscovered. Here the Pope laid the axe to the root of the tree by combating the asserted incapacity of the Indian to receive Christianity which served as the pretext for their subjection. In noble words he based his condemnation of slavery on the mission of the Church to carry the Christian faith to all the world. From the sentence of the Gospel, "Go and teach all nations," he deduced the right and the duty to make Christian truth accessible to Indians as well as others. Let them be free even if unconverted, and let no one dare

[1] See MARGRAF, 82 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*, 218 *seq.* The minute of the letter (Arm., 41, t. 6, n. 125, Secret Archives of the Vatican) shows some variants and gives as date May 28.

bring them into slavery.[1] If this decision put an end to uncertainty of opinion by the declaration of a fixed rule of action, a long time had yet to elapse before any substantial success was secured. Even in Rome the Pope was unable at once to carry out effectually his efforts against slavery, and the position of captive unbelievers in Italy still continued to be one of bondage.[2]

There remain to be mentioned some other instances of the Pope's activity in the service of the Church. His interest in the Armenians,[3] his communications with the Maronites, whom he sought in every way to strengthen in the Christian faith,[4] and his conciliatory intervention in

[1] See WADDING, XVI., 417 *seq.*; MARGRAF, 86 *seq*, 219 *seq.* To this period also belongs the *brief of June 29, 1547, addressed to Charles V., on the subject of the continuance of slavery, which was still justified on the grounds of the heathenism of the natives. The brief prescribes: "quod omnes personae eccl^cae seculares et regulares possint sine conscientiae scrupolo officialibus Imperatoris denuntiare injurias illatas Indis, etiamsi ex eo mors subsequatur, non autem revelatus in confessionibus, dummodo non procedatur per viam accusationis." The brief argues that: "Attendentes Indos ipsos licet extra ecclesiae gremium existant, tamen fidei et salutis eternae capaces esse et propterea non severitate et laboribus pendendos, sed praedicationibus et blandis operibus ad vitam aeternam invitandos et alliciendos." Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 39, n. 554 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See I. GIORGI, Paolo III. è la schiavitù in Roma nel sec. xvi, Roma, 1879; BARTOLOTTI, La schiavitù in Roma, Roma, 1887, 4 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Institut, 257; *cf.* especially BRANDI, Il Papato e la schiavitù, Roma, 1903, 21 *seq.*, where the "Bando sopra al tener di li schiavi et schiave in Roma" of Jan. 12, 1549, is placed in a new light by recent archivial information.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1546, n. 157; *cf.* *Acta Consist. of Aug. 21, 1549, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[4] As by the *brief: Petro patr. Maronit. in Syria, dat. Perugia, Sept. 13, 1535 (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 52, n. 229, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For the state of affairs in 1542 and the mission of an Apostolic visitor, see, besides the briefs given in the Tüb. Theol.

the dispute between Latins and Greeks in Venetian territory.[1] No canonization took place under Paul III., although several processes were commenced[2] and the public cultus of the Sicilian hermit Guglielmo sanctioned.[3] The Pope, who had so often to come forward in defence of the liberty of the Church,[4] refused steadfastly to comply with the demands of Henry II. of France for an extension of the concordat to Brittany and Provence.[5]

Quartalschr., 1845, 49 *seq.*, also: (1) *the letter of Pietro patriarcha de Maroniti of Feb. 7, 1542, in which he begs the Pope to send a visitor (Lett. d. princ., XIII., 157); (2) *Io. Abdelmem, governor of Monte Libanon, recommended on Feb. 14, 1542, the bearer: "frate Felice de Ventia, proc. di guardiano di Monte Libanon," and besought the Papal blessing (*ibid.*, 160); (3) the Instruction for the visitor of Nov. 20, 1542 (see Appendix No. 20), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[1] See LE BRET, Magaz., II., 894 *seq.*; Histor. Zeitschr., VIII., 28. A *brief to the Venetian nuncio of June 22, 1549, in favour of the Greeks in Venice, in Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 45, n. 360 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] 1539: Consistory "de Canonizat. b. Hiacynthi" (see KORZENIOWSKI, 96); *brief to Card. Tolet. et Salamant. et episc. Balneoreg. in civit. Salam. commorantib., dat. 1542 (to inquire into the life and miracles of Joh. de Sahagim, ord. eremit. S. Aug.). Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 25, n. 718 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] NOVAES, VII., 60; *ibid.*, 58 *seq.*, for the "approbatio" of the "Ufficio proprio della sposalizio della Verg. Maria."

[4] Many examples in the *Min. brev. of Secret Archives of the Vatican. For Venice, see CAMPANA, 533 *seq.* Paul III. extended the Bull "In Coena Domini" (Bull., VI., 218 *seq.*) to meet a great number of cases in 1536 (see HAUSMANN, Päpstliche Reservatfälle, Regensburg, 1868, 96; HILGERS, Büchverbote in Papstbriefen, Freiburg, 1907, 18).

[5] See DRUFFEL, Beiträge, I., 107, 112, 192. Charles V., on the contrary, carried through a similar concession (see PHILLIPS-VERING, Kirchenrecht, VIII., 1, 201). For the dissolution of the enforced marriage of Jeanne d'Albret, see RICHARD in the Annal. d. St. Louis, VIII., 197 *seq.*

The necessary preparations for the General Jubilee occupied the attention of Paul III.,[1] but when the time of celebration came the Pope had already passed away.

[1] See *Acta Consist. of Oct. 25, 1549 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and A. Strozzi's *report of Oct. 26, 1549 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); CIACONIUS, III., 538, 550; THURSTON, The Holy Year of Jubilee, London, 1900, 52.

CHAPTER XIV.

Paul III. as the Patron of Learning and Art.

I.

Alessandro Farnese, whose career fell in an epoch of intense activity in literature and art, had shown himself, during the long course of his Cardinalate, a warm friend to humanists, men of learning, and artists. The greatest poet of the Cinquecento, Ariosto, extolled in celebrated verses the circle of literary celebrities who gathered round the Cardinal.[1]

The fine humanistic education of Alessandro, who had for a teacher, among others, Pomponio Leto, who spoke even Greek with fluency, whose orations were interwoven with classical quotations,[2] and who was widely versed in other departments of learning,[3] enabled this prince of the Church to appreciate with thorough understanding the manifold

[1] Ecco Alessandro, il mio signor Farnese:
O dotta compagnia, che seco mena!
Fedro, Capella, Porzio, il Bolognese
Filippo, il Volterrano, il Maddalena,
Blosio, Pierio, il Vida Cremonense,
D' alta facondia inessiccabil vena,
E Lascari, e Musuro e Navagero,
E Andrea Marone e l' Monaco Severo.
(Orlando, 46, 13.)

[2] See Amasaeus, 48 *seq.*

[3] Especially in Mathematics (see Panvinius, Vita Pauli III.).

outcome of the Renaissance.[1] Had he become Pope on the death of Julius II. he would have promoted literature and learning in a very different way from Leo X., who only too often betrayed the spirit of the mere dilettante. When at last it came to be Farnese's lot to ascend the Papal throne a fundamental change had taken place in all conditions of Church and State.

The Renaissance had passed its zenith. In Rome the fatal year 1527 had wrought irreparable damage to learning and all had to be created anew. There had been yet another change: the ecclesiastical atmosphere was going through an elemental transformation. The sack of the city had left so deep an impression that a complete resuscitation of the former days of æsthetic enjoyment was impossible even in thought.[2] The great and still continued apostasy from Rome, the full momentum of which had never been realized by Leo X. or Clement VII., was pushing more and more imperiously tasks of ecclesiastical policy into the foreground, so that purely literary movements were not only obliged to recede but were themselves perforce turning into different channels. Little as men might think of denying the great achievements of the Renaissance, they were yet becoming conscious, face to face with the serious aspect of the times, of the necessity of breaking away from tendencies which were alien to the Church and from a patronage of culture which ministered only to a purely atheistic taste. The transition—from the century of Leo X. always dallying with the refinements of literature and art

[1] For the library formed by Paul III. when he was a Cardinal, see ROCCA, Bibl. Vatic., Romae, 1591, 398; it belonged afterwards to Cardinal A. Farnese (see Cod. Vat., 6946, f. 169[b] of Vatican Library). According to AMASAEUS (p. 27), A. Farnese was in the habit of making marginal notes on his books (*cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 553).

[2] See Vol. X. of this work, 443-447.

to an age agitated by political and theological questions—could only proceed by gradual steps under the reign of a Pope whose mind had been matured and whose reputation formed within the humanistic camp.[1]

The whole pontificate of Paul III. was marked by a duality of character which is also discernible in his position as a patron of letters, art, and learning. A searching light is thrown upon the contrasts by which human life was traversed by the fact that high ecclesiastical positions were held at the same time by men representing such divergent tendencies as Giovanni della Casa and Filippo Archinto: the first frivolous and immoral in his life and in many of his writings;[2] the other serious, respected, and author of a treatise on the Sacraments dedicated to Paul III.[3]

The scope of Paul III.'s patronage was restricted not merely by the circumstance that, during the whole of his reign, ecclesiastical and political affairs had paramount claims on his attention, but by the not less hampering disadvantages of financial difficulties, the pinch of which were as severely felt at the close as at the beginning of his

[1] See REUMONT, III., 2nd ed., 687 *seq.*

[2] Giov. della Casa, in the service of Paul III. since 1537, was made Archbishop of Benevento in April 1544 and nuncio at Venice in August; see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 18 *seq.*; GARAMPI, 266, and specially CAMPANA in Studi Storici, XVI., 1 *seq.*, 248 *seqq.*, 349 *seq.*; XVII., 145 *seqq.*; *cf.* also the literature cited by FLAMINI (p. 566) and JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 16th ed., 368. Casa was not ordained priest until July 21, 1547 (see REZZI, Lett. di Giov. d. Casa, Imola, 1824, 33).

[3] De fide et sacramentis, Romae, 1545 (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 956). Archinto was made Bishop of Borgo S. Sepulcro in 1539, which he exchanged for Saluzzo in 1546. He was vicar-general of Paul III. (see Vol. XI. of this work, p. 208), and later vice-chamberlain (see LANCIANI, II., 98).

pontificate.[1] Besides this the Pope was also a strict economist;[2] consequently, the assistance given to men of learning and humanists, however good Paul III.'s original intentions may have been,[3] continued to be much more limited[4] than the expectations in such circles[5] had been.

One of Paul III.'s first undertakings, of a characteristically practical kind, was the restoration of the Roman University reduced to complete ruin by the sack. The buildings were first of all reconstructed, revenues provided, and steps taken to obtain the services of good professors.[6] Only a few weeks after his elevation the Pope invited the celebrated doctor of medicine, Girolamo Accoramboni, to come to Rome to give university lectures; since, so the Pontiff stated, "his duty no less than his love for his native city urged him to bear in view the restoration of this institution."[7] Agostino Nifo, the distinguished philosopher who had already lectured in Rome under Leo X., was another who was invited.[8] This summons was unsuccessful, as at a later date was that of Guglielmo Sirleto to be a professor of Greek. Nevertheless, Paul III. had already suc-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, pp. 156 *seq.*, 327, 344 *seq.*, and CAMPANA, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 266 *seq.* The Council cost Paul III. yearly 50,000–60,000 ducats (see Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 347, n. 1).

[2] *Cf.* our remarks, Vol. XI. of this work, p. 300 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the brief to P. Bembo of Nov. 6, 1534. *Min. brev. Arm., 49, t. 49, n. 24 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] This is contrary to the panegyric of Lodovico Senso (QUIRINI, Epist. Poli., II., 66), to whom TIRABOSCHI (VII., 1, 19) and RENAZZI (II., 115) give a somewhat too hasty assent.

[5] *Cf.* Bembo's letter in the Opere, IV., 232.

[6] See RENAZZI, II., 95; MARINI, Archiatri, I., 383 *seq.*; II. 286 *seq.*

[7] Brief of Nov. 2, 1534, in MARINI, II., 279 *seq.*

[8] *Cf. ibid.*, I., 289; II., 284 *seq.* *Cf.* MARINI, Lettera al ch. Mons. Muti Papazurri già Casali, Roma, 1797, 120 *seq.*

ceeded in the autumn of 1536 in making the Sapienza an active centre of instruction. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was Protector of the University and the protonotary Camillo Peruschi rector. The grammar schools which the Roman Senate had instituted in each quarter of the city were also dependent on the University.[1]

The amount of success which attended the Pope's efforts to reanimate the Roman University is made clear from the lecture lists of the professors for the years 1535, 1539, 1542, and 1548 which have been preserved.[2] They give 18, 24, 20, and 29 professors for the four years respectively. The theologians and philosophers, who were only seven in 1539, were double that number in 1548. There is little difference in the number of teachers in other faculties, but on the other hand the names vary remarkably.[3] There was an extraordinary discrepancy in the annual salaries, which fluctuated between 30 and 850 gold gulden. The best off were, generally speaking, the teachers of medicine and rhetoric; the smallest stipends were those of the professors of theology and philosophy. This is explained by the majority being taken from the religious orders. Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinian Hermits, and Servites were all doing professorial duty, and from November 1537 to May 1539 the celebrated Jesuits, Diego Laynez and Peter Faber, delivered lectures in theology at the Sapienza in Rome.[4]

Among the professors of medicine the most celebrated

[1] See RENAZZI, II., 96 *seq.*, 113 *seq.* For Peruschi, see NOLHAC, Bibl. de F. Orsini, 173. For the numerous professors in the year 1536, see FICHARD, Italia, 55.

[2] Published by RENAZZI (II., 245–248); the oldest, by TACCHI VENTURI, in Arch. Rom., XXIV., 264 *seq.*

[3] See TACCHI VENTURI, *loc. cit.*, 261, 262.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 262.

was the Neapolitan surgeon, Alfonso Ferri, who had been appointed as early as 1535 and who also delivered a course of lectures on anatomy at the request of Paul III. Paolo Belmesseri, a lecturer in medicine, made ventures into Latin poetry and dedicated one of his works to the Pope. Among medical practitioners mention is also made in 1539 of a Jew named Giacobbe; this was probably Paul III.'s Spanish physician, Diego Mantino, celebrated for his skill in his profession.[1]

The teachers of rhetoric included, among others, the humanists Battista Pio and Leonardo da Barletta; the former, who enjoyed a high reputation, lived to the age of eighty-four.[2] In his place Paul III. obtained the services of Romolo Amaseo, a not less renowned scholar; his contemporaries called him the second Cicero, and his salary reached the remarkably unusual figure of 1413 gold gulden. Together with his professorship Amaseo also held the post of tutor to the young Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio Sforza in the department of *belles lettres*.[3] He became permanently attached to the household of Alessandro Farnese and accompanied him even on his Legatine mission of 1546 to Germany during the Schmalkaldic war.[4] Paul III. also appointed

[1] See RENAZZI, II., 107 *seq.*; RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN, II., 95 *seq.* For P. Belmesseri, see MARINI, I., 376 *seq.*; FLAMINI, Studi, 334 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XI., 378 *seq.*; COSTA, P. Belmesseri, Torino, 1887.

[2] His epitaph in FORCELLA, II., 394.

[3] *Cf.* the *brief to the Governor of Bologna, where Amaseo was teaching, Feb. 14, 1535. Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 50, n. 453 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 20, 70; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 583 *seq.*; RENAZZI, II., 112, 248. The statements here made have been overlooked by RONCHINI, who in the Atti Mod., VI., 275 *seq.*, gives documents from the Archives of Parma bearing on Amaseo's summons to Rome. For Amaseo, see also NOLHAC, Orsini, 134.

as colleagues with Amaseo in attendance on Cardinal Alessandro two other men of learning: the philosopher Antonio Bernardi and the Roman, Bernardino Maffei.[1]

The value Paul III. attached to learning is shown by the care which he bestowed on the education of others of his family. One of the results of this was that even the dissolute Pier Luigi, whose instruction had been conducted by the poet Baldassare Molossi,[2] busied himself with the patronage of letters.[3] The education of Ranuccio was entrusted by the Pope in 1540 to the humanist Francesco Florido Sabino, who was summoned to Rome for the purpose; this great scholar and truth-loving man was later placed in the same relation to Orazio Farnese.[4] Ranuccio was accompanied to the University of Padua by Lodovico Beccadelli, who was later made secretary to the conciliar Legates, and after Ranuccio's elevation to the Cardinalate represented the latter in the Legation of the March.[5]

Alessandro, as well as Ranuccio Farnese, corresponded brilliantly to the hopes entertained by the Pope of their interest in things of the intellect. They were both so assiduous in supporting the claims of literary men that the praise lavished upon them in this respect by their contemporaries seems fully justified.[6] Ranuccio Farnese's patronage of the arts belonged to a later date, that of Alessandro in part to the pontificate of Paul III. The apartments in the Cancelleria, which Alessandro occupied

[1] See Atti Mod., V., 311 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* AFFÒ, Vita di B. Molossi, Parma, 1779, 12 *seq.*

[3] Besides POGGIALI, Storia di Piacenza, IX., 184, and AFFÒ (*passim*), *cf.* the interesting document given by RONCHINI in the Atti Mod., IV., 186.

[4] *Cf.* Atti Mod., V., 385 *seq.*; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., VIII., 337 *seq.*

[5] See MAZZUCHELLI, II., 2, 577.

[6] *Cf.* Petri Victorii Epist., l. 2, f. 42; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 20 *seq.*: see also CLAUSSE, Les Farnèses, 177 *seq.*

at that time as Vice-Chancellor, were the daily resort of men of letters. Here Vasari was urged to begin without delay his work on celebrated painters.[1] The most varied pursuits of learning met with sympathy from the young Farnesi and were supported by their liberality. They opened their hands to the wanton poet Francesco Maria Molza[2] as well as to the devout Marcantonio Flaminio.[3] When it is remembered that the latter received property in land as well as a magnificent villa from the Cardinal, his verses extolling his patron to the skies are not unintelligible.[4] Not merely Italian but foreign scholars as well dedicated their works to these generous patrons; thus the Augustinian Johann Hoffmeister his commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians.[5] Giovio, Bembo,

[1] *Cf.* KALLAB, 145 *seq.*

[2] See SERASSI, Poesie di Molza, Milano, 1808, 82 *seq.*; *cf.* BUDIK, II., 57 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*

[3] See COSTA in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., X., 384 *seq.*; CUCCOLI, Flaminio, 119 *seq.*, 169. See also QUIRINI, Imago, 6 *seq.*; BUDIK, II., 113. Flaminio's "In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio ad A. Farnes. card." appeared from the Aldine press in Venice in 1545.

[4] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 558 *seq.*, 565. Other members of the Farnese family were also celebrated by contemporary poets; in particular Vittoria Farnese, who married in 1547 the Duke of Urbino. *Cf.* TARDUCCI, L' Atanagi da Cagli, Cagli, 1904, 51. Cod. Urb., 742, contains the *Epithalamium (dedicated to Cardinal A. Farnese) Guidob. Roberii et Victoriae Farnesiae Urb. ducum, of Janus Vital. Panormit. civ. Rom. In Cod. Vat., 9063, f. 7b of the Vatican Library, there is a poem "in Victoriae Farnesiae partum."

[5] See PAULUS, Hoffmeister, 186 *seq.* Another foreign dedication of 1546 is mentioned in the Zeitschr. des westpreuss. Geschichtl. Vereins, XLII., 85; *cf.* also BALBI, Opera, I., 229. Investigators of maps of America may have their attention called to the rare impression dedicated to Card. A. Farnese: Compendium in sphaeram per Pierium Valerianum Bellunensem. Impressit Romae Ant. Bladus Platina Asulanus cum privilegio ne quis alius imprimat sub anathematis poena et pecuniaria mulcta ut in brevi apost. continetur 1537. Mense Apr.

Fracastoro, Claudio Tolomei, Pier Vettori, Carlo Gualteruzzi[1] were on confidential terms with Alessandro, and two of his secretaries, Bernardino Maffei and Marcello Cervini, attained to the purple. Later on Annibale Caro also entered Alessandro's service after having been secretary to Pier Luigi from 1543 to 1547. With Alessandro he then remained up to his death on the 21st of November 1566. The innumerable letters which he wrote in Farnese's service were with justice lavishly rewarded. These documents, which also form a source of historical information, show that their writer was a master of the Tuscan idiom; they are always appropriate to their subject, always composed in a finished style, filled with true Italian grace, and, with all their charm, simple and clear.[2]

Paul III. was even more versatile than Alessandro in his patronage of letters of various sorts. The Pope, who in his leisure hours delighted in Greek and Latin poetry,[3] was

[1] *Cf.* MARMITTA, Rime, Parma, 1564, 120. *Cf.* RONCHINI, Jacopo Marmitta, in Atti Mod., I., 15 *seq.*, with extracts from the Archives of Parma. More will be found about A. Farnese's literary circle in the following volumes: REUMONT, III., 2, 549; NOLHAC, Orsini, 13 *seq.*; Lett. di B. Cappello, Bologna, 1870, vii *seq.* Some of Gualteruzzi's letters have been printed (Pesaro, 1884).

[2] See SEGHEZZI, Vita del com. A. Caro in the first part of the Lett. di A. Caro, Padova, 1765; CANTALAMESSA CARBONI, Ricerche sulla vita di A. Caro, Ascoli, 1858; FLAMINI, 478 *seq.* For special information on Caro's Epistolario, see N. ANGELETTI in the Scuola Romana, IV. (1886), n. 5. For Caro as Pier Luigi's secretary, see PICCO in Bollett. stor. Piacent., II., and N. Antologia, 1907, Ottobre. See also BERNETTI, A. Caro, Porto Civitanova, 1907; CIAN and STERZI in the Zeitschr.; LE MARCHE, VII., 2; SASSO, A. Caro e Giov. Guidiccioni, Fabriano, 1908; STERZI, in the Atti e memorie della r. deputaz. di storia patria per le prov. delle Marche, N.S., V., 1–2.

[3] See GYRALDUS, de Poet. nostrorum temp., ed. WOTKE, Berlin, 1894, 73; RENAZZI, II., 93. According to CIACONIUS (III., 553), Paul III. also had some verses attributed to him.

certainly not in a position to support all the horde of scholars, literati, poets, and poetasters who were wandering about without bread to eat after the irruption of so many catastrophes on Italy, but he had nevertheless opened havens of refuge to many of these unfortunates.[1] During his reign the poets were, on the whole, more in the background than during the epoch of Leo X.[2] Men of a practical turn of thought were the most popular. Theologians and canonists were in favour, for in view of the harassed state of the Church the support of such writers made a stronger appeal than the support of poets; many of the latter therefore tried to attract the Pope's favour by applying the Muse to theological subjects.[3] What a complete change the age had undergone is shown in the relations of Paul III. with Marco Girolamo Vida, at one time the delight of Leo X. Vida had at one time belonged to Farnese's literary group, but now the two corresponded on the suppression of the religious innovations which had been attracting notice also in Vida's bishopric of Alba.[4]

The poets who are associated with the reign of Paul III. may be named. They were: Angelo Colocci, the successor in 1537 of Favorino as Bishop of Nocera;[5] Fabio Vigili, an official of the chancery and Bishop of Spoleto, his birthplace,[6] since 1540; Eurialo Morani of Ascoli; the Peru-

[1] Thus REUMONT, III., 2, 696.

[2] Hence Molza's complaint (SADOLETI, Opera, II., 137).

[3] See a specimen in CIACONIUS, III., 556.

[4] See RONCHINI in the Atti Mod., IV., 75 *seq.*; NOVATI in Arch. Stor. Lomb., XXV., 236, 270 *seqq.*

[5] See UGHELLI, I., 1072; *cf.* the Monograph referred to by us, Vol. VIII. of this work, 186 n.

[6] *Cf.* MARINI, Archiatri, II., 287 *seq.*; GARAMPI, 259. F. Flavius congratulates F. Vigili on his appointment as "epistolar. magister" to the Pope, in a letter dat. Foligno, Nov. 27, 1537. The MS. is in possession of Faloci-Pulignani at Spoleto.

gian, Francesco Coppetta;[1] Rodolfo Aracintio;[2] Vincenzo Astemio of Venafro;[3] Astorre Baglioni, who was also a Roman Senator and a valiant warrior;[4] Novidio Fracco;[5] Marcantonio Flaminio;[6] Angelo Perotti of Camerino;[7] Giangiorgio Trissino, the author of the heroic epic "Italia liberata";[8] lastly, Girolamo Borgia.[9] The latter in exuberant language thanked the Pope for the many marks of his favour, praised his liberality, magnanimity, and architectural energy; nor were the young Farnesi, especially Cardinal Alessandro, forgotten in this poet's enthusiastic verse.[10] Borgia, since 1544 Bishop of Massalubrese,

[1] For both these, see Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXXIX., 6 *seq.*, and Suppl., III., 93 *seq.*

[2] MAZZUCHELLI (I., 2, 926) only gives: "Epithalamii virginei libri 3, Roma 1541," dedicated to Margareta Farnese. In Cod. Vat., 3608, I found: *Aracynthi Elegia ad Paulum III. and his relatives; here f. 21[b] among other pieces is also a poem "In obitum ill. d. Juliae Pha.," the sister of Paul III. Cod. Vat., 3701, of the Vatican Library (dedication copy with illuminations) contains *Carmina anonymi in laudem Pauli III.

[3] *Vincentii Franciscucci Abstemii (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1182) De laudibus astrologiae ad Paulum III., dat. postridie Id. Oct. 1541. Cod. Vat., 3687, Vatican Library.

[4] See MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 44 *seq.*

[5] Author of an imitation of Ovid's Fasti, dedicated to Paul III. (see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 466 *seq.*).

[6] See CUCCOLI, 112 *seq.*, 118.

[7] His *ode to Paul III. in Cod. Vat., 9063, f. 7[b]–8[b] (Vatican Library).

[8] *Cf.* MORSOLIN, Trissino, 242 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*; see also Trissino's letter to Paul III. of Dec. 6, 1543 (and our remarks, Vol. VIII. of this work, 218 *seq.*), published by CROCE in the Scritti di storia (*Nozze* Fedele de Fabritiis, Napoli, 1908, 76 *seq.*).

[9] *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1750.

[10] See Hieronymi Borjii Epigrammata in *Cod. Barb. lat., 1903. A great number of the poems have been printed from this MS. in the rare collection "Carmina lyrica et heroica quae extant D. Hieronymus Borgia ex fratre pronepos ad gentilis sui memoriam restaurandam

also made essays in history and dedicated to Paul III. his work on the wars of Italy, which showed more patriotism than critical insight.[1] The crown of poet laureate was bestowed by Paul III. on the gifted Polish poet Clement Janitius.[2]

Characteristics of the literary life of Rome at this time were the academies[3] and the unflagging popularity of satire. Few families of that day suffered so much from Pasquino's biting tongue as the Farnesi, for Paul III. and his house certainly gave his mockery rich opportunities.[4] Immediately after his election Paul III. was attacked

ex adversariis collegit et foras prodire iussit, Venetiis 1666" (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1750). The poem "De incendio ad Avernum lacum prid. Kal. Octob. facto A⁰ 1538 ad Paulum III. P. carmen heroicum, Neapoli, *s.a.*," is to be found in the Casanatense Library in Rome (see Bibl. Casanat. Catal., I., Romae, 1761, 763).

[1] H. Borgia, *Hist. de bellis ital., quoted by Mazzuchelli from a private library, is also among the MSS. in the Library of S. Mark, Venice. Borgia gives incredible anecdotes of Alexander VI. (*cf.* BROSCH, Kirchenstaat, I., 16). The work is quoted as "Istoria de 'suoi tempi lib. 20" in the Nuovo Dizionario istorico, Napoli, 1791. There is a confused dedication in the Italian translation in the Carte Farnes., 1ª (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See ĆWIKLÍNSKI, Klemens Janicki, Kraków, 1893.

[3] *Cf* RENAZZI, II., 128 *seq.*; FLAMINI, 100. For the Vitruvian Academy, see KRAUS-SAUER, 2, 695 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* ABED-EL-KADR-SALZA in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XLIII., 198 *seq.* Besides the Cod. Ottob., 2817, there were also in *Ottob., 2811 : Libro delle pasquille novi et vecchi ital. in verso incominciato 1544, and 2812 : Libri di pasquilli volg. ital. in prosa, 1544 (Vatican Library), at the disposal of students. For satires against Paul III., see CANTÙ, II., 216 *seq.*; SCHADE, I., 44 *seq.*, II., 117 *seq.*; RANKE, Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber, 28*; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXXIII., 44; CAPASSO, Viaggio di P. Luigi, 20; CAVAZZUTI, Castelveltro, 54 n. Rabelais also speaks most contemptuously of Paul III. (see BAUMGARTNER, V., 254 *seq.*; Rev. d'hist. dipl., XII., 217 *seq.*; XIV., 222 *seq.*, 244 *seqq.*).

by Pietro Aretino in a very envenomed poem entitled "Pasquino in colera"—"Pasquino in a rage."[1] This did not prevent the talented but covetous satirist, whose pen, like an engine of war, was turned against every famous reputation in Italy, from sending flattering letters to Paul III., whom he had so grossly outraged, on the occasion of his journey to Nice, or even from despatching to that congress a confidential messenger who was honourably received by the Pope, the Emperor, and Francis I.[2] As he was afterwards insufficiently honoured by the powers at Rome, he affected a profound contempt for the whole Curia.[3] In 1540 he composed again a sonnet against Paul III. but did not publish it,[4] and in 1543 he wrote anonymously a violent libel on the high society of Rome.[5] Later he offered to dedicate his tragedy *Orazia* to Pier Luigi Farnese for 150 scudi. When he got the money he made a similar proposal to the Pope in a letter of fulsome adulation, and afterwards abused him in the coarsest language in a letter to Cosimo de' Medici. How Aretino, in spite of these proceedings, flattered himself that he would be made a Cardinal, is inconceivable. In January 1547 he wrote again to the Pope, but did not receive from him the anticipated reward.[6]

Niccolò Franco was Aretino's rival in scurrilous and indecent verse-making. First the friend and then the furious enemy of Aretino, Franco had to leave Venice in 1539. On his wanderings he came to Rome, where he

[1] See LUZIO in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XIX., 102.

[2] See Lett. di Aretino, I. (1609), 67 *seq.*, 266 *seq.*; LUZIO, Pronostico, 133.

[3] See Lett. di Aretino (ed. 1539), f. 39; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, I., 10th ed., 178.

[4] Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXIX., 255 n.

[5] *Ibid.*, XXVI., 176 *seq.*

[6] See Atti Mod., III., 86 *seqq.*

disguised himself as a religious and thus managed to gain the confidence of Cardinal Morone. When it was established that Franco, in a collection of satirical sonnets, had indulged to an incredible degree in obscenity and profanity, the Pope gave orders for his expulsion from Rome.[1]

As Paul III. was interested[2] in history it is remarkable that he should have disregarded Paolo Giovio, who played a great part in the Roman literary world.[3] In his Histories Giovio had expressed a hope, which was the outcome of a faulty judgment on present affairs, that the accession of the Farnese Pope would mean a return to the golden age of Leo X. All the greater was his disappointment when he saw this hope disappear. Nevertheless, Giovio remained in Rome for some years as the centre of an intellectual circle, but finally, in 1548, when the vacant bishopric of Como was not offered to him, he left Rome in disgust.[4]

To the humanists also belonged the celebrated Veronese physician and astronomer Girolamo Fracastoro. He dedicated to the Pope a work on medicine and one on astronomy, and was appointed, as a mark of gratitude,

[1] *Cf.* SIMIANI, N. Franco, Torino, 1894, 34 *seq.*, 106 *seq.* For the letters of Franco in the *Cod. Vat., 5642, see SICARDI in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXVI., 223 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Carte Strozz., I., 323.

[3] The "Dispensa" for the sake of the composition of the "Istorie" of Oct. 21, 1537, is in FONTANA, II., 469 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* CIAN in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 337. In the Index of the Brevia Pauli III. of 1539 a *letter to the Archbishop of Capua of the following tenor is found: Since the prior and community of the Benedictine Abbey of La Cava impede P. Jovius, episc. Nucer., in the jurisdiction of his city and diocese and continue to do so notwithstanding letters from their Protector, Cardinal Campeggio, orders were given that the opposition to Jovius should cease (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Giovio tried afterwards to avenge himself on Paul III (see CIAN in Arch. Stor. Lomb., XVII. [1890], 829 *seq.*).

physician to the Council of Trent.[1] As such he played an important part in March 1547 in the removal of the Synod to Bologna, thereby incurring severe censure in many quarters,[2] while Paul III. and Cardinal Farnese remained, as before, his constant patrons.[3]

The astrologer Pomponio Gaurico[4] has been already mentioned. With him the learned philosopher Ubaldini Bandinelli and the mathematician Alfano Alfani shared the Pope's favour; the former became Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto in 1548, the latter for seven-and-thirty years was at the head of the treasury in his native town, Perugia.[5] In the autumn of 1537 Paul III. summoned Gasparo Insoni to Rome for the reform of the calendar.[6]

The most eminent representative of ancient classical learning in Rome under Paul III. was Latino Giovenale Manetti, who had already, under Leo X., given proofs of his diplomatic ability.[7] Paul III. also entrusted him with several missions. Thus in December 1534 he was sent to

[1] *Cf.* MARINI, I., 389 *seq.*; II., 290 *seq.*; BUDIK, II., 190 *seq.*; Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses, V., 58 *seq.* *Cf.* ROSSI, G. Fracastoro, Pisa, 1893; E. BARBARANI, G. Fracastoro, Verona, 1897.

[2] See the letter of an anonymous medical enemy in Nuntiaturberichte, IX., 657 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RONCHINI in the Atti Mod., V., 194 *seq.* The physician Ferd. Balamius dedicated to Paul III. the work of Galenus, de ossibus, Paris, 1535 (see MARINI, I., 315; ROTH, Vesalius, 55, n. 1). Paul's private physician, Silvio Zeffiri, dedicated a very rare work to his master: Sylvii | Zephyri | Ro. Philo | sophi et medici | Pontificii | de pu | tredine sive de | protrahenda | vita libel | lus | Ad Paulum III. Pont. | Max. Principem | optimum. | Impressum Romae in Campo Florae in aedibus Antonii | Bladi Asulani mense Novembri | 1536. 43 leaves in 4°.

[4] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 39 n.

[5] See MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 466; II., 216; *cf.* MORONI, LII., 159.

[6] See FONTANA, I., 505.

[7] See our statements, Vol. VIII. of this work, 242.

Venice;[1] between 1535 and 1540 he went no less than five times as nuncio to the court of France,[2] and in 1538 he had also to visit Scotland.[3]

Manetti, who was Papal private secretary, had already been appointed in 1534 to the lucrative post of a treasurer in Piacenza; on the 8th of November of the same year he was appointed commissary of Roman Antiquities, and somewhat later the Papal Mint was also entrusted to him.[4] In 1536 he had the honour to conduct the Emperor to see the monuments of ancient Rome. With Sadoleto and Bembo he was on intimate terms. History owes a great debt to Manetti, for it was he who induced Bembo to publish the briefs which he had composed as secretary to Leo X., a work dedicated to Paul III. as an exhortation that the Roman Chancery should maintain the tradition of a good Latin style.[5] The confidence in which Manetti was held by the Pope is clearly set forth in passages in the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini.[6]

Diplomatic commissions were also entrusted to Bartolommeo Cavalcanti[7] and the highly cultivated Giovanni Guidiccioni of Lucca, made Bishop of Fossombrone in 1534. The latter in the beginning of 1535 had the difficult task of representing Paul III. at the Emperor's court in Spain. Arriving in that country in March, he accompanied Charles V. on the expedition to Tunis, returned with him to Italy, and remained with him as nuncio up to August 1537.

[1] See MARINI, Archiatri, I., 384, 385.

[2] See PIEPER, 110 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, 160 *seq*, 215; Nuntiaturberichte, I., 359; III., 338, 378 *seq*; IV., 54.

[3] See BELLESHEIM, Schottland, I., 339, 490.

[4] See MARINI, I., 385; REUMONT, III., 2nd ed., 353.

Cf. our statements, Vol. VIII. of this work, Appendix No. 22. For the post of commissary of antiquities, see *infra*, 563 *seq.*

[6] Cellini Vita, ed. BACCI, 143.

[7] *Cf.* Atti Mod., IV., 142 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*

Guidiccioni now became President of the Romagna, with Annibale Caro as his secretary; he was afterwards commissary of the Papal troops in the campaign against the Colonna, and finally governor of the March of Ancona. His fidelity to duty in all the positions to which he was called was celebrated by his contemporaries; he was, it was believed, destined for the Cardinalate if he had not been snatched away by an early death in 1541. The letters of Guidiccioni, whose poetical work also is still highly prized at the present day, are not merely important sources of information for the historian, but possess excellence of style; they lose nothing in comparison with those of Guicciardini.[1]

A not less attractive figure was that of Blosius Palladius, whose name, according to the usage of the Roman Academy, was thus latinized from Biagio Pallai. He had already distinguished himself as a poet and composer of classical briefs under Leo X. and Clement VII.[2] The important and lucrative office of secretary of Latin briefs was entrusted permanently during the reign of Paul III. to this master of classical phraseology. The Pope, who set the highest value on the learning and integrity of Palladius, rewarded his faithful services in 1540 by conferring upon him the bishopric of Foligno, which he resigned in 1547 in favour of Isidoro Clario. Palladius did not long survive his patron. The visitor to the Church

[1] *Cf.* MINUTOLI, Opere di G. Guidiccioni, I., II., Firenze, 1867; BENINCASA, G. Guidiccioni, Roma, 1895; FLAMINI, 420 *seq.*; Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXVI., 250; LI., 407 *seq.*; CHIORBOLI, G. Guidiccioni, Jesi, 1908; SASSI, A. Caro e G. Guidiccioni, Fabriano, 1908. Dionisio Atanagi, the editor of the noted and valuable collection of letters, was the lifelong secretary to Guidiccioni (see TARDUCCI, L'Atanagi da Cagli, 4).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, 190, 212 n., 227, and Vol. X., 335; GARAMPI, App. 255; MERKLE, II., 185; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XLV., 67.

of S. Maria in Aquiro in Rome will see there, close to the first pillar on the left hand of the nave, the simple tomb of this renowned Latinist; a marble bust exhibits the noble and serious features of this remarkable man, to whom this memorial was raised by the hospital and orphanage adjoining the church upon which he had bestowed all his substance.[1]

Great is the number of canonists and theologians who stood in relations with Paul III. and received support from him. First to claim mention are the professors of the Roman University, especially the Dominicans Fra Cipriano, Alberto Duisnio, and Teofilo di Tropea, the Carmelites Fra Egidio and Antonio Marinari, the Augustinian Hermit Ambrogio Quistelli, the Minorite Bonaventura Pio, Jacopo Giacomelli, who sprang from a Roman family famous for learning, and, last and most remarkable of all, Diego Laynez, who succeeded St. Ignatius in the generalship of the Society of Jesus.[2]

Andreas Camutius dedicated to Paul III. a work against Luther and other Protestant assailants of the Church.[3] The Minorite, Petrus Galatinus, also dedicated two theological works to the Pope,[4] as did Joannes Baptista Albinianus Tretius his edition of the three

[1] See the inscription in FORCELLA, II., 439.

[2] See RENAZZI, II., 98 *seqq.* For the theologian Niccoiò Alessi, see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 463. For Egidio Foscarari, who was Master of the Sacred Palace in 1546, *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 271 *seq.*

[3] *A Camutius ad S. D. N. Paulum III. in ecclesiae cath. defensionem contra haeresiarchas nostrae tempestatis. Dat Lucani prid. Cal. Julias 1544 (Cod. Vat., 3725, Vatican Library). Camutius had come to know the Pope before his election, as he says in his preface, and certainly in Parma.

[4] *Petri Galatinii min., poenit. apost., De vera theologia, Pars. I. (Cod. Vat., 5570, Vatican Library). The same, *De ecclesia cath. libri 3 ad Paulum III. (Cod. Vat., 5575).

writings of his father against the Lutheran heresy.[1] Among canonists, Paolo Borghasio[2] and Giovanni Girolamo Albani[3] deserve mention, but the pre-eminence belongs to Tommaso Campeggio, a younger brother of Cardinal Lorenzo, who was frequently employed in the chancery, the German nuntiature, and politico-ecclesiastical negotiations. Sadoleto esteemed Tommaso so highly that he considered him worthy of the Cardinalate.[4] He would indeed have been suited for the Sacred College, as its ranks at that time contained a whole series of famous scholars, whose elevation gave a brilliant testimony to the Pope's love of learning.

Of the celebrated Cardinals created by Paul III., so much has been said in accounts of this pontificate that it is sufficient to reproduce their names: Gasparo Contarini, John Fisher, Cristoforo Jacobazzi, Jacopo Sadoleto, Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Hieronymus Aleander, Reginald Pole, Pietro Bembo, Federigo Fregoso, Marcello Cervini, Bartolommeo Guidiccioni, Gregorio Cortese, Giovanni Morone, Tommaso Badia, Jacopo Savelli, Niccolò Ardinghello, Federigo Cesi, and Bernardino Maffei. Even if many of the above owed their promotion to reasons, in the first instance, of an ecclesiastical character, the claims of literature were by no means held in secondary consideration. Of this Bembo is the most illustrious example. His elevation to

[1] Petri Albiniani Tretii, Tractatus aureus de Pontif. potestate, de thesauro ecclesiae et de confessione contra Lutheranos errores, Venetiis, 1545 (f. 3–5 the dedication of Joh. Bapt. to Paul III.).

[2] MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1718.

[3] G. G. Albani dedicated three works to Paul: (1) De cardinalatu, Romae, 1541; (2) De potestate papae et concilii, Venetiis, 1544, and often (see Mazzuchelli, I., 1, 273); (3) *De primatu ecclesiae Romanae, bought in MS. in the autumn of 1894 (Manzoni Library, Rome).

[4] See RENAZZI, II., 122, and Nuntiaturberichte, II., III. *seq.*; *cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 110.

the Cardinalate was an act of homage to the spirit of humanism, and the same in a certain sense may be said of Sadoleto. It was besides very characteristic of Paul III. that he should have associated this distinguished man with the studies and tasks which the situation of the Church demanded. Sadoleto had congratulated him on his election to the Papacy,[1] and on the 3rd of January 1535 he received a brief from Paul III. thanking him, assuring him of his intention to withstand the onslaught of Protestantism, and expressing a hope that Sadoleto would give him the assistance of his learning.[2]

In the same way Erasmus was urgently exhorted to devote the rich gifts he had received from God to the defence of the Catholic faith; such services would be of special value at the moment when the Council was about to begin its labours.[3] Paul III. set great store by the participation of Erasmus in the theological controversy, as he was of opinion that the success of the Catholic disputants would to a great extent depend upon their possession of a classical style.[4]

The protection of the Catholic faith was the primary motive which led Paul III. to favour the University of Ingolstadt[5] and the institute founded in Dillingen by

[1] SADOLETI, Opera, I., 197–200.

[2] Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 50, n. 14 (Secret Archives of Vatican).

[3] See the brief of May 31, 1535, in ERASMI, Opera, ed. CLERICUS, IV., Lugd. Batav., 1703, 1501–1502, and again in FONTANA, I., 492 *seq.*, this brief is in answer to Erasmus's letter of Jan. 23, 1535, in CARDAUNS, Paul III., 202 *seq.*; for the friendly relations between Erasmus and Paul III., *cf.* RAUMER, Histor. Taschenbuch, VI., 11, 149; FONTANA, I, 494.

[4] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., l. 18.

[5] See PRANTL, Geschichte der Universität Ingolstadt, I., 183. For an act of grace of Paul III. for the University of Heidelberg, see HAUTZ, Die Universität Heidelberg, I., 452.

Cardinal Truchsess.[1] On the other hand, the pursuit of learning was the principal object with which the University of Macerata was founded in 1540.[2]

In July 1536 a considerable number of theologians were called to Rome by Paul III. in view of the approaching Council. Among them were Fregoso, Cortese, Carafa, Giberti, Pole, Sadoleto, and Bartolommeo Guidiccioni; with the exception of the latter all accepted the invitation.[3] In the spring of the following year the Pope asked the University of Salamanca to afford him the assistance in the matter of the Council of two of its most famous members: Pedro Ortiz and Francisco à Vittoria.[4] The former remained in Rome till 1540 and then took part in the religious conferences at Worms and Ratisbon. Francisco à Vittoria, a Dominican, was deserving of the high praise which Paul III. bestowed upon him in the brief above mentioned when he spoke of him as the most famous theologian of the University of Salamanca; he was certainly the founder of the newer scholasticism. Unfortunately the health of this teacher, worn out by indefatigable exertions in the University since 1526, did not permit him, now in his fifty-seventh year, to undertake the arduous journey to Italy. In 1544 he had to resign his professorship, and on the 12th of August 1546 he died. Although not present personally at Trent he exercised a great influence there, as the period of his activity as a teacher

[1] *Cf.* SPECHT, Gesch. der Universität Dillingen, Freiburg, 1902, 6.

[2] *Cf.* Bull., VI., 283; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 100; DENIFLE, Die Universitäten, I., 223. The ordinances of Paul III. concerning the University of Pisa in FEDELI, Doc. Pontif. riguard. l'univ. di Pisa, Pisa, 1908, 123 *seq.* As Fedeli (p. 75) justly remarks, they were only flogging a dead horse, "uccidere un morto."

[3] The letter relating to this in EHSES, IV., 26 *seq.*

[4] This brief also, *ibid.*, IV., cxxxviii *seq.*

corresponded with the flourishing time of that theology which gave the Spanish divines so great an influence in the Council.[1]

It was the Council again which brought Sadoleto[2] and other Cardinals to Rome in 1545, and in March 1546 the learned jurist Andrea Alciati, afterwards appointed protonotary.[3] About the same time Girolamo Seripando, the General of the Augustinian Hermits, was permitted to appoint, during his detention at Trent, a substitute to preside at the chapter of the congregation of the Order.[4] The Dominican, P. Domenico Soto, who had taken a prominent part in formulating the dogmatic decrees of the Council, was permitted by a special grace of the Holy See to reckon the time spent by him in Trent as involving no suspension of his professorial duties at Salamanca.[5] The learned Isidoro Clario, who had sat on the Council as an Abbot and given brilliant evidence of his gifts, was made Bishop of Foligno on January the 14th, 1547.[6] In connection with the Council, Paul III. in April 1547

[1] *Cf.* specially EHRLE in Katholik, 1884, II., 505 *seq.*; see also SCHEEBEN in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlex., IV., 2nd ed., 1837 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SADOLETI, Opera, II., 150, 231.

[3] *Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 35, n. 202 (dat. 1546, March 20), in Secret Archives of the Vatican. For Alciati, see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 354 *seq.*, and the monograph of E. v. MÖLLER (1907); here (p. 80 *seq.*) for the successful efforts of Paul III., in 1539 and 1540, to keep Alciati at the University of Bologna, and (p. 85 *seq.*) for the reported offer of the Cardinalate.

[4] Min. brev., *loc. cit.*, n. 215 (dat. 1546, March 26).

[5] Brief of Oct. 7, 1546 (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 37, n. 614, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For Soto, see ECHARD, II., 171 *seq.*

[6] See MERKLE, I., 613; *cf. ibid.*, 207; MAZZUCHELLI, VII., 1, 275 *seq.* LAUCHERT in the Studien aus dem Benediktiner-Orden, XXIX., 611 *seq.*

commissioned Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, as Protector of the Congregation of the Lateran, to take steps for reanimating the spirit of study in that body.[1]

Modern investigation has established the claim of Paul III. to rank as one of the benefactors of the Vatican library. Practical in all his undertakings, he here took special care for the compilation of new catalogues and the preservation of damaged manuscripts.[2] The office of librarian lay at first in the experienced hands of Aleander. On his becoming Cardinal, a very suitable successor was found in Agostino Steuco, who had been custodian of the famous library of Cardinal Grimani.[3] This versatile scholar, who had also written against Luther, had already been appointed Bishop of Kisamo in Candia. Steuco dedicated to his patron, together with a great philosophical work,[4] a treatise also on the navigation of the Tiber,[5] but as a librarian he did not come up to expectation.[6] It was fortunate that in 1548 he was replaced by the learned Cardinal Marcello Cervini, under whom the library made

[1] Brief of April 6, 1547. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 38, n. 407 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See MÜNTZ, Bibl. du Vatican, 80 *seq.* FABRICIUS (Roma, 216) divides the Papal libraries into three classes: "una clausa, cui adjuncta proxime est altera, item clausa, tertia certis diebus et horis patens et Graecis Latinisque scriptoribus referta."

[3] On Oct. 27, 1538 (see ASSEMANNI, Bibl. Vat., Cat. Cod., I., i, Rom., 1756, LXII.).

[4] De philosophia perenni (*Cod. Vat., 6377); STEUCHI, Opera Omnia a P. A. Morando recognita, III., Venetiis, 1591, 1 *seq.* For Steuco, see specially MAZZUCHELLI, VII., 1, 314 *seq.*; *cf* CAVALIERI, Bibl. d. uomini ill. d. congreg. Later., 22 *seq.*, 36; WILLMANN, Gesch. des Idealismus, III., 170.

[5] De restituenda navigatione Tiberis a Trusiamno agri Perusini castello usque Romam, Roma, 1547; *cf.* NISSEN, Ital. Landeskunde, I., 320.

[6] *Cf.* MERKLE, I., 210, n. 1.

great strides.[1] To his initiative and the co-operation of Sadoleto the Vatican library was indebted for new catalogues of the Greek[2] and Latin MSS.; the latter numbered 3096 codices.[3] An important feature of this work of cataloguing was the assignment of consecutive numeration.[4] The Pope took pains to increase the collection by recovering documents lost during the sack and ordering others to be transferred from Avignon to Rome.[5] There are unprinted "acta" of this reign showing that Paul III.,

[1] See POLLIDORUS, Vita Marcelli, II., 45 *seqq.*; NOLHAC, Orsini, 248; *cf.* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 87; BATIFFOL, 18 *seq.*; MERKLE, I., 381; DOREZ in the Rev. d. Bibl., V., 139 *seq.*, 220. In the *dedication of the Cod. Vat., 3967, F. Ruano says to Cardinal Cervini: "Qui plus quam quingentis voluminibus Latinis, Graecis, et Hebraeis Bibliothecam auxisti et exornasti et augere et exornare perseveras" (Vatican Library).

[2] (A) Catalogo alfabetico [Vat. gr., 1482 A; 1482 B; Reg. graec., 171; Paris. gr., 3062] and inventario [Vat. gr., 1484; Vat. Cat., 7764; Mutin. gr., 232; ed. HAASE in Serapeum, XII. (1851), 130 *seqq.* (Greek); ed. MONTFAUCON, Bibl. Bibliothecarum, I., 5–14, Lat. from Cod. Colb., 5153] "dei MSS. greci Vaticani del tempo dello Steuco, compilato in greco da Michele Rhosaites [Rosseto, † before Oct. 24, 1544] per ordine di Paolo III." (B) "Index [Inventario] Bibliothecae publicae Graecae Vaticanae confectus a Metello, Calendis Septembris MDXLV" [incomplete, Vat. Cat., 7132, ined.]. (C) "Inventario dei codici greci compilato in latino da Nic. Maiorano e Gugl. Sirleto per ordine del Card. Cervini" [begun in April 1548, Vat. lat., 7131, f. 33–190]. Invent. vecchio, n. 10 [begun Nov. 13, 1548; here begins the consecutive numeration (1–512)]. Inventario compendioso [Vat. lat., 3957, Marc. XIV., 921, ined.].

[3] *Cod. Vat., 3967–3969, of the Vatican Library; *cf.* EHRLE in Histor. Jahrb., XI., 726; BATIFFOL, La Vaticane, 20 *seq.*; see also Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 455, n. 3.

[4] The "Inventario dei MSS. latini," with consecutive numeration, arranged by Ferd. Ruano and dedicated to Cardinal Cervini in Cod. Vat. lat., 3957 (of the time of Paul III.; Vols. II. and III. of the time of Julius III.).

[5] *Cf.* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 80, 87.

like his predecessors Leo X. and Clement VII., made search abroad for rare Latin and Greek manuscripts; for instance, among the Maronites of Lebanon in 1542[1] and in southern Italy in 1548.[2] By the nomination of a Cardinal as librarian, the position of custodian of the Vatican library had been greatly raised in importance;[3] under Paul III. this post was held by Fausto Sabeo and Niccolò da Maggiorano; they were now reinforced by scriptors who attended to the restoration and illumination of manuscripts.[4] If among them two Greeks also appear,[5] this is explained by Paul III.'s keen interest in the language of Homer. Among his familiars was Nicolas Sophianos, who, like others of his countrymen, dedicated works to the Pope.[6] The celebrated Giano Lascaris had been recalled in 1534 to Rome, but unfortunately died in the following year.[7] In agreement with Paul III., Marcello Cervini conceived in 1539 the magnificent scheme of making the most valuable Greek manuscripts accessible to the world of learning by means of the printing-press. The famous Antonius Bladus was chosen as printer, and went to Venice where, through the services of Aldus

[1] See in Appendix No. 20 the instruction for the guardian of the convent of Sion in Jerusalem (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Appendix No. 36.

[3] The title now runs, Bibl. Apost. Vat. Protector (see ASSEMANNI, I., 1, lxiii).

[4] *Cf.* ASSEMANNI, I., i, xxii; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 92 *seq.* For F. Sabeo, see FICHARD, Italia, 48, where there is also a good description, hitherto overlooked by all students, including Müntz himself, of the state of the library in 1536.

[5] Matthæus de Varo and Ioh. Honorius (MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 99, 101; *cf.* LEGRAND, Bibl. Hellénique, I., cxiv *seq.*; NOLHAC, Orsini, 162 *seq.*).

[6] LEGRAND, I., clxxi, clxxvi, cxci, cxciv, ccxvi, 220, 249, 258, 265; II., 55; see also NOLHAC, 160 *seq.*; Cod. MSS. Palat. graeci Bibl. Vat., 181.

[7] See MÜLLER in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, I., 337.

Manutius, he acquired the type in which from 1542 onwards the commentaries of Eustathios on Homer began to appear in Rome.[1] In the years 1548–1549 an Æthiopic translation of the New Testament was also printed in Rome.[2]

Generous in all things, the Pope also lent repeatedly to scholars precious works from his own private library or employed his influence to obtain for them from foreign collections the use of rare manuscripts.[3] In this connection mention ought also to be made of the very many privileges of printing by which Paul III. advanced the labours of *literati* and scholars of every description.[4]

The number of works not only in Italian but also in German [5] and French [6] dedicated, in print or manuscript, to the Farnese Pope is exceptionally large. Many have been already cited; to go through the list of all would overpass the limits of this history.[7] Suffice it to observe that the

[1] *Cf.* DOREZ in Mél. d'archéol., XII., 289 *seq.*; see LEGRAND, I., 265, and CIAN in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., IX., 455, n. 3. For A. Bladus, see BERNONI, A. Blado, Ascoli, 1883; the same, Dei Torresani, Blado et Ragazzoni, Milano, 1890; FUMAGALLI-BELLI, Cat. d. ediz. Romane di A. Blado, Roma, 1891.

[2] See GUIDI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IX., 273 *seq.*; for the "Tasfa Sion" here mentioned, see POLLIDORUS, Vita Marcelli, II., 71 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* QUIRINI, Imago, 3 *seq.*

[4] The evidence in the *Min. brev. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican is so copious that it must be reserved for publication in another place.

[5] Thus by Faber (see Vol. XI. of this work, p. 94, n. 1), Nausea (see MESSNER'S Monograph, 76, 77), Eck (RAYNALDUS, 1536, n. 39), Cochläus (see Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XVIII., 265), and others.

[6] Here belongs the *Martini Brionaei Parisiens. Descriptio totius terrae sanctae. Cod. Vat., 5536 (Vatican Library).

[7] *Cf.* in general CIACONIUS, III., 544, 553, 556. Of the unpublished works are still to be mentioned: *Cod. Vat., 3676: Libellus de reformat. civit. Perusinae symbolice descriptus; 3718: A. Lippomanni Apologia primatus Petri et successorum (Vatican Library).

theological works preponderate over those of a purely literary character. The golden age of the Renaissance was over, and the theological works dedicated to Paul III. are almost all part of the great armoury used against the Protestant reformers.[1] Even where this is not the case the authors, for the most part, are indirectly interested in the events of the time, principally in the Council, the centre on which so many hopes turned.[2]

Among the dedications of works of another sort that of Nicolas Copernicus, in his treatise *On the Revolution of the Heavens*, cannot be passed over. The fame of the remarkable investigations of the founder of the new astronomy had reached Rome early. In 1533 Albrecht Widmanstetter had already expounded to Clement VII. in the gardens of the Vatican the new system of the universe.[3] If not at that time, Paul III. was certainly later on informed on the subject by Cardinal Schönberg, who in 1536 asked Copernicus for a copy of his life's work. The latter was advised by Tiedemann Giese, Bishop of Culm, to dedicate his epoch-making treatise to Paul III. In his dedication he observes that even in the remote corner of the earth in which he lived the Pope stood high in men's estimation, and that his authority and judgment would easily put to silence the tongue of calumny. "If I am not altogether deceived," Copernicus wrote further, "it appears to me that this work of mine may even be of use to the general well-

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 540 *seq.* More writings referring to this subject will be dealt with by LAUCHERT in his "Luthers Italienische Gegner."

[2] See specially the writing of the General of the Servites, Augustinus de Aretio: *Conversio Pauli, in Cod. Vat., 3638 (original dedication copy).

[3] *Cf.* VON BRAUNMÜHL, Kopernikus und sein Weltsystem (1896). For Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter and his relations to Paul III., see the monograph of M. MÜLLER (Bamberg, 1908), pp. 26, 29.

being of the Church, the supreme government of which is in thy hands."

While many Protestant theologians, with Luther, who called Copernicus a fool, and even the highly cultivated Melanchthon, at their head, strenuously opposed the new system as at variance with the Bible, the epoch-making treatise of the Dean of Frauenburg was able to make its appearance in print in 1543 with the dedication to Paul III. at its commencement.[1]

II.

The importance of Paul III. as a patron of literature was on a different plane from that which he occupied as a patron of art. Here he has been spoken of as the last great Pope of the Renaissance.[2] This, perhaps, is an exaggeration. He cannot be compared with the great patrons of art and literature of the golden age, although in energy and breadth of view he recalls, in many respects, Julius II.[3] However this may be, in spite of the great difficulties of the situation, he put forth all his energies to preserve for the Holy See the intellectual primacy of former days in the domain of art. It is only when we call to mind that, at the time of his accession, the palmy days had passed

[1] See PROWE, N. Koppernikus, I., 2, Berlin, 1883, 495 *seq.*; HIPLER, N. Koppernikus und M. Luther, Braunsberg, 1868; MÜLLER, N. Koppernikus, Freiburg, 1898; JANSSEN-PASTOR, III., 18th ed., 330 *seq.*; COSTANZI, La chiesa e le dottrine Copernicane, 2nd ed., Siena, 1898, 103 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*; WILLMANN, Gesch. d. Idealismus, III., 59 *seq.*; GIGALSKI, N. Koppernikus, Allenstein, 1907. KRAUS (Dante, 754) calls attention to the acceptance by Paul III. of Vellutello's edition of the Divine Comedy (1544).

[2] SALZA in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XLIII., 200.

[3] That he surpassed Julius II., as H. Borgia in his **epigram, De Pauli P. M. aedificiis (Cod. Barb. lat., 1903, f. 38 of the Vatican Library) implies, is an exaggeration.

away, and cast into the scales the profound after-effects of the sack, that we can reach a right point of view from which to appreciate the richness of the after-summer ushered in for Italian art through the influence of this energetic and cultivated man. The character of transition with which his whole pontificate was stamped is here also plainly visible. He stands on the borderland of greatness and decline. Even in the best art of his reign the downward steps can be traced; simplicity and originality were vanishing with the rays of the golden age. Nevertheless, the determined and indefatigable Pope, who knew how to reassemble in Rome the artists of the Medicean era and to give in the most varied ways an impulse to their hands, shed on art itself a lustre which radiated far and wide. For Raphael, the unique, Paul III. could indeed find no substitute, but on the greatest of all the surviving masters, Michael Angelo, he bestowed a higher appreciation and finer opportunities for the exercise of his genius than either of the two preceding Popes had done.[1]

The Pope found it no easy matter to capture the Titans. Shortly after the death of Clement VII. Michael Angelo had returned to Rome, and wished now, as his biographer Condivi relates, to devote himself to the completion of the monument to Julius II. To undertake other engagements, to entangle himself in a fresh position of dependency, lay so far from his thoughts—he was now on the verge of old age—that, when the news reached him that the new Pope wished to give him an appointment in his household, he was terror-struck. He held himself therefore aloof from the court. But Paul III. found out the way to reach him, to allay his scruples, and to enlist him in his service. "For thirty years," he is reported to have said, "I have longed

[1] This opinion of REUMONT (III., 2, 716, 728), given in 1870, has been fully confirmed by later research.

to employ you, and now that I am Pope shall I deny myself the fulfilment of my wish?" When Michael Angelo appealed to his obligations in the matter of the Julian monument, the Pope rejoined: "Where is the deed of agreement? I will tear it up."[1] These words fit in well with the visit which Paul III., with a brilliant retinue of Cardinals and prelates, paid the artist in his modest house at Macel de' Corvi,[2] near the column of Trajan. In the studio the Pope inspected works for the tomb of the Rovere Pope and the sketch for the Last Judgment which Clement VII. had already ordered for the Sixtine Chapel.[3]

Michael Angelo was unable to withstand the strong will of Paul III. and his unwonted marks of distinction. He yielded, and entered Farnese's service. The latter, with his statesmanlike perception, knew well that great work is best done by those who are equipped with full authority and responsibility.[4] He therefore created for the master a position second to none in dignity, influence, and advantages. By a brief of the 1st of September 1535 he took Michael Angelo into his household, appointed him chief architect, sculptor, and painter of the Vatican Palace, and assigned to him for the execution of the Last Judgment a lifelong salary of 1200 ducats.[5] No other

[1] See Condivi, ed. FREY, 150; STEINMANN, Sixtina, II., 480.

[2] *Cf.* STEINMANN, II., 469 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Renaissance, 185 *seq.*

[3] See our statements, Vol. X. of this work, 363.

[4] JUSTI, Michelangelo, 322.

[5] The brief first published by CANCELLIERI (Descriz. delle capelle pontif., Roma, 1790, 82 *seq.*) is best given by POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 742 *seq.*, from the draft in Secret Archives of the Vatican; there also is the second brief of Sept. 1, 1535, on the bestowal of the *Passus Padi* on Piacenza. This source of income was repeatedly a matter of dispute, and after Pier Luigi's murder was entirely absorbed by the Imperial chancery. Paul compensated Michael Angelo with the revenues of a chancery in Rimini (see FREY, Briefe, 343, 349).

engagement was henceforward to hinder his services to the Head of the Church, who in his brief described him as not only equalling but surpassing in the range of his ability and understanding the ancient masters of his crafts. A *motu proprio* of the 17th of November 1536 declared Michael Angelo to be immune from all prosecution, loss, or damage on the part of the heirs of Julius II., since he had been compelled to work, as before for Clement VII. so now for Paul III., and to finish the Last Judgment.[1]

Together with these important works he was soon entrusted with other tasks. Paul III. deserves all recognition in that he also restrained in this respect his pronounced family feeling. The construction of the Farnese palace certainly went on, but became a secondary consideration in the presence of great undertakings of service to the city and the Church.[2] The new commissions with which Michael Angelo was entrusted gave him a brilliant pre-eminence over not only the painters but the architects of his day.

Among the numerous masters of construction employed by Paul III.[3] there were two only who could compete with Michael Angelo: Antonio da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi. The latter, who already had acted as architect

[1] This document also was first given by CANCELLIERI (*loc. cit.*, 85 *seq.*), and recently in an improved form by POGATSCHER (*loc. cit.*, 748 *seq.*).

[2] JUSTI, Michelangelo, 322, remarks: "This is another instance to show that art often fares better under an able politician than under a self-opinionated dilettante" (*cf.* MACKOWSKY, 231).

[3] Antonio Abbaco, Vignola, Serlio, Baronino da Casale, Galeazzo Alessi and many others mentioned in the accounts of Paul III. The Pope's account-books have been repeatedly made use of for artistic references (*cf.* POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 763 *seq.*), but they still yield much new information. Many extracts made by Müntz have been kindly placed at my disposal by Baron v. Geymüller.

on the reconstruction of St. Peter's[1] under Leo X. and Clement VII., was confirmed in that honourable post as early as the 1st of December 1534 and his yearly stipend of[2] 150 gold gulden doubled. The chief oversight of the works on the Basilica of St. Peter's remained in the hands of Antonio da Sangallo, who had been entrusted with this commission by Leo X. on the death of Raphael. To Clement VII. Sangallo was also indebted for his appointment as chief architect of Ancona and of Loreto. Paul III., who as Cardinal had[3] often already employed and conferred marks of distinction on Sangallo, confirmed him on the 28th of May 1536 in these appointments and named him at the same time to be architect of all buildings in the Papal States, with an annual salary to a total of 720 ducats.[4] From these hitherto unknown stipendial arrangements it is clear that Michael Angelo took from the beginning the first place among the artists employed by Paul III. Friction certainly was not always absent. Peruzzi died in the beginning of January 1537, but Sangallo lived on and worked indefatigably up to the autumn of 1546. He was repeatedly in collision with Michael Angelo, and this was specially the case over the vast plans for the fortification of Rome, which the Pope had projected for the security of the city.

It had long been believed that the motive of the Pope's defensive enterprise was a dread of the recurrence of the appalling disaster which had befallen his predecessor:

[1] See our statements, Vol. VIII. of this work, 367, and Vol. X., 352, 508.

[2] See the text of the hitherto unknown brief in Appendix No. 1 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* Atti Mod., II., 471 *seq.*

[4] See the text of the *Document, also unknown, in Appendix No. 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

the capital of the Church should in future be protected against such assaults as those delivered by Colonna and Bourbon.[1] Paul III., who had lived through those terrible experiences, was certainly not uninfluenced by such considerations, but his chief reason was another. Since the year 1537 the peril of a Turkish invasion had become ever more menacing. All Italy trembled,[2] and Rome seemed insufficiently secured against a sudden descent of Turkish pirates. Fichard, the jurist of Frankfort, visited Rome in the autumn of 1537 and remarked that the towers of the old walls of Aurelian had in many places fallen in altogether or were threatening to come down.[3] Here repairs were to be made, and that in the most thorough manner.

The earlier Popes of the Renaissance had, as their armorial shields and inscriptions show to this day, been satisfied with the partial restoration of some of the most badly damaged portions of the vast circuit of the walls. With such repairs Paul III. was not satisfied. A huge system of new fortifications, based on all the resources at the disposal of the modern art of military engineering, was to secure once and for all the entire city on both sides of the Tiber. Long and minute deliberations, in which the Pope and Pier Luigi Farnese took part in person, were held with the most competent architects, engineers, and generals of experience. The result was the acceptance of the plans which Antonio da Sangallo, the heir of a great name and a long tradition, had produced. If this project were fully carried out, Rome was bound to become the best fortified city in the world. Sangallo, to whom under

[1] Thus REUMONT (III., 2, 718), and more recently MACKOWSKY (p. 313). The Dominican GUGLIELMOTTI (Fortificazioni, 320 *seq.*) in 1880 was the first to take the right view of all these matters.

[2] See our statements, Vol. XI. of this work, p. 261 *seq.*

[3] See FICHARD, Italia, 16.

Clement VII. the erection of defences had been entrusted in Florence, Ancona, and many other parts of the Papal States, was appointed director of works.[1] Paul III. had had previous experience of his excellency as a military architect before his own election to the Papacy and afterwards in 1534 when the works at Ancona were being strengthened.

How seriously Sangallo undertook his task can be seen from the drawings and plans preserved in the Uffizi in Florence. The most recent investigation has, in a manner deserving of gratitude, made these precious sheets accessible to all by means of copies.[2]

According to Sangallo's thoughtfully considered plan a strong continuous wall with no less than eighteen powerful bastions was to encompass the whole city. Further, on the meadows north of St. Angelo and on the opposite end near the Lateran two citadels of great size were to be placed. The walls of Aurelian were, it was intended, to be retained on the whole. Only in two places was a narrowing of the area of the city, otherwise far too much spread out, projected; on the Aventine the course of the Servian walls was to be followed, and also the district of Testaccio excluded. From the Pincian, which Sangallo intended to supply with two bastions, one on the site of the later Villa Medici and another towards the Piazza del Popolo, a new exterior wall was to be drawn from the

[1] *Cf.* the brief of Jan. 1, 1538, first published by MÜNTZ in the Rev. Archéol., VIII., 329, and afterwards by CLAUSSE (II., 340 *seq.*) and ROCCHI (p. 230 *seq.*). See also in Appendix No. 5 the brief of Jan. 14, 1538 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Besides Hülsen's excellent articles in the Bull. d. Ist. Arch. Germ., IX. (1894), 328 *seq.*, *cf.* the great publication of ROCCHI: Le piante iconografiche, 175 *seq.*, and the accompanying Atlas, 29-49; see also RAVIOLI, Notizie sui lavori di architett. milit. dei nove Sangallo, 13 *seq.*; MÜNTZ in the Rev. Archéol., VIII., 321 *seq.*

present Via della Croce to the mausoleum of Augustus, inclosing the latter in the line of defence. At St. Angelo Sangallo wished to give fresh supports to the outworks of Alexander VI.

Romolo Amaseo, in his funeral oration, said that the old Pope could not have hoped to see so vast an undertaking completed during his pontificate, but he had entered upon it with a stout heart and left a good example to his successors.[1] From the accounts in the Roman archives, unfortunately in incomplete preservation, it can be inferred what a great number of architects and engineers were employed to carry out this mighty plan. Among them were Antonio's brother Giovan Battista, nicknamed "Il Gobbo," and Giovanni Mangone, the builder of the palace of Cardinal Armellini in Perugia. The office of commissary-general of the fortifications was given to Prospero Mochi, who supplied Pier Luigi Farnese during his frequent absences from Rome with continuous information by letter as to the progress of the works. The celebrated military architect Francesco de' Marchi was also employed in marking out the sites.[2]

The works, in the course of which numerous and important fragments of antiquity were brought to light,[3]

[1] AMASAEUS, 77.

[2] See ROCCHI, 225 *seqq.*, 250 *seqq.*, FR. DE MARCHI, Architett. Milit., ed. L. Marini, Roma, 1810; VENTURI, Vita e opere di Fr. Marchi, Milano, 1816; BORGATTI in the Riv. di artiglieria, XVI., 391; GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 323; the will of P. Mochi in GORI, Archivio, VI., 111 *seqq.* *G. M. della Porta mentions the summoning of a "Fra da Modena" in connection with the fortifications on Sept. 21, 1537 (State Archives, Florence). Mochi's house still stands (*cf.* ADINOLFI, Canale, 20) in the Via Coronari, No. 148; on the windows is the inscription: P. de Mochis Abbr. Ap.; over the entrance: Tua puta que tute facis.

[3] See LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 98 *seq.*

had, according to the evidence of the accounts, been begun in the autumn of 1537. Commencements were made simultaneously at S. Saba and at the Porta Ardeatina.[1] On the south-western slope of the Aventine is still to be seen, on the bastion of Paul III., looking down on the Via della Marmorata which leads to the Porto S. Paolo, a white marble shield, unfortunately very much damaged, bearing the arms of the Farnese Pope, the work of a Florentine sculptor named Lorenzo. This bastion is well known to every visitor to Rome by the name of La Colonnella: the whole, crowned by a summer-house of later construction, had formerly a more picturesque character, when the new building of S. Anselmo had not yet arisen in the background.[2]

Contemporaneously with the works on the Aventine the process of safeguarding the line of wall between the Porta S. Paolo and the Porta S. Sebastiano was taken in hand. The walls of Aurelian were here in ruins along an extent of 400 metres. Four colossal bastions were to render this spot impregnable in the future. The complete construction of one only occupied the interval between 1537 and 1542; it arose about midway between the above-named gates, near the ancient Porta Ardeatina; this bastion, called "Antoniana," from the Baths of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla lying to the rear, is still standing. It stands out in very clear relief against the old walls on which it abuts. The lofty masonry is divided by a course of stonework

[1] See ROCCHI, 248. The *Ephem. in Cod. Vat., 6978, give the date 1537: "Per totum hunc Augusti mensem fuerunt Romae sex mille pedites Itali et incoepta est fortificatio urbis" (Vatican Library).

[2] The bastion La Colonnella belongs to the Benedictines of S. Anselmo, who ordered the casemates to be filled up in 1905. The payment for "Mastro Lorenzo di Ludovico scultore fiorentino" in GORI, Archivio, VI., 223.

into two portions, the lesser one above and the larger one below. In the wide embrasures, from which the guns could discharge their fire from the front and laterally, thick bushes now grow. High up on the southernmost projection the armorial lilies of the Farnesi, crowned by the tiara and keys, are introduced. On the left side of this richly decorated remnant of 16th-century sculpture, the gleaming white marble of which shines far across the Campagna, a place has been found for the arms, on a smaller scale, of the Roman Senate and people.[1]

The buildings aforesaid cost not less than 44,000 ducats, raised partly by an impost on grain.[2] It can easily be calculated that if the works were to proceed at this rate neither the reign of the aged Pope nor the money at his disposal would suffice to complete the fortification of the vast mural circuit of the city on the left bank of the Tiber. A practical head such as that of Paul III. could not fail to perceive that the gigantic scheme of Sangallo far exceeded the capacities of the State exchequer. He therefore decided to fall back upon the idea of Nicolas V.[3] and to confine the fortifications to the Leonine city; there, in case of necessity, the inhabitants of the left bank also could find a refuge.[4]

The works on the Aventine and at the Porta Ardeatina were therefore suspended.[5] Although unfinished they form

[1] On the right side was the small shield, surrounded by lilies, of the Cardinal-Camerlengo Guido Ascanio Sforza. The Papal coat of arms is more beautifully executed and better preserved than on the Aventine. There is a very unsatisfactory picture of the bastion in CLAUSSE, II., 337; a better in the periodical The Emporium, XXIII. (1906), 295.

[2] ROCCHI, 249. For the tax, see also DITTRICH, Contarini, 348

[3] *Cf.* our statements, Vol. II. of this work, pp. 173, 175.

[4] *Cf.* JOVIUS, Hist., l. 43.

[5] The works at the Porta Ardeatina, where the bastion Antoniana was to be completely finished, were begun in 1542; the works on the

a remarkable specimen of Italian military architecture of the 16th century, which, unfortunately, is now being left to fall in part into a disgraceful state of decay.[1]

The fortification of the Leonine city, decided upon in November 1542,[2] was begun on April the 18th, 1543, and carried on without interruption up to the Pope's death.[3] The two citadels which were to have risen on the "Prati" in the neighbourhood of the present Palace of Justice were not begun immediately, as on this side the fortress of St. Angelo appeared to give sufficient protection. Sangallo therefore concentrated his energies between 1543 and 1545 principally on the weak side of the Borgo where, between the Vatican and the Janiculum, the Monte di S. Spirito rises. Three bastions (del Fiume, di Santo Spirito, and degli Incoronati) were here erected, since at this point the danger of a Turkish attack had again to be taken into consideration. The Pope wished the works to proceed with the utmost possible expedition.[4] It was

Colonnella bastion had already been suspended in September 1539; in January of the same year work at S. Saba had been discontinued (see ROCCHI, 248).

[1] The complaints of ROCCHI (p. 356 *seq.*), and of LANCIANI after him (Scavi, II., 100), in this respect have only too much justification, but no result was obtained. The precious inheritance of ages was cast away in order to squander money on monuments of unknown size in modern Rome.

[2] This hitherto unknown date is established by N. Sernini's report of Nov. 16, 1542, in SOLMI, Ochino, 55. *Cf.* also L. Tolomei's *report, dat. Rom., Dec. 10, 1542, in which it says: "S. B^ne ha ordinato che il S. Aless. Vitelli venga per dare il disegno a la fortificatione del palazzo et del Borgo" (State Archives, Siena).

[3] *Cf.* ROCCHI, 259 *seqq.*, 277 *seq.* The sum paid for the works on the right bank is here reckoned at 35,000 scudi. ADRIANI (I., 257) mentions the taxes raised for the purpose.

[4] See the *A. Serristori's *reports of May 21 and 31 and June 3, 1544, and that of Babbi of June 14, 1544. In the *letter of May 21 it

therefore all the more vexatious for him that, during the consultations about the fortifications held under the presidency of Alessandro Vitelli, Michael Angelo in February 1545 had violent altercations, first with Giovanni Francesco Montemellino, and at the end of the same year with Sangallo. Michael Angelo thought that he was justified in asserting himself all the more positively since his measures for protecting the bastions on the hill of San Miniato during the siege of Florence in 1529 had conferred upon him great reputation. As Sangallo was not less obstinate in maintaining his position, the Pope was at last compelled to impose silence on both the disputants.[1] This squabble protracted the works, and in all probability was the cause of the monumental Porta di S. Spirito, an arch of triumph rather than the gate of a fortress, remaining in an unfinished state.[2] The bastions, however, near S. Spirito, which now bear Sangallo's name, reflect high honour on their architect both from their size and their admirable position.[3] Sangallo continued up to his death

says: "La fortificatione di Borgo si sollecita a furia facendosi li bastioni di terra, dove sono a lavorare 2000 homini"; in *that of June 3: "La fortificatione del Borgo si sollecita più che mai et S. S^tà dice che vuole sia finita per tutto quello mese, ma non è possibile; basta che si tira innanzi gagliardamente" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 216 *seq.*; GOTTI, I., 295 *seq.*; II., 126 *seq.*; THODE, I., 442, 445; GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als Architekt, 52–55. RAVIOLI (p. 27) places the quarrel between Michael Angelo and Sangallo in the year 1542, GUGLIELMOTTI (Fortificazioni, 352) and ROCCHI (p. 279) in the last months of 1545.

[2] See VASARI, VII., 217; MÜNTZ, Antiquités de Rome, 144. The drawing of Sangallo's projected Porta di S. Spirito in CLAUSSE, II., 353; *ibid.*, 346, a good representation of the bastion of S. Spirito.

[3] ROCCHI (p. 50) calls it a wonderful specimen of the Cinquecento art of fortification.

[the 29th of September 1546] at the head of the works.[1] He was followed by Jacopo Meleghino, who, as long as Paul III. lived, enjoyed the title and salary of a chief architect of fortifications, although he was not equal to his situation. The Pope was aware of this; he therefore recommended his favoured servant to follow in all questions of importance the opinion of Michael Angelo, who, although by right subordinate to Meleghino, now became practically the leading architect, and under his direction the Belvedere bastion was completed between 1547 and 1548.[2] This construction, still in good repair, would be more imposing if the Vatican and St. Peter's did not absorb the attention of the spectator. Here, as on the other bastions, a gigantic coat of arms proclaims the glory of Farnese.

After the completion of the Belvedere, which protects what is perhaps the most precious possession of the Popes, their collection of antiquities, Michael Angelo retired and the leadership fell once more to the constructor of the fortifications of Sermoneta, Jacopo Fusti Castriotto of Urbino. Up to the death of Paul III. his labours for the security of the Leonine city[3] were unremitting. There was indeed need

[1] On Sept. 12, 1546, Sangallo had already received a month's payment of 25 scudi on his salary as architect of the fortifications (ROCCHI, 265).

[2] Thus ROCCHI (p. 279 *seq.*), following the accounts. The inscription on the Belvedere bastion, with the date 1542 (see FORCELLA, XIII., 31, n. 16), certainly disagrees with this. Here is no printer's error. The inscription, as I saw myself, has plainly : A. VIII. Since, however, there is a payment for the coat of arms of June 5, 1547, GUGLIELMOTTI (Fortificazioni, 365) expects that VIII. instead of XIII.=1547 was carved by mistake on the stone. RONCHINI treats the question of J. Meleghino fully in the Atti Mod., IV., 125 *seq.* See also GUGLIELMOTTI, 356 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bolog., 20 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Renaissance, 164 *seq.*; FONTANA, II., 493 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 369 *seq.*; ROCCHI, 40 *seq.*, 282; PROVASI, Jacopo Fusti Castriotto, Urbino, 1901.

for despatch, for since the murder of Pier Luigi and the occupation of Piacenza by the Imperialists the political situation had assumed a menacing aspect.[1] Nothing therefore could have been worse than a renewal of dissensions. Castriotto wished to carry the bastions along the ridge of the hill, but this aroused the opposition of the Perugian, Francesco Montemellino, who proposed to construct the works at its foot. At the consultation held under the presidency of Ottavio Farnese, Castriotto at last carried the day and now began to throw a huge line of defences round the Vatican hill. The site of the bastions was already mapped out, and the line of walls marked by fascines and earth-works, when the Pope died. The plan of fortification for the Janiculum now also came to a standstill.[2]

The protection of his native city was not the only preoccupation of the Pope. He was deeply concerned for its beauty, comfort, and healthiness. One of the first acts of his reign was the appointment of a commissary to take charge of the antiquities of Rome; the first to exercise this function was Latino Giovenale Manetti, whose ordinances were supported by ecclesiastical penalties. In the brief of nomination of the 28th of November 1534 it says: "Not without deep sorrow are we aware that not merely Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians, not merely Greeks and the ravages of time, but our own indifference and guilt, our greed and cunning have torn down, destroyed, and squandered the venerable adornments of the city of the Quirites. We are burdened with the thought that briers, ivy, and other plants have taken root in the ancient

[1] See *supra*, pp. 433, 444.

[2] See ROCCHI, 51, 60, 200 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 371 *seq.*; RONCHINI, Il Montemellino da Perugia e le fortificazioni di Roma; Giorn. d. erudiz. artist., I.. Perugia. 1872.

buildings and split asunder the masonry, that small dwellings and shops cluster round the monuments and mar their beauty, and, last and worst of all, that statues, pictures, brazen and marble tables, objects of porphyry, Numidian and other marbles have been carried out of the city and dispersed among strangers." Manetti is then extolled for his love of Rome and enthusiasm in exploring for ancient remains. To him is entrusted the care of the monuments of the city and its environs, so that all statues, inscriptions, and marbles shall be, as far as possible, preserved, stripped of briers and ivy, and kept clear of contact with new buildings, nothing broken to pieces or burned to make lime or removed from the city.[1]

Manetti unfortunately was often absent from Rome on political missions.[2] This, and still more the circumstance that the deeper appreciation of the remains of antiquity was a thing of slow development, were the causes why the ruins of the city continued just as before to be convenient quarries from which to extract marble and travertine, notwithstanding the ordinance of Paul III. As the science of antiquity was then in its infancy, more harm was done than anyone dreamed of. The laying down of the triumphal way for Charles V. had already damaged many monuments in the Forum, where in 1539, and especially in 1540, at the very moment when Manetti was absent on two missions to France, the search for materials for the rebuilding of St. Peter's was carried on with barbarism. Nor in the following years was the monstrous practice discontinued here or in other places.[3] Paul III. was an

[1] MARINI, Archiatri, II., 280.

[2] *Cf.* our statements *supra*, p. 537 *seq.*

[3] See HÜLSEN in Bullett. d. Ist. Germ., III., 208 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 184 *seqq.* The latter (Ancient Rome, 276) describes the period from 1540 to 1549 as ruinous to the Roman Forum.

accomplice in these acts of destruction, since on the 22nd of July 1540 he gave permission to the deputies of the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's to dig everywhere inside and outside the city for blocks of marble and travertine as well as for pillars.[1] Here again is an example of the contradictory elements at work in this transitional period of the Papacy. The brief of 1534 announced a new epoch, that of 1540 denoted a relapse into the groove of a bad old custom—a custom which henceforward would grow stronger in proportion to the growth in building activity. Even if many inscriptions and architectural pieces have been preserved as the ornaments of palace courts and gardens, yet the great majority of the finds were wantonly made use of as building material or flung into the limekiln. It was an exception to the rule when, in 1546, the Consular and Triumphal Fasti found near the Regia in the Forum escaped this fate; it was Cardinal Farnese who rescued this important discovery from destruction. The Fasti were discovered by Bartolommeo Marliano and a worthy and secure resting-place was found for them in the Palace of the Conservatori.[2]

Besides being commissary of antiquities Manetti, together with Angelo del Bufalo de' Cancellieri, and afterwards with Girolamo Maffei, held the post of overseer of streets. Under them was the famous architect Bartolommeo Baronino, who in 1554 fell a victim to a murderous assault.[3] The

[1] Text of the brief in Rev. Archéol., 1884, III., 308 *seq.*

[2] See HÜLSEN, Forum Romanum, Romae, 1904, 34 *seq.*; Corp. Inscript., I.,[2] 1 *seq.*; GYRALDUS, De Poetis, ed. Wotke, Berolini, 1894, 58 *seq.*; Atti Mod., VI., 207 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 197; *cf.* also DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 454.

[3] BERTOLOTTI, Bartol. Baronino, Casale, 1876, 10 *seq.*; see also Art. Subalp., 29 *seq.* Baronino died on Sept. 6, 1554, as his epitaph, still preserved in the Chapel of S. Joseph in the Pantheon, informs us (see FORCELLA, I., 296; *cf.* LANCIANI, Renaissance, 172).

first task imposed on these officials was the formation of the triumphal way commanded by the Pope on the occasion of the visit of Charles V. The route lay from the Porta S. Sebastiano through the Via S. Gregorio over the Forum, and thence by the Salita di Marforio to the Piazza di San Marco and the Via Papale. In the course of this swiftly executed work many dwelling-houses were pulled down, several churches, and a mass of antique ruins. The debris was used to fill up the depression in the ground between the Arches of Titus and Severus.[1]

The works of the year 1536 were the prelude to many others of the same kind. Rome, that under the rule of Paul III. gradually underwent renewal, was, with regard to the condition of the streets, far behind the rest of the great cities of Italy. How little they became a great capital was shown by this very visit of the Emperor just mentioned. Paul III., by his numerous street regulations and remedial measures, introduced a new epoch in which Rome divested herself more and more of her mediæval traits and assumed an appearance more in keeping with the artistic creations of the Renaissance, her own dignity as chief city of the world, and the requirements of her multifarious traffic.

Paul III. left no stone unturned to better the condition of the Roman streets, in which respect he was a forerunner of Sixtus V. Demolitions thus became necessary to such an extent that at last house-rents rose considerably.[2] As early as 1538 he had begun to improve and beautify the Via Lata and the Corso: first of all the length of way between the Piazza di S. Marco and the so-called Arco di

[1] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 242.

[2] *Cf.* A. Serristori's *report of July 16, 1548 (State Archives, Florence). A description of the church demolished after the Emperor's visit in Appendix No. 4 (Vatican Library).

Portogallo, which at that time still spanned the street near to the Palazzo Fiano; afterwards he proceeded with the last portion, on which there were as yet few buildings as far as the Piazza del Popolo. As these schemes involved a large expenditure of money, he raised a special tax upon the owners of such houses as rose in value in consequence of the improvements.[1] The accounts also show the amounts given in compensation for the necessary expropriations, which were carried out on a strictly regulated system.

The street already constructed under the Medicean Popes from the Piazza del Popolo to the piazza lying below the Trinità de' Monti, the later Via del Babuino, was improved and renamed after the reigning Pontiff, Via Paolina. In 1541 the Piazza Navona was connected with the Piazza Apollinare. In the following year two new arteries of traffic, starting from the bridge of St. Angelo, were opened: the Via di Panico and the Via Paola. In the Borgo the Via Alessandrina was widened and paved. In the city on the left bank of the Tiber the open spaces in front of the Farnese palace and of the palaces of S. Marco and SS. Apostoli were laid out, an alteration of the highest importance for the healthiness of this narrow and winding quarter; the draining of the swampy ground about the Vatican served the same sanitary purpose.[2] Numerous other streets date back to the days of Paul III.: the Via di S. Maria in Monticelli, di Torre Argentina, de' Baulari, dei Cestari, della Palombella, della Trinità (now Via Fontanella di Borghese and Condotti), and del Foro Trajano; the clearance of the ground round the column of Trajan and the erection of the colossal figures of Castor

[1] See LANCIANI, La Via del Corso: Bull. Comun., XXX. (1902), 229 *seq.*; *cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 236, and Renaissance, 112 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 75 *seq*

and Pollux on the Quirinal are also due to the solicitude of this Pontiff.[1]

The inscription on the noble marble statue placed in his honour in 1543 in the great hall of the Senatorial Palace justly celebrates his zealous endeavours to beautify, by the improvement and construction of streets and piazzas, the thoroughfares of Rome, hitherto disfigured by narrow alleys and projecting buildings.[2]

The reconstruction of the Capitol, as well as the regular-

[1] LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 228–236; Bullett. d. Ist. Arch., XIII., 262; see also BONANNI, I., 216; ADINOLFI, Canale di Ponte, 52, and Roma, II., 73; ARMELLINI, Chiese, 415; SOLMI, Ochino, 55; Bullett. Comun., XXIX. (1901), 11 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*; N. Arch. Veneto, XIII. (1907), 24. Here also belongs the *payment of Oct. 17, 1547, "magn. d. Io. Petro Cafarello, stratarum alme urbis magistro, duc. auri de camera de paulis 10 pro ducato centum et quinqueginta per ipsum d. Jo. Petrum solvendos Petro Mulioni apud b. Mariam de populo commoranti pro pretio et in satisfactionem cujusdam ipsius Petri domus in loco dicto il borgetto del pedocchio pro via noviter in loco dicto sotto la Trinità fienda dirutae seu de proximo diruendae" (Mand., 1545–1546, f. 56, State Archives, Rome). The inscription of 1543, now vanished, in Via Paolina which spoke of the demolition of thirty-nine houses, is in CIACONIUS, III., 554, and FORCELLA, XIII., 87. For the restoration of the Ponte S. Maria (Ponte Rotto), see FANFANI, Spigolat. Michel, 126 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Renaissance, 160 *seq.*; THODE, V., 211 *seq.* For the restoration on the Ponte Molle and the Ponte Sisto, see *Mand. extraord., 1546–1548, f. 173, and 1548–1549, f. 45, 48 (State Archives, Rome), and Rev. Archéol., IX. (1887), 60. In March 1541 the fountains of the Piazza of S. Peter's were restored (*Mand., 1540–1541, State Archives, Rome).

[2] FORCELLA, I., 33. The statue (reproduced in STEINMANN, II., 481) has been removed owing to modern arrangements. In 1876 it was set up in the left aisle as a pillar between the second and third chapels of S. Maria in Ara Coeli. LANCIANI (Renaissance, 145) suspects that L. G. Manetti composed the inscription in imitation of one from the antique celebrating similar services rendered by Vespasian.

ization of the streets, was connected with the visit of Charles V. The approach to this eminently historic site was at that time of such a description that the Emperor on his entry was obliged to make a circuit of the hill. From the Forum only one street, from the Arch of Septimius Severus, led up to the Capitol. To the city access was only to be attained by a footpath. That Paul III. should have fixed precisely on the Capitol as the spot to undergo a splendid architectural transformation[1] marks him out as a true-born Roman and also indicates the excellent relations which existed between him and his fellow-citizens. By shedding new lustre on the spot associated with so many recollections of the city's freedom he nipped in the bud, with a dexterous hand, all republican aspirations.

The sketches of a contemporary painter clearly depict the irregular, although picturesque, appearance of the Capitol at the time of Paul III.'s accession. In the background, on the ruins of the ancient Tabularium, rose the fortress-like Palace of the Senators, from the midst of which the crenellated central tower, rising high above the corner turrets, soared aloft. On the right side of the façade, ornamented with the many-coloured coats of arms of the Senators, was the entrance, over which rose a pillared loggia built by Nicolas V. On the steps leading up to it stood a fragment of an ancient marble group, a lion mangling a horse, since 1903 placed in the garden court of the Palace of the Conservatori. Before this image

[1] For what follows, *cf.* VASARI, VII., 222 *seq.*; MICHAELIS in the Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst., 1891, 184 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Le Capitole, 59 *seq.* The statement of GRIMM (Michelangelo, II., 5th ed., 387 *seq.*), that the restoration of the Capitol began with the erection of the flight of steps and that this took place at the time of the entry of Charles V., is entirely wrong.

of retributive vengeance sentences of death were pronounced, to be immediately carried out on the south-western ridge of the hill, then entirely unbuilt upon.[1] This spot, called Monte Caprino from the number of goats which here clambered about, still exhibited remains in Pentelican marble of the famous temple of Jupiter. Many of these blocks were employed on the building of the palace begun in 1545 by Gian Pietro Cafarelli and now the seat of the German embassy. Others, in large quantities, found their way to the new St. Peter's.

On the left side of the piazza, where the Capitoline Museum now stands, just as on the side towards the city, there was a lack of all architectural finish. The view from this point comprised the picturesque southern side of the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria in Aracœli, a small obelisk, and a palm tree the seeds of which had been brought from Palestine by the faithful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. On the right side lay the Palace of the Conservatori, before the lower pillared arcade of which two colossal marble figures of the river gods Nile and Tigris had been placed. In the arcade itself were also to be seen remains of ancient days: a gigantic bronze head of Domitian and a terrestrial sphere. Above the central arch of the façade, supported on brackets, the famous symbol of Rome, the brazen she-wolf, was displayed, a gift from Sixtus IV., who had also in other ways enriched the Palace of the Conservatori with precious relics of the past.[2]

[1] From the "Tariffa del Boja," published by GORI (Archivio, III., 297), it is evident that the death-sentence was then carried out at other places as well, *e.g.* on the Piazza of St. Peter's itself; the gibbet stood since 1548 on the space between the bridge of St. Angelo and the prison-house of Torre di Nona.

[2] *Cf.* MICHAELIS, *loc. cit.*, 184 *seq.*; HÜLSEN, Bilder aus der Gesch. des Kapitols, Rome, 1889, 7 *seqq.*, 29; THODE, V., 191 *seq.*

In all its special features the Capitol as it then existed was not a match for the chief places of other cities, such as Florence and Siena. In the first place, it received a more artistic centre point, one without an equal in the world. In January 1538 the equestrian bronze statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, once entirely gilded over and associated with many a legend, was transferred from the Lateran and set directly in the middle of the piazza in the most effective manner on a block of marble the height of which is admirably proportioned. An inscription on the left side of the base recounts the story of its removal, undertaken by the command of Paul III., notwithstanding the opposition of the Lateran Chapter, in order, as is stated, to perpetuate the memory of the Emperor and to restore the adornment of the city of their fathers.[1] The face of the pedestal bears the beautiful coat of arms of the Farnesi, the back that of the city of Rome, which bore a portion of the cost.

The removal of this famous statue was a starting-point for the complete transformation of the foreground of the Capitol. The plans of Michael Angelo corresponded in the highest degree to the dignity and reputation of the

[1] FORCELLA, I., 33; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 239. For the statue of M. Aurelius, see ADINOLFI, Roma, II., 250 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 70 *seq.*; THODE, V., 191; Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., XXVII., Beiheft 9. The removal of the statue could not have taken place, as has been generally supposed, as late as March 24, 1538, since Blasius de Martinellis *relates already on Jan. 25, 1538: "Post prandium papa venit in Urbem per portam S. Sebastiani et per diversa loca pertransivit una cum cardinalibus videndo novas suas fabricas circa moenia urbis et locum Capitoli noviter explanatum cum aequo [sic!] aeneo Constantini ex Laterano translato in plateam Capitolii; inde per campum Florae et plateam de Farnesio versus Pontem in palatio s. Petri ad aedem suam" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56, f. 570).

spot.[1] A wide, easy flight of steps (*cordonata*) leading up from the Piazza Aracœli, and flanked at the top by the great statues of the Dioscuri with their chargers, was to form a new approach and bring the Capitol, which hitherto had been reckoned inferior to the heathen Forum, into direct communication with the Christian city. One ascending this staircase would see before him, according to the plan of the great architect, the splendidly restored Palace of the Senators, and on either side, in a corresponding style of architecture, stately buildings with pillared colonnades, and above them the chief palace crowned with statues. The diagonal position of these lateral palaces was conditioned by the position of the older Palace of the Conservatori. These magnificent buildings led the eye up to the towering mass of the Palace of the Senators which, with its colossal pilasters reaching up through the height of two stories, formed an imposing termination to the composition. This construction, the façade of which concealed the conglomerate style of the older buildings, retained no trace of its earlier fortress-like character save in the battlemented belfry-tower. A wide double staircase merged at the height of the first story into an uncovered balcony adorned with statues, upon which the entrance to the great Senate Hall opened. The monumental character of this noble staircase was enhanced by the fountain extending in front of it. Below the balcony Michael Angelo had intended to place a colossal statue of Jupiter in a niche. At his feet the fountain was to gush forth into a broad basin, and on each side places were to be found for the great statues of the river gods, which hitherto had stood before the Palace of the Conservatori.

[1] VASARI, VII., 222 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, 65 *seq.*; GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als Architekt, 37 *seq.*; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 74 *seq.*; THODE, V., 193 *seq.*

If this great scheme had been completely carried out Rome would have possessed a public place of incomparable beauty and harmony of style. But the misfortune which seemed to haunt so many of the enterprises of Michael Angelo awaited him here also. Financial difficulties, combined with the narrowness of view of the city fathers, stood in the way of the accomplishment of this great project, the features of which are now only known to us through a copper-plate by Etienne du Pérac.[1] After the erection of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, Michael Angelo only survived to see the completion of the stately double staircase in front of the Palace of the Senators. All the rest of the plan was carried out later, on the basis certainly of his drawings but with many important alterations in detail. For the defects then introduced he was in no way responsible; nevertheless, the new Capitol in its entirety, when, after a long period of time, it assumed its present form, displayed the spirit and the genius of its original creator. Despite all the alterations which Giacomo del Duca and Girolamo Rainaldi allowed themselves to indulge in, the whole produces an impression of monumental grandeur which stamps itself ineffaceably on the memory of the beholder.

Paul III. introduced into the Vatican extensive and costly restorations and embellishments,[2] especially in Bramante's corridor, leading to the Belvedere, begun under Julius II. and now improved and finished. This formed the aged Pope's customary walk when, with the assistance

[1] *Cf.* MICHAELIS, 187 *seq.*, 190; RODOCANACHI, 78 *seq.*; MAKOWSKY, 317 *seq.*

[2] See the accounts mentioned by DOREZ (Bullett. de l'Acad. d. inscript., 1905, I., 233), and N. Sernini's report of 1538 in N. Arch. Veneto, XIII. (1907), 23 *seq.* *Cf.* VASARI, V., 465; Atti Mod., II., 476; MÜNTZ, Bibl. du Vaticane, 109, 111 *seq.*; *Edif. publ., 1541 *seq.*, 1544 *seq.* (State Archives, Rome.)

of two companions, he took his morning exercise.[1] Two most important additions to the Vatican, where, as already mentioned, Jacopo Meleghino had acted since 1537 as commissary-general,[2] are inseparably associated with the memory of Paul III.: these are the Cappella Paolina and the Sala Regia, which were enthusiastically praised by contemporaries.[3]

The Sala Regia, intended for the reception of ambassadors of kings and princes, forms a vast antechamber to the Sixtine Chapel. The apartment was constructed on the plans of Sangallo, and this involved the destruction of ancient chambers and unfortunately of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, painted by Fra Angelico for Nicolas V. For the walls and floorings, the ancient ruins of the city, especially those on the Cœlian Hill, supplied a lavish quantity of material. The Sala Regia, certainly the finest chamber in the Papal Palace, begun in 1540, was not finished until 1573. To a later date also belong the historical wall frescoes, one of which, the "Conquest of Tunis," by Zucchero, refers to the pontificate of Paul III., under whom, also, between 1542 and 1543, Perino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, and Jacopo Sansovino

[1] *Cf.* FICHARD, Italia, 50, 71; LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 215 *seq.*

[2] I. Meleghino was from 1537 (not 1538, as RONCHINI states in the Atti Mod., IV., 127) "fabricae sacri palatii apost. commissarius generalis" (see *Tes. seg., 1537–1538, f. 109). Meleghino in the following year received very substantial sums "pro expensis fabricae s. palatii": thus on Sept. 4, 1538, 3000 ducats, 1539–1544 on an average 6000 ducats yearly (*Mand., 1539–1544, State Archives, Rome). See also RONCHINI, *loc. cit.* Some inscriptions and coats of arms of Paul III., which recall these works, are still preserved (see FORCELLA, VI., 68; BARBIER, Musées, 285). Giovanni Mangone, who was engaged at the same time on the Vatican and Belvedere, was not, as has been stated, a Florentine but a Lombard (see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 58).

[3] See AMASAEUS, 75.

executed the exuberant stucco-work of the vast barrel-vaulting of the ceiling, with its noble coffers, winged genii, and gilded escutcheons of the Farnesi in the midst, producing an effect of extreme magnificence. Here, as in other buildings of this Pope, Greek inscriptions are to be found. The painted glass windows of Pastorino da Siena admitted only a subdued light to play upon these decorations in white and gold.[1] The expenses from 1542 to 1549 amounted to not less than 8672 ducats.[2]

A great scheme of decoration was also undertaken in the Castle of St. Angelo.[3] Paul III. gave orders in the first place for enlargement and adornment of the first story of the extremely cramped[4] Appartimento Papale immediately above the ancient rotunda; his name and escutcheon are repeatedly to be met with in the rooms of this portion of the fortress.[5]

[1] See VASARI, V., 624; PLATNER, II., 238 *seq.*; BARBIER, Musées, 86 *seq.*; ARMELLINI, Chiese, 785; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, II., planche 25; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 184; BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Gesch. der Renaissance, 211, 356; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 362 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 132 *seq.* The latter has drawn upon the *account books of Paul III. in the Roman State Archives. Some items from them are given in BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 182, 188, 189. A full examination of these sources would require a special monograph to itself. By these *accounts (*cf.* Feb. 14, 1543, and March 10), Jacopo Sansovino's (Jacopus Venetus scultore) share in the work is fully certified. One Guglielmo scultore (probably Della Porta) executed the marble doors in 1546. Daniele da Volterra began to paint in 1548 (BERTOLOTTI, 189, 901); he received 20 ducats monthly (*Edif. publ. 1542-1547, f. 158[b], State Archives, Rome). For Pastorino, see *infra*, p. 608.

[2] See Edif. publ. 1542–1549, f. 29–30 (State Archives, Rome).

[3] See RODOCANACHI, Le château de Saint-Ange, Paris, 1909.

[4] FICHARD (Italia, 51) insists on this.

[5] *Cf.* BORGATTI, 187 *seq.* The inscription of 1546 produced by FORCELLA (XIII., 145, n. 245) is in the Cortile dell' Angelo on the wall

As a counterpart to the Loggia of Julius II. looking towards the city, a second, the Loggia of Paul III., was now built, with decorations in stucco by Girolamo Sermoneta, Pier Antonio Casale, and Raffaello Montelupo.[1] Sangallo afterwards added yet another story to the Appartimento Papale containing a series of roomy chambers, the splendid decoration of which fills every visitor with astonishment. The principal apartment, entered from the Loggia of Julius II. through a tasteful doorway, was named, after its builder, the Sala Paolina or Salone del Consiglio. A whole host of artists, many of them pupils of Raphael, were engaged in decorating these and other rooms in the most magnificent manner. In the accounts the names appear, together with those of Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine, those of Luzio Luzzi, Marco da Siena, and Girolamo Sermoneta. The part assigned to each is difficult of ascertainment. A remarkable feature of the decoration in the Sala Paolina is the rich white and gold stucco-work of the ceiling. It is divided into six rectangles displaying brightly coloured pictures from biblical history, and also adorned with a great variety of groups of amoretti, satyrs, naiads, and garlands of fruit, with Latin and Greek inscriptions; in the centre is displayed in gleaming gold the coat of arms of the Pope. The walls are divided into painted panels, and a cornice with caryatides and bronze-coloured paintings of a mythological and

opposite to the Chapel. A small projecting building, forming the entrance to the fort itself, is also, according to the inscription, of the period of Paul III., whose lilies decorate the frieze (FORCELLA, XIII., 144, n. 253).

[1] VASARI, V., 628 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 207, and Art. Subalp., 77. The inscription says that this Loggia was finished in 1543 (FORCELLA, XIII., 144, n. 122). In the charming Loggia of Julius II. the Rovere arms were replaced by those of the Farnese l

satyric character supports a row of Ionic pillars; in the smaller spaces between the latter are seen the allegorical figures of justice, fortitude, strength, and wisdom; in the larger, monochrome subjects, surrounded by garlands of fruit, from the history of Alexander the Great. These pictures, under which the forms of genii repose in the bloom of youthful manhood, are the work of Marco da Siena. On the north wall Perino del Vaga has portrayed a full-sized figure of the Archangel St. Michael; on the south wall the Emperor Hadrian, the founder of the castle, while above the doors are allegorical representations of the cardinal virtues.[1]

From the Sala Paolina a passage with walls decorated with grotesques in Raphael's charming manner led to a chamber called—on what grounds is not known—the "Bibliotheca." The roof, with the arms of Paul III. in the centre, and the frieze are magnificent specimens of stucco-work, executed by Girolamo Sermoneta from drawings by Perino del Vaga. The paintings representing sea-gods were attributed to Giulio Romano. If not so gorgeous as the ceiling of the Sala Paolina, it is richer and more delicate; especially beautiful are the reliefs in stucco on a gold ground on the frieze.

Finally, there is much ornamentation in two rooms connected with the Sala Paolina, and called after the paintings contained in them. The Chamber of Perseus, which was the dwelling-chamber of Paul III., displays on

[1] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 205 *seq.*; BORGATTI in the periodical Cosmos Catholicus, 1902, 607, which also contains numerous illustrations. The inscription on the frieze, not given, as far as I know, by Forcella or any other, runs thus: "Quae olim intra hanc arcem collapsa || impedita foedata erant ea nunc a Paula tertio pontifice maximo ad solidam || subtilemve venustatem exstructa disposita ornata conspiciuntur."

its frieze, in four frescoes remarkable for their colour-tone, the history of the demi-god. Below are garlands of fruit with symbolical groups of women, with the unicorn, an allusion to the emblems of the Farnesi and of Cardinal Tiberio Crispi. In the centre of the timber roof, decorated with lilies, appears the figure of the Archangel St. Michael.[1] Even in the objectionable Chamber of Cupid and Psyche, called the Bed-Chamber, the artistically carved and gilded ceiling, with its designs recalling the Pope and the same Cardinal Crispi, draws the eyes of the beholder to it. The painted frieze vies in beauty with the ceiling; on this Perino del Vaga has painted the tale of Cupid and Psyche as told by Apuleius. Some of these pictures are very free,[2] and

[1] A part of the frieze, the centrepiece of the roof, and some paintings in the Camera di Perseo are in the Cosmos Cath., 1902, 608–609, 614, 616, 618. Here (p. 613) are also the centrepiece of the Library roof and (p. 617) a portion of stucco relief from the frieze.

[2] See STEINMANN in the Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, 1912, 86 *seq.*, who suspects that P. del Vaga's work contains the sketches destined by Raphael for the Farnesina. There is a good picture of the ceiling of the Psyche Saloon in the Cosmos Cath., 1912, 612. To the time of Paul III. also belong the oak presses in the round cupola-shaped room in the centre of the Papal suite of rooms in the Torre Borgia, used by that Pontiff as a "guardaroba" and treasure-chamber (see Studi e Doc., XIV., 63 *seq.*). On the presses is the inscription: "Sedente Paulo III., P.M. pontif. sui a° XII." (*Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 339.) On the pinnacle of the castle, under the angel, the arms of Paul III. are visible above those of Alexander VI. Some bits of the majolica pavement with the Farnese lilies are in the collection arranged by Borgatti, the admirable restorer of the Castle of St. Angelo. The marble statue of the Archangel Michael now set up in the Cortile dell' Angelo, taken by Borgatti for a work by Guglielmo della Porta, might, notwithstanding, well be identified with the Angel of Raffaello of Montelupo. (See our statements, Vol. X. of this work, p. 353.) The sword-hilt of the angel with the Farnese lilies, which Borgatti takes as an indication of the date, might belong to the restoration made necessary when the statue was struck by lightning. (See in Appendix

supplement in an astonishing way the unfinished composition of Raphael on the ceiling of the summer-house of the Farnesina; they breathe the very spirit of the pagan Renaissance, and are wholly unfitted for the apartments of a Pope. It is to be wished that Paul III. had not allowed the very mundane Cardinal Crispi, who since 1542 had been installed as castellan of St. Angelo,[1] so entirely free a hand.

The decoration of these two stately chambers, which rivalled the most beautiful in the Vatican itself,[2] was enhanced by the tapestries with which the walls were to be hung.[3]

The completion of the family palace of the Farnesi, which arose between the Campo de' Fiori and the Via Giulia, was permanently entrusted to Antonio da Sangallo. The mighty structure advanced without interruption, since after Paul III.'s elevation the necessary means flowed freely in. Pasquino's jest when he hung out a bush with the inscription, "Alms are requested for the building" (*Elemosina per la fabbrica*), struck Rome dumb. According to Vasari the plans underwent extension, and the appointments were also on a more splendid scale. This was specially the case with the noble ceiling, of which Sangallo himself made the sketch.[4] Nothing was spared to make the building the

No. 23 in Vol. XI. for another instance of the kind, the *report of G. Peregrino of Dec. 14, 1537. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* BENIGNI, Miscell. d. Stor. Eccl., V. (1907), 257 *seq.*

[2] See J. F. Ferrettus in CONTELORIUS, XI., 48, f. 244 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Buonanni in his **letter of Nov. 12, 1548, mentions the arrival of magnificent tapestries from Florence, which were set up in the "Sala avanti il Concistorio" (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* VASARI, V., 469 *seq.*, 487; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 67 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, Edif., 259 *seqq.*; GEYMÜLLER, Les du Cerceau, Paris, 1887, 13, 26 *seqq.*; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 151 *seq.*; BOURDON. Un

most magnificent among the many magnificent palaces of Rome.[1] The story long believed, that the Colosseum provided the quarry for the works, is a fable; later research has shown that the blocks of travertine were brought from Tivoli. Marble was procured from the ruins of Ostia, and in Rome, principally from the Baths of Caracalla and from the huge ruins in the Colonna gardens, supposed to be those of Aurelian's Temple of the Sun.[2]

The characteristic of grandeur which is peculiar to all genuine Roman work attaches to the Farnese palace in an overwhelming degree. The populace called it, from its shape, the "dice cube." In spite of the too close proximity of the narrow windows, the façade is one of the most imposing creations of the new architecture. The lily of the Farnesi has here the same decorative rôle assigned to it as that given to the rose in the ornaments of the Cancelleria. The magnitude of the façade is reproduced in the inner chambers, the massive spacious stairs, the vast halls and corridors. It is this ample and unequalled spaciousness, combined with the strength and harmony of the exterior, which makes the building the

plafond du palais Farnèse (Extr. d. Mél. d'archéol., XXVII.), Rome, 1907; THODE, V., 195. A comprehensive monograph on the Farnese Palace, two chapters of which have appeared in the Rev. d. Deux Mondes, 1895 and 1900, is being prepared by F. de Navenne, once councillor of the French embassy to the Holy See. (*Cf.* also NAVENNE, P. L. Farnèse, 267 *seq.*)

[1] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 19, 78. According to the account books of the Apostolic Chamber, the sums expended on the building in the years 1546–1549 alone amounted to 73,178 scudi (FEA, Dissert. s. rovine di Roma, 399; MORONI, XXIII., 202). By 1542 Paul III. had already come to have a quarrel with Pier Luigi, who was unwilling to contribute 400 scudi monthly to the building. (See in Appendix No. 38 in Vol. XI. N. Serristori's *report of Aug. 30, 1542. State Archives, Florence.)

[2] See LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 119, 153 *seq.*, and Renaissance, 123 *seq.*

type of a Roman palace,[1] and the worthy depository of the treasures of antiquity collected by this Roman house.

By the beginning of 1546 the exterior façade had been pushed as far as the cornice. How much depended on the correct formation of this feature for the general effect of the whole edifice did not escape the attention of Paul III. He invited a competition in which Perino del Vaga, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Vasari took part, but the Pope's choice fell on the designs of Michael Angelo.

With what caution the latter proceeded to work is shown by the circumstance that he had a wooden model of the cornice, more than three metres high, affixed to a corner of the palace. The effect produced gave the Pope the highest satisfaction. Vasari is of opinion that neither ancient nor modern architecture can show anything more beautiful and rich. The work has justly received the highest praise, and has been called "the cornice of all cornices."[2]

On the death of Sangallo on the 29th of September 1546 Michael Angelo became sole director of the building works. In addition to the cornice, to him is certainly due the Loggia over the chief doorway, the escutcheon of the Pope there introduced, and the uppermost story,

[1] *Cf.* TAINE, Italie, I. (1889), 255 *seq.*; Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XXXI. (1904), 127 *seq.*; see BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, 201, 207, 217; NOHL, Tagebuch, Stuttgart, 1877, 150; EBE, I., 134; SCHMARSOW, Beiträge zur Ästhetik, II., Leipzig, 1897, 80 *seq.*; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 73; GNOLI, Roma, Roma, 1909, 166 *seq.*

[2] See VASARI, V., 470 *seq.*; VII., 223; SPRINGER, 470; WEY, Rome, 362; BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, 84, 103; GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als Architekt, 42; THODE, I., 445; V., 195 *seqq.*; WILLICH, 82 *seq.*, and also MAKOWSKY, 327, 389; Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XXX., 1 *seqq.*; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 73.

with its course of pilasters, of the truly regal courtyard. The two lower stories were the work of Sangallo. Michael Angelo, whose interference with the projected scheme of Sangallo was not always happy, had yet another bold plan in view. Through Sangallo's beautiful entrance-hall, with its richly coffered vaulted ceiling and its twelve antique Doric granite pillars, and through the nobly arcaded court, a view was to be obtained in a hall in the background of the striking Dirce group, the so-called Farnese bull, forming the adornment of a fountain; beyond this a bridge over the Tiber was here to connect the Farnese "Vigna" with the main building of the palace.[1] Unfortunately, this junction of the two banks of the river was not carried out. Only the great antique group was successfully placed in the court of which it remained the ornament until its removal in 1786 to Naples.

The Farnese palace, the Vatican, and St. Angelo were not sufficient for a Pope who loved frequently to change his Roman residence. During the hot months it had been his custom since 1535 to seek regularly the palace of S. Marco on account of the healthier air. From this time forward this palace again came into use as a Papal summer residence.[2] Although the Church of S. Maria in Aracœli was not at a very great distance, in order to hear Mass there more easily he had, in April 1535, a wooden bridge constructed from the so-called Palazetto

[1] See VASARI, VII., 223 *seq.*; *cf.* WEY, *loc. cit.*; BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, 56, 203, 204, 339; GEYMÜLLER, 37, 41; MAKOWSKY, 327 *seq.*; THODE, V., 200 *seq.* For the Vigna which Cardinal Farnese bought at the Porta Settimiana, see LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 177; *ibid.* on a villa at S. Onofrio, bought in 1547 by Orazio Farnese.

[2] See DENGEL, Der Palazzo di Venezia, 95 *seq.*

to the church above mentioned, which afterwards was replaced by one of stone and formed a counterpart to the corridor which unites the Palazzo Vecchio with the Palazzo Pitti.[1] His frequent visits to the Franciscan convent adjoining S. Maria in Aracœli ripened in Paul III. the intention of building a palace on that airy height, from which one of the widest and fairest views of Rome lay open. As a site he chose the garden of the Franciscans facing the Corso.[2] A brief of February 1546 ordained that this palace, erected at great expense and adorned with paintings and stucco-work, should pass neither to the Minorites of Aracœli nor to the holder of the cardinal's title of S. Marco, but be a permanent possession of the Popes.[3] Those of an older generation can remember the picturesque grounds and the stern tower of Paul III., with its wide survey. To the grief of all friends of art, it fell a victim in 1886 to the great memorial to Victor Emmanuel, which now conceals the Holy of Holies of the Capitol.[4]

[1] Together with the documents published by Lanciani (II., 55 *seq.*), *cf.* the *report of F. Peregrino, dat. Rome, Mar. 3, 1535, where it says : "et già si da principio a far l' corridor che andarà dal detto palazzo di S. Marcho al Capitolio" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The hitherto unknown account of a wooden bridge I found in the following post-script to a *report of Sanchez to Ferdinand I., dated Rome, Apr. 22, 1535 : "Papa deliberavit servande suae prospere valetudinis causa habitare a die S. Marci palatium sancti Marci nuncupatum per totam aestatem fecitque fieri pontem ligneum a dicto palatio ad monasterium usque Aracoeli, quo ipse ad officium divinum ad dictum coenobium secrete ire possit" (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See CASIMIRO, S. Maria in Aracœli, 468 ; *cf.* also J. F. Ferrettus in CONTELORIUS, XI., 48, f. 243 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See CASIMIRO, 468 *seq.* For the decoration see BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 178.

[4] Picture in SCHÖNER, Rome, 268 ; Cosmos Cath., 1899, 119 ; DENGEL, Der Palazzo di Venezia, 16, 17, 19 ; see also VETTER, L' Ara

In certain respects also the beginnings of the Papal palace on the Quirinal are linked with the name of Paul III.[1] In the last years of his life he found pleasure in visiting this salubrious hill, the approach to which was made still better[2] in June 1549.

Among the most famous[3] restorations of Roman churches undertaken[4] during the reign of Paul III., and approved

Cœli, Rome, 1886, 66 *seq.*, where there is also a picture (*cf.* also CALVI, in the N. Antologia, 1908, No. 886). The tower was much injured by lightning in 1548 and had to be rebuilt in parts (see LANCIANI, II., 57). This same misfortune formed a theme for the court poets (see Carm. ill. poet. Ital., VI., Flor., 1709, 343). There is an *epigram of H. Borgia on the "Domus Capitolina" of Paul III., in Cod. Barb. lat., 1903, f. 12[b] of the Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 200. The scheme of buying up Cardinal Carafa's villa on the Quirinal is mentioned in a *letter from Serristori of Feb. 27, 1545 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *June 13, 1549: "Jacobo Meleghino sc. 100 in instaurationem Celsi montis Caballi ad commodum S. B[nis] aptam exponenda." Mand. 1548–1549, f. 127 (State Archives, Rome).

[3] *Cf.* AMASAEUS, 74 *seq.*

[4] Thus on the Baptistery and the Lateran Basilica (*cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 557; RASPONUS, Basil. Lat., 132 *seq.*; ROHAULT, Latran, planche 35; Atti Mod., IV., 128), on the campanile of S. Maria Maggiore (*Mand., 1543–1545, f. 140. State Archives, Rome), at S. Pietro in Carcere (ARMELLINI, 2nd ed., 539), at S. Maria plantarum (Domine quo vadis; see CIACONIUS, III., 556), at the Pantheon (FORCELLA, I., 295; VISCONTI, Congreg. d. Virtuosi al Pantheon, Roma, 1869, 16), at S. Marcello (*Mand., 1537–1541, f. 160[b]), S. Anastasia (*Mand., 1539, f. 92) and at the campanile of S. Maria de Gradulis (=S. Aniano?) (*Mand. 1540–1541, f. 205[b]–206. State Archives, Rome). In 1545 the roof of the Sixtine Chapel was restored; *Mand., Jan. 3, 1545: "A m[ro] Quirico et m[ro] Francesco compagni muratori sc. 50 a bon conto di reffare il tetto della capella di papa Sisto in palazzo che si abrusciò la notte di S. Silvestro" (*Edif. publ., 1544–1549, f. VI.; *ibid.*, f. VII., further payments for the same object. State Archives, Rome). For the church of the confraternity of Papal servants, S. Marta near S. Peter's, see ARMELLINI, 761.

by his contemporaries, was especially that of S. Maria in Sassia, which then was named after the adjoining Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia. From plans of Sangallo an entirely new church was erected, a creation of the later Renaissance full of simplicity and dignity.[1] The works also which Cardinal Federigo Cesi had undertaken since 1544 on the Church of Our Lady, not far from the Palazzo Mattei, led to a reconstruction of the former edifice, near which St. Ignatius had set up a home for poor and unprotected girls. The church received the name of S. Caterina de' Funari[2] from the ropemakers who worked in that neighbourhood in the ruins of the Flaminian Circus. The rebuilding of the national church of the French, S. Luigi, was still far from complete.[3] No new feature was added by these churches to the aspect of the city.

The buildings erected under Paul III. in the States of the Church, on all of which, almost without exception, Sangallo was actively employed, consisted principally of defensive constructions, the necessity of which, from the point of view of a Turkish invasion, could not escape the Pope's strong practical sense.[4] For the most part the works were in the nature of restorations or the furtherance of projects already begun. In this respect very comprehensive operations were carried out in the two chief sea-

[1] VASARI, IV., 604, n. 3; Arch. Stor. d. Arte, VII. (1893), 124; ARMELLINI, 773; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 356 *seq.*; Repertorium für Kunstwissensch., 1884, 443 *seq.*; EBE, I., 24; WILLICH, 139 *seq.*

[2] ARMELLINI, 567; FORCELLA, IV., 331–334; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 64 *seq.* For the façade, not finished until later, and the archetype of the later baroque façades of Rome, see WILLICH, 134 *seq.*

[3] FABRICIUS, 240.

[4] AMASAEUS, 66.

ports, Ancona[1] and Civita Vecchia,[2] extending over several years. Together with these, restorations were set on foot on the castles and fortifications of Tivoli,[3] Civita Castellana,[4] Montefiascone, Ostia,[5] Assisi,[6] Anagni,[7] Tolentino,[8]

[1] *Cf.* besides the *accounts in the Roman State Archives, the *brief to Baldovinetto, episc. Anconit., dat. Nov. 25, 1534, who had been appointed by Clement VII. on March 16, 1534, "supremus curator operis et fabricae fortilitii nostrae civit. Anconit. per eum (Clement VII.) a fundamentis incohate." This was confirmed by Paul III., with the injunction that the inhabitants of the town and county should assist him (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 49, n. 44). The works consumed great sums (see Nuntiaturberichte, IV., 158); by a *brief of Oct. 29, 1539, to "Petrus Ventura Zephirus, commiss. general super munit. Anconae," Paul III. insisted on their completion (Arm. 41, t. 15, n. 1105). As Sangallo in 1541 was given the task of building the citadel of Perugia, his place was taken in Ancona by Gianbattista Pelori (see Atti Mod., IV., 250); Gianuigi (in the Rassneg. bibliogr. d. arte Ital. [1907]) had already been deputed for this work in December 1539 (*Mand., 1539 to 1541, f. 45, 57b. State Archives, Rome). From a *brief to the "praesidens Romandiolae ep. Casali" of March 13, 1542, it is evident that Cardinal Carpi had at the Pope's instance raised 15,000 scudi to be expended on fortifying Ancona against Turkish attack. At the same time orders were issued to levy a like subsidy on the Jews of the province for the protection of sea towns of the Romagna (Arm. 41, t. 25, n. 673. Secret Archives of the Vatican). CIACONIUS, III., 555.

[2] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazione, 225 *seq.*, where there are also fuller details on the share taken by Michelangelo. The rich material in the *account books of the Roman State Archives has only been partly utilised by Guglielmotti.

[3] See *Mand., 1548 to 1549 and 1549 to 1550 (State Archives, Rome).

[4] *Ibid.*, 1535 to 1537; 1539 to 1542; 1540 to 1543.

[5] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 56, 87; see also *Mand., 1535 to 1537; 1540 to 1543; 1548 to 1549; 1549 to 1550 (State Archives, Rome).

[6] *Cf.* A. BRISI, Della rocca di Assisi, 1898.

[7] *Mand., 1545 to 1546 (State Archives, Rome).

[8] *Ibid.*, 1548 to 1549.

Camerino,[1] Fano,[2] Ascoli,[3] Loreto,[4] Rimini,[5] Ravenna,[6] Parma,[7] and Piacenza.[8]

An entirely new work was the fortress of Perugia, erected after the insurrection. This was begun as early as September 1540,[9] but the progress was so slow that the impatient Pope appointed a new commissary-general on January the 14th, 1542.[10] It was not until 1543 that the Rocca Paolina, as the mighty stronghold was called, was finished in its essential features.[11] The situation of Perugia at the point of junction of two ranges of hills offered great difficulties in the construction of a fortress; but they were

[1] *Mand., extraord., 1546 to 1548 (State Archives, Rome).

[2] See Atti Mod., IV., 253 *seq.*

[3] *Mand., 1535 to 1537 (State Archives, Rome).

[4] See TURSELLINIS, Hist. Lauret., 3; *cf.* also BELLUZZI, 130, 180; Stimmen aus Maria Laach, XL., 168, on the works on the Santa Casa.

[5] *Mand., 1535 to 1537 (State Archives, Rome).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See Atti Mod., III., 474 *seq.*; *cf.* *Mand., 1548 to 1549; 1549 to 1550.

[8] See Atti Mod., II., 481; *cf.* Tes. seg., 1543 to 1545.

[9] Pier Luigi visited Perugia at that time on account of the building (see Antella's *report, dat. Rome, Sept. 24, 1540. State Archives, Florence).

[10] See the *brief nominating Barthol. Massolus to be commissary-general "arcis Perusie," whereby the work was completed. (Arm., 41, t. 23, n. 53. Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* also Vol. XI. of this work, p. 334 *seq.*

[11] For what follows see article, with many illustrations, by G. BACILE DI CASTIGLIONE, in L' Arte, VI. (1903), 347 *seqq.*; see also Atti Mod., II., 447 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 375 *seq.*; the periodical Augusta Perusia, I. (1906). The inscription without the phrase often introduced "ad coercendam Perusinorum audaciam" in CIACONIUS, III., 555. The only coat-of-arms in preservation is on the Porta Marzia, with the inscription P. P. III. For the work of embellishment undertaken under Cardinal Crispi, who was Legate of Perugia from 1545, *cf.* ROCCHI, Piante, 290, and the Miscell. of BENIGNI, cited *supra*, p. 579, n. 1.

overcome by the genius of Sangallo, who produced a remarkable specimen of engineering. The whole consisted of two parts. Above was the so-called citadel, commanding a large portion of the city; somewhat lower down came a second fort, named Tanaglia, connected with the former by a long and steep approach. The citadel, which must have taken up almost the whole suburb of S. Giuliana, occupied the ground on which the prefecture now stands, with a portion of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, part of the hotel Brufani, of the bank of Italy and of the Palazzo Calderini. Above the entrance was a statue of Paul III. in terra-cotta, with his name and coat-of-arms. In planning the fortifications, Sangallo had spared not merely the ancient Porta Marzia, but also the palace of the Baglioni; these were still visible in 1860, but in the same year were, together with the fortress and its system of works, razed to the ground. The statue of Paul III. also was barbarously destroyed, and, with the exception of one, all the fine coats-of-arms and interesting inscriptions.

Orvieto, a town greatly loved by the Pope and to him a second home, was in many ways embellished.[1] He gave orders for the restoration and rebuilding[2] of the Papal Palace begun by Boniface VIII. and named Palazzo Soliano. The famous fountain of Clement VII., the well of S. Patrizio, was completed by Simone Mosca.[3] In com-

[1] *Cf.* FUMI, La Prima entrata del P. Paolo III. in Orvieto, Orvieto, 1892, 6; see also MANENTE, 259, 277.

[2] See FUMI (*loc. cit.*, 6); here also for the works in the Cathedral. For the support of the "fabbrica del palazzone," *cf.* Lorenzo Monaldeschi's *letter to the "Conservatori della pace" at Orvieto, dat. Rome, Jan. 3, 1543 (Communal Archives, Orvieto).

[3] Round the well runs a frieze with the Farnese lilies and the inscription twice repeated: Quod natura || monimento || inviderat || indu || stria adiecit (*cf.* VASARI, VI., 303; PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, Orvieto, 234; Atti Mod., II., 473 *seq.*).

memoration of this work, which was to supplement the scanty water-supply of the town, Clement VII. had commissioned Benvenuto Cellini to strike a medal showing Moses with his uplifted staff, and the thirsty multitude lying at his feet. Paul III. caused the design of this medal[1] to be appropriated for another bearing his own image.

At Viterbo, which he first visited in 1536 and often afterwards, his generosity was amply displayed. On his first visit he at once took over the cost of finishing the fine roof with which Sangallo was decorating the much-frequented pilgrims' shrine of the Benedictine abbey of the Madonna della Quercia. He also ordered a new road to be made to this sanctuary, for which he had a great veneration, and supplied it with a fountain.[2] He also restored the palace of the Governors and the castle.[3]

To the little town of Frascati in the Alban Hills he devoted much attention. This delightful spot, famed for its pure air and enchanting views, had become part of the States of the Church in May 1537,[4] and during his frequent

[1] A specimen is in the Cabinet of Coins in Munich.

[2] See Cronache di Viterbo, ed. CIAMPI, 436; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 143 *seq.*; PINZI, Mem. e doc. s. S. Maria d. Quercia, Rome, 1880, 125, 138; MORTIER-FERRETTI, S. Maria d. Quercia, Firenze, 1904, 40 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, 557; see NOAVES, VII., 57; for the castle see *Mand., 1535–1537; 1540–1543 (State Archives, Rome).

[4] Lucrezia della Rovere had sold Frascati to Pier Luigi Farnese on Aug. 30, 1536 (see SEGHETTI, Frascati [1906], 154). Shortly afterwards disturbances broke out in Frascati, whereupon Jo. Gasp. Argulus was ordered there as commissary (see the *brief to him of Oct. 30, 1536, in Arm., 41, t. 4, n. 51 of the Secret Archives of the Vatican). On May 7, 1537, Pier Luigi Farnese gave Frascati to the Apostolic Chamber, receiving Castro in exchange (see SEGHETTI, *loc. cit.*).

visits to the Villa Rufina—afterwards widely celebrated as the Villa Falconieri—had captivated the Pope's fancy.[1] In 1538 he revived the ancient bishopric of Tusculum[2] and transferred its seat to Frascati, thus raised to the rank of a city. A wall of defence was flung round the spot and the interior so beautified that the town might have been said to have been rebuilt. Situated amid vineyards and olive trees, it became henceforth a chosen holiday place for Roman society.[3] A medal perpetuated the restoration of the spot so near the ancient Tusculum, and the residence of the Pope within its walls.[4]

Buildings and other works of general utility were forwarded in many other cities of the Papal States by the support of Paul III.: in Otricoli,[5] Spoleto,[6] Foligno,[7]

[1] For the Villa Falconieri, since 1907 the property of the German Emperor, see LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 45; CANCELLIERI, Sopra il tarantismo, Roma, 1817, 157; SEGHETTI, 308.

[2] SEGHETTI, 154.

[3] There is a list of the houses pulled down in order to give regularity to Frascati, with the sums paid in compensation, in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI., 517; *cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 44; see also Atti Mod., IV., 128, and specially SEGHETTI, 154 *seq.*

[4] VENUTI, Numism., XXIX., 83; BARBIER, III., 419.

[5] See the *brief to Otricoli, dat. Feb. 4, 1547, giving permission to rebuild the walls and to drain a marsh on the proceeds of increased taxation (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 38, n. 63, Secret Archives of the Vatican); *ibid.*, in the index of briefs, a document is given under the date of December 1548, by which the Vice-Legate of Perugia is enjoined to inform himself concerning the works of the architect Petr. Franc. Clementis and of the commissary Franc. Castagna in the draining of the marshes of Foligno, Trevi, and Montefalcone, and to see to their payments.

[6] See the *brief to Spoleto, dat. March 4, 1543, on the restoration of the aqueduct (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 26, n. 159, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[7] See the *brief to Foligno, dat. Perugia, Sept. 19, 1535: gift of 200 scudi for the repair of the palace (Arm., 40, t. 52, n. 377, Secret

Spello,[1] Perugia,[2] Loreto,[3] Cesena,[4] Macerata[5] and Ascoli.[6] At the Villa Magliana, where the Pope often stayed, restorations were begun from the year 1535.[7] The Pope's latter years were signalized by a work of exceptional utility, which he also had commemorated by a medal; this was a canal, the "Cava Paolina," for regulating the overflow of the Velino and putting a stop to inundations in the valleys of Rieti and Terni.[8] Unfortunately, Sangallo,

Archives of the Vatican). See also the inscription from S. Feliciano in CIACONIUS, III., 555, and FALOCI-PULIGNANI, XVII., Centenario di S. Feliciano, 242.

[1] See the inscription on the Palazzo Comunale.

[2] See the *brief to Joh. Sbotta of March 16, 1537, concerning the restoration of the Legate's palace (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 98, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] CIACONIUS, III., 556 *seq.*

[4] See the *brief to Cesena dat. Sept. 18, 1536: present of 1000 ducats for three years for the enlargement and adornment of the town (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 3, n. 144, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] Reparatio pal. Macerat., *Mand., June 9, 1539 (State Archives, Rome).

[6] Reparatio pal. Asculi., *Mand., 1545–1546.

[7] See *Mand., 1535–1537.

[8] See GAYE, II., 344; VASARI, V., 469; Atti Mod., II., 482 *seq.*; the letter of Sangallo published in L' Umbria, 1900; CLAUSSE, II., 401 *seq.* The *commission to "Petrus Angelinus episc. Nep. et Ant. de S. Gallo arch. nost.," dat. Rome, March 2, 1545, "de exsiccanda palude Reatina" in Cod. Vat., 3933, f. 21, of the Vatican Library. Here also belongs the *brief to Bernardino Callini, Bishop of Segni, of June 11, 1545; to him was given the post of commissioner "ad, dirigendos cursus aquarum etiam per possessiones particularium" (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 35, n. 355). To the governor of Rieti was issued the command, dat. Terni, Sept. 7, 1546: since Reati, "in effosione lacus Velini" and "pro exiccandis paludibus agri Reatini," had undergone great expense and derived great benefit from the draining, all persons advantaged, including the clergy, were to be compelled to contribute aid in money (Arm., 41, t. 37,

while laying out the works, contracted a deadly fever, which cut him off in the midst of his labours at Terni on the 29th of September 1546.[1] In other parts of the Papal States also Paul III. directed his attention to the drainage of the marshes.[2]

The Pope also co-operated with and supported his family in extensive building operations, especially in the domain where the possessions of the house originally lay. Pier Luigi Farnese restored and enlarged the castle at Nepi[3] built by Alexander VI., had a castle built by Peruzzi at Caprarola,[4] and at a distance of six kilometres from Castel Farnese founded in the valley of Olpeta

n. 606, Secret Archives of the Vatican). For a plan produced by Fr. Oliva to prevent the inundation of the Tiber, see GORI, Archivio, VI., 178.

[1] The certificate produced by CLAUSSE (II., 409) which places the death on Sunday, Aug. 3, 1546, cannot be correct, for this reason, that in that year the 3rd was not a Sunday. The 3rd October, which is often given, and to which THODE (I., 445) still adheres, is also incorrect. The right date is given in the *Ephem., very accurate in matters of chronology: "1546, 29 Septemb., obiit Antonius Sangallus inter architectos sui temporis facile princeps" (Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 154, of the Vatican Library). For Sangallo's family see Nuovi Documenti, ed. BERTOLOTTI, Roma, 1892.

[2] See the *briefs to Trevi, dat. May 2, 1535 (Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 51, n. 233), to Cardinal Cupis, dat. July 12, 1535 (*ibid.*, t. 52, n. 251), to Cardinal Grimani, Legate of Perugia, dat. Sept. 24, 1536 (*ibid.*, Arm., 41, t. 3, n. 197, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* VASARI, V., 465; the description of GREGOROVIUS (Lucretia Borgia, 140–141); Atti Mod., II., 476 *seq.* An inscription on the castle says: "P. Aloisius Farnesius Dux I. Castri et Nepete monimentum hoc ad tutelam civitatis exstruxit 1540." Expenditure on these works in the *Mand., 1545–1546; 1546–1548; 1548–1551. The church of S. Tolomeo (*cf.* WILLICH, 46) Paul III. helped by an Indulgence (see Bulla indulgent., dat. 1542 vii. Id. Ian. A° 9°. An impression by Bladus is in the Bibliotheca Vittorio Emanuele).

[4] *Cf.* WILLICH, 93 *seq.*

the new town of Castro, with defences by Sangallo. This architect also at Pier Luigi's orders drew up plans for the ducal palace erected in Castro, for the church and convent of the Franciscans, for the mint and the arcades of the principal square. Thus, as Annibalo Caro remarked, out of a den of gipsies rose a new Carthage. The comparison was destined to be fulfilled to the letter: for a hundred years later Castro, having risen in rebellion against Innocent X., was utterly destroyed.[1]

A series of constructions in the Duchy of Castro were about 1546 entrusted to Vignola, afterwards so famous. At the beginning of Paul III.'s reign Vignola had been employed at the Vatican,[2] when he also carried out pictorial decorations.[3] From 1541 to 1543 he resided in France; after that he was a candidate for the difficult task of executing the façade of S. Petronio in Bologna, a work followed with deep interest by Paul III.[4] In spite of Cardinal Farnese's[5] warm recommendations Vignola's sketches were rejected; he then found in the Farnese family more enlightened patrons of the architect's art.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Lett. famigl. di Caro., ed. COMIN, I., 184; VASARI, V., 463; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 306 *seq.*; NAVENNE, 275.

[2] See WILLICH, 16 *seq.*

[3] *Nov. 22, 1538; Payment to Vignola for painting "scabelli in thalamo S. Stis" (Mand., 1537–1541, f. 142[b]; *cf. ibid.*, f. 155[b], Dec. 24); *ibid.*, 1539–1542, f. 6 and 85: "Petro de Senis et Jacopo de Vignola pictoribus" for "pict. fact. in sex appendiciis tubarum ad usum milit. equit. levis armat. S. Stis" (State Archives, Rome).

[4] See WILLICH, 20 *seq.*, 23 *seq.* For Paul III. interest *cf.* BELLUZZI, 120 *seq.*, 178. *The brief of confirmation of Vignola on the commission of architects for S. Petronio is dated March 7, 1541; Arm., 41, t. 20, n. 200 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See in Appendix No. 30 Cardinal Farnese's *letter of Aug. 23, 1545 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] See WILLICH, 30 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*

III.

The highly prized tranquillity and prosperity which Rome enjoyed under the rule of Paul III.,[1] the keen interest of the Pope, his family, and the rich cardinals in all branches of art, could not fail to exercise a stimulating influence of the most useful kind.[2] Very often, however, the quality of artistic creativeness is not commensurate with its quantity. This is specially the case with sculpture, which held an even more subordinate place than it had done under Clement VII. With the exception of the Lombard, Guglielmo della Porta, who was repeatedly employed, especially as a restorer of antiques, by Paul III.,[3] almost all the others engaged in the Papal service were Tuscan sculptors. Among them are found Lorenzetto, Bandinelli, Ammanati, Raffaello da Montelupo, Perino da Vinci, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Nanni di Baccio Bigio, Simone Mosca, Montorsoli, and Zacchia.[4]

Michael Angelo was the authoritative name in sculpture

[1] *Cf.* the inscription, now vanished: "Paulo III. P.M. auree securitatis authori Prosper Mochus muniendae urbis curator posuit 1546": FORCELLA, XIII., 173; see also AMASAEUS, 56 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*, and the *poem by Martius Alterius in Cod. Vat., 3691, Vatican Library.

[2] For the advancement of art by the Farnese family and the cardinals see MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 236 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*

[3] See VASARI, VII., 225; Mél. d'archéol., IX., 54 *seq.* Payments to G. della Porta in BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 188, 190, 207, 211, and Art. Lomb, I., 132; LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 265.

[4] See MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, III., 235; REUMONT, III., 2nd ed., 723 *seq.* The marble statue of Paul III. in the palazzo pubblico at Bologna is by Zacchia. The promising Belgian sculptor Paul Albus died prematurely in 1538; his tombstone in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, which FORCELLA (VIII., 192 *seq.*), in 1876, could not get a sight of, is now re-erected in that church on the left entrance. For Pietro Stella, who died in 1543, see BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Veneti, 24.

even among his personal enemies. This great master, upheld by the Papal favour, was a constant source of wonderment to his contemporaries on account of his works and of the individuality of his character. On the 10th of December 1537 he received the rights of Roman citizenship, the highest honour which the Eternal City could bestow.[1] His fellow-artists, who were entirely under the spell of his original and sovereign style, looked up to him as a patriarch and paid homage to every judgment that he expressed. There is clear evidence of this in the description of the antique statues of Rome written in 1550 by Ulysses Aldrovandi. Notwithstanding the brevity of his narration, he never omits to note the praise lavished by Michael Angelo on those pieces by which the latter had been specially attracted, as, for example, the Torso of Hercules or the Amazon in the collection of Cardinal Cesi.[2] Even the monument of Julius II., so great and powerful in its first design, so poor in its final achievement, could not impair his firmly grounded reputation. The statue of Moses by itself compensated for all other deficiencies, and raised the mausoleum of the Rovere to a solitary pre-eminence over the long series of Papal tombs.[3] It might seem almost an act of historic justice that the statue of Moses should have been reserved for the burial-place of Julius II., while Leo X., who was so extravagantly belauded in his lifetime, should have, like his cousin Clement VII., to rest satisfied with a monument displaying the marks of a sculpture already on the wane. On the other hand, the representations of Paul III. belong to the best works of

[1] See GREGOROVIUS, Kleine Schriften, I., 249 *seq.* For Michael Angelo's exemption from the jurisdiction of the guild of the Scarpellini and Marmorarii see POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 753 *seq.*

[2] See SPRENGER, 459.

[3] HARNACK, Rom, II.: Neuere Kunst, 104.

this period: his fine marble statue in the Capitol and his magnificent bust now preserved in the Naples Museum.[1]

If the domain of sculpture left much to be desired, there was rich compensation in the full blossoming of minor arts and handicrafts. Medallists, jewellers, gold and silversmiths, as well as artistic cabinet makers, produced works of high perfection; the period was also one in which the manufacture of textile fabrics and of pottery flourished. The account books of Paul III. abound in payments made for a long succession of works of art of the above kind.[2] Special mention is made of a new and magnificent tiara.[3] The Pope would have ordered yet more if his coffers had not so often been drained by Turkish war expenses and other imperative claims.[4] The wealth of Papal property in work of this kind is clearly set forth in the inventories drawn up during the reign of Paul III.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 31.

[2] Extracts concerning goldsmiths and jewellers are given in GORI, Archivio, I., 82 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*, 90, 95 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 171 *seq.*, 177, 179, 182–187, 191–196, 198, 199, 201–204, Artisti Veneti, 30 *seq.*, Art. Bologn., 98 *seq.*, and Artisti Subalp., 117. For the goldsmith Pellegrino di Leuti see Atti Mod., VI., 341 *seq.*; FONTANA, II., 463. Magnificent work is to be seen on the window shutters in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. They are adorned with the arms and emblems of Paul III. For tapestries of this Pope, see Chronique des Arts, 1876, 262; MÜNTZ, Tapiss., 35, 38, and Tapiss. de Raphaël, 2; Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XXIII., 106 *seq.*; *cf.* also *supra*, p. 579, n. 3.

[3] AMASAEUS, 74; *cf.* MÜNTZ, La Tiare, 78 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*

[4] This reason was adduced by the Pope in a *brief to the Duke William of Bavaria of July 18, 1540, in which he declares that he is unable to buy a valuable cross (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 18, n. 615, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* Inventarium sachrarii S. D. N. of Nov. 15, 1547 (Invent., I. [3] in State Archives, Rome), published by Bertolotti: Inventaire de le chapelle Papale sous Paul III. en 1547, annot. per X. BARBIER DE

Unfortunately, only a very few relics of this period are now preserved in Rome. At the time of the French Revolution many objects of the highest interest and value were seized as plunder.[1] This was the heavy price which had to be paid for the absence in Rome of a dynasty such as existed in Florence, the hereditary owners of costly works of art. To-day the swords of honour belonging to the days of Paul III. must be sought for in Cracow and Madrid.[2] The Cluny Museum in Paris contains a precious collection of faience.[3] Among the treasures of the Naples museum is the Cassettina Farnese in silver-gilt made for

MONTAULT, Tours, 1878, and again in Œuvres, I., 273 *seq.*—both unfortunately are insufficient. Professor Pogatscher having compared the publication with the original MS., states: The inventory is not printed in full; the selection, both as regards what is given and what is withheld, has been made in an arbitrary manner. Extracts printed word for word are not distinguished from those which are merely summarized; two parts of the Inventory (from f. 8, 8[b] and 15, 15[b]) are printed twice over in a summary, out of sheer carelessness—the first in Nos. 220–232 and 241–261, the second in Nos. 345–352 and 353–366; this, too, is done in such a way that many pieces of the Inventory appear twice in print (*e.g.* 220 = 241, 221 = 242, 232 = 261, 352 = 366, and so forth); that the duplicate copies are not identical throughout is owing to the way in which the excerpts were made: in each case only one selection was hit upon, and the choice did not fall on the exactly identical piece.

[1] Thus the silver statues of the Apostles made for St. Peter's in 1545 (see Arch. d. Arte, VI. [1893], 239 *seq.*; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 196–197, 199–200, 202–203).

[2] The consecrated sword sent by Paul III. in 1539 to the Polish King Sigismund Augustus was preserved in the cathedral treasury at Cracow (*cf.* Monum. du moyen-âge et de la Renaissance dans l'ancienne Pologne, p. p. A. PRZEZDZIECKI et E. ROSTAWIECKI, IIe Série, Varsovie et Paris, 1855 *seq.*). The sword of honour of Charles V. is in the armoury at Madrid (see Gaz. d. Beaux Arts, 1895, II., 483).

[3] Cluny, n. 2902–2903; water-jug with the Farnese arms.

Cardinal Alessandro by Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese. This casket is surmounted by an admirable statue of Hercules; at the four corners are Minerva, Mars, Venus and Bacchus; while the panels of rock-crystal divided by caryatides are cut into representations of ancient myths and stories.[1] The magnificent candlesticks and crucifix for long attributed to Cellini, and presented by Cardinal Farnese to the treasury of S. Peter's, were made in 1582 by Antonino Gentile da Faenza.[2]

More fortunately, the coins and medals of Paul III., who endeavoured to regulate the coinage of his states with great exactitude,[3] have been almost completely preserved. Among them are some fine pieces; all reproduce admirably the characteristic features of the Pope. The representations on the obverse, and the surrounding inscriptions, present to the beholder the entire history of his papacy.[4] The Papal mint then employed artificers of the first rank. Benvenuto Cellini made for Paul III. a gold piece with the Farnese arms on one side, and a stately, richly draped figure of St. Paul on the other. Other names worthy of mention here are Giacomo Balducci, Lodovico de Capitaneis,

[1] See MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 239, 712; PLON, Cellini, 296 *seqq.*; THODE, V., 247 *seq.*

[2] See PLON, 280 *seq.*; THODE, V., 252 *seq.*

[3] See GARAMPI, Monet. Pontif., 37 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*, 156, 159 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 254 *seq.*, "dichiarazione sul valore del ducato di camera, 1535," and pp. 249 *seq.*, 256–289, the "capitoli" of the Zecca at Rome and other mints in the Papal States. The number of coins minted under Paul III. amounted, according to Cinagli, to 156, there is a very complete series of these in the Vatican collection. *Cf.* VALLENTIN, Les écus d'or avignonois du Pape Paul III.: Annuaire de la Soc. Franç. de numismat., XIV. (1890); VITALINI, Scudo d' oro ined. di Paolo III. per Camerino (1539): Riv. Numismat., XVIII. (1905). The pieces worth 10 bajocchi were called "Paoli" after the Pope.

[4] *Cf.* the reproductions in CIACONIUS, III., 555.

Alessandro Cesati, called "il Grechetto," Giovanni Giacomo Bonzagni, Pietro Paolo Galeotto, and Leone Leoni.[1] The last named was a man quite of the stamp of Benvenuto Cellini, who began well under Paul III., but later on had serious trouble through his coming into conflict with Pier Luigi Farnese. Cellini's imprisonment in St. Angelo in October 1538, on a charge of having embezzled Papal jewels to the value of 80,000 ducats in the reign of Clement VII., his bold attempt at flight at the last moment and its miscarriage, his terrible detention in the lowest dungeon of the fortress, and his final deliverance in November 1539, through the intercession of Cardinal Ippolito d' Este and Francis I., are all so well known from his autobiography as to call for no further description here.[2]

Like Cellini, his enemy Leone Leoni, who is said, against his will, to have saved the former's life, was also forced to leave Rome. On account of a murderous assault on the Papal jeweller, Pellegrino di Leuti, he was condemned to lose his right hand, but was saved from this punishment through the influence of powerful patrons. He was sent to the galleys instead, from which at the end of a year he was released on the entreaty of Andrea

[1] See MÜNTZ, L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Paris, 1884, 37 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, I., 95 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*; *cf.* Atti Mod., II., 254 *seq.*; III., 9 *seq.*; IV., 1 *seqq.*; VI., 1 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lomb., I., 282 *seq.*, 301 *seq.*, 305 *seq.*, 316 *seq.*; Artisti Mod., 69 *seq.*; ARMAND, I., 149, 165 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*; II., 166 *seq.*, 296. For Cellini's scudo d' oro, see also PLON, 199; CASTELLANI, Lo Scudo d' Oro di Paolo III., conio di B. Cellini, London, 1903; VITALINI in the Riv. Ital. di numismat., 1907.

[2] Cellini Vita, ed. BACCI, 142 *seq.*, 197 *seqq.*; PLON, Cellini, 28 *seqq.*; BERTOLOTTI in Arch. Stor. Lomb., II. (1875), 121 *seq.*, and Artisti Lomb., I., 253 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, I., 101 *seq.*, 109; BENIGNI, Miscell., V., 166 *seq.* For the date of liberation, see CASANOVA in the Miscell. fiorent. d' erudiz. e di storia, II., 22 *seq.*

Doria. Leoni thereupon entered the service of the mint of Milan.[1]

Alessandro Cesati, who was also famous as a carver of gems, was introduced into the family and service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Annibale Caro, and obtained through the former the post of a "maestro delle stampe" in the Roman mint. He was also employed by Pier Luigi and Ottavio Farnese on the coinage of Castro and Camerino. Cesati designed a medal with a portrait of Paul III. and a representation of Alexander the Great in the Temple at Jerusalem, of which no less a judge than Michael Angelo remarked that "the art must be near its downfall, since it could reach no greater perfection than this."[2] Cesati's fellow-countrymen, Lorenzo Marmitta and the famous Valerio Belli, were rivals in the art of working intaglios on crystal.[3] Belli received, in 1545, 1200 scudi for a cross together with two candlesticks and paxes.[4] The clock-maker Cherubino had acquired so great a reputation in his business that even Cellini was forced to acknowledge it.

In the studios of the painters there was great activity, for in this domain Paul III.'s patronage was exercised in the most various directions. His first step was to gather together again the school of Raphael scattered after the sack. He gave special commissions to Perino del Vaga, as well as to his pupils the Romans, Luzio and Girolamo Sermoneta. Giovanni da Udine also returned to Rome.

[1] See VASARI, VII., 535 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lomb., I., 298 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, L'Atelier monét., 41 *seq.*; PLON, L. Leoni, Paris, 1887; Jahrbuch der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses, V., 68 *seq.*; XIII., 55 *seq.*

[2] See BONANNI, 199; Atti Mod., II., 254 *seq.*

[3] For V. Belli see our statements, Vol. VIII. of this work, 336, and Vol. X., 358; for Marmitta see Period. di numismat., VI., 6

[4] BERTOLOTTI, Spesene, 197.

Perino del Vaga enjoyed special favour with the Farnese family, and from 1544 onwards the Pope gave him a monthly allowance of 25 scudi.[1] Vaga took an important part in the decoration of the Sala Regia as well as in that of the Castle of St. Angelo.[2] He also executed the pictures on the entablature under the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura,[3] and in 1546–1547 decorated with paintings a Loggia in the Vatican.[4] Like other eminent painters, he did not disdain work of a less pretentious kind, such as the painting of banners;[5] he drew designs for carpets, church vestments, and all sorts of minor departments of art.[6] The ceaseless labours of his hand were cut short by death in 1547, while he was still in the prime of manhood. Vaga was laid to rest in the Pantheon near to his master Raphael.[7]

Near this church, in 1542, a corporate guild of artists had been founded after the manner of the Association of St. Luke.[8] The founder of this "Congregazione Ponteficia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon" was Desiderio d' Adjutorio, an

[1] See ZAHN in Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd series, VI., 189: *cf.* *Tes. seg., 1544, f. 21, etc.; *cf. ibid.*, 1547, f. 155 (State Archives, Rome).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 576 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* VASARI, V., 623; CHATTARD, II., 222; PLATNER, II., 242 *seq.*

[4] Payment for stucco-work and painting in the "loggia di mezzo del palazzo" to Perino del Vaga, 1546–1547, in the *Edif. publ., 1542–1548 (State Archives, Rome).

[5] *1541, May 21: "duc. 300 mag. Perino del Vaga et sociis pictoribus pro complemento; scut. 650 pro pictura facta in banderiis seu vexillis arcis s. Angeli et aliis" (Tes. seg., 1541, f. 83). *1546, Apr. 12: "Magistro Pierino del Vaga pictori duc. auri nonaginta sex de paulis X. pro ducato pro pretio picturae sexaginta quattuor drappellorum ad usum cappellae majoris Suae Stis per ipsum pict." (Mand., 1546, f. 45, etc.); *cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Veneti, 18, and Artisti Bolog., 37, 39.

[6] See MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 544.

[7] FORCELLA, I., 269, and the writing of Visconti (p. 67), as cited *infra* p. 602, n. 1.

[8] *Cf.* MISSIRINI, Mem. dell Acad. di S. Luca, Roma, 1823, 13 *seq.*

official in the Papal Chancery and canon of the aforesaid church, of which the second chapel on the left was dedicated to St. Joseph and appropriated to the uses of the new corporation. Their aim was defined as the increase of God's glory and the elevation of the Holy Church. Their patron was St. Joseph; their motto was "Florent in Domino." In the pillared hall of the Pantheon their works were exhibited yearly on St. Joseph's Day.[1] The worthy canon made it his avowed object to win over his artist friends, whose course of life was often far from serious, to better things, and to induce them to introduce into their work a Christian rather than a pagan spirit. Besides Perino del Vaga, among the first members were Antonio and Giovan Battista da Sangallo, Jacopo Meleghino, the great architect and sculptor Giovanni Mangone, the engineer Clementi Dentocambi, and the wood-carver Antonio della Banda. After the founder's death he was probably followed in the presidency by Antonio da Sangallo, while the secretary was Mario Antonio Labacco.[2]

Sebastiano del Piombo painted at the beginning of the reign a portrait of Paul III., which has, however, disappeared; the only other known work of this period by Sebastiano, who up to his death on the 21st of June 1547 was one of the Piombatori of the Papal leaden bulls, is the noble portrait of Cardinal Pole.[3] In 1540 Francesco Primaticcio came to Rome to make copies of antique sculpture for Francis I. and to purchase works of art.[4]

[1] *Cf.* VISCONTI'S treatise based on the Acta of the Archives of the Congregazione: Sulla istituzione della insigne artistica congregazione ponteficia dei virtuosi al Pantheon, Roma, 1869.

[2] *Cf.* VISCONTI, *loc. cit.*, 11, 16, 31.

[3] D' ACHIARDI, Sebast. del Piombo, Roma, 1908, 286, 288, 292, 337.

[4] He engaged his fellow-countryman Vignola to help him (see WILLICH, 20).

An event in the artistic world of Rome was the appearance of Titian in April 1543, when he painted a portrait of the Pope. In the autumn of 1545 he paid a second visit; when Paul III. appointed him a residence in the Belvedere the jealousy of the other painters was at once aroused. Neither then, however, nor two years later was there any employment of the greatest colourist of his time.[1] Consequently, to painters of the second and third rank, mostly Tuscans, the chief tasks were allotted. The most important among them was Daniele da Volterra. A pupil of Sodoma and Peruzzi, he worked with them on the decoration of the Sala Regia; in 1547 he succeeded Vaga, with a monthly salary of 20 scudi.[2] Volterra at this time had already completely passed under the influence of Michael Angelo, as is clearly shown in the Descent from the Cross painted by him for the chapel in the Trinita de' Monti founded by Elena Orsini. This picture, now unfortunately much damaged, was justly celebrated in its day; it is a composition remarkable for dramatic movement and certainty of drawing.[3]

Like Daniele da Volterra, Giulio Vasari of Arezzo was also under the enchantment of Michael Angelo. Paolo Giovio and Bindo Altoviti had in January 1543 called Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's attention to this painter, who owes his reputation less to his compositions as an

[1] VASARI, VII., 446; Atti Mod., II., 131 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 186, 187, and Artisti Veneti, 18; CROWE, Titian, II., 471 *seq.*; CLAUSSE, Farnese, 23 *seq.*, 72 *seq.*, 196 *seq.*; GRONAU, Titian, 129 *seq.*, 140. Titian's letter to Charles V., dat. Rome, Dec. 8, 1545, in FILLON, Inventaire des autographes, Paris, 1877 *seq.*, 2097. Titian's nomination as a Roman citizen took place on Mar. 20, 1546 (see GREGOROVIUS, Kleine Schriften, I., 302).

[2] BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 204.

[3] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2nd ed., 725; Allgem. Zeitung, 1858, No. 217

artist than to his *Lives of the Painters*, a work which appeared a year after the death of Paul III.[1]

A representation of Justice executed in oils for the Cardinal by this painter pleased his patron so much that he also commissioned him to decorate with frescoes the great court-room of the Palace of the Cancelleria. This work was intended to be carried out as a surprise for the Cardinal on his return from his German mission, which was to be celebrated as a great triumph. Vasari worked at full speed: only a hundred days had been spent in bringing the task to completion on the 23rd of November 1546. "You can see that by looking at them," was Michael Angelo's opinion of the frescoes. Giovio himself, who was Vasari's personal friend, had to admit that the portraiture which had been freely introduced left much to be desired.[2] Nevertheless, these paintings illustrative of the age of Paul III. are not by any means without interest, and are at the same time the forerunners of those in the castle of Caprarola.[3]

On the left side wall is represented the Apostolic Court of Chancery as it was under Paul III., the founder, as the inscription states, of the Golden Age.[4] The Pope, clad in pluviale and camauro, sits on a throne and presents to a figure kneeling at his feet bulls and rescripts. By his side are the presidents of the Chancery and Dataria, Cardinals

[1] See *supra*, p. 530; Atti Mod., II., 121 *seq.*

[2] See Atti Mod., II., 125 *seq.*; *cf.* KALLAB, 76 *seq.*, 145 *seq.* The court-room was called from the frescoes the "Sala dei centi giorni."

[3] The frescoes were reproduced in the periodical Catholicum Riv. Illustr., Roma, 1899, Vol. I., Part 3, p. 11 *seqq.* The explanations are not always apposite, and the inscriptions are not fully given. Since the latter are also wanting in Forcella, and as far as I know are only to be found in a few private copies, I give them in the following notes.

[4] Aureum saeculum condit || qui || recto aequabilique ordine || cuncta dispensat.

Alessandro Farnese and Guidiccioni. In the foreground are figures in the act of making petitions or offering gifts—among the latter strange animals even are introduced, such as a giraffe, an elephant, and two camels; in the immediate front of the picture an allegorical figure of the Tiber lies stretched, who is crowned by Romulus and Remus. On each side of the fresco two allegorical figures are painted. The inscriptions declare them to be Justice and Eloquence.[1] On the corresponding left wall, where the entrance door is placed, Paul's reconciliation of Charles V. and Francis I. at Nice is celebrated. The Pope appears on the Sedia Gestatoria and blesses the monarchs, who are surrounded by their retinues, as they make their pact of peace. The two allegorical figures are repeated on both sides of this fresco, and represent Love and Concord.[2]

Of the two great frescoes on the principal wall one commemorates the nominations to the Cardinalate in which Paul III. rewarded true merit. The scene is a church, with pillars copied from those in St. Peter's, and reputed to have once been in the Temple of Jerusalem. Portraits of the great men who are receiving the purple fill the composition —Contarini, Sadoleto, Bembo, Pole. Many other likenesses are introduced, among others that of Giovio, who composed

[1] Under Justice: Maiestati ac ditioni || vim tuetur || et fidem conciliat. Under Eloquence: Segnes animos || excitat iratos || mulcet. Above on this wall are the arms of Paul III. and busts of Cæsar and Alexander with the inscriptions: Expedito vigore animi || cuncta pervicit, and: Supra Garamantas et Indos || protulit imperium.

[2] Under the principal picture one reads: In pace || optimae artes excoluntur || ingenia ad frugem coalescunt || publicae privataeque opes || augentur; under Charity: Christianae pietatis || perfectum specimen || ostendit; under Concord: Res parvas auget || et insuperabiles reddit. Above on this wall are the arms of Charles V. and the busts of Titus and Augustus, with the inscriptions: Templum pacis condidit, and: Janum clausit.

the inscription, and of Michael Angelo, as the greatest painter in the Pope's employment. In the foreground is the figure of disappointed Envy, who is devouring snakes. The whole is crowned by the arms of the Farnese upheld by Fame and Virtue.[1] At the sides of this fresco the figure of Goodness is introduced.[2]

The other fresco of the principal wall is certainly the most interesting of the whole group. Paul III. here appears as the patron of art. Vasari has given expression to this idea by representing the Pope in the act of issuing commands with a gesture of great earnestness to the kneeling females, who are the allegorical figures of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. Paul III. is strangely clad as the high priest of the Old Testament Scriptures. Vasari chose this unusual garb in order to celebrate the Pope's great work of the reconstruction of St. Peter's. The plan of this Temple of the New Covenant, destined to cast the sanctuary of Jerusalem into the shade, is spread before the Pope. Sangallo's sketch is plainly recognizable. In the background the new buildings of the Basilica are prominent, thronged with busy workers, while beasts of burden drag forward the building materials. This representation is very interesting, as it shows how far Sangallo had advanced with the building of the new St. Peter's up to the time of his death. It shows the area of the south cross, afterwards removed by Michael Angelo, the provisional choir of Bramante, the barrel roof of the south cross only just finished and still covered with scaffolding,

[1] Under this fresco: In summa fortuna || nihil praestantius || quam beneficii recte collati || memoriam || ad posteros extendisse. A reproduction of the portrait of Michael Angelo in STEINMANN, II., 485, who intends to bring out a special publication of the frescoes.

[2] Under this is the inscription: Viridi crescentique virtuti || ianuam pandit.

and on the left an octagonal cupola. In the foreground is placed an aged man supporting himself with his left hand on the Holy Scriptures, while with one foot he tramples on two volumes which evidently contain false teaching. This allegorical figure of Papal Rome as the shepherd of true doctrine holds in one hand the keys, in the other the triple tiara, while a genius crowns the head with laurel. At the sides of this fresco[1] two symbolical figures again appear: Superstition and Religion with the keys and the threefold crown.[2] Under the last figure runs an inscription relating how Vasari executed his great task in the space of a hundred days.[3]

In accordance with the stricter spirit of the times, the female figures in these frescoes are clad in drapery. The decorations also in the apartments of the Cancelleria reserved by Cardinal Farnese for his own use show no heathen emblems, hitherto the choice of princes of the Church, but are taken from subjects in sacred history. Much has been altered or destroyed at a later period, but the roof and frieze of the study still remain undisturbed. This apartment was called the "camera della Genesi," from the pictures of the Creation with which it was adorned.

[1] The inscription under this is: Magnificentiae studium || cum praeclara pietate coniunctum || mortales coelo infert. Above, the busts of Trajan, Numa, and Agrippa, with the inscriptions: Mentis honoribus || Quirites exornavit || ferocem victoriis populum || inducta religione || feliciter || rexit, and: Ter cons. Pantheon extruxit.

[2] The inscription under Opulence runs: Optimo cuique || exercendae virtutis || instrumentum; under Religion: Diis homines proximos || facit.

[3] Alexandro Farnesio card. vicecancell. || iubente || quam expediti operis picturam non abs re nata || praeceps occasio postularet || Georgius Aretinus centesimo die ita munus absolvit || ut properantem obsequendi necessitas iure excuset || nisi mira celeritas augeat dignitatem || MDXLVI.

Here Perino del Vaga has displayed a Raphaelesque grace in pictures of a "genre" character. The ceilings of the study and the chapel are both masterpieces.[1] The chapel decoration came from the pencil of Francesco de' Rossi named Salviati.[2] According to an entry in the accounts, he also painted the chamber before the "guardaroba" in the Vatican, and a representation of King Pepin.[3]

Among the many other artists[4] then at work in Rome special mention should be made of the illuminators Vincenzo Raimondi and Giulio Clovio,[5] as well as of the painter on glass, Pastorino, who was also distinguished as engraver of coins and medals; unfortunately, the windows with which this talented Sienese adorned the Sala Regia have not been preserved.[6]

The names enumerated above do not, however, exhaust the artistic chronicle of the Papal Court. The masterpiece of painting which owed its existence to Paul III. remains to be considered, the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo.

Clement VII., the second Pope of the house of Medici, can claim the merit of having first suggested this subject

[1] See BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Gesch. der Renaissance, 356 *seq.*

[2] These paintings are also reproduced in the periodical Catholicum, Vol. I., 5th Part, p. 10 *seqq.*; *cf.* VASARI, VII., 31.

[3] See Arch. Stor. Ital., 3rd Series, VI., 188.

[4] *Cf.* the fragments in BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 176, 178, 179, 180, 188, 191, 195, 203, 204, Art. Belgi, 42, and Art. Lomb., I., 102 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* GORI, Archivio, IV., 110; MISSIRINI, Accad. di S. Luca, 55; MÜNTZ, Biblioth., 97, 104 *seq.*, 108. For Clovio see our statements, Vol. X. of this work, 351, n. 3; SEIBT, Studien zur Kunst und Kulturgesch., III. (1891), 7. For the Psalter supplied to Paul III. in 1542 (Fonds lat. 8880, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) see MÜNTZ, Hist., III., 719. A breviary containing more than a hundred fine illuminations, once belonging to Card. A. Farnese, is in the National Library, Naples.

[6] *Cf.* Atti Mod., V., 39 *seqq.*; MÜNTZ, Atelier monét., 47 *seq.*; Jahrbuch des österr. Kaiserhauses, XII., 87 *seq.*

to the great painter.[1] But the glory of its achievement belongs to the reign of Paul III., at whose instigation this work of incomparable majesty and dramatic power was executed, forming the keystone to the monumental fabric of the art of the Italian Renaissance.

Very few accounts, unfortunately, exist of the genesis of this gigantic fresco, which displays the consummation of the Divine Creation upon earth. It is certain that the work in the Chapel could not have begun earlier than the period between April the 10th and May the 18th, 1536, since not only had the huge scaffolding to be erected, but the altar wall also to be prepared.[2] All the frescoes here existing, the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Finding of Moses, as well as two lunettes painted by the master under the Jonas, had to make room for the new creation with its titanic proportions. According to Vasari, the wall was also covered with a thin layer of burnt brick projecting slightly at the top, so that dust and soil might be prevented from injuring the surface of the picture.[3]

In the Papal brief of the 1st of September 1535 the cartoons are spoken of as begun. The proposal of Sebastiano del Piombo that the picture should be executed in oil was rejected by Michael Angelo, as were all other offers of help; he was determined to work in fresco and to work single-handed. With the exception of the faithful Francesco Amatori, named Urbino, who mixed his colours, he had no one by his side.[4]

The devotion with which the old man flung himself into

[1] *Cf.* our statements, Vol. X. of this work, 363.

[2] See STEINMANN, II., 489, and DOREZ in the treatise cited *infra*, p. 610, n. 3.

[3] See VASARI, VII., 209; STEINMANN, II., 489.

F. Amatori received from the Pope monthly 4 scudi (see POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 769).

his work is shown from the number of drawings and sketches still in existence; the original cartoon, on the other hand, has disappeared.[1]

Paul III. watched the progress of the work with impatience. In January 1537 he was already urging on its completion,[2] and on the 4th of February 1537 he appeared at its inspection in the Sixtine Chapel.[3] In other parts of Italy as well the greatest interest had been aroused. Pietro Aretino, the trifler, had the audacity to try and impose a sort of programme on the painter in a letter of the 15th of September 1537, filled with exuberant praise. The reply was polite but cold. Michael Angelo declined to allow his work to be influenced by fantastic conceptions of the Last Judgment; besides, his painting was by this time almost finished.[4] This was unquestionably an exaggeration; four full years had yet to pass before the fresco could be uncovered.[5]

Ecclesiastical functions in the Chapel were not impeded for any great length of time by the work of Michael Angelo. As far as can be established, there was only one

[1] See SPRINGER, 121; STEINMANN, II., 605 *seq.*; THODE, V., 5 *seqq.*

[2] G. M. della Porta reported on Jan. 21, 1537, to the Duke of Urbino: "Michelangelo m' ha promesso di far ad ogni modo il cavallo che V.S. gli dimanda fra 15 giorni non ostante la perpetua solecitudine che gli fa il papa di quella sua pictura di capella" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* GRONAU in Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml., XXVII., Supplement 8.

[3] See DOREZ in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscript. et belles lettres, 1905, Mars-Avril, 234–235.

[4] MILANESI, Lettere, 472; Aretino's letter in BOTTARI, III., 86.

[5] On Nov. 26, 1537, G. M. della Porta reported to the Duke of Urbino: "Pigliai tempo e modo di parlar con Michelangelo, del quale difficilmente si po haver copia stando continuamento occupato alla pictara della capella di Sisto" (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* GRONAU, *loc. cit.*, Supplement 9, and THODE, V., 4.

actual interruption, in November 1538; during the interval Paul III. made use of the Hall of the Popes as a domestic chapel,[1] as Sixtus IV. had done formerly.

In December 1540 the upper portion of the colossal picture was at last finished, and admitted of the removal of the scaffolding.[2] Then undoubtedly the work was inspected by the Pope. On this occasion also the incident related in Vasari's well-known anecdote must surely have taken place. The Papal master of the ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, objected to the number of nude figures in the composition, and the painter took his revenge by portraying Blasius under the form of Minos. When the personage thus caricatured complained to the Pope, the latter replied that he could give no redress as his authority did not extend over hell. As Condivi says nothing of this episode, and the head of Minos is not a portrait at all, the authenticity of the story is not to be depended upon.[3]

The completion of the lower portion occupied Michael Angelo for a whole year. With what fiery energy he flung his whole strength into the work, heedless of the heat of the Roman summer, is shown indirectly by his letter of

[1] *Cf.* POGATSCHER's investigations, *loc. cit.*, 775.

[2] The payment was made on Dec. 15, 1540 (see POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 769).

[3] Against KALLAB (*loc. cit.*, 7), STEINMANN (II., 511) has tried to substantiate the assumption on the authority of another independent source (L. DOMENICHI, Facetie, Firenze, 1562, 242). He overlooks, however, the circumstance on which Kallab lays so much stress, that Minos is not a portraiture at all. In favour of Kallab there is also the circumstance that Domenichi attributes the altercation to the curiosity of Blasius de Martinellis, who wished to see the picture at too early a stage. Any unwarranted intrusion into the Chapel is out of the question, as the Chief Master of the Ceremonies had the right, if anyone had, to go in and out of the Sixtine at all times.

the 25th of August 1541.[1] Not until the autumn, when the scaffolding would be taken down, could he draw a breath of relief.[2] The solemn uncovering of the fresco took place on the eve of All Saints, October the 31st, 1541. Paul III., who had returned from Bologna only the day before, celebrated Mass on this occasion.[3]

Just as nine-and-twenty years before, when the ceiling was exposed to view, all Rome had streamed into the Chapel, so now a vast concourse came together to gaze on the marvel on the walls. If the impression made on the former occasion was powerful, that impression was now surpassed. The work deceived and exceeded all expectations. They were deceived in so far as this new representation of the Doom was essentially different from all that had been painted before; they were exceeded, for even the most vivid phantasy could not have conjured up anything bolder or more powerful.[4] The feeling was general that this majestic effort represented in more than one aspect an epoch in the development of art. Henceforward the fresco became an object of study. It was drawn, it was copied, it became the centre of an active interest which Michael Angelo observed with peculiar feelings; he is said to have exclaimed, "What a crop of fools this work of mine will produce!"[5]

In spite of the strangeness of the style, the general attitude of the public towards the fresco was one of unqualified admiration. The Florentine, Niccolò Martelli,

[1] MILANESI, Lettere, 167.

[2] The payments on Nov. 19, 1541, for taking down the scaffolding are in POGATSCHER, *loc. cit.*, 770.

[3] See the evidence of Gualterius in EHSES, IV., 210, n. 2, and POGATSCHER in Repertorium für Kunstwissensch., XXIX., 398.

[4] See KEPPLER, 253.

[5] See STEINMANN, II., 519.

wrote, full of enthusiasm, to the painter on the 4th of December 1541: "What can I say? Has not God through you given to us a perfect picture of the dreadful judgment of mankind in that fresco which you have just unveiled? He who has only seen it once is amazed, and he who has heard it spoken of rests not until he has seen it. And when at last the longed-for vision meets his eye, he finds that the renown of it is indeed great and undying, but the work itself still greater and divine."[1] "He who has not seen it," says another Florentine, "cannot imagine it."[2] The poets who, according to the custom of the time, wrote encomiums on the works of the famous artist could hardly find language adequate to express their appreciation of this latest achievement of his old age. "O sacred Rome!" cried Gandolfo Porrino in a sonnet, "never did Cæsar or Emperor renowned of old ever make thee glad with such a triumph as this."[3]

Hostile criticism, however, was not wanting. It has hitherto been supposed that this was started by Aretino in

[1] See Il primo libro delle lettere di N. Martelli (1546), 8; *cf.* also STEINMANN, II., 513.

[2] Animo Fiorentino, ed. FREY, 127.

[3] See STEINMANN, II., 513; *cf.* FREY, Dichtungen, 272. The following is the epigram, still unpublished, of H. Borgia ad Michaelam Angelum Flo.:—

Cum Deus extremam trepidis mortalibus horam
  Vellet et horrificum pandere judicium
Ac terrere homines, ne digna perennibus olim
  Suppliciis peccent, regna sed alta petant:
Angele magne, tuum divino numine pectus
  Imbuit artifices edocuitque manus,
Ut tu, qualis erit lux illa tremenda, figuris
  Exprimeres veris consuleresque polo.

(Cod. Barb. lat., 1903, f. 20, Vatican Library.) A poem by Steuco on the Last Judgment is mentioned by TIRABOSCHI (VII., 1, 318).

the year 1545, but an unpublished letter from Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of the 19th of November 1541 shows that immediately after the uncovering of the fresco a strong opposition was aroused. This came from the Cardinals of the strict party of reform, who declared that entirely naked figures were unfitted for the decoration of the house of God. Sernini considered this censure unjustified, as among the many hundred figures represented only ten could be pointed out the nudity of which was objectionable. He also mentions other strictures: that Christ was beardless, had too youthful an appearance, and lacked majesty. The fault-finders were, however, in the minority. Cardinal Cornaro was spoken of as specially friendly to the fresco, and as having said that if Michael Angelo would only paint for him one single figure out of the many, he would give him any price he chose to ask. Cornaro at once commissioned a painter to make for him a faithful copy of the work,[1] and Cardinal Gonzaga also took immediate steps to procure a replica. Sernini drew his master's attention to a young painter from Mantua, who stood in need of help, Marcello Venusti; among the many copyists of the fresco he is the best.[2] Venusti was also afterwards ordered by Cardinal Farnese, who had a keen artistic sense, to make a copy for him.[3] This work,

[1] See the text of this important *letter in Appendix No. 9 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). This as well as that of December 4 has hitherto escaped all notice, having been introduced wrongly into the Roman correspondence of Paul V. A very laconic refusal of the fresco belonging to the year 1544 in Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th Series, XII., 280, 281.

[2] See in Appendix No. 10 N. Sernini's *letter of Dec. 4, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 211; *cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 160; VASARI, VII., 575; NOLHAC in the Studi e doc., V., 251. For the copy of the "Mortal Sins," by Vasari, see KALLAB, Vasaristudien, 72.

now in Naples, is the original from which most of the reduced reproductions of the Last Judgment have been taken. By means of copper plates the fresco soon became popularized.[1] These plates and Venusti's copy have a special interest, inasmuch as they render faithfully the original composition of the fresco prior to the touching up and destruction which, at a later period, it underwent.

No one certainly ventured to take liberties with the work during the lifetime of Paul III. How little the Pope shared the objections thus brought forward is shown by the circumstance that in October 1543 he appointed a special superintendent for the preservation of the paintings in the Sixtine, the Sala Regia, and the Cappella Paolina. This post was bestowed upon Francesco Amatori, a competent person, at a monthly salary of six ducats. It would be his duty, so ran the deed of appointment, to protect all the fine frescoes, put up at a great cost by the Apostolic See, from dust and every kind of damage and from the fumes of smoke from the candles which had to be burned during divine service in both chapels.[2] The opposition, however, was not silenced; it must have gathered considerable strength, since in November 1545 Aretino, whose ear was quick to catch the dominant note in public opinion, ventured to give expression to its voice in the harshest and most injurious way. There was certainly no one in Italy who was more unfitted to be the custodian of morality than this man, whose scandalous life corresponded to his shameless writings. In April 1544 Aretino had already assured Michael Angelo, in a letter asking for drawings, that the sight of a copy of the Last Judgment had affected him to tears.[3] When the painter refused to comply with

[1] See STEINMANN, II., 517 *seq.*; THODE, V., 17 *seqq.*

[2] See POGATSCHER in Steinmann, II., 757 *seq.*

[3] See BOTTARI, Lettere, III., 114; GUHL, I., 149.

further requests of the importunate writer the latter, whose vanity had been sorely wounded by the incident of 1537, began to think of revenge. This he took by means of a disgraceful invective in which, while feigning moral indignation at the outrage on decency inflicted by the fresco, he accused the master of impiety and irreligion.[1] Michael Angelo met the attack with the silent contempt which in such cases is the best weapon.

Paul III. had not the slightest intention of complying with Aretino's demand that he should take measures similar to those employed by Gregory the Great against heathen statues. But in other quarters, on the contrary, Aretino's invectives[2] fell on willing ears. In the "open letter" composed by an Italian Protestant, Paul III. was reproached for having placed in a chapel a picture which would have found a worthier destination in a wayside drinking-house.[3] The same reproach recurs in a satirical Italian sonnet which corresponds to this letter in the grossness of its contents.[4] The enemies of the Pope knew what they were about when they sought to attack him on this point: public opinion was beginning to be much more strict with regard to the use of nude human forms in painting and sculpture.

In the spring of 1549 an opposition arose in Florence directed against Bandinelli's statues of Adam and Eve, works certainly entirely unfitted for a church, in which Michael Angelo was sharply attacked as the originator of objectionable subjects for art. References were made to

[1] See GAYE, II., 332 *seq.*; GUHL, I., 150.

[2] See the letter of year 1547 in BOTTARI, III., 152; *cf.* GASPARY, II., 478, 686.

[3] See CANTÙ, II., 61; *cf. supra*, p. 513.

[4] **Sonetto: "Guiditio di Michel Angelo Fiorentino" among the Pasquilli in Cod. Ottob., 2811, f. 73. of the Vatican Library.

painters and sculptors who had Lutheran sympathies, to works of art which undermined faith and piety.[1]

In the oration on Art composed under Aretino's influence by Lodovico Dolce in honour of Titian in 1557, the Last Judgment in the Sixtine Chapel was severely censured on account of the indelicate treatment of the female form, the complete disregard of drapery, and the uniformity of tone therein exhibited.[2]

According to the statement of Vasari,[3] hitherto accepted by all students, the austere Paul IV. was the first who gave orders that the offensive nudities in the Last Judgment should be painted over. Evidence for this, however, has not yet been adduced. As a matter of fact, a very considerable space of time elapsed before the stage of painting-over was reached. It was not until the reign of Pius IV. that the demands of the strict reform party were put into execution.

On the 6th of September 1561, Scipione Saurolo transmitted to Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, a memorial intended for the Pope, inveighing against the Last Judgment. The fresco, so ran this document, must be an object of holy hatred, since it offends the Divine Majesty, for the nudities in it so predominate that even many admirers deplore this feature. Where on earth, asks Saurolo, in colour or in stone, has anyone seen such representations of the Lord God? Who ever looked upon a painting of that last dread judgment in which the bark of Acheron was depicted?[4]

[1] See CANTÙ, II., 280; GAYE, II., 500; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 87; Riv. bibliogr., XVII., 89.

[2] *Cf.* PLATNER, II., 1, 276; GASPARY, II., 468.

[3] VASARI, VII., 65, 240.

[4] Although mentioned in CANTÙ (II., 280), this letter has been passed over by all writers on the Last Judgment. Researches for the original in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Milan have unfortunately led to no result.

There is no doubt that representations of this kind influenced the strong regulations which the Council of Trent, in the twenty-fifth and final session of the 3rd of December 1563, passed concerning pictures unfitted for exhibition in churches. The work of Michael Angelo was now spared only a little time longer from the brush of the improver. The master, who died on the 18th of February 1564, was probably not aware of the decision of the Congregation of the Council on January the 21st, that the objectionable naked figures in the pictures of the Sixtine Chapel should be painted over, and in other churches unseemly or evidently false representations destroyed.[1] As it was desirable that this decision should be executed as sparingly as possible, the work was entrusted to a pupil of Michael Angelo, Daniele da Volterra, of whom it was expected that he would limit himself to alterations that were absolutely necessary. Daniele, who earned for himself from this commission the nickname of the "breeches painter," died in 1566, and Girolamo da Fano carried on the work of emendation.[2]

As it was the good fortune of Michael Angelo to pass away before hands were laid upon his work, so also was he spared the knowledge of the, in part, totally unfounded attack on the Last Judgment delivered by Giovanni Andrea Gilio in his *Two Dialogues*, published at

[1] The important *decision of the Congregatio Concilii Trid. of Jan. 21, 1546, hitherto unknown, was to this effect: "Picturae in capella Apostolica coperiantur, in aliis autem ecclesiis deleantur, si quae obscenum aut evidenter falsum ostendant, juxta decretum secundum in Sess. 9 sub Pio" (Conc. 9, f. 80, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] VASARI, VII., 240, n. 1; STEINMANN, II., 515 *seq.* Here mention is made of the danger which the Last Judgment incurred under Gregory XIII.; not, however, the same danger that arose under Clement VIII. (see MISSIRINI, Mem. d. Accad. d. S. Luca, Roma, 1823, 69).

Camerino in 1564. "For the sake of his art," says Gilio, "Michael Angelo disregarded reverence and even historical truth itself, and despised the awe which attaches by right to this stupendous mystery."[1]

If Gilio went too far in his strictures, the Venetian Inquisition at a later date went to the opposite extreme in their defence of Michael Angelo. When in 1573 Paolo Veronese was cited before this tribunal on account of his picture of the banquet in the house of Levi, he appealed to that serious master Michael Angelo. The Inquisition retorted on him, "Do you not know that in a painting of the Last Judgment, where all must be unclothed, no clothes need be introduced? What is there, then, in these figures that has not been inspired by the Holy Ghost?"[2]

In Rome other opinions prevailed. Under Sixtus V. further effacements were made of objectionable portions of the Last Judgment.[3] The last work of this sort was undertaken under Clement XIII.[4]

These repeated repaintings were carried out for the most part on the upper part of the fresco. The two lunettes, with hovering figures of angels bearing the instruments

[1] See STEINMANN, II., 555 *seq.*; *cf.* PLATNER, II., 1, 227, 286, and KRAUS-SAUER, II., 548 n., who very rightly finds fault with Gilio for his entirely misplaced quibbling. See also THODE, V., 68.

[2] P. Veronese's trial was first translated into French by BASCHET in the Gaz. des beaux Arts, 1867, and into German in ZAHN, Jahrbuch fur Künstwissensch., I., 82 *seq.*; there is an Italian version by CALIARI (P. Veronese, Rome, 1888). The passage in question is given here, p. 104; KRAUS-SAUER (II., 548 *seq.*) attaches altogether too much importance to it (see KEPPLER, 274 *seq.*). The whole matter was also not so obscure as SAUER supposes, since GUHL had dealt with it in his well-known Künstlerbriefen (II., 363 *seq.*), and J. GRAUS (Der Kirchenschmuck, XXIV., 90, Graz) had called attention to it in 1893.

[3] Cesare Nebbia was paid in 1586 "per aver coperto certe cose vergognose" (see BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Mod., 32).

[4] See STEINMANN, II., 541.

of the Passion, underwent stringent handling. By the alteration of the colouring of the background this portion seems now entirely separated from the central group, with which it was in close combination. In the figures surrounding Adam individual parts of the body have been broadened in an arbitrary manner. Still worse is the disappearance of the bank of cloud which, also on the left-hand side of the spectator, separated the upper from the lower section of the picture, whereby the figures of the saints there introduced have lost their foothold. In the lower part candle-smoke and incense have done much damage. Single heads which are still visible in the plates are now no longer recognizable in the fresco.

In consequence of all these disfigurements and alterations a judgment on the pictorial qualities of the fresco is no longer possible. The distribution of light and shade, which, calculated by the antemeridian light, brought all the masses of figures into a clearly organized membership, can now only be guessed at. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks the fresco overpowers the spectator, chains him by its enchantment, so that, like one spellbound, he becomes absorbed in the stupendous creation. The first impression made by this picture, sixty feet in height by thirty broad, on which Michael Angelo with unprecedented audacity has riveted his conceptions, is one of sheer bewilderment. It is only gradually that the eye at last finds its focus and sees clearly.[1]

[1] *Cf.* BOLE'S descriptions (Meisterwerke der Malerei, Brixen, 1893, 95 *seq.*); STEINMANN (II., 534 *seqq.*) and KEPPLER (248 *seq.*). THODE (V., 49 *seqq.*) tries very cleverly to determine the individual figures, and thereby differs in many respects from CHAPON (Le dernier jugement de Michel Ange, Paris, 1892). I cannot, however, admit all his explanations, as he is too anxious to identify the figures with definite personages.

The central point of the whole composition is Christ, the Judge of all men, who appears in a golden blaze of glory. He had Himself declared that when He came again He would come in His Divine Majesty (Matt. xvi. 27; xxiv. 30; xxv. 31). His form is youthful and of herculean build. He is scantily draped, beardless, and with flowing hair. With His left hand He points reproachfully to the wound in His side. His right hand is uplifted high to reject and punish. He is the *Rex tremendæ majestatis*—the *Juste judex ultionis* as He is called by the Franciscan Thomas of Celano in his *Dies Iræ*. He is the Almighty in the act of springing from His throne of clouds to pronounce the sentence of eternal justice: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire" (Matt. xxv. 41). The day of wrath, of the avenging judgment, already foretold in the prophecies of the Old Testament (Isa. lxvi. 15 *seq.*; Joel ii. 29 *seq.*, iii. 2), and described in all its terrors in the *Dies Iræ* of the Church's Office for the Dead, has come at last. Like a lightning flash the appearing of the Judge thrills through the hundreds of forms portrayed in immeasurable and unspeakable fear. It is this emotion which dominates the whole composition. Every face is filled with anguish, dread, and horror. Even Mary, the ever-blessed Virgin and Mother of God, trembles. She turns away her head from the rejected souls to seek the glance of her Divine Son whose awful verdict fills with emotion the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints standing by His side. Two colossal figures here appear as the representatives of the Old and New Covenant; on the spectator's left hand[1] is Adam, on whose shoulders hangs the fell of some animal; on the right is Peter displaying the keys of the Church, entrusted to him as the faithful steward of the

[1] In the following description the spectator's right or left hand is always meant.

Lord. Around Adam are grouped the saints of the Old Testament: Abel, Moses, John the Baptist; with Peter are Paul and John. At the feet of Christ on the clouds St. Lawrence is seated, carrying his trophy of victory, the gridiron, and with him St. Bartholomew holding the implement of his martyrdom, the knife, in his right hand and in the left his skin as it had been flayed.

Above, into the further perspective, other forms of saints are soaring and complete the circle of figures which surround Christ like a garland. On both sides of this incomparable centrepiece appeared hosts of the blessed massed together, and all alike in deep emotion. On the left, women chiefly are represented in all stages of life, from childhood to hoary age. The foremost group is particularly striking. To a woman of massive form, absorbed in the contemplation of Christ, a young maiden clings for help. In like manner on the right a young man of herculean build advances with a cross, probably the good thief Dismas, as the representative of penitent sinners.[1] Further upon this side, corresponding to St. Lawrence and St. Bartholomew, are witnesses unto blood, sufferers exceedingly for the name of Christ, all with the symbols of their victory whereby they were made worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven. There are the Apostle Simon with his saw, St. Catherine with her wheel, St. Blaise with his hackle, St. Sebastian with his darts. These are the souls of those who, in the language of the Apocalypse, were slain for the word of God and His testimony, to which they held fast, and who cry with a loud voice, "How long, O Lord (holy and true), dost

[1] THODE (V., 59 *seq.*, 61) sees in the cross-bearer St. Francis of Assisi, and in the woman with the young girl, St. Mary Magdalen as patroness of penitent women. The latter explanation seems more appropriate than the former.

Thou not judge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (Apoc. vi. 10).

In order to soften the shattering impression made by this group of martyrs the painter has introduced into the background touching pictures of the reunion of those who, closely linked together in this life, are now, after the lapse of ages, brought face to face in recognition; but here again also forms reappear quaking as they gaze upon their Judge in that hour, when the "just themselves shall tremble." Others in deep abasement accept their salvation as an unmerited grace, or express their thankfulness with uplifted arms; others again, filled with hope, stretch out their hands to Christ in supplication. While in pictures of the Judgment, as hitherto known to Christendom, the saints and martyrs were represented as calm spectators of the scene, all here to the further ranks appear under the influence of the most powerful emotion; with spellbound gaze all are drawn to the central figure of the Judge as He passes the sentence of eternal condemnation.

High above, in the two terminal half circles of the wall, bands of angels are borne along as if impelled by tempestuous winds. They are depicted as youths with powerful frames, unclothed and without wings. They carry the implements of the Passion: the crown of thorns, the scourge, the hyssop and the sponge, the ladder, the pillar of scourging and the cross, "the sign of the Son of man." On the right hand is the heavy column of stone, on the left the wood of the cross; each one a dumb yet eloquent indictment of those who, while on earth, neglected the fruits of Christ's Passion and on whom now the sentence of final damnation is passed.

The upper half of the picture, which represents the Judge in heaven re-echoing the sentence of condemnation, and the lower half where earth and hell appear.

are bound together by a group of angels who are again represented as muscular youths. They are the angels of the Apocalypse, blowing their trumpets, eight in number, terrible in aspect, summoning with their blasts the dead from all the corners of the earth, in the words of the *Dies Iræ*:—

> Per sepulchra regionum
> Coget omnes ante thronum.

With these awakeners of the dead three other figures are joined, with the books from which, according to the Apocalypse of St. John (xx. 12), the departed are to be judged by their works. Accordingly on one side is the great and weighty Book of Death, requiring two to uphold it, while on the other is the Book of Life, with the good works inscribed within it, held by one. The latter turns to the left. Here the just soar up to heaven aided by friends or are actually drawn on high by means of the chaplet of the rosary. This representation of the power of prayer to Mary, the help of Christians, points directly to Michael Angelo's Catholic feeling, which has been so strangely and so groundlessly impugned in connection with this very portrayal of the Last Judgment.[1]

Underneath the resurrection of the blessed who, in the words of Holy Scripture, "shall be taken up together with them"—the living—"in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air" (1 Thess. iv. 16), is seen the earth moving in the endless infinity of space, in which the painter has laid the whole great drama. In faithful consistency with the vision of Ezechiel (xxxvii. 1–11) and with reminiscences of

[1] Thus V. VALENTIN in his book, Über Künst, Künstler, und Kunstwerke (Frankfort, 1889). See, on the other hand, JANITSCHEK in Lit. Zentralblatt, 1890, 192, and KALLAB in the article referred to *infra*, p. 627, n. 1.

Dante the resurrection of the flesh is accomplished on this little spot of earth. On the field full of bones there is murmuring and movement, bone draws near to bone and flesh and sinews cover them, the skin closes over them, and at last the Spirit also breathes through the great army which lives again.

The picture is one of shuddersome fidelity. The dead arise at the sound of the trumpets, lift the stones from their graves, shake off the dust from their bones and the sleep from their eyes, revive and slowly raise themselves to hear the irrevocable sentence. Single figures such as the skeleton, still hampered with the winding-sheet and staring into space from eyeless sockets, make an indelible impression.

But on the other side things yet more terrible are displayed. Not without a meaning is the range of clouds there represented as a fortress wall, not without a meaning do the martyrs there exhibit the instruments of their deaths with gestures of menace: for among the accursed whom the eternal Judge must shut out from heaven because they would not serve Him on earth are some who, like giants of the ancient mythology, would scale the regions of the blessed by force. A fearful battle is here engaged of which the issue cannot be doubtful. The eternal Judge has uttered His decree and its execution will be immediate. The angels separate the wicked from the good (Matt. xiii. 49) and hell can claim as prizes of victory those who have lived as servants of Satan and as such have died. One figure is filled with the consciousness of this and never has painter limned so horrible an image of despair. One of the damned close to the angelic trumpeters is snatched away by two grinning devils, a serpent is twined round him and bites him in the thigh. He does not defend himself. Gnawed to the core by the

feeling of his rejection, he stares blankly before him, half covering his face with one hand. *Lasciate ogni speranza!*

The rest who have perished through their mortal sins, struggle as they will, are cast off by angels or dragged down by devils and the leaden weight of guilt, just as on the opposite side the just move irresistibly heavenward. This contrast enhances the effect in the highest degree. In the host of the damned Michael Angelo's whole genius finds expression. These Titans in all the exuberance of flesh and blood, which shall offer a rich prey to their tormentors, suffer, as in Dante's *Inferno*, punishments congruous with their vices.

Underneath the headlong descent of the damned, Charon's boat unloads its burden on the strand of hell. The vessel is heavily freighted; but the passengers, wailing and cursing, are loath to disembark, so that the gruesome ferryman has to beat the reluctant with his oar and to tilt the wherry over with his foot in order to empty it of its cargo. Thus no other egress is left to the lost but the furnace of fire where are wailing and gnashing of teeth (Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13). The inhabitants of hell, greedy of booty, their fires burning brightly, with grimaces of Satanic glee draw their victims to land with rakes. There in demoniac calm stands erect a naked man, his body embraced in the twofold coil of a serpent: this is the Minos of Dante's hell, who apportions to each soul the place appointed—and also a personage on the ecclesiastical stage well known to his contemporaries.[1]

The obvious borrowings from Dante's immortal poem, in which Michael Angelo, in the lower right-hand quarter of his fresco, has stereotyped in a magnificent way some of the features of his own day, very soon excited attention.

[1] *Cf.* D'ANCONA, Sacre Rappresent., III., 501, 520; KALLAB, p. 142, as cited *infra*, p. 627, n. 1.

But modern investigation has shown that in many other portions as well he has drawn upon the kindred genius of the great poet for his representations. Besides, a more general influence of Dante's creation on the imagination of the painter is worthy of remark: the descent of the lost into Hell corresponds in a certain degree to the *Inferno*, while the groups of the blessed rising on high to life eternal corresponds to the *Purgatorio*.[1] As further elements of inspiration, along with earlier pictures of the same subject, a foremost place of consideration must be given to Holy Scripture and the *Dies Iræ*.[2]

In accordance with the serious tendency of Michael Angelo's genius is the one-sided, but, in view of the conditions of the time, perfectly intelligible conception of the Last Judgment as a wholly punitive manifestation.

[1] *Cf.* especially W. KALLAB'S treatise: Die Deutung von Michel Angelos Jüngstem Gericht, in the Beiträgen für Kunstgesch., dedicated to F. Wickhoff, Vienna, 1903, 138–153. I cannot mention this authoritative work of a scholar snatched too early from the pursuit of knowledge without expressing my thanks for the guidance afforded to me personally, on many of the points here under discussion, during his presence in Rome in 1901 (*cf.* also STEINMANN, II., 559 *seq.*; KRAUS-SAUER, II., 542 *seq.*; BORINSKI in Der Zeitschr. für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, II., 2 [1907], and Die Rätsel Michelangelos, München, 1908). GRONER (Die christl. Kunst, 1907, 139) does not seem to know the treatise by Kallab, yet he asserts that the echoes of Dante are "apparently only isolated prettinesses *[sic !] in the great whole," and that the prophet Joel has inspired the whole composition.

[2] KRAUS-SAUER (II., 542, 543) is right in insisting on the influence of the *Dies Iræ*; but together with this more consideration should be given to the influence of Holy Scripture, of which, according to Condivi, Michael Angelo was an earnest student, than is here the case. This was written before I had seen the work of THODE, who (V., 24 *seqq.*) brings out most forcibly the Biblical sources of inspiration, while at the same time restricting those attributable to Dante. See *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*, remarks on the earlier precursors of Michael Angelo.

While the author of this conception, the expression of which was intended to terrify a corrupt age into conversion and repentance, was leading up with all his powers to the contemplation of Christ and the saints, he brought a work into existence which, by the strangeness and novelty of its style, appeared quite erroneously to many to be the product of caprice and fancy. The final close of human history and the beatification of the just were not, as in the paintings of Fra Angelico, the themes that attracted Michael Angelo, but solely the reprobation of the lost. The words of terror, "Depart from me, ye cursed," dominate the whole picture. Everything is so powerfully and violently concentrated on this one motive of the Last Judgment that even the blessed quail with fear and the martyrs cry out for vengeance, not for their own sakes, but in order that the justice of God may be glorified. That this justice is equally manifested at the Last Day in the rewards of the just is consequently almost disregarded. The fresco, therefore, has been called by something of a misnomer. It would better be entitled, "The Condemnation of the Lost."

If it is taken into consideration that Michael Angelo, following the bent of his powerful and gloomy temperament, wished to depict this one side of his subject only, then one of the chief objections to his representation is already removed. Another, that he broke away from tradition, cannot also be admitted without modification. The references to Holy Scripture, to the *Dies Iræ*, and to Dante show how little Michael Angelo intended to desert Catholic teaching, even if in its interpretation he went entirely on a way of his own. A modern investigator has come to the conclusion that in this gigantic picture no feature is to be found which is not in harmony with the canons of literary or artistic traditions, leaving out of the

question, naturally, the new expression of form.[1] This is correct; but the indiscriminate application of these expressions of form not only to the angels and saints, but to Christ the Lord, cannot altogether be brought into harmony with tradition. Theological tradition certainly might be appealed to in support of the nakedness of the saints, of those risen from the dead, and even for the scanty drapery of the Judge,[2] but the objectionable element is to be found much more in the portrayal of the figures—above all, in that of Christ, who is made to look half like a Hercules and half like an Apollo, and displays no stamp of superhuman majesty.[3] And in another respect also Michael Angelo has indulged in a remarkable deviation from conventional usage: in placing the picture on the altar wall, to which it does not properly belong, and where it is little in harmony with the Holy Sacrifice. A much better position would have been on the inner entrance wall, where it would have been seen by the faithful as they went out at the close of divine service, and have given

[1] *Cf.* KRAUS-SAUER, II., 541 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 544 *seq.*

[3] Steinmann, who cites two early Italian painters for the almost entire nudity of the Judge, admits, however, that here the master broke entirely with ecclesiastical tradition in representing the Saviour of the world in the bloom of youth and untouched by sorrow. WOLTMANN (II., 588) describes the Christ of Michael Angelo as painted "in derision of all tradition" (*cf.* also KEPPLER, 265; MACKOWSKY, 237). The statement of P. Veronese (see *supra*, p. 619) that the Virgin Mary was also originally represented as an undraped figure was certainly rejected by SPRINGER (p. 427), but is now again reasserted (HAENDCKE in the Kunstchronik, XIV. [1903], 61; BERTEAUX, 105; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 42; MACKOWSKY, 383). Mary, as a matter of fact, is represented in an attitude which without clothing would be meaningless; full of terror at the Judgment, she draws her vesture around her and gazes as through a veil at the forms of the saints soaring upwards. Only when clothed has the figure any meaning.

them food for reflection.[1] Had it been placed there, in accordance with a hitherto very general custom, many of the objections which even at the present still find expression would have been silenced.

Finally, as regards the nude figures, to which so much exception has been taken from the strongly religious point of view, it would seem that Michael Angelo intended by his thoroughgoing display of nakedness to symbolize the freedom from all earthly conditions of the soul,[2] which had to stand bare and without disguise before the judgment-seat of God. These herculean figures, with their knotted muscles and intense seriousness of countenance, are, besides, so conceived that they could not in any instance become to the beholder a source of sensual temptation. How far the painter with his undraped athletic figures has overstepped the limits which ought to be observed within the domain of the beautiful and of religious arts is a question on which probably there will always be a mixture of feelings and a diversity of opinions.[3]

[1] *Cf.* GRAUS in Kirchenschmuck, XXIV., 89. I cannot assent to the contrary opinion of KRAUS-SAUER (II., 547). The doctrinal tendency of the whole pictorial scheme of the Sixtine, which is here very appropriately insisted on, is directly in favour of the entrance wall. It is impossible, indeed, to say definitely how far Michael Angelo had a free choice in the matter one way or the other.

[2] MACKOWSKY, 241.

[3] Sauer, whose appreciation of the Last Judgment (KRAUS, II., 545 *seq.*) is as warm as it is thorough, touches the opposite extreme from the hostile critics of the 18th century (see THODE, V., 70 *seq.*) and the Romantics (*cf.* Montalembert and Lévêque's opinion, given by SORTAIS, in the Etudes, LXXXV. [1900], 320 *seq.*, and the immoderate invective of KREUSER in the Organ für christliche Kunst, 1871, 79) and declares Keppler's opinion to be too severe. The latter therefore has, in the new edition of his admirable treatise, mitigated his censures in certain points; nevertheless he produces an array of serious objections (*op. cit.*, p. 263 *seq.*). *Cf.* besides MACKOWSKY, 242 *seq.* F.

The Last Judgment was hardly finished when, in the middle of November 1541, Paul III. commissioned Michael Angelo to undertake a second great task.[1] This time he was not called upon to enlarge the dwelling of the Farnesi but to decorate the palace of the Popes.[2] Close to the Sixtine Chapel, separated from it only by the Sala Regia, Paul III. had built a new chapel from plans by Sangallo,[3] the vaulted ceiling of which had been ornamented in stucco by Raphael's pupil Perino del Vaga.[4] The

RIEFFEL (Katholik, 1909, I., 387) insists, in a review of Sauer's work, with reference to the judgment there past upon the fresco: "It will always be difficult to turn away from this picture with unmixed feelings. It is impossible to fill up the gap between the profoundly Christian and ethical substance of the picture and the alien types in which it has been expressed and to reconcile the idea of Christ and the saints with its incorporation in the frames of antique gods and Titans. . . . To us who cannot see with Michelangelo's eyes or feel with the emotions of his soul, the picture disturbs us much more than it shocks, and therefore Keppler's verdict hardly seems too strong."

[1] *Cf.* GAYE, II., 289, 290, and in Appendix No. 9 *Sernini's letter of Dec. 19, 1541 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] MACKOWSKY, 244.

[3] See VASARI, V., 466; CLAUSSE (Sangallo, II., 366) dates the building "vers. 1540." The exact date is given by the *Diary of Blasius de Martinellis, who reported on Jan. 25, 1540: "Papa reversus Romam ex provincia patrimonii fecit celebrare missam in capella sua noviter erecta in palatio, quam dedicavit in invocatione b. Pauli." Paul III. attended this Mass in person. On March 10, 1540, Blasius de Martinellis speaks of the "capella Pauli in palatio" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 55).

[4] *1542, Agosto 27: "Scuta 100 auri in auro . . . mag. Perino pictori palatino circa incrustationes cementarias di stucco vulgo nuncupatus in capella palatii apostolici laboranti" (Mand., 1540–1543, State Archives, Rome). While Michael Angelo was painting the walls of the Cappella Paolina work was still continuing on the decoration of the sanctuary. *1542, Settemb. 24: "M^ro Girolamo falegniame detto il Bolognia de dare . . . scudi 10 hauti da m. Jacomo Meleghino

walls of this chapel, dedicated to St. Paul and known as the Cappella Paolina, were to be adorned with frescoes by Michael Angelo. The latter undertook the task unwillingly; the painting of fresco, he complained, was a toilsome undertaking for an old man of sixty-seven; moreover, his obligations connected with the monument of Julius II. pressed heavily upon him. Duke Guidobaldo had indeed given him a respite for such a period only as the work on the Last Judgment lasted in the full expectation that, when the latter was finished, he would devote himself without delay to the completion of the mausoleum on which his labours had been interrupted so often. After Paul III. had removed this difficulty also[1] Michael Angelo bent himself to this new burden for the sake of a Pope to whom, as he himself declared, he could refuse nothing.[2]

The Pope certainly had a share in the choice of subjects

per mano di Benvenuto Olivieri et questi a bon conto di tellari di noce chel fa per li dua finestroni di vetro della capella nova di palazzo" (Edif. publ., 1542, 1543; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Speserie, 184). *1544, Nov. 15: "A m. Nicolo Francese vetraro scudi 7 per sue fatiche et spesa di stagno et fillo di rame posti a rifare li 4 pezzi di vetriate ritornate alli finestroni della capella nova di palazzo, dove hora depinge m Michelangelo" (Edif. publ., 1544 al 1549). On Oct. 4, 1544, there are entries for Pietro Sancta and Jacomo scultori of "sc. 50" for the "ombrella di marmor posta ne la volta de li stucchi verso la capella Paulina" (BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 189). About 1545 a bronze tabernacle was begun for the chapel (*ibid.*, 188–190); 1546 the arms over the doors of the chapel were paid for (*ibid.*, 189). The marble doors ("janua marbi mixti") were not finished until 1549 (*Mand., 1549–1550, State Archives, Rome). Scipione Gabrielli *reported on Nov. 29, 1549, that there had been an assembly of Cardinals "in una cappella nuova fatta de la f. m. di P. Pauolo chiamata la cappella di Pauolo *non ancora finita*" (State Archives of Siena).

[1] *Cf.* FREY, Briefe, 345 *seq.*; GAYE, II., 297 *seq.*; GUHL, I., 135 *seq.* JUSTI, 323 *seq.*; THODE, I., 436 *seq.*

[2] Lett. di Michelangelo, ed. MILANESI, 490; GUHL, I., 142.

for the frescoes in the Cappella Paolina. The glorification of the two princes of the Apostles who had sanctified Rome with their blood was in full accord with the associations of a house of worship destined to be the private chapel of the Papal Palace. It is remarkable that the companion picture to the crucifixion of St. Peter should be not the beheading of St. Paul but his conversion. That a scene from St. Paul's life should be chosen arose certainly from the fact that he was the patronal saint of the Farnese Pope. That the conversion rather than the martyrdom was chosen can be explained from the Pope's annual custom of keeping that feast, the 25th of January, with great solemnity in S. Paolo fuori le mura.[1] It is more probable, however, that the painter, on artistic grounds, avoided a duplicate representation of martyrdom with its necessary similarity of grouping and treatment.

Paul III. took the greatest interest in the frescoes. As early as the 12th of July 1545 he made an inspection of the work.[2] On the 13th of October 1549 the veteran of eighty-two mounted the ladder to the platform in order to examine minutely the details of the paintings.[3] Unfortunately, a fire, the effects of time and later restorations have done great injury to both these rich compositions. The lighting is also so unfavourable that without the assistance of copper plates it is impossible to become acquainted with

[1] In the years 1535, 1536, and 1537 Paul III. always visited S. Paolo fuori le mura on Jan. 25 (see Blasius de Martinellis, *Diarium, Secret Archives of the Vatican, XII., 56). The same relates that the Pope wished to do this in 1539, "pro voto seu devotione sua," but was prevented by bad weather. In 1540 the feast was celebrated in the Cappella Paolina (see *supra*, p. 631, n. 3).

[2] See Firmanus, Diaria caer., published by POGATSCHER in Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XXIX., 399.

[3] See Serristori's letter of Oct 13, 1549, given by GRONAU, *ibid.*, XXX. 194.

the details. This last work from Michael Angelo's brush, begun at the end of 1542 and finished in 1549 or 1550,[1] foretells by its unrestrained movement and flight of imagination the approach of the baroque. Dramatic force, delight in athletic bodily forms in every posture of violent exertion, here bear witness, as in other works, to the characteristic of the master, who alone could treat as child's play the delineation of the most difficult positions and boldest foreshortenings.[2]

While Michael Angelo was still engaged on the frescoes of the Cappella Paolina, the monument of Julius II. was brought at last to an indifferent termination. It was erected, not in the new St. Peter's as intended, but on the wall of the right transept of S. Pietro ad Vincula, the former Pope's cardinalitial church and none too large an edifice. This took place in May 1545. Instead of the forty statues planned by Michael Angelo it displays only three from his hand. Among them indeed is the Moses, certainly one of the most consummate specimens of the sculptor's handicraft. So overpowering is the effect of this marvellous creation that a peculiar feature of the monument is easily overlooked: it was originally intended to use the modernized heathen symbols of victory, and to introduce two figures of captives. This design was abandoned, as Michael Angelo, on whom the strictures pronounced on the nude figures of the Last Judgment had not been wholly thrown away, no longer considered it suitable for a church. In the place of

[1] See the extracts from the accounts given by KALLAB in the Kunstgeschichtlichen Anzeigen, I. (1904), 11 n., where, however, it is overlooked that these entries were already published by FANFANI in 1876 (Spigolatura Michelangiolesca, 123 *seq.*) and BERTOLOTTI (Speserie, 184, 195, 198, 200). *Cf.* also THODE, V., 77 *seq.*

[2] See SPRINGER, 432 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 4th ed., 646; WEY, Rome, 646; HARNACK, Rom., II.: Neuere Kunst, 48 *seq.*; KRAUS-SAUER, II., 552 *seq.*; MACKOWSKY, 245 *seq.*

the captives were substituted religious statues: Leah and Rachel as types of the active and contemplative life. Both these tranquil, gentle forms, as well as the statues executed by the assistant sculptors, are tempered by Christian feeling. The Madonna with the Infant Jesus, surmounting the sarcophagus with the recumbent figure of the Pope, embodies deep religious sentiment. In a word, the mausoleum, designed and begun in a totally different spirit, has been remoulded in a Christian and ecclesiastical spirit.[1] It reveals the powerful Catholic reaction which, under the influence of Vittoria Colonna and the revival of ecclesiastical feeling, had begun to tell increasingly on Michael Angelo. This reaction reached its climax in the undertaking of his last great work, the final stage of his unequalled career as an artist, the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

During the last days of Clement VII. this work was completely at a standstill. Grass and undergrowth was rank on the lofty arches of Bramante.[2] Paul III., shocked at such a state of things,[3] immediately after his election took into consideration the resumption of the works, over which Antonio da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi were appointed.[4]

In order to raise the necessary funds Paul III. had

[1] The above follows JUSTI (Michelangelo, 339–346). For the statue of Moses see above, Vol. VI. of this work, 537 *seq.*

[2] See the contemporary reproduction in GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngliche Entwürfe, Tafel 49, No. 2.

[3] See in Appendix No. 3 the *brief to Francis I., dat. Sept. 7, 1536 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf. infra*, p. 637, n. 1.

[4] See *supra*, p. 553 *seq.* *Baldassar da Siena, architetto della fabrica di S. Pietro riceve da Bindo Altoviti depositario della medesima a 18 Marzo d. 30 e 25 e 100 e 89 e finalmente 194 per soldo e questa ultima partita si pagò a Giov. Silverio e fratelli figli di detto Baldassar atteso che egli morì a 6 Gennaio 1536 et haveva a ragione di 25 d. il mese. Cod. H–II., 22, f. 2, of the Chigi Library, Rome.

recourse to the same methods as his predecessor. In a Bull of the 16th of September 1535, graces and indulgences were offered to all supporters of the work.[1] A special confraternity of St. Peter was founded, of which the Pope and Cardinals were members. The most eminent princes were requested to give admission to and to propagate the new association in their countries. Francis I.[2] was appealed to on the 7th of September 1536, and the Emperor on the 20th of November of the same year.[3] The money for the *Fabbrica* or building fund was deposited with the banking-house of Bindo Altoviti.[4]

The commissioners of the fabric of St. Peter's, whose privileges were confirmed by Paul III. by a special Bull and protected under threat of penalties,[5] were encouraged in their labours by the Pope to the utmost of his ability,[6]

[1] **Min. brev. Arm., 40, t. 50, n. 179 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See in Appendix No. 3 the *brief of Sept. 7, 1536.

[3] See the *briefs to Charles V. and to Covos, both of Nov. 20, 1536. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 4, n. 89 and 107 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] Cod. H–II., 22, f. 3, of the Chigi Library, Rome; *cf. ibid.*, f. 7: *De expensis ante 1529 nulla ratio reperitur, ab ipso vero a. 1529, a quo d. Altoviti munus depositariorum assumpserunt usque ad a. 1540 expendit. fuerunt d. 17,620.

[5] *Cf.* Compendio di teorica e di pratica d. rev. Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Roma, 1793, 4, 14, 32, 44, 48, 50.

[6] *Cf.* *the letter intended for Sicily of Feb. 18, 1537, with special application to the clergy (Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 108). *Ibid.*, t. 17, n. 350, the *brief to the King of Poland, dated April 28, 1540, the preamble of which runs thus: "Cum inchoatum alias per fe. re. Julium secundum predecessorem nostrum eximiam fabricam basilice principis apostolorum de Urbe sie urgentibus temporum necessitatibus reliqui predecessores nostri post eum *aliquantis per intermisserint* unde ipsum templum, quod ceteris splendori et exemplo esse debuerat, hactenus neque prioris templi a magno Constantino extructi splendorem habuit neque ad reformationem destinatam ob temporum difficultates reduci potuit," etc. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also G. M. della Porta's *report, dat. Aug. 10, 1539 (State Archives, Florence, Urb.).

but the conditions of the time were in the highest degree unfavourable for the reception of exhortations to support this great work.[1] Together with the renewal of the war between the Emperor and King Francis the menacing attitude of the Turk was prejudicial. In August 1537 the Pope found himself compelled, in presence of this permanent source of danger, to give up all sums of money, coming from Spain to the building fund in return for indulgences and graces, to the Emperor, who had need of them for the protection of Christendom against the infidel.[2] As the expenses for the fortification of Rome and for the Turkish war had exhausted the resources of the Apostolic Chamber, an attempt was made to cover the deficit by the distribution of fresh indulgences.[3] To the application of a portion of the Spanish *cruzada* money to the fabric of St. Peter's, Charles V. in 1539 raised difficulties.[4] In 1544 he claimed a portion of the sums raised in Spain, and the Pope referred the question to the deputies of the *Fabbrica.*[5] The King

[1] In a *brief to Francis I., dat. Jan. 16, 1537, Paul III. remarks that he had already written to the King that the great work of building the Basilica had been interrupted "non absque universali scandalo et predecessorum nostrorum imputatione et rei christ. dedecore"; he felt compelled to finish the work, and begged the King to show favour to the measures he had adopted (Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 5, n. 107; *cf. ibid.*, n. 48, the *brief to the Cancell. Franciae of the same day. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the *brief to the Card. Seguntinus [Garzia Loaysa] of Aug. 25, 1537 (copy in the State Archives, Florence, MS. Torrig.); *cf.* the *briefs to the same of Nov. 29, 1538 (Arm., 41, t. 11, n. 1056), and Feb. 4, 1541 (*ibid.*, t. 20, n. 104, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* the *brief to Francis I., dat. Oct. 23, 1537 (Arm., 41, t. 8, n. 130, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* Fea, Notizie, 36.

[5] *Cf.* Cardinal Farnese's *letter to Poggio of Feb. 25, 1544 (Chigi Library, Rome, L–III., 65, f. 296).

of Portugal at the same time made similar demands.[1] Nevertheless, the receipts were considerable, especially the proceeds of indulgences, for which commissioners were despatched to the most different countries,[2] even to the Netherlands, penetrated as they were with Lutheran teaching. After the reform of the Penitentiaria, a general limitation of these indulgences was carried out, as they had given rise to many abuses.[3]

In accordance with the Pope's wishes, a greater building activity began in 1539, at which time also the staff of commissioners was renewed.[4] From 1540 to the end of 1546 no less than 162,624 ducats were paid out on the construction.[5] In February 1544, during the works in the chapel of S. Petronilla, the sarcophagus containing the remains of the first wife of the Emperor Honorius, Maria the daughter of Stilicho, was discovered. Most of the precious things buried with the body of the youthful Empress were unfortunately scattered, and some of the jewels were used in the ornamentation of a new tiara.[6] In the

[1] *On July 20, 1544, the Portuguese nuncio was enjoined to proclaim in Portugal the full powers of the Fabbrica S. Petri, and to hand over a portion of the proceeds of the same to the King in support of his naval expedition against the infidels (Arm., 41, t. 30, n. 480, 481, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, V., 125, 148.

[3] *Cf.* DRUFFEL-BRANDI, 456, and also the "Bulla Innovat. aliar. sup. quaest. prohib. et indugent. suspens. nisi de consensu deputat. fabr. S. Petri et certis tantum temporibus, dat. 1546 IV. non. April"; copy of the same date in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] See the report of De Plotis of July 14, 1539, in SOLMI, Ochino, 55.

[5] FEA, Notizie, 32, 33.

[6] *Cf.* MARLIANUS, Romae Topographia, Romae, 1550, 154 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, De secret. bas. S. Petri, 995 *seq.*, 1032 *seq.*; DE ROSSI in Bullett. d. Archeol. Crist., 1863, 53 *seq.*; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, Œuvres, II., 348 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, La tiare, 89.

spring of 1544 the rebuilding was making rapid progress.[1] At that time great quantities of pinewood were brought from the woods of Camaldoli.[2] For the easier carriage of building materials, especially of travertine, Paul III. in 1538 bestowed on the fabric of St. Peter's the riparian rights of the river Anio, from the Ponte Lucano to its junction with the Tiber, in order that the navigation might be restored to the condition it was in under Julius II., and made use of accordingly.[3]

Sangallo, who, as chief architect, had superintended the works alone since 1537,[4] drew out an entirely new plan, from which his pupil Antonio Labacco began[5] to construct a large wooden model in 1539. It cost more than 5000 ducats, and is at present preserved in the octagon room over the Clementine chapel known as the Octagon of S. Gregorio.[6]

Although Sangallo's plan presents many beauties in

[1] See Cardinal Farnese's letter of Feb. 25, 1544, cited *supra*, p. 637, n. 5.

[2] See N. Serristori's *report, dat. Feb. 12, 1544, in State Archives, Florence.

[3] **Motu proprio, dat. [1538] X Cal. Sept. A° 5°. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See in Appendix No. 6.

[4] He received 25 ducats monthly; see: *Libro d' entrata et uscita 1543–1549, f. 88, in the Archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's; *cf.* *Cod. H–II., 22, f. 44, of the Chigi Library, Rome: "Alla rev. fabrica a di 27 Sett. 1546 duc. 25 m^ta^ pagati per mandato a m. Ant. da S. Gallo per sua provisione di Settembre. Alla detta adì 18 Ottobre 1546 duc. 203. 60 m^ta^ agli credi di m. Ant. S. Gallo per resto di rubbia 759 di calce."

[5] This date is obtained from the *accounts in the Archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, from which Geymüller intends to give fuller extracts.

[6] See VASARI, V., 468; BONANNI, Tav., 14–16, pp. 56–58; JOVANOVITS, 89 *seq.*, 94; CLAUSSE, Sangallo, II., 128 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, Vatican, I., 17 *seqq.*; Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst, IX., 314; X., 251; XIII., 126, 128.

detail, such as the double tier in the drum of the cupola, yet as a whole it lies open to many objections. The somewhat pedantic repetition of certain features bestows on it a monotonous character. The great cupola, the vault of which rises on two tiers of arcades, gives an impression of heaviness. The huge vestibule, with which the church would have attained nearly the length of the present Basilica, was intended on the one hand to preserve the shape of the Greek cross and on the other to bring under cover the entire space occupied by old St. Peter's. The form of this vestibule would, however, have impaired many parts of the Vatican Palace. Michael Angelo was of opinion that the Cappella Paolina and other portions of the Vatican would have been destroyed and that even the Sixtine would not have escaped; this latter inference certainly was not altogether conclusive.[1] He was quite correct, however, in detecting a not less serious defect in Sangallo's transformation of Bramante's entrance to the choir. The latter, he points out, in his unsparing criticism of Sangallo's model, would not only deprive Bramante's design of all light, but would bring with it yet other inconveniences. In the recesses above and beneath the choir bad characters could hide themselves and coin false money, so that at night, after the church was closed, at least five-and-twenty men would be required to search whether anyone were concealed within, a quest which it would be no easy matter to carry out.[2]

[1] Baron von Geymüller had the kindness to examine into this question thoroughly, at my request. He calculated the distance between the St. Peter's of Sangallo and the Sixtine Chapel at any given spot would be from 10 to 12 metres.

[2] Lett. di Michelangelo, ed. MILANESI, 535; GUHL, Künstlerbriefe, I., 160 *seq.* The undated letter belongs not, as THODE (I., 87) supposes, to the year 1555, but certainly to the last months of 1546 (see MACKOWSKY, 390).

A fatal misconception of Sangallo's was the elevation, for reasons not explained, of the level of the church to a height of more than three metres, whereby the niches and semicircular chapels placed by Bramante in the pillars of the cupola and in the upper part of the building obtained a width disproportionate to their height. Besides these expensive and lengthy operations he ordered the forearm of the cross and the equally long left transept to be raised higher and both vaulted over.[1] In August 1538 a partition wall had already been erected to cut off the still remaining portion of the original nave.[2] The condition of the building in the autumn of 1546 is shown in the fresco in the Cancelleria.[3]

After Sangallo's decease about this time negotiations were at once begun with Giulio Romano with a view to his succession to the superintendency. They came, however, to nothing owing to Romano's death on the 1st of November 1546.[4] Naturally attention was now fixed on Michael Angelo. As he was now seventy-two years of age and had had a severe[5] illness in the summer of 1544 and again at the end of 1545, he did not meet the fresh task with joy. To the enfeebling effects of old age there was added the certainty that he would be hindered at every step by jealous and envious workpeople and by pedantic and self-opinionated commissioners—and then, lastly, the difficulties of the undertaking itself! Before his vision passed the

[1] *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 338; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 5th ed., 219. It would be of importance to establish the date of the raising of the pavement; all the sources at present known to us are at variance on this point.

[2] *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 327; N. Arch. Veneto, XIII. (1907), 23.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 606, and JOVANOVITZ, 95.

[5] "Mihi relatum fuit de obitu Julii Romani pictoris excellentissimi," says the *Ephem. in the Cod. Vat., 6978, f. 154, of the Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* THODE, Michelangelo, I., 440, 443; FREY, 348.

architects who for forty years before him had attempted the enterprise: Bramante, Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo, Raphael, Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo. The successors of Bramante, with their partially contradictory plans, had introduced a confusion into the conception of the building which can hardly be exaggerated. To find the right way through seemed a task of extraordinary difficulty.

Paul III. was convinced that the practical genius of Michael Angelo alone could advance the work rapidly and profitably. To the entreaties of his patron Michael Angelo yielded at last, but he made his own conditions. They were in the highest degree characteristic of the man and of his Catholic feeling: he refused all salary. On purely religious grounds, for the love of God and veneration for the Prince of the Apostles, he undertook the vast undertaking for the good of his soul, just as he had also promised to plan a church for St. Ignatius of Loyola in the same ideal sense. But, foreseeing the difficulties that lay before him, he sought from the Pope, in the interest of the great work, full powers and freedom to work and create as his own genius directed him. Paul III. generously conceded all he desired, and gave him authority to alter at his pleasure the model, shape, and construction, and to dismiss or replace the workmen and supervisors of the building. Relying on his absolute disinterestedness, he absolved the master from all rendering of and responsibility for accounts. The latter thereupon, at the beginning of 1547, set himself to work on the rebuilding of St. Peter's.[1]

The unrestricted powers bestowed upon Michael Angelo by Paul III. caused his fellow-craftsmen, envious of the

[1] See VASARI, VII., 218 *seq.*; JUSTI, 347; MACKOWSKY, 279, and specially POGATSCHER in Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XXIX. (1906), 403.

distinctions heaped upon him from year to year by the chief ruler of the Church, to blaze up in an outburst of jealousy. The irritable nature of the man and his inexorable uprightness made the tension sharper. The greatest resentment was felt by the numerous partisans of Sangallo, who were named by Vasari the "Setta Sangallesca" or "Sangallesque faction." They gave open vent to their bitterness one day when Michael Angelo appeared at the building works. To the scornful remark that they were glad that he had consented to assume the directorship, since Sangallo's plan would be a rich meadow for him to find pasture in, he curtly replied, "You say well." His meaning, however, was not perceived. Michael Angelo told another that what he intended to convey was, Sangallo's adherents were quite right in describing his plan as a meadow, for they expressed their opinions like oxen.[1]

Michael Angelo's contempt for these attacks is shown in his treatment of Nanni di Baccio Bigio. The latter had spread reports which were downright calumnies: Michael Angelo knew nothing of architecture and wasted money; his model was a crazy and puerile affair; he only worked at night in order to prevent his plans from being seen; he himself, Nanni, however, would construct a fresh model, and, besides, enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope. In order to make his assertions more credible, he also gave currency to the report that the wooden model for the Farnese palace was so heavy that when it was set up on approval the palace had to be propped up. As this tittle-tattle came to the ears even of the deputies of the *Fabbrica* and was listened to, Michael Angelo communicated to one of them the letter of Giovanni Francesco Ughi of May the 14th, 1547, by which he was made acquainted with the above intrigues, and added that

[1] VASARI, VII., 218.

nothing else could be expected from such a set of common rascals.[1] To all appearance this silenced his calumniators for a time, and Michael Angelo, with the Pope's unreserved confidence, was able to devote himself in peace to his great work. Yet it was unfortunate for himself and useful to his numerous enemies that his appointment as director of the building works, and the full powers thereto belonging, had proceeded only orally from the Pope. In order to put an end to all uncertainty and all hostile behaviour, the Pope on the 11th of October 1549 issued a *motu proprio* to the following effect: All that Michael Angelo, at the Pope's command, had done hitherto on the building of St. Peter's, in accordance with his own model, was approved; this model was for all time to be strictly adhered to, and Michael Angelo to continue, during life, to be the architect of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.[2]

How entirely Paul III. was justified in giving the master plenary powers was shown by the immense impetus given to the work of construction on St. Peter's, from the beginning of 1547 onwards. It was soon possible to predict that the new Basilica would surpass all other churches and rank as one of the wonders of the world.[3] The yearly expenditure amounted to upwards of 30,000 ducats.[4] That

[1] GOTTI, I., 309.

[2] First correctly published, and with date, by POGATSCHER in Repert. für Kunstwissensch., XXIX. (1906), 400 *seq.*

[3] "In hujus vero ipsius, in qua hodierno die funebris haec pompa ducitur, basilicae exaedificationem tanta cura incubuit, ut ea jam prope ad fastigium perducta substructionum magnificentia, cum sacris omnibus hujus aetatis aedibus antecellat, una cum septem illis, quae olim miraculo toti orbi terrarum fuerunt, operibus comparari posse videatur" (AMASAEUS, 75).

[4] From Jan. 1, 1547, to May 8, 1551, 121,554 ducats were paid out (see FEA, Notizie, 35).

it was Paul III. alone to whom this reaction was due can be proved from the lethargy which fell upon the works after his death. Justly did Michael Angelo deplore the loss of his best personal supporter when he uttered the testimony in his honour: "He never showed me anything but kindness, and I had the right to hope that he would show yet more in days to come."[1]

Paul III. had given him a free hand in artistic as well as administrative affairs. The rejection of Sangallo's plan and the substitution of the new model had been fully approved. Of the freedom guaranteed to him Michael Angelo made the fullest use. At the beginning he called himself modestly only the accomplisher of Bramante's plans; this referred principally to the retention of the Greek cross formation and the essential points of the interior design as a whole;[2] as regards all the rest, however, Michael Angelo went his own way. Although in his severe criticism of Sangallo he had maintained that to depart from the arrangement of Bramante was to deviate from truth,[3] he himself did not avoid the same error, and stamped on many portions of the new building the impress of his own restless genius, ever in search of new effects, whereby the marvellous harmony which distinguished Bramante's plan could not but be impaired.

[1] See Lett. di Michelangelo, ed. MILANESI, 260.

[2] For what follows, *cf.* GEYMÜLLER, the first authority on such matters, in the fifth edition (1884) of BURCKHARDT'S Cicerone (II., 219 *seq.*), and also his well-known work, "Michelangelo als Architekt" (p. 38 *seq.*). The relation of Michael Angelo's plan to that of Bramante is illustrated by the coloured sketch of the historical development of St. Peter's in GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, Tafel 45. For Michael Angelo's innovations on Bramante's plan of St. Peter's, see also RIEGL, Barockkunst, 84 *seq.*, and MACKOWSKY, 331 *seq.*

[3] Lett. di Michelangelo, ed. MILANESI, 535.

A model, finished within fourteen days, at a cost of only fifty scudi, gave Paul III. an idea of the new plan. While Michael Angelo retained the central dome, the great quadrate surrounding it, the arms of the cross, equal in length and terminated by apses, as given in the matchless design of Bramante, he resolved to give up his galleries, his lateral porches, and the great corner towers which still appeared in Sangallo's plan, although with important alterations. It is probable that this narrowing of the space around the dome, to the advantage of the dominating centre, was also conditioned by financial circumstances, for it was by such a material simplification only that the completion of the building could have been looked for within a calculable distance of time.

A fresco in the Vatican Library[1] shows the porch adorned with ten huge columns. In front of it, in the middle, is a gable supported by four equally massive pillars, the whole of this being in complete subordination to the central dome, the colossal size of which is thrown into high relief by four smaller domes rising from the angles of the arms of the cross. Outside, at those places in the great quadrate where, according to Bramante and Sangallo, the galleries were to begin, Michael Angelo made use of slanting truncated walls to connect the apses with the quadrate. As the effect of this, in combination with the attic and its cumbersome arrangement of massive pilasters, is far from beautiful, so in the interior the apsidal architecture is throughout infelicitous in conception. The baroque windows and the semi-cupolas, which fit in somewhat inharmoniously with the vaulting, have been severely objected to by an eminent architectural critic, but can, at the same time, be explained from the difficulties of Michael Angelo's mission as an impetuous seeker after new forms

[1] See LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, I., 23 *seq.*

and processes of art, with all the dangers attendant upon one who ventures on those thorny heights.[1]

As the creator of the dome of St. Peter's Michael Angelo produced an incomparable work. Without and within the composition of the whole has been marvellously conceived. Classical beauty is everywhere apparent in its noblest and purest form, with monumental proportions, logical articulation, and certainty of execution. Even the keenest critics admit that seldom or never has the principle of ascending continuity of construction, borrowed from the Gothic style, been expressed on antique lines more beautifully than here, with equal success in the interior from the base of the drum to the aperture of the lantern, and on the exterior from the cupola to the foot of the cross.[2]

In consequence of the abandonment of Bramante's towers Michael Angelo found himself obliged to carry the exterior line of the dome somewhat higher than his great predecessor had intended in his plan. Bramante had laid the chief weight of the dome on the magnificent circle of statued pillars to be carried round the drum, Michael Angelo transferred the incidence of the weight to the heightened line of the dome itself. This accentuation of the vaulting deepens the impression of majestic repose. From without the dome certainly presents the most

[1] GEYMÜLLER (Michelangelo als Architekt, 38 *seq.*) remarks: "If we think of the monumental dignity and enchanting arrangement of light, in wonderful harmony with the effect of the central dome, which Bramante had designed for the termination of his great edifice, the eye is deeply offended by the lack of co-ordination in Michael Angelo's scheme and the ultra-profanity of the windows . . . forms of composition which, despite Michael Angelo's assertions, cannot be brought into unison with the 'ragione' of the Church, or the structural law of the building." See also BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER 128, and BERTEAUX, Rome, 112.

[2] GEYMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 39.

beautiful and most elevated contour which has ever yet been reached in the domain of architecture.[1]

Even if the details of this crown, which is suspended in beauty and majesty over the grave of St. Peter, were not settled until later, on the construction of an accurate model, yet the ground design of the whole was firmly grasped by the spiritual eye of Michael Angelo while Paul III. was yet alive.

To that sagacious Pontiff, who dealt so tactfully with the sensitive artist and knew how to enlist his genius for the highest services, an important share must be allotted in the construction of the imperial dome of St. Peter's.

With this great work of Michael Angelo, Rome the eternal received her finest adornment, and a peerless symbol of that supreme spiritual authority transmitted by Christ to the Apostle Peter and his successors.

[1] Geymüller in BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 5th ed., 220. The view, supported by Letarouilly, Garnier, Simil, and others, that the present external line of the dome is due, not to Michael Angelo, but to Giacomo della Porta, is incorrect (see GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 244). For the relation to the Gothic style, *cf.* JUSTI, Michelangelo, 347; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 86, 87.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Pope Paul III. to Baldassare Peruzzi.[1]

1534, December 1, Rom.

Dilecto filio magistro Baltassari Perutio Senensi. Dilecte fili salutem etc. Cum, sicut accepimus, alias fel. rec. Leo X primo et deinde sanctae memoriae Clemens VII Romani pontifices predecessores nostri te architectum fabricae basilicae s^ti^ Petri de Urbe cum salario annuo CL ducatorum auri de camera tibi de pecuniis dictae fabricae singulis mensibus pro rata persolvendo ad vitam tuam deputaverint, prout in eorum literis plenius continetur, Nos non minoris virtutem et ingenium tuum aestimantes, quam dicti praedecessores aestimaverint, operaque tua in dictae basilicae fabrica uti intendentes teque majori praemio dignum esse censentes, te fabricae predictae architectum cum salario annuo non CL sed CCC ducatorum similium ad vitam tuam confirmamus per praesentes mandantes dilectis filiis praefectis dictae fabricae nunc et pro tempore existentibus, ut de pecuniis dictae fabricae dictum salarium trecentorum ducatorum singulis mensibus pro rata videlicet ducatos XXV auri similes in fine cujuslibet mensis a data praesentium incohando tibi, quoad vixeris, persolvant seu per illarum depositarium persolvi faciant et mandent. Nos enim, quidquid illi tibi pro dicto salario persolverint, ut praefertur, ratum habebimus et in eorum computis admitti faciemus ac ex nunc admittimus contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae etc. prima decembris 1534 anno primo.

Blos[ius]. Papa mandavit ut expediretur
A. thesaurarius.

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm. 40, t. 49, n. 45. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 554.

2. Pope Paul III. to Antonio da Sangallo.[1]

1536, Mai 28, Rom.

Dilecto filio Antonio de Sancto Gallo, laico Florentino, architecto nostro. Dilecte fili salutem etc. Cum sicut accepimus alias fel. rec. Leo X te architectum principalem fabricae basilicae principis apostolorum de Urbe ad vitam tuam cum salario menstruo viginti quinque scutorum auri et pie me. Clemens VII Romani pontifices predecessores nostri te similiter principalem architectum fabricae arcis nostrae civitatis Anconae cum simili salario ac fabricae beatae Mariae de Loreto cum salario itidem menstruo decem scutorum similium deputaverint, prout in eorum literis plenius continetur: Nos virtutem et ingenium tuum non minoris facientes quam ipsi predecessores fecerint, illisque tam in predictis quam in quibusvis aliis fabricis per nos in toto statu nostro ecclesiastico designandis uti intendentes, te architectum principalem fabricae dictae basilicae cum dicto salario menstruo viginti quinque scutorum tibi per eiusdem fabricae prefectos et ex dictae fabricae pecuniis persolvendo ad vitam tuam, ut prefertur, fabricae autem arcis Anconae et beatae Marie de Loreto et quarumvis aliarum fabricarum status nostri ecclesiastici cum salario menstruo triginta quinque scutorum similium, ex quibus viginti quinque quidem thesaurarius dictae civitatis Anconae, reliquos vero decem gubernator ecclesiae eiusdem beate Mariae de Loreto singulis mensibus tibi solvere teneantur, ad nostrum beneplacitum confirmamus et de novo deputamus per presentes mandantes prefectis, thesaurario et gubernatori predictis, ut dictum salarium tibi iuxta presentium litterarum nostrarum tenorem persolvant contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae 28 maii 1536 anno 2°. A. thesaur°.
Blos.

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 2, n. 12. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 554.

3. Pope Paul III. to Francis I., King of France.[1]

1536, September 7, Rom.

Regi christianissimo. Carissime etc. Nuper cum nobis indignum videretur, quod fabrica sacrosanctae basilicae divi Petri de Urbe tam miro et sumptuoso opere a predecessoribus nostris incepta ita neglecta remaneret nec nos ad quos id potissimum pertinebat ob temporum conditiones ac tenues ecclesiae facultates ad illius perfectionem sufficeremus, licet alioqui huic rei quantum poterimus nunquam defuturi simus, ut omnes christifideles in hoc adiutores haberemus eosque ad contribuendum dictae fabricae alliceremus, eorundem predecessorum vestigia sectantes, omnes gratias et indulgentias eidem fabricae per eosdem predecessores et nos concessas confirmavimus, et nonnullas alias etiam de novo concessimus ac unam confraternitatem omnium christifidelium sub invocatione eiusdem divi Petri ereximus, in qua nos ipsos ac S. R. E. cardinales et omnes principes christianos presertimque M^tem^ Tuam descripsimus et annotavimus, prout in aliis nostris sub plumbo desuper confectis literis plenius continetur. Verum cum non dubitemus id etiam Maiestati Tuae pro sua erga Deum pietate et animi religione valde placiturum esse et non ignari, quid hactenus in eadem basilica Tuae M^tis^ nomine construi inceptum fuerit, illam hortamur et enixe in Deo domino requirimus, ut *hanc confraternitatem libenti animo ingrediens* tua promptitudine ceteros principes alliciens, *deputatis dictae fabricae omnes oportunos favores praebere velis*, ac officialibus regni et dominiorum tuorum mandari facias, ut literas nostras predictas in eisdem regno et dominiis tuis libere publicari permittant et in quibus opus fuerit *dictis* ad ipsarum literarum executionem deputatis assistant, quod Deo omnipotenti acceptum, tuae in Deum pietati conveniens et nobis gratissimum erit, sicut etiam nuntius apud te noster Tuae M^ti^ ex parte nostra latius explicabit.

Datum Romae apud S. M^tarcum^ etc. die 7 septembris 1536 anno 2°.

Feci verbum cum S^mo^ D. N. Hie. card^lis^ Ghinuccius.

Blos.

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm., 41, t. 3, n. 126. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 635 *seq.* These words in italics are probably meant to be obliterated.

4. List of Churches demolished in Rome for the Emperor's Visit.[1]

Memoria delle chiese ruvinate in Roma doppo la venuta dell' imperatore Carlo V.

In prima s. Lorenzo delli spetiali in campo,[2] acciò si vedesse le colonne dov' è scritto Divino Antonino et Dive Faustine.

Al pallazzo de m. Aurialo doi chiese una: chiamata santa Margarita verso il coliseo[3] et l' altra santa Maria verso torre de Conti[4] per acrescimento et comodo di detto palazzo.

San Biagio[5] sotto s. Pietro ad vincula, qual' è stata profanata et al presente ci habita una cortigiana chiamata Angela da Galese.

Doi chiese: una chiamata santo Nicola alla colonna Traiana,[6] et l' altra s. Andrea alla colonna de Antonino,[7] acciò si veda dette colonne.

Una chiesa sotto monte Cavallo acanto alli ferapani[8] quale cascava da se stessa.

Una chiesa per fare la piazza avanti il palazzo della bona memoria del r^mo^ cardinale de Rimini.[9]

Un spedaletto de la Rotonda dietro a detto palazzo per alargare et a drizzare la strada.

Una chiesa per far la strada alla venuta dell' imperatore[10] da s. Marco alle case delli Madaleni.

Un altra chiesa[11] appresso la sopradetta, per far la strada dalli Madaleni in campidoglio.

Sono in tutto numero XI.

[Cod. Vat. 8468, f. 208 of the Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 566, and Lanciani, Scavi, II., 63.
[2] *I.e.* forum (see Armellini, 2nd ed., 157, and Lanciani, II., 59).
[3] See Armellini, 138.
[4] Probably S. Maria Magnanapoli (see Armellini, 176).
[5] S. Biagio ai Monti (see Armellini, 147).
[6] Armellini, 2nd ed., 167, and Lanciani, II., 63.
[7] Armellini (p. 312) states that this church was destroyed by Sixtus V.
[8] This is written so indistinctly that the statement appears doubtful.
[9] Oliviero Carafa.
[10] See Vol. XI., p. 242.
[11] Probably S. Salvatore in Julia (see Armellini, 2nd ed., 451).

5. Pope Paul III. to Antonio da Sangallo.[1]

1538, Januar. 14, Rom.

Dilecto filio Antonio de Sangallo laico Florent, architecto nostro. Alias cum te operae fabricae arcis nostre civitatis Anconae ac capellae et domus nostrae Lauret. prefecissemus, tibi provisionem menstruam 35 duc. auri super pecuniis dictarum fabricarum assignaverimus, cum autem postea te fabricae murorum almae Urbis nostrae prefecerimus, supradictam provisionem cassantes provisionem 25 duc. quolibet mense super pecuniis eiusdem fabricae murorum alme Urbis ad nostrum beneplacitum tibi assignamus, mandantes dictarum pecuniarum depositario et aliis, ad quos spectat, ut durante beneplacito nostro huiusmodi dictam provisionem 25 duc. auri singulis mensibus incipiendo a calendis proxime preteriti tibi persolvant, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Dat. Rome 14 ianuarii 1538 a° 4°. Blos.

[Concept. Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 9, n. 54. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

6. Pope Paul III. grants to the "Fabbrica" of St. Peter's the River Anio.[2]

1538, August 23, Rom.

Motu proprio etc. Paulus Papa III. Inter alias multiplices curas, quibus a tempore assumptionis nostrae ad summum apostolatus apicem citra illi potissimum continue intenti fuimus, ut dante Domino fabricam basilicae principis apostolorum de Urbe a fel. rec. Iulio papa II predecessore nostro incoatam et quam idem Iulius nec non Leo X, Adrianus VI et Clemens VII etiam Romani pontifices predecessores nostri morte preventi et variis obstantibus impedimentis perficere non potuerunt, omni conatu et totis viribus nostris aggredimur. Cum itaque nuperrime venerabilibus fratribus Paulo Jovio Nucerino, Francisco Pallavicino Aleriensi et Philippo Archinto Burgi S^ti^ Sepulchri episcopis ac dilecto etiam filio Raphaeli de Casalibus eiusdem fabricae prefectis

[1] See *supra*, p. 556.

[2] See *supra*, p. 639.

et deputatis opus fabricae huiusmodi aggrediendum commiserimus ipsique opus fabricae huiusmodi aggredi inceperint et ut illud cum minoribus impensis persequi et usque ad finem perducere possint, existimavimus non modo ipsi fabricae, sed etiam ceteris edificare volentibus valde utile et commodum esse, si flumen Anienis, alias il Teverone, hodie innavigabile effectum, per quod tempore Iulii predecessoris prefati, quia navigabile effectum fuerat, multa ad usum dictae fabricae necessaria ad Urbem conduci solebant, cum aliis juribus et camerae apostolicae ad usum fabricandi pertinentibus eidem fabricae concedamus. Quare tam dictae fabricae quam publicae utilitati et commoditati providere volentes motu simili et ex certa scientia ac de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine eidem fabricae illiusque prefectis et deputatis predictis et pro tempore existentibus ad commodum et utilitatem dictae fabricae predictum flumen Anienis incoando a ponte Lucano prope et extra civitatem nostram Tyburis usque ad illius fauces et illius introitum in Tyberim cum omnibus et singulis ejusdem fluminis Anienis et in dicto flumine ac illius ripis et limitibus utriusque lateris existentibus lagnaminibus et arboribus nec non omnes et singulas excavationes sive minerias Tivertinorum et lapidum cuiusque generis, ac puteolanae nobis et camerae apostolicae pertinentis et quomodolibet spectantis, harum serie gratiose libereque absolute et irrevocabiliter in perpetuum damus, donamus et concedimus [et] assignamus dantes et concedentes eidem fabricae et pro ea prefectis et deputatis plenam et omnimodam facultatem potestatem et auctoritatem flumen ipsum a dicto ponte et usque ad Tiberim pro eo navigabile efficiendo sumptibus dictae fabricae purgandum et mundandum ac arbores cujuscumque generis ac lignamina incidendum excavandum purgari et incidi facien[dum] nec non quibuscunque locis publicis et mineriis predictis nobis ante hanc donationem et camerae apostolicae spectantibus ad eorum libitum ad utilitatem dictae fabricae utendi ac in eis lapides et alia necessaria et ad dictam fabricam apta fodiendum et excavandum ac per dictum flumen Anienis conducendum et navigandum ac omnia et singula predicta ad commodum et utilitatem dictae fabricae convertendum et insuper, quia ad flumen ipsum navigandum necessarius est transitus per possessiones et predia eidem flumini convicina et adhaerentia, quae etiam plena lignis existunt et mundatione et extirpatione indigent, et [si non] mundantur

expense ad mundandum flumen predictum frustratorie essent. Quare desuper opportune providere volentes motu scientia et potestate similibus omnibus et singulis hominibus et personis tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus quocumque nomine nuncupatis possessionum et prediorum predictorum dominis et arrendatoribus ac possessoribus per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus infra terminum 8 dierum a die publicationis presentium inchoandum et compareant coram predictis deputatis et coram eis se obligent desuperque fidejussionem prestent de mundando eorum possessiones et predia predicta predicto flumini Anienis convicina et adhaerentia per 4 cannas extra ripas utriusque lateris a dicto ponte Lucano usque ad Tyberim infra terminum eorum arbitrio perficiendum et sub certa poena pro eis imponenda et fabricae applicanda, quo termino elapso nisi comparuerint seque, ut prefertur, minime obligaverint et fideiussionem prestiterint, liceat eisdem deputatis possessiones et predia predicta per dictas 4 cannas mundari facere[1] et omnia ligna incidenda seu excavanda dictae fabricae applicare, prout nos ex nunc in dictum eventum applicamus, si vero comparuerint seque obligaverint et fideiussionem prestiterint, ut prefertur, in termino vero eis prefixo dederint, tunc contra eos ad executionem dictae poenae nec non ad mundationem possessionum et prediorum predictorum pro dicta fabrica deputati ipsi procedant et ad liberum transitum reducant, quorum quidem prediorum et possessionum usum tamen ad effectum per dictas 4 cannas eiusdem fabricae et illius deputatis agentibus et ministris concedimus mandantes omnibus et singulis hominibus et personis ac arrendatoribus et possessoribus quatenus sub dictis poenis observent architectosque conductores et ministros ac agentes dictae fabricae premissa executioni mandare ac per eorum possessiones et predicta predia libere pertransire cum animalibus et vehiculis vel sine permittant. Dilecto vero filio Guido Ascanio Sfortiae sanctorum Viti et Modesti diacono cardinali nostro et S. R. E. camerario ac thesaurario presidentibus et clericis camerae apostolicae quatenus eisdem deputatis in premissis, et quolibet premissorum faveant et assistant, contradictores quoslibet auctoritate nostra sub censuris et aliis eorum arbitrio imponendis poenis compescendo invocato, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis et nihilominus deputatis predictis omnimodam iurisdictionem circa

[1] Fecere?

premissa prout in reliquis negotiis dictae fabricae habeant harum serie concedimus non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis privilegiis quoque et indultis ac literis apostolicis quibuscunque. Volumus autem, quod presentis sola signatura sufficiat et ubique fidem faciat in iudicio et extra, regula contraria non obstante et, ut premissa omnia melius omnibusque innotescant, iubemus presentes per urbem solitis locis preconis voce solemniter publicari et publicatio huiusmodi omnes et singulos prefatos arctet ac si presentes eis quarum copiis et sigillo dictae fabricae sigillatis fidem adhiberi volumus et personaliter presentatae fuissent.[1]

Fiat motu proprio. A[lexander].

Et quod presentis concessionis sola signatura sufficiat etc. Fiat. A[lexander].

Datum Romae apud s^{tum} Marcum X cal. septembris anno V.

[Concept. Arm. 11, t. 91, f. 185–185^{b}. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

7. Giovanni dell' Antella to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence.[2]

1540, December 18, Rom.

. . . Mi dice mons. Jovio che ci sono lettere di Venetia per le quali se intende che S. M. Ces. fa ogni opera di collegarsi con quella S^{ria} et che promette oltre alle altre cose di fare un duca di Milano che non sia di sangue regio et che per questo S. S^{tà} è intrata in speranza confidando in Madama[3] et nei sua denari che S. M. si habbi a resolvere et creare il s^{or} Ottavio, quandi i Venetiani descendessino a questa nuova lega, la quale non si crede possi seguire maxime in questi tempi per esser troppo avanti con il Turco con i capitolationi et pare a S. S^{tà} che in Italia nè fuor d' Italia che non sia di sangue regio che stringi più a S. M. che il predicto Sor Octavio . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3263.]

[1] Thus in the copy, in which probably some transposition has taken place. According to the sense, the relative sentence belongs to the end, so that the reading ought to be: ac si presentes eis et personaliter presentatae fuissent, quarum copiis et[iam] . . . fidem adhiberi volumus.

[2] See *supra*, p. 128.

[3] Margaret of Austria.

8. Cardinal Aleander to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.[1]

1541, September 12, Rom.

. . . Mi crepa il core di quello ch' è scritto quà della perdita di Buda et ruina dello exercito christiano tanto più havendosi per li Christiani havuto tempo di potervi remediare et se ben più volte con ognuno che non manca di judicio io habbia previsto et predetto tal exito di questa cosa, donde l' homo se ne può pigliar qualche poca di consolatione di tanto male, nondimeno non posso quietarmi dubitando et quasi prevedendo esse prae foribus li medesimi successi al resto della christianità quali furono della Grecia causati dalle discordie delli principi christiani. O tempora o fides o Deus . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Parma.]

9. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1541, November 19, Rom.

. . . Io non trovo nissuno a cui basti l' animo di ritirare così in furia quello che nuovamente ha dipinto Michelagnolo per essere opera grande et difficile, essendovi più di cinque cento figure et di sorte che a ritrarne solamente una credo metta pensiero agli dipintori, anchor che l' opera sia di quella bellezza che po pensare V. Ill. S., non manca in ogni modo chi la danna; gli r^mi^ Chietini sono gli primi che dicono non star bene gli inudi in simil luogo che mostrano le cose loro, benchè ancora a questo ha havuto grand^ma^ consideratione, che a pena a dieci di tanto numero si vede dishonestà. Altri dicono che ha fatto Christo senza barba et troppo giovane et che non ha in se quella maestà che gli si conviene, et così in somma non manca chi dica, ma il r^mo^ Cornaro che è stato lungamente a vederla ha detto bene, dicendo che se Michelagnolo gli vuol dare in un quadro solamente dipinta una di quelle figure gli la vuol pagare quello ch' esso gli dimanderà, et ha ragione per essere al creder mio cose che non si possono vedere altrove. Il detto r^mo^ del continuo vi tiene un suo dipintore a ricavare, et ancora che non vi perda punto di tempo non finirà il tutto in manco di quattro mesi, ma con tutto questo vedrò d'

[1] See *supra*, p. 125. [2] See *supra*, pp. 614, 631.

havere almeno uno schizzo acciò che V. S. Ill. possa vedere il compartimento che ha fatto, che questo non credo la habbia in tutto a sodisfare, et che messer Julio si sarebbe fatto più honore, et sarà opera, quando la vedrà, assai diversa di quello che essa si pensa, perchè si conosce che tutto il suo sforzo ha messo in fare figure bizzare et in atti diversi, et se pure non potrò così tosto mandarle il disegno mi sforzarò di descriverle almeno il compartimento et ne pigliarà quello poco piacere che potrà. Si dice che N. S. vol che dipinga l' altra capelletta che ha fatta fare S. B^ne^ . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

10. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[1]

1541, December 4, Rom.

. . . Non ho mancato di cercare per ogni via di havere il disegno de l' opera che in capella ha fatta Michelagnolo, ma come ho scritto a V. S. Ill. per essere cosa grande et difficile a cavare vi va tempo assai. Sono molti che di continuo la ritranno, fra gli quali ch' è riputato il migliore, uno Mantovano, et si chiama Marcello, che messer Julio lo debbia conoscere, è riputato diligente et che per giovane facia molto bene. Io ho parlato cum lui per venire a qualche accordo, acciochè la ricavasse tutta, promettendogli che vista che l' havrà V. S. Ill. gli la farà rendere, et aciò che possa attendere a ricavarla volevo aiutarlo che si potesse intertenere, perchè il poveretto da se non ha modo da vivere. Ha voglia di servirla, ma dubito poi di non havere gli disegni, gli quali come saranno forniti estimarà assai. Ha lavorato un mese del continuo senza perdere tempo, et apena ha fornita la barca di Caronte,[2] nella quale sono infinite figure. Hor consideri V. S. Ill. che tempo vi anderà a fare il resto, poichè si po dire che la barca sia un dito di tutto un corpo, di modo che io dubito che sarà impossibile a trovare verso che quella reste come io vorrei servita per le ragioni sopradette . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 614. Venusti's two drawings still appear in 1627 in the inventory of the ducal palace of Mantua, Delle Arti di Mantova, II. (1859), 161, 166.

[2] *Cf.* the report of N. Sernini, August 5, 1542, in Solmi, Ochino, 56 *seq.* Solmi thinks, wrongly, that Sernini is here speaking of Fermo Guisoni.

11. Giovanni Ricci to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.[1]

1541, December 29, Siena.

Giunsi qui in Siena hiarsera a dui hore di nocte et in la medesima hora fui ad visitar msgr di Granvela et havendoli dato parte di tutto quello che S. St^{à} me commisse, me rispose comenzando da le cose di Francia et me disse ch' era stato presago et che in Roma haveva preditto a S. B^{ne} chel p^{to} mons. Ardinghello ritornaria con la speditione ch' adesso ritorna subgiungendo che giurava a Dio che non passaria 4 mesi da hoggi che proprio il re christianissimo pregaria S. St^{à} che rattaccasse la pratica, che hora mostra non si curar, ringratiando sempre S. St^{à} de boni offitii fatti quantunche non habbiano causato effetto nessun bono. Ha negato che li partiti che msgr Ardinghello ha esposto al re sieno stati per prima ragionati da altri, salvo qualchuno senza saputa di S. M^{tà} non havesse voluto tentar et concludendo che se mai si viderà pace, non sarà si non per la mano di S. B^{ne} el che di questo ne po star sicurissimo.

[Orig. Ricci Archives, Rome, X., 150.]

12. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1542, Januar. 4, Rom.

. . . Del luogo dove s' havesse a celebrare il concilio se ragionò di Ferrara et Mantua in la quale al tempo caldo fu detto non esservi buon aere, nè manco sicurezza di havere nissuna delle due città dalli loro signori, di modo che universalmente si inclinava a Trento, et da alcuni r^{mi} fu molto lodato quel luogo, ma il cardinale Trivulzii che mi ha comunicato il resto, fa giudicio che si debbia elegere Piacenza, quando pur se havesse da fare, che n' ha però poca speranza et è d' opinione che non si possa refiutare da imperiali ne da Francesi, essendo de N. S. che persevera pure sul neutrale et facciasi in qualsivoglia luogo d' Italia, tien per certo che Lutherani non habbino a comparire. Però detto luogo sarebbe a proposito, ma tien quasi impossibile chel si faccia, considerate in che termine stan le cose del mondo, non vi essendo molta sigurezza che Francia non rompa guerra, et il Turco non assalta

[1] See *supra*, p. 147. [2] See *supra*, p. 133.

la christianità per mare et per terra, et così Spagnoli non passerebono sicuri per Francia et Franzesi non si fideriano delle forze dello imperatore, et il mare a quel tempo per l' armata del Turco et de corsari non sarà sicuro, ma quando pure si trovasse modo di farlo, che è difficile, se farà allo spirito santo. Iddio vi metta la sua mano che ve n' è bisogno . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. Pope Paul III. to Francis I., King of France.[1]

1542, Mart. 27, Rom.

Charisime etc. Referet M^ti^ tuae nonnulla nostro nomine dil. fil. Ioh. de Montepolitiano, noster camerarius secretus, presentium exhibitor, super quibus optamus eam fidem per M^tem^ Tuam ei haberi, quam nobis ipsis haberet, si cum ea presentes loqueremur.

The following postscript is certainly in the Pope's own hand:

La M^ta^ V. Christ^a^ per la sua singular prudentia adverta bene in questa occasione di concludere una tanto sancta et necessaria pace, non posser fare majore servitio a Dio et cosa più degna di se et de li sui gloriosissimi tituli, ne posser asseguire piu segnalata victoria che sarà di vincer se istessa, et in quel tempo dove più poteria demonstrar el suo vigore, lo quale deve reservar ad proseguir le actioni gloriose de li sui progenitori: defension et exaltation de la sancta fede christiana et sua perpetua gloria.

[Orig. Ricci Archives, Rome, VII., n. 12.]

14. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1542, April 22, Rom.

. . . Et con l' ultime lettere di 5 di questo è venuta nuova che Alemanni si contentono di Trento, benchè più gli saria piaciuta Colonia et un' altro luogo; con questo aviso mercordì in concistoro N. S. ne parlò lung^to^ concludendo che si facesse la bolla lassando in bianco per mo[do] il luogo et tempo, ma si conosceva che per le sue parole sarebbe Trento, et così sarà vicino a Mantova et il tempo al più lungo verso setembre; d' altra cosa non si parlò . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 147. [2] See *supra*, p. 144.

15. Averrardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence.[1]

1542, August 11, Rom.

. . . P. S. Il rev. Pucci m' ha fatto intender come di poi concistoro Sua Sta lo chiamò . . . et li disse come haveva fatto pigliar in Lucca per conto di eresia due frati de quali uno se n' è fuggito in Pisa. The duke might give help towards their arrest.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

16. Lattanzio Tolomei to Siena.[2]

1542, August 11, Rom.

Due stemperamenti del mondo vanno al presente attorno che danno timore, l' uno è quello dele querre, l' altro è quello dele heresie, massime perchè si intende non solo havere infetta la Germania ma essersi sparso ancora in Italia et nominatamente in Lucca. Qual disordine intendendosi ha dato occasione di fare una deputatione di cardinali a questo effetto qual si pensa che habbi ad essere come una inquisitione generale et particularmente con li signori Lucchesi al presente si tratta di tor via li disordini che a poco a poco per negligentia di chi vi doveva provedere sono cresciuti in quella città, quale et per lettere et per homo a posta et per bocca del cardinale loro Guidiccione si mostra pronta a fare ogni remedio; et questo scrivo parte come nuova de le cose che occorrano quà et parte per fare intendere a Vostre Illustrissime Signorie che in tra li altri avvisi di heresie, che ci sono, son stati nominati ancora certi luoghi del territorio vostro, come Sarteano et Montalcino acciocchè parendo a quelle vi ponghino le urecchie; benchè la cura sopra le heresie paia et sia cosa spirituale, perchè essendo in li principii de la reformatione de lo stato vostro fatta mentione ancora di questo non sarebbe forse fuori di proposito intendendosi esser così di avvertirne li ordinarii et eshortarli a tenerne buona cura et offerirli ogni opportuno favore. Questo io dirò di mio giuditio che a me la religion pare il fondamento de la vita humana et che mai si faccia alteratione in quella che non vi si accompagni alteratione et variatione del

[1] See *supra*, p. 509.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 504, 509.

stato secolare; et per questo sarebbe forse da tenerne cura non solo per conscientia, ma per prudentia acciò non si turbasse la quiete ancora ne le cose temporali. Buona fama credo ne acquisterebbero Vostre Illustrissime Signorie et appresso a Nostro Signore quà gratia non piccola.

In tra li altri ordini di frati in questa contagione disordinati sono stati nominati li Scappuccini di fra Bernardino et per questo intendo che sua paternità è stata chiamata quà da Sua Beatitudine per trovare a questa cosa remedio essendo vera. Quando sarà quà mi ricordarò di nuovo instare per haverlo questa quadragesima, si come l' arcivescovo et Vostre Illustrissime Signorie più volte mi hanno commesso, a le quali di continuo con reverentia mi raccomando.

Di Vostre Illustrissime Signorie.
obsequentissimo ser Lattantio Tolomei.

[Orig. State Archives, Siena.]

17. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni Poggio.[1]

1542, August 19, Rom.

Il r^mo Sadoleto legato al re di Francia partì di Roma non hieri l' altro per il suo viaggio, el quale farà con tutta la celerità possibile alla età et grado suo, perchè così ha in commissione di fare. Porta seco brevi et instruttioni piene di tutta quella efficatia et caldezza che si possi immaginare maggiore per fermar l' armi et procurare la pace o almeno la osservantia della tregua. Ancorachè alla necessità che si trova hormai ridotta la povera christianità la pare sola senz' alcun altro mezo si quella che ci possa assicurare dall' ultima roina, nondimeno quando questo non si possa, ha in commissione di fare ogni instantia nella osservantia della tregua et nell' una cosa et nell' altra spendere senza alcuna reservatione tutta l' autorità di Nostro Signore et di questa Santa Sede.

Al rev^mo Contarini destinato per Sua Maestà Cesarea si è mandato hoggi il Montepulciano in poste ad portare le instruttioni et altre cose necessarie per la partita, la quale si è sollecitata et si sollecita in modo che senza dilatione sua sig^a r^ma si metterà ella

Cf. Ehses, Conc. Trid., IV., 283, and *supra*, p. 149.

anchora in viaggio. Et però V. S. tanto più ha da procurare quanto le scrissi con el corriere acciochè questa diligentia di N. S^re^ possa fare frutto.

[Orig. Chigi Library, Rome, L–III., 65, f. 260.]

18. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[1]

1542, August 26, Rom.

. . . Per quanto io ho possuto ritrare, N. S. haveva deliberato in cambio del cardinale Contarino mandare in Spagna il Morone, ma il Viseo s' è tanto afatigato et pregato et supplicato ch' è stato eletto esso, et per questo effetto questa mattina s' è fatta congregatione nella quale N. S. l' ha proposto, dicendo chel negotio ha bisogno di celerità et ch' esso s' è offerto andare in su le poste, et che questa andata gli potria giovare per assettare le cose sue col mezzo et autorità dell' imperatore, et saria ancora la via di quietare il re di Portugallo et pacificarlo con la sede apostolica. Queste sono le ragioni dette da S. B^ne^ . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Nino Sernini to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[2]

1542, October 14, Rom.

. . . Mercordì al solito fu concistoro, nel quale N. S. parlò lungamente delli travagli del mondo et disse in quanti periculi si trovano tutta christianità, di poi ricordò avicinarse il tempo del concilio, et però era necessario risolvere se si dovevono mandare legati a Trento, volendo inferire per le sue parole essere fuori di proposito considerato che standogli principi christiani in sul arme si vede chiaramente non essere il tempo da celebrarlo, et per questa ragione quelli ch anno mal animo potriano dire essere fatta questa diligentia senza proposito. Li cardinali risposono che essendo la cosa di molta importantia pigliavono tempo a pensarvi maturamente sopra et si risolverà nel primo concistoro. Intendo che molti cardinali inclinano che vi si mandeno, acciochè Luterani

[1] See *supra*, p. 150. [2] See *supra*, p. 154.

non habbino cagione de dire che resti da N. S., la cui S^tà pare che sia d' altra openione et non inclina a mandarvegli, et se pure vi gli manderà se ragiona del mastro di sacro palazzo et del Morone . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Instruction for Dionysius, Guardian of the Convent of Sion in Jerusalem, as Visitor of the Maronites of Lebanon.[1]

1542, November 20 [Rom].

Instrutione mandata al guardiano de Monte Sion in Hierusalem quale è deputato a visitare li Maroniti del Monte Libano alli 20 de novembre 1542. Et la portò frate Felice da Venetia.

Pigliate dal rev^mo patriarca et suo conseglio le infrascritte informationi.

In prima circa la scrittura vecchia et nova se hanno più o memo libri di quelli che hanno li Greci et li Latini, cioè della scrittura vecchia cinque libri di Moisé, uno di Josue, uno delli Judici, uno di Ruth, due di Samuel, due delli Re, due de li Paralipomenon.

Et de la nova lo evangielio di S. Mattheo. Di poi si hanno constitutioni delli apostoli, cioè di Pietro e di Paulo o di alcuno altro apostolo et se hanno li sette canoni de gli apostoli.

Item se hanno li acti del concilio Niceno primo congregato sotto Costantino magno et Silvestro papa di Roma et se hanno più che vinti canoni del detto concilio.

Item se hanno li acti de li altri concilii generali et provintiali et li canoni loro et le interpretationi come hanno li Greci et li Latini et insomma di quanti concilii hanno li acti et di quanti li canoni soli.

Item quante historie ecclesiastiche hanno et di quali autori et come grandi et se sono state tradotte di altre lingue o composte in lingua Maronitica.

Item se credono, che la lingua Maronitica litterale che usano in libri sacri et la Caldea anticha sia la medesima et se credono

[1] See *supra*, pp. 521, 547; Wadding, XVIII., 359; Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift, 1845, No. 50.

che in Jerusalem al tempo di Christo si parlasse vulgarmente in lingua Caldea, cioè lingua Hebrea mista et che Christo parlasse in la lingua, nella quale è scritto lo evangielio, che loro hanno di Mattheo, et se credono che questo evangielio di Mattheo che loro hanno sia quel medesimo che scrisse Matheo, non solo quanto alli sensi ma quanto alle parole anchora.

Item potendo havere delli libri loro della scrittura pigliateli più emendati che si po et mandateceli. Et se hanno chi sappi scrivere la lingua Caldea, in characteri Hebraici pigliate li detti libri anchora scritti in characteri Hebrei, cioè pigliate tutta la scrittura loro prima scritta in li lor characteri Chaldeici overo Maronitici et di poi havendo commodità di tal scritture, come è detto pigliate la medesima scrittura loro in lingua Caldeica, overo Maronitica scritto in charateri Hebrei et nominatamente lo evangielio di Mattheo, et è facile che si trovi qualche uno di loro che sappi così scrivere et li Hebrei nostri di quà scrivano tutte le cose loro Caldee in characteri Hebreici et possendo menar con voi uno di loro che sappi bene interpretar in lingua Greca o vulgare o litterata o nostra vulgare o Arabica menatelo purchè sia sufecientemente litterato. Item pigliate lo indice di tutta la bibliotecha loro et di tutti i libri che loro ve informarano che si potessono havere dalle bande di là et questo indice sia in lingua Greca o vulgare nostra o Latina, et pigliate informatione se in Antiochia et altre città vicini sono libri Grechi.

Item pigliate una informatione di tutte le cose della fede loro et anchora dimandate delle cose della fede come passano in li paesi loro vicini et lontani anchora verso la Arabia et India et verso la Armenia et come vi sono Christiani et se vi sono chiese et vescovi, et se tengono la fede secondo il rito o nostro o Greco o pure sono heretici.

Item oltra a libri pigliate ancora medaglie di qualonque sorte et con qualonque inscrittione le trovate d' oro, d' argento et di rame.

Item pigliate tutte le iscriptioni che trovarete in li marmi antichi o siano in caractheri Greci o Latini o Hebraici o Caldaici, et quelo che non sapete scrivere posendo pingetelo.

[Copy. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Bibl. Pia 170, f. 76–77.]

21. Instruction for M. Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileja, as Nuncio in Scotland.[1]

1543, April 1 [Rom].

Inprima andar con ogni diligenza alla corte di Francia e presentare al re christianissimo il breve suo credentiale in lui e in virtù della sua credentia exponerli la causa, perchè N^ro^ S^re^ l' invii in Scotia, cioè per procurare la liberatione del rev^mo^ cardinale di s. Andrea,[2] quando a quell' hora non fusse liberato, e per ajutare a mantenere e difendere quel regno nella fede catholica e libertà sua antica ecc., si come prudentemente Sua M^tà^ Christianissima l' ha ricordato e instato a Sua Beat^ne^ per le quali due cose, come Sua S^tà^ ha concesso hora le sei decime ecc. secondo che il re in vita sua l' havea supplicato, così non è per mancare d' ogni altro ajuto necessario, fino che harà forza alcuna della sede apostolica rappresentando qui la stima che Sua Beat^ne^ tiene di quel regno, l' affettione che porta alla regina et a tutti li principi et persone private d' esso.

Item discorrere con Sua M^tà^ Christianissima qual modo gli paresse megliore, per assicurare et acquietare gl' animi di quei nobili et evitar tumulti e seditioni, et quando Sua M^tà^ giudicasse esser espediente di dar quanto più presto un re a quel regno, come quì è stato ricordato a Sua Beat^ne^, si potria pigliare il bon parere di essa Sua M^tà^ per far poi ogni opera di metterlo in essecutione, stimandosi che per la prudenza sua et per la pratica c' ha di quel regno, e per l' amore, quale li porta, non possa parerli se non cosa da esser utile e ben fatta.

Item consigliarsi con la M^tà^ Sua del tempo et modo del passar in Scotia securamente senza mettersi a periculi d' Inglesi, e quando a Sua M^tà^ non piacesse questa passata sicura o necessaria non dovete passa più oltra ; ma fermandovi in Francia, et avvisando di tutto Sua S^tà^ aspettar risposta ; come per contrario quando Sua M^tà^ vi conforti a passare e mostri modo sicuro, dovete senza altro aviso di quà seguire il vostro viaggio fino in Scotia, avertendo d' andar salvo e per rispetto della persona vostra e de vostri e per rispetto della sede apostolica. Ma in qualche modo vi resolviate passare o non passare, dovete dar le lettere, che portarete per la corte di

[1] See *supra*, p. 472. For Grimani see Ughelli, V., 133.

[2] Beaton.

Francia e visitar la reina, madama Margarita, madama de Etampes, e gl' altri signori e dame della corte, come per la vostra prudenza saprete fare, non lassando indrieto li rev^{mi} cardinali di Tornon e Ferrara[1] et il cardinale di Loreno e mons. di Ghisa.

Giungendo in Scotia dovete andar dritto a visitar la reina e quelli che si trovaranno al governo del regno e benedicendoli in nome die Sua S^{tà} dar a ciascuno il suo breve con esponere la causa della vostra andata, come è detto di sopra. Et a caso che il rev^{mo} cardinale di S. Andrea sia liberato, come si desidera e spera, visitarlo, darli il suo breve e communicarli tutta la commissione vostra non facendo cosa alcuna senza il consiglio e parer suo, essendo practico, molto esperto et de buona mente, col quale quel che risolverete a benefitio del regno, Sua S^{tà} harà per resoluto, e quando non fusse ancor liberato, che Dio il cessi, dovete con la reina e con gl' altri grandi attendere con ogni vostra forza alla sua liberatione, non potendo essere a Sua Beat^{ne} più a cuore, ch' è.

Item dirgli la facultà qual portate di far riscuotere dal clero del regno sei decime, secondo, ch' in parte il re clare mem. haveva in vita supplicato a Sua S^{tà} e persuadendo il clero a pagarle volentieri. Ordinarete col parer della reina e delli sig^{ri} deputati al governo del regno, che si deputino uno o più thesorieri di esse decime, persone di buon credito e da bene, nelle mani de quali il denaro habbia a pervenire, e poi spendersi come parerà meglio alla reina et a quelli c' haveranno cura del regno. La stanza vostra sarà o in corte o dove a voi et alli sopradetti deputati et al cardinale, quando sia libero, parerà meglio e più espediente.

Le cerimonie devono essere con gravità et affabilità insieme senza alcuna ostentatione.

Le facultà deveno esser usate a servigio di Nro Sre Iddio et in edificatione e commodo di quel regno, et in questo harete molta cura alle mani de vostri ministri ad imitatione del rev^{mo} card^{le} Polo e d' altri, che gl' anni passati hanno havuto legationi in quelle parti ecc. Le lettere si deveno indrizzare al nuntio di Francia, al quale si dà ordine, che le dia presto e bon ricapito.

Nascendo occasione di poter fare qualche officio bono con Inghilterra si rimette in la prudenza vostra, avvertendovi però di non entrare in cosa, che possa esser di danno o di vergogna alla republica christiana et alla sede apostolica.

[1] Ippolito d' Este.

La stanza vostra in quel regno sarà più longa o più breve, secondo le occorrentie, e quando il tempo serva ad avvisare Sua S^tà^ del parer vostro et aspettar risposta, dovete farlo, e quando per qualunche caso non servisse, si rimette questa risolutione alla prudenza vostra, si come anco in l' altre cose sopraditte quando vi paresse ragionevolmente di doverne variare alcuna lo potrete fare, massime col consiglio del cardinale sig^r^ Andrea ove sia liberato ecc. e quando lo stato delle cose fusse tale, che la M^tà^ Christianissima e quelli, che governano il regno di Scotia havessero charo d' esser ajutati a molestar Inghilterra. Si trovano in questo paese alcuni personaggi di quel regno quali per servigio d' Iddio, beneficio di quell' isole e commodità di Scozzesi esponano le persone loro ad ogni pericolo, e forse non senza gran frutto, il che secondo l' occasione e la dispositione, che trovarete, possete significar al re christianissimo prima e poi in Scotia o non significare, come a voi parerà.

[Copy. Arm. II., t. 49, f. 68–69^b^. Secret Archives of the Vatican, also in the Doria-Pamphili Archives, Rome, Istruz. I., 357 *seq.*]

22. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Ferrante Gonzaga.[1]

1544, Mart. 18, Mantua.

. . . Sendo tornato Farnese dalla sua legation ha portato il parentato di Vittoria col duca d' Orliens nella manica, perchè il re gli ha dato ampla facultà di dir al papa, che lo publichi mo a suo piacer. Pur non si fidando interam^te^ delle parole di S. S., vorebbe prima, ch' ella si dichiarasse francese, a che tant' è inclinata, che già l' haveria fatto tenendo l' imperator per inimico, et ove le vien ben in publico et in privato, in concistoro et fuori di dargli qualche cinghiata, non gliene sparagna alcuna, ma il duca di Castro, che adesso è tutto spirituale, ogni dì dice l' officio grande et si fa predicar et legger l' epistole di San Pauolo con mostrar una mutation grandiss^a^ della vita sua, al quale N. S. presta gran fede et dice, ch' è ben mo secundum cor suum et che li suoi consili sono molto buoni et assai più gli crede, ch' a tutti gli altri Farnesi insieme, ha detto a S. S., che non può nè deve dichiararsi francese, perchè

[1] See *supra*, pp. 183, 189, 191.

bisogneria poi, che pigliasse l' arme contra l' imperator, che sarebbe cagione della rovina di tutta la casa, ch' anno pur nelle mani del sangue di S. M^{tà} ch' è Madama et che li stati loro sono sotto la protettione d' essa M^{tà}, et finalm^{te} si verrebbe a ingarbugliar tutta Italia, di maniera che per tali consili il papa discorrendone con Castro si risolve di pregar il re, che sia contento comandargli ogn'altra cosa eccetto che questa dichiaration, perchè non solamente allui, ma a tutto il mondo farà conoscer con l' opere, che in ogni modo è Francese et con denari et con genti sotto color di mandargli contra Inghilterra, non mancherà d' aiutarlo et favorirlo sempre, la dove questa dichiaration potrebbe tornargli in danno grande et senza alcuno profitto di S. S., cosi sono rimasti insieme in questa conclusione. Il papa onninamente voleva far cardinali a queste ceneri cioè tre o quattro de suoi, ma il buon duca, ch' è stato quattro dì a posta in palazzo per queste consulte dette disopra, l' ha confortato a non farli, dicendo, che se ancho non ne faceva a petition de principi, saria stata cosa con dispiacer de tutti massim^{te} del re et dell' imperator, seben esso imperator non de domanda et che mostri non se ne curar, neancho delli già fatti. Pure Burgos ha fatto intender a S. S., che S. M^{tà} si truova pochissimi cardinali, per esserne mancati assai, et che tanti ve ne sono di Francesi, et ogni dì più se ne fa, ch' ella di doi cardinali non solamente resterebbe contenta, se non ne havesse almeno 4 o 5. Perhò tale creatione s' è diferita con disegno d' essequirla il dì del letare che seguirà, et sarà la domenica avanti quella di passione, et ha scritto al re, che se non gli fosse dispiacer, non vorrebbe far cardinali ad instantia de principi, per non ne far all' imperator, pur ancho s' accommodarà al voler d' esso re. Et così secondo la risposta ch' averà si governerà, et ne fa ogni modo o pochi o assai. Farnese ha riferito a S. S., ch' el imperator non gli lasciò finir l' ambasciata, che interrompendolo gli disse: Mons^{or}, voi havete Monreale per noi, vostro padre il ducato di Novara, il duca Ottavio ha la nostra diletta figliuola con 20^{m} sc. d' entrata, et per far piacer a S. S., habbiamo tolerata la rovina di doi cariss^{i} amici nostri, il duca d' Urbino et il s. Ascanio Colonna, che con un sol nostro cenno haveriano fatto del mal' assai, et poi siamo trattati così, che un vicario di Christo, che ancho ha ricevuti tanti benefici da noi, si voglia adherir al re di Francia o piutosto al Turco nimici espressi della fede, onde si doleva amaram^{te} di S. S. et gli

disse, che dovesse per suo bene farla avertita, che guardasse ben bene ciò che faceva, che non le intraven esse di quel che fece a Clemente, bravando un poco a tale che lo rimandò confuso. Ora, mons. mio rev^{mo}, quanti mesi et forse anni sono che io dico a V. S. R^{ma}, ch' el papa è Francese, lo vederà pur mo et lo toccherà con mano, se poi gli avisi miei non sono accetti et che non facciano frutto, patientia, almeno mi consola questo ch' ella conoscerà la verità, perchè nel primo concistoro si leggerà la pragmatica.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 18–19^{b} of the Vatican Library.]

23. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Monsignore de Rossi.[1]

1545, Mart. 7, Mantua.

Voi v' ingannate di gran lunga, se pensate, che tra cesar e 'l papa sia buona intelligenza, perchè vi dico io certiss°, che v' è poca satisfattion in ciascuno d' essi del compagno. Cesar ha mostrato grandiss° dispiacer, ch' el papa non habbia fatto cardinale il Pazecco, lo stringe a restituir lo stato al s. Ascanio senza parentato, tira avanti il concilio et gli ricerca a depositar nellamagna 600^{m} sc. per l' impresa contra il Turco. Il papa si duole, che cesar sia implacabile, da parole generali della restitution dello stato al s. Ascanio, che non sono accettate, et dice voler mandar Farnese a S. M^{tà} per metter tempo in mezzo. I ministri di lei si sono aveduti del tutto et hanno detto a S. S., che più non vogliono scriver parole, ma che venendo a fatti scriveranno, a tale che le cose sono molto alterate.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 144^{b} of the Vatican Library.]

24. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[2]

1545, Mart. 28, Mantua.

Quanto mo all' andata di Farnese alla corte Ces^{a}, V. Ecc. sa, che quando Trento[3] fu a Roma, egli propose, ch' esso Farnese v' andasse, ma con uno deposito in mano di 400^{m} sc. da spender,

[1] See *supra*, p. 203.
[2] See *supra*, p. 217.
[3] Cardinal Madruzzo.

bisognando così nella guerra contra infideli come in aiuto de Catholici contra Lutherani, il papa allhora biassò la cosa nè si risolse altramente ma havendo dapoi scoperto ogni dì più l' animo dell' imperator, ha terminato finalm^te^ mandar Farnese, et di nuovo consultata la cosa con Trento per mezzo del card. s. Croce è stato persuaso a farlo, ma col deposito. S. B. ha replicato che dubita, che a Farnese non sia fatto qualche scorno andandovi, Trento ha risposto, che si mandi il Mignanello, et quanto al deposito, intendo ch' ella vorebbe riducerlo a 100^m^ sc. et non più, a tale che non sotisfarà. Il Mignanello disse ancho, che prima della partita sua di Roma l' andata di Farnese era molto calda, ma che nel suo partir gli pareva poi che fosse tutta raffredita, di maniera che non sapeva che se ne dir, pur io credo, ch' egli andrà, et ch' el papa farà ogni cosa per adolcir l' imperator et gli ungerà le mani di buona somma di scudi.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 153 of the Vatican Library.]

25. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1545, April 26, Mantua.

Conversation with Cardinal Farnese about what would happen should the Pope die during his absence from Rome: et dicendogli io che ve n' era ben anchora per un pezzo, mi rispose non esser così, perch' ella non cavalcava si può dir quasi più nè tanto passegiava quanto soleva far, et che in somma pareva adesso che molto fosse invecchiata et cascata . . .

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 166^b^ of the Vatican Library.]

26. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[2]

1545, Juni 4, Mantua.

Farnese called upon me to-day: Pur mi ha detto, che non ha havuto troppa difficultà a render ben capace l' imperator del buon animo di N. S., et che piutosto gli è stato di bisogno ributtar la cortesia di S. M^tà^, che niente inducerla adusarla, come quella che

[1] See *supra*, p. 218.

[2] See *supra*, p. 223.

ben conosce, che per suo servigio le mette conto d' intendersi ben con S. S. Intorno al concilio m' ha detto, che la cosa è rimessa al papa, et che solam^te l' imperator ricorda, che terminando la triegua tra Lutherani et Catholici ogni volta ch' esso concilio s' apra per quello ch' ordinò S. M., che stessimo in pace fin a tanto che si facesse o nationale o generale, senza alcun dubbio Lutherani faranno una schiavina a Catholici per esser più in numero, meglio ad ordine et più uniti, et che pure se ne rimetteva al papa. Farnese dice mo, che S. S. farà qualche cosa, che a mio giudicio sarà ben poco, come a dir tre o quattro sessioni et qui finirla, non mi parendo verisimile, che di nuovo sia per far altra prorogatione, poichè la sua fortunazza gli ha dato così bel modo d' uscir d' un tanto labyrinto. Esso Farnese m' è paruto tutto humile et piacevole . . .

[Concept.] Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 170^b–171 of the Vatican Library.]

27. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1545, Juni 30, Mantua.

The Pope sets about great military preparations. Dunque si concluderà, che vadano nellamagna, dove il papa sommamente disidera metter le mani, si per far quello che deve contra gli heretici, come per gratificar all' imperator in cosa che non gli apporti più inimicitia di quella che si truovi fin' adesso; perch' a pensar, ch' essa gente sia per andar in Ungheria, hora che si tratta della triegua in Constantinopli, mi par una vanità grande.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5792, f. 182 of the Vatican Library.]

28. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[2]

1545, August 18, Mantua.

. . . Quelle ragionazze masticate in due hore ch' el papa allega per colorir il dubbio della rovina et della recuperation della Chiesa sono si goffe che quasi è vergogna a parlarne; pur io voglio che veggiamo ciò che vagliono et primamente dove dice, che per esser

[1] See *supra*, p. 226. [2] See *supra*, p. 231.

quelle due terre discoste dal resto dello stato della Chiesa ecc., se ciò valesse, non bisognorebbe dar ancho una via ad Avignone, ch' è molto più discosta et in mezzo si può dir di Francia ; poi se per la spesa si debbono alienar, a questo modo saria meglio alienar ancho Bologna, la quale divenendo hora frontiera dello stato della Chiesa, converrà che sia fortificata, com' è stata Piacenza et che sempre vi si faccia una buona spesa per guardarla. Appresso se quelle due terre sono state anticam^te donate alla Chiesa et a Christo, come si donano i patrimonii delle chiese, ch' a da far il papa d' alienarle, sono forse le sue, non è egli pure amministratore d' esse come io di questi beni del mio vescovato, è forse il papa signor delle terre della Chiesa? Ora guardiamo un poco la bella ricompensa, che per quelle vuol dar di Camerino et di Nepe, uno che non è suo, ma d' altrui di ragion, et l' altro, che fu dato all' unico Aretino per mille o poco più scudi d' entrata et che pure non è suo, poichè sarà quel così cieco, che voglia comparar due bicocche alle due migliori città di Lombardia così d' entrata come di paese, vassalli et d' ogn' altra cosa, che si debba in un simile caso considerar. Quanto al multiplicar de vassalli, in questo ha ben grandissima ragion, poichè s' acquistano per esser molto utili alla Chiesa, quando ancho sono di valor nell' arme, ma se questo militasse, perchè non si da Faenza alli Manfredi, Arimine alli Malatesti et tutte le altre cittati a quelli che n' erano signori, per haver più bella corte et per multiplicar in più vassalli? Io scempio mi sto a beccar il cervello facendo invettive, et il buon vecchiarello si sguazza il mondo felicissimo.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5793, f. 6 of the Vatican Library.]

29. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1545, August 23, Mantua.

Certo, chel vecchiarello ha molta ragion di non solamente disegnar di far la nipote principessa di Spagna, ma anchor il futuro duca di Piacenza re di Spagna, di Francia et di tutto, poich' ogni cosa gli riesce così bene. A noi altri, che senza tanta buona sorte habbiamo i stati per li nostri antichi con tante fatiche e stenti guadagnati et che con altre tante agnoscie si

[1] See *supra*, p. 233.

conservano, pare una strana cosa il veder far un duca di due simili città in una notte come nasce un fungo; ma poichè così Dio vuole et che non ci habbiamo a far più che tanto, man' a ridersi della ladra fortuna et porre in lettere maiuscule quelle parole si grandi et insolenti: C' E ANCHO NOSTRA NIPOTE, acciò che siano a tutti essempio di prospera fortuna, la quale neancho sia perhò si ferma, che non possa far dar volta a quella sua instabile ruota com' è d' usanza. Io considerando questi gran fatti del vecchiarello, mi vado risolvendo, che per V. Ecc. sia meglio, che quell' animale d' Ottavio habbia le due città, che se continovassero in poter della Chiesa, si per esser lui manco atto a farle danno nelle cose di Modena et di Reggio, si ancho perchè quando la Chiesa vorà far delle imprese piutosto comincierà da Piacenza et da Parma che dalle città di V. Ecc., havendole com' ella le tiene per sententia dell' imperator et per accordo col papa.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5793, f. 6b–7 of the Vatican Library.]

30. Cardinal Farnese to Cardinal Morone.[1]

1545, August 23, Rom.

Il Vignola architetto comparse inanti a N. S. et mostrò a S. Stà li disegni dell' opera da farsi in la chiesia di san Petronio, et con tutto che habbia aspettato lungamente li altri concorrenti, non sono però mai comparsi, essendo già tanto tempo stati chiamati come V. S. Rma si può ricordare, la onde ritornando egli costà mi è parso accompagnarlo con questa mia a V. S. Rma et raccommandarglielo, acciochè si come egli prontamente è comparso qui con animo che li suoi disegni si ponessero a comparatione delli altri, così V. S. Rma pigli la sua protettione, et in questo edificio di san Petronio egli vi habbia quel loco che l' opere sue meritano, et che non comporti, che sia oppresso dalli favori delli altri ecc. Certificando V. S. Rma che di tutto quello aiuto et favore che li prestarà, io ne riceverò molto piacere . . .

[Orig. Nuntiat. di Bologna, CLXXVII., f. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

See *supra*, p. 593.

31. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Camillo Capilupi.[1]

1546, Juli 23, Mantua.

. . . In questi nipoti del papa si vede estremo disiderio di servir al imperator, e credo che S. M^ta^ con qualche buona ciera che faccia loro gli governerà insieme col papa come vorà, ma dall' altro canto sono pieni di tanta speranza et si gonfii del soccorso che conducono in questo bisogno di S. M., che penso che Siena et Cremona pareriano loro niente.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5793, f. 134 of the Vatican Library.]

32. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Ferrante Gonzaga.[2]

1546, October 13, Mantua.

. . . Sopra il papa si puo far poco fundamento per l' età sua et più per la voluntà, la quale per me credo, che non potesse esser peggior contra l' imperator di quel che sia, et il soccorso datogli in quella benedetta impresa con lasciarlo poi morir di fame e di necessità non è stato per altro che per riducerlo a termine, che fosse sforzato far ricorsa a S. S., che si truova gagliarda di denari, che può levarlo di necessità cavandogli dalle mani una Siena o qualche altra cosa a modo suo.

[Concept. Cod. Barb. lat. 5793, f. 171 of the Vatican Library.]

33. Girolamo Tiranno to Urbino.[3]

1546, December 11, Rom.

. . . Hoggi il papa parlandone in concistoro et proponendo di farne qualche segno di ringratiamento verso Dio come sarebbe stato d' una messa del Spirito Santo vi fuorono diverse sententie delli r^mi^ sopra questa proposta. Et per la parte degl' imperiali fu allegato esservi lettere di XXX in Giovanni di Vega che verificavano la fuga et dispersione, benchè il papa habbia havuto a dire che egli afferma d' haverle; ma però non le mostra. La

[1] See *supra*, p. 303.
[2] See *supra*, p. 321.
[3] See *supra*, p. 325.

conclusione è stata che s' habbia d' aspettarne nuovo aviso et così qua insomma chi la crede a un modo et chi all' altro. E quelli che credono per vera la dissolutione, alcuni l' attribuiscono alla stagione, la quale sola in questi tempi sia bastante a diffendere quella provincia dall' arme di cesare, altri che sia per accordo che possa esser nato tra Sua Maestà et la Germania. Gran cosa però pare a tutti che in una tanta fuga non vi siano avisi di quel che sia avvenuto così delli cariaggi come dell' artellaria grossa. Questa oppinione dell' accordo viene ancora confirmata d' alcune parole che raccontano esser state usate da mons^r Granvela verso il nuncio di S. S^tà, il quale essendo da Sua M^tà stato rimesso allui sopra la querela che faceva della sententia data dal senato di Milano in favore del s^r Hier^o da Cortemaggiore del non essere suddito di Piacenza, et detto nuncio exaggerandola col mettere inanzi li meriti di Sua S^tà verso cesare et specialmente di questa spesa della guerra, pare che detto mons^ro Granvela forte turbato et in collera havesse a rispondere: che spesa? che Parma et Piacenza? Il papa havrebbe fatto il meglio a dare del suo che quel d' altri et d' una in altra parola prorompesse in questa, che potria essere che gl' eserciti di Germania si trovassero un giorno in mezo Roma, et le parole di contesa multiplicassero in tanto che detto Granvela quasi spingesse il nuncio fuora della sua stanza, benchè tutto questo Spagnuoli habbino escusato sul male di Granvela, che in quel punto lo teneva tutto fastidioso et non lo lasciava dare orecchi volentieri nè a queste nè ad altre querele. Ma non so già come s' escusino i protesti che tuttavia hanno fatto in campo contra S. S^tà dell' inosservanza della capitulatione per mancanza delle paghe . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Urb. 266, f. 588.]

34. Pope Paul III. to King Ferdinand I.[1]

1547, Mai 20, Rom.

Regi Romanorum. Charissime etc. Guadium nostrum quod ex serenissimi fratris tui tuaque recenti victoria publice privatimque accepimus, cumularunt litterae Serenitatis Tuae rem ipsam nobis plenius et particularius perscribentes, de quo eidem Serenitati

[1] See *supra*, p. 361.

Tuae gratias agimus. Licet enim id antea cognovissemus atque undecunque agnitum habituri fuissemus gratissimum, tamen aliquanto gratius nobis est factum ipsa Serenitate Tua scribente. Itaque eidem serenissimo fratri tuo et tibi ac nobis ipsis ex animo gratulantes Deo optimo maximo publice ac solemnibus supplicationibus gratias egimus agique fecimus, M^{tem} ejus humiliter deprecantes, ut suos ac vestros hostes fidei catholicae et sacro imperio rebelles ad sanitatem atque obedientiam plene reducere vobis concedat, ad tranquillitatem istius inclytae nationis Germanicae bonumque commune totius christianitatis et assertionem fidei sancte suae.

Datum Romae etc. 20. maii 1547 anno 13. Blos.

[A tergo:] Regi Romanorum ad suas [litteras] super victoria contra ducem Saxoniae.

[Concept. Arm. 41, t. 39, n. 475. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

35. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Madruzzo.[1]

1548, Januar. 23, Bologna.

He would have liked to have been in Romc in order to have helped him: di metter acqua et spegner quanto può il foco. Io non son anco fuor di speranza in tutto che forsi col mezzo d' una suspensione di questo benedetto concilio di consenso di l' uno et l' altro di questi doi principi: a reconciliation might result.

[Autograph P. S.:] Il rev^{mo} s. Croce tornò heri sera da Roma et trovò la protesta già fatta dal sig. fiscale in nome di S. M^{ta}. Io non so che partito si pigliarino, ma a questi sig^{ri} prelati pare che saria stato conveniente che S. M^{ta} havesse risposto alle conditioni ch' erano ricercate per deliberare del ritorno del concilio in Trento di che non essendovi parola stimano che S. M^{ta} non sia informata bene de tutti li andamenti et lo dicono; nondimeno a me non quadra; esso fiscale non è tornato alla congregatione per la risposta già offerta dal rev^{mo} di Monte et dal resto della congregatione per venerdì passato. Io per tutti li rispetti come V. S. R^{ma} et Ill. può pensar sto di mala voglia et prego Dio vi ponghi la mano et mi par cosa troppo horribile a pensar li disordini che veneriano in christianità, quando si facesse rottura tra questi doi

[1] See *supra*, p. 404.

principi, nel che confido che la bontà di S. M. et gran prudentia haverà molta consideratione perchè si potria cominciar tal danza che non si finiria nè alli giorni nostri nè ad una altra età de posteri, come si è veduto alias nelli altri schisma et il cominciar pare facile, il finire non è in potestà delli homini.

[Orig. Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.]

36. Pope Paul III. to Antonino Sirleto.[1]

1548, April 14, Rom.

Dilecto filio Antonino Sirleto canonico ecclesiae Jeracensis.[2] Dilecte fili salutem. Intelleximus esse nonnulla diversorum ordinum monasteria in diocesibus Reginensi, Jeracensi, Oppidensi ac Miletensi consistentia, in quibus bibliothecae sunt multis libris ac voluminibus tam Latinorum quam Graecorum auctorum refertae ac plenae;[3] cupientes autem ob bonas rationes dictorum librorum et voluminum notulam seu indicem habere, de tua diligentia confisi tibi, qui, sicut accepimus, etiam venerabilis fratris episcopi Jeracensis in spiritualibus vicarius generalis existis, per praesentes committimus, ut ad dicta monasteria te personaliter conferas dictorumque monasteriorum abbates et superiores ex parte nostra requiras, ut te cum uno aut altero socio dictas bibliothecas ingredi ad hunc effectum libere permittant, et librorum ac voluminum, que in illis reperies, notulam seu indicem conficias et ad nos transmittas, quid in qualibet bibliotheca sit, particulariter annotando, ac contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas eadem auctoritate nostra compescendo, invocato etiam ad id si opus fuerit auxilio brachii saecularis. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dictorum monasteriorum et ordinum etiam iuramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque indultis ac litteris apostolicis eisdem monasteriis et ordinibus concessis,

[1] See *supra*, p. 547.

[2] Gerace.

[3] Here is a marginal remark: et eorum praesertim, quae ad sacri oecumenici concilii celebrationem pertinent (pertinent over the erased: multum prodesse): see below: et quoniam inter ipsa volumina aliqua esse possent, quae facerent ad sacri oecumenici concilii celebrationem; all struck through.

confirmatis et innovatis ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Volumus preterea quod si que sint in ipsis ecclesiis Reginensi, Jeracensi, Oppidensi et Miletensi bibliothecae, idem de libris in illis existentibus requisitis locorum ordinariis facias.

Dat. Romae XIIII. aprilis 1548 a° 14. Blos.

[Concept. Arm. 41, t. 41, n. 210. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

37. A. Cattaneo to Cardinal Madruzzo.[1]

1548, December 29, Rome.

. . . Ai XXIV che fu la vigilia di Natale arrivò il s. Giulio Orsino a Roma il quale senza havere cosa alcuna in scritto ha portato tanto buone parole e larghe promesse havute da S. M. come da mons. Granvela che è quasi meraviglia a se si adempissero in parte. Credo ch' el papa ne restaria sodisfatissimo. . . . Hora questi signori sono sopra il fare risolutione delle cose o più tosto parole portate dal s. Giulio et hoggi ancora al tardi si è fatta una radunanza dei conseglieri innanzi al papa et secondo questa risolutione si risolveranno le instruttioni et indrizzi che si hanno di dare al duca Ottavio, il quale fra doi o tre dì si ha di partire.

[Orig. Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.]

38. Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[2]

1549, Juni 29, Rom.

Col poco tempo che me ne fu dato scrissi due hore sono alla S. V. per via d' un corriere che fu espedito a Genova, com' era passata la ceremonia del censo di Napoli, nella quale non lasserò ancora di dire alla S. V. con la presente, come non solamente è stato biasimato il sig^or^ Don Diego d' havere fatta comprare una chinea che 13 anni sono fu data da S. Santità alla sig^a^ Francesca Sta Fiore bo. me. quando fu maritata nel s^or^ Hier^mo^ Orsino, di piccol prezzo, stata altra volta presentata et con guarnimenti men ricchi del solito, ma d' essersene riso con molti, sotto colore di gratia et di piacevolezza. Il che quanto sia conforme alla mente di Sua S^tà^, che preme infinitamente in vedere che si tenghino nel grado

[1] See *supra*, p. 442. [2] See *supra*, p. 445.

che si deve le cose di questa sede, per se stessa se lo imaginerà la S. V. Restò S. S^{tà} in molta colera, quando uscendo della porta di San Pietro non trovò li il s^{or} Don Diego secondi il solito. Ma se le crebbe maggiore, quando giunta alle stanze sue per mettersi a tavola le fu fatto intendere ch' egli non haveva voluto consegnare il censo al car^{al} Camarlingo, il che dicono che s' era fatto a tempo d' altri pontefici, et si poteva fare adesso senza alcun pregiuditio di S. M^{tà}, ma ch' era resoluto di voler darlo a S. S^{tà} medesima. D' onde ne successe [che con poca dignità del carico suo stette fuor di tutte le sale in un luogo strettissimo][1] aspettando che S. S^{tà} havesse magnato, la quale benchè lo sapesse, non per questo si vedde che accelerasse più del solito il fine del suo magnare. Fu chiamato poi dentro da m. Eurialo cam^{re} di S. S^{tà} [et nel muoversi Don Diego si messe a dirli, per quanto ho inteso che poi che S. S^{tà} haveva desinato poteva ancor dormire un poco per non uscire del' ordin suo ch' egli aspeterebbe].[2] Il che fu dato a tristo senso, et ch' egli lo dicesse ironicamente come non harebbe a credersi . . .

Nella secreteria di S. S^{tà} si non divise le provincie per conto dei negotii: a mons. Dandino tocca quella della corte cesarea, havendoli dato per substituto m. Annibale Caro, et al Cavalcante è tocca quella di Francia con un substituto che si domanda m. Seb. Gualterio già secret. del card. Trivultii. A mons. di Pola tocca quasi vedere il tutti . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3268, f. 219.]

39. Uberto Strozzi to the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[3]

1549, November 7, Rom.

. . . Heri a 18 hore essendo il r^{mo} Farnese a Monte cavallo, ove S. S^{tà} sta adesso, per raggionarli delle cose del duca Ottavio, dal quale era venuta la staffetta la notte inanti, et havendoli mostrata la sua lattera, nella quale pareva che risolvesse non volere tornare a Roma nè altrove, dove ella comandasse, se non se li dava Parma overo la ricompensa et quasi protestava se non se pigliava risolutione di cercare per altra via di accommodare le cose sue,

[1] In cipher.
[2] In cipher.
[3] See *supra*, p. 451.

con molti altri particolari, S. S^{tà}, o per la colera o per il freddo preso la mattina per condursi lì, como molti vogliono, hebbe tanta alteratione che subito se li voltò il stomacho et con vomito li pigliò un accidente con ingrossarsegli la lingua, tanto grande che fece paura a tutti i soi, maxime che subito li pigliò la febre, la quale per quanto intendo non l'ha ancora lassato, anzi questa notte il cattarro li ha dato fastidio, con lutto che dicano che pur habbi dormito et riposato . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

40. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Camillo Orsini.[1]

1549, November 8, [Rom].

Ritrovandosi la S^{tà} di N^{ro} S^{re} molto grave e cognoscendo il pericolo della vita sua, nel quale si ritrova, si è risoluto di spedire un breve diretto a V. S. I. poichè non può scrivere di sua mano et invece di ciò ha commesso a me che per parte sua le scriva, come fo colla presente in conformità di esso breve, che debba consegnare all' ill^{o} et ecc^{o} sig. duca Ottavio la città di Parma con la cittadella subito che intenda che S. S^{tà} sia mancata (il che Dio per sua misericordia prolunghi a molti anni) non ostante qualsivoglia altra commissione che sopra ciò havesse data a V. S. I., come più a pieno potrà intendere dal r. vescovo di Pola, secretario di S. Sta, al quale potrà dar fede come alla persona propria di S. B^{ne}

[Copy. Altieri Library, Rome, VII., E–IV., f. 104.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 452.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XII.

Abbaco, Antonio (architect), 553 n. 3.
Abdelmem (governor of Mount Lebanon), 521 n.
Accolti, Benedetto, Cardinal (of Ravenna), 183 n. 1, 284, 385 n., 503 n. 3.
Accoramboni, Girolamo (doctor of medicine), 526.
Achilles (S.J.), 59 n. 4.
Adjutorio, Desiderio d' (canon), 601.
Adrian VI., Pope, 18, 19, 102, 655.
Adriani, Adriano (S.J.), 91 n. 1, 110.
„ G. B. (historian), 174 n. 4.
Agnello, Giovanni, 460 n. 2.
Agostino Piemontese, Fra (Augustinian), 28.
Agricola, Johann (Protestant theologian, court preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg), 413.
Aguilar, Marquis of (Imperial ambassador in Rome), 148, 158 *seq.*, 185.
Alaba, Didascus de (Bishop of Astorja), 250, 253.
Alba, Duke of, 365.
Albani, Giovanni Girolamo (canonist), 541.
Albert of Brandenburg, Cardinal (Elector of Mayence, Archbishop of Magdeburg, and Administrator of Halle), 104, 128, 135 n. 1, 139, 141, 165, 167, 179, 181 n. 7, 275.
„ „ (Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order), 488.
„ „ the Margrave, 292.
„ „ Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, 293, 302, 357 *seq.*, 427.
Albert of Brandenburg—*contd.*
Albret, Jeanne d', 521 n. 5.
Albuquerque, Juan de (Franciscan, Bishop of Goa), 114.
Albus, Paul (sculptor), 594 n. 2.
Alciati, Andrea (jurist), 544.
Aldovrandi, Ulysses, 595.
Aldus Manutius (typographer), 547 *seq.*
Aleander, Hieronymus, Cardinal (Archbishop of Brindisi), 125, 131, 468 n. 2, 541, 545, 659.
Alepo, Salvatore (Archbishop of Sassari), 261, 269.
Alessi, Galeazzo (architect), 553 n. 3.
„ Niccolò (theologian), 540 n. 2.
Alexander VI., Pope, 1, 98 n. 2, 557, 578 n. 2, 592.
Alfani, Alfano (mathematician), 537.
Alfonso (King of Congo), 514.

Alterius, Martius (poet), 594 n. 1.
Altoviti, Bindo (Papal depositary), 603, 635 n. 4, 636.
Alvarez (S.J.), 94.
„ de Toledo, Juan, Cardinal (Dominican, Archbishop of Burgos), 45, 186, 231, 355, 407, 420.
Amaseo, Romolo (humanist), 528 *seq.*, 557.
Amatori, Francesco (assistant to Michael Angelo), 609, 615.
Amboise, Georges d', Cardinal, 243 n. 1.
Amerbach, V. (humanist), 279 n. 1.
Ammanati (sculptor), 594.
Anastasius (Emperor), 197.
Andelot, Johann von (Imperial high steward), 227 *seq.*, 230, 234.
Andersson, Lorenz (Swedish reformer), 477.
Andreassi, Giorgio (Bishop of Chiusi), 129 n.
Angelico da Fiesole, B. (Dominican, painter), 574, 628.
Angelinus, P. (Bishop of Nepi), 591 n. 8.
Angero (a Japanese convert), 120.
Anguissola, Giovanni, Count, 372.
Annebaut, Jacques d', Cardinal, 202 n. 1.
Antella, Giovanni dell' (Florentine envoy), 47 n. 2, 128 n. 2, 367, 587 n. 9, 658.
Aquaviva, Claudius (S.J.), 14 n. 2.
Aracintio, Rodolfo (poet), 532.
Aragon, Johannes of (S.J.), 99.
„ Sebastiano de (Bishop of Patti, Inquisitor for Sicily), 90.
Araoz, Antonio (S.J.), 39 n. 1, 43 n. 5, 51 n. 2, 53 n. 1, 83, 91 *seq.*
Archinto, Filippo (Papal vicar-general, Bishop of Borgo S. Sepolcro), 45, 51 n. 3, 53 n. 1, 81, 509 n. 1, 525, 655.
Ardinghello, Giuliano, Cardinal, 361, 366, 418, 420.
„ Niccolò (secretary), Cardinal, 53, 128 n. 1, 133, 147, 187, 202 n. 1, 232 n., 541, 661.
Aresson, Jon (Bishop of Holar, Iceland), 481 *seq.*
Aretino, Pietro, 535, 613, 615 *seqq.*, 675.
Argulus, Joannes Gasparus (commissary), 589 n. 4.
Ariosto, 523.
Aristotle, 72.
Armagnac, Georges d', Cardinal (Bishop of Rodez), 202 n. 1, 208, 231.
Armellini, Francesco, Cardinal, 557.
Arran, Earl of (Regent of Scotland), 472.
Astemio, Vincenzo (poet), 533.
Atanagi, Dionisio, 539 n. 1.
Aubespine (secretary to King Henry II. of France), 435.
Augustine, St. (of England), 469.
Augustini, Raffaello (of Fivizzano), 89.
Augustinus de Aretio (General of the Servites), 749 n. 2.
Augustus, Duke of Saxony, 275.
Aurelian, 556, 558, 580.
Avalos, Alfonso d', *see* Vasto, Marquis del.
„ Gasparo d' (of Compostela), Cardinal, 202.

Babbi, Francesco, 191 n. 1, 285, 560 n. 4.
Baccio Bigio, Nanni di (sculptor), 594, 643.
Badia, Tommaso (Master of the Sacred Palace, Cardinal), 33, 397, 505, 541.
Baglioni, Astorre (Roman senator), 452, 533.
„ Rodolfo, 385.
Balamius, Ferdinand (physician), 537 n. 3.
Baldovinetto (Bishop of Ancona), 586 n. 1.
Balducci, Giacomo (goldsmith), 598.
Balduini, Balduino (physician), 351, 353.
Banda, Antonio della (woodcarver), 602.
Bandinelli (sculptor), 594, 616.
„ Ubaldini (Bishop of Montefiasconeand Corneto), 537.
Bandini, Francesco (Archbishop of Siena), Cardinal, 34, 304.
Barbaran, Valentino, Fra, 49, 50 n. 1.
Barletta, Leonardo da (humanist), *see* Leonardo.
Baronino da Casale, Bartolommeo (architect), 553 n. 3, 565.
Bartoli, Daniello (S.J.), 3 n.
Basil, St., 67.
Beaton, David, Cardinal (Archbishop of St. Andrews), 469, 471–473, 668.
Beccadelli, Lodovico, 235 n., 529.
Bellagais (secretary), 220.
Bellay, Jean du (Bishop of Paris, Cardinal), 333, 386, 407, 420, 442 *seq.*, 446, 462 n. 2.
Belli, Valerio (goldsmith), 127 n. 1, 600.
Belmesseri, Paolo (lecturer in medicine), 528.
Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, 530, 538, 541, 605.
Benedetto da Mantua (Augustinian), 496.
Benedict, St., 68 n. 1.
Bermudez, Juan (cleric), 113, 514 n. 1.
Bernal, Joannes [Diego de Lugo], Bishop of Calahorra, 449.
Bernard, St., 16.
Bernardi, Antonio (philosopher) 529.
„ Giovanni, da Castel Bolognese (goldsmith), 598.
Berse, Gaspar (S.J.), 117 n. 3, 119, 121 n. 1.
Bertano, Gurone (envoy), 324, 330.
„ Pietro (Bishop of Fano), 234 n. 4, 308, 311, 398 n. 1, 432 *seqq.*, 436 *seq.*, 440, 442, 444 *seq.*, 448.
Bianchetto, Giovanni (official of the Secretary of Briefs), 468 n. 2, 493 n. 4.
Bibra, Conrad von (Bishop of Würzburg), 168.
Billick, Eberhard (Carmelite), 279 *seq.*, 413.
Bladus, Antonius Asulanus (printer), 530 n. 5, 547.
Blosius, Ludovicus (O.S.B.), 18.
Bobadilla, Nicolas (S.J.), 22, 84, 104, 108 *seq.*, 134, 417.
Boleyn, Anne, 463.
Bona (Queen of Poland), 489.
Bonaventure, St., 16.
Boncompagni, Ugo (afterwards Pope Gregory XIII.), 248.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 588.

Bonuccio, Agostino (General of the Servites), 243, 261.
Bonzagni, Giovanni Giacomo (goldsmith), 599.
Borghasio, Paolo (canonist), 541.
Borghesi, Antonio, 238 n. 1.
Borgia, Francis, St. (afterwards General of the Jesuits), 2 n., 17, 38, 96 *seqq.*
" Girolamo (Bishop of Massalubrense), 533, 550 n. 3, 584 n., 613 n. 3.
" Juan III., Duke of Gandia (father of St. Francis Borgia), 96.
Borromeo, Charles, St., 18, 617.
Bourbon, Charles de (The Constable), 385, 555.
" " Cardinal, 368 n.
Bradine, Lucrezia, 52, 53 n. 1.
Bramante (architect), 573, 606, 635, 640 *seqq.*, 645 *seqq.*
Braun, Conrad (jurist), 167.
Brenz, Johann (Protestant theologian), 279.
Brian (English envoy), 466 n. 5.
Brionäus, Martin, 548 n. 6.
Broët, Pascal (S.J.), 22, 34, 84, 100.
Bucer, Martin, 105 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, 279 *seq.*, 342.
Bugenhagen, Johann (Protestant theologian), 479.
Buonanni, Benedetto (Florentine envoy), 442 n., 443 n., 445 n. 2, 579 n. 3, 681.
Buoncambi (agent of Pier Luigi Farnese), 283.
Burlamachi (chronicler), 385 n.
Busäus, 104 n. 2.
Caccia, del (Florentine envoy in Rome), 285.
Cafarelli, Gian Pietro (architect), 568 n. 1, 570.
Cajetan, Thomas de Vio, Cardinal, 342.
Callini, Bernardino (Bishop of Segni), 591 n. 8.
Calvin, John [anonym: Eusebius Pamphili], 216 n. 2, 342, 487, 492, 500.
Camerino, Paolo da (S.J.), 121 n. 1.
Campeggio, Giovanni Battista (Bishop of Majorca), 219 n. 4.
" Lorenzo, Cardinal, 536 n. 4, 541.
" Tommaso (Bishop of Feltre), 154, 166, 171 n. 1, 178, 212, 219 n. 5, 242 *seq.*, 245, 252, 541.
Camutius, Andreas (theologian), 540.
Cancellieri, Angelo del Bufalo de' (overseer of Roman streets), 565.
Canisius, Peter, St. (S.J.), 17, 56, 78 n. 5, 80, 82, 90 *seq.*, 104, 105 n. 1, 109–112.
Cano, Melchior (Dominican), 94 *seq.*
Capilupi, Camillo, 306, 677.
Capitaneis, Lodovico de (goldsmith), 598.
Capodiferro, Girolamo, Cardinal, 46 n. 2, 133 n. 3, 145 n. 3, 170 n., 202 n. 1, 335, 474.
Capua, Pietro Antonio da (Archbishop of Otranto), 167, 179 *seq.*
Caracalla, 558, 580.
Caracciolo, Marino, Cardinal, 503 n 3.

Carafa, Gian Pietro, Cardinal (Bishop of Chieti, Archbishop of Naples, and later Pope Paul IV.), 24, 45, 55, 144 n. 3, 195, 209, 231, 233, 420, 452 n. 2, 504 *seq.*, 507 *seq.*, 510, 543, 584 n. 1, 659.
,, Oliviero, Cardinal, 451, 654 n. 9.
,, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 27, 29.
Carnesecchi, Pietro (humanist), 508.
Caro, Annibale (secretary), 454, 531, 539, 593, 600, 682.
Carpi, *see* Pio.
Casa, Claudio della (notary), 401.
,, Giovanni della (nuncio), 513, 525.
Casale, Francesco, 463 n. 5.
,, Pier Antonio, 576.
Casas, Bartolomé de las (Bishop of Chiapa), 518.
Caselli (Dominican, Bishop of Bertinoro), 178, 219 n. 4, 265.
Castagna, Francesco (Papal commissary), 590 n. 5.
Castelalto, Francesco de (orator), 212.
Castiglione, Francesco Romeo de (General of the Dominicans), 429 n. 2.
Castilla, Alfonso de, 449.
Castriotto, Jacopo Fusti (architect), 562 *seq.*
Castro, Scipio da, 371 n. 2.
Catarino, Ambrogio (Dominican, Bishop of Minori), 84, 111, 243, 254, 429, 500 *seq.*
Catherine of Aragon (wife of Henry VIII.), 463.
Cattaneo, Aurelio (secretary to Cardinal Madruzzo), 290, 309, 311, 442, 681.
Cauco, Giacomo (Archbishop of Corfù), 167, 304, 307, 350.
Cavalcanti, Bartolommeo, 538, 682.
Cavalli, Marino (Venetian ambassador), 486.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 538, 589, 598 *seq.*, 600.
Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal, (Bishop of Nicastro, afterwards Pope Marcellus II.), 44 n. 4, 79, 81, 84, 101 n. 1, 126, 162, 171 n. 1, 174, 209 *seqq.*, 240, 242, 247, 257 n. 1, 305 *seq.*, 309, 310 n. 3, 311, 316 n. 4, 317, 341 *seq.*, 346, 348, 354, 374, 396, 404, 431, 436, 437 n. 2, 471, 478 n. 2, 504 n., 505 n., 531, 541, 545, 547.
Cesati, Alessandro [Il Grechetto], 232, 599, 600.
Cesi, Federigo, Cardinal, 202 n. 1, 541, 585, 595.
Chaireddin Barbarossa, 183, 386.
Chantonnay, Thomas de (younger son of the chancellor, Granvelle), 159, 171.
Charles V. (The Emperor), 28, 46, 96, 102, 106, 108 *seq.*, 124–133, 140, 146–152, 155, 158, 160, 168, 170–178, 180, 182–202, 206 *seqq.*, 213 *seq.*, 217, 219, 222–230, 233–237, 249 *seq.*, 255–258, 261, 266, 271–284, 286 *seqq.*, 289–298, 300–303, 305–319, 321–339, 347 *seq.*, 351, 356–365, 367–374, 375–

Charles V.—*continued.*
382, 384–408, 409–428, 430, 432–437, 439–442, 444–449, 461, 463, 465, 469 *seqq.*, 474, 478, 485 *seq.*, 495, 519, 535, 538, 564, 566, 569, 597 n. 2, 605, 636 *seq.*
Charles, Duke of Savoy, 103, 128.
Cherubino (clock-maker), 600.
Christian II. (King of Denmark), 478, 481.
,, III., (King of Denmark), 479, 482.
Christopher of Brunswick (Archbishop of Bremen), 181 n. 7.
Cibo, Caterina (Duchess of Camerino), 398 n.
,, Giulio, 386.
,, Innocenzo, Cardinal, 183 n. 1.
Cipriano (Dominican, canonist), 540.
Cisneros, Garcia de (Abbot of Montserrat), 16.
Clario, Isidoro (Bishop of Foligno), 80, 89, 539, 544.
Clement VII., Pope, 46, 173, 188, 333, 383 *seq.*, 456, 477, 483, 495, 517, 524, 539, 547, 549, 551, 554, 556, 586 n. 1, 588 *seq.*, 594 *seq.*, 599, 608, 635, 651 *seq.*, 655.
,, VIII., Pope, 618 n. 2.
,, XIII., Pope, 619.
Clementis, Pietro Francesco (architect), 590 n. 5.
Clovio, Giulio (miniaturist), 608.
Cochläus, Joannes, 18, 103, 279.
Codacio, Pietro (S.J.), 38 *seq.*, 42.
Codure, Jean (S.J.), 22, 36, 58.
Coelho, Gaspar (Vicar in Meliapur), 117.
Colle, Giuliano da, 509 n. 1.
Colocci, Angelo (Bishop of Nocera), 532.
Colonna, Family of the, 283, 383, 539, 555.
,, Ascanio, 175, 188, 194 n. 2, 284, 385, 670.
,, Vittoria (Duchess of Amalfi), 25, 497, 635.
Condivi (biographer of Michael Angelo), 551, 611, 627 n. 2.
Contarini, Gasparo, Cardinal, 27, 30, 32 *seq.*, 36, 106, 126, 131, 135, 144 n. 3, 149, 155, 342, 468, 498, 502 *seq.*, 541, 605, 664 *seq.*
,, Giulio (Bishop of Belluno), 85.
,, Pietro, 23, 30 n. 1.
Conversini, Benedetto (Bishop of Bertinoro), 30.
Copernicus, Nicolas, 549 *seq.*
Copetta, Francesco (poet), 533.
Cornaro [Corner], Andrea, Cardinal (Archbishop of Spalato), 202 n. 1, 346, 659.
,, Francesco, Cardinal (Bishop of Brescia), 614.
Cortese, Gregorio, Cardinal (reformer of the Cassinese Benedictines), 209, 541, 543.
Covos, Francesco, 636 n. 3.
Cranmer, Thomas, 476.
Crescenzi, Marcello, Cardinal (Bishop of Marsico), 41, 50, 209, 361, 366, 368, 397, 407.

Criminali, Antonio (S.J.), 118.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal, 202 n. 1, 578 *seq.*, 587 n. 11.
Cromwell, Thomas, 457, 470.
Crusius (S.J.), 103 n. 1.
Cruyllas, Francesca, 52 *seqq.*
Cueva, Bartolomé de la, Cardinal, 45, 202, 420.
Cupis, Domenico de, Cardinal (Bishop of Camerino), 209, 231, 420, 592 n. 2.
Curione, Celio Secondo (Italian heretic), 500.
Cyprian (S.J.), 118 n. 6.
Cyril of Alexandria, 110.

Dandino, Girolamo (secretary to Paul III., Bishop of Caserta and Imola), 124 n. 1, 127, 128 n. 1, 133 n. 3, 170 n., 187 n. 1, 208, 224, 235–238, 256 n. 7, 257 n. 1, 274, 296 n. 1, 333, 431, 682.
Dandolo, Matteo (Venetian envoy), 445 n. 2, 451 n. 3.
Danès, Pierre (French envoy to Trent), 270.
Dante, 626 *seq.*
Dantiscus, Joannes, 489 n. 4.
David (King of Ethiopia), 514.
Dentocambi, Clementi (engineer), 602.
Diana of Poitiers (natural daughter of Henry II. of France), 367 n. 2, 432, 449.
Diaz, Giambernardo (Bishop of Calahorra), 447.
Diethelm (Abbot of St. Gall), 163.
Dionysius (Guardian of the Convent of Sion at Jerusalem), 666.
Doctis, Gasparo de (auditor), 23.
Dolce, Lodovico, 617.
Doménech, Jerónimo (S.J.), 41 n. 3, 42 n. 2, 89, 100 n. 1.
Domenichi, L., 611 n. 3.
Dominic, St., 5.
Doria, Andrea (Admiral), 332, 371, 600.
Dosio, Giovanni Antonio (sculptor), 594.
Duca, Giacomo del (architect), 573.
Duisnio, Alberto (Dominican, canonist), 540.
Du Mortier (French ambassador), 334 n. 5, 383.
Dunbar, Gavin (Archbishop of Glasgow), 100.
Du Prat, Guillaume (Bishop of Clermont), 82, 249.
Duranti, Durante de', Cardinal (Bishop of Alghero), 202 n. 1, 509 n. 1.
Dzierzgowski (Polish Bishop), 489 n. 4.

Eck, Johann, 111.
,, Leonhard von (Bavarian chancellor), 293, 416 *seq.*
Edward VI. (King of England), 472, 474, 476.
Egidio, Fra (Carmelite, professor in the Roman University), 540.
Egmont, Maximilian (Count of Büren), 297, 334.
Einarsson Gisfur (Bishop of Skalholt), 481.
Eleanora (Duchess of Florence), 81, 87.
Elio, Antonio (secretary to Cardinal Farnese, Bishop of Pola), 318, 452 n. 4.
Engelbertson, Olaf (Archbishop of Drontheim), 481.
Enriquez, Enrique (S.J.), 118 n. 6, 121 n.

Enzinas, Jayme (Spanish heretic), 508
Erasmus, Desiderius, 413, 495, 542.
Ercole II. (Duke of Ferrara), 26, 30, 86, 126, 194, 233, 354 n. 2, 446, 672–675.
„ the wife of, *see* Renée.
Ernest of Bavaria, Duke (Bishop of Passau, Archbishop of Salzburg), 107, 157, 181.
d' Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, 193, 194, 446, 452 n. 2, 599, 669.
Estrada (S.J.), 95.
Eustathios (commentator on Homer, 548.

Faber [Le Fèvre], Peter (S.J.), 21, 26, 31, 34, 42, 52 n. 1, 79, 91, 96, 98 n. 3, 99, 102–106, 109, 116, 134, 527.
„ Johann (Bishop of Vienna), 478 n. 1, 548 n. 5.
Farnese, Family of the, 187 n., 191, 283, 334, 422, 534.
„ Alessandro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul III.), 523.
„ Alessandro, Cardinal (son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 40, 48, 49 n. 1, 52, 89, 108, 126, 131, 137 n. 1, 139, 149 n., 153, 155, 157, 162, 166 *seq.*, 172 *seq.*, 185, 187–192, 193, 196, 198, 209 n. 2, 212 n. 4, 217–226, 228, 230, 234 n. 4, 236, 238, 243 n. 1,
Farnese, Alessandro—*continued.* 246, 252 *seq.*, 257 n., 262 *seq.*, 266, 273, 286 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 297 n. 3, 302, 304 *seqq.*, 308, 310–319, 324, 329, 337 *seqq.*, 347, 351, 354, 356, 361 *seqq.*, 366, 368 *seq.*, 373, 380 *seq.*, 395, 399 n. 1, 401 n. 1, 418, 421, 429, 433 *seq.*, 440, 442, 450 *seqq.*, 454, 505 n. 1, 527 *seqq.*, 531, 533, 537, 565, 582 n. 1, 593, 598, 600, 603, 605, 607, 614, 659, 661, 664, 670, 673, 676, 682 *seq.*
„ Alessandro (son of Ottavio), 231 n. 4.
„ Costanza (daughter of Alessandro, afterwards Cardinal, and Pope Paul III., married to Bosio Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora), 202 n. 1.
„ Edoardo, Cardinal, 455.
„ Giulia (daughter of Pier Luigi *the elder*), 455.
„ Margaret (natural daughter of Charles V., wife of Ottavio Farnese), *see* Margaret of Austria.
„ Orazio (son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 232, 367 n. 2, 432, 435, 449, 529.
„ Ottavio (son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 42, 52, 126, 128

Farnese, Ottavio—*continued.* *seq.*, 176, 182, 188, 192, 229 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*, 292, 296, 321, 372 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 382, 433, 435, 444, 449–453, 563, 600, 658, 670 *seq.*, 676, 681, 682 *seq.*
,, Pier Luigi *the younger* (son of Alessandro, afterwards Cardinal, and Pope Paul III.), 172, 176 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*, 283, 290, 320–323, 362, 369–373, 376, 381, 383 *seq.*, 394, 529, 531, 535, 555, 557, 563, 580 n. 1, 587 n. 9. 589 n. 4, 592 *seq.*, 599 *seq.*
,, Ranuccio, Cardinal (Archbishop of Naples, son of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 243 n. 1, 529.
,, Vittoria (daughter of Pier Luigi *the younger*), 175, 191 *seq.*, 283, 367 n. 2, 530 n. 4, 670.
Faure, J. B., (S.J.), 504 n. 3.
Favorino, Varino (Bishop of Nocera), 532.
Felice, Fra (of Mount Lebanon), 521 n., 666.
Ferdinand I. (brother to Charles V.), King of Hungary and Bohemia, 55, 107, 128, 137–143, 146, 158, 162–166, 171 *seq.*, 178, 184, 199 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*, 214, 220 *seq.*, 227, 242, 255, 270–274, 286 288, 294, 357 *seq.*, 361, 387 n. 2, 410, 420, 422, 437, 439, 443, 678.
,, II. (the Catholic), King of Aragon, 4, 335.
Ferreri, Bonifazio (Cardinal of Ivrea, nuncio), 244 *seq.*
,, Filiberto, Cardinal, 443.
Ferretti, J. F., 579 n. 2, 583 n. 2.
Ferri, Alfonso (surgeon), 528.
Ferron, Bartolomé (S.J.), 43 n. 1, 53 n. 1, 54 n. 1, 56 n. 1, 83 n. 2, 108 n. 2.
Fichard (jurist), 555.
Fiesco, 332, 369, 371, 386.
Figueroa (officer of the Imperial household), 236, 378, 382.
Filareto, Appolonio (secretary to Pier Luigi Farnese), 229.
Filheul, Antoine (Archbishop of Aix), 242, 244, 251.
Filonardi, Ennio, Cardinal, 34.
Fine, Cornelius de, 127 n. 2.
Fisher, John, B. (Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal), 458 *seq.*, 541.
Flaminio, Marcantonio (humanist), 247, 496, 498, 530, 533.
Flavius, F., 532 n. 6.
Flersheim, Philipp von (Bishop of Spires), 103, 138.
Fonseca, Juan (Bishop of Castellamare), 248.
Fontana (architect), 3 n. 1.
Fonzio, Bartolommeo (O.S.F.), 492 n. 2.
Foscarari, Egidio (Master of the Sacred Palace), 540 n. 2.

Foschcri, Pietro (Podestà of Trent), 354 n. 2.
Fracastoro, Girolamo (physician), 351, 353, 531, 536.
Fracco, Novidio (poet), 533, 535 *seq.*
Franchino, F., 452 n. 2.
Francis I. (King of France), 28, 102, 124, 127 *seq.*, 133, 137 n. 1, 139 n. 4, 145, 147–152, 155, 168, 172, 175, 177, 182, 183–186, 191, 193 *seqq.*, 198 *seqq.*, 207 *seq.*, 209 n. 2, 220, 244, 249, 255, 270 *seq.*, 301, 315, 320, 323 *seq.*, 335, 360, 459, 461, 465, 467 *seqq.*, 472, 474, 482–487, 535, 599, 602, 605, 636 *seq.*, 653, 662.
Francis, Duke of Orleans (afterwards Francis II., King of France), 191, 670.
Francis of Assisi, St., 5, 67, 622 n.
,, of Sales, St., 18.
,, Xavier, St. (S.J.), 22 *seqq.*, 36 n. 2, 42 nn., 44 n. 4, 98, 114–122, 518.
Franco, Niccolò (satirist), 535.
Frangipani, Antonino, 27.
Frederick II., the Emperor, 197.
,, I. (King of Denmark), 479.
,, (Count Palatine of the Rhine), 275, 326, 478.
,, (Duke of Saxony), 200 n. 4.
Fregoso (French diplomatist), 127.
,, Federigo, Cardinal, (Bishop of Gubbio, Archbishop of Salerno), 541, 543.
Frundsberg, Melchior, 385.
Gabrielli, Scipione, 446 n. 2, 452 n. 1, 632 n.
Gaetano di Tiene, S., 55.
Galatinus, Petrus (Minorite), 540.
Galeotto, Pietro Paolo (goldsmith), 599.
Gambara, Uberto, Cardinal (Bishop of Tortona), 126, 230.
,, Veronica, 174 n. 3.
Gamrat, Petrus (Archbishop of Gnesen), 146, 181 n. 7.
Garzoni, Quirino (Roman gentleman), 27.
Gaurico, Luca Pomponio (astrologer), 537.
Gentile de Faenza, Antonino (goldsmith), 598.
George of Austria (Bishop of Liège), 103, 110.
Ghinucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 33.
Giacobbe [Diego Mantino] (Jewish physician), 528.
Giacomelli, Jacopo (professor at the Roman University), 540.
Giacomello Giacomo (Bishop of Belcastro), 167, 178, 219 n. 4.
Giberti, Gian Matteo (Bishop of Verona), 152, 466, 468, 543.
Giese, Tiedemann (Bishop of Culm), 549.
Gilio, Giovanni Andrea, 618 *seq.*
Giocondo, Fra (architect), 642.
Giovanni da Calvi (Franciscan), 40 n. 1.
,, da Udine (painter), 576, 600.
Giovio [Jovius], Paolo, 176 n. 3, 177, 194, 282, 530, 536, 603 *seq.*, 605, 655, 658.
Girolamo da Fano (painter) 618.

Gomes, Anton (S.J.), 121 n. 1.
Gonzaga, Elisabetha (Duchess of Urbino), 176 n. 3, 325 n. 1, 366 n. 3, 398 n. 1, 477 n. 1.
" Ercole, Cardinal, 132 n. 1, 141 n. 1, 143 n. 3, 147 n. 2, 183 n. 1, 189 n. 1, 191 *seq.*, 193, 203 n. 1, 210 n. 3, 213, 218, 231 n. 3, 233, 306, 312 n. 1, 321, 443, 460 n. 2, 512, 545, 614, 659-662, 665, 670, 672-675, 677, 682.
" Ercole, Cardinal, the mother of, 462 n. 2.
" Ferrante (brother of Federigo, viceroy of Naples, Governor of Milan), 183 n. 1, 192 n. 3, 320 *seq.*, 334, 369 *seqq.*, 373, 376 *seqq.*, 380, 382, 385, 435, 450 *seq.*, 670, 677.
" Giulia, 497.
Gonzalvez, Luis, de Camara (S.J.) 1 n., 8 n. 5, 9, 60, 99.
" Sebastian (S.J.), 114 n. 4.
Gouvea, Diego de, 98.
Granada, Louis of, *see* Louis.
Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (Bishop of Arras; son of the following), 158, 160, 171.
" Nicolas Perrenot de (statesman), 147, 151, 158-162, 163 n. 5, 164, 166, 171 *seq.*, 188, 195, 199, 209, 214, 217, 220, 223, 226 *seq.*, 277, 286, 301, 303, 309
Granvelle, Nicolas—*continued.* n. 1, 313 n. 4, 316 n. 2, 322 *seq.*, 331, 376 *seqq.*, 380, 382, 391 n. 1, 442, 449, 661, 678.
Grassi, Achille de', Cardinal, 248, 309.
Gregory the Great, St., Pope, 616.
" XIII., Pope, 59 n. 4, 63 n. 2, 618 n. 2.
Grimaldi, Girolamo, Cardinal, 183 n. 1.
Grimani, Marco (Patriarch of Aquileia), 472 *seq.*
" Marino, Cardinal, 171, 195, 198, 209, 494, 545, 668.
Gropper, Johann (theologian), 110 n. 4, 280 *seq.*, 342.
Grünenstein, Wolfgang von (Abbot of Kempten), 103.
Gualterio, Sebastian, 682.
Gualteruzzi, Carlo, 127 n. 1, 173 n. 2, 531.
Guglielmo (Sicilian hermit), 521.
Guicciardini, Girolamo, 177 n. 1, 739.
Guiche, Claude de la (Bishop of Agde), 244.
Guidiccioni, Alessandro (nuncio), 220 n. 2, 237 n. 2.
" Bartolommeo (Vicar-general of Parma, afterwards Cardinal), 33 *seq.*, 36, 125 n. 6, 126, 154, 209, 312 n. 1, 397, 499, 503 n. 3, 505, 541, 543, 605.
" Giovanni (Bishop of Fossombrone, nuncio), 538 *seq.*

Guidoni, Guido (Archdeacon of Modena, confessor to Ercole II. of Ferrara), 86.
Guinigi, V. (of Lucca), 126 n. 3.
Guise, Charles (of Lorraine), Cardinal, 367 n. 2, 383 *seq.*, 386, 669.
Guisoni, Fermo, 660 n. 2.
Gustavus Wasa (King of Sweden), 477 *seq.*

HANNART, J. (envoy), 483 n. 1.
Hans (Margrave of Brandenburg-Cüstrin), 293, 302, 326, 334 n. 5, 415, 425.
Hassan Aga, Pasha, 129.
Heeze, Dietrich von, 18, 102.
Helding, Michael (Coadjutor of Mayence, Bishop of Merseburg and Sidon), 104, 255, 413.
Henry IV. (the Emperor), 197.
„ VIII. (King of England), 100 *seq.*, 152, 172, 184 *seq.*, 186, 192, 210, 335, 456–475.
„ II. (King of France), 360, 383 *seq.*, 386, 420, 432, 435, 446, 449, 487, 521. *See* Henry, Duke of Orleans.
„ Duke of Brunswick, 204, 238, 292.
„ Duke of Orleans (second son of Francis I., afterwards King Henry II. of France), 128, 185, 200, 320.
„ of Portugal, Cardinal, 126, 243 n. 1.
Hernandez, Diego, 49 n. 1.
Heusenstamm, Sebastian von (Elector of Mayence), 275, 423, 425.
Hoffmeister, Johann (Provincial of the Augustinians), 279, 530.
Honorius (Roman Emperor), 638.
„ Joannes (a Greek, scriptor at the Vatican Library), 547 n. 5.
Hosius, Stanislaus (Bishop of Ermeland), 489 n. 3, 490.
Hutten, Moritz von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 106, 164, 168, 179, 278.
Hyacinth of Poland, St., 521 n. 2.

IDIAQUEZ (Imperial secretary), 188, 236.
Ignatius of Antioch, St., 3 n. 3.
„ of Loyola, St., 1–45, 47–57, 58–62, 65–71, 73–88, 90 *seqq.*, 94, 96–99, 101, 108 n. 2, 113, 120, 122, 504, 585, 642.
Iñigo of Oña, St. (Benedictine abbot), 3 n. 3.
Innocent III., Pope, 44.
„ X., Pope, 593.
Insoni, Gasparo (astronomer), 537.
Iter, Lucius (Bishop of Coire), 163.

JACOBAZZI, Cristoforo, Cardinal (Bishop of Cassano), 541.
Jacomo (sculptor) 632 n.
James V. (King of Scotland), 100, 465 *seq.*, 471 *seq.*
„ the wife of, 465.
Janitius, Clement (poet), 534.
Japan, the Emperor of, 121.
Joachim I. (Elector of Brandenburg), 144, 389, 413, 415, 426 *seq.*

John III. (King of Portugal), 20, 45–49, 92, 98 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 117, 155, 163, 195, 238, 244, 514 n. 1, 517, 638.
„ the son of, 99.
„ of Denmark (son of King Frederick I.), 479.
„ Frederick (Elector of Saxony), 204, 214, 256, 279, 292, 298, 357–360, 375, 389, 415, 428.
„ of Avila, St., 18, 94 n. 1, 96.
Julius II., Pope, 462, 524, 550 *seq.*, 553, 573, 576, 595, 632, 634, 639, 655.
„ III., Pope, 34 n. 5, 59.
Justinian II. (Emperor), 197.

Kalckbrenner, Gerhard (Carthusian), 18.
Kempten, the Prince Abbot of, 103.
Kessel, Leonhard, 85 n. 1, 91 n. 1.

Labacco, Mario Antonio (architect), 602, 639.
La Baume, Pierre de (Archbishop of Besançon), 181.
Lamberg, Ambrosius von (Dean of Salzburg), 157, 158.
Lancilotti (S.J.), 118 n. 3, 119 n. 1.
Landini, Silvestro (S.J.), 80 n. 6, 88.
Lascaris, Giano (humanist), 547.
Lasso, D., 405 n. 1, 451 n. 3.
Laurentius, Thomas (Inquisitor), 21.
Laureo, Marco (Dominican), 267.
Laurerio, Dionisio (General of the Servites), Cardinal, 152, 504 n., 505.
Laynez, Diego (S.J.), 2 n. 6, 8 *seq.*, 22, 25 *seq.*, 30 n. 1, 31, 34, 50, 79–84, 86 n. 1, 87, 89, 266, 343, 527, 540.
Le Jay, Claude (S.J.), 22, 25 *seq.*, 55, 56 n. 1, 78 *seqq.*, 82, 86, 104, 106 *seqq.*, 111, 134.
Leo the Great, St., Pope, 110.
„ X., Pope, 384, 463, 524, 526, 532, 536 *seq.*, 538 *seq.*, 547, 554, 595, 651 *seq.*, 655.
„ III., the Emperor, 197.
„ XIII., Pope, 59 n. 4.
Leonardo da Barletta (humanist), 528.
Leoni, Leone (goldsmith), 599 *seq.*
Leto, Pomponio (humanist), 523.
Leuti, Pellegrino di (goldsmith), 596 n. 2, 599.
Lhoost, Jakob (S.J.), 89.
Lignières, Jacques de (French envoy to Trent), 270.
Lippomano, Andrea, 83, 548 n. 7.
„ J. (nuncio), 46 n. 2.
„ Luigi (Bishop of Verona), 84, 436, 437 n. 2, 439, 509 n. 1.
Loaysa, Garcia de, Cardinal, 637 n. 2.
Loffredo (Bishop of Capaccio), 251 n. 4, 254, 351.
Lombard, Peter, 71, 348.
Lombay, the Marquis Francisco de (son of Juan III., Duke of Gandia), *see* Borgia, Francis.

Lorenzetto (sculptor), 594.
Lorenzo, Lodovico di (sculptor), 558.
Lorraine, Jean de, Cardinal, 155 n. 1, 669.
Louis (Duke of Bavaria), 181 n. 7.
„ (Elector Palatine), 293, 389, 415, 426.
„ XII. (King of France), 492.
„ of Granada, 18, 95.
Loyola, Family of the, 2, 6, 30 n. 2.
Loysier, Jean (Abbot of Citeaux), 212.
Ludolf of Saxony (Carthusian), 5, 6, 16.
Luther, Martin, 106, 215 *seqq.*, 217, 256, 279 *seq.*, 342, 482, 494 *seq.*, 511, 540, 545, 550.
Luzzi, Luzio (painter), 576.

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolò, 475 n. 2.
Maciejowski (Vice-chancellor of Poland), 489.
Madruzzo, Aliprando, 225.
„ Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 78, 153 *seq.*, 158, 167, 202, 211, 217 *seq.*, 235 n., 242, 247, 249 *seqq.*, 252 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 258, 261 n., 265, 267 n. 3, 287 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, 300, 308 *seq.*, 311, 318, 337, 339, 346, 365, 393 *seqq.*, 397 *seqq.*, 406, 409, 411, 434, 436, 442, 673, 679, 681.
„ Niccolò (brother to Cristoforo), 220.
Maffei, Bernardino (secretary to Paul III.), Cardinal, 262, 291 n. 1, 305, 310 n. 3, 316 *seq.*, 327 n. 3, 355 n. 3, 365, 443, 529, 531, 541.
„ Girolamo (overseer of the Roman streets), 565.
Maffeius, Joannes Petrus (S.J.), 3 n.
Maggiorano, Niccolò da (custodian of the Vatican Library), 546 n. 2, 547.
Magnus, Olaus (Archbishop of Upsala), 242, 478 n. 2.
Major, George (Protestant theologian), 280.
Malatesta, L., 675.
Maltitz, Johann (Bishop of Meissen), 103.
Malvenda (Dominican), 279 *seq.*, 413.
Manarei, P. (S.J.), 57 n. 5.
Manetti, Latino Giovenale (humanist), 537 *seq.*, 563 *seqq.*, 568 n. 2.
Manfredi, Family of the, 675.
Mangone, Giovanni (architect), 557, 574 n. 2, 602.
Manriquez, Alonso (Archbishop of Seville), Cardinal, 516.
„ Isabella (Duchess of Amalfi), 497.
Mantino, Diego, *see* Giacobbe.
Manuel (King of Portugal), 45.
Marchi, Francesco de', 557.
Marco da Siena (artist), 576 *seq.*
Marcus Aurelius (the Emperor), 571, 573.
Margaret of Navarre (sister to Francis I. of France), 485, 669.

Margaret of Austria (natural daughter of Charles V., married, 1st, to Alessandro de' Medici, 2nd, to Ottavio Farnese of Parma), 42 *seq.*, 45, 52, 126, 176, 191 *seq.*, 193, 233, 450, 658.
Maria (Governor of the Netherlands, sister to Charles V.), 206, 292, 465.
,, (eldest daughter of Charles V.), 200.
,, (wife of the Emperor Honorius, daughter of Stilicho), 638.
Marillac, 475.
Marinari, Antonio (Carmelite), 540.
Mario, Paolo, 366 n. 3.
Marliano, Bartolommeo, 565.
Marmitta, Jacopo (poet), 531 n. 1.
,, Lorenzo (worker on crystal), 600.
Marot, Clement, 492.
Marquina (secretary to Charles V.), 230, 236, 257 n. 1, 274, 276, 283, 315 n. 4.
Martelli, Braccio (Bishop of Fiesole), 243, 254, 265.
,, Niccolò, 612.
Martinellis, Blasius de (Papal master of ceremonies), 571 n., 611, 631 n. 3.
Martinengo (nuncio to Poland), 490.
Martirano, Coriolano (Bishop of S. Marco), 248, 350.
Mary Stuart (daughter of James V. of Scotland, afterwards Queen), 100, 472, 474.
Massarelli, Angelo (a secretary of the Council of Trent), 78 n. 4, 82, 199 n. 1, 202 n. 1, 211, 219 n. 4, 247 *seq.*, 249 n. 1, 256, 353 n. 2, 402.
Massolus, Bart. (Papal commissary at Perugia), 587 n. 10.
Maurice of Saxony (Duke), 292 *seq.*, 297, 302, 326, 334 n. 5, 358, 387, 415, 423, 425, 427.
Maximilian (Archduke of Austria), 389 n. 1.
,, (Count of Büren), *see* Egmont.
Medde, F. de (Somasch.), 54 n. 7.
Medici, Cosimo de' (Duke of Florence), 87, 126, 148, 159, 176, 192, 282–285, 370, 385, 535, 658, 663, 681.
,, Gian Angelo de' (Archbishop of Ragusa, afterwards Pope Pius IV.), 443.
Melanchthon, Philip, 106, 205, 256, 279 *seq.*, 359, 484, 550.
Meleghino, Jacopo (architect), 562, 574, 602, 631 n. 4.
Melem, Ogier von (deputy from Frankfort to the Diet of Worms), 393 n. 1.
Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de (Imperial envoy), 158, 162, 212, 219, 242, 251, 258, 270, 309 n. 1, 310, 318, 322, 336 n. 1, 337 *seqq.*, 360–364, 367 *seq.*, 373, 380, 381 n. 2., 382, 384, 395, 398, 404 *seqq*, 408, 411, 430, 432, 434, 437 n. 1, 442 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*
,, Francisco de, Cardinal, 93, 95, 202 355, 420.
,, Juan de, 319, 347

Mendoza, Rodrigo de (Bishop of Salamanca), 95.
Mercurian, Everard (S.J)., 23 n. 1.
Merino, Gabriel, Cardinal, 516.
Metellus (an official of the Vatican Library), 546 n. 2.
Metzenhausen, Johannes von (Elector of Treves), 141, 168 n. 2, 181 n. 7, 256 n. 1.
Michael Angelo, 454 *seq.*, 551–554, 561 *seq.*, 571 *seqq.*, 581 *seq.*, 586 n. 2, 594 *seq.*, 600, 603 *seq.*, 606, 608–612, 615 *seq.*, 618 *seqq.*, 626–635, 640–648, 659 *seq.*
Michele, Giovanni (Archbishop of Acerenza-Matera), 401 n 1.
Mignanelli, Fabio (Bishop of Lucera, nuncio), 199 n. 2, 214, 217, 224, 229 n. 1, 381 n. 1, 382, 673.
Mocenigo, Aloysius, 276 n. 1, 296 n. 2, 393 n. 1.
Mochi, Prospero, (architect), 557, 594 n. 1.
Molossi, Baldassare (poet), 529.
Molza, Francesco Maria (poet), 530.
Mombaers, Jan (a brother of "The Common Life"), 16.
Monaldeschi, Lorenzo, 588 n. 2.
Monte, Gian Maria Ciocchi del, Cardinal (President of the Council of Trent, afterwards Pope Julius III.), 79, 111, 154, 209 *seqq.*, 240 *seqq.*, 245 *seqq.*, 248 n. 6, 307 *seq.*, 311, 341, 344, 348–353, 396, 398, 401 *seqq.*, 431, 434, 436, 444, 448.
Montelupo, Raffaello da (sculptor), 576, 579 n. 2, 594.
Montemellino, Giovanni Francesco (architect), 561, 563.
Montemerlo (secretary to Cardinal Farnese), 310.
Montesa, Fernando (secretary to Cardinal Mendoza), 434.
Montfort (Imperial orator), 137.
Montmorency, the Constable, de, 360.
Montorsoli (sculptor), 594.
Morani, Eurialo, of Ascoli (poet), 532.
More, Thomas (chancellor of England), 458 *seqq.*
Morone, Giovanni (Bishop of Modena), Cardinal, 85, 86 n. 1, 104, 106, 108, 131–138, 140 *seqq.*, 149, 152, 154, 158, 161 n. 1, 170 n., 171, 178–181, 185 n. 4, 195, 198 *seq.*, 209, 219, 238, 361, 366, 397, 404, 443, 478 n. 1, 500–503, 536, 541, 665, 676, 679.
Mosca, Simone (sculptor), 588, 594.
Mulio, Petrus, 568 n. 1.
Muñoz, Michael (Bishop of Cuença), 95.
Mussi, Cornelio (Bishop of Bertinoro and Bitonto), 166, 212, 213 n. 3, 219 n. 4, 241.

Nachianti, Giacomo (Bishop of Chioggia), 243, 259.
Nadal, Jerónimo (S.J.), 8 n. 5, 51, 59, 90.
Najera, the Duke of, 4.
Nausea, F. (Bishop of Vienna), 108, 165, 174, 548 n. 5.
Navarro, Dr., 517 n. 1.
" Francesco (Bishop of Badajoz), 82, 253 *seq.*, 447, 449.
Naves (Imperial vice-chancellor), 137 *seq.*
Nebbia, Cesare (painter), 619 n. 3.

Necoda (a Chinese pirate), 120.
Newdigate, Seb. (English Carthusian martyr), 459 n. 1.
Nicolas, V. Pope, 559, 569, 574.
„ Veronensis (Augustinian hermit), 493 n. 5.
Nifo, Agostino (philosopher), 526.
Nino, Ferdinand (Archbishop of Granada, Patriarch of the West Indies), 516.
Nobili, Benedetto de' (Bishop of Accia), 219 n. 4, 311, 340.
Nobrega, (S.J.), 517 n. 1.
Nuñez, Barreto (S.J.), 99, 113.

Ochino, Bernardino (General of the Capuchins, afterwards apostate), 84, 497 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 513.
Odasio, David (Papal chamberlain), 198, 199 n. 1.
Olaf II., St. (King of Norway), 481.
Oleastro, Hieronymus ab (Dominican), 244.
Oliva, Fr. (architect), 592 n.
Oliveri, Benvenuto, 632 n.
Olivier (French chancellor), 446.
Ori, Matthæus (Dominican inquisitor), 21, 30, 483 n. 1.
Orlandini, Nicolas (S.J.) 3 n., 60 n. 4.
Orsini, Camillo, 450 *seqq.*, 683.
„ Elena, 603.
„ Giulio, 441 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 681.
Ortiz, Pedro (Imperial plenipotentiary in Rome), 24, 26 *seq.*, 103, 462, 543.
Osorio, Leonora (wife of the Spanish envoy, Juan de Vega), 42, 43 n. 2.
Otto, Henry (Palsgrave of Pfalz-Neuburg), 205.
Oviedo, Andrés (S.J.), 53 n. 1, 59 n. 4.

Paalsson, Ogmund (Bishop of Skalholt), 481.
Pacheco, Pedro (Bishop of Jaén), Cardinal, 202, 240 n., 243, 250 *seq.*, 253, 261 n., 266 *seq.*, 269, 304, 307 *seq.*, 318, 339 *seq.*, 344, 346, 350, 352 *seq.*, 447.
Padilla, Juan de (Franciscan missionary in Kansas), 515.
Pagni, Lorenzo (secretary), 159.
Paleario, A., 496 n. 1.
Palladius, Blosius [Biagio Pallai], Bishop of Foligno, 80, 539.
Palladius, Peter, 480.
Pallavicini, Sforza, Marquis, 143 n. 4, 174, 378 *seqq.*
„ Uberto, 174 n. 4.
Pamphili, Eusebius, *see* Calvin.
Parenzi, Vincenzo, 312 n. 1, 405 n. 1, 407 n. 1.
Parisio, Pier Paolo, Cardinal, 144 n. 3, 154, 160, 170, 174, 186, 209, 505.
Pascual, Iñes, 20.
Pastorino da Siena, 575, 608.
Pate, Richard (Bishop of Worcester), 166.
Paul III., Pope, 17, 24, 28 *seq.*, 31, 33 *seq.*, 37–41, 45–48, 50, 53 n. 1, 55, 60, 83 *seqq.*, 90, 92, 95, 97 *seq.*, 100, 103 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 122, 125–129, 131–151, 154 *seqq.*, 159, 163 *seqq.*, 169–175, 177–198, 200 *seq.*, 207–210, 216–220, 223–238, 241, 246–253, 255 *seqq.*, 261–264, 270, 273–276,

Paul III.—*continued.*
282-286, 288–292, 296, 299, 300–307, 311–335, 337 *seqq.*, 347, 350–369, 373 *seq.*, 375–390, 394–398, 404–408, 410 *seqq.*, 417–420, 422 *seq.*, 429–436, 439–455, 456, 458–466, 468 *seqq.*, 472 *seqq.*, 482–485, 488, 490–494, 503 *seq.*, 507–515, 517, 522, 525 *seq.*, 528 *seq.*, 531–559, 562–569, 571, 573–577, 579, 581–585, 588–600, 602–606, 608–612, 615 *seq.*, 631 *seqq.*, 635–639, 642, 644 *seqq.*, 648.
„ *see also* Farnese, Alessandro.
„ IV., Pope, 85, 617.
„ V., Pope, 614 n. 1.
Pelargus, Ambrosius (Dominican), 256 n. 1.
Pelori, Gianbattista (architect), 586 n. 1.
Peña, Juan de (Dominican), 95.
Pérac, Etienne du (engraver), 573.
Peregrino, Fabrizio (Mantuan envoy), 461 n. 4, 462 n. 1, 463 n. 4, 465 n. 4, 483 n. 1, 579 n., 583 n. 1.
Perez, Francisco (S.J.), 117 n. 3, 118 n. 6, 121 n.
Perino da Vinci (sculptor), 594.
Perotti, Angelo (poet), 533.
Peruschi, Camillo (rector of the Roman University), 527.
Peruzzi, Baldassare (architect), 553 *seq.*, 603, 635, 642, 651.
Petersson, Olaf (Protestant theologian), 477.
Petro de Senis (sculptor), 593 n. 3.
Pflug, Julius (Bishop of Naumburg), 104, 278, 281, 325 n. 5, 342, 413.
Philip (Landgrave of Hesse), 185, 204, 206, 279, 281, 292, 295, 298, 357, 360, 375, 426 *seq.*
„ (Prince of Spain), afterwards Philip II.), 83, 92, 97, 174 n. 4, 195.
Piccolomini, Alessandro (Bishop of Piacenza), 267.
Pietro (Patriarch of the Maronites), 521 n.
Pighini, Sebastiano (auditor of the Rota), 245, 436 *seq.*, 439.
Pighius, A., 342.
Pinius, Joannes (S.J.), 3 n.
Pio, Battista (humanist), 528.
„ Bonaventura (Minorite), 540.
„ Rodolfo, of Carpi (Bishop of Faenza and Girgenti), Cardinal, 42, 56 n. 1, 89, 126, 169, 175, 231, 466 n. 5, 505 n. 1, 541, 586 n. 1.
Piombo, Sebastiano del (painter), 581, 602, 609.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 231.
Pius IV., Pope, 98 n. 2, 617.
„ V., Pope, 63 n. 2.
Plantagenet, Lady Margaret (mother of Cardinal Pole), 470.
Plotis, de, 638 n. 4.
Poggio, Giovanni Francesco (nuncio), 92, 137 n. 1, 147 n. 6, 155, 162, 163 n. 1, 188, 209, 213, 238, 664.
Polanco, Juan de (S.J.), 2 n. 4, 17 n. 1, 31, 39 n. 1, 43 n. 5, 51, 52 n. 2, 58 *seq.*, 86, 87, 92 n. 2, 96 n. 2.

Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 154, 170, 209 *seq.*, 220 n. 2, 242, 248, 306, 307 n. 1, 397, 406 *seq.*, 465 *seqq.*, 469 *seq.*, 541, 543, 602, 605, 682.
Porrino, Gandolfo (poet), 613.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 648 n. 1.
„ Giovanni Maria della (envoy from Urbino), 450 n. 4, 460 n. 2, 466 n. 2, 557 n. 2, 610 n. 2, 636 n. 6.
„ Guglielmo della (sculptor), 454 *seq.*, 575 n. 1, 594.
Portus, Franciscus (academician), 501 n. 3.
Primaticcio, Francesco (artist), 602.
Priuli, Luigi, 247.
Pucci, Antonio, Cardinal, 663.

Quadro, Antonio (S.J.), 59.
Quetta, Antonio (orator of King Ferdinand at Trent), 212.
Quiñones, Francesco, Cardinal, 40 n. 1.
Quistelli, Ambrogio (Augustinian hermit), 540.

Rabelais, 534 n. 4.
Raimondi, Vincenzo (miniaturist), 608.
Rainaldi, Girolamo (architect), 573.
Raphael, 554, 576 *seq.*, 579, 600 *seq.*, 631, 642.
Raymund of Pennafort, St., 68 n. 3.
Rejadella, Teresa, sister, 28 n. 4.
Rem, Andreas (Provost of Kötz), 78 n. 3.
Renée [Renata], Duchess of Ferrara (daughter of Louis XII. of France), 86, 491 *seq.*
Riario, Francesco Sforza (Archbishop of Lucca), 499.
Ribadeneira, Pedro de (S.J.), 2 n., 8 n. 3, 9 n. 4, 51, 52 n. 1, 57, 105 n. 1.
Ricci, Giovanni, da Montepulciano (Archbishop of Siponto, nuncio), 147 *seq.*, 148 n. 2, 187, 195, 661.
„ Orlando, 153 n. 2.
Ridolfi, Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza, Archbishop of Florence), Cardinal, 87, 491.
Riedmatten, Adrian von (Bishop of Sitten), 163.
Rincon (French diplomat), 127.
Rio, Martin Alfonso da (court official of the Emperor) 444 *seq.*
Rion, Antonio (Jesuit lay-brother), 57.
Rodi, Filippo, 374 n. 4.
Rodriguez, Simon (S.J.), 22, 23 n. 1, 25, 28, 36 n. 2, 41 n. 3, 42 n. 2, 43 n. 1, 47 *seq.*, 49 n. 1, 53 n. 2, 83 n. 2, 98 *seq.*, 108 n. 2, 113 n. 1, 118 n. 5, 120 n. 2.
Rohan, François de (French ambassador in Rome), 383.
Rojas, Franz von (S.J.), 93 n. 2.
Romano, Giulio (painter and architect), 577, 641.
Romeo, Francesco (General of the Dominicans), 94, 441 n.
Rorario, Girolamo (Papal chamberlain and envoy), 490.
Roser, Isabel, 20, 27 n. 3, 28 n. 2, 30 n. 1, 52 *seqq.*
Rosseto [Rhosaites], Michele (an official of the Vatican library), 546 n. 2.
Rossi [Salviati], Francesco de' (painter), 608.

Rossi, Monsignore de, 672.
Roterus, Spiritus (O.P., Inquisitor), 483 n. 1.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 188, 284, 367 n. 2, 398 n. 1, 530 n. 4, 610 n. 2.
„ Giulio della (brother to the Duke of Urbino), Cardinal, 367 n. 2.
„ Guidobaldo della, 632.
„ Lucrezia della, 589 n. 4.
Ruano, Ferdinand, 546 n. 1.
Ruggieri, Bonifazio (Ferrarese envoy), 133 n. 2, 192 n. 5, 333 n. 2, 355 n. 5, 380 n. 3, 452 n. 1.

Sabeo, Fausto (custodian of the Vatican library), 547.
Sabino, Francesco Florido (humanist), 529.
Sadoleto, Jacopo (Bishop of Carpentras), Cardinal, 145, 149, 155, 173, 231, 355, 396, 469, 486, 503, 538, 541 *seqq.*, 544, 546, 605, 664.
Sagad, Claudius Athanasius (Negus of Abyssinia), 112.
Sahagim, Joannes de (O.S.A.), 521 n. 2.
St. Gall, the abbot of, 163.
St. Urban, the abbot of, 163.
Salis, Francesco de (Bishop of Bagnorea), 521 n. 2.
Salmeron, Alfonso (S.J.), 22, 79–85, 100 *seq.*, 111, 266, 343.
Salviati, Cardinal, 145 n. 1.
Salviati, *see* Rossi, Francesco de'.
Samminiato, 126 n. 1.
Sanchez, Gabriel (Roman agent of Ferdinand I.), 461 n. 5, 484 n. 3, 583 n. 1.
Sancta, Pietro (sculptor), 632 n.
Sandoval (annalist), 174 n. 4.
Sanfelice, Gian Tommaso (Bishop of La Cava), 152, 153 n., 154, 157, 158 n. 3, 166, 199, 211 *seq.*, 214, 219 n. 4, 245, 341.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 553 *seq.*, 555 *seqq.*, 559, 561, 562 n. 1, 574, 579, 581 *seq.*, 585, 586 n. 1, 588 *seq.*, 591, 592 n. 1, 593, 602, 606, 631, 635, 639 *seq.*, 641 *seqq.*, 645 *seq.*, 652, 655.
„ Giovan Battista [Il Gobbo], 557, 602.
Giuliano (architect), 642.
Sansedoni, A. (envoy from Siena), 325 n. 1.
Sansovino, Jacopo (painter), 574, 575 n. 1.
Santa Croce, Prospero (nuncio), 419–425, 434.
Santacruz, Martin (S.J.), 99 n. 3, 116.
Santafiora, Cardinal, *see* Sforza, Guido Ascanio.
Saraceni, Giov. Michele (Archbishop of Matera), 304, 307, 353, 401 n. 1.
Sarpi, Paolo, 174 n. 4, 241 n., 354 n. 1.
Satsuma, the Prince of [in Japan], 121.
Sauli, Alessandro (Archbishop of Genoa), 55.
Saurolo, Scipione, 617.
Savelli, Flaminio, 199.
„ Giovanni Battista (leader of mercenaries), 296.
„ Jacopo, Cardinal, 541.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 16, 284, 419.

Sbotta, Joannes, 591 n. 2.
Schankwitz (leader of Schmalkaldic forces), 294.
Schärtlin von Burtenbach, Sebastian (leader of Schmalkaldic forces), 294 *seq.*, 298, 303.
Schnepf, Erhard (Protestant theologian), 279.
Schönberg, Nicolas von (Archbishop of Capua, Cardinal, 462, 536 n. 4, 549.
Schorich, Peter (S.J.), 85 n. 1.
Scoto [Scotti], Giovanni Bernardino (Theatin), 55 n. 1.
Senso, Lodovico (poet), 526 n. 4.
Seripando, Girolamo (General of the Augustinian Hermits), 80, 239 n. 3, 243, 250, 265, 341 *seqq.*, 429, 509 n. 1, 544.
Serlio (architect), 553 n. 3.
Sermoneta, Girolamo (painter and architect), 576 *seq.*, 600.
,, Luzio (painter), 600.
Sernini, Nino, 125 n. 3, 132 n. 1, 144 n. 3, 145 n. 1, 147 n. 2, 149 n. 2, 150 n. 1, 154 n., 156 n. 2, 503 n. 3, 614, 659–662, 665.
Seroni, Ferdinando (Bishop of Venosa), 494.
Serristori, Averrardo (Florentine envoy), 126 n. 1, 147 n. 5, 150 n. 2, 187 n., 193 n. 1, 367, 436 n. 2, 437 n. 1, 443 n. 6, 448 n. 4, 560 n. 4, 566 n. 2, 580 n. 1, 633 n. 3, 639 n. 2, 663.
Severoli, Ercole (promotor at the Council of Trent), 78 n. 4, 240 n., 259 n. 1, 269, 353 n. 2, 402.
Seymour, Jane (wife of Henry VIII. of England), 463.
Sfondrato, Francesco (Bishop of Sarno, Archbishop of Amalfi), Cardinal, 185, 189, 202 n. 1, 207, 209, 232 n 3, 335, 362–366, 376–379 391, 394–397, 399 n. 1 411 *seq.*, 418, 421, 423 *seq.*, 432, 434, 474, 505 n. 1.
Sforza, Bona, 455 n. 1.
,, Guido Ascanio, of Santa Fiora (Bishop of Parma), Cardinal, 88, 126, 213 n. 3, 219 *seq.*, 305 n. 3, 310 *seqq.*, 315, 316 n. 2, 338, 361, 366, 528, 559 n. 1, 657.
Sigismund (German heretic) 491.
,, I. (King of Poland), 488 *seq.*
,, Augustus (King of Poland), 146, 163, 181 n. 7, 301, 489 *seq.*, 597 n. 2, 636 n. 6.
Siliceo, Juan Martinez (Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain), 93, 521 n. 2.
Silva, Miguel da (Bishop of Viseu), Cardinal, 47 *seq.*, 148 n. 3, 150, 155.
,, Pedro da (S.J.) 121 n. 1.
Silverio, Giovanni (architect), 635 n. 4.
Silvestro (S.J.), 88.
Simonetti, Lodovico (Bishop of Pesaro), 219 n. 4.
Siney, the Lord of (French envoy), 168 n. 4.
Sinzenhofer, Pancratius (Bishop of Ratisbon), 106, 157.
Sirleto, Antonino, 680.
,, Guglielmo (humanist), 526, 546 n. 2.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 38, 267, 570, 611.

Sixtus V., Pope, 566, 619, 654 n. 7.
Sleidan, Johann (historian), 216 *seq.*
Sodoma (painter), 603.
Somerset, the Protector, 474, 476.
Sophianos, Nicolas (scriptor at the Vatican library), 547.
Soto, Pedro Domenico (Dominican, confessor to Charles V.), 195, 199, 243, 277, 286, 365, 411, 413, 423, 544.
Spinola, Family of the, 386.
Stadion, Christoph von (Bishop of Augsburg), 134, 137, 165.
Stella, Pietro (sculptor), 594 n. 4.
„ Tommaso, (Bishop of Salpe), 346.
Steuco, Agostino (official at the Vatican library), 545, 613 n. 3.
Stilicho, 638.
Store, Johannes Magnus (Archbishop of Upsala), 478 n. 2.
Strozza, L., 237 n. 2.
Strozzi, Uberto, 449 n. 1, 682.
Suarez, Francesco (S.J.), 67 n. 3.
Suleiman I. (the Sultan), 124, 129, 386.

Tagliava, Pietro (Archbishop of Palermo), 242, 254, 447.
Talavera, Paulus de (Bishop of Tlascala), 518.
Tapper, Ruard (chancellor of Louvain University), 102.
Tasfa Sion, 548 n. 2.
Tauler, Joannes (Dominican), 110.
Taurino, Hieronymus de (Dominican), 491 n. 3.
Tavera, Diego (Grand Inquisitor of Spain), 92.
„ Juan de (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 92, 519.
Teixeira, Manoel (S.J.), 121 n.
Teodolo, Hieronymus (Bishop of Cadix), 219 n. 4.
Teutleben, Valentin von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 165, 167 *seq.*, 171 n. 1, 179, 210 n. 2.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 71, 77, 348.
„ of Celano (Franciscan), 621.
„ à Kempis, 16.
„ de Vio, Cardinal, *see* Cajetan.
Tiene, Gaetano de, S., *see* Gaetano.
Tiraboschi, 526 n. 4.
Tiranno, Girolamo (envoy), 226 n. 4, 325 n. 1, 477 n. 1, 677.
Titian, 455, 603, 617.
Toledo, Francisco de (Imperial orator at Trent), 258, 265, 339.
„ Juan de, Cardinal (of Burgos), 504 *seq.*
„ Pedro de (Viceroy of Naples), 212, 213, 222, 509.
Tolomei, Claudio, 531.
„ Lattanzio (Sienese envoy), 148 n. 3, 150 n. 1, 509 n. 2, 560 n. 2, 663.
Tommasoni, Alessandro, 372.
Torres, Miguel, 50 n. 1, 52 n. 2 54 n. 1, 94 n. 1, 95.
Tournon, F. de, Cardinal, 669.
Tretius, Joannes Baptista Albinianus (theologian), 540.
„ Petrus Albinianus, 541 n. 1.

Trissino, Giangiorgio (poet), 533.
Trivulzio, Agostino, Cardinal, 126, 141 n. 1, 231, 661, 682.
Tropea, Teofilo di (Dominican, theologian at the Roman University), 540.
Truchsess, Otto von (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 78, 80, 82, 104, 107, 110, 134, 145 *seq.*, 163 *seqq.*, 199, 203, 214, 217, 220 *seq.*, 256, 257 n. 2, 286 *seq.*, 288 n. 3, 314, 389 n. 1, 440 n. 3, 543.
„ Otto von, the brother of, 220.
Turiano, Baldassare (magistrate of Castiglione), 88.

Ughi, Giovanni Francesco, 643.
Ugolini, Aurelio Manni, 473 n. 2.
Ulrich (Duke of Wurtemburg), 221, 326, 427.
Urban VIII., Pope, 454.
d'Urfé, Claude (French envoy in Trent), 270, 452 n. 2.

Vaga, Perino del (painter), 574, 576 *seqq.*, 581, 600–603, 608, 631.
Valdes, Alfonso, 495.
„ Juan, 495–498.
Valerianus, Pierius (geographer), 530 n. 5.
Valignani, Alexander (S.J., visitor in India and Japan), 121 n.
Varano, Giovanni Maria (Duke of Camerino and Nepi), 98, 126, 398 n. 1.
„ Matteo, 187 n.
Varda, Paul de (Archbishop of Gran), 443.
Vargas, Francesco, 400, 402.
Varo, Matthæus de (a Greek, scriptor in the Vatican Library), 547 n. 5.
Vasari, G. (painter and historian), 530, 579, 581, 603 *seq.*, 606 *seq.*, 611, 617.
Vasto, Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis del (governor of Milan), 141 n. 1, 143 n. 3, 147 n. 2, 173, 176, 182 n. 2.
Vaz, Juan (companion to St. Francis Xavier), 116.
Vega, Juan de (Spanish envoy, Viceroy of Sicily), 42, 89, 174 n. 4, 178, 185, 189, 191 *seq.*, 193, 194 n. 2, 201, 234, 236, 282, 285, 290 *seq.*, 314, 356, 360, 677.
Velasco, Dr., 400.
Velasquez, Juan, 4.
Vellutello, 550.
Vendromini, Andreas (Archbishop of Corfù), 178.
Venusti, Marcello (painter), 614 *seq.*
Verallo, Girolamo (nuncio), 23, 32, 108, 137 n. 2, 142, 145 *seq.*, 162 *seqq.*, 166, 190, 214, 220, 229 n. 1, 236, 238, 257 n. 1, 269 n. 1, 274, 286, 288, 290, 296, 301, 308 *seqq.*, 313 n. 4, 316 n. 2, 319, 322 *seq.*, 325, 327, 329–333, 335 *seq.*, 354, 357–360, 443.
Vergara, Alonzo Ramirez de, 93.
Vergerio, Pietro Paolo (Bishop of Capo d' Istria, nuncio, afterwards apostate), 511, 513.
Verme, del, Count, 320, 322 *seq.*

Vermigli, Pietro Martire, 497–501.
Veronese, Paolo (painter), 619.
Vettori, Pier, 531.
Vida, Marco Girolamo (Bishop of Alba), 494 n. 2, 532.
Vigili, Fabio (Bishop of Spoleto), 532.
Vignola, Jacopo de (architect), 553 n. 3, 593, 602 n. 4, 676.
Villanova, Thomas of (Augustinian, Archbishop of Valencia), 95.
Villanueva, Francesco de (S.J.), 93 n. 3, 96 n. 2.
Vinck, Anton (S.J.), 45 n. 2, 103 n. 1.
Viola (S.J.), 59 n. 4, 102 n. 1.
Vischaven, Cornelius (S.J.), 102.
Vitelli, Alessandro (condottiere), 169, 560 n. 2, 561.
,, Paolo (condottiere), 143 n. 4.
Vittoria, Francisco à (theologian), 543.
Vivaldini, 421 n. 2.
Vives, Alphonso de (Benedictine), 492 n. 3.
Volterra, Daniele da (painter), 574, 575 n. 1, 603, 618.
Vorst, Peter van der (Bishop of Acqui), 478 n. 1.

Waldeck, Franz von (Bishop of Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück), 205.
Wauchope, Robert (Archbishop-elect of Armagh), 103, 106, 131, 134, 156, 242, 494.
Waneman, Balthasar (suffragan-bishop of Hildesheim), 167, 171 n. 1.
Weeze, 478 n. 2.
Westhof (Carmelite), 409 n. 2.
Widmanstetter, Johann Albrecht, 549.
Wied, Hermann von (Elector of Cologne), 104, 108, 110, 205 *seq.*, 228 *seq.*, 275, 325.
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 111, 134, 137, 164, 181 n. 7, 227, 286, 288, 293, 596 n. 4.
,, (Duke of Julier and Cleves), 206 *seq.*, 272.
Wolfgang of Zweibrücken (Count Palatine), 425.

Ximenes, Cardinal, 16.

Zacchia (sculptor), 594
Zannettini, Dionigi (Bishop of Chironia), 167, 178, 341.
Zapolya, Johann, 124.
,, Isabella, 124.
Zeffiri Silvio (physician), 573 n. 3.
Zephirus, Petrus Ventura (architect), 586 n. 1.
Zerbini, Giulia, 88.
Zerbolt, Gerard, of Zutphen (a brother of the Common Life), 16.
Zorilla, Alfonso (theologian), 242.
Zucchero, Federigo (painter), 574.
Zumárraga, Juan de (Archbishop of Mexico), 516.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIII

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XIII. and XIV.	vii
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XIII. and XIV.	ix
Table of Contents	xxvii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xl

JULIUS III., 1550–1555.

The election of Julius III.	1–44
Previous life, character and beginning of the reign of Julius III.	45–76
Preparations for the reassembling of the Council in Trent. The dispute concerning the Duchy of Parma	76–98
Second Period of the Council of Trent	99–128
War in Upper and Central Italy. Julius III.'s efforts for peace. Conclusion of his pontificate and his death	129–157
Efforts of Julius III. for reform. Creation of Cardinals	158–179
Spread of the Society of Jesus. Their reforming activities in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany	180–209
Activity of the Roman Inquisition in Italy. Spread of heresy in Germany, Poland and France	210–236
Accession of Queen Mary of England. Her marriage to Philip of Spain	237–269
Legation of Cardinal Pole. The reconciliation of England with the Holy See	270–289
Spread of Christianity in the New World	290–306

JUL 12 '32

2160

PAGE

The East Indies and the Mission of St. Francis Xavier 307–325

Julius III. in relation to Letters and Art. Michael Angelo and the rebuilding of St. Peter's. The Villa Giulia 326–355

Rome at the end of the Renaissance period . 356–427

Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 431–459

Index of Names 460–475

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XIII. AND XIV.

ANCONA—Communal Archives.
AREZZO—Library.

BERLIN—Royal Library.
BOLOGNA—State Archives.
——— University Library.
BRESCIA—Quirini Library.
BRUSSELS—State Archives.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—Graziani Archives.

FERRARA—Communal Library.
FLORENCE—National Library.
——— State Archives.
FOGGIA—Communal Library.
FOLIGNO—Seminary Library.
FRANKFURT A. M.—Library.

GENOA—State Archives.
——— University Library.
GÖRLITZ—Milichsche Library.
GOTHA—Library.
GUBBIO—Communal Archives.
——— Episcopal Archives.

HALL I. TIROL—Provincial Archives of the Tyrolese Franciscans.
HOHENEMS—Family Archives.

INNSBRUCK—Vice-regal Archives.

LONDON—British Museum.
LUCCA—State Archives.
LUND—Library.
LYONS—Library.
MACERATA—Library.
MADRID—Library of the Duke of Ossuna.
MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
MAYENCE—Seminary Library.
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
——— Gallarati Scotti Archives.
——— Brera Library.
——— Trivulziana Library.
——— State Archives.
MODENA—State Archives.
MONTE SAN SAVINO—Communal Archives.
MUNICH—Court and State Library.

NAPLES—Library of the *Soc. di storia patria.*
——— National Library.
——— National Library in the Certosa di S. Martino.
——— State Archives.
NICASTRO—Episcopal Archives.

PARIS—National Archives.
——— National Library.
PARMA—Palatine Library
——— State Archives.
PERUGIA—Library.
PIACENZA—Communal Library.
PISA—University Library.
PISTOIA—Fabroniana Library.

RAVENNA—Classe Library.
REGGIO—Episcopal Archives.

ROME—
(a) *Archives :*
the Anima.
the Boncompagni.
the Capitol.
the Colonna.
the Doria—Pamphili.
the Gaetani.
the Ricci.
the Santa Croce.
the Spanish Embassy.
the Secretary of Briefs [1]
General, of the Augustinians.
General, of the Theatines.
Consistorial, of the Vatican.
the Papal Secret (Secret Archives of the Vatican).
of the State.

(b) *Libraries :*
Accademia di S Cecilia
Alessandrina.
Altieri.
Angelica.
Barberini [2]
Casanatense.
Chigi.
Corsini.
S. Croce in Gerusalemme.

ROME—*Libraries continued.*
S. Pietro in Vincoli.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

SCHAFFHAUSEN—State Library.
SEVILLE—Archives of the Indies.
SIENA—State Archives.
——— Library.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
STOCKHOLM—Library.

TRENT—Library.
TREVES—Seminary Library.

UPSALA—Library.

VENICE—Library of St. Mark.
——— Correr Museum.
——— State Archives.
VICENZA—Bertoliana Library.
VITERBO—State Archives.
VOLTERRA–Inghirami Archives.
——— Maffei Archives.
VIENNA—Rossiana Library.
——— Court and State Archives.
——— Court Library.

WOLFENBÜTTEL—Library .

ZEITZ—Convent Library.

[1] Under Pius X. included in the Papal Secret Archives,
[2] Now in the Vatican Library.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIII.

CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF JULIUS III.

A.D.		PAGE
1549	Importance of the pontificate of Paul III.	1
	His work for reform	2
	A distinguished conclave	3
	The attitude of Charles V. and Henry II.	3
	The interests of the Farnese and their opponent, Cardinal Salviati	4
	The question of Parma and Piacenza	5
	Parties in the conclave	6
	Wish of the Imperialists for a quick election	7
	The French delay the opening of the conclave	8
	The Cardinals go into conclave (November 29th)	8
	Arrangements for guarding the conclave, and for preserving order in the city	9
	Charles V. declares his wishes (November 20th)	10
	Opening proceedings of the conclave	11
	The first scrutiny (December 3rd)	11
	Cardinal Pole receives twenty-one votes	12
	Pole's votes increased to twenty-four	13
	The French ambassador demands that the arrival of the French Cardinals be awaited	14
	Pole's election seems assured (December 5th)	15
	Fear of a French schism	16
	Cardinal Cervini advises against delay	17
	Pole requires but one more vote	17
	Reasons for Pole's failure	18
	The candidature of Cardinal Toledo	19
	Arrival of the French Cardinals (December 12th)	19
	Second period of the conclave. Cardinal Guise	20
	Charles V. excludes several Cardinals	21
	Favourable prospects of Cardinal del Monte	22
1549	Sixty fruitless ballots	23
	Irritation in Rome	24
	Attempts at a compromise	25
	The remarks of Massarelli on December 17th	26
	The attack of Cardinal Guise on Pole	26
	Struggle between the Imperialists and the French	27

A.D. PAGE

1550 The question of the Holy Year . . . 28
Implacability of the parties (January 4th) . 28
Betting in Rome on the election . . . 28
Unhealthy conditions in the conclave . . 29
Cardinal Farnese's proposal 30
Farnese's further proposal (January 19th). Guise's rough refusal 31
"The Cardinals expect anything rather than an election" 31
Speech of the Cardinal-Dean, de Cupis, on the abuses and misdeeds of the conclave (January 26th) . 32
A commission of Cardinals appointed to draw up a decree of reform 33
The abuses in the conclave 34
Decisions of the reform committee (January 31st) 35
Enforcement of the enclosure; the superfluous conclavists ejected 36
The candidature of Salviati. Change of front of the Farnese Cardinals 37
The candidature of del Monte is put forward . 38
It is favourably received by all parties . . 39
The rival leaders agree 40
Del Monte's election assured (February 6th) . 41
Cardinal del Monte elected by acclamation. Homage of the Cardinals (February 7th) . . 42
The final scrutiny and end of the conclave (February 8th) 43
Disappointment of Charles V. and Henry II. Satisfaction in the Sacred College. Joy of the Romans 44

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS LIFE, CHARACTER AND BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JULIUS III.

Origin of the family of the Ciocchi del Monte . 45
1487 Giovan Maria del Monte. His education and early career 46
1527 Governor of Rome. His narrow escape at the sack of the city 47
1536 He is created Cardinal 47
1545 Legate of Paul III. at the Council of Trent . 48
1550 Personal appearance of Julius III. . . . 49
His character and temperament . . . 50
The versatility of his culture. A child of the Renaissance 51
His lavish generosity, and popularity with the Romans 52
Satisfaction at his conciliatory policy . . 53

A.D. PAGE

1550 His care to provide Rome with grain . . . 54
His attitude towards Charles V. and Henry II. . 54
The Pope's instructions for the envoys to these monarchs 55
Coronation of Julius III. (February 22nd) . 56
The Jubilee solemnly inaugurated (February 24th) 56
Confraternity of the Pilgrims founded by Philip Neri 57
The Pope's first consistory (February 28th) . 57
Reform decrees. The *obedientia* embassies . 58
Health of the Pope 59
Efforts of Julius III. to cope with the scarcity of provisions 60
Pageants in Rome 61
The carnival festivities at the Vatican . . 62
Protests of Cardinals Carafa and de Cupis against these 63
Theatrical representations at the Vatican . . 64
Promotion of the relatives of Julius III. . . 66
Innocenzo del Monte 70
He is created Cardinal. Opposition of Pole and Carafa 71
Scandalous life of Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte 72
He is made principal secretary of state . . 73
The secretaries and chancery officials . . 74
The Pope's devotion to business; his personal direction of the diplomatic correspondence . 75

CHAPTER III.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE REASSEMBLING OF THE COUNCIL IN TRENT.—THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE DUCHY OF PARMA.

1550 The Pope's readiness to reassemble the Council in Trent 77
Negotiations with Charles V. 78
A commission of Cardinals is appointed to deliberate on the question (April) 78
The choice of Trent approved . . . 79
The former objections no longer applicable . 79
Intrigues of the French king against the reassembling of the Council 80
Trivulzio sent to the French court, and Pighino to the Emperor 81
The instructions for Pighino 81
And those for Trivulzio 83
The Diet at Augsburg agrees to the continuance of the Council 84
The negotiations with France much more difficult 85
Unfriendly attitude of Henry II. . . . 86

A.D. PAGE

1550 The Pope drafts the bull summoning the Council 87
The bull approved in consistory (November 14th) 88
The terms of the bull; it is sent to the Emperor . 89
1551 The bull is published; first in Germany, and then in Rome (January 1st) 90
Secret protest of Charles V. (January 3rd) . 90
Charles V.'s "Farewell to the Diet" (February 13th) 91
Cardinal Crescenzi is appointed Legate for the Council (March 4th) 91
The question of Parma and Piacenza . . 92
The Farnese open negotiations with France. The Pope's efforts to prevent this . . . 93
A *monitorium* sent to Ottavio Farnese . . 94
The Pope's indignation with his vassal. Dandino is sent to the Emperor to ask his advice and help 95
The French threaten a National Council . . 95
Uncompromising attitude of Julius III. . . 96
After a period of hesitation and vacillation, . 97
He decides on an appeal to arms . . . 98

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1551 The Pope continues the preparations for the Council 99
The presidents make their entry into Trent (April 29th) 100
The eleventh Session of the Council is held, with a very small attendance (May 1st) . . 100
Henry II. works his hardest against the Council 101
The Pope addresses a threatening letter to the French king 102
Schism is averted, but Henry resolves to employ force 102
The prelates assemble very slowly at Trent . 103
Arrival of the Prince Electors of Mayence, Trêves and Cologne 104
The twelfth Session of the Council of Trent (September 1st) 105
A French envoy presents a letter addressed to "the Fathers of the Convention of Trent" . 106
Henry II. refuses to be bound by the decrees of the Council 106
Charles V. takes the opposite side . . . 107
The theologians of the Council prepare the canons on the Holy Eucharist 108
The thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent (October 11th) 109

A.D. PAGE

1551 Arrival of the ambassadors of the Elector of Brandenburg 110
The Decree on the Holy Eucharist 110
Reply of the Council to Henry II. 111
The Decree on the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction 112
Reform decree against bad ecclesiastics . . 113
The fourteenth Session of the Council of Trent (November 23rd) 113
Decrees on the Sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Orders prepared by the theologians . . . 114
The conspiracy of the Elector of Saxony . . 114
Representatives of the Protestant princes . . 115
Their impossible demands 116
Conciliatory attitude of the legate . . . 117
1552 The demands of Badhorn, the Saxon ambassador, namely 118
A reconsideration of the decrees already published 119
1552 And a "free, Christian, general" Council . . 120
Dissensions between the legate and the Spanish-Imperial party 120
Fifteenth Session of the Council of Trent (January 25th) 121
Letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants agreed upon 121
The Saxons still make difficulties; the Elector Maurice playing for time . . . 122
The Pope rejects the Protestant demands . . 123
He complains to the Emperor of the conduct of the Spaniards 124
The Prince Electors leave Trent (March 11th) . 125
A suspension of the Council becomes inevitable . 125
The Elector Maurice throws off the mask, and, with France, attacks the Empire . . . 126
The decree of suspension published at the sixteenth Session of the Council of Trent (April 28th) 127
Death of Cardinal Crescenzi 128

CHAPTER V.

WAR IN UPPER AND CENTRAL ITALY. JULIUS III.'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE. CONCLUSION OF HIS PONTIFICATE AND HIS DEATH.

1551 The Pope's efforts at the last moment to avoid war 129
Ottavio Farnese is declared to have forfeited his fief (May 22nd) 130
The war begun; its unpopularity in Rome . 131
The Papal troops and their commanders; proceedings against the Farnese . . . 132
Threatening movement of the Turks . . 133

A.D. PAGE

1551 Unfavourable state of affairs in Upper Italy; financial straits of the Pope 134
The French enter Piedmont 135
Julius III. is intimidated, and sends Cardinal Verallo to the French court . . . 135
The Pope's mistrust of the French king . . 136
1552 Cardinal Tournon sent by Henry II. to Rome . 137
The French terms of peace 138
The Pope accepts the terms; Charles V. unwillingly agrees 139
1552 The falseness of the accusation of indifference made against Julius III. 140
The zeal of the Pope for the cause of peace . 142
Grave state of the Pope's health . . . 143
His vain attempts to reconcile Charles V. and Henry II. 143
Siena revolts against the Spaniards, and puts itself under the protection of France (July 27th) . 144
Reaction of these events on Rome . . . 144
War threatened in Central Italy . . . 145
Julius III. takes precautionary measures . . 146
1553 And endeavours to arrange an armistice . . 147
Dissatisfaction of Charles V. 148
Cardinal-Legates sent to the Emperor and Henry II. (April) 149
Failure of their mission 150
1554 Cosimo de' Medici siezes Siena; outbreak of war (January 26) 152
The Pope endeavours to solve the Sienese problem 153
1555 Death of Julius III. (March 23rd) . . . 154
Contrast between Julius III. and Julius II. . 155
Failure of the Pope to realize the gravity of the times, but 156
His efforts for reform much underestimated . 157

CHAPTER VI.

EFFORTS OF JULIUS III. FOR REFORM.—CREATION OF CARDINALS.

1550 The Pope continues the work of reform begun by his predecessor 158
A commission of Cardinals appointed . . 159
1551 Reform of the Dataria, the Penitentiary and the Signatura 160
The Pope's statutes of reform . . . 162
1552 Regulations as to the conclave and the bestowal of benifices 163
The Pope's comprehensive plan of reform causes a great sensation 164
Work of the reform commission . . . 165

A.D. PAGE

1552 Assiduity of the Pope and the Cardinals . . 167
1555 A general reform bull drawn up . . . 169
Value of the reform work of Julius III. . . 170
The question of the appointment of new Cardinals 170
Charles V.'s candidates for the purple . . 171
1551 The first creation of Cardinals of Julius III. (November 20th) 172
The new Cardinals 173
Their political views; the complaints of the French 174
1553 Creation of four more Cardinals (December 22nd) 175
Cardinal Roberto de' Nobili 176
Francis Borgia 177
1551 He flies from Rome to escape the cardinalate . 178
His persistent refusal of the purple . . 179

CHAPTER VII.

SPREAD OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—THEIR REFORMING ACTIVITIES IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY AND GERMANY.

1550 Friendly relations of Julius III. with the Society of Jesus 180
Benefits conferred on them by the Pope . . 181
Ignatius of Loyola draws up the constitutions of the Order 182
Completion of the life work of Loyola . . 183
1556 His death (July 31st) 184
Spread of the Order during the life time of Ignatius 184
The Society of Jesus in Spain . . . 185
Numerous colleges founded there . . . 186
Their zeal for souls; success of their labours . 187
Their work for the instruction of youth . . 188
Opposition of the Archbishop of Toledo and the Augustinians 189
The Society of Jesus in Portugal . . . 190
The Order has to face a crisis there; Simon Rodriguez 191
Work of the Society in Italy . . . 192
Ignorance in the country districts . . . 193
Success of the missionaries 193
Appalling state of affairs in Corsica . . 194
Missionary labours of Fr. Landini, S.J. . . 195
Jesuit colleges in Italy 196
The wide-spread activities of the Society . . 197
The state of affairs in Germany . . . 198
Literary activity of the Jesuits in Germany . 199
Peter Canisius and the foundation of the college at Cologne 200
State of the Church in Bohemia . . . 201

A.D. PAGE

1556 The work of Canisius in Vienna . . . 202
The Catechism of Canisius 203
The desire of Ignatius to possess a college in Paris 203
Recognition by the Parliament necessary . . 204
Difficulty of obtaining this 205
The opposition of the Bishop of Paris to the Society 206
The Society condemned by the theological faculty 206
Calmness of Ignatius of Loyola . . . 207
The difficulty settled in Rome . . . 208
The Society established in the Netherlands . 209

CHAPTER VIII.

ACTIVITY OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION IN ITALY.—SPREAD OF HERESY IN GERMANY, POLAND AND FRANCE.

1550 Julius III. confirms the Roman Inquisition . 210
The Inquisition in Venice 211
The Barnabites and the Angeliche . . . 212
Heretical books in Italy 213
Strict regulations concerning these . . . 214
Edicts against Jewish books 215
The Pope's moderation and clemency . . 216
The Cardinals of the Inquisition . . . 217
The Pope opposed to personal severity; executions rare in his reign 218
The testimony of Vergerio 219
Heresy in Bologna, Urbino and Milan . . 220
The Inquisition in Naples 221
The Jesuits combat heresy by the instruction of the young 222
Prelates accused of heresy 223
The state of affairs in Germany grows steadily worse 224
Cardinal Morone sent to Germany . . . 225
Reasons of the religious neglect there . . 226
Proposal to found a German College in Rome . 227
Julius III. joyfully agrees to this proposal . 228
1552 The foundation of the "Germanicum" . . 229
Difficulty of maintaining the college . . 230
1551 Measures against heresy in France. The Edict of Chateaubriant (June 27th) . . . 231
Strained relations between Rome and Paris . 232
The spread of heresy in Poland . . . 233
Indifference and weakness of the Polish bishops . 234
1553 Julius III.'s exhortation to the King of Poland . 235
The zeal of Bishop Hosius 236

CHAPTER IX.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND.—HER MARRIAGE TO PHILIP OF SPAIN.

1551 Fall of the Protector Somerset . . . 237

A.D. PAGE
1552 The second Book of Common Prayer . . 238
Foreign theologians in England . . . 239
The Catholic bishops deposed . . . 240
The altars destroyed 241
All traces of Catholicism removed . . . 242
The Thirty-nine Articles 243
1553 Death of Edward VI. (July 6th) . . . 243
Attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne (July 10th) 244
Mary proclaimed queen (July 19th) . . 244
Mary's unhappy youth; she steadfastly refuses to adopt the new religion 245
Her conciliatory and mild policy . . . 246
The deposed bishops restored, and mass again celebrated 247
Joy in Rome at Mary's accession . . . 248
Pole's letter to Julius III. 249
Pole is appointed legate to England . . 250
His letter to the queen 251
Need of proceeding cautiously . . . 252
1553 Mary considers the presence of a legate in England impossible for the present . . . 253
Coronation of the queen (October 1st) . . 254
A bill to invalidate all the religious changes is drafted, but withdrawn 254
Bills to recognize the marriage of Queen Catherine, and abolish the religious laws of Edward VI. are passed 255
Charles V. opposes the mission of Pole . . 256
The Pope accepts his view 257
The question of the queen's marriage . . 258
Candidates for Mary's hand 259
The policy and influence of Charles V. . . 260
He proposes the Spanish marriage; opposition in England 261
1554 Mary's determination; the marriage settlement drawn up by Gardiner 262
The rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt . . . 263
The queen appeals to the citizens of London . 264
The rebellion is crushed 265
This a turning point in Mary's reign . . 265
Execution of Lady Jane Grey. Parliament confirms the marriage treaty . . . 266
Marriage of Mary to Philip of Spain (July 25th) 267
Pole looked upon as an opponent of the marriage 267
The Pope's directions to the legate . . . 268

CHAPTER X.

LEGATION OF CARDINAL POLE.—THE RECONCILIATION OF ENGLAND WITH THE HOLY SEE.

1554 The prospects of reconciliation . . . 270

A.D. PAGE

1554 Restoration of the old worship 271
Measures against the married clergy . . . 272
The appointment of new bishops 273
Meeting of Parliament and Convocation . . 274
The question of Church property 275
Pole's difficult position; he begs to be recalled . 276
His failure as a peacemaker between Charles V. and Henry II. 277
He is repulsed by Charles V. 278
He appeals to King Philip 279
Pole conceals the extent of his powers from the Emperor 280
The obstacles to his appearance in England are removed 281
Simon Renard appears in Brussels and explains the state of affairs in England 282
Pole at last starts for England (November 12th) 283
His journey becomes a triumphal procession . 284
He is received by the queen at Westminster . 284
The legate's address to Parliament 285
Solemn reconciliation of England with the Holy See (November 30th) 286
The question of the Church property settled . 287
Thanksgiving in Rome 288

CHAPTER XI.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NEW WORLD.

New bishoprics in Spanish and Portuguese South America 290
Favourable prospects for Christianity there . 291
Tyranny and atrocities of the white settlers . 292
The work of the missionaries undone . . . 293
Civilizing influence on the missionaries . . 294
Opposition of the colonists 295
Improvement in the conditions 296
The Franciscans in Mexico 297
Their care for the instruction of the young . 298
Brother Peter of Ghent and his work . . . 299
Conversion of the Aztecs 300
The missionaries the champions of the natives . 301
Their struggle against the "Audiencia" . . . 302
"Protectors of the Indians" 303
The Dominicans in Guatemala 304
Literary activity of the missionaries . . . 305
Their historical and archaeological researches . 306

CHAPTER XII.

THE EAST INDIES AND THE MISSION OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.

1554 The Jesuits in the East Indies 307

A.D. PAGE

1554 The advice of Ignatius Loyola . . . 308
Henriquez and the mission on the Fishing Coast 309
He draws up the first Tamil grammar . . 310
Rapacity and immorality of the Portuguese officials 311
Persecution by the Mahommedans . . . 312
1555 The Jesuits penetrate into Abyssinia; three Jesuit bishops appointed for that country . . 312
1549 Francis Xavier lands in Japan . . . 314
Difficulties of the Japanese mission . . 315
Xavier's hopes of ultimate success; slow progress 316
1551 His journey to see the Emperor of Japan . 317
He leaves Japan in order to go to China . . 318
He reaches the island of Canton . . . 319
1552 Death of St. Francis Xavier (November 27th) . 320
Qualities of St. Francis Xavier . . . 321
His gentleness and humility 323
A Protestant estimate of the saint . . . 324
The veneration of the Catholic world. "Apostle of the Indies" 325

CHAPTER XIII.

JULIUS III. IN RELATION TO LETTERS AND ART.—MICHAEL ANGELO AND THE REBUILDING OF ST. PETER'S.—THE VILLA GIULIA.

1552 The interest of Julius III. in science and art . 326
The Vatican Library and the Roman University 327
Humanists promoted by Julius III. . . 328
Giovio and Pietro Aretino 329
The humanists extol the Pope; writings dedicated to him 330
Pierluigi da Palestrina 332
Julius III. and Michael Angelo . . . 333
The Pope supports him against his enemies . 334
Lack of funds for the building of St. Peter's . 336
The Pope's consideration for Michael Angelo . 337
The Villa Giulia 338
Julius III.'s magnificent plan . . . 339
The architects of the Villa Giulia . . . 340
The Pope and Vasari 341
The gardens and pleasure grounds . . . 342
The approach to the villa 343
The main building; its frescoes and statuary . 344
Present state of the villa 345
The fountain-court 347
The Nymphaeum 349
Discoveries of the relics of antiquity in Rome . 350
Reconstruction of the Palazzo Cardelli . . 351
The del Monte chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio . 352

A.D. PAGE

1552 Foreign artists in Rome 353
Artistic activity under Julius III. 354

CHAPTER XIV.

ROME AT THE END OF THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD.

General appearance of the city . . 356
The sources for a true picture of Rome at the time 357
The sketches of Martin van Heemskerck . . 357
The notes of Johann Fichard . . . 358
The panorama of Heemskerck . . . 350
Mediaeval appearance of Rome at that time . 362
Smallness of the inhabited district . . . 362
The Borgo 364
Fichard's description of the Vatican . . 365
The Belvedere and its collection of antiquities . 366
Old St. Peter's; the atrium 367
Interior of the old basilica 368
State of the new building in the time of Paul III. as shown by Heemskerck' sketches . 369
St. Peter's Square 370
The *Rione di Ponte* 371
New streets; the Canale di Ponte and . . 372
The inundations of the Tiber . . . 373
The district of banks, commercial houses and inns 374
Palaces in the Rione 375
Exterior decoration 376
The *Rione di Parione*; the Piazza Navona . 378
Pasquino 379
Palaces of prelates; the Cancelleria . . 381
The Palazzo Massimo, and the houses of the Galli and the Sassi 382
The Campo di Fiore; the "actual forum of Rome" 383
Shops and inns in this district . . . 384
The *Rione della Regola* 385
Houses for pilgrims; the Palazzo Farnese . . 386
The *Trastevere* 388
Its picturesque charm; the old road of the pilgrims 389
The *Rione di S. Angelo* 390
The Portico of Octavia and the Theatre of Marcellus 391
The *Rione di Ripa* 392
The *Rione di Campitelli* 393
The Capitol and the Pantheon . . . 394
The *Rione della Pigna* 395
The *Rione di Trevi*; the Quirinal . . . 396
Gardens and villas on the Quirinal . . . 397
The *Rione di Colonna* 398
The *Rione di S. Eustachio* 398
Heemskerck's description of the Palazzo Madama . 399

A.D. PAGE

1552 The palaces of the Valle family . . . 399
The Valle collection of antiquities . . . 400
Other palaces in the Rione di S. Eustachio . . 401
The *Rione di Campo Marzo*; charitable institutions 402
The Porta del Popolo and the streets leading from it 403
The whole population crowded near the Tiber . 403
Scarcity of the water supply . . . 403
The uninhabited districts of the city . . 404
The ruins of ancient Rome . . . 405
Ruthless spoliation of the ancient monuments . 406
The Colosseum 407
Heemskerk's striking picture of the state of the Forum 407
The Palace of the Caesars 408
The Palatine and the Imperial Fora . . 409
A district of silence and solitude . . . 410
The *Rione de' Monti* 410
The Lateran 411
S. Maria Maggiore 412
Witness of the inscriptions and epitaphs . . 413
The guide for pilgrims; *mirabilia Romae* . . 414
Papal ceremonies; Holy Week . . . 415
Maundy thursday 416
Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter . . 417
The "Stations" 418
Renewed veneration for the House of God . 418
Exact carrying out of the ceremonial; majestic music 419
Impressions of an unknown Florentine pilgrim . 420
Itinerary for a three days' visit . . . 422
Private collections of antiquities . . . 423
Charitable institutions; the hospitals . . . 423
The national hospices 424
Confraternities and institutes of charity . . 425
A new impetus in Catholic life, which makes "Roma Aeterna" again 426
The "Holy City" 427

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX

		PAGE
I.	Endimio Calandra to his brother Sabino	431
II.	Pirro Olivo to Sabino Calandra	432
III.	Pirro Olivo to Sabino Calandra	432
IV.	Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	433
V.	Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Marcello Cervini	433
VI.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	434
VII.	Consistory of March 10th, 1550	434
VIII.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	435
IX.	Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	435
X.	Judgment of Cardinal Marcello Cervini as Inquisitor	436
XI.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	438
XII.	Ippolito Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua	438
XIII.	Ippolito Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua	439
XIV.	Pope Julius III. to Paulus Jovius	439
XV.	Pope Julius III. to Franciscus de Augustinis	440
XVI.	Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo	441
XVII.–XVIII.	Pope Julius III. to Hannibal Spatafora	445
XIX.	Camillo Capilupi to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga	446
XX.	C. Titio to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	447
XXI.	Pope Julius III. to King Ferdinand	447
XXIa.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	447
XXIb.	Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole	448
XXII.	Pope Julius III. to Petro Antonia di Capua, Archbishop of Otranto	449
XXIII.	Safe-conduct of Julius III.	450
XXIV.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	450
XXV.	Lutherans in Rome, 1552–1554	451
XXVI.	Camillo Capilupi to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga	451
XXVII.	Furtherance of the re-building of St. Peter's by Julius III.	452
XXVIII.	Ordinances for reform by Pope Julius III.	457

CHAPTER I.

The Election of Julius III.

Paul III. holds a very prominent place among the Popes of the XVIth century, not only because his reign was unusually long and specially rich in events of the greatest importance, but still more because it covers the transition period between the Renaissance and the Catholic Reformation and Restoration.

A man of very great gifts, the Farnese Pope, with a full perception of the all-embracing mission of the Holy See, and of the ever-increasing gravity of the position in the northern and central countries of Europe, turned his attention in a special manner to those questions which were essentially of an ecclesiastical nature. Worldly interests, which had undoubtedly predominated during the reigns of the Renaissance Popes since Sixtus IV., also had great weight with him, but they no longer occupied the first place, and were subordinated to ecclesiastical interests.

In casting a glance over the fifteen years' pontificate of Paul III., the conviction is forced upon us that the dawn of a new era, full of hope, had arisen for the Church, in which she would again, as so often before, gloriously verify her spiritual ascendancy and her marvellous power of rejuvenation. The externally brilliant, but essentially worldly, period of the Renaissance, which took Church and religion as lightly as it did life itself, was hurrying towards its end. A new era was beginning, the most important problems of which were perfectly realized by the Farnese Pope.

However much Paul III. paid tribute to the fateful epoch at which he had come into power, he was nevertheless just to that generation in which the strictly ecclesiastical element, never losing sight of its goal, and without considering spiritual

change, was working towards a reform of conditions that were utterly corrupt, and was striving to cope with a dangerous crisis by means of an entirely new state of things. The inauguration of the Council, the removal of abuses, the renewal of the College of Cardinals, the fight against the divisions in the Church, which threatened Italy as well, and the protection of the reformed Orders, were all of epoch-making importance. A thoroughly effective result, however, had not yet been attained. The Council was as far from coming to an agreement, as the attempts at reform to completion. The new Orders were still in their initial stages, and had not, to a great extent, even fixed their final organization, while the changes in the College of Cardinals were in no way completed.

The difficulties which stood in the way of endeavours to promote the ascendancy of purely ecclesiastical interests are proved by the proceedings at the conclave after the death of Paul III.[1]

[1] There is an exceedingly rich source of materials at our disposal concerning the conclave of Julius III., which, with that of Pius IV., was the longest of the XVIth century. In the first place there is the testimony of the eye-witnesses: Cardinal Bernardino Maffei, Angelo Massarelli, Sebastianus Gualterius and Petrus Paulus Gualterius (de brevibus), the three latter being present at the conclave as conclavists of Cardinals Cervini, Alessandro Farnese and Maffei. To these we may add the notes of the master of ceremonies of the conclave, L. Firmanus. In the second volume of the monumental publication of the Görres Society, dealing with the authorities respecting the Council of Trent, Merkle has given, in an admirable way, a full report of Massarelli, and extracts from the other four, while the editor has noted in the preface everything necessary concerning the handing down of these authorities and their relation to one another. The description made use of here is taken entirely from Massarelli, unless otherwise stated. As a complement to the whole, the reports of the ambassadors, which have been partly reprinted, have been drawn upon. Of the more recent accounts, prominence is given to SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 181 *seqq.*; Papstwahlbullen, 1 *seqq.*; G. DE LEVA, Storia di Carlo quinto V., 63 *seqq.*

Under the Farnese Pope the number of Cardinals had risen to fifty-four; of these, twenty-nine were in the Eternal City at the death of the Pope;[1] before the beginning of the conclave twelve more arrived,[2] and during the election nine Frenchmen and the Spaniard, Pacheco, also came; three members of the Sacred College, de Givry, d'Hanebault and the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal did not take part in the conclave. Four of the Cardinals had, it is true, to leave on account of illness, so that of the fifty-four electors only forty-seven took part in the elevation of the new Pope, but in spite of this, no such distinguished conclave had taken place for a very long time. As in numbers it was the most considerable, this conclave was also the longest in the memory of man. It began on November 29th, 1549, and only finished on February 8th, 1550. The Church remained, therefore, nearly three months without a head. The cause of this unusual delay is to be found rather in the behaviour of the secular princes, who interfered in the most unjustifiable manner in electoral discussions, than in the party deliberations of the College of Cardinals, and the great number of candidates.[3]

That the Emperor and the King of France should, after the death of Paul III., attempt to exercise as decisive an influence as possible on the elevation of the new Pope, was to be expected. Charles V. was bound to desire a Pope who would be willing to continue the Council and recall it to Trent. He was determined to prevent at any cost the election of the eminent Marcello Cervini, who, as Cardinal-Legate at Trent, had succeeded in bringing about the removal of the Council to Bologna. The dispute about Parma and Piacenza, which was still pending, influenced the attitude of the Cardinals and the foreign powers no less than the question of the Council.

[1] Compiled by Panvinio, in MERKLE, II., 7.

[2] Namely Meudon on November 11, Gaddi on Nov. 14, Filonardi on Nov. 15, Madruzzo on Nov. 19, Salviati and Gonzaga on Nov. 21, Cibo and Lenoncourt on Nov. 22, del Monte and della Rovere on Nov. 23, and Truchsess and Doria on Nov. 24. See MASSARELLI, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23.

[3] *Cf.* the sarcasm of MUZIO (Lettere, 108).

The Viceroy of Milan and his brother, Ercole Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, had displayed activity on the side of the Emperor even during the lifetime of Paul III., by bringing forward a rival to the Farnese for the future conclave who would return Parma and Piacenza to the Emperor.[1] Their chosen candidate was Cardinal Salviati, the nephew of Leo X., and uncle of the Queen of France. In the opinion of the Imperial Ambassador in Rome in 1547, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Salviati had, in other respects as well, the best prospects of obtaining the tiara.[2] He was popular both with the Cardinals who were favourable to the Imperial and the French interests, as well as with those who were neutral; Mendoza had himself been won over to his side by the Gonzagas, while Granvelle was also well disposed towards him.[3] Cardinal Salviati, however, found a formidable opponent in his relative, Cosimo de' Medici, and his wily representative in Rome, Averardo Serristori. A memorandum of Cardinal Gonzaga to Granvelle, in which the candidature of Salviati was recommended, having come to Serristori's knowledge in April 1549, it was laid by him before the Pope.[4] Paul III., who feared everything for his relatives on the part of Salviati, was extremely angry; he would create fifty Cardinals, he exclaimed, to render the election of Salviati impossible.[5] Things did not, indeed, go as far as this, but at the nomination of Cardinals on April 8th, 1549, at which four men devoted to the Farnese interests received the purple,[6] an answer was found to the intrigues of the Gonzagas. Salviati's correspondence was watched, and a document exposing him was com-

[1] De Leva, V., 64 *seq.* Legaz. di Serristori, 187 *seqq.* Maffei in Merkle, II., 19 *seq.*

[2] Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 92. Mendoza maintains that Salviati had children; Salviati says on the other hand (Legaz. di Serristori, 193) that the accusation arose from his being mistaken for his brother.

[3] De Leva, V., 65 n. 4.

[4] Serristori's despatch of April 13, 1549 in Legaz. 188 *seq.*

[5] Druffel, I., 270.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 443.

municated to the Emperor,[1] whereupon Charles V. excluded him also from the election.[2]

Shortly before the death of Paul III., the discussions regarding the possession of Parma and Piacenza again led to a rearrangement of the parties in the College of Cardinals. As early as July 14th, 1547, the Imperial ambassador, Mendoza, had, when setting before his master the prospects for the coming Papal election,[3] pointed out three politically interested parties in the Sacred College, besides a neutral group: the Imperial, the French, and the adherents of Paul III. After Alessandro Farnese had joined the side of the Emperor, however, and looked to him for the restoration of Parma and Piacenza,[4] the Imperial party and the adherents of the Farnese joined together in the College of Cardinals. Farnese had made a move on November 19th, without having approached the Emperor in the matter, by having the authenticity of the document in which Paul III., shortly before his death, had ordered the return of Parma and Piacenza to Ottavio Farnese, attested by the Sacred College. The relations between Alessandro Farnese and the Emperor were not, however, altered by this attempt, as Camillo Orsini, the Governor of Parma, refused to deliver it to Ottavio, in spite of the College of Cardinals.[5]

There were, therefore, really only two parties to be considered in the conclave, the Imperial and the French. The Spaniards, Alvarez de Toledo, Mendoza, Cueva and Pacheco

[1] Serristori on May 1, 1549 (Legaz., 197). Maffei gives further particulars as to this compromising document, in MERKLE, II., 19 *seq.*

[2] "Sua Maestà vorebbe prima, che fosse Papa il Diavolo," said Mendoza to Serristori (Legaz. 209 *seq.*).

[3] DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 92.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 445. Concerning the motives which induced Farnese to join the Imperialists, *cf.* Maffei in MERKLE, II., 26.

[5] MASSARELLI, 16, 17. DRUFFEL, I., 316. *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 450.

belonged to the Imperial party,[1] as did Carpi, Morone, Crescenzi, Madruzzo, Sfondrato, Duranti, Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, Medici, Maffei, Gonzaga, Doria, Sforza, Savelli, Cornaro, della Rovere, Truchsess and Pole. To these twenty-two adherents of the Emperor were opposed twenty-four Cardinals with French sympathies. These were the twelve Frenchmen, Armagnac, Meudon, Lenoncourt, du Bellay, Guise, Châtillon, Vendôme, Tournon, de la Chambre, d'Amboise, Lorraine and Bourbon. Besides these, there were of the Italians, the four Cardinal-Bishops and seniors of the Sacred College, de Cupis, Salviati, del Monte and Carafa,[2] as well as Cesi, Verallo, Ridolfi, Pisani, Sermoneta, Este, Capodiferro and Crispi, Filonardi also voting for the most part with them. To the neutrals belonged Cibo, Gaddi and the Portuguese, de Silva.

Cervini stood outside all these parties; Guise testifies of him, as also of Carafa, that they obeyed their conscience alone.[3] This does not mean that these two champions of ecclesiastical reform took no interest in political considerations; it was precisely the conscientious and austere Cervini who was the principal adviser of Farnese.[4] The welfare of the Church, as well as conscientious motives, required that consideration

[1] According to the enumeration of Massarelli (p. 97). Ayala (in Druffel, I., 333) counts Cibo as an Imperialist; de Silva, Cervini and Rovere had also voted for Pole.

[2] Guise (Ribier, II., 261) does not reckon Carafa among the French Cardinals. *Theatinus* also only appears among the adherents of the French in the list of Masius (Lacomblet, Archiv für Gesch. des Niederrheins, VI., Cologne, 1868, 157.

[3] Ribier, II., 261. *Cf.* also with regard to Carafa the *notes of Cardinal Antonio Carafa in the Cod. X., F 55, f. 6 of the National Library, Naples.

[4] "Farnesius, qui plurimum praesidii atque consilii in illum (Cervini) contulerat, illius ope carere (when Cervini fell ill) aegre ferebat." In order not to lose him they gave him a room adjoining the conclave, which was included in the enclosure, an unheard-of privilege. Gualterius in Merkle, II., 60.

should be shown to those princes who could be of such use to the Church or do her so much harm.

Of the Cardinals named, Salviati, Cibo, Ridolfi, de Cupis, Pisani and Lorraine owed their elevation to Leo X., while Gonzaga, Gaddi, Doria, Tournon, de la Chambre, and Châtillon had received the red hat from Clement VII. All the others, with the exception of these twelve, had been invested with the purple by the Farnese Pope.[1]

It was of importance, in the interests of the Farnese and the Imperial party, that the election should take place as soon as possible, that is to say, before the arrival of the French Cardinals,[2] since both parties would have an equal balance of power, should the Sacred College be assembled in full numbers, and

[1] Paul III. had given Cardinal Alessandro Farnese some very interesting hints with regard to his attitude during the Papal election, in which his attitude towards "nostre creature" is specially detailed, and Pole, Salviati Gaddi and Ridolfi are characterized in a very interesting manner. These *Ricordi di Paolo III. al card. Farnese* were already widely circulated in manuscript during the XVIth century. I discovered four copies in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; in Rome there are also copies in the Boncompagni Archives (Cod. C, 20) and in the following libraries: Barberini (Lat. 5366), S. Pietro in Vincoli (*cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 40), Vitt. Emanuele (Varia 65); further manuscripts at Arezzo (Library), Bologna (University Library), Brescia (Quirini Library, C. III., 2), Florence (National Library, Cod. Capponi, 63), Macerata (Library, Cod. 259), Pistoia (Fabroniana Library Cod. 63), as well as at Gorlitz (Milich Library), and Munich (State Library). The *Ricordi* were published according to the Bologna manuscript by Frati in the Archivio stor. Ital. Ser. 5, XXXV., 448 *seqq.* Frati identifies the Cardinal of St. Angelo mentioned at the end with Lang, and concludes from this that the *Ricordi* were written between 1534 and 1540. St. Angelo, however, is Ranuccio Farnese, who had held the title of S. Angelo in Pescharia since October 7, 1546.

[2] *"Nella congregatione d'oggi è stato ricordato da tutti i rmi esser bene che si acceleri la elettione del Papa sotto pretesto delle cose del concilio et massimamente di quel di Trento, ma in fatto muove una gran parte di loro il dissegno di escludere i

a Cardinal holding pronounced Imperial views would have no prospect of receiving the tiara. For this reason, the French ambassador in Rome, d'Urfé, tried by every means in his power to have the beginning of the conclave delayed as long as possible. He succeeded in accomplishing this through the influence of Cardinal d'Este,[1] the leader of the French party, and the solemn funeral ceremonies, celebrated with great pomp, only began on November 19th, for a Pope who had departed this life on the 10th of the same month.[2] The ceremonies lasted for nine days, in accordance with the usual custom, and the Cardinals could not go in procession to the conclave until November 29th, after having assisted at a solemn high mass, celebrated in the chapel of old St. Peter's, named after Sixtus IV.[3]

The cells for the Cardinals, formed by wooden partitions, had been erected in six of the largest halls of the Vatican, namely, the Sala Regia, the Sixtine Chapel, and in the four halls, of which two were used for the public and private consistories. Special apartments were reserved for the sick, the cells proper being divided among the Cardinals by lot on November 27th. These were hung with violet for the Cardinals of Paul III., and with green for all the others.[4]

car^li Francesi, che non possino venire a tempo." Bonifazio Ruggieri to the Duke of Ferrara on November 10, 1549 (State Archives, Modena).

[1] D'Urfé to Henry II. on November 16, 1549, in Ribier, II., 254.

[2] Massarelli, 14 *seqq.* Concerning the decision of the College of Cardinals to erect a magnificent tomb to Paul III., see Vol. XII., 453 *seq.* of this work.

[3] Massarelli, 26 *seqq.* As the conclave was a source of grave expense to the poorer Cardinals, 8000 ducats, provided by the Dataria, were divided among them, though not without remonstrance on the part of the stricter Cardinals, at the request of the Cardinal-Dean, de Cupis. (*ibid.*, 11). Concerning the obsequies of Paul III. *cf.* the report in the appendix to the Opera di B. Scappi, Venice, 1570.

[4] Massarelli, 25. *Payments to the architect Baronino di Casale, who superintended the installation of the conclave, in the *Mandata 1549-1550 (State Archives, Rome).

Five thousand soldiers stood prepared to keep order in the city during the course of the election, to whom 500 other armed men were specially added for the protection of the conclave, in addition to the 200 Swiss. The Conservatori of the city had begged, "in the name of the Roman citizens," for the honour of being allowed to provide another 1000 soldiers for the safety of Rome, which number they reduced to 500 on the following day. The self-seeking and unruly Roman people wished to take up arms, and assume the guardianship of the conclave; this the Cardinals would not hear of, but they gave permission that the city should provide 500 men from the usual militia of the States of the Church.[1] Orazio Farnese, the future son-in-law of the French King, was the commander of these troops, but Mendoza having complained that Rome was delivered into the hands of the French, officers with Imperial sympathies were placed by his side.[2]

Fortunately, there were no serious disturbances either in Rome or outside during the long continuance of the conclave. Camillo Colonna did indeed seize several small villages immediately after the death of Paul III., and Ascanio Colonna took steps to regain possession of the sovereign authority wrested from him by the late Pope, but in other respects he assured the College of Cardinals by letter of his loyalty to the Holy See.[3]

On December 10th, 1549, the Cardinals were able to decide that half of this guard should be disbanded.[4] On January 10th, 1550, this was again considerably reduced,[5] on account

[1] MASSARELLI, 9 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 9. D'Urfé in RIBIER, II., 255. Dandolo in BROWN, V., n. 588.

[3] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 9 *seq.*, 24. See also the *reports of Scip. Gabrielli of November 11, 19, 25, and 29 (State Archives, Siena) of F. Franchino of November 13, 1549 (State Archives, Parma) of Masius of November, 23, 1549 (in LACOMBLET, Archiv für Gesch. des Niederrheins, VI., 147). *Cf.* also Dandolo in ALBÈRI, 343 *seq.*

[4] MASSARELLI, 54.

[5] *Ibid.*, 90.

of the great expense, even though news had already come on December 22nd that Fermo had been invested by the Florentines.[1] On January 21st and 22nd, the conclave had again to come to a decision concerning troubles in Bologna, and the investment of Acquapendente.[2]

On the evening of November 30th the doors of the conclave were barred within and without by six bolts.[3] The enclosure was, however, maintained with so little strictness that an eye-witness said later that the conclave had been more open than closed.[4]

Meanwhile, Charles V. had on November 20th, 1549, openly declared to his ambassador in Rome his wishes with regard to the election. He desired above all things, the election of the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, uncle of the Duke of Alba and brother of the Viceroy of Naples; should this election, however, not be possible, he wished for Carpi, Pole, Morone or Sfondrato, who were all no less eminent than the said Spaniard. The Emperor excluded all Frenchmen, as well as Salviati, Cervini, Ridolfi, Capodiferro and Verallo.[5]

The Imperial Cardinals were not, however, aware of these wishes at the beginning of the conclave, and had decided, not for Toledo, but for Pole, although they had not yet a sufficient majority to ensure his election, but Madruzzo and others hoped that, by proclaiming Pole as Pope without further formalities, at the beginning of the conclave, they might carry with them many who were undecided. Sforza and Maffei, indeed, warned them against any such precipitate action, which would be certain to irritate the opposing party.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, 31.

[4] "Visensis, qui iam pridem non conclusi sed patentis conclavis libertatem aegre tulerat." Gualterius in MERKLE, 90 *seq.*

[5] MAURENBRECHER, 220. Concerning the said Cardinals *cf.* Vol. XI., 159 *seqq.*, 206; XII., 202 of this work. Concerning Sfondrato, who died on July 31, 1550, *cf.* also NOVATI in the Archivio stor. Lomb., XXI. (1894), 45 *seq.*

[6] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 31.

The issue proved them to be right. The very fact that the beginning of the funeral celebrations for Paul III. had been so long delayed had partly been arranged to defeat this plan. When, on November 30th, the Imperial party proposed an electoral assembly for that very evening, just after the conclave had been closed, it was intimated to them that in such a grave matter, proceedings had to be carefully arranged in accordance with the usual order. The discussion which followed was only ended by night, without the Imperial party having gained any advantage.

On the two following days also, they arrived at no conclusion,[1] only the Papal election Bulls of Julius II. and Gregory X. being read over and sworn to, and an election capitulation for the new Pope prepared and accepted.[2] This latter agreed generally with that drawn up in the conclave of Clement VII. The last paragraph enjoined the future Pope to deliver Parma to Ottavio Farnese.

A discussion arose on the afternoon of December 1st as to whether voting should be public or secret.[3] While some saw in public voting the best method of avoiding subterfuges, others considered that the freedom of voting would disappear in this way, especially at a time when the Imperial party on the one hand, and the French on the other, sought to bring voters to their views by promises and bribes, and even by threats.

On the evening of December 1st, Mendoza appeared at the door of the conclave and handed in an Imperial memorandum. A second, which he did not openly communicate, contained the wishes of Charles V. as to the election.[4]

On the morning of December 3rd, they agreed that the voting should be secret. Then followed the first ballot. On the altar there was a golden chalice and each voter advanced to it and laid his vote therein. Then the chalice was emptied

[1] Massarelli, 32.

[2] Printed by Le Plat, IV., 156 *seq.* *Cf.* Lulves in the Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Instituts, XII., 224 *seq.*

[3] Massarelli, 34.

[4] *Ibid.*

on to a table before the altar, the three Cardinals who presided examining each vote. The senior Cardinal-Deacon, Cibo, then read aloud the name or names that were on the paper, as most of the electors wrote three or four names at the same time.[1]

Cibo had to announce the name of Cardinal Pole no less than twenty-one times at this first ballot, as it had been very generally predicted that he would have the tiara, although his zeal for reform was much feared in Rome.[2] Toledo came next to Pole with thirteen votes, de Cupis and Sfondrato each had twelve, and Carafa ten. Salviati only had two votes, and of the Cardinals excluded by the Emperor, the highly respected Cervini was the only one who succeeded in obtaining nine votes. The wishes expressed by the Emperor do not otherwise appear to have had much influence on the voting.[3] As the two-thirds majority required was twenty-eight, there

[1] *Ibid.*, 36.

[2] Pole, whom the above mentioned (p. 7, n. 1) *Ricordi di Paolo III.* describe as "soggetto a giudizio del mondo superiore agli altri di nobilità, bontà e dottrina," appears as the most likely candidate in all the reports of the time immediately following the death of the Farnese Pope. *Cf.* the *reports of Scip. Gabrielli in the State Archives, Siena, of November 13 (*"Le scomesse et le voci de la città variano ogni giorno et il più alto è Inghilterra e poi Salviati. S. Croce e ancora in buona aspetttione") 14, 15, 25, and 29 (*"Il card. S. Croce quando non riesca Inghilterra si tiene in grandissima espettatione ancorche gli Imperiali publicamente mostrano poco sodisfarsene") and December 1 ("voce universale" for Pole, although his zeal for reform might rob him of the tiara; "si ragiona di Sfondrato, di S. Croce et di Monte"). *Cf.* also the letter of Muzio, Lettere, 109 *seqq.*, and of Masius in Lacomblet, Archiv für Gesch. des Niederrheins, VI., 146 *seqq.*; *cf.* also Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital., XVII., 343; XLIII., 237 *seq.* On a closer examination of the state of affairs, Pole's candidature did not seem possible (see Muzio, Lettere, 111-113). Masius is also of the same opinion on December 3 (Briefe, 53).

[3] "Auctoritatem nullam adeptae sunt," says Maffei of Charles V.'s letter of exclusion. Merkle, II., 51.

seemed good reason for hoping that Pole would in the following ballots easily obtain the votes still required, and that the conclave would soon come to an end.

What Pole himself felt when he found himself so near to the highest dignity on earth, he confided later to a friend.[1] The voting, he said, did not make the least impression on him. He had already given the answer to several Cardinals who urged him to take steps himself for the furtherance of his election, that he would say no word, even if his silence should cost him his life, for he adhered strictly to his principle of leaving everything to God, and desiring only the fulfilment of His Will.[2]

It was not customary at the first ballot of the conclave, that votes should be given to one of those chosen, after the reading of the papers, but this was allowed at subsequent ballots, and it did not seem unlikely that certain Cardinals would make use of this right in favour of Pole.[3] Perhaps with the intention of putting an obstacle in the way of the zealous reformer, who was feared by the worldly Cardinals, the question was raised before the voting of the following day, whether this accession of votes to the papers already handed in by the electors, allowed later on, should be considered valid. After a long discussion, an agreement was reached by the decision that for this day also the subsequent accession should not be allowed.[4] In spite of this, Pole's votes increased to twenty-four on this day, in the early morning of which the arrival of Cardinal Pacheco had strengthened the Imperial party.[5]

[1] To Francisco Navarrete, bishop of Badajoz, on June 17, 1550, in QUIRINI, Ep. Poli, V., 53 *seq.*; *cf.* BROWN, V., n. 671.

[2] Dandolo on November 30, 1549, in BROWN, V., n. 595.

[3] Scip. Gabrielli *reports on December 1, 1549: Pole is very Catholic; he desires the residence of the bishops and the presence of the Cardinals in the Curia; during the lifetime of Paul III. he had said that the "offitii" must be put an end to (State Archives, Siena). *Cf.* Muzio, Lettere, 109.

[4] MASSARELLI, 41.

[5] *Ibid.* 42. Mendoza had sent a messenger to him to warn him as soon as possible (Legaz. di Serristori, 217). He arrived

The French, who were terrified, informed d'Urfé that the next ballot could not fail to result in favour of the Imperialists if he could not think of some way of preventing it. Then d'Urfé came to the door of the conclave and announced, through the master of ceremonies, that the French Cardinals were already in Corsica, and would soon arrive, and should the electors not wait for them till the end of the week, the French king would not acknowledge the election. In reality d'Urfé had, as he himself admitted, no news from Corsica, but in spite of this, he appeared again and repeated his protest before six of the Cardinals, threatening them at the same time with a schism.[1]

A period of excitement now followed in the conclave. The consequence of d'Urfé's protest was that the Imperialists resolved not to wait till the following morning, but, that very night, without formal voting, to acclaim Pole as Pope, by a general rendering of homage.[2] They set about securing the necessary number of votes with the greatest zeal. As a matter of fact they had got so far that it had been already announced to Pole that the Cardinals would soon arrive in his cell and pay homage to the Head of Christendom. Those on the French side, on the other hand, did all in their power to delay this rendering of homage, and they were successful in circumventing this plan of the Imperial party. The discussions and negotiations in the corridors of the conclave lasted till far into the night, and when midnight was already passed, not one of the Cardinals had retired to his cell.[3]

Pole lost none of his calmness in the general excitement; he would not hear of an elevation by the homage of the Cardinals. He caused his friends to be informed that he desired to ascend to the Supreme Pontificate through the door, but not through the window.[4] When a deputation of two Cardinals

in the conclave "more dead than alive." Dandolo in BROWN, V., n. 596.

[1] D'Urfé to the King on December 6, 1549, in RIBIER, II., 254 *seq.*; *cf.* MUZIO, Lettere, 116.

[2] MASSARELLI, 42 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 43.

[4] Dandolo in ALBÈRI, 346; *cf. ibid.*, 372-373.

said to him that an elevation by homage was in perfect accordance with the law, he at first agreed with them, but hardly had they taken their departure, when he sent a messenger after them to withdraw his consent.[1]

The Imperialists had, however, gained one advantage during the night; three of the Cardinals, Morone, Cesi and Gaddi, declared that they were prepared to support the election of Pole next morning, by giving him their votes by way of accession, whereupon the Imperialists believed that they could await the coming ballot with joyful anticipation. They never dreamed that these three supplementary voters would inform the French party that they would only come to the assistance of Pole when he had twenty-six votes.[2]

On December 5th it was generally expected as certain that Pole would receive the necessary majority of two-thirds at the voting. Before the Cardinals proceeded to the scrutiny, nearly all of them had ordered their cells to be emptied, as they did not wish to be plundered by the rush of people after the election. The Papal vestments had already been laid out for Pole, and he had himself composed an address of thanks which he had shown to several persons. Outside, in front of the Vatican, the people assembled in great crowds, while the troops were standing with flying colours, ready to salute the new Pope.[3]

Meanwhile the French party in the conclave had no idea of giving in without a fight. In the early morning attempts began again on both sides to influence one or another in favour of each of the conflicting parties. The excitement and irritation became visibly more acute. When the hour for the Mass, which was to precede the voting, arrived, the master of ceremonies was forbidden to give the usual signal with the bell; he was to wait till all the Cardinals were together. It seemed

[1] Pole to the bishop of Badajoz on June 17, 1550, *loc. cit.* (see *supra* p. 13, n. 1).

[2] Massarelli and Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 42 *seq.*

[3] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 43. Appendix to Massarelli by Panvinio, *ibid.*, 47.

as if a sort of schism was being prepared. The adherents of Pole assembled in the Pauline Chapel, his opponents in the Sixtine. Voting was not for the moment to be thought of.

Meanwhile, Cervini, who on account of his invalid condition, was in the habit of arriving later, appeared in the Pauline Chapel. Carpi, Morone, Madruzzo, Gonzaga and Farnese advanced towards him, and, explaining the state of affairs, begged him to approach the opposing party as mediator. Cervini allowed himself to be persuaded and went in Morone's company to the Sixtine Chapel. He then addressed himself to the Cardinal Dean, de Cupis. The opponents of Pole, he said, had already sinned enough against their consciences, by using every means in their power to prevent his election, but as it was now clear that the Holy Ghost wished Pole to be elected, he begged them not to continue their resistance.

De Cupis thereupon answered that he also wished for peace and unity, but that a Papal election seldom took place without differences of opinion, and that their opponents had made use of unlawful measures, while the protest of d'Urfé had given reason to fear a French schism.

Thereupon the answer was made that the remarks about intrigue were not all founded on fact, and that if attention were paid to every protest, they would establish a very bad precedent, and the minority would, in the future, when a candidate did not please them, protest until they had gained their end. Moreover, they could not wait any longer for the French Cardinals, as the lawful time had long been passed.

These and similar reasons were, however, of no avail, and the messengers returned to Pole's adherents without having gained any advantage. Finally, two hours after the usual time, the French party consented to join the other Cardinals, at least for a conference.

De Cupis began the negotiations by again urging them to wait for the French Cardinals; the Papal election decree of Gregory X. was, he said, no impediment to their doing so, as, although it prescribed only a ten days' period of waiting, it had not foreseen the present position. A long debate followed upon this statement of de Cupis. Salviati, Carafa, Lenon-

court and Meudon agreed with de Cupis, Carpi and Toledo differed from him, while del Monte thought that if they were allowed to wait, they might as well do so. Filonardi was undecided. Then Cervini again spoke and emphasized in impressive terms the danger of giving way before the protest. From a legal standpoint they could only wait for the French Cardinals if all present agreed to do so.

Cervini was known as a man who only spoke after the dictates of his own conscience, and not to please either party. His words made such an impression that the Cardinals who spoke after him all agreed with him, those belonging to the French party alone excepted. Este by a panegyric on the services France had rendered to the church still endeavoured to obtain a delay of one or two days, but Sfondrato arose and showed that according to the text of the decree of Gregory X., they dared not delay the election any longer. It was not the case, as de Cupis had asserted, that the decree did not apply to the case now in question; on the contrary, it was quite clear that it did refer to the present position.

The French cause now seemed lost. At the voting concerning the proposal of the Cardinal-Dean, the majority declared themselves against any further delay, and they at once proceeded to hold the election. Pole received twenty-three votes. Then Carpi arose, opened his voting paper, and declared that he joined the supporters of Pole. Farnese then stood up and made the same declaration. A dead silence followed. Pole required only one more vote. If he could now obtain twenty-six votes, he was sure of getting twenty-seven, after the agreement during the night, and then he could give the twenty-eighth, the last vote necessary, himself. Full of expectation, Pole's supporters watched his opponents, and endeavoured by signs to win them over to his support. No one, however, made a movement. After a pause the Cardinal-Dean asked if anyone would still come over to Pole's side, but only a deep silence followed. Thereupon de Cupis declared the voting over, and all stood up and withdrew, the Imperialists in great depression of spirits.

No one had expected such an issue. Many considered it

could only be possible through a special interposition of Providence, that any Cardinal should have been so near the tiara as Pole had been, and still not have received it.

The reasons for Pole's failure lay principally in the repugnance of the Italians to the choice of a foreigner. Besides this it was urged that Pole was only forty-five years old, that he had little knowledge of business, and that there was a danger of his involving Italy in a war with England. What injured him, however, more than anything else was the suspicion that he inclined in his views, especially in the doctrine of Justification, to Protestantism. It was Carafa in particular who laid stress on this point, and openly attacked Pole before the voting of December 5th.[1]

The five following ballots, from December 6th to 11th, are not of great importance. D'Urfé appeared at the door of the conclave on December 6th, and again announced the early arrival of the French Cardinals.[2] The Imperialists made repeated attempts to secure Pole's election. All the Cardinals of the Imperial party, he himself naturally excepted, and de Silva, voted for the English Cardinal. Filonardi, Cibo, Gaddi and the Cardinals belonging to the French party, as far as they were present in Rome,[3] were opposed to him. On the morning of December 7th, it was again generally believed that Pole's friends had nearly attained their object, but the other party had not in the meantime been idle. Pole received on that morning only two supplementary votes, besides the twenty-two that he was sure of day after day. They had brought forward, between the ballots of December 6th and 7th, as an opposing candidate, Toledo, whose election was so greatly desired by the Emperor and the Duke of Florence; so many Cardinals on both sides promised him their votes that his election seemed certain. Toledo's candidature was, however,

[1] Appendix to Massarelli by Panvinio, in MERKLE, II., 47. Maffei and Gualterius, *ibid.* 43, 47. Mendoza in DRUFFEL, I., 306. See also MUZIO, Lettere, 114, 117.

[2] "Qui eandem supradictam cantilenam recantavit et discessit." Firmanus in MERKLE, II., 49.

[3] MASSARELLI, 55.

nothing more than an election manœuvre. The French declared themselves for him in order to destroy the unity of the Imperial party, and to deprive the English Cardinal of his vote. They also raised hopes of the tiara in other Cardinals, but only with the intention of winning them away from Pole. The Imperialists now apparently favoured Toledo's candidature, in order to force the French party to an acknowledgment of their insincerity, so that his election seemed certain. The French, however, then at once abandoned him.[1]

Their success in the struggle against Pole now encouraged the French party to attempt the candidature of Salviati. In the opinion of Cardinal Maffei,[2] they would have succeeded if they had proceeded more quickly, but Salviati's old friend, Gonzaga, thought it necessary first to obtain the opinion of the Emperor, from whom, however, a letter was received by Ferrante Gonzaga, containing a sharp reprimand.

On December 12th the French Cardinals, du Bellay, Guise, Châtillon and Vendôme, whose coming was announced by d'Urfé on December 10th, at last arrived in Rome, and betook themselves, after a short rest at the French embassy, to the conclave. This strengthening of the opposing party was a serious blow to the Imperialists. They had again tried to put Toledo in the place of Pole at the voting on December 12th, and this time perhaps in earnest, but at the news of the arrival of the French Cardinals, they again returned to Pole. Toledo only succeeded in getting twelve votes and three supplementary ones. On the evening of December 12th Cardinal Tournon was also present, but his appearance was no advantage to the French party, as Filonardi, whose sympathies were French, had to leave the conclave on the 14th, on account of illness, and he died on the 19th.[3]

[1] According to Maffei in MERKLE, II., 49. According to Massarelli (*ibid.*) they had again withdrawn from Toledo because the Italians and French wished for a Spaniard as little as they wished for an Englishman. *Cf.* MUZIO, Lettere, 119.

[2] In MERKLE, II., 51.

[3] *Cf.* MUZIO, Lettere, 123.

A new period began for the conclave with the appearance of the French Cardinals. The number of voters had now risen to forty-six, so that the two-thirds majority was now thirty-one. The number, however, sank to forty-five, as Cervini had to leave the conclave on account of illness on December 22nd, but again rose to forty-seven on the arrival of Cardinals de la Chambre and d'Amboise on the 28th. The entry of John of Lorraine into the conclave on December 31st had no influence on the relative strength of the parties, as de la Chambre had to seek treatment for stone outside the Vatican on the following day. In the same way Bourbon's arrival on January 14th was counterbalanced for the French party by the loss of Ridolfi, whose sympathies were French. He was seriously ill, and left the conclave on December 20th, and died on the 31st. Cibo, who was also ill, was temporarily absent from the conclave, from January 23rd to February 1st.[1]

From December 12th, the leader of the French party was the twenty-three year old Cardinal Guise, the confidant of his king. He was an adroit and self-confident politician, and the candidate whom he wished to support was the old Cardinal of Lorraine. Should this not prove practicable, then Este, and after him Ridolfi, Salviati and finally Cervini or del Monte were each in turn to be put forward.[2] Henry II. had already, on December 3rd, caused his ambassador to be informed by letter that he did not wish for Pole.[3]

As Lorraine was excluded by the Emperor as a Frenchman,

[1] Cibo hoped to become Pope with the help of the Duke of Florence (see STAFFETTI, Card. Cibo, Florence, 1894, 249). A biting lampoon (published by CIAN in the Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital., XVII., 341) chastised his ambition. *Cf.* also STAFFETTI in the Atti d. Soc. Ligure, XXXVII. (1910), 351 *seqq.*

[2] Henry II. to Guise on January 25, 1550; d'Urfé to Henry II. on January 20, 1550 (RIBIER, II., 259-262. DE LEVA, V., 78). A letter of the French King, in which he designated de Cupis, Salviati, Ridolfi and Lorraine as candidates above all others, was already known in the conclave on January 6. MASSARELLI, 85.

[3] RIBIER, II., 258.

and he had also excluded Ridolfi, Salviati, Cervini, Capodiferro and Verallo by name, which he repeated by letter on December 19th,[1] the complaint of Maffei can be understood when he says that all the more important Cardinals had been barred, either by Charles V. or Henry II., and that persons who were quite unqualified were entertaining hopes of the tiara.[2]

On December 30th Charles V. excluded Cardinal Carafa, in addition to the five already named ;[3] the Imperial Ambassador was instructed to proceed in a similar manner against de Cupis and del Monte, but only to mention them in case of need, so as not needlessly to make enemies of those referred to.[4] Mendoza kept these instructions secret for the time being, in order that he might be able to make another unwelcome candidate impossible, by apparently supporting one of those excluded. In this manner he promoted, at least in appearance, the election of Salviati,[5] but when complaints were made to the Emperor concerning him by the other diplomatists, he was sharply reprimanded by his master.[6] Those who understood the circumstances had soon foreseen how matters would develop in this state of affairs. Buonanni, the conclavist of Cardinal Toledo, wrote on November 27th, 1549, even before the beginning of the election proceedings, that should the conclave only last from four to six days, it was the general belief that either Pole or Toledo would be successful ; should the negotiations, however, be drawn out, and the French Cardinals arrive, he was of opinion that they would put difficulties in the way

[1] DRUFFEL, I., 336. The letter arrived in Rome on December 29. It was the answer to an announcement from the conclave of December 8, which had been received in Brussels on the 18. Dandolo in BROWN, V., n. 613. Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 78, 79.

[2] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 63.

[3] DRUFFEL, I., 338.

[4] MAURENBRECHER, 222, n. 9.

[5] DE LEVA, V., 79.

[6] *Ibid.*, 86. MAURENBRECHER, 223 n. 10. Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 78, 85. PETRUCELLI, II., 43, 45.

of Salviati's election, but that favourable prospects would open out for del Monte, and if the Imperial party should support him, he might easily reach the Papal throne, while his elevation would give satisfaction to all parties.[1] Serristori, however, who drew his information chiefly from Buonanni,[2] wrote to the Duke of Florence after the arrival of the French Cardinals, that the Imperial and French parties were henceforth equally balanced, and that two things alone were possible, either that the one party should exhaust the patience of the other by repeated ballots, or that they should agree upon a Pope who would give least dissatisfaction to both parties. His opinion was that del Monte might be one of those for whom the French party would co-operate, and who would be least displeasing to the Emperor, for although del Monte had agreed to the removal of the Council, he had only done so in obedience to the Pope, while in other respects he had never had French sympathies and did not wish to belong to the French party, but to the Imperialists.[3] In the conclave itself, however, nobody at that time thought seriously of del Monte, although Guise had nominated him among others as a candidate. Cardinal Sforza, however, was quite positive even then that the Cardinals would unite in choosing him.[4] Guise also wrote towards the end of the year, that del Monte or Cervini might be Pope the next day if the French desired it, but that to please the King they would first try all the others, and

[1] *" Se i [n] 4 o 6 giorni del conclavi si facesse Papa, credano che o Inghilterra o Burgos per riuscire. . . . . In caso che la detta promotione vada a lungo, penso che con li obstaculi che hara Salviati, si farà gran giuoco a Monte, il quale se fusse abbracciato secretamente dagl'Imperiali con quelle sorte d'obligationi . . . anderebbe a quella sede con pochissimi obstaculi et satisfarebbe universalmente la sua elettione." Buonanni to Christiano Pagni, Rome, November 27, 1549 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, II., 34 *seqq.*

[2] PETRUCELLI, II., 26.

[3] Legaz. di Serristori, 222.

[4] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 59.

would wait patiently as long as these had any chance.[1] On the other hand the Imperialists determined to keep steadily to Pole. They assembled at once after the arrival of the French Cardinals, in the presence of Cardinal Madruzzo, and formally pledged themselves in favour of Pole.[2] Their resolve may have partly arisen from a sort of obstinacy, which persisted in clinging to a lost cause. One can, however, also trace the influence of the reform party in this, ready to risk everything to secure a Pope of their own way of thinking. "We want a good and holy Pope," said Truchsess on January 20th, when a heated discussion arose between him and de Cupis, "but you will only have one who serves the body and not the soul; we will have no Pope elected who will neglect God's Church in order to enrich his relatives, as was the case with the last four or five."[3]

Under these circumstances there was no possibility of a speedy termination of the conclave. Following on the last eight fruitless ballots there now came fifty-two equally without result, in which there never was any other intention than a mere prolongation of the time, whether with a view to receiving further instructions with regard to the election from the secular princes, or with the intention of working privately for a certain candidate.[4] Above all, however, the decision was postponed so that the opposing parties, disgusted by the endless intrigues, might at last unite in a less agreeable choice. At these fifty-two ballots, therefore, Pole received twenty-three votes every time, until January 9th, and, from that time, after the loss of de Silva and Cibo, always twenty-one. The French had nominated Carafa as the opposing candidate, not, however, because they wished him to be Pope,[5] but because they wished to drive the austere and zealous Pole

[1] Guise to Henry II. on December 28, 1549 (or, according to De Leva, V., 81, on January 2, 1550) in Ribier, II., 260.

[2] Gualterius in Merkle, II., 57.

[3] Massarelli, 69.

[4] Ribier, II., 268.

[5] De Leva, V., 81 n.

out of the field by nominating an opponent of the same way of thinking.[1] From December 15th to the end of the conclave, from twenty-one to twenty-two votes were generally given to the Neapolitan Cardinal.

In the meantime the Papal exchequer was being drained for the payment of the military guard on duty,[2] the irritated populace stormed perpetually in front of the Vatican and shouted for a new Pope, while monks and clergy were daily holding processions.[3] The Lutherans in Germany jeered at the disunion in the Roman Church,[4] while the universal vexation in Rome vented itself in innumerable satirical poems about the Cardinals and their slavish adultaion of the secular princes.[5]

Without giving up either Pole or Carafa, they tried many other candidates in the conclave, working as a rule, however, privately for these, and only openly nominating them when

[1] Dandolo on December 18, 1549: "Francesi . . . . con dire: opponamus sanctum sancto ne diedero 22 a Chieti." De Leva, V., 81.

[2] Massarelli, 131.

[3] *Ibid.*, 59.

[4] Charles V. is supposed to have said: "Pour un Lutherien qu'il avait auparavant la vacation du Papat, il y en a maintenant quantité" (letter of Henry II. to Guise of February 6, 1550, in Ribier, II., 263). The voting papers came back from Germany after 15-20 days with marginal notes. Ayala to Mendoza on December 17, 1549, in Druffel, I., 328.

[5] See Massarelli, 85. With regard to the plentiful lampoon literature of the conclave of Julius III., see, besides the admirable essays of Cian in the Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital., XVII., 337-353, and *ibid.*, XLIII., 232 *seqq.*, the unpublished sarcastic poems on the conclave in the Cod. Palat. 1913, of the Vatican Library. The remark of Giulio Gentile in a *letter to the grand chancellor of Milan, dated Rome, January 5, 1550 (State Archives, Milan), that he would send the *pasquini*, although they were "assai ignobili, scortesi et sporchi," confirms, among other publications of this nature, the *Pasquinatella in the Venetian dialect, which Giuseppe Inglesco sent to Mantua with a letter of January 28, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

they were sure of a certain number of votes. In the reports of the scrutinies, therefore, no mention is made of several candidates.

From time to time various proposals were made as to how the Papal election might be secured in a manner differing from the usual procedure. The first of these proposals was made as early as December 14th, even before the French had nominated a candidate of their own. Both parties assembled separately on this day, one in the Sixtine and the other in the Pauline Chapel, and communicated with each other through intermediaries. The French proposed a choice between nine candidates: three of their own countrymen, Lorraine, Tournon and du Bellay, three Italians of French sympathies, Salviati, Ridolfi and de Cupis, and three neutral Italians, Carafa, del Monte and Cervini. The Imperialists replied that they would only have Pole.[1] On this refusal the wearisome round of fruitless ballots began over again.

It was, however, beginning to occur to the Imperialists that it was impolitic to cling so obstinately to Pole. They therefore assembled late in the evening on December 16th, and sent Truchsess, Pacheco and Farnese as intermediaries to the French, to propose Carpi and Toledo as candidates instead of Pole. This offer was refused, as was expected.[2] The Imperialists had already thought of working for Sfondrato, and of favouring Morone at the ballots, so that their real aim might remain secret. "For many days," said Maffei,[3] "nothing further happened than that they made new proposals to one another, more with a view to prolonging the time than of reaching a decision."

It was then that the Imperial Cardinals, merely on account of the honour, gave fifteen votes to the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal, whereupon the French, on the following day, outdid them by giving eighteen votes and two supplementary ones to Guise, also merely for the sake of the honour. "Behold,

[1] MASSARELLI, 58 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 62.
[3] MERKLE, II., 59.

reader," remarks Massarelli on December 17th,[1] "at what times we have arrived! After we have vainly employed twenty days in electing a Pope, and the whole of Christendom is daily clamouring for one, behold the zeal which the Cardinals display for the common weal, by bestowing twenty votes at this day's scrutiny on a young man of twenty-three, not with the intention, as they themselves acknowledge, of making him Pope, but out of consideration for his rank and the favour which he enjoys from the King. It is the truth that in these days persons are elevated to the high rank of Cardinal who seek to please man rather than God, for, as God knows, when certain Cardinals, worthy in every respect of being candidates for the Papal throne, were proposed, the answer was that this election would not please the Emperor, or from the French, that their King would not approve of him as Pope."

On December 19th the prelates and barons who were entrusted with the guarding of the conclave joined the populace in demanding a speedy election. They represented that troubles which only a Pope could allay were arising in all directions; the mercenaries were getting bolder every day, the streets were no longer safe, while the cost of the vacancy in the Holy See was no longer to be borne. Within the conclave vexation was also making itself felt. The drastic proposal was even made that the two leaders, Guise and Farnese, should be shut in together, without food, till they should agree upon a Pope.[3] On December 17th the youthful Guise had considered it seemly to make remonstrances to Pole, before all the Cardinals and conclavists, who were awaiting the issue of the affair in a state of the greatest tension. He accused

[1] *Ibid.*, 64 *seq.*

[2] MASSARELLI, 67.

[3] Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 67. Other proposals are to be found there and in Paulus de Brevibus, *ibid.*, 66. On January 7, nearly all the Cardinals were together after dinner in a corridor of the conclave, and when several of them said, as a joke, that it would be a good thing if the doors were now closed, and the Cardinals thus forced to make a choice, the conclavists really shut them in for three hours. *Ibid.*, 86.

Pole of not possessing the qualities necessary for the Head of the Church, and said that his sudden withdrawal from the Council of Trent had given rise to the suspicion that he did not agree to the decree on Justification, and advised him therefore to withdraw his candidature. The Cardinal attacked answered calmly that his withdrawal from the Council was occasioned solely by reasons of health, and that although he would take no steps to be chosen Pope, he would also not prevent the Cardinals from bestowing their votes upon him if they were inclined to do so.[1]

Pole's candidature, however, proved in the meantime more than hopeless, and the Imperialists could no longer shut their eyes to the fact. After they had been terrified, on December 26th, by the news that three more French Cardinals would soon arrive, they risked everything to have Toledo elected, if possible, on the following day. They actually succeeded, quite privately, in adding another eight votes to the twenty-three which they already possessed, so that Toledo's election seemed assured. In spite of their secrecy, however, the plan became known, and the French, who had nominated de Cupis as the opposing candidate, succeeded, by dint of hard work during the night, in winning back these eight votes from the Imperialists. On December 27th Toledo had only twenty votes, de Cupis twenty-one and one supplementary one. The Imperialists had, therefore, to resign themselves to the strengthening of the French party on December 28th by the arrival of de la Chambre and d'Amboise.

In the meantime a new difficulty had arisen. The Jubilee Year of 1550 was to be inaugurated by the opening of the

[1] Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 64. A similar scene took place on March 22. When Pole again received 23 votes and Carafa 20 in the ballot on that day, Carafa stood up and begged the Cardinals not to consider his candidature. Pole also stood up and repeated his former declaration. If anyone gave him his vote merely from motives of friendship, he begged him to refrain from so doing; should he, however, be obeying the dictates of his conscience, he could not, and would not, bring any pressure to bear on him. MASSARELLI, 70 *seq.*

Golden Door on Christmas Eve. Many pilgrims had already arrived in Rome. It was, however, doubtful if the Holy Year, with its usual indulgences and faculties for absolution, could be inaugurated without a Pope, and without the ceremonies mentioned. The prelates and barons, therefore, applied to the Cardinals, complaining at the same time of the long delay and want of unity in the conclave. The barons said that the guarding of the doors of the conclave should be entrusted to them, as the prelates were too indulgent for such a duty. The Dean, de Cupis, informed the Cardinals of these difficulties on December 29th. No remedies could as yet be found for the disagreement in the conclave, which no one denied, but with regard to the Jubilee, a declaration was issued on the following day that it had undoubtedly begun, and that the opening of the Golden Door would be performed subsequently by the future Pope.

At that time, however, there seemed but little hope of soon getting the future Pope. The Imperialists, as the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, wrote on December 21st, 1549, had pledged their word in writing not to give way to their opponents, and he reported on January 8th, 1550, that both parties had pledged themselves by oath not to yield to the other.[1] On December 26th they wrote from the conclave that the French were then boasting that they were as well off in the conclave as if they were in paradise, and that they would hold out until everyone was exhausted. The opposing party spoke to the same effect; neither the length of time nor any other consideration should rob Cardinal Pole of one of his votes, or force another candidate upon them.[2] This implacability of the parties, we are informed by another report of January 4th, 1550, arose from the fact that one party awaited the Holy Ghost from Flanders, and the other from France. People in Rome betted 40 to 1 that there would be no Pope in January, and 10 to 1 that there would also be none in the following

[1] Brown, V., n. 602, 618.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2. 606.

month.[1] Similar bets are repeatedly mentioned.[2] A retainer of Cardinal Gonzaga writes on January 4th[3] that people in the city were speaking of anything rather than of the Papal election. Another correspondent sees a possibility of the hastening of the election in the unhealthy conditions of the conclave, as the air is charged to such an extent with the fumes of candles and torches that many have serious fears for their health.[4]

[1] *" Stanno anchora in conclave questi reverendissimi signori, ne pare che vi sii una speranza al mondo di Papa. Sono divisi in due parti et stanno la dentro ostinati, aspettando l'una il Spirito santo di Fiandra et l'altra di Francia, che Dio sa quando saranno d'accordo, nè può fare il Papa l'una parte senza l'altra, se non si rumpano. Si da quaranta per cento che non si farà per tutto questo mese et dieci per l'altro." Pietro Maria Carissimo to Sabino Calandra on January 4, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Mendoza took the liberty of making a joke about the Cardinals by wishing them a happy Easter instead of a happy Christmas. Gaulterius in MERKLE, II., 74.

[2] BROWN, V., n. 621 (January 11), n. 627 (January 15), n. 629 (January 18), n. 630 (January 22).

[3] *" La cosa é di maniera posta in silentio che d'ogni altra cosa si ragiona qui che di questa." Giuseppe Inglesco to Sabino Calandra, secretario ducale (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *Non s'ha una minima fermeza di dover haver un Papa di qui a quindici di et di conclavi si sono havuto polize et qui in casa nostra et altrove che promettono che presto presto sara fatto un Papa, et acenano a Salviati, mostrando che quei s^ri reverendissimi sieno sforzati a risolversene se non per altro almeno per non ammorbarsi in quel conclavi, dove dicono che è tanto fumo delli candeli et torchi che vi se tengono accese, ét tanto polvere et tanta puzza delli cantari orinali et tinello che vi si fa di continuo, che poco poco più che duri quella festa dubitano da vero di ammorbarvisi." Giuseppe Inglesco to Sabino Calandra, secretario ducale et castellano di Mantova, December 31, 1549 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Dandolo on January 22, 1550, in BROWN, V., n. 630. The smell from the lavatories was often mentioned. Firmanus, in MERKLE, II., 88, 96.

A feeble attempt was made to come to a decision on January 2nd, 1550. Guise and Farnese agreed to a meeting, at which the former finally offered Cardinals de Cupis, Salviati, Ridolfi, Lorraine, Este and Capodiferro as candidates. Farnese answered that he would make a generous proposal: either Guise might choose a candidate from the twenty-three adherents of Pole, or allow that he, Farnese, might choose one of the twenty-two voting for Carafa, to be raised to the Papal throne. Neither of these proposals was accepted.[1] The ballots which now followed are the less worthy of note as the French had decided only to put forward their real candidate when Cardinal Bourbon had arrived from France.[2]

This Cardinal entered the conclave on January 14th. It appeared, however, to be still impossible to secure the full number of votes necessary for the three principal French candidates, Lorraine, Ridolfi or Salviati. In consequence of this, Salviati refused at first to come forward as a candidate, and the two others did likewise.[3] The Imperialists had been at

[1] MASSARELLI, 82. *Cf.* the *report of Giulio Gentile to the grand chancellor of Milan, dated Rome, January 5, 1550 (State Archives, Milan).

[2] Dandolo in BROWN, V., n. 618.

[3] As Farnese is reported to have said to Marshall de la Mark, after the elevation of Julius III., Ridolfi and Salviati (as well as de Cupis) had been put forward as candidates in appearance only, for the sake of gaining time, in order that they might in the meantime canvass for Este, and secure for him the approval of the Emperor. This had been the only reason for the long duration of the conclave. Cardinal d'Este is said to have offered Parma to Ottavio Farnese, the archbishopric of Narbonne and the favour of the French king to Alessandro, and a daughter of the Duke of Ferrara and 200,000 livres to Orazio, in order to win the support of Cardinal Farnese (RIBIER, II., 268). The readiness of the princes to support their candidates by the expenditure of large sums is also referred to by PETRUCELLI, II., 33, 42, 43. Concerning French attempts at bribery *cf. ibid.*, 46 *seq.* Guise received in Lyons a bill of exchange for large sums to be collected in Rome. RIBIER, II., 257: *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 184 n. 2; DRUFFEL, I., 321 *seq.*, 325, 328.

the same time working very actively for Morone, who received twenty-four votes, and two supplementary ones on January 15th, and they only lost hope when the French again got two votes away from him, whereupon, despairing of his success, they once more returned to Pole.

In the general bewilderment of those days, Farnese endeavoured to advance a step further on January 19th by designating clearly and decisively to their opponents those candidates for whom the Imperialists would, in no case, vote. These were de Cupis, Carafa, Salviati and Ridolfi, as they had been excluded by Charles V., and quite apart from the fact that they were enemies of the Emperor, it was to be feared that their election would irritate him and plunge Italy into war.[1] He begged them at least to relinquish the election of these Cardinals. Guise's reply was a rough refusal. The next development was that he refused to act at all with Farnese, as the latter had promised him to vote for Lorraine, and had broken his word, which was unworthy of a gentleman. If, however, the Imperialists thought it right to exclude such worthy men from the Papacy, he declared, on his part, that the French would never, in all eternity, vote for Pole, Morone, Sfondrato or Carpi.

Thus this attempt at conciliation ended by widening the differences between the contending parties.[2] Conclavists who left the place of voting on January 28th and 29th, unanimously declared that the Cardinals expected anything rather than the election of a Pope.[3]

In the second half of January they began at length to reflect on the causes of the continued delay and to seek for a remedy. The Cardinal-Dean, de Cupis, made a speech to this effect after the voting of January 16th, and specially denounced the

[1] "Si enim illi aperti Caesaris hostes ad pontificatum eveherentur Caesarem protinus ad arma concitarent totamque perniciosissimo bello Italiam ince[n]derent." (Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 100). This reason was, however, of no weight as far as Carafa was concerned.

[2] MASSARELLI, 100.

[3] Dandolo in BROWN, V,, n. 635. *Cf.* MUZIO, Lettere, 142, 146.

decision according to the terms of which a Cardinal could only announce his adherence to the election of a candidate with the concurrence of the members of his party.[1] Carafa agreed with de Cupis, and read the decree of Gregory X. with regard to the Papal election. Pacheco acknowledged that both sides had been to blame, but especially the French, as, while thwarting Pole's election, they had limited for their adherents, by means of the promise given under oath, both their freedom of voting and of joining the other party.[2]

On January 26th a general congregation of the Cardinals was held instead of the scrutiny, which would again have been without result, and de Cupis once more spoke of the abuses and misdeeds of the conclave. The intrigues and secret manœuvres, he said, were more calculated to prolong than to conclude the election, when one side merely endeavoured to circumvent the other, and this had assumed such proportions that an election was out of the question. The consideration shown to the secular princes, according to whose instructions votes should be given to one candidate and withheld from another, was specially to be deplored, as it was against the dictates of conscience and was a disgrace to the College of Cardinals. Voting was no longer free and a change was urgently needed. A further abuse lay in the neglect of the observance of the enclosure, and in the enormous number of conclavists, among whom many persons crept in, who did not belong to the conclave. Most abominable of all, however, was the custom by which both parties, even before the voting, announced to whom their votes would be given, a practice which meant that no Cardinal could vote without having previously informed the other members of his party and received their consent.[3]

This speech of the Dean was favourably received by the

[1] *Cf.* Druffel, I., 331 *seq.*

[2] Massarelli, 95 *seq.* According to Gualterius (Merkle, II., 87) the French took an oath never to write Pole's name on a voting paper. *Cf.* Druffel, I., 314.

[3] Massarelli, 107; *cf.* Gualterius in Merkle, II., 87.

Cardinals. Salviati complained of the excessive complaisance towards the princes, Carafa adding that if matters continued like this, it would end in the secular princes electing a Pope without the Cardinals, which would, as far as he was concerned, be more agreeable than this perpetual dilatoriness. Pacheco emphasised the danger of the Council claiming the right to elect the Pope.[1] Sfondrato and Guise, indeed, pointed out the difficulties attending a reform, but the others unanimously resolved to choose six Cardinals from the six nations represented, namely Carafa, Bourbon, Pacheco, Truchsess, de Silva and Pole, who, in conjunction with de Cupis, Carpi, Ridolfi and the Camerlengo, Sforza, should draw up a decree of reform. This was published on January 31st.[2] An endeavour was made in this to abolish the election intrigues by reviving and emphasizing the regulations of the Church concerning the mode of life in the conclave.[3]

According to the decree of Gregory X., each Cardinal was allowed to have two conclavists with him. Agents and secretaries of secular princes had, on this occasion, slipped in under the guise of conclavists, who spied out the secrets of the conclave and betrayed them to their masters.[4] In this manner the secretaries of the two ambassadors, d'Urfé and Mendoza, the secretaries of the King of France, the Duke of Florence

[1] There was already question of such a danger on December 16, 1549. (DRUFFEL, I., 325; *cf.* 317). In Paris the question was raised whether, in the event of failure on the part of the Cardinals, a Council could undertake a papal election, and was answered in the affirmative. Renard to Charles V. on February 5, 1550, in DRUFFEL, I., 350; *cf.* RIBIER, II., 256.

[2] MASSARELLI, 113 *seqq.* They are in two forms, the second having a commentary by Massarelli, in which he depicts the abuses of the conclave.

[3] What follows is according to MASSARELLI, 114 *seqq.*

[4] Communication with a Cardinal in the conclave was forbidden by Gregory X. under pain of excommunication. The law was evaded by the conclavists undertaking the communication. *Cf.* Mendoza to Charles V. on December 5, 1549, in DRUFFEL. I., 307.

and the Viceroy of Naples, were to be found among the conclavists. Cardinals whose firmness there was reason to doubt, were given over by the party leaders to safe persons, also called conclavists, who were enjoined to keep a firm hold on them and find out their opinions. To these were joined brothers and relatives of the Cardinals, and nobles and barons who wished to know what a conclave was like,[1] and also, in the case of many Cardinals, their physicians in ordinary. It had thus come to pass that almost every Cardinal had four, and some as many as eight, conclavists with him, and that some 400 persons were together in the conclave.[2]

In addition to this, the mode of life in the conclave was wanting in that simplicity and austerity which were demanded by the Canon Law, in the interests of as speedy an election as possible. In order to avoid the troublesome restriction to one small room, many Cardinals had annexed the empty cells of the absent members of the Sacred College, whilst others had enlarged their cells by means of a wooden erection in front; windows had also been opened out in the conclave. The limitations in the meals, which were prescribed in the case of a long duration of the election proceedings, were absolutely disregarded. The feasts were of a nature to satisfy a Lucullus,[3] while the Cardinals issued invitations to one another, as well as to their conclavists, and both sides sent the most elaborate dishes to their friends!

The most far-reaching abuse, however, lay in the very faulty observance of the enclosure, and it became thereby possible for the foreign princes to influence the election and protract it for an indefinite period. Openings had been made in the walls, in order to communicate with the outside world; letters could be received and dispatched, while d'Urfé boasted

[1] See several names of the agents of the princes and relations of the Cardinals in MASSARELLI, 108, 116. An Abyssinian (Aethiops) was also in the conclave (*ibid.* 87, 126). *Cf.* MERKLE, II., Proleg. xxxvi., n. 8.

[2] Dandolo on January 15, 1550, in BROWN, V., n. 627. Concerning the physicians see MARINI, I., 392 *seq.*

[3] "ut Luculli mensae . . . . viderentur." MASSARELLI, 118.

to his King that he had made a way, with ladders and over roofs, to speak to Guise.[1] The conclavists received permission far too easily to leave the conclave under trifling pretexts, and then return, and it was precisely these people who betrayed the secrets of the conclave everywhere, and were the go-betweens of the princes. When Madruzzo sent his conclavist, Pagnani, with a message, both his boots were so stuffed up with letters that he quite forgot his masters' missive, through thinking of them.[2]

In face of these abuses, the reform committee decided that each Cardinal should have only three conclavists; among these he could have relatives, if they were not ruling barons, and his physician, but not intimates of another Cardinal. Agents of the princes and ambassadors, barons who had jurisdiction and their subordinates, and all those who were not on the list of conclavists at the beginning of the conclave, should be expelled, and severely punished should they return. In order to deal with ordinary ailments, a Frenchman and a Spaniard should be added to the four physicians of the conclave, of whom three were Italians and one a German, while the number of barbers should also be increased. All unauthorized communication with the outside world, whether by word of mouth or by letter, was strictly forbidden; every Cardinal, with the exception of those who were ill, was to return to the cell originally assigned to him; all additions built on to the cells were to be done away with; and all windows which had been added were to be closed. The conclavists were to eat and sleep in the cells of their masters, while meals were to be made conformable to the regulations of Clement VI. In order to make communication with the outside world impossible, whether for the purpose of obtaining provisions or anything else, arrangements were made similar to those in the convents of nuns. All private meetings were

[1] RIBIER, II., 259. Bonif. Ruggieri relates the same thing of a visit to Cardinal d'Este. PETRUCELLI, II., 31, 46; *cf.* also MUZIO, Lettere, 120, 148.

[2] Gualterius in MERKLE, II., 81.

prohibited. As the election proceedings had often lasted till late in the night, it was ordered that in future, no Cardinal should go out of his cell later than the fifth hour of the evening, while the conclavists had also to withdraw one hour later, both hours being announced by the ringing of a bell. Permission to enter the conclave or to leave it would only be granted by the committee of Cardinals. Special regulations were also made with regard to the custody of the keys of the conclave, while arms were strictly prohibited inside the enclosure.

At the same time as this decree for the reform of the interior conditions of the conclave was promulgated, the prelates charged with the exterior guarding of it, drew up a second regulation with regard to the shutting off of the conclave from the outer world. Specially worthy of note are the orders that all windows and doors leading out from the conclave should be closed, and that the Apostolic palace should be searched every second day to see that no means of egress had been broken open.[1]

The reform commission had ordered on February 5th that a rotary lift should be arranged in the wall, similar to those used in convents of nuns, for the reception of provisions, and that not more than one course should be served at a meal. The superfluous conclavists, eighty in number, were all turned out.[2]

[1] MASSARELLI, 121 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 136; *cf.* FIRMANUS, 129; MUZIO, Lettere, 149. Atti di Soc. Ligur., XXXVIII. (1910), *seqq.* In spite of this, however, it would appear that communication with the outside world was not quite stopped. Endimio Calandra writes to his brother Sabino on February 7, 1550: "*Di Papa hora maj non si pensa, ne si ne ragiona, come ogni cosa viene in puoca reputatione quando va alla lunga. Li poveri r^mi sono serati la dentro et non si possono accordare, e come le cose si governano più di fuori che di dentro, consultandosi tutta via coi principi, si ben hanno cacciato fuori li secretarii et gli agenti, che però non si possano mandare lettere, forza è che vadino in lungo." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Granted that such orders for reform testify to the desire of the Cardinals finally to arrive at an election, this good will could only be strengthened by the advances which both parties made about the same time, regarding the election intrigues.

Ridolfi, who had been obliged to leave the Vatican on account of illness, had the best prospect of the tiara during the last half of January.[1] It was firmly believed that he would return to the conclave as Pope. After Ridolfi's death, on January 31st,[2] the French turned their attention to Salviati,[3] whom many had, even before the conclave, looked upon as the future Pope, and whose candidature had been put forward again and again. Besides the French party, his old friend Gonzaga and Cardinal della Rovere now declared for him, the latter at the wish of his brother, the Duke of Urbino. What, however, caused a still greater sensation, and soon became a common topic of conversation in the city, was that Alessandro Farnese's brother Ranuccio, and his cousin Sforza, were ready to give Salviati their votes. Most people saw the reason for this change of front in considerations of family policy. Of the four Farnese brothers, Duke Ottavio was son-in-law of the Emperor, and expected from him the possession of Parma. Orazio Farnese, on the other hand, hoped to become the son-in-law of the French king, and had French sympathies. Of the two Farnese Cardinals, Alessandro was more inclined to side with Ottavio, while Ranuccio, on the other hand, had a greater leaning to Orazio. As Ranuccio

[1] FIRMANUS, 113.

[2] It was reported that Ridolfi had been poisoned by his servant, bribed to do so by Mendoza, and that the confidant of Cosimo de' Medici, Giov. Fran. Lottino, had had a hand in the matter. *Cf.* MAFFEI in the Rassegna per la storia di Volterra, I. (1898), 90 *seq.*, and BRUZZONE in La Stampa, 1900, n. 51.

[3] The Imperial ambassador, Mendoza, advocated, at least in appearance, the candidature of Salviati (cf. MUZIO, Lettere, 131); Cosimo de' Medici was, however, decidedly opposed to him; the Duke wished absolutely for no Florentine. See RANKE, Histor-biogr. Studien, Leipsic, 1877, 416 *seq.*

feared that Ottavio would, on the advice of Alessandro, snatch away the Duchy of Castro from Orazio, with the Emperor's help, he was all the more inclined to the French side, especially as he did not wish to jeopardize his brother's scheme for the French marriage by a friendship with the Emperor.[1] Cardinal Sforza, moreover, would not have been unwilling to see Salviati Pope, especially as his sister-in-law was Salviati's niece.

By the accession of the two cousins to Salviati's adherents, his prospects brightened exceedingly. On February 2nd, on which there was no voting, a regular competition took place with regard to Ranuccio and Sforza, the one side endeavouring to hold the two cousins fast, the other to win them back. On the evening of that day, the Imperialists had, after many changes of fortune, succeeded so far, that the two promised to abstain from voting for Salviati, at least on the two following days. Night, a sleepless one for many, brought a temporary end to the canvassing and intrigue; however, the decisive reconciliation of the three Farnese did not take place until the evening of the following day, whereupon the French dropped the candidature of Salviati.

This incident was of the greatest importance for the issue of the conclave. Farnese had discovered that the party discipline, hitherto so strict, might suddenly crumble to pieces, and that any further delay might be dangerous. After Salviati's failure, Guise had also given up hope of getting a Cardinal of French sympathies elected. Nothing therefore remained but to propose a candidate who was neutral, so they again fell back on Giovan Maria del Monte, on whom the eyes of intelligent people had long been fixed,[2] and for whom the influential Duke of Florence had been working since the beginning of January.[3] He was, besides, the only one of the

[1] France, as well as the Emperor, had been endeavouring, since the middle of December, to bring pressure to bear on Farnese by means of the Parma affair. DRUFFEL, I., 330-332 *seq.* 343. RIBIER, II., 261.

[2] See *Supra.* p. 22.

[3] PETRUCELLI, II., 51 *seqq.*; *cf.* Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital., XLIII., 241.

four Cardinal-Bishops whose candidature had not already been proved impossible.

It was Cardinal Sforza who first drew the attention of the conclave to del Monte at the beginning of February, and gave his approbation to his being put forward.[1] The weariness and disgust which had taken possession of the electors, the death of Ridolfi, the illness of other distinguished Cardinals, and the unhealthy conditions within the conclave, all gave rise to a universal longing for the speedy termination of the election.[2]

Del Monte was, however, not without opponents. Charles V. had excluded him from the tiara, as well as de Cupis, but Mendoza had thought himself justified in not producing the said document, and the Emperor subsequently approved this proceeding on the part of his ambassador.[3] In the conclave itself the determined Guise was an open opponent of del Monte; he repeated shameful stories about him and said he was unworthy of the Papacy.[4] In Cardinal d'Este, del Monte now found a quite unexpected advocate. Este was himself a candidate for the tiara, and as long as he was under the influence of his cousin, Ercole Gonzaga, had also been opposed to del Monte. His candidature had been roughly rejected by Charles V., and the want of consideration shown by Gonzaga in communicating the Emperor's exclusion to him, had led to a split between him and his cousin. Just at the time of this quarrel del Monte visited Cardinal d'Este and begged him to intervene with Guise on his behalf. Este agreed, and at this visit received such a favourable impression of del Monte, that he now became his zealous adherent.[5]

[1] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 132.

[2] The conclavists who left the conclave were mostly ill and half dead. The air was so dreadful that the first physician in Rome declared on his entrance into the conclave that an outbreak of the plague was likely to follow. Dandolo on January 22, 1550, in BROWN, V., n. 630.

[3] MAURENBRECHER, 229, n. 9; 225, n. 20.

[4] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 59. RIBIER, II., 268.

[5] Maffei in MERKLE, II., 136.

What Este had begun with Guise, Sforza now completed. The French Cardinal, at a chance meeting with the latter, expressed his displeasure at the state of affairs in the conclave and at the obstinacy of the parties. Sforza replied that it was in Guise's own power to bring the matter to an end, by refraining from his support of Salviati. The French, he continued, had shown their power sufficiently up till now, and by an exaggeration of their claims might in the end lose everything.

Wearied of the fruitless voting, Guise agreed with this idea, and proposed to elect Cervini. To this, however, Sforza could not give his assent, and thereupon Guise happened, as if by accident, to speak of del Monte. Sforza at once acquiesced in this, but begged him first of all to get the consent of Farnese, as nothing could be arranged without the latter's approval.[1]

On February 6th, as Guise was walking up and down one of the corridors after dinner in conversation with Ranuccio Farnese and Sforza, they were joined by Alessandro Farnese. After some time Ranuccio and Sforza withdrew, and the two leaders could freely interchange their ideas. Contrary to all expectation, they were quickly of one mind with regard to the elevation of del Monte.[2]

They at first, as it appears, fixed the election for February 8th, but already on the morning of February 7th, there were rumours in the conclave concerning the candidature of del Monte. In the afternoon, when the Cardinals, as was customary, deliberated in the Pauline Chapel, these formed the chief topic of conversation and found little opposition. At the

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 136.

[2] See Gaulterius in MERKLE, II., 139 n. 2. Massarelli had most likely been obliged to leave the conclave on February 5 with the superfluous conclavists. His report of the events that followed is taken from Petrus Paulus de Brevibus (see MERKLE, II., Proleg., xli. *seq.*) *Cf.* concerning the attitude of A. Farnese, and his letter to Prospero Santa Croce, in CUGNONI, Prose ined. di A. Caro, 145.

approach of darkness, the Cardinals withdrew, but the negotiations concerning del Monte still continued.

The three relatives of Paul III. assembled in the cell of Cardinal Maffei, with Crescenzi, Medici, Cornaro and Savelli; they all urged speed and counted the votes at their disposal. Guise had offered twenty-one, which, with the votes of de Silva, Gaddi and the eight assembled in Maffei's cell, formed the two-thirds majority, which, with the forty-seven electors then present, was thirty-one.[1] It was extremely advisable to set about the winning of further votes especially as the Spaniards did not wish for del Monte's election, and Pacheco and Mendoza had already gone to Toledo to deliberate on counter-action. Cardinal Maffei, sent by the adherents of Farnese, now joined them and Farnese soon arrived himself, and later on de Silva. Their united endeavours were at last successful in winning over Toledo and Mendoza, but Pacheco persisted in violent opposition and demanded at least a delay long enough to enable him to consult Gonzaga and Madruzzo. The chief difficulty for the Spaniards lay in the fact that del Monte was considered to be excluded by the Emperor. To this Farnese successfully opposed the Imperial letter of which he was aware, and in which no objection was made to del Monte. Medici was now sent to Gonzaga, and Maffei to Pole, who was at that moment deliberating with Truchsess. Pole and Truchsess gave their agreement, provided that del Monte reached the full number of votes, while Gonzaga raised no objections. When Medici left him he also stood up and joined Madruzzo, where he found Pacheco and Cueva.

The French, who had in the meanwhile been working for del Monte, now sent Sermoneta and Capodiferro to the Cardinals assembled in Maffei's cell, and made the proposal that del Monte should now be elevated to the Papal throne by a general rendering of homage. Farnese agreed, and sent a message to the French to assemble in the Pauline Chapel, where he and the others would join them.

[1] Thus according to MASSARELLI, 141. Reckoned truly the two-thirds majority was 32.

On the way to the chapel, Farnese entered Madruzzo's cell, where he met Gonzaga, Pacheco and Cueva. His attempt to induce them to join, was, however, without success. With the exception of the four named, and apart from del Monte himself, and the sick Cardinal Carpi, who agreed to del Monte's election, all the others, forty-one in number, assembled in the Pauline Chapel. As they all unanimously and in a loud voice called for del Monte as Pope, Guise and Farnese, clasping hands, hurried to del Monte and brought him into the chapel, where he was embraced and kissed by all present. Some acclaimed him in a loud voice and others more quietly, but the noise was so great that no one could hear his own voice. Then the Cardinal-Dean ordered them to be quiet; noisy proceedings must be avoided and they must proceed to pay homage in a proper manner.

The Papal throne was now erected in front of the altar, and Cardinal del Monte took his place thereon. The Cardinals occupied their accustomed seats and the names of all present were then read over by the master of ceremonies. They voted unanimously for del Monte as Pope. In order to demonstrate this, they advanced to the throne and showed him the manifestations of respect customary in the case of the Pope. Del Monte then declared that he accepted the election, and ordered that an official deed should be drawn up concerning it. He emphasized the fact that a subsequent scrutiny could not affect the election, which was already accomplished. By now it was already night, and del Monte, led by de Cupis and Salviati, withdrew to his cell. To the inquiry of de Cupis as to what name he should assume, he answered that he would assume the name of Julius III. out of gratitude to Julius II. who had first conferred lustre on his family by the elevation of Antonio del Monte to the cardinalate.[1] Lastly Madruzzo, Gonzaga, Pacheco and Cueva came to del Monte's cell and also paid him homage.

Meanwhile the great event had become known outside the

[1] His motto was: Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi. CIACONIUS, III., 746.

conclave. All the walls, doors and windows were already being broken open, and the nobles, prelates and intimates of the new Pope were streaming in and would not allow themselves to be turned out either by threats or commands. Neither supper nor the night's rest were to be thought of in the conclave.

The next day, February 8th, a last ballot took place early in the morning, merely as a matter of form. Del Monte's voting paper bore the name of Toledo, all the others that of del Monte. All the Cardinals paid him homage. Then the election was announced to the people, the new Pope being carried into St. Peter's, where his foot was kissed by everyone.[1]

Del Monte's elevation was so unexpected that even on the day on which it took place, a letter from Rome announced that no one was thinking of the election, or speaking about it.[2]

The issue of the conclave surprised everyone, foreign diplomatists as well as the Romans.[3] The inhabitants of the Eternal City rejoiced more at the fact that they again had a Pope, than because the majority of votes had been given to Cardinal del Monte. Endimio Calandra, however, said, even on February 8th, that he believed, from the knowledge he possessed of the new Pope, that his reign would be a good one.[4] In fact, the universal opinion was favourable to Julius III.[5],

[1] MASSARELLI, 143 *seq.* *Cf.* J. V. Meggens' report in the Archiv für schweiz. Reform.-Gesch., III., 507.

[2] See the above mentioned (p. 36, n. 2) *letter of E. Calandra of February 7, 1550. On the 8 he wrote: "*Questa notte passata quando manco se vi pensava o 'hier' sera s'è fatto il papa." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See DANDOLO, 347.

[4] See the *letter in Appendix No. 1 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] So, *write the Bolognese ambassadors, Giorgio Magio and Lod. de' Rossi on February 8, 1550, there is universal joy in Rome at the "ottimo principe dal valor et integrità del quale si spera ogni bene." (State Archives, Bologna). See also Michelangelo, Lettere, ed. MILANESI, 527 (wrongly dated; *cf.* THODE, I., 450 *seq.*)

although there were not wanting those who judged him in quite a different manner.[1]

The Emperor, as well as the French king, whose endeavours to procure the tiara for a pronounced adherent had not been crowned with success, could not be pleased with the issue of the conclave. Cosimo de'Medici, to whom the elevation of del Monte was chiefly attributed[2] in Rome, endeavoured to soothe Charles V.[3] Cardinal Farnese apologized to the Emperor and the French king for the result of the election,[4] while Guise also did his best to make the issue of the election proceedings agreeable to his master.[5]

In the college of Cardinals there was a general feeling of satisfaction, especially as Julius III. was very generous in giving proofs of his clemency, even in these early days.[6] The reform party had the fewest reasons for being satisfied, seeing that they had not been successful with any of their candidates, and that, not from want of zeal, but owing to the machinations of the princes. Those, however, who were of a strictly ecclesiastical bias, did not despair, because they knew from the Council of Trent,[7] that the new Pope, if he did not belong to their party, had so much understanding of the position of the Church that they might hope from him for a furtherance of their strivings after reform.

[1] Muzio, Lettere, 152, who is, however, very soon of a much more favourable opinion (156 *seq.*) Brosch (I., 191) lays great stress on the first opinion, but completely ignores the later changed view.

[2] *"Il grido di questa corte è ch'il duca nostro sa fare Papi non si potria dire facilmente il gran nome c'ha aquistato doppo la promotione di S. Stà predicando ciascuno S.E. da infinitissime ottime parti che si trovano in lei." B. Buonanni, dated Roma 22 febbr. 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Petrucelli, II., 62. Cosimo also reported it to Henry II.; see Palandri, 66.

[4] *Cf.* Cugnoni, Prose ined. di A. Caro, 131 *seq.*, 144 *seqq.*

[5] See Druffel, I., 350-358.

[6] *"In somma si vede una comune contentezza in tutti li cardinali, cosi dell' una come dell' altra fattione, e S. Stà mostra una eguale buona voluntà verso tutti, essendo con ciascuno larghissimo di gratie . . . A. Serristori, Rome February 12, 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

[7] *Cf.* Ehses, Conc. Trid., V., 780, n. 314.

CHAPTER II.

Previous Life, Character and Beginning of the Reign of Julius III.

The family of the Ciocchi del Monte[1] bore the name of their original seat, Monte San Savino, a small town in the district of Arezzo, beautifully situated on a hill in the lovely Chiana Valley, not far from Lucignano ; it is known as the birthplace of the celebrated sculptor, Andrea Sansovino. The grandfather of Julius III., Fabiano, was a distinguished advocate in the town[2], and to this day in the principal church a beautiful tomb may be seen, which his son, Antonio, afterwards Cardinal, erected to his beloved father, who died in 1498. A second

[1] See R. Restorelli, *Notizie delle famiglie di Monte, Borgognonio, Guidalotti e Simoncelli (written 1771), in the Arch. com. at Monte San Savino. *Cf.* Tesoroni, 32 *seq.* and Litta f. 16.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows O. Panvinius, De Julii vita ante pontificatum, in Merkle, II., 146 *seq.* ; Dandolo, 353 *seqq.* ; Litta, f. 16, where there is an illustration of the tomb at Monte San Savino. Concerning the arms of Julius III. (a splendid example at Todi ; Alinari, 5225) see Pasini Frassoni, 36 *seq.*, and Orlandini in the Riv. del collegio araldico, V., Rome, 1907. The large coat of arms of Julius III. in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pubblico at Viterbo, with the inscription : "Julio III. P.M. c [ivitas] Viterb. erexit provinciam patrimonii gubernante Rodolpho Pio card. de Carpo legato 1552," was on the Porta di S. Luca, destroyed in 1705, which was embellished under Julius III. (see Reformat., XLVII., 118. City Archives, Viterbo). The present Porta Fiorentina was built on the site of the Porta di S. Luca.

son of Fabiano, Vincenzo, had embraced the study of jurisprudence, and became consistorial advocate in Rome and one of the most respected lawyers in the city. Two daughters, Ludovica and Jacopa, were born of his marriage with Christofora Saracini of Siena, the former of whom married Roberto de' Nobili, the latter Francia della Corgna, and three sons, Giovan Maria, Baldovino and Costanzo.

Giovan Maria del Monte was born on September 10th, 1487, in Rome, in the Rione di Parione, in which his parents' house was situated, not far from the Mellini palace. As he lost his father as early as 1504, his uncle, Antonio del Monte, Auditor of the Rota and Archbishop of Siponto (Manfredonia), took the promising youth under his care. He gave him a most excellent tutor[1] in the person of the humanist, Raffaello Brandolini, and sent him to study law in Perugia and Siena,[2] afterwards bringing him to Rome, where he obtained for the talented young man the position of chamberlain to Julius II. When the Pope invested Antonio del Monte with the purple,[3] on March 10th, 1511, he resigned the archbishopric of Siponto in favour of his nephew.[4] Giovan Maria del Monte received the flattering offer of preaching the opening sermon[5] at the fifth sitting of the Lateran Council, on February 16th, 1513,

[1] Concerning R. Brandolini see Vol. VI., of this work, p. 94.

[2] Here Ambrosius Catharinus was his teacher; see LAUCHERT 31.

[3] *Cf.* our statements concerning this, as well as the confidential relations between Antonio and Julius II., in Vol. VI., pp. 274, 344 of this work. The picture of Antonio in the Stanze is not authenticated; *ibid.*

[4] In the year 1520 Giovan Maria also received the bishopric of Pavia, through the resignation of his uncle; this he retained until 1530, and then again from 1544 onwards (for this *cf.* EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., 570 n. 1 and CARCERERI in the Arch. Trid., XVIII., 83 n.) While archbishop of Siponto Giovan Maria del Monte completed the building of S. Maria Maggiore there. SCHULTZ, Denkmäler Süditaliens, I., Dresden, 1860, 216.

[5] Printed in HARDOUIN, Coll. Conc., IX., 1664 *seq.* *Cf.* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, Konziliengeschichte, VIII., 533.

and acquitted himself of his task to the satisfaction of everyone.

The honoured name which del Monte had gained under Julius II., he retained under the Medici Popes, Leo. X. and Clement VII. During the reign of Clement VII. he occupied the position of Governor of Rome on two occasions, during which he proved himself to be a strong upholder of justice, winning at the same time the good-will of everyone by his pleasant manners. Even then, however, his tendency towards pleasure was remarked, although this in no way interfered with the carrying out of his duties. The failings of Clement VII., and his vacillating policy, were reflected in the Archbishop of Siponto in a most marked manner, even as early as 1525.[1] The sack of Rome was the consequence of this attitude. Giovan Maria del Monte very nearly lost his life on this occasion; he was among the hostages whom Clement VII. was obliged to provide at his capitulation on June 5th, 1527, for the security of his payments. As the Pope had not succeeded, in spite of all his efforts, in producing the full amount, the mercenaries seized the hostages. These unfortunates were twice led in chains to a gallows erected in the Campo de' Fiori, and threatened with death. They only succeeded at the end of November, on St. Andrew's day, in making their keepers drunk and thus escaping from them.[2] Del Monte never forgot the agony he endured in those terrible days, and when he became Pope, he erected a church in front of the Porta del Popolo, to the saint on whose feast he had been saved.

Under Paul III. the Archbishop of Siponto now became vice-legate of Bologna, and also held the office of an auditor of the Apostolic Chamber; he fulfilled the duties of both offices to the perfect satisfaction of the Pope, who rewarded him by investing him with the purple in the celebrated creation of December 22nd, 1536.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, p. 286 n. 3.
[2] *Cf.* Vol. IX. of this work, pp. 422, 461, 465.
[3] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 159.

The Cardinal of San Vitale, as del Monte was now generally named, after his titular church, deserved this distinction, because, as Panvinio points out, few men had laboured at the Curia so steadfastly, faithfully and honestly, and with such diligent zeal as he, while neither pride, avarice nor covetousness were to be found in him, nor any neglect nor want of care."[1] Indeed, he distinguished himself to such an extent, both in the Reform Commission and elsewhere, that Paul III. appointed him as his representative at the Council of Trent, together with Cervini and Pole.[2] He devoted himself in this capacity almost exclusively to questions of ecclesiastical law, as he was really more a canonist than a theologian ; he also showed the greatest zeal in the campaign for reform.[3] He defended the rights of the presidents, as well as those of the Holy See, with great energy, but his excitable temperament was the cause of several sharp discussions which arose between him and the members of the Council. On the whole, however, no one can deny to his management of business, the tribute of impartiality and objectivity.[4]

The appearance of Julius III. was so unsympathetic that it was difficult for artists to paint his portrait.[5] His face, which

[1] Panvinio in MERKLE, II., 147.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 198, and Vol. XII., pp. 154, 209 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 44.

[4] *Cf.* HEFNER, 30 *seq.*, and the evidence quoted there.

[5] *Cf.* the *Reports of B. Buonanni, Rome, April 9, 1550 (. . . Fra otto giorni mi dice il Cecchi che si stamperà delle monete di S.Stà ; ha detto che mi vuole far havere quel ritratto che fa mr Giorgio, et è cosa da non credersi, che non si sia trovato sino a qui pittore c'habbi saputo corre la vera effigie et profilo del naso di S.Stà, la quale fa il più bel ridersene del mondo) and April 14. Not until August 9 did Buonanni announce : *M. Prospero pittore fini un ritratto di S.Stà in tela, il quale sta assai bene. See also the *report of Serristori of March 27, 1550, in the State Archives, Florence, according to which they wished to apply to Titian. The commission given to Vasari to paint the portrait of Julius III., appears not to have been executed ; see KALLAB, 84.

was framed by a long grey beard, gave the impression of a rough coarse peasant. The sharply bent aquiline nose was disproportionately large, the lips closely pressed together, the eyes sharp and piercing.[1] This tall, powerful man was a heavy eater, but was not partial to the delicacies favoured by the gourmets of the Renaissance period. The vegetable he preferred to all others was the onion, and these were delivered, expressly for him, in immense quantities from Gaeta. It was in keeping with the peasant traits of Julius III. that he should often, in moments of expansion, have behaved in a manner little in keeping with his dignity. Not only did he disregard all ceremonial,[2] but he also gave offence by his demeanour. The free and unseemly jests with which he

[1] See Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 147. Concerning the portraits of Julius III. see KENNER in the Jahrb. der kunsthistor. Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, XVII., 147; that from the Ambraser collection in Vienna is illustrated in LITTA f. 16, where there is also an illustration of the bronze statue of the Pope, more than life size, in front of the Cathedral in Perugia, executed by Vincenzo Danti (*cf.* A. ROSSI in the Giorn. della erudiz. art., I., and Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital. Suppl., III., 25, 93), which has been much spoken of lately, as its mantle (celebrated on account of the beautiful manner in which the folds of the drapery fell, and the representation of the Triumph of the Faith depicted thereon) was stolen from it in February, 1911. A second statue of Julius III., in marble, is in the Palazzo Saraceni in Siena (see Histor.-polit. Blätter, LXXXIV., 51 *seq.*) also a good likeness in the council chamber of the Castle of Caprarola. A portrait of Julius III. (mentioned *infra* Chap. XIII.) by Fabrizio Boschi, has not yet been published. The coarse features of the Pope are specially noticeable in his medals (see CIACONIUS, III., 755, VENUTI, 89 *seq.*) Complete collection in the cabinet of coins in the Vatican. Very beautiful medals of Julius III. are also to be found in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Hall 16, case 3. Illustration of the medal by Cavino in MÜNTZ, III., 240. Concerning the medals of Julius III. see SERAFINI, 247 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 4 the *report of Buonanni of February 23, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

spiced his feasts often caused great embarrassment to his guests;[1] many of the anecdotes related of him, however, are not founded in fact.[2]

The Pope lessened the respect in which he was held, as much by his want of refinement in manners, as by the sudden outbursts of anger in which he indulged. These, however, were as quickly over as they had broken out, and it was an easy matter to bring him again to a state of tranquillity.[3] As is the case with persons of the sanguine temperament which the Pope undoubtedly possessed, his moods changed with unexpected rapidity, expressing themselves in unpremeditated words and premature declarations. He was completely wanting in steadfastness and firmness. All correspondents praise his goodness and mildness, but also deplore his weakness, and his inconstant and changeable behaviour.[4] Nervous and easily dispirited,[5] he was in no way capable of dealing with

[1] PANVINIUS, 148. P. Olivo reports to S. Calandra concerning Julius III., on February 15, 1550: *Giovedi disenando gli si portarono inanzi certe polpette di vitello, le quali subito ch'egli vidde disse evi dentro aglio? Rispose lo scalco: Padre santo no; all'hora mezo sdegnato disse levatele adesso, come se fosse giovane de XV. anni et havesse lo stomaco di struzzo." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The joke which BESSO quotes (Roma nei proverbi, Rome, 1889, 141) is quite free from anything objectionable.

[2] See the collection in BAYLE, Dictionnaire hist. et crit., II., Amsterdam, 1730, 775 *seqq.* *Cf.* WOLF, Lect. mem., II., 638, 812 *seq.*; see also BUCHMANN, Geflügelte Worte, Berlin, 1905, 548.

[3] See besides Dandolo and Panvinius *loc. cit.* Andreas Masius in LACOMBLET, Archiv., VI., 156; *Legaz. di Serristori*, 272, 275, 280. *Cf.* also the careful characterization of Julius III. by PALLAVICINI (11, 7, 4 and 13, 10, 8).

[4] See besides PANVINIUS and MASIUS *loc. cit.* especially *Legaz. di Serristori*, 278. A code *Report of Serristori of December 23, 1552, is characteristic, in which he states: "et in fatto con. S.Stà chi vuole haver buono, vinca, perche si vede in lei sempre qualche mutatione secondo l'evento delle cose" (State Archives, Florence).

[5] See Mendoza in DÖLLINGER, I., 192. *Cf.* Tournon in ROMIER, 239 and Nonciat. de France, I., xliv.

difficult situations, while his actions were always hampered by a want of decision. He wished to be on good terms with everyone, liked to see contented faces about him, and preferred the outward lustre of power to the actual possession of it. As he was difficult to fathom, diplomatic negotiations were not easily carried on with him ;[1] whoever tried to induce him to do anything by means of cunning found they had spoilt matters entirely.[2] A German correspondent, Andreas Masius, emphasizes the fact that he liked to be respected and looked upon as one who had risen from modest circumstances to unexpected heights.[3]

In spite of all his eloquence and the versatility of his culture, his mind was more fitted to seek out that which was desirable, than to keep a firm hold of what was already in his possession. He was especially fond of music,[4] as well as of jurisprudence, by which his father and his uncle had made their fortunes. He fulfilled his religious duties conscientiously. Panvinio, who is by no means prejudiced in his favour, testifies that he said Mass frequently and with great devotion ;[5] Massarelli also repeatedly praises the piety which characterized the Pope.[6] His love of pomp and his worldly nature offer a violent contrast to this piety. As in the case of his predecessor, the Farnese Pope, whom in other respects he in no way resembled, there was always a struggle going on in Julius III. between the old and new order of things. He remained, however, in many respects, a true child of the Renaissance, during which period he had grown up. This showed itself also in the careless

[1] See Cosimo I.'s criticism in DESJARDINS, III., 317.

[2] *Bisogna usar gran destrezza et andar con molta advertentia con S.Stà et chi la vuol tirar con arte a una cosa rumpe il tutto. Buonanni on November 16, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] LACOMBLET, Archiv, VI., 162.

[4] See *ibid.* 156.

[5] In MERKLE, II., 148.

[6] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 155, 158, 160, 161, 164, 199, 202, 206, 210, 212, 213, 215, 220.

prodigality which he displayed even at the beginning of his reign.[1]

The Romans rejoiced when the new Pope at once abolished the flour-tax,[2] introduced by Paul III., and distributed gifts and benefits on all sides with a generous hand. He limited the *Spolium* law, and the heirs and servants of the Cardinals could, for the future, inherit legacies from them. It was specially noted at the bestowal of gifts and benefits that those Cardinals, such as Gonzaga and Madruzzo, who had been most active in opposing the election of Julius III. were chosen for particular distinction. Gonzaga received the bishopric of Pavia, and was so graciously treated in other respects, that Pirro Olivo of Mantua considered that it went too far. When he took leave of the Pope on his departure, Julius III. presented him with a valuable antique emerald.[3] Madruzzo was at once paid 20,000 ducats for his expenses in Trent. A Mantuan correspondent tells us that as early as February 15th, there was not a Cardinal in the Curia who was not deeply indebted to the generosity of the Pope.[4] Julius III. also gave

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, besides MASSARELLI, 151 *seq.*, the report to Ferdinand I. in DRUFFEL, I., 358 *seq* 403; Dandolo's letter in DE LEVA, V., 138 *seq*; BAUMGARTEN, Sleidan, 230; MUZIO, Lettere, 156 *seq*; the *letter of E. Calandra, dated Rome, February 11, 1550, and that of P. Olivo of February 12, in the Gonzaga Archives Mantua (see Appendix No. 2) as well as the *report of Serristori of February 26, 1550, in the State Archives, Florence.

[2] The *Bulla gratiosa* of March 8, 1549 (stil. Flor.) concerning the repeal of the tax on imported corn, in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[3] See Olivo's *letter of February 12, 1559, in Appendix No. 2, and Serristori's report of February 26, 1550, in which he says: "Il car^le di Mantua andò a espedirsi da S.S^tà et oltre alle gratie concesseli come per l'ultime si scrisse a V.E. gli fu liberale S.B^ne d'uno smeraldo bellissimo che fu trovato agl'anni passati nella sepoltura d'Honorio, con intaglio d'una testa d'un imperatore, che valeva 3 mila scudi." (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Roma si contenta assai del elletione et n'è cardinale che non sia obligatissimo alla liberalità di Giulio III. G. Fr. Arrivabene,

lavishly in all directions quite regardless of the very unsatisfactory financial situation.[1] The dignitaries of the Curia declared in delight that the Golden Age had returned. The gay temperament of Julius III. soon dissipated all the forebodings to which his impetuous disposition had given rise. The new sovereign, who at once gave permission for the Carnival amusements to take place, became popular with extraordinary rapidity.[2] The general satisfaction was increased by the conciliatory and peaceful policy which the Pope adopted. Girolamo Sauli, Archbishop of Bari, was at once sent to Parma with orders to give up the town to Ottavio Farnese. In order to hasten the restoration, the Pope appeased the Commandant, Camillo Orsini, by paying him out of his own money, giving him the increased amount of 30,000 gold scudi, instead of the 20,000 originally demanded.[3] Ascanio Colonna received pardon and restoration as early as February 17th. The Baglione were also again put in possession of their rights, and part of their municipal freedom was restored to the people of Perugia.[4] Julius III. adopted adequate measures

dated Rome, February 15, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also LANCIANI, III., 177.

[1] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 160; Carte Strozz., I., 432; *report of Serristori of March 4, 1550 (State Archives, Florence), and the Instruction in PIEPER, 143. During the conclave the nuncios could not be paid; see Lett, dei princ., XVI., n. 242-243 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See in Appendix No. 3, the *report of Olivo of February 15, 1550. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Domandando il card. Farnese S.Stà 20,000 scudi da pagare le spese fatte in Parma per far uscire il s. Camillo, risposono alcuni: Padre santo, non si fara niente, perchè la somma non e gran fatto meno di 25,000. Disse all hora il papa: dienghesi 30,000 . . . et così fu espedito con lettere di cambio di 30,000 scudi d'oro. Queste cosi fatte dimostrationi fanno stupire il mondo et concludere ognuno che costui ha da farsi schiavo il mondo, writes P. Olivo on February 15, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See MASSARELLI, 155; **Letter of Lod. Strozza to S. Calandra, dated Bologna, February 16, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives,

for the settlement of the dissensions and troubles which had arisen in several parts of the Papal dominions during the long conclave.[1] He forbade all expatriated persons to seek a residence in the States of the Church. To the Conservatori he gave the most binding assurances of the strict administration of justice, and of the provision of Rome with grain, and earnestly enjoined them to fulfil their duty, especially with regard to speculators in corn.[2]

Above all, the new Pope made it his business to assure the rulers of the two great powers, now facing each other in fierce enmity, of his good dispositions and honourable intentions. It was on their assent and co-operation that the solution of the two problems, which Julius III. had received unsolved from the pontificate of his predecessor, was dependent. These were: the confirmation of the Farnese in Parma, and the continuance of the Council of Trent. It was extremely difficult to win over Charles V. and Henry II. on these two matters, for what the one agreed to the other immediately

Mantua); *Reports of Serristori of March 3, 9, and 10, and April 4, 1550 (State Archives, Florence); Muzio, Lettere 156, 161. The *Briefs concerning the restoration of the ancient privileges of Perugia and of the magistrates there, are dated February 28 and April 21, 1553 (Library, Perugia). The fact is perpetuated by a fresco in the Palazzo Communale, and is inscribed on the statue mentioned before (p. 49, n. 1). See the inscription in Ciaconius, III., 769.

[1] See the *briefs to P. A. de Angelis, epic. Nepesino, dated February 26, 1550 (ad inquirendum contra Firmanos); to Sebast. Rutilonus (Commissary-court against the disturbers of the peace in Terni, "cupientes statum nostrum facinorosis hominibus expurgare"), dated March 3; B. Saccho (against Count of Pitigliano), March 26; Communitati Iteramne, dated March 26; Gubernatoribus Spolet., Interamni et Reat. (against Seb. Arronius, guilty of high treason) dated April 15; Rutilio Troilo (against Ct. of Pitigliano), dated April 22 (Arm. 44, t. 55, n. 71, 106, 221, 224, 305, 338. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See in Appendix No. 6 the *report of Serristori of February 26, 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

repudiated. Besides this there was the fact that the elevation of Cardinal del Monte to the Papacy had not been in accordance with the wishes of either the Emperor or the King of France.[1] Julius III. was therefore all the more determined to win over the two princes. He confided this difficult task, in a very shrewd manner, not to the usual nuncios, but to the adherents and confidants of the respective monarchs. The mission to the Emperor was entrusted to Pedro de Toledo as early as February 16th, 1550, and that to Henry II. to the Abbot Rosetto.[2] The Pope himself drew up the instructions for both; in order that these should be effective it was essential that the documents to be communicated to both princes should be carefully decided on. Everything, therefore, which might give offence was scrupulously avoided. Both rulers were exhorted to unity and peace, as only in this manner could the grievous wounds inflicted on the Church be healed. Toledo was to assure the Emperor that the Pope intended to pursue at all times an honourable, open and free policy in all matters, and that he was prepared to co-operate with him for the restoration of peace in the Church by the continuance of the Council of Trent, taking it at the same time for granted that the difficulties in the way would be removed, which could easily be accomplished with the help of the Emperor.

In the instructions for Rosetto, express mention of the Council is carefully avoided, and stress is only laid on the readiness of the Pope to do everything necessary to promote the glory of God, the extirpation of heresy, and to secure peace and unity among Christian nations. The transference of Parma to Ottavio Farnese, the son-in-law of Charles V., required no justification as far as the latter was concerned, but in the case of Henry II. the Pope brought forward a number of weighty reasons for this measure. Besides the promise of the

[1] The above historical facts are fully brought out by PIEPER (p. 4).

[2] See MASSARELLI, 155. The instructions for both ambassadors in DRUFFEL, I., 364 *seq.*, 368 *seq.* *Cf.* PIEPER, 4 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, where there are also emendations of the text.

election capitulation, he laid special stress on the fact that this was the only way of depriving the Emperor of an excuse for taking up arms, and thus of preserving the peace of Italy.

While both ambassadors were on their way, the coronation of Julius III. took place with great pomp on February 22nd, 1550, amid a mighty concourse of people.[1] Two days later the Jubilee, proclaimed by Paul III., was solemnly inaugurated by the opening of the Holy Door. Countless pilgrims, mostly from Italy, had assembled for the celebrations, which were to last till the Christmas Eve of the current year. Among those who endeavoured to gain the Jubilee indulgence was to be found Michael Angelo. The crowd at the bestowal of the Papal Benediction on Easter Day consisted of 50,000 persons.[2] The Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity, founded shortly

[1] See besides MASSARELLI, 156 and the **Diario di Cola Coleine Romano* (Cod. N. II., 32, Chigi Library) the pamphlet *La sontuosa festa con l'apparato fatto per la coronatione di N.S. Iulio III.* (Copy in State Library, Munich), the *report of the Bolognese ambassadors of February 22, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna), and that of Buonanni of February 23, 1550, with the inscription of the "palco" (State Archives, Florence). The coronation cost 15,000 aurei; see MASSARELLI, 262.

[2] See J. v. Meggens' report in the Archiv für schweiz. Reform., Gesch., III., 511; MASSARELLI, 157, 166; *ibid.* 173, 174, 177, 198 206 concerning the crowds of pilgrims. *Cf.* also Arch. per l'Umbria, III., 53; Lett. al Aretino, II., 408, and *Diario di Cola Coleine (Chigi Library). Serristori describes the opening of the Holy Door, at which a great crowd was present, in spite of the rain, in a *report of February 26, 1550, (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* there also the *report of Vinc. Ricobaldis of February 24, 1550. The hammer used by the Pope at this ceremony, a magnificent specimen of the goldsmiths' art, falsely attributed to Benvenuto Cellini (PLON, Cellini, 314 *seq.*, 393), is now in the National Museum, Munich (see THURSTON, 51, and 85 with Illustration). Concerning the celebration of the Jubilee of 1551 in Florence, see Riv. delle bibl., XVII., 94 *seq.* Concerning the Jubilee see MANNI, 116; DE WAAL, Campo Santo, 86; Das heilige Jahr, Munster, 1900, 41 *seq.* With regard to Michael Angelo see VASARI, VII., 228.

before at S. Salvatore in Campo, by a Florentine layman, Philip Neri, took charge of the poor and sick pilgrims; this Confraternity developed later into a large institution of world-wide fame, for the help of the needy and indigent.[1]

The Pope declared, even at his first consistory, which took place on February 28th, 1550, his firm intention of labouring for the reform of the Church and the peace of Christendom.[2] He announced at the beginning of March that he would nominate a Congregation of Cardinals, who would confer with regard to the reform of the clergy.[3] In a secret consistory of March 10th, Julius III. again emphasized, in a long address, his zeal for religion and his desire to carry on the Council, as well as his intentions concerning reform. He considered there were three reasons for the hatred the princes felt for the clergy: the avarice of the heads of the Curia, the thoughtless bestowal of benefices and the exaggerated luxury of the clergy. He intended to abolish the abuses of the Curia, chiefly by the reform of the Dataria, and would entrust to Cardinals de Cupis, Carafa, Sfondrato, Crescenzi, Pole and Cibo the task of deliberating upon the best measures to adopt for this purpose. He promised to give the orders requisite for the proper distribution of benefices and the restriction of luxury in the immediate future.[4] The Pope accordingly, on March 19th, 1550, again

[1] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 356 *seq.*; THURSTON, 85, 260 *seqq.*; KERR, Pippo Buono, London, 1908, 58 *seqq.* Further details concerning Filippo Neri will be found in the continuation of this work. [*Cf.* CAPECELATRO. *Life of St. Philip Neri.* English translation by T. A. Pope. (Editor's Note).]

[2] See MASSARELLI, 158 and the *letter of Serristori of March 1, 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Letter of Serristori of March 3, 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives); letter of Cardinal Truchsess in MEICHELBECK, Hist. Frising., II., 2, 356; *Report of Serristori of March 10, 1550 (State Archives, Florence); Dandolo in BROWN V., n. 652. *Cf.* SCHWEITZER, Gesch. der Reform, 52-53,; where, however, it is erroneously stated that the consistory of March 10 was the first (see *supra* n. 2) Mas-

laid stress on the decree of his predecessor forbidding the accumulation of several bishoprics in the hands of one Cardinal. A Bull of February 22nd had already regulated the power of the Penitentiary.[1] The commission of Cardinals was next engaged with the issue of reform decrees for the Eternal City during the time of Jubilee; the strictest regulations were made with regard to ecclesiastical and police surveillance, with a view to putting an end to the most glaring improprieties during such celebrations.[2]

The solemn ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran had to be deferred on account of the weather; it only took place on June 24th, 1550.[3] The Romans had previously witnessed the brilliant spectacle of the entry of the numerous embassies for the *obedientia*, which proved that the various princes of Europe still held fast to the ancient pious union with the Holy See, in spite of the great defection in the north. On March 25th the Pope received the congratulations of the Emperor's ambassador, Luis de Avila, and on the following day Claude d'Urfé rendered him the *obedientia* in the name of the French king, the ambassador of Philip II. doing the same on March 27th, and the representative of the King of the Romans, Ferdinand I., on the 28th. The Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara had come to Rome in person in order to swear allegiance to the new Pope. Brilliant embassies had also been sent by the Republic of Venice and by Cosimo I.[4] The repre-

sarelli wrongly gives March 5 as the date of the appointment of Cardinals for the reform of the Dataria, and makes no mention of Cibo. MERKLE, II., 158.

[1] See Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, 34, and Bull. VI., 401 *seq.*

[2] See the *Capita reformationis, a protocol of the Congregation of Cardinals, in the Cod. Barb. XVI., 42 of the Vatican Library, from which EHSES has made excerpts in the *Pastor Bonus*, XI., 572 *seq.*

[3] See MASSARELLI, 162, 179; cf. CANCELLIERI, 105.

[4] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 162 *seqq.* See also the report of Masius in LACOMBLET, Archiv., VI., 159 *seq.* The *obedientia* speech of the Florentine ambassador P. Victorius (Vettori) was much admired and was at once printed (Florence 1550); *cf.* MANNI, 120 *seq.*

sentatives of Bologna, where Julius had been Cardinal-Legate, were honoured with special distinction, the Pope saying to them that Julius II. had granted the city many favours, but that the third Julius would do still more for it.[1] On May 4th a brief did actually reduce the three years' subsidy, which the city had to pay, by half the amount.[2]

Ottavio Farnese had already made his entry into Rome on April 23rd; he could, however, only take his oath of fealty on May 21st, as the Pope was suffering from a bad cold at the end of April, and was soon afterwards seized by an attack of his old enemy, gout. Nevertheless he devoted himself to business affairs, and took part, though only seated, in the procession of Corpus Christi.[3] In consequence of the increasing crowds of those seeking an audience, and the early setting in of the hot weather, Julius had, since June, frequently withdrawn into the cool Belvedere in the Vatican. The removal to Viterbo which had been at first planned for the summer, had to be abandoned owing to the scarcity of funds, which was partly a consequence of the excessive liberality of the Pope.[4]

[1] *Se Giulio II. fece molte gratie a qualla città, state sicuri che Giulio III. ne fara delle molto maggiori. Report of the Bolognese ambassadors of February 10, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] *Brevia Iulii III. in Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 404; *cf. ibid.*, n. 430 the *brief of May 10, 1550 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Massarelli, 169 *seqq.*, 173, 176. Concerning the illness of the Pope, from which he only recovered at the end of May, and his zeal for business, ample details are given by Girol. Biagio in his *letters of April 30, May 7, 14, and 24, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna). *Cf.* also the *letters of Serristori of May 7, 11, and 30, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See Massarelli, 177, 180 *seqq.*, and the *reports of Serristori of July 26 (*La gita di S.B. a Viterbo si tien per esclusa per questo anno poichè saria necessaria una spesa almen di 10,000 scudi, siche Monte, Perugia et Viterbo si riducono a Belvedere solo, dove in vero s'intende et si conosce che farà la sua stanza S.Stà tutta l'estate et parte dell' inverno) and of August 1, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). On October 10, 1550 Buonanni

Only in the autumn did he make several excursions to the Campagna, which is so full of charm at this season. The health of the Pope at this time left a good deal to be desired, but in spite of his sixty-three years, he recovered from the attacks of gout which frequently seized him, in an astonishingly short time.[1] The Romans therefore hoped that the prediction of an astrologer, who prophesied a twenty years' pontificate for the new Pope, might be verified.[2]

The people of Rome were full of gratitude for the measures which Julius III. adopted to cope with the scarcity of provisions with which the city was threatened, owing to the great influx of pilgrims and the failure of the crops.[3] The Pope took steps in all directions to secure so great an importation of corn, as to be really wonderful for those days. To effect this, he wrote among others to the Emperor and to Henry II. of France,[4] and succeeded in inducing them to give permission for the exportation of corn from Spain

announces: "*Torno hier S.Stà dalla Magliona, della qual non si satisfece punto perchè il suo Belvedere le ha tolto il gusto. Voleva andar attorno 8 o 10 giorni, ma perchè il suo maiordomo le protesto non essersi dinari di andar in volta se ne torno a dietro."

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Serristori of September 27, 1550 (State Arch. Florence).

[2] A *letter of Serristori of March 22, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] The commissary appointed by Paul III. for the Campagna, who had to look after the increase in the price of corn, had his office confirmed as early as July 1, 1550, and extended to the Patrimonium, Corneto and Civitavecchia (see Brevia Arm. 41, t. 57, n. 604: Iulio Bosio). In the letter it says: "*Nos, qui nihil magis curae habuimus nec etiam habemus quam ut annonae vilitas semper et presertim hoc Iubilei anno in terris nostris vigeat." (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See the *briefs of August 2, 1550. Brevia Arm. 41, t. 57, n. 725, 726. *Cf. ibid.* n. 759 the *brief to the viceroy of Naples with the request for the exportation of 6,000 "salmae frumenti" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

and Provence.[1] Julius III. was also zealously engaged, in the following years, in providing for the material well-being of his capital.[2]

It is characteristic of the time that any pretext was seized upon for the arrangement of festivals. The arrival of a large quantity of grain procured by the Commissary-General, Leonardo Boccacio, in December, 1550, developed into a brilliant triumphal procession, which was much talked of.[3] The festivities of the Romans at the election celebrations of

[1] See the *briefs for Iac. et Bened. Nigroni of September 9 and mercatoribus Parmensibus of October 12 concerning the exportation from Spain, and for Laurent. Cenamo mercatori of November 16 with regard to Provence. Brevia Arm. 41, t. 57, n. 759, 800, 887, 954. *Ibid.* n. 986 Magistro Rhodi, to further the exportation of corn from the east to Rome, dated December 1, 1550. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See *Brevia 1551 Arm. 41, t. 59, n. 35: *Duci Florentiae dated January 25; n. 57: *Viceregi Siciliae, dated January 31; n. 59: *Viceregi Neapol., dated February 1; n. 79: *Ascanio Malatesta, dated February 18; n. 80: *Reginae Bohemiae gubernatrici Hisp., dated February 18; n. 150: *Duci et gubernat. Genuens., dated March 11; n. 154: *Gubernatori Messinae, dated March 11; n. 168: *Viceregi Siciliae, dated March 14; n. 192: *Franc. Albertino, dated March 20. In the Brevia 1551 t. 61 there also belong to this place: n. 718: *Regi Romanorum, dated August 22; n. 737; *Duci Sabaudiae and Marchionissae Montisferrati, dated August 27 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also the statements in MASSARELLI, 181, 183, 204 *seqq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 75; BENIGNI, 33 *seq.*; PFEIFFER-RULAND, Pestilentia in nummis, 17, 183; MERKLE, I., ci; DE CUPIS, 142.

[3] See L'ordine della festa con la felice entrata et il gran trionfo fatto per la venuta dei grani fatti venir per terra di luoghi assai lontani dal magnifico signor Leonardo Boccaccio commiss. gener. di N.S. Papa Giulio III. et della santa abondantia de l'alma città di Roma prefetto dignissimo. Sotto li X. di Gennaro MDLI. Roma 1551. Rare pamphlet; a copy in the State Archives, Munich. *Cf.* *Diario di Cola Coleine (Chigi Library) and the **report of Buonanni of December 23, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

Julius III.[1] as well as the unbridled extravagances of the Carnival,[2] and the pomp of the life of the court, had shown that the worldly tendencies of the Renaissance period and the preponderance of reminiscences of pagan times were by no means overcome. The journals of Massarelli and others give a vivid picture of the doings of those days, which in many respects remind us of the time of Leo X.

At the festival processions on the anniversary of the Pope's election, the figures of pagan gods were to be seen on the state coaches,[3] while mythological figures and emblems[4] also frequently appeared on the medals of Julius III., even when these were intended to commemorate purely religious events.[5] Things went particularly far at the Carnival, for the celebration of which Julius had given complete freedom. Races on the Corso alternated with bull-fights and other amusements, at which the Pope did not disdain to assist.[6] He was also present at the theatrical representations with which the festivities closed, while women were also invited to the Vatican. Massarelli tells us of a feast which the Pope gave on Carnival Tuesday to the ladies of his family in the Hall of Constantine.[7] From the reports of the envoys and also from other sources it is clear that the Pope, regardless of the gravity of the times, continued to follow, in this respect, the path on which his predecessors of the Renaissance had entered.

Julius III., who, although devoted to business, had always

[1] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 504; CLEMENTI, 206 *seq.*

[2] RODOCANACHI (Juifs, 209) mentions a *Bando* against the abuses during the Carnival. *Cf.* concerning these the *report of Ippolito Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua, dated Rome, February 14, 1551 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See the Diarium in MACSWINEY, Portugal, III., 226 n. *Cf.* CLEMENTI, 209.

[4] *Cf.* MUNTZ, III., 119.

[5] A. Cesati engraved two prisoners on the medal for the Holy Year, because the ancients set such at liberty at their jubilee celebrations. See VASARI, V., 386.

[6] MASSARELLI, 213. Cola Coleine in CLEMENTI, 209 *seq.*

[7] MASSARELLI, 214.

had a great love of pleasure, was specially fond of magnificent banquets. He very frequently invited the Cardinals to sumptuous feasts in the Vatican; he also very willingly accepted invitations himself, and very often did not return home after an evening passed in festivity, but spent the night at the house of his host.[1] Only two Cardinals were absent from these festivities, Carafa and de Cupis, the representatives of the strict reform party, who had made it a rule never to dine out of their own houses.[2] This was a dumb but eloquent protest against the unbounded luxury displayed by the others on such occasions.[3]

As Julius III. followed the chase,[4] gambled with friendly Cardinals and other intimates for large sums,[5] and kept,

[1] Besides the numerous statements in MASSARELLI, 155 *seqq.* the **reports of Buonanni of July 30 and August 9 and 14, 1550 (S.Stà è hora a S. Marco et in poco spazio di tempo quando a Araceli et quando a S. Pietro in vincula), are also of interest (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Report of Ipp. Capilupi, dated Rome, February 3, 1551: "Con S.Stà disenarono tutti i cardinali che sono in Roma da quattuor infuori cioè Trani et Chieti, che non mangiano mai fuor di casa, et Salviati et Gaddi," who are ill. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 11 the *report of Serristori of January 31, 1551 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 190, 193, 196.

[5] How fond the Pope was of playing for high stakes, especially at the favourite *primiera* (*cf.* RODOCANACHI, Rome, 60), is shown even more clearly than in the *reports of Buonanni of October 8, 1550, and of *Serristori of June 24, 1552 (S.Stà vinse a tre dadi 1500 scudi al card. S. Agnolo. State Archives, Florence) by the action brought against Aless. Pallantieri in the time of Paul IV., on account of his alleged unfaithful administration of the Annona. On March 22, 1558, the accused spoke as follows before the attorney of the exchequer, Sebastiano Atracino: Al tempo di papa Giulio, e Sua Santità e i cardinali e i vescovi e tutta la corte vignava, fui messo in ballo ancora io a giocare insieme agli altri, e Sua Santità mi mandava a domandare quasi ogni di, perchè io andassi a giuocare, e far le altre volte, essendo io

numerous court jesters,[1] he also had no scruples about witnessing unseemly theatrical representations. On the 24th of November, 1550, the Menaechmi of Plautus was played before

andato alla vigna di Sua Santità a dolermi di certe cose che faceva il signor Ascanio Colonna per impedire che la grascia venisse a Roma, Sua Santità non mi rispose niente a questo, se non che: "siate il benvenuto! a punto ci mancava il quarto!" E dicendogli io che Sua Santità mi aveva dato un peso sulle spalle, il peso cioè dell' abbondanza, e chi bisognava attendere ad altro che a giuocare, Sua Santità mi replicò: "Mi meraviglio di voi; manca grano in Campo di Fiore; restate qui a magnare con Michelangelo, che vi manderò qualche cosa di buono!" E un' altra volta avendomi fatto chiamare in palazzo per giuocare e dicendo io: "Padre Santo, io ho da fare; ho vinto certi scudi non vorria perderli," Sua Santità disse: "bisogna giuocare benchè tu perda non importa; io t'insegnerò a trovare qualche cosa da rubare per te e per me." E così giuocai molte volte e con Sua Santità e in presenza sua a primiera. Il signor Baldoino, suo fratello, non faceva mai altro dopo pranzo che questo, e io ero quasi sempre delli chiamati, e li e quando andavo a qualche banchetto, dove io giuocava con Sua Eccellenza e con cardinali e con altri prelati, e la sorte mia buona volle che là e in casa di monsignor di Pavia, che era governatore, io vincessi parecchie migliaia di scudi, come sa tutta Roma, e mi ricordo che l'ultima volta quando morì il papa, primo di tre o quattro di, giuocando in camera del sig. Baldoino io vinsi al vescovo di Pavia circa due mila scudi ad un giuoco che si dice chi non ha niente. Papa Giulio, per la causa di Vincenzo Spada, mi fece donare in un sachetto mille scudi d'oro e per certa altra causa circa cinquecento scudi, e con questi e con altri guadagni io ho comprato questi uffizi et questa casa e fabbricatola. . . . Mi scordavo di dire che il papa fece giuocare spesse volte il vescovo di Ascoli, che era governatore, si come il vescovo di Pavia, che era governatore. . . . State Archives, Rome, Proc. tom. 36, communicated by Bruzzone in the Turin newspaper La Stampa, 1900, n. 51; this being very difficult to obtain, it has been thought useful to print the extract in full.

[1] Expenditure for *Buffoni* is often to be met with in the *account books of Julius III. (State Archives, Rome); see several examples in Erulei, 17.

the Pope in the Castle of St. Angelo, and a few days later Ariosto's Cassaria, and on January 22nd, 1551, the Eunuchus of Plautus, which had been translated into Italian.[1]

Julius III. permitted comedies to be performed in the Belvedere, especially during Carnival time, and on February 3rd, 1551, the Aulularia of Plautus was given in the presence of the Pope and twenty-four Cardinals. The Mantuan correspondent praises the beauty of the staging and the excellence of the music, which had given great pleasure to everyone.[2] A comedy which was also given in the Belvedere a short time afterwards, on the occasion of the anniversary of the election of Julius, was, on the contrary, a complete fiasco. As usual all the Cardinals were invited, as well as the ambassadors of France, Portugal, and Venice. This piece, composed by a native of Siena, was extremely silly and rather unseemly, and it was only the presence of the Pope which prevented it from being hissed. Julius showed his displeasure by pretending to fall asleep; at the end he remarked that the dramatist should be excused, since he was a Sienese. On the same evening fifty Roman nobles in magnificent antique costumes set up a carrousel in St. Peter's Square, which gave great satisfaction. On the following day there was a bull-fight, at which the Pope and many Cardinals were present;[3] comedies were performed in the Vatican in the very last year of the reign of Julius III.[4] No one, however, seems to have realized how very unecclesiastical all this was.[5]

[1] Massarelli, 202. Bertolotti, Artisti Veneti, 54. Art. Bolognesi, Bologna 1885, 37 *seq.* Erulei, 19. *Cf.* the *report of Ipp. Capilupi of January 26, 1551, *Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Buonanni tells of a performance of the *Cassaria* in a **report of December, 1, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See in Appendix No. 12 the *report of Ipp. Capilupi of February 3, 1551 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Massarelli, 213.

[3] See besides Massarelli, 214 in Appendix No. 13 the *report of Ipp. Capilupi of February 14, 1551 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Ancel in the Rev. Bénédict, XXV., 50.

[5] Expenditure for the performance of comedies in the years 1552 and 1555 in Erulei, 19.

The pernicious tradition of the Renaissance Popes was also repeatedly followed by Julius III. in the promotion of his relatives.[1] At first he resisted[2] their urgent solicitations for offices similar to those filled by the Farnese family under Paul III., but his opposition weakened only too quickly. He did not, however, go as far as his predecessor; he gave his relatives no principalities, nor did they enjoy any great political influence. As the general feeling and circumstances of the time were unfavourable, there was no wholesale nepotism in this reign, and the relatives of the Pope, who crowded in vain round his deathbed,[3] urging their demands, were by no means satisfied, though they had considerable reason to be so.[4]

At the beginning of his reign, the Pope had promoted the interests of two relatives at the distribution of the offices in the Curia. One of these, Pietro del Monte, he appointed governor of the Castle of St. Angelo, while he bestowed on his sister's son, Ascanio della Corgna, a clever soldier, the command of his guard.[5] The Pope had always loved his elder brother,

[1] *Cf.* concerning this, especially DANDOLO, 354 *seqq.*, and DE LEVÀ, V., 114 *seq.*

[2] On February 23, 1550, Buonanni reports: *Sino a qui non mostra S.Stà animo di volere levare alcuno dei carichi, che desse la s. m. di Paolo, il che preme assai a questi parenti di Iulio et ne mostrano mala contentezza (State Archives, Florence).

[3] Nonciat. de France, I., xliv., n. 4.

[4] His proneness to nepotism also brought Julius III., into conflict with the election capitulation (see Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Instituts, XII., 224 *seq.*), concerning the alteration of which deliberations were held as early as May 30, and again on June 13, 1550. See MASSARELLI, 177.

[5] See MASSARELLI, 153 and PAGLIUCCHI, 121 *seq.* Ascanio had "200 scudi di provisione." Buonanni, who announces this on February 23, 1550, adds: "La cavalleria che si trova nello stato ecclesco si cassera et si ridurra a 200 cavalli, che staran qui. I Suizzeri, che son 200, non credo che s'accresceranno (State Archives, Florence). On December 18, 1550, Asc. della Corgna became "gubernator perpetuus" of the "Castrum

"Messer Baldovino," as the ambassadors always called him. Baldovino, who was already in Rome on February 24th, 1550, received the Borgia Appartments as a lodging,[1] and later on the Palazzo dell' Aquila in St. Peter's Square.[2] The dignity of Cardinal, however, was not bestowed upon him, the Pope considering him too old and otherwise unsuited.[3] He appointed him Governor of Spoleto on March 20th, 1550, investing him with rich revenues later on, and also giving him Camerino, for his life-time.[4] Besides all this, Julius obtained for him from Cosimo de' Medici, as early as July, 1550, the

Plebis" (see *Brief to him [ut status quoque nobis sanguine intime coniuncti conditionem decentius tenere valeas.] Brevia Arm. 41, t. 58, n. 1022. Secret Archives of the Vatican) *Cf.* concerning A. della Corgna, the Nonciat. de France I 24.

[1] See MASSARELLI, 157, 183.

[2] See EHRLE, Bufalini, 15.

[3] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 243 *seq.* Here the *letter of Serristori of April 17, 1550, is wanting, in which he says: *Al s. Baldovino disse che provederebbe di stato conveniente a lui non disegnando a modo alcuno di farlo cardinale per esse oltre con l'età et perchè non havesse a mettersi a imperar a dir l'offitio et l'introito come intervenne a Pucci in sua vecchiezza (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* in the same place the *report of Buonanni of March 16, 1550.

[4] By the *brief of March 20, 1550, he separated Spoleto from Umbria and appointed Baldovino, "quo nec sanguinis coniunctiorem nec in amore magis praecipuum habemus et huic regimini valde idoneum et utile fore speramus," as his deputy and in the city and district of Spoleto, and as "castellanus arcis." Brevia Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 202. *Ibid.* t. 56, n. 731 the *brief to Baldovino of August 4, 1550: 'After having appointed you Collector-General of the revenues of Camerino, we present you with the same, "considerantes congruum esse, ut tibi, qui germanus frater noster existis, unde iuxta convenientiam gradus et conditionis tuae, presertim apud Nos et in servitiis nostris existendo decenter sustentari valeas, per Nos provideatur" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also *Serristori's reports of July 26, August 19 and 30, 1550 (State Archives, Florence) and TESORONI, 35. Concerning Camerino, *cf.* LILLI, Storia di Camerino, 359.

newly founded lordship of Monte San Savino, in feudal tenure.[1]

Baldovino had, by his marriage with Giulia Mancini, two daughters,[2] as well as three sons. Of the latter, only one, Giovan Battista, was still alive. Julius entrusted this nephew with the government of Fermo and Nepi, and appointed him Standard-Bearer of the Church.[3] When Giovan Battista del Monte, whose whole mind was fixed on the pursuit of arms, fell on April 14th, 1552, at the seige of Mirandola,[4] the Pope entrusted the government of the two said towns to Baldovino.[5]

[1] *Cf.* SALVADORI in the Rassegna Settimanale, VI., n. 132 and TESORONI, 34.

[2] Orsula and Cristina. They received, like the other relations, monthly revenues. See *Intr. et Exit. 1554-1555 in the Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* The *reports of Serristori of July 26 (*N.S. dette il governo di Fermo a beneplacito al s. Giov. Battista) and August 30, 1550 (bestowal of Nepi). State Archives, Florence. See also Legaz. di Serristori, 244, 257; DE LEVA, V., 116 and Histor. Zeitschrift, XXIX., 316. The interest the Pope took in his nephew was shown when the latter fell ill in 1551. The Duke of Ferrara sent his physician to him at that time; Julius III. begged him to give him an exact account of the course of the illness. See brief for Ant. Brasaulae medico of August 9, 1551 (Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 673. Secret Arch. of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* BALAN, Mirandola, 45 *seq.*

[5] See the *briefs to Baldovino of April 29 and May 6, 1552 (Arm. 41, t. 64, n. 275 and 298). The *letter of thanks to Duke Ercole of Ferrara for his condolences, on April 25, 1552, sounds very resigned (We always endeavour to submit to the Divine Will, "ut omnia quae nobis eveniunt, sive prospera sive illa sint adversa, ad nostram eruditionem et inscrutabili Dei iudicio provenire existimenus) and to the Viceroy of Naples on the same day (non ignorantes, humanam naturam et res bellicas, quas ipse noster nepos sua electione, non. nostra voluntate sequebatur, huiusmodi saepe casus parere consuevisse.") Arm. 41, t. 64, n. 265 and 266 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The weight of this loss is emphasised by Serristori in an interesting *letter of March 23, 1552 (State Archives, Florence). Baldovino died in August, 1556; see *letter of Navagero of August 22, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

Baldovino's natural son, Fabiano, had already been legitimatized at the beginning of the reign, and though he was only a child, the household of a prince was now bestowed on him. As Giovan Battista had left no children, the hopes of the family had been centred, even before Giovan's untimely death, on Fabiano.[1] Cosimo de' Medici, who was extremely anxious to attach the Pope to himself, gave his daughter Lucrezia, in 1554, after long negotiations, to this nephew in marriage. The Pope joyfully agreed, but was most careful to withhold any political significance from this marriage, to the great disgust of the Medici.[2]

Of the two sisters of the Pope, the younger, Jacopa, married to Francia della Corgna, had two sons, Ascanio, already mentioned, and Fulvio, who was first made Bishop of Perugia, and then became Cardinal, in December, 1551.[3] Roberto, the son of Ludovica, the elder sister of the Pope, and married to Roberto de' Nobili, also became a Cardinal. This Roberto was a youth of such a holy disposition, that it could be said of him that he was an example of that childlike piety in which heaven is reflected on earth.[4]

The inconsistencies of Julius III. are shown in nothing so much as in the fact that he bestowed the Cardinal's hat on another youth, who was as vicious as Roberto de' Nobili was virtuous.

The Venetian ambassador Dandolo relates how Julius III., when he was legate in Piacenza, took a boy of low extraction, from the streets, as it were, and made him keeper of his ape, because he had shown great courage when the animal caught

[1] *Cf.* Massarelli, 161 and de Leva, V., 115. The legitimatization of Fabiano in Tesoroni, 81 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 302 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*, ; Firmanus, 502-503 ; *Brief to Cosimo of April, 11, 1554 ("Mirifice gaudemus" at the conclusion of the family alliance. Arm. 41, t. 70, n. 199. Secret Archives of the Vatican) ; Nonciat. de France, I., xliv., 26 ; Pallavicini, 13, 10, 8 ; Tesoroni, 84 *seq.*

[3] See Massarelli, 158 and Nonciat. de France, I., 62.

[4] See Reumont, III., 2, 505 ; *cf.* Ciaconius, III., 784 *seqq.*, and *infra* chap.

hold of him. The keeper of the ape learned in a short time how to insinuate himself into the favour of his master, to such an extent, that the latter grew fond of him and prevailed upon his brother to adopt him. To the name of Innocenzo del Monte, which he now bore, he brought nothing but dishonour.[1] In spite of this he received a provostship in Arezzo, for the Cardinal clung to him with a love which was as inexplicable as it was incredible. Massarelli, who testifies to this, adds: "As soon as Giovan Maria del Monte became Pope, nothing was nearer to his heart and intentions than to raise his brother's adopted son to the highest dignities and to heap upon him honours and riches. Up till now—three months have passed—he has given him an income of 12,000 crowns, and has at last elevated him, with the greatest satisfaction, to the high dignity of Cardinal."[2]

There was no want of opposition to this shameful abuse of Papal power; Cardinal Pole reminded the Pope of the canonical decrees and the gravity of the times,[3] while Carafa made still more urgent remonstrances. As he had had, for a long

[1] See DANDOLO, 355 and MERKLE, I., 177; MASSARELLI, 174 *seq.*; Masius in LACOMBLET, Archiv, VI., 163; CIACONIUS, III., 759; Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 4, XIII., 420. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 11, 7, 4 and the deservedly sharp criticism of RAYNALDUS, (1550. n. 50). GRIMM (Michelangelo, II., 423) makes Innocenzo the son of Julius III. without any proof whatever.

[2] MASSARELLI, 175. Buonanni announces the impending appointment of Innocenzo as Cardinal as early as February 23 (see Appendix No. 4). *Cf.* the report of Dandolo of March 16 in DE LEVA, V., 117. On April 17, 1550, Serristori says: *Disse S.Stà al Buonanni che al primo o secondo consistorio al più lungo voleva crear cardinale il proposto, suo nepote et che su questo principio harebbe 13,000 scudi d'entrata. *Cf.* Buonanni's *report of April 18, 1550. On April 30 Serristori announces: *S.Stà mando per il proposto, il qual se ne verrà a Bagnaia, where the red hat was sent to him. (State Arch. Florence).

[3] See *dispatch of Dandolo of April 18, 1550 (State Archives, Venice), in part in DE LEVA, V., 118; *cf.* DRUFFEL, I., 398; BROWN, n. 662.

time, close and friendly relations with Julius III., he hoped to be able to prevent the nomination. The old Cardinal, therefore, did everything that lay in his power; he went personally to the Pope and explained to him with all the powers of his eloquence, the reasons which should prevent him from taking such an unfortunate step. He represented the shame which would attach to the perpetrator of such a deed, the talk of the people, which should be avoided, above all by a prince, as well as the evil suppositions to which the elevation of a fatherless and vicious young man would give rise.[1] It was all in vain. On May 30th, 1550, Julius III., in a secret consistory, elevated the seventeen year old Innocenzo del Monte to the cardinalate. On July 1st the latter made his solemn entry into Rome, and on the following day he received, not in public, as was customary, but again in a secret consistory, the red hat.[2] Cardinal Carafa kept away from both consistories, in order not to have even the appearance of approving by his silent presence this unhappy incident. Instead of doing so, he wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he once more expressly declared that he would not agree to such a nomination.[3]

What Carafa and many others[4] had foreseen, was verified only too soon. The nomination gave the greatest scandal, and far and wide Julius was declared to be the father of Innocenzo; indeed, the accusation was by no means the worst of the crimes of which his enemies at once pronounced him guilty. The accusation, however, of the gravest immorality has never been proved against him, either at that

[1] See *Apologia alla relat. del Navagero (National Library, Naples; *cf.* Appendix Nos. 61, 62). Bromato, II., 158 *seq.*

[2] See Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, 35; Massarelli, 174-175; the reports in Druffel, I., 406; de Leva, V., 118 *seq.*; Arch. d. miss. scientif., Ser. 2, V., 98.

[3] Bromato, II., 159. The *Apologia mentioned *supra* n. 1, says that copies of the letter of Carafa were circulated everywhere.

[4] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 4 the *report of Buonanni of February 23, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

time or afterwards. Julius himself was to blame that such an idea should have arisen and been believed, as his attitude towards Innocenzo del Monte must have given rise to the gravest suspicions, especially at a time of such unbridled license.[1]

Julius III. hoped against all hope that Cardinal Innocenzo would lead a life in accordance with his dignity.[2] The upstart, however, only made more insolent by his unexpected good fortune, gave himself up, even more than before, to a perfectly scandalous life. He not only received rich benefices, such as the abbey of St. Michael in Normandy and that of

[1] It is well known how prevalent it was in the time of the Renaissance to affix the stigma of perversity to one's enemies. This mode of attack was still being carried on (see especially the lampoon against Card. del Monte in the Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital., XLIII., 242 *seq.*), and even Panvinio allowed himself to be led into making such implications against Julius III. (puerorum amoribus implicitus). See MERKLE, II., 147; *cf.* cxxxiv. Had there been any proof for this accusation Sarpi would not have failed to have put it forward. The accusation of the reformers is therefore justly repudiated (see Röse in ERSCH-GRUBER, 2, section XXVIII., 351; ASCHBACH, Kirchenlexicon, III., 656, and BRUZZONE, La vigna di papa Giulio: Messagero, 1911, n. 51). CIACONIUS (III., 759) has already shown that the inscription in the Villa Giulia does not prove that Innocenzo del Monte was a son of Julius III.

[2] *Cf.* the *brief to the Doge of Venice of June 21, 1550: Your letter concerning the elevation of Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte and the speech of your ambassador have informed us of your good will. "Nos quidem, f. d. (for what is crossed out read "domestice res ac rationes nostre ad id impulerunt") privata quedam ob paucitatem gentilium nostrorum necessitas ad id impulit, speramus tamen aliquem defectum eius aetatis maturitate ingenii ab eo esse supplendum." In any case he will always be for you. Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 568. *Ibid.* t. 63, n. 117 a *Brief of February 20, 1552, in which Julius III. thanks the Doge for having bestowed the freedom of the city on his brother and the latter's sons (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

St. Zeno in Verona,[1] as well as the legation of Bologna, in June, 1552[2] but also a position similar to that which Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had enjoyed under Paul III. At the end of November, 1551, the nuncios were requested to address their letters in future to Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte, instead of, as formerly, to the first Secretary of State, Girolamo Dandino, or to the Pope himself. This change was due to Baldovino, who gave his brother this fatal advice.[3] Innocenzo del Monte, who did not possess the slightest aspiration towards a higher life, had neither the wish nor the capacity to devote himself to business; his activities as secretary of state consisted in affixing his signature to the dispatches drawn up in his name, and in pocketing the revenues of his high office.

The direction of affairs lay in the hands of the Pope, of his brother Baldovino, and of the experienced secretary of state, Girolamo Dandino.[4] Dandino had been trained in the chancery of Paul III., which was a good school, and had become intimately acquainted with the position of affairs in France and Germany, through numerous diplomatic missions.[5]

[1] *Serristori announces the conveyance of the abbey S. Michael Rotomag. dioc. by Henry II. (val. 2500 duc.) on July 21, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). Concerning S. Zeno see MASSARELLI, 218. Julius III. also requested a pension for Cardinal del Monte from the Emperor (see DRUFFEL, I., 416). Concerning the bestowal of the bishopric of Mirepoix in the year 1553 see THOMAS, III., 198.

[2] *Brief to the Forty of Bologna, dated June 4, 1552 (Arm, 41, t. 64, n. 391 Secret Archives of the Vatican). Cf. BELLUZZI. 180.

[3] See PIEPER, 122 and Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xxxiii., 107, n. 2. During an absence of Dandino G. Ricci had taken his place; *cf. ibid.*, 55, n. 5.

[4] See RICHARD in the Rév. d'hist. éccles., XI., 520; *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 12 *seq.*

[5] For Dandino *cf.* DANDOLO, 357; PIEPER, 121; Nuntiaturberichte, VIII., 12-13; Nonciat. de France, I., n. 2. Dandino died in Rome in 1559; his grave is in S. Marcello (see FORCELLA, II., 308). The correspondent of Cosimo I. in Rome, Buonanni, was not pleased with the appointment of Dandino. He writes on

There were three other secretaries besides him, employed as assistants in the chancery: Giulio Canano, Angelo Massarelli, and Trifone Bencio, the latter also having charge of the cypher codes.[1] The office of secretary of Latin letters, which had been filled during the whole reign of Paul III. by Blosius Palladius,[2] still remained in the hands of this distinguished stylist under Julius III. When Blosius died in August, 1550, Julius divided this lucrative post, which had formerly been filled by two officials. His choice fell on the two able humanists, Galeazzo Florimonte, Bishop of Aquino, and Romolo Amaseo, of Bologna, who was recommended by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. After the death of Amaseo, in the summer of 1552, the eminent Bishop of Carpentras, Paolo Sadoleto, took his place.[3]

March 21, 1550: *Parse buona la resolutione che presse S.Stà di non servirsi del Cavalcante per quel ch'el conclave fini di chiarirlo. Ma il continuare di servirsi del Dandino et di lassargli la sottoscritione in mano, non e lodato da alcuno, massime da chi sa l'inclinatione di detto Dandino al servitio del Rè, quel ch'egli rivelò al car^al di Ferrara dei negocii secreti di Paulo et i dinari et la pensione c'hebbe sotto mano da S.S. ill^ma et rev^ma. (State Archives, Florence).

[1] Massarelli, 154. Pieper, 121 *seq.* Nonciat. de France, I., 72, n. 2.

[2] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 539. *Cf.* concerning Blosius, Maffei in the Rassegna per la storia di Volterra, I. (1898), 8 *seqq.* 82 *seqq.*

[3] See Massarelli, 185; Caro-Farnese, Lettere, I., 260; Druffel, II., 660; Lauchert, 685; Grella, G. Florimente, S. Maria Sapua Vetera, 1909; the *reports of Buonanni of August 14 and 15, 1550 (State Archives, Florence) and the *letter of Gir. Biagio of August 16, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna). P. Sadoleto had at once welcomed the election of Julius III. in a **letter to Card. Farnese dated Carpent. IV., Id. April 1550 (Vat. 4103, p. 107 *seq.* Vatican Library). The *brief of his appointment, dated July 25, 1552, in Min. brev. 65, n. 519 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). In the last year of the reign of Julius III. there appeared in the *Intr. et Exit. (Cod. Vat. 10605) payments (70 sc. per mese) for the following four *secretarii*:

Dandino, whom Julius justly valued highly, was the real head of the Chancery. When he became Cardinal on November 20th, 1551, he bequeathed his official duties to his secretary, the talented Canano. These two conducted the correspondence with the nuncios, while Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte enjoyed the advantages and honours of the office, although he only wrote the signatures.[1] The Pope superintended ecclesiastical as well as political affairs; he had taken up an independent attitude from the beginning and hardly ever consulted with anyone.[2] The zeal with which Julius III. devoted himself to business, especially in the first years of his reign, is proved by the fact that in the case of important official documents, he not only suggested the matter himself, but also the form in which it should be expressed. Even though these documents are not headed "Dictated by the Pope himself," they can nevertheless easily be distinguished from others; they bear a stamp which is quite their own and surprise as much by their vigour and wealth of imagery, as by the striking originality of their mode of expression.[3] The

Canano, Massarelli, Sadoleto, and Bencio; Cesare Grolierio appears here specially for briefs; he had been a secretary since 1552. See ANCEL, Secrét. pontif., 51.

[1] *Cf.* PIEPER, 123; RICHARD, *loc. cit.*; TÖRNE, P. Gallio card. de Come, Paris, 1907, 38. Concerning the lasting influence of Dandino, see not only Masius, LACOMBLET, Archiv, V., 195 and LOSSEN, 123) but also Serristori in his *letters of May, 29, 1551 (Dandino is the "spirito di S.Stà et carissimo al s. Baldovino") and February 15, 1553. (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* DANDOLO, 357; Legaz. di Serristori, 276, 278; Mendoza in DÖLLINGER, I., 189.

[3] PIEPER brings this into special prominence (pp. 123-124). *Ibid.* (pp. 124-129), see exact account of the instructions of Julius III., which are to be found in almost all European libraries, and (pp. 129-139) concerning his diplomatic correspondence. *Cf.* also Nonciat. de France, I., iv. *seq.* concerning the supplements in the "Fonds Borghese" to which KUPKE had already drawn attention in the Histor. Vierteljahrsschrift, 1898, I., 143; see also KUPKE's preface to the XIIth Volume of the Nuntiaturberichte. Concerning the "Archivio Dandini" in the Secret

journal of Massarelli testifies to the great assiduity with which the Pope prepared and worked out the instructions for his nuncios.[1] The Pope's very confidential friends, Cardinal Crescenzi[2] and Angelo Massarelli, as well as Dandino, were called upon to assist in this work. Massarelli was, however, specially chosen on account of his experience in the question of the Council.

Archives of the Vatican, see also WIRZ, Akten, xl. *seq.* and Bullen, L.; *cf. ibid.*, xxvi. concerning the Brief Register of Julius III. The Regesta of the Pope are inventoried in PALMIERI, 82 *seq.*, the Ruoli in ANCEL, Secrét. pontif., 49.

[1] See MASSARELLI, 177, 179, 182.

[2] *Cf.* DANDOLO, 357; MASSARELLI *passim.* Buonanni speaks very badly of Crescenzi. He reports on July 7, 1550: *Di qua va lunghissima ogni espeditione poiche S.Stà cedendo pochi negocii gli remette tutti a Crescentio, che per natura et accidente va cosi tardo nelle espeditioni ch'è uno stento il cavargliene una delle mani. He again complains on July 19 of the "longhezze" of Crescenzi. On August 9 he reports: *S.Stà non puo star senza lui [Crescenzi] et quand' è seco devon trattar d'ogni altra cosa che de negocii perchè di nessun si sentono espeditioni. **Buonanni emphasizes Crescenzi's influence on October 7, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). Besides Crescenzi Cardinal Maffei was much favoured by the Pope; see CARO-FARNESE, I., 133, and Masius in LACOMBLET, Archiv, VI., 157.

CHAPTER III.

Preparations for the reassembling of the Council in Trent.—The Dispute concerning the Duchy of Parma.

Among the points of the election capitulation to which Julius III. had pledged himself in the conclave, the re-opening of the General Council for the extirpation of heresy and the reform of the Church stood in the first place. For the promotion of this matter the Pope had entered upon diplomatic negotiations with Charles V. and Henry II. immediately after he ascended the throne.[1]

Even before Pedro de Toledo, the appointed envoy to the Emperor, entered upon his mission, well-informed people believed that the Head of the Church was prepared, not only to continue the Council in Trent but, under certain circumstances, even in another place, in the centre of Germany; it was, however, to be a real and free Council.[2] Toledo, indeed, declared by word of mouth, that he believed His Holiness would make such a concession, should he think Trent unsuitable, but only if security should be given him that there should be no undue interference in the matter of reform or of the authority of the Holy See.[3]

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 55.

[2] *All' imperatore ha promesso di dare il concilio (ma che sia concilio secondo i canoni et non fatto solo per interesse di S.M^{tà} come voleva fare al tempo di papa Paulo) in mezo 'l corpo dell' Alemagna. *Olivo to S. Calandra, dated Rome, February 15, 1550 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the letter of Masius of February 17, 1550, in Lacomblet, Archiv, VI., 156.

[3] See Charles V. to Mendoza, translated in Maynier, 592 n. with wrong date, May 18 instead of March 18. *Cf.* Maurenbrecher, 228.

The Imperialists had not expected such complaisance. Had not Diego de Mendoza been so taken aback at first at del Monte's election that the Pope had to call out to him: "Don't be so terrified, ambassador!"[1] Charles V. was most pleasantly surprised. His answer to Pedro de Toledo was exceedingly gracious; Toledo was to beg the Pope respectfully in his name to summon the Council as soon as possible and to hold it in Trent. With regard to the guarantees required by Julius III. the Emperor assured him that he only wished to promote what was most advantageous to the Apostolic See and agreeable to His Holiness, in so far as this depended on him and was not contrary to his duty.[2] On March 16th, 1550, Charles V. informed his brother Ferdinand, that he had thought it right at once to inform the Papal ambassador of his agreement with the offer regarding the Council, and that he would now, in order to take the Pope at his word, summon the Imperial Diet for June 25th, at Augsburg.[3]

Before the arrival of Toledo, Charles V. had already sent his confidant, Luis de Avila, to Rome, to convey his congratulations, bearing a letter in which he assured the Pope of his perfect readiness to protect the Church. Julius III. received the ambassador on March 25th, 1550, and also declared his intention of proceeding in the matter of the Council, as in all else, to the satisfaction of the Emperor.[4]

In April, 1550, the Pope entrusted a commission of seven Cardinals: de Cupis, Carafa, Morone, Crescenzi, Sfondrato, Pole and Cervini with the deliberations concerning the Council, at the same time recalling Sebastiano Pighino from Germany to Rome, for the purpose of furnishing reports. Morone set forth the by no means unimportant difficulties which stood in the way of a renewal of the Council at Trent, and these were carefully considered by the commission. The result was

[1] Dandolo, 347. De Leva, V., 93. Brown, V., n. 643.

[2] See the letter to Mendoza cited *supra* p. 77, n. 3.

[3] Lanz, III., 1 *seqq.*

[4] See Raynaldus, 1550, n. 5 and 8; Massarelli, 162 *seq.*; Druffel, I., 384.

the approval of the decision to reopen the Council at Trent.[1]

As a matter of fact, the two principal objections to the Council being again held in Trent were no longer in existence. The danger of interference on the part of the Council in the Papal election appeared to be over, as the new Head of the Church was no longer, as had been the case with Paul III., a broken old man, but one who was still in possession of great bodily vigour. The other difficulty, which concerned the validity of the removal of the Council to Bologna, which had taken place with the consent of His Holiness, was overcome by the fact that almost all the Spanish bishops had left Trent after the departure of Cardinal Pacheco to the conclave, so that it could hardly be maintained that the assembly was still in existence. It was therefore possible again to take up the work of the Council in Trent, without detriment to the reputation of Julius III. and his predecessor. This was the aim of the election capitulation, of the nuncios in Germany, and also of the Emperor, who was joined by the King of Poland. A continuance of the Council in Bologna was therefore impossible, if only for the reason that in such a case a judgment concerning the suspension, originated by Julius III., as legate, and warmly advocated by him, would have had to be expressed. This would again have given rise to the old disputes and, moreover, the Emperor had only received the consent of the German States for Trent as the seat of the Council.[2]

[1] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 168 *seq.*; the opinion of Morone in RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 9 and in LE PLAT, IV., 164; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xxxiv., where, erroneously, only five Cardinals are given; *letter of Serristori of April 24, 1550. Concerning the dispatch of the nuncios Serristori had already reported on February 26: *Al Pighino mi disse S.B^{ne} che disegnava dare il carico di Nuntio appre[sso] all' imp^{re}. In Francia disegna di mandare mons^{r} della Casa, ancora ch'ei mostri non contenta[rsi]. In Portogallo il vescovo Giambeccaro, et in Venetia il Beccatello (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* the "Discorso mandato in Francia" in PALLAVICINI, II, 8, 4.

Immediately after the decision of the commission the Pope informed the Imperial ambassador Mendoza of his intention to open the Council in Trent and to appoint Pighino as nuncio to Charles V. for the carrying out of the preliminary negotiations. He begged, however, that the matter might not in the meantime be openly discussed; first, because it had still to be considered in the consistory, and also to prevent the French from having an opportunity of prematurely putting difficulties in the way. The nuncio at the court of the Emperor, Pietro Bertano, also received a corresponding intimation and was enjoined to keep the matter secret for the time being.[1]

Now that the agreement between the Pope and the Emperor appeared to guarantee the speedy reopening of the Council, the most dangerous intrigues against it were again being carried on by the French sovereign, as had formerly been the case in the time of Francis I.

The French King acquiesced in the election of Julius III.,[2] but not in the friendly overtures of the new Pope to the Emperor. The former, indeed, did everything in his power to consider the susceptibilities of France,[3] but the French politicians greatly feared the revival of religious unity in Germany through the Council; they considered it much more advantageous that the religious division and consequent loss of vital power in Germany should continue.[4]

It was in vain, therefore, that Julius III. showed the French

[1] See Mendoza's report in DRUFFEL, I., 393, and the *letter al vescovo di Fano [Bertano] per via di Don Diego, dated Rome, April 25, 1550 (Secret Archives, of the Vatican).

[2] See Henry's letter to Cosimo I. in DESJARDINS, III., 233 *seq.*

[3] *Il card. di Ferrara ha desiderate stanze in palazzo afin che fra tanti imperiali (Alvarez de Toledo and Carpi had received lodgings in the Vatican; see RIBIER, II., 264) si mostri pur che vi stia un di fazione Franzese et ha ottenute quelle che soleva tenere il camerlengo a tempo di Paulo disegnate per il s. Balduino da Iulio. Serristori on March 17, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). The French Cardinals could not gain any influence, as they were very much at variance with one another. See ROMIER, 236 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 10; MAURENBRECHER, 228.

King the most extreme complaisance in an endeavour to break down at least his direct opposition ; nor did it improve matters when the Pope, in his conferences with Cardinals Tournon and d'Este, exerted all his diplomatic skill to remove the objections of the French.[1] The direct negotiations were to be dealt with by Antonio Trivulzio, who was well known and very popular at the French court, and who was destined to succeed the present nuncio, Michele della Torre.[2] His departure was delayed, however, as well as that of Pighino, in consequence of an attack of gout which seized the Pope, and it was not until the beginning of July, 1550, that the two envoys could at last set out upon their journey.[3]

Pighino,[4] who was appointed Archbishop of Siponto, and was to replace Bertano, who had been nuncio till then, received in the instructions prepared for him on June 20th, orders to lay four considerations before the Emperor, not so as to raise impediments, but with a view to getting rid, by a mutual understanding, of certain difficulties which still stood in the way. The first consideration was with regard to the Frenchmen who were destined to take part in the Council of the Church, so that in the endeavour to win back Germany she might not lose France, or the King set up a national

[1] *Cf.* Ribier, II., 275 *seq.*

[2] The *brief recalling M. della Torre dated April 25, 1550, in Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 360 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Mendoza in Druffel, I., 401, and Massarelli, 181. *Cf. supra* chap. II.

[4] In Druffel, I., 423 *seqq.* and in Laemmer, Melet., 156 *seq.* Emendations in the text in Pieper, 140 *seq.* *Cf.* Dandolo's report of June 14, 1550, in de Leva, V., 101. The Briefs of June 23, given to Pighino, "ad ducem Saxoniae, march. Brandenburg. et comitem Palat. Rheni" in Le Plat, IV., 165 ; *Brief of June 22, 1550, for the "princ. Hisp." and the German princes with regard to the mission of Pighino in Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 574 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The departure of Pighino which, according to Massarelli, 181, took place on July 2, is announced by *Serristori as having already taken place on July 1, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

schismatical council. In order to overcome the distrust of the French King for the city of Trent, which was situated in Imperial territory, Julius III. was prepared to promise that the Council should only occupy itself with questions concerning the faith and the reform of morals, but in no way with political matters or with the special privileges accorded to the French kings. The second consideration concerned the poverty of the Apostolic See and of the Italian prelates, in consequence of which it appeared impossible to bear for a long period the expenses entailed by the upkeep of the Council and the residence thereat. In order, therefore, to avoid unnecessary delay, the Emperor was to undertake, as far as lay in his power, that the Council should begin punctually and fulfil its duties expeditiously. In order to do so Charles V. would have to secure the acceptance of the Council by the Catholics as well as the Protestants in the Imperial Diet, because the acquiescence of the Germans had been the principal supposition upon which the commission of Cardinals had consented to hold the Council at Trent. The third consideration related to the dogmatic decisions which had been already fixed at the Council of Trent and at other Councils, and concerning which the Pope insisted, from the Catholic point of view, and with perfect right, that they must not again be called in question. In connection with this the difficult question arose, as to how the Protestants were to be heard should they appear in the Synod. Finally, the fourth consideration was with regard to the supreme authority of the Pope and of the Apostolic See, in the Council and out of it, which was not to be impugned. An appendix to the instructions, which was sent after the nuncio, dealt with the dispute concerning the possession of Piacenza.

The instructions, also drawn up on June 20th, for Trivulzio,[1]

[1] In DRUFFEL, I., 434 *seqq.* with wrong date, omissions and errors (see PIEPER, 141 *seq.*) The *Discorso* sent after Trivulzio (see MASSARELLI, 182; PALLAVICINI, 11, 8, 4) is certainly not identical with the instructions, as Druffel believes (see MERKLE with regard to Massarelli, *loc. cit.*) Probably, however, the

who left Rome on July 5th,[1] emphasized the fact that the Pope would take no decisive steps before he received the answer of Henry II. Among the reasons which made the re-opening of the Council at Trent advisable, the first and most important was the fact that at the last Diet at Augsburg, all the States, Catholic as well as Protestant, had submitted to the decrees of the Council of Trent ; therefore, as the Germans were precisely the people who were most in need of such medicine, the Pope would be acting against his duty and the dictates of his conscience, were he not prepared to summon the Council again in the said city. The question as to the validity of the removal of the Council to Bologna under Paul III was, in the meantime, to remain undecided. Trivulzio was also instructed to call attention to the fact that, in the event of the refusal by the King to accept the Council, the Emperor would come to an understanding with the Protestants on his own responsibility and could then accuse the Pope of neglect of duty. The four considerations in the instructions of Pighino are almost the same as those of Trivulzio, who was also specially enjoined to keep on good terms with Cardinal Guise.[2]

When Pighino, whose journey occupied more than a month, reached the Emperor at Augsburg, on August 3rd, 1550,[3],

supposition of PIEPER (p. 14, n. 2) is correct, that the *ragione sottile* quoted by PALLAVICINI, 11, 9, 2, belongs to this *Discorso*, and that the Emperor was anxious to promote the Council, but not to succeed in getting it, because, instead of being a political advantage, it might bring him into serious complications with Germany. Henry II. was also to be turned by this consideration from the idea that Charles V. would gain an advantage from the Council to the prejudice of France.

[1] MASSARELLI, 181.

[2] Julius III. had already addressed a special brief to Cardinal Guise, regarding the question of the Council on June 16, 1550 (see RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 10 ; LE PLAT, IV., 165). *Briefs of June 16, 1550, to the "Card. de Borbonio, de Chatillon, de Vandomo, ducissae Valent," regarding the mission of Trivulzio, in Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 552 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Marillac in DRUFFEL, I., 469.

the Diet, in spite of a poor attendance—none of the secular Electors appeared in person—had already opened. The French ambassador, Marillac, was of opinion that Charles V. had an object in not waiting for the arrival of Pighino, and that by opening the Diet quite unexpectedly on July 26th, although the date for so doing had been postponed till August 10th, 1550, he wished to anticipate by a proposition of his own,[1] any obstacles which might arise from the conditions of the nuncio. This proposition was to the following effect: the States of the last Diet had agreed that no better means could be found for the discussion and settlement of religious matters than a Christian General Council, and as the present Pope had graciously assented, and promised that the Council should, in accordance with the desire of the Emperor and the sanction of the States of the Diet, be continued and brought to an end at Trent, there was, in his opinion, nothing to be done in the matter, except to keep on urging the Pope to fulfil his promise.[2] The authorized agents of the two great Protestant princes, Maurice of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg, protested, however, against this. They expressly demanded that the Pope, as an interested party in the Council, should not preside, and that the Articles of Faith, which had already been defined, should again be discussed; a declaration to that effect was, however, not taken as being contrary to the decisions of the former Diet. The majority of the States, Catholic as well as Protestant, declared on August 20th, their agreement to the Emperor urging the Pope to continue the Council.[3]

Pighino had nothing but favourable reports to give of his reception by the Emperor, and of his deliberations with the chancellor, Granvelle,[4] no essential differences having arisen between them. With regard to the Protestants, however,

[1] See *ibid.*, 459.

[2] See *ibid*,. 454 *seq.*, and JANNSEN-PASTOR, III., 707 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, I., 467, 477, 485, 494.

[4] See Pighino's reports of August 10 in DE LEVA, V., 106 and August 12 in LAEMMER, Melet., 165 *seq.*, emendations in PIEPER, 10; *ibid.* a report of August 15. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 11, 10, 1 *seq.*

Pighino could have no illusions.[1] It must have given him matter for serious consideration when, in the reply of the States to the Imperial counter-plea of October 8th, the demand of the Protestants that their representatives in the Council should also be heard concerning the points already decided, was once more repeated.[2]

The Emperor, however, sent the Pope a reassuring explanation of this incident, through his ambassador, Mendoza, telling him that they would listen to the Protestants, but alter nothing in the decisions already adopted, which they would simply repeat. Mendoza also gave assurances regarding Charles V.'s stay in Germany.[3] In this manner perfect unity was established between the Pope and the Emperor, on this point at least, and nothing further now stood in the way of the Council being summoned.

The negotiations with France, however, were more difficult to carry through. The nuncio who was there at this time, Michele della Torre, spared no efforts to win over Henry II. to the plan of the Council. He was told, however, that no decision could be arrived at until after the arrival of Trivulzio. That the King was opposed to the plan is clear from his correspondence with his ambassador, Marillac, who was at that time at Augsburg.[4]

Trivulzio next received a polite letter from the King, in which he committed himself to nothing.[5] Henry II. was endeavouring to defer a decision, but finally declared to the two representatives of the Pope, with brutal candour, that he had no interest in prolonging the Council, that his subjects did not require it, being good Catholics; should any fall away, they would be punished in such a manner that they might serve others as an example. He added that there was a sufficiency

[1] *Cf.* his reports of August 10 in DE LEVA, V., 105, of August 21 in LAEMMER, Melet., 165 *seq.*, and of September 5, 1550, in PIEPER, 11 *seq.* *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 422.

[2] DRUFFEL, I., 512 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, 230 *seq.*, 152*; MAYNIER, 594.

[4] *Cf.* DRUFFEL, I., 431 *seqq.*, 451.

[5] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 187; PALLAVICINI, 11, 10, 1.

of worthy prelates in France, who could carry out the reform of the clergy, without its being necessary to summon a General Council. With regard to the safety of Trent the King reminded the nuncios that the Pope, when he was Legate of the Council there, had feared for the safety of his own person, and had therefore undertaken the removal of the Council to Bologna. It seemed clear from this fact that Trent could not be so safe as His Holiness maintained; if, however, all the other princes declared themselves agreeable, then would he, the Most Christian King, do as his predecessors had done in similar circumstances.[1] This was all that the most earnest entreaties of the nuncios could draw from him. The French ambassador in Rome, d'Urfé, was instructed to speak to the Pope in the same fashion. Henry II. at once put forward the rights of the Gallican Church, ordered the observance of the decrees of the Council of Basle, and vigorously opposed the Pope's intended bestowal of the bishopric of Marseilles on his relative, Cristoforo del Monte.[2] To the brief addressed to the King by Julius III., on September 22nd, there came an answer as vague and disobliging as possible.[3]

The Pope did not allow himself to be disconcerted by the unfriendly attitude of France. However greatly he may have

[1] See Henry II. to d'Urfé on August 5, 1550, in RIBIER, II., 279. *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, 231 *seq.*

[2] See the reports of d'Urfé and Cardinal Ipp. d'Este from Rome on August 29, 1550, in DRUFFEL, I., 495 *seqq.* Concerning the Marseilles affair (see MASSARELLI, 187), in which Julius III. eventually attained his object, see RUFFI, Hist. de Marseille, II., 35. Julius III. had already approached Henry II. regarding this matter in a *Brief of April 15 (Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 303. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Serristori speaks of the indignation of the Pope on account of the king's opposition in his *letter of August 23, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 16; LE PLAT, IV., 167; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xxxvi. *Cf.* the report of Cardinal Tournon in DRUFFEL, I., 511 *seq.*, to see how Julius III. sought to win over Henry II. in the question of the Council through the said Cardinal.

regretted the conduct of Henry II. he was still of opinion that after his recent negotiations with the Emperor, he might take steps to summon the Council. On October 3rd, 1550, Julius III., who just at the moment was highly delighted by the news of the conquest of Mehadia,[1] on the north coast of Africa, announced to the consistory his intention of publishing a Bull to carry out this decision.[2] Animated by a most lively desire to arrange this important matter,[3] he worked personally at the drafting of this official document.[4] It was to be in the

[1] Acta. consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 26. Letter of the postmaster Taxis in LACOMBLET, Archiv., VI., 166 *seq.* On October 5 a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated in St. Peter's *pro expugnata Africa a christianis* (MASSARELLI, 194). *Cf.* the *letters of Gir. Biagio of September 20 and 22, and October 4, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna) and the *report of Serristori of October 30, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). A *brief of congratulation of October 8, 1550, to Jo. de Vega, viceroy of Sicily, in Arm. 41, t. 58, n. 880 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The viceroy afterwards sent Turkish trophies to Rome (see RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 27). Concerning this matter see ZINKEISEN, II., 875, and GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 237 *seq.*; see also *ibid.* concerning the help given by the Pope in the expedition.

[2] See Acta consist. in LAEMMER, Melet. 206, and the *report of Serristori mentioned in previous note.

[3] In opposition to the groundless suspicions of Druffel, who follows the lead of the apostate Vergerio, whose heart was filled with hatred (concerning his polemic *cf.* HUBERT, 50 *seqq.*, and the Archiv für Reformationsgesch., VIII., 325 *seqq.*) is a *report of September 27, 1550, of Serristori, who is by no means over favourable to Julius III.; in this he says: *Vedesi che S.St^tà va d'ottime gambe in dette cose del concilio et ch'ella piglia gran dispiacer di veder chel Christianissimo non condescende sin qui a mandar i suoi prelati a Trento, et per il modo [con] che *vengono i Francesi in questa et in ogni altra cosa che hanno di trattar con S.St^tà si mostra da più cose che la dice in qualche ristretto molto sdegnata contra di loro, et quanto biasima l'attitudine di questi, tanto loda et inalza quella di S.M^tà* (the *italics* in cypher). State Archives, Florence.

[4] Dandino to the nuncio at Venice on October 18, 1550, in PALLAVICINI, II, II, 3.

hands of the nuncio by the middle of October. This, however, proved to be impossible, as it was desired to await the arrival of Cardinals Cervini, Pole and Morone, who were to be the first to examine the draft.[1] On November 10th, it reached the hands of the other Cardinals who were deputed to act in the matter of the Council, viz.: de Cupis, Carafa, Tournon, Juan Alvarez, de Toledo, and Crescenzi.[2] In order to avert all difficulties, they at once agreed to avoid the expression "continuance of the Council" in the official document.[3]

The text of the Bull was considered once more on November 12th, by a meeting of the eight Cardinals, in the presence of Julius III., and the Pope's draft was unanimously approved. On the following day the Pope and Cervini again went through the important document for the last time, and on November 14th it was read and sanctioned in a secret consistory.[4] The decision gave universal satisfaction, and it was also reported that the Pope would repair to Bologna in the spring in order to be nearer to the seat of the Council.[5]

[1] *Report of Serristori of September 27, and **letter of Buonanni of October 13, 1550. (State Archives, Florence).

[2] MASSARELLI, 199. *Cf.* Buonanni's *report of October 25, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). Later (February 24, 1551) MASSARELLI (p. 216) names Verallo instead of Morone as a member of the commission.

[3] See the **report of Buonanni of October 13, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See MASSARELLI, 200 and two *reports of Buonanni of November 14 in the State Archives, Florence. In the *letter of Dandino to Ricci, then in Portugal, dated Rome, November 13, 1550, he says: *La qual bolla è stata fatta tutta da Sua Beat^ne propria senza che sia stata bisogno mutarne pure una parola non ostante che sia stata vista diligentemente considerata dalli principali del collegio et ultimamente da tutti. (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[5] *Letter of G. Biagio of November 15, 1550 (State Archives, Bologna). Julius III. had already spoken of a journey to Bologna in the interests of the Council (see the *report of Buonanni of September 25, 1550. State Archives, Florence). The plan of such a journey also played a great part during the summer and

In the Bull, which did in fact avoid the expression "continuance," Julius III. announced his intention of labouring for the peace of the Church, the spread of the Christian Faith and true religion, and of providing, as far as lay in his power, for the tranquillity of Germany. As it was his right, in virtue of his office, to summon and direct General Councils, the Pope addresses to the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and all upon whom it may be incumbent to assist at a General Council of the Church, the earnest admonition and invitation to repair to the city of Trent on the coming 1st of May, the day fixed for the re-opening of the Council begun under Paul III.; the Papal Legates, through whom he intended to preside at the Council, should he be prevented from doing so in person,[1] would also be there.

The Bull was sent at once in the original to Pighino, on November 15th, so that he might hand it to the Emperor. In the letter which accompanied it, the nuncio received instructions to beg Charles V. to have the document published as quickly as possible, as it was only to be made known in Rome after its publication in Germany. It was also explained at the same time why May 1st had been chosen for the opening

autumn of 1551 (see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 52, 67 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, 74, 78; DRUFFEL, III., 241, 251 *seq.*) According to the entry of September 14, 1550, in the Tesor. seg. (State Archives, Rome) the journey was then decided; on September 25, 1551, on the other hand, Ipp. Capilupi writes: *La partita di S.S^{tà} per Bologna è quasi in tutto esclusa, il vice Re di Napoli, il s^{r} duca di Firenze et tutta la corte di Roma disuadono a S.S^{tà} il partirsi, resta solo che s'intenda quel che S.M^{tà} consiglia, et domani che serà qui il s^{r} Don Diego col s^{r} Gio. Marrique si intenderà l'opinione di S.M^{tà} con la risolutione di S.S^{tà} (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Julius III. still cherished the idea of undertaking the journey, in January, 1552 (see DRUFFEL, II., 8, 18 *seq.*) but did not succeed in doing so.

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 21. Bull. VI., 430 *seq.* Concerning a proclamation of the Council composed by the Protestants, which is in reality a satire, see MENZEL, III., 364 n.; *cf.* HUBERT, 78 *seq.*

date instead of Laetare Sunday as originally fixed. The reason given for this was that the prelates should not be absent from their churches during Lent and at the festival of Easter, and also the high cost of provisions prevailing at that season, which would disappear at the approaching harvest. On the same date, November 15th, copies of the Bull were sent to Venice, Spain and Portugal.[1]

The messenger who carried the document arrived at Augsburg on November 21st, and on the following day Pighino handed the Bull to the Emperor. The latter praised it as a most admirable document, but was not quite in agreement with the drafting, as he feared that the manner in which the points already deliberated upon and decided in former sessions of the Council, were alluded to, would give rise to an inimical attitude on the part of the Protestants. It was not until December 15th that Pighino could report to Rome that the Bull had been made public.[2] Thereupon Julius III. ordered, on December 27th, that it should be read during mass at St. Peter's and at the Lateran, and generally made known to the public by being affixed to the church doors. This took place on January 1st, 1551, the Bull being then printed and sent in the course of January to all the bishops of the world. The Pope had invited the Polish episcopate to the Council as early as December 20th, 1550, in a brief of that date informing them of the immediate dispatch of the Bull.[3]

Charles V. as was characteristic of him, had a secret protest drawn up on January 3rd, 1551, in which he took precautions against any possible disadvantages which might arise from his consent to a Bull which did not altogether satisfy him; he required in particular that the position he had taken up with regard to the transference of the Council to Bologna should not be affected.[4]

[1] See MASSARELLI, 200 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xxxvii.

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 19; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xxxvii.; MAURENBRECHER, 231, n. 14; DRUFFEL, I., 550 n.; DE LEVA, V., 111 *seq.*

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 42; MASSARELLI, 209, 211; LE PLAT, IV., 169.

[4] MAURENBRECHER, 152*, *seqq.*

In the "Farewell to the Diet" published on February 13th, 1551, the Emperor gave expression to his views on the Council in the following terms: he had considered the Council the best manner of regulating religious questions satisfactorily, and through his negotiations with the Pope, he had succeeded in having the Synod summoned to Trent on the following 1st of May; the Bull in connection with this had been communicated to the States of the Diet. As these had declared that they accepted the Council and submitted themselves to it, the Emperor expected that this would now be held, and, now that the announcement had been made, that the Princes would support the Council in every way. He, on his side, would do everything incumbent on him, as patron of Holy Church and protector of the Council. He expressly assured, by his Imperial might and power, to all who wished to attend the Council, a free and unhindered journey, freedom of speech, and a free and safe return home. He also declared that he would remain within the confines of the Empire, and, as far as possible, in the neighbourhood, in order that his assistance might be granted to the Council, so that it might be brought to a good and just conclusion, conducive to the well-being of the whole of Christendom, but particularly to a settled peace and to the tranquillity and union of the German nation. He therefore requested the Electors, the Princes, and the States of the Empire, and above all, the ecclesiastical Princes and the adherents of the Protestant, to hold themselves in readiness for the Council, in accordance with the Papal proclamation.[1]

On March 4th, 1551, Julius III., in consistory, appointed the eminent Cardinal Marcello Crescenzi, a man of strictly ecclesiastical views, as *Legatus de latere* and first president of the Council, Archbishop Sebastiano Pighino of Siponto, and Luigi Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, as apostolic nuncios, who were to take their places as presidents at the side of the Legate.[2] The brief of the same date authorizes the said

[1] Le Plat, IV., 170 *seq.*; *cf.* Pastor, Reunionsbestrebungen, 422 *seq.*

[2] See Theiner, I., 473 *seq.*; Massarelli, 217; Pallavicini, 11, 13, 1; Maynier, 599 *seq.* Crescenzi's appointment had

bishops, in the name of the Pope, to preside at the Council, as he cannot proceed in person to Trent on account of his age, his shaken state of health and other obstacles.[1] On March 8th, the Pope, who was confined to bed with an attack of gout, bestowed on the Cardinal legate, Crescenzi, the legate's cross, in his bed-chamber, in the presence of all the Cardinals. Two days later Crescenzi left Rome and proceeded to Bologna, there to await further developments.[2] A political question which had most urgently engaged the attention of Julius III. ever since his elevation to the Papal throne, threatened at this time to prove fateful to the Council now in course of preparation.

In accordance with the election capitulation, the Pope had, very soon after his accession, given Parma, as a fief of the church, to Ottavio Farnese, and he endeavoured to obtain the assent of Charles V. and Henry II. to this step.[3] In the long wearisome discussions concerning this matter, the question as to the possession of Piacenza came up for consideration. The Emperor's answer to Pighino on this point was not very gratifying; the lawful claims of the church and the state, he said, must first be debated in detail, and the question of possession afterwards decided. This meant, in other words, that the right of the stronger was to prevail.[4] It soon came to light that Charles was also stretching out his hand for Parma. He proposed to the Pope that the latter should invest him with Parma and Piacenza, and that he should indemnify Ottavio Farnese from another quarter.[5] Although Julius III. declared such a solution to be impossible, the Farnese family despaired more and more of any successful result of the Pope's mediation. To the realization that an amicable return of Piacenza could not be reckoned on, was

already been expected on February 25; see *report of Serristori of February 26, 1551 (State Archives, Florence).

[1] Raynaldus, 1551, n. 4. Le Plat, IV., 210 *seq.*

[2] Theiner, I., 474. Massarelli, 218.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 55.

[4] See Pallavicini, II, 10, 4; de Leva, V., 120 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Druffel, I., 416.

Curia, his secretary of state, Dandino, to the Imperial court at Augsburg.

In the instructions for Dandino, personally drawn up by the Pope on March 31st, the situation with the Farnese family was once more explained, and the desire to form an alliance with the Emperor most strongly emphasized. It was his wish, Julius III. continued, to sail in the same ship with the Emperor, and to share the same fate as his, for he knew how closely his interests, especially those concerning religion, were bound up with those of Charles; should an appeal to arms, in spite of all efforts, become inevitable, it being intolerable that a miserable creature like Ottavio Farnese should defy at once the Emperor and the Pope, then Charles, as the more powerful and the more experienced in the art of war, must decide what was to be done.[1]

This resolve of the Pope to make a stand against Ottavio Farnese, in close alliance with the Emperor, was still further strengthened when, on the day of the departure of Dandino (April 1st, 1551), the ambassador of Charles, on his return to Rome from Siena, assured Julius of the support of his master. However urgently the Imperialists insisted on the immediate opening of the Council, it will easily be understood that Julius III. shrank from so doing.[2] On April 2nd, the newly appointed representative of France, Termes, openly declared the intention of his king to summon a National Council, and announce the withdrawal of his allegiance to the Pope, should the latter take steps against Ottavio Farnese.[3] This was the very way to drive such a passionate man as Julius III. to extremes.

[1] The *Registro originale of the Instructions of Julius III., signed by G. Canano, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, begins with those for Dandino (Polit. 78, p. 55 *seq.*) For this see PIEPER, 143 *seq.*, with the emendations to the text of DRUFFEL, I., 602 *seq.* A *letter of introduction for Dandino to Cardinal Madruzzo, dated Rome, March 31, 1551, in the vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 261 *seq.*

[3] See Lasso's report in DRUFFEL, I., 609.

at once free himself from them.[1] A *monitorium* of March 5th repeated this menacing admonition.[2] It proved, however, as vain as the representations which the Pope made to the French king, through his nuncio.[3] On March 12th Philippe de Sipierre left Lyons for Parma with a treaty of alliance, which Ottavio signed. His enemies, as he wrote to his brother Alessandro on March 24th, sought to poison him and wrest Parma from him; he had resolved, however, to defend the city to his last breath.[4]

The Pope was all the more indignant at this revolt on the part of his vassal, as he had hitherto, overwhelmed the Farnese family with favours. What was, however, to be done? If he interfered, the French king, who was already threatening a National Council, would definitely refuse him obedience; should he on the other hand tolerate the behaviour of Ottavio, then he would not only break with the Emperor, but would also lose the respect of the other princes, of the Cardinals, and of his vassals. In addition to all this the lamentable state of the papal finances had to be considered.[5] Punishment of the rebel was out of the question without the help of the Emperor. In order to assure himself of this assistance, Julius III. resolved to send the cleverest diplomatist of the

[1] *Brevia Iulii III. in Arm. 41, t. 59, n. 95; *ibid.*, n. 96 to Paulus de Vitellis, dated February 27, 1550: if Ottavio Farnese did not obey, he was to leave him at once (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The *original brief appointing him Standard Bearer of the Church, dated March 8, 1550, is in the State Archives, Carte Farnes.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, 11, 13, 2.

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xli. P. Camaiani returned to Rome on March 7, and reported to the Pope, who was confined to his room with an attack of gout. *Letter of Buonanni of March 8, 1551 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See CUGNONI, Prose ined. di A. Caro, 118 *seq.*; DE LEVA, V., 130 *seq.* Concerning the French threats of a National Council see DESJARDINS, III., 250.

[5] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 259-260; DE LEVA, in the Riv. stor., I., 645.

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[3] See Lasso's report in DRUFFEL, I., 609.

In a consistory of April 6th, the Pope declared that if his admonitions and threats remained without effect, he would force his rebellious vassal to submission by the power of arms. He then bitterly complained of the attempt of the French king to stand in the way of the meeting of a General Council of the Church, by summoning a National Council. His plan, however, would not succeed ; he was determined to open the Council at Trent, even in face of the danger that he might be forced to proceed to the excommunication and deposition of a ruler who sought to prevent an assembly so necessary for the well-being of Christendom.[1]

The French had not expected such an uncompromising speech. It appeared that the threats of their king had only hastened the decision to declare the Council open, at least formally. Termes, as well as Cardinals d'Este and Tournon, therefore did everything in their power to minimize the significance of the summoning of a French National Council. This very attempt to excuse a proceeding which was in itself inexcusable irritated Julius III. still more ; he expressed himself in the strongest language against Ottavio Farnese, as against Henry II.[2] On April 11th, 1551, a *monitorium poenale* was issued against Ottavio, who had made himself guilty of rebellion by the reception of foreign troops.[3]

[1] Concerning the consistory of April 6, *cf.* the letter of Este in RIBIER, II., 317 *seq.* and that of Lasso in DRUFFEL, I., 609 *seq.*, as well as the detailed *report of Serristori of April 6, 1551 (State Archives, Florence). See also the *letter of Julius III. to Dandino of April 10, 1551, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Borghese II., 465, p. 9 *seqq.* Copies in the Royal Library, Berlin, Inf. polit. XIX., 336-343, and in the Barberini Library, LVIII., 12.

[2] Besides the reports of Cardinals d'Este and Tournon of April 8, 1551, in RIBIER, II., 319 *seq.*, and the detailed *letters of Serristori of April 8 and 10 (State Archives, Florence) see the statement of the Pope himself in his *letter to Dandino of April 10 (Barberini Library, LVIII., 12), from which DE LEVA quotes a sentence (V., 136).

[3] Monitorium poenale contra ill. dom. Oct. Farnesium. Romae apud A. Bladum, 1551. *Cf.* CHIESI, 221.

After these outbursts of anger, there followed days, as is frequently the case with those of a sanguine temperament, when the state of affairs appeared in quite a different light.[1] The break with Ottavio Farnese naturally entailed that with Henry II., who could put the greatest difficulties in the way of the Council and perhaps even bring about a schism. Besides this, was the needful help on the part of the Emperor certain? Another consideration as far as Italy was concerned also weighed even more heavily in the scale. How was it possible to carry on a war, when the money chests were empty, and an unproductive year threatened the States of the Church with famine? Powerful voices were also raised in earnest warning against precipitation in beginning the hostilities, which the Emperor was urging. A letter from Cardinal Crescenzi, who stood high in the Pope's estimation, was specially urgent in advising caution.[2] To all this was added the hostile attitude towards this war of the people of Rome, where it was said, to the great vexation of Julius III., that the Pope was nothing but a weak tool in the hands of the Spaniards.[3] It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the Pope wavered to the last moment and made new attempts to settle this unhappy strife about Parma.[4] All endeavours, however, proved vain, and on May 22nd Ottavio Farnese was declared, in a secret consistory, to have forfeited his fief;

[1] How quickly Julius III. changed his moods is shown by the second *letter which he sent to Dandino on April 10, 1551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican. Borghese II., 465, p. 13 *seq.*) A passage from it in Romier, 242.

[2] See the passage from the letter of Julius III. of April 10, 1551, in de Leva, V., 191, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 274 *seq.* Concerning the feeling in Rome see the report of Niccolò da Ponte in de Leva, V., 152.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed description of the vacillation of Julius III. in de Leva, V., 136 *seqq.* Concerning the mission of Cardinal Medici to Ott. Farnese and of Ascanio della Corgna to France see Cugnoni, Prose ined. di A. Caro, 89 *seq.*; Pieper, 20 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*; Romier, 242 *seqq.* Romier has explained the mission of Jean de Monluc (p. 246 *seqq.*)

five days later Henry II. pledged himself to supply Farnese with money and equipment.[1] The question was to be decided by the force of arms.

[1] See Legaz. di Serristori, 274; FONTANINI, 388 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 11, 16, 2; ROMIER, 245.

CHAPTER IV.

Second Period of the Council of Trent.

Regardless of the political situation, which was from day to day growing darker, Julius III. continued his preparations for the General Council, which he determined to open at the appointed time in spite of every difficulty.[1] On April 15th, 1551, he again entrusted Angelo Massarelli with the post of secretary to the Council. Massarelli started on the following day for Bologna, which he reached on the 19th. On the part of the Pope he announced to the Legate, Crescenzi, who was staying there, that the Council was in any case to be opened on May 1st, but only by the Legate himself if news should have by that time have come from Dandino that such was the wish of the Emperor; otherwise the opening ceremony was to be undertaken by the second and third presidents, Pighino and Lippomano. On April 23rd Massarelli was in Trent, where the final preparations were being made for the opening of the Council. The Palazzo Ghiroldi, where the Legate was also to reside, was being fitted up for holding the congregations, while the sessions were to take place in the venerable Cathedral of St. Vigilius.[2]

Dandino arrived in Trent from his legation on April 24th, and announced that the Emperor agreed to the opening; he

[1] *Su S^ad^ esta bueno, a Dio gracias, y muy determinado que el concilio se encomience para el dia determinado. Cardinal Pacheco to Cardinal Madruzzo, dated Rome, April 9, 1551 (Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck).

[2] See Massarelli, 223-224. By a *Brief of April 22, 1551, Massarelli received authority to enjoy the revenues of the priory S. Severini dioec. Camarac. (Arm. 41, t. 60, n. 291. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

only desired that they should proceed slowly, until more prelates, and especially the Germans, should have arrived.[1]

The presidents of the Council, Crescenzi, Pighino and Lippomano, made their solemn entry into Trent on April 29th, 1551. Cardinal Madruzzo, four archbishops and nine bishops welcomed them there. On the following day Francisco de Toledo arrived as ambassador of the Emperor, and the first General Congregation was held on April 30th. Cardinal Crescenzi declared that in accordance with the will of the Pope, the Council must be opened on the following day. This was unanimously agreed to, but a second proposal of Crescenzi, that the next session should take place after four months, on September 1st, met at first with lively opposition. In answer to this Pighino maintained that a Council could not be held with Spaniards and Italians alone, the presence of German prelates was also necessary; they should not, moreover, give the Protestants a valid reason for refusing to acknowledge the Council. In view of these reasons, the second proposal was then accepted.[2]

On the following day, May 1st, 1551, the eleventh Session of the Council of Trent, the first under Julius III., took place, with a very poor attendance. After solemn high mass by Cardinal Crescenzi, the conventual Franciscan, Sigismondo Fedrio of Diruta preached a sermon. After that the secretary of the Council, Massarelli, read aloud the Bull summoning the Council, and the brief nominating the presidents, and Alepo, the Archbishop of Sassari, the decree for the re-opening of the Council, as well as making the announcement that the next session would not take place till September 1st, so that the Germans might have time to appear in Trent. On the same May 1st, the Pope, in Rome, had gone in solemn procession from S. Marco to the church of SS. Apostoli, where a mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated for the happy issue of

[1] Raynaldus, 1551, n. 5. Massarelli, 224.

[2] Massarelli, 225 *seq.* Theiner, Acta, I., 475 *seqq.* Letter of Crescenzi to Dandino of May 1, 1551, in Druffel, I., 632 *seq.*; *cf.* also Pieper, 33, n. 1.

the Council, while at the same time, the Jubilee indulgence, already proclaimed, was extended throughout the whole world.[1]

In the course of the month of May, several other Spanish bishops arrived in Trent. On April 24th, in consistory, the Pope had already called upon the eighty-four prelates then resident in Rome to repair at once to Trent. As this had had no effect, the dilatory prelates were once more requested to be there by September 1st. A number of letters of summons were also issued during the same month of May.[2]

Although the Emperor also showed great zeal for the furtherance of the Council,[3] the prospects for the assembly still looked very gloomy, for Henry II., determined to employ every means to turn the Pope from his proceedings against Ottavio Farnese, worked his very hardest against the Council. He broke off diplomatic relations with the Pope at the beginning of July, and his ambassador, Paul de Labarthe, Sieur de Termes, made a formal protest against the Council, in the

[1] See Massarelli, 227-229; Theiner, Acta, I., 480. At this session, in which Crescenzi avoided the use of the word "continuation," there were present, besides the three Presidents, Cardinal Madruzzo, four archbishops, ten bishops, eleven theologians and the Imperial ambassador. The Indulgence Bull of April 26, 1551, in Le Plat, IV., 217 *seqq.* The Pope approved of what had been done in the opening session, and arranged the place to be offered to Cardinal Madruzzo in a manner agreeable to the latter; see Massarelli, 230 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Massarelli, 229 *seqq.*; Raynaldus, 1551, n. 9 and 10; Le Plat, IV., 220 *seq.*; Wirz, Bullen, 360.

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 2 *seq.*; Postina in the Römischen Quartalschrift, XVIII., 385 *seqq.* An edition of the documents of the second period of the Council of Trent, by Postina, adequate to modern requirements, is awaited. This edition, and especially the correspondence in connection therewith, to be edited by the Görres Society, must be waited for, as only then will a definite presentation of the second period of the Council of Trent be possible. The reports at present available, though very abundant, are only from the Imperial side, and are so biassed that they can only be used with the greatest caution.

consistory, before his departure. "Now," it was said in this official document, otherwise couched in respectful language, "that the war has begun in Italy, the necessary tranquillity for such an assembly cannot be found, and the prelates of his kingdom will not be present in Trent."[1]

Henry II. also worked against the fortunes of the Council among the Catholics in Switzerland. The "Most Christian King" was not ashamed to ally himself for this purpose with one of the most active enemies of the Church, Pietro Paolo Vergerio.[2]

On July 21st, 1551, irritated to the highest degree at the devastation of the district round Bologna by the troops under Termes, the former French ambassador in Rome, Julius III. addressed a threatening letter to Henry II., in which he summoned him to appear before the judgment seat of God. The King then gave instructions to the nuncio, Trivulzio, to leave the court. He was ready, he declared, to appear before God's judgment seat, although he knew he would not meet the Pope there. He regarded the latter as among the worst and most ungrateful of men, whose unjust excommunication he did not fear. In the royal council the question was discussed as to whether the French church should fully withdraw her allegiance from the Pope, and nominate a special patriarch for France. It was Charles de Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who, above all others, dissuaded the King from such a fateful step. Henry II. declared he would fight Julius III., not with spiritual but with secular weapons. Ten thousand men were in readiness to start for Italy. In order to touch the Pope in a tender spot, all Frenchmen were forbidden to send money to Rome to acquire benefices or dispensations.[3] This measure, which was adopted on September 3rd, was equivalent to a breach of the Concordat.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Ribier, II., 329 *seqq.*; Le Plat, IV., 227 *seq.*; Pallavicini, 11, 16; Romier, 27-28.

[2] See Raynaldus, 1551, n. 10 *seq.*; Hubert, 99 *seqq.* *Cf.* also J. G. Mayer, Das Konzil von Trient und die Gegensreformation in der Schweiz, I., Stans, 1901.

[3] See Romier, 30 *seq.*, 33 *seq.*, 41. [4] Thomas, III., 13.

The small number of prelates and ambassadors present in Trent increased slowly until September. Besides the Spaniards and several Italians, the first Germans also arrived, and on June 17th, the suffragan bishop of Würzburg, Georg Flach, reached Trent. Count Hugo de Montfort arrived as the Emperor's second ambassador on July 29th.[1] The attendance of the ecclesiastical Electors at the Council was of special importance. At first these had wished to excuse themselves, but the Legate, Crescenzi, represented to them in an emphatic manner how greatly their position made it incumbent on them to attend in person; the Protestants must also be prevented from making their absence an excuse for doing likewise. Lippomano was actively engaged in the same direction.[2] The three Prince-Electors thereupon resolved to undertake the journey to Trent. On August 17th four of the doctors, sent in advance by the Elector of Trêves, arrived on the scene,

[1] See MASSARELLI, 237, 240. See *ibid.*, 235 and 237 concerning the visit of Philip of Spain and Maximilian of Bohemia, who were both travelling to Spain. Maximilian was again in Trent on the return journey, from December 13 to 16 (see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 359 *seq.*) Julius III. first deputed A. de Grassi, and then his nephew, Ascanio della Corgna, to welcome King Maximilian and the Queen of Bohemia to Italy: "quo nos coniunctiorem aut cariorem habemus neminem" (see brief to the Queen of Bohemia of November 25, 1550. Arm. 41, t. 58, n. 872; n. 873 in like manner to the King). Concerning the welcome see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 145. Julius III. had addressed a *brief to Philip of Spain on June 10, 1551, to the following effect: he had sent his nephew, G. B. del Monte, "quo nemo nobis carior, nemo nobis coniunctior est," to meet him, when Philip came from Germany, and to welcome him and invite him to Rome; as Philip's arrival was delayed, he now sent him Hieronymus episc. Imol. (Dandino), so that the prince might not travel unwelcomed through Italy (Arm. 41, t. 60, n. 446). On the return journey of Maximilian A. de Grassi was sent to welcome him; see *Brief for Maximilian and his consort of November 23, 1551 (Arm. 41, t. 62, n. 858. Secret Archives of the Vat.)

[2] See LE PLAT, IV., 221 *seq.*, 224 *seq.*

among them the learned Dominican, Ambrosius Pelargus.[1] On August 29th the two Electors, Sebastian von Heusenstamm, Archbishop of Mayence, and Johann von Isenburg, Archbishop of Trêves, made their entry into the city. The arrival of these important representatives of the German church, to whom were also added in October the Elector of Cologne, Adolf von Schauenburg, was the more joyfully welcomed as it was hoped that numerous bishops of the Empire would now attend. On August 29th the suffragan bishop of Mayence, Balthasar Fanneman, also arrived, and on the following day the learned Bishop of Vienna, Frederic Nausea, as ambassador of Ferdinand, King of the Romans.[2] The bishops, however, who were in Rome, had not yet put in an appearance. The bitter words to which the Legate, Crescenzi, had given utterance with regard to the absence of these prelates, were fully justified. At the same time the outbreak of war in the north of Italy, and the poverty of many Italian bishops, are reasons that must be taken into consideration.[3] The Pope was not in a position to help in this, as the salaries of the presidents and other

[1] MASSARELLI, 241. Concerning Pelargus see JANNSEN-PASTOR, VII., 556 *seq.*, and the special literature quoted there.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 241 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 52; POSTINA, Billick, 117. In the *brief of November 13, 1550, the Pope thanked Nausea for sending his Compendium concilii Constant. (Arm. 41, t. 58, n. 950). This is the brief which J. G. MAYER quotes in the Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 23, with the wrong date December 12. Copies of the documents quoted by Mayer, from the Town Library, Schaffhausen, relative to the doings of Nausea at the Council, are also to be found in the Seminary Library, Mayence. The manuscripts in the Court Library, Vienna, and especially the papers of Nausea in Schaffhausen on the subject, will be issued by Postina in his great publication. Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg also wished to go to Trent, and applied to the Pope in this connection, but Julius informed him that he had better wait, as the Cardinals were not summoned by the Bull. Against the explanation of this letter by DRUFFEL, (I., 801) see PIEPER, 34, n. 1.

[3] This is rightly brought out by PIEPER (p. 34); *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxii.

officials of the Council required considerable sums, while the upkeep of the troops sent against Ottavio Farnese quite exhausted his already limited resources. Julius III. did, however, what he could. A Bull of August 27th, 1551, repeated under threats of penalties for the dilatory, the order that all prelates should personally attend the Council. Similar admonitions were given by the Cardinals deputed to deal with the Council. The Pope, moreover, held fast to his resolution that the next session of the Council should, under any circumstances, be held on September 1st.[1]

On the proposal of the Legate the General Congregation at Trent accordingly resolved, on August 31st, that the appointed session should take place on the following day, the next being fixed for October 11th.[2] The Pope even thought at that time of proceeding with his whole court to Bologna, in the interests of the Council, a plan which had already been considered, but which, on this occasion also, had to be abandoned on financial grounds.[3]

On September 1st the three presidents, Cardinal Madruzzo, the two Prince-Electors, five other archbishops, twenty-six bishops and twenty-five theologians assembled for the twelfth Session, the second under Julius III.[4] High Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Cagliari, and instead of a sermon,

[1] See Le Plat, IV., 231 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 57 *seq.* By the *brief of September 1, 1551, to *Iac. Iacomello episc. Bellicastr.* the charge was given to the latter of seeing to "necessaria ad cellebr. concilii et presertim hospitia et victualia conventuris." (Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 749. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Massarelli, 242. Theiner, Acta, I., 483 *seq.*

[3] How seriously this journey was planned may be seen from the *Briefs in Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 790: *Iac. Fabri cubicul.* dated September 11, 1551 (commissariat for provisions in Bologna); n. 841: *Commissariis super hospitiis* for the journey to Bologna, dated September 20, 1551; ibid. n. 842 and 843: *ad aptandas vias*; n. 844: *ad victualia paranda*; n. 845: *ad hospit. pro sacramentum portant.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] Massarelli, 242. Theiner, Acta, I., 486 *seq.* Raynaldus, 1551, n. 27 *seq.* Corpo dipl. Port., VI., 55.

the secretary of the Council, Massarelli, read a long admonition by the presidents to those assembled. The credentials of the ambassadors of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. were also received, and it was decided that the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist and the duty of residence of bishops should be dealt with at the next session on October 11th.

At the conclusion of the session a French envoy, Jacques Amyot, sent by Cardinal Tournon, who was then staying in Venice, arrived. He presented a letter from Henry II. as well as another document, and demanded that they should be read. As the letter of the French king was addressed "to the Fathers of the Convention of Trent," thereby purposely avoiding the term "Council," the Spaniards vigorously opposed the reading of the document. The Legate, with the fathers of the Council, retired to the sacristy to decide upon the matter. It was resolved to comply with Amyot's request, in order not to embitter the French king still more, with the express declaration, however, that the Council accepted the title in a favourable sense; at the same time should this not have been the king's intention in so addressing it, then the letter could not be regarded as having been addressed to a Council of the Church.

Thereupon Massarelli read the king's letter, and Amyot the other document. The purpose of the latter, while referring to the declaration previously made in the consistory by the French ambassador, was again to offer reasons for the uncompromising attitude of Henry II. towards the Council, and to protest against it. While covering the Pope with reproaches, he laid stress on the fact that he had not been able to send his bishops as, in the present political state of affairs, the journey was not safe; he regarded the Council from which he had been unwillingly excluded, not as a general, but rather as a private assembly, as it seemed to him rather to further the private advantage of those for whose pleasure it had been summoned, than to serve the general interests of the Church. On this account neither the French king nor the French nation, any more than the prelates and ministers of the Gallican Church should be bound by the decrees of the Council. He then declared openly and solemnly that he would, in case of neces-

sity, have recourse to the same means of redress and defence, as those of which former kings of France had made use in similar circumstances. He did not say this, however, to give the idea that it was his intention to refuse due obedience to the Holy See, although he had the independence of the Gallican Church very much at heart.

The ambassador thereupon received in the name of the Synod, through the promotor of the Council, the reply that he would receive a carefully considered answer to his declaration at the next public session, on October 11th. It was pointed out that, in the meantime, no prejudice against the Council and its continuation should be deduced from anything the French ambassador might have done.[1]

On September 7th Paul Gregorianozi, Bishop of Agram, had arrived in Trent as second ambassador of King Ferdinand, and Guillaume de Poitiers as third representative of Charles V. for the provinces of Flanders.[2] As no further details with regard to the immediate intentions of the Emperor, especially concerning his journey to the Netherlands, had been made public, fears arose as to the continuation of the Council, while the reaction which the war about Parma was exercising on the Synod was steadily growing more apparent. On September 24th Bertano was able to report to Rome that the Emperor had postponed his proposed journey to the Netherlands for the present. Charles V. then repaired to Innsbruck, where he arrived at the beginning of November. He formed this resolution expressly with a view to the Council.[3]

Those who were assembled in Trent had at once resumed their activities after the session of September 1st. Already on the following day, ten articles concerning the Eucharist,

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 28 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 236 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*, 249 *seq.*; letter of S. de Selve in RIBIER, II., 352 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 11, 17; MAYNIER, 611 *seq.*; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE in the Rev. des quest. hist., VII., (1869), 48 *seq.*; ROMIER, 40.

[2] MASSARELLI, 243 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 72 n., 76, 86 *seq.*; DRUFFEL, I., 760.

taken from the writings of Luther and the Swiss reformers, were laid before the theologians of the Council for examination. A Congregation of twenty-four eminent theologians, among them the Jesuits, Lainez and Salmeron, sent by the Pope, and the Dominican, Melchior Cano, delegated by the Emperor, immediately took the work in hand. Their deliberations lasted from the 8th until the 16th of September, and were then continued with the same thoroughness by the fathers of the Council in nine General Congregations, from the 21st until the 30th of September. The theologians were enjoined to base their reasons on the Holy Scriptures, on Apostolic tradition, on lawful Councils, on the Fathers of the Church, on the Constitutions of the Popes and on the consensus of the universal Church. In so doing they were to avoid all prolixity, as well as all unnecessary discussions and contentious disputation. The Legate, Crescenzi, especially urged that they should limit themselves to a clear setting forth of the errors and not venture on theological sarcasm. During the deliberations the questions of the chalice for the laity and of children's communion were minutely discussed.[1]

After the views of the religious innovators, grouped together in ten articles, had been discussed from all points of view and minutely examined, a commission of eight prelates was appointed in the General Congregation of September 30th, who, in conjunction with the Legate, were to refute these views in concisely framed Canons. The work of the commission reached the General Congregation on October 6th and was considered by the fathers of the Council on the following days. Eleven of these Canons were, after repeated remodelling, approved of by the latter; two others, already prepared, dealing with communion under both kinds, were, in accordance

[1] *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1551, n. 39; Le Plat, IV., 258 *seq.*; Theiner, Acta, I., 488 *seq.*; Massarelli, 243; Pallavicini, 12, 1 *seq.* In order to realise the high opinion in which Lainez was held at Trent, *cf.* Polanco, II., 250, 253; Astrain, I., 552 *seq.*, where the description of Ribadeneira and Orlandini is corrected. Concerning M. Cano at Trent, see Katholik, 1880, I. 409 *seq.*

with the wish of the Emperor, postponed, in view of the expected arrival of the Protestants. Conformably to a proposal of the Bishop of Castellamare, a dogmatic decree in eight chapters, concerning the Holy Eucharist, and proportionate to the importance of the subject, was prefixed to the Canons. Besides these dogmatic questions, matters of reform were also treated, which had been partly dealt with in the first period of the Council, but were not yet settled. A General Congregation of October 10th sanctioned, for the following day, the publication of the dogmatic decree concerning the Holy Eucharist, the eleven Canons and a reform decree which, in eight chapters, dealt mainly with the guarantee of the authority of the bishops in their sees, their jurisdiction, the increasing difficulties attending their citation to Rome, the procedure in appealing to the Pope, and similar matters relating to the settlement of the ecclesiastical government of the Church. In accordance with a proposal of the Legate, it was then decided that the definition of the postponed articles dealing with the chalice for the laity and the communion of children, concerning which the Protestants wished to be heard, should be put off until the next session but one, on January 25th, 1552. A letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants was at the same time presented and sanctioned.[1]

On October 11th, 1551, the thirteenth Session of the Council, the third under Julius III.,[2] took place with unusual solemnity. The Bishop of Majorca, Giambattista Campegio, celebrated High Mass and the Archbishop of Sassari preached in honour of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The mandate, dated August 1st, of the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg for his ambassadors, Christoph von der Strassen and Johann

[1] Concerning these preliminary negotiations, *cf.* THEINER, Acta, I., 519 *seqq.*, and PALLAVICINI, 12, 5 *seq.* Concerning the wish of Charles V., see Bertano's report from Augsburg of September 29, 1551, in the Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 85 *seq.* *Cf.* DE LEVA, V., 254 *seqq.*

[2] See THEINER, Acta, I., 530; RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 41 *seq.*; VARGAS, Lettres, ed. Levassor, 125 *seq.*, 168 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI 12, 9.

Hoffmann, who appeared at this session, was now read. In this official document the Prince of Brandenburg designated the Pope as Most Holy Lord and Father in Christ, first Bishop of the Roman and Universal Church, and his most gracious lord, who had seen fit, with fatherly patience and love, to continue the Council begun at Trent, and had promised the Emperor that the religious strife which had broken out in Germany should be finally settled by him, and the holy peace of the Church and the tranquillity of Germany definitely restored. In the speech which he made before the Council in the name of his master, von der Strassen gave the assurance that Joachim II. would keep and defend all the decrees of the Council honourably, as beseemed a Christian Prince and an obedient son of the Catholic Church.[1] It is possible and indeed very probable, that this declaration was chiefly made by the Prince of Brandenburg with a view to mitigating the opposition of the Pope to the election of his son Frederick, a minor, to the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. His declaration was, however, of great significance, and was greeted with much applause by the Council.[2] The publication of the Decrees and Canons prepared now took place.

In the Decree dealing with the Holy Eucharist, the Catholic doctrine concerning this, the greatest of the treasures of the Church, to the glorification of which Raphael had once, under the second Julius, created the immortal fresco of the Disputà, is set forth with admirable lucidity.

Although Our Saviour, so teaches the Council, in His natural existence, is always at the right hand of the Father in heaven, He is still, in His substance, present in many places in a sacramental manner. This presence, under the appearances of bread and wine, is a true, real and actual presence. By the consecration, the bread and wine are changed in their essence into the Body and Blood of Christ, so that only the appearances

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 41 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 264 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 83 n. (the date October 6 is an error).

[2] *Cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 435 *seq.*

remain. This change of essence is rightly and fittingly called Transubstantiation. The Church has always believed that immediately after the consecration, Christ Our Lord is present, with body and soul, with Godhead and manhood, under the appearances of bread and wine, and also in every particle of the same. Utterly false is the assertion that Christ is only present in the Holy Sacrament as a sign or image, or that only His power or virtue are contained therein; it is further specially emphasized that Christ is not only present at the moment of participation, but also before and afterwards, and is therefore to be adored in the Blessed Sacrament. Concerning the preparation for communion, the Council expressly declares that no one conscious of having committed mortal sin, must dare to approach the Holy Sacrament without having previously confessed; with regard to the effects, the Council teaches that the Holy Eucharist blots out our daily venial sins and preserves us from mortal sin, that it is a food for our souls, and the pledge of a future life, so that we should often partake of this Bread of the Angels.

At the close of this eventful session, at which, in addition to the three presidents, Cardinal Madruzzo, the three ecclesiastical Electors, five archbishops, thirty-four bishops, three abbots, five generals of Orders, forty-eight theologians, as well as the ambassadors of Charles V., Ferdinand I. and the Elector Joachim II. took part, the answer of the Council to the King of France was read. The assembly, in this document, expressed their pained astonishment and regret that difficulties should be laid in their way by the French king. It repudiated the accusation that it did not serve the general interests of the Church, but individual political purposes. The ambassador of Henry II. could look after French interests, and should the French bishops appear, which they were once more earnestly requested to do, they would, both on their own account, and on that of their king, meet with an honourable and friendly reception; should they, however, neglect their duty, the Council would, nevertheless, remain a General Council. The king was, therefore, again earnestly admonished not to give way to his personal displeasure,

but to put the advantage of the Church before any other consideration.[1]

On October 15th the Legate laid twelve articles on the Sacrament of Penance, and four on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction before the Council, as matter for its future work; these had been drawn from the writings of the leading Protestant theologians. The theologians of the Council worked most assiduously, discussing these questions three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon, every day from the 20th until the 30th of October, and minutely deliberating on everything concerning the subjects in question, which appeared of importance to the controversialists. The result of these conferences, which were carried through with incredible assiduity and the greatest devotion, was laid before the General Congregation on November 5th, which deliberated on it in fourteen sessions until November 24th. On November 21st, a reform decree, containing fifteen chapters, had also been laid before the fathers, which was discussed in the General Congregation of the 23rd. The result of these deliberations, which were conducted with the most scrupulous care, were twelve dogmatic chapters on the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, and nineteen Canons for the condemnation of the teaching of the reformers with regard to these Sacraments.[2]

With regard to the Sacrament of Penance, the Council teaches that it was instituted by Christ in the form of a judgment-seat, in accordance with the words of St. John, and that it is necessary, as a means of again becoming reconciled to God, for everyone who has committed a mortal sin. Three acts are required from the penitent: Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. Contrition is defined as the sorrow of the soul and hatred of the sin committed, added to the intention

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 34 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 266 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 53 *seq.*; THEINER, Acta. I., 531 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV, 272 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 12, 10 *seq.* Concerning the deliberations on reform *cf.* MAYNIER, 669 *seq.*; see also POSTINA, Billick, 119, where there is testimony to the zeal of the theologians. *Cf.* further GULIK, 153 *seq.* concerning the activity of Gropper.

of no more offending God. By Confession, which is ordained by God, the Church demands nothing further from the penitent than that he should, after a diligent and exact examination of his conscience, confess everything he remembers by which he has grievously offended God. The power of giving absolution is possessed by every priest validly ordained, even should he be in a state of mortal sin, who possesses either ordinary or delegated jurisdiction. Absolution is no mere declaration that the sins are forgiven, but is an official act, in which the priest gives sentence, as if he were a judge. With regard to Satisfaction, it is emphasized that the punishment is not fully remitted with the sin; through the penance which the priest imposes, the power of the merits and satisfaction of Christ is in no way lessened or obscured. In dealing with Extreme Unction the Council emphasizes above all things that it is a real and intrinsic Sacrament, instituted by Jesus Christ, and refers in justification thereof to the words of St. James.

The reform decree, which contained, besides an introduction, fourteen chapters, was drawn up principally with the intention of removing the difficulties which bishops encounter in punishing bad ecclesiastics, as well as of taking measures that priests, especially those occupied with the care of souls, should not lead wicked lives; a clerical and seemly mode of dress was prescribed, and certain abuses in the bestowal of benefices combated. All these decrees were published on November 25th, at the fourteenth Session of the Council, and the fourth under Julius III.[1]

The date of the next session was fixed for January 25th, 1552. The Catholic doctrine concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass and the ordination of priests was to be published in this session in a dogmatic decree. Ten articles which attacked the Sacrifice of the Mass were then again taken from the writ-

[1] The three Presidents, Cardinal Madruzzo, the Electors of Cologne, Trêves, and Mayence, six other archbishops, forty bishops, five abbots, the General of the Augustinians, six procurators, fifty-one theologians and the ambassadors were present. *Cf.* THEINER, Acta, I., 601; RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 56 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 12, 14.

ings of the Protestant theologians, and six directed against the sacramental character of Holy Orders. These were collected and were in the hands of the theologians on December 3rd; among them were two Germans, Johannes Gropper and Eberhard Billick, who distinguished themselves; they had come to Trent with the Elector of Cologne. The theologians deliberated in twenty-nine conferences from the 7th until the 29th of December. The result of their deliberations was handed to the fathers of the Council on January 3rd, 1552, who dealt with it from the 5th until the 13th of January in thirteen General Congregations. On January 14th the final redaction was entrusted to a commission of eighteen prelates, who drew up four chapters of instruction and thirteen Canons concerning the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and three chapters of instruction and eight Canons concerning Holy Orders. These were laid before the General Congregation for final approval on the 18th, 20th and 21st of January.[1]

The publication of these Decrees did not take place, however, either in the session immediately following, or even during the second period of the Council.

While the representative of Charles V. at Trent was hoping, at the end of 1551, that the Council would finish its work in two further sessions,[2] the Elector Maurice of Saxony was secretly planning a wide-spread conspiracy to cut the Emperor "to the heart." The traitor outwardly kept up the appearance of favouring the Council.[3]

Neither the Emperor nor the Pope had any idea of the events which were in course of preparation. When, at the end of 1551, the Prince-Electors of Mayence and Trêves prepared to leave the city of the Council, on account of the trouble in Germany, the Emperor, as well as Julius III., protested with great energy against this step. The Princes were thereby

[1] *Cf.* THEINER, Acta, I., 602 *seqq.*, 635 *seqq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 334 *seqq.*, 386 *seqq.*, 405 *seq.*; KNÖPFLER in the Frēiburger Kirchenlexikon, XI.[2], 2079 *seq.*

[2] F. de Toledo to Charles V., dated Trent, December 25, 1551, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 177 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* JANNSEN-PASTOR, III. [17-18], 719.

prevailed upon to remain for the time being, partly because they had no answer to make to the letter written to them by the Emperor, in which he pointed out the groundlessness of their fears, and also, perhaps, so that the Protestants, who had at last arrived, could not say that their appearance had put the Electors to flight.[1]

While these dangers, so threatening to the Council, were, for the time being, surmounted, other difficulties arose which made it impossible to continue the work of the Synod.

On October 22nd, 1551, the two ambassadors of the Duke of Wurtemberg had arrived. Johann Sleidan, the representative of the cities of Strasbourg, Esslingen, Reutlingen, Ravensburg, Biberach and Lindau[2] followed on November 11th. The hopes of an amicable arrangement soon proved vain, as these persons refused to pay the Legate and nuncios the customary civility of a visit. The representatives of the Pope chose to ignore this rudeness, for Julius III. had enjoined on them to place charity before dignity, and to bear all insults with patience, and, as far as possible, and so long as no disadvantage for the Church and religion ensued, to accommodate themselves to the requests of the Protestants, as it is never a disgrace for a father to bear patiently the undutifulness of a child, in order to bring him back to the right path.[3] On January 9th, 1552, Wolfgang Koller and Leopold Badhorn, the representatives of the most powerful of the Protestant dynasties of the Empire, the Prince-Elector, Maurice of Saxony, arrived.[4] They also avoided all relations with the

[1] See MAURENBRECHER, 154* *seq.*, 158* *seq.*, 160*; RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 64 and 65; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 118 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 129, 133, 141 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, ; DRUFFEL, II., 7.

[2] *Cf.* DE LEVA, V., 279 *seq.* The instructions for the Wurtemberg ambassadors in SATTLER, Gesch. Württembergs, IV., Doc. 30; *cf.* DRUFFEL, I., 837. The mandate of Strasbourg for Sleidan in LE PLAT, IV., 278 *seq.* Concerning the attitude of Strasbourg, see BAUMGARTEN, 159 *seqq.*; *ibid.* the report of Sleidan from Trent.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 12, 15, 2.

[4] Their instructions of December 13, 1551, in DRUFFEL, I., 859.

representatives of the Pope, and dealt only with the ambassadors of the Emperor. To these they declared that a new letter of safe-conduct must be drawn up for the theologians to be sent by their master, in the form in which it was formerly issued for the Bohemians by the Council of Basle. They further insisted that the Council must suspend its work until the arrival of the said theologians, when all the former decisions must be once more discussed. The decrees of Constance and Basle concerning the superiority of Councils over the Pope were to be confirmed, and Cardinals, bishops and other members of the Council were to be released from the oath which bound them to Julius III. The Wurtemberg ambassadors demanded, in a similar manner, that the Council should annul all the decisions already arrived at, and that judges should be appointed for the settlement of religious disputes, who were not so partial as were the bishops.[1]

As several of these demands had for their object the complete subversion of the existing system of the government of the Church, their very presentation made any prospect of agreement an impossibility.[2] The presidents of the Council, and above all the Cardinal-Legate, Crescenzi, recognized this clearly, although the Imperialists allowed themselves to be deluded with vain hopes. As the old opposition concerning the question of reform, which had already on several occasions caused dissension between Crescenzi and the Spanish-Imperial party, was always growing more acute, very lively scenes took

[1] See Le Plat, IV., 464 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.* 460 *seq.*; and Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 159, n. 3. The first as well as the second letter of safe-conduct of the Council of Trent, and that of the Council of Basle, in Brenz, Syntagma eorum quae nomine Christophori ducis Virtemb. in synodo Tridentina per legatos eius acta sunt, 99 *seq.*

[2] In order to judge of these demands, a part of which undoubtedly could not be granted by the Catholics, see Pallavicini, 12, 15, and among moderns, especially Bucholtz, in his detailed rescension of Ranke's German history, in the Wiener Jahrb. der Lit., CXV. (1846), 113 *seq.*; *cf.* also Knöpfler in the Freiburger Kirchlexikon, XI., [2] 2080.

place.[1] In order to be just to Crescenzi we must remember that the instructions given him by Julius III. from the very beginning, were to the effect that he was not to enter into any negotiations with the Protestants, unless they were ready to submit to the decisions of the Pope, as lawful Head of the Church summoning the Council.[2] In order to conciliate them as far as possible, the Legate resolved to yield to the urgent requests of the Imperialists, and to hear the Protestants before the assembled General Congregation, although they had not made any such declaration. "Even when we have reason to fear," writes the second president, Pighino, on January 23rd, 1552, "that we are being imposed upon, the Church, as anxious Mother, must repulse no one, but must show everyone how to approach her, and hold the way open, and remove all grounds for evading and remaining away from the Council." The assembly was agreeable to this, but secured themselves against any disadvantageous consequences which might follow on their complaisance.[3]

In the Congregation held in the forenoon of January 24th, the Wurtemberg ambassadors were received. They produced the confession of faith, drawn up at Brenz, and announced that their Duke would send theologians for the defence of the tenets set forth therein; it was, however, his desire that arbitrators should be appointed, as the bishops belonged to a party, and could, therefore, arrive at no definite decision; the Council, moreover, was not to be continued in the sense that the decrees already published were to be accepted as fixed; as, up till now, only one side had been heard, these decrees must now be annulled. The Congregation thereupon answered that they would, after due consideration, reply to these demands.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the very one-sided account in DE LEVA, V., 285 *seq.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 11. De LEVA pays absolutely no attention to these instructions.

[3] See THEINER, Acta, I., 648 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 417 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, Acta, I., 648 *seq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 418 *seqq.*; letter of Lippomano in the Corpo dipl. Port. VII., 111 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 12, 15; MAYNIER, 720 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte,

The Saxon ambassadors were to be received by the Congregation in the afternoon of the same day. Acceptance was refused to the so-called Recapitulation of the Augsburg Confession, composed by Melancthon, as this frankly constituted a point-blank declaration of war against the Council.[1] The speech,[2] moreover, in which the Saxon ambassador, Badhorn, set forth the demands he had already laid before the ambassadors of the Emperor, was anything but conciliatory. He did not shrink from telling the Catholics quite openly that in their case only "an appearance of religion" was to be found among them![3] Badhorn, in accordance with his instructions, laid the greatest importance on the drafting of a letter of safe-conduct which would be conformable with the wishes of his master. This must be drawn up exactly in the same form as that granted by the Council of Basle to the Bohemians. It was a singular request, for the Basle letter of safe-conduct in no way contained the demands upon which the Protestants now laid the greatest stress, namely that religious disputes should be settled by the Scriptures alone, and that the reformers should be given decisive votes in the Council. In his speeches, Badhorn contested a declaration which he erroneously believed to have emanated from the Council of Constance, that, in the

XII., 159 n. 3. Concerning the Confessio Wirtemberg. see SCHNURRER, Beitr. zur württemb. Kirchengesch. (1798), 214 *seq.*, and HEPPE, Bekenninisschriften, Cassel, 1855, 491 *seqq.*; *cf.* also HARTMANN-JÄGER, Brenz, II., 198 *seqq.*

[1] Opinion of K. A. MENZEL (III., 381); *cf.* PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 431 *seq.* Concerning the "Repetitio confess. August." (Corp. Ref. XXVIII, 328 *seq.*) see also the criticisms in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., II., 305, n. 3.

[2] Copied in RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 15 and LE PLAT, IV., 464 *seq.* Concerning the criticism see especially PALLAVICINI, 12, 15, 7 *seq.* The statement of Malvendas, which MAYNIER (726 n.) has already drawn upon, is very remarkable.

[3] DE LEVA (V., 290) finds, notwithstanding this, that the attitude of the Saxons was "in forma calma e rispettosa!" *Cf.* on the other hand the sharp criticism of the contemporary Lippomano in the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 112.

case of heretics, it was not necessary to observe the letter of safe-conduct.

In glaring contrast to this attack on the Council of Constance, was the fact that Badhorn enthusiastically defended[1] the uncatholic principle of the superiority of the Council over the Pope in matters of faith, which had been brought forward by the same Council, but had not become law. Perhaps he knew that this principle still had adherents among Catholics, and even among the fathers of the Council of Trent. Badhorn quite disregarded the fact that Luther had considered the Council of Constance as invalid, and had repudiated as new-fangled its authentic decrees. The demand that the bishops should be released from their oath to the Pope, the ambassador based on the need of reform in the Curia. He openly denied all authority on the part of the Pope, which amounted to a complete overthrow of the whole system of government of the Church, as it had existed until now. Badhorn claimed the highest authority for his party; it alone should decide how far the present Church differed from the old. All the questions concerning Faith already defined by the Council should be discussed all over again; this had been the idea of the Diet of Augsburg, when the continuation of the Council of Trent had been called for in the name of all the States. Such a new discussion was necessary, as the Elector of Saxony was convinced that many errors were contained in those articles, especially in that concerning Justification, which must be rectified by the Scriptures. The final settlement of these questions must be made by the judicial decision of all the Christian nations, whose representatives had not taken part in the earlier discussions, and without whom the Council could only be called a separatist assembly and not a General Council.

If one were to proceed on the principle that the absence of several validly summoned members was sufficient ground for questioning the authority of a legitimate Council, there would hardly have been a Synod in history, at which the full attendance might not have been called in question. Badhorn did

[1] *Cf.* our conclusions in Vol. I. of this work, 198 *seq.*

away with all doubt as to what this "free, Christian, general" Council was to do; by expressly and repeatedly emphasizing the principle that in the settlement of religious disputes the Holy Scriptures were to form the only standard, he shows clearly that the Protestants demanded, as a matter of course, that the Council should regard the new doctrines introduced by them as proven truths, concerning which in actuality no dispute could arise. The Congregation restricted itself, in replying to the Saxon representatives, to the same answer which those of Wurtemberg had received.[1]

After the departure of the ambassadors from the assembly, a long discussion began, at which the representatives of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. were also present. The old opposition, which had repeatedly shown itself on previous occasions, between the strictly ecclesiastical course pursued by the Legate, and that of the Spanish-Imperialist party, now again stood out in strong contrast. In order to obtain a perfectly clear view of the position, Crescenzi wished that an express declaration against the superiority of the Council over the Pope should be issued. This proposal, however, did not gain a majority, although the Spanish-Imperialists were just as far from gaining a victory with regard to the question they had most at heart. Charles V. had insisted from the first, that the principal task of the Council was not to consist in the definition of doctrines, but in the preparation of statutes of reform. The Spaniards appeared to think that the time had now come to proceed without delay in this sense. They hoped to please the Catholics as well as the Protestants by this means, and, at the same time, to carry through a number of their own plans with regard to ecclesiastical matters. Crescenzi, however continued to maintain that, as formerly, dogma and reform must still be dealt with side by side. In order, however, to do everything possible on his part, the Legate finally declared himself ready to comply with the wish of the Protestants, and allow that the decrees already prepared concerning the Sacri-

[1] See THEINER, Acta, I., 649 *seq.*, and Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 159 n. 3; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 12, 15, 7 *seq.*

fice of the Mass and Holy Orders, should be postponed until March 19th, and that a new letter of safe-conduct should be drawn up in the required form.

The Congregation decided in this sense, and also ordered that the material concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony should be prepared, so that the deliberations of the Council should not be suspended.[1]

At the fifteenth Session of the Council, held on January 25th, the decree of adjournment, as well as the new letter of safe-conduct, finally agreed upon after repeated negotiations between the Legate and the Imperialists, were made public.[2] This letter afforded to all the Germans, and in particular to all the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg, the fullest security in coming to Trent, in staying there, in making proposals, in negotiating with the Council, in examining and giving expression to everything they desired, as well as in presenting every article in writing or by word of mouth, supporting the same with passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers, and upholding them with any arguments they pleased. They were also to have freedom in replying to objections of the Council, set forth by those who were appointed by the Synod to carry on discussions or friendly disputations, with a complete avoidance of invective and recrimination. This was all to be done for the purpose of dealing with the questions in dispute in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, the tradition of the Apostles, the authentic Councils, the consensus of the Catholic Church, and the authority of the Fathers. The Protestants were finally assured that they would in no way be punished on account of religion, or of the past or future proceedings of the Council in connection therewith; that they would be at perfect liberty to return home when it pleased them; that they could leave the city and again return to it at

[1] *Cf. ibid.* 12, 15, 16-18, and the reports of the Imperial secretary, F. de Vargas, in his letters, *ed.* LEVASSOR, 471 *seqq.*, 492 *seq.* These reports, which have been used by MAYNIER, (p. 726 *seq.*), are, however, obviously one-sided.

[2] See THEINER, Acta, I., 651; *cf.* VARGAS, Lettres, 487 *seq.*

their own discretion, as well as carry on communications when and where they pleased.[1]

The representatives of the Elector Maurice were, however, not yet satisfied with this exhaustive letter of safe-conduct, drawn up in the most definite terms and handed to the Protestants on January 30th; they demanded a letter which agreed in every particular with that granted by the Council of Basle to the Bohemians. In spite of the representations made to them by the Imperial ambassadors, they only accepted the letter on the condition of being allowed to inform their master of it first.[2]

Even a man of such strong anti-papal views as Vargas, the Imperial agent, considered that in obtaining this new letter of safe-conduct, the Protestants had actually gained everything they demanded.[3] If they, in spite of this, raised new difficulties, there could only be one explanation of such a proceeding, namely, the obstinacy of the Elector Maurice, who saw in the question of this letter, the best means of prolonging, through his theologians, the affair of the Council, until such a time as his further plans had developed or been frustrated.[4]

[1] See BUCHOLTZ, VI., 475 *seq.*

[2] See DRUFFEL, II., 78 *seq.* On the day after the session of the Council, thirty-three articles dealing with the Sacrament of Matrimony were laid before the theologians as a fresh subject for consideration. Their work, however, soon came to a standstill, a fact which the Spanish bishops deeply regretted. See MAYNIER, 737 *seq.*, where the reasons for the stoppage are given. That the attitude of the Protestants was partly the cause of this, *cf.* the dedication of the work of the theologian of the Council, Joh. Ant. Delphinus, De matrimonio et caelibatu (Camerini 1553), where the displeasure of those taking part in the Council at the behaviour of the reformers is freely expressed (see LAUCHERT in the Zeitschr. für kath. Theologie, 1910, 42). Concerning Delphinus, *cf.* also LAUCHERT, Ital. Gegner Luthers, 487 *seqq.* Bertano was also very much displeased at the postponement of the session; see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 163 *seq.*

[3] Lettres, ed. LEVASSOR, 487; *cf.* MAYNIER, 735.

[4] See DRUFFEL, I., 843.

This Prince, influenced as he was by the purest self-interest, in whom "was neither a patriotic nor a religious thought to be found" had undoubtedly for the same reason frustrated the attempt to induce the Wittenberg and Leipsic theologians to come to an agreement with those of Wurtemberg and Strasbourg concerning a joint confession of faith to be laid before the Council,[1] which would have been of the greatest advantage to the Protestant cause.

The presidents of the Council had at once communicated the demands of the Protestants to Rome. It can easily be understood that Julius III. was indignant at these pretensions, which were directly aimed against his authority. He would also have been glad had a decided refusal, in keeping with the dignity of the Council, been given to these demands.[2] Meanwhile, Crescenzi could feel satisfied with the final decision of the Pope, for which the approval of the commission of Cardinals had been obtained.[3] All further discussion of the three chimerical conditions: that the Council stood above the Pope, that the bishops should be freed from their oath, and that the decrees already decided on should be again dealt with, was forbidden.

The Bishop of Montefiascone, Achille de' Grassi, through whom Julius III. communicated his decision to the presidents of the Council, was instructed to announce in Trent, that an answer was to be given to the ambassadors of Wurtemberg and Saxony, so as to give them no ground for justifiable complaint, and to avoid the appearance of being unable to bring forward solid reasons for opposing their assertions. This answer was only to establish the jurisdiction and authority of the Council, and was not intended to irritate by offensive expressions, but to give evidence of fatherly love and the ardent wish to bring back to the Church those severed from

[1] Lossen in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1876, No. 24, who is fully in agreement with the above opinion of Druffel against Maurenbrecher and Ranke.

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxv., 180.

[3] *Ibid.* 180, n. 3.

it.[1] Grassi was instructed to proceed from Trent to the Emperor, and remonstrate with him concerning the behaviour of the Spaniards at the Council,[2] for these had adopted a course, with regard to the question of reform, which could lead to no real improvement in the ecclesiastical position.[3] They claimed that the bestowal of almost all benefices was to be in the hands of national authorities, and the chapters to be brought into complete dependence on the bishops. Julius III., while emphasizing his honest intention of proceeding energetically concerning the question of reform, bitterly complained of such a limitation of the power granted him by God, and also deliberated on the matter with the Cardinals. They were all of the opinion that if the Papal authority were attacked under the pretence of a reform, energetic measures must be adopted against such a proceeding. The instructions for Achille de' Grassi (dated February 20th, 1552), contained the following sentence: "should, moreover, the reports current since yesterday in Rome, of an alliance between the French King and the Lutheran princes of Germany, and of a revolt of the latter against the Emperor, prove correct, then one can hardly see what good purpose the Council can serve, or of what use it can be, even should its continuance be possible."[4]

In consequence of the disquieting news from Germany, the Elector of Trêves had already left Trent on February 16th.[5]

[1] The instructions for Grassi of February 20, 1552, in RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 18 *seq.* *Cf.* LE PLAT, IV., 534 *seq.*; PIEPER, 37, 154 *seq.*

[2] Julius III. to A. Perrenot, in RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 17; LE PLAT, IV., 533 *seq.* The journey did not take place until after Crescenzi had come to an understanding with the Imperial ambassador; see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 223.

[3] That the opinion of PIEPER (p. 38) is justified, is shown elsewhere, as well as in the letter in the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 108.

[4] See the letter of Julius III. to Cardinal Crescenzi of January 16, 1552, in PIEPER 38 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxv. *seq.*, 363 *seqq.*

[5] THEINER, Acta, I., 652; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 2.

Eight days later the Emperor also thought that in the present position of affairs, the Electors would be better at home.[1] As the news from Germany was daily becoming more threatening, the Electors of Mayence and Cologne also left the seat of the Council on March 11th. Two days later the Saxon ambassadors left the town quite quietly in the early morning. On March 11th two new ambassadors of the Duke of Wurtemberg appeared in Trent, and on the 18th four Wurtemberg theologians, Brenz, Beuerlin, Heerbrandt and Vannius, as well as two from Strasbourg, Marbach and Söll. Negotiation with these proved quite hopeless.[2] It was clear that the Protestants, after having made an appearance, for a time, of submitting to the Council, now intended to refrain from any real participation in its deliberations.[3] Even the Emperor was at last convinced that a profitable continuation of the Council under such difficulties was not to be thought of. On March 5th he therefore instructed his ambassadors to induce the Curia, in a diplomatic manner, to propose a suspension of the deliberations. When the Electors of Mayence and Cologne reached Innsbruck on their return journey, the Emperor declared that he was agreeable to a suspension. When he gave the nuncio, Bertano, assurances to the exactly opposite effect, on March 26th, it was only to

[1] To Queen Mary, February 24, 1552, in DRUFFEL, II., 151.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, Acta, I., 653; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 233; PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 445; POSTINA, Billick, 123. F. Nausea died on February 6 in Trent. On March 5 three more ambassadors of the King of Portugal arrived in Trent. A dispute between them and the Hungarian ambassador concerning a question of precedence, was provisionally settled in the General Congregation of March 19. At the same time the next session was postponed until May 1, as the work had to be stopped on account of the fruitless waiting for the Protestants, who were still expected, and it was also desirable to await further developments with regard to the danger of war. THEINER, Acta, I., 652, 653 *seq.* RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 25.

[3] This is the opinion of MAURENBRECHER (p. 284).

avoid the appearance of the proposal having emanated from him.[1]

The uncertainty as to what would now happen was soon brought to an end. News of the Elector Maurice's traitorous dealings with France against the Empire had already arrived in Rome in the last week of January, 1552, which dealings were actually taking place at a time when it was firmly believed, at the Imperial court at Innsbruck, that the Saxon theologians would soon appear in Trent.[2] Indeed, Melanchthon did arrive in Nuremberg on January 22nd, while the private secretary of the Elector of Saxony went to Charles V. at Innsbruck to excuse the delay in the arrival of his master.[3] The Emperor had not the slightest idea that all this was being done to deceive him, until Maurice had completed his preparations for war. By the middle of March the necessary preliminaries had been arranged, and the mask could be dropped. While Maurice and his fellow conspirators were beginning a predatory war on German territory, their French allies appeared on the western frontiers of the Empire.[4]

A correspondent of Cardinal Farnese tells us on March 20th, from Rome, that the whole of Germany was in arms, and any doubt as to the alliance between the French King and the Protestant princes could no longer exist.[5] It therefore appeared all the more incredible to the ambassadors at the Curia that the Emperor had taken no measures to oppose the warlike

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 283 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*; LANZ, III., 136 *seq.*; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxvi. *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxxi., 153 n. 4.

[3] Melancthon remained until March 10 in Nuremberg, awaiting orders from his Elector; see PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 437 *seq.*, 443.

[4] See JANNSEN-PASTOR, III.[17-18], 724 *seq.*, 739 *seq.*

[5] *Noi vediamo che tutta la Germania è in armi a l'impensata. May God help us. Le cose che si dicono sono tali ch'io non oso scriverle; unum est che la lega tra Francesi et Mauritio et gli 2 marchesi di Brandenburg è chiara. *Nove da Roma of March 20, 1552 (Carte Farnes. in the State Archives, Naples). *Cf.* also Cocciano's letter of March 26 in DRUFFEL, II., 295.

preparations of his enemies ;[1] no one there understood the masterpiece of hypocrisy and cunning with which Maurice had ensnared his benefactor.

It seemed certain that to continue the Council in the present state of affairs would be highly dangerous. The Pope, however, in spite of the alarming news, still hesitated to suspend it until the middle of April.[2] The decision was made imperative by the news that Augsburg had fallen into the hands of the enemies of Charles V., whereby the safety of Trent was very gravely threatened. Julius III., after deliberation with the Cardinals, only decided on the suspension on April 15th, to obviate the danger of the Council dissolving itself. The courier who brought the brief in question to the Legate, arrived in Trent on April 20th.[3] It was, however, not yet made public, as the presidents considered it wiser to allow the suspension to be decided by the Synod, in order to avoid irritating disputes with regard to the relations of the Council with the Pope. This took place in the General Congregation of April 24th, in which, indeed, some of the Spanish prelates opposed the suspension ; a majority, however, was found for the proposal of Cardinal Madruzzo, who suggested a suspension for two years. A commission of seven prelates was entrusted with the drafting of the decree. A proposal made, in accordance with the wish of the Pope, by the second president, to send a number of the members of the Council to Rome, to co-operate there at further reform work, was negatived on April 26th.[4]

The decree of suspension was published on April 28th, at the sixteenth session of the Council. Twelve prelates, mostly

[1] See the *letter of Ipp. Capilupi to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, March 29, 1552 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] It is therefore erroneous when Ranke says (Päpste, I., 180) : " Julius III. hastened to decree the suspension."

[3] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxvii. *seq.*, 302 ; RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 25 ; Carte Strozz., I., 393 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, Acta, I., 655 *seq.* ; RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 26 ; *cf.* DE LEVA, V., 356 *seq.* ; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxviii.

Spanish, had protested against it.[1] These remained alone in the city of the Council, but were compelled to make a very hasty exit when, through the capture of the Ehrenberg mountain pass by Maurice of Saxony, the Emperor, who was at that time ill with gout, had to flee from Innsbruck on the evening of May 19th. The Legate, Cardinal Crescenzi, who had been ill since March 25th, withdrew from Trent to Verona on May 26th, where he died on the 28th.[2]

[1] See THEINER, Acta, I., 659; RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 27, 28; *cf.* LE PLAT, IV., 545 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 13, 3; MAYNIER, 750 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, Acta, I., 660; FIRMANUS, 497 *seq.*; HOSII epist., II., 211. The body of the Cardinal was first buried in the Pantheon in Rome, and then in S. Maria degli Angeli; see FIRMANUS, 499, and FORCELLA, XI., 48.

CHAPTER V.

War in Upper and Central Italy.—Julius III.'s Efforts for Peace.—Conclusion of his Pontificate and his Death.

There is preserved in the Vienna archives a confidential letter of Charles V., dated April 20th, 1551, to his ambassador in Rome, Diego Mendoza, in which he openly declares that his procedure in the dispute about Parma has for its object to keep Julius III. completely in the channels of his own policy. The ambassador is, therefore, enjoined to fan the Pope's anger against his disobedient vassal and his protector Henry II. to red heat by every means in his power.[1]

It did not, however, escape the Pope that in the matter of Parma, they wanted to bring him into complete subjection to the Emperor, but he also recognized the dangers which threatened his interests on the part of France, which faced him with the menace of a schism, if he proceeded against Ottavio Farnese. It was really like "a great labyrinth" in which it was easy to lose the right path.[2] Hence the vacillation of the Pope and his repeated efforts, even at the last moment, to avoid the fateful struggle.[3] All these endeavours, however, proved vain. Julius III. had not decision of character enough to withstand the importunities of Charles V.,

[1] Lanz, I., 177, with erroneous date; *cf.* Druffel, I., 622; II., 390.

[2] *"Aca no se habla en otra cosa si no en esta de Parma, en un gran laberinto se han metido estos señores S.S.d me parece que lo toma de veras." Card. Pacheco to Card. Madruzzo, dated Rome, April 9, 1551 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] *Cf. Supra* p. 97.

Ferrante Gonzaga, and Diego Mendoza, and the eager desire for war on the part of Giovan Battista del Monte. "The right," he said to Ippolito Capilupi, "is on our side, as well as the support of the Emperor, who will restore Parma to the Church,"[1] and in this manner he rashly and imprudently resolved on war.

On May 22nd, 1551, Julius III. signed the document by which Ottavio Farnese was declared to have forfeited his fief, and communicated it to the Cardinals in a secret consistory.[2] Nevertheless, on the following day, the Florentine ambassador, Buonanni, reports that the Pope was still hoping for an arrangement, although no one else in Rome now considered it possible.[3] Julius actually agreed to the proposals of Ottavio regarding the exchange of Parma for Camerino, which he had at first repudiated; in the consistory of June 10th he invested Farnese with Camerino, and assured him a yearly revenue of 8000 scudi.[4] This complaisance also proved vain, for Ottavio

[1] Report of Ipp. Capilupi to F. Gonzaga of May 22, 1551, in CHIESI. 223. Concerning the urging on of Julius III., who really had leanings towards Farnese, see a characteristic assertion of A. Caro in RONCHINI, Lett. d'uomini ill., 330. G. Ricci says in his *Memorie (Ricci archives, Rome) quite candidly: "la guerra di Parma e Mirandola ordita per D. Diego di Mendoza."

[2] Sententia declarat. privat. contra O. Farnesium, dat. XI. Cal. Junii, 1551. A contemporary impression in the Rossiana Library, Vienna; a copy in the *collection of Contelorius (see *infra* 131, n. 1) 21, 22; Spanish translation in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[3] "Il papa credo che sia solo a sperar che le cose di Parma possino o habbino a comporsi." *Letter of Buonanni, dated Rome, June 1, 1551 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the letter of Card. Medici in CAMPORI, Lettere, 17 *seqq.*

[4] See Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); *letter of Julius III. to Dandino, of June 10, 1551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican, F. Borghese, II., 465 p. 61 *seq.*), utilised in the Nuntiaturberichte, XII., n. 35; *report of Serristori of June 10, 1551, as well as Card. Medici's letter of June 20, 1551, in DE LEVA, V., 154. *Cf.* the instructions for Grassi in WEISS, Pap. de Granvelle, III., 579-80, and PIEPER, 23.

Farnese, who had full confidence in the alliance he had concluded with Henry II. on May 27th, was resolved that the matter should be decided by an appeal to arms. On June 12th his adherents invaded the States of the Church from Mirandola, reduced Crevalcore, and devastated the district of Bologna. The Papal troops advanced against them, fought a victorious battle, and then joined the Imperial troops under Ferrante Gonzaga; the war had therefore now begun.[1] It was all too soon proved, however, that the Pope did not possess the firmness necessary to deal with the rapidly succeeding events with consistent resolution, or to direct them into suitable courses.[2] In Rome itself the war had been highly unpopular from the beginning.[3] The shrewdest men in the Curia, Cardinals Morone and Crescenzi, knew only too well that the Pope was not equal to such extraordinary circumstances, and had, therefore, earnestly dissuaded him from entering on such a dangerous and pernicious struggle,

[1] Concerning the war about Parma, the different stages of which are of little interest, *cf.* ADRIANI, VIII., 3 *seqq.*; SEGNI, XIII.; GIUL. GOSELLINI in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., XVII., 141 *seqq.*; Mem. stor. d. città di Mirandola II., Mirandola, 1874; BALAN, VI., 420-1; BALAN, Assedi della Mirandola, 25 *seqq.*; DE LEVA in the Riv. stor. Ital. I., 632 *seqq.*; VIII., 713-4; and Carlo quinto V., 113 *seqq.*, 202 *seqq.*; CHIESI, 224 *seqq.*; ANDREA DA MOSTO in Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Inst. VI., 100-1; COURTEAULT, Blaise de Monluc, 190 *seqq.* BOSELLI treats of a poem about the Parma war in the review Per l'arte, XV., 5-6. The work of F. Contelorius: *Bellum Parmense sub Julio III. gestum (Cod. Barb. XXXII., 183, now 2392 of the Vatican Library; *cf.* Arch. Rom. II., 294; a copy in the Communal Library, Piacenza, MS. Landi) gives, besides a collection of official documents (especially on pp. 39-40; see also 61 *seqq.*) a full statement about the war. De Turre, Bellum Parmense, MS. of the Palat. Lib. in Parma, is still unpublished.

[2] The opinion of PIEPER, 23.

[3] See Niccolò da Ponte's report of May 30, 1551, in the Miscell. di stor. Ital. XVII., 160.

for the successful issue of which his resources were wholly inadequate.[1]

Julius III. had, on June 6th, 1551, entrusted the supreme command of the expedition against Parma to the Viceroy of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, with full confidence in the support of the Emperor.[2] The Papal troops were nominally commanded by the nephews of the Pope, Giovan Battista del Monte and Vincenzo de' Nobili ; in reality, however, the command was in the hands of Camillo Orsini and Alessandro Vitelli. Cardinal de' Medici,[3] whose brother, the Marquis of Marignano, was leader of the Imperial troops under Ferrante Gonzaga, was appointed legate with the army on June 7th. In the States of the Church all enrolment under foreign princes was forbidden ;[4] Cardinals Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese received on June 16th strict orders to return at once to Rome ; the Emperor deprived them of their rich benefices, also withdrawing from Ottavio his fiefs in Lombardy and Naples.[5]

[1] Serristori mentions letters of Crescenzi, which urged the ending of the war, and thus excited the Pope, although they did not make him change his mind ; see *report of September 18, 1551 (State Archives, Florence). Concerning Morone, see Lett. di princ., 165 *seq.*

[2] *Brief of June 6, 1551. Arm. 41, t. 60, n. 432. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Brief of June 7, 1551, *Ibid.* n. 433. Card Medici was recalled on November 28, 1551 (for the reasons for this measure, see Pieper, 153) ; the Abbate Riario took his place as Commissary General ; see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., n. 114. Letter of Medici at this time in Campori, Lett. 19 *seqq.*

[4] As this prohibition was in many cases not observed, Bernardo de' Medici was instructed to take steps against any disobedience. *Brief of June 12, 1551, *ibid.* n. 461 ; *cf. ibid.* n. 523 for a similar brief for Raynutio de Taranno, of June 24, 1551. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See Raynaldus, 1551, n. 15. Card. Alessandro was allowed, by a brief of July 1, 1551, to repair to Florence. (See Nuntiaturberichte, XII , n. 32. The original brief is in the State Archives Naples). From the brief of September 17, 1551, quoted here, it appears that Alessandro was by no means so quiet in Florence as

Orazio Farnese, who had hastened from France to support his brother, and had taken a prominent part in the invasion of the district of Bologna, was likewise severely punished; Julius III. caused the territory of Castro, which belonged to him, to be invested.[1] The mother of the Duke, who directed the government there, offered no resistance, whereupon the Pope was satisfied with the military occupation of the country; the administration, jurisdiction and revenues remained in the hands of the Duchess.[2]

An attempt was next made to maintain the fiction that the Peace of Crépy had not been broken by the outbreak of hostilities in Italy, and this was based on the assertion of Henry II. that he had only taken up arms as an ally of Farnese, while the Emperor declared he was only acting as a protector of the Church against a rebellious vassal, and at the express desire of the Pope. No one doubted, however, that war between the two princes was inevitable, and unfortunately the Turks at once endeavoured to gain an advantage from the strife between the two chief powers of Christendom. News of the threatening movements of the Turks reached Rome as early as June, and against these the Pope had now to take preventive measures.[3] In July a large Turkish fleet

SEGNI (XIII.) would have us believe. Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese was sharply enjoined by a *brief of September 17, 1551, (*ibid.*, n. 828), under threats of the most severe punishment, to return to Rome, but finally he was allowed to remain with his relatives in Urbino.

[1] *Cf.* *Briefs for Barthol. de Alba and Didaco de Mendoza of June 23, 1551, in Arm. 41, t. 60, n. 517, 520; *ibid.*, n. 561 the *penal Bull of July 1, against all who took part in the invasion of Bolognese territory (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also Nuntiaturberichte XII., n. 39.

[2] See the orders for Ascanio della Corgna of June 25, 1551, in Arm. 41, t. 60, *ibid.*, n. 532; *cf. ibid.*, n. 534 the *brief for Hier. Farnesiae of June 25, and n. 587 for Rod. Ballione of July 10, 1551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] A Commission of Cardinals was formed to arrange measures for the protection of the coasts of the States of the Church (see Serristori's *report of June 17, 1551. State Archives, Florence).

appeared in the Ionian Sea, which, however, had to give way before the resistance of the Knights of St. John from Malta, whereupon the Turks turned their attention to Tripoli, which fell into the hands of the infidels on August 14th.[1]

The state of affairs in the field of war in Upper Italy had proved unfavourable to the Pope from the very beginning. The invasion of the territory of Bologna, where the enemy had caused great devastation, threatened to bring about an insurrection in the whole of the Romagna and to tear away Ravenna from the States of the Church.[2] To this danger to the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope was added a still graver threat to his ecclesiastical power; a schism of the French Church was by no means impossible, especially at that time, when there was so great a defection from Rome.[3] The unsatisfactory financial position of Julius III. did not weigh less heavily in the scale, and already on June 22nd, the treasurer, Giovanni Ricci, had sent to the court of the Emperor to urge the payment of the pecuniary assistance promised. Charles V. declared he was prepared to pay 200,000 scudi down, if the Pope would grant him the revenues of the Spanish bishoprics to the amount of 500,000 scudi. Ricci could grant this, but received provisionally only 50,000 scudi.[4]

The Bishop of Nepi, P. A. de Angelis, was appointed commissary for this purpose by a *brief of July 4, 1551, Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 573; *ibid.*, n. 589, *Bull of July 11, 1551: Imposition of four-tenths in the Sienese district, so that Mendoza may protect the coast against the Turks, and n. 754, *Bull of September 2, 1551: Imposition of four-tenths in Savoy for the fortification of Nice (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1551, n. 68; Zinkeisen, II., 875-6; Romier, 41-2.

[2] *Cf.* Adriani VIII., 3 and Brosch, I., 194. Count G. F. de Balneo received orders in a *brief of July 9, 1551, to assist the legate of the Romagna in the protection of the province. Brevia Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 585; *cf. ibid.*, n. 827 the *brief for Camillo Orsini of September 17, 1551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Pieper, 25.

[4] See Miscell. di stor. Ital., XVII., 337-8; Nuntiaturberichte, XII xlviii n. 37, 41; *cf.* Pieper, 44.

The Pope, who had allowed himself to be drawn into this war out of deference to the Emperor, was soon to discover that the conquest of Parma, as also of Mirandola, was not such an easy matter as had been represented to him. He had also to learn by experience that the expenses of the undertaking were to exceed the original estimate by more than double the amount. He sought in vain to improve the desperate financial straits in which he found himself by imposing special taxes, and was also forced to pledge many valuables and jewels. All this, however, was not sufficient to cover his requirements. Julius complained bitterly that the Emperor neither gave him the financial aid promised, nor did he send the number of troops arranged by treaty. Charles V. was, however, all the less able to fulfil his pledges as he was soon obliged to protect Milan against the French, who were threatening it from Piedmont.[1]

The appearance of the French in Piedmont frightened the Pope and intimidated him. Cardinal Crescenzi, who was painfully conscious of the reaction of the war on the Council, again earnestly urged the Pope to make peace, while the fathers of the Council joined him in warnings to the same effect. On September 4th, 1551, the Pope addressed a long letter to the King of France, and frankly offered him his hand in peace.[2] Four days later followed the appointment of Cardinal Verallo as special legate to Henry II.[3] Pietro Camaiani was sent to the Emperor on October 10th to explain the mission of Verallo, which the Pope had ordered as giving the highest proof of his love of peace, but at the same time to emphasize the fact that no agreement was to be thought of without the consent of the Emperor. Camaiani, however, did not obtain the success wished for, since the question of subsidies, "the great obstacle

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 13, 1.

[2] *F. Borghese, II., 465, p. 174 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in the translation of ROMIER, 44-5.

[3] See Acta Consist. in PIEPER, 27; *ibid.* 145-6 emendation of the text of the instructions, dated October 3 in DRUFFEL, I, 757-8. Concerning Verallo's unsuccessful legation, a most detailed account in ROMIER, 47 *seqq*, 53.

of the war from the beginning," was again not solved[1] to the satisfaction of the Pope, which was all the more painful to him as his financial position was daily becoming more hopeless; He complained, indeed, that he had not only already pledged all his jewels, but even his usual rings.[2] In Rome everyone was at this time calling for peace.[3] The Emperor himself was also in great want of money, as was Ferrante Gonzaga; neither of them could any longer pay their mercenaries. The Pope, however, was undoubtedly in the worst position of all, for which reason he was also the first to grow weary of the war.[4] In the middle of December he informed the Emperor, through Bertano, that he was no longer in a position to keep up the full number of his troops in Upper Italy.[5]

Meanwhile Cardinal Verallo had been negotiating with Henry II. The Pope on December 21st instructed Pietro Camaiani to inform Charles V. of the stage which these negotiations had reached. He by no means trusted the French King, and begged the Emperor also not to let himself be deceived, but to make all arrangements for continuing the war, as an imposing display of arms is more effective in securing peace than a victory in the field.[6] Julius had been quite correct in his estimate of Henry II. Although the Pope was quite prepared to fulfil the conditions proposed by the King, Ottavio and France continued to make fresh difficulties; they knew very well that two such strong places as Parma and Mirandola

[1] Concerning the dispatch of Camaiani, for which mission Card. Carpi had at first been chosen, *cf.* PIEPER, 28, 146-7 and Nuntiaturberichte XII. li, 88 *seqq.*

[2] DRUFFEL III., 240.

[3] *Cf.* CUGNONI, prose ned. di A. Caro, 109.

[4] Opinion of KUPKE in the Nuntiaturberichte, XII., li.

[5] Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lv., 112; *cf.* GOSELLINI in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., XVII., 198.

[6] See PIEPER, 150-1; PALLAVICINI, 13, 1, and Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 115, n. l. *Cf.* also Serristori's reports of November 11 (Camaiani tarda a partir), December 4 (Camaiani kept back by the Pope, as news is expected from France), December 20, 1551 (Camaiani will start to-morrow). State Archives Florence.

would be very difficult to take by force, and trusting to this, they hoped to get still more favourable terms. For this purpose Cardinal Tournon, who was then in Venice, was sent to Rome.[1] He arrived there on February 5th, and at once began negotiations.[2]

Tournon, who had world-wide experience as a statesman, and was an accomplished courtier, conducted these with great shrewdness. He specially drew the Pope's attention to the fact that the Holy See could not reckon on the Emperor, on account of his bad health and the difficulties in which Germany was involved, representing to him, at the same time, the gravity of the position which was developing in the Council, as Charles V.'s sole idea was to increase his own authority at the expense of that of the Pope.[3] In spite of the fact that the Emperor was imprudent enough to leave his Papal ally in doubt as to his own intentions,[4] the French had the greatest difficulty in attaining their end, and after fully two months time they had not yet come to any arrangement. In the meantime the impossibility of continuing the war was daily becoming more apparent. In addition to the direst need of money,[5] there was the fear that Henry II., who was allied

[1] The instruction of December 23, 1551, for Tournon, in RIBIER, II., 360 *seq.* According to PALLAVICINI, 13, 2, it might be supposed that the asked for letter of safe-conduct had been refused; the *Salvus-Conductus* for him, dated December 24, 1551 is, however, in Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 62, n. 1046 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] Concerning Tournon's journey and negotiations, see Legaz. di Serristori 296-7; DRUFFEL, II., 122-3, 176-7, 214, 265, 423: MASIUS, Lettere, 97, 100-1; CHIESI, 228-9; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lvii *seq.* 175-6, 198, 217 *seqq.*, 230-1, 241, 292 *seqq*; *cf.* MAURENBRECHER, 281-2; DE LEVA, V., 312-3, 359-60.

[3] See DESJARDINS, III., 297-8.

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte., XII, lviii.

[5] Julius III. had already tried to alleviate the financial difficulties on October 20, 1550, by the establishment of the Monte Giulio (*cf.* Acta Consist in the Consistorial Archives, and Buonanni's *reports of October 21 and 25, 1550. State Archives, Florence. *Cf.*, also

to the Protestant princes of Germany, might fall away from the Church. In Rome itself consternation and excitement prevailed on all sides; the city was defenceless and the rest of the States of the Church were not safe.[1]

The conditions which Tournon at last laid down were as follows: Parma was to remain in the hands of Ottavio Farnese, an armistice with a suspension of all the censures issued was to be concluded for two years, and after this the Duke was to be at liberty to come to a final agreement with the Holy See, while his engagements to France would then cease; the territory of Castro was to be returned to the Farnese Cardinals for their brother Orazio, but the Farnese family were to keep no larger number of troops there than was required to guard the territory. Finally, Henry II. was prepared to meet the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, and again to permit the bulls for the bestowal of benefices in France to be drawn up in the Dataria in Rome.

Charles V. naturally endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from the agreement suggested, and Giovan Battista del Monte also used all his influence to the same end.[2] All their representations, however, proved vain; the misery of the position was so great that the Pope had finally to submit. On April 15th, 1552, he announced his resolve to the Cardinals in the con-

ENDEMANN, Studien, I)but in vain. G. Ricci, who was recalled from Spain to Rome in order to manage the finances, found them in the most dreadful state, and he was unable to be of any assistance. (See *MELE, Genealogia d. famiglia Ricci, 203. Ricci Archives, Rome); in a *letter to G. B. del Monte of April 2, 1552 (*Inf. polit. XIX., 51. Royal Library, Berlin), Julius III. describes the financial distress which had never been greater for centuries. RANKE, I., 269 cites a passage from the letter, without giving its origin.

[1] *Cf.* del Monte's letter of April 13th, 1552, in Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 294-5. Julius III. also points out the fact that nothing was settled in his *letter to Card. Crescenzi of the same date, which is to be found in the Inf. polit. XIX., 59, 60, Royal Library, Berlin.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, 13, 2; *cf.* MAURENBRECHER, 287-8; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lviii.

sistory in which the suspension of the Council was also discussed.[1] Everyone agreed without reserve. Cardinal Cervini was of opinion that if the Pope had had recourse to arms on righteous grounds, he now laid them down from still more righteous motives.[2] On April 29th the armistice was concluded on the said conditions, and it was left to the discretion of the Emperor to be a party to it as well.[3] On the following day the Pope, in a detailed letter to Camaiani, explained to him the reasons which had induced him to come to terms with Cardinal Tournon. It had no longer been in his power to hesitate, as the population of Rome and the States of the Church would have been driven to despair; the impossibility of conquering Parma and Mirandola was obvious, for after a ten months' siege they had not yet succeeded in completely investing the latter fortress. He also pointed out that, in addition to this, there was the danger on the part of the Turks and the Lutherans, and the no less real danger of France falling into schism and becoming Lutheran.[4] The Emperor did not conceal from Camaiani his displeasure at the one-sided proceeding of the Pope, but the outbreak of revolution in Germany forced him also to agree to the conditions of peace on May 10th, a step to which even Ferrante Gonzaga had urged him. The news reached Rome on May 15th and caused universal jubilation. Three days later the Abbot Rosetto was sent to

[1] *See* *Acta Consist, in the Consistorial Archives.

[2] Capilupi announces this on April 16, 1552; see Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lx., *cf.* 303.

[3] The *capitoli dell' accordo di Parma*, dated April 29, 1552, were printed in the XVIth century in the Lett. di princ. III., 211-12. Kupke has taken no notice of this; he prints them once more from a copy with the erroneous date April 25 in the Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 365-6. *Cf.* Coggiola, Farnesi, 7 n. 2. In the *brief of May 18, Silvester de Giliis received orders to arrange for the honourable reception of Cardinal Tournon in the States of the Church, on his return from France (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 64, n. 330. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 324-5; *cf.* also the letter of G.B. del Monte in Chiesi, 226-7.

Lombardy to press forward the conclusion of the armistice.[1] The exile of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese also came to an end at he same time, and on June 7th, 1552, he returned to Rome, where the Pope received him very graciously. On June 25th, Lanssac appeared as special ambassador of France, and brought with him the ratification of the armistice by Henry II.[2] Soon afterwards the diplomatic representation of the Holy See at the French court was restored and Prospero Santa Croce was entrusted with the office. The new nuncio was able to report to Rome as early as September that Henry II., by his proceedings against Charles du Moulin, had renounced the anti-papal policy which he had shown in his edict of September, 1551.[3]

Notwithstanding the universal jubilation at the ending of the costly[4] and dangerous war, the Pope must have been forced to acknowledge to himself that the two questions, for the solution of which he had worked so earnestly during the first two years of his pontificate, had both remained unsolved; that relating to ecclesiastical matters through the suspension of the Council, and the other through the result of the war. This depressing realization began to undermine his energy to a marked degree.[5] It is false to say that "the Pope no longer took any active interest in political questions" and that he led "a harmless pleasant life" in his lovely villa outside the Porta del Popolo, "heedless of the rest of the world."[6] Quite apart from the very important, though

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, XII., lxi., 327, 334-5, 349-50, 354-5; *cf.* PIEPER, 32 and COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 9-10. R. Baglione received orders to evacuate Castro in the *brief of May 18, 1552 (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 64, n. 333. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See ROMIER in the Mél. d'arch. XXXI. (1911), 11-12.

[3] *Cf.* PIEPER, 42-3, and ROMIER, La crise gallicane, 55.

[4] The pay of the troops alone cost 300,000 scudi; *cf.* BALAN, Mirandola, 48.

[5] See PIEPER, 40, 41.

[6] So says RANKE, Päpste, I., 180-1; also BEAUFORT, Hist. des Papes, IV., 191 and all later historians, especially BROSCH, I., 145, and last of all LANCIANI, III., 133. It is still more incorrect when

unobtrusive, activity which Julius III. displayed in ecclesiastical matters in the direction of a Catholic reformation, especially in the latter half of his reign,[1] he also set to work at vital political questions, and strove diligently, if ineffectually, for the restoration of peace in Christendom. His neutral attitude gave offence alike to the French and to the Imperialists, as both these parties expected to draw great advantage from a participation of the Pope in the struggle.[2] The accusation, therefore, that the Pope fled from all business in order to lead an inactive life in peace in his beautiful villa, originated with them.[3] There can be no doubt that the Pope had very good reasons for not mixing himself any further in the Italian disturbances; the war about Parma had shown the results of such a course sufficiently plainly. Since the painful experience which Julius III. had then had, he had been very careful not to be again led into participating in such a struggle, while higher motives also weighed in the balance. The Pope knew that as Father of Christendom he must as far as possible

DE LEVA, V., 114 represents Julius III. as an "alieno dai negozi di stato" from the beginning. REUMONT, III., 2, 511 judged Julius III. much more justly in 1870. Concerning the by no means unobjectionable version of Muratori, see G. CATALINI, Preface to Muratori's Annali X. (1764), XXXV.

[1] *Cf.* Chapter VI. *infra.*

[2] Both sides addressed bitter reproaches to the neutral Pope; the same thing occurred in a congregation of Cardinals on September 4, 1553, when the Imperial Cardinals, Alvarez de Toledo and Carpi endeavoured to induce him to adopt an anti-French policy, by pointing out the alliance of Henry II. with the Turks (See Serristori's *report of September 5, 1553. State Archives, Florence). In the May of the following year Cardinal du Bellay and the French ambassador, Lanssac, made complaints. See Nonciat. de France, I., 51, n. 1.

[3] See the Florentine reports cited in the Nonciat. de France, I., xliii., n. 2, an echo of which is found in ADRIANI (VIII., 1), who was commissioned by Cosimo I. to write (see MONDAINI, Adriani, 41-2, Florence, 1905), as well as in SEGNI (XIII., 829), and in Panvinio (MERKLE, II., 148) who was friendly with the Farnese family.

stand aside from party feeling, as then only could he be successful as a peacemaker.[1] How greatly the activity which he displayed in this direction proceeded from himself personally is proved by the fact that the greater part of the instructions for the ambassadors and legates were now drawn up by himself, and that he, for the most part, dictated personally to his secretaries.[2] In the midst of all this, his old enemy, the gout, was afflicting him to an increased extent.[3]

[1] See ANCEL in the Nonciat. de France, I., xliii. In the instructions for Gir. Muzzarelli of January 21, 1554, Julius III. speaks very openly about his having been led astray into making war over Parma; see PIEPER, 174.

[2] *Cf.* del Monte's letter of July 7, 1552, in PIEPER, 41, n. 3.

[3] The reports of the ambassadors bear witness to the frequency of the painful attacks of the gout, to which were added catarrh and other disorders caused by errors of diet. *Cf.* especially the *letters of A. Serristori of June 7, 14 and 20, and of October 10, 11, and 24, 1552; also of January 4, March 29, June 9, July 6, and 9, 1553; *letters of the archbishop of Trani, Bart. Serristori, of October 19, 22, 23, and 24, and November 2, 1553; *letter of B. Justo of November 16, 1553; *letters of A. Serristori of February 7, 17, 18, 19, and March 3, 8, 14, 15, 27, 1554; *letters of B. Justo of February 24 and 26, 1554; *letters of A. Serristori of June 10 and July 21, 1554; *letter of B. Justo of September 15, 1554; all in State Archives, Florence. Concerning the physicians of Julius III. see, besides MARINI, I., 393 *seqq.*, HASER, II., 26; CARUS, Gesch. der Zoologie, 359; GRÄTZ, IX., 345, 350-1; RIEGER, II., 144-5; MASIUS, Briefe, 67; Atti per le prov. di Romagna, Ser. 3, 1., 422. In the Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 456: *appointment of Aug. Ricchi of Lucca as physician in ordinary, with a yearly salary of 200 scudi, May 21, 1550; n. 513: *appointment of Theoder. de Sacerdotibus (Hebreus) as physician in ordinary, June 7, 1550; t. 59, n. 39: summons of Jo. de Aguilera, thesaur. Salamant. mag in medic. to Rome, January 26, 1551 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Ibid.*, Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 25: summons of Franc. Fregimelia, doct. medic. to Rome, January 5, 1555. In the *Intr. et Exit. of 1554-1555, payments to the three physicians of Julius II.: A. Ricchi, Giambatt. Cannani and Damiano Valentini are entered

The grave state of the Pope's health, which, in the November of 1553, made the possibility of a conclave in the near future apparent,[1] as well as the increasing hopelessness and confusion of the political position, had the effect of gradually depriving Julius of the fresh animating energy of the first years of his reign, and finally of paralysing his endeavours to make peace. Soon afterwards, however, zealous activity was displayed by the Pope in the direction of an attempt at mediation between the Emperor and France, although the prospects of success seemed most unfavourable.

Soon after the conclusion of the armistice, Julius III. addressed himself to Henry II., by a letter in his own hand, on May 6th, 1552, and begged him to make peace with Charles V.[2] The French King, however, had not the faintest idea of complying with this request, but hoped, on the contrary, that he could, just at that time, inflict a decisive blow on the Emperor by means of his conspiracy with the Turks.[3] In spite of this, the Pope sent nuncios to bring about an armistice between the bitterly struggling rivals. As ordinary nuncio, Prospero Santa Croce went to Henry II., while Achille de' Grassi was sent to Charles V. The representations of both, however, fell on deaf ears.[4] The fury of war raged worse than ever; in the middle of July, a Turkish fleet appeared before Naples, commanded by the corsair, Dragut, and the French envoy, Aramont; fortunately they could

(Cod. Vat. 10,605 of the Vatican Library). The Ravenna physician, Tommaso Rangoni, in 1550 dedicated to Julius III., his work, De vita hominis ultra CXX. annos protrahenda; see ILDEBRANDO DELLA GIOVANNA, Come l'uomo può vivere più di CXX. anni. Piacenza, 1897. (Nozze-Publication).

[1] See Nonciat. de France, I., 68.

[2] See the text in the *Inf. Polit., XIX., 79 (Royal Library, Berlin).

[3] *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, II., 201-2; ZINKEISEN, II., 876.

[4] Concerning both missions *cf.* Pieper, 41-2, 156-7. Prospero Santa Croce was a close friend of Cardinal A. Farnese; his being chosen was, therefore, very significant; see Romier, in the Mél. d'Arch., XXXI., 13.

do little damage, as the French fleet arrived too late.[1]

Another undertaking of Henry II. had all the more brilliant a success. The inhabitants of Siena rose on July 27th, 1552, with the cry of "France, Victory, Freedom!" and forced the Spanish garrison to retire.[2] The new Republic at once placed itself under the protection of France. Nothing could have been more pleasing to Henry II. than this turn of affairs, as it not only threatened the position of the Emperor in Italy, but served the purpose of keeping the Pope, as well as Cosimo de' Medici, in check.[3]

The reaction of the troubles which had arisen in Tuscany was at once seen in Rome. In the middle of August, 1552, the wildest reports of an intended sack of the city by the Spaniards were in circulation, originated solely, as was supposed, for the purpose of putting the Pope into a false position with regard to the Emperor.[4] As the disturbances in Siena were a grave danger to peace in the States of the Church, the Pope, whose treasury was completely exhausted by the war about Parma, found himself in a very critical position. Determined as he was to remain neutral in the impending struggle, his only thought was to prevent war, with its attendant horrors, from spreading over the States of the Church. He therefore ordered the enrolment of 4000 men.[5] The anxiety and dismay increased in Rome when the end of the month

[1] *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, II., 209 *seqq.*; Julius III. supported by his *brief of August 25, 1552, the preparations of Charles V. for war against the Turks (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 565, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 181-2.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 508.

[4] *Cf.* Serristori's *report of August 15, 1552 (State Archives, Florence). Camillo Orsini is also declared to be the originator of these rumours by Ipp. Capilupi, in his *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga on August 18, 1552 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See Serristori's *report of August 21, 1552 (State Archives, Florence).

brought the worst news regarding the advance of the Turks in Hungary.[1]

On August 13th, 1552, Julius III. had sent Cardinal Mignanelli to Siena to co-operate in the organization of the new constitution in such a manner as to preserve the peace and independence of the Republic, and assure it against the danger of interference by foreigners. Mignanelli, as a native of Siena, seemed more suited for this difficult task than anyone else could be, but in spite of all his good will, he could arrange nothing,[2] and, on September 28th, Julius III. had to recall him.[3] It was quite clear what turn affairs were taking, when Cardinal d'Este, who was entirely devoted to French interests, arrived in Siena on November 1st, 1552, as governor for Henry II.[4] A defensive and offensive alliance, and the transfer of additional French troops to Siena, showed how determined the French were to establish themselves firmly there.[5] Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, was preparing with all his might to drive them out, and thus, while the flames of war were hardly extinguished in Parma, another outbreak in Central Italy was threatened.

At the end of September, 1552, Julius III. had entrusted a commission consisting of four Cardinals with the task of deliberating upon measures for bringing about peace between Charles V. and the French king. He still hoped he would at least succeed in preventing this new disturbance of the peace of Italy, and repeatedly deliberated to this end with Cardinals

[1] See Serristori's *report of August 28, 1552 (State Archives, Florence). With regard to this matter, *cf.* HUBER, IV., 173-4.

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 311; ADRIANI, IX., 3; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 187.

[3] *Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 636 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] According to a coded *report of Ipp. Capilupi to Card. E. Gonzaga, of October 19, 1552, Dandino is supposed to have said that Card. Farnese had endeavoured to obtain the post which was given to Este (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] SOZZINI, 92-3.

de Cupis, Pacheco, Verallo, Puteo, Cicada and Mignanelli.[1] As he was well aware that the Viceroy of Naples was urging the Emperor to undertake an expedition against Siena, he sent Bernardo de' Medici to Pedro de Toledo at the end of November and advised him to wait a little longer before dispatching his troops. Pedro, however, persisted in his intention.[2]

In Rome, where the recollection of the dreadful sack of 1527 still lived in the memory of the people, new fears concerning the inimical intentions of the Spaniards again arose in December. The Pope, in consultation with the Cardinals, took precautionary measures, whereupon the Spanish party in Rome, as well as the Viceroy, made complaints. They should, however, have been pleased, as far as that was concerned, for the Pope, making the best of a bad bargain, allowed, in spite of his "neutrality," the Spanish troops to march through the States of the Church. The precautionary measures which he adopted served only to prevent deeds of violence and disturbances in his own territories.[3] He sent Achille de'

[1] See Serristori's *reports of September 16 and 28, and October 3, 1552 (State Archives, Florence); RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 44; DRUFFEL, II., 766-7, 778, 790-1. Cardinal Pacheco emphasizes the great desire of the Pope to mediate for peace, in a *letter to Card. Madruzzo, dated Rome, September 20, 1552 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

[2] Regarding this dispatch, see PIEPER, 45.

[3] *Cf.* besides Lasso's letter in DRUFFEL, II., 831, 840, the *Diario di Cola Coleine (*loc. cit., supra,* Chigi Library, Rome); CARO, Lett. pubbl. da Mazzuchelli, II., 98; Serristori's *reports of December 17, 18, and 19, 1552; in that of the 19 he says: "Torno S.B^ne^ a alterarsi grandemente sopra l'haverle questa mattina in consistorio replicato il card. S. Jacomo et Burgos che la faceva male a armare dolendosi del modo che si era proceduto seco." (State Archives, Florence). The *brief for the episc. Nepes. [P. A. de Angelis] et abb. Breregno, regarding commissariatus ad hospitandum pedites et equites, quos vicerex Neapolis in Hetruriam mittit, is dated December 15, 1552 (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 66, n. 811. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Concerning the preparations for war at that time, see also Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Inst., VI., 101.

Grassi to Naples again at the last moment, at the end of December, once more to beg the Viceroy to come to a peaceful arrangement, but again in vain.[1]

In the first days of the new year, 1553, Garcia de Toledo, the son of the Viceroy, started from Naples with the greater part of the Spanish army, and marched through the States of the Church to Cortona; his father proceeded with 30 galleys and 2500 Spaniards past Civitavecchia to Leghorn,[2] while Camillo Orsini had put Rome in a state of defence.[3] The Pope, who, just at that moment, was lying ill with an attack of gout, endeavoured to protect his subjects from the very severe hardships which the passage of the Imperial troops had brought in its train.[4] He commissioned Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo to persuade the leader of the Spanish army to agree to an armistice;[5] this attempt, however, was unsuccessful, while the Emperor gave his approval to the arbitrary proceedings of his Viceroy. As the Venetian ambassador declares, Charles V. allowed Pedro de Toledo to do as he pleased, so as not to give rise to the idea that he was wanting in courage and military skill since his failure before Metz.[6]

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 23, and PIEPER, 45.

[2] See ADRIANI, IX., 4; SOZZINI, 93; GALUZZI, 200-1; REUMONT Toskana, I. 189.

[3] See Serristori's *reports of January 4 and 10, 1553 (State Archives, Florence); FIRMANUS, 499-500; *cf.* also the *reports of Cristof. Trissino to Card. Madruzzo, dated, Rome, January 8 and 15, 1553 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck), and *Diario di Cola Coleine (*loc. cit.*, Chigi Library, Rome).

[4] *Cf.* the *briefs to Orvieto of January 9, and to Card. Savelli, legate of the Marches, of January 13, 1553, in Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 67, n. 15 and 27; *ibid.*, n. 30 to Abb. Brisegno: Charge of lodging Imperial army, January 14, 1553. *Cf.* n. 42, 43 to the episc. Nepes. and Card. S. Clementis of January 19. The Pope excused himself in a very friendly brief of January 10, 1553 (n. 18), for not having been able to greet him on his unexpected arrival in Civitavecchia (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cardinal Burgensi, dated January 14, 1553, *loc. cit.* n. 31.

[6] Venet. Dispatches, II., 593-4.

The benevolent neutrality which the Pope observed with regard to the Emperor afforded Charles the less satisfaction as, on the representation of the French ambassador, a captain of Henry II. was not prevented from marching through the Papal States with his mercenaries.[1] Those who knew the character of Julius III. thoroughly, believed that he would not take up a decisive position, until victory had unmistakably declared itself for one side or the other. The adherents of the Emperor thought it hard that there should be no qualified Spanish ambassador in Rome, who would have kept the very disunited Spanish Cardinals together.[2] To the joy of the French party a violent dispute arose between the Pope and Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo in March, 1553. This quarrel, indeed, was settled, but had as a consequence the temporary withdrawal of the Cardinal from the Curia.[3] The fortification of the city was, meanwhile, so far advanced that it seemed assured against any attack, and they hoped to render the Borgo quite impregnable in two months.[4]

At the beginning of February, 1553, it had transpired at the Curia that two envoys were about to be sent, who were to arrange for a peace between the Emperor and the French king. At first they contented themselves with the sending of couriers to the nuncios who were at the courts of the said

[1] See *briefs to Asc. della Corgna and Card. Fulvio della Corgna, of January 15, 1553. Min. brev., t. 67, n. 32-3. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See the coded **report of Serristori of February 1, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* Masius for this, Lettere, 121; and Serristori's *reports of March 11, 13, and 21, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See Serristori's *letter of January 4, 1553. On January 11, he *writes: "Qui si attende a fortificar Borgo con far bastioni e fossi, dove ci sono a lavorare da 400 guastatori;" on March 14 he *says: "Ogni giorno il s. Camillo Orsini va crescendo il numero delli guastatori per la fortificatione di Borgo, il qual vuole che in duoi mesi sia inespugnabile." According to his *report of March 23, the number of "guastatori" amounted to 700. (State Archives, Florence).

Princes.[1] A month later Onofrio Camaiani was sent to Florence, and Federigo Fantuccio to Siena, for the purpose of arranging a peaceful issue of the troubles in the latter city.[2] In a consistory of April 3rd, 1553, the appointment of the two Cardinal-Legates took place, which had already been planned during the summer and autumn of the previous year.[3] Dandino was to go to the Emperor and Capodiferro to Henry II., and they were instructed to declare, in the name of the Pope, that the latter only wished to fulfil his duty as Father of Christendom, and that he had no other interest in the establishment of peace than the well-being of all. For these reasons he offered himself as a mediator for the purpose of bringing about an agreement.[4] Dandino left the Eternal City on April 14th, and Capodiferro two days later.[5]

In May the Pope made still further attempts, by means of repeated missions to Siena, to bring the "miserable and barbaric war" which raged there between the Imperialists and

[1] *Serristori on February 1 and 6, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Concerning both dispatches see PIEPER, 46. The *Memoriale for Camaiani in Cod. Ottob., 1888, p. 1-2 of the Vatican Library. The departure of Camaiani took place on March 2 (see Serristori's *letter of that date. State Archives, Florence). The *briefs to Siena, Termes, and Card. Este with regard to Fantuccio, are of March 28, 1553. Min. brev., t. 67, n. 231-233 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 44; *cf.* PIEPER, 50.

[4] Concerning the dispatch of the two legates, see, besides Serristori's *reports of March 29 and April 3, 6 and 8, 1553 (State Archives, Florence), and Capilupi's *letter of April 3, 1553 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 18 *seqq.*; FIRMANUS 500 and especially PIEPER, 50-1, 161-2, 166 *seqq.* A rare impression of the Bulla facultatum H. card. Imolensis (dated 1553, April 3) Lovanii, 1553, is in the British Museum.

[5] See FIRMANUS, 500 and *letter of Serristori of April 14, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Nonciat. de France, I., 28, and KUPKE in Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Inst., IV., 82 *seqq.*

the French to an end.[1] At the beginning of June, Julius III., who at that time appointed the Duke of Urbino as Captain-General of the Church,[2] went to Viterbo, in order to discuss matters with the Sienese representatives there.[3] The hopes which were entertained of the success of this step[4] were not realized, as Cardinal d'Este was opposed to it. He had already received news that a turn in the position of affairs was imminent,[5] which soon, indeed, proved to be the case. The threatening of Naples by a Turkish fleet forced the Imperialists to strengthen the garrison there, and they were consequently obliged to raise the siege of Siena on June 15th.[6] The Sienese question, however, which had assumed such unexpected importance, had by no means thereby found a solution.

In the meantime the two peace legates had reached the end of their journey, but they did not manage to come to any arrangement.[7] It seemed, indeed, at that time, as if the

[1] Concerning the dispatch of G. A. Vimercato and Card. N. Gaetani see SOZZINI, 131, 135, 137-8, and PIEPER, 47-8. Numerous *briefs concerning the dispatch of G. A. Vimercato in Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 68, n. 326, 340-1 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See FIRMANUS, 501.

[3] *Cf.* besides SOZZINI, 139-140, ADRIANI, IX., 4, and Carte Strozz., I., 500, the *report of Serristori dated Rome, 1553, June 2 (the Pope goes to Viterbo to-day ; va con speranza grande di concludere l'accordo perchè l'ambasciatore Franzese gle lo prometto certo ; oltre che per una lettera che scrive un agente del card. di Ferrara da S. Germano al legato S. Giorgio si vede che il re lo desidera), and the *letters from Viterbo of June 6 (conference with the Cardinals), 9 (the Pope's attack of gout), and 17 (tomorrow we return to Rome). State Archives,

[4] See Serristori's *report of July 3, 1553, concerning the consistory on this date (State Archives, Florence).

[5] See PIEPER, 49.

[6] SOZZINI, 143-4. The Pope allowed the march of the Imperial troops through the States of the Church. Min. brev., t. 67, n. 406, 415, 427 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[7] *Cf.* GACHARD, Archives du Vatican, 52-3, and Biogr. Nat., III., 864-5. MASIUS, Lettere, 122-3 ; Venet. Dispatches, II., 603-4 ; PIEPER, 52-3.

exasperation and eager desire for war which filled the hearts of Charles V. and Henry II. with hatred against each other, had assumed a more intense character than before. The news from the legates sounded so hopeless that the general congregation of Cardinals proposed their recall. On July 31st, by command of the Pope, the affair was once more discussed by a special commission of six Cardinals: Carpi, Puteo, Pighino, Alvarez de Toledo, Sermoneta and de Cupis. De Cupis, on this occasion, spoke strongly in favour of recalling them, but Carpi opposed him, pointing out the Emperor's increasing success in the war, which would force Henry II. to come to terms. Most of the Cardinals approved of this view,[1] and on August 1st, the Pope decided in this sense, the peace mission of the legates being extended for two months longer.[2]

It was only with great difficulty that Dandino succeeded in inducing the Emperor to formulate his conditions of peace with greater exactitude; these, however, went so far that Henry II. utterly refused an answer. Thereupon the legates started on their return journey to Rome at the beginning of October.[3]

They travelled slowly; on again reaching the Eternal City on December 3rd,[4] Dandino could see the harmful effects consequent upon the Sienese war. In the very populous Florentine colony which had long existed in Rome there were many exiles and other opponents of the Medici. The hopes of these people, who clung with the greatest tenacity to their old ideals, were strengthened when Piero Strozzi,[5] who had been appointed French commandant in Siena, instead of Termes, reached Rome at the end of the year, where

[1] See Serristori's detailed **report of July 31, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* TURNBULL, Queen Mary, n. 4.

[2] "Ha giudicato S.S.tà doppo d'haver udito i pareri et voti delle due congregationi generale et particulare esser meglio che i legati restino che richiamarli." *Serristori on August 1, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* PIEPER, 54.

[3] See PIEPER, 54-5.

[4] See FIRMANUS, 501.

[5] *Cf.* COPPINI, P. Strozzi nell' assedio di Siena, Florence, 1902.

he discussed with the Pope the prolongation of the armistice in connection with the affair of Parma.[1]

The year 1554 brought with it the decision as to the fate of Siena. The shrewdest of all the politicians in the Italy of those days, Cosimo de' Medici, who had been reconciled to the Emperor by a secret treaty of November 25th, 1551, overcame the neighbouring Republic by means of a base act of violence. On January 26th, 1554, his troops took forcible possession of the fortress of Camullia, situated immediately in front of the gates of Siena. His undertaking, as he declared to the Sienese, had no other object than to restore to them their freedom and independence, of which the French had robbed them. The Republic was not deceived by such hypocritical good-will. With fierce determination the Sienese prepared to defend their independence, and thereupon an inhuman war at once broke out, which was waged on both sides with almost unexampled stubbornness and barbarity.[2]

When, in May 1554, a new nuncio, in the person of Sebastiano Gualterio, was sent to France in the place of Prospero Santa Croce, he received, in addition to his principal mission of urging Henry II. to make peace with the Emperor, special directions to offer the Pope as mediator in the Sienese struggle. In the instructions, the very great injury which the Sienese war was causing to the States of the Church is emphasized. The Pope had been obliged to pay 150,000 scudi for putting Rome and the other possessions of the Holy See in a state of defence; the salary of the Duke of Urbino as Captain-General of the Church necessitated an annual outly of 30,000 scudi; moreover, the dislocation of traffic and commerce by land

[1] The prolongation of the armistice (see *Barb., 2,392, p. 166-7. Vatican Library) was signed by Card. du Bellay and Lanssac on February 3, 1554, ratified by Henry II. on March 3, and delivered to the Pope on April 26 (see Sauzé, 374-5 and Coggiola, Farnesi, 14-5); Julius III. communicated it to Ottavio by a *brief of April 27, 1554 (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 70, n. 233. Secret Archives of the Vatican). On April 29, the *Breve assolutorio* for Ottavio Farnese was issued; see Coggiola, 15-6, 254-5.

[2] See Reumont, Toskana, I., 199 *seqq.*

and sea had also to be taken into consideration. In these instructions stress is also laid on the neutrality of the Pope, who had allowed the partisans of France to draw military stores from the States of the Church and enrol troops there.[1] That was to the point,[2] but on the other hand it could not be denied that on the whole the Papal "neutrality" had a more or less Imperialist tendency. This was the result, not only of the old weakness of the Pope for Charles V., but was much more due to the very friendly relations that had all along existed between him and Cosimo I.[3] These had, however, been very much disturbed in July, 1554, when Julius III. had been weak enough to allow the French auxiliary troops, destined for Siena, to march through the States of the Church. Besides this there were also serious differences with the Florentine ambassador, Averardo Serristori.[4] The former friendly relations were, however, at once restored when the Pope's brother, Baldovino, congratulated the Duke on the brilliant victory which his troops had gained over Piero Strozzi at Marciano on August 2nd, 1554.[5]

Julius III. again made several vain attempts, from October, 1554, to the end of January in the following year, to bring

[1] See Nonciat. de France, I., 22 *seqq.*

[2] Concerning the incredibly weak behaviour of Julius III., and his curious neutrality, see REUMONT, III., 2, 509.

[3] With his *brief of December 27, 1551, Julius had sent the Duke a blessed Cap and Sword. Min. brev. t. 62, n. 1054. *Ibid.*, t. 66, n. 763 a *brief characteristic of their intimate relations, to Cosimo I., on November 29, 1552 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* concerning this DESJARDINS, III., 343-4; GORI, Arch., I., 28; Riv. Europ, VI. (1878), 629 *seqq.*; Stor. Ital. Ser. 4, II., 12-3; Nonciat. de France, I., n. 55, 81. That Julius III. had previously suggested the recall of Serristori is evident from the **brief to Cosimo I. of June 10, 1554, unknown until now, (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 71, n. 342. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See Nonciat. de France, I., 84 n. 2. Baldovino and the Governor of Rome illuminated their palaces at the celebration of the victory; see *Diario di Cola Coleine, Chigi Library, *loc. cit.*

the vexed Sienese question to a peaceful solution.[1] He did not survive till the fall of the Republic; his old trouble, the gout, and an unwise starvation cure brought his life to an end on March 23rd, 1555.[2]

[1] See Nonciat. de France, I. xlix *seqq.* A. Agostini, who was sent to the Emperor in January, 1555, was to impress on him the necessity for a peace with France (see PIEPER, 68). *Cf.* also PALANDRI, n. 83, concerning the complaints of Julius III. with regard to the conduct of Cosimo I.

[2] The state of health of Julius III. was so grave that Serristori was of opinion, as early as the Autumn of 1554, that a slight attack would bring about his death (*Report of September 29, 1554. State Archives, Florence). On February 12, 1555, the Pope was again attacked by gout, and had to take to his bed (See MASSARELLI, 247). His strength gradually decreased, as the doctors ordered a very low diet, a drastic measure which his stomach, accustomed to rich food, could not withstand (see Panvinio in MERKLE, II., 248, n. 1). The Bishop of Pavia *writes on March 18: "S.S^{tà} gia sono 32 giorni che sta in letto senza periculo, ma debole et senza appetito et come esso dice in termine, se gli sopragiungesse alcuno accidente che forse la fariano male" (State Archives, Florence); however, it was still hoped on March 9, that he would soon recover (*N.S. tuttavia continua nella sua indispositione, ma non pero più grave sperandosi che presto sia per convalersi. G. Maggio on March 9, State Archives, Bologna); and on the 16, Serristori *writes: "N.S. se bene è assai battuto sta pero assai quieto in modo che presto si dovera levar da letto." On March 19 the Pope's state was grave, and on the 21, hopeless. See concerning this, besides MASSARELLI, 247, the *letters of Fulgenzio Gianettini of March 21 and 22 (State Archives, Bologna) and the *reports of Serristori of March 19, 21 and 22 (State Archives, Florence); the passage from the letter of the 22, relating the disappointment of the relatives whose requests the dying Pope did not grant, is printed in the Nonciat. de France, I., xliv., n. 4. On March 22, "a hore 20." F. Gianettini announces: "La notte passata, alle 7 hore S.S^{tà} udì messa et confessò et reconciliato pigliò il s^{to} sacramento della communione et li a poco chiedi l'estrema untione, which he received. To-day all the Cardinals went to the Pope, whom no one could any longer understand." State Archives, Bologna; *Ibid.* the announcement of the death,

In the crypt of St. Peter's, the simple sarcophagus, distinguished only by the words "Pope Julius III.," which contains his remains, can still be seen.[1] It is not by chance that this Pope has no special tomb, for his reign has left no deep traces. He did not realize the expectations to which his activities as Cardinal, and the zeal he displayed at the beginning of his pontificate, gave rise.

He had nothing in common with the great Pope after whom Giovan Maria del Monte was called, but the name. And this is not only true in the sense of his not being the patron of art and letters, but in other respects as well, as the very qualities which specially distinguished Julius II., independence of character, energy and power, were totally wanting in him. He was of a sanguine temperament, with rapidly changing moods, easily influenced and exceedingly nervous and timid, and was constantly in a state of vacillation and indecision. The times, full of the harshest contrasts, called for a strong unbending character; such a man as Julius III. was quite incapable of dealing with the particularly difficult conditions. Paul IV. afterwards described his compliance and dependence on the Imperialists in the sharpest terms; he said that Julius III. had no longer been master in Rome, and had been obliged to do what the Spaniards wanted.[2] It is at all events certain that Julius made a fatal mistake when he allowed himself to be led into making war on Ottavio Farnese, the consequences of which caused great financial and moral injury to the Holy See.[3]

written immediately afterwards, "a hore 19." *Cf.* also Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, 34; J. v. MEGGEN in the Archiv. für schweiz. Reform-Gesch., III., 514; the Portuguese reports in Corpo Dipl. Port., VII., 375-6.

[1] See DIONYSIUS, Crypt. Vatic. tab., LV.; TURRIGIO, 387; FORCELLA, VI., 70; DUFRESNE, 91.

[2] See *report of Navagero, dat. Rome, July 25, 1556 (St. Mark's Library, Venice).

[3] See *supra* p. 140. In consequence of his friendly attitude to the Emperor, satires on the dead Pope continued to be published, especially in France. *Cf.* FAVRE, Olivier de Magny, 59 *seqq.* Concerning the scarcity of money at the death of Julius III., *cf.* Mitteil. des Ostr. Inst., XIV., 544.

It is also undeniable that the Pope by no means drew the correct inferences from the exceedingly grave position in which the Church was placed by the serious defection in the north; he never sufficiently realized how greatly the times had changed. The Church, already bleeding from a thousand wounds, was daily receiving new blows from incensed enemies and undutiful children. Julius III. gave the painful impression that, instead of retiring within himself in prayer and contemplation, he gave himself up in a more ingenuous manner, like the great nobles of the Renaissance period, to the amusements of comedies, court jesters and card-playing. The "Hilaritas publica" which one of his medals extols,[1] was not in place at a time when the faithful Catholic chronicler, Johann Oldecop, had this inscription placed on his house in Hildesheim: "Duty has ceased, the Church is convulsed, the clergy has gone astray, the devil rules, simony prevails, the Word of God remains for all eternity."[2]

One must not, however, go too far in accusing Julius III. He has been unjustly made responsible for the interruption of the Council, and the unfortunate sudden change of affairs in Germany; he is also not to blame for the short duration of the reconciliation of England with the Church. It was, however, unavoidable that a deep shadow should have been thrown over his pontificate by all these events, and that this should dim his very remarkable activity within the Church, and especially his efforts for reform. Because this activity was not sufficiently known, and was therefore underestimated, the dark side of his pontificate is more evident to us, while the, at any rate weaker, bright side has fallen too much into the background.[3]

[1] See VENUTI, 91.

[2] *Cf.* JANNSEN-PASTOR, VIII., 427.

[3] All that Julius III. had done for Rome and the States of the Church was almost entirely forgotten. In this respect his care for strict justice is especially worthy of remark. *Cf.* thereupon Buonanni's *report of September 20, 1550, and Serristori's of September 16, 1552 (State Archives, Florence); see also the "Bulla deput. card. Tranen. et de Puteo ac S. Calixti et S. Clemen-

tis ad superintendendum rebus urbis et audiendum quaerelas," dat. 1553 VI. Id. Oct.; printed copy in the Colonna Archives, Rome; *Ibid.* the *brief of May 29, 1554, against the "banditi dello stato Romano." See also in Appendix No. 15, the *brief of May 6, 1552, concerning the work of making the Upper Tiber navigable. On March 3, 1551, Julius III. appointed Paulus de Tarano as commissary "super dessicatione paludum" of the States of the Church to the borders of Siena and Florence. Arm. 41, t. 59, n. 219; *ibid.* t. 64, n. 388, the *brief for Bernardus Machiavellus Florent. of June 22, 1552, concerning the continuation and rendering safe of the drainage of the marshes at Foligno, Trevi and Montefiascone, begun by Paul III. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Concerning his care for the defence of Rome and Civitavecchia, *cf. infra* Chapter XIV. To the brighter side of the character of Julius III., which is overlooked, belongs also his great benevolence. His almoner, the worthy Francesco Vanuzzi (*cf.* FORCELLA, XII., 514), paid 245 scudi monthly to the poor. The "Ospedale degli Incurabili" and the institution "delle orfanelle" each received 100 scudi a month; besides this, convents and other needy establishments were generously and regularly aided. See *Intr. et Exit., 1554-1555, Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library.

CHAPTER VI.

Efforts of Julius III. for Reform—Creation of Cardinals.

At the very beginning of his reign, in March, 1550, Julius III. had taken in hand the carrying on of the reform work begun by his predecessor, and, in order to deliberate on this most important matter, in which the reform of the abuses in the Dataria was especially to be considered, he appointed a commission, consisting of Cardinals de Cupis, Carafa, Sfondrato, Crescenzi, Pole and Cibo.[1] Cibo soon fell dangerously ill, and died on April 14th.[2] As other members of the commission also fell ill or had to be absent from Rome, the matter came temporarily to a standstill, but the Pope re-opened it by urging, in a consistory of July 21st, 1550, the energetic resumption of the work, in view of the near approach of the Council. He submitted the question to the Cardinals, whether it would be better to form a new commission, to wait for the arrival of the absent members, or to summon them. The College of Cardinals decided on the latter course, and resolved that new members should be appointed in the place of those who were prevented from returning.[3] As gross abuses had become apparent during the last conclave, the Pope at the same consistory of July 21st[4] commissioned Cardinals Medici and

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 57 and Appendix Nos. 7 and 8.

[2] See the *reports of Buonanni of April 9 and 14, and that of *Serristori of April 13, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See *Acta consist. cancell., VI., 54; and Schweitzer, Reformen unter Julius III., 53-4. As Schweitzer is preparing a special publication, I have purposely refrained from entering into many particulars.

[4] *Cf.* Sägmüller, Papstwahlbullen, 18-19; Schweitzer, 54.

Maffei to consider proposals for reform. By the beginning of August, as we are informed by a Florentine correspondent,[1] Julius III. had reformed his own entourage, and had also spoken of a reform of the College of Cardinals.[2]

How zealously the Pope intended to carry out his campaign of reform, even before the meeting of the Council, is shown by the fact that on September 7th, 1550, he commissioned the former secretary of the Council, Massarelli, to prepare a summary of such reform proposals as had not yet been deliberated on at Trent. These were now to be finally dealt with in Rome, for which purpose three of the most experienced members of the Sacred College, Cervini, Pole and Morone, were summoned to return to the Curia at the end of September.[3] On October 3rd, the Pope was in a position to announce that the labours of Cardinals Medici and Maffei were proceeding most favourably, and that they had already drawn up a Bull for the reform of the conclave. De Cupis was to communicate this document to the different Cardinals, so that they might say whether they had anything to add or to delete.[4] The Florentine ambassador sent a copy to Cosimo I. on October 13th, telling him to keep it secret, and above all, to take care that the officious humanist, Giovio, did not get a glimpse of it and prematurely make it public.[5]

[1] "Ha fatto la reforma della casa sua." *Buonanni on August 6, 1550. Concerning the Conclave reforms, the latter thinks: "L'opera è santissima, ma chi la farà metter in esecutione?" (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See in Appendix No. 9., Buonanni's *letter of August 2, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See MASSARELLI, 190, 193.

[4] See Acta consist. in LAEMMER, Melet., 206; *cf.* GULIK, 34 and SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 20.

[5] "Aspettonsi i rev^mi S. Croce et Inghilterra perchè possa essere vista da loro et poi dagl' altri cardinali la minuta della bolla del conclave, che sarà presto espedita a fine che di poi possa mandarsi a S.M.^tà sopra l'indicatione di detto concilio di Trento . . . . . Con questa sarà la copia della riforma che S.S.^tà vorebbe dare ai

When, at the end of October, Cardinals Cervini, Morone and Pole had arrived in Rome, decisive steps with regard to the question of reform were expected in the immediate future.[1] In November and December the most exhaustive deliberations were repeatedly held in the consistory and elsewhere concerning this important question.[2] Even the sceptical Florentine, Buonanni, no longer doubted as to the sincerity of the members of the commission.[3]

A compilation of the dispensations which hitherto had been granted by the Dataria, and which had given rise to much scandal, of itself shows the difficulties which had to be overcome.[4] Seventeen of these, which were to be duly discussed and examined, were specially called in question. Cardinals de Cupis, Carafa, Cervini, Crescenzi, Pisani and Pole were entrusted with this work in December. The Pope, says the Florentine ambassador, Serristori, by his reform of the Dataria, wishes to show that in his efforts for reform, he is beginning at home.[5] The same object was served by the continued

conclavi a venire, la quale prega i rev^{mo} de Medici che non sia publicata et sopratutto non vada in man del Jovio, poichè S.S^{tà} come pare giusto vuole prima ch'ella sia vista dal collegio et ritoccata dove paresse bene et poi publicata, passata ch'ella fusse per consistorio." *Buonanni, Rome, October 13, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[1] "Poiche si trovano qui i rev^{mi} S. Croce, Morone et Inghilterra si metterà mano alle cose della riforma, la quelle dicono che sarà fuori inanzi del Natale." *Buonanni, Rome, October 25, 1550 (State Archives, Florence). See also Buonanni's *report of October 30, and the letter of Masius in LACOMBLET, Archiv, VI., 165.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 198, 199, 202, 204.

[3] "Di qua s'attenderà al presente alla reforma, la quale si trova in man d'alcuni reverendissimi, che la faran più stretta che potranno per quanto starà in loro." *Buonanni on November 14, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See SCHWEITZER, 55.

[5] Serristori announces the *installation of the commission "in ultimo concistorio, acciò che nella reforma si cominciasse prima di quel tocasse all'utile di S.S^{tà}" on December 20, 1550 (State Archives, Florence).

retrenchment in the expenses of the court, already begun in February.[1] On February 27th, 1551, the work on the reform of the Dataria had already progressed so far that the Pope could indicate to the delegated Cardinals the principles according to which the decrees to be promulgated were to be drawn up.[2] Julius III. had already, on February 12th and 16th, gone minutely into the question of a reform of the system of preaching and confession, with Cardinal Crescenzi, the Bulls in connection therewith being laid before the Inquisition. At the same time a reform of the Penitentiary was being planned.[3] Julius III., in a secret consistory of February 18th, ordered that a further commission of eleven Cardinals should assemble twice a week in the apartments of the Dean of the Sacred College, and that a report as to the progress of their work should be submitted to him every Saturday.[4] It appears from a note in the Pope's own hand, that he was also employed upon a reform of the *Signatura gratiæ*, by which the dispensations were very substantially limited.[5] On February 23rd the Pope again discussed the question of reform for the whole day with Cardinal Crescenzi, and for this purpose had the old Bulls in the archives of the Castle of St. Angelo examined,[6]

[1] See Matteo Dandolo's *report of February 12, 1550, in State Archives, Venice (*cf.* DE LEVA, V., 139) and the *letter of Buonanni of December 1, 1550, in which he says: "S.S.tà o per meglio dir il suo maiordomo ha fatta una reforma bestialissima di persone e di bestie che mangiavano in casa, et dicono che fra tutte sono state 300, per le quali prova il detto maiordomo che si avanzeranno l'anno 30,000 scudi." (State Archives, Florence). Concerning the Ruoli della famiglia di Giulio III., see MORONI, XXIII., 63-4.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 217, and SCHWEITZER, 55.

[3] "Iam tempus est, ut ad Nos et ad tua penitentiariae, de cuius reformatione agendum est, officia redeas." *Brief to Card. Ranuccio Farnese of February 27, 1551 (Arm. 41, t. 59, n. 97. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See *Acta consist. cancell. VI., 72a (Consistorial Archives), and MASSARELLI, 216.

[5] See SCHWEITZER, 55.

[6] See MASSARELLI, 216.

and at least part of the reform work prepared which was to be made ready before the opening of the Council.[1] Then the political troubles which arose through the question of Parma came to prevent progress in the matter. However much these may have interfered with the peaceful continuation of the work, the opinion of an expert of the time is justified, who says that an important beginning had already been made in this direction before the opening of the Council. There can be no doubt that Julius III. was not afraid to take the work in hand with determined energy, and with clear insight to fix on precisely those institutions which were chiefly in need of reform: the Dataria, the *Signatura gratiæ* and the conclave. The immediate result of his endeavours was, certainly, not great, but that was not the fault of the Pope, since he did not fail in admonitions; but it was, above all, a consequence of "the difficult times and of the immense amount of work called for by the re-opening of the Council."[2]

How very sincerely the Pope was animated by this wish to abolish abuses in the Church, wherever he found them, is also shown by his various reform statutes. It appears from these still unpublished documents, that his care was extended to the secular as well as the regular clergy. The statutes, which were issued immediately after his election, were concerned chiefly with Italy, but there were also others for Germany, Spain and Portugal.[3]

The reform decrees, published by the Council in its 13th and 14th Sessions, were to secure the official jurisdiction of the bishops and to render possible the punishment of bad ecclesiastics. In the further deliberations of the Council, the old dispute regarding the authority of the Pope over the Council,

[1] "Attendesi alle cose della reforma, parte delle quali si publicherà di qua et parte si manderanno alla resolution del concilio." *Buonanni, February 26, 1551 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Opinion of SCHWEITZER, 56; *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 22-3.

[3] For France only one document. See summary of *Briefs which are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix No. 28.

which had been so fateful to the synods of the XVth century, again showed itself. Julius III. declared with outspoken candour, in view of the dangerous advance of the Spanish pretensions, that, although it was his greatest wish to proceed energetically with the work of reform, the authority with which God had invested him must, at the same time, not be impugned.[1] Events would prove, after the conclusion of the Council, and the end of the war concerning Parma, whether he was really determined to carry out his work of reform. The plan of continuing this in Rome, with the help of the members of the suspended Council, was not approved of by them,[2] and he was therefore obliged to take up the laborious task alone.

How earnestly the Pope felt about this matter is shown by the fact that during the whole of May, 1552, his mind was occupied with the idea of degrading the unworthy Cardinal del Monte, whose elevation had so severely compromised him, and of setting him back into the lay state.[3] Unfortunately, the idea came to nothing, but, on the other hand, the work concerning the reform of the conclave was again taken up. The draft of a Bull drawn up by Maffei and Medici concerning this matter was placed in the hands of Cervini for final revision. The latter handed the Pope his work at the end of July, and the decisive steps were to be taken after the summer vacation.[4] During the vacation, Julius III., in a consistory of August 24th, published a salutary restriction of the giving of benefices, which were frequently asked for on the most frivolous grounds. Henceforth only the canonical grounds were to be regarded as valid, and the association of any definite condition, in connection with the grant, was also forbidden.[5]

[1] See *supra* p. 124. [2] See *supra* pp. 127 *seq.*

[3] "Il card. di Carpi mi ha detto sapere di buon luogo che S.S^{tà} ha in animo di far tornare al seculo il card. de Monte et darli per moglie la sig^{ra} Ersilia." Coded *report of Serristori of May 10, 1552 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See Cervini's letter in DRUFFEL, II., 669; *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 26.

[5] See Acta consist. in SCHWEITZER, 56.

A consistory of September 16th, 1552, in which the Pope produced a comprehensive plan for carrying out the work of reform, caused a great sensation. This was to begin with the new regulations about the conclave, so that the candidate whom God desired should be chosen, and the election not be hampered by human cunning and trickery. The one chosen, continued the Pope, should be admonished to observe the commandments of God and the Church with fidelity. It was to be impressed on the Cardinals that their most sacred duty was to assist the Pope with such counsel as they considered wholesome and salutary; they were not to possess more than one bishopric, which they were to visit in accordance with their duty, and they were forbidden to hold pastoral offices *in commendam*. Julius III. recommended to the bishops a strict observance of their duty of residence, from which only those were to be exempt who had to hold a fixed office in Rome or elsewhere. The bishops were to invest with benefices only such priests as were worthy, and no one was to receive Holy Orders in Rome or elsewhere without the permission of his ordinary. After the confirmation of these regulations, the reform of the Dataria, of the Penitentiary, and lastly, of worldly princes, was to be carried out.[1]

The Pope had spoken so earnestly that even the Spaniards, such as Pacheco, believed in the sincerity of his intentions.[2] The representative of King Ferdinand I., Diego Lasso, was of opinion that even the Council could undertake no greater reform.[3]

At the end of October, 1552, the Cardinals of the reform commission began their deliberations under the presidency of Cervini, who had been summoned to Rome; two protocols

[1] SCHWEITZER was the first to draw attention (p. 57) to the speech of Julius III. preserved by Massarelli. Serristori refers in his *report of September 16, 1552 (State Archives, Florence), to the consistory, but just as briefly as do the Acta consistorialia of the Consistorial Archives.

[2] See the *letter of Card. Pacheco to Card. Madruzzo, dat. Rome, September 20, 1552 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] See DRUFFEL, II., 767.

inform us of the progress they made. One, that of Cardinal Maffei, includes the months of October and November, while the other, drawn up by the president, begins with the November of 1552, and continues until the April of the following year.[1]

At the first sitting, which took place on October 26th, 1552, Cardinals Pacheco, Puteo, Pighino, Cicada and Maffei assisted, as well as the president. From other reports it appears that Cardinals Verallo and Carafa were also present at the sittings of the commission from time to time.[2] They all worked in accordance with the programme laid down by Julius III., and, in addition to the reform of the conclave, were also occupied with that of the consistory. With regard to the latter, Cervini proposed that every bishop, or other prelate, should, on his election, make a profession of faith, and that bishops should be pledged to the observance of their duty of residence by the formula of their oath. In November the Cardinals dealt chiefly with those abuses which prevailed in the *Signatura gratiæ*. One reason for the state of things existing there was, it was said, to be found in the large number of officials, in consequence of which things happened for which the term used, "exorbitant," seems only too fitting. Complaints were especially made with regard to the laxity in the examination of

[1] SCHWEITZER has also been the first to bring these two protocols to light (57, 58) of which one (Concilio, LXXVIII., 72 *seqq.*) is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the other (Carte Cervini, XXXII., 17 *seqq.*) in the State Archives, Florence. In the Maffei Archives, Volterra, which, unfortunately are not well arranged, there are only a few unimportant letters of the Cardinal. Besides Cervini, Card. Mignatelli was also summoned to Rome by the *brief of September 28, 1552 (Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 636. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See Lasso's report in DRUFFEL, II., 825, and MASIUS, Lettere, 121. The commission does not seem to have possessed more than six members (see the Portuguese report of November 2, 1552, in the Corpo dipl. Port. VII., 193). When the names of the Cardinals are changed, this is explained by the fact that each of them had a representative.

candidates for Holy Orders in Rome, the acceptance of presents by the ordaining prelates, the non-observance of the canonical age, the bestowal of benefices on youths, connivance at the concubinage of higher clerics and other evil practices.[1] In December the views of the Spanish bishops were laid before the commission,[2] and on December 20th the Pope deliberated in a Congregation concerning the reform of plenary indulgences, desired by the commission of Cardinals.[3]

The work of the commission in January and February, 1553, was chiefly concerned with the duty of residence of the bishops, and it was not until the middle of March that the matter was so far arranged, that canons could be drawn up, whereupon the reform of the Penitentiary was next taken in hand.[4]

On April 17th, 1553, the Pope informed the members of the Sacred College, assembled in consistory, of the proposals of the reform commission, which were then read out, and he gave it as his opinion that a beginning should be made with the Bull concerning the conclave. All the Cardinals were to submit their views, so that after these had been examined, the final text of the Bull could be drawn up.[5] That the Pope himself took a personal share in the work may be seen from the fact that he himself prescribed the subjects for the further deliberations of the commission, which lost a valuable member in July,

[1] See SCHWEITZER, 58-9.

[2] See Cervini's letter in DRUFFEL, II., 828.

[3] See Camillo Capilupi's *report to Card. E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, December 21, 1552, in which he says :" . . . . . .Hieri si fece una congregatione inanti S.S^{tà} dove si parlò del modo che che si ha a tenere nel concedere queste indulgenze plenarie che vengono ogni di dimandate a S.S^{tà} da questi r^{mi}, parendo ad alcuni card ^{li} della riforma, che quest' usanza che si tiene del publicare dette indulgenze sia per essere cagione che vengano in dispreggio, attacandosi per i cantoni delle strade stampate." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See SCHWEITZER, 59-60 ; *cf.* MASIUS, Lettere, 118-9.

[5] See Acta consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 46 ; *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 26.

1553, through the death of Cardinal Maffei.[1] Two of the documents which the Pope dictated to Massarelli at the end of December, 1553, are still in existence.[2]

The year 1554 is described by experts as being the most fruitful period of work in the pontificate of Julius III.[3] How fully this opinion is justified is shown by the collection of drafts, proposals and protocols concerning the reform negotiations of that period preserved in the Papal secret archives.[4] From these we can understand with what true zeal this difficult task was handled in the numerous sittings. The deliberations, begun on January 1st, 1554, dealt with the entrance into the clerical state and the granting of benefices. From January 10th the commission was also occupied with the reform of monasteries. On January 14th the Florentine ambassador wrote of the favourable prospects for the realization of reform; the disputes which had arisen in Spain concerning the meaning of several of the decrees of the Council of Trent also contributed to the acceleration of the work.[5] In the later deliberations, the settlement of the duty of residence and the reform of the Signatura were more fully discussed than any other subjects before the commission. On February 12th the Pope personally took part in the deliberations, and declared that although the matters of reform were not yet fully settled, he considered it better that a part of the resolutions should now be published. To this end, a Bull should be drawn up, which was to introduce

[1] The Pope's sorrow at the loss of this man is brought out by Serristori in his *report of July 17, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). The death of Card. de Cupis (December 10, 1553), was also a great blow to him.

[2] More details in Schweitzer, 61. The Pope also speaks of the continuation of the reform work already begun, in his instructions for Delfino of December 1, 1553, see Pieper, 183.

[3] Schweitzer, 61.

[4] *Concilio, LXXVIII., 248-9 (January, 1554), 285-6 (February, 1554), prepared by the indefatigable Massarelli, first used by Schweitzer (62).

[5] See in Appendix No. 21a, Serristori's *report of January 14, 1554. (State Archives, Florence).

the matter, the draft of which should be sent to the Cardinals for their approval. Eight of these documents, among which are the opinions of Cardinals Morone and Carpi, are still preserved.[1]

With regard to the summer of 1554 we have, unfortunately, up to the present, no detailed information, although there is a decree of Julius III. of this time, which ordains that no member of a religious order may, for the future, accept a bishopric without the consent of his Superior and the Protector of his order. At the end of November the Pope addressed earnest admonitions to the Cardinals to keep their dwellings and entourage in all modesty and propriety, and to distinguish themselves by well-doing and generosity to the poor.[2] In the same month the deliberations concerning the reform of the Papal election were also finally concluded. The Bulls to be issued on this matter, the improvement in which had been repeatedly discussed, remained as drafts, and their publication, in the opinion of the Florentine ambassador, would take place before the end of January, 1555.[3] As, however, the work was taken in hand in the most painstaking manner, and the intention was to abolish all possible hindrances to a conscientious election, the new Bull concerning the conclave could only be read aloud in the consistory of November 12th, 1554, after which it was sent to the different Cardinals.[4]

The commission was above all occupied at that time with the question of the reform of the bishops. This part of the programme was so far worked out by the end of November, that it outlines could be read in the consistory and handed

[1] *Concilio, LXVIII., 226a, 353-370 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* SCHWEITZER, 62.

[2] See *Acta consist. in Consistorial Archives; SCHWEITZER, 64-5.

[3] *Letter of Serristori of January 26, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See *Acta consist. in Consistorial Archives; RAYNALDUS, 1554, n. 23; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 27-8, 291-2; SCHWEITZER, 63.

to all the Cardinals for approval.[1] In December a draft for the reform of the seculars and regulars was also prepared, to which the Cardinals likewise gave their sanction.[2] A draft from the hand of Julius III. himself proves that he was also, at this time, engaged upon the reform of the College of Cardinals.[3] At the end of January, 1555, the Pope was able to inform the King of Spain that he had succeeded, in spite of the opposition of clergy and laity, in preparing a comprehensive Reform Bull, which would soon appear.[4] The death of the Pope intervened and prevented this; the official document is preserved in the Papal secret archives.[5] It begins, in accordance with the original plan drawn up by Julius III. himself, with the Pope and Cardinals, then passing on to the bishops, the ordination of the clergy, the bestowal of benefices, the Signatura, the Penitentiary and the regular clergy. Besides these points, the explanation of the Holy Scriptures, and the nature and preaching of Indulgences, are also dealt with. A special Reform Bull for the Penitentiary had already been drawn up, which had not yet been made public, but which, it seems, had already in many respects been carried into practice.[6]

When the work of Julius III. for reform is impartially considered, it becomes quite clear to us that it must in no way be judged in such a depreciatory manner as was done by his contemporaries,[7] and the investigators who followed

[1] See *Concilio, LXXVIII., 331-2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); SCHWEITZER, 63-4. In Appendix No. 24 Serristori's *report of December 1, 1554 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See *Concilio, LXXVIII., 339-40; SCHWEITZER, 64.

[3] See *Concilio, LXXVIII., 344.

[4] See the instructions for A. Agostino in LAEMMER, Mantissa, 169-70; *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 28-9.

[5] *Reformatio, quae addenda erat per Julium III. Pont. Max., 1555, sed non conclusa. Concilio, LXXVIII., 374 *seqq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] *Cf.* GÖLLER, II., 1, 121-2.

[7] Especially by Seripando, whose judgment was first published by HÖFLER in the Abhandlungen der Münchner Akademie, IV., 3,

them.[1] It is absolutely false to say that Julius III. had done nothing with regard to this most important question. As a matter of fact, he once more took up the reform work of Paul III., showed the most lively interest in it, and employed himself in the most painstaking way with the reform of the College of Cardinals, the conclave, the Dataria, the Signatura and the Penitentiary. If conclusive results were not attained this was in no way owing to any unwillingness or want of activity on the part of the Pope; there can be no possible doubt as to his earnest desire and efforts to attain the desired end. It is also due to him that a great deal of preparatory work was done, without which the later reforms could not have been carried out. The appointment of new Cardinals holds a much more important place in the diplomatic correspondence of the times of Julius III. than the work of reform in the Church. As Cosimo de' Medici and Charles V. both knew the compliant disposition of the Pope, they at once began to urge him to put an end to the preponderance of the adherents of France in the Sacred College, at one decisive blow, by a great creation of Cardinals. The Florentine ambassador, Serristori, was, above all, active in urging this. He had already, immediately after the election of Julius III., drawn the attention of Cosimo de' Medici to the danger of the hopes of the hated Cardinal Salviati being in all probability crowned with success in the next conclave. As he found little sympathy for his schemes on the part of the Pope, the ambassador endeavoured to win over the influential Cardinal Crescenzi.[2] Cosimo de' Medici pointed out to Julius III., by a letter in his own hand, of February 10th, 1551, the danger that would result from a

53, and afterwards printed by CALENZIO (Documenti, III., 222). CANTÙ has already noticed (Eretici, II., 8) that the document on reform made public by O. Gratius is a forgery.

[1] As is the case with RANKE, DRUFFEL, MAURENBRECHER and even with REUMONT (III., 2, 512). SCHWEITZER (51-52) was the first to state the truth from the original documents, after SÄGMÜLLER (Papstwahlbullen, 24-25) had already disputed the traditional opinion.

[2] *Cf.* Legaz. de Serristori, 241-2, 254-5.

Pope following him who would be quite devoted to France, and that only a corresponding increase in the Sacred College could obviate this disaster.[1] Even should the Pope raise strong objections to such a proceeding, Serristori still believed that the war about Parma would force him to this step,[2] and, indeed, Julius III. addressed a letter to the Emperor on July 27th, 1551, in which he complained of the intrigues of the French party with regard to the Papal election, and declared that he would, and that before All Saints, appoint new Cardinals. Charles V. thereupon requested that the four Spanish Cardinals already in the Sacred College should be strengthened by the appointment of eight new ones. To the remark of the nuncio, Bertano, that eight was too many, he agreed that four would be sufficient.[3] No special names were referred to at this time by the Emperor, but serious difficulties arose when the question had to be treated in detail. Julius III. was agreeable to the appointment of Pighino and Bertano, but was strongly opposed to the elevation of the Archbishops of Palermo and Otranto. The matter was still further complicated by the demand of Charles V. that four Cardinals should be reserved *in petto*, upon whose names the Emperor should decide later.[4] This last proposal Julius III., with perfect justification, refused to accept. His irresolution and the difficulty of his position were further increased by the threats of the French, who craftily represented that the restoration of peace would only be possible if their king were not irritated.[5] To the fear of a French schism was added the consideration which had to be shown with regard to the prelates of the Council, besides the fact that other powers also were urging the claims of their candidates in a creation of Cardinals. While the representatives of France were working for the advancement of Louis

[1] Desjardins, III., 241-2.

[2] Legaz. di Serristori, 264; *cf.* 279.

[3] See Druffel, III., 252 (*cf.* I., 732); Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 75-6.

[4] See Druffel, III., 243-4, 254.

[5] Legaz. di Serristori, 288.

de Guise, a brother of the Cardinal of Lorraine, Serristori, was actively engaged on behalf of Luigi and Giovanni, sons of Cosimo I.[1]

It is no wonder that the Pope, irresolute by nature as he was, deferred the decision of the matter. A letter of Bertano, of November 12th, 1551, urging him to wait no longer, and thus avoid new complications,[2] at length put an end to his hesitation, and on November 20th the first great creation of Cardinals of Julius III. took place.[3] All the eleven who were

[1] See Legaz. di Serristori, 285. In his *letter to Cosimo I. on November 27, 1551, Julius III. made excuses for the non-appointment of Luigi (Addit. MSS. 8,366, p. 17b., British Museum).

[2] Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 102.

[3] Only two Cardinals had been appointed previously: Innocenzo del Monte on May 30, 1550 (*cf. supra* p. 69 *seq.*), and on October 12, 1551, the Croatian Paulist monk, George Utissenich (*cf.* DRUFFEL, III., 253-4; RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 71-2) who enjoyed his dignity but a short time as he was put to death by the authorized agent of Ferdinand I., on December 17, 1551, on a false suspicion of carrying on traitorous dealings with the Turks (see BUCHOLTZ, VII., 283; KRONES, Östr. Gesch., III., 216 *seqq.*; HUBER in the Archiv. für Östr. Gesch., LXXV., 528-9, 539, 541; PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 41, Berlin, 1906). The news reached Rome on January 14, 1552 (Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 138; *cf.* also Serristori's *reports of January 19, and 22, 1552 (State Archives, Florence), where the representative of Ferdinand I., Diego Lasso, did not succeed in gaining anything further than that his master was absolved, on January 30, until a stricter examination "ad cautelam" took place, from the ecclesiastical punishment to which the murderer of a Cardinal was liable. Ferdinand had to take an oath before the nuncio, Martinengo, "de parendo nostris et ecclesiae mandatis" (see THEINER, Mon. Slav. merid., II., 30; DRUFFEL, II., 86-7). A very searching examination followed, in which 116 witnesses were heard, and then long negotiations ensued. It was not until February 14, 1555, that the Papal sentence was finally pronounced, that the King and the murderer of the Cardinal were not liable to punishment, and deserved none (see BUCHOLTZ, IX., 612-13, and UTIEŠENOVIČ, Lebensgersch. des Kard. Georg, Vienna, 1881, Append. 73). Concerning the Cardinal's relations to the Reformation in Hungary and

appointed were Italians; Sebastiano Pighino was added to these, but out of consideration for his position at the Council, he remained reserved *in petto*, and his creation was only published on May 30th, 1552.[1]

The most able of the new Cardinals[2] were undoubtedly the Papal private secretary, Girolamo Dandino, and the Archbishop of Bari, Jacopo dal Pozzo, known under the name of Puteo. Besides Pozzo, Giammichele Saraceni and the Bishop of Albenga, Giambattista Cicada, distinguished themselves among the new Cardinals by their learning, while Pietro Bertano, then acting as nuncio at the court of the Emperor, and the Sienese, Fabio Mignanelli, were experienced diplomatists. The two nephews of Julius III., Cristoforo del Monte and Fulvio della Corgna, were also worthy of the purple. Corgna displayed, as Bishop of Perugia, very remarkable activity in the cause of Catholic reform. Two of the other Cardinals appointed at this time, Giovanni Poggio and Alessandro Campegio, proved clearly, like Corgna, the ecclesiastical spirit which animated them, by their protection of the Jesuits. Giovanni Ricci, originally from Montepulciano, owed the red hat to his skill in business affairs, by which he had made himself indispensable to Julius III.; his manner of life was not blameless, but later he entered on a better course.[3] In

Siebenbürgen, see SCHWICKER, in the Oestr. Vierteljahrsschrift für Kath. Theologie, 1867, 397-8.

[1] See FIRMANUS, 499.

[2] Concerning the promotion of November 20, 1551, see Acta consist. in GULIK, 35-6; DRUFFEL, I., 811-2, 820, III., 239-40; Nuntiaturberichte, XII., n. 108. Concerning the personality of the different Cardinals, see *Contelorius in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, XI., 49, and CIACONIUS, III., 768, *seqq.*; CARDELLA, IV., 306-7 (with wrong date December 20th); *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 13, 1-2.

[3] Friedensburg and Kupke give an account of Bertano's previous life in the Nuntiaturberichte, XI., xviii.; XII., xix. *seq.*; *cf.* MERKLE, II., 321 n. 2, and LAUCHERT, 671. After the death of Bertano, Claudio Malopera* wrote on March 12, 1558, to Card. Madruzzo: "Era un huomo da bene et molto dotto" (Vice-regal

the year 1557 he interested himself greatly in bringing the Jesuits to Montepulciano.[1] In the appointment of Gianandrea Mercurio the Pope took into consideration the important services which he had rendered him as secretary,[2] while Julius III. was still a Cardinal, and in the case of the Venetian patrician, Luigi Cornaro, the recommendation of the Republic of St. Mark had great weight.

As far as the political views of the new Cardinals were concerned, the experienced agent of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga gave it at once as his opinion that most of them would incline more to the French than to the Imperial side.[3] The complaint of the French, that Julius III. had only undertaken the increase of the Sacred College in the interests of Charles V., proved to be quite unfounded.[4]

Requests that the Pope would undertake a further creation were repeatedly made in the time that immediately followed; the French were especially active in endeavouring in every way to get their former candidate, Louis de Guise, appointed,[5] and

Archives, Innsbruck). Concerning Mignanelli see Nuntiaturberichte, III., 41, 42; VIII., 10, 11; MERKLE, I., 162, and besides the eye-witnesses, quoted in previous note, also AZZOLINI, Le Pompe Sanesi, I., 83, 84, Pistoia, 1649. Concerning Cicada, *cf.* also MAROCCO, Monumenti, IV., 89, 92, concerning Poggio, see GARAMPI, 286; and HINOJOSA 87; concerning Ricci, see GARAMPI 289; MERKLE, I., 149, 194; MACSWINEY, Portugal, III. 216, and especially L. MELE, *Genealogia d. famiglia Ricci (Ricci Archives, Rome). F. della Corgna afterwards built himself a magnificent palace near Perugia, now the Villa Umberto I., which Zuccaro embellished with paintings.

[1] *Cf.* Vol., V. 109 of the "Istromenti e lettere" in Ricci Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* BOGLINO, 45 *seqq.*, CAMPORI, CIII. d.s. pontefici, 7.

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, XII., 94, n. 1.

[4] See RIBIER, II., 357-8; ROMIER, 52; ADRIANI, VIII., 5; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 199.

[5] See in Appendix No. 20, the *report of C. Titio of March 14, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

in the Curia itself there were only too many aspirants.[1] Julius III. was repeatedly offered large sums from this quarter, but, great as the need of financial aid was at this time, the Pope would have nothing to do with such shameful bargains.[2] It need hardly be said that the relatives of Julius were also active in begging for consideration. As the Pope often changed his mind, it was, however, difficult for the ambassadors to foresee what would actually take place. The well-informed Serristori was, at anyrate, in a position to report to Florence on October 26th, 1553, the promotion of Guise, of two relatives of the Pope, and of an Imperial candidate not yet definitely settled, as being extremely probable.[3] This promotion was confidently expected by many on November 29th; Serristori learned at the last moment from the Pope's brother that the settlement of the matter had been postponed, but certainly not over the Ember Days, and that the number was provisionally settled at four.[4] This proved to be the case, and the creation of four Cardinals finally took place on December 22nd, 1553. Besides the Imperialist Archbishop of Palermo, Pietro Tagliavia, two very youthful relatives of the Pope, Roberto de' Nobili and Girolamo Simoncelli, received the purple on that day, while Henry II. ought to have been satisfied by the elevation of Louis de Guise.[5] Tagliavia, renowned

[1] The Pope complained of this; see the *letter of Ipp. Capilupi to Card. E. Gonzaga of November 22, 1553 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Serristori's **report of November 26, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] **Letter of October 26, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Report of the Portuguese Ambassador of October 22, 1553, in Corpo Dipl. Port., VII., 266.

[4] Serristori's **letter of November 28, 1553 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* Report of the Portuguese ambassador of November 11, 1553 in Corpo Dipl. Port., VII., 272.

[5] Concerning the creation of December 22, 1553, see Serristori's *reports of December 21 and 22, 1553 (State Archives, Florence); Acta consist. in Gulik, 36-37; Ribier, II., 480-1; Corpo Dipl. Port., VII., 306-7; * Contelorius, *loc. cit.*; Ciaconius, III.,

far and wide for his boundless love of the poor, is universally acknowledged to have been an admirable man. Roberto de' Nobili was a Cardinal upon whom the representatives of the Catholic reform party could rest their greatest hopes. Highly gifted from an intellectual point of view—he is said to have spoken Latin and Greek at ten years of age—he distinguished himself still more by his great piety. Like Aloysius of Gonzaga, whom he specially resembles, he was most scrupulously pure of heart. He could never do enough in his ascetic exercises; he fasted strictly, slept on a board, wore a hair shirt, assisted at Mass every day, listened frequently to sermons and often received Holy Communion, and from motives of humility would not allow his portrait to be painted. A beautiful letter of consolation which he addressed to a sick friend testifies, among other things, to the depth of his sincere piety. The favour which he enjoyed from Julius III. was only used to assist the needy. He repeatedly thought of renouncing the dignity of Cardinal and of retiring into a religious order, but his confessor, the Jesuit, Polanco, dissuaded him from this

784-5; CARDELLA, IV., 331-2. Concerning Tagliavia, *cf.* also MASSARELLI, 325, and BOGLINO, 46-7; concerning Simoncelli, see MERKLE'S note to Firmanus, 502; concerning the appointment of Guise, a *brief of Julius III. to the Cardinal of Lorraine, dat. 1553, December 22, in the Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 69, n. 809; *ibid.* n. 812, a *brief to R. de' Nobili of same date, in which the Pope makes the following remark, as a postcript, concerning the reason for the promotion: "quamquam et ingravescentis nostrae aetatis cogitatio et charissimorum consanguineorum nostrorum quotidianae flagitationes, non nihil nos, ut humanos, ut idipsum maturaremus perpulerunt." It was originally intended that Ambrosius Catharinus should also have received the purple at that time; Julius III. had in 1552 appointed him Archbishop of Conza, but he died on November 8th, 1553 (see SCHWEITZER, A. Catharinus, 229-230, Münster, 1910). Ipp. Capilupi also names Mons. d'Arras in the *letter of November 22, 1553, quoted *supra* p. 175 n. 1, as a probable candidate (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). A Bull issued on January 26, 1554, forbade two brothers to be Cardinals at the same time; see Bull., VI., 475-6.

step. Assisted by him, he died, after a painful illness, with the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, on January 18th, 1559. Men like Charles Borromeo, Bellarmine and Baronius venerated this Cardinal so early called away to a better life as a Saint.[1]

Julius III. would gladly have welcomed another man, who possessed the same distinguished qualities as de' Nobili, into the Senate of the Church. This was the Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, a great grandson of Alexander VI. Borgia had come to Rome on October 23rd, 1550, stayed with the Jesuits,[2] and several days later was received by the Pope. It was believed that he had come to Rome on account of the Jubilee, and only very few were aware that Francis Borgia had already entered the Society of Jesus as early as 1548, but had received permission from Paul III. to retain his position as prince for three years longer.[3] This period he employed to marry his elder children, to arrange his affairs, and to conclude the theological studies he had begun in 1546 by passing his examination as doctor on August 20th, 1550. As his eldest

[1] Besides the biographies of Turigio (1632) and Bartolucci (1675), see especially NARDO, Vita del card. Rob. Nobili, Urbino, 1728. PARIGI (Notizie del card. R. Nobili, Motepulciano, 1836) gives hardly anything new. The letter of condolence, which merited a place in the collection of Reumont, in NARO, 20-1. Julius III. gave Nobili excellent teachers in Giulio Poggiano and Ottavio Pantagato (*Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 28 [Roman edition].). As to the Cardinal's death, see MASSARELLI, 329, who bestows the greatest praise on him, and " *Avviso di Roma " of January 21, 1559, in Cod. Urb. 1039 of the Vatican Library. The epitaph of Nobili in FORCELLA, V., 254. A. Cervini also says, in the *Vita di Marcello II. (*cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work) of R. Nobili : " Questo mirabilmente risplende in tutte le virtù morali come christiane, ma il mondo non fu degno di cosa si pura " (Library in Ferrara). For the laudatory inscription which was placed in the Palazzo at Montepulciano, see the Miscell. Montepul. of the Ricci Archives, Rome.

[2] See Cartas de S. Ignacio, II., 534-5.

[3] *Cf.* our statements in Vol. XII., p. 96 *seq.* of this work.

son had attained his majority in August, 1550, he intended handing over his dukedom to him and placing himself in Rome at the disposal of his superior, Ignatius of Loyola.[1]

After Borgia had received, on January 5th, 1551, the necessary consent of the Emperor to the carrying out of his plan, he informed the Pope of the vows of his order, by which he was bound, and of his intention to renounce all worldly honours. Julius III., nevertheless, formed the plan of making this distinguished prince a Cardinal. This, however, Borgia evaded, by flying at the approach of darkness on the night of February 4th, 1551, to the little Basque town of Oñate in Guipuzcoa.[2] Here he relinquished, after the arrival of the Emperor's permission, all his estates, rents and titles, by a notarial document of May 11th, 1551, and began his new life by going about the streets of Oñate, clad in the simple habit of the Jesuits, and carrying a beggar's sack to collect alms.

This change of life, in the case of a man of such high rank, caused the greatest sensation. Julius III. had granted a plenary indulgence for the devout assistance at Borgia's first public Mass, which he had to say on November 15th in the open air ; 12,000 persons had flocked together for this occasion and he distributed Holy Communion to more than 1240 of the faithful.

Borgia afterwards rendered his Order the greatest services, first as a preacher, and then as General, through the reputation in which he was held as well as through his talent for administration. By two large donations, he rendered it possible for Ignatius of Loyola to found the Roman College of the Society of Jesus, an educational establishment which soon overshadowed the University of Rome, in the wealth of its teaching power and the excellence of its curriculum.[3]

[1] P. Suau, Hist. de S. François de Borgia, 210 *seqq*. Paris, 1910. Astrain, I., 290 *seqq*. The doctor's diploma for Borgia, of August 20, 1550, in Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, II., 703 ; his will, of August 26, 1550, *ibid*. I., 537 *seqq*.

[2] Mon. Ign. Ser. I., iii., 353 ; iv., 257, 430.

[3] Polanco, September 14, 1555 ; Mon. Ign. Ser., I., x., 608.

When Charles V. again proposed this eminent Spaniard for the cardinalate, in March, 1552, Julius III. was inclined to grant his request,[1] but Ignatius of Loyola went himself to the Pope and represented to him that it would be of far greater service to the glory of God if the former Duke of Gandia were to remain in the humble position he himself had chosen.[2] Julius III. allowed himself to be persuaded, and even remarked that he also would prefer the position of a simple Jesuit to his own, for "you only require to think how you can serve God best, while we have many obstacles which distract us."[3] The Pope, however, would not decide the matter against the wishes of Borgia; the latter remained silent and thus the affair appeared to be settled.

It was, nevertheless, the general opinion that a grandee of Spain could not remain a simple priest. Already by 1554 the former Duke was repeatedly proposed for the red hat by Charles V. and Philip II., while a report of unknown origin was current among the Roman as well as the Spanish Jesuits in that year that he would this time accept the purple.[4] These rumours, however, proved to be unfounded, and Borgia induced the Spanish king to abandon his plan, through the influence of the Princess Juana, the sister of Philip II., and his representative during her brother's absence in England, while Julius was again turned from his purpose by Ignatius.[5] At the latter's instigation, Borgia was at that time the first of the Society of Jesus to take that vow, through which the Constitution of the order endeavoured, as far as possible, to prevent the aspiration after places of honour, and the wish to mitigate the poverty imposed by the Rule.[6]

[1] *Cf.* SUAU, 270.

[2] Mon. Ign. Ser. I., iv., 255 *seqq.*, 283 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 257.

[4] Polanco to Nadal, May 15, 1554; Mon. Ign. Ser. I., vi., 712 *seq.*; Nadal to Borgia, June 17, 1554; Nadal, Epist. I., 265 *seq.*

[5] POLANCO, IV., 494-5.

[6] *Ibid.*, 592. S. Franc. Borgia, III., 174.

CHAPTER VII.

Spread of the Society of Jesus.—Their Reforming Activities in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany.

The friendly relations of Julius III. with the Jesuits dated from the time of the Council of Trent, where the Pope, as Legate, had become acquainted with the distinguished qualities of several members of the Order, and had learned to appreciate them. Except for a temporary misunderstanding in the year 1553,[1] he remained more favourably inclined to the Society of Jesus than to any of the other reform orders,[2] during the

[1] *Cf.* O. Manareus, De Rebus Soc. Jesu, 121 *seqq.*, Florence, 1886.

[2] Julius III. confirmed and increased the privileges of the Barnabites, by two Bulls, of February 22 and August 11, 1550 (see Litt. et constit. cleric. S. Pauli, 17 *seqq.*, 25 *seqq.*; the second Bull in Bull. VI., 426-7. *Cf.* also Barelli, 232 *seqq.*, 235, 245-6, 249). On the recommendation of Card. Carafa, Julius III., also confirmed, by the Bull of June 10, 1551, all the privileges of the Theatines. (Original in the General Archives of the Theatines in Rome. See Silos, I., 308 *seqq.*; *cf.* also Maggio, Vita di Maria Carafa, 279, Naples, 1670). By the *brief of October 4, 1552, for Ludovico infante Portug., Julius III. gave permission that the congregation founded by Martinus, O. Min. in the diocese of Lisbon, and confirmed by the Holy See, should wear the *cuculla* of the Italian Capuchins. Arm. 41, t. 66. n. 651; *ibid.* t. 67, n. 13 a *brief for Card. Messanens., that Bernardus Balbanus, O. Cap., who had expounded the gospel during the past year amid a great concourse of people, and whom the public also wished to have for this year, might continue his mission of preaching, dated January 8 1553 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). According to Marocco, Monumenti, I., 140-1, the Capuchins founded a mission in Colle-

whole of his pontificate. By a Bull of August 21st, 1552, he instituted and delivered to the Jesuits the German College, of the increasing importance of which mention will often be made. A Bull of October 22nd of the same year not only confirmed all the privileges of the Order, but added important ones thereto, especially the authorization bestowed on the General and on the superiors of the order to invest the students of their colleges with the degree of doctor. The greatest benefit, however, which Julius III. conferred on the Society of Jesus consisted in the Bull, already published on July 21st, 1550, which confirmed the Order anew, supplementing anything that might be wanting in the bull of Paul III., and completing everything in the sense and spirit of the holy founder.[1]

That a new confirmation of the Society of Jesus would have to be sought from the Apostolic See was very soon apparent.[2] Many things were not so clearly expressed in the Bull of foundation as to exclude the idea that it would be advantageous to supplement and explain it more fully, but the draft for the new Bull was not seriously taken in hand till 1547. It was clear that this must possess four qualities ; first, completeness, so that it might show forth all the essential points of the constitution of the Order ; secondly, it must possess a certain breadth of expression, so as not to render useful alterations impossible ; thirdly, clearness, and fourthly, a really devotional

vecchio in the Sabine district in 1552. Concerning the promotion of Peter of Alcantara by Julius III., see the Freiburger Kirchlex., IX., 1862. Proofs of favour for the Dominicans in Ripoll-Brémond, V., 15 *seqq*. On January 30, 1551, Julius III. approved of the reformed statutes of the Augustinians (see Empoli, Bull. ord. Erem. S. Aug., Romae, 1628, 214-215 ; *cf*. Paulus, Hoffmeister, 168). On October 24, 1551, Julius confirmed the indulgences for the devotional exercise of the Forty Hours Prayer (Quarant' Ore) introduced by the new Reform Order ; see Sala, Docum. di S. Carlo Borromeo, II., 117 *seq*.

[1] The three documents in the Bull., VI., 422 *seqq*., 459 *seqq*., 464 *seqq*. See also Inst. Soc. Iesu, I., *seqq*., 29 *seqq*., Florence, 1892.

[2] Constitutiones Soc. Iesu latinae et hispanicae, App. 306, Madrid, 1892.

character, so that of those who read it, and felt drawn to the Order, those whose vocation was genuine might remain, while those who were not suitable might be frightened away. Much work was necessary in order to meet these requirements, as the Bull had to be altered or supplemented in more than a hundred places.[1] The draft finally accepted contained, indeed, all the principles peculiar to the Jesuit Order, so as to make it for ever its foundation stone.[2]

This matter, which was, in essential points, briefly outlined in the Papal Bull, Ignatius now began, in the same year 1547, to elaborate in the constitutions of his Order. By 1550 these points were dealt with in the first draft, and fully completed by 1552 in the second, which Ignatius never altered, except superficially, before his death in 1556. They were at once published in the Order, and introduced, by way of experiment, first by Nadal in Sicily in the year 1552, in the following year in Spain and Portugal, and by Ribadeneira in North Germany.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 330 *seqq.*, ASTRAIN, I., 126, *seqq.*

[2] An enumeration of the most important deviations from the text of the Bulls of Paul III. in ASTRAIN, I., 133.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 59 *seqq.* In many handbooks of Church history and in the reference books (ERSCH & GRUBER, Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste, Sect. 2, XLI., 195 *seqq.*, Leipsic, 1887 ; *cf.* XV. 433-4) Lainez is represented as the organizer of the Jesuit order, and described as the co-founder who was the first to draw up the constitutions of the order in their final form. This view is not tenable according to the information afforded by the authorities. It is true that Ignatius consulted Lainez, as he did others ; Ignatius himself says that the idea of establishing colleges originated with Lainez (Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 220) ; his influence, however, is not authenticated beyond this. The first general congregation in 1558 makes it quite clear that the constitutions introduced in 1552 and confirmed by it, were drawn up by Ignatius (Decr. post. elect., 15, 53, 78). The same conviction is also frequently expressed by those in the confidence of Ignatius : Polanco, Nadal, Gonçalvez, Ribadeneira, and Canisius ; through these one can learn all the details of the history of the development of the constitutions. The contrary view, which makes Lainez the co-founder or the real founder of the order, a rose

Full authority was given to them in the first General Congregation of the Order in 1558.

After the publication of the constitutions the life work of Ignatius was essentially completed. At the death of Julius III., the last year of his own life was drawing near, and during this he could not undertake much that was new. Under Paul IV. he was to see, not only the Roman and German colleges, but his whole work, threatened with annihilation, without having any other defence to offer than his own heroic trust in God. Ever-increasing illness warned him of the approach of death; indeed, he had already believed that the end had come

very late and is supported by nobody who has really studied the sources of Jesuit history. As the constitutions confirmed in the first general congregation contained the declarations as well (Decr. post elect., 24, 25, 31, 38, 41, 42, 54, 55, 57, 58, 68, 69, 78) there can at least be no idea that these originated with Lainez and were added to the constitutions at the first general congregation (as in HERZOG-HAUCK, Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 1900, VIII., 747, 769). Theoph. Raynaud was of opinion that the declaration to the Const. P., 4c., 14, 1, was composed by Lainez during the life of Ignatius and sanctioned by him (Opera, XVIII., 167, Lyons, 1665). Bayle understood this to mean that Lainez had drawn up the whole of the declarations (Dictionnaire, III., 139, Basle, 1741). This assertion of Bayle was taken up by others, but of late non-Catholic historians seem to be again giving up these views. GOTHEIN, 405-408, does not mention any co-operation in the composition of the constitutions, and HERZOG-HAUCK, Realenzyklopädie, VIII., 746 names Ignatius alone as "creator" of the organisation of the order, although he is not credited with the declarations. Herm. Müller endeavoured (Les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus. Ignace et Lainez, Paris, 1908) to prove from an Arabian text (of the XIXth century) that Ignatius had drawn from Islamic sources, especially in his precepts concerning obedience, and that Lainez had altered the constitutions after him, and had therefore become the real organizer of the order. F. HUBERT wrote against him in the Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1899, 310-1; JOS. BRUCKER in the Études, December 5, 1898, 705-709; H. THURSTON in the Month, XCIV. (1899), 518-526.

in 1550, and he joyfully awaited his dissolution.[1] On January 30th, 1551, after the first draft of the constitutions had been sanctioned by the members of the Order assembled in Rome, he expressed the desire to relinquish the dignity of General.[2] He was confined to his bed during almost the whole of the year 1554, so that a representative had to be chosen for him on November 1st, in the person of Nadal.[3] He quickly recovered, however, after his unskilful physician, whom Ignatius obeyed implicitly, had been replaced by a better one,[4] but in the middle of July, 1556, he gave up temporary affairs for ever, and in the morning of July 31st the soul of the saint, who had spent himself for the greater glory of God, passed to the vision of its Creator.[5]

Sixteen years had not yet passed since the life work of the dead Saint had been first crowned with the approbation of the Holy See, on September 27th, 1540. Ten unknown strangers, whom the people had mocked at a short time before on account of their broken Italian, and spitefully designated as heretics, had at that time been named in the Papal brief as members of the Society of Jesus. Now, the new order was spread over the four quarters of the globe, as far as Japan, Brazil, Abyssinia and even the Congo; the members of the Order numbered some 1500[6] as early as 1554, and in the following year the number of missions amounted to 65.[7] Among the members, doctors

[1] Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 56.

[2] *Ibid.* Ser. 1, III., 303. Cartas de S. Ignacio, II., 295.

[3] Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, VIII., 42; Ser. 4, I., 169.

[4] *Ibid.* Ser. 4, I., 169.

[5] See Polanco, VI., 35. The exceedingly simple rooms in which Ignatius of Loyola lived from 1544 till his death (*cf.* Tacchi Venturi in the Studi e docum. XX., 316-17), have been spared at the building of the professed house, out of veneration for the holy founder of the order, and converted into chapels, and are in existence at the present day. The low narrow rooms contain countless inscriptions and costly mementoes. Further details in the interesting pamphlet "Les chambres de S. Ignace de Loyola au Jésus de Rome." Rome, 1900.

[6] Polanco, IV., 476.

[7] *Ibid.* V., n. 6.

from the first universities, and nobles from the greatest families were to be found. As Papal nuncios, they had penetrated to Ireland, Poland, Egypt and Japan; as theologians they had shone at the Council of Trent; as preachers they had attracted great notice at the universities of Louvain and Salamanca, and at the courts of Valladolid, Brussels and Vienna; as missionaries they had reawakened Christian life in districts where it had seemed extinct, and as instructors of youth they had, with unostentatious activity, raised up a new generation of zealous Catholics. The outward organization of the Order had also made much progress. Portugal could, as early as 1546, be constituted as a separate province,[1] with its own provincial superiors. Spain followed in 1547[2], and after that one or more new provinces were added every year, until, in 1556, these numbered twelve, including Abyssinia. The whole of this mighty edifice, had arisen as a logical development of the resolution, formed thirty-five years before on a sick bed in Loyola by a knight who had hitherto led a worldly life, and who was, till that moment, completely uneducated and untrained from an intellectual point of view. From such an insignificant germ had this wonderful development come, in spite of continual opposition, persecution and calumny.

The strongest response to the idea of Loyola was naturally to be found in Spain. The old Catholic ideals, for the most part untainted by the innovations in religion, were still paramount there, and, unlike the Catholics in other lands, people still had the courage and enthusiasm to fight for them. The struggle for the defence and propagation of the faith had been a powerful incentive, not so long before, in the wars against the Moors, and in the voyages of discovery, and when Ignatius showed how this fight could be continued with spiritual weapons, it was bound to meet with an enthusiastic response. As a matter of fact, among the first six followers of Loyola, we find, besides one Portuguese and one Savoyard, four Spaniards, and for a long time to come, the founder's own

[1] Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, I., 449.
[2] POLANCO, I., 247.

country provided him with those able disciples who were all the more valuable to their master, as many of them only placed themselves at his disposal after they had completed their studies as doctors of theology or law, or as experienced preachers or spiritual directors. One finds Spaniards, therefore, in almost every place where the new Order was at work.[1] The Spaniard Doménech planted it in Sicily, d'Eguia in France, Francis Xavier and Cosmo de Torres in India and Japan. Spaniards accompanied the Papal Legates to Poland and Germany, and were as eminent as theologians at the Roman College and in Paris as at Trent. The principal counsellors of Loyola were Spaniards, viz.: Polanco, Nadal and Lainez, while the first three Generals of the Order were also Spaniards.

The friendly reception which the creation of Loyola met with in his native land is evidenced by the large number of colleges which arose there within a very short time. Under Paul III. Valencia already had one in 1544; in 1545 Valladolid, Gandia and Barcelona followed; in 1546 Alcalà, in 1548 Salamanca; after the accession of Julius III., Burgos was founded in 1550, Medina del Campo in 1551, Oñate in 1552, and Cordova in 1553. In the year 1554, missions were established in Avila, Cuença, Placencia, Seville, Granada, Simanca (noviciate) and Sanlucar de Barameda, in 1555 in Murcia and Saragossa, and in 1556 a college in Monterrey in Galicia.[2] In the year 1554 139 Jesuits[3] were already resident in these colleges, and in the first four months of the same year, nine able men entered the order in Alcalà and ten in Valencia. At the end of March Nadal received eleven students at Salamanca.[4] Under Julius III. Ignatius had, by 1552, established two, and in 1554, three additional provinces of the Order in Spain, in accordance with a new classification: Castile, Aragon and Andalusia. He appointed a common superior for all the provinces of the peninsula in the person of Francis Borgia.[5] The golden age of

[1] Astrain, II., 567.

[2] *Ibid.* I., 257 *seqq.*, 298 *seqq.*, 412 *seqq.*

[3] Inventory *ibid.* 409-411.

[4] *Ibid.* I., 413; *cf.* 312-3, 315, 435; II., 244 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* I., 401. Cartas de S. Ignacio, IV., 9-10.

the Spanish provinces is, in no small degree, to be attributed to the zeal of Borgia and the esteem in which he was held.[1]

What gave most edification in Spain on the part of the first Jesuits was the new life which they brought into the care of souls. There was at that time, a great deficiency of religious instruction for the people in the Iberian peninsula; preaching was regarded as the prerogative of the monks, parish priests devoting so little attention to it that it actually gave offence if a secular priest made an appearance as a preacher.[2] It was, therefore, very much appreciated when the Jesuits made it their business to announce the Word of God in their churches, many of them passing through the country as travelling preachers, and taking up their abode for shorter or longer periods in different towns, to open out the way for a moral renovation of the people.[3] Wonders are related of the success of the missionaries. In Alcalà, during the carnival of 1558, Antonio de Madrid, in an address lasting a quarter of an hour, induced all the prostitutes who, by order of the authorities, had to assemble before the doors of their houses, to give up their sinful calling.[4] In Granada, Bautista Sanchez preached so impressively concerning the neglect of the poor in the hospital, that the audience at once offered gold rings, ear-rings and costly raiment for their relief, and, on the following day, sent generous alms to the institution and personally took part in the duty of attending to the poor.[5] One result of their preaching was that religious life, and especially the reception of the Sacraments, was greatly improved. The number of confessions, not by any means very large, which is quoted as a proof of this,[6] witnesses to the depths to which matters had sunk in this respect.[7]

[1] Astrain, II., 104-5.

[2] *Ibid.* II., 502, 512, 519.

[3] *Ibid.* 502 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 506.

[5] *Ibid.* 509.

[6] In four months of the year 1564, 3500 confessions were heard in Valladolid, 5265 in Avila, 6300 in Salamanca. *Ibid.* 503.

[7] It is significant that the Archbishop of Toledo forbade the faithful to communicate more frequently than once a year. Polanco, II., 121 n. 287.

The new Order won all hearts, however, through its work in connection with the instruction of youth. Hitherto it had been quite unheard of that members of a religious order should engage in such an unlearned occupation.[1] It touched and affected people when the Jesuits, with a bell in their hands, now collected the children in the streets and took them in procession to the church to give them religious instruction. In Toledo, the people rushed to the windows at such an unusual sight, and gave praise to God.[2] The visits of the Jesuits to the prisons and hospitals, as well as their heroic self-sacrifice at the time of the plague, also served to win for them general respect and esteem. Many Jesuits lost their lives in the service of the sick.[3]

The teaching activity of the new Order in its colleges was of the greatest importance for ecclesiastical reform. As soon as instruction for externs began in these institutions, pupils flocked to them. The college of Murcia numbered 140 of these in the first two years of its existence. Belmonte in 1569 had some 400, Seville in 1561 about 500, Cordova 650 at the same period, and Monterrey in the fourth year of its existence 800.[4] Such able clerics came from the college of Monterrey that it became a sort of proverb among the bishops: "He comes from Monterrey; therefore we can ordain him with full confidence."[5] The college of Medina gave different Orders such able members that one superior said: "Let us leave aside our theological lectures and sermons, and confine ourselves to teaching grammar; we shall attain more in this way."[6]

If the Society of Jesus nowhere found more numerous friends than in Spain, it also nowhere else met with such violent opposition. The dislike of Archbishop Siliceo of

[1] Astrain, II., 553.
[2] *Ibid.* II., 522-3.
[3] *Ibid.* 525 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.* 587-8.
[5] Report of Father Valderrabano S. J. of the year 1562, *Ibid.* II., 574.
[6] Report of Father Olea S. J. of the year 1563, *Ibid.* 576.

Toledo was clearly expressed in the reign of Julius III.[1] In October, 1551, he forbade all members of the new Order to practise their official priestly duties, and this prohibition was solemnly announced in all the churches of the archdiocese during High Mass. By this step, however, the archbishop had attacked the Papal privileges of the new Order, and thereby the honour of the Holy See. Julus III., therefore, addressed to Siliceo, on January 2nd, 1552, a letter in which he highly praised the Jesuits,[2] and the nuncio, Poggio, defended the oppressed Order most warmly. As Philip II. also declared himself against Siliceo, there was no other course open to him than to withdraw his decree.

A privilege of the older Orders, to the effect that no other monastery might be built within a radius of 140 yards, led to stormy manifestations in Saragossa against the Jesuit college opened there on April 17th, 1555.[3] The Augustinians especially declared that their rights were infringed upon by the erection of the college. The archbishop took their part and the Jesuits were looked upon and treated as if they were excommunicated, the populace getting into a state of the greatest excitement against them. Matters went so far that the Jesuits had to leave the city on August 1st ; the struggle, however, was decided in their favour on September 8th, and it became possible to re-open the college.

The attack on the book of the Exercises also continued during the whole pontificate of Julius III. In 1553, Siliceo appointed a commission for the examination of the accusations, which censured nineteen propositions.[4] As, however, Paul III. had already confirmed the Exercises in 1548, the attacks did not succeed in winning much support.

The Order developed in Portugal even more rapidly than in Spain. Nothing under the sun was prized more highly in that

[1] *Ibid.* I., 351-365. Documents concerning the struggle, in the Cartas de S. Ignacio, III., 455-475.

[2] Cartas de S. Ignacio, III., 460.

[3] ASTRAIN, I., 438 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* I., 366-384. The censure is printed in POLANCO, Chron., III., App. 501 *seqq.*

country, says a shrewd observer,[1] than the king's favour, and the fatherly care of John III.,[2] whose relations with Julius III. were very friendly, was always accorded to the Jesuits, while his royal brothers, the Infantes Louis and Henry, followed the example of the king; the former, indeed, would willingly have entered the Order himself.[3] The Cardinal and Grand Inquisitor, Henry, also interested himself in all the affairs of the Jesuits, "as if they had been his own."[4]

The enmities and difficulties with which the rising Society of Jesus had to struggle in Spain, did not, happily, assail them in the neighbouring country of Portugal. By the year 1552, the number of those who had entered the Order had risen to 318,[5] among whom were to be found the sons of the Governor of Lisbon and the Grand Captain of Madeira.[6] In the year 1551, the Cardinal-Infante, Henry, gave up his college in Evora[7] to the Jesuits, which, by 1554, possessed 300 pupils; in 1555, the Order received the so-called Royal college of Coimbra,[8] from John III., which formed part of the University; the Jesuits, however, soon relinquished this. In 1553, a second mission in Lisbon, the so-called professed house of St. Roch,

[1] Polanco, IV., 558.

[2] This was expressly mentioned in the concessions with regard to the great military orders (*cf.* Schäfer, III., 85; V., 150, 156; and Corpo Dipl. Port., VI. and VII. *passim*). In the year 1551 the Pope sent the Golden Rose to the eldest son of the King (see MacSwiney, Portugal, III., 228 *seqq.*) and also made him other presents; see Ant. de Portugal de Faria, Portugal e Italia, 203-204, Lisbon, 1901; *cf. ibid.* 78-79 concerning the ecclesiastical relations with the Holy See. For the beatification of the Portuguese Gundisalvo, see Novaes, VII., 91.

[3] Cartas de S. Ignacio, IV., n. 268.

[4] Polanco, VI., 751, n. 3250.

[5] Epist. mixtae, III., 25.

[6] Astrain, I., 586-7.

[7] Polanco, II., 377; III., 422; IV., 543. Paul IV. confirmed the granting of the college to the Jesuits on April 15 and September 20, 1559 (Delplace) Synopsis actorum S. Sedis in causa Soc. Iesu, I., 17, Florence, 1887.

[8] Polanco, V., 588-9.

was established,[1] while in the same year instruction for extern students was begun in the college of Lisbon,[2] at which the attendance in 1554 was 600.[3] In the opinion of the public there was nobody like the Jesuits, and they had so much work to do in the care of souls and in imparting instruction that their numbers were not equal to the task.[4]

The opposition of the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Henry, preserved them from the heavy burden of being obliged to undertake the work of the tribunal of the Inquisition at Lisbon, thereby rendering, according to Polanco, a great service to the Order.[5] Ignatius was put into great perplexity by the wish of the king in this matter, not, indeed on account of any principle being involved, but rather because the office of Inquisitor would be regarded as a sort of prelacy, and his Order was not permitted to accept any such dignities. He caused six of the most able Jesuits to consult on the matter for three days, and then resolved to submit the question to the decision of the king. When the answer reached Portugal the office of Inquisitor had, however, already been given to a Dominican.[6]

In spite of all this outward success, however, it was precisely in Portugal that the Order had to pass through a crisis such as had presented itself in no other country.[7] There was no firm guiding hand there; Simon Rodriguez had proved himself inefficient in his position as provincial. In the reception of novices the selection was not sufficiently careful, and a striving after independence and a tendency towards worldliness began to make itself felt among the members of the Order, which, in the end, would

[1] NADAL, Epist., I., 197 seqq.

[2] POLANCO, III., 394, 402-3.

[3] *Ibid.* IV., 524.

[4] *Ibid.* II., 135-6, 676; IV., 527; V., 566.

[5] "Prorsus de Societate benemeritus fuit, quod impedivit, ne id fieret." *Ibid.* V., 603, n. 1663.

[6] *Ibid.* Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, IX., 226; Ser. 4, I., 320, 327. Epist. Mixtae, IV., 702.

[7] ASTRAIN, I., 585-629.

have led to the most evil consequences; in addition to this, Rodriguez himself was endeavouring to make his province independent of the rest of the Order, and to form it according to his own ideas. The dissatisfaction of the insubordinate elements found open expression when Rodriguez was deposed in 1552. However, it was precisely in this crisis that Ignatius and his disciples showed in the clearest manner that they were determined to oppose the threatened disaster with inflexible energy. Some 130 members of the order, who refused to submit, were at once expelled, and Ignatius gave his sanction to this step on the part of his delegate, Torres.[1] In July, 1553, there only remained 105 Jesuits in Portuguese territory.[2]

Peace was again threatened in the beginning of 1553, when Rodriguez returned to Portugal and endeavoured to win over the court to his reinstatement. It was only in June, 1553, that he obeyed the order of Ignatius to repair to Rome. He thereupon insisted that his case should be formally and justly examined. After some hesitation, however, he submitted to the decision of the judge, which proved to be unfavourable to him.[3] In the meanwhile the constitutions of the order had been published in Portugal, and on this foundation the Portuguese province took a new lease of life.

In Italy, a specially wide field of work was displayed for the reforming activities of the order. The reports of the Jesuit missionaries, as well as other sources, show how neglect of religion had increased in that country to an almost incredible extent. The missionaries often complain that the people are, for the most part, ignorant of the commonest prayers,[4] and that persons are to be met with who have not been to confession

[1] Brief of December 18th, 1552: Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, IV., 559 *seqq.*

[2] Epist. Mixtae, III., 397.

[3] Letter of Luis Gonçalvez of May 20, 1554: Epist. Mixtae, IV., 180 *seqq.* When an old man, Rodriguez in 1574 returned to Portugal and died in Lisbon in 1579.

[4] Polanco, II., 175, 503. Tacchi Venturi, 267 *seqq.*

for seven and eight, and indeed for thirty or forty years.[1] However much the neglect of religion may be attributed to the consequences of the almost incessant feuds and wars which ravaged Italy, the state of affairs was undoubtedly in part an inheritance from the Renaissance period, in which not a few bishops and Popes neglected their duties in the most reprehensible manner. The injury to religious worship by neglect was especially noticeable in the most remote parts of the peninsula. The ignorance in the Abruzzi, in Calabria and in Apulia was still so great in the period between 1561 and 1570, that the Jesuit missionaries named those districts the "Italian Indies."[2] The people, were, however, by no means inimical to religion; whenever worthy priests took them in hand, they flocked to them and were easily led to adopt an exemplary Christian mode of life. Landini writes in 1551, from the district round Modena, that he could clearly see the moral improvement which had taken place since his first visit; the people now came to hear sermons, even on week days, who formerly did not understand even what the ringing of the bells meant; no one left the church before he did, and some went to other places in order to hear sermons there; the people would not let him go until he had promised to come back, and they would come to meet him when he approached a place, while the priests from distant neighbourhoods would beg him to visit their parishes.[3]

Conditions in the island of Corsica were particularly bad, and, at the request of the Signoria of Genoa, Pope Julius III. on August 5th, 1552, appointed two Jesuit missionaries,

[1] Polanco, II., 19-20 (Tivoli), 224, 226, 245 (Sicily), 483 (Venice). Tacchi Venturi, 268; Buschbell, 12 (Verona). When, as in Camerino in 1556, a Jesuit summoned anyone to confession, outside Lent, the people at first laughed; the women were, however, so astonished that people should speak of sermons and of going to the sacraments at such a time, that they almost thought the end of the world had come. Polanco, VI., 84.

[2] Tacchi Venturi, 269-270.

[3] Brief of May 16, 1551: Epist. Mixtae, V., 700; *cf.* Epist. quadrimestres, I., 311.

endowed with full authority for the visitation of churches and monasteries.[1] The reports of these two Papal commissaries, Silvestro Landini and Emmanuel Gomez de Monte Mayor, afford a by no means gratifying picture of religious conditions.[2] The island was divided into six bishoprics, but for 60 or 70 years none of the said bishops had been seen in Corsica. The priests were so ignorant that, at the beginning of February, 1553, not one of those whom Landini had examined, even knew correctly the formula of consecration for Mass; they went about in secular dress and worked the whole day in the woods in order to gain a living for themselves and their children. The churches were in ruins, and were often used for the shelter of cattle. The people were in the greatest poverty and suffered greatly from the corsairs, while in all religious matters the grossest neglect prevailed. Landini, who, in his missionary journeys in the Modena and Genoa districts in 1551 and 1552, had experienced the most incredible things, writes on February 7th, 1553,[3] that he had never seen anything to equal the state of affairs in Corsica; what had been written to him from Rome was, indeed, true, that he would find his Indies and Abyssinia here, for the greatest ignorance prevailed concerning God, the most dreadful superstition, countless feuds, the most bitter hatred, murder in all directions, satanic pride, unceasing immorality, and to all this was added usury, fraud, perfidy and outbursts of ungovernable fury. Some were secretly infected with heresy, many did not know how to make the sign of the cross, and grey-haired men and women could not say the Our Father or the Hail Mary.

In spite of all this it was easy, here as well, to bring the people back to the practice of their religion, and to a change in their morals. The missionaries were besieged by the people from morning till night. The church in Bastia was daily

[1] Extract from the Brief in (Delplace), Synopsis actorum S. Sedis in causa Soc. Iesu, I., 13; *cf.* Appendix, Instructions for reform.

[2] Polanco, II., 464; III., 80 *seqq.* The letters of Landini and Gomez in the Epist. Mixtae, III., 62, 88, 91, &c.

[3] Epist. Mixtae, III., 114 *seqq.*

thronged at the sermons of Landini, and more than six Franciscans had to assist him daily with the confessions, while there were from 60 to 150 Communions every day. People who had lived for twenty years in enmity were reconciled, and countless cases of concubinage were either dissolved or the parties married.[1] Landini compared the newly inflamed zeal with that of the early church.[2]

While several bad priests were endeavouring, through calumnies in Rome, to obtain the recall of the Papal commissaries, the members of the senate in Bastia, the governor of the island, and numerous influential Corsicans bore splendid testimony to the Pope and Ignatius of Loyola concerning the activities of the missionaries.[3] The mission had, however, to be abandoned in the following year, 1554, because the Corsicans, trusting to help from France, had risen in rebellion against the suzerainty of Genoa, and the whole island was filled with the tumult of war. Landini succumbed there to the effects of his hardships and privations, on March 3rd, 1554;[4] in Corsica he was venerated as a saint.[5]

The cause of the deplorable state of religious life in the island was, above all, to be found in the ignorance of the priests. It was a quite unheard of thing, even in Italy, that parish priests should preach; many of them never heard confessions, while numbers were hardly able to read.[6] For this reason Ignatius of Loyola was anxious, above all things, to establish colleges, since religious reform could only be built up on the basis of instruction, and there were no adequate means of providing such. Doménech writes from Palermo on July 4th, 1547, that a Jesuit college was much required there "because such crass ignorance prevails here among the clergy that it would hardly be credible, did one not have it

[1] *Ibid.* 111, 114, 168-9.

[2] *Ibid.* 114, 167, 173.

[3] Printed in Epist. Mixtae, III., 182-201, 210 *seq.*

[4] Polanco, IV., 36 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* Appendix 681 *seqq.*: Processo intorno alla santità del P. Silv. Landini.

[6] Tacchi Venturi, 27 *seqq.*

before one's own eyes. The reason for this is to be found, for the most part, in the fact that there is no opportunity for learning, as here, in the capital of the kingdom, there is not even one public grammar school."[1]

Jesuit colleges were, therefore, urgently required. To the missions of the Order in Rome, Tivoli, Padua, Bologna, Messina, and Palermo, which had already been established under Paul III., there were added, apart from the Roman College, during the reign of Julius III., Venice, 1550, Ferrara, Naples, Florence, 1551,[2] Modena, Parma, Bassano, 1552, Monreale, 1553, Argenta near Ferrara, Genoa, Syracuse, Catania, and Loreto in 1554. In the year of Loyola's death, there also arose colleges in Siena and Camerino. So many new foundations were, naturally, only possible because of the numbers of those who applied for admission into the Order. Julius III. asked, in astonishment, when the candidates destined for the colleges of Florence and Naples were presented to him in 1551: "Will there then be anyone left in Rome?" They were, however, able to reassure the Pope on this point.[3]

The incentive to the establishment of these institutions were usually the sermons preached by an important member of the Order in a particular city. When the arrangements for the establishment of a college were completed, however, Ignatius did not send any prominent subjects, but merely several young men from the Roman College, as he thought it more advantageous for such a house to begin in a modest way, and then to develop into a flourishing state, than that it should commence with a great brilliancy which it could not afterwards retain.[4] It was also his principle that every college must be self-sup-

[1] Litterae quadrimestres, I., 51.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* FUETER, Das erste Auftreten der Jesuiten in Florenz; Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII., 432-3, Gotha, 1907. Concerning the protection of the Jesuits by the Duchess of Florence, see TACCHI VENTURI in the Civiltà Cattolica, July 16, 1898, and Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 5, XXII., 217.

[3] POLANCO, II., 173.

[4] *Ibid.* 432.

porting,[1] so that almost all these establishments had at first to contend with great poverty. In Perugia the Jesuits lived for a time only on bread, wine and soup,[2] and in other places, they were also in very straitened circumstances. In Venice they had to exercise the greatest caution, even before they got as far as the foundation of a college. The Republic suspected political intrigues everywhere, and the very fact of the Jesuits writing to Rome every week awakened suspicion. It was a dangerous thing to hear the confessions of ladies of the aristocracy and to admonish them as to the frequent reception of the Sacraments, a thing for which the Barnabites had shortly before been driven from the city. When the college really was founded, many of the students did not persevere, for the commercial spirit of this centre of trade was not favourable to learning.[3] In Messina, people wanted a college, it was true, but they were not provided with the necessary capital; in Modena the Jesuits were reviled as hypocrites and ignorant men;[4] gradually, however, the new Order struck firm roots, in spite of all difficulties. The instruction of youth was the chief weapon which the Jesuits employed in Italy to fight the incursions of Protestantism.

Looked at from a literary point of view, the reform work of the new Order vindicated itself in all directions, in scientific as in everyday life, with the learned as with the unlearned, even during the lifetime of its founder. Convents of nuns, which had got into a depraved state, were again brought by the Jesuits, by means of the Exercises, into a proper way of life.[5] Vagrant monks, who often had enlisted among the soldiery,[6] the Jesuits endeavoured to bring back to their monasteries.[7] They went to the prisons and galleys to bring spiritual consolation to the neglected prisoners.[8] Lainez and, later, Nadal, as well as several Capuchins, accompanied, as military chap-

[1] *Ibid.* 507.
[2] *Ibid.* 438.
[3] *Ibid.* 480.
[4] *Ibid.* 459.
[5] *Ibid.* 175, 502.
[6] *Ibid.* 238, n. 164.
[7] *Ibid.* 29, 461.
[8] *Ibid.* 37-8 (Palermo), 184 (Florence), 231 (Messina), 425 (Rome), 435 (Perugia), 458 (Modena), 483 (Venice).

lains, the Christian fleets which sailed from Sicily against the corsairs ;[1] Baptista Romanus, a converted Jew, made use of his acquaintance with oriental languages to win over the Mahommedans and renegades on Turkish ships for the Church.[2] The Jesuits fought against usury,[3] collected alms for the poor,[4] reconciled enemies,[5] endeavoured to procure refuges for repentant Magdalens,[6] and were already making attempts to train up Arabic speaking missionaries for the conversion of North Africa.[7]

By far the most thorny field of operations presented itself, however, to the reforming zeal of the young Order, on the other side of the Alps. Nadal, who knew the conditions in the Iberian and Appenine peninsulas from his own experience, went to inspect the German Jesuits as visitor in 1555, and he openly declares that the work in Germany is considerably more difficult and just as glorious as that in the Indies.[8] "It is an unspeakable misfortune that such a great, powerful and noble nation should be in such a sad state. With the grace of Christ, there is, however, much hope that she may be helped, and I am persuaded that God will do so through our Order, with the authority and favour of the Apostolic See."[9] "Woe to us" he says in another place, "if we do not help Germany."[10] "There are neither members of religious orders here, nor clergy, nor theologians, so that the Catholic princes and bishops do not know where to begin. Good Catholics have of necessity to put up with married parish priests, public concubinage, and half-Lutheran preachers." One reason for the terrible state of affairs was the fact that there was no

[1] *Ibid.* 45-6, 237-8. GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra de' pirati, II., 208.
[2] POLANCO, II., 484, n. 159.
[3] *Ibid.* 36, 483.
[4] *Ibid.* 233, 503.
[5] *Ibid.* 225, and *passim.*
[6] *Ibid.* 234.
[7] *Ibid.* 51-2
[8] Epist. IV., 214.
[9] To Ignatius, Dillingen, April 22, 1555,; Epist., I., 298.
[10] *Ibid.* IV., 215-6.

Catholic in Germany who did not read the books of the religious innovators, and that other religious works were not sold at all. "We found all the inns full of the works of Luther and other heretics; women and children read them, and we were only in districts which call themselves Catholic."[1] There was hardly any Catholic in Germany who wrote in opposition to these books;[2] the older Catholic works were no longer published and could hardly be obtained, so that Catholics said they had nothing to read except heretical books.[3] Catholic theologians also read these works everywhere, and thus got into a state of theological bewilderment.[4]

This shrewd observer perceived that the cure of these great evils could only be effected, in Germany as elsewhere, by the foundation of colleges. Nadal also pointed out a means for helping Germany, of which there was hardly any mention in other lands, viz.: literary activity. He wished that Lainez might come to Germany and write there against the Lutherans; he also discussed with the chancellor, Widmannstadt, as to whether, on his application, a printing press might not be established in Vienna, which would daily issue Catholic pamphlets against the Lutherans.[5]

During the lifetime of Loyola, however, they did not succeed in founding any great number of colleges in Germany. The German princes did not understand why establishments for religious orders should be founded, seeing that it was not monasteries, but bishops and parish priests that were required.[6] Only in 1552 did they manage to found a college in Vienna; by the year 1555, this already numbered 400 students, under 10 professors.[7] Besides this the city possessed a noviciate

[1] *Ibid.* I., 301-2.
[2] *Ibid.* 306.
[3] *Ibid.* 309.
[4] *Ibid.* 303.
[5] *Ibid.* 305, 309.
[6] *Ibid.* 289; POLANCO, II., 262.
[7] DUHR, Gesch. der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, I.; 49, Freiburg, 1907. The introduction of the Jesuits into Trent, planned by Madruzzo, did not succeed; see *letter of Card. Pole to Madruzzo, dated Rome, February 27, 1553, in the Arch. Trid. caps. LV., n. 25 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

and a house of studies in the year of Loyola's death, while three other colleges, in Cologne, Ingolstadt and Prague, arose during the last year of the life of the founder.

The Order owed the college in Cologne, and still more those in Ingolstadt and Prague, to the influence of that man who in the time to come was to be the founder of the German province of the order, and the animating spirit of all their undertakings —Peter Canisius. Cologne, for the Church of the XVIth century a post as important as it was often imperilled, received the Jesuits at first in a manner anything but friendly.[1] It was especially the sermons of Canisius which gradually gained them friends.[2] "If we could only open a school," writes Leonhard Kessel, the superior of the Jesuits in Cologne, in 1549, "then all the youth, and with them the others, would be won for Christ."[3] This wish was fulfilled when the post of director of the "Collegium Tricoronatum" became vacant, owing to the apostacy of its head. The city-council did not wish to give this establishment into the hands of the Jesuits, but the son of their Burgomaster, Johannes Rethius, who had taken their side, induced them to do so. The "Collegium Tricoronatum" developed very rapidly, and became for Germany, very much what the Roman College was for the whole Order, a school to send out workers in all directions.[4]

Canisius had at once been sent, with Salmeron and Le Jay, to Ingolstadt, to give lectures at the university. The new professors, however, had only an audience of fourteen, of whom the greater number possessed neither the necessary preliminary instruction nor any interest in religion or science. Salmeron and Le Jay were therefore soon recalled, but Canisius remained; he attained many successes and gained general esteem by his

[1] Braunsberger, I., 136, 672-3.

[2] *Ibid.* 143.

[3] To Ignatius, October 4, 1549, in the Litt. quadrim., I., 172. Concerning L. Kessel, whose greatness lay in the care of souls, see Th. Virnich in the Annalen des Histor. Vereins für den Niederrhein, part 90, Cologne, 1911.

[4] Duhr, I., 33 *seqq.* Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, XI., 200 *seqq.* Klinkenberg, Das Marzellen-gymnasium, Cologne, 1911.

private lessons among the students, by his lectures and by his zeal in the care of souls. A college would have been the most important step, in view of the insufficient preliminary training of the students, but the negotiations, begun in 1555, did not advance, and Ignatius, therefore, summoned the Jesuits from Ingolstadt to Vienna. Three years later Canisius was recalled to Bavaria, and the college was opened in the following year.[1]

Many Bohemians were in the habit of studying in Ingolstadt. The success of the Jesuits there, as well as in Vienna, awakened the hope in the minds of Bohemian Catholics of being able to procure the theological seminary of which their country stood in need, through the help of the new Order. In the year 1552 they addressed themselves, with this intention, to King Ferdinand I., who assented all the more readily to the proposal, as the state of the Church in Bohemia seemed even more hopeless than in Germany. Catholics, Utraquists, Bohemian Brethren and Lutherans all struggled together for the mastery; there was no bishop in the country, unworthy subjects crept into the priesthood from abroad in all sorts of ways, while the clerical state was despised, many parishes being without priests, which were then seized by Protestant preachers, the University also being in the hands of the Utraquists. Canisius had been negotiating since 1554 about the foundation of a college, to be directed by the Jesuits; two years later it became possible to open one in the convent of St. Clement in Prague.[2]

While Canisius was pursuing his activities for the colleges of Prague and Ingolstadt, his fixed residence was in Vienna, where the position was so serious that, in the opinion of Nadal,

[1] DUHR, I., 53 *seqq.* BRAUNSBERGER, I., 688 *seqq.* Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, X., 535 *seqq.* W. FRIEDENSBURG, Zur ersten Festsetzung der Jesuiten in Bayern, 1548-1549: Archiv für Ref-Gesch, 1912, 85-89.

[2] A. KROESS, Gesch. der böhm. Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, I., 3-36, Vienna, 1910. BRAUNSBERGER, I., 495 *seqq.*, 545 *seqq.*, 762 *seqq.* Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, VIII., 78-9; X., 689 *seqq.* *Cf.* SCHMIDTMAYER in the Mitteil. für die Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, XLIII., 122 *seqq.*

the whole city would have fallen a victim to Lutheranism, had it not been for the efforts of the Jesuits.[1] Canisius took an active part in the work of his brethren; he preached with great success in German and Italian, gave lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, took charge of the prisoners, and visited the parishes in the neighbourhood of the city, which were all without priests.[2] Ferdinand I. was most desirous, in the years from 1553 to 1556, of having him made Bishop of Vienna, and was earnestly urged thereto by the Papal nuncio, but Canisius absolutely refused this dignity.[3] In spite of considerable progress, things remained in a very serious condition in Vienna, and Canisius writes on January 5th, 1554, that he is astonished that it has not come to martyrdom for the Catholics who have remained true to their faith in the city on the Danube.[4]

It was in Vienna that Canisius composed that most important of all his works, his Catechism.[5] Hitherto there had been no handy abstract of the Catholic religion, suited to the needs of the times; the school teachers, even in Catholic districts, were usually Lutherans,[6] and Catholic children were taught

[1] Epist. I., 311.

[2] DUHR, I., 73-4. A. KROESS, Der sel. Petrus Canisius in Österreich, 31 *seqq.*, 37 *seqq.*, Vienna, 1898.

[3] For the question whether Canisius really carried on, for a time at least, the direction of the bishopric, *cf.* N. PAULUS in the Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, 1898, 742 *seqq.* A brief of Julius III., of November 3rd, 1554, entrusted him with the management of the bishopric for a year (BRAUNSBERGER, I., 506 *seqq.*); Polanco writes to him on April 2, 1555: "Della administratione del vescovato non se parla più, si che V. R. è libera al tutto." Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, VIII., 623; *cf. ibid.* 279, 400, 403, the letters of January 15, February 12 and 13, 1555.

[4] BRAUNSBERGER, I., 443.

[5] BRAUNSBERGER, Entstehung und erste Entwicklung der Katechismen des sel. Petrus Canisius, Freiburg, 1893. BRAUNSBERGER, II., 883 *seqq.* PAULUS in the Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie, 1903, 170 *seqq.*

[6] NADAL, Epist. I., 311.

according to a Lutheran catechism. Ferdinand I. therefore called upon the Vienna Jesuits to draw up a catechism of the Catholic faith. Immediately after his arrival in Vienna in 1552, Canisius was entrusted with this work, and as early as 1554 he was able to lay the first part of his Catechism before the king. It appeared in the following year without the name of the author, but with an Imperial decree at the beginning which prescribed the use of the little book for the schools of the hereditary Austrian dominions. It was intended for teachers and young students, and was therefore written in Latin. As early as 1556 a short extract from the larger catechism appeared at Ingolstadt in Latin and at Dillingen in German. A third catechism, which was intermediate between the two others, was first printed in Cologne in 1558. All these catechisms went through many editions and were extensively translated. They were of the utmost importance in Germany for the work of Catholic reform, as children were taught in accordance with them for hundreds of years.[1]

To possess a college in Paris, the centre of theological studies, had very early been the cherished desire of Loyola, but it was precisely in France that the Society of Jesus had to wage a long battle with the officials and prelates of gallican leanings, before winning the right of admission.[2] It is, however, a fact that they soon gained powerful friends there. Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, won over by Ignatius during his residence in Rome in 1550,[3] proved himself a real protector. Henry II. was favourable to them in spite of the opposition of his immediate entourage.[4] No fewer than three Jesuit colleges soon afterwards owed their foundation to the Bishop of Clermont, Guillaume du Prat, among them the very important college of Paris. But the Jesuits had to carry on a more than ten years' struggle concerning the foundation of this Paris college, in the

[1] *Cf.* JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV., 437 *seqq.*

[2] H. FOUQUERAY, Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, 195 *seqq*, Paris, 1910.

[3] POLANCO, II., 89-90. Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, XI., 451 ; *cf.* ROMIER, 35-36.

[4] Mon. Ign. *loc. cit.*

course of which interesting side lights were thrown upon the attitude in influential circles towards the Holy See.

Bishop du Prat had recognized that the raising of the standard of higher education was essential for combating the advance of Lutheranism. He therefore fixed upon a house in Paris, belonging to the bishops of Clermont, for a college, in which professors for the schools of his diocese could receive the necessary scientific training. The only difficulty was the dearth of young men who were inclined to enter. He applied, therefore, to Ignatius, from Trent,[1] in 1546, through Le Jay, and when he had returned to France in the following year, he thought of handing over his house of studies to the Jesuits there as their own property.[2]

This plan, however, could only be carried out if the new Order were received in France through a royal decree. The king indeed did sign such a document as early as 1550, and again in 1551, at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine; before this decree could, however, be made legally absolute it had to be examined by the Royal Council, have the chancellor's seal affixed to it, and be registered by the Parliament. The agreement of the gallicanly-inclined Parliament was very hard to obtain, and the difficulties were increased by a misunderstanding on the part of Viola, the superior of the Jesuits. In order to induce the Royal Council to give its approval, Viola had laid before it the Papal decree of October 18th, 1549, by which the privileges of the Society of Jesus were confirmed, and the Council communicated this Papal document to the Parliament. The whole affair thus took on an entirely different aspect. It was no longer a question of allowing the Jesuit colleges into France, but rather a discussion of the privileges of the Jesuits, and in particular of the validity of Papal privileges on French soil.

Special offence was given to the procurator-general of the Parliament, Noel Bruslart, by the Pope's withdrawal of the

[1] Epist. Broeti, Iaii &c., 307-8.

[2] Tournier in the Études, XCVIII. (1904), 465 *seqq.*, 622 *seqq.* Fouqueray, 150 *seqq.*

new Order from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and his releasing them from the duty of ecclesiastical tithes. Parliament declared, in accordance with the wishes of Bruslart, that the Jesuit Order transgressed the rights of the king, as well as those of Parliament, and also violated the episcopal regulations.[1] The matter remained in this state for a time, and the Papal document was returned to the Jesuits.

It was only at the end of 1552 that Paschasius Broet, a native of France and a student of the University of Paris, who had been appointed provincial for France in the June of that year, took some further steps. He succeeded, by means of a royal command of January 10th, 1553, which instructed the Parliament to register the former mandate in favour of the Jesuits. The opposition of the Paris jurists was, however, by no means yet overcome; on January 16th the advocate-general, Séguier, demanded that representations should be made to the king, and on February 8th the resolution was adopted that, before the proceedings went any further, the royal patent and the Papal Bull must be delivered to the Bishop of Paris, Eustache du Bellay, and the theological faculty for examination.

Eustache du Bellay was a gallican; he did not regard the Jesuit Order as legally established, and had refused to its members the right to hear confessions and the permission to preach, because they were not subject to his jurisdiction. They could therefore only carry on their priestly duties in the Benedictine abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, which was not subject to the diocese of Paris, or work in the neighbouring diocese of Soissons. The jurisdiction over the Jesuits which he had always claimed now seemed assured to him, when Parliament assigned to him the decision concerning them; naturally, it was not to be expected that he would decide against himself, by acknowledging the Papal privileges of the Jesuits.

When Broet presented himself before the bishop, in order to deliver the Papal Bull to him, du Bellay declared quite

[1] *Ibid.* 197, 199.

plainly that there were already too many Orders even without the Jesuits. Upon the reply that the Pope and the king had confirmed the Society of Jesus, the bishop answered that the Pope could give no confirmation for France, and the king just as little, since it was a matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[1] His judgment was therefore unfavourable. The very name, "Society of Jesus," he declared to be arrogant.[2] The Jesuits, by their vow of poverty, injured the mendicant orders, and the parish priests by their preaching and hearing confessions, while many of their privileges encroached on the rights of the bishops, of the Pope, and of the universities. As they professed to be desirous of working for the conversion of the Turks and unbelievers, they were at liberty to erect houses at the confines of Christianity; it was a long way from Paris to Constantinople.

The theological faculty proved no less unfriendly. They first of all sought to delay matters, but finally the dean declared to the provincial, Broet, that the Jesuits would not be successful, that their privileges had not been confirmed by "the Church, that is to say, a Council," and that the Pope could confer no prerogatives to the detriment of bishops and parish priests.[3]

When, on August 3rd, 1554, the Parliament pressed for an answer concerning the question of the Jesuits, twenty theologians examined the Papal Bulls daily, until a decision was arrived at on December 1st, 1554. This amounts to a complete condemnation.[4] The very name of the new Society is offensive, according to this document; it is deserving of censure, because it receives everyone without distinction. All deviations from the older Orders in the constitutions of the Society are held to be blameworthy, and the accusation is

[1] Broet to Ignatius on March 4, 1553: Epist. Broeti, &c., 87.

[2] Du Plessis d'Argentré, Collectio iudiciorum, II., 194. Fouqueray, 206.

[3] Broet to Ignatius on March August 9, 1553: Epist. Broeti, &c., 94.

[4] In Du Plessis d'Argentré, II., 194, and (without the introduction) in Polanco, IV., 328.

again made that their privileges are contrary to the rights of ecclesiastical and secular personages. Finally and comprehensively, the Society of Jesus is declared to be dangerous to the Faith, disturbing to the peace of the Church, destructive to the religious Orders, and to pull down more than it builds up. This condemnation of a Papal document is prefixed by an introduction, in which the doctors express their "deep veneration for the Holy See."

That such an august and learned body should express itself in this manner, naturally occasioned the greatest excitement against the new Order; sermons against the Jesuits were heard in the pulpits, and placards against them were affixed to the walls. On May 27th, 1555, the bishop forbade them the exercise of their priestly functions, under pain of excommunication, until the Bull should be confirmed by him, the faculty and the Parliament. Broet submitted, although the excommunication would have been invalid, but he appealed to the Holy See.[1]

The founder of the Order remained quite unmoved by the general excitement caused among the Jesuits by the Paris decree. When the most esteemed Roman fathers represented to him that the decree should be contested in writing, and the false accusation denied, he replied with perfect composure that this was not necessary, nor would he allow any direct steps to be taken against the distinguished faculty later on. The Society of Jesus, he said, would last for a long time yet, and the University of Paris likewise, and he did not therefore think it advisable that opposition should be further increased and perpetuated by a direct reply.[2] His plan was to obtain testimonials from ecclesiastical and secular princes, as well as from universities in all districts where the Jesuits were in active work, and to lay these before the Pope, of whose authority there was question in this matter, and then quietly wait to see which would be the mightier, the Paris decree or the

[1] Epist. Broeti &c., 102.

[2] Mon. Ign., Ser. 4, I., 216 (Gonçalvez for February 17, 1555) 375-6, 426.

judgment of the whole world. These testimonials were given in great numbers by the most distinguished persons; among others by the Portuguese king, John III., the Viceroy of Sicily, the Duchesses of Tuscany and Ferrara, by many bishops, by the Universities of Ferrara, Valladolid, Coimbra and Louvain, and by the Inquisitors at Ferrara, Florence, Evora and Saragossa.[1]

It was not, however, necessary to make use of these documents. When the Cardinal of Lorraine came to Rome, at the conclusion of the political alliance with Paul IV., in 1555, there were four Paris doctors in his retinue, among whom was the composer of the decree of December 1st, 1554. A calm discussion between these doctors and four of the most learned Jesuits was arranged, under the presidency of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the result of which was that the Cardinal decided in favour of the Jesuits, and the doctors acknowledged their mistake. A short written refutation of the decree, drawn up by the Jesuit, Olave, who was himself a doctor of the Paris faculty, strengthened the effect of the Roman pronouncement. The decree of December 1st was soon forgotten, even though it was never formally revoked.

During the lifetime of Loyola, the order only obtained one college in France, at Billom, in 1556.[2] This town was, even in secular matters, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Clermont, and the latter endowed the college from his own private means. Royal recognition was, therefore, in this case, not necessary.[3]

Similar difficulties to those in France were also met with by the Jesuits at the introduction of the Order into the Netherlands.[4] There as well no college could be opened as long as the Society of Jesus had not been sanctioned by the govern-

[1] Printed in the Acta Sanctorum Iulii, tom. VII., Einleitung zum Leben des hl. Ignatius, 47, 48.

[2] Fouqueray, 175 *seqq.* Mon. Ign., Ser. 1, XI., 366.

[3] Epist. Mixtae, V., 725. Epist. Broeti &c., 184.

[4] (Delplace), L'établissement de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays -Bas, Brussels, 1886. Astrain, II., 366 *seqq.*

ment, and it proved extremely difficult to obtain this sanction. Charles V. was prejudiced against the new Order, and when the Emperor had gone to Spain, the opposition of the two most influential men in the country, Granvelle and Viglius van Zwichem, had still to be reckoned with. Van Zwichem raised great difficulties ; he was specially of opinion that the privileges of the Jesuits could not be reconciled with the rights of the bishops and parish priests.[1]

Ignatius, however, did not despair. At the end of 1555 he sent the still youthful Ribadeneira to the Netherlands, who attracted attention in Louvain and Brussels by his Latin sermons, winning the favour of powerful members of the court, especially of the Count of Feria, and obtained in February, 1556, through their mediation, an audience with Philip II., who received him in a friendly manner. He had been carrying on negotiations since June, especially with Ruiz Gomez de Silva, whose influence in favour of the Jesuits was of the utmost importance, and what remained to be done was achieved by means of letters of recommendation from the Infanta Juana of Spain, and from Francis Borgia to Queen Maria of Hungary, who spent some time in Brussels in July, 1556. On August 20th, 1556, Philip II., regardless of the opposition of the president of the Council, Viglius, issued the decree by which the Society of Jesus received civic rights in Belgium.[2]

[1] Cartas de S. Ignacio, VI., 573 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 575 *seqq.* ; *cf.* CAUCHIE in the Bullet. de la Comm. Roy. d'hist., Ser. 5, II., 160 (1892).

CHAPTER VIII.

Activity of the Roman Inquisition in Italy.—Spread of Heresy in Germany, Poland and France.

In his struggle against the Protestant movement which threatened the unity of the faith in Italy, Julius III. followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. One of the first acts of his reign was the confirmation of the Roman Inquisition, recently founded by the Farnese Pope. On February 27th, 1550, he appointed six Cardinals as members of this tribunal: de Cupis, Carafa, Sfondrato, Morone, Crescenzi and Pole. Their first duty was to decide on an answer, which had been asked for by the nuncio, Prospero Santa Croce, then at the court of King Ferdinand I., with regard to the matter of the Bohemian Utraquists.[1] It is, therefore, evident, and this is confirmed by other documents, that the Roman Inquisition was to be considered as a central court for all the countries of Christendom, although its principal sphere of activity was in Italy, where, now as always, countless false doctrines were continually making their appearance. Besides Modena and Ferrara, the dominions of the Republic of Venice were in special danger.[2] Julius III., in the year 1550, carried on an

[1] See Massarelli 157.

[2] See the briefs in Raynaldus, 1550, n. 37-38, 57, and Fontana, 411, 418, 419, 420 *seqq*. *Cf*. Tacchi Venturi, I., 306, 329, 330. Comba gives a list of those accused by the Venetian Inquisition from 1541 to 1600, in the Riv. Crist., III. and IV. Concerning the Anabaptists in the Venetian territory see Druffel, II., 15; Theol. Stud. und Krit., 1885, 22, 23; Benrath, Reform. in Venedig, 78 *seqq*. With regard to Brescia, see the *brief for the suffragan-bishop there, of May 22, 1550. (Arm. 41, t. 56, n. 459. Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf*. Brown, VI., 3, App. n. 122.

active correspondence with the nuncio, Beccadelli, concerning this matter. The Signoria was not remiss in taking measures against the heretics, among whom were many Anabaptists ;[1] the agreement between Rome and Venice was, however, seriously interfered with when the Council of Ten resolved, in November, 1550, that a representative of the secular authority should always be present at the final judgment of a heretic. The Pope saw in this a threat to ecclesiastical liberty, and a transgression of the old canons, and expressed his disapproval of the decision to the Venetian ambassador, as well as to the nuncio.[2]

As such a procedure was often followed, Julius III. issued a Bull for the protection of ecclesiastical rights against the encroachment of the secular power. He laid the document before the Roman Inquisition, whose sanction it first received in a sitting of December 30th, 1550, and again on January 2nd, 1551.[3] The Bull was published on March 27th, 1551 ; it expressly laid down, under the threat of excommunication, that no one except the persons authorized by the Roman Inquisition should occupy themselves with the proceedings against heretics, by which regulation, however, the rights of the bishops should not be prejudiced.[4] Thanks to the skill of the nuncio, Beccadelli, the question was settled by an arrangement with the Venetian Republic, which was also sanctioned by Achille de' Grassi, who was expressly sent to Venice by the Pope.[5]

[1] Besides FONTANA, 411 and MASSARELLI, 170, 172, 175, 184, *cf.* BECCADELLI, I., 96 *seqq.* A complete collection of Beccadelli's *nunciature reports from Venice of the years 1550-1554 are in the Cod. Vat. 6752 of the Vatican Library.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 202, 203, 204 ; *cf.* BECCADELLI, I., 99-100.

[3] See MASSARELLI, 207-8, 209.

[4] The Bull *Licet a diversis* (Bull. VI., 431 *seq.*, and FONTANA, 416-417) is dated March 18, 1551, but was first published on March 27 (see MASSARELLI, 220). *Cf.* concerning this document PHILLIPS, VI., 581 *seq.* ; HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 607.

[5] HINSCHIUS, VI., 336, only refers to Sarpi's "Discorso dell' officio dell' inquisitione," 2, 39 *seqq.*, Geneva, 1639, for the agree-

It had often happened, even under Clement VII., that heretical opinions were proclaimed from the pulpit. The Roman Inquisition therefore issued a decree, on May 20th, 1550, according to which all those who expounded the Word of God were bound to preach openly against Lutheran tenets, otherwise they would be regarded with suspicion, and steps taken against them.[1]

In the following year the members of the Roman Inquisition took part in deliberations concerning the issue of a Bull by which the system of preaching and hearing confessions should be reformed. In the summer of 1552 they were also engaged in an inquiry against members of the new orders of the Barnabites and Angeliche, who had fallen into a dangerous position, through the over-excited behaviour and arrogance of Paola Antonia Negri. The end of the proceedings, in which Cardinal Carafa had displayed all his energies, was the expulsion of Paola Negri from the order of the Angeliche, the separation of the latter from the Barnabites, and the condemnation of the writings of the late (d. 1534) Fra Battista da Crema, from

ment with Venice; the important communications and reports of Beccadelli (I., 102-104) seem to have escaped his notice, as well as that of DRUFFEL, I., 865. GOTHEIN'S (Ignatius, 526) information is far from complete. *Cf.* also MASSARELLI, 223. Serristori's *report of April 2, 1550 (State Archives, Florence, proves that the Pope, shortly after his election, made up his mind to take steps against the constant intervention of the laity in Venice; see further BROWN, V., n. 656; *cf. ibid.* 684. Julius III. defines his attitude with regard to this matter in his instructions for Archille de Grassi, dated August 23, 1551 (Casanate Library, Rome, XIV., 38, pp. 97 *seqq.*) printed incorrectly in WEISS, Pap. de Granvelle, III., 579-580, corrections by DRUFFEL, I., 866, and in the Nuntiaturberichte XII., n. 62. The instructions bear the date August 23, not August 27, in the collection of *Istruzioni* (I) in the Doria-Pamphili Archives in Rome, while the copy in Stockholm (Library H., 22) has the wrong date August 27. Concerning the dispatch of the "Magister s.palatii," caused by the appearance of the Anabaptists in Venice, see MUZIO, Lettere, 217 *seq.*

[1] See PASTOR, Dekrete der römisch. Inquisition, 61.

whom Paola Negri and her followers had taken many dangerous views. In order to prevent such abuses for the future, Julius III. appointed, on July 29th, 1552, a friend of Carafa, Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo, who held the same views as the latter, as protector of the Barnabites, and he was authorized to visit both them and the Angeliche.[1] The jurisdiction of the tribunal was considerably extended by a severe edict which Julius III. published on February 1st, 1554, against blasphemers. The Roman Inquisitors were appointed as judges for this crime, and authority was bestowed on them to inflict corporal punishment.[2]

One of the principal reasons for the spread of Protestant opinions in Italy was the inundation of the country with heretical books.[3] The permission to read such books, reserved to the Pope by the Bull *In Coena*, had been very extensively granted since the time of Leo X.; the hoped for advantage of a more effective fight against error had not, however, been gained. The evil consequences which ensued were all the more to be deplored, as such writings were widely read by monks and lay persons, under the pretext that they had the necessary permission for doing so. Carafa had, as early as 1532, demanded the withdrawal of all such permissions in the

[1] *Cf.* the valuable work of O. PREMOLI, Fra Battista da Crema secondo documenti inediti, Rome, 1910, in which, however, the important *brief of Julius III., which I discovered (Appendix No. 16) in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, does not appear. Proceedings were taken, not by the Inquisition, but by the Tribunal of the Governor, against a Roman woman, Fausta Orsi, in 1552 (see BERTOLOTTI in the Riv. Europ., XXIII., 618, 1883). "Fu rimessa in carcere" says Bertolotti, and he continues without giving any further proof "e senza fallo abbruciata come strega confessa." *Ibid.*, 627 *seq.*, concerning another witchcraft case in Rome, in the year 1557.

[2] Bull,. VI., 478 *seqq.* The *letter of Serristori dated July 3, 1554, shows how Julius III. supported the Inquisition in their proceedings against those who came under this Bull (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 307 *seqq.*, 313 *seqq.*

programme for reform addressed to Clement VII.[1] Julius III. carried out these measures, and by a Bull of April 29th, 1550, recalled all those authorizations to read or keep Lutheran or other heretical or suspect books, which had been granted by his predecessors, by Papal legates, by grand penitentiaries or by anyone else. Everybody, no matter what their rank or position, was bound to deliver such works to the Inquisition within sixty days, the sole exception to this regulation being the Inquisitors or the commissaries of the Inquisition, during the term of their office; measures against disobedience to this order were to be taken by the Inquisitors-General.[2] The fact that a burning of heretical books took place in Rome, as early as June 3rd, 1550, shows with what expedition this regulation was carried out.[3]

The Pope who, in spite of his clemency, was repeatedly obliged to take stricter measures against the Jews,[4] had agreed

[1] See BROMATO, II., 186; *cf.* REUSCH, I., 179 *seq.* Concerning Carafa's programme, see Vol. X. of this work, 310 *seq.*

[2] The Bull in EYMERICUS, App. 115-6, and FONTANA, 412-13; *cf.* REUSCH, I., 171-2, 180 *seq.* The president of the Council received special authorization on June 4th, 1551; see THEINER, I., 482; HILGERS, Index, 505.

[3] See *Seripandi Comment.* in MERKLE, II., 440. An *edict of the Inquisition against an Italian book, dated August 12, 1553, in the Archives of S. Angelo, caps. II., n. 17 (Papal Secret Archives)

[4] See Bull, VI., 404 *seqq.*, 484 *seqq.*; ERLER in the Archiv. für Kirchenrecht, LIII., 43-44 and RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN, II., 145 *seqq.* PIETRO M. LONARDO (Gli Ebrei a Benevento, Benevento, 1889) mentions measures against the Jews in Benevento (May 2, 1550). I also noted in the Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 58, n. 1034: *Hier. Gualterutio, December 29, 1550, "Commissio ad inquirendum contra Hebreos," as many Jews are carrying on usury in the States of the Church and forging coins; *ibid.* t. 60, n. 426. *Legato Romandiole, dated June 3, 1551: Jews may not ask more interest than in Bologna and Imola; t. 63, n. 203: *Seb. Martio, dated March 22, 1552: against Jews, unbelievers and Portuguese, who practise usury in Ancona, measures will be taken; t. 64, n. 264: Marco Spaventio, dated April 25, 1552: against usury of the Jews in Bologna; Arm. 42, t. 1, n. 44: *Bull. pro Hebreis status eccl.,

that the Inquisition should confiscate and burn the Talmudical books in the year 1553. He also authorized an edict of the Inquisition of September 12th, 1553, whereby all the princes, bishops and inquisitors received instructions to do the same thing.[1] The Jews begged the Pope to recall the decree, or at least to allow them the use of the simple rabbinical writings. Thereupon there followed a Bull of May 29th, 1554, ordering the Jewish communities to deliver up all books containing blasphemies and aspersions against Christ, within four months; no one was to trouble them with regard to other books, which did not contain such blasphemies.[2] The Inquisition speedily set about the execution of this decree in the States of the Church.[3]

As regards the activity of the Roman Inquisition against heresy, the latest investigations of the time of Paul III. go far to confirm the expert opinion of Seripando, that the proceedings of this tribunal were conducted in a moderate and clement manner, in keeping with the nature of the Farnese Pope, that severe corporal punishment and executions were of rare

dated February 1, 1555: removal of the regulation that synagogues must contribute to the maintenance of catechumens in Rome, and order that the treasurer shall pay the latter a yearly sum of 200 ducats. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] See Eymericus, App., 119; Grätz, Gesch. der Juden, IX., 346 *seq.*; Reusch, I., 47; Erler, *loc. cit.*, 44; Berliner, Zensur hebräischer Bücher, 3 *seq.*, Frankfurt, 1891; Rieger-Volgestein, II., 146 *seq.*; Fumi, 156. *Cf.* **letter of Sirleto, Rome, September 9, 1553. Cod. Vat. 6177, p. 359 (Vatican Library). *Cf.* Luzio, Pronostico, 88-89, for the friendly attitude towards the Jews adopted by Cardinal E. Gonzaga.

[2] Bull, VI., 482-3.

[3] *Cf.* Muzio, Lettere Catholiche, 171 *seqq.*, Venice, 1571; Giaxich, G. Muzio, 53-54, Trieste, 1847; Reusch, I., 47 *seqq.* The mitigation of the decree of May, 1554, mentioned in Reusch, according to Grätz, IX., 359, is contained in the **Bull of December 18, 1554, in Arm. 41, t. 72, p. 718; Arm. 42, t. 1, n. 33: *Universitati Hebreorum, dated January 26, 1555: Prorogatio 4 mensium eis statutorum ad corrigendum eorum libros ad alios 4 menses (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

occurence, and that many acquittals took place when the contrary had been expected.[1] The same thing is also true of the time of Julius III., as far as an opinion can be formed without the perusal of the inaccessible documents of the Roman Inquisition. It is expressly declared that Cardinal Carafa, who had great influence in matters concerning the Inquisition,[2] was not pleased with the moderate measures of Julius III.[3] The ambassador of Bologna also declares that the Pope had much milder views concerning proceedings against heretics than those held by Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo,[4] a man whose ideas resembled those of Cardinal Carafa. In the case which the ambassador had in mind, it can be proved that the procedure was in accordance with his statement. The naturalist, Ulisse Aldrovandi, who was sent from Bologna to Rome in 1549, was at once set at liberty,[5] while others escaped with slight punishment.[6]

At the same time, Julius III. did what his office required from him, for the protection and purification of the faith.[7]

[1] See Buschbell, 220 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* opinion of Cardinal E. Gonzaga in his *letter to Capilupi, dat. November 4, 1553, in Cod. 6503 of the Court Library, Vienna.

[3] See also Vol. XIV. of this work, chap. VII.

[4] *Letter of Gir. Biagio to Bologna, dat. Rome, June 4, 1550, with regard to the proceedings against Annibale Monterentio. Biagio announces on July 19, 1550, that Monterentio went before the Inquisition himself; although Carafa and Toledo were very much against him. he was mildly treated (State Archives, Bologna).

[5] See Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bol., I., 167; Battistella, 119-120; Massarelli in Merkle, I., 861; Buschbell, 200-201.

[6] See the *Sententia of January 29, 1551, in App. No. 10 (Vatican Library).

[7] If Grimm (Michelangelo, II., 423) means that Julius III., "let Lutherans be Lutherans" he is quite mistaken. Contemporaries judged him otherwise. Andrea del Monte says, in the *manuscript dedicated to Julius III.: "Super insig. montium: Horum temporum haereses iam alias damnatae fragiles sunt et tuo tempore tuis auspiciis infringi coeperunt, quotidie a te franguntur malleis inquisitorum, quos infringendis haeresibus prefecisti" (Cod. Vat. 3561, Vatican Lib,).

He repeatedly took part in person at the sittings of the Roman Inquisition, especially in the early years of his pontificate.[1] The data concerning the members of the tribunal do not allow the membership to be established with certainty. Massarelli counts seven Cardinals as Inquisitors-General in February, 1551, namely Carafa, Carpi, Alvarez de Toledo, Cervini, Crescenzi, Verallo and Pole.[2] In March of the same year, the Inquisition was engaged on an examination of the bishops, Thomas Planta of Coire, and Vettore Soranzo of Bergamo, who were suspected of heretical views. The investigation ended with an acquittal in both cases.[3]

[1] See MASSARELLI, 207, 209, 212, 216, 219.

[2] MASSARELLI, 216. This does not, however, agree with the fact that in the sentence delivered by Carpi on March 4, 1551 (see Bullet. Senese, XV., 304-305) the Cardinal describes himself as "unus ex sex per univ. rempubl. christ. haeret. pravit. inquisitoribus." It appears from RAYNALDUS, 1552, n. 57, and FONTANA, Documenti, 423, that the tribunal only counted four members in January, 1552, viz., Carafa, Carpi, Toledo and Cervini. In April, 1553, there were six, viz., Carafa, Toledo, Cervini, Verallo, du Puy and Pighino (see FUMI, 324); in July, August and September of the same year, and in the February of 1554, other names appear, viz., Carafa, Carpi, Toledo, Verallo, Pighino and Puteo (see EYMERICUS, App. 119; FONTANA, 425, 427, and FUMI, 208). Medici only took part in the sittings of the Inquisition temporarily as a substitute for Puteo, who was ill (see MÜLLER, Konklave, 235.) In this way the occasional appearance of new names may be explained. Bartol. Serristori *announces on November 4, 1553, that Card. Verallo was seized with illness the day before at the sitting of the Inquisition, so that the session had to be suspended (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See MASSARELLI, 219, 223, with a correction p. 892. *Cf.* the briefs to the Swiss of July 18, (Archiv. für schweiz. Reform-Gesch., II., 27) and October 10, 1551 (see WIRZ, Bullen, 360-361). For this matter *cf.*. also MAYER, Gesch. des Bistums Chur, II., 100-101. See further in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 41, t. 62, n. 895: *brief to the Emperor of October 10, 1551; *ibid.* t. 70, n. 94, the **brief by which Soranzo was given back, dat. February 14, 1554 (t. 71, n., 292 again with the date May 24, 1554). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Julius III., who had, even as Cardinal,[1] shown himself opposed to personal severity to those who were accused of heresy, granted, by a Bull of April 29th, 1550, absolution to all those who had fallen into heresy, and were only prevented from retractation by fear of the public penance and the shame attached to it, on condition of their presenting themselves privately before the Inquisition, abjuring their errors and performing a secret penance. Those subject to the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, however, and especially the relapsed Jews in those countries, were excluded from this absolution.[2]

The execution of those who obstinately persevered in their heresy, only took place in Rome in isolated cases under Julius III. The diary of the native of Trastevere, Cola Coleine, mentions on June 6th, 1552, that seven Lutherans were led to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where they abjured their errors. From the same source we learn that on March 21st, 1553, eleven Lutherans, among them the Minorite, Giovanni Buzio from Montalcino, were likewise taken there. On September 4th, 1553, a silk-weaver was executed with Buzio on the Campo de' Fiori, who not only denied Purgatory, the authority of the Pope, and the doctrine of Indulgences, but also declared that Julius III. was Antichrist. According to Coleine, the reconciliation of sixteen Lutherans to the Church again took place before S. Maria sopra Minerva on November 4th.[3] If the Pope urged the execution of the relapsed heretic Fanino in Ferrara,[4] this was more on account of the dangerous state of affairs prevailing there, the palace of the Duchess Renée being known as the "Refuge of the Heretics."[5]

[1] *Cf.* BUSCHBELL, 202-3, 204, 219, 306-7, 312-3.

[2] See Bull., VI., 415, *seqq.*; FONTANA, Documenti, 415. *Cf.* also the Order of the Roman Inquisition of June 10, 1553, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 61.

[3] See in App. No. 25 the passages from Cola Coleine (Chigi Library, Rome).

[4] FONTANA, Documenti, 418; *cf.* FONTANA, Renata, II., 270, *seqq.*, 275 *seqq.* See also the Zeitschrift für luth. Theol., 83 *seqq.*, 1862; DRUFFEL, Herkules von Ferrara, 36-7; BUSCHBELL, 180-181, 220.

[5] POLANCO, IV., 67.

The few cases in which heresy was punished by death under Julius III. were described in detail in Germany by means of pamphlets,[1] in order to give the impression in that country that a violent persecution of Italian Protestants was being carried on. What actually took place is best understood from the letter of Vergerio to Bullinger, on October 8th, 1553, concerning the state of affairs in Italy. He says: "People might believe that hundreds were being burned daily, but this is by no means the case; not a single person has been put to death, although in some places heretics are, to a certain extent, persecuted."[2]

In the Florentine ambassadorial dispatches mention is repeatedly made of heretics being sent from Tuscany to Rome.[3] That the same thing was true of Naples can be seen from a letter of the commissary-general of the Roman Inquisition, the Dominican, Michele Ghislieri, to Cardinal Cervini, on August 4th, 1553. Ghislieri, who was specially zealous for the work of the Inquisition, saved in 1551 the gifted

[1] "Dreadful news as to what Julius III. has done to two Christians," trans. by Barth. Wagner, 1551. . . . F. Schwartz. "True report of thre martyrs, killed by the Pope (1551)." "True story of Montalcino, who was martyred in Rome, for his Confession of Faith. 1554. . . . ." "A true story of two splendid men, called Fanina of Favencia and Dominico of Basana, who, on account of the Holy Scriptures, were killed and martyred in Italy by the Pope named Julius III." (1554). . . . . "A History of how Antichrist in Rome again murdered two Christians in this year 1553," trans. by M. Waldner, Nuremberg, 1554. Concerning the rare lampoon, "Modus ad inquirendum Luteranos" composed in Germany and bearing the name of Rome, 1553, as the fictitious place of publication, see LAUCHERT, 29.

[2] "Diceres quotidie centum comburi. Et non est ita, ne unus quidem, tametsi levis quaedam persecutio paucis in locis oborta sit" (CALVINI Opera, XIV. [Corp. Ref. XLII], 636). This important testimony has not been sufficiently noticed until now.

[3] *Cf.* Serristori's *reports, dat. Rome, January 22, and February 2, 1552. (State Archives, Florence). Concerning certain barefooted friars, who were delivered up from Ravenna and Rimini at the same time, see SLEIDAN, Correspondence, 231, 235.

Minorite, Sisto da Siena, a converted Jew, from the threatened death by fire, reconciled him to the Church, and thus gained a useful champion for the faith.[1] On September 19th, 1554, Ghislieri sent to Cervini a list of sixteen names of Servites, who had preached Lutheran sermons. It is evident, from a pronouncement of the tribunal of the faith in Bologna,[2] how frequently members of the Servite Order were at that time convicted of heresy. The religious ferment in that town had also taken possession of the youthful students. Proceedings had to be instituted in 1553 against a large number of the students of the Spanish college, some of whom belonged to very distinguished families, on account of their Protestant opinions. The moderate and shrewd manner in which the inquiry was conducted would have been impossible under such a man as Carafa. The benevolent Julius III. succeeded in arranging this painful matter in private.[3] Notice of the spread of heresy reached the Roman Inquisition specially from the duchy of Urbino, the diocese of Lucca and the territory of Milan. It was rather difficult to intervene in Milan, as the archbishop repeatedly got into conflict with the Inquisitors.[4] Added to this there was constantly in this diocese great interference on the part of the secular authorities, which caused the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition to lay a complaint against the Milanese Senate before the Emperor and the Governor in the August of 1553. During these disputes, Rome was at great pains to prevent the Spanish government from making use of the Inquisition for political purposes.[5]

[1] *Cf.* CANTÙ, II., 451 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 344; Bullet. Senese, XV., 304-5; XVII, 5, 30 *seqq.*

[2] See BUSCHBELL, 212 *seqq.*, 321, 322; *cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 532.

[3] *Cf.* the thorough investigations of A. BATTISTELLA in the Atti per le prov. d. Romagna, XIX., 138 *seqq.* 1901.

[4] See BUSCHBELL, 213; CARCERERI, Riforma e Inquisitione nel ducato di Urbino, Verona 1911; *cf.* FUMI, 210-211.

[5] See FUMI, 199-200, 201-2, 205-6. *Cf.* to complete, the two **documents of November 30, 1552, and January 21, 1553 (Arm. 39, t. 60, p. 13-14, 30-31. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

The territory of Milan was all the more threatened by the innovators because of its proximity to Switzerland, but the Catholics in that country also rose successfully against them, an undertaking which Julius III. supported, as far as possible, through his nuncios.[1]

Most disquieting news from Naples, which under Paul III. had been a rallying point of the innovators,[2] had repeatedly reached Cervini. Great excitement had been specially caused when, in 1551, a grand-nephew of Cardinal Carafa, the Marquis of Vico, Galeazzo Caracciolo, fled to Geneva and became the intimate friend and supporter of Calvin.[3] In order to provide the Neapolitan district with vigorous assistance, a delegate of the Roman Inquisition was installed there in the year 1553.[4]

[1] Concerning Paolo Odescalchi, who was sent to Switzerland in July, 1553, see, besides HUBERT, Vergerio, 133, 288, WIRZ. Bullen, 361-2. The *brief of July 17, 1554, is missing here; it was addressed to the seven Catholic Cantons, and contained the admonition to support the Bishop of Chur in warding off the Lutherans and other heretics, who were continually coming to Switzerland from Italy and elsewhere (Min. Brev. Arm., 41, t. 71, n. 426. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Ottaviano Raverta (Rovere), Bishop of Terracina, arrived in Switzerland in the autumn as the Pope's ambassador. He supported the Catholic Cantons in their proceedings against the innovators in Locarno, where the Protestant service was forbidden, and those who did not obey were driven out on May 3, 1555. See MEYER, Die evang. Gemeinde in Locarno (their emigration to Zurich, and their subsequent fate), Zurich, 1836. DIERAUER, Gesch. der schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft, III., 300-301; RHEINHARDT-STEFFENS, VII.-VIII.

[2] See Vol. XII. of this work, 495 *seqq*. In 1554 Julius III. ordered that the property of the heretics in Naples should not be confiscated in future; see AMABILE, I., 219; HINSCHIUS, VI., 333.

[3] See KAMPSCHULTE-GÖTZ, Calvin, II., 247, Leipsic, 1899.

[4] *Cf*. LEA, The Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies, New York, 1908. Moronessa mentions the activity of Pacheco and Rebiba against heresy in the Neapolitan district, in LAUCHERT, 638, n. 2. Concerning the interposition of A. Caro in Benevento, see Studi stor., XVII., 532, XVIII., 490.

Concerning the proceedings instituted against the Neapolitan, Matteo da Aversa, Ghislieri writes from Rome to Cardinal Cervini on August 4th, 1553: "The accused had undergone the torture of the scavenger's daughter, but remained firm; it was only after three or four days that he was brought to acknowledge many errors, as for example, that he had found it impossible to believe that Christ was God."[1] Cardinal Pole would not consent to the employment of this frightful measure in the case of Aversa. In a conversation with Carafa, the English Cardinal told him that although he approved of the object, he repudiated such means of attaining it.[2]

The Jesuits, who were, in principle, in agreement with the inquisition, chiefly made use of peaceable instruction as a means of converting heretics. It was reported from many places that they had succeeded in reconciling many to the Church, even when they had gone so far, as several did in Venice, as to deny the immortality of the soul. In Ferrara, the Jesuit, Pelletier, united his efforts with those of the King of France and the Duke, Ercole, to obtain the conversion of the Duchess Renée. She confessed with many tears to Pelletier and received Holy Communion from his hands in 1554;[3] it is, however, true that she afterwards relapsed into heresy.[4]

Besides peaceable persuasion the Jesuits principally sought to counter the Protestant invasion of Italy by the instruction of the young. This they did in Genoa[5] and Naples. In the latter city, the followers of Juan Valdes instigated a violent persecution against them in the year 1552. This did not prevent Salmeron from preaching against the reformers in the following year, with such success that very many were con-

[1] Buschbell, 214-5, 319-20.

[2] See Beccadelli, II., 351.

[3] *Cf.* Polanco, II., 205, 217, 451, 481; III., 149; IV., 77. Pelletier's letter to Ignatius, dat. Ferrara, September 24, in the Epist. Mixtae, IV., 360 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 390, 429. How reserved, and even disapproving, Nadal's attitude is, is seen in Polanco, II., 35.

[4] See Herzog, Realenzyklopädie, XVI., 659-60.

[5] *Cf.* Rosi, La Riforma religiosa in Liguria, 52-53, Genoa, 1894.

verted.[1] The measures employed by the reformers to frustrate the activity of the Jesuits is evidenced by a characteristic case of which we learn in Rome. A Calabrian, 33 years of age, was sent by them to the Jesuits so that he might spy out their pursuits, as a novice, and attempt to seduce some of them. His outward life was blameless, and he confessed and communicated frequently. When, however, it became evident that he held heretical views, he was dismissed, but on leaving the noviciate he was arrested by the Inquisition. As he proved to be repentant, he got off with being condemned to the galleys.[2]

Very often quite innocent persons were accused of heresy. This fate overtook, not only the above-mentioned Bishop of Bergamo, but other prelates as well. Even a Cardinal, and such a distinguished personage as Morone, came under suspicion. A certain Frate Bernardo of Viterbo, who had been brought before the Inquisition, called his orthodoxy in question. Perhaps it might have gone as far as the arrest of Morone by the Roman tribunal, if Julius III. had not informed the Cardinal, and afforded him the opportunity of at once justifying himself, whereupon the Frate retracted the unjust allegations he had brought against him.[3] The defence of the suspected Archbishop of Otranto, Pietro Antonio de Capua, and of the

[1] See TACCHI-VENTURI, I., 326-7. A *brief for the Neapolitan Cardinal of July 1, 1552, authorized him to condemn heretics to the punishment of the galleys (Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 451, Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] The case is cited by RULE (Inquisition, II., 192-3, London, 1874), who refers it to ORLANDINI, Hist. Soc. Iesu, P. I., 11, 7, 338, Cologne, 1621. Orlandini's source is the work of O. Manareus, first printed in 1886, where the matter is stated on p. 115 *seqq.*; moreover, it was not the case of a Calvinist, as Rule states. Manareus (118) and Orlandini in accordance with him (11, 8) relates that two chests of books were presented to the Roman professed house of the Jesuits from Venice; among them were Catholic books, but they were mostly Protestant works, which Ignatius caused to be thrown into the fire. *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 309, n. 3.

[3] See Morone's report in CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 181-2; *cf.* 171.

Patriarch Giovanni Grimani of Venice was not so easy. The Emperor had repeatedly and urgently requested the purple for de Capua, but always in vain, as the inquisition had instituted an investigation against the archbishop, on a charge of heterodoxy. Even though the accused succeeded in proving himself innocent,[1] the dignity of the cardinalate was not conferred on him. The absolute want of foundation for the accusation against the Patriarch Grimani was shown in a similar manner, but although nothing could be proved against him but a few imprudences, the red hat was refused to him as well, in spite of urgent requests from the Republic of St. Mark. The scandal and shame of having been brought before the Inquisition for examination was so great that Julius III. assured the Venetian ambassador that all the waters of the Tiber could not wash it away.[2]

While Italy succeeded in warding off the dangers threatening the Church, the state of affairs in the countries beyond the Alps was steadily growing more gloomy. The issue in Germany was no longer doubtful, since the revolt of the Elector Maurice of Saxony and his fellow conspirators had been successful and the treaty of Passau had confirmed it (August 15th, 1552). Neither the Pope nor the Emperor was in a position to give a different turn to affairs. Julius III. resolved, with a view to

[1] See in Appendix No. 22 the *brief of May 31, 1554 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* besides DRUFFEL, III., 253-4, Corpo Dipl. Port., VII., 272, 306; DE LEVA, G. Grimani; Atti d. Instit. Veneto, Ser. 5, VII. (1880-1881); DE LEVA, Su duo lettere del card. di Trani; *ibid.*; CARCERERI, G. Grimani, 8-9, Rome, 1907; BUSCHBELL, 47 *seqq.*, 116 *seqq.* Card. Farnese referred later to the case of Grimani in the lawsuit of the Carafa family (see *Proc. Carafa, t. LVI., 96, in the Arch. crim. of the State Archives, Rome). It was also merely a matter of thoughtless utterances in the case of the Augustinian hermit Aurelius Novocomensis; see the *letter to the Lombardic Congregation, dat. April 5, 1550, in the *Regesta H. Seripandi, XXIII., 181; *ibid.* 182b the *Formula abiurationis of the said Novocomensis (General Archives of the Augustinians in Rome).

saving what was still possible, and strongly defending his own position, to send to the assistance of the nuncio, Zaccaria Delfino,[1] then at the Court of Ferdinand I., for the Diet convoked at Augsburg, an experienced diplomatist and a shrewd judge of conditions in Germany, in the person of Cardinal Morone. On account of the painful experiences which the representative of the Pope had had at former Diets, there were at first misgivings in Rome, when, in accordance with the wishes of Charles V., it was proposed that a Cardinal-Legate should be allowed to take part in the contemplated discussions concerning religion.[2] Cardinal Otto von Truchsess alone represented, in a letter addressed directly to His Holiness, the urgent necessity for an able Cardinal-Legate, well acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany.[3] Truchsess also repeatedly begged the influential Cardinal Cervini to take steps in Rome to gain this end.[4] The appointment of Morone as Legate to Ferdinand I. followed on January 7th, 1555; on February 13th, the Pope, who was at that time confined to bed with the gout, gave him the Cross, and five days later Morone left the Eternal City.[5] His office, as may well be imagined,

[1] Delfino, the successor of Girolamo Martinengo, had arrived in Vienna on February 7, 1554; see PIEPER, 66-67; *ibid.*, 181 *seqq.* his instructions, dated December 1, 1553. The credentials for Delfino in DRUFFEL, IV., 316, dated November 1, are not, as Pieper (67 n) believes, of December 1, but of November 20, 1553. It is also quite wrong when Druffel describes Bishop Delfino as *legatus de latere*, in the above passage. The true state of the case is shown from the text given in Appendix No. 21 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Delfino received a monthly provision of 150 scudi, the French nuncio twice that sum; see *Intr. et Exit., 1554-1555 in Cod. Vat., 10605 of the Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* LANZ, III., 610-611; DRUFFEL, IV., 529.

[3] **Cardinal d'Augusta [Truchess] to Julius III., dat. Dillingen, June 26, 1554. Litt. di princ. XIX., 275 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See DRUFFEL, IV., 547.

[5] Acta consist. in PIEPER, 69, n. 5. FIRMANUS, 505. *Letter of the Bolognese ambassador of February 13, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna). The *passport for Morone, dated February 16, 1555,

was a most difficult one, for, as Delfino states, a considerable number, even of Catholics, were inclined to assent to the dangerous agreement of Passau.[1] Julius III. gave the Cardinal strict injunctions to defend, in a fitting manner, at least the Papal authority during the impending negotiations.[2] In Morone's company were the Jesuits, James Lainez and Jerome Nadal, to act as his theological advisers.[3]

For a long time before his departure on this mission, Morone had been co-operating in a work which was to be of the greatest importance for the Catholic regeneration of Germany.

All those who thoroughly understood the conditions in Germany, the bishops as well as the Papal nuncios, had been pointing out for years that the state of religious neglect of the people in the districts which were still Catholic, arose chiefly from the extraordinary scarcity of priests, a thing which had made itself felt still more since the political and ecclesiastical revolution. The Catholic clergy, whom the reformers represented as the source of all evil, and endeavoured to bring into contempt by every means in their power, were threatened with extinction.[4] No one understood better than Ignatius of

in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 62; *ibid.*, n. 63-71, a number of briefs which relate to this mission, and of which only one is printed in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 4.

[1] **Delfino to Card. del Monte, dat. Augsburg, March 9, 1555 (Lett. di princ., XIX., 154. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the *brief of February 16, 1555 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 3-4, and in Appendix No. 26, the *letter to Capilupi of February 16, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See BRAUNSBERGER, I., 521.

[4] See the numerous testimonies in JANNSEN-PASTOR (VIII., 418 *seqq.*) which could be largely added to. The nuncio Martinengo also repeatedly speaks of the want of priests. See his *letters, dated Vienna, April 22 and May 20, 1551. In that of April 22 he says: "Queste provincie, monsignor mio, quanto a sacerdoti non potrebbon star peggio di quello che stanno. Mi vien detto ch'in alcuna diocesi si trovano ducento benficii curati senza pastori et plebani, et, si qui sunt, o sono infetti d'heresia o vero uxorati o

Loyola that a thorough change must take place, if the Catholic regeneration of Germany was to be taken in hand in an energetic manner. The idea of founding in Rome a training college for secular priests who should distinguish themselves by their piety and learning, and would be capable of acting as spiritual advisers, preachers, professors, and as bishops, and of planting them like leaven in the German dioceses, was maturing in his mind. Such a college could not be founded in Germany itself, for, as Ignatius pointed out in a memorandum intended for Charles V.,[1] not only was heresy openly rampant there, but everything had been so ruined by many pretended Catholics, that their bad example could only have the most injurious effect on the young students. The justice of this consideration was shown by the fate of the college founded by Cardinal Truchsess in Dillingen in the year 1549, for the training of priests. Although Julius III. raised this institution to be a university in 1551,[2] and the Cardinal devoted the whole of his fortune and income to it, it never realized the expectations of its founder, until it was given into the hands of the Jesuits in the year 1564.[3]

senza ordini sacri, tal che per questa gran penuria de preti ogni giorno son sollecitato a dispensar confrati, acciò potessero essi non ostante l'apostasia far' questo essercitio, ma non estendendosi tanto oltre le mie facultà, non posse sodisfare alle loro domande, onde o per via del concilio o d'altro hanno estremo bisogno di qualche buona provisione" (Nunziat. di Germania, 63. Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also Le. Jay's letter in the Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol., XXXII., 612.

[1] Draft in SCHROEDER, 203-4; *cf.* STEINHUBER, I., 2nd Ed., 12.

[2] See SPECHT, Universität Dillingen, Freiburg, 1902, 22 *seqq.*, 55 *seqq.*, 60 *seqq.*, 609 *seqq.* By a *brief of April 1, 1550, Julius III. ordered the support of the Dillingen College, by carrying the brief of Paul III. into effect (Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 248). A *brief for Card. Truchsess of January 14, 1555, allows, out of consideration for the Dillingen institution, and the want of priests, the ordination of illegitimate students (Arm. 42, t. 1, n. 14. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See JANNSEN-PASTOR, VII., 157.

A further reason which Ignatius had for wishing this training college for German priests to be in Rome lay in the difficulty of finding in Germany the pecuniary support for such an institution, and of providing it with suitable professors. Added to this there was the dislike for the Papacy which was prevalent in Germany, in many cases even among Catholics, which not infrequently degenerated into actual hatred. In order to combat this feeling, the students were to be given an opportunity of convincing themselves, by personal observation, of the "love, benevolence, and the desire to help and to save" of the Holy See, and in this manner to induce people to change their opinions.

The idea of founding such an establishment first took shape in the mind of Cardinal Morone. After he had conferred about the matter with Ignatius of Loyola, the latter placed his Order at the disposal of the Cardinal for this important undertaking. After Morone had communicated his plan to Cardinals Cervini, Carpi and Alvarez de Toledo, he went with Cervini to Julius III., who joyfully gave his consent to the proposal. He said he had already thought of something similar himself, and would be glad to further the design.[1]

The first steps were taken as early as 1551, but on account of the unhappy war about Parma and the financial difficulties connected with it, the carrying out of the undertaking was deferred. Ignatius, however, did not lose heart, but continued his preparations full of confidence in Providence. In May, 1552, he drew up a memorandum concerning the manner in which the foundation was to be proceeded with.[2] Those accepted should as a rule be between 16 and 21, of good disposition, healthy, and not in any way deformed; they should moreover be of average intelligence, capable of forming correct judgments and possessed of agreeable manners. The rudiments of learning and noble birth were desirable, and they should also come from different dioceses. In order to obtain

[1] See POLANCO, II., 421 *seqq*; *Cf*. Ignatius to the Papal nuncios, 1554, in SCHROEDER, 211.

[2] SCHROEDER, 9 *seqq*. STEINHUBER I, 2nd Ed., 8.

such students, the Pope was desired to apply to the Emperor and the King of the Romans, as well as to the princes and prelates of the Empire, either directly or through his nuncios. A promise should be given that all the expenses of maintenance for the students would be met, and the youths chosen should clearly be given to understand that they would return to their own country armed with learning and piety, and provided with ecclesiastical benefices. In order that a beginning should be made at once with the college, the Cardinals were begged to decide as soon as possible the sums they intended to provide, and to give their donation without loss of time, as the expenses would be twice as great in the first year as later on. For the present the establishment could be started in a hired house; this, however, should be as near to the Roman College as possible, as the students were to attend the lectures there.

In July, 1552, Jullus III. took the final steps for the foundation of the "Germanicum," by appointing six Cardinals: Morone, Cervini, Alvarez de Toledo, Carpi, Truchsess and de Puy, as protectors of the institution. In accordance with the scheme which Ignatius laid before them, a Bull was drawn up on August 31st, 1552, by which the new college was founded and placed in the hands of the Society of Jesus.[1] Ignatius had already written[2] to the Jesuits in Vienna and Cologne, in order that they might send students for the German College. The opening took place in October, and by December, twenty-four students were already in residence, which number was increased to about sixty two years latei.[3] Ignatius composed the regulations for the establishment, and the rules for the students, just as he had drawn up the draft for the Bull of foundation.[4] His wise constitutions, which the Saint, in the absence of older models, had to draft almost from the beginning, are "in their pregnant brevity, decision and moderation, a master-

[1] The Bull dat. August 31, 1552, but first published in 1553 in SCHROEDER, 40 *seqq.*; first draft *ibid.* 30, 31.

[2] On July 30 and 31, 1552, in SCHROEDER, 20 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 197.

[4] The constitutions in their first and second drafts in SCHROEDER, 51 *seqq.*, 195 *seqq.*; the Rules *ibid.*, 93 *seqq.*

piece, which has served as a model for countless seminaries."[1]

Concerning the progress of the students in learning and their moral development, letters from Roman Jesuits of the year 1554 express themselves in very favourable terms; on the other hand, Ignatius had much trouble and labour through the want of sufficient means for their maintenance. According to the original idea, the Jesuit Order was to have nothing to do with the financial affairs of the college, but circumstances forced Ignatius to take this burden as well on his shoulders. The question of funds repeatedly occurs in his memorandum concerning the college, for there lay the greatest danger lest the whole undertaking should suffer shipwreck. In the September of 1552, he made a proposal that, first the Cardinals, and then the prelates and secular princes should be applied to for voluntary contributions, and that annual payments should be asked for from the rich orders, abbeys and benefices.[2] Thereupon an appeal for donations was circulated among the fifty-eight Cardinals at the beginning of December; the Pope himself entered his name for 500 ducats yearly, and thirty-three Cardinals for larger or smaller sums, so that an annual income of 3565 ducats seemed to be assured for the time being.[3] This source of revenue, however, being dependent on the good-will of the donors, was, of necessity, somewhat uncertain, besides which, it was only sufficient for a very limited number of students, while Ignatius would have gladly seen these increased to 200 or 300; for this, however, a yearly income of from 8000 to 9000 ducats would be necessary.[4] The financial

[1] STEINHUBER, I., 2nd Ed., 20; *cf.* 61. "The Collegium Germanicum in Rome, the foundation of which St. Ignatius carried out with such tenacious energy, was the ideal model for the seminary of the decree (of the Council of Trent). By its wise statutes, which the Saint himself drew up for his Institute, he has become the Augustine of modern times." M. SIEBENGARTNER, Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen, 86. Freiburg, 1902.

[2] SCHROEDER, 36-37.

[3] *Ibid.*, 131-132. STEINHUBER, I., 2nd Ed., 10-11.

[4] SCHROEDER, 207.

position of the Curia made it impossible to grant a fixed, assured, annual income to the college for all time, instead of the vountary contributions now bestowed. Ignatius, however, did not despair. He was determined to keep true to his purpose, the importance of which was fully recognised by Julius III.,[1] who, in January, 1554, pointed out to the Emperor, through his nuncio, the importance of the new college, and requested him to support it.

An all important part in the spread of religious dissension in Germany had been taken by Henry II. of France, when he supported the Protestant princes in their revolt against Charles V. This alliance, however, did not in the least prevent the king from proceeding with fire and sword against the propagators of the new doctrines in his own kingdom, when he saw in them rebels against his royal authority and the laws of the realm, and disturbers of internal peace and national unity. The Edict of Chateaubriant of June 27th, 1551, included all the proscriptions already issued against the Protestants, and rendered them more severe in many points. This Edict was published on the same day, September 3rd, 1551, on which Henry II. forbade his subjects to send any money to Rome,[2] on account of the attitude of Julius III. with regard to the war about Parma. Shortly afterwards, on October 3rd, 1551, the French "Defender of the Faith" concluded his alliance at Lochau with the Protestant princes who were conspiring against Charles V. Before taking the field in their support, he impressed upon the Parliament, on January 12th, 1552, that they should carefully watch over all matters concerning the faith, and see to the eradication of heresy by the exemplary

[1] See LAEMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 117-8. Gothein, in his work concerning Ignatius of Loyola, deduces, in a perfectly arbitrary manner, a great "revolt" of the whole of the first students of the college, from some remarks contained in a letter of P. Peter Schorich of October 16, 1554. (See Katholik, 1899, I., 36 *seqq.*) It is proved by the Intr. et Exit. in Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library, that Julius III. paid 500 ducats yearly, until his death, for the "Collegio di Germania."

[2] See SOLDAN, I., 228 *seqq.*; *cf. supra* p. 102.

punishment of the guilty. Proceedings in France were, therefore, conducted strictly in accordance with these directions. In Agen, Troyes, Nîmes, Paris, Toulouse and Rouen the heretics were sent to the stake; this was above all the case in Lyons, which had become the principal market for the heretical writings smuggled in from Geneva.[1] In 1554, the Pope, through his nuncio, Gualterio, specially requested the king to suppress these publications,[2] to which the writings of the gallican Charles du Moulin were also added. The relations between Rome and Paris were, and for the present remained, very strained; the neutral position taken up by Julius III. in political affairs displeased Henry II. and, in addition to this, there were perpetual disputes with regard to the application of the Concordat.

Julius III. had, in this respect, made important concessions to the king in October, 1550, and in March, 1553. These were, however, in spite of repeated explanations on the part of Henry II., by no means observed. As had previously been the case with Santa Croce, so had his successor, Gualterio, over and over again to struggle against the encroachments of the secular power. Henry II. maintained, in this matter, an attitude in keeping with the state of political affairs at the moment; if the Pope was necessary to him, he made him fair promises, but when conditions altered, he simply broke them.[3]

[1] SOLDAN, I., 233, *seqq.*

[2] See Nonciat. de France, I., 25; *cf.* ROMIER, 55. That Julius III. also took other steps against heretics in France is proved from the briefs in RAYNALDUS, 1550, n. 35-36; 1551, n. 12; FONTANA, Documenti, 410 and Renata, II., 527-8. *Cf.* also the *brief to the theological faculty at Angers, dat. August 31, 1554: Permission to exclude from their midst all "baccalaurei, licentiati et magistri qui in suis concionibus aliove fidelium cetu propositiones hereticas aut scandalosas proposuerint aut defendere nixi fuerint" (Arm. 41, t. 71, n. 513. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See Nonciat. de France, I., LVI., *seqq.*; *cf.* also THOMAS, III., 235-6. The confirmation of the German Concordat of 1448 by Julius III. in RAYNALDUS, 1554, n. 19. Romier will publish the nunciature reports of the predecessors of Gualterio. See a brief

In Poland, the development of conditions which were very dangerous to the continued existence of the Catholic Church in that country, had first become apparent under Paul III.,[1] but still continued to spread under Julius III. In the summer of 1550 exceedingly grave machinations were brought to light in the Diet at Petrikau. The king would not agree to the demand for the reform of the Church in the sense demanded by the innovators, and he appointed the eminent Bishop of Kulm, Stanislaus Hosius, as his ambassador at Trent. On December 13th, 1550, the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops was confirmed by a royal decree, and the followers of the new doctrines were deprived of all their dignities and offices.[2] The danger for the Church was, however, by no means lessened by these measures, for a great part of the nobility had embraced the Protestant doctrines, and the defiant attitude of their adherents is proved by the excesses which they permitted themselves against everything which the Catholics held most holy. In a suburb of Cracow they pulled the crucifix down and threw it in the mud; in the village of Chrencice the church was robbed of all its ornaments, and even the Sacred Host was

of January 26, 1555, against the attacks of the French governor on ecclesiastical liberty in Corsica, in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 7. Encroachments on the part of the secular authorities occurred frequently in Spain, on account of the demoralisation of the clergy there. Julius III. took steps here in the sense "ne ius ecclesiasticum obsolesceret neve sceleri libere habenae laxarentur" (see RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 82 *seqq*). See also with regard to Milan, SALOMNE, Mem. degli ambasc. di Milano, 110 *seqq.*, Milan, 1806. With regard to Genoa, see ROSI, La morte di J. Bonfadio, Genoa, 1895. With regard to Venice, see GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 523. Julius III., complained at once concerning such things in the case of the Republic of Lucca; see the *report of the ambassador at Lucca, dated Rome, July 12, 1550: "Nel parlare che fece S.Stà mostro che la dispiacesse che le S.V. mettessero mano in preti senza consenso del vescovo o del suo vicario." (State Archives, Lucca).

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII., of this work, p. 488 *seqq.*

[2] See DEMBINSKI, Beschickung des Tridentinums, 26; EICHORN, I., 119.

thrown into the fire.[1] It was especially to be deplored that at such a dangerous time, only a few of the bishops, such as those of Gnesen and Cracow, fulfilled their duty. The bishops, moreover, took things very easily in preparing for the Council, and it was not until June, 1551, that they deliberated about it in a synod at Petrikau. Hosius, whom Julius III., at the request of the king, had confirmed as Bishop of Ermland,[2] on May 11th, 1551, took part in this synod; he drew up, at that time, his celebrated Confession of Faith,[3] which the members of the synod accepted. Several of the bishops now bestirred themselves, and carried out wholesome reforms in their dioceses. Many, however, forgot only too soon what they had recognized as their duty at the synod, and again lapsed into their former state of indifference.[4] The funds for the embassy to Trent could only be collected with difficulty; the mission was at last entrusted to Peter Glogowski, who also visited Rome, where he represented the conditions in Poland in such a favourable light to the Pope, that Julius III. was deceived as to the real state of affairs.[5] How dangerous things really were, came to light in the Diet opened at the end of January, 1552. John Sigismund was openly called upon to sanction the new teaching as to justification, the marriage of priests, and communion under both kinds. The king, however, could not be induced to give way to such revolutionary proposals. In his heart the last of the Jagellons was a sincere Catholic, and faithful in the discharge of his religious duties, but, good-natured as he was, he did not possess the strength of character to offer a determined opposition to these dangerous proposals.[6]

[1] *Cf.* WOTSCHKE, Gesch. der Reformation in Polen, 110, Leipsic, 1911; see also EICHORN, I., 120.

[2] See Hosii epist., II., xliii., 993; *cf.* EICHORN, I., 138-9.

[3] For this *cf.* HIPLER in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., VI., 2nd Ed., 297-9; BELLESHEIM, Besprechung des zweiten Bandes der Epist. Hosii, in the Histor-Polit. Bl., CX., 262-3.

[4] See EICHORN, I., 121 *seqq.*

[5] See RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 53-5; DEMBINSKI, 29, 65.

[6] A good description of the religious attitude of John Sigismund is to be found in the *Relatione del regno di Poloiae del vescovo

In the matter of the Council, he allowed himself to be influenced by his hesitating, visionary secretary, Modrzewski, who had the idea of a free council in his mind. The resolute Catholic, Hosius, was passed over, and men appointed to proceed to Trent, who were as compliant as they were uncertain in their views.[1]

In Rome, it was soon realized that Glogowski had reported much too favourably. On September 20th, 1552, the Pope addressed a letter to the inquisitor at Cracow, telling him to make investigations concerning the suspicious proceedings of several Polish bishops with regard to heresy.[2] When King John Sigismund remarried in the year 1553, the Pope made use of his letter of congratulation to point out to him earnestly that the king should, by his authority, protect the Catholic Faith against abuse and attack.[3] Similar exhortations were addressed, some time afterwards, to the bishops and the

di Camerino (Camillo Mentuato ; see CIAMPI, I., 169, 359) in the Cod. R., I., 26 of the Chigi Library, Rome, which RANKE used (II., 6), but put erroneously "about 1555," although he could have seen the correct year in RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 73. This says : "A molti di questi (in the king's entourage) comporta che vivano come li piace, perche si vede che S.Mtà è tanto benigna che non vorria mai far cosa che dispiacesse ad alcuno et io vorrei che nelle cose della religione fosse un poco più severa, poichè ogni anno esso si confessa, ogni giorno va alla messa et ogni festa ode la predica, l'introito, la gloria, il credo, benedictus et agnus Dei canta a tutta voce con li cantori, così ci tirasse gli altri, che gli sarebbe facile, sebene alcuni dicono il contrario." Serristori announces the appointment of Mentuato, as nuncio in Poland in the *letter of April 6, 1551 (State Archives, Florence). In accordance with this letter, BIAUDET (nonciat. 95), who is otherwise so exact, must be rectified.

[1] See DEMBINSKI, Beschickung, 31 *seqq.*, 35 *seqq.* ; *cf.* KRASINSKI, 86 *seqq.*

[2] *Min. Brev. 1552, Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 616 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The suspicion against the Bishop of Gnesen was unfounded ; the Bishop of Chelm, however, J. Uchanski, was justly suspected of heterodoxyy : see EICHORN, I., 205-6.

[3] *Regi Poloniae, dat. 1553, May 22 (Min. Brev. Arm., 41, t. 68, n. 373. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Polish nobility, as well as once more to the king and queen.[1] The latter did not justify the hopes[2] which the Catholics of Poland had placed in her,[3] and her husband, now as before, let matters take their course, although Hosius never wearied in urgently recommending the protection of the Catholic religion, by work of mouth as well as by letter. If the king allowed the Church to be torn to pieces, Hosius prophesied to him on March 12th, 1554, then God would also allow his kingdom to go to pieces.[4] The want of zeal of the greater number of the bishops is shown by the fact that, at the synod at Petrikau, in 1554, besides the Primate of Gnesen and Hosius, only the Bishops of Cracow and Plozk appeared. There was nothing to be done but arrange for a new synod. The Pope was requested to send a nuncio to this, in the person of Lippomano.[5] The appointment of Lippomano, on January 13th, 1555, was one of the last official acts in the pontificate of Julius III.[6]

[1] The letters to the bishops and nobles in RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 40, 41, *Cf.* the *letter to the bishops dated May 27, 1553. Min. Brev. *loc. cit.*, n. 371 ; *ibid.*, n. 393 to the king, dat. May 27 ; n. 395 to the Archduchess Katharina on her marriage, dat. May 28 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). Julius III. treated the interests and wishes of Poland with great consideration when the Russian Grand Duke, Ivan the Terrible, attempted to usurp the title of king, by the promise, which was scarcely meant to be sincere, of submitting to Rome in an ecclesiastical sense. *Cf.* as to this, FIEDLER, in the Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., XL., 50-51 ; PIERLING, Rome et Moscou, 19-20, Paris, 1883 ; Papes et Tsars, 44-45, Paris, 1890 ; La Russie, I., 334-5 ; ÜBERSBERGER, I., 282-3, 287.

[2] *Cf.* Martinengo's *letter to Card. del Monte, dat. Vienna, June 1, 1553. Nunziat. di Germania, LXIII., 179 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* BELLESHEIM in the Histor. polit. Bl., CX., 265.

[4] Hosii epist., II., 411.

[5] See EICHORN, I., 212.

[6] THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 575 ;*cf.* EHRENBERG, 69, n. 2.

CHAPTER IX.

Accession of Queen Mary of England.—Her Marriage to Philip of Spain.

At this time the Church found some compensation for the severe losses which she had sustained in various European states, especially in Germany, by the success which crowned her efforts elsewhere, and, apart from the development of the missions outside Europe, the Catholic Restoration in England must hold the first place among these successes.

During the pontificate of Julius III., England went through two great religious revolutions, in the first of which doctrine and liturgy were subverted in favour of the already far-advanced Protestantism, this period being followed by a complete return to the old religion.[1]

Shortly before the death of Paul III., the Protector Somerset, the uncle of the young King Edward VI., was overthrown, and was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick, who became Duke of Northumberland in 1551. This change in the government had, at first, raised hopes in the minds of Catholics that the old religion might be restored, and Mass, as of old, was at once celebrated in various parishes of London and Oxford. The first events of the year 1550, however, soon put an end to these hopes; on January 25th, a decree was issued, according to which the old Latin missals, breviaries, etc., were to be delivered up for destruction, the pictures in the churches being likewise destroyed, except in so far as they represented princes

[1] See H. Gairdner, The English Church, 262 *seqq.*; J. Trésal, 225 *seqq.*; Lingard, VII., 16 *seqq.*; *cf.* A. F. Pollard, The History of England from the accession of Edward VI. to the death of Elizabeth, 1547-1603, London, 1910.

and other dignitaries who could not during their lives have been suspected of sanctity.

Other decrees of January, 1550, aimed at the framing of new church laws, and a new formula for the consecration of bishops and other ministers of religion.[1] Many valuable manuscripts shared the fate of the ecclesiastical books, at the end of 1550 whole waggon loads of manuscripts from the Oxford Library being destroyed, of which many had nothing more in common with "Mass-books" than the red capitals of the title page, and of the headings of the chapters. Very many of these were thrown away on hucksters, while shiploads of manuscripts crossed the sea for the use of bookbinders.[2]

The most decisive innovation, however, was shown in the "Book of Common Prayer,"[3] of the year 1552, which was really a remodelling of the original edition authorized by Parliament in 1549.[4]

Somerset had taken great pains, on the death of Henry VIII., to bring the influence of Protestant ideas to bear on the almost completely Catholic state of religion at that time. The introduction of communion under both kinds, the permission for priests to marry, and the use of the vernacular in the services of the church, did not of themselves form an essential ground for a break with Catholic doctrine. A general confession of sin before communion was, it is true, declared to be sufficient in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, but confession to a priest was also allowed. Alterations, pregnant with fateful results, were now introduced in respect to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, which, amid a flood of vulgar pub-

[1] GAIRDNER, 276-7. TRÉSAL, 259-260.

[2] GAIRDNER, 290-291.

[3] G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglicain sous Edouard VI.; Révue d'hist. ecclésiastique, XII., 38-80, 242-270, Louvain, 1911; *cf.* GASQUET and BISHOP, Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. An examination of its origin and early history, London, 1890. BELLESHEIM in Katholik, 1891, I., 3-19. BÄUMER in Histor-Polit. Bl., CVIII., 1 *seqq.*, 103 *seq.* *Cf.* also KAWERAU in the Histor. Zeitschr., LXXII., 140 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII., of this work, p. 476.

lications, now became the central point of the most violent attack and insult. Under Somerset, however, some care was still exercised, the liturgy of the Mass in the first Book of Common Prayer having included many of the outward ceremonies in order that the uneducated might still believe that nothing essential had been altered, while the educated could still infer, from many expressions which still remained, the doctrines of the Catholic Faith.

Quite another spirit, however, pervaded the second Book of Common Prayer of 1552. If the doctrine of Luther had been the standard of the first changes in the liturgy of the Mass in the year 1549, the second compilation was made in the spirit of Zwingli and Calvin. The Book of Common Prayer in its original form did away with everything which caused the Mass to appear as a sacrifice, but the second, on the other hand, removed everything which could form an acknowledgment of the Real Presence of Christ in the sacrament.

The way to this change to the most extreme Protestantism had already been prepared under Somerset. Theologians of the most advanced tendencies found, at that time, a refuge in England, which was denied them everywhere else ;[1] Bucer came to England in April, 1549, from Strasbourg, flying before the Interim, and was at once made professor of theology in Cambridge ; a little time before, the Italian, Peter Martyr Vermigli, who had come to England at the invitation of Cranmer, in 1547, received a professor's chair at Oxford. A visitation of both universities in May, 1549, removed various Catholic professors. Countless abusive publications, introduced from the continent, and allowed to be freely printed in England, prepared public opinion for Calvinistic teaching, while the defenders of the old faith had to publish their answers abroad.[2] As far as Cranmer himself was concerned he was always receding in his writings further and further from both Catholic and Lutheran doctrines, and, as he himself confessed,

[1] GAIRDNER, 263.

[2] GAIRDNER, 266, says, "The press in England, too, was free—at least to the enemies of the old beliefs."

had only allowed a few Catholic expressions still to appear in the first compilation of the Book of Common Prayer, in order not to arouse too great excitement among the people.[1]

Northumberland was never, as he acknowledged later, at the hour of death, really persuaded of the truth of the Protestant doctrines, but he showed himself, none the less, the zealous friend and the active promoter of the new religion. In order to gain greater freedom for this purpose, the first thing to be done was to remove the Catholic bishops. Bonner, Bishop of London, was the first to be cast into prison, on December 4th, 1549. Bishop Gardiner, of Winchester, had long been in the Tower, and he was deprived of his bishopric on February 14th, 1551, while Heath, of Worcester, was thrown into prison on March 4th, 1550. Day, of Chichester, was declared to have forfeited his see on October 1st, 1551; Tunstall, of Durham, who had been a prisoner in his house since May 20th, 1551, suffered the same fate on October 3rd, 1552. Several other suspected prelates had to resign, while Thirlby, of Westminster, was removed to the unimportant diocese of Norwich.[2]

Among the bishops who took the places of the deposed prelates, Ridley, of London, was particularly active in promoting the spread of the new doctrines.[3] He was inducted into Bonner's see on April 1st, 1550, and on May 5th, he ordered a strict visitation of his diocese, in the course of which everything which was reminiscent of the old idea of the Catholic Mass was specially to be rooted out. Particular instructions were given in this visitation that the altars were to be thrown down in the churches, as the conception of the

[1] CONSTANT, *loc. cit.* 244.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 60 *seqq.* TRÉSAL, 236 *seqq.* Concerning the deposition of Bonner, GAIRDNER, 269, says, "It would seem that the real object of this irregular and unjust prosecution was simply to deprive a bishop who was so strong an upholder of the still recognized doctrine of transubstantiation. The whole case was prejudiced, &c."

[3] GAIRDNER, 278-9. CONSTANT, 246 *seqq.*

Mass as a sacrifice was strongly bound up with the idea of an altar. "So long as there is an altar," preached Hooper, "the ignorant people will always dream of a sacrifice."[1] Ridley himself gave the example of destruction. On the night of June 11th, 1550, he had the high altar removed from St. Paul's in London, and during Whitsun week the same thing was done in all the churches of London. By a royal decree of November 24th, all the bishops were instructed to proceed in a like manner. The work of destruction was completed by the end of 1550. The Venetian ambassador, Barbaro, wrote at the end of May, 1551, that bells and organs were still used, but that they no longer had any altars or pictures.[2] The altars had been everywhere removed, without consideration for their artistic value or their venerable old age. Scarcely a voice was raised against these revolutionary proceedings, for, although many bishops might feel uneasy in their consciences, their authority had been swept away with that of the Pope.[3] The people lost all respect for the desecrated churches, in which dealers bought and sold, bringing in their horses and mules, while bloody conflicts and mortal combats not infrequently took place there. "People are turning the churches," says a royal decree of 1552, "into common inns, or rather into dens and sinks of iniquity."[4]

The introduction of Calvinism into public worship was inaugurated by the destruction of the altars. Apart from this the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549 had really pleased nobody. The people stood aloof from the new services,[5] while Cranmer himself only regarded the liturgy of 1549 as a temporary measure. Excited by reforming preachers, the young king declared that if the bishops would not alter the Book of

[1] CONSTANT, 247.

[2] ALBÈRI, Ser. I., II., 247. BROWN, V., n. 703, p. 348.

[3] GAIRDNER, 284, "Episcopal authority was well-nigh destroyed already."

[4] CONSTANT, 249. Concerning the low tone of morality under Edward VI. *cf.* POCOCK, Eng. Hist. Review, 1895, 417 *seqq.*

[5] GAIRDNER, 268, 277.

Common Prayer, he would do so himself.[1] Above all, however, the foreign theologians who had sought refuge in England urged more extreme measures. So it came about that a country which was desirous of throwing off the authority of the Pope, on the ground that he was a foreign bishop, actually made over to foreign influence the remodelling of its religion.[2]

As early as April, 1549, Cranmer, in a meeting with Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Fagius, Dryander and Tremellius deliberated on the reform of the liturgy.[3] Calvin himself wrote in January to King Edward as the new Josias, and exhorted him to extirpate the "great abyss of superstition" which still remained over from the Papal supremacy.[4] Bucer had the greatest influence in bringing about the new development in public worship, and after his death (February 28th, 1551) the still more advanced Peter Martyr took his place. On March 9th, 1552, the new Book of Common Prayer was laid before the House of Lords, and was accepted by both Houses on April 14th.[5]

The introduction to the new Bill refers to the second edition of the Book of Common Prayer as if it were only an improved edition of the first, but in all essential points identical with it. This is, however, by no means the case. The liturgy of 1549 was an attempt at conciliation, which endeavoured to satisfy Protestants as well as Catholics, as far as was possible; the liturgy of 1552, on the contrary, had the fullest intention of avoiding every expression and every ceremony which the followers of the old religion could construe in accordance with their own views. Nothing of the Catholic Mass remains in the new Order of Communion. Besides this, the second Book of Common Prayer abolishes private Confession and Extreme

[1] *Ibid.* 304.

[2] *Ibid,* 291. "Never was greater deference paid to foreign opinion than was now done in a Church which had been emancipated from the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop."

[3] CONSTANT, 244.

[4] *Ibid.* 205.

[5] *Ibid.* 478.

Unction.[1] As far as the Sacrament of Holy Orders was concerned, they still retained the grades of deacons, priests and bishops, at least in name. One result of the totally altered conception of Holy Communion was the fact that the ordination of priests possessing the real power of consecration was no longer proposed, indeed the very idea of ordaining priests in this Catholic sense was completely excluded.[2] The new Prayer Book could, therefore, receive the unqualified approbation of the most advanced Protestants. Peter Martyr wrote on June 14th, 1552, to Bullinger that all the traces which might have still nourished superstition were expurgated from it. Bullinger and Calvin, who were begged to give their opinion of it by English refugees in 1554, considered that fault could only be found with it in points of no great importance.[3]

As in the case of the Book of Common Prayer, the other confession of the faith of the Anglican Church, the Thirty-nine Articles, can also be traced to Cranmer. As early as 1549 he had drawn up a list of tenets which every preacher had to sign before receiving license to preach. There were originally forty-five of these, then forty-two, and finally thirty-nine. King Edward VI. signed forty-two Articles on June 12th, 1553. They formed a mixture of Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrinal propositions, with a trace of Catholicism running through them, the chief point being the Protestant principle that the Bible is the sole rule of faith. The doctrine of justification was presented in the Lutheran sense, that of communion in that of Calvin. The royal supremacy over the Church was enjoined in the widest sense of the word.[4]

On the 6th of the following month, the fifteen year old king, who had long been an invalid, died, and with his death, the carefully planned work of ecclesiastical revolution seemed as if it would again fall to pieces. It is true that the dying king

[1] *Ibid.* 474-5.

[2] *Ibid.* 479-80.

[3] *Ibid.* 477.

[4] MÜLLER, Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche, 505 *seqq.*, Leipsic, 1903.

had, under the influence of Northumberland, been induced to attempt, by his own power, to alter the succession, and leave the sceptre in safe Protestant hands. In accordance with this arrangement, the sixteen year old Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister Mary, and the wife of Lord Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's son, was proclaimed queen on July 10th. This alteration in the succession, as it had taken place without the consent of Parliament, was too plainly illegal, and too clearly the result of Northumberland's ambitious intrigues, for the people to give it their approval, and when the rightful heiress to the throne, Henry's eldest daughter Mary, unfolded her royal banner, defenders flocked round her in countless numbers. Northumberland's army went over to her, and on July 19th, Mary was proclaimed queen in London amid the joyful acclamations of her people.[1]

Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon,[2] had not only received a careful and indeed learned education for court life under the direction of Margaret Pole, the mother of the future Cardinal, and who was to die as a martyr in 1541, but also a deeply religious training in a Catholic sense. Her religious feelings were yet more strengthened in the hard school of suffering, through which she had to pass after the repudiation of her mother. Separated from the latter, and assigned to the household of her sister Elizabeth, she received the worst apartments in the house,[3] her jewels and costly clothes were taken from her,[4] the attendants who were faithful to her were

[1] Brosch, VI., 415.

[2] J. M. Stone, The History of Mary I., Queen of England, London, 1901. *Cf. ibid.* The Youth of Mary Tudor: Dublin Review, Ser. 3, XXII., 363 *seqq.*, 1889; Mary Queen of England: *ibid.* XXIII., 324 *seqq.*, 1890; Philip and Mary: *ibid.* XXIV., 110 *seqq.*, 1890; The personal character of Mary Tudor: The Month, XCIV., 128, 1899; Ath. Zimmermann, Maria die Katholische, Frieburg, 1890; Privy expenses of the Princess Mary, ed. Fred. Madden, London, 1831; Lingard, VII., 2-3. Stephen Lee in the Dictionary of National Biography, XXXVI., 333-354.

[3] Chapuys on January 3, 1534, in Gayangos, V., 1, n. 1, p. 4.

[4] The same on March 25, 1534; *ibid.* n. 31, p. 95.

sent away, while her confessor was replaced by a Lutheran.[1] She was given over to the care of a relative of Anne Boleyn, who daily caused her much sorrow, neglecting her in her illnesses,[2] and even striking her in the face.[3] Anne Boleyn, her sworn enemy,[4] thought of making her one of her train-bearers,[5] and would have been most happy to have seen her on the scaffold.[6] Indeed, her father threatened her with death,[7] and she had only to thank the energetic intervention of the Emperor for her escape. In spite of all this severity, however, they did not succeed in what they aimed at, namely, in making her renounce her title and right to the throne. She could not, she said, declare her parents to be adulterers, or be disobedient to the Church.[8]

After the death of Anne Boleyn and her own mother, Mary was, indeed, induced, under fear of death, and in order to obtain the acknowledgment of her right to the throne, to sign a document recognizing the supremacy of the king, and declaring that her mother's marriage was invalid. Before doing so, however, she signed a protest declaring that document to have been obtained by force, and consequently illegal.[9] She absolutely refused to hear of the Protestantism introduced by Somerset and Northumberland, and steadfastly refused, under the latter, to have the new liturgy celebrated in her house, until the king attained his majority; rather than do this she was prepared to lay her head on the block, and at length they ceased to press her any further.[10]

[1] The same on May 14, 1534; *ibid.* n. 57, p. 154-5.

[2] The same on November 18, 1534; *ibid.* n. 111, p. 329.

[3] The same on February 11, 1534; *ibid.* n. 10, p. 34.

[4] The same on March 30, 1534; *ibid.* n. 32, p. 96.

[5] The same on January 29, 1534; *ibid.* n. 8, p. 27.

[6] Ortiz on November 22, 1535; *ibid.* n. 231, p. 573. *Cf.* Catherine of Aragon on October 10, 1535; *ibid.* n. 210, p. 548.

[7] Chapuys on April 22, 1534; *ibid.* n. 45, p. 129.

[8] The same on May 14, 1534; *ibid.* n. 57, p. 155.

[9] The same on October 8, 1536; *ibid.* V. 2, n. 104, 105.

[10] LINGARD, VII., 70. ZIMMERMANN, 28 *seqq.* STEPHEN LEE, *loc. cit.*, 340.

The first acts of Mary's reign bore the stamp of that mildness which she everywhere displayed when she acted according to her own judgment, and followed the dictates of her own heart. Only seven of the conspirators against her were brought before the courts, and only three were executed. She would willingly have pardoned even Northumberland, if her Council had not opposed her.[1] Lady Jane Grey, whose execution was represented to Mary as inevitable, found a defender in her.[2] She was only brought before the courts and condemned after three months (on November 13th, 1553), but even then Mary endeavoured to have her kept in mild captivity.[3] When the sermon of the royal chaplain, Bourne, was interrupted on August 13th, a decree followed declaring that the queen did not wish to force anyone's conscience, but to convert the people by the preaching of learned men.[4] On the 18th of the same month a Royal Proclamation was issued, in which her subjects were enjoined to live peacefully and in Christian love with one another, by avoiding the newly discovered devilish expressions, "papist" and "heretic." The queen desired that everyone should be of her religion, but no force would be used until a final decision was arrived at.[5]

[1] LINGARD, VII., 127-8 n. The Venetian ambassador Soranzo writes on August 18, 1554, concerning Mary: "Her Majesty's countenance bears the impress of great goodness and mildness, which is not contradicted by her behaviour; for although she had many enemies, and so many of them had been condemned to death, if the Queen's wishes alone had had weight, then not one of the executions would have taken place." (BROWN, V., n. 934, p. 533). It caused great excitement when Northumberland declared himself a Catholic on the scaffold, and attributed all the troubles of recent years to the breach with the Church. His declaration was printed in London, in English, Latin and Dutch, and called forth, especially on the part of John Knox, many polemic rejoinders. *Cf.* Dict. of Nat. Biog., XVII., 110.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 126-7.

[3] GAIRDNER, 326.

[4] "That this was Mary's sincere intention at the outset of her reign, there is no reason to doubt," says GAIRDNER, 318.

[5] *Ibid.* 318.

True to these principles, the queen was satisfied, in the meantime, by repealing various measures of the time of Edward VI., the legality of which she had never acknowledged. Bishops Bonner, Tunstall and Voysey were restored to their sees, while Gardiner, Heath and Day were again recognized as rightful bishops. Mary raised the distinguished statesman, Gardiner, to the dignity of chancellor. At the wish of the congregations, the celebration of the Latin Mass was again begun in several London churches on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and the same was done in the cathedral on the following Sunday; Mass was not, however, regularly celebrated until the decision of Parliament was promulgated on December 21st.[1] For the deceased king a funeral service was, however, publicly held in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, but a Requiem Mass was celebrated in the Tower in the presence of only 300 chosen participators.[2] The chancellors, Mason and Gardiner, restored the old statutes and the old religion in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The foreign Protestants left the country, provided with passports, as did Vermigli and the French Protestants in London, to whom a special permission to leave was given, as well as letters to the mayors of Dover and Rye.[3] Among the Protestant bishops who had usurped the places of the rightful occupants of the sees, Ridley, Coverdale and Hooper were sent to prison.[4] Cranmer re-

[1] *Ibid.* 319-320.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 133. The Sienese ambassador in France, Claudio Tolomei, recognised in this, on August 31, 1553, the first sign that Mary wished to put an end to the schism: "La Reina Maria ne l'esequie del Rè suo fratello fece celebrar due Messe, l'una al modo inghilese e l'altra al modo romano; la qual cosa fa ancor segno ch'ella ha animo di tornare a l'obedienza de la Chiesa." (LUC. BANCHI, Alcune Lettere politiche di Claudio Tolomei, vescovo di Tolone, scritte alla repubblica di Siena. ora primamente edite, Siena, 1868, 3 [Nozze Publication]). Charles V. considered the Mass said for Edward VI. to have been a mistake on the part of the Queen. ANCEL, Réconciliation, 530.

[3] GAIRDNER, 321.

[4] *Ibid.* 320.

mained confined to his palace till insulting letters from his pen against the Holy Mass were publicly read in the streets, whereupon he and Latimer were sent to the Tower in September.[1] Until the opening of Parliament, nothing had so far been said of the reconciliation of England with the Holy See.

In the Eternal City, however, and especially in the Pope's immediate surroundings, men eagerly discussed the question. Julius III. wept for joy when he learned, on August 5th, 1553, from a dispatch of the French nuncio, of Mary's victory and accession to the throne.[2] Cardinal Pole, who, as an Englishman, a relative of the queen, and the companion of her youth, took the deepest personal interest in these events, said in his answer to the Duchess of Mantua's letter of congratulation, that a more remarkable dispensation of Providence had not been experienced for many centuries.[3]

Deliberations were at once begun, as to how the interests of the Church could best be served in this favourable state of affairs. Pole, who had received the joyful intelligence one day later than the Pope, in the solitude of the Benedictine abbey of Maguzzano on the Lake of Garda, at once sent the abbot, Vincenzo Parpaglia, with a letter of congratulation to Julius III.[4] He enjoined him to inform the Pope, by word of mouth,[5]

[1] GAIRDNER, 323. [2] ANCEL, Réconciliation, 521.

[3] "Et perchè questo è stato un efetto così grande della providentia di Dio, che l'età nostra et forse ancora delli nostri maggiori di molti secoli non ha visto il più notabile." *Pole to the Duchess of Mantua on September 12, 1553 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] BROWN, V., n. 784. *Cf.* TH. PHILLIPS, History of the Life of Reginald Pole, Oxford, 1764; HOOK, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, III., London, 1869; REUMONT's criticism in the Bonn Theol. Lit. Bl., V., 998 *seqq.*; ZIMMERMANN, Kardinal Pole, sein Leben und seine Schriften, Ratisbon, 1893; MARTIN HAILE (Maria Hallé), The Life of Cardinal Pole, London, 1910. Concerning this last work, *cf.* ZIMMERMANN in the Histor. Jahrb., XXXI., 818-9, and CONSTANT in the Rév. des Quest Hist., XC., 498 *seqq.*

[5] Informatione del sig^r. Abbate di San Saluto (Solutore in Turin) (Corsini Library, Rome, 33, E 19, p. 4).

that in his, Pole's, opinion, everything that was good was to be hoped for from the new queen, who had steadfastly repudiated all the innovations during her brother's life, and had clung to the dogmas and rites of the Universal Church. The most serious matter, however, was the schismatical separation from Rome, against which no one in England had protested after the death of More and Fisher, and to which Mary herself had consented. As far as the queen personally was concerned, she would easily be persuaded to return, not only from conscientious motives, but also out of respect for her mother. For many others, however, the restoration of the Church property which had been seized, would prove a stumbling block ; in his opinion, the whole difficulty lay precisely in this point.[1] He thought, however, that the following measures might, in the meantime, be adopted. The Pope could, through his legates, cause the other sovereigns to take steps to approach Mary, and, in the same way, unofficial intermediaries, who, he hoped, would not be repulsed on this occasion, could appear in Pole's name, and endeavour to win over the queen. Should Mary agree to the sending of a Papal legate, then everything was gained ; should she, on the other hand, raise difficulties, then English members of Parliament could negotiate in friendly conferences with a legate and learned theologians in Flanders or in Picardy. It was to be hoped that the queen would not send bigoted persons to such a conference, for an endeavour must be made to win them over, so that they might work for the reconciliation of their own country.

[1] "Quello di che si può temere, è circa lo scisma, al quale anch' essa si trova haver consentito insieme con tutto il regno . . . . benchè si sappia, che mal volontieri essa vi consentì, non solo per rispetto della conscienza, ma anche per ciò che il lasciare l'obbedienza della Sede apostolica era di diritto contrario alla causa della Regina sua madre et alla sua propria, onde si può credere, che etiandio in questa parte quanto alla persona sua non vi debba essere difficoltà, ma si bene per rispetto di molti, che sono interessati per li bene della Chiesa . . . Tal che a parer mio tutta la difficoltà sarà in questo punto" (*Loc. cit.* Corsini Library, Rome).

Before Parpaglia reached Rome with these instructions, he returned once more to Pole in Maguzzano, on August 12th, 1553, accompanied by a Papal envoy.[1] Julius III. had anticipated the proposals of the English Cardinal. Immediately after he had learned of Mary's accession he summoned, on the same day, a consistory of the Cardinals, in which Pole was appointed legate "to the Christian princes, and especially to the new queen." The matter appeared so urgent to the Pope that he would not wait for the drawing up of the Bull bestowing full powers on the legate, but sent an envoy to Pole on the following day with the brief of appointment. The Papal envoy met Parpaglia in Bologna, and he, in view of the altered conditions, did not continue his journey to Rome.[2]

Pole had now, as legate, to open communication with the queen and the Emperor. He sent Henry Penning with a letter to Mary on August 13th, and Antonio Fiordibello to Charles V. with a letter on the 21st of the same month.[3] He earnestly exhorted the queen to the restoration of ecclesiastical unity, introduced himself as legate and begged her to state the time and manner in which he was to perform his mission. He besought the Emperor to promote the restoration of England to the Universal Church. Should Charles V. not consider that the proper time had arrived for taking such steps, then Fiordibello was instructed to declare that the interests of Catholics could only be jeopardized by any procrastination. It was the custom in England that all those who considered that their rights had been infringed, should lay their complaints before the first Parliament of a new reign, and it would be an irreparable loss for Catholics did they not use this opportunity of vindicating their rights.[4]

Pole sent a second letter to Mary on August 27th;[5] every-

[1] ANCEL, 523. [2] *Ibid.* 521-2.

[3] BROWN, V., n. 766, 771. Concerning the date of n. 771, see ANCEL, 526.

[4] BROWN, V., n. 772. Pole often returns to this view; see ANCEL, 529, n. 2.

[5] BROWN, V., n. 776; Italian in Corsini Library, 33, E. 19, p. 90. The letter was brought by Michael Throckmorton. *Ibid.*

body, he said, was anxiously waiting to know what the queen would do, and especially whether she would restore the title of Head of the Church to him upon whom the Lord of heaven and earth had bestowed it. The great importance of this question, Mary could, without the study of learned books, draw from the testimony of the men who had been looked upon as the most learned and pious in the land, More and Fisher, and which they had sealed with their blood. He himself had always founded his hopes for the restoration of England to the faith on these facts, in the face of many doubters, for the blood of the martyrs for the Holy See, and the prayers of so many persecuted Catholics, could not, in his opinion, remain for ever unanswered. This alliance with the centre of unity would be more valuable to the queen than the favour of foreign princes.

If Pole, at the close of his letter, spoke of himself as being about to leave Maguzzano, he was soon to be disappointed, for he was urged on all sides not to start for England for the time being.

When Pole, soon after his appointment as legate, sent Parpaglia to the Pope with the letter of August 13th, he had proposed, before taking any further steps, to apply to the nuncio in Brussels, Girolamo Dandino, and through him to obtain more detailed news as to the religious conditions in England.[1] Dandino had already anticipated this request; immediately on receiving the news of Mary's accession, he had sent the youthful Francesco Commendone to London, in order that he might privately collect information. What Commendone learned in England, however, was not very satisfactory.[2] He certainly found the queen, with whom, in the deepest secrecy, and through the Venetian ambassador, he obtained an audience, filled with the best will to restore her country to the

[1] Brown, V., n. 767; *cf.* Ancel, 525. Ipp. Capilupi announces on August 19th, 1553, to Cardinal E. Gonzaga concerning Pole's letter: "Heri in consistorio furono lette le lettere sue, et da S.Stà et dal collegio fu laudato la deliberatione fatta da S.S.Rma (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Julius III. to Pole, September 20, 1553 (Nonciat. de France, I., n. 1).

Church, but she was prevented from doing so by the feeling of the people, who, for the most part, cherished a deadly hatred for the Holy See, by the self-interest of the many who had taken possession of the property of the Church and who sat among her councillors, and by the influence of her "heretical and schismatical" sister, Elizabeth, whom her father had preferred to the rightful queen, and "whose name was in the heart and mouth of everybody."[1] For all these reasons Mary wished that proceedings should be conducted with the greatest caution; no one was to know that there was any understanding between her and the Holy See.

Commendone returned to Dandino with this news at the end of August, and was at once sent by him to Rome. On September 15th, he communicated his experiences in London to the Cardinals in a consistory, without, however, referring to his audience with the Queen. His report made a deep impression, and it was quite evident that there was no need to hurry in sending a legate to England. The news which Dandino sent from Brussels also made any other decision impossible.

Even before Commendone's return to Brussels from England, Dandino had a conversation with Granvelle on August 14th. The Imperial minister emphasized the fact that they must give the queen time to gain a firm footing, as otherwise a revolt would break out which could certainly reckon on the ready support of France.[2] Diego di Mendoza, who had been for two years ambassador in England, also thought that there were fewer well-disposed people there than was supposed. The question of Church property was not a matter of indifference, even to the lower classes, on account of the duty of tithes, and they had now been for a long time accustomed to the freedom from these which heresy afforded them.[3] On August 27th the Emperor informed Dandino, through Granvelle, that

[1] *Ibid.* 4.

[2] Dandino to Card. del Monte, on August 15, 1553, in Ancel, 530.

[3] *Ibid.*

he thought it inadvisable that Pole should go to England by way of Trent.[1]

In the midst of all these reports Julius III. resolved to try a middle course.[2] He sent Pole to Brussels so that he might be nearer to England, but not with the title of legate to England, so that he might, together with Dandino, act as a mediator between the Emperor and France. On September 27th the legate received his new instructions, and on the 29th he left the Lake of Garda.[3]

Soon after his departure from Maguzzano Pole learned that Queen Mary also considered the presence of a legate in England impossible for the present. Penning, who had gone to London with a letter from Pole at the beginning of August, had at last sent news of the success of his mission.[4] He only arrived in London on September 18th, 1553, and had a three hours' audience with the queen on the following day. She declared that she would give the half of her kingdom to have a legate in the country, but that the heretics were capable of anything when irritated, and that drastic measures were out of the question. The queen then repeated a request which she had already entrusted to Commendone, that permission should be given to hold regular church services in England, even before the interdict and censures against the country were removed.[5] She especially wished to have a solemn High Mass celebrated as of old at her approaching coronation, which could not be deferred. Pole contented himself, in the meantime, by absolving Mary herself, and by exhorting her from Trent on October 2nd, not to depend too much on a purely secular policy, but to fix her trust more on God, repeating, at the same time, his

[1] *Ibid.* 530-531.

[2] *Cf.* the **report of the Florentine ambassador in Rome, of September 18, 1553 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] ANCEL, 535, 744. By a *letter of September 27, Pole informed Cardinal Madruzzo of his impending arrival in Trent. Original in the Library at Trent.

[4] ANCEL, Réconciliation, 745 *seqq.*

[5] BROWN, V., n. 785, p. 408-409.

request that he might be allowed to return to his own country before the opening of her first Parliament.[1]

Before this letter, however, reached its destination, the queen had been crowned on October 1st,[2] and on the 5th, Parliament had begun its sittings. Before its opening the queen, with all the members of both Houses, had, in accordance with the ancient custom, been present at a Mass of the Holy Ghost, and at the opening session congratulatory addresses, expressing affection for the queen's person, were offered on all sides. There were two questions, above all others, which Mary desired to have settled by her first Parliament: that the marriage of Catherine of Aragon should be recognized as valid, and that the ecclesiastical problem should be solved. As far as the latter was concerned the repudiation of the little loved liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, and the return to the old form of service, offered little difficulty, but the submission to the Papal See was another matter. For thirty years preachers had been inveighing against the Pope, and the return to his authority seemed inextricably bound up with the restitution of Church property.

First of all the draft of a Bill, drawn up in quite ordinary terms, was laid before Parliament, which at a single stroke declared all the enactments of the last two reigns, relating either to the marriage of Catherine of Aragon or to the religion of the country, to be invalid. In the Upper House this met with no opposition, but the contrary was the case in the Lower House, where every attempt to establish the Papal authority was viewed with suspicion and violently opposed. The Lower House, wrote the queen on October 28th to Pole,[3] could never be reconciled to the idea that the Crown should renounce the title of Head of the Church. She herself resolved that she would never, on any conditions, make use of such a title, and in the torturing uncertainty of how she was to act, should Parliament insist on her retaining it, she begged the legate to give her his advice.

[1] *Ibid.* n. 805. [2] LINGARD, 137 *seqq.*
[3] QUIRINI, IV., 119-121. ANCEL, 760.

The first attempt to win everything by a bold stroke had thus been frustrated by the hatred against the Papacy. The government therefore proceeded very cautiously. In the second session two new Bills were laid before Parliament, one of which related to the marriage of Queen Catherine, every reference to the Papal dispensation which had rendered it possible being carefully avoided. The object of the second Bill was to abolish all the religious laws issued under Edward VI. If this passed, the Catholic Church would not, it was true, be established, but Calvinism would at least be abolished. No opposition was raised in either House against the first Bill, but the other was debated for two days, and was finally, it appears, unanimously accepted on November 8th,[1] nor did the people raise any particular objection to it. It is true that placards with the new regulations were in many places torn down, and several Protestants held a meeting to consider what was to be done, but after some ten or twelve unruly agitators had been arrested, and two of them hanged, the others lost courage.[2]

A letter from the queen to Pole on November 15th informed him of the victory gained.[3] The composition of the Parliament did not give much hope of winning anything further, but in three or four months another Parliament would be convoked, and the success already attained was, in the opinion of all the queen's friends, an auspicious beginning, which would pave the way for a return to the Church. The Bill concerning the marriage of her mother in itself constituted a recognition of the Holy See, as it was only on the authority of the latter that the validity of the marriage could be founded.

The bearer of this letter, Henry Penning, met Pole on November 30th in Dillingen,[4] where the Cardinal had been

[1] LINGARD, 139-140.

[2] Renard on December 20, 1553, in ANCEL, 773.

[3] QUIRINI, IV., 121-123.

[4] "All'ultimo di Novembre a due ore di giorno arrivò monsignor Henrico a Tilinga con l'infrascritta speditione al cardinale Polo." Mary's letter of November 15, 1553, follows (Corsini Library, 33 E., 19, p. 419).

detained, very much against his will, since the middle of October. At first he had been kept back for some time by the necessity of obtaining passports through the different German territories,[1] and when he had at last started, on October 22nd, his journey was suddenly brought to an end two days later in Heidenheim (in the Jaxt-Circle),[2] by the wish of the Emperor. An Imperal envoy, the distinguished courtier, Juan de Mendoza, declared, in the name of his master, that the excited feeling in England might break out into open rebellion if a Papal legate were even to approach the country; Pole was, therefore, enjoined to wait, at least until the Emperor had come to an understanding with the Pope.[3]

Nothing now remained for the legate to do but to return to Dillingen, to the Bishop of Augsburg. A letter addressed to the Emperor on October 29th did not advance matters, nor nor did another letter sent to the Pope at the same time have any more success,[4] for the Emperor had been working for a long time to prevent the mission of Pole, and he succeeded at length in winning Julius III. over to his views.

Even at the time when the nuncio, Dandino, the very man whom the English Cardinal was to replace as peacemaker, took leave of the Emperor in Brussels, on October 5th, Charles V. spoke plainly against the mission of Pole.[5] Dandino endeavoured in that audience to represent the return of England to Catholic unity as an easy matter, and recommended Pole as the most suitable man for the position of English legate. The Emperor replied that Pole's appearance in England would afford the enemies of the Holy See in that country a pretext for stirring up a rebellion, in which case they were certain of being supported by France. One must not, he said, begin by

[1] Brown, V., n. 816.

[2] Pole's letter to Charles V. of October 24, 1553, in Brown, V, n. 819; *cf.* Ancel, 757.

[3] Brown, V., n. 820.

[4] See Brown, V., n. 823, 820; Ancel, 757.

[5] The instructions of Charles V. to his ambassador in Rome of October 11, 1553 (Archives, Simancas) give us information concerning Dandino's audience; see Ancel, 752, n. 2.

sending a legate, but proceed carefully, step by step. These considerations made an impression on Dandino, and he returned to Rome thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Emperor's arguments.

Similar views were put forward by a messenger, Francesco Vimercato, whom Dandino, shortly before his departure from Brussels, had sent to England.[1] Vimercato also came to the conclusion that conditions in England were not yet ready for the work of a Papal legate. The mere report that one was to be sent had already caused great excitement. Matters, therefore, must be very carefully considered. Why pluck the fruit before it was ripe, when it might still, by the grace of God, become mature ? The devil had acquired such power in that country, which had sunk so deep in the mire of heresy that many people did not even believe in the immortality of the soul, and no longer knew God or honoured Him. Vimercato considered it almost a miracle that Mass was nearly everywhere restored.[2]

Julius III. was discouraged by these reports, and sent word to his legate on October 28th, that, for the present, he had better remain where he was. The Emperor was of opinion that the role of mediator between himself and France was not sufficient to justify Pole's presence in Brussels, and that people looked on the peace mediation as a mere transparent subterfuge. The Pope was so fully persuaded of the good-will of Charles V. that he unhesitatingly followed his advice.[3]

On the same day, October 28th, and again on November 15th,[4] Pole also received most solemn warning from the queen against entering English territory. A premature appearance on the part of a Roman legate, in the prevailing state of suspicion and hatred against the Pope, would only do more harm than good.[5] The people would murder him rather than allow

[1] ANCEL, 753-754.

[2] *Ibid.* 755.

[3] Del Monte to Pole on October 28, 1553 ; Nonciat. de France, I., n. 4.

[4] Concerning both letters *cf. supra* pp. 254 *seq.*

[5] Letter of October 28, ; *cf.* ANCEL, 759-760.

him to exercise the duties of his office.[1] Penning received a verbal communication from Mary that it was at her urgent request that the Emperor had restrained the English Cardinal from his purpose. "It is true, however," remarks Penning, "that this caution on the part of the queen is entirely owing to the representations of the Imperial ambassador, with whom she discusses all her affairs." Several members of Parliament had assured him that the arrival of the Cardinal would give pleasure to everyone, and that the only difficulty in the way of reconciliation to Rome was the return of Church property.[2] Noailles, the French ambassador in London, also declared, at this time, that Pole's appearance in England was desired by Protestants as well as Catholics.[3] Great hopes were placed in the influence Noailles had over Mary, for the settlement of a question which for the moment occupied England to the exclusion of all others—this was the marriage of the queen.

Up to this time, the idea of a reigning queen on the throne of England had been something unheard of, and nobody in the country believed that Mary could maintain her position without a consort.[4] Her ministers therefore urged from the very

[1] Letter of November 15; *cf.* ANCEL, 760.

[2] "Mons. Henrico dice, che la Regina gli approvò la fermata di mons. rmo, dicendo che lei stessa aveva fatta istanza alla M^tà^ Cesarea, che le facesse fermare . . . La causa che la muove a procedere tanto reservata nasce dal consiglio e persuasioni degli ambasciatori della Maestà Cesarea, alli quali communica il tutto. Dice similmente mons. Henrico per quanto egli ha potuto penetrare per le parole di alcuni del Parlamento, che l'andata di mons. rm̃o nostro sarebbe accetta e grata a tutti universalmente, ma che la restitutione dell'obbedienza partirebbe qualche difficoltà, non per altro che per l'interesse delli beni ecclesiastici occupati." Relatione di mons. Henrico, November 30, 1553 (Corsini Library, 33 E. 19, p. 43).

[3] In LINGARD, 142.

[4] GAIRDNER (328) says: "A Queen-regnant was then a novelty in England and no one supposed she could maintain her position without a husband." *Cf.* LEE in the Dict. of Nat. Biog., XXXVI., 342.

beginning, that she should, in spite of her thirty-seven years, seek a husband. Many different proposals were made. From among her subjects, Edward Courtenay, a scion of the royal house of York, who had been placed in the Tower at the age of twelve, after the execution of his father in 1539, but whom Mary had set at liberty and created Earl of Devonshire,[1] was specially put forward; Mary is said also to have considered Cardinal Pole, who was not yet a priest.[2] Many foreign princes were named as candidates, as for example, the King of Denmark, Philip of Spain, a son of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, the Infante of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy. The queen, it appears, would have preferred Courtenay, who was beloved by the people on account of his youth and good looks, and because of his unjust imprisonment in the Tower, and he was also the chosen candidate of Gardiner. Mary, however, laid this important matter before the Emperor, her usual adviser.

Charles V. had already proved himself a true friend and protector of Mary in the troubles of her youth, and she thought that she could trust him above all others, now that she was queen.[3] She had already asked his advice when it was a question of the punishment of Lady Jane Grey and the rebels, as well as in the solution of the religious problems,[4] and if she had considered his decision regarding the rebellion too severe,

[1] He translated the work "De Beneficio Christi" (*cf.* Vol. XII., of this work p. 496) into English while in the Tower, perhaps to incline Edward VI. favourably towards him. *Cf.* Dict. of Nat. Biog., XII., 336.

[2] She is said to have asked Commendone if the Pope would release the Cardinal from the obstacle of his orders (A. M. GRATIANI, De Vita I. F. Commendone, Paris, 1669, p. 44). ANCEL (751, n. 4) rejoins that Pole had never thought of marrying; but the question is whether Mary did not think of such a marriage. It is erroneous to state that Pole offered himself as bridegroom in a letter contained in the Archives of Simancas; see GAIRDNER, in the Dict. of Nat. Biog., XLVI., 46.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 245.

[4] LINGARD, 126.

and had repudiated,[1] at least in the beginning, his advice concerning the religious question, as a sort of cowardice, she nevertheless came round more and more to his way of thinking, and her confidence in him remained unshaken to the end.

The accession of Mary opened new and brilliant prospects for the policy of Charles V. His constant adversary, the King of France, seemed to have succeeded in uniting the crowns of Scotland and France on the head of his son, Francis, and the Scottish queen, Mary Stuart, was already receiving her education at the French court, as the bride of the heir to the throne. If the Emperor could now succeed in marrying his son Philip to the English queen, then the House of Hapsburg would have obtained a new crown, and perhaps a new kingdom, by marriage, and the brilliant diplomatic success of his French rival would be eclipsed. These plans of the Emperor were, at any rate, one reason why Charles wished to keep the Papal legate far from England, for Pole was looked upon as an opponent of the Spanish marriage, and the religious change might call troubles into being which would cross or, in any case, delay the Imperial designs.

As early as August 14th, 1553, Charles V. gave his ambassador in England, Simon Renard, instructions, written in his own hand, to proceed carefully, and step by step, until he had brought about Mary's marriage with Philip.[2] Renard's task was rendered easier by the behaviour of Philip's most dangerous rival, Courtenay. This young man was wanting in firmness and moral rectitude ; he endeavoured to compensate himself for all his deprivations during his years of captivity, by unbridled licence in the company of notorious women, and he thereby lost more and more the respect of the virtuous queen. On September 20th, Renard was able to inform his master that Mary had definitely given up all thought of Courtenay. The Emperor then caused it to be pointed out to her that a foreign

[1] Ancel, 532.

[2] Lingard, 130. *Cf.* for the history of Mary's Spanish marriage, the very searching investigations recently published by Constant in the Rév. d'hist. dipl., XXVI., parts I. and II.

prince would be more suitable for the position of royal consort than either Courtenay or Pole. He was himself too old to have the honour of sueing for her hand, but although he might not offer himself as a bridegroom, he would at least solicit her favour for the one who was nearest his heart, his son Philip.[1]

Although Philip was eleven years younger than she was, this proposal made an impression on Mary. The union with "so powerful and so Catholic a Prince" appeared to offer the necessary guarantee that she "would be able to re-establish and confirm religion in England;" as she afterwards made known to Pole,[2] it was especially for this reason, and because she wished to reassure the country by the hope of an heir, that she had consented to marry at all.

The intention of the queen was hardly rumoured before it aroused violent opposition. The greater nobles were dissatisfied because they did not wish for a powerful prince, and the Protestant party because they feared a Catholic Regent.[3] The common people were excited by the illusion that England's independence would be endangered by the connection with the power of Spain. The jealousy of France was naturally aroused to the highest pitch by a union between England and the Hapsburgs. The French ambassador in London, Noailles, joined the Protestant party and all the other malcontents, and incited the people against the queen by every means in his power.[4]

Among the confidants of the queen, Gardiner advised her in the most decided manner against the Spanish marriage, and he had the greater part of the nobility on his side, although a few of them, with Norfolk, Arundel and Paget at their head, approved of the queen's plan.[5] The Commons resolved on an address in which the queen was indeed requested to marry, but only to choose her husband from among the nobles of England. This opposition, however, in which Mary thought

[1] LINGARD, 131.

[2] BROWN, V., n. 882, p. 489.

[3] ZIMMERMANN, 58.

[4] LINGARD, 143.

[5] *Ibid.* 131 *seqq.*, 142-3.

she saw only an intrigue of Gardiner, irritated the queen. On October 30th, the day on which Parliament had passed the address, she summoned Renard to her presence. She led him into her oratory, knelt down before the Blessed Sacrament, and after invoking the Holy Ghost, made a solemn vow that she would take no other husband than Philip.[1] When the Commons appeared before her on November 17th and read her the address, Mary answered them in person. Hitherto, she said, the rulers of England have been independent and free to arrange their marriages, and I am not prepared to give up this right; in the choice of a husband I shall think of my own happiness as well as of the well-being of the kingdom.[2]

Opposition had gradually to give way before such determination, and the Imperial envoys, the Count of Egmont and Laing, accompanied by two others, landed in Kent on January 2nd, 1554, to ask, in proper form, on the part of Philip, for Mary's hand. Mary referred them to the Royal Council, who, she said, knew her intentions; her first husband, however, was her kingdom, and nothing would induce her to be untrue to the fidelity which she had promised it in her coronation oath.[3] On the 14th the marriage settlement was signed and made public. It had been drawn up by the clever statesman, Gardiner, and made any dependence of England on Spain absolutely impossible. Philip was to assist the queen in the government of the kingdom, but all the offices of state were only to be held by natives of the country; if Philip should outlive the queen, he would have no right to the succession.[4]

In spite of these careful provisions, however, the official announcement of the marriage gave the Protestant party in the country a welcome pretext for instigating the people to rise, and in the choice of means for so doing they were by no means too particular. The most incredible stories were

[1] *Ibid.* 144. STONE, in the Dublin Review, XXIII., 333.

[2] LINGARD, 146.

[3] *Ibid.* 147 (H. GRIFFET) Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'histoire de Marie, Paris, 1766, xxx.

[4] LINGARD, 147-148. RYMER, Foedera, XV., 377.

circulated; the country, it was said, would be inundated with foreigners, and the English would be made slaves and dragged away to the mines of Mexico.[1] A plot was set on foot to marry Elizabeth to Courtenay, and to place them both on the throne; this plot was to be put into execution after the arrival of Philip.[2]

The shrewd Gardiner, however, succeeded in getting the whole secret from Courtenay, and thereby forced the conspirators to put their plans into immediate execution, in spite of their want of preparation.[3] In order to organize the revolt, Carew went to Devonshire, Croft to the borders of Wales, the Duke of Suffolk, who probably hoped to place his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, upon the throne, into Warwickshire, and Thomas Wyatt into Kent. The success of these instigators of revolt was, on the whole, very small, and after a fortnight, the Duke of Suffolk was again in the Tower, from which he had only a little while before been released by the clemency of Mary, while Carew was a fugitive in France, and Croft a prisoner of the crown.[4]

The only dangerous rising was that stirred up by Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent.[5] The enthusiasm of the 1500 men who were soon under arms, quickly died away, it is true, so that numbers of them soon began to desert, but when the troops which Mary had sent against them under the Duke of Norfolk went over to Wyatt, an army several thousand strong was soon marching on London. In the general panic which seized the Council, the queen remained full of courage and confidence in her victory. She had sent an envoy at the commencement of the rising to find out what were the demands of Wyatt, but when he brought back an insolent answer and conditions

[1] GAIRDNER, 330; *cf.* LINGARD, 149.

[2] LINGARD, 149.

[3] *Ibid.* 150.

[4] GAIRDNER, 330. LINGARD, 151-2.

[5] JOHN PROCTOR, History of Wyate's Rebellion, London, 1555. R. P. CRUDEN, History of Gravesend (1842), 172 *seqq.* GAIRDNER, 330 *seqq.* ZIMMERMANN, 59 *seqq.* LEE in the Dict. of Nat. Biog., LXIII., 187 *seqq.*

impossible of fulfilment, she resolved to face the danger boldly. She ordered the Lord Mayor to summon an extraordinary meeting of the citizens of London in the Guildhall on February 1st, 1554. Mary appeared there, with the royal sceptre in her hand, surrounded by her ladies and officers of state, and made a speech to those assembled, full of masculine power and determination. She complained, in dignified words, of the disobedience and insolence of the rebels. They had at first only attacked her marriage with the Spaniard, but now it was clear what the actual intentions of her enemies were. She was to entrust her person, the guarding of the Tower, and the appointment of her councillors to rebellious subjects who were striving after the possession of the royal power and the abolition of religion. She, however, trusted her people, who would not deliver her over to the insurgents. As regards the Spanish marriage, she had only acted on the advice of her Council; she had so far remained unmarried, and with the help of God, could continue to do so. Should, however, the marriage with Philip not gain the approval of Parliament, then she gave her royal word that she would never marry all the days of her life.

This speech had an immediate success. Next morning more than 20,000 men had volunteered for the defence of the capital. Wyatt, meanwhile, continued his march, and on February 3rd he encamped on the right bank of the Thames, in Southwark. Here, however, he was exposed to the fire of the cannon in the Tower, and withdrew from his position within three days. The danger was not yet over, however. On February 7th, at two o'clock in the morning, Mary received the news, in her palace at Whitehall, that Wyatt was advancing and was already not far away, and that she had better seek refuge in the Tower as quickly as possible. The bold leader had succeeded, in spite of the fact that the bridges were destroyed, in crossing the river, and, with the connivance of several traitors, who were waiting to open one of the gates to him, he was now marching, not far from Whitehall, on the city of London. Everybody in the palace thought of treachery, Gardiner on his knees besought the queen to flee to Windsor,

but when Renard assured her that her flight would be the signal for a general rising of the malcontents and the massacre of the Catholics, and as, moreover, the leaders of the royal troops swore fealty, Mary declared firmly and steadfastly that she would remain at her post. Wyatt's attempt proved to be a complete failure ; half of his undisciplined levies had already run away on their approach to London, while others made their escape in the darkness of the night. The royal troops succeeded in cutting Wyatt off from the main body of his army, and he was captured and subsequently executed, the remainder of his force being dispersed.

The Spanish marriage had only been a pretext for the rising in the case of Wyatt, as well as in that of the Duke of Suffolk. The true reason lay in the fear of the Protestants that Mary would restore the Catholic religion.[1] Wyatt expressed himself to this effect in private,[2] and his followers venerated him after his death on account of his " zeal for God's truth " as a martyr.[3]

In spite of its want of success, the rising of Wyatt forms a landmark in the reign of Mary. Till then it had made little impression on her when the Emperor and his ministers had recommended severity against the malcontents, and had impressed upon her that such people were not to be won by clemency, but were only confirmed in their arrogance and incited to fresh disobedience. The recent events, and especially the rising of the Duke of Suffolk, now came as a clear proof of monstrous ingratitude. Mary resolved, therefore,

[1] " It was in truth, an heretical conspiracy with a political pretext." (GAIRDNER, 330).

[2] *Ibid.* " In Kent, Wyatt said to an adherent, who expressed the hope that he would establish religion : Hush ! the word religion must not be mentioned, for that would turn the hearts of many away from us. You must only complain of the inundation of foreigners. But, in confidence, I shall tell you as a friend, we mean in reality only the establishment of God's word." *Cf.* Pole in BROWN, V., n. 854, p. 461, and the suggestions in LINGARD, 153, 157, 158.

[3] GAIRDNER, 330.

to take stern measures. Fifty of the soldiers who deserted were hanged, as well as six of the rebels in Kent. Four of the ringleaders were sent to the scaffold, namely, the Duke of Suffolk, his brother and principal adviser, Thomas Grey, Thomas Wyatt and the former secretary of the Council, William Thomas, who had urged the murder of the queen. Four hundred rebels were also made to appear before the queen with halters round their necks and beg for forgiveness upon their knees, whereupon she graciously pardoned them.

These punishments could certainly not be quoted as a proof of undue severity, but it must be regretted that the queen allowed herself to be persuaded into abandoning her former attitude of clemency towards Lady Jane Grey. On February 8th, when she had hardly escaped from the attack of Wyatt, and was still feeling the effects of the recent dangers and anxieties, she was induced to give the order for the carrying out of the sentence pronounced in November, 1553, but afterwards deferred, on the unhappy tool of a criminal policy. On February 12th, 1554, Lady Jane Grey, as well as her husband, suffered death with great courage at the hands of the executioner.[1]

The victory which had been gained, however, strengthened the position of the government more than any measures of severity. The Spanish marriage, concerning which many had despaired during the rising, now met with hardly any opposition. Parliament unanimously confirmed the marriage treaty on May 5th.[2] The representatives of the country had been given to understand that the only means of providing a counterpoise to the threatened union between France and Scotland lay in the marriage of Mary with the Spanish prince, as the heir of Philip and Mary would bring Flanders to the

[1] The Chronicle of Lady Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary, ed. by J. G. Nichols, 1850. G. Howard, Lady Jane Grey and her times, London, 1822. A. Strickland, Tudor Princesses, London, 1868. P. Sidney, Jane the Queen, London, 1900. R. Davey, The nine days Queen: Lady Jane Grey and her times, London, 1909.

[2] Lingard, 171.

English crown. No prejudice to England or the English people could follow on the marriage. On July 19th, Philip, accompanied by the united fleets of England, Spain and Flanders, appeared in sight of the English coast,[1] and on the following day he landed on English soil. On July 25th, the Feast of the Patron Saint of Spain, St. James, the marriage was celebrated at Winchester, with the greatest pomp. Before the ceremony, Gardiner read aloud the documents by which Charles V. abdicated the thrones of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in favour of his son, so that Philip might give his hand to the English queen as a reigning sovereign.

The plan of the Spanish marriage had been joyfully welcomed in Rome from the beginning. When the negotiations concerning this union which was so warmly desired by the Emperor were concluded in December, 1553, Charles at once sent the joyful news to Rome. The Pope received the announcement on the morning of New Year's Day, and he congratulated the Emperor in a warmly expressed brief, ot the same date.[2] Among the Cardinals, Morone, in particular, had done everything he could to promote the union of Mary with the heir to the Spanish throne.[3]

Cardinal Pole, on the other hand, was regarded in Rome, as well as by the Emperor and in France, as an opponent of the Spanish marriage. He seems to have made his views known as early as October 2nd, at the very beginning of his English legation, when he addressed a letter from Trent to Edward Courtenay.[4] On October 27th, in a report to the Pope, he declared that he was kept in Dillingen and away from England because it was feared that he would never co-operate in deliver-

[1] Viage de Felipe Segundo a Inglaterra, ed. GAYANGOS, Sociedad de Bibliòfilos Españoles, 1877. English Historical Review, 1892, 253 *seqq.*

[2] Printed in RAYNALDUS, 1554, n. 1. It is given there as follows: "Quo nuntio vix quidquam nobis gratius potuit accidere."

[3] ANCEL, 762.

[4] BROWN, V., n. 806.

ing his country into the hands of a foreigner.[1] In February, 1554, the English ambassador in France wrote that people there were of the opinion that Pole had worked against the marriage of the queen with Philip.[2] This report, however, was unjust; at the same time the Cardinal, as he himself acknowledged, had, from the first, been of opinion that Mary had better, at her age, remain unmarried.[3]

In Rome, the news of the legate's attitude was received with disquietude. Cardinal Morone was enjoined to inform him, on behalf of the Pope, on December 21st, 1553,[4] that an ambassador had no right to put forward his own views, but only those of his sovereign. The Pope was convinced, for many reasons, that the English queen should bestow her hand on the Spanish prince; he considered the queen too weak to be able permanently to govern, without the support of a husband, her violent and unsettled subjects, who were, moreover, infected by the religious innovations. He, further, did not believe that one of the nobles of England would be in a position, as husband of the queen, to reduce the country to obedience, both on account of the different parties in the state, and of the intrigues of foreign powers, while, in order to sweep his rivals from the field, a native prince would be much more likely to have recourse to dangerous concessions. On the other hand, the King of Spain, who was England's neighbour by reason of his possessions in Spain and Flanders, could re-establish ecclesiastical unity in England by his great authority, and defend the queen against her enemies at home and abroad. For these reasons the Pope considered it not only a rash thing to oppose the marriage, but also detrimental to religion and the interests of the Holy See, and he therefore wished Pole to adopt this view. Should he appear at the Imperial court,

[1] *Ibid.* n. 820, p. 437.

[2] Ancel, 764.

[3] Brown, V., 856, p. 464.

[4] See the text of the important *declaration, which escaped even Ancel, according to the manuscript in the Corsini Library, in Appendix No. 21b.

he was requested to show himself favourable, by word and deed, to the Spanish marriage, so as to satisfy the Emperor. As Morone added, the Pope was not without anxiety as to whether Pole would yield to him. Julius had often said that it was folly to oppose oneself to a rushing stream; to wear oneself out in vain and win nothing was the height of folly. Morone believed that he could allay the Pope's fears; he said that Pole would keep God before his eyes and would never act contrary to the will of His Holiness. Pole was also requested to keep these representations of the Pope a secret, out of consideration for Italian and foreign princes. A brief of the same time from Julius III. to Pole,[1] enjoined the latter to have confidence in the advice of Morone.

[1] Brief of December 20, 1553, mentioned in ANCEL, 762.

CHAPTER X.

Legation of Cardinal Pole.—The Reconciliation of England with the Holy See.

Mary had, even before her marriage with Philip, been encouraged by the increased respect felt for the Crown since the victory over the rebels, to take further steps towards a Catholic restoration.

In so doing, she was entering upon an undertaking, the prospects of which were by no means hopeless.[1] Paget wrote to Somerset, in the year 1549, that eleven-twelfths of the country was Catholic at heart.[2] According to the opinion of an English Protestant, who had taken refuge on the continent, the country people still clung so firmly to the Papacy in 1553, that the nobles could only allow themselves the preaching of the "Gospel" within their four walls.[3] When Commendone and Vimercato had depicted conditions in England in such dark colours, they had only the state of affairs in the capital in their minds. "The people of London," wrote Dandino in reference to this, "are, it is true, hardened in their heresy, but in the rest of the country it is not so to the same extent."[4]

It was especially from two classes of the population that Mary had to fear resistance to her attempts at restoration: first, from the lowest orders, who had been the most influenced by the foreign preachers, and consequently gave free vent to

[1] Ancel, 771 *seqq.*

[2] Lingard, 60.

[3] *Cf.* Dodmer's letter to Calvin, of December 17, 1553: Calvini Opera, XIV. (Corp. Ref. XLII.), 706.

[4] Ancel, 774.

their hatred in the most crude manner,[1] and secondly, from the wealthy and noble class, who wished to hear nothing of a return to the old religion because they feared that they would be forced to restore the Church property ; from these, however, there was less opposition to a Catholic restoration on the ground of any religious conviction. In the confusion of constantly changing doctrines and confessions of faith, they had for the most part lost all hold on religion, and were ready, at the word of the government, to accept almost any doctrine.[2]

Among the measures of 1554, several related to the restoration of the old form of worship, while the Mass had already been re-established by an Act of Parliament in December, 1553 ;[3] now, on March 21st, 1554, an ordinance of the Council was promulgated, according to which the nobility of the country districts were ordered to erect altars in their village churches, within fourteen days.[4] In Holy Week and Easter Week the ceremonies of the Church were carried out in the old Catholic manner, while Mary herself, accompanied by four

[1] " One morning a tom-cat was found hanging on the gallows in priest's clothes, with the tonsure and a picture of the Host in its paws. On May 10, 1554, a gun was fired in church at the preacher, Pendleton. In both cases the perpetrator remained undiscovered." (GAIRDNER, 339). The voice in Aldersgate street should also be mentioned here. A voice was heard in an old wall which declared that the Mass was idolatry ; when a blessing was invoked on Elizabeth the voice answered Amen, but when the same was invoked for Mary, the voice remained silent. As many as 600 people assembled to hear the " angel voices " until the government drew the originator of the disturbance from within the wall and placed him in the pillory. Renard to the Emperor, on March 14, 1554, in ANCEL, 774. *Cf.* LINGARD, 171 ; GAIRDNER, 340.

Cf. The recent publication : CONSTANT, La commencement de la restauration catholique en Angleterre par Marie Tudor (1553). Rev. Hist., 1913.

[2] LINGARD, 175.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 247.

[4] Acts of the Privy Council, 1552-1554, p. 411. LEE, 344.

bishops, took part in the processions during the Rogation Days.[1]

Mary's principal care, however, was directed to bringing about a thorough reform of the clergy, and on March 1st, measures were taken against married clergy. As the ecclesiastical edicts of Edward VI. had already been repealed by Mary's first Parliament, the old law of the Church, which allows of no married priesthood, again came into force, and the government considered that it was, therefore, justified in expelling them. About a fifth or a sixth part of the entire clergy, and a fourth in the diocese of London, were affected by this measure. A considerable number, however, received new appointments, when they had done penance, and had put away their wives.[2] Many of the Protestant bishops had already been deprived of their offices, and quite apart from the fact that many of them were guilty of high treason, the government had the right to proceed independently in their case, for the bishops appointed by Edward acknowledged themselves that they had received their power from the king,[3] so that the sovereign was entitled again to withdraw it from them. It was another matter, however, when it came to the question of appointing new bishops in the place of those who had been removed, as, for this, it was necessary to have the sanction of the Pope. In a letter of February 24th Mary laid the matter before Pole,[4] and thus, for the first time after his long period of waiting, Pole was called upon to act in his official capacity as Papal legate.

Pole had been obliged, since the middle of October, 1553, to spend the remainder of the year in painful inactivity in Dillingen. Not until December 28th did the longed for invitation of the Emperor reach him, not indeed to proceed to England, but to begin to carry out his mission as peace-

[1] GAIRDNER, 336. LEE, 344.

[2] GAIRDNER, 337.

[3] LINGARD, 18, 24. The dignity of bishop was bestowed with the proviso: "quamdiu bene se gesserint." *Ibid.*, 175 n.

[4] BROWN, V., n. 859. *Cf.* Mary to Pole, January 23, 1554, *ibid.*, n. 849.

maker between Charles and the King of France.[1] On January 25th, 1554, he made his solemn entry into Brussels,[2] and in February he repaired to the French court. Henry II. received him in a friendly manner, but Pole was unable to accomplish any more in his case than he had previously been able to do with the Emperor.[3]

Pole received Mary's letter in France. The English queen was exceedingly anxious that the new bishops should be consecrated before the opening of Parliament on April 2nd, so that they could take part at once in the sessions, and in the religious discussions throw their influence into the scales. She enclosed a list of ten or twelve suitable candidates.[4]

Pole's powers, however, did not extend so far as to enable him fully to satisfy the queen's wishes, since no one could have foreseen such a remarkable state of things at the beginning of his legation, as that there should be an appointment of bishops before the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Holy See. As the matter, however, was urgent, Pole sent a confidential messenger to London to tell the queen that it was necessary that the bishops chosen should, before their consecration, at least reconcile themselves with the Holy See; they must either apply to the Papal legate individually, or they could send him an authorized representative, who would seek reconciliation in the name of all of them, or, again, Pole would send an envoy to England fully empowered to arrange the matter.[5] Pole wrote on March 2nd to Julius III.,[6] who sent him a brief on the 8th of the same month, giving him the full authority required.[7] In accordance with this brief Pole could elevate

[1] Ancel, 762.

[2] Pole to Julius III., January 28, 1554, in Brown, V., n. 850.

[3] Gachard, La Bibliotheque Corsini, 116-7, Brussels, 1896. Martin, Pole, IV., 341-2. Ancel, 763-4. Acton gives emendations on Gachard's work in the North British Review, LI., 193 *seqq.*, 1869-1870.

[4] Brown, V., n. 859.

[5] Muzzarelli, to del Monte, March 16, 1554, in Ancel, 775-6.

[6] Brown, V., n. 862.

[7] Printed in Wilkins, Concilia, IV., 91-2, and in the Docum. ad legat. card. Poli spectantia, Rome, 1895.

to offices in metropolitan and cathedral churches such persons as had accepted ecclesiastical positions from laymen and schismatics, even in the case of those who had themselves been tainted with heresy. These concessions, however, appeared so unusual to the Pope himself, that he did not venture to lay them before the Cardinals for approval, from fear of opposition, but only discussed the matter with Morone.[1]

On April 1st, the eve of the opening of Parliament, Gardiner was able to consecrate six new bishops. In a letter written on April 7th in her own hand Mary begged the Pope to give his explicit confirmation, thereby acknowledging for the first time, publicly and solemnly, the Papal Supremacy. Julius III. read the royal letter, with many tears, five times to the assembled Cardinals,[2] granted the desired confirmation in a consistory of July 6th, and in a brief of July 10th, joyfully acknowledged the queen's zeal.[3]

The Parliament which met on April 2nd was rather concerned with the marriage of the queen than with the religious question. While the sessions were being held, much attention was attracted by a debate conducted by the Convocation of the clergy at Oxford with the three leaders of the Protestants, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, which was held simultaneously with the Parliamentary sittings from April 14th to the 20th. On the 27th the result, which was favourable to the Catholics, was announced, and on the 30th the Dean of Rochester, Walter Philips, acknowledged once more the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and retracted his former views. As had happened formerly under Edward VI., when the Catholics had complained, in similar circumstances, of the want of freedom of speech, so did the Protestants now raise similar objections.[4]

[1] Ancel, 776.

[2] Raynaldus, 1554, n. 7. Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, IV., 665.

[3] Raynaldus, 1554, n. 5-7.

[4] Lingard, 197. Gairdner, 338. A second disputation, planned to take place at Cambridge, fell through as the Protestant theologians refused to take part in it. Zimmermann, 72.

Among the Bills laid before Parliament, one is deserving of particular attention, although it was rejected in the House of Lords. All bishops, and especially the Bishop of Rome, were expressly forbidden by the Bill to demand the restitution of Church property.[1] The matter which formed the last and greatest obstacle to the return of the country to the Church, was here plainly put forward. In order that she might succeed in settling this difficult question, the queen had once more to seek the help of the legate, who had returned to Brussels on April 19th.

Pole was much perplexed by Mary's request. In the brief appointing him legate for England, the Cardinal had only received authority to forego the restoration of the revenues which had been drawn by the wrongful possessors from the sequestrated Church property. Of the renunciation of the said real estate of the Church, there had been no mention; on the contrary, the text of the brief made it pretty clear that, as a rule, the return of the real estate wrested from the Church was insisted upon previous to the giving up of the revenues.[2] It had become quite clear by this time that the legate's authority was not sufficiently comprehensive, so Pole sent Niccolò Ormanetto from Brussels to Rome on April 24th, and Henry Penning to London on May 4th, to negotiate further with the Pope and the queen concerning this burning question.[3] Ormanetto had, besides this, to report on the legate's mission to France.[4]

Mary pressed for a speedy answer. In the first audience granted to Penning, she at once asked what was being arranged with regard to the Church property, and as often as she saw him, she returned to the same subject.[5] In her own opinion

[1] ANCEL, 778.

[2] In the "Documenta," p. 6, quoted *supra*, p. 273, n. 7, it is stated: "Cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum (restituis prius, si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) super fructibus male perceptis ac bonis mobilibus consumptis concordandi, etc."

[3] ANCEL, 779.

[4] *Ibid.*, 767.

[5] *Ibid.*, 779 n., 3, 780 n. 3.

the Pope should show himself as generous as possible, and absolutely forego the return of the Church property. Pole, on the other hand, would not consent to such a solution.[1] Such a procedure he thought would give an appearance of bargaining about the return of the country to the Church; England should, he maintained, first come back to the Church, and leave everything else to the Pope's generosity. This view of the matter, however, appeared too severe to Muzzarelli, the nuncio in Brussels, and also to the Pope himself. In a brief of June 28th, Julius III. gave his legate the fullest authority to leave all Church property, moveable and real, in the hands of the present possessors.[2] Unfortunately, however, the terms of the brief[3] did not exclude all doubt as to the Pope's intentions, and later on aroused distrust in the hearts of suspicious persons.

The brief arrived in Brussels on July 29th.[4] A few days before, the Spanish marriage had been celebrated, and it now seemed as though the longed-for hour had at last come when Pole could perform the duties of his office as legate on English soil. In the meantime, however, fresh difficulties had arisen, of such a serious character that Pole himself regarded his mission as no longer possible of execution, and begged the Pope to recall him.

The Cardinal had had no success in his peace mission to France, and he had aroused the displeasure of the Emperor by his premature departure. When he presented himself before Charles V. on April 21st, and made his report concerning the unfortunate result of his mission, the Emperor, instead of answering him, declared that if he had nothing further to say,

[1] *Ibid.*, 779, 780.

[2] WILKINS, Concilia, IV., 102-3. WEISS, papiers de Granvelle, IV., 264. ANCEL, 781.

[3] Pole received authority to deal with the question of Church lands "arbitrio tuo auctoritate nostra tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis, ut praefata sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi."

[4] ANCEL, 781.

it would be much better if he did not appear before him again.[1] The Cardinal had made his position still worse by omitting to send the Emperor any communication from France concerning the steps he had taken with the king, and by never referring, by a single word, to the Spanish marriage, in his correspondence with the queen. The old suspicion that he was opposed to the marriage was again revived, and people even went so far as to suspect him of favouring Wyatt's insurrection. His very sojourn on French soil was regarded as an expression of friendship for the power which was Mary's worst enemy, and gave rise to a demonstration, from which Pole withdrew by a speedy departure.[2]

Not only had Pole's work as peacemaker completely failed, but his mission to England, which could not take place without the agreement of the Emperor, seemed quite hopeless. The deeply offended legate withdrew to the abbey of Dilighem near Brussels,[3] and it was from there that he conducted the above mentioned negotiations concerning the Church property, but otherwise he completely withdrew from political life. As early as the beginning of May he had begged the Pope to appoint someone else in his place as legate for England.[4] In Rome, however, under no circumstances could such an idea be entertained; by the recall of a Prince of the Church, once appointed and so solemnly dispatched, they would have compromised themselves in the eyes of the whole world, and, perhaps, have irretrievably endangered the return of England to the Church. Pole's painful position during these months of uncertainty and delay, was rendered still more bitter by the knowledge that his attitude was not sanctioned in every respect in Rome. Morone pointed out to him that he should have expressed himself clearly in favour of Philip's marriage with

[1] Pole to Julius III., April 22, 1554, in BROWN, V., n. 877; *cf.* n. 882, p. 494; ANCEL, 765.

[2] ANCEL, 764-5.

[3] *Ibid.*, 767.

[4] Pole to Morone, May 25, 1554, in BROWN, V., n. 882, p. 492-3. Pole's request for recall, mentioned here, was known to Morone as early as May 6, *ibid.*, n. 884, p. 497; *cf.* ANCEL, 769, n. 1.

Mary, and thus have removed all ground for suspicion. Even now he might make up for this omission by truthfully explaining to the Emperor his position with regard to the marriage.[1] The legate answered that he had always, since his arrival in Brussels, expressed himself as being in agreement with the Emperor regarding the union of Philip with Mary. The determination with which Charles and Granvelle had repulsed him could only have been greater if they had proceeded to blows.[2] He therefore persisted in his request for recall.

In this apparently hopeless entanglement, the relations between England and the Pope found a shrewd agent[3] in the person of the nuncio in Brussels, the Archbishop of Conza, Girolamo Muzzarelli, a Dominican, on whose skill and moderation Morone had already bestowed the greatest praise.[4] Muzzarelli understood how to induce the Emperor gradually to form a more favourable estimate of Pole, and, as early as June 10th, he was able to write to Rome that the Emperor would no longer oppose the journey of the legate to England.[5] The actual conclusion of the Spanish marriage on July 25th, gave Pole himself the courage to come out once more from his retirement. On July 11th he sent a messenger to England with a letter of congratulation to Philip.[6] A little later he also ventured to apply again to Charles V. and to congratulate him. The bearer of this letter, Ormanetto, had to seek the Emperor in his camp; he avoided Ormanetto's urgent requests that he would at last allow the Papal legate to fulfil his duties, by evasive answers, and declared that he must first enquire as to the state of affairs in England.[7]

Repulsed by the Emperor, the English Cardinal applied

[1] *Ibid.* 767.

[2] Brown, V., n. 882, p. 492.

[3] Ancel, 769.

[4] See in Appendix No. 21b, Morone's letter to Pole of December 21, 1553. (Corsini Library). Muzzarelli had been in Brussels since March 15.

[5] Ancel, 769.

[6] Brown, V., n. 917.

[7] Ancel, 770.

to King Philip on September 21st, and complained in suitable terms of this "eternal postponement" of his hopes. Who was this prelate who was kept so long standing knocking at the door? It was a man, who on account of his defence of the rights of Philip's consort to the throne, had been driven from his home and his country, and had now been eating the bread of exile for twenty years. Besides this, Pole was not begging admittance as a private individual. As Peter, when freed from his prison, had, according to the Acts of the Apostles, to stand knocking at the door of Mary, the mother of John, till it was at length opened to him, so now another Peter had to stand knocking at the door of another Mary. He could understand that she had been afraid to open to him before, but now she had the support of her husband, and the interests of the queen herself required that Peter should be allowed to enter, for her legitimacy, as well as her right, depended on the acknowledgment of the Pope.[1]

On September 28th Pole repeated the same arguments in a letter to the Emperor,[2] which he again sent by Ormanetto. Charles, however, once more answered that the right moment had not yet come, and that he would speak further with the legate after his return.[3]

The audience which he had thus promised to the English Cardinal took place on October 11th at Brussels.[4] Pole explained that two obstacles stood in the way of the return of England to the Church, namely, the errors in matters of faith, and the question of Church property. In the case of the former the Pope could not yield, but in the matter of Church property, he was prepared to make concessions. Pole did not, indeed, inform the Emperor to what extent Julius III. had already modified his claims, in the brief of September 28th, but he spoke of the powers with which the brief given him at the

[1] Brown, V., n. 946.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 947.

[3] Ancel, 770.

[4] Pole to Julius III., October 14 (not 13), 1554, Brown, V., n. 952. Ancel, 784.

beginning of his legation had invested him. The Emperor answered that there was no cause for anxiety as far as the question of doctrine was concerned, as they had to deal with a people who had no firm convictions about religion at all; as he had learned from his experiences in Germany, the whole matter resolved itself into a question of the Church property, and in this connection he desired to see the full powers of the legate, and would wait for the return of his ambassador, Erasso, before coming to any further decision.

As had been the case in this audience, Pole did not explain the full extent of his powers either to the Emperor or Mary. He had already anticipated the desire of the Emperor to see the brief of September 28th, by handing it to Granvelle before the audience, but he kept another important document a profound secret. The Pope had promised him, in a brief of August 5th, that he would always confirm and consider valid anything which his legate might do.[1] His reason for keeping this back lay in his anxiety to avoid anything in the negotiations about the return to ecclesiastical unity which might, in his opinion, be regarded as a business transaction, or the Papal concessions in the light of a bargain. The no less conscientious Muzzarelli, however, did not share Pole's views on this point. He impressed on the legate that he must, of necessity, inform the Emperor, as well as the English sovereigns, of the full extent of his powers; they must have an exact knowledge of this, in order to be in a position to take the most suitable measures for bringing back England to the faith. In consequence of Pole's reserve, the goodwill of the Pope was called in question in Brussels as well as in London, and he was suspected of first wishing to gain the submission of England to the Holy See, and of intending then to have recourse to stern measures by demanding the return of the Church property.[2]

As the powers conferred by the brief of September 28th did not appear to either Philip or Charles to be sufficiently comprehensive, the Emperor enjoined his ambassador in Rome,

[1] Printed in Weiss, Papiers de Granvelle, IV., 70.
[2] Ancel, 785.

Manrique, to request Julius III. to amplify them. People in Rome, he wrote to Manrique, appeared to think that the present possessors of the Church property thought more of their material prosperity than of the welfare of their souls, and also that they were very numerous, and that, in their endeavours to secure their property, they would make desperate attempts to stir up the people.[1] Pole, who preferred to have special powers and authorization to those contained generally in the brief of August 5th, added his request to that of the Emperor. Besides the authority conferred in the brief of September 28th, to enter into agreements and negotiations with regard to Church property, they begged that the further brief might confer the right, expressed in clear and distinct terms, of absolutely renouncing Church property, and that the clause in the former brief, to the effect that, in cases of special importance, application should be made to Rome, should be completely withdrawn.[2]

Before the answer to this application arrived, the last obstacles in the way of Pole's appearance in England were removed. As the steps which he had taken with regard to the Pope showed, the Emperor was now in earnest about his promise to allow the legate to fulfil the duties of his office, while Philip also wished to be a ruler in a Catholic kingdom. Mary openly declared that she was ready to give her life for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical unity.[3] Two Dominicans and two Franciscans, one of whom was the learned Alfonso de Castro, had come to England with Philip, and preached in London in their habits; although they had, at first, been mocked at, on this account, they soon gained great influence by their learning.[4] It made a great impression, also, when Gardiner, on September 30th, openly acknowledged, in a sermon preached before a large congregation at St. Paul's Cross, that he had grievously erred by his co-operation in the

[1] *Ibid.* 786.
[2] Pole to Julius III., October 19, 1554 in Brown, V., n. 954.
[3] Ancel, 787.
[4] *Ibid.* 783.

schism under Henry VIII., and that his imprisonment under Edward VI. had been a just punishment for what he had done.[1]

If the favourable opportunity was not to be missed, the departure of Pole for England was very urgent, for Parliament was to be opened on November 12th, and the question of reunion must then be discussed.

The Imperial ambassador in London, Simon Renard, arrived in Brussels just at the right moment, on October 20th. On the 22nd, he explained the state of affairs in England to Pole, in the presence of the nuncio.[2] He said that three classes of people there were opponents of reconciliation with Rome: those in whose eyes religious freedom meant the same thing as carnal freedom; those who had been enriched by the goods of the Church; and, finally, the ambitious, to whom risings and unrest in the country were ever welcome. The expressions in the brief of September 28th had aroused fears in England that Pole would take legal proceedings against the holders of Church property after the reunion with Rome, and demand restitution. Then Renard laid the following questions before the English Cardinal. Did he propose to make a solemn entry into London, invested with the insignia of his office as legate? Would he exercise his powers in agreement with Mary and Philip? Would the Pope grant him an amplification of the powers he had already received? Pole answered that they must, above all things, cease to expect that the breach could be healed by this prolonged delay. He would make no difficulty about appearing in England as a simple Papal envoy, without the insignia of a legate, he would not hesitate to seek the advice of their Majesties in the exercise of his powers, and he had no doubt as to the readiness of the Pope to meet their wishes.

In a further meeting on October 25th, Renard again returned to the question of Church property, and the extension of the powers given him by the Pope. In order to satisfy him, Pole showed him the secret brief of August 5th, in which Julius III.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Pole to Julius III., October 23, 1554 in Brown, V., n. 955.

had, from the first, promised his concurrence with all the decisions of the legate. Renard was exceedingly pleased and declared that if the existence of this document had been known earlier, all the recent steps which had been taken with regard to the Pope would have been unnecessary. On Renard's advice, the brief was also laid before the Emperor, who remarked in astonishment to Muzzarelli : " If the legate is not already in England, he has only himself to thank for it."[1]

Pole's time, therefore, had at last arrived. His joy, as Muzzarelli wrote was " inconceivably great," and in his letters to London and Rome he expressed it in the strongest terms.[2] His satisfaction could only be increased by a letter from the queen, on November 6th. She informed him that she had, on the previous Saturday, announced to her Council, in a formal sitting and in the presence of her husband, that in her opinion the time had now come to summon the legate and to complete the reconciliation with Rome. All had unanimously agreed with this opinion of the queen, and two of the most influential members, Lord Paget and Lord Edward Hastings, had at once been commissioned to repair to Brussels and invite the legate to England in the name of the Royal Council.[3] On November 8th the English ambassador in Brussels, John Mason, showed this official invitation to the Emperor, and on the following day, Granvelle informed the English Cardinal that it was now time to prepare for the journey to London.[4]

On November 11th Paget and Hastings presented themselves before the legate, and again at once referred to the burning question of the Church property, which now formed the only obstacle to the reconciliation of their country with the Pope.[5] Pole had his farewell audience with the Emperor on the 12th, and on the following day he left Brussels.

[1] Ancel, 788.

[2] Muzzarelli to del Monte, October 28, 1554 in Ancel, 789. Pole to Mary, October 27, in Brown, V., n. 958 ; Pole to Philip, October 27, *ibid.*, n. 959 ; Pole to Cardinal Morone, *ibid.*, n. 960.

[3] Ancel, 789.

[4] Pole to Julius III., November 11, 1554, in Brown, V., n. 962.

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 962, p. 592.

His journey to London was like a triumphal procession.[1] On November 19th he was received at Calais, on his first entering into English territory, in the most solemn manner, by the marshall at the head of the garrison, and all the officials. When he landed at Dover he was welcomed by Lord Montague and Thirlby, the Bishop of Ely, who were accompanied by a great number of the nobility, in the name of the queen and King Philip. The further he advanced, the greater was the number of the nobles of the country who joined him, until at last 1800 gentlemen formed his retinue.

At Canterbury Pole was received with joyful acclamations by the people. From thence he sent Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, to their Majesties, to ask when they would grant him an audience. When he proceeded, two days later, two members of Parliament brought him the news at Gravesend that the sentence of attainder pronounced against him by Henry VIII. had been reversed by Parliament, amid cries of jubilation, in the presence of the queen and King Philip. In handing him the document which had been drawn up concerning this, the two members informed him that their Majesties desired him to appear before them as legate, wearing all the insignia of his office.

The same proposal had been made to Pole at Canterbury, but then he had declined to accept it, but now, as their Majesties wished it, he had to give way. The large silver legate's cross was affixed to the prow of the royal barge which the queen had sent to meet him at Gravesend, and the Cardinal, accompanied by a great number of vessels, which carried the greatest nobles of the land, sailed up the Thames to Westminster. There he was welcomed on landing by Gardiner, at the gate by King Philip, and at the top of the steps, which he ascended in the company of Philip, by the queen, who was radiantly happy, and declared that she had not felt such gladness on her accession to the throne.[2] This memorable

[1] Description of the journey in a letter of Pole to del Monte, of November 25, 1554, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Inghilterra, III., 69-70. *Cf.* ANCEL, 790 *seqq.*, LINGARD, 177.

[2] LEE, 346.

day was November 24th. Pole took up his temporary residence in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

The task which had brought the legate to England could only be accomplished with the help of Parliament, which had been sitting since November 12th. In the opening speech, Gardiner declared that the first Parliament of the queen's reign had restored the former religious conditions, the second had confirmed her marriage treaty, and the third was asked to bring about the union of the kingdom with the Universal Church.[1] No opposition to the royal wishes was expected, and both Houses had very willingly reversed the sentence of attainder on Pole. The manner in which the reconciliation with Rome was now to be effected in Parliament was discussed by Pole and Gardiner on November 25th. This was determined by the legate on the following day, and carried into execution, as had been already arranged, on November 28th, 29th and 30th. It happened very fortunately that, just as Pole was deliberating with the sovereigns, the Papal Bull, containing all the alterations asked for by the Cardinal, should have been delivered to him.[2]

On November 28th Parliament assembled in the royal palace of Whitehall. Pole was solemnly brought in and delivered a long discourse setting forth the purpose of his mission.[3] He thanked them, first of all, for having, by their repeal of the act of attainder, restored to him his native land, his estates and his title of nobility. He had returned, he said, to restore to his country her title of nobility, which in the sorrowful events of the preceding decades she had forfeited. Till now, England had distinguished herself by her devotion to Christ and the Holy See; this devotion she had fostered,

[1] LINGARD, 177.

[2] ANCEL, 792. The Bull was discovered by Ancel in the *Reg. Vat., 1795, p. 295. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). It bears the date August 1, 1554, so that the reconciliation of England may appear to be a result of the Queen's marriage on July 25, ANCEL, 792.

[3] Contents of the speech, from a copy in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in ANCEL, 793.

and through Boniface, had spread among other nations. She had been deprived of this great prerogative and noble title because the Holy See would not give way to a criminal passion, and because, in contradiction to their forefathers, she had gone to foreign nations in order to be indoctrinated with the abominations of their false teaching. Now, however, God had raised up a queen who would lead her country out of this house of bondage, and the two highest powers on earth, the Pope and the Emperor, had come to support her. King Philip, as the representative of the Emperor, would establish temporal peace, and he himself, as the representative of the Pope, had come to give his countrymen spiritual peace. Only two conditions were necessarily bound up with the reunion of the country with the Holy See: they must acknowledge their transgression, and they must repeal the laws against the Papal supremacy.

After this speech, Pole retired, and Gardiner continued the discussion. His exhortation to reunion with the Church was received with universal applause, and on the following day the proposal was formally voted upon and carried.

On November 30th, Parliament again assembled in the great hall of the royal palace. Philip sat at the queen's left hand, and the Cardinal on her right, but at a greater distance from the throne. Gardiner announced the decision of the previous day, and begged their Majesties to act as mediators between the representatives of the people and the legate. A petition to this effect was then read aloud, which all present loudly acclaimed, after which the queen and King Philip handed it to the legate and begged absolution for schism and all censures. Pole then caused the Bull concerning his powers and authority to be read, and gave thanks to God in a short speech for England's reconciliation. Then all, the queen and king not excepted, fell upon their knees and received absolution in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. A loud and oft repeated "Amen" resounded on all sides, and a solemn Te Deum in the royal chapel closed the proceedings.[1]

Two days later, on the first Sunday in Advent, Pole made his

[1] LINGARD, 179. ANCEL, 794-5.

entry into London, amid universal enthusiasm. After Bishop Bonner had celebrated High Mass in the presence of the legate and King Philip, Gardiner preached at St. Paul's Cross on the text from the liturgy of the day: "Now is the time to arouse from sleep." He was listened to by 25,000 people. When Pole returned to the archiepiscopal palace, the people thronged round him in such crowds to receive his blessings, that Parpaglia writes that he could not have believed that London contained so many inhabitants.[1]

The burning question of the Church property was finally settled immediately after the reconciliation.[2] Two petitions on the matter were addressed to the Crown, one from Parliament, and the other from the clergy. In the former, Parliament besought their Majesties to obtain from the legate all those dispensations which the changes during the time of schism made necessary, and they desired, in particular, that the right of possession should be assured to the present holders of Church lands. In the other petition the clergy renounced all claim on the stolen ecclesiastical property. Pole issued the desired decree on December 24th. In accordance with this, all the charitable institutions and schools founded during the schism were to remain in being, and all the marriages and episcopal "acta" concluded during this period without the necessary Papal dispensation were declared valid, while the possessors of Church property were not to be disturbed, either now or in the future, on ecclesiastical grounds. A comprehensive Bill of January 1555 then declared that all the statutes promulgated since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. against the Papal authority were invalid, and confirmed the legate's decree.

As a sign that a new era had begun and that the old troubles were forgotten, at the return of England to the Universal Church, all those who still remained in prison on account of their participation in the rebellion of Northumberland and Wyatt, were released from the Tower on January 18th, 1555,[3]

[1] ANCEL, 795-6.

[2] LINGARD, 179-182.

[3] *Ibid.* 184.

Elizabeth returned to court, while Courtenay received "permission" to travel for the purpose of improving his education. He died suddenly in Venice in 1556.

Viscount Montague, Bishop Thirlby and Sir Edward Carne were appointed ambassadors to Rome on February 18th, to announce officially to the Pope the happy news of England's return to the Church.[1]

Julius III. received the first news of the events of St. Andrew's Day, on December 14th, in a letter from the hand of King Philip.[2] The Feast of St. Andrew, to which he owed his deliverance at the sack of Rome,[3] again became for him a day of rejoicing. He caused the royal letter to be read to as many Cardinals, prelates and others as the Hall of Consistory could contain, and then proceeded to St. Peter's in order to assist at a Mass of thanksgiving in St. Andrew's Chapel. Afterwards, prayers of thanksgiving for fourteen days were prescribed and a Jubilee indulgence proclaimed.[4] The joyful events were celebrated in other parts of Italy, as well as in Rome,[5] by solemn thanksgivings and bonfires,[6] while pamphlets announced the great triumph in the most distant lands.[7] The

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] ANCEL, 796. Nonciat. de France, I., 175. A letter of Pole of November 30, (RAYNALDUS, 1554, n. 15. BROWN, V., n. 966) only reached Rome later. An official letter of Mary and Philip of December 16, in RIBIER, II., 542.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 47.

[4] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1554, n. 16; Nonciat. de France, I., 175; BECCADELLI, Monumenta, II., 315.

[5] See PAGLIUCCHI, 126: L'allegrezza publica et ringraziamenti fatti a Dio dalla Santità di N.S. Julio papa III. et dal sacro collegio per il ritorno del regno d'Inghilterra alla cattolica unione, Milan, 1555. The "Oratio in laetitia ob reconciliationem Britanniae Romae celebrata," of U. Foglieta, dedicated to Julius III., appeared at that time in print in Rome.

[6] *Cf.* Arch. Stor. Napolit., II., 575. MERKLE, II., 448.

[7] Two pamphlets adorned with the arms of the Pope and England, which were printed in Rome, must be mentioned here: 1. Copia delle lettere del ser. Rè d'Inghilterra, del rever. Card. Polo legato della S. Sede Apostolica alla Santità di N.S. Julio

auditor of the Rota, Antonio Agostini, was commissioned to present Queen Mary with the Golden Rose, her consort receiving a consecrated sword and hat of state.[1]

Papa III. sopra la reduttione di quel regno alla unione della Santa madre Chiesa et obedienza della Sede Apostolica, s.l.et a.; 2. Il felicissimo ritorno del regno d'Inghilterra alla catholica unione et alla obedientia della sede apostolica, s.l.et a. *Cf.* QUIRINI, V., 303; BECCADELLI, Monumenta, II., 313, n. 51.

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 2; PIETER, 67-68; BROWN, VI., 1, n. 30, 37, 66.

CHAPTER XI.

Spread of Christianity in the New World.

The Apostolic See devoted special attention to the missions in the New World during the reign of Julius III. A brief of July 20th, 1554, made an attempt to provide for the scarcity of missionaries in America, in accordance with which suitable members of the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian Orders could receive permission to go as missionaries to America from the Archbishop of Seville, the Bishops of Avila, the Patriarch of the West Indies, and the former Bishop of Pamplona, Antonio Fonseca, even without the sanction of the superiors of their own Order.[1] A new bishopric was founded at la Plata on June 27th, 1552, in the modern Bolivia, for Spanish South America.[2] Portuguese South America had always been under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Funchal, in Madeira, whom Clement VII. had appointed metropolitan for the whole of the Portuguese colonies.[3] This arrangement was brought to an end on February 25th, 1551, and San Salvador (Bahia) was founded as a bishopric for Brazil.[4] Soon afterwards, on June 26th, 1551, Funchal lost

[1] Raynaldus, 1554, n. 30.

[2] Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives); *cf.* Raynaldus, 1552, n. 58; Gams, 160. By the *brief of September 27, 1552, Thomas de S. Martino elect. de la Plata in Indiis, received authority to take four monks with him, capable of instructing in the gospel, preaching, &c. (Brev. Julii III., Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 635. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 366.

[4] Acta Consist. *loc. cit.* Raynaldus, 1551, n. 79. Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 2 *seq.* The Bull of Foundation of July 3, 1550, in

its metropolitan rights as an independent see, and became a suffragan bishopric of Lisbon.[1]

The superior of the Jesuit mission in Brazil, Manoel Nobrega, had, in particular, worked, in his letters to Europe, for the establishment of a separate bishopric there. It was his opinion that only the respect felt for a bishop, and the power which he could wield, would be sufficient to improve the moral conditions of the country, of which Nobrega's letters give such a sad picture.[2]

For some time after his arrival, Nobrega's letters bore the stamp of joyful anticipation. In spite of their cannibalism and polygamy, the savages seemed to be easily capable of civilization. They asked for instruction in reading and writing, as well as in Christian doctrine; they came willingly to the Christian church, and behaved there like white people.[3] "Nowhere in the world," wrote Nobrega on August 10th, 1549, "had such favourable prospects been opened to Christianity,"[4] while again, on September 14th, 1551, he thought the

the Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, I., Lisbon, 1868, 177 (*cf.* MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, VI., 778). Concerning the establishment of the oversea Spanish and Portuguese bishoprics, *cf.* F. X. HERNAEZ, Collección de Bulas, Breves y otros documentos relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas, II., 1 *seqq.*, 663 *seqq.*, Brussels-Paris, 1879.

[1] Acta Consist. *loc. cit.*

[2] Materiaes e achègas para a historia e geographia do Brasil, publicados por ordem do Ministerio da Fazenda. No. 2: Cartas do Brasil do Padre Manoel da Nobrega, Rio de Janeiro, 1866, 50, 57. *Ibid.* 104, Nobrega names the Brazilian bishopric as a work of the Portuguese Jesuit provincial, Simon Rodriguez: "Vossa Reverendissima foi principio de tão grande bem"; *cf.* POLANCO, III., 465: "Cuius [episcopi] promotionem apud regem nostri [the Jesuits] curaverant." Nobrega also recommended the introduction of the Inquisition as a means of freeing the slaves: "o melhor remedio destas cousas seria que o Rei mandasse inquisidores ou commissarios para fazer libertar os escravos, ao menos os que são salteados." Materiaes, 79.

[3] Materiaes, 48, 84.

[4] *Ibid.* 66.

savages in Pernambuco would be easy to convert, but that he would require a larger number of priests than was at present at his disposal to continue the good work.[1] By the end of 1553, four Jesuit settlements had already been founded, in Bahia, Porto Seguro, Espirito Santo and San Vincente, to which Piratininga, the present San Paolo, was added in January, 1554.[2] The instruction of the Indian children, to which the missionaries zealously devoted themselves, seemed specially full of promise.[3]

The atrocities committed by the white people, who were for the most part deported criminals,[4] soon destroyed these hopes. Nobrega complains[5] that they spoke of the natives as dogs and treated them as such. They introduced slave raids (saltos), induced the aborigines to embark on ships under false pretences, and sailed away with them and sold them as slaves.[6] Their owners, moreover, troubled themselves very little about the welfare of their slaves, they worked them to death and then threw them in heaps on dunghills.[7] Frequently they took possession of the Indian women, white women having only left Europe in small numbers, and real marriages with coloured people not being considered fitting, the consequence of these conditions was a most shocking state of immorality.[8]

Here as elsewhere, the missionaries proved themselves almost the only friends of the oppressed people. They exhorted and protested in their sermons, and backed up their protests by the refusal of the Sacraments ;[9] they assembled the slaves to instruct them in Christianity,[10] and wrote to the

[1] *Ibid.* 91 ; *cf.* 88 : "Mui facil cousa é serem totos christãos, si houver muitos obrieros que os conservem em bons costumes."

[2] Polanco, IV., 611.

[3] Materiaes, 84, 88, 101.

[4] Polanco, V., 622.

[5] Materiaes, 151.

[6] *Ibid.* 55.

[7] *Ibid.* 152.

[8] *Ibid.* 54, 79.

[9] *Ibid.* 79, 102.

[10] *Ibid.* 88.

King of Portugal to send out free labourers[1] and white women.[2] They met with a certain amount of success, and in some cases astonishing results were obtained.[3] Everything was spoilt however, as far as the immediate future was concerned, by the arrival of the bishop, upon whom such hopes had been built. Pedro Fernandez Sardinha, who reached Bahia on June 22nd, 1552,[4] was not capable, in spite of his zeal, of filling his difficult post in a successful manner; the clergy, too, whom he had brought with him from Portugal, were the dregs of their sacred calling, and destroyed by their bad example and their indiscriminate dispensation of the Sacraments, everything which the missionaries had, with so much trouble, attained. The activities of the Jesuits among the white population in Bahia were thus quite brought to an end. Nobrega retired to some distance from the town, leaving only one missionary behind for the benefit of the children.[5] The bishop fell into the hands of the cannibals in 1556 and was eaten by them.[6]

The Indians of the primeval forests had no fixed place of abode; it might easily happen that the missionary who instructed them would find, on his return, nothing but their burnt down village.[7] Besides this, the different hamlets often consisted of no more than six or seven huts, and this scattered condition of the Indians greatly increased the difficulty of instructing them. Marriages worthy of the name were also almost unknown among them, and they had neither chiefs nor

[1] *Ibid.* 100.

[2] *Ibid.* 79; *cf.* 54.

[3] Materiaes, 55, 77-8, 91, 148, 150. Sometimes Indians who had been seized as slaves were allowed to go free, as their captors had been refused absolution in confession (*Ibid.* 102). Female Indians preferred to suffer ill-usage than to return to a life of sin with their master (*Ibid.* 120). *Cf.* the testimony of Correa, in POLANCO, III., 463: "multos esse in illis praesidiis non utcunque, sed egregie pios ac bonos."

[4] Materiaes, 94.

[5] *Ibid.* 148-9; *cf.* 129, 144.

[6] *Ibid.* 148, 153.

[7] POLANCO, II., 159.

any idea of community life; each one was king in his own hut and did as he pleased.[1]

The missionaries were, therefore, convinced that until a certain amount of civilization and order had been introduced among them, there could be no question of lasting success,[2] and they were extremely careful in baptizing them, chiefly on this ground.[3]

As far as lay in their power, the missionaries themselves endeavoured to pave the way for more civilized conditions, by uniting several hamlets into one larger village, with a view to rendering the work of instruction easier, or, in accordance with the principle adopted in the later settlements, by collecting the converts into special communities.[4] Law and order, however, could only be introduced among the Indians on a large scale, when the state lent its assistance for this purpose. Nobrega, therefore, wrote in 1554 that everything was again going to ruin among the savages in the neighbourhood of Bahia; tribes were destroying and devouring one another in marauding expeditions, while families were living in a perpetual state of feud with each other. It was the duty of the authorities to intervene at this juncture, for the savages themselves would prefer a mild condition of dependence to the present state of affairs.[5]

The only obstacle was that the whites took little interest in the civilization of the natives. On the contrary, it was considered sound policy to encourage the dissensions among them, for the safety of the white people was based on the fact of the Indians destroying one another.[6] Therefore they incited one tribe against the next, encouraging them in the enjoyment

[1] Polanco, IV., 631.

[2] *Ibid.* IV., 631, V., 626. Materiaes, 131, 147.

[3] Polanco, II., 159, 382, 387, 388, 393, 725; III., 472; IV., 623: "Nec nisi post longam probationem quemquam baptizabant"; V., 636: "Cum magno delectu a nostris ad eum (baptismum) admittebantur."

[4] *Ibid.* III., 472; IV., 615. Materiaes, 56, 99.

[5] Materiaes, 107.

[6] *Ibid.* 150 *seqq.*

of human flesh, while there were not wanting even white people who shared their dreadful feasts, with a view to giving them an example.[1] The Creoles, cross-breeds between whites and Indians, also worked in direct opposition to the missionaries, by trying to make the natives who had been baptized renounce Christianity, and treating them as cowards or women[2] if they would not do so.

It is astonishing and worthy of all admiration that the missionaries did not lose heart under such difficulties. Living in the greatest poverty,[3] hated by the rich on account of their sermons against the slave raids,[4] hindered sometimes by the governor, who did not pay them the cost of maintenance settled on them by the king,[5] hampered by differences of opinion with the bishop,[6] and crushed by the consciousness that their success did not correspond to the labour it involved,[7] they never ceased to defend the rights of humanity, in disputations and in letters to Portugal laying their complaints before the king,[8] and all the time continuing their efforts to comfort and alleviate the miseries of the unfortunate natives, in as far as it lay in their power to do so.

As the labours of the Jesuits met, for the present, with so much opposition in the Portuguese settlements on the coast, they earnestly hoped that better prospects would open before them somewhere else.[9] This seemed to be the case in Paraguay.[10] That country had been subject to the Spaniards for years, and what the missionaries had been vainly trying to do in Brazil, namely, to establish law and order among the Indians, had been already accomplished there. The natives

[1] *Ibid.* 150; *cf.* 87.
[2] Polanco, IV., 613.
[3] *Ibid.* 626, 628. Materiaes, 102, 104.
[4] Polanco, III., 461.
[5] *Ibid.* V., 623.
[6] *Ibid.* III., 462, 465; *cf.* Materiaes, 104-5, 148.
[7] Polanco, V., 632, 638. Materiaes, 147, 149, 157.
[8] Materiaes, 90, 98, 106.
[9] Polanco, II., 718; III., 456.
[10] *Ibid.* III., 456-460. Materiaes, 131, 166, 167.

had been instructed in Christianity by travelling missionaries of the Franciscan Order, and afterwards by secular priests; as, however, there was a great need of spiritual assistance, the Indians had repeatedly, since 1552, sent messages to the Jesuits in Brazil to come to their aid.[1] There was no want of readiness on the part of the Jesuits to grant their request, but the plan fell through on account of the opposition of the Portuguese authorities.

In 1557, with the arrival of a new governor, Men de Sà, conditions in Brazil took a more favourable turn. Men de Sà supported the missionaries in every way. He at once reunited the natives in the neighbourhood of Bahia in three large villages, each of which contained a church; schools arose for the Indian children, while law and justice were administered among the natives in a humane manner. These efforts were not, it is true, received with any thanks by the colonists.[2]

While the mission on the Brazilian coast was thus preparing for its period of greatest development by a time of probation, the conversion of the Indians in Mexico was being definitely provided for.[3]

Fernando Cortez had been accompanied by two priests when

[1] POLANCO, III., 458; IV., 615, 617; V., 620.

[2] Materiaes, 156 *seqq.* One of the first Protestant missionary attempts also took place at this time. The Frenchman, Durand de Villegaignon, an apostate Catholic, had founded a colony in Brazil in 1550, and requested Calvin to send missionaries These, however, declared, three months after their arrival, that they could make nothing of the savages (Calvini Opera, *ed.* G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, XVI., 434). Nobrega speaks of Villegaignon (Materiaes, 174): "Estes Francezes seguiam as heresias de Allemanha, pricipalmente as de Calvino, que está em Genebra e segundo soube delles mesmos e pelos livros que lhe acharam muitos, e vinham a esta terra a semear estas heresias pelo Gentio."

[3] JERONIMO MENDIETA (died 1604), Historia ecclesiastica Indiana, Mexico, 1870. MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane, VI., 523-668, Prato, 1881; VII., 2, *ibid.* 574-882, 1891.

he first landed in the New World, and on the news of the completion of the conquest of Mexico in 1523, five Franciscans had immediately set sail for America. The actual founders of Christianity in New Spain, however, were the twelve Franciscans who, invested with the fullest powers[1] by Leo X. on April 25th, 1521, and by Adrian VI. on May 13th, 1522, entered the capital in 1524 under Martin of Valencia, who died in 1534. Cortez himself went out to meet them with a brilliant retinue, falling on his knees and kissing their hands, to the amazement of the numerous natives who had flocked to the spot, and introducing them to the chiefs as the ambassadors of heaven.[2]

Numerous members of the other Orders now joined this first band of Franciscan missionaries, lists of whose names are still in existence. In the years 1529 and 1530 no less than twenty-six, in 1538 thirty-one, and in 1542 eighty-six priests received the royal permission to proceed to Mexico.[3] Two reports which Martin of Valencia and Juan Zumarraga sent to Europe on June 12th, 1531, telling of the success of their labours, awakened great enthusiasm in many persons for the vocation to the missionary life.[4] According to Martin of Valencia, in 1531 there were already twenty Franciscan convents in Mexico, of which the greater number were, indeed, little more than Indian huts, but in 1555 the number of Franciscan settlements had increased to fifty, and at the close of the XVIth

[1] Paul III. amplified this authority on February 15, 1535. Printed copy of the briefs in MENDIETA, 3, 5-7 (CIVEZZA, VI., 542).

[2] Villagomes (MENDIETA, 3, 12) describes the scene as an eyewitness (CIVEZZA, VI., 550).

[3] CIVEZZA, VI., 553-558, where an (incomplete) list of the Franciscans is given (taken from the Archivo de Indias in Seville) who were sent by the King to Mexico from 1524 to 1550.

[4] *Cf.* LUDWIG SCHMITT, Der Kölner Theologe N. Stagesyr, Freiburg, 1896, 170 *seqq.*; N. PAULUS in Katholik, 1897, II., 239. The two reports (in Italian in CIVEZZA, VI., 564-568) were circulated in French and Latin translations (Toulouse, 1532, and Cologne, 1532). CIVEZZA, VI., 568, and PAULUS, *loc. cit.*, 239.

century to seventy.[1] The Franciscans were joined in 1526 by the Dominicans and in 1533 by the Augustinians. In 1528 Juan Zumarraga, chosen by Charles V., arrived in the capital of the country as bishop-elect of Mexico and protector of the Indians. He was consecrated bishop in Spain in 1532, and returned to his diocese with numerous new missionaries. As early as 1546 the city of Mexico was able to be raised to be an archbishopric, with the suffragan sees of Oaxaca, Mechoacan, Tlaxcala, Guatemala and Chiapa.[2]

The Franciscans in Mexico from the very beginning made the instructions of youth the chief aim of their work.[3] In each of their convents great halls were erected, in which on an average 500 native boys, and sometimes as many as between 800 and 1000, received instruction in reading, writing and ecclesiastical chant. They had, especially at first, the sons of the more influential natives in view, who would later occupy the more important positions. The education of the girls was also looked after, and for this purpose pious women, mostly members of the Third Order, were brought over from Spain to act as teachers.[4] Bishop Zumarraga, in a letter to Charles V. on December 21st, 1537, declared that it was one of the most pressing requirements of the mission that a large college for boys should be built in each diocese, and a second one for girls. The instruction given to the boys should be extended so as to include Latin grammar, while the girls should be educated from about their sixth year by nuns and pious women, and be married when they attained the age of twelve.[5] By their zeal in the erection of schools the Franciscans must be regarded as the founders of the Mexican system of public education, for in the old Aztec kingdom instruction by means of schools was still unknown.[6]

[1] Civezza, VII., 2, 488, 530. [2] Gams, 156.

[3] Martino da Valenza, in Civezza, VI., 565. Mendieta in *ibid.*, 552.

[4] Civezza, VI., 554, 567.

[5] *Ibid.* VI., 630; VII., 2, 844.

[6] Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, La instruccion publica en la ciudad de México durante el siglo XVI., Mexico, 1893.

A simple lay-brother, Peter of Ghent (died 1572) won special renown as an instructor of youth, teaching the children of the capital for almost fifty years. In the morning they learned reading, writing and singing, while in the afternoon he gave them lessons in Christian doctrine. He had chosen fifty of the most advanced pupils and sent them out on Sundays, two by two, so that they might fill the office of catechists to their countrymen. Peter was also one of the most influential men in Mexico, from his knowledge of building and his skill in many crafts, so that Alonso de Montufar, Zumarraga's successor in the archiepiscopal see (1551–1569) said that it was not he, but Brother Peter, who was the real bishop of Mexico. Peter of Ghent could actually have become Archbishop of Mexico, if he had not preferred to remain in his humble position.[1]

While the missionaries were teaching the young people Spanish, they themselves learned the Mexican language from their pupils, and one of their chief reasons for beginning operations by the instruction of the young was that they saw in this the easiest way of acquiring the idioms of the country.[2]

After they had attained to sufficient proficiency in this, the conversion of the actual Aztec territory was accomplished in a comparatively short time. The heathen temples were for the most part destroyed, and the images broken. Zumarraga writes as early as 1531 that 500 temples had been cast down and 20,000 idols burned.[3] Catholic chapels arose on every side, of which Peter of Ghent had already erected 100 by 1529,[4] and to these the Indians flocked in great numbers.

[1] SERV. DIRKS, Le Frère Pierre de Mura, sa vie et ses travaux en Mexique, Ghent, 1878. F. KIECKENS, in Précis hist., XXIX., 277 *seqq.*, Brussels, 1880. CIVEZZA, VI., 538-542, 600-603 623-626; VII., 2, 761-777.

[2] Mendieta describes how the missionaries took part in the childish games of the boys, noting down at once the words which fell from their lips, and gathered together in the evenings to find the most suitable Spanish expressions for the Nahuatl idioms. CIVEZZA, VI., 552.

[3] *Ibid* VI., 566.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII., 2, 770.

The capital of the country might serve as a symbol of the religious change which had taken place, for it had arisen in less than four years from the ruins of the city destroyed by Cortez, more beautiful and magnificent than before. Where the temple of the god of war had formerly stood, the cathedral, dedicated to St. Francis, now arose, into the foundations of which the broken images of the Aztec gods had been thrown. In the part of the city called Tlatelolco a second cathedral was to be found, besides which there were about thirty churches for the natives.[1]

In many cases, it is true, the conversions were only superficial; Bishop Zumarraga complains in 1537 that Indians of advanced age kept up their old superstitious customs, and relinquished their idols and habits, especially that of polygamy, most unwillingly; the missionaries, therefore, had above all things to endeavour to confirm the youth in the Christian religion.[2] The learned Bernadino of Sahagún (died 1590) thought that the early missionaries had been wanting in the "wisdom of the serpent," for they had not discovered that the Indians went to the Christian church, while still retaining their old idols.[3] The missionaries, however, who lived in the closest touch with the people, could not be permanently mistaken as to their mentality, and there are many reasons which explain the rapid conversion of such great masses of the natives.

The victory over the old Mexico was, in the eyes of the Indians, also a victory over the Mexican gods, and they had to explain to themselves the fact that the Spaniards were able to destroy the idols unpunished, in the same way.[4] Besides this the old religion had been a hard yoke for those of the lower classes. The blood of their own children was sometimes demanded of them, and the prospect of immortality was held

[1] W. H. Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico, 7, 2, London, 1854; II., 266.

[2] Civezza VII., 2, 844.

[3] C. Crivelli in the Catholic Encyclopaedia, X., 255, New York, s.a. [1911].

[4] Prescott, 2, 4, 8; 5, 2 (I., 149, 195-6; II., 47-8).

out to them, not as a state which would depend on their moral conduct, but rather on their rank in life, or the manner of their death. The contrast between the arrogant Mexican priests, who considered themselves far above the common people, and the simple unselfish Franciscans could not fail to bring out the superiority of the missionaries. It made a great impression on the Indians, that the religious went about barefoot, and were content with as poor nourishment as they had themselves.[1] Of still greater weight was the fact that the missionaries showed a comprehension of the needs of the poor natives, and defended and protected them whenever they could. That the conquerors, whom they looked up to as "white gods" should so reverence these poor missionaries, increased still more the esteem in which they held them.[2] The national place of pilgrimage, Guadelupe, had also a great influence on the conversion of the Indians; they were firmly convinced that Our Lady had appeared in 1531 to one of their own people there, and had left her picture painted on an Indian cloak, as a palpable proof that the Christian religion was not for the white man alone.

The greatest obstacle to the christianizing of Mexico came, here as elsewhere, from the whites. "The Indians," writes Peter of Ghent on February 15th, 1552,[3] to the Emperor, "are overwhelmed with work and cannot earn enough to live. They must perform compulsory labour for their masters for a whole month, perhaps at a distance of forty or fifty miles from their homes, and are not, during that time, able to till their own fields, and when they return to their huts they find their wives and children in misery, with hardly enough to cover them, and their little property has then to be sold to provide them with the means of existence." As a consequence of this, the Indian population began to die out. On March 8th, 1594, the missionaries wrote to the Spanish government that the tax-paying Indians had diminished by 300,000 in seven years, and that without any pestilence.[4]

[1] Motolinia in Civezza, VII., 2,874.

[2] Mendieta in Civezza, VI., 550 *seqq.*

[3] Civezza, VI., 600 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* VII., 2, 871.

The Spanish government cannot be blamed altogether for this state of affairs. A great many royal regulations were issued in favour of the natives of Mexico,[1] and the first viceroys, Mendoza and Velasco, also showed much good will. The work in the mines by the Indians, was, for example, abolished by Velasco, who said that the freedom of the Indians was of more value than all the mines in the world, and that all human and divine laws could not be trampled underfoot for the sake of profit.[2] In consequence, the condition of the natives really did improve ; they won more and more freedom, were able to do their work as they desired, and, except in the towns on the coast, actual slavery never seems to have gained a firm footing in Mexico.[3] They were not condemned to extinction, as in so many other colonies ; among the thirteen and a half millions of inhabitants of Mexico to-day, there are little more than two million white people, the others being, with the exception of 80,000 negroes, all Indians or Mestizoes.

But, in the early times after the conquest, and especially in the years when no viceroy ruled in Mexico, and the country was under an "Audiencia" or Court of Justice, the condition of the natives was indeed unbearable. The good will of the viceroy was not able to cope with the force of prevailing circumstances, and nobody in Mexico troubled much about laws which had been made in Spain.[4] In the struggle against these evils the Franciscans rendered services both to Mexico and to humanity which cannot be too highly esteemed. They never ceased to preach against the oppression of the defenceless, and addressed complaint after complaint to Spain. On this account they were calumniated, alms were refused to them, the Indians were taught to be suspicious of them, and their correspondence with Spain was watched. They succeeded,

[1] List in *ibid.* VI., 613.

[2] *Ibid.* VI., 610.

[3] J. Saumarez Mann in the Encyclopædia Britannica, XVIII., 11th Ed. 337, Cambridge, 1911.

[4] Rodrigo de Albornoz to Charles V. on December 15, 1555, in Civezza, VI., 608.

however, by seizing favourable opportunities, in getting their letters of complaint through to Spain, with the result that the "Audiencia" was abolished, and another court, favourable to the Franciscans, was set up in its place.[1]

It was, above all, Bishop Zumarraga who carried on the struggle against the "Audiencia" and later on, after he had been, on February 24th, 1528, together with the Dominican, Julian Garces, first Bishop of Tlaxcala, appointed "Protector of the Indians," he did not cease to enter the lists on behalf of his clients.[2] The Franciscans, Motolinia (died 1569) and Mendieta (died 1604) were also the champions of freedom for the Indians.[3] The provincials of all the Orders working in Mexico addressed a joint petition to Philip II. in 1562, begging him to avert the ruin which threatened the new Church in Mexico.[4] Indeed, it was the belief of many people in the country that the Indians there would have been exterminated, as were those of the Antilles and elsewhere, had it not been for the determination of the Franciscans.[5]

As in the actual territory of the Aztecs, the Franciscans also spread the faith in the neighbouring countries. They went very early to Mechoacan, which was able to be formed into a separate province of the Order with fifty convents in 1575.[6] They had a great deal to suffer in Yucatan, where the Spaniards endeavoured in every way to prevent the christianizing of the natives, but in spite of this some thirty-seven mission centres

[1] Mendieta in CIVEZZA, VI., 614-615.

[2] In the struggle with the "Audiencia" he went so far as to let his Franciscans preach openly and in the plainest terms against its members (CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 622). A letter of complaint of Zumarraga of August 2nd, 1529, which demanded the deposition of the "Auditores" Matienzo and Delgadillo, and the severe punishment of the president, Guzman, *ibid.* VI., 613.

[3] CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 622 *seqq.*, 854 *seqq.* CRIVELLI in the Catholic Encyclopædia, X., 185-6, 601-2.

[4] CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 854.

[5] *Ibid.* 875.

[6] *Ibid.* VI., 643.

were founded between 1534 and 1600.[1] The Franciscans began their work in Guatemala in 1539;[2] in the year 1603 they had already twenty-four convents,[3] while Nicaragua and Costa Rica formed an independent province in 1579, with twelve settlements. They had been working among the savage tribes of Zacatecas since 1546 at least,[4] and suffered much persecution there, not a few of them losing their lives.[5]

In Guatemala the Dominicans had preceded the Franciscans in 1538. Under the guidance of Dominic of Betanzos their sphere of activity was also extended over many provinces. They had three large convents, in the capital of the country, in Oaxaca and Puebla, besides twenty-two settlements in Mexico proper, twenty-one in the territory of the Zapotecas, seventeen among the Mixtecas, as well as one in Vera Cruz and another in S. Juan d'Uloa.[6] They were specially active in Nicaragua, as well as in Gautemala.[7] To the north of Guatemala there was a tract of land named Terra de Guerra, so called on account of the savagery of the inhabitants and the vain attempts which had been made to subdue it. When Las Casas' book concerning the conversion of the Indians was written, many Spaniards scornfully challenged the Dominicans to attempt in this country the use of the purely peaceful means of conversion advocated by the member of their Order. The Dominicans accepted the challenge, and they succeeded, without the support of armed power, in gaining an entrance

[1] *Ibid.* VII., 2, 511. In the last quarter of the XVIth century, the mission was partly given over to secular priests. A list of the parishes given up and of those retained *ibid.* 523-527.

[2] *Ibid.* VI. 646-7.

[3] List in *ibid.* VII. 2, 538-541.

[4] *Ibid.* 545-6.

[5] *Ibid.* 552. Zacatecas appears as an independent province of the Order in 1604; it had then 16 convents, a number which had risen to 35 by 1733. List in *ibid.* 551-2.

[6] TOURON, O.P. Histoire générale de l'Amerique, V., and VI., Paris, 1768. Names of the first missionaries, *ibid.* V., 36-7, 186-7. For the convents *cf.* V., 106.

[7] TOURON, V., 194-5.

into the country and in changing the former "land of war" into the present day Vera Paz. Royal decrees assured the freedom of the converted Indians.[1]

Among the Dominican bishops, Julian Garces, first Bishop of Tlaxcala, was, together with Las Casas, a zealous champion of the Indians, as well as their defender. He addressed a memorandum to Paul III., calling on the authority of the Holy See itself against those who would deny to the Indians all power of being received as members of the Christian body.[2] In this he represents in glowing terms, the good moral behaviour of his protégés. Paul III. answered this memorandum by his celebrated brief against slavery.[3]

The zealous labours of the missionaries in Mexico also bore great fruit in the advancement of learning. The science of languages has absolutely no other source of information with regard to the ancient languages of Mexico than their researches. Two of the first Franciscans, Alonso Molina and Bernardino de Sahagún had mastered all the intricacies of the prevailing language of the country, the Aztec. Molina composed a dictionary and grammar of Aztec, and we may specially mention Sahagún's translation of the Epistles and Gospels into classical Aztec.[4] Franciscans and Dominicans in the XVIth century also composed dictionaries and grammars of the other languages of Mexico, Miztec, Zapotec, Maya and a number of other dialects, which were in part printed at the time, for use in spreading the faith.[5]

The necessity of gaining a knowledge of the ideas and customs of the Aztecs, also led to the study of the antiquities of this remarkable people. Bernardino de Sahagún succeeded, after the most exhaustive and diligent study, in providing data which are acknowledged to be the most complete which are to

[1] *Ibid.* 266 *seqq.* Copy of the decree, *ibid.* 286.

[2] *Ibid.* 137 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 519 *seq.*

[4] Evangeliarium, Epistolarium et Lectionarium Aztecum sive Mexicanum (1563). Published by Bernardino Biondelli, 1858.

[5] Jos. Dahlmann, Die Sprachkunde und die Missionen, Freiburg, 1891, 90 *seqq.* Mendieta in Civezza, VII., 732 *seqq.*

be obtained in this field of research.[1] A work, planned on a very large scale, which deals with the antiquities of Mexico from heathen times, as well as with its ecclesiastical history, was composed by Juan de Torquemada,[2] the "Livy of New Spain." The same subject was treated by Toribio de Benavente, one of the twelve missionaries who came to Mexico in 1524.[3] He was greeted at the time by the Indians with the name of "Motolinia," which means "poor," on account of his poverty-stricken appearance, and from that he always made use of the name. In his fight for the freedom of the Indians he was keenly opposed to Las Casas, whose ideas seemed to him exaggerated. Jerônimo de Mendieta deals in his Indian ecclesiastical history with the christianizing of Mexico. Almost everything that we know concerning ancient Mexico and its wonderful civilization can be directly traced to these historical works of the Franciscans, which, for the most part, were only published during the XIXth century.

[1] BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, published by Bustamente, Mexico, 1829, by Lord Kingsborough, London, 1830; French translation, Paris, 1880.

[2] Entered the Franciscan Order in 1583 in Mexico, and died there in 1624. His work, Monarquia Indiana, appeared first in Seville in 1615, in Madrid in 1723.

[3] TORIBIO MOTOLINIA, Historia de los Indios en la Nueva España, o Ritos antiguos, sacrificios e, idolatrias de los Indios de la Nueva España y de su conversion a la fé, y quienses fueron los que primero la predicaron; published by Lord Kingsborough, London, 1848, in Mexico, by J. G. Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1858.

CHAPTER XII.

The East Indies and the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier.

In the East Indies, the work of the missions was not greatly developed under Julius III., although it gained a firmer footing and struck deeper roots. "We are not yet troubling," writes the Jesuit, Melchior Nuñez, on December 7th, 1552, from Bassein,"[1] to make many Christians. Those whom we gain we first and above all things thoroughly instruct, and make it our chief endeavour to retain those already won over to the faith and to teach them, for up to the present matters have been very serious in this respect."

On the first arrival of the Portuguese in India, rough soldiers had endeavoured, in their own way, to assist in the spreading of Christianity by immediately baptizing the native prisoners of war. Priests, too, had been in the habit of administering baptism in the same "military" way.[2] There were, happily, exceptions, and Nuñez speaks of the Franciscan, Antonio do Porto, who took great pains with the instruction of the new converts, as being one of these.[3] Fra Antonio is known to have not only destroyed temples and erected churches, but also to have founded several institutions for the education of orphan boys.[4] It was not the same everywhere, however. The vicar of Goa, had, according to his own testimony, baptized no fewer than 120,000 heathens on the Fishing Coast in three years, and often from 1000 to 1500 a day.[5] Yet all these

[1] Selectae Indiarum Epistolae, 165; *cf.* 145, 182.
[2] Expression of Polanco (II., 145, n. 343).
[3] Sel. Ind. Epist., 165.
[4] Mullbauer, 56, 327.
[5] Polanco, II., 145.

had, as Francis Xavier wrote in 1542, nothing of Christianity about them but the name.[1]

Francis Xavier had recognized from the first that the principal work to be done lay in the instruction of the new converts, and he, therefore, laid the greatest stress on this point. He did not, by any means, bring a cut and dried scheme with him from Europe for the furtherance of this object, for we find him, in 1542, earnestly begging, in a letter from India, the advice of his colleagues in Rome, as to how he had better proceed with his missionary work.[2] He also, at first, administered baptism immediately after the most essential lessons had been given, leaving further instruction for the future.

Experience, however, soon showed that much more care must be exercised, as so many begged to be received into the Church from merely human motives.[3] These nominal Christians afterwards either refused to listen to instruction, or eventually returned to the worship of their idols and to their heathen customs. The Jesuits, therefore, instituted a catechumenate of from three to four months, and those who were found to be insincere were sternly sent away.[4]

Ignatius of Loyola had given twofold advice for the purpose of confirming Christianity in India: first, the instruction of the children must be provided for, and, secondly, houses for the instruction of the catechumens must be established for the adults.[5] His advice was joyfully followed by the Jesuits in India. The principal care of Francis Xavier was to gather the

[1] To Ignatius, October 28, 1542: Mon. Xav., I., 273. Anton Criminalis S. J. referred his conversation with Diego de Borba to the authority of the theologians who declared a catechumenate of several months to be necessary. De Borba endeavoured, in spite of this, to defend the practice of immediate baptism, by pointing out the peculiar Indian conditions. See Brou in the Études, CXXVIII. (1911), 603 *seqq.*

[2] September 20, 1542: Mon. Xav., I., 259.

[3] Nic. Lancilotti describes this drastically in a letter to Ignatius of October 10, 1547: Sel. Ind. Epist., 25.

[4] Polanco, II., 146, n. 344.

[5] *Ibid.* 145, n. 343.

children together in the first place, and through them influence the parents ; he introduced this method of procedure throughout the whole of India.[1] At a period when instruction was nowhere given to foreigners in the Jesuit colleges in Europe, schools[2] arose everywhere in India where the Jesuits were to be found, in which the native children were taught reading, writing and catechism.[3] It was not, at first, possible to build houses for catechumens in each place, but, in 1555, several rooms were set apart in the college of Goa, where from twelve to fifteen catechumens were constantly receiving instruction, which lasted for two or three months. Female catechumens received the necessary instruction under the supervision of a respectable matron in the hospital.[4]

Further progress was made, especially by Henrico Henriquez,[5] to whom it was of great advantage in his mission on the Fishing Coast, that all the natives belonged to the same tribe, and that the whole population, as such, had embraced Christianity.[6] To make up, to some extent, for the want of priests, Henriquez introduced a system of instruction given by catechists. He chose the most gifted among the new converts, and appointed them to give Christian instruction in the various villages, and in cases of necessity to baptize, while serious offences were to be brought to the knowledge of the missionaries. As Henriquez was very careful in choosing his catechists, their number did not exceed nine or ten ; they discharged their duties to the complete satisfaction of the missionaries, so that Henriquez thought that, should the priests all die, Christianity might still be maintained by these catechists on the Fishing Coast. A trustworthy man was also appointed in each village, who held meetings for prayer, and gave religious instruction in the native tongue.[7] The new

[1] *Ibid.* V., 656, n. 1805 ; 670, n. 1849.
[2] *Ibid.* II., 5.
[3] Polanco, V., 659, n. 1813.
[4] *Ibid.* II.,652, n. 1789 ; V., 659, n. 1814. Sel. Ind. Epist., 182.
[5] Sel. Ind. Epist. ,140-1. Polanco, II., 141, 406.
[6] Polanco, II., 406, n. 486.
[7] *Ibid.* 141-2, 406.

converts learned the usual prayers in Latin, according to the Roman custom, although Henriquez soon allowed them much liberty in this respect.[1]

A further praiseworthy practice of Henriquez and his companions lay in the fact that they earnestly devoted themselves to the study of the language of the country.[2] The first Jesuit missionaries, who found themselves confronted by a multiplicity of native dialects, and did not wish to confine their activities to limited districts, had to make use of an interpreter for their sermons. With these, however, they often had unpleasant experiences. When Henriquez understood Tamil better, he found many mistakes made by the interpreter in the translation of the ordinary prayers.[3] The new translation, as he wrote to Rome, cost him from three to four months hard work, as no words existed in the language for Christian ideas. He reported this so that the missionaries on the Congo might be warned; they should not attempt the translation of the prayers until they had a thorough command of the language. Nicholas Lancilotti also said frequently in his letters to Ignatius that the missionaries in India should have special districts assigned to them for their labours, and should be strictly enjoined to master the language of the country. Little confidence could be placed in interpreters, and Henriquez owed his success in great measure to the fact that he had thoroughly learned the language of the natives.[4] It was Henriquez who drew up the first Tamil grammar, which he printed for the use of the missionaries.[5]

The Portuguese officials formed the greatest obstacle in the way of the advancement of the mission. Xavier had already written to Rodriguez in Portugal, telling him that he should

[1] *Ibid.* 406.

[2] Henriquez to Ignatius on October 31, 1548, and November 21, 1549, in Cros, Francis Xavier, I., 387-8, and in Sel. Ind. Epist., 93; *cf.* Polanco, I., 351 *seqq.*, 472; II., 142, 407.

[3] Sel. Ind. Epist., 94. Francis Xavier had already found such in the Malabar translations (Mon. Xav., I., 317).

[4] Letter of October 29, 1552: Sel. Ind. Epist., 140.

[5] J. Dahlmann, Die Sprachkunde und die Missionen, 10.

never agree to any of his friends being sent to India as an official; however upright a man might be at home, they all fell into dishonourable ways in India.[1] A post in India was considered as much a reward for services rendered as an easy way of making money; the native tribes who had both embraced Christianity and submitted to the Portuguese rule, were especially plundered in the most ruthless manner. It had already happened, writes a missionary from the Fishing Coast in 1555,[2] that an official with a salary of 2000 or 3000 ducats, had in the course of one or two years gathered together from 100,000 to 200,000 ducats of the royal revenue, by extortion from the poor pearl fishers. Such people were, naturally, hostile to the missionaries, as the protectors of the poor, did not pay them the sums the king had appointed for them, and raised obstacles in their way whenever they could.[3] Lancilotti also wrote from the Fishing Coast, that it was hardly possible to describe the ruin they caused; all that the missionaries had taken many years to bring about, was destroyed in a few months by their avarice, and there was a real danger lest the whole of the 70,000 Christians on this coast should fall away through their behaviour.[4] Francis Xavier therefore wrote to John III. that he would "flee" to Japan, so as not to lose his time in India; it was a "martyrdom" to see everything destroyed which had been built up with so much trouble.[5] Henriquez also was of opinion that with a good official, much more would be gained in the matter of the conversion of the natives with a single priest, than with twenty under a bad one.[6]

The immorality of the Portuguese was almost a greater obstacle to the spread of Christianity than their avarice. Alfonso Cyprian, for example, writes from S. Thomé that the ecclesiastical as well as the secular authorities conducted

[1] Mon. Xav., I., 375.
[2] Polanco, V., 671-2.
[3] *Ibid.* 650, 674.
[4] *Ibid.* 679. Sel. Ind. Epist., 199-200.
[5] From Kotschin on January 26, 1549: Mon. Xav., I., 510.
[6] Polanco, VI., 800, n. 3429.

themselves in such a manner that it was a scandal to the natives when the Europeans led such lives; the new converts fell away again, while others refused baptism when they saw the abandoned way in which Christians lived.[1] It is true that S. Thomé, which lay on the extreme borders of the Portuguese territory, had become a place of refuge for all those who dared not live elsewhere. Similar complaints were also heard, however, from other parts of India.[2] The ease with which slaves could be procured in India furthered the general immorality in a special way.[3] Rich Portuguese possessed as many as 300 or more,[4] so that it was, in many cases, possible for them to have regular harems of twenty or more slaves.[5]

To all this was added the invasion of southern India by Islam, in which the missionaries not only found a powerful rival, concerning whose progress the Jesuits often complained,[6] but also a dangerous enemy. In a petition to King John III. the missionaries relate that in 1554 the Arabs had caused the loss of two Christian missions in Travancore, by inducing the king, with presents of money, to forbid the Christian priests to preach or build churches.[7] The new converts, especially in the Moluccas, where the natives had eagerly embraced Christianity, suffered from the attacks of Saracen pirates. Many Christians were murdered or plundered, others being thrown into the sea if no one offered to buy them, while many Christian villages were burned to the ground.[8]

As they had done in the East Indies, so did the Jesuits penetrate into Abyssinia as the pioneers of the Church. The hope of again being able to reunite the Abyssinian Church with

[1] *Ibid.* V., 683.

[2] VALIGNANI, Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias orientales, I., 7 (Mon. Xav., I., 39).

[3] POLANCO, II., 147, n. 345.

[4] *Ibid.* 658, n. 1810.

[5] *Ibid.* II., 147, n. 345.

[6] Lancelotti in POLANCO, V., 678, n. 1876. F. Perez in the Sel. Ind. Epist. 75.

[7] Sel. Ind. Epist., 198.

[8] POLANCO, IV., 668.

Rome had first arisen under Paul III.,[1] and was still entertained under Julius III. As of old, the Holy See again made use of the mediation of Portugal. At the beginning of the year 1555 the Pope thought he was able to take a decisive step; in consideration of the distance of the country, he appointed, on January 23rd, three bishops chosen from the Society of Jesus; of these he fixed on Nuñez Barreto as patriarch, and Fathers Andreas Oviedo and Melchior Carnero as assistant bishops with the right of succession.[2] His Holiness hoped all the more for the success of this attempt as he had succeeded in 1553 in bringing about the reunion of the Nestorians in Mesopotamia.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work p. 112 *seq.*

[2] See Acta Consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 10; *cf. ibid.* 1554, n. 25 *seqq.*; BECCARI, X., 39 *seqq.*, Mon. Ign. Ser.., VIII., 460 *seqq.* The departure of the three bishops was delayed by the death of Julius III.; they then took with them a letter of Paul IV. of March 10, 1556, to the Negus Claudius (see BECCARI, X., 52 *seq.*) The instructions of Ignatius in the Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, VIII., 676 *seqq.* The new Patriarch sent the Jesuit, Gonzalo Rodriguez from Goa in advance, who encountered in the meanwhile (see his letter of September 13, 1556, in BECCARI, V., 358 *seqq.*) unexpected difficulties. When Oviedo finally reached Abyssinia in the spring of 1557, he could accomplish nothing for the union, owing to the attitude of the Negus Asnaf Sagad. The Negus Adamas Sagad, who succeeded in 1559, forbade the preaching of the Catholic religion, and arrested the bishop. After his death in 1563, Oviedo was set free; he devoted himself to the spiritual care of the Portuguese kept in imprisonment in Abyssinia, and persevered there, in the most difficult conditions, until his death in 1577 (see BECARRI, X., 196-7, 209-210; ASTRAIN, II., 389) although Pius V. had allowed him on February 5th, 1566, to proceed as bishop to Japan; see BECCARI, V., 424-5.

[3] *Cf.* for the journey to Rome of the chosen "Catholicos," Sulaka and the foundation of the united Chaldean patriarchate of Mosul, besides RAYNALDUS, 1553, n. 42 *seqq.*, the reports in the periodical "Bessarione" 1898 and 1901, also "Oriens Christianus," 1906, 261 *seqq.* In both essays the Portuguese report in the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 311-312, has been over-

What hopes Julius III. placed in the Jesuits for the conversion of the East, may best be understood from the fact that he gave them permission, by a Bull of October 6th, 1553, to found three colleges, one in Jerusalem, a second in Cyprus, and a third in Constantinople.[1] These establishments, which might have become of the greatest importance, never came into existence, but, on the other hand, Julius III. lived to see the beginning of the mission in far-off Japan. To this island kingdom, possessed of a scenery of indescribable beauty, Providence now sent a man who must be counted one of the most heroic pioneers of the religion of the Cross.

Filled with a burning zeal for the spread of the doctrines of Christianity, the Apostle of India, Francis Xavier, had proceeded, in the last year of the pontificate of the Farnese Pope, to Japan, where he landed in Kagoschima on August 15th.[2] On November 5th, 1549, he sent his first impressions and experiences in an exhortation to his fellow-workers. "The greatest trials you have until now endured are small in comparison with those you will experience in Japan. Prepare yourselves for difficulties, by setting aside all consideration for your own interests."[3]

looked. *Cf.* also the *relatio eorum quae gesserunt nuntii missi a Julio III. in partibus Orientis, in the Cod. Vat. 3933, p. 73-75, of the Vatican Library. The patriarch of Armenia had been in Rome in 1550; see *Passus pro Stephano patriarcha Armen. cathol. Roma revertente, dat. 1550, April 23, in the Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 345; *cf. ibid.* n. 363: *Imperatori (recommendation of the patriarch of Armenia on his return home, dated April 25, 1550); t. 64, n. 355: *Passport for the Armenian Messichi, who came from Tauris to Rome, remained there for a time and shall remain still longer, dat. May 24, 1552. The **letter of instructions of Julius III. to Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, is also noteworthy (cf. CIACONIUS, III., 747), of May 26, 1553, *loc. cit.*, t. 68, n. 385.

[1] See the Bull (the only copy) contained in the Rossiana Library, Vienna, in the Études, LXX., 75 *seqq.* (1897).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 119 *seqq.*

[3] Mon. Xav., I., 584-5.

The Europeans in Japan really felt as if they had come into a new world. All the habits, customs and forms of courtesy were different, the food was scanty and unusual, and the language was difficult. A missionary wrote later that one must again become a child in Japan, and learn once more how to speak, sit down, walk and eat.[1] Instead of the respect which the Portuguese had paid to the priests, the missionaries found the opposite here, because, with all their ceremonious politeness to one another, the Japanese felt nothing but contempt for strangers, especially when they, as was the case with these messengers of the faith, appeared in poor apparel.

Political conditions, moreover, were not favourable to the spread of Christianity, as the country was in a state of anarchy. Japan was nominally under the dominion of the Emperor and his representative, the Schogun, but both of them were, as a matter of fact, completely powerless.[2] The actual power was in the hands of more than sixty petty princes, the Daimios, who waged perpetual civil war on each other. The well organized Buddhist monasteries, which were well provided with armed forces, had great political influence, perhaps the greatest in the country, and that these would soon attack Christianity, "and not in words alone," Xavier recognized from the first.[3]

It was fortunate for the missionaries that the Daimios were exceedingly anxious to attract Portuguese ships to their harbours, and hoped to gain this end by protecting the missionaries. It was also favourable to the spread of Christianity that there was no single central government and no universal religion. The dominant form of religion was Buddhism, which was divided into some six opposing sects.[4] Xavier was, however, more filled with confident expectations by the lively

[1] VALIGNANI in the Mon. Xav., I., 110.

[2] More details concerning political conditions in JAMES MURDOCH (in collaboration with Isoh. Yamagata), A History of Japan during the century of early foreign intercourse (1542-1651), Kobe (Japan), 1903, 15-17; H. HAAS, Geschichte des Christentums in Japan, I., 96-105, Tokio, 1902.

[3] Mon. Xav., I., 594.

[4] HAAS, I., 122 *seqq.*

interest which the Japanese took in religion, and by their character, which disposed them to be influenced by arguments founded on reason, than by any other circumstances. "If God, our Lord," he writes, "gives us ten years of life, we shall see great things in this country."[1]

Soon after his arrival in Kagoschima, Xavier began, with the help of his companion, Paul Anjiro, to draw up a summary of Christian doctrine in the Japanese language. As, however, Anjiro did not know the language sufficiently well, the work was not a success, and educated Japanese laughed at it.[2] Mockery and laughter also were not wanting when Francis, after some time, produced his work in the public streets and began to read it aloud. Nevertheless, the whole bearing of the missionary, the thought that he had come so far only to promote the salvation of a foreign race, and the sublimity of the doctrine which shone through the imperfectly expressed language, gradually made a powerful impression. After the lapse of a year, 100 Christians could be counted in Kagoschima, while the throng round the missionaries was so great that the bonzes obtained from the Daimio a prohibition of further conversions. Francis then repaired to Hirado, an island to the west of Kiuschiu, where Portuguese ships had put in.[3] After very promising beginnings, however, he left this mission to his companion, Cosmas de Torres, and himself proceeded to the largest of the Japanese islands, Nippon.

It had been Xavier's plan, from the very first, to get as far as the capital of the country, Meaco, the present Kioto, and to penetrate into the presence of the Emperor, in order to obtain from him the permission to preach. After being driven out of Kagoschima, he determined no longer to postpone the carrying out of this plan. He left Hirado at the beginning of October,

[1] Mon. Xav., I., 599.

[2] The opinion of the later missionaries in Valignani's Historia (Mon. Xav., I., 119).

[3] The report that Xavier said that at that time, neither he nor his companion, Juan Fernandez, understood Japanese, arises from a misunderstanding; see KNELLER in the Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, XXXV., 581 *seqq.* (1911).

1550, and spent a considerable time in Yamaguchi in Nippon, going on from thence in the middle of December to Meaco; he left this town in February, 1551, in order to return to Hirado. At the most trying time of the year, insufficiently clad, and often barefoot, in the company of the lay-brother, Fernandez, he accomplished an exceedingly difficult journey through the snow-covered country. The travellers often sank to their knees in the snow in the bad roads, and often had to plunge into icy streams to their waists. In the villages they were mocked and laughed at by the people who flocked round them in crowds, and stoned by the children, while in the inns at night they found nothing but a mat and a wooden Japanese pillow, that is to say, if, in their miserable clothing, they were received in the inns at all.

This painful pilgrimage was, moreover, almost without result, as far as their main object was concerned. In Yamaguchi, indeed, Francis was allowed to read his book even to the Daimio for about an hour, but there were no conversions. Nothing could be done in Meaco, on account of the state of war prevailing there, and Francis could only have thought of an interview with the Emperor, because he did not understand the conditions in Japan.[1]

At all events, he brought back one important realization from his journey. He now knew that the Emperor was a mere shadow, who could not vie with the Daimio of Yamaguchi in real power. He had also learned that the poverty and meanness of his appearance was an obstacle to the spread of the Gospel. He therefore resolved to dress better, and to offer the presents which he had brought from India for the Emperor to the ruler of Yamaguchi, Ouchi Yoschitaka. He was received in a frendly manner by the latter, who gave him, as a return gift, an old bonze house, with the permission to preach

[1] Concerning the details of the journey we have information from Xavier's companion, the lay-brother, Fernandez, from whose lips L. Froes and others noted them down. *Cf.* Cros, II., 99-125.

the Gospel freely.[1] The preaching, moreover, was not unsuccessful; in five or six months, they had from five to six hundred baptisms. Xavier's most important conquest was a half-blind actor who was baptized in the name of Lawrence, and was afterwards received as a lay-brother into the Society of Jesus; in countless sermons and disputations he won thousands for Christianity, among others several Daimios.

Still more favourable prospects were opened to the messengers of the faith by the Daimio of Bungo, Otomo Yoschischige, who invited Francis to go to him at Funai and promised every support to the missionaries.

In the meantime, circumstances had arisen in India, which made the presence of Francis necessary.[2] He therefore returned to Goa in November, 1551, with the intention of endeavouring to introduce Christianity into China, as soon as the troubles in India were settled.

Francis Xavier had long been persuaded that if Christianity was to gain a firm footing in Asia, this, the largest and most important country of the continent, must, above all others, be won over to the faith. He had, therefore, resolved to present himself before the Emperor of Japan in Meaco, in order to obtain from him a passport for China.[3] He had been able to convince himself in his discussions with the Japanese of the respect felt for Chinese learning and wisdom in Eastern Asia, for his arguments were often met with the rejoinder that it was difficult to believe that the Christian doctrine contained the truth, since it was unknown to the Chinese.[4] On the other hand, however, he was fully aware of the difficulty of his

[1] "Mandou polas ruas da çidade *poor scriptos* em seu nome, que ele folgaua que a ley de Deus se prégase em suas terras, e que ele daua, liçença que os que a quisesem tomar a tomasem." Mon. Xav., I., 683.

[2] *Cf.* Cros, II., 179-190. The fact that Xavier did not leave Japan because he despaired of winning the country for Christianity, is shown in detail, in opposition to the opinion of most Protestant writers, by Haas, *loc. cit. supra*, II., 1-12, Tokio, 1904.

[3] Mon. Xav., I., 599; *cf.* 644.

[4] *Ibid.* 684.

undertaking. Foreigners were strictly forbidden to enter Chinese territory; even the Portuguese who were shipwrecked on the Chinese coasts, were loaded with chains and cast into prison for years, while death might easily follow the punishment of the bastinado inflicted by the mandarins. All this, however, did not intimidate Xavier. At first he had hoped to penetrate into China as the companion of a Portuguese envoy, his own friend, Pereira, but this plan was frustrated by the opposition of the commandant of Malacca, Alvaro de Ataide, who retained Pereira there on the pretext that he was required for an expected siege of the town.

Then Xavier determined to carry out his plan alone, and, if necessary, to bear patiently the severity of the Chinese laws; he may have thought that no other course was open to him during the lifetime of Alvaro.[1] "I am journeying," he writes, "deprived of all human protection, to the island of Canton, in the hope that a friendly heathen will take me over to the continent of China."[2]

Portuguese ships used often to lie for months at a time off the island of Canton, that is to say off the rocky island of Sanchoan (Sancian, Chang-Tschouen) in order to make a landing there at a favourable opportunity, and carry on smuggling with the Chinese of Canton. The island itself was barren, and during the time of their stay, the Portuguese lived in hastily constructed huts of straw, which they burned on their departure. To this place, therefore, Francis caused himself to be conveyed, in order that he might risk his life for the conversion of China.

Abandoned though he had been hitherto, the Saint was now to be thrown still more on his own resources. From among his companions, he was obliged to send back a Portuguese lay-brother, as unfit for work, and an interpreter whom he had

[1] If he should be obliged to return to India, he wrote on October 22nd, 1552: "não vou com esperança que em tempo de D. Alvaro de Gama se fará couza n'a China, de que fique memoria." Mon. Xav., I., 791.

[2] From Singapore on July 21, 1552: Mon. Xav., I., 767.

secured for Canton soon left him for fear of the punishments of the mandarins. The captain of the ship, who had brought him out of consideration for Alvaro, was not very well-disposed to him. He was, it is true, received into the hut of a Portuguese, who looked after him, but after the departure of this man, he suffered great want, and had to beg for bread. Only a Chinaman of about twenty, who had been brought up in Goa, and had almost forgotten his own language, and a servant, were faithful to him.

In spite of all this, and notwithstanding the warnings he received from the Portuguese, as well as from the Chinese traders, Francis held fast to his resolution. A Chinaman was at last induced, by the promise of a large reward, to undertake to convey him to Canton, and to set him down before daybreak at the gate of the city. He had to trust to this man, in spite of the danger that he might take the reward, and then get rid of the troublesome stranger by throwing him into the sea. Even this danger did not deter him, and when the Portuguese begged him, for fear of his getting them into trouble, to put off his hazardous enterprise until after the departure of their ships, he was obliged to proceed with his great undertaking quite alone, and deprived of all earthly assistance.

His plans, however, were never carried out. On November 22nd, 1552, he was attacked by a violent fever, and on the 27th, at two o'clock in the morning, he was claimed by death. On this barren island, in a wretched hut, he met his end, as his great soul would have desired it, in the full strength of his manhood, in the full fervour of his love for God and man, in the utmost poverty and abandonment, like in his death to Him, in whose footsteps, in life, he had always endeavoured to tread.[1]

[1] Concerning Xavier's death and burial we possess the report of an eye-witness, the Chinaman, Anton (in Cros, II., 342-354; *cf.* Valignani in Mon. Xav., I., 190). That the day of his death was not December 2, but November 27, is shown by Cros (contrary to Astrain in Razon y Fé, V., 375-386, Madrid, 1903), *loc. cit.*, 355 *seqq.*, and in the Études, XCVII., 680-702, Paris, 1903. *Cf.* Analecta Bollandiana, XXIII., 410, Brussels, 1904.

The only witness of his death, the Chinaman Anton, laid his body, according to the Chinese custom, in a sort of coffin, into which was sprinkled lime, to hasten decomposition and enable the bones to be carried away. When the grave was opened once more,[1] shortly before the departure of the ship, on February 17th, 1553, they found the body perfectly incorrupt. In Malacca it was solemnly received, but was buried without a coffin. On August 15th, they again found no trace of corruption. The Saint's body was brought to the church of St. Paul in Goa, at the beginning of Holy Week, 1554, and was later placed in a tomb in the convent of Bom Jesus, where, to this day, it has never fallen into dust.[2]

In Francis Xavier were united qualities, which, at first sight, seem to contradict one another. He was, above all, a man of action, who could never rest, and to whom everything he did seemed trifling and of no importance, because his eyes were always fixed on what yet remained to be done. He would have liked to have been everywhere at the same time, in order to spread Christianity in all directions. His activity, therefore, might appear feverish and unbalanced, his hazardous enterprises foolhardy, his constant journeyings as the expression of a mere love of wandering. Alexander Valignani was alone, in the XVIth century, in pointing out, in contradiction to such a view, the successes of the Saint. "He was guided in all he did," Valignani remarks,[3] "by a wonderful foresight, for his undertakings succeeded very well, and in all the places

[1] It is marked by an inscription in Portuguese and Chinese The remains of the chapel erected over the hut in which Xavier died are quite near (see Supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung, 1865, No. 30). A *Relatio sepulturae S. Francisci erectae in Sanciano insula anno 1700, with a plan of the island and the chapel of the Jesuit missionary, Caspar Castner, in Cod. 150 of the Library in Lyons. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, II., 853; Civiltà Catt. (1894), IV., 757 *seqq.*

[2] ADOLF MÜLLER, A pilgrimage to Goa to the grave of St. Francis Xavier, in the Katholischen Missionen (1891), 69 *seqq.* 100 *seqq.*; Civil .Catt. (1891), 371 *seqq.*

[3] VALIGNANI in Mon. Xav., I., 192.

wherehe came, he left a seed of God's Word, which blossomed later on and brought forth good fruit." In order to estimate properly the activity of Francis Xavier, we must bear in mind that he did not look upon himself as a single independent missionary, but as the superior of a band of such, whom he had to distribute over the half of a continent. In order to be able to assign to each the sphere of activity to which he was best suited, he had to know the countries and peoples from his own observation. He often used to say, when he sent missionaries to a certain district: "How could I send these messengers with a clear conscience, if I did not know the conditions there from my own observation and experience?"[1] It appeared to him to be his mission to prepare the way everywhere, to take the task of the pioneer on his own shoulders, so that his fellow-workers and those under him should be able to reap the fruits of his labours. "I beg God, our Lord," he writes in the year of his death, "to grant me the grace to open the way for others even if I attain nothing myself."[2] It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the fact that, thanks to his travels and hardships, the countries of Asia in which the labours of the missionaries were most likely to be successful were clearly indicated, namely, not the effeminate and dreamy Hindoos and Malays, but rather the Chinese and Japanese.

To this restless activity, Xavier joined the intuition and fervour of the mystic. Already in the early days of his priesthood, the signs of mysticism were to be seen in him.[3] He devoted to prayer many hours of the night, and as much time as his labours left him free, and he found such interior delight in it that all his troubles seemed to him "a sweet cross."[4] The determination with which he clung to his resolutions, he obtained by laying his plans before God. He was undecided for a long time, he wrote, as to whether he should proceed to

[1] *Ibid.* 65.

[2] Mon. Xav., I., 701. He often expresses the wish to be able to prepare the way for others, e.g. *ibid*, I., 695, 729.

[3] Cros., I., 145.

[4] A. de Quadros (1555) in the Sel. Ind. Epist., 185. Letter of Xavier of November 5, 1549: Mon. Xav., I., 576.

Japan or not, but when God gave him to understand, in the depths of his soul, that such was His Will, then he could not fail in answering the call without being worse than the heathens of Japan.[1]

In spite of the great sacrifices which Xavier demanded from himself, he was by no means strict or severe towards others, but was of a captivating mildness and humility, and displayed a loveable friendliness in his dealings with his neighbours. He understood how to suit himself to everybody and to win their regard ; princes and great dignitaries in Portugal, as well as soldiers and sailors, or the half-civilised barbarians in India. In Malacca, he went to the place where the soldiers were playing, and when they wished to stop out of respect for him, he encouraged them to continue, remarking jokingly that soldiers are not monks, and that he wished to enjoy himself with them.[2] He sent a sharp reprimand to a member of his order in Malacca, who had a severe and abrupt manner.[3] He was full of joy and merriment everywhere, and one of his companions, the Japanese, Bernard, who came later to Europe and died at Coimbra, relates of him,[4] that in their most difficult journeys in Japan, he would often skip for joy, throw an apple into the air and catch it again, while tears of joy would stream from his eyes when he praised God aloud, who had chosen him to publish the joyful tidings in those far lands.

He showed the greatest respect for ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the members of other religious orders, and required those under him to do likewise. Only once did he appeal to his powers as Papal nuncio, and that was when, in Malacca, Alvaro wished to prevent his journey to China. He thought everything could be attained by humility, and that it was better to do a little good without causing irritation, than much good with bad feeling.[5]

[1] Letter of June 22, 1549 : Mon. Xav., I., 539.
[2] VALIGNANI, 68.
[3] Letter April 14, 1552 : Mon. Xav., I., 745 *seqq.*
[4] F. FOURNIER in the Études, CIX., 666 (1906).
[5] Mon. Xav., I., 746.

"The Apostle of the Indies," so wrote three generations ago the Protestant diplomat, John Crawford, "deserves to be counted among the greatest men who ever came to Eastern Asia. No one can read his life, so full of virtues and merits, without being carried away by admiration for the unselfishness of this great man."

The latest researches have fully confirmed this opinion. A Protestant missionary in Japan gives us the results of his investigations concerning Francis Xavier in the following terms: "Whoever contemplates his indefatigable activity in an unprejudiced manner, cannot fail to recognize that he bears the title of apostle with perfect justice. Xavier was not only a disciple of Ignatius, whom he venerated to an almost religious degree, nor only a devoted member of the Society of Jesus . . . he was also a follower of Jesus Himself, on whose model he had formed himself, learning from Him, in a degree to which few attain, the lessons of humility, modesty, mortification, joyful resignation and loving condescension to the most lowly. In heartfelt intimacy with his Divine Model, this holy man had penetrated into the secrets of God's kingdom. His whole life showed that he felt himself called, not by men, and not through men, but by Jesus Christ and God. . . This gave him the intrepid, undaunted courage of a hero, who, fearing God and nothing else in the world, shrank from no danger, and willingly encountered the greatest; this spurred him on to that burning zeal, in which he never tired of working as long as it was day for him; this filled him with the confidence of victory which is the pledge of success."

"For such a vocation to the apostolate, Xavier was endowed by nature with qualities which must have proved of the greatest service. He was gifted with a clear understanding and great intellectual activity, he was magnanimous and full of enthusiasm, and with all his mildness and gentleness was full of fire and energy, while through all his humility there shone a perfect confidence in himself; a moral equipment from which God could well expect great things, when, after he had given up his life, his worldly pleasures and earthly ambitions, he fixed his hopes on Him alone and on eternal life.

At the same time, Xavier was not only a servant of God and a true disciple of Jesus, he was also a son and servant of His church, and a true member of the Society to which he had dedicated himself. His understanding of the doctrine of Christ was that of the Catholic Church, his piety was that of his Order. This ought not, however, to make his Protestant judges blind to the fact that he was a man of God . . . who with heart and soul clung to his holy and sublime vocation."[1]

In the Catholic world the veneration of Francis Xavier which was inaugurated by his canonization by Gregory XV. in 1622, is still living and fruitful. Old Goa is a dead town at the present day, and only awakes to life when the earthly remains of Francis Xavier are exposed to the veneration of thousands of the faithful.[2] Rome, since 1616, possesses, in the right hand of the Saint, with which he baptized countless thousands, a precious relic. The magnificent altar which contains it stands opposite the shrine of the founder of his Order. No greater honour could fall to the lot of the disciple of Ignatius, but he deserves it in the fullest degree, for his heroic labours introduced a new epoch for the christianizing of the whole civilized world of the East.

[1] HAAS, 232-233.

[2] Concerning the veneration of St. Francis Xavier, *cf.* DAURIGNAC, Gesch. des hl. Franz Xaver, German by Clarus, Frankfort, 1865, 396 *seqq.*, 408 *seqq.*, 418 *seqq.*, 429 *seqq.*; CROS, II., 478 *seqq.*; A. BROU, Saint François Xavier, II., 370 *seqq.*, Paris, 1912; SOMMERVOGEL, Bibl., X., 1657 *seqq.* Concerning the last great pilgrimages to Old Goa, see Kölnische Volkszeitung, 1911, No. 87.

CHAPTER XIII.

Julius III. in Relation to Letters and Art. Michael Angelo and the Rebuilding of Saint Peter's. The Villa Giulia.

Julius III., who had received a classical training from the humanist, Raphael Brandolini Lippo, lived at a time when the Renaissance had reached its zenith. He had always displayed a lively interest in science and art, and it was, therefore, natural that great things should have been expected from him after his elevation to the Papacy. The humanists at once began to hail his election,[1] and openly declared their hopes of the beginning of a Golden Age.[2] It seemed certain that the unusual and well known generosity of the Pope would be favourable to their hopes, but it soon became clear that the means for a true return to the age of Mæcenas were not available. The financial distress, which made itself felt only too soon, and which was increased to an almost unbearable degree by the war with Parma, had a paralysing and restraining effect in all other fields of activity. It is significant of the unfavourable circumstances which prevailed, that the wish of the Pope to have the works of his master, Brandolini, published, in token of his gratitude, should not have been fulfilled.[3]

Julius III., however, showed no lack of desire to be a patron

[1] A. F. Rainerius, Thybris s. de creatione Iulii III. P.M., Ronae 1550.

[2] *Cf.* the Poem *Divo Julio III. Pontif. Max., in the Cod. Ottob., 1351, p. 3b, Vatican Library. See also the panegyric of Julius III. by Muzio, in which he says: "Nuovo Papa, nuovo anno et anno santo Risplende al mondo." Rime, 656, Venice, 1551.

[3] *Cf.* Brom in the Römischen Quartelschrift, II., 177-8, 180 *seqq.*

of learning as his great predecessor had been, and humanists such as Galeazzo Florimonte, Romolo Amaseo and Paolo Sadoleto readily found appointments at his chancery.[1] The Pope also passed over the fact that, now and again, pagan expressions found their way into the documents compiled by these men, even when they dealt with matters of purely ecclesiastical importance, a thing which would justly have been blamed in later times, when stricter views prevailed.[2] The traditional and much too great freedom of speech which prevailed in Rome at that time, was by no means lessened under Julius III., and Pasquino could again jeer and mock as he had done before in the classical days of the Renaissance.[3]

It was far more to the credit of Julius III., who also collected a library of his own,[4] that he appointed the learned Cardinal Marcello Cervini to be librarian for life of the Vatican Library, as early as February 24th, 1550, and invested him with full powers.[5] It was in accordance with the wishes of Cervini that, three years later, the Pope sent an envoy to the Greek Basilian monasteries, in order to borrow the sacred and profane manuscripts preserved there, for the purpose of having them copied.[6]

In the first year of his pontificate, Julius III. interested himself in the reform of the Roman University. On November 5th, 1550, he entrusted Cardinals Cervini, Morone, Crescenzi and Pole with this task.[7] This commission, to which were

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 74.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, 13, 17, 2.

[3] *Cf.* GNOLI, Storia di Pasquino; Nuova Antologia, XXV., 74 (1890).

[4] *Cf.* the inscription in CIACONIUS, III., 758. In this library, the Apronian Virgil was to be found, which came into the hands of Card. I. del Monte after the death of Julius III., and later went to Florence: see TIRABOSCHI, III., 29-30 (Neapolitan Edition).

[5] See the *brief in Appendix No. 5 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] See the *brief of February 24, 1553, for Hannib. Spatafore archimand. Messan. O. S. Bas. in the Appendix Nos. 17-18. (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[7] See MASSARELLI, 198, 199.

afterwards added Cardinals Guido Ascânio Sforza and Maffei, inaugurated several salutary reforms in 1552. Besides this the efficiency of this institution was doubled by an increase in its revenues.[1] German universities, such as Heidelberg, Ingolstadt and Würzburg, were also favoured by Julius III., and the college in Dillingen was raised by him to the status of a university.[2]

The evidences of favour for the humanists and literati were, on account of the pecuniary difficulties, not very numerous, but whenever one of these received any promotion, he expressed his thanks in extravagant but unmeaning verses, as was the case with Girolamo Fracastoro,[3] Fausto Sabeo[4] and Francesco Modesto.[5]

Among the teachers whom Julius III. provided for the young Roberto de' Nobili were Giulio Poggiano and the Servite, Ottavio Pantagato, the former celebrated as an elegant stylist, and the latter as an eminent humanist. The noble poetess, Ersilia Cortese,[6] wife of Giovan Battista del Monte, and the learned poet, Onorato Fascitelli,[7] also enjoyed the Pope's favour. Julius III. appointed the eminent Ludovico Beccadelli as nuncio in Venice, and later on his vicar-general in Rome; when Morone went to Germany, Beccadelli accompanied him, and it was reported that he would be created a cardinal on his return.[8] The learned Guglielmo Sirleto was

[1] See MARINI, Lettera, 121, 127; RENAZZI, II., 132-3, 252 *seqq.*

[2] See HAUTZ, Heidelberg, I., 229, 449, 452, 460, 464; PRANTL, Ingolstadt-München, I., 185; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1551, n. 76; WEGELE, Würzburg II. 26,, *seqq.* Concerning Dillingen *cf. supra* p. 227.

[3] *Ad Iulium III. P.M.*, most excellently rendered by SCHLÜTER, M.A. Flaminus und seine Freunde, 145 *seqq.*, Mayence, 1847.

[4] See CIACONIUS, III., 757. Achille Bocchi also belongs to the humanists promoted by Julius III., see MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1389.

[5] *Cf.* ALBINI, Il Modesto, Imola, 1886, and Atti per le prov. d. Romagna, Ser. 3, XV., 376 (1897).

[6] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 22 and 3, 47 (Neapolitan Edition).

[7] *Cf.* MINIERI RICCIO, Mem. d. scritt. di Napoli, 73 *seqq.*

[8] See BECCADELLI, Monum., I., 35-6, 40, 65.

promoted, and his commentary on the New Testament, which was directed against Valla and Erasmus, was approved.[1]

Unfortunately, Julius III. also had relations with literati of quite a different stamp. The Pope had hardly been elected when Paolo Giovio addressed a letter of congratulation to him, which is very characteristic. In this Giovio expresses the hope that he will be able to come to Rome as soon as he has recovered from the gout, and the weather has improved; he takes the liberty of remarking, however, how greatly he was disappointed when the apartments he was to have occupied in the Vatican had been otherwise disposed of; he was quite determined that the Pope should compensate him with a pension. Cardinal Medici was commissioned by the Pope to assure Giovio that a dwelling in the Vatican would be provided for him.[2] Although the said Cardinal informed him once more in June, 1550, that the Pope was well disposed to him,[3] the calculating humanist thought it wise to ingratiate himself still further by the dedication of a work to His Holiness. In the dignified brief of August 15th, 1551, in which Julius III. thanked Giovio for the dedication of his "Eulogium of Celebrated Men," a book of international interest, he promised him an honourable reception[4] on his proposed journey to Rome, and a few months later sent him a reward. Giovio thereupon promised to extol his benefactor with a "golden pen."[5] His death, however, on December 11th, 1552, put an end to his plan.

Pietro Aretino had at once opened relations with Julius III., and sent him a sonnet on his election. The Pope was weak enough to feel flattered by this, and Aretino was immediately rewarded.[6] On October 31st, 1550, the officious poet sent the

[1] *Cf.* MERCATI, in the Theol. Revue (1909), 61.

[2] See Periodico de Como, XVI. (1904), 17-18.

[3] *Ibid.* 18, n. 1.

[4] See the *brief of August 15, 1551, in Appendix No. 14 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See letter of December 6, 1551, in ATANAGI, Lett. facete, I., 84-5, Venice 1582.

[6] "A Pietro Aretino ha fatto S.S.tà gratia d'un cavalerato di S. Pietro, che suol vendersi 300 scudi o più et questo per conto d'un

Pope some more verses.[1] How well Aretino perceived the changed tendency of the times is shown by the religious writings which he composed, and a new edition of which he dedicated to the Pope.[2] Aretino came, full of hope, to Rome in 1553, where Julius received him very kindly, so that the vain poet at once dreamed of attaining to the dignity of Cardinal; as this, of course, was not bestowed on him, he left the Eternal City a disappointed man.[3]

Although not much was to be hoped for from Julius III. by the humanists, they still continued to extol him in poems.[4] The extravagance and pomposity of this sort of literature, in which all the gods of the ancients play their part, was in singular contrast to the services which the Pope really rendered to the advancement of literature. A still unpublished panegyric in verse by Antonius Franciscus Rainerius, about the pontificate of Julius III., is very characteristic of such men.[5] In this the generous disposition of the Pope is extolled, as are his care in supplying Rome with provisions, the summoning

sonetto ch'egli fece sopra la creatione di S.S.tà." Buonanni April 30, 1550 (State Archives Florence).

[1] Ternali in gloria di Giulio III., etc., Lyons, 1551; *cf.* MAZUCHELLI, I., 2, 1018.

[2] See Al beat. Giulio III., etc., Il genesi, l'humanità di Christo e i salmi. Opere di P. Ar., Vinegia, 1551; *cf.* BRUNET, I., 401; MAZUCHELLI, I., 2, 1016; also LUZIO in the Giorn. stor. di lett. Ital., XXIX., 236-7.

[3] *Cf.* Lett. al Aretino, II., 345, 391-2, 498, Paris, 1609; MAZUCHELLI, I., 2, 1013. Atti Mod., III., 88; BONGI, Annali Giolitini, II., 10; LUZIO, Pronostico, xxii., xxxv.n.

[4] Besides the poems in CIACONIUS, III, 357, *cf.* the poems mentioned *supra* p. 326, n. 2, and those referred to in the following note. See also the *poem in the Addit. MS. 17514, of the British Museum, and Vol. VI. of this work p. 457 note. Gian Vitale sang the praises of the Pope and all the members of the Sacred College (*cf.* MONGITORE, Bibl. Sic., I., 305) in his Sac. Rom. Ecclesiae Elogia, Roma, 1553.

[5] *Antonii Francisci Rainerii, Mediol. de vita sanctiss. ac beatiss. Iulii III. Pont. Max. ab initio pontific. (Cod. Ottob., 865, p. 4 *seqq.* Vatican Library).

of the Council, and even the war with Parma, which he had waged for the defence of religion! The death of his nephew, Giovan Battista del Monte, is deplored, and Fabiano del Monte is extolled as the comfort of his old age. There is added a well-merited verse of praise for the Pope's efforts to secure peace, and, finally, the artistic enterprises of Julius are lauded in an altogether extravagant manner; the poet, it may be added, has nothing to say about the advancement of letters.[1]

There is no lack of writings, both printed and in manuscript, dedicated to Julius III.[2] Among those which are printed, the "Anatomy of Vice" is noteworthy; this is by Lorenzo Davidico, who, in view of the depravity of the clergy of the cinquecento, which he depicts unsparingly, had fixed his hopes on the new Orders: the Jesuits, the Barnabites and the Theatines.[3]

[1] REUMONT'S statement (III., 2,705) concerning an academy in the villa of Julius III., originated in an old erroneous interpretation of the inscription there, which has already been corrected by TIRABOSCHI (VII., 1, 119).

[2] In the Vatican Library I noted *Cod. Vat. 5831: Io. Petri Ferretti de exarchatu Raven. libri 7, 5832: I.P. Ferretti ecclesiasticarum disciplinarum divinarumque constit. commentaria sive de institutis et moribus eccles. libri 8. (See also in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, XI., 45, p. 324 *seqq*. *Tractus de re frumentaria [1551]; 561 *seqq*: *Ptolomaeus Blaesius Nicanus, De morte Io. Bapt. de Monte in bello Mirandol. [1551]; 571 *seqq*: *Tractatus de transitu exercitus petendo ac concedendo vel denegando [1555]. Cod. Vat., 3561: *Andreas de Monte, super insig. montium (Latin and Hebrew): *Triumphus Montium editus a fratre Mariano Cavense eremita [ord. S. Aug.; *cf*. OSSINGER, Bibl. August.] s. theolog. coltore ad divum Iulium III. P.M. et O. (dedication dated, Cavis, Kal. Maii 1551) in the Cod. R. 4, 18 of the Angelica Library in Rome. Theological works dedicated to Julius III. in LAUCHERT, 31, 124-5, 432, 465, 602, 654. Concerning a work dedicated to the Pope by G. G. Albani: De immunit eccl. see MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 274. The curious work by G. B. Modio: Il convito o vero del peso della moglie, Rome, 1554, is dedicated to Cardinal I. del Monte.

[3] L. DAVIDICO, Anatomia delli vitii, Florence, 1550, preface.

The most important work dedicated to Julius III. was a volume of masses for four voices,[1] by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina[2]. The composer, afterwards of world-wide celebrity, thus expressed his thanks for the position of director of the choir of St. Peter's, which had been bestowed on him by the Pope in September, 1551. In January, 1555, Julius III. summoned his protégé to become a member of the choir of singers of the papal chapel, omitting in his case the searching examination which had been prescribed for all candidates on August 5th, 1554. As it was a case of a composer of such promise, Julius also overlooked the fact that Palestrina was married, although the charter for the members of the choir of the Papal chapel prescribed celibacy.[3]

Finally, it is also worthy of note that the life of Michael Angelo by Ascanio Condivi, and published in Rome, in July, 1553, by Antonio Blado, was dedicated to Julius III. It is suggested by the author that the dedication will certainly be agreeable to His Holiness, as he so much prized the virtue and genius of the master.

Nothing shows more clearly the contradictory qualities which were combined in the character of Julius III., than the fact

Cf. concerning this work, TACCHI VENTURI, I., 34 *seqq*. Concerning I. Nachianti's Enarrationes in epist. Pauli ad Ephesios, which was dedicated to Julius III., see LAUCHERT, 588-9. ZIMMERMANN mentions the J. Strada appointed by Julius III. in the Mitteil. des Oestr. Inst., Erg-Bd., VI., 836. Among the privileges to printers that of March 24, 1553, is of interest: *De non imprimendo ad 10 annos historiam regum Gothorum [appeared in 1554; see BERTOLOTTI, in the Arch. stor. Ital., VII. (1891), 117-128] a fratre archiepiscopi Upsalensis, quam archiepiccopus intendit imprimi facere.

[1] Rome, 1554. Copy in the Academia di S. Cecilia, Rome.

[2] Born 1526, not 1524, as BAINI thinks, nor 1514, as AMBROS (IV., 3) gives it. See HABERL in the Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch, 1886, 42.

[3] Palestrina took up his new post on January, 13, 1555; see Diarium in AMBROS, IV., 6; *cf.* CELANI in the Riv. music. Ital., XIV. (1907), 103.

that the man who honoured an Aretino should have given expression to the beautiful idea that he would willingly give up the remainder of the years allotted to him to lengthen those of Michael Angelo.[1]

These words were followed up by actions which corresponded with them. Whenever he had an opportunity, the Pope showed his respect for and confidence in the great master, to an even greater extent than had been the case with Paul III. He gave open expression to this by making Michael Angelo sit beside him[2] in the presence of several Cardinals and other great dignitaries, and by giving him the large salary of fifty scudi a month.[3] These tokens of favour were all the more significant, as the disparagers and detractors of Michael Angelo never tired, now as of old, of stirring up intrigues against him. The master, who was already suffering greatly under the weight of years, also had to endure great anguish of mind. Hatred and envy were the outcome of the exceptional position to which he had been called by Paul III., for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, a matter in which Julius III. also showed the greatest interest, and which he zealously promoted.[4] The stern rectitude with which Michael Angelo provided that "promises, emoluments and presents" should play no part in this vast work, added to the number of his enemies from day to day. Untroubled, however, by all this hostility, Michael Angelo remained true to his principle, never to accept any material for the building which was not trustworthy and serviceable, even if it fell from heaven.[5]

[1] CONDIVI, lviii.

[2] See Ticciati's supplement to Condivi; Quellenschriften zur Kunstgesch., VI., 97.

[3] This "solita provisione" was paid punctually up to the death of Julius III.; see *Intr. et Exit., 1554-1555 in the Cod. Vat. 10605, where it is regularly booked from March, 1554, till March, 1555: "A m. Michelangelo Buonarotti scudi venticinque d'oro et venticinque di moneta per el mese passato." (VaticanLib.).

[4] See the *Bulls in Appendix No. 27.

[5] See Lettere di M., *ed.* Milanesi, 555. *Cf.* CONDIVI, lix.; see also THODE, I., 220.

As had been the case in the time of Paul III., so now again it was the followers of Sangallo who raised a storm against the director of the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Although he had been invested with the most unlimited authority, they hoped, in view of the complaisance and irresolution of Julius III., that this time they would attain their end. The anxious fear with which Michael Angelo guarded the secrets of his studio was used to prejudice the members of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro against him. At the end of the year 1550, these latter set themselves to address a letter to the Pope, which was intended to destroy the confidence which Julus III. had in the master. The principal accusation, besides that of extravagance, concerned the secrecy with which the plans were kept. "As to the building, and how it will turn out," says the letter, "the deputies can make no report, as everything is kept secret from them, as if they had nothing to do with it. They have several times protested, and are now protesting again to ease their consciences, that they do not approve of the manner in which Michael Angelo is proceeding, especially as regards the demolition. The destruction has been, and is still to-day, so great, that all who have witnessed it have been deeply moved. Nevertheless, if Your Holiness approves of it, we, the deputies, shall have no further complaint to make."

The result of these accusations was the celebrated meeting of the members of the Fabbrica and others engaged on the rebuilding, summoned by Julius III., before whom Michael Angelo was to justify himself. According to the account of Vasari,[1] the Pope himself communicated to the master the most important, and the only detailed accusation, which the building commission, and especially Cardinals Salviati and Cervini had made against him. This concerned the bad lighting of the apse of the new St. Peter's. Michael Angelo asked permission to be allowed to answer the deputies of the Fabbrica in person. Then followed a dramatic discussion with Cardinal Cervini, who avowed himself to be the originator of the accusation. "Monsignore," replied Michael Angelo, "three other windows

[1] VASARI VII. 232-3; *Cf.* THODE I, 222-3.

are to be placed above those already provided." "You have never let a word as to this be heard," answered the Cardinal. Michael Angelo replied, "I am not obliged, and have never intended to be obliged to give information concerning my plans to your Eminence, or to anyone else. It is your duty to provide the money and to see that nothing is stolen. It is my business alone to look after the plans of the building." Then, turning to the Pope, he continued: "Holy Father, see what reward I get; if the afflictions I experience do not prove of advantage for my soul, then indeed do I lose my time and trouble." Graciously laying his hand on his shoulder, Julius answered him, saying: "You are gaining merit for both body and soul, have no fear."

The attempt, therefore, to overthrow the master had, on the contrary, the effect of strengthening his position more than ever. In order to put a stop to further troubles, Julius III., on January 23rd, 1552, ratified the motu proprio of Paul III., of October, 1549, sanctioned everything hitherto carried out by Michael Angelo for the building of St. Peter's, ordered that his models should be carefully preserved, and only altered by himself, and confirmed the extensive powers already bestowed on him as chief architect of St. Peter's.[1]

This was not, however, the end of Michael Angelo's difficulties. More painful than the hostility, which did not meanwhile cease,[2] but which, thanks to the favour of the Pope,

[1] The document, erroneously given by BUONANNI (80 *seq.*), was first published correctly by POGATSCHER in the Repert. für Kunstwiss., XVIII., 403-4. GIORDANI (p. 49) writes: "Già fin dall 1552 era entrato il Vignola a servizio della chiesa e in quell' anno gli si attribuiva il pomposo titolo di architetto della basilica di S. Pietro, in aiuto a Michelangelo," and likewise cites *R. Tesor. seg. 1552, f. 10. When one opens this volume in the State Archives Rome, however, one finds at the place quoted, for January, 1552, only the entry: "Al Vignola architetto di N.S.sc. 25 d'oro." This corresponds as little with the contents given by Giordani, as the other passages of this volume (f. 8 and 27 where "per la cura de architetto 13 scudi d'oro" is entered.

[2] This is evident from the letters, VASARI, VIII., 319.

he had no longer cause to fear, was another disastrous circumstance which now overtook him. The exhaustion of the Papal finances had, by May, 1551, the effect of causing the money necessary for the continuation of the rebuilding of St. Peter's to come in ever decreasing amounts; how much this was the case is shown from the fact that from January 1st to May, 1551, 121,554 ducats were provided for the building, while only half this sum was to hand during the next four years.[1] In consequence of this critical situation, and the renewed difficulties of the master, Duke Cosimo I. thought that he would at last succeed in getting Michael Angelo to return to Florence.[2] The latter was, however, determined to remain at his post in the Eternal City. In a letter of August 20th, 1554, Vasari employed all his eloquence to induce him to return to Florence, urging the afflictions which beset him in Rome, and the want of appreciation shown for him there.[3] Michael Angelo, whose hand had already begun to tremble greatly, thanked him in a few words. "From your letter," he wrote," I recognise the love you bear me, and you may well believe that I would gladly lay my bones to rest beside those of my father, as you beg me to do; should I, however, go away from here, then great disadvantages would ensue for the building of St. Peter's, and I should be the cause of great scandal and misfortune. When everything is so far forward that nothing more can be changed, then I hope to do what you write, should it not be sinful to cause discomfort to several rascals, who expect me to go away from here at once."[4]

It was, above all, religious motives which caused Michael

[1] FEA, Notizie intorno a Raffaele, Rome, 1822, 35. It was most significant that the Fabbrica of St. Peter's in 1554 did not receive less than 50,000 scudi from the inheritance of Sigismondo de' Conti; see the introduction to his Storie, I., xxxiii., Rome, 1883.

[2] Endeavours had already been made in this direction as early as June, 1550; see the *letters of Buonanni, dat. Rome, June 8, 1550, in the State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 235-6, and THODE, I., 454 concerning the attempts in 1552.

[3] VASARI, VIII., 318-9. THODE, I., 455.

[4] Lettere, *ed.* Milanesi, 534. GUHL, I., 159.

Angelo to devote his last powers to the great work for which he had refused any earthly payment, as he wished only to work for the love of God, out of veneration for the Prince of the Apostles, and for the salvation of his soul. The thoughts which filled his mind at that time are shown by the touching sonnet which he enclosed in his letter to Vasari :—

Giunto ê già 'l corso della vita mia,
Con tempestoso mar per fragil barca,
Al comun porto, ov'a render si varca
Conto e ragion d'ogn 'opra trista e pia.
Onde l'affettuosa fantasia,
Che l'arte mi fece idol 'e monarca,
Conosco or ben quant'era d'error carca,
E quel ch'a mal suo grado ogn 'uom desia.
Gli amorosi pensier, gia vani e lieti,
Che fieno or, s' a duo morte m'avvicino ?
D'una so'l certo, e l'altra mi minaccia.
Nê pinger nê scolpir fia piu che quieti
L'anima volta a quell' Amor divino
Ch'aperse, a prender noi, in croce le braccia.[1]

Condivi, in his life of Michael Angelo, tells us how Julius III., in his admiration for the aged master, showed the tenderest consideration for his failing strength, and carefully avoided taxing it, though always seeking his opinion and advice in his artistic undertakings.[2] Several special duties also fell to the lot of Michael Angelo. He designed,[3] for example, the plans for the rebuilding of Bramante's staircase in the Belvedere,

[1] GUASTI, Rime, 230.

[2] CONDIVI, lviii.

[3] VASARI VII., 228 *seqq.*, 233. GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als Architekt, 38, 40, 46, KALLAB, 89. THODE, I., 452-3. In the account books of Julius III. (Tesor. seg. 1555, p. 53b) we find the *payment of 10 scudi for Bastiano (Malenotti) soprastante della fabrica di S. Pietro a buon conto del modello che m. Michelangelo pittore ha cominciata per far una facciata di un palazzo di ordine di N.S. (State Archives, Rome). It is evident from this that the similar note in LANCIANI, III., 39, n. 1, does not refer to the Vatican, as he thinks, but to the palace beside S. Rocco.

and for a fountain which was to be erected there ; he also made the designs for the palace of the Rota, which was to be built alongside S. Rocco. Fabrizio Boschi, in the Casa Buonarotti in Florence, has represented Michael Angelo seated beside the Pope, who is surrounded by his court, and explaining to him the plans for the palace of the Rota.[1]

Michael Angelo's advice was also sought with regard to an undertaking which still keeps the name of Julius III. alive in Rome, the celebrated Villa or "Vigna di Papa Giulio."[2] The Pope proved, in the laying out of this villa, how thoroughly he was animated by the joyous, beauty-loving spirit of the Renaissance. The preference shown, at this period, for artistic elaboration in the designing of country seats, and for the gay enjoyment of life, is evidenced here in all its splendour.

Even as a Cardinal, Julius III. possessed, together with his brother Baldovino, a small villa, with a vigna, about a quarter of an hour outside the Porta del Popolo, on the Flaminian Way, which he had inherited from his uncle, Cardinal Antonio Ciocchi. The Campagna, which at that time extended to the gates of Rome, bears a much more kindly appearance on the north than on the south of the city, where the contrasts are greater and the countless relics of antiquity give a very melancholy character to the whole landscape. The charm of rustic solitude which the district outside the Porta del Popolo once possessed has more and more disappeared owing to the encroachments of the modern city, and has been altogether destroyed by the recent drastic changes, the exquisite view on Monte Mario alone remaining. In order fully to appreciate this creation of Julius III. one must bring the former conditions before one's mind. With its gently rising hills, broken by

[1] E. Steinmann intends to publish this picture in his work (shortly to appear) about the portrait of Michael Angelo.

[2] *Vigna*, not Villa. The whole estate is mostly so named by contemporaries. It is also so designated in the *report of Navagero of September 5th, 1556 (in the St. Mark's Library, Venice) concerning the confiscation of the estates of Fabiano del Monte by Paul IV. Lasso also (DRUFFEL, II., 824) speaks only of a "viniera" Massarelli (*cf. infra* p. 345, n. 3) always says "vinea."

steep limestone rocks crowned with evergreen oaks, with the dips in the valley and the then free open vistas over the blue mountain ranges which encircle Rome on the north, this spot was admirably suited for a villa situated in the immediate neigbhourhood of the city, a "villa suburbana" such as the great nobles of the Renaissance loved.[1] Julius III. gave evidence of a cultured taste when he resolved to create, by the extension of the already existing grounds, a place of rest and recreation in such lovely surroundings, a place where, freed from the constraints of state, he might enjoy life in his gay manner, give banquets and spend his time in untrammelled conversation with his friends, as well as with poets and artists. The place had also the advantage that the Pope could easily reach it without entering the busy city, by passing through the covered passage from the Vatican to the Castle of St. Angelo, whence a barge could convey him up the Tiber.

It was soon evident that Julius III. intended to carry out his plan with true Roman magnificence. By the purchase of numerous vineyards, and plots of ground,[2] a very extensive space was procured, in the centre of which the new villa was to arise. The Pope's interest was gradually concentrated on this estate to such an extent that his work in the Vatican

[1] RIEGL (Barockkunst, 104) who carefully interprets the intentions of Julius III., falsely denies to it the character of a "villa suburbana" in which the rural element, that is the garden, is of essential importance, because he knows nothing of these surroundings, which have now entirely disappeared. BURCKHARDT's opinion (Gesch. der Renaissance, 3rd ed., 249) holds good, namely that the Villa of Julius III. is the most important "villa suburbana" we have preserved to-day. "Praedium suburbanum" is the designation clearly bestowed on the whole estate in the inscription mentioned *infra* p. 348, in the second court. On Bufalini's plan (L) which gives the state of the neighbourhood at the beginning of the Pope's reign, the villa is called "vinea S.D.N.P. Iulii III."; the Villa itself was not then built.

[2] *Cf.* the extracts from the *documents of the State Archives, Rome, in TESORINI, 86-7; LANCIANI, III., 15-16, and BALESTRA in his monograph (p. 9 *seqq.*) quoted *infra* p. 344, n. 1.

began to come to a standstill.[1] His Holiness now began to seek for a model for his new country house from among existing residences. The thought of the celebrated Palazzo del Te, belonging to the Gonzaga family in Mantua, and of the Villa Madama erected by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, smiling across from the cypress-crowned Monte Mario, filled his imagination.

From the information now at our disposal it is not easy to determine either who designed the plans for the Villa Giulia or who carried them into execution. Vasari claims, in the description in his life, the honour of having drawn up the first plans, even if others carried them out. It was, at all events, he who translated the fantastic ideas of the Pope into sketches, which were then corrected by Michael Angelo. Vignola is supposed to have completed the apartments, halls and decoration of the villa from countless plans of his own, but the deep set nymphæum indisputably owes its origin to Vasari and Ammanati, the latter afterwards executing the loggia over this well-house. Vasari concludes with the significant words: "However, in this work one could display nothing of what one could do, and do nothing in the right way, as, from day to day, the Pope had new ideas, which had to be carried out in accordance with the never-ending instructions

[1] Concerning these undertakings *cf.* of the older writers, CHATTARD, II., xxvi., 14, 49, 193-4, 196, 377, 435-6, 544; III., 106, 110-111, and of the more modern, ANCEL in the Révue Bénédictine, XXV., 49-50. See also MAI, Spicil., IX., 376; FORCELLA, VI., 183. Concerning the works in the Belvedere, where the Pope loved to reside at the beginning of his reign (*cf.* *supra* p. 59), *cf.* also MASSARELLI, 202; LANCIANI, III., 37; KALLAB, 86, 88, 89. One can read the name of Julius III. at the right hand side of the Galleria Lapidaria above a door. The apartments of the maestro di camera, now the residence of the sotto-prefetto of the Vatican palace, were tastefully decorated by Julius III. In two halls, the roof paintings, containing a large coat of arms of Julius III. in the centre, are in a fair state of preservation.

of the maestro di camera, Pier Giovanni Aliotti."[1] In his life of Taddeo Zuccaro, Vasari again refers to his share in the work, emphasizing the fact that he had prepared the drawings for the villa and the nymphæum before any of the others, and that Vignola and Ammanati had merely followed out his designs. The walls, he adds, were executed by Baronino da Casal Monferrato.[2] Only this last statement is confirmed by the documents concerning the building.[3] One seeks in vain among them for the name of Vasari in connection with the sums expended on the villa, while we find on February 1st, 1551, Vignola named as the Pope's architect, with a monthly salary of thirteen gold scudi.[4] In the life of Girolamo da Carpi, the annoyance of Vasari at the changeable decisions of the Pope, again finds expression, when he mentions that in the evening, His Holiness had rejected what he had sanctioned in the morning.[5]

It is certain that unpleasantness arose between the Pope and Vasari, in consequence of which the latter's work was limited to making the first design.[6] Vignola, whom Julius III. had known in Bologna, erected the principal part of the villa, and completed his work in the short period between 1551 and 1553, as is proved by the building accounts, while Ammanati executed the nymphæum court.[7] Nearly all the painters and

[1] VASARI, VII., 694. Aliotti is mockingly referred to by Michael Angelo as "Il Tantecose"; *ibid.* 231.

[2] *Ibid.* 81-82.

[3] See BERTOLOTTI, Bartolomeo Baronino da Casalmaggiore, architetto in Roma nel secolo XVI., Casale, 1876, 21.

[4] KALLAB, Vasari-Studien, 87.

[5] VASARI, VI., 478.

[6] See WILLICH, 56. Nothing appears to have come of the proposed painting of the loggia of the villa with frescoes in 1553 by Vasari (see KALLAB, 87, 90, 91). At the beginning, Vasari stood high in the favour of Julius III. (see GAYE, Carteggio, II., 377). The contents of the Vasari archives, to be edited by Frey, should throw new light on the relations of Julius III. to Vasari.

[7] *Cf.* GURLITT, 41-42; WILLICH, 58; THIEME, Künstlerlexicon, I., 414, P. GIORDANI has lately endeavoured in the Mem. e studi

sculptors in the Rome of that day, especially Taddeo Zuccaro and Prospero Fontana, were employed on the decoration of the interior, which was begun in 1552.[1] The Spanish faience, which was procured in 1554 for the flooring, seems to mark the end of the work.[2]

The laying out of the magnificent gardens and pleasure grounds was carried out with great activity at the same time as the actual building of the villa, as was the purchase of the adjoining land. Besides elms and chestnuts, countless fruit trees were planted, and kitchen gardens and vineyards laid out. Costly shrubs and flowers were procured from Naples, and set in terra cotta vases. The total number of plants and trees purchased amounted to about 36,000, while additional expense was incurred for the erection of aviaries, fish-ponds and various fountains.[3]

In a sense, the church of S. Andrea, which had been erected by Vignola to the north, on the Flaminian Way, on the spot where Cardinal Bessarion, bearing the relics of the Apostle, had once made a halt, belonged to this magnificent villa, which had gradually absorbed the greater part of the land up to Monte Parioli. An exquisite laurel grove adjoined the church, and this elegant little structure is of special interest on account of the employment, presumably for the first time, of an ellipse cut in half lengthwise, to serve as a means of connecting the two.[4] An inscription, which may still be read, requests the

intorno a J. Barozzi, 131-2, to fix more clearly the share of Vignola in the villa, but much still remains mere supposition. VENTURI (*loc. cit.*, 355) firmly shares the view of Willich.

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit. supra* 20, and Art. Veneti, 25; P. GIORDANI in L'Arte, X. (1907), 134-5. Concerning a compartment of the arch above the fountain court of the Villa Giulia, see DOLMETSCH, Ornamentenschatz, Stuttgart, 1887, Taf. 57, No. 6.

[2] See the document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in App. No. 23.

[3] See LANCIANI, III., 16-17.

[4] Concerning this building, which owed its erection to a vow of Julius III. (*cf. supra* p. 47) *cf.* STERN, Piante e elevatione, profili e spaccati della villa suburbana di Giulio III., Rome, 1784, 107 *seqq.*,

visitors, who have been delighted with the contemplation of the beauties of the villa, to pray in this holy spot for the builder and the owner.

It is very difficult to-day to form any idea of the impression which the Vigna di Papa Giulio then made, for, apart from the demolitions of later times,[1] an essential element is wanting,

LETAROUILLY, I., 199-200; FORCELLA, XII., 211; GURLITT, 51-2, 184, 188; EBE, Spätrenaissance, I., 142-3; WILLICH, 64 *seqq.*; LANCIANI, III., 26-27. The church was then called S. Andrea della Vigna, as is to be seen in a *letter of E. Capilupi to Card. Gonzaga of December 20, 1552, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] The villa estate, which Julius III. willed to his brother Baldovino, had the most varied fortunes. When Baldovino died in August, 1556, Paul IV. confiscated the possessions of Fabiano del Monte in April, 1557, because they had been procured with the money of the Apostolic Camera (TESORONI, 44-5, 99-100). When Pius IV. annulled this sentence, he excepted the Villa Giulia, of which a part was given to the Borromei, and through them came to the Colonna (see BALESTRA in the work cited *infra* p. 344, n. 1, and *ibid.* p. 44 *seq.*). The principal building, already restored in one place under Paul IV. (see Intr. et Exit. 1558, December 8, State Archives, Rome), remained in the possession of the Pope and served for a long time as a lodging for Cardinals, ambassadors and princely personages, who prepared here for their solemn entry into the city (see ERULEI, 23-4). Paul V. restored the nymphæum (see STERN, 76). Clement XIV. and Pius VI. endeavoured to restore the villa, which had suffered greatly from the preceding war troubles, and which fell into complete decay during the French period. Under Leo XII. it served as a veterinary school, and under Gregory XVI. as a hospital, under Pius IX. first as a book depôt and then as a powder magazine. The Italian government next used the building for military purposes, but, at the instigation of Letarouilly, it was finally made into a museum by royal decree of Februry 7, 1889, for the remains found outside Rome, and especially for those of Etruscan origin. The present director, Prof. G. Colini, was the first to look after the sadly dilapidated building and the crumbling nymphæum; the last restoration in 1911 is owing to his efforts. *Cf.* HERMANIN, Kunstchronik, N.F. XXI., 339-340. The performance of comedies in the villa, spoken of here, is not supported by any documentary evidence.

namely the surroundings, which had been laid out with so much artistic taste; the pleasure grounds and the magnificent gardens, in which cypresses, laurels and myrtles exhaled their perfume, pomegranates and other fruit trees blossomed, and fountains threw their sparkling waters into the air, while in all directions, antique marble statues, inscribed tablets, little temples, grottos and summer-houses gleamed among the dark trees.

A little harbour was constructed on the Tiber, where the Pope, arriving from the Vatican in a magnificently equipped barge, landed. From here a shady arbour, 120 paces in length, led to the point where the Vicolo dell' Arco Oscuro branches off from the Flaminian Way. Here Julius III. had erected a monumental fountain adorned with Corinthian pilasters and columns. In the two side niches were placed the statues of Fortune and Abundance, and in the centre a large inscription, surmounted by the Papal arms, announced that Julius III. had dedicated this work in the third year of his pontificate, for the benefit of the public. Under the inscription, the water gushed forth from an antique head of Apollo, while the upper corners of the whole structure were adorned with statues of Rome and Minerva, the central pediment with two granite pyramids, and the summit with an antique Neptune.[1]

From the street corner, at which the fountain stood, a private road, bordered with fruit trees, led, alongside the Vicolo dell' Arco Oscuro, to a circular open space, in which the principal building of the Villa Giulia stood, rising out of a small depres-

[1] EGGER (Veduten, I., 1) published a pen and ink drawing from the Vienna library, which is by an anonymous artist of the XVIth century, and which shows the original appearance of the fountain *Cf.* the monograph of BALESTRA, La Fontana pubblica di Giulio III. e il palazzo di Pio IV. sulla via Flaminia, Rome, 1911. Both investigators have overlooked a copper-plate engraving of H. Cock: Fontis ornatiss. structura a Iulio III. P.M. ad viam Flaminiam facta, in J. M. Heberle's (Cologne) Cat. 103, No. 3003. CLAUSSE, Les San Gallo, III., 193-4, Paris, 1902, declares that Francesco da Sangallo was also employed at the construction of this fountain.

sion in the valley; this is the only part of the villa which is in a good state of preservation to-day.[1] The façade, two storeys in height, with a large rustic porch and pillars supporting a balcony, is severe and simple, for it was considered good taste to conceal the splendour and magnificence of such a building from the outer world. The visitor realizes this when he penetrates into the interior. Through the gateway one enters first the simple atrium, on each side of which there is a large hall. Of the former exceedingly rich decoration of these rooms, there only remain the mythological and allegorical frescoes on the ceiling, the work of Taddeo Zuccaro, and the frieze, richly adorned with stucco and gold.[2] The halls on the ground floor correspond with two others on the upper storey, while over the atrium there is a central hall, as well as several smaller apartments leading towards the courtyard. These form the only dwelling rooms in the villa; they were sufficient, as it was not the Pope's intention to create a permanent residence, but only a place of rest and recreation, to which he might retire for a short time, in summer or in winter, generally only for a single day,[3] to recruit after the arduous duties of his position. He

[1] The earliest description of the villa is given by B. Ammanati in a letter to M. M. Bonavides of May 2, 1555, first printed in the Giorn. arcadico, IV., 387, Rome, 1819, and again in BALESTRA, 65-6. *Cf.* also STERN, 10-11; LETAROUILLY, 421; ERULEI, 9 *seqq.*; WILLICH, 61 *seqq.*; RIEGL, 105-6. LANCIANI (III., 24.) has restored the old designs.

[2] *Cf.* LANCIANI, Dei fratelli Zuccari, pittori, Jesi, 1892; FRIEDLÄNDER, 52.

[3] *Cf.* the exact statements of Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 177, 213, 219, 221, 222, 223. That the Pope frequently went to the villa is also proved from the *report of the Mantuan embassy (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), but it is an exaggeration, which is connected with the partisanship of the Florentine historian when ADRIANI (VIII., 1) writes: "la maggior parte del tempo dimorava ozioso a un suo giardino, etc." The additional remark: "onde i cortegiani e altri a cui la cosa importava se ne disperavano," shows how such pronouncements originated in personal feelings. The statement that Julius III. laughingly answered an official who addressed to him the customary formula: "Beatissime pater,

wished, however, to be surrounded by beauty on all sides, and therefore had these upper rooms richly decorated with stucco and frescoes. Of special interest are the "vedute," views in perspective with the surrounding landscape, on the frieze, which are still in a good state of preservation, and which represent the appearance of the seven hills in those days, as well as the Villa Giulia itself. This new fashion in pictures, which had already made its appearance in isolated cases, as, for instance, in the Palazzo del Te, was becoming much more common.[1] It inaugurated the period when, in pictorial representations, not the artistic, but the descriptive "motif" takes the first place.

On coming out of the atrium into the first court, one reaches a semi-circular portico, which was richly adorned with stucco and frescoes. The only part which is still comparatively well-preserved, is the decoration of the barrel vaulting, depicting arbours of roses and vines, animated by putti and birds. The statues, of which there were thirty, above the principal cornice and round the walls of the court, have all disappeared.[2] In the centre there was a large and magnificent antique basin, constructed out of a single piece of porphyry. This gift, by which Ascanio Colonna expressed his thanks for the restoration of his dominions, originally came from the Baths of Titus, and was subsequently taken to the Sala Rotonda of the Pio-

cras erit consistorium" by saying: "Cras erit vinea," is from the same source. On the strength of this anecdote ERULEI says (p. 7: "Per la villa obliò ogni altro negozio religioso e civile!" In 1552 Julius had a great feast at the villa on St. Andrew's Day, to which he invited all the Cardinals; see Lasso's report in DRUFFEL, II., 825, and the *letter of C. Capilupi of November 20, 1552 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* FRIEDLÄNDER, 86. These views [vedute] are unfortunately not yet published.

[2] Interesting statements concerning the antiquities of the villa and their subsequent dispersion in LANCIANI, III., 20, *seqq.* 29 *seqq.* *Cf.* CRACAS, 1888, n. 80; HÜBNER, I., 108-9. Besides the antiques, there were also modern marbles in the vigna, *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Subalp, 97, Mantua, 1884.

Clementino Museum in the Vatican.[1] The water flowed into the basin, at the sides of which two shells of green veined marble were fixed, from the bill of a swan, held by a Venus.

The sides of this magnificent court were formed by walls two storeys in height, consisting of round arched blind arcades, separated by columns, with Ionic half-columns in front, and crowned by a plain Attic capital. At either end of the two side walls, exits led out respectively to the gardens and the park.

The transverse building which separates this first court from a second one, was built by Ammanati,[2] as the outline sketches and an inscription on one of the pillars testify. The threefold entrance opens in the centre of the building, and several steps lead to a loggia, the roof of which, once gorgeously decorated with stucco ornamentation and gold, is supported by fourteen Ionic columns of different coloured marbles. To the right and left of this loggia there are rooms, close to which one descends by two external flights of stairs to the sunken fountain-court, with a still lower, and exceedingly graceful grotto, the so-called Fontana Segreta, as it is named in Ammanati's description of May, 1555. The fountain-court itself consists of two storeys, with niches which were adorned with antique busts and statues. Only a few busts are still preserved, but in the lower storey, where there are two grottos resembling loggias, there are still the colossal figures of the Arno and Tiber, crouching over two basins. The semi-circular centre of the court is surrounded by an open-work railing, which was likewise adorned with statues, and which encloses the actual nymphæum, the Fontana Segreta, which lies a storey lower down. The roof of this building is borne up by eight female Hermae, made from a

[1] See VASARI, I., 111; CANCELLIERI, Lettera intorno la maravigliosa tazza di porfido regalata a Giulio III. da A. Colonna, Roma, 1821; *cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 329-330; LANCIANI, II., 190; Guida del Museo Vaticano di scoltura, Roma, 1908, 16. The Amazon sarcophagus, now set up in the Cortile del Belvedere also comes from the villa Giulia; see AMELUNG, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums, II., 120 *seqq.*

[2] See WILLICH, 57.

design of Vignola.[1] The pavement is composed of costly marbles of different colours, while from the well the waters of the Aqua Virgo gush forth in a glittering stream. Two little winding stairways, which are concealed in the grottos, give access to this central point of attraction of the building. In these apartments the artist has depicted on the roof and walls the saga of the Aqua Virgo, after Frontinus, as well as the signs of the zodiac, the seasons, and the principal deities of the ancients ; the paintings after Frontinus are destroyed, but the others still remain. These are, to a great extent, rather free representations, in the taste of the Renaissance period, which prove, as do the figures of the goddess of love, frequently found throughout the villa, that the austere spirit of the Catholic Reformation had not yet found its way into the court of Julius III.[2] Very characteristic, too, are the large tablets of marble, let into the reverse side of the fountain-court, bearing two inscriptions in classical Latin, the one containing the regulations for the gardens (Lex hortorum) and the other, probably inscribed later, relating to the history of the villa, and the testamentary direction that it is to remain in the possession of the family of the del Monte.[3]

[1] *Ibid.* 62 n.

[2] This judgment may appear too severe to some people. All the more do I believe myself justified in repudiating an accusation which, though quite unfounded, has been lately again brought against Julius III. CANCELLIERI (Mercato, 269) noted, in his zeal for collecting material, from THEOD. SPRENGER, Roma nova, Francof. (1667) 470, the anecdote about the Priapus, which Julius III. had installed at the villa, which BRUZZONE (Vigna di Papa Giulio : Fanfulla della Domenica, 1890, n. 23, and *ibid.* n. 33) cites in a very weak essay (Giulio III.) as a proof of the paganism of the Pope, although no contemporary mentions anything of the sort. Sprenger, who wrote a full century after the death of Julius III., also gives other anecdotes, the unhistorical character of which is only too palpable.

[3] Already published by STERN (Taf. 30). LANCIANI (in the Arch. Rom., VI., 230-1) has overlooked this, as well as the publication of both inscriptions by LETAROUILLY (466-7) ; *cf.* also CIACONIUS, III., 760, and TESORONI, 43-44.

As in all such country residences, the nymphæum, where the owner could enjoy refreshing coolness during the hot months, forms the most attractive feature of the whole building, and is, accordingly, the most richly decorated part. After having been scandalously neglected for a long time, the nymphæum of the Villa Giulia has been carefully and lovingly restored in recent times, so that one can, at least to a great extent, realize its one-time magnificence. It is true that the figure ornamentation of the building, and the statue of the sleeping Aqua Virgo, the praises of which were sung by the poets of the day,[1] as well as the plane trees which shaded them, are no more, but when it was furnished with costly plants and flowers, and the sparkling waters were in full play, this fountain building must have been a beautiful object, and the same may be said of the whole exquisite villa, even though it was not, as a whole, in perfect unity of style. One can, to a great extent, understand the enthusiasm of the contemporaries who compared the grounds to the gardens of Nero. That is, no doubt, as much an exaggeration as are the 250,000 scudi which the villa is supposed to have cost.[2] The expenses must, however, have been on a very large scale. Julius is more deserving of blame in having at such a critical period devoted so much money to the erection of a sumptuous building, in which, moreover, ecclesiastical decorum was not always observed, than he was in thankfully retiring, suffering in health as he often was, to his beautiful villa, although this does not imply that he was by any means inactive as far as his duties were concerned.[3] As one of the last buildings of this kind, at the end of the Renaissance period, the Villa Giulia clearly shows the worldly tendencies of this Pope, who, though he did not disregard the claims of the

[1] See SAGGIATORE, I., 2, 91-92; *cf.* Anec. litt., IV., 429 *seqq.*, 445 *seqq.* The statue of the Aqua Virgo stood opposite the Caryatides.

[2] SEGNI, XIII., 829. *Cf.* Lasso's report in DRUFFEL, II., 824; the opinion of a visitor to Rome in 1554 (see ROT., Itin. Rom., 249) which goes to prove that the villa was easily accessible; CONDIVI, lviii.; ADRIANI, VIII., 119-120.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 140.

new age, by no means drew all the inferences which the altered state of affairs demanded.

In accordance with the bad custom of the time, antique building material was greatly made use of in the construction of the Villa Giulia; it appears from the accounts, that, as in the time of Paul III., the district that was especially plundered, was that of the Aqua Albulae.[1]

Valuable discoveries at that time proved the inexhaustible wealth of the soil of Rome in the relics of antiquity. Among these, two are deserving of special mention. In 1551, there was found a superb, but unfortunately imperfectly preserved, example of early Christian plastic art, in the statue of St. Hippolytus, which was afterwards placed in the Christian museum of the Lateran.[2] In the Via de' Leutari, the celebrated statue of Pompey was found, which the Pope bought for 500 scudi and presented to Cardinal Capodiferro, whose palace, afterwards called the Palazzo Spada, it still adorns.[3] Cardinal Ricci also distinguished himself at this time as an indefatigable collector of antiques.[4] Not a few of these treasures went abroad; it is related of the ever generous Pope that he gave to Cardinal Guise, who made use of his stay in Rome to collect antiquities with the most ardent zeal, the valuable collection of coins from the legacy of Cardinal Grimani.[5]

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, II., 45, 109-110, 119-120, 132; III., 18-19.

[2] See KRAUS, Roma Sott., 368-9, and Gesch. der christl. Kunst, I., 229-230.

[3] See HELBIG, Führer, II., 170.

[4] See LANCIANI, III., 106-7. Ricci also collected porcelain during his stay in Portugal, which, as a very rare curiosity, came to Europe at that time from China. In his letters, he says that it comes from the Antipodes; a small piece cost two, and a fine piece ten ducats; see MELE, *Genealogia d. famiglia Ricci (Ricci Archives, Rome).

[5] *Cf.* HEULHARD, Rabelais, 314, Buonanni *reports on March 8, 1550: "Il card. Guise attende a buscar più medaglie antiche et più statue che può et fu donato da S.S^tà a i dì passati di tutte queste medaglie bellissime, che restaron del card. Grimani ch'erano in castello." (State Archives, Florence).

Vignola remained the official architect of Julius III. during the whole of his pontificate.[1] It is not, however, certain whether he is the creator of the gracefully simple hall with wings on the Capitol, towards Monte Caprino, which still bears the arms of Julius III.[2] Another task, which is certain to have fallen to the lot of Vignola, was the reconstruction of the palace of the Cardelli family, situated in the Rione Campo Marzo, which received the name of Palazzo di Firenze, after its subsequent possessor, Cosimo de' Medici.

Julius III. had bought this building with the money of the Apostolic Chamber in the first year of his reign, in order to provide his brother Baldovino with a suitable residence of his own. In November, 1552, Baldovino was already living there, but it was a year later that the presentation of the palace and the Villa Giulia was made to him and his heirs.[3] The Palazzo Cardelli had in the meantime been completely rebuilt by Vignola. Not only was the pillared courtyard at the entrance enlarged, and the principal staircase embellished, and made more convenient, but a new connecting building between the courtyard and the garden was erected. This part is adorned, on the side of the garden, with a beautiful double loggia.[4] The interior of the palace was richly and tastefully decorated with stucco ornamentation and frescoes. Unfortunately, sufficient

[1] He bears this title in the account books; see BERTOLOTTI in the Atti Mod. Ser. 3, I., 84.

[2] Giordani has lately declared himself against the commonly accepted belief that Vignola designed it, in consideration of the style of the building. He is, however, mistaken when he, as well as all the others, including WILLICH (p. 68) attributes both pillared halls to the time of Julius III., for the lilies of the Farnese family appear on the hall on the other side towards the Aracoeli.

[3] *Cf.* TESORONI, 31-32, 35-36, 38-39, 89-90.

[4] *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, 660, *seqq.*, plate 318-9; TESORONI, 36-7; WILLICH, 70-1; FERRI, La ricostruzione del portico del Vignola nel palazzo di Firenze, Rome, 1846. GIORDANI (p. 135-6) declares that tradition must be accepted with reserve in this case as well.

research concerning this important work has not been made. Vasari states that Prospero Fontana was engaged upon it; probably, however, Zuccaro, who nearly always appears in conjunction with Vignola, as well as Primaticcio, co-operated in the work.[1] Besides this palace, Julius III. had instructed Vignola to begin the building of a second one near the Via della Trinità (now del Clementino) the completion of which was delayed by his death. It is evident, from an amusing letter of the Pope to his brother on September 23rd, 1553, that he had personally inspected the beginning of the work.[2]

The love which Julius III. felt for his family is also shown by the monuments which he caused to be erected to his grandfather, Fabiano, and his uncle, Cardinal Antonio. He chose for these the last chapel on the epistle side of the church of S. Pietro in Montorio. The plans for this pious work, the first artistic undertaking of Julius III. after his election, were furnished by Vasari,[3] although the advice of Michael Angelo was also sought. Vasari had proposed Raffaello da Montelupo for the figures on the monuments, but Michael Angelo would not accept him. They were therefore executed by Bartolomeo Ammanati, to whom are also attributed the sturdy boys on the balustrade of the chapel. The paintings and the vaulting are by Vasari, who also executed the picture over the altar, the baptism of the Apostle Paul by Ananias. The two monuments are opposite to one another, and are symmetrically executed in the same form. The sarcophagus, with the recumbent figure of the deceased, is raised on a bold substructure, the statues of Religion and Justice being placed in niches over the tombs. The epitaph for the Cardinal: "The Church, by his death, has lost, as it were, her father," sounds, indeed, rather

[1] See Vasari, VII., 415; Giordani, 138.

[2] See Tesoroni, 37, 88-9. The care of Julius III. for the preservation of the Papal palace at Avignon, which was sadly in need of repair, is clear from his *brief to Card. Farnese of April 17, 1553 (Arm. 41, t. 68, n. 295. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* his design in the Louvre at Paris, which E. Steinmann is about to publish. Here may be seen the epitaph for Fabiano del Monte, which has now disappeared.

extravagant, but the gratitude of Julius III. here finds suitable expression. Although not without faults, this family monument nevertheless reminds one of a better time, and makes a thoroughly dignified impression.[1]

Besides Ammanati, Vasari and Zuccaro, Julius III. employed numerous other artists. Of these special mention may be made of Giovanni da Udine, Daniele da Volterra, Girolamo da Carpi and Pietro da Imola.[2]

In spite of many signs of decline, considerable artistic activity prevailed at this time in Rome, to which, moreover, many artists from northern countries, and especially the Netherlands, came as visitors. Their stay in Rome proved fateful for many of them, because, on the one hand, they acquired the style then in vogue, and on the other, fell under bad influences. Many, however, as, for instance, Antonio More, the court painter of Charles V. and Philip II., derived great benefit from their sojourn in Rome, and developed into eminent colourists. Jan van der Straet, from Bruges, the friend of Vasari, executed pictures in the Vatican between 1550 and 1553.[3]

Artistic crafts reached great perfection and flourished during

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 226-7, 229-230, 231, 235, 693; FORCELLA, V., 254; NIBBY, Roma, I. (1899), 589; KALLAB, 84, 86, 87, 89; THIEME, Künstlerlexikon, I., 414; REUMONT, III., 2nd ed., 724; ESCHER, Barock, 116. In the July of 1554, Ammanati received the remainder of the payment "della scultura della capella del card. Montalto." (*Intr. et Exit. in the Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library). Card. Fulvio della Corgna also found his resting place in S. Pietro in Montorio (see FORCELLA, V., 260). Card. Ricci erected a similar tomb for himself in the chapel opposite that of the del Monte; see FORCELLA, V., 254.

[2] *Cf.* VASARI, VI., 478; KALLAB, 84, 86; Atti Mod., Ser. 3, I., 83. Payment for Pietro da Imola in the *Exit. 1551, April 29 (State Archives, Rome).

[3] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Belgi e Olandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI. e XVII., Florence, 1880, 46-47, 51; V. v. LOGA in the Jahrb. des öster. Kaiserhauses, XXVII., 96-97; HOOGEWERFF, Nederlandsche Schilders in Italie, 142-3, 155-6.

the pontificate of Julius III., as they had done under his predecessor. In the account books, payments to goldsmiths, jewellers, medallists, and engravers frequently appear. One meets here the name of the celebrated Alessandro Cesati, called "il Greco," and of a pupil of Benvenuto Cellini, named Manno Sbarra.[1]

If one compares the artistic activity under Julius III. with that under his predecessor, one finds a great disparity between the two periods. The great impetus which Paul III. knew how to give to every enterprise is non-existent in the reign of his successor; apart from the Villa Giulia, few works of importance were executed. This is partly to be attributed to the irresolution of Julius III., and partly to the shortness of his pontificate, but, above all, to his financial difficulties. It was for this reason also that the laying out of the streets[2] and the works for the fortification of the city, and especially of the Borgo,[3] which followed, and which had been begun on a grand

[1] *Cf.* Plon, Cellini, 393-4; Atti Mod., II., 258; Bertolotti, Art. Veneti, 31 and Art. Lomb., I., 312. Concerning the medals of Julius III. see also L'Arte, X., 137. A well-known artist of the Emilia (*cf.* Malaguzzi-Valeri, Lo scultore Prospero Spani detto il Clemente, Modena, 1894) furnished watches. In the *Intr. et Exit. 1554-1555 one also finds Giov. di Prato Tedescho orefice (Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library). *Cf.* the Monatsbericht für Kunstwissenschaft of Helbing und Seidlitz, I. (1900), 77. The organ of the silver chapel of the Hofkirche in Innsbruck is traditionally considered to be a gift of Julius III.; no proofs of this, however, are forthcoming in the inventories of the archives of the Franciscan Province of the Tyrol.

[2] *Cf.* Lanciani, III., 8.

[3] The city walls were not only considerably repaired (*cf.* Nibby, Le Mura di Roma (1820), 319, 320, 337, 358; Revue archeol., VII., 129, 130, 136, 138, 232, 234, 237, 336, 339; Forcella, XIII., 31; Clausse, II., 351) and restorations undertaken at the Castle of St. Angelo (Paggliucchi, 122), but the fortifications of the Borgo were also continued. Lanciani (III., 59) knows of only one document in support of this, that of June 12, 1553. There are, however, others. See the *report of C. Capilupi of March 14, 1553 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), concerning the beginning of these

scale by the Farnese Pope, were restricted to very moderate limits. The appearance of the city was very little altered during this pontificate, in all essentials it remained as before. This appearance, however, Rome was not to retain for long, she was to undergo a far-reaching metamorphosis during the latter half of the century. It will, therefore, be in place, at this point, to give some description of the city, as it appeared at the close of the period of the Renaissance.

works in App. No. 19. *Cf.* also PAGLIUCCHI, 124-5; ROCCHI, Piante, 68 *seq.*, 78, 214; RAVIOLI, Notizie sui lavori di archit. milit. dei nove Sangallo, 15-16. Concerning Jacobo Fusti Castriotto, who was in the service of Julius III. and then served under the Imperialists against Siena, *cf.* Vol., XII. of this work 562, *seq.* Concerning the restoration of the Ponte di S. Maria, which did not resist the inundation of 1557, see FANFANI, Spigol. Michael Angelo, 136 *seq.*, Pistoia, 1876. Concerning a medal struck to commemorate the improvement of the port and fortifications of Civitavecchia, see VENUTI, 93.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rome at the End of the Renaissance Period.

The Rome of the Cinquecento was surpassed in population by Paris and London,[1] and in beauty by Venice, and perhaps also by Florence. The appearance of the city, crowded together as it was in the low-lying district between the Tiber, the Pincio and the Capitol, and filled with busy traffic, made, with its, for the most part, badly saved and dark crooked streets and its hoary buildings, a decidedly unfavourable impression,[2] in spite of its numerous palaces and interesting churches. But, taken as a whole, the dwelling place of the Head of the Church, this "world in miniature," was the universal *patria*,[3] because

[1] The population of Rome did not exceed 50,000 under Leo X. *cf.* Vol. VIII., of this work, p. 128, n. Under Paul III. the numbers increased, but the 90,000 which Riess (p. 157) gives for the middle of the XVI.th century is, however, somewhat exaggrerated. According to Mocenigo-Albèri (p. 35) the population under Paul IV., during whose reign many people left the city, amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000, and afterwards increased to about 70,000. Venice with 162,000, London with 185,000, and Paris with 300,000 (see Riess, 157) were much more populous than Rome. The population of the Eternal City was continually changing, to a remarkable degree, as is stated by Mocenigo, *loc. cit.*

[2] Mocenigo-Albèri (34) expressly declares that the city did not appear very beautiful as a whole.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* 31. See also the passage from the treaty of Leo X. with Charles V. (Urbe quae semper communis patria est habita) cited by Reumont in the Arch. stor. ital. Ser. 3, IX., 80. On the tombstone in S. Stefano Rotondo of a prelate of Siebenbürgen, who died in Rome in 1523, we read: Natum quod

of its historic past, its sacred relics, its artistic treasures, its rare medley of ruins and buildings from classic times, from the Middle Ages and from the Renaissance, because of the austere grandeur of its surroundings, as well as because of the cosmopolitan character of the population which had flocked together from the most different countries to the central point of the Catholic world—a place, in short, which was like no other in the world.

From a number of sources of different kinds, it is possible to form a fairly true picture of the condition of the capital of the world, which had recovered, during the long and peaceful reign of Paul III., from the terrible catastrophe of 1527, and had taken a new lease of life, owing to the improvement of sanitary conditions, the beautifying of the streets, and the awakening of a revived activity in the sphere of building. All this had been continued under the pontificate of Julius III.[1]

Besides the Italians, Leonardo Bufalini and Ulisse Aldrovandi, it is specially to two men of northern origin that posterity owes a detailed knowledge of the Rome of the Cinquecento. One was Marten Van Heemskerck, a pupil of Jan van Scorel, who, like so many of his countrymen, came to the Eternal City in 1532, to pursue his studies, and lived there till 1535.[2] Heemskerck made very good use of his time. A great number of his sketches and drawings have been preserved, and now form a treasure of the cabinet of copper-plate engravings in the Berlin Museum. In this collection there are large and small views of Rome, its hills, ancient monuments, ruins, churches,

gelidum vides ad Istrum—Romana tegier viator urna—Non mirabere, si extimabis illud—Quod Roma est patria omnium fuitque (FORCELLA, VIII., 209.)

[1] Besides AMASAEUS, Oratio in funere Pauli III. P.M., Bologna, 1563, and MODIO, Il Tevere, Rome, 1556, 7, *cf.* Vol. XII., of this work, p. 566 *seq.* Concerning the increase of prices under Paul III., see LÜTOLF, Schweizergarde, 32. Navagero *states on October 30th, 1557, that houses were four times dearer in Rome than in Naples (Court Library, Vienna).

[2] *Cf.* PREIBISZ, M. v. Heemskerck, Leipsic, 1911, and HOOGEWERFF, Nederlandsche Schilders in Italie, 195 *seq.*

palaces, galleries of statues and old gardens, which are, from their accuracy, priceless treasures of the greatest historical and archælogical value. Almost always drawn on the spot, they give, with conscientious fidelity, and without additions and embellishment, everything just as it was at the time.[1] Other sketch-books of visitors to Rome, and the copper-plate engravings of the time, afford a valuable supplement to these. Among the latter, the collection of engravings on copper, "Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae," of the enterprising publisher, Antoine Lafréry, who settled in Rome in the middle forties of the XVIth century, takes a prominent place.[2]

The second northerner is the learned lawyer of Frankfort, Johann Fichard, who, during his residence in Rome in the autumn of 1535, had the happy idea of consigning his varied impressions to writing.[3] The hasty notes, written on the

[1] *Cf.* J. Springer in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V. 1884), 327 *seqq.*; XII. (1891), 117 *seq.*, and in the Stud. zur Kunstgesch. für A. Springer 226 *seq.*, as well as the critical inventory of Michaelis, Römische Skizzenbücher, in the Archäol. Jahrb., VI. (1891), 126 *seqq.*; Hübner, I., 16, 52 *seq.* A complete edition of the sketch-books of Heemskerck is being prepared by Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger. Of this magnificent work, which will reproduce 300 sketches in 180 plates in tinted phototype, and among them 20 plates in coloured facsimile, with a descriptive catalogue, I was allowed, through the kindness of the publisher, the use of the first sheets.

[2] *Cf.* Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst., VII., 83 *seq.*; v. Fabriczy, in the Arch. d'Arte, VI. (1890), 112 *seq.*; Ehrle, Roma prima di Sisto V., 11 *seqq.*, and Hübner, I., 15 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*

[3] J. Fichard's *Italia* was published by J. C. v. Fichard in the Frankfurtischen Archiv für ältere deutsche Literatur und Geschicte, III. (1815), 1 *seqq.*, with a good introduction, but remained almost forgotten till Schmarsow again drew attention to this great source of information in the Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, XIV., 130 *seqq.*, the reading of which filled me in my early youth with enthusiasm for Rome. Concerning J. Fichard *cf.* Jannsen, Böhmer, III., 426, and Jung in the Archiv für Frankfurter Geschichte, II. (1889), 209 *seqq.*, and Allgem.

spot in Latin, were not intended for publication, whereby their value is notably increased. They by no means belie the dryness of the legal mind, but are, for that very reason, reliable, coming, as they do, from a prosaic observer. Only very rarely does the enthusiasm of the humanist break forth in Fichard's impressions. He feels no tremor of delight at the sight of Italy's splendours, he merely considers them from the point of view of a scholar. His notes are as important as they are interesting, not only for the knowledge of the then condition of Rome which they afford us, but also for the glimpses we get of the opinions entertained at that time. The vagueness of men's ideas as to the remains of antiquity, the preponderance of antiquarian interest over that of the connoisseur of art, several remarkable errors concerning very important works of the Renaissance, all these, even to the use of magical arts to discover the perpetrator of a theft, are admirably characteristic of the knowledge and ideas of that epoch.[1]

Fichard remarks that three points of view give the best survey of Rome ; the summits of the Pantheon, the Castle of St. Angelo and the Capitol. He acknowledges that he has never himself got a satisfactory view of Rome, for everything was separated and cut up by hills and gardens. He cites Monte Caprino (what is now considered to be the Tarpeian Rock), which was not then built over, as affording the best general view.[2] It was just there, where to-day stands the Palazzo Caffarelli, the present seat of the German embassy, that Heemskerck, in the year 1535, sketched his great panorama,

Deutsche Biographie, VI., 757 *seqq.* The manuscript of the *Italia* has disappeared (see JUNG, Frankfurter Chroniken, XX.) which is much to be regretted, especially on account of the sketches added to it.

[1] This magician was a Jew (see FICHARD, Italia, 73). BERTOLOTTI treats of "streghe, sortiere e maliardi nel sec. XVI. in Roma," in the Riv. Europ., XXII. (1882), 882 *seq.*; XXIII. (1883), 581 *seq.* *Cf.* also RODOCANACHI, Rome, 342.

[2] FICHARD, Italia, 24, 26, 70.

which has happily been preserved.[1] The value of this lies in the unusually faithful representation of the actual objects, and it is thereby distinguished from all the earlier attempts, which have a traditionally conventional character. The Netherlander has worked with such genuine national assiduity, and with such painstaking accuracy, that one might well describe his panorama as a memorial drawn as a parting reminder of the Eternal City. The more one studies the details, the better does one realize the immense historical value of his sketches. The artist, who has depicted a panorama before the eye of the spectator, begins on the left hand

[1] First reproduced, with introduction by DE ROSSI, in the "Antiken Denkmalern," Vol. II., plate 12, published by the German Archæological Institute. *Cf.* SPRINGER in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XII. (1891), 123 *seq.*; MICHAELIS, Römische Skizzenbucher, 169; DE ROSSI, Panorama circol. di Roma (Estr. d. Bull. arch. commun.), Rome, 1892. Similar reproductions in RODOCANACHI, Rome, 217, 220. The date on the panorama is not 1534, or 1536, but (according to Hülsen) 1535; in this case one is relieved of the necessity (in contradistinction to van Mander) of prolonging the artist's stay in Rome to four years, instead of three. Concerning the great panorama of Rome, Professor Hülsen kindly informs me that he and Egger have come to the conclusion that it is not the single-handed work of Heemskerck, but owes its origin to a contemporary Dutch artist, whose name he still hopes to succeed in discovering. "This artist," continues Hülsen, "is further represented in the second Berlin volume, as, e.g., by the view of the Forum, reproduced in my Forum p. 34, fig. 7, and by the picture of St. Peter's Square, reproduced in EGGER, Römische Veduten, Plate 19. Apart from the style of the drawing, the difference in the writing is decisive. Heemskerck, when he was in Rome, as his less certain autographs in the first volume prove, wrote in a quite Norse script, whereas the name which was certainly written at the same time by the artist on the panorama approaches the Italian style of writing. Egger wishes to read the date as 1536, of which I am not quite convinced, but that becomes of less importance if Heemskerck is discarded as the author."

with the Aventine, and travels through the west, north and east, returning again to the same hill, at the foot of which one sees the neighbourhood of S. Maria in Cosmedin, the Casa di Cola di Rienzi, the not yet destroyed Ponte di S. Maria (Ponte Rotto) and the harbour full of ships, while in the distance appear the Janiculum, with S. Pietro in Montorio and the twin towers of the Porta S. Pancrazio. In the foreground, we see the citadel of the Savelli, built into the Theatre of Marcellus, arising majestically a little to the right, and behind it the old town with its maze of houses, massive towers and churches. The extensive palace of the Cancelleria, the pointed tower of St Agostino, the flat dome of the Pantheon, the column of Marcus Aurelius (not yet crowned with the statue of the apostle) and the Palazzo di S. Marco stand up as salient points in the distance. The artist has been specially successful in reproducing the manner in which the city is dominated by the Castle of St. Angelo, which is shown as a darkly threatening fortress, on the summit of which floats the large standard of the Pope. The Vatican rises high from out the Borgo, with the venerable pile of St. Peter's and the gigantic construction of the new building of Bramante beside it. Then follows in the foreground, forming the actual central point of the panorama, the Capitoline Hill, shown in profile, and not yet having the form given to it by Michael Angelo. One sees the piazza of the Capitol, with the obelisks and the celebrated palms which stand between the palace of the Senators and the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli. Far away rises the mighty Torre delle Milizie, while farther to the north, in the lonely hill district, which forms a background, appear the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore with the great patriarchal palace, the then very high tower of the Conti, and, only lightly sketched in, the gigantic halls of the Baths of Diocletian, as well as the Lateran. At the feet of the spectator lies the Forum, alive with herds of cattle, with the Basilica of Constantine, the Arch of Septimus Severus, the remains of the Temple of Saturn, the beautiful portico of the Temple of Faustina and Antoninus, as well as the three columns of the Temple of Castor, while to the right we see the mighty mass of the Colosseum, the Arch of

Titus and S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana). To the east one recognizes, at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock, S. Maria della Consolazione, S. Teodoro and the monuments of the Velabro, while above are the ruins of the Palace of the Cæsars. The Septizonium is also clearly recognizable, as well as S. Anastasia with its campanile and the steps by which people once entered this church. To the right the Aventine, with the battlement crowned fortress of the Savelli, give the finishing touches to this wonderful panorama.

Viewed as a whole, what strikes one most in this picture is the great preponderance of the mediæval character. Not only in the Trastevere, but elsewhere as well, countless towers, with which all the dwellings of the nobles, and especially those of the Cardinals,[1] were provided, rose aloft towards the sky. Square, furnished with loopholes, and crowned with battlements, they are a reminder of bloody times. The highest of these towers are the Torre delle Milizie and the legendary Torre di Nerone, which play such an important part in mediæval views of the Eternal City.[2] The principal tower of the palace of the Senators on the Capitol, with its loopholes and its turrets at the four corners, still bears the stamp of the XIVth century. In the case of the churches, too, one sees hardly anything but mediæval campanili; the few cupolas which had existed from the time of Sixtus IV. are almost entirely invisible on account of their want of height, whereas it is precisely the

[1] *Cf.* ALBERTINI, Opusculum de mirabilibus novae urbis Romae ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886, 31.

[2] This tower, built under Gregory IX., frequently changed owners, but again came into the possession of the Conti family in 1546 (LANCIANI, Il Panorama di Roma delin. da A. v. d. Wyngaerde ca. l'a. 1560, Rome, 1895, 13, and Nuova Antologia 1912, 165 *seq.*) A special work concerning the towers of Rome has yet to be written. *Cf.* meanwhile ADINOLFI, La Torre de' Sanguigni, Rome, 1863; Giorn. Arcadico, 1889, II., 282, 373; III., 49; GNOLI, Roma, 135 *seqq.*, 138 *seqq.*, 152 *seq.*; DENGEL, S. Marco, 76; SABATINI, La Torre dei Cenci, Rome, 1906; La famiglia e le torri dei Frangipani in Roma, Rome, 1907; La famiglia e le torri dei Crescenzi, Rome, 1908.

numerous domes of the baroque period which give the Rome of to-day her special character of stately majesty.

No less astonishing is the smallness of the actual city, in comparison with the immense still unbuilt district with its chaos of ancient ruins, and its lonely dominating basilicas and monasteries. Everywhere this silent region is sharply divided by the shades of a mighty past from the modern city.

This contrast between the inhabited and the uninhabited districts which are enclosed by the Aurelian walls, is also clearly to be seen in the panorama of Hendrik van Cleve,[1] drawn in 1550, and from the large plan of the city, engraved on wood, which Leonardo Bufalini prepared at the end of the pontificate of Paul III., and published in 1551, under Julius III.[2]

Rome had no central point, for the Vatican, the residence of the Renaissance Popes, as well as the Lateran, the seat of the Head of the Church in the Middle Ages, were situated on the borders of the municipal territory. The Leonine City, or the Borgo, remained under Paul III. what it had been under Julius II. and the Medici Popes, the intellectual quarter, which

[1] Preserved in the Roman *Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe* (F. N. 3379). See BARTOLI in the Bull. arch. commun., XXXVII. (1909), 3 *seqq.*

[2] Bufalini's plan is of immeasurable value for the knowledge of Roman topography, and gives, besides the plan of Du Pérac, executed in 1577 (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1908), a clear picture of the appearance of Rome about the middle of the Cinquecento, before the great reconstructions of Greogry XIII. and Sixtus V. We owe a new edition, based on the copy in the Vatican Library, to EHRLE: Roma al tempo di Giulio III. La pianta di Roma di L. Bufalini del 1551, Rome, 1911. The comparative lowness of the houses in Heemskerck's panorama is very characteristic of Rome before the Baroque period. The cupola of S. Agostino, e.g. which to-day is almost invisible in a view of the city, in the panorama, as well as in many of the smaller sketches (f. 16: view from the Villa Madama; f. 58^{v}: panorama from the Borgo) stands up high over the whole Campo Marzo; the same is true of S. Omobono, at the foot of the Capitol, which to-day is hardly to be seen among the surrounding houses.

character had been, once for all, impressed upon it by three mighty buildings, the time-honoured place of burial of the Prince of the apostles, the Castle of St. Angelo and the Palace of the Vatican, which contained the most extensive collection of art treasures. From the Vatican the Rione del Vaticano afterwards took its name, namely that part of the city which was strengthened under Paul III. and Julius III. with new fortifications, and which formed, from the time of Sixtus V., the fourteenth of the districts into which Rome was divided.[1] The principal street of the Borgo, called after its builder, Alexander VI., the Via Alessandrina, now the Borgo Nuovo, praised by Fichard as "a royal road";[2] Paul III. caused it to be paved. This quarter, which had suffered terribly in the Sack in 1527, had gradually regained its former character and splendour. To the magnificent palaces which had been erected here for Branconio dell' Aquila, and for Raphael, as well as for Cardinals Domenico della Rovere, Adriano Castellesi, Soderini, Pucci and Accolti,[3] various new buildings had been added, among which the Palazzo Cesi held a prominent place.[4] After the death of its founder, Cardinal Paolo Emilio

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 39; ADINOLFI, La. Portica di S. Pietro ossia Borgo nell'età di mezzo, Rome, 1859; REUMONT, III., 2, 657.

[2] See the *Taxa per lo matonar la via Alexandrina del Borgo di Roma, dat. October 22, 1544 (Mandat. 1543-1545, p. 195, State Archives, Rome). One can see in the drawing of Giov. Ant. Dosio, reproduced in EGGER, Veduten, Plate 16, what the appearance of the Borgo Nuovo was in 1560. Prof. Hülsen has drawn my attention to the rare and little noticed engraving of Hendrik van Cleve, *Burgus Romae* (in the *Ruinarum varii prospectus* engraved by Theodore Galle) which Dosio amplifies by representing the greater part of the south side of the square about as far as S. Gregorio in Cortina.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work p. 129 *seq.*, and RODOCANACHI, Rome, 24 *seq.*, 186 *seq.* Card. Giov. Salviati (died 1553) lived in the palace of Dom. della Rovere (*cf.* FERRI, 21 *seq.*) at the beginning of the reign of Julius III., see BUFALINI (B).

[4] Now the Collegio S. Monica, via S. Uffizio, No. 1, which, in essentials, is fairly well preserved (*Cf.* GNOLI in the Bull. d.

Cesi, in 1537, this building, which was situated on the left side of St. Peter's, near the city wall, came into the hands of the no less artistic brother of Paolo, Federigo Cesi, who received the purple in 1544. In the Cesi gardens, which Heemskerck sketched, and which every cultivated stranger visited, numerous antiquities were to be seen, as, for instance, the Silenus, now in the Villa Albani, and the two statues of barbarians which were placed in the Palace of the Conservatori in 1720. The altered arrangement of these sculptures which was made by Federigo Cesi, is explained in a description of them by him, composed in 1550. Of the whole collection, the most important private one at the time of Paul III., after that of the Valle, only a few unimportant fragments remain.[1]

Fichard describes the Papal palace at the beginning of the reign of the Farnese Pope ; he emphasizes its great extent, for the Vatican consisted of a series of palaces. The entrance to it was in the form of a terrace, in the lower part of which the officials lived and worked ; in the middle storey, officials of a higher degree resided, among them a few Cardinals, as, for instance, Nicholas von Schönberg, in the reign of Paul III. Fichard extols the size of the Vatican, its splendour, and its wealth of loggias, apartments, halls, and the staircases by which one could ascend to the top floors. As the objects of chief interest, he specially mentions the Sixtine Chapel, the wonderfully well-filled library, and the Belvedere, incomparable both from its position and its view, with Bramante's winding staircase and the celebrated gallery of statues.[2]

Ist. Germ., XX., 276 *seq.*) A *brief of Paul III. to the Doge of Venice, of January 2, 1546, refers to the collection of works of art belonging to Card. Cesi, and speaks of a legacy of coins and a statue of Scipio Africanus in jasper, of which the cardinal was robbed by a legal decision (Arm. 41, t. 35, n. 10 Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[1] See MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 139 *seq.* ; ALDROVANDI, 122 *seq.* ; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 14 *seq.* ; HÜBNER, I., 87 *seq.* ; BURCKHARDT, Beiträge, 559 *seq.* Concerning Rot's visit see Itin. Rom., 262.

[2] FICHARD, Italia, 47-49.

Fichard's description is the first complete and well arranged account of this world-renowned collection of ancient remains. In one instance, he has observed with even closer attention than Ulisse Aldrovandi, whose statistics, drawn up in 1550, of all the antiquities contained in Rome, is, by reason of its accuracy and reliability, regarded as a most excellent guide.[1] The description of the Frankfort scholar is supplemented by the pen and ink drawings of Heemskerck,[2] while a picture by Hendrik van Cleve, now in the Imperial Picture Gallery in Vienna, reproduces the grounds of the Belvedere and its adornment with statues in 1550.[3]

As was the case with the Capitoline collection, a superintendent was also appointed for the Belvedere by Paul III. The magnificent examples of sculpture which Julius II., Leo X., and Clement VII. had collected there, the Apollo, Venus Felix, Laocöon, Cleopatra, Tiber, Nile, Tigris, and torso of Hercules, was enriched by the Farnese Pope with only one really important example, the statue of the so-called Antinous, found in a garden not far from the Castle of St. Angelo in 1543, but which in reality represents Hermes. The remaining antiquities, as numerous as they were valuable, which were discovered during the long reign of Paul III., were destined by him for his family and their palace.

Julius III. had a fountain erected in the vestibule of the Belvedere, where the above-mentioned Torso now stands, which attained a great celebrity, and which formed a most effective ending to the long corridor of Bramante.[4] He did not enrich the collection himself, as he was too much occupied with the decoration of the Villa Giulia. In spite of this, how-

[1] Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi e case si vegono di Messer Ulisse Aldroandi, in Lucio Mauro, Le Antichità della Città di Roma, Venetia 1562, 115 *seq.* (appeared first in 1556) *Cf.* Archäol. zeitung (1876), 151 *seq.*; BURCHARDT Beiträge, 553 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 29 *seqq.*

[2] See MICHAELIS, Gesch. des Statuenhofes im Belvedere, 33; HÜBNER, I., 78 *seq.*

[3] EGGER, Veduten, 33, plate 46.

[4] MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 37-8.

ever, the gallery of statues in the Belvedere of the Vatican with which Ulisse Aldrovandi begins his well-known description of the antiquities in Rome, was the most important of all the museums of ancient remains.

The Vatican, embellished under Paul III. by the gorgeous Sala Regia and the Capella Paolina, was considered the largest and most beautiful palace in the world. The Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, who gives this opinion in 1560, compares it to a small town, about which one can with difficulty find one's way, and which it is impossible to describe.[1] It was, however, a great disadvantage for the Papal residence that the air in this district proved unhealthy in summer.[2] Strangers were allowed to visit the Vatican in all its parts, with that liberality which most of the Popes displayed; when Julius III. was staying at his villa, people were even allowed, under the guidance of an official of the court, to view the magnificently furnished private apartments of the Pope.[3]

The Loggia of the Benediction, adjoining St. Peter's, which was begun by Pius II. and completed by Julius II., in which the Bull *In Coena Domini* was read on Maundy Thursday, is erroneously described by Fichard as the palace of the Rota, of which he, as a lawyer, gives an exhaustive description.[4]

The Frankfort scholar gives an essentially correct description of old St. Peter's, with its five long aisles; he mentions the broad entrance steps, the wide square vestibule and the atrium, with its fountain (Cantharus) adorned with bronze pine cones and gilded peacocks. There were also fragments of ancient statues here at that time. In the vestibule of this venerable basilica of Constantine, which was still for the most part standing, the marble statue of St. Peter, now in the crypt, and

[1] Mocenigo-Albèri, 34.

[2] Navagero emphasizes this in his *reports of August 15, 1556 (St. Mark's Library, Venice).

[3] See Rot, Itin. Rom., 258. The Castle of St. Angelo was also then to be visited; *Ibid.* 262.

[4] Fichard, Italia, 45-47. He has mistaken this for the palace of Innocent VIII., which lies behind it. Concerning the "Loggia della Benedizione" see Egger, Veduten, 24.

Giotto's Navicella, attracted his particular attention. Of the doors which led into the interior of the stately building, the one to the extreme right, the so-called Porta Santa, was only opened in years of Jubilee. The main entrance, with the bronze door, by Filarete, caused Fichard to fall into the error of providing the side entrance also with a door of bronze, whereas, in reality, it only had a carved wooden one, the work of Fra Antonio di Michele da Viterbo,[1] placed there under Eugenius IV.

The interior of the place of burial of the Princes of the Apostles, made holy by a long and glorious past, with its wealth of chapels, altars, mosaics, frescoes and sepulchral monuments, must have filled every visitor with astonishment and admiration. A walk to-day through the crypts of St. Peter's gives some idea of the treasures which had been gathered together there in the course of the centuries.

The basilica formed such a museum of the history of the Church and of art as the world had never seen. Many monuments had been repeatedly changed as to their place. For example, Fichard saw the tomb of the Piccolomini Pope, of such special interest to every German, in the chapel of St. Andrew, then named S. Maria della Febbre. Outside this hallowed spot, in the left hand aisle of the basilica, were the confessionals of the seven penitentiaries, for as many different languages. Opposite, on the right hand wall of the church, one could see Pollajuolo's monument of Innocent VIII., and then the very neglected resting places of the Medici Popes, Leo X. and Clement VII. On the same side was also the celebrated bronze seated statue of St. Peter, which Fichard describes as indifferent, but a very ancient work. The tomb of Pope Nicholas V., with whose accession the Renaissance had ascended the Papal throne, he declares to be superb; it was at that time already within the area of the still unfinished new building. The Doric

[1] FICHARD, Italia, 43-44. *Cf.* SCHMARSOW in the Repert. für Kunstwiss., XIV., 132, 133; see also SPRINGER, II., 2nd ed., 364. See also the description of the time of Pius IV. by O. Panvinio in MAI, Spic., IX., 367 *seq.*

erection at the Tomb of St. Peter, raised under Leo. X., the Frankfort jurist compares to a chapter house, because the throne of the Pope and the seats of the Cardinals were placed there.[1]

The days of the old basilica were numbered, on account of the new building begun by Julius II. Several highly interesting drawings by Heemskerck give us an idea of the state of the work at the beginning of the reign of Paul III. ; he reproduces some interesting details with the fidelity and conscientiousness peculiar to him. Several of his sketches are uncommonly plastic in their effect.[2] Specially valuable is a sketch of the old and new St. Peter's, taken from the south. In this one sees the provisional choir of the new building, and the connecting structure of the arches of the south tribune, afterwards broken up ; the mighty square pillars, with the south and east connecting arches ; of old St. Peter's there are, first of all, S. Maria della Febbre and the Obelisk, still surmounted with a sphere, which stands in its old place alongside the new building, the choir chapel of Sixtus IV., over against which stands the remaining portion of the nave of the old basilica, the front part with its somewhat projecting gable, and, further to the right, the atrium, shut in by the palace of the arch-priest and by that of Innocent VIII., and dominated by the Sixtine Chapel and the top storey of the old Vatican palace. Underneath, the picturesque Leonine belfry and the narrow side of the western galleries belonging to the Loggie of Raphael, still open at that date, appear the Loggia of the Benediction and the front part of the mighty portico of Paul II., with the entrance door to the Vatican erected by Innocent VIII., and close to these the ramparts from which, on festivals, the trumpets were sounded. In the distance one can see the long stretched out

[1] FICHARD, Italia, 43-44. Heemskerck sketched the tomb of Innocent VIII. in its old position ; see MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 158.

[2] GEYMÜLLER, Entwürfe, 324, 328, plates 24 and 52. SPRINGER in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 327, *seq.*, XII., 118 *seq.* ; MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 136, 155, 163-4. EGGER, Veduten, 29 *seq.*, plates 29-34. HÜLSEN-EÜGER, I., 6 *seq.*, 8 *seq.*

gallery of Bramante, the pinnacle-crowned Belvedere, and the Nicchione in its original one-storeyed form.[1] The great interest taken by the artist in the new building is shown by the fact that he made quite a number of further sketches of it. Vasari's fresco in the Cancelleria shows the progress made with the work under Paul III. We can learn from other sketches made about the year 1550, the state it had reached at the end of the reign of the Farnese Pope, and at the beginning of the pontificate of Julius III.[2]

Fichard praises the square in front of St. Peter's as the finest in the whole city,[3] although it was then only half as large as to-day; the obelisk which Sixtus V. placed in the centre was not yet in position, nor were the two fountains or the magnificent colonnade of Bernini. The principal adornment of St. Peter's Square, in which bull-fights were still held in the time of Julius III.,[4] as was also the case in front of S. Marco and S. Maria in Trastevere, was then the beautiful fountain, begun by Innocent VIII. and completed by Alexander VI.[5] Rome could not yet point to those incomparable fountains which were later on such a feature of Roman art. Heemskerck has also drawn St. Peter's Square several times, showing the front part of the old building and the Vatican. One of these sketches, lately discovered in the Court library, Vienna, gives an exceedingly instructive picture of the unevenness and difference of level of the square. One can see very clearly in this the difference between the steep ascent which led to the Vatican, and the gentler slope of the ground towards the external flight of steps of the basilica, which had been restored by Pius II., and at either side of which stood the statues of the Princes of the Apostles.[6]

Under Paul III. mercenaries[7] guarded the entrance to the

[1] EGGER, Veduten, 29 *seq.*, plate 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, 31 *seq.*
[3] FICHARD, Italia, 42.
[4] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 211, 213, 214.
[5] *Cf.* EGGER, Veduten, 25.
[6] *Ibid.* 23 *seq.*, plate 17.
[7] The "guardia tedescha" as FICHARD calls them (p. 71).

Vatican; these were first replaced by the Swiss in 1548.[1] The Borgo was very strictly guarded at that time; Fichard particularly points out that no one was allowed to enter by the Porta S. Petri who had not permission from the guard of the Castle of St. Angelo.[2] At the other end of the bridge of St. Angelo the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul had been standing since 1530 as the guardians of the Leonine City. It was only after crossing this bridge that one entered the actual city.

The character of the *Rione di Ponte*, of which the river forms the boundary on two sides, is clearly indicated by the first great palace to the right of a person coming from the Borgo. Here, on the banks of the Tiber, lived the noble and artistic banker, Bindo Altoviti, the friend of Raphael and Michael Angelo.[3] Besides the banks of the Florentines, among which that of Giovanni Gaddi was pre-eminent, there were also German houses, the best known of which were those of Fugger and Welser. Perino del Vaga had adorned the palace of the Fugger with mythological frescoes.[4]

As Bufalini's plan very clearly shows, the streets leading into the heart of the city from the residence of the Head of the Church, radiated in all directions from the Ponte S. Angelo. On the right side of the bridge, one came, through the new Via Paola, to the national church of the Florentines, built by Jacopo Sansovino, past which the longest and most beautiful street[5] in Rome at that time, the Via Giulia[6], laid out under Julius II. by Bramante, and improved by Paul III., followed the course of the river as far as the Ponte Sisto. To the left, the street called after the prison situated there, the Tor di Nona,[7] also running parallel to the Tiber, formed the connec-

[1] See LÜTOLF, 45 *seq.*

[2] FICHARD, Italia, 50.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 120 *seq.*

[4] See SCHULTE, Fugger I., 201 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 242.

[5] So FICHARD calls it p. 25.

[6] See *Mandata 1539-1542, p. 144 (State Archives, Rome).

[7] See CORVISIERI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 118; BARACCONI, Rioni, 280 *seq.*; SIMONETTI, Vie, 105-6; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Le prigioni di Roma nei sec. XVI.-XVIII., Roma, 1890.

tion with the Corso; it divided at the church of S. Maria in Posterula, which was built on the banks of the river, into the Via Sistina or del Orso, on the right, which led into the Scrofa, and on the left, into the new Via della Trinità (later Via di S. Lucia, Monte Brianzo, Piazza Nicosia, Fontanella di Borghese and Condotti), which intersected the Scrofa and Corso,[1] and ended in the then unbuilt piazza below the convent of the Trinità de' Monti. To the latter one ascended by a steep path, shaded by trees.

Paul III. had opened out another new street, the Via di Panico, more towards the centre of the city, by which one could reach the fortified Palazzo Orsini on Monte Giordano, from the Castle of St. Angelo; this palace was inhabited in 1550 by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este.[2] From the said street, the very busy Via di Tor Sanguigna, afterwards called the Via dei Coronari, from the numerous dealers in rosaries, branched off.[3] This busy thoroughfare of Sixtus IV., which, to this day, affords one of the most characteristic street scenes in Rome, with its beautiful, but unfortunately neglected palaces, and its little Quattrocento houses, dating from the time of the first of the Rovere Popes, led to the tower of the Sanguigni and to the Piazza Navona.

The most important and the finest link between the city and the Vatican was the celebrated Canale di Ponte,[4] which owed

[1] At this spot there stood in the time of Julius III. the *Croce della Trinità*, often mentioned in the documents; see TESORINI 12, n. 1.

[2] See BUFALINI (G.)

[3] The lower part of this street was called Via dell' Imagine di Ponte (see ADINOLFI, Via Sacra, 88) after a picture of a saint, of which Albertus Serra de Monteferrato had the architectural framework renewed by Antonio da Sangallo; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 445 n; SIMONETTI, Vie 44.

[4] See ADINOLFI, Canale di Ponte, 3 and 46. On Bufalini's plan the street is marked with the name *Forum numulariorum banchii*. The celebrated Contrada de' Banchi was to have been saved, according to the original plan of the reconstructions, but it fell, however, in 1889, when so many other objects of interest in

its name to the fact that, during the frequent inundations, it resembled a canal in the city of the lagoons.[1] An inscription which has survived all the changes of the centuries, still reminds us of the inundation of 1275.[2] The height to which the Tiber repeatedly invaded the city is also evident from the mark on the church of the Minerva concerning the inundations in the years 1422, 1495 and 1530.[3] It was only the great inundations that were commemorated by such records, for lesser ones took place every few years, as may be gathered from the reports of the embassies.[4] The poorer population in the parts of the city situated close to the Tiber, suffered terribly under these calamities.[5]

In the Canale di Ponte was situated the Papal Mint, or the Zecca, erected by Antonio da Sangallo, and changed by Paul V. into the Banco di S. Spirito, from which comes the present name of Via del Banco di S. Spirito.[6] At the Zecca the Canale di Ponte branched off into two streets: to the left, the Via dei Banchi Nuovi, with its continuation to the palace of the Massimi, leading past S. Marco and forming part of the celebrated old Via Papale, which ended at the Lateran and thus connected the two principal churches in Rome;[7] to the

Rome were destroyed under the new government; *cf.* LANCIANI, Renaissance, 279.

[1] Another street, only destroyed with the Ghetto in 1887, was called *Fiumara* for the same reason.

[2] For the inscription, the oldest of the kind existing in Rome, see GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. Roms., V., 3rd Ed. 147.

[3] See Vol. V. of this work, p. 476 *seqq.*, and Vol. X., p. 354. *Cf.* BERTHIER, Minerve, 32.

[4] Concerning the great inundations in March, 1559, see EHRLE, Roma di Giulio III., 24; for the still worse one of September, 1559, see Vol. XIV. of this work; concerning that of 1551, see Riv. d. bibliot., XVII, ; 96.

[5] See MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 33.

[6] See ADINOLFI, Canale, 32-3; RODOCANACHI, Roma, 189.

[7] See ADINOLFI, La via sacra o del Papa, Roma, 1865, and Laterano e via maggiore, Roma, 1857. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 439 *seq.*

right of the Zecca one reached the Campo di Fiore and further on the Piazza Giudea, the fortress of the Savelli, built into the Theatre of Marcellus, and the foot of the Capitoline hill, through the Via dei Banchi Vecchi and the Via del Pellegrino,[1] laid out by Sixtus IV. Fichard says that these central streets were the most celebrated and the busiest of all, and that one commercial house joined on to another there.[2]

This remark of the Frankfort traveller is confirmed by the plan of Bufalini and by that of Ugo Pinardo, made some years later. One can see clearly from these how the whole life of the city thronged to the quarter nearest to the Bridge of St. Angelo, the highway to the Vatican.[3] All the rich merchants and bankers, many distinguished prelates and artists, as well as countless rich "cortegiane," lived there. In this neighbourhood the real centre of life in the age of the Renaissance, with all its splendour and all its corruption, was to be found.[4] Here also were the much frequented inns, such as the Albergo del Leone, in the Via Tor di Nona, and a little further on, the Albergo dell' Orso. This mediæval brick building, in the round arches and ornamentation of which an old-world element makes itself felt, is still in existence, and, although much mutilated and re-built, still serves as an inn.[5] Not far from

[1] At the beginning of the Via del Pellegrino a secondary street, the Via di Monserrato, branched off to the right of anyone coming from the Castle of St. Angelo, which led across the Piazza Farnese and the Piazza Spada, through the Via Regola and Via Fiumara to the Ponte Quattro Capi.

[2] FICHARD, 24.

[3] See ROCCHI, Piante iconogr., 47; *cf.* BARACCONI, 121.

[4] Concerning the scandalous behaviour of the "cortegiane," as prostitutes were then called, and who even carried on their trade in the churches, see, in addition to Vol. V. of this work, 129 *seq.*, TACCHI VENTURI, I., 182, and CALVI in the Nuova Antologia, CLII. (1909), 597 *seq.*

[5] See the article, *Un albergo del Quattrocento*, in the publication "Emporium," XXIII. (1906), 72-73. In 1554, the Salem monk M. Rot put up here; see his Itin. Rom. 248. *Cf.* also NOACK. Das deutsche Rom., 52-53.

the Albergo dell' Orso, the maestro di camera of Julius III., Giovan Battista Galletti, had his dwelling, which was richly adorned with antiques.[1]

For the great personages who lived crowded together in the Rione di Ponte, distinguished artists of the Renaissance created palaces in the maze of traffic-filled streets of this Quattrocento quarter, mostly on narrow and irregular foundations, but which were distinguished by their splendour and stately magnificence, and contained countless precious antiques, as did almost all the houses of the upper classes.[2] Only too many of these buildings, such as the great Palazzo Altoviti, and the elegant house of the Bini,[3] have been completely destroyed. Others, as, for instance, the one time cardinalitial palace of Alexander VI., which, in the time of Paul III., was inhabited first by Cardinal Antonio Pucci and then by Guido Ascanio Sforza,[4] the so-called old Cancelleria (now the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini) have been disfigured by alterations. Nevertheless, we can still admire in their original beauty, the picturesque Palazzo Alberini-Cicciaporci, a characteristic building of Giulio Romano, and the masterpiece of Jacopo Sansovino, the Palazzo Niccolini-Amici, originally erected for the banker, Giovanni Gaddi, who made it a centre for the artists and humanists of the time.[5] In the Via Giulia, the severe palatial dwelling (now the Palazzo Sachetti) of the artistic Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* ALDROVANDI, 186 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 100. The treasurer of Julius III., Francesco d'Aspera, who was also a collector of antiques, lived near S. Macuto; *cf.* BUFALINI, ed. Ehrle, 43.

[2] Aldrovandi knew of above a hundred such houses. There was no palace of importance in which several antique statues, busts, reliefs or inscriptions were not to be found. HÜBNER, I., 74.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 120 *seq.*; see also LANCIANI, Renaissance, 276, 286; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 233.

[4] The Pucci palace is noted on the panorama of Heemskerck (see DE ROSSI, Panorama, 12), G. A. Sforza on Bufalini's plan (G.)

[5] *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, I., 14; ADINOLFI, Canale, 44 *seq.*; BARACCONI, Rioni, 269.

Ricci,[1] where Benvenuto Cellini, and, after 1542, Costanza Farnese[2] lived, is still to be seen.

The dwellings of the Quattrocento, which for the most part had only two windows on each storey and a loggia above,[3] are still generally recognizable by the fine and elegantly executed doorways and windows. Not only were the arms of the owner introduced here, but also his name and a motto. Thus one can see on the house of the architect, Prospero Mochi, in the Via dei Coronari (No. 148)[4] over the windows of the first floor, the name of the owner, and over the doorway, the words: *Tua puta que tute facis* (Thy deeds alone are thy property). The palace of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere (now the Palazzo de' Penitenzieri) has retained the name of this prince of the Church over the windows of the first floor, and over those of the second floor, his "Impresa," *Soli Deo*, which also appears in his Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo. Foreigners also copied this custom of thus distinguishing their dwellings. An example of this is afforded by the house of the Spanish family of Vaca, in the Via della Vignaccia (now del Parlamento No. 60): over the doorway the name of the family is inscribed, and underneath the verse: *Ossa et opes tandem partas tibi Roma relinquam* (My bones and my wealth I shall at last leave to thee, O Rome).

Since the time of Leo X., the exterior of the houses of the better classes had been tastefully decorated with "sgraffiti" and frescoes in one tone, a form of decoration the fame of which reached as far as Poland, and was largely used there. Raphael's pupils, Giovanni da Udine, Perino del Vaga, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Maturino and others produced ex-

[1] Now Via Giulia No. 66; *cf.* VASARI, V., 466., 489 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, I., 92; CLAUSSE, II., 389 *seq.*; CALLARI 90, *seq.* RIEGL, Barackkunst, 72; LANCIANI, III., 107; HÜLSEN, Il libro di Giuliano S. Gallo, V.; GNOLI, Roma, 171 and Bollett. d'Arte, V. (1911), 201 *seq.*; VI. (1912) 12.

[2] *Cf.* Massarelli in MERKLE, I., 145; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 152.

[3] *Cf.* GNOLI, Roma, 156.

[4] Built by Pietro Roselli; see GNOLI in Associaz. art. fra i cultori di architettura A., 1910-1911, Bergamo, 1912, 70 *seq.*

quisite works of this kind, which have, unfortunately, almost all gone to ruin, or been defaced until they are unrecognizable. Thus a frieze, which Caravaggio and Maturino painted, showing the history of Niobe, on a palace in the Via della Maschera d'Oro, can hardly be made out. Similar work on a house in the Vicolo del Campanile near S. Maria Traspontina, is in a better state of preservation, but that in the Vicolo Calabraga (now Cellini) is almost faded, while that on that most interesting dwelling of the procurator of the Anima, Johann Sander (Via del Anima No. 65) has been painted over and altered. The frescoes on the Palazzo Ricci give us to-day the best idea of this beautiful street decoration.[1]

Giovanni da Udine had in the time of the first Medici Pope, decorated the palace of Giovan Battista Branconio dell' Aquila with stucco, while in other cases they used terra cotta for decoration.[2] Since the time of Paul III. it had become more and more the custom to adorn the houses with stucco, paintings, reliefs and statues. An outstanding example of this is afforded, in addition to the Palazzo Capodiferro (now Spada) by the still excellently preserved house of the celebrated goldsmith, Gianpietro Crivelli ;[3] this is situated

[1] *Cf.* MACCARI, Saggio di archit. e racc. di decoraz., Roma, 1867 ; LETAROUILLY, I., 110 ; Rassegna d'Arte, V., 97-98 ; GNOLI, Roma, 159 *seqq.* 164, *seqq.* ; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 305 *seq.* and plate 39 ; HIRSCHFELD, Zur Geschichte der Fassadenmalerei in Rome, Halle, 1911. The house on the Via Maschera d'Oro is now No. 7, that in the Vicolo del Campanile is No. 5, and that in the Vicolo Cellini in No. 31. Concerning the house of Sander, the courtyard of which is reproduced in NOACK, Das Deutsche Rom, 21, Dr. K. H. Schafer is preparing a special and richly illustrated work.

[2] The few remains of such ornamentation which are still in existence are cited by GNOLI, Roma, 165 *seq.* A reproduction of the remains on the house in the Via Arco de' Ginnasi No. 23, in STETTINER, 434.

[3] Via dei Banchi Vecchi, Nos. 22-24. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, I., 99 ; GNOLI in the Arch. d'Arte, VI. (1893), 236, 287 *seq.* Another house with stucco decoration, and with the arms of Paul III., is in the Via Giulia, No. 93.

in the Rione di Ponte, not far from the old confraternity Church of S. Lucia del Gonfalone. Here one can see representations of ancient armour, trophies, coats of arms, lions' heads, genii, garlands of fruit and other ornamentation. Of special interest are the two bas-reliefs, which represent two events in the reign of Paul III.: the reception of Charles V. in Rome, and the conclusion of peace at Nice. Crivelli distinguished himself by his great generosity, and when the Franciscan, Giovanni da Calvi, founded a Monte di Pietà, to combat the usury which was one of the great plagues of the Renaissance period, and which was not practised by the Jews alone, he gave the institution, at that time quite small, but always growing, accomodation in his house.[1]

If the Rione di Ponte was especially the home of the bankers and business men, the *Rione di Parione*[2] was the quarter of the prelates, courtiers, notaries, booksellers, coypists, archeologists and humanists. This quarter contained three open spaces in the Middle Ages, of which the Piazza Parione, near the Church of S. Tommaso, had been built over since the XIVth century,[3] while the two others, the Campo di Fiore and the Piazza Navona, are still in existence. Cardinal Estouteville had removed the market in 1477 from the Piazza of the Capitol to the Piazza Navona.[4] Every Wednesday, as Fichard expressly testifies, the special market for clothing, cloth, arms and other objects, which is now held in the Campo di Fiore, was held in this open space. At carnival time the

[1] *Cf.* TAMILIA, Il s. Monte di Pietà di Roma, 1900, 24 *seq.*, 101 *seq.* *Ibid.* 31 *seqq.*, concerning the procession introduced by Julius III., which took place on the 3rd of May every year, and was partially a charitable festival.

[2] The name, according to LOHNINGER (S. Maria dell' Anima, Rome 1904-3), come from the Parione family.

[3] From the documents of the Archives of the Anima, it is evident that numerous ruins of antiquity existed in that neighbourhood, which the members of the Curia bought in order to use them as building material for their houses. (Information kindly given me by the rector, Mgr. Lohninger).

[4] See CAPOGROSSI GUARNA, I mercati di Roma, Roma, 1873.

former circus of Domitian was the scene of the most brilliant pageants and processions (festa di Agone), which attracted curious spectators from all parts.[1]

On one side of the Piazza Navona was to be seen the Spanish national church of S. Giacomo, while on the other side arose, in the neighbourhood of the German national church, S. Maria dell' Anima, the extensive palace which had come into the possession of Cardinal de Cupis, in which the once powerful but afterwards so unfortunate Cardinal Ascanio Sforza had lived.[2]

South of the Tor Millina, on which, with its pinnacle adorned with sgraffiti, one could still read the name of the family,[3] Cardinal Oliviero Carafa had caused to be erected the statue of Pasquino which was the distinguishing symbol of this Rione. Near the Pasquino, which was regarded by artists as one of the most exquisite examples of sculpture, rose the palace which the artistic Cardinal Antonio del Monte, uncle to Julius III., had had built for himself.[4] According to Bufalini's plan of the city, the influential Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo[5] also lived in this neighbourhood. In the Via Parione the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, 351 *seq.*

[2] It is evident from the plan of Bufalini (G) that de Cupis not only possessed the old palace of A.Sforza (*cf.* Nuova Antologia, Ser. 3, XLIII [1893], 434), the Piazza Navona, Nos. 33 to 40, and the Via dell'Anima, Nos. 1 to 11, but also the house of Eck, Via dell'Anima, Nos. 15-18, and Piazza Navona, Nos. 28-29, as well as the two houses adjoining, on the south, Via dell'Anima Nos. 12 to 14, and Piazza Navona, Nos. 30 to 32, which belonged to the Anima. De Cupis wished to appropriate these " vigore bullae Sixti IV " but did not succeed in doing so. On June 3, 1520, " litibus cessit." The Anima then rented both houses to the sister of de Cupis, Francesca de Cupis (uxor Angeli de Bubalis) and her son Cristoforo, first for two years, and later ' ad locationem perpetuam " ; in 1545 they were sold (Archives of the Anima, Rome).

[3] *Cf.* G. B. Giovenale in the Annuario, 1909-1911, Roma, 1911, 127 *seq.* of the Accademia di S. Luca.

[4] See Vasari, V., 452 *seq.* ; Tesoroni, 39.n.

[5] Bufalini (H).

business house of Antoine Lafréry was to be found, which, until the time of Gregory XIII., was the chief centre of Roman copper-plate engraving.[1] South-west from the Via Parione was situated the Pozzo Bianco (Puteus Albus) which gave its name to the church of Our Lady there. This fountain, which is to-day on the Janiculum, near Tasso's Oak, plays, like the Chiavica di S. Lucia, an important part in the documents of the XVth century, as a topographical designation of the district. The appearance of this neighbourhood was afterwards completely changed by the erection of the magnificent church of the Oratorians, founded by St. Philip Neri.

The Rione di Parione was especially rich in remarkable buildings, which, even though they are, to a great extent, changed, and very much neglected, are still capable of arousing the special interest of the lover of arts. In the Via Parione the portal of a palace erected in 1475, and still adorned with the arms of the family, reminds us of Cardinal Stefano Nardini; in the time of Julius III., the administration of the "Mons Julii" had its quarters here.[2] This building, greatly neglected at the present day, was afterwards the residence of the "Governatore" and therefore received the name of Governo Vecchio, after which the street is also named.[3] The residence of Cardinal Cortese adjoined the back of this palace. In this building, which is still in existence, was the original home of the hospital of the Germans of Siebenbürgen. It became in 1533, by the presentation of Rosa of Siebenbürgen, the property of the German national church, S. Maria dell' Anima, by which it was sold in 1542 to Cardinal Cortese.[4]

[1] See Ehrle, Pianta di Roma del 1557, 11 *seq.*; *cf.* Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, XXXIII., 402 *seq.*

[2] This is evident from Bufalini (G).

[3] Concerning the palace see Ferri, 22 *seq.* and Callari, 42 *seq.*; *cf.* Letarouilly, I., 19. Description of the beautiful doorway and the characteristic hall in Stettiner, 424-425.

[4] The donation of Rosa took place on April 19, 1533, the sale to Cardinal Cortese on August 21, 1542 (Archives of the Anima, Rome).

Cardinal Medici, afterwards Pius IV.,[1] resided in 1552 in the palace of Cardinal Fieschi, later called the Palazzo Sora; the elegant residences of the Pichi[2] and Caccialupi[3] families, as well as those of the prelates, Turci[4] and Thomas le Roy,[5] are equally well preserved. All these were, however, surpassed in beauty by the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne and the Cancelleria.

The Cancelleria was, until the completion of the Palazzo Farnese, which does not appear in Heemskerck's panorama, the largest and most splendid building of the new Rome.[6] Here the powerful and gifted nephew of Paul III., Alessandro Farnese, had his residence, and through him it became, as well as the Vatican, a centre of diplomatic, literary and artistic life. By the side of this enormous erection, which, in the time of Julius III., was still called after its founder, Cardinal Riario,[7] numerous small houses had been erected. The old basilica of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which had been incorporated in the Cancelleria, was celebrated, at the time of Fichard's visit, for the masses of the great composers which were sung there daily.[8]

[1] See RODOCANACHI, Rome, 31. Concerning the palace (now Liceo Terenzio Mamiani) see LETAROUILLY, I., 195; CALLARI, 38 *seq.*; GONLI, Roma, 163.

[2] Piazza Pollarola No. 43; *cf.* CALLARI, 327 *seq.* and GNOLI, *op. cit.*, 279, n. 5.

[3] Vicolo Savelli Nos. 44-54. Over the beautiful portal one can see "Johannes Caccialupus." For the adornment of the house with pictures, tapestries and statues see Arch. stor. Lomb., XX., 89 *seq.*

[4] This house, erected in 1500, now Via Governo Vecchio No. 124, still bears the coat of arms, and on the pediment of the first floor, the inscription of the owner; see LETAROUILLY, I., 13; BELLI, Case abit, in Roma da uomini illustri, Roma, 1850, 54.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 115.

[6] "Omnium vero magnificentissimum et amplissimum palatium s. Georgii," says FICHARD, Italia, 23, Concerning the Cancelleria *cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, p. 179; and RODOCANACHI, 28-29.

[7] See BUFALINI (H).

[8] FICHARD, Italia, 23-25.

In the old Palazzo Massimo, in the back part of which Germans had worked as the first printers in Rome,[1] the numerous bookshelves still retained there in the time of Paul III. were a reminder of the days when scholars used to assemble there to interchange their views.[2] The original residence of this ancient family had been destroyed in the Sack, but in 1535 Baldassare Peruzzi built a new palace for Pietro Massimo, a truly great work, and wonderfully made to fit in with the curve of the then narrow street. The work of the artist could, it is true, only be fully appreciated by one who was familiar with the former conditions, but even to-day everyone can take pleasure in the pillared courtyard, which, with its little fountain, and the glimpse of the staircase and the loggia on the first floor, makes a particularly beautiful and picturesque whole. All the details of this noble building belong to the best period of the Golden Age.[3]

In the Rione di Parione were also the houses of the Galli and the Sassi, celebrated for their collections of antiques. Heemskerck in 1535 made pen and ink sketches of the galleries of both and of the statues placed there. One can see from these sketches that the Sassi still possessed the statues which came into the possession of the Farnese in 1546, the Venus Genetrix, the Apollo and the Icarios relief which went to Naples, as well as the Hermes which is now in the British Museum. In the Casa Galli, which was on the north side of the Piazza della Cancelleria, could be seen, among the statues and sarcophagi, the Bacchus of Michael Angelo.[4]

[1] Description in NOACK, Das deutsche Rom, 60.

[2] FICHARD, Italia, 24.

[3] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance, 52, 104, 106, 205, 298, 323; EBE, I.; 25 *seqq.*; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 69; RODOCANACHI, 204; HÜBNER, I., 104.

[4] See SPRINGER in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 327, 330 *seqq.*; MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 141, 153, 170; HÜBNER, I., 100, 114; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 16 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*, 42 *seq.* *Cf.* ROCCHI, 253 *seqq.*, especially concerning the Casa Sassi; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XX., 479 *seqq.*; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 42 *seq.* Some remains of the old house are still in existence in the new building erected in 1867, Via del Governo Vecchio No. 48.

The second great open space of the Rione di Parione was the Campo di Fiore, laid out by Sixtus IV., which was bounded on the south-west by the Rione della Regola. From its central position between this mediaeval part of Rome, which stretched along the Tiber, and the quarters of Parione and Ponte, in which the life of the city pulsated during the Renaissance period, it represented the actual Forum of Rome. The Papal Bulls were affixed there, the regulations of the Governatore published, executions carried out, and the horse market held.[1] On the south-eastern part of this open space the nephew of Eugenius IV., Cardinal Francesco Condulmero, had built a large palace on the ruins of Pompey's Theatre, which later came into the hands of the Orsini, who let it to members of the Sacred College; at the time of Julius III., Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza[2] lived there. Behind this palace (now the Palazzo Pio) there are two old churches, S. Barbara and S. Maria "in Grotta Pinta." North of S. Maria was the confraternity church of the German bakers, S. Elisabetta,[3] only recently destroyed.

In consequence of the busy traffic which centred in the Campo di Fiore, numerous vaulted shops and inns were to be found. The celebrated publishers, Antonio Blado and Antonio Salamanca had their business premises there.[4] Of the inns, one, the Albergo della Vacca, was part of the extensive property of Vannozza de' Catanei, known from the history of Alexander VI., who also had houses let to innkeepers in other places.[5] To this day, a Quattrocento building

[1] *Cf.* FICHARD, Italia, 25; GNOLI, Roma, 183; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 31; see also Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 131 *seq.*

[2] BUFALINI (H); *cf.* RODOCANACHI, Rome, 31.

[3] See DE WAAL, Campo Santo, 179 *seq.*

[4] See GORI, Archivio IV., 225. *Cf.* concerning A. Blado, Riv. Europ., XXII. (1880), 16 *seq.*; Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XXIII., 307, 328; concerning Salamanca see Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, XXXIII., 402 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* ADINOLFI, Canale di Ponte, 13 *seq.*; IMPERI, S. Maria della Consolazione, 74; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 257; see also FORCELLA, VIII., 520.

close to the Campo di Fiore, in the Vicolo del Gallo (Nos. 12-13) at the corner of the Via de' Cappellari, bears the name Casa di Vannozza. That it belonged to her is clear from the fact that the marble coat of arms affixed to the front of the house shows the bull of the Borgias. It has been believed up till now that this building, which has been preserved with only trifling alterations, is the Bell Inn, which in accordance with the journal of Burchard, was in the later years of the XVth century, the temporary lodging of German princes. The documents in the archives of the Anima, however, show that this house belonged to the Valle, who let it in 1479 to the German innkeeper Johannes Teufel, whom the Italians euphemistically named Angelo; two years later this man bought part of the building.[1] The celebrated Bell Inn, which was a favourite meeting place of the Germans in Rome,[2] was, therefore not the house of Vannozza, but was alongside it in the Via de' Cappellari. Other Germans carried on the profitable business of innkeeping in Rome during the Cinquecento; in the Borgo there were, as early as the time of Eugenius IV., more than sixty German inns and eating houses.[3]

The Albergo del Sole, as well as the Bell, had a great reputation in the XVth century, and, although much altered, it still exists at the present day in the Via di Biscione (Nos. 73-76). No one now dreams that this ordinary looking building, with the deep arched entrance and dark picturesque courtyard was once a hotel for foreigners of the first rank, in which the ambassador of France was lodged in 1489.[4] It is situated where the poultry market (Piazza Pollarola) adjoins the Via di Biscione; here the palace of the Pichi may be recognized by a fine doorway bearing the name of the builder. The

[1] In 1525 the house came into the possession of the Anima; see NAGL-LANG, Mitteil, aus dem Archiv. des deutsch, Nationalhospizes, Rom., 1899, 207; SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 107 *seq.*

[2] NOACK (Das deutsches Rom, 51), gives an illustration of the house of Vanozza, but identifies it, as do all the others, as the Bell Inn.

[3] See MURATORI, Script., III., 2, 878; GREGOROVIUS, VII.[2], 696.

[4] *Ibid.* VII.[2], 705; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 258.

names of an inn and a street in this neighbourhood remind us still of an old inn named Paradiso, probably on account of its moderate prices. Before the Corso Vittorio Emanuele was laid out one could read at the point where the Via del Paradiso branches off from the Via Papale, the inscription of Girolamo Zorzi concerning the great inundation of the Tiber in the reign of Alexander VI., in December, 1495.[1] The street of the Baullari (trunkmakers), which was appropriately situated in the quarter of the inns, leads to the Palazzo Massimo.

Like the Rioni Ponte and Parione, the *Rione della Regola* contained a large population. As the name Regola (Arenula), meaning sand or gravel, indicates, this was the quarter alongside the Tiber which was crossed by the Via Giulia and a street parallel to it, which went through the Piazza Farnese to the Ponte Quattro Capi. The sharp contrasts, of which the Eternal City offered so many examples, were, perhaps, nowhere more frequent than in this quarter, The huge luxurious palaces were in acute contrast to the little old churches, and the streets filled with people carrying on their trades, the names of which they still retain to the present day: Via de' Cappellari (hat makers), Via de' Giubbonari (doublet makers), Via de' Pettinari (comb-makers).[2] Many Jews had also settled here, and where they were most numerous, the old palace of the Cenci stood.[3] One can best form an idea of the condition of this neighbourhood at that time, for it has been completely changed by the laying out of the Via Arenula, if one enters the dirty Via di S. Bartolomeo de' Vaccinari,[4] where, above all, a pre-gothic house of the XIIIth century

[1] *Cf.* Vol. V., of this work, p. 476 *seqq.*

[2] Certain trades were also carried on elsewhere in special streets, hence Via Coronari (see *supra* p. 372), Via Cartari (papermakers), Via Chiavari (locksmiths), Via Calzettari (shoemakers), Via Pianellari (slippermakers); *cf.* SIMONETTI, Vie, 16 *seq.* We can see what an ordinary street in Rome looked like at that time, from a drawing of Fed. Zuccaro, copied in the Bullet. d'Arte, V. (1911).

[3] See STETTINER, 443.

[4] Their Brotherhood, founded in 1552, belonged to the parish church of S. Stefano de Arenula; *cf.* SIMONETTI, Vie, 31.

with a pillared portico attracts the notice of the antiquarian. Such open porticos on the ground level afford welcome protection from rain; they are characteristic of mediæval houses, in most of which a covered loggia was provided.[1] In the porticos antique pillars were often introduced, as in the case of the house in the Via df S. Bartolomeo. Through the last arch of this house one enters the Vicolo del Melangolo, a neighbourhood which represents the mediæval state of the city in a striking manner.[2]

The Rione della Regola contained three houses for pilgrims: S. Maria di Monserrato for Spaniards, S. Tommaso for Englishmen, and S. Brigida for Swedes. The exiled Archbishop of Upsala, Olaus Magnus,[3] lived in S. Brigida, which was in the Piazza Farnese. S. Girolamo della Carità and the church of S. Benedetto in Arenula, which was in the year 1558 given to the confraternity of the Trinità de' Pellegrini,[4] also belonged to the Rione della Regola.

This quarter had been notably improved when Sixtus IV. had joined it to the Trastevere by the erection of the Ponte Sisto; it received a very great development under Paul III., because the magnificent Palazzo Farnese, begun in 1530 by Antonio da Sangallo, which, in accordance with the will of Paul III., became the property of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, was situated there. This truly regal building,[5] of immense size, which was finished as far as the façade on the Via Giulia soon after 1547, was marked on Bufalini's plan as the palace of Paul III. It attained a world-wide celebrity, as much because of the share taken by Michael Angelo in its erection, as because

[1] See Gnoli in the Nuova Antologia, CXXXVII. (1908), 678.

[2] The Vicolo Melangelo, as well as the house Via de' Vaccinari No. 29, are reproduced in Stettiner, 369, 398.

[3] See Rot, Itin., 248; Bertolotti, Artisti Bolognesi, 27. Concerning O. Magnus *cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 478, n. 2. The archbishop received a monthly income from Julius III.; see *Intr. et Exit. 1554 in the Cod. Vat. 10605 of the Vatican Library.

[4] See Mél. d. Archéol., XXI., 481.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 579 *seqq.*; see also Rodocanachi, Rome, 30 *seq.*

of the collection which it contained. Cardinal Alessandro, although he was often in financial difficulties, acquired, in the grand manner of the Medici, treasures of every description: manuscripts, books, and pictures, but above all statues. The latter were partly purchased, and partly obtained by means of special excavations in Rome and the neighbourhood. The Baths of Caracalla afforded the richest finds, for there were brought to light in 1546 and 1547 works of art which threw all former discoveries into the shade. Among these were the group known as the Farnese Bull, the Hercules, the Flora and numerous other valuable pieces of sculpture.[1]

Not far from the Palazzo Farnese, near the Ponte Sisto, is the palace of Girolamo Capodiferro (now Palazzo Spada), built in 1540, and decorated by Giulio Mazzoni, a pupil of Daniele da Volterra. The celebrated house of Branconio dell' Aquila, in the Borgo, served as a model for this, the imitation being clearly apparent in the façade, which is almost too richly decorated with statues, stucco and other ornamentation. The decoration of the picturesque courtyard is much more successful. Behind the palace, a garden extends down to the Tiber. Julius III. enriched the collection of the Cardinal by the present of the colossal statue of Pompey.[2]

The house of the highly respected physician in ordinary to Paul III., Francesco Fusconi of Norcia, was between the Palazzo Farnese and the Campo di Fiore; he too had collected valuable antiques, as the statue of Meleager, now in the Vatican, testifies. Latino Giovenale, another collector of antiquities, also lived in this neighbourhood.[3]

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 160 *seqq.*, 181 *seq.*, and Renaissance, 125 *seq.* See also Bull. arch. com., 1900, 44 *seq.*, ROCCHI, Piante, 252; HÜBNER, I., 96 *seq.* Concerning Card. A. Farnese as a collector, *cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, X., 292, 397 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 70; LETAROUILLY, 243 *seqq.*; BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 200; RIEGL, Barockkunst, 68 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 85.

[3] See ALDROVANDI, 163, 164; MARINI, Archiatri, I., 325 *seqq.*; MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, VII., 99; HELBIG, 1^2, 75-6; HÜBNER, I., 98, 102.

On the other bank of the river, opposite the Rione della Regola, the *Trastevere*, rich in old churches and towers, which formed a Rione by itself, spread out on all sides. Foreigners seldom penetrated into this part of the city, which was very thickly populated. It was the quarter of the wine-dealers and sailors. The hospital for mariners, as also that for the Genoese, were not far from the venerable church of St. Cecilia.[1] From the harbour on the Ripa Grande, a steep flight of steps and an easy carriage road led to the hall of the Dogana, close to which was the little church of the sailors, S. Maria della Torre, so called after the tower erected by Leo IV. in the IXth century.[2] The great orphanage of S. Michele rose here towards the end of the XVIIth century.

Almost the whole of this quarter of the city was intersected by a long street, the Via Trastiberina (now Lungarina and Lungaretta) which led from the Ponte di S. Maria (later Ponte Rotto) past the churches of S. Salvatore della Corte and S. Agata, to the piazza and basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere. Right and left of this main artery, which was laid out by Julius II., a maze of dark and tortuous lanes spread out, the most interesting of which have been sacrificed to the embankment of the Tiber. It is very difficult to-day to form an idea of the former state of the neighbourhood. The houses, many of which possessed loggie and small perrons, were nowhere so crowded together as here,[3] while among them were numerous small churches and convents, as well as the very substantial dwellings of the old patrician families, such as the Stefaneschi, Ponziani, Papareschi, Normanni, Alberteschi, Mattei, and Anguillara, which were provided with towers, giving them the

[1] See BUFALINI (C).

[2] See HERMANIN, Stadt Rom, 25 and plate 33. Concerning S. Maria della Torre *cf.* also EGGER, Veduten, plates 69, 76, p. 38, 40.

[3] Only a few are still in existence. *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 132, n. 2. Illustrations of the houses of the XIIIth century opposite S. Cecilia in STETTINER, 401. A very old house may still be seen in the Vicolo della Luce. Concerning the ancient Via Vascellari, which is, unfortunately soon to be destroyed, see ANGELI in the Giorn. d'Italia, 1912, n. 207.

appearance of fortresses. The quarter of S. Pellegrino in Viterbo[1] gives us a better idea to-day of the mediæval appearance which the Trastevere presented at the end of the Renaissance period. The numerous towers were specially characteristic, but of these only two have been preserved, the Torre Anguillara[2] and that of the Gaetani on the island at the Ponte Quattro Capi. Of the citadels of the nobles, the exceedingly interesting dwelling of the Mattei at the Ponte S. Bartolomeo still remains. The very great number of towers, which astonish us in all the representations of the period, gave the name of "De Turribus" to the Church of S. Lorenzo de Janiculo, destroyed at the erection of the Monastery of S. Egidio.[3]

No part of the city approached the Trastevere in picturesque charm, the Ripa Grande affording a most attractive view from the opposite bank; Pieter Brueghel painted it from there in the year 1553.[4]

Through the porta Settimiana, then recently erected by Alexander VI., went the old road of the pilgrims journeying to St. Peter's, the Via Sancta (now the Lungara) leading to the Porta S. Spirito in the Borgo. Along this road, of which Julius II. intended to form a corresponding street to the Via Giulia, only isolated houses and churches were to be found, for this district lay outside the fortifications. It was the district of the large "vignas," among which those of Cardinals Maffei, Salviati and Farnese were prominent; the celebrated Farnesina of Agostino Chigi also belonged to Cardinal Farnese. Among the churches of the Janiculum, S. Pietro in Montorio goes back to the IXth century, S. Onofrio having only been

[1] *Cf.* PINZI, I principali monumenti di Viterbo, Viterbo, 1894, and EGIDI, Viterbo, Napoli, 1912.

[2] *Cf.* GNOLI in the review, Cosmos Cathol., 1901.

[3] See ASHBY in the Mél d'archéol., XXI., 482. The house of the Mattei (now Ferrini) is in the Piazza Piscinula, Nos. 186-189; several dainty gothic windows and the portal with the arms and the tesselated escutcheon, are still in a good state of preservation.

[4] See EGGER, Veduten, 15, 38, and plate 70.

founded in 1435, by the hermit Niccolò di Forca Palena.[1]

Like the Trastevere, the *Rione di S. Angelo* was a real quarter of the people. This was enclosed by the Rioni Regola and S. Eustachio on the west, and by Pigna on the north and Campitelli on the east. Numerous Jews lived here, who, besides extensive money transactions, carried on, even at that time, a business which they have continued to practise in Rome to the present day, that of tailors.[2] In Bufalini's plan there is a street near S. Angelo in Pescaria, which is designated Via de' Giudei. It is clear from Aldrovandi and others that the later Piazza del Pianto bore, in the Cinquecento, the name of Piazza Giudea. In this neighbourhood, the Santa Croce had their palace, which contained numerous antiquities.[3] Even as early as the beginning of the Renaissance period the citizens of Rome had made some attempt to beautify this quarter as well, a proof of this being a remarkable building of the Quattrocento in the Piazza del Pianto which has survived all the transformations which this neighbourhood in particular has undergone in recent times. This building is the dwelling, erected in 1467, of Lorenzo de' Manili, who, being an enthusiastic lover of antiquity, connected his houses by a large inscription which runs under the windows of the first floor, and which imitates so exactly the Roman capitals of the best period that it might easily be taken for an antique building. This pompous inscription states that when Rome shall be re-born in its ancient form, he, Laurentius Manlius (he described himself in this way, because he was descended from the celebrated old Roman family) would contribute to the adornment of his beloved native city, as far as his modest for-

[1] *Cf.* TOMASETTI, Campagna Romana, II., 476 *seq.* The vignas on Bufalini's plan (C). *Cf.* ROT, Itin. Rom., 262. The Vigna Salviati was visited in 1551 by Julius III.; see MASSARELLI, 211.

[2] *Cf.* VOGELSTEIN-RIEGER, II., 117 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 235 *seq.* A tombstone of 1543 which has been saved from the Jewish cemetery in Trastevere, is now in S. Paolo fuori le mura; see FORCELLA, XII., 15.

[3] See ALDROVANDI, 236; MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 141: HÜBNER, I., 113; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 17 *seq.*

tune would permit. As a true representative of the Renaissance, he dated the inscription according to the foundation of Rome, and had his name cut in Greek letters on the façade, into which fragments of antique sculpture and inscriptions were introduced. On the sills of the windows towards the Piazza Costaguti one may read the characteristic greeting, expressive of the joy of the builder at the new birth of beauty in the Eternal City: *Have Roma.*[1]

The fish-market was held in the Portico of Octavia, near the adjoining church of S. Angelo in Pescaria.[2] Older visitors to Rome will still remember this exceedingly picturesque—in spite of all the squalor—corner, which has been frequently reproduced by artists.

The most important monument of antiquity in this quarter was the Theatre of Marcellus. This building, owned by the Savelli since 1368, had the appearance of a mediæval stronghold, imparted to it by its earlier owners, the Pierleone, but greatly lessened by the reconstruction carried out by Baldassare Peruzzi. In the arches on the ground floor were the vaulted warehouses of merchandize, which even to this day retain the

[1] The house of Lorenzo de' Manili, whose antiques are praised by Albertini (see HÜBNER, I., 104) now bears the number 18; Gnoli was the first again to draw attention to this extremely interesting building (see Giorn. d'Italia, 1906, n. 36, and Roma, 148, 152 *seq.*; better reproductions in STETTINER, 409). The inscription, not quite accurately published by RODOCANACHI (Rome, 177) is as follows: VRBE. ROMA. IN. PRISTINAM. FORMA [M.R] ENASCENTE. LAVR. MANLIVS. KARITAE. ERGA. PATRI [AM. SVAM. A] EDIS. SV. ||NOMINE. MANLI ANAS. PRO. FORT[VN]AR. MEDIOCRITAE. AD. FOR. IVDEOR. SIBI. POSTERISQ [SVIS. A. FUND.] P. ||AB. VRB. CON. M.M. CC. XXI. L.AN.M.III. D.II. P. XI. CAL. AVG. For good old reproductions of the Pescaria see EGGER, Veduten, plate 52, 53.

[2] See FICHARD, 25. A reproduction of the fishmarket, completely destroyed in 1878 and 1889 in LANCIANI, Renaissance, II.; *cf.* BARACCONI, 443; BARTOLI, n. 58; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 261, plate 52.

impress of the Middle Ages.[1] Of the palaces of the Mattei, only one was in existence at that time; the others, erected under Pius IV., in the Flaminian Circus, have given quite another character to the neighbourhood near the church of S. Caterina de' Funari, built in 1544.

The *Rione di Ripa* followed the Tiber opposite the southern part of Trastevere, the island, with the church of S. Bartolomeo, also belonging to it. In this church, the chapel of the guild of the mill-owners, is still in existence; one can see on the tombs there, more or less roughly represented, the floating mills which had been anchored not far from the island since the time of Belisarius.[2] The district of the Rione di Ripa, which was covered with buildings without any open spaces, only reached as far as the Ponte di S. Maria, which, restored under Julius III., was destined to fall a victim to the inundation of 1557, and on the landward side, turned in the direction of the Capitol and the Velabro. Not far from the latter, rose the church of S. Giovanni Decollato, the church of the confraternity which provided criminals with the consolations of religion before their execution. There were nothing but smaller houses near the old basilica of S. Maria in Cosmedin. It was a neglected neighbourhood, where the palace of a noble of the XIth century stood in the midst of indescribable filth; this was the dwelling of Nicholas Crescentius, the exterior of which was most curiously adorned with antique fragments, and which then bore, as we can see from Heemskerck's panorama, the name of Casa di Pilato, later changed to di Rienzo.[3]

[1] *Cf.* HERMANN, 17 and plate 33.

[2] *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Corporations ouvrières a Rome, I., Paris, 1894, 71 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, I.[3], 354; BARTOLI, Vedute, c.

[3] See FICHARD's description, Italia, 65; *cf.* LANCIANI, The destruction of Ancient Rome, New York, 1899, 17; BARACCONI, 315; TOMASSETTI in the Roma Antologia, Ser. 3, Ann. 1, 1880. The name Casa di Pilato is connected with the Passion Play (*cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 53 *seq.*); *see* LANCIANI, Pagan and Christian Rome, London, 1892, 180 *seq.* A fine old reproduction of the Casa di Pilato in EGGER, Rom. Veduten, plate 55. As a correlative to the Casa di Pilato there was the house of the High

To the south the Rione di Ripa included the whole of the Aventine, the Baths of Caracalla and Monte Testaccio. On the open space in front of the latter the traditional coarse amusements of the Roman populace always took place at carnival time, when the municipal officials and the upper classes would also be present.[1] There were no houses of any kind on the Aventine, with its venerable churches and the picturesque remains of the citadel of the Savelli.

The *Rione di Campitelli*, which extended to the Porta S. Sebastiano, also included a district which was very little built over. In this quarter, to which the Colosseum and the Palatine belong, there was no life except at the foot of the Capitol. The principal remains here were the two churches of Our Lady, S. Maria della Consolazione, with an old picture of the Madonna, at which the many votive offerings and pictures testified to the great veneration in which it was held,[2] and the church of the Roman Senate, S. Maria in Aracoeli, built on the ruins of the Capitoline Temple of Juno, and with which the wonderfully poetical legend of the appearance of the Queen of Heaven to the Emperor Augustus is associated.[3]

On the left of the great flight of steps which in 1348 led to the church from the piazza of the Capitol, Fichard saw a considerable number of marble sculptures, several of which have survived to the present day. The church itself, over which the Senate had the right of patronage, was and still is very rich in sepulchral monuments. The Frankfort traveller,

Priest Caiaphas in the Via Bocca della Verità. It reminds us of the Osteria della (*sic*) Caiffa, the name of which Ruffini, in his extremely superficial Notizie storiche intorno all' origine dei nomi di alcuni osterie (13) erroneously derives from a former owner. (Information kindly given me by Prof. Hülsen).

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 356, n. 1; see also BARTOLI, n. 62; GNOLI's essay in the Giorn. d'Italia, 1909, n. 53, and G. FERRI in the Corriere d'Italia, 1912, n. 48. The Testaccio games were already described in 1404; see *The solace of pilgrims*, ed. Mills, Oxford, 1911, 51 *seq.*

[2] See FABRICIUS, Roma, 247.

[3] *Cf.* HÜLSEN, The legend of Aracoeli, Rome, 1907.

however, mentions only the tomb of St. Helena, that of Queen Catherine of Bosnia and the resting place of the humanist, Flavio Biondo.[1]

The Capitol, so celebrated on account of the memories associated with it, was visited by all foreigners because of the bronzes presented by Sixtus IV., the She-Wolf, the Thorn Extractor, Camillus, fragments of the bronze Colossus, and Hercules. Under Paul III. it lost the appearance of a mediæval citadel, which it had until then preserved. In an engraving of the year 1538 we can already see the magnificent external staircase which Guglielmo della Porta executed from the design of Michael Angelo, and the statue of Marcus Aurelius so effectively set up in the middle of the square.[2] The reconstruction of the front of the Palace of the Senators took place soon afterwards, as did that of the porticos at the sides, of which that on the right hand rose during the reign of Julius III.[3]

On the north, the Rione di Campitelli adjoined the *Rione della Pigna*, which formed a rather irregular square in the middle of the city. This district contained the best preserved monument of antiquity, the Pantheon, called by the people S. Maria Rotonda. The open space in front of it was then much higher, so that one had to descend to the entrance by a flight of steps. Small houses stood round about the building, being even built on to it on the left side. Its condition at that time can be clearly seen from a drawing by Heemskerck. One can here see, behind the point of the gable, the little Romanesque belfry built in 1270; the vestibule is on the left side, and is half walled up; Paul III. was the first to remove this unsightly masonry. The Egyptian basalt lions, afterwards removed to the Vatican, and the magnificent bath of porphyry, which now adorns the tomb of Clement XII. in the Lateran,

[1] FICHARD, Italia 30; see also FABRICIUS, Roma, 242 *seq.*

[2] See HERMANIN, plate 5. *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 568 *seq.* Concerning the Capitoline collection of antiques *cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, p. 459. *Cf.* also HÜBNER, I., 77, and HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 29 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 351.

stood in front of this exquisite circular building. Small houses had also been built into the splendid ruins of the adjacent Baths of Agrippa.[1]

The most important church of the Rione della Pigna was that of the Dominicans, S. Maria sopra Minerva, containing the tomb of St. Catherine of Siena. Against the church stood a library which was of special celebrity,[2] as was the small, but excellently arranged collection of books belonging to the Augustinians of S. Maria del Popolo. The houses of the Porcari, in the immediate neighbourhood, were rich in antiquities, as well as the Casa Maffei, not far off, near the Arco di Ciambella, in the picturesque courtyard of which Heemskerck saw the statue of the dead Niobe, which afterwards came into the possession of the Bevilacqua, and eventually reached Munich. This collection, one of the oldest in Rome, had already diminished in the time of Aldrovandi. The house was at that time occupied by the eminent Cardinal Bernardino Maffei.[3]

The little church of S. Giovanni della Pigna, rebuilt by Vittoria Colonna in the piazza of the same name, the Palazzo del Duca d'Urbino[4] (later Doria) and the Palazzo di S. Marco (now di Venezia) also belonged to the Rione della Pigna. The last-named served Paul III., and also occasionally Julius III.,

[1] *Cf.* FICHARD, 56 *seq.*; SPRINGER in the Jahrbuch der Preus-Kuntssammlungen 1891, 121 *seq.*; MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzen. bücher, 136, 155, 160; BARTOLI, 47; HERMANIN, 15 and plate 18; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 7. Concerning the romanesque belfry *cf.* ASHBY, Un Panorama de Rome par Ant. v. d. Wyngaerde: Mél d' archéol., XXI., 481, n. 1.

[2] See FICHARD, Italia, 57, who states: "Praeter Vaticanam bibliothecam istic paucas habet excellentes." FABRICIUS (Roma, 207), also mentions especially the libraries of S. Maria in Aracoeli and S. Agostino.

[3] See MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 134; HÜBNER, I., 103 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 3.

[4] See ADINOLFI, Roma, II., 292 *seqq.*; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 34. Cardinal Cajetan had lived in the palace; see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 407.

as a summer residence.[1] The mighty building, with its magnificent halls, was excellently suited for the reception of the Pope and his extensive suite. A very special curiosity, which did not escape the notice of Fichard, was the gigantic map of the world at the end of the Quattrocento, which was preserved in the palace and was adorned with reproductions of human beings, and land and sea monsters, and which excited much interest and admiration.[2] Not far from the monumental building of the Palazzo di S. Marco was the little church of S. Maria della Strada, given to the Jesuits by the Farnese Pope.

The frequent residences of the Popes in the Palazzo di S. Marco gave an importance to the Rione della Pigna, which was separated from the *Rione di Trevi*[3] by the Corso (Via Lata), in which the Colonna had their very extensive palace near the SS. Apostoli. The fountain of Trevi still retained the simple form given to it by Nicholas V. A great part of the Rione di Trevi, which reached as far as the Porta Salara and the Porta Nomentana, was uninhabited.

Mighty ruins stood on the Quirinal; the remains of the Baths of Constantine and the Temple of Serapis. In front of the baths, facing towards the piazza, stood the statues of the Horse-breakers, on a clumsy mediæval base; on account of their size and their good state of preservation, they were among the most popular monuments in Rome, and the Quirinal was named Monte Cavallo after them. It was almost entirely taken up with gardens, vineyards, olive groves and villas. Pomponius Laetus and Platina had already laid out villas and gardens on the Quirinal, which was much esteemed on account of its good air. Cardinals Prospero Colonna, Oliviero Carafa and Ridolfo Pio da Carpi had done likewise. The artistic collection of Cardinal Carpi comprised, besides statues and reliefs, small

[1] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 96 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* DENGEL, Die verschollene *Mappa Mundi* im Palazzo di Venezia zu Rom: Mitteil. der Geogr. Gessellschaft in Wien, LV. (1912).

[3] *Cf.* ADINOLFI, Roma, II., 275 *seq.*

bronzes, terra cottas, vases, and antique furniture, as well as books, manuscripts, and pictures. The smaller objects of this collection, of which Aldrovandi gives an enthusiastic description, were almost all in the palace of this Cardinal in the Campo Marzo; the marble statues were nearly all placed in the villa, the extensive gardens of which Aldrovandi calls a paradise on earth.[1]

The collection of Cardinal Carpi was, however, surpassed by that of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, the son of Lucrezia Borgia. This ardent collector of antiquities had filled his residences in the city with treasures of this kind, and since 1554, he had been gradually bringing the most important works of art to his villa on the Quirinal, with the beautifying of which he was still occupied in 1560. This wonderful country house, on the southern slope of the hill, which occupied the site of the grounds of the later Papal palace, was celebrated for the arrangement of the fountains, which were richly adorned with statues.[2]

Paul III. was specially fond of staying on the Quirinal. He possessed a garden there as early as 1535, which attracted much notice on account of its beauty.[3] Later on he lived in the villa of Cardinal Carafa, and it was there that the old Pope of eighty-two breathed his last.[4] In the gardens of the Colonna near S. Silvestro, Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna carried on those conversations on Sunday afternoons which Francesco de Hollanda has preserved for us, and which have been said to have been the last flickerings of the spirit which made the Renaissance great and noble.[5] Vittoria always had in mind the idea of building a convent of nuns on the ruins

[1] *Cf.* ALDROVANDI, 201, *seqq.*, 295 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 112. III., 176 *seq.*; BARTOLI, n. 88; HÜBNER, I., 85 *seq.* Concerning the Dioscuri see MICHAELIS in the Bull. d. Ist. germ., XIII., 259 *seq.*, and HÜBNER, Detailstudien zur Gesch. der Antiken Roms in der Renaissance, Rome, 1911, 318 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LANCIANI, III., 186 *seqq.*, 191 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 90 *seq.*

[3] FICHARD, Italia, 41.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 452 *seq.*

[5] KRAUS-SAUER, III., 704, 777.

of the Temple of Serapis, in order that the last remains of paganism might be trodden under the feet of pure-minded women.[1]

Towards the north, and round that magnificent relic of antiquity, the column of Marcus Aurelius, and named after it, lay the *Rione di Colonna*.[2] In the middle of the XVIth century, the ambassadors of France and Portugal had their palaces in this quarter, near Monte Citorio, while the Imperial ambassadors resided in the Palazzo Riario[3] (later Altemps) which is still in the Rione di Ponte. Formerly almost all the ambassadors lived in the Rione di Ponte; the transference of their residences into the Rione di Colonna was a sign of the coming change of the centre of life in the city, which was soon to be brought about in an ever increasing degree.

The principal church in the Rione di Colonna was S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which, since May, 1554, had been the title of Cardinal Morone, the largest parish in Rome thereby becoming subject to him.[4] The palace of Cardinal Quiñones (later Fiano)[5] adjoined the church; at this point, where until 1662 an ancient triumphal arch, the Arco di Portogallo, spanned the Corso, the fully built over part of this street ended.[6] Several names still remind us of the end of the houses, such as the Via Capo le Case. To the north the Rione di Colonna reached as far as the Porta Pinciana and the Porta Salara.

Towards the end of the Renaissance period, the Rioni of S. Eustachio and Campo Marzo increased in importance. The *Rione di S. Eustachio*, called after the church of the same name,

[1] *Cf.* Reumont, III., 2, 757.

[2] *Cf.* Adinolfi, Roma, II., 335 *seqq.*

[3] See Bufalini (G). Although the court of the Riario palace is very much altered, the original front and the side towards the Vicolo de' Soldati, with the large tower, which resembles that of the palace of S. Marco, are in a good state of preservation.

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of Ippolito Capilupi to Cardinal E. Gonzaga dated Rome, May 10, 1554 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* Ehrle, Roma al tempo di Giulio III., 33, n. 14.

[6] Concerning the state of Corso at that time, *cf.* Lanciani in the Bull. arch. comun., 235 *seq.*, and Renaissance, 37 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*

stretched eastwards from the Rioni Ponte and Parione. The University was situated there, as well as the much frequented church of S. Agostino, and numerous palaces of the Roman nobles. In the neighbourhood of the University, in the Piazza de' Lombardi, there stood, near the venerable church of S. Salvatore in Thermis,[1] the Palazzo Medici, the residence of Leo X. when a Cardinal. In this palace, which came into the hands of the Farnese under Paul III., the unhappy Duke and Duchess, Ottavio and Margherita Farnese, resided from the year 1538, for which reason it was called the Palazzo Madama. Two drawings by Heemskerck give a complete picture of the costly antiquities which the palace contained. Most of these, which were placed there without any special arrangement, were still in the gallery, when Aldrovandi wrote his description of them. The two Aphrodites, the two statues of Bacchus, and the Tyrannicides were placed here, and on the wall of the adjoining garden the Dying Gaul. The Villa Madama, with its collection, which also belonged to the Duchess Margherita, was a possession of inestimable value.[2]

The palaces of the distinguished family of the della Valle, the members of which had been from early times zealous collectors, contained an even greater number of treasures of all kinds. The gallery of the old Palazzo della Valle, of which the diligent Heemskerck has left us a sketch,[3] was adorned by the celebrated statue of Pan, which, while it was in the possession of Leo X., was used for the decoration of the triumphal arch of the Valle, and under Clement VII. was placed in the Capitoline museum, by the side of the Marforio. The principal pieces of sculpture, which had also been used for the said triumphal arch, were placed by Cardinal Andrea della Valle (d. 1534) in his palace close by (now the Palazzo Valle-Rustici-

[1] Concerning this church, only destroyed in 1907, the objects of interest in which were placed in the palace at S. Luigi de' Francesi, see SABATINI, La Chiesa di S. Salvatore in Thermis, Roma, 1907.

[2] See MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 121, 152, 161 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Scavi, I., 146 *seq.*; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 4-5; HÜBNER, 105, *seq.*

[3] See MICHAELIS, *loc. cit.*. 158.

Bufalo).[1] This building, the principal entrance of which was adorned by a large head of Zeus, was a real museum. Everywhere, in the entrance hall, in the courtyard, as well as on the upper floors, there were so many marble works of art that the prosaic Fichard cries out in admiration that the real treasures of Roman antiquity were to be found there.[2] In the quadrilateral court, which had been built for the statues, there were at that time, the Venus de' Medici and the Ganymede of the Uffizi. After the death of the Cardinal, his nephew, Quinzio de' Rustici,[3] became the owner of these treasures.

Not far from this magnificent residence, Cardinal Andrea had a new palace built by Raphael's pupil, Lorenzetto, in the present day Piazza di Valle; this had not been completely finished on account of the catastrophe of 1527.[4] The treasures collected there as well, aroused the admiration of Fichard.[5] The rarest works adorned the celebrated gallery of statues on the upper floor, the corridors at the sides of which opened on to pillared halls. An engraving by Hieronymus Cock, which he perhaps executed from a drawing by Heemskerck, shows this marvellous hall with its precious contents; a drawing by Francesco de Hollanda, made rather later, gives an exact picture of the right wall. The manner in which antique reliefs, statues in niches, and busts in circular recesses, were arranged, became a model for the whole of Rome.[6] This new palace was inherited by the Capranica family, whose name it still bears.[7] They sold the antiques to Cardinal Ferdinando

[1] Now Corso Vittorio Emanuele No. 101, with the inscription "Andreas Car. de Valle" over the principal entrance; *cf.* LETAROUILLY, I., 17.

[2] Italia, 68.

[3] See MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbucher, 235 *seq.*, where the collections of the Valle are treated in a very detailed manner; *cf.* also HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 15 *seq.*, and HÜBNER, I., 117 *seq.*

[4] See VASARI, IV., 579; *cf.* RODOCANACHI, Rome, 34.

[5] Italia, 68.

[6] See HUBNER, I., 74; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Beiträge, 564 *seq.*

[7] Via del Teatro Valle No. 16. The site of the gallery of statues is now occupied by the Teatro Valle. The investigator into the

de' Medici in 1584, who used them for the adornment of his villa on the Pincio, but most of them were removed to Florence in the XVIIIth century. In Cock's engraving one can see the Marsyas of the Uffizi, the so-called Thusnelda and the two large clothed statues of the Loggia de' Lanzi, the statue of a barbarian of the Giardino Boboli, and many other masterpieces now preserved in the city on the Arno.[1]

Under Leo X. the Rione di S. Eustachio was enriched by two new and imposing palaces: the Palazzo Lante ai Capretari, built by Jacopo Sansovino, and the Palazzo Maccarani, which Giulio Romano designed for the Cenci. The Palazzo Patrizi, situated near the French national church, was also celebrated, as were the Palazzo Caffarelli (Vidoni) and the Palazzo Piccolomini in the Piazza Siena.[2] Constanza Piccolomini, Duchess of Amalfi, gave up her residence to the Theatines, under Sixtus V., who transformed it into a monastery, alongside which arose the large baroque church of S. Andrea della Valle. The little church of S. Sebastiano di Via Papæ, of which an altar in the new building reminds us, disappeared in the complete reorganization of the district which was undertaken at that time.

The master of ceremonies of Alexander VI., Johannes Burchard, from the diocese of Strasbourg, had built himself a large house in the Rione di S. Eustachio, not far from the Palazzo Cesarini; on the tower of this house one could read the inscription "Argentina," a name which still lives on in the name of the street and theatre there. This house was an exception in the city of the Renaissance, for it was built in the gothic style, as was customary in Germany. Part of it, though in a deplorable condition, can still be seen.[3]

history of Christina of Sweden, Baron v. Bildt, lives in the palace; he is enthusiastically devoted to antiquity, art and literature.

[1] See MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 225-235.

[2] See ADINOLFI, Via Sacra, 65 *seq.*; CALLARI, 45 *seq.*, 51 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI, Il palazzo Vidoni, Roma, 1905; HÜLSEN, Bilder aus der Gesch. des Kapitols, Rom, 1899, 8, 29. *Cf.* also Vol. VIII., of this work, p. 129 *seqq.*

[3] Via Sudario No. 45: see GNOLI, La Torre Argentina in Roma, Roma, 1908; NOACK, Das deutsche Rom, 58 *seq.*; STETTINER, 445.

The *Rione di Campo Marzo* restricted the former Campus Martius to a much smaller space. The central point of this, the most northern part of Rome, which was bounded on the west by the Tiber, and on the east by the Pincio, was that mighty monument of antiquity, the Mausoleum of the Emperor Augustus. It had served the Colonna as a fortress in the Middle Ages, and had been turned into a garden under Paul III.; the Soderini had laid it out by using the remains of the walls which encircled it, and adorning it with statues in the fashion of the period. The obelisk, found in 1519 near S. Rocco, which had once stood at the entrance of the Mausoleum, lay, broken into four pieces, in the Via di Ripetta.[1]

Many foreigners, as the names of the streets prove, had settled in this quarter, on account of the national charitable institutions for the Bretons, the Portuguese, the Sclavonians and the Lombards: S. Ivo, S. Antonio, S. Girolamo and S. Ambrogio (afterwards S. Carlo in Corso). This district had improved a great deal since the time of Leo. X.[2] Under Julius III. it became still more important, for it was that Pope who had the great Palazzo Cardelli, which had been used by Cardinal Carpi from 1537 to 1547, reconstructed and decorated, to serve as a residence for his brother.[3] The celebrated hospital of S. Giacomo in Augusta, the old Benedictine monastery of St. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Maria, SS^ma^ Trinità de' Monti on the Pincio, the burial place of the Rovere, S. Maria del Popolo,[4] which was filled with the most beautiful works of the Renaissance, all belonged to the Rione di Campo Marzo. The neighbouring gate, by which most of the visitors from the north entered the Eternal City, formed, with the bastions of Sixtus IV., a very picturesque object, as we can see from the sketch of Heemskerck.[5]

[1] See HERMANIN 27, plate 38; EGGER, Veduten, I., 20, plate 7.

[2] *Cf.* TESORONI, Il palazzo di Firenze, 7, and RODOCANACHI, Rome, 200 *seq.*

[3] See *supra* p. 351.

[4] FABRICIUS (Roma, 254), says: No church in Rome contains so many marble monuments.

[5] See EGGER, Veduten, 19, plate 2; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 6.

The irregular Piazza del Popolo was not yet adorned with the obelisks. Three streets, intersecting the Rione di Colonna, led thence into the city: on the right, the Via di Ripetta, on the left, the Via del Babuino, and in the centre, the Via Lata, or Corso, so called from the races held there in carnival time. These main streets, however, were by no means the busiest; near the gate the houses were few in number, while to the right and left, garden walls arose. The Via Babuino, named after the Silenus on a fountain, was not built over towards the Pincio. The northern part of the Ripetta is called Via Populi in Bufalini's plan. The small cross-street, joining the Ripetta to the Corso near the Mausoleum of Augustus, received the name of Via de' Pontefici from the frescoes with which the Spanish humanist and poet, Saturnio Gerona, who lived there, had decorated his house. They were portraits of the Popes under whom Saturnio had served during his fifty years residence in Rome.[1]

If one looks at the above mentioned districts of Rome, the most astonishing thing is the crowding together of the population in the low-lying neighbourhood of the Tiber. The wide hilly districts to the north and south and east, the Pincio, the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline and the Coelian, were, like the Aventine, almost uninhabited.[2] Besides the venerable basilicas, high towers, dating from mediæval times, rose up everywhere, but, apart from monasteries, there were in these neighbourhoods, which seemed consecrated for ever to prayer and seclusion, but few dwelling houses. The principal reason for this is given in a remark of Fichard, which seems very surprising in view of the plentiful supply of water now at the disposal of Rome, but which may be understood if we bear in mind the systematic destruction of the Roman aqueducts at the time of the Sack. The Frankfort traveller says that he saw very few fountains in the whole city. The population had to be content with the water from cisterns and from the

[1] *Cf.* LOHNINGER, S. Maria dell' Anima, 110 *seq.* Concerning Gerona's benevolence, *cf.* FORCELLA, VIII., 136.

[2] *Cf.* Bufalini's plan; see also FABRICIUS, Roma, 26.

Tiber, which was daily carried round the city.[1] To what a great extent this was done is evident from the fact that the water-carriers formed a guild of their own (the Compagnia degli Acquarenari).[2] They procured the water at the Porta del Popolo, where it was not yet contaminated, and then left it standing for four or five days. It seems incredible that the water of the yellow Tiber was considered healthy, and was carried about by Paul III. as well as by Clement VII., when they were travelling. The physician, Alessandro Petroni, the friend of Ignatius of Loyola, praises the beneficial effects of the water of the Tiber, in a pamphlet dedicated to Julius III.[3]

The uninhabited district, which comprised two-thirds of the space enclosed by the Aurelian walls, was full of the magic of past associations. The mighty remains of antiquity, as well as the venerable basilicas and monasteries, dating from the early days of Christianity and from mediæval times, lay scattered in magnificent isolation and picturesque solitude. They formed the chief attraction for the pilgrims, who continued to flock in crowds to the centre of ecclesiastical unity, while the wonders of the old churches did not escape the notice of scholars,[4] who, however, as well as educated people in

[1] FICHARD, Italia, 26; see also SCHMARSOW in the Repert. für Kunstwissensch, XIV., 132, and GNOLI, Roma, 189 *seq.*; *cf.* also FABRICIUS, Roma, 165.

[2] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Sopra il tarantismo etc., Roma, 1817, 68 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Renaissance, 78 *seq.*; BARACCONI, 154 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 210, 245.

[3] A. Petronius, De aqua Tiberina ad Julium III. P.M., Romae 1552. Giovan Batt. Modio, on the other hand, stated his opinion that the water was unhealthy in his now exceedingly rare publication *Il Tevere* (Roma, 1556) dedicated to Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, and he suggested that the Cardinal should lay the matter before Paul IV., and improve it by means of aqueducts (p. 59 *seq.*) The physician Andrea Bacci, however, addressed a memorandum, *Del Tevere* (s.a. later ed. Venice, 1576), at the same time to Cardinal Farnese in which he declared the water of the Tiber to be perfectly harmless.

[4] *Cf.* FABRICIUS, Roma 202, 211, 224, 226.

general, were far more attracted by the ancient ruins and buildings, for the study of which the topographical works of Bartolomeo Marliani, of 1544, and of Lucio Fauno, of 1548, gave a great deal of useful information.[1] The ruins of ancient Rome lay quite alone, for the vignas which many Cardinals and nobles had laid out in the hilly districts possessed for the most part only modest country houses, which were only occupied in the autumn. The great ostentatious villas, with extensive grounds, had as yet scarcely made their appearance, and the districts which had been the centre of Republican and Imperial life in ancient Rome, were now occupied by vineyards, gardens and fields, presenting a purely rural appearance, with a desolate area of ruins, of the complete desertion and solemn seclusion of which it is difficult at the present time to form any idea.[2]

Surrounded in great measure by old plane trees, dark cypresses, lofty pine trees and thick laurels, these old ruins were the delight of artists. The sketches of Heemskerck, as well as many of the later engravings of Du Pérac, afford a picture of indescribable romantic charm.[3] In many places the ruins served as warehouses or stables, as does the Sette Sale to this day; the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, says that it is wonderful to see how vineyards, gardens and little copses have arisen round the antique arches and buildings.[4]

The ancient buildings presented themselves to the spectator in all their splendour; they were far better preserved than they are to-day, for, in spite of all the destruction of past

[1] The work of Pirro Ligorio, with its wealth of divergent opinions, first appeared in 1553; such ideas, however, had already been prevalent; see EHRLE, Roma di Giulio III., 27.

[2] The condition at that time can be very well seen on Bufalini's plan, as well as on that of Pinardi. See ROCCHI, Piante, 47-48, 85; *cf.* FICHARD, Italia, 24. Bufalini (E) sketches the Vinea Io. Bapt. de Montibus, near the pyramid of Cestius.

[3] See DU PÉRAC, I Vestigi dell' antichità di Roma, Roma, 1575, and LAFRÉRY, Specul. Rom. magnificent.; EHRLE, Pianta del 1577, 10 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*

[4] MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 31.

centuries, many of them still preserved their old marble facing, their columns and other ornamentation. The creeping plants and brushwood, which had taken root wherever the cracks in the brickwork had been laid bare, had contributed slowly but surely to the work of destruction.

Great ruins always have something sublime in their appearance, affecting the spectator no less through the actual mass of stonework than by their appeal to the imagination, which gives a new existence to their former grandeur. Nowhere was such an impressive and affecting picture of the past offered to the traveller as in Rome, by the sight of this world of ancient gods and men lying in fragments. The melancholy which overcomes us "poor sons of a day" at such a spectacle, finds effective expression in the verses with which Joachim du Bellay, in the first book of his "Antiquités de Rome" (1558) speaks of the ruins which he had visited.

In singular contrast to the archæological *cultus*, which was so devoted to the worship of the antique, is the ruthless manner in which the ancient buildings were robbed of their marbles and columns during the whole of the Renaissance period, and used as convenient materials for new buildings; in their merciless search for antiquities, much more was destroyed than was ever intended or realized. Very disastrous too were the excavations under the foundations of the ancient buildings. One can clearly see how, in the Cinquecento, the mighty halls of the Baths of Diocletian were undermined and caused to collapse by such excavations. At the beginning of the reign of Julius III., a Sicilian priest had built a little chapel close to these great Baths of the ancient city, but he was driven thence by the vagabonds who used the ruins as a place of refuge.[1] These Thermæ, with their majestic halls, gave Fichard the impression of a row of churches. As a building he considered them worthy of the greatest admiration, but it was rather difficult at that time to determine for what purpose they had been erected.[2] Great changes were begun in that

[1] *Cf.* HERMANIN, 19, plate 24; see also Bollet. d' Arte, III. (1909), 364 *seqq.*

[2] FICHARD, Italia, 40.

neighbourhood by the laying out of the villa, the celebrated Horti Bellajani, which owed its origin to the artistic and ostentatious Cardinal du Bellay.[1]

The Baths of Titus and the Amphitheatrum Castrense, which served the monks of S. Croce in Gerusalemme as a garden, were, at that time, as the engravings show, in a much better state of preservation than they are to-day. The Colosseum made an immense impression on all visitors to Rome, although the lower storey was still partially buried, up to the capitals of the arches. Fichard describes it as the largest and most beautiful of all the monuments of antiquity; nowhere else, he says, can one realize so well the majesty of the Roman people as in this wonderful work, with the sight of which one can never be satiated. What must it have been, he adds, when it was still in a perfect state, and adorned with all its statues![2]

Heemskerck's sketches give a striking picture of the state of the Forum, in which the ruins and columns were half buried in earth and rubbish. They also show how the Arch of Titus was still quite walled in by its mediæval covering, while the Arch of Severus, on the other hand, had all three openings laid open to a considerable depth, but was still crowned by its mediæval battlements. Between the Arch of Severus and the Temple of Saturn, and quite close to the ruins of Vespasian's Temple, stood the old church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, which, more fortunate than others, had escaped destruction at the demolitions of Paul III. in connection with the solemn entry

[1] *Cf.* NIBBY, Roma. Parte antica, II., 802; LANCIANI, II., 138 *seq.*; EHRLE, Roma prima di Sisto V., 33; BARTOLI, 76; BARACCONI, 133; ROMIER in the Mél. d'archéol., XXXI., 27 *seq.* Concerning the entrance portal of the Villa, which has only lately been removed, see Annuario d. Assoc. artist. fra i cultori di architett. Rom., 1908, 58 *seq.*, and Nuova Antologia, CXXXVI. (1908), 411 *seq.* Concerning the deer park, which was near the Baths of Diocletian at the time of Leo X., see Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 133.

[2] See FICHARD, Italia, 32, 35; *cf.* MICHAELIS, Röm. Skizzenbücher, 153, 163; HERMANIN, plate 21.

of Charles V. into the city.[1] S. Maria Nuova still had the façade of Honorius III. The building alongside the church was connected with the Palatine by the mediæval fortress of the Frangipani.[2] Fichard could still admire, in the Basilica of Maxentius, then called the Templum Pacis, one of those immense white marble Corinthian columns, which once stood as the central pillars. He declared this column, which was later placed in front of S. Maria Maggiore, to be the most beautiful in Rome. In the Circus Maximus, which served as a vegetable garden, the arches which supported the tiers of seats were still in a good state of preservation ; the Romans of older times had had warehouses and taverns arranged there, where they could refresh themselves during the summer months.[3]

With regard to the Palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, at that time called the Palazzo Maggiore, Fichard acknowledged that he could not form any clear idea of what it once had looked like.[4] The hill, still covered with mighty ruins, was partly in the possession of monasteries and private persons, and partly without any owner. Everything was much overgrown with shrubs and trees, between which vineyards had been planted in suitable places. In several of the unfenced parts flocks of cattle and sheep were feeding.[5] An exquisite drawing by Heemskerck gives a very valuable general view of the south-western slope of the Palatine, and the expanse of the Circus Maximus. Heemskerck has also sketched the panorama which unfolds itself before the delighted eye of the visitor to the Palatine, taken from the platform of the Belvedere towards the Colosseum, as well as the picturesque ruins of the Velabro.[6]

[1] See HÜLSEN, Das Forum, 2nd Ed. Rome, 1905, 36 *seq.* ; *cf. ibid.* 38 *seq.*, concerning the description which Marliani gave in 1544 of the Forum and its monuments ("an exhaustive and critical piece of work for that period") and the controversy with P. Ligorio in the time of Julius III.

[2] *Cf.* BARTOLI, n. 4.

[3] FICHARD, 34.

[4] *Ibid.* 37.

[5] *Cf.* HERMANIN, plate 26.

[6] See EGGER, Veduten, I., 44 47, plates 96, 99, 112, 113.

Excavations had already been begun on the Palatine under Leo. X., and on a more comprehensive scale under Paul III., which were continued under Julius III. Pirro Ligorio describes these as an eye-witness. The transformation, which gave a great part of the Palatine a perfectly different appearance, is chiefly connected with the name of the nephew of the Farnese Pope, Alessandro Farnese having remodelled his vigna built there, and turned it into a magnificent villa. The value the Cardinal attached to this property is clear from the fact that in the document of presentation of his villa near the Palazzo Maggiore in favour of Ottavio Farnese, on April 17th, 1548, he laid it down that it should always remain in the possession of the Farnese family.[1]

Of the principal ornament of the Palatine, the celebrated Septizonium, only the east front then remained. Heemskerck repeatedly sketched this last fragment of the gorgeous façade of the palace of Septimus Severus facing the Appian Way, and, conscientious as ever, he has not omitted the little additions made to the building by the Frangipani in the XIIth century.[2]

The whole neighbourhood of the Imperial Fora, which was essentially altered under Pius V. by the laying out of the Via Alessandrina, afforded until then an exceedingly remarkable spectacle. In chaotic confusion the towers of the Conti, Colonna and Gaetani rose above miserable houses and the massive residence of the Knights of St. John, built in the XIVth century. A much greater part of the Forum of Nerva was then preserved than at the present day; of the Forum of Trajan, which surpassed all the others in size and splendour, the ruins of the great Exedra were still standing on the southern slope of the Quirinal. Paul III. had uncovered the pedestal of the triumphal arch of the Emperor, and during these excavations the little church of St. Nicholas ad Columnam, built in

[1] *Cf.* Lanciani, I., 179; II., 34 *seqq.*, 45 *seqq.*; III., 112.

[2] See Hülsen, Das Septizonium. Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste 1886; Hermanin, 22, plates 27 and 30; Bartoli, n. 23-24 and in the Bull. d'Arte, III. (1909), 258 *seq.*; Egger, 43 *seq.*, plates 92-94. *Cf.* also the valuable essay of Hülsen in the Zeitschrift für Geschicte in der Architektur, V., 1.

the XIIth century, was pulled down. A row of houses which surrounded the spot, was only demolished in 1812. The church of S. Maria di Loreto, erected by the Guild of Bakers, was not yet completed.[1] In the immediate neighbourhood, in the Macel de' Corvi, Michael Angelo had his modest dwelling and studio; the building was modernized later on, but early in the year 1902, the last remains of the house in which the master lived for thirty years disappeared.[2]

The traveller who pursued his lonely way through peaceful vignas to the remains of ancient Rome, was reminded at every step of the power which had subdued the pagan, by the churches and monasteries which he met with at every turn, The book of the world's history lay here spread out before him, a striking reminder of the transitoriness of all that is earthly, and of the eternal power of God; the realization of this was intensified as the stillness in which this region was wrapt seemed to grow deeper, the only sound that broke the silence being the Angelus bell at noon and eventide. The solemn influence of the surroundings was still further increased when the pilgrim entered the venerable sanctuaries, each with its distinctive features, where, in the days of primitive Christianity, the martyrs and saints had found their resting place. All these were still untouched by the later, and often so devastating alterations and restorations. With their columns, mostly taken from ancient buildings, their gleaming marble floors, and grave mosaic pictures, they must have been eloquent apologists for the one unchanging Church, which had here, for more than a thousand years, untroubled by all outward vicissitudes, prayed and offered sacrifice as in the days of the Apostles.

Among all the Christian monuments contained in the *Rione de' Monti*,[3] none was so venerable and rich in holy and great memories of the history of the Church and of the world, as the

[1] See HERMANIN, 14, plates 15-17.

[2] It was situated in the Vicolo de' Fornari, No. 212; see LANCIANI, Renaissance 185; MACKOWSKY, 249 *seq.*; STEINMANN in the Deutschen Rundschau, 1902, May number, 279 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* ADINOLFI, Roma, I., 181 *seq.*

Lateran Basilica, which, as the cathedral of the Bishop of Rome, was named the "Mother and Head of all the churches of the world." From the adjoining palace, the chapel of which, on account of its particularly sacred and important relics, was called the Sancta Sanctorum, the Popes of ancient and mediæval times had governed the Christian world; five General Councils had been held there.

The reconstruction begun under Pius IV. in 1560 had not yet destroyed the original form of the exceedingly picturesque palace. It was a very extensive and complicated medley of buildings, designed in a most confused way, which had been collecting there since the IVth century; several drawings of Heemskerck enable us to reconstruct the old palace completely.[1] Even then the building had greatly deteriorated;[2] the Scala Santa, which was connected with the old palace, was on its north façade. On the wide unpaved space there, Heemskerck saw and sketched the statue of Marcus Aurelius, on the base which had been erected by Sixtus IV., and in front of which stood two lions on short pillars. To the left of the north entrance was situated the great Council Hall, with the dainty gothic Loggia of the Benediction, which Boniface VIII. had dedicated in the Jubilee of 1300; to the right was the Baptistery, the entrance to which was opposite to that of to-day.[3] In front of the principal façade of the basilica, which had three gothic windows, there was a portico with six columns. The interior of the church, which has since been entirely modernized, caused, in its then intact condition, the great memories of the Middle Ages to pass like living pictures before the mind of the spectator. In the portico were the tombs of Alexander II., John X., John XII. and Sylvester II. In the

[1] *Cf.* Ges. Studien zur Kunstgesch. für A. Springer, 227 *seq.* A model of the basilica and its surroundings was in the Roman Jubilee Exhibition of 1911, which was prepared by A. Consolani from the old drawings and plans, See also LAUER, Le Palais de Latran, Paris, 1911.

[2] *Cf.* ROHAULT, Le Latran au Moyen-age, Paris, 1877, 250.

[3] *Cf.* J. SPRINGER in the Ges. Studien für A. Springer, 226 *seq.*; EGGER, Veduten, I., 41 *seq.*; HÜLSEN-EGGER, I., 36 *seq.*

interior of the five aisled basilica was the monument of Martin V. Many places showed the traces of the troublous times through which the basilica had passed. Fichard saw, in the beautiful gleaming pavement, which was polished like a mirror, the traces of a conflagration. The learned traveller could still see the "Lex Regia" in the church, and he especially admired the exquisite columns, not yet enclosed in pilasters, as well as the frescoes of Gentile da Fabriano, afterwards completely destroyed.[1]

The basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, which formed the central point of the very extensive Rione de' Monti, still bore, at that time, the grave impress of the old days. The large side chapels of Sixtus V. and Paul V. were not in existence, nor were the palatial buildings which form wings on either side of the principal façade, nor the tasteful double portico which Fuga erected between them in 1743. From the summit of the old façade, the mosaics shed their glory on the spectator; these had been executed at the end of the XIIIth century by Filippo Rusutti, to the order of Cardinals Giacomo and Pietro Colonna. The vestibule erected by Eugenius III. was still to be seen, as was the magnificent patriarchal palace, which adjoined the basilica.[2] Four ancient monasteries, among them that of St. Adalbert, formed a fitting environment for this, the most important of the churches dedicated to Our Lady in Rome. S. Croce also still had its old vestibule at that time, but this, as well as the interior, fell a victim to the reconstructions in the baroque style by Gregorini in 1743.[3]

The many tombs and inscriptions which covered the walls[4]

[1] FICHARD, 20, 60-61. The interior of the Lateran Basilica (not yet reconstructed) is shown by the fresco of Poussin in the church of S. Martino ai Monti.

[2] *Cf.* ADINOLFI, Roma, II., 213 *seq.*; BIASIOTTI, La Basilica Esquilina di S. Maria Maggiore ed il Palazzo apud S.M.M., Roma, 1911, 30 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HERMANIN, 34, *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the large collection in Forcella, which is, however, sometimes not quite accurate, and the exceedingly able review of his work by GNOLI in the N. Antologia, Ser. 2, XXIV. (1880), 729 *seq.*

and floor of this, as well as all the other churches of Rome, made a deep impression. The inscriptions told of the never ceasing care which the Popes of all centuries had devoted to the restoration and adornment of the churches of their seat of government with relics and indulgences. The epitaphs, which almost covered the floor, as is still the case to-day in S. Maria in Aracoeli and S. Onofrio, proclaimed the names and deeds of countless distinguished, celebrated, rich or learned men. What a wealth of memories they contain, from the touchingly simple tombstones of the earliest Christian days, to the magnificent marble monuments of the Renaissance, with their elegant Latin inscriptions, partly pious and partly tinged with paganism! A great part of Rome's history, her Popes, Cardinals, prelates, nobles, scholars, poets, humanists and artists was enshrined here. No part of her history, down to that dreadful year of war and pestilence, 1527, and to the restoring activity of Paul III., but had left its traces on these stones. All states, professions and ages were represented here; deep piety, true love, bitter grief, as well as verbosity, offensive vain-glory, and not infrequently comic naiveté—all these found expression here. The numerous tombs of foreigners bore witness to the eminently cosmopolitan character of Rome, the capital of the world. Representatives of all the provinces of Italy, as of all the different countries of Europe, especially of Spain and Germany, were to be found among them.[1]

See also REUMONT in the Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 3, IX., 1, 80 *seq.* As many of these gravestones stood up so much above the floor that walking became exceedingly difficult, Paul IV. ordered that they should be set lower, which order was repeated by Pius IV. and Gregory XIII.; see GNOLI, Roma, 100. Concerning the tombs of Rome worthy of note from an artistic point of view, *cf.* GERALD S. DAVIES, Renaissance. The sculptured tombs of the 15th century, London, 1910.

[1] Examples in GNOLI in the N. Antologia, *loc. cit.*, 732 *seq.* Unfortunately the beautiful tombs of the Renaissance which breathe a Christian spirit are not noticed here. Inscriptions of Paul III. which perpetuated privileges granted to the churches, in

More than by all these memories and treasures of art, however, pious pilgrims were attracted by the graces which they could obtain in the Holy Places, and by the relics which were preserved there. The guide for pilgrims, in which the *Mirabilia Romæ* were set forth, described these in the most complete way. Before everything else came the Tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, the pilgrimage place of the whole world. It was the first spot to which the pilgrims flocked from every land. The pilgrimage to the seven principal churches, for which rich indulgences were granted, was undertaken on a single day.[1] The pilgrim would begin with the church of St. Paul, which was situated far outside the gate of that name. Then came the church of St. Sebastian, on the Via Appia, which was reached by the Via delle Sette Chiese. The opportunity of visiting the neighbouring catacomb[2] was generally taken advantage of when there. Visits to the Lateran, S. Croce, S. Lorenzo fuori le mure, S. Maria Maggiore, and finally St. Peter's, were also necessary in order to gain the great indulgence. This pilgrimage, always difficult on account of the great distance between the churches, was rendered still more arduous by the bad condition of the roads.[3]

No pilgrim failed to be present at the great ceremonies, at which the Pope either celebrated himself, or at which he assisted. The Pope himself celebrated regularly at Christmas, Easter, and the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, unless prevented by illness. The splendour and magnificence of Catholic ritual was then displayed on the grandest scale, not only in St. Peter's, but also in all the other principal basilicas. An over-

FORCELLA, I., 167; V., 252. Julius III. also granted similar marks of favour; see *Le cose meravigliose*, 15, 26. *Cf.* DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, Vienna, 1905, 445.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 137.

[2] See ROT, Itin. Rom., 258; G. Fabricius, who visited Rome in 1542 (see Allg. Deutsche Biographie, VI., 510 *seq.* and Bull. d'Ist. arch,. XIII., 262), mentions in his *Roma* (p. 214 and 219) among the catacombs accessible at that time, also those near S. Agnese and S. Pancrazio.

[3] See RODOCANACHI, Rome, 308.

whelming impression was made on all present when the Head of the Church pronounced, on Maundy Thursday and Easter Day, from the Loggia of the Benediction, close to St. Peter's, the solemn Blessing on the city and the world, "Urbi et Orbi." In the Jubilee year of 1550, more than 50,000 persons had flocked together to St. Peter's Square, while in 1554, the number amounted to 30,000.[1]

On the Feast of the Annunciation, it had been customary since the middle of the XVth century for the Pope to proceed in solemn procession, accompanied by the Cardinals, prelates, and nobles to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where, after High Mass, in accordance with a foundation of Cardinal Torquemada, poor maidens—there were 150 of them in 1550—received their dowry.[2] Like their predecessors, Paul III. and Julius III. never failed to be present on the other great feasts of the Church, unless prevented by illness. Above all, they made a special point of never omitting to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi, and at the Requiem Mass on the anniversary of their predecessor's death, which, as well as the Coronation Day festivities, took place in the Sixtine Chapel. They also took part in the ceremonies of Holy Week.[3]

The affecting solemnities of Holy Week began on Palm Sunday. The Pope, who generally said mass very early in his private chapel,[4] appeared at nine o'clock in the Sixtine Chapel for High Mass, generally celebrated by one of the Cardinals. Then followed the Blessing of the Palms. The first palm was

[1] See MASSARELLI, 166; ROT, Itin., 252.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 162; Rot, Itin., 256.

[3] See for the following the *Diaries of the Masters of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, Johannes Franciscus Firmanus and Ludovicus Bondonus de Branchis Firmanus (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 12). Much of the information in MERKLE, II., 491 *seqq.*, is taken from L. Firmanus; *cf.* MASSARELLI, 165 *seq.*; ROT, Itin., 250 *seq.*

[4] As was the custom of Julius III. In the case of Paul III. the private mass is not mentioned either on this day or on Maundy Thursday; a Cardinal celebrated *praesente papa*; see I. FR. FIRMANI *Diaria, XII., 27.

presented by the Dean of the Sacred College to the Pope, who then distributed palms to the Cardinals, ambassadors, Roman nobles, the Penitentiaries of St. Peter's, his famiglia, and such persons as had gained admission to the ceremony. On the Wednesday, three hours before the Ave, began the so-called Tenebrae. In St. Peter's, the Sudarium of St. Veronica was exposed on the morning of this day.

On Maundy Thursday, the Pope said mass very early and gave communion to all the members of his court. At ten o'clock the Capella Papale began in the Sixtine Chapel. After the High Mass, celebrated by a Cardinal, Julius III., accompanied by all the members of the Sacred College, and many bishops and prelates, bore the Blessed Sacrament to the Capella Paolina,[1] built by Paul III. Then followed the reading of the Bull *In Coena Domini* in Latin and Italian, by a Cardinal from the Loggia of the Benediction, and then the great Papal Blessing. Then, in the Hall of Consistory, came the "Mandatum" when the Pope personally washed the feet of twelve poor men. On the same day the Sudarium of St. Veronica was again exposed in St. Peter's. In all the churches of the city there was adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. A German who visited Rome in the spring of 1554, relates how great was the fervour displayed in the adoration of the Holy Eucharist, which was in happy contrast to the indifference and irreverence which had generally prevailed in the golden age of the Renaissance. On this day the "sepulchres" were made the central point of attraction for the faithful, and they were adorned in every possible way, with costly rugs, silver candlesticks, and with countless lights and many-coloured lamps.[2] This impetus to the veneration of the Holy Eucharist, which was also shown in other places at the period of the Catholic Reformation, Rome owed to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which had been founded by Paul III., in 1539, at the instance of the Dominican, Tommaso Stella.[3]

[1] Under Paul III. the Sacred Host was taken to the Capella Parva; *cf.* MORONI, VIII., 294.

[2] *Cf.* ROT, Itin., 251. [3] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 194 *seq.*

The solemn and unique ceremonies with which the Church commemorates the death of her Bridegroom, in so affecting a manner, began very early on Good Friday. On this day the Pope personally brought back the Blessed Sacrament from the Pauline Chapel to the Sixtine. The singing of the Passion, according to St. John, was followed by a sermon. Immediately afterwards, the intercessory prayers were sung, in which the necessities of all men are remembered. All present took part in the affecting Adoration of the Holy Cross. First of all the Pope approached the Cross, barefooted and divested of all the outer insignia of his high office, then the Cardinals, prelates and ambassadors. The Mass of the Presanctified was celebrated by a Cardinal. On Good Friday evening, the Brotherhood of the Gonfalone had, since the XIVth century, been in the habit of making a procession, carrying crosses, to the Colosseum. In the year of Jubilee, 1550, 1500 men took part in this pious pilgrimage, of whom 335 bore large crosses. The Brotherhood of the Cross, of S. Marcello, also arranged a procession in this year, in which 1200 men took part, many of whom scourged themselves. They all visited the four principal churches prescribed for gaining the Jubilee Indulgence.[1]

On the morning of Holy Saturday a Cardinal officiated in the Sixtine Chapel in the presence of the Pope. At the Gloria, the music started, and the bells were again rung.[2] That was the signal for all the churches of Rome to announce the approaching Feast of the Resurrection. The unique impression caused by the wave-like rise and fall of the sound of the bells of every size and depth of tone led Rabelais to make his celebrated comparison of the Eternal City to a chiming island.[3]

At the celebration of High Mass in St. Peter's on Easter Sunday, the Pope distributed Holy Communion to all the Cardinals, the Canons of the Basilica, the Roman nobles, and whatever princes might be present, as, for example, in 1550, to the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara.[4]

[1] See MASSARELLI, 166.

[2] ROT, Itin., 252.

[3] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 786.

[4] See MASSARELLI, 166; ROT, 252.

Not only strangers, but the Romans also, flocked in great numbers to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, while in Lent they assisted regularly at the so-called "Stations" in the different churches. During this time, the otherwise so silent Rione de' Monti came to life, all classes hastening to the tombs of the martyrs. During the Renaissance period there were proceedings of a very worldly character here.[1] A remarkable and salutary reaction against such unseemly proceedings in holy places was, however, making itself felt. It was the champions of the Catholic Reformation who, in this also, gave the incentive to improvement.

Long before the Council of Trent had impressed upon clergy and laity what was to be observed in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and what was to be avoided, those men, burning with the love of God, who had inscribed the reformation of ecclesiastical conditions on their banners, at the head of whom was Ignatius of Loyola, and, soon in keen emulation of him, the youthful Philip Neri, had devoted the whole of their powers to teaching all, by word and example, how to venerate in a fitting manner the House of God, a thing which had so much suffered in the time of the Renaissance. Whoever visited S. Dorotea in Trastevere, the seat of the Oratory of Divine Love, S. Maria della Strada, the church of the founder of the Jesuits, S. Girolamo della Carità or S. Salvatore in Campo, where Philip Neri lived and worked, or the little churches of the Theatines in the Campo Marzo or on the Pincio, or that of the Capuchins, S. Nicola de' Portiis, on the Quirinal, could not but be deeply moved. Evil-living men of the Renaissance, who visited them out of curiosity, were not infrequently completely converted.[2] Here were to be found priests who, in their lives, were representatives of that reform that was so longed for and so often

[1] *Cf.* Rodocanachi, Rome, 307 *seq.* A humanist in Rome had made a list of the stations in elegant verse; see Marucchi, Basil. et églises de Rome, Rome, 1909, 63 *seq.*

[2] See *Le cose mervigliose di Roma* (*cf. infra*, 422, n. 3), 21; Capecelatro, 175 *seqq*;, 178 *seqq.* and especially Tacchi Venturi, I., 186, *seq.*

discussed. These little poorly-equipped houses of God were so eagerly sought after that they could no longer contain the multitude of the faithful who flocked there for the masses and sermons. There is still in existence a petition of the time of Julius III., begging the Pope to commission Ignatius of Loyola to build a larger church, as S. Maria della Strada was too small and inconvenient for the great numbers who wished to hear the word of God there, and to receive the sacrament of penance.[1] This was the first step towards the erection of the magnificent church of the Gesù, to which were afterwards added the great church of the Theatines at S. Andrea della Valle, and that of the Oratorians at S. Maria in Vallicella, which were not only of great importance for the religious life of Rome, but were also a notable addition to the beauty of the city.

For all the ceremonial of the Church which was conducted by the Pope in person, or in his presence, very strict regulations, going into the minutest details, had been fixed from time immemorial, and the exact carrying out of these was carefully watched over by the master of ceremonies. The pomp which was displayed on these solemn occasions by Paul III. and Julius III., found a fitting setting in the majestic music which accompanied them. A German who spent Holy Week and Easter in Rome in 1554, points out that, in this respect, most wonderful effects were obtained, both in the Lateran and at St. Peter's, where Palestrina was choirmaster.[2]

Not only the church festivals, but the churches themselves made a deep impression on all strangers. It is noteworthy that Fichard, despite all his enthusiasm for antiquity, names, as the principal objects of interest in the Eternal City, the Vatican, with the Library and the Belvedere, the Cancelleria, the Basilica of St. Peter, the Lateran, S. Paul fuori le Mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Maria del Popolo, and the German national church, S. Maria dell' Anima, with the beautiful tomb of Adrian VI.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Studi e docum., XX. (1899), 345 *seqq.*

[2] See Rot, Itin., 250, 252, 261.

[3] Fichard, Italia, 67.

Eight years after the visit of the Frankfort traveller, an unknown Florentine pilgrim to Rome wrote some notes concerning the principal creations of Renaissance art which were then to be seen in the Eternal City. These remarks,[1] which are interesting from several points of view, begin with the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, and its reconstruction. The anonymous writer particularly praises, among the works of art in the basilica, the Pietà of Michael Angelo, which had been placed in the Oratory of St. Gregory after the demolition of the chapel of St. Petronilla.[2] Of the remaining monuments in St. Peter's, only the tombs of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. are mentioned. The Stanze and the Loggie of Raphael, then still in all the fresh glory of their colouring, and the Sixtine Chapel, with its incomparable frescoes, he cites as the most remarkable objects of interest in the Vatican. He complains, with justice, of the destruction of Fra Angelico's Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. Among the churches, he only mentions those which contained prominent examples of Renaissance art. At S. Agostino, besides Raphael's Isaias, the Madonna del Parto, by Jacopo Sansovino, and the marble group, representing Our Lady, St. Anne, and the Divine Child by Andrea Sansovino, were regarded, even at that time, as objects of the greatest interest. The former stands to-day to the right of the entrance, and the latter on the left side, at the third column, under the Isaias. The Florentine praises the Sybils of Raphael, in S. Maria della Pace, as one of the most beautiful of that painter's works in Rome. He also mentions Baldassare Peruzzi's Presentation in the Temple, which was not then repainted to such an extent as it is to-day. Of the many splendid marble tombs in S. Maria del Popolo, he only speaks of the two largest and most beautiful: the monuments of Cardinals Girolamo Basso and Ascanio Maria Sforza, by

[1] Published and explained by FABRICZY in the Arch. Stor. Ital., Ser. 5, XII., 275 *seq.*, 328 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MACKOWSKY, 366 *seq.* The Madonna della Febbre was not erected here in 1545, but as early as 1542; see FABRICIUS, Roma, 248.

Andrea Sansovino. Very remarkably, he omits all mention of Pinturrichio's frescoes on the ceiling of the choir, or of the glass paintings of Claude and Guillaume Marcillat, and even of the wonderful Chigi chapel. On the other hand he tells us of the two pictures by Raphael: the Madonna di Loreto, which afterwards disappeared, and the celebrated portrait of Julius II., which now adorns the Uffizi; both of these were at that time, hung on the pillars of the church on solemn occasions. In S. Maria in Aracoeli, he admired Raphael's Madonna di Foligno, and in the church of the Dominicans, S. Maria sopra Minerva, he makes mention of Filippo Lippi's frescoes in the Carafa chapel, and Michael Angelo's statue of Christ, as the principal works of art there. The tombs of Leo X. and Clement VII. are mentioned, but, as may easily be understood, not praised. Of the Moses of Michael Angelo in S. Pietro in Vincoli the Florentine says that it appears to him to be a "divine" work. He also makes mention of the tombs of Pietro and Antonio Pollajuolo in the same church. The statue of St. James, by Jacopo Sansovino was at that time in the Spanish national church of S. Giacomo, and is now in S. Maria in Monserrato.

Among the works of art in the city on the other side of the Tiber, the Florentine extols the fresco decoration of the Farnesina and the incomparable Tempietto of Bramante in S. Pietro in Montorio. In this church, Raphael's Transfiguration still adorned the high altar at that time. He was also still able to admire in the same church, besides Sebastiano del Piombo's fresco, the Scourging at the Pillar, which is still preserved, the adjoining picture of St. Francis by Michael Angelo, which afterwards disappeared.

Just as the Florentine traveller only cites works of the Renaissance, so does Ulisse Aldrovandi confine himself almost exclusively to the works of antiquity in his account, drawn up in 1550. Of the modern works of sculpture, he mentions only a few, principally some works of Michael Angelo, to whose Moses he believes he is giving the highest possible praise when he says that it could take its place by the side of any ancient

work of art.[1] One looks in vain for the name of any other modern master in Aldrovandi's list. How little he values them in comparison with the sculptors of antiquity is evident from such remarks as: "A Mercury with a lyre, a beautiful statue, but modern." "A female figure, with bare breast, but a modern work." One learns even less from the descriptions of the Bolognese scholar concerning Rome's wealth of paintings, or of the many costly treasures which the palaces of the nobles, and, above all, of the Cardinals, contained.[2]

How much the interest of most people was captivated by the works of antiquity, is apparent in the guide-books of the time, where most of the space is invariably devoted to these, the details concerning mediæval objects of interest being mostly confined to lists of the relics and indulgences of the different churches. In one such guide-book of the year 1563,[3] an estimate of the time necessary for a visit to the principal objects of interest in Rome is given, which is very characteristic. The arrangement for a three days' visit is for a stranger who starts very early, and has a horse at his disposal. The Borgo is taken as a starting point for the first day, after which the Trastevere, the island in the Tiber, Monte Testaccio, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Gregorio, the Baths of Caracalla, S. Stefano Rotondo, and the Lateran are to be visited. A tour is suggested for the second day which makes still greater demands on the traveller with a thirst for knowledge: from the Mausoleum of Augustus to S. Maria del Popolo, the Trinità de' Monti, Monte Cavallo with the celebrated vignas of Cardinals Carpi and Este, then S. Agnese outside the walls, the Baths of Diocletian, S. Pudenziana, S. Maria Maggiore, the Sette Sale, the Colosseum, the Palatine, the Forum, the Capitol, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Portico of Octavia, and finally the Capodiferro and Farnese palaces. The tour on the

[1] ALDROVANDI, 291.

[2] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Beiträge, 557 *seq.*

[3] *Le cose meravigliose dell' alma città di Roma, Roma*, 1563 (a copy of this now very rare treatise in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). CICOGNARA mentions a Venetian edition of 1544, Catalogo, etc., II., Pisa 1821, 184.

third day was to begin at the Piazza Colonna; besides a visit to the Column of Trajan, the church of the Minerva and the Pantheon, the guide-book recommended a visit to one of the valuable private collections of ancient and modern pictures, namely the house of Mgr. Girolamo Garimberti, Bishop of Gallese, on Monte Citorio. The mid-day meal was to be taken at one of the osterie in the Piazza Navona, near the Pasquino. For the afternoon a visit to the Villa Giulia was recommended.[1]

"In the houses of several Cardinals and many private persons," continues the same guide, "there are still many beautiful things to be seen, which I do not name, because they are continually being changed, and I do not wish needlessly to trouble the traveller." This change was always in the direction of centralization of the ancient works of art. At the beginning of the Cinquecento there were still many small collections, which gradually disappeared. Already in the fourth decade of the century, the larger collections of the Belvedere, the Capitol, the Cesi, Medici and Valle, surpassed the smaller ones in value, whereas formerly, it appears, the really valuable pieces were fairly evenly distributed. At the time of Aldrovandi, the moderate sized collections, containing several really fine works, such as were still to be found in the houses of the Sassi, Maffei and others when Heemskerck was in Rome, had already lost their importance.[2] Admission to several of these depended upon the influence which the traveller could command.

The numerous and excellently arranged charitable institutions, which were at once a great object of interest and a special feature of Rome, were highly praised by all foreigners.[3] The chief centre of Christianity had, from time immemorial, given a living proof of the fructifying energy of the Catholic faith in her works of charity. As had been the case in the Middle Ages, so now the Popes, Cardinals, prelates and laity

[1] *Le cose meravigliose*, 48 *seqq.* For Garimberti, see HÜBNER I., 100.

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 74.

[3] See above all FABRICIUS, Roma, 215 *seq.*, 232, 261.

of all conditions in the time of the Renaissance were filled with a noble zeal to minister to the needs of the sick, the miserable and the poor. From the point of view of age and comprehensiveness, the hospital of Santo Spirito, which had been reorganized by Sixtus IV., took the first place among the charitable institutions. The hospital of S. Salvatore near the Lateran, and that of S. Giacomo in Augusta, which had been endowed by the Cardinals of the House of Colonna, also enjoyed a great reputation. These, as well as the hospitals attached to S. Maria della Consolazione, S. Antonio and S. Rocco, which the Popes encouraged in every way, by pecuniary support and privileges, were distributed throughout the city in such a way that the needs of the different quarters were well provided for.[1]

The national hospices represented a special form of benevolent institution which had been founded by the very numerous foreigners resident in Rome, for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. In these the Catholic character of Rome as the centre of the Universal Church, found a very characteristic expression. The Germans boasted of the largest number of such institutions in comparison to their number, the first place among these having been taken, since the XIVth century, by the Anima and Campo Santo. To these were added smaller houses for the Flemish and Walloons, the Bohemians and Hungarians. The Spanish, next to the Germans the nation most largely represented in Rome, had, close to S. Giacomo in the Piazza Navona, and S. Maria in Monserrato, houses for the lodging and nursing of their poor and sick pilgrims. In a like manner, the Portuguese, French, English, Scotch, Irish, Poles, Hungarians, Swedes, Dalmatians, and South Slavs, as well as the Lombards, Genoese, Florentines, Sienese and Bergamaschi had their own churches and national hospices,

[1] See Vol. V. of this work, p. 63, and the special literature mentioned there. The celebrated surgeon Gisbert Horst from Amsterdam practised in the hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione (1543-1564); see PERICOLI, S. Maria della Consolazione, Imola, 1879, 98.

and, in most cases, confraternities in connection with them.[1]

Several of these institutions were destroyed by the falling away from the faith of so many peoples, but, in spite of this, the Eternal City preserved, even at that critical time, her old pre-eminence in generous hearted love of her neighbour. In closest union with the silently increasing movement in the direction of Catholic Reformation, Christian charity produced in Rome, as in other cities of Italy, the most glorious fruits. After the members of the Oratory of Divine Love had endowed a department of their own for incurables in the old hospital of S. Giacomo in Augusta, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who became Pope Clement VII., founded, in the year 1519, the Confraternità della Carità for the assistance of the poor who were ashamed to ask for charity, for the consolation of prisoners and for the burial of the indigent. It was also Cardinal de' Medici who prevailed on Leo X. to sanction the convent for Magdalens in the Corso, which had been founded by the members of the Oratory of Divine Love. The orphanage near S. Maria in Aquiro owed its origin to another Roman prelate.

A great number of institutes arose under Paul III. and were protected by him, by means of which the ingenious charity of benevolent and holy men sought to combat the material and moral evils of the time. The Minorite, Giovanni da Calvi, the merchant Crivelli, and Cardinal Quiñones laid the foundations of the Monte di Pietà at this time. A self-sacrificing son of Spain, Ferrante Ruiz, in conjunction with two nobles of Navarre, founded an establishment for the insane,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, pp. 248-255, and for the Anima the splendid monograph of SCHMIDLIN (Freiburg 1906), which is founded on a thorough research among archives. The hospital of the Poles was near S. Stefano alla Chiavica, that of the Sienese near S. Caterina da Siena in the Via Giulia (see *Le cose meravigliose*, 25-26). The Bergamaschi received the church of S. Maria della Pietà (see SIMONETTI, Vie, 32 ; *ibid.*, 49 for the church and hospital of the Genoese). Concerning the great number of foreigners in Rome, see RODOCANACHI, Rome, 243 *seqq.* ; *ibid.* (p. 225 *seq.*) regarding the disappearance of the old higher nobility and the preponderance of the " mezzo ceto " in Rome.

the care of whom had been up till now, almost neglected. A house of refuge for converted female sinners near S. Marta, the hospice for poor girls in peril, near S. Caterina de' Funari, the institute for converts near S. Giovanni del Mercatello at the foot of the Capitol, and a society to assist the poor who were ashamed to beg, all these owed their origin to the zeal of another Spaniard, Ignatius of Loyola. Philip Neri founded in the time of Julius III. the Compagnia della Trinità for the assistance of needy pilgrims, which had Christ alone as its protector. There were also various other institutions for poor girls.

In yet another manner did the impetus in Catholic life make itself felt in the field of charity. The charitable institutions were better directed, and more care was devoted to the spiritual needs of the sick and incurable. In this also it was the example given by Ignatius, and later by Philip Neri, which was so helpful in recalling to the minds of the clergy and laity the words of Our Lord: "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."[1]

[1] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 355 *seqq.*, 365, 381 *seq.*; *cf.* also Vol. X. of this work, p. 476 *seq.* The services of F. Ruiz were commemorated in 1573 in the Chapel of the Madonna della Pietà in the Piazza Colonna by the following inscription: D.O.M. Ferdinando Ruitio Hispalensi praesbytero integerrimo quod religionis ergo hospitalem hanc domum pauperibus exteris ac mente captis primus erigendam curaverit, quod eandem annuo censu de suo dotaverit, quod ibidem pietatis studio diem suum obire voluerit sodales et curatores domus viro optime merito pos. pro eius eterna salute quotidianas Deo preces sacrumq. anniversarium ad XIII. Kal. April. supremo eius die instituere M.D. LXXIII. When Benedict XIII. removed the lunatic asylum in 1728 to the Lungara, this inscription was placed in the entrance hall of the chapel of S. Maria della Pietà there (see FORCELLA, XII., 387 *seqq.*); at the demolition of the asylum in 1911 it disappeared. In the church of S. Caterina de' Funari, which is very difficult of access, the chapel endowed by F. Ruiz, and richly adorned with coloured marbles and paintings is, however, still in existence; it is the first on the left hand side. See NIBBY, Roma nel 1838, Parte prima moderna, Roma, 1839, 149.

As in all other things, so in the field of charity preparations were being made for the glorious epoch of Catholic reformation and restoration, in which gentle saints and mighty Popes were indefatigably engaged in the relief of the spiritual and corporal needs of their fellow men. While this remarkable epoch brought about a complete change in spiritual life, so did the "Roma Aeterna," which had received a very worldly impress in the days of the Renaissance, undergo a similar metamorphosis, and that not in her outward appearance alone. With her great and glorious churches, charitable institutions, great monasteries, and seminaries for priests of all the different nations, she again became, through the increase of the religious sense among her inhabitants, that for which Providence had designed her, as the seat of the successors of St. Peter, the Holy City, which embodied, in the most glorious manner, the Christian ideal.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE documents brought together here are only intended to serve as a confirmation and completion of my book, as it is not my purpose to make a special collection of original records. The source of each is given as exactly as possible but explanatory remarks are, for reasons of space, as brief as possible. As far as the text itself is concerned, I have, as a rule, retained the original script, changes made with respect to capitals and punctuation require no explanation. Where emendation has been attempted, it need only be mentioned that trifling errors and obvious slips of the pen have been put right without special remark. Additions are indicated by square brackets, doubtful or obscure passages are followed by a note of interrogation or "sic." Such passages as I did not consider essential or useful for my purpose have been omitted; these are indicated by dots (. . . . .).

Professor Dr. Pogatscher and the Rev. Dr. Bruder have rendered me such valuable assistance in the correction of these documents as well as in other parts of these volumes, and Prof. Dr. J. Schmidlin such aid in the collection of the matter, that I must take this opportunity of again tendering my most grateful thanks to these scholars.

1. ENDIMIO CALANDRA TO HIS BROTHER SABINO.[1]

1550, Februar 8, Roma.

. . . S' ha posto S. Stà il nome di Giulio et mostra di volere essere magnanimo, grato et cortese, ma come s' è fatto insperatamente et appunto, come vi scrissi, che subito che è stato

[1] See *supra*, p. 43.

proposto da Francesi Farnese vi è callato come in creatura sua non havendo riguardo a promesse fatte ne a fede data, non s' è visto ancora molta allegria nelli animi delle persone, se non che sia fatto il Papa che qui a starene senza tanto tempo pareva cosa molto strana, et per quello che se ne spera per li saggi che ha dati di se qui et in altro luogo quando ha governato, si tien per certo chel suo habbia ad essere un buon papato . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Pirro Olivo to Sabino Calandra.[1]

1550, Februar 12, Roma.

. . . . Pensi V. S. che dopo tante gratie fatte el belle parole S. Stà disse che si riputava gran gratia chel cardinale nostro le addimandasse qualche gran cosa. In somma è troppo, et il cardinale con tutta la corte ne sta con allegrezza infinita. Tutta la città poi ne mostra contento infinito, perche gia l' ha sgravata di molte gravezze impostele da Papa Paulo. Ha ordinato che le spoglie che per morte di cardinali andavano alla sede apostolica siano de qui innanzi degli heredi o s' habbino a dividere fra i servitori di quel cardinale, secondo la mente sua. Dona ad ogniuno et ad ogniuno fa gratia, onde voglio che speriamo di lui quel bene et servigio di Dio che ci promette cosi generoso animo. Egli è persona allegra, populare, ha già dato ordine a certi commissarij deputati sopra delle vettovaglie che faccino che la città sia abundevole et che le cose si paghino a mercato conveniente . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. Pirro Olivo to Sabino Calandra.[2]

1550, Februar 15, Roma

. . . Giovedi volse che si desse principio alle maschere et domani ha ordinato che si corrano i palii. Egli è poi allegro et burla volentieri colli suoi, come fece l' altra sera che mangiando del cardo disse al suo copier : Habbiam noi bevuto da che mangiamo il cardo ? Al quale rispose il copiere, che non voleva che S. Stà disordinasse : Padre santo, si, et egli trovandosi in piedi colle mani alle cintura risposc : Padre santo, no.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 52. For P. Olivo *cf.* Sickel, Römische Berichte, in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademiel CXXXIII., 114.
[2] See *supra*, p. 53.

4. Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1550, Februar 23, Roma.

. . . Il sig. Baldovino anderà presto a starsene in palazzo in Torre Borgia et per quanto s'intende non ha animo S. B^ne^ di fare cardinal lui, ma quel prepostino,[2] suo allievo, per il quale si manderà in breve. All' ambasciator mio[3] disse S. S^tà^ che disegnava di dargli il suo cappello et qui si vedrà quel che sa fare la fortuna quando ella toglie a sollevare un homo. Credo che simil resolutione oscurerà assai molte buone opere di S. S^tà^ nella qual credo che habbino a vedersi molte volte alcune cose da basso animo, come fu quella notte di carnovale quando volse che a tavola sua mangiaseno il s^or^ Baldovino, l' arcivescovo Sipontino,[4] il vescovo di Vasona[5] et il suo medico da Barga ;[6] la qual cosa fu molto considerata et dette assai che dire . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

5. Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Marcello Cervini.[7]

1550, Februar 24, Roma.

Dilecto filio nostro Marcello tituli sanctae Crucis in Hierusalem presbitero cardinali. [Di]lecte fili noster, salutem. Accepimus quod alias felicis recordationis Paulus papa III immediatus predecessor noster, defuncto bonae memoriae Augustino episcopo Chisamensi[8] bibliothecario bibliothecae nostrae palatinae, ne dicta bibliotheca detrimentum pateretur, de tua multiplici doctrina ac singulari erga rem litterariam studio et amore confisus, eiusdem bibliothecae protectionem et curam circumspectioni tuae forsan vivae vocis oraculo demandavit, ita quod eiusdem bibliothecae custodes ac in ea scriptores et operarios quoslibet ad libitum tuum confirmare aut amovere et toties quoties opus foret alios deputare et de [sa]lario bibliothecario pro tempore debito quomodolibet disponere aliaque facere et exequi posses, quae ad ipsius bibliothecae conservationem et augmentum pertinere judicares. Ut autem hoc honestum et laudabile negocium, quod nobis valde cordi est, eo libentius et animosius peragere valeas,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 49, 70, 71.
[2] Innocenzo del Monte.
[3] A. Serristori.
[4] S. Pighini.
[5] T. Cortese.
[6] See *supra*, p. 142, n. 3, Concerning the physicians.
[7] See *supra*, p. 327.
[8] Ag. Steuco.

quo nostra quoque fueris in hoc auctoritate munitus, commissionis dicti Pauli predecessoris vigore per te hactenus gesta confirmantes ac rata habentes, protectionem et curam huiusmodi tibi quoad vixeris ita, quod omnia et singula supradicta libere agere et exequi possis, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium demandamus, mandantes custodibus, scriptoribus ac operaiis predictis ut tibi non secus ac nobis obediant et ad quos spectat ut de dicto salario ad libitum tuum disponant, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Datum Romae 24 februarii 1550 anno primo.

Blosius.

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 55, n. 62. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

6. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1550, Februar 26, Roma.

. . . E disse ai Conservatori di Roma che voleva attendere S. B^ne per il benefitio di questa città alle cose della iustitia et della abondantia. Circa quel che toccava alla iustitia disse, che pensava et d' intenderla et di sapere farla eseguire senza ch' alcuno potesse sperare d' haverle a dare a intendere una cosa per un' altra et che sperava in Dio che detta iustitia sarebbe si bene et si indifferentemente usata in questa corte, che i buoni havessero a starne interamente contenti. Circa la abondantia disse, che haveva bisogno d' aiuto et in questo caso commesse a' detti Conservatori che vedessero che i frumenti et biade non fussero tenute nascoste per le fosse et granai da chi n' haveva in quantità per aspettare di venderle care, ma che al prezzo honesto si mettessero per le piazze solite, perchè a questo modo si provederebbe per adesso a un honesto vivere, et se no 'l facevono giuro loro, che non solamente tornerebbe la gravezza della macina, ma ne metterebbe loro dell' altre.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

7. Consistory of March 10th, 1550.[2]

. . . [Iulius III] habuit orationem, qua egit gratias rev. d. cardinalibus de assumptione sua ad summum pontificatum

[1] See *supra*, p. 54.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 57, 158.

suumque prosequendi concilii desiderium ostendit mandavitque rev. d. decano, Tusculano, Crescentio, Sfondrato, Cibo et Polo, ut de curiae Romanae reformatione in curia presertim datariatus curam susciperent.

[Acta consist. Camer. VIII. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

8. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1550, March 10, Roma.

. . . Entro di poi S. S^{tà} a dire che havendo pensato più volte, d' onde potesse nascere ch' el clero fusse cosi odioso nel conspetto dei principi temporali, s' era resoluta a credere che procedesse solo dalla avaritia, che nei capi s' era mostra [ta] in questa corte, dalle non buone provisioni che si facevono nel conferire i beneficii, et dal troppo luxo di detto clero nel vestirsi, et che havendo animo di rimediarvi s' era resoluta circa la cosa dell' avaritia di far reformare il datariato et a tale effetto elesse i r^{mi} Trani, Theatino, Sfondrato, Crescentio, Inghilterra et Cibo perchè riducessero le cose di detto offitio a quel che loro S. B^{ne} giudicavono convenire et che S. S^{tà} farebbe osservare inviolabilmente quel che da loro fusse resoluto et stabilito. Circa le provisioni dei beneficii che vacassero, disse che non tenessero S. S^{tà} di natura cosi facile ch' ella havesse havuta a indursi ai preghi di quel r^{mi} che gle li havevano domandati dai indulti sopra questa chiesa et quella et ch' ella vi s' era mossa per un fine solo, ch' era d' alleggerirsi di tanto peso per havere più compagni in dette provisioni a fin che si potesse più oportunamente provedere ai beneficii che vacassero di persone che fussero apte a tenere le chiese et reggerle. Circa il luxo disse che presto reformerebbe la casa sua et che dal suo esemplo confortava ciascuno a seguirla in se nei suoi creati e servitori. Satisfece sommamente S. S^{tà} in tutto quel ch' ella disse et ogni di va avanzando l' aspettatione che s' havena delle buone opere sue . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

9. Benedetto Buonanni to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[2]

1550, August 2, Roma.

. . . S. S^{tà} disse hier mattina che col collegio de' cardinali bisognava far come con un monasterio che non si potesse

[1] See *supra*, pp. 57, 158.

[2] See *supra*, p. 159.

reformare per diligentia che vi s' usasse et che all' ultimo fusse forzato il vescovo di luogo a commetter che non si potesse metter alcuna monaca in detto monasterio per lassar consumar et morir quelle che v' erano et che cosi poteva farsi con decto collegio per lassare spegnere il superfluo che v' era . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

10. Judgment of Cardinal Marcello Cervini as Inquisitor.[1]

1551, Januar 29, Roma.

Nos Marcellus divina providentia cardinalis s^{tae} romanae ecclesiae tituli s^{ta} Crucis, unus ex inquisitoribus generalibus universi orbis a s^{ta} Sede Apostolica delegatis gratiam et salutem in Christo Ihesu Deo ac Domino nostro. Cum summi Dei legumque omnium iustitiae sanctiores peccatores vel nequissimos sincere et ex intimo corde humiliatos mira clementia complectantur et pro gemitibus et lacrimis culpas enormes condonent et, permutatis poenis gravioribus in leviores, eosdem uti filios emendent, Nos ab hac lege non discedentes, perspecta quantum nobis constat in exteriori homine humilitate ac resipiscentia Annibalis Montarentii Bononiensis iuris utriusque doctoris ab haeresibus, quibus fuerat implicitus, cognita insuper obedientia ad subeundas poenas illi decretas ex iure in sententia contra eundem lata per nos et coniudices nostros ill^{mos} et rev^{mos} inquisitores generales, authoritate nostra et eorundem ill^{rum} et rev^{rum} dominorum inquisitorum etc., iudicavimus preces humillimas dicti Annibalis exaudiendas et misericorditer sublevandas ac permutandas in parte poenas eidem ut supra impositas, sperantes te Annibalem hic praesentem hac clementia magis ac magis Deo, ecclesiae et ministris eiusdem fore devinciendum, in detestationem malignantium haereticorum et in salutem animae tuae.

Imprimis igitur bona tua, a quibus ex iure excideras, paterno animo tibi condonamus ex gratia, volentes ea omnia in tua esse facultate, ac si nunquam ab eis ob haereses decidisses, concedentes et volentes insuper quod possis assequi et adire quascunque haereditates quovis iure obvenientes; et pro huiusmodi gratia condemnamus te ad numerandum et solvendum libras quinquaginta bolonenorum monetae Bononiensis

[1] See *supra*, p. 217.

rectoribus societatis pauperum verecundorum Bononiensium, et tenearis hoc fecisse infra terminum praesentis anni, et cum persolveris tantum pecuniæ, debeas habere a rectoribus praedictis attestationem in scriptis, quam consignes domino inquisitori Bononiensi pro tempore etc.

Item sententias per te quomodocunque latas vel instrumenta per te facta, cum ultra annum implicitus esses haeresibus, firma et rata volumus, facimus et decernimus.

Item abolemus infamiam, quam incurristi ex decretis canonicis ob graves haereses, quibus per aliquot annos adhaeseras, restituentes tibi insuper ex misericordia gradum doctoratus et facultatem ad officia publica consequenda, non autem ad beneficia ecclesiastica.

Volentes tamen, ne videamur dissimulare tam grave scelus haeresis, quod loco istarum poenarum tenearis toto tempore vitae tuae ieiunare singulis feriis sextis dieque eadem dicere septem psalmos poenitentiales et largiri elemosinam pauperi ut tibi suggesserit Spiritus Sanctus. Itidem volumus et imponimus quod serves feria quarta de ieiunio, psalmis et elemosina per annum continuum.

Item quod tenearis perpetuis temporibus ter in anno confiteri peccata tua sacerdoti et devotius sumere sanctissimum Eucharistiae sacramentum.

Item loco perpetui carceris, in quo eras immurandus, ex clementia tibi decernimus civitatem Genuae, quam nequeas egredi nisi de licentia inquisitoris Genuensis; cum vero e Genua discesseris, civitas Bononiensis erit tibi carcer perpetuus; quem non exibis nisi ex licentia inquisitoris Bononiensis.

Item volumus et imponimus tibi quod ter in mense te praesentes inquisitori Genuensi vel Bononiensi, si Bononiae fueris, ut cognoscat an in veritate ambules etc. Volentes quod tenearis ad huiusmodi commutationes et impositiones poenitentiae sub poenis et censuris in tua abiuratione positis etc.; reservantes insuper officio nostro authoritatem remittendi, reducendi, commutandi, mitigandi poenas ut supra per nos commutatas et impositas omni meliori modo etc.

[Cod. Vat. 6429, 38—39, Vatican Library.]

11. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1551, Januar. 31, Rom.

. . . Le stanze erono parate di panni bellissimi et finissimi et a capo della tavola fu messo un candelliere d'argento sopra una banchetta piccola ch'era in terra, si vago et fatto con si mirabile arte, che ciascuno haveva che dirne. Dicono che l'ha fatto uno da Venetia che lavora in Pesaro, et che della manifattura sola domanda mille scudi. La torcia che stava sopra detto candelliere, alto a mio credere circa 3 braccia, usciva d'una canna d'argento finta a modo di torcia, ma non mostrava detta torcia altro di sè che il lume, et per via d'un contrapeso s'andava sempre tanto alzando in quella canna d'argento la torcia quanto ella s'andava consumando. Data che fu l'acqua alle mani fu messo al piè della tavola un pesce d'argento, che per via di contrapesi andò caminando sino al capo d'essa movendo capo et coda nel medesimo modo che quando un pesce vero è nell' acqua. Come fu giunto in testa di detta tavola, dette uno sguizzo in aere, et aprendosi sopra la schena cominciò a tornare indietro, et in luogo delle lische erono stecchi, dei quali ciascuno andò pigliando secondo che arrivava inanzi a altrui. Sopra le porte principali della casa ch'erono due, furono messe due tele grandi con l'arme del Chr^mo^ et con una inscriptione a piè, che diceva Henricco II Francorum Regi ob Bononiam receptam ac Galliae et Scotiae Regnum terra marique feliciter pacatum. Si fecero inanzi al banchetto grandissimi fuochi, et doppo, diverse sorti di musiche divinissime. . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

12. Ippolito Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua.[2]

1551, Februar 3, Rom.

At the Pranzo in the Belvedere "S. S^tà^ andò con tutta la compagnia de' cardinali che erano 24 alla commedia, dove sono stato anch'io: il luogo dove stanno li spettatori non è capace più di dugento persone, nè ve ne capiscono ancho tante, perchè la persona di S. S^tà^ et de r^mi^ occupano la maggior parte, la scena e piccola similmente a proportione del luogo, ma bella e

[1] See *supra*, p. 63.

[2] See *supra*, p. 65.

vaga da vedere : la commedia è stata l'Aulularia di Plauto latino, ben vestita et recitata da fanciulli con intermezzi di buone musiche et di certi Norcini che hanno fatto ridere assai, et è sodisfatta generalmente a tutti."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. Ippolito Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua.[1]

1551, Februar 14, Rom.

Festival of the Carnival. La domenica passata, che fu il di della creatione di S. S^{tà} essa secondo il costume invitò tutti i rev^{mi} a disenare con seco et dopo pranzo li condusse insieme con gli ambasciatori di Francia, Portogallo et Vinezia et altri in Belvedere a veder recitare una commedia composta da m. Alessandro Martio Senese et servitor del rev^{mo} S. Giorgio, la quale per quel che ognuno riferisce riusci molto inepta et poco honesta et nelli atti et nelle parole, et poco manco che non fusse sibilata con tutto che vi fosse la presentia di S. S^{tà} et li spectatori fussero pochi per la incapacità del luogo et persone honorate, et S. S^{tà} fastidita dall' ineptie di detta commedia si adormentò et dormi buona pezza et alla fine della commedia disse che [chi] l' havea composta meritava iscusatione perchè era Sienese. . . . Here follows a report concerning further festivities, bull-fights on St. Peter's Square, etc.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Pope Julius III. to Paulus Jovius.[2]

1551, August 15, Rom.

Julius pp. III.

Venerabilis frater, salutem etc. Librum, quo illustrium virorum[3] imagines[4] pro ingenio et eloquentia tua[5] varie et copiose ornasti, a te nobis nuper missum, valde libenter accepimus ; nec minus libenter cognoscendis illorum moribus et actis, praesertim tam erudite a te explicatis, aliquid nonnunquam succesivi temporis non mediocri cum voluptate im-

[1] See *supra*, p. 65. [2] See *supra*, p. 329. [3] Corrected from ducum.
[4] *Cf.* Fueter, 51 f 55.
[5] Corrected from ingenio eloquentiae tuae elegantia.

pertiemus. Interea (vero)[1] maioris historiae tuae partem alteram, quam te nobis scripsisti ita iam comparatam habere ut in lucem (hominum)[1] prodire possit, cum aliquo etiam desiderio nostro expectabimus. (Speramus scilicet per labores et vigilias tuas res gestas aetatis nostrae ad posteritatis memoriam quam diutissime propagatum iri, et ad celebritatem eius nominis, quod iampridem in multiplici literarum laude consecutus es, praeclarum cumulum accessurum.)[1] Quod vero, si per pedum aegritudinem tibi licitum fuerit, te ad nos accessurum polliceris, id si divino adiuvante numine evenerit, nos quidem te, quem doctrinae et urbanitatis[2] causa semper plurimum dileximus, libentissime videbimus, atque omni, quam res et tempus feret, benevoli ac propensi animi significatione prosequemur.

Datum etc. Romae apud sanctum Petrum etc. die XV augusti 1551, anno 2°. Rom[ulus Amasaeus].

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 61, n. 693. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

15. Pope Julius III. to Franciscus de Augustinis.[3]

1552, Mai 6, Rom.

"Cupientes pro publico commodo almae Urbis nostrae, et pro nostrorum subditorum utilitate antiquam Tyberis navigationem a Portu S. Ioannis territorii Perusini usque ad confinia nostrae civitatis Hortorum inclusive ab aliquibus ex nostris predecessoribus olim tentatum, instaurare, et antequam id fiat, scire quibus modis, viis ac rationibus et quanta etiam impensa fieri possit." We appoint you a commissary for this purpose and command you to proceed with "Petroleone Percello comite Vallis Codalis" to examine channel and shore, to announce to us "conficiendi rationem" and to inform the inhabitants within 15 miles that it is our intention . . . "ut quemadmodum utilitatem non parvam ex ipsa navigatione percepturi sint, ita aliquam impensarum ratam in eam contribuant, quae postea in opere conficiendo eis significabitur." We command that people shall lodge and assist you.

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 64, n. 297. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] The words in brackets are erased in the original.
[2] Originally ingenii et doctrinae.
[3] See *supra*, p. 157.

16. Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo.[1]

1552, Juli 29, Rom.

Dilecto filio nostro Ioanni tituli s^ti^ Pancratii presbitero cardinali Compostellano nuncupato.

Iulius papa III.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem, etc. Cum sicut accepimus dilecti filii prepositus et clerici regulares congregationis Sancti Pauli Mediolanensis, per fe. re. Clementem VII primo institute et deinde Paulum III romanos pontifices predecessores nostros ac postremo nos et sedem apostolicam variis privilegiis locupletate, quosdam libros per quondam Baptistam de Crema dum viveret ordinis fratrum predicatorum professorem, ab eodem ordine per sedem apostolicam exemptum, cuius cadaver in monasterio monialium s^ti^ Pauli conversi etiam Mediolanensis ordinis s^ti^ Augustini perinde ac sanctificatum (facili tamen prepositi et clericorum predictorum necnon dilectarum in Christo filiarum priorisse et conventus dicti monasterii credulitate) custoditur, editos, quos nuper venerabiles fratres nostri sancte romane ecclesie cardinales ad officium inquisitionis heretice pravitatis apostolica auctoritate deputati, de quorum numero tu existis, per diversos religiosos sacre theologie professores diligenter examinari fecerunt et etiam ipsi examinarunt, et deinde eosdem tamquam doctrinam scandalosam in plurimis, in aliis vero temerariam et in multis hereticam continentes, de ipsorum professorum consilio et assensu damnarunt et reprobarunt, per multos annos passim et indistincte legerint et forsan de presenti legant ; et insuper post delegatam a sede apostolica curam visitandi monasterium predictum preposito pro tempore existenti dicte congregationis, is et predicti clerici aditum apud conventum predictum crebrius quam decuit sibi sensim usurpantes capitulumque et alia acta publica una cum dictis priorissa et conventu facientes etiam regimini et administrationi ceterisque negotiis publicis dicti monasterii hactenus simul incubuerint librosque predictos eisdem priorisse et monialibus legendos, et ulterius dilectam in Christo filiam Paulam Antoniam monialem dicti monasterii elogium homini inconcessum scilicet matris divine sibi ipsi temere arrogari ceterisque quibusdam apud superstitionibus

[1] See *supra*, p. 213.

et signanter quoad mutuam defectuum uniuscuiusque eorumdem incusationem palam inter eos faciendam diutius abuti permiserint et ex facili continuaque eorumdem cum dictis priorissa et monialibus conversatione scandalum non modicum in vulgus generarint: quapropter, nisi vetitis utrobique et doctrine usu et communicatione aliisque abusibus predictis, de quibus cardinales deputati predicti vel ab eis sub-deputati ex duorum clericorum dicte congregationis relatione informationem ampliorem habuerunt, prepositus et clerici at priorissa et moniales predicti ad veram regularis discipline normam per salubris reformationis antidotum reducantur, ipseque priorissa et moniales iuxta sue regule institutionem debita clausura arceantur, valde profecto timendum sit, ne cetera cum virorum tum mulierum partium illarum monasteria et alia regularia loca in similes errores prorumpant: Nos igitur, quibus pro cura nostra pastorali incumbit indirecta dirigere at salubria plantare, ne doctrina predicta una cum dictis abusibus longius latiusque serpens gregem dominicum inficiat, ea ab eisdem congregatione et monasterio imprimis evellere scandalisque predictis quantum possumus obviare, et, ut dicta congregatio opportunis adiuta presidiis uberiores in agro domini fructus producere queat, eidem de utili et idoneo protectore providere volentes, motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera deliberatione, circumspectionem tuam, cuius eximia fides, ingenii claritas, gravitas ac in infrascriptas exequendis singularis atque matura experientia alique permulte virtutes veteris experientie documento nobis haud ignote sunt sub cuiusque presidio dictam congregationem salubre incrementum suscepturam non dubitamus, protectorem ipsius congregationis in Romana curia ac apud nos et dictam sedem cum auctoritate potestate et facultate aliis protectoribus ordinum quorumcunque attributis dicta auctoritate tenore presentium constituimus et deputamus, precipientes in virtute sancte obedientie preposito et congregationi predictis ac quibusvis aliis, ad quos pertinet, ut te in eorum et dicte congregationis protectorem recipiant et admittant ac obsequia aliis eiusmodi protectoribus impendi solita exhibeant; et insuper eidem circumspectioni tue per presentes committimus et mandamus, ut per te vel alium seu alios seculares vel cuiusvis ordinis etiam mendicantium regulares, quem seu quos ad hoc duxeris

eligendum seu eligendos, ad domos et loca congregationis ac monasterium et conventum huiusmodi accedens, eadem ac prepositum et clericos necnon priorissam et moniales aliasque utriusque sexus personas illorum auctoritate nostra visitare doctrinamque predictam eiusque usum et lecturam tam publicam quam privatem necnon singulos predictos ceterosque abusus imprimis et ante omnia prohibere ac omnia et singula alia, que correctione, emendatione et punitione indigere cognoveris seu ipsi deputandi cognoverint, in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris reformare et emendare eadem auctoritate procures. Nos enim tibi et a te deputando seu deputandis predictis tam circa premissa quam alias de statu congregationis ac monasterii et conventus necnon vita ac moribus tam prepositi et clericorum quam priorisse et monialium predictorum studiose inquirendi et eos ex preposito et clericis ac priorissa et monialibus, qui delinquentes et alias culpabiles comperti fuerint, iuxta regularia sui instituta atque delicti exigentiam ac canonicarum sanctionum dispositionem etiam per incarcerationem, penis debitis absque iudiciorum strepitu puniendi, castigandi et corrigendi, ac prepositum et priorissam necnon clericos et moniales predictos ab eorum administrationibus et officiis, si eorum demerita id exegerint, perpetuo vel ad tempus suspendendi et privandi, ac ab illis realiter et cum effectu amovendi eorumdemque loco de eis aliis personis providendi aut per petuo vel ad tempus substituendi; necnon delinquentes quoslibet, si id humiliter petierint, ab excessibus et delictis etiam heresis necnon excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque sententiis, censuris et penis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus quibuslibet in foro conscientie tantum, iniuncta eis pro modo culpe penitentia salutari, absolvendi; ac pro salubri regimine et directione dicti monasterii tam dictam Paulam Antoniam quam alias personas tibi benevisas de dicto monasterio ad aliud monasterium seu regularem locum tibi benevisum, ut inibi quamdiu tibi videbitur permaneant, mutandi, ac omnia et singula alia que pro salubri directione et reformatione predictis ac alias iuxta canonicas sanctiones ac congregationis et ordinis predictorum regularia instituta eorumdemqe regimen et administrationem necessaria fuerint et quomodolibet opportuna faciendi, ordinandi statuendi et mandandi, ac contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, cuiuscunque dignitatis, status,

gradus, ordinis vel conditionis fuerint, per excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliasque formidabiliores, de quibus expendiens fore videbitur, sententias, censuras et penas, appellatione postposita, compescendi ac legitimis super his habendis servatis processibus sententias censuras et penas ipsas etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi auxiliumque brachii secularis, si opus fuerit, invocandi plenam et liberam auctoritate predicta tenore presentium concedimus facultatem ; non obstantibus premissis et apostolicis ac in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus necnon congregationis ac monasterii et conventus ordinisque predictorum iuramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et conseuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis, exemptionibus, conservatoriis et litteris apostolicis eisdem preposito et clericis ac priorisse et conventui earumque monasterio, domibus ordinibus superioribus et personis sub quibuscunque tenoribus et formis ac cum quibusvis clausulis et decretis per predictos et quoscunque alios romanos pontifices etiam predecessores nostros ac nos et sedem predictam etiam motu simili ac consistorialiter et alias in contrarium quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et innovatis ; quibus omnibus, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio seu quevis alia expressio habenda aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, tenores huiusmodi presentibus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat specialiter at expresse derogamus, contrariis quibuscunque, aut si preposito et clericis ac priorisse et conventui predictis vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a dicta sit sede indultum, quod aliquos contra eis concessa privilegia et indulta ad visitandum eosdem admittere minime teneantur et ad id compelli, ipsique ad iudicium trahi aut interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et quibuslibet aliis privilegiis, exemptionibus, conservatoriis, indulgentiis et litteris apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcunque tenorum existant, per que presentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta visitationis et

aliorum premissorum effectus tueque iurisdictionis explicatio impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis et que quoad premissa nolumus eisdem in aliquo suffragari.

Datum Rome apud sanctum Marcum etc. die 29 iulii, 1552, anno 3°.

Protectio huiusmodi cum facultate suprascripta visa fuit necessaria rev^mis dominis meis cardinalibus inquisitoribus, et nisi fiat reformatio ut petitur quoad libros et mores, non nomen monasterii sed aliud habere merebitur.

J. Card. Puteus.
Gal.

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 65, n. 523. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

17.—18. Pope Julius III. to Hannibal Spatafora.[1]

1553, Februar 24, Rom.

Dilecto filio Hanibali Spatafore archimandrite Messanensi ordinis s. Basilii commissario nostro.

Dilecte fili, salutem. Accepimus reperiri in nonnullis regni neapolitani et praesertim provinciae Calabriae et insulae Siciliae monasteriis ordinis s. Basilii, quae in commendam obtinentur et in quibus monachi graeci degunt, diversos libros graecos tum sacros tum profanos, qui hactenus typis excusi non fuerunt, raros sane nec parvi momenti aut aestimationis, ex quibus, si vel eorum fierent exemplaria vel imprimerentur, magna ab omnibus capi utilitas et commoditas posset provideretur que ne aut a tineis corroderentur aut absumerentur a tempore, sicut plurimis aliis accidit. Quare nos, qui veterum scriptorum memoriam, et maxime illorum qui pro christiana religione insudarunt, quantum in nobis est, ad Dei servitum et publicam commoditatem et utilitatem conservare desideramus, neque tamen dicta monasteria ipsis libris privare intendimus, confisi in doctrina, prudentia ac diligentia tua, mandamus tibi, ut ad dicta monasteria te personaliter conferas et bibliothecas vel alia loca, in quibus dicti libri conservantur, invisas librosque

[1] See *supra*, p. 327.

ipsos diligenter inquiras et scruteris, et eos qui cognitione et instauratione digni libi videbuntur seponas et presentibus notario publico et testibus a commendatariis ipsorum monasteriorum, si inibi fuerint, alias ab eorum agentibus aut monachis et conventibus monasteriorum eorundem tibi nostro nomine recepturo consignari facias et ad nos vel comportes vel transmittas ; nam, posteaquam vel transcribi vel imprimi eos fecerimus, ipsis monasteriis quorum fuerunt omnino reddentur. Si vero, quod non credimus, dictos libros perquirere non permitteris vel illi quos volueris tibi denegabuntur, tibi quod tam ipsos commendatarios quam eorum agentes aut ipsorum monasteriorum monachos et conventus ad permittendum tibi quod libros ipsos perquirere possis et ad eos quos volueris tibi, ut prefertur, consignandum per censuras ecclesiasticas et alia oportuna iuris remedia, appellatione postposita et invocato si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis, cogere et compellere valeas facultatem et potestatem apostolica auctoritate tenore presentium damus et concedimus, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac monasteriorum [eius] ordinis predictorum, etiam iuramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus contrariis quibuscunque ; seu si aliquibus etc. mentionem [etc.].

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum etc. die XXIIII februarii 1553 anno 4.°

Ita S^mus^ D. N. mandavit.

M. Cardinalis sanctae Crucis
Io[annes].

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 67, n. 120. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

19. Camillo Capilupi to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[1]

1553, Mart. 14, Rom.

. . . Due di sono che qui incomincia a far bel tempo et S. S^tà^ se ne va ogni di alla Vigna, alla quale si fabrica molto gagliardamente. S. S^tà^ ha pensato di voler mettere il Borgo in fortezza et similmente S. Pietro col Palagio, et già si sono

[1] See *supra*, p. 354.

cominciate a far le fosse dalla parte della muraglia di Borgo che è congiunta col Palagio et col Castello dov' è il corridore, et si lavora anco dalla parte di S. Pietro, cioè dietro la fabrica là sopra il monte dove è quella muraglia vecchia. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. C. Titio to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1553, Mart. 14, Rom.

. . . Ha detto un cardinale a un amico mio, che il rè di Francia et il card. di Lorena hanno scritto qui al ambasciator regio che non faccia più parole ne ricerchi S. Stà per conto della promontione di Ghisa, poichè tante volte ha promesso di farla et menatola in lungo d'hoggi in domani nè mai n'è venuto a conclusione alcuna, et che quando lo facci o non lo facci non gle ne sapranno grado alcuno. Questo cardinale, che dall' ambasciator intese questo in molta confidentia, dice che corse subito a dirlo al Papa, il qual disse con molta colera che per ancora non l'haveva fatto et che avanti lo facessi ne voleva esser arcipregato et poi risolversi a quel che più li piacesse. . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence].

21. Pope Julius III. to King Ferdinand.[2]

1553, November 20, Rom.

Ferdinando regi Romanorum.

Mittimus ad Mtem tuam dil. fil. Zachariam electum Pharen., praelatum nostrum domesticum, qui tuae Mti has litteras reddidit . . ., ut dil. fil. Hieronymo Martinengo succedens apud ipsam Mtem tuam nostrum et huius s. sedis nuntium agat. Hortamur Mtem tuam . . ., ut . . . eum benigne excipere ac libenter audire fidemque illi de omnibus rebus habere velit.

Datum Rome apud s. Petrum etc. die XX nov. 1553 anno 4°.

[Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 69, n. 746. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

21A. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[3]

1554, Januar. 14, Rom.

. . . La riforma va tuttavia inanzi et si tien per certo habbia a seguire poichè s'intende che in Hispagna et in Portogallo si

[1] See *supra*, p.174. [2] See *supra*, p. 225. [3] See *supra* p. 167.

risolvono d'osservare le determinazioni del concilio di Trento senza aspettare altra confirmatione del Papa sendovisi trovato in persona a farle, quando vi era legato, il che sarebbe non si facendo la riforma con poca dignità di S. Bne[1] . . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

21B. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole.[2]

1553, December, 21, Rom.

La Stà del Papa tien per fermo per molte ragioni e scontr che la regina d'Inghilterra si debbia maritare col principe d Spagna e non gli dispiace tal matrimonio per benefizio de regno e per ridurlo in tutto alla vera religione et unione della chiesa giudicano che stando la regina senza marito sia istromento troppo debole a governare longamente quei popoli di natura feroci et instabili et assuefatti alle novità, massimamente intendendosi le divisioni intrinsiche e subornationi degli esterni per le quali non crede che un rè del paese sia atto a ridurre quel regno all' obedienza ; anzi per vincere l'emulazioni che potrebbe avere e per stabilirsi crede saria necessario accomodarsi ; come per il contrario confida in Dio, che il principe di Spagna essendo catholico nato e nutrito et havendo la potenza sua vicina di Spagna e di Fiandra possa con maggior autorità introdurre l'unione alla Chiesa e difendere la regina dalli nemici interni e esterni.

Stando dunque queste cose Sua Stà giudica che saria non solo pericoloso il voler impedire tale matrimonio, ma ancora nocivo alla religione et all' interesse di questa S. Sede e però desidera che V. S. Rma vengha nella medesima opinione e resti di ciò persuasa et andando alla corte dell' Imperatore, come vuol che vadi contentandosi Sua Mtà Cesa, mostri con parole et effetti tal desiderio, non lasciando di far officio opportuno acciochè seguendo il matrimonio l'Imperatore non habbia da restare offeso e pigliar occasione di tener il regno in scisma.

Sua Stà mostrava di dubitare che quella non fosse per

[1] *Cf.* the *brief of 27. Februar.,1554 to the Spanish nuncio super controversis ortis inter prelatos et capitula ecclesiarum Hispaniae super sensu quorundam decretorum concilii Tridentini in which orders are given to ask the Chapters concerning complaints and to communicate these to the Prelates, so that they may adduce their counter reasons, and then everything is to be sent to the Pope so that he may arrange those matters in the work of reform. (Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 70, n. 116. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See, *supra*, pp. 268, 278.

accomodarsi e spesso mi replicava che sarebbe impertinente cosa il volersi opporre al corso di un fiume impetuosissimo piacendogli quella sentenza : frustra niti et nil nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est. Io gli ho affermato, che V. S. R^ma^ è figlio di obbedienza e tenendo gli occhi a Dio, che quella in nessun tempo mai contrafaria alla volontà di S. B^ne^

Ha voluto solo che io sappia questa sua volontà et avvisi V. S. R^ma^ è voleva che io scrivessi in cifra non fidandosi ne de' suoi ne de' miei, ma ha dubitato che quella non havesse la cifra e però ho scritto a questo modo e dato la lettera in man propria di mons. Fabrizio, colla quale sarà il breve credenziale di Sua S^tà^.

Del parere mio non occorre che io dica altro essendo in ciò risoluta Sua B^ne^ e convenendosi a lei obbedire. Solo l'avvertisco di tener il segreto appresso di se come Sua S^tà^ ordina per degni rispetti di tutti li potentati d'Italia e di fuori.

Il padre maestro del sacro palazzo nuovo arcivescovo di Consa verrà nuntio appresso l'Imperatore. Mi rallegro per amor di V. S. R^ma^ che avrà tal compagnia e certo è uomo di Dio e di gran prudenza, sebene esso si stima tanto poco che vi è stato da fare a quietarlo, ma alla volontà di Dio non si deve far resistenza.

[Copy. Corsini Library, Rome, Cod. 33 E. 19, 471—474.]

22. Pope Julius III. to Petro Antonio di Capua, Archbishop of Otranto.[1]

1554, Mai 31, Rom.

As we have summoned you for " Purgatio " on the sentence of the Inquisition and you have cleansed yourself here and have sworn that you have always agreed with the Catholic Faith and your four " compurgatores " have testified that you have always lived as a Catholic, while we have witnessed your pious life during the years of your residence in Rome, we receive you again into the fold of the Church and re-instate you in your honours.[2]

[Min. Brev. Arm. 41, t. 71, n. 318—319. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 224.

[2] The case of the Archbishop of Otranto caused such a sensation that Morone in 1557 in his treatise on justification remarked : " La storia sua è nota " (Cantù, Eretici, II., 189) ; the case was then so far forgotten that Druffel (III., 255) declared he was able to adduce nothing further. The first

23. Safe-conduct of Julius III.[1]

1554, October 20, Rom.

Universis et singulis praesentes literas inspecturis salutem etc. Cum dilecti filii nautae praesentium ostensores conducant ex portu Livornii ad hanc almam Urbem nostram lateres parvos quadratos et pictos ex Hispania adductos pro conficiendis pavimentis villae nostrae, idcirco subditis nostris sub indignationis et arbitrii nostri pena precipimus, non subditos vero hortamur et requirimus, ut ipsos nautas cum ipsis lateribus navigiis sarcinis rebus sociis et servientibus ad nos libere et secure sine aliquo impedimento sive pedagii solutione venire permittant, quinimmo auxilium eisdem et favorem opportunum praestent.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum etc. die xx octobris 1554 anno 5.°

Io[annes].

[Min. Brev. Arm. 41, t. 72, n. 640. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

24. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[2]

1554, December 1, Rom.

. . . Lessesi di poi un' altra parte della reforma, oltre a quella del conclavi, ch'io scrissi a questi giorni all' E. V., et si ordinò che ne fussi dato una copia al Decano, perchè la mandassi a vedere et considerare a tutti i cardinali Vescovi, et una a Ste Croce, come primo prete che facessi il medesimo nell' ordine de' preti, nel quale ordine per essere maggiore che li altri, ne fu data un' altra copia al cardinale di Perugia perchè facessi il medesimo con quei preti che seggono di poi lui, et un'

mention is made in October, 1551, in the reports of the ambassador, that Julius was against the elevation of the Archbishop to the cardinalate on account of the investigation by the Inquisition (See letter of F. Gonzaga of Oct. 20th, 1551 in de Leva, V., 276). We learn from the *letter of Bart. Serristori, Archbp. of Trani, dat. Rome, Oct. 23rd, 1553 that the opposition of the Inquisition to the archbishop still continued at this time. On Dec. 14th, 1553 B. Serristori *reports that Manrique had lately been taking steps for the Cardinalate of the archbishop in the name of the Emperor, whereupon Julius III. resolved to hear the "most reverend members of the Inquisition." "A sitting of the Inquisition took place in presence of the Pope on Tuesday, in which the archbishop defended himself very well; in consequence of the secrecy of the deliberations, we can only learn that he is to be considered in another creation of Cardinals" (State Archives, Florence). Further authentic information is given by the above letter, hitherto unknown.

[1] See *supra*, p. 342.

[2] See *supra*, p. 169.

altra al cardinale Farnese per fare il medesimo coi diaconi, i quali tutti cardinali l' hanno da considerare diligentissimamente et notare quel che a ciascuno paresse di levare o porre per poterla poi fermare in quel modo che harà da stare, et per non essere stabilita comandò S. Stà a tutti sotto pena di scomunicatione che non parlassino con persona di particulare alcuno. . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

25. Lutherans in Rome, 1552—1554.[1]

The *Diario di Cola Coleine Romano records :

1552 a 6 Giugno in lunedi di Pasqua rosata furono menati 7 Luterani alla Minerva a ribenedire e v'erano due frati della Traspontina vestiti dell' ordine e preti secolari con tonica gialla e la croce roscia e li cardinali li rebenedissero e vi fu gran popolo.

1553 a 21 Marzo furono menati nella Minerva 11 Luterani e vi era Montealcino, predicatore di S. Apostoli.

1553 a di 4 Settembre Montalcino predicatore lo compagno [sic] et un tessitore di velluto[2] furono abbrugiati per Luterani[3] nella Minerva essendosi letta la sentenza et alli 9 furono abbrugiati tutti li suoi libri.

1554 a 4 Novembre furono menati 16 Luterani alla Minerva e ritornorono alla fede.

[Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. N. II 32.]

26. Camillo Capilupi to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga.[4]

1555, Februar. 16, Rom.

Yesterday there was a meeting of the Cardinals before the Pope. In essa si ragionò sopra la commissione che si ha da

[1] See *supra*, p. 218, I am not able to determine the real circumstances in connection with this arrest, announced by Serristori from Rome on April 29th, 1551 (*Hier. Borro d' Arezzo theologo, che serviva al card. di Ferrara: imprisoned on suspicion of heresy ; State Archives, Florence).

[2] Giov. Teodori da Perugia s. Orano 3 f ; *cf.* Elze in the Riv. Crist., I., 272, *seqq.*

[3] Concerning Giov. Buzio of Montalcino O. Min. Conv., his arrest and execution *cf.* Elze in der Riv. Crist., *loc. cit.* ; Fontana, II., 281 ; Brigidi, Fra Giov. Mollio, Siena, 1891 ; Orano, 1 n ; Buschbell, 215 ; Piccolomini in Bullet. Senese XV., 296 *seq.*, 302 *seq.* ; XVII., 29 ; Atti di Romagna, XIX. (1901), 143, n. 3 ; Carcereri, Riforma e Inquisizione nel ducato di Urbino, Verona, 1911, 7 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 226.

dare al R^ma^ Morone intorno ad alcuni dubbii che S. S. R^ma^ ha mosso per conto delle cose della religione dei quali colli prime manderò una copia a V. S. Ill. ; quasi tutto il parlamento tocco al r^mo^ di Fano, al parere del quale S. S^tà^ et tutti gli altri si rimisero senza replicare parola ; per la qual cosa S. S. R^ma^ n' ha riportato di molti lodi et da S. S^tà^ et da tutti i r^mi^ che si trovorono presenti. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. Furtherance of the Re-building of St. Peter's by Julius III.[1]

How greatly Julius III. had the re-building of St. Peter's at heart, can be judged from the two Bulls already known up till now, that of July 31st, 1551 (Bull., VI., 445 *seqq.*) and of July 20th, 1552 (Compendium privilegiorum Rev. Fabricae S. Petri a Johanne Carolo Vespignanio absolut., nunc notis locupletat. a H. Baldassinio, Romae, 1762, 94 *seqq.*).[2] To these documents the following may be added, which I take from a manuscript acquired in Rome in 1901, which bears the title : *Privilegia, auctoritates, facultates indulgentiaeque fabricae basilicae principis apost. S. Petri de Urbe a quamplurimis Romanis pontificibus concessae et per sanct. dom. Paulum div. pro. papam quartum confirmatae.

Therein are the following documents, as far as I know still unprinted :

1. Iulius papa III. [1550, Juni 20, Rom.]

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Post nostram ad summi apostolatus officii assumptionem, toto cordis affectu semper mente revolvimus, celeberrimam divi Petri apostolorum principis basilicam, quae in admirabilem consurgit structuram, prout tenemur, debito fine terminare, ne, desertis aedificiis, quod iam factum est periret et tantum opus, tanta pecuniarum vi excitatum frustra rueret ; et cum Iulius II et successive alii praedecessores nostri suas et Sedi[s] Apostolicae facultates ad tantum opus perficiendum minime sufficere posse viderent,

[1] See *supra*, p. 333.
[2] *Cf.* also Bull. Bas. Vatic., III., 1, 19*seqq.* Concerning a commissary of the Fabrica S. Petri, who unfortunately sold Indulgences for money, see Atti d. Soc Ligure, XXIV., 588 *seq.*

omnes christifideles coelestis thesauri premiis et aliis spiritualibus gratiis et donis toto nixu ad tam pium et laudabile opus invitaverunt, diversas indulgentias etiam plenarias et facultates tam eis quam collegio officialium ad curam dictae fabricae per sedem apostolicam deputatorum concedendo et innovando; Nosque aliorum praedecessorum nostrorum vestigia insecuti, indulgentias etiam plenarias et facultates, privilegia, praerogativas et indulta a praedecessoribus nostris concessa in crastinum nostrae ad summi apostolatus apicem assumptionis in genere revocaverimus et successive per quasdam alias nostras sub plumbo omnes indulgentias et nonnullas alias facultates durante anno iubilaei et deinde ad nostrum beneplacitum revocaverimus et suspenderimus: ne autem propter huiusmodi revocationes christifideles ad tam pium et laudabile opus tepidiores reddantur et fabrica interrupta pendere cogatur, motu proprio et ex certa scientia nostra indulgentias etiam plenarias, facultates, privilegia, praerogativas et in indulta praedicta per Iulium, Leonem, Adrianum, Clementem et Paulum praedecessores praefatos fabricae et collegio praefatis concessas et concessa, cum omnibus et singulis decretis et clausulis in singulis litteris desuper tam sub plumbo quam in forma brevis confectis, quarum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum nihil penitus omisso inserti forent praesentibus haberi volumus pro expressis, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium confirmamus ac in pristinum et illud robur et statum, in quibus ante easdem revocationes quomodolibet erant, plenarie restituimus reponimus et reintegramus, ac plenarie restitutas, repositas et reintegratas existere decernimus, illasque et illa prout per dictos praedecessores nostros concessae et concessa sunt, in omnibus et per omnia innovamus; volumusque et declaramus quod collegium ipsum fabricae praefatae indulgentias etiam plenarias (non tamen durante praesenti anno iubilei) necnon omnes alias facultates, privilegia, praerogativas et indulta praedicta praefato collegio concessas et concessa infuturum exercere possit, prout ante easdem revocationes exercere posse dignoscebatur; non obstantibus praemissis et aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis necnon omnibus illis quae in singulis litteris praedictis concessum fuit non obstare caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Verum quia difficile foret praesentes litteras ad singula quaeque loca, ad quae expediens

fuerit, deferre, volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum transumptis secretarii collegii praedicti manu subscriptis et sigillo dictae fabricae munitis, eadem prorsus fides indubia adhibeatur que praesentibus adhiberetur si essent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die XX mensis iunii MDL, pontificatus nostri anno 1.° Blosius el[ectus] Fulgin. [Ms. cit. 138b *seq.*]

2. Iulius papa III. [1552, Jan. 25, Romæ]

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Cupientes necessariae instaurationi basilicae principis apostolorum de urbe taliter providere, ut exinde eius desiderata perfectio celerius subsequatur, necnon indulgentias, gratias, indulta et facultates aliis piis locis in eius praeiudicium concessa adeo moderare, quod propterea ad huiusmodi perfectionem ampliora christifidelium suffragia obvenire valeant ; cum itaque nos alias seu nuper ex certis tunc expressis causis nonnulla, indulgentias, concessiones, gratias, indulta et facultates beatae Mariae de Iesu Redemptionis Captivorum nuncupatae in ecclesia domus Sti Dominici civitatis Neapolitanae ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum ac montis pietatis eiusdem civitatis et certis aliis confraternitatibus necnon incurabilium praefatae civitatis ac certis aliis hospitalibus et piis locis, ita quod litterae desuper confectae sub quibusvis revocatione aut suspensione similium vel dissimilium indulgentiarum minime comprehendantur, et quoties revocari seu suspendi contingeret, toties in pristinum statum restitutae essent et esse conserentur, irritandi decreto desuper adiecto et alias sub certis modo et forma tunc expressis concesserimus et elargiti fuerimus ; et sicut nobis innotuit, indulgentiae et concessiones, gratiae, indulta et facultates huiusmodi in maximum fabricae basilicae Sti Petri de Urbe praeiudicium cesserint et cedant, et conveniens videatur, ut dicta fabrica pro illius et eiusdem basilicae, quae caeterarum caput et principalis existit, excellentia et dignitate ac urbis nostrae decore ac venustate in primis et ante omnia perficiatur et ad optatum finem deducatur et ab aliis locis minime quoad consequendas christifidelium elemosinas impediatur seu elemosinis ipsis ad illius perfectionem necessariis fraudetur : Nos igitur, indemnitati dictae fabricae ac illius perfectioni quantum in nobis est consulere volentes, motu proprio et ex certa

nostra scientia ac de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine omnia et singula indulgentias etiam plenarias, etiam illas a media quadragesima usque ad pascha inclusive ab ordinibus Mendicantium publicari solitas, ac alias concessiones, gratias, indulgentias et indulta ac etiam eligendi et deputandi confessores, qui absolvant aut alia faciant, ac reliquas omnes facultates huiusmodi indulgentias concernentes praefatis et quibusvis aliis confraternitatibus ac ecclesiis, monasteriis, hospitalibus et aliis etiam regularibus et piis locis in civitate praedicta et diocesi ac toto regno Neapolitano existentibus et sub quibus cunque invocationibus institutis, non tamen regnis Hispaniarum et locis in litteris Cruciatae et dictae fabricae compraehensis, ex quibusvis causis ac sub quibuscumque tenoribus, et formis etiam imperatoris, regnum, ducum vel aliorum principum intuitu seu contemplatione, etiam motu simili concessas et concessa, praeterquam quod ea, in quibus indulgentiae et facultates ipsae in aliqua sui parte iam sint sortitae effectum, ita ut praefatae et aliae confraternitates et ecclesiae, monasteria, hospitalia ac loca huiusmodi illis uti seu illa publicari facere aut quaestas [sic] aliquas exercere minime possint seu debeant, a die mercurii quadragesimae usque ad octavam resurrectionis D. N. Iesu Christi inclusive uniuscuiusque anni dicta fabrica durante, nisi ad id deputatorum praefatae basilicae consensus accesserit, eorumque omnium vim et effectum per ipsum tempus auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium suspendimus et suspensas esse, ac interim nullo modo publicari seu effectum sortiri aut locum sibi vendicare nec alicui suffragari debere, ac indulgentias confraternitati Redemptionis Captivorum concessas huiusmodi ullo unquam futuro tempore per commissarios seu alios quoscumque extra dictam civitatem Neapolitanam publicari nullatenus posse, necnon quidquid secus contigerit attentari irritum et inane decernimus et declaramus, ac eisdem confratribus et quibusvis personis pro confraternitatibus, monasteriis, ecclesiis, hospitalibus et locis prae dictis nunc et pro tempore deputatis, sub nostrae indignationis, necnon excommunicationis latae sententiae eo ipso per contrafacientes incurrendis poenis, ne durante dicto tempore de huiusmodi indulgentiis, concessionibus, gratiis, indultis et facultatibus ac quaestis se intromittere quoquo modo audeant seu praesumant, districtius inhibemus, non obstantibus praemissis ac quibusvis constitutionibus

et ordinationibus apostolicis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium transumptis manu notarii ipsius fabricae subscriptis et sigillo collegii dictae fabricae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae eisdem originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die xxv ianuarii MDLII pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

S. Cervinus.

A. della Torre. [Ms. cit. p. 147 *seqq.*]

3. Breve confirmationis abdicationis quaestarum S. Antonii de Sancto Antonio Viennensi in favorem fabricae basilicae principis apostolorum de Urbe. Inc.: Regimini militantis ecclesiae . . .

Dat. Romae 1553, Dec. 15. [Ms. cit. p. 147 *seqq.*]

4. Breve S. D. N. D. Iulii divina providentia papae III confirmationis indulgentiarum, privilegiorum, gratiarum et aliarum facultatum in favorem fabricae basilicae principis apostolorum de Urbe. Inc.: Cupientes ea . . .

Dat. ut. s. [Ms. cit. 151 *seqq.*]

5. Breve Iulii III. revocatorium omnium et singularum quaestarum et commissariorum in favorem fabricae basilcae principis apostolorum de Urbe. Inc.: Si in universa christifidelium templa . . .

Dat. Romae 1553, Dec. 12. [Ms. cit. p. 154 *seqq.*]

6. Breve S. D. N. D. Iulli divina providentia papae III confirmatorium revocationis quaestarum et indulgentiarum quarumcunque, cum mandato ordinariis, ut non permittant aliquas quaestas exerceri nec indulgentias publicari, nisi prius per suas litteras earum copiam R. P. D. deputatis fabricae transmiserint et ab eis responsum, cui omnino parere teneantur, habuerint, Inc.: Decet Rom. Pontificem . . .

Dat. Romae 1554, Apr. 6. [Ms. cit. p. 162 *seq.*]

7. Motuproprio „Cum nos," entitled "Suspensio indulgentiarum durante quadragesima in favorem fabricae."

Dat. Romae VIII. Cal. febr. a° secundo (25 Januar., 1552). [Ms. cit. p. 174[b] *seqq.*]

28. Ordinances for Reform by Pope Julius III.[1]

1550.

* Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 49, n. 341 : *Card. Sfondrato (Warrant to proceed against the 'Exempts' of his diocese of Cremona, and to reform the monasteries), April 23. T. 56, n. 420 : * Paulo Nicolino canon. Florent. (Visitation of the monastery of S. Mariae de Balneo, O. Camaldul.), Mai 8 ; n. 538 : * Archiepisc. Salzburg and by other German bishops (Warrant to reform the 'Exempts' during the Visitation), Juni 13. T. 57, n. 740 : * Viceleg. Bononiae et priori gen. S. M. Servor. (Reform of convents), August 15 ; n. 824 *Isidoro ep. Fulgin. (Reform of secular and regular clergy), September 15 ; n. 827 : * Vic. Archiep. Neapolit. (Reform of the nuns of S. Petri, O. S. B.), September 18 ; n. 832 : * Archiep. Mediol. (Warrants against Exempts), September 20. T. 58, n. 944 : * Generali et visitatorib. O. Camald. (Visitation the monastery of S. Mariae terrae Balnei, O. Camald.), November 10.[2] (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

1551.

* Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 59, n. 1 : Episcop. Matiscon. (Reform of the convent and priory of S. Petri Matiscon., O. S. Aug.), Januar. 1 ; n. 19 : * Episc. Litterensi [Lettere] (Warrant for reform and punishment of exempts), January 12 ; n. 146 : Card. Compostellan. (Reform of the Spanish College in Bologna), Mai. 10 ; n. 148 : * Imperatori (Punishment of clergy in the Balearic Isles), Mar. 11 ; n. 156 : * Provinciali O. Pr. ref. prov. Rom. (Reform of the convent of S. Dominici de Campo regio in Siena), Mar. 12 ; n. 214 : Bull (Punishment of secular clergy not wearing clerical dress), Mar. 25. T. 60, n. 256 : * Mandatum iudicibus (Punishment of Vagrant Carthusians of las Cuevas extra muros Ispalen.), April 10 ; n. 508 : * Christof. Archiep. Bremen. (Reform of Convents), Juni 20. T. 62, n. 978 : * Episc. Brixien. (Reform of the Poor Clares, vet^is civit. Brix.), October 1 ; n. 1055 : Capellano

[1] See *supra*, p. 162.
[2] Concerning the reform of the convent of the Minerva in Rome arranged in June, 1550, see Massarelli, 177. A document of October 20th, 1550, regarding reform in the kingdom of Poland is in Theiner, Mon. Pol., II., 572.

maiori regis Portug. (against frivolous imposition of the Interdict), December 31.[1] *loc. cit.*

1552.

* Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 63, n. 37 : * Nuntio Venet. (Reform of the convent of S. Mariae Servor. et Iacobi della Giudecca), Januar. 14 ; n. 108 : * Card. de Mendoza (Reform of convents of nuns in the diocese of Burgos), Februar. 15. T. 64, n. 242 : * Card. Morono (Reform of the O. Eremit. S. Hieron.), April 12 ; n. 243 : * Generali O. Eremit. S. Hieron. (as n. 242), April 12 ; n. 288 : Generali O. Praed. (Correction of missals and breviaries of the Order), Mai 3 ; n. 369 and 370 : Philippo, princ. Hisp. and Card. Poggio (Reform of the fratres O. Eremit. S. August.), Mai 28 ; n. 428 : Card. I. de Monte et Alex. Campegio (Reform of convents of nuns in Bologna), Juni 22. T. 65, n. 451 : * Card. Neapolit. (Warrant for Reform of exempt monasteries), Juli 1 ; n. 476 : * Reform of the nuns of S. Mariae Gaietani O. Cist., Juli 11 ; n. 530 : Briefs and * Facultates Sylvestro Landino et Emanueli de Montemaiori S. J. for reform in Corsica, August 5 ; n. 566 : Cocciano, protonotario (Reform of Poor Clares at Spoleto), August 25 ; n. 576 : * Card. Morono (Reform of all convents O. Heremit. S. Hieron.), August 31 ; n. 615 : * Card. de Durantibus (Prohibition to receive girls under 15 in the convents at Brescia), September 20. T. 66, n. 643 : * Imperatori (Reform of monasteries in Lorraine and the Netherlands), October 1 ; n. 685 : Episc. Curiensi, nuntio apud Grisones (Reform of the clergy), October 15, *loc. cit.*

1553.

* Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 67, n. 183 : * Card. Poggio, leg. Hispaniae (Reform of Poor Clares), Mar. 12 ; n. 201 : * Archiep. Taurin. (Reform of Poor Claies in Turin T. 69, n. 521 : * Card.

[1] In the *Brevia Iulii III.* t. 2 I find moreover the following addenda for 1551 : *Cornelio episc. Bitunt. (Reform of the clergy), Mar. 1 ; *I. Bapt. episc. Venaf. (Reform of seculars and regulars) Mar. 18 ; * Reform of the Benedictine monastery, S. Maria de Brano in Naples, Mar. 18 ; *Generali et visit. congreg. Camaldul., November 10. Concerning Julius III. and the reform of monasteries in Genoa see Rosi, Le monache, in the Atti d. Soc. Ligure, XXVII., 195 and Rosi, Genova e la Chiesa, 10. The strict Rule approved in 1551 by J. B. Galetti" magister domus Julii III." for the Ethiopian monastery S. Stefano dei Mori : S. Chaine, Un monastere éthiopien à Rome au XV. et XVI siécle, in the Mélanges de la Faculté orient. de Beyrouth, V. (1910), 19 *seqq.*

Pisano, episc. Tarvis. (Punishment of a dissolute Abbess, O. S. B.), August 3 ; n. 699 : Francisco episc. Pacensi (Reform of seculars and regulars), October 24 ; n. 709 : * Card. Pisano (Reform of nuns), October 28 ; n. 761 : * Card. Neapolit. (Reform of nuns), November 27[1] *loc. cit.*

1554.

* Min. brev. Arm. 41, t. 70, n. 201 : * Castellano episc. Placent. (against vagrant monks), April 12. T. 71, n. 268 : *Episc. Bamberg. (Reform of monasteries), Mai 15 ;[2] n. 306 : * Archiep. Mediolan. (against vagrant nuns), Mai 28 ; n. 381 : * Generali O. Crucifer. (Reform of the Order), Juni 20. T. 72, n. 568 : * Prohibition of women entering the Charterhouse near Asti, September 20 ; n. 693 : Christophoro Paduano generali O. S. August. (against vagrants), November 23 ; n. 729 : Barth. Iano, Maceratensi, O. Min. conv. prof. in theol. (Reform of monasteries in Burgundy, Aragon, Portugal), December 26, *loc. cit.*

1555.

Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 16 : * Baptista Buttinoro (Visitation of churches in Corsica), Januar. 26, *loc. cit.*

[1] In Format. I Iulii III.,Min. brev. 60 there are also the following documents which rightly belong here : 45° : * Hieronymo archiep. Ianuen. (Faculties for Reform), 1553, Mart. 3 ; 48° : Paulo Sadoleto ep. Carpent. (Warrant against clerics and exempts), Mart. 8 ; 72° : *Archiep. Hispal. (Reform of clerics), April 7 ; 96 : Card. Pacheco (Reform of his diocese), Mai 24.

[2] In the ' Min. brev.'" the mandate of Julius III. to Melchior, bishop of Würzburg about the visitation of all monasteries of monks and nuns in his diocese as " non modica scandala " had come to his ears, etc., May 15, 1554. A single sheet probably printed in Augsburg ; a fine initial at the beginning.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XIII.

Accolti, Cardinal, 364.
Adamas Sagat (Negus of Abyssinia), 313 n. 2.
Adrian VI., Pope, 297, 419, 453.
Agostini, Antonio (Bishop of Lerida, nuncio to Ferdinand I.), 154 n. 1, 169 n. 4, 289.
Aguilera, J. de (physician), 142 n. 3.
Alba, Duke of, 10.
Albani, G. (author), 331 n. 2.
Albernoz, Rodrigo de, 302 n. 4.
Alberteschi, Family of the, 388.
Aldrovandi, Ulisse (naturalist), 216, 357, 366, 367, 375 n. 2. 390, 395, 397, 421, 422, 423.
Alepo, Salvatore (Archbishop of Sassari), 100, 109.
Alessandrino, Fra Michele, *see* Ghislieri.
Alexander II., Pope, 411.
Alexander VI., Pope, 177, 364, 370, 375, 383, 385, 389, 401.
Alfonso, Infante of Portugal, Cardinal, 3, 25.
Aliotti, Pier Giovanni, 341.
Altoviti, Bindo (banker), 371.
Amaseo, Romolo (humanist, papal secretary), 74, 327.
Amboise, George d', Cardinal, 6, 20, 27.
Ammanati, Bartolomeo (sculptor), 340, 341, 345 n. 1, 347, 352, 353.
Amyot, Jacques (French Envoy), 106.
Angelico, Fra (painter), 420.
Angelis, P. A. de (Bishop of Nepi), 54 n. 1, 133 n. 3.
Anguillara, Family of the, 388.
Anjiro, Paul, S. J. (missionary), 316.
Anton (Chinese attendant on St. Francis Xavier), 320 n. 1, 321.
Antonio of Madrid, S. J., 187.
Aquila, Branconio dell', 364, 377, 387.
Aramont (French envoy), 143.
Arezzo, H. Borro d'. (heretic), 451 n. 1.
Aretino, Pietro, 329, 330, 332.
Ariosto, Lodovico, 65.
Armagnac, George d' (Bishop of Rodez), Cardinal, 6.
Arrivabene, G. Fr., 52 n. 4.
Arundel, Lord, 261.
Asnaf Sagat (Negus of Abyssinia), 313 n. 2.
Aspera, Francesco d' (treasurer to Julius III.), 375 n. 1.
Ataide, Alvaro (Commandant of Malacca), 319, 320, 323.
Aurelius Novocomensis, 224 n. 2.
Aversa, Matteo da, 222.
Avila, Luis de (Imperial envoy), 58, 78.
Ayala, 24 n. 4.
Atracino, Sebastiano, 63 n. 5.

Bacci, Andrea n. 3.
Badhorn, Leopold (agent of the Elector Maurice of Saxony at the Council of Trent), 115, 118, 119.
Baglioni, Family of the, 53.
Baglioni, Rodolfo, 140 n. 1.
Balneo, G. F. de, Count, 134 n. 2.

Barbaro (Venetian envoy), 241.
Barga, da (physician), 433.
Baronino da Casale, Bartolomeo (architect), 8 n. 4, 341.
Baronius, Cesare (the future Cardinal), 177.
Barreto, Nuñez, S. J. (Patriarch of Abyssinia), 313.
Basso, Girolamo, Cardinal, 420.
Beccadelli, Lodovico (nuncio), 211, 328.
Belisarius, 392.
Bellarmine, Francis, S. J. (the future Cardinal), 177.
Bellay, Eustache du (Bishop of Paris), 205, 206, 207.
Bellay, Jean du (Bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 6, 19, 25, 141 n. 2, 152 n. 1, 407.
Bellay, Joachim du, 406.
Benavente, Toribio da (Motolinia), Franciscan missionary, 303, 306.
Bencio, Trifone (secretary), 74.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 426 n. 1.
Bernard (a Japanese, companion to St. Francis Xavier), 323.
Bernardo of Viterbo, Fra, 223.
Bernini, Giov. Lorenzo (architect and sculptor), 370.
Bertano, Pietro (Bishop of Fano, nuncio), Cardinal, 80, 81, 93, 107, 122 n. 2, 125, 136, 171, 172, 173, 452.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 342.
Beuerlin (protestant theologian) 125.
Bevilacqua, Family of the, 395.
Biagio, Girolamo (envoy from Bologna), 59 n. 3.
Billick, Eberhard (theologian), 114.
Bini, Family of the, 375.
Biondo, Flavio (humanist), 394.
Blado, Antonio (printer), 332, 383.
Boccaccio, Leonardo, 61.
Bocchi, Achille, 328 n. 4.
Bohemia, Queen of, 103 n. 1.
Boleyn Anne, 245.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 411.
Bonner, Edmund (Bishop of London), 240, 246, 287.
Borba, Diego de, 308 n. 1.
Borgia, Francis, S. J. (Duke of Gandia), 177-179, 186, 187, 209.
Borromei, Family of the, 343 n. 1.
Borromeo, St. Charles, 177.
Borgia, Lucrezia, 397.
Boschi, Fabrizio (painter), 49 n. 1, 338.
Bourbon, Louis de, Cardinal, 6, 20, 30, 33.
Bourne (court chaplin), 246.
Bramante, Donato (architect), 337, 365, 366, 370, 371, 421.
Brandolini, Raphael [Lippo] (humanist, tutor to Pope Julius III.), 46, 326.
Brenz, Johann (protestant theologian), 125.
Broet, Paschasius, S. J. (Provincial of the Jesuits in France), 205-207.
Brueghel, Peter (painter and engraver), 389.
Bruslart, Noel (procurator-general of the French Parliament), 204, 205.
Bufalini, Leonardo (artist), 357, 363, 371, 374, 375 n. 2, 379, 386, 390.
Bullinger, Johann Heinrich (Swiss reformer), 219, 243.
Buonanni, Benedetto (Florentine envoy, conclavist to Card. Toledo), 21, 22, 130, 160.
Burchard, Johannes (Master of ceremonies to Alexander VI.), 384, 401.
Bucer, Martin, O. P. (afterwards protestant theologian), 239, 242.
Buzio, Giovanni (Minorite), 218.

Caccialupi, Family of the, 381.
Calandra, Endimio, 36 n. 2, 43.
Calandra, Sabino (Mantuan envoy), 29 n. 1, 50 n. 1.

Calvi, Giovanni da, O. S. F., 378, 425.
Calvin, John, 221, 239, 242, 243, 270 n. 3, 296 n. 2.
Camaiani, Onofrio, 149.
Camaiani, Pietro (Papal chamberlain), 93, 135, 136, 139.
Campegio, Alessandro, Cardinal, 173.
Campegio, Giambattista (Bishop of Majorca), 109.
Canano, Giulio (secretary), 74, 75, 95 n. 1.
Canisius, Peter, S. J., 182 n. 2, 200-203.
Cannani, G. (physician), 142 n. 3.
Cano, Melchior, O. P., 108.
Capilupi, Camillo, 166 n. 3.
Capilupi, Ippolito, 130.
Capodiferro, Girolamo (Datary) Cardinal, 6, 10, 21, 30, 41, 149, 350, 387.
Capranica, Family of the, 400.
Capua, Pietro Antionio de (Archbishop of Otranto), 171, 223, 224, 449 n. 2.
Caracciolo, Galeazzo (Marquis of Vico, nephew of Card. Carafa), 221.
Carafa, Gian Pietro (Bishop of Chieti, Archbishop of Naples), Cardinal (later Pope Paul IV.), 6, 12, 16, 18, 21-27, 30-33, 57, 63, 70, 71, 78, 88, 155, 158, 160, 165, 183, 208, 210, 213, 216, 217, 220, 222, 338 n. 2, 397, 412 n. 4, 435.
Carafa, Oliviero, Cardinal, 379, 396.
Caravaggio, Polidoro da (painter), 376, 377.
Cardelli, Family of the, 351.
Carew, 263.
Carissimo, Pietro Maria, 29 n. 1.
Carne, Sir Edward (English envoy), 288.
Carnero, Melchior, S. J. (Coadjutor Bishop of Abyssinia), 313.
Caro, Annibale, 221 n. 4.
Carpi, Girolamo da (painter), 341, 353.
Carpi, Pio Rodolfo da (Bishop of Faenza and Girgenti), Cardinal, 6, 10, 16, 17, 25, 31, 33, 42, 45 n. 2, 80 n. 3, 141 n. 2, 151, 168, 217, 228, 229, 396, 397, 402, 422.
Casal, Gaspar do (Bishop of Funchal), 290.
Casas, Bartolomé de las, O. P. (Bishop of Chiapa), 304, 305.
Castellesi, Adriano, Cardinal, 364.
Castner, Kaspar, S. J. (Missionary), 321 n. 1.
Castriotto, Jacopo Fusti (architect), 354 n. 3.
Castro, Alfonso de, O. S. F., 281.
Castro, Duchess of (mother of Ottavio Farnese), 133.
Catanei, Vannozza de', 383, 384.
Catharinus, Ambrosius (tutor to Julius III. in Siena), 46 n. 2.
Catherine, Queen of Bosnia, 394.
Catherine, Queen of England (wife of Henry VIII.), 244, 253, 254.
Catherine, Queen of France (wife of Henry II.), *see* de' Medici
Catherine, Queen of Poland, Archduchess of Austria, 236.
Cavino (medallist), 49 n. 1.
Cecchi (engraver), 48 n. 5.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 56 n. 2, 354, 376.
Cenci, Family of the, 385, 401.
Cervini, Alessandro (half-brother to Marcellus II.), 177 n. 1.
Cervini, Marcello (Bishop of Nicastro, Cardinal, afterwards Pope Marcellus II.), 2 n. 1, 3, 6, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20-22, 25, 40, 48, 78, 88, 139, 159, 160, 163-165, 217,

219, 220-222, 225, 228, 229, 327, 334, 436, 450.
Cesati, Alessandro, "Il Greco" (Master of the Mint), 62 n. 5, 354.
Cesi, Family of the, 365, 423.
Cesi, Federigo, Cardinal, 6, 15, 365.
Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 364.
Chambre, Philippe de la, Cardinal, 6, 7, 20, 27.
Charles V., Emperor, 3-5, 10-12, 18-22, 24 n. 4, 31, 33 n. 1, 39, 41, 44, 54, 55, 60, 77-80, 82-85, 89-95, 97, 101, 107, 111, 114, 120, 124-130, 133-139, 143-146, 148, 149, 151-153, 170, 171, 174, 178, 179, 209, 224-229, 231, 245, 250, 256-260, 265, 267, 269, 272, 273, 276, 278-283, 286, 298, 301, 353, 356 n. 3, 378, 408, 448.
Châtillon, Cardinal, 6, 7, 19.
Chigi, Family of the, 421.
Chigi, Agostino, 389.
Christian III., King of Denmark, 259.
Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg, 115, 117, 125.
Cibo, Innocenzo, Cardinal 3 n. 2, 6, 7, 12, 18, 20, 23, 57, 158, 435.
Cicada, Giambattista (Bishop of Albenga), Cardinal, 146, 165, 173.
Ciocchi del Monte, *see* Monte.
Claudius (Negus of Abyssinia), 313 n. 2.
Clement VI., Pope, 35.
Clement VII., Pope 7, 11, 47, 212, 214, 290, 340, 366, 368, 399, 404, 421, 425, 441, 453.
Clement XII., Pope, 394.
Clement XIV., Pope, 343 n. 1.
Cleve, Hendrik van (painter), 363, 366.
Cock, Hieronymus (painter and chalcographer), 400, 401.
Coleine, Cola (chronicler), 218, 451.
Colini, G., 343 n. 1.
Colonna, Family of the, 396, 402, 409, 424.
Colonna, Ascanio, 9, 53, 346.
Colonna, Camillo, 9.
Colonna, Giacomo, Cardinal, 412.
Colonna, Pietro, Cardinal, 412.
Colonna, Prospero, Cardinal, 396.
Colonna, Vittoria, 395, 397.
Commendone, Giovanni Francesco (Bishop of Zante), Cardinal, 251-253, 259 n. 2, 270.
Condivi, Ascanio, 332, 337.
Condulmero, Francesco (nephew of Eugenius IV.), Cardinal, 383.
Conti, Family of the, 361, 409.
Conti, Sigismondo de', 336 n. 1.
Corgna, Ascanio della (commander of the Papal guards, son of Francia, nephew of Julius III.), 66, 69, 97 n. 4, 103 n. 1, 133 n. 2, 148 n. 1.
Corgna, Francia della (brother-in-law to Julius III., husband of Jacopa del Monte), 46, 69.
Corgna, Fulvio della (Bishop of Perugia, brother of Ascanio), Cardinal, 69, 148 n. 1, 173, 353 n. 1, 450.
Corgna, Jacopa della (sister to Julius III.), 46, 69.
Cornaro, Andrea (Archbishop of Spalato), Cardinal, 6, 41.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 174.
Correa, 293 n. 3.
Cortese, Cardinal, 380.
Cortese, Ersilia, *see* Monte.
Cortez, Fernando, 296, 297, 300.
Cosimo I. (Duke of Tuscany), *see* Medici.
Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire, 259, 260, 261, 263, 267, 288.
Coverdale, Miles, 247.
Cranmer, Thomas (Archbishop of Canterbury), 239, 241-243, 247, 274.

Crawford, John, 324.
Crema, Fra Battista da, 212, 441.
Crescentius, Nicholas, 392.
Crescenzi, Marcello (Bishop of Marsico), Cardinal, 41, 57, 76, 78, 88, 91, 92, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 108, 111, 115-117, 120, 121, 123, 127, 128, 131, 132 n. 1, 135, 158, 160, 161, 170, 210, 217, 327, 435.
Criminalis, Antonio, S. J., 308 n. 1.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal, 6.
Crivelli, Gianpietro (goldsmith), 377, 378, 425.
Croft, 263.
Cueva, Bartolomé de la, Cardinal, 5, 41, 42.
Cupis, Domenico de (Bishop of Camerino), Cardinal 6, 7, 8 n. 3, 12, 16, 17, 20 n. 2, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30-33, 42, 57, 63, 78, 88, 146, 151, 158-160, 167 n. 1, 210, 379, 435.
Cupis, Francesca de, 379 n. 2.
Cyprian, Alfonso, 311.

Dandino, Girolamo (Bishop of Imola), Cardinal, 73, 75, 76, 95, 99, 103 n. 1, 149, 151, 173, 251-253, 256, 257, 270.
Dandolo, Matteo (Venetian envoy), 28, 69.
Danti, Vincenzo, 49 n. 1.
Davidico, Lorenzo, 331.
Day (Bishop of Chichester), 240, 247.
Delfino, Zaccaria (Nuncio), 167 n. 2, 225, 226.
Delgadillo, 303 n. 2.
Delphinus, J. A. (theologian), 122 n. 2.
Doménech, Jerónimo, S. J., 186, 195.
Dominic of Betanzos, O. P., 304.
Dominico of Basana, 219 n. 1.
Doria, Girolamo, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 7.
Dosio, Giov. Ant., 364 n. 2.
Dragut (corsair), 143.
Dryander, Francis (Fr. de Enzinas), 242.
Dudley, Guilford (son of the Earl of Warwick), 244.
Duranti, Durante de' (Bishop of Alghero), Cardinal, 6.
Dzierzgowski, Nicolas (Archbishop of Gnesen), 236.

Edward VI. (King of England), 237, 241 n. 4, 242, 243, 247, 254, 259 n 1, 272, 274, 282.
Egger, Hermann, 358 n. 1, 360 n. 1.
Egmont, Lamoral, Count of (Imperial envoy to Mary of England), 262.
Eguia, d', S. J., 186.
Elizabeth of England (daughter of Henry VIII.), 244, 252, 263, 271 n. 1.
Emanuel, Philibert (Duke of Savoy), 259.
Erasmus, 329.
Erasso (Imperial envoy), 280.
Este, Ercole II. d' (Duke of Ferrara), 30 n. 3, 58, 68 n. 3, 222, 417.
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 6, 8, 17, 20, 30, 35 n. 1, 39, 40, 81, 86 n. 2, 96, 145, 150, 372, 397, 422, 451 n. 1.
Estouteville, Cardinal, 378.
Eugenius III., Pope, 412.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 368, 383, 384.

Fabriano, Gentile da (painter) 412.
Fabricius, G., 414 n. 2.
Fagius, Paul (Hebraist, reformer), 242.
Fanino of Ferrara, 218, 219 n. 1.
Fanneman, Balthasar (co-adjutor Bishop of Mayence), 104.
Fantuccio, Federigo (papal envoy), 149.
Farnese, Family of the, 138, 382.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal

(son of Pier Luigi), 2 n. 1, 6, 7 n. 1, 15-17, 25, 26, 30, 31, 37, 38, 40-42, 44, 73, 74, 94, 132, 140, 145 n. 4, 381, 386, 387, 389, 409, 451.
Farnese, Costanza, 376.
Farnese, Margherita (wife of Ottavio), 399.
Farnese, Orazio (Duke of Castro, commander of the Papal troops), 9, 30 n. 3, 37, 38, 133, 138.
Farnese, Ottavio (son of Pier Luigi, Duke of Castro), 5, 11, 30 n. 3, 37, 38, 53, 55, 59, 92-98, 101, 105, 129, 130, 132, 136, 138, 152 n. 1, 155, 399, 409.
Farnese, Ranuccio (Archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 6, 7 n. 1, 37, 38, 40, 132, 404 n. 3.
Fascitelli, Onorato, 328.
Fauno, Lucio, 405.
Fedrio, Sigismondo, of Diruta (Franciscan—Conventual), 100.
Ferdinand of Aragon (Archbishop of Saragossa), 189.
Ferdinand I. (King of the Romans), 58, 78, 104, 111, 120, 164, 172 n. 3, 201-203, 210, 225, 229, 259.
Feria, Count of (Spanish envoy in England), 209.
Fernandez, Juan, S. J. (companion of St. Francis Xavier), 316 n. 3, 317.
Ferrara, Duke of, *see* Este.
Fichard, Johann (jurist), 358, 359, 364-371, 374, 378, 381, 393, 396, 400, 403, 406-408, 412, 419.
Fieschi, Cardinal, 381.
Filarete, Ant. Franc. (architect and sculptor), 368.
Filonardi, Ennio, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 17, 18, 19.
Fiordibello, Ant. (Papal secretary), 250.
Firmanus, Giov. Franc. (Papal master of ceremonies), 2 n. 1, 29 n. 4, 415 n. 3.
Firmanus, Ludovicus (master of ceremonies), 415 n. 3.
Fisher, John (Bishop of Rochester), Cardinal, 249, 251.
Flach, George (suffragan Bishop of Würzburg), 103.
Florimonte, Galeazzo (Bishop of Sessa and Aquino), 74 327.
Fonseca, Antonio (Archbishop of Seville), 290.
Fonseca, Johannes (Bishop of Castelammare), 109.
Fontana, Prospero, 342, 352.
Forca Palena, Niccolò di (hermit), 390.
Fracastoro, Girolamo, 328.
Francis, The Dauphin (Son of Henry II.), 260.
Francis I. (King of France), 80.
Francis Xavier, St. (S. J.), 186, 308-325.
Frangipani, Family of the, 408, 409.
Frederick of Brandenburg (Archbishop of Magdeburg and Halberstadt), 110
Fregimilia, F. (physician), 142 n. 3.
Frontinus, 348.
Fuga (architect), 412.
Fugger, Family of the, 371.
Fusconi, Franceso (court-physician to Paul III.), 387.

Gabrielli, Scipione, 13 n. 3.
Gaddi, Giovanni (banker), 371, 375.
Gaddi, Niccolo, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 7, 15, 18, 41.
Gaetani, Family of the, 389, 409.
Gaetani, N., Cardinal, 150 n. 1.
Galle, Theodore (engraver), 364 n. 2.
Galletti, Giovan Battista (maestro di camera), 375.
Galli, Family of the, 382.
Garces, Julian (Bishop of Tlaxcala), 303, 305.
Gardiner, Stephen (Bishop of Winchester), 240, 247, 259,

261-264, 267, 274, 281, 284-287.
Garimberti, Girolamo (Bishop of Gallese), 423.
Gentile, Giulio, 24 n. 5, 30 n. 1.
Gerona, Saturnio (poet and humanist), 403.
Ghislieri, Michele, Cardinal (Inquisitor-general, Bishop of Sutri, afterwards Pope Pius V.), 219, 220, 222, 409.
Gianettini, Fulgenzio, 154 n. 2.
Giliis, Silvester de, 139 n. 3.
Giotto (painter and architect,) 368.
Giovenale, Latino, 387.
Giovio, Paolo (Bishop of Nocera, historian), 159, 329.
Givry, de, Cardinal, 3.
Glogowski, Peter (Polish envoy) 234, 235.
Gomez de Monte Mayor, Emanuel, S. J. (Papal commissary), 194.
Gomez de Silva, Ruiz, 209.
Gonçalvez de Camera, Luis, S. J., 182 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Family of the, 340.
Gonzaga, Aloysius, 176.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 4, 6, 7, 16, 19, 29, 37, 39, 41, 42, 52, 145 n. 4, 166 n. 3, 174.
Gonzaga, Ferrante (governor of Milan, brother to Card. Ercole), 4, 19, 93, 130-132, 136, 139.
Granvelle, Nicholas Perrenot de (Imperial Chancellor), 4, 84, 209, 252, 278, 280, 283.
Grassi, Achille de' (Bishop of Montefiascone), 103 n. 1, 123, 124, 130 n. 4, 143, 146, 211.
Gregory IX., Pope, 362 n. 2.
Gregory X., Pope, 11, 16, 17, 32, 33.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 363 n. 2, 380, 412 n. 4.
Gregory XV., Pope, 325.
Gregory XVI., Pope, 343 n. 1.
Gregorianozi, Paul (Bishop of Agram, 2nd envoy from Ferdinand I.), 107.
Gregorini (architect), 412.
Grey, Jane, Lady, 244, 246, 259, 263, 266.
Grey, Thomas (brother to the Duke of Suffolk), 266.
Grimani, Giovanni (Patriarch of Venice), Cardinal, 224, 350.
Groliero, Cesare (secretary of state), 74 n. 3.
Gropper, Johannes, Cardinal, 114.
Gualterius de Brevibus, Peter Paul (conclavist to Card. Maffei), 2 n. 1, 40 n. 2.
Gualterius, Sebastian (conclavist to Card. Aless. Farnese, nuncio), 2 n. 1, 152, 232.
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 6, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38-42, 44, 83 n. 2, 102, 172, 203, 204, 208, 350, 447.
Guise, Louis de, Cardinal (brother to the Card. of Lorraine), 172, 174, 175.
Gundisalvo, F., S. J., 190 n. 2.
Guzman, 303 n. 2.

HANEBAULT, d', Cardinal, 3.
Hastings, Edward, Lord, 283.
Heath, Nicholas (Bishop of Worcester), 240, 247.
Heemskerck, Marten van (painter), 357, 359, 360, 365, 366, 369, 370, 375 n. 2, 381, 382, 392-395, 399, 400, 402-405, 407, 408, 411, 423.
Heerbrandt (protestant theologian), 125.
Henriquez, Henry, S. J. (missionary), 309, 310, 311.
Henry, Infante of Portugal (Grand-Inquisitor, brother of John III.), Cardinal, 190, 191.
Henry II. (King of France), 3, 20, 21, 33, 44, 54, 55, 58, 60, 77, 80, 83, 85-87, 92-98, 101, 102, 106, 111, 124, 129, 131-140, 143-145, 148-

152, 203, 204, 231, 232, 260, 273, 438, 447.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 238, 244, 282, 284, 287.
Heredia, Baldassare de, O.P. (Archbishop of Cagliari), 105.
Heusenstamm, Sebastian (Archbishop-Elector of Mayence), 104, 110, 113 n. 1, 114, 125.
Hippolytus, St., 350.
Hoffmann, Johann (envoy of Joachim II. of Brandenburg), 110.
Hollanda, Francisco de, 397, 400.
Honorius III., Pope, 408.
Hooper, John (chaplain to Edward VI. of England), 241, 247.
Horst, Gisbert (surgeon), 424 n. 1.
Hosius, Stanislas (Bishop of Kulm and Ermland), 233-236.
Hülsen, Christian, 358 n. 1, 360 n. 1.

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 178, 179, 182-186, 191-196, 199-203, 207-209, 223 n. 2, 226-231, 308, 310, 324, 325, 404, 418, 419, 426.
Ignatius (Patriarch of Antioch), 313 n. 3.
Imola, Pietro da (painter), 353.
Inglesco, Giuseppe, 24 n. 5, 29 n. 3.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 367 n. 4, 368-370, 420.
Isenburg, Johann von (Archbishop-Elector of Trêves), 103, 104, 110, 113 n. 1, 114, 124.
Ivan the Terrible, 236 n. 1.

Jacomello, Jacopo, 105 n. 1.
Japan, Emperor of, 315-318.
Joachim II. (Elector of Brandenburg), 84, 109-111.
John X., Pope, 411.
John XII., Pope, 411.
John III. (King of Portugal), 125 n. 2, 190, 208, 293, 295, 311, 312.
Jovius, Paulus (*see* Giovio).
Juana (Infanta of Spain, sister to Philip II.), 179, 209.
Julius II., Pope, 11, 42, 46, 59, 110, 155, 363, 366-369, 371, 388, 389, 421, 453.
Julius III., Pope (Giovan Maria Ciocchi del Monte, Cardinal), 3 n. 2, 6, 17, 20-22, 25, 38-76, 77-98, 99-105, 110-124, 127, 129-157, 158-179, 180, 183, 186, 189-196, 210-237, 248-250, 253, 256, 257, 267-269, 273-279, 281, 282, 288, 307, 313, 314, 326-339, 357-367, 370, 375, 378 n. 1, 380-383, 387, 392-395, 402-406, 409, 415, 416, 419, 426.
Kessel, Leonhard, S. J., 200.
Knox, John, 246 n. 1.
Koller, Wolfgang (agent of the Elector Maurice of Saxony), 115.
Labarthe, Paul de (Sieur de Termes, envoy of Henry II. of France), 95, 96, 101, 102, 151.
Laetus, Pomponius (humanist), 396.
Lafréry, Antoine (publisher), 358, 380.
Lainez, James, S. J., 108, 182 n. 2, 186, 197, 199, 226.
Laing, Count (Imperial envoy to Mary of England), 262.
Landini, Silvestro, S. J. (Papal commissary), 193 195.
Lang, Matthew (Prince-bishop of Salzburg), Cardinal, 7 n. 1.
Lanssac (French envoy), 140, 141 n. 2, 152 n. 1.
Lancilotti, Nicolas, 308 n. 3, 310, 311.
Lara, Juan Manrique de (envoy of Charles V.), 281.
Lasso, Diego (agent of Ferdinand I.), 164, 172 n. 3.

Latimer, Hugh (English reformer), 274.
Lawrence (Japanese lay-brother, S. J.), 318.
Le Jay, Claude, S. J., 200, 204.
Lenoncourt, Robert de (Bishop of Châlons), Cardinal, 3 n. n, 6, 16.
Leo IV., Pope, 388.
Leo X., Pope, 4, 7, 47, 62, 213, 297, 356 n. 1, 366-369, 376, 377, 399, 401, 402, 407 n. 1, 409, 421, 425, 453.
Leo XII., Pope, 343 n. 1.
Letarouilly, 343 n. 1.
Ligorio, Pirro (architect), 405 n. 1, 408 n. 1., 409.
Lippi, Lippo (painter), 421.
Lippo, Raphael Brandolino, *see* Brandolino.
Lippomano, Luigi (Bishop of Verona, nuncio), 91, 99, 100, 103, 117 n. 4, 236.
Lohninger, Mgr., 378 n. 3.
Lorenzetto (painter), 400.
Lorraine, John of, Cardinal, 6, 7, 20, 25, 30, 31.
Lottini, Giov. Francesco (secretary to Card. Asc. Sforza), 37 n. 2.
Louis, Infante of Portugal (brother to John III.), 190, 259.
Luther, Martin, 108, 119, 239.

MADRUZZO, Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 10, 16, 23, 35, 41, 42, 52, 95 n. 1, 100, 101 n. 1, 105, 110, 127, 199 n. 7, 253 n. 3.
Maffei, Family of the, 423.
Maffei, Bernardino (secretary to Paul III.), Cardinal, 2 n. 1, 5 n. 1, 6, 10, 19, 21, 25, 41, 76 n. 2, 159, 163, 165, 167, 328, 389, 395.
Maggio, Giorgio (Bolognese reporter), 43 n. 5, 154 n. 2.
Magnus, Olaus (Archbishop of Upsala), 386.
Malenotti, Bastiano, 337 n. 3.
Malopera, Claudio, 173 n. 3.
Mancini, Giulia (wife of Baldovino del Monte), 68.
Manili, Lorenzo de' (Laurentius Manlius), 390.
Manrique de Lara, *see* Lara.
Mantua, Duchess of, 248.
Marbach (protestant theologian), 125.
Marcillat, Claude (painter), 421.
Marcillat, William (painter), 421.
Marillac (French envoy to the Imperial court), 84, 85.
Mark, Marshall de la, 30 n. 3.
Marliani, Bartolomeo, 405, 408 n. 1.
Martin V., Pope, 412.
Martin of Valencia (Franciscan missionary), 297.
Martinellis (master of ceremonies), 415 n. 3.
Martinengo, Girolamo (nuncio), 172 n. 3, 225 n. 1, 226 n. 4. 447.
Martio, Alessandro (dramatist), 439.
Mary (Queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII.), 237, 244-268, 270-281, 282-289.
Mary (Queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles V.), 209.
Mary Stuart, 260.
Mary Tudor (sister to Henry VIII.), 244.
Masius, Andreas, 51.
Mason, John (envoy to Charles V.), 247, 283.
Massarelli, Angelo (secretary to the Council of Trent), 2 n. 1, 26, 51, 62, 70, 74, 76, 99, 100, 106, 159, 167, 217.
Massimi, Family of the, 373.
Massimo, Pietro, 382.
Matienzo, 303 n. 2.
Mattei, Family of the, 388, 389, 392.
Maturino (pupil of Raphael), 376, 377.
Maurice of Saxony (Elector),

84, 114, 119, 122, 123, 126 128, 224.
Maximilian of Bohemia, 103 n. 1.
Mazzoni, Guilio (painter), 387.
Medici, Family of the, 423.
Medici, Bernardo de' (Marquis of Marignano, brother of Card. Giov. Angelo), 132, 146.
Medici, Catherine de' (Queen of France), 4.
Medici, Cosimo I. de' (Duke of Florence and Tuscany), 4, 18, 22, 33, 37 n. 3, 38, 44, 51 n. 1, 58, 67, 69, 141 n. 3, 144, 152, 153, 159, 170, 172, 336, 351.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal, 401.
Medici, Giovanni de' (son of Cosimo I.), 172.
Medici, Giovanni Angelo de', Cardinal (Archbishop of Ragusa, later Pope Pius IV.), 6, 41, 97 n. 4, 130 n. 3, 132, 158, 159, 163, 329, 381, 392, 411, 412 n. 4.
Medici, Guilio de', Cardinal, *see* Clement VII.
Medici, Lucrezia de' (daughter of Cosimo I., wife to Fabiano del Monte), 69.
Medici, Luigi de' (son of Cosimo I.), 172.
Melancthon, Philip, 118, 126.
Melchior (Bishop of Würzburg), 459.
Mendieta, Jeronimo de, O. S.F., 298 n. 3, 299 n. 2, 301 n. 1, 303, 306.
Mendoza (Viceroy of Mexico), 302.
Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de (Imperial envoy), 4, 5, 9, 11, 13 n. 5, 21, 29 n. 1, 33, 37 n. 2, 39, 78, 80, 85, 129, 130, 133 n. 3, 252.
Mendoza, Francisco de, Cardinal, 5, 41, 383.
Mendoza, Juan de (Imperial envoy), 256.
Mentuato, Camillo (Bishop of Satriano, nuncio to Poland) 234 n. 6.
Mercurio, Gianandrea (Archbishop of Messina), Cardinal, 174.
Messichi (Armenian), 313 n. 3.
Meudon, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 17.
Michael Angelo, 56, 332-340, 352, 371, 382, 386, 394, 397, 410, 420, 421.
Michele da Viterbo, Fra Antonio di, 368.
Mignanelli, Fabio (Bishop of Lucera), Cardinal, 145, 146, 165 n. 1, 173.
Mocenigo, Alvise (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 367, 405.
Mochi, Prospero (Architect), 376.
Modesto, Francesco, 328.
Modio, G. B., 404 n. 3.
Modrzewski (secretary to the King of Poland), 235.
Molina, Alonso, O. S. F., 305.
Monluc, Jean de, 97 n. 4.
Montague, Viscount, 284, 288.
Montalcino, G. Buzio da, 219 n. 1, 451.
Monte, del [Ciocchi del Monte Sansovino], Family of the, 45.
Monte, del, Andrea, 216 n. 7.
Monte, del, Antonio (uncle to Julius III., Archbishop of Siponto), Cardinal, 42, 45, 46, 338, 352, 379.
Monte, del, Baldovino (brother to Julius III., governor of Spoleto), 46, 67, 73, 153, 338, 343 n. 1, 351, 402, 433.
Monte, del, Costanzo (brother to Julius III.), 46.
Monte, del, Cristina (daughter of Baldovino), 68 n. 2.
Monte, del, Cristoforo (nephew to Julius III.), Cardinal, 86 173.
Monte, del, Ersilia [Cortese] (wife of Giov. Battista), 163 n. 3, 328.
Monte, del, Fabiano (natural son of Baldovino, married

to Lucrezia de' Medici), 69, 331, 338 n. 2, 343 n. 1.
Monte, del, Fabiano Ciocchi (advocate, grandfather to Julius III.), 45, 352.
Monte, del, Giovan Battista (Regent of Fermo and Nepi, son of Baldovino), 68, 103 n. 1, 130, 132, 138, 328, 331.
Monte, del, Giovan Maria Ciocchi, *see* Julius III.
Monte, del, Giulia [Mancini], (wife of Baldovino), 68.
Monte, del, Innocenzo (adopted son of Baldovino), Cardinal, 70-75, 163, 327 n. 4.
Monte, del, Orsola (daughter of Baldovino), 68 n. 2.
Monte, del, Pietro (governor of the Castle of St. Angelo, a kinsman of Julius III.), 66.
Monte, del, Vincenzo (Consistorial-advocate, father of Julius III.), 46.
Montelupo, Raffaelo (sculptor), 352.
Monterentio, Annibale, 216 n. 4, 436.
Montfort, Hugo de (Imperial envoy), 103.
Montufar, Alonso de (Archbishop of Mexico), 299.
More, Antonio (court-painter to Charles V.), 353.
More, Thomas, Sir, 249, 251.
Morone, Giovanni (Bishop of Modena), Cardinal, 6, 10, 15, 16, 25, 31, 78, 88, 131, 159, 160, 168, 210, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 267-269, 274, 277, 278, 327, 328, 398, 452.
Motolinia, *see* Benavente.
Moulin, Charles du, 140, 232.
Muzio, Girolamo, 326 n. 2.
Muzzarelli, Girolamo (Archbishop of Conza, nuncio to Charles V.), 142 n. 1, 276, 278, 280, 283, 449.

NACHIANTI, I., (author), 331, n. 3.
Nadal, Jeronimo, S. J., 182, 184, 186, 197-199, 201, 222, n. 3, 226.
Nardini, Stefano (Cardinal), 380.
Nausea, Frederick (Bishop of Vienna, envoy of Ferdinand I.), 104, 125 n. 2.
Navagero, Bernardo (Venetian ambassador), 338 n. 2., 357 n. 1.
Navarrete, Francisco (Bishop of Badajoz), 13 n. 1, 15 n. 1.
Negri, Paolo Antonio, 212, 213, 441, 443.
Neri, Philip, St., 57, 380, 418, 426.
Nicholas V., Pope, 368, 396.
Noailles, Antoine (French ambassador in London), 258, 261.
Nobili, Lodovica de' [del Monte] (sister to Julius III., wife of Roberto de' Nobili), 46, 69.
Nobili, Roberto de' (brother-in-law to Julius III.), 69.
Nobili, Roberto de', Cardinal, (nephew to Julius III.), 69, 175-177, 328.
Nobili, Vincenzo de', 132.
Nobrega, Manoel da (Superior of the Jesuits in Brazil), 291-294, 296 n. 2.
Norfolk, Thomas Howard, Duke of, 261, 263.
Normanni, Family of the, 388.
Northumberland, *see* Warwick.
Noskowski, Andreas IV., (Bishop of Plozk), 236.
Nuñez, Melchior, S. J., 307.

ODESCALCHI, Paolo, 221 n. 1.
Olave, S. J., 208.
Oldecop, John (chronicler), 156.
Olivo, Pirro (of Mantua), 50 n. 1, 52, 53 n. 2.
Ormanetto, Niccolò (afterwards Bishop of Padua), 275, 278, 279.
Orsi, Fausta, 213 n. 1.
Orsini, Family of the, 383.
Orsini, Camillo, 5, 53, 132, 144 n. 4, 147.

Oviedo, Andreas, S. J., (coadjutor bishop of Abyssinia), 313.

Pacheco, Pedro (Bishop of Jaen), Cardinal, 3, 5, 13, 25, 32, 33, 41, 42, 79, 146, 164, 165, 221 n. 4.
Paget, Lord, 261, 270, 283.
Pagnani (conclavist to Card. Madruzzo), 35.
Palestrina, Giov. Pierluigi da, 332, 419.
Palladius, Blosius [Biagio Pallai], Poet (Bishop of Foligno), 74.
Pallantieri, Alessandro, 63 n. 5.
Pallavicini, Sforza, Marchese, 50 n. 3.
Pantagato, Ottavio, 177 n. 1, 328.
Panvinio, Onofrio (church historian), 48, 51.
Papareschi, Family of the, 388.
Parpaglia, Vincenzo (Benedictine abbot of Maguzzano), 248, 250, 251, 287.
Pate, Richard (Bishop of Worcester), 284.
Paul II., Pope, 369.
Paul III., Pope, 1, 4, 5, 7 n. 1, 8, 9, 11, 13 n. 3, 41, 47, 48, 52, 56, 60 n. 3, 66, 73, 79, 83, 89, 170, 177, 181, 186, 189, 196, 215, 221, 233, 305, 313, 314, 333-335, 354, 356 n. 1, 357, 363-372, 375-378, 381, 382, 386, 387, 394-397, 399, 404, 407, 409, 413, 415, 416, 419, 425, 432-434, 453.
Paul IV., Pope, *see* Carafa, Gian Pietro.
Paul V., Pope, 343 n. 1, 373, 412.
Pelargus, Ambrosius, O. P., 104.
Pelletier, S. J., 222.
Pendleton, 271 n. 1.
Penning, Henry, 250, 253, 255, 258, 275.
Pérac, Etienne du, 363 n. 2, 405.
Percello, Petroleone, 440.
Pereira (Portuguese envoy to China), 319.
Peruzzi, Baldassarre (architect), 382, 391, 420.
Petroni, Alessandro (physician), 404.
Peter of Ghent, 299, 301.
Peter, Martyr, *see* Vermigli.
Phillip II., (King of Spain), 58, 103 n. 1, 169, 179, 189, 209, 259-268, 270, 277-289, 303, 353.
Philips, Walter (Dean of Rochester), 274.
Piccolomini, Costanza (Duchess of Amalfi), 401.
Pichi, Family of the, 381, 384.
Pierleone, Family of the, 391.
Pighino, Sebast. (Archbishop of Siponto), Cardinal, 78, 80, 81, 83-85, 89-92, 99, 100, 113 n. 1, 117, 151, 165, 171, 173, 217 n. 2.
Pinardi (engraver), 405 n. 2.
Pinardo, Ugo, 374.
Pinturicchio, Bernardino (painter), 421.
Piombo, Sebastiano del (painter), 421.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 6, 7, 160.
Pius II., Pope, 367, 368, 370.
Pius IV., Pope, *see* Medici, G. A. de'.
Pius V., Pope, *see* Ghislieri.
Pius VI., Pope, 343 n. 1.
Pius IX., Pope, 343 n. 1.
Planta, Thomas (Bishop of Coire), 217.
Platina, Bartol (humanist), 396.
Poggiano, Giulio, 177 n. 1, 328.
Poggio, Giovanni Francesco (nuncio), Cardinal, 173, 189
Poitiers, Guillaume de (agent of Charles V.), 107.
Polanco, Juan de, S. J., 176, 182 n. 2, 186, 191.
Poland, King of, *see* Sigismund.
Pole, Margaret (mother of Card. Pole), 244.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 6, 7 n. 1, 10, 12-19, 21-28, 30-33, 41, 48, 57, 70, 78,

88, 158-160, 199 n. 7, 210, 217, 222, 248-261, 267-269, 272-287, 327, 435.
Pollajuolo, Antonio (sculptor), 421.
Pollajuolo, Pietro (sculptor), 368, 421.
Ponziani, Family of the, 388.
Porcari, Family of the, 395.
Porta, Guglielmo della, 394.
Porto, Antonio do, O. S. F., 307.
Poussin, Nicholas (artist), 412 n. 1.
Pozzo, Jacopo del, *see* Puteo.
Prat, Guillaume du, (Bishop of Clermont), 203, 204, 208.
Prato Tedescho, Giov. di (goldsmith), 354 n. 1.
Primaticcio, Francesco (artist), 352.
Prospero, M. (painter), 48 n. 5.
Pucci, Antonio, Cardinal, 364, 375.
Puteo, Jacopo [Pozzo], Cardinal (Archbishop of Bari), 146, 151, 165, 173, 217 n. 2.
Puy, de, Cardinal, 217 n. 2, 229.
Quiñones, Cardinal, 398, 425.
Rabelais, François, 417.
Rainerius, Ant. Franc., 330.
Rangoni, Tommaso (physician), 142 n. 3.
Raphael, 110, 364, 369, 371, 376, 400, 420, 421.
Raverta [Rovere], Ottaviano, 221 n. 1.
Rebiba, Cardinal, 221 n. 4.
Renard, Simon (Imperial Envoy in England), 33 n. 1, 258, 260, 262, 265, 271 n. 1, 282, 283.
Renée (Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII. of France, wife of the Duke Ercole II. d'Este), 208, 218, 222.
Rethius, Johannes (Burgomaster of Cologne), 200.
Riario, Abbate, 132 n. 3.
Riario, Cardinal, 381.
Ribadeneira, Pedro de, S. J., 182, 209.
Ricchi, Aug. (physician), 142 n. 3.
Ricci da Montepulciano, Giovanni (Archbishop of Siponto), Cardinal, 88 n. 4, 134, 137 n. 5, 173, 350, 353 n. 1, 376, 433.
Ridley, Nicholas (Anglican Bishop of London), 240, 241, 247, 274.
Ridolfi, Niccolò (Bishop of Vicenza, Archbishop of Florence), Cardinal, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, 25, 30, 31, 33, 37, 39.
Rodriguez, Gonzalo, S. J., 313 n. 2.
Rodriguez, Simon, S. J. (Provincial in Portugal), 191, 192, 291 n. 2, 310.
Romano, Giulio (painter and architect), 375, 401.
Romanus, Baptista, S. J., 198.
Rosa of Siebenbürgen, 380.
Roselli, Pietro (architect), 376 n. 4.
Rosetto (abbot, papal envoy), 55, 139.
Rossi, Lodovico de', 43 n. 5.
Rot, M. (traveller) 365 n. 1, 374 n. 5.
Rovere, Family of the, 402.
Rovere, Domenico della, Cardinal, 364, 376.
Rovere, Giulio della, Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 37.
Rovere, Guidobaldo della, (Duke of Urbino), 37, 58, 150, 152, 417.
Roy, Thomas le [Regis], (prelate), 381.
Rubeis, Giov. Hieron. (Bishop of Pavia, Governor of Rome) 154 n. 2.
Ruggieri, Bonifazio (Envoy from Ferrara), 35 n. 1.
Ruiz, Ferrante, 425, 426 n. 1.
Rustici, Quinzio de' (nephew of Card. Andrea della Valle), 400.
Rusutti, Filippo (architect), 412.
Rutilonus, Sebastianus, 54 n. 1.

Sà, Men de, (Governor of Brazil), 296.
Sabeo, Fausto (poet), 328.
Sadoleto, Paolo (Bishop of Carpentras), 74, 327.
Sahagún, Bernardino de, O.S.F., 300, 305.
Salamanca, Antonio (publisher), 383.
Salmeron, Alfonso, S. J., 108, 200, 222.
Salviati, Giovanni (nephew to Leo X., Bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 16, 19-22, 25, 30, 31, 33, 37, 38, 40, 42, 170, 334, 364 n. 3, 389.
Sanchez, Bautista, S. J., 187.
Sander, Johann (Procurator of the Anima), 377.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 334, 372 n. 3, 373, 386.
Sangallo, Francesco da, 344 n. 1.
San Martino, Thomas de, (Bishop-Elect of La Plata), 290 n. 2.
Sansovino, Andrea (sculptor), 420, 421.
Sansovino, Jacopo (painter and architect), 45, 371, 375, 401, 420, 421.
Santa Croce, Family of the, 390.
Santa Croce, Prospero (nuncio), 140, 143, 152, 210, 232.
Santa Fiora, the Cardinal of, *see* Sforza, Guido Ascanio.
San Vitale, the Cardinal of, *see* Monte, Giovan Maria del, and Julius III.
Saraceni, Giammichele (Archbishop of Matera), Cardinal, 173.
Sardinha, Pedro Fernandez (Bishop of Bahia), 293.
Sarpi, 72 n. 1.
Sassi, Family of the, 382, 423.
Sauli, Girolamo (Archbishop of Bari), 53.
Savelli, Family of the, 361, 362, 391.
Savelli, Jacopo, Cardinal, 6, 41, 147 n. 4.
Savoy, Duke of, *see* Emanuel.
Sbarra, Manno (artist), 354.
Schauenberg, Adolf von (Archbishop-Elector of Cologne), 104, 110, 113 n. 1, 114.
Schönberg, Nicholas von, Cardinal, 365.
Scorel, Jan van, (painter), 357.
Seguier, 205.
Seripando, Girolamo (General of the Augustinian Hermits), Cardinal, 169 n. 7, 215.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 6, 41, 151.
Serra, Albertus, 372 n. 3.
Serristori, Averardo (agent of Cosimo de' Medici), 4, 22, 153, 160, 170, 171, 172, 175.
Serristori, Bartol. (Archbishop of Trani), 142 n. 3, 449 n. 2.
Sfondrato, Francesco (Bishop of Sarno, Archbishop of Amalfi), Cardinal, 6, 10, 12, 17, 25, 31, 33, 57, 78, 158, 210, 435, 457.
Sforza, Guido Ascanio, of Santa Fiora (Bishop of Parma), Cardinal, 6, 10, 22, 33, 37-40, 328, 375, 379, 420.
Sigismund Augustus II. (King of Poland), 79, 233-236.
Siliceo, Juan (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 187 n. 7, 188, 189.
Silvester II., Pope, 411.
Silva, Miguel de (Bishop of Viseu), Cardinal, 6, 18, 23, 33, 41.
Simoncelli, Girolamo, Cardinal, 175.
Sipierre, Philippe de (agent of Henry II.), 94.
Sirleto, Guglielmo (custodian of the Vatican Library), 328.
Sisto da Siena (Minorite), 220.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 1, 8, 369, 372, 374, 383, 386, 394, 402, 411, 420, 424.
Sixtus V., Pope, 363 n. 2, 364, 370, 401, 412.
Sleidan, Johann, 115.
Soderini, Family of the, 402.
Soderini, Cardinal, 364.

Söll (Protestant theologian), 125.
Somerset, Edward, Duke of (the Protector for Edward VI. of England), 237, 238, 239, 245.
Soranzo (Venetian envoy), 246 n. 1.
Soranzo, Vettore (Bishop of Bergamo), 217, 223.
Spani, Prospero (sculptor), 345 n. 1.
Spatafore, Hannibal (Basilian) 327 n. 6, 445.
Stefaneschi, Family of the, 388.
Stephen (Patriarch of Armenia), 313 n. 3.
Stella, Tommaso, O. P., 416.
Strada, J. (author), 331 n. 3.
Straet, Jan van der (painter), 353.
Strassen, Christoph von der (Envoy of Joachim II. of Brandenburg), 109, 110.
Strozza, Ludovico, 53 n. 4.
Strozzi, Piero (Commander in Siena), 151, 153.
Stuart, Mary, *see* Mary Stuart.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, 263, 265, 266.

TAGLIAVIA, Pietro (Archbishop of Palermo), Cardinal, 171, 175.
Tarano, Paulus de (commissary), 156 n. 3.
Teodori, Giov. (heretic), 451 n. 2.
Termes, the Lord of, *see* Labarthe.
Teufel, Johannes [Angelo] (innkeeper), 384.
Thirlby (Bishop of Ely), 240, 284, 288.
Thomas, William, 266.
Throckmorton, Michael, 250 n. 5.
Titio, C., 173 n. 5.
Titian (painter), 48 n. 5.
Toledo, Eleanora de (Duchess of Tuscany), 196 n. 2, 208.
Toledo, Francisco de (Envoy from Charles V.), 100, 114.
Toledo, Garcia de (son of the Viceroy of Naples), 147.
Toledo, Juan Alvarez de, Cardinal, 5, 10, 12, 17-19, 25, 27, 41, 43, 80 n. 3, 88, 141 n. 2, 147, 148, 151, 213, 216, 217, 228, 229, 379.
Toledo, Pedro de (Viceroy of Naples, brother to the Cardinal), 10, 34, 55, 60 n. 4, 77, 78, 145-147, 208.
Tolomei, Claudio (Sienese Envoy to France), 247 n. 2.
Torquemada, Juan de, O. S. F. (historian), 306.
Torquemada, Juan de, Cardinal, 415.
Torre, Michele della (nuncio), 81, 85.
Torres, Cosmo de (companion of St. Francis Xavier), 186, 192, 316.
Tournon, F. de., Cardinal, 6, 7, 19, 25, 81, 86 n. 3, 88, 96, 106, 137-139.
Tremellius, Eman. (Professor at Heidelberg, reformer), 242.
Trivulzio, Antonio (nuncio), Cardinal, 81-83, 85, 102.
Truchsess von Waldburg, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 3 n. 2, 6, 23, 25, 33, 41, 104 n. 2, 225, 227, 229, 256.
Tunstall. C. (Bishop of Durham), 240, 246.
Turci (prelate), 381.
Tuscany, Duchess of, *see* Toledo.

UCHANSKI, J. (Bishop of Chelm) 235 n. 2.
Udine, Giovanni da (painter), 353, 376, 377.
Urfé, Claude d' (French envoy in Rome), 8, 14, 16, 18, 19, 33, 34, 58, 86.
Utissenich, George (Croat Paulist), Cardinal, 172 n. 3.

VACA, Family of the, 376.
Vaga, Perino del (painter), 371, 376.

Valdes, Juan (humanist, secretary to Charles V.), 222.
Valencia, Martin of, *see* Martin.
Valentini, D. (physician), 142 n. 3.
Valignani, Alexander, S. J., 321.
Valla, Laur. (humanist), 329.
Valle, Family of the, 365, 384, 399, 423.
Valle, Andrea della, Cardinal, 399, 400.
Vannius (Protestant theologian) 125.
Vanuzzi, Francesco (almoner to Julius III.), 156 n. 3.
Vargas, F. de (Imperial Secresary), 121 n. 1, 122.
Vasari, G. (painter and historian), 48 n. 5, 334, 336, 340, 341, 352, 353, 370.
Vega, Jo. de (Viceroy of Sicily) 87 n. 1.
Velasco (Viceroy of Mexico), 302.
Vendôme, Cardinal, 6, 19.
Venice, The Doge of, 72 n. 2, 364 n. 4.
Verallo, Girolamo (nuncio), Cardinal, 6, 10, 21, 88 n. 2, 135, 136, 146, 165, 217.
Vergerio, Pietro Paolo (Bishop of Capo d'Istria, nuncio, apostate), 87 n. 3, 102, 219.
Vermigli, Peter Martyr, 239, 242, 243.
Vettori, Pier [P. Victorius], (Florentine Envoy), 58 n. 4.
Vignola (architect), 335 n. 1, 335 n. 1, 340-342, 348, 351, 352.
Villegaignon, Durand de (apostate), 296 n. 2.
Vimercato, Francesco, 257, 270.
Vimercato, G. A., 150 n. 1.
Viola, S. J., (Superior of the Jesuits in Paris), 204.
Vitale, Gian. (poet), 332 n. 4.
Vitelli, Alessandro (Commander of the Papal Troops), 132.
Vitellis, Paolo de, 94 n. 1.
Volterra, Daniele da (painter), 353, 387.
Voysey, John (Bishop of Exeter), 247.
Warwick, John, Earl of (Duke of Northumberland, Protector of England), 237, 240, 244-246, 287.

Welser (banker), 371.
Widmannstadt (Imperial Chancellor), 199.
Wurtemburg, Duke of, *see* Christopher.
Wyatt, Thomas, Sir, 263-266, 277, 287.

Yoschischige, Otomo (Daimio of Bungo, Japan), 318.
Yoschitava, Ouchi (Daimio of Namaguchi, Japan), 317.

Zebrzydowski, Andreas (Bishop of Cracow), 236.
Zorzi, Girolamo, 385.
Zuccaro, Fed. (painter), 385 n. 2.
Zuccaro, Taddeo (painter), 173 n. 3, 341, 342, 345, 352, 353.
Zumarraga, Juan (Bishop of Mexico), 297-300, 303.
Zwichem, Wyt van [Viglius], (Bishop of Ghent), 209.
Zwingli, Ulrich, 239.

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VOL. XIV

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LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIV.[1]

	PAGE.
Table of Contents	vii
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xxiii

MARCELLUS II., 1555.

Election of Marcellus II. His family and previous career	1–32
The Pontificate of Marcellus II.	33–55

PAUL IV., 1555–1559.

Election of Paul IV., His character and projects. The Carafa	56–89
Commencement of the struggle of Paul IV. against the supremacy of Spain	90–113
Events leading to the war with Spain	114–137
The war with Spain	138–174
Reform measures of Paul IV. Renewal of the Sacred College	175–205
The fall of the Carafa	206–232
Further reform regulations. The new Orders. Paul IV. and the Society of Jesus	233–258
Paul IV. and the Roman Inquisition	259–288
The trial of Cardinal Morone	289–318
Spread of Protestantism in the Netherlands, France and Poland	319–337
The consummation of the schism in Germany. Dispute of Paul IV. with Ferdinand I.	338–359
Mary the Catholic and the legation of Cardinal Pole	360–400
Accession of Elizabeth and the establishment of the English State Church. Last days of Paul IV.	401–424
Appendix of unpublished documents	425–494
Index of Names	495–509

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XIII.

70937

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIV.[1]

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF MARCELLUS II.—HIS FAMILY AND PREVIOUS CAREER.

A.D.		PAGE.
1555	The Cardinals meet after the death of the Pope	1
	Arrangements for the safety of the city	1
	Cervini and Este the most likely candidates	2
	State of the parties in the Sacred College	3
	Question as to the validity of the bull of Julius III.	3
	Composition of the Sacred College	4
	The Catholic reform party	5
	Zeal of Cardinal Carafa as the leader of this party	6
	Change of feeling since the last conclave	6
	Cardinal Ippolyto d'Este and the worldly Cardinals	7
	The candidature of Cervini put forward by Sforza and R. Farnese	8
	Cervini's election assured. A dramatic scene follows	9
	Cervini proclaimed Pope (April 10th)	10
	He takes the name of Marcellus II..	11
	The Cervini family	11
	Ricciardo Cervini, the father of Marcellus II.	12
	His government of the Marches of Ancona	13
1501	The birth and early years of Marcello Cervini	14
	He is sent to Siena to pursue his studies	15
	He goes to Rome and attracts the notice of Clement VII.	16
	His friendship with the humanists in Rome	17
1526	He is recalled to his home by his father	17
1531	He returns to Rome and is received by Cardinal A. Farnese	18
	The death of his father; his care for his family	19
1534	His return to Rome. Cardinal Farnese, now Paul III., entrusts him with the education of his nephew Alessandro	19
	He begins to take an important part in the affairs of state	20
1539	He is created Cardinal, and accompanies Farnese on his legation to Charles V. and Francis I.	21

[1] Unpublished documents are marked by an asterisk (*); documents to be published in the "Acta Pontificum Romanorum" are designated by two asterisks (**).

A.D. PAGE

His outspoken opinion as to the cause of the religious decay 22
His piety, and his care for the dioceses entrusted to him 23
His zeal and humility 24
1541 He accompanies the Pope to Lucca to meet the Emperor 24
1545 Cervini becomes legate at the Council of Trent . 25
His zeal in fulfilling this office 25
He is unmoved by the bribes and threats of Charles V. 26
1552 Cervini and Julius III. His work on the reform commission and the Inquisition . . . 27
His love for learning; he becomes custodian of the Vatican Library 28
His great work for the "Vaticana" . . . 29
His encouragement of youthful talent. . . 30
His strict manner of life. 31
Joyful anticipations caused by his election . . 32

CHAPTER II.

THE PONTIFICATE OF MARCELLUS II.

1555 The election is hailed with joy on every side . . 33
But especially by the party of reform . . . 33
The testimony of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga . . 34
Marcellus at once shows himself the champion of reform 35
Curtailment of the coronation festivities . . 36
His intention of avoiding all outward pomp. . . 36
He exercises the greatest care in dealing with petitions 37
His advice to the Cardinals . . . 37
Regulations for his household 38
He determines to publish the reform decrees of Julius III. 39
The ceremonies of Holy Week, Church music. . 40
Marcellus II. and his relations 41
His strict impartiality in this matter . . . 42
Strict administration of justice . . . 43
Rigid economy in the expenditure 44
The Pope's exhortation to the princes to make peace 45
He begs them to assist him in his efforts for reform . 46
Depression in the Curia at the Pope's strictness . 47
His intention of again summoning the Council . 47
Marcellus II. and the Society of Jesus. . . 49
The Pope's health causes anxiety . . . 50
But he refuses to spare himself, and takes part in the long ceremonies of Holy Week . . 50
He continues to carry on the duties of his office . 51

A.D. PAGE

On April 29th he grants audiences all day; the next day he has a stroke of apoplexy . . . 52
And dies on May 1st 53
Paralysing effect upon his contemporaries . . 53
The sorrow of Charles V. His simple burial . . 54
The place of Marcellus II. in the history of Catholic reform 55

CHAPTER III.

ELECTION OF PAUL IV.—HIS CHARACTER AND PROJECTS. —THE CARAFA.

1555 The Cardinals go into conclave (May 15th) . . 56
The parties in the conclave. Cardinal d'Este . 57
The candidature of Cardinal Pole . . . 58
Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa 59
The Imperialist Cardinals divided. The action of Farnese 60
The candidature of Cardinal Puteo . . . 61
Farnese proposes Bertano, and then Carafa . . 62
Imperialist opposition to Carafa . . . 63
The election of Carafa by adoration (May 23rd) . 64
Personal appearance of the new Pope . . . 65
His arrangement of his day; strict observance of the fasts 66
Irregularity of his hours; his quick temper . . 67
His exalted idea of the Papal dignity . . . 68
This most noticeable in his attitude towards the secular princes 69
His volcanic nature; his violent language and gestures 70
His genuine piety and varied learning. . . 70
A champion of the rights of the Church . . 71
A "man of iron" 72
Magnificent display at his coronation . . . 73
His conviction that he had been chosen by God to restore the Church to her old position . . 74
His ideal the century of Innocent III. . . . 74
His mediæval idea of the Papal authority over the secular princes 75
This brings him into conflict with the Spanish domination over Italy 76
His mistrust of Charles V. 76
He determines to liberate Italy from the Spanish power 77
His intolerance of foreigners in Italy . . . 78
He fails to realize the difficulties of his undertaking . 79
And, politically speaking, lives in a world of phantasy 80
His first care, however, is the cause of reform - 80

A.D. PAGE
The promotion of Carlo Carafa to the cardinalate . 81
The tragedy of the appointment of this unprincipled man 82
Reasons which led to the promotion of Carafa . 83
The nephew's control of political affairs . . 84
His secretaries and confidants 84
Other court secretaries and officials . . . 86
Carafa's influence with his uncle . . . 87
His sagacity and self-assurance . , . 88
The Pope's entire confidence in his nephew . 88
Who all the time was working for his own ends . 89

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE STRUGGLE OF PAUL IV. AGAINST THE SUPREMACY OF SPAIN.

1555 The Pope at once takes steps for reform . . 90
And appoints a commission of five Cardinals . 91
But his good intentions are soon overwhelmed by his ill-will against the Spaniards . . 92
The Sforza seize two French galleys. . . 92
Protest of the French ambassador; the Pope's indignation 93
He takes action against the Sforza . . . 94
The Imperialists in Rome hold a meeting of protest 95
This only increases the Pope's anger . . 96
Farnese promises him the help of his house. . 97
Carafa seizes the opportunity to urge warlike preparations 97
Satisfaction of the anti-Imperialist party . . 98
A Franco-Papal alliance discussed . . . 99
The Pope takes action against the Colonna and Orsini 100
Carafa sends a secret mission to France and Ferrara 101
Annibale Rucellai at the French court . . 102
The stolen ships are restored . . . 102
But Carafa works upon the Pope's fears . . 103
Paul IV. informs the Cardinals that he has resolved on war 104
And adheres to his determination in spite of all protests 105
His speech to the ambassadors of England, Venice and Portugal 106
A draft of an alliance with Henry II. is signed by the Pope 107
Terms of the agreement with the French king . 108
The Romans offer a body-guard to the Pope . 109
The anti-Hapsburg feelings of Paul IV. increased . 109
1556 The Count of Montorio appointed Captain-General of the Church. 110

A.D. PAGE
The escape of Giovanna Colonna leads to reprisals . 111
The Pope finally decides on war . . . 112

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

1556 The French conclude an armistice with the Emperor at Vaucelles 114
This is a serious blow to the schemes of Carafa . 115
But he quickly forms a new plan for the aggrandisement of his family 115
Counting on the Pope's anti-Spanish feelings . 116
Carafa enters into negotiations with Albert of Brandenburg 117
Imprudence of the Imperial ambassador . . 118
Paul IV's indignation is again aroused . . 119
Cardinals to be sent as legates to Henry II. and Charles V. 119
Instructions for the legates . . . 120
The Colonna are excommunicated and their estates forfeited 121
Giovanni Carafa created Duke of Paliano . . 121
His investiture ; the Pope's speech (May 10th) . 122
The Cardinals disapprove, but are silent . . 123
The legation of Cardinal Carafa to France (May) . 124
Carafa at the court of Henry II. . . . 125
Violent language of the Pope against the Emperor . 126
The situation daily becomes more critical . . 127
Arrest of an Imperialist spy (July 7th) . . 128
The arrest of Garcilasso de la Vega . . . 129
The Pope's threats against Charles V. . . 130
His fear of another sack of the city . . . 131
Rome put into a state of defence . . . 132
The arrest of Cardinal della Corgna (July 27th) . 133
The Marquis de Sarria leaves Rome . . 134
Antonio Carafa sent to urge the Venetians to abandon their neutrality. . . . 135
Alba's ultimatum to the Pope (August 27th) 136
Fortification works in Rome . . . 137
Alba crosses the frontier with his army (September) 137

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

1556 The hesitation of Charles V. and Philip II. to begin hostilities 138
Alba's successful advance into the Papal States . 139
Cardinal Carafa returns to Rome (September 7th) . 140

A.D. PAGE

Panic of the inhabitants 141
Commendone sent to Venice, Urbino, Ferrara and Parma 142
Carafa's secret intrigues 143
Paul IV. agrees to negotiate with Alba, but changes his mind 144
Preparations for a siege 145
Fresh successes of Alba's troops 146
Carafa's secret negotiations with the enemy . . 146
Ostia falls to the Spaniards 147
Alba offers an armistice (November 18th) . . 147
The meeting of Carafa and Alba 148
Still seeking his own ends, Carafa hesitates between France and Spain 149
The mission of Carafa to Venice (December 20th) . 149
Morone warns Alba that the Pope will not submit to force 150
1557 Carafa in Venice ; he fails to secure an alliance . 151
The Papal troops retake Ostia ; the Pope's renewed hopes of success ; Alba's offer rejected . . 152
The Duke of Guise in Rome 153
Return of Carafa ; he finds his influence undermined 153
Quarrel of Carafa with his brothers . . . 155
Divided counsels among the allies 156
The Pope recalls all his representatives from the dominions of the Emperor and Philip II. . 156
Paul IV. will not allow himself to be intimidated . 157
Arrival of French reinforcements in Rome . . 157
Ill success of the Franco-Papal army . . 158
Paul IV. again endeavours to win over the Venetians to an alliance 159
Heavy taxation of the Romans 160
Cosimo I. obtains possession of Siena ; a heavy blow to Carafa 161
Two thousand Swiss troops arrive in Rome . . 162
Quarrel between Carafa and the Duke of Paliano . 163
News of a great Spanish victory at St. Quentin . 164
Alba's troops reach the walls of Rome, but retire (August 25th) 165
Reasons for Alba's reluctance to attack the city . 165
The Pope is forced to enter upon negotiations . 166
His representatives meet Alba at Cave . . 167
The terms of the treaty of peace (September 12th) . 167
Carafa's secret treaty with Alba 168
The Pope signs the treaty (September 14th) . 168
Great inundation of the Tiber 169
State entry of Alba into Rome ; his reception by the Pope (September 19th) 170
Paul IV. has reason to be thankful for the moderation of the terms 171
Although his grand plan was entirely frustrated . 172
He quickly adapts himself to the new conditions . 173

A.D. PAGE

And devotes himself henceforth entirely to his spiritual duties 174

CHAPTER VII.

REFORM MEASURES OF PAUL IV.—RENEWAL OF THE SACRED COLLEGE.

1555 Widespread hopes that the new Pope would carry on the work of reform 175
He determines to enforce the existing decrees . 176
His disinclination to re-open the Council . . 177
Strict measures taken during the summer of 1555 . 178
The Pope's ideas as to the renewal of the Sacred College 179
He announces his views at a consistory on December 18th 180
His determination to be guided solely by merit . 181
Seven new Cardinals appointed (December 20th) . 182
The new Cardinals. 183
Johannes Gropper; his premature death . . 184
1556 The Pope's plan for a thorough reform of the Curia (January 10th) 185
A special congregation of reform is formed . . 186
Paul's IV's vigorous attack upon simony . . 187
The Pope's zeal for reform; he wishes to begin with himself 188
And to carry out the work ruthlessly . . 189
The reform congregation numbers 200 persons . 190
And is divided into three sections, "as if in a Council" 190
The Pope summons all the members to the Vatican (March 11th) 191
He addresses them on the subject of simony . 191
Paul IV. explains his reform intentions to Navagero 192
"The commission will have the powers of a Council" 193
The Pope becomes reconciled to the idea of re-opening the Council in Rome . . . 194
In spite of political troubles, the Pope refuses to be turned aside from his programme of reform . 195
His measures against absentee Cardinals . . 197
He sacrifices his own revenues from the Dataria . 196
The prohibition of the "Ingressus" and "Regressus" 197
The bishops are forbidden to possess any other benefices 198
The outbreak of war forces reform into the background 199
Ten new Cardinals appointed on March 15th . 200
The new Cardinals. 201
Cardinal Alfonso Carafa 202

A.D. PAGE
Extension of the powers of the Inquisition . . 203
The Pope's determination to do away with the sale of benefices 204
And to allow no consideration to stand in his way . 204

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF THE CARAFA.

1557 The Pope turns with renewed vigour to the work of reform 206
He issues many strict decrees . . . 206
His intention of forming a commission of Cardinals . 207
His high ideal of the episcopal dignity . . 208
Congregations are held every day and decrees issued 209
1558 The Pope's health begins to fail ; business at a standstill 210
The return of Cardinal Carafa (April 23rd) . . 210
Carafa's legation in Brussels . . . 211
His plan of obtaining the Duchy of Bari ; opposition of Alba 212
Philip II's final offer 212
Carafa's disappointment ; he starts on his return journey 213
The Pope eagerly welcomes him, in order that he may hand over all political business to him . 214
The Pope's isolation ; scandalous living of Carafa . 214
Striking contrast between Paul IV. and his nephews 215
Further regulations ; reform of the monasteries . 216
Decree against " vagrant " and " apostate " monks 217
Ruthless carrying out of the decree. . . 219
Severe punishments for unworthy secular priests . 220
Intrigues as to the next Papal election . . 220
Paul IV. issues a bull with reference to this (December 16th) 221
The insolence and extortion of the Pope's nephews . 221
1559 A trifling incident opens the Pope's eyes (January 1st) 222
The Pope orders the Theatine, Geremia, to tell him the truth 223
He learns with horror the true state of affairs . 223
First steps taken against Carlo Carafa . . 224
All the Cardinals summoned to a consistory (January 27th) 225
The Pope's passionate denunciation of the " crimes of his nephews " 225
All three are banished from Rome and deprived of their offices 225
Paul IV. forbids all representations in their favour . 226
The Carafa in exile. Carlo's vain attempts to regain his uncle's favour 227

A.D. PAGE
The Pope remains obdurate . . . 228
Reorganization of the Council of State . . 229
The Roman senators received by the Pope, who abolishes some of the taxes . . . 229
The creatures of the Carafa removed from their offices 230
The administration of Camillo Orsini . . 230
His sudden death. Ascendancy of Alfonso Carafa . 231
Nevertheless a decisive blow had been struck at nepotism 231

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER REFORM REGULATIONS.—THE NEW ORDERS. PAUL IV. AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

1559 Regulations concerning morality in Rome . . 233
Paul IV. takes in hand the question of the residence of bishops 234
His regulations on this point . . . 235
The Pope's health begins to fail . . . 236
But he refuses to relax his activities, and takes part in many ceremonies 237
Especially does he continue his work on reform . . 237
1556 The report of Samson of Worein on the progress made 238
The personal example of the Pope . . . 239
His strict fasts ; his care for the house of God . 240
And for the solemnity of divine worship . . 241
His devotion to the Holy Eucharist . . 241
Introduction of the indulgence medal . . 242
1557 The feast of St. Peter's Chair in Rome . . 242
1555 Paul IV. and the Theatines . . . 243
He undertakes the direction of the Order himself . 244
The Barnabites ; the dispute between the Capuchins and the Observants 245
Paul IV. and the Society of Jesus . . . 246
Previous acquaintance between Gian Pietro Carafa and Ignatius of Loyola . . . 247
The apprehensions of Ignatius at the election of Carafa 247
The Pope confers many marks of favour upon the Society 248
But does not lose his old mistrust . . . 248
He does nothing to help the Germanicum . . 249
Ignatius, however, holds fast to this, his favourite project 249
But sees his whole Order endangered at the end of his life 250
1556 The question of the General Congregation to elect a successor to Ignatius 251

A.D. PAGE
It is suggested that it be held in Spain . . 251
The Pope's suspicions are aroused. Nicholas Bobadilla 252
The activity of Lainez in meeting the threatened storm 253
1558 The General Congregation at length assembles; the election of Lainez (June 19th) . . . 254
The Congregation ratifies the constitutions of the Order 254
The Pope suggests prayer in choir and a limitation of the General's term of office . . . 255
Lainez and Salmeron have an audience with Paul IV. 256
The new regulations lapse after the death of the Pope 257

CHAPTER X.

PAUL IV. AND THE ROMAN INQUISITION.

1555 The pitiless severity of Paul IV. . . . 259
Seripando describes his methods as inhuman . 260
The severity of the Inquisition . . . 261
The Cardinal Inquisitors. The Pope presides at a specially solemn sitting of the tribunal (October) 262
The Inquisition is given precedence over all other congregations 262
Paul IV. never misses the weekly sittings of the tribunal 263
The membership of the Inquisition is greatly increased 264
Its sphere of activity is extended beyond the domain of religious affairs 265
Confidence of Paul IV. in his Inquisition . . 266
All questions of reform are entrusted to it; it becomes a supreme court of morals . . 267
Terror aroused by its severity . . . 268
Its too wide sphere of activity . . . 269
The Dominicans employed as Inquisitors . . 269
The activity of Fra Michele Ghislieri . . 270
Cardinal Ghislieri as Grand Inquisitor . . 271
Strict regulations against the Jews . . . 271
Severe restrictions placed upon the Jews . . 272
Formation of the Roman Ghetto . . . 273
Paul IV. and the Jews of Ancona . . . 274
Twenty-four Marani burned there . . . 275
Destruction of Talmudistic books . . . 276
1557 A list of heretical books is prepared. . . 277
A new edition of the Index prepared by Bladus . 278
In which prohibited books are placed in three classes 279
The carrying into effect of the new regulations . 280
The Index not completely enforced outside Italy . 281
Paul IV. and heretics outside the Papal States . 282

A.D. PAGE
Protestantism in north Italy; Milan and Venice . 283
Imprisonment of the Bishop of Bergamo . . 284
Protestantism in the Kingdom of Naples . . 285
Quite innocent persons often accused . . 286
The Pope lends an ear to every denunciation . 287
A reign of terror in Rome 287

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRIAL OF CARDINAL MORONE.

1557 Morone's services to the Church . . . 289
Painful impression caused by the news of his arrest 289
Morone imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo . 290
The Pope makes it clear that this has been done on a suspicion of heresy 291
Four Cardinals appointed to conduct the trial . 292
Cardinal Pole also under suspicion . . . 292
The beginning of the trial 292
Morone's exhaustive reply to the accusations . 293
He answers the charges one by one . . . 294
And appeals to his past services to the Church . 295
The pamphlet "Del Beneficio di Christo" . . 296
The witnesses brought against him speak in his favour 297
It is evident that the accusations are groundless . 298
Nevertheless, Paul IV. remains unconvinced, and Morone is still kept in strict confinement . 298
He refuses to beg for mercy, but only asks for justice 299
Queen Mary resists the recall of Pole . . 300
Pole's own attitude; he resigns the title of legate . 300
The Pope insists on his defending himself in person in Rome 301
Paul IV. is convinced of Pole's guilt . . 301
Lainez defends Morone 302
1558 Paul IV. prepares a bull to exclude Morone from the conclave 302
But has to content himself with a modified form . 303
1559 The bull *cum ex apostolicis* (February 15th) . . 303
The process against Morone is re-opened . . 304
The Pope hurries the matter forward . . 305
Morone's confidence in his complete justification . 306
He remains in prison until the death of Paul IV. . 307
His vindication by Pius IV. (1560) . . 307
Cardinal Pole's letter of vindication to the Pope . 308
He denies the accusations, and points to his services to the cause of the Church . . . 309
Other prelates brought before the Inquisition . 311
Proceedings against the Bishop of Cave . . 312
The persecution of innocent persons . . 313
Protestantism in Spain 314

A.D. PAGE

Consternation in Rome. The case of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo 315
Wide powers given to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor 316
Ghislieri supports the accused archbishop . . 317
The Pope's anger with Ghislieri . . . 317
First public *auto-da-fe* in Valladolid . . 318

CHAPTER XII.

SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM IN THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE AND POLAND.

Spread of secret Protestant propaganda in the Netherlands 319
Vigilance of Philip II. The Jesuits established . 319
Confused division of the bishoprics in the Netherlands 320
Philip II. asks for a re-organization . . 321
1559 A new hierarchy established (May 12th) . . 321
This means a strengthening of the royal power . 322
And contains the germs of future complications . 323
The vigilance of Henry II. of France; his alliance with the Protestant princes purely political . 323
1557 The Inquisition in France 324
Misuse of the royal prerogative; spread of abuses . 324
Disunion of the Catholics; the innovators make great progress 325
1559 Death of Henry II. Spread of Calvinism . . 326
1555 The Church threatened in Poland; Lippomano sent as nuncio to King Sigismund Augustus . 327
The Polish Bishops wanting in decision and courage 328
Weakness of the king, who is ready to make concessions to the Protestants . . . 329
Difficult position of Lippomano . . . 330
Jealousy on the part of the Catholic party . . 331
1556 Lippomano succeeds in bringing together a synod of the Polish clergy 331
The Diet at Warsaw 332
1558 Mentuato sent to Poland, accompanied by Canisius . 333
The report of Canisius on the state of affairs in Poland 334
1559 The Diet at Petrikau 335
Paul IV. appeals to the king . . . 336
Who, in spite of his weakness, remains true to the Church 337

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE SCHISM IN GERMANY.—DISPUTE OF PAUL IV. WITH FERDINAND I.

1555 Germany tending more and more towards Protestantism 338

A.D. PAGE

Lippomano sent to Germany on his way to Poland; his instructions 339
Paul IV. calls upon the Catholic princes to rally to the Catholic cause 339
Ferdinand I. and Albert of Bavaria fail to realize the danger 340
The so-called Peace of Augsburg (September 25th) . 341
A great triumph for the Protestants . . 342
Paul IV. hopes to render it ineffectual . . 343
1556 Delfino's mission to Germany . . . 344
Ferdinand pleads necessity. The Pope's anger; he speaks of deposing Charles V. and Ferdinand I. 345
Bitter feelings of Paul IV. towards the Hapsburgs . 346
1558 The Cardinals complain of his attitude; the nunciature resumed 347
Ferdinand swears to the Augsburg decisions, and is proclaimed Emperor-elect (March 14th) . 348
Joy of the Protestants 349
Paul IV. not the man to submit to such proceedings 349
His unwillingness to accept the election . . 351
He claims the right to refuse confirmation . . 352
And refuses to recognize the "Imperial" ambassador 353
A commission appointed to examine the legal aspect of the affair (May) 353
This commission proves the invalidity of Ferdinand's title 353
Paul IV. refuses to listen to counsels of moderation . 354
And lays down his conditions for recognizing the election 355
Ferdinand I. defends his position . . . 356
The death of Charles V. relieves the tension (September 21st) 357
The Pope's attitude, though natural, is full of danger 358

CHAPTER XIV.

MARY THE CATHOLIC AND THE LEGATION OF CARDINAL POLE.

1555 Arrival of the "obedientia" embassy from England in Rome 360
Activity of the Protestant party in England . 361
Pamphlets aimed at undermining the royal power . 361
The old laws against heresy are revived . . 363
Personal clemency of Queen Mary . . . 363
The revival of these laws approved by Parliament . 364
Treasonable meetings in London . . . 365
The "Prisoners of Christ" . . . 366
Heretics condemned to death . . . 367
Further conspiracies discovered . . . 368

A.D. PAGE

The bishops inclined to leniency . . . 369
Bishop Bonner is reprimanded for his mildness . 370
Many Protestants are reconciled to the Church . 371
Mary takes but little part in these proceedings. Her failing health causes her to retire from all public events 372
Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"; its inaccuracies and exaggerations 373
The accusation of cruelty against Mary quite unfounded 374
The proceedings against Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer 375
Execution of the two latter (October 16th) . . 376
Cranmer signs seven declarations, in which he recants the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli . 376
1556 The execution of Cranmer (March 21st) . . 377
English Protestants on the continent . . 377
John Knox at Frankfort on Maine; his quarrels with the other refugees . . . 378
A fresh flood of Protestant pamphlets . . 379
This leads to outbreaks of fanaticism in London . 380
And many plots against the queen . . . 381
They are supported by France, and, though abortive, damage the esteem in which the queen is held . 382
Pole's work for reform in England . . . 383
His work as a peacemaker on the continent . . 383
After the departure of Philip, Pole acts as the queen's adviser 384
The still unsettled question of church property . 384
Mary determines to renounce the tithes and first fruits seized by her father . . . 385
Opposition in Parliament, which fears that restitution may be exacted 386
Mary addresses the members of the Commons; the bill is passed (December 3rd) . . . 387
The death of Gardiner. Pole refuses the chancellorship, and devotes himself to the restoration of religion 388
The filling of the vacant bishoprics . . . 389
The new bishops; a learned and exemplary body . 390
Pole assembles a synod of the English bishops . 391
Pole's synodal decrees; his "seminaries" taken as a model by the Council of Trent . . 392
Restoration of destroyed monasteries . . 392
Pole's far-reaching activity in all departments of religious life 393
1557 He is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (March 22nd) 393
In spite of the progress made, Mary finds it impossible to exterminate Protestantism . . 394
England's entry into the war with France; a blow to the restoration of Catholicism . . 394

A.D. PAGE

Pole finds himself in a difficult position . . 395
He loses his office of legate . . . 395
Mary and Pole both explain the position of affairs to the Pope 396
William Peto appointed legate in the place of Pole . 397
1558 The loss of Calais a serious blow to the queen's prestige (January 8th) 398
Deaths of Mary and Pole (November 17th) . . 398
Mary perhaps the best of the English queens . 399
But also the most unfortunate . . . 399
In spite of the libels of biassed historians, her life was not lived in vain 400
And she has exercised a lasting influence on the religious life of England . . . 400

CHAPTER XV.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH STATE CHURCH.—LAST DAYS OF PAUL IV.

1558 Elizabeth proclaimed queen . . . 401
Her religious education always on Protestant lines . 401
Yet she had professed to be a zealous Catholic under Mary 401
Her extraordinary powers of deception, and boundless love of power 402
Her proclamation makes no mention of religious matters 402
Although she had fully determined on the course she intended to adopt 403
At Christmas she takes her first steps . . 403
1559 The coronation; difficulty of finding a bishop to perform the ceremony . . . 404
The English ambassador in Rome is ordered to break off relations with the Pope . . . 405
Yet Paul IV's attitude by no means unfriendly . 405
Proceedings in Parliament; the cession of tithes and first fruits to the crown . . . 406
Elizabeth does not use the title of Head of the Church 407
But leaves no room for doubt as to her intentions . 408
The attitude of Philip II. 409
Steps taken for the abolition of Catholic worship . 409
The Mass to cease; the new liturgy; penalties for non-compliance 410
The destruction of the hierarchy; all the bishops, save one, refuse to comply (July) . . 411
Serious illness of the Pope 411
His extreme weakness; he alone refuses to believe that the end has come 412
He stills grants audiences, and attends the Inquisition 413

PAGE

The death of Paul IV. (August 18th) . . 414
Outbreak of the populace, who attack the building of the Inquisition 414
They storm the Capitol, and destroy the statue of the Pope 415
The city in a state of tumult and disorder . . 416
The burial of the Pope 416
His subsequent burial by Pius V. at the Minerva . 416
Paul IV. recognizes his own faults and failures . 417
In spite of these faults, Paul IV. a remarkable man . 418
He stands ruthlessly for the cause of strict reform 418
Paul IV. and art 418
His precipitation and want of knowledge of human nature 420
His terrible severity 421
Yet his pontificate remains a landmark in the history of Catholic reform 422
His personal piety and exemplary life . . 422
He breaks the evil tendencies of the Renaissance . 423
And lays the firm foundations for the work of future Popes 424

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	427
II.	Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany	427
III.	Provost Ghisi to Lodovico Strozzi	428
IV.	Bernardino Pia to Sabino Calandra	428
V.	Agostino Gonzaga, Bishop of Reggio, to the Castellan of Mantua	429
VI.	Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga	429
VII.	Camillo Capilupi to Ferrante Gonzaga	430
VIII.	Girolamo Muzzarelli, Archbishop of Conza, to the College of Cardinals	431
IX.	Camillo Olivo to Sabina Calandra	432
X.	Pope Paul IV. to Girolamo Muzzarelli, Archbishop of Conza	433
XI.	Consistory of June 5th, 1555	434
XII.	Consistory of July 17th, 1555	435
XIII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	435
XIV.	G. Muzio to Pope Paul IV.	437
XV.	Edict of the Governor of Rome, 1555	439
XVI.	Consistory of January 10th, 1556	445
XVII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	445
XVIII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	446
XIX.	Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on January 20th, 1556	448
XX.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	450
XXI.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	451
XXII.	Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on January 29th, 1556	451
XXIII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	452
XXIV.	Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on February 2nd, 1556	453
XXV.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	454
XXVI.	Privilege of Pope Paul IV. for the officials of the Roman Inquisition	455
XXVII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	457
XXVIII.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	458
XXIX.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	458
XXX.	Bernardo Navagero to Venice	459
XXXI.	Michele Ghislieri to the Inquisitor, Girolama da Genova	459
XXXII.	Michele Ghislieri to the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Genoa	460

PAGE

XXXIII. Michele Ghislieri to the Inquisitor, Girolamo da Genova 461
XXXIV. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole . . 461
XXXV. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole . . 462
XXXVI. Bernardo Navagero to Venice . . 465
XXXVII. General Congregation of June 1st 1557 . 465
XXXVIII. Avviso di Roma, July 24th, 1557 . . 465
XXXIX. Avviso di Roma, August 21st, 1557 . . 466
XL. Avviso di Roma, September 4th, 1557 . 466
XLI. Avviso di Roma, October 16th, 1557 . 466
XLII. Avviso di Roma, November 13th, 1557 . 467
XLIII.-XLV. Cardinal Vitelli to Cardinal C. Carafa . 467
XLVI.-XLVII. Concerning the proceedings of the Roman Inquisition against Cardinal Morone . 468
XLVIII. Avviso di Roma, April 2nd, 1558 . . 479
XLIX. Pope Paul IV. to Joh. Manriquez, Viceroy of Naples 479
L. Avviso di Roma, September 10th, 1558 . 480
LI. Avviso di Roma, December 24th, 1558 . 480
LII. Avviso di Roma, February 11th, 1550 . 481
LIII. Pope Paul IV. to Pietro Donato, Bishop of Narni 481
LIV. Cardinal M. Ghislieri to the Inquisitor, Girolamo da Genova . . . 482
LV. Avviso di Roma, April 8th, 1559 . . 483
LVI. Avviso di Roma, May 20th, 1559 . . 483
LVII. Avviso di Roma, June 3rd, 1559 . . 484
LVIII. Cardinal M. Ghislieri to the Inquisitor, Girolamo da Genova 484
LIX. Avviso di Roma, August 5th, 1559 . . 485
LX. Report of Agostini Ricchi concerning the mortal illness of Pope Paul IV. . . 486
LXI.-LXII. Concerning the sources and composition of the history of Paul IV. . . 486

CHAPTER I.

Election of Marcellus II.—His Family and Previous Career.

Discussions on the subject of the Papal election had already begun among the Cardinals even before a fatal termination of the illness of Julius III. was expected,[1] whereas the Imperial as well as the French diplomatists, who had been seriously occupied with the possibility of a conclave a year earlier,[2] were now caught unawares and could take no decisive steps.[3] On the morning after the death of the Pope the Sacred College assembled in the Vatican; Ascanio della Corgna was entrusted with the protection of the city and the conclave, while Girolamo Federici, Bishop of Sagona, who had been appointed Governor of Rome by Julius III., was confirmed in his office.[4]

For the sake of safety, the College of Cardinals had 2000 additional men enrolled, besides the usual troops. The tumult which broke out on March 27th, 1555, proved that this precautionary measure was not unnecessary; after

[1] *Questa infermità del Papa anchor che non si giudicasse mortale nondimeno ha mosso di molti humori intorno al papato . . . Bellai si lascia intendere che gli pare di poter pensar così bene al papato come fa Morone, Ferrara, Mignanelli et Farnese. . . . Ferrara non perde punto di tempo. . . . Carpi, S. Jacomo non dormono. *C. Capilupi to Cardinal Gonzaga, dat. Rome, March 19, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* the reports in Druffel, IV., 380.

[3] *Cf.* the letter of Charles V. to Ferdinand I. on April 11, 1555, in Druffel, IV., 651; see also Riess, 4.

[4] *Cf.* Massarelli, 248.

this was settled, however, there was no further disturbance,[1] nor were there any risings of any importance in the provinces.[2]

It is characteristic of the worldly view of the Papacy which was still taken at that time in important circles in Rome, that the probable result of the conclave formed now, as on previous occasions, the subject of betting in the banks; but even in these circles the distinguished Cardinal Cervini was considered to have the best prospects of success. After him came the rich Ippolito d'Este of Ferrara.[3] It is clear from the dispatches of the diplomatists how very excellent the prospects of Cervini were. Camillo Capiluli summed up his views on March 30th, 1555, in the following terms: "Although it is difficult to predict anything, on account of the position, which changes almost every hour, still Cervini, Bertano and Puteo appear to have the best chances; if Pole were here, he would stand by far in the first place, but his absence, and the fact that he must, just at this time, remain in England, have been disadvantageous to him; should Morone arrive in time, he would stand a chance; Este is doing everything in his power to secure his own election."[4]

Cervini, Este and Bertano also figure as the most likely candidates in the reports of the other Mantuan agents on April

[1] *Cf.* besides MASSARELLI, 248, and J. v. MEGGEN in the Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., III., 515, the *letters of Bernardino Pia to Calandra, dated Rome, March 27, 1555, and of C. Capilupi, dated March 28 and 30 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and of Ulisse Gozzadini of March 28 and 30, and April 3, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See the Portuguese report of April 6, 1555, in SANTAREM, XII., 424.

[3] See the statements of the *Avvisi (Vatican Library) in SEGMÜLLER in the Zeitschr. für schweiz. Kirchengesch., III., 1; *cf.* also the report of Cocciano in DRUFFEL, IV., 625, and the *report of C. Titio of April 4, 1555, in the State Archives, Florence.

[4] See the *letter of C. Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua dated Rome, March 30, 1555 (State Archives, Mantua).

4th and 5th, 1555.[1] Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene remarked on April 6th that the position was such that no one party could forward their aims without the others, and that the conclave would therefore either be very short or of very long duration.[2] This opinion was so far justified in that the sharply opposed Imperial and French parties were equally strong; the former worked for Bertano, the latter for Este. The Cardinals of Julius III. had at first fixed their choice on Puteo, but when his election appeared impossible, they were willing to support Bertano. The decision lay with the neutrals, and to these belonged the older Cardinals, who, however, had a candidate of their own.[3]

During the obsequies of Julius III., which were celebrated in the simplest manner, owing to the want of money,[4] the Cardinals assembled each day for consultation. Before the beginning of the conclave the important question had to be settled, whether the recent Bull of Julius III. had binding force upon the Papal election. Opinions varied considerably with regard to this. Those who held the affirmative view justified themselves by the fact that the Bull of Julius III. had been sanctioned and signed by all the Cardinals, and had already been provided with the leaden seal. Those who denied that it had the force of law laid stress on the fact that the document had not, as was customary, been affixed in the Campo di Fiore, and on the doors of the Roman basilicas. As the Cardinals could come to no agreement, experienced canonists, at whose head was the Dean of the Rota, were called upon for an opinion. Their view was that the Bull was not binding on the Cardinals. The Dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal

[1] See the *reports of B. Pia to Calandra of April 4, and of Ipp. Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua of April 5, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] **Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* the reports in PETRUCELLI, II., 67, and DRUFFEL, IV., 625, as well as Ghisi's letter of April 8, 1555, in Appendix No. 3 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); see also MASIUS, Briefe, 199.

[4] *Report of U. Gozzadini of March 27, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

Carafa, announced this decision to his colleagues on April 3rd, the day on which the obsequies, which had begun on March 26th, came to an end.[1] The Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated two days later, after which the learned scholar and jurist, Uberto Foglietta, delivered the usual discourse. Then the Cardinals proceeded to the conclave, which had been prepared in the Vatican.[2]

At the death of Julius III. the Sacred College consisted of fifty-seven members, of whom thirty were resident in Rome. Only a few of the twenty-seven who were absent were able to reach Rome in time. On March 28th, Crispi and Savelli arrived, on April 1st, Cervini and Ranuccio Farnese, on April 3rd, Ercole Gonzaga, and on April 4th, Madruzzo and Pisani.[3] No less than twenty Cardinals, therefore, would be absent from the conclave. Of these, besides Alessandro Farnese, Bourbon, Tournon, Givry, Lenoncourt, Meudon, Annebaut, Charles and Louis of Lorraine, Vendôme and Châtillon, in all no less than ten Cardinals devoted to the interests of Henry II., were in France.[4] It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that the French party strove to defer the beginning of the conclave.[5]

As the thirty-seven Cardinals present in Rome had already entered the conclave on April 5th, the French members of the

[1] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 249 *seq.* and Acta consist. in SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 35, as well as SCHWEITZER, Reform unter Julius III., 63.

[2] Plan of the cells of the Cardinals in the *Conclave factum in Vaticano post mortem p. Julii III.* A publication of the same period in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; there is a second publication (Romae apud Valerium et Aloisium Doricos fratres, Brixien. 1555), which gives more detailed particulars.

[3] These dates are given more exactly in the publications quoted in the previous note than in Panvinio (MERKLE, II., 249 n. 2). Cardinal Gonzaga came with a train of 300 horses; see *Ghisi's report to the governor of the castle at Mantua, dated Rome, April 3, 1555 (Gonzaga Arch. Mantua).

[4] Morone and Truchsess were staying in Germany; see MASSARELLI, 251 *seq.*

[5] Legaz. di Serristori, 347.

Sacred College, as well as the instructions of Henry II., came too late.[1] The ambassador of Charles V., Juan Manrique de Lara, was delayed in Siena, and chose to come by sea to avoid falling into the hands of the French, and on April 5th no one even knew where he was.[2] His absence was especially regretted by those Cardinals, such as Carpi, who were devoted to the Imperial interests, and by the Florentine ambassador, Averardo Serristori. Duke Cosimo I. was a strong opponent of the French candidate, Cardinal d'Este.[3] In this respect he allied himself with the reform party, whose strictly ecclesiastical principles had, on this occasion, for the first time obtained a decided influence on the Papal election.[4] The time had now come, in the opinion of these men—as Cardinal Cervini openly declared in Perugia, during his journey to the conclave—when, with the help of God, a Pope would be given to the afflicted Church, who would vie with the holy and learned Popes of former times, and be a true representative of Christ.[5]

The early opening of the conclave, in spite of the opposition of the French, was in itself a victory for the men who desired, in these days of grave danger, to give a new head to the Church as soon as possible, and in so doing, only to look to the qualities

[1] The instructions of Henry II. of April 4, 1555, to support Este in the first place, then Tournon, du Bellay, Armagnac and lastly Pole, in RIBIER, II., 604 *seqq.*

[2] See the *letter of Ipp. Capilupi to the Duchess of Mantua, dated Rome, April 5, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See PETRUCELLI, II., 70 *seqq.* Philip II., like the Emperor, desired the election of Pole in the first place; after him Bertano or Morone would have been agreeable to them. On this occasion Cervini was not expressly excluded by the Emperor. But in any case all instructions from Brussels arrived too late (*cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 202 *seq.*). Manrique did not reach Rome until April 8; see the *report of B. Pia to Calandra, dated Rome, April 8, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See RANKE, I.[6], 182; SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.* 204; HERRE, 15; WAHRMUND, Das Ausschliessungsrecht, Vienna, 1888, 73.

[5] PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli II.; *cf.* also the expression in CIACONIUS, III., 801.

of the candidate, without considering whether his elevation would be agreeable either to the French king or to the Emperor. No one pursued this object with so much zeal as Cardinal Carafa, who, in this respect as in other things, maintained his place as the leader of the Catholic Reformation. As Carafa was not popular on account of his abrupt manner, Cervini, Pole and Morone had the best prospects of being elected, should a purely ecclesiastical point of view be taken into consideration. Carafa expressed himself in the strongest terms against the clandestine meetings and attempts at bribery by which Este endeavoured to secure his election.[1]

His remonstrances did not fail in having an effect. It is evident that a change had taken place since the last conclave, as well from the exclusion of all intruders from the enclosure,[2] as from Serristori's report of April 4th, 1555, in which he describes how earnestly the unseemly interference of the secular princes, in the election of Julius III., was now deprecated. This feeling was so pronounced that the shrewd Florentine thought it advisable to exercise the greatest caution on this occasion.[3] Very characteristic also of the reform movement was the election capitulation, which declared that the Pope would wage war with no Christian princes, nor enter into any alliance against them, but would rather prove himself a common father to all and preserve a strict neutrality.[4]

Quite unlike the ambitious Este, who promoted his own election by every means in his power,[5] Cervini, who, after him, was the most likely candidate for the tiara, maintained a modest reserve. He declared that his only wish was that a good Pope should be raised to the throne of St. Peter. This

[1] See the report of A. Cocciano to Seripando in DRUFFEL, IV., 624 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Lett. de' princ., III., 233.

[3] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 1 the *letter of April 4, 1555 (State Arch. Florence).

[4] See LULVES in the Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Inst., XII., 225.

[5] The Portuguese ambassador also says in his report of April 6, 1555, that money was not spared. Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 383.

dignified behaviour gained for the representative of the reform party the respect of all, and made it clearer than ever that he was the man chosen by God to be the ruler of the Church.[1] His elevation, however, was not effected without considerable difficulties. It was commonly known that he was favoured neither by the French King nor by the Emperor, though the Imperialists could not deny that Cervini possessed the most excellent qualities, and that, as he was poor, the Emperor had nothing to fear from him in Italy.[2] It is not, therefore, surprising that Serristori reports on April 6th that Cervini, on account of his blameless mode of life, was favoured by many of the Imperialist Cardinals, as well as by those of Julius III. Besides the Frenchmen, the Italian Cardinals Capodiferro, Sermoneta, Giulio della Rovere, del Monte, and the other younger Cardinals trembled before the severity of such a representative of ecclesiastical reform and were steadily opposed to Cervini.[3] These worldly Cardinals kept firmly to Este. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga had also been won over to his side by the Duke of Ferrara, while Cardinal Madruzzo, who, on other grounds, was on bad terms with Cardinal Cervini, did not appear inimical to Este. The prospects of the latter were also improved because the Imperial Cardinals were at variance with one another, and had not been able to fix on a definite candidate. Este was therefore able to indulge in high hopes at the beginning of the conclave, as it was exceedingly probable that he would be able to attain to the necessary two-thirds majority if, after the first scrutiny, the accession should be allowed.[4]

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 2 the *letter of Serristori of April 6, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 202, 205.

[3] See the *letter quoted *supra* n. 1

[4] The principal source for the conclave of Marcellus II. was hitherto the very detailed report of G. Fr. Lottini in the *Conclavi de' pontefici*, I., 135 *seqq.* (French edition, Cologne, 1703, I., 110 *seq.*), the details of which cannot be verified, but concerning which SÄGMÜLLER (Papstwahlen, 208) justly observes that he describes the political side of the conclave on the whole correctly.

Fully recognizing the danger which a victory of the French candidate would mean for the interests of Charles V. in Italy, the leader of the Imperialists, the Camerlengo, Guido Ascanio Sforza of Santa Fiora and Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese resolved to strain every nerve to prevent the election of a candidate with French sympathies. It was of great importance that the Dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal Carafa, was, on ecclesiastical grounds, a strong opponent of the worldly-minded Este, and at once set to work against him. The voting papers had hardly been read on the morning of April 9th when Carafa announced that in accordance with the ancient custom, no accession would take place after the first scrutiny. Nobody dared to gainsay him.

This first success against Este encouraged Cardinals Guido Ascanio Sforza and Ranuccio Farnese to further proceedings. In order to prevent Este from forcing his way to success, they proposed two candidates who, although always inclined to French interests, were at the same time known as excellent, thoroughly trustworthy and blameless men: Carafa and Cervini. It is not astonishing that Cervini should have met with more favour than the fiery Neapolitan. Savelli, Carpi, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, de Silva, Cueva, Medici, Crispi and

To this may be added, as a most valuable supplement, the description of Panvinio, which is founded on the testimony of eye-witnesses and must be regarded as of supreme importance. SÄGMÜLLER (Papstwahlbullen, 35) has since edited this description and it is now published in MERKLE, II., 253 *seq.* With regard to the initiative given to the election of Cervini, SÄGMÜLLER (*loc. cit.*) believes that Lottini has represented the matter wrongly, in favour of his master, Card. G. A. Sforza. It is, however, worthy of note, on the other hand, that Agostino Gonzaga, in a *letter sent on April 9, 1555 (see Appendix No. 5, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) also names Sforza as having brought about the change in favour of Cervini. C. Capilupi also names Sforza in the first place in his *letter of April 10 (see Appendix No. 7, *loc. cit.* and also the report in the Lett. de' princ., III., 234, and Serristori in the *letter of April 10, 1555, given *infra* p. 9, n. 2. (State Arch. Florence).

Fulvio della Corgna at once declared themselves for him; to these was also added, somewhat later, Carafa, who at first felt hurt by the universal preference shown for the younger man, but who afterwards accepted the situation and indeed warmly recommended his rival. It also weighed heavily in the scale that Cervini, as far as the purity of his faith was concerned, stood above suspicion, while Carafa was not free from it in the opinion of several of the Cardinals who were zealous for reform.[1] Soon afterwards, Cesi, Verallo, Saraceni, Crispi, Tagliavia, Puteo, Mignanelli, Poggio, Cicada, Dandino, Pisani, Cornaro and Nobili were also won over to Cervini. Finally Madruzzo also allowed himself to forget the unpleasantness which had made him a personal opponent of Cervini in Trent. In company with Carafa he betook himself on April 9th, at break of day, to Cervini's cell, to conduct him to his assembled supporters in the Pauline Chapel. A dramatic scene then followed: Este personally confronted Madruzzo and violently reproached him with breaking his word.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the *report of B. Pia of April 8, 1555, in Appendix No. 4 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Sendosi declarati publicamente Mantova, Urbino et Monte per Ferrara si messe inanzi gagliardo per tutti i versi che poteva, il che visto Carpi et il camarlingo ristrinsero la parte imperiale con le creature di papa Julio et si congregarono in capella avanti che Ferrara et la fattione Franzese ne intendesse cosa alcuna, quali con tutto che si aiutassero et facessero ogni forza per rompere la pratica fin col opporsi Ferrara in persona, mentre che il Teatino (Panvinio here means the Camerlengo) et il car^al di Trento menavano S.S^tà in capella, dicendo: "che volete fare" et al car^al di Trento intendo che disse: "a questo modo sig^re? questa è la fede che mi havete data?" al qual dicono che S.S.R.^ma rispose essere vero, che gl' haveva promesso di non lo fare Papa, ma che adesso non poteva fare altro, comandandognene lo Spirito S^to, in modo che visto che in capella erano già circa 30 voti, tutti si risolveron a andare adorarlo et in questo atto il car^al camarlingo, Carpi, Perugia, San Vitale, San Clemente, Cornaro et Saraceno si sono portati valorosamente nell' opporsi a' Franzesi. Però l' E. V. non lasci di scrivere loro et alli altri amorevolmente, reconoscendo questa loro prontezza che hanno mostrata per il

The Cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel were determined to proclaim Cervini as Pope; they were only waiting for Ranuccio Farnese and della Corgna, who had gone to the adherents of Este in order to obtain from among them some additional votes. As, after some time, they had not yet returned, the cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel grew weary of waiting and declared that they would immediately proceed to the elevation of Cervini. Thereupon Farnese and della Corgna hurried on to the scene, while the adherents of Este followed them. These came just at the right time to witness the election of Cervini. In the general excitement the conclavists had also rushed into the place of voting, where the usual honours were paid to Cervini as Pope. Cardinal Medici, however, who had also come forward at the drawing up of the election capitulation,[1] opposed such tumultuous proceedings in the most determined way. Although an adherent of Cervini, he declared that the election must be carried out with due regard to legal procedure, and that the conclavists must be removed. When this had been done, the Dean, Carafa, arose first and declared that he elected the Cardinal of Santa Croce as Pope. His vote and those of the others were then recorded by a secretary. At seven o'clock in the evening, when the voting had come to an end, the bell for the Ave Maria was rung, and all said the Angelus. Thereupon Cervini, in a fine Latin address, declared that he accepted the election, although he felt that he was unworthy to wear the tiara, and that his powers were hardly equal to bearing so great a burden. He would, however, strive to do his duty, and would always keep nothing but the general well-being of the Church before

servitio et honore di Dio, di S. M^tà^ et suo, perchè invero, per quello che si intende, le cose di Ferrara erano tanto inanzi, che se non pigliavano questo partito, portava pericolo di riuscire Papa. Dio sia rigratiato, etc. *Letter of Serristori of April 10, 1555 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* also the letter of Madruzzo to Ferdinand I. in the Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, II., 3 (1884), 457.

[1] *Cf.* as to this Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Histor. Inst., XII., 224; see also MÜLLER, Konklave Pius' IV., 234.

his eyes. Carafa then declared that, in order to comply with the old regulation, the written " Scrutinium " with open voting papers must be taken on the following morning, though without prejudice to the election already made. This accordingly took place early on April 10th.

With one exception all the papers bore the name of Cervini. He himself gave his vote for Carafa, thereby clearly proclaiming that he adhered to the strict ecclesiastical reform movement. Without changing his name, he announced that he would be known as Marcellus II.[1]

The reform party, which in the conclave of 1549-1550 had not been able to withstand the intrigues of Spain and France, had now won a decisive victory, for he who had now been chosen to succeed Julius III. was the most eminent man that the College of Cardinals contained.

The family of Cervini originally came from Montepulciano, in the territory of Siena, and was one of the noblest of that beautiful little town, which had produced so many very distinguished men.[2]

[1] PANVINIO *loc. cit.* 255. MASSARELLI, 253. FIRMANUS, 507 *seq.* POLANCO (*cf. infra* p. 37, n. 1), 153. Lett. de' princ., III., 234. Cardinal Nobili's account in CIACONIUS, III., 804 *seq.* U. Gozzadini gives the hour of the election in his *report of April 10, 1555, as: " fra le 23 hore et 24 fu fatto papa per adoratione " ; the confirmatory scrutiny took place on the morning of April 10, between 9 and 10 o'clock (State Archives, Bologna). Concerning his refusal to change his name, *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 13, 11, 2.

[2] *Cf.* BENCI, Storia di Montepulciano, Firenze, 1641, 101 *seq.*; BUSCHBELL in the Histor. Jahrbuch, XXI., 423 *seqq.*; see also the still useful monograph of P. POLLIDORUS, De Vita Marcelli II. (Romae 1744), written at the instigation of Benedict XIV., which is taken from all the published sources available at that time, as well as from several manuscript sources, among others the Life of Marcellus II. composed by his brother Alessandro. Pollidorus complains that of this valuable authority only the first part (up to 1538) remained, in consequence of a fire which broke out in the palace of the Cervini at Montepulciano in 1598. Pollidorus has rightly made frequent use of this **Vita*

The father of the Pope, Ricciardo Cervini, born in 1454, had received a most excellent education in Florence, of which city his mother, Elisabetta Machiavelli, was a native, and he had afterwards served Innocent VIII. as scriptor of the Apostolic Penitentiary.[1] His connection with the noble family of the Spannocchi in Siena was of far-reaching importance for his future career.

Ricciardo stayed so long and so frequently with Antonio and Giulio Spannocchi that Siena became a second home to him.[2] The influence of the Spannocchi with Alexander VI, procured for him the position of vice-treasurer of the March of Ancona. For nine years he managed this territory, which was administered by the Spannocchi, in the most admirable manner, and also took part, in other ways, in everything that concerned

di Marcello II. scritta di propria mano del sig. Alessandro Cervini, suo fratello. RANKE (Päpste, III., Appendix 28) cites a copy of the Vita in the Albani Library, Rome, but he only takes from it one passage relating to the improvement of the calendar under Leo X. The Albani library was lost in 1857 with the ship that was conveying it to Prussia (*cf.* PASTOR, Le Bibliotheche private di Roma, Roma, 1906, 5). We are therefore limited to the copy of the *Vita* in Ferrara, from which some information was given in 1849 in the Arch. stor. Ital., App. VII., 248 *seqq.*, though without any details as to the manuscript. I was enabled, by the assistance of Prof. Agnelli to find it again in the Communal library in Ferrara in the *Miscellanea Riminaldi*, t. 1 (Ms. Cl., I., n. 264). *Cf.* besides PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli II. (as a supplement to the editions of Platina), which is valuable and reliable on account of the close connection between the author and hero. A short summary is in MERKLE, II., 255 *seqq.* The *Vita di Marcello II. by A. Cervini is also to be found in the *Carte Cervini* in the State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* BUSCHBELL in the Histor. Jahrb., XXI., 424.

[1] He appears as such in 1487; see DEL LUNGO, Florentia, Florence, 1897, 269 n. 2.

[2] He was received into the ranks of the Sienese nobility in 1493, through the Spannocchi. (See GIGLI, Diario Sanese, Lucca, 1723, 113, 141), hence the name Cardinal Spannocchi Cervini.

the well-being of the province. In Macerata and elsewhere one could long afterwards see the sign of his care in the arms of the Cervini affixed to public buildings and the city walls. Ricciardo Cervini took successful measures against internal disputes, and also against the disorders caused by the bandits, who were a real plague in that part of the country.[1] While he was at Montefano,[2] not far from Macerata, in the year 1501, his wife Cassandra, who belonged to the noble family of the

[1] *" Esercitò quell' offizio con honore e fama e benevolenza grandissima di que' popoli, di che si vede in Macerata, Montefano et altri luoghi di quella provincia ancora segno e l'arme d' Cervini ne torrioni delle muraglie et altri luoghi publici in pietre bianche elegantemente scolpite. Questo offizio esercitò m. Ricciardo nove anni continui per se et per la ragione delli Spannocchi . . . per mezzo de' quali m. Ricciardo hebbe principi a questra grandezza . . . " A. Cervini further on again returns to Ricciardo's activity in the March of Ancona, and states " oltre l'haver pacificato que' popoli che da gravi inimizizi e sanguinose erano vessati, frenato le incursioni de banditi haveva nel castigo de' rei et esaltazione de' buoni lassato di se memoria e benevolenza grande in quel paese " (Library in Ferrara).

[2] L. Cardauns has lately (Nuntiaberichte, V., xxii.) thrown doubts on the statement made by most of his biographers that Marcellus was born at Montefano, on grounds, however, which are not very trustworthy. The passage in the dispatch in GENTILE, Politica di Paolo III. : " il rev^mo Marcello da Montepulciano " as well as the word " Politianus " on the tomb, are explained by the fact that the family came from Montepulciano : the passage in Panvinio, in his Epitome Pontif. Rom. of 1557, is contradicted by the text of his Vita Marcelli II. (*loc. cit.*) where it is expressly stated : " in agro Piceno oppido Montis Fano natus." Two other contemporaries, who were on intimate terms with Marcellus II., Massarelli (MERKLE, II., 261) and A. Cervini (*Vita di Marcello II. *loc. cit.*) say the same. In the letter about the election of Marcellus in the Lett. de' princ., III., 234, it is said : " Il Papa, benche sia nato a Monte Fano . . . pure è da Montepulciano." In addition to all this, there is also the testimony of Marcellus II. himself in his letter to the inhabitants of Montefano, in POLLIDORUS, 130.

Benci in Montepulciano, bore him, on May 6th, a son who received the name of Marcello. An astrologer predicted, at the hour of his birth, that the child would one day be a great light of the Church. The fulfilment of this prediction, in which his father believed[1] (a thing not to be wondered at, considering the views of those days), seemed at first very unlikely, as Marcello's health as an infant was so delicate that his family besieged heaven with masses, alms and fasting, to preserve the life of the little one.[2] Their constant prayer was heard, and Marcello in time developed exceedingly, not only in body, but also in mind. He showed at a very early age that mixture of seriousness and gaiety which won all hearts to him. Lively, without being talkative, he was at once friendly and modest; the love of God and his neighbour, qualities which also distinguished his excellent parents, were his in an eminent degree. After the early death of his mother, who was well known for her great piety, he clung with rare affection to his father. His biographer tells us that even when he was a man of thirty years of age he never took a step outside the door without asking his father's permission and receiving his blessing, and presenting himself before him on his return. This intimate relationship between them owed its origin to the fact that the father himself had directed the first steps of his son's education. In Castiglione d'Orcia, near Montepulciano, where the family possessed an estate, he gave him his first lessons in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. The father possessed so great a knowledge of astronomy that Leo X.

[1] "Ancorche poco attendesse alle cose pertinenti alla divinazione" (not devozione, as in the copy in the Arch. stor. Ital., App. VII., 250) is to be read in the *Vita di Marcello II.

[2] *Oltre a ogni costume ordinario de putti, relates A. Cervini of his step-brother, non voleva in modo alcuno gustare latte, pero la madre infinitamente dogliosa et il padre similmente non si quietarono ne giorno ne notte sempre pensando e cercando, come potessero aiutare il povero figliuolo che non mancasse per diffeto di cibo, a fra gli altri rimedi si ricorse a Dio nostro signore e con messe e sacrifizi e con elemosine et orazioni e digiuni (Library in Ferrara).

sought his advice to improve the calendar.[1] Methodical instruction for practical work in the mechanical arts and agriculture was also imparted to him by his versatile father. Marcello proved himself the most diligent pupil imaginable. By a most careful arrangement of his day, and the cutting down of his intercourse with society, which he seldom cultivated, and then only in so far as his health required recreation, he succeeded in finding the time necessary for his studies, as well as for his religious duties. He began his day by prayer; intercourse with the dead, he used to say, by which he meant their writings, was the most useful pursuit and the safest.[2] He used the greatest moderation in play, in drinking and in pleasure. One never saw him idle, and he knew how to fill in his leisure hours with useful occupation, such as drawing, carving, modelling, book-binding or forestry.[3]

Marcello was sent to Siena by his father for his further education, and there he studied Greek dialectics and mathematics with great success. During the Renaissance period this city was notorious for the licentious manner of life which was prevalent there. Marcello remained, however, quite untouched by this, for he only sought out good company. He was just as particular with regard to his studies; in philosophy, as in astronomy, he carefully avoided all that was evil. This model student, staid beyond his years, gained universal love and respect in Siena; if his friends and contemporaries sometimes indulged in frivolous or loose talk for amusement, they at once ceased when Marcello came into their presence.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., App. VII., 248; see also Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 398 *seq.*

[2] *Dicendo il ragionare con i morti era il più utile e più sicuro esercizio. *Vita, etc. (Library in Ferrara).

[3] The passage in the *Vita di Marcello II., in the Arch. stor, Ital., App. VII., 250, has escaped CARDAUNS (Nuntiaturberichte. V., xxiv., n. 6.

[4] In Siena, so says A. Cervini, *sotto la disciplina di m. Ugo imparò lettere greche e sotto m. Giov. Batt. Politi dialettica e mattematica. Quivi trovandosi il giovine libero et in città licenziosa mostrò grandissimo segno della sua natural prudenza.

Marcello's studies in Siena included astronomy, mathematics, architecture and archæology, but, above all, he devoted himself to the classics, so that he was soon able to express himself in prose and verse with equal ease and elegance.[1]

After the election of Clement VII., Marcello was sent to Rome for the completion of his studies, and there an opportunity for distinguishing himself soon presented itself. At that time the whole of Italy was greatly disturbed by the fear of an approaching flood. A long spell of rainy weather, no less than the predictions of celebrated astrologers, led even serious men to share this belief; even Clement VII. himself was sufficiently impressed to be already thinking of taking flight to Tivoli. Marcello alone, whose father had always combated this bugbear, was able to make the Pope understand how groundless the general fear was. Clement VII. commanded him, in conjunction with his learned father, to complete the treatise concerning the reform of the calendar which had already been begun in the reign of Leo X. Marcello returned to Rome with the completed work at the beginning of 1525.[2] He was treated

Prima fu alli precettori carissimo, alli compagni carissimo. Avertito a fuggire la converzazione de tristi etiam di alcuni noti e dalla patria sua, che in quel tempo si trovarono a Siena sapendo che la prattica e la consuetudine suol dare occasione al vizio ed alla virtu, però sempre conversò con uomini ottimi e letterati . . . Dell' astrologia e filosofia lasciando quel che era particolarmente pericoloso quel solo che era utile elesse (Library in Ferrara). *Cf.* also Panvinio in MERKLE, II., 255. That Marcellus was not, however, free from the false astrological beliefs of the age is shown in the letter in CARDAUNS in the Nuntiaturberichte, V., xxiii., n. 1.

[1] *Negli studi di humanità fu veramente eccellente come ne fanno ampia fede quelli che vivono e le sue scritture in prosa et in versi con summa facilità et eleganza da lui formate. *Vita etc. (Library, Ferrara).

[2] *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., App. VII., 249, 254 *seq.*, and MARZI in the Atti del congresso stor. di Roma, III. (1906), 649. Concerning the predictions for 1524, see Vol. IX. of this work, p. 378, n. 4.

with distinction by the Pope, who took a lively interest in the reform of the calendar, and was repeatedly allowed to assist at the learned disputations which took place at the Pope's table.[1] Marcello also took advantage of this stay in the Eternal City to continue his scientific studies with eagerness. He visited the libraries, and was on terms of social intercourse with the numerous humanists and scholars who lived in the Curia. It was at this time that he formed an intimate friendship with Lampridio, Tebaldeo, Lascari, Bembo, Angelo Colocci and other humanists,[2] which he kept up with the fidelity which was part of his character. In view of these relationships, and the particular favour which the Pope always showed him, an honourable position in the Curia seemed to be assured to him, when the outbreak of the plague in Rome caused his anxious father to call him home in May, 1526.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the passages quoted by CARDAUNS in the Nutiaturberichte, V., xxiii., from the letters of Cervini (Carte Cerv. in the State Archives, Florence) which are here drawn upon for the first time to write his life. Buschbell's question (Histor. Jahrbuch, XXI., 423 n. 5), as to whether the whole of the family archives had been brought to Florence, must be answered in the negative, for there are several manuscripts in the Siena Library which certainly belong to these archives, especially, for example, Codex B.V. 18 and D.V. 13 (*cf.* ILARI, Bibl. di Siena, VI., 274, 491). They probably got there with the literary remains of Archbishop Aless, Cervini; *cf.* DRUFFEL, Mon. Trid., I., 4. The hypothesis here advanced, that Cervini intentionally gave up his papers to his relative when he was elected Pope, is difficult to believe. Their coming into the hands of his family is explained in the most natural way, by the death of Marcellus II. before he could carry out his intended reform of the Papal Chancery (see LAEMMER, Mon. Vatic., 461), in connection with which a reform of the archives was also intended.

[2] *Cf.* A. CERVINI, *Vita di Marcello II. (Library in Ferrara).

[3] According to POLLIDORUS, 12, Marcellus had left the Eternal City after having gained the Jubilee Indulgence of 1525. This is certainly wrong, as a letter of his from Rome of May 5, 1526, is in existence, concerning which all documentary evidence is wanting until 1528 (see CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, xxiii.). The worst

This unwelcome period of leisure Marcello employed in literary work. He translated Cicero's De Amicitia into Italian, as he had already translated words of Euclid and other Greek authors into Latin, and he also composed a poem about baths and medicinal springs. He likewise assisted his now ageing father in the management of his estates, a work in which he proved himself to be an excellent farmer, as well as a careful protector of the poor labourers.[1]

During the time of war, which followed the sack of Rome, no return to the Eternal City was possible. The troubled times caused Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to make long stays in Castro. When he visited the Farnese family estates from there he met Ricciardo Cervini, who had once been his fellow student in Florence at the Academy of Lorenzo de' Medici, and whose distinguished work in the March of Ancona he still bore in remembrance. The old friendship between the two, which was now renewed, was to bear good fruit for the son of Riccardo. Marcello returned to Rome in 1531, with a new work by his father on the reform of the calendar, and was received in the most friendly manner by Cardinal Farnese, with whom he stayed for about a year. The following years, except for a short stay in Rome in 1533, Marcello again spent at home.[2] It is evident from one of his letters to his father, in February, 1534, that he had no intention of marrying; he then proposed to his father to leave him in his will a capital sum of 1000 ducats, as well as to give him an annual income of 100 ducats, so that he could devote himself to science without pecuniary anxieties, and live in a place suitable for that purpose, such as Rome or Venice.[3] It is not known, however, whether his father made arrangements in accordance with this request,

time of the plague, which is expressly stated by A. Cervini to have been the reason of his recall, can be determined by SANUTO, Diarii XLI., 346, to have been after May 13, 1526.

[1] See A. CERVINI, *Vita di Marcello II. (Ferrara Library). Concerning the translation of Cicero *cf.* POLLIDORUS, 13.

[2] See CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.* xxiv.

[3] *Ibid.*

before his death, which took place on April 2nd, 1534.[1]

Soon after Ricciardo's death, his second wife, Leonora Egidi Cacciaconti, who had borne him five daughters and two sons, also died. The whole care of this large family now fell to Marcello, as eldest son. He fulfilled this duty most conscientiously, but still held to his resolution of again betaking himself to Rome, where his patron, Cardinal Farnese, had been elected Pope in October, 1534. After the settlement of his family affairs, Marcello entrusted his step-brothers, Alessandro and Romolo, with the management of the estates, at the same time arranging for the future of his sisters, one of whom entered the Order of Poor Clares, while three married, one of them, Cintia, becoming the mother of the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine. The most favourable prospects awaited Marcello in the Eternal City; Paul III. received the son of his old friend all the more joyfully, as he was well aware of his admirable qualities. Marcello was admitted into the intimate circle surrounding His Holiness, who entrusted him with the training and education of his nephew, the youthful Cardinal Farnese.[2] In this position he gained in an increased degree the confidence and affection both of his pupil and of Paul III. When the latter, at the beginning of 1538, entrusted the Cardinal-nephew with the management of the affairs of state, Cervini received, as his principal secretary, one of the most influential posts in the Curia, and was now appointed a Protonotary.[3] Although, up to this time, Cervini had had absolutely nothing to do with political affairs, he took a very short time in acquiring a practical knowledge of his new sphere of work, which was as exten-

[1] The statement of CARDAUNS (*loc. cit.*) that Ricciardo died at the end of March is erroneous. Besides A. Cervini, *Vita di Marcello II. (Ferrara Library), see also a *Biographia di Ricciardo Cervini (Carte Cerv. [State Archives, Florence]; *cf.* concerning this work BUSCHBELL in the Histor. Jahrbuch, XXI., 424) who give the date as in the text.

[2] Besides A. CERVINI, *Vita di Marcello II., *cf.* the extracts from letters in CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.* xxvi., n. 1.

[3] See EHSES, Conc. Trid., IV., 145, n. 2; *cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 34.

sive as it was important. As secretary of the Cardinal-nephew, he soon became also the most intimate secretary of the Pope. The diplomatic correspondence was, it is true, addressed to the Cardinal, and signed by him, but the drafting of it was entirely in the hands of Cervini. How carefully he examined the documents emanating from the Curia is proved by the numerous corrections in his fine and characteristic handwriting. As adviser of the young Cardinal he was, at the same time, the right hand of the Pope, for the furtherance of his plans. In the Chancery his influence was unlimited; in this department he formed a school of able officials and diplomatists, upon whom a conscientious performance of their official duties as well as the careful preservation of all documents was impressed as the strictest of obligations. The carelessness with which the documents received had been treated in the negligent days of the Renaissance now came to an end, a thing which was of the greatest advantage from the point of view of historical research.[1]

The direction of the affairs of state made constant intercourse with the Pope imperative, and Cervini therefore took up his residence in the immediate neighbourhood of the private apartments of Paul III., with whom he discussed current affairs every morning.[2] When Cardinal Alessandro Farnese

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Römische Berichte, I., in the Sitzungsberichte der Weiner Akademie, CXXXIII., 13; RICHARD in the Rev. d'hist. eccl., XI., 518; *cf.* also FRIEDENSBURG, Das Preuss. Histor. Institut: Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad., 1903, 74 *seq.*

[2] *Hora così vivendo era molto grato a S.S.tà e già nell' opinione universale stimato fra i favoriti di questa corte, dove dovendo continuamente per l'officio, ch' egli esercitava e per la tenera età del cardinale suo padrone trattare col papa negozi gravissimi gli fù dato per camera proprio luogo da pochi scalini separato da quello dove dormiva S.S.tà d'ordine dello quale ogni mattina andava mentre S.B. era in letto a trattenerla ragionando di varie cose per certo spazio di tempo. A. Cervini, *Vita di Marcello II. (Ferrara Library). *Cf.* also I. Pogiani Oratio in funere Marcelli II.; *Pogiani, Epist.*, I., 106.

undertook his first legation to Spain in May, 1539, on the occasion of the death of the Empress, he was accompanied by Cervini. From this time onwards he devoted himself to diplomacy instead of to the affairs of the Chancery, and in this capacity proved himself to be one of the most active, able and disinterested servants of the Holy See.[1]

How very much the Pope valued his services is shown by the fact that he bestowed on him the administration of the bishopric of Nicastro, in Calabria, at the end of August, 1539, which Cervini exchanged for that of Reggio in September, 1540.[2] He had already received the purple on December 10th, 1539.[3] Rapid as had been his advance in the course of a few years from a simple scholar to the supreme senate of the Church, there was, nevertheless, no jealousy displayed against him. Nobody grudged the Cardinal of Santa Croce, as he was now called, after his titular church, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, his good fortune. Contarini, Sadoleto, Pole, Aleander, and Bembo congratulated him in the warmest terms, in which is evident the universal conviction that Paul III., with his penetrating knowledge of character, had, in this appointment, raised merit and devotion to duty to the place to which they had a right.[4]

One reason for this appointment was that Cervini, as the companion of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, when he was appointed legate to Francis I. and Charles V. in November, 1539, might have unrestricted personal intercourse with those monarchs. The youthful legate left the management of the actual negotiations to his former secretary. It is clear from the reports of Cervini how difficult he felt this task to be. His greatest talents did not lie in the sphere of politics, yet he endeavoured by his diligent devotion to duty and his con-

[1] The opinion of CARDAUNS (V., xxvii.).

[2] See Acta consist. in CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.* xxvii. *Cf.* TACCONE GALLUCCI, Regest. d. pontif. Rom. per le chiese della Calabria, Reggio, 1902, 272 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, pp. 191, 366.

[4] See CIACONIUS, III., 806; POLLIDORUS, 26 *seq.*; CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*; HEFNER, App. 4.

scientiousness to make up for his lack of diplomatic finesse.[1]

Even before Paul III. granted to Cardinal Farnese his wished-for recall on April 24th, 1540, the report was current that Cervini was to remain at the Imperial court. The Cardinal sought by means of urgent representations to his friends, Bernardino Maffei and Dandino, to prevent this, but Paul III. would not change his mind, nor would he grant a further request for recall until the determination of the Emperor concerning the final decision at Hagenau was made known.

Cervini, therefore, could only leave Brussels, where the Emperor was then staying, on September 18th, 1540, and he did not reach Rome until the middle of October. In his final dispatch he gave a report of the negotiations with the Emperor concerning the religious question, and the position of the Church in Germany. With characteristic frankness he assigns the reason for the marked estrangement of the German nation from Rome to the neglect of the very things which once had won the Germans for the Church: the apostolic manner of life which the Holy See had formerly followed, fervent and reverent public worship in the churches, the performance of the duties of Christian charity and of zealous preaching. Finally he emphasizes the degeneracy of the German episcopate, men who, chosen merely on account of worldly considerations, left their flocks to look after themselves.[2] While he had been away Cervini had done all that was in his power to bring about a change in the ecclesiastical manner of life. It was owing to him that Farnese took no money for the exercise of his very extensive faculties, and he also gave warning, in his reports to Rome, of the bad impression which the collection for the building of St. Peter's was making, while at the same time he urged the reform of the Curia.[3]

Cardinal Farnese had once jokingly remarked that Cervini

[1] *Cf.* CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, pub. by CARDAUNS, V., xxx., 246 n. 1, 405 n. 1, 408 *seq.*

[3] See Nuntiaturberichte, V., xxix.; *cf.* concerning Cervini's legation, Vol. XI., of this work, pp. 366, 368 *seq.*, 380, 385 *seqq.*

was even more of a Theatine than Carafa,[1] and this was an absolute fact. Since Cervini had received Holy Orders, he had been a model priest. He said mass with the most touching devotion, recited the divine office on his knees, and his morning and evening prayers with outstretched arms. Spiritual reading, daily examination of conscience, strict fasting, generous alms-giving, and above all, constant prayer, were his rule of life, which he did not allow to be interfered with by the most urgent business or the most inopportune occurrences.[2]

Although Cervini could not reside in his bishopric of Nicastro, he nevertheless administered it with zeal and vigilance. He appointed the best priest he could find to be his vicar-general, and, not content with this, he placed his diocese under the supervision of the neighbouring bishops and of other reliable men, and more especially of Galeazzo Florimonte, whom he particularly valued on account of his love of the truth, since for Cervini the truth came before everything else. His archpriest had feared at first to tell him everything openly, but Cervini impressed upon him that much as wickedness might displease him, he was nevertheless grateful to whoever pointed it out to him.[3] As Bishop of Reggio, in the Emilia, Cervini at once summoned the Jesuit Lainez to undertake the reform of the clergy, as afterwards he sent Broet to Montepulciano[4]; in the year 1543 he also ordered a strict visitation of the diocese, as a result of which he afterwards issued statutes of reform which were approved by Paul III.[5]

In the spring of 1544 Cervini exchanged the bishopric of Reggio for that of Gubbio; here also he worked in the interests

[1] See Nuntiaturberichte, V., 269, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* POLLIDORUS, 20 *seq.*

[3] See POLLIDORUS, 22-24, who made use of the episcopal archives at Nicastro. How Cervini regarded the office of bishop is reflected in a dedication to him by Gentianus Hervetus; see S. CHRYSOSTOMI, Opera I., Venetiis, 1583, 232.

[4] See TACCHI VENTURI, I., 578, and Vol. XII. of this work, p. 84.

[5] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 587, from the episcopal archives, Reggio.

of reform. The diocese owed to him the extirpation of heresy and a new division of the parishes, as well as the restoration and decoration of the cathedral. He kept a book of his own concerning everything that was done or that he intended to do, and also, from time to time, obtained exact information with regard to the carrying out of his orders. His ceaseless activity met with such recognition among the citizens of Gubbio that they erected a marble statue of him as a token of their gratitude.[1]

An especially fine trait in the character of Cervini was that he preserved the greatest humility in the midst of all the honours that were conferred on him. He wrote to his brother that he looked upon every good thing that happened to him as a benefit for which he had to thank God, the Church and the Pope, and as a call to fulfil his duties faithfully and conscientiously. "You, however," he continues, "if you love me truly, must constantly pray to God that He may grant me light and help where I need it most, so that I may not be found guilty and unworthy of my hire, after I have received so much for which I can never sufficiently thank the Giver of all good things."[2]

It is no wonder that such a man enjoyed the favour of Paul III. In the autumn of 1541 the Pope took him with him to Lucca to meet Charles V. Before the conference at Busseto

[1] See POLLIDORUS, 49 *seqq.*; BUSCHBELL, 14, 207 *seq.* In the chapter-room of the cathedral at Gubbio the silk chasuble is still preserved which Marcellus II. presented to the church; it is an artistic piece of work, executed in Flanders, having the Passion of Christ embroidered on it in circles. The division of the parishes of January 1, 1545, is entered in the *Lib. delle Riforme in the communal archives in Gubbio; *ibid.* Miscell, II., a *Bando del luogotenente del duca d'Urbino of 1549, issued at the instigation of Cervini for enjoining rests on Sundays, and against disrespectful behaviour in church. The *Synodales constitutiones Eugubinae per card. S. Crucis (Episcopal Archives in Gubbio) which are of value for the history of the Catholic reformation, I intend to publish in another place.

[2] POLLIDORUS, 42-43.

in June 1543 he sent him as legate to the Emperor, while two years later there followed his appointment as legate at the Council of Trent.[1] With this, a new period of ecclesiastical and diplomatic activity began for Cervini; his task of representing the Head of the Church at the General Council, together with Cardinals Pole and del Monte, was the most difficult that can be imagined, but Cervini proved himself equal to it. His pre-eminently ecclesiastical views, his learning and his uprightness of character, soon caused him to take the first place. With a versatility that was characteristic of him, he gave thought to the most various questions, and worked upon each subject with as much zeal as though it were his only task. He attacked the uncatholic Constance-Basle theory of the superiority of the Council over the Pope with remarkable firmness,[2] while he knew how to settle the disputes which arose, and which aroused the anger of his colleague del Monte, with mildness and sagacity; at the same time he devoted himself to the theological questions with the thoroughness, the conscientiousness and the knowledge of the expert. In all questions of dogma he stood out as the leading personality of the Council, while del Monte seemed rather to devote himself to the sphere of ecclesiastical law and the question of reform.[3] Authentic documents bear witness to Cervini's share in the drawing up of the decrees concerning the Canon of Scripture and Tradition, as well as to his very prominent share in that relating to Justification. His activity was very marked with regard to this most important question, which affected the very nerve centre of the religious division, especially after the draft of September 23rd, 1546, and he devoted all his powers to the framing of this decree.[4]

The delicate health of the Cardinal suffered from all these

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, pp. 162, 174, 209 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* EHSES' interesting essay in the third issue of the association of the Görres-Gesellschaft for 1911, Cologne, 1911, 13 *seq.*

[3] See the testimony in EHSES, Conc. Trid., V., 780, 961.

[4] *Cf. Ibid.* 4, 8 *seq.*, 11, 26 *seq.*, 36, 420 *seqq.*, 500 *seqq.*; *cf.* also Vol. XII. of this work, p. 315; HEFNER, 33; LAUCHERT, 542 n.

exertions, particularly as he had a disease of the kidneys in the summer of 1545, and he was again ill in May, 1546.[1] During the difficult state of affairs which resulted from the attitude of the Imperialists in the summer of 1546 Cervini adhered to the strictly ecclesiastical point of view; he was determined to remove the Council to another place where its safety would not be threatened.[2] Charles V. had formerly tried to win the Cardinal over by the grant of a large pension, but had received a decisive rebuff from the incorruptible Cardinal.[3] Now the Emperor vainly endeavoured to intimidate Cervini by threats of violence. The Emperor might, the Cardinal declared, do violence to his body, but he had no power over his soul, while he calmly left the judgment upon his attitude to God alone.[4] When, accordingly, the Council was removed to Bologna,[5] Cervini was looked upon in many quarters as the future Pope, but, in order to prevent his election, the Emperor declared him to be excluded from the candidates after the death of Paul III.[6]

Although Cervini impressed upon the new Pope, Julius III.,

[1] See Massarelli in MERKLE, I., 202 *seq.*, 545, 548. Concerning his later illnesses *cf. ibid.* 743, 869.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 269 *seq.*

[3] A. Cervini says, in an *account of Marcello's legation to the Emperor, 1538-1539: "Contro quello leggesi nel Platina nuovamente stampato, dove pare si voglia dar a Marcello qualche taccia d'interesse, stimo bene d'opporre oltre le qualita del suo vivere sempre lontano di ogni sorte di studio d'accumular richezze i refiuti di ricchi doni fatti da esso in piu occasioni sapendo per cosa certa che nell' abboccamento che fece Carlo V. imperadore col pontefice Paolo III. avendo il detto imperadore destinato a Marcello allora cardinale una pensione di 10,000 scudi esso la riscusò constantemente e solo ne accettò scudi 1000 sopra la chiesa di Vagliadolid di commandemento espresso del pontefice." In the Codex of the Ferrara library mentioned *supra* p. 11, n. 2.

[4] *Cf.* the list of authorities in MERKLE, I., 565 *seq.*; see also PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli, II.

[5] Cervini openly declares his reason for the removal of the Council to Bologna on March 10, 1547; see EHSES, Conc. Trid., V., 1024.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 10.

with the greatest freedom, a serious view of his duties, Julius nevertheless valued him highly and made an intimate friend of him ; he constantly accepted his advice and help, especially in questions of reform.[1] In 1552 he entrusted Cervini with the presidentship of the reform commission, in the work of which the Cardinal took an active part.[2] In other respects, however, he withdrew himself as much as possible, and did not attempt to conceal his disapproval of much that Julius III. did. His sorrow was very great when the Pope, by assigning Camerino to his brother, introduced an element of nepotism into his government ; Cervini had done everything in his power to prevent this, and in order openly to show his disapproval, he at once retired to his diocese of Gubbio.[3]

Cervini belonged to the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition under Julius III., as he had already done under Paul III. He devoted himself to this office with great zeal,[4] but, although he proved himself strict with those who spread the new doctrines, he nevertheless avoided all exaggeration. The burden of Cervini's duties was still further increased by his protectorate of the Servite Order, a thing which he did not look upon as merely a position of honour, any more than his protectorate of the Augustinian Hermits, but which he carried out with that careful attention which he bestowed on everything with which he was connected. His services to the Augustinians were recognized in the terms of the highest praise by no less a person than the General of the Order, Seripando.[5]

[1] See Vol. XIII., p. 159, and MASSARELLI, 171 *seq.*, 174, 193, 197 *seqq.*, 202 *seq.*, 207, 209, 211, 215, 216. Concerning the part taken by the Cardinal in the reform of the regulars, see *Concilio, LXXVIII., 188 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII., p. 165.

[3] See PANVINIO, *loc. cit.* ; POLLIDORUS, 92 *seq.*, 101.

[4] See, besides Vol. XII. of this work, p. 505 *seq.*, Vol. XIII., p. 217 ; especially the fundamental work of BUSCHBELL : Ref. und Inquisition in Italien, 174 *seq.*, 210 *seq.* ; *cf.* also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 523 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Massarelli in MERKLE, I., 845 ; POLLIDORUS, 93 *seq.*, 103 *seq.*

A special feature in the portrayal of the character of Cervini would be wanting if no mention were made of his love of learning. It was above all things as a scholar that he had been attracted to Rome, and though he had been placed there in quite other circumstances, he had always returned again to his studies. Paul III., with the penetration that was characteristic of him, had seen this and entrusted the learned Cardinal with the care of the Vatican Library in 1548.[1] Even as a private scholar he had been a keen collector of manuscripts and books, and now as Cardinal he profited by every opportunity of adding to his library.[2] After the long years during which he had been obliged to devote himself to ecclesiastical and diplomatic affairs, it was like a renewal of his youth for him to find himself once more among the interests of former days, although these were now on a much more extensive scale than before. He now devoted himself to the great collection under his care with a truly burning zeal ; new catalogues of the Greek and Latin manuscripts were a result of his enterprise.[3] As custodian of the most extensive library of that time, he did not lose sight of his own idea of making the most important of the Greek manuscripts still unprinted available to scholars by means of publication.[4] The register of expenditure for the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 545 *seq.*, and the literature mentioned there.

[2] A. Cervini says concerning the time before 1534 (*loc. cit.* Ferrara Library) : *" E sebbene Marcello era allora in privata fortuna non mancava di ricercare libri rari e farne ricerca per ogni via possibile." Concerning the purchase of books and manuscripts made by Cervini as Bishop of Gubbio, see POLLIDORUS, 51 *seq.* Cervini's manuscripts afterwards came to the Vatican Library ; see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 210.

[3] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 546 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DOREZ, Le card. M. Cervini et l'imprimerie a Rome : Mél d'archéol. XII., 289 *seqq.* Dorez' monograph on Cervini, announced as long ago as 1895, which will deal with all the points mentioned with the author's characteristic thoroughness, has, unfortunately, not yet appeared. The essays in the Mél. d'archéol. (*supra*) and the Rev. d. Bibl., V., 14 *seq.* (L'exemplaire de Pline), 139 *seqq.*, 153 *seqq.* (Romolo Cervini), are precursors of this work.

Vatican Library shows with what zeal and understanding Cervini sought, not only to preserve and increase the treasures entrusted to him, but also to make them available for others.[1] Julius III., as an acknowledgment of his labours, confirmed him in his appointment, and further decided that it should be for life.[2] Cervini had rendered such important services in the Vatican Library, had shown such wide discrimination, and had displayed such great generosity, that he far surpassed all his predecessors. As he added to the collection of manuscripts in many different directions, including the acquisition of Oriental manuscripts, so did he increase the number of officials; at the same time he looked after the preservation of damaged manuscripts. A decree of 1554 assured the opening of the library to scholars at fixed hours.[3] He repeatedly assisted the collection from his own means, and never content with all that he had done, unceasingly thought of ways of improving the "Vaticana," which he looked upon as the greatest treasure which the Apostolic See possessed.[4]

Cervini had as great a love for good books as he had a horror of those that were bad, and it is related that in the year 1541 the Cardinal bought up obscene books in order to have them burned.[5]

A man of such varied interests and wide erudition that even

[1] *Cf.* Dorez in the Fasciculus Io. W. Clark dicatus, Cantabrigae, 1909, 142 *seqq.* The far-reaching wisdom of the Cardinal is shown by his plan of publishing the complete original documents of the Council of Trent, especially those of the Sessions; see Ehses, Conc. Trid., V., xiii., xxvii.

[2] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 327 and Appendix No. 5 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* Dorez in the Fasciculus, *loc. cit.*, 158 *seq.*; Mercati, Bibl. Apost., 38, 44, 57. According to Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 221 (Roman edition), Cervini also laid the foundations of the collection of antiquities connected with the Vatican Library; *cf.* Pollidorus, 48.

[4] Letter to Card. Farnese of September 17, 1554, in the Mél. d'archéol., XII., 311.

[5] *Cf.* Gori, Arch. stor., III., 40.

such persons as Sangallo and Michael Angelo valued his attainments in the sphere of architecture and archæology,[1] Cervini by no means limited himself to the collection of books and manuscripts; he had also gathered together an important collection of antiquities, ancient inscriptions and medals.[2] His house, which contained these treasures, was open to everyone who gave promise of accomplishing anything of note. The Cardinal especially loved to encourage youthful talent; without any pretension or condescension, and without allowing the superiority of his own knowledge to appear, he would talk with young students about their work. He often looked through the work of young writers and found a publisher for them; he was generous where he saw signs of earnest endeavour, not only by pointing out books and manuscripts, but also by giving valuable suggestions and advice. A whole number of scholars, with whom he was in communication, either personally or by letter, were indebted to the Cardinal for similar kindnesses. He took a special interest in the theological works of Sirleto and Seripando; he encouraged Luigi Lippomano to publish the Lives of the Saints, and the learned Pier Vettori to prepare an improved edition of the works of Clement

[1] A. Cervini says: "Nell' architettura e cognizione delle cose antiche non fu a nessuno de' suoi tempi secondo e sanno ancora molti che oggi vivono che ne 'l San Gallo ne il Buonarrotti si sdegnava d'intendere il suo consiglio." Vita di Marcello II. (Ferrara Library); *cf.* also MERKLE, II., xxv. Cervini was also a member of the Academy of Vitruvius, founded in 1542, and had entrusted Sangallo with the plans of his villa at Monte Amiata (see MÜNTZ, III., 109, 240). His knowledge of architecture tempted Cervini to mix himself up with the building of St. Peter's, an action which Michael Angelo resented in his abrupt way (see Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 334). In the time of Clement VII. Cervini was so devoted to the study of archaeology that he nearly lost his life in a visit to the subterranean ruins of the Thermae of Trajan; see the notice in CONTELORIUS, Vita Marcelli II. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, XI., 48, p. 291).

[2] *Cf.* POLLIDORUS, 155; REUMONT, III., 2, 695; DOREZ, A. Eparque: Mél. d'archéol., XIII., 322.

of Alexandria, while he encouraged Niccolo Beni in an Italian translation of the celebrated Commonitorium of Vincent of Lerins. He also persuaded Annibale Caro and Pier Francesco Zeno to translate the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen and John Damascene into Italian; Genziano Erveto composed, at his instigation, a Latin translation of the Commentaries of Chrysostom on the Psalms. It was owing to Cervini that Onofrio Panvinio turned to the study of Christian antiquities and Church History. The indefatigable Cardinal must also be thanked for the translation of the four Gospels into Ethiopian, as well as for translations of Theodoret, Metaphrastes and others. Cervini shrank from no sacrifice to secure the publication of the Commentaries of Eustathius on Homer, while a proof of his versatility is to be found in the fact that he assisted Ippolito Salviani in the production of his work on fish.[1]

Among scholars Cervini loved most of all those of earnest character, who united true piety with sound knowledge. Very characteristic of him in this respect were his intimate relations with Guglielmo Sirleto. Cervini had always been most careful in choosing the members of his household; he used to say that people should be just as particular about having good servants as they were about their own reputation and honour.[2] He showed in this respect that he not only preached reform but also practised it. He presented a strict manner of life in its most effective and attractive form; to the purest morality, the truest piety, and the strictest orthodoxy, he united a large-hearted patronage of profane as well as of theological learning, and to a shrewd moderation he joined a burning zeal for reform. What hopes then, were not called forth by the elevation of such a man to the Chair of Peter! The good and

[1] *Cf.* besides TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 30 *seq.* (Roman edition) and POLLIDORUS, 75 *seqq.*, DOREZ in the Mél. d'archéol., XII., 291 *seq.*; MERKLE, II., xxvii., *seq.*, cxxiv. *seq.*; MAI, Spiceleg., IX., xvi.; Freiburger Kirchenlex. XI., 359 *seq.*; MERCATI in the Theol. Revue, VIII. (1909), 61 *seq.*; HEFNER, 32.

[2] See POLLIDORUS, 22.

pious members of the Curia were filled with joyful expectations, while the others trembled with fear.[1]

[1] As early as April 9, 1555, Ghisi writes: *Par che Roma poco si rallegri di questa elezione. Agost. Gonzaga, Bishop of Reggio, writes on April 12, 1555: *It is hoped that Marcellus II. will be a good Pope for the Christian religion, but at the court they fear his strictness. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also Montesa in DRUFFEL, IV., 652 n. 3. The great joy of those who had the interests of the Church really at heart is made clear in numerous utterances; *cf.* besides the extracts in POLLIDORUS, 112 *seqq.*, the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 385; letters in GATTICUS 332 n; L. ALAMANNI, Canzone a Marcello II. in the collection of ATANAGI, II., Venezia, 1565, 172. Pollidorus mentions other poems (p. 113). Concerning the joy in Venice see Studi stor., XVII., 528. The nuncio at the Imperial court, G. Muzzarelli, *wrote on April 22, 1555, to the Cardinals from Brussels: "Marcellus, velut alter Aaron," will look after the "afflicta et desolata ecclesia. Benedictus Deus, etc." (Lett. de' princ. XV., n. 71. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

CHAPTER II.

The Pontificate of Marcellus II.

It had seldom been the case that such unanimity of opinion had been shown concerning a new Pope as was the case with Marcellus II. The whole world was agreed that the most worthy and most suitable man had been chosen to steer the storm-tossed ship of the Church through the tempestuous waves of the times.[1] Even the French, to whom Cervini's election had not been agreeable, could not do enough to acknowledge his excellent qualities.[2] In consequence of this the result of the conclave was well received at the court of Henry II. The Emperor also forgot his former displeasure, and his representative in Rome expressed himself in terms of high praise of the new Pope.[3]

The loudest jubilation of all, however, came, as may easily be understood, from the representatives of Catholic reform, for they knew from the experience of many years, that Cervini was the right man, by his example as well as by his firmness, so tempered by mildness, to carry out the long desired reform of ecclesiastical conditions.[4] Never, wrote Seripando, had he thought that the choice would fall on a Cardinal whose principles were so inflexible, that they were far more likely to bar

[1] See, besides the testimony quoted *supra* p. 32, n. 1, Masius, Briefe, 200, the letter of congratulation of P. Manutius (Epist. I., 7). Hosii epist., II., 1025, and the letter of Seripando s.d. in the Miscell. Arm. 2, t. 60, p. 320 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* Ribier, II., 607; Druffel, IV., 660 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 62, 64: Druffel, IV., 652 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the letter of Dionisio Atanagi in the Lett. de' princ., I., 185.

for him the way to the highest authority than to smooth it. Seripando therefore saw in the elevation of Cervini a special dispensation of divine grace, which had directed the votes to the man who would "save Israel." He had prayed that a Pope might arise who would remove from the ideas of Church, Council, and Reform, the despicable interpretation which had become attached to these otherwise beautiful words. His hopes had now been realized and his desires fulfilled.[1]

The representatives of the Catholic reformation could now look forward with confidence to the completion of the important and difficult task which Paul III. and Julius III. had begun, but had left unfinished because, apart from other considerations, so much of the worldly spirit of the Renaissance had still lingered in their hearts. But now, the man whose name had become proverbial for the work of ecclesiastical renewal was absolutely free from any such thing.[2]

The members of the Sacred College were also unanimous in declaring that if Cervini remained the man he had always been, everything would turn out for the best.

A valuable and beautiful testimony to this effect is contained in a letter from Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga which was addressed to Ferrante Gonzaga immediately after the close of the conclave. The Cardinal had been an adherent of Este, and had spent a sleepless night between the 9th and 10th of April, and was dead tired when he wrote the letter. "If Cervini," he said, "only remains as Pope what he has been as Cardinal, then we may expect the greatest blessings for the Church; on the other hand, to those who wish to lead a dissolute life his election must be most unwelcome. His pure manner of life is known to everyone, as are his love of learning, his earnestness and his dignity. It is but seldom that one has seen him merry; as soon as he sees or hears anything ridiculous he only smiles faintly and passes it over in silence, with true Catonian gravity.

[1] Lett. de' princ., III., 187[b] *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of G. Florimente to Marcellus II., dated Sessa, April 15, 1555 (Castel S. Angelo, VIII., ii., p. 160. Secret Arch. of the Vatican).

He never takes any pleasure in magnificent banquets, feasts or gay company; he has always disapproved of the dissolute life of the clergy, hated the vagrant monks, punished all who were suspected of false doctrines, and always, under Paul III. as well as under Julius III., carried on the work of reform. He is the opposite of his predecessor, and God, in His mercy, has given him to the Church so that there may be a hope of abolishing countless abuses."[1] Everybody in Rome who knew the newly elected Pope at all intimately was of the same opinion.[2] The Florentine ambassador, Serristori, a dispassionate diplomatist, wrote as early as April 11th that although Marcellus II. would allow no interference on the part of secular persons in the affairs of the Church, and would be very slow in the bestowal of favours, he believed that in all other respects everyone would be contented, for his whole behaviour, to put it shortly, was that of a saint.[3]

Even on the first day of his pontificate Marcellus II. showed himself to be a true representative of the cause of Catholic Reform. As soon as the scrutiny was over, there followed his consecration as bishop, and then the coronation in St. Peter's, which ceremony he caused to be very much curtailed, in order that he might carry out the functions of Holy Week, which had already begun; at the same time the unnecessary expenses of the coronation festivities were to be saved.

All the Renaissance Popes had allowed the celebrations which were customary at the coronation to develop into a carefully prepared feast which cost the large sum of from

[1] See the text (University Library, Bologna) in Appendix No. 6.

[2] See above all MASSARELLI (p. 255 *seq.*)

[3] *Credo bene che habbi a esscre acerrimo defensore dell' autorità sua et cose ecclesiastiche et che chi vorrà stare bene seco, bisognerà che non metta mano nell' offitio suo, nè si impacci molto di benefitii et cose di chiesa, et in quanto alle gratie sia per andare assai più stretto che non hanno fatto molti dei suoi antecessori et nel resto credo che ogn' huomo da bene se n'harà da contentare. In sustantia il modo, l'apparentia et demostrationi sono come d'un santo (State Archives, Florence).

20,000 to 30,000 scudi. Marcellus rightly looked upon this as extravagance; he wished to receive the tiara in apostolic simplicity, and without the usual ostentatious display. He even forbade the loud manifestations of joy, such as the thunder of the cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo, and the fire-works, so much loved by the Roman people, out of consideration for Holy Week. Half of the money that was saved he devoted to the needs of the Holy See, the other half to the relief of the poor, for whom the day of his elevation was to be a day of joy.[1]

The first actions of the Pope afforded further proof that he intended to avoid all outward pomp, and that he wished to do nothing which was not of benefit to the Church. He had already, as Cardinal, allowed no doubt to exist as to his zeal for reform; he had always been convinced that this was a work which would allow of no delay, and now that he had been raised to the highest dignity, he wished to set to work at once. Deeds not words was to be the programme of his reign.[2]

Until now it had been the custom for the newly elected Pope, in the joy of his accession, to grant with lavish generosity all the requests of the members of the conclave for privileges and favours. When Marcellus II. was presented with these petitions for signature, he excused himself in his modest way, with the reply that he could in no way act contrary to the reform decrees, but that he had the intention, after careful considera-

[1] Besides MASSARELLI, 253, *cf.* Avanson's report in RIBIER, II., 606; L. LATINII Lucubrat., II., 29; the account in GORI, Arch., IV., 255; MASIUS, Briefe, 200; J. v. MEGGEN in the Archiv für schweiz. Ref. Gesch., III., 516; *Letter of Passini, dated Rome, April 10, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the detailed report of Polanco of April 16, 1555, to the Superior of the Society of Jesus, in the Cartas de S. Ignacio V., Madrid, 1889, 152 *seq.* This report, which SPONDANUS (ad. a. 1555, n. 5-7) seems to have had before him, appears in the following, simply quoted by Polanco. In POLANCO, Chron. V., 14 *seq.*, there are several additions.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 254 *seq.*, 261; PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli II; POLLIDORUS. 115.

tion, of showing himself benevolent in all that was right. The same answer was given to the Cardinals, the conclavists, and indecd to his most intimate friends. He would not sign a single petition, but promised to consider everything carefully. When a very prominent personage handed the Pope papcr and pen and urged him vehemently to confirm by his signature several concessions, Marcellus replied: "If what you ask is just, you will receive it after I have thought it over, if, however, it is not, you will neither receive it now nor in the future."[1]

The Pope received the congratulations seriously and sedately. When someone wished him long life, he answered: "If my life should prove useful to the Church of God, may He preserve it, if not, then I wish for a short life, so as not to increase the number of my sins."[2] Marcellus made use of the congratulations of the Cardinals to work for reform. Worthy members of the Sacred College, if they were young, like Nobili, were, he said encouragingly, to continue in the good path they had already entered on, while he reminded the worldly Cardinals, with paternal earnestness, of their duties; the unworthy Cardinal del Monte was sharply reproved for his previous conduct, and Marcellus warned him that he would do everything in his power to force him to reform his life.[3]

The Pope also admonished the members of his household to preserve a virtuous and modest demeanour; thcy must not assume airs of superiority because they were now servants of the Pope, and at the least transgression he would dismiss them. There would, moreover, be no change in the arrangements of his household for the time being. Marcellus wished to examine the financial position of the Holy See before he embarked upon further expenditure. As this investigation proved most unsatisfactory, he resolved to organize his household in the

[1] See Polanco, 155 *seq.*; Avanson in Ribier, II., 608 *seq.* and the letters of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, April 10 and 24, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] Polanco, 156.

[3] See in Appendix No. 6 the *letter of Card. E. Gonzaga of April 10, 1555 (University Library, Bologna).

simplest manner; very few new officials were appointed, and those already in office were kept with such simplicity and economy that many complained of hardships. According to Massarelli, the following arrangements were decided upon for the maintenance of the officials: everyone, without regard to their position or rank, must have only one attendant (except a few higher officials, who were allowed two), they received every day a certain quantity of wine and bread. Besides this, the officials of the first class were paid a seventh part, those of the second class a sixteenth part, and those of the third class a thirty-fifth part of a gold florin. Barley was to be given to no one, and hay only to a very few, and at most for two horses. The common kitchen was done away with, as was the supply of salt, oil, vinegar, barley and wood, which had hitherto been customary. The Pope's table also was to be in no way different from what it had been while he was a Cardinal, when he had been distinguished for its simplicity. Luxury, Marcellus was accustomed to say, was a source of great evils, and even of the worst. Gold plate, which had hitherto been customary, was no longer to appear at his table, while instead of the silver kitchen utensils he ordered that copper ones should be procured. He was anxious to cut down expenses in every way, in order to be able to pay the debts of the Holy See by his economies. That he might be successful in doing so, he declared that he would avoid war and all unnecessary building, as well as the bestowal of princely revenues on his relatives. In his humility he dreaded the temptations which had assailed even the Saints when they had reached the height of power, and had, in the case of many of his predecessors, rendered their best intentions quite futile; he well knew, as he told Cardinal Gonzaga, that to be slow in speech and active in works was the wisest course, although he, nevertheless, made many promises, so that his word might from the beginning be associated with the right course and that the shame of breaking his promises might save him from any vacillation.[1]

[1] Besides MASSARELLI, 261 *seq.*, see also POLANCO, 153 *seq.*, as well as Chron., V., 14 *seq.*, and especially PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli

It was not in words alone, however, but in deeds also, that he sought to carry his resolutions into effect. Angelo Massarelli was summoned to the Pope's presence as early as April 11th and was commissioned to look out all the documents relating to reform which had been drawn up during the pontificate of Julius III, and especially the recent Bull concerning the conclave ; these were to be once more thoroughly examined, and to this end Massarelli was to put himself at once into communication with Cardinal Puteo. Two days later Massarelli again received orders to bring to the Pope Cardinal Puteo's opinion, as well as that of Cardinals Madruzzo and Gonzaga, who were just about to set out on a journey, for the Bull was to be published as soon as possible.[1] It was also made known during the first days of the pontificate that Marcellus II. intended to require all bishops to fulfil their duty of residence, and many of them were already preparing to return to their dioceses after Easter.[2] The Dataria was informed by the Pope that he would allow no further compositions except in the case of fines.[3] The Jews and prostitutes were to be ban-

II. Antonio Lorenzini, who was highly valued by the Pope (see Cocciano in DRUFFEL, IV., 662), became "Maestro di Camera." Ant. Helius (Elio) Bishop of Pola, became his first secretary, and under him, Aug. Masserelli ; Serristori announces these appointments in his *letter of April 13, 1555 (State Archives, Florence). P. P. Gualterius was confirmed as secretary of Latin letters (see MERKLE, II., xxxviii.). Sirleto became "referendario," Commendone was placed among the officers of the household, and P. Vettori was also summoned to Rome. POLLIDORUS, 120.

[1] MASSARELLI, 256 *seq.* ; *cf.* the *letter of A. Gonzaga to the governor of Mantua, dated Rome, April 12, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] **Cf.* the *letter of Card. Gonzaga of April 10, 1555 (University Library, Bologna), and Lett. de' princ., III., 235.

[3] *Questa sera ho inteso che ha imposto al Datario che non vuole che pigli compositione alcuna salvo di quelle cose dove fussi colpa. Serristori's report of April 11, 1555 (State Archives Florence).

ished to a corner of the city on the other side of the Tiber, and the Jews were also to wear a yellow hat; those of the prostitutes who were married would have to return to their husbands or be sent to a convent. Marcellus also spoke of placing the crime of sodomy under the Inquisition.[1] That still further reform regulations were to be expected could be drawn from the fact that Cardinal Carafa had apartments assigned to him in the Vatican.[2] The impression that was made by all this was so deep that many at once changed their manner of life of their own accord, without waiting for the appearance of any regulations,[3] which was certainly the best and most enduring kind of reform.

Marcellus took part in the ceremonies of Holy Week with the greatest devotion; people were astonished to see that he always went on foot to St. Peter's and to the chapel in the Vatican where he said mass with great fervour.[4] After the function on Good Friday (April 12th) the Pope made it clear that he also proposed a reform in church music; he had the singers of the choir summoned to his presence and ordered them to be careful in future that the music was suitable to a day of mourning and was not of a joyful, noisy character; he also required of them such a performance of the vocal music that the words could be understood.[5]

On Easter Sunday the Pope celebrated High Mass in St. Peter's, at which he distributed Holy Communion to the Cardinals and other prominent persons; then followed the be-

[1] Polanco, Chron., V., 14 *seq.*

[2] *Al card. S. Agnolo ha dato in palazzo le stantie di torre Borgia, dove stava il s. Baldovino, et al Teatino quelle di guardarobba, dove stava il card. di Monte. Serristori on April 13, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Cf.* the letter of Raverta in the Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., III., 518.

[4] Polanco, 154.

[5] Massarelli, 256 *seq.* This testimony proves that in the view which the learned writer of the essay "Die Kirchenmusik und das Tridentinische Konzil" (Histor. polit. Bl., XLII., 895 *seq.*) combats, there is nevertheless a grain of truth.

stowal of the solemn blessing. It had hitherto been the custom on this occasion that coins should be thrown among the assembled crowds, but when one of the reform party happened to remark that it would be more pleasing to God if this money were to be used for charitable works or given to the poor, than that the people should scramble for it and many be disappointed, the Pope at once approved of the suggestion and acted upon it. On the same day he drew the attention of the bishops to the rule that they should have spiritual reading at their tables, a regulation that was hardly anywhere observed. He was himself the first to carry out this rule, and after the reading he introduced spiritual disputations.[1]

On the Monday and Tuesday of Easter week (April 15th and 16th) Massarelli received orders to obtain the opinions of Cardinals Carafa, Morone, Truchsess, Medici, Mignanelli, Saraceni, Cicada, and Bertano with regard to the new conclave Bull, for the Pope thought that the more this document was discussed the better it would prove.[2]

The ideal personality of the new Pope had made such an impression on the Romans that, as an ambassador reports, they laid down their arms at once after his election.[3] People were exceedingly anxious to see how Marcellus would behave towards his numerous relations. The recollection of the excesses of the Renaissance Popes was still so vivid that many feared lest the love of his own flesh and blood, as well as the great number of his relatives, should lead the Pope away from the true path.[4] These fears were increased when Marcellus, clearly for the sake of his personal safety, appointed two members of his family to important positions. Giovan Battista Cervini was made governor of the Castle of St. Angelo and Biagio Cervini captain of the Vatican guard.[5] The idea that

[1] See Polanco, 154; Massarelli, 257.

[2] Massarelli, 257.

[3] Second *letter of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, April 10, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] Polanco, 154.

[5] Massarelli, 258. Pagliucchi, Castellani, 127. Concerning G. B. Cervini *cf.* Buschbell in the Histor. Jahrb., XXI., 423 *seq.*

he was about to introduce a régime of nepotism was, however, completely erroneous. Marcellus knew only too well the disastrous effect of such weakness in the case of many of his predecessors; as Cardinal he had repeatedly admonished Paul III. and Julius III. as to the evils of nepotism, and he now wished all the more to apply in his own case the advice he had given to others. He therefore declared from the first that he would not allow his brother Alessandro to come to Rome; it was his desire, he said, that he should remain at home and live there, not as a great noble, but as a simple citizen, as he had hitherto done.[1] He wrote to Montepulciano that neither Alessandro nor any others of his relatives should come to Rome under the pain of his severe displeasure.[2] When a son of one of his sisters, then in Orvieto, in spite of this prohibition, appeared in the Eternal City in order to congratulate the Pope, he was informed that he might return home, as no audience would be given him.[3] The two youthful nephews of the Pope, Ricciardo and Erennio Cervini, the sons of Alessandro, who had till this time been very strictly brought up in Rome by Sirleto, and who gave promise of much talent, had no hopes of undue preferment. In answer to the question whether they should now take up their residence in the Vatican, the Pope answered: "What have they to do with the Apostolic palace? Have they inherited it?" Nor would he grant them the smallest benefice until they had attained the age required by the Church, and they were obliged to live in the same modest and retired way as before, appointing no new servants and receiving no visits. It troubled the Pope little that people reproached him with being too strict, and even harsh with his family; when he learned that these two nephews had allowed themselves to be so far led astray as to put on purple hose and silken mantles, he at once ordered these to be laid aside. In

[1] Legaz. di Serristori, 350.

[2] See Lett. de' princ., III., 235; POLANCO, 154 *seq.*; MASSARELLI, 261.

[3] *Letter of Serristori of April 13, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

order to render all nepotism impossible, both now and in the future, Marcellus resolved on drawing up a Bull which should make any bestowal of church property on relations liable to the severest penalties. Since Adrian VI. no Pope had shown such a contempt of the ties of blood, and it was only on the representation of the Cardinals that several of the Cervini family who were in really necessitous circumstances received a little help, and this only after their worthiness had been carefully looked into. Merit alone, and not the ties of blood, was to turn the scales in their favour.[1]

The Pope gave a proof of the manner in which he intended to administer justice in Rome on the very first day of his pontificate. The Spanish ambassador had begged mercy for a murderer of high rank, but Marcellus refused this with great decisiveness, remarking that he did not wish to inaugurate his reign with the pardon of a murderer. Strict orders were given to the Presidents of the civil and criminal courts that, in the administration of justice, they were to allow themselves to be influenced by no considerations whatever, even in the case of relatives of the Pope, and that a strict account of their proceedings would be required of them. To the Auditors who came to pay their respects, in accordance with the old custom, the Pope said that in future such forms of politeness were unnecessary, and that they would do much better to devote themselves to their business.[2]

This attitude had such an effect that one writer reports that the appearance of the city was quite changed, and that one might now hope that justice would be the rule instead of favour.[3] Marcellus II. at once turned his attention to the wishes and needs of the Roman people. In order that he might listen to all complaints, he granted audience to everyone, even the least important, although the pressure of business was

[1] *Cf.* Polanco, 155; Lett. de' princ., III., 235; Legaz. di Serristori, 350; Massarelli, 261.

[2] *Cf.* Polanco, 155; Panvinio, Vita Marcelli, II.

[3] Polanco, 155. *Cf.* also the *letter of Filippo Zoboli to A. Cervini, dated Rome, April 13, 1555, and that of Ottavio Graccho to A. Cervini, dated Rome, April 23, 1555 (Carte Cerv. 52, State Archives, Florence).

crushing in the first days of his reign. Five Cardinals, Carafa, Carpi, Morone, Cicada, and Sforza di Santa Fiora, the Camerlengo, were commissioned to see that Rome was supplied with grain and other provisions, and to deliberate about a mitigation of the taxes.[1] After such beginnings, it can easily be understood that the complete abolition of all the abuses which had crept into the government of the States of the Church was looked for from such a "saintly Pope."[2] As the money which he saved, however, was insufficient to cover the requirements of the Holy See and to pay off its heavy debts, Marcellus was unfortunately obliged to revive the so-called "Sussidio" which had been introduced by Paul III. He ordered that the tax on the Jews, the so-called "twentieth" should be devoted to the support of the poorer Cardinals.[3]

[1] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 258; Lett. de' princ., I., 185. Two *briefs to the Emperor and the nuncio Muzzarelli, dated Rome, April 26, 1555, are concerned with the alleviation of the scarcity of corn in Rome by procuring grain from Sicily (Arm. 44, t. 6, n. 94, 95. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Concerning the audiences, Serristori reports on April 11: *Hieri stette tutto il giorno fra la sala di Constantino et la prima camera che gl' è canto a porte aperta, dove ciascuna persona di qualunque qualità ancorche minima gli possete parlare che furono infinite; on April 13 he says: *Ha detto volere due volte la settimana dare audientia publica in modo che qual si vogli minima persona gli possa parlare (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Poiche non ho che dire molto a V.V.S.S. con questo spazzo dirò solo della grande aspettatione nella quale si sta per il buon nome et l'ottima fama sparta ch'ogni giorno più augmenta con gli effetti della bontà, benignità, clementia, virtu, justitia, et santità di N.S.re, dalle quale cose tutte si puo sperare ch'ogni abuso, mala introduttione posta nelle città del stato ecclesiastico per qual si voglia causa et accidente sia per riformarsi et ridursi ad una meta et ordine ottimamente salutifero et satisfattorio a tutti li sudditi di S.B.ne. U. Gozzadini on April 20, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] See PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli, II., who remarks: "Sedis enim Apostolicae stabiles redditus sunt CL millia aureorum, ex hoc subsidio reliqui et triginta millia qui ex censibus hauriuntur." Concerning the "Sussidio" of Paul III., *cf.* Vol. XI., of this work, p. 262.

As far as the attitude of Marcellus II. towards great political questions is concerned, the Imperial ambassador at once reported that the Pope would take no further part in them than to admonish the Christian princes to peace.[1] Marcellus himself spoke to the ambassadors in this sense,[2] and the briefs in which he announced his election to the Emperor, the King of France and the other Christian princes, were to the same effect.[3] He exhorted the nuncio in France, and Pole, the legate in England, to do everything in their power for the preservation of peace.[4] In the question of Siena, which was daily becoming more acute, he endeavoured to mediate between the two parties. He refused to grant the request of the besieged for help against the Duke of Florence and the Imperialists, and explained that as the common father of all Christian nations it was impossible for him to take any side, still less could he allow himself to be mixed up with any warlike plans. The Sienese should not refuse to accept easy terms of surrender, for necessity knows no law. The Pope then exhorted Duke Cosimo in several letters to show leniency. When Siena fell, without any rioting or plundering, the satisfaction of the Pope was very great.[5]

[1] See the letters of April 11 and 19, 1555, in DRUFFEL, IV., 652.

[2] *Cf.* RIBIER, II., 606.

[3] See the **Letters to Charles V., Henry II., Philip II., and Mary (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] The *injunction to the French nuncio (in Italian), dated April 16, 1555, contains the admonition: "batter a la porta de la pace finche ci sia aperta," and always to harp upon this point and to pray and have prayers said for peace. (Arm. 44, t. 6, p. 213. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Concerning Pole see PIEPER, 73, and *infra*, cap.

[5] Besides Serristori's letter of April 14 (Legaz. di Serristori, 351), *cf.* his *Report of April 25, 1555 (State Archives, Florence). See also the brief to Cosimo I. of April 19, 1555, in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 19. Marcellus II., by the *brief of April 16, 1555 (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 79) recommended his old friend Bart. Cavalcanti to the Duke of Florence (concerning its success see the Atti Mod., IV., 145); t. 4, n. 82, *brief for Manlio Marignani of April 19; warm commendation of Siena. See also ADRIANI, XII.; POLLIDORUS, 118.

It is characteristic of the Pope's love of peace and his high ideals that the plan of entirely doing away with the Swiss Guard is attributed to him. He repeatedly said that many Christian princes are better protected against their enemies by the sign of the Cross than by arms, and that the Vicar of Christ requires no swords for his defence; it would be better, he said, if such a misfortune were to occur, that he should be murdered by wicked men than that he should give an unseemly example to the Christian world. Panvinio, who records this remark, also reports an example of the strict neutrality of Marcellus II. Cardinal Madruzzo was very desirous of obtaining the legation of Bologna; the Pope refused this, as the Cardinal was a devoted adherent of the Emperor, and an enemy of the French. Instead of granting him his request, he allowed him, on the advice of Cardinal Gonzaga, ten thousand ducats to indemnify him for his expenses during the Council; the legation would not, in two years, have brought him a greater sum.[1]

It is worthy of note that Marcellus united to his efforts to observe neutrality, as being more advantageous to the cause of reform, the greatest exertions for the promotion of ecclesiastical interests. He begged and exhorted the Emperor as well as the King of France to assist his efforts for reform on their part, by proposing only worthy and suitable candidates for bishoprics, and by seeing that the duty of residence was duly observed.[2]

Marcellus II. showed great strictness with regard to all

[1] Panvinio, Vita Marcelli, II. It seems doubtful whether Marcellus really entertained the plan about the Swiss, as the captain of the guard, J. v. Meggen, reports on April 20, 1555, that the Pope had said to him that they were to serve as before; see Archiv für schweiz. Ref-Gesch., III., 517.

[2] The laconic observation of Serristori in his letter of April 14, 1555 (Legaz. di Serristori, 350 *seq.*) is supplemented by his *report of April 22, 1555, in which he says: "Intendo come il Papa ha mandato il Montemerlo (*cf.* Caro-Farnese, Lettere, II., 161 *seq.*) in Francia con un breve al Rè per far complimenti et per pregarlo volere ordinare che i vescovi che sono in quel regno vadino a le loro chiese, et quanto ai car^li^ harà piacere che S.M.^tà^ mandi a Roma, dove è la stantia loro, pur in questo non le la

appointments to spiritual offices, declaring from the very first, quite clearly and openly, that he would favour no one except on the sole ground of merit. A very characteristic example of this is quoted. When Giovan Battista Cervini asked the Pope for a parish which had become vacant in the Spanish diocese of Cuenca, he was refused with contumely, and the parish was conferred on a Spaniard who had been born there, and who had never attempted to obtain it, and indeed, had never even thought of it.[1] The members of the Curia, meanwhile, became very much depressed; everything was sad, gloomy and disheartening, writes Massarelli in his diary, while a few lines later he says that all in Rome are in great sorrow, for the relations of the Pope, as well as his intimate friends, have recognised that they have little or nothing to hope for from him. Many members of the Curia, indeed, feared the Pope's reform measures so much that they sold the offices which they had bought at a high price for a mere trifle.[2]

The thoughts of the Pope were not only occupied with plans of reform of all kinds, but he also entertained the idea of again summoning the Council. He remarked that his predecessors had been wrongly informed that reform would lessen the esteem in which the Papacy was held, and that he was of opinion that it could only gain by it. The best way, moreover, of closing the mouths of the Lutherans was by reform; he would, therefore, not allow himself to be turned aside by anything, and would, above all, require from those who had the care of souls, that they should fulfil their duty of residence and keep themselves free from the profane interests of the world.[3]

In the carrying out of his plans for reform, Marcellus thought

vuol gravare più che tanto, volendo che lei se ne sodisfaccia et che S.M.tà non habbi riguardo all'aspettarsi a S.S.tà la dispositione dei benefitii de' carli che morissino in questa corte, perchè occorrendo il caso ne provederebbe secondo la volontà di S.M.tà Christma, pure che la proponessi persona idonea et conveniente" (State Archives, Florence).

[1] See MASSARELLI, 261 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 262.

[3] *Cf.* POLLIDORUS, 122.

above all of making use of that new Order, which had already spread so far, and which was so closely united with the Holy See, the Jesuits. Cervini's connection with them was of long standing. He loved the disciples of his friend, Ignatius of Loyola, because he had known them in Rome in their early days, because he had become convinced at Trent of their zeal for reform, and because, as Polanco says, he knew what God had effected by their means, even as far away as the Indies. Jesuits had frequently been his confessors, and only a short time before he arrived in Rome for the conclave he had been to confession to the rector of the Jesuit college in Loreto, had said mass there and had given communion with his own hands to the fathers, and encouraged them to advance in virtue. When Ignatius visited the new Pope with another father he received a warm welcome; Marcellus embraced them both and gave them the kiss of peace. Then he discussed plans of reform with Ignatius, expressing at the same time the wish that two priests of the Society of Jesus should take up their residence in the Vatican, so that he could always have the benefit of their advice. In this audience the Pope expressly bade the General of the Order always to tell him quite freely anything he considered advantageous for the glory of God.[1]

While the reputation of Marcellus II.[2] for love of duty and holiness was spreading all over Christendom,[3] and ever raising greater hopes, the friends of reform in Rome were becoming anxious about the life of the Pope.

[1] See POLANCO, 157. The following are the words, as reported by later writers, which Marcellus is supposed to have addressed to Ignatius: Tu milites collige et bello tuos instrue, nos utemur (CIACONIUS, III., 804). which GOTHEIN (Ignatius, 473 *seq.*) has not accepted. Gothein always puts Marcellus III.

[2] A. Gonzaga *writes from Rome to the governor of Mantua on April 17, 1555: "Dio laudato poiche noi havemo un bono et santissimo pastore." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). U. Gozzadini also describes Marcellus II. as "pontefice santo" in a letter of April 20, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] *Cf.* besides the testimony in POLLIDORUS, 133, OLDECOP, Chronik, 382 *seq.*

The health of Marcellus II. had been very delicate from his earliest years, and his weak body had repeatedly shown signs of not being able to endure the hardships which he demanded of it. It was easy to see in the slight and wasted figure with the pale and serious countenance, framed by a long black beard, how weak was the bodily frame in which this strong spirit had its dwelling.[1] The labours of his office and his frequent severe illnesses had brought Cardinal Cervini to the brink of the grave. During the conclave which resulted in the election of Julius III., he was already in a very suffering state, and in May, 1550, he became so seriously ill that his death was looked upon as certain. A long stay amid his native mountains restored him, but his strength was permanently impaired.[2] There was, therefore, grave danger lest the strong emotions and the great physical and mental exertions which his elevation to the Papacy made inevitable, should wear out his weak and delicate body. Marcellus was repeatedly urged to preserve his strength and to take care of his health. The Pope answered Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* the remarks in the *letter of E. Gonzaga of April 10, 1555 (University Library, Bologna; see Appendix No. 6), and in Lett. de' princ., III., 234[b]. A splendid portrait by Pontormo (Borghese Gallery, Rome, No. 408) shows Cardinal Cervini seated at a table with an open book before him, very serious, and with penetrating eyes (see BURCKHARDT, Beitrage, 332). A second portrait of him as a Cardinal is preserved in the Vatican Library. The face, which is full of expression, shows that the picture belongs to his earlier years. On his medal as Pope, Marcellus appears as bald (MÜNTZ, III., 240). The portrait of Marcellus by Vasari was in the cathedral at Naples (see CIACONIUS, III., 808; POLLIDORUS, 152). Another portrait was in the council chamber of the castle at Caprarola. A marble statue in the cathedral at Siena shows the Pope seated in the act of blessing. The beautiful seal of Cardinal Cervini is reproduced by PASINI FRASSONI, 37. Medals (see CIACONIUS, III., 808; VENUTI, 99 *seq.*) and coins of Marcellus II. (*cf.* SERAFINI, 263 *seq.*) are exceedingly rare.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 10, 12, 44, 71 *seq.*, 172, 174; Lett. de' princ., I., 185.

Sforza, who had taken the liberty of making such representations to him, in the following terms: "From the day on which I took upon myself the charge of the whole Christian Church, I consecrated myself entirely to the flock of Christ. The high priesthood involves the highest obligations; it is no dignity and sovereign authority, but a burden and a servitude."[1]

Marcellus II. not only felt exceedingly the burden of affairs, but also the responsibility which his high office brought with it. Weighed down by such thoughts, the zealous and earnest Head of the Church cried out that he did not understand how a man who held this highest of offices could save his soul. He repeatedly quoted the words of Adrian IV. that no one was more to be pitied than the Pope, no one more miserable; the Papal throne was filled with thorns and stings, the joy of a Pope's life was bitterness, and the weight of the tiara so great that it would crush the strongest shoulders.[2] It was especially his efforts for the reform of the clergy, with which Marcellus was occupied day and night, under which his frail body threatened to succumb. He had to contend with obvious weakness even in the first days of his reign, but he nevertheless took part in the long ceremonies of Holy Week, observing with his usual conscientiousness the strict fasts and unceasingly granting audiences. Even as soon as Maundy Thursday, April 11th, when he undertook the ceremony of the washing of the feet, he was observed to be suddenly overcome with a feverish trembling and to change colour.[3] In spite of this he in no way spared himself on the following days, but took part in all the services of the Church, and celebrated the High Mass on Easter Sunday, while working all the time on questions of reform. On April 18th he blessed the Agnus Dei in the Hall of

[1] POLLIDORUS, 131.

[2] See PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli II.

[3] *Cf.* the report of Jacobus Riballus to A. Cervini about the mortal illness of Marcellus II. in POLLIDORUS, 134 *seq.* Ant. Lorenzini *reported on April 13, 1555, to A. Cervini that the Pope was so "affannato che è una compassione a vederlo." (Carte Cerv. 52, State Archives, Florence).

Constantine, but on the 19th he felt himself so exhausted and ill that on the 20th he could not undertake the ceremony of their distribution.[1] He was also obliged, on the advice of his doctors, to cease giving the audiences of which he had been so lavish. He was now suffering from a violent catarrh and cough, to which was soon added a fever. On April 21st blood-letting seemed to afford him some relief,[2] but as soon as he felt better he would take no rest, although the fever and catarrh had not left him, for the duties of his office, as Massarelli said, occupied him day and night. On April 25th he had Massarelli summoned and commissioned him to inform Cardinals Puteo and Cicada that it was the Pope's wish that they should, during his illness, make a further examination of all the reform work which had been prepared under Julius III., so that he might be able to conclude the matter with them on his recovery. In the matter of the Signatura, the Pope, on the following day, impressed on the officials that the reform regulations which he had given them were to be observed most exactly.[3]

The doctors had forbidden the granting of audiences, but Marcellus could not refrain from occupying himself with urgent matters. He hoped to move in a short time to the palace of S. Marco and to be completely cured by the change of air.[4] On the 27th his condition was again considerably worse, and the doctors forbade all serious work;[5] they did not yet think of

[1] See MASSARELLI, 258.

[2] See the detailed *report of U. Gozzadini of April 22, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna) and *that of A. Lorenzini of April 20, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See MASSARELLI, 259; *cf.* also the *report of Gozzadini of April 24, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna); the *letter of O. Gracchi of April 23, 1555 (see *supra* p. 43, n. 3); SCHWEITZER, Zur Gesch. der Reform, 65.

[4] *Cf.* the *letters of A. Lorenzini of April 22 and 24, 1555, *loc. cit.* the *report of Serristori of April 25, 1555 (State Archives, Florence) concerning the physicians of Marcellus II. see MARINI, I., 418 *seq.*

[5] *Letter of U. Gozzadini of April 27, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

danger, nor did the Pope himself, though he felt very unwell and was much troubled by the catarrh,[1] but in consequence of pressing business he soon again completely neglected his health. On April 29th he not only received the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara, who had come to Rome to pay homage, but also Cardinals Farnese, Guise, Este and Sforza, and other persons, among them Massarelli, upon whom he enjoined the reform of the Penitentiary.[2] The exertions of this day, during which Marcellus had given audiences until evening,[3] were too great. On April 30th an unusual feeling of weakness overcame him while he was at work, so he took a restorative and lay down. As he was sleeping peacefully the doctors thought that the danger was over, but at last the long sleep made the Pope's attendants anxious, and they sought to revive him, at first with mild measures but afterwards by stronger ones, but in vain. A stroke of apoplexy had deprived him of consciousness. In the evening Marcellus came to himself, but his condition re-

[1] *Per ancora il Papa non si truova libero dal catarro, ma l'hanno atteso a purgare in modo, che sperano fra quattro o sei giorni si habbi esser fuori, e poter dare audientia. Dicono bene che si sente debole et stracco et in tutto senza febre et si è di poi inteso che il mal suo è stato molto maggiore di quel che si è detto. Piaccia a N.S.re Dio renderli l'intera salute la quale recuperata che harà intendo che vuol spedire all' Impie et al Re d'Inghilterra il signor Hiermo da Coreggio per rallegrarsi con quelle Mtà dell' assuntione sua et per fare altri complimenti . . . Serristori on April 27, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Massarelli, 260. Lett. de' princ., I., 187. Caro-Farnese, Lett., II., 180. Cardinal A. Farnese had arrived in Rome on April 16, 1555, and it was expected that he would play an important part in affairs of state (*cf.* Lett. de' princ., I., 185, and the *letter of Ipp. Capilupi of April 16, 1555, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to Avanson, Marcellus offered him the post of secretary of state, which, however, Farnese refused (see Ribier, II., 608). Several authorities, including J. v. Meggen (Archiv für schweiz. Ref.-Gesch., III., 517), place the audience of the Duke of Urbino on April 28, thus differing from Massarelli.

[3] See the *Memorie* of Jacobo delli Herculani in the Cod. Gesuit. 170, p. 796 of the Vittoria Emanuele Library, Rome.

mained hopeless, and in the early morning of May 1st, he gave up his noble soul to God.[1]

The paralysing effect which the sudden death of this admirable Pope had on his contemporaries is reflected in numerous characteristic utterances. People could not understand why such a man, from whom the much needed reformation was confidently to be expected, should only have had a reign of twenty-two days, during which he had not enjoyed good health for more than ten. Panvinio applied to him the words spoken by Virgil of another Marcellus "Fate wished only to show him."[2] Seripando saw in the sudden calling away of Marcellus an indication that God did not mean to bring about the reformation of His Church by means of human help, but by His own divine power, at a time and by means of which mortal men knew nothing.[3] Another contemporary saw in the death of the Pope a divine punishment for the wickedness of the age, which was so great that God would not allow the good to live long in it.[4] "Oh, unhappy Pope, who hast hardly touched the tiara," writes Massarelli in his diary, "unhappy we, his servants, who have been so soon robbed of so admirable a

[1] Besides MASSARELLI, 260, *cf.* J. Riballus *loc. cit.*; Cocciano in DRUFFEL, IV. 668 *seq.*; Lett. de' princ., I., 187; the two *letters of U. Gozzadini of April 30, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna); the *reports of Camillo Titio and Serristori of April 30, 1555 (State Archives, Florence; *ibid.* *letter of A. Lorenzini of May 1, 1555) and Avanson's report in RIBIER, II., 609. The hour of the Pope's death, "hora 7½ noctis" (FIRMANUS, 508 and most of the reports of the ambassadors), is expressed by J. v. Meggen after the German fashion, "dritthald stunden vor tag" (Archiv für schweiz. Ref-Gesch., III., 517). The supposition that Marcellus II. was poisoned is groundless (DRUFFEL, IV., 679. OLDECOP, 383); see POLLIDORUS, 137.

[2] In the *correspondence of Olaus Magnus with Cardinal Madruzzo there is an **account of the death of Marcellus II. with the remark: "qui poterit dicere: dum adhuc ordirer succidit me" (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] Lett. de' princ., III., 189.

[4] Lat. Latinius in POLLIDORUS, 145.

master, unhappy all Christians, who justly expected from such a holy Pope wonderful and great things for the honour of God; the restoration of the authority and majesty of the Apostolic See, the reform, splendour and unity of the Catholic Church, the spread of the faith, the furtherance of everything that is good. Unhappy century, that was not permitted to rejoice over such a shepherd, nor, indeed, even to see him!"[1] The nuncio at the court of the Emperor describes the deep sorrow which Charles V. experienced at the news of the death of the Pope. The hopes which were buried with him in the grave had been founded on his well-known holiness and his practical talents, and had been strengthened at the beginning of his pontificate by his zeal for the advancement of God's service and the furtherance of morality.[2]

Marcellus II. had lived in apostolic simplicity, and so was he buried. The Canons of St. Peter's bore his body into the basilica,[3] where a grave had been made ready for him, so modest that the poet Faustus Sabaeus could write:

> Non ut Pontificem Summum, Sanctumque decebat
> MARCELLE; indigno conderis hoc tumulo;
> Parce; ubicumque iaces, semper celebrabere: honorat
> Non tumulus cinerem, sed cinis ipse locum.[4]

[1] MASSARELLI, 260. Greek distichs on the death of Marcellus II. in the Cod. Ottob. gr., 228, p. 76-82. Vatican Library.

[2] See the beautiful *letter in Appendix No. 8 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* also the letter of the Swiss nuncio Raverta in the Archiv für schweiz. Ref-Gesch., III., 518; REINHARDT, VIII.; CARO-FARNESE, Lett., II., 179, 180, 188; POLLIDORUS, 144 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 260; FIRMANUS, 508; PANVINIO, Vita Marcelli II.; POLLIDORUS, 160 *seq.* The following inscription was put up in the town hall of Montepulciano: Marcello II. Cervino Politiano Pont. Max. Terris tantum ostenso, coelis repente asserto urbe et orbe prae desiderio lugente. *Miscell. in the Ricci Archives, Rome.

[4] CIACONIUS, III., 805; see BRUNNER, Italien, II., 8.

In the autumn of 1606, at the re-opening of St. Peter's under Paul V., the remains of Marcellus II. were removed to the crypt, where they are buried in a simple early Christian sarcophagus of marble, and only the short inscription, "Marcellus II." indicates who lies there.[1] Nevertheless the memory of this admirable Pope still lives to the present day. He is assured of an honourable place in the history of the Catholic struggle for reform. He occupies a high place in the esteem of all scholars on account of the services he rendered to the Vatican Library, and to the devotees of music his name will always be familiar through the wonderful mass which Palestrina composed in honour of his memory.[2]

[1] Bellarmine's report on the finding of the body and its translation on September 15, 1606, in the Römischen Quartalschrift, XV., 192. Concerning the tomb see CIACONIUS *loc. cit.*; FORCELLA, VI., 71; Katholik, 1901, II., 543 *seq.*; DUFRESNE, 97 *seq.*, with illustration.

[2] Concerning the *Missa papae Marcelli* see AMBROS, IV.[2], 19 *seq.*; HABERL, Musikkatalog der päpstlichen Kapelle, Leipzig, 1888, 9, 58 *seq.*; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVII., 125.

CHAPTER III.

Election of Paul IV.—His Character and Projects. —The Carafa.

At the death of Marcellus II., the Sacred College consisted of fifty-six members, of whom thirty-nine were in Rome, while of the seventeen absent members, only four arrived in Rome in time for the beginning of the election proceedings ; Cardinal Mendoza on the 3rd, Doria on the 9th, Madruzzo on the 12th, and Tagliavia on the 13th of May.[1]

The obsequies for Marcellus II., which had been begun on May 6th, on a very simple scale, on account of the want of money,[2] were concluded on the 14th. On the following morning the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated, after which Uberto Foglietta delivered the usual discourse, in which he exhorted the members of the Sacred College to make a wise choice. After this the forty-three Cardinals entered the conclave, for which the same apartments were used as at the previous election. The number of electors was increased to forty-five by the arrival of Cardinals Gonzaga and Pacheco on May 16th and 17th. The guarding of the conclave was entrusted to the Duke of Urbino,[3] and the greatest tranquillity prevailed in the city.[4]

[1] See besides Panvinio in Merkle, II., 263, the contemporary : *Conclave factum in Vaticano post mortem papae Marcelli II.*, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See the *report of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, May 7, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] *Cf.* Massarelli, 263 *seq.* According to the *letter of Camillo Capilupi of May 15 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) Cardinal E. Gonzaga reached Rome on that date. Concerning the discourse of Foglietta see I. Pogiani epist. I., 103 n. An exact plan of the conclave, in which the cells of the Cardinals present are shown, is in the publication cited *supra* n. 1.

[4] See the *reports of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, May 4, 8, and 11, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna), and the *letter of C. Capilupi of May 8, 1555 (State Archives, Mantua).

In consequence of the many different parties in the Sacred College, the Romans were prepared for a long conclave, but the general opinion was that the representatives of the Catholic reform party, Carafa, Morone and Pole had once more the best prospects of success.[1]

The decision was again on this occasion in the hands of the neutrals, for the Imperial party, led by Santa Fiora and Madruzzo, was only twenty strong, while the French had at most only fifteen votes, and they were not even united, as their most distinguished members, Cardinals d'Este, du Bellay and Alessandro Farnese, all had quite different objects in view.[2]

Cardinal d'Este had already done everything in his power, even before the beginning of the conclave, to secure the tiara at last. He met with the greatest opposition, however, on the part of the Imperialists, for the Emperor objected to the elevation of Este to the Papal throne as heartily as Henry II. desired it. Duke Ercole II., in particular, worked on behalf of his brother, Cardinal d'Este; he had come to Rome to pay homage to Marcellus II., and was still staying there. Both of the brothers sought, above all, to win the favour of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who stood so high in the estimation of all the members of the Sacred College that a great deal depended upon his influence.[3]

[1] See the *report of U. Gozzadini of May 7, 1555 (*loc. cit.*) and the *letter of Ippolito Capilupi of May 9, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the reports in L. Latinius, Lucubr. II., 32; Ribier, II., 609; Legaz. di Serristori, 354; Coggiola, Conclave, 68 *seq.*, 79 *seq.*; Segmüller, Wahl Pauls IV., 3; Masius, Briefe, 201. The opinion of Reumont (III., 2, 513) that no one had thought of Carafa being elected, is quite erroneous. Atanagi says expressly in his letter of May 1: "Teatino è in maggior predicamento di tutti" (Tarducci, 73). Carafa is mentioned even in the "Pasquille" as the most likely candidate; see Padiglione, La Bibl. del Museo naz. di S. Martino, Naples, 1876, 308.

[2] *Cf.* the report of Avanson in Ribier, II., 612.

[3] *Cf.* the numerous contemporary reports in Coggiola, Conclave, 81 *seq.* Concerning the intrigues of Este see also the Portuguese report in Santarem, XII., 425.

Farnese's candidate was his friend Pole, from whom he looked for the advancement of his family interests. When Farnese had started from France for the conclave of Marcellus II. he had succeeded in winning over even Henry II. for the English Cardinal, but he had arrived too late in Rome on that occasion. All the more eagerly, then, did he now wish to promote Pole's candidature, since he was also agreeable to Philip II. and the Emperor.[1] He remained true to him even though immediately before the beginning of the conclave instructions arrived from the French king that he should work in the first place for Este.[2] The intrigues of the two Este brothers to win over Farnese by tempting promises and an agreement about an alliance between the two families were also unsuccessful. In the same way an attempt of the Este to win over, through Cosimo I., the Cardinals of Julius III., to their side proved vain.[3] The prospects of the Cardinal of Ferrara were thus practically destroyed even before the beginning of the conclave.

The candidature of Pole also soon proved to be impossible. The fact that he was still in England, and that they did not care to elect an absentee, stood in his way on this occasion as it had done at the last election, and it soon became apparent that some of the Imperialists, as well as the French, were opposed to him. In this Cardinals Carpi, Alvarez de Toledo and Carafa were especially prominent, as they doubted Pole's orthodoxy, and accused him of erroneous opinions as to certain controverted points of faith, such as the doctrine of justification. This, which had already destroyed Pole's chances in the conclave of Julius III., was not without effect on this occasion also, even though the accusation was by no means proved.[4]

[1] See SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 211; COGGIOLA, Conclave, 209 *seq.*

[2] Farnese had counter-representations made to Henry II. through his agent in Paris; see CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, II., 188 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.* 215.

[3] See the reports in COGGIOLA, Conclave, 83 *seqq.*, 205 *seqq.*

[4] See the reports in COGGIOLA, Conclave, 212 *seqq.*; *cf.* RIBIER, II., 610 and the report of the Portuguese ambassador concerning

The candidate with the best prospects of success, therefore, was the Dean, Cardinal Carafa, whose orthodoxy could be as little called in question as his distinguished qualities and his blameless life, although he was generally feared, if not hated, by the worldly Cardinals, such as Este and Santa Fiora, on account of his great severity. Some of the stricter Cardinals also took offence at his peculiar character and abrupt manner.[1] The fact that the other candidates had no chance of success was in his favour, as was the goodwill of the reform party and of the French. Henry II. had placed Carafa second among his favoured candidates;[2] the Emperor, on the other hand, had given instructions to the Spanish party to prevent the election of this man, whom he had never liked.[3] Juan de Mendoza, who was the ambassador-extraordinary for the "obedientia" of Charles V. to Marcellus II., is said to have gone so far as to tell Carafa to his face that he might as well give up all thoughts of the tiara, as the Emperor had excluded him. To this Carafa made the dignified answer that the

the conclave dated Rome, June 18, 1555, in the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 414. Coggiola (*loc. cit.*) emphasizes the fact that Carafa *bona fide* doubted the orthodoxy of Pole, but that the other two Cardinals were only actuated by selfish motives.

[1] See *L. Firmani Diaria caerem.* in MERKLE, II., 509.

[2] See the report of Avanson in RIBIER, II., 612.

[3] The statement of PETRUCELLI (II., 94), that the Imperial ambassador, Juan Manrique, had instructions to exclude Carafa, but was not to make the fact public except in case of need and at the right moment, seems quite worthy of belief (see SÄGMÜLLER, Papastwahlen, 212 *seqq.*) Manrique informed the Imperialist Cardinals of the wishes of Charles V., and named the four candidates of Philip II. and the Emperor (see his letter of May 15 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 674 *seqq.*); a number of the Imperialist Cardinals did not act in accordance with this communication, of which fact Manrique bitterly complained (see his letter of May 24 in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 674, n. 3, and a second letter from Manrique to Charles V., dated Rome, May 25, 1555, in which he says: *Hemos acordado el Camarlengo e yo de embiar una viva voz presente a todo lo que passo en conclavi. [The ambassador was Lottino; see RIBIER, II., 612; BROWN, VI., 1,

Emperor could not prevent his election if God wished it, and that in such a case, he would have the advantage of having only God to thank for his elevation.[1]

It was of decisive importance that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, in view of the difficulties which made the election of Pole impossible, showed himself more and more favourable to Carafa, and at last used all his influence and skill on his behalf.

Any united action on the part of the Imperialists was prevented by the fact that Cardinals Alvarez de Toledo and Carpi were working with the greatest energy for their own election. These ambitious men, however, were soon obliged to give up their hopes, as they did not possess the support of Farnese, and, in addition, had a dangerous rival in the person of Morone. Farnese absolutely refused to favour these candidates;[2] thereupon the Camerlengo, Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, the acknowledged leader of the Imperialist party, and Madruzzo, turned their attention to one of the Cardinals of Julius III., the very distinguished Puteo, who was eminent alike for his learning and his moral life, and who, although he was a Provençal by birth, was nevertheless

n. 130; COGGIOLA, Conclave, 472; Nonciat., II., 582 *seqq.*]) After a short account of the course of the election, Manrique especially accuses Alvarez de Toledo and Carpi (*cf. infra* n. 2) and praises Lottino, *el qual es persona que a estado en los dos conclaves y en dambos a servido quanto a podido de bien y solicitamente y ingeniosamente (Archives at Simancas, Leg. 882, n. 30).

[1] See CIACONIUS, III., 824; RIESS, 6, n. 14.

[2] *Cf.* the reports in COGGIOLA, Conclave, 460 *seqq.*, and Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 414 *seq.* B. Pia reported on May 18, 1555: *La prattica di Morone va strettissima da questa sera in qua et in banche le sue polize sono andate a 40 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The fault of Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo and Carpi is sharply commented on by Manrique in the *letter to Charles V. on May 25, 1555, mentioned above: *Estos dos fueron los que hizieron todo el danno y dieron el exemplo y comensaron a romper los nostros (Archives at Simancas, *loc. cit.*) *Cf.* also Pacheco's letter in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 674.

devoted to the Emperor, so that he appeared to be agreeable to all parties.[1] Not only all the Imperialists, but also the older neutral Cardinals declared themselves in favour of Puteo. Finally, Madruzzo informed Farnese of this plan, pointing out that Pole was made impossible by his absence while Morone and Carpi had been excluded by the French, and Carafa by the Spaniards. The shrewd Farnese would not, however, make any promise; he declared that he must, at anyrate, await the arrival of Cardinal Bourbon; otherwise he considered Puteo very worthy of the triple crown, though he would prefer Pole.

While the twenty-five Cardinals who had been won over to the cause of Puteo were making preparations for the elevation of their candidate to the throne of St. Peter, without the agreement of the French, great excitement prevailed among the rival party. This group, which had assembled in the Pauline Chapel, consisted, apart from the Frenchmen, du Bellay, Armagnac, Guise, and Lenoncourt,[2] of Cardinals d'Este, Giulio della Rovere, Capodiferro, Dandino, Sermoneta, Innocenzo del Monte, Nobili, Mignanelli, and Ranuccio Farnese. Their fears were further increased when it was rumoured that Alessandro Farnese had gone over to the side of Puteo. This, however, was not the case; on the contrary,

[1] For the following *cf.* the description by Panvinio in MERKLE, II., 268 n. who received very accurate information from those who had taken part in the conclave; his account was later confirmed by the letter of the Bishop of Pola to Duke O. Farnese on May 23, 1555, published by COGGIOLA (Conclave, 466 *seqq.*) The decisive part taken by Farnese in the election of Paul IV. had already been emphasized by SEGNI (Storie fiorent., IV., 898). The report of Lucretio Tassone to the Marchese Sigismondo d'Este, published by MOTTA in the Miscell. d. stor. Lomb., *Castello Sforzesco*, 1903, 112 *seq.*, maintain quite erroneously that Este had been the principal person in deciding the election in favour of Carafa; there is not even mention of Farnese in this biassed account!

[2] Lenoncourt had arrived in the conclave on May 22; *cf.* MASSARELLI, 265 and COGGIOLA, Conclave, 467.

Farnese was deeply offended by the attempt of the Imperialists to make Puteo Pope without his co-operation, and he declared to the Cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel that there could be no question of his agreement to his candidature. He said, at the same time, that the only way of preventing Puteo's election was for Este to give up his own candidature and to set up a rival candidate; which Este himself eventually admitted. Farnese then proposed his old friend, the worthy Cardinal Pietro Bertano. Capodiferro, however, declared that Bertano would not accept the election, to which Farnese replied: "Then elect Carafa, the holy and venerable Dean of the Sacred College, who is worthy of being Pope." Everyone present declared that they would agree to this. Although the proposal seemed, in view of the great unpopularity of Carafa, even among those of French sympathies, and of the open enmity of the Spanish-Imperial party, added to his exclusion by Charles V., to have hardly any prospect of success, he nevertheless received the tiara. The author of the history of the Papal elections[1] can only explain this by declaring that we must see in it a striking example of "the wonders of the conclaves, and how true it is that God makes the Popes."

Saraceni was sent to Carafa to ask if he would accept the election. He declared himself willing to do so, but only if the proceedings were all in due order. He was then conducted to the Pauline Chapel, and during the next two hours Farnese was feverishly employed in obtaining for him the votes still required. He succeeded first in winning over Truchsess and Morone, and then others, such as Doria, Cornaro, Carpi, Alvarez de Toledo, Savelli and Medici.[2] At last

[1] *Conclavi de' pontefici Rom.*, I., Colonia 1691, 264 *seq.*

[2] For these changes to the other side, *cf.* besides Panvinio *loc. cit.* the letters of Truchsess in the Histor. Jahrbuch, VII., 195 *seqq.*, and the letter of the Bishop of Pola quoted *supra* p. 61, n. 1, in which likewise Truchsess is named in the first place. See also L. Firmanus, *loc. cit.* Gothein (Ignatius, 475) lays great stress on the fact that the "Spaniards of the Congregation of the Inquisition" declared themselves for Carafa. This is, however,

Farnese had collected twenty-eight votes, so that only three more were wanting to make the required majority of two-thirds. The sixteen who remained true to Puteo (Madruzzo, Santa Fiora, Mendoza, Cueva, Pacheco, Cristoforo del Monte, Corgna, Ricci, Mercurio, Bertano, Poggio, Cicada, Tagliavia, Gonzaga, Cornaro and Simoncelli) had assembled in the Hall of Consistories and unanimously persisted in their opposition to Carafa. Pacheco would rather, he said, give his vote even to a Frenchman than to this enemy of the Emperor![1] The two parties remained obstinately opposed to one another during the night between May 22nd and 23rd, and negotiations were carried on in all directions without any result. At this critical moment Carafa showed himself the strict churchman he had always been. Dignified and free from ambition, he exhorted his adherents to refrain from all disorderly proceedings; he would rather, he said, relinquish his hopes of election than consent to anything that was not in accordance with the law.[2] In the meantime, Carafa's opponents, and especially Madruzzo, Santa Fiora and Pacheco, were again making a supreme effort against the hated candidate.[3] They endeavoured in every way to bring Farnese round to their way of thinking. The Imperialists even declared themselves ready to elect Farnese himself, or his friend Pole; they pointed to the numerous relations of Carafa, and to his connection with the Neapolitan and Florentine exiles. It was all, however, in vain, for Farnese would not give way.

wrong, for only one Spaniard (Alvarez de Toledo) belonged to the Inquisition.

[1] See the report of Avanson of May 24, 1555, in FAVRE, Olivier de Magny, 436.

[2] See *L. Firmani Diaria caerem.* in SEGMÜLLER, 6, n. 1, and the Portuguese report in the Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 415.

[3] For this *cf.* besides PANVINIO *loc. cit.* the reports in COGGIOLA, Conclave, 465. Manrique, in his *report to Charles V. of May 25, 1555, gives the highest praise to Madruzzo: Non ay que hablar que jamas huvo hombre tan declarado, que tan travajasse y se afatigasse en que V.M.[d] fuesse servido (Archives at Simancas, *loc. cit.*)

On the morning of May 23rd, Farnese and Morone were sent to the Imperialists, who consented, on the threatening representations of the former, to open the door of the Hall of Consistories. Morone then entreated the minority, in order to avoid a schism, to give their votes to the candidate for whom the majority of the Sacred College had declared themselpes. His entreaties were supported by Farnese, but remained without success, while Corgna and Cicada in particular answered him in the most violent terms. Farnese and Morone thus had to return to their party without having gained their object. They now resolved to make an attempt to gain the three votes still necessary by means of private negotiations. Este was to go to Bertano, Pisani to his relative, Cornaro, and Farnese to Poggio. Bertano and Cornaro were soon won over, but Farnese had greater difficulty with Poggio, though he at last succeeded in getting him also to agree.

The necessary majority of two-thirds was now reached, but Farnese desired, if possible, a unanimous vote. He applied therefore to Ricci, and induced him to hold a consultation with Carafa. Ricci then besought the Cardinal Dean to pardon Santa Fiora and his other opponents, which Carafa at once agreed to do. Then Farnese once more begged the remaining members of the Spanish-Imperial party to concur with the choice of the other Cardinals, but refused the hour for consideration asked for by Santa Fiora. The Imperialists then at last agreed to withdraw their opposition. At noon on May 23rd, the Feast of the Ascension, the election of Carafa was confirmed by a unanimous "adoration."[1] Out of gratitude to Paul III. and Cardinal Farnese he assumed the name of Paul IV. He announced that he wished to

[1] See PANVINIO *loc. cit.* 270. The Cardinals had already deliberated before the conclave concerning the legality of an election *per adorationem* (*cf.* as to this WURM, Papstwahl, Cologne, 1902, 113) without, however, coming to any decision (see MASSARELLI, 263 *seq.*) On May 22, it was already current in the city that Carafa had been elected; see the *letter of U. Gozzadini of May 22, 1515 (State Archives, Bologna).

devote the first day of his reign entirely to prayer and spiritual exercises, and that then only should the festival of his coronation take place.[1]

The new Pope, whose election was contrary to the general expectation,[2] enjoyed great vigour, in spite of his seventy-nine years. Tall and spare, he was, as the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, points out, full of activity, and still so strong and healthy that he seemed scarcely to touch the ground with his elastic step.[3] It was said that he had never taken any medicine in his life;[4] rheumatism and catarrh were the only troubles of which he had sometimes to complain. His massive head was sparsely covered with hair, and his face, framed in a heavy beard, although not beautiful, was of expressive gravity; lines indicative of an unbending will-power lay round about his mouth, while out of his deeply sunk dark eyes there shone the glow of the fires of southern Italy.[5]

[1] See the *letter of C. Olivo of May 23 (State Archives, Mantua) and that of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, May 25, 1555 (*volendo S.S.ta celebrare et confessarsi questa mattina et stare tutto hoggi in spirito). State Archives, Bologna.

[2] "Contra la comune opinione," says the Bishop of Reggio in his *report of May 25, 1555, speaking of Este: "Il. buon Ferrara non è ne sarà papa mai, ma ne farà de questi et a questo modo." Gonzaga Arch. Mantua).

[3] See for the following Navagero's narrative of 1558, one of the principal sources for the character of Paul IV., in Albèri, Ser 2, III., 379 *seq.* *Cf.* besides the *Apologia alla relatione del Navagero by Antonio Carafa, commented on in Appendix No. 61–62 (National Library, Naples), Panvinio in Merkle, II., 333. Andreas (Die venezianischen Relationen, Leipsic, 1908, 114–115) shows that he greatly misunderstands Navagero when he says that Paul IV. said "Mass as far as Vespers" in the forenoon, and "the rest of the Mass, Vespers and Compline" after dinner.

[4] See in Appendix No. 9 the *letter of Camillo Olivo to Sabino Calandra, dated Rome, May 23, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] The best known portrait of Paul IV. is that of the third year of his reign. Through the engraving by Nicholas Beatrizet (Romae, 1558. *Cf.* concerning this artist Hübner, I., 35) it

The very arrangement of his day betrayed his hot-blooded temperament. He did not like to be disturbed in the morning, as he wished to say mass and recite his office slowly and with great devotion. He would not be tied down to any fixed hours for his meals,[1] though he wished his table to be served very generously, in accordance with his high position. He himself ate very little, and in spite of his advanced age, kept the rules of fasting and abstinence in the strictest manner. Of the different wines which were served he always took one glass only of the dark, thick Neapolitan wine, and at the end of the repast a little malvoisie to rinse his mouth.[2] After dinner he liked to sit for a time in animated conversation with his guests; these were for the most part only the Cardinals, though, as an exception, the Venetian ambassador would sometimes be invited. In such conversations after dinner, things sometimes escaped the lips of the youthfully lively old

passed into most of the works containing portraits, as, for example, the continuation of Platina and Ciaconius. The portrait of Carafa at the time when he was raised to the cardinalate is admirably true to life; it is in the council-chamber of the castle of Caprarola. The beautiful bronze bust of Paul IV. in the passage to the sacristy of St. Peter's, is a pious bequest of the Canons there, but is not yet reproduced (see FORCELLA, VI., 71). The statue on his tomb in the church of the Minerva is somewhat idealized. A later bust of Paul IV. is in the cloisters of St. Paolo Maggiore at Naples. Fine examples of the bronze medals of Paul IV. are in the Vatican collection of coins, and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Berlin (Hall, 16, Case 3). The medal of the de Rossi collection of coins in the National Library, Paris in GOYAU-PERATÉ-FABRE, Der Vatikan, Einsiedeln, 1898, 141.

[1] Up to his last illness, says Navagero, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MASIUS, Briefe, 235.

[2] According to the remark of Navagero it might seem (see RANKE, I[6]., 186) that Paul IV. had been a great drinker. This has been correctly contradicted in the *essay of Antonio Carafa, quoted *supra* p. 63, n. 3. On the contrary, all contemporaries praise the great moderation of Paul IV. in eating and drinking. The Pope only gave banquets on account of his position, and did not himself even touch most of the dishes. *Cf.* BROMATO, II., 219.

man which would have been better unsaid. At this hour also, audiences were granted, which were, however, of very limited duration, for Paul IV. was always fond of retirement, and did not like to see many people.[1] He received the Cardinals and ambassadors in the course of the afternoon; they alone were permitted to enter the private apartments, but it sometimes happened that even such highly placed personages were not received, or only permitted to enter after midnight, when they had been waiting for four, five, six or seven hours.[2] This was the result of the irregularity in his division of the day, for the Pope allowed himself the necessary time for repose at quite different hours. Paul IV. frequently got up at night when he could not sleep, and set about reading or writing until fatigue forced him again to seek his bed. The coming of day did not disturb him in the least, for no one was allowed to enter his room until he gave the signal with a bell. It was considered a sign of his asceticism that he despised the help of a valet in dressing, a thing that seldom occurred in the case of one of the princes of the Church, and was quite unheard of in the case of a Pope.[3]

To those who dealt with him, Paul IV. proved very difficult to manage; the more anyone begged him to do a thing, the less inclined he was to do it, but when he was not urged he would yield quickly and easily.[4] He could endure no contradiction and lost his temper very readily. It was in keeping with the majestic, stern and peremptory manner which was characteristic of him,[5] that he always took the leading part in a

[1] *Item qualiter d. Paulus de sua natura erat secretus et, ut vulgo dicitur, ritirato nec in eius cameram et cubiculum admittebat multos homines, says a defender of the Cardinal of Naples (Cod. Barb. lat., 2630, p. 3. Vatican Library). See also SEGMÜLLER, 26.

[2] See MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI 49; *cf.* MASIUS, Briefe, 235, 267, and the *report of Navagero of February 22, 1556 (Cod. Marc., 9445, f. 123b. Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] See BROMATO, II., 221.

[4] *Cf.* the ambassadorial reports in RIBIER, II., 815.

[5] *Ha una mirabil gravità et grandezza. Questa grandezza et gravità l'ha mostrata in tutti gli stati. *Apologia *cit.* (National Library, Naples), where striking examples are given.

conversation, and whoever wished to get anything from him had to be very careful not to interrupt him ; on the other hand, he was very fond of interrupting others, and in so doing gave free expression to his natural eloquence, which Hosius compared to that of Cicero.[1] Navagero says : " In dealing with him, as much patience as adroitness is necessary ; if one is successful in soothing him, he does not lightly refuse anything." Those attained most who could adapt themselves to his ways, and the shrewd representative of Venice never went to an audience with a definite object in view, but each time adapted himself to the circumstances.

In the matter of his dress, Paul IV. laid great stress on everything being in exact accordance with the ceremonial, as he attached great importance to official display.[2] He had always had a very high idea of the ecclesiastical office, and he had a still higher one of the Papal dignity ; now that he sat on the throne of St. Peter, the self-assurance which the remembrance of his always blameless priestly life, and his unswerving severity and activity as a churchman, as well as the experience of many years had given him, was visibly increased. He repeatedly declared that he would rather be torn in pieces than do anything unworthy of his exalted office,[3] and all who knew him could testify that these were not mere words.

Cardinal Pacheco, at a critical moment, drew the attention of the Duke of Alba to the fact that Paul IV. would never allow himself to be influenced by fear, for he was a man who would rather permit the destruction of the city of Rome and suffer death himself than do anything unworthy of his high position.[4]

[1] See the report in Ribier, II., 715 *seq.* ; *cf.* Masius, Briefe, 271.

[2] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 766, 768. The *famiglia* of Paul IV. consisted, according to his " Ruolo " of 421 actual *famigliari*, and 313 *servi*, in all 734 persons, besides 247 horses (see Moroni, XXIII., 66–73). This was by no means excessive, for every great house had, at that time, about 100 *famigliari ;* see Müntz, Art., III., 78.

[3] See the report of Navagero of June 4, 1557 in Brown, VI., 2, n. 919.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 1030.

Cardinal Morone expresses himself in similar terms in a letter to his friend Pole. In this he declares that the Pope would rather suffer martyrdom than allow the dignity and honour of the Holy See, for which he felt himself responsible before God and Christendom, to suffer in the slightest degree; in the opinion of Morone, he was so penetrated with the idea of being the representative of Christ, that he considered an offence against his own dignity as an insult to God.[1]

The consciousness that, as the representative of Christ, he stood above everyone, made itself very noticeable in his attitude towards the princes. Fully conscious of his own dignity, he did not regard them as his sons, but as his subjects.[2] He was so far removed from the world in his ideas, that he was accustomed to look at political questions from a very one-sided point of view, and to judge of them very harshly. He told the ambassadors that the place of kings and emperors was at the feet of the pope, from whom they should receive their laws as if they were his pupils.[3] His rigid ecclesiastical principles rebelled against the tendency, at that time very prevalent even among Catholic sovereigns, to assume control even in the domestic concerns of the Church. He declared that he would put an end to the shameful subservience of his predecessors to the princes. He therefore considered it right to make no secret of his deep distrust of them, and to act towards them with increasing irritability, as well as with extreme severity and inflexibility. The conflicts into which such sentiments, joined to the vivacity and impetuosity of his nature, led this old man, who was still filled with youthful ardour, may easily be imagined.

As a true son of Naples, Paul IV. was very susceptible to

[1] See the original text of the *letters of November 28 and December 12, 1556, in Appendix Nos. 34 and 35 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the report of the French ambassador in RIBIER, II., 716; *cf.* in Appendix No. 18, the *letter of Navagero of January 18th, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] See NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 380, 409, and MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 48; *cf.* RIBIER, II., 716 *seq.*

sudden impressions, hasty and changeable in his decisions, and not infrequently impolitic in his expressions, as well as unnecessarily sharp and abrupt. Just as he bound himself by no fixed rules in his daily life, so was he also fond of giving way to the impulses of the moment, and bestowed his confidence as easily as he withdrew it. The utterances of his volcanic nature were as sudden as the eruptions of Vesuvius; like all his fellow-countrymen, he spoke eagerly and at great length, and the words flowed like a torrent from his lips. Whenever any event stirred his blood, he broke out, after the manner of southern Italians, into the most violent and rough language, which he accompanied with highly descriptive gestures; sometimes he so far forgot his dignity as to permit himself to proceed to actual acts of violence.[1] All his asceticism had not been able to teach him moderation in the expression of his passionate feelings, or calmness and self-possession in his actions. Consequently, as Cardinal, he had had disputes with many people, and had also been at variance with men who, like Ignatius of Loyola, were struggling for the same object as himself, the regeneration of the Church. He grappled with each task with iron energy and passionate fire; there was nothing underhand and no trace of hypocrisy in his character. His piety was genuine, as were his love for Church and country, his wide view of life and his idealism; equally genuine were his stormy eloquence and his extensive knowledge. He was well versed in the most varied branches of learning, but above all in theology. He spoke Italian, Greek and Spanish fluently; unusually well read, he remembered everything he had ever learned, and was intimately acquainted with the Latin and Greek classics, while the Scriptures he knew almost by heart. Among theologians his favourite author was St. Thomas Aquinas.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Serristori's report of July 6, 1555 in Coggiola, Capitolazione, 27 n.

[2] *Cf.* Navagero *loc. cit.* Carafa's letters show his familiarity with the Holy Scriptures, as they consist almost entirely of passages from the Bible. Many of them are still unprinted; see especially *Cod. Barb. lat. 5697. Vatican Library.

For sixty years Gian Pietro had devoted all the gifts of his intellect, the strength of his iron will, and the firmness of a character which brooked no opposition to one aim alone: to infuse new life into the authority, the power, the purity and the dignity of the Church, which was now so sorely beset by enemies, both from within and without. This aim had been steadily before his eyes as Bishop of Chieti, as nuncio in England and Spain, as a member of the Oratory of Divine Love, as head of the Theatine Order, which he had founded in conjunction with S. Gaetano di Tiene, as a member of the reform commission of Paul III., and as Cardinal.[1] In all these offices he had shown himself to be a man of strong and decided character, and an indefatigable fighter in the interests of the Church, as well as the strictest of the strict, especially in all that concerned the purity of morals and of the faith. No respect of persons could restrain his frankness; he always declared his opinions openly and without reserve, before Cardinals and Pope alike. The history of Paul III. as well as that of Julius III. often tells of cases when measures had to be carried out, even by those in the highest positions, which were not in accordance with the interests and dignity of the Holy See. On such occasions Cardinal Carafa was to be found, either in direct opposition, or, if further resistance appeared to have no prospect of success, at any rate protesting by his absence from the consistory.[2] If, in such cases, Carafa drew down upon himself the displeasure of the Pope, he troubled as little about it as he did about the actual material disadvantages which he had to suffer.[3] He bore it all in silence and calmness of spirit, and kept unswervingly to his own strict principles.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work pp. 401 *seqq.* and Vol. XI., pp. 147, 155, 157, 161, 169.

[2] *Cf.* Panvinio in Merkle, II., 271 n.; see also Silos, I., 316 *seq.* and Vol. XII. of this work, p. 232 *seqq.*, and Vol. XIII., p. 71.

[3] A. Carafa relates in the **Apologia* the opposition of Carafa to the bestowal of Parma and Piacenza on Pier Luigi Farnese (see Vol. XII. of this work, p. 233): *Onde venne in disgratia del papa et gli tolse la provisione di cento scudi il mese, che se li

Whereas most people relax in old age and begin to feel inclined to rest, Carafa's energy, fire, and strength of will seemed to increase from year to year.[1] "The Pope," writes the Florentine ambassador, "is a man of iron, and the very stones over which he walks emit sparks which cause a conflagration should his wishes not be carried out."[2]

It is easy to understand that such a man had few friends and adherents; people recognized his pure life, his incorruptible honesty, and his learning, but all blamed and feared his exaggerated severity, his abruptness and his obstinacy. There had been no lack of titles and honours in the life of this man, who had risen to the dignity of Dean of the Sacred College, but he had won the affection and love of very few.[3]

The new Pope was quite aware of this, and he felt the necessity of making some little concession to public opinion, if he was not to make himself hated from the outset, and thus destroy all his influence. The more the Romans had feared the ascetic Theatine, the more agreeably astonished were they when Paul IV. also brought into prominence the brilliant and princely side of the Papacy. They learned with satisfaction how this man, who as Cardinal had led such a frugal and retired life,[4] had ordered the officials of the palace, when they asked

dava come cardinale povero, restandogli da vivere mille soli scudi d'entrata l'anno. Nè perciò ne fece mai parola o alcuno risentimento. Anzi perchè quando usciva a palazzo negli atti publici non era salutato, come si suole fare con cardinali, dalle musiche di castello et trombe di palazzo, se ne rideva con ogni serenità d'animo (Cod. X., F. 55, p. 6., National Library, Naples).

[1] *Cf.* Panvinio *loc. cit.*

[2] Legaz. di Serristori, 375.

[3] See Mocenigo-Albèri, 46.

[4] One of the Cardinal's defenders, Alfonso Carafa says: *Item ponit et . . . probare intendit qualiter praedictus Paulus quartus fe. re. ante papatum fuerat per viginti annos in circa cardinalis, habebat redditus competentes adeo quod tempore sue assumptionis ad pontificatum habebat in redditibus circa duodecim milia scuta annua, et erat parcus in expedendo et non amplam familiam retinebat, adeo quod verisimiliter et unus quisque recti

for instructions, to make arrangements "on as magnificent a scale as is fitting for a great prince."[1]

No expense was spared for the feast of the coronation, which took place on May 26th. The banquet which was given on this occasion to the Cardinals and ambassadors was exceedingly brilliant. "Although only four days have elapsed since the election," writes Angelo Massarelli in his diary, "the new Pope has already given so many proofs of his generosity, benevolence, magnanimity and splendour, that one can easily form an opinion about the new reign."[2] The Bolognese ambassador expressed himself in a similar manner in a letter of May 29th, 1555: "His Holiness will be an excellent Pope, full of goodness and magnanimity."[3] When Paul IV. left the Castle of St. Angelo on June 4th, for his summer residence at the palace of S. Marco, such magnificence was displayed that it might have been thought that the days of Leo X. had again returned.[4]

This beginning, which no one had expected from the stern, ascetic Pope, was undoubtedly intended to make an impression on the Romans, who were dazzled by the outward pomp and

iuditii ita diceret et iudicaret, quod deductis expensis quolibet anno potuerat conservare et congregare quatuor aut quinque milia scuta (Cod. Barb. lat., 2630, f. 3 b., Vatican Library).

[1] See H. Seripandus, ed. Höfler 53; *cf.* Bromato, II., 218.

[2] See Merkle, II., 270. Concerning the coronation, *cf.* the *report of Franchino to Ottavio Farnese, dated Rome, May 27, 1555 (State Archives, Parma).

[3] *Letter of U. Gozzadini (State Archives, Bologna). *Cf.* also the reports in L. Latinius, Lucubrat., II., 35, and Segmüller, Wahl Pauls IV., 9.

[4] Besides Massarelli, 272 *seq.* L. Firmanus, *Diaria XII., 29 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) and Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 423 *seq.*, the *report of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, June 5, 1555, who remarks in his description of the brilliant procession: *et da Leone in qua non si è fatto una tal cosa (State Archives, Bologna). Concerning the *Possesso* of Paul IV. see Cola Coleine in Cancellieri, 108; Massarelli, 284; Masius, Briefe, 232; L. Firmanus, *Diaria *loc. cit.*

lavishness; besides this, the high conception of the Papal dignity which animated Paul IV. did not fail to have an effect. He had not sought for this, the highest position of which ambition could dream, and the astonishing fact that he, the hated and dreaded Cardinal, who had always displayed the greatest severity, and had never shown the least favour to anyone, should, in spite of his exclusion by the Emperor, have received the tiara, could, he felt, only be explained by seeing in it the intervention of a higher power. He was, and he remained, firmly convinced that, not the Cardinals, but God Himself had chosen him for the furtherance of His designs.[1] He was also as firmly persuaded that these designs could be none other than those upon which the whole of his previous aims and thoughts had ever been fixed: the defence and revivifying of the Church, her liberation from the domination of every secular power, and her victory over heresy. He was entirely permeated with these ideas, and now that he was raised to the supreme pontificate, he intended to carry them out with all the inconsidered idealism which had always been characteristic of him, and to employ all his powers in restoring to the Catholic religion its former splendour and might.[2]

The Church, and above all her centre, the Holy See, had for a whole generation suffered unheard-of attacks and great humiliations. Now that he was in possession of the supreme power, Paul IV. meant to reverse this state of affairs, and once more to restore to the Holy See its old position of domination. With his ideas rooted, as were all his views, in the Middle Ages, he saw the ecclesiastical ideal in the century of Innocent III., when the Papal power was at its zenith. Nothing, therefore, was so far opposed to his ideas as the great drifting apart of the spiritual and the temporal which had come to pass in later times; to him, everything should be looked at from the point of view of the Church. He accordingly considered it to be his

[1] See Mocenigo-Albèri, 46-47.

[2] *Cf.* the coronation day *brief (May 26, 1555) to the Kings of Portugal and of the Romans (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 104 and 106. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

duty to take up once more the attitude which the Holy See had adopted at that time towards princes and peoples, and again, with all the power of his will, and quite regardless of the consequences, to revive it, even in the domain of politics. In his fiery enthusiasm, it quite escaped[1] him that all the rights to which in the course of centuries the Popes had laid claim did not arise from the divine law or from the nature of the primacy, but that many of them, and especially the political ones, were the result of historical development and were human in their origin, and might therefore once more have to be relinquished. No less did it escape the notice of this idealist, who thought only of what ought to be, that the vast changes in the ecclesiastical and political condition of Europe rendered a vindication of such Papal authority over the Christian princes as had existed during the centuries of the Middle Ages an utter impossibility. Untroubled by the falling away of half the world, and regardless of the far-reaching changes which had taken place even in those states which had remained Catholic, Paul IV. lived and worked in those days when the Popes, as fathers and leaders of Christendom, had also exercised a widespread power, even in the sphere of politics. Although there existed no ecclesiastical definition with regard to the power of the Holy See in secular matters,[2] he clung rigidly to all the claims which his predecessors had made under quite different conditions and in quite other circumstances.

With such views, matters might very easily come to a hostile encounter with the great power of the House of Hapsburg, all the more as the Spanish-Hapsburg monarchy was as great a menace to the freedom of Italy as to that of the Papacy. Not only was the remembrance of the one-time independence and extensive power of the Holy See firmly rooted in Carafa's soul, but so also was the memory of the splendour of Italy, of which he had received the deepest impressions in his early youth. He compared this Italy of the past to a perfectly tuned instru-

[1] The statements made to the French ambassador are very characteristic of this in RIBIER, II., 716, *seq.*

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 749.

ment, of which the four strings were the States of the Church, Naples, Milan and Venice. He detested the memory of Alfonso of Aragon and Ludovico Moro, through whom this harmony had been thrown into discord.[1] The domination of the Spaniards in the Appenine peninsula, the yoke which they had imposed on his beloved Naples, and the heavy pressure which they had brought to bear on the Holy See, appeared to him all the more intolerable, as he entertained the gravest doubts as to the Catholic sentiments of Charles V.[2] Already as a Cardinal he had watched with growing indignation the numerous encroachments of this monarch in the domain of domestic ecclesiastical affairs, and it had even then become a fixed idea with him that the possessor of the Imperial authority secretly favoured the German Protestants, in order to destroy the temporal power of the Holy See, and thus rule alone in Italy. To this policy he ascribed the sweeping progress which the enemies of the Church were now making. Above all, the recollection of the horrible devastation which Rome, the capital of Christendom, had had to suffer from the troops of the Emperor, was indelibly fixed in his memory, nor could he ever forget that attempt of this prince to set up, by his own power, an " Interim " religion in Germany, without the consent of the Holy See. He therefore detested and opposed[3] this monarch as a Neapolitan, as an Italian, and above all as a Catholic, and had regarded the complaisance of Julius III. towards him with ever-increasing displeasure.

Now that he was in possession of the supreme power, Paul IV. made no secret of his dislike for the Spaniards, and of his

[1] Navagero in ALBÈRI, Ser. 2, III., 389.

[2] Navagero repeatedly made reports concerning this; see especially BROWN, VI., 1, 392, 453, 622, 669, 674, 798; *cf.* also *infra*, Cap. IV.

[3] The well-informed maintain that Cardinal Carafa advised Paul III. in the year 1547 to an undertaking against the Spanish domination in Naples (see GIANNONE, Storia di Napoli, 33, 1; *cf.* the note to NORES, 304 and the remarks of several Cardinals, which Bruzzone published in the Cultura N.S.1 [1891] 434 *seq.*) Julius III. officially disavowed the matter; see SILOS, I., 311 *seq.*

leaning towards France, whose king had promoted his election.[1] The thought of opposing the domination of the Spaniards in Italy urged him to take action all the more strongly as the political situation appeared to be very favourable to his purpose. The Emperor's star was no longer in the ascendant, but was irresistibly set on the downward path. The haughty monarch, on whose dominions the sun never set, felt, in view of the menace to his domination in Germany and the Netherlands, and his far from assured position in Italy, the failure of his far-reaching plans all the more deeply as his bodily infirmities weighed more and more upon him.

Under such circumstances it was very tempting to make use of this moment to free Italy and the Papacy from the pressure of the Spanish power. Men now saw the rare spectacle of a man who had hitherto been exclusively occupied with the reform of the clergy, the struggle against heresy, and with works of Christian charity, plunging with all the impetuosity of his fiery nature into international politics and embarking on a great war. Anyone else would have drawn back in fear before the rashness of an encounter with the Colossus of the Spanish power, but not so Paul IV. He, who had never known fear, was now filled with a double confidence, and was persuaded that God would assist him, an idea which he expressed in the words of his motto,[2] where it was written : " Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon."[3] The monarch who had allowed Rome to be devastated, and had attempted to introduce a mixed religion into Germany, he considered as abetting the worst enemies of the Church in an even greater degree than a schismatic and a heretic. It was unbearable to him that the Spaniards, whom he looked upon as a mixture of Jews and Marani, should rule the north and south of Italy and thereby threaten the freedom and the great position in the world of

[1] See the letter of Avanson of May 24, 1555, in FAVRE, Olivier de Magny, 436 ; *cf.* also the report in SEGMÜLLER, Wahl Pauls IV., 6.

[2] " Dominus mihi adjutor " ; see CIACONIUS, III., 813.

[3] Psalm XC., 13. *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 390.

the Holy See. He would no longer tolerate a state of affairs, to end which his great predecessor had undertaken a mortal combat with the Hohenstaufen.

Besides these ecclesiastical reasons, Paul IV. was no less animated by national motives when he resolved to enter upon a struggle with the tremendous power of Spain. This poor Italy which, even though the golden age of the Renaissance was now over, still stood at the head of the European nations as supreme in literature and art, should no longer languish under the yoke of a foreign power, the ancient home of culture must be freed from the "barbarians." Not as masters, thought the Pope, must these strangers be suffered in the Hesperides, but rather as stable-boys and cooks, or, at the most, as shop-keepers.[1] The idea of freeing Italy from every foreign influence was so deeply engrained in Paul IV. that he regarded the help of the French in driving out the Spaniards as a merely temporary expedient. He once said to the Venetian ambassador, Navagero, in whom he had special confidence: "They are all barbarians, and it would be a good thing if they remained at home, and nothing but Italian were spoken in our country."[2] On another occasion he reminded the same ambassador of a Neapolitan proverb, to the effect that the Spaniards were good as a beginning, but the French for later on, as the Spaniard was very polite, and with hat in hand was lavish in compliments and flattery, but as soon as he had obtained a grip he would play the host; the Frenchman, on the other hand, in accordance with his hot-headed nature, was impudent at first, but calmed down later on, so that one could at last get on with him very well.[3]

This idea of liberating the Holy See from foreign influences by bringing about the downfall of the Spanish domination in Naples and Milan reminds us of the plans of Julius II. Indeed

[1] *Cf.* Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 813.

[2] See the letter of Navagero in the Appendix to Nores, 308; *cf.* Navagero-Albèri, 405 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Navagero in Ancel, Sienne, 28, n. 4, and also Brown, VI., 2, n. 813.

there was something of the spirit of the Rovere Pope in Paul IV., and a contemporary[1] described the entrance of the new Pope into diplomatic affairs by the same word " terrible "—powerful, grand, which the Venetian ambassador of the time had used in speaking of Julius II.[2] However, quite apart from the political and ecclesiastical differences between the two times, Paul IV. could not undertake such a bold enterprise as the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy with any prospect of success, because he was entirely lacking in the political and military capacity which had been characteristic, in such a marked degree, of his great predecessor. In consequence of the direction which the development of his powers had always taken, Paul IV. had more and more lost touch with political matters, while of military affairs he had never had any experience. The difficulties, therefore, with which his colossal undertaking would confront him, the new condition of political affairs caused by the religious divisions, the insufficient number of the troops at the disposal of the States of the Church, and the unwarlike nature of the Italians, were as little realized by him as the unfavourable state of the Papal treasury.[3] To all this must be added his own temperament, which was as little suited to a diplomatist as to a commander of armies.

The nature of the Pope was also to a great extent responsible for the silence of those who would have warned him before beginning a conflict with Spain. It is especially the fate of princes that they seldom or never hear the truth, and much more is this the case with those of hasty disposition. Anyone who frankly explained the true state of affairs to Paul IV. fell

[1] It is thus expressed in a *letter of a Mantuan agent, dated Rome, September 1, 1555 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 274 *seq.*

[3] See, concerning the financial state of affairs, the complaints in the *brief to the vice-legate of the provinces of the States of the Church of June 4, 1555 (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 116. Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 375; BROSCH, I., 202 *seq.* Abundant details of the receipts and expenditure in the States of the Church under Paul IV. are collected in a volume in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Miscell. Arm. II., t. 45.

into disfavour, while, on the other hand, he willingly lent his ear to those who agreed with his ideas, although they often withheld from him just what was most important.[1] Consequently the Pope lived, as far as political and military matters were concerned, in a world of phantasy, which was in glaring contrast to the actual state of affairs.

It was a great misfortune that such a man should have entered into the maze of politics, a misfortune alike for the Papal States and for the Church, which was in need of nothing so much as a thorough reformation. To neglect this for political activity was by no means the intention of Paul IV., all the more so as the liberation of the Holy See from the Spanish yoke was also part of his plan of reform. In accordance with this, in his first consistory, on May 29th, 1555, he laid stress on his fixed intention of maintaining his own dignity and the authority of the Holy See, as well as of reforming the bad moral state of the clergy, and he besought the Cardinals to assist him in this, and to give an example by their own good lives. The same members of the Sacred College were appointed to deliberate upon the necessary reforms as had been chosen for this task by Marcellus II.[2] The Pope expressed himself in such a manner on this occasion that it was generally recognized that he intended to devote his first care to this difficult task.[3] It was announced at the same time that the seventy-nine-year-old Pope would depute Cardinals for the government

[1] *Cf.* Navagero-Albèri, 405 *seq.* Even P. Strozzi, who was able to speak very openly to Paul IV. (see *ibid.* 407), often had to conceal the full truth from him; an example of this in Ancel, Disgrâce, 20, n. 5.

[2] Besides Massarelli, 272 see *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives) and the report of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, May 29, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] U. Gozzadini reported in a *letter of May 29, 1555: S.S.tà ha fatto una exortatione a tutti li cardinali a dovere vivere da cardinali et con molta efficacia con accennare che vuole che si attendi alla reformatione et che ha delle prime cose che si facciano al darle fine (State Archives, Bologna).

of the States of the Church and for the administration of political business.[1]

This last plan was soon after carried into effect in a manner that was as fateful for Paul IV. as it was for the Church. Filled with distrust of the Cardinals who had elected him almost against their wills, the Pope thought that he would find the necessary qualities for the direction of political affairs—the later secretaryship of state—more surely in a member of his own family. In a consistory on June 7th, 1555, Carlo Carafa, the youngest son of Giovan Alfonso, Count of Montorio, the deceased elder brother of the Pope, was appointed a Cardinal Deacon.[2] On July 15th Carlo Carafa received the position which Alessandro Farnese had filled under Paul III., and Innocenzo del Monte under Julius III.; the nuncios were enjoined to have the same confidence in him as in the Pope himself.[3]

The Pope looked upon such an arrangement, which was similar to that of so many of his predecessors, as a matter of course, without having been led to this choice by any exaggerated love for his family, for his nepotism was not founded on personal or family affection, as had been the case with so many of the Renaissance Popes.[4]

It is, therefore, all the more tragic that his choice should have

[1] See the *letter of U. Gozzadini of May 29, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See *Acta consist.* in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 38 and MASSARELLI, 273. Carata did not receive ordination as a priest, and he knew nothing of Latin. See Nonciat., II., 362.

[3] See the **brief to Cardinal Carafa of July 15th, 1555, which has escaped the notice even of ANCEL (Secrét. pontif., 6). Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 168.

[4] RANKE (Päpste, I.[6], 195) and SUSTA (Mitteil. des Osterr. Instituts, Erg.-Bd., VI., 551) are justified in emphasizing this. I cannot, however, estimate the consideration for the anti-Spanish policy as highly as they do. Šusta shows very clearly how the unfortunate system of nepotism was in a certain sense inevitable in the States of the Church. *Cf.* also FELTEN in the Freib. Kirchenlex., IX., 104 *seq.*

fallen on one who could not have been more unsuited for the dignity. Carlo Carafa was the type of an Italian "condottiere"; an able but unprincipled man, he had had a very stirring and adventurous career.

Born in the year 1517 or 1519, he had been, as a boy, page to Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, and had then entered the service of Pier Luigi Farnese, finally devoting himself entirely to the military profession, since, as the youngest son, and having no prospect of the family possessions, he had to carve out his own way with his sword. He fought for many years under the banner of the Emperor, in Piedmont under Vasto, and in the Schmalkaldic war under Ottavio Farnese. Disappointed in his hopes, and badly treated by the Spaniards, he at last abandoned the cause of the Emperor and fought for the French under Strozzi in the Sienese war. At the time of the conclave he was in Rome.[1]

At first sight it appears impossible to understand how the Pope, so austere with regard to morals, could suddenly summon this rough soldier, whose scandalous and licentious life was known to him,[2] into the supreme senate of the Church. It was therefore supposed that the cunning nephew had deceived the old Pope by a comedy of conversion.[3] The truth, however, was quite different. The bestowal of the purple on Carlo Carafa was the result of a cleverly devised intrigue of his elder brother Giovanni, Count of Montorio.[4] Concerned above everything else with the splendour and greatness of the

[1] NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 383. PETRAMELLARIUS, 91 *seq.* CIACONIUS, III., 842 *seq.* DURUY, 7 *seq.*, 345 *seq.* RIESS, 19 *seq.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 12 *seq.* Nonciat., II., 258.

[2] *Cf.* the Motu Proprio by which Carafa was absolved from his former crimes, in CHRISTOFORI, Paolo IV. (Miscell. stor. Romana, 1888, I., Ser. 2, p. 56), and ANCEL, Disgrâce, 15, n. 3.

[3] The story of Carafa's comedy of conversion, which has been widely circulated, chiefly through RANKE, (Päpste, I[6]., 188), is also repudiated by RIESS (p. 23 *seq.*)

[4] The source of proof for this has been furnished by ANCEL (Disgrâce, 14 *seq.*) *Cf.* also COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 74, 75, and Corpo dipl. Port., VII., 424.

family, Giovanni Carafa saw the means of promoting this by a close connection with Spain. It is characteristic of the man and his times that he could conceive the plan of detaching his brother Carlo from the French service, which might cause serious embarrassments, and withdrawing this experienced soldier from the calling of arms, by procuring for him the dignity of Cardinal. Carlo himself, though it may be doubted whether he was in earnest, showed but little inclination for the change. At first the Pope would not hear of such a promotion, but in spite of this Giovanni Carafa contrived to bring it about; he was eagerly encouraged in his plan by the French Ambassador, Avanson, who, fearing the great influence of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, favoured the cause of the nephew in every way.[1] At last Giovanni won over the representative of the Emperor to his plan, and the Pope, after some hesitation, finally gave way to the general pressure put upon him.[2] He was destined, however, to regret nothing more bitterly than this choice, which remains a great slur upon his reputation.

The first, however, to repent of the elevation of Carlo was his brother Giovanni.[3] In a very short time Carlo was able to ingratiate himself to such an extent with the Pope that the latter, after a few weeks, entrusted him with the entire direction of secular politics. Giovanni, who, since the beginning of

[1] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, Conclave, 474 *seqq.* Avanson also feared the influence of the Imperialist Cardinal Carpi, who was very intimate with Paul IV., see his letter of May 24, 1555, in FAVRE, 436.

[2] * It is quite in accordance with the truth when Paul IV., in a *brief to Pole of July 16, 1555, says that he has appointed C. Carafa as Cardinal: "non solum omnium consensu, sed hortatu." (Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 169. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] The second brother, Antonio, Marchese di Montebello, was a passionate man and not of any great talent, but, in spite of this he was appointed to the command of the Papal troops (see the *brief to him of August 31, 1555; Brev. ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 226. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Antonio played no part in the time that followed. On the other hand his son Alfonso became a favourite of the Pope (*cf. infra* p. 202).

June, had had a decisive influence[1] in this matter, found himself, to his great surprise, completely supplanted. The change found outward expression in the fact that Carlo Carafa now moved to the Borgia apartments, which had hitherto been occupied by his brother.[2] The ambassadors and envoys of the powers now crowded these rooms, especially as Paul IV. granted audiences very unwillingly. The only person who saw His Holiness every day was Carlo Carafa ; in his new position as head of the actual secretaryship of state, he could confer with the Pope as often and as long as he wished. The whole of the political correspondence with the nuncios and other representatives of the Holy See, as well as with the kings and princes, was directed by him. He alone had the right to open and answer all letters, even those addressed directly to the Pope. In addition to this, all political business, as well as everything that concerned finance, law, and the administration of the city of Rome and the States of the Church, was placed under the superintendence of the Cardinal-nephew.[3]

In order to carry on such an amount of work Carlo Carafa surrounded himself with a numerous and well-trained staff of officials, who were entirely devoted to him. Giovanni della Casa, his principal secretary, worked under him as his confidential assistant and representative (segretario intimo or maggiore). This Florentine humanist and open enemy of the Medici was the most distinguished of the numerous Florentines who had left their home and come to Rome. He alone had cognizance of all the projects of the Cardinal-nephew, and the whole of the diplomatic correspondence passed through his

[1] See in Appendix No. 10 the *brief of June 2, 1555 (Secret Archives of the Vatican) and the Portuguese report in the Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 431. As early as June 20, 1555, an agent of Cardinal Madruzzo *reported from Rome: the new Cardinal Carafa was indeed, "privato del papa," but: "Chi adesso fa tutte le cose è il conte di Montorio." Correspondence of Madruzzo in the Vice-Regal Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See Ancel, Disgrâce, 17 *seq.* and Secrétairie, 10 ; *cf.* Coggiola, Farnesi, 77n.

[3] See Ancel, Secrét., 7 *seq.*

hands ; indeed, he alone was aware of the existence of many of these documents.[1]

Positions similar to that held by Giovanni della Casa for political affairs, were held by Annibale Bozzuto for the affairs of the States of the Church, and by the celebrated jurist, Silvestro Aldobrandini, for fiscal and criminal causes. Every morning, with the exception of that given over to the reception of the ambassadors, Carlo Carafa received these men for the delivery of their reports, and important questions were dealt with by all four.[2] Aldobrandini, who belonged to a noble Florentine family, had been banished in 1531 as an opponent of the Medici. Bozzuto was a banished Neapolitan, and the appointment of these exiles who, full of spite and passion, were awaiting their return home by means of the fall of the Spanish power, counted for much in the warlike turn which affairs took in Rome.[3]

[1] See ANCEL, Secrét. 5 *seqq*. Della Casa (see concerning him Vol. XII. of this work, p. 525) had already known Paul IV., in Venice ; he owed his new position to Cardinal Farnese (CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, II., 221). He was summoned to Rome by a *brief of May 30, 1555 (Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 110. Secret Archives of the Vatican) and definitely appointed on July 13 (see Studi storici, XVII., 592). After his death (November 14, 1556) he was succeeded by S. Aldobrandini. After the fall of the latter in 1557 (see *infra* p. 154) A. Lippomano succeeded to his important post, which he united to that of a "secretarius domesticus" ; see ANCEL, Secrét., 15 *seq*.

[2] See the *Summario dell' attioni di Mons. Illmo in the minutes of the trial of Carafa (State Archives, Rome), of which Ancel justly remarks (*loc. cit.*) that it should not be attributed to Antonio Carafa, as Coggiola has it (Sull' anno della morte di m. della Casa, Pistoia, 1901, 8 *seqq*.) Passarini had already remarked (Aldobrandini, 118) this error of Nores (p. 272). Concerning the fall of Bozzuto F. Pasoto reports from Rome on September 1, 1557 *Domenica mattina si disse la notte inanci N.S. havea fatto levar di letto Monsig. Bozzuto cosi amalato com' era et fattolo mettere prigione in castello, dove è ancora. La causa non si dice. His successor was Annibale Brancaccio (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

[3] See NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI 391, 405. The apologetic counter-remarks of Passarini (Aldobrandini, 118) prove nothing.

Five secretaries were appointed in addition to della Casa to carry on the Italian correspondence. Of these, Antonio Elio, Bishop of Pola, and Giovanni Francesco Commendone, Bishop of Zante, held the first place. There were also three other secretaries, Girolamo Soverchio, Angelo Massarelli and Trifone Bencio, the latter for the cypher letters. All of these highly placed officials of the department of the secretary of state had a corresponding number of lesser officials at their disposal. Besides these, Cardinal Carafa employed various private secretaries and agents, who were partly made use of for purposes of his own. Among these a great part was played by Annibale Rucellai, although he had no special title; he was a nephew of Giovanni della Casa, and was initiated into many secrets of the policy of his master.[1]

The secretariate of briefs was strictly separated from the secretariate of state, and had its own archives. This department, which was exclusively occupied with ecclesiastical affairs and the administration of the States of the Church, was directly under the Pope. Giovanni Barengo held, as first "segretario domestico," a similar position in this department to that of della Casa in that of the secretariate of state. Like Barengo, who composed all the important briefs and bulls, a second "segretario domestico," Giovanni Francesco Bini, lived in the Vatican. The latter, a humanist of the school of Sadoleto, had to draw up the briefs to the princes. Besides those mentioned, there also appear, as highly placed officials of the secretariate of briefs, Antonio Fiordibello, once secretary to Sadoleto, and Cesare Grolierio. All of these, who in their turn had many officials under them, are distinguished from the great functionaries of the secretariate of state principally by the fact that they did no independent work of their own, but had only to carry out the orders they received, these being given by the Pope himself, or by those to whom the head of the Church had transferred some part of his authority.[2]

[1] See the thorough investigations of ANCEL, Secrét., 14 *seqq.* 25 *seqq.*, 32 *seqq.*; concerning Elio *cf.* MERKLE, I., 377.

[2] See ANCEL, Secrét., 47 *seqq.* Concerning Barengo *cf.* MASIUS, Briefe, 244,251 for Bini (died September, 1556) see MERKLE, II.,

It is characteristic of Paul IV. that he placed a limit to the powers of Carlo Carafa, as far as the actual inner administration of the Church was concerned.[1] The nephew, however, ruled all the more freely in the matter of politics ; in this department he eventually got such a grip that he managed the Pope like a child.[2] Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, in whom the Pope, at the beginning of his reign, had shown, in the fullness of his gratitude, an almost unlimited confidence, was now put on one side; as had been the case with Giovanni Carafa.[3] The crafty and intriguing Carlo, who could adapt himself to every situation, understood perfectly how to lead the unwary old Pope.

The unusual capabilities of his nephew, and his hatred of the Spaniards, had made Paul IV. forget everything which he had formerly blamed in him. He bore all the more willingly with the warlike nature of Carlo, which was quite opposed to his principles as a strict churchman, because their characters were in reality much akin ; both were true Neapolitans, passionate, credulous and rash in their resolves.[4] Carlo possessed, moreover, a wonderful skill in managing his old uncle, and in accomodatiig himself to his weaknesses and favourite theories. Paul IV. became more and more persuaded that the Holy See possessed no more faithful, honest and capable servant than his nephew. So completely was he

xxii. Bini's successor was A. Lippomano ; when Barengo died in June, 1559, he was suceeded by Francesco Aragonia.

[1] See NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, who twice emphasizes this limitation of authority (384 and 411). It cannot therefore be said with RANKE (I.[6], 188) that the Pope entrusted his nephew with " the whole, not only of secular, but also of ecclesiastical affairs." In the report of Salvago (Atti Lig., XIII., 755) he says distinctly that Cardinal Carafa had possessed the " suprema authorità et cura de' negotii appartenenti a stato et a giustitia."

[2] See MASIUS, Briefe, 222.

[3] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, Conclave, 476 *seq.*, and FARNESI, 81 *seq.*; ANCEL, Secrét, 14 *seq.* Concerning the great influence of Farnese at the beginning see also the report of the Portuguese ambassador of June 18, 1555, in the Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 420.

[4] *Cf.* the opinion of Cardinal Farnese in RIESS, 53.

beguiled, that he did not hesitate repeatedly to assure the Venetian ambassador that Carlo excelled all his predecessors as a statesman. The nephew, who was soon overwhelmed with tokens of favour,[1] was able to make himself so indispensable that the Pope longed for him when he was absent, and put off all important business until his return. As Navagero points out, Carlo was able, with wonderful sagacity, to find out exactly what pleased the Pope, and to make use of every circumstance for the attainment of his own ends. He was exceedingly jealous of his own influence, and wanted to be recognized everywhere as the master, and to see others in a position of dependence; he also treated the representatives of the powers with abrupt self-assurance. In the same way as he promoted his friends and adherents, he revenged himself on his rivals and opponents. He had reached an age when he had come to the full vigour of his powers, and he devoted himself with indefatigable energy to the affairs of state. Sagacious and skilled in all manner of plots and intrigues, a master of the art of always having irons in the fire, unprincipled, double-faced and calculating, like a true follower of Machiavelli, full of bold and far-reaching schemes, which he was exceedingly skilful in carrying into effect, and entirely possessed by an insatiable ambition, Carafa's fiery nature was more and more inflamed by his unexpected good fortune, of which he was determined to make full use as long as his aged uncle lived. It was only in appearance that he was working for the noble end of liberating the Holy See and Italy from the oppressive yoke of foreign rule, in reality his activities

[1] C. Carafa received the legation of Bologna, as well as all the offices connected with it on October 26, 1555 (see the *brief of that date in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 44, t. 4, p. 143). This office brought in to the nephew 8000 ducats. Concerning this and other revenues see NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 384-385. In February, 1556 Cardinal Carafa also received the 'governo d'Ancona' (see the *letter of Card. Medici to Card. Carafa of February 5, 1556. Cod. Barb. lat. 5698, p. 8. Vatican Library), in July, 1556 he received the bishopric of Comminges; see Mél. d' archéol., XXII., 101 *seq.*

were wholly selfish and unscrupulous, and directed to his own advancement and that of his family.[1] Such was the man who, in these exceedingly dangerous times, was to direct the secular policy of the Holy See.

[1] For a character sketch of Cardinal Carafa, *cf.* of contemporaries, especially NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 384 *seq.*, and Charles Marillac in VAISSIÈRE, Charles de Marillac, Paris, 1896, 327; of later historians PALLAVICINI, 13, 12, 6; MARCKS, Coligny, 81, and especially ANCEL, Secrét, 11 *seqq.*, and Disgrâce, 13 *seq.* In his admirable work, La question de Sienne, ANCEL remarks: "Entre les bas calculs de Carlo Carafa et l'idéal du pape qui voudrait soustraire l'Église et l'Italie a la tutelle qui va désormais peser si lourdement sur elles, il y a un abîme." (p. 90).

CHAPTER IV.

Commencement of the Struggle of Paul IV. against the Supremacy of Spain.

On the same May 29th, 1555, on which Paul IV. had announced his intentions concerning reform in his first consistory, he signed a Bull in which he solemnly promised to devote the whole of his powers to the restoration of peace in Christendom and the renewal of the ancient discipline in the Church.[1]

The Pope had already taken steps towards securing peace,[2] and he now set about putting his plans for reform into immediate execution. A decree was therefore issued in a consistory on June 5th that in future, those who had the right of patronage should only present for bishoprics and abbeys those who were thoroughly fitted for such positions, and who were absolutely free from any suspicion of ambition or simony.[3]

A decree of July 17th forbade dispensations being granted for the occupation of bishoprics by those who had not reached the canonical age.[4] On the same day an important consistory was held, in which three bulls were published; the first concerned the proclamation of a Jubilee Indulgence for all those who prayed for the peace of Christendom; the second imposed the severest restrictions on the Jews in the

[1] See Massarelli, II., 272; Bromato, II., 224.

[2] See the briefs to the Emperor and Ferdinand I. of May 24 and 26, 1555, in Raynaldus, 1555, n. 24 *seq.*, the *letters to the nuncio G. Muzzarelli, to *Philip II. and Queen Mary, as well as to *Cardinal Pole, all of May 24, 1555. Brevia ad princ., Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 98, 99, 100 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives); see Appendix, No. 11.

[4] *Cf.* *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives); see Appendix No. 12 and Bull., VI., 496 *seq.*; *cf.* *Report of Camillo Titio to C. Pagni, dated Rome, July 18, 1555 (State Archives, Florence).

States of the Church; the third was directed against all alienation of the property of the Roman Church. After these documents had been read, the Pope exhorted the Cardinals to reform, blamed such as had not lived up to their high dignity, and repeated his intention of employing all his powers for the improvement of the condition of the whole Church.

He accordingly appointed five Cardinals who were to superintend the work of reform in the different countries. These were: du Bellay for France, Pacheco for Spain, Truchsess for Germany, and Puteo and Cicada for Italy.[1] A constitution of August 7th provided for the strictest regulations against heresy.[2] A few days later a correspondent, who was inimical to Paul IV., reported that the Pope was thinking day and night of the amendment of morals of all classes, and that a great reform and a thorough purification were awaiting the clergy.[3] Ignatius of Loyola expressed a similar opinion when writing to the rectors of the Jesuit colleges.[4] With how little consideration Paul IV. proceeded is shown by the painful dismissal of Palestrina from the Papal choir, which took place on July 30th, 1555, on the ground that married members would, in future, no longer be allowed.[5] In a consistory of August 23rd, Paul IV. spoke about the appointment of a commission of Cardinals for the examination

[1] How incomplete the official *Acta consist. are is best shown by the fact that the important events which we learn from MASSARELLI (p. 276) are not even mentioned. *Cf.* also the report of G. Grandi of August 7, 1555 in ANCEL, Concile, 9.

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 54.

[3] Report from Rome on August 10 to Kurpfalz, in DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 704 *seq.* *Cf.* also the letter of Cardinal du Bellay of July 26, 1555 in RIBIER, II., 613, that of Carafa of July 27 and of Serristori of August 27, 1555 (State Archives, Florence); Nonciat. I., lxi., n. 248; MASIUS, Briefe, 515. A brief of August 2, 1555 concerning the reform of monasteries in Ferrara in FONTANA, 433.

[4] Of August 13, 1555. Cartas, V., 288 *seq.* Mon. Ign. Ser. I., IX., 463 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* AMBROS, IV., 9.

of those who were to receive bishoprics.[1] At the beginning of September he expressed his displeasure in the sharpest terms against those princes who delayed in making appointments to vacant bishoprics.[2]

It can therefore be seen that the beginning of the reign of the new Pope was fully in accordance with the idea of the strict zealot, from whom the whole world, good as well as bad, had been led to expect an era of ecclesiastical reform. Unfortunately, a state of affairs was soon to supervene which seriously endangered the work so auspiciously begun, entirely turned the thoughts of the head of the Church away from the attempts at securing peace, which had hardly been begun, and entangled him in a disastrous war.[3]

It was a thing quite trifling in itself which first fanned the ill-will which Paul IV. had for years entertained against the Spaniards, to such an extent that at length a disastrous break occurred.

The Count of Santa Fiora, the head of the Sforza family, had, as well as his brother Alessandro and the Cardinal, Guido Ascanio, always belonged to the Imperial party. After the occupation of Siena by the Spaniards, the Count succeeded in prevailing on his other two brothers, Carlo and Mario, to give up their military service with the French and enter that of Charles V. They both treacherously resolved to hand over the two galleys which they commanded into the hands of the Imperialists; they succeeded in inducing the French captain of the galleys to put into Civitavecchia in order to have some repairs carried out, but hardly had they arrived there when Alessandro Sforza took forcible possession of the vessels. The Papal harbour-master opposed the departure of the ships, as he would take no responsibility for this act of violence committed before his very eyes. The Sforza, however, found

[1] *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives).

[2] See the report in SANTAREM, XII., 431.

[3] The clear sighted C. Olivo expressed apprehension about the future as early as May 23, 1555. See Appendix No. 9 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

a way out, for Alessandro at once informed his brother the Cardinal, who procured, through his crafty secretary, Giovan Francesco Lottini, a letter from the Count of Montorio to the harbour-master, who then allowed the vessels to sail. Alessandro could now get his spoils in safety to Naples; to a counter-command from the Pope (who had meantime learned the true state of affairs), which reached him while he was on the way, he paid no attention at all.[1]

While the Imperialists in Naples and Rome were rejoicing, the French ambassador complained to the Pope of this breach of neutrality, and represented to him the insult which his authority had suffered at the hands of the Sforza. Such representations were not required to put Paul IV. into the greatest state of excitement. He had already, at the beginning of his reign, formed the plan of breaking down the arrogance of the powerful nobles, and especially of the Sforza. This family had been accustomed, as being near relatives of Paul III., and on account of their importance to Julius III. in his struggle with France, to observe no other law than their own will.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Casa, Opere, II., 17, 31; Caro-Farnese, Lettere, III., 19 *seq.*; Legaz. di Serristori, 358; Pacheco's letter of August 17, 1555 in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 209; Druffel-Brandi, IV., 308, n. 2; Doc. ined., II., 446; Arch. stor. Ital., XII., 372 *seq.*; Nonciat., II., 259 *seq.*; see also the letter of the Count of Santa Fiora of August 11, 1555 in the Bollet. Senese, X., 124 *seq.*, and that from Rome of August 17 in the *reports of Lasso to Ferdinand I. (State Archives, Vienna). Concerning G. F. Lottini *cf.* Maffei in the Rassegna mensile di storia per la città di Volterra, I. (1898), 10 *seq.*, 41 *seqq.*, 56 *seq.*, 83 *seq.* This work, which is unfortunately incomplete, is based principally on the documents preserved in the State Archives in Rome of the legal proceedings against Lottini, concerning which Bruzzone was the first to make several extracts in the *Fanfulla della Domenica*, II., n. 28, and also on Acta in the rich Inghirami Archives at Volterra.

[2] A Sforza had murdered a financial official in the middle of Rome; see Ribier, II., 617; *cf.* Pallavicini 13, 14.

Paul IV., who, just at that time, was taking proceedings[1] against some unworthy officials of Julius III., eagerly seized upon this opportunity of beginning to subdue the insubordinate nobles. Lottini, upon whom the Count of Montorio succeeded in fixing the guilt, was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo on August 10th, while Carlo Carafa was ordered to inform the Cardinal of Santa Fiora that if the vessels were not brought back to Civitavecchia within three days, legal proceedings would be taken against him also. Santa Fiora sought advice from the Spanish Cardinals and from the representative of Charles V., Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis de Sarria, who had arrived in Rome on July 6th.[2] The latter, an honest Basque, but quite without experience in politics,[3] had requested an immediate audience with the Pope, but had received the answer that he was to present himself on the following day. The Imperialists then resolved that Sarria should, at all costs, endeavour to secure an immediate audience and represent to the Pope that he had no reason to feel himself offended; he was also to complain of the imprisonment of Lottini and of the order given to Cardinal Santa Fiora, which the Emperor would not readily endure.[4]

[1] Besides MASSARELLI, 278 *seq.*, *cf.* the *letter mentioned *supra* p. 93, n. 1, dated Rome, August 7, 1555: "Francesco d'Aspra thesoriere sotto papa Giulio III. mercodi serà fu menato in torre di Nona dal bargello et hieri andò in castello, al qual sono imputate grandissime rubbarie fatte nella thesoreria" (State Arch., Vienna).

[2] See MASSARELLI, 276; *cf.* DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 702. The *letter of credence of Charles V. for Sarria, dated Brussels, June 4, 1555, in the Arch. S. Angelo, VIII.-II., Vol. I., the letter to Paul IV., Secret Archives of the Vatican; *ibid.* also a *letter of Philip II. of June 7, in which he also accredited Sarria for his affairs.

[3] *Cf.* SOMMARIO, 350; DRUFFEL-BRANDI, IV., 707 n.; COGGIOLA, Farnesi. 149.

[4] See the report of Serristori of August 10, 1555 (Legaz. 358 *seq.*) Concerning the proceedings against Lottini see GORI, Archivio, I., 209 *seq.*; *cf.* BRUZZONE in the Turin *Stampa*, 1900, n. 51.

Arrived at the Vatican, Sarria penetrated as far as the anti-camera, and renewed his request in an excited manner. The Pope, however, remained inflexible, and did not permit the entrance of the ambassador. The excitement among the Imperialists now knew no bounds; they deliberated as to whether, not Sarria only, but Santa Fiora as well, should leave Rome.[1] The character of Paul IV. was so little understood by them that they believed they could force him by threats to withdraw from his position.

That very night Cardinal Santa Fiora arranged a meeting of protest at his palace, of the adherents of the Imperialist party, at which, besides the Colonna, Cesarini and other barons, Sarria and the "obedientia" envoy of Philip II., Count Chinchon, were present.[2] They then proceeded to attack the dignity and honour of the Pope in the most violent and unworthy terms, Marcantonio Colonna declaring himself ready to stir up a revolt with his followers, for which purpose a collection was actually made.[3]

This meeting of protest was not concealed from the Pope, but, instead of frightening him, as the Imperialists had hoped, it enraged him more than ever. The documents found in the house of Lottini had also given him grounds for serious thought with regard to the intentions of Spain; in these he found mention of the calling together of a Council and other things which deeply offended the head of the Church,[4] who had

[1] See Legaz. di Serristori, 360.

[2] The autograph *letter of Philip II. of June 8, 1555, by which Chinchon was accredited, is in the above-mentioned (p. 94, n. 2) collection of letters in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

[3] See the report of Farnese to Henry II. of August 14 (not 24, as PALLAVICINI, 13, 14 gives it) in CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 20 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *brief to Charles V. of July 15 and that to *Alba of July 20, 1555 (Brevia ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 164 and 170. Secret Archives of the Vatican). See also Nonciat. de France, I., lxi. *seq.*

hitherto, officially at anyrate, been on friendly terms with Charles V. and Alba.[1]

It is no wonder that Cardinals Carpi and Mendoza, who repaired to the Pope on August 11th, could come to no arrangement with him, although they negotiated with him for four hours. Paul IV. was determined that the ships seized must be returned to Civitavecchia. In the event of this not having been done within three days, he threatened Alessandro Sforza in a monitorium with the loss of his position as a chamberlain and a fine of 20,000 scudi; the Pope, however, declared that he would see that the ships did not get into the hands of the French.[2]

In face of this determined attitude, the representatives of the Emperor had misgivings about plunging their master into a conflict, the consequences of which could not be foreseen, about a comparative trifle, and they requested the Neapolitan authorities to return the ships. The Sforza, however, would only give up their booty on condition that Lottini should be set at liberty, and Alessandro Sforza escape all punishment. This demand only embittered the Pope still further; he felt it intolerable that those whose duty it was to obey him as their lawful master should make such conditions. He understood, moreover, that the Sforza had secret designs of their own, from the fact that they were putting their fief in the States of the Church into a state of defence, while, at the same time, he heard of suspicious movements of the Imperial partisans on the southern boundaries of the Papal dominions.[3]

Paul IV. was, as Cardinal Farnese points out, exceedingly hot-tempered and extraordinarily strong-willed, especially when his honour and dignity were concerned, yet he realized his helplessness, in view of the exhaustion of his treasury, and the limited number of troops at his disposal in Rome. It is just such fiery natures as his which often break down after the first outburst. Cardinal Carafa and the French

[1] See "Extractus processus card, Caraffae" in Riess, 35.

[2] See Serristori's report of Aug. 12, 1555. Legaz. 364 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Coggiola, Farnesi, 113.

knew this very well, and they, therefore did all in their power to encourage him. The ambassador of Henry II. promised him assistance to the amount of 100,000 scudi; the old friend of France, Cardinal Farnese, came to an understanding with Carlo Carafa; he appeared before the Pope on August 12th, and assured him of the support of his whole house, at the same time specially pointing out that an alliance with France would offer perfect security to the Pope. Paul IV. received this significant encouragement with great pleasure. Farnese, who immediately reported matters to Henry II., declared that although he could not promise that the Pope would decide on such a course, the inclination to do so was present in his mind to such a degree, that he considered it advisable that his majesty should, in any case, send full authority to act in accordance with it. When the Imperial ambassador, who had an audience on the same day, presented the conditions demanded by the Sforza, he received a decided refusal to accept them.[1]

During the time that followed, the Imperialists took no serious steps to settle the affair; accustomed to the weakness of Julius III., they were unable to realize the character of the new Pope, whom they thought to put off with empty promises.

Under these circumstances, it was not difficult for Carlo Carafa to obtain permission from his master to proceed with the preparation of an extensive armament. As early as August 15th Carafa was able to call upon the Duke of Urbino, as Captain-General of the Church, to hold himself in readiness to appear at once in Rome, when summoned, with from 5,000 to 6,000 infantry and a corresponding number of cavalry.[2]

The fact that Marcantonio Colonna was fortifying Paliano, not far from the Neapolitan frontier, and Paolo Giordano Orsini the fortress of Bracciano, seemed to point to a renewed

[1] See CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 19 *seqq.*; *cf.* RIESS, 36 *seq.* and COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 109 *seq.*

[2] CASA, II., 19. The appointment of the Duke as *Capitaneus generalis* of the Church was made in a *brief of June 20, 1555 (Brevia ad. princ. *loc. cit.*, 132. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

outbreak of the old party struggles in Rome and its neighbourhood.[1]

The Pope informed the Bolognese ambassador on August 28th that he was to raise troops, the number of which might amount to about 3,000 men. He had already surrounded himself with a special bodyguard for the defence of his own person ;[2] it was also said that Ottavio Farnese would provide an additional body of 3,000 men. The Imperial ambassador was so imprudent as then to say that if the Pope raised ten men he would raise twenty. The Florentine envoy declared that Paul IV. had said after dinner that he intended to administer justice in his States, and that in punishing the evildoers, he would take care that the big fish did not swallow the small ones ; should the Emperor dare to interfere with him in so doing, he would have cause to repent it.[3]

The news that the Sforza were continuing to make preparations for war, was bound to strengthen the Pope's resolve to protect himself. When Cardinal Mendoza took the liberty of remarking in an audience that armaments were unnecessary, as there was nothing to be feared from the Emperor, he received the angry answer that he, the Pope, intended to maintain his authority, and to punish those who were disobedient. "No one" writes the Florentine ambassador, "dares to contradict His Holiness, but everyone keeps silent."[4]

Cardinals Carafa and Farnese, who were so friendly to the French, had reason to be pleased. "The honour of His Holiness," wrote Farnese on August 28th to his trusted friend Tiburzio, who was then at the court of Henry II., "no longer allows him to turn back. As events are themselves driving us to war, we may calmly await further developments, while we are fanning the righteous anger of His Holiness." Farnese, confident of victory, then proceeds to

[1] See Legaz. di Serristori, 373,

[2] *Letter of U. Gozzadini, dated Rome, August 28, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] Report of Serristori of August 31, 1555. Legaz. 372 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid* 371.

discuss in detail the manner of such an alliance. He also further advises that a pension of from 3,000 to 4,000 scudi should be settled on Cardinal Carafa, who is as zealous in the cause of France as he is powerful with the Pope; should the influential Datary be won over in the same manner, then they would have the advisers of the Pope at their disposal. The actual decision, indeed, was dependent on the Emperor, to whom the Pope had applied in the matter of the ships, but whatever his answer might be, friendly relations between the Pope and Charles V. were impossible, since their aims were so different, and if a breach did not take place now, it would not be long before it occurred.[1]

As appears from the report of the French ambassador, Lanssac, of August 28th, the latter promised the Pope, in the name of the king, energetic help against his rebellious subjects, and encouraged him in every way in making a determined stand against the Spaniards. The Franco-Papal alliance, and the inclusion of Venice in the league, were then discussed in great detail.[2]

Nothing was more opposed to the Pope's character than to yield to rebellious subjects. As soon as the time fixed for the return of the ships by Cardinal Santa Fiora had passed without result, he took a decisive step. On August 31st, the Cardinal was taken to the Castle of St. Angelo; his fate was shared by Camillo Colonna, who had expressed himself in a very threatening manner against Paul IV. The Colonna and other suspected barons, such as Giuliano Cesarini, received orders not to leave the city.[3]

[1] CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 51 *seqq.*

[2] See RIBIER, II., 615 *seq.*; Corresp. de Lanssac 473 *seqq.*

[3] See MASSARELLI, 279-280; CARO-FARNESE, Lettere III., 57 *seq.*, and RIESS, 38 *seq.*, who rightly repudiates the statement that Santa Fiora was taken by surprise; also Nonciat. II., 261 n. 1 (report of Serristori). *Cf.* also Docum. ined., II., 448 and the *Diario di Cola Coleine Romano, which is to be found in many copies, as in the Corsini Library, Cod. 128 (see LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 143), in the Archivio Capitolino, XIV., 7, and in the Chigi Library, N. II., 32. The copy in the Chigi Library was before me. C. Coleine is mentioned in FORCELLA, V., 253.

Paul IV. was quite aware of the difficulties which he had to face, in consequence of his attack on the relatives and followers of the masters of the Campagna, the Colonna and Orsini. In order to assure his own safety, he ordered that the castles which these families possessed in the neighbourhood of the city should be delivered up to him. While the Orsini submitted, and gave up Bracciano, the Colonna refused to admit the Papal troops, trusting in the Emperor's protection; this powerful Ghibelline family was therefore now mixed up in the dispute between the Pope and the Sforza. Marcantonio Colonna, who was also to have been arrested, intended to fortify himself at Paliano, but eventually, not venturing to make any resistance, he took to flight. Monitoria were issued against him and his father, Ascanio Colonna, on account of various acts of violence of which they were accused, and when they failed to appear, judgment was given against them by default, according to which they forfeited their estate. This sentence was immediately put into execution by force of arms, and Papal troops invested Paliano, Genazzano, and other fortresses belonging to them. All the adherents of the Imperial party, as well as those who were merely suspects, were expelled from the Papal dominions; this measure affected even several relatives of the Pope.[1]

"As far as His Holiness is concerned," Cardinal Farnese triumphantly announced on August 31st, "the die is cast. We must now keep quiet, and await the next move of the Imperialists." A Mantuan correspondent in a letter of September 1st thought that very little more would have led to the arrest of even the ambassador of Charles V.[2]

Relations with the Imperial ambassador were still further strained just at this moment, because the latter refused to

[1] See Massarelli, 280 *seq.*; Bromato, II., 300 n.; Coggiola, Farnesi, 118; *cf.* also the letters of Marcantonio Colonna in the Delizie degli eruditi bibliof. ital., VII, Florence, 1865, and Gori, Archivio, I., 221 *seq.* The *Acta of the process against M. Colonna are in the Colonna Archives, Rome.

[2] *Letter of Ippolito Capilupi in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

deliver three fortresses of the Colonna, of which he was administrator, in consequence of a law-suit then pending between the Colonna and the Prince of Sulmona. Letters from Alba were also intercepted at this time, in which he advised the retention of the ships which had been seized, as energetic measures should be adopted in dealing with such a Pope.[1] This language was quite in keeping with the news of extensive preparations for war on the part of the Spaniards in the Neapolitan territory.[2] Rome seemed to be threatened from the South.[3]

In spite of all this, Paul IV., at that time, had by no means made up his mind to such a hazardous enterprise as a break with the great world power of Spain. The best proof of this is that Cardinal Carafa thought it advisable to conceal from his uncle a political move of the greatest importance which was made at that time. Quite on his own initiative, the nephew on September 14th and 15th, dispatched envoys, invested with full powers, to Ferrara and France, in order to win over those states to an anti-Imperial league. In order that the old Pope should hear nothing of this before the proper time, the crafty Carafa concealed the true object of this mission, and even kept the fact of his having sent it from the French nuncio and his friend Cardinal Farnese.[4]

How little the Pope was aware of what his nephew was doing behind his back, is best seen from the fact that he banished Cardinal d'Este from the Papal dominions on September 5th[5] for simoniacal intrigues concerning the Papal election, thereby

[1] CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 70 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 120 *seq.*

[3] See CAVALCANTI, Lettre, 105.

[4] See RIESS, 54 *seqq.; cf.* COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 124 and Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 3, XXV., 56 *seq.*

[5] * See, MASSARELLI 281; *Masius*, Briefe, 222; COGGIOLA, Asc. d. Cornia, 140 n. 1 and Farnesi, 123 *seq.* Duke Ercole of Ferrara sent a special envoy to intercede for his brother with the Pope; see the autograph *letter of Ercole, dated Ferrara, October 2, 1555, in the second volume of the collection of letters in the Secret Archives of the Vatican mentioned *supra* p. 94, n. 2.

doing, as far as he was concerned, everything in his power to make an alliance with Ferrara impossible.

Annibale Rucellai, the envoy sent on September 14th on a secret mission to the French court, was to decide Henry II. to undertake the protection of the Holy See against the Imperialists. The king was begged to confirm immediately the promises of his ambassador with regard to troops and money, and also to draw up instructions giving full authority for the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance. Besides this, Henry II. was begged to induce Ferrara and Venice to enter this anti-Imperialist league.[1] Carafa had expressly instructed his envoy to make the proposals quite independently of the settlement of the disputes then pending, as he could foresee that sooner or later a rupture would inevitably come.

The ships that had been seized were, as a matter of fact, at last brought back to Civitavecchia on September 15th, and the Pope then released Cardinal Santa Fiora from his imprisonment on September 19th, after he had given a security of 200,000 scudi, and promised not to leave Rome without permission. Three days later Camillo Colonna was also set at liberty.[2]

The restoration of the ships removed the actual cause of dispute ; this, however, had been so long delayed that a strong feeling of resentment remained in the mind of the Pope, and there was in addition to this, the great massing of the Spanish troops on the southern frontier of the States of the Church. As Duke Cosimo I. of Florence was a firm adherent of the

[1] The memorandum and instructions for Rucellai in the Nonciat, II., 255 *seq.*, 267 *seq.* ; *cf.* Casa, II., 27 *seqq.* ; *ibid.* 21 *seqq.* the instructions for Andrea d'Agubbio, who was sent to Ferrara, which, in the Neapolitan edition V., 48 and in the *Inf. polit. XXIV., 269 (Royal Library, Berlin) as well as in the *Cod. 33—E. 18, p. 7-11 of the Corsini Library, bears the date of September 10. The brief to the Duke of Ferrara of September 15, 1555 in the Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 3, XXV., 57 *seq.* Concerning Rucellai in France see Nonciat., I., xxxvii., lxix. ; II., 277 *seqq.*, 286 *seqq.*

[2] Massarelli 281-282. Coggiola, Farnesi, 122, 262. Nonciat. II., 278 *seq.*

Emperor, Paul IV. feared, more than ever, to find himself between two fires.[1] Cardinal Carafa made use of this state of affairs to work upon the excitable Pope to come to an open break with Spain. "Matters," reports Cardinal Farnese on September 27th, "are advancing even more quickly than we could wish, as they are being hurried on by Carafa with a zeal which nothing can surpass."[2] On the same day Farnese represented to the Pope that neither Alba nor the other officials of Charles V. were the cause of the enmity between them, but no one else than the Emperor himself, who was intent on gradually destroying the power of the Holy See. The soil on which these remarks fell was all the more fruitful as Paul IV. had heard reports, just at this time, which filled the lively imagination of the old man with terrifying visions, giving him the impression that his life was threatened by the Imperialists, and leading him to form the desperate resolve to break with the all-powerful Spaniards. It was said that a plot of the Imperialists to poison the Pope and Cardinals Carafa and Farnese had been discovered. This affair, in spite of legal proceedings which were instituted later on, has never been satisfactorily cleared up. It is highly probable, however, that the whole story of the plot was only a cunning intrigue on the part of Carafa, in order to win over his uncle more easily to his disastrous plans.[3]

Old people are readily inclined to mistrust and suspicion, and so was it in the case of Paul IV. He had always had a prejudice against the Spaniards, and had been repeatedly and greatly irritated by them. He therefore believed all that he was told

[1] *Cf.* Serristori's report of September 17, 1555 in the Nonciat., I., lxix. *seq.*

[2] CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 89.

[3] This view, already expressed by PALLAVICINI (13, 15), is confirmed by RIESS' investigations (p. 48 *seqq.*) LAMANSKI (Secrets d'état de Venise, St. Petersburg, 1884, 363) still believes in the truth of the poisoning story; PLATZHOFF (Die Theorie von der Mordbefugniss, Berlin, 1906) thinks (p. 75-76) that the truth cannot be stated with certainty. Concerning the legal proceedings taken with regard to the matter, see GORI, Arch. I., 218 *seqq.*

about them, and that all the more readily as, just at that time, letters from Brussels told of threatening remarks of the Imperialists, which had been made with regard to the arrest of Santa Fiora and Camillo Colonna.[1] On September 30th the Pope summoned the French ambassador and Cardinals Farnese and Carafa to his presence, and deliberated with them as to how he could best defend himself against the plots of the Imperialists.[2]

The Pope was so busy and so fatigued on this day that all audiences were refused.[3] On October 20th he held a consistory, in which he informed the Cardinals that he had resolved on war, so that he might not be taken by surprise. Cardinal Medici thought it his duty to make counter-representations and to urge him to preserve peace. Paul IV. answered: "What business is it of the Emperor's, if I punish one of my subjects?" Medici answered that consideration must be shown to princes, and advised him to appoint a commission of Cardinals to consider the difficulties.[4] Realizing the weakness of his military position, the Pope agreed to this proposal, and at once named a commission of seven members, who were all adherents of the Emperor, with the exception of Carafa. He himself assisted at the first meeting; he defended his position in a long speech, permitted the commission to deliberate with the Imperial ambassador, and declared that if the

[1] *Cf.* Coggiola, Farnese 127; Nonciat. I., lxx.

[2] *Cf.* Caro-Farnese, Lettere, III., 93; Casa, II., 39 *seqq.*; Ribier, II., 618 *seqq.*; Coggiola, Farnesi, 127 *seqq.* Duruy (p. 72 *seqq.*) has already compared the sonorous speech of the Pope, given in Nores (63 *seqq.*) with the rhetorical essays in the style of the ancient historians, which does not prevent Brosch (Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., XXV., 475) from considering the address as authentic! Riess (p. 45, n. 11) points out, with perfect justice, that one must not believe with Duruy, that there were ten hearers (instead of three).

[3] *Letter of G. Aldrovandi, dated Rome, October 2, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] See the report of Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 234 and the report of Serristori in Coggiola, Farnesi, 144 *seqq.*

Imperialists showed themselves inclined to meet him half way, they would find him also ready to forgive, but that if they should take up a hostile attitude, he would fear no monarch, as God would be on his side.[1]

The Duke of Urbino also worked for the preservation of peace. In an audience on October 4th, he made earnest representations to the Pope. He soon saw, however, that it was impossible to prevail against the influence of Carafa and his clique, which was made up almost entirely of Neapolitan and Florentine exiles, such as Bozzuto, della Casa and Silvestro Aldobrandini, who were working with all the power and means at their disposal to bring about a rupture.[2] The alleged attempt at poisoning had given Carafa a better pretext for inducing the Pope to begin hostilities than any other that he could have devised. The demands of the Imperialists, as well as news of the continued preparations for war in Naples, where Marcantonio Colonna was zealously inciting the people against the Pope, finally overcame his reluctance, and he resolved on taking decisive steps.[3]

On October 8th the Pope summoned Cardinals Mendoza, Carpi, Mignanelli, Saraceni, Medici, Cueva, Truchsess, Puteo, Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Carafa, as well as the ambassadors of England, Portugal and Venice, to his private apartments, and made the following announcement to them in fluent Latin : it had always been his first thought, as it still was, to endeavour, with the help of the Cardinals, to find the means of carrying out the much needed reform of the Church, but that while he was devoting himself with his whole heart to this object, the devil had set all the powers of evil to work, and had

[1] Besides Navagero, *loc. cit.* see also MASSARELLI 283 ; *cf.* also COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 145 *seq.*

[2] See the report of Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 236. Concerning the instigation to war made by the exiles see NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 391, 405 *seq.*, 427 and SOMMARIO, 352 *seq.* ; *cf.* also BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, J. de Morvillier (Orléans, 1870), 87.

[3] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 151, and Nonciat. de France, I., lxxi. Concerning the incitements of M. Colonna see his ** letters to Madruzzo of October 4, 1555 (Vice-Regal Archives, Innsbruck).

hatched plots, not only against the Holy See, but also against his own life and that of his relatives. "We cannot say this, my lords ambassadors," he continued, "without pain and grief, but it is the actual state of affairs, which admits of no doubt, and which will be revealed at the proper time. They have forced us to take up arms, and nothing will induce us to lay them down again, as we well remember what happened to Pope Clement, to whom the Emperor's ministers that day had made fine promises, but who had hardly disbanded his troops when the terrible capture of Rome, with all its terrible and frightful devastation took place, which, indeed, was the most awful and godless that ever occurred." The Pope then drew a vivid picture of the atrocities then committed in Rome. "This example," he cried, "moves us deeply, and is ever before our eyes, and we do not intend, like Pope Clement, to be taken unawares and deceived. We are well aware of the weakness of our army, but our cause is the cause of God, Who has founded this Holy See, and Who will defend it." He said he was firmly resolved to maintain the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, but that he would not begin a war unless challenged and forced by necessity to do so. He then requested the ambassadors to communicate all this to their masters. The reasons which the Portuguese ambassador then brought forward in defence of the Imperialists, he would not listen to.[1]

This sensational declaration proves how greatly Paul IV. feared an attempt on his life. Nevertheless, some days elapsed before Carafa and the ambassador of Henry II. succeeded in inducing the Pope, who was again wavering before taking the last decisive step, to sign the draft of an alliance with France. The imprudence of the Imperialists, however, rendered the attainment of the nephew's aim much easier. They demanded information from the Pope as to the number

[1] See the *report of Navagero of October 8, 1555 (State Archives, Venice, translated in Brown, VI., 1, n. 242, and used by Segre in the Mem. d. Accad. di Torino, Ser. 2, LV., 388) and the Portuguese report in Santarem, XII., 434; *cf.* Caro-Farnese, Lettere, III., 105, and Serristori in Coggiola, Farnesi, 151.

of troops he intended to raise. "As many as I choose;" answered the Pope angrily, "I shall not allow myself to be dictated to; I am free, and acknowledge no master over me save God alone."[1] The Pope signed the draft of the alliance on October 14th, and on the same day it was also signed by the French ambassador, a period of forty days being allowed for its confirmation by Henry II.[2]

All this was done with the greatest secrecy, and even Cardinal Farnese learned nothing of it. The Pope did not seem to have fully realized the importance of this too hasty signing of the draft. When the situation temporarily improved on October 15th, owing to the agreement of the commission of Cardinals with the Imperialists,[3] it disturbed Carafa as greatly as the fact that Paul IV. got on very well with the unassuming ambassador-extraordinary of the Hapsburgs, Garcilasso de la Vega, and again seemed inclined to peace.[4] The final decision, however, did not lie in Rome, but in Paris and Ferrara. Should the alliance with Henry II. and Duke Ercole become an accomplished fact, then affairs would develop of themselves in the sense desired by Cardinal Carafa.

In this, however, the patience of the nephew was sorely tried, for it was not until November 20th that Cardinal Guise and two days later, Cardinal Tournon, arrived in Rome with full authority for the conclusion of the alliance. Both took up their residence in the Vatican.[5] They were able to announce

[1] See in Appendix No. 13 the *report of Navagero of October 12, 1555 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). *Cf.* CAVALCANTI, Lettere, 126 *seq.*

[2] CASA, Opere, V., 77 (Neapolitan edition). NORES, 35. DURUY' 78 *seqq.* RIESS, 60 *seqq.* COGGIOLA, Farnesi, 158 *seqq.* Nonciat., II., 325 *seq.*

[3] See MASSARELLI, 284.

[4] See Legaz. di Serristori, 378 *seq.* The instructions for Garcilasso de la Vega, who was to announce the abdication of the Netherlands in favour of Philip II., in the Archives of Simanca, Leg. 882 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*, and an extract in RIESS, 69 *seq.*

[5] See CARO-FARNESE, Lettere, III., 115; Navagero in BROWN, VI., 3, App. n. 134; *Avviso di Roma de 23 Nov., 1555 (Cod. Vat. 8223, p. 23. Vatican Library); *cf.* RIESS, 72 *seq.* and Nonciat., I., lxxiv; II., 278, 298.

that Duke Ercole II. also had been won over to a Franco-Papal alliance against Spain.[1] During the course of the negotiations, which were held in profound secrecy, they came to an agreement as to an offensive and defensive alliance, which was signed on December 15th by the Pope and both the Cardinals.

By this treaty, which was signed by the Pope's own hand,[2] and contained several changes from the text agreed upon in October, the French king pledged himself to assist the Holy See against everyone; he should only have the right to withdraw from the league in the event of his own dominions being attacked. Henry II. took Cardinal Carafa and his brothers Giovanni and Antonio under his protection, and promised that, for the property which they would lose in Naples, he would grant them corresponding indemnification, either in Italy or in France The defensive and offensive league between the King and the Pope should only be entered upon with regard to Italy, exclusive of Piedmont. A sum of 500,000 gold scudi, of which the Pope was to pay 150,000, was to be deposited in Venice or Rome within three months, to defray the expenses of the war. The French auxiliary army which was to be sent to Italy was fixed at 12,000 men, and, in addition to this, the Pope was to provide 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. The war was to be directed, according to the desire of the Pope, either against Naples or Tuscany, from which the Medici were to be expelled. With regard to the conquests that were to be made, it was decided that Siena and its territory should fall to the Holy See, or, if the inhabitants should be agreeable, to the Count of Montorio or another ruler

[1] See Muratori, Antichità Estens., II., 381; Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 3, XXV., 52 *seqq.*; Baguenault de Puchesse in the Rev. des quest. hist., V., 501; Nonciat. II., 313 n.; *cf.* Ercole d'Este, Due lettere al rè Enrico II. di Francia e al conestabile di Francia del 22 Novembre, 1555, relative alla convenzione stipulata in Ferrara il 16 (15) Novembre 1555 fra il duca di Ferrara e il rè di Francia per unirsi insieme col papa ai danni della Spagna (*Per nozze* Sarro Ferraguti con A. Menegatti, Agenta, 1896).

[2] See the report of G. Soranzo in Brown, VI., 1, n. 343.

of the Pope's appointment; Naples and Milan were to belong to the sons of Henry II., but not to the Dauphin. The French prince who received Naples was to hold it as a fief of the Church, was to pay an annual subsidy to the amount of 20,000 gold scudi, and was not to interfere in ecclesiastical matters; all the territory to the west of the line which runs from S. Germano to the mouth of the Garigliano, the right bank of this river, the town of Gaeta, and that part of the Abruzzi which is north of the river Pescara, were to be incorporated into the States of the Church. The Count of Montorio and Antonio Carafa were to receive endowments in the Neapolitan territory which would yield them 25,000 and 15,000 gold scudi respectively. Entrance into the league was to be kept open for the Duke of Ferrara, the Venetians and the Swiss.[1]

This treaty was concluded with so much secrecy that Cardinal Farnese, with all his craft and skill, was not able to learn anything about it. The Imperialists were completely deceived and their suspicions were not even aroused.[2]

The good terms on which Paul IV. stood with the Romans, who were highly delighted at the reduction of the taxes, found expression at the beginning of December, when they offered the Pope a body-guard[3] of 100 young men of good family, for the defence of his person. On November 3rd a review of the Roman troops, consisting of about 8000 men, had been held in St. Peter's Square, and an immense sensation was caused

[1] See SUMMONTE, Hist. di Napoli, IV., Naples, 1675, 278 *seq.*; CASA, Opere, V., 73-83 (Neapolitan edition); NORES, 36 *seq.* 41; DURUY, 88 *seq.*; GORI, Archivio, I., 26 *seq.*, 193 *seq.* (with wrong date). The decision regarding Siena was made in a separate article, which could, according to circumstances, be kept secret; see Nonciat. I., lxxvii *seq.*, II., 368 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Nonciat., I., lxxiv. *seqq.*, lxxviii. *seq.*

[3] See MASSARELLI, 289, 285. This guard was the origin of the so-called "Lanze spezzate" (see MORONI, XLV., 111; see also CROSTAROSA, Le milizie urbane di Roma, Roma, 1897, 31). Concerning the reduction of the taxes see Navagero's *letter of November 30, 1555 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

at the beginning of December by the arrest of the Datary, Giovan Battista Osio, who had hitherto been a man of very great influence ; it was said that he was accused of having an understanding with the Imperialists.[1]

The anti-Hapsburg feelings of Paul IV. were still further increased by the news of the far-reaching concessions granted by Ferdinand I. to the Protestants, in the religious peace at Augsburg, and of the intention of Charles V. to abdicate in favour of his brother, without having first obtained the consent of the Holy See. The Pope, who adhered strictly to the mediæval idea of the Imperial dignity, saw in this intention of Charles V. a serious encroachment upon his rights. Charles had, on October 22nd, 1555, surrendered the government of the Netherlands to his son, Philip II., and on January 16th, 1556, he prepared the documents by which he also resigned the kingdoms of Leon, Castile and Aragon in Philip's favour. Charles, who was still only fifty-five years of age, but was worn out by trouble and illness, was also firmly resolved to resign the title of Emperor.

A document, dated December 29th, 1555, conferred the office of Captain-General of the Church on the Pope's eldest nephew, Giovanni Carafa, Count of Montorio, which office the Duke of Urbino, who did not approve of the war, had just resigned. The preamble of this document explained in detail the necessity for arming the Holy See, on the ground that many only obeyed from motives of fear.[2] The Count of Montorio, as to whose military capacity grave doubts were entertained, received the bâton of commander-in-chief on January 1st,

[1] See the *report of Navagero of December 3, 1555, which emphasizes the " meraviglia d'ognuno sendo (il Datario) di quella autorità che era appresso di lui che potea quasi al pari et più del card. Carafa " (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). RODOCANACHI (St. Ange, 159) gives a wrong date for the arrest. The Dataria was now placed under Cardinals Scotti, Motula and Reumano ; see Navagero's *report of January 4, 1556, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Brevia ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 312 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

1556, in the Sixtine Chapel, from the hands of the Pope, and then rode in solemn procession to the Capitol.[1]

In the midst of the great festivities which were then held in honour of the Pope's nephew,[2] the news arrived that the consort of Ascanio Colonna, the once famous beauty Giovanna d'Aragona, who had been forbidden to leave Rome on her own initiative, or to celebrate the betrothal of one of her daughters, had fled from the palace adjoining the Church of S.S. Apostoli. Giovanna escaped in disguise with her daughters by the Porta S. Lorenzo, through Tivoli into the Abruzzi.[3] As she was very much beloved by the people, who were adherents of the Colonna family, the Pope feared a rising and took military measures of precaution for the night. The captain of the gate paid for his carelessness or his corruptibility with his life, while the soldiers of the guard were sent to the galleys, and Giuliano Cesarini was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, on suspicion of complicity.[4] At the same time the most severe measures were adopted towards the insurgent nobles in the States of the Church, and Marcantonio Colonna was summoned to appear in Rome under pain of being declared a rebel.[5]

When Sarria and Garcilasso de la Vega once more spoke on behalf of Colonna in an audience on January 7th, 1556, a

[1] See MASSARELLI, 268 and the letter of G. Aldrovandi, dated Rome, January 1, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna). Card. Medici congratulated the Count of Montorio in an autograph* letter of January 7, 1556 (Cod. Barb. lat., 5698, p. 7). Concerning the difference with the Duke of Urbino see DURUY, 101, 406 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the report of G. Aldrovandi, dated Rome, December 28, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] See, besides Navagero in the Atti. Mod., Ser. 3, II., 158 *seqq.*, and MASIUS, Briefe, 233, the detailed statements in the *Avviso di Roma 1556, Gennaio I. (Cod. Urb., 1038, p. 119, Vatican Library).

[4] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 337, 347 and the *Avviso of January 11, 1556 *loc. cit.*, 121 ; *cf.* also Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 333 *seqq.*

[5] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 347 and the *Avvisi of January 18 and 25, 1556 *loc. cit.*, 124 [b], 128.

violent scene took place. The Pope would brook no interference with his affairs, and declared that the Colonna had always been the enemies of the Holy See. The Marquis de Sarria then also adopted a haughty tone and requested a plain answer, as he had so far only had fair words, with which the Pope's actions did not agree. Thereupon Paul IV. next morning instructed his nephew to send fourteen officers out to enlist 3000 men.[1]

It was every day becoming more evident that things were drifting towards war. On February 7th, 1556, the Pope said to the Venetian ambassador, Navagero, in whom he had full confidence, that he would speak openly to him. "We are obliged," he continued, "to put up with so many and such great insults from these Imperialists, that we have surpassed Job in patience. We possess so many proofs of their plots and traitorous practices that we could astonish you with their recital, if we had the time." He then again referred to the poisoning story, in which he firmly believed. The Pope finished with the significant declaration "We greatly fear that we must have recourse to that most dreadful measure (ad ultimum terribilium)—war. We shall wage it against our will, but it may, perhaps, be the best way of punishing our enemies for their sins, and of freeing poor, unhappy Italy.[2]

On February 12th, 1556, followed the dispatch of Antonio Carafa to the Duke of Ferrara, for whom was destined the position of a general in the anti-Imperial league.[3] Before

[1] See the report of Navagero of January 11, 1556 in the Atti Mod., Ser. 3, II, 160.

[2] See the letter of Navagero of February 8, 1556 in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 381; *cf.* also Navagero's report of December 19th, 1555 in ANCEL, Sienne, 27.

[3] The instructions for A. Carafa in CASA, II., 60 *seq.*, the *letter of credence for Carafa of February 7, 1556 in the State Archives, Modena. The appointment of Ercole as *dux et capitaneus generalis* was made in a secret brief of February 26, 1556 (see PIEPER, 81, n. 4; *cf.* BROMATO, II., 293; DURUY, 106 *seq.*; ANCEL, Secrét., 18), which the Duke received on March 2; he immediately thanked the Pope (see FONTANA, II., 417 *seq.*) By the

this, on January 20th, the Duke of Somma, a relative of the Pope, had been sent to the French court, to beg Henry II. to lose no time in carrying out the terms of the treaty of alliance, which he had ratified on January 18th; he was also commissioned to find out definitely what were the real intentions of the French sovereign, concerning which some anxiety was felt in Rome.[1]

*brief of March 14, 1556, Paul IV. ratified the directions of Henry II. for Ercole as a general of the league (State Archives, Modena). *Ibid* the *brief of September 15, 1556 by which the appointment was made public, and a *brief of December 30, 1556, which announces the dispatch of the consecrated *stocco et cappello.*

[1] * See the instructions in CASA, II., 48 *seq.*; *cf.* PIEPER, *loc. cit.* and Nonciat., I., lxxx.; II., 324 *seq.* The *brief, dated January 22, 1556, then addressed to Henry II. in the Brevia ad princ. *loc, cit.*, n. 317 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

CHAPTER V.

Events Leading to the War with Spain.

While everything in Rome was assuming a warlike appearance,[1] a dispatch sent by special courier from the nuncio in France, Sebastiano Gualterio, arrived during the night of February 14th, 1556, with the news that an armistice for five years had been concluded at Vaucelles between the French, the Emperor and Philip II.[2] The far-reaching plans of Carafa were thereby completely upset, and the States of the Church delivered over to the revenge of an irritated and powerful enemy. The dismay at the Vatican was all the greater as Henry II.'s ratification of the league had only arrived a few days before.[3]

The French ambassador only received news of the great change effected by the Constable de Montmorency on February 21st; on the same day a letter from Henry II. reached the Pope, who received the communication with very mixed

[1] *Cf.* Masius, Briefe, 233, 234 *seq.* An *Avviso of February 15, 1556, announces the strengthening of the Papal army; 12,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry had been raised, all the gates were closed except four, and nobody was allowed to pass without strict inquiry. (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 138. Vatican Library).

[2] See the *report of Bongianni Gianfigliazzi to Cosimo I., dated Rome, February 18, 1556 (State Archives, Florence); the despatch of Seb. Gualterio to Cardinal Carafa, dated Blois, February 6, 1556 (Nonciat., II., 337). The text of the armistice (in Gori, Arch., I., 193 *seq.*; *cf.* also Duruy, De pactis a. 1556 apud Volcellas indutis, Paris, 1883) was made known in Rome on March 4, 1556, in a pamphlet; see *Diario di Cola Coleine (Chigi Library, N. II., 32).

[3] On February 11, according to the instructions for A. Carafa of February 12, in Casa, Opere, V., 102 (Neapolitan edition).

feelings.[1] Cardinal Carafa felt the blow most keenly, for all his plans and all his schemes had rested on the alliance with France. The astute politician was, however, able to pull himself together very quickly. He considered the changed situation in detail with his trusted friend, Giovanni della Casa, and a new plan was soon formed, which shows that the freedom and independence of the Holy See was not the lofty aim which the Cardinal had in view in his dangerous policy, but only the aggrandisement of his own family. In order to gain Siena for his house, no effort was to be spared to induce Henry II. to repudiate what had been arranged at Vaucelles; if, however, he would not agree to this, the negotiations were to be continued all the same, and everything done to form an anti-Imperial coalition. After the anxiety of the Imperialists had been aroused by this scare, Carafa intended to whisper to them that the best way to put an end to these dangerous proceedings would be to cede a state, for example, Siena, to the family of the Pope's nephew.[2]

Such were the aims, and such was the course of the Machiavellian policy of the man to whom Paul IV., ignorant as he was of the ways of the world, had imprudently entrusted the secular affairs of the Holy See. While the Pope looked upon

[1] S.S.^{tà} ne haveva fatta allegrezza con le lagrime," we are told in the *Avviso of February 22, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 131, Vatican Library). *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 392. We learn from Navagero's reports of February 15 and 21, 1556, in BROWN, VI., I., n. 392 and 405, that Paul IV. persuaded himself that he had, by his unbending attitude, forced the arrangement of an armistice which was unfavourable to the Imperialists. G. Aldrovandi mentions the arrival of Henry II.'s letter in his *report of February 22, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See the *Discorso all' ill. et rev. Card. Caraffa per impetrare dalla M^{tà} dell' Imp. Carlo V. lo stato et dominio di Siena,* first printed in CASA, Opere, IV., 35 *seq.* (Neapolitan edition). ANCEL (Sienne, 3 *seqq.* and Nonciat., I., lxxxii. *seq.*) explained the circumstances under which Casa drew up this record and published it in the Nonciat. II., 593 *seq.*, after the original in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the liberty of the Church and Italy as his highest aim, his nephew was only thinking of the advantage of the house of Carafa. What the Borgia, the Medici and the Farnese had attempted with more or less success, the acquisition of principalities for their families, Carafa also wished to accomplish, quite regardless of the dangers into which he would plunge the States of the Church and the Holy See. It is indeed a tragedy that he succeeded in leading his uncle, who, in virtue of his whole character and his former activities, belonged to the strictly ecclesiastical party, to enter upon such a tragic course.

Carafa felt himself, at that time, so completely master of the situation, that he had no doubt of being able to manage the Pope, in a political sense, in this new state of affairs. One thing is very significant in this connection. The document drawn up by della Casa, containing an outline of the above political programme of Carafa, shows that Paul IV. was not initiated into the secrets of his nephew. It is, on the contrary, clear from this document, to what an extent Carafa looked upon the head of the Church, in political matters, as a factor which he could pass over with impunity.[1] Indeed, Carafa knew so well how to take advantage of the weaknesses of his uncle that, thanks to his cunning and skill, his most daring enterprises succeeded only too well.

He also showed the greatest craftiness in his dealings with the French. As soon as he had recovered from his indescribable astonishment at the conclusion of the armistice of Vaucelles, he pretended to accept it as an accomplished fact, but all the time worked secretly and with all his power, to have it annulled, and also, in the event of his not being successful in this, to attain, all the same, his principal aim, the acquisition of Siena.[2]

Carafa was of opinion that such a difficult task could neither be accomplished by tedious negotiations in writing, nor by the

[1] See the excellent details in Ancel, Sienne, 8.

[2] See the instructions for the Duke of Somma of March 5, 1556, in Casa, II., 67 *seq.* and also Ancel, Sienne, 11 *seq.*

use of intermediaries. A successful issue seemed to him possible if he were to go himself as ambassador, and come into direct contact with Henry II. He therefore very soon decided upon a French legation, and it was only necessary to obtain the Pope's consent to such a plan; this he easily succeeded in getting.

It had troubled Carafa very little when Paul IV., who was very susceptible to sudden impressions, had embraced the Imperial ambassador on February 17th, 1556, and had congratulated him on the armistice,[1] for he knew very well how easily his long and deeply rooted anti-Spanish sentiments would be again aroused at the slightest imprudence on the part of the Imperialists.[2] This feeling was so strong that Paul IV. took no offence at the secret negotiations which Carafa was carrying on with a confidant of the Protestant Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg, who was known as the bitter enemy of the Emperor, and it was only when Cardinal Truchsess unmasked the agent as a Lutheran and an intriguer, that the Pope ordered him to leave.[3] The position is again reflected in a report of the Venetian ambassador on March 14th. "The Pope," explains Navagero, "wishes to remain armed, for he is convinced that this is the only way to keep the Imperialists in check. It is known in the Vatican that during a conference of the Imperial generals the cry was raised: 'To Rome!' to which the more thoughtful answered: 'To what purpose?' Do you not know that the Pope is armed, and that everyone in Rome would fight for

[1] See the report of Gianfigliazzi of February 18, 1556, in ANCEL, Sienne, 3.

[2] *Cf.* for this, Navagero's letters of February 15 and 28, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 392, 415.

[3] *Cf.* RIESS, 87 *seqq.*, 425 *seqq.*, in which, however, the important statements which ANCEL (Disgrâce, 115 *seq.*) had already made with regard to this matter are overlooked. The disagreements in which Carafa entangled the Pope through his machinations can be seen from the **brief of September 5, 1555 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

him ? "[1] The strictness with which the Pope maintained his authority in Rome had made the deepest impression ; no one dared to move, not even the Cardinals.[2]

Instead of taking into account the self-assurance of the Pope, the Imperialists, just at that moment, committed another of their imprudent actions. The Marquis de Sarria, who was an ardent sportsman, had obtained the privilege, through the Count of Montorio, of leaving the city during the time that the gates were closed. When he was about to make use of this permission, before daybreak on March 25th, he met with determined opposition. The officer who was in command of the Porta S. Agnese had not been informed, through carelessness, of the permission granted to the ambassador, and refused to open the gate. Thereupon the arrogant suite of Sarria used force, disarmed the guard and broke open the gate.[3] While the weak Count of Montorio

[1] Brown, VI., 1, n. 425. Concerning the preparations for war by the Pope who feared a new Sack see Hosii epist. II., n. 1568, and Pray, Epist. proc. regni Hung., III., Posen, 1806, 85. The strict control exercised at the gates is emphasized by Lasso in his *letter to Ferdinand I. on April 11, 1556 (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See Masius, Briefe, 241, 243, 258.

[3] *Cf.* concerning this occurrence, the *report of Gianfigliazzi of March 30, 1556 (State Archives, Florence) ; also the letter of E. Carne (ed. Turnbull, n. 494) and Navagero (Brown, VI., 1, n. 447) and *Summarii* 350. Sarria protested (see Nonciat. I., lxxxv. n. 3) against Carafa's version of the event (in Casa, II., 75 *seq.*). According to Carne the circumstance took place on the "Wednesday before Palme Sunday," but Riess (p. 96) gives it as March 18, in doing which he takes it for granted that the Easter of 1556 fell on March 29. This is, however, a mistake, for Easter in that year fell on April 5, Palm Sunday on March 29, and the occurrence, therefore, on March 25. Ipp. Capilupi reports in a *letter to Cardinal E. Gonzaga dated Rome, March 25, 1556, concerning the discovery of a plot to murder Cardinal Carafa, for which a German was executed (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

was endeavouring to arrange the affair amicably, Cardinal Carafa very skilfully made use of it to bring to the Pope's notice the arrogance and insolence of the Spaniards. Paul IV., who held jealously to the maintenance of his authority, took a serious view of the matter, and when Sarria came to the Papal chapel on Palm Sunday to take part in the function, he was ordered out of the palace. In order to make his peace with the Pope, he begged for an audience, which was granted to him for March 31st, but when some one (probably the Count of Montorio, who wished to avoid a scandal) told him that he would, this time, be taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, he failed to appear at the audience. In the meantime, legal proceedings were instituted against the guilty parties, and several members of the ambassador's suite were arrested.[1] All the attempts of Sarria to soothe the irritated pontiff proved vain, as we are informed by a correspondent on April 11th, 1556.[2] On the same day the suit against Cesarini was also brought to an end.[3]

On the previous day, April 10th, the Pope had astonished the Cardinals and the whole world by appointing two legates for the arrangement of peace.[4] Cardinal Carafa was destined for France, and Scipione Rebiba, who had recently been raised to the purple, for the Emperor and Philip II. It was rumoured that Cardinal Farnese would also go to France.[5]

[1] See Navagero's report in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 459; *cf.* RIESS, 97.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of April 11, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 133, Vatican Library).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See Acta consist. cancell. VII. (Consistorial Archives). *Cf.* reports from the Carteggio Farnesiano in the State Archives, Parma, in COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 234, and the *letter of Lasso to Ferdinand I. of April 11, 1556 (State Archives, Vienna).

[5] See the *Avviso cited *supra* note 2. On May 30, 1556, Andrea Calegari wrote to Commendone, then staying in Venice. *Si dice chel card. Farnese non andrà più in Francia, che N.S. non gli ha voluto dar licentia con dirli che non vole che l'abbandoni (Lett. de' princ. XXIII., n. 1. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

The verbose instructions for the legates announced the intention of the Pope to summon a General Council to Rome, to deal with the question of reform, and contained orders to work for the bringing about of peace, as a necessary preliminary to such an assembly. The French king had made over to Paul IV. the right of arbitration in all matters, and he trusted that a corresponding readiness to meet his advances would be shown by the other side.[1] Should the Imperialists really refuse peace—and that was the Pope's firm conviction, in view of Charles V.'s pride and thirst for new territory—then there would be plain proof that it was they who had destroyed the tranquillity of Christendom.[2]

While preparations were being made for the mission of Carafa, who was to proclaim by his outward pomp the greatness of the sovereign whom he represented, on May 2nd

[1] See PIEPER, 194 *seqq.*; *cf.* ANCEL, Sienne, 15 *seqq.* and Nonciat. I., lxxxvii. *seq.* concerning the secret *Instruttione vulgare del card. Carafa* (published in Nonciat., II., 603 *seq.*), a memorandum drawn up by Casa in May, 1556, with regard to the legation of his master, which has already been printed, a fact which has escaped the notice of Ancel, by MARTINETTI in the Riv. Europ., 1877, IV., 228 *seqq.* There are also two instructions for Rebiba. The first, beginning: "Quamvis antequam pontificatum inivimus" (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Varia Polit,. LXXVIII., 145 *seq.*, and Court Library, Vienna, 6621, p. 21 *seq.*), this is the one from which PALLAVICINI has made extracts (13, 17). The second, in which the Council is not mentioned, but which in many places exactly coincides verbally with the first, had been published by CAMPANA in the work A.V. Cian i suoi scolari, Pisa, 1909, 125 *seq.*; the first instruction, however, is not known to this investigator, although not only Pallavicini, but Pieper also (*loc. cit*) discuss it. In the *Brevia ad princ., Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 347 *seqq.*, the briefs to the respective princes regarding the dispatch of the legates, all dated April 22, 1556 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The Bull for Carafa of April 10, is now printed in the Nonciat., II., 599 *seq.*; this was only intended for the public; see *ibid.* I., lxxxvii.

[2] See Navagero's report of April 11, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 453; *cf.* also Nonciat. I., lxxxvi.

further friction arose between the Papal officials and the members of the Imperial embassy; the anger of the Pope against Sarria, which was already violent enough, was so much increased by this that he even spoke of having him executed.[1]

Two days after this occurrence, the Cardinals were informed in a Bull that, as the final result of the long drawn out suit against Ascanio and Marcantonio Colonna, these nobles were declared to be excommunicated and their estates forfeited. In the preamble to this document, mention was made of the anti-Papal proceedings of the Colonna family since the time of Boniface VIII., and the misdeeds of Pompeo and Ascanio under Clement VII., Paul III. and Julius III. Marcantonio, it stated, had followed in their footsteps, opposing the orders of the present Pope since the beginning of his reign, hindering the importation of grain into Rome, and entering into a plot with the enemies of the Holy See.[2]

On May 9th all the Cardinals were summoned in the Vatican for the following day. The Pope then informed them, in few and terse words, that he had resolved to bestow Paliano, and the remainder of the fiefs of the Colonna, together with the title of Duke, on the Count of Montorio, who would certainly prove himself a true and obedient vassal of the Holy See. He had not summoned the Cardinals in order to ask their consent and advice, for he was determined to drive the enemy out of his house, so that, in future, no one would have any cause for fear. The members of the Sacred College received in silence this declaration, so pregnant with direful consequences, of a Pope who, at one time, when he was a Cardinal,

[1] See Navagero's report of May 5, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 475; *cf.* RIESS, 103 *seqq.*; MASIUS, Briefe, 279.

[2] See the text of the bull in PASSARINI, 189 *seqq.* and in DURUY, 359 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 130 *seqq.* and Navagero's report in the Atti Mod. Ser. 3, II., 165 *seq.* In the *Acta consist. cancell. VII. it says: "Romae die lunae 4 Maii, 1556, fuit consistorium, in quo lecta fuit sententia privationis Paliani et aliarum terrarum Ascanii et Marci Antonii de Colonna assistentibus ibidem rev^mi." (Consistorial Archives).

could not say enough in condemnation of the nepotism of the Popes, but who now had himself fallen into exactly the same fault. They then proceeded to Mass in the Sixtine Chapel, where Giovanni Carafa, already clothed in the gold embroidered mantle of a duke, had taken his place at the foot of the throne. The Pope blessed him, and handed him the sword and spurs, the red velvet cap, richly set with pearls and jewels, and the gilded sceptre. He touched the shoulder of his nephew three times with the sword and received from him the oath of fealty and the tribute for the fief. Those assembled gathered from the bull of investiture, which was very indistinctly read by the secretary, Barengo, that the Count of Montorio and his descendants were raised to the dignity of Dukes of Paliano, and that the eldest son, in this case Diomede, should bear the title of Marchese di Cave. The annual tribute to be paid on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, was fixed at 1,000 ducats.

After this ceremony, the new duke, accompanied by the notabilities of Rome, and part of the Papal troops, repaired to the Capitol, the thunder of the cannon welcoming him on his arrival at the Castle of St. Angelo. Rome was illuminated in the evening and a banquet was held at the Vatican, to which the Venetian and Polish ambassadors were invited, as well as the Cardinals. When the guests had risen from the table, the Pope declared, in a speech which he made to them, the very great pleasure which it afforded him that God should have inspired him to this act just in this month, and almost on the very day of the sack of Rome in 1527. "Your countrymen," he added, turning towards Cardinals Pacheco and Cueva, "were the scoundrels who committed that ruthless deed." He said that he would next day deliver the cross to the peace legates, and declared that, on the whole, he had confidence in the French king. "I do not know," he continued, again turning to the Spanish Cardinals, "what is to be expected from your nation; I shall, however, clear up all doubt on this point, and I shall not fail to do my duty." Then the Pope proceeded to enlarge, in his rhetorical manner, on the unhappy times, in which heresy was always bringing

new kingdoms into danger. The ambassador of the King of Poland, who very well understood the reference to his sovereign, now became as embarrassed as the Spanish Cardinals, who scarcely dared to raise their eyes. We also learn from the report of the Venetian ambassador, who describes this painful scene, that when he was signing the bull of investiture, Cardinal Tournon remarked that his signature would not be considered valid in France, as he had not taken part in any of the deliberations concerning the matter. Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo refused to sign, as he had not been present at the meeting of the Cardinals, and, moreover, did not think the act was salutary, either for the Holy See or for Carafa.[1]

The seizure of the Colonna territory was effected quite quietly under the protection of the Papal troops; nevertheless, not only Rocca di Papa, but Paliano as well, were strongly fortified, regardless of Alba's protest that he could not allow such a proceeding in the neighbourhood of the Neapolitan frontier.[2]

After both the legates had received the cross on May 11th,[3] Carafa left for Civitavecchia on the 19th, and set sail from there two days later.[4]

[1] Besides Navagero's letter of May, 16, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 484, *cf.* in the *Avviso di Roma of May 11, 1556, (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 137 *seqq.* Vatican Library) and the *report of Camillo Paleotti of May 13, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna); see also MASIUS, Briefe, 258; COLA COLEINE, *Diario, in the Chigi Library N. II. 32. The text of the bull of investiture in PASSARINI, 197 *seqq.*

[2] See BROWN, VI., 1, n. 484 and 492; *cf.* also RIESS, 107 *seqq.*, who erroneously places Rocca di Papa, which is in the Alban hills, at the entrance to Civitavecchia!

[3] See MASSARELLI, 291.

[4] The statement of Massarelli, that Carafa started on the 11th (Mél. d'archéol., XXII., 100), or 18th of May, is erroneous; Navagero (in ANCEL, Sienne, 15), the *Avviso di Roma of May 23 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 139. Vatican Library), a letter of C. Paleotti, dated Rome, May 20, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna), and Gianfigliazzi in his *letter of May 23 (State Archives, Florence), all give the 19th.

He had received 10,000 scudi from the Pope in cash, and as much in bills, for the expenses of his mission. His suite consisted of about 250 persons, many of them being Florentine and Neapolitan exiles. The most distinguished members were Pietro Strozzi and his brother Roberto, Paolo Giordano Orsini, the Archbishops of Cosenza and S. Severino, and several other prelates, such as the Bishop of Pola, and the auditor of the Rota, Ugo Boncompagni.[1]

The legate, whose place in Rome was filled by the Duke of Paliano,[2] was to present to the king a consecrated sword and hat, and to the queen the Golden Rose; he also made several other presents, among which were some pieces of antique sculpture.[3]

Diplomatists in Rome at once concluded that the mission of Carafa was by no means intended to bring about peace, but was, on the contrary, undertaken with a view of leading to a repudiation of what had been decided on at Vaucelles.[4]

[1] See besides Navagero's letters of April 18 and 23, 1556 (Brown, VI., 1, n. 459), the reports in Coggiola, A. d. Cornia, 240 *seqq.*, Ancel, Sienne, 16 and Nonciat., I., xxxiv. *seq.*; also the *Avviso di Roma of May 23, 1556 (*loc. cit.*) and the *report of Sarria, dated Rome, May 21, 1556, where P. Strozzi is described as "principal consultor del card. Carafa" (Archives at Simancas, Leg. 883).

[2] See Nonciat. II., 438 n. 2.

[3] Besides the reports taken from Ancel see also the *letter of Sarria cited *supra* note 1. The *brief to Carafa concerning the presents for the French royal family (*cf.* for this Barbier de Montault, Oeuvres compl., I., 269, where for Paul III. we must read Paul IV.), dated April 22, 1556, in the original in the State Archives, Paris, and in draft in the Brevia ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 352 *Cf. ibid* n. 353 a corresponding *brief to Henry II. of April 22, 1556, to the following effect: Ad eam enim inter vos concordiam et pacem, quam praesentes indutiae nobis pollicentur, tuto conservandam, nihil esse opportunius videtur contra eos, qui eam perturbare atque omnia miscere conantur, quam iustitiae gladius et salutis galea. *Cf. ibid.*, n. 355, the *brief to the queen on the same day (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] Lasso gives this view as early as April 11, 1556, in a *report to Ferdinand I. (Secret State Archives, Vienna).

There is, however, so far, no proof that the legate had, at that time, received any instructions to that effect. Carafa himself declared later on, during the course of his trial, that it was only after his arrival at the French court, that he received any such orders. As it would have been very advantageous for him, who had been made responsible for the violation of the armistice, to be able to point to such instructions, his statement seems worthy of belief. The first reports of the legate, who reached Fontainebleau on June 16th, concerning his preliminary negotiations, also bear out his statement.[1] It was only when threatening news arrived from Rome with regard to the intentions of the Imperialists and the Colonna, that the position was altered, and that Carafa began to work assiduously to bring about a military invasion of Italy by the French. As Henry II. seemed to lend a favourable ear to his proposals, Carafa reported somewhat prematurely to Rome, on June 25th, that he would soon return accompanied by 30 galleys and 3,000 infantry.[2] When the French king begged the Duke of Ferrara to assist the Pope against the Colonna, in an autograph letter of June 29th, Carafa so far lost sight of all idea of seemliness, as openly to attack Philip II. on July 5th, before all the ambassadors, as the accomplice of the rebellious Colonna. As early as July 13th, the legate announced that he intended to return.[3] Cardinal Rebiba, who had only left Rome on May 30th, and had then travelled very slowly, received orders to return home, as his mission to Brussels now had no object.[4]

[1] The above is in accordance with the excellent details given by ANCEL, Sienne, 17 *seqq.* Carafa's reports from France have now been published by ANCEL in the Nonciat., II., 405 *seqq.*; the first report of June 17 had already been made known in its essentials by LÄMMER (Melet., 173 *seq.*).

[2] See ANCEL, Sienne, 20 *seqq.* Concerning the threatening intentions of the Spanish *cf.* Nonciat., II., 422 n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 537; RIESS, 120 *seqq.*; ANCEL, Sienne, 20 *seqq.* Ancel has corrected the date (July 13 instead of June 13) of the first letter of Carafa, published by DURUY (p. 366).

[4] See PIEPER, 88-89; HINOJOSA, 98; *cf.* RIESS, 115, who maintains strongly that Rebiba started on his journey on June

The decisive crisis took place in Rome on June 20th. On that day the Pope again indulged, in the presence of the Venetian ambassador, in the most violent language against the Emperor, "this heretic and schismatic who has always favoured false doctrine in order to oppress the Holy See, and make himself master of Rome, for he not only regards this city as his own, but the whole of the States of the Church, and indeed all Italy, Venice included." It was certain, he said, that Charles V. had the intention of again reinstating the Colonna in their possessions, of making open war on the Holy See, and, finally, of refusing his obedience even in ecclesiastical matters. "Woe to him, however, if he attempts this!" continued Paul IV., "we shall then raise the whole world against him, deprive him of his Imperial dignity and his kingdom, and let him see what we are able to perform by virtue of the authority of Christ."[1]

A few days later the Pope again broke out, to Navagero, into the most violent complaints about the "treachery" of the "heretical" Emperor. No worse man, he declared, had lived for a thousand years, and the devil had chosen him as his tool in order to paralyse the Papal efforts at reform. "The Imperialists," continued the Pope, "may deceive others, but not us, for we have taken precautions, and God's protection will not fail us; we have friends, for when the liberty of Italy is at stake, there can be no doubt as to the unity of all Italians. We also possess a great following in Naples. We shall only call upon Venice when events seem to promise a favourable

9; according to the *report of Giovan Andrea Calegari to Commendone, dated Rome, May 30, 1556, Rebiba started on May 30 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). MASIUS, Briefe, 263, also agrees with this. Concerning Rebiba's recall see Nonciat., II., 447 n. 1.

[1] See Navagero's report of June 20, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, 518; *cf.* also G. Aldobrandini's letter to Carafa, of June 21, 1556, used by ANCEL (Sienne, 20) in a translation, to which COGGIOLA (A. d. Cornia, 249) drew attention. Both have overlooked the fact that it had already been printed in PASSARINI, 124 *seqq.*

and certain result, for we are aware of the discretion which the Signoria has to exercise." In this audience, which lasted for two hours, the Pope kept on repeating his assertion that his hope was fixed on God, Who would not abandon his cause.[1]

The reconciliation which Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo had brought about at that time between the Pope and Sarria,[2] no longer sufficed to alter the course of events. The attitude of the Imperialists and the Colonna seemed so threatening to Paul IV. that he believed that precautions must be taken to ensure his own safety. The terrifying picture of the events of 1527 was always before his eyes, and the fear that he might suffer the fate of Clement VII. had taken complete possession of his imagination. "As an attack by the Imperialists is expected here," writes Navagero on June 27th, "fresh troops have arrived in Rome." When the ambassador had another audience with the Pope on July 3rd, the latter again made use of the strongest expressions against Charles V., "this miserable and sorry creature, this cripple in body and soul." If the Emperor should really begin a war against him, repeated the Pope, he would be forced to have recourse to the last and most terrible weapon which Christ had bestowed on him, that of withdrawing all ecclesiastical revenues from Charles V., and declaring his throne forfeited.[3]

The situation was daily becoming more critical. Just as the Pope was disturbed by the warlike preparations of Alba, so was the latter irritated by the precautionary measures taken by Paul IV., not only in Rome, but also on the Neapolitan frontier.[4] On July 5th, 70,000

[1] The *letter of Navagero of June 24, 1556, overlooked by Brown, is in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 518 and 528, as well as the *Avviso of June 27, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 145. Vatican Library).

[3] See Brown, VI., 1, n. 529 and 534; *cf.* Masius, Briefe, 267.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1556, according to which thirteen pieces of artillery were sent to Paliano (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 141[b], Vatican Library); *ibid.* p. 146 an *Avviso of July 4, 1556, concerning the prohibition of undertaking military

ducats were deposited as a war fund in the Castle of St. Angelo.[1]

During this state of tension between Rome and Naples, which was continually being aggravated[2] by the encroachments of the Spanish government on purely ecclesiastical affairs, the following incident occurred on July 7th. The governor of the frontier town of Terracina caught sight of a man who was known to him as a Spanish courier, trying to steal across the frontier on foot, and without the badges of his office. He had the suspect brought before him, and as he bore none of the distinguishing marks which, in accordance with international law, would have protected him, the governor had him searched. They found on him a petition from the Imperial post-master, Juan Antonio de Taxis, to Alba, asking him to procure for him the post agency between Terracina and Velletri, and two letters from Garcilasso de la Vega, also addressed to Alba. One was in cypher, but the other contained the statement that Sarria had been stupid enough to let himself be won over by a few friendly words from the Pope, whereas the proper way to attain anything was to send the cavalry, together with 4,000 Spaniards and 8,000 Italians, by forced marches on Rome, and to have the war-ships set sail for Nettuno and Civitavecchia.[3]

service under foreign princes without permission from the Pope; this prohibition was issued when Camillo Orsini declared "esser ubligato al duca di Ferrara." Concerning the fortification of the Borgo see Bull. bas. Vat., III., 26.

[1] Massarelli 292; *cf.* Studi e docum., XIII., 304.

[2] The well-known theologian M. Cano was accused in Rome, and in a sharp letter of April 21, 1556, ordered to appear before the court within 60 days under penalty of severe punishment. The Spanish government declared, however, that this summons had not been served on Cano, and that he and the Bishop of Lugo, who had likewise been summoned to Rome, were to remain in Spain; see Caballero, M. Cano, 502 *seqq.*, 506 *seqq.*; *cf.* Histor. Zeitschrift., XXXIX., 288.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of G. A. Fachinetti to Cardinal Farnese of July 8, 1556 (State Archives, Parma) and that of Navagero of

This important document was handed to the Duke of Paliano in the late evening of July 7th, when the Pope had already retired. The Duke therefore, on his own responsibility had the post-master de Taxis arrested during the night, and his possessions seized; he hoped in this way to be able to decipher the code letter, which was afterwards sent to experts in Venice.[1]

The Duke of Paliano informed the Pope of the discovery which he had made. While the two were deliberating on July 9th, Navagero, with Garcilasso and Sarria, arrived in the anti-camera; the two latter were only aware of the arrest of de Taxis, but had not yet learned of the capture of the courier. The Pope received only Navagero and Sarria, and when Garcilasso was about to leave the Vatican with the latter, he was arrested and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo;[2] his fate was shared by Girolamo Capilupi, the agent of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga,[3] on July 10th. The palace of Cardinal Pacheco, where Garcilasso lodged, was thoroughly searched.[4] "It is believed that war has already broken out," writes the Venetian ambassador, Navagero, after Garcilasso's arrest, and when he had an audience on the following day he found

July 9, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 540; see also NORES, 71 *seqq.*; RÜBSAM, J. B. von Taxis, Freiburg, 1889 19; COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 266, 268 *seqq.*

[1] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 540; Fachinetti in the Nonciat. II., 426 n. 4; TURNBULL, Cal., n. 522; *cf.* ROSEO, I., 6, p. 304.

[2] See besides the report of Navagero mentioned *supra* p. 128, n. 3, and the letter of Fachinetti in COGGIOLA, *loc. cit.*, 271 *seqq.* and Nonciat. II., 427 n. 2, as well as the *Avviso di Roma of July 11, 1556, Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 143 b (Vatican Library).

[3] See the report in INTRA, Ipp. Capilupi: Arch. stor. Lomb., XX. (1893), and in COGGIOLA, *loc. cit.* 272 *seq.*; *cf.* also Quellen und Forschungen d. Preuss. Inst., III., 134 *seq.* and the *Avvisi di Roma of July 15 and di Bologna of July 18, 1556, in the correspondence of Madruzzo in the Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of July 11, 1556, mentioned *supra* n. 2.

the Pope, who had just then received good news concerning the help of France, determined to proceed to all lengths. "We have discovered their treachery" said Paul IV., "and we shall learn yet more from those who have been arrested. They have recommended a march on Rome, and a division of our territory, but the Lord God still lives! They will perhaps be forced to defend their own dominions; mighty princes are on our side, and should the Spaniards attack us they will repent it; the tyrant, the Emperor, need no longer be taken into consideration, for his possessions are like an old house, which, when a single stone is removed, falls to pieces; when we, here in Italy, give him a slight blow, everything will be laid in ruins." Amid the most bitter complaints of the devilish wickedness of Charles, the Pope made much of his hope that Venice, too, would not fail to join in the struggle against the tyranny of Spain.[1]

On July 11th, all the Cardinals and ambassadors were summoned to the Vatican. The Pope, who spoke in Italian on this occasion, gave praise to Providence for having discovered the designs of his enemies, dwelt on the guilt of Garcilasso, and justified his proceedings against the Colonna, and the elevation of his nephew to the Dukedom of Paliano. On the advice of the Cardinals, he then appointed a commission to deliberate anew concerning a peaceful issue to the matter. The Pope declared that greatly as he detested war, he must, nevertheless, in any case take measures for his defence, especially after the discovery of the treasonable designs of the Imperialists. "If we must venture on war, which, in view of the deceitful nature of the Spaniards, is very much to be feared," he said to Navagero two days later," then we shall pronounce such a fearful sentence that the sun shall

[1] See BROWN, VI., 1, n. 540; *cf.* n. 540 and ROMANIN, Storia di Venezia, VI., 234 n.; the letter of Buoncambi in COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 277 *seqq.*; Navagero's report in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 541; *Summarii*, 347; *letter of C. Paleotti, dated Rome, July 11, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna); the *Avviso di Roma of July 11, *loc. cit.* and the *Acta consist (Consistorial Archives).

thereby be darkened, and the Emperor and his son, who have been found guilty of felony and rebellion, shall be made our vassals, deprived of all their kingdoms, their subjects released from their allegiance, and their dominions divided among those who occupy them. We shall then invest the French king with Naples, and besides that give back to the Republic the ports which she formerly possessed in Apulia and Sicily."[1]

Paul IV. was, at this time, more possessed than ever by the fixed idea that the Spaniards, these Marani, as he called them, were threatening Rome with another Sack. He declared, however, that he would anticipate them; he intended to conquer Naples, even should he have to go there in person, with his cross borne before him; he would, moreover, have the "devilish" secret letter printed, so that everyone should recognise the treachery of the Imperialists. Those who had been arrested should be tortured until they named their accomplices.[2]

On July 25th the Pope again gave free vent to his passion against the Spaniards in the presence of Navagero. He would not, he declared, allow these traitors and heretics to do to him, under the cloak of peace, what they had permitted themselves to do to Clement VII. He had discovered their attempts at murder; they had intended to perform even worse acts than in 1527. He would rather die than suffer such humiliations as his predecessor, Julius III. It was impossible to endure meekly such tyrannical oppression from the lowest nation on earth. "Once," he continued, "we saw in these ultramontanes in Italy, nothing but cooks, bakers and ostlers, but now, to our ruin and disgrace, they are the masters. Wherever they rule, as in Naples and Milan, we see lamentable tragedies. The Emperor, the tyrant and schismatic, is striving after a universal monarchy. He has promoted heresy in order to crush the Papacy and make himself master of Rome, that is to say, master of Italy and the world." Then

[1] Brown, VI., 1, n. 546; *cf.* Nonciat. II., 456 n. 2.

[2] See Brown, VI., 1, n. 549. Taxis had an arm broken under torture. See Riess, 124, n. 35; *cf.* Masius, Briefe, 277, 291.

Paul IV. pointed out to the ambassador the dangers which threatened Venice from the Spaniards. Tuscany was already in their hands, and now they intended to seize upon the rest of the peninsula. Should Venice enter the war on the side of the Pope, she would thereby gain great advantages and win much celebrity, and the celestial harmony which once had existed would be once more restored, and the whole world would tremble at the name of Italy. The moment was favourable, and he himself would make every sacrifice to free Italy from her oppressors. The reserve with which Navagero received these confidences did not damp the ardour of the Pope, and he returned again and again to the dangers which accompanied the rule of the Imperialists in Naples. The Sack and the ruin of Italy had resulted from it. "But God will help us," he cried, "whosoever makes war on the Pope loses, as a schismatic, all the benefits he has received from the Holy See. From those benefits the King of Spain draws a greater revenue than from all his other kingdoms, but we shall deprive him of all those revenues. We know that the same thing cannot happen in Spain as has happened in Germany; there are very many good people there, who will not follow him."[1]

Meanwhile a protest had arrived from Alba against the arrest of Garcilasso.[2] This and the admissions of the two prisoners increased both the anger and the fear of the Pope. He continued his preparations for war with feverish activity.[3] Camillo Orsini, who had arrived on July 18th, was ordered to put the capital into a state of defence. The Borgo was fortified, the city walls repaired, new troops for the garrison

[1] *Letter of Navagero of July 25, 1556 (St. Mark's Library, Venice, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Brought by G. de Urea; see BROWN, VI., 1, n. 550.

[3] *Cf.* for the following especially the *Avvisi di Roma of July 11, 18 and 25, 1556. In that of July 25 it is stated: *Si fortifica il Borgo et si riparano le mura di Roma (Vatican Library). See also the report in COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 282, 284 *seq.* and the *letter of A. Capilupi, dated Rome, July 18, 1556 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

levied, the export of gold and precious metals forbidden ; and the war-chest in the Castle of St. Angelo increased to 100,000 ducats. People wondered how the Pope could get so much money together, considering the expense of the 10,500 soldiers already in his service.[1] The Duke of Urbino received orders to raise a further 10,000 men.[2]

Among those accused of having treasonable relations with the Emperor, Ascanio della Corgna, to whom the defence of Velletri had been entrusted, had been named. On July 23rd, the Pope ordered him to come to Rome, in order to vindicate himself. As he delayed in putting in an appearance, the suspicion against him was increased, and orders were at once issued to arrest him and bring him to Rome. Cardinal Fulvio della Corgna heard of this in good time, so that he was able to inform his brother of the threatened danger ; the latter, therefore, succeeded in escaping to Nettuno, which he delivered to the Colonna, and thence by sea to Naples.[3] Paul IV. was not the man to suffer this from a member of the Sacred College, and when Cardinal Fulvio appeared at the consistory of July 27th, he was taken to the Castle of St. Angelo. In the consistory, the Pope spoke first of this occurrence, after which the advocate and the procurator of the Apostolic Camera, Alessandro Pallantieri and Silvestro Aldobrandini appeared and read a legal document to the following effect : It is notorious that several persons in the Kingdom of Naples have, with the knowledge of Philip II. or Charles V., conspired against the Holy See, which is a transgression of the oath of

[1] See MASSARELLI, 292 ; *cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 558 and TURNBULL, n. 522.

[2] See the *Avviso of July 25, *loc. cit.*, p. 148 [b].

[3] See, besides the important reports in COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 293 *seqq.*, MASSARELLI, 293, the *report of C. Paleotti of July 29, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna) and the *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 150. Vatican Library), which gives many details concerning the flight. According to the thorough investigations of Coggiola the suspicion against the Condottiere was unfounded and the proceedings against him, to say the least, too hasty.

allegiance sworn by the rulers of Naples before Popes Julius III. and Paul IV. It is also notorious that the Spanish king, as well as the Emperor, have assisted the excommunicated Colonna, who are condemned for high treason, with money and troops against the Holy See, whereby they have ipso facto laid themselves open to the penalties of the major excommunication, and of high treason, and to the loss of all their dignities. The Pope took note of this pronouncement, but declared that he would not come to a decision until he had discussed the matter with the Cardinals.[1]

After this demonstration, Sarria informed the Pope that he had received instructions from his government to leave Rome, Paul IV. was much embarrassed by this announcement, as he, so far, had received so few definite pledges of sufficient help from France, that Carafa was obliged to prolong his stay there. Pope, therefore, endeavoured to postpone the rupture and to retain the ambassador. When Sarria left the city on August 8th, his departure took the form of leave of absence for the arrangement of his personal affairs.[2]

To the complaint presented by the Count of S. Valentino in the name of Alba, the Pope gave a reply which had been laid before the consistory on August 7th, and which Domenico del Nero, who was sent to Naples five days later, took with him. This denied the truth of all the accusations of the Viceroy, and, with regard to Garcilasso, declared that the latter, by his plotting against the Pope, had forfeited the inviolability of an ambassador.[3]

Although eight French galleys, with 600 Gascons, had

[1] See *Acta consist. cancell., VII., 37-39[b] (Consistorial Archives); *cf.* Navagero and Massarelli *loc. cit.*; LÜNIG, Cod. Ital. dipl., IV., 255 *seq.*; NORES, 110 *seq.*; PASSARINI, 137 *seqq.*; RIESS, 132 *seq.*; Nonciat., II., 453.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 293-294; BROWN, VI., 1, n. 572; COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 310, n. 1; RIESS, 135; Nonciat., I., xcii.; II., 452, n. 1; *cf.* also the *report in the Acta consist., VII. (Consistorial Arch).

[3] See the instruction of August 11, 1556, in NORES, 394 *seq.*; *cf.* MASSARELLI, *loc. cit.*; BROWN, VI., 1, n. 572.

arrived at Civitavecchia on July 25th, and the preparations for war in Rome were being carried on with the greatest activity,[1] Paul IV. did not by any means feel himself secure and sought in every way to induce Venice to ally herself with him. Antonio Carafa, who had, a little time before, been raised to the dignity of Marquis of Montebello,[2] was sent, with this object, to the city of the lagoons, but was not successful in accomplishing anything.[3] Nevertheless, Paul IV. still hoped to persuade the Venetians to abandon their neutrality.

On August 13th he discussed the matter after dinner with Navagero, and again complained in the most excited terms of the treasonable practices of the Imperialists. Should these schismatics and heretics succeed in driving him out of Rome, he would take refuge on an island, and carry on his office from there. He hoped, however, to witness the downfall of the Spanish tyranny; Venice must know best what she ought to do, for "on our ruin, yours will necessarily follow. We, however, shall not be the slaves of the Spaniards like former Popes, but we shall bravely fight against them, be the consequences what they may."[4]

Now as before, Paul IV. considered himself personally threatened by the Spaniards, and he caused precautions to be taken against any attempt to poison him.[5] Being in such a

[1] *Cf.* concerning this the reports in COGGIOLA, A. d. Cornia, 292 and 318. Card. du Bellay discusses the military position of Rome in a letter of July 25, 1556, in RIBIER, II., 650 *seqq.*

[2] See MASSARELLI, 292. Antonio Carafa received, on his elevation to the marquisite, the lands confiscated from the insubordinate Count of Bagno. *Acta consist. cancell. VII. (Consistorial Arch.) *Cf.* COGGIOLA, *loc. cit.* 98, 120 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 143 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Note 1 in NORES, 69 and Nonciat., II., 438, n. 3.

[4] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 578.

[5] *Da tre giorni in qua si è ristretto molto il servitio che si fa al pontefice alla tavola, perchè vogliono che tre soli camerieri soi parenti portino le vivande. Si dubita che habbi suspition di veneno. Navagero on August 15, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

frame of mind, it was in vain that Cardinal Medici again advised him, in the strongest terms, to refrain from war, above all on account of the insufficiency of his troops, for the Papal army would take to flight at the mere sight of the enemy, for, since the invasion of Charles VIII. not a single battle had been won by an army composed entirely of Italian troops.[1]

Every prospect of a peaceful solution of the dispute disappeared with the answer which Alba signed on August 21st, and sent to the Pope by special courier. It was to the effect that after the unjust statements in the consistory of July 27th, nothing else was possible for the Emperor and the King of Spain except to do what was permitted to every obedient son, whose father attacked him with a naked weapon, which was to take the weapon out of his hand.[2]

This ultimatum was handed to the Pope on August 27th by Pirro dell' Offredo, the third ambassador of Alba. As Offredo expressed himself in terms still stronger than those of the document, such a violent dispute arose that the maestro di camera closed the outer doors, so that those outside might not hear the quarrel.[3]

The preparations for war had, in the meantime, advanced in Rome, and the Pope dreamed of being able to raise his army to as many as 30,000 men.[4] On August 15th, 1,200 more Gascons arrived in Rome, brave but dissolute and thieving soldiers.[5] New taxes had to be imposed in order to meet the expenses. This, as well as the ruthless destruction of the

[1] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 582.

[2] This letter, in Spanish and French, is in Reiss, Pap. de Granvelle, IV., 666 *seq.*, in Italian in the supplement to Nores, 400 *seqq.*; *ibid.* a similar letter to the College of Cardinals. *Cf.* Riess, 138 *seqq.*; Balan, VI., 467.

[3] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 589 and the **Avviso di Roma of August 29, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 156, Vatican Library).

[4] See the **Avviso mentioned in the preceding note.

[5] *Cf.* Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 577, and in Albèri, 401 *seqq.*

villas and vineyards lying outside the city walls, caused great dissatisfaction among the people. In this work, carried out under the direction of Camillo Orsini, neither churches nor monastries were spared. As had been done in the Borgo, fortifications were also constructed in Trastevere, and new outworks were added to the Castle of St. Angelo.[1] All this, however, was not sufficient to resist a serious attack, for, although so many defences had been begun, none of them were finished. It was still more unfortunate that the Papal troops were completely scattered all over the Campagna, since the Pope, inexperienced as he was in the art of war, refused to leave any fortified place without a garrison, or to risk anything that belonged to him.[2]

In a consistory on September 4th, 1556, the Pope and the Cardinals continued to discuss the answer to be given to Alba's letter, and to consider the possibility of a peaceful solution.[3] The news arrived, however, during the following night that Alba had crossed the frontier with his troops, and had already invested Pontecorvo.[4]

[1] Besides MASSARELLI, 295, *cf.* Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 588; *Summarii*, 350 *seqq.*, and especially the **Avvisi di Roma of August 8, 15, 29, and September 5, 1556 (Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also BICCI, Not. d. famiglia Boccapaduli, Roma, 1762, 112, and PAGLIUCCHI, 128 *seq.*, concerning the works on the Castle of St. Angelo at the time, and also at a later period. As to the cost, Navagero *reports on August 22, 1556: "Qui si fa conto chel pontefice habbi una spesa di c. 80,000 scudi al mese ne si vede come possa lugamente sostenerla" (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[2] See the reports of Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 646; VI., 2, n. 685, as well as in RIESS, 146.

[3] MASSARELLI, 295. BROWN, VI., 1, n. 596, 600. Bonfigliazzi in NORES, 122, n. 1.

[4] MASSARELLI, 295. BROWN, VI., 1, n. 603. M. ROSEO, 519 *seq.* Nonciat., II., 470.

CHAPTER VI.

The War with Spain.

The decision to proceed against the Pope by force of arms had not been easily arrived at by Charles V., Philip II. and Alba, for not only political, but religious considerations as well, had stood in the way of their making it. The Spanish government had caused a special legal opinion to be obtained from the University of Louvain; this confirmed Philip II. in his view that he would neither sin against his duty as a loyal son of the Church, nor against the obligations appertaining to his title of Catholic King, if he anticipated a threatened attack by beginning the war.[1] Even then, however, Alba

[1] *Cf.* Michiel's report of 1557 in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1062; *ibid.*, n. 687; Balan, VI., 468-469, and Riess, 134. The (incorrectly printed by Riess, p. 440 *seqq.*) "Memoriale dato da parte de S.M.ta alli teologi circa il procedere di Paolo IV. sopra il regno di Napoli," is moreover identical with the Spanish "Consulta a los teologos sobre el procedere de Paolo IV.," which has long been printed in F. Caballero, M. Cano, Madrid, 1871, 508 *seq.* The same document, under the title "Memorial que da parte de la Md cath. del Rey Felipe II. se diô a los teologos" is in manuscript in the archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome. Riess does not mention that Philip II. laid this complaint against Paul IV. before the Spanish theologians and jurists in a meeting summoned to Valladolid, and that he asked their opinion as to whether he would be allowed to carry on a war against the Pope under the existing circumstances, and what means he should employ in so doing. Almost all of them answered the question in a sense favourable to the king. The opinion of M. Cano, dated November I., 1556, was especially pleasing to the latter, as it drew a sharp distinction between the Pope as head of the Church, and as a secular prince, though it also contained words

still hesitated, and it was only on the third order of Philip II., who somewhat blamed him for his disobedience,[1] that he at last started from Naples on September 1st, 1556. His force only amounted to 12,000 men, but these were well-disciplined, and were commanded by generals who were bent on vengeance, among whom were Marcantonio Colonna and the Count of Popoli, who, although a relative of the Pope, had been dismissed from the Papal army on account of his Spanish sympathies. It made a great difference to the rapid progress made by Alba's troops that they advanced in a single body, whereas the Papal army was divided among many places. In this way Frosinone, Veroli and Bauco were soon lost. Alba then marched against Anagni, whereupon Piperno, Terracina, Acuto, Fumone, Ferentino and Alatri also surrendered. The Spanish Viceroy took possession of the places conquered in the name of the College of Cardinals, with the express declaration that he was prepared to deliver them up again to the Sacred College, or to the future Pope.[2]

The action of Alba, who had thus suddenly invaded the States of the Church without any declaration of war, placed Paul IV. in a position of the greatest danger, for he was unable to cope with the power of Spain either from a military or a financial point of view. At his advanced age, and with his imperfect knowledge of business, which made him unsuited for all political affairs, he was even less fitted to direct a war.[3]

and expressions little fitted to a Dominican (see CABALLERO, 277 *seqq.*, 395 *seq.*, 513 *seqq.*; *cf.* also LANGWITZ, Carranza, 42). Cano's opinion is printed in the Jugement impartial sur des lettres de la Cour de Rome en forme de Bref, II., Madrid, 1770, 491 *seqq.*

[1] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 758.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 297; *Summarii*, 355, 357 *seq.*; see NORES, 125 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 405 *seq.*, the letter of du Bellay, Dean of the Sacred College, to Alba on September 13, and Alba's answer on September 16.

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 13, 19, and especially BROSCH, I., 201 *seqq.* regarding the unsatisfactory state of the Pope's financial and military affairs. On September 6 Paul IV. assembled the

More acutely than ever did he now miss his experienced nephew, and he was therefore exceedingly glad when Cardinal Carafa left the French court on August 11th,[1] and arrived in Rome in the evening of September 7th. He brought great promises from the French king, as well as a considerable sum of money, and was also able to announce the arrival of 1500 Gascons, who had come with him by sea.[2]

Carafa found the Eternal City in a state of indescribable confusion. Had the gates not been closed, most of the inhabitants would have fled.[3] Great dissatisfaction prevailed in Rome on account of the stern measures which the outbreak of war always brings, and the people complained bitterly of the new impositions and the want of consideration shown by Camillo Orsini in the construction of the new fortifications. As the Porta del Popolo appeared to be especially threatened, on account of the Pincio, about a hundred buildings were pulled down there, among others the Augustinian convent in which

Cardinals, complained of Alba's invasion, of the attitude of the commission of Cardinals, and called Offredo to account because of the breach of the peace; when the latter was about to depart, he was arrested and placed in the Castle of St. Angelo. See MASSARELLI, 295 *seqq.*; Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 607; *Summarii*, 358 *seqq.* and the *letter of C. Paleotti of September 7, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna).

[1] See the report of Lanssac, ed. SAUZÉ, 488.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 296, where details are given of Cardinal Rebiba's entry on September 9; *cf.* also BROWN, VI., 1, n. 607; ANCEL, Sienne, 22 and *Nonciat.*, I., xxxvi. (the date of his return is here erroneously given as September 11).

[3] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 609, and the *letter of C. Paleotti of September 14, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna). Many Romans had already left the city by the end of August. Navagero writes on August 29, 1556: *In somma siamo qui tra li tamburi et le armi et ogni dì si sentono natural et proprie insolentie delli soldati di questi tempi et molti dicono palesamente che tra la ruina che portera seco la fortification et la spesa et le ingiurie che fanno li soldati Roma si potrà reputar mezza sacchegiata et che dalli inimici non si potrà espettar peggio (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

Luther had once lived ; at one time, indeed, they even thought of demolishing the costly church which was the burial place of the Rovere ![1] The arrival on September 15th of the soldiers from Gascony, who had sailed with Carafa, somewhat raised the hopes of the Romans[2], but their disappointment was all the greater when the whole of the troops at their disposal were assembled in review ; on paper they had 17,000 men, but in reality, however, there were only 9000. In addition to this, the news arrived that on September 15th the fortified town of Anagni had been taken and plundered by the Spaniards. Rome was seized by panic, for the inhabitants well knew that the feeble garrison was not to be depended on, and that many of the mercenaries would be the first to take advantage of the opportunity of plundering together with the enemy. "The terror of the inhabitants," writes Massarelli in his journal, "is everywhere very great ; the women have received permission to leave the city, while the men, who are obliged to remain, are bringing all their valuables into a place of safety."[3]

The only person who kept his head amid the general confusion was Cardinal Carafa. He displayed during those critical days an extraordinary activity in carrying forward his warlike preparations, in drawing up manifestos to the Christian

[1] *Cf.* the **Avvisi of August 29, September 5 and 19 (Anagni lost. "La città sta in gran spavento et si fa un gran sgombrar." Vatican Library) as well as MASSARELLI, 297 ; Bonfigliazzi in NORES, 125 n. 1 ; NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 394 ; *Summarii*, 359 ; M. ROSEO, 515. The report that they were about to pull down the basilicas of St. Paolo and S. Croce (see BROWN, VI., 1, n. 631) was also current. Concerning the works of that time for the fortification of Rome see ROCCHI, 52 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, and tav. 8 ; RODOCANACHI, St. Ange, 157.

[2] See the *letter of C. Paleotti of September 16, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] See MASSARELLI, 297 ; TURNBULL, n. 538 ; *Summarii*, 359 ; Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 609 and in ALBÈRI, 394 ; *cf.* also ANDREA, 41 *seq.* ; RIESS, 142 *seq.* ; Arch. stor. Napolit. XXXV., 562.

princes in justification of the action of Paul IV.,[1] in making efforts for the definite conclusion of an alliance with France, and in attempts to obtain new allies. In order to win over the Signoria of Venice, who still adhered to their neutrality, one of the most talented members of the Papal chancery, Francesco Commendone, Bishop of Zante, was deputed to go there. This envoy also received instructions to ask for help in Urbino, Ferrara and Parma.[2] As had been the case before, however, Carafa was eagerly employed in attempting to secure a principality for his family. The very man who was stirring up people all over the world against Spain, and who was working with feverish energy for the formation of a great anti-Imperial coalition, and who even aimed at getting help from the Turks,[3]

[1] *Cf.* concerning the manifestos, *Propugnatore A. VIII.*, 1875, I., 345 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*; II., 153 *seqq.*; see also PASSARINI, 213 *seq.*, 226 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 616; GRATIANUS, 57 *seq.*; ANCEL, Sienne, 31 *seqq.* The correspondence of Carafa with Commendone in the Lett. di princ. XXII.[a] (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf. Nonciat.*, II., 480 n. 1, 495 n. 1.

[3] The advantage which an attack by the Turkish fleet would give at the outbreak of the war against Spain was pointed out in the secret memorandum drawn up by Casa in May, 1556 (see MARTINETTI in the Riv. Europ., 1877, IV., 229 and *Ancel*, in the Nonciat., II., 602). Nothing was at first said to the Pope about the matter (see the details by ANCEL in the Nonciat., I., lxxxviii., whereby the statements of BROSCH [Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., XXV., 483], that the idea had originated with the Pope are contradicted). Paul IV. only heard of it in September, 1556 (see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 120). In consequence of the uncertainty of French help the position had become so grave that a second sack was feared for Rome. Cesare Brancaccio, who had been sent to France at that time, therefore received instructions from Cardinal Carafa on October 23, 1556, that he was to tell Henry II. to have the Turkish fleet advance quickly in case of need (DURUY, 377. *Nonciat.*, II., 479). Later on, in the legal proceedings, Carafa endeavoured to deny everything; it was, however, proved that he had repeatedly called for the assistance of the Turks (see the documents of the case in the

was at the same time carrying on secret negotiations with the enemy in order to gain his own personal ends, in the event of his plan of a great war falling through, owing to the fickleness of Henry II.[1]

Circumstances had been for some time very favourable to Carafa in the carrying out of this most difficult part of his programme. In view of the actual occupation of the greater part of the Campagna, which had been as rapid as it was easy,

appendix to NORES, 483 *seqq.*, and especially 500). In a letter written during his imprisonment in February, 1561, to Pius IV., Carafa acknowledged that he had not only begged help from the Protestants, but had also proposed to the Sultan, Soliman I., in March, 1557, that he should give up his war against Hungary, and throw himself with all his power against Naples and Sicily; he maintained, however, that all this had been ordered by Paul IV. (BROMATO, II., 369 n.). In reality the Pope had begun by remonstrating with the French ambassador on account of the alliance with the Turks (RIBIER, II., 615), but he afterwards became more reconciled to receiving indirect help from them as his position grew more critical on account of Alba's invasion, and as the representations of Carafa became more urgent (*cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 600; RIESS, 161). Often as the Pope afterwards spoke of getting help from the Turks, it was always only a question of indirect help, through the alliance of France with them, which Paul IV., in his blind passion against the Spaniards, undoubtedly sanctioned and promoted, because he hoped by this means to bring about an improvement in his own painful position (see BROWN, VI., 3, n. 1163; RIBIER, II., 718). I have been unable to find any trace of a direct alliance between Paul IV. and the Turks, a thing which is maintained by many, but denied by BROMATO (II., 308). I am assured that the latter is right by Ancel, who is the best authority on the history of Paul IV. The rumour that the Pope had eagerly sought after and had obtained help from the Turks was soon circulated in all directions (see HOSII epist., II., 801, 845). These were actually the *horrenda* of which Canisius writes on July 28, 1557, that they were being spread everywhere against the Pope (see BRAUNSBERGER, II., 108).

[1] *Cf.* ANCEL, Sienne, 35 *seqq.*; see also RIESS, 180.

the peace party in Rome gained adherents every day. Not only Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, but also the Frenchman, du Bellay and the French ambassador, who was by no means satisfied with Henry II.'s resolve to enter upon a great war, exhorted the Pope to come to an agreement.[1] As Carlo Carafa and his brother Giovanni, as well as Pietro Strozzi, were also working for the same end, Paul IV. consented to negotiate with Alba. The Dominican, Thomas Manrique,[2] repaired to Anagni on September 16th. In order to examine the proposals of Alba, the Pope appointed a commission of Cardinals consisting of seven members on September 17th. On the evening of the same day Manrique again went to Alba, to return again on the 19th, accompanied by Pacheco, the secretary of the Viceroy, with new proposals. The commission of Cardinals deliberated on these on September 20th, 21st, and 22nd, on the last occasion in the presence of the Pope. Paul IV. agreed that Cardinals Juan Alvarez de Toledo and Carafa should personally confer with Alba at Grottaferrata on the 26th.[3]

It appeared to Carafa that his object of securing a principality in any case for his family had been brought much nearer through his negotiations with the Imperialists; he had not, however, reckoned with the sudden changes in his uncle's character. At the last moment Paul IV. withdrew his consent to the conference with Alba.[4]

[1] See Brown, VI., 1, n. 621. On September 14, 1556, C. Paleotti states: *Tutto hoggi sono stati con S.S.tà li revmi S. Jacomo et Parisi per tal efletto (Peace negotiations). State Archives, Bologna. *Cf.* also Cavalcanti, Lettere, 206.

[2] Professor of theology at the Roman University; see the ** Rotulo dello studio of 1559 in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. 11, t. 45, p. 84.

[3] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 616, 620; Massarelli, 297 *seqq.*; *Summarii*, 360; *Letter of C. Paleotti of December 21, 1556 (*loc. cit.*); Nores, 129 *seqq.*, 360 *seqq.*; Cavalcanti, Lettere, 207 *seq.*; Coggiola, A. d. Cornia, 235; Ancel, Sienne, 36 *seqq.*; Riess, 150 *seqq.*; *Nonciat.*, II., 466, 482 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 630; *Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 162; Vatican Library); Ancel, Sienne, 37.

In Rome, where great hopes had been built on the result of this meeting,[1] the disappointment at its frustration was very great.[2] They now prepared themselves more than ever for a siege: all the members of the religious orders were obliged to work at the fortifications. "One can scarcely describe in words," writes Massarelli in his diary, "how the Romans are trembling; they think only of flight."[3] In order to reassure the people, Carafa removed on September 24th to the palace of S. Marco, inconvenient though he must have found its distance from the Vatican, where he had to work every day with the Pope. The Cardinal was assisted by Pietro Strozzi and the Duke of Somma.[4] On September 25th, 350 mercenaries arrived in Rome from Montalcino, under Blaise de Montluc, the brave defender of Siena; they were well exercised in war, but were mostly German Lutherans, who mocked at the Mass and the pictures of the Saints, and only saw in the Pope the prince who paid them. Paul IV. had to endure things from these "defenders" which he would otherwise have punished in the most severe manner. The Romans also had to suffer greatly from these mercenaries, and when they kept their windows lighted all through many nights, this measure of defence was not only directed against the enemy before the walls, but also against possible attempts at pillage on the part of the garrison.[5]

[1] *Si sta in speranza grandissima di pace, writes C. Paleotti, when he announces the impending conference on September 23, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See the *letter of C. Paleotti of September 26, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] Massarelli 298. *Letter of C. Paleotti of September 26 1556 *loc. cit.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 631. *Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1556, *loc. cit.*

[4] These three, as it states in an *Avviso of November 7, 1556, "sono quelli che fanno et governano ogni cosa." *loc. cit.*, p. 173.

[5] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 620, 631 and in Albèri, 401, 408; Massarelli, 298; *Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1556; *cf.* Duruy, 193 *seq.* Concerning Montluc see Courteault, Blaise de Montluc, Paris, 1910.

Further discouraging news from the seat of war brought fresh terrors to the Romans. On September 26th Alba had invested Tivoli, while on October 1st, Vicovaro, which was important owing to its situation, fell into his hands. Soon afterwards Palombara and Nettuno were also lost.[1] The enemy's troopers were now skirmishing up to the very gates of Rome, which was sure to fall if it were seriously attacked. The country people had the worst to suffer from both friend and foe.[2]

With the exception of Paliano and Velletri the whole of the Campagna had now fallen into the hands of the enemy, while the same fate threatened the Sabina. Even more bitterly than these blows, however, Paul IV. must have felt the fact that the entrance of France, with all its power, into the war, seemed doubtful even now, while in October the Farnese went over to Spain. Ottavio Farnese received back Piacenza and Novara, with, however, a reservation as to the Spanish right of investiture, while Cardinal Alessandro recovered his Sicilian revenues.[3]

While Paul IV. did not weary of giving vent in his conversation to his bitter ill-will against the Emperor and his son,[4] Cardinal Carafa was carrying on further negotiations, through intermediaries, with Alba. At the end of October and the beginning of November he had meetings for this purpose with Cardinal Santa Fiora, which were kept absolutely secret. Venice also was working for peace through a special ambassador; the secretary Febo Capella negotiated during the first

[1] *Cf.* TURNBULL, n. 545. Concerning the fate of Nettuno see TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 331 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 298 *seq.*; Navagero in BROSCH, I., 203, 210; *Summarii*, 365 seq; *Letter of C. Paleotti of September 30 and October 7, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna). According to the *Avviso of October 3, 1556, the news of the fall of Vicovaro arrived at midnight, *loc. cit.*, p. 148; *ibid.*, p. 169 an *Avviso of October 24, in which it is stated: La Campagna anderà vacua" (Vatican Library).

[3] See ANCEL, Sienne, 30 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Navagero's report in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 669, 674, 695.

half of October with both Alba and the Pope, but without any success.[1]

On November 18th, the battles round Ostia ended by this strong fortress falling into the hands of the Spaniards, thereby cutting off Rome's connection with the sea.[2] Alba then offered a ten days' armistice, which Carafa accepted, without informing the French ambassador in Rome of the fact.[3] It was not without difficulty that he succeeded in getting his uncle, who was filled with the deepest distrust of the Spaniards, and who was, just at that time, indulging in the bitterest denunciations against them, to agree to fresh peace negotiations, by representing to him the necessity of gaining time until the French assistance came. Paul IV. did not himself believe in the success of these attempts,[4] but the Romans, on the other hand, flattered themselves that the end of the war was in sight.[5]

The Isola Sacra, situated between the branches of the Tiber near Ostia, was the place chosen for the meeting between Alba

[1] *Cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 659 *seq.*; VI., 2, n. 684, 701; ANCEL, Sienne, 38 *seq.*; RIESS, 165 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 299-300; BROWN, VI., 2, n. 701, 711, 713; COLA COLEINE, *Diario (Chigi Library); ANDREA, 61 *seq.*; 72 *seq.*; CABRERA, Filipe II., 11.2, c. 15; CARINCI, Lett. di O. Caetani Roma[2], 1893, 212 *seq.*; PRATESI in Arte e Storia, XXVIII.; RIESS, 174 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 156 *seq.*, concerning the provisioning of Rome. Jacopo Bannissio *reported to Cardinal Madruzzo on November 21, 1556, that the city "mezo assediata sta molto male" (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] *Cf.* RIBIER, II., 668; *Avvisi of November 19 and 21, 1556, *loc. cit.* 175[b] 176 (Vatican Library); Report of Alf. Fantuzzi, dated Rome, November 21, 1556 (State Archives, Bologna); see also COGGIOLA, A. de Cornia, 339 *seq.* The text of the "Tregua" in the Appendix to NORES, 410 *seq.*; PASSARINI, 135 *seq.*; *cf. Nonciat.*, II., 502 n. 2.

[4] See BROWN, VI., 2, n. 695, 707, 713, 714. Distinct promises from Henry II. arrived in Rome on October 18, 1556; see *Corresp. de Lanssac*, 515 *seq.*

[5] According to the *Avviso di Roma of November 21, 1556, they were betting 7 to 3 in favour of peace.

and Carafa. The negotiations were carried on with the greatest assiduity on November 24th, 25th, and 27th, and there is not the least doubt that, in the discussions with regard to the return of Paliano to Marcantonio Colonna, Carafa demanded Siena as compensation for it; in this respect he was quite willing to take the part of the Spaniards. As Alba declared that he had no power to conclude a transaction of such importance, it was agreed that his secretary, Pacheco, and a confidential representative of Carafa, should go to Philip II. In order to give time for an answer, the armistice was prolonged for forty days, *i.e.* from November 28th to January 9th.[1]

While the Romans were once more losing hope of peace,[2] France and Ferrara, the powers who had so far been on the side of the Pope, were filled with grave misgivings.[3] At this critical moment Carafa displayed all the cunning of his Machiavellian policy. Hitherto he had worked with so much skill that friend and foe alike were eager to win his favour,[4] but the time was now at hand when his double-dealing might be exposed. The Cardinal did everything he could to avoid this. He declared to the ambassadors of France, Ferrara and Venice that the negotiations and the armistice had been arranged in order to gain time for the arrival of help from Henry II.[5] When Federigo Fantuccio left on December 11th

[1] See the extracts from Alba's reports from the *originals in the Archives at Simancas in Riess, 446 *seq.* and *Nonciat.*, I., XCVII.; II., 502, 504, 645 *seq.*, 647 *seq.* The statement of Pieper (p. 90) that Carafa had at that time "suddenly" thought of the acquisition of Siena, proves that this investigator, otherwise so trustworthy, has not seen through Carafa's plans. The Cardinal's demand is sharply and justly criticised by Pallavicini (13, 20). *Cf.* also Pratesi, Un storico incontro tra il card. Carafa e il duca Alba: Arte e Storia, 1910.

[2] See the **Avvisi of December 6 and 12, 1556 (Vatican Library).

[3] See *Corresp. de Lanssac*, 533 *seqq.*; *cf.* Ancel, Sienne, 41 *seq.* and *Nonciat.*, I., XCVI. *seq.*; II., 507, n. 515, 523 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Ancel, Sienne, 46, n. 3.

[5] *Ibid.* 41 *seq.*

as the representative of Carafa at the court of Philip II., in accordance with the arrangement made between Alba and the Cardinal, Giulio Orsini had already started on the previous day for France, in order to set the fears of Henry II. concerning the armistice at rest, to gain assurance with regard to the intentions of France towards Spain and in the matter of Siena, and to come to a decision between war and peace in accordance with what he should learn there, for Carafa himself did not yet know whether it would be more advantageous to direct his intriguing policy towards the one or the other.[1]

The mission of Fantuccio was not made in the name of the Pope, but in that of Carafa; his official instructions for concluding peace, based on the negotiations at Ostia, were only drawn up for form's sake; in reality, his task was to find out whether Philip II., in view of the danger of an anti-Spanish coalition, was willing to invest the Cardinal's brother with Siena. In the event of an answer in the affirmative, Carafa and his whole family were prepared to go over to the side of Spain.[2]

At the same time Carafa, who liked to have two irons in the fire, prepared another scheme. On the morning of December 15th he left Rome with a large suite; nobody knew what he was about to do.[3] Only on the following day did the Pope inform the Sacred College that his nephew had gone to Venice to thank the Signoria for their good offices in furthering the armistice, to beg their continued mediation, and to find out whether, as was reported, Philip II. had called upon the Venetians to arbitrate. In a meeting of the Cardinals, which took place on December 20th, Carafa was appointed as legate for

[1] Concerning the mission of Fantuccio and Orsini see PIEPER, 91 *seq.*; RIESS, 454 *seq.*; ANCEL, Sienne, 45 *seq.*, 49 *seq.* and *Nonciat.* I., xxxviii. *seq.*; II., 520 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the thorough investigations of ANCEL, Sienne, 49. The official instructions for Fantuccio in the publication of NORES (p. 412 *seq.*).

[3] *Cf.* the reports of the ambassadors of Bologna and Ferrara in ANCEL, Sienne, 50 and *Nonciat.*, II., 537.

the whole of Italy, and especially, according to the consistorial records, for the bringing about of peace![1]

This was, however, not generally believed, especially as the Pope, in spite of all his assertions that he was longing for peace, continued to emphasize the fact that the dignity of the Holy See must, at the same time, be maintained. Of this dignity Paul IV. had such an exaggerated idea that he considered every offence against it as an insult to God, and would rather have suffered martyrdom than forego one jot of it.

Cardinal Morone therefore informed Alba's secretary before his departure that he must always bear three things in mind: first, that the Pope, even should he be taken prisoner and a knife held at his throat, would never consent to the Colonna being reinstated at Paliano, for it appeared to him unfitting that he should, as a prince, be faced with force in his own house, or that a King of Naples, the vassal of the Church, should offer him, as Pope, such an insult; secondly, that Paul IV. felt himself, both as an ecclesiastical and a secular ruler, so deeply offended by the invasion of the territory of the Church, that the Spanish king ought to send a special ambassador to ask for pardon; and thirdly, that the restoration of the places belonging to the States of the Church, which had been seized, was an absolute necessity. If the dispute could not be arranged on these terms, then, according to Morone, the worst was to be expected, the excommunication and deposition of Philip II., in spite of the fact that the defection of Spain and England would follow. Even should the French help not arrive, said Morone in a letter to Pole, and the Pope be abandoned by everybody, he would not give up the claims which he considered his due; even the influence of Carafa would be of no avail in this matter. In the same letter Morone lays stress on the fact that Paul IV. had no confidence in the Spaniards, for, he says, he looks at deeds, and not at words,

[1] See Navagero's report in Brown, VI., 2, n. 763, 766, 767, 768 and Acta consist. cancell., VII. (Constitutional Archives). *A letter of credence for Carafa, addressed to the Duke of Ferrara, of December 14, 1556, is in the State Archives, Modena.

and is always afraid, now as ever, that the negotiations are only for form's sake, in order to get possession of the remainder of the States of the Church.[1]

In order to prevent matters from getting into a desperate condition, Paul IV. took great pains to gain the powerful alliance of Venice. Peace, he exclaimed on November 11th, to the representative of the Republic of St. Mark, would only be possible for Italy when the barbarians were driven out; Venice and the Holy See alone were capable of effecting this. Hundreds of years might pass, he continued, without another Pope appearing who would be as intent as he was on the liberation of Italy.[2]

It was in keeping with this aim that Carafa, who had arrived in Venice on December 21st, had instructions to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the Signoria. The shrewd Venetians, however, clung fast to their neutrality, tempting as were the offers which were made to them. When Carafa left the city of the lagoons on January 12th, 1557, he was obliged to admit to himself, that although he had been honoured there as though he had been a crowned king, he had not attained the object with which he had been sent.[3]

Giulio Orsini, who had arrived at the French court on January 2nd, 1557, had great trouble in allaying the misgivings of Henry II., and in spite of all his efforts did not completely succeed in doing so. On the other hand he was able to induce the still hesitating king to take decisive action. At the end of January Henry broke off diplomatic relations with Philip II., and prepared to make war on the Spaniards in Italy, as

[1] See in Appendix Nos. 34 and 35 the important *letters of Morone of November 28 and December 12, 1556 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* the reports of Navagero and F. Capella in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 755.

[3] *Cf.* Corresp. polit. de Dominique du Gabre, éd. A. VITALIS, Paris, 1903, 204; NORES, 156 n. 1; DURUY, 208 *seqq.*, 382 *seq.*; Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., XXV., 482; ANCEL, Sienne, 51 *seq.*; RIESS, 184 *seq.*, 189 *seqq.*; *Nonciat.*, I., xcix.; II., 539 *seq.*, 544 *seq.*

well as in Flanders. Philip was completely taken by surprise at this sudden turn of affairs.[1]

So few precautions had been taken by Alba during the armistice, that Pietro Strozzi, who was henceforth commander-in-chief of the Papal troops, easily succeeded in retaking Ostia, and soon afterwards Tivoli, Vicovaro and the Marittima.[2]

This astonishing success made such an impression that Alba's peace offers were declined, especially as Paul IV. did not trust the Spaniards.[3] He hoped, with the help of France, to win a complete victory over them, and to drive this mixture of Jews, Marani and Lutherans, as he called them, out of Naples, and indeed, out of the whole of Italy. On February 12th, 1557, he appointed a special congregation to institute a suit against Charles V. and Philip II. on a charge of felony and rebellion.[4]

The French anxiliary army, under the Duke of Guise, had in the meantime, advanced through Piedmont, and, while the Farnese were observing a doubtful neutrality, through the Duchy of Parma, and Piacenza, as far as Reggio. Here the Duke of Ferrara received from Guise, on February 16th, the bâton of commander-in-chief of the allied army. Cardinal Carafa, who was now forced to abandon his double dealing, and to place himself definitely on the side of the French, although he had little confidence in them, was present at this

[1] See Ancel, Sienne, 55; Riess, 207 *seqq.*; *Nonciat.*, I., c. *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Massarelli, 302; Turnbull, n. 572, 573; Roseo, 535 *seq.*; the *Avvisi di Roma of January 9, 16, 23, 30, and February 6, 13, 20, 1557 (Cod. Urb. 1038, Vatican Library) and the *reports of Alf. Fantuccio, dated Rome, January 27 and February 12, 1557 (State Archives, Bologna). Concerning the state of the war at Ostia, *cf.* the rare engraving, *Il vero disegno del sito di Hostia e di Porto con li forti fatti dal campo di S.S.tà et delli Imperiali, quali si resero a di 24 Gennaio*; see Nordenskiöld, Facsimile-Atlas (1889), p. 21, n. 114.

[3] *Cf.* Soranzo in Albèri, Ser. 1, II., 449.

[4] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 798, 812; Navagero-Albèri, 397; Massarelli, 303; Ancel, Sienne, 57 *seq.*

ceremony.[1] At Reggio a council of war was held, in order to consider which point the army should attack first. Opinions were very divided, but at last it was decided, to the great vexation of the Duke of Ferrara, who was thus left without defence, that the French army should advance into the Romagna; whether it should then turn against Tuscany, as Carafa strongly urged, or advance through the Marches on the Kingdom of Naples, was to be decided by the Pope.[2]

While the troops were being set in movement for the Romagna, Guise and Carafa hastened to Rome, and arrived there on Shrove Tuesday, March 2nd. A magnificent reception awaited the honoured guest, who took up his residence in Carafa's apartments in the Vatican. In spite of the violence with which Carafa now expressed himself against Spain, and the determination of the Pope to ally himself with France, Guise found that the preparations for the war fell far below his expectations; many differences of opinion and personal disputes also soon became apparent.[3]

Carlo Carafa was destined to experience a disappointment of another kind. The nephew had returned to Rome in the belief that the powerful influence he had formerly exercised over the Pope was unchanged. Very soon, however, he discovered that he no longer possessed the same power over his uncle, who was so susceptible of new impressions. The Car-

[1] *Cf.* ANCEL, Sienne, 56, 58 and *Nonciat.*, I., cii.

[2] See Corresp. de D. du Gabre, éd. VITALIS, 155; NORES, 162 *seq.* and the excellent details in ANCEL, Sienne, 61 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*; *cf.* also the briefs to Ercole in RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 6 (also in FONTANA, Renata, I., 554 *seq.*) and DURUY, 356 *seq.*

[3] See MASSARELLI, 303 *seq.*; RIBIER, II., 678 *seq.*; BROWN, VI., 2, n. 825; TURNBULL, n. 580; the *reports of the "vescovo di Anglona" dated Rome, March 3, 6, and 7, 1557 (State Archives, Modena) and COLA COLEINE, *Diario (Chigi Library). Concerning the fortifications ordered on March 6, 1557, for the protection of the gates of Rome, see LANCIANI, III., 153 *seq.*

dinal should never, in the opinion of his best friends, have gone so far away from the Pope.[1]

The first discovery which Carafa made in Rome was that Silvestro Aldobrandini, who had been, since the death of della Casa, his first private secretary and the confidant of all his plans, had completely lost the Pope's favour. Carafa tried in every way to save his faithful assistant, but Paul IV. was inexorable. "When I have given an order," he informed his nephew in an imperious manner, "there is good reason for it. You, my lord Cardinal, have to carry out my wishes." On the following day the Pope held a conference, at which, besides Carafa and Guise, Strozzi and the French ambassador were present. On this occasion Paul IV. again referred to Aldobrandini, whom he accused of having sown discord between Giovanni and Carlo Carafa, and also of not having said a word to him about certain legal proceedings which he had instituted against persons guilty of grave immorality. "Yes, yes," he said, "certain persons take too much upon themselves, and forget that I, who have elevated them, can again degrade them." Speaking still more clearly, he then turned in an excited manner to Carafa, exclaiming: "You are perhaps one of those persons!" Although the Pope and his nephew were reconciled the same evening, the fact remained that Aldobrandini lost his office.[2]

Carafa found the Pope just as firm regarding the question where the war should begin, regardless of the fact that his nephew wished for an expedition against Tuscany, on account of Siena. Paul IV. insisted that the Kingdom of Naples should be the point of attack.

It was no less bitter for Carafa that his brother, the Duke of Paliano, and the other members of his family, should, just at this time, have rebelled against his authority.[3] Friendly

[1] *Letter of the Bishop of Anglona of March 7, 1557 (State Archives, Modena); see ANCEL, Sienne, 72.

[2] *Cf.* the cypher report of Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 831, and for details of Aldobrandini's fall ANCEL, Secrét, 22 *seq.*

[3] ANCEL, Sienne, 72, 78. BROSCH'S (I., 213) view that Carafa had urged the Neapolitan enterprise is quite erroneous.

relations had never existed among the brothers; Giovanni, as well as Antonio Carafa, could never reconcile themselves to the fact that their younger brother, although they were obliged to admit his superior talents, should far excel them in influence and authority. Cardinal Carafa had hoped to conciliate them and attach them to himself, by persuading his uncle to elevate the one to the dignity of Duke of Paliano, and to name the other Marquis of Montebello. Things showed that this hope had been vain, for now, as before, they grudged their younger brother his great influence, and their old love for Spain was not long in being re-awakened. As he had already done in September, 1555, so now in February, 1557, did the Duke of Paliano openly urge an agreement with Philip II.; he had also taken a great part in bringing about the fall of Aldobrandini.[1]

Even at the time when Carafa enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope, the latter had kept purely ecclesiastical affairs out of his hands. Nevertheless, he hoped that consideration for the necessity of the help of France would decide Paul IV. to fall in with the rather extensive wishes of Henry II. at the impending creation of Cardinals. He was destined, however, to be disappointed in this matter as well, when the appointment took place on March 15th, 1557. This was all the more painful for Carafa as he had, on his own responsibility, made the most lavish promises to the French king with regard to this very matter.[2]

The dissatisfaction of Henry II. at the non-fulfilment of his wishes at the creation of Cardinals on March 15th, was increased by the reports of Guise from Rome. Everything, he said, was lacking, and above all money for the troops; the supply of provisions, too, was very badly organized. In addition to this there were differences of opinion with regard to the plan of campaign which completely divided the allies. While the

[1] *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 386 *seq.* and the important embassy reports in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 20. DURUY (p. 46) makes much less of these disputes, and even speaks of a "triumvirat fraternal," which, however, only existed in the imagination of this author.

[2] ANCEL, L'activité réformatrice, 22 *seq.*

Duke of Ferrara wished to proceed against Milan, and Guise to attack Tuscany with the whole of his army, Paul IV. insisted, above everything else, on first assuring the safety of Rome by an immediate attack on the Kingdom of Naples.[1] By reason of these differences of opinion and their mutual recriminations, much valuable time was lost, of which Philip II. and Alba made good use in taking decisive measures for resistance.[2]

By the end of March they were at last of one mind in Rome; the Pope's view had been accepted. The joy of the Spanish king was great, says Navagero, that they had adopted the very plan of campaign which was the least dangerous for him.

On April 5th, Guise, discouraged, and without feeling any certainty of success, repaired to the army; on the 9th he was followed by the Marquis of Montebello, Antonio Carafa.[3] On the same day, April 9th, Paul IV. announced in a consistory the recall of all his agents, nuncios and legates, including Cardinal Pole, from the dominions of Charles V. and Philip II.[4]

This very decisive measure, as well as the preliminary arrangements for the legal proceedings with regard to the deposition of Philip II., which caused the greatest sensation, was in answer to the recall, which had been ordered by the Spanish king, of all Spaniards from Rome. In accordance with a decree of the Council of State, these

[1] Ancel, Sienne, 65 *seq.*, 71 *seq.* and L'activité réformatrice, 27 *seq.*; *cf.* also Riess, 236 *seq.* A long report from Rome of March 31, 1557, about the conduct of the war in upper Italy is in Fillon, Invent. d'autographes, Paris, 1877, n. 2658.

[2] See Duruy, 223 *seq.* and Riess, 227 *seq.*, 251, who very properly emphasizes the importance of gaining over England.

[3] See Navagero-Albèri, 396, and Massarelli, 306. The *Avviso di Roma of April 10, 1557, announces that the Pope said to Guise, who was dining with him on Sunday evening: "Va figliulo mio, che tu sia benedetto, va pur, che altro cavallier mai non tentò la più santa ne la più honorata impresa et dopo molte invective contra heretici gli donò un diamante di 3000 scudi" (*Loc. cit.* p. 213. Vatican Library).

[4] See Pieper, 102; Biaudet, 24.

were in future to apply to a supreme ecclesiastical court, which was about to be set up in Spain, instead of the Papal Rota, while the jurisdiction over all revenues, first fruits and " spolia " accruing to the Curia was to be withdrawn from the Holy See. Paul IV. did not allow himself to be intimidated by such measures. On Maundy Thursday the Bull *In Coena Domini* included some additions against the assailants of the Holy See, while, on Good Friday, the usual prayers for the Emperor were omitted from the liturgy.[1]

On April 27th Paul IV. gave a fearful example of his severity, when he ordered the destruction of a place called Montefortino, in the neighbourhood of Velletri, the inhabitants of which had long been notorious as rebels and bandits.[2] Shortly before this, 1500 Frenchmen had arrived at Civitavecchia as a first reinforcement. They were intended to serve for the protection of Rome,[3] but were very soon taken to strengthen the army of Guise.

During the long hesitation of the enemy, Alba had completed his preparations for the impending attack.[4] When

[1] *Cf.* BROWN, VI., 2, n. 855, 856, 859, 865; the Portuguese report in SANTAREM, XII., 451; *Avvisi di Roma of April 17 and 24, 1557 (Vatican Library); MASSARELLI, 306-307; RIESS, 218 *seq.* Concerning the legal proceedings against Philip II. see GORI, Archivio, I., 209. The consistorial decision with regard to the recall of the ambassadors is erroneously placed by GULIK-EUBEL (III., 37) on March 30. All other authorities give April 9th as the date, as do the *Acta consist. cancell., VII. (Consistorial Arch.).

[2] R. DE LA BLANCHÈRE in the Rev. hist., XXII., 364. Rebuilt later, Montefortino received the name of Artena in 1873. The change of name was of little avail, for the place remained a nest of robbers (see Sighele in FERRERO'S Mondo Criminale, 1897). The conquest of Montefortino was effected, according to Cola Coleine's *Diario (Chigi Library) on April 22, 1557; see also ROSEO, 539 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Delfino of April 17, 1557 (Secret State Archives, Vienna).

[4] *Discorso sopra la guerra di p. Paolo IV. con M. A. Colonna (Cod. D. 21 of the Santa Croce Archives, Rome).

this at last took place, it was evident that the Papal-French army was no match for the Spaniards. Since April 24th the struggle had turned on the siege of Civitella, which had been effectively fortified by Alba, and was bravely defended by the Count of Santa Fiora. He had aroused the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, even of the women, for the defence, and had been successful in repulsing repeated attacks.[1]

As is usually the case in disastrous operations in war, there was no want of mutual recrimination,[2] and on May 1st Guise and Antonio Carafa had so violent a dispute that the latter left the camp the same evening.

Sittings of the Inquisition were being held in Rome at the same time, in which the Pope wished to proceed at once to pronounce excommunication and deposition against Philip II.; it was, however, pointed out to him that such penalties could not be inflicted without previous citation.[3] The Duke of Paliano and the Papal commander-in-chief, Strozzi, were ordered to proceed to the seat of war on May 12th, in order to get a clear understanding as to the state of affairs there. The prospects before Guise soon became so unsatisfactory that he raised the siege of Civitella on May 15th, thereby relinquishing the enterprise against Naples. At the end of May the Pope learned that the French commander had very nearly betaken himself to Ferrara. The ambassador of Ferdinand I. in Rome thought the Pope would have to conclude peace,

[1] See ANDREA, 222 *seq.*; ROSEO, 541 *seq.*; CABRERA, Filipe II., 1.3, c. 9; *cf.* PITTALUGA in the Riv. milit. ital., XLI. (1896) and FEDELE in the Riv. Abruzzese, XI. (1896); see also the reports mentioned in the *Nonciat.*, II., 569, n 3.

[2] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 878 and the *Avviso of May 8, 1557 (Vatican Library).

[3] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 879, 888; VI., 3, n. 167; *cf.* Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., XXV., 485, n.1. The draft of the Bull of depositiou which was prepared at that time in DÖLLINGER, Materialien, I., 218 *seq.* Philip II. had already taken steps to prevent the circulation of the bull in his dominions; see *ibid.* 217, and the letter of July 10, 1557, in CABRERA, I., 79.

as the military superiority of Alba was now evident.[1]

Paul IV. could not yet grasp the fact that his noble aim of liberating Italy and the Holy See from foreign domination, from the "barbarians," had miscarried. The representations of both his secular nephews, especially those of the Marquis of Montebello, who spoke very bitterly of the French, and very violently against the war policy, fell on deaf ears. Paul IV. still believed in the success of his policy, if only the great power of Venice would enter the war on his side. He employed all his eloquence at this time to win over the representative of the republic; in his usual way, he went far back and referred to the times of Charles VIII., "when that unlucky gate was opened to the barbarians, which he now wanted to close." "We shall not regret," he exclaimed in excited tones, "to have done what we could, and perhaps even more than we could." For all future time those who did not assist him would be disgraced, when it should later on be told how there had once been a weak old man of eighty years of age, who, when people had thought that he would run into a corner to bemoan his feebleness, had come forward as the champion of Italy's freedom. "You will repent it, my lords of Venice," he exclaimed, "as well as all you others, who did not make use of this opportunity of ridding yourselves of this past. It began under a king who was bearable on account of his good qualities, but then came this new race, a mixture of Flemings and Spaniards, in whom there is no trace of royal dignity or of Christianity, which sticks like a burr, wherever it gets fast. The French are different; they break off in the middle of a work, and would not remain, even were they bound. We have seen them as masters of Naples and as masters of Milan, and then they were gone; they are inconstant. Noble ambassador! we speak to you in confidence as we should speak to his magnificence the Doge, and to the councillors and heads of

[1] *Cf.* Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 889; MASSARELLI, 309; the letter of the ambassador of the Este in ANCEL, Secrét, 52, n. 3, and the *report of Delfino of May 29, 1557 (Secret State Archives, Vienna).

Christendom, for we know that we have laboured through these short remaining years of our life for the honour of God and for the salvation of this poor Italy, and that we have led a life of drudgery, without rest or repose." On another occasion the Pope again said to Navagero: "Mark well what I say to you; we are old and we shall one of these days go hence, when God shall will. But the time will come when you will recognize that we have told you the truth; God grant that it may not be to your hurt! They are barbarians, both of them, Frenchman as well as Spaniard, and it would be a good thing if they remained at home, and that no other language were spoken in Italy than our own."[1] At the beginning of June it transpired that Guise had already received orders from his king to return to France, whereupon Strozzi was once more sent to the French camp. The result of this was the dispatch of Strozzi to the French king. On June 15th, the marshall left Rome; he took with him the only son of the Duke of Paliano, for the French had demanded the child as a hostage, because, in consequence of Carafa's intrigues to acquire Siena, they no longer trusted their ally.[2]

The depressed state of feeling in the Eternal City was somewhat relieved by the news that several thousand Swiss were about to arrive on June 12th. Paul IV. declared to Cardinal Carpi, who courageously stood out for peace, that he could agree to nothing without his ally, the King of France.[3]

In the meantime the burden of the war was pressing more and more heavily. On May 18th, the Pope decided, in spite of the opposition of certain Cardinals, such as Carpi, that a tax of one and a half per cent. should be levied on all real estate in the States of the Church. He had chosen this tax out of consideration for those who had only small means, but although it had been introduced long ago elsewhere, the subjects of the

[1] See the letters of Navagero of May 21 and June 28, 1557, in the Appendix to NORES, 307-308.

[2] See DURUY, 229; ANCEL, Sienne, 82 *seq.*; *Nonciat.*, I., xxxix.; II., 573 n.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Delfino of June 12, 1557 (Secret State Archives, Vienna).

States of the Church seemed to look upon it as something unheard of, and there was the greatest difficulty in collecting it; here and there, indeed, the attempt met with violent opposition. The Romans endeavoured to protect themselves by proposing that, instead of this tribute, a meat tax should be introduced, which would yield 100,000 scudi. The Pope considered this sum too small, and at length they agreed upon 130,000 scudi; the clergy had also to pay 50,000 scudi.[1]

While the position at the seat of war was getting more and more hopeless for the Holy See, Carafa was continuing his former intrigues for the acquisition of Siena. And end, however, was put to all his plotting by the action of Cosimo I., who, at the beginning of July, succeeded in obtaining Siena from the Spaniards, though not without a considerable sacrifice. The first news of this turn of affairs, which was a most painful blow to Carafa, reached Rome on June 25th; on July 3rd, the agreement was signed by which the Duke of Florence was invested with the territory of Siena as a Spanish fief.[2]

A very dangerous enemy of the Romans had arisen in the person of Marcantonio Colonna. He conquered Valmontone on June 29th, and also invested Palestrina; in the first days of July, he advanced to within five miles of the Eternal City.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. n. 893, 907, 932, 941; RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 8; MASSARELLI, 309, 311; *Letters of Tommaso Cospio to Bologna, dated Rome, June 9 and 12, 1557 (State Archives, Bologna); *Avvisi of May 29, June 5, 12 and 18, 1557 (Cod. Urb., 1038. Vatican Library); Cola Coleine, *Diario (Chigi Library). A copy of the rare publication the *Bulla Pauli IV. subsidii dimidii et unius scuti respective pro centenario*, dated *Romae*, 1557, XV., Cal. Iun. A.° 2°, in the Colonna Archives, Rome. It begins with the words: "Ubique terrarum . . . notissimum credimus quam impie et violenter superiori anno hostes Romanae ecclesiae, qui se christianos profitentur, re vero Turcis immaniores et efferatiores existunt, statum ipsius ecclesiae invaserint, etc."

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT, Toskana, I., 222 *seq.*; ANCEL, Sienne, 85; *Nonciat.*, I., cvi.

[3] See MASSARELLI, 312, and *Avviso di Roma of July 3, 1557 (Vatican Lib).

"Rome is in danger," wrote the ambassador of Ferdinand I. on July 3rd, "but in spite of this the Pope fears nothing; he is waiting for the answer which Strozzi is to bring back from France." It then transpired that Alba had offered peace on the basis of the conditions considered in the previous November, but the Pope declared that he could settle nothing without Henry II.[1] The people of Rome longed for the speedy return of Strozzi. On July 19th the 2000 Swiss whose coming had been announced some time previously by the nuncio Raverta, arrived in Rome; they were fine soldiers, though badly armed. The Pope welcomed them as angels sent by God for his liberation, and invested their leaders with gold chains and knightly rank.[2] He sent them, strengthened by Italian troops, to the relief of the sorely pressed Paliano. The expedition ended on July 27th in the utter defeat of the Papal troops.[3]

On July 30th, almost at the same time as this terrible news,

[1] See the *report of Delfino of July 3, 11, and 17, 1557 (Secret State Archives, Vienna).

[2] *Cf.* PLON, Cellini, 394 *seq.*

[3] See the Spanish *account in the State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes: the *report of Delfino of July 24, 1557 (Secret State Archives, Vienna) and the *Avviso di Roma of July 24, 1557 (Vatican Library); BROWN, VI., 2, n. 969, 972, 976, 978; MASSARELLI, 312; ANDREA, 273; NORES, 201; CABRERA, III., 139. The statement contained in Cabrera, and accepted by Ranke, that all the standards of the allies were lost in the encounter, with the exception of two, is erroneous; five were saved, and one was torn in pieces by the ensign to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy (see LÜTOLF, Schweizergarde, 58, and FELLER, Ritter Melchior Lussy, I., Stans, 1906, 1; *cf.* also WYMANN, Aktenstücke aus dem Römerkriege von 1557: Schweizer Geschichtsfreund, LXIV. (1909, 277 *seqq.*) It is an exaggeration to say as does BROSCH (Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., XXV. 485) that the Swiss auxiliaries amounted to 4,000 men. NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI (p. 401) says distinctly "quattro milla Svizzeri in voce et forse in pagamento ma non più di due milla in essere." *Cola Coleine (Chigi Library) also gives 2,000; Bernardino Pia says in a *report to Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Rome, July 30, 1557, that the "rotta" of the Papal troops

Strozzi returned to Rome; he brought a much more favourable report than anyone in the Curia had dared to hope. Henry II. was prepared to hold out on the Pope's side, and the latter was to decide how long Guise was to remain in Italy.[1]

Paul IV., like Carafa, now again placed all his hopes in the French. The Duke of Paliano, who had always hated the whole war, thought otherwise. He spoke more decidedly than ever in favour of peace, and fearlessly blamed even the Pope, and much more so the dangerous policy of his brother. He had a violent scene with the latter at the beginning of August, at the vigna of the Carafa in Trastevere, concerning the provisioning of Paliano. Strozzi was present when this took place. The Duke, who was enraged at the double-dealing of the Cardinal, accused him of being the cause of all their misfortunes, because he thought only of himself. When the old Pope died, he would still remain a Cardinal, but what was to become of him, and all the other members of the family? The excitement of both of them kept on increasing. "Monsignor," cried the Duke, "you are deceiving the Pope, and the King of France and his ministers. You are ruining the world, devastating Italy, destroying our family and especially myself, for to me you have done the worst of all possible things, you have robbed me of my only son. Hitherto I have restrained myself, but I can do so no longer. I shall tell the Pope everything and show him the sort of person you really are." Carlo answered him furiously, "You need not imagine that my Cardinal's hat will cause me to show you any consideration; I shall throw it off, and expose you as the stupid brute that you are." The Duke then stepped back in order to draw his sword, whereupon the Cardinal, casting his hat on the ground, was about to seize his brother by the throat, when Strozzi succeeded in separating them. The Duke of Paliano then went away, bursting with rage, and crying out: "This traitor was born

on July 27 has ensued "più tosto per imperitia et delli capitani et de soldati che d' altro" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). P. Segmüller is preparing a special work at Einsiedeln concerning the battle of Paliano.

[1] See Ancel, Sienne, 85; *Nonciat.*, I., cvii.

for the ruin of the world!" The Cardinal begged Strozzi to hurry after him, to prevent the Pope hearing of the occurrence. Strozzi succeeded in calming the infuriated Duke, so that only a very mild account of the whole scene was communicated to Paul IV. "One sees," writes the Florentine ambassador, "how the truth is kept from the Holy Father."[1]

As Henry II. had expressly ordered Guise to comply with all the Pope's requests, he was forced to pay attention to the latter's cry for help. As soon, however, as the French army was set in motion, Alba left the Abruzzi and advancing through the valley of the Sacco, marched on Rome for the second time. It therefore appeared as if a decisive battle was to be fought near the Eternal City, where a painful scarcity of provisions was already beginning to make itself felt.[2] Then, like a flash of lightning from a clear sky, the news arrived on August 23rd of a great victory which the Spaniards had won against the French on August 10th at St. Quentin. Next morning a courier from Guise announced that he had received orders to take his troops back to France as soon as possible. The principal counsellors of the Pope, Cardinal Carafa, the Duke of

[1] *Cf.* the report of Navagero of August 3, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 980 and the letter of Gianfigliazzi of August 18 in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 20, n. 5.

[2] According to an *Avviso di Roma of February 13, 1557, the imports of provisions were even then so limited, that orders were issued that no married man, and no one with a household of his own, was to take meals in an osteria, as otherwise those who had nowhere else to go for their food would suffer. Paul IV. said at the time to the Romans who were complaining: "cose incredibili" (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 194). An *Avviso of August 7 speaks of the fear of a "gran carestia," for which reason the Pope should have corn brought in: "Si ragiona che si caccierano di questa città le cortegiane, il poveri et gli giudei et ogni altro sorte di bocche inutili." An *Avviso of August 21 announces: "Qua si patisce d'ogni sorte de viver ne si puo comprar cosa alcuna senza bolettino et è andato il bando che tutte le genti inutili scombrino . . . et si ragiona di cacciar ancora una parte delle famiglie de cardinali" (*Loc. cit.*, p. 253, 257. Vatican Library).

Paliano and Strozzi had met for a conference in the night between August 23rd and 24th, which lasted until four o'clock in the morning. Then the Duke and Strozzi hastened to Guise; they only succeeded, however, in getting from him a promise that the French army, under the command of the Duc d'Aumale, should remain from ten to twelve days longer, in order to give the Pope time to conclude peace with Alba.[1]

At that time it seemed as though very little would be required to plunge Rome once more into the horrors she had suffered in the fatal year of 1527. On August 25th Alba had advanced as far as La Colonna, situated on one of the last spurs of the Alban hills. During the following night 3000 Spaniards started for the Porta Maggiore, taking with them ladders in order to scale the walls near the gate. When they approached the city, however, they found Rome all lit up, and heard the cries of command and the beating of drums. They were prepared for an attack inside the city, for a spy had given warning to Carafa; thereupon Alba resolved to return to La Colonna, and afterwards marched on Paliano.[2]

It is very much open to question, however, whether Alba refrained from the attack solely on account of Carafa's preparedness for defence, especially as there was all the more likelihood of success from the fact that the Romans were very

[1] *Cf.* BROWN, VI., 2, n. 999; ANCEL, Sienne, 87-88; *Nonciat.*, I., cviii.; MALAGUZZI, La battaglia di S. Quintino, Modena, 1890; ROMIER, Jacques d'Albon de St. André (1909). According to a letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine of August 21 (see Revue des quest. hist., XXXII., 477), Henry II. was willing to leave a portion of the troops for the protection of the Pope.

[2] Besides MASSARELLI, 313, see NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 398 *seq.*; Carafa in DURUY, 390; ANDREA, 306 *seq.* and NORES, 336; *cf.* the *Avviso of August 28, 1557 (Vatican Library). *Il sig. duca d'Alba, writes Delfino on August 28, 1557, to Ferdinand I., "si è molto avicinato con le genti sue a questa città et se l'altra notte buona diligentia non ci aiutava questa città rimaneva in preda degl' inimici" (Secret State Archives, Vienna). According to Cola Coleine, *Diario (Chigi Library) the Imperialists advanced as far as Acqua Bulicante.

tired of the war and longed for peace at any price. It is much more probable that Philip II.'s generalissimo was also kept back by religious[1] and political reasons from inflicting on the capital of Christendom the terrible fate of being sacked and pillaged, which in those days was always the consequence of a victory by force of arms. As Charles V. had done thirty years before, so now would Philip II. draw down upon himself the hatred of the whole Catholic world. The restrained manner in which Alba had hitherto conducted the war—his own soldiers complained that they were led into the field against smoke or a mist—agrees very well with the supposition that the Viceroy merely wished to show the Pope, by a demonstration of his strength, how completely he held him in his power.[2]

However difficult it was for such a self-assured man as Paul IV., who was so unshakably convinced of his right and of God's protection,[3] to enter upon peace negotiations, he was forced to do so, as he stood almost defenceless before a well-armed and powerful enemy.[4] The war, indeed, was voluntary, as Navagero wrote, but the peace was enforced.[5] It was due, above all, to the skilful mediation of Venice, that an agreement was reached in a comparatively short time. On September

[1] *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 407. According to this well-informed authority, Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Alba's uncle, is said to have pointed out to his nephew the bad end to which all those came who had taken part in the Sack of 1527.

[2] That was the opinion of Navagero; see SAMM, Une question italienne au XVI.e siècle, 258; DURUY, 239; *Cf.* Arch. stor. Napolit., XXXV., 561, 566.

[3] *Cf.* his remarks at the end of July in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 963, 972; see also ALBÈRI, 390, and MANAREUS, 125. Concerning the scene with Cardinal Ghislieri see, in Appendix No. 40, the *Avviso of September 4, 1557.

[4] According to MASSARELLI, 314, the withdrawal of the Gascons from Rome began on September 4, which caused Paul IV. the greatest excitement; see the report of the Este of September 7, 1557, in the *Annales de S. Louis*, IX., 251.

[5] NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 400. Concerning the peace negotiations *cf.* SAMM, Question 262 *seq.*; DURUY, 241, 390 *seq.*; RIESS, 271 *seq.*, 463 *seq.*

8th Cardinals Carafa, Santa Fiora and Vitelli repaired to the town of Cave, situated on a vine-clad hill about a mile from Palestrina. Under one of the large walnut trees, in which that neighbourhood is specially rich, they met the Duke of Alba. The moderation and compliance which the victors displayed in the negotiations at Cave showed how very strongly the Spaniards considered it desirable to effect a reconciliation with the Pope; it was also no doubt of advantage to Paul IV. that the French army had not yet gone. The principal difficulty lay in the return of the confiscated estates of Marcantonio Colonna and Ascanio della Corgna, demanded by Alba, but to which Paul IV. would not agree. A final decision was hastened by the news, which arrived on September 11th, that the fortress of St. Quentin had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. This announcement made the deepest impression on all, including the Pope. Should the news be confirmed, said Guise, then all the chains in the world would not be strong enough to keep him back.[1]

The treaty which was agreed upon on September 12th, settled the following conditions: Alba was to make, in the name of the Spanish king, that act of submission and obedience which was necessary for the forgiveness of the Pope. For this purpose Philip was also to send a special ambassador. On his part the Pope promised to receive the Spanish king once more as a good and obedient son, to give up the French alliance, and to remain neutral. Philip was to restore the cities and territories belonging to the Holy See. All punishments were to be remitted, except those pronounced against Marcantonio and Ascanio Colonna, the Marquis of Bagno, and other rebels. Paliano was to be handed over to a trusted agent of both parties, Bernardino Carbone, who was to take an oath of allegiance both to Paul IV. and to Philip II., and to observe all the arrangements which Alba and Cardinal Carafa had specially drawn up regarding this matter. This latter clause referred to a secret sub-treaty, of which, as Carafa informed his brothers

[1] See the letter of the Duke of Paliano to Carafa of September 12, 1557, in Riess, 468.

and confidants, the Pope was unaware. According to this secret agreement, which was signed only by Alba and Cardinal Carafa, the Spanish king was to buy from Giovanni Carafa, against suitable indemnification, the right of naming the future possessor of Paliano, who, however, must not be an enemy of the Holy See. Should this indemnification not be paid within six months, then Bernardino Carbone was to deliver up the place to Giovanni Carafa. In any case the fortifications were to be demolished.[1]

Cardinal Vitelli brought the peace treaty to Rome on September 12th. The Duke of Paliano went to meet him at S. Croce, and then informed the Pope of all that had been done. Paul IV. then at once signed the public treaty, and the secret agreement on September 14th.[2] On the same day Cardinal Carafa returned to Rome, where the people welcomed him

[1] The public capitulation in NORES, 216 *seq.* and THEINER, Cod. III. 539, *seq.*, Pallavicini, had the secret treaty before him. COGGIOLA (Paolo IV. e la capitulazione segreta, 10 *seq.*) procured a copy from the *Cod. 468 of the Palatine Library, Parma, comparison with which shows that Pallavicini has reported correctly, and that the statement of DURUY (p. 246 *seq.*) who believes with RANKE (I.[6] 194) that the secret agreement was kept hidden from the Pope is not founded on fact. Even the letters written during the negotiations by the Duke of Paliano to Cardinal Carafa (in the *Cod. Pal. 468 Parma) show that Pallavicini is right (COGGIOLA, 14, 20 *seq.*). Riess has overlooked the work of Coggiola as well as all the researches of Ancel. The latter differs considerably from Coggiola, while acknowledging his indebtedness to him. Concerning the supposed keeping secret of the treaty, he sums up the result of his investigations as follows: "Carafa donna connaissance au pape de la capitulation secrète mais il laissa croire à ses freres et à ses plus intimes amis que le pape n'en savait rien. Ce fut une confidence qui n'eut pas de témoins qui ne fut divulguée que lors de l'instruction du procès" (Disgrâce, 21; *cf. ibid.*, 126 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*). The inscription concerning the peace at Cave in MAROCCO, Monumenti, VIII., 169.

[2] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, *loc. cit.*, 30, 35 *seq.*

joyfully; he at once went to the Pope, who fixed a consistory for the following day.[1]

This consistory, however, could not be held, for at midnight the Tiber broke its banks and inundated a great part of the unfortunate city. The catastrophe took place quite suddenly, so that no one had time to save their possessions. In the vineyards near the Castle of St. Angelo, many houses, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge on the roofs, were carried away by the rush of the river. Very little more was needed to raise the inundation to the level of that of 1530; in St. Peter's Square, the people were getting about in boats. After 24 hours the water began to subside, and then the damage done could be estimated. The Ponte S. Maria (Ponte Rotto) and nine of the mills on the Tiber were completely destroyed; the Ponte Fabricio, the passage leading from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, and the new fortifications of the city had also suffered greatly; the church and monastery of S. Bartolomeo on the island in the Tiber, as well as very many houses and palaces were threatened with destruction, while such quantities of grain, wine and oil had been destroyed that a famine was to be feared. The streets and squares were full of mud and filth, in many places the water was standing, a pestilential stench poisoned the air, and disease of all kinds was rife. The Venetian ambassador thought that the catastrophe would hardly have been greater had the city been sacked.[2]

[1] See MASSARELLI, 314. Guise left Rome during the night between September 14 and 15 (see BROWN, VI., 2, n. 1034). The brief addressed at the time to Henry II. in RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 16.

[2] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 1036, 1042; Carne in TURNBULL, n. 664; *Avvisi di Roma of September 18 and 25, 1557 (Vatican Library); *letter of T. Cospio, dated Rome, September 16, 1557 (State Archives, Bologna); *letter of B. Pia of September 22, 1557 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); Lett. de' princ., I., 193 *seq.*; TARDUCCI, 79 *seq.*; L. LATINIUS, Lucubrat., II., 57; MASSARELLI, 315; MASIUS, Briefe, 299, 300; Cola Coleine in CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 21; ADRIANI, V., 267 *seqq.*; NORES, 219, n. 1, 339; FABRICIUS, 166; BACCI, Del Tevere;

A further result of the inundation was an alteration in the bed of the Tiber, which was now more than a thousand metres distant from Ostia.[1]

On the evening of September 19th, Alba, accompanied by Cardinal Carafa, the Duke of Paliano and the Marquis of Montebello, rode into Rome. He crossed the Ponte S. Angelo, where he was greeted by the thunder of the cannon, and proceeded straight to the Vatican. He was conducted through the Loggie of Raphael to the Hall of Constantine; here the Pope, surrounded by twenty-one Cardinals, received his conqueror. Alba knelt and kissed the Pope's foot, and with great reverence and humility begged for pardon. The Pope bade him rise, and then they both occupied themselves in courtesies and reciprocal apologies. After Alba had saluted the Sacred College, he retired to the apartments of Cardinal Carafa, which had been magnificently decorated for him.[2]

251 *seq.*; OLDRADI, Aviso della pace tra la S. di N. S. Paolo IIII. ed il re Philippo con la narratione del Diluvio che è stato in Roma, con le gran ruine dei ponti, chiese, palazzi, vigne et il numero delle gente morte et le perdite de fromenti, vini et olii con altri succesi e particolarità. In Rome, per Ant. Blado, stampator camerale, 1557 (German translation: "Warh. neue Zeitung," etc. s.l., 1557, 4to, 8ll.). See further, in FORCELLA, I., 146, the inscription, still preserved, on the façade of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Concerning the annotation to Bufalini's plan, *cf.* Riv. Europ. XXII. (1880), 8 *seq.*, 361 *seq.* See also FANFANI, Spigol., 141 *seq.*; Bull. arch. com. (1895), 299 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 23 *seq.*; DE WAAL, Campo Santo, 87; Atti dei Lincei, V., 5, p. 5; RODOCANACHI, S. Ange, 157; PAGLIUCCHI, 132. A. F. RAINERIO published a Sonetto sopra l'inondatione del Tevere, s.l., 4to. Concerning the letters of Andrea Speciale see TESSIER in the publication Buonarotti, Ser. 3, I., and Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., I., 511.

[1] GUGLIELMOTTI, Pirati, II., 317, and Spiaggia Rom., passim.

[2] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 1039; Carne in TURNBULL, n. 666; NORES, 219, n. 1; MASSARELLI, 315 *seq.*; Report of A. Babbi, dated Rome, September 20, 1557, in ANCEL, La nouvelle de la prise de Calais à Rome: Annales de St. Louis, IX. (1904), 252 *seqq.*; *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1557 (Vatican

The official intimation of the reconciliation with Spain was made to the Cardinals in a secret consistory on September 20th. On this occasion, the Pope announced his intention of sending legates in the interests of a general peace to the two monarchs ; to Philip II. Cardinal Carafa, and to Henry II. Cardinal Trivulzio.[1] On the same day, Garcilasso de la Vega, Camillo Colonna, Pirro Offredo, Juan de Taxis, Capilupi, Giuliano Cesarini and others were released from their captivity in the Castle of St. Angelo. Next day there was a Te Deum in the Papal chapel, after which the Pope gave a banquet to the Cardinals, at which Alba was also present. On September 22nd the Viceroy, to whom every possible honour was shown, left Rome, the Pope bestowing on his consort the Golden Rose.[2]

Paul IV., who had been compelled to seek for peace at all costs, could indeed, be thankful that Alba had made such moderate use of his victory. It can, however, easily be understood that he suffered greatly in seeing the frustration of his grand plans for the liberation of the Holy See and Italy from the Spanish yoke. The war had lasted a whole year, and a great part of the States of the Church, and especially the Campagna, had been devastated,[3] the finances and the status of

Library). The numerous statements that Alba entered the city without any pomp is contradicted in the last named publication. B. Pia also states expressly in his *report to Cardinal E. Gonzaga : " Domenica a sera et quasi di notte entrò in Roma il s. duca d'Alba con mons. ill. Caraffa accompagnato da tutta Roma a lume con torcie." He also mentions the heavy thunder of the cannon, such as had not been heard for years, and the reception by the Pope " alegrimente " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] See Acta consist. in PIEPER, 97. See here also (p. 197) the instructions for both Cardinals.

[2] MASSARELLI, 316-317. BROWN, VI., 2, n. 1039, 1041. *Avviso of September 25, 1557, and the report of the ambassador of Bologna, T. Cospio of September, 22, 1557, in the State Archives, Bologna.

[3] *Cf.* MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 47, and DE CUPIS, 144. The French allies had ravaged almost as badly as the enemy ; see the complaints from the Marches in the Docum. di storia ital. publ. d. deput. di storia patria per Toscana, IV., 198.

the Pope as a secular power[1] greatly injured,[2] and the very thing which Paul IV. wished to prevent, had been brought about.

Marcantonio Colonna, whom the Pope specially hated, had won so great renown in the war, that he was looked upon as one of the first commanders in Italy. The domination of the Spaniards in Milan and Naples was stronger than ever, and they could now reckon on the Farnese, who had received Piacenza, as surely as on Cosimo de' Medici, who, now that he was in possession of Siena, was in a position to make things very dangerous for the Holy See.[3]

Paul IV. had begun the struggle in the style of a great power; at the conclusion of peace, he must have been glad that he had been successful in keeping at least the territory previously possessed by the Holy See. But this could now only constitute him a power of the second rank; no Pope could again think of adopting a policy of war for the overthrow by force of foreign domination.

[1] *Cf.* Soranzo in ALBERI, Ser. 2, IV., 89, who brings out the fact that the Pope's enterprise had displayed the weakness of the States of the Church to the whole world.

[2] According to NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 400, the war had cost 1½ million ducats; *cf.* also BROWN, VI., 2, n. 707. The national debt was considerably increased by the erection of new Monti. In 1556 the *Monte Novennale* was established, and in the same year the *Monte Religione* and the *Monte Allumiere*. See COPPI, Finanze, 4. The figures given there are not correct (200,000, 200,000 and 60,000 sc.), for in a presumably authentic *inventory in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm. 11, t. 91: *De reform. curiae*) we find (p. 11b.): *Monte Novennale non vacabile*, by Paul IV., *paga* 400,000 *scudi*. *Monte delle Lumiere vacabile*, by Paul IV., *paga l'anno* 7,000 *sc.* Concerning the first Monte *cf. Nonciat.*, II., 417 n; *ibid.* 418 n. concerning the financial operations during the summer of 1556; concerning the erection of the *Monte Religione*, not mentioned there, see the *report of Navagero of October 12, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). With regard to the sums taken from the Papal treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo see Studi e docum., XIII., 304.

[3] *Cf.* NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 406 *seq.*

However greatly the private feelings of Paul IV. rebelled, he quickly accommodated himself to his new position. The old ideas, indeed, appeared now and again, but he no longer dared to attempt to meddle with the unavoidable fact of Spanish supremacy.[1]

Secular affairs, as far as the Pope was concerned, took for the future a quite subordinate place. Although he was determined to heal, as far as it lay in his power, the heavy wounds which his mistaken policy had inflicted on the States of the Church, he wished above all in future (as he had already pointed out in the consistory of September 20th, 1557[2]) to

[1] ANCEL (La nouvelle de la prise de Calais à Rome, *loc. cit.*, 254 *seq.*) shows how the Spanish almost completely kept the upper hand in Rome even after the departure of Alba, and how quickly the Imperialist Cardinals, della Corgna, Fano and Santa Fiora were again received into favour. At this time the suppression of the Rime of the poet Pasquale Malespini, who was friendly to the French, took place; it is commented on by S. BONGI in the Atti d. Accad. di Lucca, XXX. (1898). Better times for the French did not come until the end of January. 1558. The news then reached Rome that Guise had succeeded in capturing Calais from England, which was allied with Spain. The French party in Rome celebrated the event with great pomp. The Pope, who could not conceal his satisfaction at this blow dealt at his old enemy, put no difficulties in their way, and the Spanish reaction in Rome now came to an end. At the same time, however, Paul IV., as well as his nephew, the Duke of Paliano, took good care not to take the side of France (see ANCEL, 264 *seq.*). The Pope no longer took any part at all in political affairs, even if he did repeat his old view, in confidential conversation, that the French kings had always been the protectors, and the Spanish kings the enemies of the Holy See (*cf.* the report of the Bishop of Angoulême of June 11, 1558, in RIBIER, II., 744 *seq.*). The conclusion of the peace of Cateau Cambrésis, which was unfavourable to the French, must therefore have affected Paul IV. painfully (see RIBIER, II., 798); he also greatly lamented the unexpected death of Henry II. (see *ibid.*, 810 *seq.*).

[2] *Affino che fusse poi più facile mediante il concilio generale riformar la chiesa et estirpar le heresie. Avviso of September 25, 1557, *loc. cit.* p. 266. Vatican Library.

devote himself entirely to the spiritual duties of his high priestly office, to the reform of ecclesiastical conditions, and the eradication of heresy. All his care should henceforth be devoted to these weighty matters.

CHAPTER VII.

Reform Measures of Paul IV.—Renewal of the Sacred College.

In many of the letters of congratulation which Paul IV. received from all parts of Christendom on his elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, the hope was strongly expressed, while they deplored the premature death of Marcellus II., that his successor would not fail to show his zeal in beginning and carrying into effect that most important work, the reform of the Church from within.[1] Most of these hopes were founded on the fact that Gian Pietro Carafa had been the first to enter upon the right way of carrying out an improvement in ecclesiastical conditions, and that he had steadily pursued this high aim.[2] A very religious Catholic layman, Girolamo Muzio, reminded Paul IV. of a saying of Marcellus II., which embodied a profound truth. Marcellus, who had always been of one mind with Carafa, had said to Muzio, before he started for Rome for the conclave, that no Pope who did not take the work of reform in hand at the beginning of his reign, need hope to be able to effect anything later on.[3]

[1] Almost all the *letters of congratulation addressed to Paul IV. are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives, Castle of St. Angelo, Arm. 8, ordo 2, t. I., n. 2. The first volume of this priceless collection of autograph letters contains for the most part the letters of the princes, the second the *obedientia* addresses, the congratulatory letters of the clergy as well as of the laity, and several poems, as, for instance, *one by Lelius Capilupus on p. 137, and *one by Franciscus Modestus on p. 139.

[2] See Pole's letter of June 6, 1555, in the *Nonciat.* I., 232 *seq.*, and *that of Paolo Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras, dated Id. Iunii 1555, in the above-mentioned collection of autograph letters, II., 173.

[3] See Appendix No. 14 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

Paul IV. was himself deeply convinced of this. His first steps in the direction of reform, in the summer of 1555, showed that he was determined not to move a hair's breadth from his old principles, and that he would, now that he was in possession of the supreme power, display the greatest rigour.[1]

One of the first questions which the new Pope had to decide was whether the great legislative work which Julius III. had prepared, but had not been able to bring to an end, should now be completed. To make such use of the work of another did not appeal to the self-assured character of Paul, and although he did think of not doing so for a short time,[2] he soon changed his mind. It is certain that in doing so he was influenced by very able friends of the reform movement, who represented to him from the very beginning of his reign, that it was now much less a question of issuing new decrees, than of the strict and thorough application of those already in existence, an idea which had already been expressed in the opinion of the Cardinals in the year 1537.[3] The Bishop of Sessa, Galeazzo Florimonte, pointed out in his letter of congratulation, that Marcellus II. had also been thoroughly persuaded that in future practice should be preferred to theory, and that the necessary reform measures must first be carried out, and that only then should steps be taken to commit them to writing.

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 90.

[2] I infer this from the draft of a *bull which I found in the Secret Archives (Castle of St. Angelo Arm. 5, caps. 2, n. 18). In this document, which begins with the words: "Varietas temporum," the "Bulla super reformatione conclavis" and the "Constitutio Julii III. pro securitate episc. resident." are inserted. According to a presumably contemporaneous note on the reverse side, the document belongs to the year 1555. It here continues: "R^mis^ dom. Ostien. Portuen. Tuscul. Alban. mittatur per manus." The contents have, however, been written in a later hand; "Copia nonnullorum canonum super ordinatione cleric. et praelat. cum relat. qualit. quae in cardinalibus creandis et in promovendis ad cathed. vel alias ecclesias concurrere debent ex decret. concilii et consist. excerpt."

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 165.

Florimonte also reminded Paul IV. of a letter written to him by Marcellus II., ordering him to make out a list of the men best fitted for bishoprics, so that the most worthy could easily and quickly be chosen to fill the vacant sees.[1]

Another friend of reform, the worthy Luigi Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, who drew for the Pope an appalling picture of the ecclesiastical corruption of the time, likewise remarked that enough reforms had so far been most solemnly promised, and that now it was, above all, a question of taking care that these did not prove to be merely idle words.[2]

These views exactly corresponded with those of the Pope. The very earliest measures that he adopted proved that he intended to proceed in just such a manner as was demanded by the most zealous friends of reform. There had already been conferences, discussions and decisions concerning ecclesiastical affairs on the most extensive scale, and it seemed to the practical sense of Paul IV. that the moment had now come to take the work in hand.[3] He was therefore, from the first, not inclined to continue the Council; he considered that such an assembly involved too many difficulties in itself, and, in addition to this, proceeded much too slowly. He also probably felt that his dominating nature was little suited to such an assembly, which, moreover, necessitated an understanding with all the Catholic powers.[4] In accordance with his impetuous character, the Pope, who had always been a strong man of action, wished to begin at once with the abolition of abuses, and to insist, with the utmost rigour, on the observance of the decrees already issued.

From the first days of his reign, the proceedings of Paul IV. had been in conformity with this resolve. The very

[1] See the text of the **letter, in the collection mentioned *supra p.* 175, n. 1 (II., 156-157[b], Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See the letter (in a translation) in ANCEL, Concile, 4-5.

[3] See the Pope's speech in Navagero's letter of October 8, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 242; *cf.* also Navagero's report of December 7, 1555, in ANCEL, Concile, 5, n. 3.

[4] *Cf.* DEMBINSKI, 13.

strict measures of the summer of 1555,[1] were followed by others of a similar nature during the autumn and the winter. The relaxed Conventuals in the district of Florence were replaced by Observants, and the Bishop of Syracuse was appointed to inspect the convents of Sicily, and a Jesuit given to him as his assistant.[2] Envoys were appointed for Spain to bring about the reform of the Benedictine congregation of the Olivetans.[3] The granting of marriage dispensations was limited,[4] as was also the method of holding monasteries "in commendam," which was so harmful.[5] The terrible severity of the new Pope was shown in an edict of the governor of Rome, issued in the year 1555, which threatened truly draconian punishments, such as the galleys, hanging, scourging, loss of property and banishment, for the moral abuses then prevalent in Rome. All participation in conspiracies, as well as the carrying of arms, was threatened with the gallows, while the right of sanctuary was

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 90.

[2] *Cf.* Mon. Ign. I., x, 220 *seq.*; POLANCO, V., 103. Ignatius was at that time promoting the reform of the Spanish Conventuals. At Saragossa the Conventuals were afterwards replaced by the Observants; see POLANCO, V., 407.

[3] Besides the brief of November 8, 1555, quoted by BROMATO (II., 277), see the *briefs of December 1, 1555, for "Ioannes princ. Portug. gub. Hisp., Nunt. in Hispania and Consiliariis regiis Hisp." in Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 280-282, and *ibid.*, n. 283, *brief of December 2, 1555, "generali et monachis O.S.B. congreg. Vallis Oliveti" (Secret Archives of the Vatican). A brief of September, 1555, concerning monastic reform in Ferrara in FONTANA, Renata, II., 549.

[4] See Bull. VI., 507 *seq.*; *cf.* BROMATO, II., 482 *seq.* To understand how disinclined the Pope was to concessions of any kind, see the characteristic *letter of G. Aldrovandi, dated Rome December 24, 1555 (State Archives, Bologna). Paul IV. said indignantly to Aldrovandi's successor, C. Paleotti: *Qui non si comprano le gratie de sudditi con vescovati. *Letter of C. Paleotti of October 3, 1556, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Acta consist. cancell., VI., 277^{b}-278 (December 16, 1555). Consistorial Archives.

suspended.[1] Special regulations affected the abuses which took place during the carnival, in connection with the impunity afforded by masks.[2]

The great creation of Cardinals of December, 1555, is significant of the manner in which Paul IV. intended to carry out his ecclesiastical reforms. It appeared to him to be much more important to procure fitting instruments for the execution of the ecclesiastical laws, to choose men who, in their lives and actions, represented reform itself, than to enter upon new discussions and to issue new regulations by means of a Council. Paul III. had at first adopted this course with great success, but under Julius III. several quite unsuitable elements had succeeded in gaining admission to the College of Cardinals.[3] The great turning point had, in this respect, now arrived with Paul IV. Purely ecclesiastical considerations should, for the future, alone be taken into account in the choice of the members of the Sacred College. Regardless of all the claims of secular policy, the Pope refused all the requests made by the Venetian, Imperial and French ambassadors.[4] He also paid no attention to the wishes of his nephews[5] with regard to matters pertaining to the government of the Church.

It is very remarkable that none of the candidates recommended by the French were considered, although the whole

[1] See the text of the *Bando generale (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix No. 15. That these severe punishments were inflicted is seen from the case reported by Calvi in the N. Antologia Ser. 5, CXLII., 591, of the year 1556.

[2] These Papal instructions to the governor of the city (not mentioned in Clementi's work) are cited by Padiglione, La Bibl. del Museo naz. di S. Martino, Naples, 1876, 303.

[3] *Cf.* our particulars in Vol. XI. of this work, p. 159 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 215 *seq.*, and Vol. XIII., pp. 70, 71.

[4] *Cf.* the *brief to Charles V. of December 24, 1555, in which Paul IV. justifies his non-consideration of the Emperor's wishes (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 309. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] *Cf.* concerning this the *report of Navagero of December 14, 1556, (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

secular policy of Paul IV. was, at that time, directed to an alliance with France. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the requests made by the Imperialist Cardinals, Alvarez de Toledo, Truchsess and Morone, were not granted. No one knew upon whom the choice would fall.[1] The Pope expressed himself in merely general terms.[2]

At the consistory of December 18th, Paul IV. made his appearance with visible signs of excitement; the ambassador of the Este said: "His eyes flashed fire."[3] The Pope declared to the Dean, Cardinal du Bellay, that he would grant no audiences before the beginning of the consistory. When Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo endeavoured, in spite of this, to obtain one, he was refused in violent terms. After the Cardinals had taken their places, the Pope laid before them, with characteristic and unsparing bluntness, his reasons for wishing to increase the Sacred College. It had come to his knowledge, he said, that several Cardinals had declared that he would not dare to appoint more than four new members, because this would be contrary to the election capitulation, which had been sworn to by him. In contradiction to this view he explained at considerable length, appealing to the Holy Scriptures and the opinions of standard canonists, that the absolute power of the supreme head of the Church could not be limited in any such manner, just as other persons were not obliged to keep their promises, if it should prove, in course of time, that these were disadvantageous to the common good. Should any of them fear excommunication, he could absolve them from it. He, the supreme head of the Church, intended to make use of his right to appoint Cardinals, and he would not suffer any opposition; the members of the Sacred College possessed no decisive vote, but merely an advisory one.

[1] *Cf.* the reports of the ambassadors of Venice, Ferrara and Florence in Ancel, L'action réform., 7.

[2] Concerning the early history of the promotion see *Nonciat.* II., 274 *seq.*

[3] See Ancel, *loc. cit.* 8, n. 4.

The Cardinals, already taken aback by this declaration, were to hear something yet stronger. Necessity, Paul IV. insisted, forced him to summon new members to the senate of the Church, as he could see no suitable persons among them; had they not all their party and their following? Therefore he would, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, appoint several good, learned, and independent persons, in whom he could place confidence, and whom he could employ for current business, and above all for reform. He would be directed in his choice of these, neither by ties of blood nor by any recommendations made to him. If the Cardinals had anything to say to him concerning this matter he would willingly listen to them, but only to each one by himself. He was aware that new appointments were not desired by the Cardinals who were without means, as the maintenance of many required more than that of a few. He would, however, take the necessary steps with regard to this, and would not permit the secular princes either to bestow or to refuse to bestow benefices on members of the Sacred College, as this violated the liberty of the Church.[1]

The Pope expressed himself in still stronger terms on the following day to the Venetian ambassador, to whom he was so fond of opening his heart.[2] He had never in his life, he said, been so pestered with petitions and demands as now. He was, however, resolved to appoint no one on the recommendation of the princes or at the request of others; he would not hesitate to choose foreigners, if only they were independent.[3] "What a disgrace" exclaimed Paul IV. "that princes should have servants in the Sacred College!

[1] See the **letter of Navagero of December 18, 1555 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice); *cf.* Seripando, ed. Höfler, 354. Paul IV. had confirmed the election capitulation by a bull, which contained even more stringent measures; see Lulves in the Quellen und Forsch. des Preuss. Histor. Inst., XII., 225.

[2] See the **letter of Navagero of December 19, 1555 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] See the **letter of Navagero of March 14, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

How can secrecy be kept or impartiality be hoped for from persons in such a dependent position? To speak plainly, what sort of people have already received the purple on such terms? As the removal of these unsuitable persons, all at once, is impossible, we shall, by the appointment of good and capable men, gradually provide a counter-weight to them. Whenever we discover one who is worthy we shall appoint him, unexpectedly and out of the usual time." In conclusion the Pope made much of the fact that the elevation of capable Cardinals was of more value than a Council in increasing the respect felt for the Church and in carrying out the work of reform. The Pope also informed Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine that, in the coming creation, he would only consider the honour of God and his own conscience. Carafa, who, in conjunction with the French, made incredible efforts on behalf of his favourite, Giovanni della Casa, only received from his uncle the reply: "No such people!"[1]

The seven who were appointed on December 20th, 1555, were, as Cardinal Armagnac had predicted,[2] for the most part unknown men, partly belonging to the religious orders, and partly theologians. They belonged to various nations, were recommended solely by their virtues, were all far removed from political intrigues, and, in the matter of reform, were all true representatives of the views of the Pope.[3] For the most part they had been well known to Paul IV. in earlier days, as for example, Giovanni Bernardino Scotti, the first novice of the Theatine order, who had always been devoted to study and prayer, and who still wished now to preserve

[1] *Cf.* Ribier, II., 622; Bromato, II., 259 *seq.* 284; Ancel, L'action réform., 10; Studi stor., XVII., 197. The non-inclusion of della Casa was perfectly justified, as his conduct left much to be desired from a moral point of view.

[2] See Tamizey de Larroque, Lett. inéd. du card. d'Armagnac, Paris, 1874, 79-80.

[3] *Cf.* concerning the different cardinals, Petramellarius, 23 *seqq.*; Ciaconius, III., 845 *seq.*; Cardella, IV., 342 *seq.*; Gulik-Eubel, III., 38 *seq.*

his poverty.[1] The same was the case with Scipione Rebiba, who had been for many years in Carafa's service, and since 1549 his representative in the archdiocese of Naples, and afterwards governor of Rome. Paul IV. had also closely followed the activities of the Gascon, Giovanni Suario Reumano, Auditor of the Rota ; he was chosen, as well as Giovan Antonio Capizuchi, who also belonged to the Rota, because there was a want of learned canonists in the Sacred College.[2] The fifth of the new Cardinals, Diomede Carafa, did not owe the purple to his relationship to the Pope, but to the fact that he had been managing his diocese of Ariano in the most exemplary manner since 1511.

If France was represented in the new appointments by Reumano, so was Germany by the learned Johannes Gropper, the saviour of the church in Cologne against the assaults of the religious innovators, and Spain by Juan Siliceo, Archbishop of Toledo. The appointment of this learned and zealous man,[3] proves how thoroughly the Pope preserved his independence in spiritual matters in all directions, even with regard to his French allies.

Scotti and Diomede Carafa were already dwelling in the Vatican, and the Pope now assigned apartments there to Cardinals Reumano, Rebiba and Capizuchi ;[4] he wished these men, as well as Gropper, to be near him, for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, and above all for questions of reform. The honour of living in the Vatican was therefore also bestowed

[1] *Cf.* the **letter of Navagero of January 4, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice) and the statements in the *Nonciat.* II., 275, n. 6. A *Vita B. card. Scotti by J. Silos is preserved in the general archives of the Theatines in Rome.

[2] See the letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine in Ribier, II., 622. Concerning Rebiba *cf.* Masius, Briefe, 250 ; Boglino, 47 *seq.* and *Nonciat.* II., 405, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* the *brief to Philip II. of December 24, 1555, in Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 310 and *ibid.* the *brief to the newly-appointed Cardinal himself of December 29, 1555 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See the **letter of Navagero of January 4, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

on Gropper when he came to Rome at the end of September, 1558. This worthy champion of Catholic interests in Germany,[1] had hitherto, in his humility, refused to accept the purple; he was now, however, forced to do so by Paul IV. Cardinal Carlo Carafa had done everything in his power to keep this eminent man away from the Pope. It was he who set on foot, through Delfino, a wretched intrigue, and even cast suspicion on the faith of the ardent apologist. Gropper however, was able to defend himself so well before the Inquisition that the case against him was quickly brought to an end. This excitement, and the unaccustomed climate of Rome, however, so affected his strength that his health broke down, and he died on March 13th, 1559, aged only 56 years. On the following day, the funeral took place in the German national church, S. Maria dell' Anima. Paul IV. pronounced the funeral oration himself, an honour which is unique in the history of the Popes. He exclaimed repeatedly: "Gropper has by no means departed from us, he has only gone before us to God."[2] Not content with this, Paul IV. referred again to the merits of Gropper in the consistory of March 15th, 1559, sternly rebuking the calumniators of this admirable

[1] See the praise in the letter of Adolphus, Elector of Cologne, to Cardinal Farnese, in SCHWARZ, Der päpstl. Nuntius K. Gropper, Münster, 1911, 10, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* SCHWARZ in the Histor. Jahrbuch, VII., 396 *seqq.*; GULIK, Gropper, 158 *seq.*; MASIUS, Briefe, 248, 315; ESSER, S. Maria dell' Anima, Rome, 1899, 56; SCHMIDLIN, Gesch. der Anima, 294 *seqq.*; Rev. Bénédict. XXIV., 285 *seq.* The slab covering Gropper's grave, with coat of arms, Cardinal's hat, and a high-flown inscription (FORCELLA, III., 458) had to be removed from its old place in the imperfectly understood interests of the decoration of the church of the Anima, and was lost; it was renewed in 1885 (see LOSCHI, Il card. G. Gropper, Udine, 1896, 80) and is now in the right aisle of the Benno chapel. Extensive literature concerning Gropper in PASTOR, Reunionsbestrebungen, 166; JANSEN, VII.[14], 575; GULIK, *loc. cit.* and in HERZOG'S Real-enzyklopädie, VII.[3], 191.

man; he also bestowed on his relatives all the benefices rendered vacant by his decease.[1]

The attempt, which played so great a part in the creation of Cardinals in December, 1555, to put an end to the undue influence exercised by the secular princes in purely ecclesiastical affairs, was one reason for the disinclination of the Pope to continue the Council. In addition to this, there was the remembrance of the proceedings at Basle and Constance, which were exceedingly hateful to Paul IV.[2] If it should happen that a Council could not be avoided, it should, in his opinion, under no circumstances be held in German territory, "in the midst of Lutherans," but under his own eyes in Rome. This intention, as well as the almost complete exclusion of the secular princes from such a meeting, appeared to many of the Cardinals, as for example Medici, to lay the Church open to the danger of a schism.[3] Probably, however, Paul IV. did not seriously think of holding a Council in Rome; he wished rather to arrange the necessary conferences in such a manner that they would resemble a Council, without involving the disadvantages connected with such assemblies in the XVth century. This was clearly shown by the measures which he adopted at the beginning of the year 1556.

In a consistory on January 10th, 1556, the Pope, in a long address, unfolded his plan for undertaking a thorough reform of the Roman Curia. For sixty years, he said, this had been talked of; he was going at last to carry it out, energetically, and without respect of persons, as one chosen by God for the purpose, and he would make a beginning with the Roman Curia itself. In witness thereof, he alluded to the orders given a few days previously to Cardinals Scotti, Rebiba and Reumano, for the reform of the Dataria. If, in doing this, he closed his chief source of revenue, this did not trouble him, and he would know how to stint himself. The others must follow in his footsteps, as he did not intend to content himself

[1] See the Diario in LAEMMER, Melet., 210.

[2] *Cf.* ANCEL. *Concile*, 7.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 8-9.

with this one measure. He intended to reform in the same way the Chancery, the Penitentiary, the Signatura, the College of Cardinals, and the whole state of affairs with regard to benefices, each one in turn, and without the least consideration for the secular princes.[1] It would be seen that Paul IV. meant to proceed in accordance with his old motto, that justice should begin with the House of the Lord.

In January, 1556, he formed a special congregation, consisting of twenty Cardinals, seven prelates of the Curia, twelve referendaries of the Signatura, six Auditors of the Rota, the generals of the Dominicans, Franciscan Observants and Conventuals, nine officials of the Curia, and five theologians (Michele Ghislieri, as commissary of the Inquisition, Lainez, of the Society of Jesus, Giovan Battista Calderini of the Servites, and two secular priests) to confer about a comprehensive reform of the Roman Curia.[2]

These sixty-two members assembled in the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican in the afternoon of January 20th. The Pope himself opened the first session of the reform congregation with a speech in which he emphasized his wish to abolish the abuses which had crept into the Church of God, owing to the wickedness of the times, and enumerated the troubles which former Popes had had to contend with in this respect, even with the assistance of a General Council. Although no success had crowned their efforts hitherto, he nevertheless hoped that this time, with the help of God, they might attain some result. He himself would do all in his power,

[1] The short statements in the *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives; see Appendix No. 16) are supplemented by Navagero's *report of January 11, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice, see Appendix No. 17). *Cf.* the **report of Navagero of January 4, 1556, concerning the new arrangement of the Dataria; see also, the letter of Casa of January 8, 1556, in Coggiola, A. d. Cornia, 125, and Masius, Briefe, 235.

[2] See the list of persons in the *rough draft made by Massarelli (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Concilio 79, p. 33^{b}, 34) Ancel (Concile, 12), was the first to draw attention to this source, overlooked by Merkle (II., 287, n.1).

and would spare no effort, even to the loss of his life, to ensure a favourable result to their labours. As, however, the whole work of reform must start with the complete abolition of the simoniacal evils which formed the chief obstacle, the axe must be ruthlessly laid to the root of the evil.

Massarelli, who, in his official report of the session, gives the speech of the Pope, records the statement of Paul IV. that the head of the Church must eradicate simony, all the more so as all calumniators and heretics declared that this was the actual and almost the only reason why no reform had been effected hitherto, as the Popes had put difficulties in the way on the account of the loss of revenue from the Dataria. The present Pope, however, considered all gain and worldly advantage as nothing, had only God and the salvation of souls before his eyes, and was determined to carry out a reform at all costs, and above all things to eradicate simony. The justice of this report of Massarelli is evident from the fact that Paul IV., in the same session, exhorted the Cardinals, in the most earnest manner, in virtue of the obedience which they owed him, to state the plain truth without any evasions, especially concerning this most important question, whether a temporal advantage or gain could be accepted for the exercise of that power which Christ bestowed upon the Apostle Peter as head of His Church. The answer to this question was to be handed in by the Cardinals in writing.[1] Navagero relates that the Pope spoke with extraordinary power and eloquence about simony; his words made the deepest impression on all present, and the justice of his view convinced them that the real reform of the Church consisted above all in bringing about a radical change in this respect.[2]

The question which Paul IV. now laid before the new congregation was one which had already occupied the attention of the reform commission of the Farnese Pope. At that

[1] See the *rough draft (Secret Archives of the Vatican) in Appendix No. 19.

[2] See in Appendix No. 20 Navagero's *report of January 24, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

time, however, so many differences of opinion had arisen between the strict and the moderate advocates of reform, that the prudent Paul III. thought it better to refrain from any drastic measures.[1] Paul IV. again took the matter up, when it had come to a standstill, because he believed simony to be at the root of all the evil.[2] Although he held firmly, as he had always done, to the strict conception of the Papal power which he had always held as Cardinal, yet even he did not venture to proceed in the matter without once more carefully weighing it in the balance.

How very much the Pope was, at this time, filled with zeal for reform is best seen in the letters of Navagero. The ambassador had an audience on January 11th, in which Paul IV. spoke with the greatest frankness about his political as well as his ecclesiastical programme. He especially emphasized his intention of beginning the reform with himself, by renouncing the revenue which he received from the Dataria. It was only on this very considerable sum that the Pope could reckon for his personal expenditure, he said, nevertheless it must be abolished. "Who can doubt that God will help me, if I act in conformity with that saying of Christ: Freely have you received, freely give. When I gave up everything, and founded the Theatine order, I was able, without possessing any guarantee for my maintenance, to lead a bearable life for many years. As Cardinal I had for a considerable time no revenues, the tyrants having prevented me from taking possession of the archbishopric of Naples, but I would not utter a single word in order to acquire it. In all these critical positions the necessary means have never been wanting to me. Why then should I fear that it will be otherwise now? Even should God allow me to come to a state of actual want, I would rather beg alms than lead a comfortable life on unlawful revenues." "This very day," he remarked later, "I have ordered several Auditors of the Rota to consider care-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, pp. 155 *seqq.*

[2] See in Appendix No. 18 Navagero's *report of January 18, 1556, *loc. cit.*

fully with the other members of the reform commission what needs to be done, and not to allow themselves to be deceived. We have been thoroughly instructed by theologians and canonists concerning simony, and the teaching of St. Thomas has determined us to make truly Christian resolutions with regard to this and all other matters."[1] On January 24th Navagero speaks of a consistory in which Paul IV. showed the Cardinals that a true and exhaustive reform would also be of great benefit to themselves. On the following day the the Pope declared to the Venetian ambassador his determination to carry out the reform, even if by so doing he should ruin his bodily health. In his drastic manner he declared that he would skin himself, and then, with equal ruthlessness, would proceed to skin the others, priests as well as laymen, if by so doing he could effect a reform. He particularly insisted that he would not deceive the world with fine-sounding bulls, nor with futile councils and useless conferences, but would perform deeds by means of the reform commission. He intended to strengthen the congregation by adding other eminent persons, to such an extent that it would appear to be a council, without bearing the name. Finally the Pope spoke at length of simony, which might, he said, on account of its consequences, be described as a heresy, in such impressive terms, that it was clear, even to the cold Venetian diplomatist, that his words came from the fulness of his heart.[2]

In accordance with this announcement, besides the sixty-two actual members, many other persons took part in the second special session of the reform commission, which took place on January 29th ; all the prelates and generals of orders then in Rome, numerous officials of the Curia and the city, as

[1] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 18 the *letter of Navagero of January 18, 1556. (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix Nos. 20 and 21 the *letters of Navagero of January 24 and 25, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice), and the *Avviso di Roma of January 25, 1556 (Vatican Library). In January, 1556, Paul IV. requested the King of Portugal to inform him of the ecclesiastical abuses in his kingdom, as he wished to abolish them all ; see SANTAREM, XII., 440.

well as many theologians—200 people in all—were present. Before the Pope proposed to those assembled the manner in which the deliberations should take place, he spoke once more of the evil of simony. To Cardinal Tournon's question, as to which kind of simony he referred to, that forbidden by the divine or the positive law, Paul IV., in view of the object he was endeavouring to attain, energetically repudiated any such distinction, and advised him in future to spare him such empty remarks and to keep to the point. Then the method recommended by the Pope for the discussions was sanctioned. According to this, the members of the commission were divided into different sections, as if in a Council, which were to meet separately. Each section was to consist of a corresponding number of archbishops, bishops, prelates and theologians. The result of the deliberations of each section was to be laid before the Pope in a general meeting, and he was to arrive at the final decisions with the Cardinals alone.

On the following day, after consultation with the Cardinals, the Pope decided on three sections, each with a Cardinal as president. On February 2nd he caused the bishops present in Rome to choose twenty-four of their number for the reform commission in a secret election. Three days later he indicated to the twenty-four Cardinals in Rome their place in the three sections, the presidents of which were to be, according to their seniority, Cardinals du Bellay, Cesi and Scotti.[1]

On February 24th, the Pope, who wished to carry on the work of reform regardless of the clouds on the political horizon,[2] added twenty-one more prelates to the twenty-four already chosen, and on March 2nd, he decided on the theologians, canonists and officials of the Curia for the three sections, in conformity with the proposals of the three Cardinal presidents.

[1] See in Appendix Nos. 22, 23, 24, and 25 the information contained in the rough draft of Massarelli, and the *letters of Navagero of February 1 and 8, 1556; *cf.* also Ancel, Concile 12, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 1 and 8, 1556, in the Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 116, 129. Vatican Library).

[2] See the *letters of Navagero of February 15 and 16, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). *Cf.* Appendix No. 27.

The whole commission now numbered 144 members, 48 in each section. Among the theologians of the first section was James Lainez of the Society of Jesus; among those of the second, the Master of the Sacred Palace, together with a member of the Society of Jesus, and Guglielmo Sirleto, the custos of the Vatican Library; among the canonists of this section were Ugo Boncampagni and Ercole Severoli. The Capuchin, Francesco Soleto, sat among the procurators of orders, in the third section, and Silvestro Aldobrandini among the canonists.[1]

After the business arrangements for the deliberations of the reform commission had been settled,[2] the assembly, which, with its members amounting to almost 150, actually presented the appearance of a Council, could begin its work.

Previously to this, however, on March 11th, the Pope summoned all the members to the Vatican. The Cardinals assembled in an apartment near the Hall of Constantine, and here the Holy Father informed them that the moment had now arrived to take measures against the "simoniacal heresy" and therewith to exterminate, root and branch, this source of all the evil; he then proposed, amid universal approbation, the following question for consideration: Could an ecclesiastical superior accept voluntary gifts, or ask for such gifts, or insist upon them by means of the withdrawal of spiritual benefits, in return for the official use of his spiritual powers, without falling into the sin of simony? The prelates were then called in, and a similar communication was again made to them by the Pope himself. They then repaired to the Hall of Constantine, where the other members of the com-

[1] See *Concilio, 79, f. 41b *seqq.*; *cf.* Ancel, Concile, 13 *seq.* Navagero says of the 21 newly appointed in his *letter of the last day of February, 1556: "Questi non sono stati elletti con le fave come li primi, ma racordati dalli rev^mi decano, Cesis et Trani, presidenti delle tre classe per età al pontefice et dal medesimo confirmati di modo che con tanto numero le cose saranno più longhe et havera forma quasi de concilio" (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[2] See *Concilio, 79, f. 50-51; *cf.* Ancel, Concile, 14 *seq.*

mission were assembled. To these the Pope addressed a third speech, in which he skilfully set forth, in other words, what he had already said to the Cardinals and prelates.[1] The article for deliberation was then at once printed and presented to all the members of the commission. Several of them, as for example Lainez, at once began to draft out their opinions.[2]

We learn from a very interesting conversation which he had with Navagero on March 13th, 1556, the motives which actuated the Pope at that time. In this Paul IV. emphasized the fact that he was spending so much time on reform because he wished it to be a success; in such an important matter he would not act solely according to his own ideas, but wished also to hear the views of others. The more strongly these expressed themselves the better he would be pleased, as he desired to arrive at the truth. Then he again returned to the subject of the extirpation of simony. "Illustrious ambassador," he continued, "this has been in our thoughts for years, for we saw many things taking place in the House of the Lord, which would horrify you. Everyone who desired a bishopric went to a bank, where a list was to be found, with the price of each, and in the case of an appointment as Cardinal it was calculated how best to draw profit from every slightest circumstance. As soon as God had bestowed this dignity upon us, without any effort on our part, we said to ourselves: We know what the Lord requires of us; we must perform deeds, and pull out this evil by the roots. If we did not do this at once, it was because we wished first to appoint Cardinals who

[1] See *Concilio, 79, f. 48b seqq. (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Massarelli, 289, the first letter of Navagero of March 14, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 424 and Ancel, Concile, 15 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Lainez, Disput. Trid. (ed. Grisar), II., 325 *seq.*; *cf.* Histor. Jahrbuch, VIII., 725. The treatises on simony by G. Sirleto and P. Draco, which Ancel (Concile, 16, n. 3) quotes, belong to the same period. Sirleto was appointed protonotary by Paul IV. (see Bromato, II., 485) and entrusted with the education of his young relatives, Alfonso and Antonio. His treatise on simony is also in the *Cod. Vat. 3511 of the Vatican Library.

were fitted to help us in this work. Now we shall carry out this reform, even at the risk of our life. If people say that in order to do so, we shall have to give up too much, and shall not, in the event, be able to make both ends meet, that does not frighten us in the least, as we are certain that He Who created all things out of nothing, will not leave us in want. It is marvellous, my lord ambassador, how this Holy See has maintained its existence, although our predecessors have done all in their power to destroy it, but it is built on so firm a rock that nothing need be feared. Should we be granted no complete success, we shall nevertheless be satisfied to have at least purified this See, so blessed by God, and then to die. To be absolutely frank with you, this new commission will have the power of a Council. We have had the article concerning simony printed, for then, although we disdain to have it sent to the universities, as it is not seemly that the Holy See should ask the opinion of others, it may still come into their hands in the course of circulation, for we desire to hear the views of everyone, so as to be able to arrive at a better decision."

In the further course of conversation the Pope remarked that his reform would entail great consequences, and that he intended showing the princes that more simony was perhaps to be found in their courts than in Rome. "But we shall put an end to that," he continued, "for we have authority over them as well as over the clergy. If necessary we shall summon a Council, and, what is more, in this illustrious city, as there is no need to go elsewhere, and, as is well known, we were never in favour of holding an assembly of the Church at Trent, in the very midst of the Lutherans."[1]

In a session of the first section of the reform commission, which was held in the house of Cardinal du Bellay, on March 26th, the article on simony was very carefully discussed. No fewer than sixteen speakers expressed their views, and

[1] See in Appendix No. 28 the *letter of Navagero of March 14, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). *Cf.* also MASIUS, Briefe, 239.

very great differences of opinion came to light. Several, especially the Bishop of Feltre, Tommaso Campegio, defended the view that the acceptance of pecuniary compensation for the exercise of spiritual power was allowable. Others, such as the Bishop of Sessa, vigorously combated this view. A third opinion, that of the Bishop of Sinigaglia, Marco Vigerio della Rovere, was to the effect that the acceptance of pecuniary compensation was indeed permitted, but not always and only under certain conditions. It was night before the session, which had lasted for fully four hours, was brought to a close.[1]

The next meeting was to be held after Easter, but it never took place. The Pope, who was burning with eagerness to settle this important question as speedily as possible, found this great divergence of opinion so undesirable that he suspended the sittings of the commission. He thought for a time of proceeding quite independently,[2] and of issuing an absolute prohibition to the clergy to accept any gifts at all, even from voluntary donors, for spiritual advantages. Finally, however, the Pope appears to have become reconciled to the idea of a Council, under the influence of the impression made by the claims of the Polish king.[3] The danger of holding a General Council of the Church, from which the secular powers should be completely excluded, had in the meantime been made clear to him. At the reception which he held after the banquet on the anniversary of his coronation, the Pope remarked, among other things, that he would cause the Council, which he intended should be held in Rome, to be announced

[1] See MASSARELLI, 289, and *Concilio, 79, p. 53 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican); also Navagero's *letter of March 28, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice); see Appendix No. 29.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Navagero of April 18, 1556, in the *Cod. Marc. 9445, p. 162[b]; translated in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 459.

[3] See the instructions for Rebiba in the Secret Archives of the Vatican *Polit. 78, p. 145 *seq.*, with which the "commessioni publiche" for Carafa coincided; see LAEMMER, Melet. 173, and *Nonciat.*, II., 601; *cf.* also HOSII epist., II., 736.

to the secular princes, although there was no obligation on his part to do so.[1]

It was a great disadvantage for the work of reform, that just now, in the summer of 1556, when some decisive steps in this direction were generally expected,[2] the political troubles should have been steadily growing more acute, and the war with Spain becoming more probable. The Pope, however, never lost sight of the question of reform during this critical time. It deserves to be fully recognised that Paul IV. did not make the slightest concession to political considerations, either in this respect, or in the matter of the creation of Cardinals. Important as was the support of the Duke of Ferrara, and numerous as were the intercessors for Cardinal d'Este, that unworthy prince of the Church had to remain in exile.[3] In conformity with the principles of reform contained in the opinion of the Cardinals in 1537, Paul IV. in the summer of 1556 took measures against the absence of Cardinals from Rome. It was enacted at the time that all Cardinal Priests were to be ordained within three months.[4]

[1] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 499, and also the *report of the Genoese ambassador of May 28, 1556 (State Archives, Genoa).

[2] On June 3, 1556, G. A. Calegari informs Commendone from Rome: *Si aspetta da tutti la publicatione de la bolla rigorosa de la riforma (Lett. de' princ. 23, n. 3. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] As early as October 2, 1555, Ercole of Ferrara had addressed an autograph letter to Paul IV. (in the collection of congratulatory letters in the Papal Secret Archives, II., p. 191, mentioned *supra* p. 175, n. 1) in which he announces the arrival of a special ambassador to intercede for his brother. It was believed that proceedings would also be taken against other unworthy Cardinals. Navagero *reports on January 4, 1556: "Si dice per cosa certa che si attende a former processo contra la vita et costumi del card. de Monte" (Cod. 9445 of Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[4] *Cf.* Acta consist cancell. for July 17, 1556 (Consistorial Archives); *cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, III., 37 and Bull, VI., 513 *seq.* I have found the *original briefs to the absent Cardinals, dated Rome, July 16, 1556, beginning: "Cogit nos" and all in similar

The Pope also made very searching enquiries concerning the state of the monasteries, and the abuses in the hospitals,[1] as he wished to make improvements in all these matters. The firm determination with which he kept his great aim before his eyes is proved by the fact that he carried out a thorough reform of the Dataria, which cost him two-thirds of his revenue, and that at a moment when the preparations for war and for the defence of the States of the Church required more money than ever. The Datary appointed in July, Francesco Bacodio, received strict orders that all petitions for favours were to be granted gratuitously. The Venetian ambassador, as the representative of a commercial city, reckoned up the large sums which were thereby lost to the Pope,[2] but this did not trouble Paul IV. in the slightest degree. He had purposely made a beginning with the Dataria, the revenues of which came to him personally, in order to show how seriously he meant to keep his promise of beginning the reform with himself, and because he had discovered simony in the former proceedings of the Dataria, he introduced there a rigorous change. Although he was fully aware of the danger of such a diminution of his income, just on the very eve of the war with Spain, he nevertheless carried out the measure, for he trusted in God, Who had always helped him. He reminded the Venetian ambassador how he had once arrived in Venice quite poor, with his Theatines, and yet had made his way. "And now," he exclaimed, "that we have been

terms, in the Papal Secret Archives, (Castle of St. Angelo, Arm. 5, caps. 3). In all there are 15 briefs, addressed to Cardinals Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, Ricci, Mendoza, E. Gonzaga, Durante, Tagliavia, Cicada, C. del Monte, Crispi, Dandino, Madruzzo, Doria, Mercurio and G. della Rovere.

[1] See the *Memoria per la cura delle cose spirituali pertinenti al vicariato di Roma in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 8, ordo 2, t. 5, p. 5 *seq.*; see *ibid.* p. 23 *seq.*, the **Informationi* concerning the hospital of S. Spirito.

[2] See the letter of Navagero of July 11, 1556, in Ancel, Concile, 18, n. 2; *cf.* Mocenigo-Albèri, 29, and *ibid.* 87, the account of Soranzo; Roseo, III., 501.

raised to the throne of St. Peter, are we to be brought to want? If we feared this, we should deserve to be punished by God!"[1]

On August 21st, 1556, the Pope took a further step, which showed with what constancy he pursued his aims of reform. A decree, published in the consistory on that date, laid the axe at the root of one of the worst abuses in the matter of ecclesiastical benefices. Besides the uncanonical resignation of ecclesiastical offices, against which Paul III. had already taken steps, the so-called "Resignatio cum regressu" had developed to an ever-increasing extent, especially since the end of the XVth century. This was a resignation with the reservation that the benefice resigned should, under certain circumstances, as for example, the previous death of the acquirer, again revert to the original holder.[2] With perfect right, Paul IV. would not, under any pretext, allow of this or of the similar acts of resignation, called the "Ingressus" and the "Accessus." He looked upon them as merely inventions of the devil.[3]

He had already begun to take measures against such abuses in the first year of his reign, but had been obliged to make certain far-reaching exceptions in the case of the Cardinals.[4] Now, however, (August 21st, 1556), every "Accessus" to a benefice, by whomsoever it was made, or whatsoever conditions it might contain, was completely done away with and annulled. With regard to the "Regressus" it was decreed that the Cardinals resident in Rome should, within fifteen

[1] See Navagero's report of August 22, 1556, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 583.

[2] *Cf.* Hinschius, III., 283.

[3] See the characteristic conversation of Paul IV. with Navagero in his *letter of October 28, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna); see also Brown, VI., 2, n. 937, 954.

[4] *Cf.* the report of Navagero of September 7 and 11, 1555, in Coggiola, A. d. Cornia, 99, and Ancel, Concile, 25, also in Appendix Nos. 43-45 the *letter of Cardinal Vitelli of December 3, 1555 (Vatican Library) and the Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37.

days, hand in to the Datary a list of the resignations of this kind possessed by them. The Cardinals who were living in Italy were to do the same within a month, and those who were beyond the Alps were given three months to comply with the order. "When we shall have received all these statements," declared the Pope, "we shall say to those who possess more than one of these 'Regressus': This is not lawful; choose one of them, and give up the others. In this way, and step by step, we intend to carry out the reform. In spite of all its assaults, hell will not be able to do anything to harm this good work, which will secure for us a place in heaven."[1]

This measure was carefully and rigorously carried out. The Papal Secret Archives still preserve the lists of "Regressus" which all the Cardinals had to hand in; at their head we find Alessandro Farnese, with a terribly long list.[2] The financial loss with which certain Cardinals were threatened was considerable, and there was no lack of vigorous complaints. The Pope, however, remained quite firm.[3]

At the end of September, Paul IV. announced further reforms, especially a prohibition for the bishops to possess any other benefice whatsoever. The objections which the Cardinals made by no means convinced the Pope that it was impossible to carry out such a measure. At the beginning

[1] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 1, n. 583, and Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37. A copy of the *decree of August 21, 1556, in the *correspondence of Madruzzo in the Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] After the period fixed had been extended for 15 days on September 4, 1556 (*Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives) all the Cardinals handed in the prescribed lists more or less quickly; *most of them are contained in the Papal Secret Archives, Castle of St. Angelo, Arm. 8, ordo 2, t. 6; the *list of Card. A. Farnese is dated 18 Cal. Octobr. 1556.

[3] Besides Navagero's reports in Brown, VI., 2, n. 954, 1067, see his **letters of August 14 and October 28, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna); it is clear, at the same time, why the Acta consist. for reform matters are insufficient.

of October he again repeated that it was his fixed intention to continue on the path of a vigorous reform. He would not, like other Popes, act for form's sake, but would proceed in earnest, a thing of which he had given proof by renouncing the hundreds of thousands which the Dataria had brought him in. The devil had brought about the war with Spain in order to make any progress on the path on which he had entered impossible. He was not, however, going to be led astray, but would every day do away with some of the many abuses.[1]

The Pope's intentions were certainly of the best, but circumstances were stronger than he. In September, 1556, Alba invaded the States of the Church. The war with Spain naturally pushed the reform question more and more into the background, even though the Pope, with characteristic tenacity, was, at its commencement, still occupied with the extermination of the numerous abuses.[2] New measures on a more extensive scale, however, could not be carried out during the war, but it should always be remembered that Paul IV., at the time of his most desperate financial need, always held fast to the reform of the Dataria, as well as to the limitation of the sale of offices, and preferred to impose oppressive and unpopular taxes rather than give up any of his reforming principles.[3]

How faithfully he kept true to these principles in other respects is best seen in the creation of Cardinals of March 15th, 1557.

The French diplomatists and Cardinal Carafa had endeavoured, even more urgently than at the previous creation of Cardinals, to influence the decision of the Pope on this occasion. Although the French allowed it to appear that the duration of their military aid was dependent upon the

[1] See Navagero's reports of September 30 and October 2, 1556, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 636, 641.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*

[3] See Navagero's despatch of May 8, 1557, in Brosch, I., 202 *seq.*

consideration shown to their candidates, and although Guise, Cardinal Carafa and the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara left no means untried, they nevertheless did not attain their end.[1] The Pope preserved his complete independence and would not be influenced by anything but ecclesiastical considerations. "The dignity of a Cardinal is of such a nature," Paul IV. said to Navagero, "that a man who is fitted for it should be begged to accept it. We should seek such men with a lighted candle in our hand. Any recommendation of candidates will be of no avail."[2]

As had been foreseen by well-informed persons.[3] the majority of those who were raised to the purple on March 15th were representatives of reform, and men of lowly origin. The most distinguished of the ten newly appointed Cardinals[4] was the Dominican, Michele Ghislieri, who was considered a saint, and whom Paul IV. had for many years learned to value as Inquisitor. Virgilio Rosario and Consiglieri were also old acquaintances of the Pope. Rosario, who was born in Spoleto, had served him faithfully in financial matters;[5] he became vicar-general of Paul IV., in which office he displayed great severity.[6] The Roman, Giovan Battista Con-

[1] *Cf.* Ancel, L'action réform., 22 *seq.*

[2] See in Appendix No. 36 the *letter of Navagero of March 12, 1557 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] In the *Avviso of March 6, 1557, it says: "Questi Franzesi dicono che il Papa farà buon numero di cardinali et alcuni vogliono che la maggior parte siano Chietini di poca considerationе" (Vatican Library).

[4] *Cf.* concerning them Petramellarius, 26 *seq.*; Ciaconius, III., 854 *seqq.*; Cardella, IV., 353 *seqq.*; Bromato, II., 352 *seqq.*; Gulik-Eubel, III., 39 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Diurnale di tutti danari et entrate dell' ill. et rev. card. di Napoli che perverranno in mano di me Virgilio R° (Ms. 140 of the National Library in the Certosa di S. Martino at Naples).

[6] As in the case of the Roman vicariate, that is to say the place of representation of the Pope in Rome, the municipal offices of the Inquisition, and of the regent of the exchequer were in future, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, only to be bestowed on

siglieri, was a relative of that Paolo Consiglieri who, like Carafa, belonged to the Oratory of Divine Love, had joined with him in founding the order of Theatines,[1] and had then become his maestro di camera. The Pope offered this admirable man the purple, but the humble Paolo firmly refused the honour, and recommended Giovan Battista Consiglieri instead of himself. The latter had originally been a layman, and had been twice married; Paul IV. had known him for a long time, and particularly valued his piety.[2]

Lorenzo Strozzi had, as a layman, been the zealous opponent of the Calvinists; the same was true of the Archbishop of Sens, Jean Bertrand, who was the only Frenchman who at this time received the purple.[3]

Taddeo Gaddi, Archbishop of Cosenza, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Bishop of Città di Castello, and the nuncio in Venice, Antonio Trivulzio, who had represented the Holy See in France under Julius III., all greatly distinguished for their learning, were among those appointed on March 15th. Trivulzio and Lorenzo Strozzi, Bishop of Beziers were the only two chosen out of the long list of Henry II.[4]

Cardinals; see MASSARELLI, 327; *cf.* MORONI, XCIV., 65, 67, 82, 94 (with wrong date).

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, pp. 407, 411.

[2] RIESS (p. 238) calls G. B. Consiglieri a man of loose character, without giving any proof of his assertion. *Delfino says the opposite; *cf. infra* p. 202, n. 2.

[3] Concerning his appointment see the *brief to Henry II. of March 16. 1557 (Arm. 44, t. 2, p. 61. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] *Cf.* ANCEL, L'action réform., 27 and *Nonciat.*, II., 342 n; *cf. ibid.*, 357 *seqq.* Cardinal Vitelli (died 1568; *cf.* Anecd. litt. I., 436 *seqq.*) has rendered great service to history since he was one of the first to take in hand one of those collections of historical manuscripts which afterwards became the fashion in Rome. He received permission from Paul IV. to make copies in the Archives of the Castle of St. Angelo as well as in the Vatican Library (see MERCATI, Bibl. Apost., 77 n.). Not a few of the Italian manuscripts which reached German libraries, as, for example, Berlin, Frankfort, Gotha, Wolfenbüttel, and later on

To the eight named, the Pope added the learned general of the Minorites, Clemente Dolera,[1] who was very zealous for reform, and Alfonso Carafa, the son of Antonio, Marquis of Montebello. Alfonso was only eighteen years old, but as the greatest expectations were built on the virtue of this youth, the Pope considered his elevation justified. The young marchese, who received the administration of the archdiocese of Naples on April 9th, 1557, became the avowed favourite of Paul IV., who always recited his office with him. The hopes with which able critics welcomed the new Cardinals were fulfilled, except in the case of Vitelli. That the latter followed another path was, however, concealed from the Pope by his nephew.[2]

In the meantime the war with Spain was going on, and the Pope felt very deeply the hindrances which this fact placed in the way of his reforming activities. He allowed, however, no doubts to be entertained as to his firm resolve to continue his work for the improvement of the state of the Church,[3] showing, at the same time, his readiness to listen to all the

Sweden (Stockholm, Upsala, Lund) originally belonged to his collection (RANKE, Fürsten und Völker, I. [1827] x. *seq.* DUDIK, Forsch. in Schweden, 244). Vitelli was also a keen collector of antiquities; see LANCIANI, Scavi, III., 170 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* Soranzo in ALBÈRI, 102; LAUCHERT, 646 *seq.*

[2] It is certain that Vitelli led an immoral life (see GRAF, Cinquecento, 265). Paul IV. was unaware of the fact partly because Vitelli favoured the Theatines, who were, therefore, very prodigal in his praises (see CARACCIOLO, *Vita, 4, 13. Casanate Library, Rome). Delfino sent, together with his *letter of March 22, 1557, a list of the new Cardinals, with remarks as to their characters. Of Vitelli he only says: "è dotto et pieno di spirito." Trivulzio is praised as "nobilissimo, dottissimo et modestissimo," Gaddi as "persona morigeratissima," Bertrand as "homo di gran maneggio"; Delfino gives prominence to the good lives led by Rosario, Dolera and Consiglieri (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[3] See Navagero's *letter of May 15, 1557, and the report in BROWN VI. 2 n. 946, 954.

complaints and difficulties of his subjects, by a regulation of January 23rd, 1557, which arranged for public audiences.[1] In February, 1557, he issued new regulations against immorality in Rome,[2] and in June decreed that, for the future, no fees should be tendered at the bestowal of the pallium.[3] In the following month, in the midst of the greatest stress of war, Paul IV. took a step from which the greatest hopes were entertained in the matter of reform. The powers of the Inquisition, which already extended beyond the actual domain of matters of faith, and included the punishment of grave offences against morality, now received a further extension. Everything which the Pope referred to as "simoniacal heresy" was assigned to this tribunal on July 15th, 1557. Orders were given at the Penitentiary, the Chancery, the Signatura, and the office of the Auditors, that they were no longer to occupy themselves with such matters. The Pope wished, by the help of the Inquisition, to put an end, once for all, to some of the worst abuses, such as the payment of money for the administration of the sacraments, the ordination of those under age, the sale of benefices, and all unlawful contracts. As Paul IV. trusted no tribunal as he did the Inquisition, he was convinced that he had, by this regulation, laid a firm foundation upon which he could afterwards build with a sure hope of success.[4]

[1] One would conclude from Massarelli (302 *seq.*) that the regulation was decreed on January 27, on which day it was first carried into effect. This was, however, not the case. According to the *Acta consist., VII., p. 56, a *congregatio generalis* took place on January 23, 1557, at which the *institutio audientiae publicae* was settled. *Ibid.* the *decree relating to this "Cupiens quorumvis, etc." (Consistorial Archives). *Cf.* also in Brown, VI., 2, n. 799 and n. 807, the description of such a public audience.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 13, 1557 (Vatican Library).

[3] See Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37.

[4] See Navagero's *report of July 16, 1557, (Court Lib. Vienna), and the *Avviso of July 24, 1557, in Appendix No. 38. In the *Acta consist. which are very incomplete, the order is not entered.

The Pope allowed no doubts to be entertained as to his firm determination to do away with the sale of benefices, and the numerous abuses in the Chancery and Penitentiary. He was quite aware that in so doing, the interests of many persons would be seriously affected; he, was, nevertheless, of opinion that this bore no comparison to the advantages which would follow from such a step, as the Lutherans could then no longer refer to the abuses of the Curia.[1]

In his reforms Paul IV. attached special importance to the fact that he would make no exceptions, for he had convinced himself that it had been owing to these that the many salutary regulations of his predecessors had not borne the fruit expected from them.[2] How firmly he clung to his rigorous principles, the ambassadors were to learn only too frequently. Among the reports of the Venetian ambassador is one which, in this respect, is extremely characteristic of the whole procedure of Paul IV. An audience of Navagero on August 16th, 1557, is there described in detail. The ambassador, in accordance with the instructions of his government, earnestly begged the Pope's sanction for the resignation of a Venetian bishop in favour of a candidate who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Signoria. The Pope refused the petition immediately, on the ground that bishops are bound to their church by a bond which is as indissoluble as that of marriage. "In spite of this," continued Paul IV., "dispensations have been issued by the Holy See in this matter, but my holy teacher, Thomas, and others who agree with him, are of opinion that Popes have, in such cases, no power to dispense." The Pope then enlarged, with great detail, on the dignity of the episcopate, and then, mentioning the Primacy, he quoted the saying of Homer: "One is Master." He complained bitterly of the carelessness shown in Rome, hitherto, in the

[1] See in Appendix No. 38 the *Avviso of July 24, 1557 (Vatican Library); *cf.* also the almost identical *Avviso from Rome of July 24, 1557, in the Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck (with Madruzzo's correspondence of 1555).

[2] See Navagero's *letter of June 26, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

choice of the chief shepherds of the Christian flocks; he would not be found wanting in this respect, for he very well understood how much the salvation of souls depended upon it. Then, completely departing from the subject under discussion, the Pope launched forth into a long dissertation concerning the destiny of the Church, which had, in the beginning, to suffer so many persecutions at the hands of unbelievers, and had, at all times, to fight against impious heretics and other enemies, but in spite of this the little ship of Peter had never suffered shipwreck, for Christ directed and guided it. While the sectarians allowed their followers freedom from all moral restraints, Christianity demanded all manner of privations, and firm faith in such great miracles as the Incarnation of Christ in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and the transformation of bread into the true body of Our Lord. Navagero, who understood the Pope's way, listened to him quietly, and without interrupting him, as he went on to enlarge further on the mysteries of the Catholic faith, discussing the ordination of priests and the sacraments, and explaining that a Christian must make use of the means of grace possessed by the Church. After Paul IV. had given free course to his eloquence, as he dearly loved to do, he suddenly returned to the original subject of their conversation, explaining that he would gladly render any service to the Signoria, as long as this did not affect the honour of God or lie heavy on his own conscience. He would appoint bishops with whom everyone in Venice, from the Doge to the humblest gondolier, would be pleased. Only the best men, he said, were worthy of receiving the mitre. The shrewd ambassador appeared to be satisfied, and indeed thanked the Pope for the instruction he had given him.[1]

[1] See Navagero's *report, dated Rome, August 16, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Fall of the Carafa.

The longer the struggle with Spain was drawn out, the more keenly did the Pope feel the futility of his efforts for reform. "Should God be so gracious," he said to the Venetian ambassador at the beginning of September, 1557, "as to deliver us from this war, as we so earnestly desire, we would promise to devote all the years of our life to the service of His Divine Majesty, and to perform deeds which will give joy and comfort to the world, for we wish to begin with ourselves and then to reform others."[1]

The unhappy war ended soon afterwards, and Paul IV. returned with all the more vigour to his original and natural activities. He concentrated, as much as possible, on purely ecclesiastical matters, and made reform so completely the central point of his endeavours, that one may almost say that the actual reign of the Theatine Pope only began at this point.

On October 1st, 1557, he assembled the Cardinals in consistory, and explained to them, in a long address, that he looked upon their previous sufferings, the war and the inundation of the Tiber, as a punishment from God, and an earnest exhortation to reform. He admonished the Cardinals as to the whole matter of reform, and declared that it must now be carried into effect, and that he himself would be the first to take it in hand. A decree was then published by which the investiture of monasteries in commendam was absolutely forbidden, and no exemption with regard to this was to be allowed for the future, even to the Cardinals.[2] Soon afterwards a reform was

[1] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1015; *cf.* 1017.

[2] See Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37 and Santarem, XIII., 3, as well as the *Avviso of October 2, 1557 (Vatican Library); *cf.* also the second *letter of Navagero of October 9, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

also introduced in the Penitentiary.[1] The abuses in the Signatura were also abolished at the same time. To the congratulations of the Venetian ambassador, Paul IV. replied that all this was of only small importance, but that from now onwards he would seek after nothing so much as a real reform.[2] It was understood that a strict bull for the removal of abuses in the matter of the system of benefices was being prepared.[3] This document was remodelled at the last moment, but was finally drawn up on November 27th, 1557, and was at once made public.[4]

Paul IV. had already announced to the Cardinals in the consistory of October 1st, 1557, his intention of forming a commission from among their number, to examine into the usefulness of the reforms already undertaken, and, under the personal direction of the Pope, to make arrangements for those still necessary.[5] This plan, which had been first thought of in August, 1556, was carried into effect in a consistory of December 3rd, 1557, in such a manner that the Cardinals of

[1] See in Appendix No. 41 the Avviso of October 16, 1557 (Vatican Library); *cf.* also CARACCIOLUS, 88 and GÖLLER, II., 1, 125.

[2] *Cf.* the second *letter of Navagero of October 9, 1557. The words of the Pope were: "Magnifico ambasciatore questo è niente se bene è quel tanto che voi conoscete, nelle signature non sono più ammesse quelle cose che passavano per l'ordinario et hora a nessun altra cosa pensamo più che ad una vera riforma" (Court Library, Vienna).

[3] See in Appendix No. 42 the *Avviso of November 13, 1557 (Vatican Library).

[4] The Motu Proprio "contra eos qui pro obtinendis beneficiis se ipsos pro aliis supponunt vel annuas pensiones offerunt aut beneficia impetrant pro aliis, ut ab eis aliquid consequantur, vel pro se ipsis, ut aliis postea cum pensione resignent" in the Bull., VI., 528 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Avviso of December 11, 1557 (Vatican Library).

[5] Concerning the consistory of October 1, see the *report of Navagero of October 2 (Court Library, Vienna); *cf.* the **Avviso of October 2, 1557 (Vatican Library).

the Inquisition found themselves also charged with the question of reform.[1]

In the same consistory of December 3rd, 1557, the proceedings concerning the suppression of the Regressus for the Cardinals were brought to an end. More than one such Regressus was no longer to be allowed. It was ordained at the same time, with regard to the filling of vacant bishoprics, that nomination and appointment could no longer be made in the same consistory.[2] In thus separating the two things Paul IV. wished to have time to examine the candidates. In so doing he proceeded with such scrupulous observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, that in October, 1558, no less than fifty-eight bishoprics were unoccupied.[3] The Pope, who had such a high ideal of the episcopal dignity,[4] repeatedly took occasion to exhort the newly elected bishops to perform the duties of their office faithfully, and to be consecrated as soon as possible.[5] Hosius, the eminent Bishop of Ermland, was to be summoned to Rome in the interests of reform; in the brief concerning this, mention was also made of the holding of a

[1] What Ancel (Concile, 19) shrewdly supposed, is proved to be a fact by the *Acta consist. of December 3, 1557 (Consistorial Archives).

[2] Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37; *cf.* Bull., VI., 530 *seq.*; Massarelli, 318 and the *letter of Cardinal Vitelli of December 1, 1557 (Vatican Library), see Appendix Nos. 43-45. The brief of December 4, 1557, concerning the *Regressus* in the Casanate Library, Editti, I., 102.

[3] See the report of Ces. Gonzaga in Ancel, Concile, 24, n. 6. It had already been stated in an *Avviso di Roma of April 18, 1556, with regard to the application of the decrees of the Council of Trent to the filling of bishoprics, that Paul IV. would make no exceptions in so doing: *Et in queste concessioni questo papa è il più scrupuloso di tutti i passati (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 134. Vatican Library).

[4] *Cf.* the conversation of Paul IV. with Navagero in the latter's *report of October 9, 1557 (Cod. 6255 of the Court Library, Vienna). See also *supra* p. 204.

[5] See Massarelli, 319.

Council,[1] but Rome was the only place thought of in connection with this.[2]

On December 14th, secrecy regarding consistorial discussions was decreed under threat of the most severe punishments.[3] A thorough visitation and reform of all the secular and regular clergy in Naples was arranged for and carried out.[4] On December 1st Cardinal Vitelli informed Carlo Carafa, who was staying with Philip II., that the Pope had arranged some most excellent reforms, and was still continuing to do so; he thought and pondered on nothing else. On December 17th and 24th Vitelli repeated the same statements; congregations were being held every day, and salutary decrees being issued; the Pope was quite indefatigable in this respect.[5]

Paul IV. marked the beginning of the new year 1558 with fresh drastic measures against the keeping and dissemination of lampoons and heretical writings, and in special cases procuration was made punishable by death.[6] On January 18th the Pope again exhorted the Cardinals to lead blameless lives.[7] At the beginning of February he again spoke of holding a Council in Rome to further the cause of reform; he hoped by means of this to adopt decisive measures which would everywhere be accepted with approval. As he had been a resident bishop himself, he well knew with what eagerness everything was carried to Rome, where the bishops were hampered in the exercise of their authority by the many exemptions in favour of hospitals and confraternities, so that very often they were unable to take proceedings against bad priests. This was, the

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 37; EICHHORN, I., 298; *Hosii epist.*, II., 907, 931, 933.

[2] *Cf.* as to this BROWN, VI., 2, n. 931.

[3] See MASSARELLI, 319, and the *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives).

[4] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 454 *seq.*

[5] See these *letters (Vatican Library) in Appendix Nos. 42-45.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 1 and 8, and February 5, 1558 (Vatican Library); *cf.* Bull., VI., 537 and also HINSCHIUS, V., 826; see also CLEMENTI, 214.

[7] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 3, n. 1148.

Pope considered, one of the principal causes of the ecclesiastical corruption.[1] At the end of March a commissary was sent to Istria, Friuli and Dalmatia to reform the clergy there.[2] Unfortunately, the eighty-five year old Pope, who, generally speaking,[3] had hitherto enjoyed wonderful vigour and activity, began, in an unmistakable manner, to feel, for the first time, the frailties of old age. At the Curia they complained that all business, with the exception of that of the Inquisition, was at a standstill; even the Datary and Barengo, who otherwise had free access to the Pope, now often had to wait for twenty days before they could get an audience. At the beginning of April, the French ambassador was still waiting for the audience which he had asked for four weeks before. The patience of Cardinal del Monte was tried still more severely, for he was no nearer his object of obtaining an audience with the Pope after having waited for three months.[4] In the middle of April it was reported that the condition of the Pope, which had hitherto been fairly satisfactory,[5] was causing anxiety. His strength was decreasing, and people thought that he was only waiting for the return of Cardinal Carafa in order to withdraw completely from political affairs and leave them entirely to his nephew.[6] The longed for return of Carafa took place on April 23rd, 1558.[7]

[1] Brown, VI., 3, n. 1162.

[2] Besides the brief of March 24, 1558, in Fontana, 447, see also *the brief to the Doge of April 2, 1558 (Arm. 44, t. 2, p. 111. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] The Pope had suffered in August from want of appetite and sleeplessness, but had again recovered; *cf.* the *reports of Navagero of August 5, 7, 14, and 16, 1557, in the Cod. 6255 of the Court Library. Vienna.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1558 (Vatican Library).

[5] *Sta bene, Lippomano announces to Cardinal Carafa from Rome on April 2, 1558 (Cod. Barb. lat., 5715 of the Vatican Library).

[6] See the *Avviso of April 16, 1558 (Vatican Library).

[7] See Massarelli, 322, the report in Coggiola, Capitolazione, 103, and the *report of Jacobo Bannissio to Cardinal Madruzzo dated Rome, April 23, 1558 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

Carlo Carafa had been fully six months absent from Rome. Although he had received the legate's cross as early as October 6th, 1557, he had only set out on his way to Philip II. on the 22nd.[1] This delay was caused by the Cardinal's wish to take measures so that he might not be in danger of losing ground in Rome on this occasion, as had been the case with his legation at the beginning of the year. He could not, however, take such effective counter-measures as he had intended, but he succeeded in obtaining what appeared to him to be the principal thing. Full of mistrust of his elder brother, Giovanni, the Duke of Paliano, who was very discontented with the previous course of politics, he succeeded in obtaining that Cardinals Rebiba and Alfonso Carafa should be associated with the Duke in the direction of political affairs.[2] To these were also added Camillo Orsini, Luigi Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, and several other prelates. This council of state, which was to relieve the Pope, as much as possible, of the charge of political business, held its first sitting on October 23rd.[3]

In Brussels, where Cardinal Carafa arrived on December 12th, 1557, he was made welcome as far as the peace negotiations were concerned, but with regard to his private aims, which he considered of far greater importance, he found from the first that he had very little to expect. This was all the more the case, because his deadly enemies, Ascanio della Corgna and Garcilasso de la Vega had been actively employed in filling the mind of Philip II. with mistrust of the Cardinal.[4]

[1] See MASSARELLI, 318; *cf.* also COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 46.

[2] See the *reports of Navagero of October 16 and 23, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna). RIESS, 288, must be amended in accordance with this.

[3] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 318. Concerning the value of this alteration, at that time only theoretical, see ŠUSTA, in the Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., Erg.-Bd., VI., 552 *seq.*

[4] Concerning Carafa's Brussels legation, *cf.* PIEPER, 98; COGGIOLA, Cornia, 354 *seq.* and Capitolazione 70 *seq.*; RIESS, 288 *seq.*; ANCEL, Disgrâce, 21 *seq.* As Cardinal Carafa was furthering his own private interests in the first place, the peace negotiations which he was carrying on at the same time in France were bound

At the end of November, 1557, Bona Sforza, dowager Queen of Poland, died at Bari, after having appointed Philip II. as her sole heir. Carafa at once formed the plan of obtaining the Duchy of Bari as a compensation for the Duke of Paliano. An envoy, Leonardo di Cardine, pointed out to the legate that he ought to take steps for this purpose in Brussels.[1] Cardine had, on his way, communicated the plan to the Duke of Alba, but found in him no advocate, but rather a bitter opponent. It was owing to Alba's influence that Philip II. gave an evasive answer when, on New Year's Day, 1558, Carafa made an official application. It is true that during the time that followed the Spanish court continued to overwhelm the nephew with honours, but all this outward pomp in no way corresponded to the treatment of the question of compensation, which continued to develop in a more and more unfavourable sense for Carafa after the arrival of the Duke of Alba in Brussels. All the attempts on the part of the legate to procure a more favourable consideration of his wishes remained without success. This, however, did not prevent the worldly-minded prelate from distracting his mind, after the trying negotiations, with banquets, festivities and hunting parties.[2] The final offer of the Spanish king was officially presented during the last days of February. In accordance with this, Giovanni Carafa was to receive, as compensation for Paliano, the Duchy of Rossano, which would bring in an annual income of from 5000 to 6000 crowns, and besides this a yearly revenue of 10,000 crowns

to fail (see PIEPER, 100 *seq.*). In correction of the statements of GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 478 and 755, the following must be noted: Paul IV. appointed Salmeron as adviser to Carafa; Ribadeneira attached himself to Salmeron, probably to make use of the opportunity of travelling (ASTRAIN, II., 371. Epist. Salmeronis, I., xv., where details are also given concerning the return journey). Carafa took the Swiss nuncio Raverta with him to Brussels, where his nunciature also came to an end; *cf.* concerning the latter, REINHARDT-STEFFENS, xiv-xx.

[1] See the Duke of Paliano's instructions for Cardine in the Appendix to NORES, 432.

[2] *Cf. Firmani Diaria*, 512.

from the silk duty in the kingdom of Naples; Carlo Carafa was to receive a yearly pension of 12,000 crowns. The Cardinal, who had dreamed of much greater things, refused this offer. Even though Philip II. consented to refer further negotiations concerning the possession of Paliano to Rome, the legate was forced to admit to himself that his mission had been a complete failure. As a skilful diplomatist, he avoided an open rupture, but began his return journey in the middle of March, a profoundly disappointed man.[1]

It was believed for a long time that this fruitless mission to Brussels had destroyed Carafa's standing in the eyes of his uncle; the truth is that exactly the opposite was the case.[2] Sick of political affairs, and more than ever anxious to devote all his powers to ecclesiastical reform, the aged Pope had awaited with longing the return of his nephew. The latter[3] had hardly arrived, when his brother, the Duke of Paliano, had to retire into the background, which fact was outwardly expressed by his removal from the Vatican to SS. Apostoli.[4]

[1] See COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 102. L. Firmanus remarks concerning the return journey: *12 Martii 1558 legatus cum tribus suis familiaribus incognitus nemine sciente discessit per portas cum maxima diligentia quia transire opportebat per loca suspecta Lutheranorum (Diaria, XII., 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] The view that the fall of the nephews took place on political grounds, and that it was especially in consequence of the failure of Carafa's legation to Brussels, has been so confidently put forward by RANKE (Päpste, I.,[6] 195) that it has been followed by all later writers. In contradiction to this COGGIOLA (Capitolazione, 104 *seq.*) proves, and still more does ANCEL, (Disgrâce, 23 *seq.*) who is supported by incontestable reports, that this is quite erroneous, and that Cardinal Carafa was never more powerful than during the time between April and December, 1558.

[3] This is especially evident from the *letters of Cardinal Vitelli to Cardinal C. Carafa, dated Rome, November 8, December 1 and 17, 1557 (cf. Appendix Nos. 42 to 45. Vatican Library), and from the report of Buoncambi to O. Farnese, dated Rome, March 26, 1558 (State Archives, Parma).

[4] See the reports in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 27, n. 2; *cf.* COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 108.

All that concerned political, administrative, financial and judicial affairs was now entrusted to Carafa by his uncle. He surrounded the Pope with men who were devoted to his own interests, so that the old man only learned what his nephew wished him to know.[1] Paul IV. limited his own activities entirely to ecclesiastical matters. He appeared regularly only at the consistories and the sittings of the Inquisition, and devoted the remainder of his time to reform and his spiritual exercises. His inseparable companion was the young Cardinal Alfonso Carafa. Every morning the Pope went from his apartments in the Vatican, through the long corridor of Bramante, to the Belvedere, where he spent two-thirds of the day. Private audiences were now much more difficult to obtain than before, and the carrying out of current business was much more tedious. People only knew of the Pope, who had become almost invisible, that he was always occupied with the affairs of the Inquisition and with matters of reform.[2]

No one rejoiced more than Cardinal Carafa at this isolation of the Pope, and the complete restriction of his activities to ecclesiastical affairs, as he was able, in all other matters, to do as he thought fit. The less chance of success there was for his grand plans for the establishment of the Carafa family on a princely standing, the more eagerly did he endeavour to enrich himself and those belonging to him, and to enjoy life as a great noble. He much preferred to stay at his vigna in Trastevere, which he lavishly adorned with antique statuary, than in the magnificent rooms of the Borgia apartments. At the vigna he gave his friends, among whom were several worldly-minded Cardinals, such as Vitelli, Sermoneta and Ranuccio Farnese, splendid banquets, after which they gambled for high stakes. One can recognize the old soldier, above all, in Carafa's passion for the chase. Pleasures of this kind, however, were blameless in comparison with others. There can be no doubt that Carlo Carafa led a continuously immoral life.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Gratianus, 63.

[2] See Ancel, Disgrâce, 23 *seq.*; *cf.* also Secrét, 12 *seq.* and Coggiola, Capitolazione, 109.

[3] *Cf.* contempory witnesses in Ancel, Disgrâce, 25 *seq.*; see also Graf, Cinquecento, 265, 281; Studi stor., VIII., 254.

What a contrast between the dissolute behaviour of a corrupt Renaissance prelate, and the simple lonely monk's life led by the Pope! The activities of the two moved in entirely different worlds; the Pope lived and had his being in the reform of the Church, while his nephew returned once more to the worst days of the Renaissance.[1] Carlo, however, displayed great skill in concealing his scandalous proceedings and his riotous living in Rome[2] from the Pope, and in immediately dispelling any suspicion against him.

In the summer of 1558 Paul IV. was occupied with the issue of a general reform bull, which was to include all the separate regulations. The appearance of such a document had been expected as early as June, 1556, but it transpired that it was being once more redrafted.[3] On August 8th, 1558, the Pope again referred to it in a consistory.[4] A few days later he complained in another consistory that the question of a Council

Carafa's passion for the chase was so great that he kept over 1,300 dogs, of which 400 belonged to the Cardinal, "il che da da dire non poco in questa carestia che hora regna," says an *Avviso of December 3, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 355[b]. Vatican Library).

[1] Even in reports which deal rather with external matters, this often appears in glaring contrast. Thus an *Avviso di Roma of October 8, 1558, first speaks of the reforming activity of the Pope, and then continues: "Li signori Caraffa attendono alle caccie et piaceri" (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 342[b]. Vatican Library).

[2] The taxes, complains the Portuguese ambassador on December 10, 1558, are increasing, there is a want of provisions, justice is almost at a standstill, and the Pope takes no steps; see SANTAREM, XIII., 13; *cf. ibid.* 8, 10, 22 concerning the isolation of Paul IV., with whom it was exceedingly difficult to get an audience. Concerning the "carestia" at the beginning of 1558 see CLEMENTI, 214.

[3] See the letter of G. A. Calegari in ANCEL, Concile, 23, n. 1.

[4] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives): "S.D.N. primo loco multa commemoravit quae sunt necessaria ut fiat reformatio universalis ecclesiae, postea vocatus d. Barengus ad formandam bullam super translatione festivitatis s. Dominici." *Cf.* concerning this *infra* p. 242.

could not be settled before on account of the war, but that he would now take this matter up earnestly.[1] Two measures of reform, which caused quite a sensation, were adopted in the late autumn. On October 21st, the Pope ordered that no one, not even any of the Cardinals, should open any of the letters addressed to him by the princes regarding questions of patronage.[2] On November 28th he decided that in future no money should be taken for the pallium under pain of excommunication.[3] At the same consistory he united the auditorship of the Exchequer with the office of Regent of the Exchequer, recently established by him, and entrusted the virtuous Cardinal Alfonso Carafa with both these posts.[4] Further regulations of reform were expected and spoken of.[5]

The reform of the monasteries gave Paul IV. a great deal of trouble during the whole of his reign.[6] The dissolution and

[1] *Avviso di Roma of August 13, 1558; "Lunedi si fece consistorio, ma non si fece parola di dar la croce al r^mo di Pisa. S.S.^tà parlò di reforma, dicendo che non havendo per le guerre potuto congregar un concilio, non voleva più tardar a farlo (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 330. Vatican Library).

[2] See *Acta consist. cancell. (Consistorial Archives) and Massarelli, 326.

[3] See *Acta consist. cancell. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37.

[4] See the *Avviso of December 3, 1558, in Gulik-Eubel, III., 37 (Vatican Library), and Massarelli, 327, where details are also given concerning the abolition of this post by Pius IV.

[5] Beside the letter of Pasino di Giusti in Ancel, Concile, 23, n. 1, *cf.* especially the *Avvisi di Roma of November 19 (the Pope announces three bulls in this congregation, at which he remains for three hours: against the "sfratati," concerning the Inquisition, and against the sons of priests) and November 26, 1558 (the bulls are ready to be printed). Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 351, 352. Vatican Library).

[6] Concerning the reform of the Dominicans in Naples, see in Appendix No. 49 the *brief of July 25, 1558 (Secret Archives of the Vatican). To this also belongs the *brief to Angelo de Mediolano et Augustino de Papia ord. praed. concerning the reform of the "monachi heremit. S. Hieros. ordin." of April 4,1559 (Arm. 44, t. 2, p. 135) and that of December 2, 1558, in Fontana, 448.

corruption to which many of these had become a prey, is best shown by the scandalous conduct of the "vagrant monks," who by means of dispensations partly obtained from the Penitentiary and Dataria, and partly obtained surreptitiously from their superiors, and often indeed without permission at all, and under all sorts of pretexts, lived out of their monasteries, many of them even going about in secular dress. Most of these people caused the greatest scandal by their loose manner of life and their false doctrines. Paul IV. had already met with this abuse in Venice in the time of Clement VII., and had demanded that energetic steps should be taken against it;[1] in the same way he had endeavoured to put an end to it under Paul III. and Julius III. The severe regulations of the latter, and the special decrees issued by Paul IV. himself as Pope, had not, however, proved effectual.[2] It transpired in June, 1558, that decisive measures of the most severe kind were impending against these "vagrant monks" or "apostates." On July 20th a bull relating to this abuse was considered, which was published on August 3rd.[3]

In this document, which, together with the decree issued on December 16th, 1555, against the bestowal of monasteries in commendam, forms an important landmark in the history of reform of religious orders, the Pope ordains as follows;—1. Whoever is bound by the vows of an order, and then under any pretext, lives outside the monastery of his order, loses all the benefices and revenues of the order, as well as all academic degrees in any faculty, and all ecclesiastical offices. He shall

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 420 *seq.*

[2] Concerning Julius III. see Vol. XIII., p. 162; concerning Paul IV.'s special regulations see the *letter of Navagero of May 22, 1557: "Mando a V.S. la bolla in stampa contra li sfratati del ordine dei frati minori; il medesimo si aspetta anco dell' altre religioni" (Court Library, Vienna); Diario di N. Turinozzi, 8.

[3] The *Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1558, says: "E commessa una bolla gagliardissima contra gli sfrattati." On July 20, 1558, the bull (printed in Bull. VI., 538 *seq.*) was drafted (*cf.* *Avviso of July 23, 1558. Vatican Library) and published on August 3; see Gianfigliazzi in Ancel, Concile, 26, n. 3.

be incapable in future of possessing any benefice, degree, etc. He shall, moreover, be suspended from the performance of any ecclesiastical duties, and especially those of a priest. The benefices which he possesses shall be regarded as vacant, and must be occupied by somebody else ; all reservations of benefices must come to an end. By this decree, the " apostates " could acquire no ecclesiastical benefice during their lifetime, fill no ecclesiastical office, and receive no ecclesiastical revenues or pensions ; they could have no cure of souls or perform any ecclesiastical duties, dispense no sacraments and say no mass ; their pensions, benefices in commendam, and reservations became null and void, and they could draw no fruits from them. Whosoever, in face of this prohibition, should exercise the duties of a cure of souls, or any spiritual duties, dispense the sacraments or say mass, would incur the punishment prescribed.

2. No one may shelter an " apostate " or maintain him, or afford him assistance in keeping out of his monastery ; otherwise, after previous admonition has proved ineffectual, he becomes liable to excommunication.

3. No patron of a living may present an " apostate " to such, otherwise, in this particular case, he forfeits the right of presentation.

4. The competent superiors of orders, or the bishops, may, by force, and with the assistance of the secular arm, compel the " apostate " to return to his monastery, or afford him maintenance in a suitable place near his monastery, or in another monastery of the same order, so that he may do penance. Should the " apostate " refuse to obey, he thereby incurs the sentence of the major excommunication.

5. The " apostate " must always wear a black cap with a finger-wide white linen band.

6. Whosoever has renounced his vows and afterwards maintains that he was not properly a member of his Order, and believes that he can live outside his monastery, or makes an attempt to do so, must lay the permission he has obtained from the Pope or the Penitentiary before the Cardinal-Protector at the Curia and the Procurator-General of his order, and proceed with his case before them.

7. The permission to enter another Order is invalid, even when obtained from the Pope or the Penitentiary, unless it is a case of entering another Order of equal or greater severity.
8. Whosoever has entered another Order and refuses to return, loses the administration of ecclesiastical benefices, offices and prelacies. Whatever sums may have been obtained by monks living outside their monasteries belong to their monasteries.
9. As experience has shown that the right, bestowed on almost all the Orders, of receiving members of other Orders, has given the "apostates" an opportunity of wandering about outside their monasteries, especially as many superiors of Orders receive such "apostates," give them the habit, and then permission to live outside their monasteries, the right of doing so is withdrawn from the Orders; only the Carthusians and the Camaldolese Hermits, if they really live as hermits, may retain it.[1]

In accordance with his principle of at once and ruthlessly carrying into effect the reforms decided upon, Paul IV. now acted promptly. In the evening of August 22nd, all the gates of Rome were closed, and during the night the police made a comprehensive raid on all the vagrant monks. About a hundred of them were arrested.[2] Although the Pope was very unwell just at the time,[3] he insisted on the severe punishment of those who persisted in disobedience; some of them were imprisoned, and some sent to the galleys, while many fled. The position of the person concerned was no protection; even such a learned man as Basilio Zanchi, custos of the Vatican Library, was thrown into prison.[4] On September 3rd the

[1] Bull., VI., 538 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the reports quoted by ANCEL (Concile, 26, n. 4), the *Avviso di Roma of August 27, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 335[b]. Vatican Library).

[3] See the *Avviso of September 3, 1558, *loc. cit.*, 333[b].

[4] *Cf.* CARACCIOLUS, 84; BROMATO, II., 491 *seq.*; POGIANI, Epist., I., 25 n.; IV., 361. B. Zanchi died in prison (see the *Avviso of October 8, 1558, *loc. cit.* 342[b].) Cardinal A. Carafa reports concerning the proceedings against the "apostates." *Fece darsene notamento da tutte le religioni per sapere quali non obedivano, et se di questi tali alcuno se le fosse presentato avanti

number in Rome of those who shared his fate amounted to more than 200. After the capital had been cleansed, the same stern measures were extended to the whole of the States of the Church.[1]

Draconian punishments of a similar kind were also to be inflicted on unworthy secular priests. It was expected that the bull relating to this would be so severe that many would prefer to escape the penalties by voluntarily leaving Rome.[2] The Pope, who had previously taken the reform of the breviary in hand,[3] wished to bring this matter also to a conclusion by the end of the year.[4]

Owing to the great age of the Pope, and his unsatisfactory state of health at this time,[5] the question of the next election had, of late, been very eagerly discussed. Cardinal d'Este in particular was intriguing for his own election in a most scandalous manner. Carafa, in his zeal for reform, had stood out against him at the last conclave, comparing him to Simon Magus. As Este, as well as other Cardinals, were at this time taking all possible measures to secure votes at the next conclave, as they had done before, Paul IV. issued a bull on December 16th, 1558, obviously with reference to these intrigues, in which he forbade any kind of negotiations concerning the future election during the lifetime of the reigning Pope and without his knowledge, whether by the Cardinals or

che fosse stato suo caro amico mentre era in religione, lo ributtava ne volea più vederlo dicendo che non lo conesceva (Apologia Cod. X.F., 55 of the National Library, Naples).

[1] *Avviso of September 3 and October 8, 1558, *loc. cit.*, 333[b], 342[b]; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 21 *seqq.*

[2] "S'aspetta bolla di riformatione contra li preti, la quale si dubita che sarà tanto strana et rigorosa che molti cercheranno di partirsi da Roma." *Avviso of October 29, 1558, *loc. cit.*, 348.

[3] On August 8, 1558, Paul IV. forbade the breviary of Quiñones (see MASSARELLI, 325, and Tüb. Quartalschrift, 1884, 481 *seq.*). BÄUMER, Gesch. des Breviers (Freiburg, 1895, p. 415) gives the wrong date, August 10, 1555.

[4] See the *Avviso of November 26, 1558, *loc. cit.*, 352.

[5] *Cf. infra* p. 222.

by anybody else, whatever their rank might be, under pain of the severest ecclesiastical and secular punishments.[1]

In his Christmas allocution to the Cardinals the Pope said that they need not wonder that no new appointments had been made at the Ember Days, for the Sacred College was well filled, while, in addition, he had found no candidates who possessed the necessary qualifications for such a dignity.[2]

This was, at the same time, a direct rebuff to the Pope's nephews who, just at that time, were importuning their uncle with recommendations of their favourite candidates. As had been the case before, Paul IV. would allow his family no influence in purely ecclesiastical affairs. All the more inconsiderately, therefore, did Cardinal Carafa and his brother use the power bestowed on them in secular matters; in this sphere they ruled with a despotism that was all the greater as it was absolutely without control of any kind. Their unscrupulous baseness and insolent extortions were beyond all bounds. Owing to the Pope's isolation, his own self-assurance and his violent temperament, this state of things lasted for a very long time before any of the shameful doings of his nephews reached his ears. The first who had the courage to tell him anything unfavourable of Cardinal Carafa was a Theatine, whose name is unfortunately not known. The Pope was exceedingly astonished, thanked him for his information, and caused the accused Cardinal to be at once summoned to his presence.

Carafa showed the greatest coolness before his uncle, who was breathing vengeance, and denied everything. He displayed such skill in representing himself as the victim of

[1] See Bull., VI., 545 *seq.*; *cf.* HINSCHIUS, V., 729 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 14 *seqq.* and Papstwahlbullen, 40 *seq.*; see also LORENZ, Papstwahl und Kaisertum, Berlin, 1874, 133 *seqq.* The bull was published on February 3, 1559 (see TURINOZZI, 12), but the sale of it was forbidden; see Avviso of February 4, 1559 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 8. Vatican Library).

[2] See in Appendix No. 51 the *Avviso of December 24, 1558 (Vatican Library). Cardinal B. de la Cueva informed Cardinal Madruzzo of the continued reform work of Paul IV., in a *Letter dated Rome, January 8, 1559 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

calumny that the aged Pope believed him once more. After this occurrence, concerning which the Florentine ambassador wrote home on August 13th, 1558, people feared, even more than before, to bring any accusations against the Pope's nephews.[1]

In September, 1558, Paul IV. was attacked by a severe illness, and his life was despaired of, but his powerful constitution overcame the crisis with a rapidity which astonished everybody.[2] Cardinal Carafa could now enjoy his favoured position undisturbed for a few months longer, and continue to abuse it. But quite suddenly, in January, 1559, catastrophe overwhelmed, not only the Cardinal, but also his brothers.

A comparatively trifling incident set the ball rolling. On New Year's Day, 1559, a scandalous dispute, which almost ended in bloodshed, arose during a banquet between the brother of Cardinal Carpi and the Duke of Paliano's nephew, Marcello Capece. Cardinal Carafa endeavoured to conceal the affair from the Pope, but it nevertheless reached his ears, and on January 6th he had Capece incarcerated in the Castle of St. Angelo.[3]

Another occurrence took place at the same time which led to the Pope's eyes being fully opened. The Florentine ambassador, Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, had endeavoured in vain for a long time to speak to the Pope on important business; on making a fresh attempt to obtain an audience, he was on January 6th, 1559, repulsed in an offensive manner by Cardinal Carafa. On the following day Gianfigliazzi managed to get in

[1] Concerning the first denunciation, and the tragedy of Plautilia del Lante, see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 326, and the *Avvisi di Roma of August 27, September 3, 10, 17, and 24, and October 1, 1558, in the Cod. Urb. 1038 (Vatican Library; *cf.* Appendix No. 50); see also the reports in COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 127, and the *letter of Ansaldo Giustiniani to Genoa, dated Rome, Septembe 19, 1558 (State Archives, Genoa).

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of Gianfigliazzi of January 6 and 13, 1559 (State Archives, Florence) also used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 32 *seq.*, which differ from those in Nores; *cf.* also CLEMENTI, 216.

to the Pope, told him of the insults he had received, and by skilful hints raised doubts in the mind of the old man, who had hitherto had blind confidence in his nephews.[1]

Paul IV. had been made suspicious by Carafa's attitude with regard to the scandal caused by Capece, and he began to make inquiries as to the life of his all-powerful nephew. First of all he summoned the Theatine, Father Geremia Isachino, who was honoured as a saint, and ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to tell him everything he knew concerning his nephew. Father Geremia knew only too much, especially through Cardinal Vitelli, who, until the autumn of 1558, had been closely associated with Cardinal Carafa, but had afterwards broken with him. The Pope now had to listen to things which filled him with all the more horror and disgust as he had not had the faintest idea of them. He then summoned Cardinal Ghislieri, less to hear further details as to the disgraceful proceedings of his nephews, than to reproach him for never having revealed the true state of affairs to him.[2]

[1] See the *report of Gianfigliazzi of January 7, 1559 (State Archives, Florence) used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 34 *seq.*, which is confirmed by an Avviso of January 21, 1559 (*ibid.* 35. n, 2).

[2] The statements of Campana, Thuanus and Adriani concerning the part played by Father Geremia in the fall of Carafa, which Silos and others have accepted, are quite incorrect. Ancel, who was the first to throw light on these matters, has corrected them from reports of the Florentine ambassador (Disgrâce 29). The story in Nores, which is adhered to by many, as by RANKE (Päpste, I[6]., 196) and DURUY (p. 298) of a remark made by Cardinal Pacheco on January 5, 1559, at a sitting of the Inquisition: "Holy Father, we must begin the reform with ourselves . . . " is rejected by RIESS (p. 365, n. 25) as a "later psychological explanation of the astonishing occurrence." The Diario di diverse cose notabili (Inf. polit., VIII., 401 *seq.* of the Royal Library, Berlin, and Addit. Ms., 20,045 of the British Museum) which is quoted by Riess (p. 363, n. 22) has already been highly praised by Ranke. Riess also over-estimates it, and sees in it "the best authority." The Diario, composed by the Roman, Vincenzo Bello, is often to be found in manuscript, as in Florence (Bibl. naz., Cod. CXXI.) in Paris (Bibl. nat. Ms. Ital., 10,059,

The revelations of Father Geremia put the aged Pope into a state of feverish excitement; he struggled with himself for a short time, and then made up his mind. When Cardinal Carafa, who was quite unsuspicious of anything unusual, made his appearance on the morning of January 9th, 1559, for his usual audience, he had to wait for several hours, only to learn then that His Holiness would not receive him. The same answer was given him on January 12th, when he made another attempt to see the Pope, and at the same time orders were sent to the treasurer not to honour any payments bearing the signature of Cardinal Carafa.[1]

The news that the nephew who had, until now, been all-powerful, had fallen into disgrace, caused the greatest sensation in Rome. Everyone believed, however, that the Cardinal, skilled as he was in the arts of deception and persuasion, would soon succeed in again winning his uncle's favour. This, however, was not the case. On January 17th Cardinal Carafa was ordered to leave the Borgia apartments, and on the 23rd he was forbidden to appear in future at the consistory.[2]

From day to day the dreadful discoveries which the Pope was to make concerning the conduct of his nephews increased. It was said that a list had been given to him which contained 1300 unjust sentences which his relatives had pronounced. Paul IV. was completely overwhelmed, and to bitter complaints there succeeded hours of silent melancholy. The sorely tried old man sought and found consolation in prayer; he was to be seen visiting the seven principal altars in St. Peter's with streaming eyes.[3]

n. 1, 10,075, n. 5 and 10,077 [Colbert]; *cf.* MARSAND, II., 167), in Rome in the Corsini Library (Cod. 128) and the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. From this last manuscript it was in part published by LÄMMER, (Melet., 207 *seq.*) which has escaped Riess.

[1] See the Florentine and Este reports in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 33 *seq.*

[2] See the ambassadorial reports, *ibid.*

[3] See the *Avviso di Rome of January 14, 1559, in the Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 1, Vatican Library.

All the Cardinals, with the exception of Cardinal Carafa, were summoned to a consistory at the Vatican in the evening of January 27th, 1559.[1] On the appearance of the Pope at the assembly, it could be seen from his face that something unusual had taken place. In a long address he set forth with passionate emotion the "crimes of his nephews," in doing which he made not the slightest reference to their political activities, but only stigmatized their moral conduct. He called God to witness that he had not had the faintest idea of the wicked lives of his relatives, that he had had a "veil before his eyes" since the beginning of his reign, and had always been deceived; he would now, however, cleanse his house. He ordered all three nephews to leave Rome within twelve days, and deprived them of all their offices. Carlo Carafa retained only his dignity of Cardinal; he lost, not only the legation of Bologna, but also his supreme position as director of all the political affairs of the

[1] Concerning the consistory of January 27, 1559, *cf.* MASSARELLI, 329; *Firmani Diaria* in MERKLE, II., 513 *seq.*; MASIUS, Briefe, 315; *Avviso di Roma of January 28, 1559, in the Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 4 (Vatican Library); *Diario di N. Turinozzi*, 10 *seq.*; the *Relazione* in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXII., 222 *seqq.*; the *Relazione* of G. Salvago in the Atti Lig., XIII., 754 *seq.* and the reports of the ambassadors of Florence and Ferrara of January 27 and 28, 1559, in drawing upon which ANCEL (Disgrâce, 40) points out that: "Dans aucun de ces documents authentiques on ne trouve une allusion permettant d'affirmer que Paul IV. ait voulu punir ses neveux en tant qu'hommes politiques, c'est-à-dire les punir d'erreurs dans lesquelles il avait sa large part de reponsabilité." In the *Acta consist. cancell., VII., 144, the following entry is to be found concerning the consistory of January 27, 1559: "In dicto consistorio fuerunt enunciate certe revocationes et decreta privationum que papa tribus secretariis vid. D. Bergomen., Barengo et Lavellino iussit et commisit annotari et ad se deinde adferri. Itaque de his nihil scribere potui neque iudicio meo debui ad quos tamen et eorum acta habeatur relatio." In the *Acta consist. camer., IX., it only says: "S.D.N. Paulus papa IV. acri sermone usus est contra suos nepotes" (Consistorial Archives).

Holy See and of the States of the Church. The Duke of Paliano was, with the exception of his duchy, deprived of the position of Captain-General of the Church, and of the command of the troops and the galleys, as well as all his other offices, which brought him in an annual revenue of 72,000 scudi. The Marquis of Montebello lost the governorship of the Leonine City, and the command of the Papal body-guard.

When the Pope, whose voice was almost inaudible from pain and indignation, had finished, six cardinals approached the throne, two from each order, led by the Cardinal Dean, du Bellay, who petitioned for a mitigation of this severe sentence. Paul IV. refused the petition most decisively, and forbade, for all time, any such attempts. He then had Camillo Orsini, Ferrante di Sanguine and the Marquis of Montesarchio brought before him, and entrusted them forthwith with all military affairs. Then the Governor of the city, the Datary and the first secretary were called in, and forbidden, in the strictest terms, to obey the Pope's nephews in anything. Decrees corresponding to all these matters were at once to be drawn up. At the end of the sitting, which had lasted for two and a half hours, the Pope said to Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese that his father would not have been so foully murdered had Paul III. given a similar example of severity against his nephews. He ordered Cardinal Vitelli, who had had intimate relations with Carafa, to leave the Vatican, and caused a box to be placed there, into which everyone could put his complaints in secret.[1]

Even before the expiration of the twelve days Carlo Carafa had to go into banishment to Civita Lavinia, and his brothers to Gallese and Montebello. The whole of their following, their wives and children, and even their aged and quite guiltless mother, were also sent out of Rome. No defence was allowed to them, accused as they were of such grave crimes; they never saw their uncle again. Diomede Carafa also was deprived of his office of castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo.[2]

[1] See the *Avviso of January 28, 1559, *loc. cit.* and the *letter of G. Aldrovandi, dated January 28,1559 (State Archives,Bologna).

[2] See Pagliucchi, 133.

Only one exception was made; Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, against whom nothing blameworthy could be proved, was allowed to remain in the Vatican, but he had to be most careful to make no attempt to intercede for his guilty relatives, against whom the Pope constantly expressed himself in the most severe terms, without, however, naming them.

The fall of the nephews had taken place so suddenly, and the lot of the men who in one night had sunk to the position of helpless and penniless exiles was so pitiable, that, especially as every sort of moral support was wanting to them, they could not resign themselves to their fate. All three hoped that the anger of their deeply offended uncle would, in time, pass over, and that they would then obtain forgiveness.[1] They had always been at variance with one another, and now, in their day of misfortune, they were more so than ever. The weak-minded Duke of Paliano lost his head completely and spent his time in vain longing at his castle of Gallese, divided between grief, fear and empty hopes. Carlo Carafa, who had been hit the hardest, kept his presence of mind even now, and before everything else, saw to the safety of his correspondence.[2] He had to live in a miserable little house at Civita Lavinia, a small place, in which all comfort was wanting. There, in view of the melancholy Campagna, he had plenty of time to enter into himself, but he did not think, even now, of doing so. All his thoughts and plans were directed to regaining, by any means, even the worst, his forfeited position. He still intended to do his utmost in the attempt to again deceive his old uncle, and move his heart to forgiveness; but everything, the inter-

[1] The view that the nephews had again been taken into favour still prevailed in Rome at the end of February, 1559 (see a *letter to Cardinal Madruzzo in connection with this, dated Venice, March 4, 1559. Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck). Cardinal Medici regretted in a *letter to Carafa, dated Milan, February 22, 1559, that he had not been present in Rome at the time, to prevent a rupture: "hora io voglio ben sperare che le cose s'accomodino"; he offers his help in doing so. Original in the Cod. Barb. lat. 5698, p. 20. Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the reports in Ancel, Secrét., 40 and Nonciat., I., viii.

cession of the great powers, and especially Philip II., a simulated conversion, as well as a sham illness, were to prove vain.[1]

Paul IV., whose health was much affected[2] by grief and excitement, appeared to have completely effaced the remembrance of his nephews from his mind.[3] He remained inexorable, and indeed was bound to do so, since he had brought about the fall of his nephews, not on political, but on moral grounds. The more thoroughly he investigated the matter, the more convinced he became of the moral depravity of the brothers, of their disgraceful insolence, and of the way in which they had abused his confidence and compromised his government, and, above all, his reform work. Instead of his anger growing less with time, it, on the contrary, increased. The strict party, which was now coming much more into evidence, after having had so long to witness, with suppressed bitterness, the proceedings of the nephews, confirmed him in his resolution of leaving the guilty parties in banishment, of clearing out all their supporters, and of completely reorganizing the whole system of state affairs. Now only did he feel himself free from all worldly considerations. It was in this sense that Paul IV. remarked that the current year, 1559, was the first of his pontificate.[4] He wished to grant an audience every week to the envoys from the States of the Church, in order that he might hear all complaints himself. No one was allowed to write to his nephews, and they were not to know what he was doing. He provided himself with a special book in which he entered all their misdeeds. He took away the keys of the Borgia apartments, in order to keep them himself, and it was said that he

[1] The above is according to the very excellent account of ANCEL, Disgrâce, 42 *seq.*, 55 *seq.*; see also RIESS, 368 *seq.* It is also certain that Carafa continued to lead an immoral life after his fall; see Studi stor., VIII., 255.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of February 4 and 11, 1559 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 7 and 8. Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf.* SALVAGO in the Atti Lig., XIII., 757.

[4] See CARACCIOLUS, Collactanea, 65; *cf.* for this the remark reported by Pacheco in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 182.

intended to bless these rooms anew with holy water, as evil spirits had dwelt there.[1]

A complete reorganization of the council of state, appointed in the autumn of 1557, had already been effected by January 31st, 1559; at the head of this new body were Cardinals Scotti and Rosario, as well as the aged and disinterested Camillo Orsini, and to these were added distinguished prelates, such as Luigi Lippomano and Ugo Boncampagni. The Pope appointed bishop Angelo Massarelli as secretary. Orsini, who was as energetic as he was distinguished, immediately proceeded to clear away the Neapolitan toadies and parasites, with whom Carafa had filled all the offices; most of these richly deserved to be subjected to a criminal investigation.[2]

On February 17th Paul IV. received the Roman Senators and the representatives of the States of the Church in the Hall of Constantine. In this assembly of about a hundred persons, he once more frankly acknowledged his previous errors. Incapable as he was at his advanced age of bearing the burden of government alone, and having always been completely ignorant of financial matters, he had allowed his nephews to manage affairs freely and they had shamefully abused his trust. Now, however, that he had been enlightened as to their corruption, he proposed to inaugurate a complete change; those assembled, therefore, should lay all their complaints before him without fear. This was done in the fullest measure. When the Pope learned the amount of the new taxes, he cried out indignantly: "Dear sons! I knew absolutely nothing of all this. Do not, however, be astonished at this, for those infamous nephews kept me shut up in my apartments, and only allowed me to know what suited them." To show his good will, he declared a part of the new taxes abolished. The Romans, who had already, in October, 1555, erected a statue

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 8, 1557, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Šusta's excellent treatise "Der Versuch einer Verfassung sreform im Kirchenstaat unter Paul IV." in the Mitteil. des Österr. Inst., Erg.-Bd. VI., 557 *seq.*

in honour of the Pope on the Capitol, now caused this to be adorned with a suitable inscription.[1]

In the course of February, the council of state undertook a thorough reorganization of the officials in Rome, and in the following month the provinces also had their turn. All the creatures of the nephews here also were replaced by new and trustworthy persons. The vice-legates were the next to be changed, a process which in many places was effected in a quite unusual manner. For example, the new governor, Giambattista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, arrived in Perugia at a late hour of the night, and without waiting for the dawn, he instantly summoned the council, presented his letters of credence, took the oath, and arrested the former governor. The lower posts in the government were also everywhere filled with new officials, most of whom enjoyed Orsini's confidence.[2] This admirable man did not propose to change the staff alone, but also the system of administration; he planned a complete change in the constitution of the States of the Church, and a thorough reform of the finances. The deficit, which, hitherto, had been steadily increasing, was to be removed, partly by a discreet increase of the revenues.[3] Orsini, the soul of this political reform, also had the duty of watching the banished nephews. When he fell ill on March 31st, and died on April 4th, it was generally declared that his death had been caused

[1] See Massarelli, 330 and the *report of Gianfigliazzi of February 18, 1559, used by Ancel, Disgrâce, 44. Concerning the statue on the Capitol, a work of Vincenzo de' Rossi, see the Decrees, dated 1555, XVI. Cal. Oct. and 1558, V. Cal. Nov. in the Cod. G-III.-58, p. 231 *seq.* of the Chigi Library; *cf.* also Rodocanachi, Capitole, III, and Lanciani, III., 206.

[2] See Šusta *loc. cit.* 557 *seq.*, who has also made use of the interesting **Diarium* of an unknown member of the curia in the Cod. Urb. 852 of the Vatican Library. See also the *Diario di N. Turinozzi*, 13 *seq.*; Bonazzi, Storia di Perugia, II., 224.

[3] For this *cf.* the excellent details given by Šusta, *loc. cit.* The *Diminutione delle spese del state ecc^co fatte nel mese di Marzo 1559 dal s. consiglio coram papa, in Arm. 10, t. 45, p. 100 *seq.* (Secret Arch. of the Vat.)

by poison, which Carlo Carafa had caused to be administered to him. New suspicions were awakened on May 22nd, by the sudden death of the strict Cardinal Rosario.[1] Cardinals Reumano and Consiglieri, who were appointed on May 27th as members of the council of state, in place of the deceased, did not possess the necessary energy or expert knowledge. The choice of Gian Antonio di Gravina,[2] on April 3rd, as the successor of Camillo Orsini as Captain-General of the Church, was still more unfortunate. It is no wonder that the esteem with which the council of state was regarded, grew visibly less. This suited Cardinal Alfonso Carafa only too well; apart from a temporary break with the Pope, he still enjoyed his uncle's confidence and an ever increasing influence.[3]

Paul IV., therefore, did not gain a complete victory over nepotism; it is, however, owing to him, that nepotism on a large scale, which had done so much harm since the time of Callixtus III., and even more since Sixtus IV., received a decisive blow. In this way, one of the worst growths of the Renaissance days was uprooted, and the way laid open for the

[1] See ANCEL, Disgrâce, 57 *seq.* In addition to the sources given there, see also the *Diario di N. Turinozzi*, 15 *seq.*, and the *Avviso di Roma of April 8, 1559 (Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*). According to this, April 4 is given as the date of Orsini's death. NORES (p. 271) wrongly gives April 2, following MASSARELLI (p. 330). Rosario's grave is in the church of the Minerva; see BERTHIER, 401.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 331.

[3] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*, 563. During the Brussels legation of Cardinal Carafa, Alfonso Carafa had already partly replaced him as secretary of state (see ANCEL, Secrét., 25). Concerning the temporary loss of favour by Alfonso Carafa at the end of March, see *Diario di N. Turinozzi*, 15. The formal transference of all functions seems to have taken place at midsummer. On August 5, 1559, G. A. Aldrovandi reports: *Il card. di Napoli è adesso al governo delle cose appartenenti al stato (State Archives, Bologna).

Catholic reformation. The Pope, after the fall of his nephews, worked for this with a lighter heart and undiminished zeal.[1]

[1] RIESS (p. 373) disputes the view, also held by RANKE (I[6]., 198) that Paul IV. after the fall of his nephews, "returned to his former intentions of reform," and in the last six months of his life "devoted himself passionately to the reform of the Church" as "not being testified by contemporary witnesses." It is a sufficient answer to this that Riess overlooked the treatise of ANCEL, Paul IV. et le Concile, which is so rich in matter, and which appeared as early as 1907, and in which (p. 25 *seq.*) proof is given that Paul IV., precisely in March, 1559, carried out "une réforme capitale," viz., that dealing with the duty of residence of the bishops. Other proofs are also given in the present account, *infra*, Chap. IX., pp. 233 *seqq.*

CHAPTER IX.

Further Reform Regulations.—The New Orders.—Paul IV. and the Society of Jesus.

So strict a method of government was introduced into the Eternal City after the fall of the nephews, that the Jesuit, Nadal, was able to write that the reform of morals was accomplished.[1] New regulations concerned the precept of fasting,[2] and the restriction of public immorality ;[3] all offences of this nature were made punishable, in the case of both clergy and laity, with imprisonment and the galleys.[4] Paul IV. even forbade lawful pleasures, such as hunting and dancing, so that a correspondent wrote on January 21st, 1559 : " All pleasures have ceased here, just as if we were in the midst of Lent."[5] A Roman, who inquired of the Pope whether he would allow them to wear masks during the days of carnival, was refused with the remark : " Our nephews have put a mask on us for so long, that it will require much time to take it off.[6]"

[1] Nadal, Ephemerides,: Epist. P. H. Nadal, II., 64.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1559 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 8. Vatican Lib.).

[3] *Cf.* Coggiola, Capitolazione, 144.

[4] An *Avviso of March 11, 1559, announce that three camerieri were arrested in the Vatican with their paramours and were condemned by the Pope to " perpetua galea " (which was afterwards mitigated ; see *Avviso of April 8). The Bishop of Polygnano was convicted of immorality, and was condemned in April, 1559, to life-long imprisonment ; he had to fast on bread and water for three months (see *Avviso of same date. Cod. Urb. 1039, f. 15, 20, 24. Vatican Library). See also Caracciolus, 68 ; Rodocanachi, S. Ange, 161 ; Massarelli, 334.

[5] *Avviso of January 21, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 2[b] .

[6] " Non vi pare egli che questi nostri nepoti ci habbiano messo una mascara al volto che vi bisognera molto tempo a levarcela." *Avviso of February 8, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 9 (wrong date in Clementi, 215).

The most important reform which Paul IV. prepared and carried out after the fall of the Carafa concerned the episcopate. He had, for a long time past, seen, in the neglect, on the part of the bishops, of their duty of residence, a source of the gravest abuses, and he had made the most urgent representations to Clement VII. with regard to this very matter. In the great memorial of the commission of Cardinals to Paul III., in the year 1537, this part of the reform programme was also given due prominence.[1] The Council of Trent had next, in 1547, in its sixth session, decreed that a patriarch, archbishop or bishop who was absent from his diocese unless he were lawfully prevented, or without proper and reasonable cause, should *ipso facto* lose a quarter of his annual revenues for the benefit of the poor or for repairs of churches ; should he remain absent for a further six months, he was to forfeit, in a similar manner, a second quarter of his revenues. Should his absence be of still longer duration, he was to be denounced to the Pope in writing, by his metropolitan, or by the senior suffragan bishop of the province within three months, and the Pope would then take severe measures against him, or even depose him.[2]

In spite of all this, however, this deeply-rooted abuse was by no means eradicated. In the letter of exhortation, in which Muzio demanded from the newly elected Pope the reform of the College of Cardinals and of the episcopate, reference was made to the many bishops who were living at the Curia without any proper reason, and the remark was made that these were useless plants in Rome, which should be set in other soil, where they might bear fruit.[3] How fully justified this request was, is evident from the truly terrible fact that in February, 1556, there were no fewer than 113 bishops staying in Rome,[4] although they had been ordered to return to their dioceses in January, under pain of the most severe punish-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 422, and Vol. XI., p. 209 *seq.*

[2] Sess. 6, de ref. c. 1.

[3] See Muzio's *letter of November 3, 1555, in Appendix No. 14 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See Ancel, Concile, 25.

ments.[1] In April, 1556, Paul IV. again made the most earnest representations to these prelates, who were so forgetful of their duty.[2] As all this was of no avail, he determined to adopt more severe measures.

On March 6th, 1559, all the bishops staying in Rome were summoned to a secret consistory, when the Pope communicated to them a bull, in virtue of which all bishops not actually serving the Holy See in some fixed office, had to repair to their dioceses within one month. Those who failed to obey were subject to the penalty of deposition.[3] The Pope made it perfectly plain that he intended to act in accordance with this bull. He remarked, in a threatening manner, that he would punish the disobedient more severely than the vagrant monks.[4] On March 21st he once more summoned the bishops, and again impressed this order upon them.[5] Only from ten to twelve bishops, who were engaged directly in the service of the Holy See, were allowed to remain in Rome; all the others had to leave. By April 1st, a correspondent was able to announce that this important reform had been really effected.[6] Similar

[1] *Et di più che la S.Stà . . . . voleva che tutti i vescovi andassino a risedere ai vescovadi loro sotto protesto non vi andando privargli di vescovadi e d'ogni altra loro degnità ecclesiastica. Avviso of January 18, 1556, in the Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 125 of the Vatican Library; *cf.* also *ibid.* the *Avviso of January 25, 1556.

[2] See in Appendix No. 30 the *report of Navagero of April 11, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives); *cf.* MASSARELLI, 330; Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 103; *Firmani Diaria*, 514; *Diario di V. Bello* in LAEMMER, Melet., 210, and the *Avviso of March 11, *loc. cit.*, 15.

[4] *Se non obedirano li tratterà pegio di quello ha fatto li sfratati. Avviso of March 18, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 17b.

[5] ANCEL (Concile, 25), only knows of this assembly, which is reported by V. Bello (*loc. cit.*, 210 *seq.*) and *G. A. Calegari on March 25, 1559, to Commendone (Lett. di Princ., 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[6] See the *Avvisi of March 18 and 25, and April 1 and 15, 1559 (cod. Urb. 1039, p. 17b, 19b, 22b, 26. Vatican Library); *cf.* also

rules were made for the parish priests, and the Inquisition was already employed in carrying them out.[1] In addition to this the reform of the Orders was being continued.[2]

While Paul IV. was enforcing the duty of residence on the bishops, the hand of death had already lightly touched him. The excitement caused by the unmasking and fall of his nephews had given a fatal blow to his iron constitution.[3] Since then he had become feeble in mind as well as in body. Nevertheless, he took part, in February, 1559, in the functions of Candlemas and Ash Wednesday, held congregations and granted public and private audiences.[4] He reformed the expenditure of his court at this time by abolishing all unnecessary expenses, whereby very considerable economies were effected.[5] At the end of the month, the consistory did not take place, as the Pope could not attend, on account of a swollen knee.[6] His condition was still more serious in March,[7] but during Holy Week he had improved to a certain extent. Although he was still weak on his feet, he was able to be present at the functions and to pontificate in St. Peter's on Easter Sunday. It could be seen, however, that he was suffering both in mind and body.[8] His removal to the more airy

the *letter of Gianfigliazzi of March 29, 1559 (State Archives, Florence) and ANCEL, Concile, 25.

[1] See CARACCIOLUS, 87; ANCEL, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 216 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 224.

[4] See in Appendix No. 52 the *Avviso of February 11, 1559 (Vatican Library).

[5] See *Diario di V. Bello* in LAEMMER, Melet., 209.

[6] See the *Avviso of February 25, 1559 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 11. Vatican Library).

[7] See the Portuguese report of March 18, 1559, in the Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 103.

[8] *Il Papa ha asseso alli offitii con molta sollicitudine et benchè sia debole nelle gambe non ha voluto mancare. Si vede che sta afflitto non meno della mente che dal corpo. Avviso of March 25, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 19[b] (Vatican Library); *cf.* MASSARELLI, 330.

Quirinal, from which his friends hoped great things, could not take place on account of his feeble state.[1] In addition to all his other troubles, an irritation of the skin,[2] which so often appears in old age, now set in and deprived him of his rest at nights. On the feast of the Ascension he had to be carried to mass. All present were horrified to see him looking so ill. "He is going out," a contemporary said, "like a burning candle."[3] It was astonishing to see how he always tried to keep on his feet. When, on May 7th, the solemn procession ordered on account of the peace between France and Spain, passed through St. Peter's Square, the Pope took part in it on foot, which caused a great exhaustion of his strength.[4] He, however, was not thinking of death, as he wished to do a great deal more,[5] for he was just then issuing new and stringent regulations against immorality in Rome,[6] which led to the arrest of a great number of prostitutes.[7] On June 1st the bull against the vagrant monks, containing the strictest measures, was again enforced.[8] Paul IV. was occupied with reform literally to the very end. At the beginning of July he issued a decree to explain the last named regulation,[9] and adopted

[1] See the *Avvisi of April 15 and 22, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 26, 28, *cf.* MASSARELLI, 326.

[2] The "resipilla"; see *Avvisi of March 4 and April 22, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 12, 28.

[3] See the *Avviso of May 6, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 30^{b}.

[4] See the *Avviso of May 13, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 34.

[5] See the *Avviso of May 6, 1559, *loc. cit.* At the banquets to celebrate the papal election and coronation, which were held as usual and were very brilliant, the Pope begged the Cardinals to pray for his recovery. *Avviso of May 27, *loc. cit.*, 44^{b}.

[6] See the *Avviso of May 20, 1559, *loc. cit.* 36^{b}. On April 22, 1559, B. Pia reported from Rome: *Mons. Ferrantino è inquisito di simonia contratta nella risegna del vescovado d'Amelia che egli ha havuto et mi par che ci sia ordine ch'ei sia posto in prigione (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[7] See COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 144.

[8] See *Editti*, I., 111. Casanate Library, Rome.

[9] See the *letter of G. A. Calegari to Commendone, dated Rome, July 5,1559(Lett.di princ. 23, n. 2. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

measures for the reform of the monasteries in Tortona.[1] At the end of the month he spoke of issuing a bull against those bishops who sought to purchase a right to be present at the Curia by relinquishing their bishoprics.[2] A month before his death, Paul IV. issued a strict prohibition against members of religious orders who had been consecrated bishops, receiving offices and dignities on their return to their monasteries. By this measure, strife among ambitious persons and many other vexatious disputes, were once for all done away with.[3]

The indefatigable and many sided activities in the cause of reform displayed by Paul IV. during his reign had been reported in terms of the highest praise to Hosius at the beginning of March, 1556, by the canon of Ermland, Samson of Worein, who was then in Rome, and who was by no means blind to the weaknesses of the Pope. He sets forth in a very clear manner how the work of Catholic reformation had been carried out, in spite of the fact that the Eternal City was, at that time, converted into a place of arms. However much Samson deplored the unfortunate war policy of the Pope, yet the holy life of Paul IV., and his great severity against crime, filled him with admiration. "Sodomites," he writes, "are publicly burned; on blasphemers and other criminals he inflicts the most severe punishments. Abuses connected with the disposal of benefices, such as reservations, the regressus and expectancies, and similar pernicious growths, have been completely abolished; every kind of simony has been most strictly forbidden, and thereby a very lucrative composition removed; different offices in the Curia, which had been instituted merely as a means of providing money, have been either entirely altered or done away with. He has further ordered that only worthy candidates shall receive benefices, and that nobody shall possess more than one." The canon

[1] See FONTANA, 451 *seq.*

[2] See the *Avvisi of July 22 and 29, 1559, *loc. cit.*, 62, 63; *cf.* SANTAREM, XIII., 61.

[3] See UGHELLI, I., 763; Bull., VI., 565 *seq.*

further speaks of the Pope's efforts for the reform of the breviary, the strict punishment of such as sin against the laws of fasting, rendered still more severe by the Pope, and the decisive measures against the Jews, those who practise illicit intercourse, usurers, actors and buffoons.[1] Three years later the Theatines, Geremia Isachino and Andrea Avellino, could give the members of their Order in Naples a detailed account[2] of the success which had already crowned the inflexible severity of Paul IV. against simonists, usurers, libertines, non-observers of the laws of fasting, and the vagrant monks. The appearance of the city was completely changed, the people went more frequently to church and a moral regeneration could be observed in all classes.[3]

All this was not due only to the severity of Paul IV., but also to the example he gave. He was never absent from the sermons which were given during Lent in the Hall of Constantine, which all the Cardinals and prelates of the court were bound to attend.[4] In the latter years of his life he even went so far as to forbid entrance into the Vatican to all women. He

[1] Hosii epist. II., 673-674.

[2] In Italian in CARACCIOLO, *Vita di Paolo IV., in Latin in his *Collectanea*, 62 *seq.*, and in BZOVIUS, Annales, 1559, n. 34 *seqq.* A document bearing the date, Rome, April 17, 1559, and the title: *De rebus novis urbis Romanae gestis in bona fide prescriptis in aulum Caesaream, in the Monastery Library at Zeitz, is to the same effect.

[3] As in the first year of the reign of Paul IV., the regulation issued by him that public prostitutes must attend sermons bore good fruits, —82 of these unfortunates were converted immediately, and more later on, of whom noble Roman ladies then took charge—concerning this see a report of March 28, 1556, in ZIBALDONE, Notizie, anedotti, curios. et. docum. ined., I. (1888), n. 1 p. 4 *seq.* In other cities as well, e.g. Milan, Paul IV. helped the conversion of the "meretrices"; see his *brief of May 2, 1558, in the Brera Library, Milan, Miscell. B. II., n. 32.

[4] *Report of an unknown person to Cardinal Madruzzo from Rome, March 12, 1558 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck).

observed the fasts most strictly, in spite of his great age.[1] He always took part in the festivals of the Church as far as his health permitted him. The dignified composure and simple piety which he displayed in doing so, made the deepest impression on everyone.[2] In truth he appeared on such occasions, says the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, as a really worthy representative of Jesus Christ; greater care than he displayed for the fitting observance of divine worship was scarcely conceivable.[3]

The worldliness which had also crept into the house of God during the age of the Renaissance found an inflexible opponent in Paul IV. He forbade the disrespectful wandering about in the churches, under pain of excommunication, and especially the abuse of women being accompanied there by a following of gentlemen. He forbade, under the pain of excommunication, the begging of offerings for masses which poor priests carried on in the churches. No one could say mass in any Roman church without a written permission, which was bestowed gratis, but only after a strict investigation. Whoever dared to perform any spiritual function, without the necessary authority, was at once to be handed over to the secular power for severe punishment. The Pope had all offensive pictures removed from the churches.[4] We are reminded of his activity

[1] See *De rebus novis, etc. (Monastery Library, Zeitz); Bromato, II., 489, 495, 500 *seq.* Concerning the Pope's strict fasts *cf* Caracciolus, Collect., 72.

[2] See *letter of Navagero of April 4, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice) and *Avviso di Roma of January 22, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 287. Vatican Library).

[3] Mocenigo-Albèri, 48.

[4] *Cf.* Caracciolo, *Vita, 5, 8; Castaldo, 150 *seq.*; Bromato, II., 497 *seq.* The proceedings taken against the "crocifissi in figura di vivi con quattro sole piaghe," and the removal of an improper picture from S. Maria Maggiore, are only mentioned here. There is no reference to the painting over of Michael Angelo's Last Judgment (*cf.* as to this our remarks in Vol. XII. of this work, p. 615 *seq.*). As tombstones in many of the churches were executed in an offensive manner, Paul IV. ordered their

in this respect by one of his medals, on which Christ is represented cleansing the Temple with a scourge.[1]

Paul IV. also endeavoured to increase the solemnity of divine worship by positive regulations. For this purpose he introduced a number of new arrangements, especially in the Papal Chapel. The adornment of the Pauline Chapel during Holy Week with a magnificent representation of the Holy Sepulchre is to be traced to him, as is also the custom of covering the streets of the Borgo with an awning of white linen on the feast of Corpus Christi, which was first done in the year 1557. In this year, as well as in the two preceding ones, and also in 1558, the Pope insisted, in spite of his great age, on carrying the Blessed Sacrament himself in the procession.[2]

Paul IV. also manifested his great devotion to the Holy Eucharist by giving orders to his fellow-countryman and court architect, Pirro Ligorio, to design a magnificent ostensorium for use at the Corpus Christi procession ; it was adorned with vine leaves of pure gold, and grapes formed of emeralds and sapphires. The Pope had intended to have a number of his ancient gold coins melted down for this purpose, had not Ligorio, to whom the destruction of these precious relics of antiquity caused the greatest sorrow, protested.[3]

The new tabernacle for the Pope's private chapel was to be of special magnificence. Giambattista da Pietrasanta had instructions to prepare four exceedingly beautiful columns of cipolino, while the ornamentation above was to be executed in bronze, after a most artistic design.[4]

removal, an order which Pius IV. carried still further ; see Castaldo, 150 ; Silos, I., 417 ; Rodocanachi, Capitole, 198.

[1] See Venuti, 104.

[2] See Massarelli, 274, 291, 322, 323 ; *Report of the Genoese ambassador of May 28, 1558 (State Archives, Genoa) ; Bromato, II., 499 *seq.* ; Rev. Bénédict, XXV., 62 *seq.* Expenses for the "Sepolcro" in the Pauline Chapel in the *Tes. segr., 1556, February and March (State Archives, Rome).

[3] Caracciolus, Collect., 138 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 137 ; *cf.* also Rev. Bénédict., XXV., 51 *seq.*

To Paul IV., who for the most part granted very few indulgences,[1] we owe the introduction of the indulgenced medal.[2] The feast of St. Dominic, into whose order the Pope had wished to enter as a young man, was transferred by him in 1558 to August 4th, as the 5th, the day on which this feast was celebrated, was that of Our Lady of the Snow.[3] With regard to the festival of St. Peter's Chair, Paul IV. issued a regulation, to which he was partly led by his opposition to the false assertion of the Protestants that St. Peter had not been in Rome. Even in the days of Leo the Great the feast of the Roman Cathedra Petri had been celebrated in the most solemn manner on February 22nd, in the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Later on, in accordance with the two episcopal sees of St. Peter, a distinction had been made, and the two feasts, of the Cathedra of Antioch, as well as that of Rome, had been instituted. The Cathedra of Rome was, especially in the Frankish kingdoms, kept on January 18th, while in Rome, now as before, it was never celebrated until February 22nd, and indeed, strange to say, for a long time as the feast of St. Peter's Chair at Antioch. It seemed strange to Paul IV. that Rome, which owed its unique position in the Christian world, above all, to the Prince of the Apostles, should allow herself to be outdone in piety and veneration for the first Pope by foreign churches. He therefore, on January 23rd, 1557, ordered that, for the future, throughout Christendom, the feast of the Cathedra Romana should be celebrated on January 18th, and that of Antioch on February 22nd. A bull, issued a year later, solemnly fixed this for all time.[4]

[1] See LEA, Confession, III., 508; *cf.* 423, 555.

[2] See BROMATO, II., 499 n. On February 25, 1559, Paul IV. again restored the old stations in S. Silvestro and S. Martino ai Monti; see Bull., VI., 556 *seq.*

[3] Bull., VI., 543 *seq.* and MASSARELLI, 325. The statements of CIACONIUS (III. 831) and BROMATO (II., 500) concerning the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady are erroneous; see MORONI, IX., 84.

[4] The bull "Ineffabilis" (Reg. Vat. 1851, p. 417), with correct date in the Bull., VI., 530 *seq.*, and a wrong one in the Bull.

Paul IV. repeatedly showed[1] how greatly he valued the old Orders, and it can easily be understood that, among the new ones, the Theatines were nearest to his heart. Marcellus II. had intended to call them to Rome, a thing which was done by Paul IV. in the first year of his reign. He assigned to them the church of S. Silvestro on the Quirinal, which was then almost entirely unbuilt upon, as a place specially suitable for the life of a strict religious order. The Dominicans, who carried on the services in this church, were removed to S. Niccolò in Campo Marzo, the care of which parish was united to that of SS. Apostoli. On November 17th, 1557, four distinguished members of the Theatine Order, Giovanni Marinonio, Bernardino Scotti, Paolo Consiglieri and Giovanni Antonio da Prato, took

bas. Vat., III., 34; *cf.* KRAUS, Roma sotteranea, Freiburg, 1879, 577 *seq.*; Freiburger Kirchenlex., II.[2], 2060 *seq.*; BÄUMER, Gesch. des Breviers, 416. The first ordinance from the Acta consist. (Romae die sabbati 23 Ianuarii, 1557, Congregatio generalis) in RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 2. The bull of January 6, 1558, was decided upon in a consistory of January 7 (MASSARELLI, 320) and published on January 14, 1558. The *Acta consist. previously announce: "Primo introductus fuit dom. Guill. Sirleti [Ms: Ciurletti] protonotarius, qui legit libellibellum quendam continentem multas auctoritates, quod divus Petrus fuit Romae et ibi martirium sustinuit" (Consistorial Archives). The Pope spoke very eloquently in the consistory about the presence of St. Peter in Rome. See *letter of Cardinal Vitelli, dated Rome, January 14, 1558 (Cod. Barb. lat. 5711, p. 59. Vatican Library); see also Navagero in BROWN, VI., 3, 1143, and the Avviso published by BAUMGARTEN in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XXV., 53 **seq.*, but wrongly attributed to the year 1556. Paul IV. allowed the Portuguese the veneration of their queen, Elizabeth, who had died as a tertiary of St. Francis (CASTALDO, 151). When it transpired, at the beginning of April, that the body of St. Venantius had been found at Camerino, the Pope spoke of going there personally, and on foot, to show his veneration for this saint. B. Pia *reports this to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, April 9, 1558 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* Bull, VI., 490 *seq.*; RIPOLL-BREMOND, V., 41 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*; BROMATO, II., 276.

possession of their new home. The Pope bought a large garden for the convent, and intended to rebuild the church, which was to be joined to the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a great flight of steps, similar to that of the Aracoeli. The work was only begun when Paul IV. died.[1] There was no place where he liked to be so well as with his Theatines on the Quirinal, and as late as April, 1559, he wished to retire thither for a longer stay.[2] On two occasions he honoured the convent by holding consistories there.

The direction of the Theatine order, the privileges of which were confirmed and added to, was undertaken by Paul IV. himself. On December 23rd, 1555, he dissolved the union with the Somaschi, which had not stood the test of time.[3] He liked, especially in his reform work, to make use of the Theatines, who, for the most part, kept modestly in the background. Giovanni Marinonio was to have been made Archbishop of Naples, but he refused so earnestly that Paul IV. had to give way. Bernardino Scotti also held out for a long time before he accepted the cardinalate; the Pope thought a great deal of him, and Scotti rendered him great service in the work of reform. Paolo Consiglieri, one of the four founders of the Theatines, was obliged to undertake the duties of maestro di camera, but he persistently refused to accept the purple.[4] It is scarcely necessary to mention here that Paul IV. also promoted the interests of the houses of the Theatines in Venice and Naples.[5] The Pope especially valued the Theatine, Geremia Isachino, as an outspoken counsellor, a man of prayer

[1] See Silos, I., 325 *seq.*; Castaldo, 147; Ancel, Disgrâce, 29. The inscription in S. Silvestro in Forcella, IV., 42.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 237, and the *Avviso of April 15, 1559 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] *Brevia Pauli IV. Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 170 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); original in the General Archives of the Theatines in Rome. *Cf.* Silos, I., 336 *seq.*

[4] Silos, I., 330 *seq.*; Bromato, II., 274 *seq.* Concerning Scotti's relations with Paul IV. see Masius, Briefe, 234, 249.

[5] Silos, I., 355. *Indulgenze di Paolo IV. per la casa de' Teatini a Napoli. (General Archives of the Theatines in Rome).

and of the strictest penitential life. Paul IV. had summoned him to Rome from Naples in 1556,[1] and later on entrusted him with the direction of the house of the Order.[2]

After the conclave, the Barnabites resolved to send their superior to the new Pope, and to offer themselves to him for every kind of service. Paul IV., who had already supported the new Order in every way in his power, greatly appreciated this proof of devotion, and promised them his protection in all things. The reputation of the Barnabites had, at that time, been so widely spread that they received invitations to found colleges, not only from Italian cities, but also from Portugal and Ireland. These invitations, however, were not accepted, partly from want of members, and partly in accordance with the principle of the founders of the Order, not to spread the congregation outside Milan. Finally, however, in 1557, they were induced to found a college in Pavia. Paul IV. confirmed this establishment, which, to his great joy, worked entirely in the spirit of Catholic reform.[3]

Paul III. had endeavoured to allay the continual disputes between the Capuchins and the Observants. The Capuchins could only accept Observants with the permission of their superiors, and the same prohibition held good for the Observants with regard to the Capuchins. After the death of Paul III. the Capuchins regarded this regulation as having lapsed; Julius III., however, renewed it for the Capuchins, and, on their complaint, on February 15th, 1551, for the Observants as well.[4]

[1] See the *letter of Navagero of January 4, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice.)

[2] Ancel, Disgrâce, 29; *cf.* Bromato, II., 222.

[3] See Barelli, 256, 258 *seq.*, 264, 266 *seq.* The attempt, already made in 1552, to unite the Barnabites with the Jesuits, was again renewed in August, 1559, but again failed; *cf.* Arch. stor. Lomb., XXXVIII. (1911), 152 *seq.*

[4] Bull. Capuc., I., 24. The *Congreg. ord. min. Ulixbon.* was given permission by Julius III. on October 4, 1552, to wear the "cuculla" of the Capuchins; see Wadding, XVIII., 514.

Already, in the first year of the reign of Paul IV.,[1] the differences between the two Orders had grown more acute. In order to protect himself the better against the accusations of his opponents, the Vicar-General of the Capuchins, who was confirmed in his office in 1555, did not leave the Eternal City for two years; it was only in 1557 that he began the usual visitation of his convents.[2] This Vicar-General, Thomas Tiferno, did not succeed in gaining access to Paul IV. until he had waited for six months; he then, at last, in 1558, succeeded in getting the confirmation of the Order and of its privileges which he asked for, but the Pope only granted them orally, and without a brief. While he was absent from Rome on his journey of visitation, proceedings against the Capuchins were again going on at the Curia. His adversaries had gained the powerful Cardinal Carafa on their side; the bull which pronounced the suppression of the Capuchins was already drafted, and there seemed no reason to doubt that Paul IV. would sign it, when the fall of the nephews took place. The chronicler of the Capuchins describes this storm against the new Order as the most severe it ever had to face, for the Capuchins had had no idea of the attack upon them, and had, therefore, been able to make no defence.[3]

The Society of Jesus had also to pass through critical days in the reign of Paul IV. On May 23rd, 1555, Ignatius of Loyola was in the middle of a conversation with P. Gonçalvez, when the sounds were heard which told that the Papal election was accomplished. It was soon known who the newly elected Pope was: Cardinal Carafa. When this name was uttered, Gonçalvez remarked that a cloud passed over the face of the

[1] Concerning the earlier relations of Paul IV. with the Italian Franciscan Observants, *cf.* the thorough and exact work of Ed. d'Alençon: G. P. Carafa, vesc. di Chieti (Paolo IV.) e la riforma nell' ordine dei Minori dell' Osservanza, Foligno, 1912, which is rich in documentary material.

[2] Boverius, 1555, n. 3 *seq.*, p. 527.

[3] Boverius, 1558, n. 3, p. 552 *seq.* "Nulla hac saevior tempestas, etc." (p. 553). The Cardinal is not named, but it was certainly Carafa.

founder of the Society of Jesus. Later on Ignatius himself acknowledged to a confidant, that all the bones of his body had trembled at that moment.[1] This election might indeed be the means of destroying the whole of his life's work.

Ignatius and Carafa had got to know one another in Venice, as early as 1536, and had exchanged their views on many points of the religious life. Many differences in their opinions had thus come to light.[2] Carafa conceived a deep prejudice against Ignatius, which soon became still more bitter.[3] These two men, so essentially different in character, had yet another hostile encounter when, in the years 1553-1555, the relatives of a Jesuit novice of noble family sought to induce him to leave the Order, and Carafa procured a Papal indult for them. Ignatius, by counter-representations, succeeded in getting the indult withdrawn. Carafa must have felt all the more hurt as he had thus received a rebuff in a matter which caused a considerable sensation in Rome.[4] Even before this, the list upon which the Cardinals wrote down their contributions for the support of the German College did not contain the name of Carafa.[5]

It was, therefore, no wonder that the news of Carafa's elevation filled Ignatius with apprehension. After a short prayer, however, he quite regained his self-possession, and now did all in his power to win the heart of the new Pope.[6] On May 25th he informed his brethren of the election, and praised the very distinguished qualities of the new head of the Church.[7] A few months later he gave an account of the Pope's zeal for

[1] "Todos os ossos se lhe reuoluérão no corpo." Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 198.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 24.

[3] *Cf.* ASTRAIN, II., 29 *seqq.*; NADAL, Epist., II., 15.

[4] A whole number of letters are concerned with this affair; *cf.* Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, vols. 5-10, Register s. v. Cesari; Epist. mixtae, vols. 3-5; POLANCO, vols. 3-6, Register s. v. Cesari.

[5] STEINHUBER, I., Tab. II.

[6] See GONÇALVEZ: Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 198.

[7] Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, IX., 75 *seq.*

reform, and of the kindness he had so far shown to the Society of Jesus.[1]

Indeed, Paul IV. seemed as Pope to have forgotten the irritability of Cardinal Carafa. The first Jesuit who visited him was Bobadilla. The Pope received him in the most friendly manner, and embraced and kissed him. He spoke to Cardinals Morone and Truchsess in very favourable terms of the new Order. He then summoned Ignatius, insisted on his talking to him with his head covered, walked up and down with him in friendly conversation, and granted the favour which Ignatius asked.[2] His actions also corresponded to his words. The Pope appointed Salmeron to accompany the nuncio Lippomano on his mission to Poland, and discussed his plans for reform with Bobadilla, who was ordered to give him his opinion quite frankly. Paul IV. thought still more highly of Lainez; he forbade him to leave Rome, as he needed his advice, had a special room prepared for him in the Vatican, and thought of raising him to the dignity of Cardinal.[3] As members of the other Orders were allowed to preach in the chapel of the Vatican on great festivals, before the Pope and Cardinals, the Jesuits first received this honour under Paul IV.[4] It specially pleased the Pope that the Jesuits gave instruction in Christian doctrine to the poor people in the streets of Rome, he used often to praise them highly on this account.[5]

In spite of all this, however, the mistrust with which Cardinal Carafa's mind had been filled soon again got the upper hand. While the relations between Rome and Spain were daily becoming more strained, a report arose that the Jesuits, who were nearly all Spaniards, were collecting arms, in order, under certain circumstances, to come to the assistance of their countrymen, and Paul IV. ordered a search to be made at their house. Ignatius did not lose his head at this unexpected

[1] *Ibid.* 463-468.
[2] Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, IX., 359-363.
[3] *Ibid.* X., 310 *seq.*, 419.
[4] *Ibid.* X., 438 and Massarelli, 304, 320.
[5] Nadal, Epist., IV., 496.

suspicion. The governor of Rome wished to refrain from making the investigation, if Ignatius gave his word that there were no weapons concealed in the house. Ignatius thanked him for his confidence in him, but insisted that the house should be thoroughly searched from top to bottom. The suspicion was thereby proved to be quite unfounded.[1]

The fact that Paul IV. did not further his favourite undertaking was a far greater trial to Ignatius than this occurrence. The Pope did nothing for the Roman College, which Ignatius cherished as the apple of his eye ; it is true that at first he made promises to provide it with revenues, but all hope of getting anything from him soon disappeared.[2] Paul IV. had no sympathy with the German College ;[3] the support given by Julius III. was not continued, and in consequence most of the Cardinals withdrew the contributions they had promised. The college therefore got into terrible difficulties, and was brought by the high prices of 1555 to the very brink of dissolution.[4] Even in September, 1555, Ignatius, being unable to receive nine young Bohemians, whom King Ferdinand had sent for the Germanicum, had to give them shelter in the professed house of the Jesuits.[5] The forty-eight young men who had been promised in the autumn of 1555 for the German College, had all to be refused. For two years no German entered the college.[6] As early as February in the same year even Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, the zealous champion of the Germanicum, was so discouraged that he wished to abandon the undertaking.[7]

The inflexible firmness with which Ignatius, with steadfast trust in God, held fast to what he had once begun, was proved in the most remarkable manner in this very difficult position Prices were so high in Rome that the Cardinals and wealthy

[1] Astrain, II., 32.
[2] Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, X., 533.
[3] Steinhuber, I., 33 *seqq.*
[4] *Cf.* Hosii epist., II., 673.
[5] Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 161 *seq.*
[6] Steinhuber, I., 34.
[7] Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 405.

nobles had to dismiss some of their attendants. In addition to the Germanicum, Ignatius had to support the Roman College, and the professed house. He had no money, and could obtain no loans from his friends or from the banks, on account of the exhausted state of credit. In spite of this he declared to his intimates that he would face the future with no less confidence than when Julius III. and Marcellus II. had promised him their support. The Roman College, he declared, would have overcome the worst of the present difficulties within six months,[1] and as for the German College, the time would come when it would possess too much rather than too little. Filled with this trust, he caused it to be intimated to Cardinal Truchsess that he would take the whole burden of the German College on his own shoulders, if the Cardinal should withdraw, and that he would sooner let himself be sold as a slave than give up his Germans.[2] And indeed good friends were raised up for him in his perplexities; the German students whom he could not receive in Rome, he distributed among the Jesuit colleges in Italy and Sicily, and there they were maintained like the other members of those houses.[3] It is true that the German students were, until 1558, reduced to a very small number, but when, in that year, they began to increase, Lainez combined a college for paying pupils of other nationalities with the Germanicum, and from the sums received from these the German students could be maintained[4]

It must have affected Ignatius even more painfully than the danger to his establishments in Rome, that he was to see his real life's work, the foundation of the Society of Jesus, just then fully completed, endangered at the end of his days. In view of the peculiar ideas of Paul IV., there was always reason to fear that he would unite the struggling Order with the Theatines, or alter its constitutions in such a manner that the special character of the Society of Jesus would be destroyed.

[1] Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 352, 404-405.
[2] *Ibid.* 257. STEINHUBER, I., 36.
[3] Mon. Ign. Ser. 4, I., 352, 404 *seq.* STEINHUBER, I., 36.
[4] STEINHUBER, I., 45 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*

These fears only took a definite form after the death of Ignatius.[1] Pending the election of a new General, Lainez had been chosen as his representative. When, in September, 1556, he appeared before the Pope and begged his blessing for the impending General Congregation of the Order, Paul IV. at first received him in a very friendly manner, but soon adopted a sterner tone; the General Congregation had to understand, he said, that they could decide nothing without the confirmation of the Pope; too much importance should not be attached to former Papal guarantees, for what one Pope had granted another Pope might repeal.[2] As the principal duty of the General Congregation was, apart from the election of a General, finally to arrange the constitutions of the order, it was quite plain what this remark portended. Harsh remarks of the Pope regarding the founder of the Order, who, he said, had been a tyrant, did not tend to improve matters.[3]

The Congregation had been fixed for the spring of 1557, but the Spanish Jesuits were unable to come at that time, since, on account of the war between Paul IV. and Philip II., all Spaniards were forbidden to go to Rome. The idea, therefore, occurred to the fathers assembled in Rome, of holding the Congregation in Spain.[4] This suggestion was very necessary, as it was of the greatest importance to the Order to have the constitutions, and, with them, the legal basis of its existence,

[1] *Cf.* for the following, ASTRAIN, II., 1 *seq.*, 7 *seqq.*; NADAL, Ephemerides (Epist. II., 12-16, 50-59) and the documents in NADAL, Epist. IV., 98-147, 729-734.

[2] Astrain II., 7.

[3] NADAL, Ephemerides (Epist. II., 50): "Erat enim minatus P. Ignatio: o colui, etc., Dixerat P. Ignatium tyrannice gubernasse societatem" (*cf. ibid.*, 54). Ignatius, he said, had been the idol of his followers (*ibid.*, 15).

[4] Already on October 28, 1556, Francis Borgia had written that they would rather have held the Congregation, say at Avignon, as Rome was too far from Spain (S. FRANC. BORGIA, III., 267). At the beginning of February, 1557, the Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits were all ready to start for Rome, when the fresh outbreak of war compelled them to remain (*ibid.*, 276, 279).

settled as soon as possible. On the other hand it was an exceedingly hazardous thing, on account of the war with Spain, to broach such a plan to the Pope. Paul IV., however, had raised no great objections when Lainez, in conversation with him, suggested the idea of a Congregation in Spain. Although most of the Jesuits assembled in Rome were at first decidedly opposed to the proposal, it was eventually almost unanimously accepted, provided the Pope did not refuse his permission.

In order to obtain this, Lainez again applied for an audience. Paul IV. received him kindly, and listened favourably to his reasons for the petition, but would not come to an immediate decision. Lainez, therefore, again presented himself at the Vatican after a few days. On this occasion, however, the Jesuit, otherwise so much respected by Paul IV., was refused admission to the presence of the Pope. He repeated his attempt a second and a third time, but the Pope was never able to receive him. At last, on June 20th, 1557, he met the Pope in a corridor in the Vatican, but Paul IV. walked past without deigning to cast a glance at him. Instead, he received orders through Cardinals Scotti and Reumano, to hand over the constitutions and rule of the Society of Jesus, as well as the Papal bulls; the Jesuits in Rome were, moreover, forbidden to leave the city without permission.

These unexpected orders came like a thunderbolt upon the house of the Jesuits, for the constitutions, the precious legacy of the founder of the Order, were in danger. Prayers and works of penance were ordered and readily undertaken, as if at the approach of a great misfortune.

The reason for this sudden change of front on the part of the Pope was to be found in one who was himself a Jesuit, Nicholas Bobadilla.

Bobadilla, one of the first companions of Loyola, was a man of difficult character, and had already caused considerable trouble;[1] he did not approve of the constitutions of the order,

[1] Characteristics in NADAL, Epist. II., 52 *seqq.*; ASTRAIN, II., 12 *seq.*

as drafted by Ignatius. They appeared to him to be a "labyrinth," and full of petty, unnecessary and over-difficult requirements,[1] and he therefore thought that they must be thoroughly revised and altered; moreover, he was not pleased with the election of Lainez as General-Vicar. He considered that it was to be gathered from the Papal bulls that the government of the Order was to pass, after the death of Ignatius, to the whole of the original founders who were still alive. He passed sharp criticisms on the manner of administration adopted by Lainez in many of his regulations, and believed above all that it had been highly indiscreet of him to keep on returning to the proposal of transferring the Congregation to Spain. Bobadilla found a supporter in the discontented Frenchman, Cogordan, who caused a hint to reach the ears of Paul IV. that they only wished to transfer the Congregation to Spanish soil, in order to be better able to arrange the constitutions and the election of the General as they thought fit.[2] Hence the anger of the Pope, which was expressed by the demand for the constitutions and the other documents.

Lainez displayed great activity and zeal in meeting the threatened storm. He had the arguments of Bobadilla refuted by those who understood the institute of the Society of Jesus best, and especially by Nadal.[3] As Bobadilla desired to have the matter settled by a legal decision of the Protector of the Order, Cardinal Carpi, Lainez was quite ready to present himself before the latter for judgment. It then appeared that Bobadilla himself was beginning to lose confidence in his own cause, and sought pretexts for not having to appear before the judge. Lainez therefore claimed a decision from the Cardinal Protector, apart from any question o law; this he received, to the effect that he was to remain General-Vicar, but with the obligation of taking counsel with the professed members of the Order in important questions. Nothing now remained for Bobadilla but an appeal to the Pope. In order to be before-

[1] NADAL, Epist. IV., 101, 110.

[2] Bobadilla's complaints *ibid.* 98 *seqq.*, 729 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 133-147.

hand with him, Lainez went himself to Paul IV. and asked him to let a Cardinal investigate the whole matter. The Pope listened to him very kindly, and even wished to leave the choice of the Cardinal to him. They at last decided on Cardinal Ghislieri.

A better choice could not have been made. Ghislieri went himself to the house of the Order, and personally examined the different fathers.[1] Bobadilla and Cogordan did not wait for the decision, but contrived to be sent to Foligno and Assisi on different work.

Paul IV. was exceedingly astonished when Ghislieri informed him of the petty nature of Bobadilla's complaints. The prohibition to leave Rome was now removed, and the constitutions and bulls were returned without alteration by the Cardinals entrusted with their examination. The General Congregation was postponed until May, 1558.

At length, after waiting almost two years, this assembly was able to meet on June 19th, 1558, in order to give the Order a new head.[2] At the very first ballot, thirteen of the twenty votes fell to Lainez. Paul IV. had sent Cardinal Pacheco to preside at the election. On July 6th, the Pope received the whole Congregation at an audience, when he spoke most kindly concerning the Order, and gave every father his blessing individually.[3]

The Congregation next turned to the examination of the constitutions of the Order. The question as to whether they were to be altered was decided by their agreeing that the statutes were "to be considered as fixed and binding, and to be observed as they were entered in the original copy of

[1] Bobadilla's judicial examination in NADAL, Epist. IV., 109 *seq.*

[2] Extracts from their documents (lost) in the *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., Florentiae, 1893, 151-188. Memorial for the Congregation by Francis Borgia in the *Mon. hist. Soc. Iesu*: S. FRANC. BORGIA, III., 342-353; Lainez' answer to it, *ibid.* 353-359.

[3] BRAUNSBERGER, II., 286-291. NADAL, Ephemerides in his Epist. II., 62.

Father Ignatius."[1] The Congregation even went so far as to forego their right to alter any essential point in the work of Ignatius.[2] The Congregation confined itself, therefore, to unimportant details alone, and to several drafts of regulations outside the constitutions, the sanction of which had not been settled by the founder.[3]

The work of the General Congregation was already approaching its end when, on August 24th, the Pope sent an order by Cardinal Scotti that they were to consider whether prayer made in common in choir should not be introduced into the Order, and whether the term of office of the General should not be limited to three years.

The fact that Ignatius had given up prayer in choir[4] as being incompatible with the object his foundation had in view, had given offence to many people. Dominic Soto, of the Order of Preachers, maintained that a religious body without prayer in choir did not deserve the name of an Order.[5] Paul IV. personally held similar views. During the audiences which Lainez had had with him relative to the General Congregation, the Pope had several times made reference to this point. When the constitutions were handed back on June 20th, 1557, Cardinal Scotti remarked that it would perhaps be advisable to confer with regard to the introduction of a choir into the Jesuit Order.

It was also not the first time that the life term of office of the General had attracted attention. Not long before the election of the General the Pope had been anxious to have an alteration in this matter considered. As, however, he had allowed perfect liberty with regard to it, the Congregation had declared that they wished to keep to the constitutions. Cardinal Pacheco had expressly remarked before the election that the General should be chosen for life, and Paul IV. had confirmed and praised the election.

[1] Tit. 2 decr. 15.
[2] Tit. 2 decr. 16.
[3] Tit. 4 decr. 72 *seqq.*
[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 77.
[5] See ASTRAIN, I., 184.

As, therefore, no express Papal command existed, and the bulls of Paul III. and Julius III. had confirmed the giving up of the choir and the duration for life of the office of General, the Congregation replied on August 30th to the renewed proposal of the Pope that they were ready to obey, but that, in so far as it rested with them, they wished to abide by the letter of the constitutions. Lainez and Salmeron were sent to Paul IV. with a memorandum which contained this declaration.[1]

This, however, was never delivered, but an extraordinary scene took place instead. Hardly had Lainez and Salmeron been admitted when the Pope himself began to speak. At first he spoke quietly, as if to himself: Ignatius had been a tyrant; he wished that, in future, the General's period of office should only last for three years, as was the custom of the Benedictines of S. Giustina, and those of Spain. With increasing excitement he then went on to speak about prayer in choir. The Jesuits were rebels because they would not accept it; they placed themselves in this respect, on the side of the heretics (que ayudavamos á los herejes en esto) and he feared that a devil would one day arise from among them. Prayer in choir was essential for religious orders, and was founded on a commandment of God, since it was said in the Psalms: Seven times a day I have given praise to thee. He was therefore determined to introduce the choir among the Jesuits. He emphasized his intention in the strongest terms, and those whom he was addressing declared: "he looked at us with a curious expression of the eyes, and with visible excitement."[2]

Paul IV. continued for some time in this tone, while the fathers knelt before him, but at last he allowed the two envoys to defend themselves, and visibly calmed down during the explanations of Lainez, and at the end bestowed on the two fathers, who were returning to their provinces, some objects

[1] The letter is in the documents of the first General Congregation. *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, congr. I., decr. 47.

[2] Lainez has described the scene in a document signed by him and Salmeron; copied in ASTRAIN, II., 613-614.

which he had blessed. Then he declared that Cardinal Alfonso Carafa would communicate his orders to the Congregation, which was done on September 8th. As the constitutions appeared in print in the same year, 1558, the Papal order with regard to the three years' duration of the office of General and to the choir, had to be added on the last page.[1]

These two regulations, however, were not yet made permanent laws; for this the forms required for the publication of an ecclesiastical law were still wanting. They were simply orders which ceased to be in force with the death of the person who issued them.[2] On the advice of able canonists, they gave up the prayer in choir after the death of Paul IV. After three years of office Lainez declared that he was willing to resign the generalship, but in this case also they acted on the principle that after the death of Paul IV. his regulation was no longer in force.[3] Besides this, Pius IV. expressly repealed the decree

[1] Copy of this last page in SOMMERVOGEL, Bibl., V., 76 *seq.* After the death of Paul IV. this page was replaced by another.

[2] Ecclesiastical law distinguishes between laws and (general and particular) orders. A law, in the first place, relates to a *territorium* and remains in force after the death of him who issued it. A particular order relates, in the first place, to persons, and according to the general opinion of canonists, lapses with the death of the person who issued it. The proceedings of Paul IV. in this case may be explained by the fact that he hesitated to alter the bulls of Paul III. and Julius III., and therefore wished to make the Jesuits adopt prayer in choir, and a three years' period of office for the General, on their own initiative, and that he expressed his displeasure by the order of September 8, that his repeated hints to this effect had not had the desired result. He certainly must have known that he could not alter, by a merely verbal indication of his wishes, what had been confirmed by the bulls of Paul III. and Julius III., unless he first expressly repealed the regulations of his predecessors.

[3] ASTRAIN, II., 36 *seqq.* *Mon. hist. Soc. Iesu:* S. FRANC. BORGIA, III., 576. Bobadilla had now become quite reconciled with Lainez, and to the Constitutions. He wrote to Lainez: "My wish, with regard to the position of the General, is that it may always be for life. In the case of your reverence, may it

of Paul IV. and confirmed the constitutions of the Order.[1]

last a hundred years, and if you should happen to come back to life after your death, may it last until the Day of Judgment!" ASTRAIN, II., 37.

[1] H. NATALIS, Scholia in Constitutiones, Prati, 1883, 275. S. FRANC. BORGIA, III., 671 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

Paul IV. and the Roman Inquisition.

The fiery zeal with which Paul IV. confronted the worldliness and corruption in the Church was even surpassed by his care for the protection of the true faith. From the very first, the preservation in all its purity and the defence of this precious gift seemed to be one of the principal tasks of the supreme ecclesiastical authority.[1] Having been raised to the throne of St. Peter, he meant, as the lawful shepherd and teacher appointed by God for the preservation of the full, pure and unalloyed truth, to use the whole of his power to defend it, all the more as the dangers by which it was threatened on every side became greater.

Even more than in his measures for reform, Paul IV. displayed, in his attacks on those who deviated from the true faith, that pitiless severity and impetuous violence which were characteristic of all his actions. If one should employ every means to stamp out the plague, even to the destruction by fire of infected houses and clothing, one should proceed in like manner in fighting and extirpating the plague of the soul, which is to be prized so much more highly than the body.[2]

[1] Besides Vol. X. of this work, p. 371 *seq.*, and Vol. XII., pp. 504-510, and *supra* Vol. XIII., p. 215, *cf.* the testimony of Cardinal Ant. Carafa in his *Apologia (National Library, Naples); see also the letter of Ignatius of Loyola of August 13, 1555, in the Mon. Ign., Ser. 1, IX., 465.

[2] Paul IV. spoke repeatedly to Navagero in this sense. See the latter's *report of May 1, 1556, in which he quotes the following words of the Pope: "L'heresia è da esser perseguitata con ogni rigor et asprezza come la peste del corpo, perche ella è peste dell' anima Se si appartano, si abbrugiano, si consumano li lochi, et robbe appestate, perchè non si dee con l'istessa severità

The terrible weapons which the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition, as reorganized by Paul III., opposed to heresy, such as imprisonment, execution, and the forfeiture of the estates of those condemned to death, had been, until now, used in a comparatively moderate and merciful manner. As no permanent success had been attained in this way, Paul IV. determined to meet the efforts of the Protestant propaganda to win over Italy to its side with all the means at his command. He proceeded methodically and according to plan, displaying in so doing, a severity that no less a person than the celebrated Augustinian, Seripando, has described as inhuman.[1] These ruthless proceedings had, as a consequence, the fact that, after the death of the Pope, the fury of the populace broke out, and vented itself principally on the buildings of the Inquisition In the course of the acts of devastation carried out there, the documents of this tribunal were, for the greater part, destroyed. The authentic sources have thus been lost, and little enough remains with which to replace them. Not even the number of cases tried, or even of the executions which took place, partly in the Piazza Navona, and partly in the Campo di Fiore and the Piazza Giudea, can now be stated with any degree of accuracy.[2]

estirpar, annichilar et allontanar l'heresia, morbo dell'anima, che val senza comparatione più del corpo" (Cod. 9445, f. 180 of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice). A similar utterance of Paul IV. to Navagero in JENSEN, G. P. Caraffa, Copenhagen, 1880, 137, n. 1. Whether the four rules which, according to CARACCIOLO, *Vita 3, 5 (afterwards in RANKE, I[6]., 137, with inexact quotation) Carafa prescribed for himself, in the treatment of heretics, are authentic, appears doubtful. I consider them a later compilation.

[1] MERKLE, II., 405; *cf.* our remarks in Vol. XII. of this work, p. 508 *seq.* It is also quite wrong when MORONI (XXXV., 46) maintains: "dolcissima e paterna fu sempre la condotta tenuta dal tribunale di Roma."

[2] The statements of CARACCIOLA, *Vita di Paolo IV., 4, 8 (Casanate Libr.) are insufficient, and not always reliable; they stand greatly in need of a critical investigation (*cf.* AMABILE, I., 138 n.). The statements of the *Libri delle giustizie della

The general decrees of the Inquisition escaped destruction in the troubles of August, 1559; they are preserved in the

confraternità di S. Giovanni decollato (now in the State Archives, Rome) upon which ORANO (p. 4 *seq.*) has drawn, are thoroughly reliable, but not complete. According to this source, there was executed in Rome, on the 15 Juni, 1556, Ambrogio de Cavoli di Milano (*cf.* the *letter of G. A. Calegari to Commendone, dated June 17, 1556: "Domenica alli 14 fu una solenne abiuratione de' heretici ne la Minerva; il lunedì seguente fu strangolato et arso un frate Ambrosio da Milano sfratato già più anni, non volse mai veder il crucifisso ne esser confortato." Lett. di princ., XXIII., n. 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican; *cf.* Arch. stor. Napol., 593, n. 4), on August 19, 1556, Pompouio de Algerio di Nola (*cf.* BROWN, VI., 3, App. n. 155; AMABILE, I., 166 *seq.*; DE BLASIIS in the Arch. stor. Napol., XIII., 569 *seqq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 19; VOLPICELLA, Racconti di stor. Napol., Naples, 1909, 27-88), on June 15, 1555, Gisberto di Milanuccio Poggio di Città di Penne, on February 8, 1559, Antonio di Colella Grosso della Rocca di Policastro, Leonardo di Paolo da Meola da Pontecorvo and Giovanni Antonio del Bo; one of these three, however, was no heretic, as is evident from the *Avviso of February 11, 1559 (see Appendix No. 52). *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 26, and TURINOZZI, 7. The burning of a Waldensian in 1558 is mentioned by BROMATO (II., 454). Carnesecchi was summoned to Rome on October 25, 1557, and as he refused to appear he was condemned in his absence on April 6, 1558. Particulars concerning him in a future volume of this work. With regard to the action against Andrea Centani, Bishop of Limosso and Cyprus, see, besides BUSCHBELL, 81, n. 6, the *Acta consist. cancell., VII., of February 4, 1558: *R. Saracenus proposuit unam causam contra episcopum Limosien. depositionis ipsius ab episcopatu propter heresim (Consistorial Archives). Concerning the further course of this affair see *Acta consist. of July 24 and August 9, 1559. According to Navagero (AMABILE, I., 141) about 60 prisoners were in the dungeons of the Inquisition at the death of Paul IV. (according to BROMATO [II., 577], there were 72). It can also be proved, not for Rome, but for Bologna, that witches were burned there by order of Paul IV.; see BATTISTELLA, Il S. Officio e la riforma religiosa in Bologna, Bologna, 1905, 168.

Archives of the Holy Office.[1] As these are, unfortunately, still closed to scientific research, a fortunate find in a private Roman library becomes all the more valuable. Two manuscripts of the princely house of Barberini contain the general decrees of the Roman Inquisition since the year 1555, from which the personnel of the tribunal and a number of important decisions may be gathered.

At the accession of Paul IV., four Cardinals, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Carpi, Puteo and Verallo belonged to the Holy Office as Inquisitors-General. Of these, only Toledo and Carpi took part in the sitting of the Inquisition which Paul IV. held on September 1st, 1555, at his summer residence in the palace of S. Marco. On this occasion, the long trusted commissary-general, Michele Ghislieri, and the assessor, Giovanni Battista Bizzoni, received from the Pope the same full powers to conduct legal proceedings in questions of faith against all persons, no matter how high their position, as those possessed by the Cardinal-Inquisitors.[2]

Paul IV. held a specially solemn sitting of this supreme tribunal of the faith on October 1st, 1555. Of the Cardinal-Inquisitors, Toledo, Carpi and Puteo were present; Verallo was absent on account of severe illness. The Pope had also summoned the highest officials of Rome to this sitting. Before these he made the following statement: After God had chosen him to be the head of the Church, he considered it his duty to place matters of faith before all others, for faith was the essence and basis of Christianity. He had arranged, therefore, that the Commission of the Inquisition should take precedence of all the other bodies in Rome, and its members should be respected by all the other officials accordingly. They were to

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 508. It is evident from a manuscript in the Classense Library, Ravenna, that other documents of the said archives also escaped destruction after the death of Paul IV. This manuscript contains: *Gabrielis patriarchae Alexandrini litterae ad Paulum IV. arabice scriptae ex ipsis originalibus quae cum sua versione latina in officio s. Rom. et univ. Inquisitionis servantur transcriptae.

[2] See PASTOR, Dekrete der römischen Inquisition, 14.

afford the members of the Inquisition every assistance, including that of the secular armed force. The favour of the Pope would depend upon the degree in which each of them promoted the work of the Inquisition.[1]

The three Cardinals named, as well as the commissary-general and the assessor, had been for years tried members of the Holy Office; there seemed, therefore, to be every guarantee that the tribunal would perform its duties with the severity which Paul IV. considered necessary as a defence against the religious upheaval. In spite of this, however, Paul IV. insisted on being present at all the principal sittings. On April 18th, 1556, the Thursday in each week was fixed for these.[2] Nothing was allowed to interfere with the Pope's taking part in these sittings, an innovation which attracted much attention.[3] The fulfilment of this duty seemed to him the most important of all. Navagero reports: "Of the three days which are devoted to the consistories, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and the two days for the court, Tuesday and Saturday, the Pope misses many, but he never fails to be present at the Thursday sitting of the Inquisition, in which he usually takes part personally, whatever may come in the way. I remember that at the news that Anagni had fallen, everyone in Rome flew to take up arms, and feared that their lives and property were in danger. The Pope, however, remained calm; it was the day for the Inquisition, and he spoke quietly of the matters that concerned it, as if there were not the slightest thought of war, or as if the enemy were not before the gates."[4]

All the other correspondents are also agreed that nothing lay so near to the heart of Paul IV. as his Inquisition.[5] In

[1] *Ibid.* 15 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 18.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of the Genoese ambassadors, Giustiniano Fiesco and Lorenzo Grimaldi, dated Rome, May 28, 1556 (State Archives, Genoa).

[4] NAVAGERO-ALBÈRI, 382.

[5] ADRIANI. (V. 239; *cf.* 344) says that he devoted the greater part of his time to it. *Il pontefice, writes Navagero on August 5, 1557, mangia ancor ritirato, pur vien detto che sta bene et

spite of the financial stress, he allotted 12,000 scudi for the renovation of the building in the Via Ripetta,[1] which was destined for it. By a Motu Proprio of February 11th, 1556, he invested this house with all the privileges enjoyed by the palaces of the Pope and the Cardinals, and gave the officials exemption from taxes.[2]

The number of the members of the tribunal was increased, in the autumn of 1556, to eight; besides Toledo, Carpi and Puteo, Cardinals Medici, Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano and Capizuchi now belonged to it.[3] The four last named, who had been raised to the purple by Paul IV., fully shared his strict views; Rebiba had, as commissary of the Roman Inquisition in Naples, given convincing proofs of this.[4]

It was decided on April 23rd, 1556, that whoever should prejudice the Inquisition by the violation of its secrecy should incur the sentence of excommunication, *latae sententiae*. A year later it was decreed that the members of the Inquisition who belonged to the clerical state, upon whose judgment and sentence the shedding of blood under torture or death should ensue, were liable to no censure or irregularity. On October 28th in the same year, the same exemption was extended to all the officials of the Holy Office.[5]

A witness worthy of belief testifies that Paul IV., at a sitting of the Inquisition, reminded the Cardinals how often he had made representations to Julius III. concerning the too

hoggi è stato nella congregatione sull' inquisitione fin 23 hore (Court Library, Vienna). This ardour was continually increasing.

[1] *De rebus novis urbis Romanae gestis (see *supra* p. 238). Manuscript in the Monastery Library, Zeitz.

[2] Motu Proprio of February 11, 1559 (Secret Archives of the Vatican); see Appendix No. 26. Concerning the situation of the house of the Inquisition see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 139.

[3] *Cf.* PASTOR, Dekrete 20. MASSARELLI, 302 must be rectified in accordance with this; he names only six Cardinal Inquisitors until January, 1557.

[4] See AMABILE, I., 214.

[5] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 18.

lenient proceedings of the tribunal.[1] Now, at any rate, exactly the opposite was the case. The Inquisition acted in such a manner that even strict Catholic critics expressed disapproval, and reminded them that in all the proceedings which their duty laid upon them charity to the sinner must not be lost sight of, a thing which Christ Himself had taught and practised.[2]

Fateful above all was the extension of the Inquisition's sphere of activity far beyond the domain of actual religious doctrine, which was given to it by Paul IV. Political matters, which, in Spain and also in many Protestant countries, were often combined with religious questions in proceedings against heretics, had hitherto been excluded from the Inquisition in Rome. Paul IV. paid no attention to this. In the war with Spain, Count Niccolò of Pitigliano, who belonged to the Orsini family, and who had commanded the Papal cavalry, was suspected of having an understanding with the enemy, and was taken to the Castle of St. Angelo as a prisoner of state. He was even kept there after the peace of Cave. The French ambassador, who, in October, 1557, intervened on behalf of the Count, learned that proceedings were to be taken against him by the Inquisition because he had had a Jewess as his mistress. On his asking whether he should be regarded as a heretic on that account, he was informed that the Count was accused of heresy because he had driven religious orders out of his territory and had held heretical opinions. The ambassador laid stress on the fact that the Count had proceeded against the religious as political traitors, and for the safety of his dominions, but not to promote heresy or to refuse respect to religion. The accusation, however, could not be proved, and the Count was eventually set at liberty.[3]

[1] See the declarations of Cardinal Reumano taken from the documents of the Carafa trial and quoted by Bruzzone in La Cultura, N.S.I. (1891), 434.

[2] See Seripando in Merkle, II., 405.

[3] *Cf.* Ribier, II., 671, 710, 715, 720. It may be assumed that the dispute with Philip II. also came before the Inquisition

A whole number of immoral misdemeanours, which had nothing to do with a court for the preservation of the Catholic faith, were also given over to the Inquisition for treatment and punishment, which necessitated a further increase of the officials of the tribunal. As early as October 17th, 1555, Paul IV. renewed the regulation of his predecessor, Julius III., that the crime of blasphemy should be dealt with by the Holy Office.[1] A decree of February 1556 laid it down that all those who had sinned against the commandment of fasting should be punished by the Inquisition.[2] The authorities also inform us that those guilty of outrages on maidens, procurers and sodomites were to be brought before the same tribunal.[3]

Not only the punishment of these and other similar crimes, but also everything which the Pope described as "simoniacal heresy," such as the sale of the sacraments, the ordination of those under age, and abuses in the matter of benefices, were all to be dealt with by the Inquisition. "We are of opinion," said Paul IV., in July, 1557, "that no tribunal is more honourable or works with greater zeal for the glory of God than the Inquisition, and we have therefore resolved to refer everything to it that is connected with the articles of faith or can be brought into relation with them."[4] The increase of the members of the tribunal to fifteen Cardinals was certainly in con-

(see Brown, VI., 3, App. n. 167), as it was also connected with ecclesiastical matters; *cf. supra* p. 127.

[1] See Pastor, Dekrete, 17.

[2] Navagero reported on February 16, 1556: *Sua Stà a fatto far un bando che siano commessi al inquisitione colloro che non farano la quadrigiesima, eccetti li amalati, a quali sia licito romperla con consenso de' medici et con licentia delli deputati a tal cargo; ha commesso similmente all' inquisitione li biastematori (Cod. Marc. 9445, f. 120b. Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[3] See the *Avviso of August 21, 1557 (Vatican Library) in Appendix No. 39 and Nonciat. de France, I., xxix *seq.*; also Orano, xiv. and Pastor, Dekrete, 18.

[4] See Navagero's *report of July 16, 1557 (State Archives, Venice), translated in Brown, VI., 2, n. 966; *cf. supra* p. 203.

nection with this.[1] On October 21st, 1557, all the powers which the members of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro and the Penitentiary possessed with regard to the absolution of simony were recalled. On November 25th Paul IV. decreed that simonists should in every case, even in questions of civil law, be treated as heretics.[2] In December in the same year he transferred the whole of the matters dealing with reform to the same dreaded tribunal.[3] On July 16th, 1556, it was ordered that in future, no one was to found an Order without permission from the Inquisition.[4]

The Inquisition was in this way overloaded with an immense amount of business foreign to its work; its functions were chiefly to act as the supreme court of morals.[5] Even a painter

[1] In the exceedingly rare *Index auctorum et librorum qui ab officio s. Rom. et univ. Inquisitionis caveri mandantur* (RIMINI, 1559; *cf.* HILGERS, 492), of which only one copy (Rome, Bibl. Alessandrina, N., f. 204) is preserved. it is stated on p. 27 that the *Nomina ill. rev. cardinalium inquisit. general. per univers. orb. christ. contra haeretic. pravit. a S. Sede Ap. deputatorum* are: Carpi, Pacheco, Saraceni, Puteo, Scotti, Diomede Carafa (also named again later on!) G. Savelli, G. Asc. Sforza, Rebiba, Reumano, Capizuchi, V. Rosario, Ghislieri, Dolera and Medici. The oldest member of the tribunal on the list is Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, who died on the 14/15 September, 1557. As Cardinal Pacheco only received the title S. Balbinae, which he bears in this list, on September 20, 1557, the list must have been drawn up between September 15 and 20, 1557. At the end of 1558 the young Cardinal Alfonso Carafa was called into the Inquisition, which was considered a special mark of distinction: "dove non si soleva admettere se non li vecchi." *Avviso of December 3, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 355. Vatican Library).

[2] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 22 *seq.*

[3] See *supra* p. 207 *seq.*

[4] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 19 *seq.*

[5] On November 20, 1557, Bernardino Pia reports to Cardinal E. Gonzaga from Rome: *Non heri l'altro in congregatione d'inquisitione S.S.tà fece un ragionamento molto longo contra a ruffiani di donne dishoneste et de' giovanetti, et vuole che la Sma Inquisitione severissimamente proceda contra quelli et

who had designed a crucifix which appeared improper, was summoned before the Inquisition, and tortured![1] The greatest terror was aroused, as all the strict machinery which was directed against heresy, was now set in motion against the simonists.[2] These terrors were increased when, not only obstinate heretics, but also sodomites and polygamists were liable to be condemned to death.[3]

If the great extent of the moral corruption which the Renaissance period had left in Rome,[4] allows such sharp measures on the part of Paul IV. to appear intelligible, it is quite incomprehensible that he should also have had all matters connected with reform placed under the Inquisition. What required improvement in this connection had sprung from such complicated relations, and had branched out into so many ramifications, that the original character of the tribunal,

massimamente contra i padri, madri e fratelli che ne fanno professione in servigio delle loro figliuole o sorelle (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] See the report of the Portuguese ambassador of December 10, 1558, in the Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 73.

[2] The Acta consist. cancell. VII. for October 11, 1557, report an example: *Commissio causae contra Io. Franc. Poliasca, episcopum Lunen. et Sarzan. . . . Et quia materia concernebat materiam symoniacam S^tas^ Sua cognitionem et decisionem causae quoad symoniam commisit officio sanctissimae inquisitionis (Consistorial Archives).

[3] See the *Avviso of February, 11, 1559 (Vatican Library). This procedure against sodomites was transferred to the Inquisitors, Rebiba and Ghislieri, on November 25, 1557 (see PASTOR, Dekrete, 23). It is evident from the exceedingly rare work of ALBITIUS: De inconstantia in iure admittenda vel non (Amstelaedami, 1683, 349) that a decree of Paul IV. of June 17, 1559, laid it down "quod miscentes in sortilegiis hostiam consecratam debent etiam pro prima vice tradi brachio seculari."

[4] Sodomy and blasphemy appeared to the Romans to be habitual crimes, which ought not to be punished severely (see the Avviso in Challoner's report in STEVENSON, I., n. 1287). *Cf.* Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital. II. 141 *seq.* to see what immoral lives were led by the students of that period.

founded for the maintenance in purity of matters of faith, was completely lost sight of by reason of these new measures, and a quite unnatural preponderance in the ecclesiastical organization had to be conferred on it. Besides, what might not be understood under the term "simoniacal heresy?" Was it not possible for men to be persecuted as heretics, who had really only been guilty of want of prudence?

The right, already bestowed upon the Inquisitors by Paul III., of delegating in all places far-reaching powers to clerics who were experienced in theology or jurisprudence, was extensively employed by Paul IV. He particularly made use for this purpose of the Dominicans, to whom the task of discovering heretics had long been entrusted. He sent out Dominicans as early as June, 1555, and again in October, 1557, with the title of Commissary-General, who, limited to no fixed districts, were to take measures against the spread of heresy. They had powers to proceed against anyone whose opinions appeared to be open to suspicion, even against bishops, archbishops and patriarchs; they were also to rouse the bishops and inquisitors who seemed to be inactive in the discharge of their duties, to a more strict observance of them.[1]

Paul IV. greatly valued the Dominican, Michele Ghislieri, whom Julius III., in 1551, had appointed as commissary-general of the Roman Inquisition. Ghislieri did everything that lay in his power to meet every danger which threatened the purity of the faith. Of the correspondence which he carried on with the Inquisitors, only that with the Inquisitor of Genoa, the Dominican, Girolamo Franchi, consisting of about fifty letters, from 1551 to 1559, has been preserved.[2] From

[1] See, Ripoli, Bull. praed., V., 43 *seq.*; Bromato, II., 457.

[2] I discovered this important source, which Buschbell as well as Rosi (La riforma religiosa in Liguria: Atti d. Soc. Lig., XXIV., 557 *seq.*) have overlooked, in the *Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa. The Codex, which also contains a number of documents from the time of Pius IV., to which I shall return later, comes originally from the archives of the Genoese

these, mostly autograph letters of Fra Michele Alessandrino, as Ghislieri was called, after his birthplace, we can see how indefatigable he was in the discharge of his duties. This correspondence was concerned principally with members of the religious orders in the district of Genoa, who had wandered from the faith; one letter is concerned with disseminators of heresy in the Island of Chios.[1] As soon as an investigation was instituted, Ghislieri directed his attention, above all, to getting acquainted with the accessories. The remark of Ghislieri's biographer, that he was exceedingly severe in obstinate cases, but mild to those who repented,[2] is borne out by these original documents. A letter of June 20th, 1556, is of interest; in this, in agreement with the Roman Inquisition, and even with Paul IV., the punishment of the galleys is only recommended for those ecclesiastics whose flight cannot be prevented in any other way. Those concerned should be made to wear the yellow dress with the red cross for some years, deprived of the power of hearing confessions and preaching, and enclosed in a monastery, where fasting and prayer should be imposed on them as a penance. The punishment of the galleys should only be employed for the Marani, who had, for the most part, only the intention of deceiving the credulous, and for incorrigible rogues.[3]

The future saintly Pope, Pius V., gives expression to his sentiments in various letters, in which the patient bearing of calumny is recommended, as the calumniator thereby injures himself more than his victim. Whoever wishes to serve God and the Holy Office, says Fra Michele, on September 3rd, 1556, to the Inquisitor of Genoa, must not fear threats, but only God, and must keep truth and justice before his eyes, come

Inquisition, which were dispersed in 1797. Rosi (*loc. cit.*, 595) only knew of the few fragments which have reached the State Archives in Genoa; "le altre," he says, "presero vie che non abbiamo potuto scoprire."

[1] See the **letter of November 11, 1557.

[2] Maffei, Vita di Pio V., 1, 7, p. 35.

[3] See the *letter of June 20, 1556, in Appendix No. 31.

what may.[1] When Paul IV. raised[2] this man, who was so indefatigable in combating heresy, to the bishopric of Sutri and Nepi, on September 4th, 1556, he took care not to withdraw him entirely from his former activities.

As the office of commissary-general of the Inquisition could not be united to that of a bishop, Ghislieri was appointed prefect of the palace of the Inquisition.[3] The reception of Ghislieri into the Sacred College in March, 1557, brought with it a further change in his position, and an extension of his authority. On December 14th, 1558, Cardinal Alessandrino was raised to the position of Grand Inquisitor of the Roman Church for life. This office was, in future, like that of the Grand Penitentiary, only to be filled by a member of the Sacred College, and was, moreover, to continue after a vacancy occurred in the Papal throne. All the Inquisitors, delegates as well as bishops, were to look upon the Grand Inquisitor as their supreme head, in all matters connected with questions of faith.[4]

Anxiety for the preservation of the faith in all its purity was also the reason for the exceedingly strict regulations which Paul IV. enacted against the Jews, at the very beginning of his reign. The natural reaction against the great, and in many

[1] See the *letters of August 29 and September 3, 1556 (University Library, Genoa) in Appendix Nos. 32 and 33.

[2] M. Ghislieri resists the acceptance of this dignity ; see Soriano in ALBÈRI, Relaz., Ser. 2, IV., 200 *seq.*

[3] MAFFEI, Pio. V., 38 *seq.*

[4] Ghislieri was not, as BENRATH (Herzog's Realenzyklopädie, XV³., 439) states, appointed "Commissary-General" of the Inquisition by Paul IV., but *inquisitor maior et perpetuus*. The passage in question from the Acta consist. has already been quoted by MAFFEI (Pio V., 45), but with the wrong date of September 14, which is also given by BROMATO (II., 458). The correct date : *die mercurii* 14 *Decembris*, 1558, is in the *Acta consist. cancell., VII., 136ᵇ (Consistorial Archives). *Die martis* 15 *decemb.*, 1558, in RAYNALDUS, 1555 n. 23 is an error. The taking of the oath by Ghislieri took place on December 16, 1558 (see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 38). The statement of FIRMANUS (p. 512) is thus explained.

cases certainly excessive, indulgence which the Popes of the Renaissance period, especially Alexander VI., Leo. X., and lastly Paul III., had shown to the Jews, was already making itself felt under Julius III. Paul IV. went much further than his predecessor. His bull of July 14th, 1555, ordained that, for the abolition of the prevailing abuses, the Jews in Rome, and in the other cities of the States of the Church, should live quite apart from the Christians, in a quarter or street possessing only one entrance and exit. It was further decreed that not more than one synagogue should be allowed in any city; the Jews were not allowed to acquire any real estate, and were to sell any such in their possession to Christians within a fixed period. As a distinguishing mark they had to wear a yellow head-dress. They were forbidden to keep Christian servants, to work in public on Christian holydays, to enter into close relations with Christians, to draw up mock contracts, to make use of another calendar, or to use any other language in their commercial affairs than Italian or Latin. Pledges on which they had lent money were not to be sold until eighteen months after the payment had become due. Finally the Jews were not to trade in grain or any other article for human consumption, they were not to treat Christians in the capacity of physicians, they were not to allow themselves to be addressed as Sir by poor Christians, and they were to observe strictly the communal laws of any place in which they were living.[1]

The carrying out of these strict regulations was taken in hand at once. At the end of July, 1555, the Jews first appeared in their yellow hats, which they also had to wear in Venice. Many of them preferred to dress entirely in yellow, so that the sign might be less noticeable. They had offered the Pope

[1] Bull. VI., 498 *seq.* The contents of the bull are very frequently not given correctly, even in REUMONT, III., 2, 532. *Cf.* ERLER in the Archiv für Kirchenrecht, LIII., 46 *seq.*, in which Grätz is justly reproached with having accepted the statement, which is in such bad taste, of the Jewish historian, Joseph ha Cohen. VOGELSTEIN-RIEGER (II., 152) date the bull on July 12, and complain that Paul IV. has been canonized! The wrong date is also in BERLINER, II., 2, 3; *ibid.* 5 the order for carrying out the wearing of the head-dress.

40,000 scudi for the withdrawal of the bull, but in vain.[1] In the autumn, a beginning was made in Rome with the marking off of a strictly separate quarter of the city, such as already existed in Venice. This Jewish quarter, which was enclosed by walls, was situated in the low-lying river district, extending from the Theatre of Marcellus and the Ponte Quattro Capi up the river as far as the palace of the Cenci, while its width lay between the Tiber and the ruins of the Portico of Octavia.[2]

The bull was carried out in Bologna as early as August, 1555, the Ghetto there receiving the name of Inferno.[3] The sale of

[1] See the contemporary report in the Rev. des études juives, XX., 68; *cf.* MASIUS, Briefe, 515; BERLINER, II., 2, 7; RODOCANACHI, 40 *seq.*; see also Cartas de S. Ignacio, V., 288 *seq.*

[2] I find in the *Introitus et exitus 1555 (State Archives, Rome) marked on p. 94: "13 Sept. scuta 100 Silvestro de Peruzzis architecto pro fabrica muri pro claudendo Iudaeos"; p. 99: 9 Octob. "scuta 100" to the same; p. 108: 14 November, again "scuta 100" to the same for the same purpose (*cf.* BERLINER, II., 2, 4-5; RODOCANACHI, 41). In the letter quoted *supra* p. 239, n. 2, *De novis, etc., in the Monastery Library, Zeitz. it is stated on April 17, 1559: "Iudaei separatim vivunt." Concerning the Roman Ghetto see MORONI, XXI., 23 *seqq.*, who gives more details than GREGOROVIUS, Wanderjahre, I., 95 *seqq.* *Cf.* concerning the Ghetto, also Histor.-polit. Bl., LVII., 515 *seq.* Gregorovius derives the name Ghetto, which came into use later—the old name is *vicus iudeorum*—from the Talmudistic "ghet" separation. Others say it is an abbreviation of "traghetto" a side street, in which the idea of separation is suggested. It is certain that the word is of Venetian origin. The Ghetto there is supposed to be the oldest (*cf.* ZANGWILL, Dreamers of the Ghetto, Leipsic, 1899); it was far more enclosed and separated than that of Rome, which was done away with by Pius IX., and completely pulled down in 1887. The work of NATALI, Il Ghetto di Roma (Rome, 1887) tells nothing new, but RODOCANACHI (43 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*) makes many useful statements.

[3] See BATTISTELLA, S. Officio in Bologna 148. A *letter of the Bolognese concerning their Ghetto, dated January 18, 1556, in the Papal Secret Archives, Castle of St. Angelo, Arm. 8, ordo 2, t. 3, p 62.

the real estate belonging to the Jews in the States of the Church realized half a million scudi, which was only about a fifth of its real value.[1]

Paul IV. caused two learned Jewish converts, the Dominican, Sixtus of Siena, and Joseph Moro, to preach to the Jews, so that they might be converted.[2] As many Jews embraced Christianity,[3] Paul IV., in March, 1556, renewed the regulation of Julius III., that a tax should be imposed on the municipalities of the States of the Church, for the support of the Roman house of catechumens.[4]

Paul IV. had granted the Jews of Ancona some alleviations in the interests of the trade of the city.[5] As they seized upon the fortunes of the Christians by means of usury, and committed deeds of violence at their expense,[6] he caused a Ghetto to be erected there as well in February, 1556.[7] The stricter measures adopted against the Jews there[8] were connected with the proceedings of the Portuguese Marani. It had already become evident in the autumn of 1555 that many of these new Christians had only been pretended converts.[9] The Inquisition therefore decided, in a sitting of October 1st, 1555, held in the presence of the Pope, to take sharp measures against those who relapsed.[10] A Neapolitan was sent to Ancona as

[1] Vogelstein-Rieger, II., 154.

[2] *Cf.* Grätz, VIII., 366.

[3] See the letter quoted *supra* p. 239, n. 2, *De novis, etc., in the Monastery Library, Zeitz.

[4] See the *briefs to the Duke of Ferrara and the Duke of Urbino of March 20, 1556 (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 343. Secret Archives of the Vatican) and the bull of March 23, 1556. Bull., VI., 509.

[5] See the *brief of September 28, 1555, in the Communal Archives, Ancona; *cf.* Leoni, Ancona illustr., Ancona, 1832, 291.

[6] See the *brief to Genoa of December 11, 1555 (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 258. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[7] *Cf.* Rev. des études juives, III., 95.

[8] See the brief of March 23, 1556, in Ancona illustr., Ancona, 1870, 240.

[9] See the brief (quoted *supra* n. 6) of December 11, 1555.

[10] See Pastor, Dekrete, 16.

commissary, but he allowed himself to be bribed and then took to flight.[1] On April 30th, 1556, the Roman Inquisition decided that the Marani settled in Italy, who had become converts only for show, should be punished as apostates.[2] A new commisary now made a thorough investigation in Ancona, and arrested the guilty persons; twelve of these, and according to other authorities, twenty-four, were burned,[3] forty-two others, who were less guilty, succeeded, by paying considerable sums, in getting the death sentence commuted to the punishment of the galleys for life. A letter of the Sultan Soliman to the Pope, pointing out that there were Turkish subjects among the prisoners, and threatening reprisals on the Christians in Turkey, was not without effect.[4]

Many Marani from Ancona had fled to Ferrara and Pesaro, which belonged to Guidobaldo della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. The Duke hoped to divert trade to Pesaro by means of these. At first this seemed likely to succeed; the Levantine Jews boycotted the port of Ancona, which suffered so severely in consequence, that the city appealed to the Pope for protection;[5] the Jews of the place also joined in the petition. Paul IV., who had already requested the Duke of Urbino to hand over to the Inquisition the Marani who had fled to his dominions,

[1] See the brief quoted *supra* p. 274, n. 6.

[2] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 18.

[3] The attempt of C. GARIBALDI (Un asserto autodafé sotto Paolo IV., Bologna, 1876) to make out that this burning is a fable, will not stand the test; *cf.* FEROSO in the Arch. stor. per le Marche, I., 689 *seq.* and D. KAUFMANN in the Rev. des études juives, XI., 149 *seq.* They have both overlooked Navagero's statement (BROWN, VI., 1, n. 463) which gives the number of those burned as 24. A brief of May 30, 1556, to the commissary of the Inquisition in Ancona in FONTANA, 440 *seq.*

[4] The Sultan's letter (dated 9 Marzo A° del profeta 963 [— 1556], in an Italian translation of the time, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Castle of St. Angelo, Arm. 8, ordo 2, t. 3, p. 80 *seq.*, printed in the Lett. de' princ., I., 190 *seq.*; *f.* MAKUSCEV, Mon. Slav. merid., I., 29; Nonciat. de France, II., 510 n.) gave rise to the talk of a direct alilance with the Pope; see *supra* p. 142.

[5] The Memoriale in FEROSO, *loc. cit.*, 693 *seq.*

now made further representations to Guidobaldo della Rovere, which were only successful in 1558. The Duke of Ferrara was also requested in the same year to drive out these "faithless and deeply detestable" renegades. At the same time the Inquisitor, Ghislieri, requested the Duke to take steps against a pamphlet being circulated in Ferrara in praise of those burned at Ancona.[1] Paul IV. had also ordered the destruction of Talmudistic and anti-Christian books of the Jews. Not only in Rome, but also in Cremona, great numbers of the Talmud were seized and burned by an envoy of the Inquisition, with the permission of the Spanish government.[2]

[1] See FONTANA, 435 *seq.*; CIBRARIO, Lett. di Santi, 11 *seq.*; GRÄTZ, IX., 349 *seq.*; FEROSO, *loc. cit.*, 707 *seq.* Kaufmann has referred to the treatise in the Rev. des études juives, XI., 150 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, XX., 47 *seq.* concerning the attempts of the Marani in the territory of Urbino to flee to Turkey. There was also a question of pretended Christians dealt with by the Portuguese Inquisition, with the affairs of which Paul IV. had been much occupied since the beginning of his pontificate (see SANTAREM, XII., 431, 443 *seq.*). On April 18, 1559, Catherine, the Queen Regent of Portugal, addressed a letter to Paul IV., begging him to institute a reorganization of the Inquisition in Portugal (Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 142). In accordance with this request the regulation issued by Paul III. (see Vol. XII. of this work, p. 47) was to be repealed, as Portugal had already vainly requested (see SANTAREM, XIII., 19, 23). Paul IV. at first refused absolutely (Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 193, 195 *seq.*); finally, however, the Portuguese ambassador succeeded in inducing him to change his mind. A brief in conformity with the wishes of the Portuguese government had already been drawn up (*cf.* SANTAREM, XIII., 59) when the sharp eye of Paul IV. detected a mistake in it, so that everything was once more in doubt when Paul IV. died (see Corpo, VIII., 195 *seqq.*; SANTAREM, XIII., 62); Paul IV. repeatedly ordered ecclesiastical revenues to be applied to the furtherance of the Portuguese Inquisition; see *Regesta Later. 1837, p. 240, 275 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, *Vita, 4, 11; ERLER, *loc. cit.*, 49; REUSCH, I., 48; VOGELSTEIN-RIEGER, II., 156 *seq.*; BERLINER, II.,

Gian Pietro Carafa had already recommended a war of destruction on all bad books in his memorial to Clement VII., because they, in conjunction with bad sermons and an immoral manner of life, were the real source of heresy.[1] Our information as to the far-reaching efficacy of his work in this direction is not as complete as could be desired. It is evident from a letter of Michele Ghislieri, the commissary-general of the Inquisition, to the Inquisitor at Genoa on June 27th, 1557, that Ghislieri had to urge moderation. To forbid such books as Ariosto's Orlando, or the Cento Novelle, Ghislieri describes, with perfect justice, as ridiculous.[2]

In September, 1557, a very long list of heretical books, which were to be burned, was prepared by the Inquisition. The Venetian ambassador reported at this time that Paul IV. had enjoined that the destruction of these books should only be carried out by degrees, so that the booksellers should not suddenly experience too great a loss. Two Cardinals were to make inquiries into the rights of the booksellers. Among the books to be destroyed immediately were all the works of Erasmus; also certain books not dealing with theological

2, 8 *seq.*, and Zensur und Konfiskation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaat, Frankfurt, 1891, 4 *seq.*

[1] See Vol. X. of this work, p. 421.

[2] The very interesting letter is as follows :—

*Rev^{do} padre. Li mando lo esamine di fra Eggidio . . . Di prohibire Orlando, Orlandino, cento novelle et simili altri libri più presto daressemo da ridere ch' altrimente, perche simili libri non si leggono come cose a qual si habbi da credere, ma come fabule, et come si legono ancor molti libri de gentili come Luciano, Lucretio et altri simili : nondimeno se ne parlarà nella congregatione de' theologi et poi a S.S.^{tà} et alli rev.^{mi} Pregate il Signore che ne ispiri a fare quanto sii spediente et alle sue oratione mi racommando.

Di Roma li xxvii. di giugno M.D.L. vii.

Di V. R. P^{ta} Fra Michele Alessandrino.

[Address] Al molto rev^{do} padre fra Geronimo de Genova contra l'heretica pravità Inquisitore [padr.] oss°. Genova a S.^{to} Dominico (Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa).

subjects, such as those of Machiavelli and Poggio's Facetiae.[1] A first copy of the Index was prepared in 1557 by Antonius Bladus, but was not published.[2] In February, 1558, a commission of Cardinals discussed the matter.[3] On December 21st a Papal bull appeared, revoking all permissions granted to read forbidden books, the only exceptions being the Inquisitors-General, and the Cardinals to whom a special permit had been issued by the Pope.[4]

In the meantime Bladus had prepared a new and improved edition of the Index. What had leaked out with regard to its contents was of such a nature that all the booksellers were in a state of the greatest consternation. Representations were made to the Inquisition from various quarters, including the Jesuit, Nadal, in consequence of which the Inquisition issued a decree with the new Index, which somewhat modified its extreme severity.[5] In spite of this, the decisions, which came into force at the turn of the years 1558-1559, were so arbitrary that no less an authority than Canisius described the list, on account of its strictness, as a stumbling-block.[6] This judgment was not too strong.

The new Index—"A List of Authors and Books against which the Roman and Universal Inquisition orders all Chris-

[1] See Navagero's report of September 7, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 1024, which Reusch as well as Hilgers has overlooked. Preparatory work for the Index in *Concilio LXXIV. (Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* Röm. Quartalschr., XVII., 296 *seq.*

[2] See HILGERS, 490 *seq.*; REUSCH, The "Indices librorum prohibitorum" of the 16th century, Tübingen, 1886, 176 *seqq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of February 5, 1558: *Si è fatto una congregatione in casa del card. di Trani sopra le cose dell' heresia et libri heretici. (Vatican Library).

[4] SCHELHORN, Samml. für die Gesch., I., 143. FONTANA, 448 *seq.* A similar regulation of April 14, 1559, with regard to heretical books in the Editti, V., 30, 2 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See HILGERS, 8 *seq.*, 198, 489 *seq.* and Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXVIII., (1911), 118 *seq.*, where the statements of Reusch are corrected.

[6] BRAUNSBERGER, II., 380.

tians to be on their guard, under the threat of Censure and Punishment"—distinguishes three classes of books, each in alphabetical order. The first class contains the names of those authors who have, as it were, erred "ex professo," wherefore the whole of their works, even when they contain nothing about the faith, are absolutely forbidden. Erasmus is specially mentioned in this connection. In the second class were the names of authors, of whose books only certain ones had been condemned, because experience had shown that they occasionally led persons to heresy, to a kind of insidious atheism, or above all to intolerable errors. In the third class the names of books were given, which contained pernicious doctrines, and had, for the most part, been composed by anonymous heretics. In the introduction it was stated that all books which had been written by heretics, or should in future be written by them, or published in the name of, or under the designation of heretics, were forbidden. Further, in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent, of April 8th, 1546, all writings which had appeared during the last forty years without stating the author, printer, and the date and place of publication, even should they not treat of religion, were forbidden; moreover, for the future, the same was to apply to all books that were published without ecclesiastical permission. In a supplement to the Index it was decreed, with regard to a number of Latin editions of the Bible, and all translations of the New Testament into the vernacular, that they were not to be printed, read or kept, without the permission of the Inquisition. Finally, a list of sixty-one printers was added, the whole of whose publications were forbidden.[1]

[1] See REUSCH, I., 263 *seq.*, where details are given concerning the contents, compilers and sources of this first Roman Index; *ibid.*, 369, concerning the prohibition of the writings of Savonarola, and the deliberations before Paul IV. previous to the prohibition (*cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 5, XXVIII., 288 *seq.*). Machiavelli was published abroad, in consequence of the Index of 1557 (see Arch. stor. Ital., XIX. [1896], 126 *seq.*). Boccaccio's Decameron was forbidden with a similar formula "donec corrigatur" (see REUSCH, I., 389). Concerning the proceedings

The carrying into effect of these regulations, which undoubtedly went too far, was at once begun in Rome and Bologna. In both cities the Inquisition caused a great number of heretical books to be burned.[1] Cardinal Ghislieri had repeatedly to dissuade the Inquisitor at Genoa from measures which were too strict and hasty;[2] he naturally insisted, however, on the carrying out of the Index. Where there was no Inquisitor the bishops had to take the matter in hand.[3]

Not only the booksellers, but scholars as well, everywhere

against Erasmus see also PIRENNE, III., 487, n. 2, and Histor. Zeitschr., XC., 176. *Cf.* JORIS in the Wissenschaftl. Beilage der Germania, 1908, No. 48, to see how Lucian came on to the Index of Paul IV. Two licenses of the Inquisition in 1559 with regard to Italian translations of the Bible in the magazine, *Romania*, XXIII., 416.

[1] For Rome see FIRMANUS, 513, and TURINOZZI, 6; for Bologna, *Serapeum*, III., 155.

[2] On January 7, 1559, Cardinal Ghislieri wrote from Rome to G. Franchi: *I libri d' humanità de buoni autori, riconosciuti, scholiati o commentati da altri reprobati nell' Indice, si possono concedere deletis delendis, si come anche si concedono i libri de santi dottori. On February 10, 1559, the following instructions were sent to Franchi: *Rev^do padre. Oltre l'altre cose mi sono occorse scrivere a V. R.^za con quest' ordinario, mi rimane hora dirle che, per non illaqueare nelle censure molte anime circa l'esshibition de libri prohibiti per causa di un termino troppo repentino, potraà prefigerli uno over due mesi di tempo dalla publicatione dell' Indice, et spirato quello, prorogarli poi anco di più quendici altri giorni, acciochè non siano escusabili se in detto tempo mancheranno di haver fatta la purgatione et correttione debita et ubedito in tutto all' ordine di esso Indice. On February 25 Ghislieri wrote: *A quegli che V.R. conoscerà catholici potrà lasciare l'evangeliario et epistolario volgare ecc. et potrà anco lasciare la Biblia volgare a ms. Agostino Pinello. Alla presentatione de libri debbano essere eguali, et di lasciare quei che si possono concedere anco bisogna aprirvi bene gli occhi (Cod. E. VII., 15, of the University Library, Genoa).

[3] *Letter to G. Franchi, dated Rome, March 10, 1555, *loc. cit.*

complained of the great prejudice to their interests.[1] The number of suspected books delivered up was in many cases so great that those charged with their examination could hardly cope with the work.[2] Paul IV. and the Inquisition everywhere watched over the strict carrying out of the new regulations. These were published in Milan and were also carried out in Naples. The number of books burned in Venice on the Saturday before Palm Sunday was given as more than 10,000. In Florence, where there was no Inquisitor, the Duke made up by his zeal for what was wanting.[3] In the smaller Italian states the governments naturally submitted, but in some places, as for instance in Genoa, differences of opinion arose with the Roman Inquisition.[4]

It was, however, not possible to fulfil the new regulations completely outside of Italy. Not only the Sorbonne, but the Spanish Inquisition as well, completely ignored the Index of Paul IV. The Spanish Grand Inquisitor Valdes issued a list of forbidden books of his own in 1559.[5]

In Rome and in the States of the Church Paul IV. could make use of his own courts as he pleased, in his campaign against the heretics.[6] In the rest of Italy he very freely called in the assistance of the governments. He applied to Duke Ercole of Ferrara, as early as October 1st, 1555, with a request to arrest several persons under suspicion in questions concern-

[1] *Cf.* Pogiani, Epist., III., 149; Dejob, 74 *seq.*

[2] See Tacchi Venturi, I., 316.

[3] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 54 the very interesting letter of Cardinal Ghislieri of March 31, 1559 (University Library, Genoa). Concerning the burning of books in Naples (Sessa) see Arch. Napol., I., 645. For that in Tuscany *cf.* also Ciampi, I., 307.

[4] *Cf.* Ghislieri's *letter of July 21, 1559, in Appendix No. 58.

[5] *Cf.* Reusch I., 298, 300 *seq.*

[6] See the *brief of August 3, 1555, for the vice-legate *Camillus episc. Satrian.* (*ut transmittat gubernatori civit. Spoleti Hieronymum Mediolan. qui ob haeret. pravit. causam in carcere traditur.* Archives of Briefs, Rome), the brief in Fontana, 435, and in Appendix No. 53 that to the President of the Romagna of February 27, 1559 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

ing the faith in Modena, and to hand them over to the vice-legate of Bologna, who would bring them before the Roman Inquisition. Two members of the Valentini family, one of whom was provost of the cathedral of Modena, the bookseller Antonio Gadaldino, and the scholar Ludovico Castelvetro, who translated the works of Melancthon into Italian, are named in this document as suspects.[1] The Duke wished to have the trial of the suspects conducted in Modena, but was obliged, owing to pressure on the part of the Pope, to issue the citation in July, 1556.[2] The conservatori in Modena now protested, while Castelvetro saved himself by flight. The provost Valentini presented himself in Bologna, and was set at liberty after he had abjured his errors. The bookseller, Gadaldino, who refused to recant in any way, was condemned to imprisonment for life.[3] On November 24th, 1555, Duke Ercole was ordered to arrest two teachers of heresy who were about to come from Germany to Ferrara, and hand them over to Rome. Similar orders were also given later on to the Duke, as for example, on February 3rd, 1559, in the case of a physician who had been arrested at Reggio.[4] The government of Lucca was summoned on March 31st, 1556, to assist the inquisitors there in their procedure against the heresy prevalent in the city and diocese. The Republic of Genoa did not need such admonitions; on its own initiative it drove the heretical Augustinian hermits out of its territory, for which it received two Papal letters of eulogy.[5]

[1] The brief, in TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., VI., 59, has been again published by FONTANA (p. 434 *seq.*).

[2] See the ambassadorial reports from Rome in SANDONINI, L. Castelvetro, 288 *seq.*

[3] TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., I., 447 *seq.* TASSONI, Cronaca: Mon. di stor. patria, XV., 341 *seq.* FONTANA, Renata, II., 420 *seq.* SANDONINI, 295 *seq.* CAVAZZUTI, L. Castelvetro, Modena, 1903, 210.

[4] See FONTANA, 436, 451. This letter, however, has already been printed by RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 22.

[5] FONTANA, 437 *seq.*, 443 *seq.* Concerning Lucca see DONADONI, Di uno sconosciuto poema eretico, Naples, 1900; Giorn. stor.

The continuation of the Protestant propaganda in north Italy caused the greatest anxiety to Paul IV.; the Duchy of Milan was especially in danger on account of its proximity to Switzerland. The representative of Philip II., Cardinal Madruzzo, was therefore, on May 20th, 1556, exhorted to increased vigilance. It is evident from this letter to what means the heretics had recourse; an Augustinian hermit, convicted of heresy in Milan, had been handed over to the secular power by the Inquisitor; by means of a forged order he had succeeded in getting out of prison, and had then been assisted in his flight by some officials of the court; the Pope exhorted the Cardinal to more severe punishments. On August 1st, 1556, he was obliged to take steps on account of the recent arrest of a heretic, who had escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition in Milan. Two years later the Inquisition in the capital of Lombardy was removed from the monastery of S. Eustorgio and transferred to that of S. Maria delle Grazie. The Inquisitor-General in the Duchy of Milan at this time was the Dominican, Giovan Battista da Cremona.[1]

Protestantism was also by no means conquered in Venice. The Pope repeatedly exhorted the representative of the Republic to see that the government allowed no heresy to strike root in its dominions. Paul IV. also pointed out on this occasion the evil consequences which any toleration would entail for the state.[2]

d. lett. Ital., XXXVII., 420; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 347; concerning the Inquisition in Florence, *cf.* LE BRET, Magazin, VIII., 549. According to a memorandum, of which I was informed by Lämmer, in the *Cod. A D 9(63) of the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, a number of citizens were, at the instance of the Bishop of Lucca, on June 4, 15, and 25, 1556, "per commissione di Roma" as "eretici publicamente citati in pergamo nella chiesa di S. Martino a costituirsi nelle carceri di Roma ad istanza de quattro cardinali inquisitori sotto pena della vita e confiscazione de' beni."

[1] See FONTANA, 438 *seq.*, 448 and FUMI, L'Inquisizione, 211 *seq.*

[2] *Scrivete a quella Signoria che non lascia firmar nel stato l'heresie, perchè dopo quella viene la destruttione come si puo

In Bergamo, where even in the time of Clement VII., measures had had to be taken against the followers of Luther, Bishop Vittorio Soranzo, who belonged to a noble family of Venice, was suspended in 1552 on a suspicion of heresy, and kept imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. Two years later he was declared innocent, and was reinstated in his bishopric.[1] On this occasion Julius III. gave him Canon Giulio Augusto as his coadjutor. The latter, however, incurred the penalty of excommunication on account of disobedience to the Roman Inquisition in 1556, whereupon Paul IV. deprived him of his coadjutorship on June 1st, 1556;[2] a year later Bishop Soranzo was again arrested on an accusation of heresy, and proceedings taken against him by the Inquisition. This ended in his being condemned to recant his errors, and being deprived of his bishopric. The sentence was pronounced by the Pope in a consistory of April 20th, 1558.[3]

esser chiari a mille esempi. Report of Navagero of May 1, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice). *Cf.* also the passage from Navagero's *report of October 30, 1557 (State Archives, Venice) in De Leva, Degli eretici di Cittadella, Venice, 1873, 61. Padua, wrote the Jesuit, B. Palmio, on February 11, 1558, is full of heretics, who live almost unmolested; see Tacchi Venturi, I., 549.

[1] See Ughelli, IV., 292 *seq.* and Buschbell, 15.

[2] Fontana, 441 *seq.*

[3] See Ughelli, IV., 496; Bromato, II., 453; Amabile, I., 140; *cf.* Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, 147. The efforts which Paul IV. made to have Soranzo handed over to Rome (see Brown, VI., 2, n. 920, 1156), were in vain. Soranzo died in Venice in 1558. The brief to the nuncio in Venice was directed against the preaching of a Spanish woman there, see Raynaldus, 1557, n. 52. At the visitation in Istria and Dalmatia proceedings against the heretics were also to be arranged (see the *brief to the Doge of April 2, 1558. Arm. 44, t. 2, f. 111. Secret Archives of the Vatican). A decree in support of the Inquisition in Sardinia in Fontana, 433. Faculties for the absolution of repentant Lutherans in Brescia were issued by Paul IV. on June 16, 1559; see Raynaldus, 1559, n. 22.

The dangers with which the Protestant propaganda threatened the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Naples were very grave. On July 20th, 1556, Paul IV. repealed a regulation of his predecessor, according to which the property of heretics in that kingdom could not be confiscated.[1] When the war with Spain broke out, the work of the Inquisition in Naples was paralysed for a whole year, until the autumn of 1557.[2] How dangerously the situation developed there is clear from the autobiography of Giulio Antonio Santorio. He had the greatest difficulties to encounter as vicar-general of the Bishop of Caserta, in repressing the Protestant agitation. Full of zeal for the Catholic religion, Santorio used his utmost efforts, and all the authority of his position, and endeavoured by fasting and prayer, as well as by public and private disputations, to preserve the unity of the faith in his native place, to strengthen the weak, and to bring back those who had strayed. "By doing so," he tells us, "I incurred a violent persecution from the heretics, who insulted me and endeavoured to kill me, as I have set forth in a little book of my own." Santorio endeavoured to strengthen himself for the struggle by prayer and fasting.[3]

After the conclusion of peace with Spain, the activity of the Inquisition in Naples was again set in movement; at the same time it received a greater impetus in Rome than ever before.[4] In October, 1557, the number of Cardinals who belonged to the tribunal was increased by four;[5] in November the Governor of Rome, the Archbishop of Conza and Bishop of Verona were

[1] FONTANA, 442.

[2] See AMABILE, I., 223.

[3] See Autobiografia del card. G. A. Santorio, ed. CUGNONI in the Arch. Rom., XII., 335.

[4] *Cf.* AMABILE, I., 223, 226. Seripando was also in danger at this time; see *ibid.*, 229.

[5] *Heri poi in concistorio aggionse alli cardinali del inquisitione li rev^{mi} Pacheco, S. Fiore et Savello et il giorno avanti ve haveva posto Ariano [Diomede Carafa] et Triulci, il qual Triulci ha anco fatto entrare in signatura. Navagero on October 16, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

also added.[1] All reports agree that the activity of the Pope's work for the Inquisition reached its highest point in the year 1558.[2] Heretics were now also sent from Naples to Rome for punishment. Several of them died at the stake, for there were many among them who obstinately refused to recant their errors.[3]

Paul IV. did not content himself with taking steps against undoubted heretics; quite innocent persons were also proceeded against by the Inquisition. As the news concerning the spread of heresy which arrived from all parts of the world, even from Spain, was becoming more disturbing, whole families in different parts of Italy falling away from the faith, as for example in Cremona, and making their escape to Geneva or Germany,[4] the fear and anxiety in Rome increased from day to day. The lively southern imagination of the Pope magnified to an immeasurable degree the dangers with which the heretical propaganda threatened the security of the Church in the south as well as in the north of Italy, and he therefore more and more lost sight of the proper point of view, from which he ought to have combated the enemy. His quite justifiable anxiety for the preservation of the Catholic faith degenerated into a kind of pessimism, which, for the most part,

[1] *Giobbia nella congregatione del inquisitione il pontefice fece entrare in essa al numero dell' altri consultori li reverendi governatore di Roma, arcivescovo di Conza et vescovo di Verona. Navagero on November 6, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 48 the *Avviso of April 2, 1558 (Vatican Library). A *report of Claudio Malopera to Cardinal Madruzzo, dated Venice, April 30, 1558, encloses a *report from Rome of April 23, which says of the Pope: "Et ha precipua cura delle cose pertinenti all' inquisitione et per meglio attendervi dicono che rimetrà tutti i negotii al card. Carafa et lui attendea solo a intervenire alle congregationi, qual si farano delli casi de l'inquisitione" (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck). An *Avviso of December, 31, 1558 (Vatican Library) also says how very near to the Pope's heart the Inquisition was.

[3] See Amabile, I., 230.

[4] *Cf.* the **letter of G. Garimberto to Cardinal Carafa, dated Rome, June 18, 1558 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

saw the greatest danger just where none at all existed. A little want of care, or an ambiguous expression sufficed to give rise to the suspicion of heresy. The hasty and credulous Pope lent a willing ear to every denunciation, even the most absurd.[1] Neither rank, nor dignity nor merit weighed in the balance in the case of anyone suspected of heresy; he would be treated with the same ruthless severity by the Inquisition as if he were the open and declared enemy of the Church. The Inquisitors, constantly urged on by the Pope, scented heresy in numerous cases where a calm and circumspect observer would not have discovered a trace of it, however strictly it might be measured by the standard of the doctrines of the Catholic Church. The envious and the calumniator were kept hard at work snapping up suspicious words fallen from the lips of men who had been firm pillars of the Church against the innovators, and in bringing groundless accusations of heresy against them.[2] It thus came to accusations being made and proceedings being taken against bishops and even Cardinals, which are as incomprehensible as they were baseless. An actual reign of terror began, which filled all Rome with fear.[3]

It is only with great sorrow that we can look back on that time of terror, mistrust and confusion, when men were brought by false arts under the suspicion of wandering from the Catholic faith, to which they were in reality devoted, heart and soul.[4]

[1] The pious Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who was specially trusted by Paul IV., complained bitterly in August, 1559, to the French ambassador, about the "malice de ces cagots, desquels une grande partie estoient eux mesmes heretiques et remplissoient de calomnies les oreilles et le cerveau de S.S.^{té}." RIBIER, II., 815.

[2] No less a person than Gropper (see Histor. Jahrb., VII., 596) whom Cardinals Truchsess and Madruzzo praised as having always been a firm pillar against the heretics in Germany; see Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 613 *seq.*

[3] This is quite openly stated in the *Avvisi; see e.g. the *Avviso of December 31, 1558. (Vatican Library).

[4] In consequence of the uncertainty and confusion, it also occasionally happened that undoubtedly guilty persons were

Many of the occurrences which took place in Rome at that time remind one of those dreadful scenes which sometimes occur in the fury of battle, when the soldier no longer distinguishes between friend and foe, and mistakenly falls upon his comrade and kills him.

interceded for by good Catholic authorities. The most striking example of this is the case of P. Carnesecchi. He was cited before the Roman Inquisition in 1557, and as he did not appear, was condemned on April 6, 1558, *in contumaciam*. On April 11, 1558, Cardinal Madruzzo recommended this man to Cardinal Carafa and the Bishop of Pola (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 612 *seq.*). The *letter in which Carnesecchi is recommended to Cardinal Madruzzo as the friend of Pole and Morone is dated Venice, March 22, 1558; the signature is illegible. I found this letter in Cardinal Madruzzo's correspondence in the Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

CHAPTER XI.

The Trial of Cardinal Morone.

It was on May 31st, 1557, that a report was circulated in Rome, which occasioned the deepest sorrow in every quarter of the city.[1] One of the most respected and most virtuous members of the Sacred College, as well as one of the most zealous for reform, Cardinal Morone, had been arrested and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo.

As nuncio and legate Morone had rendered the Church most distinguished services, under the most difficult circumstances; as Bishop of Modena he had combated error, introduced reforms, and energetically supported the Jesuits.[2] Under Julius III. he had even belonged to the Roman Inquisition. All his services, however, as well as his blameless manner of life, were alike disregarded by Paul IV. With complete disregard of all legal procedure, he caused a Cardinal to be thrown into prison who was one of the best men in the Curia. No wonder that such a proceeding caused the most painful impression, not only in Rome, but everywhere else as well, even so far off as Poland.[3]

Already, on May 22nd, Morone's maggiordomo had been arrested in his presence and thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition.[4] This proceeding was looked upon as being due

[1] Delfino testifies to this in his *report to Ferdinand I., dated Rome, June 5, 1557 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 510, and *infra* p. 295 *seq.*, also Tacchi Venturi, I., 184, 284, 509 *seqq.*, 541 n. 5. Morone was also actively employed in reform as administrator of the Bishop of Novara; see Appendix Nos. 46-47; *ibid.* Morone's care to have good Catholic preachers at Modena and Novara.

[3] See the letter of A. Patricius, dated Cracow, July 6, 1557, in Morawski, A. Patrycy Nidecki, Cracow, 1884, 105.

[4] See Navagero's report in Brown, VI., 2, n. 898, and Amabile, I., 150.

to the fact that Morone was considered to be an Imperialist, and unfavourable to the Carafa. The Cardinal knew very well that he had this reputation, nor did it escape his notice that his orthodoxy was suspected. In his open and straightforward way he spoke himself to Cardinal Carafa of the charges brought against him, and pointed out to him how groundless were the rumours concerning him; at the same time he also expressly reminded Carafa of the great share he had had in bringing about the election of Paul IV. Cardinal Carafa answered that he entertained no suspicions against Morone, that everyone was free as to his political opinions, and that he was not concerned with religious questions.[1] The conversation thus ended to their mutual satisfaction. Consequently Morone, who had nothing on his conscience, felt no anxiety when on the morning of May 31st, Cardinal Carafa again asked him to visit him, as he had an important communication to make to him. Morone had hardly reached the anticamera when all the doors were closed. Thereupon Cardinal Carafa appeared and informed his colleague that the Pope had ordered his incarceration in the Castle of St. Angelo. Morone replied, without a trace of excitement: "I am not aware of having failed in any way; besides, I should in any case have hurried here, even from a great distance, to obey the orders of the Holy Father." Then the Cardinal was taken in custody through the covered passage which connects the Vatican with the Castle of St. Angelo. They left him three of his servants, but placed in his cell a guard of four soldiers, whom he had to pay out of his own pocket. Morone preserved, in these painful circumstances, that peace of mind which only true piety and the consciousness of innocence can give. He caused his mother to be informed by letter that she must have no anxiety on his behalf.[2]

[1] See Brown, VI., 2, n. 913.

[2] Besides Massarelli, 310, and the report of Navagero of May 31, 1557 (translated in Brown, VI., 2, n. 910) and that of Carne in Turnbull, n. 625, also Masius, Briefe 291, see especially the report from a very well-informed source *Captura del card. Morone in Roma all' ultimo di Maggio 1557 (Ambrosian Library, Milan, R. 833) used by Sclopis (p. 22 *seq.*). Benrath (Herzog's

On the same day the legal officials seized all the papers and books in Morone's palace, which adjoined S. Maria in Trastevere, and took his private secretary to the prison of the Inquisition. There was no doubt that an accusation of heresy was in question. Nevertheless, it was believed that for the arrest of so eminent a member of the Sacred College, who had been repeatedly named by the Imperialists as the future Pope, and who was highly esteemed by Philip II. and Mary of England, other grounds must exist. In many quarters, therefore, it was current that a question of some political offence, concerned with treasonable relations of the Cardinal with the political enemies of Paul IV.,was at the bottom of the matter.[1]

This view, however, was soon denied from an influential quarter. On June 1st, Paul IV. informed the Cardinals in a General Congregation, that he had ordered the arrest of Morone on account of a suspicion of heresy, which he had entertained against him even in the time of Paul III. The Inquisition would conduct the trial, and the sentence would be laid before the Sacred College.[2] The Pope spoke to the same effect next day to Navagero. It was not a question of a crime against the state, but of one against the faith. It had come to his knowledge that even in the Sacred College there were men infected with heresy. He had been obliged to take measures against the terrible danger which this involved. "To tell the truth," he continued, "we wish to meet the dangers which threatened in the last conclave, and to take steps during our lifetime, so that the devil may not succeed in days to come in placing one of his own on the throne of St. Peter." He said

Realenzykl., XIII.[3], 481) erroneously gives the date of Morone's imprisonment as June 12, BERNABEI (p. 70) says in June, RIESS (p. 249), May 30, AMABILE, (I., 229), June 2. Navagero expressly says in his letter of May 31: "questa mattina" (State Archives, Venice). The bad impression made by the arrest is testified to by Delfino; see STEINHERZ, I., xxxvii., n. 2.

[1] See the report of Navagero mentioned in the previous note.

[2] See in Appendix No. 37 the *Acta consist (Consistorial Archives) and Navagero's report of June 1, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 913; *cf.* also Carne's report in TURNBULL, n. 625.

that if he should be found wanting in this respect, reproaches might justly be brought against him in a Council.[1]

On June 3rd the conduct of the suit against Morone was entrusted to Cardinals Rebiba, Reumano, Ghislieri and Rosario at the usual Thursday sitting of the Inquisition.[2] It then transpired that, as the Pope had at once hinted, another Cardinal as well was to be called upon to answer an accusation of heresy, and that this was Morone's intimate friend Pole, against whom, however, the Inquisition could not proceed directly, because he was still in England, under the protection of Queen Mary. To the accusation against Cardinal Pole, they also joined the introduction of a suit, undertaken at that time by the Inquisition, against the vicar of Cardinal Carpi, as well as again summoning all the Cardinals to Rome.[3] It is evident that Paul IV. considered Pole as guilty as Morone, from the fact that all the attempts of Queen Mary to have the recall of Pole from his legation in England, which had been issued on April 9th, 1557, revoked, were unsuccessful; on June 14th, 1557, his successor was appointed in the person of the Franciscan, Peto.[4]

Two days before this the trial of Morone had begun in the Castle of St. Angelo.[5] The four Cardinals entrusted with this

[1] See Navagero's report of June 2, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 915.

[2] *Nella congregatione passata dell' inquisitione [Thursday; see the *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1557. Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 234. Vatican Library] il pontefice aggiunse alli tre cardinali primi cioè Pisa, Reumano, Alessandrino il rev^mo Spoleti a vedere le cose del rev. Morone. Navagero on June 5, 1557 (Cod. 6255, p. 427 of the Court Library, Vienna). The remark of TACCHI VENTURI (I., 539 n. 1) with regard to the "rev. de Spoleto" is erroneous. The *Motu Proprio* of June 11, 1557 (see Appendix Nos. 46-47) also names four Cardinals.

[3] See Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 914, 932, 933, 938; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 20.

[4] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives); BROWN, VI., 2, n. 937, 938; ZIMMERMANN, Pole, 330 *seq.* *Cf. infra* p. 300.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 12, 1557 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 236. Vatican Library).

painful duty expressed their regret that this task should have been imposed on them, and called upon him to make an open avowal, and thus find that the clemency of the Holy Father would not fail him, should he stand in need of clemency. Morone declared that he was willing to do so, and would truthfully tell everything he could remember. As to this he remarked to Cardinal Ghislieri that he had already, at the beginning of the pontificate of Paul IV., declared that he was ready to make such a statement, a thing of which the Pope must be aware.[1]

On June 18th, 1557, Morone gave an exhaustive written answer, in which he refuted all the accusations brought against

[1] Contemporary *copies of the documents in the process against Morone at Milan, in the Archives of Duke Gallarati Scotti, XLI., E. n. 5. The first to make use of these was CANTÙ, who (Eretici, II., 176 *seqq.*) gives the complete *Difesa* (more properly *confessione*) of Morone of June 18, 1557, and points out: "In tutto il processo non v'è menzione de tortura." *Cf.* also CANTÙ, Il card. G. Morone: Mem. dell' Ist. Lombardo, Ser. 3, I., fasc. 4 (1866), 1 *seqq.*, where the *Difesa* is once more printed on p. 24 *seq.* TACCHI VENTURI (I., 533 *seqq.*) has given the complete evidence of Salmeron. At the first glance the date of the first part of this evidence, July 25, 1555, is startling. This date is explained as follows. Soon after his accession, on June 26, 1555, Paul IV. had appointed a commissary, in the person of the Dominican, Tommaso Scotti, to seek for witnesses for the introduction of a process against Morone. This procedure gave the defenders of Morone later on, a reason for attacking the whole action against Morone as invalid, because it was illegal. *Cf.* in this connection the *original documents in Appendix Nos. 46-47 which I found in the Seminary Library, Foligno. Concerning the *Compendium Inquisitorum*, which CORVISIERI published in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 261 *seqq.*, 449 *seqq.*, some perfectly false views have been disseminated by RANKE (Päpste, I.[6], 92, 96). These have been corrected by BENRATH (Histor. Zeitschr., XLIV., 461 *seqq.*), who at the same time shows it to be probable that it is a question in this document of an extract from the process of Morone, which Santorio drew up about 1565-1566 for his own instruction, as Consultor of the Inquisition.

him.[1] With regard to the reading of forbidden books he was able to point to the extensive faculties which he possessed as Papal nuncio, and also to the fact that he had taken proceedings against the dissemination of such literature. As far as the accusation that he had deviated from the doctrine of justification defined by the Council was concerned, Morone dealt first of all with his attitude towards the Ratisbon formula of 1541. This he had advocated, but that was before the Council had made any pronouncement. After the decision of the General Assembly of the Church he had taken the decree of Trent as his rule, although no authentic Papal confirmation had yet been issued. With regard to his intimacy with Pole and his close friend Flaminio, Morone could appeal to the fact that they were considered good Catholics, even by Paul III. The Cardinal excused himself for the mistake of circulating the pamphlet "Del Beneficio di Christo" by saying that it had not been, at that time, forbidden, and that he had found nothing wrong in the pamphlet, while at the same time, he pointed out the disorder prevailing in Italy at that time. There had not been such strict supervision in matters of faith, he continued, before the erection and strengthening of the Roman Inquisition; people had discussed religious dogma everywhere, and religious books were sold without restriction. As many places were without an Inquisitor, and in many others the Inquisitors were of no importance, everyone could trifle with the theologians and say what they liked. With regard to the dispute in which he, as Bishop of Modena, had been involved with the Jesuit Salmeron, Morone acknowledged that, in his excitement, he had made a remark concerning good works which was open to great misconstruction; he had made amends for this by every means in his power, however, as he

[1] "Articuli contra card. M. de Luteranismo accusatum et in carcarem coniectum . . . 1558," first published by Vergerio with a violent polemical "annotation" (see HUBERT, Vergerios publizist. Tätigkeit, 309), and later copied by Fricke in SCHELHORN, Amoenit. lit., XII., 570 *seqq.*; *cf.* WOLF, Lect. mem., II., 655 *seq.*; Arch. Rom., III., 665 *seq.*; see also BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 19 *seq.*

had done for everything of which he had been guilty in this dispute, and had energetically supported the Jesuits in Modena and the German College in Rome.

Morone also justified the distribution of presents to heretics, as well as the clemency which he had shown years before to several Lutherans in Trent and Bologna, by maintaining his good intention in what he had done. As far as his orthodoxy was concerned he could appeal to the testimony of his vice-legates, as well as to his regulations in religious matters, which extended over a period of four years, and had had no other object in view than the preservation of the faithful in the true religion. The accusation of refusing to venerate the saints he was also able to repudiate by pointing out his actual behaviour in this respect. The accused also repeatedly touched upon his relations to people whose mistaken views on religion had only come to light later on. He maintained that the only reproach which could be brought against him in this connection was a want of discretion. As a special proof of the purity of his faith, Morone finally stated that he had sacrificed his bishopric of Modena to his zeal, since, as he was not sufficiently learned, and could not fulfil the duty of residence, he had resigned the episcopal dignity in favour of a learned Dominican, and had exhorted him to take up the fight against the machinations of the heretics in Modena.

In a supplement to his statement, Morone also drew attention to the fact that all the incidents by which he might have aroused suspicion, or given scandal through ignorance or want of care, had taken place about ten years before, and that, as nothing of the kind had occurred since that time, it seemed to him right that His Holiness, in passing sentence, should take into consideration, not only the suspicions of former days, but also the state of affairs at the present time.

Morone's defenders could also point out that, in his bishoprics of Modena and Novara, he had only allowed pure Catholic doctrine to be preached. Proof was given of this, not only with regard to the doctrine of justification defined at Trent, but also with respect to the Catholic teaching as to the authority of the Pope, good works, and the veneration of the saints

and their relics. There were also authentic proofs that Morone had, from the first, taken measures against heresy in Modena,[1] and that he had drawn the attention of the Curia to the dangers which were threatening there.[2] Attention was also drawn to the fact that he had advised Paul III. to make a league with the Catholic powers by means of which Protestantism might be combated by force of arms. With regard to the pamphlet "Del Beneficio di Christo" it should be taken into consideration, in favour of the Cardinal, that this little book was on sale everywhere, including Rome; that theologians, indeed, even Inquisitors, to whom Morone had given it to read, had approved of it, but that the Cardinal, after the treatise had been condemned by the Inquisition, had also condemned it. Morone could also point to the way in which, when one of his friends

[1] How early Morone had taken proceedings against the innovators in Modena is evident from the *letter which he wrote from Ghent to his vicar-general in Modena on May 9, 1540. In this he says: "L'inquisitione contra li heretici mi piace somamente, ma è necessario sia fatta per homini prudenti, dotti e vivaci che habbiano forza di poterla esseguire perchè altrimenti non si farebbe buon effetto alcuno, anzi si perderebbe la riputatione." Already on December 7, 1540, Morone *writes from Mons to the same: "In queste travagli publiche mi rincresce fuor di modo il pericolo di quella città di queste nove sette et vi prego vogliate esser diligente et aprir gli occhi, accioche si scoprino questi principii quali, dubito siano troppo radicate, ma sappiate che di minor favilla di questa s'è eccitato questo gran foco di Germania et se alcuna cosa bisognerà ch'io possi far in questa absentia avisatemi perchè sto con l'animo tutto inquieto." On *December 29 Morone again wrote to his vicar and enclosed a letter to Farnese (this is printed in TACCHI VENTURI, I., 509 *seq.*) with detailed instructions how he was to proceed in Modena. How very much the religious innovators were on his mind in Ratisbon is shown by his *letters to his vicar dated February 7, April 18, and May 3, 1541. These, and other *documents, which go as far as 1545 (see Appendix Nos. 46-47) are in the codex of the Seminary Library, Foligno.

[2] See Nuntiaturberichte, published by CARDAUNS, VI., xvii., n. 1.

had gone astray in matters of faith, he had persisted in making him abjure his errors. It was also shown how Morone had always supported the Inquisitors in Modena, Bologna and Novara, and that he had himself punished two heretics in Bologna. A suspicious utterance concerning the heretics in Bologna, to the effect that he would warn them in time, was explained by the defence as having merely been intended as an expression of courtesy, which, in any case, could not weigh in the balance against the measures actually taken by the Cardinal against the heretics.[1]

The witnesses called to testify against Morone were remarkable, several of them having entertained views that were heterodox, while others were openly hostile to him; one of them retracted what he had previously alleged. Their credibility, therefore, was more than open to suspicion, and Morone justly protested against such witnesses. Several others, such as the Prior of the Dominicans in Modena and the Bishop of Civita Castellana, even testified in his favour, and spoke in praise of him, but these favourable pronouncements were not entered in the minutes of the trial! This, however, was not the only injustice in the legal procedure against the Cardinal. Morone had also to complain of the fact that his defence was rendered more difficult, and even to a certain extent impossible, because the names of various witnesses and their guarantors were withheld from him, although he had earnestly requested to be informed of them; the same applied to the statement of where and when he had been found wanting.[2]

As had been the case with the witnesses, nothing damaging to the Cardinal could be found among the books and papers confiscated in his palace; on the contrary, the superscriptions with which Morone had provided the heretical books proved that he condemned them, and did not wish them to be read.

[1] See the extracts from the documents found by me in the Seminary Library, Foligno, in Appendix Nos. 46-47.

[2] See *ibid.* An *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1560, states that papers had been found which had been hidden by Paul IV. because they testified in Morone's favour (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 144. Vatican Library).

The letters of Vittoria Colonna to the Cardinal proved to be the merest business letters, in which religion was not even mentioned.[1]

It was clear from all this that there were no grounds for accusing Morone of the crime of heresy. Only a few trifling instances of want of prudence could be proved against him, and these could very easily be explained by the fact that the Cardinal had a generous and conciliatory nature, and that he personally went as far as possible to meet the heretics, and before adopting severe measures endeavoured to win them over by kindness. Errors were in this way unavoidable, since he, a prelate of the time of Leo X., had not had a thorough theological training. Even though he may in consequence have expressed himself, from time to time, in a materially erroneous sense, he had never at any time been guilty of a formal act of heresy, and therefore, according to the decision of the Council, his conduct was free from all blame.

In spite of this Paul IV. was anything but satisfied of the innocence of Morone, for a conviction to the contrary was too deeply rooted in his mind. The Cardinal remained in the strictest confinement, and was, from the first, treated more like a convicted heretic than a prisoner under examination. His request to be allowed to say mass was refused, indeed, he was not even permitted to hear mass.[2] In the middle of July the Pope deprived him of his office as governor of Sutri,[3] although so far none of the accusations against him had been

[1] See Appendix, Nos. 46-47.

[2] See Navagero's report of June 19, 1557, in Brown, VI., 2, n. 941. An *Avviso of August 21, 1557, first mentions at this time his deprivation of hearing mass; this is, however, a mistake for the refusal to allow Morone to gain the Indulgence then published, which he had begged to do; see Brown, VI., 2, n. 1018.

[3] *Il Papa ha levato il governo di Sutri al rev. Morone et datolo al card di Napoli. Navagero on July 17, 1557 (Cod. 6255 of the Court Library, Vienna). The villa of Morone at Sutri now belongs to the seminary there; a mantelpiece (now in the bishop's palace) bears the inscription: Io. Card. Moronus.

proved. For this reason Morone refused to purchase his freedom by an abjuration of heresy in general. He rightly understood that by so doing he would acknowledge that he had been found wanting in matters of faith.[1]

At the beginning of August the supporters of the Cardinal requested that he might be set at liberty. They were informed that if he were to ask mercy of the Pope, a way of setting him free would be found. Morone, however, could not be induced to do this; he declared that mercy presupposed a fault, and that therefore he could not ask it; the only thing he asked was justice, even if they were to keep him in the Castle of St. Angelo all his life.[2]

As Morone, in the consciousness of his innocence, persisted in remaining firm on this point,[3] he had to languish in the dark dungeons of the Castle of St. Angelo until the death of Paul IV. It appears that, besides Morone and Pole, other Cardinals came under the suspicion of the Inquisition. In the last half of August, 1557, the same tribunal ordered the arrest of Cardinal Bertano's secretary, of a member of the household of Cardinal Farnese, and also of a theologian of Cardinal du Bellay. These arrests were made in connection with a charge of heterodoxy, although this seems to have been a mistake; on the other hand the proceedings against them were based on grave offences against morality, of which they had been guilty.

For a long time nothing more was heard of Cardinal Morone; a contemporary states that it seemed as if he had been crossed out of the book of the living.[4] When Alba again drew atten-

[1] See Carne's report of July 2, 1557, in TURNBULL, n. 641. The report of Masius (Briefe, 297) shows how right Cardinal Morone was.

[2] See the **report of Navagero of August 5, 1557 (Court Library, Vienna).

[3] See the letter of September 18, 1557, in the Lett. de' princ., I., 195.

[4] See in Appendix No. 39 the *Avviso di Roma of August 21 1557; *cf.* Navagero in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 996. Bernardino Pia reports in a *letter of August 21, 1557, to Cardinal E. Gonzaga

tion to the prisoner, who was still being kept in the strictest confinement, and interceded for him, he only succeeded in getting the case taken up once more.[1] The speedy termination of the proceedings which was promised to him,[2] was not, however, realized. As the Cardinal had successfully repudiated all the charges against him, and proved that he had taken proceedings against the very persons whose heretical views he was accused of sharing,[3] his detention must be condemned in the severest terms. Paul IV. was possessed by the idea that Morone, as well as Pole, was infected with heresy, and the terrible picture of a suspected heretic one day ascending the throne of St. Peter left him no peace.[4]

Queen Mary of England had, in the meantime, offered resistance to the recall of Pole which had been ordered by Paul IV. As her earnest representations, that such a measure would seriously interfere with the Catholic movement in England, proved unavailing, she resolved to take a grave step; an order was issued that any bearer of Papal letters should be arrested. The attitude of Pole himself was very different. Although the Papal brief had not been delivered to him, he was aware of it, and that was enough. He immediately resigned his title and the insignia of legate, and at once refrained from every function connected with his office. In order to learn what the head of the Church really wished, and

that Cardinal Bertano had been in great trouble at first, on account of the arrest of his secretary Adriano by the Inquisition, "ma poi ch'ella è chiarita che tal captura è per interesse particolare del med^mo M. Adriano imputato per heretico et d' haver mangiato carne il venerdì ella si è consolato." The *teologo* of du Bellay, who was also arrested at that time by the Inquisition, is not mentioned here by name (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1041 and 1042, the **Avviso of October 9, 1557, and Tacchi Venturi, I., 538 *seq.*, n. 3.

[2] See the *letter of B. Pia to Cardinal E. Gonzaga of September 22, 1557 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1062.

[4] See *ibid.*

also to justify himself against the accusations that had been made against him, he sent his confidential envoy, Niccolô Ormanetto, to Rome. Ormanetto, however, did not succeed in accomplishing anything. Paul IV. insisted that Pole was suspected of heresy, and that he must defend himself in person in Rome; it was also necessary that he should at once be confronted with Morone.[1]

Cardinal Carafa received orders, before he entered upon his Spanish legation in October, 1557, that he was to justify the proceedings against the two Cardinals with Philip II., and to urge the king to deliver up Pole. It is incredible that Paul IV. could have supposed that the Spanish king would agree to such a proceeding, as the whole world knew that, if he returned to Rome, Pole could only expect the same treatment as Morone, who had been imprisoned for months in the Castle of St. Angelo, and was still kept there, although the Inquisition could fix no guilt on him at his trial.[2] Much as the Inquisitors endeavoured during the time that followed to obtain proofs against him, they could not succeed in doing so. On the contrary, documents were discovered which left no doubt as to the Catholic sentiments of Morone,[3] but in spite of this, the unfortunate Cardinal was not set at liberty.

Paul IV. looked upon Cardinal Pole as the more guilty of the two. Morone, he considered, had only been a docile pupil, who had become worse than his master. The Pope complained to Navagero that Priuli, Pole's secretary, also belonged to this accursed school, and to this house of apostates, as also did Marcantonio Flaminio, who would have been burned, had he not died. "We have had his brother, Cesare Flaminio, burned in the piazza before the church of the Minerva." Galeazzo Caracciolo had been a friend of Priuli, and at the mention of his name Paul IV. would get into a terrible state of excitement, for Caracciolo, a grandson of the Pope's sister, had

[1] *Cf.* Beccadelli, Vita del card. R. Pole, in the Monum., II., 318 *seq.*

[2] See Turnbull, n. 641; Pallavicini 14, 5, 2; Zimmermann, Pole, 332, 337.

[3] See Navagero in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1086.

fled to Geneva, leaving his family behind. "Let us be silent about him," exclaimed Paul IV., "even if my own father were a heretic, I would gather the wood to burn him!"[1] In view of these fearful words, it is only too easy to believe that, as the trial of Morone was prolonged into the following year, grave fears were entertained as to his fate.[2]

In view of the terrible severity of Paul IV. it is not strange that hardly anyone in Rome ventured to intercede for the unfortunate Cardinal. Among the few who energetically took up his cause were several members of the Society of Jesus. No less a personage than Lainez, the General of the new Order, had a letter written to P. Ribadeneira in Brussels on January 24th, 1558, asking him, together with P. Salmeron, to apply to the confessor of Philip II., so that, through his mediation, the king might intercede for Morone, as well as for Pole.[3]

The less were the solid grounds for imputing guilt to Morone, the more did the fears of Paul IV. increase that this man, whom he considered a heretic, might be destined to succeed him. An obstacle must be put in the way of such an eventuality by the issue of the most stringent regulations. At the end of 1558 it became known that Paul IV. had prepared a bull, according to which any Cardinal who had been convicted of heresy, or who had even been brought before the Inquisition on a suspicion of heretical tendencies, should be deprived of their active and passive right of voting at the conclave.[4] On February 8th, 1559, the Pope did indeed lay such a document before the consistory, but did not succeed in getting it approved, as the Cardinals declared that even the best man might have an enemy, who would say evil things of him; before conviction

[1] See the *report of Navagero of October 23, 1557 (State Archives, Venice), translated in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1067; *cf.* Bertolotti, Martiri, 20.

[2] See the *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1559 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 8. Vatican Library).

[3] See Epist. P. Salmeronis, I., 235.

[4] See Carne's report of December 31, 1558, in Stevenson, I., 54, and the Mantua report in Ancel, Secrét., 53 n. 1.

a Cardinal could not be excluded from the conclave.[1] The bull was consequently remodelled. In the form in which it was signed by all the Cardinals, on February 15th, it only declared that the election of a man who had actually, at any time, lapsed from the faith, was invalid. At the same time the old regulations concerning the punishment of heretics, lay as well as clerical, even when they had held the highest dignities, were solemnly renewed and rendered more severe, so that all persons who were possessed of rank and dignities should, after the first offence, be treated as having relapsed, because it had been proved that the defection of such persons entails the most disastrous consequences.[2]

[1] MÜLLER (Konklave Pius IV., 25) has found out the true state of the case from Carne's report in STEVENSON, I., 136, and from the excerpt *ex actis consist. et diar.* in LAEMMER, Mant., 209; the only thing not correct is the date, February 15, which he holds to. The Acta consist. cancell. VII. (Secret Archives of the Vatican) from which the following extract is taken, clear up this point: *Die merc. 5 [correctly 8] febr. 1559 Consistorium S. D. N. primo iussit bullam legi per dom. Barengum secretarium contra de heresi convictos et condemnatos vel qui convinci aut condemnari poterunt, ad quem et eius totum tenorem prout in illa latius continetur me refero.

[2] These are the essential points contained in the much discussed Bull *Cum ex apostolatus officio* (Bull. VI., 551 *seq.*). In the battles which were waged before and after the definition of Papal Infallibility, the adversaries of the doctrine, and especially DÖLLINGER (Janus, 405 *seq.*) endeavoured to give a dogmatic and ex cathedra character to this bull of Paul IV. There can be absolutely no question of this. The exordium of the bull only gives the motive for the supreme authority of the Papacy. Grounds for decisions, in themselves, are, however, never considered as actual authoritative standards in ordinary Councils, but only the decisions themselves. In the document we are considering, the essence is contained in the sanction of punishment; in the bull, it is true, we come upon the word *definimus*; however, this expression also occurs in non-dogmatic documents; see HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 767, where it is explained in the clearest manner that there is no question here of a dogmatic

Paul IV., however, did not give up his original plan. On March 6th he issued a decree that no one who had even been accused of heresy, could become Pope, although such a one would not forfeit his active, but only his passive right of voting.[1] No one had any doubt that both regulations were especially aimed at Morone.[2]

At the beginning of May, 1559, it was understood that the Pope had once more offered Morone pardon, if he would ask for it. Morone's answer was the same as before; he asked nothing but justice.[3] The four Cardinal Inquisitors again took up the proceedings against him.[4] When, on May 22nd, the severe Cardinal Rosario, one of the four, died suddenly, it was hoped that a favourable turn in the state of affairs would come for Morone.[5] On June 2nd, they did actually begin to read the process which the Inquisition had instituted against him, before the General Congregation of Cardinals. As daily

pronouncement, but only of a disciplinary act. The writer of the criticism on KRAUS, Kirchengeschicte in the Histor.-polit. Bl. ,CII., 352 *seq.* emphasizes that the discovery of the "Janus" party that the bull was intended to sanction the "Roman principles concerning the connection of the two powers" is absolutely false, since the document contains nothing more than simple disciplinary regulations, which pre-suppose that the public laws existing at that time had been issued for the protection of the Catholic faith, and in the interests of public order against those who infringed it. An after effect of Döllinger's error is the equally unfounded view taken by HUGO KOCH (see Histor.-polit. Bl., CXX., 849) that in the bull of Paul IV. the "hierocratic idea" is put forward. *Cf.* also FÈVRE, Hist. de la Papauté, VII., 275 *seqq.*

[1] LAEMMER, Mant., 210. MÜLLER, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the **Avvisi di Roma of February 18 (Si crede fatto per convincere et privare Morone) and April 8, 1559 (see Appendix No. 55). Vatican Library.

[3] **Avviso di Roma of May 6, 1559; *ibid.*

[4] See the **Avviso di Roma of May 20, 1559 (Appendix No. 56); *ibid.*

[5] See the **Avviso di Roma of June 3, 1559 (Appendix No. 57); *ibid.*

meetings of the Cardinals were now being held with regard to this matter, a speedy termination was expected. On June 15th a month was given to the Cardinal to reply once more to all the charges brought against him. He was also now allowed to discuss the matter with others.[1] At the beginning of July several defenders were appointed for him, among others Marcantonio Borghese,[2] and the Inquisitors conferred almost daily as to the affair ;[3] the Pope seemed to have time for nothing else, and his proceedings inspired everyone with fear.[4]

The difficulties which the affairs of the imprisoned Cardinal, whose eyes had suffered a great deal from his confinement,[5] had to encounter, are evident from a report of Bernardino Pia to Cardinal E. Gonzaga on July 28th, 1559. Pia had shown the prisoner a copy of the letter in which Cardinal Gonzaga had begged the Emperor to intervene on behalf of Morone, and had written to him a detailed report as to his position. Morone, says Pia, was quite convinced that if the Pope died before his case was decided, he could take part in the conclave. Paul IV. and the Cardinal Inquisitors also knew this very well, and therefore the Pope was now hurrying on the conclusion of the matter. Moreover, they were making difficulties about returning to Morone the papers which testified in his favour. Morone, continues Pia, recognized that Cardinal

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of June 10 and 17, 1559 (Vatican Library). G. A. Calegari reports on June 10 to Commendone :

*E stato ogni dì congregatione d'inquisitione avanti S.S.tà dove si sono letti sempre i processi di Morone.

[2] Al cardal Morone sonno stati dati advocati et defensori ms. Marc' Antonio Borghese et altri, fa copiar il processo per darglilo. *Avviso di Roma of July 1, 1559 (Vatican Library).

[3] So reports G. A. Calegari in a *letter to Commendone, dated Rome, July 5, 1559 (Lett. di princ., XXIII., n. 2. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[4] See the Portuguese report of June 17, 1559, in the Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 150.

[5] See in Appendix No. 48 the *Avviso of April 2, 1558 (Vatican Library).

Gonzaga was right in his view that it would now be better if the proceedings could be drawn out as long as possible, and he therefore did not press matters, but he considered that the Pope and the judges, especially Rebiba, were too vehement. Had not the Pope, as Bernardino Pia goes on to relate in his report, remarked a few days before, that a trial had not been at all necessary, for he knew the true state of affairs, he was the judge, and he could pronounce sentence without more ado? Such threats did not frighten a man like Morone, who was conscious of his innocence. He had confidence in God, and hoped that the Cardinals, and especially Pacheco and Puteo, would not allow injustice to be done. Pacheco had the minutes of the trial copied, in order to have them at hand at any time. Morone hoped, if the affair followed a legitimate course, to come out of it all completely justified.[1]

[1] S. S. R. [Morone], writes B. Pia, è chiara che se il papa morisse prima che fosse espedita la sua causa ei potrebbe entrar in conclave et questo istesso lo sa S.S.tà et i cardinali giudici et per questo rispetto il papa sollecita l'espeditione con molta fretta et se gli fanno degli aggravii et fra gli altri questo in non restituirli le scritture che le tolsero fin da principio et che fanno a suo proposito talché non hieri l'altro fu forzato a far una protesta che il tempo non corresse fin che dette scritture non fossero interamente restituite. Conosce benissimo S.S.R. che ciò che V.S.I. dice che sarebbe bene che la causa andasse in longo et che l'esempio che da di p. Paolo III. et del card. di Ravenna [B. Accolti] serve alla pura verità et non è essa per affrettare, ma trova tanta passione nel papa et nei giudici et fra gli altri primi in M. Pisa [Rebiba] che non sa bene come poter ritardar la fuga che le danno. Dice che el papa quattro dì sono bravò gagliardamente saper i casi suoi che non occorrevano tanti processi, scritture ne giustificationi ne servar termini che saveva benissimo come si stesse il fatto, che esso era il giudice vero che senza altro poteva et doveva dar la sentenza et altri simili et terribili parole, pure spera in Dio che i cardinali habbino a non lasciar far torto et massimamente Pacecco et Puteo, i quali hanno il processo in mano et Pacecco lo fà copiar per tenerne copia appresso, di se et poter vederla a tutt' hore. Se non se le fa torto è per S.S.R. sicuro di giustificarsi benissimo (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The hour of his liberation only came for the sorely tried Cardinal, who continued to defend himself energetically,[1] as he had done from the first, when Paul IV. died. Two days later, the College of Cardinals resolved, although not without some opposition, to allow him to enter the conclave, with, moreover, the active and passive right of voting.[2] The new Pope, however, at once ordered a revision of the case against Morone. After a strict investigation by Cardinals Puteo and Ghislieri, of whom one was celebrated as a legal authority, and the other as a theologian, Pius IV. pronounced the final sentence on March 13th, 1560. This blames the proceedings of the Inquisition under Paul IV. on a number of points, both with regard to the actual facts and to the procedure. The imprisonment of Morone had been effected without the slightest legitimate grounds for suspicion. The investigation itself, as well as the whole conduct of the process, in which the prescribed and necessary forms had not been observed, was stigmatized as invalid, indiscreet and unjust. It was further established that there neither existed any reason for the condemnation of the Cardinal, nor any suspicion, however slight, as to his orthodoxy, and indeed that the very opposite of the accusation against him had come to light, and that the Cardinal must therefore be declared absolutely innocent.[3]

Such a vindication of Cardinal Pole could not take place, as he had already died on November 18th, 1558. Gentle and mild as the noble Englishman was, he nevertheless felt the

[1] See the report of Ascanio Caracciolo in MÜLLER, Konklave, 26 n. 1.

[2] See MASSARELLI, 334; Vargas in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 272; RIBIER, II., 829.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 98; MASSARELLI, 343; PALLAVICINI, 14, 2-3; SICKEL, 8, 10, 46. In the *Vita di Morone (Varia Polit., XIX., 502, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican) it states that the Cardinal has been *per false calumnie et maligne persecutioni* kept in prison for 26 months. How fully the sharp criticisms on the procedure of Paul IV. are justified is clear from the documents in the Seminary Library, Foligno, in Appendix Nos. 46-47.

disgrace put upon him most deeply. He could not remember that a Cardinal, during the time of his office as legate, had ever been deposed without previous examination, on the mere suspicion of heresy. The charge brought against him appeared to him all the more strange, as, before his departure for England, he had had a long and confidential conversation with Paul IV., then Cardinal Carafa, in which he had proved his orthodoxy to the complete satisfaction of the latter. Besides this, there was the honourable testimony which the Pope himself had bestowed upon him in the consistory when he was created Archbishop of Canterbury. "Why," he asked himself, "should the Pope suspect my orthodoxy, when I have been engaged in constant battles and disputes with the heretics and schismatics, and have had great success in gaining advantages for the Catholic religion? Because my activities have been so disagreeable to the heretics in England, nothing would give them greater pleasure than to hear me stigmatized with the name of "heretic" myself. Even supposing that I had formerly considered false doctrines to be true, which is certainly not the case, that would be no reason for taking steps against me, now that I have won such glorious victories over the heretics, saved so many souls by my efforts and struggles, and once again re-established the authority of the Holy See in England."[1]

A biographer of Pole justly remarks that he had to pass through one of the hardest tests that can be imagined for a true son of the Church, a test which was to prove whether he placed the holy cause to which he had devoted his life before his own interests and even his own person.[2] Pole stood this test with the greatest distinction. In humble obedience to the

[1] See STRYPE, Memorials, VI., 35, and ZIMMERMANN, Pole, 341 *seq.* Concerning the conversation between Pole and Carafa see the letter of F. Gherio to L. Beccadelli, dated Rome, April 29, 1553, in BECCADELLI, II., 348 *seq.* The groundlessness of the charge of heresy against Pole is emphasized by modern writers, especially acutely and justly by CUCCOLI, M.A. Flaminio, Bologna, 1897, 107 *seq.*

[2] KERKER, Pole 115.

supreme authority placed over him by God, he looked upon the injustice shown to him as a blow from the hand of his father, to be borne with respect and patience.

In his first excitement Pole had drafted a letter of self-vindication ; in thinking this over later, however, he felt that he had, in some places, expressed himself too bitterly concerning the weaknesses of the Pope. He therefore threw the letter into the fire with the words : Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father.[1]

Pole did not despair, however, of inducing the head of the Church to change his mind. It is characteristic of his genuine Catholic sentiments that, in the letter which he addressed to Paul IV. on March 30th, 1558, he first and above all took up the cause of his friend Priuli, and also raised his voice on behalf of the imprisoned Morone. In his own defence he remarked : " I, more than anyone else, must be the opponent of the heretics and schismatics, for, as your Holiness well knows, among the many and heavy blows which have been dealt against me, there was not one which did not come from them, and solely for the sake of the Catholic Church. But, people may say to me, what weight can your recommendation have in a matter of this kind, if you yourself are accused of heresy before the same court ? This much, at any rate, in so far as manifest deeds on behalf of the Church and religion must be of greater weight than the mere assertions of those who can adduce neither words nor actions against me, for none such exist. But, they will say, this accusation against you was already entered upon when your confidential friend Morone was thrown into prison on the suspicion of heresy ; your deposition is a proof of your guilt.

What shall I answer to this ? First, that the words of your Holiness are more worthy of belief than any hints or strange rumours. Your Holiness has declared to the English ambassador and to my agent who was sent to Rome, that you had

[1] BECCADELLI, II., 325-326. A friend of Pole's had taken a copy before it was burnt, and this is still preserved ; see ZIMMERMANN, Pole, 338 *seq.*

withdrawn the legation from me, not because I had been guilty of any fault, but because you did not consider it fitting to make an exception in the case of England, and to leave me as legate with a king who was carrying on war with the Pope, when all the other legates accredited to the King of Spain had been recalled. I have accepted the explanation given by your Holiness as to the reason for my deposition, although the circumstances of this kingdom are not quite the same as those of Spanish countries. After the reconciliation with the king, the legations in the different parts of the Empire were again restored, and your nephew was sent as legate to the Spanish court; my reinstatement, however, in spite of the urgent requests of the queen, the petition of the College of Cardinals, and the demands of all the estates of this realm, has always been postponed; indeed, your Holiness has allowed the rumour to be circulated that an action was about to be brought against me for heresy. How am I to explain the proceedings of your Holiness? Am I to believe that there is here a question of a matter concerning God, as you informed the English ambassador when he pressed for an answer? Am I to believe that your present course of action is based on the conviction that you are thereby fulfilling the command of God, and performing your duty to Him, and honouring Him? How can I do so? Does God order a son to be slaughtered? He did so once, when He commanded Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac, whom he loved, and with whom the promise was connected. What else does your Holiness plan but my death, since you are trying to rob me of the glory of my orthodoxy? What sort of life, I ask you, does one leave to the shepherd in the eyes of his flock, when one has deprived him of the good name of his orthodoxy? The fatal axe which you have destined for me, will destroy me much more surely than that destined for Isaac, who at the sight of the preparations for the sacrifice, asked: 'Father, behold fire and wood; where is the victim?' As I see the fire and the sword in the hands of your Holiness, and my shoulders are laden with the wood for the sacrifice, I do not need to ask where is the victim, but must, on the contrary, inquire why your Holiness, prejudiced by false sus-

picions, is thinking of slaughtering me on account of religion, me, the son who has always loved you, who is not conscious of having done anything to deserve your present disfavour, but much rather of having deserved your good will, as he has, by the grace of God, carried out the work that was expected of him, to the joy of the Church and the honour of the Holy See. Why then, is your Holiness about to pierce my soul with the sword of affliction? If your Holiness does this in order, as you say, to fulfil a duty to God, then let the fire be laid to the victim. But I hope, if you act according to God's commands in other respects, that He will not allow the sacrifice to be accomplished, as He did not allow it in the case of Abraham."[1]

In his will, Pole solemnly declared once more that he persevered completely and firmly in the faith which his forefathers had received from the Roman Church, that he was obedient to the one, holy, Catholic Church of Christ, and to him who sat on the Apostolic chair as Roman Pontiff, and that with all due reverence he begged the blessing of Paul IV., whom he had served to the best of his ability, by seeking, in all his dealings with the Apostolic See, nothing but the honour of God and the good of the Church.[2]

There were two other prelates who, like Pole and Morone, were brought before the Inquisition to answer a groundless charge of heresy: Egidio Foscarari and Gian Antonio Sanfelice. Foscarari belonged to the Dominican Order, and enjoyed a great reputation as a theologian, no less than as a priest. Paul III. had appointed him Master of the Sacred Palace. In this capacity he had examined the Book of the Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, and his sanction of this famous work could be seen at the beginning of the printed editions. In 1550, Foscarari was appointed Bishop of Modena,

[1] QUIRINI, V., 31-36.

[2] See CIACONIUS, III., 637. Giulio Gonzaga and Carnesecchi blamed this Catholic declaration as "superflua, per non dire scandolosa, in quel tempo massimamente" (AMABILE, I., 177). The comments made thereon by Amabile betray a complete ignorance of Catholic doctrine.

in succession to Morone. In the following year he took part in the Council of Trent and, after his return to Modena, distinguished himself as a bishop in every way. This pious and learned prelate now fell under suspicion and was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo on January 21st, 1558, and proceedings against him were undertaken by the Inquisition. No proof whatever of any guilt could be found, and Foscarari therefore demanded a solemn declaration of his innocence. This was refused him. He only regained his freedom on August 18th, 1558, after he had pledged himself to appear before the Inquisition whenever required.[1]

The proceedings against the former Bishop of Cava, Sanfelice, who was arrested at the same time as Morone,[2] can, at any rate, be explained, in so far that this hot-blooded native of south Italy had, in 1547, at the Council of Trent, during the deliberations concerning the doctrine of justification, vehemently advocated false views, at any rate, objectively.[3] It could not, however, be proved that Sanfelice had obstinately held to heretical opinions; he had not gone beyond the freedom of discussion allowed by the Council, and he was liberated in July, 1559, after an imprisonment of twenty-five months.[4]

The Augustinian, Girolamo Negri, had attracted the hatred

[1] *Cf.* Massarelli, 465; Pallavicini, 15, 11, 2; 24, 13, 4; Quétif, II., 184 *seq.*; Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 271 *seq.*; Bromatò, II., 452 *seq.* The absolution first pronounced by Pius IV. in Cantù, II., 193 *seq.*

[2] See Massarelli, 310.

[3] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 341.

[4] See Massarelli, 350; Pallavicini, 15, 11, 1; Ughelli, I., 618; VII., 177 *seq.*; Amabile, I., 146; Bertolotti, Martiri, 102. Rodocanachi (S. Ange, 160) wrongly names Sanfelice's successor instead of himself. A well known man of letters, Niccolò Franco, who was arrested in the summer of 1558, for mocking at the Inquisition, had also to be set at liberty in February, 1559, as the advocacy of heretical doctrines could not be proved against him. See Gnoli in the Raccolta di studi dedic. a A.d'Ancona, 550; *cf.* Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital., XXVI., 224 n. 3.

of the Lutherans by his successful sermons against them, and at length they spread false reports that he advocated uncatholic opinions. The consequence of these calumnies was that in 1556, by the command of the Pope, Negri was deprived of the permission to preach. The heretics were triumphant at the issuing of this prohibition, but to the Catholics it was a source of annoyance. How hasty and imprudent this step had been was proved when a thorough investigation took place, which resulted in 1557 in a solemn declaration of Negri's innocence.[1]

Paul IV. might well have said to himself that by the unjust persecution of innocent persons, he had very seriously injured his own reputation, as well as that of his much valued tribunal of the Inquisition.[2] Such an idea, however, never occurred to him. When representations were made to him on account of his excessive severity, he only replied that it was in consequence of the excessive consideration shown to others, that the Church had lost nine-tenths of her adherents.[3] Once only, in February, 1559, did he put a stop to severe proceedings against an innocent person;[4] in this case there was question of no less a person than Johannes Gropper.

The exaggerated zeal and impetuosity of the Pope was, at last, the cause of his having a dispute and quarrel with his Grand Inquisitor.[5] The circumstances were as follows: The

[1] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 248 *seq.* (Roman edition).

[2] It was supposed that in this case, as in others, he had only been influenced by personal hatred; *cf.* the opinions collected by MÜLLER (Konklave Pius' IV., 23, n. 1), of which it should indeed be said that they were absolutely unjust and inapplicable, as PALLAVICINI (14, 5, 3-4) has brought out against Sarpi. If anything is clear it is that Paul IV. honestly believed that Pole, Morone, and the others whom he persecuted, were infected by heresy. He had been convinced of this for a long time. It is not, therefore, just when contemporaries attribute the treatment of Pole and Morone to an intrigue of the nephews; the latter only fanned a feeling which already existed.

[3] CASTALDO, 118.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 184.

[5] There had been no lack of previous small differences of opinion. Thus Ghislieri writes to G. Franchi on March 11, 1558:

Inquisition had been hitherto so severe in Spain that no opinions at variance with the Catholic faith could be found.[1] There now appeared to be a change for the worse. Already, in the forties of the XVIth century a community of crypto-Protestants had arisen in Seville, to which belonged several priests and monks. The following is an example of the means they employed: Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, who had been preaching in the cathedral since the end of 1555, had lately fallen under suspicion. In order to conceal himself from the Inquisition, and to be able secretly to continue his Protestant propaganda, he offered himself to the Jesuits, who had possessed a college in Seville since 1554, as a candidate for admission into the Order. He was, however, refused.[2] The Inquisition had learned of this movement in Seville, which was so dangerous to the Catholic faith, in spite of the cunning of the innovators. When, at the beginning of 1557, inquiries were made concerning several suspected persons, eleven monks from the Hieronymite monastery, S. Isidore, left their house in order to escape to Geneva. This remarkable step increased the suspicions of the Inquisition, which, in July, 1557, succeeded in coming upon the traces of the Protestant community, after the discovery of a number of anti-Catholic writings, which had been smuggled into the city. About a hundred arrests were eventually made, and five monks of S. Isidore were also imprisoned; similar events took place at Valladolid.[3] Suspicion had also fallen on Bartolomeo Carranza, the Arch-

*Ho parlato a N.S. qual con suo solito santo zelo mi ribuffò con dirme che senza dar altra dilatione si dovessi procedere ne la causa (Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa).

[1] Concerning the severity of the Inquisition see the report from the court of Charles V. of the year 1535 in the Histor. Jahrb., XIII., 194.

[2] See ASTRAIN, II., 94 *seqq.*

[3] See SCHÄFER, Beiträge, I., 264 *seqq.*, 348 *seqq.*, 373 *seqq.* The statements made hitherto concerning the large number of Protestants in Spain, are here reduced to their proper proportion by means of reasonable investigation. See also SCHÄFER, Sevilla und Valladolid, Halle 1903.

bishop of Toledo, during the trial of the prisoners. This man, who was distinguished for his learning and zeal for souls, had rendered great services to the Church, and had himself repeatedly taken steps against the disseminators of false doctrine; he had also published a book in the Spanish language in 1558, entitled "Declarations concerning the Christian Catechism." In this book, it is true, he advocated Catholic doctrine on the whole, but on certain points expressed himself in an erroneous manner, or at any rate in a way liable to be misunderstood. Carranza mentioned indulgences in only one place in his book, which contained over 800 pages, and then in a contemptuous manner.[1]

The very first news of the discovery of these Protestant communities in Spain had aroused the greatest consternation in Rome.[2] The Pope forgot all his old enmity towards Charles V., and praised his watchfulness.[3] Rumour magnified the danger very considerably. The Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Fernando de Valdes, in his report to Paul IV., himself dealt with the discovery of the two communities in Seville and Valladolid, in terms which, if the extent of the evil had not been more clearly defined from another quarter, might have meant that the whole of Andalusia and Castille had been infected with the "plague of heresy."[4] As, at the same time, it transpired that heretical passages had been discovered in a work by one of the first dignitaries of the Church in Spain, Paul IV. was overcome by even greater horror and amazement.

The Pope endeavoured to stem the threatened danger by issuing a number of most severe regulations. On January 4th, 1559, he bestowed on the Grand Inquisitor Valdes, the

[1] See LAUGWITZ, Carranza, 29 *seqq.* The position which Carranza held with regard to Protestantism, has, indeed, never been made quite clear, but appears not to have been without objection; see SCHÄFER, I., 265 n.

[2] See the **letter of Garimberto of June 18, 1558 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1558 (Vatican Library).

[4] See SCHÄFER, I., 186; III., 104 *seqq.*

exceptional powers which he asked for, authorizing him to hand over to the secular arm for punishment, all heresiarchs, teachers of heresy, and other heretics concerning whom there might be reason to suppose that they did not intend to abjure their errors from earnest and honourable motives, but only in order that they might be able, when once they were set at liberty, once more to disseminate heresy, teach it again, or otherwise promote it, thus doing injury to the work of the Inquisition; these special powers were also to be used in the case of those who had relapsed.[1] To this decree, which superseded the usual rules, a regulation was added on the following day, with regard to the discovery and destruction of heretical books.[2] On January 7th, larger revenues were allocated to the Spanish Inquisition,[3] and on the same day the Grand Inquisitor was authorized, for a period of two years, to hold investigations concerning questions of faith, in the case of all bishops, archbishops, patriarchs and primates, to take proceedings against them, and, in the event of their being likely to escape, to arrest them and hold them in safe custody, on condition, however, that a report of everything should be at once sent to the Pope, and the guilty parties as well as the

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 18; *cf.* LLORENTE, II., 261; SCHÄFER, I., 316 *seq.*

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 15.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 16. When the Spanish nunciature was transferred to the Bishop of Chiusi in the spring of 1559, the latter received a special admonition, besides the instructions to protect the liberty of the Church against the encroachments of the royal power, to promote the Inquisition by every means in his power (see LAEMMER, Melet., 174 *seq.*; PIEPER, 105). Concerning a brief of 1555 to the Inquisition in Granada, see LEA, Celibacy, Boston, 1884, 568. The same author remarks (Confession, I., 385) that Paul IV.'s brief to the Spanish Inquisition against sollicitation is not, as Llorente states, of 1556, but of February 18, 1559. To the end, Paul IV. was against the too great independence of the Spanish Inquisition. According to RIESS (p. 295), Paul IV. endeavoured, in the autumn of 1557, to bring to Rome all the suites of the Spanish monarchy against heresy, especially those from Sicily.

sealed acts of their trial, be sent, as soon as possible, to Rome.[1]

This brief was directed against Carranza, for whose arrest the Inquisition now made preparations. Much as Philip II. was in agreement[2] with the severe measures taken against the heretics, it was only after great hesitation that he allowed steps to be taken against Carranza, and he insisted that due respect should be shown to the prisoner.[3] The archbishop took great trouble to have his case transferred to Rome, and sent a Dominican[4] there for this purpose, who was received and supported by Cardinal Ghislieri. This excited the Pope, who in his impaired state of health, was always growing more nervous and violent,[5] to such an extent that, for half-an-hour, he hurled such violent reproaches in the consistory at the hitherto highly esteemed Cardinal, that Cardinal Consiglieri remarked that it was impossible to live or have dealings with the Pope any longer. At a second consistory Paul IV. repeated his reproaches against Ghislieri, declared that he was unworthy of his position, and said that he felt remorse of conscience for having ever bestowed the purple on him. A report of August 5th, 1559, from Rome, states that it was feared there that the Grand Inquisitor Ghislieri would be taken to the Castle of St. Angelo as a prisoner![6] It was at this time that Paul IV. said to the French ambassador that heresy was such a grave crime that, were a person even slightly infected with it, there re-

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 19; *ibid.*, n. 20, a brief to Philip II. of January 11, 1559, in which the king is requested to support the new Papal measures.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of the royal confessor, Bernardo de Fresneda, to Cardinal Carafa, dated Brussels, February 12, 1559 (Lett. di princ., XI., 269. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] See LAUGWITZ, 53.

[4] Fr. Hernando de San Ambrosio; see Colecciòn de doc. ined., V., 505, and DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 259 *seq.*

[5] Paul IV.'s physician, A. Ricchi, lays special stress on this in his *account of the last illness of the Pope (Vatican Library; see Appendix No. 60).

[6] See Appendix No. 59.

mained no other remedy than to consign him at once to the flames, no matter if he belonged to the highest rank.[1] It is also characteristic of him that during the last days of his life, Paul IV. bestowed warm words of praise on his old adversary, Philip II., because the latter took severe measures against the heretics in Spain.[2] On May 21st, 1559, the first great public auto-da-fé had taken place in Valladolid. In accordance with the sentence pronounced, the greater number of the prisoners were pardoned; thirteen, among them three priests, five women and one Jew, were handed over to the secular power for execution. All these unfortunates repented of their errors, with one exception, who, as a thoroughly obstinate heretic, was burned alive.[3]

[1] Ribier, II., 815.

[2] Ribier, II., 814 *seq.* According to the *Avviso di Roma of June 24, 1559, Paul IV. summoned the Inquisitors to his room on the Thursday, and pronounced a long panegyric on Philip II., on account of his punishment of the Lutherans (Vatican Library).

[3] See Schäfer, I., 324 *seq.*; Riess, 371 *seq.*; S. Franc. Borgia, III., 505 *seqq.*; Atti d. Soc. Lig., XXXVIII., 104 *seq.*

CHAPTER XII.

Spread of Protestantism in the Netherlands, France and Poland.

In another part of the immense Spanish Empire, in the Netherlands, it happened, towards the end of the pontificate of Paul IV., that the Papal and royal powers found themselves united in common action in an ecclesiastical matter. The population of this country, which was highly developed both from a material and an intellectual point of view, held fast to the religion of their forefathers in the middle of the XIVth century, at least as far as the great majority was concerned.[1] It had not been possible, however, completely to master the Protestant movement in a country that was so eminently cosmopolitan. The secret Protestant propaganda in the Netherlands had become all the more dangerous during the first fifty years of the XVIth century, because the revolutionary Calvinism, which had already been introduced into the southern Walloon provinces by the English and French refugees, now began to take root in the northern provinces as well.[2] This change for the worse in the state of affairs did not escape the notice of Philip II., and if he contented himself at first with the confirmation of the regulations issued against heresy by Charles V., he nevertheless showed clearly that he was not going to tolerate the laxity with which these had hitherto been put into force.[3]

[1] According to the testimony of Heinrich Dionysius 1553; see Hansen, (Akten zur Geschicte des Jesuitenordens, Bonn, 1896, 247) and Badoer (1557; see Albèri, Ser. I., iii., 291) which are in agreement, there can be no doubt with regard to this; see Pirenne, III., 452.

[2] *Cf.* Rachfahl, Oranien, I., 409 *seq.*; Pirenne, III., 525 *seqq.*

[3] See Bullet. de la Comm. Roy. d'hist., Ser. 2, XI., 231; Pirenne, III., 461.

Proceeding rightly from the point of view that repressive measures alone would not be of much avail, he sought, by the furtherance of the Catholic reformation, to remove the numerous ecclesiastical abuses, from which not the least part of the movement of defection had originated. He gave the Jesuits permission to form settlements as early as August 20th, 1556, although Viglius, the President of the Council, opposed it.[1] The king also endeavoured in other ways to combat the grave abuses in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the serious defections from the Church ; at length he resolved to lay the axe at one of the principal roots of the ecclesiastical state of chaos.

In the seventeen provinces, the population of which was greater than that of any other European country north of the Alps,[2] there were only two real bishops of the country, those of Tournai and Arras.[3] The Bishop of Liège was an independent Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in his bishopric, and his diocese also included parts of the German Empire ; like the Bishop of Utrecht, he was under the Elector of Cologne. In the southern part of the Netherlands, Cambrai was dependent on a French archbishop. The same was the case in other parts of the Netherlands. These foreign bishops were too far away to understand the conditions there, and, moreover, they not infrequently exercised their powers there in an illegal manner, and to the prejudice of the sovereign. In addition to this, difficulties arose owing to the difference of the language, which were further increased when people had to go abroad to look after their rights or to appear before a judge. The native dioceses did not correspond to the political districts of the country, and they were so extensive and so thickly populated that one bishop was not able to look after them. In consequence of this, the gravest scandals, from a moral point of view, were able to creep in among the secular and regular clergy. Spiritual instruction, in the form of preaching and

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 209.

[2] *Cf.* PIRENNE, III., 358 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* concerning the organization of the dioceses before 1559 LAENEN in the Annales de l'Acad. archéol. de Belgique, Ser. 5, VI., 67 *seq.*

catechizing, was woefully neglected, and the sacraments very carelessly dispensed. In some places the young people grew up in a state of utter neglect.[1] Even the more earnest-minded bishops were unable, in the unpractical and chaotic condition of the spiritual jurisdiction, to remedy the state of affairs.

In order to do away with this confusion, Philip II. asked from Rome a complete reorganization of the hierarchy, so that by an increase in the number of the bishops, and a diminution in the extent of the dioceses, they might be in a position to proceed, both against the ecclesiastical abuses, and the inroads of heresy. The Pope entrusted this important matter to a commission, consisting of Cardinals Pacheco, Saraceni, Puteo, Reumano, Capizuchi and Rosario. This commission recognized the good intentions of the Spanish king, who, even if he were greatly influenced by political motives, nevertheless had in view, above everything else, the futherance of the religious needs of his provinces of the Netherlands. The proposed reorganization would undoubtedly benefit them in the highest degree.[2]

After long and thorough consideration, it was decided in Rome, that, for the future, the jurisdiction of the German and French bishops should cease in the Netherlands, and that, in addition to the old dioceses, fourteen new ones should be established, namely, Namur, St. Omer, Malines, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Bois-le-duc, Roermond, Haarlem,

[1] See JANNSEN, Über die erste Periode der niederl. Revolution des 16. Jahrh., in the German edition of the Civiltà catt. I., Münster, 1855, 34; HOLZWARTH, I., 107 *seq.*; *cf.* RACHFAHL. I., 306 *seq.*, 610.

[2] See MIRAEUS, Opera dipl. III., 523 *seq.*; *cf.* A. JANSEN, Het advies der commissie van zeven Kardinalen: Archief v. d. geschiedenis v. d. Aartsbisdom Utrecht, IX. (1881), 1-22; BROM, Archivalia, II. (1911), 147. The *Instructions for Sonnius, the envoy sent to Rome, dated Brussels, March 8, 1558, in the State Archives, Brussels. Concerning the plans of Philip II., and the justification of his proposal, see GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., I., xciii. *seq.*; KOCH, Abfall, 44 *seq.*; HOLZWARTH, I., 69 *seq.*; PIRENNE, III., 501 *seq.*, 504.

Deventer, Leeuwarden, Groningen and Middelburg. These dioceses, which corresponded as far as possible to the frontiers of the separate provinces, and to the divisions of the two languages of the country, were placed under the three metropolitan churches of Cambrai, Utrecht and Malines. According to this arrangement, the Archbishop of Malines was to have the dioceses of Antwerp, Bois-le-duc, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Roermond under him; the Archbishop of Cambrai was to have those of Tournai, Arras, St. Omer and Namur, and the Archbishop of Utrecht those of Haarlem, Middelburg, Deventer, Leeuwarden and Groningen.

For this reorganization, which was very excellent from an ecclesiastical point of view, the Pope had to make an important concession to the exertions of Philip II. on behalf of his national church. The Spanish king received the right to propose suitable candidates for the fourteen new dioceses, as well as for those of Utrecht, Tournai and Arras; the king was to remunerate the new bishops from his own treasury, until a fixed income was allotted to them, and to choose the candidates carefully from among the doctors or licentiates of theology. In spite of this limitation, the measure meant an immense strengthening of the royal power. Whether the natives of the Netherlands, who were so jealous of their liberties, would quietly accept it, was another question. Besides this, the new bishoprics could not very well be endowed, except at the expense of the monasteries and collegiate foundations.[1] Consequently, there was considerable excitement among the nobility of the Netherlands, which spread among the influential clergy of the monasteries and foundations. Naturally, all those who were inclined to the new doctrines, regarded the prospect of an increased and more severe ecclesiastical super-

[1] The reasons for this compensation are explained in the judgment of the Cardinals cited *supra* p. 321, n. 2, that the "bona monasteriorum hodie non Christo, sed privatorum commodis et vitae voluptatibus serviant, eo quod in eis non admodum regulariter vivatur."

vision with great aversion. The new measure,[1] which was promulgated by a bull of May 12th, 1559,[2] proper and salutary as it was in the abstract, nevertheless contained the germ of grave complications.

In the neighbouring kingdom of France, which was so closely associated with the Netherlands by so many intellectual and material ties, Henry II. was watching, with no less decision than Philip II. was doing in his dominions, over the maintenance of the external stability of the old Church, which had brought so many advantages to the crown by means of the concordat.[3] The hopes which the reformers had built on the alliance of the French king with the German Protestant princes against the Emperor, had not been realized. Purely political reasons alone had tempted Henry II. to this course, and the persecution of the Protestants continued during the alliance just as severely as before. After the death of Julius III. it was again politics which had brought about a close union of Henry II. with the Pope.

Paul IV. did not delay in making his alliance with France useful for ecclesiastical purposes as well. If the nuncio, Gualterio, had already been active in exhorting the king to

[1] *Questa sera N.S. ha fatto congregatione di molti cardinali sopra la divisione et erectione dei vescovadi di Fiandra. B. Pia to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, April 22, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Bull., VI., 559 *seqq.*; *cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, III., 38; MASIUS, Briefe, 318-319; BROWN, VII., n. 75. RIESS (p. 73) erroneously places this bull of May 12, 1559, in connection with the auto-da-fé of May 31, 1559; he also maintains that Philip II. did not obtain the right of appointment for Malines and Antwerp, which is contradicted by the text of the bull. Cambrai alone is not mentioned there. As early as August 8, 1559, Philip II. addressed a letter to the bishops of the Netherlands concerning the extirpation of heresy; see Compte rendu de la Comm. d'hist., Ser. 3, IX., 300 *seqq.*

[3] Concerning the action taken against the innovators in France since 1551, see AUBERT in the Rev. des quest. hist., LXXXIII. (1908), 107 *seq.*

take energetic steps against the innovators,[1] Cardinal Carafa lost no time, on his appearance at the French court, in proposing, in the Pope's name, the introduction of the Roman Inquisition into France.[2] The king willingly promised to do everything to suppress heresy in his kingdom. He also promised to observe the agreement regarding the concordat entered into with Julius III., which had been so often broken.[3] On account of the opposition of the Paris Parliament to the introduction of the Roman Inquisition, Henry II. and Paul IV. arranged a compromise, according to which three French Cardinals should conduct the Inquisition in France, under the direction of the Holy See. A brief of April 25th, 1557, entrusted Cardinals Lorraine, Bourbon and Châtillon with the necessary powers for so doing.[4] This arrangement, which the Parliament also resisted, lasted for so short a time that the Pope revoked it as early as June, 1558, and entrusted the work of the Inquisition once more to the diocesan bishops.[5] They, however, as well as the secular tribunals, were often wanting in decision. It is no wonder that those of the new religion were always growing bolder. Their number was constantly increasing, especially because the unprincipled king misused the privileges granted him by the concordat in the most shameful manner. Ecclesiastical benefices were used for the reward of those who had rendered services in war or at the court; the younger nobles received them for their maintenance, for which reason the benefices were entered in a false name. It thus happened that officers serving in the army were also receiving the revenues of rich abbeys, and, what was still worse, several of

[1] See *Nonciat.*, II., 340.

[2] See Ribier, II., 677.

[3] See *Nonciat.*, II., 354, 415, 459; *cf.* Raynaldus, 1555, n. 41.

[4] Raynaldus, 1557, n. 29. Ribier, II., 677. The letter of thanks for the brief from Cardinal Lorraine to Paul IV., in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., V., 611.

[5] This fact, hitherto unknown to all investigators, including Hinschius (VI., 342), I have taken from an *Avviso di Roma of July 2, 1558 (Vatican Library). Concerning the resistance of the Parliament see Soldan, I., 252.

these holders of benefices also wanted to administer the office assigned to them. A Venetian ambassador remarked with astonishment how quickly soldiers and merchants in France were often turned into bishops and abbots. The ecclesiastical state consequently degenerated more and more, and it not infrequently happened that dioceses were abandoned by their bishops, or else possessed none at all. This neglect of their duty on the part of the superiors had the most disastrous effect on the lower clergy. In spite of all this, however, the Church still had deep roots among the people, though the great evils which had taken possession of them rendered them incapable of offering an effective resistance to the innovators.[1] A regeneration of ecclesiastical conditions might have been introduced by the Jesuits, but the University and the Parliament just at that time put the greatest obstacles in the way of any extension of their activities.[2]

The Catholics, therefore, remained weak, disunited and badly organized; the innovators, on the other hand, kept firmly together, and steadily developed a methodical agitation, under the direction of Calvin. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that they were increasingly successful. Indeed, in the spring of 1559, a minority in the Parliament of Paris was favourable to them, and resisted the former severe measures against them. The king, who was more than ever inclined to a decisive resistance to heresy,[3] since the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had been concluded with Spain in April, 1559, endeavoured to silence the opposition by appearing suddenly in the Parliament on June 10th. He had, however, to meet with violent resistance. If Parliament had hitherto attacked, in a thoroughly Gallican way, the Roman Curia as the source of all the evil, they did not now fail to turn also against the

[1] See Soranzo in ALBÈRI, Ser. I., II., 409; DE MEAUX, Luttes religieuses, 46 *seqq.*; MARCKS, Coligny, 262 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 203 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 266 *seqq.*, where the decisions on the religious questions and the influence of the peace are made clear, and it is shown that no secret article concerning the extirpation of heretics existed.

king, whose loose manner of life afforded many points of attack. With unmistakable allusion to him, Anne Dubourg called out: "Adultery and debauchery swagger about unmolested, but who are those who are condemned to death? Those whose crime consists in having uncovered the Roman shame, and having striven to bring about a salutary reform." Henry II. answered by ordering the arrest of Dubourg, and addressing a circular to the Parliament and the courts of justice, admonishing them to the most severe measures against those who had fallen away from the faith.[1]

It was expected that Henry II. would see to the carrying out of his orders by making a tour of his kingdom, and, in alliance with the Duke of Savoy, undertaking an expedition for the destruction of Geneva, the head-quarters of Calvinism. All plans of this kind, however, were destroyed by the sudden death of the king, at the age of only forty-two; he succumbed in July to a wound he had received in a tournament. Two months before this, the preachers of eleven heretical conventicles assembled secretly in the suburb of St. Germain, and there drew up a confession of faith, and a system of church government, both thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Calvin.[2] The number of the adherents of Calvin at this time in France amounted to 400,000,[3] if the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo, is to be believed. Under such circumstances the Parliament entrusted with the care of the country, and which was now entering upon office after the death of Henry II., would be a specially fateful one for France. Paul IV. feared that it would prove indulgent to those who had fallen away from the faith, and held up Philip II. before it as a model.[4]

[1] See DE MEAUX, Luttes relig., 56 *seqq.*; *cf.* SOLDAN, I., 277 *seq.*, and RANKE, Franzosische Geschicte, I.[2], 187 *seq.*, Ranke erroneously makes the king appear in the Parliament as early as March 10. See also AUBERT, *loc. cit.*, 111 *seq.*

[2] See HERZOG'S Realenzyklopädie, III.[3], 784 *seq.*; VI.[3], 232 *seq.*

[3] See ALBÈRI, Ser. I, ii., 409; *cf. ibid.*, iii., 425 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* besides RIBIER, II., 811, 815, the report of B. Pia to Cardinal E. Gonzaga, dated Rome, July 19, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The dangers which threatened the Catholic Church in Poland were no less grave than in France. The learned and eminent Bishop of Verona, Luigi Lippomano, had already been destined by Julius III. to act as nuncio at the court of the last Jagellon king, Sigismund Augustus, whose weakness and instability gave cause for the worst fears. On June 13th, 1555, Paul IV. ratified the appointment of Lippomano.[1] The nuncio, well provided with letters of recommendation from the Pope and Cardinal Farnese, who was then Protector of Poland, proceeded by way of Augsburg, where he was present at the Imperial Diet, on a special mission, from the end of July until September 7th. The learned Jesuit Salmeron was appointed by the Pope to accompany him to Poland.[2] The journey from Augsburg to Warsaw lasted thirty-two days, and from thence to Wilna, where the Polish king then resided, and which they at length reached on October 28th, another fifteen days. Salmeron drew a vivid picture of the difficulties of the long journey, and of the deprivations which the travellers had to endure, in a letter to Ignatius of Loyola. "Whoever has travelled through this country," he said, "has not only done penance for all his sins, but has also gained a plenary indulgence."[3]

When they were admitted to an audience at Wilna by the king, the latter declared to the nuncio that there were only two means of settling the religious confusion in his kingdom: either the holding of a General Council, which, under the present circumstances was impossible, or of a national council.[4] According to Catholic principles, a national council could not

[1] See Raynaldus, 1555, n. 56; *ibid.*, n. 57-61; Theiner, II., n. 662-664; Caro-Farnese, II., 314 *seq.*; 326 *seqq.*; *cf.* Dembinsky, Rzym, 191; Ehrenberg, 69 *seq.*; see also L. Latinius, Lucubrat., I., 50 *seqq.*, and Hosii epist., II., 597, 606. Concerning Lippomano, *cf.* also Lauchert, 570 *seq.*

[2] See Polanco, V., 177. On July 12, 1555, Salmeron received 'scuta 60 pro itinere in regno Poloniae" (*Intr. et Exit., 1555. State Archives, Rome).

[3] Epist. Salmeronis, 130; *cf.* Hosii epist., II., 622.

[4] Salmeron to Ignatius on January 1, 1556, *loc. cit.*, 132.

make a definite pronouncement with regard to matters of faith; moreover, it contained within itself, under the circumstances then prevailing, the danger of the rise of an independent national church, and of a complete severance from the Holy See. Lippomano lost no time in pointing this out to the king, and in demanding that, instead of the previous negligence, strict measures should be adopted against the enemies of the faith. In his conversations with persons in authority, however, he found "all the doors closed."[1] The bishops also were wanting in decision and courage, and ecclesiastical conditions were in great need of improvement in every way.[2] With the exception of the eminent Hosius, and the noble Nicholas Dzierzgowski, Archbishop of Gnesen, most of the bishops were without any zeal for their office, and full of weak compliance; several, indeed, were not free from the suspicion of having leanings towards heresy.[3] The Pope had already explained to them, on October 8th, 1555, in answer to their inquiry, that dogmas of the Catholic Church could only be decided in a General Council, but not in a provincial or national one, and at the same time had admonished them not to shrink from any danger in the defence of the faith. Repentant heretics should be forgiven, but obstinacy should be punished with great severity.[4] However, severity was not to be thought of, on

[1] *Ibid.* 133; *cf.* also Lippomano's report in DEMBINSKY, Rzym, 191, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* Lippomano's report to Hosius of June 1, 1556, in CYPRIAN, Tabular. eccl. Rom., Frankfort, 1743, 67; Hosii epist., II., 713.

[3] *Cf.* EICHHORN, Hosius, I., 205 *seqq.* Joh. Drohojowski, bishop of Leslau (Kujawien) seemed to be especially open to suspicion; *cf.* EHRENBERG, 74. Lippomano examined witnesses concerning him, and also concerning the bishop of Cracow, A. Zebrzydowski, and sent their evidence to Rome (see RELACYE, I., 26 *seq.*; *ibid.* a letter of vindication from Drohojowski to Paul IV.). The Catholic parish priest, BUKOWSKI, is of opinion, in his history of the Polish Reformation (Dzieje reformacyi w Polsce, II., Cracow, 1883, n) that there were hardly three or four bishops who upheld the dignity of their position, and that, for the most part, the evil was increasing to an alarming extent.

[4] RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 61.

account of the weakness of the good-natured king. Many influential members of the court cherished the new doctrines, some quite openly and some in secret, and used all their influence to support them. All efforts, therefore, for the defence of the Catholic Church against the attacks of the innovators, however illegal these might be, proved fruitless. The nobles could take possession of church property without molestation; courage as well as unity were wanting to the Catholic party, and the erection of a Jesuit college, which Salmeron had wished to effect, proved quite impossible.[1]

Lippomano resolved to remain at Wilna for the present, and sent Salmeron back to Rome, so that he might report to the Pope concerning the state of affairs in Poland by word of mouth. Matters were daily growing worse, since the king allowed the nobles, in their private dwellings, to hold any form of divine service based on the Scriptures, which suited them best. It is clear from the instructions which Sigismund Augustus gave at the beginning of 1556 to the ambassador, Stanislaus Maciejowski, who was proceeding to Rome, that, in spite of all the representations of the Pope and his nuncio, the king still held fast to the idea that he could once more restore peace to his kingdom by holding a national council, and by making far-reaching concessions to the religious innovators.[2] When the ambassador arrived in Rome, in May, he was received with all due honour.[3] On May 5th he performed the solemn act of "obedientia" to the Pope.[4] The good impression which this had produced was completely destroyed, however, by the demands which Maciejowski made in the name of the king at a private audience: the marriage of priests, communion under both kinds, the saying of mass in the language of the country, and, finally, the holding of a

[1] Salmeron to Ignatius on January 1, 1556, *loc. cit.*, 133.

[2] DEMBINSKI, Beschickung des Tridentinums, 55 *seq.*, where details are given of the weakening of the Instructions.

[3] See Navagero's *report of May 2, 1556 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

[4] See *Acta consist. cancell. VII. (Consistorial Archives); MASIUS, Briefe, 259; MASSARELLI, 290.

national council, in the event of a General Council proving impossible, and should the Pope consent to it.[1] Paul IV. was most painfully affected by the idea that a Catholic king should so far forget himself as to adopt as his own the demands of the very people whom he should have punished most severely, but he never for a moment thought of granting them. In a letter to the king, he referred him to his nuncio, who was fully instructed on all points, at the same time warning him most earnestly of the responsibility of the monarch, who would one day have to render an account before the tribunal of God's justice.[2]

Lippomano had, in the meantime, had some distressing experiences. Every day it was becoming clearer to him that it was not the king who ruled, but the great nobles, and, above all, Prince Nicholas Radziwill, who was related to the king by marriage, and who promoted the interests of the innovators in every way. In order to induce Radziwill to change his mind, Lippomano addressed a very urgent letter to him. In reply, he received a letter drawn up by the apostate Vergerio, which was full of personal insults and abuse, especially against the Pope, and was soon after circulated in print.[3] The nuncio's position grew still worse when it became known, through somebody's indiscretion, that he had advised the king, quite in accordance with the ideas of the Pope, to put an end to the religious complications in his kingdom, by having from eight to ten of the worst ringleaders put to death. Lampoons and caricatures now jeered at the Pope's representative, whose very life was threatened. Completely discouraged, Lippomano, at the beginning of April, 1556, begged to be recalled

[1] See the letter of the Duke of Paliano to Lippomano of May 30, 1556, in a Polish translation in the RELACYE, I., 29 *seq.*; *cf.* BROWN, VI., 1, n. 484.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1556, n. 29; TURNBULL, n. 508; MASIUS, Briefe, 263 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*

[3] KRASINSKI, 121. Concerning Radziwill see KONIECKI, Gesch. der Reformation in Polen, Breslau, 1872, 47; ROSTOWSKI Lituanicarum Soc. Iesu historiarum libri 10, ed. Martinov Paris, 1877, 5, 7.

from the "hell" in which he found himself. It was best, he wrote, very hastily, to leave Poland without a nuncio, since he could not remain with dignity in a place where monks and cardinals were openly mocked at, and designs were entertained against the life of the Pope's representative.[1] Lippomano had, nevertheless, to remain for almost another nine months at his very difficult post. It was especially painful to him that he found, on the part of the Catholics, not only incredible weakness, but also unfounded jealousy. When he finally succeeded, in September, in bringing together a provincial synod of the Polish clergy at Lowicz, they wanted to exclude him from the conferences, and it required all his energy and sagacity to prevent this. The synod made several salutary decisions with regard to the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline, and for the protection of the Catholics against the attacks of the heretics, and removed the immediate danger of a national council.[2] This danger, however, was by no means completely averted.

Lippomano, as well as the Pope, awaited the Diet, which was to be held in Warsaw, with great anxiety. They both feared that, in view of the weakness of the king, the fall of the Catholic Church in Poland was inevitable.

At the end of September, 1556, Lippomano had once more reported, in great detail, to Rome, the persecutions to which he was exposed on the part of the innovators. He would, he said, employ all his powers at Warsaw, for the defence of the Church, and in accordance with the commands of the Pope, but would then make use of the permission granted him, to return to Italy. It sufficed him to have shown that it was

[1] The letter of Lippomano to P. Contarini from Lowicz of April 8, 1556, in the Cod. Barb. lat. 822, p. 329 *seq.* (Vatican Library); also in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice, It. V., 16, p. 279 *seq.*; in Polish in the RELACYE, I., 13 *seqq.*, Concerning the lampoons against Lippomano and the Pope see HOSII epist., II., 670, 751; HUBERT, 304 *seq.*; VÖLKER, 29 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KRASINSKI, 116 *seq.*; EICHHORN, I., 268 *seq.*; RELACYE I., 33 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*; TROSKOLANSKI, Dzieje reformacyi polskiej, 1556-1560, Lwów, 1905-1907.

neither the Pope's fault, nor his own, if matters did not improve. These matters Lippomano summed up by saying: "Here in this country, everyone acts exactly as he pleases, without fear of punishment."[1]

The following occurrence at the Diet at Warsaw shows that the nuncio was not too severe in his judgment. Paul IV., in an encyclical of December 4th, 1556, had earnestly admonished the Polish bishops to use every means to prevent disadvantageous decisions being arrived at in the assembly.[2] The result of this was that the demand for complete religious liberty, which was presented by the Prussian cities, in union with the Polish knighthood, was refused, the king declaring that the Diet must occupy itself only with the defence of the country. Before his departure, Sigismund even issued a prohibition of all religious changes; this edict, however, was neither published nor carried out![3]

At the beginning of 1557 Lippomano left the Polish kingdom,[4]

[1] "Ognuno fa ciò che gli piace nec est qui visitet aut qui corrigat." Lippomano to the Duke of Paliano, dated Lowicz' September 22, 1556 (Cod. Barb. lat. 822, p. 355 of the Vatican Library, and It., V., 16, p. 292 *seq.* of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice). The letter in which Lippomano points out that he had not made use of his faculties, as he did not wish to take a certain Heller away with him from Poland, is in the RELACYE, I., 32-40, in a Polish translation.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1556, n. 41.

[3] See EICHHORN, I., 273-274; *cf.* HOSII epist., II., 879.

[4] *Cf.* EICHHORN, I., 275 n. 1. On March 7, 1557, Lippomano *reports to Paul IV. from Verona that he is very much fatigued from the journey, and is also suffering from gout, for which reason he sends his auditor to report for the time being (Original in the Cod. Barb. lat. 5715 of the Vatican Library). In a *letter dated Verona, May 18, 1557, he expresses the hope of soon being able to go to Rome. Navagero reports concerning his arrival there on June 26, 1557: *Gionse qui domenica il rev. di Verona; "to-day he is only two leagues away from the Pope."; (Court Library, Vienna, *loc. cit.*). Lippomano's *Relatione di Polonia (widely circulated in manuscript, e.g., in the Cod. Urb. 822, p. 634 *seq.*; Ottob. 2433, p. 172 *seq.*, 2510, p. 69 *seq.* Vatican

which then remained without a nuncio for six months.[1] When, however, in the summer of 1558, another attack upon the Catholic Church in Poland was declared to be imminent, Paul IV. recognized that Lippomano's advice, to leave Poland without a Papal representative, had been a mistake. On July 14th, the eminent Cardinal Rebiba was appointed legate to the Emperor and the King of Poland. As obstacles to his departure presented themselves, the appointment of a new nuncio for Poland was made on August 11th.[2] This was Camillo Mentuato, who had already been in Poland under Julius III. His experiences were no better than those of Lippomano. Paul IV. had decided that two members of the Jesuit order, Peter Canisius and Theodoric Gerhard, should accompany the nuncio. Gerhard had to be replaced by another Jesuit, owing to illness. As the latter also fell ill on the way, Canisius arrived alone with the nuncio in Cracow, after a most difficult journey, on October 12th, 1558. He found the Catholic Church there flourishing externally, but dangerously threatened with an attack by the innovators. The powerful nobles had almost all fallen away, but the great mass of the people were

Library. Copies also in the Chigi and Corsini Libraries; translated in the RELACYE, I., 64 *seq.*) is of no great importance.

[1] WIERZBOWSKI (Synopsis legat. nuntior., etc., in Polonia, Rome, 1880. 59) also supposes that Pamfilo Strasoldo was only intended as nuncio in 1557. The instructions for him in the Altieri Library, Rome, Miscell. VI., 161 *seq.*, printed in CIAMPI, II., 33. What horrible lies about Paul IV. were circulated in Poland in the summer of 1557, is evident from the letter in the Opera ined. St. Orzechowski, ed. KORZENIOWSKI, I., Cracow, 1891, 481 *seq.*

[2] See PIEPER, Legaten, 117 *seq.*, where, however, the briefs of Paul IV. concerning Mentuato's appointment, which are printed in the RELACYE, I., 69 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, are overlooked; *cf.* also L. LATINIUS, Lucubrat., I., 131 *seq.*; COGGIOLA, Capitolazione, 126; EHRENBERG, 76 *seq.*; the statements in CIAMPI, I., 169 are quite erroneous. Concerning Rebiba see DEMBINSKI, Rzym, 195.

true to the old faith, and gave numerous proofs of their pious dispositions.[1]

The nuncio was not found wanting in zeal,[2] and Canisius supported him faithfully.[3] After a meeting with the Archbishop of Gnesen, he betook himself, accompanied by Canisius, to Petrikau, where the Diet was again to be held.

The longer Canisius remained in Poland, the more clearly did he understand the danger threatening the Church and her interests. "Everything here," he reports to Rome, "depends on the king and the bishops. The king has fair words for us, but nobody who knows his character more intimately expects anything from him. He puts the whole blame for the religious disasters of the last four years on the bishops; they, in their turn, complain of the king."[4] These complaints appear to have been justified, for, as had previously been the case, no deeds followed his words.[5] The bishops themselves, however, were also much to blame. Canisius points this out, and says that it almost appeared as if, despairing of anything being possible, they had made up their minds for the worst, and thought only of one thing, which was to save what they could for themselves from the general shipwreck. Many of them, moreover, were very old men, and several of them were not to be trusted, especially a certain Uchanski, to whom the Pope had very properly refused confirmation, and from whom more was to be feared than was to be hoped from all the rest. The heretics now dared to hold divine service quite publicly, and hardly anyone, with the exception of the nuncio, raised any protest. The representatives of the Pope met everywhere with great mistrust; Canisius had only one consolation: the newly appointed Archbishop of Gnesen, Przezembski, the

[1] Braunsberger, II., 294 *seq.*, 301 *seq.*, 303, 310 *seq.*, 319 *seq.*, 831; *cf.* Zaleski in the publication Przeglad Powszechny, LI. (1896), 155 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*

[2] Braunsberger, II., 325.

[3] *Cf.* Anz. der Krakauer Akad. der Wissensch., 1894, 228 *seq.*

[4] Braunsberger, II., 341.

[5] *Cf.* Lippomano's opinion in the letter of September 30, 1557, in Hosii epist., II., 879.

primate of the kingdom, came to him of his own initiative, in order to confer with him about the foundation of a Jesuit college in Poland.[1]

The principal duty of Mentuato was to prevent anything happening at the Diet which would be disadvantageous to the Church.[2] As the General Council was still in the distant future, the idea of a national synod again sprang up. Canisius endeavoured to rob the plan of its danger by proposing that the synod should be held under the presidency of a Cardinal. The fact that not only the nobles, but the cities as well, demanded the exclusion of the bishops from the forthcoming election of the king, on the ground that their oath to the Pope was not compatible with their oath of allegiance to the king,[3] shows the dangerous state of mind disclosed in the Diet. When the latter was safely concluded without any injury having resulted to the Church, the nuncio was very much to be congratulated on the fact. He did not, it is true, succeed in getting the king to prohibit heretical preaching. The reason for this was that Mentuato had now to reckon with the jealousy of the Catholic bishops, as had previously been the case with Lippomano, for they endeavoured to exclude him from their conferences, and, on the whole, adopted an ambiguous attitude.[4] On February 11th, 1559, the nuncio announced that the Diet had closed in great disorder, without having arrived at any decision.[5] This much, at least, had been gained, that the king had allowed no steps to be taken against the bishops, nor any change to be made in the religion of the country;[6] in other respects, however, heretics like Lasco could continue their propaganda undisturbed. Religious conditions, reports

[1] See BRAUNSBERGER, II., 341 *seq.*, 346, 351 *seq.*, 359.

[2] *Cf.* ZAKRZEWSKI, Powstanie i wzrost reformacyi w Polsce, Lipsk, 1870, 260 *seq.*; DEMBINSKI, Rzym, 196 *seq.*

[3] See BRAUNSBERGER, II., 342, 355; DEMBINSKI, 196.

[4] See Mentuato's *report from Petrikau of January 28, 1559 (Lett di princ. XI., 252 *seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican); *cf.* DEMBINSKI, 197 *seq.*

[5] *Letter of Mentuato, *loc. cit.*, XI., 254-256.

[6] *Cf.* BRAUNSBERGER, II., 361.

Mentuato from Cracow on April 11th, 1559, were steadily getting worse; he could accomplish nothing owing to the weakness of the king,[1] whom nobody wished to vex.

At the same time Paul IV. made application, in an extremely outspoken letter, to the king himself. His duty, he said, as chief shepherd of the Church, compelled him to speak frankly concerning the things which were reported to him from Poland. These were to the effect that the king favoured the heretics, whom one should not even salute, according to the precepts of the apostle, St. John; he had them at his table, was in correspondence with them, allowed their writings to be disseminated, and permitted them to hold meetings and to preach publicly against the Catholic faith. It filled him with the deepest sorrow to think that the king, instead of defending the Church, supported its adversaries with his favour. "Have you then," said the Pope, "so far forgotten your parents and your forefathers, those celebrated kings, that you take upon yourself to favour heretics, and live on friendly terms with those people whose writings should be avoided like the plague?" The Pope specially reproached the king with having given the bishopric of Kujaiwien to that Uchanski, Bishop of Chelm, who was infected with the most detestable heresy, without waiting for the confirmation of the Holy See, and with having appointed Prince Radziwill, the open defender and leader of the heretics, as his first minister of state. The dissemination of heresy would bring about the downfall of his kingdom. There was still time, however, to change, and remove the innovations introduced into his dominions. The Pope concluded by saying that he hoped his exhortations would be listened to. Should they remain without effect, then he would not only recall his nuncio, but would also employ such means as God should inspire him to adopt.[2]

[1] *Tanto mite che difficilmente s'induce a dispiacere ad alcuno (Lett. di princ. XI., 263-264. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] The undated letter in RAYNALDUS, 1556, n. 34, belongs, as the contents show, not to the year 1556, but to the spring of 1559. (Kindly pointed out to be by Dr. Kuntze). With regard to the dispute concerning the filling of the bishopric of Kujawien *cf.*

In Rome, where Hosius personally made a report,[1] the defection of the Polish king was already feared. Cardinal Puteo, the vice-protector of Poland in the Curia, also addressed to him an urgent letter of exhortation.[2] These fears, however, proved to be groundless. If the king, from weakness and for political reasons, did not earnestly protect the ancient church against the attacks of the religious innovators, he, at any rate, did not join them.[3]

WIERZBOWSKI, Uchanskiana, I.—V., Warsaw, 1885, and J. KORYTKOWSKI, Die Ersbischöfe von Gnesen, III., Posen, 1889 (in Polish).

[1] *Cf.* EICHHORN I., 303 *seq.* According to an *Avviso di Roma of May 13, 1559, Paul IV. detained Hosius in Rome; it was thought that he would make him a Cardinal (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 35. Vatican Library).

[2] L. LATINIUS, Lucubrat., II., 138 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DEMBINSKI, Konzil, 62 *seq.* and Ryzm, 199.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Consummation of the Schism in Germany. Dispute of Paul IV. with Ferdinand I.

While the scales were still trembling in the balance in Poland, in Germany they were ever leaning more and more towards Protestantism. The decisive step was taken at the Diet of Augsburg. The Holy See was represented there by the nuncio, Delfino, as well as by the Cardinal-Legate, Morone, who, however, was summoned to Rome, together with Cardinal Truchsess, at the end of March, 1555, for the Papal election. Truchsess had, clearly in agreement with Morone, entered a protest on March 23rd, 1555, against the plan according to which the religious affairs of the Empire were to be arranged in favour of the Protestants. The importance of the influence exercised by these two men is shown by the fact that the resistance of the Catholics to the far-reaching demands of the Protestants now began to weaken.[1] From the reports of Delfino Paul IV. learned that the heretics did not even hesitate to threaten that they would break down the resistance of the Catholics by force of arms.[2] Paul IV. had, even as a Cardinal, watched the development of affairs in Germany very carefully,

[1] See Maurenbrecher, Karl V., 332. Concerning the protest of Truchsess see Steinberger, Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage, Freiburg, 1906, 10. I take this opportunity of drawing attention to a manuscript in the Seminary Library at Trêves, (II., 14), which has not yet been examined in detail: *Protocollum actorum in Comitiis Augustanis, incipiens a. d. 31 Dec., 1554 et finiens d. 25 Sept., 1555, scriptum a quodam qui interfuit comitiis et cardinali legato ibidem praesenti fuisse videtur amicus.

[2] See Delfino's report of June 2, 1555 in Maurenbrecher, 169*. Paul IV. made much in his *brief of thanks for the congratulations of Ferdinand I., dated June 19, 1555, of the hopes which he placed in the King of the Romans concerning the interests of religion (Brev. ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 131. Secret Archives of the Vatican).

and with growing anxiety ;[1] he now resolved to do everything in his power to prevent the result of the Diet proving unfavourable to the Church. He therefore commissioned Luigi Lippomano, who was destined as nuncio to the Polish king, and who, in the last part of the life of Paul III., had been with Pighino for two years in Germany, and had a thorough knowledge of the conditions there,[2] to go first to Augsburg ; he then recalled Delfino to Rome, to give him an oral account of all that had taken place.[3]

It was pointed out to Lippomano in his instructions that he should work upon Ferdinand I. and the Catholic princes of Germany, so that the Diet might be dissolved without being brought to a formal conclusion, and without its having adopted any decisions unfavourable to the Catholics. The nuncio was specially instructed to draw the attention of the King of the Romans to the fact that if the aggressive Lutheran policy should be successful in overthrowing the Catholic bishoprics, the Protestants would before long proceed to the destruction of the Imperial house of Austria.[4] Paul IV. wrote himself in this sense to Ferdinand I., on July 6th, 1555. At the same time the Pope, in special briefs, called upon the Catholic princes of Germany, Albert V. of Bavaria, Henry of Brunswick, and William of Cleves, as well as the whole of the episcopate, to rally to the protection of Catholic interests.[5] Paul

[1] Carafa had been in the Netherlands in 1515 (not, as Lossen says, in 1514 ; MASIUS, Briefe, 250).

[2] *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte, XI., xiii *seq.*

[3] See the *briefs of July 9, 1555, to Delfino and Lippomano and that of July 10 to Ferdinand I. (Brev. ad princ., *loc. cit.*, n. 158, 159, 160. Secret Archives of the Vatican) ; *cf.* PIEPER, 109 ; STEINHERZ, I., xxxiv.

[4] The instructions of July 3, 1555 in MAURENBRECHER, 169*.

[5] The *brief to Ferdinand I. of July 6, 1555 in the Brev. ad princ., *loc. cit.*, n. 148, that to Albert V. in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 44 ; the further *letters to the Archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg, to Henry of Brunswick and William of Cleves, as well as to different German bishops in the Brev. ad princ., *loc. cit.*, n. 151-156 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

IV. in particular set great hopes on Albert V., to whom he addressed a special letter of thanks and praise on July 26th, in which he acknowledged the growing importance of Bavaria in Catholic matters.[1]

The two representatives of the Holy See at Augsburg were not wanting in zeal, and if their indefatigable representations to King Ferdinand, to Albert V. and to the bishops were not more successful than was actually the case,[2] this was in no way their fault. Ferdinand I. and Albert V. by no means realized the importance of the demands of the innovators. They found themselves forced into such a position that one may be glad that, chiefly owing to the exertions of the nuncio, the worst was averted, and that those demands of the Protestants which aimed at the handing over to the new religion of the remaining parts of Germany, which were still true to the Catholic Church, were refused. At the same time, those things which the Protestants succeeded in attaining were so pregnant of results, that the victory of the religious rupture in Germany was thereby assured.[3]

While Delfino, on August 14th, was hurrying to Rome to deliver his report, Lippomano remained at Augsburg until the first week in September.[4] He handed in a resolute note setting forth that disputes in matters of faith could be decided by no other court than that of the Holy See. When the unfavourable outcome of the Diet could no longer be doubted, he left Augsburg, in order not to be a passive witness while regulations were being made which were, for the most part, highly disadvantageous to the Catholic religion.[5]

[1] Raynaldus, 1555, n. 45; *cf.* Druffel, IV., 701, n. 1.

[2] See the reports of the nuncios in Maurenbrecher, 177* *seq.*; *cf.* Wolf, Deutsche Gesch., I., 728 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Pastor, Reunionsbestrebungen, 466 *seq.*; Janssen-Pastor, III., 17-18, 794 *seqq.*

[4] See the reports of the nunciatures in Maurenbrecher, 178* *seqq.* The arrival of Delfino in Rome was delayed by illness; see the *letter of Delfino dated Venice, September 7, 1555 in the Cod. Barb. lat. XLI., 23 (Vatican Library).

[5] See Delfino's Informazione *infra* p. 341, n. 2.

The Pope had, at the last moment, endeavoured, by means of an urgent letter on September 6th, 1555, to induce the Emperor to influence his brother,[1] but in vain. Charles V., who could not reconcile the concessions demanded by the Protestants with his conscience, nevertheless considered them inevitable, in view of the actual state of affairs, and allowed the full powers which he had conferred on Ferdinand I. to remain as they were. Exhausted by a struggle which would have worn out a will of iron and nerves of steel, he was, just at that time, making the final arrangements for withdrawing completely from the affairs of the world. The so-called religious peace of Augsburg was, therefore, arrived at on September 25th, 1555; by this, Ferdinand I., placed as he was in the greatest difficulties by the attitude of the Turks, the French, and the Protestant princes,[2] gave his assent to the

[1] The brief, with passages missing, according to a manuscript at Simancas, in MAURENBRECHER, 183* *seq.*, is in full in the *Brev. ad princ., *loc. cit.*, n. 232 (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[2] This strained position was already brought out by both nuncios in their report of July 31, 1555 (MAURENBRECHER, 177*); later on Delfino specially emphasized it in his *Informazione*. This interesting report, which defends Ferdinand wherever possible, is frequently found in Italian libraries; in Rome, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Cod. Urb. 851, P. 1, p. 14 *seq.*, Vat. 5666, Polit. 10, p. 264 *seq.*; in the Altieri Library, Miscell. XI., p. 116 *seq.*; in the Barberini Library, LVIII., 40, p. 38 *seq.*; in the Corsini Library Cod. 677 (formerly 35— B. 6), p. 415 *seq.*; in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice (see VALENTINELLI in the Abhandl. der Bayr, Akad. Histor., Kl. IX., 763); in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, Istruz. I., 389 *seq.*, and also in the National Library, Paris, St. Germain, 278 (see MARSAND, II., 80) and Ital. 1171 (see PIEPER, 206). The copy in DÖLLINGER (Beiträge, I., 228 *seq.*) which is defective and full of mistakes, is the one most frequently cited. This has already been pointed out by REIMANN (Forschungen, V., 323) PIEPER (*loc. cit.*) STEINHERZ (I., xxxvi.) and POSTINA (Zeitschr. fur Gesch. des Oberrheins, N.F., XV. [1900], 366), but they have all overlooked the fact that long before Döllinger's edition (since 1844) there was a fairly good copy from a MS. in the Colonna Archives, in the publication *Saggiatore*,

Imperial recognition of the religious rupture. The princes and states of the Empire, who professed the Confession of Augsburg, now obtained what they had so long striven after: the indefinite duration of the peace, the undisturbed possession of the church property seized before 1552, the suspension of episcopal jurisdiction in their dominions, and full liberty in the practice of the form of church government which they claimed. Every State of the Empire, whether Catholic or professing the Confession of Augsburg, now had the right to fix the religion of its subjects; whoever did not wish to conform was at liberty to leave the country after the sale of his property; whoever could not or would not do so, must conform to the religion of the authorities of the state.[1] The principle of the new national religion was this: To whomsoever the country belongs, to him also belongs its religion. Secular absolutism had won the day in religious matters. The innovators, however, in their joy at what they had gained, overlooked the fact that this was a two-edged weapon, which might at once be turned against themselves in the event of a prince changing his religious opinions. The Protestants did not consider themselves bound by the spiritual reservation, in accordance with which those who adopted the new doctrines must forfeit ecclesiastical offices and dignities, as this clause had only been introduced into the text of the religious peace as a regulation issued by Ferdinand I. in virtue of his plenary Imperial powers, and had not yet been decided by the states of the Empire. These and similar obscurities contained in themselves the germ of new and serious disputes. The peace was really rather a measure of expediency than a final agreement; in more than one respect it resembled an armistice, which was used to gather fresh strength in order to renew the struggle with still greater bitterness than before. This was

I., 2, 130 *seqq.* The time of its composition Reimann (*loc. cit.*) rightly places at the beginning of 1559, (not 1557, as Döllinger supposed).

[1] *Cf.* PAULUS, Religionsfreiheit und Augsburger Religionsfreide: Histor-pol. BL., CXLIX., 356 *seqq.*, 401 *seqq.*

the conviction both of the Protestants and the Catholics.[1]

It was also in this sense that Paul IV. acted. However deeply he was pained by the injury inflicted on the Church by the Augsburg decisions, he restrained himself after making a solemn protest.[2] He hoped to render this agreement, which he considered invalid, ineffectual, by means of special negotiations, or, if this should prove impossible, to combat its harmful results by every means in his power. As a means to this end, Delfino was again sent, towards the end of 1555, as a special nuncio to Ferdinand I., who had ardently wished for the return of this man, who was so devoted to him.[3] Before he was sent,

[1] *Cf.* RITTER, Deutsche Gesch., I., 85. How the Protestants at once made propaganda against Paul IV. in Germany by dubbing him Antichrist is clear from the satirical publication: *Newe Zeytung aus Rom vom newen Babst Paul IV.*, *A*° 1555 (copy in the Royal Library, Berlin).

[2] I can find no solemn protest in the sharp expressions of disapproval, which are to be found in the letters to Ferdinand I. and the Bishop of Passau (see RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 51, 53); a brief would have been required for this, such as that of 1648 later on. It was not issued, probably because in Rome the Augsburg decisions were not regarded as final. There is no doubt, however, that Paul IV. repudiated this insulting agreement, which violated the rights of the Church in so many ways, and regarded it as invalid. The unfounded reproaches cast at the Pope on account of this supposed point of view, have been contested by HERGENRÖTHER (Staat und Kirche, 703).

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 51; STEINHERZ, I., xxxiv-xxxv. Besides the letters to Ferdinand I. and the Bishop of Passau of December 18, quoted by RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*, similar letters were sent to Cardinal Madruzzo as prince bishop of Trent, to the Archbishops of Cologne, Salzburg, Mayence and Magdeburg, the Bishop of Brixen, Trêves, Eichstätt, Würzburg and Bamberg,s to Albert V. of Bavaria, as well as to several members of the House of Hapsburg (Maxim. regi Bohemiae, Ferdinando archiduci Austriae, Carolo archiduci Austriae; see Brev. ad princ. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 158, 165). Delfino left Rome on December 27; see *report of Navagero of December 28, 1555, *loc. cit.* (Library of St. Mark's, Venice).

there had been exhaustive deliberations with Morone, and it was the Cardinal, who was so well acquainted with conditions in Germany, who drew up the instructions for the nuncio. The task assigned to Delfino in his dealings, first with the Prince-bishops of Trent and Brixen, and then with the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V., the bishops of Salzburg, Eichstätt, Bamberg, Würzburg and Passau, and, finally with the King of the Romans himself, was, in each case, of a similar nature. In the first place the nuncio was to make remonstrances against their unlawful agreement to the fatal decisions of the Diet of Augsburg, he was to endeavour to obviate their disastrous effects, and, above all, to prevent still further decrees, unfavourable to Catholics, from being issued at the impending Diet at Ratisbon. In the second place, Delfino was to urge the carrying out of a reform in accordance with Catholic principles, in which they saw in Rome the best and most effective means of placing an obstacle in the way of the increasing defections from the Church in Germany.[1]

Delfino was also given the special commission of giving to the Duke of Bavaria, whose importance to the Catholic cause was fully realized in Rome, reasons for the refusal of the Holy See to grant the demands which the Duke had secretly laid before the Pope in the name of his subjects. Bavaria asked that the chalice might be granted to the laity, that married persons might be allowed to fill ecclesiastical offices, and that there should be a mitigation of the law of fasting.[2] If it was believed by the Bavarians that a greater leakage from the Church could be averted by the granting of these concessions, an entirely different view was held in Rome. At the end of February and at the beginning of March, 1556, Delfino explained the Pope's refusal to the Duke at Munich, and the latter gave the most convincing assurances that he would allow nothing contrary to the wishes of His Holiness, even if he thereby lost his life and his territories. When, however,

[1] See PIEPER, 199 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 110 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SCHWARZ in the Histor. Jahrb., XIII., 146 *seq.*; MASIUS, Briefe, 255-256.

the states renewed their demand, the weak prince gave way so far, on March 31st, that he declared, with many reservations and clauses, however, that the dispensing of Holy Communion to the laity under two kinds, and the non-observance of abstinence, were not penal.[1]

Delfino was by this time in Vienna. The experiences which he there had with Ferdinand I. were much more disheartening than those he had experienced with the Duke of Bavaria. The complaints which, by order of the Pope, he made, with regard to the concessions, so detrimental to the Catholic cause, made to the innovators at Augsburg, were sharply rejected by the King of the Romans; he had been forced, he said, by necessity, to grant these, as well as his concessions to the Protestants in Austria.[2] The conflict then beginning between Paul IV. and the House of Hapsburg was not without its influence on this attitude. This dispute took such a grave form that, in April, 1556, the Pope spoke of the deposition of Charles V. and Ferdinand I., because they had agreed to the Augsburg decisions.[3] No one rejoiced more at this unhappy strife than the German Protestants,[4] to whom it was also of great advantage that the Catholic princes of Germany had, either from carelessness or optimism, neglected to see that the concessions made did not receive a still wider extension than the strict working of the

[1] *Cf.* RIEZLER, IV., 505 *seq.* Concerning the very vaccillating attitude of Albert V. towards the religious question at that time, see JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV., 15-16, 112, n. 6. A. Masius also sought to obtain in Rome the granting of the chalice to the laity from April to July, 1556, by order of the Duke of Cleves, for his dominions, but in vain (see MASIUS, Briefe, 215 *seq.*, 241 *seq.*, 245 *seq.*, 266 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*) Concerning the unfortunate development of the state of affairs in the territory of Cleves see Histor. Zeitschr., L., 16 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Delfino, copies of which are preserved at Simancas (Libros de Berzosa) and used by Maurenbrecher in the Histor. Zeitschr., 12 *seq.* Several reports of July, 1556, are printed in PIEPER, 113 n.

[3] See Badoer's report of May 31, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 501.

[4] See BROSCH in the Mitteil. des Österr. Inst. XXV., 477 n.

Augsburg decision conferred on them. Delfino had a difficult position in Vienna, and he realized more and more how little he could accomplish. The whole question of the faith, as he reported shortly before his return on September 21st, 1556, was in the greatest danger all over the country, and especially in the hereditary Hapsburg dominions. This was caused, partly by the continued difficulties of Ferdinand I., and partly by the indifference of almost all the prelates. He therefore proposed to address an earnest exhortation to them, and also to the King of the Romans, and to all the secular princes of Germany, which, under certain circumstances, should be made public by printing it.[1] When, at the end of October, Delfino informed the Pope and a congregation of Cardinals of the impending ruin of the Catholic Church in Germany, Paul IV. was so embittered against the Hapsburgs that, with great injustice, he attributed to them all the blame for the unhappy developments in Germany.[2] It was in vain that Cardinals Medici and Morone, as well as Delfino, pointed out the evil effects which the Pope's war against Spain must exercise on the spread of Protestantism in Germany and Austria. The answer of Paul IV. consisted in his calling out to Delfino, in the presence of Morone: "Your King of the Romans is a brother of that heretic. We only suffer him, because we do not know whom we should put in his place."[3]

[1] **Report of Delfino to Paul IV., dated Vienna, September 21, 1556, in the Casanate Library XXI., 1, 36, also a copy in Simancas, Libros de Berzosa.

[2] STEINHERZ, who (I., xxxv., n. 2) very significantly rejects the words of Vergerio, so full of hatred towards Delfino's nunciature, as incredible, represents the nuncio as returning to Rome as early as July, 1556. That this is an error is plain from Delfino's **letter, cited in the previous note, which shows that he was still in Vienna on September 21, 1556. An *Avviso of October 31, 1556 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 171. Vatican Library) reports distinctly in addition to this that Delfino arrived in Rome on Sunday (October 25), and that the Pope lodged him in the Vatican; on the Wednesday the nuncio made a report in the Congregation of Cardinals.

[3] See Navagero's report on January 2, 1557 in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 781; *cf. ibid.* n. 686, 695. At the beginning of December,

Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the nunciature at the court of Ferdinand I. remained unfilled. As this unnatural state of affairs still continued after the conclusion of peace with Philip II., open opposition sprang up in the Curia. We learn from a report of the Venetian ambassador, on November 6th, 1557, of the complaints made by the Cardinals that the Pope assembled the Inquisition every Thursday for the prosecution of a single heretic, while he overlooked important matters, such as the loss of whole kingdoms, like Poland and Germany, which he left without nuncios.[1] These complaints resulted in relations with Ferdinand I. being once more resumed. On November 14th, 1557, the Papal notary, Jacobus Linterius, was appointed special ambassador to Ferdinand I., with instructions to call upon the king to close the conference on religion at Worms. At the same time the resumption of the nunciature to the King of the Romans was suggested.[2] This, however, did not actually take place until January, 1558;[3] the prelate who was appointed, Antonio Agostino, Bishop of Lerida, proceeded to Frankfort-on-Maine,

1556, Paul IV. appears to have thought of sending Delfino back again (see STEINHERZ, I., xxxv.) MAURENBRECHER (Histor. Zeitschrift, L., 37) erroneously supposes that he really did return to Germany.

[1] See Navagero's report of November 7, 1557 in BROWN, VI., 3, n. 1076.

[2] See the brief to Ferdinand I., of November 14, 1557, in RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 32; *ibid.* n. 33, a brief to the *episcopus Labacensis* (not *Lubecensis* as in Raynaldus), Urban Textor, who had been confessor and court preacher to Ferdinand I. At the same time Paul IV. wrote to *Martinus Gusmanus, prepos. regii cubic.* (see Brev. ad princ., *loc. cit.*, f. 67. Secret Archives of the Vatican). Concerning the conference at Worms see, besides JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.,,[15-16] 21 *seq.*; BRAUNSBERGER, II., 789 *seq.* and CARDAUNS, Unionsbestrebungen, 281 *seq.*

[3] The attitude of Philip II. had an influence on the Pope's decision (see BROMATO, II., 421). On December 14, 1557, the mission of Agostino was announced in the consistory; see *Acta consist., Consistorial Archives.

where he met King Ferdinand, who was staying there, on March 6th, 1558.[1]

Besides general orders for the protection of the German Catholics, Agostino was given the special duty of watching over the Papal rights in the proposed assumption by Ferdinand I. of the Imperial dignity, which had been resigned by Charles V.[2] How unwelcome the appearance of the nuncio was to the King of the Romans may be gathered from the fact that he had refused Linterius an escort to the assembly at Frankfort.[3] As Ferdinand could not now send back the representative of the Pope, who had so unexpectedly arrived at Frankfort, he endeavoured to soothe him by declaring that the religious question would not be dealt with in the assembly.[4] This was not, however, true, for the election capitulation agreed upon at Frankfort contained a very explicit obligation to hold to the Augsburg decisions of 1555. On March 14th, 1558, Ferdinand I. swore to these in the presence of the Electors, three of whom belonged to the Protestant confession, in the electoral chapel of Frankfort Cathedral, whereupon Joachim II. of Brandenburg, as Arch-Chamberlain of the Empire, placed the golden crown upon his head. They all then betook themselves to a dais erected in front of the choir, where the documents concerning the resignation of the Imperial dignity by Charles V., and sanctioned by the Electors, and the acceptance of that dignity by his brother, were read aloud to the people. The proceedings were then closed by the solemn proclamation of

[1] See Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe, III., 17 n.

[2] As supplementary to the statements in REIMANN, Streit 301 *seq.*, and PIEPER, 115 *seq.*, see *Brevia Arm. 44, t. 2, p. 65 : to Ferdinand I. ; *ibid*, p. 88 ; to the Bohemian king, Maximilian, both dated December 18, 1557 ; p. 92 : to the Duke of Cleves, dated January 4, 1558, all relating to the mission of Agostino ; *ibid.* p. 105 : yet another *brief to Ferdinand I., dated February 20, 1558, whereby Agostino receives powers for the *negotium ecclesiae Aquilej* (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

[3] *Cf.* SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 5 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

[4] Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe, III., 17 n.

Ferdinand as Roman Emperor-elect.[1] All participation in this very important act was refused to the representative of the Pope, who found himself obliged to play the part of a merely passive spectator, face to face with an accomplished fact![2] The Protestants were jubilant. Peter Martyr wrote to Calvin that by this event, the authority of the Roman antichrist had been more completely shattered than ever before.[3]

It is difficult to understand how Ferdinand I. could have believed that a Pope, who was so penetrated with the idea of his own position and rights, could tamely submit to such a proceeding.[4] Had not Julius III. already declared in 1551, that the transference of the Imperial dignity without the agreement of the Pope was invalid, and that the right of election belonged only to the Catholic Electors?[5]

When Maximilian, in February 1508, as the first to deviate from the old traditional custom, assumed the title of Roman Emperor-elect, he had acknowledged the Pope's right of coronation by a special declaration, thereby making it possible for Julius II. subsequently to give his approval. Charles V. had also assured himself of the consent of Leo. X. when he assumed the title of Roman Emperor-elect in 1520, and at his coronation at Bologna all the traditional formalities had been scrupulously observed.[6] Now, however, not only had the resignation of Charles V. taken place, but also the proclamation of Ferdinand I. as Roman Emperor-elect, and the Pope had on both occasions been completely ignored. Nor was this all. In 1531, at the accession of Ferdinand I. as King of the Romans, a brief had been obtained from Clement VII., so that the participation of the Protestant Elector of Saxony might

[1] *Cf.* J. W. Hofmann, Sammlung ungedruckter Nachrichten, I., Halle, 1736, 1 *seqq.*; Häberlin, III., 404 *seqq.*

[2] See Reimann' Streit, 301; Schmid, Kaiserwahl, 6.

[3] Calvini Opera, XVII., 144.

[4] Ranke (Deutsche Geschicte, V., 420) points out that nobody could wonder at the resistance of the Pope.

[5] See Nuntiaturberichte, XII., xlv.

[6] *Cf.* Vol.VI. of this work, p. 297, Vol. X., p. 92 *seq.*, and Turba, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Habsburger, III., Vienna, 1901, 86.

not invalidate the election.[1] But on this occasion, at the far more important proceedings at Frankfort, three Electors had taken part, who had fallen away from the Church, and were engaged in a violent struggle with the Holy See. Thus a quite abnormal situation had been created, which was quite unprecedented. If the Pope had already assisted at the deliberations concerning the election of a king, how much more should he have done so at the proclamation of an Emperor, who was bound to be the protector of the Holy See! And now this new Emperor, who had been proclaimed in such a way, had pledged himself in his election capitulation to support the state of affairs, so very unfavourable to Catholics, which had been called into being by the decisions of the Diet of Augsburg. This was, however, by no means the only reason why Ferdinand could not be held to be a proper person to play the part of protector of the Church. It was well known in Rome that he had recently mitigated the severity of his former regulations against the Protestants, and had appointed bishops in Hungary and transferred them to other dioceses without seeking the confirmation of the Holy See. Above all, Paul IV. reproached Ferdinand I. with having suffered the heterodoxy of his son, Maximilian.[2]

All this makes it easy to understand why Paul IV., who had always been filled with mistrust and ill-will against the Hapsburgs, was greatly excited by the news of the proceedings at

[1] See Bucholtz, IX., 18.

[2] *Cf.* the despatches of Pacheco, used in the Histor. Zeitschr., XXXII., 266, and the decisions of the Papal commission in Schmid, Kaiserwahl, 16 *seq.* A very detailed enumeration of the objections regarding Ferdinand himself, originating from Delfino, has been published by Sickel (p. 30 *seqq.*) "One can judge," says Reimann (Paul IV., 32), "among other things, how very well informed Rome was concerning the religious conditions in the Austrian countries, although there had been no permanent nuncio in Vienna for years." A pendant to Delfino's report is the **Relatio Aloysii Lippomani episc. Veron, quoad fidem* in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, Instruz. I., 241 *seq.* The document is unfortunately undated.

Frankfort. It was clear to him that he could not recognize such a renunciation of the Imperial dignity, performed in such a way, and at the same time so one-sided, when the dignity contained in itself very clearly defined duties towards the Church, solemnly undertaken by oath. He was also of opinion that he ought not to acknowledge the accession of such a man as Ferdinand I. He never for a moment thought of making a calm examination of the reasons which made it inadvisable to bring the legal standpoint into too great prominence. Yet there was not the smallest doubt that, in consequence of the great dislocation of power which had come to pass in the last twenty-five years in favour of the Protestants, no one in the Empire would trouble their heads in the least about the opposition of the Holy See to the proceedings at Frankfort. On the contrary, should the Pope wish to exclude the Hapsburgs from the possession of the Imperial dignity, which they had already seized, it could easily be foreseen that the Protestants, out of pure spite against the Roman "antichrist," would come in, with all their power, including force of arms, on the side of Ferdinand. It was, moreover, clear that Ferdinand would have to make still further concessions to the Protestants if he should have to depend upon them for the preservation of his Empire. Besides this, they had to take into consideration in Rome, that, however much Ferdinand might have been found wanting in certain respects, there was no doubt as to his personally Catholic attitude, and finally, it was notorious that all the concessions of this prince to the innovators had been made under the pressure of the direst necessity.[1]

All these considerations pointed to the advisability of limiting proceedings to a formal protest, and in other respects showing an indulgent forbearance, in order to avoid still greater evils.[2]

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 341. The demand made by the Protestant electors, that they should no longer be obliged to pledge themselves in the coronation oath to protect the Church, was successfully opposed by Ferdinand.

[2] REIMANN (Streit, 299) is of opinion that two courses might have been taken: "the Pope might either have deferred the

Unfortunately Paul IV. had not the slightest idea of doing anything of the kind. Entirely regardless of the complete change in the state of the world, and of all the evil consequences of his action, he insisted, in the most uncompromising manner, on the legal standpoint. With characteristic obstinacy, he persisted in the view that the choice of the Electors and the person chosen, were subject to examination by the Pope, and to the right of confirmation or repudiation by him, and that it was unlawful for the Emperor to carry on the government of the Empire before having received this Papal approbation. He claimed the right of sanction, not only as to the accession of Ferdinand I., but also as to the abdication of Charles V. In a secret consistory called together in March, he gave vent to his indignation at the insult offered to the Holy See; he took up his position on the standpoint that the abdication of Charles V. was invalid, as it had been done without the consent of the Pope, and was, moreover, the act of a monarch who was no longer in possession of his senses, and finally, that the accession of Ferdinand had no legal foundation, on account of the participation of apostates in the election.

He enjoined strict silence on the Cardinals, and told them, at the same time, to consider what measures should be adopted. His next communication to the Cardinals, that the learned custodian of the Vatican Library, Guglielmo Sirleto, would lay the documents relative to the matter before them,[1] proved that Paul IV. was determined once more to open, in the fullest sense, the old disputed question of the relationship between the Empire and the Papacy. The public, also, soon learned

discussion of the question of the right of the Protestant Electors until the next election of a King of the Romans, or have at once acknowledged the good Catholic, Ferdinand, as Emperor, on the ground of the election of 1531, or, in order to proceed more surely, he might have done the latter, and made no concession to the future, by a declaration corresponding to the second brief of Clement VII. *cf. supra* p. 349), in which way the difficulty was afterwards overcome."

[1] See the report of du Bellay in RIBIER, II., 623, with wrong date. *Cf.* REIMANN, Streit, 318 *seq.*, also SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 7.

of the dispute between the Pope and the Emperor. On Good Friday, April 8th, 1558, the usual prayer for the secular head of Christendom was omitted.[1] A month later the recall of Agostino, who had proceeded with Ferdinand to Vienna, followed.[2] The chief chamberlain, Martin de Guzman, had started from Vienna for Rome on April 22nd, and although he learned of the Pope's attitude in Venice, he nevertheless continued his journey, and arrived in Rome during the night between May 12th and 13th. The Pope caused a communication to be conveyed to him, through Cardinal Pacheco, that he must refuse him a solemn reception as "Imperial" ambassador, and then refused him even a private audience.[3]

Matters continued in this position, all the more so as Paul IV. was supported in his attitude of hostility by the most distinguished among the Cardinals, theologians and canonists at the Curia. A commission for the consideration of the legal question had already been formed in May, and consisted of ten Cardinals (Vitelli, Rebiba, Carlo and Alfonso Carafa, Puteo, Reumano, Ghislieri, Scotti, Saraceni and Pacheco) and six prelates (Lippomano, Agostino, Sirleto, Camerario, Ugo Boncompagni and Restauro Castaldo). These were able, with more or less success, to put forward, in learned disquisitions, a great array of mediæval theologians and canonists to prove the invalidity of Ferdinand's title to the Imperial dignity.[4]

[1] *Avvisi di Roma of April 9 and 16, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 299, 301. Vatican Library).

[2] The *letter of recall for Agostino, dated Rome, May 9, 1558, in the Brevia Arm. 44, t. 2, p. 114 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Concerning his departure see Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe, III., 28 *seq.*; *cf.* SCHMID, Zeitschr. für Gesch., VIII., 4.

[3] *Cf.* REIMANN, Streit, 303, 321; Paul IV. und das Kaisertum 27 *seqq.*; SCHMID, 8 *seq.*; see also in the Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe, III., 51 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 13 *seq.*, where three opinions in accordance with Cod. Barb. XXXIII., 65, are given; see also DAUNON, Essai hist. sur la puissance temp. des Papes, II., Paris, 1818, 156. The news in an *Avviso of May 28 (*loc. cit.* 310. Vatican Library) of the beginning of the opposition in the com-

Taking their stand on the laws actually in force, they proved that it was impossible to grant a public audience to Guzman as "Imperial" ambassador, and that the proceedings at Frankfort had been null and void. Even had they been valid, such a man as Ferdinand could not be entrusted with the position of Imperial protector of the Holy See, for he had not only allowed encroachments on ecclesiastical affairs, and brought suspicion on himself by suffering the irreligion of his son, but had also broken his oath to protect religion by condoning the defections from the Church, and swearing at Frankfort to what was contrary to what his former oath had pledged him to. But if Ferdinand had been in himself a suitable person, his election was invalid owing to the participation in it of heretical Electors, quite apart from the fact that the whole assembly had not been entitled to proceed to the election of an Emperor during the lifetime of his predecessor.

Among the proposals as to what had better be done at the moment, there were only two, those of Cardinals Pacheco and Puteo, which definitely advised that the altered conditions of the times should be taken into consideration, and pointed out the great dangers to which an unfriendly attitude on the part of the Holy See might give rise. As it was only a question of positive law, Puteo was of opinion that the Pope could accept the "obedientia" of Ferdinand, in so far as Charles V. remained firm in his determination to resign his jurisdiction, and the ambassador was properly accredited. With regard to the complaints made against Ferdinand personally, it would be well to see whether some excuse could not be found for him. Pacheco put forward such excuses in great detail, and entreated

mission to Paul IV., and of the questioning of learned jurists in Padua and Bologna, is not confirmed elsewhere. On the other hand, it is clear from a report from Paris of June 6, 1558, to Cardinal Farnese (Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, LXXI., 328) that Paul IV. had applied to the Sorbonne for an opinion. As to this opinion it does not depend, as Hergenröther (Staat und Kirche, 222) points out, upon the actual reasons and arguments, but on legal axioms. Commendone also composed a treatise at this time on the disputed question; see GRATIANUS, 63 *seq.*

the Pope, by a just recognition of the circumstances and of the times, to show clemency. Philip II. also threw all his weight into the scales in favour of his uncle. It was all, howeven, in vain. The commission held firmly to the ancient rights, and finally decided that confirmation must be refused to Ferdinand, unless he proved his title and showed all due honour to the Holy See.[1] Guzman then received orders from Vienna to start his journey home, whether he had accomplished his mission or not, should he not have been granted an audience within three days of the receipt of the letter. Only on July 13th was a semi-public audience granted to him. The Pope was exceedingly gracious, and announced that he would send a special embassy to Ferdinand I., but he did not give way on the point at issue. In a consistory he laid down the following conditions for his recognition of Ferdinand: the substantiation of the abdication of Charles V., an examination into the life and conduct of Ferdinand, a promise on the part of the latter to abolish Lutheranism in his house and hereditary dominions, and the exclusion of heretics from future elections and all similar assemblies.[2]

Guzman left Rome on Jaly 14th; on the same day Ugo Boncompagni was decided on as nuncio to Ferdinand I. On July 20th, Cardinal Rebiba, who had been appointed legate in Poland, received instructions to travel by way of Vienna. The departure of both, however, was delayed, because the arrival of the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Vargas, was expected. Mentuato, the nuncio destined for Poland, was, in the meantime, the only one to report in Vienna as to the claims of Paul IV.[3]

[1] See SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 20 *seqq*. Sittings of the commission are also mentioned in the *Avvisi di Roma of July 9 and 16, 1558 (*loc. cit.* 324, 327, Vatican Library) with the notice that nothing can be learned concerning them, as silence is enjoined under pain of excommunication. Concerning the intervention of Philip II., see SCHMID, Zeitschr. für Gesch., VIII., 7 *seq*.

[2] *Cf*. RIBIER, II., 759; REIMANN, Streit, 303 *seq*.; SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 25 *seq*.; Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe, III., 52 *seq*.

[3] See MASSARELLI, 324; PIEPER, 117 *seq*.; *cf. supra* p. 335.

All the hopes which had been built on the negotiations of Vargas[1] were now to prove vain. Ferdinand I., in the meantime, prepared to take earnest measures in his own defence. On September 5th he made an official communication to the Electors concerning his quarrel with the Pope,[2] and invited them to the impending Diet. At the same time the Imperial chancellor, Seld, was instructed to draw up an official document repudiating the claims of the Pope. It is evident from this important paper to what bitterness and dangerous sentiments the attitude of Paul IV. had given rise at the Imperial court. The chancellor, who undoubtedly wished to remain a Catholic, employed in this treatise a manner of speech which only slightly differed from that of the Protestants.[3] "While, in former times," he says, "the Papal ban was more feared than death, it is now laughed at, and while formerly people considered everything that came from Rome as being divine and holy, Roman conduct and life are now known to the whole world to such a degree, that everyone, no matter what he may be, and whether he belongs to the old religion or the new, spits at them." The weaknesses of Paul IV. are mercilessly exaggerated, and all merit concerning the cause of reform is denied to him by Seld, who sums up by declaring openly: "His Holiness is, on account of his age and other circumstances, no longer responsible for his actions or in his right senses!" Seld advises strongly against any granting of the claims put forward by Paul IV., because in that case the whole country would rebel against both Emperor and Pope. The best thing to do was not to trouble about the confirmation or repudiation of Paul IV. Should it come to the worst, Ferdinand could, in accordance with the decisions at Basle and Constance, appeal to a free Christian Council.[4]

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of October 1, 1558, *loc. cit.* 341 (Vatican Libr.)

[2] See SATTLER, Gesch. Württembergs, IV. Beil., No. 48.

[3] So said HÄBERLIN (III., 555).

[4] The opinion is printed in GOLDAST, Polit. Reichshändel, V., 167-199, RITTER (I., 145*s eqq.*) brings into prominence the fact that Seld decidedly takes his stand on the grounds of the Basle and

The tension had just reached its highest point when the death of Charles V., on September 21st, 1558, put an end to the difficulty with regard to his abdication. An end to the whole unhappy dispute was very much to be desired, all the more so as the highly influential Gropper pointed out the dangers which a refusal to acknowledge Ferdinand would entail.[1] It was only the uncatholic attitude of Maximilian, the principal cause of the scandal, which caused Paul IV. to persist in his protest. Before the obsequies of Charles V. were held, on December 12th, the Pope warned the Cardinals and ambassadors that by holding funeral solemnities, the authority of the Holy See in the question of the abdication of the Imperial would be prejudiced, and a right would be indirectly deduced from it.[2] The nuncios were at the same time instructed to communicate this protest to the Kings of France and

Constance decisions. GRAUERT has, with his usual thoroughness, shown in the Histor. Jahrb., XVI., 519, and in the Histor.-polit. BL, CXX., 643 *seq.*, how the Protestants at that time brought the name of Dante into the ecclesiastical and political dispute.

[1] See SCHMID, Kaiserwahl., 29 *seq.* The supposition put forward here that a more conciliatory tone prevailed at the Curia is confirmed by the *Avvisi of October 22 and 29, 1558 (Cod. Urb. 1038, p. 346, 348. Vatican Library).

[2] See RIBIER, II., 774; MASSARELLI, 328; FIRMANUS, 574; SCHMIDT, Zeitschr. für Gesch., VIII., 11. Concerning the rejection of the ambassador, Juan Figueroa, sent to Rome by Philip II. in November, see MASSARELLI, 327; LAEMMER, Melet., 208 *seq.*; *Avviso di Roma of December 10, 1558 (*loc. cit.* Vatican Library); REIMANN, Streit, 329 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 32. Concerning the adjustment of this matter, hitherto unknown, B. Pia reports to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga from Rome, on July 19, 1559: *Fu hieri quasi all'improviso fatta congregatione inanzi a N.S. nell'anticamera dell'inquisitione per la cosa del s. Don Giov. Figheroa, il quale con molta lode che la S. S. disse di lui et col voto dei cardinali fu rimesso et admesso nella gratia di S. B. et per ambasciatore della M^tà^ Catt. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The incident which led to the holding of the requiem for Charles V. at S. Giacomo in Rome, on March 4, 1559, is treated in the Annales de S. Louis, IX., 265 *seq.*

Poland, as well as the non-recognition of Ferdinand. This was the answer to Vargas' intimation that Ferdinand intended to submit the dispute to the Electors.[1] A sharp brief to the King of the Romans had already been drawn up,[2] when the fall of the Pope's nephews caused the dispute to recede into the background; no settlement, however, was arrived at, in spite of a renewed Spanish attempt at mediation.[3] Fortunately no further steps were taken by the Pope, for a serious vindication of the law in this secular question against the Empire would have had the worst possible effects upon even the spiritual rights of the Holy See.

It is natural that no one should be willing to part with any rights he may possess, and therefore, from a purely human point of view, Paul IV. cannot be blamed if, as the representative of an eminently conservative authority, he would not abandon the ideally thought out relationship between the two powers, and the position held by the Holy See in the Middle Ages. Paul IV., however, should have realized that the interests of the Church in Germany would not be served by his clinging to the mediæval idea of the Imperial dignity, and the pressing of claims, the granting of which must have the effect of driving the Hapsburgs into the closest union with everything hostile, and even into close alliance with the Protestant states of the Empire.[4] How great was the danger that lay in this course of action, may best be understood from

[1] See SCHMID, Kaiserwahl, 31 *seq.*

[2] It is in the *Vat. 6216, p. 301 (Vatican Library). *Cf.* SCHMID, *loc. cit.* 33-34, who rightly concludes that it was never sent.

[3] *Cf.* REIMANN, Streit, 314 *seq.* In the Histor. Zeitschr., XXXII., 268 *seq.*, MAURENBRECHER maintains that Paul IV. at last declared that he was prepared to refrain from official proceedings in the matter, and would settle it amicably, and gives as his authority the report of F. v. Thurns in SICKEL, 27 *seq.*, which, however, refers to Pius IV.

[4] *Cf.* BUCHOLTZ, VII., 461.

the hopes which the innovators built on the Papal opposition to the head of the Empire, who, in spite of everything, was still the most important support of the Church in Germany.[1]

[1] See JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.,[14-16] 69 *seq.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Mary the Catholic and the Legation of Cardinal Pole.

The reproach of unwise severity, which may, with justice, be brought against Paul IV. in his dealings with Ferdinand I., has also been made with regard to his attitude towards the Kingdom of England. In this case, however, the blame may be said to be only partly justified.

In the second week after the coronation of Paul IV., on June 6th, 1555, the "obedientia" embassy, which had been appointed in the time of Julius III., arrived in Rome.[1] An honourable reception was accorded to the ambassadors, Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, Edward Carne, and Viscount Montague, by the members of the Pope's household, the Cardinals, and the Roman nobility. The difficulty arising from the fact that in the letters of credence, the royal title was used with regard to Ireland, was overcome by the Pope's raising Ireland to be a kingdom by a bull of June 7th.[2] Then the public consistory was held on June 10th, 1555, in which the representatives of England made the solemn "obedientia" in the Sala Regia of the Vatican. The Bishop of Ely, in his speech, drew special attention to the repeal of the anti-papal laws by Parliament, and begged for reunion with the Church. Paul IV. answered graciously, praised the zeal of the sovereigns and of Cardinal Pole, and reminded his hearers that he had himself been in England as a collector of Peter's Pence, and had thus become acquainted with the generosity of the English people. He ordered that a special service of thanksgiving should be held in the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli. There was a

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 288. Thirlby's diary during his journey as ambassador is printed in Hardwicke, State Papers, I., 62-102.

[2] Bull. VI., 489 *seq.*; *cf.* Bellesheim, Gesch. der Kirche in Irland, II., 108.

banquet to the ambassadors on the same day, and a magnificent illumination of the Castle of St. Angelo in the evening.[1]

Joyful demonstrations of this kind seemed to be justified, in so far as England was now once more officially united to the Holy See. Nevertheless the future of the Church there was by no means assured. An active party was at work in England, and was making use of every means, not only to drive the Catholic religion once more out of the country, but also to undermine the authority of Queen Mary, its principal supporter.

The rebellions of Northumberland and Wyatt had been, to a great extent, the work of the Protestants.[2] The calumnies and fables related concerning the Spaniards and the Spanish marriage were originated by the same party.[3] When the revolts failed, the battle against the queen was continued by pamphlets. Even in the time of Henry VIII., the Imperial ambassador, Chapuys, could report that the invectives of the German Lutheran preachers were nothing in comparison with the abuse of their English co-religionists,[4] whose printed pamphlets now went to the greatest lengths in the insults which they hurled at the queen and her ministers. These publications were circulated everywhere; one such, which bristled with aspersions on her Majesty and her ministers, and threatened her with the worst in the event of Philip's arrival, was even found, in April 1554, on the table of the royal kitchen.[5]

The principal question dealt with in these writings was the lawfulness of women being in possession of the supreme power. While the preachers had nothing to say against the sovereignty of Lady Jane Grey, in Mary's case they found it to be against the Word of God and the laws of the land, that the supreme power over men should be in the hands of a woman. Mary's

[1] *Cf.* Massarelli, 273, 274, 275; Coggiola, Farnesi, 76; Pagliucchi, 134.

[2] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 265.

[3] See *Ibid.* 261 *seq.*

[4] Gayangos, V., 1, n. 26, p. 83.

[5] Breen in the Dublin Review, CXVII., 118.

second Parliament, in April, 1554, had, therefore, to declare that it made no difference, according to the laws of the country, whether the supreme power was wielded by a king or a queen.[1] It was further widely asserted in these publications that no obedience was due to the queen, as she was a worshipper of idols. According to a treatise by Christopher Goodman, Christ and His Gospel had been abolished, and antichrist set up in His place, when the political power had been placed in the hands of a woman, who worshipped idols. "By obeying her," wrote Goodman, "you displease God, by disobeying her, you will again win God's approbation . . . through resistance to her and her godless decrees, you will again become true worshippers of God, and loyal Englishmen."[2] John Bale, Thomas Becon, and Bartholomew Traheron wrote in similar terms. The number and violence of the abusive writings of the Scotsman, John Knox, were especially remarkable. This man, who had approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton in his native land, had in 1549 sought and found an asylum in England, but had had to escape to the continent after Mary's accession. A woman who rules over men is, according to him, a monster, and the queen is either "a cursed Jezabel" or "the godless Mary."[3] Ponet, the deposed Calvinist bishop of Winchester, who had taken part in Wyatt's rising, but soon fled, despairing of success, wrote, on the continent, a quite revolutionary treatise concerning political power,[4] in which he maintained that Mary should, according to both the divine and human law, be punished with death.[5]

As little opposition was shown by the Protestant party to abuse such as this, as to the action of those who actually attacked Catholic preachers in the pulpit, overwhelmed Catholic practices with the coarsest abuse, or incited the

[1] LINGARD, VII., 169 *seq.*

[2] In BREEN, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.; cf.* Dictionary of National Biography, XXXI., 312.

[4] GAIRDNER, 332.

[5] "So that now both by God's laws and man's she ought to be punished with death." Ponet, Short Treatise on Political Power, 96, in BREEN, 119.

people against the queen by means of alleged spirit voices.[1]

The government could not put up with such a state of affairs indefinitely. Ever since Mary's marriage the question as to the best measures to be adopted had been seriously considered by the royal Council,[2] and it was finally resolved to renew the old laws against heresy which had been issued by Richard II., Henry IV. and Henry V. for the preservation of order in state and church, at the time of the trouble with the followers of Wycliffe. The enforcement of these laws was divided between the bishops and the secular courts. The bishops had to summon and examine those suspected of heresy, in order to find out if it really existed. Those who remained obstinate in their heretical errors, were to be handed over to the secular courts, and by them condemned to be burned.[3] It cannot be maintained that the majority of the royal Council which made this decision, was definitely Catholic;[4] political considerations, more than anything else, turned the scale in questions such as this.

It was not without grave reflection that the queen consented to the renewal of the penal laws, for she was, by nature, inclined to clemency. Her former adviser, the Imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, warned Philip II. that harsh measures would give the heretics an excuse for renewed revolts, and Philip himself advised against severity.[5] Cardinal Pole had recommended that clemency should be shown to heretics while he was still in Italy,[6] and he once more expressed the same sentiments when he dissolved the Convocation of the clergy in January, 1555.[7] The only objection was that there seemed

[1] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 270.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 189.

[3] LINGARD, IV., 331.

[4] BREEN, 115. Soranzo's report of August 18, 1554 in BROWN, V., n. 934, p. 559.

[5] GAIRDNER, 355 *seq.*

[6] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 222.

[7] GAIRDNER 355 *seq.* He forgave three heretics in the diocese of London when they appealed to him. GAIRDNER in the Dictionary of National Biogr., XLVI., 44; *cf.* Pole's letter to Otto von Truchsess of June 20, 1554 in BROWN, V., n. 901, p. 514; SPILLMANN, II., 124.

to be no way of controlling the spokesmen of the heretics, if they did not extirpate the heresy itself, which they regarded as the root of the ever recurring rebellion and disturbance in the kingdom. According to the old traditional ideas, punishment and fear were the only way of getting the upper hand of heresy. Cranmer, in his draft of a book of ecclesiastical canons, handed over obstinate heretics to the secular arm for punishment, and there could be no doubt as to what was meant by such punishment.[1] Calvin, the adviser of the English Protestants, had declared in a letter to the Protector, Somerset, that according to a strict observance of the law, extreme measures would have to be adopted against the Catholics,[2] while similar treatment had long been in force against the Anabaptists.

With the views then prevailing, it is easy to understand that the proposal to renew the old laws against the heretics should have met with hardly any opposition in Parliament. It was considered during the three days, from December 13th to the 15th, 1554, in the House of Commons, and again for three days, from December 15th to the 18th, in the Upper House; only in the latter was there any opposition.[3]

[1] LINGARD, VII., 187 *seq.*

[2] "A ce que ientendz, Monseigneur, vous avez deux especes de mutins qui se sont eslevez contre le roy et lestat du royaume les ungs sont gens fantastiques qui soubz couleur de l'Evangile vouldroient mettre tout en confusion. Les aultres sont gens obstinez aux superstitions de lantechrist de Rome. Tous ensemble meritent bien destre reprimez par le glayve qui vous est commis, veu quilz sattachent non seulement au roy, mais a Dieu qui la assis au siege royal." Letter to Lord Somerset: CALVINI Opera, XIII. (Corp. Reform., XLIX.), 68.

[3] GAIRDNER, 346. J. Gairdner, the best authority on the history of the English Reformation, admits that the persecution of the Protestants under Mary originated in political motives. "The very mildness of Mary's beginnings," he says (p. 336) "had encouraged both heresy and treason." "Rebellion and treason," he says (p. 353 *seq.*) "had been nourished by heresy, nay, heresy was the very root from which they sprang. And it was really more important in the eyes of Mary to extirpate the root than

The laws against the heretics framed during December were to come into force on January 20th, 1555. In the meantime, the fanaticism of several Protestants made a further law necessary. On January 16th, Parliament declared it high treason to pray for the death of the queen. They had recently, on January 1st, come upon the traces of nocturnal conventicles, in which such a prayer was commonly used, namely that God might turn the heart of the queen from worshipping idols, or put an end to her days. These nocturnal meetings took place in different parts of London and the neighbourhood, in order to avert suspicion; they were very largely attended, and £10

merely to lop off the branches. She had all possible desire to show indulgence to the misguided if they could be brought to a better state of mind; and the bishops might be trusted, especially Bishop Bonner, to do their very utmost to dissuade the obstinate from rushing on their fate. But there was to be no more tolerance for incurable perversity, for the heresy laws were now revived." "The so-called Bloody Mary was in reality the most kind-hearted of the Tudors," says Gairdner in the English Historical Review, XXI. (1906), 373. Against the statement of A. INNES (England under the Tudors, London, 1905), that Mary's persecution of the Protestants proceeded from her intense conviction of the soul-destroying effects of heresy, no measure against which appeared to her too severe, when it was a question of saving souls, Gairdner remarks (*ibid.*): "I do not know where he (Innes) finds grounds for this view. The facts are simply these: if the old religion was to be restored, it had to be protected from insult and violence, which were only too prevalent, and the renewal of the former laws against heresy seemed the only effectual means of doing so." MAITLAND (Essays on subjects connected with the reformation in England, London, 1849), who gives extracts from the inflammatory letters of the Protestant refugees, describes as one of the principal causes of the Protestant persecution under Mary 'the bitter and provocative spirit of several of those who were very active, and took a prominent part in the furtherance of the advance of the reformation, the political opinions which they defended, the language in which they disseminated them, the furious personal attacks on those whom they regarded as their enemies, and finally, in the case of those who were really animated by

was often collected in a single night for the "Prisoners of Christ."[1]

This renewed proof of hostility was not calculated to dispose Parliament to show greater clemency to the Protestants. When, on January 18th, 1555, the political prisoners in the Tower were set at liberty, there remained a class to whom this act of clemency was not extended; these were the Protestant preachers who were in the Tower as accomplices of Northumberland, Suffolk, or Wyatt, either for illicit preaching, or other incitement to revolt. Their imprisonment was not a harsh one; they could circulate their writings among themselves, and were able to prepare a common declaration in which they earnestly besought Parliament "as poor prisoners of Christ, and in the name of Christ, our dear Redeemer," to enter into itself, and repent of having given its consent to the abolition of many blessed laws with regard to religion, which had been issued by two noble kings, to the satisfaction of the whole country. Now, however, superstition was again set up, to the contempt of God and His Word, and with such open robbery, violence and cruelty as were not customary even in Turkey. They begged permission to be allowed to vindicate the homilies and the liturgy of King Edward as being truly Catholic; should they not succeed in so doing, then they were ready for the stake.[2]

This challenge was accepted. On January 22nd, the un-

religious principles, and strove for a true reformation of the Church, the want of eagerness, to say the least, shown in dissociating themselves from an unbridled, godless and low rabble, which made common cause with Protestantism, in order to do battle with the law, the well-to-do classes, the clergy and the authorities." "It seems impossible," continues Maitland, "that a man of any reflection, even if he be led astray by biassed reports, or involved in religious prejudice, can fail to recognize the mere fact as such, that the English persecution was caused in great measure by the proceedings of co-religionists in exile [the composers of the inflammatory writings."] *Cf.* BREEN, 114.

[1] GAIRDNER, 348.

[2] *Ibid.*, 349.

happy preachers had to appear at the episcopal palace, where Gardiner announced to them the laws which had just come into force. On the 28th, the legal proceedings proper took place in the church, before a great concourse of people. Of the six who were cited, two recanted, one of whom, however, recalled his recantation. The other four were excommunicated as obstinate heretics, whereupon the secular tribunal condemned them to death by fire, which they steadfastly endured in different places at the beginning of February.[1]

On February 9th Bishop Bonner of London condemned six other Protestants. On the following day, however, the Franciscan, Alfonso de Castro, preached a sermon before the queen and King Philip, in which he blamed the action of the government and succeeded in preventing any further executions in the country for the time being.[2]

[1] GAIRDNER, 349-352.

[2] According to Foxe's Book of Martyrs, de Castro "inveighed against these executions, while he boldly explained what is true, that the English bishops had not learned in the Scriptures to burn heretics." Alfonso de Castro has written a whole book, *De iusta haereticorum punitione* (Salamanca, 1547, and elsewhere) from which one can gather his real views better than from Foxe. In the introduction he says that there are two extreme views with regard to the punishment of heresy, between which the truth is to be found. The one was too hasty in inflicting punishment, and the other maintained that no punishment at all should be inflicted. Concerning the first view, the only one with which we are concerned, de Castro says: Some persons, who have much of the Pharisee in them, are so morose and severe, that, in their opinion all heretics should be persecuted with irreconcilable hatred and without mercy. Hatred against heretics is regarded by them as the surest sign of an ardent zeal for the Catholic faith. Such people do indeed possess zeal, but not enlightened zeal. St. Paul teaches that we should reprimand those who resist the truth, in a modest manner, if God does not grant them a change of mind, so that they may recognize the truth. A good superior must think of his own weakness, and judge kindly of the weakness of others, and endeavour to free from the snares of heresy those who err by humility and clemency, rather than drive them by severity over

While the persecution was in abeyance, the royal Council discovered the traces of a new conspiracy.[1] Protestant inhabitants of Cambridge, to whom the duties of the Catholic religion were too irksome, collected a great number of arms, and planned a revolt against the " Papists " which they hoped would meet with wide support. The conspirators thought of marching on London, and there, with the help of their co-religionists, not only to drive out all foreigners by murder and violence, but also to avenge the restoration of the old religion on the persons of the queen and her husband. As the Venetian ambassador, Michiel, wrote on March 26th, people were now prepared for severe measures on the part of the government, for everybody now clearly saw that the clemency and mildness their majesties had hitherto shown in forgiving everyone, was every day giving rise to new excesses. It had been of no avail, for example, when the government had shown mercy on the occasion of a similar conspiracy at Ipswich during the previous summer. When one of the condemned heretics had been sent to Suffolk to be burned there at the beginning of February, 1555,[2] the peasants resolved to rise at the moment of the execution and set fire to a number of houses, not only to save the condemned man, but also to avenge themselves on the Catholics.

the precipice of destruction. Even the physician does not at once have recourse to the iron (Opera Alphonsi a Castro, Parisiis 1571, 1037). Similar opinions, *ibid.* l., 1, c. 17, p. 1160 *seq.*, *e.g.* : " non tamen statim, cum deprehensus est, digna poena illi infligetur, sed prius oportet ad illius emendationem laborare, ut si possible fuerit, ab errore ad fidem catholicam prius revocetur, et sic spiritus eius in Dei iudicio salvus fiat. Blanda admonitione est opus, non severa, quia nimia severitas saepe frangere et raro corrigere solet." The other extreme view which de Castro combats, according to which no punishment at all should be attached to heresy, is, as de Castro says, only defended by the heretics themselves.

[1] Michiel on March 26, 1555, in Brown, VI., n. 37.

[2] Michiel erroneously says Norfolk instead of Suffolk; see Brown, VI., p. 31, n.

Indeed, the investigations into the conspiracy were not yet concluded when the fires of the stake were once more lighted. On March 26th, shortly after the chief conspirator, Bowes, had been taken to the Tower, instructions were issued to the magistrates to guard the public peace, to arrest the disseminators of seditious writings, the preachers of heretical doctrines, the organizers of secret meetings, and to hand over obstinate heretics to the bishops.[1]

The bishops did not show any great activity in carrying out their thankless task, but showed clemency, as far as it was in their power to do so.[2] In many dioceses not a single heretic

[1] LINGARD, VII., 193.

[2] "It is quite untrue, as Foxe and his school have made the world believe, that the authorities were savage or ferocious" (GAIRDNER, 349; *cf. supra* p. 364.) Under many bishops there were no executions at all. Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells, in the proceedings on account of heresy, did all he could for the prisoners, "always earnestly exhorting them to save themselves by recantation . . . In his own diocese it does not appear that any one was put to death" (Dictionary of National Biography, VI., 29). Cuthbert Tunstall, of Durham "refrained as far as possible from persecuting the protestants, and condemned none of them to death" (*ibid.* LVII., 314). Fuller says of William Glynn of Bangor (Worthies of England, ed. NICHOLS, II., 571): "Though constant to his own he was not cruel to opposite judgments as appeareth by there being no persecution in his diocese" (*ibid.*, XXII., 11). Many bishops had nothing to do with the persecution in their dioceses. John Holyman, of Bristol, "though a zealous Romanist . . . was never active in persecution." He refused to be present when his chancellor, Dalby, sent three men to the stake (*ibid*, XXVII., 215). George Day, of Chichester, "He is said not to have persecuted, but several persons were burned in his diocese" (*ibid.* XIV., 232-233). From other dioceses only very few executions of Protestants are known. Thomas Thirlby, of Ely, had, it appears, sanctioned the execution of John Hullier on account of heresy; besides this case, only two others suffered death on account of religion in his diocese, and that was without the co-operation of Thirlby (*ibid.* LVI., 137). Under James Turberville, of Exeter, (*ibid.* LVII., 325), David Pole, of

was burned, and persecution was only active in three or four.[1] It was, naturally, most violent in the capital, which the Venetian ambassador describes as "the chief seat of lies, and of instigation to rebellion."[2] Bishop Bonner, however, was by no means the ruthless tyrant which a very biassed historical description would make him.[3] On May 24th, 1555, the royal Council sent him a reprimand because he showed so little zeal against the heretics; he was requested to act in accordance with the law, "for the honour of God, and for the better preservation of peace in the kingdom."[4] Bonner thereupon

Peterborough (*ibid.* XLVI., 20), Antony Kitchin, of Llandaff (*ibid.* XXXI., 230) only one Protestant was executed. Concerning Gardiner see *infra* p. 371. The said work of reference makes no mention of executions, and, at the most, of participation in examinations, or at the burning of the corpses of Bucer and Fagius, in the biographies of Robert Warton, of St. Asaph (LIX., 431), Thomas Watson, of Lincoln (LX., 32), James Brooks, of Gloucester (VI., 438), Ralph Baynes, of Lichfield-Coventry (III., 456), Maurice Griffith, of Rochester (XXIII., 234), Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph (XXII., 97), Nicholas Heath, of York (XXV., 345), Richard Pate, of Worcester (XLIV., 11), Cuthbert Scott, of Chester (LI., 15), Thomas Stanley, of Sodor and Man (LIV., 50), Owen Oglethorpe, of Carlisle (XLII., 48), and Henry Morgan of St. David's (XXXIX., 16). Besides Bonner, John White, of Lincoln (LXI., 53), John Christopherson, of Chichester (X., 294), John Hopton, of Norwich (XXVII., 347), Robert King, of Oxford (XXXI., 154), adopted stern measures against the Protestants. Concerning the chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, John Storey, see SPILLMANN, II., 129.

[1] TRÉSAL, 322. ZIMMERMANN in the Histor. Jahrbuch, XXIII., 833.

[2] Michiel on July 9, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 154, p. 133.

[3] Foxe shows, in his book of Martyrs, as Gairdner says, extreme desire to make out charges of cruelty against Bonner (Dictionary of National Biography, V., 359). The injustice of the accusations of Foxe, which were simply adopted by the succeeding writers of history, is proved by S. R. MAITLAND, Essays on the reformation, London, 1849, 409; *cf.* ZIMMERMANN, 98.

[4] LINGARD, VII., 194.

had to examine and sentence, by degrees, however, 120 accused persons who were sent to him. He did everything he could to save these unfortunate people, and in many cases his endeavours were successful. Indeed it was precisely the great number whom he induced to recant, that earned for him the hatred of the innovators.[1] Conversions were also reported from other quarters. When Dr. John Cheke, the former tutor of Edward VI., turned to the Catholic Church, thirty other Protestants, who were already threatened with death, followed him.[2] In one case all the prisoners were set free on their simple oath to be faithful to God and the queen.[3] Dr. John Storey was very active in London, in clearing the city of "schism, heresy and rebellion," as it is significantly described. In the middle of June, 1555, he was of opinion that conditions in the capital had decidedly improved.[4]

Bishop Gardiner had, as Lord Chancellor, taken part in the first examinations and condemnations of the heretics, but never afterwards.[5] Under Pole, as Archbishop of Canterbury, only once, on November 10th, 1558, were five Protestants executed, and that when the Cardinal was already on his death-bed, and hardly knew what was taking place.[6]

[1] ZIMMERMANN, 100.

[2] Michiel on November 2, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 690.

[3] LINGARD, VII., 207.

[4] His letter to Courtenay of June 17, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n 137.

[5] LINGARD, VII., 192; *cf.* 189 n.

[6] *Ibid.*, 205; *cf.* MARTIN, 111 *seq.* Pole's envoys, who visited the universities of the country, had the bones of Bucer and Fagius removed from the principal church of Cambridge in 1557, at the request of the University, and burned (Briefe Treatise concerning the Burnynge of Bucer and Fagius, translated by Goldyng, 1562; *cf.* Dictionary of National Biography, X., 294). The remains of the nun, Catherine, who was married to Vermigli, and which had been placed in order to insult the Catholics beside the shrine of St. Frideswide, in Christ Church, Oxford, were also dug up in 1561, but were mingled with the relics of St. Frideswide and solemnly reburied in Christ Church. *Cf.* (I. CALFHILL) Historia de exhumatione Catherinae, nuper uxoris doctissimi theologi

It is not easy to determine what part the queen took personally in the condemnations. She wrote to Pole in November, 1555, that in her opinion great severity and violence should be avoided in dealing with the heretics, but in the treatment of the seducers of the people, justice should be allowed to take its course. The people must be made to understand clearly that no one was punished unjustly, for only in this way could many be brought to acknowledge the truth and be preserved from a relapse. She especially wished that no one should be burned in London, except in the presence of a member of the royal Council, and that during the carrying out of the sentence, good sermons should be preached in London and elsewhere, for the conversion of the people.[1] Moreover, Mary had taken but little part in public events since the beginning of 1555.[2] She was ill even at the beginning of the year, and in April she withdrew to Hampton Court, where she remained quietly for some months. A report that she was dead was widely circulated and was believed by many.[3] The people assembled in crowds, and gave signs of the greatest joy, when, on her return from Hampton Court, they were able to convince themselves that she was alive.[4] Mary had hinted, at the beginning

D. Petri Martyris ac eiusdem ad honestam sepulturam restitutione Oxonii facta III. id. Ian., 1561, Oxford, 1561; (Konr. Hubert) Historia Catharinae Vermiliae P. Martyris coniugis exhumatae, Argentorati, 1561; Acta Sanctorum Octob. VIII., 533 *seqq.* (where there is a copy of Calfhill's publication); Dictionary of National Biography, XX., 276; Reusch, Index, I., 420.

[1] Brown, VI., 3. App. n. 136, p. 1647. Lingard, VII., 189. The date of the MS. is clear from the contents; *cf.* Pole's letter to Morone of November 11, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 276.

[2] Breen, 111 *seq.*

[3] Brown, VI., 1, n. 85, 174, 200.

[4] Michiel on August 27, 1555, in Brown, VI., n. 200. "No one can describe," writes Michiel, "what a mass of people crowded along the very broad road, and what signs of joy the people expressed at the sight of the queen. The joy was all the greater, as the people of London had been convinced that the queen was dead. On her appearance they ran about madly from one place to another, seeking to see better, in order to make sure that it really

of her illness, that her hope of an heir was about to be realized, but it became more clear every day that she was suffering from dropsy, and had misunderstood the signs of her disease. In September she felt better, and tried, for a short time, once more to take part in the affairs of state. Her condition, however, soon grew worse, and from that time she never again appeared at the Council of State, and could hardly have had any influence in the condemnations on account of religion.

In Foxe's Book of Martyrs the number of these condemnations is given as 277, but all those on this list did not suffer death, and many of those named were not martyrs in any sense of the word, but suffered well-deserved punishment as ordinary criminals; others again, were not martyrs for Protestantism, for they were punished for holding doctrines, for the profession of which the innovators themselves would have put them to death. Nevertheless, there remain about 200 persons who suffered a terrible death on account of their Protestant opinions,[1] and, for the most part they met their fate steadfastly.[2] It was, moreover, permitted, that those condemned should have a small bag of gunpowder between their legs or before their breast, which exploded at the first

was her. And when they had assured themselves of this fact, and that she was looking better than before, they gave still greater signs of joy by shouting and greeting her, and by every means in their power, especially as, to their great satisfaction and that of Her Majesty, King Philip sat beside the queen, and, on the other side, Cardinal Pole, who are both very popular on account of their great friendliness."

[1] LINGARD, VII., 207.

[2] This steadfastness in the victims of justice was quite usual in England. "The English," writes Litolfi, "are obstinate by nature and exceedingly courageous; it has often been seen how they have ascended the scaffold or the stake laughing, while they made merry over such a martyrdom; many used to boast of the number of their family who had been hanged or quartered." So writes Annibale Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua, on June 20, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 3, App. n. 171, p. 1672; *cf.* anecdotes related *ibid.*

contact with the fire, and caused a speedy death, or at least unconsciousness.[1] It must be said, to the honour of the government, that it was not sullied with the atrocities which were practised, with such refined cruelty, on Catholics in the time of Elizabeth. In spite of this, it is upon Mary, above all others, that the accusation of cruelty has been fixed. John Foxe, who had fled to Germany before the persecution, collected the reports of the sufferings of his co-religionists, and his account, all distorted by hatred, has for hundreds of years called forth and nourished horror against Mary and the Catholic Church among English Protestants.[2]

[1] ZIMMERMANN, 103.

[2] Foxe's Book of Martyrs (Acts and Monuments) was a household word in almost every English family of Puritanical tendencies, and the principal arsenal for weapons against Catholics. Preachers took examples from it as material for their sermons; the Convocation of the Clergy decided in 1571 that the book must be procured by every cathedral church, and in many parish churches it lay, fastened by a chain, for common use (S. L. LEE in the Dictionary of National Biography, XX., 146 *seqq.*) Concerning Foxe's reliability Lee says (p. 148 *seq.*): "The enormous extent of Foxe's work has prevented a critical investigation of the whole. But it is plain from such examination as the work has undergone that Foxe was too zealous a partisan to write with historical precision. He is a passionate advocate, ready to accept any *prima facie* evidence. . . Foxe's mistakes sometimes arise from faulty and hasty copying of original documents, but are more often the result of exaggeration. John Deighton, a very friendly critic, showed that Foxe's account of the martyrdom of "John Horne and a woman" at Newent, on September 25, 1556, is an amplification of the suffering at the stake of *Edward* Horne, on September 25, 1558 (NICHOLS, Narratives of the reformation, 69). The errors, in date and Christian name, in the case, are very typical. Foxe, moreover, undoubtedly included among his martyrs persons executed for ordinary secular offences. He acknowledged his error in the case of John Marbeck, of Windsor, "martyr," of 1543, whom he represented in his text of 1563 to have been burned, whereas the man was condemned, but pardoned. Foxe was often less ingenuous. He wrote that one Greenwood or

The great majority of the people who had the courage to go to the stake belonged to the working classes. The nobles, among whom there were many with Protestant leanings, are only represented by nine names. The middle classes are entirely unrepresented; sixteen of the preachers, and five of the Protestant bishops suffered death at the hands of the executioner.[1] There were only the three bishops, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, who were men of importance, among those who suffered death. All three had already been thrown into the Tower on account of political offences before the renewal of the penal laws.[2] In March, 1554, they were taken to Oxford, so that they might in public disputations give reasons and replies concerning their opinions.[3] As they persisted in their views, they were, on April 20th, 1554, declared to be obstinate heretics. The legal proceedings against them, however, only began in September, 1555. The sentence against Cranmer, as he was an archbishop, was reserved to the Pope.

The Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Brooks, conducted the

Grimwood, of Hitcham, near Ipswich, Suffolk, having obtained the conviction of a "martyr," John Cooper, on concocted evidence, died miserably soon afterwards. Foxe was informed that Greenwood was alive, and that the story of his death was a fiction. He went to Ipswich to examine witnesses, but never made any alteration in his account. Later . . . a clergyman named Prick recited Foxe's story about Greenwood from the pulpit of Hitcham Church. Greenwood was present, and proceeded against Prick for libel, but the courts held that no malicious defamation was intended (CROKE, Reports, edited by LEACH, II., 91) . . . It has been most conclusively shown that his chapter on the Waldensians is directly translated from the 'catalogus' of Illyricus, although Illyricus is not mentioned by Foxe among the authorities consulted. Foxe claims to have consulted 'parchment documents' whereas he only knew them in the text of Illyricus. This indicates a loose notion of literary morality which justifies some of the harshest judgments passed on Foxe."

[1] ZIMMERMANN, 104.

[2] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 247.

[3] See *Ibid.* p. 274.

investigation on behalf of Cardinal Jacopo Puteo. On September 7th, Cranmer was granted a period of eighty days within which to vindicate himself in Rome; on September 12th, he had to appear before Brooks.[1] The charge against him was not only that of heresy, but also that of having broken his oath of celibacy, sworn to the Pope. After the expiration of the eighty days, Paul IV., on December 4th, 1555, pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, and ordered him to be handed over to the secular power.[2] Ridley and Latimer had to appear before Brooks and two other bishops, who acted on behalf of Pole, on September 30th, 1555. On October 16th, they were both sent to the stake at Oxford. Latimer was killed almost at once, after the lighting of the fire, by the explosion of the bag of gunpowder placed before his breast; Ridley, however, had to suffer longer, owing to the awkwardness of his friends, who wished to make his death easier.[3]

After his imprisonment, Ridley had, for a short time, returned to the worship of the old religion, but soon repented of his declaration and recanted.[4] Cranmer proved himself ready to go still further. In his first examination, on September 12th, he adopted, it is true, an unyielding attitude, but when it was put to him that if the king is the head of the Church, then Nero at the time of St. Peter, and also the Sultan of Turkey, must equally be regarded as heads of the Church, he accepted this inference without hesitation.[5] He gradually became more pliant, and one by one signed seven declarations, in which he at last acknowledged the Pope and the Catholic

[1] GAIRDNER, 364 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 30.

[3] After the people had been convinced that everything had been done to save them both, they were not unwilling to witness the execution (Pole, on October 26, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 256, p. 226). Usually the people of London showed displeasure at the execution of heretics. Michiel, on June 1, 1555, *ibid.* n. 116; *cf.* n. 49, p. 45.

[4] LINGARD, VII., 195 *seq.*

[5] GAIRDNER, 365.

Church, renounced the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli, and condemned his former proceedings.[1]

All these concessions, however, were in vain. The queen had no confidence in the rectitude of this unprincipled man,[2] and the event proved that she had judged rightly. On the morning of his execution, March 21st, 1556, Cranmer signed the seventh and last recantation, which he promised to read immediately before his death. In this he declared that he accepted all the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and further that nothing lay so heavy on his conscience as what he had written against those doctrines. The first of these declarations he did actually read, even if he did not, as was soon shown, understand them in the Catholic sense. Instead of reading the second, however, he declared that nothing lay so heavy on his conscience as having been induced to make these seven recantations; his right hand, which had signed them, should, in expiation, be the first to feel the fire. He actually stretched it out into the flames, as soon as the fire was lighted. Immediately afterwards he was dead.[3]

Many English Protestants had fled to the continent since 1554; it was not easy for them to find a place of refuge. They were received unwillingly in France and the German Lutherans were as much disliked by the English sacramentarians as the Catholics. Some went to Wesel, where they were very unwelcome.[4] Peter Martyr Vermigli procured an asylum for others at Strasbourg, and many went to Calvinist Switzerland. Johann a Lasco went to Poland, and Coverdale to Denmark.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] BROWN, VI., 1, n. 434, p. 386.

[3] *Ibid.* and GAIRDNER, 370 *seqq.*

[4] Melancthon applied to the Council of Wesel on their behalf in a document of November 19, 1556 (Corp. Reform., VIII., 908), but writes on March 29, 1557: "Exulibus Gallicis et Anglicis doleo meam intercessionem lenissime scriptam non profuisse apud Fesulanos" (=inhabitants of Wesel; *ibid.* IX., 121). In the same way Melancthon advised, on July 13, 1557, the English refugees in Frankfurt to be patient (*ibid.* IX., 179).

[5] GAIRDNER, 391 *seq.*

Frankfort-on-Maine was a great meeting place for the fugitives. There they received the joint use of a church with the French Protestant refugees, whereupon the question immediately arose as to whether the English Book of Common Prayer could be used also in Frankfort. At first they came to an agreement, but were once more at variance when John Knox appeared there as a preacher. Soon, however, they were reconciled for a second time, though before long the dispute was again at "boiling point." When Richard Cox arrived in Frankfort with nine more refugees, the little Frankfort community was divided into Knoxians and Coxians. John Knox preached in the pulpit against Cox, but a friend of the latter found a way of having his troublesome assailant removed from Frankfort. He complained to the magistrate of Knox, and accused him of having said in one of his publications[1] that the Emperor was no less an enemy of Christ than Nero, and that he had cursed the Queen of England.[2] Calvin, who had already taken part in the dispute,[3] made reproaches to the English community in Frankfort for having driven Knox away. They defended themselves in a letter, which, among other admissions, contains the remarkable statement that the insane and inflammatory writings of Knox had been in great measure responsible for the persecution in England.[4]

[1] Faithful Admonition of Christians, concerning the present troubles of England: Works, III., 257.

[2] CALVINI Opera, XV. (Corp. Reform., XLIII.,) 337, 370, 393, 422, 447, 523, 551, 558. Dictionary of National Biography, XXXI., 312 *seq.* GAIRDNER, 391 *seq.*

[3] Letter of January 18, 1555, *loc. cit.*, 393 *seqq.*

[4] Hoc tibi affirmare possumus, vesanum illum Knoxi libellum plurimum olei igni persecutionis is Anglia addidisse. Nam ante illum editum libellum ne unus quidem ex fratribus nostris mortem fuerat perpessus: simul atque ille prodiit, in quam multos optimos viros flammis saevitum sit ad vos pervenisse non dubitamus. Angli Francofordienses Calvino, 20 September, 1555 (Opera Calvini, XV. [Corp. Reform., XLIII.,] 780 *seq.*) Because the English refugees everywhere, in Italy, Germany, and France spread evil rumours against the government, and the religion,

In spite of this view, however, England was again flooded in 1555 with abusive writings by the innovators. Various wretches endeavour every day, writes Michiel on May 13th, to disturb the peace, and where possible to cause revolts. Several days ago, a dialogue, full of the foulest abuse of religion, the government, and the persons of the king and queen, was circulated.[1] Special attention was drawn at the end of the year to a pamphlet personally directed against Philip II. This held up a terrible picture before the eyes of the English people, of Philip treading the rights of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples under foot, and saying that if Mary remained childless he would do away with her and make himself master of England. The writer of this pamphlet was supposed to be one of the English refugees in Strasbourg, "who employ every means in their power to drive the people to rebellion."[2]

English fugitives also worked against the queen in Italy. When Paul IV. published his bull against the alienation of church property,[3] they at once sent the document to England in order to make the people believe that the concessions of Pole with regard to the church property in England were revoked.[4] "It is hardly credible," writes Pole to Muzzarelli,

the draft of a Bill was laid before Parliament in November, 1555, which ordered all natives of England to return home. Michiel on November 11, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 274. *Cf.* R. JUNG, Die eng. Flüchtlingsgemeinde in Frankfurt a. M. 1554 bis 1559, Frankfurt, 1910.

[1] BROWN, VI., 1, n. 80, p. 70. King Philip asked the Emperor by special messenger whether he should proceed against this libel. Letter of Badoer, Brussels, May 19, 1555, *ibid.* n. 85.

[2] Letter of Badoer, Brussels, December 3, 1555, *ibid.* n. 300. The title of the pamphlet (A Warninge for Englande, etc.) in LEE, Dictionary of National Biography, XXXVI., 348. *Cf.* Pole's letter of November 23, 1555 (in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 287), which also points out that the pamphlet was from a Protestant hand.

[3] See *supra* p. 91.

[4] Michiel, Letter of September, 16, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 215.

"how many false reports are circulated in order to turn the hearts of the people away from the Pope." When he spoke concerning this to the queen, she declared with sighs and tears that she had not the heart to repeat to him all the things that were reported to her.[1] The courage of the revolutionary elements increased especially after the death, on November 12th, 1555, of Gardiner, whose powerful hand had been much feared by his adversaries.[2]

The mood which this unceasing incitement had called into being among great numbers of the people found expression in the most violent outbreaks of fanaticism, and in ever recurring conspiracies and revolutionary plots. While the priest was distributing communion on Easter Sunday, April 4th, 1555, in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, an ex-monk wounded him on the head and hand, so that he lay there like one dead. The perpetrator of this deed asserted that he was inspired thereto by the Holy Ghost, as a protest against the idolatry. He had not received the courage to carry out this enterprise at Christmas, but now he was ready "to die for the Lord." Foxe included this raving lunatic among his "martyrs."[3] A statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury over the entrance to the Mercers' Chapel, had been frequently mutilated, several times during the night.[4] Churches were often broken into and the Blessed Sacrament was frequently desecrated;[5] there were many disturbances during the church services after the death of Cranmer.[6]

In May, 1555, a young man represented himself as being Edward VI., who was asserted not to be really dead at all; several people pretended to believe him, and organized a

[1] Pole to Muzzarelli on October 26, 1555, *ibid.* n. 255.

[2] Pole to Philip on November 23, 1555, *ibid.* n. 287.

[3] Michiel on April 15, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 57, p. 50 *seq.* Gairdner, 355.

[4] Michiel on March 19, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 32, p. 28. Gairdner, 355.

[5] Michiel, *loc. cit.*

[6] Michiel on March 24, 1556, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 434, p. 386.

rising.[1] In the January of the following year a pamphlet appeared which again asserted that King Edward was still living, and in France, and was only waiting for a rising of the people to land in England.[2] Another plot set on foot at the end of 1555 by Henry Dudley, a relative of the Duke of Northumberland, was more dangerous; it was only discovered by the government at the beginning of March, 1556, through information given by one of the conspirators. It was proposed to set fire to London in different places, and in the confusion to seize upon the royal treasury, establish themselves in the Isle of Wight, and from there, arrange a rising throughout the kingdom.[3] At the trial of the numerous prisoners it was discovered that the rebels had been supported by France,[4] that the queen and all foreigners were to have been murdered,[5] and Elizabeth set upon the throne in her place.[6] Courtenay was to have been her husband and co-regent. The inquiry into the wide ramifications of this plot lasted until May.[7] It was hardly at an end when further troubles arose in June. A young man named Cleobury declared that he was Courtenay, to whom he bore a great resemblance, and proclaimed himself as king, and Elizabeth as queen, in Sussex. The people, however, would have nothing to do with him, and he was executed for high treason on September 20th.[8] An arch-heretic, well known in Germany, was mixed up with Cleobury's rising, of which Michiel gives some account in August, 1556. He lived, for safety, hidden

[1] Michiel on May 27, 1555, *ibid.* n. 97.

[2] Michiel on January 21, 1556, *ibid.* n. 358; *cf.* n. 377.

[3] Michiel on March 17 and 24, 1556, *ibid.* n. 429, 434.

[4] Michiel on March 30 and April 14, 1556, *ibid.* n. 440, 458.

[5] Michiel on April 21, 1556, *ibid.* n. 461; *cf.* Soranzo, April 14, 1556, *ibid.* n. 457.

[6] LINGARD, 216, *seq.* GAIRDNER, 379.

[7] Michiel on May 5, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 477.

[8] LINGARD 219. Several of his accomplices were hanged as early as August. They died repentant, and acknowledged that they had been led to this false step by mistaken views on religion. Michiel on August 18, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 580.

in the woods, but came to the villages from time to time in all sorts of disguises, in order to encourage his co-religionists with tales of better times, when religion would be established and "slavery" at an end.[1] In March, 1557, the French Protestants, in conjunction with the English refugees, endeavoured to deliver the two fortresses of Hammes and Guisnes, in the territory of Calais, into the hands of the French.[2] The following month again brought with it a new act of treachery. Thomas Stafford, the son of Pole's sister Ursula, had been from the first vehemently opposed to the Spanish marriage of the queen, and had probably taken part in Suffolk's rising. He escaped, however, from prison to France, and took an active part there in the intrigues of the English Protestants. His object was not only to overthrow Mary, but also to make himself king. He set sail for England with two ships given him by the King of France, on September 18th, and summoned the people to defend themselves against "the devilish attacks of Mary, the unlawful queen," who would deliver her country into the slavery of the Spaniards. His hope that thousands would join him proved vain, and Stafford was taken prisoner almost without a blow having been struck, and ended his life on May 28th, at Tyburn.[3]

Although no one benefited by these risings, they nevertheless greatly damaged the esteem in which the queen was held. She was forced either to pronounce sentence of death on those who were guilty, or else to confiscate their property, and her popularity thereby suffered considerably. "The lower classes in England," writes the Venetian ambassador, Michele Surian, "love risings and tumults,"[4] and his predecessor, Michiel,

[1] Michiel on August 25, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 585, p. 578.

[2] LINGARD 226.

[3] A. F. POLLARD on the Dictionary of National Biography, LIII., 460. LINGARD, 226 *seq.* Surian (the Venetian ambassador in London) on April 29, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 870. The King of France denies having taken part in the conspiracy; see *ibid.* n. 896, 926; *cf.* also n. 926, p. 1150.

[4] On April 29, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 870.

says,[1] " the instigators of rebellion are excused by everybody, and their pretexts, the banishment of the foreigners or of the faith meet with silent approval. As soon as a man of importance puts himself at the head, a revolt is sure to take place, and the life of the queen to be placed in danger."

In coming to a conclusion like this, it must not be forgotten that the ambassadors only knew the conditions in the capital at all intimately. The country people were, however, discontented, for the harvest was exceedingly bad in the years 1555-1557, and a general scarcity prevailed.[2] If, however, the rebellions of Stafford and others found but little support, it proves that the discontent of large classes of the people with the government cannot have been of so great an extent as the Venetian ambassadors believed, and that the reason for the unrest of the masses must be sought somewhere else than in the severe measures against the Protestants.[3]

While the government was defending the newly restored religion after its own fashion, by measures of violence, Cardinal Pole considered that his own duty consisted in the renewal of and care for religious life among the Catholics.

Pole could not, it is true, withdraw entirely from politics. He was not only legate for the English church, but also for the reconciliation of the contending princes, and, indeed, Marcellus II. had confirmed him in both legations shortly after his accession.[4] Pole devoted himself to the office of peacemaker with great zeal.[5] On May 23rd, the anniversary of the election of Paul IV., a peace conference was opened at Marck, near Gravelines. This unimportant village had been chosen as the scene of the negotiations because the English, French, and

[1] Report of May 13, 1557, *ibid.* n. 884, p. 1056.

[2] Michiel's report to the Senate of Venice, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 884, p. 1068, 1085. Michiel on October 27, 1555, *ibid.* VI., 1, n. 258. Surian on April 21 and June 1, 1557, *ibid.* VI., 2, n. 863, 912.

[3] Nonciat. de France, II., 359.

[4] Michiel on May 6, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 72.

[5] Michiel on August 6, 1555, *ibid.* n. 176.

Flemish territories met there.[1] The conference was dissolved on June 7th without having reached any result.[2] Paul IV. also confirmed Pole's two legations, first by word of mouth, and then in a brief of December 23rd, 1555.[3] At the new peace conference which was held at Vaucelles from December 25th, 1555, to February 5th, 1556, the English Cardinal did not, it is true, take part personally, but his envoy, Parpaglia, exercised no small influence on the proceedings.[4] Pole was actively engaged in other ways for the interests of peace, both through his intermediaries, and by his letters to the King of France, to Philip II. and to the Emperor.[5]

Towards the end of August, 1555, the legate was asked to undertake yet another political office. Before Philip left England, he spoke to Pole, in the presence of the assembled royal Council, and expressed the wish that the Cardinal should, in his absence, be a support and consolation to the queen, and exercise a sort of superintendence over the government. Pole answered in courteous terms that he could not accept such a position without the permission of the Pope.[6] For the personal consolation of the queen, however, he took up his abode for a considerable time in the royal palace,[7] but, as far as possible, took no part in secular affairs, and appears never to have assisted at the Council of State.[8]

After the departure of Philip, Pole's advice was especially sought by the queen, with regard to the still unsettled question

[1] Michiel on May 27, 1555, *ibid.* n. 92; *cf.* Michiel on May 9, 1555, *ibid.* n. 75.

[2] Priuli on June 7, 1555, *ibid.* n. 126.

[3] Raynaldus, 1555, n. 35; *cf.* Pole to Paul IV., in January, 1556, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 360.

[4] Riess, 85; *cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 322, 363.

[5] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 258, 269, 293, 329, 400, etc.

[6] Michiel on September 3, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 204. Pole to Carafa on October 10, 1555, *ibid.* n. 244. Paul IV. sanctioned Pole's action in the matter; see Michiel on November 25, 1555, *ibid.* n. 289, p. 261.

[7] Brown, VI., 1, n. 200, 251.

[8] Michiel on September 3, 1555, *ibid.* n. 204, p. 178 *seq.*

of the church property. By the confiscation of the possessions of the church under Henry VIII., the clergy had been reduced to poverty.[1] There were, in particular, a number of benefices entailing the care of souls, which had formerly been filled by the religious orders, but these, since the dissolution of the monasteries, and owing to the complete inadequacy of the revenues, had fallen into the hands of people without learning or moral stability.[2]

An alteration in these lamentable conditions could only be looked for from the generosity of the faithful. Mary, on the advice of Pole,[3] determined to be the first to give an example. More than 800 benefices were in the possession of the Crown;[4] Henry VIII., moreover, in his capacity as head of the church, had claimed the tithes and first fruits for himself. Mary now felt it on her conscience that, in spite of her having relinquished the title of supremacy over the church, she still continued to draw these revenues.[5] In addition to this, although Pole, at the time of the reunion of England with Rome, had promised that the Church would not demand her property back again, he had nevertheless refused to make a further declaration that the possessor of such property might continue to feel easy in his conscience.[6]

Philip, before his departure, had very unwillingly agreed to the immediate renunciation of the church property, and the ministers also made difficulties since the crown was itself in financial straits, and had just then, in October, 1555, been obliged to ask for a subsidy from Parliament. Mary, however, remained immovable; she declared that the renunciation of ten royal crowns would not be too great a sacrifice to assure the salvation of her soul.[7] She had already promised Pole to

[1] *Cf.* Brown, VI., 1, n. 14.

[2] Michiel on November 25, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 289.

[3] Michiel on July 1, 1554, *ibid.* n. 150; *cf.* n. 14, p. 10.

[4] Michiel on November 25, 1555, *ibid.* n. 289, p. 261. *Ibid.* n. 14, p. 11; the number of these benefices is given as 700.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 260.

[6] *Ibid.* n. 14; VI., 2, p. 1075.

[7] Lingard, 212 *seq.*

restore the church property at the beginning of April, but experienced lawyers had pointed out that the seizure of the property had been confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and could therefore only be given back with the consent of Parliament.[1]

It was not, however, so easy to procure this consent. Parliament, which assembled on October 21st, counted among its members many who were themselves in possession of church property, and who had no wish at all that an example of generosity and self-sacrifice should be given from the throne.[2] The fear that, in spite of all concessions, they would be forced by the church to restore the stolen property, had not entirely disappeared. On the contrary, this fear had been increased by the bull of Paul IV. concerning the restitution of church property, and the enemies of the government had not been slow in making use of it.[3] A declaration from the Pope that this bull did not apply to England, was, in the opinion of Pole, absolutely necessary, and he repeatedly made application to Rome that such a declaration should be sent to him.[4] A bull, confirming the concessions of Pole, was read by Gardiner in Parliament on October 23rd. At the same time the Chancellor assured them that no one thought of requiring from others the generosity shown by the queen.[5]

The House of Lords, with only two exceptions, now agreed to Mary's wishes, but the opposition still continued in the House of Commons. Then Mary summoned sixty members of the House to her presence, and, in her deep sonorous voice, made them an impressive speech concerning her intentions.

[1] Pole to Morone on August 9, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 179.

[2] Michiel on October 27 and December 3, 1555, *ibid.* n. 258, 297.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 379; Pole to Muzzarelli on October 26, 1555, *ibid.* n. 255.

[4] On August 9, 18, 28, September 16, and November 11, 1555, *ibid.* n. 179, 188, 196, 217, 276.

[5] Michiel on October 27, 1555, *ibid.* n. 258. The Bull was read at St. Paul's Cross as early as September. TYTLER, Edward and Mary II., 483; Dictionary of National Biography, XLVI., 43; *cf. infra* p. 389.

Providence, she said, had placed her on the throne so that she might restore the true religion; all her efforts so far for this end would, however, avail her nothing, if her conscience were not set free from a double injustice, the possession of the benefices, and the tithes and first fruits. If so much love had hitherto been shown for her person, she concluded, with very marked emphasis, she hoped that still greater love would now be shown for the salvation of her soul, for otherwise, no other kind of love would have any value in her eyes.[1]

After she had finished, one of the members wished to answer her, but his colleagues forced the audacious man to be silent, as only the Speaker of the House had the right to answer the sovereign. Then Pole explained that the crown would sustain no real loss by the renunciation of the tithes and first fruits, as it would then be freed from the duty of paying pensions to the monks and priests who had been expelled, and who had retired into private life and lived as laymen since the change of religion; the emoluments of the benefices after they had been restored would be of advantage to the sons of the nobles and the people, which would be much better for the common good than if they went into the coffers of the state.[2]

Pole's speech was listened to with general approval, but the fear of the consequences which might possibly result from their acceptance of the draft of the royal bill, still continued to weigh heavily on all their minds. On December 2nd, the bill was handed over to a committee for consideration, and on December 3rd they debated it behind closed doors from break of day until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when it was finally accepted by 183 votes against 120.[3]

The Chancellor, Gardiner, although he was already suffering from a mortal illness, had employed his last powers on behalf of the bill, and for the granting of the subsidy.[4] On November 12th he succumbed to his great exertions, to the deep grief of

[1] Michiel on November 25, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 289.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Michiel on December 3, 1555, *ibid.* n. 297; on December 3, 1555, n. 298.

[4] Pole to King Philip on October 26, 1555, *ibid.* n. 256.

Pole, as well as of the queen. He had been a true and exceedingly skilful servant to his sovereign; everybody acknowledged, Michiel informs us on the day of Gardiner's death, that no better or more capable person could have been chosen for the post of Chancellor.[1] On the same day Pole wrote that it seemed as though justice and religion would die with Gardiner, so greatly did his disappearance from public life encourage the unruly elements against whom he had always fought so steadfastly.[2]

On the death of Gardiner, the greater part of the nobles wished to see the chancellorship bestowed on Pole, but the legate declined this offer. He must, he said, devote all his powers to the affairs of the Church, and he dared not take any other duties upon himself.[3] Paul IV. approved this action on the part of his legate.[4]

The purely ecclesiastical questions, indeed, offered a wide enough field for Pole's zeal for reform. He was determined to devote the whole of his powers to the restoration of religion in his native land; not even to take part in the conclave after the death of Julius III., would the "self-forgetful ascetic"[5] leave England,[6] although the Emperor called upon him[7] to travel to Rome,[8] and was prepared, as was Philip, to support him at the Papal election with all his influence.[9]

Pole's first measures and concessions in ecclesiastical affairs,[10] had not only been verbally sanctioned by Paul IV. to the English ambassador, but had again been expressly confirmed

[1] November 11, 1555, *ibid.* n. 274, p. 245.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 275.

[3] Michiel on November 18, 1555, in Brown, VI., 1, n. 282, p. 252. Soranzo on November 27, 1555, *ibid.* n. 293.

[4] Pole to Morone on February 5, 1556, *ibid.* n. 378.

[5] Michiel on April 8, 1555, *ibid.* n. 48.

[6] For reasons which kept him back, see his letter to de las Naves on April 8, 1555, *ibid.* n. 51.

[7] Badoer on March 31, 1555, *ibid.* n. 41.

[8] Michiel on April 15, 1555, *ibid.* n. 57.

[9] Badoer on April 7, 1555, *ibid.* n. 48; *cf. supra* p. 2 *seqq.*

[10] See *supra* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 287.

on June 20th, 1555, in a formal bull.[1] The giving up of the church property, as well as all the legal regulations which had been made during the schism, were to remain in force, but the clerics who had been ordained by invalidly consecrated bishops were strictly ordered to be ordained again by their various bishops. As there seemed to be some doubt as to this last point, a new Papal brief followed on October 30th, 1555, from which it was clearly to be seen that ordination according to the formulary of Edward VI. was regarded as invalid in Rome.[2] Of the seven Anglican prelates who had lost their sees in 1554, three had been deposed on account of the nullity of their consecration.[3]

Pole regarded it as his first and most important duty to fill the vacant bishoprics and cures of souls with worthy men. Julius III. had already sanctioned the election and consecration of five English bishops on July 6th, 1554.[4] Paul IV. gave the Papal confirmation to six other English prelates in a consistory on June 21st, 1555.[5] The vacancies caused by

[1] The Bull *Praeclara carissimi*, found by Gasquet in 1895 (*cf.* Civiltà catt. 1895, II., 562 *seq.*), printed in part in the American Eccles. Review XIII. (1895), 42, and complete in the Docum. ad legat. card. Poli spect. 18 *seq.*, in the Tablet, LXXXVI. (1905), 499 *seq.* and in BRANDI, Delle ordinaz. anglic.[4] Roma, 1908, 171 *seq.*

[2] The brief, *Regimini*, likewise found by Gasquet in 1895, printed in the American Eccles. Review, XIII. (1895), 43 *seq.*, in the Docum. ad legat. card. Poli spect. 27 *seq.*, and in Katholik, 1895, II., 275; *cf.* BELLESHEIM in the Histor.-polit. Bl., CXIX., 436 *seq.*

[3] BREEN in the Dublin Review, CXVII. (1895), 109.

[4] See Vol. XIII., p. 273. They were John White, of Lincoln, Maurice Griffith, of Rochester, James Brooks, of Gloucester, Henry Morgan, of St. David's, Gilbert Bourne, of Bath and Wells. At the same time Julius sanctioned the translation of Robert Warton to St Asaph, and confirmed George Day for Chichester.

[5] RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 25. They were John Hopton, of Norwich, John Holyman for Bristol (see Engl. Hist. Rev., XII., 1897, 303-307), James Turberville, for Exeter, William Glynn, for Bangor, Thomas Stanley, for Sodor and Man, Ralph Baynes,

death were again filled by means of new appointments.[1] On the whole, the bishoprics under Mary were filled by capable and learned men.[2] Christopherson of Chichester was considered to be the founder of Greek studies at Cambridge, and wrote the first, if not a complete, translation of the Greek church historians.[3] Baynes was one of the principal restorers of Hebrew learning in the British Isles.[4] Glynn of Bangor was, according to Protestant testimony, an able man of letters, and a great Hebraist, and a good and religious man, according to the spirit of that time.[5] Holyman of Bristol, an opponent of the divorce of Henry VIII., had gained a great reputation by reason of his learning and the holiness of his life. Scott of Chester aroused the admiration of his friends, and the anger of his enemies by the zeal which he displayed for his diocese.[6] Christopherson, Goldwell, Glynn and Holyman had, like Scott, distinguished themselves under Edward VI. for their fidelity to the Church,[7] and if others, on the whole, did not pass through that period of trial without blame, still Day, Heath, Bonner and Gardiner had suffered imprisonment and deposition

for Coventry-Lichfield. At the same time, Nicholas Heath was confirmed for York, and Thomas Thirlby for Ely, and Hugh Curwin was appointed to Dublin. Goldwell was consecrated in Rome.

[1] In 1556 Cuthbert Scott received the bishopric of Chester, in 1557 David Pole that of Peterborough, John Christopherson that of Chichester, Owen Oglethorpe that of Carlisle, and Robert King was transferred to Oxford.

[2] *Cf.* T. E. Bridgett and T. F. Knox, The true history of the Catholic hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth, London, 1889; Spillmann, II., 34 *seqq.* Concerning Goldwell see Th. Knox in The Month, 1876, I., 53 *seqq.*, 129 *seqq.*; Histor.-polit. Bl., LXXX. (1877), 962 *seqq.*; Concerning Watson see Bridgett in the preface to the new edition of Watson's Sermons on the Sacraments, London, 1876: *cf.* Histor.-polit. Bl., *loc. cit.*, 866 *seqq.*

[3] Dictionary of National Biography, X., 294.

[4] *Ibid.* III., 456.

[5] *Ibid.* XXII., 11.

[6] *Ibid.* LI., 15.

[7] *Ibid.* X., 293; XXII., 11, 97; XXVII., 214.

for their faith,[1] and, with one exception, they all afterwards proved by their steadfastness under Elizabeth, that the zeal which they had displayed under Mary for the restoration of the Catholic religion had been based on firm conviction. When, on the summons of the legate, the English bishops assembled for a synod, the Venetian ambassador, Michiel, wrote that Pole, as well as everybody else, looked on them as exemplary men ; they were learned, fulfilled their duty of residence, were assiduous in preaching and instruction, and were not wanting in zeal.[2]

The synod had been assembled in order that they might decide about the distribution of the church property ceded by the crown, as well as to remove abuses.[3] In the matter of the church property, the Convocation of the higher clergy, which always held its meetings at the same time as Parliament, had already prepared the draft of a decree. The synod took a very long time in making any further arrangements in the matter. Opened on November 4th, 1555,[4] it only came to a temporary conclusion in the middle of February, when, at the beginning of Lent, the bishops had to return to their dioceses.[5] The synod, which was to have been reopened on November 10th, 1556, was, however, adjourned to May 10th, 1557, and eventually never met at all.[6] Besides the deliberations concerning church property, the assembly was chiefly occupied with the reform of the clergy. The reform decrees agreed upon were

[1] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 240.

[2] Michiel on November 4, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 269.

[3] Pole himself gives this reason for the Synod (Letter to Philip on November 11, 1555, *ibid.* n. 275.)

[4] Michiel on November 4, 1555, *ibid.*, n. 269.

[5] Pole to Paul IV. (Casanate Library, Rome, XX., 1, 36. Extract in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 395, with the correct date, February 19, 1556). The speech which Thomas Watson, dean of Durham, made at the dissolution of the Synod, is published in an English translation by J. MOYES in the Dublin Review, CXIX., (1896) 415 *seqq.*

[6] Paul IV. sent a letter of approbation to the Synod and to Pole, both in RAYNALDUS, 1555, n. 33 and 34.

published at the dissolution of the synod on February 10th.[1] They contained, for the most part, nothing new, but called attention to the laws of the Church already in force. One of the decrees, however, contains the germ of a very important development, which has exercised an influence extending far beyond the confines of England. Pole ordered the establishment of seminaries for boys, principally with the object of supplying a remedy for the scarcity of priests. This ordinance[2] was the pattern and model used by the Council of Trent for its celebrated decree concerning seminaries, which has been so fruitful of results.[3] The word "seminary" and the idea were taken by the Council from Pole's decree.[4]

Pole and Mary also combated the prevailing want of priests by the restoration of the destroyed monasteries. The Franciscans and Dominicans, who had fled to Flanders from the persecution, now partly returned, and were treated with honour by the people.[5] Sixteen Benedictines had again resumed their habit and returned in March, 1555, although, like abbot Feckenham, they had been treated as secular priests, and had filled lucrative posts.[6] The Franciscan convent at Greenwich again numbered twenty-five members in November, 1555, the Benedictines received back their monastery at West-

[1] *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis Reginaldi Poli*, Rome, 1562, printed in LABBE, Concilia, XIV., 1733 *seqq.*; LE PLAT, IV., 570 *seqq.*; ROCCABERTI, Bibliotheca maxima Pontificia, XVIII., 350 *seqq.* Pole himself gives a sketch of the decrees in a letter to Morone of February 19, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 396. *Cf.* ZIMMERMANN, Maria, 120 *seq.*

[2] Decr. 11, ROCCABERTI, 362.

[3] Sess. 23, de ref., c. 18. The agreement between the two is partly a matter of words. Much closer is the connection with Pole's decree in the first draft of the decree of Trent, printed in MARTENE-DURAND, Amplissima Collectio, VIII., Paris, 1733, 1335, translated in M. SIEBENGARTNER, Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen, Freiburg, 1902, 361, where the points of agreement are pointed out.

[4] So says SIEBENGARTNER, *loc. cit.*, 85.

[5] Michiel on March 19, 1555, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 32.

[6] *Ibid.*; *cf.* MARTIN, Pole, 113.

minster, and the Carthusians their celebrated monastery at Sheen, while the nuns' convent was again restored at Syon.[1] "From day to day," writes Michiel on July 1st, 1555, "through Pole's exertions, hospitals, monasteries and churches rise again from among the ruins."[2]

In all the departments of religious life, Pole displayed a far-reaching activity. He appointed visitors[3] for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; new editions of the liturgical books, which had, for the most part, been destroyed under Edward VI., appeared, partly in Paris and Rouen;[4] books for the assistance of preachers, and publications for the instruction of Catholics, among them the works of Thomas More, were printed.[5] On March 20th, 1557, Pole was ordained priest, and on the 22nd, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In this capacity, he succeeded, by his clemency, sagacity and learning, in reforming this, the most corrupt diocese of the whole kingdom, till it was, in the opinion of the Venetian ambassador, an example, not only to England, but also to France and many parts of Italy.[6] The Catholic religion also flourished, in other ways, everywhere in England. The Protestant, Jewell, complains in a letter to Vermigli on March 20th, 1559, that in Oxford, Protestantism has so far gone back, principally owing to the zeal of the learned Dominican, Petrus de Soto, that hardly two Protestants are to be met with in the city.[7] According to the testimony of Jewell many of those who belonged to the new religion returned to the old church under Mary, and remained steadfastly true to her during the first years of the reign of Elizabeth.[8] The priests showed an

[1] Michiel on November 4, 1555, September 28 and November 16, 1556, in BROWN, VI., 1, n. 269, 634, 704. List of the restored houses *ibid.*, VI., 2, p. 1074 n.

[2] BROWN, VI., 1, n. 150.

[3] GAIRDNER, 381 *seq.*

[4] F. G. LEE, Reginald Pole, London, 1888, 211.

[5] ZIMMERMANN, Maria, 117.

[6] Surian on April 21, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 863.

[7] Zurich Letters, translated by Robinson, First series, London, 1848, 10. ZIMMERMAN, Maria, 121 *seq.*

[8] ZIMMERMAN, 122 *seq.*

heroic spirit of self-sacrifice during an epidemic, while clergy and laity rivalled each other in once more decorating the restored churches, and in providing them with everything necessary for the worthy celebration of the divine mysteries.[1]

However, in spite of this very promising progress, and "although by far the greater and most influential part of the people were honestly devoted to the faith and divine worship of their forefathers,"[2] Mary found it impossible, during her short reign, to exterminate Protestantism, especially among the nobility, in London, and in the industrial and seaport towns. Michiel says in 1557,[3] speaking only of those parts of the community which he knew well, that, outwardly and to all appearance, thanks to the esteem felt for the queen and the zeal of the legate, the Catholic religion increased from day to day, and struck deeper roots. This appearance, however, was not in keeping with the reality. The English were prepared to change their religion at the will of the sovereign, and they were also capable of becoming Mahommedans and Jews to please the king. They would also in time once more really adopt the Catholic religion, if they were not afraid that the church property would some day be demanded back.

Great danger threatened the continuation of the Catholic restoration when England, in Philip's war against France and the Pope, took the side of Spain.

England had reason enough to declare war against France. The French king, or his ambassador, Noailles, had had a hand in all the revolts against the English queen, and French policy had sought to place difficulties in her way everywhere. Nevertheless it was not easy for Philip, who had once more been living in England from March 17th to July 6th, to succeed in getting war declared. The Council put forward the plea of the poverty of the crown, which did not allow of a war, and pointed to Mary's marriage contract, which expressly excluded England from participation in the wars of Spain. Then Stafford's

[1] *Ibid.*, 114, 118.

[2] Opinion of J. Stevenson in The Month, LXXIX. (1893), 24.

[3] Brown, VI., 1, n. 884, p. 1074 *seq.*

attempt at rebellion, supported by France, took place in April, and the ill-feeling aroused by this new and unwarrantable act of hostility, accomplished what Philip had not been able to bring about. War was declared against France, and Pole in consequence found himself in the difficult position of having the consort of his sovereign an enemy of the Pope, and his sovereign herself at war with the Pope's ally.[1]

Pole had advised against the war with France.[2] While Philip had been in England he had avoided meeting the Pope's opponent in public, and had only visited him secretly, at night and unattended.[3] But in spite of this careful attitude he found himself involved as well in the conflict which had arisen between Paul IV. and the Spaniards.

Philip had ordered all Spanish subjects to leave Rome. The Pope replied by recalling all nuncios and ambassadors from Philip's dominions, in a consistory on April 9th, 1557, so that the king might not be able to hold them as hostages. Pole was not recalled from England, but lost, as the Pope expressly stated, his position as legate. This, however, was very difficult to reconcile with his office of President of the Council of State. None of the Cardinals in the consistory was asked for an opinion as to this step, and no one dared to offer any opposition.[4]

The news of these proceedings, which soon reached England, caused a general sensation, and the greatest dismay among the friends of Pole. The queen and the bishops at once addressed

[1] LINGARD, 228 *seq.*

[2] Soranzo on February 7, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 810.

[3] Soranzo on April 13, 1557, *ibid.* n. 858, p. 1015. Navagero on May 8, 1557, *ibid.* n. 880, p. 1039.

[4] Navagero on April 10, 1557, *ibid.*, n. 855 ; *cf.* n. 856 ; see also TURNBULL, n. 586, 589 *seq.* Already, at the end of 1556, Paul IV. had been of opinion that Pole must leave England ; he had adhered to this opinion in spite of the counter-representations of Morone ; see the *letter of Morone to Pole, dated Rome, November 28, 1556 (Arm. 64, t. 32, p. 215 *seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican).

letters to the Pope, begging him to leave Pole in his legation,[1] and the English ambassador in Rome, Edward Carne, employed all the means in his power for the same object. On May 15th he obtained an audience with Paul IV., in which he pointed out the confusion which would occur in England, should Pole no longer be legate. The Pope saw that he had been too hasty, but did not like at once to revoke what had been done publicly. When, however, Cardinal Medici asked him how the deposition of Pole was to be entered in the consistorial records, he declared that Pole retained the dignity of "legatus natus," which was always connected with the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and that he might enter that in the records.

So far Pole had only heard a rumour of his deposition, for the queen had caused the Papal brief concerning it to be intercepted and kept back until she had made remonstrances in Rome.[2] On May 25th, the Cardinal explained the position of affairs in England in a letter to the Pope.[3] He understood the deposition in the sense that he would lose both legations, and the dignity of "legatus a latere" as well as that of "legatus natus."[4] If, however, there were to be no legate at all in the country, this would be most disadvantageous for the progress of religion and for the reputation of the Holy See. If the Pope was not satisfied with the legate who had held that office hitherto, he should appoint another in his place; so much depended on the presence of a legate. If the Pope agreed to this, he was ready to support and assist the new legate in every way. In a letter to Stefano Sauli of the same date, he once more gave the assurance that he would willingly obey the Pope, but that as his messenger had brought no further orders from Rome, he would wait for them.[5]

[1] Pole on May 25, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 899. Pole's letter of defence in ZIMMERMANN, Pole, 340.

[2] Pole's letter of defence, *loc. cit.*

[3] In BROWN, VI., 2, n. 899, p. 1114; *cf.* n. 900.

[4] He appears to have changed his opinion on this point later on, for he signed himself as *legatus natus* until his death. LINGARD, 234 n.

[5] BROWN, VI., 2, n. 900.

The way out of the difficulty which Pole had suggested found favour with the Pope. On June 14th, in a consistory, he appointed the Franciscan, William Peto (Pctow),[1] as Cardinal and legate for England. Peto, by his ecclesiastical attitude under Henry VIII., had brought upon himself the anger of that monarch, and had been living for a considerable time as an exile in Rome, but had now returned again to his convent at Greenwich. At the same time as he appointed Peto, Paul IV. sent a brief to Pole recalling him to Rome.[2] Peto's appointment was an unfortunate one in every respcct, and Carne, when Cardinal Carafa informed him of it, answered with considerable indignation,[3] that Peto was a worn-out old man, incapable of any further work, and of no use for the post of legate. Peto himself refused the Cardinal's hat, as well as the dignity of legate, as being too great a burden for him.[4] Mary caused the messenger with the briefs for Pole and Peto to be detained at Calais. In common with Philip, she had again renewed her request at the end of May that the Pope would leave Pole in his office,[5] and now she wrote again. If, she said, the Pope had not listened to her before, she hoped that he would do so now, and that they would forgive her in Rome if she thought that she knew best who was qualified for the government of the kingdom.[6]

Paul IV., however, would not give way, although Peto wrote himself to the Pope, saying that he could not show himself in the streets of London without being mocked at.[7] Paul

[1] Acta Consistoria in RAYNALDUS, 1557, n. 43. Letter to the English bishops of June 20, 1557, in which Peto's appointment is communicated to them, *ibid.* n. 44. The brief to Philip and Mary of the same date in TURNBULL, n. 637; see also MASSARELLI, 311 and CARDELLA, IV., 369 *seq.*

[2] Navagero on June 18, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 937.

[3] They have made "*un legno*" a Cardinal. To the Pope Carne said, Peto is "*un vecchio rebambito.*" *ibid.*

[4] Navagero in August, 1557, *ibid* n. 981.

[5] Navagero on June 18, 1557, *ibid.* n. 938.

[6] Navagero on August 5, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 981.

[7] Instructions for Stella of January 10, 1558, *ibid.* VI., 3, n. 1135.

IV. further insisted that Pole should come to Rome, for the affair had, in the meantime, taken quite another turn. The old accusation of heresy was again being renewed against Pole, and there could be no further question of his being legate.[1] Besides this, Pole had himself applied to the queen that the messenger with Peto's appointment should be allowed to cross the Channel, and he no longer exercised his functions as legate, although he was urged to do so.[2]

The war with France was in the meantime drawing to an end. The great victory of St. Quentin (August 10, 1557) was followed, on January 8th, 1558, by the severe blow of the loss of Calais. The place was important as a market for English commerce, and it had a still greater importance in the eyes of the English people, as it was the last trophy from the glorious Anglo-French wars of the fast disappearing middle ages. Very great therefore was the dismay of the people and the sorrow of the queen at the news of the loss of the fortress; it not only damaged the esteem in which Mary was held, but it also told upon the religion which she protected. "Since the loss of Calais," wrote Count Feria to Philip,[3] "there are not more than a third of the people at church that one formerly saw there."

Calais was the last grief in Mary's life. She had been ill for a long time, and at the beginning of November, her condition became hopeless. On the 6th she sent her jewels to Elizabeth with the request that she would keep up the old religion, and take over the debts of the queen.[4] On the morning of the 17th, while a priest was saying Mass before her, she ended her sorrowful life. Cardinal Pole only survived her a few hours; in March he was completely broken down, so that

[1] See *supra* p. 292.

[2] Navagero on September 7, 1557, in Brown, VI., 2, n. 1024.

[3] London, February 2, 1558, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, I., 130.

[4] Christophe d'Assonville to Philip, Westminster, November 7, 1558, *ibid.* 277.

Feria wrote to King Philip that he was practically a dead man.[1]

Mary was perhaps the best of the English queens; she was not only one of the most highly educated women of her time—she understood five languages and had an excellent knowledge of Latin literature—but she displayed, in addition to a spotless purity of life, a remarkable kindness of heart. She loved to go incognita with the ladies of her court to visit the hovels of the poor, and make inquiries about their wants and help them whenever it was in her power.[2]

As she was the best, she was also one of the most unfortunate princesses who occupied the throne of England. Apart from the early years of her childhood, her life was nothing but a chain of sorrow and anguish, which prematurely undermined her bodily strength. As a young growing girl she was obliged to witness the repudiation of a loved mother and the criminal passion of a father. In the reign of Edward she suffered persecution at the hands of her brother, and after she had ascended the throne, contrary to all expectation, she saw herself abandoned by a husband whom she adored, and entangled in a web of plots by her half-sister, and her life threatened by the very conspirators whose lives she had spared. Her popularity disappeared more and more, her ardent hopes of an heir to the throne were not realized, and even in that field to which all her thoughts and actions were directed, she was involved in disputes with the Pope, whose honour she had defended at the cost of great sacrifices, and died filled with the fear that in a few years the whole of her life's work would once again be broken in pieces. She has been condemned, even

[1] "Es un hombre muerto" (*ibid.* 153). Pole was buried in Canterbury Cathedral (see BONELLI, Il sepolcro del card. Polo: Rassegna d'Arte, 1907). The pontifical ring which Pole received at the reconciliation of England with Rome was to be seen in 1910 at the exhibition in connection with the Congress of English Catholics at Leeds. The news of the deaths of Mary and Pole reached Rome on December 10, 1558; see MASSARELLI, 328.

[2] * H. CLINTON, Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, ed. by Estcourt and Stevenson, London, 1887, 64 *seq.*

after her death, in the accounts of biassed historians, to come down to posterity as a "bloody" memory. In spite of all this, however, Mary's life was not lived in vain. She has exercised a far-reaching influence on the religious life of England. Before her day, the position of Catholics was neither definite nor clear; they let themselves be driven further and further, and had come at last into a state of schism and heresy, almost without having discovered it. The events of Mary's reign brought about a complete change in this respect. After her reign the Catholic Church in England can point to martyrs and confessors in great numbers. Mary also exercised an influence outside the Catholic Church; if Elizabeth simply did not dare to establish Calvinism in England, and if the Protestantism of the present day still bears a character which in many respects accords with Catholic ideas, Mary is the person to whom this is to a great extent to be attributed, for it was she who put a stop to the gradual disappearance of Catholic thought and Catholic feeling in England.

CHAPTER XV.

Accession of Elizabeth and the Establishment of the English State Church.—Last Days of Paul IV.

Immediately after the death of Mary, Archbishop Heath of York, as chancellor of England, announced the news to the Upper House, and, in accordance with the statute of the thirtieth year of Henry VIII., spoke of his daughter Elizabeth as the rightful heir to the throne. She was acknowledged as such without opposition. The joy with which the English people greeted the new sovereign was all the greater, as none of them would hear of the accession of Mary Stuart, the wife of the French Dauphin, and the grand-daughter of the eldest sister of Henry VIII. In view of the danger lest England should come under Franco-Scottish influence, even Catholics overlooked the fact that Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and held a very doubtful position as far as her religion was concerned.

Her education had been entirely conducted on those lines, yet her Protestantism did not stand the test under Mary. The princess had, as Knox reproached her later on, denied her religion, and had bowed down before that which she had been taught to regard as the worship of idols.[1] Although Elizabeth had, after some slight opposition, professed to be a zealous Catholic,[2] during the whole of Mary's reign, hardly anyone believed in the sincerity of her conversion. The Venetian ambassador, Michiel, bears witness in his account of the year 1557, that people considered Elizabeth to be a hypocrite, who

[1] *Cf.* Strype, Annals, I., 2.

[2] She even went so far as to gain an indulgence published by the Pope in September, 1555; see Machyn, Diary (Camden Society, London, 1848), 94.

secretly cherished anti-Catholic opinions more strongly than ever. The deep aversion which Mary felt for her illegitimate sister was still more increased by this. She would willingly have excluded her from the succession, but was dissuaded from this step by Philip, into whose favour Elizabeth had insinuated herself.[1] In the spring of 1554 Elizabeth had been imprisoned in the Tower, on a suspicion of having participated in Wyatt's plot. She was set at liberty after two months, but was carefully watched, though in a very considerate manner, for no one knew better than Mary the masterly way in which Elizabeth could delude and deceive. This extraordinary gift of deception and unfathomable subtlety,[2] as well as her boundless love of power, and her statesmanlike and penetrating insight, the daughter of Anne Boleyn had inherited from her father. In every respect a genuine Tudor, she united to a passionate and ardent temperament, the power of cool and systematic calculation. Her behaviour, therefore, especially during the first months of her reign, was exceedingly guarded and careful with regard to the religious question.

The proclamation in which Elizabeth announced her accession to the throne did not refer to religious matters; a passage at the end, however, which forbade under any pretext the breaking or alteration of the arrangements and customs prevailing in the country, might have been considered as a challenge to the religious innovators. The fact that the queen, as she had done in Mary's reign, continued to attend Mass and Vespers, and that the Catholic worship remained unchanged, was far more likely to set the minds of zealous Catholics at rest. In the same way, the obsequies for Mary were conducted according to the Catholic rites.[3]

In spite of all this, however, the Spanish Ambassador, Feria, was not at all easy in his mind about the further course of events, for it had not escaped him that all the new members

[1] Michiel in BROWN, VI., 2, p. 1058 *seq.*

[2] See MEYER, I., 11.

[3] See the reports in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 310, 313 and BROWN, VI., 3, n. 1287, as well as Hayward's Annals (Camden Soc. 1840), 12.

of the Privy Council, and those newly summoned to the court, were of the Protestant persuasion. All these avoided the representative of Philip II. like "the devil." An attempt on the part of Feria to fathom the queen's real views on religion failed completely,[1] and a courtier with Protestant leanings had a similar experience when, in speaking of the amnesty given to the prisoners, he permitted himself an ambiguous reference to the furtherance of Protestant interests.[2]

Nothing however, could be further from the truth than to suppose that Elizabeth had not yet decided upon the course which she intended to adopt with regard to religion. On the contrary, she had long since determined, in order to secure the legitimacy of her succession, and to satisfy her love of power, to carry out a revolution in the religious conditions in England in an anti-Papal sense, and a well-considered plan for the overthrow of the Catholic religion was prepared.[3] The queen was much too clever to undertake this work alone; she wished first of all to feel the ground firmly under her feet, to win popularity with the people, and to fill the court and offices of state with Protestant clements, before she let her Catholic subjects understand what they had to expect with regard to that which they prized above all else. Yet the Catholics had acclaimed her with as much loyalty as those professing the new religion.

When Christmas arrived, the queen considered that the time had come to throw aside her previous reserve, with regard to certain points. She gave orders to Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle, that he was to omit the elevation of the sacred host at Mass. The bishop refused; the queen, he said, might have power over his life, but not over his conscience. In order that she might not have to venerate the sacred host, Elizabeth left the chapel before the offertory.[4] Two days

[1] See Feria's letter in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 338 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MEYER, I., 13 *seq.*

[3] See BURNET, Hist. of the Reformation, ed. Pocock, V., 497 *seq.*; *cf.* STEVENSON in The Month, LXXIX., (1893) 26 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the report of Feria in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 365, and that of the ambassador of Mantua in BROWN, VII., n. 2.

later a proclamation was issued which forbade preaching for the time being, and introduced the English language for the Epistle and Gospel at Mass. This innovation was immediately carried into effect in the royal chapel. Elizabeth appointed married priests to serve there, who, in the prayers, omitted the names of the Mother of God, the Saints, and the Pope.[1]

It is not surprising that, after these occurrences, the bishops had scruples about exercising their office at the coronation of a princess, who by her encroachments on the rights of the Church, proclaimed quite clearly that she was determined to break the traditional oath which pledged her to support it. The refusal of the bishops caused considerable perplexity to Elizabeth, for she, as well as her chief adviser, William Cecil, attached great importance, on account of the people, to the coronation taking place before the new Parliament assembled. After long negotiations, the Bishop of Carlisle was induced to perform the ceremony, a weakness which he afterwards bitterly regretted.[2]

The coronation took place on January 15th, 1559, in Westminster Abbey, amid a display of great splendour. It is certain that many changes were introduced at the celebration of the Catholic coronation mass, the elevation, in particular, being omitted.[3] When insisting on this, Elizabeth left no room for doubt that she intended immediately to break the solemn coronation oath she had just taken, to protect the rights of the Church. If anyone still had any illusions as to this, his eyes were soon to be opened by the events that followed. At the opening of Parliament on January 25th, the new chancellor, Bacon, informed the members that they would be called upon—although the queen could do it by her own power—to decide upon a com-

[1] See Brown, VII., n. 28: Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 366.

[2] See Strype, Annals, I., n. 50.

[3] *Cf.* the essays of Bayne, Wilson and Lockhart-Ross in the Engl. Hist. Review, XXII., 650 *seqq.*; XXIII., 87 *seq.*, 533 *seqq.*; XXIV., 322 *seq.*

prehensive confession of faith, and a common form of divine service, for the whole kingdom.[1]

At the beginning of February, Edward Carne, the English ambassador in Rome, received orders to break off diplomatic relations with the Pope.[2]

For hundreds of years, owing to a calumny circulated by Sarpi, it was believed that Paul IV. had hastened this turn of affairs by "his abrupt and discouraging answer": The queen must, before everything else, submit her claims to the throne to the decision of the Holy See.[3] There can be no question of the Pope having, in this manner, himself put an end to the last possibility of an agreement.[4] After the declaration which Carne had made in the name of his government, Paul IV. could not but believe that the arrival of a large embassy for the "obedientia" was to be expected in Rome.[5] Therefore the attitude of Paul IV. towards Elizabeth was by no means unfriendly. It is evident from a report of the Bishop of Angoulême to the King of France on December 25th, 1558, that the Pope, at that time, had no idea that the defection of Elizabeth from the Church was imminent. The French endeavoured in that audience with Paul IV. to induce him to make objections to a marriage between Elizabeth and Philip II. but without success. The Pope, who spoke in a perfectly friendly manner of the queen, answered that

[1] See d'Ewes, Journal of both houses, 11 *seq.*; Lingard, VII., 257; Meyer, I., 15 *seq.*

[2] See Acts of the Privy Council, VII., 50; State Papers. Foreign, 1558-1559, n. 299, 474; *cf.* Strype, Annals, I., 1, 51.

[3] So Ranke describes it, Päpste, I[6]., 203; *cf.* also Ranke, Englische Gesch., I., 301.

[4] See the thorough investigation by Maitland in the Engl. Hist. Review, XV., 324 *seqq.*, by which Sarpi's account is conclusively shown to be a spiteful fabrication. With the destruction of this legend, one of the foundations of Ranke's view (Päpste, I.,[6] 202) disappears, namely that Paul IV. has "more perhaps than any of his predecessors, furthered the dissemination of Protestantism, which he hated, detested and persecuted."

[5] See Maitland, *loc. cit.*, 326 *seq.*

he could not believe in a marriage of Elizabeth with the Spaniard; should it, however, come to that, he could by no means agree to the proposal of the French that he should refuse the necessary dispensation for the marriage.[1] The French ambassador, as Carne reported, was also attempting to get the Pope to declare Elizabeth illegitimate.[2] When Carne presented his letters of recall on March 10th, he begged the Pope to permit him to leave Rome on the pretext that he wished to see his family again. Paul IV. refused, as he had no certain information as to the defection of the queen.[3] He openly hoped that the opposition of the Catholics in Parliament would prevent a break with Rome.

The prospects of such a break being avoided did not appear quite hopeless. By means of extensive pressure on the members, the queen had succeeded in securing a safe majority for her plans in the House of Commons, but things seemed less favourable to her in the Upper House. Convocation expressly declared its firm adherence to the Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the Papal supremacy, and declared that the decision concerning matters of faith, the sacraments and religious discipline did not pertain to any assembly of the laity, but only to the lawful pastors of the Church.[4]

The cession of tithes and first fruits to the crown was accomplished without any difficulty, but violent opposition was aroused by the draft of a bill regarding the royal supremacy over the Church. The bishops did not fail to make strong remonstrances against it. The venerable Archbishop Heath of York in particular, explained with calmness, lucidity, and much pertinency, the reasons which made it impossible for Catholics to acknowledge the royal supremacy. Two matters, he declared, were included in the bill: the separation

[1] Ribier, II., 776. Maitland, 327.

[2] State Papers, Foreign, 1558, n. 160, 161; *cf.* Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 333, 455.

[3] *Cf.* Maitland, 328.

[4] *Cf.* Birt, The Elizabethan religious settlement, London, 1907, 44 *seq.*; Spillmann, II., 18; Meyer, I., 16.

from the Holy See, and the transference of the power of ecclesiastical government to the queen. As far as the rupture with the Pope was concerned, they must carefully weigh the fact that by such a step they would exclude themselves from the General Councils, from ecclesiastical privileges and, finally, from the unity of the Church of Christ. The archbishop then proceeded to prove, in an impressive manner, that according to the clearly expressed text of the Holy Scriptures, a woman could not teach in the Church, nor fulfil the duties of the supreme ecclesiastical office, and that therefore she could not be head of the Church.[1]

The force of such reasoning did not escape Elizabeth herself: She therefore had the title of "chief governor of all spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs" introduced into the bill instead of "Head of the Church."[2] In this form the bill was passed

[1] STRYPE, I., App. 6. Concerning the speech see the opinion of MEYER, I., 21.

[2] MEYER (I., 19 *seq.*) is the first to have drawn attention to the fact that the Elizabethan primacy was limited, in the XXXIX Articles, by the following supplement: "We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testifie, but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself, that is that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." This weakening limitation, however, changed nothing in the fact that the law granted the Queen, in spiritual as well as ecclesiastical matters, the supreme power, abolished the jurisdiction and authority of the Pope, and transferred them to the crown. The enemies of Rome understood this quite well. Parkhurst wrote on May 21, 1559, to Bullinger: "The Queen will not, it is true, be named the Head of the Church, although this title was offered to her; she, however, willingly accepts the title of a Ruler of the Church, which comes to the same thing. The Pope is once more driven out of England, to the great sorrow of the bishops, and the whole gang of shaven priests." Zurich Letters, I., n. 12. SPILLMANN, II., 28; *cf.* also LILLY in the Dublin Review, CIX., 14 *seq.*

on March 22nd. Parliament was then prorogued until after Easter. Except the bishops and the abbot of Westminster, only Lord Montague and the Earl of Shrewsbury remained firm in their opposition to this violent separation of the English Church from Rome. The Spanish ambassador, Feria, made an attempt, at the last moment, to restrain Elizabeth from confirming the fateful Act of Supremacy.

To his representations, the cunning queen made answer that she did not assume the title of Head of the Church, and that she would dispense no sacraments. She haughtily asked the ambassador if Philip would be angry if she had mass said in English. She left no room for doubt as to her determination to proceed in a thoroughly autocratic manner with regard to religious questions. Feria was of opinion that the Pope should now be informed of the state of affairs; the ambassador, who may have over estimated the zeal of the English Catholics, appears to have entertained the erroneous opinion that Elizabeth would not be able to hold out, if Paul IV. should now pronounce the sentence of excommunication against her.[1]

However great the dismay at the Curia may have been at the adverse development of conditions in England,[2] they did not at once proceed to the infliction of this extreme penalty. In such circumstances the Holy See is always accustomed, with long forbearance, to exhaust all milder measures. Men of strict ecclesiastical views, such as the Jesuit, Ribadeneira, who was at the time in London, advised the Curia to show

[1] Feria's report in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE I., 475 *seqq.* and 481 *seq.* The statement of the ambassador, that two-thirds of the English had been Catholics, is questioned by MEYER (I., 7); Ribadeneira also says in his report of January 20, 1559 (Précis hist., 1890, 348), that the Catholics are "Muchos mas sin comparación que los herejes." However, it may be reconciled with this estimate, the number of zealous Catholics was small; *cf.* the statement of Michiels in BROSCH, VI., 453, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* the information from the *Diario* of the Corsini Library (38—F. 6), which Maitland gives in the Engl. Hist. Review, XV., 330, but is not able to describe more closely. It is the *Diario* of Cola Coleine.

great caution in dealing with the new queen.[1] Philip II. also advised the Pope to wait.[2] The Spanish king, in whom the English Catholics placed great hopes, preferred to have Elizabeth on the throne, rather than Mary Stuart, who was devoted to the interests of France. Philip II. also still cherished the illusion of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth, either for himself, or for a scion of the House of Hapsburg. Paul IV. too, at the beginning of May, 1559, still hoped that the Spanish king would succeed in preserving England for the Church.[3]

Elizabeth made use of the favourable opportunity by quickly taking the second step for the establishment of the English state church. After the severance from Rome had taken place, the Catholic form of worship must also be abolished. As an introduction to this, the queen caused a religious conference to be held in Westminster Abbey during Easter week. As it was soon shown that everything had

[1] *Cf.* the interesting letter of Ribadeneira to Lainez, dated London, January 20, 1559, published by DELPLACE in the Précis dist., 1900, 348. In view of the close relations between Paul IV. and Lainez, it is very probable that the advice was decisive of the Pope's attitude.

[2] See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 508; *cf.* SPILLMANN, II., 25; BROSCH, VI., 459.

[3] See the brief to Philip II. of May 4, 1559, in RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 1. According to an *Avviso di Roma of May 13, 1559, a letter of Philip II. with reference to the conditions in England, was read at a sitting of the Inquisition of May 11 (Cod. Urb. 1039, p. 35. Vatican Library). In June, the Venetian ambassador at Brussels believed that Paul IV. would take steps against Elizabeth on account of her defection from the Church; we know nothing for certain, however, about the intentions of the Pope at that time (see MARTIN, L'église cath. et la conversion d'Angleterre, VI., 58 *seq.*) If Paul IV. did, after further details concerning Elizabeth's defection had reached him, express his dislike for the queen, he nevertheless took no decisive steps. The story that he tried to get the English crown for Mary Stuart has been proved to be completely false, by means of a thorough investigation by POLLEN in The Month, XCVI., 392-402.

been arranged to the disadvantage of the Catholics, these refused to continue to attend. Elizabeth's answer to this was to throw the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln into the Tower.[1] In spite of this attempt to intimidate the opposition in Parliament, the bill relating to the abolition of the mass and the introduction of the new Anglican liturgy aroused strong opposition ; in the Upper House it only passed by a majority of three.[2] Besides the clerical members, who voted with great determination against the bill, Lord Montague, the aged Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lords Morley, Stafford, Wharton, Rich, North and Ambrose Dudley defended the Catholic liturgy, which for almost a thousand years had been associated with the national and spiritual life of the English people. On June 24th, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, the new order of things was to come into force, and the sacrifice of the mass to cease throughout the kingdom.

The new liturgy, with several alterations, closely followed the second Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., of the year 1553. The clergy who opposed it were at first to lose their income for one year, and be imprisoned for six months ; for a repetition of their offence they were to be deposed and imprisoned for a year, and for the third offence they were threatened with imprisonment for life. In the case of the laity, fines were to enforce attendance at the new services. Whoever should attack these services, or induce a priest to adopt another form of worship, was to be fined 100 marks on the first occasion, 400 on the second (at the present value—£2,500) and to suffer imprisonment for one year, and on the third offence to forfeit all his property and to be imprisoned for life.[3] Similar drastic punishments threatened those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, and remained faithful to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. With regard to

[1] See Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 487 *seq.*, 489 ; Brown, VII., n. 58 ; Lingard, VII., 261.

[2] See Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 519.

[3] *Cf.* Spillmann, II., 32.

this offence the third act of resistance was to be punished by death.

Armed with these weapons, Elizabeth now proceeded to destroy the Catholic hierarchy in England, and to force the new state church upon her subjects. She was, however, shrewd enough to avoid, at first, applying the full severity of the law. She well realized the power which lies in the "blood of the martyrs." Gradually and with great caution, the English were to be made into Anglicans, and the first thing to be done was to rob them of their bishops. In July, 1559, an official summons was issued, ordering them to observe the new laws, but only one, Antony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, who had already been a schismatic under Henry VIII., a Calvinist under Edward VI., and a Catholic under Mary, gave way, and now became an Anglican. All the other bishops were true to their oath. Elizabeth took care, at the beginning, not to give the Catholics a martyr; deposition, forfeiture of property, and imprisonment sufficed her, in order to make the bishops harmless.[1] She hoped that once the shepherds had been removed the sheep would stray.

Paul IV. had already been touched by the hand of death when these blows were dealt at the Catholic religion in England. He did not live to see the later developments in the situation. His iron constitution succumbed at last to dropsy; although the doctors had declared this disease to be present, for a long time the Pope hoped that he would be cured.[2] His Holiness, says a correspondent on June 3rd, endeavours to appear well, and his doctor, to whom he has promised a considerable

[1] *Cf.* Bridgett-Knox, The true history of the Cath. Hierarchy deposed by Elizabeth, London, 1889; Gee, The Elizabethan clergy and the settlement of religion, 1558-1564, Oxford, 1898, and especially G. E. Phillips, The extinction of the ancient Hierarchy, London, 1905; *cf.* Bellesheim in Histor.-polit. Bl., CXXXVI. (1905), 891 *seqq.* The further measures of Elizabeth against English Catholics are to be dealt with in a connected manner in Vol. XV. of this work.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of May, 1559, cited *supra* p. 409, n. 3.

increase in his emoluments, does everything in his power; his condition, however, only grows worse.[1] Although the summer heat was now very noticeable, the Pope suffered much from cold, so that his room had to be heated. The temperature was so high that Cardinal Alfonso Carafa had to be released from his duty of reciting the breviary with the Pope, and the Theatine, Father Geremia, did so in his stead. Ill as the Pope was, he appeared, nevertheless, on June 14th, at the sitting of the Inquisition, but he was so weak that he had to be carried out at the end of the deliberations. The most disquieting rumours were current; on June 17th it was reported that the Pope was dead, a statement which was all the more readily believed as a comet was said to have appeared during the night over the Vatican. The dropsy was increasing, and two new doctors were called in. The invalid disputed with them concerning his condition, and quoted passages from Avicenna and Galen.[2] On June 22nd, the Pope had the meeting of the Inquisition held in his room, and indulged, during the sitting, in a long panegyric of Philip II., on account of his proceedings against the Lutherans in Spain. He again asserted on this occasion how much he had the extirpation of heresy at heart. He wished the regulations with regard to this, as well as those concerning the vagrant monks, to be carried out most strictly. The Pope could no longer keep on his feet, and his weakness was so great that he was only given fourteen more days to live, and the conclave was openly spoken of.[3]

There was only one person who would not believe that the end had come, and that was Paul IV. himself. "It is astonishing, and almost miraculous" says a contemporary on July 8th, "that His Holiness, in spite of all his bodily sufferings, retains his mental powers, as if he would attain to the years of Peter. He himself still has hope, and says that he will

[1] *Avviso di Roma of June 3, *loc. cit.* 47 *seq.* (Vatican Library).

[2] *Avvisi di Roma of June 10, 17, and 24, *loc. cit.* 49 *seq.*; *cf.* SANTAREM, XIII., 46, 49. Concerning the physicians of Paul IV. see MARINI, I., 420 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of June 24, and July 8, 1559.

reach the age of his father, who lived for twelve years in a similar condition, and died a centenarian." And, indeed, Paul IV. still granted audiences, signed petitions, held meetings of the Inquisition, and spoke of making a pilgrimage to Loreto in August. He gave orders to prepare for this journey, and for the prevention of revolts, and issued a strict edict against the bearing of weapons in Rome. On July 15th it was announced that the Pope was better, and had had himself carried to the Belvedere; on Thursday the 13th he had been for two hours at a sitting of the Inquisition.[1]

Although they tried to keep the Pope's actual condition secret, it nevertheless got abroad that the dropsy was continually increasing.[2] At the end of July His Holiness again took part in a sitting of the Inquisition, which was held in his room, and consistories were also held there on the 31st of the month and on August 2nd.[3] On the latter occasion the Pope earnestly impressed upon the Cardinals the duty of impartiality in affairs of state,[4] and optimists believed

[1] *Avvisi di Roma of July 8, and 15, *loc. cit.* 58[b]. In that of July 8 it states: "Cosa veramente maravigliosa et quasi sopernaturale è quest' infirmità del Papa, che così mantiene con tanti mali che questo corpo patisse et ch'il sta tanto gagliardo d'animo che pare vi sia vita alli giorni di Pietro, ancora ch'il sia hidropico con i testicoli gonflati, patiss' di renella et h'una gamba grossa et immobile che si cerca di purgare quanto più si può, ha poi il catarro ch'alle volte lo molesta, nondimeno con tutto questo ha speranza et dice che viverà sin'al età di suo padre, che con tal infirmità visse anni 12 et era di cent'anni quando mori." *Cf.* for this the letter of A. Verancsic in the Mon. Hung. hist. Script., XXXII., 333, and the *reports of Gianfigliazzi of July 8 and 14, 1559 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See Selvago's report of July 10 in the Atti Lig., XIII., 757. Cardinal Medici was already thinking of travelling to Rome, says *Clara de Ems to Annibale de Ems from Milan on July 16, 1559 (Archives at Hohenems).

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of July 22 and 29, and August 5, *loc. cit.*, 62 *seq.*; *cf.* the report of B. Pia, dated Rome, July 19, 1559 (Gonzaga Arch. Mantua).

[4] See Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 38 n.

that he would recover.[1] The end was finally hastened by a circumstance very characteristic of Paul IV. He had always kept the laws of fasting in the strictest manner, although he was dispensed from them by reason of his great age, and had repeatedly been in danger of death through abstaining from meat. But in spite of all that Cardinal Alfonso Carafa and the doctors could do, and in spite of the great heat, the Pope remained for three days without meat or any sustaining food.[2] A severe fainting fit was the forerunner of death, which took place on August 18th. Before he died the Pope recommended the affairs of the Church to the Cardinals, particularly the Inquisition and the rebuilding of St. Peter's.[3]

Paul IV. was not yet dead, although he was considered to be so, when the Roman populace, not content with the usual opening of the general prisons when a vacancy occurred in the Holy See, rushed to the buildings of the Inquisition on the Ripetta, ill-treated the officials there, destroyed many documents relating to trials, as well as confiscated books, and finally set the buildings on fire. They had set the pris-

[1] See the reports of G. Aldrovandi, dated Rome, August 2, 5, and 16, 1559 (State Archives, Bologna).

[2] See the *testimony of the physician A. Ricchi (Vatican Library) in Appendix No. 60.

[3] See Massarelli, 332; Firmanus, 516; *Diaro* in the appendix to Nores, 451; Santarem, XIII., 64; Corpo dipl. Port., VIII., 202 *seq.*; joint *report of Gianfigliazzi and the Bishop of Cortona of August 18, 1559, in the State Archives, Florence. G. Aldrovandi *reported on August 18; "Questa notte passata alle 7 hore venne un accidente a N.S. chel tenne fuori di se un hora; circa le 8 ritornò alquanto in se et è andato cosi temporeggiando fin'a quest'hora che sono le 12 nella quale ha fatto chiamare tutti li carli a quali ha raccomandato questa s. sede, la inquisitione, fabrica di S. Piero el altro." A second letter of August 18 (2 h. di notte) announces the death "fra le 21 et 22 hore" (State Archives, Bologna). An *Avviso di Roma of August 19 emphasizes that the condition of the Pope had been aggravated by the death of Lippomano and the act of the Duke of Paliano (the murder of the supposed paramour of his wife). (Cod. Urb. 1039 p. 71. Vatican Library).

oners at liberty, after having made them promise to live as Catholics in future. Public opinion looked upon the personal enemies of the Pope as having been the instigators of the disturbances.[1] It was not difficult to stir up the people; the sufferings of the war against Spain, as well as the maladministration of the hated nephews, were still only too deeply rooted in the minds of the Romans. The benefits which they owed to Paul IV. were completely forgotten.[2] On August 18th a mob of people stormed the Capitol and mutilated the statue of Paul IV. which had been erected there; the head of the statue was left on the following day exposed to the mockery of the boys in the street. A Jew even ventured to set his yellow cap on it. At last they dragged it through the city, and finally sank it in the Tiber.[3] A decree of the Roman people on August 20th ordered the removal of all

[1] MOCENIGO, 37. *Cf.* concerning the troubles of the time, besides the authorities named in the previous note, the reports in RIBIER, II., 827 *seq.*; PARIS, Négociations relat. au règne de Francois II., II., 98 *seq.*; VOGELSTEIN, II., 158 *seq.*, 423 *seq.*; RULE, Inquisition, II., 206; Römische Quartalschrift, XVI., 309; Guidus in MERKLE, II., 606 *seq.*; "Wahrhafftige Newe Zeitung" (see MÜLLER, 18 *seq.*); MASIUS, Briefe, 321; *Avvisi di Roma of August 19 and 26, *loc. cit.*, 71 *seq.* (Vatican Library); *Report of E. Stanghelini, dated Rome, August 21 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); *Letters of Gianfigliazzi of August 18, and of the Bishop of Cortona of August 19, 1559 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Such were the Pope's care that grain should be brought to Rome (*cf.* MORONI, II., 146; BENIGNI, 34 *seq.*) and for the extirpation of the bandits (*cf.* Cod. Barb. LVI., 29, p. 90[b] *seq.*, and Cod. XXVIII., D. 11, p. 61 *seq.* of the Library of the Soc. di stor. patria at Naples).

[3] In addition to the authorities cited *supra* note 1, *cf.* also FORCELLA, I., 34; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, III, 113; LANCIANI, III., 206 *seq.* and Cod. G. III., 78, p. 210 of the Chigi Library, Rome. E. Stanghelini *wrote on August 21, 1559: "Et il capo d'essa [statua] hieri si vedeva per Roma in poter de'fanciulli, i quali lo sputavano et burlavano nel modo che si suol beffare M. Pasquino, al quale si havrebbe maggior rispetto."

the coats-of-arms and inscriptions of "the tyrannical house of Carafa." Lampoons and satires mocked at Paul IV. and his nephews in every possible way.[1] Pamphleteers against whose immoral books the Pope had taken measures, now took a bloody revenge.[2] The tumultuous proceedings were only to some extent brought to an end on August 22nd; the city, however, still remained in a seething condition, and disorders were rife. Every kind of rabble, refugees and bandits roved through the streets committing murders. Rome resembled, as the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, declared, the forest of Baccano. All the palaces were garrisoned by armed men, and no one ventured in the streets at night.[3]

The body of Paul IV. was buried at night on August 19th in St. Peter's, near the tomb of Innocent VIII, as deep as possible, and a guard set over it,[4] for fear of an outbreak on the part of the people. Here the mortal remains of the Pope remained until Pius V. had them taken to S. Maria sopra Minerva on October 2nd, 1566, and placed in the monument which he had erected, and which still adorns the beautiful chapel of Oliviero Carafa. It stands, very suitably, on the left wall, just opposite the beautiful fresco of Filippino Lippi's "Triumph of St. Thomas over the heretics." The design was made by Pirro Ligorio, who also superintended its erection. A pair of black Ionic columns, connected with one another, and adorned with a peculiar ornamentation in the form of cushions, serve to frame the monument, in which the employment of costly parti-coloured marbles is characteristic. In a rectangular niche over the sarcophagus, with its antique ornamentation, is placed the statue of Paul IV., which is more than life size, and was executed by Giacomo

[1] *Cf.* *Cod. Urb. 1205, p. 46 *seq.* (Vatican Library); Gori, Archivio, II., 172 *seq*; Duruy, xvi *seqq*; Sickel, Konzil, 14 *seq.*; see also Simiani, 36.

[2] *Cf.* Bongi, Annali Gioliti, I., 17.

[3] Mocenigo, 38 *seq.*

[4] See Firmanus, 517; *cf.* Bollet. d. Suizz. ital., VII., 35.

Cassignola. It shows the Pope seated in full pontifical state, with the right hand raised to bless, and in the left the keys of Peter. The head, true to life, reproduces most admirably the ascetic features of Carafa. The pediment over the niche is borne up by two garlanded Hermae; on the slanting sides of the cornice, the white marble statues of Faith and Religion, executed by Tommaso della Porta, once rested, but unfortunately were removed later on, and are now preserved in the sacristy. The inscription under the sarcophagus praises Paul IV. as the vigorous punisher of everything evil, and the ardent champion of the Catholic faith.[1]

The homage which Pius V. paid to the memory of his predecessor is all the more significant when we remember that he was thoroughly acquainted with the great faults of Paul IV., and had had to suffer from them. The Pope himself had, at the approach of death, recognized his faults and bitterly repented of them. Three days before his death he summoned the General of the Jesuits, Lainez, to his side and said to him: "How bitterly flesh and blood have deceived me! My relatives have plunged me into an unhappy war, from which many sins in the Church of God have arisen. Since the time of St. Peter there has been no such unhappy pontificate in the Church! I repent bitterly of what has happened; pray for me."[2]

Even if this open confession is exaggerated, no one, however,

[1] See CIACONIUS, III., 834; VASARI, VII., 551; REUMONT, III., 2, 735 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, III., 364; FRIEDLANDER, 13; BERTHIER, 191 *seq.* How very much Pius V. honoured the Carafa Pope, see SILOS, I., 401 *seq.* and BROMATO, II., 616 *seq.* The agreement with regard to the erection of the monument at the expense of the Papal exchequer (for 3000 scudi) is dated April 9, 1566. Besides Giacomo Cassignola and Pirro Ligorio, Tommaso della Porta, Giovan Pietro Annone of Como, Rocco of Montefiascone and other artists were employed on it; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 99 *seq.*; Studi e doc., XV., 131 *seq.*; *cf.* also CASTALDO, 175 *seq.*

[2] See O. MANAREUS, De rebus Soc. Iesu, Florence, 1886, 125 *seq.* According to Seripandus, ed. HOFLER, 55, Paul IV. said, before his death, "se in pontif. sede non pontificem, sed servum fuisse."

need repeat the attempt of the older writers and try to defend the serious mistakes of Paul IV. The unprejudiced historian must not shut his eyes to the grave faults, which, as well as the great qualities, were characteristic of the Carafa Pope; above all, he must appreciate all that was done in the interests of reform during his short pontificate.

Paul IV. was undoubtedly a remarkable man, of a clearly marked, genuine, and unusually strong and unbending character. Sincerely pious, always blameless in his life, and full of apostolic zeal, the co-founder of the Theatines always stood ruthlessly for the strictest standpoint in ecclesiastical matters. Although he was a very good classical scholar, and by no means without feeling for art,[1] such a man could not and would not become a Maecenas in the sense of the Renaissance Popes.[2] The saying attributed to him, that it was more

[1] *Cf.* the inventory of his estate, first published by BERTOLOTTI in Gori, Archivio, II., 51 *seqq*, and subsequently by BARBIER DE MONTAULT (Inventaire do P. Paul IV. en 1559, Montauban, 1879, and Oeuvres compl., I., Poitiers, 1889) in detail.

[2] It was the war with Spain, the financial distress, and the cares concerning ecclesiastical reform, which prevented Paul IV. from playing the traditional role of a Mæcenas. Nothing in particular was done either for the university or the library. A costly Greek Evangeliarium was procured for St. Peter's (see CASTALDO, 71-72). Dedications of publications are not many, and are for the most part concerned with treatises on ecclesiastical matters (*cf.* LAUCHERT, 617, 619, 629, 632). *U. Folietae, De philos. et iuris civilis inter se comparatione ad Paulum IV. libri tres*, Romae, 1555; concerning the dedication of a medical work, see ROTH, Vesalius, 259. Paulus Manutius was summoned to Rome to publish theological works directed against the Lutherans (see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 115 *seq.*) SANTORO (Giampaolo Flavio da Altovito, Pisa, 1907) treats of one of the few humanists favoured by Paul IV. Concerning Casa, Barengo and other humanists appointed by Paul IV., see *supra* p. 84. Concerning Sirleto see L. LATINIUS, Lucubrat., II., 45 *seq.* 49; WETZER u. WELTE, Kirchenlex., XI², 360; TACCONE- GALLUCCI, G. Sirleto, Rome, 1909. RITTER, Gesch. der Philosophie, IX., 565, points out that the philosopher, B. Telesio, was favoured by Paul IV. By a

necessary to fortify Rome than to adorn it with pictures, may be an anecdote,[1] but it nevertheless sums up the political

brief of July 31, 1559, the Pope agreed to the foundation of the University of Douai, at the wish of Philip II. (see LEMAN in the publication Les Questions ecclésiast., V., Lille, 1912, 43 *seqq.*) Paul IV. had neither time nor money for artistic undertakings. The re-building of St. Peter's lay, above all, near his heart; concerning this, as well as his relations with Michael Angelo, I shall treat, in a connected manner, when considering Pius IV. In the Vatican, apart from restorations and some changes in the dwelling apartments, his work consisted in the completion of the Pauline Chapel (see Appendix No. 28) and the arrangement of his private chapel in the Belvedere; *cf.* concerning this ANCEL in the Rev. Bénéd., XXV., 49 *seqq.*; see *ibid.*, 63 *seq.*, concerning the Casino in the garden (*cf.* FRIEDLANDER, 2 *seq.*) and concerning the demolition which treated the Hall of Constantine; *cf.* concerning these, also MASSARELLI, 325 and the *Avviso di Roma of August 13, 1558 (Vatican Library). In the Vatican to-day, nothing but an inscription in the Sala Ducale reminds us of Paul IV. (see FORCELLA, VI., 71). Among the artists employed by the Pope, Pirro Ligorio, the Pope's official architect, is the most prominent, and besides him, there were Taddeo Zuccaro and Guglielmo della Porta (see ANCEL, *loc. cit.*, 71). Paul IV. employed the same artists as his predecessors for his coins and medals, although some new names also appear (see PLON, 394 *seq.*; with regard to the coins see SERAFINI, 246 *seq.*) His *Motu Proprio, dated January 30, 1556, announced a plan of Paul IV's which was never carried into effect: "per quem conceditur facultas rev. gubernatori alme Urbis conducendi unum palatium magnum sumptibus Cam. Ap. in quo omnes causae pro tempore decidantur et terminentur" (Editti I. Secret Archives of the Vatican). The governor of Assisi, Marcello Tuto, had the name and arms of Paul IV. affixed to the Fontana Marcella; this is, however, no proof that the Pope had helped this work, which still exists. His coat-of-arms also appears in the wall-paintings of the governor's palace at Assisi.

[1] We may conclude that this was a mere anecdote from the fact that Paul IV., especially in the work on the Castle of St. Angelo, was most careful with regard to the adornment of the fortress with statues; see RODOCANACHI, St. Ange, 157.

situation, which was not favourable to the arts. There was, moreover, another reason. Deeply penetrated with the dignity of his position, Paul IV. considered it to be his principal duty to re-establish what the moral wickedness of the Renaissance, and the violent storms of the rupture in the faith had convulsed and broken up. That which he had striven after, with the aid of a few chosen spirits, amid the worldliness of the Medici Popes, he hoped to be able to realize in a glorious manner now that he had been raised to the throne of St. Peter. Embittered by the long delay, and naturally impatient, he began the great work with the fiery zeal which was characteristic of him, immediately after his accession. The reform Pope, whom everyone awaited, seemed, judging from his previous activity, at last to have arrived in the person of Carafa. If, all the same, his pontificate only partly justified these hopes, and was, indeed, in many respects, a disappointment, this was above all the consequence of the weaknesses which too often cast a shadow over the excellent qualities of Paul IV.

A genuine southerner, in whom thought immediately found expression in his words, he allowed himself, in the excitement of the moment, to be so far carried away, as to make use of expressions which would seem incredible, if they were not vouched for by witnesses above suspicion. His precipitate actions were also in keeping with his words. It was evident on every side that Paul IV. was as much wanting in knowledge of the world and of human nature, as in moderation and sagacity, things which were more than ever necessary at such a time of disturbance and transition. Owing to his choleric nature he was always inclined to drive things to extremes. A breath, as of red-hot molten lava, seems to emanate from his stormy mode of action, which reminds us greatly of his countryman, the unfortunate Urban VI. Without consideration of what must be the consequences upon his religious and reforming activities, of a rupture with Spain, the principal Catholic power, he flung himself against the mightiest monarch in the world in a struggle which ended disastrously, deeply injured Rome and the States of the Church, delayed the carry-

ing out of the work of reform, and caused open joy to the enemies of the Church, and grief to her friends. Similar feelings were aroused by the dispute with Ferdinand I., in which Paul IV. fought for ideals, the realization of which had become impossible.[1] While the Pope treated the Cardinals with unprecedented rudeness and contempt,[2] he blindly trusted his nephew, Carlo Carafa, who was as crafty as he was unprincipled, and whose behaviour placed the head of the Church at a great disadvantage from every point of view. Too late did the deceived and blindfolded Pope learn of the unworthiness of those to whom he had shown favour, and in whom he had placed his trust. The terrible severity which he now displayed towards them was not in itself blameworthy, but Paul IV. did not take into consideration that he had himself placed his nephews in their high positions, and had then let them do as they liked, without any control whatever.[3] If his trust had been boundless before, so now was his severity, which also affected those who were innocent.[4] The remainder of his reign was now exclusively devoted to the activities which had formerly occupied the life of Carafa: reform and the Inquisition. But in this respect as well, his procedure was of such a nature that its exaggerations greatly jeopardized the success of what he was striving for. His successor had to mitigate the proceedings of the Inquisition, as well as many of his reform decrees. The shrewd Pius IV. also restored the diplomatic

[1] Hosius (Epist., II., 667) has made a very sharp criticism of Paul IV's war against Spain and the Catholic Hapsburgs; later on Pallavicini has done the same (14, 9. 5). See also Dembinski, Rzym, 13 *seq.*; *cf.* 103, 141.

[2] To the non-observance of the election capitulation, the *memoir of Cardinal du Bellay, composed in 1559, (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) attributes all the disadvantageous aspects of the reign of Paul IV. *Cf.* Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Inst., XII., 226.

[3] Ancel (Disgrâce, 179) justly brings this out.

[4] *A. Ricchi also acknowledges this; see Appendix No. 60.

relations with the powers which had been broken off under his predecessor.[1]

Nevertheless, the reign of Paul IV., in spite of its errors and defects, forms an important landmark in the history of the Catholic reformation, to the success of which he prepared the way.[2] Openly and candidly, as Adrian VI. had done on a previous occasion, he proclaimed the principle of a reform in both head and members, and took more trouble than Paul III. or Julius III. to carry it into effect. The break with the past which he effected by his refusal to nominate Cardinals at the will of the princes, the summoning of worthy men to the Senate of the Church, the ruthless fight against simony in every form, the abolition of the holding of benefices in commendam, of the "regressus" and the sale of offices, the reform of the monasteries, the Dataria and the Penitentiary, and finally, to crown all, the enforcement of the duty of residence on the bishops, were all great and permanent services rendered by Paul IV. The energy which he displayed at the fall of his nephews put an end, for a long time, to nepotism on any large scale, and was a reform of the greatest importance.[3]

Even if the unbounded violence of the character of Paul IV. awakened fear and hatred in wide circles, his otherwise pious and exemplary life called forth the greatest admiration. An aged man, "who like a born ruler, seemed to be quite penetrated with the dignity of his office, who did not allow himself to be affected, either by the weight of his eighty years or by misfortune, who stood up so fearlessly for what he considered to be right against the mightiest princes," must have made a

[1] See BIAUDET, 24. Not only the Imperial nunciature, but also those of Venice and Florence, were vacant at the death of Paul IV. Those of France, Naples, Portugal, and Poland were the only ones that were regularly working.

[2] See SEGMÜLLER, 29; *cf.* also HERRE, 18. G. Catalani, in the preface to the 10th Vol. of the Annali d'Italia, Lucca, 1764, xxxvi., has made it clear that Muratori brought out only the darker side of Paul IV., and has not done him justice.

[3] See the opinion of Cardinal A. Carafa in his *Apologia (Library at Naples; *cf.* Appendix Nos. 61, 62) and ANCEL, Disgrâce, 183.

deep impression upon his contemporaries.[1] No less a person than the historian Panvinio, who was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Carafa Pope, said that Paul IV. was the first to re-establish and strengthen ecclesiastical discipline, and that many of the later salutary decrees of the Council of Trent were to be traced back to him.[2] Guglielmo Sirleto entirely agrees with him.[3] Well-informed contemporaries, like Giulio Pogiano, can hardly find words to describe the change which the reforming activity of Paul IV. brought about in Rome. The Venetian ambassador was of opinion that the city had been turned into a well-ordered monastery.[4] What the noble Dutch Pope, Adrian VI., had in vain attempted, to break with the evil tendencies of the Renaissance, the fiery Neapolitan had succeeded in doing.

One must realize the abandoned conditions of the time of Alexander VI. and Leo. X. in order to be able fully to appreciate the merits of Paul IV. The tearing out of such old and deeply rooted abuses, which were only too firmly entwined in the circumstances of the times, was in truth only possible by means of a masterful procedure in which was contained all the severity of an inexorable repression. Paul IV. was the right man for this. His fiery soul, which flamed out in open rage,

[1] See MÜLLER, Konklave Pius' IV., 9.

[2] Concerning PANVINIUS, Vita, *cf.* Appendix No. 61-62. BROMATO (II., 504 n.) has already drawn attention to the passage in question. RANKE (1[6]., 199), REUMONT (III., 2, 529), BEAUFORT (Hist. des Papes, IV., Tournai, 1841, 201), and MATHIEU (Pouvoir temp. des Papes, Paris, 1863, 504) are of the same opinion as Panvinius. BENRATH (Jahrb. fur protest, Theol., 1878, 123, 143) also describes Paul IV. as "a powerful intellect, and an admirably gifted Pope," who made himself master of the forces for a complete reaction in ecclesiastical affairs, and then disciplined them.

[3] See SILOS, I., 393; *cf.* 232.

[4] See MOCENIGO-ALBÈRI, 48 and CANTU, II., 27; *cf.* *supra* p. 238. The change also showed itself in the medals, on which mythological representations were entirely replaced by those of a Christian character; see MÜNTZ, III., 119.

when an abuse of what was holy came before his eyes, could not do enough to cauterize, with red-hot iron, the wounds which a vicious age had inflicted upon the Church. The reform, built up on the authority of strictly ecclesiastical principles, which had been initiated by Paul III., the Carafa Pope continued so energetically and carried out with so much strength, that the later Popes of the time of restoration were able to go on and build successfully on his firm foundations.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[1]

1555, April 4, Rom.

. . . Perchè invero da Sta Croce infuori i Franzesi non hanno subbietto da potere riuscire loro, se già Dio non volessi rovinare interamente questa Sta Sede, et se bene dalla banda Imp^le^ et di casa Monte ci è poca unione, nei Franzesi, non vi è anco molta. Et questo modo di procedere che si è tenuto fino a hora di non eccettuare particularmente persona nè insistere in uno più che in un altro, come si fece nel conclavi passato, ma dire che si faccia un huomo da bene, che sia il servitio di Dio et se ne possa sperare la quiete universale, è piaciuto molto a ciascuno et credo sia stato meglio. Staremo a vedere il fine, il qual piaccia a Dio che sia conforme al desiderio dell' E.V. et stia sicura che de me non si è fatto nè farà instantia particulare nè in prò nè in contro, se non tanto quanto mi ordinerà l' E. V., giudicando che il precedere in questo negotio per questa via sia più honesto et migliore . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

2. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany.[2]

1555, April 6, Rom.

. . . Il cardinal Sta Croce è stato molto reservato et si è governato con modestia infinita, non si sendo mai potuto scorgere nelle parole sue altro che desiderio di vedere un buon papa in questa Sta Sede, il qual modo di procedere lo fa venerando sopra ogn' altro et si vede che ha gran parte nel pontificato, perchè ancora che la maggiore parte giudichi che l' assumtione sua fussi per essere poco a proposito per il servito di S. M^tà^, non di meno la vita sua esemplare fa che molti della banda Imp^le^ et di casa Monte vi andranno, chi per credere che habbi a essere Papa, altri per guadangnarselo per la promotione di lor medesimi et alcuni per non li parere potere ragionevolmente negargnene; non di meno si crede, che dalla banda franzese harà delle difficultà, perchè Ferrara dicono che non

[1] See *supra*, p. 6, n. 3.

[2] See *supra*, p. 7, n. 1, Petrucelli, II., 74 *seq.*

andrà in lui per respetto di casa Farnese, et S. Giorgio, Sermoneta, Urbino et altri giovani, che sono avezzi a vivere licentiosi, lo fuggiranno, come uno scoglio, sendo loro tremenda la sua severità, in modo che anco il fatto suo harà delle difficultà et così ce ne potremmo facilmente andare con la creatione in lungo . . .

[Orig. State Archives, Florence.]

3. Provost Ghisi to Lodovico Strozzi.[1]

1555, April 8, Rom.

. . . La imperiale vorrebbe Fano, il qual horri è stato molto molto presso al segno, se li Francesi unitamente propongono et gagliardamente fin qui aiutano Sta Croce et Ferrara, a quali si dice ch' una parte de imperiali consentono, ma il resto per quel che s' intende tirano a traverso, acennando ad altri soggietti, et la parte de vecchi che è chiamata neutrale ecclesiastica non ha mai fin qui voluto lasciarsi intendere di voler dar voti ad alcuno delli nominati, parendo a tutti loro che a questa propositione essi sieno degni soggietti a par di qual si voglia altri di questi predetti, in modo che stando sì discordi si da materia et campo alle fationi di darne conto all' Impre et al re, et per ciò spogliati della loro propria autoritade indignamente fanno che la creatione del Papa, con molto dispiacere de tutti, vaddi così di longo in infinito. A me pare che in questi negotii del far il Papa sien tante difficultadi, diversitadi et mutationi che mal si possi giudicare chi habbia ad essere quello che gionga a questo ultimo segno . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Bernardino Pia to Sabino Calandra.[2]

1555, April 8, Rom.

. . . Questa notte passanta Fano è stato tanto vicino al Papato che se S. Giacomo et Theatino non si sforzavano con mille false imputationi che le danno e di Lutherano e d' altro, egli riusciva. Vogliono che si sia scoperto un buco nel muro che entrava nella sua camarella, s' intende che ha Theatino un fascio de processi contra di lui e di tutti i sogetti papabili. Sta Croce medesimamente è andato molto al basso non sendo

[1] See *supra* p. 3, n. 3. [2] See *supra* p. 9, n. 1.

reuscita a un gran pezzo una pratica che fu fatta per lui non questa notte l' altra, et dicono che si è scoperta non so che promessa di dar Camerino al Sr Baldovino, riuscendo a l' uno e l' altro Monte con tutto che habbi tanto obligo come si sa al Sr Baldovino per essere chiamato suo figliolo e aggradito da suo fratello, si è nostro contrario, et insieme S^to^ Angelo, il quale è venuto fino a parole rigorose con Sta Fiore . . .

(Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Agostino Gonzaga, Bishop of Reggio, to the Castellan of Mantua.[1]

1555, April 9, Rom.

. . . Questa matina si è penetrato chel cardinale Ferrara fu per essere adorato et uscire Papa dominica sera, che mons^r^ ill^mo^ nostro con altri amici gli diede il voto, ma essendone avertito Sta Fiore, il quale in absentia di questi altri signori imperiali ha sin qui fatto il capo della fatione imperiale, si voltò con una grossa banda alla volta di Sta Croce, et fece così fatta diversione che Ferrara non hebbe piu che vintidua, o vintitre voti, et si è saputo per certo chel cardinale di Trento concorse con Sta Fiore per divertire. Basta che mons^r^ di Ferrara ha fatto prova de la voluntà et animo di mons^re^ nostro ill^mo^ et che a lui ha detto il vero ; se esso corresponde per la pariglia con sua s. ill^ma^, puotriamo havere assai presto una buona nova. Si sono ben anche dette alcune cianze in banchi del cardinale di Fano, che sia stato vicino al Papato, ma sono vanità et pratiche fatte da mercanti per conto delle scomesse.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Cardinal E. Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga.[2]

1555, April 10, Rom.

Noi havemo fatto molto presto nostro Papa laudato Dio percio che non siamo stati più che 4 dì chiusi in conclave che la cosa si è risoluta nel card. di S. Croce non per via di scrutinio, ma di negotiatione, et di pratiche, et se così tosto non si conchiudeva senza dubbio riusciva Papa nello scrutinio della mattina seguente il card. di Ferrara.

M. Cervini was ever di costume grave e severo. Se sarà tale Papa quale è stato cardinale, se ne puo aspettar gran bene

[1] See *supra*, p. 7, n. 4. [2] See *supra*, pp. 35, n. 6 ; 37, n. 3 ; 49, n. 1

alla chiesa christiana universale. He was firmly convinced that, for a Pope ciancie, motti ridicoli et tratenimenti piacevoli were quite unfitting, He was the terror ot the dissolute, and the friend ot others.

Egli è d' età di 54 o 55 anni, di persona assai grande, di viso estenuato e di complessione delicata. E stato tenuto fin qui di buona vita, di belle lettere et d' honesta et grave conversatione et poche volte è stato visto a ridere, et s' ode pur o vede qualche cosa ridicola fa un poco di ghignetto et se la passa con una severità catoniana. Non si è dilettato di mangiare molto nè di feste nè di buffoni. Gli sono spiacciute le licenze pretesche, ha havuto in odio gli sfratati, ha perseguitato i sospetti di heresia et ha sempre procurata la reformatione della chiesa sotto Pauolo et Giulio predecessori suoi. In somma egli è di diretto il rovescio di Papa Giulio, il quale haveva messe le cose in tal termine che si conosce chiaramente che Dio ci ha dato questo per pietà che ha havuto della chiesa sua santa, onde . . . possiamo sperare la reformatione et la correctione d' infiniti scandalosi abusi . . .

Hoggi ha parlato alla sua famiglia (See *supra*, p. 37).

Desires bishops to be resident.

Al card. Nobili, che è d' età di 15 anni et tutto dato alle lettere, ha fatto una bella esortatione dicendo: Figliuol mio, ho inteso che voi sete su una bona via da farvi da bene, dotto et virtuoso cardinale; vi prego che vogliate caminar animosamente, se amate la gratia mia . . . Medesimamente ha parlato a Monte ricordandogli che fin hora è vivuto molto licentiosamente et che se pensava di mutar vita gli sarà in luogo di figliuolo, se anco vorrà continuare la vita che ha fatta fin qui non potrà S. Stà per debito suo mancar di tentar ogni via per ridurlo alla buona strada . . .

[Copy. Cod. 2425, 4—6. University Library, Bologna.]

7. Camillo Capilupi to Ferrante Gonzaga.[1]

1555, April 10, Rom.

. . . Non essendo nel scrutinio di non hieri l' altro che fu il primo, riuscito Papa il cardinale di Ferrara per cagione che nel primo scrutinio non si possono dare gli accesi, et essendosi, da gli aversarii suoi scoperto, il negocio esser tanto inanci, che se

[1] See *supra*, p. 7, n. 4.

questa matina si faceva un altro scrutinio egli riusciva Papa, subito si voltorono a Sta Croce, al quale questi signori Imperiali si voltorono anch' essi, giudicando più servigio di S. M^tà^ l' ellegere Sta Croce che Ferrara ; fra quali, che furono li principali, fu il Camerlengo, la Ceva, Carpi, Saraceno, Napoli et molti altri, li quali hieri sera circa alle XXIII hore andorono per adorarlo sicome fecero. Monsr ill^mo^ nostro anch' esso v' ha parte perchè quando fu chiamato all' adoratione, rispose, che havrebbe fatto mons^r^ di Trento, perciochè a lui haveva obligata la parola sua, e però essendosi voltato Trento anche mons^r^ ill^mo^ andò ad adorarlo molto voluntieri, havendolo per huomo da bene et persona digna di questo carico et dignità . . . S. S^tà^ ha voluto che si faccia senza sorte alcuna di pompa per fuggire la spesa et per essere nei giorni santi. S. S^tà^ non ha voluto signare nè far gratia alcuna, che le fosse dimandata nella creatione. Ha confirmati alcuni ufficiali, come il Datario, il Vicario, il Barengo che è sopra i brevi et il Governatore ; ella s' è mostrata amorevole a tutti i cardinali anche a quelli che le sono stati contrarii, si è mostrata d' un animo composto, perchè non ha fatto segno alcuno di mutatione per allegrezza, nè con gesti, nè con fatti. Pare che la corte in generale tema la severità sua, la quale però si spera che [sia] per moderare accompagnandola con equità . . .

[Copy in a letter of Camillo Luzzara. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

8. Girolamo Muzzarelli, Archbishop of Conza, to the College of Cardinals.[1]

1555, Mai 12, Brussel.

Illustrissimi et amplissimi domini.

Quum per unum tabellarium, quem oratores Angli, qui sunt in Italia, et paulo post per alterum, quem huc ex Urbe caesariani ministri destinarunt, auditum fuit ab ipso Caesare et a tota eius curia de morte foe. rec. S. D. N. Marcelli II. pontificis maximi, visa est una cuiusdam communis luctus acerbitas et Caesaris et omnium ferme animós continuo occupare. A me vero potissimum nil poterat hoc tempore acerbius audiri. Eo in pontificem maximum electo orta simul et erecta fuit spes dignitatis christianae reipublicae restaurandae et illustrandae. Hoc effecit notissima ipsius vitae sanctitas et prudentia geren-

[1] See *supra*, p. 54, n. 2.

darum rerum. Confirmarunt eandem spem prima semina studiorum pontificatus ipsius, quae nil prius quam splendorem divini cultus et rectam morum institutionem constantissime pollicebantur. Optata fruges tantorum seminum sine maxima molestia non potuit tam repente extingui, quae cum summa omnium laetitia et commoditate expectabatur. Hinc vero eo amplius videtur dolendum esse, quo magis verendum est, ne publica haec et ingens iactura extincti dignissimi pastoris inflicta sit a divina iustitia secundum culpam indigni gregis christiani. Inter tot aerumnas et luctus Ecclesiae catholicae, none video quomodo mihi respirandum sit, nisi in cinere et cilitio preces et lachrimas convertam ad Christum, ut sibi in hac sanctissima sede vicarium constituat qui cum populum tum clerum ecclesiasticum velit ad formam orthodoxae professionis pio zelo et paterna solertia revocare.

Aspiret divina clementia, ita ut aliqua lux consolationis recuperetur ex sapientissimo consensu ill^{marum} amplitudinum vestrarum, quibus cum humillima affectus observantia me ipsum offero et dedo illisque omnia precor foelicia in Christo Jesu domino nostro.

Datum Bruxellae, quarto idus maii MDLV.

Ill^{marum} et r^{marum} dominationum v^{rum}

[Autogr.] Humillimus et obsequentissimus servus
f. Hieronymus episcopus Consanensis.

[Orig. Lett. di princ. XV 105. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

9. Camillo Olivo to Sabino Calandra.[1]

1555, Mai 23, Rom.

. . . La creatione sua è stata tale che manco male è tacerla o dirla a bocca che scriverla, perciochè non è stata buona voluntà di quei che l' hanno eletto, ma per dispetto di coloro che praticavano di fare il Puteo et per ambitione di voler essere quelli che facciano il Papa di lor mano, et la cosa passò con molto tumulto et non senza scandolo de gli amatori del bene et con pericolo di scisma, perciochè fu detto il Puteo da alcuni et alcuni altri Chieti et da hieri alle vinti hore fin hoggi alle dieciotto s' è stato con due Papi in conclavi. Ma la misericordia di Dio, la bontà del Puteo et la pia mente di coloro che l' havevano eletto, accompagnata dalla facilità d' alcuni di loro the per natura si mutano volentieri ha rimediato a tanto male,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 65, n. 4; 92, n. 3.

et concordemente sono venuti tutti i cardinali in Chieti, di cui si promette per ogniuno poco più lunga vita di quella che habbia havuto Papa Marcello, essendo in settantanove anni, che questo basta quando fosse il più sano homo senza che ha pur anch' esso catarro et alle volte patisce di flusso, il che per secondo che dicono i suoi è la sua sanità et la sua purgatione, perciochè affermano che non prese mai medicina in vita sua et con quel flusso purga tutti gli humori cativi. La patria sua è Napoli et è di casa Caraffa et zio del principe di Stigliano, onde la signora donna Hippolita nostra potrà farci con S. S^{tà} qualche favore. Chi spera da questa eletione assai di bene et chi mon molto. La vita sua riformata di tanti anni promette riforma nella Chiesa di non molto. La vita sua riformata di tanti anni promette riforma nella Chiesa di Dio, ma la patria e la natura sono di qualche consideratione et forza. Dio benedetto, se cosî è suo servigio, gli dia lunga vita acciochè ogni tratto non habiamo a torre su questo viaggio . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

10. Pope Paul IV. to Girolamo Muzzarelli, Archbishop of Conza.[1]

1555, Iuni 2, Rom.

Venerabili fratri Hieronymo achiepiscopo Consano apud ser^{mum} Caesarem nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuntio.
Paulus pp. IIII.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum in earum curarum et laborum partem, qui ad pastorale hoc munus nostrum obeundum a nobis sunt suscipiendi, etiam dilectum filium nobilem virum Ioannem Caraffam, comitem Montorii, nostrum secundum carnem nepotem, vocaverimus deque illius fide ac virtute rerumque tractandarum peritia plurimum nobis possimus polliceri, volumus ac tuae fraternitati mandamus ut, quoties ei ad te scribere aut internuncios mittere, quavis de re aut quavis de causa, contigerit, non minorem ei fidem per petuo habeas quam si a nobismetipsis et scriptae literae et missi internuntii essent. Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub anulo piscatoris, die secunda iunii M. D. Lv, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Item :] Venerabili fratri Sebastiano episcopo Viterbiensi

[1] See *supra*, p. 84, n. 1.

apud Christianissimum regem nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuntio.

Ven^li fratri Zachariae episcopo Pharensi apud regem Romanorum nostro et Apostolicae Sedis nuntio.

Ven^li fratri Philippo episcopo Salutiarum apud dominium Venetorum nostro et Apostolicae Sedis nuntio.

. . . provinciae nostrae Romandiolae vicelegato.

. . . civitatis nostrae Perusiae et Umbriae vicelegato.

. . . in provincia nostra Patrimonii commissario generali.

. . . provinciae nostrae Campaniae vicelegato.

. . . in provincia nostra Marchiae Anchonitanae vicelegato.

. . . Episcopo Veronensi.

[Concept. Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 113. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

II. Consistory of June 5th, 1555.[1]

Apud sanctum Marcum.

Romae die mercurii quinta mensis iunii[2] 1555 fuit consistorium in quo . . .

Sanctissimus dominus noster dominus Paulus divina providentia papa IV, de salute animarum sollicitus, ut persone ecclesiastice absque alicuius symonie aut ambitionis suspicione ad ecclesiarum et monasteriorum regimina promoveri et persone ipse puro corde et sincera conscientia presidere valeant, de fratrum consilio statuit et ordinavit quod de cetero futuris temporibus patriarchalibus, metropolitanis et cathedralibus ecclesiis ac monasteriis pro tempore vacantibus, de quibus consistorialiter disponi contigerit, non ad personarum promovendarum huiusmodi requisitionem supplicationem aut instantiam, sed iis, que de iure patronatus fuerint aut ad quas seu quae idonearum personarum presentatio seu nominatio ad Imperatorem, reges aut alios principes pertinuerit, ad presentationem seu nominationem Imperatoris, regum seu aliorum principum, ius patronatus seu facultatem presentandi aut

[1] See *supra*, p. 90, n. 3.

[2] Gulik-Eubel (III., 37) date changed; perfectly erroneous; according to the redaction of the "Acta consist." in Barb. lat., 2873 the consistory took place on May 26th, 1555, which is impossible, if only for the reason that the coronation took place on this day. It is also certain that the first consistory took place only on May 29th; see *supra* p. 80.

nominandi huiusmodi habentium, et r^mi^ cardinalis huiusmodi negocium in consistorio proponentis, aliis vero ecclesiis seu monasteriis ad solius cardinalis proponentis, aliis vero ecclesiis seu monasteriis ad solius cardinalis proponentis relationem duntaxat provideri debeat.

[Acta consist, cancell., VI., 243b—244. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

12. Consistory of July 17th, 1555.[1]

Apud sanctum Marcum.

Roma die mercurii decima septima mensis iulii 1555 fuit consistorium in quo haec acta sunt.

Sanctissimus dominus noster, indemnitati patriarchalium, metropolitanarum et cathedralium ecclesiarum providere cupiens, de fratrum consilio statuit atque decrevit, ut de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus in provisione seu alia dispositione ecclesiarum earundem non dispensetur cum aliquibus super defectu etatis nisi iuxta decreta concilii Lateranensis novissime celebrati et concordata Gallie desuper cum Sede Apostolica inita, quae super hoc inviolabiliter observari voluit et expresse mandavit.

[Acta consist. cancell., VI., 250^b^. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

13. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[2]

1555, October 12, Rom.

. . . His Holiness said to me: Quel che habbiamo a dirvi, magnifico ambasciator, è che heri il cardinal S. Iacomo, che è nostro amico antico et buono, vene à pregarne che fossamo contenti di udir l' ambasciator dell' Imperatore, che è il marchese di Sarria, l' insolentia del qual veramente non habbiamo potuto tollerar et per mostrarglielo nullum reliquimus locum, so non questo che non gli habbiamo commandato che in termine di tanti giorni uscisse del stato nostro. Noi, si ben conoscemo haver da far con gente infidele et che sempre cercha inganarci, pur havendo rispetto, non a loro, ma al grado che tenimo, che, dovendo esser noi li authori della pace, non par

[1] See *supra* p. 90, n. 4. [2] See *supra*, p. 107, n. 1.

che convenga che accendiamo un focco che abbrugieria più che tutti li altri, et considerando a chi è morto per me in croce, fossemo contenti che venisse, il qual con molte parole humane et riverente ne disse non voler guerra con noi et che questa era intention delli soi principi et che havea ordine di far retirar le gente; al che respondessemo: Si voi non volete guerra con noi, nè noi con voi. Dicendomi a questo proposito S. Stà: Vi vogliamo dir liberamente, sor ambasciator, da una parte ne pareria esser il più fortunato homo del mondo, quando per mezo nostro havesse piaciuto a S. Mtà Divina di cacciar questi barbari d' Italia, liberar il regno di Napoli, il stato di Milano, che all' hora possamo dir alla nostra serma Signoria et alla nostra Venetia: Questa è una republica libera et grande; siamo pregati a questo, siamo sollicitati et havessamo ancho da noi forze non contemnendae, perchè ne basteria animo di haver 20 mila fanti et 2 mila cavalli, et l' Imperatore ne volesse voltar la faccia, haveria da guardarsi le spalle, gli possamo far molto maggior danno che non pensa et non teme. Dall' altra parte siamo vecchio, ne vossamo chel nostro animo fosse vires ultra sortemque senectae. Colligarsi col rè, che lo desidera nè aspetta altro, non vogliamo, per non haver l' un inimico aperto, l' altro compagno et per questa via superiore, perchè spendendo et agiutandosi, vorria poi da noi molte cose che per aventura non sariano honeste. Vogliamo, magnifico ambasciator, star liberi, oltra che il rispetto, che habbiamo particular a quella Signoria non ci lassa entrar in guerra, perchè non si potria far senza di lei, et havuto che havesse notitia in quel medesimo tempo bisogneria che noi gli domandassemo agiuto. Le guerre non ranno per voi: sapiamo come si governa quel stato, che a longo andar bisogna ricorrer alle borse de particulari, li quali diventano poi poveri, et la pace vi arrichisse con tanti commertii quanti havete. Credete voi che ci siamo scordati quanto prontamente per la fede et religion nostra entraste con papa Paulo III et Carlo Quinto in una guerra, et come ancho fosti illusi et abandonati? Noi per amor che vi portiamo non vi consigliessamo mai ad entrar in guerra. Questo medesimo animo habbiamo anchor noi, et se habbiamo bravato et bravamo, è che conosciamo la debolezza di questi imperiali. La summa è, per dirvi l' interno del cor nostro et in confessione, che noi non vogliamo guerra se non più che astretti. Fatte intender questo a quelli miei signori, fattelo intender per

quelli cauti modi che saperete. Conchiudendo, come ha fatto tante altre volte, nella laude di quella eccma republica, la conservation et grandezza della quale disse desiderare come la sua istessa, dicendomi : Questa è stata una digressione un poco longa ; ritornamo à dirvi che questa matina, oltre ogni nostra esspettatione, è venuto il secretario del cardinal Sto Iacobo, che intendete che è qui, et ne ha dimandato che per poter scrivere all' Imperatore, l' ambasciator desidereria sapper con quanta gente armata restaremo. Vi confessiamo la verità, magco ambasciator, che se alterassemo grandemente, lo cacciassemo dal nostro conspetto, dicendoli che non conoscevimo alcun che ne potesse dar legge, et che non conoscevimo altro patron che Christo et che volemo tenir et cavalli et fanti quanti ne piacceva. . . Finito che hebbe S. Stà la ringratiai con quella forma di parole che mi parve conveniente, dicendo che mi partiva sempre con maraviglia dalli prudenti et savii soi discorsi et che V. Sertà rimaneria molto consolata di tanta confidentia che nostra haver S. Stà in lei. Ben disse : Parleremo sempre così con voi come col cor nostro et con questo, abbracciatomi teneramente, mi licentiô ; et nel ussir dalla camera molti di quelli camerieri et prelati, che stano in l' anticamera, mi dissero che il cardl Sto Jacobo havea ditto publicamente d' esser venuto per far tutto quello che volea il pontifice . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, f. 9b—10. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

14. G. Muzio to Pope Paul IV.[1]

1555, November 3, Pesaro.

. . . Hora è il tempo, santo padre, di metter mano ad eseguire i santi pensieri ; hora è il tempo da levar col coltello dello spirito gli abusi introdutti dalla affettione della carne e del sangue. Il cardinal Marcello, che fu poi Papa Marcello precessor di V. Stà, discorrendo meco in Ugubio nella materia della riformatione, il giorno avanti che egli quindi si partisse per venire a Roma, quando seguì la sua esaltatione, mi disse, tra le altre cose, che il papato è come il zambelotto, il quale sempre conserva quella piega che egli prende da principio et che qual Papa dal principio del suo papato alla iriformatione non mette mano, non bisogna che speri di poter piu far cosa

[1] See *supra*, pp. 175, n. 3 ; 234, n. 3.

buona. Così diceva egli et si come V. Stà con lui fu di animo conforme, credo anchora che ella sia della medesima opinione. Se nel principio adunque si ha da cominciare, si ha anche da metter mano al principio et al capo della chiesa. Il capo è Roma, dalla quale tutti gli stati et tutte le conditioni delle persone hanno da prender la regola. Et in Roma dopo V. Stà (dalla cui vita et dalla cui dottrina ogniuno si puo riformare, se vuole haverla per esempio) principale è il collegio de' cardinali; tra quali prego il Sigr Dio che non vi sia oppositione di vita nè di dottrina. Dopo questi sono i vescovi, i quali in Roma sono piante inutili et doverebbono esser trapiantati in terreno dove havessero da far frutto. Ma pur che non ve no sieno di quelli, che in luogo di fruttificare ad utilità de popoli, apportino mortifero veleno. Colpa di chi infino ad hora ha dato le prelature et i beneficii senza guardare a cui. Et che abuso è questo? Ho detto abuso? Che abominatione è introdutta nella chiesa di Dio? Se haverò figliuoli del corpo infermi, prendero pensierò che siano medicati da persona dotta e prattica di medicina. Et che dico figliuoli? se haverò un branco di pecore (per non dir parola più dishonesta), non lo darò, se non saprò prima che colui sia atto alla cura di quelle. Et le anime, create alla similitudine di Dio et ricomperate col santissimo sangue del signor nostro Jesu Christo, sono non raccomandate al governo, ma gittate alla tirannia di chi molte volte non sa pur regger le proprie sue mani, gli occhi suoi et la sua lingua. Et da questo inconveniente ne nasce poi quell' altro, che i vescovi, i quali sono stati creati senza consideratione danno i sacerdotii, la amministratione de sacramenti et la cura delle anime alla feccia de gli humoini. Hanno bisogno si la Dataria, la Cancellaria et la Penitentiaria di esser riformate, et da tor via si hanno le simonie, che si fanno ne' contratti de' beneficii; ma quella non penso che habbia da esser gran fatica, nè di molti giorni fra persone che tutto dì hanno tal materie tra le mani. Questa è la importantia che huomini di buona vita et di sana dottrina habbiano le prelature, accioche la universal chiesa di Dio sia ben regolata: chè questo è quello che leverà gli abusi et serrerà la bocca alla heretica pravità. Io parlo securamente et liberamente in questo suggetto, come colui che in me ho conosciuto et proveduto a quello che veggo et danno in altrui. Chè, essendo a me data intentione di dignità ecclesiastiche, sapendo io l' ordine de' sacri canoni

essere che per gradi a quelli si ascenda, non havendo io mai servito la Chiesa, ne bene essendo sofficiente a governar l' anima mia, et intendendo di quanto carico sia la dispensatione de' beni de' poveri, mi ho eletto di starmene in vita secolare, non volendo in me consentire a quello abuso il quale in altrui biasimo nelle mie scritture. Et così ho anche messo silentio a maldicenti che già andavano divulgando che io era papista, percioche uccellava a beneficii. Et di questa buona mente, la quale il signor Dio ha donata a me, prego la sua sempiterna Maestà che ne faccia parte anche a molti, accioche più agevolmente la Stà Vostra possa colorire i suoi santi disegni. Et con ogni humiltà di cuore le bacio i santi piedi.

Di Pesaro a III di novembre del M. D. L. v.

Di V. Stà Humilissimo servo et devotma H. Mutio creatura

[Orig. Castel S. Angelo, Arm. 8, ord. II., t. 2, p. 244—245b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

15. Edict of the Governor of Rome, 1555.[1]

Bando generale.

Il signor governatore di Roma, volendo obviare alli abusi et errori che si commettano in publico scandalo e vilipendio del honor d' Iddio et provedere al honesto, quieto et pacifico vivers di questa alma città, di espresso ordine et spetial commissione di S. Stà, ordina et commanda che nessuna persona di qual si voglia grado, stato, conditione, età o sesso et preminenza, ardisca in alcun modo biastemmare o dishonestamente nominare il santissimo nome dell' onnipotente Iddio o del suo unigenito figliuol Jesu Christo o della gloriosa sempre vergine sua madre e regina del cielo o di qual si voglia santo o santa, sotto pena per la prima volta a chi contrafarà di star con le mani ligate dietro tutto un giorno alla berlina, la quale a questo effetto si farà mettere in diversi luoghi publici, et per la seconda volta, oltra la sopradicta pena, di esserli forata la lingua, et per la terza sotto pena della galea per cinque anni, reservandosi pero in ogni caso l' arbitrio d' augmentare et diminuire la pena secondo la qualità delle persone et biastemme et si darà fede ad un solo testimonio con il detto dello accusatore, il quale sarà tenuto secreto. Et di più rinova ogni altro ordine fatto sopra a cio fino al presente.

[1] See *supra*, p. 179, n. 1.

Item, che nessuna persona di qual si vogli stato, grado, preheminenza o conditione se sia ardisca o presumma accompagnare alle chiese, dove sono le stationi overo indulgenze, o nelle quali si celebri qualche festa, così dentro di Roma come fuori, cortigiane o meretrici di nessuna sorte, nè stando nè andando, parlare con loro o fare cosa alcuna lasciva o dishonesta, nè per le vie dirette di dette chiese giocare ad alcun giuogo, etiam tollerato, alla pena de dui tratti de corda et de venticinque scudi d' applicarsi a luoghi pii da ellegersi da dicto signor governatore ; et dalle cortegiane o meretrici, che se faranno o lassaranno accompagnare, che parlaranno o faranno cosa alcuna lasciva o dishonesta, oltra la pena predetta pecuniaria d' applicarsi come di sopra, della frusta et esilio perpetuo dalla città di Roma, le qual cortigiane debbiano subito sotto la medesima pena, tolto il perdono, partirsi di chiesa et andar per li fatti loro.

Item, accioche si possano conoscere le gentildonne dalle cortigiane et meretrici, ordina che nessuna cortigiana, meretrice o donna di mala vita ardisca portare in modo alcuno, sotto pretesto di qual si voglia licenza, habito solito portarsi da gentildonne o cittadine romane ; ne meno presumma andare per Roma in carretta o in cocchio, sotto pena della frusta el del bando de Roma et di perdita del habito et confiscatione de tutti i suoi beni, d' applicarsi al monasterio delle Convertite di Roma ; et chi impresterà cocchio o carretta a nessuna di dette cortigiane, perdere il cocchio et quei cavalli ; et al cocchiero che condurrà il cocchio, di tre squassi di fune ; et chi ce andarà dentro in compagnia di dette cortigiane, incorrerà in pena di cinquanta scudi d' applicarsi alla rev^ma Camera apostolica et il bando perpetuo di Roma et de tre tratti di fune ad arbitrio di detto signor governatore : il quale revoca ogni et qualunque licenza data sin qui da qual si voglia persona, dechiarando che si procederà etiam ex officio, et daràssi fede ad un' solo testimonio con il giuramento. Et de più, per ordine di S. S^tà, rinova ogni altro ordine fatto sin qui in questa materia di cocchi, et spetialmente che non vi possino andare huomini da dodeci anni in su insieme con donne, etiam che fossero parenti o marit loro.

Item dichiara per avertimento di ciaschuno, che nessuna persona come di sopra ardisca in alcun modo commettere il nefando et detestabil vitio della sodomia overo esserne mezano ;

il che facendo, incorrerà nella pena contenuta nelle leggii constitutioni et statuti de Roma, per le quali contro tali qual, contraverranno se procederà senza remissione alcuna.

Item che nessuna persona ardisca nè presumma di tenere o fare alcuna sorte de barattaria, giocare o fare giocare in alcuno modo di nessuna sorte de giochi illiciti, nè fare ballare o fare festini in casa o in qual si vogli altro luogo, nè ventura de qual si voglia cose o robbe, sotto la pena che se contiene nelli bandi fatti per gli altri governatori, d' applicarsi, augmentarsi o diminuirsi secondo l'arbitrio di detto signor governatore.

Item che nessuno ardisca di giocar a palla, a maglio per le strade publiche tanto dentro come fuori di Roma et nelli luoghi dove conversano genti, sotto pena dello arbitrio di esso signor governatore.

Item commanda et prohibisce per espresso ordine di S. B^ne^ che nessuna persona, anchor che fosse duca, marchese, conte, barone, signore di città, castella, feudatario, palatino, offitiale, gentilhomo o familiar loro o di qual si voglia reverendissimo o altri signori et loro palafrenieri o qual si vogli altra persona privilegiata, dal presente giorno in poi, ardisca nè presumma, per qual si voglia causa, di portar bastoni atti ad offendere nè altr' armi che spade, pugnale et giacco, sotto pena di tre squassi de corda et de venticinque scudi d' oro et altre pene ad arbitrio del signor governatore, et, passata un' hora di notte portare spada, pugnali, cortelli più lunghi d'un palmo, bastone di grossezza atto ad offendere, rottelle, mazze ferrate, pallotte di piombo, sassi, balestre da passatori, o pallotte, polzoni, o qual si voglia sorte di armi, tanto deffensive quanto offensive, et così coperte come discoperte, sotto pena di tre squassi di fune da darsegli in publico et di cinquanta scudi d' oro oltra la perdita dell' armi da pagarsi ipso facto alla Camera Apostolica. Et siano tenuti gl' hosti alli loro hospiti et li portannari delle porte di Roma a tutti quelli ch' intraranno in Roma fargli intendere tal prohibitione del portar dell' armi, sotto la medesima pena, eccettuando impero tutti quelli i qual son ministri et prefetti sopra la iustitia et loro servitori.

Item, considerando esso signor governatore quanto sia pericoloso et tenere di schioppi et archibusi a rota piccoli, quali hanno la canna da dua palmi in giu, prohibisce et comanda ad ogni et qualunque persona, come di sopra, che da qui avanti non ardisca nè presumma tenere in casa nè portare

nè far portare nè usare detti schioppi nè archibusi, nè vendergli etiam per mercanti nè fargli vender per altre persone ; anzi fra otto giorni proximi da venire ciaschuno gli debba effettualmente denuntiarli ad esso signor governatore, sotto pena a qualli i quali gli portaranno etiam disarmati e senza le rote, et gli saranno trovati addosso, della forca; et a quelli gli saranno trovati in casa, ad arbitrio di esso signor governatore ; a qual pene si procederà con ogni cellere esecutione, et a qualunque persone le terrano in casa o nelle loro botteghe o in altri luoghi et non gli haveranno denuntiati, passati detti otto giorni, incorreranno in pena di trecento scudi d'applicarsi ipso facto et senz' altra dechiaratione alla r^da^ Cam^a^ Apostolica, et della galea per dui anni o piu o meno ad arbitrio di esso signor governatore. Et si ne farà esecutione rigorosa et si procederà etiam nelle sopradecte cose per via d' inquisitione, et si starà al giuramento et detto d'un testimonio solo degno di fede ad arbitrio di esso signor governatore ; et allo accusatore, il quale sarà tenuto segreto, se gli darà la parte de la pena pecuniaria, et passati detti otto giorni, se fara cercare per il bargello et suoi essequtori senza rispetto alcuno e publicamente nelle case nelle quali parrà ad esso signor governatore.

Item, per provedere alli scandali, quali giornalmente occorrono, per l' andare che si fa per Roma con li cocchi furiosamente, prohibisce et comanda a tutti gli cocchieri di qualsivoglia persona, che da hoggi innanzi non ardisca nè presumma di giorno nè di notte andare con cocchi furiosamente per la città di Roma ne sue strade publiche, sotto pena di tre squassi di corda, alla quale se procederà senza alcuna remissione. Ma debbano andar con passo honesto et moderato, di modo che ogniuno possa antivedere et scansarsi. Et in la medesima pena incorreranno tutti gli servitori et famigli, barilari et portatori di grano, quali senza proposito faranno correr overo andare furiosamente li lor cavalli per le strade publiche ; notificandosi che incorrendo in tal prohibitione da due volte in su, oltra le pene sopradette, se gli darà pena la galea ; et si procederà ancora per via d'inquisitione.

Item comanda a tutti homicidiali e banditi o disfidati, non solamente dalle terre, luoghi meditae vel immediate soggetti alla sancta Sede Apostolica et iurisdittione di S. Beat^ne^, ma d'ogni altro luogo ancora che sia fuora della decta iurisdictione di S. St^tà^ et Sede Apostolica, che tra dua giorni prossimi debbano

effettualmente essersi partiti di Roma e suo territorio e distretto, altramente, passato decto termine, si procederà contro di loro a cattura et punitione delle persone, vista la forma di detti bandi o disfidationi et delitti commessi.

Et similmente ordina qual si voglia persona che havesse per sigurezza sua ottenuto alcuno salvo condotto o fidanza, qual non habbi presentato fin qui al decto monsignor governatore, lo debba infra sei giorni dal dì della publicatione del presente bando haver presentato avanti S. Signoria, accio ne possa far parola con S. B^ne^ et havere espresso ordine di bocca di S. S^tà^ come si debbia governare circa dette fidanze et salvi condotti ; et non le presentando tra decto termine, di commissione di S. B^ne^ Sua Sig^ia^ ex nunc dechiara detti salvi condotti et fidanze per nulle et di niun vigore et fa intender che, non ostante detti salvi condotti et fidanze, si procederà contra di loro secondo che altrimente sarà di iustitia.

Item comanda a tutti li baroni di Roma, a tutte le communità et università et a qual si vogli altro signore o particolare persona et etiam alli habitanti in Roma, che non debbiano in li loro luoghi, case et habitationi, tanto in Roma come fuori, dar ricetto a detti homicidiali o banditi et diffidati, nè recettar delinquenti di qualunque sorte, nè darli da mangiare o bevere, nè aiuto o favore in qual si voglia modo, sotto le pene che si contengono nella Clementina et nelle sacre constitutioni et statuti et bandi [di] suoi predecessori, et altre pene ad arbitrio di S. S^tà^ et di esso signor governatore.

Item che qual si vogli persona vagabonda et senza essercitio o partito alcuno debbiano infra tre giorni haver disgomberato la città di Roma, altramente saranno presi et mandati in galea per quel tempo parerà ad esso signor governatore, et nella medesima pena incorreranno tutti gli mendicanti che son sani et gagliardi et gli ruffiani et giuntatori.

Item a tutti et singuli armaroli, lanciari, spadari et mercanti ancora del l' arte bianca et a tutti li altri, etiam non mercanti, a chi spettarà il presente bando, per authorita del nostro officio, per il presente tenore facciamo intendere et notifichiamo che dalla publicatione di questo, sotto pena di escommunicatione, confiscatione de'tutti et singuli lor beni et della galea et altre pene del nostro arbitrio da imponergli, non ardischino ne presummano vendere ne far vendere publicamente, ne secretamente, ne imprestare a persona alcuna, di qual si voglia stato,

grado, conditione o preminenza se siano a sia, alcuna sorte d'arme defensive overo offensive senza espressa licenza.

Item il sig^r governatore dichiara quanto alle quadriglie della notte, che, oltre le pene delle armi, se alcuno sarà trovato in più di quattro con l'armi, che incorrano nella pena della galea.

Item che nessuna persona, come di sopra, ardischi d' impedire in alcun modo l'essequtioni, ancora che pretendessero che fossero ingiuste, nè far resistenza in alcun modo con fatti o con parole overo con arme a qual si voglia essecutor della corte, nè ingiuriargli in alcun modo, et che nessuno ardischa o presumma farsi ragione da se medesimo, concitare tumulti o gridare publicamente, o invocar le case de potenti o gli nomi loro, nè brugiare, rompere o imbrattare porte, fenestre, gelosie o impannate di qual si voglia persona, ancorche fossero meretrici o cortigiane, nè in alcun modo offendere le persone loro, nè ricettare delinquenti di qualunque sorte, nè dargli magnare o bere, aiuto et favore in qual si voglia modo, nè portare di giorno alcuna sorte di bastone atto ad offendere, nè fare adunanze o conventicule le pene delle leggi communi, statuti, bolle, constitutioni, reformationi et bandi altre volte fatti et publicati, da estendersi ancora sino alla pena del ultimo suplicio inclusive ad arbitrio di esso signor governatore.

Item ordina et dichiara che quello che cappeggiarà, o con armi o senza, ipso facto se intenda esser incorso nella pena della forca, et chi l' accusarà et farà che venghi in mano della corte sarà premiato di cinquanta scudi contanti, ancora che fosse compagno nel cappeggiare, al quale sara perdonato per quella volta.

Item che tutti li medici, barbieri, chirurgi, hospitalieri et altri ricettanti feriti o altri delinquenti, incontinente et senza alcuna tardanza per se o per altri fidedigni siano tenuti denunciare o fare denunciare al prefato signor governatore o suo notario del criminale, sinceramente et sanza fraude, li nomi, cognomi, qualità, patria et altri segni et contrasegni di essi feriti et delinquenti, et la verità del caso, et se detti feriti o delinquenti non volessero specificar gli nomi loro et delli offendenti, non debbiano curarli ne recettarli, anzi il tutto come di sopra notificare sotto le pene si contengono nelli bandi delli predecessori, nelle qual pene incorreranno tutti gli patrini et rettori delle chiese, i quali sotterraranno quelli che fossero stati et [sic] ammazzati, senza notificarlo como di sopra.

Item renova tutti gl'altri bandi d' ogn' altro signor governatore sopra qual si voglia materia, dechiarando per il presente bando che nessuna piazza in Roma di qual si voglia signore et potentati sarà secura et che li essequtori cercaranno et piglieranno li delinquenti, et chi se opporrà a loro o nessuno di loro incorrerà la pena della vita et perdita de beni ad arbitrio di esso signor governatore, secondo la qualità delle persone.

Item in ciaschuno delli sopradetti casi si reserva facoltà et arbitrio di potere minuire o augmentare le pene secondo la qualità del tempo, del luogo, delle persone et de casi, et fa intendere alli accusatori et spie che sarranno tenuti secretissimi et premiati ogni volta che riportaranno cosa veruna alla corte di Sua Sig^{ria}; et ogni uno si guardi de contravenire et dalla mala ventura.

Datum etc.

[a tergo alia manu:] 14. Romana. Banno generale del modo del vivere della citta, 1555.

[Castel S. Angelo, Arm. 8, ord. II., t. 5, p. 15—18b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

16. Consistory of January 10th, 1556.[1]

Romae die veneris 10 ianuari, 1556.

Consistorium. . . . Postea S^{mas} longo sermone dixit, se velle procedere ad reformationem quam multi pontifices se facturos promiserant et tamen nil hactenus factum fuerat et ad id deputare intendebat personas idoneas.

[Acta consist. cancell., VII., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

17. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[2]

1556, Januar. 11, Rom.

. . . In questo consistoro,[3] dopo lunghissime audientie de cardinali, il Papa entrò a parlare della riforma et disse, che ogni giorno conosceva esser asseso in quel supremo grado per voler di Dio, perchè vedea S. Divina Maestà supplir a tutte le imperfettion sue, sì dell' animo come del corpo, che in questa età decrepita gli dava forza di soportar li travagli et fatiche

[1] See *supra*, p. 186, n. 1. [2] See *supra*, p. 186, n. 1, and Ancel Concile, II. [3] di hieri.

che porta con se il Papato et gli meteva in animo la cosa della reforma, la qual volea far in effetto così come li passati pontefici da 60 anni in qua la proponeano in parole ; che pero S. Stà reformeria prima se ; onde havea proposto li tre cardinali che gia scrissi al Datariato acciò lo regolassero, et che, se ben ella ne patirà, trazendo il suo viver da quello, pur che se restrenzerà, perchè la natura è contenta de poco ; et che, fatto questo, li altri se preparino che reformerà loro ancora, accennando la Cancellaria, Penitentiaria, la Camerlengaria, la vita de cardinali et la perpetuità de i beneficii con li regressi, accessi et altre introdutioni, aggiongendo che, reformata la corte, vorrà poi senza alcun respetto toccar li principi. Et essendo stato, secondo il solito di S. Stà, copioso et vehemente, messe fine al concistoro, per esser l'hora tarda. . . .
[Copy. Cod. 9445, 88b—89. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

18. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Januar. 18, Rom.

At an audience on Jan. 17th with the Pope u.a. : . . . Et qui vogliamo dir a voi con molta confidentia quel che habbiamo detto più volte all' una parte et all' altra, che a componer questi doi principi non vi è altro mezo che noi, et gli habbiamo detto la causa che è questa, che cadaun de quei principi sanno per molte prove che non possono ruinar l'avversario ; possono ben l'un all' altro far de danni, de prendersi qualche città et con la guerra lunga roinar li suoi stati di danari et di homeni : che uno vinchi et abbassi del tutto l'altro deve esser già, per l'esperientia di tante cose passate, for di speranza ; ma esser quasi certo che a quella parte ove noi si accostassemo, accrescessamo tante forze che l'altro potria dubitare grandemente della universal sua ruina, et potrebbe esser, magnifico ambasciatore, che questa paura te questo modo di parlare che gli havemo fatto, gli facesse un giorno fare qualche bona deliberatione, et vi vogliamo dir che habbiamo fatto delle bravure a questo effetto et non habbiamo voluto alcun di loro per compagno, li volemo per sudditi et sotto questi piedi come si conviene et come ha voluto ch' ha edificata questa s. Chiesa et ci ha posto in questo grado, et prima che far una viltà vossamo morire, ruinar' ogni cosa et appicciar foco in tutte quattro le parti del mondo. Li nostri

[1] See *supra*, pp. 69, n. 2 ; 188, n. 2 ; 189, n. 1.

predecessori pur troppo hanno abbassato questa s. Sede et col tanto temer li principi hanno fatto dell' indegnità, onde ne sono causate infiniti disordini. The complaints of the Spanish clergy would be remedied. Et per poter far meglio queste cose, vogliamo cominciarla riforma da noi et proveder al Datariato. The following passage in ANCEL, Concile, 18 bis via. Then comes the following characteristic speech of the Pope : Et perche Christo cel comanda, gratis accepistis, gratis date, parole di colui qui dixit et facta sunt, mandavit et creata sunt, che voglio dubitar io che Sua Divina M^{tà}, che mi ha notrito fino alli 80 anni, al presente mi abandoni ? Et quando io volse lassar ogni cosa, trovai una quarantena de homeni segnalatissimi et boni (che un papa non si saria sdegnato di haverli), i quali lassorono officii et beneficii et vennero a servirmi ; et molti anni mi sono intertenuto senza saper da chi mi fosse dato il vivere, et pur non ho fatte simonie, et come cardinal ancora son stato un poco d'anni senza haver niente quando non hebbi il possesso dell' arcivescovato di Napoli che mi era tenuto da tiranni, nè io mi degnai dirne pur una parola, et non mi mancò cosa alcuna. Perche voglio temere che mi habbi da mancar adesso ? Et quando per il Signor Dio volesse che al presente mi mancasse, sostenerei di andar accattando con una scudella prima che haver tutte le commodità per questa via indiretta con ruina dell' anima mia et di tanti altri che vengono dietro. Hor per concluderla, magnifico ambasciator, rengratiamo Christo (et qui si cavo la bereta) che ci ha dato quest' animo di far senza alcun rispetto l'honor di S. M^{tà} et il bene di questa Santa Sede. Noi procuraremo la causa di Dio, et S. M^{ta} procurarà la nostra. Habbiamo a punto hoggi raccordato ad alcuni auditori di Rota, che vedino et pensino bene con quest' altri dottori, che gli deputaremo, sopra queste cose, et non si lassaremo ingannar, perchè della simonia habbiamo letto quello che ne dicono theologi et canonisti, tanto che potemo dir esserne instruttissimi, et la dottrina del nostro s. Thomaso in questa come in tutte le altre cose ne ha fatto rissolver christianamente ; quando questi ne haverano referito il parer loro, gli faremo quelle provisioni che seranno necessarie. Mi disse poi S. S^{tà} che le sue genti hormai haveano occupato la maggior et meglior parte del stato del conte di Bagno, et che quel poverino si ravederia del suo mal consiglio. Et essendo durato il ragionamento di S. S^{tà} per buon spacio,

presi licentia havendola rengratiata della communicatione et laudata de i magnanimi suoi dissegni con parole convenienti. . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 91—91[b]. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

19. Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on January 20th, 1556.[1]

Acta super reformatione Ecclesiae
sub Paulo IIII pontifice max° an. MDLVI.

Prima Congregatio.—Pontifex exponit promptitudinem animi et desiderii sui circa universalem Ecclesiae reformationem, proponitque caput a quo sit initium auspicandum.

Cum sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Paulus divina providentia papa quartue, iam inde ab initio assumptionis suae animum adiecisset ad ea facienda quae honori Dei et fidei suae catholicae exaltationi conducere viderentur, nihil sibi antiquius fuit quam ut generali ipsius Ecclesiae reformationi omne studium et operam navaret. Quam quidem intentionem et si perpetuo ab ipso pontificatus initio retinuerit, eam tamen ob diversa impedimenta et publicas occupationes, quae hoc medio tempore acciderunt, executioni hactenus, non sine animi sui ingenti dolore, demandare non potuit. Verum, ne hoc tam sanctum et salutare Beat[is] suae propositum diutius in ipsius Ecclesiae detrimentum et animarum dispendium differretur, ipsi reformationi absque ulteriori mora initium, Deo favente, dare constituit. Et licet pontifex, Spiritu Sancto duce, ac potestate sibi a Deo tradita, per se solum hanc provinciam absolvere potuisset, tamen, quia ubi est multitudo sapientum ibi est salus et verum consilium, decrevit rem ipsam cum venerabilibus fratribus suis S. R. E. cardinalibus primo, deinde cum aliquibus episcopis et praelatis ac etiam omnis ordinis etiam inferioris sacrae theologiae professoribus, nec non canonum et legum peritis, conferre atque examinare, ut tandem, Deo ipso iuvante, reformatio ipsa communi omnium voto et consilio in Ecclesia Dei decerneretur.

Quare hodie, die lunae xx mensis ianuarii, anno a nativitate Domini MDLvj, hora xx, vocatis ad se cardinalibus, praelatis,

[1] See *supra*, p. 187, n. 1, and Massarelli 286.

theologis et aliis infrascriptis, ad ipsius omnipotentis Dei gloriam et religionis chistrianae incrementum, congregationem primam super ipso negocio reformationis, in palatio apostolico, in aula magna superiori, quae Constantini nuncupatur, habuit. Quibus dominis et praelatis sic congregatis Sanctitas Sua primum significavit eius pium desiderium et animum reformandi abusus in Ecclesia Dei hominum et temporum iniuria subortos; retulitque labores, quos hactenus superiores eius summi pontifices, etiam congregatione concilii generalis, consumpserunt; et quod, licet res ipsa frustra hucusque tentata fuerit, sperare se tamen in bonitate Dei eam aliquando praestari posse. Qua quidem in re omnem operam, omnem diligentiam et curam esse adhibituram; et pro qua nihil laboris, nihil incommodi nihilve alterius cuiusvis oneris, etiam cum propriae vitae periculo, haud subituram esse. Cum autem caput et radicem totius reformationis esse haeresim simoniacam ostendisset, inprimis et ante omnia ad eam eradicandum et penitus evellendam omni conatu vacandum esse comprobavit Et iure quidem ac merito Sanctitas Sua ab ipsius simoniae extirpatione initium sumit. Nam nihil profecto est quod magis Ecclesiae Dei officiat et ministerium sacerdotale commaculet atque perturbet, nihilque magis animas illaqueet et ad interitum ducat, quam simonia. Quam certo eo magis pontifex evellere debet, cum non sequutae hucusque ipsius Ecclesiae reformationis praceipuam et solam fere causam detractores et haeretici omnes in Pontifices maximos retulerint, eos scilicet reformationem hanc et noluisse et distulisse, propter lucri nescio cuius, qui in datariato fit, amissionem. At summus et vere sanctissimus noster pontifex, lucra, divitias et mundana omnia parvipendens, solum Deum et animarum salutem prae oculis habens, eam ipsam reformationem, nullius sui incommodi, nullius damni (sed neque damnum existimat amitti quod iniuste quaeritur) neque cuiusvis carnalis affectus habita ratione, omnino constituere et ab ipsius simoniae, ut dictum est, eradicatione initium sumere decrevit. In qua sane eradicatione facienda eorum patrum, qui aderant, iudicium et consilium libenter se audire velle et cupere declaravit: eosque propterea monuit et hortatus est, eis nihilominus in virute sanctae obedientiae praecipiens ut ipsi materiae explicandae et declarandae studium et diligentiam adhiberent, ita ut, suo tempore revocati, possent super ea re sententias

dicere ; comminatusque est eis ut id in ipsis sententiis dicerent quod secundum Deum et conscientiam sentirent, fugerentque in omnibus vitium adulationis atque assentationis, constanter eis asseverans ut qui aliter facerent, praeter id quod a Deo dignam poenam reciperent, Sanctitatis etiam suae indignationem non effugerent : qui vero veritatem pure et syncere, iuxta eorum captum et capacitatem, dicerent, et a Deo ipso premium et a Sanctitate Sua laudem essent reportaturi. Exposuitque caput principale, super quo eorum studiis invigilare quodque discutere et examinare deberent, An videlicet usus potestatis datae a Christo domino nostro Petro, Ecclesiae suae capiti, possit cadere sub precio ; admonens iterum patres, ut lubenti animo id laboris studendi et veritatis perquirendae susciperent, et quod deinde invenissent, id verbo, suo tempore, dicere et in scriptis etiam ponere procurarent.

Quibus dictis, rogavit rever^rum^ dominorum cardinalium sententias, an videlicet super iis, quae Sanctitas Sua dixerat, aliquid ipsis patribus ulterius explicandum iudicarent. Cumque omnes proposita a Sanctitate Sua collaudassent, dimittitur congregatio et patres omnes recesserunt, hora circiter xxiii.

[Concilio, 79, 32—33. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Januar. 24, Rom.

Hoggi è stato consistoro . . . In questo consistoro S. S^tà^ disse alcune parole cerca la reforma che volle far al tutto, dicendo alli rev^mi^ cardinali che non si spaventassero per ciò ; che quanto ella facea era per recuperar la prima et antica giurisdition della Sede Apostolica, accennando la riforma de principi, la qual reaquistada, ognuno saria felice et felicissimo il sacro collegio. Per poter procedere a questa riforma havea Sua S^tà^ tre giorni avanti fatto una congregatione de cardinali, auditori di Rota et altri dottori et generali delle religioni, nella quel parlò con tanta eloquentia et forza nella materia della simonia che accesse et infiammò ogni uno facendolli conoser che in questo solo stava la vera riforma della Chiesa, aggiongendo quasi li medesmi concetti che disse a me, et io le scrissi per le ultime mie. . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 97^b^—98. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

[1] See *supra* pp. 187, n. 2 ; 189, n. 2.

21. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Januar. 25, Rom.

Report of to-day's audience.

. . . Et qui entrò[2] a confirmarmi quel che mi disse l' audientia passata, che ella non volleva cessar fino che non facea questa riforma, et che, quando no la faci, se io la vedessi far miracoli et ressussitar morti, non gli dovesse creder; che ella o la farrà over crepperà soto el peso; che vuol comensiar dalla sua pelle et scorticarlla et riformarlla, per poter poi liberamente riformar li altri, non solamente prelati, ma li imperii, li regni et signorie; et che spera nel Sig^re^ Iddio che, quando habbi reconciliata la chiesia con Christo, Sua Divina M^ta^ farà che li principi fatiano la pace tra loro in quel modo che la me disse l' altra audientia; che ambi, temendo che ella non se accosti all' avversario, potriano far qualche compositione a benefitio della Christianità. Et qui si dilatò nelle cose gia dete altre volte, che non voglio replicar, con questo particular cercha la riforma, che non volle con multiplicità di bolle piene di belli prohemii et con finti concilii et altre desipulle [sic] ingannar el mondo, ma far effetti; et che per ciò havea chiamata la congregatione de cardinali, auditori di Rota, avocati concistoriali, capi delle religioni et altri dottori, et impostolli che studino il caso della simonia; et che vi aggiongierà delli altri grand'homeni et boni che serà come un concilio, senza chiamarsi concilio. Et presto li convocherà a un altra volta per dar expedition al negotio, nel quale ella non si lassieria struchar [sic] capelli nel gli occhi; per che rengratiava Iddio che in questo caso de simonia havea veduto quanto si potea; la qual simonia disse che è chiamata herexia per l' effeto che fa. Et qui allegò la sententia di S. Pietro contra Simon Mago, che volsse comprar el Spirito Santo; et appresso disse molte altre cose piene di dotrina con tanto adetto che si vedea che venivano dal core . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 102^b^—103^b^. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

22. Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on January 29th, 1556.[3]

Congregatio 2^a^. Pontifex iterum declarat firmissimam eius intentionem circa Ecclesiae reformationem, proponitque modum procedendi.

[1] See *supra* p. 189, n. 2. [2] The Pope. [3] See *supra*, p. 190, n. 1.

Die mercurii xxix eiusdem mensis ianuarii . . .

Primusque omnium cardinalis Bellaius sacri collegii decanus laudavit modum propositum a Sanctitate Sua ; deinde, cum cardinalis Turnonius petiisset a Sanct^e Sua declarari de qua simonia ipsa Beatitudo Sua intelligeret, an videlicet de ea quae iure divino prohibita est, an vero quae iure positivo uti simonia etiam prohibetur, Pontifex ipse, multis verbis ac rationibus, improbavit ac detestatus est eam distinctionem, quam canonistae et alii doctores faciunt, duplicem videlicet esse simoniam, alteram iure divino prohibitam, quae prohibita est quia simonia, alteram prohibitam iure positivo, quae ideo simonia censetur, quia prohibita ut simonia ; declarans inprimis simoniacam labem non posse neque ab angelis neque ab ulla mundana potestate constitui, sed tantum ab ipso Deo : ac propterea nullam aliam esse simoniam nisi unam et eam iure divino prohibitam : id autem quod iure positive prohibetur esse quidem malum, quia prohibitum ; verum quod sit simoniacum per prohibitionem non posse fieri. Quod enim annexum est rei spirituali, id etiam sapere simoniam, et quidem iure divino prohibitam, quousque ipsi rei spirituali annexum est, etiam quod sit aliquod mere temporale, ut praedium, domus et similia, sicuti etiam declaratur in capite Si quis obiecerit, p. q. III. Si autem res ipsa temporalis a spirituali separetur (quod iure positivo fieri protest), desinet cadere sub simonia. Commonuitque iterum patres ut similes distinctiones et aniles, ut aiebat, fabulas in dicendis sententiis devitarent, idque solum dicerent quod ad rem propositam conduceret. Deinde interrogavit dominos et patres, an aliqui eorum vellent super modo procedendi iam proposito aliquid dicere, vel qui magis voluissent, cedulam in scriptis mitterent . . .

[Concilio, 79, 35—36. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

23. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Februar. 1, Rom.

Il Pontifice mercore chiamò congregatione de molti rev^mi cardinali, prelati, auditori di Rota, generali delle religioni et canonisti et volsse che fussero ancho li deputati de cadauna congregatione de offitiali, di modo che assendeno al numero quasi di 200 persone. In essa congregatione disse S. S^tà che

[1] See *supra*, p. 190, n. 1

quelli che erano stati nella precedente congregatione sapevano et li altri potevano haver intexo, la mente di Sua Beat^ne^ esser di far la riforma et di cominciar da se, perche questo era meter la secure alla radice et serar la bocha ad ognuno ; che gli havea chiamati per farli intender che volea che studiassero la cossa della simonia per poterne dar poi li loro voti, come fossero chiamati un' altra volta, che saria presto, et chel ponto stava qui, se per la collatione de benefitii et gratie ecclexiastiche si poteva pigliar danari, essendo in ciò la suprema authorità del Pontifice data da Christo a Pietro, che hanno costituito le compositioni et le anate ; et che ogni un se preparasse a dir liberamente quel che sentiva per l'honor di Dio, senza rispetto dell' interesse di Sua San^tà^ et de altri ; et che per non far confusione, ella se havea pensatto che li voti per classes fossero piu expeditte : queste classe loro chiamano li theologhi una, li canonisti unaltra, et cossi ogni professione una classe : a queste deputeria Sua S^tà^ cardinali della professione, li quali pigliariano li voti di cadauno della sua classe in scritura ; et per non moltiplicar in repliche de ragioni, da tutti tratteriano un summario et quello refeririano a Sua San^tà^, alla quale se alcuno volesse dir altro, ella l' ascolteria et dellibereria quel che fosse il bene et honor di questa Santa Sede et di tutta la christianità. Et aggionse che, se a qualche uno non piaceva questo modo, ne racordasse un migliore. Fu risposto che piaceva quanto Sua San^tà^ havea detto. Ne voglio tacere che il rev^mo^ Grimani patriarcha de Acquileggia parlò con molta satisfatione de ogni uno, laudo la bona mente di Sua Sanc^tà^, disse chel modo delli voti per classes era perfetto, et che esso nella materia proposta meteria el suo voto in scritura, secondo chel Signor Iddio gli inspirerà . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, p. 106—106^b^. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

24. Proceedings of the Papal Reform Commission on February 2nd, 1556.[1]

Congregatio generalis.—Iniungitur praelatis ut ipsi ex eis 24 eligant pro classibus super reformatione constituendis.

Die dominica 2 februarii dicti anni 1556 in festo purificationis B. Mariae, hora circiter XVI., in aula quae Pappagalli

[1] See *supra*, p. 190, n. 1.

vulgo dicitur, antequam Pontifex iret ad audienda sacra, convenere coram Sanctitate Sua omnes praelati et alii qui in superiori cedula nominantur; quibus praelatis Pontifex significavit mentem suam esse ut ipsi xxiiii ex eis eligerent ac deputarent, qui una cum aliis a Sanct^te^ Sua deputandis, per 3 classes distincti curam particularem suscepturi essent negocii reformationis. Ac propterea eo ipso mane post celebrationem missae congregarentur in eodem sacello et ipsam electionem facerent. Admonuitque eos ut, omni carnali affectu seposito solumque Deum et conscentiam prae oculis habentes, eos dumtaxat eligerent qui ad tantum onus suscipiendum idonei et digni fuissent. His dictis, itum est in sacellum Sixti, ubi candelae benedictae distributae sunt, sacraque ipsa, celebrante rev^mo^ domino cardinali Messanensi, peracta fuerunt.

[Concilio, 79, 37^b^. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Februar. 8, Rom.

. . . Desiderando Sua San^tà^ dare piu presto che si possa principio alla riforma, come havea dato deputatione de 24 cardinali per questo effetto, così ha voluto che vi siano 24 prelati et che tra loro si ellegano con voti secreti, come fecero il giorno di Nostra Donna ultimamente passato in capella dopo la messa et la cerimonia del benedir et dar le candelle, che, essendo ivi seduti al numero di 63, ellessero li 24 notati nella acclusa poliza, qual mando a V^ra^ Serenità; et la ballotatione fu con le fave bianche de si et negre de no. Erano presidenti che contorono i votti li rev^mi^ Bellai decano primo vescovo, Moron primo prete et Ferneze primo diacono. Il terzo giorno poi Sua Sanc^tà^ chiamo congregatione de tutti li rev^mi^ cardinali, con invitarlli dopoi a disnar seco, nella qual divise li 24 cardinali eleti in tre classe, a otto per una, si come V^ra^ Ser^tà^ vederrà per la acclusa poliza; et la divisione è fatta secondo l' ordine che cadauno siede. Simil divisione dicono che se farà delli 24 prelati, et si dice che il Pontifice accresserà cadauna di queste di soi [sic] altri theologhi et canonisti, et poi se li darano i dubii et cadauna classe li disputerà tra se, et quello che sarà discuso et concluzo referirano al Pontifice . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 109^b^—110. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 190, n. 1.

26. Privilege of Pope Paul IV. for the Officials of the Roman Inquisition.[1]

1556, Februar. 11, Rom.

Paulus IIII.

Privilegium apostolicum immunitatis officialium actu inservientium S^tc^ Officio a datiis et gabellis etc.

Motu proprio etc. Attendentes onera domui[2] Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis de Urbe incumbentia et ad grata, quae dilecti filii ipsius domus officiales et ministri nobis et universae reipublicae christianae quotidie impendunt, obsequia debitum respectum habentes, eosque specialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequi volentes, domum ipsam ac omnes et singulos illius ac dictae Inquisitionis actu deservientes officiales et ministros, nunc et pro tempore existentes, ab omnibus et singulis datiis, gabellis et portarum dohanis, vectigalibus, impositionibus, collectis, subsidiis, etiam caritativis, angariis et oneribus ordinariis et extraordinariis tam realibus quam personalibus etiam mixtis, ac publicis et privatis, etiam ratione vini, grani, animalium et quarumcunque aliarum rerum cuiuscunque generis et qualitatis existentium, tam per mare et aquam dulcem quam per terram undecunque ad hictam Urbem pro tempore delatarum et conductarum, quae in eadem Urbe illiusque districtu ac alias ubicunque locorum nobis et S. R. E. in spiritualibus et temporalibus subiectorum exiguntur et exigi consueverunt, et quae ex quacunque causa hactenus imposita reperiuntur, et in posterum ex quibusvis etiam quantumlibet necessariis, iustissimis et urgentissimis causis, etiam per nos et successores nostros Romanos Pontifices pro tempore existentes imponi et exigi contigerit necnon contributionibus in illis faciendis, tam pro eorum usu quam alias quomodolibet et quandocunque emendo et vendendo, necnon refectione stratarum ac viarum Urbis illiusque contributione ex certa nostra scientia penitus eximimus et totaliter liberamus, ac omnibus illis et eorum signulis liberos, immunes et exemptos facimus et constituimus ac in posterum esse et censeri debere volumus, decernimus et declaramus. Necnon datia, gabellas et alias impositiones huiusmodi per eos a die electionis nostre ad summi apostolatus apicem debita gratiose donamus et

[1] See *supra*, p. 264, n. 2. [2] Ms.: domus.

remittimus eosque ad illorum solutionem non teneri volumus. Necnon domui illiusque officialibus et ministris predictis quod omnibus et singulis privilegiis, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, libertatibus, favoribus et gratiis, quibus nostrum et eiusdem S. R. E. cardinalium palatia et domus eoromque ministri, officiales et personae, tam circa gabellas illarumque exemptionem et refectionem viarum et stratarum huiusmodi quam alias utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri et gaudere valeant in omnibus et per omnia, perinde ac si illis specialiter et expresse concessa forent, concedimus et indulgemus. Ac omnibus et singulis datiorum, gabellarum, vectigalium, subsidiorum, impositionum, collectarum et onerum huiusmodi exactoribus collectoribus ac quibusvis aliis ubilibet constitutis, necnon viarum praedictarum magistris pro tempore existentibus, cuiuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis existant et quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana auctoritate seu dignitate vel praeeminentia praefulgeant, in virtute sanctae obedientiae et sub excommunicationis latae sententiae ac mille ducatorum pro una fabricae basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe et altera medietatibus dictae domui Inquisitionis applicandorum et a contraventoribus irremissibiliter exigendorum poenis eo ipso, si contrafecerint, incurrendis, ne domum Inquisitionis illusque officiales et ministros huiusmodi ad aliquam solutionem premissorum onerum et impositionum occasione coarctare aut aliquid de eis exigere, vel super praemissis aut illorum usu seu possessione vel quasi, directe vel indirecte, quovis quaesito colore vel ingenio molestare, impedire, vexare aut inquietare quoquo modo audeant seu praesumant districtius inhibemus; non obstantibus quibusvis apostolicis constitutionibus et ordinationibus, necnon dictae Urbis statutis et reformationibus etiam iuramento etc. roboratis, privilegiis quoque, indultis et litteris apostolicis quibusvis et sub quibuscunque tenoribus et formis ac cum quibusvis clausulis et decretis concessis et confirmatis etc., quibus omnibus etiamsi de eorum etc. illorum tenores etc. pari motu derogamus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque cum clausulis opportunis.

Concessum ut petitur in praesentia Domini nostri Papae. B. Card. Tranensis. Et cum absolutione a censuris ad effectum etc., et de exemptione, libertione, constitutione, voluntate,

decreto, declaratione, concessione, indulto, remissione, donatione, inhibitone, derogatione et aliis praemissis, quae hic pro singillatim et ad partem repetitis habeantur, latissime extendendis etc. etiam in forma gratiosa et ex certa scientia, etiam si videbitur, cum opportuna deputatione executorum qui assistant etc., cum facultate citandi etiam per edictum etc. et inhibendi etiam sub censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis ac etiam pecuniariis, aggravandi etc., contradictores etc. compescendo etc. invocato etc. auxilio brachii saecularis. Et cum derogatione constitutionum de una et duabus dietis, non tamen de tribus latissime extendenda. Et quod praemissorum omnium et singulorum etiam qualibet invocatione nominum, cognominum, nuncupationum aliorumque circa praemissa quomodolibet exprimendorum maior et verior specificatio et expressio fieri possit in litteris per breve nostrum, si videbitur, expediendis, seu, si videbitur, praesentium sola signatura sufficiat et ubique fidem faciat, regula contraria non obstante. Et pro usu domus et ministrorum actu deservientium ipsi domui, occasione dictae domus dumtaxat.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum tertio idus februarii anno primo.[Copy. Cod. Barb. lat. 1502, 154—158; 1503, 68—71. Vatican Library.]

27. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Februar. 15, Rom.

. . . Entrando a dirmi che li Pontifici passatti et questi ultimi havevano cosi abbassata la grandezza di questa Santa Sede che di essi non si tenea conto alcuno, et che per la verità a farsi stimar bezogna viver di modo che non possi esser locco ad alcuna vera oppositione; et che questo non abbastava; che bizognava ancho saper delle cose assai, et non se dar in preda delli ministri et creder ad ogniuno; et finalmente esser talle che nissun prossumi o ardischi di poterci ingannar, haver animo grande, non temer sorte alcuna di pericollo, stimar la vita quanto si debe stimar et niente piu, non voller prencipi per compagni, perche sono inferiori, et con non farssi parciale con alcuno, tenendo sempre tutti in suspetto et timore.

Al che havendo detto io che tutte queste et molte altre singular qualità si ritrovavano in S. San^{tà}, risservata per la

[1] See *supra*, p. 190, n. 2.

providentia di Dio in questi così importanti tempi a grado così eccelso et honorato, fenisse dicendo : Dio voglia, magnifico ambasciator, che siamo tali quali voi, per l'amor che ci portiate, credete che siamo ; soggiongendomi : Siamo tutti hora intenti a questa riforma, perche qui sta il tutto, nè maggior accressimento alla Sede Apostolicha si può far di reputatione che per questa via ; nè ce ne impedirano li tradimenti et iniquità di questi imperiali, che scoprimo ogni giorno, alli quali rimediamo al meglio che potemo, et si sforciamo che non ne trovino imparati nè disarmati. Si ha proveduto alli lochi importanti dello stato et si va provedendo ancho a questa città : staremo a veder quel che farano et dove tenderano ; et non ci coglierano al improviso. Sono tristi, magnifico ambasciator, et per tante operationi loro fatte in Itallia sanno d' esser in odio d' ogni uno. Come sono, temono tutti, perche conoscono haver chauxa. In somma, non bisogna fidarsi. . . .
[Copy. Cod. 9445, 116—117. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

28. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1556, Mart. 14, Rom.

. . . Non volendo io restar questa settimana senza audientia del Pontifice, andai eri ad accompagnarlo in S. Pietro alla statione, come fecero molti cardinalli et ambassiatori ; et havendo speso sua Beat^ne^ molto tempo nelle sue dovotioni et poi in veder la capella che prencipio Paula III et ella fa finire, si voltò a me et con segnalato favore verso V^ra^ Serenità, abbassandosi molto perchè me ero ingenochiato, mi abbracciò et basciò et disse che volea che tornasse hoggi per poter star longamente mecho, che all' hora si atrovava stanco. Et da questo è avenuto che, essendovi andato hoggi al hora ordinaria, Sua San^tà^ fece licentiare li rev^mi^ Pixani, Armignac, Trani, Motulla et Reumano, che erano nel antecamera et fece introdur me ; et dappoi molte parolle affetuose verso V^ra^ Ser^tà^, delle qual la rengratiai come conveniva, mi disse. . . .[2]

29. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[3]

1556, Mart. 28, Rom.

. . . Giobbio fù congregatione della prîma classe sopra la riforma in casa del rev^mo^ Bellai decano. La somma fù che 17

[1] See *supra*, p. 193, n. 1.
[2] The sequel [in translation] is in Brown, VI., 1, n. 425.
[3] See *supra*, p. 194, n. 1.

dissero li loro voti sopra il ponto gia datto e che io mandai a V^ra^ Serenità ; et forono tre opinioni : una del vescovo di Feltre, che si potesse pigliar danari per uxo della potesta spirituale ; la seconda del vescovo di Sessa, che non si possino pigliar per alcun modo ; la terza del vescovo di Sinigagli, che si possino pigliar, ma a certo tempo et con certe conditioni.[1]

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 145—145^b^. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

30. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[2]

1556, April 11, Rom.

. . . Sendosi trovati uno de questi giorni al disnar del Pontifice alquanti prelati, Sua San^tà^ li fece chiamar nella su camera, dove con parlar latino puro, ornato et copioso, secondo il solito, li represe che non andavano alli suoi vescovatti, che lassavano la loro sposa vidua et il grege comessolli senza il lor pastore, et che al mancho[3] fino che si facea la riforma, la qualle con maggior forza li commeteria che andassero alla loro residentia, non consumassero el tempo in visite, in bancheti et forsi in giochi, ma studiassero per saper poi ben governar le loro peccorelle ; perchè era una grandissima vergogna che nelle capelle ove sedenno tanti vescovi se levassero frati, et ancho laici, ad insegnarlli ; che per il più questi fanno li sermoni che doveriano far essi. Il qual parlar di Sua San^tà^ è stato quasi una capara a questi di quel che disegna di far. . . .

[Copy. Cod. 9445, 150^b^. Library of St. Mark, Venice.]

31. Michele Ghislieri to the Inquisitor Girolamo da Genova.[4]

1556, Juni 20, Rom.

. . . Quanto al Bogiano vedete d' intendere da quanto tempo in qua ha parlato con fra Paterniano da Pesaro, et se potessivo havere notitia ove se ritrovi et così frate Andrea da Scansano quantunque sfratato, et intendiate si loro erano di l' istesse opinione heretiche.

Quanto dil mandarlo in galea i r^mi^ et ill^mi^ miei patroni, anzi Sua S^tà^, fuggeno più che possono di mandare alcuno in galea, ne li mandano, salvo quelli delli quali non si possino sigurare de fura ; ben li fanno portar l' habbitello giallo con la croce roscia

[1] The sequel in Ancel, 16.
[2] See *supra*, p. 235, n. 2.
[3] Ms : mondo.
[4] See *supra*, p. 270, n. 3.

per qualche anni, gli privano di ascoltare confessione, di potere leggere ne predicare, li assegnano un convento per pregione, dandoli degiunii et orationi per penitentia, imponendoli che si confessino almen una volta la settimana, ma ne la galea li pare penitentia da disperati o da dimonii et di poco frutto ; però gli mandano questi marrani, perche da molti di loro et quasi da tutti siamo aggabbati ; gli mandano ancora certi disgratiati, vacabundi, furfanti de i quali mal possiamo fidarsi. Però considerate le qualitate, l' età del detto Bogiano et considerate quanto di lui si può sperare et fate quel che Dio vi spira ; et se lui è secramentario, privatelo perpetuamente de la messa, concedendoli che si possi communicare come i laici una volta il mese. . . .

Di V. R^da^ P^tà^

fra Michele Alesandrino

[Address] Al r^do^ padre fra Gironimo da Genova inquisitore del' heretica pravità padre osserv^mo^ . Genova.

[Orig. Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa.]

32. Michele Ghislieri to the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Genoa.[1]

1556, August 29, Rom.

Rev^mo^ mgr mio osservandissimo.

Hò ricevuto quelle di V. R^ma^ S^tà^ delli xix del presente, nelle quali mi chiarisce della calunnia data al rev^do^ padre Inquisitore, che habbi cercato di ritirare V, R^ma^ S. dal esamine nella causa di maestro Alesandro. Però a chi vole servire a Christo convien sopportare tale et maggior' ingiurie con pacientia et considerare che quelli che altri calumniano piu si offendono loro medesimi che quelli che son calumniati. Però dovemo pregare il Sig^r^ Iddio che gli levi la cecità del core e gli doni lume. Et a V. R^ma^ S. humilmente basciando le mani mi raccomando.

Di Roma il dì 29 di agosto del Lvj

Di V. R^ma^ S^ia^

minimo servitore

fra Michele Alisandrino.

[Address] Al rev^mo^ mons^r^ vescovo di Cavoli vicario archiepiscopale di Genova sig^r^ mio osserv^mo^ Genoa.

[Orig. Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 271, n. 1.

33. Michele Ghislieri to the Inquisitor Girolamo da Genova.[1]

1556 September 3, Rom.

Rev^do padre

Oltra la resposta comune ad rev^mo mos^r vicario et a V. R., gli dico che chi vol servire a Dio in questo santo offitio non conviene temere minaccie ma haver sol' Iddio, la verità et le giustitia davanti agl' occhi, et intervenga quel che si vole ; benche quelli medemi che minacciano vedendo la constantia del' animo ne rimangano edificati, si non sonno piu che maligni.

Da Roma ali 3 de settembre del 56.

Di V. R^da P^à

fra Michel Alisandrino.

[Address] Al R^do P. fra Girolamo da Genova inquisitore contro la heretica pravità padre oss^do

Genoa.

[Orig. Cod. E. VII., 15 of the University Library, Genoa.]

34. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole.[2]

1556, November 28, Rom.

. . . Dico adunque intorno a questo trattato della pace brevemente : Se al ser^mo rè d'Inghilterra mette conto haver la pace con N. S^re et con la Sede Apostolica (come per ogni ragione della salute dell' anime, dell' honore et dell' utile proprio deve metter conto), bisogna che S. M^tà, come principe veramente catholico et come buon figliuolo di Dio et della Chiesa et di questa Sta Sede, senza star su li pontigli dell' honore et sopra la giustificatione delle cose passate, s' indolcisca et intenerisca verso S. S^tà come verso il padre proprio, anzi più, essendo la paternità spirituale più veneranda che la carnale, et a questo bisogna che S. M^tà indirizzi tuti i pensieri suoi, per satisfare alla grave offesa ricevuta qui da questo rompimento. Tengo per fermo che S. S^tà si mitigarà alquanto et ripigliarà l' animo paterno verso S. M^tà, procedendosi con questi modi, altrimenti se S. S^tà resta con scrupulo che vi vada un minimo ponto dell' honor suo, il quale essa per il luoco che tiene stima esser honor di Dio, mai s' acquetarà la christianità et più presto S. S^tà patirà il martirio che lasciarsi condurre alla pace senza l' honor

[1] See *supra*, p. 271, n. 1. [2] See *supra*, pp. 69, n. 1 ; 151, n. 1.

suo, inteso nel modo che S. Stà intende; il qual modo S. Stà fonda nella pietà verso Dio et nella conservatione dell' officio suo in terra et nella salute di tutto 'l popolo christiano, tenendo per fermo che mai si potrà far cosa buona in tanti bisogni et perturbationi della christianità, o per estirpare le heresie o per pacificare la christianità, o per riformare la Chiesa et li costumi, o per resister al Turco, o per fare qual altra cosa buona si voglia, se l' honore del Vicario di Christo et di questa Stà Sede non sta sopra il capo di tutti li christiani, et massime delli gran principi, come è quel sermo rè; et sia certa V. S. Illma, se non si attende a questo scopo, che tutte le fatiche di pacificare S. Stà saranno vane, et benche il rè di Francia mancasse di aiutare, come ha promesso, et che S. Stà abandonata da tutto 'l mondo fosse ridotta allo estremo, nondimeno sarà inespugnabile per altra via, et non obstante che l' illmo cardinal Caraffa doppo Dio sia l' unico mezzo a piegare S. Stà, credo però che in questo Sua Sigia Illma non potrà rimuovere S. Stà dal detto fine, tanto maggiormente parendo secondo il mondo che noi siamo restati nella guerra inferiori con perdita et devastatione di tante città, luoghi et paesi.

Supplico adunque V. S. Rma voglia, non solo per se, ma per tutti li altri mezzi che crederà esser idonei, voglia forzarsi di persuadere S. Mtà a questa piena satisfattione verso S. Stà et di parole et d' effetti. . . .

[Orig. Arm. 64, t. 32, fol. 215—218b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

35. Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole.[1]

1556, December 12, Rom.

N. Sre ha havuto a caro li boni uffici fatti per V. S. Rma et Illma col sermo rè d' Ispagna, et ha veduto la copia delle lettere che S. Mtà ha scritto a quella. Ma S. Stà guarda piu alli fatti che alle parole et sta sempre con suspetto che non si vadi fittamente et a camino di usurpare il resto della Sede Apostolica, facendo il fondamento suo sopra l' insulto fatto a questo stato et l' occupatione de tanti luoghi et città d' importanza: et suspica tanto peggio quanto ogni cosa si fa col pretesto della securità del regno de Napoli; et S. Stà non puo patire ch' alcuni cuculati, come dice, habbino consigliato ch' il rè lo possi

[1] See *supra*, pp. 69, n. 1; 151, n. 1.

fare giustamente per sicurezza sua; et sempre sta sul suo honore et dignità diquesta $S^{tà}$ Sede; il qual, come gia scrisse, S. $S^{tà}$ reputa honore di Dio.

Partì alli giorni passati da qui il sig^{re} don Francesco Pacecco, mandato dal sig^{r} duca d' Alba per l' accordio, et venedo a visitarmi et dimandarmi parere, li disse queste propositione per verissime.

Primo, che, se S. $S^{tà}$ fosse stata in pregione et col pugnale alla gola, che mai haveria consentito alla restitutione di casa Colonna in Palliano, parendo a S. $S^{tà}$ esser troppo indegno che con li esserciti più potenti si voglia impedire l' amministratione di qual principe si voglia in casa sua, et tanto più d'un Pontifice, et da un rè di Napoli ch' è feudatario della Chiesia; et giudicando S. $S^{tà}$ che questa casa Colonna sia stata sempre nimica de Pontefici.

Dappoi, che S. $S^{tà}$ si reputa gravemente ingiuriato nel' honor et nel stato, havendo li ministri di S. $M^{tà}$ dannificato cosi in grosso in varii modi questo stato, et però bisognava pigliare qualche via di iscusatione et di humiliatione et reconoscimento, come sarebbe di scrivere a S. $S^{tà}$ humilmente dimandandoli perdono, che come mal informato havea lasciato muover le armi, etc., et mandando qualche personaggio a posta.

Il terzo, che dovesse fare restituire li luochi occupati; et per che tra principi non si usa altra securità che la fede, si dovesse contentare di quella ch' è comune tra li altri principi; et che promettendoli il rev^{mo} Caraffa, credeva che si potesse credere alla fede et promissione sua, essendo signore ben nato et facendo professione non solo di cardinale, ma di cavalero honorato.

Ultimamente li disse che, non accordandosi le cose al mio giuditio per queste vie, teneva per fermo che S. $S^{tà}$ escomunicarebbe il rè et lo privarebbe di tutti li regni et harebbe fatto ogni conato in tutte le vie contra S. $M^{tà}$ et li suoi regni. Et con questo esseo signore si partì, parendoli che dicesse il vero.

Ho voluto replicar il medesimo a V. S. Illma, per che la cosa sta così in effetto, et se ben io sono poco aveduto, nondimeno stimo che, caminandosi per altra via, bisogni espettar la ruina del mondo, perche S. $S^{tà}$ mi pare resolutissima. Et se a V. S. R^{ma} parerà bene indrizzare le cose a questo scopo, io ne la prego, perchè altrimenti mi metto avanti li occhi ogni estremità; et se ben per altra via il rè di Spagna vincesse in questo mondo, S. $S^{tà}$ pero non cederà mai nelle cose spirituali, et in tal caso non

cura nè di separatione di Spagna, nè de recidiva de Inghelterra, nè di perdita d' ogni ubedientia ; perchè ha questo fondamento che non tenetur praestare culpam alienam, et che qui non erant ex nobis exierunt etc. Ma di tutti questi offici S. S^{tà} non ha mai voluto che a nome suo se parli, et però ha tenuto che non si sia venuto a particulari con lei ; ma forsi hora il rev^{mo} Caraffa li scriverà qualche cosa come da se, se ben non lo so certo. Ma l' ho raccordato, et S. S^{tà} sta su queste ch' ogniuno doveria fare il debito suo et che la recognitione di quella M^{tà} sia tanto necessaria che non habbi bisogno di raccordo.

Mons. Fantuccio andò heri alla M^{tà} Sua a nome solo del rev^{mo} Caraffa. E persona assai destra et forsi potrà fare qualche bene, quantunque io non ne speri molto, vedendo li apparati che vengono di Franza in soccorso di N. S^{re} et considerando li peccati nostri, per li quali si può temere che Dio non habbia ancora posta la mano in seno, ma stia levata col flagello suo. Qui si fano orationi continue, et è andato il giubileo per tutto per la pace : sopra la qual considerando alcuna volta mi pare vedere gran difficultà, perche N. S. stima non havere mai fatto una minima ingiuria a quella M^{tà}, per la qual meritasse esser trattata com' è stata, nelli machinamenti primi di veneni, di archibusi, di tratti etc. et poi in questa aggressione della Chiesia. Dall' altra parte il rè pensa havere havuto molte ragione da le minaccie et parole ingiuriose, da motivi d' armi, da disfavori alli suoi, da essaltatione di suoi nemici et d' un mal animo antico et fondata da molti anni. Et volendo N. S. la debita sodisfattione, et mesurandola secondo il giuditio suo, et parendo al rè di non esser tenuto, anzi di havere recevuto molti aggravi, pare difficile che 'l rè si disinganni et voglia sodisfar come S. S^{tà} disegna. Ma non si può negare che questo ultimo insulto fù troppo grave et merita satisfattione, et non si può negare che le suspitioni sono state maggiori dal canto del rè che non si conveniva per fare così gran fatto, et non si può negare, come si è veduto, che dalle parole et forze di S. S^{tà} non si dovea temere tanto che si venesse a tal rottura per assecurarsi. Et oltre di ciò non si può negare che ogni patientia del rè verso S. S^{tà} saria stata laudabile, come d' un figlio verso il padre. Però chi vuole concordia bisogna persuadere S. M^{tà} a risolversi di contentare S. S^{tà} nelle cose sopradette, altrimenti ne seguirà la ruina della christianità, et sarà fatto al fine la voluntà di Dio. . . .

[Orig. (autograph). Arm. 64, t. 32, f. 219—220. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

36. Bernardo Navagero to Venice.[1]

1557, Mart. 12, Rom.

Interview with Paul IV :

Mi disse che io dovea haver inteso che tutti credevono che mercore passato si facesse promotione de cardinali, ma che l' havea voluto differir perchè non vedèa come potesse satisfar a tutti e più a se stesso sendo questa dignità che bisogna pregar l' huomini et andarli trovando con la candeletta, per dir la sua parola, et non esser pregato. . . .

[Cod. 6255, 317. Court Library, Vienna.]

37. General Congregation of June 1st, 1557.[2]

Romae die martis 1 mensis iunii 1557 fuit congregatio generalis, in qua S. D. N. fecit multa verba super causa retentionis rev. et ill. cardinalis Moroni et dixit quod volebat facere deputatos super huiusmodi causa et quod volebat aeque et paterne procedere et similiter dixit quod volebat vocare omnes cardinales ad curiam propter multas causas.

[Acta consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

38. Avviso di Roma. 1557, July 24th.[3]

Sunday, congregation of the Inquisition about simony and pensioni con clausule insolite of 4 hours, „et sempre parlo S. Stà, che altri non disse parola, disse anco di voler annulla[r] tutti gli uffitii soggiungendo che se bene si farà danno a 5 o 6 mila persone che hanno comprato gli uffitii che manco mal sarà far così, et da[r]li beneficii et l' ispeditioni gratis, levando tutti gli abusi che sono nella Cancellaria et Penitentiaria, che tener infettato il mondo, non havendo altro i Luthni di che rimproverar la sede apostolica se non de tale uffitii, et che si fanno morir in un fatto d' arme 15 et 20 m. huomini, che non se ne fa conto alcuno, che non sarà gran fatto per acconciar il mondo quelli patiscono un poco."

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 249b. Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 200 n. 2, [2] See *supra*, p. 291, n. 2. [3] See *supra*, p. 203, n. 4.

39. Avviso di Roma. 1557, August 21st.[1]

. . . Giovedì fu posto prigione il segretario del cardinale di Fano in quella della inquisitione, chi dice per heresia, chi per sodomia, et fu messo ancora quel m. Pasino di Giusti Shiavone che sta col car^le^ Farnese pur per sodomia, et vi fu posto ancora il suo Ganimede, et si è messo ancora prigione per la inquisitione il seg^rio^ de Bellai. Al car^le^ Morone fu levato la messa, et non se ne ragiona più come sel fusse deletus de libro viventium. Molti stanno in dubio se la partita de S. Giorgio è per il desiderio delli studii che lo muova a venir costì o se l' è per il timore che forse ha per la carceratione delli sudetti. . . .

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 257^b^—258. Vatican Library.]

40. Avviso di Roma. 1557, September 4th.[2]

. . . Fra Michiele card^le^ parlando col Papa sopra le cose della pace, gli disse che non occorreva Giubileo per pregar per la pace, stando in sua mano il farla, dove S. St^à^ gli rispose bruscamente scazziandoselo dinanzi con parole molto brutte, dicendogli, rate sfratato Lutherano. Un piovan dopo l' haver publicato in chiesa il giubileo disse al popolo haverlo fatto per comandamento di S. St^à^, ma che li assicurava che della pace non ne faria niente, et subito fu preso et posto pregione.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 261^b^. Vatican Library.]

41. Avviso di Roma. 1557, October 16th.[3]

N. S^or^ persiste in fermo proposito, di publicare la reforma, et però va di man in mano mozzando le gambe alla Penitentiaria, havendoli sin hora levato, che non si concedano più si in evidentem delli beni ecc^ci^ le dispense matrimoniale, le comutationi de voti et delli frati, che più in modo alcuno ne sotto color niuno non sono dispensati à uscir di monast^i^, per il che gli ufficii di quella gia ne sentono notabil danno ogni mese.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 274. Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 266, n. 3; 299, n. 4 [2] See *supra*, p. 166, n. 3.
[3] See *supra*, p. 207, n. 1.

42. Avviso di Roma. 1557, November 13th.[1]

The Pope . . . havea fatta una bolla, nella quale sotto scomuniche, maleditioni et altre pene prohibiva che all' avenir non si dessero più beneficii se non a persone litterate, che non si potesse assicurar pensioni sopra beneficii d' un terzo, che niuno potesse impetrar beneficii per altri, et molti altri aggiramenti de capi et confusioni della corte, et l' havea sin data in mano de cursori che la publicassero, poi l' a fatto ripigliar et non ha lasciato che si publicasse, et non vuol admetter la resignatione del arcivescovato di Cipro nell' abbate di S. Cipriano.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 277. Vatican Library.]

43–45.—Cardinal Vitelli to Cardinal C. Carafa.[2]

1557, December 1, 3, 17 and 24, Rom.

1) Pope very well. Ha facto et tuttavia fa bellissimi decreti sopra la riforma et mai pensa in altro che in questo. Decree that the proposals for the bishoprics are not to be settled in the same Consistory. Decree against the 'regressi.'

The Pope sempre che si parla di V. S. I. suspira et la desidera senza fine.

La signatura va tanto stretta che V. S. I. non s' il puo pensare e la fa spesso perchè in quella consiste gran parte di riforma.

Dat. Roma, 1 dicembre, 1557.

2) N. S^re^ hoggi ha fatto un decreto che nissuno cardinale o altri possa havere regresso se non a una chiesa havendo estinti tutti li regressi che s' havevono ad altre chiese, de la qual cosa alcuni se ne sono rallegrati et ad alcuni è molto dispiaciuto. Ha fatto ancora un altro decreto che non si possa in un med° consistoro proporre un rettore d' una chiesa et farne l' espeditione, ma che in un concistorio si proponga et nell' altro s' espedisca afinchè li cardinali habbino tanto più tempo di risolversi et d' informarsi delle qualità di quel che è proposto et dir poi quant' l' occorre, et hoggi ha dato principio a questa determinatione.

Di Roma, 3 dicembre, 1557.

3) The Pope is very well and is longing to see you. Non

[1] See *supra*, p. 207, n. 3. [2] See *supra*, pp. 208, n. 2; 209, n. 5; 2 , n.

attende ad altro che a la riforma, daily congregations et decreti sancti. All regressi of chiese cathedrali et archiepiscopali to give way. The Pope speaks kindly of Philip II.

Dat. Roma, 17 dicembre 1557.

Orig. Cod. Barb. lat. 5711, 48, 196; 51, 53. Vatican Library.]

46–47. Concerning the Proceedings of the Roman Inquisition against Cardinal Morone.

While important information, taken from documents in the Gallarati-Scotti Archives, Milan, relating to the proceedings of the Inquisition against Morone has been published by Cantù and recently by Tacchi Venturi, other documents concerning this matter have been until now disregarded.[1] I found these in the autumn of 1906, during a short visit to Foligno, in the library of the seminary there, and was able to make full use of them later, through the kindness of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani. The MS. which contains them is coted: C. VI. 5. It is a contemporaneous volume, in 4to, bound in paper, of 152 numbered (not consecutive) pages. The heading of the 1st p.: "Processo fatto del 1557 contro il cardinale Morone, trovato poi innocente et assoluto, di Ludovico Jacobilli di Foligno," shows that it is the diligent collector mentioned here who has saved these documents for posterity.[2] The heading also indicates the principal contents, which are very clearly proved by the following description, to be a collection of documents of which use was made for the acquittal of the Cardinal.

1 Title

2—5 Blank.

6—9 Aedicta sive constitutiones rev. et ill. d. d. Ioannis tit. s. Stephani in Caelio monte S. R. E. praesbiteri cardinalis Moroni nuncupati et episcopi Novariensis perpetui administratoris et comitis. Novariae A. 1553 die XXV m. Ianuarii. (The 3 first pages, Reform statutes.) The following passage is crossed out with ink: "Item statuimus quod nullus sacerdos vel clericus teneat libros pro-

[1] See *supra*, p. 293, n. 1. Further information is to be expected from R. Ancel.

[2] Jacobilli, who was an eager collector of manuscripts, probably received this from his fellow-citizen, Sebastiano Porfiri, vicar-general of the Bishop of Novaro; see Faloci Pulignani, Notizie del ven. Giov. Batt. Vitelli, Foligno, 1891, 43.

hibitos etc." ; also the passage: "statuimus et ordinavimus, ut unusquisque curatus habeat librum qui vocatur manipulus curatorum etc."

10—26. "Scriptum R^mi^." This is the 'Confession' of the Cardinal published by Cantù ; *cf. supra*, p. 293. Numerous underlinings and marginal notes show that we have here an original copy, which plays a rôle in the acquittal.

The most important marginal notes, from Morone himself, are the following :

At the passage relating to the passing on to others of Pole's writing (Cantù 178, Z. 4 v. u.) : "Qui feci male che non dovea darla non havendola letta prima."

Ordering the writing Del beneficio di Cristo (*loc. cit.* 180, Z. 15/16 v. o.) : "Questo fu male fatto."

Defence of the permission to circulate this writing (*loc. cit.* 180, Z. 25/26 v. o.) : "Dovea esser più cauto essendo il libro senza nome."

Expression (oral) of Paul III. (182, Z. 7 f v. o.) : "Dovea farla in scritto."

Conference with Salmeron (182, Z. 26 f v. o.) : "Questo fu mal fatto."

Morone's declaration that he had no confidence in his works (183, Z. 13 f v. o.) : "Li tempi non comportano che s'avviliscano le opere et meriti perchè si fa poco bene per il mondo."

His intercourse with suspects (185, par. "Un altra volta costui venne da me etc."). Added on the margin : "Con costui me portai male perchè dovea farlo metter in prigione."

Doubts as to Roman Relics (186, Z. 20 f v. o.) : "Non dovea dubitar ne parlarne."

Against the "varietà de ordini" (186, Z. 10 f v. u.) : "Non dovea parlarne in publico."

Expressions "de intercessione sanctorum" (186, Z. 6 f v. u.) : "Questo era voler saper troppo et gran temerità." (187, Z. 4 f. v. o.) : "Questo era ignorantia et incapacità." Some lines further on : "Non lassai mai la salutatione angelica."

Utterance concerning words of the prayer "vita, dulcedo et spes nostra" (187, Z. 18 f v. o.) : "Questa fu presumptione et temerità."

Expression "de conceptione virginis" (188, Z. 1): "Non dovea parlarne."

"Posso aver detto" etc. (188, Z. 9 f v. o.): "In questo son stato troppo inconsiderato et ignorante et libero."

Conversation concerning Justification (188, 3rd par.): "In questo son stato più volte ingannato benchè dovea guardarmi meglio."

Attitude towards Villamarina (188, 4th par.): "Non dovea haver tanto rispetto."

Attitude towards D. Morando (188, 5th par.): "Se in questo son ingannato non so che me dire."

After the signature there follows a P.S. to the following effect: Doppo ch' io ho scritto quel che si contien di sopra havendo riletto et ben considerato ho advertito, che quasi tutte le cose, nelle quali io posso per errore o ignorantia o per trascuragine et inadvertentia haver dato qualche suspition di me o scandalo, se non mi inganno sono state da X anni indietro o poco meno. Mi è parso con ogni summission far di cio qui memoria perchè havendo per Dio gratia doppo vissuto tanti anni senza queste occasioni, se bene come homo fragile in molte et molte cose ho offeso Dio, nondimeno potria parere meglio alla clementia di N. S^re^ giustitiarmi intorno a queste cose secondo la presente giustitia che secondo le sospettione delli passati tempi. Pur la Divina M^tà^ Sua si degni governare S. S^tà^ et me secondo il meglio et conservarmi nella sua bona gratia.

Last of all comes on p. 26 the covering letter which Morone sent with his defence to the four Cardinals.

27—35. Defence of Morone against the accusations of the Inquisition. The accused repudiates these in general as unfounded, and swears to his orthodoxy, referring to what he has already declared to the four Cardinals.

In primis petit sibi dari copiam omnium inditiorum hactenus contra eum habitorum ac concedi tempus conveniens plurium dierum, cum tres dies sint terminus nimis brevis, et quod restituantur seu ostendantur sibi suae scripturae quae sunt in manibus fisci, ut possit illis visis reducere sibi ad mentem materias super quibus componenda sunt interrogatoria, cum agatur de rebus antiquis quindecim annorum et ultra ita quod facile est quod

exciderint ab eius memoria. Et insuper etiam petit nomina et cognomina eorum qui eum in talibus articulis accusant seu contra eum instigant et eorum qui pro testibus adducuntur sibi propalari ut iuxta eorum qualitates et circumstantias possit certius facere sua interrogatoria ad ostendendum innocentiam suam. . . . Et insuper quia non habens nomina testium examinandorum non potest certe et precise loqui, sed cogitur sub nube et per incerta incedere, nolens sibi ipsi in faciendis legitimis a iure permissis defensionibus deesse, si forte contingeret adduci contra se in testes d. Iacobum Iacomellum episc. Bellicastren. et d. Constantinum cognominatum Greghettum, episc. Chironen. et fratrem Barthol. Pergolam ord. s. Francisci et fratrem Bernardum de Parma ord. s. Dominici et Laurentium Davidicum et Bonifacium Valentinum, quia omnes praedicti iam dudum fuerunt et sunt ipsius rev. d. cardinalis infensi et inimici et aliqui ex eis alias fuerunt dicti rev. d. cardinalis accusatores et partim sunt infames et personae neque in hac neque in ulla alia causa fidedignae, prout (si opus esset) facile probari posset et probari si opus sit offertur et pro maiori parte est notorium, idcirco idem rev. d. cardinalis, quod praenominati aut aliqui ex eis pro testibus contra se in hac causa non recipiantur neque examinentur, si secus fiat similiter de nullitate et de gravamine cum omni reverentia convenienti solemniter et expresse omni meliori modo etc. protestatur.

Then follow pars. 38, 39, which are to be laid before all the witnesses, and which are also to be found in the copy of proceedings in Milan, Oct. 7th, 1557. (see Tacchi Venturi, I., 538, n. 3).

36—37. The articles of accusation against Morone (see *supra*, p. 294, n. 1) with marginal notes in two hands (one that of Morone), which contain references to the matter of the discharge which now follows.

37—46. Copia articulorum propositorum de a. 1542 per rev. et ill. card. Moronum, tunc episc. etc.

47—49. Aviso di quanto si ha da osservare dalli predicatori

nella città et diocesi di Modena per ordine del rev. et ill. card. Morone 1551.[1]

50—52. Analogous regulations of Morone for preachers in the city and diocese of Novara, which Morone has issued through a letter dated, Rome, January 22nd, 1554.

53—54. Blank.

55—79. Letters chronologically arranged, mostly from Morone, also others to him, for instance, from Contarini relating principally to Lutherans in Modena 1539—1545, among them several inedited; *cf. supra*, p. 296.

80—81. Pro ill. et rev. dom. card. Morone. Then follows the document in question with the heading "Instructio ad articulos fisci," reaching to 84. The most important points from this defence of Morone's against the accusations have been brought forward above (p. 296). The most interesting passages are the following:

De meritis operum idem semper tenuit, tenet et tenebit quod S. R. Ecclesia docet et praedicat, quod scilicet opera nostra facta in gratia Dei sunt meritoria vitae aeternae, quod tamen meritum principaliter credit fundari in sanguine Christi, et ita de eius mandato fuit praedicatum Matinae ut patet in litteris p^ti^ vicarii sub die 1 martii 1543 et hoc ipsum expresse asserit rev. dominus in litteris suis ad vic. praedict. dat. Bononiae die 25 maii 1554 et patet in modo praedicandi Novariae n. 8[2]; eum ita sentire arguunt elemosinae et opera bona quae quotidie facit et fecit.

De bello iusto maxime contra hereticos ipse nunquam dixit nec dubitavit quin id liceret et deberet, ut probatur evidenter in litteris eius ad rev. card. Farnesium Viennae datis sub die 17 Novembris 1539 et die ult. eiusdem[3] et in voto inserto ibidem.[4] Item in s. consistorio suasit Paulo III bo. me. ut belli foedus iniret cum principibus catholicis contra protestantes, de quo extant etiam plures aliae litterae.

Against the accusation relating to the book 'Del beneficio di Christo' the following was urged:

Liber iste eo tempore passim et publice erat venalis Romae et ubique locorum et fuit sibi comendatus a

[1] This and the following passage I shall publish elsewhere.
[2] The said passages are in the MS., p. 70 *seq.*
[3] V. DITTRICH, Nuntiaturberichte Morones, 49 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*
[4] *Cf.* MS., p. 59 *seq.*

theologis et inquisitoribus, quibus eum legendum dederat; postquam intellexit eum reprobatum esse ab officio s. Inquisitionis ipse etiam ex tunc eum reprobavit et reprobandum censet. De favore praestito hereticis non potest rev. dominus reprehendi, cum immo semper faverit officio s. Inquisitionis ubique locorum et praecipue Mutinae, Bononiae, Novariae, et extant plures litterae rev. dom. Inquisitorum de Urbe et aliorum, qui usi sunt opera ipsius in negocio inquisitionis, et apud eorum officium procuravit hereticos plures castigari prout censet esse castigandos et puniendos, et praecipue Bononiae punivit quendam fabrum lignarium hereticum et alium inquisitum de heresi exclusit ab officio Antianorum et heretici Mutinenses habebant eum pro persecutore et inimico ipsorum. De pollicitatione illa[1] non est curandum, quia non erat obligatoria, sed forte fuerunt verba generalia et curialia.

86—103. Retrattione del Pergola fatta in Modena sopra il pulpito a dì 15 di Giugno 1544 in due prediche—was unknown up till then.[2]

104—114. Opinion of M. Antonius Burghesius[3] concerning the trial of Morone. Even the beginning is of great importance for the previous history of the legal proceedings: Et presuppono quod fel. rec. Paulus IV primis diebus suae assumptionis ad pontificatum deputavit commissarios ad diversas Italiae civitates ad querendas informationes et testes contra ill. et rev. card. Moronum et sic pro speciali inquisitione facienda, antequam precederet diffamatio nec aliqua inditia, quo casu inquisitio formari non potest et formata corruit et ex probationibus sic receptis procedi non potest. These were becoming more explicit . Borghese emphasizes: Sed nec infamia nec inditia aut suspitiones ex probatis signis precesserunt inquisitionem, merito minus valide processus inchoatus fuit presertim contra cardinalem, contra quem ut supra dictum est versatur tam grave periculum et in specie contra personam ill. cardinalis ab ineunte aetate apud omnes et religione, moribus et exemplo approbatissimam

[1] The accusation had made good, quod hereticis seu de heresi suspectis favit et precipue Bononiae, quibus pollicitus est, quod si mitteretur ex urbe aliqua provisio contra eos quod caperentur, quod illos premoneret asserendo illos hereticos non esse persequendos ex quo Deus ipse tolerat eos.

[2] *Cf.* concerning Pergola besides BUSCHBELL, 208, 315 CARCERERI, Riforma e inquisizione nel ducato di Urbino (Verona 1911), 13 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* concerning this celebrated lawyer MORONI, VI., 37 *seq.* and *supra*, p. 305.

et in legationibus pro religione et aliis negotiis huius s. sedis cathòlice et sine aliqua suspitione versatum que bona apud homines existimatio tollere debuisset omnem suspitionem delicti. . . . Nec obstant duo testes qui reperiuntur in principio processus, these are badly disposed towards the Cardinal and therefore not worthy of belief; one has even been convicted of lying.

Ex quibus sequitur minus legitime inchoatum fuisse iudicium et longe minus processum fuisse ad capturam ad quam contra cardinalem non facile proceditur et deberent inditia urgenitiora concurrere quam in aliis requiratur propter eminentiam et dignitatem et alias rationes de quibus supra. Et quamvis stantibus premissis, que reddunt processum nullum et invalidum, non esset ulterius elaborandum, tamen ut innocentia prefati rev^mi eo clarius in lucum prodeat dicam que sequuntur.

Borghese throws doubts on the credibility of the nine witnesses against Morone.

As such the following were presented: 1. Quidam frater Bernardus ord. s. Dominici; 2. Frater Bartholomaeus Pergula ord. s. Francisci; 3. Quidam Io. Bapt. Scottus[1] qui omnes fatentur se hereticos et abiurasse et sic habemus tres infames hereticos quibus nulla est fides adhibenda, testes enim in criminalibus debent esse omni exceptione maiores. . . . Accedit quod prefati fr. Bernardus et fr. Bartholomaeus sunt eiusdem rev. card^lis inimici . . . et constat quod fr. Bartholomaeus fuit instante rev. cardinali coactus retractare certos articulos de heresi suspectos in ecclesia Mutinensi. . . . Nec omittendum est quod fr. Bernardus id quod deposuit retractavit coram inquisitore et confessus fuit quod ea quae in primo examine contra rev. cardinalem [dixit], non erant vera. Then Borghese brings against A. Salmeron as a witness the accusation that he was an enemy of Morone. Augetur falsitas et inverisimilitudo causae quia ipsemet attestatur quod de premissis certiorem reddidit patrem Ignatium suum maiorem et tamen fatetur quod Ignatius et alii sodales assidue habuerunt conversationem cum rev. d. cardinali et singulis annis a sua rev. dominatione habuerunt pro eleemosyna scuta 50, quod non est

[1] *Cf.* BUSCHBELL, 196 *seq.*

credendum et conversasse et recepisse, si cognovissent dom. suam rev^am^ diviare ab ecclesia sancta Dei. . . . Quintus testis est bibliopola Mutinensis, qui est hereticus. . . Sextus testis est Scottus Bononiensis, qui pariter est hereticus et aliis sceleribus implicitus. . . . Septimus testis est falsus apertissime qui allegat contestem qui contrarium deponit et attestatur in favorem rev. cardinalis asserens quod nihil hereticum cum eo fuit loquutus. . . . Octavus testis est fr. Reginaldus[1] qui deponit in favorem rev^mi^ cardinalis et cum inductus sit a fisco eius dicta sunt admodum attendenda. The ninth witness, the episcopus Bellicastren. [Jac. Giacomelli], is suspicious eo quia cardinalis dum preesset gymnasio curavit eidem testi annuam pensionem minui, he is also causa odii at present, et ubi est causa odii et inimicitiae sufficit ad repellendum testem. . . . Sed etiam repellendus est quia est sibi contrarius quia in primo suo examine profitetur cardinalem hereticum in articulo de libero arbitrio et tamen in alio examine dixit nescire an id profiteretur disputative vel ne et sic non concludit ad heresim quae requirit pertinaciam. Et eo minus fides huic testi adhibenda est quo ipse allegat contestem episcopum civitatis Castellanae [Scipio Bongalli] qui contrarium affirmat, ut merito excludatur omnis eius fides, et etiam dictum suum revocavit.

116—117. The opinion of Ant. Massa as to the admission of Morone to the conclave.

118. Brevis informatio processus (crossed out).

119—135. Brevis informatio status causae et processus per offitium s. inquisitionis contra rev. d. Card. Moronum agitati. Apparet ex ipso processu f. 31 quod papa Paulus IV statim factus papa sub die 26 iunii 1555 expedivit breve commissariatus, cuius vigore commissarius deputatus circuivit diversas Italiae civitates querendo testes pro informatione processus faciendi, et sic sumus in claro quod non precedebat aliqua infamatio neque erant aliqua inditia precedentia inquisitionem prout de iure precedere debent ut processus valeat atque hinc sequitur quod totus processus nihil valet nullaque est consideratione dignus, nec quicquam faciunt duo testes informativi positi ante

[1] See BUSCHBELL, 99.

dictum fol. 31, quorum unus est Bonifatius Valentinus Mutin., alter Laurentius Davidicus, quia non habent prenotatum diem quo fuerunt examinati et sumus certi quod fuerunt examinati dudum post dictum diem 26 iunii 1555 et eorum dicta fortasse per errorem notarii fuerunt posita in principio processus et omnino nihil probant, nam ultra quod ambo sunt capitales inimici p^{ti} rev^{mi} d. cardinalis prout fuit pro eius parte allegatum quando dedit interrogatoria et postea in articulis deductum, preterea ambo sunt heretici et propter multa alia scelera infames et omnino ex eorum dictis nihil concluditur. . . .

Et sic habemus pro claro et indubitato quod processus inchoatus fuit non precedentibus inditiis neque infamia. Sequitur deinde carceratio non minus nulla quam iniusta et inimico dicti Pauli pape facta quia, ultra quod facta est iuris ordine ut praecipitur non servato, preterea non apparet cuius mandato facta fuerit, cum causa nondum haberet iudicem ; nam die XI iunii 1557, ut patet fol. 309, presentatus fuit motus proprius per quem papa narrato quod cardinalis pro nonnullis ad officium s. Inquisitionis pertinentibus in arce s. Angeli detenebatur, committit eius causam quatuor rev^{mis}, qui deberent audire et merita causae sibi referre, unde apparet quod dixi carcerationem esse factam sine mandato indicis competentis et iusuper quod nunc causa mortuo ipso papa reperitur sine iudice. Et quamvis stante nullitate predicta totus processus, ut dixi, redditur nullus et nullius considerationis, tamen, ut manifesta fiat innocentia p^{ti} rev. d. cardinalis, dicam que mihi occurrunt circa ea quae pro parte fisci praetendi possunt.

In the following the author first of all examines the witnesses : fr. Bernardus and fr. B. Pergula still in the Ripetta prison when they were interrogated ; J. B. Scottus and Antonius bibliopola Mutin. had themselves acknowledged they had been heretics, et sic habemus 4 infames hereticos quibus nulla est prestanda fides de iure. Further reasons were adduced to show that those witnesses should be ignored, e.g., personal enmity, inconsistency, etc.

In a similar manner the testimony of Salmeron was confuted.

Secundus testis nescimus omnino quis sit, sed non refert

quia nihil dicit de sua scientia sed est relator verborum cuiusdam alterius.

Tertius testis est ill fr. Bernardus. . . .

Quartus est supranominatus fr. B. Pergula. . . .

Quintus est bibliopola Mutin.—hereticus.

Sextus est ille Scottus Bonon. pariter hereticus.

In all cases further grounds besides heresy (with quotations from the documents of the proceedings) were brought forward for disregarding the testimony of these witnesses.

Septimus nescimus quis sit . . . redditus falsus in duobus. . . .

Octavus testis est fr. Reginaldus qui nihil deponit contra cardinalem.

Nonus testis est Iac. Iacomellus ep. Bellicast. Grounds against these as above.

After repudiating these witnesses, the author remarks: We must also take into consideration quod et inter ipsos testes fisci sunt qui probant cardinalem esse catholicum et nunquam fuisse de heresi suspectum ut sunt p^{dictus} fr. Reginaldus et p^{dictus} prior s. Dominici Mutinae et dictus episcopus Civitatis Castellanae et[1] aliunde intellexi-mus esse examinatos alios qui multa deposuerunt ad favorem rev. cardinalis ut est mag^{cus} d. Bartholomaeus Spatafora nobilis Messanen. et alii plures, quorum tamen dicta non sunt posita in processu, nescimus si per inadvertentiam notarii vel ob aliam causam.

In the second part on the basis of Morone's depositiones et in scriptis et in examinibus factae are demonstrated nihil in eis contineri quod fisci intentionem adiuvet neque. rev. dom. quidquam in eis confiteri quod dicta testium comprobet quatenus contra ipsum deposuerunt. This is shown in each point and the inference is then drawn: Ex his igitur scriptis nihil resultat quo rev^{mus} cardinalis fateatur se sensisse aliquid hereticum vel suspectum fuisse suspitione probabili atque ideo fisci intentio super his fundari non potest.

The conclusion—again from another hand (Morone's)—is therefore:

Quod ad tertium principale genus pretensionum fisci

[1] The following words up to "causam" form a supplement in another hand, perhaps that of Morone himself. Elsewhere this document also shows signs of corrections in this hand, which has a great resemblance to that which has written the above-mentioned (p. 469) additional notes.

de libris hereticorum et epistolis marchionissae Piscariae et aliorum quos fiscus habet pro hereticis, quae fuerunt in eius domo repertae, paucis opus est. Nam quoad libros dictum est supra circa primum caput predicti scripti ipsius rev. cardinalis et additur quod ex inscriptionibus, quae sunt super ipsis libris manu eiusdem reverend^{mi} factae, apparet quod ipse tenebat illos tamquam reprobos et damnatos, non autem pro bonis et legibilibus. Quo vero ad epistolas in illis non continetur aliquod non solum hereticum, sed neque etiam quod concernat religionem, sed alia negocia, et marchionissa et aliae personae praedictae non habebantur pro hereticis sed pro catholicis, ut dictum est supra prox. circa XI caput scripti praedicti.

Itaque concludendo remanet quod neque ex testibus neque ipsius aut aliorum scripturis quicquam est in actis, unde probetur non modo crimen heresis, sed neque etiam iusta causa quam ob rem potuerit apud bonos viros oriri de ipso rev^{mo} suspitio talis peccati.

At last effect is given to the following[1]: Nolo praetermittere quin (ad magis ostendendum quam inique fecerit processum) hoc quoque dicam. Quod licet de iure etiam in causa heresis ubi offertur cautio de non offendendo testes danda sint reo ipsorum testium nomina et pro parte dicti rev^{mo} dicta cautio fuerit oblata ut sibi nomina ederentur, tamen non potuit obtinere et sic non potuimus opponere contra personas nisi aliquorum ex ipsis testibus, quos ex eorum dictis potuimus coniectura comprehendere qui essent. Imo quod peius est occultata fuerunt eodem modo et dumtaxat per literam N notata nomina personarum quae per ipsos testes nominantur et locorum et temporum quibus res, de quibus deponunt, gestae fuerunt. Quod nullo iure cavetur etiam in causa heresis fieri per iudices posse, ex quibus circumstantiis, si illas scivissemus, verisimile est quod multo plures exceptiones potuissemus elicere itaque defensio nobis concessa fuit magis verbalis quam realis et omnino imperfecta et manca.

Hoc volui dixisse non quia multum referat in hac causa, quae caret difficultate et ex praedictis redditur clarissima, sed ut confirmarem, quod processus hic fuit instructus et agitatus magis pro alicuius odii et vindictae prosecutione

[1] The same hand here again.

quam pro iustitia et zelo religionis utque etiam qui leget habeat nos excusatos si videbimur pauca deduxisse et quodammodo sicco pede pertransivisse.

48. Avviso di Roma. 1558, April 2nd[1].

Li negotii et li espedimenti di qua vano molto lenti et fredi, eccetto quelli dell' Inquisitione, che ogni giorno si vede affisse qualche citationi, et questo per causa dell' indispositioni del papa circa alla vecchiezza, che non può la fatica, et il Datario et Barengo che sogliono sempre parlar a S. Stà di cose sue particular, sono tall' hora 20 giorni che non l' hanno visto, nelli pono parlare, et l' ambasciator di Francia è un mese che ha ricercato l' audientia, nella puo havere, et il card. di Monte che sono 3 mesi, che sta in spettative di haverla, vi è piu lontano adesso ch' era da principio. . . .

Il card. d' Oria è morto, et al card. Morone se li è ingrossata la vista, che non vede, se non con li ochiali et lettera grossa per l' aria trista del Castello.

The nephews are expected daily, but always delay their arrival.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 297°. Vatican Library.]

49. Pope Paul IV. to Joh. Manriquez, Viceroy of Naples.[2]

1558, Juli 25, Rom.

. . . Quo plus Ecclesiae Dei utilitatis attulit praedicatorum ordo a beato Dominico institutus, eo magis providendum est, ne ab eius ordinis professoribus sanctissimi illius patris disciplina et regularis observantia negligatur. Sed cum omnibus Christianis cara esse debet ordinis existimatio Dominicani, tum iis praecipue, qui eadem in terra geniti sunt, unde illud tam clarum et splendidum Ecclesiae lumen exortum est. We beg you, in your prayers to help erga gloriosum illum nationis tuae confessorem, to bring back all convents of the Order in your Kingdom ad regularem observantiam, and to support Thomas Manriquez O. Pr. mag. theol. in everything he says to you in the name of the vice-protector Card. Alexandrinus or of the General.

[Minutae brev. ad princ. Arm. 44 t. 2 p. 119. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 286, n. 2; 305, n. 5.

[2] See *supra*, p. 216, n. .

50. Avviso di Roma. 1558, September 10th.[1]

Giovedi il Papa peggiorò assai della sua indispositione, essendoli venuto uno accidente assai maggiore de l' altro precedente, et il medico toccandoli il polso, il che per avanti non ha voluto concedere, trovò che haveva la febre, et giudico che per avanti l' haveva havuta ancóra. Onde il romor del male, et il pericolo di peggio fu grande quella sera, et tanto più che si diede ordine che la cavalleria ch' è alloggiata in quelli contorni venisse per la mattina tutta qua, et similmente le battaglie, et fu prohibito alle poste che non si desse cavalli a chi si fosse, et alle porte della Città, che non si lasciasse uscire alcuno, et dato ordine di pagar fanti, et furono pagati il dî seguente, che fu hieri, et ne sono 7 o 8 insegne di quelli che furono fatti per sospetto dell' armata Turchescha, et con questi altri potranno fare in tutto da 1300 incirca, ma per hora non passano 800. . . . Il Papa quella sera et hier matina si comunico per mano del r^mo di Pisa molto divotamente, et dice non voleva morire disperato ne ostinato, ma che era apprechiato di pigliare qualche cosa per la salute del corpo, se cosi a loro paresse, cosa che per avanti non haveva voluto fare. Et se ben si disse hieri che stava meglio, non si credeva, because yesterday morning the "Caraffi" with "50 muli" "200 fanti" sent to Civitavecchia and yesterday evening all the halberdiers were ordered to come to the Castello. Some say he is worse, others the opposite; the Pope non si serve se non delli suoi parenti. Et questa mattina s' ha fatto molta difficultà d' entrare, anche nelle stanze del card. Caraffa, che sono nell' appartamento del papa, et si tiene per certo che se non è morto non la farà lungo.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 333. Vatican Libraryb.]

51. Avviso di Roma. 1558, December 24.[2]

The Pope said to the Cardinals che non si dovessero maravigliare di non haver fatto promotione de novi cardinali a queste tempora, perche vedeva il Collegoi anchora assai amplo, et da l' altro canto non haveva trovato soggetti convenienti,

[1] See *supra*, p. 222, n. 2. An *Avviso of September 17th announces the convalescence of the Pope, although he is still very weak (*loc. cit.*). *Ibid.* p. 340 a *Pasquinata of September 10th, 1558, about the illness of Paul IV. On October 1st an *Avviso announces: "Il papa e del tutto risanato."

[2] See *supra*, p. 221, n. 2.

et che anche loro dovessero trovarne al proposito, et non mancheria manco lui di ornare il Collegio di persone degne et meritevoli di tal grado.

[Cod. Urb. 1038, 353b. Vatican Library.]

52. Avviso di Roma. 1559, February 11th.[1]

. . . Sono stati abbrugiati 4 questa settimana, uno heretico et fu brugiato vivo, li altri tre morti, cioè uno che fatturava la gente et incantava et faceva un mondo de sceleragini, il secondo, che haveva vive 7 moglie et le andava vendendo a quest' et quello, l' ultimo anche heretico oltramontano, li altri de qui circonvicini fuor di Roman. . . .

[Cod. Urb. 1039, 7. Vatican Library.]

53. Pope Paul IV. to Pietro Donato, Bishop of Narni.[2]

1559, Februar. 27, Rom.

Venerabili fratri Petro Donato episcopo Narniensi provinciae nostrae Romandiolae pro nobis et S. R. E. praesidenti.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Mandato nostro tecum aget dilectus filius, qui has tibi litteras reddidit, Angelus de Armino ordinis praedicatorum, commissarius sacri officii Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis, de quodam iniquitatis filio, quem is tibi nominabit, ob id crimen capiendo. Qua in re exequenda ut omnem diligentiam, curam et artem adhibeas volumus ac districte praecipimus et mandamus. Vehementer enim cupimus illum comprehendi et diligenter custoditum huc abs te quamprimum remitti. Praeterea visitari abs te volumus loca omnia, de quibus idem commissarius tecum loquetur. Quo in munere fungendo quanto maiorem diligentiam fraternitas tua adhibuerit, tanto rem nobis faciet gratiorem.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum etc., die 27 februari 1559 pontificatus nostri anno 4°.

Alo. Lipomanus Bergomensis.

[Minutae brev. ad princ. Arm. 44 t. 2 f. 143. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 260, n. 2. [2] See *supra*, p. 281, n. 6.

54. Cardinal M. Ghislieri to the Inquisitor Girolamo da Genova.[1]

1559, Mart. 31, Rom.

R° in X° P. Con molto piacer di questo sacr^mo tribunale s' è inteso per la vostra delli XXVII di questo la obedientia di questa città. Il sir^r Idio l' habbi per sempre in sua protettione. Spirato il termine prefisso infin' a domenica proxima, V. R. facci arder publicamente tutti i libri prohibiti che a lei et a mons^r vicario sono stati presentati, et non sia chi ardisca di voler conservar libri del tutto prohibiti con speranza che 'l decreto di questo sacratissimo tribunale s' habbi a rilassare. Et fate intendere a mons^r. vicario che si guardi di fare mancamento in questo negocio. Non accade dar orecchi alle falsità del volgo. Milano esseguisce gagliardamente et ha stampato et publicato l' Indice. In Venetia il sabbato delle Olive publicamente si brusciorno più di X et forsi XII mila volumi libri; et l' inquisitore ne fa tuttavia nuovi cumuli.

Firenze è vero che è mal provista d' inquisitori, ma il duca zelantissimo dà ogni favore a questo santo officio.

Napoli co 'l resto d' Italia han prontamente obedito. Non mancate, avertendo però di non brusciar quelli che si possono salvare, con gli totalmente prohibiti; governatevi secondo l' Indice et secondo l' instruttione; et non dubitate che 'l sig^r Idio aiuta la causa sua.

Alli librari non s' ha da far piu remissione che si facci comunemente alli altri, sapendo che per la loro ingordigia orta est haec tempestas et ruina maxima. Il partito di mandar i loro libri prohibiti a luochi de lutherani è stato proposto da alrfi et non s' è ammesso, chè non si concede il portare arme ad infideli; ma piu presto s' accettaria il partito di spogliarli anche di quelle che hanno, quando si potesse.

Il tesoro della lingua latina ci contentiamo di concederlo al sig^r Ansaldo Giustiniano deletis delendis.

Il Testamento vecchio et nuovo fiandrese si vegga da chi l' intenda, prima che si conceda.

Le scritture di fra Giacomo s' hebbero fedelmente dalli cursori.

Intendo che si sono fatti alcuni essamini, con far citar la parte, con espresso pregiudiccio della causa nostra, procedendosi al

[1] See *supra*, p. 281, n. 3.

contrario di quel che si doveria. V. R. sollectii ispedir gli essamini de' quali gli ho scritto circa i parrochiani o sudditi talmente all' abbadia che non ad altra cura.

Aspettarò che cosa havrà esseguito mons^{r} de Scribanis et mons^{r} rev^{do} d' Acquis et intanto mi raccomando alle vostre orationi.

Di Roma il dì ultimo di marzo MDLIX.

Di V. R.

[autograph] Il nome del giudice di la causa è mons^{r} Clusinense, qual è mons^{r} Santa Croce vescovo Clusinense.

Come fratello in Christo

Il Card^{l} Alisandrino.

[Address] Al r^{do} p. frate Girolamo dell' ordine de Predicatori inquisitore in Genoa a S. Domenico.

[Orig. Cod. E. VII., 15. University Library, Genoa.]

55. Avviso di Roma. 1559, April 8th.[1]

. . . E uscita la bolla che S. S^{tà} publicò alli dì passati contra li heretici o sospetti d' heresia et contra li scismatici, molto terribile, che non fa eccetion di persona alcuna in qualunque grado o dignità che sia, spirituale o temporale, privandoli d' ogni benefitio, dignità et honore, et dà libertà alli superiori, et comette che le debbino privare, et che mai piu possino essere tenuti habili ad alcuna dignità nè grado, il che tutto si crede fatto principalmente per privare cosi tacitamente il card. Morone che non possa promosso mai al pontificato.

[Cod. Urb. 1039, 24. Vatican Library.]

56. Avviso di Roma. 1559, May 20th.[2]

. . . Lunedi, martedi et mercordi passati le mattine fu fatta congregatione nelle stanze del cardinal de Pisa, insieme col quale furno Allessandrino, Rimini et Spoleti sopra la causa del cardinal Morone, et nella congregatione de giovedi coram S^{mo} si parlò ancora della medesima causa, et hieri mattina i detti cardinali fecero la medema congregatione nel detto luoco sopra la istessa causa, et per quanto si è inteso da persona che lo può

[1] See *supra*, p. 304, n. 2. [2] See *supra*, p. 304, n. 4.

sapere, et per voler assignare a quel cardinale l' ultimo termine ad defensionem et spedir quella causa. . . .

[Cod. Urb. 1039, 36. Vatican Library.]

57. Avviso di Roma. 1559, June 3rd.[1]

. . . la onde è forza dire che la morte del card. Spoleti ha giovato non poco al detto Caraffa, et ha prolongato l' espeditione della causa di Morone. . . .

. . . Monsr Osio è stato liberato dal Castello et mandato di longo a Rieti al suo vescovato senza ch' el habbia potuto parlare a cardinale nè prelato alcuno et si dice che si tratta molto strettamente la liberatione del rev^mo Morone, et potria essere che le cose non passassero tanto male, come si dubitava, in effetto dopo la morte di Spoleti si sonno discoverte assai male operatione sue, perche nanti ch' il Papa fusse Papa cercava ogni mezzo di mettere il cardinal de Napoli in disgratia de S. S^tà, et si crede al certo che lui sia stato causa delle cose seguite tra S. S^tà et li nipoti. . . .

Hieri si comminciò a legere il processo di Morone et durerà insino a giovedi. Si farà congregatione ogni dì in questo mezzo, et si pensa che a l' hora faranno la determinatione. . . .

[Cod. Urb. 1039, 47. Vatican Library.]

58. Cardinal M. Ghislieri to the Inquisitor Girolamo da Genova.[2]

1559, Juli 21, Rom.

R° in Christo Padre. Io non posso credere che cotesti signori voglino mancar di porgere tutto il lor favore a V. R. nell' essecutione che resta a farsi circa i libri prohibiti, nè men credo che voglino diventar censori de i decreti di questo sacratissimo tribunale, con voler far distintione tra' libri, la quale non sia fatta dal santo officio. Onde spero che V. R. li renderà capaci a conoscere che le censure ugualmente ligano qualunque tenga qual si vogli libro prohibito, o sia italiano o sia alemano. In Firenze tanto braccio s' ha quanto si sa desiderare da quell' eccmo prencipe. Se c' è diffetto, il che non so, nascerà dalla poca sufficcienza o diligenza de' ministri del santo officio. A noi è dato aviso che s' è fatta la debita essecutione, dalla quale niun magistrato catholico può sottrahersi. . . .

[1] See *supra*, p. 304, n. 5.

[2] See *supra*, p. 281, n. 4.

Di Roma il dì XXI di luglio MDLIX

Di V. R.

Come fratello

[autograph] Il Card[l] Alisandrino.

[Address] Al rev. padre frate Girol° inquisitore et nostro car[mc]
Genoa.

[Orig. Cod. E. VII., 15, University Library, Genoa.]

59. Avviso di Roma. 1559, August 5th.[1]

Lunedi si fece consistorio . . . et poi se ne fec' un altro mercordi, et in questo . . . S. S[tà] fec' una grand bravat' al card[l] Alessandrino[2] et lo fece star in pie di più d' una mezz' hora per causa d' haver favorit' un certo frate. . . .[3]

S' intende che la causa principale del rebuffo ch' ha fatto S. S[tà] al cardinal Alessandrino sia stata che, essendosi in Spagna dall' Inquisitione proceduto contro l' arcivescovo di Toledo per haver dato fuor un suo libro che pecc' alquanto d' heresia et per esser quello frate di s. Domenico desiderando di scifar' il rigoroso procedere di quell' Inquisitione, h' appellato qui. Poi s' intende ch' il ha mandato qui un suo frate con lettere di cambio per 20 mila scudi et gioie, con ordine di corromper ogniun a cio la causa sua fusse favorita, il qual frate ha fatto qui il primo recapito in casa del card[l] Alessandrino, et lui diffendeva la causa del detto arcivescovo quanto più poteva, in modo tale che la cosa per via dell' altri dell' Inquisitione è pervenut' all' orecchie di S. S[tà], onde nacque poi tal rebuffo ch' il card[l] Conseglieri ha havut' a dire che non si può vivere nè negotiare con S. S[tà] che hora per hora li fa ribuffi di cavalli, per haverne fatt' uno tal al cardinal Alessandrino che lo fece restar un stecco, et non contento di questo S. S[tà] fece fare per il governatore un commandament' a quel frate ch' in termine di 3 hore sotto pena della vita sgombrasse di questa città, et fu esseguito quel commandamento quell' istessa mattina, stand' il detto frate a tavola col cardinal Alessandrino a desinare, et mercordì in l' altro consistorio S. S[tà] rifresco il detto ribuffo chiamand' il detto cardinal indegno di quel grado et che

[1] See *supra*, p. 317, n. 6.
[2] *Cf.* the report of *Navagero of August 4th, 1559. State Archives, Venice.
[3] What is omitted does not refer to the dispute with Ghislieri.

se teniva la conscientia aggravata d' haverlo fatto card[le], et si dubitò non lo facesse metter in Castello.[1]

[Cod. Urb. 1039, 65. Vatican Library.]

60. Report of Agostino Ricchi concerning the mortal illness of Pope Paul IV.[2]

. . . Quum enim senex plus quam octogenarius animo integerrimo, vita inculpata ac virtute nemini non cognita, tam pertinaciter observans esset omnium rerum quae ad Dei cultum ac religionem pertinerent, ut tum alias tum ἐν ἰχδυοφαγίαις saepius seipsum ad extremum spiritum perduxisset, vix ab eo tenuissimo victu dimoveri poterat, prius quam in summam imbecillitatem atque in animi defectionem incidisset. At vero, quum in maximis canicularium dierum squalloribus, nobis invitis, trium iam dierum a carnibus abstinentiam atque ab aliis omnibus optimi alimenti cibariis, te potissimum dissuadente, pertulisset, tandem illum etiamdum erectum syncope prehendit. Ex qua nempe Dei auxilio relatus, ubi res omnes quae ad postremam lucem spectarent pro tanti principis dignitate ac prudentia composuisset, post paucas horas summa cum pietate ac religione e vita excessit.

Ad ill[mum] et rev[mum] d. d. Alphonsum Carafam card. Neapolit. Agustini Ricchi in historiam aegrotationis Pauli IV P. M. praefatio.

[Cod. Barb. lat. 2567, 26 f. Vatican Library.]

61—62. Concerning the sources and composition of the History of Paul IV.

Paul IV. had, during his lifetime, an excellent exponent of his personality in the person of the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero. The story told by this distinguished diplomatist is founded entirely on his own observation. It affords a "wonderfully complete picture full of genuine feeling, and pervaded with the fascination of a portrait drawn from life."[3]

[1] According to a letter of the Cardinal of Siguenza, of July 29, 1559 (in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 263) the expulsion of the Dominicans was due to an error on the part of the governor of the city.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 317, n. 5; 414, n. 2; 421, n. 4. For A. Ricchi, see Marini, I., 347 *seq.*

[3] See Andreas, Die venezianischen Relationen und ihr Verhältnis zur Kultur der Rennaisance, Leipzig, 1908, 113. Concerning Navagero, equally distinguished as statesman and scholar, *cf.* Cicogna, Iscrizioni Veneziane (1855), Vol. VI., and Susta, Die Kurie und das Konzil von Trient, Vienna, 1911, III., iii., vi. *seq.*

This story, which perhaps surpasses all others in its plastic, intuitive knowledge, was circulated very early in manuscript, but was only published in 1846 in the collection of Albèri. It was quoted still earlier in historical literature by Ranke, as well as the supplementary work of Alvise Mocenigo of 1560. In the Analecta to the third volume of his "Papste" (pp. 48 *seqq.*) Ranke discusses both accounts. He also touches upon the principal error of Navagero, viz., that Paul IV. only began the war with Spain on account of his nepotic policy (389). The criticism which Cardinal Antonio Carafa[1] (d. 1591) wrote on Navagero's story in a work preserved in the National Library at Naples (X—F—55), has quite escaped the notice of Ranke. This *Apologia alla relatione del Navagero*, written in the hand of the Cardinal's secretary, is a noteworthy authority, in so far that Antonio Carafa lived, in his youth, in the Vatican with Paul IV. He could, therefore, give many interesting and valuable notes on the history of that Pope, and could also furnish several fair criticisms on Navagero, but, in general, he too frequently errs by excess. The essay is too partial, and, as one may gather from the title, too apologetic.[2]

Onofrio Panvinio fell into the opposite extreme in many passages of his *Vita Pauli IV.*, which first appeared in 1562. At that time the reaction against the measures of Paul IV. was at its height, and to this feeling Panvinio, doubtless influenced by his patron, Cardinal Farnese, has paid tribute. Panvinio himself seems to have felt later on that he had gone too far; in later editions several passages have been altered in a noteworthy manner.[3]

[1] The printed works of the learned Cardinal are in the Catal. libr. Bibl. Casanat. II., 93; *cf.* BATTIFOL, Vaticane, 69 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 63 *seq.*, concerning his life. Cardinal Antonio Carafa had previously endeavoured to have a literary monument to his uncle compiled, which the humanist Robertello was to have composed. Further details are to be found in a *letter of Flaminio Filonardi to Cardinal Antonio Carata, dated Padua, 1565, Juni 1 (Vat. 6895, 329–331, Vatican Library). The whole life of Paul IV. was to be treated in this work, and the truth told about the war against Spain. With regard to the manner of its composition, a work similar to that of Jovius on Leo X. was thought of, but Filonardi thought Robertello had better take Suetonius as a model, rather than Plutarch. Owing to the death of the Cardinal the plan came to nothing.

[2] G. B. Castaldo did not include the work in his book, in order not to irritate the Spaniards; see PADIGLIONE, Bibl. del Museo di S. Martino, 242.

[3] In the discussion about the proceedings of Paul IV. against the vagrant monks, the groundless accusation continues, which is the Venetian edition of 1562 is expressed as follows: "Monasteriorum vero praefectos ut eos reciperent non coegit, qua re nihil iniquius." Concerning the arrest of Morone there is wanting in the later edition the addition "quem ex morum dissimilitudine oderat." The re-casting of the conclusion is most noteworthy. Instead of the passage "Felix procul dubio . . . attigisset" which Panvinio also included in his work on Papal elections (in which his judgment concerning Paul IV. is much more correct [MERKLE, II., 333]) it is given in the later editions thus: "Caeterum liberalitate, religionis tuendae conservandaeque zelo super omnes retro pontifices maxime clarus et quo pontifice primum hominum et

The Theatines have always held the memory of Paul IV. in honour, and rightly, as he was their co-founder. They felt it very much when Cardinal Antonio Carafa's idea of compiling[1] a biographical monument to Paul IV. was not carried out.[2] The Theatine, Antonio Caracciolo (d. 1642) took a great interest in supplying the deficiency. Caracciolo, who was also engaged in literary work in other directions, zealously collected information of every kind concerning Paul IV. Only a small part of his collection has appeared in print, under the title "Collectanea historica de vita Pauli IV." (Coloniae, 1642). The greater part remains in manuscript, and bears the title "Vita e gesti di Giovan Pietro Carafa cioè di Paolo IV. P.M."[3] Three manuscripts of this work, one of which is probably the autograph, are in the library of the Certosa di S. Martino in Naples (*cf.* PADIGLIONE, 427 *seq*). A very good copy of the original is in the Casanatense Library, Rome, in the Codex C. III., 43 (formerly N. 349).[4]

The work of Caracciolo had a wide circulation in manuscript; copies are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Misc. Arm. II, t. 101), in the Barberini Library (Barb. lat. 4953, 4961, 5370), in the Chigi Library (J. II, 65., J. III., 66), in the Vatican Library (Ottob. 617-619, incomplete, only reaching to the election of Paul IV.), in the Vittorio Emanuele Library (two copies from the Theatine Library of S. Andrea della Valle; *cf.* ED. D'ALENÇON, G. P. Carafa e la riforma nell 'ordine dell 'osservanza, Foligno, 1912), and a copy in my private library; other copies in the Library at Parma (Palat. 638, copy of Cas. C. III., 43), in St. Mark's Library, Venice (Ital. V., 59), in the Bertoliana Library, Vicenza, and in the British Museum (20011, 20012). The work of Caracciolo, compiled in 1613 (see ZACHARIAS, It. litt., 113) was frequently made use of by all historians of Paul IV.; it is a most uncritical composition,[5] but is partly founded upon the original Carafa papers, of which

clericorum praesertim moribus depravatis salutaribus legibus certum remedium est adhiberi coeptum; confirmandae enim ac restituendae ecclesiasticae disciplinae, in quam mirifice perturbatam eius pontificatus inciderat, auctor et princeps exstitit ita ut eius fonte cogitationum rationumque multa sacri Tridentini Concilii decreta profluxisse postea videantur." (Cologne, ed. of 1568, 445–446, also in the Cologne ed. of 1626, 411). Another alteration has been noted by MERKLE (II., cxxxiv., A. 5).

[1] See *supra* p. 487, n. 1.

[2] Concerning the collection of documents dealing with Paul IV. which the Theatine Valerio Pagano planned at the beginning of the XVIIth century, see PADIGLIONE, 302 *seq.*

[3] Review of contents in DURUY, XXIII. *seq.*

[4] Cod. XX. V. 56 (formerly n. 993) is a later copy.

[5] *Cf.* AMABILE, I., 138 n.

many have now been lost, and contains a great deal of important and interesting information.

Its importance is, however, greater for the period preceding the election of Paul IV., than for the years of his pontificate, for which there are now far better sources available. Taken all in all Caracciolo is a convinced admirer of his hero, and always more of an apologist than a writer of history. This is also true of Castaldo and Silos, who sketch portraits which are almost without a dark side.[1]

Pallavicini cleared the way for a historical comprehension and estimate of Paul IV. in the second part of his history of the Council of Trent, which appeared in 1657. He was thereby drawn into a controversy with the Theatine, Francesco Maria Maggio, in which Pallavicini was victorious. (*Cf.* CALENZIO, Esame critico-letterario delle opere riguardenti la storia del Concilio di Trento, Romae 1869, 100 *seqq.*). Compared to the invectives of Maggio, who conceals himself under the name of Francesco Velli, the calmness of Pallavicini makes a good impression. He speaks to the point when he asserts that historians should not be writers of panegyrics. Although it has recently been said (see VOLPICELLA in the Archivio Napoletano, XXXV., 557) that Pallavicini had written in a hostile tone about Paul IV., this is by no means the case. Pallavicini depicts objectively the bright as well as the dark side of the Carafa Pope; he only errs in so far as he regards the chief merit of Paul IV. to lie in the preservation of the unity of the faith in Italy, and does not do sufficient justice to the reforms carried out from 1555 to 1559. Maggio continued the controversy after Pallavicini's death, but could not find a printer for the part of his work dealing with the pontificate of Paul IV. (CALENZIO, *loc. cit.* 107).

Another Theatine, Bartolomeo Carrara (d. 1778) has rendered much better service than Maggio to the memory of Paul IV., by his history of the Pope in two volumes, published at Ravenna in the years 1748 and 1753, under the pseudonym *Carlo Bromato*. This is a very able work for that period. Although not free from an apologetic tendency and partiality,[2]

[1] SILOS (I., 421, 423 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*) praises the "prudentia" of his hero! He has also made use of manuscript sources, e.g., Caracciolo's collection, as well as the above-mentioned *Apologia. CASTALDO (176 *seq.*) softens down the choler of Paul IV., in a manner that is not historical: he is also not reliable as to details.

[2] *Cf.* REIMANN in the Forschungen zur deutschen Geschicte, V., 294.

Carrara nevertheless endeavours to judge Paul IV. from an objective point of view. Many of his faults, especially the raising to the cardinalate of Carlo Carafa, are severely censured (II., 233) but the original material for going more deeply into the matter was not at his disposal. He collected with great diligence all the information then obtainable, but this was mostly from derivative sources. Besides Caracciolo, the work of Pietro Nores, *Storia della guerra di Paolo IV. contro gli Spagnuoli*, already used by Pallavicini, is consulted.

The war of Paul IV. against Spain had already been treated of by Alessandro Andrea[1] and Mambrino Roseo.[2] Nores began the compilation of his work at the beginning of the reign of Clement VIII., but laid it aside because he had scruples about giving an account of the participation of Silvestro Aldobrandini, the father of Clement VIII., in the events of that time. He took the work up again at a later period ; the first book was finished in 1640, the third in 1641, and the fourth in 1644. Nores was careful to collect[3] letters and reports of contemporaries ; he drew upon (among others) Massarelli's Diarium VII,[4] and also procured information in Rome by word of mouth. The work, the publication of which A. Zeno had already recommended, appeared in 1847, as Vol. XII of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. In this publication[5] a political tendency predominated. It was desired by its means to put forward Pius IX. and his predecessors, Julius III. and Paul IV. as prototypes of the struggle for national freedom [i.e. " United Italy."] For this purpose the history of a war, which, while absolutely unimportant in itself, is principally interesting as

[1] *Della guerra di campagna di Roma et del regno di Napoli*, ed. G. Ruscelli, Venetia, 1557 (1560). The Spanish translation, which I had before me, is dedicated to Philip II. (Madrid, 1589). The author is partial to Spaniards, often diffuse (see FORNERON, I., 81), but a good authority for military affairs (*cf.* PRESCOTT, Philip II., I., 80). Nores had drawn largely from him (see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 332 note). It is also well to consult the " Tratatto sopra lo stato ecclesiastico " in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Misc. Arm. 15, t. 186) in which there is an account of the wars of the States of the Church since 1494 and which treats in a particularly detailed manner of the conflicts under Paul IV. *Lettere dirette a Bonifacio Gaetani* concerning the war between Paul IV. and Spain, in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

[2] Relazione della guerra suscitata del regno di Napoli da Paolo IV. nel 1556 al 1557, Roma, 1558.

[3] Nores has drawn (among others) upon the documents in the Library, Parma, and in Cod. Marc. XI., 125, of St. Mark's Library, Venice : *cf.* COGGIOLA, Cornia, 223, 342.

[4] See MERKLE, II., xlviii., xlix., 303 n. 3.

[5] It is founded on a Codex Capponi, and was compared with two Neapolitan manuscripts. The manuscripts of Nores' work in the Alessandrina Library, Rome (214–1–183), the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome (Fondo Gesuitico, 323), the Trivulziana Library, Milan (Cod. 37), the Library of the Certosa di S. Martino, Naples (Cod. 364), and the Communal Library, Foggia (Cod. 7), have not been made use of.

being the last attempt of the Papal policy to free itself and Italy from a foreign yoke, seemed suitable. The publishers of Nores, Volpicella, Gar and Scarabelli, have done much to embellish their edition by the addition of unprinted documents. Notably, they obtained access to the "Istruzioni e Lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del Cardinal Carafa" from a manuscript in the possession of Gino Capponi.[1]

The work of Nores, which had already been praised by Pallavicini and Bromato, has long been very popular. Reumont (*Carafa*, I., 221, 517) describes it as the principal authority for the history of the Carafa family under Paul IV., and praises the author as the most reliable writer of the history of those events (*cf.* also *Gesch. Roms*, III., 2, 700). At a later period Duruy (20, 85) and Porena (*Arch. stor. Ital.* Ser 4, XIII., 354) overwhelmed Nores with praise, although Reimann (*loc. cit.* 327 *seqq.*) has already shown, in one point, how little Nores is often to be relied upon. Ancel, in his scientific studies on the history of Paul IV., has expressed in very severe terms a highly unfavourable opinion of Nores (see especially *Sienne*, 1, 18, and *Disgrâce*, 36) which, however, did not prevent Campana from describing the work of Nores in the *Studi Storici* (XVII., 586) as a masterpiece. There can, however, be no doubt that Ancel is right. Nores contains very many errors; he also sometimes allows his imagination to run riot, and draws upon merely secondary sources. The more the *Reports of Ambassadors*, which are to be regarded as of the first importance for the pontificate of Paul IV., become known, the less value will be attached to the work of Nores.

The dispatches of Bernardo Navagero are those most widely known. These invaluable reports, which supplement, and are, in many points much superior to the accounts of the ambassador, are not, it is true, preserved in the originals. Since the destruction by fire of the Venetian Archives in 1577, only copies are available; these exist in the State Archives, Venice,[2] in St. Mark's Library (Ital. Cl. VII., Cod. 1097), in the Museo Correr, Venice (Cod. 1957), in the University Library, Pisa (Cod. 154, S. c. 2), in the National Library, Naples (Cod. X. D. 41), in the Court Library, Vienna (Cod. 6255—

[1] See Catalogo dei MSS. posseduti dal marchese G. Capponi, Florence, 1815, n. 831.

[2] Cod. Miscell. n. 98 (*cf.* BROSCH, I., 200, n. 1). Also the dispatches to the Council of Ten, only preserved in contemporary copies; *cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 21, n. 3.

Foscar. 163), and in the library of the Duke of Ossuna, Madrid (Cod. 93).

Nores was the first to make use of the rich treasure of the dispatches of Navagero; later, Bertolotti published extracts in the *Atti Mod.* (3rd series, II., 155 *seqq.*); moreover, Rawdon Brown has published, in an English translation, all the dispatches relating to England, and also much of the actual history of Paul IV., in the *Calendars of State Papers*. The study of the Italian text is, however, by no means superfluous for, in accordance with his purpose, Brown has systematically looked only for dispatches concerned with England; besides this, his translation is not always reliable, and, in any case, the best translation can never replace the original text. This is all the more important in the case of Navagero, as the correspondent has performed his task with such scrupulous conscientiousness that, whenever possible, he has given the utterances of the Pope in his actual words,[1] and this is very important in the case of such a strongly marked personality as that of Paul IV. The detailed reports of Navagero, who was on most confidential terms with the Pope, are an invaluable source; intimate and many-sided, they afford, at the same time, a series of instantaneous photographs, everywhere breathing the warm life of the events they portray.

Besides the Venetian reports, there is also the correspondence of Cardinal Farnese to be studied; this is still preserved in the State Archives, Parma. The Cardinal received exact information, through his agent, of all the events which took place in Rome. To these must be added the dispatches of the envoys of the Este and Medici families, in the State Archives at Modena and Florence. These reports offer, in addition to the Venetian ones, much that is new and valuable. While Duruy passed over these first-class sources in his otherwise faulty work,[2] Coggiola and Ancel have made diligent use of them.[3] I have also used this material for my work. We have

[1] *Perche io giudico che le parti d'un ambasciator siano dir, se si po, le medesime parole che dice il principe di sua bocca; se ben molte cose sono le medesime o contrarie ercpugnante l'una all 'altra, ho voluto sempre sforciarmi, et cosi farò nel avenir, di scriver le formal parole che mi ha detto il pontifice; cosi havessi anche potuto aggiunger li gesti. Dispatch of October 12, 1555 (Library of St. Mark's, Venice, *loc. cit.* 10).

[2] *Cf.* COGGIOLA, Cornia, 80, 108, 292 *seq.*, 341, and ANCEL, Sienne, 1, 19, 22, 37, 40, 65; see also Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung, 1883, 1659, and Rev. d. quest. hist., 1884, Juillet, 335 *seq.*

[3] The extracts from the Florentine reports of Serristori in Canestrini are very defective and incomplete.

to thank Druffel and Riess for very many Spanish reports. The work of Riess, which appeared in 1909, represents a great advance on that of Duruy; it also, however, is by no means complete, and contains as well many errors on particular points, such as the judgment on the whole policy of Paul IV.[1] The work of Ancel, the result of a wide range of studies among archives, is the best authority for this question; it also clearly distinguishes between the Pope and his nephews, and completely exposes the intrigues of Cardinal Carafa.

Brosch has, in his generally very feeble treatise,[2] on the struggle of Paul IV. with Philip II., only drawn on new material to the extent of a few dispatches of Navagero (Mitteilungen des Instituts österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXV., 1904).

The reports of the French ambassadors with regard to Paul IV. were first published by Ribier, and later by Sauzé and Vitalis. Turnbull has published, in a translation, the reports of Carne, the English ambassador.

I was the first to make thorough use of the letters from Rome to Ferdinand I., in the Vienna State Archives, as well as of the reports of ambassadors which are in the State Archives, Bologna, and in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

A source of a peculiar kind, which stands half way between the embassy reports and the gazettes, are the so-called "*Avvisi*" communications from intelligence bureaux, which the Fugger family had at that time in the capitals and centres of commerce. This source has lately been critically dealt with by Ancel in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XXVIII (1908).[3] Last but not least of the very important sources of information concerning the history of Paul IV., are his own "Acta," Briefs, Bulls, and diplomatic correspondence in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and in the Barberini Library. The Briefs have, unfortunately, not been preserved in their

[1] *Cf.* the criticisms of FRIEDENSBURG in the Hist. Vierterjahrsschrift 1911/12, 280, and of HERRE in the Hist. Zeitschr., CIX., 199 *seq.* See also *supra* pp. 117, n. 3; 136, n. 4; 168, n. 1; 223, n. 2; 232, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* ANCEL, Sienne, 90, and COGGIOLA in the Studi storici, X., 227 *seq.* see also Hist. Zeitschr., 94, 186. Nothing new in BORALEVI, I., primi mesi del pontificato di Paolo IV., Livorno, 1888. JENKINS (Paul IV., London, 1886) mostly follows Duruy; *cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., X., 714; see also Arch. Napol., XII., 836 *seq.*

[3] The admirable remarks of SAGMÜLLER in the Histor. Jahrb., XV., 304, about the gazetteers and writers of "Avvisi," also called "novellisti," have escaped the notice of Ancel. We must also add to the literature mentioned there; SIMIANI, N. Franco, 36 *seq.* LUTOLF, Schweizergarde, 44; SICKEL in the Weimarischen Jahrb. für deutsche Sprache, I., Hanover 1858, 344 *seq.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXI., 421; XXXIII., 277 *seq.*

entirety; they nevertheless yield, according to Raynaldus, many interesting "finds." The "*Regesta Vaticana*" nn. 1805–1854 (*cf.* PALMIERI, 85 *seq.*) preserved in a complete condition, were examined by Ancel, who has published a biographical work on Paul IV. in several volumes; they contain, however, but little for a history like the present, which is confined within narrower limits.[1] The diplomatic correspondence of Paul IV. has suffered numerous and important losses. A very great deal, however, has been preserved, as a large number of the Carafa archives were transferred to the Barberini Library, which contains precious original documents relating to Paul IV. and his nephews, in no less than 60 volumes. This material was related so thoroughly and in such detail by Pieper (189 *seqq.*) and then by Ancel (Secrét. 37-45 and Nonciat. I, II) that a mere reference to them is sufficient here. The Instructions and Letters of Giovanni della Casa appeared in print as early as the XVIIIth century.[2] Ancel has now published the *Nonciatures de France* in an admirable edition. The publication of the reports of the Polish nuncios, preserved in a very incomplete form, is shortly to be undertaken by the Cracow Academy.

[1] *Cf.* WIRZ, xxvi.; ANCEL, Secrét. 61 *seq.* Here also see (15 n.) concerning the "Ruoli" of Paul IV.
[2] The best edition is the Neapolitan; see PIEPER, 186 n.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XIV.

Adrian IV., Pope 50.
Adrian VI., , 43, 422, 423.
Adriano (secretary to Cardinal Bertano), 299 n. 4.
Agostino, Antonio (Bishop of Lerida, nuncio to Ferdinand I.), 347, 348, 353.
Agubbio, Andrea d', 102 n. 1.
Alba, Duke of (Viceroy of Naples), 68, 95 n. 4, 96, 101, 103, 123, 127, 128, 132, 134, 136–139, 142–149, 152, 156–159, 162, 164–168, 170–173, 199, 212 299.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 339, 340, 343–345.
Albert Alcibiades (Margrave of Brandenburg–Kulmbach), 117.
Aldobrandini, G., 178 n. 4.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro (jurist), 85, 105, 126 n. 1, 138, 154, 155, 191.
Aldrovandi, G. A., 104 n. 4, 111 n. 2, 115 n. 1, 226 n. 1, 414 n. 1.
Aleander, Hieronymus, Cardinal, 21.
Alessandrino, Fra Michele, *see* Ghislieri.
Alexander VI., Pope, 12, 272, 423.
Alfonso of Aragon, 76.
Algerio, Pomponio de', 260 n. 2.
Altovito, G. F. da (humanist), 418 n. 2.
Ambrosio, Hernando di S., 317 n. 3.
Annebaut, Cardinal, 4.
Annone, G. P. (artist), 417 n. 1.
Aragona, Giovanna d' (wife of Ascanio Colonna).
Ariosto, Lodovico, 277.
Armagnac, George d' (Bishop of Rodez), Cardinal, 5 n. 1, 61, 182.
Arrivabene, G. Fr., 3.
Aspra, Francisco d', 94 n. 1.
Assonville, C. d', 393 n. 4.
Atanagi, Dionisio (man of letters), 33 n. 1, 57 n. 1.
Augusto, Giulio (canon) 284.
Aumale, Duc d', 165.
Avanson (French envoy) 37 n. 1, 52 n. 2, 53 n. 1, 57 n. 1, 59 n. 2, 63 n. 3, 75 n. 1, 77 n. 1, 83.
Avellino, Andrea, St. (Theatine) 239.

Babbi, A., 170 n. 2.
Babou, Filibert (Bishop of Angoulême), 405.
Bacodio, Francesco (Datary), 196, 210, 226.
Bacon, Nicolas (Lord Chancellor), 404.
Bagno, Marquis of, 135 n. 2, 167.
Bale, John (English reformer), 362.
Bannissio, Jacopo, 147 n. 2, 210 n. 7.
Barberini, Family of the, 262.
Barengo, Giovanni, 86, 122, 210, 418 n. 2.
Baynes, Ralph (Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5, 390.
Beaton, David (Primate of Scotland), Cardinal, 362.
Beatrizet, Nicolas (engraver), 65 n. 5.
Becon, Thomas, 362.

Bellarmine, Cintia [Cervini] (sister of Marcellus II.) 19.,
Bellarmine, Francis, S. J. (the future Cardinal), 19, 55 n. 1.
Bellay, Jean du (Bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 5 n. 4, 57, 61, 91, 135 n. 1, 139 n. 2, 144, 180, 190, 193, 226, 299, 421 n. 2.
Bello, Vincenzo, 223 n. 2.
Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, 17, 21.
Benci, Family of the, 14.
Benci, Cassandra (wife of Ricciardo Cervini, mother of Marcellus II.), 13.
Bencio, Trifone (secretary), 86.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 11 n. 2.
Beni, Niccolo, 31.
Bertano, Pietro (Bishop of Fano, nuncio), Cardinal, 2, 3, 5 n. 3, 41, 62–64, 299.
Bertrand, Jean (Archbishop of Sens), Cardinal, 201, 202 n. 2.
Bini, Giovanni (humanist, papal secretary), 86.
Bizzoni, Giovanni Battista (assessor to the Inquisition), 262.
Bladus, Antonus (printer), 278.
Bo, Giovanni del, 260 n. 2.
Bobadilla, Nicolas, S. J., 248, 252–254, 257 n. 3.
Boccaccio, 279 n. 1.
Boleyn, Anne, 402.
Boncompagni, Ugo (Auditor of the Rota, later Gregory XIII.), 124, 191, 229. 353, 355.
Bongalli, Scipio (Bishop of Civita Castelana), 297.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 121.
Bonner, Edmund (Bishop of London), 363 n. 3, 367, 369–371, 390.
Bononia, Hieron. de (Bishop of Syracuse), 178.
Borghese, Marcantonio (attorney to Cardinal Morone), 305.
Borgia, Family of the, 116.
Borgia, Francis, S. J. (Duke of Gandia), 251 n. 4, 254 n. 2.
Bourbon, Louis de, Cardinal, 4, 61, 324.
Bourne, Gilbert (Bishop of Bath and Wells), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4.
Bowes (English conspirator) 369.
Bozzuto, Annibale (secretary to Cardinal C. Carafa), 85, 105.
Brancaccio, Cesare (papal envoy), 142 n. 3.
Broet, Paschasius, S. J. (Provincial of the Jesuits in France), 23.
Bromato, Carlo [Bartolomeo Carrara], Theatine, 489.
Brooks, James (Bishop of Gloucester), 369 n. 2, 376, 377, 389 n. 4.
Bucer, 369 n. 2, 371 n. 6.
Bullinger, Johann Heinrich (Swiss reformer), 407 n. 2.
Buonanni, Benedetto (Florentine envoy, conclavist to Cardinal Toledo).
Buoncambi, 130 n. 1.

Cacciaconti, Leonora Egidi (wife of Ricc. Cervini, stepmother to Marcellus II.), 19.
Calandra, Sabino (Mantuan envoy), 65 n. 4.
Calderini, Giovan Battista (theologian), 186.
Calegari, Giovan Andrea, 119 n. 5, 125 n. 4, 195 n. 2, 235 n. 6, 237 n. 9, 260 n. 2. 305 n. 1.
Calvin, John, 325, 326, 349, 364, 378.
Camerario (prelate), 353.
Campegio, Tommaso (Bishop of Feltre), 194.
Canisius, Peter, St., S. J., 142 n. 3, 278, 333–335.
Cano, Melchior, 128 n. 2, 138 n. 1.
Capece, Marcello (nephew of the Duke of Paliano, G. Carafa), 222, 223.

Capella, Febo (Venetian diplomat), 146, 151 n. 2.
Capilupi, A., 132 n. 3.
Capilupi, Camillo, 2, 7 n. 4, 56 n. 2.
Capilupi, Girolamo, 129, 171.
Capilupi, Ippolito, 3 n. 1, 5 n. 2, 52 n. 2, 57 n. 1, 100, 118 n. 3.
Capilupus, Lelius (poet), 175 n. 1.
Capizuchi, Giovan Antonio (Auditor of the Rota), Cardinal, 183, 264. 267 n. 1, 321.
Capodiferro, Girolamo (Datary) Cardinal, 7, 61, 62.
Caracciolo, Antonio (Theatine), 488–490.
Caracciolo, Ascanio, 307 n. .1
Caracciolo, Galeazzo (Marquis of Vico, nephew of Cardinal Carafa), 301.
Carafa, Family of the, 116.
Carafa, Alfonso (son of Antonio), Cardinal, 72 n. 4, 83 n. 3, 192 n. 2, 202, 211, 214, 216, 219, 227, 231, 257, 267 n. 1, 287 n. 1, 353, 412, 414.
Carafa, Antonio (Marquis of Montebello, nephew to Paul IV.), 83 n. 3, 108, 109, 112, 114 n. 3, 135, 155, 156, 158, 159, 170, 202, 226.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal (historian), 65 n. 3, 66 n. 2, 71 n. 3, 85 n. 1, 192 n. 2, 259 n. 1, 422 n. 3, 487, 488.
Carafa, Carlo (nephew to Paul IV.), Cardinal, 81–83, 84–89, 94–108, 114–120, 123–125, 134, 140–152, 153–155, 160–165, 167–171, 182, 184, 199, 200, 209–215, 221–231, 246, 290, 301, 324, 353, 397, 421, 490, 493.
Carafa, Diomede (Marquis of Cave, son of the Duke of Paliano), 122, 160, 226.
Carafa, Diomede, Cardinal, 183, 276 n. 1, 285 n. 5.
Carafa, Gian Pietro, Cardinal (*see* : Paul IV.).
Carafa, Giovanni (Duke of Paliano, son of Giovan. Alfonso), 82–84, 87, 93, 94, 108–111, 118–124, 129, 130, 144, 149, 154, 155, 158, 163–168, 170, 173, n. 1, 211–213, 221, 222, 226, 227, 330 n. 1, 332 n. 1, 414 n. 3.
Carafa, Giovan Alfonso (Count of Montorio, brother of Paul IV.), 81.
Carafa, Oliviero, Cardinal, 416.
Carbone, Bernardino (Regent of Paliano), 167, 168.
Cardine, Leonardo di, 212.
Carne, Sir Edward (English envoy), 118 n. 3, 299 n. 1, 302 n. 4, 360, 396, 397, 405, 406, 493.
Carnesecchi, P., 260 n. 2, 311 n. 2.
Caro, Annibale, 31.
Carpi, Pio Rodolfo da (Bishop of Faenza and Girgenti), Cardinal, 5, 8, 44, 58, 60–62, 96, 105, 160, 222, 253, 262, 264, 267 n. 1, 292.
Carranza, Bartol. (Archbishop of Toledo), 314, 315, 317.
Carrara, Bartolomeo, *see* Bromato.
Casa, Giovanni della (humanist, secretary to Cardinal C. Carafa), 84–86, 105, 115, 116, 120 n. 1, 142 n. 3, 182, 186 n. 1, 418 n. 2, 494.
Casamassima, Petrus (Bishop of Polygnano), 233 n. 4.
Cassignola, Giacomo (sculptor), 417.
Castagna, Giambattista (Archbishop of Rossano, governor of Perugia), 230.
Castaldo (biographer of Paul IV.), 487 n. 2, 489.
Castaldo, Restauro, 353.
Castelvetro, Lodovico (man of letters), 282.

Castro, Alfonso de, O. S. F., 367.
Castro, Fernandez Ruiz de, *see* Sarria.
Catherine, Queen of England (wife of Henry VIII.), 399.
Catherine, Queen of France (wife of Henry II.).
Catherine, Queen Regent of Portugal, 276 n. 1.
Catherine (wife of Vermigli), 371 n. 6.
Cavalcanti, Bart., 45 n. 5.
Cavoli, Ambrogio de, 260 n. 2.
Cecil, William, 404.
Cenci, Family of the, 273.
Centani, A. (Bishop of Limosso) 260 n. 2.
Cervini, Family of the, 11, 43.
Cervini, Alessandro (half-brother to Marcellus II.), 11 n. 2, 13 n. 2, 15 n. 4, 17 n. 1, 19, 24, 26 n. 3, 28 n. 2, 30 n. 1, 42.
Cervini, Biagio (commander of the Vatican guard, nephew to Marcellus II.), 41.
Cervini, Cassandra, *see* Benci.
Cervini, Cintia, *see* Bellarmine
Cervini, Elisabetta [Machiavelli], grandmother to Marcellus II., 12.
Cervini, Erennio (son of Alessandro), 42.
Cervini, Giovan Battista (Castellan of St. Angelo, kinsman of Marcellus II.), 41, 47.
Cervini, Leonora, *see* Cacciaconti.
Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal, *see* Marcellus II.
Cervini, Ricciardo (father of Marcellus II.), 12–19.
Cervini, Ricciardo (son of Alessandro, nephew of Marcellus II.), 42.
Cervini, Romolo (half-brother to Marcellus II.), 19, 28 n. 4.
Cesarini, Family of the, 95.
Cesarini, Giuliano, 99, 111, 119, 171.
Cesi, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 9, 190.
Chapuys (Imperial envoy in England), 361.
Charles V., Emperor, 1 n. 3, 5–8, 21–26, 33, 44–46, 54, 57–63, 76, 77, 82, 90 n. 2, 92–100, 103, 104, 106, 110, 114, 119, 120, 126, 127, 130,–136, 138, 146, 152, 156, 157, 166, 179 n. 4, 305, 315, 319, 323, 341, 345, 348, 349, 352–357, 378, 384, 388.
Charles VIII. (King of France), 136, 159.
Châtillon, Cardinal, 4, 324.
Cheke, John, Dr. (tutor to Edward VI.), 371.
Chinchon, Count (envoy from Philip II.), 95.
Christopherson, John (Bishop of Chichester), 369 n. 2, 390.
Cicada, Giambattista (Bishop of Albenga), Cardinal, 9, 41, 44, 51, 63, 64, 91, 195 n. 4.
Ciocchi del Monte, *see* Monte.
Clement VII., Pope, 16, 17, 30 n. 1, 106, 121, 127, 131, 217, 234, 277, 284, 349, 351 n. 2.
Clement VIII., Pope, 490.
Cleobury, 381.
Cocciano, 53 n. 1.
Cogordan, S. J., 253; 254.
Cohen, Joseph ha (historian), 272 n. 1.
Coleine, Cola. (chronicler), 73 n. 4.
Collela Grosso, A. di, 260 n. 2.
Colocci, Angelo, 17.
Colonna, Family of the, 95, 100, 101, 111, 112, 211, 127,–127, 130, 133, 134, 150.
Colonna, Ascanio, 100, 121, 167,
Colonna, Camillo, 99, 102, 104, 171.
Colonna, Giovanna [d'Aragona] wife of Ascanio, 111.

Colonna, Marcantonio (son of Ascanio), 95, 97, 100, 105, 111, 121, 139, 148, 161, 167, 172.
Colonna, Pompeo, Cardinal, 28, 121.
Colonna, Vittoria, 298.
Commendone, Giovanni Francesco (Bishop of Zante), Cardinal, 38 n. 1, 86, 119 n. 5, 142, 195 n. 2, 237 n. 9, 260 n. 2, 305 n. 1, 353 n. 4.
Consiglieri, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 200, 202 n. 2, 231, 317.
Consiglieri, Paolo (Theatine), 201, 243, 244.
Contarini, Gasparo, Cardinal, 21.
Contarini, P., 331 n. 1.
Corgna, Ascanio della (commander of the Papal guards, nephew of Julius III.), 1, 133, 167, 211.
Corgna, Fulvio della (Bishop of Perugia, brother of Ascanio), Cardinal, 9, 10, 63 64, 133, 173 n. 1.
Cornaro, Andrea (Archbishop of Spalato), Cardinal, 63, 64.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 9, 62.
Cospio, Tommaso, 161 n. 1, 169 n. 2.
Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire, 371 n. 4, 381.
Coverdale, Miles, 377.
Cox, Richard, 378.
Cranmer, Thomas (Archbishop of Canterbury), 364, 375–377, 380.
Cremona, Giovan Battista da, O. P. (Inquisitor-general of Milan), 283.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal (Bishop of Sessa), 4, 8, 9, 194, 195 n. 4.
Cueva, Bartolomé de la, Cardinal, 8, 63, 105, 122, 221 n. 2.
Curwin, Hugh (Archbishop of Dublin), 389 n. 5.
Dalby (Chancellor of Bristol), 369 n. 2.
Dandino, Girolamo, Cardinal, 9, 22, 61, 195 n. 4.
Day, George (Bishop of Chichester), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4, 390.
Delfino, Zaccaria (Nuncio), 157 n. 3, 160 n. 3, 162 n. 1, 165 n. 1, 184, 201 n. 2, 202 n. 2, 289 n. 1, 290 n. 2, 338–346, 350 n. 2.
Dionysuis, H., 319 n. 1.
Dolera, Clemente (General of the Minorities), Cardinal, 202, 267 n. 1,
Donato, Pietro (Bishop of Narni).
Doria, Girolamo, Cardinal, 56, 195 n. 4.
Draco, P., 192 n. 2.
Dubourg, Anne, 326.
Drohojowski, Joh. (Bishop of Leslau), 328 n. 3.
Dudley, Lord Ambrose, 410.
Dudley, Henry (kinsman of the Duke of Northumberland), 381.
Duranti, Cardinal, 195 n. 4.
Dzierzgowski, Nicolas (Archbishop of Gnesen), 328, 334.

Edward VI. (King of England), 366, 371, 380, 381, 389, 390, 399, 410, 411.
Elio, Antonio (Bishop of Pola), 38 n. 1, 86, 124.
Elizabeth of England (daughter of Henry VIII), 374, 381, 391, 393, 398–400, 401–411.
Elizabeth of Portugal, Saint, 242 n. 4.
Emanuel, Philibert (Duke of Savoy), 326.
Ems, Annibale de, 413 n. 2.
Ems, Clara de, 413 n. 2.
Erasmus, 277, 279.
Erveto, Genziano, 31.

Este, Ercole II. d' (Duke of Ferrara), 7, 52, 57, 101, n 5, 102 n. 1, 107–109, 102, 125, 150 n. 1, 152, 153, 156, 195, 200, 274, n. 4, 276, 281, 282.
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 1 n. 1, 2, 3, 5–10, 34, 52, 57–65, 101, 195, 220.
Este, Marchese Sigismondo d', 61 n. 1.
Eustathius, 31.

Fachinetti, G. A., 128 n. 3, 129 n. 1.
Fagius, 369 n. 2, 371 n. 6.
Fantuccio, Federigo (confidant of Cardinal Carlo Carafa), 148, 149, 152 n. 2.
Fantuzzi, Alfonso, 147 n. 3.
Farnese, Family of the, 18, 116, 146, 172.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal (son of Pier Luigi), 1 n. 1, 4, 19, 20–22, 29 n. 4, 52, 57–64, 81, 83, 85 n. 1, 87, 95–104, 107, 109, 119, 128 n. 3, 146, 184 n. 1, 195 n. 4, 198, 296 n. 1, 299, 327, 353 n. 4, 487, 492.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal (Pope Paul III.), 18, 19.
Farnese, Ottavio (son of Pier Luigi, Duke of Castro), 61 n. 1, 73 n. 2, 82, 98, 146.
Farnese, Pier Luigi, 71 n. 3, 82.
Farnese, Ranuccio (Archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 4, 8, 10, 61, 195 n. 4, 214, 226.
Feckenham, Abbot, O. S. B., 392, 408.
Federici, Girolamo (Bishop of Sagona, Governor of Rome 1.
Ferdinand I. (King of the Romans, Emperor), 1 n. 3, 74 n. 2, 90 n. 2, 93 n. 2, 110, 119 n. 4, 158, 162, 249, 289 n. 1, 338–358, 360, 421, 439.
Feria, Count of (Spanish envoy in England), 398, 402, 403, 408.
Figueroa, Juan (ambassador of Philip II.), 357 n. 2.
Fiesco, Giustiniano (Genoese envoy), 263 n. 3.
Filonardi, Flaminio, 487 n. 1.
Fiordibello, Antonio (secretary) 86.
Firmanus, L., 213 n. 1.
Flaminio, Cesare, 301.
Flaminio, Marcantonio, 294, 301.
Florimonte, Galeazzo (Bishop of Sessa and Aquino), 23, 34 n. 2, 176, 177.
Foglietta, Uberto di (jurist), 4, 56.
Foscarari, Egidio, O. P. (Bishop of Modena), 311, 312.
Foxe, John, 369 n. 2, 373, 374, 380.
Franchi, Girolamo, O. P. (Inquisitor of Genoa), 269, 277, 280, 313 n. 5.
Franchino, 73 n. 2.
Francis I. (King of France), 21.
Francis (the Dauphin, afterwards King of France), 109, 401.
Franco, Niccolò (humanist), 312 n. 4.
Fresneda, Bernardo (confessor to Philip II.), 317 n. 2.

Gadaldino, Antonio (bookseller), 282.
Gaddi, Taddeo (Archbishop of Cosenza), Cardinal, 124, 201, 202 n. 2.
Gaetano di Tiene, St., 71.
Garcilasso, *see* Vega.
Gardiner, Stephen (Bishop of Winchester), 369 n. 2, 371, 380, 386–388, 390.
Garimberto, G., 286 n. 4, 315 n. 2.
Geremia, *see* Isachino.
Gerhard, Theodore, S. J., 333.
Gherio, F., 308 n. 1.
Ghisi (provost), 3 n. 3, 4 n. 4, 32 n. 1.
Ghislieri, Michele, Cardinal (Inquisitor general, afterwards Pope Pius V.), 166

Ghislieri—*continued*
n. 3, 186, 200, 223, 254, 262, 267–271, 276, 277, 280, 292, 293, 307, 313, 317, 353, 416, 417.
Gianfigliazzi, Bongianni (Florentine envoy), 114 n. 2, 117 n. 1, 118 n. 3, 164 n. 1, 222, 223 n. 1, 230 n. 1, 235 n. 7, 414 n. 3.
Giovio, Paolo, 487 n. 1.
Giusti, Pasino di, 216 n. 5.
Givry, de, Cardinal, 4.
Giustiniani, Ansaldo, 222 n. 2.
Glynn, William (Bishop of Bangor), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5, 390.
Goldwell. Thomas (Bishop of St. Asaph), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5, 390.
Gonçalvez de Camera, Luis, S. J., 246.
Gonzaga, Agostino (Bishop of Reggio), 7 n. 4, 32 n. 1, 39 n. 1, 48 n. 2, 65 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Cesare, 208 n. 3.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal, 1 n. 1, 4, 7, 34, 37–39, 46, 56, 63, 118 n. 3, 129, 162, n. 3, 170 n. 2, 195 n. 4, 242 n. 4, 267 n. 5, 299 n. 4, 300 n. 2, 305, 306, 323 n. 1, 326 n. 4, 357 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Ferrante (governor of Milan, brother to Cardinal Ercole), 34.
Gonzaga, Francesco (Marquis of Mantua).
Gonzaga, Giulio, 311 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Guglielmo (Duke of Mantua), 2 n. 4, 373 n. 2.
Goodman, Christopher, 362.
Gozzadini (Bolognese envoy), 2 n. 1, 3 n. 4, 11 n. 1, 37 n. 1, 41 n. 3, 44 n. 2, 48 n. 2, 51 n. 2, 53 n. 1, 56 n. 2, 57 n. 1, 64 n. 1, 65 n. 1, 73 n. 3, 80 n. 2, 81 n. 1, 98.
Graccho, Ottavio, 43 n. 3.
Grandi, C., 91 n. 1.
Grandis, Julius de (Bishop of Anglona), 151 n. 1.
Gravina, Gian Antonio (Captain-general of the Church) 231.
Greenwood [Grimwood], 374 n. 2.
Grey, Jane, Lady, 361.
Griffith, Maurice (Bishop of Rochester), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4.
Grimaldi, Lorenzo (Genoese envoy), 263 n. 3.
Groliero, Cesare (secretary of state), 86.
Gropper, Johannes, Cardinal, 183–185, 287 n. 2, 313, 357.
Gaulterius, P. P., 38 n. 1.
Gualterius, Sebastian (conclavist to Cardinal Aless. Farnese, nuncio), 114.
Guise, the Duke of, 152–156, 158, 160, 164–167, 196 n. 1, 173 n. 1, 200.
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 182, 183 n. 2, 200, 324.
Guise, Louis de, Cardinal, 52, 61, 107, 108, 165 n. 1.
Guzman. Martin de (chamberlain to Ferdinand I.) 353, 355.

HEATH, Nicolas (Bishop of Worcester, Archbishop of York), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5, 390, 401, 406, 407.
Henry of Brunswick, 339.
Henry IV. (King of England), 363.
Henry V. (King of England), 363.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 361, 385, 390, 397, 399, 401, 402, 411.
Henry II. (King of France), 4, 7, 33, 45, 46, 57–59, 95–99, 102, 107–109, 113–115, 117, 120, 122, 124, 125, 131, 140, 142–144, 147–149, 151, 152, 155, 160–165, 171, 201, 323–325, 357, 382, 384, 394.
Herculani, Jacopo delli, 52 n. 3.

Hirnheim, Eberhard II. (Bishop of Eichstatt), 344.
Holyman, John (Bishop of Bristol), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5, 390.
Hopton, John (Bishop of Norwich), 369 n. 2, 390 n. 1.
Horne, Edward [John], 374 n. 2.
Hosius, Stanislas (Bishop of Culm and Ermland), 68, 208, 238, 328, 337.
Hullier, John (heretic), 369 n. 2.

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 48, 70, 91, 178 n. 1, 246–256, 259 n. 1. 311, 327, 329 n. 1.
Illyricus, Flacius, 374 n. 2.
Innocent III., Pope, 74.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 12, 416.
Isabella of Portugal, Empress, 15.
Isachino, Geremia (Theatine), 223, 224, 239, 244, 412.

Jewell, 393.
Joachim II. (Elector of Brandenburg), 348.
John III., King of Portugal, 74, n. 2, 189 n. 2.
Julius II., Pope, 78, 79, 349.
Julius III., Pope, 1, 3–7, 11, 25–29, 34, 35, 39, 42, 49, 51, 58, 60, 71, 76, 81, 93, 94, 97, 121, 131, 134, 176, 179, 201, 217, 245 n. 4, 249, 250, 256, 264, 266, 269, 274, 284, 289, 323, 324, 327, 349, 360, 388, 389, 422, 490.

King, Robert (Bishop of Oxford), 369 n. 2, 390 n. 1.
Kitchin, Antony (Bishop of Llandaff), 369 n. 2, 411.
Knox, John, 362, 378, 401.
Kuenburg, Hugo von (Bishop of Salzburg), 344.

Lainez, James, S. J., 23, 186, 191, 192, 248, 250–257, 302, 409 n. 1, 417.
Lampridio (humanist), 17.
Lanssac (French Ambassador), 99, 104, 106, 107, 114, 144, 147, 148, 154, 179, 210, 265.
Lante, Plautilia del, 222 n. 1.
Lara, Juan Manrique de (envoy of Charles V.), 5, 59, n. 3, 63 n. 3, 97, 98, 100.
Lascari (humanist), 17.
Lasco, John a, 335, 377.
Lasso, Diego (agent of Ferdinand I.), 93 n. 1, 118 n. 1, 119 n. 4, 124 n. 4.
Latimer, Hugh, 375, 376.
Lenoncourt, Robert de (Bishop of Châlons), Cardinal, 4, 61.
Leo I., Pope, 242.
Leo X., Pope, 1 n. 2, 14, 16, 73, 272, 298, 349, 423.
Ligorio, Pirro (architect), 241, 416, 417, n. 1, 418 n. 2.
Linterius, Jacobus (notary-apostolic), 347, 348.
Lippi, Filippino (painter), 416.
Lippomano, Luigi (Bishop of Verona, nuncio), 30, 85 n. 1, 86. n. 2, 177, 210 n. 5, 211, 229, 248, 285, 327–335, 389, 340, 353, 414 n. 3.
Litolfi, Annibale, 373 n. 2.
Lorenzini, Ant., 38 n. 1, 51 n. 4, 53 n. 1.
Lorraine, Charles of, Cardinal, *see* Guise.
Lorraine, John of, Cardinal, *see* Guise.
Lorraine, Louis of, Cardinal, *see* Guise.
Lottini, Giov. Francesco (secretary to Cardinal Asc. Sforza), 7 n. 4, 59 n. 3, 93–96.
Luther, Martin, 141, 284, 377.

Maciejowski, Stanislas (Polish envoy), 329.
Machiavelli, Elisabetta (grandmother to Marcellus II.), 12.
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 88, 278.

Madruzzo, Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 4, 7, 9, 39, 46, 53 n. 2, 56, 57, 60–63, 84 n. 1, 105 n. 3, 129 n. 3, 147 n. 2, 195 n. 4, 198 n. 1, 210 n. 7, 221 n. 2, 228 n. 1, 239 n. 4, 283, 286 n. 2, 287 n. 2, 343 n. 3.
Maffei, Bernardino, Cardinal, 22.
Maggio, Francesco Maria (Theatine), 489.
Magnus, Olaus (Archbishop of Upsala), 53 n. 2.
Malespini, P. (poet), 173 n. 1.
Malopera, Claudio, 286 n. 2.
Manrique, *see* Lara.
Manrique, Thomas, O. P., 144.
Manriquez, John (Viceroy of Naples).
Mantua, Duchess of, 3 n. 1, 5 n. 2.
Manutius, P., 33 n. 1, 418 n. 2.
Marbeck, John, 374 n. 2.
Marcellus II., Pope, 2–31, 33–54, 56–59, 80, 175, 176, 177, 243, 250, 383.
Marillac, Charles de, 89 n. 1.
Marignani, Manlio, 45 n. 5.
Marinonio, Giovanni (Theatine) 243, 244.
Mary, Queen of England (daughter of Henry VIII.), 45 n. 3, 90 n. 2, 291, 292, 300, 310, 361–365, 367, 372–374, 377–381, 385–388, 391–400, 401, 402, 411.
Mary Stuart, 401, 409.
Masius, Andreas, 299 n. 1, 345 n. 1.
Massarelli, Angelo (secretary to the Council of Trent), 38, 39, 47, 51, 52, 73, 86, 141, 145, 187, 229, 490.
Maurice of Saxony (Elector), 249.
Maximilian (son of the Emperor, Ferdinand I.), 350, 357.
Maximilian, King of Bohemia, 348 n. 2.
Maximilian, I., Emperor, 349.
Medici, Family of the, 108, 116.
Medici, Catherine de' (Queen of France), 124.
Medici, Cosimo I. de' (Duke of Florence and Tuscany), 5, 45, 58, 102, 161, 172, 281.
Medici, Giovanni Angelo de', Cardinal (later Pope Pius IV.), 8, 10, 41, 62, 88 n. 1, 104, 105, 111 n. 1, 136, 142 n. 3, 185, 240 n. 4, 257, 264, 267 n. 1, 269 n. 2, 307, 312 n. 1, 346, 396, 418 n. 2, 421.
Medici, Lorenzo de' (Duke of Florence), 18.
Meggen, J. von, 46 n. 1, 52 n. 2.
Melancthon, Philip, 282, 377 n. 4.
Mendoza, Francisco de, Cardinal, 56, 63, 96, 98, 105, 195 n. 4.
Mendoza, Juan de (Imperial envoy), 59.
Mentuato, Camillo (Bishop of Satriano, nuncio to Poland 333–336, 355.
Mercurio, Gianandrea (Archbishop of Messina), Cardinal 63, 195 n. 4.
Metaphrastes, Simon, 31.
Meudon, Cardinal, 4.
Michael Angelo, 30, 240 n. 4, 418 n. 2.
Michiel (Venetian envoy to England), 138 n. 1, 368, 370–372, 379–388, 391, 393, 394, 401, 402 n. 2.
Mignanelli, Fabio (Bishop of Lucera), Cardinal, 1 n. 1, 9, 41, 61, 105.
Milanaccio, Poggio, Gisberto di, 260 n. 2.
Mocenigo, Alvise(Venetian Ambassador in Rome), 240, 416, 428, 487.
Modestus, F. (poet), 175 n. 1.
Montague, Viscount (envoy to Paul IV.), 360, 408, 410.
Monte, Baldovino del (brother to Julius III., governor of Spoleto), 27.

Monte, del, Cristoforo (nephew to Julius III.), Cardinal 63, 195 n. 4, 210.
Monte, del, Giovan Maria Ciocchi, *see* Julius III.
Monte, del, Innocenzo (adopted son of Baldovino), Cardinal, 7, 37, 61, 81.
Montesa, 32 n. 2.
Montesarchio, Marquis of, 226.
Montluc, Blaise de, 145.
Montmorency (Constable of France), 114.
Morgan, Henry (Bishop of St. David's), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4.
More, Thomas, Sir, 393.
Morley, Lord, 410.
Moro, Joseph, O. P. (Jewish convert), 274.
Moro, Lodovico il, *see* Sforza, L.
Morone, Giovanni (Bishop of Modena), Cardinal, 1 n. 1, 2, 4 n. 4, 5 n. 3, 6, 41, 44, 57, 60, 61, 64, 69, 150, 151 n. 1, 180, 248, 287 n. 4, 289–302, 304–307, 309, 311, 312, 338, 344, 346, 386 n. 1, 395 n. 4.
Motula, Cardinal, 110 n. 1.
Muzio, Girolamo (Archbishop of Conza, nuncio to Charles V.), 32 n. 1, 285, 379, 386 n. 1.

Nadal, Jerónimo, S. J., 233, 253, 278.
Navagero, Bernardo (Venetian. Ambassador), 65–69, 76 n 1, 78, 88, 104–107, 109–112, 117–124, 126–132, 135–140, 145–151, 154–160, 164 n. 1, 166, 169–172, 179, 181, 187–205, 206–211, 235 n. 3, 240 n. 2, 242 n. 4, 245 n. 1, 259 n. 2, 263, 261 n. 2, 275 n. 3, 278 n. 1, 283 n. 2, 285 n. 5, 290–292, 298–302, 329 n. 3, 332 n. 4, 346 n. 3, 347 n. 1, 395 n. 3; 397 n. 2, 398 n. 2, 486, 487, 490–493.
Naves, de las, 388 n. 6.
Negri, Girolamo, O. S. A., 312, 313.
Nero, Domenico del, 134.
Noailles, Antoine (French Ambassador in London), 394.
Nobili, Roberto de', Cardinal (nephew to Julius III.), G., 11 n. 1, 37, 61.
North, Lord, 410.
Northumberland, *see* Warwick.

Offredo, Pirro dell', 136, 139 n. 3, 171.
Oglethorpe, Owen (Bishop of Carlisle), 369 n. 2, 390 n. 1, 403, 404.
Olivo, Camillo, 65 n. 1, 92 n. 3.
Ormanetto, Niccolò (afterwards Bishop of Padua), 301.
Orsini, Family of the, 100, 265.
Orsini, Camillo, 127 n. 4, 132, 137, 140, 211, 226, 229–231.
Orsini, Giovanni Battista (Archbishop of S. Severina).
Orsini, Giulio (envoy from Cardinal C. Carafa to Henry II.), 149, 151.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano, 97, 124.
Osio, Giovan Battista (Datary), 99, 110.

Pacheco, Pedro (Bishop of Jaen), Cardinal, 56, 63, 68, 91, 93 n. 1, 122, 129, 223 n. 2, 254, 255, 267 n. 1, 285 n. 5, 306, 321, 353, 354.
Pacheco, Francisco (secretary to Alba), 144, 148, 150, 350 n. 2.
Paleotti, C., 123 n. 1, 130 n. 1, 133 n. 3, 141 n. 2, 144–146, 178 n. 4.
Palestrina, Giov. Pierluigi da, 55, 91.
Pallantieri, Alessandro, 133.
Pallavicini, Sforza, Marchese, 489, 491.
Palmio, B., S. J., 283 n. 2.

Panvinio, Onofrio (church historian), 7 n. 4, 9 n. 2, 31, 46, 53, 423, 437.
Paolo da Nicola, Leonardo di, 260 n. 2.
Parkhurst (historian), 407 n. 2.
Parpaglia, Vincenzo (Benedictine Abbot of Maguzzano), 384.
Pasoto, Fr., 85 n. 2.
Pate, Richard (Bishop of Worcester), 369 n. 2.
Patricius, A., 289 n. 3.
Paul III., Pope, 18–24, 26–28, 34, 35, 42, 44, 64, 71, 76 n. 3, 93, 121, 179, 187, 188, 197, 217, 226, 234, 236, 260, 269, 272, 294, 296, 311, 339, 422, 424.
Paul IV., Pope, 4, 6, 8–11, 23, 40, 41, 44, 57–83, 84–113, 114–122, 127, 126–135, 137–152, 153–173, 175–204, 206–231, 233–258, 259–268, 269–278, 281–287, 289–293, 295–318, 319–336, 338–358, 360, 375, 376, 379, 383, 384, 386, 388, 389, 394–398, 404–424, 486–492.
Paul V., Pope, 55.
Peter, Martyr, *see* Vermigli.
Peto, William, S. O. F. (Legate in England), Cardinal, 292, 397, 398.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 5 n. 3, 45 n. 3, 58, 59 n. 3, 90 n. 2, 94 n. 2, 95, 107 n. 4, 110, 114, 119, 125, 131–139 146–152, 155–158, 166, 167, 171, 209, 211–213, 228, 251, 283, 291, 301, 310, 317–323, 326, 347, 355, 361, 363, 367, 372 n. 4, 379, 384, 385, 388, 394–399, 402, 403, 405, 406, 408, 409, 412, 418 n. 2, 493.
Pia, Bernardino, 2 n. 1, 3 n. 1, 5 n. 3, 60 n. 2, 162 n. 3, 169 n. 2, 170 n. 2, 257 n. 6, 242 n. 4, 267 n. 5, 299 n. 3, 300 n. 2, 305, 306, 323
Pia, Bernardino—*continued* n. 1, 326 n. 4, 357 n. 2, 413 n. 3.
Pietrasanta, Giambattista, 241.
Pighino, Sebast. (Archbishop of Siponto), Cardinal, 339.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 4, 9, 64.
Pittigliano, Niccolò, Count, 265.
Pius IV., Pope, *see* Medici, G. A. de',
Pius V., Pope, *see* Ghislieri.
Pius IX., Pope, 490.
Poggio (humanist), 278.
Poggio, Giovanni Francesco (nuncio), Cardinal, 9, 63, 64.
Pogiano, Giulio, 20 n. 2, 423.
Polanco, Juan de, S. J., 48.
Pole, David (Bishop of Peterborough), 369 n. 2, 390 n. 1
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 2, 5 n. 1, 6, 21, 25, 45, 57–63, 69, 83 n. 2, 150, 156, 157 n. 2, 287 n. 4, 292, 294, 299–302, 307–311, 313 n. 2, 360, 363, 371, 372, 376, 379, 383–389, 391–398.
Pole, Ursula (sister to the Cardinal), 382.
Politi, Giov. Batt., 15 n. 4.
Pollidorus, 11 n. 2.
Ponce de la Fuente, Constantino (heretic), 314.
Ponet (prot. Bishop of Winchester), 362.
Pontormo (painter), 49 n. 1.
Popoli, Count of, 139.
Porta, Guglielmo della (artist), 418 n. 2.
Porta, Tommaso della (sculptor), 417.
Pozzo, Jacopo dal, *see* Puteo.
Prato, Giovanni Antonio da (Theatine), 243.
Prick, 374 n. 2.
Priuli (secretary to Cardinal Pole), 301, 309, 384 n. 2.
Przerembski (Archbishop of Gnesen), 334.

Puteo, Jacopo [Pozzo], Cardinal (Archbishop of Bari), 2, 3, 9, 39, 51, 60–63, 91, 105, 261, 264, 267 n. 1, 306, 307, 321, 337, 358, 354, 376.

QUIÑONES, Cardinal, 220 n. 3.

RADZIWILL, Nicolas, Prince, 330, 336.
Raverta, Ottaviano (nuncio), 54 n. 2, 162, 211 n. 4.
Rebiba, Scipione (governor of Rome), Cardinal, 119, 120 n. 1, 125, 140 n. 2, 183, 185, 194 n. 3, 211, 264, 267 n. 1, 268 n. 3, 292, 306, 333, 353, 355.
Redwiz, Weigand von (Bishop of Bamberg), 344.
Renard, Simon (Imperial envoy in England), 363.
Reumano, Giovanni Suario (Auditor of the Rota), Cardinal, 110 n. 1, 183, 185, 231, 252, 264, 265 n. 1, 267 n. 1, 292, 321, 353.
Ribadeneira, Pedro de, S. J., 211 n. 4, 302, 408, 409 n. 1.
Riballus, Jacobus, 50 n. 3, 53 n. 1.
Ricchi, Agostino (physician to Paul IV.), 317 n. 4, 414 n. 2, 421 n. 4.
Ricci da Montepulciano, Giovanni, Cardinal, 64, 195 n. 4.
Rich, Lord, 410.
Richard II. (King of England), 363.
Ridley, Nicolas (Anglican Bishop of London), 375, 376.
Robertello (humanist), 487 n. 1.
Rocco da Montifiascone (artist), 417 n. 1.
Rosario, Virgilio (the Pope's Vicar-general), Cardinal, 200, 202 n. 2, 229, 231, 267 n. 1, 292, 304, 321.
Rossi, Vincenzo de' (sculptor), 230 n. 1.
Rovere, Family of the, 141.
Rovere, Giulio della, Cardinal, 7, 61, 195 n. 4.
Rovere, Guidobaldo della (Duke of Urbino), 24 n. 1, 52, 56, 97, 105, 110, 111 n. 1, 133, 274 n. 4, 275, 276.
Rovere, Marco Vigerio della (Bishop of Sinigaglia), 194,
Rucellai, Annibale (nephew of Giovanni della Casa), 86, 102.

SADOLETO, Jacopo, Cardinal, 21 86.
Sadoleto, Paueo (Bishop of Carpentras), 175 n. 2.
Salm, Wolfgang von (Bishop of Passau), 344.
Salmeron, Alfonso, S. J., 211 n. 4, 248, 256, 294, 302, 327, 329.
Salvago, 87 n. 1.
Salviani, Ippolito, 31.
San Ambrosio, Hernando de, O. P., 317 n. 4.
Sanfelice, Gian Antonio (Bishop of Cava), 311, 312.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 30 n. 1.
Sanguine, Ferrante di, 226.
Santa Fiora, the Cardinal of, *see* Sforza, Guido Ascanio.
Santorio, Giulio Antonio, 285, 293 n. 1.
Saraceni, Giammichele (Archbishop of Matera), Cardinal, 9, 41, 62, 105, 267 n. 1, 321, 353.
Sarpi, 313 n. 2, 405.
Sarria, Fernandez Ruiz de (envoy from Charles V.), 94, 95, 111, 112, 118, 119, 121, 124 n. 1, 127, 129, 134.
Sauli, Stefano, 396.
Savelli, Cardinal, 4, 8, 62, 267 n. 1.
Savelli, Jacopo, Cardinal.
Savonarola, 279 n. 1.
Schauenburg, Adolf von (Archbishop of Cologne, Elector), 184 n. 1.
Scott, Cuthbert (Bishop of Chester), 369 n. 2, 390.

Scotti, Giovanni Bernardino, Cardinal, 101 n. 1, 182, 185, 190, 230, 243, 244, 252, 255, 264, 267 n. 1, 353.
Scotti, Tommaso, O. P., 293 n. 1.
Seld (Imperial Chancellor), 356.
Selvago, 413 n. 2.
Seripando, Girolamo (General of the Augustinian Hermits), Cardinal, 6 n. 1, 27, 30, 33, 34, 53, 260, 285 n. 4, 417 n. 2.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 7, 61, 214
Serristori, Averardo (agent of Cosimo de' Medici), 5, 6, 35 72, 98.
Sertori, Julius (Archbishop of San Severino), 124.
Severoli, Ercole (canonist), 191.
Sforza, Family of, the 92, 93, 96, 98, 100.
Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, 92, 158.
Sforza, Alessandro (brother of the Count of Santa Fiora), 92, 93 n. 1. 96.
Sforza, Bona (queen dowager of Poland), 212.
Sforza, Carlo (brother to Alessandro), 92.
Sforza, Guido Ascanio, of Santa Fiora, Cardinal, 8, 44, 50, 52, 57, 59, 60, 63, 64, 92–95, 99, 102, 104, 146, 167, 173 n. 1, 267 n. 1, 285 n. 5.
Sforza, Lodovico [il Moro], Duke of Milan, 76.
Sforza, Mario (brother of Alessandro), 92, 93.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 408, 410.
Sigismund Augustus II. (King of Poland), 194, 327–339, 358.
Siliceo, Juan (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 183.
Silos, 489.
Silva, Miguel de (Bishop of Viseu), Cardinal, 8.
Simoncelli, Girolamo, Cardinal, 63.
Sirleto, Guglielmo (custodian of the Vatican library), 30, 31, 38 n. 1, 42, 191, 192, n. 2, 352, 353, 418 n. 2, 423. 423.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 231.
Sixtus of Siena, O. P. (Jewish convert), 274.
Soleto, Francisco ((Capuchin), 191.
Soliman I., the Sultan, 142 n. 3, 275.
Somerset, Edward, Duke of (the Protector for Edward VI. of England), 364.
Somma, Duke of, 113, 116 n. 2, 145.
Sonnius (envoy of Philip II.), 321 n. 2.
Soranzo (Venetian envoy), 152 n. 3, 172 n. 1, 326, 363 n. 4, 395 n. 2.
Soranzo, Vittorio (Bishop of Bergamo), 284.
Soto, Dominic, O. P., 255.
Soto, Petrus de, O. P., 393.
Soverchio, Girolamo, 86.
Spannocchi, Family of the, 12.
Spannocchi, Antonio, 12.
Spannocchi, Giulio, 12.
Stafford, Lord, 410.
Stafford, Thomas (nephew of Cardinal Pole), 382, 383, 394.
Stanghelini, E., 415 n. 3.
Stanley, Thomas (Bishop of Sodor and Man), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5.
Stella (envoy), 397 n. 7.
Storey, John, 369 n. 2, 371.
Strasoldo, Pamfilo, 333 n. 1.
Strozzi, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 201.
Strozzi, Pietro (commander in Siena), 80 n. 1, 82, 124, 144, 145, 152, 154, 158, 160, 162–165.
Strozzi, Roberto, 124.
Stuart, Mary, *see* Mary Stuart.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, 366, 382.
Sulmona, Prince of, 101.
Surian, Michele (Venetian envoy to England), 382.

TAGLIAVIA, Pietro (Archbishop of Palermo), Cardinal, 9, 56, 63, 195 n. 4.
Tassone, Lucretio, 61 n. 1.
Taxis, Juan Antonio de (Imperial postmaster), 128, 129, 131 n. 2, 171.
Tebaldeo (humanist), 17.
Telesio, B. (philosopher), 418 n. 2.
Textor, Urban (Bishop), 342 n. 2.
Thirlby, Thomas (Bishop of Ely), 360, 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5.
Thomas of Tiferno (Capuchin), 246.
Tiburzio, 98.
Titio, C., 2 n. 3, 53 n. 1, 90 n. 2.
Toledo, Juan Alvarez de, Cardinal, 8, 58, 60, 62, 105, 123, 127, 144, 166 n. 1, 180, 262, 264.
Tournon, F. de, Cardinal, 4, 5 n. 1, 107, 108, 123, 182, 190.
Traheron, Bartolomew, 362.
Trivulzio, Antonio (nuncio), Cardinal, 171, 201, 285 n. 5.
Truchsess von Waldburg, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 4 n. 4, 41, 62, 91, 105, 117, 180, 248–250, 287 n. 2, 338, 363 n. 7.
Tunstall, Cuthbert (Bishop of Durham), 369 n. 2.
Turberville, James (Bishop of Exeter), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 5.
Tuto, Marcello (governor of Assisi), 418 n. 2.

UCHANSKI, (Bishop of Chelm), 336.
Urban VI., Pope, 420.
Urea, G. de, 132 n. 2.

VALDES, Fernando (Archbishop of Seville, Grand-Inquisitor), 281, 315, 316.
Valentini (Provost in Modena), 282.
Valentino, S., Count, 134.
Vargas, F. de (Imperial secretary), 307 n. 2, 355, 356, 358.
Vasari, 49 n. 1.
Vasto (Imperial general), 82.
Vega, Garcilasso de la (envoy of Charles V.), 107, 111, 117, 128–132, 134, 171, 211.
Velli, Francesco, *see* Maggio.
Vendôme, Cardinal, 4.
Verallo, Girolamo (nuncio), Cardinal, 9, 262.
Verancsic, A., 413 n. 1.
Vergerio, Pietro Paulo (Bishop of Capo d' Istria; nuncio, apostate), 294 n. 1, 330.
Vermigli, Peter Martyr, 349, 377.
Vettori, Pier [P. Victorius], (Florentine envoy), 30, 38 n. 1.
Viglius, 320.
Vitelli, Vitellozzo (Bishop of Città di Castello), Cardinal, 167, 168, 197 n. 4, 201, 202, 208 n. 2, 209, 213 n. 3, 214, 223, 226, 242 n. 4, 353.
Vitruvius, 30 n. 1.

WARTON, Robert (Bishop of St. Asaph), 369 n. 2, 390 n. 3.
Warwick, John, Earl of (Duke of Northumberland, Protector of England), 361, 366, 381.
Watson, Thomas (Bishop of Lincoln), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4, 391 n. 5, 410.
Wharton, Lord, 410.
White, John (Bishop of Winchester), 369 n. 2, 389 n. 4, 410.
William of Cleves, 339, 345 n. 1, 348 n. 2.
Winchester, Marquis of, 410.
Worein, Samson of (Canon of Ermland), 238.
Wyatt, Thomas, Sir, 361, 362, 366, 402.

ZANCHI, Basilio (custodian of the Vatican Library), 219.
Zebryzdowski, A. (Bishop of Cracow), 328 n. 3.
Zeno, Pier Francesco, 31.
Zobel, Melchior (Bishop of Wurzburg), 344.
Zoboli, Filippo, 43 n. 3.
Zuccaro, T. (artist), 418 n. 2.
Zwingli, Ulrich, 377.

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Pius IV. to Girolamo Priuli, Doge of Venice, December 30th, 1560.
(Papal Secret Archives. Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 420).

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XV.

PAGE

Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XV. and XVI. vii
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XV. and XVI. ix
Table of Contents xxv
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . . xxxvi

PIUS IV, 1559–1565

Author's Preface xxxvii
Introduction xxxix
The Conclave of 1559 1
Previous Life and Character of Pius IV. The beginning of his Pontificate 66
The Pope's Relatives. Charles Borromeo. Diplomatic Relations with the Princes 94
The Fall of the House of Carafa . . . 131
Negotiations for the re-opening of the Council of Trent . 179
The Mission of Commendone and Delfino to Germany . 216
Final preparations for the re-opening of the Council . . 241
Re-opening of the Council of Trent. Sessions XVII. to XXII. 264
The Mission of Morone to Ferdinand I. at Innsbruck, 1562–1563 299
Concluding Sessions of the Council of Trent . . 328
Significance of the Council of Trent . . . 366
Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . . 379
Index of Names 431

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VITERBO—Chapter Library.
VOLTERRA—Guarnacci Library.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XV.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave of 1559.

A.D.		PAGE
1559	Popular outburst at the death of Paul IV.	1
	Reaction against the dead Pope	2
	Cardinal Morone released from prison and reinstated	3
	Hatred of the Carafa, who are deprived of the rights of citizenship	4
	The Cardinals take the part of the Carafa; Carlo Carafa recalled and reinstated	5
	Obsequies of the late Pope	5
	The Cardinals go into conclave	6
	The number of electors present in Rome	6
	Paul IV.'s attempt to exclude Morone and Este	7
	Este's hopes of the tiara	8
	The wishes of the French Government	9
	The aims of Philip II.	10
	The candidates supported by Spain	11
	The representatives of Ferdinand I. and Philip II.	11
	Policy of the Duke of Florence	12
	Peculiar party conditions in the conclave	13
	Decisive influence of the party of Carafa	14
	Personal aims of Carlo Carafa; he is supported by Farnese	15
	Unsuccessful attempt to elect Carpi by acclamation	16
	The election capitulation	16
	The first scrutiny	17
	Difficulty of deciding upon a candidate	18
	Morone offers to withdraw	20
	The French attempt to elect Tournon	20
	Divisions in the Spanish party	22
	The candidature of Gonzaga	23
	Arrival of the Spanish Ambassador, Francisco de Vargas	25
	His feverish activity	26
	Failure of the Franco-Spanish alliance	27
	Selfish aims of the party leaders	27
	Coolness between Vargas and Sforza	28
	Application for further instructions to Philip II.	29
	Fresh attempt to elect Gonzaga	29
	Affairs at a standstill in the conclave	30
	Indignation in Rome; the Conservators complain to the Cardinals	31

A.D. PAGE
Non-observance of the enclosure . . . 31
Philip II. is unwilling to give definite instructions 32
Complete indecision in the conclave; the ballots a mere matter of form . . . 32
Impatience of Carafa 33
Who approaches the French party . . 34
Vargas, on his own responsibility, gives bribes to Carafa 35
Philip II. shatters the hopes of Carafa, but decides against Gonzaga 36
The indiscretion of Vargas . . . 37
Carafa makes overtures to the French party . 38
And seems to hold the election in his hand . 40
Este believes that his time has come . . 41
Desperation of Vargas 41
Unhealthy conditions in the conclave . . 42
Disturbances in the city 43
An attempt made to ensure the enclosure . 44
Interference by the ambassadors; Vargas rebuked by the Dean, du Bellay . . . 45
Dignified message from Philip II., disclaiming all wish to interfere 45
Popular fear of a French Pope . . . 46
Carafa goes over to the side of Spain . . 47
The candidature of Gonzaga again put forward . 47
Attempt to elect Carpi 48
Alliance of Carafa and Sforza . . . 49
The Spaniards and Carafa attempt the election of Pacheco 50
Weariness of the electors 53
Panvinio's account of the last days of the conclave; the decision lies between Cesi and Medici . 54
Sudden turn of affairs 55
The candidature of Medici the only course possible 56
Guise agrees to this 57
And at length Alfonso Carafa gives his consent . 58
Activity of the Duke of Florence . . 59
The election of Medici practically assured . 60
The election of Cardinal Medici (Dec. 25th) . 61
He takes the name of Pius IV. . . . 62
Displeasure of Philip II. with Vargas . . 63

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PIUS IV. THE BEGINNING OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

The Medici of Milan; not related to the celebrated Florentine family 66
1519 The parents of Pius IV.; death of his father . 67
Gian Angelo studies jurisprudence at Pavia . 67

A.D. PAGE
1521 His elder brother, Gian Giacomo, becomes Castellan of Musso, and the terror of the neighbourhood 68
1526 Gian Angelo goes to Rome on a diplomatic mission 69
1529 The family fortunes decline; Gian Giacomo out of favour with the Emperor . . . 70
1531 The "Musso War" 71
1532 Gian Giacomo loses his possessions; he enters the service of the Emperor . . . 72
Gian Angelo returns to Rome; he obtains the favour of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese . 73
1534 Who is elected Pope as Paul III. . . 73
1539 Advancement of Gian Angelo; Governor of Fano and Parma; Commissary with the Papal troops 74
1545 A matrimonial alliance arranged with the Farnese 74
Slow advancement of Gian Angelo; his disappointment; a hard but salutary school . . 75
He becomes Archbishop of Ragusa . . 76
1547 Vice-legate of Bologna 77
1549 Gian Angelo created Cardinal . . . 77
1550 His influence in the conclave which elected Julius III. 77
1553 He is held in high esteem by the new Pope, and made Bishop of Cassano and of Foligno (1556) 78
His knowledge of canon law . . . 78
1555 He is not in favour with Paul IV., and opposes the war with Spain 79
His relations with the Pope grow more strained . 80
1558 Cardinal Medici leaves Rome . . . 81
His close relations with Cosimo I., who sees in him the future Pope 81
"The Father of the poor" . . . 82
1559 He is elected Pope; joy of the Romans . . 83
1560 Personal appearance of Pius IV. . . . 84
His extraordinary activity . . . 85
State of his health; his daily life . . 87
His general friendliness and affability . . 88
His knowledge of literature and canon law, but lack of deep theological knowledge . . 89
His statesmanship, and grasp of business matters 90
His good relations with the ambassadors; a great contrast to Paul IV. . . . 91
Special value attached by the Pope to the friendship of Venice 92

CHAPTER III.

THE POPE'S RELATIVES. CHARLES BORROMEO. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PRINCES.

Few Popes have had so many relatives as Pius IV. 94
The family of Hohenems 94
The family of Borromeo 95
The Serbelloni 96

A.D. PAGE
1560 The Pope's special love for the Borromei; Charles Borromeo summoned to Rome; a memorable day for the Church 96
Rapid promotion of Charles Borromeo; he is created Cardinal 97
He becomes Archbishop of Milan, and Secretary of State 98
The marriage of Federigo Borromeo and Virginia della Rovere 99
Cosimo I. in Rome; disappointment of his ambitions 100
Promotion of the Serbelloni nephews . . 101
Jealousy of the Hohenems and Serbelloni of the Borromei 102
Mark Sittich von Hohenems created Cardinal, but 103
The Pope's affections centred in the Borromei . 104
His choice of Charles as Secretary of State a brilliant success, and a decisive factor of his reign . 105
Dissatisfaction of the diplomatists and officials . 105
Unimposing personality and excessive reserve of Borromeo 105
The ambassadors come to appreciate him better . 106
Early days of Borromeo; his studies and purity of life 107
His early talent for administration . . 108
The Pope bestows many important and lucrative offices on Borromeo, but he remains simple and unassuming 109
His assiduity and hard work at the Secretariate . 110
The whole of the diplomatic correspondence passes through his hands 111
His recreations 112
Magnificence of his household, and pride in his family 112
1561 Federigo Borromeo Captain-General of the Church 114
1562 Sudden death of Federigo Borromeo . . 114
Charles Borromeo resolves to renounce all worldly ambitions 116
1563 He receives Holy Orders 117
And adopts a stricter manner of life . . 118
The Pope and the Court displeased at the change 118
1564 Ascetic life of Borromeo; he reduces his state, and devotes himself to penance . . . 119
His exemplary life causes general admiration . 121
Pius IV.'s esteem for Cardinal Morone . . 122
His sense of statesmanship shown in his treatment of the princes 123
1560 He recognizes the Imperial dignity of Ferdinand I. 124
And fills the nunciatures left vacant by Paul IV. 125
He again allows the carnival festivities, and limits the power of the Inquisition 126
And mitigates the decrees of Paul IV. . . 127
But by no means breaks off the work of reform . 128
Improved condition of the city 129

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER IV.

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF CARAFA.

Hatred of the Carafa in Rome . . . 131
Renewed arrogance of Cardinal Carlo; his schemes for the restoration of the family fortunes . 133
Pius IV. looks with favour upon his hopes . 134
The enemies of the Carafa; Colonna, Sforza, Madruzzo and Gonzaga 135
1559 The former crimes of the family are renewed during the last days of Paul IV. . . . 136
The murder of Marcello Capece at Soriano . 137
The murder of the Duchess of Paliano (August) . 138
1560 Pius IV. decides to take action against the Carafa 138
Accusations against the two Carafa Cardinals . 139
Attitude of Philip II.; his growing hostility to the Carafa 140
Secret activity of the enemies of the Carafa . 141
Carlo Carafa blind to his danger . . 142
The Duke of Paliano returns to Rome (June) . 143
Arrest of the two Cardinals and the Duke . 144
Pius IV.'s statement to the consistory . . 145
General approval of the Pope's action . . 146
Pallantieri and Federicis entrusted with the trial. 147
The charges against the Carafa . . . 147
The opening of the trial (July) . . . 148
Carlo Carafa's trust in Philip II. . . 149
His arrogant behaviour at the trial . . 150
His imprisonment made more severe; he is charged with compromising relations with the Turks and heretics 151
The trial draws to an end (September) . . . 152
The complicity of the Cardinal in the murder of the Duchess 153
The charges proved, but the trial is conducted in a very biased way 154
The advocates of the Carafa . . . 155
Many persons intercede on their behalf . . 156
1561 Consistory to decide the sentences . . 158
Written confession of the Duke of Paliano (January) 159
Arrest of Cardinal Rebiba (February) . . 161
Creation of new Cardinals (February) . . 162
The intervention of Philip II. now the only hope of the Carafa 164
Embarrassment of the king, but he refuses to intervene 165
The consistory of March 2nd; enumeration of the crimes of the Carafa 166
The sentence pronounced (March 4th); Carlo Carafa, Paliano, d'Alife and Cardine condemned to death 167

A.D. PAGE

Complete conversion of Giovanni Carafa . . 167
His farewell letter to his son . . . 168
The execution of Carlo Carafa . . . 171
The execution of Paliano, d'Alife and Cardine . 171
Cardinal Alfonso reinstated, but leaves Rome . 173
Philip II. contrives to escape odium . . 175
The conduct of Pius IV. not above reproach . 176
His own explanation of his motives . . 177
An effective blow at the old nepotism . . 177

CHAPTER V.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RE-OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1559 Pius IV. declares his intention of re-opening the Council 180
1560 Difficulty of securing the support of the princes . 180
The attitude of Ferdinand I. at first favourable . 180
Divergent views among the princes become apparent 181
Philip II.'s reluctance to commit himself . . 182
The attitude of the Emperor and France . 183
Fear of a national council in France . . 184
Eagerness of Pius IV. to carry on the work of reform 185
He emphatically declares his intention of summoning the Council before the assembled ambassadors 186
Philip II. expresses his agreement . . 187
France continues to make difficulties . . 188
Hesitating attitude of Ferdinand I.; he expresses his objections in a memorandum . . 189
This practically negatives the idea of a Council . 189
The Imperial ambassador, Arco, in Rome. . 193
Diplomatic shrewdness of Pius IV. . . 194
His replies to Spain, France and the Emperor . 195
Delfino sent to Ferdinand I. . . . 196
The Pope's answer to the Emperor's memorandum 197
Prospero Santa Croce and Philip II. . . 198
France refuses to change her attitude . . 199
Determination of the Pope . . . 200
Philip II. insists on the Council being declared a continuation of the previous assembly . 201
The Pope decides to summon the Council at all costs 202
Pius IV. inspired by his high office . . 203
Delfino in Vienna 205
Ferdinand I. continues to make difficulties . 206
Divergent views among the Cardinals . . 207
The advice of Delfino 209
The Emperor and France agree to the summoning of the Council to Trent . . . 210
The Pope orders the drafting of the bull of convocation 211
Jubilee indulgence proclaimed . . . 211

A.D. PAGE
The bull of convocation (November 29th) . 213
Copies of the bull sent to the princes . . 214
The word "continuation" avoided . . 215

CHAPTER VI.

THE MISSION OF COMMENDONE AND DELFINO TO GERMANY.

1560 The Council evidently a continuation of the former assembly at Trent 216
The bull of convocation taken to France by Abbot Niquet 217
Giovanni Commendone chosen to take the bull to the Emperor, and to the princes of north Germany 218
Delfino chosen to go to the princes of south Germany 218
1561 The two nuncios have an audience with Ferdinand I. 220
The Emperor's advice to the nuncios . . 221
They visit the Diet of the princes assembled at Naumburg 222
Their invitation to the Council meets with an insulting rejection 223
Commendone at Leipsic and Magdeburg . . 226
He proceeds to Berlin; the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg 280
Hildesheim, Paderborn and Münster . . 228
Commendone visits the Elector of Trêves . 229
Commendone in Cologne 231
He goes to the Netherlands . . . 232
Proposed visit to Denmark . . . 233
And to Sweden 234
He receives orders to return to Rome . . 236
And visits Nancy, Metz, Mayence and Nuremberg on his way 237
Commendone in Bavaria 237
Delfino in south Germany . . . 238
His conversation with Vergerio . . . 239
Duke Albert of Bavaria 240
Neither mission crowned with much success . 240

CHAPTER VII.

FINAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE RE-OPENING OF THE COUNCIL.

1561 Ferdinand I. accepts the Council in principle . 241
But raises many difficulties . . . 242
The legates for the Council appointed . . 243
Cardinal Gonzaga, the senior legate, an excellent choice 244
Puteo, Simonetta, Hosius and Seripando his colleagues 245

A.D. PAGE

Officials of the Council appointed . . 246
Indecision of the Emperor . . . 248
Difficulties about the bull in Spain . . 248
Philip II. insists on a declaration of "continuation" 249
The Emperor continues to defer his decision . 250
Papal envoys sent to Russia and Poland . . 251
Welcome zeal of the King of Portugal . . 251
Gonzaga and Seripando make their solemn entry into Trent (April 16th) . . . 252
Very few bishops present in Trent . . 252
Raverta as nuncio in Spain . . . 253
A secret "bull of continuation" sent to Philip II. 253
Who orders the Spanish bishops to prepare to go to Trent 253
Ferdinand I. still refuses to name a fixed date . 254
The Italian bishops ordered to go to Trent . 254
Nevertheless, the prelates assemble very slowly . 255
France and the Emperor still delay . . 256
The Emperor's representatives chosen (December) 257
Cardinal Mark Sittich to be legate instead of Puteo 257
Arrival of Cardinal Simonetta at Trent . . 258
The Pope's instructions: "The Council must be opened as soon as possible." . . . 258
The Pope's orders as to the work to be taken in hand 259
The legates decide to postpone the opening until January 260
Discussions as to procedure . . . 261
1562 The first General Congregation held (January) 15th 262
Demands of the Spanish bishops . . . 263

CHAPTER VIII.

RE-OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. SESSIONS XVII. TO XXII.

1562 The solemn opening of the Council (January 18th) 264
The envoys received 266
Demands of the representatives of the Emperor . 267
The XVIIIth Session of the Council (February 26th) 267
Further demands of the Imperial envoys . 269
The Pope orders the Council to proceed to the discussion of questions of dogma . . 270
Arrival of more envoys . . . 271
The controversy as to the divine origin of the duty of residence 272
The Papal primacy affected by this question . 273
Divergent views and heated discussions . . 274
The question referred to the Pope . . 274
Interference on the part of the envoys . . 275
The French envoys demand a postponement . 276
The XIXth Session of the Council (May 14th) . 277

A.D. PAGE
The Pope reserves his decision as to residence . 278
The Pope's articles of reform . . . 279
Further legates suggested 280
The Pope rebukes the legates for their want of unity 281
Danger of a dissolution 282
The XXth Session of the Council (June 3rd) . 284
Communion under both kinds discussed . . 285
The reform libellum of Ferdinand I. . . 286
The demand for the chalice for the laity . . 289
The XXIst Session of the Council (July 16th) . 290
The decrees on Communion . . . 290
Reform decrees 290
Dissensions among the legates . . . 291
Gonzaga determines to ask for his recall . . 292
Reconciliation of the legates . . . 293
Philip II. orders the Spanish bishops to withdraw their demands 294
Discussion of the question of the chalice for the laity. 295
Impressive speech by Lainez . . . 296
The XXIInd Session of the Council (September 17th) 297
The decree on the Mass 297

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSION OF MORONE TO FERDINAND I. AT INNSBRUCK. 1562-3.

1562 The reform libellum of Ferdinand I. . . 299
The Spaniards press the *ius divinum* of the episcopate 301
Able speech of Lainez against this. . . 301
Arrival of the French prelates (November 23rd) . 303
Important position taken by Cardinal Guise . 303
The question of the episcopal office . . 305
Danger to the Papal supremacy . . . 306
The next Session repeatedly postponed . . 307
1563 French reform proposals 308
Ferdinand I. again intervenes with fresh demands 308
Cardinal Guise at Innsbruck . . . 309
Suggested coalition of the Catholic powers to dominate the Council . . . 309
Death of Cardinal Gonzaga (March 2nd) . . 310
Death of Cardinal Seripando (March 17th) . 311
Reform demands of the Emperor . . 312
Pius IV. is inclined to suspend the Council . 313
Imperative need of coming to an understanding with the Emperor 314
Morone to go to the Imperial court . . 315
Morone and Navagero appointed legates to the Council 315
Morone's pre-eminent qualities for this office . 316

A.D. PAGE

Morone arrives in Trent (April 10th), and at once sets out for Innsbruck . . . 317
He at once opens negotiations with the Emperor . 317
He realizes the good intentions of Ferdinand . 318
The advisers of Ferdinand put difficulties in his way 319
But Morone's skill and personality bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion . . 321
A full agreement reached on most points . 322
Morone leaves Innsbruck (May 13th) . . 323
Satisfaction of the Pope at Morone's success . 325
Disgust of the enemies of Rome . . . 325
Return of Morone to Trent . . . 327

CHAPTER X.

THE CONCLUDING SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1563 Better relations between the Pope and Philip II. . 328
Vargas is replaced by Requesens . . . 328
The "right of proposition" at the Council . 330
The episcopate and the primacy . . . 332
Lainez defends the rights of the Holy See (June 16th) 332
The Spanish bishops and the episcopal power . 334
Change of front on the part of Cardinal Guise . 335
The XXIIIrd Session of the Council (July 15th) . 336
Decree on Holy Orders and the hierarchy of the Church 337
The education and training of priests . . 338
The close of the Council in sight . . 339
The reform of the princes demanded . . 340
Usurpations of authority by the civil power . 340
A draft of reform decrees presented to the envoys. 341
A storm of protest from the powers . . 343
The demands of Ferdinand I. . . . 344
Courageous reply of Morone . . . 345
French protests 346
Difficult position of the legates . . . 347
Outburst on the part of du Ferrier, the French envoy 348
Indignation in the Council . . . 349
Cardinal Guise in Rome 350
He is treated with great honour by the Pope, and an understanding is reached . . . 351
Pius IV. and the election of Maximilian as King of the Romans 351
Ferdinand I. agrees to the closing of the Council . 352
The legates instructed to hasten the proceedings . 353
Proposals for the reform of the Sacred College . 354
The XXIVth Session of the Council (November 11th) 355
Decree on Matrimony 355
Reform decrees 356

A.D. PAGE

General wish to end the Council . . . 357
Spain alone holds back 358
The reform proposals modified . . . 359
News of the grave illness of the Pope . . 361
Decision to hold the last session at once . . 361
The XXVth and last Session of the Council (December 3rd) 362
Dogmatic and reform decrees . . . 363
Decree on indulgences 364
The close of the Council of Trent . . 365

CHAPTER XI.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The Council had accomplished a mighty work . 366
No restoration of unity of faith . . 366
The breach now complete, and a new epoch begun 367
Clearing up of the religious position . . 367
The Holy Scriptures not the only source of faith . 368
The decree on Justification . . . 368
The decrees on the Sacraments and the Mass . 369
The primacy of the Roman See assured but not defined 370
Condemnation of the doctrines of the reformers . 371
The episcopate and the duty of residence . . 372
The formation of a good clergy . . . 374
Removal of abuses 375
The Christian family 376
The secular princes and absolutism . . 377
The secular priesthood 378
The Council a boundary line and a landmark . 378

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	The Scrutinies in the Conclave of Pius IV.	382
II.	Francesco di Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua	386
III.	The Dispatches of Marcantonio da Mula	390
IV.	Cardinal C. Carafa to the Duke of Paliano	392
V.	Consistory of 7th June, 1560	393
VI.	Giov. Battista Ricasoli to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence	393
VII.	Avviso di Roma of 8th June, 1560	394
VIII.	Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. concerning the trial of the Carafa	396
IX-X.	Marcantonio da Mula to Venice	401
XI.	Marcantonio da Mula to Venice	401
XII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	402
XIII.	Consistory of 3rd March, 1561	403
XIV.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	403
XV.	Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems	403
XVI.	Marcantonio da Mula to Venice	404
XVII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	406
XVIII.	Avviso di Roma of 8th March, 1561	407
XIX.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	409
XX.	Avviso di Roma of 6 December, 1561	409
XXI.	Avviso di Roma of 13 December, 1561	410
XXII.	Avviso di Roma of 20 December, 1561	410
XXIII.	Avviso di Roma of 10 January, 1562	411
XXIV.-XXXIII.	Reforming Activity of Pius IV. from February to May, 1562	411
XXXIV.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	414
XXXV.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	414
XXXVI.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	414
XXXVII.	Onofrio Panvinio as Biographer of Pius IV.	415

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

At the present time the attention, not only of Catholics, but of the whole world, is more than ever directed to the Holy See, which stands out as the one solid rock amid the subversive and anarchical tendencies of our day. For the proper understanding of this, the most ancient, yet still so vigorous international power, it is above all necessary fully to understand her historical development. To set this forth, since the close of the Middle Ages, in accordance with the facts drawn from the best authorities, and in the most objective form possible, is the task to which I have set myself. For the latter half of the XVIth century I have had to make use of unpublished documents to an even greater extent than in the preceding volumes, since the subject which had to be treated in many ways resembled fallow land, which has first to be broken up with the plough before its actual cultivation can be begun. I have been actively occupied in procuring, examining and preparing all the documents available in Archives, and also in taking the fullest advantage of the immense amount of literature which is to be found in so many publications. The material increased to such an extent in this method of dealing with it that the original plan of uniting the closely related pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. had to be abandoned, and a division made. Both volumes were almost completed when the international war broke out and rendered their publication impossible. The literature which has since appeared, though not amounting to very much, has been added.

The dedication of the present volume to the eminent historian of the Council of Trent may serve as a remembrance of the twenty-five years which we spent in the Eternal City in close fraternal research and happy mutual labour in the same field. It is also, however, an expression of gratitude

for the furtherance of my work by many valuable hints and suggestions drawn from the literary remains of our mutual friend, Professor Anton Pieper, who died so prematurely, and whose vast researches afforded important matter, especially for Pius V.

In spite of being cut off from Rome by the war, the past five years could nevertheless be utilized for the continuation of the History of the Popes, as the extracts from archives had long been collected. The difficulties resulting from the circumstances of the times were, however, very great, yet, in spite of this, it was possible to bring the description of the pontificates of Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., and Gregory XV. in all essential points, to completion, so that future volumes will follow closely upon one another. Should God grant me further life and health I may therefore hope for the happy completion of this work, to which I have devoted my powers since my youth. May it contribute to the resumption of relations with foreign scholars, so rudely broken off by the storms of war. Historical science cannot forego such an interchange of thoughts and ideas without suffering grave and lasting damage.

PASTOR.

Innsbruck, Oct. 27th, 1919.

INTRODUCTION.

THE restoration of ecclesiastical life in the XVIth century arose, as it had done in the days of Gregory VII., from within the Church herself, but with this difference, that the first incentive thereto was not given by the Holy See and the hierarchy, as had been the case in the XIth century, but by various individuals inspired by God. These, clinging fast to the precious treasure of the old faith, and firmly maintaining obedience to lawful ecclesiastical authority, worked, with burning zeal and unwearying diligence, first for their own sanctification, and only afterwards for the radical reform of their contemporaries. It is true that their endeavours for reform could only take firm root and permeate the whole Church when the Apostolic See took them in hand, and this turn of affairs, made possible by the agency of the great Popes of the houses of Farnese and Carafa, took place under the fourth and fifth Pius.

The foundation of a Catholic reformation was laid by the Council of Trent, which also pronounced so clearly in matters of dogma. The completion of the Council was the work of Pius IV., who, in spite of the greatest difficulties, succeeded in once more opening this general assembly of the Church, on which, in the midst of the great apostasy from Rome, all the hopes of the faithful were fixed.[1] With unwearied patience the Pope held fast to the Council, and steered it with the greatest sagacity through renewed troubles both from within and without, until he was at last able to bring it to a happy conclusion. A clever and sagacious man, he again limited the Inquisition to its proper sphere, and at once renewed the

[1] *Cf.* the pamphlet composed under Pius IV. *De consolatione ecclesiae, in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, Istruzioni I., 102.

diplomatic relations with the Imperial court which had been broken off by his impetuous predecessor.

Though personally inclined to a more secular course of action, Pius IV., by his confirmation of the decrees of the Council, by his appointment of a special congregation to see to the carrying out of those decrees, as well as by his continuation of other important undertakings, such as the rearrangement of the Index, the compilation of a Catechism, and the reform of important liturgical books, proved his comprehension of the tasks of the Church, and won an ever lasting name by his work for Catholic reform. By confirming the decrees of the Council, he for the first time gave to the various regulations a legal sanction, while only by his care in enforcing their execution could the written law be introduced into active life, and the renewal of the ecclesiastical state be inaugurated.

In this manner the Apostolic See proved itself to be, even under a Pope in whose character there were many faults, a solid foundation and a safe place of refuge for the renewal of the prosperity of the Church. Without his intervention the entire reform work of Trent would have remained in the condition in which the canons of the previous sessions were at the time of the new assembly of the Council in 1562; that is to say, still awaiting execution because they had not as yet been confirmed by the Holy See.[1]

Pius IV. also continued with much greater success than his predecessor the regeneration of the Roman Curia, and the reform of its tribunals and scholastic institutions. It was, it is true, of extreme importance in this respect that his

[1] The prelates assembled in Trent complained in 1562, "non havendo anco quel che si decretò intorno alla riforma (in the years 1546 and 1547) qualunque si fosse conseguito effecto alcuno" (the legates on April 9th, 1562, in Šusta, Kurie, II., 79). The Pope replied that there was nothing to be astonished at, the Fathers of the Council themselves knew, "che i concilii che non sono finiti nè approbati dai papi, non obbligano altrui ad observargli, nè S. St^tà poteva sforzargli" (*ibid.*, 111).

nephew and Secretary of State, Charles Borromeo, stood at his side as his assistant and adviser, a man who, like Gaetano di Tiene, Ignatius Loyola and Philip Neri, embodied the spirit of Catholic reformation in its purest form.

The carrying out of the decrees of the Council and the abolition of the manifold abuses which had taken such deep root during the period of the Renaissance naturally could not be the work of a single pontificate. It was therefore of the utmost importance that the right man, in the person of Pius V. (1566—1572), should have ascended the throne of St. Peter to carry into effect the reform plan of the Council of Trent, and to awaken new life in every part of Catholic Christendom. In his person the Papacy became the representative and the director of the Catholic reformation. This son of St. Dominic, a man who was on fire with consuming zeal for the purity of the faith, and of morals, and one who was absolutely unyielding when ecclesiastical affairs and the rights of the Church were in question, knew neither fear nor consideration for worldly interests. Without the faults and weaknesses of Paul IV., he yet saw eye to eye with him in so many matters that his adherents in Rome could joyfully proclaim that the Theatine Pope had risen again.[1] Their jubilation was well founded. Like Paul IV., who with iron hand had demolished deeply rooted, inveterate, and apparently ineradicable abuses, Pius V. courageously took up the difficult task of reform, and fearlessly devoted to it all his powers and all his holy zeal.

The spiritual affinity with Paul IV., whom Pius V. venerated in many respects as a father,[2] shows itself in no small degree in the manner in which he fulfilled his task of guarding the treasure of faith in the Church and of protecting her against the assaults of the religious innovators. The means he employed in so doing were entirely in keeping with the character of a time when force and compulsion were used to subdue spiritual revolt, the strongest measures seeming all

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 379.

[2] See the letter to King Sebastian of Portugal of October 27, 1567, in LADERCHI, Annales eccl., 1567, n. 17.

the more necessary as the attacks of the innovators were always increasing in violence.

In the new and ever extending form of Protestantism founded by Calvin there existed a far more dangerous, systematic and consistent enemy than in Lutheranism, which was now growing torpid, and was being torn to pieces by disputes within itself. Calvinism, with its rigid organization, its harsh doctrines, its demand for the bloody extermination of Catholics,[1] and its propaganda, was fanning to fever heat the lust of Protestantism to attack the old Church. An international monument was thereby called into being to such an extent that Geneva became almost a second Rome, and Calvin another Pope, who carried on a correspondence in every direction with the whole of Europe. In Germany and Scandinavia, Protestantism in its Lutheran form had already gained a firm footing, and Calvinism therefore threw itself with all its force upon the west of Europe, in order completely to annihilate the Catholic Church beyond the Alps. Together with the Germans, the Romans, as well as the Slavs and Magyars were always being more and more involved in the religious changes, and led into opposition to the Papacy. A third form of Protestantism had at the same time arisen in England, in the Episcopal State Church. The one point on which the reformers were agreed was the complete subjection and eradication of Catholic worship, the practice of which was in many places, especially in England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark and Sweden, even punishable by death.

The Catholics were, therefore, carrying on a war of self-preservation when they sacrificed everything to prevent the

[1] Calvin, in his endeavours to suppress the Catholic Church in foreign countries as well, repeatedly demanded that those remaining true to the old faith should be put to the sword. See also the passage quoted by PAULUS (p. 250) in his book *Protestantismus und Toleranz im* 16 *Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1911), and also the letter addressed to England in the Corp. Ref., XLI., 81, in which the sentence occurs: All Catholics who will not renounce their superstition, "merentur gladio ultore coerceri, cum non in regem tantum insurgant, sed in Deum ipsum."

inroads of Protestanism, or to drive it out where it had already obtained a footing. Pius V., who opposed the enemies of the Church with all his power, did not live to see the issue of the embittered struggle.

Whilst this most violent battle was being fought within the limits of Christendom, the Church was at the same time being threatened by the gravest danger from without by Islam, the inveterate enemy of the name of Christ. The Papacy has a special claim to glory for having, even at this moment of greatest trouble, kept true to its old tradition of being the guardian and shield of Christendom and its civilization against the approach of danger from the east.

Even during the period of the Renaissance the Holy See had preserved the ideal of the Crusades with regard to the increasingly threatening attack of the infidel, and, in proportion to its material power, had done far more towards the repulse of the terrible enemy than any other power in Europe.[1] From Nicholas V. to Paul III. most of the Popes had taken the lead whenever it was a question of protecting or defending Christendom and the civilization of the west against the power of Islam.

The Holy See was the originator and the active supporter of all the coalitions directed against the Turks,[2] while all the attempts to rouse Christendom to a common enterprise against the infidel found in it a warm ally. Even during the stormy period of the apostasy from the faith, Paul III. succeeded in 1538 in forming a league between the Emperor and Venice to avert the Turkish danger. It was only when the powerful maritime Republic concluded a peace with the Porte in 1540, that other grave religious and political troubles arose for the Popes, and drove the thought of the Crusades into the background.[3]

Twenty-five years now passed without any concerted attack

[1] See previous volumes of this work.

[2] The opinion of HERRE, Europäische Politik im Cyprischen Krieg, I., Leipsic, 1902, 30.

[3] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 272.

having been made by the Christian states upon the enemy in the east. Even during this time, however, Spain and the Knights of Malta had received valuable help from the Holy See in their resistance to the pressure of the Turks in the Mediterranean. Pius IV. shared in the successful repulse of the dangerous Turkish advance on Malta in 1565. The saintly Pius V., in spite of his advanced years, employed all his strength with youthful vigour to secure a victory for the Cross over the Crescent.[1] While the French government maintained its former friendly relations with the Porte, and Elizabeth of England concluded a treaty with the infidels, in the interests of commerce and for the sake of making common cause with them in the struggle against Catholic Spain, the Pope, alone in the midst of a Europe torn asunder by political rivalries and religious hatred, unselfishly kept in view the great purpose of protecting the west and its civilization against the might of Islam.[2] As his ecclesiastical policy reminds us forcibly of the days of the Middle Ages, so do his attempts at a Crusade, a purpose to which he devoted himself with the same fiery zeal as that which once armed the nations of Europe for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. Great as the difficulties were he never lost courage; to realize the dream of Pius II. was his constant aspiration, and he was destined in the end to attain a brilliant success, for, after overcoming indescribable difficulties, he succeeded in uniting such opposing elements as the Spanish King and the Republic of St. Mark in a great combined undertaking against the Turks, and became thereby the saviour of Europe. The glorious victory of Lepanto, which saved southern Europe from being overrun by Islam, and the beautiful basin of the Mediterranean from being transformed into a Turkish lake, and inaugurated the downfall

[1] Fachinetti, the nuncio in Venice, says in his report of October 28, 1570: "If the Pope had been a native of Venice, he could not have done more." VALENSISE, Il vescovo di Nicastro poi papa Innocenzo IX. Nicastro, 1898, 88

[2] See E. PEARS in the Eng. Hist. Rev., 1893, No. 31, pp. 439 *seq.*

of the fleet of the infidels, till then considered invincible, was his work.

The jubilation with which the western world received the news of the crushing defeat of the dreaded enemy of Christian civilization, was reflected on the Papacy which was being so violently challenged and insulted by the religious innovators.[1]

Great, however, as were the merits of Pius V. with regard to the repulse of the Turkish danger, and these assure him for ever a place of honour among the Popes, the real significance of his pontificate lies in the sphere of affairs within the Church. Acts of the highest importance, such as the compilation of the Roman Catechism, the reform of the Breviary and Missal, and the Congregation of the Index, are indissolubly associated with his name. But above all, it is as the reformer of ecclesiastical life that he stands out in majestic grandeur. The influence which he exercised over his contemporaries in this direction, both at home and abroad, and on the development of the Church, has been justly described as immeasurable.[2]

That which the noblest spirits had prayed for and ardently desired since the close of the Middle Ages, namely, the reform of the Church in its head and in its members, was accomplished by him with an iron will and a holy zeal which shrank before no difficulties. Everywhere, wherever he found it necessary, he laid his reforming hand, in Germany as in Switzerland, in France as in Poland, but above all in Rome itself. His decrees are more numerous and far-reaching even than those of Paul IV. The Papal court, as well as the whole Curia, was reformed, the Penitentiary completely transformed, and nepotism swept away. The College of Cardinals, the episcopate, the secular clergy, the religious orders both of men and women, and the laity itself, experienced the zeal with which the aged Pontiff carried on his work of reformation.

Whoever investigates the reign of Pius V. in the light of the

[1] Instances of such insults outside the time of Pius V. in JANNSEN PASTOR, VI. 15-16, 45 *seq.* *Cf.* also Katholik, 1887, II., 59.

[2] RANKE, Päpste, I., 234, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art pendant la Renaissance, III., 242, Paris, 1805, agree in this opinion.

original documents must come to the conclusion that this Pope was one of those great spirits to whom their own interests are as nothing, but the object for which they are striving is all in all. In his eyes, his temporal sovereignty was of very secondary importance in comparison with his office of supreme pastor of the Church. The renewal of all the faithful in Christ was the only aim he followed ; all worldly and political interests were far from his mind, and the salvation of souls alone filled his heart. Again and again he repeated that he felt responsible before God for the souls of the whole world, and that he must therefore keep in view nothing but the leading back of those who were straying from the truth, the conversion of sinners, and the reformation of the clergy.[1]

Pius V., like the great Popes of the golden age of medieval days, presented to the world the noble spectacle of the successor of St. Peter, amid the appalling dangers threatening them from without, watching over the eternal interests of the new converts in distant lands with the same care as he devoted to the oppressed Catholics in the different countries of Europe. He was indefatigable in sending to the bishops of the Old as well as the New World, apostolic words of admonition and encouragement, in consoling the missionaries as far off as in Abyssinia, and in caring for the newly converted Moors in Spain, as carefully as he looked after the needs of oriental lands. His pastoral love embraced without distinction all the peoples of Europe : Romans and Germans, as well as Slavs. From the height of Peter's throne, he cast the eye of an unwearying shepherd over the whole world, and nothing of importance escaped his sight. Wherever he perceived any deviation from doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline, he intervened to warn or to reprimand, imposing everywhere the strictest standard, and vigorously combating every infringement of ecclesiastical liberty. He greatly valued Philip II. as a supporter of the Church, but that did not prevent him from opposing the national church policy of that egotistical ruler,

[1] See the letter of Pius V. to Philip II. of January 8, 1567, in the Corresp. dipl., ed. SERRANO, II., 7, Madrid, 1914.

while he was also capable of making his will and his position effective even in the case of his most faithful and best fellow workers in the cause of reform and renewal. When the legislation of the Jesuits did not appear to him quite to coincide with that of St. Thomas, he at once took decisive steps and changed what his predecessors had allowed. The Capuchin, Pistoja, who was in other respects highly esteemed by the Pope, must have had a painful surprise when he ventured to submit a memorandum concerning matters with which he had nothing to do.[1] Free from every trace of favouritism for persons or institutions, and free from passing moods or unregulated passions, Pius V. weighed all questions solely in accordance with ecclesiastical doctrine and canon law. In all his actions he stood out as the embodiment of the Catholic spirit; he devoted the revenues of the Apostolic See, which so many of the Renaissance Popes had used for the enrichment of their relatives or for the prosecution of worldly aims, exclusively to the defence of the ancient faith. His reign was in all respects a contrast to the outwardly brilliant but worldly period of the Rovere, Borgia and Medici Popes. This saintly Pontiff, by his simple and ascetic life, made expiation, as it were, for all those points in which his predecessors had been found wanting.

Peter Canisius has justly described it as a special dispensation of Divine Providence that in Pius V. a man was sent to the assistance of the Church, who with holy assiduity entered the lists on behalf of the faith, and sought the renovation of Christendom with burning zeal.[2] As a Pontiff whose whole thoughts and aspirations were fixed far beyond earthly interests, on the imperishable blessings of eternity, he begins that line of pious and able Popes, worthy of all reverence, who

[1] He suspended him from saying mass and preaching, "non li parendo conveniente, che questi ch'hanno cura delle cose spirituali, vogliono ancora governare le temporali." *Avviso di Roma, June 14, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 290b, Vatican Library.

[2] See Canisii Epist., V., 197. *Cf.* Braunsberger, Pius V., 32, Freiburg, 1012.

led the Catholic reformation and restoration from victory to victory. A great part of what was accomplished by his successors, Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., was a direct consequence of his glorious achievements.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave of 1559.

The wild outburst of hatred indulged in by the populace, during the course of which Paul IV. closed his eyes in death on August 18th, 1559, reached its climax and its conclusion in the exciting scenes which took place two days later. The statue of the hated reformer of morals lay in pieces, the coat-of-arms of the Carafa was everywhere torn down, and the prisons of the demolished buildings of the Inquisition lay empty.[1] On the morning of the 21st the fury of the people

[1] See Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 414 seqq. The quantity of original matter concerning the vacancy in the Papal throne and the conclave of Pius IV. is very great. The most important sources are: (1) The Diary of Ludovicus Bondonus de Branchis Firmanus (in Merkle, II., 518-31), who was present in the conclave as Master of the Ceremonies (Merkle, cx). (2) Antonius Guidus, De obitu Pauli IV., et conclavi cum electione Pii IV. (Merkle, II., 605-32); Guido was in the conclave, probably as conclavist of Cardinal Gonzaga (*ibid.*, cxxxv). *Cf.* also Šusta, Pius IV., 165-6. (3) Onuphrius Panvinius, De creatione Pii IV. Papae (Merkle, II., 575-601). Panvinio first entered the conclave December 24, 1559 (*ibid.*, cxxvi., 577), and was therefore an eye-witness of the closing scenes. Merkle gives extracts from a second edition of Panvinio in the annotations, p. 332 *seqq.* (4) The *Lists of the scrutinies collected by Panvinio in the Court Library, Munich (see Appendix, No. 1).

Besides these we have the exceedingly copious diplomatic reports and correspondence. (1) the reports of the Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas to Philip II. from September 27 to December 29, 1559, in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 265-328. Other sources from Simancas in Müller, Konklave Pius IV., and Hinojosa, Felipe II. y el conclave de 1559, Madrid, 1889. (2) Reports from the French side in Ribier, II., 824-42. *Cf.* the account of a French Cardinal made use of by Ruble (Le traité de

seemed to be appeased, and quiet was once more restored in the city.

There was, however, still no lack of less violent manifestations against the hated Carafa. Ascanio della Corgna, who had been forced to fly before the anger of Paul IV.,[1] returned

Cateau-Cambrésis, 100 *seq.*, Paris, 1889. (3) The correspondence from the archives of the Dukes of Florence and Ferrara (Modena) used by PETRUCELLI, II., 119-70, and by ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 123 *seqq.* (4) extracts from the correspondence of Ferdinand I. and his ambassador in Rome, Francis von Thurm, in SICKEL, Konzil, 1-14, in S. BRUNNER in the Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden, VI., 2 (1885), 173-8, 387-99, and in WAHRMUND, Ausschlieszungsrecht, 82-6, 257-65. (5) The *letter to the Duchess of Urbino, probably written by the confessor of Card. Giulio della Rovere (Vat. 7039, Vatican Library, and State Library, Vienna, 6012) first used by DEMBIŃSKI, p. 292. (6) The *reports of the Mantuan agents in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which are for the first time made use of in the present work.

The importance of this long conclave also appears clearly in the great number of monographs devoted to it. The most noteworthy of these is the work composed in the Polish language by DEMBINSKI, Wybôr Piusa IV., from archival material from Florence, Vienna and Rome, published in the transactions of the Cracow Academy, XX. (1887), 190-304; this had remained unknown to all German investigators of the conclave. MÜLLER's book, Das Konklaves Pius' IV., 1559, Gotha, 1889, is very thorough, but he knows nothing of the treatise used by Dembinski. Šusta has, however, made use of it in his monograph (Pius IV.) written in the Czech language, which deals at considerable length with the vacancy and the conclave (pp. 100-52). Šusta has unfortunately not been taken any notice of in any of the later descriptions of the conclave. Of these the following are worthy of mention: RUBLE, *loc. cit.* (often insufficient, see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 66; DEMBIŃSKI, Rzym, I., 237 *seq.*); WAHRMUND, Ausschlieszungsrecht, 77-88; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 46-109; HERRE, Papstum und Papstwahlen 33-64; EISLER Veto bei der Papstwahl, 52 *seq.*; RIESS, Politik Pauls, IV., 379-98.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. p. 133, of this work.

from banishment on August 21st, and was again able to appear in the streets of Rome as a prince. Marcantonio Colonna, who had been declared an outlaw by the dead Pope, and compelled to forfeit his estates in favour of Giovanni Carafa,[1] likewise reappeared in the Eternal City on August 21st. The people went to meet him, and received him with the liveliest signs of joy. Colonna had regained all his former possessions, with the exception of Paliano, but he assured the Cardinals on August 22nd that he was prepared to obey the commands of the future Pope.[2]

The supreme senate of the Church also allowed it to be clearly seen that it was not in all matters of one mind with its deceased head. Cardinal Morone was, to the great satisfaction of the whole court,[3] released from his prison in the Castle of St. Angelo, in accordance with the decision of the majority of the Sacred College, and, contrary to the decree of Paul IV.,[4] he also received back the passive right of election in the approaching conclave.[5] The Cardinals dealt otherwise with Alfonso Carafa. This prelate, whom his uncle had appointed President of the Apostolic Camera, and, as such,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 100, 105, 111, 121, 167.

[2] Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 335 n. 2., MASSARELLI, *ibid.*, 336; GUIDUS, *ibid.*, 608. *Report of G. Aldrovandi dated Rome, August 23, 1559 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] G. Aldrovandi lays emphasis on this in the above mentioned *report of August 23.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 302 *seq.*

[5] BONDONUS, 518; Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 334 n. According to MASSARELLI, 334, Morone was set at liberty on August 20. This is, however, incorrect. In the codex of the Seminary Library, Foligno, the importance of which is made clear by our remarks in Vol. XIV., p. 468, of this work, the note is written on the margin of the statement of opinion of A. Massa, p. 115, that "die lunae 21 Augusti secundum hanc informationem" was fixed as the day that Morone was to be set at liberty, and the work was at once set on foot. Thirteen of the Cardinals were in favour of his being freed, and eleven against it (PANVINIUS, 334), Puteo was among the latter on formal grounds; see ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 112, n, 2.

had given him equal rights with the Cardinal Camerlengo[1] during the time of the vacancy in the Holy See, found that he could make no use of these rights. At his first attempt to do so, he met with strong opposition from the Cardinal Camerlengo, Sforza, of whose opposition the Sacred College fully approved.[2] It was Sforza, too, a violent opponent of the Carafa, who on August 23rd read to the assembled Cardinals a letter of Ascanio della Corgna, containing bitter accusations against the late Pope and his nephews,[3] and it would seem that not a single voice was raised in favour of the Pontiff who had barely closed his eyes in death.

A fresh incentive was given to the hatred against the Carafa when, just at this moment, news was spread of the shocking occurrences which had taken place in the family of the Duke of Paliano. Giovanni Carafa had, on the confession, under torture, of a supposed paramour of his wife, killed him with twenty-seven thrusts of a dagger. On August 29th the wretched wife followed her supposed seducer into death; in spite of her pregnancy, she was strangled by her own brother and another relative. The Roman people saw in this family tragedy a Divine judgment on the Duke, who had had so little reverence for the honour of women.[4]

Under such circumstances, a speech which Ascanio della Corgna made on the Capitol on August 30th against the Carafa[5] was bound to make a doubly deep impression. On the following day, August 31st, a popular vote declared the whole of the Carafa family, with the exception of the two Cardinals, deprived of their civil rights as Roman citizens, and begged, in the presence of the former mighty Carlo Carafa, permission of the Sacred College to drive the Duke of Paliano, Giovanni

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 216.

[2] GUIDUS, 607; MASSARELLI, 336.

[3] Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 335, n. 2.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma dated August 12, 1559 (Urb. 1038, p. 69b, Vatican Library). See details concerning this case *infra* cap. IV.

[5] Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 337.

Carafa, and his family out of his towns of Gallese and Soriano and from all the States of the Church.[1]

This arrogant demand was received with indignation by the Cardinals. When Pirro Taro, the Conservator of the city, again appeared on September 1st, with the representatives of the people, to receive the answer to their request, Cardinal Carpi, in the absence of the Dean, du Bellay, gave them a severe reprimand on account of the recent excesses, and, at the same time, he forbade them to take any proceedings on their own authority, and, in fatherly terms, gravely admonished them to keep the peace, and to think of the public weal. Taro, in his reply, sought to make excuses for the people by expatiating on the burdens of the war and the heavy taxes during the late pontificate, and the encroachments of the Carafa.[2] The College of Cardinals had already taken the part of the Carafa family when Count Giovanni Francesco Bagno had attempted to take possession of the little town of Montebello, of which he had been deprived by Paul IV. in favour of Antonio Carafa ; on August 26th the Cardinals had forbidden the Duke of Florence to afford any assistance to Count Bagno.[3] However, all the signs of favour, as well as of hostility, which the Carafa family received, were of little account in comparison with the fact that, in virtue of a decree of the Sacred College, Carlo Carafa was recalled from banishment and again put in possession of all the rights of a Cardinal. In view of the mere fact of the great number of his adherents, the prediction of the French ambassador in Venice that Cardinal Carafa would play but an unimportant part in the coming conclave,[4] appeared to be altogether illusory.

The regulation of the canon law that after the death of a Pope the nine days obsequies should be commenced at once, and

[1] GUIDUS, 609. *Report of Camillo Capilupi dated Rome, Sept. 2, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] GUIDUS, 610. *Report of C. Capilupi of Sept. 2, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] GUIDUS, 609.

[4] François de Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine, August 1, 1559. RIBIER, II., 825.

be followed on the tenth day by the opening of the conclave, was once more not exactly observed on this occasion. The solemn services for the repose of the soul of Paul IV. were only begun on August 23rd, and lasted, with breaks on the intervening Sundays and holidays,[1] till September 4th. On the following day, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the usual sermon, preached on this occasion by the well-known humanist, Giulio Pogiano,[2] the Cardinals went into the Vatican for the conclave,[3] although no one had the least idea that this was to last for three months and twenty-one days.

Many of the Cardinals who were not present in Rome arrived in the Eternal City[4] even before the conclusion of the obsequies, so that on the morning of September 5th thirty-five voters, and on the evening of the same day, yet another five were able to repair to the conclave[5]; Armagnac and Capizuchi remained in the city on account of illness.[6] After the beginning of the election proceedings several more Cardinals arrived in Rome. The original number of forty electors had

[1] On August 25, 27 and 29, and Sept. 3 (PANVINIUS, 336 *seqq.*). A payment for "Michele Grecco Luchese pittore per pitture per le esequie di Paolo IV," is entered on August 21 in the *Conto delli Olgiati depositarii de denari spesi in sede vacante di Paolo IV. (State Archives, Rome).

[2] BONDONUS, 518. The oration is printed in POGIANI Epistulae, I., 310 *seq.*

[3] See the plan of the conclave (contemporary print of A. Bladus) in the Papal Secret Archives, XI., 122 (also in the State Archives, Florence, C. Strozz., I., 229, see SUSTA, Pius IV., 116).

[4] On August 18, Carlo Carafa, on the 21, Corgna, on the 24, du Bellay and Crispi, on the 25, Alessandro Farnese and Simoncelli, on the 28, Rovere, on the 29, Cicada, Innocenzo del Monte, Gaddi and Armagnac, on the 30, Mercurio (Mamertinus, *cf.* MERKLE, II., 628, 38). Cristoforo del Monte, Madruzzo and Este, on the 31, Gonzaga; on an unknown date, Lenoncourt and Capodiferro. Panvinius in MERKLE, 335-7.

[5] Namely Cueva, Medici, Cristoforo del Monte, Ricci and Capodiferro. Panvinius, *loc. cit.*, 339 n.

[6] *Ibid.*

been increased by September 28th to forty-seven,[1] but by October 12th it had fallen to forty-four,[2] in consequence of illness, though it had risen to forty-eight[3] by the 31st of the month. Capodiferro died on December 1st, and Dandino on the 4th, while du Bellay and Saraceni returned to the city on the advice of their physicians.[4] At the actual election, therefore, only forty-four voters took part. Seven Cardinals remained absent from the conclave altogether; these were, beside the Spaniard Mendoza and the Portuguese Prince Henry, the five Frenchmen, Givry, Vendôme, Odet de Châtillon, Meudon, who died in November, and Charles of Lorraine who, with his brother Francis, was acting as Regent for the king, who was a minor. Cardinal Consiglieri had died on August 25th.[5]

In order to maintain public order 400 men had been levied for the defence of the Capitol by the magistrates, on August 23rd, and on the 24th 3,000 additional soldiers and 300 cavalry were appointed to guard the city.[6]

Long before the beginning of the conclave attention had been directed to the approaching Papal election from many different quarters. Paul IV. had especially sought to exclude two Cardinals from attaining to the supreme dignity; the highly respected Cardinal Morone, whose faith, in the opinion of the Pope, was not above suspicion, and the wealthy Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, who had great experience in everything connected with diplomacy, but who was completely unworthy.

[1] Armagnac arrived on September 7, on the 8, Tournon, on the 11, Truchsess, on the 14, Strozzi and Guise, on the 18, Ranuccio Farnese, on the 28, Capizuchi. BONDONUS, 519 *seqq.*

[2] On September 20, Armagnac left the conclave, Capizuchi on October 2, and Simoncelli on the 12. BONDONUS, 519 *seqq.*

[3] By the arrival of Bertrand on October 25, and the return of Simoncelli, Armagnac and Capizuchi on October 20, 30, and 31. BONDONUS, 524 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 526 *seqq.* Capodiferro died in the conclave, and Dandino, who had left it on December 1, in the city.

[5] MASSARELLI, 335; BONDONUS, 518.

[6] GUIDUS, 609.

In his decrees concerning the Papal election, Paul IV. had especially these two Cardinals in mind,[1] and when he had Morone arrested and Este banished[2] he was in no small degree led to this step by the fear that one of them might reach the Papal throne.[3] He detested Este on account of his simoniacal attempts to gain possession of the tiara. He had even attacked the Cardinal of Ferrara, declaring him to be a Simon Magus,[4] in the very conclave from which he came forth as Pope, and on the second anniversary of his election he admonished the Cardinals to allow God to appoint the Pope, and not to choose one who had bills of exchange to the value of from 100,000 to 200,000 scudi in his pocket, and could grant benefices worth from 50,000 to 60,000 scudi, like that Simon Magus whom they all knew.[5] At the same time Paul IV.'s own nephew, Cardinal Carafa, was secretly working, with French support, even during his uncle's lifetime, for the elevation of Este.[6]

The Cardinal of Ferrara had already been the candidate of France at three Papal elections,[7] and after the death of Paul IV. he was more than ever certain, to continue to be so, as he was connected by marriage with the most powerful French statesmen, the family of Guise.[8] He himself strove with great energy to attain the Papal dignity, although he had small prospect of success, on account of his unworthiness.[9] His

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 220.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 101, 289.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 291, 302 *seq.*

[4] Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 268, col. 1.

[5] Navagero on May 29, 1557, in BROWN, VI., 2, n. 907, p. 1123 *seq.*; *cf.* Navagero on March 20, 1557, *ibid*, VI., 3. App. n. 159., p. 1659.

[6] Navagero on May 30, 1556, in BROWN, IV., 1, n. 500.

[7] *Cf.* Vols. XIII., p. 20, XIV. pp. 2, 57, of this work.

[8] *Cf.* Lettres de Catherine de Médicis, I., 123 *seq.*

[9] *" La notte seguente (September 17) Ferrara cominciò a esser dietro alle sue prattiche gagliardamente e per tutto il giorno seguente non restò di tempestare benchè ogn'homo conoscessi l'impossibilità" (enclosure in cypher). Thus Francesco di

boundless riches, the favour of the princes, and the splendour of his illustrious family were all as much in his favour as his personal qualities. According to Guidus he was possessed of a truly terrible vigilance, of incredible persistence, and had besides an unusual charm of manner, which won for him all he desired.[1] In order not to injure his own prospects he was clever enough to arrange that only those Cardinals should be put forward as candidates of whose election there was no possible chance, and, on the other hand, that those who enjoyed the favour of many supporters should remain in the background. It was he who was chiefly responsible for the long duration of the conclave.

The French government wished Cardinal Tournon to be the next Pope, should Este's election not be possible, and after him, Cardinal Gonzaga; there were, besides, several other Cardinals, such as Pisani, Armagnac, and du Bellay, who would not have been displeasing to the French. Carpi, on the other hand, was to be absolutely barred as a candidate.[2] It was feared that he would, as Pope, endeavour to get back the lost principality of Carpi for his family, and thus give rise to political complications.[3] In other respects, France no longer had the same interest in the election as on former occasions. After the death of Henry II., on July 10th, 1559, Francis II., who was a minor, had ascended the throne, and the regency of the two Guise brothers had to contend with such difficulties in their own country that, for the time being,

Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua on September 20, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). "Ferrara no entra en el juego, sino es en contradecir a Carpo." Vargas to Philip II. on September 28, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 269. Concerning Este *cf.* Requesens to Philip II., on January 5, 1665, *ibid.*, 582.

[1] GUIDUS, 622.

[2] Francis II. to his ambassador in Rome on August 27, 1559, in RIBIER, II., 830.

[3] MÜLLER, 60. Fr. v. Thurm to King Ferdinand on November 3, 1559, in WAHRMUND, 260: "timet Carpensem Ferrariensis propter jura, quae super oppido Carpi praetendit." Carpi lost his principality as early as 1527.

France could not think of new conquests in Italy. In addition to this, French statesmen had come to the conclusion, since the last Franco-Spanish war, that it would be much better for France to give up the policy of seeking for territory in Italy.[1] The instructions for the French ambassador in Rome, accordingly, were to the effect that if none of the proposed candidates could be pushed through, it would be well to support someone else, irrespective of nationality, provided that he were worthy of the dignity, and free from ambition.[2]

Spain, too, no longer thought of conquests in Italy. The aims of Philip II. were to preserve peace in his own dominions, and to strengthen the Catholic Church against the new doctrines, and, if only for the latter reason, he was deeply interested as to who should obtain the tiara. When Philip appointed Don Juan de Figueroa as his ambassador in Rome, shortly after the war with Paul IV., he impressed upon his envoy that his most important task would be his procedure at the next Papal election.[3] However anxious Philip may have been that no one should be elected to the Papal throne who would begin a new war with Spain, Figueroa was nevertheless instructed not to endeavour, in the first place, to gain influence in the conclave in any political sense or from a political point of view. The king was much more anxious to have a Pope "who would be zealous for the service of God, and for the well-being and pacification of Christendom, who would eradicate religious errors and disputes, and prevent their spread, and who would devote himself to the urgently-needed work of reform, and who would preserve Christendom, and especially Italy, which had been so sorely tried by the war,

[1] MÜLLER, 32.

[2] So writes Francesco di Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, September, 16, 1559: *"Giovedi (September 14) sera entrorno in conclavi li rev^mi Ghisa et Strozzi, con ordine, dicono, di non havere rispetto ne a Francesi ne a Imperiali ma solo a far un homo da bene et che sia atto a tal carico." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Instruction for Figueroa on September 25, 1559 (Simancas Archives). Extract in MÜLLER, 84.

in peace and unity." Should a candidate possess all these qualities, then his readiness to represent the actual interests of Spain was not to weigh too much in the balance. As desirable candidates Philip then indicated Carpi, Morone, Puteo, Medici and Dolera. Morone and Dolera, who had only recently been elevated to the cardinalate, had little prospect of being elected, and were only mentioned out of courtesy. Este and all Frenchmen were to be excluded.[1]

As far as Figueroa was concerned, these instructions had no importance, since Paul IV. would not accept him as ambassador on account of a former interference on his part in the rights of the Inquisition.[2] When at length the Pope was willing to receive him, and Philip repeated his orders in an Instruction of July 13th, 1559,[3] Figueroa died on July 28th, 1559, at Gaeta. The king then appointed Francisco de Vargas, his former representative in Milan. He sailed from Antwerp on August 31st, and reached Rome on September 25th.[4] Figueroa's instructions were also to be followed by him, although he applied them in a much more arbitrary manner.

Count Francis von Thurm,[5] hitherto the representative of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, in Venice, arrived in Rome on August 28th as his ambassador. In this office, Thurm can hardly be said to have represented an independent policy,[6] but rather to have followed that of Vargas.[7]

[1] MÜLLER, 84 *seq.* There appears no reason to doubt Philip's sincerity, HERRE, 33 *seq.* *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 79.

[2] MÜLLER, 40 *seq.*

[3] MÜLLER, 85; *cf.* 59, n. 1. As to the date see HERRE, 41, n. 1.

[4] MÜLLER, 41; Concerning Vargas see CONSTANT, Rapport, 186 *seq.*

[5] Concerning him see CONSTANT, Rapport, 2 *seq.*

[6] Ferdinand remarked that he had never directly (liberamente) proposed anyone to the conclave, but only expressed a wish, "che eleggano un homo da bene." Giacomo Soranzo on December 2, 1559, in TURBA, III., 125 n.

[7] SICKEL, Konzil, 1 *seqq.* S. BRUNNER in Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden, VI., 2 (1885), 173 *seqq.*

Duke Cosimo of Florence, on the other hand, secretly endeavoured to obtain a great influence over the proceedings of the conclave. It was not enough for him that his two envoys, Bongianni Gianfigliazzi and Matteo Concini, were present in Rome, but he also sent Bartolomeo Concini there, who was initiated into all the secrets of his policy. Two of his agents, one of them the adroit Lottino, were admitted to the conclave as supposed attendants on Cardinals.[1] Cosimo tried himself to win over the electors to his plans by letters, and not everyone had the courage, like Cardinal Dandino, to reject these letters,[2] or to answer, like Cardinal Scotti, that the Duke should attend to the affairs of his dominions and leave the Papal election to the Cardinals.[3] For some years the Medici family had been connected by marriage with that of Este, and it is easy to understand that Cardinal d'Este should now have sought to approach the Duke, and that this ambitious Prince of the Church should have endeavoured to win over this powerful ally to the support of his long-cherished designs on the tiara. Cosimo pretended to accept his proposals, but his concurrence was not sincere.[4] He also promised his assistance to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, when she begged for his support for Este, but at the same time he offered his services to the Spanish king against the Cardinal,[5]

[1] Šusta, Pius IV., 127. Müller, 62 *seq.*

[2] Petrucelli, 144.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 9, 1559 (Urb. 1030, p. 79, Vatican Library).

[4] Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of Mantua, with whom Este had entered into an alliance for mutual support even before the conclave of Marcellus II., also appears to have been a party to the agreement; there is reason to believe that a formal compact was even made, according to which the Duke and Gonzaga were to work for the candidature of Este, while the Duke and Este were to render a similar service to Gonzaga. Should, however, neither of the said Cardinals gain the tiara, they were all three to promote the candidature of Medici. These very conditional promises were, from the nature of such transactions, of very little value. Müller, 55 *seq.*

[5] Müller, 63 *seq.*; *cf.* also Šusta, Pius IV., 142 *seq.*

and, as a matter of fact, in the conclave he left Este in the lurch and worked directly against him.[1] According to Cosimo's view, Cardinal de' Medici was, as a matter of course, the only possible candidate,[2] but this preference, which was well known in the conclave from the first, rather prejudiced than helped the Cardinal in the eyes of many, for a Pope who had at his command the whole influence of the powerful Florentine Duke was to be dreaded.[3] Cosimo, however, refrained from openly influencing the Cardinals during October and November; it was only towards the end of the conclave that he interfered decisively.

The peculiar party conditions existing among the electors made it possible for diplomacy to play an important part in the election, to an even greater extent than was usually the case. It is to be ascribed to the confusion and the obstacles which were constantly being raised in this way that the Papal throne remained unoccupied for more than four months. The Cardinals were divided into three almost equal parties. The French interests were under the skilful direction of Cardinals Ippolito d'Este of Ferrara and Louis de Guise, and were represented by Cardinals Tournon, du Bellay, Armagnac,

[1] MÜLLER, 57, 62.

[2] Cosimo to Concini on September 21, 1559, in PETRUCELLI, 129. "Quelli che più di tutti sono in predicamento per il giudicio comune sono Carpi, Puteo, Morone et Medeghino," wrote Fra Taddeo Perugino to the Archbishop of Salerno as early as August 25, 1559 (SUSTA, Pius IV., 123). Navagero recognised Medici as the candidate most likely to be successful as early as 1558 (see ALBÈRI, I., 3, 413).

[3] *" Medici è molto favorito dal Duca di Firenze, il cui favore in luogo di giovamento gli noce (*cf.* the statement in SUSTA, Pius IV., 127, n. 2), perchè la grandezza di quel Duca è molto temuta di tutta questa corte et si dubita che havendo un papa creatura sua et tanto più della natura di Medici che sarebbe troppo grande." Capilupi on September 2, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Concerning Puteo Capilupi writes that he was held "in molta consideratione" in spite of the hostility of Este and Farnese.

Lenoncourt, Bertrand and Strozzi; the Italians Pisani, Cesi, Cristoforo del Monte, Simoncelli and Sermoneta for the most part adhered to this party, and to a less reliable degree, Crispi, Capodiferro and Dandino.[1] To these sixteen French partisans were opposed seventeen adherents of Spain. Their leader was Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, as well as the Bishop of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo. These two were followed by Truchsess, Cueva, Pacheco, Carpi, Morone, Puteo, Ricci, Corgna, Mercurio, Cornaro, Cicada, Saraceni, Medici, Gonzaga and Rovere.[2]

According to the person put forward as candidate, these party relations were more or less altered, but each of the two parties was strong enough to prevent the election of an undesirable candidate, although neither could of itself produce the necessary majority of two-thirds of the votes. The decision lay therefore with a third party, that of Cardinal Carlo Carafa. The thirteen Cardinals created by the deceased Pope, with the exception of Strozzi and Bertrand, all belonged to it, that is to say, the two relatives of Paul IV., Alfonso and Diomede Carafa, the three members of religious orders in the Sacred College, the Dominican Ghislieri, the Franciscan Dolera, and the Theatine Scotti, and, in addition, Rebiba, Capizuchi, Reumano, Gaddi and Vitelli. All these were thoroughly ecclesiastically-minded men, which made it all the more surprising that they should have allied themselves to such an unworthy person as Carlo Carafa. The party of the Carafa was also soon strengthened by Alessandro Farnese and his three adherents, his brother Ranuccio Farnese, Savelli and Innocenzo del Monte.[3]

A letter written in October, 1559, by the Duke of Paliano, is characteristic of the position of the Carafa family at the

[1] MÜLLER, 70 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 76 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 90 *seqq.* A. Farnese assures the king of his devotion in letters of September 4 and 5, which are addressed to Ardinghello in Spain. After the election he justified his conduct in the conclave to the Spanish king, and excused himself at the French court. CARO, III., 265 *seqq.*, 273 *seqq.*

election. "It is not of the least consequence," writes Giovanni Carafa to his brother, "who will be Pope, the only thing that is of importance is that he who is chosen should realize that he owes the dignity to the Carafa. This house does not enjoy any favour with the Spanish or French kings, and everything therefore depends on securing the favour of the future Pope, as otherwise the ruin of the family is assured."[1] Carlo Carafa had completely broken with the French at the beginning of the conclave, and was inclined to favour the Spaniards. He, as well as his nephew, the Cardinal of Naples, entered the conclave with the idea of voting for Carpi, or, should his election prove impossible, for Gonzaga.[2] As a reward for his services in the conclave Carlo Carafa expected to receive from Philip II. an Italian principality, which would compensate his family for the forfeited Paliano.

Carafa's chief adviser was Alessandro Farnese, who had already taken part in three conclaves, and had acquired a great deal of experience. Even before the death of Paul IV. Carafa had addressed himself to Farnese, from Città Lavinia, his place of banishment, and placed himself and the thirteen votes of the Cardinals created by the late Pope at his disposal for the approaching conclave; with their united efforts they intended to elevate a Cardinal who would show himself grateful to the houses of Farnese and Carafa for his election.[3] Farnese did not appear to take a prominent part in the conclave, but in spite of this, his influence as an adviser seems to have been very important, and it was especially he who "with incredible skill and trouble"[4] held the Carafa party together at a critical moment.

Among the forty electors who entered the conclave on September 5th, only eleven favoured the French. The opposing party therefore thought to make use of their majority at

[1] Ancel, Disgrâce, 66 *seq.*

[2] Alfonso Carafa, the Cardinal of Naples, *writes to this effect to his father, the Marquis of Montebello, on October 11, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] Panvinius, 576-7.

[4] "incredibili arte et labore"; *ibid.*, 580.

once on the evening of the following day, by electing Cardinal Carpi as Pope, by paying him general homage and without having recourse to formal voting, thus bringing the conclave to a speedy conclusion.[1] This plan came to nothing owing to the disunion of the Spanish party. Their leader, Sforza, was secretly opposed to Carpi, even though he was the principal candidate of the Spaniards, and had allowed himself to be drawn into a secret agreement by Este, by which he promised to prevent Carpi's election, while Este was to work on behalf of Medici or Gonzaga, who both also belonged to the Spanish party.[2]

The attempt, therefore, to elevate Carpi suddenly was bound to be unsuccessful, and they had to content themselves with allowing the conclave to proceed in the usual manner. The customary election capitulation was drawn up and read aloud on the evening of September 8th.[3] It contained, besides the declarations constantly recurring in such documents, distinct allusions to the pontificate of the late Pope. The Cardinals, accordingly, had to swear that they would undertake no war, and that they would punish in a fitting manner the outbreaks which had taken place while the proceedings in connection with the vacancy in the Papal throne were being conducted. The reform of the Church and the Curia, as well as the carrying on of the Council, was also earnestly enjoined on the Cardinal who should be elected.[4] On September 9th the bull of Julius II. was sworn to.[5]

[1] Bondonus, 519.

[2] Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani, s.l. 1667, 160 *seqq.* The report of the "Conclavi" is supported by statements in trustworthy sources (Müller, 110 *seq.*). Sermoneta declared himself very decidedly against Carpi; see **Caligari's letter of September 12, 1559 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] Bondonus, 519.

[4] Dembiński, Wybór Piusa IV., 289-304, in the extract in Raynaldus, 1559, n. 37 *seq.* Le Plat, IV., 612 *seq.* *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 12 *seq.*, and the analysis in Müller, 100 *seq.* See also Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Instit., XII., 226.

[5] Bondonus, 519.

On the same day the voting began, but at first, at any rate, was not taken seriously. Este wrote on the 11th that they were not as yet thinking seriously of getting a Pope elected, and that there was hardly anyone as yet who would allow himself to be voted for.[1] The want of unanimity and decision in the conclave was so great that a large number of aspirants, some twenty or more, could flatter themselves with hopes of receiving the tiara.[2] The Spanish party also thought it well to wait for further indications of the wishes of Philip II. It therefore frequently happened in the early days of the conclave that a considerable number of votes were given to a Cardinal whom no one seriously wished to become Pope, for the sole purpose of showing him honour. On September 11th Cueva received seventeen votes, on the 13th Lenoncourt had eighteen, on the 14th the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal had fifteen and five *accessits*.[3] In the case of Cueva they very narrowly escaped an unpleasant surprise. The Imperial ambassador had been collecting votes for him, so that at length thirty-two Cardinals had given him their promise as a joke, and without realizing the importance of their action. Cueva would have been elected Pope, against the will of the whole conclave, had not a fortunate chance revealed the mistake shortly before the decisive moment.[4] There was great excitement during the night of September 24th when a similar danger came to light. Cornaro had obtained for his

[1] PETRUCELLI, 132 *seq.*

[2] MÜLLER, 109. Müller counts 14 Cardinals "whose candidature had been seriously mentioned." *Scoperti 19 che tutti si stimano papabili, il che mette discordi et controversia grande fra loro. Avviso di Roma of September 16, 1559 (Urb. 1039, p. 83b, Vatican Library).

[3] See the *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1. GUIDUS, 612; BONDONUS, 519 *seq.* Bondonus gives 18 votes to Cueva. According to the *Avviso di Roma of September 16, 1559 (Urb. 1039, p, 83b), he had had 17 and 7 *accessits*, "e se per caso Ferrara non scopriva la tram' a Farnese, lui riusciva papa" (Vatican Library).

[4] GUIDUS, 612 *seq.* Vargas, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 266-7.

uncle, Pisani, the only Cardinal of Leo X. who was still alive, the votes of thirty-seven electors, though, when the matter threatened to become serious, they withdrew their promises.[1]

Several more seriously intended attempts and proposals were made during the first weeks of the conclave by the Spanish party, but their very endeavours clearly showed to what straits they were reduced in order to find a candidate against whom no objection could be raised. At the beginning of the voting Pacheco was the most prominent, having received fifteen votes[2] at the first scrutiny and a still greater number after September 22nd.[3] Pacheco, however, was a Spaniard, and the Italian Cardinals did not wish for him as Pope on that account. After him Puteo received most votes in the early days, but he had, as later events showed, the powerful party of the Carafa against him.[4] Carpi, after the futile attempt of September 6th, fell into the background at the scrutinies in a marked way, so that of the Spanish candidates there only remained Medici, whom Duke Cosimo repeatedly and emphatically described as the only possible candidate.[5] Since 1556 he had had the election of this man, in whom he hoped to find an accommodating tool for his political plans, in view, and had been secretly working for him,[6] and now he championed him almost too openly.[7] Medici was supported by Philip II., the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, also showing herself, against all expectations, to be well disposed

[1] GUIDUS, 613 *seq.*

[2] *List of the scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, and BONDONUS, 520 *seq.*

[4] MÜLLER, 141 *seq.*

[5] See the letter to Concini of September 21, 1559, quoted *supra* p. 13, n. 2, and that to Lottino of September 24, 1559, in ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 125.

[6] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 66 *seq.*, 76 *seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* the **Letter of Caligari of September 12, 1559 (Papal Secret Archives).

towards him.[1] In the conclave Farnese and the Carafa favoured him,[2] while the French had no objection to his being elected. From the very beginning of the election proceedings, Medici was treated by his colleagues with such distinction that his elevation to the Papal throne was expected on the evening of September 9th,[3] but he had a dangerous opponent in the powerful and cunning Este, who distrusted him on account of his favourable prospects, and who would not renounce his own candidature, however unlikely it may have appeared; his aim was to prolong the conclave, the better to gain time for his intrigues. On September 16th and the following Sunday there was active canvassing for Medici.[4] In order to bring pressure to bear on Este in favour of Medici, Farnese acted as though he wished to support Carpi, his most dreaded opponent. Consequently Carpi, who in the first week of the conclave had managed to get at most five or six votes, received all of a sudden fourteen and sixteen.[5] On the afternoon of September 20th it was generally believed that the idea of his elevation by general homage was really intended, many of the Cardinals assembling together, as if with this purpose, in the Pauline Chapel. His opponents, however, were also present, and persisted in remaining far into the night, so that Carpi's favourable prospects again disappeared.[6]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of September 23, 1559; "Ma si ragiona, che Medici habbia d'esser propost' a tutti per li molti favori, che li sono sopragionti contra l'opinione di tutti della Regina di Franza." (Urb. 1039, p. 85, Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* the **Letter of Caligari of September 12, 1559 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 9, 1559, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

[4] Guadagno on September 20 to the Duke of Mantua; see Appendix No. 2.

[5] *List of the scrutinies (State Archives, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

[6] Bondonus, 520. *Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua on September 20, 1559 (see Appendix No. 2). Guadagno expressly states what Müller (p. 114) only calls a conjecture, that the whole scene was staged only to make an impression on Este: "Farnese per paura la sera fece mezo segno di voler andare ad adorare Carpi per far risolvere Ferrara."

The Spaniards, however, could not this time put forward their most able man, Morone.[1] As was currently reported in Rome, the Cardinals in the conclave had once more investigated Morone's case, and this had resulted in an acquittal. When, on the suggestion of Carafa, Vitelli allowed himself to raise an objection, saying that he had on the preceding day carefully studied Morone's case and had found many remarkable things in it, he received a sharp answer from Carpi, in which he was supported by Gonzaga.[2] Morone, nevertheless, resolved to make a declaration to the College of Cardinals on September 17th, through the Dean, du Bellay, thanking them for their decision in his case, and for their efforts on his behalf with Paul IV. and the princes. As, however, several persons were not willing to see him take part in the election, he begged them to permit him to withdraw from the conclave. Du Bellay would not grant this request, and as the majority of the Cardinals persisted in their decision of acquittal, Morone withdrew his proposal; this unselfishness on his part did not fail to increase the esteem in which he was held.[3]

After the endeavours of the Spanish party had proved unavailing, the French made an attempt to elevate the esteemed and generally respected Cardinal Tournon. It is true that the Italians did not wish for a Frenchman, but many promised a vote of honour, and therefore Tournon received, for the scrutiny of September 22nd, a definite promise from some twenty-eight Cardinals and a conditional one from about four others.[4] Then they thought of the plan of only naming

[1] "Moron fu restituido a voz activa y passiva pero non se habla, ni hablara del a causa de lo sucedido," writes the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, on October 3, 1559, to Philip, in DÖLLINGER Beiträge, I., 27.

[2] *Avviso di Roma, September 16, 1559: "Monsignor, se voi l'avete studiat'hieri, io l'ho studiato 30 anni fa, che so quant'è huomo da ben il Morone e non è d'essere trattato com'è stato" (Urb. 1039, p. 83b, Vatican Library).

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 23, 1559 (Urb. 1039, p. 86b, Vatican Library).

[4] Guise on September 27, in RIBIER, II., 833.

Tournon on twenty-four voting papers, after which the remainder of his friends, as if suddenly inspired, were to agree to the election, and thereby carry other Cardinals with them. The votes which were still wanting to make up the necessary thirty-one were to be supplied by those who had only promised their help in case of need. The only thing that brought this cleverly thought-out plan to grief was the fact that it had come to the ears of Carafa. In order to frustrate it he caused the rumour to be spread about that he and his whole party would also vote for Tournon. The consequence was that many of those who estcemed Tournon, but, nevertheless, did not wish to see him Pope, now drew back. Only fifteen voting papers contained his name, and it did not help matters when, in accordance with the previous arrangement, du Bellay, Armagnac, Crispi, Strozzi and an unknown voter subsequently declared themselves for him. No one dared to do anything further for Tournon, for fear of driving Carafa to declare himself for Pacheco, who in the same scrutiny had received eighteen votes and one *accessit.*[1] This very excited session had only proved that the French were as little able as the Spaniards to elect a Pope by their own power. Nothing could now be done but to make the election possible by an arrangement between the two parties; the former alliance between Este and Sforza now had to come into force.

After the vain attempt in favour of Tournon, the two leaders of the French party, Este and Guise, held a conference with

[1] GUIDUS, 613; Conclavi, 159. The number of 15 votes and 5 *accessits* is certain from the *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich; see Appendix No. 1), BONDONUS, 520; GUIDUS, 613; the account in the Conclavi is wrong at any rate in this point, which is not very clear in Guidus. Guardagno *writes on September 23, to the Duke of Mantua: "Hiera mattina si fecion prattiche per Tornone, i Francesi dicevon di havere 34 voti, ma dentro facevono conto che non havea più di 23 o 24, et in scrutinio di poi non hebbe più di 21, per il che pare che i Francesi si sieno levati in collera, ne voglion sentir più parlare di Papa, et dicon, che li Italiani non mantengon la fede, e si dubita che le cose non vadina in lungo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

du Bellay and Tournon, and it seemed to them as if Gonzaga were the man most likely to unite the votes of the French and Spaniards upon himself. The Cardinal of Mantua was outwardly supposed to be a member of the Spanish party, but he had also been designated as an acceptable candidate by the French king. After consulting together for several days the leaders of the French party went to Sforza on September 25th and begged him to propose a Cardinal from his party for election. Sforza in his turn named Gonzaga. To attempt, however, to effect his elevation in the usual manner, by secret ballot, appeared too uncertain, and it was therefore decided to summon the Cardinals immediately to the Pauline Chapel and to declare Gonzaga Pope by paying him general homage.[1]

This attempt, undertaken with hardly any preparation, not only failed completely, but also led to a division of the Spanish party. Only nine Cardinals of that party joined the thirteen of the French assembled in the Pauline Chapel, the others declining to obey their leader Sforza. Whi'e Este, Guise, Sforza and Sermoneta were endeavouring to collect more votes, Madruzzo thought to attain their object in a simpler manner by crying out that Gonzaga was already Pope, and that he had the necessary number of votes. Only two Cardinals, however, allowed themselves to be moved by this to join Gonzaga; most of them remained inaccessible, barred in their cells till all was over. Farnese had in the meantime assembled his party in the Sistine Chapel; his brother Ranuccio, who was ill at the time, got out of bed and placed himself, wrapped in a fur mantle, at the door of the chapel, in order to let no one go over to their opponents. The exhortations of Farnese and Carafa to hold out obtained a brilliant success for their party.[2]

[1] Ribier, II., 834.

[2] Guidus, 614 *seq.*, Bondonus, 520. Santa Fiora and Madruzzo to Philip II. on September 25, 1559, in Petrucelli, 136 *seq.* "*Se non era la furia di Trento, le cose succedevan felicissamente . . Ferrara, Ghisa, Santa Fiore et Sermoneta eron intorno ad alcuni altri che vi mancavano a complir il numero che si ricerca, quando Trento troppo amorevole et frettoloso cominciò ò a gridare:

In reality the attempt to elevate Gonzaga showed the disunion of the Spanish party as well as the strong cohesion of that of Carafa. Even the Frenchman, Reumano, who owed his dignity of Cardinal to Paul IV., remained loyal to Carafa, and to the threats of his indignant countrymen answered that he would rather lose the whole of his property than break his pledged word.[1] Cardinal Vitelli made excuses to Gonzaga for having kept in the background at the elevation of a friend, by referring to the obligations which bound him to Carafa.[2]

Very probably this attempt on behalf of Gonzaga was not seriously meant by Este. According to his agreement with Sforza, both were to take steps either for Medici or for Gonzaga. Together with Sforza, Este decided in favour of Gonzaga because the latter would probably have more difficulty than Medici, and pressed for an immediate attempt for the Cardinal of Mantua, as the candidature of the more dangerous opponent would then be almost without any prospect of success.[3]

In spite of this first failure by Gonzaga, however, his adherents remained loyal to him. The party leaders, Este and Guise, Sforza and Madruzzo, mutually pledged themselves to vote for no one else till all hope of his success had disappeared. Even then they wished to keep together, and work in common for the election of the Pope.[4] Farnese and

Mantova, Mantova, Papa, Papa. Et non vi essendo il numero, Farnese et Caraffa hebbon tempo a non lasciare svolger quelli pochi che mancavano, et a proporre Pacheco in competentia come fece." Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua on September 27, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] GUIDUS, 615. [2] *Ibid.*, 614. [3] MÜLLER, 111 *seqq.*

[4] Este and Guise to the French King on September 27, 1559; Guise to Charles and Francis de Guise on September 27, 1559, in RIBIER, II., 833, 835. "*Ghisa, Ferrara, Trento et Santa Fiore, capi di questa lega, hanno promesso et giurato di non voler mai dar il voto loro ad altri, che hanno sottoscritto cedole di lor mano." Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua on September 27, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Also *Avviso di Roma, of September 30, 1559; the four leaders have given their pledge to Mantua, even if they should have to remain ten years in the conclave (Urb. 1039, p. 87b, Vatican Library).

Carafa, however, were just as firmly resolved on the other hand, to exclude Gonzaga from the Papacy at all costs.[1]

Both parties were almost equally strong,[2] and in view of

[1] Este and Guise wrote on October 18, 1559 (in RIBIER, II., 835), that Carafa and Farnese sought to keep their adherents together by holding out to them hopes of the tiara, and by procuring for them at the voting 18, 20 or 22 votes to keep this hope alive. This, however, only relates to the days which immediately preceded October 18; on October 12 Ghislieri received 20 votes; on the 13, Ranuccio Farnese 21; on the 16, Gaddi 14; on the 17, Savelli 22. *Cf.* *Lists of the scrutinies (State Library, Munich, in Appendix No. 1).

[2] Gianfigliazzi writes at the end of September to the Duke of Florence that the Farnese-Carafa party had 25 Cardinals, and that of Gonzaga 22 (PETRUCELLI, 130). The so-called neutrals are here reckoned among the opponents of Gonzaga. According to Guadagna (*Letter of October 4, 1559, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), du Bellay, Tournon, Armagnac, Lenoncourt, Guise, Este, Madruzzo, Sforza, Sermoneta, Morone, Medici, Puteo, Capodiferro, Cicada, Pisani, Cornaro, Cristoforo del Monte, Mercurio, Rovere, Corgna, Simoncelli, Strozzi and Gonzaga himself are all for the Cardinal of Mantua. Against him are, according to Guadagno: Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, Savelli, Carpi, Saraceni, Carlo Carafa, Scotti, Vitelli, Gaddi, Rebiba, Ghislieri, Diomede Carafa, Alfonso Carafa, Innocenzo del Monte, Reumano, Capizuchi and Dolera. At the name of Dolera there is the remark: "andrà a Mantova non mancando più di 2 voti." The neutrals are Pacheco, Ricci, and Crispi, Truchsess, Cesi, Dandino and Cueva. Guadagno says of Truchsess, Cesi and Dandino: "andranno in Mantova," and of Cueva: "andrà in Mantova mancando il suo voto." A list which the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm, encloses in a letter to Ferdinand I. on September 30, 1559 (published by S. BRUNNER in the Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden, VI., 2, 388 (1885), differs in the following respects from Guadagno's list: To the list of friends of Gonzaga it adds Saraceni, Cueva and Cesi, but omits Medici and Mercurio (Cueva was, according to BONDONUS, 50, among the opponents of Gonzaga at the attempted homage on September 25; *cf.* MÜLLER, 135). In the list of the opponents of Gonzaga, Saraceni and Innocenzo

the obstinacy with which they opposed one another, it seemed as if the election would be indefinitely prolonged. In the meantime Spanish diplomacy interfered in the most inconsiderate manner with the proceedings of the election, and the confusion was thus increased to the highest degree.

The Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas,[1] had arrived in Rome on September 25th, and he presented himself before the Cardinals on the following day.[2] In his person a diplomatist of no ordinary skill and obstinacy appeared upon the scene. It annoyed Vargas to hear in Italy that since Clement VII. no staunch adherent of Charles V. had ever gained the tiara, whereas, on several occasions, a Cardinal who had been excluded by the Emperor had succeeded in so doing.[3] Vargas

del Monte are missing. Thurm also reckons Medici, Innocenzo del Monte and Mercurio among the neutrals, but not Cesi and Cueva. A *third list in the Avvisi di Roma of October 7, 1559 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library) counts 20 friends of Gonzaga; these are the Cardinals given as his friends by Guadagna with the exception of Morone, Medici and Mercurio. Among the opponents of Gonzaga this third list reckons all those quoted by Guadagno as opponents and neutrals, and in addition, Medici and Mercurio. Morone is not mentioned at all in this list. According to Vargas (letter of November 5, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 290) Sforza, Madruzzo, Morone, Cicada, Cornaro, Mercurio, Corgna, and Puteo, among the Spanish party voted for Gonzaga.

[1] Vargas, a zealous adherent of Ruy Gomez, had in spite of Alba's opposition, been appointed principally on the recommendation of Granvelle (HINAJOSA, 49; SUSTA, Pius IV., 129 *seq.*). Šusta gives in this connection an able picture of the diplomatist Vargas. CONSTANT, Rapport, 186 *seq.* gives the best account of his life, quoting much literature in connection with it.

[2] Vargas to Philip II., on September 27, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 267. Philip's letter to the Cardinals on September 9, 1559, which Vargas communicated to them on September 27, is printed in SÄGMÜLLER, 93 *seq.*, *cf.* HERRE, 44. Extract from Vargas' speech before the Cardinals and du Bellay's reply in GUIDUS, 615.

[3] Vargas to Philip II., on January 31, 1560, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 330.

made up his mind that this should not be the case under Philip II., and he therefore developed a feverish activity in order to influence the election in the Spanish interest.[1] He proceeded to do this with an incredible want of consideration. All the other ambassadors preserved at least the outward usages of decorum, but the zeal of Vargas knew no bounds. Scarcely a night passed that he did not enter the conclave by a window or a breach in the wall, in order to work on the Cardinals by promises and threats, often remaining there till daybreak.[2] He himself wrote to the king,[3] on November 5th, 1559, that he had taken more trouble about the conclave than in all his former missions together, and that if he did not succeed in gaining his end, he believed it would prove his death.

Vargas was not satisfied with the whole tendency and development of the proceedings so far. His opinion was that if the Cardinals who had Spanish sympathies would only unite among themselves they would not need the support of the adherents of the French party,[4] and that it was a matter of honour on their part to bring the election to an end in the Spanish sense without the help of a person so "hated by God and the Spanish king as Este."[5] The candidature of Gonzaga was also not approved of by Vargas, because it was a principle of Spanish policy that scions of Italian princely families should be kept from the tiara, so as not to endanger the peace of Italy,[6] and for the same reason he was at first opposed to Medici, as being a dependent of Cosimo I.[7]

[1] Müller, 196, 198.

[2] Mocenigo in Albèri, II., 4, 45. *Cf.*, Šusta, Pius IV., 131.

[3] In Döllinger, I., 289.

[4] Vargas on November 6, 1559, in Döllinger, I., 291.

[5] *Ibid.*, 292.

[6] Mocenigo (in Albèri, II., 4, 32) writes that it was easier to be Pope if one did not belong to the nobility, but was of humble origin. The Duke of Alba gave it as his opinion with regard to Gonzaga that the rule that a man of noble birth was no use as a Pope was so general that there were hardly any exceptions to it. Hinajosa, 64; Herre, 43.

[7] Šusta, Pius IV., 130.

At his first conference with Sforza, during the night of September 27th, Vargas put forward his views with great emphasis. In reply to his misgivings about Gonzaga, Sforza said that his candidature had no prospects of success, but that they must nevertheless appear to support him.[1] It was indeed a fact that neither Vargas nor Sforza dared openly to oppose a member of the powerful princely house of Mantua. Sforza appeared to be ready to enter into the alliance proposed by Vargas, and during the night of October 2nd, the three party leaders, Farnese, Carafa and Sforza held a meeting, at which they were reconciled and mutually promised to work in the interests of Philip's candidate.[2]

The Franco-Spanish alliance, the fruit of three weeks of endeavour and experience, seemed therefore to have been abandoned ; the business of the election had to be undertaken once more from the very beginning, and on quite new principles. The only drawback was that these principles were not clearly established ; the new party was wanting in unity. Each of the three leaders, Farnese, Sforza and Carafa, wished the election to be decided by himself alone, so that he might benefit to the fullest extent from the gratitude of the newly-elected Cardinal.[3] It was related of Carafa that half a day before the attempted elevation of Gonzaga, he had also conceived the plan, but quite independently of the French, of taking up the cause of Gonzaga, but had immediately changed his mind on learning that others had already taken the matter in hand, so that he himself would only play a secondary part in the elevation of that Cardinal.[4]

The new allies were not even of one mind with regard to the candidate they wished to support. In their first discussion during the night Vargas had dissuaded Sforza from assisting

[1] Vargas on September 28 and October 23, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 269, 272 ; MÜLLER, 137.

[2] Vargas on October 3, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 271.

[3] Vargas on October 18 and November 5, *ibid.*, I., 280, 288.

[4] GUIDUS, 615.

Carpi and Pacheco, and had recommended Puteo and Medici.[1] At the meeting between the three leaders, however, Farnese and Carafa had definitely refused to support Puteo,[2] and remained, as they had been before, in favour, in the first instance, of Carpi and Pacheco.

The uncertainty of the position was very much increased by the fact that when Sforza entered into this new compact he did not immediately break off his former understanding with the French. He could not very well do this, for among the adherents who had remained faithful to him at the time of the rupture in the Spanish party were many personal friends of Gonzaga, whom he dared not offend,[3] and he was, moreover, afraid that if he deserted the French, Carafa would at once join them and bring the election to a conclusion without his help.[4] Sforza, therefore, worked with the French for Gonzaga and with his new allies for Carpi and Pacheco, but he was not sincere with either party, and, since his double dealing could not remain concealed he lost the confidence of his own party as well as of the French.[5] A coolness between Sforza and Vargas was also growing from day to day. Sforza, as well as Madruzzo, was justly indignant at the arrogant manner in which the ambassador sought to force his views on them.[6] The confusion was so great, as Madruzzo wrote to Philip II. on October 20th, that it could not have been worse.[7]

In order to find a way out of this state of confusion the divided Spanish party had, above all, to become clear as to their attitude towards Gonzaga. No information on this point was to be obtained from Vargas, for his instructions on this very matter were insufficient.[8] They had, therefore, to

[1] Vargas on September 28, in DÖLLINGER, I., 269 *seq.*; MÜLLER, 140.

[2] Vargas on October 3, in DÖLLINGER, I., 271.

[3] MÜLLER, 146. [4] *Ibid*, 145. [5] *Ibid.*, 143, 147.

[6] *Cf.*, ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 131. [7] WAHRMUND, 82.

[8] MÜLLER, 129. "De cuantas cartas tenia Don Juan Figueroa para en sede vacante, no me he podido aprovechar de ninguna," writes Vargas on November 5, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 289.

apply directly to the Spanish king. Towards the end of September a number of letters from Gonzaga's friends, as well as from his opponents in the Spanish party, were addressed to Spain, in order to obtain thence a decision as to this crucial question.[1] Farnese wrote to the king that if Gonzaga became Pope, Philip could see to it that the Spaniards were not driven out of Italy. Sforza, on the other hand, complained of Farnese to the king, saying that he opposed the Cardinal of Mantua for private reasons, although he well knew the loyalty of the latter to Spain ;[2] the alliance with the French could not be evaded, and he begged Philip to order the Spanish Cardinals to support Gonzaga. He bitterly complained of the insubordination of his party and of Pacheco in particular.[3] Pacheco, on the other hand, whom Philip had expressly designated as an acceptable candidate, made accusations against Sforza, and said that he had left him in the lurch.[4] Gonzaga himself sent an express messenger to Philip, but when he was in Florence he was induced by Duke Cosimo to return.[5] Cosimo also addressed himself to the Spanish king on September 29th ; he explained that a Franco-Spanish alliance was the only way of settling the election, and in order to maintain it he appeared to support Gonzaga, but in reality the only person for whom it would be possible to obtain the tiara was Medici.[6]

Gonzaga's friends also sought to obtain letters of recommendation for him from other courts. The King of France answered in the most courteous terms, saying that if he were a Cardinal he would personally cross the Alps to be able to give his vote for Gonzaga.[7] King Ferdinand wrote, at the request of the Duke of Mantua and the Imperial ambassador, Francis

[1] WAHRMUND, 82, 260 *seq.* MÜLLER, 130 *seqq.*
[2] WAHRMUND, 261.
[3] MÜLLER, 130 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 131.
[5] *Ibid.*, 135.
[6] *Ibid.*, 132.
[7] WAHRMUND, 261.

von Thurm, to Cardinals Madruzzo, Truchsess and Morone that they should support the candidature of Gonzaga.[1]

Considering the means of communication of that time, an answer from Spain could not be expected to arrive in Rome in less than four weeks so that, as September had passed without any result as far as the election was concerned, the like was to be expected in October. The parties, as Curzio Gonzaga wrote to Mantua on October 4th, were standing firmly opposed to one another; the business of the election could only proceed when an answer had been received from the Catholic King.[2]

The great consideration extended to the princes gave much scandal in Rome, and indeed throughout the whole of Italy. The Conservators of the city appeared before the Cardinals on October 4th and reproached them for seeking instructions from abroad, thereby quite misunderstanding their own dignity and position.[3] They begged them to hasten the election as much as possible, since public security in Rome was so greatly endangered by the long duration of the conclave that honest people were no longer sure of their lives. Then the Conservators endeavoured to justify the people for an occurrence which had taken place during the preceding night. The day before, some persons belonging to the French embassy had shot a gentleman-at-arms of the prefect of one of the districts in the open street because the said prefect had deprived one of their number of a prohibited weapon without regard for the French privileges. In revenge for this the people had, during the following night almost stormed and burned down the dwelling of the French ambassador.[4] The Conservators concluded by declaring that if a Pope were not speedily given to the city they would make use of the authority

[1] Letter of October 14, 1559, in S. Brunner in the Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden, VI., 2, 389 (1885); Wahrmund, 260. *Cf.* Giacomo Soranzo on October 20, 1559, in Turba, III., 107.

[2] *Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Guidus, 617.

[4] *Ibid.*, 616.

to which they were entitled, and prevent the Cardinals from communicating with the outside world by letter.

The Cardinal-Dean, du Bellay, dismissed the Conservators with a sharp reproof on account of their arrogant language and the excesses of the previous night. The complaints were, however, only too well justified, and other remonstrances were not wanting regarding the general insecurity in Rome.[1] The want of order in the conclave itself was so great that the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, wrote in 1560 that it was the most open and free of which there was any record.[2] On October 2nd four Cardinals were appointed,[3] who were to confer with the ordinary commission of Cardinals concerning a reform of the conclave. They did indeed make various regulations,[4] but, as Bondonus says, although these were well conceived nobody paid any attention to them.[5] The windows and breaches in the walls by which Cardinals and conclavists communicated with the outside world were indeed closed, but were very soon opened again,[6] and no lasting improvement of the conditions took place.

As a matter of fact, no exhortations or regulations for reform could have much success as long as the evil was not grasped at the root, and the secular princes deprived of all

[1] The *Avviso di Roma of September 23, 1559, announces that many murders take place by day and by night (Urb. 1039, p. 85. Vatican Library). Cardinal Cueva spoke to the same effect in an address to the conclave on November 12 (Guidus, 619): "Lites non legibus, sed gladiis et caedibus diffiniebantur' complained the Conservators on November 3. Guidus, 618. *Cf.* Susta, Pius IV., 135.

[2] Mocenigo, 43. *Cf.* Dembiński, Wybór Piusa IV., 260; Šusta, Pius IV., 134 See *ibid.* concerning the abuses in the matter of wagers as to who should be Pope; many conclavists made these for their own personal gain.

[3] They were Madruzzo, Este, Scotti and Carafa. Bondonus, 521.

[4] Bondonus, 522; Guidus 617.

[5] Bondonus, 522.

[6] Mocenigo, *loc. cit.*

influence in the Papal election. Nobody, however, had the courage to take a step of such decisive importance, for the favour of so powerful a monarch as Philip II. must be retained for the Church. Nothing else was therefore possible but to suffer as before the intercourse with the ambassadors, and to await with patience the decision of the Spanish king as to the candidature of Gonzaga which had been asked for.

Philip II. was in no hurry with his reply. It appeared to him impossible to declare himself in favour of Gonzaga, yet to pronounce against him, the member of so highly esteemed a princely family, was both distasteful and dangerous.[1] He therefore postponed his answer from week to week, hoping perhaps that the Cardinals would understand his silence, and at length decide as he wished without express instructions from him. This, in fact, was what actually took place.

The conclave remained for a few weeks completely undecided as to the election. As a matter of form, the daily voting took place, and Pacheco regularly received from seventeen to twenty-two votes, and Cueva from twelve to eighteen.[2] Cardinals of whose actual elevation no one was really thinking, often received an unusual number of votes, merely as a compliment, as, for instance, Saraceni, who on October 5th and 7th had sixteen and nineteen votes, Rebiba on the 6th no less than seventeen, and Ghislieri at a later date twenty. To Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, whose name is otherwise only occasionally mentioned, twenty-one votes were given on October 13th, merely because it was the anniversary of his grandfather's election. Similar surprises occurred every day.[3]

In the midst of the tedious monotony of the almost suspended proceedings, a little excitement was caused by a striking remark made by Cardinal Medici, who, in conversation with Cardinal Truchsess said: "As regards the Germans, we

[1] *Cf.* Tiepolo to the Signoria of Venice, Toledo, December 11, 1559, in BROWN, VII., n. 117.

[2] *Cf.* the *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*

should have to summon a Council, to see if some concessions could not be made to them with regard to the marriage of priests and Communion under both kinds." Such words in the mouth of a Cardinal in whom many saw the future Pope, caused Truchsess such great scandal that he considered it his duty to bring it to the notice of the electors, and as it gave rise to considerable comment, he drew up a written report of his conversation with Medici on October 13th and another in November.[1] The whole affair, however, injured the Cardinal of Augsburg rather than the reputation of Medici.[2]

The weary waiting for a reply from Philip at length seemed to the Cardinals a burden too great to be borne. The patience of the hot-blooded Carafa was the first to give way; he feared that his adherents might not, in the end, withstand the temptations of the opposite party during this long delay.[3] On October 11th, he declared to Cardinal Sforza that if he did not break off his alliance with the Spaniards within four days, he would himself separate from him, and, in conjunction with the French, raise Cardinal Tournon to the Papal throne; he could easily bring about this result with the seventeen votes of which he had command and those of the French. Sforza begged for a delay until October 17th, and this Carafa allowed him.[4]

In the face of this threat, Vargas thought that he ought to delay no longer in taking a definite step against Gonzaga, and he therefore wrote to Madruzzo, the special friend of the latter, saying that it would be as well to refrain from supporting Gonzaga any longer, as, under the present circumstances there was no hope of his candidature being successful.[5]

[1] Too much curtailed in SICKEL, Konzil, 17 *seqq*, 20, *cf.* 84 *seq.*; complete in Urb. 847, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 133 n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* MÜLLER, 151 *seqq.* Several days before the election Truchsess was reconciled to Medici; *ibid.* 224 *seq.*

[3] Vargas on November 5, 1559 in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 284.

[4] GUIDUS, 617 *seq.* Vargas on October 13, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 274.

[5] WAHRMUND, 261. Vargas on October 13 and 18, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 275, 276; MÜLLER, 149.

Madruzzo, however, would not give up the support of Gonzaga. He answered the ambassador by saying that he could not understand how he could express himself in such terms about so good a friend of Spain ; at the same time he wrote to Philip II. that the Cardinal of Mantua deserved the Papacy a hundred times, and that he could be of more use to the world as Pope than all the others together.[1]

The rest of the Spanish supporters of Gonzaga had pledged themselves, with Sforza, to wait until October 17th for the courier from Spain, and on that day they extended the period by yet another eight or ten days. Sforza only gave way to the importunity of Carafa to the extent that he did not renew the promise of his friends, as far as he himself was concerned.[2]

This slight concession naturally did not satisfy Carafa. He now approached the French who, at his overtures, at once despatched a courier to the French king ; the hostility of Carafa towards Sforza in the meantime increased from " hour to hour." He complained to Vargas that Sforza was his enemy, and wished to destroy him and his house ; the King of Spain would sacrifice the Carafa without scruple to please a Pope elected according to the proposals of Sforza. He would therefore support Farnese, as he had promised, and repudiate Gonzaga, and for the rest, in spite of his earnest desire to serve Philip, he would adopt a neutral attitude between the parties. The ambassador sought to dissuade him, but in vain ; Carafa adhered to his resolution.[3] Este was jubilant at this success ; he now threw off his mask, canvassed for votes for himself, made extensive offers and promises, as was his wont, and gained ground hour to hour.[4]

Such was the position of affairs when at last, on October 27th, a letter from King Philip arrived. It bore the dates of October 8th and 9th, and contained nothing concerning Gonzaga's candidature, but, instead, news which could not have arrived more inopportunely for Vargas. With regard

[1] Letter of October 20, 1559, in WAHRMUND, 82 *seq.*

[2] Vargas on October 18, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 279 *seq.*

[3] Vargas on November 5, 1559 *ibid.*, 282 *seqq.*

[4] Vargas, *ibid.*, 285.

to the dispute concerning the possession of Paliano,[1] which was still going on, Philip chose just this moment to come to the decision that Paliano should be restored to its former owner, Marcantonio Colonna ; not a syllable as to any indemnification for the Carafa was to be found in the letter.[2] Vargas naturally endeavoured to keep this unlucky news secret, but the courier was aware of the orders which he had brought and informed everybody of the interesting news. Carafa was almost in despair.[3] He complained aloud that the king thought nothing of him, that he was insulting him at the very moment he was rendering him a great service. Vargas was likewise in great perplexity. He took the greatest pains in personal conversation, and also through the intervention of friends, either to deny the contents of the dispatch entirely, or to represent the order as being founded on suppositions which were now obsolete. As Carafa, who had to assist so many of his adherents, was in pecuniary difficulties, Vargas, "as a kind friend" felt moved to offer him from 2000 to 3000 scudi, while the Viceroy of Naples, at the instigation of Vargas, sent an order for 4000 scudi, which he, again purely out of "friendship" wished to lend the Cardinal. Carafa accepted these gifts, and, naturally, could not immediately separate himself from Spain.[4]

Cardinal Sforza criticised Vargas' procedure at this time very sharply in a letter to the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, Ascanio Caracciolo. He would appeal to the king, as judge between himself and Vargas, writes the leader of the Spanish party. It was really too disgraceful that they should have to try to gain their ends by offers of money. They could have been just as successful without bribes, and without acting in any way contrary to the king's wishes, as by making use of such means. Carafa was not by any means an important person ; it would have been of far greater importance

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 212.

[2] Vargas on November 3, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 285 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DEMBIŃSKI, Wybór, 239.

[4] *Ibid.*, 286-7.

to keep on good terms with the influential Gonzaga than to gain over Carafa, without any advantage to themselves, and by such disgraceful measures.[1] Moreover, according to Duke Cosimo's opinion, Este, not Carafa, was the person about whom they ought to trouble themselves. Should they succeed in inducing the former to give up his hopes of the tiara, then affairs would come right of themselves; on the other hand, if they could not succeed in doing this, then they were only pouring water into a sieve.[2]

In reality, however, whether he wished it or not, Carafa was obliged to keep in with Spain, because it was only from Philip that he could expect an Italian principality, and not from the French, who had no power in Italy; it was also very doubtful if Carafa's whole party would join him in throwing themselves into the hands of the French.[3]

The decision of Philip II. regarding the possession of Paliano had shown that he was of the same opinion as Sforza and the Duke of Florence with regard to the importance of Carafa, and Vargas' report from Rome did not succeed in making him change his mind. To the oft-repeated request of the ambassador that Philip would authorize him to make promises to Carafa, he answered nothing further on October 26th[4] than to say that the former pension of 12,000 scudi[5] granted to Carafa should be continued.

Several days before, on October 20th, Philip had finally given his decision with regard to the candidature of Gonzaga for the Papacy.[6] It was to the effect that the election of the Cardinal of Mantua was at all costs to be prevented. The ambassador, however, was to let no one know this, though,

[1] Letter of November 7, 1559, in PETRUCELLI, 147.

[2] Cosimo I. to Concini on November 4, 1559, in PETRUCELLI, 145 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 143.

[3] MÜLLER, 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, 168.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 213.

[6] MÜLLER, 136. According to Vargas, Philip's dispatch was on October 23 (DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 296); the 23rd was the day of the departure of the courier (MÜLLER, 206).

in case of extreme need, he might inform Sforza. In other respects, however, Vargas was to show himself very attentive to Gonzaga, and to assure him of Philip's great esteem.[1] The king, moreover, was not wanting himself in fair words. He regretted to learn, he wrote to the Duke of Mantua, that his ambassador should have shown such opposition to Cardinal Gonzaga; he could not, indeed, order anyone to vote for him, but should he be elected it would give him great pleasure.[2]

While Philip was proceeding with the greatest caution with regard to the influential Gonzaga, his ambassador was acting less guardedly in Rome. In a second letter, of October 27th, the king had again referred to Gonzaga's exclusion, but this time without renewing the order to work secretly towards this end. It happened, by accident, that this second letter was the first to reach Rome, the first, that of October 20th, only arriving on November 19th, while the second was received as early as the 11th.[3] Vargas was extremely glad at the arrival of this message, the coming of which had been already announced from Mantua and Florence. The news caused the greatest excitement in the conclave. During the night of November 12th, Vargas arranged with Sforza that Gonzaga must be informed of Philip's decision, so that he might give up all further attempts to obtain the tiara.[4] This, however, was by no means in accordance with Philip's wishes, and he afterwards sharply reprimanded Vargas for having, by his want of prudence and lack of diplomacy, left him to contend with the whole of Italy, while there was no end to the complaints which Gonzaga himself and his relatives, the Dukes of Mantua and Urbino, had addressed to him concerning his ambassador.[5]

Gonzaga, wearied by the long waiting for Philip's answer, had himself withdrawn his candidature a few days previously, on November 8th, though without the secret endeavours

[1] MÜLLER, 136.

[2] *Ibid.*, 175.

[3] Vargas on November 30, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 294.

[4] Vargas on November 30, 1559, *ibid.*, 294 *seq.*

[5] Philip to Vargas on January 8, 1560, in MÜLLER, 206.

on his behalf having in the meantime come to an end, although now the hopes of his friends naturally sank very considerably. Gonzaga received Sforza's communication with calmness and dignity; the manner, too, in which he had a short time before, made his renunciation of his candidature before the Cardinals, was calculated to raise him in everybody's esteem.[1]

Vargas' plans seemed to have been crowned with success by the retirement of Gonzaga. Sforza had broken with the French, and the unity of the Spanish party had been outwardly restored. The Spaniards could now set to work with reunited forces to secure victory for a candidate of their own. On November 14th they agreed to make an attempt next with Carpi's candidature, and proceeded to do so at once. The French, however, proved to be so exceedingly opposed to this plan, that Carafa, with Madruzzo, Farnese and Sforza, told them, on November 19th, that any further attempts would prove fruitless. Carpi received this announcement "like a saint;" they must not delay the conclave on his account, he said, he did not wish to stand in the way of the most worthy man.[2]

In Vargas' opinion, the Spaniards should now have concentrated on Pacheco. They were, however, unable to do so, for, in the meantime, the unity of the Spanish leaders, which had only been maintained with considerable difficulty, was again broken by the withdrawal of Carpi.

During the night of November 12th, when Sforza was informed of the exclusion of Gonzaga, a discussion had also taken place between the Spanish ambassador and Carafa, during which Vargas showed the Cardinal a letter in which Philip spoke of the latter with great appreciation, and assured him of the continuance of the pension of 12,000 scudi which had been previously granted him. Carafa had answered

[1] Vargas on November 30, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 294; GUIDUS, 619.

[2] Vargas, *loc. cit.* 295; GUIDUS, 620. On November 11, Carpi had 5 votes, on the 17 and 18 he had 12, but they soon sank again. See *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

that he wished for something more ; on account of the honour of his house, he expected from the king the title of prince for his brother. Vargas could only reassure him by enlarging on the magnanimity and generosity of his master, "a half word from whom was of greater value than all the promises and assurances of other princes."[1] Soon afterwards, in order to offer an equivalent to the offers of the French,[2] he made Carafa general assurances and promises,[3] and finally, after repeated deliberations with the most important members of the Spanish party, he had recourse to the grave measure of exceeding his authority and giving Carafa a written promise of the desired reward. At the same time, however, he impressed upon him that it would prove far more advantageous for him to leave everything to the royal generosity of Philip.[4]

All these efforts, however, were in vain. The French were actively soliciting the friendship of Carafa at the same time as Vargas, and their leader, Este, was, as described by Philip's ambassador, the most formidable opponent in negotiations of that kind, that had ever been seen.[5] The French, moreover, did not need to limit themselves to vague promises with little security behind them. Catherine de' Medici had, at their request, addressed a flattering letter to Carafa in which she expressly assured him that all promises made to him and his house would be certain to obtain the approval of the French court.[6] Catherine's letter arrived about the same time as that of the Spanish king. Carafa, therefore, declared to the French that he was for the moment bound by his promise for Carpi ; on the very day, however, that Carpi withdrew from his candidature he would retire from his adherence to the

[1] Vargas in DÖLLINGER, I., 297.

[2] They are said to have already offered him the Marquisate of Saluzzo (on the French-Italian frontier) and 30,000 ducats in silver, as well as the promise of all his benefices in Italy. Gianfigliazzi, in PETRUCELLI, 121 ; *cf.* 130. MÜLLER, 147.

[3] Vargas, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 299 *seq.*

[5] "el mas terrible hombre que se ha visto ;" *ibid.*, 297.

[6] MÜLLER, 169 *seq.*

Spanish party. On the night of November 26th he made a detailed declaration to this effect before Pacheco, Madruzzo, Farnese and Sforza, and repeated it even more fully on the following night in the presence of Vargas. Now as before, he assured them, his own wishes led him to serve the Spanish king; he would, however, pledge himself to nothing, and would not be bound by any exclusion on the part of the powers, but would give his vote to the candidate who, in his opinion, was the best for Spain.[1] Carafa, therefore, did not dare to break completely with his former friends; indeed he complained that Sforza no longer invited him to the meetings of the Spanish party.[2] He wished to make the Spaniards realize the value of his friendship by his separation from them. Should the king really prove unwilling to grant Carafa's wishes after this experience, then he intended to go over entirely to the side of the French, and with their assistance to elevate a Cardinal from whom he might hope for something for his house.[3] He had Carpi, Reumano and Dolera in view.[4] It also pleased him to be regarded by both Spaniards and French as the arbiter of the conclave and to be paid court to by them; at this time he was filled with such arrogance that people hardly ventured to address him.[5]

It was true that Carafa now had the election in his hand; to whichever side he, with the sixteen votes of his party of firm adherents should incline, there it seemed that the decisive power must lie.

The altered state of affairs found expression in the fact that the candidates of the French party now seemed to come into prominence in the conclave, while previously there had only been question of the endeavours of the Spaniards on behalf of the Cardinals who were agreeable to them. Gonzaga's adherents took fresh courage, while Este, in particular, thought

[1] Vargas *loc. cit.*, 300 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 307.

[3] MÜLLER, 172 *seq.*

[4] Vargas, *loc. cit.*, 301.

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* also the *letter of Tonina of January 15, 1561, quoted in Chapter IV., p. 132, n. 2 *infra* (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

that his own time had come. On the evening of November 30th he wished homage to be paid to him as Pope. Great excitement thereupon arose in the conclave; only Sforza remained calm and made reply to the agitated Carpi that there was a great deal of noise, but that the danger was, nevertheless, very slight, and that Vargas would be able to write to Philip II. that he had averted a great danger.[1] According to Vargas' report, Sforza and the others were half dead from fear; nobody had attempted any resistance until, in answer to his entreaties and appeals, Este's opponents had again pulled themselves together.[2] Vargas remained standing half the night at a breach in the wall of the conclave; they were pursuing a false course, he called out to the Cardinals,

[1] Petrucelli 152. *Hier dopo magnare il Ferrara radoppiò tanto le sue prattiche che si erano sentite li giorni innanzi che fece paura a tutto 'l mondo di havere di riuscire hier notte papa, et non solamente a quelli di fuora, ma a quelli di drento, et fu di tal sorta la paura, che molti della contraria parte stavano tanto sbigottiti, che erano per andarvi, vedendo il Carafa andarci: pensando che tutti li suoi anche vi andassero, et vedendo anche che una buona parte della fattione del Camerlengo ci andava, ancora che lui stesso non ci andasse, però havevano paura, che venendo la cosa alla stretta, che ci andasse. Li ministri cattolici furono al conclave et vi stettero fino a 6 hore, Trento si portò valorosamente acciò si scostasse parte de' Carafeschi che furono da cinque o sei et così la cosa si quietò, ancora che havesse 27 voti. Non perse però speranza perchè questa mattina in scrutinio ha fatto un altro rumore, et se dubitava che questa notte non volesse fare più sforzo che hier notte. Però ci sono avvisi del conclave di 3 hore di notte di questa sera, che dicono che non solo si è fatto poco, ma niente, et secondo il tenore di questo avviso pare che Ferrara voglia renovare le prattiche di Mantova et la oppinione di molti è che lo faccia pensando che Farnese per liberarsi della paura del Mantova andasse in lui. Dandino is ill, and S. Giorgio is likely to die, di modo che la fattione di Ferrara si sminuisse et bisognerà si risolva.—Juan Antonio de Tassis a Mad. Margherita d'Austria reggente di Fiandra (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 763).

[2] Vargas in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 305.

if they flattered themselves by remembering that Charles V. had shown the greatest favour to the very men who had formerly been his opponents, but that now they were living in a new world. Should Este become Pope, then war, vexation and schism would be inevitable, as he was openly purchasing the tiara in the most shameful manner.[1]

It is probable, however, that Carafa had only supported Este in this attempt in the hope that thereby Sforza would be forced to the election of Este's rival, Carpi. As several who had at first promised Este their votes did not now keep their word, Carafa also drew back, so that the Cardinal of Ferrara had far less than the required number of votes. His friends, however, did not relax their efforts on his behalf,[2] and Este spoke to Duke Cosimo of Florence as late as December 3rd in very optimistic terms about his election.[3] He only really abandoned hope in the concluding days of the conclave.

The principal reason why Este could no longer put off his open canvassing for the tiara was that his two most zealous adherents, Cardinals Capodiferro and Dandino, were sick unto death and were given up by the physicians.[4] Many other Cardinals were also seriously threatened in their health by the long confinement in the bad air of a closed apartment, over crowded with people.[5] The consequences of the long

[1] *Ibid.*, 306.

[2] The highest number of votes gained by Este was at the beginning of December (on the 1 and 4) but they never exceeded 12 or 13. See *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

[3] PETRUCELLI, 151.

[4] GUIDUS, 623.

[5] "Deinde (November 30) fuerunt intromissi 12 fachini, qui . . . deberent purgare conclave, in quo fetor erat insupportabilis, et multi cupiebant exire timentes aliquam contagiosam infirmitatem" (BONDONUS, 526). The *Avvisi of December 2 (Urb. 1039, p. 105b, Vatican Library) notes that many were ill in the conclave. "Gran puzzone è in conclavi": December 11, *ibid.* p. 106b. "Dentro hay muchos enfermos": Vargas on November 29, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 303. *Cf.* MÜLLER, 201; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 144.

vacancy were also every day making themselves more unpleasantly felt outside the conclave. The scarcity in the city was constantly increasing,[1] while disputes were now settled by the sword instead of by proper legal means.[2] General indignation prevailed at the delay in the election.[3] On November 12th the treasurers informed the Cardinals that they could raise no more money to pay the troops.[4] The number of soldiers was then reduced, but the officials of the Apostolic Camera soon complained that the money was not sufficient even for the reduced number.[5] It caused a great sensation when several Protestants from Carinthia and Switzerland took advantage of the prevailing lawlessness to steal into the city in monks' habits and to disseminate their doctrines in sermons and disputations.[6] The Romans felt that their honour was attacked by this occurrence, when it was reported that the foreign preachers had explained that the destruction of the buildings of the Inquisition, at the death of Paul IV., was a sign that there existed leanings towards the false doctrines among the Roman people. They loudly called for the intruders to be handed over to the people for judgment, so that they might vindicate their orthodoxy.[7]

There was no lack of exhortations to the Cardinals to come to a decision at last. Cardinal Cueva, for example, made an earnest speech on November 12th, immediately after the voting, in which he laid stress on the disastrous consequences of the dragging on of the conclave.[8] The Conservators of the

[1] GUIDUS, 621 (on November 27).

[2] GUIDUS, 618. *Cf. supra* p. 31, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* DEMBIŃSKI, Wybór, 260.

[4] GUIDUS, 619.

[5] BONDONUS, 528. According to the *accounts in the State Archives, Rome, the total expenses for the conclave amounted to 60,000 ducats; the mercenaries cost 40,118 ducats. See ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 144, n. 2.

[6] GUIDUS, 618.

[7] *Ibid.*, 618; *cf.* 619, 624.

[8] GUIDUS, 619. Pacheco blamed, so it was stated in Rome (*Avviso di Roma of Novemver 18, 1559, Urb. 1039, p. 102,

city again made their appearance and renewed their former complaints on November 27th.[1] On this occasion they were listened to to such an extent that some eighty,[2] or according to another report, as many as a hundred and twenty[3] conclavists were expelled from the enclosure. On November 30th Fabio Cordella, a Doctor of Law, was appointed Master of the Conclave ; he had to see that the order for reform with regard to the meals of the Cardinals did not remain a dead letter.[4] To the Governor of the Borgo was assigned the duty of seeing that all the rooms adjoining or underneath the conclave were kept closed, so that communication with outside might be lessened.[5]

Representatives of foreign princes frequently appeared before the conclave to urge speed in the election. The ambassador of the King of France thus appeared on November 14th,[6] and on the 25th the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm.[7] Vargas had already, on September 27th and again on October 13th, addressed the Cardinal in carefully prepared speeches, while on December 8th he reappeared before them with a letter from his king,[8] and admonished them anew as to the

Vatican Library) Carafa very much on account of his "strani trattati" ; he said to him, which pleased most people very much : "che tal cose non eran'a far in conclavi, ne tra cardinali, et che molto si maravegliava della sua presontion et audatia con tanto poco respetto al grado ch'hora teniva et al sacro collegio"

[1] GUIDUS, 621.

[2] BONDONUS, 526.

[3] GUIDUS, 622. According to the *Avviso di Roma of December 2, 1559, 60 conclavists were expelled on Wednesday, November 29, and many others on the 30 (Urb. 1039, p. 105, Vatican Library).

[4] BONDONUS, 526. Bondonus remarks on December 5 : "observatum, quod pro Ill^mis non intromittcretur nisi unum ferculum."

[5] *Ibid.*, 526, 529 (on December 1 and 20).

[6] *Ibid.*, 525.

[7] *Ibid.*, 526 ; WAHRMUND, 262 ; ŠUSTA Pius IV., 140.

[8] Of November 16, which reached Rome on December 4. It is printed in WAHRMUND, 84 *seqq.* *Cf.* MÜLLER, 182 SÄGMÜLLER, 100.

necessity of concluding the election at the earliest possible moment. The Cardinal Dean, du Bellay, answered him, and took the opportunity of including several unpleasant truths in his remarks. He drew attention to the fact that the cause of the delay was to be attributed, for the most part, to the unjustifiable influence which was being exercised from outside; as soon, he continued, as the Cardinals were allowed full liberty, the election would quickly be settled, but that it was quite useless to exhort the Cardinals in public to the greatest possible haste, and then in secret to do everything possible to drag on the election to an interminable length.[1]

Du Bellay had given utterance to these hints in a rather irritated manner,[2] and Vargas, therefore, naturally endeavoured, with the support of Pacheco and Farnese, to defend his sovereign from all shadow of blame.[3] To this defence du Bellay answered that the Cardinals who were unwilling to obey orders were threatened on the part of the Spanish court with the loss of their revenues, whereupon Pacheco twice called out in a loud voice that this was not true.[4] Then followed the delivery of the royal message, which was drawn up in dignified terms.[5] The king, it was stated, did not wish to interfere in the election in any way likely to hinder it; it was not his business to lay down rules to the Cardinals for the election; they must only keep in view the service of God, and choose, without any consideration for him, the candidate most likely to be useful in the present parlous condition of the Church. Du Bellay answered Vargas' defence in courteous terms, but did not fail to express the hope that deeds might correspond to words.

[1] "Si quid nunc ab ipsis peccaretur, tolerabilius videri debeat, quod non magis ipsorum culpa acciderit, quam eorum, qui sese in electionis negotio, quod ad eos nulla ex parte pertineret, immiscere tam sollicite vellent. Nihil enim intra parietes conclavis dissidii esse, quod non extrinsecus importaretur." GUIDUS, 624.

[2] "non sine stomacho prolata." GUIDUS, 624.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] MÜLLER, 182 *seq.* *Cf.* in order to appreciate the accusation, *ibid.*, 199, and MERKLE, II., 624, n. 5.

[5] WAHRMUND, 84.

Farnese, on the other hand, declared that Philip's conduct required no justification, and that du Bellay had not, in the closing words of his speech, spoken in the sense of the whole Sacred College.[1]

On the same day, December 8th, on which Vargas delivered this message, the French made an attempt to elevate Reumano to the Papal throne.[2] A little time before they had been working for Tournon, while Cesi and Pisani had also been spoken of about the same time.[3] None of these, however, had any prospect of success. The candidature of a native of France, as both Reumano and Tournon were, was exceedingly unpopular with the people of Rome. The days of Avignon had not yet been forgotten, and it was feared that a Frenchman might remove the seat of the Papacy from Rome. When a rumour got abroad on the night of December 8th, that Reumano had nearly been elected, the people rushed to the Capitol and threatened to ring the tocsin, and quiet was not restored till news arrived that Reumano would not be elected.[4] The French candidates also met with enemies within their own party. Este had not yet given up his own hopes and was secretly working against his own party.[5] Carafa, too, was now only apparently on the side of the French, but in reality he had again been approached by the Spaniards, and had gone over to them.

Vargas, to whom the friendship of Carafa meant everything, was now awaiting, with the greatest anxiety, the royal confirmation of the extensive promises which he had taken upon

[1] GUIDUS, 625.

[2] GUIDUS, 625 *seq.* According to the *Avviso di Roma of December 11, 1559 (Urb. 1039, p. 106, Vatican Library), work was being carried on for Reumano even during the night of the 10, and on the 11, but they did not succeed in getting together 27 votes. Vargas on December 12, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 310.

[3] PETRUCELLI, 154 *seq.* Tournon said: "non volere che per lui s'allonghi il conclave per un giorno." *Avviso di Roma of December 11, 1559 (Urb. 1030, p. 106, Vatican Library).

[4] GUIDUS, 626; PETRUCELLI, 154.

[5] MÜLLER, 190.

himself upon his own responsibility, to make to Carafa. When no such authority had arrived by the beginning of December, and a complete breaking away on the part of Carafa seemed imminent, he thought that he might venture to do independently what he believed had only been omitted in Spain through a failure to understand the real state of affairs. He therefore drew up a document making extensive concessions to Carafa, and communicated the contents to the ambitious Cardinal, as having been really written by Phillip.[1] Carafa was at once won over to Philip's side, although he declared that he could not immediately pass over to the Spanish party, but must wait for a fitting opportunity.

Carafa was, however, soon forced to throw off the mask by the force of circumstances. The French had been planning the election of Gonzaga since the beginning of December. Carafa had promised Cardinals Guise, Este and Madruzzo, even before the attempted elevation of Reumano, to support Gonzaga with seven votes,[2] and thereby assure his election; he requested, however, a further delay in order, in the meantime, to honour and please several of his adherents by making apparent attempts to secure their election.[3] Finally, on December 14th, he definitely agreed to give his support to the Cardinal of Mantua. On the 13th it was generally expected in the city that, in a very short time, a decision in favour of Gonzaga would be made; Madruzzo and others had already had their silver removed from the conclave so that it might not disappear in the usual plundering after the election.[4]

[1] Vargas on December 12, 1559 in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge I., 309: "Accordé sin dar parte a persona formar un capitulo, como que V.M. me lo escribia."

[2] "con sette voti:" *Curzio Gonzaga to the Castellan of Mantua on December 15, 1559 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); "con seis de sus votos:" Vargas on December 14, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 314.

[3] *Curzio Gonzaga, *loc. cit.* According to Curzio the attempt for Reumano was only a pretence.

[4] Vargas, *loc. cit.*

The old opponents of Gonzaga, Farnese, Sforza and the adherents of Carafa had not been idle. On the morning of the decisive day, Carafa asked for a further delay from Este and Guise until the afternoon; soon afterwards the whole conclave resounded with the cries of "Carpi! Carpi!" and the latter was proclaimed Pope by many Cardinals instead of Gonzaga. The French, however, were not unprepared. Carafa had let it be understood that he was only planning an apparent attempt on behalf of Carpi, but the French were not deceived; they had, in any case, a more than sufficient number of votes ready for the exclusion of Carpi. They assembled in a compact body in the Sistine Chapel and mocked at Carafa's vain efforts.[1] On the following night there arose

[1] The reports in BONDONUS, 528, GUIDUS, 626 *seq.*, of Vargas, *loc. cit.*, and Curzio Gonzaga do not agree in all points. The account we have given agrees in all essentials with the hitherto unpublished *letter of Curzio Gonzaga (see *supra* p. 47, n. 3): . . . già più di otto giorni sono Carafa havea dato la fede sua con quelle maggior parole che dir si possono in simili negotii, al cardinale di Guisa, a quello di Ferrara et a quello di Trento di venir in Mantua con setti voti et di facto papa, perchè tanti erano anche di soverchio. Ora per questo si tenea la cosa franca, ne si aspettava altro che il giorno determinato, perchè Carafa havea tolto tempo di voler dare qualche sodisfattione ai cardinali dalla sua fattione, et così se fece quella sborita di Reumani, come dee sapere; finalmente parendo a questi rev^mi Francesi, che quest' uomo la tirasse più in lungo di quello che bisognava, commincioron a dubitare et a restringer il negotio et a pregarlo a volerle ormai dar fine, tal che esso non sapendo più come tirarla in lungo, disse che il di seguente, che fu ieri, cioè il XIV di questo, senza fallo l' espediria et che l' allongava questo poto di più per dar un poco di sodisfatione a Carpi et per vedere di vincere un altro voto delli suoi, il che intendendo quei signori dubitarono maggiormente, pur non ne fecero vista, parendoli pur gran cosa che costui, che fa tanta professione di cavaliere, volesse mentire a questo modo. Con tutto ciò per giocar più cautamente che poterono, si risolsero di mettersi in mano l' esclusione di Carpi per ogni caso che potesse occorrere, havendo osservato che il buon Carafa era stato alla cella di Carpi et che si havevano fatto un mondo di carezze et

a heated altercation between Carafa and Guise,[1] and Carafa entered into a formal alliance with Sforza, backed up by his signature, by which the two party leaders promised to work in union with each other, and Carafa agreed that he would no longer promote the election of the Cardinals excluded by

accoglienze.—In somma, venuto il di et l' hora prefissa al termino nostro, il buon Carafa andò a trovar Ghisa et Ferrara et li disse, che li parea meglio a tardar la cosa sin dopo cena a fine che Farnese non sturbasse qualche cosa. Intanto si trattava e da Farnesi e della banda Carafesca l' adoratione di Carpi et in un tratto s' udì una voce per il conclave : Carpi ! Carpi ! con una piena di cardinali alla volta della sua cella, et il buon Carafa, scoperto l' assassinamento se ne era andato colà per condurlo in cappella. Gaddi et Vitelli della fattione Carafa c' haveano tramato la cosa di Mantova et impegnata la lor fede a Ghisa et Ferrara, sentendo il rumore et mandati a chiamrae da Carafa per non mancar alla fede loro si risolsero di non ci volere andare per modo alcuno, talche Carafa li andò a trovare alla cella et quivi gittandolesi in ginocchio li cominciò a pregare che non volessero mancare all' obbligo che li haveano et alla fedeltà che gli erano obligati di portare, ne per ben che li pregasse e scongiurasse mai ci volsero andare, et si dice anche che vennero a brutte parole et che Vitelli havendoli Carafa detto che l' assassinava, gli rispose che mentiva. In somma non ci fu mai ordine che ci volessero andare, anzi per farsi più forti, si ritirarono alla fattion francese, la quale si stava con l' esclusione di XXVI voti beffandosi et irridendosi di così fatta sbragata. Ultimamente dicono che Guisa disse di brutte parole a Carafa chiamandolo indegno di casa sua et traditore con molte vilanie et che esso non li rispose altro che : Signori, non mi toccate nell' onore. Vero è che non si può ancor sapere ben la cosa precisa, perchè vien da varii variamente detta, ma senza dubbio questo ch' io le scrivo io, è tenuto per certo. Indescribable excitement prevailed in the conclave ; Carafa is said to have wept the whole night through. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Avviso di Roma of December 16, 1559 : " si dissero molte villanie et tali che li facchini in ponti a pena potrebbono dirsi peggio. . . . Cose in vero vergognose et indegne a quella congregatione " (Urb. 1039, p. 108b, Vatican Library). *Gf.* Bondonus, 528.

Philip; he also gave the French a plain refusal to work with them.[1]

After the defeat of Gonzaga, the French took up the cause of the aged Pisani; the Spaniards, on the other hand, were most anxious to attempt the elevation of Pacheco, for Philip had written, as early as October 27th, that he would prefer him to anyone else.[2] Full of hope, therefore, they met together for the voting on the morning of December 18th. As Capodiferro and Dandino were dead, and du Bellay had left the conclave on account of illness, the French party had only thirteen Cardinals left, and were no longer of themselves capable of excluding Pacheco. The Spaniards, moreover, had succeeded in getting so many votes for him, that they believed they had one or two more than the necessary number.[3]

In order that no one should prove unfaithful in secret to the Spanish candidate, Carafa proposed at the beginning of the scrutiny that the votes should be given in an unusual and open form.[4] Displeased at this suggestion, the acting dean, Tournon, declared that such a course would be uncanonical and would invalidate the election. Farnese, however, at once replied that nothing but unanimity among the Cardinals was required for a Papal election, and that it was of no importance in what manner that was secured.[5]

Carpi then rose to put an end to the discussion and praised the merits of Pacheco in the most glowing terms, then noisily overturning the table which stood before him, he went up to the latter and greeted him as Pope by kissing his foot. Carafa, Sforza, Farnese and many others[6] followed him; the sick Cardinals, Ghislieri and Saraceni, also came from their cells, led by Alfonso Carafa, to strengthen Pacheco's party.[7]

[1] Vargas in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 315.

[2] Vargas on November 30, 1559, *ibid.*, 295.

[3] Vargas on December 21, 1559, *ibid.*, 318.

[4] Thurm, in a letter of September 23, to Ferdinand, puts this proposal in the mouth of Farnese. Wahrmund, 263.

[5] Guidus, 628.

[6] Guidus, 628; *cf.* Petrucelli, 157.

[7] Bondonus, 529.

Even a Frenchman, Cardinal Reumano, took part in this rendering of homage, and when he was asked why he gave his vote to a man who had lately refused to give him his, he replied: "Pacheco acted quite rightly in not supporting a man who was unworthy, whereas he had no reason for refusing his vote on that account to one who was worthy."[1] Savelli, on the other hand, took no part in this paying of homage, as he thought it was unfitting for a Roman to assist in elevating a foreigner without necessity.[2]

In the meantime a loud knocking was heard at the door of the conclave; it was said that Cardinal du Bellay had come back and was demanding admission. This was, however, only an unworthy and quite unnecessary attempt to disturb the election,[3] for when Pacheco's adherents were counted, they were found to number only twenty-seven, three votes being still wanting for the necessary majority of two-thirds.[4] Four Cardinals, on whom the Spaniards had counted with certainty, Corgna, Mercurio, Cornaro and Savelli, withdrew at the critical moment. Vargas was especially angry with Corgna, as he believed that if he had voted for Pacheco, the others would certainly have followed him.[5] Corgna thought it necessary to justify his and Mercurio's attitude towards the election of Pacheco, in a letter to Philip II.[6]

[1] GUIDUS, 629.

[2] GUIDUS, 628. THURM, *loc. cit.*, 264.

[3] BONDONUS, 529.

[4] According to BONDONUS, 529, Pacheco received 27 votes (Pacheco to Philip II. on December 19, in MÜLLER, 214 n.) and 28 according to Giulio de Grandis, Bishop of Anglona, in PETRUCELLI, 157. Vargas, on the other hand, writes on December 21 "le adoraron hasta veinte y seis de modo que le faltaban tres" (in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 318). Alessandro Farnese writes to Spain on December 29 that the Cardinals of Philip's party had not all voted for Pacheco because he was not an Italian (oltramontano). CARO, III., 269.

[5] Vargas on December 20, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 318.

[6] Corgna to Philip II., on December 20, 1559 (Borghese Archives, now in the Papal Secret Archives in Rome, Ser. 1, n. 206, p. 123

In the afternoon they again tried to elevate Pacheco by a general act of homage, but this time the number of votes was less than in the morning.[1] His adherents, however, did not give up hope. Vargas, at the suggestion of Sforza and Farnese, endeavoured during the night to win back Mercurio to the Spanish party. Then Guise hurried on to the scene and reprimanded the ambassador for interfering in the election.

seqq.) ; *cf.* MÜLLER, 218. Tiepolo to the Venetian Senate, Toledo, January 30, 1560, in BROWN, VII., n. 127. He would willingly have voted for Pacheco, writes Corgna (p. 124), "se non havessi giudicato et per la natura sua tarda et per esser vecchio et mal sano et per qualche altra causa che io restarò di dire a V.M., che fusse poco atto a poter reggere a tanto peso quanto richiede il bisogno de' tempi presenti et le miserie in che truova la povera et afflitta Chiesa.—Nel corso poi di questa negociacione le cose si sono trattate d' un modo che a me non è mai piacciuto, havendo veduto le passioni prevalere al debito et all' honesto.—Finalmente si è venuto al punto di proporre le cose di esso Paceccho et fra molti che non vi hanno consentito, non è parso ne al card. di Messina, ne a me d'adherirli, parte per le cause suddette, a parte per il modo che si è tenuto. Dalla qual risolutione essendosi alterati non solamente il card. Paceccho, ma Vargas ambasciatore di V. M. et vedento non potere colle persuasioni a indurci a questo consenso, si son volti alli protesti, havendo esso Vargas minacciato Ascanio mio fratello et il povero card. di Messina, veramente huomo dabbene, di farli levare tutte l' entrate, che hanno sottoposte a V. M., come se in questo havesse a operarsi contro la conscienza propria per timore della perdita di heni temporali. . . . Rendasi pur certa V. M., che se bene le siamo devotissini et veri servitori, non possiamo però credere, che ella sia per desiderare da noi piu oltra di quello, che la conscienza et la ragion ci detta." Vargas (on December 21, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 322) denies that he had threatened a Cardinal with the withdrawal of his benefices, "sino que es invencion de Perosa, por lo que Ascanio so hermano le escribio de suyo, cuando andaba lo de Ferrara."

[1] Thurm in WAHRMUND, 264. According to Thurm (*ibid.*) it was "the general opinion" that Sforza, Carafa and Farnese were not in earnest about Pacheco, but that they made a show before Vargas and Pacheco as a proof of their Spanish leanings.

A long altercation, kept indeed within the bounds of courtesy,[1] now took place between the two, owing to which Vargas' attempts to win over Mercurio were seriously hampered. When the ambassador had retired, Guise sent for a workman and had the opening in the wall by which Vargas was in the habit of communicating with the Cardinals walled up.[2]

Vargas' endeavours also proved vain in other directions. The last hopes of the Spanish party of being able to decide upon a Pope of themselves, and by their own power, was shipwrecked with the failure of the candidature of Pacheco. It had become clear that the only way of reaching a decision was by coming to an understanding with the French.[3] By this time most of the Cardinals were so weary of the whole affair that, as Vargas said, they would have elected a piece of wood as Pope, if only to bring matters to an end.[4] On December 22nd and the following days the leaders of the Spanish and French parties arranged meetings in order to agree upon a common candidate.[5] The decision soon lay only between Cesi, who had hitherto not been proposed or rejected, and that Cardinal whom the far-seeing had from the first looked upon as the only possible Pope, Medici.[6]

[1] "citra indignationem tamen, immo cum summa benevolentia" (GUIDUS, 629); "con todo tiento de ambas partes" (Vargas in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 321). According to Thurm "nonulli et communiter omnes" asserted that Guise had said to Vargas that he ought to be thrown into the Tiber for having exceeded his authority. WAHRMUND, 264.

[2] GUIDUS, 628 *seq.* BONDONUS, 529. *Cf.* Vargas in DÖLLINGER, I., 320 *seq.*, 321 *seq.* It is not improbable that they had had a window walled up before Vargas' eyes as early as the middle of November. MÜLLER, 198. *Cf.* as to this SÄGMÜLLER, 71, n. 1; MERKLE, II., 529, n. 3.

[3] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 144.

[4] Vargas on December 20, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 317. Concerning Concini's impatience, see his satirical letter of December 16, 1559, in DEMBINSKI, Wybór, 260.

[5] Giulio de Grandis, Bishop of Anglona, on December 23. in PETRUCELLI, 158.

[6] Concerning Medici's prospects *cf. supra* pp. 13, 23 *seq.*, and Vargas *loc. cit.*, 279, 319.

We possess exact details of the last days of the conclave from the pen of Panvinio, who was present at the actual election as an eye-witness, and who also reports as to other matters as the result of exhaustive enquiries.[1] At the beginning of the conclave Cardinal Diomede Carafa had asked Farnese to allow Panvinio to act as his conclavist; Farnese, however, was of the same opinion as many others, and believed that the conclave would last such a short time that it was hardly worth Panvinio's while to allow himself to be shut up there.[2] When Christmas, however, was approaching, and many confessors were summoned to the conclave in preparation for the feast, Farnese arranged that Panvinio should also come in on December 24th.[3]

Panvinio found the Cardinals by no means in expectation of an election. Carpi, whom he visited first of all, said to him that if a Pope were not elected on that day or the next, he very much feared that the conclave might last for another six months.[4] The negotiations of the party leaders had by this time brought about the result that the decision now lay between Cesi and Medici, but in other respects very great difficulties lay in the way of both of them.[5] The Spaniards were on the side of Medici, while the French were more inclined to Cesi, although they were not actually averse to Medici. Carafa's party could not agree among themselves; the influential Cardinal Vitelli was decidedly in favour of Medici, while the Cardinal of Naples was against him and for Cesi; Carafa himself was undecided.[6]

[1] Panvinius, De creatione Pii IV. papae, in MERKLE, II., 575-601. To a certain extent Panvinius agrees exactly with Guidus; e.g. *cf.* GUIDUS, 630, 5 *seq.*, with PANVINIUS, 581, 41 *seq.*; GUIDUS, 630, 1, with PANVINIUS, 580, 20; GUIDUS, 630, 16, with PANVINIUS, 583, 1.

[2] PANVINIUS, 577.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 578.

[5] "Ingentes etiam nunc difficultates superesse": GUIDUS, 630; "ingentes difficultates in utrisque superesse constabat": PANVINIUS, 580.

[6] PANVINIUS, 580.

When Panvinio visited various Cardinals on the afternoon of the following day, the feast of Christmas, the position was considerably altered. Madruzzo and Truchsess regarded the election of Medici, with which they were not particularly pleased, as being practically certain, Cesi being no longer spoken of.[1] Panvinio believed, nevertheless, that the election would still take some time, and in the evening begged Cardinal Farnese to allow him to go into the city. Farnese, however, encouraged him to remain, as he thought the election was actually impending.[2]

Affairs had almost suddenly taken a turn. On December 21st it had been seriously debated whether the conclave should not be dissolved before Christmas and only resumed after the Epiphany,[3] but as early as the following day the decisive moment was approaching. After dinner Carafa and Vitelli accidentally met Cardinal Guise, and a conversation ensued during the course of which Guise at last asked Carafa why the election was being postponed, to which the other replied that it was not his fault. Then Guise made the remark that as far as he was concerned, who was soon leaving Rome, it was immaterial who was Pope, provided that the Cardinal elected was fitted for the position ; as, however, the candidates proposed by the French had been rejected, the honour of his nation made it necessary that they should not accept the candidates of the Spaniards, but must give their votes to someone else. In saying this Guise had clearly indicated Cesi, who had, hitherto, neither been seriously proposed nor rejected. Vitelli thereupon remarked that it was not right to reject a worthy candidate on such grounds, as it was of no consequence to which party he belonged as long as he was worthy. Guise answered that he quite understood the meaning of this rejoinder : Vitelli intended by what he said to recommend Medici. He on his side, and as a proof of his good will, would propose two candidates on the part of the French, Cesi and Medici. Let them select one of these two, and the French would vote for him. At the same time, Guise added a con-

[1] *Ibid.*, 578. [2] *Ibid.*, 579. [3] *Ibid.*, 580-1.

dition to this promise: Alfonso Carafa must also give his approval to the candidate upon whom his uncle should decide.[1] Alfonso had previously played no important part in the conclave; it was only when Carlo Carafa had made himself unpopular with his own party, by his perpetual hesitation, that Alfonso had risen in the esteem of his adherents.[2]

It was easy to tell in what manner the decision between Medici and Cesi would be made. Cesi was thought to have French leanings, and this recommended him to the Cardinals as little as the fact that he was not particularly agreeable to the Spanish king.[3] The case was different with Medici. It is true that he had so far come into very little prominence in the conclave; he had been unwell when he arrived and he had been confined to his bed almost ever since.[4] He received but few votes in the scrutinies,[5] and none of the influential Cardinals showed any particular wish for his election. On the other hand it was very greatly in his favour that he was regarded as an acceptable candidate at both the French and Spanish courts, and, finally, his candidature was the only measure to which they could now have recourse, when all other attempts had failed. Vargas, who was one of the most important figures in the negotiations, had written, a few days after his arrival in Rome, that they might attempt the candidature of Medici when everything else had failed, but, he added, he would prefer someone else.[6] Later on he

[1] *Ibid.*, 581.

[2] He is mentioned with distinction side by side with C. Carafa, e.g. by Concini on December 16 (PETRUCELLI, 156) by Vargas on December 21 (DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 319, 320).

[3] Alessandro Farnese writes on December 29, 1559, that Cesi had been put on one side, "per esser nominato da' Francesi, e perchè per l' ultima vostra m' accennaste che non era servizio di Sua Maestà." CARO, III., 270. *Cf.* Vargas on October 18, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 279.

[4] ALBÈRI, II., 4, 61.

[5] See the *List of scrutinies (State Library, Munich) in Appendix No. 1.

[6] Vargas to Philip II., on September 28, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 270.

was less guarded in his remarks.[1] Alessandro Farnese had long ago been pledged[2] by express promises to work for Medici; it was only to protect himself against Gonzaga that for a time he kept his wishes in abeyance and followed Carafa's lead. Sforza stood firmly on the side of Medici; as Guise and the French now also declared themselves for him, it was only necessary that Carlo and Alfonso Carafa should join his party to turn the scales.[3]

With the assent of Guise the result of the election was, in the opinion of Vitelli, decided in Medici's favour.[4] During the last few days Carlo Carafa had leaned strongly to his side, while Vargas and Farnese kept putting him forward as well.[5] It was of decisive importance that Cosimo de' Medici now judged that the moment had arrived for taking definite steps in favour of his candidate. By means of Vitelli the Florentine agents caused letters to be shown to Cardinal Carlo Carafa in which Cosimo made great promises to the nephews of Paul IV.[6] In these he said that he would endeavour to obtain for Carafa compensation from Philip II. for Paliano; he also promised that he would remain neutral in the struggle going on between the Marquis Antonio Carafa and the Count of Bagno concerning Montebello, although he had hitherto been against Antonio. On the strength of these promises Carlo Carafa went over to the side of Medici.[7]

[1] Vargas to Philip on October 18 and December 21, 1559, *ibid.*, 279, 319.

[2] Šusta, Pius IV., 149, n. 1.

[3] Vargas writes on December 21, concerning Medici: "Este creo que a esta hora tiene mas derecho, si Napoles se ablanda, y Ferrara viene en el de buen pie, que Carafa no esta ya en escluirlo, como antes;" in Döllinger, I., 319.

[4] Panvinius, 581.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Šusta, Pius IV., 149.

[7] According to Riess, 392, Cosimo promised Carafa 300,000 scudi in the event of Philip refusing him a territorial indemnification for Paliano. An "obviously (?) well-informed contemporary" according to Riess, 407, whose anonymous report is dated from

It was more difficult for Vitelli to induce the Cardinal of Naples, Alfonso Carafa, to join the party of Medici. Alfonso was under the influence of his father, Antonio Carafa, Marquis of Montebello, who had no confidence in the promises of Cosimo, and who therefore recommended his son to support Cesi, who had been the confidential friend of the late Pope. The latter, moreover, had never cared for Medici.[1] In addition to all this there was the decisive fact that Alfonso was not convinced of the perfect orthodoxy of Medici, in the matter of the concessions to the Protestants.[2] At first Vitelli, despite long discussion, could obtain no more than the promise that Alfonso would carefully consider the matter.[3]

On the following day, as well, Vitelli accomplished nothing, and Alfonso remained firm. On the 24th the plans of Medici's friends reached the ears of his opponents, and they at once attacked Alfonso Carafa, beseeching him to separate from his uncle's party. Carlo Carafa no sooner heard of this than he rushed to his nephew and by dint of scolding, imploring and threatening him, he worked, with the support of Vitelli, on the young Cardinal of Naples in such a way that he at last agreed to remain with his party.[4]

In the meantime the interests of Medici were being zealously promoted by the Florentine envoys. They promised in the

Venice, says that the Pope went to law with the Carafa family so that Cosimo might regain this written promise and the affair not be brought to light.

[1] "Leviusculum, vanum et, ut dicitur, cerebrellinum appellare solebat" (PANVINIUS, 582). Paul IV. had openly reprimanded Cardinal Medici in consistory because he had endeavoured to obtain the archbishopric of Milan by unjustifiable means. (*ibid.* 589, n. h.).

[2] "Napoli si è lasciato intendere, che per niuno conto vole dare il voto suo a Medici, sendo, come dicono, sospetto di heresia; pare che hebbe questo per ricordo dalla santa memoria di papa Paulo IV." Thus writes Caligari, the agent of Carafa, in November, to Antonio Carafa, in ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 150, n. 1.

[3] PANVINIUS, 582.

[4] *Ibid.*

name of the future Pope that Montebello and Paliano should be entrusted to the sequestrator of the Apostolic Camera until the settlement of the dispute, and that the Pope, in union with Duke Cosimo, would apply to Philip II. in favour of Carafa. Antonio Carafa allowed himself to be won over, and now influenced his son Alfonso in the sense desired by Cosimo.[1] By this a most important victory had been won for Medici.[2]

On the morning of Christmas Day, Vitelli prepared himself for another attack on Alfonso Carafa. This time he laid before him a letter of recommendation of Medici which Duke Cosimo had addressed to the Cardinal of Naples two months before, but which Vitelli had intercepted and kept back. In this letter the Duke recommended his candidate with great urgency and many promises, though he did not go beyond mere generalities.[3] When Vitelli showed his want of satisfaction with this, Cosimo's ambassador, Bartolomeo Concini, had recourse, on Vitelli's advice, to similar measures to those used by Vargas. He drew up, in the name of the Duke, a letter of four pages to Vitelli,[4] in which a promise was made that all the possessions of the Carafa should remain under the care of the Apostolic Camera until Philip II. had arranged an equivalent for them, and Fabrizio di Sangro, a conclavist of Carlo Carafa, was to repair as the ambassador of the new Pope to Madrid immediately after the election, there to work in the interests of the Carafa.[5] It was not generally known that Philip II. had already, two months previously, decided

[1] ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 150. Sebastiano Gualterio received special instructions from Vitelli on December 23, as to how he was to influence the hesitating Marquis. ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., lxxii n.

[2] Concini wrote to Cosimo as early as December 2 : " Farnese me fait dire que toute l' affaire de Medici c' est d' arranger celle de don Antonio Carafa ; " in PETRUCELLI, 153.

[3] PANVINIUS, 582.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 150. *Cf.* Vargas to Philip II., on December 29, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 325. See also CARO, III., 271.

concerning Paliano in favour of the Colonna. Alfonso was now won over and agreed to the elevation of Medici. Vitelli brought the momentous news to Cardinal Guise on the afternoon of Christmas Day; thereupon the party leaders, Guise, Este, Sforza, Carlo Carafa, and Farnese held a meeting and fixed on the following morning for the election of Medici.[1]

Medici was not fully informed of all this until his election was practically assured. Vitelli brought him the first definite news,[2] and the affair soon became known throughout the whole conclave; the last doubt vanished when, in the evening, the Cardinal of Naples, accompanied by Vitelli, paid a visit to Medici. A general stir now sprang up in the conclave. Carpi still made some attempt to collect votes against Medici, but as he had no party leader on his side, he could not count on any success. On the other hand a long line of Cardinals streamed to Medici's cell, both before and after the evening meal; everyone wished to speak to him and to congratulate him. Vitelli came for a long consultation after Alfonso Carafa had gone, and Medici expressed a wish to see Guise or Este the same evening; he would not retire to rest before he had spoken to one of them. On account of the interchange of compliments, however, the appearance of the two Cardinals

[1] GUIDUS, 630; PANVINIUS, 582. Several smaller matters were arranged without difficulty. Este and Gonzaga were promised the red hat for their nephews, Rebiba received the assurance that the *spoilium* of his predecessor in the archbishopric should be his, although the brief assigning it to him was of doubtful validity, as it was dated the day of the death of Paul IV. ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 151.

[2] GUIDUS, 630; PANVINIUS, 583. Medici, however, said to the Duchess of Urbino on December 23, that he thought he would certainly be elected, but he did not know if he were capable of bearing such a burden (ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 150, in Cod. Vat. 7039, Vatican Library). Carpi maintained later that Medici had bought his election from Alfonso for a large sum of money, and that Antonio Carafa had afterwards had a written promise concerning the transaction in his possession. This story proves, at all events, the real importance of Alfonso in the election of Pius IV. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 19, 2, 3.

was still delayed, which was most unpleasant for Vitelli and Medici, as they wished the election to take place immediately after the visit of the two leaders.[1]

In the meantime various Cardinals remained standing round the cell of the chosen Cardinal until long after midnight. Panvinio also remained near at hand to watch the proceedings. As Carlo Carafa had engaged the celebrated scholar in conversation, Panvinio took the liberty of putting in a word and asking when the election would take place. At the answer, "Early to-morrow morning," Morone, who was rather surprised, asked whether they would really wait so long. Panvinio replied in the affirmative, but added politely that he really saw no reason why the election should not be made at once. Morone was of the same opinion and began to exhort the Cardinals to proceed without delay. All agreed, and only Carlo Carafa appeared to have a scruple owing to the fact that many of the Cardinals had already retired for the night.[2] However, they sent to Guise, Sforza and Este in order to inform them of the wishes of some twelve electors assembled at Medici's cell. Guise soon came with Vitelli and entered the cell for a short conversation. In the meantime Sforza, Farnese, Este and others whom Panvinio had awakened appeared on the scene. Many had already assembled in the place of election, and Madruzzo, who was suffering acutely from gout, was carried in a chair. Medici was then led in by Alfonso Carafa and Este. The Papal throne was placed before the altar and all the Cardinals, including Medici, took their places in the usual order of rank. The conclavists crowded in and, at Panvinio's request, were allowed to remain.[3] The acting dean, Tournon, now arose

[1] PANVINIUS, 583.

[2] *Ibid.*, 584; *cf.* GUIDUS, 630. BONDONUS, 530: "Et cum omnes certatim properarent in congratulando, ill^{mus} cardinalis Carafa opposuit se ante portam camerae cardinalis de Medicis omnibus venientibus, eosque rogans ne ad praefatum Ill^{mum} accederent, et eum sinerent quiescere, et quod in mane sequenti tempus erit ad hoc faciendum."

[3] PANVINIUS, 584.

and declared that he elected Medici as Pope, the others making a similar declaration.[1] Then the elected Cardinal was raised to the throne, and the usual homage paid to him to the great joy of all, even the sick Cardinals having themselves carried in to take part in the ceremony.[2]

When Carlo Carafa paid homage, he begged the Pope to forgive the Roman people everything they had done against Paul IV., and the house of Carafa, as he would himself forget and forgive all these occurrences. The Pope at first refused decidedly to grant this request, as he must give an example of severity. It was only when Sforza and Farnese impetuously supported Carafa that he yielded, emphasizing the fact that he did so for the sake of Carafa, but that indemnification must be made for the damage done.[3] He firmly refused, on the other hand, the pardon requested by Sforza for Pompeo Colonna, who had murdered his mother-in-law; the acquittal of the murderer of a relative, he declared, should not be the first act of his pontificate.[4]

After the ceremony of paying homage was concluded, the newly-elected Pope declared, in answer to the question of Este and others, that he would take the name of Pius, because he wished to be what the name signified. The doors of the conclave had, in the meantime, been broken open, and the news of the election which had just taken place, spread rapidly through the city. On the following morning, December 26th, the election was confirmed in the usual way, by a scrutiny, and the newly-elected Pope was carried into St. Peter's, where the Cardinals again paid him homage. He then repaired

[1] Bondonus had to take note of the votes given by word of mouth and to count them. BONDONUS, 530.

[2] PANVINIUS, 585.

[3] *Ibid.*; GUIDUS, 631. "Con questo il Carafa tornerà in gratia de' Romani," writes Bart. Ferentillo to Alberico Cybo-Malaspina, on January 2, 1560. Archivio storico Lombardo, Ser. 3, ann. 23, 161 (1896).

[4] GUIDUS, 631. FERENTILLO, *loc. cit.* "Questi primi saggi," remarks Ferentillo, "dan speranra, che Dio . . . ci habbi dato un buon papa."

to the Vatican amid such mighty cries of joy that, as Panvinio writes, one could scarcely distinguish the thunder of the cannon, fired in honour of the occasion, from the acclamations of the people.[1]

The election had an unpleasant sequel for Vargas. Philip II. was not pleased with the over-zealous proceedings of his ambassador, nor with the means which he had employed. On January 8th, 1560,[2] before the result of the conclave was known in Spain, the king commissioned Francisco de Mendoza to go to Rome and earnestly urge the Cardinals to hasten the election. At the same time he gave him a letter for Vargas. Shortly before the departure of Mendoza, that is on January 8th, the news of the election of Pius IV. arrived, and Mendoza's journey was abandoned. The letter for Vargas, however, was still sent to Rome.[3]

In this important letter[4] the king first expresses his regret that in spite of the troubled state of Christendom the election of a worthy Pope had not yet taken place. It caused him great pain and sorrow that the passions and personal feelings of the Cardinals should have entailed such consequences. To combat this recourse should not have been had to such measures as gifts of money, as had been done by Vargas and the Viceroy of Naples, and just as little could the promise of indemnification for Paliano be justified.[5] Vargas must never again make use of such means, but must rather employ such as would not jeopardize the king's good name. If Carafa was not satisfied with general promises, such as could be given without weighing on one's conscience, then the ambassador had no right to give further pledges in the name

[1] PANVINIUS, 586.

[2] Letter of the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, from Toledo on January 30, 1560, in BROWN, VII., n. 127, p. 148.

[3] MÜLLER, 204; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 142.

[4] HINOJOSA, 101 *seqq.*; MÜLLER, 204 *seqq.*; HERRE, 57 *seqq.*

[5] Concerning the "Chapter" which Vargas had drawn up in the King's name at the beginning of December (*supra* p. 47), Philip as yet knew nothing. Here, therefore, it is a question of the earlier promise in the second half of November (*supra* p. 39).

of his sovereign. God, Who knew the king's intentions, and Who had the situation in His keeping, would find a way out of the difficulty, which would be in keeping with the dignity of His service. Philip also blamed Vargas for having openly opposed Gonzaga and having thereby drawn down upon the king the enmity of the Italian princes. He complained of the divisions in the Spanish party and of the Cardinals' want of discretion in openly announcing that they were waiting for the royal courier and his decision. Finally, Philip declared his fear that the world would accuse him of having been the cause of the delay in the election; it was certainly not his wish that the Church should remain any longer without a chief pastor because of any special interests of his own. Without excluding or naming anyone, he instructed the ambassador to exhort and call upon the Cardinals in the king's name to choose a good Pope without delay, such a one as the Church needed, and who was worthy of such a high office. If they acted in this manner the king would be gracious to them, and would honour and promote them as persons who perform what is required of them for the service of God and the king. In the other case, however, the king would be compelled to act towards them in a manner that would be most unpleasant to himself.

In the instructions for Francisco de Mendoza,[1] issued at the same time, but which were no longer in force since the election was already accomplished, the king says that he would, at any rate, prefer the exclusion of Gonzaga, but that if this could not be carried out, Vargas was to put the general interest before the private wishes of the king. A concession of such importance goes a long way to prove that Philip was in earnest in his oft repeated assurance that in the Papal election he had in view, above all things, the well-being of the Church.

Vargas answered the complaints of the king in a long letter of defence,[2] which is expressed in rather self-assured

[1] See MÜLLER, 206 *seq.*

[2] Printed in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 329-335. *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 142.

terms, drawing attention to the fact that the election was actually decided in the sense wished by the king, and for a Cardinal belonging to the Spanish party. If he hoped thereby to secure for himself a brilliant career he was very much mistaken. He had recommended himself very little to his sovereign by exceeding his instructions, and failing to understand his intentions. Pius IV. was very indignant when Vargas informed him on December 29th of the promises which he had made to Cardinal Carafa in the name of the king, and without his authority.[1] He had also made many enemies by his exaggerated zeal during the conclave. His position as ambassador in Rome was thus very difficult from the first.

[1] Vargas to Philip II. on December 29, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, I., 325. Vargas answered the angry Pontiff that if there had been no cheating Pius IV. would not be Pope.

CHAPTER II.

Previous Life and Character of Pius IV. The Beginning of his Pontificate.

Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici who was elected Pope after a conclave of three and a half months and was crowned on January 6th 1560,[1] had not up to this time, in any respect, played an important part. He was a native of Milan, and was born there on Easter Sunday (March 31st), 1499, being the son of Bernardino de' Medici and his wife, Cecilia Serbelloni.

The Medici of Milan, who could trace their history back to the XIVth century, belonged to the less important patrician families of the capital of Lombardy. Their coat of arms was a golden ball on a red field, and they were in no way related to the celebrated family of the same name in Florence. Several members of the family practised as doctors in Milan, but most of them turned their attention to jurisprudence and practised as notaries.[2] This was the case with Bernardino de' Medici,

[1] An *Avviso di Roma of January 6, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p.114, Vatican Library) announces that Pius IV. wished that the pomp should be moderate and the surplus given to the poor. Forty persons were crushed to death in the crowds. See the sources in Cancellieri, 109; *cf.* also the pamphlets: La felice creatione et coronatione d. Sta di N.S.Pio IV. con le feste et livree fatte dalli sig. Romani (s. l. et a., and: Gewisse Zeytung mit was Pracht u. Gepreng im Anfang des 1560 Jars zu Rom gekrönt sey der yetsige Pabst Pius IV. (s. l et a.).

[2] *Cf.* the work of Calvi: Famiglie Milanesi, IV., Milan 1885, and Šusta, Pius IV., 9 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, whose details given in the Czech language have hitherto been little known, although they form the most complete record of the previous history of Pius IV. that we possess. Here, too (p. 159 *seq.*) we have the first thorough criticism of Panvinius as a biographer of Pius IV. *Cf.* Appendix No. 37.

who, to distinguish him from the other branches of the family, was surnamed "di Nosigia," because he belonged to the parish of San Martino di Nosigia. He was known as an industrious and honourable man,[1] who by his marriage with Cecilia Serbelloni became the father of fourteen children, of whom ten, five sons and five daughters, survived. In order to support this numerous family Bernardino de' Medici endeavoured to increase his income by the farming of the customs. After the victory of Francis I. at Marignano, on September 14th, 1515, had placed Milan in the hands of the French, he lost, as an adherent of Maximilian Sforza, not only this concession, but also his whole fortune, and was, moreover, thrown into prison, from which he was only released through the intercession of a friend, Girolamo Morone. Completely broken in health by his misfortunes, Bernardino died in 1519,[2] leaving his family in very necessitous circumstances. The eldest son, Gian Giacomo, a bold and adventurous character, who had been obliged to flee from Milan, adopted the career of arms.[3] The second son, Gian Angelo, went to Pavia, where he at first studied medicine and philosophy, but later, following the family tradition, turned his attention to jurisprudence, which was, indeed, more suited to his temperament. The misfortunes of his father placed him in such dire need, that he was thrown on the charity of his fellow students, and was thankful, through the influence of the friend of his

[1] Girol. Soranzo, 68. In Cod. D. 325 of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, there is a picture of the house of Bernardino de' Medici, with the original coat of arms. *Cf.* Beltrami, Sul valore dei terreni in Milano al principio del 1500, Milan, 1891, and Rassegna d'Arte, XIV. 140 *seq.* (1914).

[2] *Cf.* Lettere di G. Morone, in the Miscell. di stor, Ital., II., 713. Šusta, Pius IV., 10.

[3] The work of his contemporary, Marcantonio Missaglia, furnishes reliable statements concerning his adventurous life: Vita di Giov. Jacomo Medici, marchese di Marignano, Milan, 1605 (con noti di M. Fabi, Milan, 1854). *Cf.* also Giangiacomo de Medici Castellano di Musso (1523-32). Saggio bibliografico di Solone Ambrosoli, Milan, 1805.

family, Morone, to accept a free place in the college founded by Cardinal Branda. He continued his juridical studies in the hope of succeeding in his efforts to obtain a position as notary in Milan.[1] His manner of life, however, was completely altered by the turn of political affairs in the north of Italy.

In consequence of the capture of Milan by the Papal-Imperial army on November 19th, 1521, and the return of Francesco Sforza to his capital, everything was changed. Better days had now come for the Medici family, while, more important still, Gian Giacomo had won the implicit confidence of the all-powerful chancellor, Morone. The reckless soldier became a tool in the hands of Morone, and as a reward for a political murder he received the fortress of Musso in feudal tenure from the Duke.[2] In this eyrie, on the steep western bank of the Lake of Como, between Dongo and Rezzonico, of which only picturesque ruins now remain, he made the whole neighbourhood unsafe, under the pretence of fighting the French. In the confusion which prevailed in the whole district round Milan, and protected by Morone, the Castellan of Musso, generally spoken of as Il Musso, was able to allow himself many liberties and became the terror of the neighbourhood. His aspirations were plainly directed to the foundation of an independent sovereignty. This soldier, now twenty-eight years old, thus stands out as a type of those daring, ruthless and powerful condottieri, of whom the days of the Renaissance offer so many examples.[3]

The prosperity of Gian Giacomo was naturally of the greatest

[1] *Cf.* Lettere di G. Morone, *loc. cit.*, 690; GIROL. SORANZO, 70; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 11.

[2] See MISSAGLIA, 15 *seq.* The romantic episode included in Ranke (Päpste, I[6]., 206) and Brosch (I., 225) in their account as to the way in which Gian Giacomo became master of Musso, has been shown by Šusta (Pius IV., 12) to be a fable, though of very ancient date, since it appears in Mocenigo, 50.

[3] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Kultur der Renaissance, I[10]., 29 and 181, Leipsic, 1908, the latter dealing with Gian Giacomo's relations with Aretino

advantage to his whole family. Gian Angelo was now in a position to complete his legal studies at the University of Bologna, where he enjoyed the tuition of the famous Carlo Ruini, and in 1525 won his doctor's degree in both branches of the law. On his return to Milan he was immediately received as a member of the *Collegio dei nobili giuresconsulti.*[1] He owed this honour to the influence of Morone, who intended to make use of the young man for his secret political plans. Gian Angelo, as well as his brother, Gian Giacomo, was involved in the plot which Morone had set on foot for the liberation of Italy from the Spanish yoke, but the discovery of the conspiracy, which led to the imprisonment of Morone, ruined all their hopes. The two Medici, who were deeply compromised, fled to Musso, which was strongly fortified, and the Spaniards were not powerful enough to take energetic measures against them. When the Holy League was formed against the Emperor after the Peace of Madrid, Gian Giacomo, the skilled soldier, took part in the campaign against the Spaniards.[2] A quarrel in which he was involved with the commander- in-chief of the Venetians, the Duke of Urbino, was the occasion of sending his brother, Gian Angelo, to Rome at the end of 1526.[3] While Gian Angelo was diplomatically active against the Spaniards, the Castellan of Musso was waging a guerilla war against them. This daring soldier gave so much trouble to the Imperial leader, de Leva, that the latter resolved to make peace with him. Gian Giacomo, who always had an eye to his own interests, agreed all the more willingly to de Leva's offer as the League was falling to pieces. He entered, without scruple, into the service of the Emperor, who recognised him by patent, on October 31st, 1528, as

[1] The Pope in returning thanks for the congratulations of the College, referred to this; see the *brief of March 26, 1560, to the Collegium iuriscons. Mediol. (Arm. 43, t. 10, n. 136, Papal Secret Archives). Concerning C. Ruini *cf.* FANTUZZI, VII., 230 *seq.*; SAVIGNY, Gesch. des röm. Rechts, VI., 426.

[2] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 12 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 13-14. *Cf.* MÜLLER, 231.

Marquis of Musso and Count of Lecco.[1] It was only towards the north that his sovereignty could be extended, and, therefore Gian Giacomo at once sought to secure an alliance by marrying his sister Chiara to Count Mark Sittich of Hohenems in the Vorarlberg, and at the same time formed other plans for the further extension of his power. For his brother, who was still in Rome and had become a Protonotary there, he had already procured a benefice *in commendam* at Mazzo in Valtellina, and now Gian Angelo was about to be elevated to the bishopric of Chur. The Protestant inhabitants of the Grisons, however, accused Abbot Theodore Schlegel, who was governing that diocese as vicar-general, of having secretly furthered this plan, and caused the unhappy man to be executed, after being horribly tortured, and in spite of his repeated protestations of his innocence, on January 23rd, 1529.[2] This put an end to the plan of Gian Angelo becoming Bishop of Chur.

Still more painful was the blow which the year 1529 was to bring to the Medici family. The Emperor concluded peace with Francesco Sforza, and Gian Giacomo repaired personally to Bologna for the protection of his interests. Here he learned that investiture was to be refused to him, and that his sole remaining hope was the intercession of Clement VII. Gian Angelo, who had become closely associated with the Pope during the terrible days of the sack of the city, was working personally for this end in Bologna, but his influence proved insufficient, and the treaty of December 23rd, 1529, put an end to the sovereignty of Gian Giacomo.[3] The Duke of Milan,

[1] *Cf.* Calvi, Fam. Milan, tav. 3; Šusta, Pius IV., 14-15. See also Berretta, Gian Giacomo de' Medici in Brianza, 1527-31, in the Arch. stor. Lomb., XLIII., 1-2 (1916).

[2] *Cf.* Moor, Geschichte von Kurrätien, II., 1, 109 *seqq.*; Kath. Schweitzer Blätter, I., 227 *seqq.*; VII., 432 *seq.*; Weiss, Basels Anteil am Kriege gegen Gian Giacomo de Medici, 1531-2, 50, Basle, 1902; J. C. Mayer, St. Luzi bei Chur², 50-62, Einsiedeln, 1907.

[3] *Cf.* Šusta, Pius IV., 16-17. Šusta believes that the idea of connecting the genealogical tree of the Medici of Milan with that of the Florentine family, first arose after the sack of Rome. For details see *infra* p. 77.

however, had not got the necessary force to compel the Castellan of Musso to relinquish his possessions. He was still less able to do so when Gian Giacomo found a powerful intercessor in Duke Charles III. of Savoy, who succeeded, in January, 1531, on the basis of the *status quo*, in arranging a temporary peace between Gian Giacomo and Francesco Sforza.[1]

The Castellan of Musso soon showed that his bold and ambitious spirit was still unbroken. The aggravation of the differences between the Catholics and those of the new religion in Switzerland offered him a favourable opportunity for angling in troubled waters. The celebrated "Musso War," a prelude to the "Kappel War," began in March, 1531.[2] In this enterprise Gian Giacomo had only his own personal ends in view, which he cleverly sought to disguise under the pretence of religious zeal. He assured the Emperor, the Pope, and the Italian princes that his intention was to subdue the Swiss, who were hostile to the Italians and steeped in abominable heresies. Gian Angelo, who, after the failure at Bologna, had left the Curia, was actively working in the same sense, and was now serving his brother as chancellor.[3] All efforts, however, to interest the Pope and the Catholic powers in the struggle in Switzerland were unavailing. The Duke of Milan even made common cause with the inhabitants of the Grisons and accepted, by the treaty of May 7th, 1531, the command in the war, and especially of the seige of Musso.[4] In spite of this the experienced condottiere was able to hold his own until the following year, and it was only when the mission of Gian Angelo, in the winter of 1531, to the conference at Baden, had broken down, that no choice remained to him but to accept the hard conditions of peace laid down by the conqueror. Gian

[1] See ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*, 17.

[2] *Cf.* ZELLER-WERDMÜLLER, Der Krieg gegen den Tyrannen von Musso, Zurich, 1883; JOLLER in the Kath. Scheitzer Blättern, IV. (1862); GHINZONI in Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., XV., 140 *seq.* (1893); WEISS, *loc. cit.* where there are further literary statements.

[3] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 17 *seq.*

[4] See Eidgenössische Abschiede, IV., 1b, 977, 563 *seq.*; GIUSSANI Il Forte di Fuentes, 365 *seq.*, Como, 1905.

Angelo as the fully authorized representative of his brother, signed the treaty of peace with the Duke Francesco Sforza and the eight Cantons, on February 13th, 1532; Gian Giacomo had to relinquish all his possessions in exchange for a money indemnity and the title of Marquis of Marignano.[1] The fortress of Musso was demolished, and its former master was forced at last to give up his ambitious schemes of one day acquiring an independent principality. He then went, with his brothers Gian Battista and Agosto to Savoy. Gian Angelo returned to Rome, where he was soon able to form new ties in addition to the influential connections which he had already made. It is not, therefore, surprising that he succeeded in obtaining a Papal brief in July, 1532, which recommended his elder brother to the Duke of Savoy. In this document Clement VII. alluded to a family connection with the Medici of Milan, probably to win the support of the experienced soldier, Gian Giacomo, by the flattering fiction.[2] In the year 1534 Gian Giacomo served the Duke of Savoy against Berne and Geneva,[3] and two years later he appears in the pay of the Emperor, who was a brother-in-law of the Duke, at the siege of Turin, which the French were investing. After the failure of this undertaking, he fell under the suspicion of holding a traitorous intercourse with the French, whereupon the Imperial Viceroy in Milan, Guasto, caused him and his brother Gian Battista to be arrested at the end of 1536. The proceedings for high treason which were taken against him, however, had no result.[4]

[1] See Eidgenössische Abschiede, IV., 1b, 1578-83; Weiss, *loc. cit.*, 98 *seq.*

[2] In the *brief, dated Rome, July 27, 1532, to which Šusta (Pius IV., 22, 157) first drew attention, we read: "Intelleximus dil. fil. Ioannem Iacobum Medicem de Mus marchionem Marignani se istuc in quaedam nobilitatis tuas loca contulisse." He rejoices at the kind reception accorded to him: "cum eum nostrae familiae addictissimum esse scires, quae quidem necessitudinis causa ad marchionem ipsum tibi commendandum potissimum nos moveret," which however was not at all necessary. (Arch. S. Angelo, Arm. 11, caps. I., 239, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] *Cf.* Weiss, *loc. cit.*, 145.

[4] *Cf.* Missaglia, 112 *seq.*; Šusta, Pius IV., 24 *seq.*

Gian Angelo de' Medici, whose protector, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, had ascended the Papal throne on October 13th, 1534, now devoted all his powers to procuring the liberation of his imprisoned brothers. The new Pope had already in the first years of his reign entrusted the administration of Ascoli Piceno in the Marches to the astute Lombard,[1] and Gian Angelo went to Città di Castello in 1535, and to Parma in 1536 in the same capacity. His unwearied efforts for the liberation of his imprisoned brothers, to which, among other documents, a letter in his own hand of May 24th, 1537, still preserved in the Vatican Archives, testifies,[2] were at last to be crowned with success. When the meeting of Paul III. and Charles V. took place in the summer of 1538 at Nice, Gian Angelo also went there, and by the Pope's intercession he succeeded in inducing the Emperor to order his brothers to be set at liberty, whereupon Gian Giacomo again joined the army of Charles V., and won his favour in an increasing degree.[3]

Gian Angelo, meanwhile, still filled the difficult yet by no means exalted office of an official in the administration of the States of the Church. He was Governor of Fano in 1539, and in the following year filled the same office for a second time in Parma. His faithful service at length resulted in his being appointed in 1542 apostolic commissary to the troops which Paul III. sent to Hungary to assist King Ferdinand against the Turks. Here he met his brother, Gian Giacomo, who was commanding the Danube fleet, but who severely criticized the policy of the commander-in-chief, the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, in a memorandum which, as the complete failure of the enterprise proved, was fully justified.[4]

[1] Concerning the slow promotion of Gian Angelo in the Curia see Panvinius (*cf.* Appendix No. 37).

[2] Šusta (*loc. cit.* 24) was also the first to draw attention to this *document (Carte Farnes. VI., Papal Secret Archives).

[3] See the letter of Charles V. to his brother in the Venetian despatches, I., 475, n. 2. See also Navagero in Albèri, I., 1, 309.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 144, and Šusta, Pius IV., 25. The reports of Gian Angelo are printed in the Mon. Hung. dipl., XVI., Budapesth, 1879.

On his return from Hungary to Italy, Gian Angelo settled a boundary dispute between Bologna and Ferrara, and afterwards again accompanied the troops with which Paul III. supported the Turkish war of Ferdinand I., after which the Pope invested him with the administration of Ancona and gave him the rank of Papal Referendarius.[1] Gian Giacomo had in the meantime been rendering the Emperor excellent service in the war against Cleves and France, and as a reward he was, in January, 1545, invested with Tre Pievi, on the lake of Como.[2]

A matrimonial alliance which Gian Angelo successfully negotiated with the assistance of the friendly Duke of Florence, had a decisive influence on the further advancement of both the brothers.[3] While Gian Giacomo was still employed at the seat of war, the daughter of Ludovico Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, and sister-in-law of the powerful Pier Luigi Farnese, was married to him by proxy in October 1545. The result was that Gian Angelo at length attained to a higher position. When his patron, Alessandro Farnese, had been raised to the Papal throne in 1534, Gian Angelo had hoped for speedy promotion, but the far-seeing Pope, especially in the early years of his reign, had shown scrupulous care in his choice of his higher officials, and he had contented himself with employing the worldly-minded Lombard, who was also not altogether innocent of offences against the moral law,[4] in

[1] *Cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 71; Ehses, Concil., IV., 332, n. 2, 350 n. 2. Gian Angelo in 1545 corresponded repeatedly with the legates of the Council; see Merkle, I., 186, 189, 205, 224, 226.

[2] See Šusta, Pius IV., 26. Concerning Tre Pievi see Bergmann in the treatise X., 172, n. 1, mentioned *infra*, p. 95, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 171; Balan, VI., 368; Šusta, Pius IV., 27.

[4] Gian Angelo had several illegitimate children before he received the major orders; a son, born either in 1541 or 1542, and two daughters; he had kept his failings secret and endeavoured to avoid public scandal (see Mocenigo, 52, quoted in Soranzo, 95; *cf.* Müller, 237). The question as to whether Gian Angelo de' Medici later on, as Cardinal and Pope, was

assisting him in the department of administration. In this position Gian Angelo had the mortifying experience of seeing his friends rise to distinguished positions in the Curia, his countryman, Girolamo Morone, having been created Cardinal in 1542, although he was ten years younger than himself. It was a hard, but a salutary school which the young Medici

guilty of offences against morality, has not hitherto been examined. It can neither be affirmed with certainty nor denied. The statement of the by no means trustworthy Panvinius (*cf.* Appendix No. 37) in the third edition of his Vita Pii IV: "in voluptates pronus," is in too general a form, and the lampoons after the death of Pius IV. (F. Cattaneo sent several of the worst in his *reports of December 22 and 29, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) naturally prove nothing for certain. Tiepolo (p. 181) lays stress, in his account of the causes of the death of Pius IV. (plainly drawn up with distaste) not only on his failings as to diet, but also "altri gravi disordini," which cannot be attributed with any certainty to offences against morality. A *report of Cusano of March 2, 1566, and which was hitherto unknown, states: "Papa Pio IV. haveva un medico da buon tempo per i consigli del quale vogliano si fusse dato alle cose venere[e], perch' egli con quanto sia di 65 anni vi attendeva. Hora S.S^{tà} intendendo teneva donna havendo moglie l' ha fatto metter all' inquisitione prigione per adultero et si dubita la potrà far male essendo caduto nelli badi vi sono sopra. E perch' a questi dì fu spirato il confessor di Pio IV. et il Porcillega gran suo cam^{ro} dicono come consapevoli delle cose veneree. Ho[ra] S.S^{tà} fa far grandissima diligenza per trovar ch' è stato il malfattore per dargli il meritevole castigo" (Domestic, Court, and State Archives, Vienna). As nothing further is to be found in the State Archives at Vienna or elsewhere (in the *Avvisi di Roma of March 2, there is only some talk of the proceedings against those who had attacked the confessor of Pius IV. [Urb. 1040, p. 188b, Vatican Library]) there is nothing to check this communication of Cusano, a thing which in such a matter is absolutely necessary. Perhaps the researches undertaken by the Bollandists in the voluminous Borromeo correspondence in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, may throw some light on this mysterious affair; the Archives of the Inquisition, before which the physician of Pius IV. had to justify himself, are unfortunately not accessible.

had to pass through, a school in which he gained a thorough knowledge of men and countries, and learned to show adaptability in all circumstances.[1]

After his brother's marriage had connected him with the family of the Pope, it was not fitting that Gian Angelo should remain in his hitherto modest position, and he was appointed Archbishop of Ragusa on December 14th, 1545, in which diocese he was represented by a vicar. It is certain that he now received the major orders for the first time; he was consecrated bishop in St. Peter's on April 26th, 1546.[2] At this time his appointment as nuncio at Vienna seemed certain,[3] but just at that moment the great crisis in Germany occurred, and Charles V., resolved on war against the Schmalkaldic League, allied himself with Paul III. on June 26th, 1546. The Pope's nephew, Alessandro Farnese, was appointed Legate, and his brother Ottavio commander-in-chief of the Papal auxiliary forces,[4] the Archbishop of Ragusa accompanying them as Commissary General.[5] The future Pope, Pius IV. was thus made acquainted with conditions in the country where the great schism in the Church had taken its origin, his field of vision being thereby substantially extended. At the seat of war he met his brother Gian Giacomo who, as colonel in chief of the infantry, was attached to the head-

[1] *Cf.* Susta, Pius IV., 23.

[2] See the Acta consist, in Merkle, I., 630; Susta, *loc. cit.*, 27. When Medici was Archbishop of Ragusa the *Dialogus de vita ac clericorum moribus auctore Marco Antonio Sacco Cremonense flamine, was dedicated to him. In this he is called "ecclesiastici decus ordinis praesulumque gemma," and overwhelmed with flattery (Cod. Vat., 5679, Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf.* the Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, VIII., 582-3.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 291 *seq.*

[5] See the Diary of Viglius van Zwichem concerning the Schmalkaldic War on the Danube, published by Druffel, p. 264, Munich, 1877. Numerous reports from Gian Angelo are made use of in the Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, IX., 175, 185, 187, 189, 195, 198, 201, 205, 219, 251, 259, 268, 269, 280, 283, 304, 311, 326.

quarters of the Emperor. When Alessandro Farnese returned to Rome he was accompanied by Gian Angelo, and a brief of July 23rd, 1547, decreed his appointment as Vice-Legate in Bologna,[1] where his friend Morone held the post of Legate. In September of the same year Medici had to hurry from Bologna to Parma, on receipt of the news of the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese, and it was mainly due to the energetic measures adopted by him that the city was saved for the Farnese.[2]

Gian Angelo de' Medici was thus obliged to spend fifteen years in hard work of many kinds, before he was at last assured of the purple, which was only bestowed upon him when, on April 8th, 1549, Paul III. held his last creation of Cardinals.[3] Medici, who as Vice-Legate of Umbria, had been in Perugia since the autumn of 1548,[4] now repaired to Rome, where he received S. Pudenziana as his titular church. Among those who offered him their congratulations was the Duke of Florence, who invited the new Cardinal to adopt the coat of arms of his house.[5]

In the conclave held after the death of Paul III., Medici supported the Imperialist party, and had a decisive influence in the election of Julius III. The new Pope gave him his confidence and associated him with the preliminary work in connection with the reform of the conclave.[6] During the war concerning Parma in the summer of 1551, Medici remained as legate with the Papal army, his brother, Gian Giacomo, being in command of the Imperial troops. At the end of the year, the Cardinal legate seems to have been himself responsible for his recall from his troublesome post, but the

[1] See Šusta, Pius IV., 28. *Cf.* Merkle, I., 670.

[2] See Girol. Soranzo, 71 ;- Merkle, I., 692. *Cf.* Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, X., 114, 190.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 443.

[4] See Šusta, *loc. cit.*, 29, n. 4. *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p, 335, n. 4. The people of the Grisons had prevented his receiving the bishopric of Como in 1548. See Wyman, 25 *seq.*

[5] Girol. Soranzo, 67-8. *Cf.* Müller, 283.

[6] See Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 41, 159. *Cf.* Šusta, Pius IV., 31, 36.

Emperor did not prove ungrateful, for Medici received the bishopric of Cassano in 1553, and three years later, that of Foligno.[1]

Medici was much respected among his colleagues on account of his intimate acquaintance with canon law; he was permanent Prefect of the Signatura Gratiae, with Cardinal Saraceni, while he often represented Cardinal Puteo in the Signatura Justitiae. His principal work, however, was not done in the Curia, public opinion placing him among the Cardinals of lesser importance, while the people persisted in calling him "Medichino" as if the celebrated name of Medici was not suitable to him.[2] The Cardinal had his residence in the Fieschi palace, while he possessed a Vigna outside the Porta S. Pancrazio.[3] In both of these he enjoyed seeing himself surrounded by men of letters. In politics, he was, as before, an adherent of the Emperor, from whom he enjoyed a pension;[4] he never, however, took any prominent place in the party, and associated in a very friendly manner with those on the side of France. It was as little to his liking to bind himself to either side, as to take a prominent or important part in any struggle. He liked to keep on good terms with everyone, and the quiet times of Julius III. were very much to his taste.[5] The stormy reign of Paul IV. was, therefore, all the more painful to him, as he had contributed towards his election, as well as to that of Marcellus II.[6]

[1] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 132. ŠUSTA, 32-5. A number of letters from Medici to Ferrante Gonzaga about the war with Parma are in CAMPORI, CIII. Lettere inedite di sommi pontefici, 16 *seqq.* Modena, 1878.

[2] *Cf.* MÜLLER, 234 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, 35. Šusta forms a fair opinion concerning the actual circumstances. The anecdote concerning the prediction of the pontificate by young Silvio Antoniano (N. ERYTHRAEUS, Pinacotheca, 37; *cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 109) with which RANKE (Päpste, I[6]., 205) begins his account of the pontificate, is likely to lead the reader astray.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 381, and ŠUSTA, 38.

[4] See the Venetian Despatches, II., 432.

[5] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 51, and especially ŠUSTA, 39.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 10, 62.

From an ecclesiastical, as well as from a political point of view, the Carafa Pope belonged to an entirely different school of thought from that of Medici. Although the latter had repeatedly taken part in the reform conferences under Julius III. and Marcellus II.,[1] he was, nevertheless, as an old curialist of the days of the second Medici Pope, little affected by that mighty current which, under Paul IV., that inconsiderate zealot for the revival of the Church and powerful foe of the heretics, swept all before it. Paul IV. on that account, made use of him principally in legal matters.[2] The difference between them was still more striking with regard to their political views, and the fiery, imaginative Neapolitan formed an irreconcilable antithesis to the calm and sober Lombard.

This appeared when the political horizon grew cloudy.[3] It is to the credit of Medici that he did not conceal his opinion, and pronounced courageously and decisively against the war with the world-wide power of Spain.[4] The Cardinal was, however, obliged to leave Rome before hostilities broke out, for his brother, Gian Giacomo, who, in the struggle against Siena had lately given as great proofs[5] of his skill in war as

[1] *Cf.* Vols. XIII, p. 159, XIV., p. 41, of this work.

[2] *Cf.* MÜLLER, 235 *seq.* Medici had been a member of the Inquisition since autumn, 1556 (see PASTOR, Dekrete, 20). Concerning his forebodings with regard to the policy of Paul IV. see Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 185.

[3] The two *briefs, to Ioannes Iacobus marchio Marignani, of August 20, 1555, and to Cosimo I., of August 22, 1555, testify to friendly relations. The Cardinal is accredited in the latter, and in the former he is even praised. Among other things, we read: "Cum idem tuus frater propediem Anconam profecturus ad te istuc omnino divertere cogitaret, has ei litteras dedimus, ut eae una cum ipso te nostris verbis salutarent et quasi testes essent tum multorum erga te apud nos officiorum quae is vere fraterna tuaque virtute ac te digna semper praestitit, tum nostrae perpetuae in eum benevolentiae." (Arm. 44, t. 4, n. 216, Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 104.

[5] *Cf.* REUMONT, Toskana I., 199 *seq.* The magnificent suit of armour of Gian Giacomo is at present in the Castle at Erbach in Odenwald.

of his shocking cruelty and self-seeking, had suddenly died. The Cardinal, as head of the family, returned to Milan at the beginning of December to see to the inheritance, which duty, combined with an attack of gout, kept him there till the spring of 1556.[1] He was back again in Rome in April, where he found himself, as an opponent of the war party, in a painful and, at last, in a dangerous position.[2] On the other hand, his importance was a good deal increased by this, as his friend, the Duke of Florence, did not fail to give prominence, at the court of Brussels, to the services which Cardinal Medici had rendered by his opposition to the war.[3] Medici's relations with Paul IV. which had been tolerably friendly[4] at the beginning of his pontificate, had now, owing to this attitude, become exactly the reverse, and this was not altered after the Peace of Cave. The fact that events had proved that his words of warning had been justified, did not improve the temper of the self-assured Carafa. The strict government of the

[1] *Cf.* Sylvain, I., 31; Šusta, Pius IV., 47. Besides the *letters of the Cardinal to C. Carafa and Morone in the *Cod. Barb., LXI., 7 (formerly 5698) and *Vat 6407 (Vatican Library) cited by Šusta, we also find in the Archives of the Count Waldburg of Hohenems a series of *original letters from Cardinal Medici to the Hohenems family, which are not wholly restricted to family matters, e.g. the *letters of January 14, 24, and 25, and March 4, 1556.

[2] On August 28, 1556, the Cardinal made his will. In this he recommends his soul to God, asserts his Catholic faith, in which he wishes to die, and desires to be buried without pomp; if his death takes place in Rome, he wishes to be buried in S. Pietro in Montorio, if in Milan, in the Ospedale Maggiore. This hospital is named as his residuary legatee. Then follow legacies for his brother Agostino (the Castle of Melegnano and its contents), for the Altemps, Borromei, Serbelloni, his sister Chiara, etc. An addition in his own hand is dated September 14, 1556. I owe my knowledge of this will to the Prefect of the Vatican, Mgr. Ratti. [Now his Holiness Pope Pius XI. Ed.]

[3] *Cf.* Šusta, Pius IV., 48, 58, 62. Concerning Medici's opposition *cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 136.

[4] See Šusta, 47.

impetuously reforming Pope, which, after the close of the war, became painfully evident in its harsh severity, disgusted the less strict members of the Curia with their life in Rome, and Medici, like many others, left the Eternal City in 1558. The voluntary exile which he thus took upon himself was not, however, the consequence of any open breach with Paul IV., whose nephew, Carlo Carafa, honoured the Cardinal by a visit in April; it was rather a period of leave, which Medici asked for in due form in order to undertake a cure for his gout at the baths of Lucca, and this Paul IV. graciously accorded to him together with a grant of 1000 ducats. This gout trouble, for which the damp climate of Rome was most unsuitable, was no mere fiction, although there were several other reasons which induced the Cardinal to leave the Curia. The strict regime in the city, his family affairs, and above all, certain ambitious plans which he wished to discuss in person with his patron, Cosimo I., all influenced him in coming to this decision.[1]

When Medici left Rome on June 13th, 1558, he first repaired to his episcopal see of Foligno,[2] and in the middle of July he proceeded to Florence. The consultations with Cosimo I. concerned the next conclave. It was only now, when his unruly and adventurous brother was dead, that the Duke of Florence could look upon Cardinal Medici as a suitable candidate for the tiara.[3] Previously Cosimo had only entertained a platonic friendship for Medici, and had curbed his ambition, but with the death of Gian Giacomo things had completely changed. In 1556 Cosimo seriously took up the Cardinal as a candidate for the Papacy, in the hope of finding in him a willing tool

[1] The false and prejudiced statements which Panvinius makes in the 3rd edition of his Vita Pii IV. (*cf.* Appendix No. 37) have been for the first time corrected by Šusta (Pius IV., 63 *seq.*).

[2] He *writes from there on June 19, 1558, to Annibale di Ems, that he intends for reasons of health to go to Bagni di Lucca (Hohenems Arch).

[3] People used therefore to say that Gian Giacomo had procured the Cardinal's hat for his brother by his marriage, and by his death the tiara. GIROL. SORANZO, 71.

for the attainment of his ambitious plan of being created King of Tuscany.[1] All details were discussed at their meeting in July, 1558, in the very probable event of Paul IV., who was far advanced in age, soon closing his eyes in death. This probability seemed very near its realization when, at the end of August, the Carafa Pope was attacked by a very severe illness.[2] Medici, who was then at the baths of Lucca, heard, as excitedly as his patron, the news from Rome, which, however, soon announced that the iron constitution of the Pope had again surmounted the crisis. Only now did Medici, who had hitherto remained in the neighbourhood of Florence, betake himself to Milan. In a letter to the Duke of Florence at the beginning of October, he laid stress on the fact that all his hopes for the future were in the hands of His Highness.[3] His expectations were not to be disappointed.

While Cosimo was making his preparations for the next conclave, Cardinal Medici remained, from October 18th, 1558, till the death of Paul IV., partly in his native city of Milan, and partly on the beautiful shores of the Lake of Como. In Milan he was occupied with the completion of the palace commenced by his brother, while he also distributed alms with great generosity from the rich inheritance of Gian Giacomo.[4] His works of charity had also won the hearts of many in Rome, where he was known as the "Father of the poor"[5]

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, Pius IV., 64 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 222.

[3] *Cf.* Šusta, 67-9.

[4] *Cf.* Šusta, 95-9; here we find for the first time a correct account of the efforts of Medici to obtain the archbishopric of Milan, a matter that had not yet been settled at the death of Paul IV. Concerning the Cardinal's change of residence, see his letters in the Hohenems Archives (Jan. 16, 1559, from Como, and Feb. 8, and March 22, from Frascarolo).

[5] See Panvinius, Vita Pii IV. (first edition, enlarged in the second, *cf.* Appendix No. 37). Gian Angelo de' Medici also showed his care for the poor when Pope in so many ways that it was intended to have a commemorative medal struck (Venuti,

It can easily be understood that the Roman populace should have eagerly greeted the elevation of such a man to the throne of St. Peter, and great was the jubilation when the new Pope announced that he would secure peace, justice, and an ample supply of provisions to the Eternal City, which promise he confirmed by reducing the price of grain as early as the end of December, at the expense of the Exchequer. The state of opposition in which Cardinal Medici had stood towards Paul IV., and the moderate and sober attitude which he had always adopted, gave promise of a peaceful pontificate which would heal the wounds inflicted by the war and the exaggerated severity of the late Pope. The diplomatists themselves were convinced of this, and as neither party had triumphed in the elevation of Medici, while neither of them had suffered a complete defeat, the representatives of the rival powers were, without exception, satisfied.[1]

Although the new Pope was already over sixty, he was possessed of so much vigour that a long reign might be hoped

115; BONANNI, I., 277). *Cf.* Constit. archiconfrat. S. Hieronymi de urbe, 31, Rome, 1694; ARMELLINI, 75 *seq.*; Mitteilungen des Osterr. Instit., XIV., 577; LANCIANI, III., 211. The attempt to put a stop to the scandal of the beggars by the establishment of a poor-house was, however, not successful (*cf.* BONANNI, I., 285; LANCIANI, Golden Days, 99). Concerning the orphanage erected by Pius IV. near SS. Quattro Coronati, see *Le cose meravigliose*, 28. As to the care of the Pope for the Roman hospitals, *cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 404, 520; XI., 128. Nor did Pius IV. forget the poor prisoners (see Constit. archiconfraternitat. S. Hieronymi, 9).

[1] See DEMBIŃSKI, Wybór Piusa IV., 289. *Cf.* Ricasoli's *report of Dec. 26, 1559, in the State Archives, Florence and that of the Portuguese ambassador of December 30, 1559, in the Corpo dipl. Portug. VIII., 281; Canisii Epist., III., 567 *seq.* In the *Avviso di Roma of December 30, 1559, we read: "S'ha speranza ch' el sarà Pio di fatti come ha assunto il nome. Ha detto di voler pace, giustitia et abondantia" (Urb 1039, p. 112, Vatican Library). Concerning the joy of the Emperor, see the Venetian Dispatches, III., 131, 133.

for.[1] He was of middle height, and had a very healthy colour, while his friendly and cheerful countenance showed no trace of the severe gravity and unapproachable haughtiness of his predecessor. His nose was slightly aquiline, his forehead was high, and his short beard was tinged with grey, while his brilliant grey-blue eyes told of a sanguine temperament, which was clearly shown in his vivacious, impetuous, and often precipitate utterances,[2] as well as in his almost incredible activity. The impatience with which, in spite of all his geniality and kindness, he listened to the explanations of others, constantly interrupting them with remarks, was very

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 176b, Vatican Library). Concerning the appearance of Pius IV., and his character, *cf.* MOCENIGO, 61 *seq.*; GIROL. SORANZO, 120 *seq.* See also Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 341, and PANVINIUS, Vita Pii IV. (last edition; *cf.* Appendix No. 37). Of more recent writers see MÜLLER, 234 *seqq.*, 242; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 36 *seqq.*; Kurie I., xxx *seq.* The life size oil painting of Pius IV. which is in the possession of the Ambrosiana, is reproduced in San Carlo, 34. Another good portrait, which comes from Hohenems, is in the Castle of Frischenberg, at Bistrau, in Bohemia. The magnificent copper plate engraving (with bust to the right by Ant. Lafreri (*cf.* HARTIG in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XXXVIII, 299) can probably be traced back to a picture of the same period. The copper plate engravings by H. Cock and F. van Hülsen (both busts to the right, the former with tiara) as well as those of Nic v. Aelst and A. Loemans (both half-length figures turned to the right), of which there are excellent examples in the Kaiserl. Familien-Fideikommiss Library at Vienna, are good portraits of the Pope. The beautiful medal by the Milanese, G. A. Rossi, is well reproduced in MÜNTZ, III, 242, and that of L. Leone, belonging to the first years of the pontificate, in PLON, Leoni, Pl. 33, No. 5; *cf.* p. 268. The bust of Pius IV. is an excellent piece of work. Tomb in S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome. Concerning the statue of Pius IV. in the Cathedral at Milan, the work of Angelo de Marinis, see CALVI, Fam. Milan., Pl. 15; ESCHER, 176; illustrated also in RICCI, Kunst in Oberitalien, 198.

[2] Examples in PALLAVICINI, 17, 3, 7; 17, 8, 8, and SICKEL, Konzil, 355.

characteristic of him. He himself used often to speak for an hour at a time, having a very good opinion of his own abilities, which would endure no difference of opinion.[1]

As Pius IV. was inclined to corpulency, he attached great importance to regular and vigorous exercise, beginning and ending his day's work with a long walk. None of the Popes has been such a great walker as he was, and he was, moreover, no friend of stiff ceremonial, but was often to be met almost unattended in the streets of Rome, either on foot or on horseback. All remonstrances on the score of his dignity or his age he ignored, saying "exercise maintains good health and keeps away illness, and I do not wish to die in bed." If he was attacked by fever one day, the next would find him, contrary to the orders of the doctors, again taking his usual walk.[2]

Pius IV. enjoyed living in the palace of San Marco, or in the magnificent apartments of the Castle of St. Angelo, especially during the first years of his reign.[3] In the July, and again in the August of 1560,[4] he visited the Palazzo Fieschi, in which he had resided as Cardinal, accompanied by Cardinals, ambassadors and numerous nobles. He went up and down stairs, inspecting all the apartments, and at last ascending to the tower of the palace, and all the time conversing in the most lively manner with those who accompanied him, and showing such activity that everyone was amazed. When he was congratulated on his vigour, shortly after his recovery from an illness, he remarked: "No, no. We do not wish to die so soon." He was particularly pleased by a remark of the

[1] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 341. That the Pope constantly interrupted the ambassadors is clear from the *report of the *Obedientia* envoys of their first audience, dated Narni, October 11, 1560 (State Library, Vienna). The dramatic *report of Mula (see Appendix No. 3) of September 24, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives) is also characteristic of this trait of Pius IV.

[2] See GIROL. SORANZO, 72-3.

[3] *Cf.* BONDONUS, 535; *Avviso di Roma of May 4, 1560 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library).

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of July 10, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 188, Vatican Library).

Venetian ambassador, Mula, who said that there were senators in Venice who were twenty years older than His Holiness, yet who directed the affairs of State with as great skill as wisdom. The Pope himself reminded people that his predecessors had been twenty years older than he.[1]

On September 25th, 1560, Pius IV. left the palace of San Marco at an early hour, and proceeded, accompanied by eleven Cardinals and the Imperial, Portuguese and Venetian ambassadors, to S. Andrea, outside the Porta del Popolo, where he heard mass. The adjoining Villa Giulia was then visited, and the Pope walked about in the burning sun, without a stick, in animated conversation with the Cardinals, full of interest in the magnificent fountains and antique statues of the Villa, and quoting verses from the Latin poets. The Pope invited five Cardinals and the three ambassadors to dine with him, and conversed with them, principally on the subject of the antiquities of Rome. After dinner the conversation took a more serious turn, and dealt with current ecclesiastical and political affairs, and lasting so long that Cardinal Cueva, who was suffering from gout, had to ask permission to retire. At last the Pope also had a siesta, and then, partly on foot and partly on horseback, he visited the hilly part of the Villa, returning to the Vatican by the Ponte Molle. When they arrived there it was already night, but early the next morning, he was again going about the Vatican, inspecting the building operations which he had ordered.[2]

In the following year the activity of Pius IV. again aroused general astonishment, and the Mantuan agent, Francesco Tonina, reported on March 29th, 1561, that the Pope had ascended the cupola of St. Peter's and walked round it, a feat says Tonina, which a man of twenty might have hesitated at. This man of sixty-two was, however, so little fatigued by it, that he returned again on the same day to the

[1] See the **report of Mula of August 10, 1560 (State Library, Vienna). *Cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 351.

[2] *Cf.* the **Letter of Mula of September 26, 1560 (State Library, Vienna).

new building of the basilica, in which he took the greatest interest.[1] Taking the same lively interest in all the new edifices he was having built in Rome, he appeared now here and now there.[2] The reports of the Mantuan ambassador constantly tell in the years 1561 and 1562 how vigorous, energetic and cheerful the Pope was.[3] He used to walk so quickly that, as Girolamo Soranzo relates, in the year 1563, he tired everyone out, no matter how young they might be. When he was inspecting the work at the Palazzo Colonna in August, 1564, this man of sixty-five even climbed the unsteady scaffolding, without the least fear of falling stones.[4]

Gout and catarrh were the only illnesses which troubled Pius IV., and when he was not suffering from these, he almost always got up before daybreak. As soon as he was dressed he went for a long walk, during which he read his breviary.[5] During the next two or three hours, the most important business was transacted, and then he received the ambassadors. After these duties were over, the Pope heard mass, and then, if there was time before dinner, His Holiness granted audiences to the Cardinals and other persons. He was by no means disinclined for the pleasures of the table,[6] although his repasts

[1] See last Chapter, Vol. XVI, of this work, the *report of Fr. Tonina, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Tonina of December 3, 1561, in App. No. 19.

[2] The Florentine ambassadors *report on August 2, 1561, that the Pope walks too much, so that his nephews fear for his health. (State Arch., Florence).

[3] See the *reports of Fr. Tonina of July 23 and 27, and August 2, 1561, March 4 and 18, April 2, May 18, and October 31, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See in Appendix No. 36 the *report of Fr. Tonina of August 12, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] "Quella mattina," *reports Serristori on June 20, 1561, "sul spuntar del sole trovai S.S. diceva l'offitio nel suo giardino di Monte Cavallo." (State Archives, Florence).

[6] Pius IV. ate five times a day; see the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 2, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). After his illness in December, 1563, his appetite failed; see the *report of Serristori, of December 17, 1563. (State Archives, Florence).

were in no way as splendid as those of his predecessor, who had thought it necessary to display the magnificent side of the Papacy in this as in other ways.[1] The dishes which appeared at the table of Pius IV. were mostly plain and simple, and the service was performed by simple grooms of the chamber. The official banquets were also simple, the Pope wishing in this to set an example for the Cardinals and prelates. The Lombard could be recognised in his fondness for heavy dishes, especially puddings and pastry, prepared as in his native city, and of these Pius IV. partook more freely than was good for his health. It was only in 1563, after a long illness, that he gave up heavy dishes and wine, a thing which proved very beneficial to his health. After dinner he enjoyed a long siesta and then recited the remainder of his breviary, and received one or more of the Cardinals and ambassadors. A long walk in the Belvedere, which lasted till darkness fell in the winter, but in the summer was prolonged until supper time, brought his day to a close.[2]

Paul IV. had always invited none but Cardinals and great prelates to his table, but such dignitaries were only occasionally to be seen at that of Pius IV. His simple and hearty manners were reflected in the free and unrestrained intercourse of his table. He was very fond of inviting intellectual and witty men of letters, but he did not disdain to amuse himself with the jokes of the court jesters.[3] The Pope himself had a good

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 66, 68.

[2] *Cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 73, 77-8; Giac. Soranzo, 129. Concerning the "pasto modesto" for the *obedientia* envoys, see Albèri, II., 4, 15.

[3] See Girol. Soranzo, 77. Concerning the court jester, Moretto, see the *reports of Tonina of January 4 and 8, 1561. In the first he says: "Principalmente N.S. il primo dell' anno, con tutto che sentisse poco de podagra, diede la magnare la mattina alli parenti, e perchè il Moretto buffone disse e fece molte cose a quel desinare, che lo fecero smascellare di risa, gli donò cento scudi d'oro, et il s. duca d'Urbino gli ne donò cinquanta, et il card^le suo fratello 30" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The banquet in honour of Cosimo I., during which Pius IV. joked

knowledge of literature, and had always been interested in the works of poets and historians. When he gathered around him the most celebrated of the humanists of the time he was fond of showing off his excellent memory by quoting whole pages from the old writers. When conversing with the ambassadors Pius IV. also liked sometimes to introduce a verse from Horace, or to cite examples from history.[1] According to the learned opinion of Girolamo Soranzo the Pope knew Latin so well that he expressed himself in it at the consistories with the greatest fluency and pertinency. His handwriting was also as clear and decided as his style,[2] although he committed little more than business communications and legal documents to paper, and his knowledge of canon law was as wide as it was profound, while he was intimately acquainted with everything connected with finance and the conduct of affairs. Although he was a master in his understanding of the business of the Curia as a jurist and administrator, he had little deep theological knowledge. He was perfectly well aware of this himself, and left all knotty points in this matter for solution by experts.[3] The reproaches levelled against him when he was a Cardinal in the conclave, concerning his remark with regard to the concessions to be granted to the Germans in the matters of communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests,[4] must be attributed to the want on his part of a thorough theological training. Pius IV. himself referred openly to his want of theological knowledge, and especially when he had promised more than he could perform. This frequently happened, because, kind-hearted as he was, he found it very hard to refuse requests,[5] and in difficult cases he

extravagantly with two dwarfs and a favourite of Leo X., "cantò certi versi elegi latini sonando poi con la lira," is described by Tonina in his *report of November 27, 1560.

[1] Examples in Mula's *reports of September 24 and October 26, 1560 (State Library, Vienna).

[2] See Girol. Soranzo, 74; Šusta, Pius IV., 38.

[3] Girol. Soranzo, 74; Giac. Soranzo, 129-30.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 33.

[5] Šusta, Pius IV., 39.

preferred to take a middle course. His talent was particularly shown in the smoothing over and adjustment of conflicting interests, and this he was very fond of doing,[1] and therefore hated nothing so much as harsh and inconsiderate action. His sense of statesmanship, and his grasp of practical questions and the needs of the moment were very remarkable. These qualities, as well as the absolute independence of his decisions, first came to light, it is true, after his elevation to the throne of St. Peter. Only then was it understood that the simple and shrewd Lombard possessed, if not a very outstanding, at least a thoroughly independent personality, and that he had made most excellent use of the manifold experience and knowledge of different countries which he had acquired during his long years of hard and practical work.[2] Full of worldly wisdom, he had above all learned from the bitter experience of his predecessor that the respect due to the Holy See could not be maintained under strained relations with the Catholic princes, and that a moderate and cautious policy should be followed. This knowledge restrained his impulsive nature,[3] and as early as December 26th, 1559, we find Pius IV. saying to the ambassadors of Cosimo I. that he wished to be on good terms with all the Catholic princes, and to preserve peace.[4]

The ambassadors were better able to understand the gifts of statesmanship of the new Pope, his clear grasp of the realities of practical political life, and his delicate tact, as his intercourse with them grew more unrestrained. Here again the difference between him and Paul IV. showed itself in a

[1] His attitude to the Carafa after their fall is characteristic of this. *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 227, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Šusta, Kurie, I., xxx, and Pius IV., 36 *seq.* In the latter place it is excellently shown how false was the opinion of the superficial or hostile observer who only saw in Cardinal Medici a good and simple man, well versed in law, but without any great power of imagination, who pretended to be indifferent, in order the more surely to attain to the supreme dignity.

[3] *Cf.* Hilliger, 4.

[4] See the *report of G. B. Ricasoli of December 26, 1559 (State Arch., Florence).

marked degree, for it was now as easy to penetrate into the presence of Pius IV., as it had been in recent times difficult to obtain an audience with the head of the Church.[1] None of the strict Spanish haughtiness of the Carafa Pope was now to be seen; Pius IV. was simple, kind, and affable to everyone, and especially with the ambassadors he laid all ceremony aside.[2] It was especially the representatives of Cosimo I. and the Venetian Republic who were able to approach him at all times, and to whom he showed the greatest favour, and they repeatedly relate how the Pope, when about to take his walk in the Belvedere, would summon them quite unceremoniously to join him, while after their return they would accompany him to his private apartments.[3] The kindness and condescension of His Holiness was so great, that he excused himself if, in consequence of pressing business, the ambassadors had to wait for a time.[4] He liked to express his opinion in the most detailed way to the Venetian ambassadors, Marcantonio da Mula[5] and Girolamo Soranzo, of whom he was particularly fond. Soranzo writes that his audiences seldom lasted less than an hour, and that the confidence which the Pope then showed him could not have been greater, while Pius IV. himself repeatedly remarked that he told the ambassadors what he had been thinking over during the night.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 210.

[2] See MOCENIGO, 51; GIROL. SORANZO, 75; *report of the Bolognese ambassador of T. Cospi, of July 24, 1560 (State Archives, Bologna).

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Ricasoli of June 1, 1560, and those of Saraceni of April 23 and June 20, 1561 (State Archives, Florence) and the *reports of Mula of November 9 and 16, 1560 (State Library, Vienna).

[4] So *reports Mula on June 15, 1560: "Serenissimo Principe. Andai a S.Sta hieri mattina . . . et ella si scusò d'havermi fatto aspettare." (State Library, Vienna). *Cf.* Appendix No. 3.

[5] *Cf.* especially the *reports of Mula for the years 1560-1 quoted (State Library, Vienna), *infra* cap. IV. See specially *report of 6 September, 1560.

[6] GIAC. SORANZO, 131.

Pius IV. very clearly showed the great value he attached to his relations with Venice at the first appearance of the *obedientia* envoys of the Republic,[1] who were literally overwhelmed with attentions. This ceremony took place on May 13th in the principal hall of the palace of San Marco, an honour which hitherto had not been conferred on the representatives of Venice. The Pope replied to Mula's address himself, repeatedly referring to the Republic by the title of "Serenissima," and during the private audience granted two days later to the Venetian ambassadors the Pope insisted on their being seated and remaining covered. On this occasion he praised the services of Venice as the defender of Christendom and the Holy See. He spoke so emphatically that the astonished ambassador wrote home: "This Pope will, if we do our part, always be on the side of Venice." At the same audience the Pope expressed himself, in the most confidential manner and in great detail, regarding the attitude which he intended taking up with respect to religious and political matters. In so doing, he insisted how ardently he desired to live in peace with all Christian princes, especially those in Italy, and to work for the well-being of the Church, adding that he intended again to summon the Council to Trent, and to maintain the unity of the faith in Italy. The ambassadors, who were treated with the greatest distinction during their stay in Rome, once more received similar assurances at their farewell audience on May 20th, 1560. Pius IV. declared that he would defend the rights of the Church and the Holy See against all encroachments, but in other matters he would not fail to make friendly advances in so far as such were possible.[2] These peaceful sentiments on the part of the Pope, as well as his intention of reforming the Church and continuing the Council, are emphasized by the Venetian ambassador, Luigi Mocenigo,

[1] *Cf.* the report of Melch. Michiel of June 8, 1560, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 4 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*

[2] See M. Michiel, *loc. cit.*, 9 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 16 *seq.* *Cf.* also Mula's *report of May 22, 1560 (State Library, Vienna). Concerning the *obedientia* of the Venetians, *cf.* BONDONUS, 534.

in his final report of his embassy, in which he was replaced in 1560 by Marcantonio da Mula. He was of opinion that only two things gave cause for misgiving: the Pope's intimate relations with Cosimo I. and the great number of his nephews.[1]

[1] See Mocenigo, 51. *Cf.* P. Pacheco in HILLIGER, 7.

CHAPTER III

The Pope's Relatives. Charles Borromeo. Diplomatic Relations with the Princes.

It is indeed a fact that few Popes have been so richly blessed with relations as Pius IV., and many of these received so great signs of affection that a new reign of nepotism might well be feared. The Medici from Milan gave the least cause for anxiety; Gian Giacomo died childless, and of the other brothers of the Pope there only remained Agosto. The disputes with this sarcastic man over the inheritance had been embittered yet more by his intriguing wife, whose reputation was none of the best, and the relations between the Pope and his brother since then had not been of a friendly nature. At the beginning of the pontificate Agosto was not even allowed to come to Rome, but when this permission was accorded to him in 1562, principally through the intercession of Cosimo I., he received indeed a monthly allowance of 200 scudi, but not, as he had expected, any influential office, for which, in any case, he would not have been suited.[1]

The three youngest of the five sisters of Pius IV. had been for years in a convent in Lombardy,[2] while the two others were married: Margherita to Gilberto Borromeo, Count of Arona,[3] and Chiara to Wolf Dietrich von Hohenems.

The noble family of Ems had their seat in the Vorarlberg, in the Castle of Hohenems, which is situated on a steep rock

[1] *Cf.* Mocenigo, 52; Girol. Soranzo, 92 *seq.*; Šusta, Pius IV., 96. Concerning the intercession of Cosimo I., see the interesting *report of Fr. Tonina of January 29, 1563. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Calvi, Fam. Milan., III.

[3] Concerning the Count of Arona see Wymann, 31 *seq.*, where the voluminous special literature has been made use of.

near Götzis. They were a war-like race, many members of which, with their vassals, had fought on the bloody battle-fields of Italy, such as Mark Sittich I. at the beginning of the XVIth century, and his still more famous cousin, Jakob von Ems, who, after a short but victorious carcer, fell before Ravenna on April 14th, 1512. Wolf Dietrich, the second son of Mark Sittich (born 1507, died 1538) also distinguished himself as a soldier in Italy.[1] By his marriage with Chiara de' Medici, he had three sons and two daughters : Jakob Hannibal, Mark Sittich II., Gabriel, Margaret, and Helena. Cardinal Medici took a very lively interest in the children of his sister. In the archives of Hohenems there is still preserved a letter in which he dissuades the latter from sending the young Gabriel, who has no inclination for the priesthood, to the dangerous metropolis of Rome.[2] When he was raised to the supreme pontificate Pius IV. allowed all three sons to come to his court, but he soon had cause to regret this weakness.

From the marriage of the Pope's elder sister with Gilberto Borromeo, there were two sons, Federigo and Carlo. Pius IV. distinguished these nephews to such a degree that the jealously of those of Ems broke out fiercely. Besides those

[1] See BERGMANN, Die Edlen von Embs zu Hohenembs : Denkschrift der Wiener Akad., Phil-hist., Kl. X., 93 *seqq.* (1860) XI., 1 *seqq.* (1861). See also the records from 1315-1537 in the archives of the Hohenems family collected by F. JOLLER (Programm des Gymnasiums zu Feldkirch), Freiburg, 1860, as well as the treatise "Gli Hohenems cittadini Milanesi" (through Charles V., 1553) in the Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., XXVIII (1906), and WYMANN, 27 *seqq.* *Cf.* also H. WARTMANN, Der Hof Widnau-Haslach : St. Gallische Gemeindearchive, 1887, S. vii *seqq.*, in the introduction upon Mark Sittich I.

[2] In the characteristic *letter of the Cardinal from Rome of June 20, 1556, he says of Gabriel : " . . . il quale non havendo inclinatione di esser prete non puo disegnar di acquistar cosa alcuna in questa corte, non sia per molto meglio riuscirgli in ogn' altro luogo che stia d'Italia. Impero che questa è una citta piena di tanti sviamenti che insieme con l' imparar la lingua et lo scrivere Italiano impareria facilmente di quelle cose che parturirebbono dishonore a lui et a me." (Hohenems Archives).

already mentioned there were yet other Milanese relatives on his mother's side, the five sons of Gian Pietro Serbelloni, who were all struggling for honours and office. The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara announces on January 17th, 1560, that the Pope has taken affairs in hand so energetically that hopes may be entertained of a better era, and that the number of his nephews who are flocking to Rome is constantly increasing; already eighteen or twenty have arrived. A week later the same ambassador says that the number of the Pope's relatives is still growing.[1] This is not, indeed, matter for surprise, for the prospects which opened before them were brilliant.

Pius IV. showed the greatest favour to the sons of his sister Margherita, the two Counts Borromeo. The elder, Federigo, had already been present at the Pope's coronation, and soon afterwards the younger brother, Charles, also appeared,[2] at the express summons of the Pope.[3] It was a memorable day in the history of Rome and the Church when this youth of twenty-

[1] See the *letters of Giulio Grandi of January 7 and 24, 1560, in the State Archives, Modena. In the former he says: "*Li nipoti suoi ogni dì multiplicano da Milano et Germania." See also the *Avvisi di Roma of January 6 and 13, 1560. In that of the 13 we read: "Et tuttavia vengono delli parenti assai, liqual è da credere che vorano per loro se non il tutto, almanco la maggior parte al fermo." (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library).

[2] According to the *Avviso di Roma of January 6, 1560, Carlo Borromeo and Giov. Batt. Serbelloni were summoned to Rome by letter on the day after the election. (Urb. 1039, p. 14, Vatican Library).

[3] The Bishop of Verona, Cardinal Agostino Valiero, wrote the earliest biography of Charles Borromeo (Latin, Cologne, 1587, Italian, Milan, 1587); perhaps the best was that of the General of the Barnabites and Bishop of Navara, Bascapè (first pub. Ingoldstadt, 1592). Bascapè says himself (p. 2): "Eloquentiam historiaeque scribendae artem concedens multis, rerum ipsarum notitiam veritatemque iure mihi vendicare posse videor." On the same page he gives as his sources: personal acquaintance of many years with Charles Borromeo, information from his intimate friends, and countless documents, among which are some 30,000 letters from and to Charles. *Cf.* P. L. Manzini in La Scuola catt., Ser. 4, Vol. XVIII., 330-7 (1910); Analecta

one made his entrance into the Eternal City. The elevation of his uncle to the throne of St. Peter could hardly have had a more happy result than that, at a single stroke, it opened the way on which he, in the course of a few years, was to become the most enlightened guide and the ablest promoter of the Catholic reformation.

Immediately after the arrival of Charles, Pius IV. showed his affection for him so plainly that people said he loved him as the apple of his eye.[1] He at once invested him with the dignity of Protonotary and with various benefices.[2] It was at once rumoured in Milan as well as in Rome, that Charles, who was so highly esteemed by the Pope, would be raised to the purple,[3] and his reception into the Sacred College followed

Bolland., XXII., 121. The most wide-spread and interesting description of his life was that compiled for the feast of his canonization, GIUSSANO, Brescia, 1610. ARISTIDE SALA collected documents relating to C. Borromeo (three volumes, and Fascicolo conclusionale, Milan, 1857-62) as well as his Biografia (Milan, 1858) provided with "Dissertazioni e note." Much unpublished material is made use of by CHARLES SYLVAIN (Lille, 1884) and in the publication San Carlo Borromeo nel terzo centenario della canonizzazione, Milan, 1908-10. The Bollandists are preparing a new and comprehensive collection of documents relating to C. Borromeo. In particular, the documents of the Roman archives and of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, which P. v. Ortroy has collected during long years of devoted work, are to be published by them.

[1] It is said of the Pope, writes Ricasoli on January 12, 1560: "*Carlo esser l' ochio suo diretto." (State Archives, Florence).

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 27, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 122b, Vatican Library).

[3] Besides SYLVAIN, I., 50 *seq.*, *cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560, according to which the early elevation of Charles to the cardinalate was already spoken of (Urb. 1039, p. 117, Vatican Library). In the *letter of Giulio Grandi, dated Rome, January 17, 1560, it is stated: "Si ragiona che nel concistoro de venerdì proximo la S. Sua promoverà al cardinalato l' abate Bonromei [sic] suo nipote con darli il suo capello proprio. Questo giovane è molto amato dalla Sta Sua et peramente dimostra nelle sue attioni esser assai meritevole." (State Arch. Modena).

very soon. On January 31st, 1560, Charles Borromeo, Gian Antonio Serbelloni, and Giovanni de' Medici, the seventeen-year-old son of Cosimo I., were created Cardinals.[1] Pius IV. soon showered further tokens of his love on Charles. On February 7th he received the administration of the archbishopric of Milan, and on April 25th the legation of Bologna.[2] Pius IV. had intended to give the direction of ecclesiastical and political affairs to Cardinal Morone, but the latter declined the honour.[3] Thereupon the Pope transferred to Charles Borromeo the administration of the Papal States, and installed his Cardinal-nephew at the head of the secretariate of state.[4] In the middle of March this appointment was announced to the nuncios, together with the order that in future all instructions given by the Cardinal Deacon of SS. Vito e Modesto,[5] for such was the first titular church of Charles, were to be regarded as coming from the Pope himself.[6]

Charles' only brother, Federigo, was also richly endowed with honours and dignities. This nephew, who was aged twenty-five, was to found the territorial power of the Borromei by

[1] See Acta consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 92; Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 341; BONDONUS, 532. GIACONIUS, III., 889 *seq.*, 896 *seq.*; *report of Ricasoli of January 31, 1560. (State Archives Florence).

[2] See Acta consist. *loc. cit.*; MASSARELLI, 344. The brief of appointment to Milan of February 23, 1560, in SALA, Fascicolo conclus., 12 *seqq.* A Motu Proprio of February 8, 1560, amplified in a brief of May 1, 1561, assures to the archbishop the free disposal of all the benefices accruing to him. SALA, Documenti, I., 119 *seq.*, 137 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Gian. Batt. Ricasoli of January 8, 1560, State Archives, Florence (Medic., 3279).

[4] *Cf.* BASCAPÈ, 5 *seq.*; GUISSANO, 12; Panvinius in MERKLE, II., 593 *seq.*: "Carolum Boromeum [sic] iuris scientia praeditum, quem perhumanum, modestum et industrium virum negotiis omnibus ecclesiasticis tractandis praefecit."

[5] On September 4, 1560, Borromeo received S. Martino ai Monti as his titular church, which he exchanged for S. Prassede on November 17, 1564.

[6] See the brief of March 15, 1560, in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 94.

means of a marriage with a member of a princely house.[1] The bride chosen for him, as was announced as early as the end of February, 1560, was Virginia della Rovere, the daughter of Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino.[2] A plan was made to bestow Camerino on him, as this was the inheritance of Virginia's mother, Guilia Varano, and it was once more to be taken from the Farnese family.[3] The betrothal contract was signed on May 5th in the apartments of Cardinal Borromeo. Four days later Federigo went to Pesaro for the wedding, from whence he was to proceed to Milan to be present at the marriage of his sister, Camilla, to Cesare Gonzaga of Guastalla, the eldest son of Ferrante.[4] On August 31st Cesare Gonzaga came to Rome, where the Pope received him very

[1] See Šusta, Kurie, I., xxxii. G. Grandi *reports on January 17, 1560, that Federigo Borromeo is to receive the "governo di Ancona," and then to be sent to Philip II. (State Archives, Modena); but on February 10, 1560, the marriage by which Camerino was to come into his hands was already being spoken of. See the *Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1560. (Urb. 1039, p. 127, Vatican Library).

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1560. (Urb. 1039, p. 131, Vatican Library).

[3] An *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1560, announces that the matter of Camerino has been handed over to the Rota; that of the 29 is to the effect that three Cardinals are to discuss the matter. (Urb. 1039, p. 151, 176, 218, Vatican Library). On November 23 (see the *Avviso of that date) the speedy settlement of the matter was expected; Pius IV. already spoke of the "duchessa di Camerino, nostra nipote," but prematurely. The question was not decided, in spite of the suit which had been begun. See Šusta, Kurie, II., 401, 423, 456, 458, 553; III., 429, 446.

[4] According to the *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1560, Cardinal della Rovere left Rome on April 25 to bring the negotiations concerning the marriage to a close. After his return on May 5 the contract was concluded (*Avviso of May 11), whereupon Federigo left on May 9; (Urb. 1039, p. 151, 156). *Ibid.* 143 and *Avviso of March 30 concerning the marriage between C. Gonzaga and Camilla Borromeo, who received valuable presents from the Pope (Vatican Library).

affectionately.[1] In October the wife of Federigo was expected in the Eternal City, and apartments were prepared for her in the Belvedere, which were so sumptuous that they might have served for a king.[2]

The Duke of Urbino himself appeared in Rome on November 4th, before the arrival of Virginia, and two days later Cosimo I.[3] The stay of the latter prince in Rome, which was prolonged until December 28th, and the striking marks of honour paid to him by the Pope,[4] gave rise to all sorts of rumours. It was believed that the Duke had come to receive the title of "King of Tuscany," but such an elevation was opposed both by Philip II. and Ferdinand I.[5] and the diplomatists of the Hapsburgs in Rome were filled with all the greater misgivings as Cosimo's dealings with the Pope were kept very secret.[6] The most various rumours were current,[7] but at last events proved that Cosimo had completely deceived himself in believ-

[1] *Avviso di Roma of August 31, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 194, Vatican Library). C. Gonzaga afterwards lived in the Palazzo San Marco.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 210b, Vatican Library).

[3] The arrival of both princes is described by Fr. Tonina in his *report of November 6 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and an *Avviso di Roma of November 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 214, Vatican Library). According to the latter the Duke of Urbino was lodged in the "stanze nuove del palazzo, che fece fare Julio III."; Cosimo I. and the Duchess "nelle stanze d' Innocenzo VIII. e di Sisto, restaurate di questo papa con molto ordine."

[4] *Cf.* Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 348; BONDONUS 585 *seq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 230 *seq.*; PALANDRI, 98 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 83; Voss, 95; Venetian Despatches, III., 159, 166. *Cf.* also LE BRET, Gesch. Italiens, VIII., 159 *seq.*; even before Cosimo I. appeared in Rome the most various conjectures were made as to the reason for his arrival; see the *report of Fr. Tonina of October 30, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] See Mula's *report of November 16, 1560 (State Library, Vienna).

[7] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 91, 93, 96, 121, 133. See also the correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 229, 231 *seq.*

ing that Pius IV. would subordinate himself to the carrying out of all his schemes.[1]

The Dukes of Urbino and Florence were still in Rome when, on December 7th, 1560, Virginia approached the city in gorgeous state. Four Cardinals and numerous prelates went to meet her at the Prima Porta, where she was also greeted by the Roman nobility, and at the Ponte Molle by the diplomatic corps. After Virginia had spent the night at the Villa Giulia, she made her entrance into the Eternal City on a white palfrey, her head covered with a coif gleaming with jewels, while an honour was rendered to the young Duchess which had hitherto been conferred only upon queens and empresses, for by her side rode two Cardinals, Rovere and Borromeo.[2]

Pius IV. made it his business that honours and riches should also fall to the lot of his remaining nephews, but he was not able to satisfy them to the full. The second of the five Serbelloni brothers had been received, as has been already stated, into the Sacred College at the same time as Carlo Borromeo. Gian Battista Serbelloni had received the office of the Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, while his brother Gabrio had become Captain of the Papal guard.[3] Fabrizio Serbelloni was sent in October, 1561, to France, to defend the city of Avignon, which was being threatened by the Huguenots,[4]

[1] See HILLIGER, 7, 25.

[2] See BONDONUS, 537 *seq.* *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 349, and *report of Fr. Tonina of December 11, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Concerning the preparations for the reception of Virginia see *Avvisi di Roma of November 16 and 23, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 216, 218, Vatican Library).

[3] See the *report of G. Grandi of January 17, 1560 (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* PAGLIUCCHI, 138. *Ibid.* 144, concerning the appointment of Gian Battista to the bishopric of Cassano, which took place on September 17, 1562. Gabrio and his brother Gian Battista had arrived in Rome on January 4 (*Avviso di Roma of January 6, 1560, Urb. 1039, p. 114, Vatican Library). Gabrio Serbelloni was later on entrusted with the superintendence of the fortresses of the States of the Church; Girol. Soranzo praises him (p. 94).

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of October 25, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 305, Vatican Library). *Cf.* GIROL. SORANZO, 95.

Gabrio Serbelloni was most dissatisfied with his office, and jealousy filled his heart. He complained to the Florentine ambassador as early as June, 1560, that the Pope did not make independent decisions, but submitted everything to the judgment of Cardinal Borromeo,[1] and later on the same ambassador repeatedly heard bitter complaints from Gabrio, who thought himself quite put into the background.[2]

The family of Hohenems was likewise filled with bitter jealousy at the signs of favour which were lavished upon the Borromei. These warlike German petty nobles had hurried to Rome immediately after the election of Pius IV. in order to make their fortunes there as nephews of the Pope. They were dignified men, as Cardinal Truchsess informed Duke Albert of Bavaria, but the Italians laughed at them because of their want of culture and their rough and clumsy manners.[3] They were not, however, lacking in ambition, and were of the opinion that one of their number should also be invested with the purple.[4] Their aspirations rose yet higher when Ferdinand I. raised them to the rank of Counts of the Empire on April 27th, 1560.[5]

The jealousy of his nephews and their quarrels caused the

[1] *Letters in cypher from G. B. Ricasoli of June 1, 1560 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See the *letters of G. B. Ricasoli of June 13 and 24, and July 8, 1560 (State Archives, Florence). In the *report of June 24, he says in cypher: "Gabrio si trova assai mal contento parendoli il Papa pensi a beneficare ogn' altro che lui."

[3] Truchsess on January 20, 1560, in Correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 128; HILLIGER, 10-11.

[4] When the Mark Sittich received a "commendam" of the order of St. James, an *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1560, states that people saw in this the first step towards the cardinalate. That Hohenems endeavoured to attain to this is testified by the *Avviso di Roma of March 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 131, 135b., Vatican Library).

[5] See the diploma in BERGMANN, Die Edlen von Embs zu Hohenembs: Denkschrift der Wiener Akad., Phil-hist., Kl., X., 180 *seq.* (1860).

Pope many hours of anxiety from the beginning of his reign.[1] Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent interested himself in the German nephews to such an extent as to cause the Borromei considerable anxiety and displeasure.[2] In order to give the Hohenems family satisfaction and to put an end to their intrigues against the Borromei, Pius IV. determined to get them out of Rome by sending them on honourable missions.[3] Mark Sittich von Hohenems was, despite his very worldly inclinations, appointed Bishop of Cassano in 1560, and sent in the June of that year to the court of Ferdinand I., for which mission he was prepared by being first raised to the bishopric of Constance. On February 26th in the following year, Mark Sittich, although he was by no means fitted for it, received the dignity of

[1] An *Avviso di Roma of January 27, 1560, reports the jealousy which the beginnings of the special notice taken of the Borromei excited : " Il che vedendo l' altri nipoti di S.S. hanno cominciat' a murmurar' et havute strane parole tra loro, il che ha dato qualche travaglio a S.S., massime per quelli d'Alemagna ch' hanno il cervello alquanto gagliardo, et hormai sono comparsi tanti nipoti che passano il numero de 15." *Cf.* further the *Avvisi di Roma of February 3 and March 16, 1560 (the German nephews would in no way be under the Borromei, and said they wished their sisters to be placed just as high, " et così ogni dì ha S.Sta qualche fastidio della competentia et emulutione, che è fra loro "), Urb. 1039, p. 122, 124, 138, Vatican Library. The continued discord between the nephews is dealt with in a *report in cypher of G. Grandi of March 13, 1560 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] See the report of Truchsess of March 16, 1560, in the Correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 150. *Cf.* Hilliger, 10, who according to Šusta, Kurie, I., xxii, overrates the rivalry. How long these disputes continued may be seen from the **report of Fr. Tonina of December 29, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 89 *seq.* According to an *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1560, there was talk at that time of marrying Hannibal von Hohenems to Giovanna d'Aragona, and of buying a state for him in Italy. Salerno was mentioned, which was to cost 300,000 ducats (*cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of June 1 and 8 [settlement of marriage contract] and June 15). Urb. 1039, p. 160, 163, 165a, 179b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Mocenigo, 53.

Cardinal. In January, 1562, he was fixed upon as sixth legate for the Council of Trent.[1] In all these positions he proved his worth as little as did his brother, Jakob Hannibal, in his mission to the court of Philip II. of Spain.[2] Gabriel von Hohenems was distinguished by being sent on an expedition to France, while his sister Margaret was married to a nephew of Cardinal Madruzzo.[3]

Neither the Hohenems nor the Serbelloni attained to any great importance in Roman affairs in the years which followed, the whole of the Pope's affection being centred in the Borromei.

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 53-4; GIROL. SORANZO, 81; SICKEL, Konzil, 47, 230 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 59, 60, 69, 71, 72, 74, 96, 100, 128, 266 *seq.*, 303 307, 312 323 *seq.*, 351, 373; ŠUSTA, Kurie, I, 99 101, 109, 114, 120 *seq.*, 151, 163; II., vi *seq.*; especially REINHARDT-STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, Einl. S. xlii *seq.* and WYMANN, 66 *seqq.*, where there is also other literature. Mark Sittich was spoken of as a candidate for the purple in a letter of Cardinal Truchsess of May 18, 1560 (Correspondence, 166) and also in the *report of G. Grandi of September 12, 1560 (State Archives, Modena). The Altemps, Dukes of Gallese, trace their origin from Roberto, the natural son of Mark Sittich, afterwards legitimatized (see BERGMANN, *loc. cit.*, XI., 6 *seq.*; *cf.* LITTA, 91). With regard to the coat of arms of Cardinal Altemps see Archives Héraldiques Suisses, 199 *seqq.*, Zurich, 1913; *cf.* 1912, p. 153. A magnificent chimney piece, with a beautiful bust of Mark Sittich, came from the Palazzo Altemps to the Villa Malta, the Roman residence of that lover of the arts, Prince Bülow.

[2] As an amplification of the details in ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., 317, 319, *cf.* the **letters of Pius IV., to Hannibal von Hohenems, dated Rome, January 22, March 5 (App. no. 15) and 31, May 5 and 21, 1561, which contain sharp reprimands of Hannibal's behaviour. However, when he showed sorrow the Pope forgave him, in a *letter of October 8, 1562. In a *letter of November 26, 1562, the Pope orders him to remain in Spain for the present. All these letters are to be found in the original in the archives at Hohenems. Concerning Hannibal's loss of favour with the Pope, see also the **report of Fr. Tonina of July 23, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] MOCENIGO, 54.

Of this family, Charles, who was born at Arona, on the west shore of Lago Maggiore, on October 2nd, 1538,[1] deserved in the fullest degree the affection and confidence which his uncle showed him. The choice of this youth of twenty-one to be Secretary of State turned out to be a brilliant success. When Pius IV. made up his mind to this step he was moved, apart from family affection, at first only by the same considerations as had induced so many of his predecessors to act in a like manner. He believed, in view of the party differences in the Curia and the College of Cardinals, that he could only find a trustworthy confidant and fellow worker in his own family. That his choice fell on Charles Borromeo was a decisive factor for his whole reign. He found in him, above all, exactly what, as a man of independent character, he sought ; a most loyal assistant, who endeavoured, with the greatest devotion, with persevering diligence and inexhaustible patience, to carry out the instructions of the head of the Church.[2]

The members of the Curia, as well as the diplomatists, were little pleased with the new Secretary of State ; they had no hope of gaining any influence over the old, experienced Pope, through his youthful nephew, and besides this, the strict manner of his life, and the thoroughly ecclesiastical sentiments of Charles were not at all to the taste of those persons whose ideal was still the nepotist type of the Renaissance, and of this Charles Borromeo showed not the least trace. His personal appearance was neither made attractive by good looks, nor imposing by its dignity.[3] His excessive modesty of demeanour

[1] See the illustrations of the former castle and chapel, as well as the colossal statue of Charles Borromeo, which now rises above the ruins, in *San Carlo*, 11, 14, 27, 28.

[2] See Šusta, Kurie, I., xxxiii.

[3] Among the many portraits of Cardinal Borromeo, that painted by Figini, now in the Pinacotheca Ambrosiana, gives the best idea of his features, according to the testimony of Card. Federigo Borromeo. A reproduction of it is in *San Carlo*, 123 ; *cf.* 136. His death mask is now in the possession of the Capuchins of Porta Monforte. An illustration, *ibid.*, 520, 521. As an enemy of self-glorification, Charles Borromeo, contrary to the habit of

had the effect, at first, of concealing his intellectual gifts; his natural tendency to thoroughness and solidity rather than to outward brilliancy, did not lead him to any great communicativeness, or to put himself forward in any way.[1] A defect in his speech, which caused the words to be uttered too quickly, and of which he was only gradually cured, added to the unfavourable impression which he made,[2] while his modest reserve, as well as his scrupulous avoidance of benefitting by his position to enrich himself, or of enjoying life after the manner of the clerics of the Renaissance era, caused him to be looked upon at first as being of limited intelligence.[3] In the ambassadorial reports concerning the early work of the youthful Secretary of State, he is described as a pious and good young man, but as possessing few qualities of any importance for the transaction of worldly affairs.[4] In time,

his contemporaries, set no value on preserving his portrait for his successors; in his extensive correspondence, he only once speaks of his portrait, which he sent to his sister, Anna; see WYMANN, 107.

[1] "Ne insignes in literis progressus habere videretur (this refers to his time of study at Pavia), ingenii motus ad explicandum haud satis expediti faciebant. . . . Eam animi moderationem atque aequabilitatem haud maxima praesertim ingenii celeritate coniunctam, quidam quasi tarditatem abiectionemque despicere videbantur, cum tamen et ipsius adolescentiae acta non obscure et posterioris temporis res gestae multo illustrius longe aliter se rem habuisse demonstarint." BASCAPÈ, 4b.

[2] BASCAPÈ, 7a: concisas sententias, immo etiam verba ipsa imminuta habitu quodam nimiae celeritatis pronuntiare solebat.

[3] BASCAPÈ, 6b; GIUSSANO, 10D.

[4] MOCENIGO, 53. In a *report of August 11, 1564, Fr. Tonina says of Charles Borromeo that he is "di natura freddo et per consuetudine timido al papa" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Requesens to Philip II., on April 30, 1564: "Es el hombre del mundo del menos espiritu y accion para tratar negocios" (DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 561). Requesens to Philip on January 5, 1565 (*ibid.* 581). "Aunque Borromeo es buen hombre y virtuoso, pienso que la tendria menos en la eleccion, que jumas tubo sobrino de Papa, porque es tan tibio, qui ne el attiende a tenelle, ne se la da nada." Requesens had later on an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the energy of Borromeo.

however, the opinion, even of the Venetian ambassadors, became more favourable.[1] Those who were brought into closer contact with him could not fail to notice that his intelligence was keen and his judgment clear,[2] and that what he lacked in quickness of comprehension or in keenness of perception, he made up by assiduous application. His great energy enabled him to consider any important question from every point of view, very often for as much as six hours at a time, without any feeling of fatigue, before he arrived at a definite decision.[3]

His firmness of character, his reliability and his deeply rooted piety were beyond all praise, and he had early given proofs of these qualities. Charles had been destined for the Church from his early youth, and educated to that end by a tutor at home, and hardly had he attained the age of fourteen in 1552,[4] when this young scion of the ancient noble family of Arona proceeded to the University of Pavia to study law. His father had given him a majordomo, but Charles soon had to dismiss him as being unsuitable,[5] and he was therefore thrown on his own resources immediately after leaving his father's home, and had to follow his own way independently. Filled with the thought that he owed it to his family, and especially to his two uncles, the commander-in-chief and the Cardinal, to distinguish himself, he applied himself with the greatest energy to his studies. In 1559, after many interruptions, partly caused by overwork, he passed his examinations as doctor of law with great distinction.[6] He attended to his

[1] *Cf.* WYMANN, 97 *seq.*

[2] ut erat acri ingenio iudicioque ; BASCAPÈ, 182a.

[3] *Ibid.*, 182b.

[4] Concerning the date, see SYLVAIN, I., 19 ; GIROL. SORANZO, 90.

[5] His second steward was hardly better (SYLVAIN, I., 21, 25). The opinion which he formed of this steward is characteristic of the future administrator ; he writes to his father : " This man does not understand how to command." *San Carlo*, 25.

[6] SYLVAIN, I., 20 ; BASCAPÈ, 5a. *Cf.* L. GRAMATICA, Diploma di laurea in diritto canonico e civile di S. Carlo Borromeo, Milan, 1917.

religious duties most conscientiously and kept himself pure and unstained in the licentious university city.

The distinguishing quality of the future reformer, his unusual talent for government and administration, was very obvious even during these years of study. In Pavia he had to manage his household and superintend his servants,[1] and he performed this duty with the greatest skill, in spite of many difficulties, and a constant want of money.[2] During the vacations and the intervals in his studies, with his father's consent, he looked after the family estates,[3] and after the death of the latter in 1558, his elder brother, Federigo, was quite willing that Charles should undertake the management of the family and their father's fortune into his already experienced hands.[4] In accordance with the evil custom of the times, he had already, when a child, been appointed abbot in commendam of a Benedictine abbey, but the revenue from this he devoted, for the most part, and with his father s consent, to the poor.[5] He also endeavoured successfully to reform the monks, and when friendly measures did not avail, he made it his business to see that recourse was had to the punishment of imprisonment.[6]

Many other offices were soon bestowed on Charles by Pius IV. in addition to those he already held. The Pope appointed him Protector of Portugal, Lower Germany and the seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland, as well as Protector of the Franciscans, Carmelites, Humiliati, the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, and of the orders of St. John and of Christ in Portugal.[7] The revenues from these dignities, and

[1] SYLVAIN, I., 25. [2] *Ibid.*, 22 *seqq.* [3] *Ibid.*, 28, 31.

[4] Rerum familiarium summa propter prudentiam morumque gravitatem ad eius iudicium rediit. BASCAPÈ, 4-5.

[5] BASCAPÈ, 4a.

[6] *Ibid.*, 5b: alios victus asperitate, alios arcta custodia punivit et in officio continuit, quamquam nullo eius generis tunc proposito exemplo.

[7] BASCAPÈ, 15b. He became Protector of the Humiliati on February 13, 1560, (SALA, Dissertazioni, 414). The brief appointing him Protector of Switzerland on March 12, 1560, in Raynaldus, 1560, n. 95. *Cf.* WYMANN, 85.

from the different abbeys which were entrusted to him in commendam, as well as from his family estates, were valued by the commercial mind of the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, in 1563, at about 48,000 scudi annually.[1]

The foreign ambassadors were filled with wonder that the Pope's youthful nephew was not seduced by all these honours and riches to give himself up to the pleasures of life. Nor was there the least sign of haughtiness about him, and his whole manner of life remained, according to the universal testimony of his contemporaries, without a stain.[2] He threw himself into his work with so much zeal, that at first his attendants feared that his health would be impaired. One of his intimate friends writes that he hardly allowed himself time to eat or to sleep in peace, and begs the uncle of Charles, Count Francesco, that he and Count Guido Borromeo would remonstrate with their nephew as much as lay in their power, for he was deaf to all the expostulations of his servants.[3] Charles himself

[1] ALBÈRI, II., 4, 92. According to Soranzo, the archbishopric of Milan yielded him 7,000 scudi, the abbey of Arona 2,000, the abbeys of Mozzo, della Follina, Colle (in Venetian territory) 3,000, Nonantola 3,000, an abbey in the Neapolitan territory 1,000. The Spanish King paid him 12,000 scudi, of which he gave up 3,000 to Card. Altemps The legation of Bologna brought him in 7,000, that of Ravenna 5,000, and the administration of Spoleto 3,000. From four galleys which Federigo had left him, and which were in the service of Spain, he drew 1,000 scudi each, and the revenues from his father's estates amounted to 4,000 scudi. Bascapè testifies (p. 6b) that many of these benefices were forced on him by the Pope. As abbot in commendam, Charles possessed, according to Bascapè (pp. 15, 16) twelve churches ; his revenues occasionally amounted to 90,000 ducats. A pension of 12,000 ducats, which Philip II. had assigned to him in connection with the archbishopric of Toledo, was in reality never paid. GIROL. SORANZO, 95.

[2] GIROL. SORANZO, 91 : " E il Cardinale di una vita innocentissima, tanto chè, per quello che si sa, si può dir che sia netto da ogni macchia." GIAC. SORANZO 133 : " La vita sua è innocentissima e castissima."

[3] Ercole Lodi to Count Guido Borromeo on February 17, 1560 (published by E. MOTTA in the Archivio storico Lombardo, 1900,

wrote on January 22nd, 1560, that he was well in health, in spite of the "endless strain," but that he found it hard to save as much as five or six hours for sleep.[1] Entirely giving up his own inclinations and plans, he placed himself altogether at the disposal of the Pope,[2] keeping as much at his side as possible the whole day long, and going every morning to the secretary of the State Chancery, Tolomeo Galli,[3] for a conference two or three hours in length, concerning the reports and suits which had to be settled.[4] The documents which arrived every day in great numbers at the office of the Secretary of State had immediately to be summarized and entered on short narrow octavo sheets. These extracts served Borromeo and Galli as the basis of their report to the Pope. The decisions, to which Pius IV. came very quickly, were often noted in short expressive notes in pencil on the reverse side of the extracts, and were then made use of for the replies. The minutes which had been prepared in the office of the Secretary of State were again revised, either by Charles or, perhaps, the Pope himself, before a fair copy was finally made,

352 *seq.*) : "Resta al presente tanto occupato nelli negocii ch' apena ci avanza tempo per poter comodamente mangiar e dormire. Il che a noi altri servitori suoi è di grandissimo scontento per la temenza tenemo che . . . finalmente non caschi in qualche grave infirmità. . . . Si mostra talmente infiamato del ben publico et tanto inamorato del negocio che pare in effetto unico." *Cf.* also the *letter of Fr. Tonina of May 14, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The appointment of Paolo Odescalchi as "assistente delle audientie" points to some slight relief for Borromeo. *Non haverà, says an Avviso di Roma of January 31, 1562, tanti fastidii che certo non haveva troppo. (Urb. 1039, p. 335b Vatican Archives).

[1] SYLVAIN, I., 50.

[2] Ha lasciato tutti gli altri suoi pensieri e piaceri per compiacer la Santità Sua. GIROL. SORANZO, 91.

[3] Concerning Tolomeo Galli (born 1526 or 1527 at Como) and his position as "secretarius intimus," see SICKEL, Berichte, I., 44 *seqq.*; ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., xxxiv, and TÖRNE, Ptolomée Gallio, 55 *seq.* See also RICHARD in the Revue d'hist. ecclés., XI. (1910), 521.

[4] *Cf.* GIROL. SORANZO, 77; GIAC. SORANZO, 135.

and sometimes even these were again examined by the Pope. The instructions for the nuncios and legates were always drawn up in the name of Borromeo, who often added long notes to his signature. The Cardinal also often wrote long letters in his own hand; those drawn up in the name of the Pope only dealt with important matters, or when the person addressed had to be specially honoured, and in such cases Pius IV. often added postscripts in his own hand, and these were seldom wanting in precision.[1]

Almost the whole of the diplomatic correspondence passed through the hands of Borromeo, so that he was thus engaged in all the great questions of European politics, besides those in connection with purely ecclesiastical affairs. He also had to decide in the matter of petitions for pardon from condemned criminals, recommendations for appointments, decrees against bandits, letters of complaint, and many other similar matters of lesser importance.[2] Besides these exacting duties, the

[1] Concerning the daily routine in the office of the Secretary of State, and the staff employed there, see, besides the excellent and comprehensive description by ŠUSTA, Kurie I., xxxiv *seq.*, lxxv., the detailed account in SICKEL, Berichte, I., 44 *seqq.*, 65 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*, 83 *seqq.*; II., 15 *seqq.*, 22 *seqq.*, 28 *seqq.*; III., 39 *seqq.*, 99 *seqq.* See also SICKEL, Ein Ruolo di famiglia des Papstes Pius IV., Mitteilungen des Österr. Instit., XIV., 581 *seq.*, and TÖRNE, 41, 74 *seqq.* Concerning Borromeo's excellent Uditore, G. Fr. Bonhomini, see EHSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 1, xvi, Paderborn, 1895; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, Einl. p. xxv. Examples of the strictness of Pius IV. with regard to his secretaries, in the *Avvisi di Roma of April 6 and 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 145b, 147, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also SICKEL, Berichte, II., 61 n. 1.

[2] The many documents which Sala (Documenti, Vol. 3) has collected, give an idea of these activities. How everyone who wished to approach the Pope applied to Borromeo is shown by the letter of complaint of Scipione Saurolo against Michelangelo's Last Judgment, which is addressed to Borromeo. It is printed in SALA, Documenti III., 90 *seq.* Several of Borromeo's letters to Lucca (concerning the repression of heresy, etc.) are published by E. LAZZARESCHI in La Scuola catt., Ser. 4, XVIII., 279-95

Cardinal held a conference three times a week with eight legal experts, concerning current affairs in connection with the administration of the States of the Church.[1] In addition to all these duties there were frequent meetings of the congregations of Cardinals, such as that on Thursdays for the reform of the Church, at which Borromeo had to be present,[2] while for recreation he had the evening discussions in the academy which he had founded, under the title of "Vatican Nights," where Latin theses were read and discussed.[3]

In spite of these splendid examples of self-sacrificing devotion to duty, Borromeo was still far from being the strict ascetic of his later years. He was passionately fond of the chase, and followed it for the benefit of his health more eagerly than his friends thought consistent with the dignity of a Cardinal.[4] He paid great attention to the magnificence of his household, although he was for those days very moderate in his personal requirements, but his court consisted of 150 persons, who were clothed from head to foot in black velvet.[5]

(1900). *Cf.* also G. Castellani, Una lettera di S. Carlo Borromeo [of May 4, 1560] a proposito della sacca di Fano: Rivista Ital. di numismatica, 1908.

[1] Girol. Soranzo, 91; Giac. Soranzo, 135.

[2] Massarelli in Merkle, II., 343.

[3] Girol. Soranzo, 91; Tiraboschi, VII., 45, 198; Saxius, Noctes Vatic. Mediol., 1738; Kunz, Biblithek für kath. Pädagogik, I., 20; Sprotte, Zur Gesch. des hl. Karl Borromäus, Oppeln, 1893; *San Carlo*, 61.

[4] Anal. Boll. 25 (1906), 521. The remark of Bascapè (p. 6a) must refer to this, as well as to the game of ball: "Quotidianas etiam oblectationes quasdam sacrae disciplinae non satis consentaneas admittebat"; *cf.* p. 9a: "exercitatione corporis ad id tempus valetudinis gratia magnopere delectatus." On December 4, 1561, Borromeo begs the nuncio Delfino to send him suitable sporting dogs from Germany (Steinherz, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 324). Fr. Tonina speaks of a hunt of Borromeo in a *letter of October 22, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] Girol. Soranzo, 92; Lodi, in the Archivio stor. Lomb., 1903, 355. The Papal court consisted of 1500 persons; *cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 96.

He wished the Borromeo family to make an appearance which should correspond in every way with their present princely rank. His creation as Cardinal he announced to his family in the simplest manner, and he desired that the happy event should only be celebrated in Arona, and especially by masses of the Holy Ghost. At the same time, however, he desired that his sister should have for the future two ladies as companions, and these were to be of noble birth and of good reputation.[1] He expressed himself as filled with joy in his letters when his sisters, through the efforts of their uncle and the zealous co-operation of their brother, made aristocratic and wealthy marriages with the Gonzaga, Colonna, Altemps, and the princes of Venosa.[2] On the other hand, when a less wealthy relative was about to marry beneath her rank, and thus lower the dignity of the family, he showed himself very much troubled.[3]

Cardinal Borromeo took a particular interest in the fortunes of his only brother, Federigo, who had espoused the daughter of the Duke of Urbino, Virginia della Rovere, in 1560. The whole Borromeo family was justly proud of this alliance, which gave rise to the most flattering hopes. Federigo, on whose

[1] Letter of January 31, 1560, in SYLVAIN, I., 54.

[2] *San Carlo*, II. (1910), 278 *seqq.*; SYLVAIN, I., 57 *seqq.*, 73; SALA, Documenti, III., 13, 17, 22 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 328. Camilla, Charles' sister, in 1560, married Cesare Gonzaga, Count of Guastalla, Duke of Molfetta, Prince of Ariano, who died in 1573 (CARO, III., 284, 287 *seq.*, 290, 292, 297). She died in 1583. A second sister, Geronima, married Fabrizio Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, and a third, Anna, married Fabrizio Colonna, in 1562 (died 1580), the eldest son of Marcantonio (*cf.* ŠUSTA, Kurie, II., 258, 261, 291, 525; *report of Fr. Tonina of June 11, 1562, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). She died in 1582. There was a daughter, the issue of a second marriage of Gilberto Borromeo to Taddea del Verme, who was married with great pomp to Hannibal von Hohenems on January 6, 1565 (*cf.* SALA, Fascicolo conclus., 47; *San Carlo, loc. cit.*; WYMANN, 63). An *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1561, announces the arrival of the four sisters of Charles Borromeo in Rome (Urb. 1039, p. 283, Vatican Library).

[3] SYLVAIN, I., 66.

head fortune seemed to shower her gifts with a lavish hand, was of a quiet and retiring temperament, and does not seem to have aspired to exercise any influence in affairs of state.[1] In spite of this, foreign princes eagerly sought his favour, especially Cosimo I., who presented to him the magnificent Altoviti palace in December, 1560, as well as a considerable sum of money,[2] the relations of the Borromeo family to the Duke of Florence being as close as those between father and son.[3]

On April 2nd, Pius IV. appointed the youthful head of the Borromeo family to be Captain-General of the Church, and solemnly presented his beloved Federigo with the Marshal's baton, which carried with it a monthly pension of 1,000 ducats.[4] On the 22nd of the same month Federigo went to Trent as the representative of the Pope, in order to give the daughter of the King of the Romans, Ferdinand, the bride of the Duke of Mantua, an escort of honour to her new home.[5] A year later, when Philip II. was preparing to raise Federigo, who till now had been a count, to the dignity of Marquis of Oria, it really seemed as though the name of Borromeo would soon be able to rival that of Farnese or Medici in splendour and renown. Unfortunately Federigo quite unexpectedly succumbed to an attack of fever on December 19th, 1562, after an illness of only eight days.[6] The magnificent funeral

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 53; ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., xxxii *seq.*

[2] See the *letter of Fr. Tonina of December 14, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See with regard to this and the later change in the relations, the interesting **report of Fr. Tonina of January 29, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See BONDONUS, 541.

[5] See Massarelli in MERKLE, 355; BONDONUS, 549. *Cf.* C. GIULIANI in the Arch. Trentino, III. (1884), 14 *seq.*

[6] See BONDONUS, 543, where however, what the otherwise careful editor Merkle has overlooked, November 19 is certainly correct and not August 19. The former date has various other authorities in its support, besides that already cited in SICKEL, Berichte, III., 90 *seq.*, and ŠUSTA, Kurie, III., 89 *seq.* viz.: (1)

obsequies which were held for this youth who had been so suddenly snatched away from life, almost seemed to be the funeral rites for the glory of the house of Borromeo. Cardinal Borromeo might well see in the gold-embroidered pall which covered the coffin,[1] as it lay in state under a gilded canopy at the obsequies on November 25th, a symbol of the splendid downfall of his family.

The sudden death of this much-loved nephew at the early age of twenty-seven, filled the Pope with the deepest sorrow.[2]

A letter from Borromeo to Cesare Gonzaga of November 19, 1562, in SALA, Documenti, III., 241. (2) A *letter of Fr. Tonina of November 20, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). (3) A *letter of Alf. Roselli of November 19, 1562 (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* also Borromeo's letters of November 24, 1562 (with wrong date 1561, as erroneously printed in SALA, Docum., III., 99), December 3, 1562, April 5, 1563, September 2, 1564 (removal of the body to Milan), in SALA, Docum., III., 242, 262, 308. The news of his having received the marquisate of Oria only arrived when Federigo was in his last moments (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 212; SICKEL, Konzil, 403). A satirical epitaph on F. Borromeo in Giorn. d. lett. Ital., XXXVI., 212.

[1] BONDONUS, 544. *Letter of Alf. Roselli of November 25, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] On November 18, 1562, when Federigo's state had become hopeless, Fr. Tonina reports: "*N.S. ni ha sentito et sente infinito dispiacere et questa notte gli andò a otto hore a vederlo et egli poi, o per dispiacere o per il disturbo, si dice che vomitò quanto hieri havea magnato et resta anch' esso travagliato." On November 20 Tonina writes: "*Resta adunque dirle che N.S. ha sentito et sente di questa morte infinito dolore, et chi fu presente dice che disse, Manus Domini tetigit me, et un altra volte disse, orsu bisogna portrala in pace, questi sono i nostri peccati." In an *Avviso di Roma of November 21, 1562, it is stated: "S.Sta quand' ebbe tal nuova stava a far segnatura e sospese la penna, tornò a seguirla et prestandogli il card. Borromeo disse: Manus Domini tetigit nos" (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes.). According to the *report of Tonina of November 28, 1562, the Pope deplored in the Congregation of Monday, with tears in his eyes, the death of this "filius dilectus, solamen suum" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to the *report of

He bore it, however, with resignation, for he saw in this crushing blow, which destroyed all his plans for the elevation of his nephew, a punishment from heaven for the exaggerated concessions which he had made to the Spanish king[1] with regard to the use of ecclesiastical revenues, with the intention of thereby promoting the interests of Federigo. The sudden destruction of such brilliant hopes also made a deep impression on Cardinal Borromeo,[2] all the more so as, almost at the same time as he lost his beloved brother, the young son of the Duke of Florence, who had received the Cardinal's hat at the same time as himself, suddenly died after a three days' illness.[3]

The ascetic nature of Charles had for long resisted making any concessions to the more worldly conceptions of life,[4] and now that the futility of all merely earthly aspirations was so rudely brought before his eyes, he resolved to free himself from the last traces of a worldly spirit, and to devote his life exclusively to the supreme goal.

The worldly-minded members of the Curia, and, as was

Alf. Roselli of November 25, the Pope had then spoken in a composed and courageous manner; on December 5, however, the same writer reports: "* Il Papa non puo scordarsi la morte del conte Federigo Borromeo, massime non sapendo risolversi di soggetto per perpetuarvi la casa sua non inclinando al fratello" (State Archives, Modena).

[1] It was a question of the heavy tax on church property granted for the fleet of Philip II.; see the *report of Alf. Roselli of November 21, 1562 (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* with regard to this affair, Vol. XVI. of this work.

[2] See his letter to Cosimo in SALA, Docum., III., 241 *seq.* The importance of this death has already been pointed out by Pallavicini (19, 4, 9). Ranke has underestimated it, as SICKEL justly remarks (Berichte III., 83). A contemporary portrait of Federigo is in the Ambrosiana, and another in the castle of the Borromei at Angera. Reproductions in *San Carlo,* 37, 55.

[3] BONDONUS, 544. "Questi due si gravi colpi . . . erano veramente atti ad atterarmi affatto, se hen fossi stato assai più forte di quello ch'io sono," writes Borromeo on December 3, 1562, to the Duke of Florence. SALA, Docum., III., 242.

[4] BASCAPÈ, 8b.

believed, the Pope himself, drew quite other conclusions from these events. It was supposed that the heir of all the Borromeo riches would now give up his clerical career, and, in the place of his dead brother, carry on the family.[1] Although Charles was already a sub-deacon, and as such had taken a vow of chastity, a Papal dispensation did not seem unlikely in his case. The Cardinal, however, put an end to any such expectations by receiving holy orders from Cardinal Cesi on July 17th, 1563. He took this step with the consent of the Pope, who had raised his nephew to the rank of Cardinal-Priest at the consistory of June 4th, 1563, and had thereby given him the express command to receive holy orders, declaring at the same time that he had never intended to force Charles to give up the priesthood, and that all rumours to the contrary were unfounded.[2] Borromeo was much strengthened in his resolutions by the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, which he made under the direction of the Jesuit, Ribera.[3] He said his first mass publicly, and with great solemnity in St. Peter's, at the altar of the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles, and his second in complete privacy in the chapel which had been used by Ignatius of Loyola.[4]

After having received holy orders, Borromeo at first retained

[1] BASCAPÈ, 9a; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 212. See the report of Arcos of December, 1562, in SICKEL, Konzil, 410. In yet another *letter from Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal von Hohenems, dated May 3, 1563, reference is made to the possibility of Cardinal Borromeo marrying (Hohenems Archives). On June 7, 1563, Cardinal Borromeo was invested with the freedom of the city of Rome; see GREGOROVIUS, Kleine Schriften, I., 316.

[2] See Acta consist. in ŠUSTA, Kurie, IV., 68 n. 3; (van Ortroy) in the Anal. Boll., XIV. (1895), 436, according to the dispatches of the Imperial ambassador in Rome, Prospero d'Arco. *Cf.* Borromeo's letter to Cesare Gonzaga of June 5, 1563, in SALA, Documenti, III., 269. The statement in GUISSANO, 20 *seq.*, that Charles had secretly received Holy Orders against the wish of his uncle is therefore erroneous.

[3] GIUSSANO, 21; SACCHINI, 8, 12 (p. 406).

[4] SACCHINI, 7, 11 (p. 362). SYLVAIN, I., 77.

his court and state, but was always growing stricter towards his own person, and to such a degree that he now denied himself even the distraction of a walk. The discussions in his academy of the "Vatican Nights" now related more closely to spiritual matters, and he also began to fill in the gaps in his theological education by having lectures in philosophy and theology given to him. For some time he even thought of resigning his office of Secretary of State and retiring into the strict order of Camaldoli. The Bishop of Braga, however, Bartolomeo de Martyribus, dissuaded him from this step during a visit to Rome in 1563.[1] Charles repeatedly begged the Pope to allow him to visit his archbishopric,[2] at least for a time, and to forego a part of the rich benefices which had been assigned to him.

This change in the manner of life of the most important and the most highly esteemed Cardinal caused a great sensation in Rome, where many considered it worthy of blame, while even the friends of ecclesiastical reform were of opinion that, as might have been expected from his energetic and strict character, in many respects he went too far. Dissatisfaction was especially expressed against Ribera and the Jesuits, it being said that they had drawn the Cardinal into their nets to get money out of him, or even to prevail upon him to enter the Society. Similar rumours penetrated even to Pius IV., who appears to have given some credence to them, for, according to a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, of April 30th, 1564, the Pope showed great displeasure at the fact that Cardinal Borromeo had cut down the service at his table, and his whole household, besides having given other signs of his contempt for the world. He said that these were melan-

[1] BASCAPÈ, 9 *seq.* *Cf.* *San Carlo*, I. (1908), 98. He still retained later on a predilection for Camaldoli and the Camaldolesi; *cf.* his letters of May 6, 1564, November 12, 1572; December 13, 1574, in SALA, Docum., III., 298, 442, 560.

[2] The appointment of Charles as Archbishop of Milan took place in May, 1564; before that he had only been the administrator. He had already been consecrated bishop on December 7, 1563. See SALA, Documenti, III., 817, 819 *seq.*

choly notions savouring of the Theatines, and he commanded that the Jesuits and other religious orders should be informed that he would punish them if they set foot in the house of the Cardinal.[1] The feeling against the Jesuits was so strong and so wide-spread that the secretary of the Order, Polanco, thought it necessary to send a letter in his own hand to Spain, in which he made the matter clear, and denied any responsibility on the part of the members of the Order for the steps taken by the Cardinal.[2]

However compliant Charles Borromeo had hitherto been in giving way to the wishes of his uncle, he would not make the slightest concession to him in the matter of any mitigation of his severe rule of life. On the contrary, his strictness continued to increase, especially after the close of the Council of Trent. In June, 1564, his court and state were reduced to a great extent; about eighty persons, who seemed little suited for a clerical life, were dismissed and otherwise provided for, while those who remained were forbidden the use of silken garments and other luxuries. On one day in the week, the Cardinal took nothing but bread and water; he devoted yet more hours of the day to devotion than before;

[1] Requesens to Philip II. in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 561, confirmed by the *reports of Fr. Tonina of April 22 and 29, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, Appendix Nos. 34 and 35). Pius IV., however, had only forbidden Lainez and Ribera to have access to Borromeo, the messenger who delivered the Pope's order extended it to all Jesuits. CANISII Epist., IV., 532.

[2] Polanco to Araoz on April 28, 1564, printed in ASTRAIN, II., 208 *seq.* *Cf.* CANISII Epist., IV., 531 *seq.* Polanco as well as Bascapè (p. 9a) hints that Charles sometimes went too far: "Eaque fuit in moribus omnique vitae consuetudine gravitas, ut ad austeritatem quoque perveniret, quemadmodum saepe solet initio vitae religiosioris evenire." The thought of even denying himself a walk was attributed to Charles by Egidio Foscarari, according to Bascapè (p. 9a). Ribera received in the following year the long sought permission to go to the foreign missions. A letter of farewell to him from Borromeo, on February 3, 1565, in SALA, Documenti, III., 331 *seq.*

and in spite of the difficulty he had to contend with in speaking in public, he began to preach, a thing hitherto unknown for a Cardinal to do.[1] He performed the most severe penances in secret, a scourge with spikes serving the purpose of lacerating his tender body, and sometimes he also used a triple chain, held together by a knot. The curiosity of his chamberlain, Ambrogio Fornero, discovered these instruments of penance, when the Cardinal once forgot to remove the key from the box in which they were hidden from the gaze of those not intended to see them. Soranzo declares in 1565 that Borromeo had become extremely thin, through his zeal for work and study, as well as his fasts, vigils, and other mortifications. Borromeo kept up his strength in a wonderful way, and it was only at the end of the reign of Pius V. that a complete breakdown of his health took place.[2]

[1] BASCAPÈ, 9-10. The date, which is missing, can be seen from a letter of Fr. Tonina of June 10, 1564; "*Il card. Borromeo ha cassata tutta la famiglia sua, cento boche in poi, et a molti anco delli ritenuti ha levata la spesa del cavallo et d' un servitore." Among those dismissed at that time was Camillo Capilupi (see Arch. stor. Lomb., XX. (1893), 697). The undated *letter of Fr. Tonina of 1564, refers to the same, in which he says: "Il s. card^le^ Borromeo ha retirata la sua famiglia in 80 persone et la stalla in 20 cavalli, et camina tuttavia restringendosi et due volte la settimana ordinariamente si reduce alli Giesuiti a conferire con un eccel^te^ theologo che vi si trova, nelle cose di theologia et di conscienza, et sopra questo dicono che S.B^ne^ un dì disse, non vogliamo attender a viver più che posiamo et alegramente, se Monsr Borromei pur si vorrà far frate gli pagaremo li vestimenti del nostro, parlando così di burla. S. B^ne^ fa ogni instanza a quanti pochi vescovi che sono qui che vadino a loro vescovati, et de qui nasce che quelle che gli hanno miseri ogni dì rinonciano più presto che andare, come molti hanno fatto" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In a *letter of Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal von Hohenems, dated June 15, 1564, there are also comments on the significant reduction of the court and state of Charles, from which people might suppose that he was becoming a fool from mere parsimony; this is the effect of his dealings with the "Theatines" (Original in Hohenems Archives).

[2] See D'ALESSANDRI, 2, 407 *seq.*; WYMANN, 95, 108, 118.

In time people ceased to find fault with the asceticism of Charles, and his example had an effect, even in the case of the worldly-minded diplomatists. Their testimony is all the more valuable and worthy of credence, as they were in the habit of ruthlessly laying bare the human weaknesses of even the highest dignitaries. When Girolamo Soranzo gave a report of his Roman embassy in June, 1563, he remarked : " The life of Cardinal Borromeo is most innocent, and absolutely blameless ; by his religious attitude he gives an example which could not be surpassed. His exemplary manner of life is all the more worthy of praise as he is in the flower of his age, and is the very powerful nephew of a Pope, and lives at a court where the opportunity of enjoying pleasures of every kind is certainly not wanting to him."[1] Two years later the Venetian, Giacomo Soranzo, wrote : " Cardinal Borromeo is only twenty-seven, but delicate, as he has impaired his health by study, fasting, vigils and abstinences. He is a doctor of laws, but devotes himself to theology with a zeal rare in our days. His life is most unworldly, and his zeal for religion is so great that one can say with all authority that by his example he is of more use to the Roman court than all the decrees of the Council. This nephew, so loved by the Pope, still in the bloom of youth and at a court full of temptations, who has overcome himself and the love of the world, is a rare phenomenon. Borromeo is devoted to the Pope, who, for his part thinks the world of him and his wishes, as may be seen in the last promotion of Cardinals, when only such were chosen as he had either proposed or recommended. He and the Pope, however, are of two different natures, and Pius IV. would like to see him more jovial and less strict in his life and ideas. He even said so to the Jesuits, who have a great influence on the Cardinal's manner of life, but the latter did not allow himself to be diverted from his own way. He is not much loved at court, because they are used to other ways there, and they complain that the Cardinal asks the Pope for little and gives

[1] GIROL. SORANZO, 91. *Cf.* WYMANN in the Schweiz. Kirchenzeitung, 1910, No. 44, n. 49.

little of his own. As to the first, it is with him a matter of conscience, while as far as his own is concerned, he uses it for alms, for the portions of penniless maidens, and for the payment of the debts which his brother left."[1] It is clear how lavishly Borromeo distributed alms from the fact that at that time he spent hardly anything on himself, from the revenues which accrued to him from the archbishopric of Milan.[2] The Borromeo College in Pavia is a magnificent foundation dating from his days in Rome, and which he caused to be erected in 1564 by the architect, Pellegrino Pellegrini, to protect poor students of noble family from the dangers which he had learned to know in his own student days.[3] As a striking testimony to his benevolence, the table is still preserved in S. Prassede, at which he served the poor with food.[4]

Next to Charles Borromeo, Pius IV. greatly valued in the early days of his reign, Cardinal Morone, who was a man of

[1] Giac. Soranzo, 133 *seq.* Cardinal Seripando *writes on July 28, 1562, to Trent to Paolo Manuzio concerning Borromeo: "E huomo di frutto et non di fiore, de' fatti et non di parole" (Library at Montpellier). Bascapè also says (p. 66) that Charles showed a certain want of generosity at first. This struck people more than was perhaps right, as they had been accustomed since the time of the Renaissance to see the great nobles scattering gold and favours with great prodigality (*cf.* Wymann, 98). A proof of Borromeo's zeal for study is shown by two tickets, of June 20 and November 29, 1564, which are still in existence, by which permission is given to him to borrow books from the Vatican Library, and indeed, in virtue of the second, "volumina etiam registra nuncupata, et quae forsan, ne adeo omnibus ostenderentur, magis reservata et custodita essent." Mitteilungen des Österr. Instituts, XVII. (1896), 293.

[2] Bascapè, 6-7.

[3] Guissano, 22. Concerning the date of the foundation see *San Carlo*, 209, concerning the college *cf.* Natali in Natura ed arte, February, 1906. The statutes of the Roman Monte di Pietà, of 1565, can probably be traced to Borromeo. Donato Tamilia, Il sacro monte de pietà di Roma, Rome, 1900.

[4] Illustration in *San Carlo*, 69.

very wide experience, especially in affairs relating to Germany.[1] He gave him, however, as little as to the other Cardinals, a decisive influence over his plans. However much the Papal court and the diplomatists might wonder, Pius IV. persisted in reserving the affairs of state to his own cool judgment. He was led to this, not only by his own self-confidence, but also by a deep distrust of the Cardinals, of whom hardly one was quite independent of the influence of foreign princes.[2] Girolamo Soranzo thinks that the vaccillating attitude which the Pope often displayed is to be attributed to the fact that he did not consult with others. "As His Holiness is of a very hasty temperament," the Venetian explains, "even with regard to the most important affairs, he comes to a decision very rapidly; should difficulties then arise, he shows no obstinate persistence, but alters his decisions quickly and completely."[3]

The sense of statesmanship which, besides the great independence of his decisions, was characteristic of Pius IV., showed itself especially in his dealings with the secular princes. In this respect he followed an exactly opposite policy to that of his predecessor. While Paul IV., with a strange want of appreciation of the true state of public affairs, imagined that he could treat the princes, not as his sons, but as his subjects,[4] the shrewd Lombard believed that, in view of the great

[1] See MOCENIGO, 40 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 30, 1559, and those of January 13 and November 23, 1560, Urb. 1039 (pp. 112, 117, 218, Vatican Library). See further HILLIGER, 20 *seq.* Later, in the summer of 1561, Morone retired; Mula and Navagero then became the confidants of Pius IV. (see SICKEL, Konzil, 204). In April, 1561, however, Morone still had great influence; see the *report of Saraceni of April 11, 1561 (State Archives, Florence). Pius IV. had great confidence in Hosius in 1561, with regard to German affairs; see *letter of G. A. Caligari of to Commendone, dated Rome, September 27, 1561 (Lett. id. princ., XXIII., 36, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See GIROL. SORANZO, 74; GIAC. SORANZO, 130; P. TIEPOLO, 178.

[3] GIROL. SORANZO, 75.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 69, 74,

defections from Rome, the authority of ecclesiastical power must be strengthened by the support of the secular princes. To this cause is to be attributed his moderation and his conciliatory attitude towards them.[1]

Ferdinand I., whose succession to the Imperial dignity Paul IV. had always obstinately refused to acknowledge, was the first to experience this conciliatory attitude.[2] It was very soon seen that Pius IV. intended, as soon as possible, to put an end to this unhappy dispute, which was so hurtful to the Catholic cause in Germany. On December 30th, 1559, the Pope declared to the Cardinals that he did not consider it of any use to contest Ferdinand's election, for, although non-Catholics had taken part in it, the Catholics had done so as well. He referred emphatically to Ferdinand's zeal for the cause of religion, and to his services as the defender of Christendom in the war against the Turks. All the Cardinals, with one exception, agreed to concede the Imperial title to the King of Hungary and Bohemia, under the condition, however, that Ferdinand should make apologies for having taken possession of the Hungarian bishoprics, for the Treaty of Passau, and for other decisions made by the Diet. Ferdinand, highly delighted at this change of policy in Rome, declared himself ready to do so, and at once assured the Pope, through his ambassador, Thurm, that he would do his utmost to bring about the return of his son, Maximilian, to the Church. As the question, based on principle, as to whether Papal recognition was necessary for the lawful accession of the Emperor to the throne, was not touched upon, the reconciliation with Rome was assured by this concession to Ferdinand.[3]

[1] See MOCENIGO, 61-2; GIROL. SORANZO, 75. Pius IV. emphasized the great defection from Rome, and the necessity for the reform of ecclesiastical conditions, in the brief by which he notified his election (to Philip II., Venice, Portugal, Florence) on December 29 and 30, 1559; see Min. brev., Arm., 44, t 10, n. 419, 420, 413, 418, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 351 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 22 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*; REIMANN in the Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Kultur, 1871, 37 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kaiser- und Königswahl, 35 *seq.*

A difficulty which arose at the last moment was also happily removed. The representative of Ferdinand I., Scipione d'Arco, who had arrived in Rome on February 12th, 1560, and had taken up his residence in the Vatican, had orders to congratulate the Pope on his accession in a public audience, and to assure him of respect and homage in the name of the Emperor. The Pope, however, required in addition the oath of obedience. Arco hesitated, and it was only when Cardinals Morone and Madruzzo reasoned with him that he decided to exceed his authority and comply with the wish of the Pope.[1] Thereupon the ceremony of the *obedientia* by the Emperor's representative took place in a public consistory in the Sala Regia, on February 17th, 1560.[2] The conclusion of peace between the two greatest powers of Christendom was sealed by the restoration of the nunciature at the Imperial court.

Pius IV. once more filled the nunciatures of Venice and Florence, left vacant at the death of Paul IV., and also changed the holders of the remaining nunciatures. All this took place in the small space of three months. This, and the fact that not one of Paul IV.'s nuncios was sent to a new post, clearly shows that the Pope was acting in pursuance of a carefully thought-out plan, by which he removed all the diplomatists of his predecessor. The Pope also took steps as early as the summer of 1560, to found permanent nunciatures at Turin and Florence. The new Swiss nuncio, Giovan Antonio Volpi, Bishop of Como, received permission to remain in his diocese,

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 42 *seq.*; Correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 136; SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 36 *seq.* It was remarkable, as Zwiedinek points out in the Archiv für österr. Gesch., LVIII, 176, that Pius IV. did not take exception to the person of Arco, as the Popes usually accepted only members of the princely houses of the Empire as *obedientia* envoys. Pius thus proved his compliant attitude in this matter. Concerning the plan for crowning the Emperor, see Venetian despatches, III., 133 *seqq.*, 141; concerning Scipione d'Arco, see CONSTANT, Rapport, 3 *seq.*

[2] See BONDONUS, 533; SCHLECHT in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XIV., 22 *seq.*; SCHMID, *loc. cit.*

from whence he could more easily reach the Catholic parts of Switzerland than from Lucerne. The exclusion from the cardinalate of all those nuncios who had been recommended by a prince to whom they were accredited, was a most salutary proceeding.[1]

The resumption of diplomatic relations which had been interrupted during the pontificate of Paul IV., as well as the development of the nunciatures, indicate the value which the new Pope attached to the keeping up of friendly relations with the secular powers. The beginning of the reign of Pius IV. also showed a strong contrast to that of his predecessor in the Eternal City itself. How the Romans rejoiced when the Pope, in February, 1560, again permitted the carnival festivities! At the same time, however, steps were rightly taken to prevent abuses.[2]

It was not only the Romans who rejoiced when one of the first official acts of the new Pope was to limit once more the powers of the Inquisition to its original and proper sphere,[3] and to mitigate many of the excessively harsh reform decrees of Paul IV. This showed itself first in the matter of the examination of candidates for bishoprics, as to which, however,

[1] See BIAUDET, Nonciatures, 24 *seq.*, 58, 296 *seq.* Concerning Volpi, see REINHARDT-STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, Einl., p. xxviii, *seq.* The Florentine nuntiature, as to which Scaduto makes misleading statements (see Hist. Jahrbuch, IX., 108) is worthy of a special monograph.

[2] *Cf.* CLEMENTI, 218; RODOCANACHI, Juifs, 209; Arch. stor. Lomb., XIX. (1908), 353. Things were already fairly free at the carnival of 1561. One of the principal amusements was bull-fighting (*cf.* KÖLN. Volkzeitung, 1911, No. 168) against the holding of which in the neighbourhood of the Jesuit College Lainez made a complaint; see the **reports of Fr. Tonina of January 18 and 29, and February 13 and 19, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). A new *Bando per le maschere of January 20, 1564 in the Editti, V., 60 p. 9, Papal Secret Archives. Concerning the Roman theatre at the time of Pius IV., see Giorn. d. lett. Ital., LXXIII., 296 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 117, Vatican Library). *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work.

the essential points of the reforms of the Carafa Pope were retained.[1] Other mitigations of the rigorous decrees of Paul IV. soon followed.[2]

One particularly thorny point was how to proceed with the carrying out of the severe penalties which the bull of Paul IV. of July 20th, 1558, had decreed against the numerous monks who were living outside their monasteries, or had entered orders which were less strict than their own.[3] A very great number of these unfortunate men appeared before the Pope and asked for pardon, but this request, even with all due regard for mercy, could not be granted without further consideration. Exhaustive discussions followed as to how a middle course could be arrived at, which should avoid both exaggerated severity and too great clemency.[4] It was clear that serious difficulties had arisen in the carrying out of the bull of Paul IV. The monks affected by it were too numerous, and complaints were made that the constitution did not make the necessary distinctions, as many lived outside their monasteries for valid reasons, and with the permission of the Apostolic See and the superiors of their orders. Several, moreover, had shown themselves ready to obey the command of Paul IV., but could not be received back by their former superiors; they therefore lost their means of subsistence and were, by decrees, excluded from the sacraments. Paul IV. had also forbidden by a decree, that anyone should give shelter to an "apostate" monk, but this order could hardly be put into force owing to the great number, and hence arose many difficulties of conscience. Pius IV., therefore, on April 3rd, 1560, absolved all those who, on account of disobedience to the decrees of his predecessor, had fallen under censure or into irregularity, and repealed the decree itself in so far as it went beyond the common law, and at the same time gave

[1] See Acta consist. of January 19, 1560; *cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, 40.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 120, Vatican Library).

[3] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 217.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of January 20, February 24, and March 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 120, 128b, 135b, Vatican Library).

extraordinary powers to his Vicar in Rome, Cardinal Savelli, and to the bishops and superiors of orders, to decide in the name of the Pope matters in dispute concerning the "apostates" and those monks who had entered other orders. These were obliged within six months to submit their dispensations to the duly qualified judge and obey his decision.[1]

It is characteristic of conditions in the Curia that as soon as the pressure exercised by Paul IV. had been removed, the evil elements immediately wakened once more into activity,[2] but if anyone thought that the work of reform had come to a standstill under the new Pope, he was grievously mistaken. Pius IV. declared quite openly that what had been tolerated in the time of Leo X. would no longer be allowed.[3] When he confirmed the election capitulation on January 12th, 1560, he announced his intention of carrying out as Pope the thing that appeared the most necessary to all persons of discernment, namely, the taking seriously in hand of the questions of reform and the Council. He also spoke to the same effect at his first consistory, held on the same day,[4] and announced that a commission for the "reform of morals" would be appointed even before the meeting of the Council. Of this Cardinals Tournon, Carpi, Morone, Madruzzo, Cueva, Saraceni, Puteo, Cicada, Dolera, Savelli, Alessandro Farnese, Santa Fiora,

[1] Bullarium Rom., VIII., 15 *seqq.* To the decrees concerning the residence of the bishops, Pius IV. held firmly (*cf.* besides the Acta consist., Papal Secret Archives, the *Avvisi di Roma of January 27, February 10 and 17, and March 9, 1560, Urb. 1039, pp. 122, 127, 128, 132, 135b; see also Chapter IV. *infra*), but with regard to the *Regressi*, on the other hand, he showed considerable indulgence. *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of January 13 and 20, February 10, and March 2, 1560 (Urb. 1039, pp. 117, 120, 127, 134, Vatican Library). See also MOCENIGO, 29.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1560: "Roma torna su la pristina libertà. Le puttane cominciano andar in cocchio al solito" (Urb. 1039, p. 120b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 36.

[3] See DEMBIŃSKI, Wybor Piusa IV., 286.

[4] See *Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., 1 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 328, and the *report of Ricasoli of January 12, 1560 (State Archives, Florence).

Este and Charles Borromeo were members. They were to meet every Thursday, and to prepare important changes in the Papal tribunals and the conclave. The bishops who were lingering at the curia were called upon to fulfil their duty of residence,[1] and immediately afterwards three Cardinals received orders to take steps to provide Rome with grain.[2]

To the great joy of the Curia, Pius IV. also showed his love of peace in the most unequivocal manner,[3] promised to provide for strict justice, willingly granted audiences to all, discharged business quickly and skilfully, and displayed, in addition, great activity in building.[4] A bull of May 15th, 1560, graciously forgave the Romans for the excesses of which they had been guilty at the time of the death of Paul IV.,[5] and the city of Rome, which had suffered so much under the Carafa Pope, improved in a remarkable manner, both with regard to its prosperity, and also in the number of its inhabitants, which rose in 1563 to 80,000. The Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, describes Rome at this time as the most beautiful

[1] Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 343, without exact date. An *Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 127 Vatican Library) tells of the appointment of the "congregatione generale per la reformatione generale," which Arco announces as impending on January 31, 1560 (SICKEL, Konzil, 26). According to MASSARELLI, 349, the sessions of this congregation took place in September, 1560, every Sunday in the presence of the Pope. *Cf.* EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 2.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1560 (*loc. cit.*, Vatican Library). *Cf.* BENIGNI, 35 *seq.*, and CUPIS, 147 *seq.*

[3] When the general in command of the infantry, Torquato Conti, was granted an audience on the occasion of his appointment, the Pope said to him that he would like to reward him,* "ma ch' il non vuole ne soldati ne guerra, ma vuole che li contadini attendino a cultivare li terreni per il ben di tutti" (Avviso, Urb. 1039, p. 114b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 51.

[4] *Cf.* Arch. stor. Napolit., I., 648. Concerning the rapid transaction of business in the Signatura, Ricasoli *reports as early as January 13, 1560, (State Archives, Florence).

[5] The bull is to be found in the *Editti in the Papal Secret Archives.

city of the Appenine peninsula, and praised its international character, which had nearly disappeared under Paul IV.[1] An intimate friend of Cardinal Santa Fiora gave, on October 25th, 1561, in a letter to Vincenzo Gonzaga, an enthusiastic description of Rome under the new pontificate: "The city is unfolding itself in its fullest beauty. The Pope promised at the beginning of his reign to protect religion, peace, and justice, and to provide for the material needs of his capital, and he has kept his word. Rome has a superabundance of grain, wine, and other necessaries, and the feeling of general contentment is universal. Persons of good conduct and talent are highly esteemed, and worthless characters have either to change their ways or submit to punishment, if they do not prefer to go, of their own accord, into banishment. Perfect peace prevails in public, as in private life. The Pope promotes the affair of the Council by every possible means, and knows how to combine clemency with justice."[2]

As a matter of fact, Pius IV. did indeed temper with mildness the severity of his predecessor, in all cases where it was possible. Only in the matter of the Carafa family did he go far beyond what had been done by Paul IV.

[1] GIROL. SORANZO, 83 *seq.*

[2] Letter of Aurelio Porcelaga in the Lett. de' princ., I., 231 *seq.* *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 385, and also the letter of Paulus Manutius to J. B. Titius, of December 5, 1561, in the *Epist. P. Manutii*, 344 *seq.*, Venice, 1573. An example of the severity shown in the administration of justice at the beginning of the reign in the *Avviso di Roma of July 5, 1561: This day "impiccati 14 per capparuoli et homicidi," and "circa 25 mandati in galea: così si va purgando la terra id malfattori" (Urb. 1039, p. 285, Vatican Library). Soon, however, rich people could purchase their freedom by money (MOCENIGO, 30). This increased later on and led to grave evils (see P. TIEPOLO, 174).

CHAPTER IV

The Fall of the House of Carafa

When, in January, 1559, the sudden fall of the nephews of Paul IV. took place, the Pope had expressed the hope that his successor would punish the guilty in a fitting manner. There seemed, at first, but little prospect of his hope being realized, as Cardinal Carlo Carafa succeeded after the death of Paul IV. in again immediately gaining a firm footing in the Sacred College. The fierce anger of his enemies stood him in good stead in this respect, for even those who, like Cardinal Pacheco, were by no means friendly to the Carafa, blamed the wild excesses of the Romans, against which the Sacred College was bound, in its own interests, to make a stand.

The Romans understood these feelings very well, and although they were resolved upon the banishment of the secular nephews of Paul IV., they did not dare to proceed in a like manner against the two Cardinals, Carlo and Alfonso Carafa.[1] The request of the Roman people to be allowed to drive the Duke of Paliano, Giovanni Carafa, out of the States of the Church, was unanimously rejected by the Sacred College.[2] The shrewd attitude taken up by Cardinal Carlo Carafa had not been without its influence upon this refusal. He declared, before the Cardinals, that if it were for the good of the Church, not only his brother, but also he himself and Cardinal Alfonso would leave Rome ; they were prepared to sacrifice their own personal interests to the public good ; but if it were a mere question of satisfying hatred, the Cardinals would do well to consider what such a compliance with the fury of the populace would entail. In the election

[1] See *supra* p. 4. [2] See *supra* p. 5.

capitulation, the Cardinals had later expressly resolved that the new Pope should severely punish the excesses committed during the vacancy in the Papal throne.[1]

Although the influence of Cardinal Carlo was evident in these decisions, there could yet be no doubt as to the continued activity of the former enemies of the family; should these gain the upper hand in the conclave, then a fresh exile, and perhaps worse, was to be feared. Fully aware of the threatened danger, Cardinal Carlo Carafa did his utmost in the negotiations concerning the Papal election to gain a decisive influence in the elevation of the new head of the Church. The manner in which he set about this shows that he had learned nothing during his exile. With incredible arrogance, he again displayed his consciousness of his former power, and with utter want of consideration treated his colleagues as if they had been his servants.[2] He made use of every possible means to make his position in the conclave appear to be decisive, and to make use of it in the interests of his family. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that he was prepared to elevate one who was thoroughly incapable to the Papal throne, for his candidates, Carpi, Pacheco, Dolera and Gonzaga, were worthy men, but in other respects he adopted in the conclave a policy merely conducive to his own interests. Although formerly his sympathies had been on the side of the French, he now declared himself for the candidate of the Spaniards, from whom alone he could expect a great reward for his family. When Philip II., by restoring Paliano to its former possessor, did not seem to appreciate his services, he declared himself neutral, probably so as to let the Spaniards feel his importance, and had, in fact, the satisfaction of seeing both French and Spaniards alternately flattering and wooing him, and of standing out as the arbiter of the conclave. He again turned to the Spaniards on the strength of the promises made to him by the Spanish ambas-

[1] See DEMBIŃSKI, Wybór Piusa IV., 302. *Cf. supra* p. 16.

[2] See *infra* p. 158, n. 2, the *report of Fr. Tonina of January 15, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

sador, Vargas, thereby breaking his word to the French without scruple, and frustrating the already far advanced candidature of Gonzaga.

It was a severe blow to him when his attempt on behalf of Carpi, made at the same time, was a failure, for, as Bernardino Pia informs us, Carafa knew well that his cause was lost if this candidature, for the sake of which he had made so many enemies, did not succeed.[1] There remained, indeed, no other course for him but to declare himself for Medici, whose election he had hitherto opposed. This change, which was by no means voluntary on his part, had been effected by means of promises which gave Carafa reason to hope that the new Pope would support his interests in the matter of Paliano, and induce Philip II., at any rate, to keep the fortress in a state of sequestration until such time as a suitable indemnity could be arranged.[2]

Although Pius IV. clearly understood that the participation of Carafa in his election had been neither voluntary nor disinterested, he nevertheless gave him credit for the great services he had rendered him, and showed his gratitude in various ways. At the end of December, 1559, the envoy sent to Spain was a declared adherent of the Carafa, and had instructions to work diligently to obtain compensation for Paliano.[3] Cardinal Carafa had all the more reason to look for a happy issue to this affair, as Vargas, the representative of Philip II. in Rome, was altogether on his side, and urgently represented to his master how greatly it was to his own

[1] See Pia's letter of December 15, 1550, in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 70, n. 2.

[2] See MÜLLER, 223 *seq.* *Cf. supra* p. 57.

[3] See the report of Vargas of December 29, 1559, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 326 *seq.* *Cf.* the *brief to F. a Sanguine, dated Rome, January 5, 1560, in which Pius IV. emphasizes how much he has the commission of Sanguine at heart (magnae merito nobis curae sunt) and that the King should grant his first request (Arm. 44, t. 19, n. 17 n., Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* HINIJOSA, 120.

interests to fulfil the expectations of Carafa.[1] Duke Cosimo I. of Florence, who had made binding promises to Carafa during the conclave,[2] was also active in the same sense. The enormous importance of the attitude taken up by the Spanish king, not only with regard to Paliano, but also for the whole future of his family, could not fail to be understood by so experienced a politician as Carlo Carafa. He therefore caused a special envoy, in the person of Oliviero Sesso, to be sent to the court at Toledo, at the beginning of January, 1560, who was to remind Philip II., in the most discreet manner, of the great services which Cardinal Carafa had rendered to the Spanish cause during the Papal election.[3] How great was the desire of Pius IV., at the beginning of March, 1560, that the question of compensation for Paliano should be settled in a sense favourable to the Carafa, is clear from the instructions given to the new nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta, then starting for Spain.[4]

[1] Besides Vargas' report mentioned *supra* p. 133, n. 3, *cf.* his *instructions for Ascanio Caracciolo (January 1, 1560) who was returning to Spain (Simancas Archives). *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 72.

[2] See ANCEL, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Istrurione data dal card. Carafa al conte Olivieri espedito al Re cattolico dopo la creazione di Pio IV. (s.d.), Barb., 5674, p. 162, Vatican Library, used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 73.

[4] There we read: *" Desiderando levar tutte le occasioni che possano in alcuna maniera adombrare la serenità degli animi di N. Sig^re e di S. M^ta et che tutta la benvolenza et ottima corrispondenza d' animo si conservi et accreschi, mi conviene per espressa commissione di Sua Beat^ne far sapere a S. M^ta che ha risoluto per ogni modo che Paliano si smantelli, conforme a l' obligo della capitulatione, et che l' artiglieria et munitione della Sede Apostolica si restituisca. Nel qual proposito non mancherete di far futta quella instanza a nome di S. Beat^ne che potrete maggiore, acciò si adempisca la ricompensa promessa a li signori Carafi, intendendo prima dal sig Fabritio di Sangro in che termini lui haberà condutto il detto negotio. Et sopra tutto raccomandate la persona et gli interessi di monsignore ill^mo Carafa, quale N. Sig^re ama teneramente et, come V.S. sa, ha causa d' amarlo." . . . Di Roma a XI. di marzo 1560. Varia polit. CXVII. (formerly CXVI), 380-1, Papal Secret Archives.

While, at the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV., a prosperous future seemed to be dawning for the nephews of his predecessor, a storm was slowly gathering over their heads, which was destined to overwhelm them.

The despotism which the Carafa had exercised in Rome during the period of their unlimited influence over Paul IV., had given rise in all quarters to the greatest bitterness and hatred against them. Among the numerous enemies whom the Carafa had made for themselves, many were persons of the greatest influence, who did everything in their power to turn the new Pope against them. The most important of these were Marcantonio Colonna, and the all-powerful Cardinal Camerlengo, Guido Antonio Sforza of Santa Fiora. Both had been deeply offended and gravely injured by the Carafa under Paul IV. In the case of Santa Fiora, the official representative of the interests of Philip II., he was not only actuated by feelings of revenge, but also by the knowledge that the protégé of the Spanish king, Marcantonio Colonna, could only gain possession of his strongholds by the destruction of the Carafa.[1]

Cardinal Carafa had also made a very bitter enemy of Ercole Gonzaga by his disloyal behaviour in the conclave. Unfortunately for Carlo Carafa, Gonzaga and his friends, among whom was the powerful Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, had won great influence in the Curia at the very beginning of the reign of Pius IV., through the union of their families with that of the Pope.[2] While Madruzzo was endeavouring to secure Gallese and Soriano for the Altemps, Ercole Gonzaga was seeking, as early as January, 1560, to pave the way for himself to the supreme dignity. The Carafa stood in the way of both of them,[3] and both, therefore, brought strong pressure to bear upon Pius IV. to turn him against the nephews of Paul IV. Complaints against that family were all the more readily believed by the new Pope, as he had belonged to the opposition party during the pontificate of

[1] *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 76 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *supra* p.p. 99, 104.

[3] *Cf.* MÜLLER, 267 *seq.*, and ANCEL, 79 *seq.*

Paul IV., which had been fully aware of the faults and blunders of the government, and had sharply criticized them. The contrast to his predecessor's method of government had already been so plainly shown by the new Pope in other respects, that one might describe it as a reaction against the pontificate of Paul IV. From this reaction the Carafa, who had to bear so much of the blame for the mistakes of their uncle, could scarcely hope to be spared, and it is, therefore, no wonder that even at the beginning of 1560, their position threatened to become one of danger.

Their former guilt was still further increased by a tragic event which had taken place before the election of Pius IV. Giovanni Carafa, Duke of Paliano, a man who was easily roused to anger, and in his rage lost all control of himself, had led a brilliant, extravagant and unrestrained life when he had been at the height of his power. In spite of his own unfaithfulness he loved his wife, the beautiful, gifted and cultured Violante d'Alife, who had borne him three children. She was not unaware of the immoral life led by her husband. After the fall of the Pope's nephews, the Duke had betaken himself, with Violante, to their possessions on the northern side of the Ciminian hills, between Viterbo and Civita Castellana, where they resided in the castles of Gallese and Soriano. In that lonely neighbourhood, the rugged character of which makes a deep impression on the visitor, an event took place during the summer of 1559, while Paul IV. was still alive, which was not altogether cleared up even during the proceedings which took place later on.[1]

[1] The older accounts of the death of the Duchess of Paliano (DE STENDHAL [Beyle), in the Revue des deux mondes, 1838; REUMONT, Beiträge, I., 483 *seq.*), were superseded by the work of GNOLI concerning Violante Carafa in the Nuova Antologia, XIX. (1872), 341 *seqq.*, 543 *seqq.*, 799 *seqq.* Besides this there are the documents used by GORI in his Archivio, I., 245 *seq.*; II., 45 *seqq.*; 200 *seqq.*; 257 *seqq.*; which were considerably added to by ANCEL (Disgrâce, 59 *seqq.*). It has not been proved for certain that the Duchess was guilty of adultery, nor do we know what was the attitude of Paul IV., at that time on his death-bed,

The following facts may, however, be taken as certain: in the July of that year, tales were brought to the Duke of Paliano to the effect that his wife was carrying on illicit relations with one of the members of her household, the handsome and talented Neapolitan, Marcello Capece. The Duke was all the more ready to become suspicious and jealous as he knew himself to be guilty of a similar want of fidelity. He gave credence to the guilt of Capece and his wife, and took a bloody revenge upon both of them. Capece was taken to the dungeons of the fortress of Soriano, while the Duchess was strictly guarded in the castle of Gallese. The jealousy of the Duke was still further inflamed by the false ideas of honour then common among the nobles, which taught that the adultery of a wife brought such a stain upon the family as could only be washed out in the blood of the guilty parties. Giovanni Carafa was strengthened in this view, not only by his brother, Cardinal Carlo, but also by his brother-in-law. Justifying himself on his right, as feudal lord of his subjects, to judge and punish them without restraint, he set up a secret criminal court, of which he himself, the brother of the Duchess, Ferrante, Count d'Alife, her uncle, Lionardo di Cardine, and a third relative, Gian Antonio Toralto, were the members. The investigation, if one can call it such, took place in secret, completely ignoring all legal forms, without witnesses, defence or notary. The court was held in the strong old fortress of the Orsini, which stands high above the little town of Soriano. An admission was drawn from Capece under torture that he had enjoyed the favour of the Duchess; the Duke, thereupon, seized with ungovernable fury, stabbed him on the spot, during the night between July 26th and 27th, 1559. In consequence of the excitement, and the persistent pressure of his relatives, to cleanse still further the supposedly besmirched honour of the family, by the blood of the Duchess, the enraged man fell ill, and

with regard to the matter (Ancel, 61 n. 1). Riess (p. 378) and Parisio (Arch. Napolit., XII., 838 *seq.*) consider the Duchess guilty, without taking into consideration the weighty arguments to the contrary brought forward by Gnoli (*loc. cit.*, 814 *seq.*).

although the Duchess was with child, he offered but a feeble resistance to their will. The Count d'Alife undertook to strangle his sister with his own hands, and on August 29th, 1559, he appeared with Lionardo di Cardine and a band of armed retainers at Gallese. They had brought two priests with them from the Capuchin convent there, who were to prepare the unhappy victim for death. The Capuchins begged in vain for a delay in carrying out the deed, in view of the condition of the Duchess, but the Count answered that he had to go to Rome, and that he could not show himself there with this brand upon his brow. Violante was resigned to her fate; she confessed and communicated, and protested her innocence with her dying breath.

This event would have caused a still greater sensation had it not taken place during the troubled days of the vacancy in the Papal throne, eleven days after the death of Paul IV. Nevertheless, the enemies of the Carafa took good care that it was not forgotten. A report from Rome on January 6th, 1560, announces that the Duke of Paliano had arrived at the last post station before Rome, at La Storta, where he had conferred for three hours with his brother, the Cardinal; "he did not dare to enter the city, for his case looked bad." A second report, of January 13th, relates that the Duke had begged for mercy from the Pope, but that the latter intended to proceed against the murderers.[1] Pius IV. did not hurry matters, and it was only at the end of March that clear-sighted observers were able to detect signs that a criminal suit against the Carafa was impending.

This decision was certainly not an easy one for Pius IV., "but if only to secure order he had no choice but to bring the haughty nephews of Paul IV. to submission."[2] He at first set to work with great caution. Girolamo de Federicis and Alessandro Pallantieri were reinstated on March 27th, 1560, in the positions of which they had been deprived by Paul IV.; the former was again appointed Governor of Rome,

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of January 6 and 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, pp. 114b, 117, Vatican Library).

[2] Opinion of BENRATH in Herzogs Realenzyklopädie, XV., 437.

and the latter Procurator-Fiscal.[1] Pius IV. issued a decree on April 3rd, probably on the advice of Pallantieri, which renewed severe penalties against those who had usurped Church property.[2] This measure was connected with certain accusations which had been made against Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, that he had used his influence during the illness of Paul IV. to induce the Pope to give him presents. In the meantime Pallantieri was hard at work so that the excesses of the other members of the family should not remain unpunished, and the time now seemed to have come when he would be able to take revenge for his deposition, and his more than two years' imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. An enterprising and vindictive man, like this experienced lawyer, was the most suitable person to collect from all sources proofs of the excesses of the Carafa. Their creditors were next set in motion, and immediately began to assail the Pope with their complaints. At the beginning of April Pius IV. informed Cardinals Carlo and Alfonso Carafa that he must insist on their satisfying their creditors, whereupon both the Cardinals betook themselves to Gallese to discuss with the Duke of Paliano how this was to be effected.[3] A short time afterwards Cardinal Alfonso was called to account, in virtue of the decree of April 3rd. He declared that he had received a casket of jewels from the dying Pope as a present, and that this had been effected by means of a brief. The latter was dated on the day of the death of Paul IV., and the enemies of the Carafa said that it was an extortion which must be made good. Pius IV. ordered that it must be clearly shown how the casket came into the Cardinal's possession, as the brief did not appear to be very authentic, and it was already reported that the Pope would decide the dispute between Alfonso Carafa and the Cardinal Camerlengo in favour of the latter.[4]

[1] See ANCEL, Disgrâce, 81.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 18 *seq.* The date given by ANCEL (p. 83) viz. April 2, is erroneous.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 145b. Vatican Library).

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of April 13 and 27, 1560, *ibid.*, pp. 149, 151b.

In this state of affairs a great deal depended upon the attitude of the King of Spain, and he could not think of putting the interests of the Carafa before those of Marcantonio Colonna, who was entirely devoted to him. Nor was this the only thing to be considered. According to the principle that unreliable confederates and dangerous opponents should be destroyed while there was yet time, the suppression and, if possible, the destruction of the family which had brought about such a severe struggle with the Holy See under Paul IV., seemed to him to be the policy to be followed.[1] Fabrizio di Sangro and Ottaviano Raverta received undecisive answers, which showed plainly enough that the Spanish king paid much more attention to the advice of Cardinal Santa Fiora than to that of Francisco Vargas.[2] When the Count of Tendilla,[3] the ambassador extraordinary of Philip II., arrived in Rome on May 12th, for the *obedientia* ceremony, the true state of the king's mind was seen even more clearly. In contrast to Vargas, who still worked for the Carafa with undiminished zeal, Tendilla displayed a marked indifference towards the nephews of Paul IV. He had at first taken up his residence at the Spanish embassy with Vargas, but afterwards, at the express wish of the Pope, removed to the Belvedere.[4] There he repeatedly had secret conferences with

[1] This is justly pointed out by HILLIGER, p. 15.

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 14, 15, 5 *seq.*; DURUY, 410 *seq.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 83 *seq.*; RIESS, 309 *seq.*

[3] Alba would have liked his son sent to Rome as ambassador. Had he succeeded in this the enmity of the Duke for the Carafa would have been very disadvantageous to that family, as Giulio Grandi points out in his *report of March 13, 1560 (State Archives, Modena). Tendilla proved, indeed, just as great an opponent of the Carafa; it was evident that he was acquainted with the secret intentions of Philip II. Concerning Tendilla *cf.* CONSTANT, Rapport, 276 *seq*

[4] *Cf.* Vargas' *reports of May 15 and 20, 1560, used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 84. The *Avvisi di Roma of May 17 and 21, announce that Tendilla was "allogiato a spese di S.Sta in Belvedere con infinite carezze" (Urb. 1039, p. 158b, Vatican Library). Con-

Pius IV., and shrewd observers were quick to conclude that negotiations prejudical to the Carafa were taking place.[1] There can, indeed, be no doubt that not only the enemies of the Carafa in Rome, but Philip II. as well, were at that time inciting the Pope[2] to take decisive steps against the nephews of Paul IV., and that their efforts were meeting with success. Pius IV., however, was careful not to let his altered frame of mind appear, and he explained this later on by saying that he wished to prevent the flight of the Carafa. The latter were able, therefore, to lull themselves with a false sense of security, indeed, their confidence was so complete that they even dared to challenge their enemies, for it can only be so described when the Duke of Paliano commenced a law-suit in Gallese against Marcantonio Colonna on the ground of an alleged attempt at poisoning him. Pius IV. appeared to give sanction to this proceeding by ordering a commissary to go to Gallese.[3]

Cardinal Carafa had not the slightest idea at the beginning of June how near his enemies were to attaining their end, although the altered state of affairs did not escape the notice of the diplomatists. That keen observer, the Venetian ambassador, informed the Doge at that time that Tendilla was always conferring in secret with the Pope, without the knowledge of Vargas or the Spanish Cardinals, concerning the matter of compensation for Paliano, a question which was developing to the disadvantage of the Carafa; that Marcantonio was successfully arranging his sister's marriage with Annibale Altemps, and that Colonna's mother was shortly returning to Rome. To this was added the fateful news that Vargas, the friend of the Carafa, was not in favour

cerning the *obedientia* ceremony on May 16, 1560, see *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 21, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, *reports of Mula and Mocenigo of May 20, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna), and Boss, 66.

[1] *Cf.* Ancel, Disgrâce, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Hilliger, 15.

[3] *Cf.* Ancel, Disgrâce, 88, who justly dismisses the statements of Duruy (p. 318) as fanciful.

with the Pope nor at the Curia.[1] The Florentine ambassador announces at the same time the great zeal shown by Pallantieri in collecting evidence against the Carafa, "As the Imperialists," he adds, "show neither in deeds nor in words any consideration for Cardinal Carafa, one cannot but fear for his future."[2]

The Cardinal himself feared nothing. He was fully persuaded that the Pope would arrange that he should be fully compensated, for he owed to him his election. Cardinal Carafa, announces Mula, rejoices that Philip II. lent no willing ear to his enemies; he dined with Borromeo on June 3rd, and appears in very good spirits.[3]

Cardinal Carlo Carafa's answer to his brother Giovanni, dated June 1st, when he had consulted him about his return to Rome, also expresses great confidence. In this letter the Cardinal thinks that although Philip II. has given no decisive answer, they may nevertheless hope that the matter of compensation will be satisfactorily settled, all the more because the Pope shows the greatest desire for this; the Duke is quite at liberty to come to Rome.[4]

The feeling of confidence entertained by Cardinal Carafa was not even shaken when Pius IV., after the arrest on May 27th of Cardinal del Monte, who had stained his purple with blood, made the remark: "We have not yet come to the end."[5] This hint inspired Cardinal Carafa with as little

[1] **Letter of June 1, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

[2] *Letter of G. B. Ricasoli to Cosimo I. of May 30, 1560 (State Archives, Florence), translated in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 82. On June 1, 1560, Ricasoli *announces that Gabrio Serbelloni has told him: "che il papa è stato come resoluto quando fù carcerato Monte di darli *Carafa in compagnia* et che di questo era certo, ma di poi *a intercessione non sa di chi* li pare si *sia poi mutato*" (that in italics is in cypher). State Archives, Florence.

[3] **Report of Mula of June 7, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

[4] See the actual text of the letter (Papal Secret Archives) in Appendix No. 4.

[5] See the *reports of the Florentine ambassador of May 30 and June 6, 1560 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce,

fear as the fact that the old enemy of his house, Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna, who had been obliged to fly in disguise from Rome four years before, now made a triumphal entry into the city, many of the Romans, including the guard and the relatives of the Pope, going to meet her. On the following day she had an audience of ceremony.[1]

On June 6th the Duke of Paliano also ieturned to Rome. In consequence of favourable news from Spain both he and his brother the Cardinal were in the best of spirits ; in the evening they amused themselves with music and dancing in the company of loose women.[2]

A secret consistory had been arranged to take place in the Vatican on the morning of June 7th.[3] This was held in the apartment situated between the Appartimento Borgia and the Sala Ducale, which is now called the Sala Guardaroba. The Cardinals were awaiting the appearance of the Pope when Aurelio Spina, a chamberlain of Cardinal Borromeo,

89 *seq.* The arrest of del Monte, according to Massarelli, in MERKLE, II., 345, was " ob duo homicidia suis manibus perpetrata in civitate Nucerina in Umbria, in personam scilicet patris et filii ibi magistri cursorum, dum sede vacante Pauli IV. ex Venetiis Urbem citatis equis reverteretur." See also Mula's *reports of May 27, June 1, and July 20, 1560. *Cf.* further the *Avvisi di Roma of June 1, 15, and 29 (Urb. 1039, pp. 162, 169, 176, Vatican Library) and Mula's *reports of May 27 and 31, and June 1, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

[1] See the *report of G. B. Ricasoli of June 5, 1560, State Archives Florence. *Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 165a, Vatican Library). MASSARELLI, 346. Concerning the flight of Giovanna, see Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 111.

[2] See in Appendix No. 7, the *Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1560 (Vatican Library).

[3] See for what follows, Ricasoli's *report of June 7, 1560, in Appendix No. 6. *Cf.* *Acta consist. Cancell., VIII, 38, and *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 22b (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, Appendix No. 5) further MASSARELLI, 346 ; BONDONUS, 534 *seq.* ; the report of the Portuguese ambassador of June 12, 1560 in the Corpo. dipl. Portug., VIII., 470, *seq.* : POGIANI Epist., II., 220 ; correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 172 *seq.*

announced to Cardinal Carafa that His Holiness wished to speak to him. The Cardinal, in joyful expectation, followed the chamberlain by a secret staircase to the Papal Hall of Audience, where the groom of the chambers then on duty requested him to wait. Soon afterwards Cardinal Alfonso Carafa also arrived, whereupon the Captain of the Papal Guard, Gabrio Serbelloni, appeared, and announced that they were both under arrest. While Alfonso obeyed in silence, Carlo cried out boldly: "This is the reward for my valuable services!" Both Cardinals were at once conducted by the secret passage to the Castle of St. Angelo.

The Governor of Rome and the Procurator-Fiscal proceeded at the same time, accompanied by numerous police, to the Palazzo Carafa in the Piazza Navona, where they presented the Duke of Paliano with a warrant for his arrest, and then took him also to the Castle of St. Angelo. The same morning similar treatment was given to all the intimates and particular friends of the two Cardinals. Among the associates of Carlo, this fate befell Cesare Brancaccio, his secretary, Urbino, his majordomo and four of his attendants, whilst among the intimates of Cardinal Alfonso, his secretary, Paolo Filonardo, and three other members of his household were arrested. The Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine also fell into the hands of the police, but some few, such as the Bishop of Civita di Penna, Vico de'Nobili, and Matteo Stendardi, succeeded in escaping. The Marquis of Montebello was in Naples at the time. After the arrests, all the papers of the Carafa, even the ordinary housekeeping books, were seized; they filled seven or eight chests.

When the Florentine ambassador brought the news of the arrest of their two colleagues, of which he had been a witness, to the Cardinals assembled in the Hall of Consistories, there at once arose a murmuring and whispering, while astonishment and fear took possession of all present. Several, like Cardinal Vitelli, endeavoured to conceal their dismay, but Este and others did not hide their displeasure. When Pius IV. at last appeared, it could clearly be seen from his expression how pleased he was that the affair had succeeded

so well. The communication which he made to the Cardinals concerning what had taken place, was limited to a bare statement of facts. On the following day, however, he was all the more communicative to the ambassadors, Vargas and Tendilla, who had been invited to dine with him, the case being discussed both before and after the meal. The Pope set forth the crimes of the nephews of Paul IV. in great detail, laying special stress on their scandalous and unjust attempt to stir up strife against Charles V. The two Spanish ambassadors were invited to convince themselves, by an examination of the documents, of the falsity of the accusations made at the time, especially of the intrigues set on foot by Cardinal Carafa, and of the purely imaginary plot of the Imperialists to poison Paul IV., by means of which the Pope was incited to break with Spain. The Pope also laid stress on the fact that Cardinal Carafa had, besides all this, been guilty of numerous murders, violations and other crimes; that Cardinal Alfonso had obtained possession of money and valuables at the time of the death of Paul IV. by means of forged briefs; that the Duke of Paliano had committed atrocities, robberies and acts of injustice of every kind during his uncle's reign, and had murdered his wife during the vacancy in the Holy See. Such crimes must not remain unpunished.[1] Pius IV. expressed himself in a like manner to the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors.[2]

The greater number of the Cardinals disapproved of the strong measures adopted by the Pope against two members of the Sacred College, from a feeling of *esprit de corps*. Carpi, Este, and Farnese[3] were the most outspoken in expressing

[1] The *reports of Vargas and Tendilla of June 10, 1560, which are not given in Döllinger, are in the Simancas Archives, and are used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 91 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Mula of June 8 (State Archives, Venice), and that of Ricasoli of June 10, 1560 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* ANCEL, 92.

[3] *Questa cattura di sig. Carafa più che a tutti gli altri rev^mi per varie ragioni è dispiaciuta a Carpi, Ferrara et Farnese. *Report of G. B. Ricasoli of June 8, 1560 (State Archives, Florence).

their displeasure, and on various grounds. They, however, were almost alone in taking up this attitude. The Roman people, for the most part, were of opinion that, in view of the undoubted guilt of the Carafa, the Pope was thoroughly justified in proceeding thus severely against them ; there was a feeling of universal joy that at last punishment was to overtake the family. The Carafa, writes Cardinal Truchsess,[1] have many accusers, but few defenders. Cardinal Alfonso, whom most people considered innocent, was the only one to receive any sympathy, but the Romans were so filled with hatred for the other members of the family that they wished to light a bonfire on the Capitol, but this the Pope forbade.[2] Outside the Eternal City, also, people learned with pleasure of the proceedings of Pius IV. against the Carafa. In strictly religious circles, people saw in their imprisonment a well-deserved punishment from heaven for the grave injury they had inflicted on the Church.[3]

[1] Besides Ricasoli's *report of June 7, 1560 (see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 91) *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of June 8, which states : " Pochi sono che non se rallegrino della prigionia delli Caraffi, massimamente il populo Romano, già di loro tanto offeso " (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library). See also the letter of Camillo Borromeo in the Arch. stor. Lomb., XIX. (1903). 357 n. and that of G. Salvago in the Atti Lig., XIII, 763, as well as the correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 172-3.

[2] Giovan Maria Gonzaga writes on June 8 from Rome to the Duke of Mantua : *In cambio di far card^li^ hieri S.Sta mandò Caraffa et Napoli in castello, et questo fu anche in cambio de fare concistorio dove erano venuti ; medemamente vi fu menato il ducha de Paliano et quale era in case de Caraffa et vi era venuto soramente et senza salvo condotto. Molti signori et dependenti di questi sig^ri^ Caraffi sono stati posti pregione. Hanno scritto tutte le robe de li dui rev^mi^, et si dice che in casa de Napoli vi era una gran quantità de gioie et da vinti millia scudi. La presa di Caraffa è piaciuta a tutti generalmente et maxime alli Romani, quali se non le fusse stato vietato da S. Sta volevano far fuochi in Campidoglio per demostracione de l'alegrezza. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Seripando in MERKLE, II., 460.

The legal proceedings against the prisoners were entrusted to Girolamo de Federicis as Governor of Rome, and to the Procurator-Fiscal, Alessandro Pallantieri. Both were declared enemies of the Carafa, and they immediately set to work with the greatest zeal. Investigations were carried on not only in Rome, but also at Gallese and Naples; in the latter city, two chests of documents, which Cardinal Carafa had hidden there, were seized.[1]

The opening of the arraignment, which was based upon an examination of the material that had been collected, took place, by means of a Papal Motu Proprio, on July 1st;[2] a second Motu Proprio, that of July 5th, ordered that Cardinals Cesi, Cueva, Saraceni, Puteo, Cicada, Bertrand, Urbino and Cornaro should be present at the special inquiry and trial of the accused Cardinals, to watch over the proceedings, and to see that the proper judicial forms were observed.[3] The inquiry itself was to be entirely in the hands of Federicis and Pallantieri. The notary associated with them was Luys de Torres, a Spaniard of the confraternity of S. Girolamo della Carità, who had the interests of the accused at heart.[4]

The principal crimes to be laid to the charge of the Duke of Paliano were the murders of Capece and the Duchess, while Cardinals Carlo and Alfonso were accused of having promoted the cruel proceedings against Violante by consent or incitement. Cardinal Carlo was also accused of several murders which belonged in part to the time of his life as a soldier, but above all, of having, while he was the director

[1] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 97; ANCEL, Secrétairerie, 40, Disgrâce, 92 *seq.*, and Nonciat. de France, I., viii.

[2] See the *original text in the Papal Secret Archives in Appendix No. 8.

[3] *Motu Proprio 'Nuper' ven. fratri Hieronymo episc. Sagonensi, dated July 5, 1560 (Lib. iur., 493, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 96 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1560, states: "Il card. Carafa ha dimandato per suo giudice il card. Borromeo havendo per sospetto il governatore et fiscale" (Urb. 1039, p. 211, Vatican Library).

[4] ANCEL, Disgrâce, 97.

of the policy of Paul IV., induced that Pope, as well as France, by means of falsehood and deceit, to wage the unhappy war against Spain. All three accused were also charged with having been guilty of great frauds in the administration of the States of the Church. Carlo and the Duke would also have to answer for grave misuse of their authority, especially in the administration of justice, and Cardinal Alfonso for unlawful personal enrichment at the time of the death of Paul IV.

The trial of the accused began in the Castle of St. Angelo on July 8th, and lasted for fully three months.[1] While

[1] The original documents of the proceedings against the Carafa were burned after having been revised by Pius V. (detailed account in a future volume of this work). No copies are in existence. A summary, however, prepared under Pius V., has been preserved under the title of *Scripta varia in causa card. Carafa [e] in the Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. XI., 114 (copies: Vatic., 7450, Barb. lat., 5752, and one in the Library at Cortona). Besides these there is the *Liber iurium coram r^mo^ gubernatore . . . contra ill. et r^mos^ dom. card. Carolum Carafam, Alphonsum Neapolit., Leonardum de Cardine. Ferrant. Garlonium et complices, Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. X., 197 (imperfect copies in the State Archives, Rome), which contains the originals of the compromising documents which were seized by order of Pius IV., and were used in formulating the accusation. The *Lettere repetite pro parte card. Caraffe in eius causa contra Fiscum are in the Cod. Ottob., 2348, p. 286-427, the *Acta of the defenders of the Carafa and their records are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives at the end of the Codex Miscell., XI., 114, *ibid.* in Codex I. 130, pp. 15-29 of the Fonds Borghese (Scritture dello studio del s^or^ Marc Antonio Borghese sulla causa Romana excessum a difesa delli cardinali Carlo et Alfonso Carafa e del duca di Paliano) and in the Barb. lat., 3630 (Papers for the defence of Cardinal Alfonso Carafa).—*Cf.* ANCEL, Secrét., 41 *seq.* and Disgrâce, 3-11, and Nonciat. de France, I., x *seq.* Ancel was the first to give a complete survey and a clear description of the material and sources, which substantially completes and corrects the very incomplete statements of GORI (Archivio II.) DURUY (p. 413 *seq.*), and CRISTOFORI (Il pontificato di Paolo IV. ed i Carafa suoi nipoti: Miscell. stor. Romana, 1883). The discovery of the

Cardinal Alfonso was collected and calm from the first,[1] Carlo Carafa displayed all his old arrogance. He was still hoping for help from the Spanish king, whose ambassador, Francisco Vargas, came forward as his staunch friend.[2] This, however, could avail him very little, since Vargas, by his importunate and provocative manner, had made himself very unpopular with the Pope.[3] The French ambassador interested himself on behalf of the Duke of Paliano, whom Vargas had deserted.

The confidence of Carlo Carafa in the Spanish king was by no means justified, but all the more zealous were the efforts of Vargas on his behalf.[4] This diplomatist, to whom Pius IV. had, just at that time, on a certain occasion, markedly shown

documents in the Papal Secret Archives mentioned above is also due to Ancel; it has, however, escaped him that the Articoli XIV. pro fisco contra card. Carafam, which often appear in manuscript (e.g. Inf. polit., II., 465 *seq.* Library, Berlin; Urb. 853, p. 410 *seq.*, Vatican Library; Cod. 44—B—13 p. 276 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome, and in an unsigned Codex of the Bibl. d. Soc. stor. patria at Naples) had already been printed in 1731 by HOFFMANN, Nova script. collectio I., 599 *seq.*, a fact which RANKE (Päpste, I., 209) has also overlooked. The Instrumentum transportationis, assignationis et quietantiae scripturarum Causae contra Carafen. ex officio criminali rev. d. Urbis gubernat. ad arcem S. Angeli de mandato SS^mi^ Patris, dated January 7, 1562, in the Bolett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., XXXV. (1915), 1.

[1] *Napoli si governa con molta prudentia et religione. Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1560, Urb. 1039, p. 175b (Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* Mula's *reports, especially that of June 29, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 17 and 24, 1560 (Urb. 1039, pp. 274, 276b, Vatican Library).

[4] *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 140 *seqq.* Concerning the intercession of the French ambassador, see also the *Avviso di Roma of August 17, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 191b). An *Avviso of November 23, 1560, tells of the intercession of Cosimo (Urb. 1039, p. 219). Among the other princes who interceded (see *Avviso of September 28, 1560, Urb. 1039, p. 204b, Vatican Library) was the Duke of Bavaria; see STEINHERZ, II., 397.

his disfavour,[1] met with no success, as Cardinal Carafa answered all questions merely by protests and denials. As to his actions before the time of his cardinalate, he appealed to the brief of absolution of Paul IV., and for his later acts to the article of the election capitulation, which only allowed a prosecution at law of a Cardinal, in cases of heresy, schism or high treason.[2] His attitude was as full of challenge as if he had been one of the judges, instead of a prisoner on his trial.[3]

The position of Carlo Carafa was much aggravated by the discovery in July of some very compromising documents concerning his relations with the Turks and the Lutheran Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg. A Motu Proprio of July 18th decreed that the case now fell under the head of heresy. Ghislieri was now added to the number of the Cardinals acting as assessors,[4] but in consequence of his protracted

[1] It was a question of the protection of a baker, against whom proceedings were to be taken for giving false weight. In order to pacify Pius IV., as an *Avviso di Roma of July 13 relates, Vargas had repeatedly sought an audience. As this was not granted him, he threw himself at the Pope's feet when he met him by chance, and begged for his blessing. Pius IV. said to him, angrily: "Levatevi et non m' impedite la strada." Vargas again begged his blessing, and the Pope answered: "Date prima in mano della justitia tutti quelli ch' hanno fatto quest' insulto alla corte," whereupon Vargas remarked: "Come lo posso dare se sono fuggiti?" At last the Pope did give him his blessing (Urb. 1039, pp. 181b-2, Vatican Library). According to the *report of Mula, of July 12, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives), it was a case of the protection of a painter. Vargas remained steadily in disfavour. On September 12, 1560, Ricasoli *states: Tendilla is very much liked by the Pope, and his nephew, but the opposite is the case with Vargas (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See Ancel, Disgrâce, 98 *seq.*

[3] See the letter of Gabr. Salvago of July 20, 1560 in the Atti Lig., XIII., 762.

[4] *Motu Proprio "Cum nuper," dated July 5, 18, 1560 (Lib. iur. p. 495, Papal Secret Archives). See further Mula's *report of July 6, 1560 (State Library, Vienna), and the *Avvisi di Roma of July 20 and 27, 1560 (Urb. 1039, pp. 175b, 184, Vatican Library).

absence from Rome, he took no actual part in the trial.[1]

The report that Carlo Carafa would be forced to a confession by means of torture was repeatedly current in the Curia, but nothing more was done than to make his imprisonment more rigorous in the last week of July. Till then he had had two rooms at his disposal, and had been allowed to receive numerous visits. These privileges were now withdrawn.[2] He then sought to obtain a mitigation of his imprisonment by feigning illness, but the Papal physician, Simone Pasqua, who was sent to him, soon discovered that it was only a case of pretence.[3] This appears to have somewhat broken down the obstinacy of the prisoner. The Venetian ambassador reports on August 24th: "The process, which the Pope has more at heart than anything else, is being carried on with the greatest zeal; interrogations of the prisoners take place every day, morning and evening; the authenticity of the handwriting and seal of Albert of Brandenburg have been proved, whereupon Cueva has advised Carafa to give up lying, to acknowledge his guilt, throw himself on the mercy of the Pope, and think of the salvation of his soul." Carafa, as we are informed by Mula, now caused Pius IV. to be informed that as a man of the world and a soldier, he had been guilty of many things, but that he cast himself upon his mercy, and that he had not even the means of providing for his bare support. The answer of Pius IV. was to the effect that he was now suffering nothing

[1] Ghislieri had betaken himself to his see of Mondovi on June 28, 1560 (see MAFFEI, 52), and he appears to have remained there until the autumn.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 175b, Vatican Library), and the reports of Ricasoli of July 20 and 21, in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 100. An *Avviso of September 7, 1560, related that Pius IV. had angrily answered a remark of Cardinal Puteo to the effect that he did not find it in accordance either with law or reason that the 'corda' should be applied in the case of Carafa, by saying: "che di qui inanzi non haverebbe più carico d' haver il suo esamine et che non se ne dovesse più impacciare" (Urb. 1039, p. 198, Vatican Library).

[3] See the *report of Ricasoli of July 25, 1560 (State Archives, Florence).

which he had not brought upon himself, that he could promise him nothing, but that he would take care that he did not come to want.[1]

The Cardinal suffered no torture, either owing to the fact that it was considered impossible to force him by that means to an admission of his guilt, or because, which is much more likely, several of the Cardinals, especially Cueva, protested against such a procedure.[2] The prisoner again took courage when he escaped torture, and still hoped that the King of Spain would save him. In Rome, where the case of the Carafa had been the great topic of the day, interest in the long drawn-out trial gradually began to flag.[3]

Only at the end of September did the special enquiry approach its end. The documents were copied and a special envoy was to convey a full summary to Philip II.[4] The

[1] See Mula's *letter of Aug. 24, 1560 (a garbled translation in RIESS, 412), Court Library, Vienna. · On August 24, 1560, Giulio Grandi *wrote concerning the affair of the Carafa: "Tiensi che hormai non anderano più molto alla longa et credesi fermamente che Carafa et il duca la farà molto male. Napoli non tanto" (State Archives, Modena). The Portuguese ambassador wrote in the same sense; *cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 34. See also Correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 200 *seq.* Mula *reported on August 31: "D. Geremia [Isachino; *cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 223 *seg.*, and Ancel, Disgrâce, 141] di Chietini gionse qui già 4 giorni et parlò il giorno stesso che gionse al pontefice et n' è spedito, dicono che par informatione circa a Caraffa" (Court Library, Vienna).

[2] According to an *Avviso of August 31, 1560, Cardinal Carafa, when threatened with torture, is said to have answered: "che sa molto bene che si vogliono satiar del suo sangue et che faccino quello che vogliono, che di lui non caveranno mai altro di più di quello ch' anno cavato fin all' hora essendo nato cavaliere et cardinale d' honore;" therefore they hesitated to apply the torture, thinking it would be useless (Urb. 1039, p. 194, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *letter of Mula of July 20, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna); PALLAVICINI, 14, 15, 13 and *infra* p. 160.

[3] See the *letters of Mula of September 7 and 14, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

[4] HINOJOSA, 129; ANCEL, Disgrâce, 101, 129.

results of this special enquiry were as follows: Cardinal Alfonso Carafa appears to have enriched himself in an unlawful manner, at the expense of the Holy See, at the time of the death of Paul IV., and to have had a brief drawn up in his favour without the dying Pope having been aware of the matter. Moreover, he was accused of having approved of the murder of the Duchess of Paliano. This dreadful act was the principal accusation against the Duke of Paliano, Lionardo di Cardine, and the Count d'Alife. The greatest number of accusations, no fewer than twenty-two, were those brought against Carlo Carafa. Everything had been collected, and investigations made as far back as his earliest years.[1]

Carlo Carafa protested against any inquiries being made concerning the crimes of his life as a soldier; he appealed to the brief of absolution which Paul IV. had given him before his appointment as Cardinal. It was more difficult for him to defend himself against those other accusations which belonged to the time of his cardinalate, especially that of the attempted murder of Domenico de' Massimi. No guilt could be proved against him as to the murder of Capece; this concerned only the Duke of Paliano and his two accomplices. It was otherwise, however, with regard to the murder of the Duchess; as to this it was clearly proved that Carlo had been an accessory, still, however crushing the proofs adduced might be, he obstinately entrenched himself against them by systematic lying. Further accusations were to the effect that Carlo had been guilty of heresy. The incidents adduced against him from the time of his life as a soldier were of no account in this respect, but authentic documents proved the relations of the Cardinal with the Protestant Margrave, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg. Carlo had to admit them, but maintained that in this case, as well as in his dealings with the Turks, he had only acted as the tool of his uncle. He made use of a similar defence with regard to other political accusations, which laid the blame for the whole of the blunders of Paul IV. upon his shoulders. All this was, however, of no

[1] See ANCEL, 101 *seqq.*

avail ; although eight items of the prosecution were withdrawn in the course of the investigation, there still remained fourteen, and those the gravest, to be answered. The root of the accusation lay in the wicked and repeated misuse of his official position in the field of politics, as well as his conduct in the murder of Violante. On the ground of a similar misuse of his political influence, the Duke of Paliano was also accused of having been guilty of high treason.[1] The fact that this aspect of the case was emphasized, caused the whole proceedings to become a political trial, with a very decided bias.

The choice of prejudiced judges effected the rest, and thus it may well have happened that crimes were attributed to the accused of which they were innocent. With justice did Cardinal Carafa protest against the charge that he had kept the secret agreement of Cave from his uncle's knowledge, nor was it true when the Procurator Fiscal represented Paul IV. as having always been a peaceably disposed Pope. It was certainly unjust to attribute the whole responsibility for the war-like policy against Spain to Carafa. Nevertheless, a great part of the blunders of those days could be traced to him, and it was he, too, who had made war inevitable ; while Paul IV. was following out idealistic aims, it is beyond doubt that his nephew was principally animated by selfish motives. Yet, however great may have been the influence exercised by the prejudice of the judges during the trial, and although Cardinal Carafa may have been accused of things of which he was innocent, or only partly guilty, there still remained enough to justify very strict measures being taken against him.[2]

On October 5th a copy of the reports of the trial was conveyed to Cardinal Carafa. In such cases the law required that prisoners on trial should have twenty days to prepare their defence, a period which might be extended by fifteen, and again by ten days more. For this purpose a copy of the minutes of the proceedings must be given them. The prisoners

[1] See the excellent details in ANCEL, *loc. cit.*, 102 *seq.*, 118 *seq.*, 141.

[2] *Cf.* ANCEL, Disgrâce, 180-1.

were also allowed to hold conversations, not only with their defenders, but also with their friends, and to arrange for further examinations of witnesses; all this, however, must be done in the presence of a notary.[1]

Among the advocates of the Carafa there was in the first place the celebrated Marcantonio Borghese, who had also skilfully defended Cardinal Morone against the accusations of the Inquisition.[2] Besides him, others were also appointed, of whom the Neapolitan, Felice Scalaleone, appears to have been the most active and fearless.[3] The detailed legal opinions in which these jurists elucidated the accusations brought against the Carafa are still in existence; ten of them deal with the defence of each of the two Cardinals, and eight others with that of the Duke of Paliano. The easiest defence was that of Cardinal Alfonso; the most that could be proved against him was that he had kept silence at the murder of the Duchess Violante, the enrichment after the death of Paul IV. not having overstepped the limits of what was usual in such cases.[4]

As far as the political accusations made against Carlo Carafa were concerned, whereby he had jeopardized the highest interests of the Church, the efforts of the defence were concentrated upon proving that the Cardinal, as the chief minister of Paul IV., had only carried out the Pope's intentions, great stress being also laid upon the extraordinarily wide authority, free from all control, which "from time immemorial" had

[1] See ANCEL, *loc. cit.*, 129 *seq.* According to an *Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1560, seven advocates were appointed for Cardinal Carafa (Urb. 1039, p. 206b, Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 305. A letter from Cardinal C. Carafa to Borghese in DURUY, 418.

[3] *E qui un avvocato di Napoli, huomo di gran stima in quell' essercitio, il quale scrive et parla assai liberamente, reported Mula on October 26, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna). At the beginning of February, 1561, Scalaleone threatened to go away; see *Avviso di Roma of February 1, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 245b, Vatican Library).

[4] See ANCEL, Disgrâce, 141 *seq.*

been granted to a cardinal nephew. This point, as well as others upon which the defence laid much stress, was open to discussion, but all their skill did not succeed in absolving Carlo from the guilt of having been an accessory to the murder of the Duchess of Paliano. Extenuating circumstances, especially the exaggerated ideas of honour prevalent in Naples, were brought forward on behalf of the Duke, both for this and for the murder of Capece, the guilt of Violante being taken for granted, though it was by no means proved.[1]

The advocates were not the only persons who were working for the prisoners, several members of the Sacred College taking up their case, as for example, Carpi, who, on October 25th, at the beginning of the consistory, raised a great many objections to the proceedings against the Carafa, and loudly demanded justice. Pius IV. defended his action in excited words.[2] Again, when Cosimo I. came to Rome, and had long secret conversations with the Pope, the affair of the Carafa is certain to have been discussed. On November 10th Francesco Tonina definitely informed the Duke of Mantua that Cosimo had interceded for the prisoners.[3] In Rome many people believed that on this account the trial would end in

[1] See *ibid.*, 131 *seqq.*, 139 *seq.*

[2] See in Appendix No. 11 the *report of Mula of October 26, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna). Cardinal Cesi had previously specially interceded for Carafa; see Atti Lig., XIII., 762.

[3] Cosimo, says Tonina's *letter of November 10, 1560, is said to have handed the Pope a petition in favour of the Carafa, "ma è generale opinione che anzi facci secretamente ufficio con loro" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cosimo had in reality done nothing of consequence for the Carafa, and indeed had perhaps worked definitely against them. Even at that time people were inclined to explain this by saying that the Duke sought in this manner to evade payment of the sum of money which he is said to have promised Cardinal Carafa for the election of Medici. See Gnoli, Nuova Antol., XIX. (1872), 816 *seq.*, and Riess, 407 *seq.*, who, however, goes too far in his deductions. The intercession of Cosimo for Cardinal del Monte, in whose behalf he was working as early as August, was sincere; see the *letter of Mula of August 3, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

their favour.[1] This view, however, soon proved to be erroneous. The defence of the Duke of Paliano against the accusation of wife-murder, made by his advocate on November 16th, before the Pope and the appointed Cardinals, was a complete failure.[2] On November 23rd it was an open secret that the attempts to remove the prejudiced Federicis from the conduct of the case had proved ineffectual.[3] The wife of Cosimo is reported to have said, on her departure from Rome, that she was leaving the city in order not to be present at the tragedy of the Carafa. On December 14th, Francesco Tonina reported, on the strength of a conversation with the Procurator Fiscal, Pallantieri, that the decision was imminent; twelve notaries were engaged in copying extracts from the minutes of the trial, so that these could be handed to each Cardinal; after Christmas two congregations of Cardinals would be held in order to decide the sentence which would be pronounced upon the Cardinal and the Duke by the Pope himself, and upon the others by the Governor.[4]

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of November 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 214, Vatican Library).

[2] *Hoggi si è lungamente udito il governatore com' avogadore d' avanti il pontefice e cardinali deputati, accusando il duca di Palliano con assai vive ragioni dell' homicidio della moglie, e l' avocato del duca rispondendo con assai triste ragioni, per quanto intendo; e si è concluso che si metta in scrittura, accio che il mondo intenda śopra la giustitia che si ha da fare; e del duca predetto non se ne pronostica se non male. Mula on November 16, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna).

[3] *Avviso di Roma of November 23, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 219, Vatican Library).

[4] *Li Caraffi s' hanno per ispediti et questa mattina sendo io col fiscale del Palantieri, m' ha detto che non s' attende ad altro che alla ispeditione, et duodeci notari non fanno altro che scrivere li sommarii delli processi, de quai sommarii si ne hanno a dare a ciascun card^le^ per ciascuno uno, et di qua da Natale s' hanno per quanto ho inteso da far due congregationi, nelle quali si spediranno. Li dui card^li^ sarranno giudicati dal Papa istesso et insieme il duca di Paliano, gli altri poi dal governatore, et ancora che si credi che si debba commutare la pena della vita in carcere perpetuo, non

Tonina was very well informed, for the congregations he speaks of were held in the second week of January, 1561. The Pope, who devoted from three to four hours daily to the study of the minutes of the trial, again gave audience to the advocates of the Carafa ; the latter appeared to be very much depressed, and people in general looked for a result unfavourable to the prisoners, even to the Cardinal ; banishment for life at the least seemed to be his fate.[1] Owing to his long imprisonment, Carlo Carafa was hardly in a position to continue the payment of his necessary subsistence, as he, like all other prisoners of this class, had to support himself. A Mantuan correspondent gives details of the miserable condition of this once so proud and tyrannical family, and recalls the arrogance of the Cardinal during the recent conclave.[2]

At a consistory on January 15th, 1561, the Procurator Fiscal, Pallantieri, reported the conclusion of the proceedings, and begged the Pope to order the Governor of the city to present his final report, at the next consistory, as to the crimes of which the accused had been found guilty as a result of the investigation : sentence would then follow. Pius IV. agreed,

di meno si va discorrendo che quella gli debba durar poco, et perchè queste cose vengono di bocca et di loro che può saper qualche cosa, si giudica che gia sia risoluto il tutto, benchè non sia antora data la sentenza (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Correspondence of Card. O. Truchsess, 229, 231.

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 11, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 204b-1, Vatican Library).

[2] In Fr. Tonina's *letter to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, January 15, 1561, he says, concerning the Carafa : " Sono essi tutti ridotti a tanta miseria, a quanto questi dì mi narrava la madre del card^le^ Vitelli,che muoiono di fame, a tale che il card^le^ ha venduto la tonicella, et con questi termini si ne passano la vita loro, questi che al tempo del zio erano tanto orgogliosi et superbi et particolarmente poi intendo il detto card^le^ ch' era nel conclave, come se li altri cardinali 'tutti fussero stati suoi servitori."(Conzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* in Appendix No. 12, the *report of Tonina of February 22, 1561. Bondonus relates, moreover, (p. 539) that he had visited Cardinal Carafa on January 15, 1561 and had remained to dinner with him.

and ordered that no other matter should be placed upon the agenda for the consistory, in view of the probable length of the report.[1] Almost two whole months passed before this meeting was held ; the reason for the delay is to be found in the letters which the Duke of Paliano addressed to the Pope from his prison in the Tor di Nona.[2]

The first of these letters is dated January 17th, 1561. In it the Duke begs for mercy for his young children, and at the same time makes certain revelations which he had hitherto concealed out of consideration for his brothers. These admissions concern the beginning of the conflict of Paul IV. with the Imperialists,[3] the suit against the Colonna, and, above all, the tragedy at Gallese. The Duke confesses as follows : " If I remember correctly, the letter brought to me by Captain Vico de' Nobili, contained the expression that the Cardinal had said that he would no longer acknowledge me as his brother if I did not clear myself from shame by means of the death of the Duchess. I showed this letter to Leonardo de Cardena, and we decided between ourselves that he should murder the Duchess at Sant' Eutichio, on the road from Gallese to Soriano. When Don Leonardo arrived at Soriano he found the Count d' Alife there, who was himself just on the point of carrying out the deed, but he prevented him from doing so. They then sent Bernardino Olario to me, to whom I made answer as is recorded in my first examination. I might have forbidden it, but said that I wanted to have nothing to do with the matter. It was my own wish to wait for my wife's confinement, and what I said was with the object of delaying the deed. Nevertheless, the Duchess was killed. When I learned of her death I was exceedingly grieved, and wept bitterly. In order to find consolation I sent to my painter, by name Moragna, a Spaniard living at Viterbo, and commissioned him to send the

[1] See Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, 38, and ANCEL, Disgrâce, 143.

[2] *Hiera l' altra, announces Giulio Grandi on January 16, 1561, the Duke of Paliano was taken from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Tor di Nona (State Archives, Modena).

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 94 *seq.*

father, Fra Pietro,[1] to me at Soriano, where I lay ill. The father came, and I excused myself to him for the death of the Duchess by saying that my honour in the eyes of the world had caused me to consent. What now follows, I do not say to justify myself, but only in the interests of truth. I had not ordered the death of the Duchess, but wished everyone to believe that I had allowed it to take place, merely out of consideration for my honour. I speak freely here, and not as one who is before a court of law; may this be held in my favour." The Duke also represented his brother as guilty in the matter of the galleys. In a second letter, dated February 6th, he gave yet further details concerning this affair and the law-suit against the Colonna, and here, likewise, he attributed all the guilt to the promptings of his brother. In this letter, signed merely with the name "Giovanni Carafa" no further allusion is made to the murder of the Duchess.[2] According to a report of Mula, the Duke, completely broken down by his eight months imprisonment, is even said to have expressed a wish that his obstinate brother, who still denied everything, should be forced to a confession by torture.[3] As a matter of fact, the instruments of torture were actually taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, but even this did not intimidate Carlo Carafa; his assertions grew bolder and more arrogant than ever.[4]

[1] One of the Capuchins who gave spiritual consolation to the Duchess at the time of her death; see *supra* p. 138.

[2] Both letters of the Duke of Paliano to the Pope are in the *Liber iurium (Papal Secret Archives; see note 1 *supra* p. 148) pp. 578-9, and 574-5. The first is printed in the Arch. stor. Ital., XII., 456-8, but with a small omission. The second letter, of February 6, 1561, is all in his own hand. In the first letter only the signature is by the Duke himself, and even this is not certain; perhaps the whole is merely a copy.

[3] According to Mula's *report of February 1, 1561, the Duke of Paliano is supposed to have said: "Se il cardinale sarà levato quattro dita di terra, confesserà ogni cosa" (Papal Secret Archives)

[4] *Fu portata la corda in Castello et ordinato che si fosse tormentato il card. Carafa, *ma non intendo che sia stato eseguito*, e quel cardinale parla altamente come prima e più ancora, reports

The second letter had hardly reached the hands of the Pope when another event occurred. During the night between February 7th and 8th, Cardinal Scipione Rebiba, who had enjoyed the special confidence of Paul IV., was arrested. He was accused of having grossly neglected his duty during his legation in the year 1556 by not having continued his journey to Brussels, of having extorted a brief concerning certain benefices from the dying Pope, and of having been accessory to the murder of the Duchess of Paliano, by sanctioning the proceedings of Carlo Carafa.[1] This new arrest caused the greatest sensation. Four members of the College of Cardinals were now in the Castle of St. Angelo, and it was expected that yet other Cardinals and prelates who had played an important part under Paul IV. would be called to account.[2] On February 21st it was reported that the advocates of the Carafa had appeared before the Pope and the Cardinals and had spoken with them for several hours. They complained bitterly of the biased conduct of the Procurator Fiscal and the Governor. Thereupon the Pope decided to go through the documents once more, saying that he wished to temper

Mula, on February 8, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* 443). It is therefore a mistake when Fr. Tonina, in a *letter of January 29, 1561, maintains that the Cardinal had been tortured. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso di Roma of February 15, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 252b, Vatican Library) makes the same statement. It was difficult to know the truth, for everything took place in the strictest secrecy; *Delli Carafa le cose vanno secretissime, writes Tonina on February 15, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] *Cf.* besides Mula's **report of February 8, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives) the *Avvisi di Roma of February 8 and 15, (Urb. 1039, pp. 251, 252b, Vatican Library) and the *letter of Vargas of February 15, 1561 (Simancas Archives) translated and commented on in Ancel, Disgrâce, 146 n. 3. See also Massarelli in Merkle, II., 351; Bondonus, 539, and the report of the Portuguese ambassador of February 16, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 184.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 8, 1561 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library).

justice with mercy.[1] The Duke of Paliano was, in the meantime, again brought from the Tor di Nona to the Castle of St. Angelo, evidently that he might be confronted with his brother. It was at once rumoured that two of the guards had been arrested, and it occasioned a still greater sensation when soldiers were secretly concentrated in the city.[2]

In these days of excitement the great creation of Cardinals took place which was connected with the fall of the Carafa. For a long time there had been talk of an increase of the Sacred College, and this took place quite unexpectedly on February 26th, 1561.[3] No less than eighteen Cardinals were appointed, among them such excellent men as Girolamo Seripando, Stanislaus Hosius, Ludovico Simonetta, Marcantonio Mula and Bernardo Navagero. These received the purple in con-

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1561 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 12, the *report of Fr. Tonina of February 22, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See PETRAMELLARIUS, 66 *seq.*; GIACONIUS, III., 905 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 9 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, 41 *seq.* Characteristics of the persons in question in Cod. Vat. 7248, p. 155 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Concerning the consistory, Fr. Tonina *reported on February 26, 1561, that "conflitti et controversie" had arisen therein, so that it only ended at the twenty-second hour of the night (*cf.* also Arco's *report in the State Archives, Vienna, mentioned by SICKEL, Konzil, 179). On the same day Tonina writes: *Il Papa è stato in pensiero solo di quattro o sei al più, poi di dieci et poi di tredici sino a questa mattina, et ultimamente si è risoluto de desdotto, a tal che hieri sera solo si trattò dell' abate di Gambara, ne prima vi era pensamento alcuno, et tutto hieri non si fece altro che far congregationi duplicate sopra il, patriarca d' Aquileia, il quale finalmente è stato escluso, sotto pretesto che già fu inquisito d' eresia de non so che articolo della giustificatione. Si è ragionato tutti dì anco che S.Sta si reservava in petto l'ill^{mo} S. Federico nostro fratello di V. Ecc. et alcuni anco dicevano che forse l' haveria potuto publicare, et da ciascuno era tenuto che dovesse ispedir prima la causa de Caraffi, come si havea ragionato nella congregatione, della causa loro, tutta via quasi un subito poi S. Sta si n' è spedita (Gonazga Archives, Mantua).

nection with the Council; in the case of the others, considerations of another kind led to their elevation. The appointments of Bernardo Salviati, and of the French ambassador, Babou de la Bourdaisière, were made to please the French government, while the elevation of Iñigo de Avalos de Aragon and of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle testified to a desire to please Philip II. It is very remarkable that Cosimo I. only succeeded in getting a very distant relative, the Spaniard, Francisco Pacheco, appointed. The lion's share in the creation was carried off by the party of the Gonzaga, who were inimical to the Carafa. Besides the nephew of Cardinal Ercole, the twenty-four-year-old Francesco Gonzaga, the following received the purple on February 26th: Ludovico Madruzzo, Luigi d'Este and the Pope's nephew, Mark Sittich von Hohenems, as well as Alfonso Gesualdo and Pier Francesco Ferreri, then nuncio in Venice, who were related to the Pope's nephew. On the other hand, however, the opponents of Gonzaga, the Farnese, who were so powerful owing to their connection with the court of Philip, received due consideration. Their interests were already served by the appointment of Granvelle and Iñigo de Avalos, but in addition to these, the new Cardinals, Girolamo da Correggio and the Bishop of Brescia, Francesco Gambara, were also among their faithful adherents.[1]

On February 27th, 1561, the last period allowed by the law of those days to the prisoners for their further defence, had expired. When the Pope went to the consistory on that date an advocate of the Carafa cast himself at the feet of His Holi-

[1] *Cf.* Hilliger, 18 *seq.*; Šusta, Kurie, II., 409; Herre, 66 *seq.*; Q. Bigi, Vita del card. G. da Correggio, 47 *seq.*, Milan, 1864. The red hat had already been prophesied for Francesco Gonzaga in 1558 (see Giorn. ligustico, 1887, 436 *seq.*). Pius IV. had, in an autograph letter, as early as June 18, 1560, secretly intimated to Luigi d'Este that he would create him cardinal (*Original in State Archives, Modena). In Min. bred., Arm., 44 t. 10, n. 30-40, are the *briefs to the newly appointed cardinals dated February 27, 1561; in that to Avalos the petition of Philip II. is remembered, and in that to Salviati, that of Catherine de' Medici (Papal Secret Archives).

ness and begged for mercy for his clients. The answer of Pius IV. was to the effect that he had better get out of his way.[1] At that time, as the Pope expressed it, there were four capital C's which gave him great anxiety: the Cardinals, the Carafa, the Council, and the Colonna.[2]

There now remained only one hope for the Carafa: the intervention of the Spanish king. Cardinal Carafa had counted on him from the first, all the more so as all the time Vargas had remained his firm friend. When the whole world had abandoned the unhappy man, the ambassador had only held the more faithfully to him. He even dared, in covert terms, to reproach his king for his reserve,[3] but now, as at first, Philip took refuge in silence. The way in which he determined his attitude is evident from the significant words which he wrote to Tendilla on August 11th, 1560. In these he expresses the impatience with which he was awaiting the arrival of Santa Croce, who had started from Rome on July 14th, so that he might know what attitude he had better adopt, as, however anxious he might be to please the Pope, it would not be good policy on his part altogether to abandon Cardinal Carafa, lest he should be accused of ingratitude.[4] It was evident that the king did not wish to commit himself prematurely. Santa Croce disclosed to Philip II., in the name of Pius IV., that Raverta had gone too far in his recommendation of the Carafa, and that the Pope had been unable to communi-

[1] Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1561, in ANCEL, Disgrâce, 146 n. 5.

[2] *Dicono che S.Sta diceva haver quattro C grandi ch'l travagliavano la mente cioè: Cardinali, Caraffa, Concilio, Colonnesi. Letter of Fr. Tonina of February 28, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See ANCEL, 149-50; *Ibid.*, 147, concerning the intervention of France for the Duke of Paliano. Albert V. of Bavaria interceded for both the Cardinal and the Duke; see Correspondence of Card O. Truchsess, 211, 216, 218 *seq.*, 225 *seq.*, 233.

[4] See ANCEL, 150 n. 4. Concerning the mission of Santa Croce *cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., VIII., 483 *seq.*; IX., 9 *seq.*, 16 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 14, 15, 8; Miscell. d stor. Ital, V., 526 *seq.*; HINOJOSA, 121 *seq.*

cate his real views concerning the family to the Spanish court, as the nuncio, as well as Vargas, were adherents of the nephews of Paul IV. Santa Croce had also brought with him, from the minutes of the proceedings against the Carafa, a collection of the criminal statements and calumnies of which Carlo Carafa had made use in order to cause deadly enmity between Paul IV., Charles V. and Philip II. The further documents, relating to Carlo's negotiations with the Protestants and the Turks for the overthrow of the Hapsburgs were sent after Santa Croce, as he was already on his way.

Philip II. could now throw aside his reserve, and give free play to his old vindictiveness against Cardinal Carafa without any danger to himself, although there were still reasons why he should not make his real intentions quite public. Vargas received orders on September 5th, 1560, to moderate his zeal for the prisoners, and he submitted to the wishes of his master, writing to him, however, on January 5th, 1561, that he had obeyed his instructions, but that His Majesty, by failing to do anything for the Carafa, was committing a grave error.[1]

This had not escaped Philip himself, and several of his letters testify to the painful state of embarrassment in which he found himself. If he requited the services of the Cardinal during the conclave by completely abandoning him, not only would his reputation be endangered, but his interests as well, for the prospects of Cardinal Gonzaga obtaining the tiara would thereby be greatly furthered.[2] In the end Philip acted in accordance with the advice of the Farnese ; he left the secular members of the house of Carafa to their fate, and interceded only for the life of the Cardinal. This he did by means of an autograph letter written to the Pope on February 11th, 1561, from Toledo, which reached Rome on Saturday, March 1st. The consistory at which the decision was to be made was fixed for Monday, March 3rd, the letter of intercession thus arriving almost at the last moment. It came, however, in time to give, to the uninitiated, the appearance that the king was

[1] ANCEL is the first (pp. 150-1) to have brought these letters to light and to make use of them.

[2] See HILLIGER, 17.

protecting the Cardinal, but much too late to make the Pope withdraw from the course he had already entered upon. When Vargas handed him the letter on March 2nd, Pius IV. answered in general terms that he declined to postpone the consistory.[1] The consistory therefore took place on March 3rd as arranged, and lasted for eight hours. The Governor, by order of the Procurator Fiscal, presented a summary of the minutes of the proceedings against Cardinal Carlo Carafa, the Duke of Paliano, the Count d'Alife, and Lionardo di Cardine, which took seven hours to read out, and demanded the condemnation of the accused. The enumeration of the offences made a deep impression, and many Cardinals who had intended to say a word in favour of Alfonso or Carlo Carafa remained silent. Este alone endeavoured to refute the accusation concerning the alliance made with France, a thing which he understood perfectly. After the minutes of the case had been read out, the Pope handed to the Governor a sealed roll of paper, which was only to be opened by special order, with the words that he was pronouncing the final sentence. Thereupon Cardinals Carpi, Farnese, Este, Crispi and Savelli arose, begging the Pope not to show the extremity of severity, and to have consideration for the dignity of the Sacred College. Their pleading bore as little fruit as did a new attempt on the part of Vargas to induce Pius IV. to show clemency.[2] The final step was taken on March 4th, when the sealed roll was opened in the presence of the advocates; this contained

[1] *Cf.* HILLIGER, 17, and ANCEL, Disgrâce, 151 *seq.* The text of the letter of Philip II., of February 11, 1561, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 353.

[2] The best report of the consistory is in the *letter of Vargas of March 14, 1561 (Simancas Archives) used by ANCEL, *loc. cit.*, 152. *Cf.* also the report of N. Tiepolo in NARDUCCI, Cat. I., 322, the Florentine report in the Arch. stor. Ital., XII., 297, 298 n., and the slightly divergent report of Fr. Tonina, of March 5, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See Appendix No. 14; *cf.* No. 13 (Acta consist. Cam., Consistorial Archives). The Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, 38, report very laconically, as does Massarelli (in MERKLE, II., 352).

the sentence of death on Cardinal Carlo Carafa, the Duke of Paliano, the Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine.[1] In any case all four had deserved death on account of the murder of the Duchess, but the justice of the other accusations, especially that of high treason against Giovanni and Carlo Carafa, is open to doubt.[2] The estates of the condemned were to be confiscated.[3]

When the sentence of death was communicated to Cardinal Carafa, he did not say a word ; his companions in misfortune were taken from the Castle of St. Angelo back to the Tor di Nona. The Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine were overcome by despair, and the Capuchins who were sent to them had a hard task.[4] On the other hand, Giovanni Carafa was quite composed ; he had long given up all hope, and had prepared himself for death by retreats with the Jesuit, Peruschi.[5] These spiritual exercises had completely changed the unhappy man ; religion gave him such power that he went joyfully to his death, because it was for him the way of his

[1]*Report of Mula of March 6, 1561 (State Archives, Venice). See ANCEL, Disgrâce, 153. *Cf.* also the report of Tiepolo, *loc. cit.*

[2] Upon the question of guilt *cf.* GNOLI in the N. Antologia, XIX. (1872), 813 *seq.* Benrath maintains with justice that, even after the doubtful accusations had been withdrawn, there remained sufficient proof ; see HERZOG, Realenzyklopädie, XV[3], 437 *seq.*

[3] The sentence on Cardinal Carafa has not been found up to the present ; in all probability it was destroyed when the case was revised. The sentence of death on the Duke of Paliano and his two companions, dated March 4, 1561, in GORI, Archivio, II., 260 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 5, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the book of the *Giustiziati, Vol. 3, in the archives of S. Giovanni Decollato (State Archives, Rome), there is a note on pp. 167b-9 that members of the Misericordia were called on March 5 " a un hora mezzo di notte " to " Conte d' Aliffe, ducca di Paliano and L. de Cardine." The Duke bequeathed to the Confraternity " venti scudi alla capella S. Giovanni decollato per mia devotione et elemosina."

[5] See MANAREUS, De rebus Soc. Iesu, 126, Florence, 1886. *Cf.* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 817.

salvation. With crucifix in hand, the Duke prepared his two companions for their fate, addressing such beautiful Christian words to them that it seemed as if he were only fulfilling the office of a consoler, and not himself about to be executed.[1]

One cannot but read the letters which Carafa addressed in his last hours to his sister and his only son, Diomede, with deep emotion. "Praised be the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, for all eternity," he says in the letter to his son. "This paper contains, I believe, the last words and advice I shall be able to address to you in this life; I pray God that they may be such as a father should address to his only son. As the first and most necessary thing, I must bring to your recollection that in all your dealings and inclinations you must prove yourself a true servant of God, and show that you love His Divine Majesty far above yourself, and set aside your own pleasure, satisfaction and will, in order not to offend your Creator and Redeemer, even though you were promised worldly greatness, honour and happiness. If you follow this good and necessary rule of conduct, everything else that you do will be well and honourably accomplished. As you must be faithful, after God, to the prince whom He has set over us, then serve the Majesty of the Catholic King, as becomes a true and honourable Christian knight. Flee from sin as it engenders death; choose rather to die than imperil your soul; be the enemy of vice; seek after honourable and pious company; go often to confession; receive frequently the holy sacraments, which are the medicine of the soul, destroy sin, and preserve man in the grace of God; have compassion on the misery of others; practise works of piety, and flee from idleness, and from conversations and pursuits which are not fitting for you; take pains to acquire some knowledge of science and letters, for these are very necessary for a true nobleman, especially for one who has power and vassals, as well as to be able to enjoy the sweet fruits of the Holy Scriptures, which are so precious for both soul and body. If you savour such fruits,

[1] *Cf.* the report of Tiepolo, *loc. cit.*, in which, however, the date is wrong.

then you will despise the things of this sorrowful world, and find no small consolation in the present life. I wish you to show indomitable courage at my death, not behaving like a child, but as a reasonable man, and not listening to the promptings of the flesh, or to the love of your father, or to the talk of the world. For your consolation, ponder well the fact that whatever happens is ordained by the decrees of the great God, Who rules the universe with infinite wisdom, and, as it appears to me, shows me great mercy by taking me hence in this manner, rather than in any other way, for which I always thank Him, as you also must do. May it only please Him to exchange this my life for that other, the false and deceitful for the true. Do not be troubled by whatever people may say or write ; say to everyone : My father is dead, because God has shown him great grace, and I hope He has saved him, and granted him a better existence. Therewith I die, but you shall live, and bear no one ill-will of my death."[1]

While Giovanni Carafa was writing these lines, the Captain of the military police, Gasparino de Melis, proceeded to the prison of Cardinal Carafa in the Castle of St. Angelo.[2] When

[1] The letter of the Duke of Paliano to his son is printed in CACCIAGUERRA, Epist. spirit. (*f.* NOVAES, VII., 148), again in PHIL. HONORII Thesaur. poli., II., 137, and finally in the Arch. stor. Ital., XII., 458 *seq.* (trans. by REUMONT, Carafa, I., 233 *seq.*, and Beiträge, I., 505 *seq.*), the letter to his sister, the Marchesa di Polignano, in FR. CRISTOFORI, Il pontificato di Paolo IV. (Miscell. Rom. 2, Ser. 1, 1888), 131. Both letters had already been published in a French translation in a rare pamphlet *Sentence prononcee contre le card. Carafa etc.*, Lyons, 1561. The letter to his son also appeared in a German pamphlet (Abdruck des Herzogen von Paliano schreybens, etc., *s. l.* 1561) and was widely read ; see KLUCKHOHN, Briefe, I., 175.

[2] The execution of Carafa is described in various, for the most part anonymous accounts, in Italian and Spanish. These accounts which agree in essential points, but differ in details, are very often to be found in the collections of manuscripts of the XVIth century ; in the Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob., 2241, p. 262 *seq.*, and Urb. 1670, p. 92 *seq.* ; in the Corsini Library, 44—B—13, p. 355 *seq.* ; in the Casanate Library, E. III., 30 (see GORI, Archivio, II., 302) ;

he appeared, accompanied by torchbearers, in the antechamber of the Cardinal's cell, he was told that the prisoner was asleep. When the Captain declared that, in spite of this, he must enter, the door was opened. Carafa awoke, raised himself, and asked what was wanted. The sentence of death had already been announced to him on the previous day, but he did not believe that it would ever be carried out. When he now learned that there was no longer any hope, he repeated more than ten times: "I am to die! The Pope wishes that I should die!" Gas-

in the Capponi Library, now in the National Lib., Florence (*cf.* REUMONT, Beiträge, I., 518); in the Royal Library, Berlin, Inf. polit., II., 517 *seq.* (in Spanish, the same in Urb. 853, p. 464 *seq.*). One of these reports was already published in PHIL. HONORII Thesaur. polit., II., 134 *seq.*; CRISTOFORI has printed three (I., 102 *seq.*, 145 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*), a fourth is in GORI, Arch., II., 302 *seq.*; a fifth (which only refers to the execution of the Cardinal) is in Barb. lat. 5674, pp. 170-1, Vatican Library (used by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 153 n.). All these accounts, which were followed by BROMATO, by the editor of NORES (Arch. stor. Ital., XII., 344) and also by RANKE (Päpste, I[3]., 209) are more or less highly coloured, in part even romantically so. The most authentic account was hitherto unknown; I found it in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and it is a *letter of Fr. Tonina, to whom Gasparino de Melis himself described the proceedings at the execution, and is dated Rome, March 8, 1561 (see Appendix No. 17). Good accounts are also given in a letter from Rome of March 8, 1561, which is given in the above mentioned 'Sentence,' the report of Tiepolo in NARDUCCI, Cat. I., 322, the *report of Mula of March 7, 1561, Papal Secret Archives (see Appendix No. 16), the letter of Sfrondato of March 15 in Arch. stor. Lomb., XXX. (1903), 358, the 'Letra de Roma' of March 7, 1561 in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 354 *seq.*, the *Avviso di Roma of March 8, Vatican Library (see Appendix No. 16), and lastly the interesting letter which the Dominican Timoteo da Perugia sent on March 9, 1561, to his brethren at Florence, published by H. GEISENHEIMER, Sulla morte del card. Carafa (Estr. dal Rosario), 6 *seq.*, Florence, 1907 (here too is given the name of the Cardinal's confessor, Francesco d' Arezzo). *Cf.* also Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 352 *seq.*; BONDONUS, 540. It is uncertain in what part of the Castle of St. Angelo the execution took place; see BORGATTI, 134 *seq.*

parino had difficulty in making the unhappy man understand that the hour of his death had now irrevocably arrived, and that only a short time remained to him to go to confession, and make his final arrangements. With the sorrowful cry: "I, who have admitted nothing, am to die!" the Cardinal at length arose and dressed. The biretta was refused to him, and thereby he knew that he was deposed from his rank as Cardinal Deacon. "O ungrateful Pius!" he cried, "O King Philip! thou hast betrayed me!" Then a priest, belonging to a religious order, who had been appointed to hear his confession, entered: it lasted for an hour. After this Carafa seemed calmer; he had all the attendants brought in, and called upon them to witness that he forgave the Pope, the King of Spain, the Governor, the Procurator Fiscal, and all his enemies. After he had said the seven penitential psalms, he courageously offered his neck to the executioner. When the latter drew the knot, the rope broke; another was taken, which also broke, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the executioner was able to complete his work.[1] The body of Cardinal Carafa, who was aged only forty-two years, was then taken to the still unfinished church of S. Maria Traspontina, near the Castle of St. Angelo.

Gasparino de Melis, with the executioner, hurried away from the body of Cardinal Carafa to the Tor di Nona. He found the Duke of Paliano, with the Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine, in the chapel, where, assisted by a Jesuit, they were preparing for death. Their Christian resignation, and their real contrition moved even the Brothers of the Misericordia who were present, though they were used to such scenes. The scaffold was erected in the courtyard of the prison, and while prayers were being said for them, the three guilty men suffered death. Their bodies were publicly exposed on the morning of March 6th in the neighbouring square, near the Ponte Sant Angelo. The decapitated body of the Duke lay

[1] The horrible incident gave the humanist, Niccolò Franco, occasion to write the following epigram:—

Extinxit laqueus vix te, Carafa, secundus;
Tanto enim sceleri non satis unus erit.

on a little bier, which was covered with a black, gold-embroidered cloth, beside the statue to the Apostle St. Paul at the entrance to the bridge; at his right, on the ground, on miserable rags, lay his brother-in-law, and at his left, Lionardo di Cardine. Only in the evening were the bodies, like those of ordinary criminals, taken by the Brothers of the Misericordia to S. Giovanni Decollato, and finally buried in the church of the Minerva, in the family chapel of the Annunciata. The body of Cardinal Carafa was also taken later to this church, and buried in the same chapel.[1]

A light placed on the summit of the Castle of St. Angelo informed Pius IV. of the carrying out of the sentence; his severity caused terror on every side.[2] Many in Rome blamed the Pope for having been too harsh; it was especially found fault with that the Cardinal had been put to death like the rest, and that the bodies of the three others, though they had deserved to die, should have been buried like ordinary criminals.[3] For several days fears were entertained for the lives of the three other Cardinals who were still in the Castle of St. Angelo,[4] but the representative of Cosimo I.

[1] *Cf.* *Giustiziati, III., p. 169b, in the Archives of S. Giovanni Decollato. There (p. 169) we read concerning the execution: *Li retro e sopranominati cioè il sig^r ducha di Paliano il sig^r conte d' Aliffe, 'l sig^r don Leonardo di Cardines, a uno a uno furno condotti dabasso nel cortile di Torre di Nona e li talliatoli la testa dalle hore nove sino a hore XI incircha giovedi addi 6 di marzo e poi furno condotti in Ponte e lassati fino a ore XV incircha, e poi si fecieno portare alla nostra chiesia dove venne oltra e' 30 deputati alcuni altri delli nostri fratelli e assai bono numero; e per tale exeque si prese otto preti oltre il nostro capellano (State Archives, Rome).

[2] See the dispatches of the ambassadors in Ancel, Disgrâce, 159; Istoria di Chiusi in Tartinius, Script., I., 1078.

[3] See Vargas in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 362; Sfondrato, *loc. cit.*, 359, and the report of the Portuguese ambassador of March 6, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 195.

[4] See in Appendix No. 17 the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 8, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and the *Avvisi di Roma of March 22 and 29, April 18, May 3 and 31, 1561 (Urb. 1039, pp. 261b, 265b, 268, 271, 278b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* Bondonus, 540.

learned on March 17th that they would be pardoned.[1]

The youthful, and absolutely innocent Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, aroused great sympathy,[2] and for him the King of Spain, the Viceroy of Naples, and the Duke of Florence interceded. Alfonso was completely broken down. He promised everything they asked; renunciation of the gifts of Paul IV., and of the office of President of the Apostolic Camera, as well as the payment of a fine of 100,000 gold scudi. On March 24th his pardon was decided on, and on April 4th he was released from the Castle of St. Angelo. A bull of Pius IV. suppressed the office of President of the Apostolic Camera, and Cardinal Alfonso had to confirm this in writing. In secret, however, he drew up protests against this, as well as against all the other things which he had been made to promise.[3] On October 10th, 1561, he again appeared, to the great joy of everyone, in the consistory.[4] When, in August, 1562, fresh suspicion fell upon Alfonso, through the discovery of a letter of Cardinal du Bellay, he thought it advisable to retire to his archdiocese of Naples,[5] where he died, worn out by

[1] See the *letter of Saraceni of March 17, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] As the Cardinal was not yet 25 years of age, by the *Motu Proprio *Cum ad aures*, of July 26, 1560 (Lib. iur., p. 498, Papal Secret Archives) a procurator was appointed for him in the person of Cardinal Bertrand.

[3] See MASSARELLI, 354; BONDONUS, 541; *letter of Saraceni of March 21, 22 and 26, 1561 (State Archives, Florence); *report of G. Grandi of March 26, 1561 (State Archives, Modena); GORI, Archivio, II., 311 *seq.*, and especially ANCEL, Disgrâce, 160 *seq.* Concerning the intercession made in favour of Cardinal Alfonso, *cf.* the brief in RAYNALDUS, 1561 n. 80 and *that to the Viceroy of Naples of April 13, 1561, Min. brev. 11, n. 51, Papal Secret Archives. See also Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 215. Among those who efficaciously helped Cardinal Alfonso in the payment of the enormous fine was Ugo Boncompagni (see MAFFEI, I., 9). *Cf.* REUMONT, Carafa, I., 238.

[4] See the *report of Saraceni of October 10, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[5] See the *report of Fr. Tonina of August 22, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

grief, on August 29th, 1565, aged only twenty-four years.[1]

The Duke of Florence had also interceded for Cardinal del Monte, Cardinals Ricci and Cicada likewise taking up his cause ;[2] the former, indeed, was very active on his behalf.[3] Nevertheless, the decision of his case was very long delayed. It was rumoured in July, 1561, that del Monte had been condemned to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi, and was only to be released on the condition that he should forfeit his Cardinal's hat at the first offence.[4] His release was delayed until the autumn. He had to promise to improve his manner of life, to pay the fine and give up his benefices.[5] He was banished to Tivoli and two Jesuits were sent to labour for his conversion.[6]

Cardinal Rebiba, for whose life his friends trembled even at the end of October, 1561,[7] was only set at liberty on January 31st, 1562. The whole College of Cardinals had interceded for him. He was again allowed to take part in the consistory in March.[8]

[1] *Cf.* GIACONIUS, III., 862 ; GULIK-EUBEL, 39.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of March 22 and July 7, 1561 (Urb. 1039, pp. 261b, 286b, Vatican Library) ; *letter of Saraceni of April 4, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See the *letters of Saraceni of April 30 and June 10, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of July 12, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 287, Vatican Library).

[5] See *Avvisi di Roma of August 2, September 6 and 20, 1561 (Urb. 1039, pp. 291b, 298, Vatican Library) ; BONDONUS, 542. P. L. Bruzzone has published the confession of del Monte, dated : 'In Castello, 20 Settembre 1561,' in the Roman Messagero, 1911, No. 198.

[6] *Avvisi di Roma of September 6 and 20, and October 11, 1561 (Urb. 1039, pp. 298, 300, 303, Vatican Library). Saraceni *reported on October 10, 1561, that del Monte was at Tivoli "con dui preti reformati quali scrivono che il principio della vita del cardinale è buono." (State Archives, Florence).

[7] *Avviso di Roma of October 25, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 305b, Vatican Library).

[8] *Avvisi di Roma of January 10 and 31, and March 7, 1562 (Urb. 1039, pp. 330, 335b, 343b, Vatican Library).

Philip II. benefited greatly by the downfall of the Carafa; in May, 1561, a bull was expressly issued to protect him against the serious allegations made against him by Cardinal Carafa in the time of Paul IV.[1] The king's attitude during the whole tragedy, had been of such a nature that he attained his object of destroying his old enemies without committing himself on either side. His share in the fall of the nephews of Paul IV. remained the secret of but few people, but the Spanish king had been able to keep himself free from all odium by interceding at the last moment for Cardinal Carlo, again by co-operating in the release of Cardinal Alfonso, and lastly by affording the Marquis of Montebello and the son of the Duke of Paliano a refuge in Naples. The circumstance that he had persisted in leaving Vargas, the faithful friend of the Carafa, in spite of the strong wishes of the Pope, in his position as ambassador in Rome, was calculated to dispel any suspicion that he had been acting in concert with Pius IV.[2]

The Spanish king proved equally sagacious in the delicate question as to what was to be done with the possessions of the condemned men; the same cannot be said of the attitude adopted by Pius IV. with regard to this matter.

As the Carafa had been condemned to death, not only for the murder of the Duchess of Paliano, but also expressly for high treason and felony, their inheritance fell to the Apostolic Camera. Justifying his action on this fact, the Pope seized for his nephews, not only the movable goods of the Carafa, but also their claims in law. Paliano was only to be handed over to the Colonna when Philip II. had granted to the Pope's nephews the same annual revenues as had formerly been promised to the Carafa! Philip at first made difficulties; he demanded the immediate enfeoffment of Colonna, and wished the sums paid to the relatives of Pius IV. to be treated as a favour, but in no sense as an obligation imposed upon him by any agreement. This painful affair, in which Pius IV. appears

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 81. *Cf.* *Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., on May 9, 1561, and Acta consist. Cam., IX. 42 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See HILLIGER, 18.

as an only too greatly interested party, was not settled until the spring of 1562.[1] After the Pope's nephews had been satisfied, the restoration of Paliano to the Colonna took place on July 17th, 1562,[2] and it remained henceforth in their hands.[3] The former political power, however, of the family had disappeared, and their wealth had also been seriously diminished. In order to enable Marcantonio to liquidate the immense burden of debt which he found in existence, the Pope dissolved for him the entail, with the result that Nemi was sold to the Piccolomini, Città Lavinia and Ardea to the Cesarini, and Capranica, Ceciliano, Pisciano and S. Vito to the Massimi.[4]

"An unheard of affair, and an example of Divine justice that one should always have before one's eyes"—so wrote Seripando in his journal after he had heard of the execution of the Carafa.[5] The scandalous administration of the family during the period of their unlimited power under Paul IV., was still so fresh in the memory of the people, that many thought no punishment could be too severe, while they shut their eyes to the injustice and tyranny which had been displayed during the trial, and the political interests and the personal hatred which had played their part in it. Pius IV. himself, does not appear to have realized that, conducted by such bitter enemies of the Carafa as Federicis and Pallantieri, the trial was bound to be of a thoroughly prejudiced character. Onofrio Panvinio[6] relates that Pius IV. had himself said to him that nothing in

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, Kurie, I., 206 *seq.*, 287 *seq.*, II., 423 *seq.*; Ancel, Disgrâce, 164 *seq.*

[2] See Gori, Archivio, II., 315., Atti Mod., 3., Ser. II. (1883), 152 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Tomassetti in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXIX., 336 *seq.*; Campagna, III., 551 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Reumont, Beiträge, V., 95, 103 and Rom. III., 2, 541.

[5] Merkle, II., 464.

[6] Vita Pii IV. (*cf.* Appendix No. 37). Compare with this the brief in Raynaldus, 1561, n. 80, and the *letter to the Viceroy of Naples, dated April 13, 1561, in which, in connection with the release of Cardinal Alfonso, it says of the other Carafa: "Molestissimum tulimus, in aliis nimiam atrocitatem criminum et divini honoris ac iustitiae zelum obstitisse." (Papal Secret Archives).

his whole life had been so difficult for him, or had saddened him so much, as this sentence of death ; he would gladly have shown mercy had this been possible without breaking the laws, or if there had been any hope that the Carafa would change their manner of life. Finally, the Pope added that he had also been obliged to show severity in order to give a warning to the relatives of future Popes, so that they might not misuse their great position as the Carafa had done. The explanations which Pius IV. gave to the Imperial ambassador on March 14th, 1561,[1] and which he again repeated later, as in the consistory on June 8th, 1565, and again a few months before his death, on October 12th, 1565,[2] are in accordance with Panvinio's statement.

The manner in which Pius IV. justified himself for his action against the Carafa can be clearly seen from these explanations. He wished, not only to punish their crimes, but also to stigmatize the whole system. The judgment of March 3rd, 1561, was a deadly blow aimed at that form of nepotism which consisted in founding principalities ; it condemned not only the Carafa, but also the Borgia, Medici and Farnese. There was now an end to the elevation of the Pope's relatives to the rank of sovereign princes. The founding of such states for the Papal nephews had only too often poisoned the political activity of the Holy See since the time of Sixtus IV., and had paralysed its efforts for reform. Paul IV., after he had learned during the last years of his reign to what nepotism might lead, had banished the nephews whom his successor had now destroyed. This was of inestimable value for the success of the Catholic reformation. The warning was efficacious.[3]

[1] See SICKEL, Konzil, 184.

[2] Concerning the explanations of October see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 168 *seq.* ; those of June 8, 1565, hitherto unknown, in the *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13.

[3] A medal of Pius IV. bears the inscription : " Discite iustitiam moniti " (BONANNI, I., 274). Concerning the effects of the tragedy of the Carafa on the letterati see ANCEL, Disgrâce, 159, n. 4. To this belongs the *Capitolo in rima per l' esecuzione dei Carafa, in Cod. 1151 of the Trivulzi Library at Milan.

From this time forward the efforts of the Papal relatives were limited to securing riches, honours, and great positions, and to becoming the equals of the old noble Roman families. This weakened form of nepotism was, of course, grave enough, but it was, nevertheless, far less dangerous for the Church.[1]

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, I., 209; DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 524, 528; FELTEN in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, IX., 135, and especially ANCEL, 182 *seq.* Ancel (p. 158, n. 3) quotes the opinion pronounced by Saraceni on March 7, 1561: "Et ancho si vede aperta una strada non più usata da dugenti anni in quà, cioè di rivedere i conti a nipoti di Papi." *Cf.* also the statements in the *Avvisi di Roma of June 8, 1560, and March 8, 1561, Vatican Library (see Appendix No. 7 and 18).

CHAPTER V.

Negotiations for the Reopening of the Council of Trent.

The most important, as well as the most difficult task which the election capitulation had imposed on the new Pope was the question of the Council, the means by which a stand was to be made against the divisions in the faith and the abuses in ecclesiastical affairs. It was not yet decided whether the Council, which had been suspended in 1552, should be continued, or a new one convoked, nor had anything been decided as to the time and place of meeting. It was not advisable to raise all these critical questions prematurely, and it was therefore considered sufficient to give expression, in general terms, to the desire of the best elements in the Church.

As to the question whether the Council of Trent should be continued or a new one convoked, the most conflicting views were held. While the Protestants, without exception, demanded that everything that had been decided hitherto should be revoked, and matters gone into again from the beginning, strict Catholics insisted, very logically, that the dogmatic decrees already issued were unchangeable and irrevocable, as were the canons of all other ecumenical councils. The latter view, which was represented most strongly among the secular powers by Philip II., was at first shared by the Emperor, Ferdinand I. He, however, allowed himself to be led away, later on, by consideration for the Protestants, and he took up their claim as his own. The French government acted in a similar manner, because their position with respect to the Huguenots was very similar to that of Ferdinand towards the German Protestants.[1] Pius

[1] See Ehses, Schlussakt des Konzils, 43 *seq.*

IV. had, therefore, to be prepared beforehand for the gravest difficulties. In spite of this he was quite ready to give effect to the intentions of those who had elected him, with regard to the matter of the council. Only a few days after his election, on December 31st, 1559, he declared to the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm, that it was his desire speedily to summon a general Council.[1] He also insisted on his determination to do so to the Cardinals, in a Congregation on January 4th, 1560.[2] He solemnly confirmed and renewed the election capitulation in a bull of January 12th.[3] The appointment of a reform commission of fourteen Cardinals, of which Angelo Massarelli was made the secretary.[4] clearly showed the wishes of the Pope with regard to the principal task of the Council. Pacheco reports to the Spanish king, as early as January 18th, that it was also the Pope's intention to confirm the earlier decrees of the Council of Trent.[5]

The principal difficulty, now as on former occasions, was to secure unanimity of opinion among the most powerful Catholic rulers, the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, before the assembly of the Council.

The attitude of the Emperor, Ferdinand, at first gave reason to hope for the best. His ambassador extraordinary, Count Scipione d'Arco, who arrived in Rome in February, was commissioned to raise the question of the Council.[6] Arco obeyed his orders, but at the ceremony of the *obedientia* on February 17th, 1560, he kept silence on this crucial matter, plainly out of consideration for the attitude adopted by the Protestant princes at the Imperial Diet of the preceding

[1] Francis von Thurm to the Emperor on January 1, 1560, in SICKEL, Konzil, 23.

[2] See the *reports of Pacheco and Vargas to Philip II., of January 7 and 9 (Simancas Archives) used by VOSS, 15.

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1559, n. 38. LE PLAT, IV., 613 *seqq*. Complete in the *Regest. Vat. 1918, in EHSES, Concil., VIII., 2 *seq*.

[4] Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 343. *Cf. supra* Chapter II.

[5] DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 328.

[6] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 38 *seqq*.

year.[1] Pius IV. expressed his wish to summon the Council to the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, over and over again. "He repeatedly proposes to do so," wrote Vargas on February 25th, "and yesterday he assured me in the presence of eight Cardinals, that as soon as Your Majesty, the Emperor, and the King of France were of one mind on this matter, he would decide as to the time and place." In this conversation the Pope also gave the assurance that he was not thinking of holding the Council in Rome, but in some suitable place whither the heretics could come, so that their want of good-will could be plainly seen if they did not accept the invitation.[2] At the *obedientia* ceremony on March 9th, 1560, of the envoy of the Polish King, Adam Konarski, Prior of Posen, Pius IV. remarked that he was thinking of summoning the Council, and he spoke still more plainly in the consistory of March 15th, when the embassy of the seven Catholic Swiss Cantons made their *obedientia*.[3]

Obstacles on the part of Spain and France seemed all the less likely as those powers had already adopted an article concerning the Council at the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, in April, 1559. At the beginning of 1560 Philip II. raised the question of the Council at the French court, where it was well received.[4] When, however, the actual realization of the matter was taken in hand, the widely divergent political views and aims of the Catholic princes, and the conflict between the actual or supposed interests of the state with those of religion, became clearly apparent.

Even in the case of that power which was purely Catholic, and uninflenced by domestic religious differences, even in the case of Spain, the interests of the Church occupied, at

[1] See Hist. Jahrb., XIV., 22 *seq.*, and EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 2.

[2] See the report of Vargas, in VOSS, 16.

[3] See EHSES, Berufung, 2-3. The reply of Pius IV. to the representative of the King of Poland is also in Cod. 73, p. 223, in the Library of the Monastery of Ossegg.

[4] *Cf.* VOSS, 17, 19 *seqq.* Concerning the articles of peace, *cf.* GACHARD, Corresp. de Marguerite, I., 172.

first, by no means the first place. It could not escape a keen observer that Philip II., whose policy was above all directed to procuring and preserving peace, feared fresh complications from a general council. He was afraid that the peace, which had only recently been concluded at Cateau-Cambrésis, might be endangered, and Elizabeth of England so embittered against him that he might lose the position of arbiter between England and France in the Scottish question. The bringing forward, therefore, of the matter, did not appear opportune to the Spanish court, though, as the king was dependent on the good-will of the Pope in several other matters, he was exceedingly careful, at all events not to thwart him in the matter of the Council; at the same time, however, he showed no zeal for that important question, but, on the contrary, his efforts were directed to delaying any decision with regard to it, as long as possible.[1]

This attitude of reserve on the part of the most important power in Europe must have warned the Pope to move very cautiously. The Bishop of Terracina, Ottaviano Raverta, when he was sent as nuncio to Spain on March 11th, 1560, was simply commissioned to invite the king to support the Pope in once again convoking the Council.[2] Hosius, who was sent to Vienna as nuncio at the end of March,[3] was instructed to preserve an attitude of reserve in the matter of the Council. The Pope wished indeed to hold a General Council, but he could do nothing in the matter until the French and Spanish ambassadors had expressed themselves with regard to it.[4] Vargas informed Philip II. on April 8th

[1] *Cf.* the exposition by Voss, 24 *seqq.*, and especially that of Dembiński, Ryzm, I., 151. See also Ehses, Berufung des Konzils, 3.

[2] See *Varia polit., 116, p. 380a, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Hinojosa, 112 *seq.*; Ehses, *loc. cit.*, and Concil., VIII., 10 *seq.*

[3] Concerning the powers conferred on Hosius see the account of Mergentheim, I., 244-7.

[4] Hosius had accordingly not spoken with the Emperor about the Council until the beginning of May (*cf.* Voss, 30, 34). He did not do so until May 10 (*cf.* his report of May 13, in Steinherz,

that the Pope had openly declared that he intended to hold a Council, and that he would proceed with its promulgation as soon as the Emperor, France and Spain were of one mind concerning it. On April 26th Francis von Thurm reported to the Emperor that he understood from trustworthy sources that the Pope would reopen and continue the Council at Trent, and that money was already being collected to ensure the carrying into effect of its future deliberations. The ambassador further states that Cardinals Morone and Madruzzo had begged him to ask the Emperor to urge on the Pope in the matter, and that he had replied that His Majesty had already done so through Count Arco, and that he himself would omit nothing that pertained to his office.[1]

On May 2nd, Jean Babou de la Bourdaisière, the brother of the French ambassador, made his *obedientia* in the name of Francis II. In his reply the Pope remarked that he had wished to hold the Council since the beginning of his reign, and that he now proposed to convoke it in the immediate future.[2] He was soon led to adopt a more decided attitude,

I., 23 *seqq.*). The expression used by the Pope to the Polish envoy has not the meaning which Voss (p. 30) attributes to it; it does not prove that the Pope's first zeal for the Council had "gone to sleep" for the clause "si opus videbitur" does not appear in the brief to the King of Poland, of March 22 (THEINER, Monumenta Poloniae, II., 597). The supposition of Voss that Pius IV. had only occasionally shown an outward zeal, is not in keeping with the Pope's continued efforts. Besides this, Voss contradicts himself when he writes on p. 32: "The only thing that was still done in Rome on the matter of the Council was that they did not let it quite go to sleep." DEMBIŃSKI (Ryzm, I., 31) is of opinion that, not only did Pius IV. not wish to evade the Council, but that he had already had it in mind before the question of the French national council arose. For a criticism of Voss see also SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 111 n.

[1] See Voss, 33; SICKEL, Konzil, 40, and especially EHSES, *loc. cit.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 24. LE PLAT, IV., 624. DEMBIŃSKI, Ryzm, I., 255. VOSS, 33. EHSES, VIII., 16. *Cf.* BONDONUS, 534. An *Avviso di Roma of May 4, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 153,

in the direction of a more speedy convocation of a General Council of the Church, being moved to this course by the disclosures which were made to him concerning the grave complications which had arisen in conditions in France. The decision of the French Council of State to convene a kind of national council of the members of the Gallican Church on December 10th, was reported to the Pope by Antonio Vacca. This decision was calculated to cause the greatest displeasure in Rome. The Popes had at all times, and with justice, considered a national council as quite inadequate for the removal of dogmatic disputes, and as being full of danger, on account of the risk of schism. Pius IV. feared that, in view of the ferment then going on in France, and the leanings towards a national Church which prevailed there, such an assembly might lead to the falling away of that country from its obedience to the Holy See; besides this, there was the fact that the assembling of a General Council would thereby be rendered much more difficult. The Bishop of Viterbo, Sebastiano Gualterio, who was sent to France in the middle of May as the new nuncio, and who had previously filled that office in the latter days of Julius III., received strict instructions to prevent the assembly of the French clergy, and to declare that the Pope wished for a General Council.[1]

How very much the Pope was alarmed at the danger threatening in France, and how it forced him to act in a decisive manner with regard to the Council without waiting any longer for the opinion of the powers, is clear from the reports of Mula, the Venetian ambassador in Rome. The Pope declared to him in the most definite terms on May 27th, that he was resolved to prevent the French national council by convoking a General Council, and that he intended

Vatican Library) mentions the congregation of 12 Cardinals which deliberated about the Council, after the ceremony of the *obedientia*.

[1] See Ehses, Berufung des Konzils, 4 *seq.* *Cf.* the *letter of Mula of May 25, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna), and Ehses, VIII., 20 *seq.*

to bring the matter before the Cardinals in a few days time, at a consistory, and that he would then acquaint the ambassadors with his decision. The suspension must be removed, and the Council of Trent continued. He desired to carry on the work of reform, even as to his own person and his own affairs, but also to safeguard the interests of the faith and of the Holy See. The Papal supremacy must not be infringed, but he was not disinclined to grant reasonable claims. Mula was specially instructed to make secret inquiries in Venice as to whether the government of the Republic would be prepared, in case of need, to place a suitable city in their territory, as for example Vicenza, at his disposal for the meeting of the Council.[1]

The declarations made by Pius IV. in the consistory on May 29th were to a similar effect; two days later he again spoke on the subject to the Venetian ambassador, and amplified his previous statements. The Council, he said, should undertake the necessary work of reform, including his, the Pope's, own affairs, with complete freedom. In order that this freedom might be assured, it must not assemble at any place which, directly or indirectly, belonged to the States of the Church, but neither must it meet in the territory of heretics, where the bishops would not be in safety.[2]

Pius IV. addressed himself to Ferdinand I. and Philip II. in similar terms, and the instructions of Borromeo on May 25th and 26th, 1560, to the nuncios in Vienna and Madrid, had a very determined sound. The Pope, it is stated in the letter to Hosius, will anticipate the French national council by continuing the Council of Trent, which was only suspended,

[1] *Cf.* the full *account of Mula of May 27, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna, and Papal Secret Archives), from which REIMANN (Unterhandlungen, 595) was the first to quote a passage. See also EHSES, VIII., 28.

[2] *Cf.* Mula's report of May 31, in REIMANN, *loc. cit.*; EHSES, VIII., 28. See also DEMBIŃSKI, Ryzm, I., 35 *seq.*

but never closed. Vargas, the representative of Philip II., received a similar declaration.[1]

The solemn meeting of the ambassadors in the presence of the Pope, which had been announced, took place on June 3rd, 1560. The ambassador of the Emperor, and the representatives of Spain, Portugal, Florence and Venice, were present; the Polish envoy was absent on account of illness, as was the representative of France, on account of a dispute about precedence with the envoy of Philip II. The Pope's declaration struck a note that was as definite as could be: "We wish for the Council, We wish for it emphatically, and We wish it to be both free and general; did We not wish for it, the world would delay it for three or four years, on account of the difficulties as to the place. In order to avoid all disputes as to the place and the manner of holding the Council, it is best to continue it in Trent; later on it can be transferred, if necessary, to another and more suitable place, but it is impossible to spend more time in conferring upon that question now, for the progress of heresy, in almost every country of Christendom, makes immediate action necessary." The envoys might make this decision known to their princes by express messenger, and call upon them for their support. They have already been informed of it by the Pope, but have not yet answered. Should the Pope, contrary to his expectations, meet with no response from the princes, his decision would nevertheless remain unaltered, especially as France was pushing forward a national council. In any case, he hoped for favourable replies, and also that the German princes would be present; he believed he could take it for granted that the Margrave of Brandenburg would attend. "Whatever is decided upon by the Council," the Pope concluded, "your princes must assist us in carrying out. We wish the Council to meet as soon as possible, and shall only

[1] The letter of Borromeo to O. Raverta in DEMBIŃSKI, I., 257 *seq.*, that to Hosius in STEINHERZ, I., 36; the declaration to Vargas in his report of May 25, in VOSS, 44. *Cf.* also EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 6 and VIII., 27.

wait for the replies of your princes before announcing it publicly, and sending the legates."[1]

The desire of Pius IV. to carry this important matter through, with the agreement of the Catholic powers, was thoroughly justified, for the Holy See would require strong support during the Council, while the help of the civil powers would be necessary later on, for the carrying into effect of the measures decided upon.

The first satisfactory answer came from the Spanish government. Philip II. had postponed a decision in his reply to the nuncio, Raverta, even as late as April 1st. At the beginning of May he yielded so far as to express his approval of the convocation of the Council, but only on the condition that the Emperor should also approve. It was only when further news arrived from Rome and France that Philip finally resolved, in a plenary meeting of his privy council, to accept the Council unconditionally. Three days later he wrote to Vargas in Rome that, since a national council was being threatened in France, a thing which might have the gravest consequences, he gave his approval to the decision of the Pope to hold a general council. The agreement of France and the Emperor, however, was necessary. He was glad that the Pope would continue the Council at Trent, but the reform of abuses would have to be undertaken.[2]

The answer of the French government was much less satisfactory, for the continuation of the Council was not at

[1] *Cf.* the report of Francis von Thurm to the Emperor of June 3, 1560, in SICKEL, Konzil, 48, and *that of Mula on the same date, used by REIMANN, *loc. cit.*, 594 *seq.* Reimann rightly notes that "Pius IV. took the first step, from which it is evident that he was in earnest," and that MOCENIGO (p. 25) is unjust to the Pope when he doubts his sincerity. See also DEMBIŃSKI, Ryzm, I., 37 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter of G. B. Ricasoli of June 3, 1560 (State Archives, Florence), and the report of the Portuguese ambassador of June 12, 1560, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., VIII., 464 *seq.* See also the account in EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 6 *seq.*, and VIII., 29.

[2] *Cf.* VOSS, 47 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 51; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 7.

all in conformity with its policy. On June 20th Francis II. sent the Abbot of Manne to Rome,[1] who was to say that the King of France quite approved in principle of the decision of the Pope to summon a General Council, but that he must pronounce against its being held again at Trent, or being regarded as a continuation of the suspended Council, which had formerly been held there. The general assembly of the Church must on the contrary be convoked anew, and in a place to which one could feel sure that the Emperor and all the estates of the Empire, Protestant as well as Catholic, could repair. The opinion of the Emperor must be ascertained, to which the King of Spain must also submit himself. As everything depended on the calming of Germany, the French government recommended Constance in particular. The Abbot of Manne was also instructed to give tranquillizing assurances regarding the plan of a national council. He was, at the same time, to let it be understood that the prospect of such an assembly could only be given up if the Pope should proceed without delay to convene a general council in the sense desired by the French king.[2]

The Emperor Ferdinand I. had only given a general answer to the nuncio, Hosius, when the latter had first opened the subject of the Council on May 10th, reserving for a later date a decision as to the time and place. When the nuncio, after having received his instructions of May 18th,[3] again approached the Emperor on June 3rd upon this important subject, he once more received an evasive reply. According to his report of June 5th, Hosius seems nevertheless to

[1] See the report of G. Michiel in DEMBIŃSKI, *loc. cit.*, 254. *Cf.* BROWN, VII., n. 174; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 11.

[2] Instruttione del Rè Christ^mo portata a N.S^re dall' abbate di Manna sopra le cose del concilio, 1560 (Inf. polit., VII., 424 *seq.*, Royal Library, Berlin), printed in EHSES, VIII., 35 *seq.* *Cf.* REIMANN, Unterhandlungen, 601; VOSS, 54 *seq.*; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 11.

[3] Printed in CYPRIANUS, 76, and STEINHERZ, I., 31 *seq.*

have received the impression that Ferdinand was agreeable that the Council, after the removal of the suspension, should again be summoned to Trent.[1]

On the same day the privy council assembled at Vienna in order to come to a final decision upon the matter.[2] Two Austrian statesmen, Georg Gienger, and the vice-chancellor of the Empire, Sigmund Seld, had the chief influence there, and they, like the great number of the Catholic estates of the Empire, held the false view that the decrees of Constance and Basle, which were inimical to the Pope, were lawful and valid, and that a reform of the Church could only be possible on this basis.[3] The Emperor's councillors, as well as Duke Albert of Bavaria, who arrived in Vienna on June 8th, succeeded in making the most of a threatened invasion of the Imperial dominions by the Protestants, in order to prevent the Council desired by the Pope. Under the pressure of this threat, Ferdinand became more hesitating than ever. He who had encouraged the Pope in March, through Scipione d'Arco, to summon the Council as quickly as possible, now, when Pius IV. wished to proceed energetically with the matter, did everything to keep him back. He gave his approval to a memorandum,[4] drawn up by Gienger, to be handed to the nuncio, which made so many reservations, and set up so many claims, which were, in part at any rate,

[1] See STEINHERZ, I., 40 *seq.*

[2] Consultatio quid agendum sit in negocio concilii, in SICKEL, Konzil, 49 *seq.* *Cf.* EDER, I., 38 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RITTER, I., 146; EDER, I., 36 *seq.* The attack, in the otherwise thorough work of Eder, published in 1911, upon Janssen for a false account of the character of Gienger, is obsolete, for the passage in question was corrected by me in 1896 in the 15th and 16th editions of the IVth volume.

[4] Scriptum C. M^tis^ in negocio concilii nuncio apostolico exhibitum, in SICKEL, Konzil, 55-69, and EHSES, VIII., 39-51. *Cf.* REIMANN, Unterhandlungen, 596 *seq.*; VOSS, 58 *seq.*; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 9; EDER, I., 43-7. Eder rightly contends against Kassowitz (p. 1 *seq.*) that Gienger was the author.

quite impossible of fulfilment, that the proposal of Pius IV. seemed to be altogether negatived.[1]

In the introduction to this very comprehensive document, indeed, the Emperor approves of the Pope's decision, and he declares himself anxious for its immediate fulfilment. He then, however, goes on to explain that on account of the importance of the matter, and the differences of opinion among the Christian princes, a period of at least a year would be necessary for the preparation of the Council. The objections and difficulties, on the solution of which a successful issue depended, were set forth under six heads :

1. The war between France and England must be brought to an end, as general peace among the Christian princes is necessary for the holding and carrying out of a General Council.

2. The Pope must see that all the Christian powers, not only Spain, France, Portugal, Scotland, Poland and Venice, but also such kingdoms as have already fallen away from the Church, such as Denmark, Sweden, and England, are represented at the Council, and that all shall obtain a hearing. Stress is especially laid upon the difficulty of obtaining the participation of the Protestants, whose onerous conditions, drawn up at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1559, are appended for general information. Forcible proceedings against the Protestants are not advisable, but the Emperor promises to do everything in his power to induce them to take part in the Council.

3. The personal attendance of the Pope, whose absence was very prejudicial to the former assembly at Trent, is stated to be essential.

4. Doubts are expressed as to whether Trent should be chosen as the seat of the Council. The town is too small, and since the beginning of the schism a Council has always been needed in German territory. The most suitable place of all would be Cologne, and after that Ratisbon or Constance.

[1] The opinion of STEIHNERZ I., lxvii. *Cf.* EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 10.

5. The Protestants declare that they were treated too severely and harshly at the Council of Trent; they did not receive the letter of safe-conduct in the desired form, and were not listened to sufficiently. As their participation can be obtained in no other way, all their wishes in this respect must be granted.

6. Great difficulties were created by the Pope's intention of continuing the former Council by removing the suspension. As far as the Emperor personally is concerned, he has not the slightest idea of calling in question the decrees drawn up by the Council, but a difficulty in the way of a continuation is the fact that the Protestants intend to place the matters already dealt with upon the agenda, and various Christian princes—the allusion is to France—will not acknowledge the former assembly as a General Council. Finally, reference is made to the fact that, instead of the two years for which the Council was suspended, eight have already elapsed.

Therefore, "as it is very evident how difficult the convocation of the Council is, as its progress must be slow, its results uncertain, and the carrying out of its decrees attended with much greater danger than was formerly the case," the Emperor advises the Pope to have recourse to other means for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and the prevention of further defections. As such he would propose, before summoning a Council, a thorough reform of the clergy, and, in the meantime, to allow the laity the use of the chalice, and to give priests permission to marry.

To this document was attached a memorandum which once more briefly recapitulated the attitude of the Emperor towards the plan of the Council, and limited the concession of the chalice to the laity, and the marriage of priests to Germany. These two documents were handed to Hosius on June 20th.[1] In the negotiations that followed, the latter proved himself by no means capable of fulfilling his duties. It would have been easy to show[2] that the realization of

[1] See Hosius to Borromeo, June 21, 1560, in STEINHERZ, I., 54 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., lxiii.

several of the Emperor's requirements, such as the establishment of a general peace, and the participation of all the Christian powers, was really not in the Pope's power, and that others, such as the discussion anew with the Protestants of points of dogma, which had already been defined in a general council, meant nothing less than the overthrow of the Church; none of these points, however, were put forward by Hosius. His misgivings only concerned points of minor importance, such as several strong phrases or modes of expression, certain false arguments, the quotations from Scripture in favour of the marriage of priests, and in general the theological and biblical proofs upon which the proposed concessions were based. The Imperial statesmen made no difficulty about taking into consideration objections which left the essential points of the memorandum untouched.[1] The document, altered in the sense demanded by Hosius, was handed to the nuncio by the Emperor on June 26th, and sent by the former on June 28th to Rome, where it arrived on the evening of July 12th.[2] The Imperial ambassador in Rome, Count Prospero d'Arco, also received a copy of the document, as did Philip II. of Spain.[3]

The replies of the three principal Catholic powers arrived in Rome in the course of July, 1560. The Abbot of Manne was the first to deliver his letter, which he had received on July 4th. On July 10th Vargas and Tendilla presented the reply from their sovereign, dated June 18th. Pius IV. expressed to the Spanish envoys his great joy at the decision of Philip II., in whom alone he had perfect confidence, and at the same time acquainted them with the answer of the French government. The Pope complained that the French, although they spoke of a general council, obviously did not want one. Their intention was to gain time by heaping up difficulties and making promises, so that eventually they

[1] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., lxxi, 55, 63; BUCHOLTZ, IX., 678 *seq.*; SICKEO, Konzil, 70 *seq.*; EDER, I., 50 *seq.*

[2] See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 9.

[3] See SICKEL, Konzil, 71 *seq*, 73 *seq.*

might hold the national council they had spoken of.[1] The Pope laid the answers of the French and Spanish governments before the Congregation of Cardinals as early as July 11th.[2]

On July 14th the Imperial ambassador, Prospero d'Arco, had an audience in order to submit the views and requirements of Ferdinand, which had recently arrived from Vienna, to the Pope. The latter, who had already, as a Cardinal during the conclave, made known his inclination to grant concessions with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests,[3] again showed himself on this occasion not disinclined to make such concessions, at the same time, however, expressing his doubts as to whether much would be gained by such a course. Such permissions, without the decision of a Council, also appeared to him to be of doubtful value, because difficulties might arise in consequence of them at the Council, and others might feel that they too could ask for further concessions independently of a Council.[4] The Congregation of Cardinals, to which the Pope had submitted the Emperor's reply of July 15th, also declared that the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests could only be granted by the Council. Arco, who reports this, adds that the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent is definitely wished for in Rome, and that he has it on good authority that if the Emperor agrees to this, the Pope will give him an assurance that the wished for concessions shall be made.[5] Vargas

[1] See Corresp. de Babou de la Bourdaisière, 9; Vargas in DÖLLINGER Beiträge, I., 337 *seq.* Voss, 65 *seq.* Giov. Franc. Canobio had brought to Rome the letter of June 18; see BROWN, VII., n. 172-3.

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 86 n. *Cf.* the *report of Mula of July 12, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna, and Papal Secret Archives); *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 181, Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 33.

[4] See Arco's report of July 15, 1560, in SICKEL, Konzil, 84 *seq.* *Cf.* Voss, 67.

[5] See SICKEL, 85. If Arco further declared that in that case the Pope would also allow that they should treat with the Protestants upon the "cose determinate in Trento" he was certainly not right.

reported to Philip II. to the same effect on July 16th, and recommended his sovereign to adopt the same attitude. He thought that Ferdinand I. and Francis II. would give way later on, and represent to their subjects that the Pope had acted in the matter without their agreement. Pius IV., however, was not to be prevailed upon to come to a final decision without having an understanding with the two princes in question. He intended, before he did anything, to send Delfino as ambassador to the Emperor, to write to France, and to confer on the whole matter with Spain.[1]

This policy, upon which Pius IV. decided, affords another proof of his shrewdness as a statesman. In view of the critical position of the Church, he wished, above all things, to avoid any conflict with the great Catholic powers, and from this came his dread of cutting the Gordian knot. In order to bring about the assembly of the Council, in spite of all difficulties, he was most careful not to give offence to the princes, upon whom, in the first instance, everything depended, by any definite decision, or by too great plainness of speech. However firmly he was convinced of the necessity of a General Council, he nevertheless let as little as possible be known of the character of the new assembly, while he especially endeavoured to evade the important question of the validity of the decrees already issued. If he expressed himself on this point in different terms to the French ambassador from those he used to the representative of Spain, this did not mean that his opinion on this essential matter was not firm and clear, but that he desired to offend neither the one nor the other by making a categorical pronouncement; the powers were intended to receive the impression that he was ready to meet their wishes as far as possible. Even where he could make no concessions, as a matter of principle, he wished, at any rate in outward form, to accommodate himself as far as he could, to the claims made upon him.[2]

[1] Vargas' *letter on July 16 (Simancas Archives) used by Voss, 67 *seq.*

[2] See the excellent account in Dembiński, Ryzm, I., 31-3.

Pius IV. spoke most openly to Philip II., whose views really approached his own most closely. Prospero Santa Croce, who had been appointed nuncio in Portugal, was entrusted with the negotiations, and left Rome in the middle of July, 1560.

His instructions about the Council,[1] contained, besides a number of other commissions, the following points: He was first of all to express to Philip II. the exceeding joy of His Holiness at the royal letter of June 18th, and at the same time hand him copies of the very unsatisfactory answers of Ferdinand I. and Francis II. The instructions emphasize the fact that, in spite of this, the Pope held firmly to his decision, and admonish Philip II. to do the same. To summon the Council elsewhere than at Trent must delay the opening and cause the canons already framed by the Council to be called in question. As far as the other requests of the Emperor are concerned, the Pope has no intention of granting the concessions asked for without the authority of a General Council.

The replies to Francis II. and Ferdinand I., whose requests were, at any rate in part, impossible of fulfilment, were somewhat delayed, owing to an illness of the Pope. The first was handed in the middle of August to the Abbot of Manne, who returned home a week later. In this the Pope declares that he adheres to his determination to come to the help of the miseries of Christendom by a General Council of the Church, and that as soon as possible. Trent seemed to be the best place for this, especially in the interests of a speedy opening; the Pope, however, would make no difficulty, after the Council was opened, about removing it, if necessary, to some other city which was safe and not under the suspicion of heresy. The King of Spain agreed to the removal of the suspension, and the continuation of the Council,

[1] Original minute in the *Varia polit., 117, p. 365 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives), printed in the Miscell. di storia Ital., V., 1013 *seq.*, and in part in LAEMMER, Melet., 177 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS, 68, n. 128; DEMBIŃSKI, I., 158 *seq.*, and EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 8 and VIII., 52 *seq.*

and would use his influence with the Emperor in this sense. The Pope hoped that the king would do the same, and, under the existing conditions, no longer contemplate a national council.[1]

Zaccaria Delfino, Bishop of Lesina, a very skilful diplomatist, and a great favourite at the court of Vienna, who was well acquainted with conditions in Germany from earlier days, was entrusted with the difficult and most important task of winning over the Emperor to the views of the Pope. His appointment as nuncio to Ferdinand I. had already been made in July, but his actual mission was so long delayed that he only left Rome on September 2nd, and arrived in Vienna on the 28th.[2]

The Pope's answer to the Imperial memorandum of June 26th, which Delfino took with him, bears the date of August 30th.[3] In this Pius IV. declares, in very decided terms, his wish again to assemble the Council at Trent, notwithstanding the objections raised by the Emperor. In matters of religion, he says, one must proceed without secondary aims; it was manifest in Germany that negotiations for reunion, prompted by temporal considerations, had always resulted in the infliction of grave injury on religion, as well as on Germany herself. The Council must therefore be opened without hesitation, and with the sole purpose of helping the Church to regain her former position. The Emperor's doubts and objections are then dealt with one by one. The war between England and France is at an end. Whether the Pope will be present in person at the Council

[1] See SICKEL, Konzil, 88 *seq.*; Corresp. de Babou de la Bourdaisière, 19 *seq.*; VOSS, 73 *seq*; ; EHSES, VIII., 55 *seq.* According to the *report of G. B. Ricasoli of August 9, 1560, the reply to France was read on the 8 in the "Congregatione della riforma" (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See STEINHERZ, I., 98 *seq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 92 *seq.*; EDER, I., 55.

[3] Printed in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 56; LE PLAT IV., 633 *seqq.*; EHSES, VIII., 59 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS, 75 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., lxxix *seq.* The corresponding letter of advice of August 31 in SICKEL, 92.

is a matter for his own judgment. The Protestants who appeared at Trent would have no grounds for complaint; they would receive safe-conduct in the most sure and complete form, and would be listened to most willingly. The suspension of 1552 had only been effected in order to await the end of the war; as universal peace now prevailed, the Council could again come into being. The objection that Trent was unequal to the task of providing the necessary maintenance and accommodation was also disposed of. The Emperor must realize that, in the places which he proposed, it would be in the power of every reckless prince to suppress the Council, but at Trent this would be impossible. His Majesty must also remember that Trent had been formerly approved of by all the Christian princes, including himself, as a suitable place for the meeting of the Council, and that those who now raised doubts in his mind had no other object in view than to prevent the continuation of the Council. An earnest admonition then follows, which implores Ferdinand to consider the present state of affairs, and above all the conditions in France, which require a speedy assembly of the Council, and to agree, without taking into consideration any personal advantage, but for the honour of God and the well-being of the nations, to the convocation of a General Council of the Church at Trent. This would also be in the interests of the concessions which he desired, concerning the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. In conclusion, as in the answer to France, reference is made to the possible subsequent removal of the Council to some safe place which is not under suspicion of heresy.

Delfino is commissioned, in the very detailed instructions which were given to him, and which were certainly drawn up by Morone,[1] to explain more fully the Pope's answer to the Imperial memorandum. The nuncio is to point out, with regard to ecclesiastical reform, that the Pope has taken

[1] Printed in Pogiani Epist., II., 130, and also in STEINHERZ, I., 100 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, lxxx *seq.*; EDER, I., 56. VOSS (p. 76 *seq.*) is wrong in doubting the sincerity of Pius IV.

it in hand himself, but is also pleased that it shall be dealt with in the Council; he will be willing to submit himself to it, should anything which calls for reform be found in his own person. If these interior and religious reasons have no effect, then the nuncio is to point out to the Emperor how very much it is to his own advantage, even on political grounds, and especially in order to secure the succession to the Imperial dignity for his son Maximilian, that he should agree to the holding of the Council at Trent. Should all these considerations have no effect, then Delfino is to declare that, in view of the dangers which threatened the Church at that time, not only in Germany, but also in other lands, and especially in France, the Pope must summon a Council. His Majesty should, also, in the event of its being held elsewhere than in Trent, at least send his ambassadors and the bishops to it. In the extreme case of the Emperor obstinately refusing Trent or any of the places in Italy, and maintaining his demand for reforms and concessions, Delfino is instructed to propose that an assembly of bishops and theologians should deliberate on these questions in Rome.

Prospero Santa Croce, who was detained by illness at Avignon, was not able to reach Toledo before August 26th; two days later he had an audience with Philip II., who was pleased to receive the communication of the nuncio, and declared that he was prepared to send Antonio de Toledo to France, to exhort Francis II. to give up the idea of a national council.[1] Toledo left the Spanish court as early as September 4th, with instructions, dated on the 2nd, to the effect that he was to make energetic representations at the French court in favour of a General Council, and to oppose a national one, as being injurious and prejudicial to the interests of Christianity. Philip II. informed the Pope of this step in an autograph letter of September 14th.[2]

[1] Santa Croce's report, dated Toledo, August 28, 1560, in the Miscell. di storia Ital., V., 1034 *seq.* *Cf.* LAEMMER, Melet., 180 *seq.* See also BROWN, VII., n. 194, and EHSES, VIII., 59.

[2] *Cf.* LAEMMER, 181 *seq.*; Miscell. di storia Ital., V., 1045; PALLAVICINI, 14, 16, 8-10; VOSS, 82 *seq.*; EHSES, VIII., 63 *seqq.*

This intervention on the part of Spain, however, did not succeed in bringing about a change in the policy of France. The Abbot of Manne had arrived at the French court on September 8th with the Pope's reply. A royal edict of September 10th, 1560, definitely summoned a national council for January 10th, 1561. Antonio de Toledo, who reached the French court on September 20th, found himself faced by an accomplished fact ; he returned as early as September 27th. The answer of Francis II. which he took back to his sovereign, renewed, in courteous terms, the previous demands of France, and especially the refusal of Trent.[1]

The news which in the meantime had arrived in Rome from France, had occasioned increasing uneasiness. At first the Pope still hoped to gain something by complaisance, and declared himself ready to summon the Council, if necessary, to Vercelli, so as to make it possible to hold it more quickly.[2] When, however, letters from Cardinal Tournon announced on September 21st the convention of the French national council for January 10th, 1561, Pius IV. felt himself obliged to take decisive measures.[3] On September 22nd he conferred with the Cardinals,[4] and on the following day he summoned the

[1] *Cf.* PARIS, Négociat., 544 *seq.*, 594 *seq.*, 615 *seq.* ; LE PLAT, IV., 650 *seq.* ; VOSS, 82 *seqq.*, 87 *seqq.* ; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 13 *seq.*, 15, and VIII., 72 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* VOSS, 96 *seq.* ; *ibid.* for Pius IV's endeavours for reform at that time, especially with regard to the residence of the bishops. *Cf.* Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 347 *seq.* ; LAEMMER, Melet., 212 *seq.* and the *reports of G. B. Ricasoli of September 2, 4, 12, and 13, 1560 (State Archives, Florence) ; the bull *de residentia episcoporum* of September 4, 1560, in the Bull. Rom., VII., 55 *seq.* Concerning the anxiety in Rome *cf.* also the report of the Portguese ambassador of August 22, 1560, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 33, 35.

[3] The proceedings in France, in the opinion of REIMANN (Hist. Zeitsch, XXX, 29) " must have vexed the Curia."

[4] It was proposed to send Tournon to the French court, to give as much help there as he could ; but he was not to appear as legate. VOSS, 98 ; EHSES, VIII., 58 n. 5. *Cf. ibid.*, 71 *seq.* the letter of Pius IV. to Tournon.

ambassadors, with the exception of the representative of France,[1] to meet him, and then he communicated to them the news he had received from Tournon, and declared that he was now obliged to remove the suspension of the Council of Trent, without making any reference to the validity or non-validity of the decrees already issued. Should Trent not prove a suitable place, the Council could be moved later on to Vicenza, Mantua, or Monferrato. Although he wished to deal with those who had fallen away from the faith in a mild and friendly manner, they must not be suffered to issue commands to the Holy See in such a matter, but must be prepared to receive them from him. The ambassadors were instructed to communicate this to their princes, and to exhort them to support the Pope. Prospero d'Arco, the representative of the Emperor, was the only one to raise objections, but the Pope rebuked him sternly, and the others acquiesced in a greater or lesser degree.[2] In accordance with this decision a new commission was sent by Cardinal Borromeo to the nuncio, Delfino, on September 24th, by which he was to induce the Emperor to agree to the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent.[3] Pius IV. on the same day sternly reproached the French ambassador, Bourdaisière, for the attitude of France. He promised, however, at the ambassador's request, to wait for another fortnight or month, until Francis II. should have spoken to Cardinal Tournon, and conferred further with him.[4] The Pope gave the Imperial ambassador, Arco, on September 25th, the calming assurance that nothing but necessity had forced him to his declaration of the 23rd. If the Emperor thought that he could procure a delay of the national council from France until he had found out the views of the Protestants, he would alter his decision in accordance

[1] On account of the dispute about precedence with the Spanish ambassador.

[2] See Arco's report of September 24, in SICKEL, Konzil, 95 *seq.*, and the supplementary report of Vargas of the 25, in VOSS, 98-9.

[3] STEINHERZ, I., 115.

[4] See VOSS, 101-2.

with his wishes.[1] As a report was current that the Pope would remove the suspension without waiting for the answers of the princes, Pius IV., in reply to a question from Count Arco, assured him that he had not altered his intention of waiting until the Emperor and the other princes had answered. He again declared himself ready to transfer the Council to another place, if His Majesty so desired.[2] On September 29th the Pope revealed his intention of summoning the Council in any case by his decision to postpone the enforcement of the duty of residence on the part of the bishops, in view of their participation in the General Council.[3]

Philip II. of Spain, in contrast to the policy of the Imperial and French courts, demanded, not only in a general way that the Council should be promulgated, and held as a continuation of that formerly assembled at Trent, but also, in a special way, that the decrees already published at Trent should be declared to be binding. In consideration of the views held by the other princes, however, the Pope did not think it advisable to make the situation still more difficult in this way by any express declaration. In order, however, that no doubts as to his own good will in the matter should arise in Spain, he informed the king, in a confidential letter of October 5th, that he had often considered this question, and had at last come to the conclusion that it would be best, when summoning the Council, neither to confirm the former decrees, nor to declare them invalid, but rather to pass lightly over this question with merely a few general references to it. To tranquillize Philip he told him that he personally considered the Council of Trent as good and holy, and that he especially approved of the decree on justification, and that he would also declare this at a consistory.[4] On the same October 5th, the Pope

[1] See the postscript to Arco's report of September 24 in SICKEL, Konzil, 96.

[2] See Arco's report of October 5, in SICKEL, 97 *seq.*

[3] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 348.

[4] The *letter of Pius IV. of October 5, in the Simancas Archives, used for the first time by Voss, 101.* *Cf.* the letter of Borromeo to the nuncio in Spain, in EHSES, VIII., 78 *seq.*

received Philip's letter of September 14th, through Vargas, with the news of the mission of Antonio de Toledo to France. On the following day he praised the king's good will in a Congregation of Cardinals, and once more emphasized the necessity of speedily summoning the Council. As almost all the Cardinals agreed to the continuation, it was resolved to announce the removal of the suspension on the First Sunday in Advent, to appoint the legates and to decide upon the Festival of Easter as the day of opening. Morone and Seripando were chosen as the probable legates.[1]

Shortly after this, during the night between October 8th and 9th, the news of the non-success of Toledo's mission reached Rome. Vargas, who had an audience immediately afterwards, announces that he found the Pope much depressed, even though he had scarcely expected anything else. Pius IV. said to Vargas : " As the French national council is now definitely decided upon, I for my part will now delay no longer in summoning the General Council. I no longer count on France, and believe that the Emperor will continue to hold back, from fear of complications in Germany. The Spanish king is my only support. I shall therefore request his agreement to the opening of the Council in Trent, as a continuation of the former assembly there ; it might then later on be removed to a more suitable place, such as His Majesty would approve. I hope that after the opening the Emperor and others who still hesitate, will give their adherence." In a later conversation with Vargas on October 10th, the Pope declared that he would address an autograph letter to Philip II. This letter, dated October 11th, declared his unalterable determination to proceed to the continuation of th Council

[1] See the report of Vargas in Voss, 101 *seq.*, where the erroneous account by Sarpi is corrected. *Cf.* also the letter of the Portuguese ambassador on October 8, 1560, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 48 *seq.* Morone had already been appointed as legate at the beginning of June, 1560 ; see the report of Vargas in Voss, 45, n. 89.

of Trent ; it was at once taken to Spain by Gherio, Bishop of Ischia, together with that of October 5th.[1]

On October 13th, the Pope also informed the French ambassador that he was firmly resolved to continue the Council of Trent, and on the same day he discussed the matter in the congregation of Cardinals, who almost all voted for the plan of opening the synod by the removal of the suspension.[2] Pius IV. declared to the Imperial ambassador on October 14th that he could not delay the removal of the suspension later than St. Martin's day ; he anxiously awaited the answers of the Emperor and of the Kings of Spain and France before that date.[3]

It has been justly remarked[4] how striking a fact it was that a person of such sanguine character as Pius IV. should, in spite of all resistance, have held firmly to his plan of continuing the Council of Trent. His high dignity, as the first ruler of Christendom, seemed, as it were, to raise Pius IV. above himself. It gave him the strength to carry through the great task without wavering, in spite of all the difficulties which presented themselves. The Council could no longer remain unfinished ; it must be brought to a close, if the Church were not to suffer the gravest injury.

The representatives of the Pope at the court of Philip II., Prospero Santa Croce and the nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta, made an official communication to the Spanish king on October 24th, to the effect that the Pope, after serious consideration, had resolved to lose no more time in the matter of the Council. After he had convinced himself that the Emperor and the King of France could not be induced to agree to the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent, he wished to order it without any further delay, or to remove it to some

[1] See Voss, 102 *seq.* ; Ehses, Berufung des Konzils, 15-16, and VIII., 86.

[2] See Corresp. de Babou de la Bourdaisière, 45 ; Sickel, Konzil, 116 *seq.* Corresp. of Card. O. Truchsess, 215, and the report in Ehses, VIII., 88.

[3] See Arco's report of October 15, 1560, in Sickel, Konzil, 104.

[4] Voss, 104.

other city, either in Italy, in the dominions of His Majesty, or in those of his allies, and in this he begged the king to support him. Philip praised the Pope's zeal, and in general terms declared his readiness to do so; the final answer was to be given to the nuncios in three or four days time. In the meantime, the Spanish king laid the matter before an assembly of theologians for discussion. The latter were, as Santa Croce learned, of various opinions; some spoke in favour of removing the suspension, and others for a new convocation of the Council. On October 28th, the Duke of Alba addressed the question to the nuncios, whether the Pope would prefer to remove the suspension or to summon a new Council, and whether he would agree to Besançon as its place of assembly. The nuncios, however, could give no definite answer on these two points.[1]

This change of front in the Spanish policy was the result of consideration for France, after steps had again been taken by the French ambassador to Spain, the Bishop of Limoges, to come to an agreement on the matter of the Council. Philip II. in his reply to the latter on October 30th, promised that he would intercede with the Pope, so that the Council should be convoked at once, and immediately after it had assembled be removed to Besançon or Vercelli. This decision of the Spanish king was then handed to the nuncios by Alba on October 31st.[2] On November 10th, Gherio left the Spanish court for Rome, with an autograph letter from Philip II. to Pius IV., in which the king agreed to the continuation of the Council of Trent, and did not show himself averse to its subsequent removal; if this course were decided upon, he proposed Besançon as a suitable place. In a letter to Vargas, written at the same time, he declared that he could only agree if, for the time being, all reference to the validity of the former decrees of Trent were avoided.[3]

[1] See the report of Santa Croce of October 31, 1560, in LAEMMER, Melet., 182 *seq.*; EHSES, VIII., 92 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 183 *seq.* Concerning the secret correspondence of the nuncios with Rome, which, according to the wish of Philip II. should have ceased, see VOSS, 110 *seq.* As to this, *cf.* EHSES, VIII., 93, and 118 in the notes.

[3] See VOSS, 111.

Zaccaria Delfino, who had been entrusted with the mission to Ferdinand I., arrived in Vienna on September 28th, and was received in audience by the Emperor on the following day. Ferdinand greeted him as an old friend,[1] but did not show himself inclined to deviate in any essential point from his demands. He defined his standpoint in a written reply to the Pope,[2] which was expressed, indeed, in polite and submissive terms, but in reality made no advances. Now, as before, he persisted in his claim that the Council must be convoked as a new one, while he still maintained his objections to Trent as the place of assembly. Although, for his own part, he had nothing to urge against a continuation at Trent, he did this out of consideration for the Protestants, who otherwise could not be induced to take part in the Council, and also on account of those powers, such as France, who did not accept the previous assembly, or had not been represented at it. In connection with his expression of satisfaction at the Pope's reform work in Rome, the Emperor, in conclusion, recalled the concessions which he desired with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. It is true that he declared that he was also convinced that these points could best be dealt with at a General Council, but in view of the many difficulties which in the meantime stood in the way of its convocation, he again recommended the consideration of these concessions to His Holiness.

On October 8th the Emperor received the report of his ambassador in Rome concerning the declaration made by the Pope on September 23rd. At the same time Borromeo's instructions to Delfino of September 24th arrived, whereupon the latter immediately requested an audience for Hosius

[1] *Cf.* the report of Delfino and Hosius, dated Vienna, October 3, 1560, in STEINHERZ, I., 123 *seq.*

[2] Text first published from the papers of Staphylus by SCHELHORN, Amoenit., II., 479 *seq.*, then in LE PLAT, IV., 637 *seqq.*, and from the Papal Secret Archives by EHSES, VIII., 79 *seqq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 98 *seq.*; REIMANN, Unterhandlungen, 609; VOSS, 115 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., lxxxiii *seq.*; EDER, I., 58; EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 18.

and himself. Both nuncios appeared before the Emperor on October 9th, when they declared to him the Pope's resolve to remove the suspension of the Council of Trent, and called upon him for his support. Ferdinand handed them his written answer to the Pope, adding thereto a declaration concerning the whole question of the Council, which was couched in vigorous and decided terms. He then pointed out that he gave no orders to the Pope, but only wished to fulfil his duty as Emperor, when he put forward his views on such important matters. As far as he personally was concerned he was prepared to accept any decision of the Pope, but he could not fail to say clearly and distinctly to His Holiness that, in the event of the continuation of the Council of Trent, the participation of the Protestants could in no circumstances be counted on, and that they would even rise up in arms against it. As France and the other powers also refused to accept the continuation, the difficulties of Christendom could only be removed by the convocation of a new Council, to which the Pope was, moreover, bound by the decisions of the Council of Constance. He wished to support this good work, and left the question of the time to His Holiness; as far as he himself was concerned, he was quite agreeable to Trent, which place was very convenient for him, but as this name was hated in Germany, he proposed Innsbruck. The Emperor also referred to the necessity for the personal attendance of the Pope at the Council. Finally he expressed his astonishment that the work of reform in Rome was so slow, and carried out with so little thoroughness; he also especially touched upon the abuses in the appointment of Cardinals, by which he referred to the decisions of the Council of Basle.[1] The satisfaction expressed

[1] Concerning the audience of October 9, two reports were sent to Borromeo on October 14 and 15, one from Delfino, and the other from Delfino and Hosius together (see STEINHERZ, I., 132 *seq.*, 135 *seq*). *Cf.* also the instructions of Ferdinand I. to Arco of October 18, 1560, in SICKEL, Konzils, 109 *seq.* See EDER, I., 60 *seq.* Concerning the delivery of the Emperor's speech and the author of the instruction. Eder comes to the following conclusion: The influence of the Spanish Franciscan, Francisco di

in the memorandum at the Pope's zeal for reform was, therefore, already forgotten !

The nuncios could at any rate conclude from these significant declarations of Ferdinand, that if the Pope should finally decide in favour of Trent, he would not oppose him. If Delfino, however, thought that the Emperor, in spite of his strong opposition to the continuation of the Council, would leave the Pope a free hand in this respect, he was taking a much too optimistic view.

In Rome, this view was not shared. On the arrival of the Emperor's answer, Congregations were held on October 27th and 28th, in which, an unusual occurrence, almost all the Cardinals took part. At these deliberations a great divergence of views became apparent. Several very highly respected Cardinals, especially Carpi, as well as Cesi, Puteo and Saraceni, spoke very decidedly in favour of the continuation of the Council of Trent, and against the convocation of a new Council. They were able to put forward weighty reasons for their opinion ; in the event of a new Council being summoned, it was to be feared that the whole of the work accomplished at Trent would be lost, while should the decisions of Trent be called in question, the same might be done with regard to the decrees of previous Councils, and the consequences would be incalculable.[1] With regard to the German Protestants,

Cordova, the confessor of the wife of Maximilian II. " is certain in the part about ecclesiastical reform (from about *exinde ventum* to *evenit Caraffis*). The preceding part cannot be definitely shown to have come from him, nor can his influence be admitted in the part that refers to the new convocation of the Council."

[1] The Portuguese ambassador also pointed out this danger in a letter of August 22, 1560 ; see Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 33. On November 23, 1560, Hosius wrote to Commendone from Vienna : *Si salva nihilominus remanerent concilii Tridentini sub Paulo et Julio tertiis habita decreta, non multum, quin etiam nihil referre putarem, indiceretur concilium an continuaretur, sed si quid latet insidiarum in verbo indictionis, etiam atque etiam diligenter considerandum censerem ac omni cura providendum, ne sic indicatur concilium, ut omnis conciliorum authoritas elevata vidiatur (Graziani Library, Città di Castello).

it was of no importance whether the Council were described, in accordance with the Emperor's wishes, as a completely new one, since they had repeatedly declared, and most recently at the Diet of Augsburg in 1559, that they would acknowledge no assembly of the Church which was summoned by the Pope.[1] They arrived, however, at no definite decision, and Madruzzo advised them to deliberate further on the matter, to which proposal Pius IV. also agreed.[2]

In the Curia much dissatisfaction was felt at the attitude of Delfino. In a letter from Cardinal Borromeo, of November 2nd, reproaches were made to him that he had expressed the Pope's intentions to the Emperor with too little vigour.[3] Delfino defended himself in a detailed letter on November 17th. On his arrival in Vienna he had found the situation almost hopeless, as the Emperor had been worked upon by France to oppose the continuation of the Council of Trent, and to agree only to its being held at Spires, Constance, or some similar place. He had, however, in a few days, managed to win over Ferdinand to submit to the decision of the Pope with regard to the time and place of the Council, and even to agree to Trent, though he had also proposed Innsbruck. The Emperor, therefore, was not in favour of a new Council, and against a continuation, because he did not acknowledge the assembly at Trent, the decrees of which he personally accepted with all faith, but because he saw that France would not agree,

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV., [15-16], 19 *seq.*, 135. *Cf.* REIMANN, Unterhandlungen, 590.

[2] See Arco's report of October 30, 1560, in SICKEL, Konzil, 123, and the letter of Mula of November 1, 1560, Court Library, Vienna (EHSES, VIII., 94). See also the *report of Fr. Tonina of November 2, 1560, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf*, PALLAVICINI, 14, 17, 1; REIMANN, *loc. cit.*, 610 *seq.* Seripando had already been summoned by the Pope on October 19, and had conferred with him on the 20, and again on the 30 concerning the Council and reform. MERKLE, II., 461-2.

[3] The contents of Borromeo's letter, which no longer exists, may be gathered from Delfino's reply of November 17; *cf.* STEINHERZ, I., lxxxviii, 157 *seq.*

and that Germany threatened to take up arms against it.[1] Delfino allowed it to be plainly seen that, because of these weighty reasons, he approved of the Emperor's point of view, and would recommend it in Rome. In a later letter,[2] he even made proposals in this sense. He said that it would perhaps be well to publish no conciliar bull, but rather four briefs relating to the Council. The first, addressed to the legates of the Council, would contain their appointment and admonish them to listen patiently to everyone, and to treat them in a friendly manner. The prelates would be summoned and invited by a second brief to the Council, which was to be assembled at Trent; in this brief no mention would be made, either of the summoning of a new Council, or of the continuation of the former one; a remark could at the same time be made to the effect that, although the Pope had appointed legates, he would appear in person in so far as his health would allow him to do so. The third brief, to the Emperor Ferdinand and the other Catholic kings and princes, would beg them to support the Council, and prevail upon the German princes to agree to it. Finally, the fourth brief would be addressed to the secular Electors, and "the other princes of the noble German nation who had fallen away from the Catholic faith;" the Pope might say to them that, because of their noble forefathers, who had always been shining lights in Christendom, he could not believe that they would obstinately resist reunion; they should therefore be invited to the Council, with the promise that they should receive safe-conduct, be listened to with great patience, and be treated with every consideration. However, by the time these two letters from Delfino arrived in Rome, the decisive step had already been taken.

It had certainly not been without influence in bringing this about that the French court, in consequence of a letter written to the king by Ferdinand, at the instigation of Delfino, had suddenly,[3] on October 14th, given way on the question

[1] See STEINHERZ, *loc. cit.*

[2] Preserved as a supplement to Delfino's letter to Morone of November 18, 1560, in STEINHERZ, I., 162 *seq.*

[3] See EHSES, VIII., 87 *seq.*

of the Council. On November 1st, a courier had been sent to Rome with the declaration that France accepted the last proposal to summon the Council at Vercelli, or some other place in Piedmont, and begged the Pope to communicate this to the Emperor and Philip II.; the national council would not be held, but a definite decision of the Pope with regard to a general council must be laid before the States General, which were to assemble on December 10th.[1]

After the departure of the courier news arrived from Vienna that the Emperor had given his consent to Trent, and in consequence of this a second messenger was sent on November 2nd to convey to the Pope the agreement of the French government to Trent. Francis II. wrote to the Emperor on November 6th that he would refrain from assembling a national council.[2]

The courier sent by Francis II. on November 1st, reached Rome on November 11th, and the second messenger must have arrived shortly afterwards. On November 14th Cardinal Borromeo wrote to Santa Croce, the nuncio in Spain, "The Emperor and the King of France have decided to agree that the Pope shall hold the Council at Trent, but desire that it should be summoned anew. As the Pope under no circumstances will agree to the Council of Trent or its decrees being invalidated, he is having the question as to whether the convocation shall take place, without prejudice to those decrees, discussed by the Cardinals and other theologians. The bull of convocation will accordingly be drawn up and published in from ten to twelve days time, as is required by our duty to God and the welfare of Christendom; a longer delay is excluded by the occurrences in France and the king's promise to refrain from a national council."[3] At a consistory of November 15th the Pope announced that the princes had agreed to Trent as the seat of the Council,

[1] Le Plat, IV., 655 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 657 *seq.*; Ehses, Berufung des Konzils, 20 *seq.*, VIII., 97 *seq.*

[3] See Ehses, Berufung des Konzils, 21.

and that the necessary preparations would be undertaken with the consent of the Cardinals. Fasts and intercessory prayers must be ordered for the whole of Christendom, while a special procession and a High Mass at S. Maria sopra Minerva would take place in Rome. Cardinals Saraceni, Puteo and Cicada, together with several other theologians would be entrusted with the drafting of the bull of convocation, and their draft would be laid before the Cardinals in consistory.[1]

The decision so suddenly arrived at, after such long discussion, was soon known in Rome, and caused great astonishment.

The following occurrences clearly showed that they were faced with an accomplished fact. The indulgence which usually preceded the conciliar bull, was published on November 19th, and in this the Pope announced his resolve to summon and continue the General Council, in accordance with the advice, and with the consent of the Cardinals, in the same city of Trent, where his predecessors had already held the Council. Fasts, prayers and alms would be ordered to implore the Divine blessing, and to the faithful who added to these good works a contrite confession and a worthy communion, a plenary indulgence would be granted as in the year of Jubilee.[2]

[1] There are two reports of the consistory of November 15: (1) Acta consist. Cancell. printed in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 67, and LAEMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 73 *seq.*; (2) Acta consist. Cancell. in EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 21, where there are particulars on the relation between the two accounts. See the text of both in EHSES, VIII., 100. *Cf.* also the letter of Card. O. Truchsess of November 16, in his Correspondence, 222 *seq.*, and the report of Vargas in Voss, 127. EHSES (p. 23 *seq.*) completely rejects the attempt (Voss, 129) to attribute the decisive influence upon the deliberations in the Curia upon the question of the Council to Duke Cosimo I. The matter, however, would bear further investigation according to the documents in the State Archives, Florence.

[2] Concerning the bull of November 15, in which the two contrary expressions *indicere* and *continuare* are simply placed one after

This jubilee was closed by the Pope himself with a solemn procession, which took place on Sunday, November 24th. The grand cortège proceeded from St. Peter's, through the Via de' Banchi, Monte Giordano, and the Piazza della Dogana, to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, Ridolfo Pio di Carpi, celebrated High Mass. In the procession Pius IV. walked barefoot, accompanied by Cardinals Farnese and Santa Fiora, and all the Cardinals then in Rome, twenty-one in number, were also to be seen. The ambassadors first carried the baldachino over the Pope, and afterwards the nobles. All the members of the Curia took part in the procession, as did also the secular and regular clergy, as well as the seventeen secular confraternities of Rome, and the Duke of Florence, who walked between the two junior Cardinal Deacons, Carlo Borromeo and Giovanni de' Medici, his own son.[1] The Roman people showed great piety during the ceremony, and many communicated in order to gain the indulgence.[2]

The publication of the conciliar bull had also been originally intended for November 24th, but its appearance was delayed, as such great differences of opinion had arisen among the Cardinals, canonists and theologians who had been summoned to the conference, among whom was the General of the Jesuits,

the other, by which, however, no deception was intended, and still less any solution of the difficulty, see EHSES, Berufung des Konzils, 23. The full text, but with wrong date is in the Corpo. dipl. Portug., IX., 96 *seq.*; also in EHSES, VIII., 100 *seq.*

[1] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 349; BONDONUS, 537; *letter of Fr. Tonina of November 27, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) the Portuguese report in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 129. An *Avviso di Roma of November 30 states that Vargas had claimed that in the procession the ambassadors should walk after the bishops and in front of the Cardinals, and that in the end Pius IV. had assigned to the bishops their place behind the balachino. The procession was "bellissima et veramente rara." (Urb. 1039, p. 228b, Vatican Library).

[2] See BONDONUS, 537.

Lainez, that violent discussions ensued.[1] In consequence of this, the bull could only be read in consistory on November 29th. Before it was read the Pope made a speech in which he pointed out the necessity of speedy measures in view of the dangerous position of the Church, and the threatened national council in France. After the bull had been read, he explained it, and indicated as the tasks of the General Council the eradication of heresy, the removal of schism, and the reform of the Church. At the end he remarked to Cardinal d'Este that the national council would thus be prevented, to which the Cardinal replied that it was already destroyed.[2]

In the bull of convocation, which bears the date November 29th, 1560,[3] Pius IV. glances back at the history of the Council under his predecessors, Paul III. and Julius III., who had been unable to bring it to an end owing to the difficulties of the times. This account is in such a form as to take it for granted that the former acts of the Council, which had been combatted, partly by the Imperialists and partly by the French, were valid.[4] The Pope then expressed his sorrow at the continued spread of heresy. As the good and merciful God had again granted peace to Christendom, he now hoped to be able to put an end to the great evils of the Church by means of the Council. After having fully deliberated on the matter with the Cardinals, and communicated his decision to the Emperor and the kings and princes, and found them ready to support the holding of the Council, he now summons the holy, ecumeni-

[1] *Cf.* as to this Voss, 131 *seq.*, who uses especially the reports of Vargas. See also the *report of Fr. Tonina of November 23, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); further Dembiński, Ryzm, I., 220 *seq.*, and Grisar, Disput., II., 9*.

[2] See Acta consist. in Dembiński, *loc. cit.*, 256 *seq.*, and Ehses, VIII., 103. *Cf.* also Tonina's *report of November 30, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] Printed in Raynaldus, 1560, n. 69, and more fully in Bull. Rom., VII., 90 *seq.*, and in Ehses, VIII., 103. *Cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 99 *seq.* A facsimile in Swoboda, 96.

[4] Pallavicini rightly emphasizes this (14, 17, 6).

cal and general Council to Trent ; it is to be opened there under the repeal of each and every suspension, on Easter Sunday next.[1] The patriarchs, archbishops, and all those who, according to common law, or privilege, or prescriptive law or right, have a seat and vote on the Council, are admonished to appear at Trent on the appointed day. A request is addressed to the Emperor and the other princes, that if it be impossible for them to be present at the Council in person, they shall at least send envoys, and see that the prelates undertake the journey without delay, and are in a position to fulfil their duty.

On November 30th copies of the bull, with the accompanying brief, were sent to the Catholic princes.[2] On the same date a brief was sent to all the bishops of France, containing an invitation to the Council, a special one being sent to Cardinal Tournon.[3] On Sunday, December 2nd, the bull of convocation was made public, by being read in St. Peter's and the Lateran, and by being affixed in the usual places.[4]

By the words "under repeal of each and every suspension" the bull gives expression to the fact that the Council, in

[1] Sacrum oecumenicum et generale concilium . . . in civitate Tridentina ad sanctissimum diem Ressurrectionis dominicae proxime futurum indicimus, et ibi celebrandum sublata suspensione quacumque statuimus et decernimus.

[2] The briefs to the Emperor and Francis II., in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 70 and 71 ; LE PLAT, IV., 663 *seq.* Besides this brief Pius IV. sent to Ferdinand I. on December 4, 1560, an autograph letter (SICKEL, Konzil, 147). The brief to the King of Portugal in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 107. See also EHSES, VIII., 111 *seq.*

[3] RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 72. LE PLAT, IV., 664 *seq.*

[4] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 349 ; BONDONUS, 546. Tonina *reported on December 4, 1560 : "Lunedì fu congregatione sopro questa cosa del concilio, della quale ancorche già sia publicata la bolla . : . stampata et attacata ai muri, nondimeno ancora si disputa fra cardinali il suo tenore essendo sopra quelli alcuni dispiaceri." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

accordance with the will of the Pope, shall be a continuation of the previous assembly at Trent, but out of consideration for the Emperor and for France, this is put in as reserved a way as possible, and with a careful avoidance of the word "continuation."

CHAPTER VI.

The Mission of Commendone and Delfino to Germany.

Pius IV. and his advisers, by their carefully considered and, in various points, intentionally vague wording of the bull of convocation of November 29th, 1560, wished, as far as possible, to avoid giving offence to the powers, and to evade the dangerous controversial question as to the relation existing between the Council now summoned to Trent, and the former assembly held there. Out of consideration for the Emperor and France, the word "continuation" was not used, while, out of consideration for Spain, the convocation of a new Council was not definitely mentioned. As far as principle was concerned, however, nothing was yielded by this; the highly important question of the validity of the previous decrees remained only in apparent abeyance. The basing of the convocation on the historical fact that the Council had already been assembled on two occasions, and not brought to a conclusion, but only adjourned, as well as the use of the significant expression "under repeal of each and every suspension" pointed clearly to a continuation, and let it be seen that a renewed discussion of decrees already promulgated, contrary as it was to Catholic principles, would not be tolerated. On the other hand, the words "We summon a Council" made it possible for the Emperor and France to see therein a concession to their wishes. In this way an attempt was made to do justice to both views, although they were incompatible and irreconcilable.[1]

[1] See Steinherz, I., 172. Reimann says: "the bull causes a very high opinion of the skill of the 3 Cardinals and 12 canonists, of whose manifold deliberations it was the result." (Unterhandlungen, 614). *Cf.* also Dembiński, Ryzm, I., 228 *seq.*, and Ehses, Schlussakt des Konzils, 45.

The great question was whether the formal concessions adopted by Papal diplomacy, and which attempted to provide a middle course between two powerfully opposed attitudes, would satisfy the great Catholic powers. It was soon evident that this was by no means the case. The long negotiations were again renewed, and repeated missions of nuncios extraordinary became necessary in order to secure the acceptance of the bull and the bringing into being of the Council.

The delivery of the conciliar bull to France was entrusted to the secretary of Cardinal d'Este, Niquet, Abbot of St. Gildas, who had come to Rome on September 24th, 1560, with dispatches from Francis II. to his ambassador, Bourdaisière. When Niquet reached Paris on December 17th, 1560, Francis II. was dead, and his younger brother, Charles IX., then only ten years old, had succeeded him (December 5th, 1560). Affairs of state were now in the hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, but the change of government had led to no alteration in the question of the Council. People appeared to be glad at the idea of a general council being at last summoned, but objected to the words "under repeal of each and every suspension" and expressed the fear that the Protestants, and, out of consideration for them, the Catholics of Germany as well, would not acknowledge a council which took for granted the validity of the former decrees. It was, however, decided to delay making an answer until the Emperor's attitude could be ascertained. The French ambassador in Vienna, Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, was instructed to discuss the matter with him. Should Ferdinand not accept the bull, they resolved, in union with him, to demand an alteration from the Pope. In this event, Bourdaisière, the ambassador in Rome, was instructed to act in concert with the representative of the Emperor.[1]

While the French government was raising difficulties because

[1] *Cf.* Le Plat, IV., 668 *seq.*; Pallavicini, 15, 1, 5 *seq.*; Reimann, Unterhandlungen, 614 *seq.*; Sickel, Konzil, 154 n.

the bull pointed to a continuation of the Council of Trent, the Spanish king was displeased because the continuation was not expressly and clearly proclaimed. Philip II. and his counsellors, in their great zeal for the Catholic faith, feared that Pius IV. might give way still further, and, in order to win over the Protestants, allow a renewed discussion of the decrees already formulated. It was not, however, difficult to satisfy Philip II. on this point. The greatest danger for Pius IV. lay in the possibility of an understanding between the French government and the Emperor, as together they might be able to enforce their will upon him in the matter of the Council.[1]

As a matter of fact, of all the princes, Ferdinand had the least occasion to make further difficulties, as his request that the continuation of the Council should not be definitely spoken of had been complied with, but the Emperor's constant fear of a sudden attack by the Protestants, which caused him to take quite exaggerated measures to reassure them, prevented him, on this occasion as well, from declaring himself boldly in favour of the Council.[2]

Pius IV. chose Giovanni Commendone, Bishop of Zante, to deliver the bull of convocation to the Emperor, and he was, at the same time, commissioned to announce the Council to the ecclesiastical and secular princes in north Germany, Belgium and the Rhineland, Zaccaria Delfino, Bishop of Lesina, receiving instructions to travel through central and south Germany for the same purpose. In order to publish the invitation to the Council in the widest manner possible, the Pope had thought of allowing his representatives to visit the Protestant princes as well, but by so doing he would expose himself to the danger of offensive refusals, so he com-

[1] How much the Pope feared this is evident from the *report of Cusano of January 11, 1560 (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] STEINHERZ very justly remarks (I., xci) that nothing was more significant of the anxiety with which Ferdinand I. regarded the Protestants than the fact that he did not wish to publish the indulgence bull of November 15, because there was mention in it of the continuation of the Council.

forted himself with the consciousness of having fulfilled his duties as chief pastor.[1]

Giovanni Commendone had begun his diplomatic career under Julius III. and Paul IV., in many missions, and in the office of the Secretary of State. He had also come in contact with that part of north Germany which he was now to visit, when he had accompanied the legates Dandino (1553) and Rebiba (1556).[2] He left Rome on December 11th, 1560,[3] and arrived in Vienna on January 3rd, 1561.[4] He delivered to the Emperor, in addition to the bull of convocation, a brief and an autograph letter from the Pope. The brief contained an invitation to send envoys to the Council, and a request to order the bishops of the Imperial dominions to proceed to Trent. The autograph letter assured him once more that the Germans invited to the Council would be listened to with kindness and charity, and their just demands satisfied.

[1] *Cf.* Mula's *report of November 18, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna); SICKEL, Konzil, 149, 148 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., 171 *seq.*; EHSES, Ein päpstlicher Nuntius, 39.

[2] *Cf.* Vols. XIII., 149, XIV., 119 of this work.

[3] The day of departure, which was not hitherto known for certain, is given as December 10 in the *Viaggio, mentioned *infra* p. 225 n. 3 (Chigi Library, Rome). As there only exists a copy of this authority, preference must be given to the following statement in Fr. Tonina's *report of December 11, 1560: "Il Commendone è partito hoggi per la corte Ces. con 120 brevi" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] The *Register of the reports of Commendone from Germany, written by Antonio Maria Graziani, is found in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, and has been made accessible for the first time by the researches of J. Dengel. Afterwards it was published in part by Steinherz in the 2nd volume of the 2nd section of the Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. A later copy, already used by PALLAVICINI (15, 2, 5) is in Cod. Barb., 5798 (formerly LXII., 58). *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., 139, 312, 319. Finazzi has published part of the letters, but with many errors, in the Miscell. di storia Ital., VI., 3 *seqq.* A splendid new edition in EHSES, VIII., n. 80 *seqq.* The *Viaggio in the Chigi Library, Rome, mentioned *infra* p.225 gives details of Commendone's route.

On January 5th, 1561, Commendone, as well as Hosius and Delfino, had an audience with the Emperor.[1] The latter did not conceal his objections to the wording of the Papal briefs, but, nevertheless, declared himself ready to further the Council. He then recommended the nuncios to proceed without delay to the Diet summoned by the Protestant princes for January 24th at Naumburg. He requested to be informed in writing as to what the Pope wished him to communicate to the princes. The nuncios, who had been forbidden to undertake written negotiations, so as to avoid protracted and dangerous correspondence, had scruples about complying with this request. As Ferdinand, however, insisted on having at least Commendone's proposal in writing, they felt bound to give way, so as not to endanger further negotiations. They therefore gave him a note from Commendone, drawn up in the shortest possible terms, to which the Emperor, in his turn, gave a written reply on January 8th. He praised the Pope's resolve to invite the German princes by means of the two nuncios; from the Catholic states of the Empire, and especially from the ecclesiastical ones, he thought that the Pope's representatives would be sure to meet with ready obedience. With regard to the Protestants, he repeated his advice that they should visit the Diet at Naumburg, and exhorted them to act there in a spirit of clemency; he intended himself to send envoys to Naumburg.[2]

There was no possibility of the nuncios seeking fresh instructions as to their course of action from Rome, and as the Emperor's representations were very urgent, they resolved, hoping for subsequent approval, to modify their programme, and to repair together to the Diet of the princes at Naumburg,

[1] See the report to Borromeo of January 9, 1561; January 9 and 13, 1561, composed by Delfino in the names of Hosius and Commendone as well as himself, in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 20 *seq.*, in Ehses, VIII., 128, n. 80, 131, n. 82.

[2] The note of the 5, and the Emperor's reply of January 8 in Raynaldus, 1561, n. 20, more correctly in Planck, Anecdota fasc. 21, and Ehses, VIII., 123 *seq.* *Cf.* Reimann, Commendone, 241.

proceeding afterwards to the legatine districts prescribed to them. At a further meeting on January 12th, the Emperor recommended three further points for their consideration. First, as the Protestant princes looked upon the Council which had been summoned as a continuation of the former one, and were therefore full of suspicion, this suspicion must be removed. Second, it was necessary to act in a very discreet manner when dealing with the Protestants, and to offer them safe-conduct in the widest acceptation of the word. Third, when at Naumburg, they should accommodate themselves to the German usage, and negotiate in writing. To the second point, it was possible for Commendone to agree unconditionally, but to the first he answered that they were not sent to dispute with the Protestants, but only to invite them to the Council, where everyone would be able to speak freely on all points, and would be listened to in the most courteous manner. With regard to the third point, Commendone referred to his instructions, which forbade written negotiations in order to avoid useless disputes.[1]

On January 9th Ferdinand replied to the brief, and on the 15th to the Pope's letter. Both documents, it is true, gave hopes, in general terms, of his supporting the Council, but threw no light on the Emperor's own intentions.[2] His idea was to make his decision dependent on the answer of the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg. While he invited the latter, through his envoys, to send delegates to the Council, he at the same time emphasized his firm resolve, under all circumstances, to preserve religious peace.[3]

Commendone and Delfino left Vienna on January 14th; they travelled as quickly as cold and snow permitted, by way of Prague, where they were received by the Archduke

[1] See Commendone's report of January 13, 1561, in the Miscell. di stor. Ital. VI., 32 *seq.*, in EHSES, VIII., 131 *seq.* *Cf.* PLANCK, *loc. cit.*; REIMANN, *loc. cit.*

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 159 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 157 *seq.*

Ferdinand, and arrived at Naumburg on January 28th.[1] There, in accordance with their instructions, they endeavoured at first to negotiate with the individual princes separately, but in this they were not successful, and had to make up their minds to appear before all the princes assembled in the Diet. This took place on February 5th.[2] The nuncios first handed to each prince the brief addressed to him, together with a copy of the bull of convocation. They then invited the assembled princes by word of mouth to participate in the General Council. Delfino assured them that the Council would not only, and above all, grant them a hearing, but also all just demands. As there were almost as many opinions concerning religion as there were individuals, and as many gospels as teachers, he begged them to send their envoys to Trent, who would receive safe-conduct in the fullest form, and thus to secure the re-establishment of religious unity. Commendone pointed out that this was the very moment for a Council; peace now reigned between France and Spain, and the present Pope had zealously resolved to abolish all the abuses which had crept into the Church and to restore the weakened ecclesiastical discipline. They must consider that it was a question of the faith and of the salvation of souls; if the foundations of religion were to be destroyed, then the kingdoms would also fall to pieces. The assembled princes desired the nuncios to give them what they had said in writing,

[1] See Commendone's report in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 42, 45, 50 *seq.*, and the *Viaggio in the Chigi Library, Rome, quoted *infra* 225, n. 3.

[2] *Cf.* the report of Commendone, composed also in Delfino's name, of February 8, 1561, in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 54 *seq.*, more correctly previously in Pogiani Epist., II., 229 n., and also in Ehses, VIII., 149 *seq.*, and the report of Delfino of February 9, 1561, published by Sickel in the Neuen Mitteilungen des thüringisch-sächsischen Vereins, XII. (1869), 531 *seq.* *Cf.* *ibid.*, a criticism of the reports on the negotiations of the nuncios. Concerning the Diet of the princes at Naumberg see Janssen-Pastor, IV., 15-16, 138 *seq.*

but desisted when the latter appealed to their instructions to the contrary.

The nuncios had hardly returned to their temporary lodgings when they were subjected to insulting treatment, similar to that which had been shown to the envoys of Paul III. at Schmalkald.[1] Three of the councillors brought back the briefs with the statement that the princes had only remarked the address "Beloved son" after they had gone; as they did not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as their father, they must reject the appellation of "sons" as well as the documents which had been delivered. The nuncios replied that the Pope had made use of the term which had been used from time immemorial towards all Christian princes. The councillors thereupon laid the briefs upon the table. The bull of convocation, however, which was a much more important document, and brought the Papal authority into prominence in quite another manner than did the conventional address of the briefs, was not among them; the answer to this arrived two days later. It was not merely a rejection, but was couched in rude and offensive terms. The Pope, it stated, had no right to summon a Council, or to pose as a judge in ecclesiastical disputes, as it was precisely he who was the originator of all errors, and who suppressed the truth more than anybody else The outstanding work of the Popes had been to stir up nation against nation, and to increase their own power by weakening that of the people. They proceeded with cruelty against all those who would not abase themselves to the adoration of their persons and their false deities, yet who wished to live in true piety. Then these very princes who were just then disputing with each other at Naumburg about the true Confession of Augsburg, went on to deny the existence of any religious disunion. They were unjustly accused, they impudently maintained, of not possessing religious unity, yet there was not only their clear confession of faith at Augsburg, which had been handed to the Emperor in 1530, but various other documents which had

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 88 *seq.*

amplified and spread more widely the true divine doctrine. On the other hand the Roman Church was inundated with errors and abominable abuses, and the Gospel teaching there was so violently distorted, that it resembled heathen idolatry rather than a Christian community. The Electors and princes had been driven by the stern command of God to avoid idolatry, and to separate themselves from the Roman Church, and they were by no means willing to allow the Pope to make laws for them; it was Ferdinand, the Roman Emperor, who alone was their master, and had the right to summon a Council.

Commendone answered this insulting declaration calmly and with dignity: The Pope had summoned the Council in the manner which had always been observed in the Church; the Emperor, to whom the princes ascribed the right to summon a Council had too much discernment not to see the difference between spiritual and temporal authority. The Pope had had his attention fixed upon reform ever since he ascended the throne, and he had summoned the Council all the more gladly as it was precisely in that way that a general reformation could best be undertaken. That divisions and uncertainty of opinion existed among the followers of the new religion was no unjust reproach, but a fact patent to the eyes of the whole world; it was perfectly evident from the writings of their theologians, which had been cited by the princes, and which were full of many new opinions, all contradictory of each other. If the princes maintained that they had certainty in their faith, then the novelty, the deviation from the rest of the Church, the separation from the ordained power, must at anyrate affect this certainty and make them doubtful, especially in a matter where it was a question of eternal salvation or eternal damnation. St. Paul, the vessel of election, who, according to his own testimony, had received his gospel, not from men, but by revelation, yet received by revelation the command to go to Jerusalem and compare his gospel with that of the Apostles, so that he might not run or have already run in vain. Commendone further enjoined the princes to reflect that from the days of the Apostles all the

ancient fathers had always turned to the Church of Rome as their teacher and rule of truth; the Germans themselves, as they must acknowledge, had received Christianity from her. They should remember the words of the Gospel: "How often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldest not!"[1]

Although the answer of the princes contained no reply to the invitation of the nuncios, there could yet be no doubt that they rejected the Council. Even Delfino, who comforted himself in his sanguine way, recognized how hostile those assembled at Naumburg were to the Pope, and feared that the other Protestant princes and states would follow their example.[2] On February 11th he and Commendone visited Bishop Julius Pflug, who lived at Zeitz, and who promised to come to Trent. The nuncios separated on February 13th; in spite of their different characters they had got on well together as Venetians. Delfino, in accordance with his instructions, went to south Germany, while Commendone commenced his journey to the north.[3]

[1] See REIMANN, Commendone, 247 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Delfino's letter to Ferdinand I. of February 10, 1561, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 673 *seq.*; REIMANN, *loc. cit.*, 248.

[3] The principal sources for Commendone's mission are his letters, which are now to be found in a good edition, thanks to the care of EHSES (*cf. supra* p. 219 n. 4). There is also a detailed description of his whole journey from Venice until his return there. This *Viaggio d' Alemagna fatto dal cardinale [sic] Commendone l' anno 1560 [until 1561] scritto da S^re^ Fulgenzio Ruggieri Bolognese et copiato da Giov. Franc. Scardova Bolognese l' anno, 1596, is preserved in Cod. M—I—2, p.p 1-68 in the Chigi Library, Rome. Heidenheimer has published some notes from this in the Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XXI., 117 *seq.* Trêves, 1902, under the title of "Ein Italiener des 16. Jahrhunderts über Rheinländisches und Westphälisches," but they do not by any means exhaust this source, which is so full of interest for the history of the Church and of civilization (*cf.* PASTOR, Eine ungedruckte Beschreibung der Reichsstadt Aachen aus dem Jahre 1561,

Commendone refrained from visiting Weimar, as Duke John Frederick did not even condescend to give him a direct answer, but merely sent him a message that "he had less than nothing to discuss with the Roman Bishop!" The Elector Augustus of Saxony had provided the nuncios at Naumburg with letters of safe-conduct for his dominions, and expressed his regret that he had not met them in a city belonging to him, but at an assembly for which he had had to show some consideration. Commendone was accordingly politely received at Leipsic by the municipal council and the university, although the whole city was Protestant. From Leipsic he proceeded by Magdeburg to Berlin, which he reached on February 19th, and where he took up his residence for a time. Pius IV. had built great hopes on the Elector Joachim II., as he had made his personal acquaintance many years before during the Turkish war. Joachim[1] acknowledged this circumstance by an almost oppressive amiability

verfasst von dem Italiener F. Ruggieri, Aix, 1914). Heidenheimer has also overlooked the fact that a great number of passages had already been published in 1746 and 1756 by LAGOMARSINI, De scriptis invita Minerva II., 16 *seq.*, and in POGIANI Epist., II., 235 *seq.* Lagomarsini erroneously ascribes the itinerary to Graziani. Concerning the account of Germany, drawn up by Commendone after a Venetian model (in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 310 *seq.*) *cf.* ŠUSTA, Kurie, II., 412. Since, of other accounts, the monograph of PRISAC, Die päpstlichen Legaten Commendone und Cappacini in Berlin (Neuss, 1846) contains nothing new, there need only be mentioned REIMANN, Commendone, 250 *seq.*, who (p. 273 *seq.*) contributes a criticism of the articles on the subject in earlier works (Raynaldus, Pallavicini, Gratianus) and the valuable essay of EHSES, Ein papstlicher Nuntius am Rhein, 39 *seq.*

[1] The character sketch of the Prince Elector given by Ruggieri in the *Viaggio mentioned in the previous note is printed in LAGOMARSINI, De scriptis, II., 21; there is also a short description of Berlin at that time. Concerning Brandenburg, Ruggieri says: *Ci sono alcuni frati Franciscani che dicona la messa et i suoi uffitii secretamente in un monasterio, ma ci stanno con gran paura (Chigi Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*).

and hospitality towards the Pope's representative.[1] The cunning Hohenzollern overwhelmed Commendone with marks of attention, assigning him a lodging in the best part of his castle, repeatedly inviting him to his table, and holding long and confidential theological discussions with him. Commendone might well have great hopes that his mission would be successful here, because the Elector received without any difficulty the bull of convocation and the brief addressed to him; the answer, however, which he finally received, although very courteous, amounted to a refusal.[2]

The brother of the Elector, the Margrave John of Brandenburg, whom Commendone, while at Berlin, visited at Beeskow, also received him with great politeness, giving him, however, an answer which was an even more definite rejection than that of Joachim II.[3] The son of the Elector of Brandenburg, Archbishop Sigismund of Magdeburg, to whom Commendone delivered the bull and a brief from the Pope, promised, on the other hand, to come soon to Trent; he would, he said, apply to the Pope with the greatest confidence for advice and help in his ecclesiastical affairs. The prince who thus gave these solemn assurances was already at that time a Protestant in secret, and openly adhered to the Augsburg Confession before the year was out.

Commendone's stay in Berlin came to an end on March 3rd. On his departure Joachim II. handed him a polite answer in writing to the Pope's brief. The Elector, whose marks of attention were continued to the end, also wished to bestow valuable gifts upon the nuncio. Commendone, however, begged him to refrain from doing this, and rather to grant him two other favours, namely to agree to read the controversial work of Hosius, "Confession of the Catholic Faith," and to restore to the poor Carthusian monks, who

[1] See EHSES, Ein Nuntius, 40.

[2] *Cf.* REIMANN, Commendone, 251-9; EHSES, VIII., 171 *seq.*

[3] The reply of John of Brandenburg, dated February 26, 1561, in SICKEL, Konzil, 176 *seq.* The detour to Beeskow took place on February 25; on the 26 Commendone started for Frankfort-on-Oder, returning to Berlin on the 28; see *Viaggio, *loc. cit.*

had still managed to maintain themselves near Frankfort on Oder, some property which had been taken away from them. The Elector promised to grant both requests.

However greatly Commendone may have appreciated the benevolent frame of mind and the good will of Joachim II. towards a peaceful settlement of the religious disputes, he had no illusions, however, as to the attitude which this prince would adopt with regard to the matter of the Council.[1] The often repeated claims of the Elector that the Protestant theologians should be granted a vote at the ecumenical Council could not, in accordance with Catholic principles, be allowed.

Commendone remained at Wolfenbüttel, with the aged Duke of Brunswick, Henry the Younger, from March 8th till the 13th. This prince, who had remained true to the old faith, declared himself ready to send envoys to Trent.[2] On the 14th Commendone arrived at Hildesheim, where he did not meet the bishop of that place, Burkard von Oberg. The Duke Eric II. of Brunswick and the Bishop of Osnabrück were also absent, so Commendone delivered the Papal invitation to the Council to their councillors. At Paderborn, where Commendone arrived on March 22nd, he at last found a city which still remained entirely Catholic. The bishop, Rembert von Kerssenbrock, promised, in spite of his great age, to attend the Council. Münster was reached on March 26th. In contrast to Paderborn, many had fallen away from the church in the diocese of Münster, which was certainly in consequence of the want of vigilance on the part of the bishops of the district.[3] The metropolitan of that time, Bernhard von Raesfeld, did not appear to show much zeal in the carrying out of his pastoral duties, and his reply was in keeping with his conduct: he endeavoured to excuse himself from going to Trent, on account of the proximity of the Protestants and the disobedience of his subjects.

[1] *Cf.* the passages from the letters cited by REIMANN, p. 259, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES, VIII., 177.

[3] *Cf.* Ruggieri in the *Viaggio in the Chigi Library, Rome, quoted *supra*. p. 225, n. 3.

On the way to Cologne Commendone touched on the dominions of the Duke of Cleves, where he again found many Lutherans. Things looked better in the territory of the Elector of Cologne, whose capital the nuncio reached at the end of March. There he took up his residence in the Abbey of St. Pantaleon. The nuncio and those who accompanied him were astonished at the number of churches, said to be as many as three hundred, and at the rich treasures of relics which the Rhenish metropolis possessed. The city was not quite free from heresy, but the zeal with which the people frequented the churches made a most favourable impression on the Pope's representative.[1] His original intention, of spending Holy Week in Cologne, and then carrying out his commission, he had to give up on learning that a Diet of the German Electors was to be held at Frankfort on the 20th. He could not fail to take advantage of this favourable opportunity of furthering the matter of the Council, so he immediately repaired to Brühl to see the archbishop, Johann Gebhard of Mansfeld, who was grievously ill. The answer which he received there, however, was very unsatisfactory. In sending this to Cardinal Borromeo, he wrote : " I do not believe that any of the bishops are thinking of coming to Trent. The princes of the other religion do all they can to prevent their appearance there, and in this manner to weaken the authority of the Council."[2]

Commendone visited the Elector of Trêves, Johann von der Leyen, by making a journey to Coblence. The two prelates understood each other very well, and made friends, although, even more strongly than the other bishops, Johann insisted on the impossibility of leaving his people or diocese, in view of the dangerous position of affairs, and the experiences of 1552.[3]

In his conversations with the Archbishop of Trêves, whose diocese still remained entirely Catholic, Commendone spoke

[1] See Ruggieri, *Viaggio, Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] Letter of April 11, 1561, in Ehses, VIII., 18 *seq.*

[3] See Ehses, Ein Nuntius, 41, and VIII., 193 *seq.*

with great frankness[1] of the sad experiences he had so far had during his journey through north Germany. "Religious conditions in Germany," he explained, "are in such a state that the application of the remedy must not long be delayed; the longer we hesitate the more difficult and dangerous it will become. The number of the heretics increases from day to day; they have not only won over the greater number of the secular princes, but the territories of the Catholic princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, are so polluted and infected that they can hardly exact service from their subjects, nor the customary taxes and obedience. Still, there is no doubt that the power of the Catholic states of the Empire is greater than that of the Protestants, and nothing causes these last to be so respected and feared as their external unity, though at heart they are much divided, and only united by their common hatred of the Catholic religion, and their greed for the ecclesiastical property that still remains. It is therefore most necessary that the Catholic princes should at once be truly united and on good terms with each other, from which it would become possible to hope for every good, and a happy outcome to the Diet, and even without this the way would be opened to the Council." Johann von der Leyen informed Commendone in confidence of the obstacles which had hitherto frustrated the formation of a Catholic confederation. Commendone, however, adhered firmly to his opinion that, if they did not make up their minds to unite the Catholics, and set them free from their state of fear and subjection, religious affairs would become almost desperate. The Archbishop of Trêves himself does not seem to have been free from this state of fear, as was shown by his pronouncements with regard to the Diet of the Prince Electors and his answer in the matter of the Council, that he could not appear in person at Trent, on account of the certain dangers to which he would expose his territory by his absence.[2]

[1] "In questo stato sono manco heretici che negl' altri degl' elettori di Colonia et Moguntia et per tutto si vive catolicamente, writes RUGGIERI, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the letters of Commendone of April 14 and 21, 1561, in EHSES, VIII., 191 and 194. *Cf.* REIMANN, Commendone, 261 *seq.*

On April 19th Commendone was once more in Cologne, where he received the visit of the Bishop of Osnabrück, Johann von Hoya. This prelate, whom in other respects Commendone highly praises, also dwelt upon the disturbed state of the country, and the dangers which threatened the bishops who should travel to the Council. He proposed that the archbishops should be commissioned by the Pope to hold provincial synods, and these should appoint several bishops to go to the Council, the other bishops remaining behind for the protection of their own and the other dioceses. Commendone, however, protested against the dangerous and tedious plan of holding provincial synods.

The answer of the municipal council of Cologne, and of the university of that city to the invitation to the Council was satisfactory. Commendone, however, did not conceal from himself the fact that even in Cologne grave dangers threatened the Church. He set great hopes on the Jesuits for averting these dangers, but the latter had to contend with great difficulties in the Rhenish capital, owing to the jealousy of the clergy, and especially of the mendicant orders. The nuncio was much grieved by the incredible apathy of so many Catholics. "It looks," he wrote, "as if our people were those who believe in faith alone without works, so little do they appear to trouble about the redress of the present evil conditions. On the other hand, those who stand outside the truth and cân therefore find no real unity, do endeavour to support one another and to give an appearance of being united."[1]

Commendone found conditions much worse than in the archdiocese of Cologne, when he entered the Duchy of Cleves, the capital of which he reached on April 26th. The apostasy from Rome had there made great progress, and there were many heretics in Cleves. The city of Wesel was almost entirely Protestant, at Düsseldorf a declared Protestant was teaching five hundred pupils, and the court preacher gave the people communion under both kinds. Commendone lost

[1] Letters to Borromeo of April 21 and 25, 1561, in EHSES, VIII., 194 *seqq.*

no time in remonstrating with Duke William IV., but was very cautious in doing so. This was very necessary, as the Duke was out of temper on account of the hesitation of Pius IV. to grant permission for the foundation of the university at Duisburg.[1] As a change of religion on the part of the Duke of Cleves might have incalculable consequences, on account of the position of his country, Commendone endeavoured to pacify him and advised Rome to make all possible advances.[2] In the matter of the Council, Duke William showed very good will as to the sending of envoys, expressing at the same time the wish that the chalice might be granted to the laity, and permission given to priests to marry.[3]

From Cleves, Commendone visited the Netherlands, starting for Utrecht on April 29th, where he arrived on the 30th. Thence he travelled by Dordrecht to Antwerp, which he reached on May 3rd, remaining there until the 12th. Here he received Cardinal Borromeo's instructions that he should also visit the King of Denmark and hand him personally the invitation to the Council.[4] If he should be successful in winning over this prince, the most powerful in the north, who was also related to the two most important courts of the

[1] Upon this affair *cf.* Šusta, Kurie, 109 *seq.*

[2] The affair dragged on till 1562. On June 15, 1562, the bull for the erection of the university of Duisburg was sent to the Duke, antedated April 10th; see Lacomblet, Urkundenbuch, IV., n. 564; Šusta, Kurie, II., 211.

[3] To the accounts already noted, and profitably treated of by Reimann, Commendone, 264 *seq.*, and Lossen, Masius' Briefe, 331 *seq.*, must be added the *Viaggio of Ruggieri, where we read of the religious conditions of the country: *Quanto alla religione il duca non mostra di dissentire in altro della fede cattolica che nella communione sub utraque specie ch' egli riceve apertamente; la sua corte è quasi tutta lutherana. Nei stati si vive per il più alla cattolica, ma per tutti i luoghi sono molto heretici (Chigi Lib., Rome).

[4] *Letter of Borromeo of March 4-7, 1561, Lett. di princ., XXII., 113 (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* Šusta, Kurie, I., 199, and Ehses, VIII., 169 *seq.*

German Protestant princes, Brandenburg and Saxony, he would indeed have attained a great deal. In view of the attitude which the Danish sovereign had hitherto taken up, however, there appeared to be very little hope of success. In spite of this Pius IV. did not wish to leave any means untried.

In order to carry out this visit to Denmark, Commendone required special letters of safe-conduct and recommendation from the Emperor, and these could not be obtained very quickly. In the meantime the indefatigable nuncio employed the interval in carrying on further work in the Netherlands to ensure the sending of delegates to the Council. On May 12th he proceeded by Malines and Louvain to Brussels, and during his stay there (May 22nd) carried on negotiations with Margaret, the Governess of the Low Countries, and with Cardinal Granvelle, who both displayed great zeal for the Council. They, however, advised Commendone against the journey to Denmark, as being dangerous to his own person, and not in keeping with the dignity of the Pope. Commendone was, however, of opinion that it was the duty of a servant to carry out unconditionally the orders of his master, and that he should take no thought for his own danger.[1] At Louvain the nuncio had made inquiries concerning the theological controversies which had been stirred up by the professor Michael Baius, who was a lover of innovations; he reported the facts to the Pope, giving him the shrewd advice, which Pius IV. followed, to impose silence on both Baius and his opponents.[2]

In the person of the Bishop of Liège, Robert van Berghen, Commendone made the acquaintance of a prelate who was distinguished both for his learning and piety, and who showed an ardent zeal for the Council, although he was suffering from serious illness. The nuncio left Liège on May 30th. During

[1] *Cf.* the letters of Commendone in EHSES, VIII., 205 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 221 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 15, 7, 7 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 34 *seq.*, 49 *seq.* The affair of M. Baius will be dealt with later, in its proper place.

his stay in Belgium he had also been occupied with the matter of the recently established bishoprics.

In the Imperial city of Aix Commendone confirmed the municipal council and the citizens in their great zeal for the old faith. There was a want of suitable delegates for the Council in the city, and therefore the councillors promised a strict observance of any decrees which should be issued by the Council at Trent.[1]

On June 2nd Commendone left Aix-la-Chapelle on his return journey to Antwerp, where he stayed for three weeks, waiting for news from Rome. On the 24th he started for Amsterdam, from which city he went on to Lübeck, by way of Osnabrück. His stay in this entirely Protestant and very profligate city, which he reached on July 9th, was to last for quite two months, and in the end was to prove altogether useless.

While the councillors at Lübeck were still hesitating whether they should observe the customary rules of diplomatic courtesy towards the representative of the Pope, the Protestant preachers were violently declaiming in their pulpits against the demon who had come to unsettle the consciences of the people and deceive them with the fable of the Council. The municipality at length decided not to take the embassy of Commendone into consideration ;[2] this ill success, however, might have been endured had not the other and much more important mission, to the Danish king, been such a complete failure.

Full of zeal, Commendone had already declared himself willing to deliver the invitation to the Council to King Eric XIV. of Sweden as well. Pius IV., who had originally intended to entrust this task to Canobio, who was destined for Russia, at last decided, on the advice of Hosius, in favour of Commendone. The latter had addressed a letter to the King of Denmark, Frederick II., who had not even condescended to

[1] For the stay at Liège and Aix, *cf.* Commendone's letter in EHSES, VIII., 216 *seq.* Ruggieri's report on Aix has been published in the Zeitschrift des Aachener Gesch.-Vereins (*cf. supra* 225, n. 3).

[2] See EHSES, VIII., 233 and 239 *seq.* *Cf.* also ILLIGENS, GESCH. der lubeckischen Kirche (1896), 149 *seq.*

send him a direct reply. The king simply wrote on July 22nd, 1561, to the Imperial commissary, Caspar von Schöneich, who accompanied the nuncio to north Germany, that he refused the representative of the Bishop of Rome, with whom he had no relations, the desired entry into his kingdom.[1]

The long expected answer of the King of Sweden, which arrived at the end of August, 1561, not only observed the forms of courtesy, but also from its tone held out some hopes. Eric XIV. excused his delay by saying that he had not been able to decide about his journey to England, but that now that he had made up his mind, he left it to the nuncio either to seek him there, or to wait for his return to Sweden. A safe conduct was attached to the letter.[2]

It was, however, very doubtful whether a journey to England would be possible for Commendone, as Queen Elizabeth had already forbidden Abbot Girolamo Martinengo, who was to take to her the invitation to the Council, to set foot in her dominions.[3]

Commendone decided to return to Antwerp, and there await developments. In the difficulties of his position it was a consolation to him that his friends in Rome, the Jesuits and other religious, were praying for him without ceasing.[4] On September 9th he left Lübeck[5] and travelled by way of

[1] Concerning the plan for the mission to the North, *cf.* the letters of Commendone in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 165, 168, 171 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*, 186 *seq.*, 190 *seq.*, 197 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*; Biaudet, Commendones legation till Danmark och Sverige, 1561, in Finska, Vet. Soc. Förhandlingar, XLVII., No. 18, Helsingfors, 1904-5. The brief to the King of Sweden and Norway of December 5, 1560, in Raynaldus, 1560, n. 74; Le Plat, IV., 666. *Cf.* also Ehses, VIII., 117, n. 70.

[2] Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 233. Ehses, VIII., 252 n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* Pallavicini, 15, 7, 1-2; Reimann, Commendone, 271; Šusta, I., 196. *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work.

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of C. A. Caligari to Commendone, dated Rome, August 30, 1561, Lett. di princ., XXIII., 32 (Papal Secret Archives).

[5] With the letter dated from Lübeck, September 1, 1561, ends the impression in the Miscell. di stor. Ital., VI., 235. The other

Verden, Osnabrück, Münster, Emmerich and Cleves to Antwerp which he reached on September 26th. While he was waiting for further news there, Eric XIV. gave up his journey to England, as Elizabeth had informed his ambassador that she was not at present disposed to marry. In the middle of November Commendone received in Brussels, where he had been arranging the reorganization of the Belgian bishoprics, orders from Cardinal Borromeo to return to Rome, and on his way to invite Duke Charles II. of Lorraine to the Council.[1] The zeal which the nuncio had displayed in his legation had given universal satisfaction in Rome.[2]

On December 8th Commendone left Brussels and journeyed by way of Mons and Rheims to Nancy, to the court of the young Duke of Lorraine. There he met Cardinal Guise, and conferred with him as to the religious conditions in France and Scotland, which was under the rule of Mary Stuart, the Cardinal's niece. In the matter of the Council, the Duke replied that he would be guided entirely by the Emperor.[3]

Commendone remained at Nancy until January 9th, 1562, when he set out, by way of Metz, Trêves, Coblence and Wiesbaden for Mayence. In this ancient episcopal city he remarked, to his great sorrow, that many Lutherans were endeavouring to undermine the faith of the inhabitants. It was all the greater consolation to him that the Jesuit college, founded a short time before by the Elector, Daniel Brendel, who supported it from his private means, was instructing the young people with great success in the Catholic

letters, in the copy of the register in Cod. Barb. have been used by Šusta, (I., 138, 312, 319) and as far as they relate to the Council have been published by Ehses (VIII., 252 *seq.*).

[1] The letter from Borromeo bears the date October 25, 1561; see Šusta, I., 312. For the return journey see *Viaggio (Chigi Library, Rome), and Ehses, VIII., 257.

[2] So writes G. A. Caligari to Commendone in a *letter from Rome of November 1, 1561, Lett. di princ., XXIII., 41 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] See Pallavicini, 15, 8, 8. *Cf.* Lagomarsini, De scriptis, II., 82 *seq.*

spirit.[1] On January 31st Commendone left Mayence and proceeded by way of Frankfort and Aschaffenburg to Würzburg. The bishop of that city, Frederick von Wirsberg, honoured the Pope's representative in every possible way; in consequence of his great age, however, he was not in a position to undertake the journey to Trent. From a religious point of view things were not unsatisfactory in the diocese of Würzburg, as the bishop did everything in his power to maintain the people in the Catholic faith. The Catholics were also in the majority in the diocese of Bamberg, which Commendone visited on February 9th; the greater part of the people were Catholics, but the nobles, on the other hand, had gone over to the new doctrines, and because of the unfitness of the bishop, an aggravation of the evil was to be feared in the future.[2]

From Bamberg the nuncio went to Nuremberg, where all Catholic services were forbidden. After that he once again came into Catholic territory. The old church was still unshaken at Eichstätt, Ingoldstadt and Freising, but there was no lack of the innovators, especially in lower Bavaria.[3] Nevertheless, the Catholic attitude of Duke Albert, who heard mass every day, gave reason to hope that no religious upheaval would take place there. When Commendone reached Munich on February 11th, the Duke was at that moment sending an envoy to Pius IV., who was to travel by way of Trent. From

[1] *Cf.* HANSEN, Jesuitenorden (1896), 392; DUHR, I., 103 *seq.*; HEIDENHEIMER, *loc. cit.* 119 (see *supra* p. 225, n. 3). As to the Elector whom Commendone visited at Aschaffenburg, *Ruggieri observes that he was good and Catholic, "ma quasi tutta la sua corte è lutherana e massimamente i principali." The passage which LAGOMARSINI (II., 96) cites as coming from Graziani appears to be an extract from Ruggieri.

[2] *Cf.* *RUGGIERI, Viaggio, Chigi Library, Rome; also LAGOMARSINI, II., 96 *seq.*

[3] *Quanto a la religione in tutti i luoghi si celebra la messa et si dicono tutti gli altri uffizii, ma per tutto sono heretici et nel inferior Baviera ce n'è maggior copia. RUGGIERI, *loc. cit.*

Munich Commendone started upon his return journey to the south.[1]

While Commendone was working in the interests of the Council, with skill, moderation, and in a spirit of conciliation, in the northern and western parts of the Empire,[2] his colleague and fellow countryman, Delfino, was showing no less zeal in the legatine district assigned to him.[3] He had left Naumburg in the middle of February, 1561, and had passed through Voightland in Franconia. As an Italian, he suffered a great deal from the unaccustomed climate, the roads being soaked with snow and rain, so that the journey was very difficult, yet in spite of all obstacles, Delfino did everything in his power to proceed quickly. He visited Bamberg first, and then Nuremberg and Würzburg, whence he made a detour to Mergentheim to visit the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order.[4] He then proceeded by way of Frankfort, to Mayence, Worms, Spires,[5] and at length, at the beginning of May, reached Strasbourg. With regard to the Council, he found opinion generally agreed as to the necessity for such an assembly, but only very few of those who were invited were willing to put in an appearance at Trent. All the bishops, it is true, declared that they would submit to the Council, yet they were averse to the idea of personally undertaking the long journey. Some excused themselves on the ground of ill-health, or the weight of years, others by reason of their

[1] According to *Ruggieri, *loc. cit.*, Commendone left Munich on February 27, 1562. After he had made a report to the legates of the Council at Trent, he left there on March 15, and arrived at Mestre-Venice on the 17. Commendone's final report to Borromeo of March 8, 1562, is printed in Ehses, VIII., 281 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of Ehses, Ein Nuntius, 44.

[3] The sources for Delfino's legation are much less full than those for Commendone; they exist, however, in an excellent edition in Steinherz, I., 341-398.

[4] *Cf.* the report of Delfino to Card. E. Gonzaga on March 19, 1561, in Steinherz, I., 346. The reply of the council of Nuremberg to Delfino in Sickel, Konzil, 182 *seq.*

[5] See Steinherz, I., 350 *seq.*

poverty, while yet others alleged the dangers to which their absence would expose their dioceses. In the Imperial cities the customary marks of honour were, indeed, shown to the nuncio, but the answers he received were very unsatisfactory, several, especially that of the city of Strasbourg, being a curt refusal.[1] Delfino took the opportunity while he was in Strasbourg, of carrying on negotiations with several Italian Protestants, such as Count Thiene, Dr. Massaria and Girolamo Zanchi, who had sought refuge abroad. The nuncio also had repeated conversations with Vergerio at Strasbourg, Zabern and Schwarzach. All these efforts were without result; as was soon realized in Rome, they were to some extent even dangerous, for Vergerio certainly "only negotiated so as to give vent to his burning hatred against the Papacy, and to forge new weapons against it out of any offers which might be made for his return to the Church."[2]

From Strasbourg, Delfino travelled by way of Freiburg, to the Bishop of Constance, who resided at Meersburg, and to the Abbot of Weingarten, both of whom declared themselves unable to go to Trent on account of their age. The Bishop of Merseburg, who visited Delfino at Ulm, at the end of May, made his decision dependent on the attitude of the Emperor. The municipal council of Ulm refused to separate themselves from the other adherents of the Confession of Augsburg; these last protested that they longed above all things for the restoration of religious unity, but in view of their own powerlessness could only express their earnest wishes for its realization.[3] The University of Ingoldstadt, on the other hand, promised to send delegates to Trent, as did Duke Albert of Bavaria, whose court at Munich Delfino reached

[1] The reply of Strasbourg in STEINHERZ, I., 355 *seq.* The brief to Strasbourg of December 13, 1560, in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 76; LE PLAT, IV., 666 *seq.*

[2] The opinion of STEINHERZ (I., 368) who treats of this in great detail (I., 266 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 294, 312, 320, 333 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 394). *Cf.* also HUBERT, 179 *seq.*, and ŠUSTA, I., 29, 39 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., 370 *seq.*, 375 *seq.*, and EHSES, VIII., 218 *seq.*

on June 4th. This prince, as Delfino wrote thence to Rome on the 10th, surpassed all others in his zeal for the preservation of the Catholic faith. Delfino also discussed with Albert the religious disunion among the Protestants, and they rightly came to the conclusion that the final settlement of religious differences lay, not with the theologians, but with the princes. Delfino repeated on this occasion, what he had previously insisted upon, that too great hopes for the position of the Catholic Church in Germany must not be built on the dissensions of the Protestants. The position continued to be one of extreme danger, and they must in every way do their utmost to induce some of the Protestants to take part in the Council.[1]

The result of Delfino's mission was, on the whole, no more successful than that of his colleague, Commendone. He had, it is true, received promises from several bishops, but the Protestant Imperial cities had given him nothing but refusals.

In the same way as in Germany, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland also showed themselves, under various pretexts, unfavourable to the Council. The five Catholic Cantons, on the other hand, to which the Bishop of Como, Gian Antonio Volpi, communicated the conciliar bull, showed themselves ready to be represented at the Council by delegates. In a short time Freiburg, Soleure and Glarus joined the Forest Cantons.[2]

[1] See the report to Borromeo on June 10, 1561, in STEINHERZ, I., 395 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MAYER, I., 37 *seqq.*; REINHARDT STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, introd. p. xxxii *seq.*; EHSES, VIII., 265 *seq.*

CHAPTER VII.

Final Preparations for the Re-opening of the Council.

The attitude of the Emperor towards the question of the Council was of decisive importance. Hosius made the most urgent representations to him, but he could not succeed in obtaining Ferdinand's consent to the conciliar bull. At the end of January, 1561, the Emperor at length gave up at any rate his opposition to the solemn publication of the indulgence in Vienna, whereby he acknowledged in principle the Pope's project for a Council.[1] On February 13th, 1561, however, when the answer of the Protestant princes arrived from Naumburg, the Emperor became more reserved than ever, and took up a still more dilatory attitude. Pius IV. vainly tried, by making concessions in the matter of the visitation of the monasteries, and by sending the Papal chamberlain, Canobio, with the consecrated hat and sword, to bring about a change in his attitude. When Canobio and Hosius were conferring with Ferdinand on February 14th about the acceptance of the bull, he remarked that, personally, he had always agreed, but that he wished the Council to be a success, and to make sure that a war should not arise from its convocation ; his care now must be to see that the Catholic bishops should be able to attend the Council without fear ; it was his intention to make peace with the Protestant princes if they would promise this to the bishops who were travelling to the Council. Two days later the Emperor again declared to Hosius that he was himself in favour of the Council, but that for the moment he could not promise the appearance of the bishops ; he wished,

[1] *Cf.* Eder, I., 72 *seq.*

therefore, first to consult the Catholic Electors of the Empire. Hosius answered that there was danger in delay; if the French, tired of waiting, summoned a national council, and went their own way in ecclesiastical matters, the power of the Protestants would thereby be strengthened. Regardless of this, the Emperor persisted in his opinion that he could do nothing until he had conferred upon the subject with the Catholic princes, or at any rate with the ecclesiastical Electors.[1] The continued efforts of Hosius during the following days had no better success, Ferdinand constantly repeating that he must await the answer of the ecclesiastical Electors.[2]

While these negotiations were taking place, France appeared to have given up her opposition to the conciliar bull. At the beginning of March the Council of State resolved to accept the bull, which fact was communicated to the nuncio, Gualterio, and the envoy extraordinary, Lorenzo Lenzi, Bishop of Fermo. In an official note of March 3rd, which Abbot Niquet was to take to Rome, the participation of France in the Council was, it is true, made dependent on the consent of Ferdinand I. and Philip II.[3]

Before the news of this reached Rome, however, Pius IV. had taken steps to appoint the legates for the Council. In

[1] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., xcix, 215 *seq.*; EDER, I., 73.

[2] See STEINHERZ, I., 219 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 221 *seq.*, the report of Hosius to Borromeo of March 3, 1561, concerning his interview with Ferdinand I. on March 2. On the last day of February, 1561, Hosius wrote to Commendone: *Hic nihil est novi hoc tempore. Concilii causa nescio quomodo extrahitur longius. Caes. Maiestas non satis suam sententiam explicat ac prius etiam rem ad principes ecclesiasticos electores praesertim referri vult quam expresse declaret se in concilium consentire. Ego urgere non desino, quantumque periculi sit in mora positum inculco, sed non multum proficio. Quid sit fuurum, Deus scit. On March 11, Hosius wrote to Commendone: *Adhuc Caes. Maiestas deliberat in causa concilii et responsum a catholicis principibus ex Germania expectat (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[3] See ŠUSTA, I., 170; SICKEL, Konzil, 186 n.; EDER, I., 74; EHSES, VIII., 167.

doing this he wished to give unmistakable proof that he was in earnest about the holding of the Council. He had already announced his intention of appointing Morone as a legate at the end of June, 1560.[1] In October a report was current in Rome that Seripando and Gonzaga had been chosen to represent the Pope at the Council, in addition to Morone; the Spanish ambassador,. Vargas, was working against Morone and Seripando.[2] At the beginning of December, Morone formally declined the Pope's request;[3] Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga also refused, but on Pius IV. insisting, gave his consent on February 6th.[4] Pius IV. thereupon appointed him and Puteo legates to the Council in the consistory of February 14th, 1561.[5] Three further legates were chosen

[1] See the report of Vargas in Voss, 63.

[2] *Cf.* Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 340 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*; Šusta, I., xlviii *seq.*

[3] See Šusta, I., xlviii.

[4] See *ibid.*, xlviii-xlix. In a *report of Fr. Tonina of January 1, 1561, we read: "Da persona che mi dice haverlo da altro che gli disse haverlo del Papa esso vuole per ogni modo che *mons. di Mantova* sia *il legato del concilio*" (the italics are in cypher). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the report of the Portuguese ambassador of January 26, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 162 *seq.*

[5] See Massarelli 351. Mula reported on November 14, 1561: *Et ella [Sua S^{tà}] si avviò verso Belvedere, dicendo che, se non m' aggravava il caminare, io la seguisse, e tal volta mi chiamava colla mano dicendo qualche parola e tra le altre che haveva fatto duoi legati per il concilio e domandando, che me ne pareva, laudai grandemente l' uno e l' altro. Ella soggiunse: Ne faremo tre altri, e se non ne havemo de' fatti cardinali che siano al proposito, gli faremo di nuovo, teologi e legisti che siano da bene, e se non bastaranno quelli, ne faremo degli altri e ci andaremo ancora noi, quando conosceremo che sia bisogno. E dicendo io che l' impresa è grande e che bisogna che Sua Santità sia correttore degli errori del tempo passato, ella sospirando pregava Dio che lo potesse fare e che non mancheria di tutto quello che si sapesse immaginare e che tutti dovessero pregare Dio che l' aiutasse in questa difficilissima impresa (Papal Secret Archives).

on March 10th, from among the new Cardinals created on February 26th, namely Seripando, Hosius and Simonetta.[1]

The Cardinals chosen to represent the Pope were in the highest degree suited for their distinguished position.[2] At their head, as the president of the legatine college, stood Ercole Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, who had been invested with the purple by Clement VII., a man who was distinguished in many ways, and prominent on account of his great personal qualities. Even though his eager striving for the tiara had cast a shadow on his character, yet the son of the celebrated Isabella d'Este, on account of his varied experience extending over many years, his wide knowledge, his zeal for reform, his princely rank and his relationship to the Emperor, can only be described as an able and worthy representative of the Pope.

Ercole Gonzaga was above all things a diplomatist, and was not a learned theologian. What was lacking to him in this respect was possessed in full measure by the other legates; Simonetta, Puteo, Seripando and Hosius. Ludovico Simonetta, who belonged to a humanist family of Milan, held with Gonzaga the chief position, although in point of rank he was the junior of the legates, having only been appointed Cardinal on February 26th, 1561. A clever canonist, he appears as the real confidant of Pius IV., whose rights he always defended with fiery zeal and great skill. It is a signifi-

[1] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 351. *Cf.* BONDONUS, 546; SERIPANDI Comment., 464; letter of the Portuguese ambassador of March 14, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 196 *seq.*; *report of Saraceni of March 14 and 18, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] For what follows *cf.* the excellent account of ŠUSTA, I., xliii *seq.*; lvi *seq.* See also SICKEL, Berichte, V., 65 *seq.*; SOL, Il card. Simonetta, in the Arch. Rom., XXVI., 185 *seq.*; EDER, I., 119 *seq.*; LAUCHERT, 536 *seq.* For Seripando *cf.* Vols. XI., XII. of this work, and for Puteo Vols. XIII., XIV. The monograph of GIOV. DREI, La politica di Pio IV. e del card. E. Gonzaga, 1559-60, in the Arch d. Soc. Rom., vol., 40, was unfortunately not accessible to me.

cant fact that, with the exception of the president, Simonetta alone had a code at his disposal for his correspondence with Rome.

Giacomo Puteo, a Cardinal since 1551, had rendered important services to the Church under Julius III. and Paul IV. Like Simonetta, he was possessed of a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of canon law. This made both men peculiarly suited to maintain the rights of the Holy See in the face of the prejudices against the Council.

Hosius and Seripando were distinguished in a similar manner by their theological learning, but their characters were as different as their origin. Girolamo Seripando, who belonged to a noble Apulian family, was undoubtedly the most distinguished man of whom the order of Augustinian Hermits could at that time boast. Paul III. had appointed this native of southern Italy, who was distinguished as preacher, theologian, Ciceronian, Greek scholar, and above all as a friend of Catholic reform, to be their Prior General in 1538. In this capacity Seripando displayed burning zeal, working especially to bring about a thorough reform of his order and to purge it of the Lutheran elements which had penetrated into it. During the first period of the Council of Trent, Seripando had played a most distinguished part. His views had given occasion for the searching deliberations on the subject of justification, in the course of which the well-meant but mistaken theory of compromise which he maintained had been repudiated. From that time Seripando had been mistrusted by the strict conservative party, headed by Carafa. Hostility on the part of the latter, as well as constant illness caused him, in 1551, to resign his position as General of his order, and also prevented any further participation in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, which had again been opened by Julius III., and he devoted himself to his studies at Naples. His appointment as Archbishop of Salerno in the year 1554, enabled him to live in his diocese, and far from Rome, during the pontificate of Paul IV., who was prejudiced against him. The new Pope called to mind

the refined and sober minded scholar, summoned him to Rome, and on February 26th, 1561, admitted him into the Sacred College.

Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermland, a scholar like Seripando, was of quite a different nature. He had already rendered distinguished service to the Catholic restoration as the leader of the bishops of his native land, Poland, against the encroachments of Protestantism at various diets, as well as by his effective book "Confession of the Catholic Faith," when Pius IV. appointed him as nuncio to Ferdinand I. His energetic, if at times harsh nature, as well as his somewhat clumsy person, rendered him, however, little suited for diplomatic negotiations. Pius IV. nevertheless honoured his services and his learning when, at the great creation of February, 1561, he summoned him to the supreme senate of the Church.

The bull of appointment for the five legates of the Council is dated March 10th, 1561.[1] The special position which Ercole Gonzaga was to occupy as president of the legatine college, is not mentioned in this; it was, however, sufficiently expressed by the consistent preference shown him by the Holy See.[2]

In the appointment of the officials of the Council, which took place as early as January, Pius IV., to a great extent, reappointed those persons who had worked so successfully in a similar capacity under Paul III. and Julius III. Gian Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, was appointed commissary; he left Rome on January 26th, 1561, and reached

[1] In Raynaldus, 1561, n. 2; Le Plat, IV., 697 *seq.*; Ehses, VIII., 176. *Cf.* Massarelli in Merkle, II., 353; Theiner, I., 666; Sickel, Konzil, 184.

[2] See Šusta, I., 4. Here also concerning Gonzaga's private secretariate, which developed into the real presidential office for the whole legation. Puteo was originally intended for first president; it was only after his serious illness that Gonzaga took the first place. In the acts the presidents are always named exactly in the order of their bulls of appointment, Gonzaga first, Seripando second, Hosius third, and Simonetta fourth.

Trent on February 24th.[1] The important position of secretary of the Council was entrusted once more to Angelo Massarelli, Bishop of Telese; his appointment followed on February 2nd, and he left Rome on March 11th, reaching Trent on the 26th.[2]

The legates then in Rome, Seripando and Simonetta, received the legatine cross in a secret consistory of March 17th.[3] In the same consistory the Pope exhorted all the bishops to repair to Trent.[4] The bull of appointment was sent to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga on March 22nd, with instructions to proceed immediately to Trent.[5] On March 15th, Cardinal Borromeo informed Hosius by letter of his appointment as legate, instructing him to do everything in his power to induce the Emperor to send representatives to the Council, and then to go himself without delay to Trent.[6]

[1] See Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 350; BONDONUS, 546; THEINER I., 666 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 15, 11, 2; SICKEL, Berichte, I., 21. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of January 25, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 244, Vatican Library). On March 5, 1561, Antonio Manelli was appointed "depositario del s. concilio Tridentino;" his *Libro delle spese del s. concilio di Trento is in the Vallicella Library, L 40; see CALENZIO, Docum. sul concilio di Trento, xii *seq.*, Rome 1874, and ŠUSTA, I., 53 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 27 *seq.*, concerning the secret fund coexisting with the other, and administered by the president, Ercole Gonzaga. *Cf.* also Cerasoli in the Arch. stor. Ital. 5th series, VIII., 289 *seq.*

[2] See MASSARELLI, 351, 353; BONDONUS, 547; SICKEL, Berichte, I., 21; ŠUSTA, I., 6.

[3] Puteo was then seriously ill. *Cf.* BONDONUS, 547; THEINER, I., 667. According to a *report of Fr. Tonina of March 22, 1561, Seripando received 1,000 scudi for his journey to Trent (Gonzaga Arch. Mantua).

[4] *Report of Tonina of March 19, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). PALLAVICINI, 15, 11, 2.

[5] The Cardinal was allowed, in accordance with his request, to spend the Easter festival at Maguzzano. Brief of Pius IV., of March 22, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 1 *seq.*

[6] STEINHERZ, I., 226 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 233, the repetition of the order to start as soon as the Emperor should have signified his willingness to send envoys to the Council, dated March 23, 1561.

On March 21st Pius IV. granted an indulgence to all those who, after receiving the sacraments, were present at the entry of the legates, and prayed for the successful issue of the Council.[1] Seripando started for Trent on March 26th, and had a long conference with the Pope before he set out.[2]

Ferdinand I., in his conferences with Hosius on March 18th and 19th, had replied to the earnest request for his decision by reproaching the Pope with having occasioned the delay, since he had not yet answered the Emperor's question as to what he intended to do with regard to the reply of the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg. Ferdinand, however, had already been informed of the Pope's intentions in a letter from Arco, which arrived on March 18th. Pius IV. had answered the ambassador, when he had handed him the documents from Naumburg, that, as the Council was summoned for Easter, he must send his legates to Trent, but that these would, in the meantime, hold no sessions with the bishops who were there; the Pope would await the decision of the Catholic princes of Germany. In spite of this, Ferdinand, when he was again urged by Hosius to appoint his representatives, kept repeating that he was waiting for the decision of the Pope, which was evidently a mere excuse to conceal his own indecision.[3]

In the meantime, great difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the conciliar bull had also arisen in Spain. The theologians there objected to the evasion of the question as to whether the Council was a new one or a continuation of the former one, and insisted that the latter view must be definitely expressed.[4] The Spanish bishops attached great importance to this question, because they wished to be sure that the decree of the Council concerning the subordination of the cathedral chapters would be upheld.[5] The repre-

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 4; LE PLAT, IV., 698 *seq.*

[2] See MASSARELLI, 353; SERIPANDI Comment., 464.

[3] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., ci *seq.*, 228 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 348, and Colección de docum. inéd., IX., 97.

[5] See SICKEL, Konzil, 185, 189, 209 *seq.*

sentations of the theologians were listened to the more favourably by Philip II. as relations between the Pope and the king had been somewhat strained since the end of 1560, and the favourable opportunity of bringing pressure to bear on Pius IV. could not be foregone by the Spanish privy council.[1]

After Philip had refrained from giving a decisive answer in the month of February, he at last declared to the nuncio on March 12th, that he had decided not to accept the bull immediately nor to send his prelates, but to wait and see how things turned out in Germany and France, and that in the meantime he would lay his wishes for the alteration of the bull before the Pope.[2] For this purpose Don Juan de Ayala was sent to Rome in March. He was ordered to ask from the Pope an express declaration that no new Council, but a continuation of the Council of Trent was convoked by the bull of November 29th, 1560, as the king had taken this for granted all through his negotiations.[3] De Ayala arrived in Rome on April 16th, 1561, and had an interview with the Pope on the following day.[4]

As the appearance of the Spanish bishops was impossible before an understanding had been arrived at with Philip II., and a delay in the opening of the Council had thus become imperative, Hosius received fresh instructions on April 16th, no longer to urge the Emperor to the immediate dispatch of his representatives to Trent, but only to hold them in readiness to go as soon as the Spanish bishops should have started for Trent.[5] Canobio, who was again sent to Vienna with similar instructions on April 16th, was entrusted with further negotia-

[1] *Cf.* Reimann, Unterhandlungen, 619 *seq.*; Šusta, I., 15 *seq.*, 172.

[2] Döllinger, I.. 355 *seq.*

[3] See the Instrucion secreta a D. J. de Ayala of March 13, 1561, in Döllinger, I., 358 *seq.*; *cf.* Coleccion de docum. inéd., IX., 94.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of April 18, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 268, Vatican Library). *Cf.* Cal. of State Papers, Foreign, 1561-1562, 64; Šusta, I., 16.

[5] Borromeo to Hosius, in Steinherz, I., 243 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Borromeo to E. Gonzaga in Šusta, I., 14.

tions.[1] Hosius was immediately to inform the Emperor that the Pope, in order to comply with the latter's wishes, was prepared to proceed to the Council, together with the whole College of Cardinals, as soon as he considered it fitting and necessary. As this, however, was not possible at the present moment, he proposed that after the opening of the Council he himself should take up his residence at Bologna, and the Emperor at Innsbruck, so as to be nearer to the seat of the Council, and to support it. Canobio handed this proposal to the Emperor in writing. In his answer on May 6th, Ferdinand referred to his efforts with the Protestants, and declared that he had neglected nothing in the matter which was incumbent on him as Emperor; that he had already appointed envoys for the Council, whom he would send to Trent as soon as possible. In the event of the Pope going to Trent, he promised that he would not only proceed to Innsbruck, but that he would even go himself to the seat of the Council. By this Ferdinand had declared his acceptance of the conciliar bull. The untiring eloquence of Hosius had been to a great extent decisive in overcoming the objections of the Emperor, and in gaining his agreement to the appointment of the envoys.[2] Encouraged by the success he had already met with, the nuncio made an important request on May 8th and 18th, namely that Ferdinand should send a representative to Trent immediately. The Emperor, however, would not agree to this, although he promised that his representatives should be the first to appear at Trent, but that he would not send his envoys until the other powers had given orders to their representatives to start.[3] The Emperor was strengthened in this resolve by a report from Arco, which arrived on May 25th, and conveyed to him the Pope's wish that he should act in this way, without paying attention to the pressure of Hosius.[4]

[1] See STEINHERZ, I., ciii. *seq.*, 251 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 191 *seq.*, 194 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., civ., 252; EHSES, VIII., 200, 204 *seq.*

[3] See STEINHERZ, I., civ., 249, 254 *seq.*

[4] See STEINHERZ, I., civ. *seq.* For the Pope's reasons *cf.* the report of the Portuguese ambassador of May 2, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 236.

Canobio also informed the Emperor that the Pope had resolved to convey to the Russian Tsar, Ivan Wassiljewicz, as well as to the King of Poland, a conciliar bull and a brief (of April 13th, 1561) just as his predecessors had invited the Greek Emperor to general councils. Ferdinand agreed to this mission, and Hosius decided that Canobio should undertake its discharge. When Canobio reached the court of the Polish King, Sigismund Augustus, the latter declared himself quite ready to support the Council, but he refused to allow the journey to Russia through his kingdom.[1] Pius IV., however, would not give up his purpose of negotiating with the Russian Tsar, and without the knowledge of the Polish King or the Emperor, he appointed a new envoy to Russia in the person of Giovanni Geraldi, whose journey, however, ended in a Polish prison; he only succeeded in regaining his liberty in 1564.[2]

One of the few countries from which gratifying news arrived was Portugal, the king of which country, Sebastian, was full of zeal for the Council. On March 17th, 1561, the nuncio, Prospero Santa Croce, reported to Borromeo from Lisbon: "It is the firm resolve of the king that all the prelates of his kingdom shall attend the Council, and in view of the importance of the matter, no excuses will be accepted. The king will send his envoy to Trent as soon as he has heard of the appointment of the legates." The Pope praised the zeal of the king in a brief of April 26th, 1561.[3]

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 192, 195; STEINHERZ, I., 243, 245; ŠUSTA, I., 11; PALLAVICINI, 15, 9, 4; PIERLING, I., 369 *seq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, I., 348. The brief to the Tsar in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 17; LE PLAT, IV., 700 *seq.* For the great difficulties which, in spite of the acceptance of the conciliar bull on the part of the King, arose in Poland on the question of the appointment of delegates for the Council, see ŠUSTA, I., 121.

[2] *Cf.* PIERLING, Rome et Moscou, 53 *seq.*, Paris, 1883; PIERLING, 373 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 285 *seq.*; TURGENIEV, Russiae Monum., I., 181 *seq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, I., 349.

[3] *Cf.* LAEMMER, Melet., 184; STEINHERZ, I., 247; RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 14; LE PLAT, IV., 702; Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 235; ŠUSTA, I., 24; EHSES, VIII., 175, 198.

On April 6th, the Easter Sunday of 1561, on which day the Council should have been opened, there were only four bishops, but none of the legates, present in Trent.[1] On April 16th Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando made their solemn entry into the city of the Council, being welcomed only by the Bishop of Trent, Cardinal Madruzzo, and nine other bishops.[2] The indulgence of March 21st had been previously promulgated on April 12th. There could be no question of opening the Council at once, for the number of prelates at Trent increased but slowly during the following months.[3] On April 21st the legates wrote to Borromeo that the Pope again should exhort the prelates in Rome to start soon, so that those in other countries might the more quickly make up their minds.[4] The arrival, on May 18th, of the distinguished Archbishop of Braga, Bartolomeo de Martyribus, as the "first born of the ultramontane nations" was joyfully acclaimed; he informed the legates that three or four more bishops from Portugal, and the envoy of the king, would soon follow.[5] The Pope was particularly touched and gladdened at this news.[6]

The negotiations with the powers were still going on. As the discussions with Don Juan de Ayala in Rome had led to no result, the Bishop of Terracina, Ottaviano Raverta, who had

[1] See THEINER, I., 667, 668. The first bishop who arrived at Trent was Nic. Sfondrato of Cremona, afterwards Pope Gregory XIV.

[2] *Cf.* MASSARELLI, 354; BONDONUS, 547 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 7; GIULIANI, Trento al tempo del Concilio (extract from the Arch. Trid., 1888), 88 *seq.* Gonzaga resided, as did Morone later on, in the palace of Sigismund Thun (now the Municipio) in the Via Larga; see SWOBODA, 23. Here there are also some reproductions of the many pictures which represent the sessions of the Council. See also GALANTE, Kultur-histor., Bilder vom Trienter Konzil, Innsbruck, 1912.

[3] See THEINER, I., 667-8.

[4] ŠUSTA, I., 12.

[5] MASSARELLI, 356; ŠUSTA, I., 24. The date "April 18" in THEINER, I., 668, is wrong.

[6] *Cf.* the report of the Portuguese ambassador of June 18, 1561, in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 273.

previously been nuncio in Spain, and was much beloved there, was sent to Philip II. on May 23rd. He took with him important concessions on the points at issue with the Spanish government. He was authorized, with regard to the Council, to offer the king that he should be sent a secret brief, designating the bull of November the 18th as a "bull of continuation."[1] When Raverta reached the Spanish court on June 13th, Philip had already given way in view of the grave development in affairs in France, and in order to gain the assistance of Pius IV. against the Turks.[2] The nuncio, Giovanni Campegio, Bishop of Bologna, had learned this at the beginning of June, and had at once informed Rome of it.[3] The official announcement took the form of a royal circular on June 13th, which summoned all the bishops to prepare for their journey at the beginning of September; the number of those who were to go to the Council, and the definite time of their departure, was to be decided later.[4] The brief which Philip II. desired, containing the declaration concerning the continuation of the Council of Trent, was drawn up on July 17th, and was immediately dispatched, together with an autograph letter of the Pope of July 16th, declaring the validity of the decrees of the Council of Trent.[5]

By this act of compliance on the part of Philip II. the most dangerous rock was avoided, and the meeting of the Council was assured.[6] On July 2nd, the official announcement of this favourable turn of affairs, which had so far only been known privately, arrived in Rome.[7] Three days later the

[1] See Šusta, I., 31 *seq.*, 204.

[2] *Cf.* Šusta, I., 194, and Steinherz, I., 274.

[3] See his report of June 5, 1561, in Šusta, I., 193.

[4] See Gachard, Corresp. de Marguerite, I., 291; Šusta, I., 194. Eder (I., 78) is wrong in giving the date of the circular as June 3.

[5] One of the documents in Sickel, Berichte, II., 107, the other in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 366. *Cf.* Ehses, VIII., 279.

[6] The opinion of Steinherz, I., cix.

[7] See Borromeo's letter to Hosius of July 2, 1561, in Steinherz, I., 273 *seq.*, and that of the same date to the legates of the Council in Šusta, I., 44 *seq.*

Pope communicated the news to the Emperor and exhorted him no longer to delay in appointing his prelates and envoys. A letter to the same effect was immediately sent to King Charles IX. of France, while the other Catholic powers, such as the Signoria of Venice, also received news of the same important event.[1]

When Hosius delivered the Papal letter to the Emperor on July 18th, the latter repeated the answer that he had already given to Canobio, namely that he had already resolved to send his envoys to Trent, but that he could not as yet name any fixed date for their departure. Even the successor of Hosius, the persuasive Delfino, after repeated exhortations, could only get the same answer, that the envoys of the Emperor would reach Trent before those of the Spanish king.[2]

Hosius, who had long wished to go to Trent, left Vienna on July 29th; he reached the seat of the Council on August 20th, refusing, in his retiring way, any solemn reception.[3]

At midsummer Pius IV. was still working zealously on behalf of the Council. The legates, Puteo and Simonetta, received instructions in July to hold themselves in readiness for the journey.[4] The nuncios were commissioned to see to the sending of the delegates to the Council, while the Pope himself attended to this in Italy. On August 1st briefs to this effect were addressed to all the bishops of the peninsula, on the 3rd to those of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Dalmatia, and on the 9th to the Archbishops of Cyprus and Crete. The prelates who were in Rome were repeatedly admonished to start for Trent, but some delay was allowed to them as it was evident that the Spanish bishops could not reach Trent before October.[5] When threatening news

[1] See Sickel, Konzil, 205; Šusta, I., 48 *seq.*, 219.

[2] See Steinherz, I., cv. *seq.*

[3] See Steinherz, I., 290; Massarelli 357.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of July 12, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 287, Vatican Library).

[5] See the letters from Borromeo of July 26, and August 2 and 20, 1561, in Šusta, I., 64 *seq.*, 69, 71 *seq.*, 73 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of August 9, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 224, Vatican Library),

arrived from France, Pius IV. declared to the Imperial ambassador on August 23rd, that he would irrevocably open the Council, even should Ferdinand I. be unable to take part in it. On the following day the Pope decided in consistory that all the Italian bishops were to repair to Trent within eight days. Many of those who were resident in Rome resisted even now, so that the number of prelates at the seat of the Council increased but slowly.[1]

Nevertheless, at first it was only Italians who were present at Trent; the arrival of the bishops from other countries, with the exception of the Portuguese who were already there, was still delayed. On September 26th the Bishop of Vich arrived, as the first of the Spaniards,[2] but for the most part, it was November before the others one by one reached Trent.[3] Philip II., after repeated exhortations from the nuncio,

and the Portuguese reports in the Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 287, 318. The Portuguese ambassador undertook to see that the letter of Pius IV. of August 20, 1561, to the Negus Minas of Abyssinia, in which he was invited to send envoys to Trent, reached him (printed in Beccari, Rerum Aethiop. Script. occid., X., 125); the letter never reached the Negus (see *ibid.*, 125 n.).

[1] See Massarelli, 356 *seq.*; Theiner, I., 670 *seq.*; Šusta, I., 75 *seq.*, 77 *seq.*, 90. An *Avviso di Roma of September 6, 1561, states that the Pope had ordered 25 bishops to go to the Council, and that they were starting (Urb. 1039, p. 298, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the *letter of G. A. Caligari to Commendone, dated Rome, September 13, 1561 (Lett. di princ., XXIII., 34, Papal Secret Archives). On October 13, 1561, Serristori *writes that the Pope insisted that all the bishops should go to the Council (State Archives, Florence). But again on November 8, it is reported that the Pope had urged the bishops to go there, that 7 had started yesterday, but that many refused (*Avviso di Roma of November 8, 1561, Urb. 1039, p. 308, Vatican Library); the Pope, nevertheless, remained firm on the point that with a few exceptions all must start out on their journey (*Avvisi of December 20, 1561, and January 3, 1562, *loc. cit.*, pp. 319b, 329).

[2] *Cf.* Massarelli, 358; Theiner, I., 670; Šusta, I., 78, 80.

[3] Massarelli, 258 *seqq.* *Cf.* Šusta, I., 90.

had decided to send several bishops at once; the choice of the others who were to go to the Council was only made in September.[1] The appointment and sending of an envoy was deferred until later.

The nuncio, Gualterio, had in September little to report from France that was gratifying, as far as the prospects of the departure of the envoys for the Council was concerned. The attitude of the French government towards this important question was now, as before, very ambiguous.[2] On October 8th, indeed, Borromeo was able to write to the nuncio that he had heard that the Queen Regent proposed to send her orators and prelates; that, however, had been a vain hope, and had not been fulfilled, for the French council did not believe in the usefulness of an ecumenical synod, but hoped to be in a position to enter into a compromise with the Huguenots, by means of a religious conference and certain concessions on the part of the Pope.[3] The decision arrived at by twenty-five of the bishops at the end of October, by which six of them were to proceed at once to San Martino, was not taken seriously.[4] It was also most unfortunate that the Emperor proved himself so little desirous of keeping his promise, and of sending his envoys and the bishops of his hereditary dominions to the Council. He was indeed resolved to do so, as he had said, but he wished to wait as long as possible before sending the envoys, as he feared lest his representatives might arrive too soon at Trent, and have to remain there alone.[5] He hesitated to give a definite answer till winter had actually arrived, and it was only when he had learned from his ambassador, Arco, that the Pope had given

[1] See Šusta, I., 78, 80, 257.

[2] See Šusta, I., 248 *seq.*; *cf.* 181 *seq.*, 215 *seq.* On September 13, 1561, G. A. Caligari *wrote from Rome to Commendone: "Si dice che le cose di Francia vanno molto male e seguitano il loro conciliabolo." Lett. di princ., XXIII., 34 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] *Cf.* Šusta, I., 87 *seq.*, 290.

[4] *Cf.* Šusta, I., 290.

[5] See Steinherz, I., cvi.

orders for the opening of the Council,[1] that he promised Delfino, in a binding form, on December 1st, that his envoys would certainly be in Trent by the middle of January. Delfino reported this on December 1st to the legates at Trent, and to Borromeo in Rome.[2] There were also difficulties with regard to the persons who were to be sent, but these were all settled by the end of December as follows: Ferdinand was to be represented as Emperor by two envoys—by an ecclesiastic, the former Bishop of Vienna, and Archbishop designate of Prague, Anton Brus von Müglitz; and by a layman, Count Sigismund von Thun; as King of Hungary he was to be represented by the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Georg Draskovich.[3] In this way the remainder of the year 1561 passed away, without the Council having been opened.

In a consistory of November 10th, Mark Sittich von Hohenems was appointed legate to the Council in the place of the invalid Puteo, who was unable to travel, and it was further resolved that the departure of the fourth legate, Simonetta, for Trent, which had been expected for months, but always postponed, should now take place at once. The choice of Mark Sittich, which had been made principally on account of his relationship to the Pope, was not a fortunate one; he may also have been chosen because, by his birth, and by reason of his bishopric of Constance, he belonged to the German nation.[4] On November 15th, the indulgence bull for the happy issue of the Council was published; it

[1] See Arco's report of November 22, 1561, in SICKEL, Konzil, 235.

[2] See the report of Delfino in STEINHERZ, I., 325 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 124.

[3] See STEINHERZ, I., cvi, 339; KASSOWITZ, 37 *seq.*

[4] Concerning the choice of Mark Sittich, well known for his want of education, and the ill feeling aroused thereby in Catholic circles, *cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 101. Of Puteo an *Avviso di Roma already reports on August 30, 1561, that the Cardinal will not go to Trent, being old and very much needed in Rome (Urb. 1039, p. 296, Vatican Library).

announced that the Pope intended to hold a solemn procession from St. Peter's to S. Maria del Popolo on November 23rd.[1]

Cardinal Simonetta, who had been detained in Rome by the important affairs of the Dataria, left on November 20th and arrived in Trent on December 9th.[2] In the credentials for the other legates, which were entrusted to him, the Pope declares his wish, now that he had waited long enough for all the princes, that the Council should no longer be delayed, but opened at once, and proceeded with as quickly as possible. In a postscript in his own hand, the Pope says: "We are not in the habit of using many words, but rather prefer deeds. Hitherto we have waited sufficiently long for all the princes and the matter can therefore no longer be delayed, but the Council must be opened as soon as possible, and continued with all speed; the former Council of Trent will once more be resumed, nor may it be repudiated in any of its parts. We wish, as a man of honour, as a good Christian, and as a good Pope, that a good Council shall be held, and that its one aim be directed to the service of God, of the faith, and of religion, to the universal well-being of the whole of Christendom, as well as to the honour of the Holy See. We have made it our object to finish this Council, to confirm it and carry it into effect, and by it We desire the union of all good Catholics, and enduring peace through the whole of Christendom, so that We may serve God in concord, and be able to use all our strength against the infidel and the enemies of the Christian name. When this object is attained, We

[1] The bull (in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 10; LE PLAT, IV., 735; and EHSES, VIII., 256 *seq.*) was published in Trent on November 29 (see MASSARELLI, 361). Concerning the procession in Rome and the arrival of Mark Sittich there on November 28, *cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of November 29, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 314b, Vatican Library). See also the Portuguese report of November 27, 1561, in the Corpo. dipl. Portug., IX., 406.

[2] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 114 *seq.*; SICKEL, Konzil, 235; THEINER, I., 672. Simonetta took up his residence in the Palazzo Geremia, in the Via Larga, facing the Palazzo Thun; see SWOBODA, 41.

shall willingly and gladly die."[1] A second autograph letter from the Pope, accrediting Cardinal Simonetta, was addressed to the Cardinal of Mantua alone, in order to emphasize the peculiar position of that prelate as head of the legates, and the first in point of rank.[2]

In the instructions given to Simonetta, the intentions of the Pope, as to which the legate was to inform his colleagues, were set forth in greater detail. They were to the following effect: immediately after his arrival, the Council was to be opened, and the work taken in hand by the prelates who were present. The Council was to be principally engaged in finishing the little that still remained to be dealt with as regards dogma, especially the doctrine of the Sacraments; this was the most important thing. The reform of abuses was already settled, or at least so far advanced that it could easily be brought to a close. In this connection it was taken for granted that only such reforms were to be dealt with at Trent as did not affect the Roman court, for the Pope looked upon these as his own prerogative.[3] As far as the question

[1] The credentials, dated November 19, 1561, in part in PALLAVICINI, 15, 13, 2, and complete in ŠUSTA, I., 113 *seq.*; in *San Carlo*, 89, they are given in phototype from the original.

[2] The letter. dated November 20, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 115.

[3] *Cf.* EDER, I., 121 *seq.*, who rightly remarks that the work of reform which had at that time been energetically undertaken in Rome aimed at withdrawing from the Council the "Reformatio Capite." For this reform work *cf.* SICKEL, 242; ŠUSTA, I., 119; *Avvisi di Roma of December 6, 13, and 20, 1561, and January 10, 1562 (Urb. 1039, pp. 317b *seq.*, 319b, 325b, 310, Vatican Library). On December 20, 1561, Tonina gives the following account of this work: *Sopra la bolla del conclave, del qual S. S^tà ad ogni hora ragiona, non vi è cardinale che concorri nella opinione sua, di farlo in Castello, patendo questa sua opinione molte contrarietà che si adducono de incomodi, pericoli, et che anco il luoco non sia capace, però si crede che non se ne farà altro. Circa la bolla della riforma a questa si attende et si crede pure che in ciò si farà qualche profitto, ancora che portarà tempo, perchè dovendosi reformare ogniuno in casa sua ci bisognano molte considerationi, molto tempo et molto che fare, in riandare

of continuation was concerned, Simonetta was authorized by his instructions, in the event of any dispute arising, to declare openly that the Council was a continuation of the previous one; the decrees of Trent, published under Paul III. and Julius III., were to be regarded as valid, and under no circumstances to be called in question. The legates were to prevent the question of the Pope's supremacy over the Council from being made the subject of discussion, especially as the former Council had accepted the Papal supremacy without question. Should matters, however, go so far, that the prelates were not to be turned from the treatment of this article, then the legates were to suspend the Council, and inform the Pope by courier; he would then take further measures, and either remove the Council to another place or dissolve it altogether.[1]

Two further documents for the legates were probably taken to Trent by Simonetta: a brief of September 22nd, 1561, which authorized the legates, in case of need, to remove the Council at their own discretion to another city, and another brief of the same date which decided that if the Pope should die during the Council, the choice of his successor was not to belong to the Council, but to the Cardinals.[2]

Shortly before the arrival of Simonetta, during the night between December 8th and 9th, the report of Delfino had reached Trent, that in accordance with his promise, the Emperor's envoys would arrive by the middle of January. The legates at once informed all the prelates present, and resolved, in consideration of this news, to postpone the opening of the Council until January 15th; Delfino was informed of

una strada tanto invecchiata et bisognando quasi passare da un estremo all' altro. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] The instruction, according to the minute of the private secretary, T. Galli, in Šusta, I., 116 *seq.*

[2] Both documents in Raynaldus, 1561, n. 7-9; Le Plat, IV., 721 *seq.*, and Ehses, VIII., 179 *seq.*, 248. *Cf.* Šusta, I., 118 *seq.* See also the Acta consist. of November 19, 1561, in Laemmer, Melet., 213, and Ehses, VIII., 121. *Cf.* Sägmüller, Papstwahlbullen, 118.

this on December 9th. In a letter to Borromeo, dated December 11th, the legates gave their reasons for thus deviating from the expressed will of the Pope, and begged for his approval. This was granted them through Borromeo on December 20th, and it was added that should the arrival of the Imperial envoys, or the representatives of any other great power, still be imminent, then a further short postponement would be allowed.[1]

Immediately after the arrival of Simonetta, the legates consulted together as to what matter they should deal with first; they decided that it would be best to commence with the Index of forbidden books, so as to avoid bringing up the question of the continuation at the very outset, by going on with the doctrine of the Sacraments. Simonetta communicated this intention to Rome on December 11th, and the Pope consented.[2] Before the answer arrived, however, the legates returned to the question on December 18th, paying special attention to the objections and difficulties, and changed their proposal in such a way that they now decided that it would be advisable to put the question to the assembled prelates in the first congregation after the opening, as to whether they thought it best to continue to deal with the articles not yet decided, or to deliberate upon new ones; they were of opinion that everyone would accept the continuation, and that in this way nobody would be able to say anything against the Pope, as the Council itself would have declared its opinion. To this they received an answer from the Pope, through Borromeo, on December 27th, that His Holiness left it entirely to their discretion to act as they thought best.[3] On January 3rd the legates, who had been

[1] Šusta, I., 122 *seq.*, 139. Borromeo had previously (to Ercole Gonzaga, December 15, 1561) recommended the Epiphany as a suitable day for the opening of the Council. Pius IV. also decided in favour of that day in the consistory of December 17; see Šusta, I., 132 *seq.*, 134.

[2] Borromeo to the legates on December 20, 1561, in Šusta, I., 139.

[3] Šusta, I., 129 *seq.*, 143.

busily employed during these days with the preliminary work of the Council, sent to Rome a draft of a decree for the first session, which had been drawn up by Seripando.[1]

In a consistory on December 17th, the Pope, who, in spite of the difficulties which still existed, was firmly resolved[2] on a speedy opening of the Council, bestowed the legatine cross on Mark Sittich. The departure of the Cardinal, however, was delayed until the new year, and he did not reach Trent until January 30th, 1562.[3]

The Pope, as he informed the legates through Cardinal Borromeo on December 31st, 1561, had chosen January 18th, 1562, a Sunday, on which day the feast of St. Peter's Chair fell, for the opening day of the Council.[4] On the receipt of Delfino's information that the Imperial envoys would hardly be in Trent before the end of January, it was left to the legates, on January 7th, to postpone the opening for another eight or ten days.[5]

As there were already about a hundred prelates assembled at Trent, the legates resolved to keep to January 18th. On the 15th the first preparatory General Congregation assembled. It was held at the residence of Cardinal Gonzaga, who, as first legate, opened it with an address and prayer. Then the secretary of the Council, Massarelli, read aloud the decrees arranged for the inaugural session, and a Papal brief, by which, in order to avoid disputes concerning precedure, the order of rank among the Fathers of the Council was decided. According to this the patriarchs were to come first, the archbishops second, and the bishops third ; the primates, on the other hand, were to have no precedence over the other archbishops ; within the various ranks, the fathers were

[1] Šusta, I., 144 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 146 *seq.* the draft of the decree.

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 19 the *report of Fr. Tonina of December 3, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Report of Tonina, dated Rome, December 17, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Šusta, I., 134, 151, II., 14 *seq.* ; Steinherz, III., 1 ; Theiner, I., 680 ; Ehses, VIII., 122.

[4] Šusta, I., 151.

[5] *Ibid.*, 156.

to be arranged according to the date of their appointment.[1]

Before the meeting of the General Congregation, the legates had been successful in settling a difficulty which might have proved very dangerous for the Council which was on the point of being opened. On January 5th, the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, had gone to Seripando to demand, in the name of the Spanish bishops, that every ambiguity should be avoided at the opening, and that the Council should be clearly and definitely designated as a continuation of the former one. On January 11th Guerrero repeated his demand in the presence of the four legates and Cardinal Madruzzo, and threatened to make a protest. The legates did everything they could to avoid this, and at the last moment their efforts were crowned with success. The archbishop withdrew his request, after having been assured by the legates that no expression would be used at the opening of the Council which could be taken as a declaration against continuation ; the Council would be opened exactly in accordance with the text of the bull of convocation, the declaration of continuation would follow at the fitting time, and at the close, the earlier decrees, drawn up under Paul III. and Julius III. together with the new decisions, would receive the confirmation of the Pope.[2]

[1] See THEINER, I., 673 *seq.* ; PALEOTTO, *ibid.*, II., 530 *seq.* ; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 3 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 15, 15, 6 *seq.* ; Musotti in DÖLLINGER, Konzil, II., 5. The brief concerning precedence, dated December 31, 1561, in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 12 ; LE PLAT, IV., 755 ; EHSES, VIII., 271. The bull *Ad universalis* bears the same date of December 31, 1561, which decides that the right of voting can only be exercised by those who are present in person, and not by proxies. EHSES, VIII., 269 *seq.*

[2] Besides the letters from the legates to Borromeo of January 12 and 15, 1562, in ŠUSTA, I., 152 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, *cf.* Musotti in DÖLLINGER, Konzil, II., 4 *seq.* ; SERIPANDI Comment., 470 *seq.* ; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 530, and the report of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoça, Bishop of Salamanca, who acted as mediator, in DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 64 *seq.* *Cf.* the letters of the Bishops of Sutri-Nepi and Modena to Morone of January 15, 1562, in EHSES, VIII., 279 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Reopening of the Council of Trent. Sessions XVII to XXII.

Two complete years, full of work and anxieties, had been necessary, in order to overcome the "sea of difficulties" which the reopening of the Council had had to face. The satisfaction of Pius IV. was therefore great and fully justified when, at the end of the third year of his pontificate, he at last saw all his efforts crowned with success.[1]

It was a momentous day for the Church and the Papacy when all the members of the Council present in Trent assembled in the ancient church of S. Peter, on the morning of January 18th, 1562, in order to proceed in procession to the neighbouring Cathedral for the purpose of the solemn opening of the General Council of the Church. The members of the secular and regular clergy of the city formed the head of the procession, and these were followed by the mitred abbots, ninety bishops, eleven archbishops, and three patriarchs. Then followed the Duke of Mantua, the nephew of the Cardinal, who had come to Trent for the solemnity, Cardinal Madruzzo, and the four Papal legates, Gonzaga, Simonetta, Seripando and Hosius, whose dignity was denoted by an infula of gold material. The secular ambassadors should have followed the legates, but none had as yet arrived. Four generals of orders followed, with the Auditor of the Roman Rota, the Consistorial Advocate, the Promoter of the Council, and lastly the magistrates of Trent and other lay persons of distinction.

[1] The Pope expressed his joy at the opening of the Council in a consistory on January 28, 1562. See Acta consist. in Laemmer, Melet., 213 *seq.*, and Ehses, VIII., 271. *Cf.* also Borromeo's letter to Simonetta in Šusta II., 18.

Cardinal Gonzaga celebrated High Mass, and the sermon was delivered by the Archbishop of Reggio, Gaspare del Fosso. After the usual ceremonies, the Secretary of the Council read the Bull of Indiction, and the Archbishop of Reggio the two decrees which had been accepted in the General Congregation of January 15th,[1] which were now approved. Four Spaniards however, led by the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, protested against the decision that the Council was to act under the presidency, and to follow the proposals, of the legates.[2] During the session the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Georg Draskovich, one of the orators of the princes, arrived; he was to represent Ferdinand I. as King of Hungary.[3]

For the moment, the question of the continuation was only evaded. The legates resolved, in view of the widely divergent views and demands of the powers, and in order not to impede the course of the Council, to deal at first with matters of secondary importance. In the General Congregation of January 27th, they submitted three articles for discussion at the next Session; these concerned prohibited books, and the drawing up of a letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants.[4] It was further decided to add four more prelates, who were to examine the mandates of the procurators of the bishops who were prevented from coming. The articles submitted were dealt with in ten General Congregations.[5] On January 30th, Mark Sittich, the long expected fifth legate, arrived; he brought the decision of Pius IV. on the much

[1] See *supra* p. 262.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 676; PALEOTTO *ibid.*, II., 533,; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 5-8; BONDONUS 554 *seq.*; Musotti in DÖLLINGER, Konzil, II., 5; report of the legates to Borromeo on January 19, 1562, in ŠUSTA, I., 163-6. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI 15, 16.

[3] *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, A magyar fögapok a trienti zinaton, Estergom, 1863; KASSOWITZ, 38 and viii *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 164.

[4] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 677; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 9; LE PLAT, V., 17 *seq.*; MENDOÇA, 636; MUSOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 6 *seq.* (January 20 is an error for 27; so is 28 in THEINER, *loc. cit.*).

[5] See THEINER, I., 678 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 15, 19. For the revision of the Index see Vol. XVI. of this work, Chap. I.

debated question as to whether the city of the Council should have a protective foice of Papal troops. The Pope decided that the defence of the Council should be entrusted to Cardinal Madruzzo, as the temporal lord of the district, and that a monthly allowance of 200 scudi should be assigned to him from the treasury of the Council.[1]

The Bishop of Fünfkirchen had at first to remain inactive, as he had arrived in Trent without mandate or instructions.[2] It was only on January 31st, when the Archbishop of Prague, Brus von Müglitz, one of the envoys who was to represent Ferdinand I. as Emperor, had arrived, that both the representatives of the Hapsburg were solemnly received in the General Congregation on February 6th.[3] The Portuguese envoy, Fernando Martinez de Mascareynas, arrived in Trent on February 7th.[4] In order to avoid disputes between the ecclesiastical and secular representatives of the princes, such as had already arisen between the Spanish and Portuguese envoys, the legates issued a table of precedence on February 8th.[5] The Portuguese envoy, who soon proved himself a loyal friend to the legates, was introduced at the General Congregation on the following day, and the second Imperial envoy, Sigismund von Thun, who had now also arrived, was introduced on February 10th.[6]

On February 13th the three representatives of Ferdinand I. handed to the legates a memorandum,[7] in which, in accordance

[1] *Cf.* Bondonus, 556; Sickel, Berichte, I., 125; Šusta, II., 14-5.

[2] See Šusta, II., 17; Kassowitz, 39.

[3] See Sickel, Konzil, 229; Theiner, I., 680; Raynaldus, 1562, n. 10; Le Plat, V., 19-22; Bondonus, 557. *Cf.* Pallavicini, 15, 20.

[4] See Theiner, I., 681; Bondonus, 557; Giuliani, *loc. cit.*, 107 *seq.*; Šusta, I., 95.

[5] Raynaldus, 1562, n. 11; Le Plat, V., 22 *seq.*; Theiner, I., 681 *seq.*

[6] Raynaldus, 1562, n. 12-14; Le Plat, V., 23-30; Theiner, I. 682-3; Bondonus, 557.

[7] In Raynaldus, 1562, n. 15-6; Le Plat, V., 33-5.

with their instructions of January 1st,[1] the following requests were set forth: In order to avoid giving offence to the Protestants, it was desired that no pronouncement as to the continuation of the Council should be made at present; that the next Session should be postponed as long as possible; that questions of dogma should in the meantime be adjourned, and less important matters dealt with; a condemnation of the Confession of Augsburg should be avoided in drawing up the Index; the Protestants must receive safe-conduct in the widest sense of the term, and in the form which they themselves wished. The provisional reply of the legates to these demands was drawn up in very conciliatory terms.[2]

On February 17th the legates admonished the fathers of the Council to keep secret the questions submitted to them for consideration; they were only to be made known when the decrees had been drawn up and published in the public Session.[3]

At the General Congregation of February 24th the Bishop of Fünfkirchen delivered his mandate as Hungarian envoy.[4] On the same day the Jubilee indulgence granted by the Pope in a brief of February 14th, was published.[5]

The XVIIIth Session, the second under Pius IV., was held on February 26th.[6] The five legates were present, with Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, three patriarchs, sixteen archbishops, a hundred and five bishops, four abbots, five generals of orders, fifty theologians and four orators. High Mass was celebrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Antonio Elio, after which a sermon was preached by Antonio Cauco, Arch-

[1] Printed in SICKEL, Konzil, 252-60. *Cf.* KRÖSS, 455 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 30 *seq.*; EDER, I., 107 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 127.

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 17; LE PLAT, V., 35 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, II., 23 *seq.*; SICKEL, Konzil, 269; EDER, I., 128.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 18; LE PLAT, V., 36; THEINER, I., 686 *seq.*

[4] See LE PLAT, V., 37-43; THEINER, I., 690.

[5] THEINER, I., 689. The Papal brief in LE PLAT, V., 43.

[6] *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 19-21; THEINER, I., 691; Musotti, in DÖLLINGER, Konzil, II., 9 *seq.*; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 15, 21.

bishop of Patras. Two decrees were published: one which announced the reform of the Index, and dealt with the invitation of all to the Council (De librorum delectu et omnibus ad concilium fide publica invitandis); in its second part it contained an invitation to the Protestants to present themselves at Trent, which was expressed in a noble spirit of peace;[1] by the second decree, the next Session of the Council was, in accordance with the wishes of the Emperor, postponed till May 14th. In order that the letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants should be granted as soon as possible, it was resolved that a General Congregation should have the power to issue this with full validity. They acted on this decision on March 2nd and 4th, and on the latter day the letter of safe-conduct was solemnly granted, which fact was made public on the 8th, by a notice affixed to the doors of the Cathedral in Trent. The designation "heretic" was in this replaced by the milder description "those who do not agree with us in faith, and believe otherwise than the Holy Roman Church teaches."[2]

Pius IV. was most anxious that the Council should quickly be brought to completion by the immediate treatment of dogmatic questions. It was only after a consultation with five Cardinals that he had yielded to the request of the Emperor to postpone the next Session of the Council to a later date. A letter from Borromeo of February 20th gave permission for the next Session to be postponed till the beginning of May at the latest; in the meantime, in order to meet the wishes of the Emperor in this respect as well, they should not deal with dogma, but only with letters of safe-conduct and similar matters, as well as with several general points of reform; the Pope would himself undertake the reform of the

[1] The opinion of Knöpfler in the Freiburger Kirchenlex, XI., 2090.

[2] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 22-3; Theiner, I., 692; Paleotto, in Theiner, II., 545 *seq.*; Musotti, *loc. cit.*, 10 *seq.*; report of the legates of March 9, in Šusta, II., 46; *Cf.* Pallavicini, 15, 1.

Curia.[1] After the legates had received these instructions on February 24th, they resolved, in the General Congregation of the 25th, to fix the next Session for May 14th.[2] At the same time as they informed the Pope of this, they made him a proposal that a special envoy should be sent to the Emperor, in order to prevent further delays.[3] The Pope agreed to this, and suggested that Commendone might be entrusted with this mission, when he came to Trent after the completion of his journey through Germany.[4] Commendone, who reached Trent on March 7th, was prepared to undertake this new task, but wished first to go to Venice for a few days.[5]

The position, however, had in the meantime been altered by the new demands presented by the Imperial envoys on March 5th · the reform of the German clergy was to be taken in hand at once, and a solemn invitation to the Council addressed to the Protestants.[6] The legates, in their reply,[7] made very reasonable objections to these demands ; [8] the Pope also wished to refuse them, and was specially averse to the second one, for an invitation of the Protestants to the Council, which they did not recognize as such, would only lead to a further delay in its activities, without being of any other use, as the Protestants had already received an invitation, which they had only disregarded and despised. As it was now feared that the proposed envoy from the Council to the Emperor might be won over by the latter to his views, the Pope thought it wiser that the whole mission should if possible

[1] See Šusta, II., 31 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 32 *seq.*, the more confidential instructions to Simonetta. *Cf.* Eder, I., 129 *seq.*

[2] Theiner, I., 690.

[3] Letter of the legates of February 25, 1562, in Šusta, II., 37.

[4] Borromeo to the legates on March 8, 1562, in Šusta, II., 48 *seq.* *Cf.* Steinherz, III., 26.

[5] See Šusta, II., 52, 412.

[6] Le Plat, V., 102 *seq.* *Cf.* Steinherz, III., 26. For the date, March 5 (instead of 6) see Eder, I., 136 n. 1, and 147 *seq.*, as against Löwe, 87 *seq.*

[7] Of March 9, in Le Plat, V., 103.

[8] See Eder, I., 136. *Cf.* Sägmüller, Papstwahlbullen, 122.

be given up.[1] This in fact was done; the legates resolved to make their representations to the Emperor, which were to have been entrusted to Commendone, through the nuncio, Delfino. However, before the letter to Delfino, drafted on April 2nd, was dispatched, a report from the nuncio, of March 30th, arrived in Trent on April 6th, which announced that the Emperor had withdrawn his demand for a postponement of the proceedings of the Council.[2] On March 29th the Pope gave instructions to the legates through Borromeo that they were no longer to delay the deliberations. Beginning with the next Session, they were to proceed to the treatment of questions of dogma, and thereby, though tacitly, and without any express declaration, the continuation would become an actual fact; the Spaniards would certainly be pleased to have this as an accomplished fact, while on the other hand all unnecessary offence would be avoided. The Pope also declared that, in the event of its being necessary, the highly controversial question whether the bishops' duty of residence was of divine or human institution, was admissible.[3] This difficult point had been raised when the legates, without waiting for the Pope's reply, had, on March 11th, begun the treatment of questions of reform by submitting twelve articles.[4]

At first it was only private discussions in which this important controversy came into the foreground, but soon it was being discussed with much heat in the widest circles.[5] Cardinal

[1] Borromeo to the legates on March 14, 1562, in Šusta, II., 59.

[2] See Steinherz, III., 32-3.

[3] Šusta, II., 71 *seq.* Already on March 18, Borromeo had given the legates instructions, so as to prevent unpleasantness, to avoid from any dispute about the "ius divinum residentiae," *ibid.*, 65.

[4] For the story of the origin of the important 12 articles on reform (in Theiner, I., 694; Le Plat, V., 104) see Šusta, II., 47. *Cf. ibid.*, 52 *seq.* for the proceedings of the legates, which could not be brought into accordance with the instructions received on March 12. See also Eder, I., 136 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Paleotto in Theiner, I., 550 *seq.*

Simonetta stood out from the first as the strong opponent of any definition of a divine law of the duty of residence; he stood above all his colleagues in knowledge of canon law,[1] and he clearly recognized the danger which this vexed question concealed; however, the wishes of Ferdinand's envoys weighed more in the end than these fears.[2]

In the latter half of March the real business of the Council had to a certain extent to give way to the solemn receptions and to the ceremonies of Holy Week.[3] On March 16th the envoy of the Spanish king, Fernando Francisco de Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, was received in the General Congregation;[4] on March 18th, the envoy of the Duke of Florence, Giovanni Strozzi;[5] on March 20th, the envoys of Catholic Switzerland, Melchior Lussy, chief magistrate of Unterwalden, as orator of the seven Catholic cantons, and Abbot Joachim Eichhorn of Einsiedeln, as procurator of the prelates and clergy of the seven cantons;[6] on April 6th, the procurators of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Hungary, Johann di Kolosváry, Bishop of Csanád, and Andreas Sbardelato Dudith, Bishop of Knin.[7]

The discussion, at first only of the first four reform articles, was now begun in the General Congregation of April 7th.[8]

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Berichte, I., 57

[2] See EDER, I., 137-8.

[3] See ŠUSTA, II., 53, 64. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 4, 2.

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 32-4; LE PLAT, V., 105-10. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 694 *seq.*; BONDONUS, 558-9. See also ŠUSTA, I., 313, on the provisional appointment of Pescara.

[5] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 35-7; LE PLAT, V., 110-6. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 695; ŠUSTA, II., 53 *seq.*

[6] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 38-9; LE PLAT, V., 116-24. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 695; MAYER, Konzil und Gegensreformation, I., 50 *seqq.*

[7] See LE PLAT, V., 138-46. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 696; ŠUSTA, II., 74 *seq.* On April 25 the envoys of the Republic of Venice, Niccolò da Ponte and Matteo Dandolo, were received. See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 42; LE PLAT, V., 159-62. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 714; ŠUSTA, II., 61.

[6] See THEINER, I., 696 *seqq.*; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 552 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 4 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, II., 77 *seq.*

It then happened that, at the first article, the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, who was the principal spokesman of the Spaniards, asked for a decision of the question which was so variously interpreted by theologians, whether the duty of residence had its origin in divine or in human law. Whoever voted on this question with the Archbishop of Granada, in favour of the divine law, at the same time pronounced in favour of the opinion that in the episcopal consecration there was immediately conferred by God a certain though still indeterminate power of government, while the Pope, in conferring a bishopric, did no more than designate the person to whom this power of government was applied. This, however, was contested by many, and on account of the deeply-rooted differences of opinion, the discussions proved to be as long as they were stormy.[1] In the discussions most of the Spaniards, filled with zeal for the defence and consolidation of the episcopal dignity, spoke in favour of the divine right; they hoped from this to be able to gain a strengthening of episcopal jurisdiction as against the central power of the Pope and a limitation of Roman dispensations. Beyond this practical object the matter had also a very wide importance on the ground of principle. It was not only a question of words, as some later believed who had only considered the matter superficially.[2] What was being discussed was rather a matter of profound theology, upon the answer to which the most important consequences depended. The controversy affected the innermost constitution of the Church, and involved in itself the old antithesis between the Papal and episcopal systems. Cardinal Simonetta saw very clearly the weapon

[1] Hitherto the General Congregation had been held at the residence of Cardinal Gonzaga, the Palazzo Thun; the much greater number of those taking part, as well as the increasing heat of the season, were the reasons why, after April 13, the church of S. Maria Maggiore was chosen for the place of meeting. GIUILANI, 96. *Cf.* also EHSES, VIII., 440 n. 2, and 513 n. 2. From April 25 to May 26, 1562, the Congregations were held in the Cathedral.

[2] *Cf.* GRISAR, Frage des päpstl. Primates, 454 *seq.*, 784.

against the Papal primacy contained in the theory of the Spaniards, as well as the danger which would follow an affirmative decision. A definition of the divine right, so he feared, would not only give the Protestants an opening for fresh attacks upon the Curia, but would also injure important interests of the Holy See, both in reality and in theory; it would bind the hands of the Pope and would create an important prejudice in favour of the superiority of the Council. Because he did not wish to see the ancient and essential rights of the Roman primacy lessened, Simonetta did everything in his power to avert this danger.[1] His forebodings were only shared by Hosius, and not by Gonzaga and Seripando. For the rest, it was almost entirely Italian prelates who were on his side, and their authority was weakened by the fact that, on account of their poverty, they received pecuniary support from the Curia, in consequence of which they did not appear to be independent.[2]

How greatly the views on this subject, which, in default of any binding definition on the part of the Church, was still an open one, were in need of being cleared up, appeared in the voting which took place in the General Congregation on April 20th, on the question whether the duty of residence was to be defined as being based on divine institution. It had been settled that the question was to be answered by a simple "yes" or "no." As many did not keep to this, a confusion arose which is reflected to this day in the very discrepant statements given by the various authorities. According to the notes made by Seripando, 67 fathers answered with a simple "yes," and 33 with a simple "no;" 38 gave a conditional vote; some of these voted in the affirmative, if the Pope were first asked for his opinion, others in the negative, if the Pope were not asked; Cardinal Madruzzo remarked that he would abide by what he had said in a previous session; the Bishop of Budua said that he approved of its publication.

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, II., 70, 89, 124 *seq.*; Eder, I., 142. See also Paleotto in Theiner, II., 555.

[2] See Eder, I., 142.

The Benedictine Abbots answered in various ways, the question then arising as to whether they were to have only one vote, as in the time of Paul III.[1] The result therefore was simply that a bare majority would come to no decision until the Pope had given his opinion on the question. The session had been more excited than any held so far. The noise and strife, said Musotti, was so great that the avoidance of a schism could only be ascribed to a miracle.[2]

The confusion was still further increased by disunion among the legates. After the voting, Cardinal Gonzaga was inclined to count the votes of those who said "yes, with the assent of the Pope," with the votes of those who wished for a definition of the divine right unconditionally, and then to proceed without further ceremony, but as Cardinals Simonetta and Hosius justly protested, he was obliged to give up the idea.[3]

The legates sent a petition to the Pope on the very day of the session, that in view of the divergence of opinion, he would decide the matter himself.[4] Three days later, Gonzaga and Seripando sent a kind of minority vote to Rome, in which the sending of such messages to the Pope was deprecated, because the idea that there was a want of freedom in the Council would be strengthened among the Protestants as well as among many Catholics. Gonzaga and Seripando therefore advised that the Pope should refrain from making a decision, and should

[1] SERIPANDI Comment., 484-5. Concerning the different computations in other authorities, *cf.* DRUFFEL in the Theol. Lit.-Blatt., 1876, 484. MERKLE, who has discovered the manuscript remains of Paleotto (see Röm. Quartalschrift, XI., 335 *seq.*) in the Isolani Archives at Bologna, promises (Concil., II., 639) an exact edition of each voting from the original diary of Paleotto. See also the complete conciliar *Acta* from April 7 to 20, together with numerous original votes, hitherto unknown, in EHSES, VIII., 402-65.

[2] DÖLLINGER, Tagebücher, II., 12. See also Paleotto in THEINER, II., 554 *seq.*

[3] See ŠUSTA, II., 90.

[4] *Ibid.*, 88.

admonish the prelates to settle the matter according to their consciences.[1]

On the same April 20th a commission was appointed to draw up a decree embodying the points of reform already dealt with. From April 21st to the 24th, six more of the twelve articles were discussed. On April 28th, a letter from the French envoy, Lansac, was read, in which he announced his arrival, but begged that the Session of May 14th might be postponed, as he could not be in Trent by then.[2] Almost all the Spanish prelates protested against a postponement of the Session, but they were by no means in the majority. At length a way was found to please both parties; it was resolved on April 30th to hold the Session fixed for May 14th on that day, but only to read the mandates of the newly arrived envoys; the publication of the decrees already determined on was to take place at a Session to be held eight days later.[3]

About this time various circumstances contributed to render the position of the Council exceedingly difficult, not the least of which were the many acts of interference on the part of the princes and their representatives. The matter of the continuation on the one hand, and the question as to the duty of residence on the other, were the subjects which disturbed the peaceful carrying on of the deliberations.

The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Vargas, had handed an autograph letter from his master to the Pope on April 19th, making at the same time a protest, both verbally and in writing, against the exclusive right of the legates to bring forward proposals, and against the postponement of the explicit declaration of continuation.[4] Cardinal Borromeo informed

[1] The letter of Gonzaga and Seripando of April 23, 1562, unfortunately only preserved in a summary, in Šusta, II., 90 *seq.*

[2] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 44; Le Plat, V., 162. *Cf.* Theiner, I., 714 *seq.*

[3] See Pallavicini, 16, 5, 13. All the material concerning the Congregations and Sessions down to the XXIInd. on September 17, 1562, is now in a detailed edition in Ehses, VIII.

[4] See Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 415; Colleccion de docum. inéd., IX., 141. The autograph letter of Philip II., of March 30, 1562, in Šusta, II., 94 *seq.*

the legates of this on April 25th, and three days later Pius IV. wrote to them that he had given the Portuguese ambassador, Lorenzo Perez, who was returning home, a commission to Philip II. to vindicate the Papal policy with regard to the Council.[1] The legates, on their part, drew up for Philip II. on May 7th, a detailed memorandum of vindication concerning the questions contested by Spain.[2] They also informed Cardinal Borromeo on May 7th that they had intended to declare the continuation explicitly at the next Session, but that as the Imperial envoys had urgently protested against this only the day before, they were still undecided what course to pursue.[3] The representatives of Ferdinand I. again protested on May 8th against the words in the draft of the decree of prorogation fixed for the next Session, which they thought might be understood as a declaration of continuation. A corresponding alteration was accordingly made.[4] On May 10th the Spanish envoy, the Marquis of Pescara, had returned to Trent ; he brought fresh instructions from Philip II. which urgently demanded an explicit declaration of continuation. The Imperial envoys were equally insistent on the other side. On May 12th it was agreed that in the Session immediately following (May 14th), they would merely publish a decree postponing the next Session from May 21st to June 4th ; they must abstain from any declaration of continuation, but the legates must give the Spanish envoy hopes of this being made in the Session in June. By this postponement of the Session the Imperial envoys gained time to seek further instructions from Ferdinand I.[5]

In Rome, on May 12th, the French ambassador, in conjunction with Abbot Niquet of St. Gildas, who had arrived from France, presented to the Pope from their government a fresh request for the postponement of the proceedings of the

[1] See Šusta, II., 93 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*

[2] Collección de docum. inéd., IX., 161 *seq.* *Cf.* also Šusta, II., 102 *seq.*

[3] Šusta, II., 101 *seq.*

[4] Šusta, I., 104 *seq.*

[5] See Šusta, II., 123 *seq.* ; Eder, I., 147.

Council.[1] The Pope was unwilling to agree to this, and since he was being continually urged by the Spanish ambassador to proclaim the continuation,[2] he instructed the legates on May 13th to proceed with the discussion in the Council of matters of dogma and reform as an express continuation of the Council of Trent, without paying any attention to the remonstrances which were to be expected from France and elsewhere.[3]

At Trent, on May 14th, in the XIXth Session, the third under Pius IV., as had been agreed, nothing was done beyond the publication of the decree of postponement to the 4th of June, and the reading of the mandates. The legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, eighteen archbishops, a hundred and thirty-one bishops, two abbots, four generals of orders, twenty-two theologians and eight orators (among them the envoy of Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, who had arrived on May 1st) were present.[4]

Three days before the XIXth Session the developments in the controversy as to the duty of residence had led the Pope to make an important pronouncement.

Since they were not in possession of sufficient information for the treatment of the questions of reform, the legates had already, on April 11th, sent to Rome a confidential messenger in the person of Federigo Pendaso, who was to find out the wishes of the Pope, especially in the matter of the duty of residence.[5] Pendaso had arrived in the Eternal City on April 20th,[6] but his return was so long delayed that reports were

[1] See Šusta, II., 155.

[2] See Vargas to Philip II. on May 4, 1562, in Döllinger, Beiträge, II., 415 *seq.*

[3] Šusta, II., 155. "Le cose del concilio la (S. S^tà^] travagliano anco molto," *reports Fr. Tonina on May 13, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 44; Theiner, I., 717. Concerning the Bavarian envoys, Dr. Augustin Paumgartner and Jean Couvillon S. J. see Knöpfler, Kelchbewegung, 100; Riezler, IV., 513; Canisii Epist., 450, 562.

[5] *Cf.* Susta, II., 78-82, and Merkle, II., 483 *seq.*

[6] See Arco's report in Sickel, Konzil, 293.

current of the imminent translation of the Council, or of its sudden ending.[1] No such plans, however, were contemplated. The cause of the delay was the embarrassment of the Pope as to the attitude he should adopt with regard to the question of the duty of residence, as to which such great differences of opinion prevailed among the fathers. In view of the great number who held that opinion, and the attitude of Vargas, a plain rejection of the divine authority for the duty of residence did not seem to be opportune, especially because many saw in a declaration of the divine right one of the most efficacious means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, now so fallen into decay, and thus they would incur the suspicion that the Curia was seeking to thwart the work of reform. Above all, however, the most vital interests of the Holy See were involved in the question. If he gave way, he would have to bear in mind that those fathers who had spoken out openly against the definition, thinking thereby to render an important service to the Pope, must not lightly be thrown over. A hurried definition was therefore to be avoided, because the laying down of an article of faith called for complete security, and of that, in the face of such violent opposition, there could be no question.[2]

On account of the difficulties which stood in the way of a definite decision, either in one sense or the other, Pius IV. thought it best to leave the question open for the time being, and to send Pendaso back to Trent only with decisions as to the reforms that were to be undertaken (May 3rd).[3] When he was near Mantua, Pendaso injured himself by a fall from his horse to such a degree that he was unable to continue his journey. He therefore dictated to Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene, who had been sent to meet him by the legates, his instructions, which were to the following effect: the Pope is resolved on the reform of the whole Church, and especially of the Roman Curia. That of the Penitentiaria is already in hand, and that of the other offices will follow, in spite of the financial losses involved. The Pope earnestly admonished the

[1] See Colleccion de docum. inéd., IX., 151.

[2] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 5.

[3] See ŠUSTA, II., 108.

legates to proceed with all possible moderation, lest the movement for reform within the Church, instead of contributing to the salvation of Christendom, should degenerate into a mere upsetting of the existing order; they were not lightly to lend an ear to every claim and request, but to proceed in agreement with the head of the Church. With regard to the question of residence, the Pope still reserved a decisive definition; in view of the differences of opinion among the fathers, and the prevailing excitement, it would be better to wait for a more favourable and a calmer time.[1]

Besides these instructions, Pendaso was the bearer of 95 articles of reform, furnished with notes by the Pope himself, which had been drawn up by the private secretary of Pius IV., on the basis of the reform libellum of the Spanish prelates, which had been sent to Rome by Simonetta on April 6th.[2] In the meantime, Simonetta, by his expostulations, had been successful in inducing his colleagues to leave on one side the question of residence, and to treat of it only in connection with the discussion of the Sacrament of Holy Orders. This was reported to Cardinal Borromeo by the legates on May 11th.[3]

But in the meantime a change of opinion had been brought about in the mind of Pius IV. Reports from various correspondents painted the disunion and confusion at Trent in such vivid colours that the whole Curia was stirred to its depths. The Pope's mind was disturbed more and more by the secret warnings which reached him in great numbers,

[1] See Šusta, II., 109 *seq.* Concerning the reforms at Rome, which related especially to the Penitentiaria and the Apostolic Camera, see, besides Sickel, Konzil, 298 *seq.*, 310, and Sägmüller, Papstwahlbullen, 128, the *statements of Tonina (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and the *Avvisi di Roma (Vatican Library) in Appendix Nos. 20—33. For the constitution of May 4, 1562 (Bull. Rom., VII., 193 *seq.*), which was the first attempt to alter the Penitentiaria, and to limit its powers, see Göller, II., 113 *seq.*

[2] Published in accordance with a manuscript of Seripando, in Šusta, II., 113 *seqq.*

[3] Šusta, II., 121 *seq.*, 126.

which came to him partly directly, and partly through Borromeo, from fathers of the Council who were known to be zealous partisans of the Holy See. A profound impression was made by several reports from Simonetta, who had from the first been definitely opposed to the declaration that the duty of residence was founded on divine right. The zeal of the Cardinal, as well as his wide knowledge of canon law, were bound to place his opinion above suspicion, and to give real justification to his apprehension of dangers, which the eyes of the other legates had not detected. In addition to this there had come to Rome other communications, which not only exaggerated, but even distorted occurrences which had taken place in Trent; among these there were even angry calumnies against Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando.[1]

Pius IV. considered the matter of such grave importance that, contrary to his usual custom, he sought counsel from the Cardinals. He formed six of them into a special commission,[2] and a consultation with them led to the conclusion that the Pope could no longer maintain his former attitude of reserve.[3] A resolution was therefore come to, to avert the dangers that threatened at Trent by an extraordinary step: to associate with the legates who were there three new ones; Cardinals Cicada, de la Bourdaisière, and Navagero were proposed for this office. Cicada seemed to be especially suited for the defence of the rights of the Holy See, as not only was he distinguished for his great knowledge of canon law, but also for his great intrepidity. Bourdaisière, as Bishop of Angoulême, had always shown great zeal for religion, and as the ambassador of France to the Holy See he had won in a high degree the good-will and confidence of the Pope; he would be in a position to render valuable services in averting the difficulties which were to be feared from the French government. Navagero, too, possessed, in addition to a truly

[1] See the testimony of Borromeo in his letter to Gonzaga of May 11, 1562, in Šusta, II., 140, and Paleotto in Theiner, II., 558-9. *Cf.* Pallavicini, 16, 5 and 8.

[2] See Paleotto, *loc. cit.*, 559.

[3] See Eder, I., 145.

ecclesiastical spirit, great diplomatic skill, of which he had given proofs as Venetian ambassador at different courts,and finally in Rome. It might therefore be hoped that he would be successful in restoring harmony among the legates.[1]

Pius IV., in his own vigorous way, informed the legates of his intention on May 11th. He did not refrain from making bitter reproaches to them on account of their want of unity in treating the question of the duty of residence. They should have prevented this complicated question, which had already been postponed in the time of Paul III. from being made a subject of discussion, especially as they themselves were not of one mind regarding it. "Remember," he wrote, "that you are all legates together, and that you must proceed in complete agreement, instead of causing scandal by disunion." In addition to this exhortation to harmony, he repeated in his letter the declaration that the matter of the duty of residence must be adjourned for the present, and the treatment of dogma and reform proceeded with instead, without delay.[2]

The legates, who received this letter on May 15th, answered two days later; they would do their utmost, and hoped to succeed in postponing the question of the duty of residence at least until the treatment of Holy Orders; against the reproach of disunion they attempted to justify themselves.[3] Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando, who understood quite well that the reproaches of the angry Pope were chiefly directed against themselves, addressed special letters of justification to Cardinal Borromeo on May 16th and 17th, which left nothing to be desired from the point of view of frankness.[4] Cardinal Gonzaga at the same time announced his intention of leaving Trent as soon as Cicada, to whom, because of his seniority, the presidentship of the legatine college must

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 16, 8, 12.

[2] ŠUSTA (II., 134 *seq.*) by making use of the previous drafts has cleared up in a masterly way the genesis of the Papal letter of May 11, 1562.

[3] See ŠUSTA, II., 152.

[4] Gonzaga's letter in ŠUSTA, II., 143 *seqq.*, that of Seripando in SICKEL, Berichte, II., 108 *seq.*

belong, had arrived. It was only after the Pope had given up the proposed mission of new legates, that the deeply offended Cardinal of Mantua allowed himself to be persuaded to remain for the time being.[1]

On May 25th the legates submitted to the fathers of the Council, as the result of the deliberations which had taken place so far, the draft of a decree, in nine reform canons, to be published at the next Session.[2] On the same day they reported to Rome the ill-success of their negotiations with the Spaniards, who demanded that the question of the duty of residence should be decided at the next Session, or, if that were not possible, either that the Session should be delayed, or that they should have a promise that the matter should be decided at the following one.[3] It was only with great difficulty that Mendoça, Bishop of Salamanca, who, by arrangement with the legates, had undertaken the task of mediation, succeeded in dissuading the leader of the Spanish prelates, the Archbishop of Granada, from his purpose of making a protest against the postponement of the question.[4] Besides this the Spaniards insisted, as they had done previously, that the Council should be expressly declared to be a continuation of the former Council of Trent. In this connection the situation was further aggravated by the unmannerly attitude taken up by the French envoys, whose leader, de Lansac, the confidant of Catherine de' Medici, reached Trent on May 18th. A few days later, his two colleagues, Arnaud du Ferrier, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Gui du Faur de Pibrac, Chief Justice of Toulouse, both of whom were suspected of heresy, also arrived.[5] The representatives of France were received at a General Congregation on May 26th; they came with a demand that the Council should be

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, II., 180.

[2] See Theiner, I., 718-22; Le Plat, V., 186-9.

[3] Šusta, II., 161 *seq.*

[4] See Mendoça, 642 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1562, n, 44-6; Le Plat, V., 175-85; Theiner I., 720 *seq.*; Bondonus, 560; Pallavicini, 16, 10 and 11; Baguenault de Puchesse, 63 *seq.*

expressly declared to be a new one, and not a continuation. At the same time a letter, dated May 22nd, arrived from Ferdinand I. to his envoys, and another from Delfino to the legates, announcing that the Emperor not only refused his consent to an express declaration of continuation, but threatening, if this were made, to recall his representatives.[1]

The legates, who reported the attitude taken up by the Emperor to Rome on May 26th,[2] had reason to fear the dissolution of the Council. While they were still seeking to find a way out of this exceedingly difficult position, they received, on the evening of June 2nd, a letter from Pius IV., dated May 30th,[3] which filled them with dismay, for it contained express orders that, in accordance with the promise made to the Spanish king, they were to hold to the express declaration of continuation which had already been ordained. The legates were convinced that the carrying out of this command would not only lead to the dissolution of the Council, but would also, since the representative of Spain, the Marquis of Pescara, had agreed to a postponement, throw the whole blame for this upon the Pope.[4] They therefore resolved not to carry out the order, which had been issued under the influence of Vargas,[5] and to justify this step in Rome through Cardinal Mark Sittich. His mission, however, was not required, as, on the following day, a second letter from the Pope arrived, dated May 31st, which revoked the first one, and left it to the discretion of the legates to refrain from making an express declaration of continuation at the next Session, so long as the actual carrying on of the labours of the Council was taken in hand.[6]

[1] See SICKEL, Konzil, 314; STEINHERZ, III., 52 *seq.*

[2] ŠUSTA, II., 164 *seq.*

[3] ŠUSTA, II., 175 *seq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Berichte, III., 131.

[4] See SERIPANDI Comment., 467; MUSOTTI, I., 15 *seq.*; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 560. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 12, 2 and 3. See also SICKEL, Berichte, III., 138 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Collección de docum. inéd., IX., 232 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, II., 178.

[6] See ŠUSTA, II., 180 *seq.*, 183, 471. Tonina *reported on May 20, 1562, that the Pope held congregations about the Council every day (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

After the necessary preparations had been made in the General Congregation of June 3rd, the XXth Session, the fourth under Pius IV. was held on June 4th. At this assembly, all the legates, with the exception of Gonzaga, were present, as well as Cardinal Madruzzo, two patriarchs, eighteen archbishops, a hundred and thirty-seven bishops, two abbots, four generals of orders, twenty-eight theologians, and eleven orators. High Mass was celebrated by Bishop Mendoça of Salamanca, and the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Famagosta, Girolamo Ragazzoni. On account of the difficulties caused by the questions of residence and continuation, no decrees were published, only the mandates of the Swiss, Salzburg, and French orators and procurators being read, and a decree of prorogation, which fixed the next Session for June 16th. The greater number of the fathers accepted this decree, but thirty-eight raised an objection to the omission of any mention of the duty of residence and continuation.[1]

In the General Congregation of June 6th, Cardinal Gonzaga submitted, as the subject of the next dogmatic decree, five articles on Communion in both kinds, and the Communion of children.[2] Thirty-one bishops declared their agreement to this proposal, but only on condition that the duty of residence should also be dealt with. The same minority also addressed a very outspoken petition to the Pope on the same day, in which they defended their position with regard to the duty of residence as a divine command, and protested against the tendency ascribed to them of intending to undermine the authority of the Holy See.[3] Pius IV. replied on July 1st that it was his desire that freedom of speech and discussion should exist in the Council, but at the same time he warned the fathers against divisions and discord, so as not to give the Protestants an excuse to revile and disparage the Council.[4]

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 47, 48; THEINER, II., 1 *seq.*; SERIPANDI Comment., 488. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 12, 9-12.

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 49; LE PLAT, V., 202; THEINER, II., 7. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 17, 1.

[3] LE PLAT, V., 199-200.

[4] *Ibid.*, 360 *seq.*

The five articles were minutely examined and discussed from every point of view by sixty-three theologians, in twenty-one meetings, from June 10th to the 23rd.[1] In spite of differences of opinion as to several points, an unanimous agreement was arrived at with regard to the principal question; that Communion under both kinds was not of divine precept, except for the celebrating priest; the Church had the power, for sufficient reasons, to prescribe Communion under the form of bread alone, for the laity and for the clergy when not celebrating; Christ was entirely present under the one kind; Communion was not necessary for very small children. Very different opinions were elicited with regard to the third of the five articles, which dealt with the granting of the chalice to the laity. It was therefore postponed for the time being, and upon the remaining points four canons were formulated and submitted to the fathers of the Council on July 23rd. They discussed these in six General Congregations from June 30th to July 3rd. Cardinal Simonetta, together with three bishops and the General of the Dominicans, drew up a new statement of the four canons, based on these discussions, with a view to further elucidation and argument. Hosius and Seripando, with three bishops and the General of the Augustinians, drew up a detailed statement of doctrine.[2] All this was laid before the fathers of the Council in General Congregation on July 4th; these deliberated upon it on July 8th and 9th, so that on July 14th the final version could be drawn up.

[1] For the discussions up to the formulation of the dogmatic decree of the XXIst Session, see THEINER, II., 7-51; LE PLAT, V., 272-328. EHSES (VIII., 537-617, 633-50, 691) gives all the *Acta* from June 10 to July 14, 1562. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 17, 6-7 and 11; KNÖPFLER in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, XI., 2094, and GRISAR, Lainez, 684. *Cf.* also CAVALLERA, L'interprétation du chap. VI de St. Jean. Une controverse exégét. au Concile de Trente, in the Revue d' hist. ecclés., X. (1909), 687-709. Concerning the vote of P. Canisius with regard to the chalice for the laity (June 15, 1562) see EHSES, in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XXXVI., 105 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* CAVALLERA, *loc. cit.*, 699.

During these dogmatic discussions, the legates were still engaged with other matters which caused them much anxiety. On June 6th the Imperial envoys had handed to them the so-called reform libellum of Ferdinand I.[1] This comprehensive document was the outcome of the discussions of the Imperial councillors upon the articles of reform which had been submitted by the legates to the Council on March 11th, and which did not seem to them to be sufficient.

The reform libellum of Ferdinand I. embraces the Imperial demands and proposals with regard to ecclesiastical reform. It attempts first of all to demonstrate the necessity of a radical reform of the clergy before the decision of controverted points of doctrine. Then follow fifteen articles on the amendment

[1] It was sent on May 22 and arrived in Trent on the 26, but on account of the difficulties about the negotiations concerning the continuation, it was still being kept back. This important document was only published for the first time in the XVIIIth century by SCHELHORN (Amoenit., I., 501-75), and afterwards by LE PLAT (V., 232-59). It has aroused much interest among modern historians. *Cf.* REIMANN in the Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch., VIII. (1868), 177-86; SICKEL in the Archiv für österr. Gesch., XIV. (1871), 1-96; TURBA in Venezian. Depeschen, III., 270 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 65 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Päpstwahlbullen 125 *seq.*, 164; RITTER, I., 157 *seqq.*; KASSOWITZ, 58 *seq.*; HELLE, 7 *seq.*, 16, and especially EDER, who (I., 232) comes to the following conclusion with regard to the story of the origin of the libellum: the initiative and certainly also the general outline of the thesis can be traced to Ferdinand himself. The basis of the material for its carrying out was provided by the Imperial councillor Georg Gienger, the final form came from the well-known theologian, Federico Stafilo, who added much material; it was approved, and brought into harmony with the Imperial policy with regard to the Council by the vice-chancellor, Sigismund Seld, who also contributed something to its contents; Urban, Bishop of Gurk, Cordova, the confessor of the wife of Maximilian II., and Cithard, Ferdinand's confessor, only took a subordinate part in it. Just as a number of influential persons had co-operated in the composition of the little work, so various important documents connected with ecclesiastical reform were made use of in it.

of the clergy in their head and their members. In these there is to be found a vigorous demand for the reform of the Pope and the Curia, the limitation of the members of the College of Cardinals to twenty-four, in the spirit of the decisions of the Council of Basle, the limitation of Papal dispensations and monastic exemptions, the prohibition of benefices, the observance of the duty of residence, the severe punishment of simony, the limitation of ordinances which bind under pain of mortal sin, moderation in the infliction of excommunication, the removal of abuses in the forms of worship, the expurgation from the missal and breviary of useless and legendary matter, and the use of singing in the vernacular in divine worship. To these were added requests for the granting of the chalice to the laity, the abolition of the law of fasting, and for permission for priests to marry. The libellum went on to state that, even though all these concessions were not sought by all the nations, it was quite a different matter for the German peoples, whose special infirmities called for special remedies. If the Church, like a good mother, would be indulgent in these points, then most people hoped that at any rate the Catholics who still remained could be preserved from heresy. It was also necessary to draw up a clear summary of Catholic doctrine, as well as a new collection of homilies, and also to establish seminaries for the education and training of a good clergy. After this came the advice that, as far as the Church property which had been seized by the Protestants was concerned, a liberal attitude should be adopted, as it could not be hoped that the apostates would return to union with the Church if restitution of that property was insisted on ; dangerous points of controversy should also be avoided as far as possible, as for example that on the duty of residence.

The ecclesiastical policy of Ferdinand had found complete expression in his reform libellum. The good intentions of the Emperor stand out clearly in it, especially his anxiety to put a barrier in the way of the religious innovations, not only by the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, which were so alarmingly on the increase in his dominions, but also by far-reaching concessions. While we may fully appreciate the subjective

aims of Ferdinand, the objective value of his proposals for reform must be strictly investigated, and it is very evident that not a few of them were dangerous and went much too far. The practical usefulness of the important concessions demanded with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests, was by no means proved by the arguments brought forward by the Emperor, but was rather open to very weighty objections.

At their first perusal of the reform libellum there rose in the minds of the legates the remembrance of the Council of Basle, of unhappy memory. In consternation at the extent of the Imperial demands and proposals, they at once, without waiting to consult Rome, begged the representatives of Ferdinand to refrain for the present from bringing the document before the General Congregation. On June 8th they wrote to the nuncio, Delfino, to beg Ferdinand I. to withdraw or change the document, as to submit it would certainly entail the dissolution of the Council. As for the claims for the reform of the Pope by the Council, of the head by the members, the nuncio might remind the Emperor of the fatal confusion of the XVth century.[1] One of the Imperial envoys, Archbishop Brus, who returned to Prague from Trent on June 10th, also received instructions from the legates to influence the Emperor in this sense.[2]

The negotiations of Delfino with Ferdinand I. had a successful issue. At the end of June the nuncio was able to inform the legates that the Emperor appreciated their objections, and left it to their judgment to submit the libellum, either complete or in part, to the fathers of the Council at a suitable moment.[3] On June 29th the Emperor himself wrote to the legates that he did not wish to dispute their right of bringing forward proposals; if the articles in the libellum were too numerous to be dealt with at one time, he would be satisfied if they were

[1] Steinherz, III., 61 *seq.* *Cf.* Šusta, II., 184.

[2] See Kassowitz, 81 *seq.*; Steinherz, III., 84; Šusta, II., 190 *seq.*

[3] See Steinherz, III., 69 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, *cf.* 81 *seq.*; Kassowitz, 80 *seq.*

dealt with by degrees. With regard to the reform of the head of the Church, he gave the wholly satisfactory assurance that he had only meant that the Pope should carry this out himself.[1] On June 27th, the Imperial envoys had handed a memorial to the General Congregation of the Council, setting forth the reasons why the chalice for the laity was requested for the Imperial dominions.[2] The Bavarian envoy, Augustinus Paumgartner, was introduced in the same General Congregation. He made a speech in which he put forward three claims in the name of Duke Albert V. : the reform of the clergy, the chalice for the laity, and permission for married persons to receive Holy Orders.[3] At the General Congregation of July 4th, the French envoys also submitted a document supporting the demand of the Emperor for the chalice for the laity.[4] It would seem that the very insistence from such various quarters led many, who had before not been unwilling to grant such a concession, to be doubtful. The legates themselves held different views, and sought, by means of negotiations, to have the question set aside.[5] Ferdinand's representatives, however, Thun and Draskovich, obstinately persisted, even with threats, in their demand. They insisted on the postponement of the Session, and the adjournment of the articles prepared for publication, if the question of the chalice for the laity could not be decided at once. The

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 61. LE PLAT, V., 351-60. *Cf.* also STEINHERZ, III., 87 *seq.*, and HELLE, 31 *seq.* The Pope came to an understanding with Arco, and caused instructions to be sent to the legates to select from the Imperial libellum the suitable articles and to present them to the Council; see STEINHERZ, III., 99 *seq.*

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 65; LE PLAT, V., 346-50.

[3] See THEINER, II., 39 *seq.* RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 52-4; LE PLAT, V., 335-45. *Cf.* KNÖPFLER, Kelchbewegung, 96 *seq.*

[4] RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 66. LE PLAT, V., 366 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER II., 45.

[5] See the report of Thun and Draskovich of July 7, 1562, in SICKEL, Konzil, 347-9. *Cf.* the report of the legates of July 9 in ŠUSTA, II., 221 *seq.*

legates, however, insisted that the Session must be held, and the four articles prepared published. At length the Imperial envoys gave way on condition that a declaration should be made in the Session, that the two articles dealing with the granting of the chalice, which were now postponed, should be dealt with later, at a more suitable time, by the Council, which time was to be when the envoys thought best.

On July 10th they resumed the discussion of the nine reform articles which had been prepared up to May 25th, which during the days that followed were examined anew in four General Congregations, so that on July 15th a reform decree could be formulated.[1]

On the appointed day, July 16th, the XXIst public Session of the Council, the fifth under Pius IV., was held. The Archbishop of Spalato, Marco Cornaro, celebrated High Mass, and the Hungarian bishop, Andreas Sbardelato Dudith, preached. In this Session the five legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, nineteen archbishops, a hundred and forty-eight bishops, four abbots, six generals of orders, seventy-one theologians and ten envoys took part. The decrees concerning Communion under both kinds, and of children, in four articles and as many canons, were published and the announcement was made that the two articles dealing with the chalice for the laity would be treated later on. The reform decree which was then promulgated included nine chapters: it laid down that ordination and dimissorial letters should be granted gratuitously; no one was to be ordained without assured means of support; in very extensive parishes assistant priests were to be appointed, or new parishes formed, though with sufficient endowments, or, when necessary, several small parishes could be united into one; ignorant parish priests were to have vicars assigned to them, to whom part of their revenues must be allotted, and all such as led a scandalous life were to be punished, and if necessary deposed. It was further ordained that the revenues of churches which were in a ruinous state were to be transferred to others, or the said churches put

[1] See THEINER, II., 51-5; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 565 *seq.*

into a proper condition. Monasteries held in commendam, and in which the rules of no Order were observed, as well as all secular and regular benefices, were to be subject to an annual visitation by the bishop, as well as all monasteries where regular observance was still in force, in cases where the superiors were not fulfilling their duty. Finally, in order to abolish once and for all the abuses in connection with the publication of indulgences, it was laid down that, in the first place the name and office of the collector of the indulgence was to be suppressed, and the publication of all indulgences and spiritual favours was to be entrusted to the bishops, who, with two members of the cathedral chapter, should receive the voluntary offerings of the faithful, so that all might know that the treasury of the Church was opened for reasons of piety and not of gain. These reform decrees were accepted by all, with the exception of seven of the bishops, who desired some unimportant alterations. The decree which fixed the next Session for September 17th was received with general approval.[1]

Soon after the fifth Session, an occurrence took place which was of great importance for the further progress of the Council; this was the restoration of unity among the legates. Ever since May, strained relations had existed among them, especially between Cardinals Gonzaga and Simonetta; these had originated in their difference of opinion on the subject of the duty of residence. This question, as well as the disturbing reports of an intended dissolution or adjournment of the Council by the Pope, had caused the legates to send the Archbishop of Lanciano, Leonardo Marini, to Rome on June 8th, in order

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 70-2; THEINER, II., 56 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 17, 11; KNÖPFLER, in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., XI², 2097 *seq.* In a letter to Borromeo of July 16, 1562, the legates speak at length of the reasons for the further postponement of the next session (the difficulty of treating of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass; the proposal to come to a decision on the question of the chalice; and the desire of the fathers for some rest after their protracted labours during the dog days). SUSTA, II., 249.

to obtain a verbal declaration of the Pope's intentions.[1] Shortly after the departure of Marini, Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, arrived in Trent. The Pope had sent this able Milanese, who was related to, and a friend of Borromeo, in order that he might have a reliable and impartial agent at the Council; he was also to endeavour to bring about the restoration of unity among the legates.[2] Visconti devoted himself to this task with great zeal, and distinguished himself by his calm and tactful behaviour. On June 19th he had a long conversation with Gonzaga, in the course of which the latter spoke of the reports current as to his resignation as inventions. The legate at that time believed that he had dispelled the dissatisfaction of the Pope by the defence which he had made.[3] However, a letter from his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, of June 17th, which the legate, who was then staying at Pergine, received on the 23rd, informed him that Pius IV., once more roused by the complaints of Simonetta, had expressed his intention of replacing the president of the legatine college by another, should he continue to act as he had done hitherto.[4] Gonzaga was deeply humiliated by this, as well as by other matters,[5] and resolved himself to ask for his recall. He immediately sent his intimate friend, Francesco Arrivabene, to Rome for this purpose; the news caused great excitement and dismay in Trent.[6] In view of the position which Gonzaga held among the fathers of the Council and with the Catholic princes, his withdrawal would

[1] His instructions in Šusta, II., 184 *seqq.* *Cf.* Pallavicini, 17, 1, 7 and 2.

[2] See Šusta II., viii, 455 *seq.*, 459 *seq.*, 489. *Cf.* Pallavicini 17, 3; Ehses in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XXXVII., 52 *seq.*

[3] See Šusta, II., 208.

[4] See in Döllinger, Tagebücher, II., 37, the fragment of a letter of Fr. Gonzaga. Simonetta, on June 25, 1562, wrote explicitly to Borromeo that it was desirable to recall Gonzaga from the Council; see Šusta, II., 206.

[5] See Sickel, Konzil, 346.

[6] See Baluze-Mansi, IV., 241; Šusta, II., 209, 487 *seq.*

have entailed the most disastrous consequences for the progress of the deliberations of the Council.

Pius IV., who was more cautious in deed than he was in his words, refused to accept Gonzaga's resignation, and commanded him to remain, and to continue to hold the presidentship of the legates.[1] The Archbishop of Lanciano who was sent back from Rome to Trent on July 1st, was the bearer of a letter to the Cardinal, in which the Pope's fullest confidence in him was expressed. Simonetta at the same time received instructions to show every consideration to Gonzaga, and keep on the best terms with him.[2] The complete reconciliation between the two legates only took place on July 19th, when Gonzaga was invited by Simonetta to dinner. The long explanations which were made on this occasion resulted in their mutual satisfaction and pleasure. Cardinal Gonzaga displayed real magnanimity, demanding no other punishment for the prelates who had fomented the strife, or who had offended him, than their improvement. When Borromeo wrote to him that the Pope was ready to remove the Bishop of La Cava, who had expressed himself in particularly disrespectful terms, from his position as Commissary of the Council, Gonzaga begged that he might be left at his post, where he was doing most useful work.[3]

No less important for the successful issue of the Council than the reconciliation of the two legates, to which Carlo

[1] *Cf.* Paleotto in THEINER, II., 567 *seq.*; report of Vargas of July 1, 1562, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 445 *seq.*; letter of Gonzaga to the Emperor on July 14, 1562, in SICKEL, Konzil, 354.

[2] See ŠUSTA, II., 227 *seq.*, 230. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 17, 5.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 17, 13, 1. The Pope was engaged at that time, besides restoring concord among the legates, in settling disputes among the envoys as to precedence. In order to put an end to the quarrel between the Bavarian and Venetian envoys Pius IV. called for the help of the Emperor. The Bavarian envoy also demanded precedence over the Swiss and Florentine envoys. It was a matter of greater difficulty to settle the dispute about precedence between the representatives of Spain and France. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 17, 4; ŠUSTA, II., 237, 242 *seq.*, 249, 494 *seq.*

Visconti had materially contributed, was an intimation which reached Trent on July 18th. This came from Philip II. The courier who brought it had taken only eleven days to make the journey from Madrid to Trent, so as to arrive, if possible, before the Session, and to prevent an unseemly attitude on the part of the Spanish prelates. He delivered to the Marquis of Pescara a letter from the king, of July 6th, instructing him to inform the Spanish prelates that Philip II. did not wish any protest to be made in the matter of the duty of residence. and that, in consideration of the opposition of the Emperor and France, he did not insist on an explicit declaration of the continuation of the Council; it would be sufficient if it could be gathered from the proceedings themselves that this was a continuation of the former Council.[1] This decision on the part of Philip II. caused the greatest satisfaction in Rome, and on August 4th Borromeo gave instructions to Crivelli, the nuncio in Spain, to thank the king in the name of the Pope.[2]

On July 19th the legates submitted to the theologians thirteen articles relating to the holy sacrifice of the Mass.[3] A new regulation, drawn up on the 20th, had for its object to prevent the deliberations from being too protracted.[4] The discussion of the articles relating to the Mass required no less than thirteen meetings, which took place between July 21st and August 4th.[5] On August 6th the legates who were, at that time, highly delighted with the steps taken by Pius IV. for the reform of the Curia,[6] laid before the General Congre-

[1] See SICKEL, Konzil, 352 *seq.*; MENDOÇA, 646-7; ŠUSTA, II., 261 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*, 276.

[2] ŠUSTA, II., 523 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, II., 58; LE PLAT, V., 390 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 17, 13, 8.

[4] See THEINER, II., 58 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 96; LE PLAT, V., 394-6.

[5] See THEINER, II., 60-73.

[6] See the letter of August 6, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 296. Concerning the progress of the reforms of Pius IV. *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 128.

gation the draft of a decree, in four chapters and twelve canons, on the essence, institution and fruits of the holy sacrifice of the Mass. The fathers of the Council discussed this from August 11th to the 27th, the theological question as to whether Christ had already offered Mass at the Last Supper especially giving rise to difficulties.[1]

Ever since August 22nd the thorny question had been waiting for an answer, whether the chalice was to be granted or refused to the laity. Pius IV. had left the Council free to make the concession in a letter of July 18th; he thought it wiser, however, to defer the decision until the end of the Council.[2] Borromeo informed the legates on July 29th that the Pope desired that all possible satisfaction should be given to the Emperor in this matter, as far as was consistent with a good conscience and Christian charity. At the same time Gonzaga also received the intimation that Pius IV. approved his view that the decree as to the chalice should be formulated by the Council and not by the Pope.[3] The deliberations on this difficult question were taken in hand during the last week of August.[4]

Opinions as to the practical utility of granting the chalice to the laity differed very widely. Besides the impetuous and eloquent Bishop of Fünfkirchen,[5] Cardinal Madruzzo, Bishop Andreas Sbardalato of Knin, and Archbishop Marini of Lanciano were in favour of granting it. Among the opponents of the concession Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and Osio, Bishop of Rieti especially distinguished themselves by the learning and clearness of the arguments they adduced.

[1] See THEINER, II., 73-95; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 97-100; LE PLAT, V., 428-31; MENDOÇA, 648; PALLAVICINI, 18, 1 and 2; ŠUSTA, II., 311-13, 338.

[2] ŠUSTA, II., 270 *seq.* *Cf.* STEINHERZ, III., 113.

[3] ŠUSTA, II., 289-91.

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 73, 75-80; LE PLAT, V., 455 *seq.*, 463-88; THEINER, II, 96-116; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 579-87; MENDOÇA, 649 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 18, 3-5. *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, II., 542 *seq.*, 545 *seq.*, 550 *seq.*

[5] See LE PLAT, V., 459, 462. *Cf.* KASSOWITZ, xxv.

It was remarkable that the only German bishop who was present, Leonhard Haller, of Eichstätt, pronounced against the chalice for the laity; his colleague, Rettinger, Bishop of Lavant, had left Trent in order to avoid coming to a decision. All the opponents of the concession, however, insisted on the fact that it was in the power of the Church to allow the reception of Communion under both kinds. When Abbot Riccardo of Vercelli remarked that the request for the chalice had a taint of heresy, the presiding legate reproved him and bade him be silent.[1]

James Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, spoke on September 6th, as the last and most impressive of the speakers. He elucidated the whole question from every point of view, in an objective manner, treating it calmly, clearly, and with scholastic acumen. He expressly pointed out that it was merely a question of the practical appropriateness of the concession, and that neither the judgment of the Council nor the infallibility of the Pope were affected. His own view was that it was not salutary to allow the chalice to the laity, either generally or locally;[2] past experience had shown this, since, when the Council of Basle and Paul II. had allowed it, the apostasy from the Church had not only not been prevented, but even increased. Although the majority of the fathers agreed with Lainez, a middle course was eventually adopted, and the decision of the whole matter was left to the Pope.[3]

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 18, 4. *Cf.* EHSES in the Abhandlungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Jahresbericht, 1917, p. 44 (Cologne, 1918).

[2] *Cf.* GRISAR, Lainez und die Frage des Laienkelches, in the Zeitschrift für kath. Theol., V. (1881) 672 *seqq.*; VI. (1882) 39 *seqq.*; Disput., II., 24 *seqq.* Grisar also gives particulars of the other activities of Lainez at Trent. The General of the Jesuits had arrived in the city of the Council on August 14; he showed the utmost modesty with regard to the place he was to occupy. See BONDONUS, 561 *seq.*; BOERO, Lainez, 254; CANISII Epist., III., 472, 531; ŠUSTA, II., 319, 334. All the discussions about the chalice for the laity from August 27 to September 6, 1562, with many of the original votes are in EHSES, VIII., 788-909.

[3] See the report of the legates of September 16, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 363.

When the remodelled decrees concerning the holy sacrifice of the Mass had been once more submitted to further discussion on September 5th and 7th,[1] a reform decree, and another concerning the abuses which had crept into the celebration of Mass, were presented for consideration on September 10th.[2] The discussions on these lasted from September 10th to the 14th.[3] In the General Congregation on September 16th, at which the decrees to be published on the following day were read aloud, very heated discussions took place concerning the institution of the priesthood.

The XXIInd Session, the sixth under Pius IV., was held on September 17th. The five legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-two archbishops, a hundred and forty-four bishops, one Lateran abbot, seven generals of orders, three doctors of law, thirty theologians, and nine envoys were present. The Archbishop of Otranto, Pietro Antonio di Capua, celebrated High Mass, and the sermon was preached by Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia. The decree on the holy sacrifice of the Mass, in nine chapters and nine canons, the decree concerning the removal of abuses at Mass, the reform decree, in eleven chapters, and finally the above-mentioned decision concerning the chalice for the laity, were published at this Session.

The most important decree was that which, in answer to the numerous errors taught by the innovators, set forth the primitive Catholic doctrine of the Holy Mass. In this the following are laid down: at the Last Supper Jesus Christ bequeathed to his Church a sacrifice, by which the bloody sacrifice of the Cross was to be represented, its memory preserved, and the forgiveness of the sins which are daily committed by men applied. The Lord instituted this sacrifice when He offered His flesh and blood, under the appearances of bread and wine, to God the Father, giving it to the Apostles to eat, and thereby appointing them as His priests, commanding them and their successors to do this in memory of Him. In the

[1] See THEINER, II., 116-9. *Cf.* ŠUSTA, II., 339, 344.

[2] Two lists of these in EHSES, VIII., 916-24.

[3] See THEINER, II., 119-27.

sacrifice of the Mass, the same Christ who sacrificed Himself in a bloody manner, is offered up in an unbloody manner. The Mass is consequently a true expiatory sacrifice, by which the faithful gain the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross, the value of which is not thereby prejudiced; Mass is therefore offered, not only for the living, but also for the souls still in Purgatory. When Mass is celebrated by the Church in honour of, and in memory of saints, she teaches that not to these, but to God alone is the sacrifice offered. From time immemorial the Church has ordained the Canon, which contains no error of any kind, for the worthy celebration of the Mass. She has, at the same time, in accordance with apostolic tradition, associated the offering of the sacrifice with ceremonies. It does not seem advisable to the Council that Mass should be universally celebrated in the language of the country. Finally, it repudiates all errors contrary to this teaching, and especially those directed against the sacrificial character of the Mass. The reform decree gives prescriptions for the worthy celebration of Mass, and admonishes the bishops to avoid anything having the appearance of avarice, or what is superstitious, or likely to give scandal.[1]

Full unanimity was only obtained for the decree which fixed the next Session, for the treatment of the sacraments of Holy Orders and Matrimony, for November 12th.[3] Nobody dreamed that instead of the two months proposed, ten would elapse before another Session of the Council could be held.

[1] For the numerous abuses which, in the course of time had found their way into the Mass, see the classical work of A. FRANZ, Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter, Freiburg, 1902.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, II., 130-2; PALLAVICINI, 18, 9. Concerning the satisfaction of Pius IV. at the result of the Session see Borromeo's letter of September 26, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 12 *seq.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Mission of Morone to Ferdinand I. at Innsbruck, 1562-3.

After Pius IV. had received the decrees of the sixth Session, he held congregations, at which reforms were discussed, almost every day.[1] The Council, on the other hand, entered upon the difficult discussions concerning the sacrament of Holy Orders. First of all, the legates submitted ten articles to the theologians for consideration on September 18th, 1562; these contained the views of the religious innovators upon the subject; the discussions were to begin on September 23rd.[2] Before that, however, the French and Imperial envoys, in accordance with an agreement brought about by the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, demanded that the further treatment of dogma should be postponed until the arrival of the French prelates, and only matters of reform dealt with in the next Session. This the legates refused,[3] and in the course of a very excited debate, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen and the French envoy demanded that the Imperial reform libellum should be laid before the Council. The legates refused to comply with this request as well. In the meantime, however, they had informed Borromeo, on September 24th, that they were inclined to submit the libellum, with the omission of all articles which encroached upon the authority of the Pope, or which, by their very nature, must be excluded; at the

[1] See Sickel, Konzil, 390.

[2] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 89; Le Plat, V., 508; Theiner, II., 133; Pallavicini, 18, 12, 1.

[3] *Cf.* Musotti, 25 *seq.*; Baguenault de Puchesse, 72; Sickel, Konzil, 387; Steinherz, III., 130; Šusta, III., 5, 353 *seq.*, and especially Helle, 37 *seq.*, where there is a further bibliography.

same time they asked for instructions as to how they were to proceed with regard to each separate article.[1] The detailed answer of the Pope on October 3rd, left the legates free to lay the libellum before the fathers of the Council, though this did not mean that they were to put the matter to the vote; at the same time they were to make known the Emperor's letter of June 29th, which left the legates free to select certain articles from the libellum for consideration.[2] Together with these instructions was also sent the Pope's opinion as to each of the articles;[3] this agreed, in all essentials, with the opinion sent to Rome by the legates on August 27th.[4] In spite of the support which he had received from France, Ferdinand I. did not continue, at that time, to press for the submission of his libellum, as other matters, and especially the difficulties about the election of his son, Maximilian, as King of the Romans, took up all his attention. It was only after this had been arranged (November 24th) that there came a change.[5]

In the seven articles, which the theologians discussed from September 23rd to October 2nd,[6] the question whether the bishops' duty of residence was a divine or an ecclesiastical precept was not touched upon. However, the subject was soon broached once more by several, and especially by the theologian of the Archbishop of Granada. It came still more

[1] See GRISAR, Disput., I., 391 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 8; STEINHERZ, III., 133.

[2] SICKEL, Berichte, II., 125-33. *Cf.* STEINHERZ, III., 133; ŠUSTA, III., 20.

[3] Printed in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 59, 63; LE PLAT, V., 388. *Cf.* STEINHERZ, III., 133, n. 4. A second appendix, in which Pius IV. takes up a position against the reform decrees decided upon by the French clergy at Poissy on October 6, 1561, was published by ŠUSTA (III., 20 *seq.*), who found it among the literary remains of Seripando.

[4] Partly in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 62, 58; LE PLAT, V., 385-8. The first part, hitherto unpublished, in STEINHERZ, III., 132 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* HELLE, 40, 41.

[6] See THEINER, II., 135-51; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 591 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 90-2; LE PLAT, V., 510-6.

into prominence during the proceedings of the General Congregation between October 13th and 20th, which concerned the drafting of the doctrinal decree, and of the seven canons which pronounced an anathema in connection with the sacrament of Holy Orders. At the very beginning of the proceedings, on October 13th, the Archbishop of Granada made a formal proposal that it should be defined that the episcopal office rested on divine right.[1] The dispute which arose on this point, during which the position of the Pope, with reference to the whole Church, and also with reference to the Council, was debated, drove everything else into the background, and prevented the deliberations from making any progress.[2] Much learning and theological acumen was displayed on both sides during these stormy debates. The General of the Jesuits, James Lainez, who differed from most of his Spanish compatriots on this point, distinguished himself above all the rest. The speech which he made on October 20th, before the taking of the vote, was a masterpiece, distinguished alike by its vast learning, its clearness, and its pertinency.[3] It created an impression such as was scarcely made by any other address during the whole course of the Council.[4] Many, even of his opponents, were convinced by the force of the arguments brought forward by Lainez, while

[1] See THEINER, II., 153 *seq.*; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 593 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 18, 12 and 14; GRISAR, Primat, 463 *seq.*; Disput, I., 34**seq.*, II., 410 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 23 *seq.*, 384, 391 *seq.*

[2] EHSES has published in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XXXVII., 72 *seq.*, the strong letter in which, as early as June 13, 1562, Morone rebuked his nephew, Girolamo Gallarate, Bishop of Sutri-Nepi, for his declaration in favour of the definition of the *ius divinum*, by which the whole activity of the Council would have been paralysed.

[3] Lainez wrote out his speech. It is preserved in the Papal Secret Archives, *Concilio, V., 98 *seq.*, but is not yet printed. PALLAVICINI (18, 15) knew of the manuscript, but it was overlooked by GRISAR (Primat, 460). Theiner has abridged the reports at this point. See ASTRAIN, II., 180.

[4] The opinion of SARPI (7, 20).

others allowed themselves to be drawn into making violent, and even personal attacks upon him.[1]

In view of the great differences of opinion, it was exceedingly difficult to find any other version of the matter to be brought forward for discussion, especially in the case of the seventh canon, which dealt with the episcopal power. Further discussions followed from November 3rd, to the 6th, during the course of which several Italian bishops, who had their own advantage in view rather than the real interests of the Church, went much too far in their defence of the Papal rights.[2]

Pius IV. had in the meantime resolved to cope with one of the things most urgently necessary for the reform of the Church, by a bull concerning the conclave, which was dated October 9th. In sending this to the legates on October 31st, he held out hopes of still further measures for the reform of the Curia.[3] On November 6th, Cardinal Gonzaga submitted the draft of a decree, approved by the Pope, concerning the duty of residence.[4] Three days later, on his proposal, the first postponement of the Session, from November 12th to the 26th, was made, because the material was not ready for publication, and also because the long awaited arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine and other French prelates was expected immediately.[5] In fact, Cardinal Guise arrived on November

[1] *Cf.* the report of Visconti of October 22, 1562, in GRISAR, Primat, 492, Disput., I., 43*, 45*, and Paleotto in THEINER, II., 596. See also Epist. Salmeronis, I., 508; BARTOLI, Comp. di Gesù (Opere, V., 2), 74, 87; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 75.

[2] See THEINER, II., 155-61; Paleotto in THEINER, II., 599 *seq.*; GRISAR, Primat, 469 *seq.*

[3] ŠUSTA, III., 55 *seq.* The bull *Super reformatione conclavis* in RAVNALDUS, 1562, n. 188. As to this and its great importance *cf.* especially SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 131 *seq.*; EISLER, Vetorecht, 191 *seq.* Fr. Tonina reported on October 21, 1562: *Si attende qui a formar riforme et si fanno spesso congregationi sopra di ciò (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] THEINER, II, 161-3; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 108; LE PLAT, V., 541.

[5] THEINER, II., 167 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 117; LE PLAT, V., 542; ŠUSTA, III., 65, 429 *seq.*

13th, and with him thirteen bishops, three abbots, and eighteen theologians, for the most part doctors of the Sorbonne; among the bishops were Nicolas de Pellevé of Sens, Jean Morvillier of Orleans, and Nicolas Pseaume of Verdun;[1] till then there had only been five French bishops at Trent. The newly arrived dignitaries of France were solemnly introduced in the General Congregation of November 23rd. On this occasion Guise made a speech which was universally admired on account of the elegance of its style and the dignity of its delivery. He exhorted the fathers of the Council to refrain from all useless disputes, and to carry out the reform of the Church.[2] The frank recognition of the Pope's supremacy with which he concluded, was calculated to remove the suspicion felt in Rome, on account of the attitude which he had taken up with regard to the rights of the Holy See.[3]

The Cardinal of Lorraine had hoped to be included among the presidents of the Council, but this hope was not fulfilled. However, from the beginning he occupied a far more important position than Cardinal Madruzzo, who also did not belong to

[1] *Cf.* BONDONUS, 562 *seq.*; BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 271; THEINER, II., 169 *seqq.*; LE PLAT, VII., 343; ŠUSTA, III., 66 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, xxvii *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 18, 17; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 329 *seq.* Guise took up his residence in the Palazzo a Prato in the Contrada S. Trinità (destroyed in great part in the fire of 1843); see SWOBODA, 23. Pseaume is the author of the diary on the Council, critically edited for the first time by MERKLE (II., 723 *seqq.*).

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 109-15; LE PLAT, V., 549-63; THEINER, II., 175 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 18, 7 and 19, 3; Arch. stor. Ital., 5th Series, XXXVI., 417; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 334 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 129 *seq.* The envoy of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, Bishop Valentin Herborth of Przemysl, was received in the General Congregation of October 23 (see RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 106-7; LE PLAT, V, 532-7; THEINER, II., 154; ŠUSTA, III., 36, 391, 397). Cardinal Altemps had gone at the end of October to Constance (see PALLAVICINI, 18, 16).

[3] To the testimony already cited (*cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 349; ŠUSTA, III., 62) must be added a *letter of Tonina, dated Rome, October 21, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the legatine college. It is significant of this that in the Papal secretariate the correspondence with him is drawn up in legal style, just as was done when issuing instructions to the legates.[1] All parties at Trent endeavoured to win over the French Cardinal to their way of thinking, and the latter soon found himself drawn into both open and secret negotiations with men of opposite views. Charles de Guise endeavoured, with the best will and the most persevering courage, above everything else to bring about an agreement of the opposing parties concerning the question of residence, and the much disputed seventh canon. Until the following year the discussions upon the proposals put forward for treatment concentrated more and more, with unending repetitions and often in very heated debates, upon these questions,[2] the defenders of the divine right of the bishops often laying themselves open to the charge of holding very dangerous opinions. For example, Danes, Bishop of Lavaur, in France, maintained that Peter had not been universal bishop of the Church, that the authority of his successors over the bishops was only an accessory, and that the bishops not only held their power by divine right, but also that in their own churches they were equal to the Pope![3]

It is not to be wondered at that the development of affairs in Trent was watched with increasing anxiety in Rome.[4] The discussions, which were as tedious as they were dangerous, might have been avoided altogether if the fathers of the Council had paid attention to the fundamental distinction which Charles Borromeo had drawn in one short sentence of the letter which he addressed to the legates on October 29th.

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Berichte, I., 60; III., 14, 42; ŠUSTA, III., v-vi.

[2] "Este capitulo de la residencia y el septimo canon," writes Mendoça (p. 668), "han sido los dos mayores estorbos que han tenido las cosas del concilio, para dilatarse mas de lo que era menester y mas de lo que muchos querian." For the disgraceful scene at the speeches of the Bishops of Cadiz and Alife on December 1 and 2, 1562, see PALLAVICINI, 19, 5.

[3] See THEINER, II., 172-3; GRISAR, Primat, 480.

[4] *Cf.* the pessimistic expressions of GIROLAMO SORANZO, 82.

The distinction between the power of "order" (consecration) and of jurisdiction, is here clearly pointed out. Bishops have the former in virtue of their consecration, directly from God, and the visible minister of the consecration, be he Pope or bishop, when he confers it, is only acting as an instrument, so that the invisible and immediate giver of the consecration may fulfil His supernatural work. On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the bishops, that is to say their position with regard to their flock, and their authority to rule over them in matters concerning their eternal salvation, although it too is derived from God, is directly communicated to the bishops, according to the teaching of the scholastics, by the Pope alone.[1]

James Lainez, who had maintained this opinion in his first speech on October 20th, in his second address on December 9th, made a proposal that was as practical as it was moderate; this was that the "order" of the bishops should be defined as being of divine right, and that no mention should be made of jurisdiction, since both opinions had many supporters.[2] Attention was diverted from this proposal by two further formulas, which Cardinal Guise, who was working unweariedly for an agreement, put forward, amplifying the seventh canon by an eighth one, concerning the primacy. On the suggestion of Cardinal Simonetta, who was always solicitous for the rights of the Holy See, a commission was appointed to deliberate on this, consisting of four theologians (one of whom was Lainez) and five canonists. Three of the theologians spoke in favour of the proposal, but not so the General of the Jesuits, who remarked that he saw in it a future schism. The five canonists, among whom were two future Popes, Ugo Boncompagni and Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, agreed with Lainez.[3] The legates, whose position was daily becoming more difficult, sent the proposal of Guise, together with the report of the

[1] See GRISAR, Primat, 457 *seq.* The letter of Borromeo is now given in full in ŠUSTA, III., 50 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 197 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 19, 6, 5; GRISAR, Primat, 491, 759 *seq.*; *cf.* Disput., I., 1 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 19, 6, 5; GRISAR, Primat, 760 *seq.*

commission, to Rome. Borromeo sent three answers, the first on December 12th, a second, in greater detail, on December 26th, 1562, and finally, a third on January 10th, 1563. These contained among other things, the instruction that, in order to secure the necessary clearness, the definition of the Council of Florence as to the primacy, should be renewed.[1]

How necessary it was that renewed prominence should be given, just at that time, to the authority of the Holy See, and its inalienable rights, assailed as they were, and not by the Protestants alone, was shown by the discussion which followed, during the course of which the Gallican current in the Council appeared clearly on the surface. The French prelates refused, in the most violent manner, to acknowledge that the bishops held a position dependent on the Pope, nor would they allow it to be stated in the seventh canon that the Pope had the power to govern the Church, as that would prejudice the view which placed the Council above the Pope.[2]

On January 24th, 1563, the French envoys, Lansac and Ferrier, appeared before the legates and protested against the words "the Pope governs the Church." They wished, they expressly stated, to stand up for "their religion," which taught that the Pope is subject to the Council, and in proof of this they appealed to the Council of Constance. The answer of the legates left nothing to be desired in the way of firmness. Cardinal Gonzaga replied that if the envoys thought of defending the opinion they submitted, he and other legates were equally determined to defend the truth, and this truth was that the Pope was above the Council; they were ready to sacrifice their lives before they would allow the supremacy of the Pope to be inpugned. Seripando then invalidated

[1] Borromeo's instructions, only summarized by Pallavicini, of December 12 and 26, 1562, and January 10, 1563, have been given in a translation by GRISAR, Primat, 762 *seq.*, and afterwards in the original in Disput., I., 455 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 461 *seq.*, 467 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, III., 116, 141 and 153, where, in addition to several textual corrections from the original (Ambrosiana Library, Milan, J. 141, inf. p.167) the date of the last instruction is corrected.

[2] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 614; GRISAR, Primat, 768 *seq.*

their appeal to the Council of Constance by saying that the latter had, for the removal of the schism, claimed superiority only over doubtful Popes, of which at the present time there could be no question. He concluded with the declaration that the legates were fully determined that the supreme authority of the Pope should be defined and published in suitable terms, and in the widest signification of the word.[1]

Cardinal Guise would have been very glad if the dispute concerning the Pope's supremacy could have been avoided. His depression of spirits increased from day to day. On January 18th, 1563, a commission had been appointed under the presidency of himself and Cardinal Madruzzo; it formulated a new decree on the duty of residence,[2] but this was neither approved by the legates, nor placed by them upon the agenda.[3] The Session, which had been first fixed for December 17th, 1562, then for the beginning of January, 1563, and finally for January 15th, had in the meantime been postponed till February 4th.[4] As no agreement could be come to, however, the Session could not be held on that date. Therefore, on February 3rd, Cardinal Gonzaga proposed a further postponement for a longer period, until April 22nd, to put aside, for the time being, the difficult questions of the duty of residence and of Holy Orders, and in the meantime to deal with the sacrament of Matrimony. Discussions were to take place twice every day; in the mornings on Matrimony, by the theologians, and in the afternoons, on the abuses connected with the ordination of priests, by the bishops. Of the 176 fathers of the Council present, only nine voted

[1] See Paleotto, *loc. cit.*; the letter of the legates of January 24, in GRISAR, Disput., I., 486-92. *Cf.* GRISAR, Primat., 769 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 181. See also PALLAVICINI, 19, 14.

[2] No agreement was reached upon the theme proposed on December 10, 1562; see THEINER, II., 198.

[3] See THEINER, II., 229 *seq.*; KNÖPFLER in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., XI[2]., 2102.

[4] See THEINER, II., 179, 186 *seq.*, 206 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*, 228 *seq.*

against this proposal.[1] Accordingly, on the same day, eight articles on the sacrament of Matrimony were submitted to the theologians, as fresh matter for deliberation, and these were discussed from February 9th onwards.[2] On February 12th steps were taken to form a commission of ten prelates, who were to compile a list of the abuses in the ordination of priests.[3]

To all these difficulties a new one was now added by the fact that the French, in conjunction with the Imperialists, endeavoured to force the Pope to accept a reform at the hands of the Council. On January 3rd the French envoys had presented to the General Congregation a reform libellum in thirty-four points. It was expressed, indeed, in terms of moderation, but it contained claims which were either impracticable or dangerous, as for example the one concerning the concession of the chalice to the laity.[4] Lansac then declared that if the Council would not grant these claims, France would introduce them on her own authority.[5] In the General Congregation on February 11th, the French envoys, following upon the receipt of a letter from their king, and supported by Guise, again put forward their demands for reform.[6]

These proceedings of the French caused the Emperor, whose activities had hitherto been paralysed by other cares, once more, on the advice of his chancellor, Seld, to intervene in the conciliar discussions. He gave instructions to his envoys at Trent to support the reform proposals of the French, and to insist upon the discussion of the libellum which he had presented in June, 1562. In order to be nearer to the Council, he

[1] See Raynaldus, 1563, n. 17; Le Plat, V., 672; Theiner, II., 230-2; Pallavicini, 19, 16.

[2] See Raynaldus, 1563, n. 19; Le Plat, V., 674; Theiner, II., 232 *seqq.*; Šusta, III., 212.

[3] See Musotti, 33.

[4] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 86-9; Le Plat, V., 629-43; Pallavicini, 19, 11; Baguenault de Puchesse, 338 *seq.*

[5] So reported Strozzi on January 4, 1563; see Šusta, III., 154.

[6] See Raynaldus, 1563, n. 23-6; Le Plat, V., 677-84; Theiner II., 235 *seq.* See Baguenault de Puchesse, 343 *seq.*

removed his court to Innsbruck in January, 1563, and, for the purpose of discussing the questions then pending, he summoned thither a meeting of distinguished theologians,[1] which might be looked upon as a kind of Imperial bye-council.

On February 12th, the ambitious Cardinal Guise betook himself from Trent to Innsbruck, where Cardinal Madruzzo and the Count of Luna, the envoy of Philip II., were also expected. Guise, who arrived at Innsbruck on February 16th, immediately expressed himself in the strongest terms against the advisers of the Pope, and declared that a reform by means of the Council was indispensable. In a memorial which he handed to the Emperor, he set forth all the many abuses which he said encroached upon the freedom of the Council, namely, the preponderant influence of the Pope, the domination of the Council by the Italian bishops, who formed a majority, the exclusive right of making proposals by the legates, and the appointment of only one secretary of the Council, whose truthfulness, he averred, was open to grave suspicion. It was therefore desirable that as many bishops as possible should come from Spain, France and Germany, and also that the Emperor should himself go to Trent and be present at the next Session.[2] To the Spanish and French opposition, which had made itself felt at the Council in the discussion of questions of dogma, the time had come to add a coalition of the great Catholic powers, the Emperor, France and Spain, aiming at domination of the Council, and the enforcement of a drastic reform both of head and members. The situation had, without doubt, become extremely critical.

The legates had sent Commendone to Innsbruck to pacify

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 419 *seq.*, 431 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 171 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 158 *seq.*; RITTER, I., 168 *seq.*

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 433 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 195 *seq.*, 212 *seq.* For the motives which determined Guise to make his journey to Innsbruck, and his negotiations there, *cf.* also Venezian. Depeschen, III., 220 *seqq.*; Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschicte, I., 323; Docum, inéd., XCVIII., 403, 407; HOLTZMANN, Maximilian II., 441 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 252.

the Emperor as early as the end of January,[1] although it was hardly to be hoped that this mission would meet with any decisive success. Pius IV., who was going on with his work of reform, certainly did not himself expect that he would be able thus to silence the petulant demands of the powers. On the strength of previous experience, he suddenly proposed to try the effect of the intervention of a distinguished ecclesiastical dignitary, who should possess the respect and confidence of the Emperor.[2] On February 10th he urgently begged Cardinal Gonzaga to go as soon as possible to Innsbruck.[3] The president of the legates at Trent seemed, in virtue of his family relationship with Ferdinand, and his tact and skill, admirably suited to influence the Emperor and to demonstrate to him the readiness of Pius IV. to carry out a decisive reform. Gonzaga, however, declined in a letter of February 19th. This refusal was probably to be accounted for by the complete failure of the mission of Commendone, as well as the failing health of the Cardinal himself.[4]

When Guise returned to Trent on February 27th, he found the first president of the Council already very ill. A fever which he had contracted on February 23rd rapidly wasted the strength of the fifty-eight-year-old Cardinal, already worn out by the exertions and anxieties of the Council. On the evening of March 2nd, this distinguished ecclesiastic, who had worn the purple for thirty-six years, and for whom many had prophesied the tiara,[5] breathed forth his noble soul. The last sacraments were administered to him by the General of the Jesuits, who had returned a short time before from Mantua,

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 20, 1; POGIANI Epist., III., 242 n.; STEINHERZ, III., 180 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 173, 183 *seq.*, 208, 232 *seq.* The instruction for Commendone dated January 28, 1563, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 316 *seq.*

[2] See RITTER, I., 171; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 141 *seq.*

[3] See ŠUSTA, III., 224 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 20, 6, 4; ŠUSTA, III., 229.

[5] See the interesting **report of Fr. Tonina dated Rome, January 23, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

whither the Cardinal had sent him to found a college of the Society of Jesus.[1]

In the Congregation of March 8th, Seripando, too, was attacked by a dangerous illness, which caused his death on the 17th. The celebrated General of the Augustinians died as piously as he had lived. He insisted on receiving the last sacraments fully dressed and on his knees. As certain views which he had formerly advanced, concerning original sin and justification, had shaken the confidence of many persons in the perfect purity of his faith, the dying man took the occasion to recite one by one, in the presence of the most distinguished theologians, the articles of the Creed, and to swear that he had believed them all without the least doubt.[2]

More than any of the members of the Council to deplore the loss of their colleagues, who had been distinguished by such splendid qualities, were the two surviving legates, Hosius and Simonetta. They felt the responsibility which was now laid upon their shoulders all the more heavily as the differences of opinion regarding the relations between the primacy and the episcopate, and about the duty of residence, continued with undiminished force, while the demands for reform on the part of the French and the Emperor were daily growing more urgent. In addition to all these difficulties there now came the want of money caused by the death of Gonzaga [3] and the outbreak of bloody combats among the retainers of the French, Spanish and Italian prelates, in consequence of which the holding of Congregations was altogether prevented from March 9th to the 15th.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Bondonus, 565; Mendoça, 672; Pogiani Epist., III., 258; Pallavicini, 20, 6, 1-3; Sickel, Konzil, 439; Beiträge, I., 52; Giuliani, 119; Šusta, III., 253 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*; Astrain, II., 187 *seq.*

[2] See Bondonus, 565-6; Mendoça, 674; Pallavicini, 20, 7, 6-8; Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. V., 615 *seq.*; Šusta, III., 263 *seq.*, 277; Merkle, II., lxxi *seq.*, where there are details as to the tomb and will of the Cardinal.

[3] See Šusta, III., 282 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Theiner, II., 256; Bondonus, 56, Mendoça, 673 *seq.*; Sickel, Konzil, 468.

In the meantime the Emperor, whose theological commission at Innsbruck was engaged upon the drafting of a new, the second, reform libellum,[1] addressed two letters to the Pope on March 3rd, which caused great anxiety in the Curia.[2] One of these letters,[3] which was also communicated to the Imperial envoys at Trent, to the legates, to Cardinal Guise, and to others, demanded reform in general terms. It expressed the regret of the Emperor at the unsatisfactory course of events at the Council, and at the reports which were current that the Pope intended either to suspend or dissolve it, which would cause great harm to the Church. He hoped that the Council might soon be brought to a successful close, and the longed-for reform carried into effect. For this, however, full liberty was necessary, and therefore the right of proposition must not be reserved to the legates alone, but must also be granted to the envoys of the princes. Finally, the Emperor announced his inclination to appear at the Council himself, and addressed an urgent request to the Pope to do likewise. The second, confidential, letter,[4] contained the same exhortations and demands, but was expressed in a less severe form. In this the Emperor especially demanded that for the future simony, and all other unworthy influence should be excluded from the Papal election, that no Cardinal should be appointed who, on account of his youth or want of learning, was unfit to hold the position,[5] and finally that the existing

[1] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, III., 209 *seqq.*; KRÖSS, 621 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 180 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 455; *ibid.*, 452 *seq.* Arco's report of the declaration made by Pius IV. after the receipt of the Imperial letter.

[3] See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 34 LE PLAT, V., 690. *Cf.* KRÖSS, 625 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 234 *seq.*

[4] Complete in STEINHERZ, III., 223 *seq.*

[5] This claim was founded on the creation of Cardinals of January 6, 1563, so widely and justly found fault with, in which Federigo Borromeo and Ferdinando de' Medici received the purple, the one being eighteen years of age, and the other hardly fourteen. The nomination of Federigo was a compliment to the first president of the Council, and that of Ferdinand to Cosimo I. Pius IV., who

abuses in the election of archbishops and bishops by the cathedral chapters should be abolished.[1]

Towards the end of 1562, Pius IV. would have been very willing to suspend the Council,[2] on the proposal of the Em-

did not, while the Council was sitting, feel safe in the States of the Church, thought it well to seize upon every opportunity of placing at least the Italian princes under an obligation to himself (see STEINHERZ, III., 178 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 157 *seq.*, 161, 193 *seq.*). For the creation of January 6, 1563, see PETRAMELLARIUS, 73 *seq*; CIACONIUS, III., 943 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 53 *seq.*; HERRE, 68). The appearance of Cardinal Ferdinando is well described by the author of an account of a journey of Duke Ferdinand, third son of Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, in the year 1565, printed in FREYBERG, Sammlung historischer Schriften, IV., 317 *seq.*, Stuttgart, 1834. As early as January 30, 1563, Tonina *reports that people were speaking of a fresh creation of Cardinals (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] On the same March 3, 1563, the Emperor addressed a letter to Guise (LE PLAT, V., 690 *seq.*), and a fresh instruction to his envoys at Trent, printed in SICKEL, Konzil, 446 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 456 *seq.*, and 463 *seq.*, the further instructions of March 21 and 23, 1563. *Cf.* as to this HELLE, 42 *seq.*

[2] Before the arrival of Guise they were prepared for the Cardinal to propose the removal of the Council to Besançon or Constance; the Cardinal himself had spoken of this to the nuncio, Santa Croce (see the report of Santa Croce of June 26, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 492). On the strength of this, on July 8, 1562, Borromeo sent instructions to the legates to hurry on the work of the Council as much as possible (*ibid.*, II., 239 *seqq.*). On July 18 Borromeo wrote to Delfino, who had (June 29) made the proposal that the Council should be suspended: "If the Emperor, in agreement with Philip II. makes a proposal for the suspension of the Council, the Pope is inclined to accept it." (STEINHERZ, III., 94 *seqq.*). On July 22 Borromeo again wrote to Delfino that the Pope was agreeable to a conference on religion, the Council being first suspended or closed, but that the Emperor must win over the King of Spain to this plan (*ibid.*, 100). On August 8 the legates received orders from Borromeo to bring the Council to a close with all possible speed, and the same order was repeated on August 22 (see ŠUSTA, II., 308, 325 *seq.*). Pius IV. himself wrote to the legates in the same sense on August 26 (ŠUSTA, II., 327 *seq.*).

peror; on November 14th, 1562, as Borromeo had written to Delfino, the Pope expected such a proposal from Ferdinand I. Pius IV. did not wish to take the initiative himself, and at the end of November he declined Delfino's plan of writing to Philip II. to close the Council. On December 20th Borromeo wrote to Delfino that if a proposal for suspension were not made by the Imperial Court, the Council would continue its sessions, for the Pope would not come forward with such a proposal himself.[1] As time went on however, Pius IV. became more and more convinced of the grave objections which stood in the way of a suspension or a premature closing of the Council. On the other hand it became equally clear to him that the useful progress and the successful issue to the work of the Council depended upon an understanding with the secular princes, and especially with the Emperor. He called upon the latter, in a brief of March 6th, 1563, to undertake the defence of the Apostolic See against all attacks in the Council, and to instruct his envoys to act in union with the legates. The brief, at the same time, laid stress on the sincere wish and the zealous endeavours of the Pope to do away with all abuses, and to introduce a strict reform.[2]

On March 18th two briefs were drawn up in answer to the Imperial letters of March 3rd. In the first, the Pope praised the Emperor's zeal, and regretted with him the slow progress of the Council, and the want of unity there; in answer to the rumours of suspension or dissolution, he declared his fixed intention of continuing the Council, and of bringing it to a happy conclusion. He then spoke of what he had already done in the way of reform, and finally explained his reasons for not going in person to Trent.[3] A confidential letter was also drawn up in answer to the confidential letter of Ferdinand I. In this the Pope said that the Emperor was perfectly right in maintaining that it was of the utmost im-

[1] Steinherz, III., 144, 151, 163.

[2] Raynaldus, 1563, n. 67; Le Plat, V., 709 *seq.*; Steinherz, III., 237 *seq.* The reply of Ferdinand I. on March 23, in Sickel, Konzil, 468 *seq.*

[3] See Raynaldus, 1563, n. 35; Le Plat, V., 761-5.

portance for Christendom that the Papal election should be lawful and beyond reproach. So many good and wise laws had already been issued on this matter by former Councils and Popes, that it had been believed that nothing more could be added. In order, however, completely to remove every abuse, the Pope had published a new law. He had not communicated it to the Council before its publication, much as he would have liked to do so, because he had realized, since the recent disputes, how difficult it was, in such an important and controverted manner, to succeed in accomplishing anything. Should the Council, however, of its own accord, approve the law which he had issued, it would be very pleasing to him. With regard to the nomination of Cardinals, he referred to the statements which would be made by Cardinal Morone, who had been decided upon as legate at the Imperial court.[1]

The dispatch of these briefs, however, did not take place, because it was decided that all the matters touched upon in the Imperial letters of March 3rd should be answered verbally by Morone. His mission was announced to the Emperor by the legate in a detailed brief on March 19th.[2] The other very important task with which Morone had already been entrusted, his appointment as legate to the Council, was also spoken of in this brief.

When the news of Gonzaga's death reached Rome on March 6th, Pius IV. at once saw that he must provide a successor for the dead president without delay. On the very next morning, without consulting the Sacred College, he appointed Morone and Navagero as legates to the Council.[3] By this act, so quickly carried out, Pius IV. again displayed his great political shrewdness. Other proposals were made, especially the candidature of the ambitious Cardinal Guise,

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 38; LE PLAT, V., 765-8; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 143 *seq.*

[2] See STEINHERZ, III., 259. *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 471.

[3] See Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Cod. Vat. 7061) in SICKEL, Beiträge, I., 52; ŠUSTA, 267 *seq.*, 270; POGIANI Epist., III., 262; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 487; SICKEL, Konzil, 452.

which was at once put forward. Although he had kept his intention secret, Cardinal Bourdaisière had succeeded in gaining admission to the Pope before the consistory of March 7th, to represent to him the necessity of appointing Guise. Pius IV. answered him shortly and decidedly that as the Cardinal of Lorraine was looked upon as the head of a party in the Council, it was impossible to consider it advisable to make him a president, since not the least suspicion of partiality must attach to the holder of such a dignity.[1]

Pius IV. had shown great wisdom in his choice of the new legates to the Council. Of the three who were still at Trent, two, Hosius and Seripando, were theologians, while Simonetta was a canonist. As the necessity of a good understanding with the great powers, for the progress and conclusion of the Council, had been growing more and more evident since the arrival of the French, there was urgent need of skilled diplomatists. From this point of view, among all the Cardinals, Morone and Navagero seemed the most suitable. Navagero had had a splendid career as Venetian ambassador, while Morone was certainly the most able diplomatist who was at that time at the disposal of the Holy See. In addition to this, Morone had been for many years, and in quite a special way, entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs, for which reason Paul III. had destined him for the office of legate at the first announcement of the Council of Trent. He had enjoyed the friendship of Pius IV. for many years, and possessed his confidence in the highest degree. Morone was also, with the exception of Borromeo, more closely acquainted with the progress of the Council up till now than any other member of the Sacred College, and in addition to all this he possessed, in a high degree, the respect and confidence of the Emperor.[2]

On March 24th, 1563, Morone left the Eternal City, and on

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 20, 6, 4-5; LE PLAT, V., 713; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 346; ŠUSTA, III., 270.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*; SICKEL, Beiträge, I., 57 *seq.*; EHSES in the Histor. Jahrbuch, XXXVII., 57 *seq.*

April 10th, the vigil of Easter, he arrived in Trent.[1] At that time the work of the Council was almost at a standstill. The joy that was felt at the arrival of the new legate was increased when the new envoy of the King of Spain, the Count di Luna, appointed to succeed Pescara, arrived quite unexpectedly on April 12th.[2]

The importance and ability of Morone at once became apparent in the negotiations upon which he entered with the envoys of the powers who were at Trent, and with Guise and other distinguished persons, scarcely any of whom believed in the Pope's real desire for reform.[3] These negotiations, however, could only be provisional, as everything depended on the attitude of the Emperor. After Morone had entered upon his new office at the General Congregation of April 13th,[4] he set out at once for the Imperial court on April 16th. After a journey which was rendered very difficult by the cold and rainy weather, he reached Innsbruck on April 21st. The Emperor had been awaiting his arrival with impatience; he went to meet the Pope's representative some distance beyond the gates of the city, and accompanied him in his entry.[5]

Negotiations were commenced on the following day. In a conversation which lasted for four hours, Morone gave to the Emperor answers on all the points contained in his two letters of March 3rd. The slow progress of affairs at the Council was discussed in detail, as were the true causes of the evil and the means of obviating it, together with the question of the sus-

[1] See BONDONUS, 567; *ibid.* 568, for the arrival of Cardinal Navagero, which only took place on April 28. For the departure of Morone and his letter of credential, see STEINHERZ, III., 277-8; for the course of his journey see ŠUSTA, III., 287. The autograph letter of Pius IV. to the Emperor, dated March 25, 1563, which was sent after the legate, in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 60; LE PLAT, V., 774 *seq.*

[2] See BONDONUS, 567.

[3] PALLAVICINI, 20, 11 and 12. *Cf.* the *Relatione* in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 654 *seq.*

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 63 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 262 *seq.*

[5] See STEINHERZ, III., 278.

pension, the liberty of the Council and the asking for instructions from Rome, the right of proposition by the legates, the reform of the head of the Church, the Papal election, the nomination of Cardinals, the election of bishops and their duty of residence, the reasons why the Pope could not go to Trent, and the invitation sent to Ferdinand I. to receive the Imperial crown at Bologna. On all these points Morone kept to the statements made in the briefs of March 18th,[1] which had not been sent; he endeavoured, with great skill, and to the best of his ability, to justify them, but, as he reported to Rome on April 23rd, he met with serious difficulties on several important points. The Emperor entertained, as the legate clearly saw, the best intentions towards the Church and the Pope, but the situation was made difficult by the previous agreement which he had made with France and Spain. Ferdinand especially insisted on the right of proposition for the envoys, on the limitation of Roman dispensations, and on the reform of the composition of the German cathedral chapters. He did not absolutely refuse to make the journey to Bologna for his coronation, which the Pope desired, while Morone's declaration of the burning zeal of Pius IV. for reform, made a visible impression on him.[2] The two guiding principles which the distinguished legate kept before him were to make every possible concession to the Emperor, and at the same time to adhere firmly to the inalienable rights of the Holy See.[3]

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 314.

[2] See Morone's report to Borromeo of April 23, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 266 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 270 *seq.*, also the *Sommario della risposta data dal card. Morone all' imperatore.* If the *Sommario* is compared with the drafts of the briefs of March 18 (see *supra* p. 314) it is evident, as STEINHERZ (p. 277) justly points out, that the latter served in the place of a true and proper instruction. Whether a written instruction was ever given, as might be supposed from PALLAVICINI, 20, 13, 4, must be left uncertain; it has not so far been found.

[3] See Morone's final report of May 17, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 311.

Morone wished to treat with the Emperor by word of mouth alone, and in secret, without witnesses or intermediaries. This easily understood wish, however, could not be strictly adhered to. Ferdinand dictated what he could remember of the declaration made by Morone to the chancellor, Seld, and then gave these notes to his theologians to be discussed.[1] Morone rightly considered it his principal duty to get on good terms with the various members of this commission. It was above all a question of working against a man whose extreme views had already repeatedly proved harmful to the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy.[2] This adviser of Ferdinand was not a German, but the Spanish Minorite, Francisco de Cordova. The activities of this zealous champion of the ideas of Constance and Basle caused Morone no little anxiety. He, therefore, interested himself strongly in confirming other members of the commission, such as Matthias Sittard and Conrad Braun, in their good dispositions, and in gaining their goodwill by gifts of money. This was not necessary in the case of Canisius, who was so loyal to the Holy See, but he also received 100 gold scudi, as an alms for the Society of Jesus. The lay advisers of the Emperor were also remembered by the legate with gifts of money and valuables, a custom which was frequently followed in diplomatic negotiations at that time.[3]

The former excellent relations existing between Morone and the Emperor now stood him in good stead. The negotiations were also facilitated by the Emperor's wish that the election of his son Maximilian as King of the Romans should be confirmed by the Pope as well as by the genuine Catholic

[1] *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 495 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LÖWE, 61 *seq.*

[3] See Morone's reports of May 2, 6, and 17, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 281 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*, 311 *seq.* *Cf.* RITTER, I., 172. Concerning the 100 gold scudi received by Canisius for his Order, *cf.* CANISII Epist., IV., 971 *seq.* Of Fr. de Cordova it is very significant that he states that Morone refused *any* acceptance of reform (see SICKEL, Konzil, 502). It was very important that Gienger was not at Innsbruck.

sentiments of this Hapsburg prince, who was always well-intentioned, although not always far-seeing.

There still remained, however, many difficulties to be surmounted. Morone found the opinion prevalent at the court that there was in Rome a spirit of opposition to all reforms. Not only the Emperor's advisers, but Ferdinand himself, could not be dissuaded from the view that difficulties would be put in the way of the decrees of the Council in the Curia, by granting dispensations.[1] It also caused considerable delay when the legate, soon after his arrival, fell ill with gout and fever, and was confined to his bed. The Emperor paid him the great honour of a visit, during the course of which he remarked that he wished to uphold the authority of the Pope, but also that of the Council. Morone replied by explaining the necessity of close co-operation between the Pope and the Council, quoting a remark of Cardinal Contarini, who was greatly esteemed by the Emperor, to the effect that it is the Pope who gives authority and power to the Council, but that the Council must also have great respect for the power of the successor of St. Peter. Morone also enlarged upon the blessing which united action on the part of the Pope and the Emperor would bring, not only on the work of reform, but also on the elucidation of other questions. The election of Maximilian as King, which was of great importance to the Emperor, was also touched upon.[2]

Ferdinand I. had promised to arrive at a speedy settlement of the negotiations. As he was still confined to his bed during the days that followed, Morone sent Delfino to the Emperor on May 3rd, to beg him to come to an early decision, without any exchange of letters ; in this, however, he was not successful. Morone in the meantime sought to convince the chamberlain, Count Arco, and the Imperial theologians, who appeared at his bedside, of the genuineness of the Pope's intentions of reform, and to explain to them how impracticable were the demands of Ferdinand I. in the matters of the right of proposi-

[1] See Morone's report to Borromeo of May 2, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 282.

[2] See *ibid.*, 279 *seq.*

tion, the reform of the head of the Church, and the representation of all the nations at Trent. He encountered so much opposition, especially with regard to the first point, that on May 6th he asked for instructions from Rome regarding the right of proposition, as to which the Pope had been prepared to give way at the time of his departure.[1]

While Morone was successfully endeavouring, from his sick bed, to prevent the Imperial theologians from the treatment of new and dangerous questions, as for example, that of the supremacy of the Council,[2] his attempt to deal with the Emperor by word of mouth alone failed.

On May 7th, the Emperor again honoured the legate with a personal visit. He handed him, as the result of the deliberations of his theologians, a written answer to the discourse which Morone had delivered after his arrival, together with a supplement on the reform and election of the bishops.[3] Contrary to all expectations, the Emperor's reply was favourable; Morone, nevertheless, found in it three points to contest, which had from the first appeared to him to be most important: the right of proposition by the civil powers, the formation of national deputations for the preliminary discussion of conciliar questions, and, above all, the reform of the head of the Church by the Council. He laid his counter-observations, especially on the last point, before the Emperor, at an audience, which lasted three hours, granted to him on May 8th.[4] He had brought notes with him,[5] which formed the basis of his speech. The Emperor begged him to leave these notes with

[1] See Morone's report to Borromeo of May 6, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 285 *seq.*

[2] See Morone's final report of May 17, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 304 *seq.*

[3] Published by PLANCK, Anecdota, II., 3 *seq.*, III., 3 *seqq.*, IV., 2 *seq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 498; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 148 *seq.*

[4] See Morone's report to Borromeo of May 13, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 295 *seq.*

[5] Published under the title "C. Moronis replica ad S.C.M^{tis} responsum in materia concilii," by PLANCK, *loc. cit.*, V., 3 *seq.*

him, and as Morone could not very well refuse this request, he was thereby forced into negotiations which were partly in writing. Ferdinand handed Morone's reply to his theological commission, and received from it a counter-reply.[1] This latter did not seem quite satisfactory to Morone, although it was very favourably expressed in several important points. Only a limited right of proposition was now demanded, and the expression "reform of the head" was replaced by the words "reform of the universal Church, as it is called in the ancient Councils" a change which excluded the principles of the Councils of Constance and Basle. Other points were also modified, but the demand for the national deputations, and for a reform of the Papal elections by the Council were still maintained.[2]

The Imperial reply was presented to Morone on May 12th. He had scarcely read it when Ferdinand appeared for a farewell visit, and the two now conferred for two hours longer.[3] The Emperor displayed great reverence for the Holy See, and for the person of the Pope, but in spite of this Morone did not succeed in obtaining all he desired. A full agreement, which was committed to writing,[4] was reached on the following points: the remaining dogmatic questions, especially those which had not been attacked by the innovators, were to be left aside; the fathers of the Council, as well as the envoys of the Emperor at Trent, were to be perfectly free to maintain their opinions, but they would be forbidden to digress from the subjects proposed for discussion, or to offend in their speeches against the rules of courtesy, or to display a want of consideration. The Pope was to leave to the Council full liberty to pass resolutions. In addition to the completion of the reforms already taken in hand, the Council should especi-

[1] Published by SICKEL, Konzil, 498 *seq.*

[2] See Morone's report to Borromeo of May 13, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 297 *seq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 500; HELLE, 56.

[3] See STEINHERZ, III., 299 *seq.*; *cf.* 310. See also SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 151.

[4] See the Summarium in LE PLAT, VI., 15; PLANCK, Anecdota, VI., 4 *seq.*; BUCHOLTZ, IX., 686. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI. 20, 15.

ally deal with the irregular election of bishops, and the exemptions of the cathedral chapters. Bishops were to be forced to fulfil the duty of residence, and the dispute as to divine right was to be settled in a peaceful manner. The appointment of a second secretary of the Council, who, however, was to be chosen by the Pope and the legates, was stated to be desirable. Ferdinand I. promised, as it was at present impossible for him to undertake the journey to Bologna for the coronation, to follow this ancient and praiseworthy custom of his predecessors as soon as time and circumstances should permit. Besides all this, they arranged, verbally, that in the event of a vacancy occurring in the Holy See during the time of the Council, the Emperor should use all his influence that their ancient right of choosing a new Pope should remain with the College of Cardinals.

No agreement was arrived at concerning the national deputations, the right of proposition, or the conclave bull. Morone, therefore, caused the two principal advisers of the Emperor, Seld and Singmoser, to be summoned to him before his departure on May 12th, and explained to them his point of view with regard to these matters, and begged them to submit it to his majesty. Not content with this, he also drew up a memorial,[1] which he caused to be delivered to the Emperor by Delfino on the same day. The answer[2] was to be sent by Delfino to Matrei, the first posting station on the Brenner Pass, by which Morone was to travel on that day. It was prepared on the 13th, and was at once sent on to Morone; Delfino was able, in doing so, to inform him that Seld had stated that the Emperor would not insist on the three points mentioned.[3] Morone found the Emperor's statements satisfactory. The

[1] "Scriptum C. Moronis super duplica C.M^{tis}" in PLANCK, V., 8 *seq.*

[2] According to the copy of the Acta of the Council in the Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck, published by SICKEL, Konzil, 500 *seq.* The *original in the Papal Secret Archives, Concilio, 31, n. 90b gives a better text in some places.

[3] See Morone's report to Borromeo of May 13, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 299-300.

demand for the national deputations, which now only appeared as a counsel, did not seem to him to be dangerous; he considered it, on the contrary, even advantageous, in so far as it was calculated to promote the acceptance of the decrees of the Council by all the nations. The fact that the Emperor expressly declared that the subjects proposed for discussion should only be prepared by these deputations, and then laid by them before the assembled fathers, to be decided by them by the majority of votes, could not but allay Morone's fears. With regard to the right of proposition of the legates, he was also relieved to see that the Emperor did not adhere to his demands. He looked upon the Emperor's proviso that, in the event of a refusal by the legates, the envoys could also make proposals, as being reasonable and just, and therefore believed that it would not be displeasing to the Pope either. With regard to the conclave bull, the answer of the Emperor was to the effect that for the time being he asked nothing further than that it should be carried out in the most exact and secure way, and that the secular ambassadors, as well as the electors in the conclave and the whole Roman populace, should be deterred from interference by the infliction of severe penalties; it would be best that these last should be settled by the Council. This extension of the conclave bull, Morone rightly did not consider in any way disadvantageous to the Pope; on the contrary, he thought that it would render the intrigues of the secular princes more difficult of execution. He therefore answered the Emperor without any hesitation, thanked him for the contents of the letter he had just received, and, in view of the goodwill shown by his majesty, expressed great hopes for the favourable progress of public affairs.[1]

In the final report which he sent to Rome, which in its simplicity, pertinency, and absence of vainglory, is a masterpiece,[2] Morone did not conceal his satisfaction that he had succeeded in blunting the dangerous aims of the bye-council at Innsbruck, and in convincing the Emperor of the sincere

[1] See Morone's final report of May 17, 1563, in STEINHERZ, III., 307 *seq.*

[2] The opinion of STEINHERZ, III., 313.

goodwill and the honourable intentions of the Pope.[1] If he was not perfectly satisfied with the result of his mission,[2] he could at any rate claim that what he had obtained was of no small importance, an opinion which was also shared by people of discernment. Canisius considered as the most important point of all that Morone had obtained, the fact that the passage on the "reform of the Church in its head and its members" had been deleted.[3] In Rome they were highly pleased with the work of the legate. "The Pope," writes Borromeo on May 19th to Morone, "has carefully read and considered your report of the 13th, and I can assure you that, during the whole of his reign, none of his diplomatists has given him greater satisfaction. The more difficult and critical the negotiations were, the greater are the merit and praise due to you." Borromeo wrote again in a similar appreciative way on May 27th.[4] The satisfaction of the Pope was all the greater as he had been prepared, in the last extremity, and in view of the coalition of the great Catholic powers, to grant the right of proposition to the envoys, and to allow the reform of the head of the Church to be discussed by the Council.[5]

In forming an opinion on what had been accomplished by Morone the judgment of the opponents of Rome is not without importance. King Maximilian, to whom all the documents relating to the Innsbruck conferences were communicated, learned the result with much disgust. On May 24th he reproached his father with having given way too far; now that it was done, he said, it would be well that the Emperor

[1] See *ibid.* 311 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 20, 17, 11.

[2] According to a letter from Canisius to Lainez of May 17, 1563, Morone said this to him, referring especially to the national deputations; see Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie, 1903, 642 *seq.*, and CANISII Epist., IV., 201 *seq.*

[3] See the letter from Canisius to Lainez, cited in the previous note, and that from the same to Hosius of May 17, 1563, in CANISII Epist., IV., 209 *seq.*

[4] See ŠUSTA, IV., 18, 31; *cf.* 14. See further STEINHERZ, III., 313. *Cf.* also PALLAVICINI, 20, 15, 11.

[5] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, III., 277, 305 *seq.*

should return to Vienna, and trouble himself no further about the Council.[1] The Cardinal of Lorraine, too, who was at that time in strong opposition to Rome, expressed his dissatisfaction at the Emperor's compliance, especially in the matter of the right of proposition.[2]

In whatever way the results of the Innsbruck conferences may be judged, it is beyond doubt that the great diplomatic skill of Morone had brought about an understanding between the Emperor and the Pope.[3] His ability and prudence were

[1] See BUCHOLTZ, IX., 689. *Cf.* GOTZ, Beiträge zur Geschichte Albrechts V. in the Briefe und Akten, V., 263 n. 2; STEINHERZ, III., 313.

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 509.

[3] PALLAVICINI, who had at his disposal the report of Morone of May 17, and the correspondence with the Emperor, has given (20, 15) a very good account of the Innsbruck conferences. Instead of using this, RANKE (Päpste, I6., 218) lays the greatest stress upon a "Relatione sommaria del Card. Morone sopra la legatione sua" in the Altieri Library, and remarks concerning it that it is the most important document on the proceedings at Trent that he has come upon; neither Sarpi nor Pallavicini had noticed it. The *Relatione*, which is often to be found elsewhere (the authentic text in STEINHERZ, III., 312, in the Papal Secret Archives, Concilio, 31, n. 67; to the copies noted by SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 150 n., may be added one in the Archivio Borghese, Ser. 2, H. 18, p. 87 *seq.*), can hardly have been unknown to Pallavicini; he did not quote it because it is not certain whether it was written by Morone himself, or by Gherio (see STEINHERZ, *loc. cit.*). In any case this *Relatione*, which in the meantime has been published, though not quite accurately, by MAURENBRECHER in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 653 *seq.*, can only be considered as of secondary importance, as it is drawn up in a shorter form, and appeared later, than the classical final report of Morone of May 17, which is remarkable for its clearness and precision, and to which Pallavicini rightly adheres. Ranke had all the more reason for putting forward this report, because it had already been noted by SCHELHORN (Sammlung für die Geschicte, I., 210). But Ranke paid no attention, either to Schelhorn, or to the very important publication of the correspondence between Morone and the Emperor by Planck. The

also brilliantly displayed at Trent, to which city he returned on May 17th. Morone was just the man to take up the direction of affairs with a firm and safe hand, and to overcome all the difficulties which still stood in the way of bringing the Council to a successful conclusion.[1]

consequence was that he was only able to give a very unsatisfactory account, in which the result of Morone's mission appears in too favourable a light. The first to take up an opposite position was RITTER (Deutsche Geschicte, I., 173 *seq.*; *cf.* RITTER, L. v. Ranke, Stuttgart, 1895), but Ritter goes to the other extreme, and considers the agreement brought about by Morone as only apparent. STEINHERZ (III., 330) has taken up a stand against this view, appealing also to the judgment of contemporaries who were well informed of the true state of affairs. A follower of Ritter, Helle, has tried, in his dissertation, Die Konferenzen Morones, to defend the opinion of his master. Holtzmann, a very reliable authority for that period of history, has rightly declared against him in the Histor. Zeitschr., CVII., 436 *seqq.*; he says: "It is true that, even after the conferences, the Emperor adhered to his programme of reform, though in a somewhat modified form. But it seems to me that, all the same, Morone's influence was not quite without effect, and I should, in particular, estimate Ferdinand's abandonment of the *reformatio in capite* somewhat differently from HELLE (p. 56, 64). The way had been paved in all respects for an agreement, and later on it was but completed with the help of other things. In particular, the recognition of the election of Maximilian was very skilfully held up before the Emperor by Morone as the price of reconciliation; *cf.* my book on Maximilian, p. 450." KASSOWITZ (p. xliii) and v. VOLTELINI (Mitteilungen des Österr. Inst., XXVII., 353) also agree with Steinherz.

[1] Concerning the services of Morone see ŠUSTA, IV., p. v.; there see also details of the manuscript tradition of the correspondence which issued from the work of Morone in 1563. For the "Cifra Moroniana" see ŠUSTA, in the Mitteilungen des Österr. Inst., XVIII., and MEISTER, Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstl. Kurie, 243. At Trent Morone resided in the Palazzo Thun; see SWOBODA, 23.

CHAPTER X.

The Concluding Sessions of the Council of Trent.

While Morone, as legate, and as the confidant of Pius IV., was paving the way for an understanding with the Emperor at Innsbruck, relations between the Spanish king and the Pope were also taking a more favourable turn. Philip's representative in Rome since 1559, Francisco de Vargas, had been in no small degree to blame for the irritation and disputes between Rome and Madrid. Vargas was not a man who could smooth difficulties away; he was much more likely to render existing friction more acute. Over-zealous and violent, quarrelsome and contentious, he was the most unlikely person to obtain anything from Pius IV. In just the same degree as the relations between the Venetian ambassador, Mula, and the Pope were excellent, so did those between Pius IV. and Vargas go from bad to worse. Philip II. himself could not fail to recognize that Vargas' position at the Curia had become unbearable, and his successor, Luis de Requesens, had been appointed as early as the beginning of 1562, although his departure had been delayed from month to month.[1]

In August, 1562, Philip II. had formed the idea of sending to Rome a special confidential envoy, in order to settle the differences which existed in the matter of the Council. He chose for the purpose the aged and experienced Luis de Avila, but put off sending him until the beginning of December, as he wished, before doing so, to come to an agreement with the other Catholic powers with regard to his further procedure at Trent.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Susta, I., 157, II., 427, 514, III., 344, 386; Constant, Rapport 194 *seq.*, 211 *seq.*, where is also given the special bibliography on Requesens.

[2] See Susta, II., 522; III., 83, 88, 385 *seq.*, 411, 442 *seq.*, 446-7.

The longer the mission of Avila, from which a favourable turn in the matter of the Council was hoped for in Rome, was delayed, the greater was the impatience with which the arrival of Philip's representative was awaited. In the middle of February, 1563, his appearance was thought to be imminent, but a full month had to elapse before Avila made his entry into Rome on March 14th, 1563. It was in keeping with the honourable reception accorded to him that he was assigned lodgings in the Vatican, in the apartments of Federigo Borromeo. Negotiations were begun two days later, and if they were at first of a somewhat excited character, this was to be explained by the disappointment which Pius IV. experienced when Avila presented the numerous and important demands of his sovereign.[1] In order to understand the attitude of the Pope, one must realize the dangers which confronted him on all sides. At Trent, where the proceedings were at a standstill, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, who was in high favour with the Emperor, was declaring quite openly that the power of the Pope was no greater than that of any other patriarch, and the Archbishop of Granada expressed himself in similar terms.[2] At Innsbruck the Imperial commission of theologians was holding its sessions, and was very similar to a Council; no one could foretell what success the impending mission of Morone to the court of Ferdinand I. was likely to have.[3] In France, the most important champions of the Catholic Church, Marshal St. André, and François de Guise, had fallen, while Montmorency was a prisoner. It was only too well known to Pius IV. that the government of Catherine de' Medici considered that, faced as they were by the Huguenots, the only way to safety lay in compliance. The queen had, in fact, granted to them on March 12th, at the Peace of Amboise, religious liberty, even though it was to some extent limited, accepting at the same time the monstrous proposal that a new Council should be summoned

[1] See Šusta, III., 239, 286, 531, 538, where there is a further bibliography.

[2] *Cf.* Baluze-Mansi, III., 454; Šusta, III., 282.

[3] See Sickel, Beiträge, II., 57.

in Germany or France, and renewed attempts made to attract the Protestants to it.[1]

Under these circumstances, Pius IV. was forced to enter into still closer relations with the only Catholic power which would not listen to any talk of yielding to the religious innovators; the more hesitating the attitude of the Emperor, and the greater the tension in France, the more the Pope had to rely on Philip II.[2] In order to obtain effective assistance from him, the Pope at last came to the momentous resolve, not only of giving way with regard to the exclusive right of proposition by the legates, but also of deciding the dispute about precedence between the Spanish and French envoys at Trent, in the manner desired in Madrid. An agreement was reached in the first week of May, and two documents, mutually binding, were exchanged. In that of May 6th, Avila and Vargas, as the representatives of Philip II., gave a solemn promise that their sovereign would defend the authority of the Pope with all his power. Pius IV. thereupon wrote on May 8th to the legates at Trent that they were to explain to the fathers that the liberty of the Council was not to be affected by the words *proponentibus legatis*, which had been entered in the decree without his previous knowledge.[3] On the same day the Pope, without wishing definitely to decide the dispute as to precedence in the matter of the place to be assigned to the representatives of Spain at the sessions and congregations, gave way to the wishes of Philip II., who had based his threat, made on March 5th, of breaking off diplomatic relations, on the lukewarm attitude taken up in Rome on this question.[4]

[1] See STEINHERZ, III., 265; MAURENBRECHER, Archivalische Beiträge, 5; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 250. *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work.

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 514; BEITRÄGE, II., 58.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 5, 7; MAURENBRECHER, *loc. cit.*, 20; Venetian Despatches, III., 226; SICKEL, Beiträge, II., 58, 134 *seq.*

[4] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 1, 6-7; SICKEL, Beiträge, II., 58 *seq.*, 133 *seq.* Sickel rightly brings out how well Pallavicini has described the effect produced at Trent by the new instructions.

Morone, who had successfully defended the exclusive right of proposition by the legates against the Emperor at Innsbruck, was as much embarrassed as dismayed at the compliance shown by Pius IV. to Philip II. in this respect. The new Spanish envoy, Count di Luna,[1] who had arrived in the place of Pescara, naturally insisted on the fulfilment of the concessions granted to his sovereign, and all the efforts of Morone to induce him to change his mind were in vain. The other legates supported Morone, and in a letter to Borromeo on June 19th, 1563, they protested against the limitation of their exclusive right of proposition, expressing the wish to be recalled from the Council, rather than remain as witnesses of their own discomfiture.[2]

Even before this painful incident, there had been no lack of other occurrences which caused Morone and his colleagues grave anxiety, and placed them in no small embarrassment.[3] Not the least of these was the ever smouldering dispute about precedence between the French and Spanish envoys, in which the question was always coming more and more into the foreground of what place was to be assigned to the representative of the Catholic King in ecclesiastical functions, and how the kiss of peace and the incensation were to be carried out. In this matter Pius IV. came to the conclusion,

For the progress of Avila's negotiations see DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I. 489 *seq.*, 517 *seq.*; MAURENBRECHER, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 531 *seq.*, 538 *seq.*

[1] For his introduction into the General Congregation on May 5th, 1563, and the question of precedence which then arose, see BONDONUS, 567; THEINER, II., 280 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 21, 1. Luna took up his residence in the Palazzo Roccabruna (now Sardagna); see SWOBODA, 23, 49.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 5; ŠUSTA, IV., 67 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, 78 *seq.*

[3] For the question raised by the Archbishop of Lanciano as to the right of voting by proxies, see PALLAVICINI, 20, 17, 7 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 324 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, III., 333; IV., 13 *seqq.* The demand for the chalice for the laity on the part of the Bavarian envoy led to the successful mission of Ormanetto; see STEINHERZ III., 327 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV., 23, 28.

on June 8th, that it was his duty to decide in favour of Spain, and he expressly gave as his reason that Philip II. must at that time be looked upon as the principal support of the Catholic religion.[1]

Above all, however, the legates were preoccupied with the question concerning the episcopate and the primacy, which had recently once again broken out into flame. Even the preliminary discussions concerning the abuses connected with Holy Orders, which lasted from May 12th to June 16th,[2] as well as the later ones on the ordination of priests,[3] which began on June 11th, made it clear that an agreement on these questions was hardly to be expected. While the Archbishop of Granada was for ever proclaiming the divine right of the bishops, others, especially the French bishops, were indulging in the most violent censures of the real and supposed abuses in the Curia. The Bishop of Paris, who wished to see the discussions on the reform of the Curia put in the first place, recommended the restoration of the ancient mode of electing bishops, according to which the Pope would have to renounce his right of nomination. According to the wishes of many, the right of dispensation must also be withdrawn from the head of the Church, and the election of the Pope regulated by the Council.[4]

In the final assembly, on June 16th, Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, maintained with the greatest firmness that the Pope, as head of the Church, could not be reformed by the Council. Reform, he declared, is a return to old ways; there is an interior reform as well as an exterior one, and the latter must be subsidiary to the former; all reform must

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 8, 4; SICKEL, Beiträge, II., 60 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV., 62, 82 *seq.*, 495 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, II., 270-301; *ibid.*, 264-70, the drawing up of the list of abuses relative to Holy Orders, which was brought before the fathers of the Council on May 10. See also Psalmaeus in MERKLE, II., 838 *seqq.* For the later proceedings, from July 10 to 12, see THEINER, II., 302-9.

[3] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 617 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, IV., 54 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* GRISAR, Primat, 773 *seq.*

presuppose the immutability of the divine law. Not everything, however, is divine law which the fathers of the Council honour with this title. Lainez then proceeded to demonstrate once more the fundamental difference between order and jurisdiction. To have a vote in the Council is a matter of jurisdiction; the possession of a diocese is not essential to the episcopal dignity. The assertion that titular bishops are not real bishops is false; in Germany such bishops are indispensable on account of the extent of the dioceses. Dispensations cannot be avoided, and Lainez was most emphatic in his declaration that the Pope has his right of dispensation direct from Christ; no one can deprive him of it or limit it. He answered the argument that the Pope might sometimes use this right badly, by saying that the same thing could be said of every prince and every superior. Finally, he strongly insisted that the reform of the Roman Curia could be carried out in the best and most effective manner by the Pope himself, opposing most resolutely those who maintained the superiority of the Council over the Pope.[1]

It is not to be wondered at that such outspoken and determined language failed to appeal to many of his hearers, especially the French bishops, imbued as they were with Gallican views. In their reports to Rome, the legates bestowed great praise on the General of the Jesuits, expressing, however, a desire for greater reserve and prudence.[2]

Lainez also energetically defended the rights of the Holy See at the renewed discussions in July on the sacrament of Holy Orders.[3] This was all the more necessary, as the French bishops made violent protests against every expression which suggested the superiority of the Pope over the Council, or acceptance of the Council of Florence and repudiation of that of Basle. The ultimate aim of the French was to under-

[1] See THEINER, II., 300; PALEOTTO, *ibid.*, 660; PALLAVICINI, 21, 6, 9; GRISAR, Primat, 777 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 156 *seq.*

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 547 *seq.*: GUILLEMIN, Le card. de Lorraine, 346; ŠUSTA, IV., 69.

[3] See GRISAR, Primat, 781.

mine the monarchical character of the organization of the Church, in the sense of the Council of Basle. The Spanish bishops, indeed, acknowledged the Council of Florence, but remained firm on the point that the institution and jurisdiction of the episcopate was of divine right, and must therefore be declared to be so. On account of the extent of their dioceses, and the richness of their benefices, they hoped everything from the strengthening of the episcopal power, and would have liked to become popes in their own dioceses; they also endeavoured to weaken the authority of the Cardinals in every possible way. The Italians, and with them a few Spanish and French bishops, as well as the very small number of bishops of other nations who were present, declared themselves, almost without exception, on the side of the power and dignity of the Holy See.[1]

In all these controversies, which were conducted with the greatest violence, secular interests also played a part; the Imperial envoys, however, in accordance with the agreement reached by Morone, worked for the elimination of theoretical questions, as to which there was no possibility of agreement. The view of Pius IV. was that it was preferable to come to no decision with regard to the question of jurisdiction, and that of the universal primacy, than to adopt a half decision, which would give occasion for disputes later on.[2] The legates had already written to Rome in April that there was no other way than to avoid the contested points altogether, and in the doctrinal chapter and canons to speak only of the power of order, without mentioning jurisdiction. Lainez had already proposed this solution on a former occasion,[3] and an agreement on those lines was actually reached at the beginning of July. A satisfactory form of the decree on residence was also arrived at on July 7th, which, in all essentials, was in accordance with that which had formerly been

[1] See the classic letter of the legates, already used by Pallavicini on the different national groups at Trent, of June 14, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 64 *seq.*

[2] See Pallavicini, 21, 11, 1.

[3] See Grisar, Primat, 779 *seq.*

drafted by Cardinal Gonzaga; no mention was made in this of divine right. On July 9th a General Congregation was held, in which they were successful in obtaining 227 votes for the decrees thus formulated. Only slight alterations were asked for, with the insertion of which Archbishop Marini, of Lanciano, and Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, as theologians, and Archbishop Castagna, of Rossano, and Gabriele Paleotto, Auditor of the Rota, as canonists, were entrusted.[1] This happy result, in consequence of which the XXIIIrd Session, which had been repeatedly postponed, first from April 22nd to May 20th, then to June 15th, and finally to July 15th,[2] could at last be held, was above all to be attributed to the complete change of front on the part of Cardinal Guise, the leader of the French bishops.

As early as June 29th, while the scandalous dispute about precedence between the French and Spanish envoys was taking place in the Cathedral of Trent, the passionate Frenchman, deeply offended at the preference shown to Spain, had permitted himself to the use of the most violent expressions concerning Pius IV., the lawfulness of whose election he declared to be doubtful, on account of alleged simony, and he had threatened to make an appeal to the Council.[3] A few days later he offered the Pope his services, through his secretary, Musotti. Sudden changes from one

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 11, 4; ŠUSTA, IV., 111, 121 *seq.* For G. Paleotto see MERKLE in the Röm. Quartalschr., XI., 336 *seq.*, and on G. B. Castagna, Studi stor., IX., 229 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 263 *seq.*, 279, 298 *seq.*

[3] For this question, and the proceedings connected with it, see BONDONUS, 568; PSALMAEUS, 861; MENDOÇA, 684; *report of Fr. Porticelli to Madruzzo, dated Trent, July 1, 1563 (Viceregal Archives Innsbruck); Paleotto in THEINER, II., 650. *Cf.* MERKLE *loc. cit.*, 387; BALUZE-MANSI, III., 477; IV., 319; LE PLAT, VI., 116 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 21, 8 *seq*; SICKEL, Konzil, 556 *seqq.*, Beiträge, II., 63, 135 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV., 99, 517 *seq.* On May 22, 1563, Fr. Tonina had already reported from Rome: *Qui si ragiona assai del strepito che fa il card. di Lorena al concilio (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

extreme to the other are natural to the French character. In this change on the part of Cardinal Guise from strong opposition to becoming the supporter of the Pope, personal reasons had contributed no less than objective ones. Pius IV. had previously made him the offer of appointing him perpetual legate in France after the close of the Council and of entrusting him with full powers, as, for example, the granting of the chalice to the laity, things which to an ambitious man, where very tempting. While on the one hand, the prospect of a great and honourable activity in his own country attracted the Cardinal, on the other hand he shrank from plunging his beloved France, already so sorely tried, into the confusion of a schism.[1] His startling change of front was at the same time made easier for him by the amicable settlement arrived at with the Spanish envoy, which was acceptable to the French court.[2]

In the General Congregation of July 14th an agreement had been come to by almost all the fathers with regard to the whole of the decrees. Only the Spanish bishops, with the exception of the Bishop of Lerida, were still opposed to the wording of the sixth canon, but this difficulty was overcome by the skilful intervention of Morone. The legate appealed to Count di Luna, who succeeded in overcoming the opposition of his countrymen, and the same night communicated the fact to Morone.[3]

On the morning of July 15th, the four legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and ninety-three bishops, three abbots, seven generals of orders, three doctors of law, a hundred and thirty theologians, six procurators of bishops who were absent, and twelve envoys, assembled in the Cathedral of Trent for the XXIIIrd Session, the seventh under Pius IV.[4]

[1] See STEINHERZ, III., 379 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV., 102 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*, and the sources there cited.

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil 562; ŠUSTA, IV., 120, 127.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 21, 11, 7; ŠUSTA, IV., 124.

[4] *Cf.* THEINER, II., 310-2; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 125-7; BECCADELLI, II., 93 *seqq.*; PSALMAEUS, 866 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 21, 12.

High Mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Paris, Eustache du Bellay, and the sermon was preached by the Spaniard, Giacomo Giberto di Noguera, Bishop of Alife. Then the decree on Holy Orders, in four chapters and eight canons, was read aloud. Of the bishops it was stated in the fourth chapter: "In addition to the other grades, there belong in a special way to this hierarchical order the bishops, who have succeeded to the place of the Apostles, and, as the Apostle says, have been set by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God." Although this formula did not directly define divine right, the Spanish bishops had at last declared it to be satisfactory, because it could be interpreted in their sense.[1]

The last three canons, so long disputed, were as follows: "Anathema is pronounced against anyone who maintains that in the Catholic Church there is no hierarchy, appointed by divine ordinance, and consisting of bishops, priests and ministers; that bishops are no more than priests, and have not the power to confirm and ordain, or that they have their power in common with priests, or that the ordination conferred by them without the consent of, or without the call of the people or the civil authorities, is invalid, or that those who are not properly ordained and appointed by ecclesiastical and canonical authority, but come from elsewhere, are legitimate ministers of the divine word and of the sacraments; that the bishops who are chosen by the Roman Pope are not true and lawful bishops, but a human institution."

The first president, Morone, was able to announce, as the result of the voting, that all the fathers approved the decrees, that six wished for a better and clearer declaration in the sixth and eighth canons, and one in the fourth. Then the reform decree, which included eighteen chapters, the first of which was concerned with the duty of residence, was publicly read. The second chapter laid it down that all prelates without exception, even the Cardinals, must receive Holy Orders within three months. The next fourteen

[1] See KNÖPFLER in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., XI[2]., 2105.

chapters contained precise regulations for the conferring and reception of the various orders, as well as to the qualities necessary for those who were to be ordained. The rules in the last chapter, the eighteenth, as to the training and education of future priests, were of great importance. All the bishops, it laid down, were to found institutions, seminaries in which boys could be trained for the priesthood from twelve years of age and upwards. This enactment, by which the theological faculties were by no means abolished, aimed at affording the opportunity of theological study, together with protection from moral dangers, to all youths, especially such as were without means.

Divine right was again not mentioned in the decree as to residence; several of the fathers, nevertheless, were of opinion that certain words in it might be interpreted in that sense. The number of those who objected, however, to this hotly debated decree, or who accepted it only conditionally, or objected to certain passages, was only eleven. The Bishop of Feltre, Francesco Campegio, protested against the decree, though he declared his readiness to submit to the decision of the Pope; all the other fathers gave their approval. The other reform decrees were accepted by a simple *placet*, with the exception of six votes. Finally, unanimous approval was given to the decree read at the close, appointing September 16th for the next Session, when the sacrament of Matrimony, and other doctrinal points which had not yet been decided, the provision of bishoprics, and other reforms, would be dealt with.

This happy ending of the seventh Session filled the Pope and the legates with the greatest joy, and confirmed them in their intention of completing as quickly as possible the remaining tasks of the Council. The policy of Philip II., however, put serious obstacles in their way. It soon became apparent that in Spain they were working for the prolongation of the Council, and the proposal of Count di Luna once more to invite the Protestants had no other object in view.[1]

[1] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 22, 1; STEINHERZ, III., 381; ŠUSTA, IV., 129 *seq.*

The consideration that the Council afforded him an excellent means of bringing pressure to bear on Pius IV., and of forcing him to concessions in other matters, was certainly the principal reason foi Philip's conduct.[1] The Pope understood this very well, but his superior statesmanship nevertheless enabled him to frustrate the aims of the Spanish king. While always strengthening the understanding with Cardinal Guise, which was of so great importance as far as his countrymen was concerned, Pius IV. understood in a masterly way how to complete the work begun by Morone, and to win over the Emperor to the conclusion of the Council. As an effective lever for this purpose he made skilful use of the recognition of Maximilian's election as king, and Morone stood loyally by the side of Pius IV. in all his efforts. As early as July 20th, the legate wrote to Ferdinand I., representing to him that a further prolongation of the proceedings of the Council could only be harmful to the Church, and begging him to agree to its conclusion, and to induce Philip II. to withdraw his opposition.[2]

At Trent, on July 20th, the legates laid before the fathers of the Council eleven canons on the sacrament of Matrimony, and a decree which declared clandestine marriages invalid, as well as those contracted by minors without the consent of their parents.[3] A considerable number of the fathers, among them the legate Hosius himself, were opposed to any change with regard to clandestine marriages, and on this and cognate questions there arose long and difficult discussions, which lasted far into the autumn.

Important deliberations on general reform were being carried on at the same time; in this connection, Pius IV. expressly declared that the Cardinals must also be reformed by the Council.[4] nor were the laity to be excepted from the

[1] See the letter of the legates of July 12, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 122.

[2] See Raynaldus, 1563, n. 160; Sickel, Konzil, 563; Steinherz, III., 382; Šusta, IV., 135.

[3] See Theiner, II., 313 *seq.*; Šusta, IV., 136.

[4] *Cf.* Pallavicini, 22, 1; Sägmüller, Papstwahlbullen, 161 *seq.*; Šusta, IV., 127.

general reform, a point of view which had long been maintained by persons of discernment. The nuncio Commendone, long before the reopening of the Council, and as the result of his observations in Germany, had drawn attention to the numerous usurpations of ecclesiastical goods and rights on the part of the civil authorities, which gravely violated canon law, and infringed on the liberties of the Church, adding a demand that, to the reform of the Curia, must be joined that of the princes and their governments.[1]

The remarks of Commendone on the oppression of the Church in Germany, even by Catholic princes, were fully justified. The German princes had been working successfully since the XIVth century to bring at least the whole of the "external affairs of the Church" into subjection to their authority, to obtain free disposal of ecclesiastical property, to fill all the lucrative ecclesiastical offices, and to exercise control over all ecclesiastical ordinances. In the confusion and distress of the XVth and XVIth centuries not a few Popes had made far-reaching concessions in this respect, and had permitted various princes to share in the regulation of purely ecclesiastical matters. These concessions, which could only be excused by the miseries of the times, soon came to be looked upon as a permanent right by the sovereigns, who, "where there was no question of faith involved," intended to govern "freely in the affairs of the ministers of the Church and their possessions." In open contradiction to the principles of canon law, according to which the Church possesses the property, and her various members are only granted its use, the officials of the princes and the nobility in Austria as in Bavaria disposed of ecclesiastical goods and foundations as they pleased.[2] It was hardly an exaggeration when Cardinal Truchsess maintained that even in Catholic states it was no longer the bishops who governed, but the princes and their officials.[3]

[1] See Döllinger, Beiträge, III., 310.

[2] See Janssen-Pastor, IV 15-16., 164 *seq.*; *Cf.* I 20., 753, and Vol. VII. of this work, p. 293 *seq.*

[3] Letter from Rome, September 17, 1563, in Janssen-Pastor, IV 15-16, 163 *seq.*

To a still greater degree was this the case in France and in the widespread dominions of the Spanish crown, in Naples, Sicily and Spain itself.[1] Pius IV. was therefore perfectly justified when, in April, 1563, he made complaints to the ambassador of Philip II. about the usurpation of ecclesiastical rights by the Spanish government, and threatened to lay the matter before the Council at Trent to be dealt with there. In saying this he referred especially to church patronage, the office of grand master, the Inquisition, etc. All clear-sighted people, and especially Cardinal Morone, were of opinion that when they were dealing with general reform in the Council, the princes must not be excepted.[2] In April the Bishop of Orvieto drew up a memorial on the encroachments of the secular princes in spiritual matters, and sent it to Rome.[3] On the strength of this Borromeo gave the legates strict injunctions on June 26th to place this subject on the agenda for the Council,[4] which was accordingly done.

At the end of July a detailed draft of reform in forty-two chapters was drawn up,[5] which was handed to the envoys of the princes, so that they might make their observations upon it. This draft was so comprehensive, that the idea, so firmly rooted in the minds of many of the envoys, that the Council would only occupy itself with the redress of unim-

[1] Fuller details in Vol. XVI. of this work

[2] Letter of Vargas of April 6, 1563, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 509.

[3] See RITTER, I., 171.

[4] Poichè ogn' uno ci dà adosso con questa benedetta riforma et par quasi che non s' indrizzino i colpi ad altro che a ferir l' autorità di questa santa sede et noi altri cardinali che siamo membri di quella, N.S^re^ dice che per l' amor di Dio lascino o faccino cantare ancora sopra il libro de li principi secolari et che in ciò non habbino rispetto alcuno, in le cose però che sono giuste et honeste, et anche in questo haveranno a procurare che non paia che la cosa venga da noi. ŠUSTA, IV., 100-1. *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 22, 9, 1.

[5] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 22, 1, 12; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 363 *seq.*; SICKEL, Konzil, 573 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 234 *seq.*; CONSTANT, Rapport, 333; ŠUSTA, IV., 140 *seq.*

portant matters in the organization of the Church, was completely destroyed. The envoys were all the more dismayed, as the thirty-ninth chapter contained a number of strict regulations tending to ensure the liberty of the Church against the interference and encroachment of the civil power. The first draft, which was subsequently much modified, was to the following effect: the princes are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, all interference in purely spiritual matters, while the observance of the ancient privileges of the Church is enjoined on them. The following demands are made on behalf of the Church: free jurisdiction, freedom in all matters which immediately or mediately concern the ecclesiastical forum, and, under limitations which were minutely detailed, exemption from taxes, burdens of state, and public offices which had been unlawfully imposed. Princes are not to confer or in any way grant expectancies to prelates or chapters, and they are to leave untouched ecclesiastical properties and rights, as well as the properties and rights of such lay persons as are under ecclesiastical patronage. The servants, soldiers and horses of princes must not in future be quartered in the houses of ecclesiastics or monasteries; the *exequatur* or so-called *placet* of the princes must be unconditionally abolished.

The representatives of Ferdinand I., whose zeal for reform had, since June, under the influence of the theological commission, again come to the fore with increased bitterness,[1] were the first to hand to the legates their views on the forty-two chapters of July 31st. On August 3rd the French and Portuguese envoys presented their observations, which the Imperial envoy at once sent to his master. On August 7th, the Spanish envoy, Count di Luna, submitted his remarks, and, true to his previous policy of obstruction, demanded that the reform commission should be made up by nations.[2]

[1] See the so-called third reform libellum of June 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 520 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 154 *seq.*

[2] See SICKEL, Konzil, 571 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 240 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV, 140 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, 163 *seqq.*

The demand that the civil authorities should also be submitted to reform roused a violent storm of protest among the great Catholic powers, all the more so as many of the requirements put forward were too strictly conceived, and were based upon a canonical point of view which, owing to the changed conditions, had become impossible.[1] It is beyond question that the whole subject of the reform of the princes had been brought forward for the purpose of moderating the reform requirements of the secular powers with regard to the spiritual authorities, by calling attention to their own shortcomings, but the opinion expressed at the time, that the strict secular reform had been so closely bound up with the ecclesiastical in order that both might be abandoned at the protest of the princes, was a wicked insinuation.[2] When even Ferdinand I. repeated this assertion,[3] it clearly shows the sway exercised over this well-meaning but easily influenced monarch by his advisers. It is not surprising that Philip II. at once made complaints in Rome, through his ambassadors, on the subject of the reform of the princes,[4] because, should the Council adopt the projected measures, Spain would be more affected than any other country, since the government of no other Catholic state allowed so much oppression of the Church as was permitted there.[5]

In the meantime Philip's envoy at Trent was endeavouring by subterfuges of every kind to bring about a delay in the activities of the Council. Although the Count di Luna had made countless observations upon the other articles of reform, he now refused to do so with regard to the reform of the princes, so that it might not seem that he in any way sanctioned it.[6] The difficulties which were thus caused for the

[1] See SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 163.

[2] The opinion of SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*

[3] Letter of Ferdinand I. to his orators at the Council of August 23, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 585.

[4] *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 22, 9, 2; Venice also raised objections; see CECCHETTI, II., 43 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work

[6] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 663.

legates were still further increased by the fact that the great differences of opinion on the sacrament of Matrimony, especially the prohibition of clandestine marriages, tended to become greater rather than less. This subject was discussed from July 24th to the 31st, again, upon a new formula from August 11th to the 23rd, and lastly, upon yet a third formula, from September 7th to the 10th.[1]

Notwithstanding the great difficulties which stood in the way of the settlement of the decree on Matrimony, as well as those on reform, Pius IV., convinced of the necessity of bringing the Council to an end without taking into consideration the opposition of Spain, urged the hurrying on of the proceedings with ever increasing vehemence.[2] In this respect the legates had already done all that they possibly could,[3] but the difficulties increased from day to day. They had at last, after repeated conferences, succeeded in finding a new formula for the articles on reform, which now consisted of thirty-six chapters. This was sent to the Emperor on August 20th. The last chapter treated of the reform of the princes in twelve articles.[4] Its form was so moderate that the legates entertained the hope that it would meet with universal approval. Great, therefore, was their astonishment and dismay when the Archbishop of Prague appeared on August 27th, and demanded in the name of the Emperor that they should abandon the reform of the princes.[5] They

[1] See THEINER, II., 314-34, 338-69, 391-7; PALLAVICINI, 22, 4.

[2] See the instructions of Borromeo to the legates of August 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 169 *seqq.*; the important letter from Borromeo and Pius IV. to the legates of August 7, in SICKEL, Beiträge, II., 149 *seqq.*; Borromeo's letter of August 14, in ŠUSTA, IV., 186, and the autograph letter from the Pope to the legates on the same day in SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 152.

[3] See their report of August 19, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 189 *seqq.*

[4] See THEINER, II., 371-86; SICKEL, Konzil, 582 *seq.*; KASSOWITZ, 256 *seq.*

[5] The instruction from the Emperor, of August 23, 1563 (in SICKEL, Konzil, 585; *cf.* KASSOWITZ 245) was brought by a courier from Vienna to Trent in three days.

very reasonably expressed their surprise that this request should now be made, since the Emperor had always insisted so strongly on general reform, and Morone was quite outspoken in telling the Archbishop of Prague his opinion. On former occasions bitter complaints had been made when the legates sought to learn the opinion of the Pope before they submitted questions to the Council, and yet the Pope was not only their prince, but also that of the Church. Now, however, when the Pope had practically waived this right, and at the same time empowered the Council to act in all matters without previous intimation to Rome, the Emperor wished to dictate to the Council that such and such an article is not to be dealt with. Neither the legates nor the fathers of the Council were prepared to submit to such a lowering of the Papal dignity, or such a violation of the freedom of the Council. At length, in order to avoid an open breach between the Emperor and the Council, they decided that the Archbishop of Prague should ask for further instructions from Ferdinand I., to which course Cardinal Guise also agreed.[1]

During these negotiations, Morone, in his easily understood excitement, had made use of such strong expressions that he thought it well to send a letter of explanation to the Emperor ; he remained, however, quite firm on the piont, and defended his views in a second letter which he addressed to Ferdinand in the attempt to dissuade him from his opposition to the arguments put forward by the legates. In this letter he submitted the following statements : the reform decree was in the first instance handed to all the envoys, so that it might, after it had been amended in accordance with their suggestions, finally be laid before the fathers. Several articles, to which the envoys had taken exception, we either altered or entirely withdrew. We have urgently begged every one of the envoys to give us his own views upon the matter, so that if anything now appears in the decree to which one or another takes exception, it is not our fault,

[1] *Cf.* the report of the legates of August 28, 1563, already used by Pallavicini, in Šusta, IV., 200 *seq.* *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 586 *seq.*

but that of the person who kept silent. It is, however, quite out of the question for us to let the whole decree lapse, or even to postpone it to another time, without causing the greatest scandal, throwing everything into confusion. Almost the whole of the bishops are convinced that if the reform of the whole ecclesiastical body is to be taken in hand, those obstacles must be removed by which the bishops are completely paralysed in the government of their churches by the civil authorities. Should those obstacles not be removed, the reform will be not only defective, but useless, and all the trouble which your majesty and we ourselves have taken will have been wasted. The whole of the contents of the decree correspond, not only with canon law, but also with laws which have been made by pious Emperors. Not all the oppressions suffered by the clergy, nor all the encroachments on the liberty of the Church are mentioned in it, many such things having been omitted on account of the circumstances of the times, especially such things as might disturb the peace of Germany, or seem to hamper the defence against the hereditary enemy of Christendom. As the opponents of our true religion are most violently bent on the expulsion and destruction of the bishops and other clergy, it is only right that the Council and the Catholic princes should support them in their ecclesiastical ministry, and uphold their dignity, especially as we may hope, in virtue of the regulations already issued, or about to be issued, to have as bishops men who are learned, prudent, eminently pious and worthy of respect; people cannot be brought back from vice to virtue, from false doctrines to true piety, by bishops who possess no real authority.[3]

At the same time as Morone was making these courageous remonstrances, the French government was preparing, by threats of extreme measures, to make the reform of the princes impossible. On August 28th the French envoys were instructed to retire, as a protest, to Venice, and to

[1] See SICKEL, Konzil, 588 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, III., 425, where there are details of the steps taken by Delfino with the Emperor, by the command of the legates.

cause the French bishops to leave, as soon as the Council touched upon the rights and liberties of the French crown. The power of the Council, so Charles IX. declared, was exclusively limited to the reform of the ecclesiastical body, and it had no authority to interfere in the affairs and rights of the state.[1]

The legates found themselves in an increasingly critical position, as the majority of the fathers insisted that the whole of the thirty-six articles, including that on the reform of the princes, should be submitted. The conferences on the first twenty-one chapters were begun on September 11th with a speech by Cardinal Guise, who spoke in words of praise of the readiness of the Pope and the legates to promote the work of reform. Among his remarks, his demand for a special decision as to the reform of the Cardinals met with great and almost universal approval.[2] It was found impossible to bring these conferences to an end before the Session fixed for September 16th, and for this reason, as well as on account of the great differences of opinion concerning the sacrament of Matrimony, Morone, at the General Congregation on September 15th, announced to the fathers that the Session appointed for the following day could not be held. His proposal to postpone it to St. Martin's day was accepted against a minority.[3]

On the afternoon of September 15th, the Imperial envoy delivered a letter of the 4th from Ferdinand I., which asked for a further adjournment of the reform of the princes. The legates replied that they could only delay the matter so long as the conferences on the first twenty-one chapters should last.[4]

The treatment of the reform of the princes was impatiently

[1] See Le Plat, VI., 194 *seq.*; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis II., 87 *seq.* *Cf.* Baguenault de Puchesse, 366.

[2] See Theiner, II., 397 *seqq.* *Cf.* Paleotto, *ibid.*, 663 *seq.*; Pallavicini, 23, 3; Šusta, IV., 237 *seq.*

[3] See Theiner, II., 406 *seq.*; Mendoça, 696 *seq.*; Šusta, IV., 242 *seq.*

[4] See Šusta, IV., 243 *seq.*

desired by the majority of the bishops, because they knew very well that it was a question of their own authority and independence. The difficult position in which the legates found themselves was further aggravated by the fact that they were not united among themselves. Cardinals Navagero and Hosius insisted so strongly, in the discussions on the sacrament of Matrimony, on their own special wishes, that the speedy close of the Council, so longed for by Morone, was continually delayed. Morone and Simonetta did not themselves agree upon several questions of reform; Simonetta defended the interests of the Curia and the College of Cardinals more energetically than Morone, against whom Cardinal Farnese in particular expressed his displeasure on this account.[1]

On September 16th the General Congregation continued its deliberations on the articles on reform, and the question of the exemption of the chapters especially led to violent discussions. The conferences were brought to a close on October 2nd, by a memorable speech from Lainez,[2] but before this an unexpected occurrence had taken place in the General Congregation of September 22nd.

The legates had been able to report to Rome on September 20th that, on the strength of fresh instructions, the French envoys, du Ferrier and Pibrac, had informed them that their government was pleased that the Council had undertaken the discussion of reform, and disapproved of the arbitrary departure of several of the French bishops from Trent. On this occasion the French envoys had expressed a desire to be allowed to bring forward in the General Congregation several matters concerned with reform, which were in themselves of small importance.[3] The legates made no difficulty about granting this request, and appointed the General Congregation of September 22nd for the purpose. On that occasion, however, du Ferrier made a speech which completely

[1] See Susta, IV., 263.

[2] See Theiner, II., 407 *seq.*; Beccadelli, II., 131; Mendoça, 698; Psalmaeus, 868 *seq.*; Pallavicini, 23. 3.

[3] See Susta, IV., 255.

and most painfully surprised the legates. The Frenchman began with a complaint of the delay in ecclesiastical reform, and then at once passed on to what mattered most, the actual plans for reform. He declared that this destroyed the freedom of the Gallican Church, and the authority of His Most Christian Majesty. For centuries, he continued, these monarchs had issued ecclesiastical laws which were in no way contrary to dogma, or injurious to the freedom of the bishops, as the latter were in no way prevented from residing the whole year round in their dioceses, from preaching daily the pure word of God, from leading sober, just and godly lives, and allowing the revenues of the Church to be used for the benefit of the poor! The Most Christian Kings had founded nearly the whole of the churches and had, as rulers of France, the right to dispose freely of the property and revenues of the clergy, as they did of those of their subjects in general, when the well-being and needs of the state required it. Moreover, they possessed this right, this power and authority, not from men but from God, who had given men kings, so that they should obey them. The fathers, therefore, must not do anything against these rights, or against Gallican freedom, otherwise it was his duty to protest, which he now did.[1]

This outburst on the part of du Ferrier, the offensive tone of which was still further increased by several ironical expressions, was bound to cause much displeasure to the fathers of the Council, and on the following day was severely condemned by Carlo Grassi. Bishop of Montefiascone.[2] The French bishops were also affected by the general feeling of disgust, the Archbishop of Sens going so far as to declare that du Ferrier intended to urge Charles IX. to follow in the footsteps of Henry VIII.[3] This opinion was shared by

[1] See the text of the speech in Le Plat, IV., 233 *seq.* On the impression it made, see the testimony collected by Šusta, IV., 271. See also Mendoça, 697 *seq.*; Baguenault de Puchesse, 366 *seq.*

[2] See Le Plat, VI., 241 *seq.*

[3] See Baguenault de Puchesse, 367 n. 2.

Morone, who regarded the situation as very dangerous, and feared a French schism. His principal hope of preventing matters from coming to an extremity lay in Cardinal Guise [1] the latter had not been present at the insulting address of du Ferrier, as he had started on September 18th, in company with several other French prelates and theologians, for his long projected visit to Rome.

Pius IV. received the French Cardinal, who reached Rome on September 29th,[2] with every imaginable sign of honour; Guise had apartments assigned to him in the Vatican, where the Pope paid him a very ceremonial visit.[3] The two discussed all the questions then pending in a long conversation, and with regard to du Ferrier's speech Guise gave the Pope the tranquillizing assurance that the envoy had never been instructed by his king to act in such a manner. In consequence of this, the shrewd Pius IV. ordered the legates on October 2nd to pay no attention to the French protest.[4] The Pope showed the greatest consideration to Cardinal Guise, and a complete understanding between the two was all the more easily reached as the French Cardinal was very glad to be again on good terms with the Pope, both for political and religious reasons.[5] In a consistory on October 8th, Pius IV. bestowed the greatest praise on the Cardinal, expressing at

[1] See Šusta, IV., 271 *seq.*

[2] *Report of Giacomo Tarreghetti, dated Rome, October 2, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See the reports in Sickel, Konzil, 609 *seq.*; Legaz. di Serristori 392 *seq.*; Giac. Soranzo, 148. *Cf.* Baguenault de Puchesse, 370. The journey of Cardinal Guise to Rome, which, with the mission of Morone to Innsbruck, forms one of the most important events in the third period of the Council, is deserving of treatment in a special monograph. The demands of Guise and the decisions made by Pius IV. with regard to them, are of very great interest; they have been gathered together and published for the first time by Šusta (IV., 339 *seq*).

[4] See the instruction of Borromeo of October 2, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 303 *seq.* *Cf.* Baguenault de Puchesse, 370 *seq.*

[5] See Baguenault de Puchesse, 370 *seq.*

the same time his hope of the speedy ending of the Council.[1] When Guise left Rome on October 19th,[2] Pius IV. and Borromeo sent letters to the legates at Trent, in which, amid many words of praise, the firm conviction was expressed that Guise would be true to his promises. "His interests," the Pope said, "are so closely bound up with ours, that there is no room for doubt." Consequently the legates were instructed to treat the Cardinal on his return to Trent exactly as if he were a legate; the same honour was also to be shown to Cardinal Madruzzo.[3] Guise deserved this confidence, for he indeed returned to Trent with the honest intention of giving his help in the best interests of the Church, so as to bring the Council to a speedy and honourable end.[4]

The decisive turn as to this question, which had become more and more heated, had taken place while Guise was still absent in Rome.

However widely the views of the two supreme heads of Christendom might differ on the subject of the Council and reform, there was, nevertheless, one subject which was calculated to bring them together; this was the Papal confirmation of Maximilian's election as King of the Romans, a matter in which the Emperor, who was now growing old, had an extraordinary interest.

Pius IV. had, on many occasions, proved himself to be an exceedingly adroit politician, but never was his skill more clearly shown than in this matter. As soon as Maximilian's election had taken place, on November 24th, 1562, very protracted negotiations had followed. The latest investigations have thrown complete light on these,[5] and have shown

[1] See Arco's report of October 9, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 609; ŠUSTA, IV., 570.

[2] See the *report of G. Tarreghetti, dated Rome, October 20, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See ŠUSTA, IV., 337 *seq.*

[4] See the *Relazione sommaria* in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 657.

[5] STEINHERZ, in Vol. III., of the Nuntiaturberichte, to whose excellent account in the Introduction p. xlii-xlviii, we must here

why Pius IV. changed from his originally favourable attitude. After Ferdinand I. had plainly shown his desire to influence the Council independently of the Pope, by the delivery of the reform libellum of June 6th, the happy idea came into the mind of Pius IV. to connect the confirmation of Maximilian's election with the Council, that is to say, to obtain Ferdinand's consent to the closure of the Council in exchange for such confirmation.[1] After long and tiresome negotiations, an agreement was at last reached on this basis. The task, as important as it was difficult, of acting as mediator, was undertaken by Delfino, the ambitious nuncio at the Imperial court, who succeeded in solving the question to the satisfaction of Pope and Emperor alike. This decision was reached at the beginning of October.

On the morning of October 10th, a letter from Delfino to the legates, dated October 4th, arrived in Trent, with the news that the Emperor had agreed that the Council should be closed at the next Session. Two days before this, at the request of almost all the envoys, it had been resolved to postpone the question of the reform of the princes until the following Session.[2] Delfino said that the Emperor had sent his envoys similar instructions, and had also sent them, so as to avoid all delay, a proposal for mediation in the question of ecclesiastical liberties.[3] The contents of this important message was confirmed on the same day by the Imperial envoys. The legates immediately announced the happy tidings to Rome, adding that they were endeavouring to make an alteration in the articles relating to the secular princes, and therefore begged for immediate instructions, which were sent to them as soon as possible.[4]

refer, *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*, for the part taken by Maximilian in the Emperor's decision. The brief of thanks sent to Maximilian on October 22, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 716.

[1] See STEINHERZ, III., xliii.

[2] See THEINER, II., 423 *seq.*

[3] STEINHERZ, III. 439, *seq.*

[4] ŠUSTA, IV., 305 *seq.*

Great joy was felt in Trent as well as in Rome, at this decision of the Emperor, and the satisfaction of Pius IV. was indescribable. He personally thanked the Imperial ambassador, Arco, and addressed glowing words of gratitude to Maximilian in the consistory on October 15th. On the same day the legates were instructed to hasten the proceedings of the Council as much as possible, and Borromeo wrote a special letter to Morone, telling him to be as active as possible in this sense, without regard for what the Spanish representative might say.[1]

Thanks to the early receipt of the Papal instructions, as well as to the zeal and skill of the legates, among whom Morone especially distinguished himself,[2] the still outstanding difficulties were overcome in a comparatively short time, and it was possible to keep to St. Martin's day as the date for the next Session. The legates, who had constantly to struggle against the Count di Luna's policy of obstruction, had already submitted a new, the fourth, version of the canons and reform decree on the sacrament of Matrimony, on October 13th.[3] As the result of the conferences[4] held on this on October 26th and 27th, the final version of the twelve canons and the ten reform chapters in question was drawn up. A commission of eighteen prelates was appointed to formulate anew the first twenty-one chapters on general reform, and they began their work on October 22nd. The new formula drafted by this commission was laid before the fathers of the Council on October 31st, and these once more discussed it in eleven Congregations, from November 2nd to the 8th. The definite form was decided on November 9th and 10th.[5]

A leading part in this favourable result was taken by Cardinal Guise,[6] who had returned from Rome on November 5th. He was not disheartened by the fact that his endeavours,

[1] See STEINHERZ, III., 465-6; ŠUSTA, IV., 327 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, IV., 375.

[3] See THEINER, II., 424.

[4] *Ibid.*, 427 *seqq.*

[5] See THEINER, II., 429-62; MENDOÇA, 705 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Paleotto in THEINER, II., 673; PALLAVICINI, 23, 6, 12.

when passing through Venice, to induce the French envoys who were staying there, to return to Trent, proved vain.[1] The tribute which, in the General Congregation of November 8th, he paid to the zeal of Pius IV. for reform, corresponded to the favourable account of the state of affairs in Rome which the austere Archbishop of Braga, who had also just returned from the Eternal City, had given before his arrival.[2]

The demand made by a majority of the fathers that a special chapter should undertake the reform of the College of Cardinals, caused great difficulty at the discussions on general reform. Those fathers who opposed this were of opinion that the matter must be left to the decision of the Pope. It is easy to understand that such a demand naturally caused great excitement in the Curia; both the Farnese Cardinals wrote in the sense of the whole Sacred College to Morone blaming him strongly for having allowed the Curia and the College of Cardinals to be burdened with the very strictest of reforms while the princes escaped altogether. Morone, whose own elevation had been due to the Farnese Pope, answered frankly, justifying his conduct on the ground of necessity, but deprecating exaggerated alarm.[3] The opposition of the influential Farnese, however, increased the dissensions at Trent as to how this matter was to be decided, for it was extremely difficult to hit upon the true mean between the two extremes. Eventually Morone found a solution; he associated the reform of the Cardinals with that of the bishops, and it might easily be taken for granted that the latter would avoid anything like exaggerated severity in their own affairs. Besides this a still graver danger would be avoided by Morone's conciliatory proposal, namely that of fresh discussions on the mutual relations of the Pope and the Council.[4]

[1] See BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE 370.

[2] See THEINER, II., 440, 457; PALLAVICINI, 23, 7, 7 and 9; ŠUSTA IV. 367.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 23, 7; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen 171 *seq.*

[4] See the *Relazione sommaria* in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. III., 657; SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 174.

All those who did not possess the right to vote were excluded from the last General Congregation on November 10th, to which all the canons and decrees were once again submitted; in previous General Congregations the more important theologians had been admitted. The canons and decrees on the sacrament of Matrimony were first brought forward, and before proceeding to the consideration of the decrees on discipline, the resolution was adopted to add to all decrees the clause: "in everything and always without prejudice to the authority of the Holy See." All questions submitted, including the declaration of the right of proposition, in the twenty-first chapter of the reform decree, were almost unanimously accepted.[1]

After the happy issue of these preliminary proceedings, the XXIVth Session, the eighth under Pius IV., was held on November 11th, 1563.[2] There were present the four legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and eighty-six bishops, five abbots, six generals of orders, and eleven envoys. High Mass was celebrated by an Italian, Cornaro, Bishop of Treviso, and the sermon preached by a Frenchman, Richardot, Bishop of Arras. The doctrinal chapter on Matrimony, in twelve canons, and the reform decree on the same subject, in twelve chapters, were first submitted. The first of these chapters declared clandestine marriages null and void; for the valid celebration of marriage, the presence of the parish priest, or, with his permission or that of the ordinary, of another priest, and of two or three witnesses, were necessary. In the chapters that followed there were regulations concerning the impediments to matrimony, which were in some ways limited, the punishment of those who abducted women, the marriages of *vagi*, laws against concubinage, or violations of the freedom of the marriage contract, and finally regulations concerning the forbidden times. While a section of the fathers

[1] See PALLAVICINI 24, 2.

[2] See THEINER, II., 463-5; PALEOTTO, *ibid.*, 674 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 193-6; PALLAVICINI, 23, 8 *seq.*; BECCADELLI, Monumenti, II., 149; ŠUSTA, IV., 379 *seq.*

violently opposed a good number of the regulations, the majority accepted these decrees. Then followed the reform decree, in twenty chapters. It contained useful regulations as to the nomination to bishoprics, and the appointment of Cardinals, the holding of provincial and diocesan synods, the visitation of dioceses, the exercise of the office of preaching, legal procedure against bishops, the extension of the dispensing power of the bishops, the instruction of the people on the sacraments and the Mass, public penances and the office of penitentiary, the visitation of exempted churches, the juridical import of titles of honour, the qualities and duties of cathedral officials, the accumulation of several benefices, the constitution of regular parochial deaneries, the keeping intact of beneficiary goods, the benefices of cathedral and collegiate churches, the administration of dioceses during a vacancy in the see, the abolition of the union of several benefices in one person, if the obligations connected therewith entailed the duty of residence, the prohibition of expectancies, provisions, reservations, and other similar privileges in the case of vacant benefices, on the manner of appointment to vacant parishes, and ecclesiastical procedure at law. A special decree was added to this which gave the following explanation of the much discussed right of proposition: "As the council desires that its decrees may leave no room for doubt in the future, it explains the words contained in the decree published in the first Session under Pius IV., namely that the Council shall, *proponentibus legatis*, deal with such subjects as shall seem suitable to end religious controversies, to set a bridle on evil tongues, and to reform the abuses of corrupt customs, by declaring that it has not had the intention, by the words in question, of changing the usual manner of dealing with affairs in General Councils, nor of investing thereby anyone with a new right, or of withdrawing any which may already exist."[1]

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 23, 10-12; KNÖPFLER in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., XI², 2109. Luna too was in the end satisfied with the aforesaid declaration (see the report of the legates of November 8, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 367). Pius IV. was very

At the voting on the reform decree so many divergent votes were given in the case of chapters III., V., and VI., that after the Session these had to be once more referred to the commission appointed for the drawing up of the decree, and it was only on December 3rd that it was possible to publish it in the amended form decided upon between November 12th and 15th.[1] The eighth Session had begun at half past nine in the morning, and had lasted until half past seven in the evening.

With general consent the next Session was fixed for December 9th, with the power, if necessary, to anticipate that date. The still undecided chapter on the exemptions of cathedral chapters, as well as other questions of reform which had not yet been dealt with, were to be treated in this Session. Pius IV. sanctioned all the decrees of the XXIVth Session, and addressed letters of thanks to the persons principally concerned, at the same time urging the speedy end of the Council.[2]

The legates were in no need of any such exhortation. Supported by the wish of Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., the Kings of Portugal and Poland, the Republic of Venice and the other Italian governments, they did their utmost, in spite of the opposition of di Luna, to bring about a successful conclusion of the Council. Morone, above all, undisturbed by calumnies and enmity, worked for this end.[3] He succeeded in finding a way out of the difficult question of the exemption of the cathedral chapters; that great abuses existed in this matter was undeniable, but the desire of Philip II. to have them removed was by no means disinterested. He wished to have the power of the chapters limited as much as possible, principally because his influence, which in consequence of the royal

pleased that the affair had been settled by a synodal decree and not by a brief (see PALLAVICINI, 24, 2, 1). As to the faculties granted to the bishops see MERGENTHEIM, I., 84 *seq.*

[1] See THEINER, II., 475-6.

[2] PALLAVICINI, 24, 2.

[3] RANKE (Päpste, I[6]., 222) is of opinion: "The Catholic Church owes to him, rather than to anyone else, the happy issue of the Council."

bestowal of the bishoprics was already very considerable, would thereby be much increased. The Pope was obliged to resist this, so he and the legates espoused the cause of the chapters. On account of the dependence of the Spanish bishops on their government there was reason to fear that they might allow themselves to be led by the will of Philip II., if the votes were taken by word of mouth. The legates therefore resolved that on this occasion the votes should be made in writing, and in this manner they gained an important majority for the chapters. Guise skilfully mediated with the Spanish bishops, who were now satisfied to accept a much less extensive amplification of their faculties.[1]

On November 13th Morone summoned the legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, as well as twenty-five other prelates of different nations, to a meeting, and impressed upon them the necessity of bringing the Council to a close with the next Session. Guise also spoke urgently in favour of a conclusion, painting in strong colours the dangerous state of France, and alluding to the national council which was threatened there. The Bishops of Lerida and Leon were alone in wishing that the King of Spain should first give his consent. The Archbishop of Granada, on the other hand, was unconditionally in favour of the closing of the Council. The dangers arising from the possible decease of the Pope or the Emperor, and the inconveniences which had arisen from the long absence of the bishops from their dioceses, were urgent reasons in favour of this view. It was, therefore, resolved to resume the discussion of the reform decrees already submitted. With regard to the reform of the princes they approached the task with great moderation, as the secular power would very soon be required for the enforcement of the decrees. They therefore adopted that formulation of the decree, as to which the Pope had come to an agreement with the Emperor. In this the prescriptions of earlier Coun-

[1] See the *Relatione sommaria* in the Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., III., 657; RANKE, Päpste, I⁶., 224. *Cf.* also MENDOÇA, 705 *seq.*; SICKEL, Konzil, 636 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 24, 4, 11.

cils and canons were merely renewed, the anathemas being replaced by paternal admonitions.[1] With regard to the questions of dogma which were still in arrears, such as the doctrines of Purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of the saints, and the veneration of their images and relics, it was only necessary to gather together all that had been decided in former Councils, in such a way as to remove abuses, but without entering upon discussions. On account of the general feeling of weariness even the envoys of the princes agreed to this procedure.[2]

The decisions arrived at on November 13th were laid by Morone before the General Congregation two days later, and the remaining fourteen chapters of the reform decree were then discussed. As the last one, that on the reform of the princes, had been given a very mild and elastic form, it was necessary that ecclesiastical reform should be modified as well.[3]

The discussions upon this lasted from November 15th to the 18th, on which date the six other reform chapters

[1] Šusta, IV., 326 *seq.*

[2] See Paleotto in Theiner, II., 675 *seq.*; Mendoça, 711 *seq.*; Pallavicini, 24, 2, 3; Baguenault de Puchesse, 384; Šusta, IV., 385 *seq.*

[3] "That the reform of the laity should thus have failed," such is the verdict of Sägmüller (Papstwahlbullen, 181), "cannot be imputed to Pius IV. We should rather recognize in it his great prudence and his practical grasp of the whole state of affairs at that time. Nor can it be regarded as so great a mistake that the reform of the Curia turned out to be milder than was somewhat unwisely desired in certain quarters, for, in the great uplifting of the Catholic Church which followed upon the Council of Trent, Rome maintained her position as the leader in this matter. And if, in the failure of the reform of the laity, no decision was arrived at in the matter of the interference of the princes in the Papal elections, and consequently there was no express prohibition of such a thing, yet this had already been provided against in another way, namely in Par. 26 of the bull *In eligendis.*" (October 9, 1562).

were submitted.[1] To these, on November 20th, was added a decree upon the reform of the regulars, which was discussed from November 23rd to the 25th.[2]

On November 27th the Spanish envoy made a protest against these steps for bringing the Council to such a hurried close, whereupon Morone again summoned a special meeting at his residence on November 28th ; all present again spoke unanimously in favour of closing the Council. The Archbishop of Granada was alone in demanding that, fifteen days after the coming Session, yet another should be held. The majority of the fathers would not agree to this, but determined to prepare the dogmatic questions already mentioned for the Session appointed for December 9th.[3]

On November 16th Hosius had informed Commendone that the hopes of a successful ending of the Council had never been so great as they were at present. Cardinal Guise urged haste, and threatened that if the proceedings were drawn out till Christmas he and all the French bishops would leave Trent. The envoys of the Emperor and the other princes were similarly insistent, so that, unless something unexpected should occur, the desired goal seemed likely to be reached in a very short time.[4]

[1] See THEINER, II., 480 *seq.* ; MENDOÇA 712 *seq.* ; PALLAVICINI, 24, 3.

[2] See THEINER, II., 4,5 *seq.* ; MENDOÇA, 713 *seq.*

[3] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 67,, *seq.* ; MENDOÇA, 716 ; PALLAVICINI, 24, 4 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 415 *seq.*, 420 *seq.*

[4] *Nunquam spe fuimus maiore celerius absolvendi concilii quam nunc. Urget Lotaringius cardinalis, ac si fuerit extractum ad natalem usque christianum, se cum suis omnibus Gallorum episcopis discessurum hinc minatur, nullus ut ex eis adfuturus sit. Quomodo concilii decretis erit subscribendum ; quae res non mediocre nobis calcar addidit ad festinandum, nam si prius Galli discederent quam esset concilium absolutm, dubitari posset num esset oecumenicum. Urgent autem hoc ipsum et Caes. M^tis oratores, quibus etiam alii non dissentiunt. Itaquo nisi quid evenerit ex improviso, videmur iam optatum concilii finem esse brevi consequuturi, quem ut faustum ecclesiae suae Deus esse velit, supplex maiestatem eius imploro. Hosius to Commendone,

The unexpected, however, did occur. On November 29th and 30th the representative of Philip II., the Count di Luna, summoned the Spanish bishops, and such Italians as were subject to Spanish rule, to his house, in order to bring about, through their means, a prolongation of the Council. Only two or three of those who appeared, however, shared the views of the envoy.[1] The last of these meetings finished at seven o'clock in the evening. Two hours later, a courier, sent from Rome by the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, arrived at di Luna's house with the news that the Pope was mortally ill. Soon afterwards Morone and Simonetta received a letter from Cardinal Borromeo, dated November 27th, telling of the grave illness of the Pope, accompanied by a certified statement from the physicians. A postscript announced the very urgent wish of Pius IV. that the closing of the Council should be hurried on in every possible way.[2] Haste was absolutely necessary, for a schism was to be feared, on account of the mutual dispute between the Council and the Cardinals in Rome concerning the right of electing a new Pope; not only were the legates convinced of this, but also Guise and Madruzzo.[3] The legates, therefore, immediately summoned the envoys and the most important prelates, in order to lay the threatened danger before them. All, with the exception of the representatives of Philip II. and several of the Spaniards, declared themselves agreeable to the last Session of the Council being held at once, and a special meeting of the prelates, summoned on December 2nd, also agreed to this. A General Congregation was held on the same day, which, with the utmost speed, prepared the whole of the material waiting for publication. On account

dated Trent, November 16, 1563 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[1] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 678; MENDOÇA, 716; PALLAVICINI, 24, 4; ŠUSTA, IV., 415 *seq.*, 420 *seq.*

[2] See ŠUSTA, IV., 431 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the retrospect in the *letter of Hosius to Commendone, dated Trent, December 7, 1563 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

of the great number of subjects, the sitting had to last for two days, and was held on December 3rd and 4th. It was also expressly resolved that the legates should afterwards seek the confirmation of the Pope in the name of the whole Council.[1] During the night better news arrived as to the Pope's condition,[2] but the legates and deputies adhered to the resolution they had taken, and worked until midnight to clear away and settle the last difficulties which had been raised against some of the decrees, partly by the envoys and partly by the fathers.[3]

On the morning of December 3rd, the XXVth and last Session of the Council, the ninth under Pius IV., was opened.[4] High Mass was celebrated by Zambeccaro, Bishop of Sulmona, and the sermon was preached by Girolamo Ragazzoni, Bishop of Nazianzen and coadjutor of Famagosta. The decrees

[1] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 678 *seq.*; MENDOÇA, 717; PALLAVICINI, 24, 4; ŠUSTA, IV., 434 *seq.*, 437 *seq.*

[2] The opinion that the illness of Pius IV. was an invention, or purposely exaggerated, is untenable (see SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 177). To the evidence already printed (*cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 643 *seq.* Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 154) may be added the statements of the Mantuan ambassador, Giacomo Tarreghetti, who wrote on December 1: *Dopo che io scrissi l' altra mia a V. Ecc^a^, N.S. è stato grandemente oppresso dal male, non senza grandissimo pericolo di vita, per quello si diceva publicamente, imperoche ad un tratto era tormento dalla podagra et similmente dal catarro et anco dalla febre. His *report of December 4, 1563 (*cf.* ŠUSTA, IV., 449 *seq*, 454) announces an improvement. According to a *letter of December 8, the Pope on that day was free from fever, and again granted audiences (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Serristori, too, in his *letter of December 3, 1563, notes that at first Pius IV. had been considered to be in a hopeless condition by the physicians and everybody else (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 24, 5.

[4] See THEINER, II., 502-14; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 209-17; PSALMAEUS, 876 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 24, 5-8; BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, 391 *seq.*; KNÖPFLER, in the Freiburger Kirchenlex., XI^2^., 2111 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, IV., 441 *seqq.*

on Purgatory, the invocation of the Saints, and the veneration of their relics and images, were read and almost unanimously accepted. The same was done with the decree on the reform of the regulars, the twenty-two chapters of which contained regulations on the observance of the rules of the orders, the property of communities as well as of individuals, the number of the members, the foundation of monasteries, the enclosure of convents of nuns, the election of superiors, the visitation of convents, whether exempt or non-exempt, the confessions of nuns, the exercise of the cure of souls by regulars, the settlement of suits, criminal procedure, vows and novices, freedom of entry, the treatment of "apostates" and benefices held in commendam. With regard to these last, some of the fathers wished that they should be entirely abolished, but Guise had already prevented this in the General Congregation.

The general reform decree comprised the most various subjects in twenty chapters. It insisted on simplicity in the houses of the bishops and also of the Cardinals, recommended caution in imposing the sentence of excommunication, made rules as to the profession of faith to be made by prelates and other ecclesiastical officials, as well as the professors in Catholic universities, foundations for masses, the visitation of exempted chapters, the abolition of expectancies of ecclesiastical benefices, the administration of hospitals, the right of patronage, the settlement of lawsuits, the lease of ecclesiastical property, the payment of tithes, burial fees, the administration of benefices entailing the cure of souls, and the punishment of clerical concubinage. The nineteenth chapter pronounced excommunication on duellists, their seconds and supporters, and forbade Christian burial to those who fell in a duel. Even the onlookers at a duel were subjected to excommunication. There next followed, as the twentieth chapter, a "strong exhortation to all the princes to maintain and protect the rights and immunities of the Church." In this respect all the earlier canons and constitutions were renewed, and the princes were exhorted to make it possible for the bishops to reside in their dioceses

in peace and dignity. The twenty-first and last chapter contained the clause that the authority of the Apostolic See must be held inviolate against all the decisions of the Council. The acceptance of the reform decree took place with an almost miraculous unanimity; it was only with regard to the last two chapters that some remarks were made. After it had lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until nearly five in the evening, the Session, as had been previously arranged in the General Congregation, was adjourned till the following day. Besides the four legates, there were present the two Cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and fifty bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of orders, and eleven envoys of the princes.

After the Session, a large majority, among whom was Guise, expressed a wish for a decree on indulgences. Morone was opposed to this as he feared a further delay in concluding the Council, as well as undue precipitancy in the matter, but he was forced at last to yield to the general desire. A decree on indulgences was framed during the night on the basis of the previous discussions, and this was presented very early on December 4th to a General Congregation, in spite of further opposition on the part of Morone.[1] Then they repaired to the Cathedral, where the Archbishop of Catania celebrated High Mass, after which, before anything else, the decree on indulgences was read. This declared that indulgences were salutary and that the Church had the power to grant them; the abuses committed by the collectors of money for indulgences was met by a regulation which very strictly forbade all manner of gain in the matter. With regard to the other abuses in the matter of indulgences, which on account of their multiplicity were not specifically mentioned, the bishops were to discuss these in the provincial synods, and to refer them to the Pope in order that he might remove them. The next decree dealt with the observance of fast and feast days; another dealt with the publication of the Index, the catechism, the breviary and the missal,

[1] See THEINER, II., 680.

these latter matters being referred to the Pope. Then the Council declared that from the regulations as to the order of precedence observed among the envoys on this occasion, no one could claim any rights, while at the same time the rights of no one were impugned. Finally a decree was read concerning the observance and acceptance of the Council's decisions.

After the decrees had been approved, they proceeded to read once more all the decisions of the preceding Sessions. Finally the fathers were again asked whether they approved of the closure of the Council, and the confirmation of its decrees by the Pope. All gave their assent, the Archbishop of Granada alone declaring the Papal confirmation to be unnecessary. With the words "Andate in pace," the first president, Morone, declared the Council closed. The decrees were confirmed by the signature of two hundred and fifty-five fathers: four Cardinal legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies for those who were absent, and seven generals of orders.[1]

When the acclamations, led by Cardinal Guise after the manner of ancient Councils, resounded through the Cathedral of Trent and proclaimed the conclusion of the great work, many of the fathers of the Council could not restrain their tears.[2] They were all affected by the solemnity of the moment, for they felt that the hand of God had turned over a page in the history of His Church.

[1] See PALLAVICINI, 24, 8, 13. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 509-13. For the signatures see EHSES in the Abhandlungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Jahresbericht fur 1917, p. 50.

[2] See Paleotto in THEINER, II., 680; MENDOÇA, 719.

CHAPTER XI

Significance of the Council of Trent

In spite of all the disturbances, both from within and from without, in spite of all the delays and obstructions, as well as the many human weaknesses which had come to light during the course of its proceedings, the Council had accomplished a mighty work, and one of decisive importance.[1]

It was true that in spite of every effort, no restoration had been effected at Trent of that unity of faith, on account of which from the first the Council had been so ardently longed for, although there had been no lack on its part of invitations to the followers of the new beliefs. "We have," said the preacher at the Session of December 4th, "chosen this city, at the entrance into Germany, on the very threshold, so to speak, of their house, in order to remove all suspicion from their minds, we have refused to be guarded by troops, we have issued letters of safe-conduct which they themselves have framed, we have waited long for them, we have begged and implored them to come and gain knowledge from the light of the truth." But in the end the hand that had been stretched out had been rejected in the most scornful manner; the last

[1] *Cf.* H. Swoboda, Das Konzil von Trient, sein Schauplatz, Verlauf und Ertrag, Vienna, 1912. Here E. Tomek (p. 53 *seqq.*) has treated of the Council as the landmark in the history of dogma; J. Lehner (p. 67 *seqq.*) works out in the discussions the things relating to the Holy Eucharist, and F. M. Schindler (p. 79 *seqq.*) the Christian ideal of life; the editor (p. 87 *seqq.*) gives an appreciation of the pastoral spirit of the Council, and F. Zehntbauer (p. 103 *seqq.*) of the decrees on canon law. There is nothing further in the work of P. Deslandres, Le concile de Trente et la réforme du clergé catholique, Paris, 1909. For the medal struck by Pius IV. to commemorate the Council, see Bonanni, I., 275.

hope of coming to an understanding had failed, the breach was now complete. It was necessary to grow accustomed to the thought that the unity of the family of the Christian nations, that most precious heritage of the middle ages, had been for ever broken, and that a new epoch had begun.

However painful this outlook may have been, the breach had brought with it, on the other hand, that clearing up of the religious position which had so long been needed. There could no longer be any doubt as to what was Catholic and what was not, and that religious uncertainty, which had confused the understanding of so many Catholics, and had paralysed so much activity, was now at an end. "This is the belief of us all, this is our unanimous conviction, to which, in token of our agreement and acceptance, we now sign our names. This is the faith of St. Peter and the apostles, this is the faith of the fathers and of all true believers." Thus, after the reading of the decrees of the Council, had Cardinal Guise exclaimed, in the midst of the acclamations at the last Session, and in the full consciousness that their agreement would be handed down, and renewed again and again, to the uttermost bounds of the earth, and to the end of time, the fathers had unanimously answered: "So do we believe, so do we judge, so do we append our names." Error had been judged, the old consciousness of the faith had found a new and exact expression, simple in its form, and definite in its facts.

The "purity of the Gospel" which was always on the lips of the adherents of the new faith, formed the starting point for the Council's pronouncements. For the assembled bishops, however, there could be no question of bringing the "pure Gospel" out of a hiding place where it had lain concealed during more than a thousands years of oblivion; for them it was but a question of preserving the purity of the old and never-forgotten doctrines of Christ, by the removal of error. To them, moreover, the Gospel was not only that which had been written down by the evangelists and apostles, but all that had been preached by Christ and the apostles, and had been handed down by the Church over and above the Holy Scriptures. The first and fundamental error of the innovators,

that the Holy Scriptures are the exclusive source of faith, is thus rejected. After having decided which books belong to the Holy Scriptures, they replied to that other fundamental principle of Protestantism, the claim for private judgment, by the decision that no one shall be permitted to oppose his own opinions to that of the whole Church.[1]

Thus, in the first dogmatic decrees, the principal question which divided the old and the new beliefs was touched upon, in that the differences which divided them lay not only in the actual dogmas which were accepted or rejected, but much more in the reason why each article of belief was accepted or rejected, and in the difference of opinion as to the sources of faith, and the standpoint which the individual had to take up with regard to them.

But the Council also had to instruct the faithful in the particular distinctive doctrines, or at least in those which were most important. Here again attention was directed in the first place to those errors which formed the foundation of the doctrinal teaching of the new system of belief, the doctrines of original sin and justification. This subject was of the utmost importance, not only for the faith, but also for the Christian life. Consequences of the most far-reaching importance might result, should such doctrines make their way among the masses of the people, as that the will of man is not free, and is purely passive as regards the matter of salvation, or that good works have no value for salvation.[2] On the other hand it was by no means easy to give precise and satisfactory expression, from every point of view, to the principles living in the consciousness of faith in the Church, as to the manner of justification. There were no decisions of former Councils upon which it was possible to lean; the older theologians had made scarcely any pronouncements as to

[1] Sess. 4. *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 258 *seqq.*

[2] The Tridentine decree on Justification "ought to be regarded with gratitude, not only by the pastoral theologian, but also by anyone who still retains any feeling for moral freedom, and for the ideals of human dignity." SWOBODA, 91.

justification,[1] while the polemical writings of Catholic scholars of later times were to some extent tainted by the error of double justice. Thus the Council was in this faced by its most difficult task; it accomplished it brilliantly, and to the complete satisfaction of all the fathers of the Council, after arduous labours which occupied seven months of its time.[2]

The doctrine of the Sacraments, by means of which justification is granted, increased, and restored, forms the subject of the decisions of the Sessions that follow, from the VIIth to the XXIVth inclusively. The doctrine of the Eucharist as a sacrament is treated in an especially detailed manner in the XIIIth, and in connection therewith that of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the XXIInd Session. In the VIIth Session, in which the sacraments in general, with baptism and confirmation, were dealt with, the Council was content with rejecting the errors of the innovators in short propositions. With the next dogmatic decision, in the XIIIth Session, it reverted to the procedure adopted in the VIth Session, namely,

[1] "In eo [articulo de peccato originali] habebamus et sancta concilia et multa sanctorum Patrum dicta. . . . At in articulo de iustificatione nihil tale habemus, sed *primi sumus*, qui isto modo materiam istam aggredimur" (Pacheco in MERKLE, I., 82); *cf.* CARD. CERVINI, *ibid.*, 81, and EHSES, II., 257; PALLAVICINI, 8, 2, 2. JOS. HEFNER, Die Enstehungsgesch. des Trienter Rechtfertigungsdekretes, Paderborn, 1909. ST. EHSES, Zwei Trienter Konzilsvota (Seripando and Salmeron), 1546. ISIDOR CLARIUS in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XXVII. (1913) 20 **seqq.*, 129 *seqq.* HEFNER, Voten (di Is. Clarius) vom Trienter Konzil, Würzburg, 1912 (*cf.* EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 25 **seq.*). The origin of the decree on original sin is treated by W. KOCH in Tübingen Quartalsch. XCV. (1913), 430 *seq.*, and F. CAVALLERA in the Bulletin de littérature ecclés., 1913, 241 *seq.*; on that of the reform decree on preaching, see J. E. RAINER, in Zeitschr. für kath. Theol., XXXIX (1915), 256 *seq.* EHSES (V., xiv. n. 3) gives for the first time a satisfactory explanation of the absence of the clause relating to the Immaculate Conception in several of the earliest impressions of the decree; *cf.* also CAVALLERA in Recherches de science relig., IV. (1913), 270 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 337 *seq.*

that the Catholic doctrine should first be systematically set forth, with proofs, and only then were the errors opposed to it condemned in short canons. The fathers of the Council had the great advantage when making decrees on the sacraments, that the subject had already been exhaustively discussed by the scholastic theologians. Where the opinions of the scholastics were not in agreement, the question was either evaded or left open, as not yet being ripe for a decision, or else not of importance to the faith. The XXVth and last Session simply promulgates some decrees, partly dogmatic, on Purgatory, the cultus of the saints, relics, images and indulgences.

No formal, definitive, decision was pronounced at Trent with regard to a very important doctrine : that of the primacy of the Roman See. The Council, however, often calls the Roman Church the mother and mistress of all the churches ;[1] it ordered that at the acceptance of the Council's decisions at each of the provincial synods, and at the reception of any ecclesiastical dignity, all must promise true obedience to the Pope.[2] The Council also ordained that its decrees should only have force subject to the maintenance of the rights of the Roman See.[3] It recognized that the Pope, in virtue of his office, has to care for the whole Church,[4] and that it fell to him to provide for the holding of an ecumenical Council.[5]

[1] Si quis dixerit in ecclesia Romana, quae omnium ecclesiarum mater est et magistra, non esse veram de baptismi sacramento doctrinam : anathema sit., Sess. 7, de baptismo, can. 3. *Cf.* Sess. 14, de extr. unctione c. 3 ; sess. 25, de delectu ciborum ; sess, 22, doctrina de sacrif. missae c. 8. *Cf.* the Professio fidei Tridentinae.

[2] Sess. 25, de ref. c. 2 ; *cf.* sess. 24 c. 12.

[3] Sess. 25, de ref. c. 21 ; *cf.* sess. 7, de ref. Prooem.

[4] Sollicitudinem universae ecclesiae ex muneris sui officio debet. Sess. 24, de ref. c. 1 ; *cf.* sess. 14, de poenit, c. 7 : Pontifices maximi pro suprema potestate sibi in ecclesia universa tradita causas aliquas . . . suo potuerunt peculiari iudicio reservare.

[5] The difficulties which might arise in the acceptance or carrying into effect of the conciliar decrees, would be overcome, so the Council hoped, by the Pope " vel etiam concilii generalis celebratione, si necessarium iudicaverit." Sess. 25 Contin., De recipiendis et observandis decretis concilii.

Finally the Council recognized, *de facto*, the primacy of the Pope by submitting, in the last of its decrees, the decisions arrived at to Papal confirmation.

The denial of the Papal supremacy on the part of the innovators was sufficiently answered by these decisions, but Gallican views as to the primacy, and especially the question whether the Pope was subject to an ecumenical Council, were not expressly decided at Trent. On account of the uncertainty of the religious position in France, it was to be feared that a formal condemnation of this doctrine, the evil inheritance of the XVth Century, might give rise to a schism.[1]

As regards everything else, the " most important " doctrines of the innovators[2] were condemned by the Council. The old Church, which had been defamed and said to be dead, had proved her vitality in a striking and most efficacious manner. If Luther had attained to great success, through his superiority as a writer endowed with a great command of language, the discussions and decrees of the Council at Trent displayed a superiority of another kind, the superiority of ripe theological science, penetrating discernment, and a deep understanding of the coherence of Christian doctrine.

The reform decrees of the Council are no less striking a testimony to the spirit and strength of the old Church. She had been attacked in every way, in word, in writing, and in picture ; she had been represented as the kingdom of Anti-Christ, and the sink of iniquity, but behold ! the calumniated Church had risen again, and her very rising was a proof that the spirit of Paul and Elias was still alive in her.

[1] Later on, in the times of Louis XIV. and Joseph II., they likewise could not appeal to a conciliar decision against the obscuring of the doctrine of the faith on this point. To the great detriment of the Church the ideas of the time of the Council of Basle could therefore continue to flourish, and the Church to be disturbed by Gallicanism, Febronianism and lastly by the school of Döllinger.

[2] Sancta synodus id potissimum curavit, ut praecipuos haereti corum nostri temporis errores damnaret. Sess. 25 Contin., de recip. et observ. decr.

The abuses with which the Church had so often been reproached are neither denied nor extenuated in the reform decrees. The very first sentence of the first decree candidly acknowledges that ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed, and that the morality of both clergy and people was at a low ebb.[1] Nevertheless, the fathers, with a holy earnestness and zeal, which stand out in every decree, and, so to speak, in every sentence, set themselves to stop this depravity, and to restore the original purity in every respect. It was not enough for them to attack merely the grossest abominations, but with a high idealism, which can only be explained by the consciousness that the true Church of Christ has divine powers at her disposal, which need but to be awakened to cause everything to blossom forth again in all its former beauty, they fixed their hopes on the highest aims. They would lend no ear to the advice that they should meet at least the worst excesses of a depraved clergy by allowing the marriage of priests.[2] They do not shrink from reminding the worldly prelates of a precept of the first centuries of the Church, according to which the table and household of a bishop must be simple and moderate;[3] they lay it down as a principle that only they should be consecrated as bishops whose lives, from boyhood to mature age, have been spent in the praiseworthy exercises of ecclesiastical duties,[4] who are filled with the knowledge that they are chosen, not for their own benefit, not for riches or luxury, but to work and to suffer for the honour of God.[5] The same requirements were also extended to the Cardinals.[6]

The whole reform plan of the fathers of the Council is built

[1] [Synodus] ad restituendam collapsam admodum ecclesiasticam disciplinam depravatosque in clero et populo christiano mores emendandos se accingere volens. Sess. 6, de ref, c. 1.

[2] *Cf.* sess. 24, can. 9.

[3] Sess. 25, 2. 1. In the notes that follow the reference is in each case to the decree on reform.

[4] Sess. 6, c. 1.

[5] Sess. 25, c. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* and sess. 24, c. 1.

upon the conviction that the Church, in her organization, possesses both the possibility and the means of moral rejuvenation. According to their idea, the bishops are the chosen representatives of the reform, from which must proceed the whole of the new life. Consequently, the fathers began their work of reform with themselves, for the integrity of those who are in authority, in the words of Leo the Great, is the salvation of those who are subject.[1]

At the beginning of the exhortations to the bishops stands a requirement, concerning the nature of and reason for which such violent disputes had arisen, the requirement that the bishop must not remain away from his own flock.[2] The residence of the bishops appeared so important to the fathers, that in the introduction to the reform decree of the VIIth Session, they at once speak of the business begun "concerning residence and reform,"[3] and towards the end of the Council they once more return to the duty of residence of the bishops,[4] as if all the evils in the Church proceeded from the neglect of this. Since the shepherd must remain with his flock, he must not have several bishoprics in his possession, for "he is to be esteemed fortunate to whom it is given to rule even one church well and fruitfully."[5] The bishop must devote his whole strength to one diocese alone, he must build it up by his care for religious instruction, in the preaching which is the principal duty of bishops,[6] by constant visitation,[7] the punishment of the guilty,[8] and by his care to have a good clergy.[9]

But, on the other hand, the bishop must have the greatest possible freedom in the administration of his diocese. No privilege shall, for the future, protect the guilty cleric from

[1] Sess. 6, c. 1.
[2] Sess. 6, c. 1.
[3] inceptum residentiae et reformationis negotium.
[4] Sess. 23, c. 1.
[5] Sess. 7, c. 2.
[6] Sess. 5. c. 2.
[7] Sess. 6, c. 7 *seq.*; sess. 24, c. 3 etc.
[8] Sess. 13, c. 1 *seqq.*
[9] Sess. 23 c. 18.

his power of inflicting punishment ;[1] against his visitation not even the cathedral chapters have the right to claim exemption.[2] At his visitations he has the right to arrange matters as he thinks fit,[3] and should his power not prove sufficient in special cases, he may then act in the name of the Pope, and as his representative.[4] Care shall also be taken that the accused shall not tie the hands of justice by appeals and similar practices.[5] The bishop is specially urged[6] to take care of the poor and needy, as his government must in general bear the stamp of gentleness.[7] The bishop should summon his clergy to a joint conference every year in a diocesan synod, while the metropolitans shall every three years hold a provincial synod.[8]

Above all things, however, the bishops must take care to have an able and worthy clergy. For the world in general, the Council states, nothing is in a higher degree a constant lesson in piety and the service of God, than the life and example of those who are dedicated to the divine service. All look to them and regulate their conduct by their example. In their dress, their bearing and their speech, clerics must show themselves filled with the spirit of religion, so they must avoid even light sins, which in their case are very grave ;[9] they must take the lead of the people in their manner of life, their conversation, and in their learning.[10] Parish priests should preach every Sunday and festival, and they must be specially careful about the instruction of the children in Christian doctrine.[11]

All those who have the cure of souls are earnestly reminded

[1] Sess. 6, c. 1.
[2] Sess. 6, c. 2.
[3] Sess. 24, c. 10.
[4] Sess. 6, c. 2, 3, ; sess. 7, c. 14 ; sess. 13, c. 5; sess. 14, c. 4 etc.
[5] Sess. 13, c. 1-
[6] Sess. 7, c. 15 ; sess. 22, c. 8.
[7] Sess. 13, c. 1.
[8] Sess. 24, c. 2.
[9] Sess. 22, c. 1.
[10] Sess. 14, Prooem.
[11] Sess. 24, c. 4.

of their duty of residing among their flocks.[1] The bishop can suspend incapable clerics,[2] ignorant parish priests must have a coadjutor, and the immoral must be punished.[3] A number of regulations aim at preventing unworthy persons from receiving Holy Orders,[4] above all, no one may be ordained, or receive a benefice, without having passed an examination ;[5] a certificate of good conduct from the parish priest is necessary before receiving minor orders, and only step by step, and after long proof and trial in the lower ranks, shall anyone be promoted to the priesthood.[6] Even more important than all these regulations for the prevention of unworthy persons being admitted into the ranks of the clergy, was the decree that in every diocese where there was no university, a seminary should be established, where suitable young men were to be trained for the service of the sanctuary from their youth ;[7] by this means the formation of a clergy, who should be cultured and learned, would be assured.

Detailed steps were also taken to provide against the crying abuses in the system of benefices. Expectancies, as well as the *regressus* and *accessus*, were forbidden for the future,[8] as well as the bestowal of benefices on minors,[9] or canonries on such as would not be ordained, or perform the duties of their office.[10] The Council seeks with special strictness to protect the holy sacrifice of the Mass against all abuses arising from greed for gain, irreverence or superstition.[11] For the rest, no abuse of any importance which was existent at that time can be named for which provision was not made as far

[1] Sess. 6, c. 2 ; sess. 7, c. 3 ; sess. 23, c. 1.
[2] Sess. 14, c. 3.
[3] Sess. 21, c. 6.
[4] Sess. 7, c. 11 ; sess. 14, c. 2 ; sess. 23, c. 16.
[5] Sess. 7, c. 13 ; sess. 23, c. 7.
[6] Sess. 23, c. 5, 14.
[7] Sess. 23, c. 18.
[8] Sess. 24, c. 19 ; sess. 25, c. 7.
[9] Sess. 23, c. 6.
[10] Sess. 24, c. 12 ; sess. 22, c. 1.
[11] Sess. 22, de observandis et evitandis in celebratione missae.

as possible. We have regulations against the court prelates,[1] begging clerics,[2] nepotism,[3] unauthorized preachers of indulgences,[4] too great or too small extension of parishes,[5] extravagances in the matter of church music,[6] and in the fine arts,[7] the encroachments of lay patrons and the nobles in ecclesiastical matters ;[8] and finally against monks who wander about outside their monasteries.[9] In its XXVth Session the Council occupied itself very minutely with the raising and renewal of the religious state.

Next to the reform of the clergy, the Council had the care of the Christian family specially at heart.[10] After having defended the unity, indissolubility, and the religious character of matrimony in its dogmatic definitions, the reform decrees endeavour to protect the holiness of the sacrament, and to prevent scandals by a renewed prohibition of secret marriages, by a limitation of the impediments to matrimony, by admonishing parish priests to exercise care in marrying persons unknown to them, or not resident in the place, and by providing for the complete freedom of all, and especially of the weaker sex, when entering upon this contract.

[1] Sess. 25, c. 17.

[2] Sess. 21, c. 2.

[3] Sess. 25, c. 1.

[4] Sess. 5, c. 2 ; sess. 21, c. 9.

[5] Sess. 21, c. 4-5.

[6] Sess. 22, de celebratione missae.

[7] Sess. 25, de invocatione sanctorum, We shall treat of this decree later on, when speaking of art during the period of Catholic reform.

[8] Sess. 22, c. 11 ; sess. 25, c. 9.

[9] Sess. 14, c. 11. "Thus in some way were pastoral activities dealt with by the Council, from those that were merely mechanical to those that were purely ideal, many being treated very minutely, much being laid down that was new, and everything being gone into more deeply." SWOBODA, 102.

[10] Sess. 24. For the influence of the Council of Trent upon the development of baptismal and matrimonial registers (a thing already done since the middle ages) *cf.* SÄGMÜLLER in the Tübingen Quartalschrift, LXXXI. (1899), 227 *seqq.*

After the fundamental lines for the renewal of life, both for the Church and the family, had been traced, there remained but one more field of activity for the work of reforming zeal, the field of politics. There can be no doubt that in the relations of the princes to the Church there was room for an immense number of improvements, and that a very great part of the most pressing evils was due to the fact that unworthy protégés had been intruded into ecclesiastical positions by secular officials and rulers ; it was plain that Church property had been diverted from its original purpose, and that seculars influenced the government of the Church for their own selfish ends. The attempt, however, to appeal to the conscience of the princes raised a perfect storm of opposition among them.[1] No other course, therefore, was possible to the Council than to express in general terms the hope that the princes would fulfil their duties as Catholics and as the divinely appointed protectors of the faith and the Church, and to renew the old laws for the defence of ecclesiastical liberties, and to exhort the princes to observe them.[2]

Had it been given to the Council, by such exhortations as these, to bring the further development of absolutism to a standstill, then French, and with it European history, might have been spared the era of the revolution.

The true and intrinsic success of the Council lay within the Church itself, though even there its decrees were not all of them carried into effect everywhere or at once. The law, for example, concerning the provincial synods to be held every three years, was nowhere observed, except perhaps by St. Charles Borromeo.[3] In Germany the existing conditions made it necessary to unite several bishoprics in the hands of the son of some powerful prince. The reform of the cathedral chapters remained a pious wish in many places, while even the important decree concerning the clerical seminaries was not at once carried out everywhere. A great number of abuses,

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 343.

[2] Sess. 25, c. 20.

[3] He held provincial synods in the years 1565, 1569, 1573, 1576, 1579, 1582.

however, were removed, many reforms were carried out at once in many districts, and in others more slowly. Many excellent bishops, some of them saints, as Charles Borromeo of Milan (died 1584), Alessandro Sauli of Aleria in Corsica (died 1592), Turibio of Lima (died 1606), and Francis de Sales (died 1622) sought to realize the ideal of a bishop sketched by the Council of Trent. The provincial and diocesan synods, which had always proved so important for the renewal of the religious spirit, were revived later, especially in France. The Council acquired inestimable merit by its raising of the status of the secular priesthood. If this body, in modern times, occupies a far more important and influential position by the side of the regular clergy than it did in the middle ages, this must be attributed for the most part, to the better training which they received as the result of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

To sum up, it is difficult to estimate too highly the importance of the Council of Trent, especially for the interior development of the Church. It laid the foundations of a true reform, and fixed Catholic doctrine on broad and systematic lines. It is at once a boundary line and a landmark, at which opposing spirits must separate, and it inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the Catholic Church.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alterations I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic.*" Those passages which I have omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the Press, and which were not essential or or unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . .).

1. THE SCRUTINIES IN THE CONCLAVE OF PIUS IV.

From 9 September to 16 December, 1559.[1]

The Munich codex Clm 152, "Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis fratri Eremitae Augustiniani De varia Romani Pontificis creatione liber 10," reproduces, p.302b-385, completely the schedules of the ballots (1 to 68) in the conclave of Pius IV.; each scrutiny gives about 45 schedules, and each of these, during the earlier part of the conclave contains for the most part the names of from 3 to 4 Cardinals, later on there are usually from 5 to 6, and after that from 7 to 9 names. To reprint the whole of this multitude of names—there are 132 folio pages—would be useless; moreover, it would not be

[1] See *supra*, pp. 1, 17, 19, 21, 24. 38, 42, 51.

possible to calculate on this basis, in the case of each Cardinal, the number of votes given to him on a single occasion, because all the Cardinals present are named on some of the schedules, *titulo honoris*, and none are omitted except Carlo Carafa, Innocenzo del Monte, and Simoncelli. Therefore, only in the case of the scrutinies 1 to 3, 37 to 40, and 66 to 68, have I reproduced the complete voting by way of example. For the rest it will suffice to give in the first place an outline of the 68 scrutinies, only naming those Cardinals who obtained more than ten votes, or who for some reason call for special mention; after that I will give in tabular form the number of votes cast in each scrutiny for the Cardinals whose names appear most frequently.

I. Survey of the 68 Scrutinies.

(The numbers given by Bondonus in Merkle II. 519, are given in [ ] with the letter B; thus "Pacheco 11 [B.18]" signifies that Pacheco had 11 votes according to the list of scrutinies and 18 according to Bondonus. After the date of the scrutiny there follows, with the letter Z, the number of schedules reproduced by Panvinio; "Z.42" therefore means that for that scrutiny Panvinio gives 42 schedules.)

1. (Saturday, 9 Sept.; Z 42): Pacheco received 15 votes; Puteo 8; Dolera and Rebiba 7; Lenoncourt, Carpi, Tournon 6; Scotti, Pisani, Reumano, Gonzaga, du Bellay, Cr. del Monte 5; D. Carafa 4; Ghislieri, Medici, Sforza, Cueva, Este 3; Cesi, Madruzzo, Truchsess, Cicada, Armagnac 2; Ricci, Farnese, Capodiferro, Carafa 1.

2. (Monday, 11 Sept.; Z 42): Cueva 17 [also Guidus in Merkle II., 612; B 18]; Pacheco 12; Tournon 9; Gonzaga, Cicada, Puteo 5; Crispi, Carpi, Rebiba, Madruzzo, Lenoncourt 4; Saraceni, Farnese, Cesi, Este, Savelli, Scotti, Dolera 3; Dandino, Pisani, D. Carafa, Ghislieri, du Bellay, Capodiferro, Sforza, Ricci, Medici, Cr. del Monte, Truchsess 2; Reumano, A. Carafa, Cornaro, Vitelli, Corgna, Henry of Portugal 1.

3. (Tuesday, 12 Sept.; Z 43): Pacheco 11 [B 18]; Puteo, Gonzaga, Cueva, Dolera 8; Tournon 7; D. Carafa 6; Ghislieri, Carpi, Saraceni, Truchsess, Pisani 5; Cesi, Ricci, Crispi, Rebiba, Scotti, Dandino 4; Medici, Este, Farnese, Cicada, Corgna, Gaddi, Cornaro, Sforza 3; du Bellay, Rovere, Cr. del

Monte, Madruzzo, Savelli 2; Capodiferro, Reumano, Vitelli, Sermoneta, Carafa 1.

4. (Wednesday, 13 Sept.; Z 43): Lenoncourt 18 [B 18]; Pacheco 10; Dolera 8; Cueva 7; Cicada 6; Rebiba, Scotti 5.

5. (Thursday, 14 Sept.; Z 43): Henry of Portugal 15 [B 15]; Puteo 8; Cueva, Saraceni, Dandino, Pacheco 7; Cicada 6; D. Carafa, Cornaro 5; C. Carafa 1.

6. (Friday, 15 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 11 [B 12]; Puteo, Cr. del Monte 10; Dolera 7; Farnese, Cicada, Cueva 6; Truchsess, Scotti 5; Morone 1.[1]

7. (Saturday, 16 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 13 [B 12]; Ghislieri 11; Puteo 10; Dolera, Rebiba 8; D. Carafa 7; Cueva, Dandino 5; Scotti 4; Morone 3.

8. (Monday, 18 Sept.; Z 45): Carpi 14 [B 13]; Pacheco 11; Dolera 8; Rebiba, Scotti 7; Cicada, Cueva, Mercurio 5.

9. (Tuesday, 19 Sept.; Z 47): Pacheco 14; Carpi 12; D. Carafa 8 [B 14]; Dolera, du Bellay, Rebiba 7; Ricci 6; Crispi, Dandino 5; Morone 2.

10. (Wednesday, 20 Sept.; Z 46): Carpi 13 [B 14]; Puteo, Tournon 11; Pacheco 9; Dolera 8; Truchsess, Cicada, Cueva 6; Morone 2.

11. (Friday, 22 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 18 [B 18]; Tournon 15 and 5 accessits [also B]; Dolera 7; du Bellay, Armagnac 6; Farnese 5.—The 5 acceeding Cardinals are du Bellay, Armagnac, Armagnac (*sic* !), Crispi, Strozzi.

12. (Saturday, 23 Sept.; Z 44): Carpi 16 [B 16]; Pacheco 13; Cueva 11; Dolera, Truchsess, Ricci 7; Corgna 6.

13. (Monday, 25 Sept.; Z 46): Cr. del Monte 13 [B 13]; Carpi, Pacheco, Tournon 11; Cueva, Dolera 10; D. Carafa 9.

14. (Tuesday, 26 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 22 [B 23; also Vargas in DÖLLINGER, Beitr., I, 226][2]; Cueva 17; Truchsess, Crispi 9; D. Carafa 7.

15. (Wednesday, 27 Sept.; Z 46): Pacheco 20 [B 21]; Cueva 18 [B 18]; Saraceni 13; Dandino 10 [B 10]; Tournon 10; Cr. del Monte 7; Truchsess 5; Morone 2.

16. (Thursday, 28 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 17; Cueva 12 [B 18]; D. Carafa 12; Truchsess 9; Cr. del Monte 8; Crispi 7; Gonzaga, Puteo 4.

[1] From this point onwards Moorne always obtained at least one vote. In the scrutinies 18-46, one schedule always contains the names of Cueva and Morone, and 47-68, one always those of Cueva, Morone, Pacheco.

[2] One schedule appears to have been lost, there being only 45 instead of 46.

17. (Saturday, 30 Sept.; Z 45): Pacheco 18 [B 18]; Cueva 14; D. Carafa 9; Cr. del Monte 8; du Bellay 7; Dolera, Rebiba 6; Morone 2.

18. (Monday, 2 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 20 [B 20]; Cueva 16; Dolera 8; du Bellay, Cr. del Monte 7.

19. (Tuesday, 3 Oct.; Pacheco 19 [B 20]; Cueva 17; Crispi 12; D. Carafa, Rebiba 7; Innoc. del Monte 1.

20. (Thursday, 5 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 20 [B 18]; Saraceni 16; Cueva 15; Scotti 11; D. Carafa 9; Dolera 7.

21. (Friday, 6 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 19 [B 18]; Rebiba 17; Reumano 16; Cueva 15; Cr. del Monte 11; Corgna 6.

22. (Saturday, 7 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 20 [B 20]; Saraceni 19; Cueva 13; Dolera, du Bellay 8; Cicada 7; Corgna, Madruzzo 6; Capodiferro 5.

23. (Monday, 9 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 21; Cueva 18; Truchsess 13; Corgna 7; Lorraine 5.

24. (Tuesday, 10 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 18 [B 19]; Cueva 16; D. Carafa, Cicada 10; Truchsess 7; de Givry 1.

25. (Wednesday, 11 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 19 [B 18]; Cueva 15; Strozzi 10; Gaddi 9; Cicada 8; Farnese, Corgna 5; C. Carafa 4; Bourbon, Vitelli 1.

26. (Thursday, 12 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 20 [B 21]; Ghislieri 20; Cueva 16; Cicada 11; Corgna 8; Dolera 7; Vitelli 1.

27. (Friday, 13 Oct.; Z 44): Ran. Farnese 21 [B 22][1]; Pacheco 20; Cueva 14; Innoc. del Monte 2; de Givry, Carafa 1.

28. (Saturday, 14 Oct.; Z 44): Pacheco 21 [B 21]; Cueva 17; Puteo, Rebiba 9; Dolera 8; Innoc. del Monte 3; Morone 1. (One name, de Mec, unintelligible.)

29. (Monday, 16 Oct.; Z 44): Pacheco 21 [B 21]; Cueva 17; Gaddi 14; Cicada 8.

30. (Tuesday, 17 Oct.; Z 44): Savelli 22 [B 22]; Pacheco 18; Cueva 17; du Bellay, Cr. del Monte 8; Corgna 6; C. and A. Carafa 1.

31. (Thursday, 19 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 19 [B 19]; Cueva 15; Cicada 10; du Bellay 9; Capizuchi 8; Truchsess 7; Ricci 6; A. Carafa 1.

32. (Friday, 20 Oct.; Z 44): Pacheco 21; Cueva 16;

[1] It was the anniversary of the election of Paul III. (See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 14). In the *Avviso di Roma of 14 October, 1559 (Urb. 1039, p. 95, Vatic Library), Ran. Farnese received 22 votes and 4 accessits.

Crispi 13; Cr. del Monte 9; Dolera, D. Carafa, Cicada, du Bellay 7.

33. (Saturday, 21 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 21 [B 21]; Cueva 17; Crispi 10; Cicada, du Bellay 9; Bourbon 1.

34. (Monday, 23 Oct.; Z 48): Pacheco 22 [B 19]; Cueva 20; D. Carafa 15; Crispi 12; Simoncelli 1.

35. (Tuesday, 24 Oct.; Z 44): Pacheco 19 [B 18]; Cueva 15; Cicada 11; Crispi 10.

36. (Wednesday, 25 Oct.; Z 45): Pacheco 18; Cueva 16; Carafa 2.

37. (Thursday, 26 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 19; Cueva 17; Saraceni 11; D. Carafa 10; Cicada 9; Ghislieri, Dandino, Cr. del Monte, Madruzzo 7; Dolera, Crispi, du Bellay, Bertrand 6; Truchsess, Gonzaga, Corgna, Pisani, Puteo, Tournon, Scotti, Ricci 5; Carpi, Lenoncourt, Rebiba, Ch. Guise 4; Este, Mercurio 3; Cesi, A. Farnese, Capodiferro, Gaddi, A. Carafa, Savelli, Vitelli, Reumano, Medici 2; Cornaro, Morone, Sermoneta, Sforza, Urbino, Ran. Farnese, Simoncelli 1.

38. (Friday, 27 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 20; Cueva 17; Saraceni 10; Crispi 9; Cicada, du Bellay, Tournon 8; Gonzaga 7; Dolera, Capodiferro, Medici, Corgna, Pisani, Reumano 6; Ghislieri, D. Carafa, Carpi, Dandino, Cr. del Monte, Mercurio, Puteo 5; Cesi, Este, Truchsess, Carafa, Madruzzo 4; Armagnac, Rebiba 3; Farnese, Lenoncourt, A. Carafa, Sforza, Scotti, Ricci, Vitelli, Guise, Rovere 2; Morone, Savelli, Sermoneta, Bertrand, Ran. Farnese, Mariae in Argo (Mariae in Aquiro=Este [?]) 1.

39. (Monday, 30 Oct.; Z 46): Pacheco 19; Cueva 18; Gonzaga 11; Cicada 10; D. Carafa 8; Carpi, Este, du Bellay, Rebiba, Saraceni 7; Ghislieri, Tournon, Puteo, Crispi 6; Dolera, Dandino, Mercurio, Pisani 5; Capodiferro, Cr. del Monte, Madruzzo 4; Cesi, Medici [Priscae], Corgna, Sermoneta, Ran. Farnese, Bertrand 3; Cornaro, Farnese, A. Carafa, Sforza, Ricci, Vitelli, Guise 2; Truchsess, Gaddi, Lenoncourt, Lorraine, Morone, Reumano, Savelli, Scotti, Strozzi, Rovere 1.

40. (Tuesday, 31 Oct.; Z 48): Pacheco 16; Cueva 15; Capizuchi 11; D. Carafa, Rebiba 10; Saraceni 9; Ghislieri, Carpi, Crispi, Cr. del Monte, Madruzzo 7; Gonzaga, Cicada, Mercurio, Scotti 6; Este, Medici [Priscae], Puteo, Dandino, Pisani 5; Corgna, Savelli, Guise 4; Cesi, Tournon, Dolera,

du Bellay, Farnese, Lenoncourt, Reumano, Ricci 3; Carafa, Capodiferro, A. Carafa, Strozzi, Ran. Farnese 2; Truchsess, Gaddi, Lorraine, Morone, Sforza, Rovere, Monte, Bertrand 1.

41. (Friday, 3 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco, Cueva 17; Cr. del Monte 14; Saraceni 13; du Bellay 10; Crispi, Dandino, Pisani 9.

42. (Saturday, 4 Nov.; Z 48): Cueva 16; Pacheco 15; Dandino 13; D. Carafa, Cicada 11; Rebiba 10; Crispi, A. Carafa 8; Corgna 6; Guise 5.

43. (Monday, 6 Nov.; Z 48): Cueva 18; Pacheco 17; Ghislieri, Gonzaga 10; Saraceni 9; Crispi 8; Ricci 6; Henry of Portugal 5; Bourbon, Innoc. del Monte, C. Carafa[1] 1.

44. (Tuesday, 7 Nov.; Z ?[2]): Pacheco 17; Cueva 17; Saraceni, Cicada 11; Dolera, Ghislieri, du Bellay 10.

45. (Thursday, 9 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 20; Cueva 18; Rebiba 12; Crispi 11; Reumano 9.

46. (Friday, 10 Nov.; Z 48): Cueva 20, Pacheco 19; Rovere 12; Este 10; Cornaro 9; Bourbon 1.

47. (Monday, 13 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 19; Cueva, du Bellay 15; D. Carafa 13; Rebiba 12; Gonzaga 10.

48. (Tuesday, 14 Nov.; Z 46): Pacheco 19; Cueva 17; Tournon 12; Cicada 11; Guise 9; Saraceni 8.

49. (Wednesday, 15 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 20; Cueva 15; Rebiba 10.

50. (Thursday, 16 Nov.; Z 47): Pacheco 22; Cueva 15; du Bellay 12; Carpi, Tournon 11; Carafa, Guise 6.

51. (Friday, 17 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 21; Cueva 13; Carpi, Cicada 12; Tournon, Saraceni 11; Innoc. del Monte, Vitelli [S. Mariae in Porticu) 1.

52. (Monday, 20 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 17; Cueva 14; D. Carafa, Carpi 12; Saraceni 12.

53. (Tuesday, 21 Nov.; Z 48): Saraceni 18; Pacheco 17; Cueva 14; du Bellay 12; Cicada, Carpi 11.

54. (Thursday, 23 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 19; Cueva 18; Saraceni 15; D. Carafa, Cicada 12; Carpi, Tournon 11; Guise 9.

55. (Friday, 24 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 17; Saraceni 14; Cueva 13; Cicada 12; Tournon 10; Guise 8.

56. (Monday, 27 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 17; Cueva 15; Saraceni 13; Tournon 12; du Bellay 11; Guise 5.

[1] C. Carafa received from now onwards several votes in each scrutiny.
[2] On account of the confused division of the lines in the manuscript, it is impossible to be certain as to this.

57. (Tuesday, 28 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 19; Rebiba 14; Cueva, Tournon 12; Saraceni 11; Reumano 9; Guise 6; Capizuchi 5; Bourbon 1.

58. (Wednesday, 29 Nov.; Z 48): Pacheco 18; Cueva 13; D. Carafa 12; Tournon 11; Saraceni 10; Guise 8.

59. (Friday, 1 Dec.; Z 48): Pacheco 18; Este 12; Cueva, Saraceni, Tournon 11; Gonzaga, D. Carafa 10; Guise 7.

60. (Saturday, 2 Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco 17; Gonzaga 12; Este, Cicada 11; Cueva, Cr. del Monte, Saraceni, Tournon 10.

61. (Monday, 4 Dec.; Z 47[1]): Cueva 16; Pacheco 15; Este 12; Saraceni 12; Gonzaga 11; Cicada, Rebiba 10.

62. (Tuesday, 5 Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco 17; Cueva 16; Saraceni 13; Cesi 12; Tournon 11; Este, du Bellay 10.

63. (Wednesday, 6 Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco 15; Cueva 14; Cr. del Monte 12; Este, Saraceni 11; Gonzaga, Rebiba 10.

64. (Saturday, 9 Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco, Cueva 18; Tournon, Saraceni 11.—To schedule 40 there is attached the remark: "Non erat appositum verbum [i.e., some word or sentence, which should have been placed as a token outside the folded schedule], et ideo fuit disputatum an valeret, et fuit conclusum, quod aperiretur, et erat (Turnonius, Mantuanus, Ferrariensis)."

65. (Monday, 11 Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco 17; Cueva 15; Tournon, Cesi 13; Dolera 11; Rebiba 10.

66. (Wednesday, 13 Dec.; Z 46): Cueva 18; Pacheco 17; Cesi 10; Este, Rebiba 9; Carpi, Saraceni, Guise 8; Cicada, Cr. del Monte, Corgna, Tournon 7; Ghislieri, D. Carafa, Truchsess, du Bellay, Gonzaga 6; Dolera, Carafa, Pisani, Savelli, Capizuchi, Ran. Farnese 5; Armagnac, Crispi, Medici, Rovere 4; A. Carafa, Scotti, Madruzzo 3; Cornaro, Mercurio, Morone, Puteo, Reumano 2; A. Farnese, Gaddi, Henry of Portugal, Sermoneta, Sforza, Bertrand 1.

67. (Thursday, 14 Dec.; Z 45): Pacheco 18; Cueva, Saraceni 16; Tournon, Gonzaga, Cesi 10; Cicada, Cr. del Monte 9; Ghislieri, Este, Dolera 8; D. Carafa 7; Carpi, Rebiba 6; Pisani, Puteo, Guise 5; C. and A. Carafa, Corgna, Reumano, Scotti, Rovere 4; Truchsess, Crispi, Gaddi, Mercurio, Madruzzo, Ricci 3; Sermoneta, Strozzi, Capizuchi,

[1] Schedules 9 and 10 are exactly alike, and since we know from Bondonus that from December 1 to 13 the conclave had only 46 members, it follows that the writer must by mistake have written his schedule twice over.

Ran. Farnese 2; Armagnac, du Bellay, Medici, Morone, Savelli, Simoncelli, de Givry, Vendôme, Vitelli[1] 1.

68. (Saturday 16, Dec.; Z 46): Pacheco 19; Cueva 17; Tournon, Saraceni 11; Cesi, Cicada 9; Carpi, Armagnac, Reumano 8; Puteo, Rebiba, Corgna, D. Carafa 7; Dolera, Truchsess, Gonzaga, Madruzzo 6; Este, Ghislieri, Crispi, Cr. del Monte, Mercurio, Guise 5; Gaddi, Rovere, Pisani, Vitelli, Bertrand 3; A. Carafa, Strozzi, Sermoneta, Savelli 2; du Bellay, Morone, Sforza, Scotti, Ricci, Ran. Farnese, Capizuchi, Simoncelli 1.

II. Votes Recorded for the Principal Candidates.
(For Pacheco and Cueva see under I.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Carpi . . .	6	4	5	6	6	7	7	14	12	13	9	16	11	4	2	3	7
Cesi	2	3	4	3	4	5	4	1	2	5	3	2	1	2	3	5	5
Este. . . .	3	3	3	2	1	2	4	2	1	4	4	3	5	3	2	5	5
Ghislieri .	3	2	5	2	3	4	11	3	4	5	5	4	4	1	1	2	1
Gonzaga .	5	5	8	2	2	2	6	4	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	4	4
Medici[2] . .	3	2	3	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	6	5	4	3	1	—	4
Pisani . . .	5	2	5	4	3	3	6	1	1	2	4	6	1	2	4	4	5
Puteo. . . .	8	5	8	4	8	10	10	9	8	11	6	6	6	4	5	4	7
Reumano	5	1	1	4	2	3	5	4	2	3	3	—	2	1	—	1	2
Saraceni .	—	3	5	2	7	4	3	6	6	4	3	4	2	—	13	6	4
Tournon .	6	9	7	4	6	8	7	9	8	11	15	7	11	8	10	7	8

	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
Carpi . . .	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	6	5	5	7	7	8	6	5	6
Cesi	5	2	4	4	5	3	3	7	7	6	3	4	4	2	4	4	3
Este. . . .	3	5	6	3	3	6	1	4	2	5	6	6	4	5	7	6	2
Ghislieri .	3	3	1	3	7	7	2	3	20	5	5	4	2	1	1	5	4
Gonzaga .	5	4	7	4	5	6	3	5	5	4	7	7	5	3	8	8	7
Medici. . .	3	1	2	3	3	—	7	7	6	4	5	3	3	1	4	2	2
Pisani . . .	4	4	7	5	5	4	3	9	6	4	4	9	5	4	6	2	5
Puteo. . .	6	6	8	5	6	7	6	7	5	5	9	3	2	2	5	5	8
Reumano	1	2	—	16	1	—	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	2	2
Saraceni .	6	2	16	4	19	4	6	8	4	3	3	2	—	6	7	6	7
Tournon .	7	4	3	7	6	6	5	4	5	8	7	8	7	9	5	8	5

[1] In schedule 38, in a space left blank by the writer, an illegible name (Lotharingus ?) has been written in another hand.

[2] The votes given for "S. Prisca" are counted as being in favour of Cardinal Medici. That the Cardinal "S. Priscae" (in spite of Massarelli in Merkle, II., 339) was no other than Medici, is not only proved from Panvinio ("Nomina cardinalium viventium, quando Pius IV. creatus est; Cim 152, p. 429b, and in Merkle II., 590; *cf.* Ciaconius III., 736, 867, 868, 869), but also follows from the list of scrutinies itself. In scrutinies 57-8, 60-3, there is a schedule with the names: Portuensis, Albanensis, *S. Priscae.* In scrutiny 59, this schedule no longer appears, but another with the names Portuensis, Albanensis, *Medici.* *Cf.* also the two schedules in scrutiny 65, vote 21: Praenestinus, Albanensis, Medici, and scrutiny 66, vote 14: Praenestinus, S. Priscae.

	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
Carpi . . .	5	4	4	5	7	7	7	5	4	6	5	5	8	8	9	11	12
Cesi	3	2	2	4	3	3	3	7	7	7	4	5	5	6	4	5	3
Este . . .	8	7	3	4	7	5	8	7	7	3	5	10	7	6	9	5	8
Ghislieri .	3	3	7	5	6	7	5	6	10	10	7	4	5	6	6	5	8
Gonzaga .	5	7	5	7	11	6	5	7	10	5	5	9	10	8	7	8	7
Medici . .	4	3	2	6	3	5	2	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	3	6	4
Pisani. . .	5	5	5	6	5	5	9	5	4	4	2	4	6	5	3	3	4
Puteo . . .	4	6	5	5	6	5	8	8	6	7	7	8	8	4	7	6	6
Reumano	3	7	2	6	1	3	3	6	2	2	9	3	4	1	5	7	4
Saraceni .	8	9	11	10	7	9	13	4	9	11	7	6	5	8	7	8	11
Tournon .	7	7	5	8	6	3	4	9	6	8	6	9	8	12	5	11	11

	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
Carpi . . .	12	11	11	9	8	7	6	5	7	7	8	7	6	5	8	6	8
Cesi	6	7	9	9	8	4	9	5	8	9	12	7	6	13	10	10	9
Este . . .	9	8	6	7	7	7	8	12	11	12	10	11	8	7	9	8	5
Ghislieri .	6	6	8	6	5	5	4	7	8	6	6	7	7	6	6	8	5
Gonzaga .	9	6	7	8	8	4	5	10	12	11	8	10	8	8	6	10	6
Medici . .	3	5	6	3	7	4	5	3	3	2	2	1	5	4	4	1	—
Pisani . . .	2	7	8	4	6	6	8	6	4	4	5	3	3	3	5	5	3
Puteo . . .	8	5	5	5	3	4	4	5	5	5	2	4	5	5	2	5	7
Reumano	7	4	5	7	5	9	5	7	2	5	4	5	8	5	2	4	8
Saraceni .	12	18	15	14	13	11	10	11	10	12	13	11	11	5	8	16	11
Tournon .	8	6	11	10	12	12	11	11	10	8	11	9	11	13	7	10	11

2. Francesco di Guadagno to the Duke of Mantua.

1559, September 20, Roma.[1]

. . . Sabato andò in rotta una pratichetta di Medici, condotta da Farnese et Caraffa, ma ella non trovò buon piede, tanto piu che si scoperse che volesson far senza il Camarlingo, che è tanto principale la dentro. Del s. card^e nostro speravano tuttavia meglio con il servitio de Francesi, i quali pareva che cominciassero a lasciarsi indurre a far bene. La domenica fu rinfrescata la pratica di Medici, et perche i Franzesi davan qualche intentione di conscendervi, era in bona spettatione. La notte sequente Ferrara cominciò a esser dietro alle sue pratiche gagliardamente et per tutto il giorno sequente non restò di tempestare, benchè ogn' homo conoscessi l' impossibilità. Farnese per paura la sera fece mezo segno di voler andare ad adorare Carpi per far risolvere Ferrara, ma essendo il numero de suoi complici tanto poco la cosa si risolvette in passeggiare fino alle quattro hore per capella. Hieri più che mai si attese a far pratiche per Carpi dalli adversarii di Ferrara

[1] See *supra*, p. 19, nn. 4, 6.

et se egli non si risolvessi, la cosa potrebbe essere pericolosa. Questa occasione potrebbe servire per il s. card^le nostro, essendoci chi attende alle contramine in servigio di S. S. Ill^na, et se si continua nel modo cominciò, fra poco si potrebbe sentir il scoppio dell' uno et dell' altro. Scrivendo questa mi è sopragionto aviso che la furia di Carpi è in gran parte cessata, ma non saria gran cosa che questa notte si rinfrescassi. Questo contrapeso fa molto per noi, per Medici et Puteo, ma se Ferrara si risolverà il nostro ne haverà meglio di tutti. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. The Dispatches of Marcantonio da Mula.

Marcantonio da Mula, who was generally spoken of in the Curia as Amulio, came to Rome in the middle of May, 1560, as the successor of Mocenigo, and there won particular favour with Pius IV., who, on February 26th, 1561, honoured him by bestowing the purple on him. By accepting this dignity, Mula incurred lasting disgrace from his own government. For the life of this man, who was distinguished in every way, and who in 1565 was named prefect of the Vatican Library, and died on March 13th, 1570, *cf.* besides the sources cited *supra* p. 162, n. 3, Mazzuchelli, I., 2, 651 *seq.*; Mon. Slav. merid., VIII., 86, n.; Turba, Depeschen, II., xii. *seq.* III., 168 n. 2; Merkle, Concil. Trid., II.; Hilliger, 115 *seq*; : Liebmann, Deutsches Land und Volk nach ital. Berichterstattern der Reformationszeit, 57 *seq.*, Berlin, 1910; Lettere di Marcantonio da Mula a Gian Giorgio Trissino, published by E. Piovene in 1878 at Vicenza. Some letters of Mula in Cicogna, Iscriz. Ven., VI., 737 *seq.* Of his papers preserved in the Cod. Vatic. lat. 3933, his speech to Pius IV. in 1560 was printed in Latin and Italian at Venice in 1846, as was a letter to P. Manutius in the Mél. d'archéol., III., 276 *seq.* The despatches of Mula from the Imperial court, where he represented his country from 1552 to 1554, were published in a masterly way by Turba in the second volume of his Venez. Depeschen. Concerning them Turba says: "Mula is among the most talented of the Venetian ambassadors at the Imperial court. He is not a mere mouthpiece, through whom one feels that others are speaking, but he rises superior to the events, circumstances and moods, of which he is making his

report, and penetrates below the surface, estimating them in the light of their bearing on the future. More than any of his predecessors already named he falls into the defect of unnecessary repetition, a thing which, however, may be forgiven on account of the zeal with which he served his government. In spite of the haste with which he drew up his reports, his style and language are far more clear and polished than in the case of his predecessors." (II., 40). The same judgment holds good of the despatches of Mula from his embassy in Rome, which on account of the interest of their contents, were very quickly copied. As will be seen from the following list, some of them are to be found in almost all the great collections of manuscripts in Europe.

BERLIN, Royal Library: Inf. Polit. VIII. (reports from May 18 to Sept. 21, 1560); Inf. Polit. XIII. (reports from Sept. 24 to Nov. 28, 1560); Inf. Polit. XXXVII. (reports from the end of Jan. to Feb. 25, 1561).

BOLOGNA, University Library: Cod. 2469 (Libr. of S. Salvatore 745).

CARPENTRAS, Library: Cod. 543.

INNSBRUCK, University Library: Cod. 600 (reports from May 18 to Sept. 21, 1560). The codex has the note: "Cod. fuit Bibl. Mantuanæ direptæ post mortem ultimi ducis."

LONDON, British Museum: Addit. 16534 (reports from June 15 to July 22, 1560).

MANTUA, Capilupi Library: register in 4 vols.

PARIS, Bibl. Nationale: cf. Montfaucon, Bibl. I. 1093; Marsand II. 104 *seq.*

ROME. 1, Boncompagni Archives: Cod. E. 2 (reports of 1560); 2, Vatican Library: Urb. 1027 (reports from May 18, 1560 to March 8, 1561); Urb. 1670, p. 79b—90 (reports on the Carafa); Barb. 5761 (formerly LXII., 11): reports from 1560 to March 8, 1561; cf. Montfaucon, Bibl. I. 174; 3, Papal Secret Archives: Miscell. III. p. 24 (reports from May 22, 1560, to March 20, 1561); Bolognetti, Cod. 22 and 23.

VENICE, State Archives, Filza XIII.

VIENNA, Court Library 6749 (Fosc. 18), p. 319-425 (reports from May 18 to Sept. 21, 1560).

All these codices, even that in the State Archives, Venice,

are copies,[1] in which the text, and especially the dates, are often incorrect.

On account of this great multiplication of the reports in the codices, it is no wonder that they have often been used, and with much profit, by historical investigators. Probably the first to use them was the indefatigable Raynaldus, who availed himself of them for his annals (1560, n. 57), from a codex of Cardinal Spada. Pallavicini made fuller use of them, after his rival Sarpi had done so. Ranke drew upon them from the Berlin codex (Fürsten und Völker, I., 368; Papste[8] I., 207, 211, and III., 50*). It is strange that Sickel did not avail himself of this valuable source, the more so as the codex in the Court Library, Vienna, was easily accessible to him. On the other hand, Šusta has used them, as has Ancel, in their description of the fall of the Carafa. I refrain from printing the reports of Mula on the Council in deference to the publication of Ehses. Mula is also deserving of a monograph on account of the literary style of his reports.

4. Cardinal C. Carafa to the Duke of Paliano.[2]

1560, June 1, Roma.

Illmo et ecc^mo^ sig^re^ mio e fratello osserv^mo^.

Mando con questa a V. E. copia delle lettere che il sig Fabritio ha scritto ultimamente di corte, così a S. St^à^ come a me et al sig^r^ Ferrante, e vedra che forma di resolutione hanno presa fino adesso le cose nostre; e a me pare che le parole del sig^r^ Fabritio si devino molto ben considerare, et che da quelle si possa trarre certa speranza che, se bene S. Mt^à^ non ha determinato sopra il fatto de la ricompensa, sia non di meno questo negocio per riuscire a tutta nostra sodisfattione, et tanto più quanto io ci vedo S. St^à^, dalla quale ha da depender tutto questo fatto, dispositissima, come è stata sempre; si ch'io giudico che V. Ecc^za^ possa starne con l'animo riposato e sicuro, perche anco dal canto nostro non si mancarà di fare quanto sarà possibile.

Quanto al venir di V. Ecc^za^ qua, è tutto in arbitrio suo[3]; ma quando pure le paresse di aspettare l'arrivo del sig^re^ Fabritio, poi che non potra tardare cinque o sei giorni più,

[1] The two reports of Mula of May 22 and August 20, 1560, are in the original in the State Archives, Venice, Filza XII.
[2] See *supra*, p. 142, n. 4.
[3] In the original underlined in a later hand.

per haver qualche chiareza più delle cose, rimetto il tutto a lei, aspettando che mi faccia intendere quanto risolverà, et li baso le mani.

Di Roma il primo di giugno Lx.

Di V. Ecc^za^

servitore

Sr Duca di Paliano. Il cardinale Carafa.

[Orig. Miscell. X 197 p. 18 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Consistory of 7 June, 1560[1].

Die veneris VII. iunii fuit consistorium secretum in loco solito, a quo ex supradictis xxxix, qui erant Romae, abfuere Turnonus, de Carpo, Armeniacus, Augustanus, Messanensis, Puteus, Alexandrinus, Araeceli, Bertrandus, Urbinas, de Monte, Cornelius et de Medicis.

Antequam papa descenderet ad consistorium, fuerunt vocati eius iussu revm̃us dominus cardinalis Carafa nepos et revm̃us dominus Alfonsus cardinalis Neapolis pronepos papae Pauli IV. et missi ad arcem Sancti Angeli.

Descendit postea Sua Sanctitas ad consistorium et de ea actione rationem reddidit ceteris cardinalibus et terminavit consistorium.

Copy. Acta Camer. IX. 22^b^. Consistorial archives of the Vatican.

6. Giov. Battista Ricasoli to Cosimo I., Duke of Florence.[2]

1560, Juni 7, Roma.

. . . Questa mattina sendo tutti i cardinali in consistorio eccetto però Medici, fu chiamato da monsignore Aurelio Spina per parte di S. Santità il cardinale Carafa, il quale allegramente per la lumaca salì nelle stanze dove dà audienza S. B^ne^ la quale però non vi era, et io che vedendolo chiamare giudicai potesse essere quello che è stato, me le inviai dietro. Arrivato di sopra li fu detto dal maestro di camera che aspettasse, in quel mentre fu chiamato il cardinale di Napoli, et arrivato dal zio nelle prefate stanze, il signor Gabrio fattosi loro incontro disse all' uno, et all' altro che gl'erano prigioni

[1] See *supra*, p. 143, n. 3. [2] See *supra*, p. 143, n. 3.

di S. Stà et che haveva commissione di condurli all'ora in castello. Carafa senza smarrirsi rispose, questi sono i frutti delle mie buone opere, l'altro si smarrì, et non disse nulla. Intanto al Governatore et al Fiscale fu comandato che andassero a fare prigione il conte di Montorio, che si trovava alloggiato in casa di Carafa et dalli detti fu messo in un cocchio, et condotto in Castello, et nel medesimo tempo fu anco preso il vescovo di Civita di Penne già governatore di Bologna. Io che mi trovai presente alla cattura di questi due Illmi ritornatomene in consistoro et dettolo a tre o quattro di quei signori in uno instante si vedde uno bisbiglio, et una trasfiguratione di volti difficile a essere scritta; infra i quali cardinale Vitelli ancora che li sia parso uno strano gioco, si sforzava con grandissima arte di dissimulare. Il cardinale di Ferrara quando io gli ne dissi, si turbò meravigliosamente con dirmi, è egli vero! che cose sono queste! Intanto essendo gia sonate le XIV. hore S. Stà se ne venne in consistorio con si buona cera, et si allegra quanto io l'habbia veduta altra volta; et maravigliandosene molti mostrai loro ch'essi havevano il torto, perchè S. Bne era fuora di quel pensiero, che forse per il passato lo haveva tenuto talvolta occupato. Ai cardinali, o almeno alla maggior parte non è dubio nessuno che è parso strano parendo si spesseggi troppo, ma allo universale, per quanto già si comprende, ha satisfatto questa resoluta attione di S. Stà meravigliosamente; et non è gran fatto poichè eghi havevano senza mai fare piacere a nessuno offeso ogni huomo.

[Orig. Florence State Archives, Medic. 3280 p. 174]

7. Avviso di Roma of 8 June, 1560.[1]

. . . Et l'istesso giovedì vers'un'hora di notte venne qui il conte di Montorio per le poste di Galese molto pomposamente et andò allogiar nel palazzo del card. Caraffa suo fratello, ove era anch'il card. di Napoli et v'era apparecchiato un bellissimo bancheto et vi fu anch'invitato il prince di Sulmona, il quale per alcuni negocii privati era gia 3 dì prima venut'in Roma. Stavano con molt'allegrezza, con tanti suoni, balli et comedie, andando poi bona parte di quella notte per Roma a sollazzo in cocchi con cortegiane cantando et sonando

[1] See *supra*, pp. 143, 178.

molt' allegramente ; dicesi la causa dell' allegrezza esser stata per le buone nove che di Spagna l'haveva portato il sig^{r} Ferrante de Sanguini di S. M^{tà} Catholica, ciò è che quella deve al card. Caraffa 12^{m} scudi di pensione che l'haveva promisso in tempo di Paulo IV sopra l'arcivescovato di Toledo et le paghe scorse in tutto questo tempo et 8^{m} scudi di naturalezza et al duca di Paliano che fu dava tutto quell' era stato capitolato e promessoli in tempo di Paulo sudetto. Ma questa lor allegrezza durò pocho, imperho che la mattina seguente, che fu hieri, havendo S. S^{tà} convocato il consistoro, ordinò che subito venend' il card^{le} Caraffa et Napoli a palazzo, dovessero venire a parlarli alla sua camera ; il che fecero, ma volendovi andare et passand' appresso la via che va al corritorio del Castello, gli fu detto che d'ordine di S. S^{tà} andasser' in Castello ; et fu Caraffa il primo accompagnato del sig^{r} Gabrio Cerbellone nipote di S S^{tà}, et non si smarrì punto, ma vedendo poi venir Napoli et intendendo l'ordine di Sua S^{tà}, divenne più morto che vivo et vi andò ancora lui con alcuni loro più favoriti ; et tutt' in un tempo mandò il Papa al palazzo del Carafa il barigello con tutti li sbirri per il conte di Montorio, il quale mostrò alla prima di voler fare un poco di resistentia, ma vedendosi poi circondato di tanta compagnia, si rese e montat' in cocchio andò in Castello : et era il cocchio del governatore il qual er' andat' in persona a levarlo. Fu poi inventorisato et sequestrato per il fisco tutto ciò che havevan in loro palazzi, et portato in palazzo del Papa il più importante. Et incontinente andò il barigello per tutto cercando la famiglia loro, della quale sonno poi stati presi circa 20 et alcuni fugiti. Tra li presi sonno il conte d'Aliffa cognato del conte di Montorio, ch'è quello ch'amazzò la moglie sua sorella ; poi Torquato Conte ch'era l'anima et governo del card^{le} Caraffa nelli suoi trionfi, poi Cesare Brancaccio, il sig^{r} Ferrante de Sanguini, Hieronimo Episcopo, il vescovo di Civita di Penna, Mattheo Stendardi, li quali tutti sonno stati li seguaci delli Caraffa et più favoriti. Si cercano ancora dell'altri, et si dice ch'il Papa ha detto chel haverà anch'il marchese di Montebello, si ben è a Napoli, a tal che li Caraffi stann'a mal partito ; et così anch'il card^{le} di Monte, il quale si dice che ha la febre terzana, et pochi sonno che non si rallegrino della pregionia delli Caraffi, massime il populo romano già di loro tanto offeso. Dicesi

ch'il card^le di Napoli ha robbato alla morte di Paulo IV. circa 18^m scudi; oltre li altri robbamenti di che haveranno da render conto, s'oppone morte di più persone, sforzamenti di donzelle et stupri horrendissimi che meritano ogni acerbissimo castigo. Dicesi che la signora donna Giovanna Aragona ha dato bonissima mancia a colui che portò la nuova di queste cose seguite. S'intese poi ch'andando quella mattina Sua S^tà in consistero, era in tanta colera che per camino non si ricordò di dare la beneditione ad alcuno: di che ogn'uno stava maravegliato, et in concistoro non ragionò quas'altro che dell'indignità di questi Caraffi e Monte, et di quanto scandalo eran'al mondo in questi tempi travagliosi che tutt'il mondo grida contra la S^tà Sede Apostolica per li dishonorati suggietti ch'in quella sonno; et voltatosi poi alli suoi nipoti disse: Questo vi sia per essempio et a tutti, et al rev^mo Santa Fiore camerlengo disse: Monsignore, adesso serà tempo de redintegrarvi di quello vi è stato tolto. Rispos'egli: Pater Sancte, io non desider'altro che quello veramente m'appartiene, et assai mi duole il mal d'altri. Saggiunse Sua S^tà che nissun'haverebbe male che non l'havesse più che meritato; et si ragionò qualche poco poi del concilio, che tant'è sollicitato di Franza e Spagna; ma per commodità loro et d'Alemagna lo voriano a Bizansone; ma si crede che serà a Trento, perche li signori Venetiani non lo voriano nè a Bergamo nè a Vicenza, come ben havrebbe voluto S. S^tà. Si dice ch'i presidenti del concilio saranno il Morone, Santa Croce, et Sua S^tà dice tuttavia di voler alla fin d'agosto andar a Bologna. Di far cardinali non s'ha parlato per li disturbi ch'hanno dato le cose di Caraffi; pur non può tardare che non ne facci almanco 4. . . .

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 165^b—167. Vatican Library.]

8. Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. concerning the Trial of the Carafa.[1]

1560, Jull 1, Roma.

Pius papa IIII^s.

Motu proprio etc. Cum ad aures nostras plurimorum fidedignorum relatione, non sine gravi animi nostri molestia, pervenerit, Ioannem Carafam, ducem Paliani et militem

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 147, n. 2.

militie S^ti^ Michaelis, quam plura et varia crimina, etiam atrocia, perpetrasse et inter cetera quondam Marcellum Capicium eius nepotem seu alias consanguineum aut affinem, nullis prorsus precedentibus iuditiis, absque ullo pro cessu et figura iuditii, absque etiam notaria et sine aliqua penitus scriptura, temerario ausu et odio quo illum prosequebatur, questionibus et tormentis supposuisse ac demum quam pluribus vulneribus affectum crudeliter, etiam sepius per illum petita forsan sacramentali confessione et illi denegata, interfecisse, illiusque cadaver in latrinam deiecisse, multoque fimo superiniecto, ne facile detegi posset, cooperiri, et quondam Violantem uxorem suam, mulierem nobilem et in primis pudicam optimeque apud omnes opinionis et fame, ex ipso pregnantem in sexto vel septimo mense existentem, per eiusdem Violantis fratrem germanum et alium eius consanguineum vel affinem, ab ea prius quam in privato carcere per mensem et ultra detinuerat seu detineri fererat, certis gemmis et iocalibus extortis, opprobriose strangulari mandasse et fecisse, ac dudum antea quendam curie burgi executorem ob id quod quandam executionem sibi a iudice demandatam, ut ex officii necessitate tenebatur, fecisset, propriis manibus occidisse ; necnon Carolum Carafam et Alfonsum Neapolitanos vulgariter nuncupatos S. R. E. diaconos cardinales, propriae salutis ac dignitatis prosus immemores, in necem dictae Violantis eorum fratris et patrui respective uxoris[1] conspirasse, illamque necari mandasse, suasisse vel alias sollicitasse et ob eorum mandata, suasionem vel sollicitationem huiusmodi illius necem subsecutam fuisse. Insuperque Carolum cardinalem antea quam plura homicidia et enormia et multipliciter qualificata, etiam mediante pecunia, propriis manibus commisisse et seu committi fecisse aut mandasse et, quod omnium deterius est fel. rec. Paulum papam IV. predecessorem nostrum nihil magis quam pacem inter christianos principes inire et conservare satagentem, utpote qui admodum ipsi Carolo cardinali credebat, sub diversis confictis pretextibus et exquisitis falsis coloribus ac mendaciis variisque dolis et machinationibus decepisse, sicque ad ineundum bellum, ex quo innumera homicidia, sacrilegia, incendia, stupra, rapine aliaque toti reipublice christiane incommoda et damna sequuta fuerunt, induxisse, et tam ipsum Carolum cardinalem

[1] Ms : uxorem.

quam dictum ducem Antonium Carafam ipsorum fratrem in stipendiis militum S. R. E. eundem Paulum predecessorem et Cameram Apostolicam in ingenti et notabili pecuniarum summa defraudasse, et ex hoc etiam almam Urbem nostram totumque statum ecclesiasticum maximo periculo ob militum carentiam et defectum supposuisse ; eosdemque Carolum cardinalem et Ioannem ducem quam plura adulteria et stupra mulierum, que renitentes erant, viros, fratres et parentes minis terrendo et carcerari faciendo vel alias vim inferendo, commisisse, et sub clipeo multos innocentes pro eorum libito ultimo supplicio tradi, ad triremes transmitti aliisque penis affici iussisse et effecisse ; ac eosdem dictumque etiam Alfonsum cardinalem in omnibus provinciis status ecclesiastici quam plurimas extorsiones fecisse illasque et earum incolas ac etiam Cameram Apostolicam respective expilasse et defraudasse ac fieri expilari et defraudari mandasse eundemque Alfonsum cardinalem, qui alias ex sibi commisso regentis Camere officio, de quo fideliter exercendo in manibus eiusdem predecessoris iuramentum prestiterat, omnia ad eandem Cameram Apostolicam pertinentia non minus diligenter quam fideliter custodire tenebatur, in obitu predicti Pauli predecessoris ex ipsius cubiculo valde magnam et notabilem pecuniarum summam, gemmas, argenta, vasa usibus etiam ecclesiasticis et divino cultui dicata aliaque preciosa ingentis valoris subtraxisse, et monitorio generali, sub certis censuris et penis, ut, si qui de bonis ad Cameram predictam spectantibus aliqua haberent, illa denunciarent et restituerent, in vim litterarum a nobis emanatarum edito et publicato, penitus spreto, censuras et penas in illo contentas damnabiliter incurrendo, minime restituere voluisse litterasque in forma brevis sub eiusdem Pauli predecessoris nomine, quibus illa sibi per eundem Paulum predecessorem donata esse contineri asserebatur, falso fabricari fecisse et seu fabricasse aut saltem in eisdem literis falsitatem admisisse seu de ipsius mandato commissam fuisse, ipsosque cardinales et ducem alia etiam varia crimina et delicta, etiam falsitates et testium subornationem commisisse seu committi et patrari fecisse, suasisse vel mandasse. Nos, non valentes premissa, non solum ex assidua plurimorum relatione, sed etiam ex vehementi publica fama ac per modum quodammodo notorii ad nostram notitiam deducta. pro nostri officii debito non sine maximo totius

orbis et Ecclesie scandalo conniventibus oculis pertransire, in primis predictos cardinales et ducem, de quorum fuga, si informationes de premissis coram notario recepte fuissent, maxime verendum erat, in arce nostra S^ti^ Angeli detrudi iussimus et deinde venerabili fratri Hieronimo episcopo Sagenensi alme Urbis nostre gubernatori et vicecamerario ut super premissis diligenter inquireret ac quoscunque, etiam episcopali dignitate fungentes, de premissis ac aliis eorundem ducis et cardinalium excessibus et delictis informatos examinaret, vive vocis oraculo commisimus et mandavimus ; qui de mandato nostro huiusmodi super eis inquirere et quamplures etiam circa premissa complices examinare incepit et examinavit. Ne autem de viribus processus per eum hactenus desuper habiti et imposterum habendi hesitari contingat, motu simili et ex certa scientia eidem Hieronimo gubernatori per presentes committimus et mandamus ut super premissis omnibus et singulis aliisque in processu deductis et deducendis contra supradictos cardinales et ducem ac omnes alios et singulos quoscunque etiam episcopali vel alia dignitate preditos in eodem processu relatos eadem auctoritate diligenter inquireret, personis cardinalium dumtaxat exceptis, quos non nisi cum assistentia nonnullorum ex venerabilibus fratribus nostris eiusdem S. R. E. cardinalibus, ad id per nos deputatorum seu deputandorum, examinari et quod contra eos repertum fuerit nobis, ut quid de eis statuendum sit deliberare possimus, per eundem gubernatorem referri volumus, in reliquis causam et causas huiusmodi cum omnibus et singulis earum incidentibus, dependentiis, emergentiis, annexis et connexis iuxta facultates suas ordinarias et stilum sue curie audiat, cognoscat et pro iusticia terminet atque decidat. Dantes ei potestatem et facultatem quoscunque etiam dicta episcopali dignitate insignitos citandi et quibus et quotiens opus fuerit inhibendi, et pro veritate comperienda quascunque personas, etiam ecclesiasticas et ut prefertur qualificatas, ad subiiciendum se examini etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas aliaque iuris et facti remedia opportuna, prout iuris fuerit, cogendi et compellendi et absque eo quod persone huiusmodi aliquam propterea irregularitatem incurrant, quam illas nullatenus incurrere volumus et declaramus, axaminandi, et delinquentes quos culpabiles repererit presentes debitis penis etiam ultimi

suplicii puniendi, absentes vero, etiam si dignitate episcopali prediti existant, habitis contra eos etiam extraiudicialiter iuditiis, arbitrio suo quantum sibi sufficere videbitur, constito sibi presertim extraiudicialiter de illorum ab Urbe et Romana curia fuga et recessu vel alias ipsorum latitatione, etiam per edictum ad valvas sue curie et in acie Campiflore affigendum, ad comparendum coram eo personaliter et non per procuratorem seu excusatorem aliquem intra terminum per eum prefigendum, et se ab obiectis et obiiciendis excessibus, criminibus et delictis expurgandum et excusandum, ac cum dilecto filio Alexandro Palanterio nostro Camere Apostolice procuratore fiscali iuri standum, sub excommunicationis maioris, suspensionis a divinis et ingressus ecclesie, privationis ecclesiarum et cathedralium, dignitatum et beneficiorum, pensionum annuarum et fractuum reservationum et officiorum ac feudorum et dominiorum utilium et temporalium aliorumque bonorum omnium confiscationis et corporalibus etiam ultimi supplicii et aliis etiam pecuniariis eius arbitrio imponendis penis, monendi et requirendi, et si non comparuerint seu etiam si comparuerint et se ab obiectis excessibus, criminibus et delictis legitime non expurgaverint, servatis quatuor terminis in similibus servari solitis, censuras et penas predictas incurrisse declarandi, aggravandi, reaggravandi, interdicendi et contra eos brachium seculare invocandi aliaque omnia et singula faciendi et exequendi in premissis et circa ea necessaria [sic] seu quomodolibet opportuna, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac privilegiis, indultis, litteris apostolicis, dignitate ducali dicteque militie sancti Michaelis et illius militibus ac S. R. E. cardinalibus, etiam per capitula in proximo preterito conclavi, in quo nos ad summi apostolatus apicem assumpti fuimus, firmatis, concessis, confirmatis et innovatis, quibus omnibus, illorum tenores etc., quoad premissa dumtaxat specialiter et expresse deroganus, stilo palatii caterisque contrariis quibuscunque statum et merita cause et causarum huiusmodi delinquentium nomina, cognomina, dignitates et numerum delictorum, species, qualitates et circumstancias ceterorumque premissorum ac aliorum forsan necessario vel magis specifice exprimendorum tenores et compendia pro sufficienter expressis habentes.

[Manu Pontificis] Placet et ita motu proprio committimus et mandamus.

Presentetur. B. Amerinus Regens.
[Foris] Prima iulii 1560 Nicolaus de Matheis.
Prima iulii 1560 Hieronimo Sagonensi gubernatori.

Gubernatore—Romana excessuum pro Fisco; contra R^mos^ Cardinales Carafa et Neapolitanum ac ill^mum^ ducem Paliani et alios. Die 1 iulii 1560.

Aloysius de Ruere notarius actuarius.

[Orig. Miscell. X 197 p. 492 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.]

9—10. Marcantonio da Mula to Venice.[1]

1560, August 24, Rom.

La materia dei Caraffi, trattata con tanta diligenza et sollicitudine, com'ho più volte scritto, è più a cuore a Sua Santità ch'ogni altra; et s' è giustificata la mano del marchese Alberto et suo sigillo da persone prattiche, et ogni dì mattina e sera si sono ridotti, et parve al cardinale della causa spagnuola di dire parole e molto libere al cardinale Caraffa, che saria meglio per lui, essendo hormai convinto com'è et non potendo fuggire la condannatione, rimettersi nella pura misericordia del pontefice, et non più stare sopra negative che non li giovano, ma mandare a chiamare due teologhi huomini da bene che l'inducessero a pensare all'anima sua et non più alle cose di questo mondo. Il che dalli altri cardinali, ch'erano presenti, fu in un certo modo ripreso, et il card Caraffa con grand'impeto si dolse et esclamò, assai displorando la miseria sua et l'ingiustitia che diceva esserli fatta. Poi esso cardinale mandò a dire al pontefice ch'egli era stato huomo dal bel mondo et soldato et haveva fatto del male assai a'suoi dì, et se egli meritava perder la robba, la vita e l'honore, stimava più l'honore ch' ogn'altra cosa, et raccommandavasi humilmente a Sua S^tà^ dicendo che pativa e molto del vivere et non haveva più il modo; et Sua Santità gli mandò a rispondere che non haveva alcun male che lui medesimo non l'havesse procurato.

[Copy. Court Library, Vienna, *seq.* 6749 p. 402.]

11. Marcantonio da Mula to Venice.[2]

1560, October 26, Rom.

Manderò il plico per Spagna ricevuto con le lettere di V. Ser^tà^ il 19, e non potei hieri haver l'audienza da S. S^tà^, com'

[1] See *supra*, p. 152, n. 1. [2] See *supra*, p. 156 n. 2,

è l'ordinario, perche la mattina fu consistoro et ella suole sempre uscirne tardi et esser stanca, et mi fece sapere ch'io andassi questa mattina ; e buono fu ch'io non andassi hieri, perche l'haverei ritrovata alquanto alterata perche hieri mattina in principio del concistoro il card^le^ di Carpi si fece innanzi a S. S^tà^ e chiamati alcuni altri cardinali, le parlò in presenza sua a favore de' Caraffi domandando termine, dilationi et giustitia. Ond'il pontefice si alterò e chiamò tutti l'altri cardinali e fece ch'il card^le^ di Carpi repplicò la sua instanza e poi cominciò a dire che sapeva che si negasse giustitia, termine, dilationi, e longamente riprese esso card^le^ di Carpi con parole pungenti.

Il card^le^ si scusava e replicava giustitia, onde il rumore fu assai grande, e però si fecero poche facenda in concistero, se non che furono spediti alcuni vescovati in Francia, e circa essi Caraffi si vanno formando le diffese del cardinale e quelle del card^le^ di Napoli ancora non si sono date, et alcuni dicono che le oppositioni non sono così gravi come si diceva da prima, scusandosi il card^le^ in tutto sopra la volontà del papa suo zio. . . . .

[Copy ; Court Library, Vienna.]

12. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, February 22, Rom.

. . . Il duca di Paliano per quanto si dice è ridotto a tanta miseria che non ha che magnare, et sono due o tre dì, che un'altro prigionato gli prestò 5 scudi, non havendo egli dove sovenirsi. Sono intrati in Roma questi dì secretamente soldati ben armati, ma nissuno sa a che effetto, et pare che chiedutane la causa da N. S. ci habbia sol detto, eh, non è niente, non di meno questi dì si sparse fama che era stata trovata una poliza, la qual fu portata a S. S^tà^ et in essa se gli dava aviso che gente armata dovea venire a forte de Nona et mentre che ciascuno stava occupato in quei bagordi del carnevale dovea andare a levare per forza il duca di Palliano de forte de Nona, per il che all'hora fu levato de là et ridotto in Castello, et pare che dai birri siano stati detenuti et si trovino colpevoli di non so che, et de qui anco naschi la fretta che si fa di spedire la causa, tuttavia si vederà il fine. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 158, n. 2, 162 n. 2.

13. Consistory of 3 March, 1561.[1]

. . . Deinde vero Sua S^{tàs}, instante domino Alexandro Pallanterio procuratore fiscali, mandavit domino Hieronymo de Federicis episcopo Sagonensi, gubernatori Urbis, ut referret processum causae contra cardinalem Carafam ; qui obediendo Suae Sanctitati retulit : duravitque relatio ab hora decima septima ad vigesimam quartam. Post quam quidem relationem Sua S^{tàs} pronuntiavit prout in cedula et terminavit consistorium.

Iulius card. Perusinus [camerarius.]

[Copy. Acta consist. Camer. IX, 38. Consistorial archives of the Vatican.]

14. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1561, March 5, Rome.

. . . Il dì del concistoro il card^{le} Caraffa tanto si perse che non potea parlare, hora dicono essere stata intimata a tutti la morte, et che detto Card^{le} non parla ad alcuno, se non che urla a modo di animale. Il conte di Aliffa si voleva amazzare, ma gli hanno poste le guardie. Don Lonardo non si può aquietare, tuttavia vi sono seco li capucini confortatori. N. S. deve partire se no dimani o l'altro, almeno lunidì certo per Civita Vecchia, et la sera inanti si farà la essecutione. Il duca di Palliano prega solo d' essere ispedito presto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems.[3]

1561, March 5, Roma.

Brief with the following autograph postscript by the Pope : Voi non doveti instare che el Re vi mandi, anci se vi vole mandar doveti far ogni cosa per excusarvi, se pero questa letera vi trovasse in viaggio et che havesti comissioni importanti di Sua M^{tà} non vi levammo la faculta del [erasure] maravigliammo anchora che [defect in the paper] habbiati scritto in quel modo in favore de Caraffa, attento che Sua M^{tà} ne ha scritto in una altera manera et con altri rispetti. Cacciate [via] Avanzino et non impedite la g[ra]tia de li Borromei et por[tate] ve bene.

[Orig. Hohenems Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 166 [2] See *supra*, p. 166. [3] See *supra*, p. 104. n. 2.

16. Marcantonio da Mula to Venice.[1]

1561, March 7, Roma.

Lunedi fu concistoro, il quale si ridusse la mattina a buon hora e durò fino a due hore di notte. Si lesse il processo del cardinal Caraffa e la causa fu trattata per il governadore, intendo, con molta vehemenza ; al quale il cardinal di Ferrara rispose come quello che sapeva il tutto in materia delle cose di Francia e della guerra fu ascoltato, e tutti i cardinali intercessero ; ma non valse, perche il pontefice disse che voleva far giustitia, e pronuntiava la sentenza prout in cedula, dando al governatore una polizza bollata, e commandandoli che non la dovesse aprire fino ad altro ordine suo, e questa conteneva la sentenza ; et il giorno seguente il governatore si ridusse col fiscale et i suoi giudici, et espedirono i laici, cioè il duca di Palliano, il conte di Alife suo cognato, il sig^r conte Leonardo di Cardine ; ma non si sapeva come fosse l'espedition loro ; si dubitava male, per le parole che disse Sua Santità in concistoro, onde poi il mercore il sig^r Vargas si dolse con S. S^tà che volesse mettere in si puoco conto le raccomandationi del serenissimo re cattolico, che intercedeva per li signori Caraffi, come scrissi che faceva per l'ultimo spaccio, e Sua Santità gli rispose che voleva far giustitia ad ogni modo, se ben fosse anco contro il re Filippo.

La notte poi del mercore medesimo ad hore quattro entrorno i barigelli in Castello et andati alle stanze del duca di Palliano, gli dissero che lo volevano menare a Civita Vecchia, et egli, vedutosi che lo volevano far morire, gli disse che non conveniva che procedessero con lui in tal modo, per che era pronto a morire, ma desiderava haver tanto tempo che potesse scrivere una lettera al suo figliuolo : e cosi gli portorno da scrivere e la copia mando qui inclusa.

Fornito di scrivere, prese in mano un crocefisso et una candela benedetta accesa e, doppo dette alcune orationi, andò alle stanze del conte di Alife suo cognato col crocefisso e la candela in mano e, salutatolo, disse : Fratello, andiamo di buona voglia, bisogna morire, anzi andare alla vita, esortandolo con tal sorte di parole che intendo che non si poteva dir le più belle nè le più christiane ; e con lui andò alle stanze del sig^r Leonardo di Cardine, et essortato ancor lui con efficacia a morire volontieri et consolatolo, furono menati

[1] See *supra*, p. 170.

tutti e tre fuori di Castello in Torre di Nona, dove furono decapitati, morendo tutti christianissimamente.

Poi ritornati i barigelli[1] in Castello, che potevano essere le cinque hore di notte, andorno alle stanze del cardinal Caraffa, il quale non sapeva niente di questo fatto, e destatolo, perche dormiva, disse uno de'barigelli : Monsignore, piace a Dio et al papa che dobbiate morire adesso adesso, però disponetevi. Il cardinale interruppe e disse : Morire ? replicando due volte questa parola con admiratione ; et alcuni dicono che disse di più : Come deve morire uno che non è confessato nè convinto ? Ma datemi da vestire, e fate almeno che mi possa confessare. Il barigello rispose : Se vi volete confessare, è qui un frate per questo, che vi attenderà ; e contentandosi il cardinale che venisse, si fini di vestire sino al saio e domandando la cappa da cardinale e la berretta, dissero che havevano ordine di non gliela dare. Si lavò le mani, si confessò, disse l'ufficio della Madonna e i sette salmi, inginocchiatosi con le mani gionte, disse : Fate il vostro ufficio, e direte al governatore et al fiscale che gli perdono ; e così, messoli un laccio nuovo al collo per strangolarlo, si ruppe il laccio, et egli, levatosi in piedi, disse : Ah traditori, perchè mi stentate a questo modo ? Poi tornatosi ad inginocchiare, gliene posero un altro, il quale anco si ruppe ; ma egli non potendosi più levare et essendo ancor vivo, lo finirono con un lenzuolo del suo letto e lo portorno subito alla chiesa della Traspontina a seppellire, e potevano essere nove hore incirca.

La mattina poi per tempo furono posti i corpi degl' altri in Ponte con alquante torice, il duca in un cataletto coperto di un panno di velluto colle armi de' Caraffi e quella della madre dalla parte destra ; il conte dalla sinistra il sig^r don Leonardo [su] due tappeti in terra, con tanto concorso di popolo che ruppero fino il cataletto e gl'inciamporno addosso per la calca ; e fu forza, quando gli volsero lavar via, che potevano essere quindici hore, portare un altro cataletto : et erano tutti calpestati et infangati, perche piovette dal principio di questo fatto fino che furono seppelliti.

Il popolo minuto e grande biasimano il pontefice per troppo severo, massime nella morte del cardinale e nella sepoltura die tre, havendoli fatti portare di Ponte con scuola della Misericordia fino a S. Giovanni decollato, dove portano

[1] This account is wrong. The Cardinal was executed first. See the *report of Tonina which follows in No. 17.

ogni sorte di giustitiati; di dove i parenti gli hanno poi tolti e portati altrove a seppellire in secreto.
[Copy. Miscell. III. 24 p. 493-497. Papal Secret Archives.]

17. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, March 8, Roma.

. . . È finalmente finita questa tragedia Carafesca. Mercori alle cinque hore di notte andò il barigello Gasparino[2] (come egli stesso ha narrato di bocca) primieramente al card^le^ Caraffa, il quale dormeva supino, et benchè già gli era stata notitiata la morte, come per la precedente mia scrissi a V. Ecc^a^, non di meno non poteva pur crederlo, et così entrato in camera, gli disse quello che era venuto a fare, il che era per far esseguire quel tanto che era di mente di N. S. in farlo morire, al che ci dice, che detto card^le^ rispose per dieci volte, io morire? adunque il Papa vuole che io muoia? Et finalmente chiarito che questa era l'ultima hora, et che se non attendeva a confessaris et accomodare li casi fuoi fra quel poco di tempo che ad esso bargello era stato statuito per fare l'essecutione egli senz' altro aspettare haveria fatto esseguire la commissione sua, anchor che più volte replicasse, io che non ho confessato cosa alcuna, morire? si dispose poi a confessarsi, il che fatto, chiamò tutti gli astanti et li disse, siate testimoni, come io perdono al Papa, al Re di Spagna et al governadore et fiscale et altri nemici miei, poi postolo a sedere sopra una scragna li pose il carnefice il capestro al collo, et dopo haverlo fatto molto stentare lo finì pur al ultimo di strangolare. Andorno poi al duca di Palliano, qual condussero in Torre di Nona et nel discendere dalla prigione di Castel S^to^ Angelo, dimandò dove lo conducevano, et allora il bargello non gli volse dire che lo conducessero a far morire, ma sol gli disse che lo conduceva in Torre di Nona, et più oltre non sapea sin a quella hora. Al che detto duca rispose, che ben sapea che lo conducevano alla morte, che Christo glielo havea rivelato, et che di gratia gli lasciassero scrivere una lettera al figliolo Così ridottosi nella camera dove sta prigione con sigurtà di non far fuga Giovanni de Nepi, interessato anch' egli in questo negotio, esso duca scrisse le due lettere che V. Ecc.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 170, 172.

[2] Gasparinus de Mellis, named barisellus in alma Urbe in the brief of March 20 1557 Min brev. Arm. 42 t. 12, n. 95 Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 167.

vederà con questa alligate, l'altra alla sorella, le quali sono veramente christiane, poi fu condutto a Torre di Nona, dove a lui et il conte di Aliffa et don Leonardo di Cardine fu troncata la testa. Morì il duca dispostissimo, eccetto che nell'istesso voler porre il capo sotto il ceppo o tagliuola, cominciò a dire, aiutatime de gratia tentatione, abrenuntio Satanae, et finalmente fu ispedito; il conte d'Aliffa si dice che ragionava anch' egli alcune parole christiane, pur era fuor di se. Don Leonardo di Cardine mori finalmente disposto. Delli corpi loro segui questo. Il card^le^ fu portato nella chiesa Transpontina, il duca et il conte et D. Leonardo furno portati la mattina per tempo in Ponte, il duca in cadaletto piccolo et assai miserabile, ove giaceva con una veste di pelle in torno con due torze rosse, una per ciascun capo, il conte d'Aliffa et D. Leonardo erano coricati in terra su due miserabili tapeti, longhi dui brazzi o circa, et poi tutti infangati et calpestrati dal numero delle genti che andavano a vedere. Il card^le^ è stato portato poi a sepellire alla Minerva, et si nice anco del duca, gli altri dui dicono che li parenti trattavano di condurgli a Napoli. Del card^le^ di Napoli si spera universalmente poco bene, ma di Pisa si tiene da tutti del sicuro pessimo fine. Di Monte non si sa quello ch'habbia a seguire, ma non se ne spera anco bene alcuno. Havea detto N. S. di voler andare a Civita Vecchia, ma sin qui non vi è segno alcuno. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

18. Avviso di Roma of 8 March, 1561.[1]

Di Roma li 8 marzo 1561. Lunedi si fece concistero sopra le cose de Caraffi, che durò 8 hore di continove et passata un hora di notte si finì et vi fu letto un summario del processo di Caraffa dal governatore; et letto che fu, Sua S^tà^ diede la sententia et pronunciò prout in cedula contra Caraffa et fatto questo si levorono li rev^mi^ Carpi, Ferrara, Farnese, Crispo, Augusta et altri, et andavano da Sua S^tà^ supplicandolo a volere usare qualche misericordia verso il cardinale et non punirlo secondo li demeriti suoi, massime per esser del sacro collegio, che è grado più eccellente in christianità; alli Sua S^tà^ rispose che a tanti enormi delitti non si poteva trovar

[1] See *supra*, pp. 178 *seq.*

luoco di clementia et che a levare li scelerati fuor di quel collegio non ne poteva succedere se non honore. Et così la notte del mercordi circa a hore 6 fu mandato in Castello solo il barigello havendo seco il boia ad anuntiarli la morte così al duca di Paliano suo fratello et al conte d'Aliffe et a Lunardo di Cardine.

Il cardinale dormiva et svegliato dal barigello facendoli intendere c'haveva a morire rispose: io ho a morire, et replicatosi che si, alzò la voce et disse: ò Re Philippo, ò Papa Pio, et poco di poi havendo dimandato a vestire volendosi metter una veste et la baretta da cardinale, gli fu detto che non lo facesse et vestitosi dimandò il confessore et confessatosi disse i sette salmi et altre orationi passeggiando et alle volte ingenocchiandosi et finite le orationi disse sitio chiedendo de l'acqua et beve, tenendo poi stretto et abbracciato un quadro di Nostra Donna, pregando che quello fusse poi dato a sua sorella et postosi di poi a sedere si voltò alli ministri della giustitia et disse, se da me non volete altro, fatte quello c'havete a far et fatte presto. Il laccio, col quale il boia gli stringeva la gola, si ruppe per maggior pena et fu necessario torne un altro col quale fu strangolato et fatto finir di morire et il corpo suo involto in uno linzuolo fu portato a sepelire in S. Maria Transpontina. Fu fatto poi intendere al duca di Paliano che ivi era venuto il barigello, et levatosi ringratiò Iddio poi che era giunto al fine delle sua miserie, poi dimandò del cardinale suo fratello et gli fu risposto che n'era bene et ne laudò et ringratiò Iddio; tolto poi in mano un crusifisso s'inviò verso Torre di Nona, confortando sempre gli altri dui et facendo loro animo et bellissime parole fino a quel punto che misse il collo sul ceppo, onde tutti li circonstanti lagrimavano et cosi furono tutti 3 decapitati et li corpi loro con le teste portati su la piazza di Ponte s. Angelo et furono posti vicino al Ponte verso Torre di Nona, quello del duca sopra uno cataletto con 2 torcie accese et quelli del conte d'Aliffe et di don Lunardo di Cardine sopra la terra nuda presso a pie del cataletto, et poi portati tutti 3 a sepelire di quel modo et di quello luogo che si portono a sepelire i ladri et assassini che morono per giustitia con i sbirri dietro per scorta et questo è stata l'ultimo fin loro. Il Papa disse la matina seguente al card. Borromeo, chel caso di costoro havava da essere de gran documento a lui et che quando

egli facesse il quarto delle cose che essi havevano fatto, pregava Iddio che fusse fatto a lui come a loro. Questa notte passata a hora 5 fue cavato d'una sepoltura il card. Caraffa et accompagnato da 4 frati de quelli della Traspontina, ove era sepolto, fue portato alla Minerva. Hora vi sono li 3 cardinali pregioni, cioè Napoli, Monte et Pisa che di loro si ne fa malissimo giudicio, massime di Pisa che de lui si dubita più che delli altri.

Di Venetia alli 14 marzo 1561. V. Stopio.

On the reverse : Al Ulrico Fuccari Augusta.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 258b—259. Vatican Library.]

19. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

Roma, 1561, December 3.

. . . Di Franza non si ha da poi più altro, ma si crede che habbino poca voglia di concilio, li capi et nel generale. Per contrario la Stà di N. S. per ogni modo vuole ch' esso concilio si faccia, et da persona che lo può sapere, intendo che ha havuto a dire, faciamo pur il concilio et poi pensaremo alla esecutione, come che habbi in animo finito quello di provedere poi per altra via alle heresie. Questa sera intorno a un hora di notte o circa con un pessimo aere, che si trovava, egli era sopra li corridori che vanno da palazzo a Castello, a lume di torze, ne pare che temi cosa alcuna, tanto è robusto in questa sua vecchiezza. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Avviso di Roma of 6th December, 1561.[2]

. . . Sua Stà parlò della riforma [nel concistoro di hieri] che pur li sta tuttavia nel core, dicendo che voleva esser lei la prima a porvi la mano, et massimamente nella corte, dove li pareva non esser ragionevole che il concistoro nè altri vi ponessero la mano, et che perhò voleva far una bulla sopra le cose della sede vacante, nel qual tempo si faceva cose assai che apportavano scandali ; et disse di voler limitare l' autorità del camerlengo per quel tempo, non li parendo honesto che egli potesse liberar banditi o confinati in galea, nè far salvo condutti et far pagar debiti della Sede Apostolica senza il consenso di tutto il collegio ; et de simil facultà che tiene et anche circa

[1] See *supra*, pp. 87. 262.
[2] See *supra*, p. 279

la Penitentiaria che la faceva alcune cose che non stanno bene ; et disse che voleva che il conclave in sede vacante si dovesse far in Castello et che la elettione passasse per bollotatione et non per via de voti con pollize. Ma di questo ultimo non fece ferma deliberatione, per che S. Stà manderà la bulla a tutti cardinali ad un per uno per poter dir il lor parere. . . . Sua Santità è stata per 2 o 3 dì molto ristretta con li revmi Alessandrino et Trani sopra le cose della riforma ; ma non s' intende che sia conclusa cosa veruna : ben si dubitava che dovesse uscire una bulla che ogniuno andasse alle parocchiali et cure che hanno. . . .

Il negocio della reformatione della Penetentiaria S. Stà ha rimessa la consideratione alli revmi San Clemente et Vitello con doi altri prelati, et la reformation del Datariato ha rimesso alli rev i Stà Fiore et S. Angelo.

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 317b, Vatican Library.]

21. Avviso di Roma of 13th December, 1561.[1]

. . . Giovedì si fece la solita congregatione nanti il papa, nella quale si trattò la cosa della riforma et del concilio ; ma fin qui non è determinato niente, perche a cardinali non è parso conveniente che tanti illustmi et reverendmi si riduchino sotto la custodia d' un solo castellano, ne gli è piaciuta la proposta della diminutione del vivere et riduttione a pane et acqua, se fra tanto tempo non s' accordassero a fare il papa nel castello di Sto Angelo, dicendo che sarebbe assai quando si riducessero a far vita de frati, e disse Sua Stà che non era bene che nissun cardinale tenesse più d' un cocchio et che in esso si potesse andare ad alcun atto publico nè tornare, ma sopra li loro muli et con le solite cavalcate ; et furono fatti diversi altri ragionamenti et discorsi pur senza conclusione.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 325b, Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di roma of 20th December, 1561.[2]

. . . Le bolle della riforma delli ecclesiastici et del conclave va[nno] intorno fra questi revmi, et già il revmo Carpi l' ha sottoscritta, cosa che si pensava non dovesse fare così facil-

[1] See *supra*, p. 279.
[2] See *supra*, p. 279.

mente ; et Sua S^{tà} l' ha data di sua man propria al rev^{mo} di Mantua suo zio, nella quale vuol S. S^{tà} [ad] ogni modo che la creatione si facci con ballottatione a usanza di Venetia.

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 319^{b}, Vatican Library.]

23. Avviso di Roma of 10th January, 1562.[1]

. . . Il giorno inanzi [lunedì passato vigilia della coronatione di S. S^{tà}] Sua Santità fece comandare sotto pena della sua disgratia, che nissun cameriero andasse per Roma se non in habito ecclesiastico, et così tutti gli altri beneficiati in habito di prete ; et la riforma della corte, Penitentiaria, Datariato et del conclave va tuttavia intorno et starà poco a publicarsi. . . .

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 330, Vatican Library.]

24—33. Reforming Activity of Pius IV. from February to May, 1562.[2]

1. Avviso di Roma of 8th February, 1562.

On Monday the Pope issued a Motuproprio : all holders of benefices who are *in sacris* must, under pain of excommunicaion, wear the priestly dress (*sottana di sotti il ginocchio*). [3]

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 337, Vatican Library.]

2. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.

1562, February 21, Rom.

. . . È uscito un motu proprio, che tutti che hanno beneficii o pensioni o siano in sacris vadino in habito et tonsura, et perchè si trovano de coqui, de staferi et altri più vili persone servitori de card^{li} che hanno beneficii et pensioni, alcuni card^{li} hanno fatto ricorso a S. B^{ne} perchè questo editto si moderasse et sopra questo è stata fatta congregatione, ma non solo N. S. non ha voluto moderar quello, ma hoggi ni è uscito un' altro che sotto l' istesse pene di escommunicatione, carceratione, pecuniarie ad arbitrio et della privatione de benefici, tutti habbino ubedito fra nove dì, altrimente si essequiranno le pene. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 279.
[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 279.
[3] In consequence of opposition the carrying out of the order had to be referred to the next consistory ; see Arco in Kassowitz, XVII. n. 17.

3. Avviso di Roma of 7th March, 1562.]

Thursday, a Congregation of the Cardinals, in the presence of the Pope, concerning the reform of the Penitentiary, the greed of which must be restrained, " di che il card. S. Angelo [Ranuccio Farnese] si duole."

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 343b. Vatican Library.]

4. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.

1562, April 2, Rom.

. . . Hieri è stata congregatione nella quale fu disputato assai, se li card^i che hanno pensioni o benefici in Spagna doveranno contribuire alla concessione fatta alla M^tà Cath^ca delle 60 galere, et fu concluso che non. Hoggi è stata congregatione sopra le cose della Penitentiaria, la quale S. S^tà dimostro haver animo di ridurre a pochissima authorità, cosa che cede a molto danno del card^le S. Angelo, il qual pertanto dopo finita essa congregatione, nella quale sono intravenuti gli ufficiali principali di essa, si doleva et sbatteva assai, con alcuni altri card^li, pur converrà che habbi patienza, perchè è già un pezzo che S. B^ne ha questa voglia. Se dimani fa buon tempo (che questa sera è gran pioggia) S. S^tà havea desegnato di andare all' acqua di Salone, cioè a verdere quest' acqua, la quale è un vaso di bonissima acqua, che si è in opera per condurla a Roma, et sarà bastevole, senza bere più di quell del fiume, ma non sono ancora in essere li vasi, et vi sono qualche differenze. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Avviso di Roma of 25th April, 1562.

The Pope is holding many congregations on reform, " ma non conclude niente ; " especially of the Dataria and Penitentiary, " che sono di grandissima importantia per gli offitii di Roma che sono fondate sopra l' intrate che si cavano dalle ispeditioni."

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 358b. Vatican Library.]

6. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.

1562, May 2, Roma.

. . . La S^tà de N. S. è così entrata alla riforma di questi uffici di Roma, che altro non si sente che stridi de gli ufficiali

di Penitentiaria et degli altri uffici, massime di Camera. Alla Penitentiaria si levano tutti le si in evidenti, che passino l' entrata di venti scudi et tutte le assolutioni da delitti, et tante altre authorità che havea che dire il card^le^ S. Angelo, che gli levano d' entrata più de cinque mila scudi l' anno. Al Camerlengo levano quasi tutta l' authorità et massime quella che havea in sede vacante, grandissima, et in maniera passano le cose, che quelli che hanno comprati già gli uffici per cinque, sei et sette mila scudi, hor si dariano voluntieri per due et tre. Ogni cosa si riduce alla Dataria, in maniera che molti mormorano che S. B^ne^ tiri l' acqua tutta al suo molino. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.

1562, May 6, Roma.

. . . Non si sente altro qui de presente che parlare di riforma, ha S. B^ne^ levato gli accessi, regressi et coadiutorie et le confidenze, sopra il che si ha da publicare una bolla rigorosissima. Quella della riforma della Penitentiaria non è stata ancora mandata in publico, perchè ancorchè nel consitorio di luni prossimo passato S. B dicesse espressamente alli r^mi^ card^li^ Cueva, Morone, Cesis et S. Clemente che gli parlorono per gli ufficiali che voleva che fusse com' era stabilita, non di meno ottennero che si soprasedesse il publicarla per certo poco. Parlò non di meno S. B^ne^ in presenza d' ogniuno molto chiaro che non voleva farsi altro, perchè gli dimandavano almeno qualche ricompenso et restoro della ruina che gli era delli ufficii loro. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

8. Avviso di Roma of 9th May, 1562.

Reform of the Cancellaria. Abolition of *vivae vocis oraculo per conto delle indulgentie,* which are generally to be granted but sparingly.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 362. Vatican Library.]

9. Avviso di Roma of 16th May, 1562.

Yesterday a general congregation of all the Cardinals. A bull on the reform of the Penitentiary.

[Orig Urb. 1039, p. 363. Vatican Library.]

10. Avviso di Roma of 23rd May, 1562.

The bull for the reform of the Penitentiary appeared in print.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 366. Vatican Library.]

34. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1564, April 22, Rom.

. . . Si ragiona assai per corte che detto r^mo^ Borromei sia dato tutto al spirito, et quasi a una vita theatina, della quale dubitando N. S., si dice anco che l' ha fatto eshortare a lasciar la pratica stretta che teneva de essi Theatini et a loro, che sotto pene non vi pratichino. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

35. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1564, April 29, Rom.

. . . Qui si ragiona che N. S. tiene molto dispiacere della stretta pratica che il r^mo^ Borromei ha tuttavia con questi Theatini, li quali dicono che S. S^tà^ dice che mirano alle intrate et beni, più che alla santità che di fuora mostrano et che con destro modo ha fatto sapere ad esso ill^mo^ Borromei quanto sarebbe il desiderio suo in ciò, con eshortarlo ad attendere alli negocii et carico che ha per non dar occasione a S. B^ne^ di far altra provisione come seria necessario per il cumulo de negoci di questa S^tà^ Sede. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

36. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1564, August 12, Rom.

. . . Di questo medico di S. B^ne^ ditenuto variamente si ragiona, et ancora che da molti sia detto che sia pur suspitione di veneno, laonde si dice che viene anco fatto processo con il card^le^ di Napoli, non di meno la cosa va tanto secreta che non si ne può penetrare di certezza il vero. S. B^ne^ si trova ancora a S. Apostolo, palazzo del s^r^ card^le^ Borromei in vita acquistato dal s. ill. Antonio Colona, et nel quale adesso si lavora in fabrica di molta spesa et va S. B^ne^ ad alto per sopra certi

[1] See *supra*, p. 119.
[2] See *supra*, p. 119.
[3] See *supra*, p. 87, n. 4, and Vol. XVI. of this work.

ponti che non sono anco molto sicuri et dove tuttavia cascano pietre et altre cose da muri. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

37. Onofrio Panvinio as Biographer of Pius IV.

The fourth Pius is among those Popes who have not been made the subject of a long and full biography. He was not one of those outstanding personalities, such as a biographer delights in. Moreover, the closing period of the Council of Trent drew general attention to itself rather than to what was happening in Rome. The brief biographical sketch of Pius IV. which O. Panvinio added to his biographies of other Popes, is an instance of this. In this matter the veil has been drawn back by a German historian, who has won great renown by his history of Pius IV., namely, Giuseppe Šusta, in his splendid monograph published in Czech in the year 1900, under the title: Pius IV. prěd pontificátem a na počátku pontifikátu (Pius IV. before his pontificate down to its beginning). J. Goll wrote a spirited review of this work in the Abendpost of Vienna, 1902, Beilage n. 21, to which attention was drawn in the Histor. Zeitschrift, LXXXIX, 330. In spite of this, the results of the researches of Šusta have remained quite unnoticed among scholars. Even Merkle, who, in the second volume of his great collection of authorities called *Concilium Tridentinum*, devotes a very minute dissertation to the life and writings of Panvinio in their bearing on the Popes and conclaves during the Council, knows nothing of them. With the acumen which is characteristic of him, Šusta, in Appendix II, p. 159 *seqq.* submits to a critical examination the Vita Pii IV. of Panvinio, as it appears in the edition of 1568, which hitherto has been accepted, together with the Venetian reports, as the principal authority, and comes to the surprising conclusion that for Pius IV. Panvinio is by no means the safe guide that even Müller (Konklave Pius IV., 228, n. 242) thought him to be. In this case that fact comes out even more strongly, which, in speaking of the sources and authorities for the history of Paul IV. in the present work (Vol. XIV., 486 *seqq*), I established in the case of the Carafa Pope, namely that our historian has allowed himself to be very strongly biased

in his account by the public opinion which was often very strong in the Curia, and by his own relations with his patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

The first edition of the Vita Pii IV. of Panvinio appeared in 1562 as an appendix to the new edition of Platina issued by the Cologne editor, Maternus Cholinus.[1] This very brief sketch (p. 340–342) the mere embryo of the later biography, went as far as the end of 1561; it is all rather colourless, and at times may be altogether discounted on account of its brevity. Thus, for example, according to this account we should be led to believe that Cardinal Medici remained in Rome during the whole of the pontificate of Paul IV. Although it does not lack the usual words of praise, of which the humanist writers were never sparing, it is nevertheless very far from being a panegyric. According to all appearances the thing was much felt at the Papal court. Above all it was bound to cause talk that a point so well known and discussed as the Florentine origin of the Medici of Milan was passed over in silence. As far as other defects were concerned, the haste used in its composition might have been urged as an excuse, but this omission implied an attack on the upstart. It is not difficult to understand what led Panvinio to act in this way. He who had had relations with the new Pope while he was still a Cardinal, found himself disappointed in his ambitious expectations when the Cardinal had been raised to the supreme dignity.[2] Šusta (p. 161) conjectures, and not without good grounds, that Panvinio's relations with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whose own relations with Pius IV. had become strained, helped to prepossess him against Pius IV. But in court circles, and indeed with Pius IV. himself, the attitude adopted by Panvinio could not be a matter of indifference, since an author who was so popular and gifted exercised a considerable influence on public opinion. It was thought well to win him over. Panvinio was given a position in the Vatican Library, with a monthly salary of ten ducats, in addition to a money present of 500 ducats.[3] He then wrote, with the greatest possible speed, a new Vita Pii IV. He received from the Pope himself

[1] *Cf.* SCHRORS in the Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein, LXXXV., Cologne, 1908, 150 *seq.*

[2] The 200 scudi given to Panvinio by Pius IV. was considered insufficient (see PERINI, O. Panvinio, Roma, 1899, 24, 219).

[3] See PERINI, 219; MERKLE, II., cxxvi.

by word of mouth, a justification of the condemnation of the Carafa,[1] to be included in his book. Besides this he received from the Pope's intimate friends certain "hints" which indicated a number of changes that might be introduced in his more detailed Vita. As a proof that Panvinio very willingly accommodated himself to these desires, Šusta refers, though very briefly, to the Cod. Vatic. lat. 6775, and to Cod. 122 of Arm. X of the Miscell. in the Papal Secret Archives. (*Emendanda, addenda vel demenda sine ulla contradictione et si opportuerit meis sumptibus in vita Pii IV. papae*). On account of the important bearing which this has upon the question of the independence of Panvinio, it will not be out of place to print here at least one of these "hints." It is to be found in Cod. Vatic. lat. 6775, Par. 2a, p. 155—166b, and runs as follows:

Populari statu—Honorifico[2] potius, si Iovio credimus in vita Leonis X.

Pater Pii IV. Sequendo ordinem naturae et temporum et personarum, videtur prius facienda mentio avi, deinde patris, postea filiorum; et antequam nomen Pii IV exprimeretur, nuncupandus esset simpliciter Ioannes Angelus; deinde gradatim prout eius aucta est dignitas, immutandum nomen prothonotarii et archiepiscopi.

Medices—potius Mediceus.

Marignani—vulgare nimis et etiam depravatum; nam Melegnanum dictur vulgo. Latinior vox esset Melenianum.

Paschae—Paschatis potius, licet alii contra.

Paroeciae—cum a dictione graeca παρογος descendat, dicendum potius Parochia; licet Budaeus contra.

Hic commemorandum videtur illud praesagium flammae lambentis crines pueri dum noctu cum nutrice cubaret.

Iuri operam—prius philosophiae ac medicinae.

Consecutus est. Deinde in patriam reversus in iurisperitorum collegium cooptatus, aliquandiu farensi actioni inservivit,[3] cum assiduis bellis[4] exagitata patria pacate in ea degere non posset.

Publicis muneribus deinde affinitate.—Hic quoque servandus ordo videretur, ut primo recenserentur munera,

[1] See *supra*, p. 140.
[2] On the margin: illustri—claro.
[3] On the margin: se dedit.
[4] On the margin: bellorum turbinibus.

magistratus, provinciae quas ei delegavit Paulus III et quae singilatim enumerantur in praefatione; deinde collatio archiepiscopatus, affinitas, cardinalatus.

Praefuit Asculanis—contracte nimis; ideo aliquanto latius explicanda, praesertim ubi aliquid insigne edidit.

Alter marchio—hic addenda dictio quae indicet esse illum de quo supra.

Inique—hoc nimis aggravat factum Caesarianorum. Forte melius: quorundam aemulorum conspiratione.

Lites finibus—propius videtur: finium regundorum disceptator et arbiter.

Exercitus curator—Quaestor potius.

Parmam missis—Non misit, sed ivit, et quanquam nulla secum stipendia attulisset, opibus tamen amicorum, quos Parmae habuit, adiutus, valido praesidio urbem firmavit.

Novissime—Hic praecedere debet mentio affinitatis, archiepiscopatus Ragusin,, episcopatus Cassan.

Consilio ipsius et opera atque solertia.

Publica munera nulla attigit—aberrat a vero, quia sub Iulio III. et Paulo IV modo signaturae iustitae, modo gratiae, modo utrique praefuit.

Pauli IV severitas—omittendum, et praetereunda causa balneorum Lucensium et desiderii visendae fruendae patriae.

Avitis aedibus—Non erant avita, sed nova aedificia a fratre marchione coepta.

Vixit—addendum: nec tamen diem ullum praetermisit in quo litterariis studiis non incumberet, sic bonas horas consumendo.

Hic quoque vel alio in loco primum illud et liberale factum commemorandum videtur, cum fraternam adivisset haereditatem et dubitaret ne facta fratris, dum variis praefuit bellis, aliqui iacturam bonorum suorum fecissent, redditum annuum mille aureorum ex censu fraterno xenodochio seu, ut vocant, hospitali magno Mediolani concessit, ut ex eo primo resarcirentur damna passi, deinde pauperes infirmi alerentur; quin etiam propria sacerdotia satis ampli redditus eidem hospitali assignavit.

Existimatus est, tamen quam praecipue, cum Urbe inundatione Tyberis sub Paulo IV fame vexata, quicquid ipse in horreis ad familiae suae pro integro anno usum

considerat, liberaliter ad egenae plebis substentationem primis mensibus deprompsit.

Cardinalium ambitum, modestius ob varias dissensiones.

Alexandro Farnesio, Hippolyto a Ferr. omittenda, cum electio pontificis tam homini quam Deo accepta ferenda sit.

Qui laesi—qui alioqui laesi.

Florentiae, Allobroga—prius Allobroga.

Labefactorum—labefactum.

Ante omnia, ne videatur id ie profecto egisse ut quaecunque decreta Pauli IV subverteret, texenda est oratio ut appareat ob multorum querimonias qui se Pauli sanctionibus iniuste tractatos lamentabantur, coactum esse novum ius rescribere.

Evidently these "hints" come from somebody intimately acquainted with the daily life of Pius IV. Their nature is such that there can remain no doubt as to the aim with which they were drawn up. As soon as one looks at the second edition of the Vita Pii IV. which Panvinio composed, and which goes to the end of 1562, one must see that in it Panvinio has made use, in the most literal way, of almost all the "hints" with which he was provided.

Of this second edition Šusta was only acquainted with the précis in Cod. 122 of Arm. XI. of the Miscell. in the Papal Secret Archives. He was of opinion that it is not possible to decide for certain whether this second edition was ever published, as he had not been able to discover Latin editions of Platina from 1562 to 1568, but that the second edition was to be found in an Italian translation of Platina-Panvinio, which was published in Venice in 1563 by Michele Tramezino.[1] In this respect I am able to complete the researches of Šusta. I have before me: B. Platinae Historia de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum a D. N. Iesu Christo usque ad Paulum Papam II. longe quam antea emendatior, cui Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis fratris Eremitae Augustiniani opera reliquorum quoque pontificum vitae usque ad Pium IIII, pontificem maximum adiunctae sunt. Venetiis, apud Michaelem Tramezinum. Anno 1562. There, p. 315b–319, may be found the Latin text of the second edition. At the begininng of this work there is a dedication by Panvinio to Pius IV. dated

[1] G. GAIDA, Platynae Historici Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum, in the new edition by MURATORI, Rerum Ital. Scriptores fasc. 124, Città di Castello, 1913, p. xevii, wo eine gute Übersicht aller Ausgaben und Übersetzungen des Platina-Panvinio, where there is a good account of all the editions and translations of Platina—Panvinio.

Romae kal. octobr. [October 1st] 1561[1], in which there is given as the reason for the edition the close approach of the Council. There is no lack of praise for the reigning Pope: "Cui enim aptius dicari de maximis pontificibus liber scriptus potuit, quam pontifici maximo? et ei pontifici, qui divinitus nobis in hac temporum hominumque pravitate datus est. Qui pietate, religione, iustitia, prudentia et humanitate, ecclesiae ipsi iam in senium vergenti et fere collapse pias manus porrigere et eam iacentem attollere rursum atque paene confectam restituere sua virtute et Dei beneficio et potest et vult." The whole of the new life is written in this sense. In the place of the dry and meagre first sketch we have now a highly coloured and detailed account, full of such plentiful eulogies of the Pope that one might almost call it a panegyric. At the very beginning the Florentine origin of the family is brought out, and at this point there is inserted, in accordance with the "hint" which had been communicated to him as above, the little story of the wonderful light which had surrounded the cradle of Pius IV. In other places too the "hints" are used almost word for word, while at the same time many other changes are made, which obviously may also be attributed to similar "hints" from the intimate friends of the Pope. The account of the successive steps in the rise of Pius IV. is much more exact than in the first edition. In support of his own credibility Panvinio says twice over that he is writing as an eye-witness (p. 316b and 317). Here too the contrast between Medici and Paul IV., passed over in the first edition, is suitably emphasized, together with the former's absence from Rome. In the second edition the good qualities of Pius IV., and especially his liberality, are much more fully exemplified; when speaking of the Pope's nephews, Charles Borromeo is especially extolled and praised, having been altogether forgotten in the first edition. The merits of Pius IV. in connection with the success of the Council are brought out in high relief, and painted in bright colours, not without a hint at the contrast to the conduct of the preceding Popes. When he speaks of the decision of the question about the *continuatio* or *nova*

[1] The date is surprising, because the account goes to the end of 1562; the right to print from Cosimo de' Medici is dated: Ap. 1, 1562, and that from Venice Aug. 21, 1561. Can Panvinio have chosen this earlier date in order to make people forget the first edition?

indictio of the Council, the expedient adopted by the Pope is praised in the highest terms. But on the other hand the hard treatment shown in the suit against the Carafa, is made to appear in as favourable a light as possible for Pius IV., altogether in accordance with the wishes of the court. How very accommodating Panvinio showed himself to be in this matter comes out clearly by comparing the two editions (see *infra* p. 424 *seqq*). Certainly Šusta is not making too severe a judgment when he says (p. 163) that the second edition has all the excellencies as well as all the defects of an official historian.

Panvinio has built up his new edition of the Vita Pii IV. merely on the basis of a biography of that pontiff, which he inserted in his larger work *De varia Romani pontificis creatione libri X*. This work, which was added to in many respects, remained unpublished: Merkle was the first to publish it (II. 586–600) from the Munich codex. The codex in the Papal Secret Archives (Miscell. Arm. XI., 122) which was used by Šusta, escaped the notice of Merkle. It would be desirable, if circumstances should permit me to return to work in Rome, to compare this codex with that at Munich, and also with Cod. Vat. lat. 6775.

If in his second edition Panvinio yielded very much to external influences, he did so no less in the third, which he printed and published under Pius V. By that time in official circles in Rome an altogether different view of Pius IV., in some ways rather unfavourable, had become current. It is with pain and surprise that one sees how Panvinio now made no scruple about reckoning to a great extent with this new tendency. The dedication of Panvinio to Pius V. bears the date November 1, 1567, and therefore came immediately after the rehabilitation of the Carafa. If before he had magnified the crime, Panvinio now adds apologetic observations. With regard to the influence to which he was yielding in so doing, Šusta refers to a letter, which he has discovered, from Panvinio to Cardinal Antonio Carafa, who had much at heart the rehabilitation of his uncle who had been put to death. Šusta (p. 163 *seqq.*) severely criticises the conduct of Panvinio, and calls attention to the spiteful additions, by means of which the biography of Pius IV., while retaining its original form, was now given an altogether different char-

acter. In so doing Panvinio worked with a skill that was worthy of a better cause. For example, the genealogical tree of Pius IV., which had been shown to take its roots in the soil of Florence, is not suppressed, but is depreciated by the remark that other families as well boasted of a similar origin and parentage. When he speaks of the father of the Pope, he makes the depreciatory remark that he rose to fame by farming the taxes. The story of the wonderful light that shone round the cradle of Pius IV. is omitted. Moreover, certain rather severe remarks about Paul IV., who had been very much esteemed by Pius V., are excised. In the same way the account of the relations between Cardinal Medici and Paul IV. are remodelled. Nor is the most important change effected by Panvinio his substantial transformation of his treatment of the trial and fall of the Carafa in the third edition, which is no longer, as it was in the second, favourable to Pius IV., but has now in conformity to the current popular view, become much more unfavourable to him; much more radical, however, are the changes which he makes in his description of the character of Pius IV., whose goodness of heart Panvinio had brought out very strongly in the second edition. None of this it is true, is retracted, but by means of spiteful additions, Pius IV. is made to appear in quite a different light. For example, before his election he was looked upon as a good-natured man, but afterwards he proved himself to be very different, and from being a man of honest and open character, he suddenly became deceitful and spiteful. Hitherto in this mixture of praise and blame, people saw an argument for the impartiality of Panvinio, and a judicious distribution of light and shade, but since Šusta discovered the genesis of these various biographical efforts of Panvinio such a view has become quite untenable. An author who, in the course of six years, on account of his susceptibility to external influences, changes so completely, and three separate times, his characterization of the same person cannot be considered as a reliable witness as to Pius IV. If for so long a time the last description of Pius IV. given by Panvinio passed for an impartial estimate, its origin shows it to have been an unbalanced combination of an officially inspired panegyric with a depreciation of the person in question, which only came into being when public opinion in Rome had changed.

No substantial change in this view is called for by a letter from Panvinio to Cardinal Charles Borromeo, dated August 16, 1567, and preserved in Cod. F. 39 Inf. of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Tacchi Venturi (I., xi) has given a short summary of this. The whole content is as follows: I am about to write some biographies of the Popes from Sixtus IV. to Pius IV. "per aggiongerle al Platina" which has recently been printed. I have been asked in many quarters to republish Platina, and so I must add the life of Pius IV., and I do not like to issue the book before you have examined it. "Io sono obligato alla memoria di Pio IV. et però son proceduto nel bene che lui fece con molte et effetuose parole; nel male (perchè anche lui fu huomo) con tutto quel rispetto et brevità che ho saputo senza pregiudicar però alla verità et questo l'ho fatto accio che mi sia creduto il vero et non entri in opinione di bugiardo et adulatore, dalli quali errori me ne guardo quanto posso. V.S. piacendosi vedrà questa debol faticha et la racconcierà, muterà, aggiongerà, levarà quello che gli parrà sia honesto et conveniente che tanto mi sforzarò di lassar lei comandarà." I beg for a speedy reply, as I must send the book to Cologne, where it is being printed. It is already completed down to Clement VII.

So far it is not known what Borromeo replied, but the letter is highly significative of Panvinio's methods. It is painful to meet with such devices in a scholar,[1] who otherwise is so meritorious. Panvinio was a man of talent, but not of character. The setting forth of contemporary history is a dangerous reef for any historian, and Panvinio has run upon it.[2]

[1] It is only recently that the learned investigations of O. HARTIG have brought to light a merit of Panvinio's, hitherto unknown; his attempt at an iconography of the Popes, in which the liturgical vestments have been taken into consideration with much greater exactitude than in all the later collections of portraits of the Popes (see Histor. Jahrbuch, XXXVIII., 284-314, and Die Gründung der Münchever Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger, Munich, 1919, 218, 274, 410).

[2] So far so little is known of the character of Panvinio that, especially in this connection, the monograph prepared by SCHRORS, based upon his deep studies, seems very much wanted.

Panvinio on the Fall of the Carafa.

First Edition.

Carafarum eiusdem Pauli propinquorum res tam in patrui Pontificatu, quam aliis temporibus patratas, et praesertim bello Neapolitano, quo universus terrarum orbis, arque Urbs inprimis vexata fuerat, cardinalium aliquot, et Urbis gubernatoris Hieronymi episcopi Sagonensis sentcntiae subiecit. Undc cum eorum nomina inter reos recepta essent, Carolus ct Alfonsus Carafae, Scipio Rebiba cardinales, Ioancs comes Montorii, qui dux Palliani dicebatur, Leonardus Cardineus, et Comes Allifanus, cum aliquot aliis Carafae domus clientibus, partim in Hadriani mole, partim in publicum carcerem diverso tempore coniecti, quaestionibus diligenter habitis singulorumque causis examinatis ex Pontifieis auctoritate damnati sunt. Ex his Carolus cardinalis Carafa, nono carceris mense carneficis manu in molc Hadriani strangulatus est. Ioannes Montorii comes cum Allifano et Cardineo seeuri in publico carcere percussi, horrendum et maxime memorabile spectaculum, insolensque instabilis fortunae sursum deorsum omnia agitantis ludibrium, in publico expositi

Second Edition.

Carafarum Pauli IV. propinquorum crimina, cum patruo pontifice, bello potissimum Ncapolitano, quo universa paene Italia atque Urbs inprimis et propinquae provinciae vexatae fucrunt, tum aliis temporibus in publicam incurrentia offensionem patrata cognoscere, et legitimis poenis vindicare statuit. Itaque quamquam suapte natura mitis et ab omni immanitate alienus, non potuit tamen et sui honoris et pontificii muneris causa ab huiusmodi capitali supplicio temperare.

VII Iduum Iuniarum igitur anni DLX Carolum et Alfonsum cardinales ad consistorium profectos, Ioannem vero Caroli fratrem, et Montorii comitem, Paliani ducem tum vocatum, qui paulo ante ex Gallesio Faliscorum in Urbem venerat, uxorisque eius fratrem comitem Allifanum Leonardumque Cardinem fratrum propinquum nihil tale suspicantes in Hadriani molem, et per cosdem dies aliquot alios Carafae domus clientes in publicum carcerem coniici mandavit.

Third Edition.

Pontifex interim, vel eorum memor quae in sui contumeliam cardinalis Carafa in conclavi dixerat, vel ducis Paliani regiae pro Ducatu Paliani compensationi (ut fama fuit) pro sororis filio inhians, aut (quod ipse aiebat) ut Romanorum pontificum propinquis salutare exemplum relinqueret, ut populos sibi creditos clementer acciperent et publica negocia pro ecclesiae dignitate conficerent, specie vindicandi ea crimina quae Carafae patruo Pontifice, et bello potissimum Neapolitano patraverant, questionem capitalem in eos institucre est aggressus.

Ita ut ad VII Idus Iunii MDLX quo die quinto ante anno Carafa purpurei pilei honore donatus fuerat, Carolum ipsum et Alfonsum cardinales ad consistorium profectos, Ioannem vero Caroli fratrem et Montorii comitem Paliani ducem tum vocatum, qui paulo ante ex Gallesio Faliscorum oppido in Urbem cum ipsius Pontificis licentia venerat, uxorisque eius fratrem comitem Allifanum, Lconardumquc Cardinem fratrum propinquum nihil tale suspicantes, in Hadriani molem, et pcr eosdem dies aliquot alios Carafiae domus

attonito et quorsum isthaec tenderent admiranti populo Romano, praebuerunt, quun omnes passim confluerent ad eos spectandos, qui modo miserabiliter extincti paulo ante urbem Romamet Italiam omnem solo nomine perterruerant. Alfonsus vero centum millibus au eo um persolutis et Camerae Apostolicae praefectura deposita, reliqui vadibus datis praeter unum Cardinalem Rebibam dimissi sunt.

Utque hoc iudicium sine ulla suspicione perageret, cardinalium quaestioni, octo eiusdem ordinis patres, comitis vero Montorii et aliorum Hicronymum episcopum Sagonensem Urbis gubernatorem, et Alexandrum Palanterium Fisci advocatum praefecit.

Quaestionibus diligenter per novem menses habitis, singulorumque criminibus accurate cxaminatis, postremo quum tota causa ad pontificum pleno in consistorio relata esset, Carolus cardinalis maiestatis, ab ipso pontifice, Comites Montorii et Allifanus, et Leonardus Cardines ab Urbis clientes in publicum carcerem coniici mandavit.

Omnium quaestionibus relatores praefecit Urbis gubernatorem Hieronymum Fridericum, episcopum Sagonensem ministrum impigrum, audacem et acris virum ingenii, Alexandrum Palanterium procuratorem Fisci. Ut autem hoc iudicium rite peragere videretur, cardinalium quaestioni octo eiusdem ordinis patres integritate et iustitia insignes Fridericum Caesium episcopum, Bartholomaeum Cuevam, Ioannem Michaelem Saracenum, Ioannem Baptistam Cicadam, Michaelem Alexandrinum, Ioannem Bertrandum presbyteros, Iulium Ruvereum, et Luisium Cornelium diaconos cardinales adesse iussit, omnium inspectores Gubernatori et Fiscali assistentes. Quibus coram interrogati rci, cardinalis Carafae scriptae litcrae productae, et quaestionum principia agitata. Novissima vcro causae cognitio iis non admissis, quum per novem menses instituta, singulorumque objecta examinata fuissent, Pontifex seorsum quaestiones videre voluit. Postremo, ut totius iudicii series ab omnibus patribus cognosci posset, tota causa ad Pontificem pleno in consistorio ab eodem qui quaesierat Gubcrnatore diei spatio it-

gubernatore homicidii, et aliorum quorundam crimanum damnati sunt iudicique rerum capitalium mandatum, ut iuxta legitimas sanctiones lege in eos ageret.

Sic cardinalis strangulatus, comites et Cardines capitali supplicio affecti, maxime memorabile spectaculum, insolensque instabilis fortunae sursum deorsum omnia agitantis ludibrium populo Romano praebuerunt, iis vero qui secundiori aura altius provecti extra omnem sortem sese collocatos existimant documentum memorabile, ne summa potestate in summam licentiam conversa, illicita quaeque committere, perpetrareque sese posse impune confidant.

erata est, non auditae tamen patrum super ea re sententiae fuere. Tunc Carolus cardinalis maiestatis ab ipso Pontifice damnatus, et omnibus honorum gradibus exutus, curiae (ut vocant) saeculari castigandus traditus est: qui cum Comitibus Montorii, et Allifano, Leonardoque Cardino ab Urbis Gubernatore maiestatis, et homicidii damnatis, morti est addictus iudicique rerum capitalium mandatum, ut iuxta civiles sanctiones, lege in eos ageret. Sic sententiis in Cardinalem a Pontifice, in Ducem vero a Gubernatore Urbis subscriptis, Carolus in Hadriani mole carnificis manu nocte quae Nonas Martias praecessit, strangulatus, comites et Cardines in Turris Novae (sic!) carcere capitali supplicio affecti, maxime memorabile spectaculum, insolensque instabilis fortunae ludibrium, in publico ad pontem Aelium expositi, et paulo post ad damnatorum sepulchra relati, populo Romano attonito, et quorsum isthaec tenderent admiranti, praebuerunt; iis vero qui secundiori aura altius provecti, extra omnem sortem sese collocatos existimant, documentum memorabile, quum omnes passim confluerent ad eos spectandos, qui miserabiliter ab eo pontifice quem

ipsi potissimum ad tantae potestatis culmen evexerant, extincti, nutu renutuque suo cuncta moderabantur. Ducis praesertim casum animo reputantes, quem paulo ante insigni militum et equitum manu stipatum, ac per Urbem more paene regio incedentem conspexerant, tunc vero eius corpus capite truncum miserabili aspectu publice collocatum viderent. Illud memoratu dignum, utrosque fratres non solum religiose et pie, quemadmodum optimos christianos decet cum poenitentiae sacramento excessisse, sed fortissimo animo tantam calamitatem, perinde ac a Deo iussam excepisse Ducis admirabilis constantia fuit, qui paulo ante obitum et socios metu caedis consternatos egregia oratione ad mortis contemptum adhortatus est, et litteras pulcherimas filio iuveni scripsit optimis monitis refertas, quibus ei christiano more bene precabatur. Cardinalis cadaver in propinqua divae Mariae Transpontinae aede publico sepulchro datum, mox ab eius familiaribus ad Minervae translatum, et in familiae eius sacello conditum est. Inter multas multas praecipue damnati cardinalis causae in quaestionum codicillis relatae sunt, quod senem pontificem Paulum, quamquam in

Inter multas praecipau damnati cardinalis causa fuit, quod senem pontificem Paulum quamquam in bellum pronum, tamen non solum bellicarum re-

rum sed omnis civilis gubernatoris imperitum falsis nuntiis et consiliis decepisset, multosque et maximae dignationis viros cius belli occasione vexare, persequi et etiam occidi iussisset, varias litteras et notas arbitrarias ementitus, et ut paucis omnia complectar, quod eius unius praecipue opera totum id bellum quod Paulus gessit susceptum, diutiusque maximo non privatorum solum, sed totius fere christiani orbis damno et apostolicae sedis dedecore productum fuisset.

Comitis vero et aliorum praeter supradictas causas (cum cardinali enim conspirasse videbantur) innocentis uxoris gravidae et suspecti adulteri ob suspicionem solam indigna caedes. Audivi ego a pontifice se aegerrimo animo id omnino fecisse et nihil sibi tota vita lugùbrius quam huiusmodi iudicium accidiss modi iudicium accidisse libentissimeque ad mitiorem poenam facile se fuisse inclinaturam, si id vel salvis acquioribus legibus facere, vel aliquam de illorum mutatione moribus fiduciam fiduciam habere potuisset. Necessarium enim his qui postea Romanorum pontificum propinqui futuri erant, esse affirmabat, qua ratione se in summa potestate locati gesturi sint, exemp-

bellum pronum, tamen bellicarum rerum imperitum, falsis nuntiis et consiliis decepisset, multos et maxime dignationis viros eius belli occasione vexare iussisset: quodque varias litteras et notas arbitrarias ementitus cius unius praecipue opera quinquenalibus inter reges Hispaniae et Galliae ictis induciis fractis, totum id bellum quod Paulus gessit susceptum diutiusque non sine magno Sedis Apostolicae detrimento productum fuisset.

Comiti propter crimen laesae maiestatis, et sociis, uxoris gravidae et adulteri indicta causa caedes obiectae.

Fuerunt plerique eo tempore iureconsulti, qui constantissime asseverarunt, iudicium id iniquum fuisse, quum Cardinalis sine testibus ex suis tantum litteris eorum redargutus damnatusque fuisset, quae Pauli IV iussu ab se facta esse contendebat, iis quae sibi obiecta fuerant more Romano quaestioni et tormento subiecto non expressis, dilationibus quas petebat non concessis, patronis vero eius raro auditis. Pontifex vero videri voluit eos non eo consilio vinxisse ut morti traderet, at in quaestionibus habendis exacerbatus magnitudinem demun rei intellexisse, quum ei persuasum esset, Cardinalem animi excelsi et intrepidi si dimit-

lum praebere : et anteactam illorum vitam sanguinariam et malo assuetam spem omnem in meliorem vitam praecidisse et omne mitigandae poenae temperamentum abstulisse, denique nullum apud Pium pontificem mansuetudini aut clementiae locum reliquisse, quod ex eo certius licuit coniicere quum longe mitius actum sit cum Alfonso, qui mansuetae continentis naturae haud dubium specimen debat ; ipse namque pecunia tantum et Camerae Apostolicae praefectura multatus, cum reliquis omnibus libere dimissus est.

teretur in suorum quempiam aliquando impetum facturum. Quo timore eum semel gravissime laesum tolli iussit, in reliquos clementius, quos minus peccasse profitebatur haud dubie acturas, ni fortuna iis adversa pontificis inflammatum animum mipulisset, ut eos potius perdendos, quam Cardinalem conservandum eixstimasset.

Aliquanto mitius cum Alfonso cardinali, qui mansuetae continentisque naturae haud dubium specimen dabat, actum : ipse namque, qui die obitus Pontificis quaedam e cubiculo eius subripuisse accusatus fuerat, centum milibus aureorum Vitellii cardinalis studio comparatis, persolutis, Camerae Apostolicae praefectura multatus, cum reliquis omnibus libere, ea conditione tamen dimissus est, ne Urbe egrederetur.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XV.

AELST, Nic. v. (engraver), 84 n. 1.
Agostino, Antonio (Bishop of Alife, later of Lerida), 304, 336, 358.
Alba, the Duke of, 25 n. 1, 26 n. 6, 204.
Albert Alcibiades (Margrave of Brandenburg), 150 *seq.*, 153, 186.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 102, 164 n. 3, 189, 237, 239, 277, 289, 313 n.
Alife, Ferrante, Count of (brother-in-law of Giov. Carafa, Duke of Paliano), 137 *seq.*, 144, 153, 159, 166 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*
Alife, Violante d' (wife of Giov. Carafa, Duke of Paliano), 136–138, 147, 153 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, 175.
Altemps, *see* Hohenems.
Amulio, *see* Mula.
Antoniano, Silvio (latinist, papal secretary), 78 n. 2.
Araceli, Cardinal of, *see* Dolera.
Aragona, Giovanna d', 105 n. 3, 143.
Arco, Count (High Chamberlain to Ferdinand I.), 183, 248, 320.
Arco, Prospero (Imperial envoy in Rome), 117 n. 2, 192 *seq.*, 200, 256, 289 n. 1, 353.
Arco, Scipione ("obedienza" envoy of Ferdinand I.), 125, 180, 189.
Arezzo, Francisco d' (confessor of Card. Carlo Carafa), 170 n.
Armagnac, Cardinal, 6, 7 n. 1, 9, 13, 21, 24 n. 2.
Arona, Count of, *see* Borromeo, Giberto.
Arrivabene, Giov. Francesco (familiar of Card. Ercole Gonzaga), 278, 292.
Aubespine, Sebast. de l' (Bishop of Limoges, French envoy to Spain), 204.
Augustus (Elector of Saxony), 226.
Avalos, Iñigo, de Aragon, Cardinal, 163.
Avila, Luis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 328 *seqq.*
Ayala, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 249, 252.

BAGNO, Giov. Francesco, Count, 5, 57.
Baius, Michael (theologian), 233.
Bascapè (General of the Barnabites, Bishop of Novara), 96 n. 3, 109 n. 1, 112 n. 4.
Bellay, Eustache du (Bishop of Paris), 332, 337.
Bellay, Jean du, Cardinal, 5, 6 n. 4, 7, 9, 13, 20 *seqq.*, 31, 45 *seqq.*, 50 *seqq.*, 173.
Berghen, Robert van (Bishop of Liège), 233.
Bertrand, Cardinal, 7 n. 3, 14, 147, 173 n. 2.
Blarer, Gerwig (Abbot of Weingarten), 239.
Bochetel (Bishop of Rennes, French envoy in Vienna), 217.

Boncompagni, Ugo (Legate for Spain, Cardinal, afterwards Pope Gregory XIII.), 305.
Bondonus, Ludovicus, de Branchis Firmanus (master of ceremonies at the conclave of Pius IV.), 1 n. 1, 17 n. 3, 31, 44 n. 4, 62 n. 1, 158 n. 2.
Bonhomini, G. Fr. (auditor of Card. C. Borromeo), 111 n. 1.
Borghese, Marcantonio (advocate for Card. C. Carafa), 148 n., 155.
Borromeo, Family of the, 80 n. 2, 98, 102, 104.
Borromeo, Anna (sister to Card. C. Borromeo, wife of Fabrizio Colonna), 113 n. 2.
Borromeo, Camilla (sister to Card. C. Borromeo, wife of Cesare Gonzaga, Count of Guastalla), 113 n. 2.
Borromeo, Charles, Cardinal (nephew of Pius IV.), xli., 95–99, 101 *seq.*, 105–113, 115–122, 129, 142 *seq.*, 185, 200, 205, 208, 210, 212, 229, 232, 236, 247, 251 *seq.*, 256, 261 *seq.*, 268, 270, 275 *seq.*, 279, 281, 291 n. 1, 292 *seqq.*, 299, 304 *seqq.*, 313 n. 2, 314, 316, 325, 341, 351, 353, 361, 377 *seq.*
Borromeo, Federigo (nephew of Pius IV., captain-general of the church), 95 *seq.*, 98 *seqq.*, 108, 114 *seq.*
Borromeo, Federigo, Cardinal, 105 n. 3, 312 n. 5.
Borromeo, Francesco, Count (uncle to Card. C. Borromeo), 109.
Borromeo, Geronima (sister to Card. C. Borromeo, wife of Fabrizio Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa), 113 n. 2.
Borromeo, Giberto, Count of Arona (husband of Margherita de' Medici, sister of Pius IV.), 94, 95, 107, 113 n. 2.
Borromeo, Guido, Count (uncle to Card. C. Borromeo), 109.
Borromeo, Ortensia (daughter of Giberto Borromeo, wife of Count Hannibal von Hohenems), 113 n. 2.
Bourbon, Antoine de, *see* Vendôme.
Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal (of Vendôme), 7.
Bourdaisière, Jean Babou de la (French "obedienza" envoy in Rome, brother to the Cardinal), 183, 200.
Bourdaisière, Philibert Babou de la, Cardinal (Bishop of Angoulême, French ambassador in Rome), 163, 217, 280, 316.
Brancaccio, Cesare (familiar of Card. C. Carafa), 144.
Branda, Cardinal, 68.
Braun, Conrad (theologian), 319.
Brendel, Daniel (Archbishop and Elector of Mayence), 236.
Brus von Müglitz, Anton (Archbishop of Prague, envoy of Ferdinand I. at the Council of Trent), 237, 266, 288, 344.

Caligari, G. A., 256 n. 2.
Campegio, Francesco (Bishop of Feltre), 338.
Campegio, Giovanni (Bishop of Bologna, nuncio), 253.
Canisius, Peter, St. (S. J.), xlvii., 285 n. 1, 319, 325.
Canobio, Giov. Franc. (papal chamberlain, envoy), 241, 249 *seqq.*, 254.
Capece, Marcello (steward to the Duke Giov. Carafa), 137, 147, 153, 156.
Capilupi, Camillo (familiar of Card. C. Borromeo), 13 n. 3, 120 n. 1.
Capizuchi, Cardinal, 6, 7 n. 1, 14.
Capodiferro, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 7, 14, 24 n. 2., 42, 50.

Capua, Pietro Ant. di (Archbishop of Otranto), 297.
Caracciolo, Ascanio (secretary to Vargas), 35, 134 n. 1.
Caracciolo, Niccolò Maria (Archbishop of Catania), 364.
Carafa, Family of the, 4 *seq.*, 14, 62, 130, 131 *seqq.*, 175, 395.
Carafa, Alfonso (nephew of Paul IV.), Cardinal, 3, 14 *seq.*, 19, 24 n. 2, 50, 54, 56 *seqq.*, 60, 131, 139, 144–149, 153, 166, 173, 175.
Carafa, Antonio (Marquis of Montebello), 5, 15 n. 2, 57 *seqq.*, 144, 175.
Carafa, Carlo Cardinal (nephew of Paul IV.), 4 *seq.*, 6 n. 4, 8, 14 *seq.*, 19 *seqq.*, 27, 33 *seqq.*, 42, 46 *seqq.*, 50, 54 *seq.*, 57 *seqq.*, 61 *seqq.*, 81, 131–172, 175, 390.
Carafa, Diomede, Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 2, 54, 168.
Carafa, Giovanni (Duke of Paliano), 3 *seq.*, 14 *seq.*, 131, 136 *seqq.*, 141–145, 147 *seqq.*, 153–162, 167 *seqq.*, 175, 390.
Carafa of Polignano (Marchesa, sister to Giovanni Carafa), 169 n. 1.
Cardine, Lionardo di (uncle to Violante d' Alife), 137 *seq.*, 144, 153, 159, 166, 171 *seq.*
Carpi, Pio Ridolfo, Cardinal, 5, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18 *seqq.*, 24 n. 2, 28, 38 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*, 48, 50, 54, 60, 128, 132, 145, 156, 166, 207, 212.
Castagna, Giov. Batt. (Archbishop of Rossano, nuncio to Spain, afterwards Pope Urban VII.), 295, 335.
Catherine de' Medici, *see* Medici.
Cauco, Ant. (Archbishop of Corfù), 267.
Cesarini, Family of the, 176.
Cesi, Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 2, 46 54 *seqq.*, 58, 117, 147, 207.
Charles II. (Duke of Lorraine), 236.
Charles III. (Duke of Savoy), 71 *seqq.*
Charles V., The Emperor, 25, 42, 69 *seq.*, 72 *seq.*, 76, 145, 165.
Charles IX. (King of France), 217, 254, 347, 349.
Châtillon, Odet de', Cardinal (Bishop of Beauvais), 7.
Chiurelia, Antonio (Bishop of Budua), 273.
Cicada, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 2, 128, 147, 174, 211, 280 *seq.*
Cithard (confessor to Ferdinand I.), 286 n. 1.
Clement VII., Pope, 25, 70, 72, 244.
Cock, H. (engraver), 84 n. 1.
Colonna, Family of the, 60, 159, 176.
Colonna, Fabrizio (husband of Anna Borromeo), 113 n. 2.
Colonna, Marcantonio, 3, 35, 113 n. 2, 135, 140 *seq.*, 176.
Colonna, Pompeo (commander of Papal troops), 62.
Commendone, Giov. Francesco, Cardinal (Bishop of Zante, nuncio), 207 n. 1., 218–238, 242 n. 2., 269 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 340, 360.
Concini, Bartolomeo (Florentine envoy in Rome), 12, 59.
Concini, Matteo (Florentine envoy in Rome), 12, 53 n., 4.
Consiglieri, Cardinal 7.
Consuberi, Tommaso (Bishop of Città di Penna), 144.
Contarini, Cardinal, 320.
Conti, Torquato (general), 129 n. 3.
Cordella, Fabio (master of the Conclave), 44.
Cordova, Francisco de (Spanish Franciscan, confessor to the wife of Maximilian II.), 206 n. 1, 286 n. 1, 319.
Corgna, Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 2, 51, 52 n.

Corgna, Ascanio della (nephew of Julius III.), 2, 4, 6 n. 4.
Cornaro (Bishop of Treviso), 355.
Cornaro, Cardinal, 14, 17, 51, 147.
Cornaro, Marco (Archbishop of Spalato), 290
Correggio, Girolamo da, Cardinal, 163.
Cosimo I. (Duke of Florence), 12 *seq.*, 18, 26, 29, 36, 42, 57 *seqq.*, 74, 77, 80 *seq.*, 91, 93 *seq.*, 98, 100, 114, 134, 149 n. 4, 156, 163, 172, 174, 211 n. 1, 393.
Couvillon, J. (S.J.), Bavarian envoy to the Council of Trent, 277 n. 4.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 21, 24 n. 2, 166.
Cristoforo of Padua (General of the Augustinians), 285.
Crivelli, Alessandro, Cardinal (Bishop of Cariati, nuncio), 294.
Cuesta (Bishop of León), 358.
Cueva, Bartolomeo de la, Cardinal, 6 n. 5, 14, 17, 24 n. 2, 31 n. 1, 32, 43, 86, 128, 147, 151 *seq.*

Dandino, Cardinal, 7, 12, 14, 24 n. 2, 41 n. 1, 42, 50, 219.
Dandolo, Matteo (Venetian envoy to the Council of Trent), 271 n. 7.
Danes (Bishop of Lavaur), 304.
Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal (Bishop of Lesina, nuncio), 112 n. 4, 194, 196 *seqq.*, 200, 205, 207 *seqq.*, 218, 220–225, 238 *seqq.*, 254, 257, 260, 262, 270, 283, 288, 313 n. 2, 314, 320, 323, 346 n. 1, 352.
Dolera (Araceli), Cardinal, 11, 14, 24 n. 2, 40, 128, 132.
Draskovich, G. (Bishop of Fünfkirchen, envoy of Ferdinand I. to the Council of Trent), 257, 265 *seqq.*, 289, 295, 299, 329.
Dudith, Andr. Sbardelatus (Bishop of Knin, Hungarian procurator at the Council of Trent), 271, 290, 295.

Eichorn, Joh. (Abbot of Einsiedeln, Swiss procurator at the Council of Trent), 271.
Elio, Antonio (Patriarch of Jerusalem), 267.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 182, 235 *seq.*
Ems, *see* Hohenems.
Eric II. (Duke of Brunswick), 228.
Eric XIV. (King of Sweden), 234 *seqq.*
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal of Ferrara (Legate to France), 6 n. 4, 7 *seqq.*, 12 *seq.*, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 36, 39 *seqq.*, 47, 49 n., 60 *seqq.*, 129, 145, 166, 213.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 163.

Facchinetti, Giov. Ant. (canonist, nuncio to Venice), 305.
Farnese, Family of the, 177.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14 *seq.*, 19, 23 *seq.*, 27, 34, 38, 40, 45, 48, 50 *seq.*, 54 *seqq.*, 60, 76 *seq.*, 128, 145, 166, 212, 348, 354.
Farnese, Ottavio (Duke), 76.
Farnese, Pier Luigi, 74, 77.
Farnese, Ranuccio, Cardinal, 7 n. 1, 14, 22, 24 n. 1, 32, 354.
Federici, Girolamo (Bishop of Sagona, governor of Rome), 138, 147, 157 *seq.*, 161, 166, 171, 176.
Ferdinand I., The Emperor, 11 n. 6, 29, 73 *seq.*, 83 n. 1 100, 103, 124 *seq.*, 179 *seqq.*, 185–198, 200 *seqq.*, 207 *seqq.*, 213 *seqq.*, 216–224, 241 *seq.*, 246–251, 257, 265 *seq.*, 268–271, 276, 283, 286 *seqq.*, 300, 308–326, 329, 339, 342–347, 352, 357.

Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria (governor of Bohemia), 222.
Ferdinand of Bavaria (son of Duke Albert V.), 313 n.
Ferreri, Pier Francesco (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio to Venice, Cardinal), 163.
Ferrier, Armand du (President of the Paris Parliament, French envoy to the Council of Trent), 282, 306, 348 *seqq.*
Figini (painter), 105 n. 3.
Figueroa, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 10 *seq.*, 28 n. 8.
Filonardo, Paolo (secretary to Card. Alfonso Carafa), 144.
Firmanus, *see* Bondonus.
Fornero, Ambrogio (chamberlain to Card. C. Borromeo), 120.
Foscarari, Egidio (O.P., Bishop of Modena), 119 n. 2, 335.
Fosso, Gasparre del (Archbishop of Reggio), 265.
Francis I. (King of France), 67.
Francis II. (King of France), 9, 183, 188, 194 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, 203, 209, 217.
Francis de Sales, St., 378.
Frederick II. (King of Denmark), 232 *seqq.*
GADDI, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 1, 49 n.
Gaetano di Tiene, xli.
Gallarate, Girolamo (Bishop of Sutri - Nepi, nephew of Card. Morone), 301 n. 2.
Galli, Tolomeo (secretary of the Papal chancery, Cardinal), 110, 260 n. 1.
Gambara, Francesco, Cardinal (Bishop of Brescia), 163.
Geraldi, Giovanni (Papal envoy to Russia), 251.
Gesualdo, Alfonso, Cardinal, 163
Gesualdo, Fabrizio (Prince of Venosa, husband of Geronima Borromeo), 113 n. 2.
Gherio (Bishop of Ischia, Papal envoy to Spain), 203 *seq.*, 326 n. 3.
Ghislieri, Michele (O.P.), Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 1, 32, 50, 150.
Gianfigliazzi, Bongianni (Florentine envoy in Rome), 12, 24 n. 2.
Gienger, Georg (imperial councillor), 189, 286 n. 1, 319 n. 3.
Giussano (biographer of Charles Borromeo), 97 n.
Givry, de, Cardinal, 7.
Gomez, Ruy, 25 n. 1.
Gonzaga, Cesare (Count of Guastalla, husband of Camilla Borromeo), 99, 113 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Curzio, 30, 47 n. 2, 48 n. 1.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal (of Mantua), 6 n. 4, 9, 12 n. 2, 14 *seq.*, 20, 22 *seqq.*, 26 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*, 40, 47 *seq.*, 50, 57, 64, 132, 135, 165, 243 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*, 252, 262, 264 *seq.*, 274, 280 *seq.*, 284, 291 *seqq.*, 302, 306 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*, 315, 335.
Gonzaga, Federigo, Cardinal, 162 n. 3.
Gonzaga, Ferrante, 78 n. 1, 99.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal (nephew of Cardinal Ercole), 163, 292.
Gonzaga, Giovan Maria, 146 n. 2.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo, 130.
Gonzaga, William (Duke of Mantua), 21 n. 1, 29, 37, 156, 264, 389.
Grandi, Giulio (ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara), 96, 97 n. 3, 152 n. 1.
Grandis, Julius de (Bishop of Anglona), 51 n. 4.
Granvelle, Cardinal, 163.
Grassi, Carlo (Bishop of Montefiascone), 349.
Graziani, Ant. Maria (secretary to Commendone), 219 n. 4, 226 n.
Grecco, Michele (painter), 6 n. 1.

Grimani, Giovanni (Patriarch of Aquileia), 162 n. 3.
Guadagno, Franc. di (Mantuan ambassador in Rome), 19 n., 24 n. 2, 389.
Gualterio, Sebastian (Bishop of Viterbo, nuncio to France), 59 n. 1, 184, 242, 256.
Guasto (Imperial viceroy of Milan), 72.
Guerrero, Pedro (Archbishop of Granada), 263, 265, 272, 282, 300, 329, 332 358, 360, 365.
Guido, Antonio (conclavist), 9.
Guise, Charles de (Archbishop of Rheims, Cardinal of Lorraine), 7, 10 n. 2, 21 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*, 52 *seq.*, 55, 60 *seq.*, 236, 302 *seqq.*, 305, 307, 309 *seq.*, 312, 315 *seqq.*, 326, 336, 339, 345, 347, 350 *seq.*, 353, 355, 358, 360, 363 *seqq.*
Guise, Francis de (Duke), 7, 329.
Guise, Louis de, Cardinal, 7 n. 1, 13.

HALLER, Leonard (Bishop of Eichstätt), 296.
Helding, Michael (Bishop of Merseburg), 239.
Henry II. (King of France), 9.
Henry, Infant of Portugal, Cardinal, 7, 17.
Henry the younger (Duke of Brunswick), 228.
Herborth, Valentin (Bishop of Przemysl, Polish envoy to the Council of Trent), 303 n. 2.
Hohenems (Altemps), Family of, 80 n. 2, 94, 102 *seqq.*
Hohenems, Gabriel von (nephew of Pius IV.), 95, 104.
Hohenems, Hannibal von (nephew of Pius IV., captain-general of the Church), 81 n. 2, 103 n. 3, 104 n. 2, 113 n. 2, 117 n. 1, 120 n. 1, 141, 403.
Hohenems, Helena von (daughter of Wolf Dietrich), 95.
Hohenems [Ems], Jakob von (cousin to Mark Sittich I.), 95.
Hohenems, Jakob Hannibal von, 95, 104.
Hohenems, Margaret von (daughter of Wolf Dietrich), 95, 104.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich I. von, 70, 95.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich II., Cardinal [Altemps], nephew to Pius IV., 95, 102 n. 4, 103, 117 n. 1, 120 n. 1, 163, 257, 262, 265, 283.
Hohenems, Robert von (natural son of Card. Mark Sittich), 104 n. 1.
Hohenems, Wolf Dietrich von (husband of Chiara, the sister of Pius IV.), 94 *seq.*, 95.
Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal (Bishop of Ermland, nuncio in Vienna), 123 n. 1, 162, 182, 185, 188, 191 *seq.*, 205, 207 n. 1, 220, 234, 241 *seq.*, 244 *seqq.*, 248, 250, 254, 264, 273, 285, 311, 316, 360.
Hoya, Joh. von (Bishop of Osnabrück), 228, 231.
Hülsen, F. van (engraver), 84 n. 1.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, St., xli., 117.
Isachino, Geremia (Theatine), 152 n. 1.
Ivan Wassiljewiez (The Terrible, Tsar of Russia), 251.

JOACHIM II. (Elector of Brandenburg), 73, 226 *seq.*
John, Margrave of Brandenburg (brother to Joachim II.), 227.
John Frederick, Duke of Weimar, 226.
Julius III., Pope, 77 *seqq.*, 184, 213, 219, 245 *seq.*, 260, 263.

Justiniani, Vincent (General of the Dominicans), 285.

KERSSENBROCK, Rembert von (Bishop of Paderborn), 228.
Kolosváry (Bishop of Csanád), 271.
Konarski, Adam (Prior of Posen, envoy of Polish King), 181.

LAFRERI, Ant. (engraver), 84 n. 1.
Lainez, General of the Jesuits, 119 n. 1, 213, 296, 301, 305, 310, 332 *seqq.*, 348.
Lansac (French envoy to the Council of Trent), 275, 282, 306, 308.
Lenoncourt, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 17, 24 n. 2.
Lenzi, Lorenzo (Bishop of Fermo, nuncio to France), 242.
Leoni, L. (artist), 84 n. 1.
Leva, de (Imperial commander), 69.
Leyen, Joh. von der (Archbishop of Trêves), 229 *seq.*
Lodi, Ercole (friend of Card. C. Borromeo), 109.
Loemans, A. (engraver), 84 n. 1.
Lorraine, Cardinal of, *see* Guise, Charles.
Lottino (Roman agent of Duke Cosimo I.), 12.
Luna, Count of (Spanish envoy to the Council of Trent), 309, 317, 331, 336, 338, 342 *seq.*, 353, 356 n. 1, 357, 361.
Lussy, Melchior (Orator of the Swiss Catholic Cantons at the Council of Trent), 271.

MADRUZZO, Cristoforo, Cardinal (Bishop of Trent), 6 n. 4, 14, 22 *seqq.*, 28, 30, 33 *seq.*, 38, 40, 47, 55, 61, 103 *seq.*, 125, 128, 135, 183, 208, 252, 264, 266 *seq.*, 273, 277, 284, 290, 295, 297, 303, 307, 309, 336, 351, 355, 358, 361.
Madruzzo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 163.
Manelli, Antonio (treasurer of the Council of Trent), 247 n. 1.
Manne, Abbot of (French envoy in Rome), 188, 192, 195, 199.
Mansfeld, Joh. Gebhard von (Archbishop of Cologne), 229.
Marcellus II., Pope, 12 n. 4, 78 *seq.*
Margaret of Parma (Governess of the Netherlands), 41 n. 1.
Marini, Lionardo (Archbishop of Lanciano), 291, 293, 295, 331, 335.
Marinis, Angelo de (sculptor), 84 n. 1.
Mark Sittich von Hohenems, *see* Hohenems.
Martinengo, Girolamo (Abbot, nuncio for England), 235.
Martyribus, Bartholomew de (Archbishop of Braga), 118, 252, 354.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 236.
Mascareynas, Fernando Martinez de (Portuguese envoy to the Council of Trent), 266.
Massarelli, Angelo (secretary to the Council), 180, 247, 262.
Massaria (Italian Protestant), 239.
Massimi, Family of the, 176.
Massimo, Domenico, 153.
Maximilian II. (King of the Romans), 124, 198, 300, 319 *seq.*, 325, 339, 351 *seq.*, 357.
Medici, Milanese family of the, 66 *seqq.*, 72, 94, 177.
Medici, Agostino de' (brother of Pius IV.), 80 n. 2, 94.
Medici, Bernardino de' (father of Pius IV.), 66 *seq.*
Medici, Catherine de' (Queen of France), 12, 18, 39, 217, 256, 282, 329.

Medici, Chiara de' (sister of Pius IV.), 70, 80 n. 2, 94 *seq.*
Medici, Cosimo de', *see* Cosimo I.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal (son of Cosimo I.), 312 n. 5.
Medici, Gian Angelo de', Cardinal (Pope Pius IV.), 6 n. 5, 11 *seq.*, 14, 16, 18 *seq.*, 23, 26, 28 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 53–62, 66 *seqq.*
Medici, Gian Battista de' (brother of Pius IV.), 72.
Medici, Gian Giacomo (di Musso), 67–74, 77, 79, 81 *seq.*, 94.
Medici, Giovanni de', Cardinal (son of Cosimo I.), 98, 212.
Medici, Margherita de' (sister of Pius IV., wife of Giberto Borromeo, Count of Arona), 94.
Melis, Gasparino de (head of the Roman police), 169, 171.
Mercurio, Cardinal (of Messina), 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 2, 51 *seqq.*
Mendoça, Pedro Gonzalez de (Bishop of Salamanca), 263 n. 2, 282, 284, 304 n. 2.
Mendoza, Francisco de, Cardinal, 7, 63 *seq.*
Metzler von Andelberg, Christopher (Bishop of Constance), 239.
Meudon, Cardinal, 7.
Michelangelo, 111 n. 2.
Minas (Negus of Abyssinia), 255 n.
Mocenigo, Luigi (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 26 n. 6, 31, 92.
Monte, Cristoforo del, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 2.
Monte, Innocenzo del, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 2, 142, 156 n. 3, 174.
Montmorency, the Constable, 329.
Moragna (painter), 159.
Moretto (court jester to Pius IV.), 88 n. 3.
Morone, Giov. Girolamo, Cardinal, 3, 7 *seq.*, 11, 14, 20, 30, 61, 75, 77, 98, 122, 125, 128, 155, 183, 197, 202, 243, 252 n. 2, 315–327, 328 *seq.*, 331, 334, 336 *seq.*, 341, 345 *seqq.*, 353 *seq.*, 358 *seqq.*, 361, 364 *seq.*
Morone, Girolamo (chancellor of Milan, father to the Cardinal), 67 *seq.*, 69.
Morvillier, Jean (Bishop of Orleans), 303.
Moya de Contreras, Ascisclo (Bishop of Vich), 255.
Mula [Amulio], Marcantonio da Cardinal (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 86, 91 *seq.*, 93, 123 n. 1, 142, 145, 151, 160, 162, 184 *seq.*, 243 n. 5, 328, 390, 401, 404.
Musotti (secretary to the Cardinal of Lorraine), 335.

Navagero, Bernardo, Cardinal (Venetian ambassador, Bishop of Verona), 13 n. 2, 123 n. 1, 162, 280, 315 *seq.*, 317 n. 1, 348.
Neri, Philip, St., xli.
Niquet, Abbot of St. Gildas (secretary to Card. Este), 217, 242, 276.
Noailles, François de (Bishop of Dax, French envoy), 5.
Nobili, Vico de', 144, 159.
Noguera, Giacomo Giberto di (Bishop of Alife), 304, 337.

Oberg, Burkard von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 328.
Odescalchi, Paolo (auditor of Card. C. Borromeo, Papal envoy to Spain), 110 n.
Olario, Bernardino, 159.
Ormanetto, Niccolò, 331 n. 3.
Orsini, Lodovico (Count of Pitigliano), 74.
Osio (Bishop of Rieti), 295.

Pacheco, Francisco, Cardinal, 24 n. 2, 163.

Pacheco, Pedro, Cardinal, 14, 18, 21, 28 *seq.*, 32, 38, 40, 45, 50 *seqq.*, 131 *seq.*, 180.
Paleotto, Gabriele, Cardinal, 335.
Pallantieri, Alessandro (fiscal-procurator), 138 *seq.*, 147, 154, 157 *seq.*, 161, 166, 171, 176.
Panvinio, Onofrio (historian), 1 n. 1, 54 *seq.*, 61, 63, 176 *seq.*, 415.
Pasqua, Simone (physician), 151.
Paul II., Pope, 296.
Paul III., Pope, xliii., 73 *seq.*, 76, 213, 223, 245 *seq.*, 260, 263, 274, 281.
Paul IV., Pope, xli., 1 *seqq.*, 5–8, 14 *seq.*, 20, 23, 43, 58 n. 1, 62, 78 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.*, 90, 123 *seq.*, 126 *seqq.*, 130, 131 *seqq.*, 145, 148, 153, 159, 161, 173, 175, 219.
Paumgartner, Augustine (Bavarian envoy to the Council of Trent), 277 n. 4, 289.
Pellegrini, Pellegrino (architect), 122.
Pellevé, Nicholas de (Bishop of Amiens, later of Sens, Papal envoy to Scotland), 303, 349.
Pendaso, Federigo (proxy in Rome for the legates of the Council, companion to Commendone), 277 *seqq.*
Perez, Lorenzo (Portuguese envoy in Rome), 276.
Peruschi (S.J., rector of the Roman Seminary), 167.
Pescara, Fernando Francisco de Avalos (envoy from Philip II. to Trent), 271, 276, 283, 317, 331.
Pflug, Julius (Bishop of Naumburg), 225.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 10 *seq.*, 12, 15, 17 *seq.*, 26, 28 *seqq.*, 34–41, 44 *seqq.*, 50 *seq.*, 56 *seq.*, 59, 63 *seq.*, 100, 104, 116, 132 *seqq.*, 141 *seq.*, 149, 152, 163 *seqq.*, 171, 175, 179 *seqq.*, 185 *seqq.*, 192, 195, 201 *seqq.*, 209, 218, 242, 249, 253 *seqq.*, 276, 283, 294, 309, 314, 328–332, 338 *seq.*, 341, 343, 357 *seq.*, 361.
Pia, Bernardino, 133.
Pibrac, Gui du Faur de (French envoy to the Council of Trent), 282, 348.
Piccolomini, Family of the, 176.
Pietro, Fra (Capuchin), 160.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 9, 14, 18, 46, 50.
Pius IV., Pope, *see* Medici, Gian Angelo and *Contents*.
Pius V., Pope, xli., xlv., 120.
Pistoja, xlvii.
Pogiano, Guilio (humanist), 6.
Polanco (S.J.), 119.
Pante, Niccolò da (Venetian envoy to Council of Trent), 271 n. 7.
Pseaume, Nicolas (Bishop of Verdun), 303, 332 n. 2.
Puteo, Giacomo, Cardinal, 11, 14, 18, 24 n. 2, 28, 78, 128, 147, 151 n. 2, 207, 211, 243 *seqq.*, 254, 257 n. 4.
Raesfeld, Bernard von (Bishop of Münster), 228.
Ragazzoni, Girolamo (Bishop of Famagosta), 284, 362.
Raverta, Ottaviano (Bishop of Terracina, nuncio to Spain), 134, 140, 164, 182, 187, 203, 252 *seq.*
Rebiba, Scipione, Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 2, 32, 60 n. 1, 161, 174, 219.
Requesens, Luis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 106 n. 4, 118, 328, 361.
Rettinger (Bishop of Lavant), 296.
Reumano, Cardinal, 14, 23 *seq.*, 40, 46 *seq.*, 51.
Ribera (S. J.), 117, 118.
Ricasoli, G. B.) Florentine ambassador in Rome), 90 n. 4, 91 n. 3, 145, 150 n. 1, 393.
Riccardo (Abbot of Vercelli), 296.

Ricci, Cardinal, 6 n. 5, 14, 24 n. 2, 174.
Richardot (Bishop of Arras), 355
Rossi, G. A. (Milanese artist), 84 n. 1.
Rovere, Guilio della, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 14, 24 n. 2, 99 n. 4, 101.
Rovere, Guidobaldo (Duke of Urbino), 37, 69, 99 *seq.*
Rovere, Virginia della (wife of Federigo Borromeo), 99 *seq.*
Ruggieri, Fulgenzio, 225 n. 3.
Ruini, Carlo (preceptor to Gian Angelo de' Medici, later Pius IV.), 69.

Saint-André, Marshal, 329.
Sala, Antonio and Aristide, 97 n., 111 n. 2.
Salviati, Bernardo, Cardinal, 163.
Sanfelice, Gian Tommaso (Bishop of La Cava), 246, 293.
Sangro [Sanguine], Fabrizio di (conclavist of Card. C. Carafa), 59, 133 n. 3, 134 n. 4, 140.
Santa Croce, Prospero, Cardinal (Bishop of Cisamus), 164 *seq.*, 195, 198, 203 *seq.*, 210, 251, 313 n. 2.
Santa Fiora, *see* Sforza.
Saraceni, Cardinal, 7, 14, 24 n. 2, 32, 50, 78, 128, 147, 174 n., 178 n. 1, 207, 211.
Sauli, Alessandro St. (Bishop of Aleria), 378.
Saurolo, Scipione, 111 n. 2.
Savelli, Cardinal, 14, 24 n. 1, 51, 128, 166.
Sbardalato, Andreas (Bishop of Knin), *see* Dudith.
Scalaleone, Felice (advocate of Card. C. Carafa), 155.
Schlegel, Theodore (Abbot), 70.
Schöneich, Kaspar von (Imperial comissary), 235.
Schutzbar, Wolfgang (Grand Master of the Teutonic Order), 238.
Scotti, Cardinal (of Trani), 12, 14, 24 n. 2.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 251 *seq.*, 357.
Seld, Sigmund (Vice-chancellor of Ferdinand I.), 189, 286 n. 1, 308, 319, 323.
Serbelloni, Family of the, 80 n. 2, 104.
Serbelloni, Cecilia (mother of Pius IV.), 66 *seq.*
Serbelloni, Fabrizio (nephew of Pius IV.), 101.
Serbelloni, Gabrio (nephew of Pius IV., commander of the Papal guard), 101 *seq.*, 142 n. 2, 144.
Serbelloni, Gian Antonio, Cardinal, 98.
Serbelloni, Gian Battista (Bishop of Cassano, castellan of Sant' Angelo), 96 n. 2, 101.
Serbelloni, Gian Pietro (uncle to Pius IV.), 96.
Seripando, Girolamo, Cardinal (general of the Augustinian Hermits), 122 n. 1, 162, 202, 208 n. 2, 243, 244 *seqq.*, 252, 264, 273 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 285, 306, 311, 316.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 14, 16 n. 2, 22, 24 n. 2.
Serristori, 255 n. 1, 362 n. 2.
Sesso, Oliviero (envoy of Card. C. Carafa to Spain), 134.
Sfondrato, Niccolò (Bishop of Cremona, later Pope Gregory XIV.), 252 n. 1.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 68, 70 *seqq.*
Sforza, Guido Ascanio, Cardinal (of Santa Fiora), 4, 14, 16, 21 *seqq.*, 27 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*, 48 *seqq.*, 57, 60 *seqq.*, 128, 130, 135, 140, 212.
Sforza, Maximilian (Duke of Milan), 67.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 251, 357

Sigismund of Brandenburg (Archbishop of Magdeburg), 227.
Simoncelli, Cardinal, 6 n. 4, 7 n. 1, 14, 24 n. 2.
Simonetta, Lodovico, Cardinal, 162, 244 *seqq.*, 254, 258–261, 264, 269 n. 1, 272, 279 *seq.*, 285, 291 *seq.*, 305, 311, 316, 348, 361.
Singmoser (Imperial councillor), 323.
Sittard, Matthias (theologian), 319.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 177.
Soranzo, Giacomo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 122 n. 1.
Soranzo, Girolamo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 87, 89, 91, 101 n. 3, 109, 121, 123, 129.
Spina, Aurelio (chamberlain of Card. C. Borromeo), 143.
Staphylus, Frederick [Stafilo], 286 n. 1.
Stendardi, Matteo, 144.
Strozzi, Cardinal, 7 n. 1, 10 n. 2, 14, 21, 24 n. 2.
Strozzi, Giovanni (Florentine envoy to Trent), 271.

Taddeo Perugino, Fra, 13 n. 3.
Taro, Pirro (Conservator of Rome), 5.
Tarreghetti, Giacomo (Mantuan ambassador), 362 n. 2.
Tendilla, Count of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 140 *seq.*, 145, 150 n. 1, 164, 192.
Teodolo, Hieron. (Bishop of Cadiz), 304.
Thiene, Count (Italian protestant), 239.
Thun, Sigmund von (envoy of Ferdinand I. to the Council of Trent), 252 n. 2, 257, 266, 289.
Thurm, Francis von (envoy of Ferdinand I. to Rome), 2 n., 11, 24 n. 2, 30, 44, 53 n. 1, 124, 180, 183.
Timoteo da Perugia (O.P.), 170 n.
Toledo, Antonio de (Spanish envoy to France), 198 *seq.*, 202.
Tonina, Francesco (Mantuan ambassador in Rome), 86, 100 n. 3, 115 n. 2, 156 *seq.*, 243 n. 4, 259 n. 3, 402 *seq.*, 406, 409, 411–414.
Toralto, Gian Antonio (kinsman to the Duchess Violante d'Alife), 137.
Torres, Luys de (notary), 147.
Tournon, Cardinal, 7 n. 1, 9, 13, 20 *seqq.*, 24 n. 2, 33, 46, 50, 61, 128, 199 *seq.*, 214.
Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 7 n. 1, 14, 24 n. 2, 30, 32 *seq.*, 55, 102, 146, 211 n. 1, 340.
Turibio of Lima, St., 378.

Urbino, Cardinal, 147.
Urbino (secretary to Card. C. Carafa), 144.

Vacca, Antonio, 184.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 96 n. 3.
Vanzi, Sebastian (Bishop of Orvisto), 341.
Varano, Guilia (Duchess of Urbino), 99.
Vargas, Francisco de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 11, 25 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*, 41, 44 *seqq.*, 51 *seqq.*, 56 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*, 133, 140 *seq.*, 145, 149 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*, 175, 181 *seqq.*, 187, 192 *seq.*, 202, 204, 243, 275, 277 *seq.*, 328, 330.
Veit von Würzburg (Bishop of Bamberg), 237.
Vendôme, Cardinal, *see* Bourbon, Charles de,
Vergerio (apostate), 239.
Verme, Taddea del (2nd wife of Giberto Borromeo), 113 n. 2.

Violante d'Alife, *see* Alife.
Visconti, Carlo (Bishop of Ventimiglia), Cardinal, 292, 294, 297.
Vitelli, Cardinal, 14, 20, 23 *seq.*, 49 n., 54 *seq.*, 57 *seqq.*, 61, 144.
Volpi, Giovan Antonio (Bishop of Como, nuncio), 125, 240.

WILLIAM, Duke of Cleves Juliers, 231 *seq.*
William, Duke of Mantua, *see* Gonzaga.
Wirsberg, Frederick of (Bishop of Würzburg), 237.

ZAMBECCARO (Bishop of Sulmona), 362.
Zanchi, Girolamo (Italian protestant), 239.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xxi
Confirmation of the Council of Trent. The Index. The Roman Catechism	1–37
Church Music. Palestrina	37–55
Reforming activity of Pius IV., Charles Borromeo, and the Jesuits	56–104
Attitude of the Powers towards the Tridentine Decrees. The question of the chalice for the laity and ecclesiastical celibacy in Germany	105–140
State of Religion in Poland	141–152
State of Religion in France	153–210
State of Religion in England	211–254
State of Religion in Scotland and Ireland	255–304
The Roman Inquisition in Italy	305–352
Pius IV. and Philip II. The Turkish Peril	353–372
Government of the Papal States. The Conspiracy of Accolti. End of the Pontificate	373–403
Pius IV. and Art. Works in Rome. The Villa Pia. St. Peter's. Death of Michelangelo	404–457
Appendix of unpublished documents	459–502
Index of Names	503–518

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XV.

70939

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVI.

CHAPTER I.

CONFIRMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.—THE INDEX.—THE ROMAN CATECHISM.

A.D.		PAGE
1563	The Pope's joy at the happy ending of the Council	1
	His intention of confirming its decrees	2
	Opposition in Rome to an unconditional confirmation (December 30th)	2
	The Pope declares his determination to confirm the decrees	3
	Two commissions of Cardinals appointed for the purpose	4
1564	An unconditional confirmation decided upon (January 26th)	5
	Pius IV. determines to have the decrees printed	6
	The first printed edition of the decrees (March)	7
	Continued opposition in the Curia	8
	The Bull of Confirmation published	9
	The exclusive right of interpretation reserved to the Holy See	9
	A commission of Cardinals appointed to deal with questions concerning the decrees	10
	The Tridentine profession of faith drawn up and made obligatory	11
	Several tasks left unfinished by the Council	12
	The Index of prohibited books	12
	Work begun upon the revision of the Index	13
	Cardinals employed upon this work	14
	The discussion of the Index during the Council	16
	The Commission of the Index at Trent	17
	Work of the Commission	18
	The Index of Paul IV. much too severe; several authors "liberated"	20
	The Tridentine Index published (March 24th)	21
	The so-called Rules of the Index	22
	The Catechism discussed at Trent	24
	The Catechism of the Council of Trent	25
	General demand for a Catechism	26
	The work continued in Rome after the Council	28
	The reform of the Breviary and Missal undertaken	30
	Abuses in the Breviary and other liturgical books	31
	The Santa Croce Breviary	33
	Paul IV. and the Breviary	33
	Work on the Breviary at Trent	33

A.D. PAGE

A correct edition of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church projected 35
All these things brought to a conclusion at a later date 36
The work of the Council to trace the broad fundamental lines of reform 37

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH MUSIC.—PALESTRINA.

The question of church music at Trent . . . 38
Some wish to exclude it entirely from divine worship 38
Two things insisted upon—the exclusion of the profane and the necessity of intelligibility . . 38
Abuses in church music 39
The development of polyphonic music from the old chant 39
Mixture of the sacred and profane . . . 40
Want of intelligibility 41
Fantastic experiments in music 42
The Netherland school of music in the XVth century 43
Johann Okeghem and Josquin de Prés . . . 44
The Netherland musicians in Italy and Rome . 45
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina 46
The art of Palestrina entirely devoted to the Church 47
Palestrina in Rome (1551) 49
His friendship with Philip Neri 50
The *Mass of Pope Marcellus* 51
Reform of the Papal choir 53
Giovanni Animuccia 54

CHAPTER III

REFORMING ACTIVITY OF PIUS IV., CHARLES BORROMEO AND THE JESUITS.

1565 The work of Pius IV. in relation to the Council . 57
The Pope declares null all privileges contrary to the decrees of Trent 57
The reform of the Roman Curia 58
Cardinal Commendone's description of the Papal Court 58
Popular character of the government . . . 59
The great number of officials 59
Constantly changing conditions 60
Worldliness the principal evil 61
Evil effects of secular influence 62
Exaggerated veneration for pagan ideals . . 63
The problem of reform 65
New regulations for the Rota and other tribunals . 65
Reform of the Apostolic Camera and Penitentiaria . 66
Reform of abuses connected with benefices . . 67

A.D. PAGE
Mitigation of many of the decrees of Paul IV. . . 68
The Papal succession 68
The conclave bull of Pius IV. (1562) . . . 69
The duty of residence; action taken by the Pope . 72
Renewed efforts of Pius IV. to enforce this duty . 73
Repeated regulations issued on the subject . . 75
The share of Borromeo in all these reforms . . 76
Borromeo sets the example in his own person and household 77
Other reasons contribute to the progress of reform . 78
Political weakness of the States of the Church . 78
Impoverishment of the Cardinals; increased simplicity of living 79
Reform of the Apostolic Palace 81
Visitation of the Roman clergy 82
Reforms in the city 83
The establishment of seminaries 85
The Council asks for a seminary in Rome . . 86
Cardinals appointed to carry out this desire . . 86
The Jesuits and the Roman College . . . 87
Opposition to the Jesuits in Rome . . . 87
The Pope takes up the cause of the Jesuits . . 88
The first seminaries established 89
Jesuit colleges opened in many dioceses . . 90
Pius IV. and the Jesuits 91
Influence of Lainez and Francis Borgia . . . 93
Ignatius of Loyola and the Roman College . . 94
Beginnings of the Roman University . . . 95
Rapid growth of the University 96
The new scholasticism 97
The German College 98
The work of visitation in Italy 100
Reform of the religious orders; St. Teresa and the Carmelites 101
Reform of the Cistercians 101
The Dominicans and Franciscan Conventuals . . 102
Diocesan and provincial synods 103
Borromeo and the provincial council of Milan . 103
Borromeo's work as a bishop 104

CHAPTER IV.

ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS TOWARDS THE TRIDENTINE DECREES. THE QUESTION OF THE CHALICE FOR THE LAITY AND ECCLESIASTICAL CELIBACY IN GERMANY.

1564 The secular princes and the decrees of the Council . 105
Attitude of the Swiss Catholic Cantons . . . 106
Ferdinand I. and the reform decrees . . . 107
Want of zeal of the German bishops . . . 108
Delfino appointed to deliver the decrees in Germany . 108
Peter Canisius in Germany 109

A.D. PAGE
Demand in Germany for concessions . . . 110
Communion under both kinds 111
Ferdinand I. and Albert of Bavaria ask for the concession of the chalice 112
Cardinals Truchsess and Hosius oppose this demand 113
Attitude of the Pope and the Council . . . 114
Albert V. of Bavaria allows the concession . . 115
Efforts of Ferdinand I. to obtain the concession . 116
Attitude of the ecclesiastical Electors . . . 117
Delfino proves himself an unexpected ally of the Emperor 118
Letter of Ferdinand I. to Pius IV. . . . 119
Attitude of Pius IV. towards the concession . . 121
Strong opposition on the part of Spain . . 121
The decisive consistory of March 8th, 1564 . . 122
The Cardinals, led by Farnese, oppose the concession 123
The Pope's speech; Morone to be sent to Germany . 124
The Pope allows the chalice for the laity in Germany under certain conditions 127
The briefs allowing the concession published (May 9th) 128
The concession meets with considerable success at first 129
Death of Ferdinand I. (July 25th) . . . 130
Opposition to the concession in many parts of Germany 130
The enthusiasm for the concession dies away; "more harm than good" 131
Albert of Bavaria's views completely changed . . 132
Ecclesiastical celibacy 133
Maximilian II. renews his father's demands (September 19th) 134
1565 The attitude of Philip II. towards the concession . 135
The nuncios in Vienna try to win over Maximilian . 136
The Emperor continues to press his demands . 137
The recall of Delfino 138
Maximilian II. and the decrees of Trent . . 139
Bavaria and the first seminaries in Germany . . 140

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF RELIGION IN POLAND.

1560 Heresy in Poland; principally among the smaller landed gentry 141
King Sigismund Augustus a good Catholic, but easy going 141
Bongiovanni sent as nuncio to Poland . . . 142
His report to the Pope on the state of affairs . . 143
Bishop Uchanski favours concessions to the heretics . 144
1563 Commendone sent to Poland 145
He and Hosius bring pressure to bear on the king . 146
They urge the acceptance of the decrees of Trent . 147

A.D. PAGE
Commendone summoned before the king and the council 148
1564 Sigismund Augustus accepts the decrees . . 148
Danger of a national council in Poland . . 149
The question of the king's divorce . . . 150
The services of Commendone and Hosius to Poland . 151
Three Jesuit colleges established 152

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

1559 The death of Henry II. 153
Spread of Calvinism in France 153
The political power in the hands of the Guise . . 153
Opposition to the Guise; the princes of the blood royal 154
1560 Condé and Coligny; the conspiracy of Amboise . 155
Anxiety of Pius IV. Cardinal Tournon made Grand Inquisitor for France 156
Many secret Calvinists among the clergy . . 157
Proposals for a national council 157
Disastrous attitude of Cardinal Guise . . . 158
Regency of Catherine de' Medici 159
Her only object is to maintain herself in power . 159
Concessions to the Calvinists 160
Catherine draws nearer to the Calvinist party . . 161
Gualterio succeeded as nuncio by Santa Croce . . 161
Double-dealing of the King of Navarre . . . 162
1561 Cardinal Ippolito d'Este appointed legate to France 163
Danger of a national council 164
Este's journey to France 165
The object of his mission 166
The assembly of Poissy 167
Beza received at the French court . . . 169
Beza's speech at the assembly of Poissy . . 170
He is refuted by Cardinal Guise 170
Arrival of Cardinal Este at the French court . 171
The recognition of his faculties is withheld . . 171
His strictly conciliatory policy 172
Threatening attitude of Philip II.; Catherine orders the restitution of the churches seized by the Calvinists 173
Renewed Calvinist outrages upon the Catholics . 174
Indiscretion of Este; his recall demanded in Rome . 175
He is rebuked by the Pope; he defends himself . 176
1562 Further concessions made to the Calvinists . . 177
Outbreak of the first religious war . . . 178
Violence of the Calvinists 179
The beginnings of a Catholic reaction . . . 181
The whole of France under arms 182

A.D. PAGE
The war assumes an international character . . 183
The Huguenots surrender Le Havre to Elizabeth . 183
The Pope promises financial help subject to certain conditions 184
Proposed Catholic league 184
The Pope modifies the conditions of his subsidy . 185
Defeat of the Huguenots at Dreux . . . 186
1563 Francis de Guise assassinated at the siege of Orleans 186
The Edict of Amboise (March 19th) . . . 187
Cardinal Este starts on his return to Rome . . 188
Several French bishops suspected of heresy . . 189
The suspected bishops cited to appear before the Roman Inquisition 190
Cardinal Châtillon deprived of his dignities . . 191
Eight other French bishops summoned on a charge of heresy 192
Pius IV. and the Queen of Navarre . . . 193
Sentence pronounced on the seven bishops . . 194
The French government and the Tridentine decrees 196
1564 Catherine is determined not to accept the decrees . 197
Quarrel concerning precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors 198
Pius IV. endeavours to avoid a definite decision . 199
He at length decides in favour of France; the Spanish ambassador leaves Rome 200
In spite of this the French government continues to evade the acceptance of the decrees . . . 201
1565 The Bayonne conference 202
Catherine de' Medici's deceitful policy . . . 203
The position of the Jesuits in France . . . 204
Parliament refuses to register the decree for their admission into France 204
The University of Paris also opposed to them . . 204
They are supported by the French Cardinals . 205
The Parliament recognizes the Jesuits under certain restrictions (1562) 206
The success of the Jesuit college in Paris; the lectures of Madonatus (1564) 206
Hostility of the university 207
Storm of hostility against the Jesuits; they seek the protection of Parliament against the university . 208
The invectives of Etienne Pasquier against the Jesuits 209
Parliament refuses to make any decision . . 210
The Society continues to gain ground in France . 210

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

1559 Queen Elizabeth had undone the work of Mary . 211
But the Catholic cause in England was by no means lost 211

A.D. PAGE
The Spanish ambassador's false estimate of Elizabeth 212
The extraordinary duplicity of the queen . . 213
Her personal indifference in religious questions . . 214
She encourages religious differences abroad . . 215
Philip II. clings to the hope of her return to Catholicism 216
And dissuades the Pope from taking action against her 217
1560 Pius IV. sends Parpaglia to Elizabeth with conciliatory assurances of his good-will . . . 218
This mission very opportune for Elizabeth, who, however, is determined to keep Parpaglia out of England 220
Spain, through jealousy of France, assists her in this 221
The recall of Parpaglia 221
The policy of Philip II. 223
Elizabeth's matrimonial intrigues 224
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 225
Queen Elizabeth and the Council of Trent . . 227
1561 The mission of Martinengo 228
Elizabeth is resolved not to admit a Papal nuncio to England 229
Martinengo is definitely refused admission . . 231
This implies the final separation of England from the Church 231
Pius IV. still hopes to win over Elizabeth . . 232
Proposed excommunication of Elizabeth; Philip II. opposes this 233
Enforcement of the religious laws against the Catholics 234
The imprisoned English bishops 235
Elizabeth held back by fear of French interference . 236
Bishop Bonner of London 237
Persecution of the Catholics 238
The royal visitation 239
London the headquarters of Protestantism . . 240
But there are many strongholds of Catholicism in the provinces 241
The English people still on the whole Catholic . . 242
1562 The clergy filled with the spirit of compromise; want of clear ideas as to Protestant worship . . 243
Most of them accept the oath of supremacy . . 243
1563 The new Penal Laws 244
The conspiracy of Arthur Pole 245
Fulminations against the "Papists" . . . 246
Enforced "loans" levied upon the Catholics . . 247
Penalties for assisting at Mass 248
The persecution of the Catholics made more severe . 250
Attempts to consolidate the new religion . . 251
Appointment of Protestant bishops . . . 252
Rise of Puritanism 253
Growing indifference to all religion in England . . 254

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

A.D.		PAGE
	A state of anarchy in Scotland	255
	Pillage and disaster lead to a decline of the old faith	256
	But Lutheranism makes little progress	256
	Disgraceful conduct of the Scottish barons	256
	John Knox	257
	He transforms Scottish Protestantism into Calvinism	258
1554	Mary of Guise becomes Regent of Scotland	259
1555	Renewed activity of Knox; the "party of the Lord"	260
1559	Iconoclasm in Scotland	261
	By the death of Henry II., Mary Stuart becomes Queen of France	262
	Mary of Guise and the "party of the Lord"	262
	Elizabeth secretly assists the Scottish nobles	263
1560	Cecil negotiates the Treaty of Edinburgh	264
	Prohibition of Catholic worship in Scotland	265
	But the Parliament not a legal assembly	266
	Destruction of churches and monasteries	267
	Remonstrances of Henry II. of France to the Pope (1559)	268
	Paul IV. refuses to take any action	268
	Efforts of Pius IV. to repair the shortcomings of his predecessor	269
	Death of Francis II. (December 5th); Mary Stuart prepares to return to Scotland	269
1561	The nobles offer the crown to Elizabeth	269
	On her refusal they begin to rally to Mary	270
	Embassies sent from Scotland to Mary; duplicity of James Stuart	270
	Mary Stuart lands in Scotland (August 19th)	271
	Character of Mary Stuart	271
	Difficult position of the young queen	272
	John Knox denounces the Mass	273
	The Scottish people generally loyal to the queen	274
	Her personal loyalty to the Church; she is unable to help the Catholics	275
	Pius IV. and Mary Stuart; he sends her the Golden Rose	276
1562	The mission of Goudano	277
	His secret interview with the queen	278
	Goudano and the Scottish bishops	280
	Isolation of the queen; her powerlessness	281
	Goudano leaves Scotland	282
	Ninian Winzet	283
	Lord James Stuart the real ruler of Scotland	284
1563	The tragedy of the Gordons, Mary's chief supporters	285
	Complete liberty enjoyed by the reformers	286
	Letter of Mary Stuart to the Council of Trent	287
	Reply of the Fathers of the Council; "a splendid tribute"	288

A.D. PAGE
Mary's admiration and friendship for Elizabeth . 289
Proposals for Mary's marriage; Elizabeth's fear of a Spanish or Austrian match 290
Henry Darnley 290
1565 Mary's infatuation for Darnley 291
In spite of Elizabeth's efforts, the marriage takes place (July 29th) 291
Darnley is proclaimed king 292
Murray stirs up the fanaticism of the reformers . 293
The General Assembly adopts a threatening attitude 293
Conspiracy against the queen and her husband . 294
Mary's courage and decision; the rebellion suppressed 285
The queen's position seems assured; her policy of religious toleration; Catholic worship restored . 296
Mary applies to the Pope for help 297
Conciliatory reply of Pius IV., but he is unable to help her materially 298
She asks the help of Philip II., but without result . 299
1560 Pius IV. and Ireland 299
The English ecclesiastical laws accepted by the Irish Parliament 299
Catholic public worship suspended 300
Lamentable state of the clergy; David Wolf as nuncio 300
The work of Wolf as nuncio 301
Schools and seminaries established . . . 302
Persecution in Ireland 303
Revolts break out continually 304

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION IN ITALY.

1560 Pius IV. restricts the powers of the Holy Office . 305
But confirms its privileges. Ghislieri still Grand Inquisitor 306
The rehabilitation of Morone and others . . . 307
1562 The Pope gives the Inquisition fresh powers . . 309
His decree concerning the Inquisition . . . 310
1564 A new congregation of Cardinals of the Inquisition . 312
The method of procedure of the Inquisition . . 315
Pius IV. takes little personal part in the Inquisition 316
The Council of Trent and the Inquisition . . . 317
1562 The case of Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia . . 319
He is acquitted by the Roman Inquisition . . 321
His renewed imprudent declarations . . . 321
Venice presses for his elevation to the cardinalate . 322
A special congregation decides against Grimani . 323
1563 Grimani appeals to the Council of Trent . . . 324
Pius IV. at length allows the appeal . . . 325
The sentence of the Council mainly in his favour . 326

A.D. PAGE

The Spanish Inquisition; its sensitiveness as to its rights 327
The case of Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo . 328
The Spanish Inquisition resents interference on the part of Rome 329
Philip II. and the mission of Odescalchi . . . 330
Carranza appeals to the Council; the Pope unable to come to his assistance 331
The Commission of the Index at Trent approves Carranza's Catechism 332
The Pope determines to send a legate to Spain to examine the acts of the trial and pronounce sentence 333
1565 The mission of Cardinal Boncompagni . . . 334
The death of Pius IV. leaves the question still pending 334
The question of the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition into Milan 335
Violent opposition in Milan 336
Similar fears in Naples and other parts of Italy . 337
Milanese embassy to Rome 338
Philip II. abandons his plan 339
Activity of the Roman Inquisition in Italy . . 340
The Pope and Venice 343
Friendship of Pius IV. for Cosimo I. . . . 344
The Inquisition at Lucca and Genoa . . . 347
Dangers to the Church in Savoy 348
The Duke of Savoy and the Calvinists . . . 349
Zeal of Emanuele Filiberto against the Waldensians 351
The Waldensians in Calabria 352

CHAPTER X.

PIUS IV. AND PHILIP II.—THE TURKISH PERIL.

Philip II. the obvious protector of the Church . . 353
But his natural autocracy leads him to wish to rule, as well as protect the Church 354
The Catholic Kings had obtained concession upon concession and had seriously encroached upon the liberties of the Church 355
The vast wealth of the Church in Spain . . . 355
Philip II. makes misuse of the Spanish Inquisition, in order to bring the Church into subjection . 356
The "holding back" of Papal briefs . . . 356
Attempts of the Popes to limit this caesaro-papalism 357
1559 State of affairs at the election of Pius IV. . . 358
The new Pope grants the *Cruzada*, *Sussidio*, and other levies 359
Philip II.'s ever increasing demands . . . 361

A.D. PAGE
The royal council treats the Curia with "overbearing contempt" 362
1561 Alessandro Crivelli appointed nuncio in Spain . . 362
Francisco Vargas Spanish ambassador to the Holy See; his character 363
His strained relations with Pius IV. 363
Philip II's dilatory conduct with regard to the Council 364
Unworthy behaviour of the Spanish representatives at Trent 365
1564 The Turkish question becomes more threatening . 366
1565 Heroic defence of Malta by the Knights of St. John . 367
The Pope sends assistance to the Emperor against the Turks 368
The Spaniards claim the credit of the defence of Malta 369
1559 The case of Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo . 370
1565 The mission of Cardinal Boncompagni . . 371
Pius IV. complains bitterly of the conduct of Philip II. 372

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES.—THE CONSPIRACY OF ACCOLTI.—END OF THE PONTIFICATE.

Great weakness of the Papal States 373
Want of fortifications and means of defence . . 374
Nevertheless they still form the second power in Italy 374
The six administrative districts or legations . . 375
The principal cities of the Papal States . . . 376
Pius IV. introduces reforms in administration . 376
The administrative offices filled by Milanese . . 377
Many reform decrees 378
The Papal finances; state loans 379
The sources of revenue 380
The heavy expenditure necessitates much taxation . 381
This causes deep discontent in the Papal States . 381
The Pope fears an attack on his life . . . 382
1564 The conspiracy of Accolti 383
The discovery of the plot 384
Confession of the conspirators 386
1565 Accolti, Canossa and Manfredi executed (January) . 387
The confession of Canossa 389
He protests his innocence 390
The marriage of Hannibal von Hohenems . . 392
Great creation of Cardinals (March) . . . 393
The new Cardinals all worthy men; influence of Borromeo in their choice 394
Borromeo leaves Rome for Milan 395
The Pope's failing health 396
He recovers, but his death is generally expected . 398

A.D. PAGE

He is suddenly taken ill; Borromeo hurries back to Rome 399
The death of Pius IV. (December 9th) 400
His tomb in S. Maria degli Angeli 401
Importance of his pontificate in the history of Catholic reform 402
Charles Borromeo the good genius of Pius IV. . . . 403

CHAPTER XII.

PIUS IV. AND ART.—WORKS IN ROME.—THE VILLA PIA.—ST. PETER'S.—DEATH OF MICHELANGELO.

Pius IV. as a patron of letters 404
The Accademia Vaticana 405
Pagan literature treated from the Christian standpoint 406
The printing press of Paulus Manutius 407
The Vatican Library 408
Guglielmo Sirleto 408
The Papal Archives 409
The Roman University; other universities in the Papal States 410
The outspoken memorial of Lodovico Parisetti . 411
Pius IV. as patron of the arts; his architects . . 413
His passion for building; the Belvedere 413
The Loggia della Cosmografia 416
The Hall of Secret Consistories 417
The Sala dei Papi, the Sala Regia, and the Sala Ducale 418
The Villa Pia. Pirro Ligorio 419
Its important place in the history of architecture . 421
Description of the Casino and Loggia 422
Fortification works of Pius IV. 426
The Castle of St. Angelo 427
Fortification of the city 429
The Borgo Pio 430
Fortifications in the Papal States 432
The Porta Pia 434
The Porto del Popolo 435
New streets in Rome 436
Scheme for a good water supply 437
Great services of Pius IV. to the adornment of Rome 438
The Palazzo dei Conservatori 439
University buildings in Rome and Bologna . . . 440
Restoration of churches 441
The Lateran basilica 442
The Baths of Diocletian; S. Maria degli Angeli . 443
Michelangelo's grand plan 444
Pius IV. and St. Peter's; his relations with Michelangelo 446
His loyal support of Michelangelo 449

A.D. PAGE

Michelangelo offers to resign his post as architect of St. Peter's 449
The attempts of his rivals to oust him . . . 450
Michelangelo's successor appointed by the Pope . 451
The last days of Michelangelo 453
The death of Michelangelo (February 18th, 1564) . 454
His burial at S. Croce in Florence . . . 454
Pirro Ligorio and Vignola appointed architects of St. Peter's 456
Personal interest of Pius IV. in the plans of the basilica 456
His plan for the Piazza of St. Peter's 457

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Pope Pius IV. to the Doge	461
II.	Pope Pius IV. to Pier Francesco Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, Nuncio to Venice	461
III.	Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa	462
IV.	Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa	462
V.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	463
VI.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	463
VII.	Pope Pius IV. to Cardinal Pier Francesco Ferreri	463
VIII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	464
IX.	Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems	464
X.	Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems	464
XI.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	465
XII.	Consistory of 27th June, 1561	465
XIII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	466
XIV.	Consistory of 8th August, 1561	466
XV.	Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone	466
XVI.	Avviso di Roma of 30th August, 1561	466
XVII.	Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone	467
XVIII.	Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone	467
XIX.	Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone	467
XX.	Avviso di Roma of 8th November, 1561	468
XXI.	Pope Pius IV. to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza	468
XXII.	Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa	469
XXIII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	469
XXIV.	Avviso di Roma of 21st February, 1562	470
XXV.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	470
XXVI.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	470
XXVII.	Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua	471
XXVIII.	Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems	471
XXIX.	Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. in favour of the Roman Inquisition	472
XXX.–XXXI.	Pius IV. and the Roman Printing House of Paulus Manutius	474
XXXII.	The Emperor Ferdinand I. to his Envoys in Trent	476
XXXIII.	Giacomo Tarreghetti to the Duke of Mantua	476
XXXIV.	Cardinal Ghislieri to Girolamo Franchi, O. Pr., Inquisitor of Genoa	477
XXXV.	Pius IV. to Cardinal Henry of Portugal	477

PAGE

XXXVI. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua . 477
XXXVII. Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. for the eight Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition . . 478
XXXVIII. Pope Pius IV. to Alessandro Crivelli . . . 482
XXXIX. Commendone's Discorso sopra la Corte di Roma, 1564 482
XL.–XLII. Concerning the conspiracy of December, 1564 485
XLIII. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara . 497
XLIV. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara . 497
XLV. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara . 498
XLVI. Execution of the conspirators against Pius IV. Benedetto Accolti and his companions . 498
XLVII.-XLVIII. L. Bondonus de Branchis concerning the conspiracy of Benedetto Accolti . . 499

CHAPTER I.

Confirmation of the Council of Trent.—The Index.—The Roman Catechism.

During his severe illness, at the end of 1563, Pius IV. had spoken in a way which had aroused the expectation in the minds of well-informed persons that the decrees of the Council would be strictly enforced.[1] After his recovery the Pope continued to express himself in the same sense. On December 12th, 1563,[2] he held a consistory in the presence of the Imperial, Spanish, Portuguese and Venetian ambassadors, at which he expressed his joy at the happy ending of the Council. The fathers, he said, had held their discussions in complete independence, and had freely resolved to bring their deliberations to a close. No assembly which had been held during the past 500 years could compare in importance with that held at Trent in its advantageous results for the Church, in the number and learning of those who took part in it, or in the importance and complexity of the subjects dealt with. Nothing further remained but that the Pope should exercise his office by confirming and ordering the observance of what had

[1] *Pare che questa nuova del recesso del Concilio, li habbia arrecato un mondo di pensieri et di confusione, dice volere observare in tutto le deliberazioni del Concilio et non ne volere preterire una iota, vuole che tutti i vescovi vadino a residere et credo sarà severissimo et aspro quanto sia stato altro Pontefice con i vescovi et cardinali. Report of Serristori, dated Rome, December 17, 1563 (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3283, p. 112).

[2] Pogiani (Epist. III., 372) gives December 10 as against December 12 in the consistorial acta (manuscript of Card. Spada) in Raynaldus, 1563, n. 222, and *Acta consist., card. Gambarae, p. 250a of the Cod. 40-G-13 of the Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* Pallavicini, 24, 9, 1; Sickel, Konzil, 52.

been ordained as good and salutary. It was his intention to make some additions to the decrees; he would insist that the bishops should reside in their dioceses, and he also took the opportunity of announcing at once that no one must look for indulgence in this respect.[1] He then ordered a procession of thanksgiving to be made on December 15th to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.[2]

It could be seen from the replies of the Cardinals to this speech that all in Rome were not in favour of an unconditional confirmation of the reform decrees. Several remarked that explanations ought to be appended to some of the ordinances. Pius IV. replied that he would consider this point on another occasion, but that it was his intention to confirm the decrees both in general and particular.[3] In spite of this clear declaration the report spread that the Pope himself would be the first to break through the limits set by the Council,[4] and it would seem that several of the Roman officials were agitating, more especially against a general confirmation of the reform decrees, principally because they feared the diminution of their revenues owing to the limitation of the appeals to Rome.[5]

[1] Consistorial acta in POGIANI, Epist. III., 372-4, and in the *Corsini Library, 40-G-13, p. 250-3. For the story of the confirmation of the Council *cf.* EHSES, Der Schlussakt des Konzils von Trient, in Görres-Gesellschaft, 1914, 43 *seq.;* SÄGMÜLLER, Die Geschichte der Congregatio Concilii von dem Motuproprio "Alias nos nonnullas" vom 2 August, 1564, in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, LXXX. (1900), 3-17. For the dissertation of HACKENBERG in Festschrift zum elfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des deutschen Camposanto in Rom. (1897), 221 *seqq.*, see SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*

[2] Bondonus in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 122.

[3] POGIANI Epist., III., 374.

[4] Pius IV., on December 30, *ibid.*, III., 382.

[5] To reassure them Pius IV. on January 26, 1564, while giving the confirmation, said: "Damnum vero huius curiae multo levius fore, quam prima specie videretur, tamen quantumcunque esset, prae universali bono christianae reipublicae neglegendum." *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13,

In the meantime, the legates, Morone and Simonetta, had returned to Rome even before Christmas, had reported upon the Council in many audiences, and had begged for its confirmation.[1] The Pope held another consistory on December 30th,[2] at which, in a long speech, he first gave thanks for the Council to God, the Emperor, and the princes, and praised the legates and fathers of the Council. He also expressed his thanks to the fathers because they had, in their reform decrees, shown such moderation and consideration for the Curia. He would have proceeded with much greater strictness himself, had he taken the work of reform into his own hands. It was his fixed intention to confirm the reform prescriptions of the Council, and to have them strictly enforced.[3] The unfounded belief of many persons that he was not in earnest about the carrying out of the reform would thus be disproved by the facts. It was his intention to make alterations only where the fathers had been too timid, but not so as to relax discipline in any way. He then entrusted Cardinal Morone with the task of watching over the consistory, so that nothing

p. 259b; *cf*, RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 3. As Ehses shows in a recently published article, the statements which Sarpi makes concerning the objections raised in the curia, and which he bases on other authorities, are quite unworthy of belief.

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 1 *seq*. Morone and Simonetta left Trent on December 6, 1563 (ŠUSTA, IV., 448). The other two legates, Navagero and Hosius, received the permission which they had asked for to return to their own dioceses, Verona and Ermland (Borromeo to Navagero, December 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 455; brief to Hosius of December 5 [ŠUSTA, *loc., cit.*, 4], RAYNALDUS 1563, n. 223). Navagero left Trent on December 8, and Hosius on the 15. ŠUSTA, IV., 448, 456.

[2] POGIANI Epist., III., 381-92. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13, p. 253-8. *Cf*. EHSES, Schlussakt des Konzils, 46, which goes to discredit the remarks of Sarpi (8, 84).

[3] "Certum ac fixum est nobis efficere, ut, servatis s. concilii decretis illa disciplinae ratio in mores inducatur. POGIANI Epist. III., 382. *Cf*. STEINHERZ, IV., 8, 10; EHSES, Schlussakt des Konzils, 46.

might be proposed there which was foreign to the spirit of the Council or opposed to it. Cardinal Simonetta was to act in a like manner in the case of the Dataria.[1]. The Pope was determined to have the reform decrees of the Council carried out absolutely; should, in any special case, a dispensation be necessary, it was his intention to grant it only on the advice of the Cardinals. At the end of his speech the Pope again insisted on the importance of the duty of residence, to which he would not make any exception, even for his own personal service. He then appointed two commissions of Cardinals: the one to prepare the confirmation of the Council, and to consider the best means of carrying it out, that is to say, to arrive at a decision as to the time and manner of the confirmation,[2] while the other, which was to consist of the senior Cardinal Bishop, the senior Cardinal Priest, and the senior Cardinal Deacon, was to discharge the duty, in conjunction with those presenting the candidate in each case, of examining the worthiness of those proposed for bishoprics.[3] Shortly afterwards the Pope celebrated the anniversary of his election and coronation by a banquet given to the whole senate of the Church. Many of the Cardinals looked upon this joyful occasion as a favourable opportunity of obtaining marks of favour; Pius IV., however, refused all such requests, and protested once more that he would confirm the whole of the decrees of the Council, and would see that they were observed. The official world of Rome was in despair at such pronouncements, and was of opinion that a wholesale departure of the prelates would follow, and that Rome would be left half empty.[4]

[1] Pogiani Epist., III., 382 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Ehses, *loc. cit.* 47.

[3] Pogiani Epist., III., 391. Prospero d'Arco to Ferdinand I., January 1, 1564, in Sickel, Konzil, 649.

[4] *Dopo pasto si ridusse dove suole fare congregationi, ove molti cardinali lo ricercarono d'alcune gratie, alle quali S.S^{tà} non volse consentire ne amettere pur'una. Anzi comminciò a proporre a loro che voleva confermare tutti li decreti fatti al concilio di Trento et farle osservare. . . . Si farà un sfrattamento che

Pius IV. had, by these repeated public declarations, practically pledged himself to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and any possible objections made by the discontented members of the Curia could have little effect to the contrary.[1] After the congregation of Cardinals had completed its work,[2] it was possible to proceed to the final act of the Council. All the Cardinals advised an unconditional confirmation at the consistory of January 26th, 1564, Cicada and Ghislieri alone finding a difficulty in the decision of the Council[3] that bishops were to be able to absolve in matters of conscience which were reserved to the Pope.[4] This objection, however, had already been invalidated by the congregation of Cardinals. No one adopted the view put forward, for political reasons, by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, that they ought first to await the concurrence of the unrepresented powers. Pius IV., as well as all the other Cardinals, rejected this proposal, because the papal confirmation must precede everything else.[5] Morone,

Roma resterà la metà vota. Gli ufficiali sono disperati, pur che son sospese le ispeditioni, dice quelle poche che si facevano etiamdio di beneficii. Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, January 8, 1564 (Cart. Farnes. 763, State Archives, Naples). Even before the close of the Council, Pius IV. had ordered that all transactions with the Curia should be free, which, however, in the event, was found to be impracticable; *cf.* CANISII Epist., V., 122, n. 2; 179, n. 6.

[1] We have not got sufficient information as to the opposition to the unconditional confirmation, but merely the authority of the untrustworthy Sarpi, and certain ambassadorial reports (in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 551, 554, 563 *seq.*), in addition to the characteristic letter of Bernardo Tasso (Lettere, ed. Portioli, 36). *Cf.* SÄGMÜLLER in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, 1900, 10 *seq.*

[2] For the discussions, which reveal their care to change nothing in the well thought out reform decrees of the Council, see EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 51 *seq.*

[3] Sess. 24, de ref. c. 6.

[4] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13, pp. 260b-1.

[5] See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 52.

in whom, as Borromeo pertinently remarked, the whole history of the Council of Trent was personified,[1] defended this view in a long speech. In conjunction with Simonetta he begged for the confirmation of all the decisions which had been arrived at in Trent since Paul III. The Pope acceded to this request and promised to draw up a document to that effect; he was, he added, prepared to encounter many difficulties in carrying out those decisions, but he was also resolved to surmount them. He then returned once more to the duty of residence of the bishops, and declared that he agreed to the limitation of appeals which the Council had ordered.[2]

In spite of the repeated assurances of the Pope, the fear that he would nevertheless very soon dispense from the reform decrees, was not at once allayed.[3] How deeply Pius IV. was convinced of the importance of the Council is also evident from the fact that immediately after its close, at the latest in January, 1564, he proposed having the documents concerning the proceedings of the synod printed.[4] As early as the year 1548, the then legate of the Council, Cervini, had formed the plan of issuing such a publication, which would, in his opinion, afford a means of following the course of the deliberations, and of proving the care with which the fathers had proceeded.[5] Later, however, the views of those who feared that more harm than good would come from such a step, prevailed, although during the first months after the Council the plan of issuing such a publication was considered so certain that in the earliest Roman editions of

[1] Šusta, IV., 455.

[2] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, *loc. cit.*, 258 *seqq.* Raynaldus, 1564, n. 1-3. Steinherz, IV., 10.

[3] *Cf.* Borromeo to the Archbishop of Braga, on December 2, 1564, April 3 and December 2, 1565, in Baluze-Mansi, III., 519, 522, 528; Šusta, IV., 252, 276.

[4] Ehses, II., xxvi-xxxviii.; V., xxvi-xxxviii. The reproach made by Sarpi, and accepted by Ranke, that they wished in Rome to suppress the acts is not justified. *Cf.* Ehses in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XVI. (1902), 296-307.

[5] Ehses, II., xxvi.

the decrees of the Council, the printer, Paulus Manutius, announced in the preface[1] that the publication of the documents was imminent.

The official printed edition of the Tridentine decrees appeared in March, 1564.[2] It contains an official statement of the oral papal confirmation of January 26th. The promised bull of confirmation, which, in view of this oral confirmation, was no longer really necessary, was, during the months that followed, so slow in making its appearance, that many people believed that it would never be issued. Everything was done by certain officials of the Curia to prevent its publication; it was represented to the Pope that an unconditional con-

[1] Printed in the Appendix to the Epistolae of Manutius (Venice, 1573), 133. *Cf.* *Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 15, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the plan of Joh. Fickler of publishing the acts of the Council in 1605, *cf.* WIEDEMANN, Reformation, I., 246.

[2] The printing was completed on March 18 (STEINHERZ, IV., 73; *cf. infra* p. 8, note 1). A second edition was accompanied by a motuproprio signed by Borromeo "4 id. apr." (EHSES, II., xxxii., n. 6). Borromeo speaks of a reprint on July 1, 1564 (STEINHERZ, IV., 149). *Cf.* A. RENOUARD, Annales de l' imprimerie des Alde, Paris, 1803, 346-52; SALA, Dissertazioni, 231-9; SICKEL, Berichte, I., 35. In some copies of the first edition, Massarelli and two notaries of the Council attest its conformity with the original. A facsimile of this attestation from the original is in SWOBODA, 127. *Cf.* RENOUARD, 347; SALA, 233; LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschicte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 179. Other editions, not official, differ widely from the Roman one and from the one which the congregation of the Council sent, on January 29, 1565, as an authoritative and authenticated copy to the Archbishop of Saragossa (POGIANI Epist., I., 344). For the variations in the Paris edition of 1564, especially with reference to the additions on the Immaculate Conception, see EHSES, II., xiv., n. 3. Borromeo sent an authentic copy to the Archbishop of Bremen so that the decrees might be printed in their genuine form in Germany "et impiorum hominum fraus, a quibus iam impressa multaque falsa affecta sunt, et deprehendi et evitari facile possit." Borromeo, on August 29, 1564, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 517.

firmation of the Council would affect the revenues of the Apostolic Camera in the most disastrous manner, and would mean the simple ruin of the Papal Court.[1] The fear aroused by the oral confirmation of January 26th, which, however, could still be limited by the bull, was already great enough. Two-thirds of the Court, it was calculated, would now, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence, leave Rome, and with them would depart the splendour and luxury of the city, for good or for evil.[2]

In spite of this, however, the promised bull appeared on

[1] *Circa la bolla del concilio, che dover uscire, si è sopraseduta per le molte querele de' cortegiani di Roma, li quali non mancano con ogni via insinuare alla S.S^{tà}, che ciò sarà la rovina della corte. Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Si travano tante difficoltà nel far di questa bolla del concilio, che per molte che ne siano fatte, non si trova forma che sodisfaccia, et si tiene da i giuditiosi, che non se ne publicarà alcuna. Bern. Tasso to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, March 8, 1564: Lettere, ed. Portioli 44. *Il concilio è finito di stampare, cioè li decreti solo, con una pura fede in fine del card. Farnese che sia stato approbato da S.B^{ne}, et altra bolla sin quì non v' è ne si crede che sia per uscire, venendo molto impugnata per ciascuno per il danno della corte et diminutione delle entrate delle camera. Si stampa appresso integramente come è stato di mano in mano fatto, ma non è ancor fornito, et di più si ristampa il primo in stampa piccola. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 15, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Requesens to Philip II., February 22, and March 4, 1564, in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 551, 554.

[2] La dichiaratione che hieri S.S^{tà} fece in concistorio che confirmava *in omnibus et per omnia* et senza alcuna ecceptione tutto quello che era stato deliberato nel concilio, ha posta in disperatione tutta questa corte, et si tiene per certo che questa città ne rimarrà desolata; S.S^{tà} è deliberata che tutti i Cardinali, i Vescovi, et tutti quelli c' hanno benefici curati vadano a far la residentia, di maniera che i due terzi della Corte se n' andrano, et con questi necessariamente si partirà la maggior parte de' mercanti, de gli artefici et delle putane. Bern. Tasso to the Commandant of Mantua, Francesco Tosabezzi, on January 27, 1564, in Portioli, 36.

June 30th, with the date of the oral confirmation, January 26th, 1564.[1] After an historical introduction on the Council of Trent, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that, in virtue of the Papal concession, the Council had been able to decide with absolute freedom upon matters reserved to the Holy See, the confirmation of the Council follows, together with a call upon the bishops and princes to carry out the decrees issued, and to support this work by the secular power. Two important decisions then followed: It is forbidden to print commentaries and notes concerning the decrees of the Council without permission from the Holy See, while in case of doubt as to the interpretation of any decree, application must be made to the Holy See, to which is reserved the decision of all such difficulties.[2]

These two regulations concerning the exclusive right of interpretation by the Holy See, were the outcome of exhaustive deliberations, and were in reality the principal cause of the long delay in the appearance of the bull.[3] There was an obvious danger that the reform decrees might be differently understood in various countries and by various tribunals, and that confusion and uncertainty might in consequence arise. This danger was avoided by the right of interpretation being re-

[1] For the reasons for not giving up the publication, see Borromeo to Delfino, July, 1, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 149. *Cf.* the *reports of Giacomo Tarreghetti to Mantua, January 19: the bull of confirmation "è fatta, ma non publicata"; January 22: "Tutti questi giorni congregationi" on the subject of the "confirmatione" of the council; February 23: Yesterday there were congregations on the bull of confirmation. The ambassador refers to this at length; July 1: "Ieri sera finalmente è uscita la bolla confirmatoria del concilio tridentino." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Requesens to Philip II. on July 6, 1564: "A postrero del pasado salio impresa [the bull of confirmation] y se fijo en los lugares publicos de Roma." DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 563; STEINHERZ, IV., 150; CYPRIANUS, 366.

[2] The bull *Benedictus Deus* in RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 3, and in the printed editions of the Council of Trent.

[3] Requesens to Philip II., February 2, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 551.

served to the Holy See. The Council had already acknowledged the primacy of the Apostolic See by its decision that the decrees should only be valid when witlout prejudice to the Papal rights.[1] The Gallican party, however, the existence of which the proceedings at the Council had lately made evident, was able to maintain that the Pope had exercised the rights reserved to him by the Council by his very act of confirmation, and that he could in consequence no longer alter anything in the decrees, but was, on the contrary, himself subject to them.[2] This second danger was met by the clear declaration that the interpretation of the decrees was to be for all future time in the hands of the Pope. A further reason for the delay in the publication of the bull was to be found in the opposition to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, which, it would appear, was not yet silenced.

It was to be expected that an immense number of questions concerning the Tridentine reform decrees would reach Rome as soon as these decisions became known. Pius IV. therefore commissioned the eight Cardinals to whom he had entrusted the task of preparing the confirmation and enforcement of the Council, to see that the decrees were exactly observed. The same Cardinals were also to put into force the former reform prescriptions affecting the Penitentiaria and the various Roman tribunals, which had not been sufficiently obeyed.[3] In cases of doubt, however, the eight Cardinals were not to decide of themselves but were to refer the matter to the Pope. Pius IV. soon increased the number of this commission of Cardinals to twelve,[4] and appointed as secre-

[1] Sess. 25, de ref. c. 21.

[2] Requesens to Philip II., *loc. cit.*

[3] Motuproprio of August 2, 1564, in POGIANI Epist., II., liii., and in the editions of the Council of Trent. It is possible that the idea of the "Congregatio cardinalium concilii Tridentini interpretum" was suggested to the Pope by Bishop Ugo Boncampagni, the future Gregory XIII. (SÄGMÜLLER in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, 1900, 12-14), but so far the only authority for this is a writer of such little reliability as Sarpi.

[4] Before April 5; see POGIANI Epist., IV., 17.

tary the celebrated latinist, Giulio Pogiani, whose skilful pen clothed a great number of the decisions in classical garb.[1] Later on the power of this commission was greatly extended, so that it developed into the Congregation which became so important for the interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

Only the reform decrees fell within the competency of the Congregation of the Council, not the dogmatic decisions. The Council itself had endeavoured to secure submission to these by its regulation that all those who took part in a provincial synod, the bishop at their head, must solemnly accept the Council, promise obedience to the Pope, and openly reject all heresies, especially those condemned at Trent.[3] Besides this, all those who, for the future, should be chosen for the episcopate, were to submit their profession of faith to the Pope,[4] while all those who received an appointment involving the cure of souls were to make a profession of faith and take an oath of obedience to the Roman Church.[5] The Council had not drawn up a formula for the profession of faith, although the draft of one had been submitted to it.[6] Pius IV. completed the work of the Council in this respect, by the bull of November 13th, 1564;[7] at the same time he extended the obligation of making a profession of faith and taking an oath

[1] Pogiani Epist., I., 335-496. They cover the interval between October 8, 1564, and September 25, 1568.

[2] For the Congregation of the Council *cf.* G. Phillips, Kirchenrecht, VI., 625, Ratisbon, 1864; Wernz, Ius decretalium, II., 752, Rome, 1899; R. Parayre, La sainte Congrégation du Concile. Son histoire, sa procédure, son autorité, Paris, 1897.

[3] Sess. 25, de ref. c. 2.

[4] Sess. 24, de ref. c. 1.

[5] Sess. 24, de ref. c. 12.

[6] Canones super abusibus sacramenti ordinis (presented on April 30, 1563) can. 17. Le Plat, VI., 41. As early as September 4, 1560, according to Laemmer, Melet., 212 *seq.*, there was drawn up a form of oath which had to be taken by bishops and prelates on assuming their office, and at consecration.

[7] The bull, *Iniunctum nobis*, printed in the edition of the Council of Trent.

of obedience to the superiors of Orders, while in another constitution, issued at the same time, he laid the same obligation on professors in universities, and on doctors taking their degree.[1] In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries the Tridentine profession of faith was extended still further.[2]

The Council had not been able to complete some of its labours, such as the revision of the Index of prohibited books, the publication of a catechism, and the reform of the more important liturgical books, and it had accordingly, in its last session, committed the carrying out of these tasks to the care of the Apostolic See.[3]

Of these tasks, that which was the most advanced was the preparation of the revised Index.[4] Paul IV. had already learned by experience that he could not, even in Italy, be successful in carrying into effect his excessively rigorous prohibition of books.[5] As early as 1559 the editions of his Index contain the beginnings of a mitigation of the strictest ordinances,[6] and Cardinal Otto Truchsess, who complained of the crushing severity of the prohibitions, received a re-

[1] *In sacrosancta* of November 13, 1564, Bull. Rom., VII., 523 *seq.*; *cf.* Bicci, Boccapaduli, 364 n. The bull was occasioned by Canisius and Possevino, who raised complaints about the reported appointments of Protestants to posts in Italian universities; see Canisii Epist., IV., 653 *seq.*, 688. Concerning the difficulty of enforcing the bull in German universities, *ibid.* 790. *Cf.* Knöpfler, Kelchbewegung, 208; Holden, La profession de foi à Fribourg au 16e siècle, Friburg in Switzerland, 1898 (Diss.). See also Mohnike, Urkundl. Geschichte der sog. *Professio fidei Trident.* und einiger anderer röm.-kathol. Bekenntnisse, Griefswald, 1882; Brugi, Gli scolari dello studio di Padova nel cinquecento, Padua, 1903.

[2] See Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, V2., 683 *seq.*

[3] Sess. 25, Contin.

[4] For an appreciation of the prohibition of books *cf.* Hist-pol. Blätter, XXXVII. (1856), 561 *seqq.*

[5] For the perplexities caused by the Index of Paul IV. *cf.* Šusta, I., 17; Canisii Epist., II., 377, 425, 444 *seq.*, 450; Hilgers 198 *seqq.*, 488 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 277 *seqq.*

assuring reply.[1] The complaints against the Index of his predecessor continued under Pius IV ;[2] the Pope, indeed, had already determined, immediately after his accession, not to withold from public use such books by heretical writers as dealt with indifferent questions under the guise of religion. He expressed himself in this sense to Lainez in March, 1560,[3] and the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, also granted similar full powers,[4] and in this way the work upon the revision of the Index was begun.[5] At the beginning of the following year Lainez was able to put forward the proposal that anything which went beyond the general ordinances of the canon law should be removed from the existing Index, on the ground that such prohibitions were a snare for many souls and were of advantage to only a very few people.[6] These suggestions

[1] Canisius to Lainez, May 27 and August 6, 1559, Canisii Epist., II., 425, 500.

[2] Šusta, I., 17 *seq.* On August 25, 1560, in a special brief addressed to him (printed in Wirz, Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte, XXI., 379 ; Šusta, I., 19) Pius IV. explains the mistake by which the humanist, Glareanus, had been included in the Index. He deplores the inaccuracies of the compilers of the Index, who were men subject to human frailties, and declares that he gladly counts Glareanus among Catholic writers, and that nothing suspect had been reported concerning him in Rome. The Holy See loves all its sons, " doctos vero homines, hoc est tui similes, etiam eximie deligit."

[3] " esser l' animo suo che li libri heretici fossino prohibiti, ma non li altri." Polanco to Canisius on March 2, 1560, Canisii Epist., II., 604.

[4] Polanco to Canisius on March 24, 1560, *ibid.*, 614 ; *cf.* Nadal, Epistolae, IV., 61, 63.

[5] Canisii Epist., II., 618 ; *cf.* 633. Calenzio, Documenti, 246. According to the *Avviso di Roma of March 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library) four Cardinals were in consultation upon the reform of the Index. According to the *Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1560, Cardinal Madruzzo had raised objections to the mode of procedure of the Grand Inquisitor : in his condemnations he had not sufficiently taken into consideration the contents of the books.

[6] Polanco to Canisius, January 25, 1561, Canisii Epist., III., 27.

met with much approval in a Congregation of Cardinals and learned men,[1] and on January 24th, 1561, Seripando was instructed to devote himself to the work of revising the Index.[2] During February and March conferences were held upon the subject[3] and on March 16th the decision was arrived at in a secret consistory to put the modifications into force.[4] On May 17th Borromeo was able to hold out to the legates of the Council at Trent the prospect of the speedy appearance of the revised Index; the new list was to be drawn up in such a manner that the public could not reasonably find anything to object to in it.[5] At the same time an endeavour was made to put a stop to the flood of Protestant writings by the setting up of a printing press in Rome, which was entrusted to Paulus Manutius.[6] Cardinals Scotti, Vitelli, Mula and Morone were charged to make it their business to promote this new undertaking.[7]

The hope of the early publication of the revised Index was not realized, but in its place there was issued on June 14th, 1561, an order from the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, which anticipated several of the modifications of the later Tridentine Index.[8] After the reassembling of the Council, the whole

[1] Polanco to Nadal, February 16, 1561, NADAL, Epist., I., 388.

[2] Seripando in MERKLE, II., 463.

[3] *Ibid.*, 463, 464. *Hoggi è stata fatta congregatione et s' ha trattato principalmente sopra il catalogo delli libri condannati da Paolo 4°. It will be revised. Avviso di Roma of February 8, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 251, Vatican Library). *Cf.* EHSES, VIII., 250, n. 2.

[4] Seripando in MERKLE, II., 464.

[5] "Sarà di tal maniera che il mondo havrà causa di potersene ragionevolmente contentare"; in ŠUSTA, I., 19.

[6] ŠUSTA, I., 83.

[7] Morone to Capilupi, June 20, 1652, in Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 114 *seq.* In this letter instructions are given to Capilupi to prevent the reprinting of the publication of Pole on the Council, which had been undertaken by the Venetian printer, Ziletti.

[8] HILGERS in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXVIII. (1921), 120 *seq.* Here the decree is published from a Vatican codex, but there must be other impressions in existence as well

matter was referred to the synod by the brief of January 14th, 1562.[1]

At that moment those assembled at Trent were keenly discussing the question whether the synod, which was about to be opened, was to be looked upon as a continuation of the former Council or not.[2] A subject of discussion, therefore,

(*ibid.* 121). It was sent to Spain as having been published, but it was kept back for the time being by the Grand Inquisitor, Valdès. *Cf.* J. A. LLORENTE, Hist. crit. de l' Inquisition d' Espagne, trad. de par A. Pellier, I., 471 *seq.* Paris, 1818. In the introduction to the decree it is stated that Pius IV. had recognized that the censures contained in the recently published Index were a stumbling block to many persons. The mitigations have reference to those books which had been prohibited simply because the author or translator was suspect, or the name of the author was not given, as well as to editions of the Vulgate with suspect notes and commentaries, to the medical and botanical works of Leonhard Fuchs, and the manual of Canon Law by Molinaeus. With the removal of the notes and passages contrary to faith, these books can now be allowed, as also may be, after careful examination, the juridical works of Ulrich Zasius. The remark that Latin dictionaries (by heretical writers) and Bibles in the vernacular may be permitted subject to the prescriptions contained in the Index (which ?) is enigmatical. This can hardly have reference to the Index of Paul IV. ; it would seem that Ghislieri must have had in view the future rules 4 and 5 of the Tridentine Index. Above all, in the books now allowed, the names of heretical authors and translators must be removed.—In order to obtain the free circulation of the works of Zasius, his sons, in September, 1562, obtained from the University of Freiburg, a testimonial to the orthodoxy of their father (REUSCH, I., 364) and also wrote to the Pope (without date, but apparently before September, in *Concilio, 74, Papal Secret Archives). They cannot have known that a whole year previously, Ghislieri had anticipated their wish. In other respects it would seem that the decree of June 14, 1561, has left but little trace.

[1] EHSES, VIII., 279. The forces that were so actively at work in connection with the Index, wrote Calini on January 29, 1562, have so far produced no results, " se non che ha scoperto infinite difficoltà." BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 212.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 265.

such as the Index, which had no connection whatever with this question, was very welcome to the legates of the Council. It soon became evident, however, that the condemnation of Protestant books would have just as great an effect in keeping the innovators away from Trent as the announcement that the former Council, which was so detested by the Protestants, was to be continued. It was hoped to avoid this difficulty by setting the work on the Index on foot immediately, but deferring the declaration of the result until the close of the Council.[1] The further objection, that a Council could not correct the work of a Pope, was easily dealt with by the fact that the Pope had himself ordered the revision of the Roman Index. A Papal brief containing this order was issued on January 14th, 1562, and was read aloud in the general congregation of January 30th.[2]

In view of the excitement which the severe condemnation of books by Paul IV. had aroused, a speedy decision by the Council on the question of the Index could not fail to have a salutary effect. A decree was therefore prepared immediately after the opening of the Council, to be presented at the next Session; this, however, only announced the resolution that a commission of the members of the Council should confer on the subject of the existing Index, and upon suspected books. All those whom it concerned were invited to submit their observations on the subject with full confidence to the Council. On January 27th, the legates laid the matter of the Index before the fathers as the principal subject for discussion.[3] The Council decided by an overwhelming majority, in five

[1] The legates to Borromeo, December 18, 1561, in Šusta, I., 129. Mendoça, 636 *seq.*

[2] Theiner, I., 678. Bondonus, 556. Sickel, Konzil, 269. Beccadelli, III., 5. Ehses, VIII., 306.

[3] Theiner, I., 677. Sickel, 269. Baluze-Mansi, IV., 212. The legates wrote on January 29, 1562, to Borromeo: "In una congregatione privata signammo hieri molti prelati parte all' indice, parte al catechismo et parte al decreto che s' haverà da formare." Šusta, II., 13; Pogiani Epist., II., xviii. *Cf.* Ehses, VIII., 304 *seq.*

general congregations,[1] that a new Index should be drawn up, and the list of Paul IV. revised.[2] A commission,[3] appointed on February 12th, submitted on the 17th the draft of a decree, which led men to expect a revision.[4] After most careful deliberation, in three further congregations, the new decree was drawn up in the form[5] in which it was, with a few subsequent alterations, made public at the solemn session of February 26th, the XVIIIth of the Council, and the second under Pius IV.

The commission for the revision of the Index was appointed on February 17th, even before the publication of the decree. It was composed of six archbishops, nine bishops, one Benedictine abbot, and the Generals of the Observants and the Augustinians.[6] The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von

[1] Of January 30, February 6, 9, 10 and 12; see THEINER, I., 678 *seq.*, 680 *seq.*, 682 *seq.*; PALEOTTO, *ibid.*, II., 535; BECCADELLI, III., 5 *seq.*; EHSES, VIII., 306-25.

[2] THEINER, I., 685. EHSES, VIII., 325.

[3] It consisted of the Archbishop of Zara, Muzio Calini, Bishops Egidio Foscarari of Modena, Giacomo Maria Sala of Viviers, Antonio Agustino of Lerida, and a Benedictine abbot. ŠUSTA, II., 24; *cf.* THEINER, I., 685; BECCADELLI, III., 7; EHSES, VIII., 325 n. 2.

[4] See EHSES., VIII., 329.

[5] In MERKLE, II., 477. Another form of the decree (*ibid.*, 478) drafted by the Archbishop of Rossano, the future Urban VII., was only of practical importance in that it led to the changing of the last sentence of the first form (*ibid.*, 477 *seq.*); see Paleotto in THEINER, II., 543. The original vote of the Archbishop of Rossano in EHSES, VIII., 336 *seq.*, n. 231, D.

[6] They were the archbishops, Anton Brus von Müglitz of Prague, Giovanni Trevisano, Patriarch of Venice, Sebastiano Leccavella of Naxos, Ludovico Beccadelli of Ragusa, Guglielmo Pavesi of Sorrento, Bartol. de Martyribus of Braga, the bishops Tommaso Caselli of Cava, Ottaviano Preconio of Ariano, Egidio Foscarari of Modena, Urb. Vigerio of Sinigaglia, Jeronimo de Velasco of Oviedo, Antonio Agustino of Lerida, Domenico Bollani of Brescia, Niccolò Sfrondato of Cremona, Girolamo Trevisano of Verona, Eutichio de Cordes (of Antwerp), the abbot of S. Fortunato near

Müglitz, acted as a kind of president at the discussions, which were held at his house.[1] Every possible care was taken that all the churches which were represented at the Council should have a seat and vote on the commission. At the request of the legates, the Grand Inquisitor sent to the seat of the Council all the documents which could throw light on the Index of Paul IV., for the use of the commission.[2] By a brief of February 7th, 1563, the Pope extended the powers of the commission by granting it permission to examine and form a judgment upon books which were not included in the Index of Paul IV.[3]

The invitation of the XVIIIth session, to submit claims and requests to the commission of the Index, was responded to from various quarters.[4] The answers given at Trent clearly

Bassiano, the General of the Franciscan Observants, Francesco Zamorra, and the General of the Augustinians, Cristoforo di Padova (THEINER, I., 686; BECCADELLI, III., 7, 320). On July 29, 1563, the legates reported to Borromeo that there had been appointed to the commission "circa 22 padri" (ŠUSTA, IV., 144). Later on, it would seem, the number was again increased, and that the theologians were also called in for consultation. Together with REUSCH (I., 318) who makes various mistakes in the names, see EHSES, VIII., 328 *seq.*

[1] The legates of the Council to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 145. *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 294, 531; STEINHERZ, Briefe, 55.

[2] Borromeo to the legates, February 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 30; *cf.* 16.

[3] Printed in ŠUSTA, III., 215.

[4] In April, 1562, Gelli had recourse to the Florentine ambassador, that he might intercede on behalf of a prohibited book written by Gelli himself (ŠUSTA, II., 348). On April 30, Beccadelli informed Lelio Torelli, secretary of the Duke of Florence, that if Gelli wished to explain or alter any passages of his book, he could do so, "perche noi come giudici benigni, e suoi amorevoli, procureremo di liberarlo di questa nota" (BECCADELLI, III., 324). Gelli replied on May 6 by protesting his submission to the Congregation of the Index (*ibid.*, 325 *seq.*; the censures of the theologians of the Index upon his book, *ibid.*, 195-8). The Duke of Urbino sent two works of Machiavelli in an expurgated form, and begged that they might be permitted in this form (ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*). The

prove the endeavour to show all possible clemency. In July,

Florentine envoy Strozzi sought to induce his Duke to have Boccaccio expurgated as well, and to seek permission for the expurgated form (*ibid.*). At Trent Beccadelli declared that it was impossible to expurgate Boccaccio without spoiling it: let certain obscene or impious expressions be expunged, and say nothing about the rest, " come si è fatto del Bernia e certi altri " (BECCADELLI, III., 388 ; *cf.* vol. XIV. of this work, p. 279). For later attempts to expurgate Machiavelli and Boccaccio see DEJOB, 149 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*, 393 *seqq.* In a letter of August 8, 1562, Ghislieri instructed the nuncio in Venice, J. Capilupi, to suppress in an edition of Boccaccio which was being prepared there, some possible stories opposed to religion. Ghislieri confessed that he had never read Boccaccio (Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 113 *seq.*). On February 22, 1563, the Jews asked that they might be allowed an expurgated edition of the Talmud (ŠUSTA, III., 236 *seqq.*, MENDOÇA, 106. G. WOLF, Das tridentinische Konzil und der Talmud, Vienna, 1895. *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 215). The writings of Raimundus Lullus were removed from the Index at the beginning of September, 1563, in accordance with the request of his countrymen (MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, Los heterodoxos españoles, I., 537 *seq.*, Madrid, 1880. Polanco to Nadal, September 7, 1563, in NADAL, Epist. II., 380. *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, III., 7 ; GRISAR, Disput., I., 407 ; SICKEL, Berichte, II., 128). The so-called Apostolic Constitutions which were prohibited by Ghislieri as apochryphal and heretical, and which also met with opposition in other quarters (Paleotto in THEINER, II., 576) were expunged from the Index at Trent in accordance with the remonstrances of their editor, Bovio (*cf.* letter of the legates of September 20, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 255 *seq.*). Beccadelli worked in favour of Flaminio (BECCADELLI, I., 30, 64 ; III., 321, 357) ; the Bibles of Isidore Clario and Giovanni Campensis were removed from the Index on July 27, 1562 (*ibid.*, 357) in the same way as the *Centoni* of Lelio Capilupi were liberated by the intervention of his brother, the ambassador J. Capilupi (Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 115). In the case of Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, who had been accused before the Inquisition of having declared orthodox certain propositions denounced to him by the Dominican, Leonardo da Udine, a commission of 25 members of the Council pronounced (September 17, 1563) in favour of Grimani (PALLAVICINI, 22, 3, 10 ; 11, 1 ; ŠUSTA, II., 173 *seq.*; IV., 254 *seq.*); the sentence in THEINER, II.,410.

1563, the mild sentence passed on the much-discussed Catechism of Archbishop Carranza of Toledo even led to serious complaints on the part of the Spanish ambassador, and consequently to dissensions in the commission itself.[1] The fathers were most anxious to form their opinion from knowledge drawn from the books themselves, and not from the testimony of others. In the course of the year 1562, the Jesuit, Nadal, purchased heretical books for the Council at Antwerp,[2] and in December of the same year a memorial from the fathers charged with the censorship of books, complained of the want of the necessary volumes, as they did not wish to give an opinion concerning things which they had not personally investigated.[3] Borromeo therefore charged the legates to have the desired books purchased at the expense of the Holy See, either in Venice or Germany.[4] Many people were even of opinion that the fathers of the Council read too many prohibited books.[5]

As the result of these investigations it became more and more evident how much the list of Paul IV. was in need of revision. It had been discovered, writes Archbishop Anton Brus,[6] that "several pious and learned persons" had been unjustly "not a little burdened" by the Roman Index; several of them have already been "liberated."[7] Further

[1] The legates to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 144 *seqq.* *Cf.* the bibliography there published, p. 147, as well as Antonio Brus to King Maximilian II., in Steinherz, Briefe, 110; Philip II., to the Count di Luna, August 2, 1563, in Colleción de documentos inéditos, XCI., 483 *seq.*

[2] Nadal, Epist., II., 96.

[3] Šusta, II., 347.

[4] September 16, 1562, in Šusta, III., 7.

[5] The memorial on this subject to Pius IV., and the reply of Borromeo in Šusta, III., 321, 323.

[6] To King Maximilian II., June 18, 1563, in Steinherz, Briefe, 109.

[7] Namely Giov. Campensis, Giorgio Agricola, Henricus Glareanus and Ulrich Zasius. *Ibid.*, 110.

"liberations" followed.[1]. The writings of Erasmus, which Archbishop Brus would have preferred to license in their entirety,[2] gave the commission much trouble. Many difficulties were also caused by consideration for Philip II. of Spain, who did not wish that certain books, which were forbidden by the Spanish Inquisition, should be omitted from the Roman Index.[3]

After the close of the Council, the results of this great labour, the so-called Tridentine Index, were once more examined in Rome by a deputation of four members,[4] and were then published by a Papal brief of March 24th, 1564.[5] While the Index of Paul IV. contained substantially only a list of prohibited books and writers, the Tridentine Index consists of two divisions, the so-called ten rules, and the list of writings. At the beginning there is the brief of confirmation of Pius IV., and a preface composed by the secretary of the commission, Fureiro.

The inclusion of the rules is a very important change. It had been realized that it would be quite impossible to enumerate and prohibit all the writings against the Church which had already appeared or would appear in the future.[6] It is ex-

[1] In September, 1563, Joh. Hartung (*ibid.*, 134) who had been condemned on account of a translation of a Confession of Faith of the Greeks, was removed from the Index. On September 6, 1563, Brus asked for the works of Geiler von Kaisersberg from the cathedral chapter of Augsburg (*ibid.*, 135): of his writings the Tridentine commission only retained on the Index the edition of the Narrenschiff prepared by the future apostate Otther. REUSCH, I., 370.

[2] REUSCH, I., 320.

[3] Colleción de documentos inéditos, IX., 240; XCI., 484, 491.

[4] Pauli Manutii Epistolæ, Venice, 1573, l. 6, n. 25, p. 379. Archbishop Muzio Calini was a member of this deputation; *ibid.*

[5] On April 24, 1564, Borromeo sent a copy to the nuncio Delfino. STEINHERZ, IV., 111; *cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 562.

[6] In the discussions on the Index, *cf.* the votes under *Braccarensis* (Braga) and *Chironensis* (Dionysius Græcus), in THEINER, I., 679; EHSES, VIII., 307.

pressly stated in the preface that it would have been possible to include many other names in the list of those whose works are prohibited in their entirety, but that it had not been the intention or the function of the Council to seek all these out. They had been satisfied with the list of Paul IV., and left its completion to the bishops and inquisitors.

The rules of the Tridentine Index are intended to supplement the list of condemned books by means of a general and comprehensive prohibition, but at the same time they show a very considerable mitigation of the legislation concerning books. The list of Paul IV., it is stated in the preface by Fureiro, had in many places not been accepted, because scholars could not, without great difficulty, do without many of the books which it condemned ; besides this, many things in that list required explanation. The rules of the Tridentine Index provided for both these cases. The books of the actual propagators of heresy (heresiarchs), indeed, were condemned now as they had been before, but the writings of other heretics which did not treat of religion, were, under certain conditions, permitted.[1] Bibles and controversial writings in the vernacular were not allowed to all indiscriminately, but only, with episcopal permission, to such as would derive benefit from such books.[2] As far as books of a lascivious nature were concerned, all actually obscene literature was unconditionally forbidden ; certain works of the ancient classics, which were regarded as models of style, could not at any rate be placed in the hands of young people.[3] Finally, books on divination were forbidden. Only the reading and keeping of heretical books was punished by excommunication, and all books must be submitted to censorship before publication.

As far as the second part of the new Index, the list of

[1] Rules 2, 3, 5, 8.

[2] Rules 4, 6. The Council refers to persons who do not understand Latin, namely, in the opinion of the day, who are wanting in higher education. These especially are not to explain the Sacred Scriptures themselves, but are to accept the explanation of those set over them.

[3] Rule 7.

prohibited books, is concerned, the fathers "after long deliberation, thought it best to keep to the earlier list which had recently been compiled by the Inquisition, with a few exceptions and additions."[1] Even here, however, the severity of Paul IV. was considerably mitigated. In the first place Pius IV. set aside both of the appendixes in which his predecessor had condemned a number of editions of the Bible, and had named numerous printers, the whole of whose output he had forbidden. In addition to these changes, not a few errors and obscure passages were removed. The three classes, however, which Paul IV. had distinguished, were retained in the new Index: the list of heretics, all of whose writings were held to be forbidden;[2] pernicious books, both by Catholic and non-Catholic authors, whose names were known; and those whose authors were unknown.

The commission of the Index, however, removed many names from the first to the second class, especially that of Erasmus.[3] Even in the case of writers in the first class, it is no longer stated that they are open heretics, but only that they are either heretics or suspected of heresy. The inclusion of an author in the first class does not therefore declare him to be a heretic without further steps being taken. It signified, too, an important change that many books were not unconditionally condemned, but only pending their emendation,[4] as for instance, Gelli and Boccaccio, on behalf of whom intercession had been made before the commission of the Index.[5]

After the publication of the new Index, the Pope, on August 27th, 1564, gave the Cardinals the two-fold permission to read

[1] Introduction by Fureiro.

[2] Even though in this class mention is only made of the names of persons, the sentence of the Index applies, not to persons, but to their books. *Cf.* the "vota" of the fathers of the Council in THEINER, I., under *Leriensis*, p. 680, *Vivariensis*, p. 682, *Vestanus*, p. 684, *Papiensis*, p. 684, *Nucerinus*, p. 685.

[3] *Cf.* *supra* p. 21.

[4] Rule 8.

[5] *Cf.* *supra* p. 18, n.4.

forbidden books themselves, and to allow others to read them.[1] A decree of the Inquisition had already endeavoured to prevent heretical books from being smuggled into Rome and sold there.[2]

Like the new Index, the Roman Catechism was, in no small degree, the work of the fathers of the Council of Trent.[3]

A complaint had been made in the general congregation of April 5th, 1546, of the abuse by which, for the sake of the study of the profane sciences and of useless scholastic questions, the Sacred Scriptures were passed over, with the result that Christian people were less well instructed in Christian doctrine than in anything else, and that neither parents nor teachers were able to instruct young people in the Christian rule of life. In order to pave the way to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, the Council was begged to compile a concise introductory manual, which, avoiding long disputations, should simply and faithfully comprise the principal points of Christian doctrine, and which would afford the students of various countries a text-book and introduction to the Sacred Scriptures. At the same time a catechism for the instruction of children and the illiterate should be published both in Latin and in the vernacular.[4]

Both these suggestions were unanimously adopted. Only a few maintained that it was unnecessary to draw up a manual of the kind suggested as similar works had already been provided by Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Cyprian and Erasmus.[5] The Council expressed no further views on this point, and in the reform decree of the fifth Session no decision

[1] HILGERS, 502.

[2] Of May 13, 1562; *ibid.*, 497.

[3] A. Reginaldus, O. Pr., Dissertatio de Catechismi Romani auctoritate, printed in NAT. ALEXANDER, Hist. eccl., Supp. I., and before the publication of the Roman catechism, Toulouse, 1648. CANISII Epist., III., 728-34 *seq.* ST. L. CORVIN v. SKIBNIEWSKI, Gesch. des Röm. Katechismus, Rome-Ratisbon, 1903.

[4] EHSES, II., 72 *seq.*, 106 n. 3.

[5] Discussions of April 13 and 15, 1546, *ibid.*, 108-10; 114-19; summary of the results, *ibid.*, 113, 120.

was arrived at, regarding either the manual or the catechism, probably because the Council did not wish to refer to matters which were not yet in existence.[1] In the meantime the question remained in abeyance, and the broken threads were only again taken up in the third period of the Council.

In the interval the Emperor, Ferdinand I., took up the matter of the catechism. In the year 1551 he requested the University of Vienna and the Jesuits to carry out these two plans, which the Council had sanctioned but never carried into effect: the compilation of a catechism and of a manual of theology.[2] It is due to Ferdinand that the "Imperial" catechism was compiled by Canisius, and it is also to his continued requests for a manual of theology that we owe the celebrated text-book for the use of parish priests which, under the title of "Catechism of the Council of Trent" or the "Roman Catechism," has gone through edition after edition, and is of great importance in the Church even to the present day. When the Emperor, in 1562, appointed the Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von Müglitz, and Count Sigismund von Thun as his envoys at the Council, by the advice of his chancellor, Seld, on October 20th, 1561, he charged them to see that a catechism was drawn up.[3] In the instructions given to the envoys[4] it is stated that they are to insist that a compendium of Christian doctrine shall be published by the Council itself, either in a detailed or a concise form, or in both, in accordance with which doctors, parish priests, preachers, professors and schoolmasters in Catholic districts can regulate their teaching.

Archbishop Brus had an opportunity for the first time of going into the matter at the Tridentine commission of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 120. As early as the draft presented on May 1 and 7 (*ibid.*, 122 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*) there is no longer any mention of either the catechism or manual.

[2] *Methodum doctrinae catholicae.* BRAUNSBERGER, Entstehung und erste Entwicklung der Katechismen des. sel. Petrus Canisius, Freiburg, 1903, 12.

[3] SICKEL in Arch. für österr. Geschichte, XLV. (1871), 35.

[4] SICKEL, Konzil, 258.

Index. In the lists of Paul IV. the prohibition of catechisms had been so general that it might almost be thought that all the existing catechisms were condemned. Therefore, as Brus wrote to the Emperor on April 28th, 1562, the commission of the Index determined to request the Council to draw up a reliable and authoritative compendium of Catholic doctrine. All other catechisms were then to be prohibited, with the exception of that of Canisius, the contents of which could, for the most part, be incorporated in the new Tridentine catechism.[1] In the celebrated reform libellum of the Emperor Ferdinand similar demands were made by the Imperial envoys ; the new manual, it is here stated, must specially deal with the disputed doctrines, and, out of consideration for uneducated parish priests, must be expressed in clear terms and in a popular style ; the book must be issued in the name of the Council, the Emperor and the princes, and it must be made incumbent on all parish priests, whether Catholic or not, not to deviate in any point from its teaching. One of the many catechisms by Catholic authors should be chosen and introduced as part of the educational equipment in schools for the young.[2] The King of France, in a memorial which he caused to be handed to the Council of Trent by his envoys on January 3rd, 1563, identified himself with the desire for a catechism expressed by Ferdinand.[3]

At the beginning of March, 1563, a deputation on the question of the catechism was already at work.[4] Seripando,

[1] *Ibid.*, 294. The petition of the Archbishop of Prague to Cardinal Gonzaga of May 5, 1562, and Gonzaga's reply in STEINHERZ, Briefe, 59 *seq.*

[2] LE PLAT, V., 252 *seq.*

[3] *Postulata regis Galliae art.* 13, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 8 ; LE PLAT, V., 637. *Cf.* the reply of the legates to art. 29. (LE PLAT, V., 641).

[4] From Jan. 28, 1562, there is mention of this deputation, but none of the fact. The proposal was also put forward " di far un catechismo, et con quello tener i padri et theologi in esercitio " (the legates to Borromeo, February 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 23). According to Seripando (in ŠUSTA, III., 260) at the conference

shortly before his death (March 17th, 1563) distributed the various headings of the catechism to the theologians for consideration,[1] and at the end of July the Council was urging the speedy compilation of the catechism.[2] The Pope, as Mendoça, the Bishop of Salamanca, wrote at the time, wished for it, everyone was asking for it, and it was a very important thing for Christendom. The different parts of the proposed

of the legates on March 5, it was discussed . . . "ut pro catechismo deputati duos, quos vellent, sibi theologos adiungerent, ut deputati ad indicem librorum secretarium Camilli loco, quem vellent asciscerent." In contradiction to a supposition which has often been repeated, the commission for the catechism was then distinct from the deputation of the Index, which would also seem to be the case from the 25th session of the Council (December 4). At the beginning of March we have as the commencement of the work the reply of the legates to art. 13 of the French demands, to the effect that certain prelates had been charged to compose a catechism, that they had begun it, and would soon complete it. The Roman comments on the replies of the legates reached Trent on March 6. Šusta, III., 262.

[1] Christophorus Santo Tis, Theatrum sanctorum Patrum, Burgos, 1607, Prologus, in Skibniewski, 106. Santo Tis was charged by Seripando to prepare the article on the Church. The dissertation of the Franciscan, Michele Medina, on the fourth article of the Creed (the passion, death, and burial of Christ) is published (Explicationes in quartum symboli apostolici articulum, Venice, 1564). It begins thus: "Duo nobis ab ill. et rev. legatis in singulorum articulorum symboli apost. interpretatione demandantur; prius, ut quid christianus homo credere teneatur, explicemus; posterius, ut quid in eisdem explicandis evangelici ministri populis ingerere debeant, adnotemus." The first is set out from f. 3-13, the second from f. 13-15. The Roman catechism differs widely from the explanation of Medina.

[2] Merkle, II., 465. At the beginning of June the legates promised that immediately after the next session (July 15) there would be set up a deputation of fathers, "qui catechismum et homiliarium sive postillas conscribent" and a deputation for the ritual (the word *legenda* in Sickel is perhaps a misprint), the breviary, missal, and other liturgical books. Brus and Draskowich to the Emperor, June 9, 1563, in Sickel, Konzil, 539.

text-book were again given to the theologians. Spaniards were selected for the treatment of the profession of faith; it would appear, Mendoça remarks with joyful pride in this connection, that it was his nation to whom the faith could be safely entrusted. The task of explaining the Lord's Prayer was entrusted to doctors from Louvain and France.[1] A list of September 9th gives the names of the theologians to whom the treatment of the Ten Commandments and the Sacraments were to be entrusted.[2] Two catechisms were in contemplation, a larger one for teachers and a smaller one for the pupils.[3]

In spite, however, of all these appointments, the work had hardly advanced at all at the end of four months, and it was therefore, at the end of October, handed over to four other theologians, among whom mention may be made in the first place of the Archbishop of Zara, Muzio Calini.[4] To the future Cardinal Paleotto was entrusted the task of producing, from the drafts of the theologians, a homogeneous and polished work.[5]

After the dissolution of the Council the work upon the catechism was looked upon in Rome as having only been begun. Archbishops Muzio Calini of Zara, and Lionardo Marini of Lanciano, together with the Bishop of Modena, Egidio Foscarari, were given the task of completing it.[6]

[1] MENDOÇA, 689. Mendoça's theologian, Funtidueña, received the article on the coming of Christ for the Judgment.

[2] *Deputatio theologorum pro catechismo*, printed in SKIBNIEWSKI, 108; *cf.* 31.

[3] MENDOÇA, *loc. cit.*

[4] MENDOÇA on October 26 and 27, 1563, in MERKLE, II., 706.

[5] SANTO TIS, *loc. cit.* For the part taken by Paleotto in the Council, *cf.* MERKLE in the Röm. Quartalschr., XI. (1897), 379 *seq.*

[6] "Datum est negotium a pontifice max. tribus episcopis, ut ex decreto tridentini concilii commentarios componerent christianæ disciplinæ" (Pogiani on December 25, 1564, Epist. III., 448). Francesco Torres bears witness to the collaboration of Marini and Foscarari in a letter to Hosius dated Rome, April 17, 1564, in Cyprianus, 356: "in breviario laborant Mutinensis et Lancianensis, laborant quoque in catechismo." For the part played by Calini *cf.* LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., II., xxi. According

Borromeo's zeal in the matter can be seen from many remarks in his letters. The principal assistant of the bishops was the Portuguese Dominican, Francisco Fureiro, who had already distinguished himself at the Council; he was then brought to Rome, where he enjoyed the special friendship of Borromeo.[1] Marini and Foscarari were also Dominicans, to which Order the principal credit for the Roman catechism must be ascribed.

What the theologians had drafted was finally given to the most distinguished humanist of his times, Giulio Pogiani, that he might perfect it as far as the language was concerned. The celebrated stylist devoted the whole of his time during the last four months of the year 1564 to this honourable task,[2] and it is due to him that the catechism may be described, even as to its style, as a classical work. In other respects as well, ecclesiastical literature was quick to make use of the achievements of humanism. The decrees of the Council of Trent are written in a Latin which, for the purpose, one could not wish improved. The theologians of the new scholasticism, such as Melchior Cano, Canisius and their successors, attached no small importance to a good Latin style.[3] The surprising fact therefore

to BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 192, Calini wrote the two first chapters of the catechism, on the profession of faith and the sacraments. For other collaborators *cf.* SKIBNIEWSKI, 51.

[1] Borromeo caused him to give him daily theological lectures (BASCAPÈ, 10). The letters of recommendation from Borromeo on behalf of Fureiro to the Cardinal-infante and the King of Portugal in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 522 *seq.; cf.* 530. Fureiro was also engaged upon the revision of the Index. *Brief of March 8, 1564, to the Cardinal-infante of Portugal (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 125, Papal Secret Archives). RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53.

[2] Pogiani to Annibale Minali, December 25, 1564, Pogiani Epist. III., 449.

[3] The new scholasticism "has not only enriched theology with new discipline, but has also set up a classical model in every kind of exposition. The translation of the Metaphysics of Aristotle by Fonseca is beautiful latinity. The works of Melchior Cano, Canisius, Petavius, Toletus and Maldonatus, Bellarmine and Lessius stand out for their pure latinity and ease of style, which find the right word for every idea with exactitude and ease. The

emerges that a tendency, which appeared for a long time to be given up to the worship of pagan ideals, and which had not otherwise succeeded in creating any enduring works, now at last, in the service of the Church, exercised an influence which has outlived the ages.

On April 13th, 1565, Borromeo was able to write that, principally owing to the labours and skill of Fureiro, the catechism was at length nearly completed.[1] The hope, however, that he had expressed even at the beginning of the year, that the book would be printed in a few days, was not to be realized during the reign of Pius IV.[2]

The same bishops who had been entrusted with the completion of the Index and the Catechism, had also, for the greater part, the task of reforming the Breviary and the Missal.[3]

After the holy sacrifice of the mass the only divine worship as such officially used by the Church was the prayer in choir which was distributed over the seven periods of the day, and consisted of the psalms and lessons taken from the Sacred Scriptures, from the Fathers of the Church, and, on the feasts of the saints, from the story of their lives. This prayer of the canonical hours was also much used and valued by the faithful; the alteration of the breviary, which is the basis of the prayer in choir, was followed by serious disturbances

Council of Trent is as classical in its style as the Roman Catechism is excellent." (R. HERKENRATH in the Zeitschrift für kath. Theol. XIII., 1889, 626 *seq.*). Seripando desired that the canons and doctrine of the sacrament of orders among the decrees of the Council of Trent should be corrected from the point of view of style by Pendaso. ŠUSTA, III., 18, n. 3.

[1] To the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 522.

[2] To Delfino, January 20, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 276; *cf.* 149.

[3] *Cf.* SCHMID in the Tübingen Quartalschrift, LXVI. (1884), 451-83, 621-64. See BÄUMER, Gesch. des Breviers, Freiburg, 1895; BATTIFOL, Histoire du Bréviaire romain, Paris, 1911; TACCHI VENTURI, 114-25.

in Saragossa.[1] It can therefore easily be understood that even the secular princes, in their proposals for reform at the Council, should have taken prayer in choir and the breviary into consideration. In his ordinance for reform on July 14th, 1548,[2] Charles V. issued prescriptions as to the prayer of the canonical hours on the ground that in the course of time much that was unsuitable and apochryphal had crept in; the bishops should therefore remove these defects by the help of learned and pious men.[3] Ferdinand I. renewed these complaints in his reform libellum of 1562, while at the same time he drew attention to another abuse, namely the excessive length of the breviary. In order to reach the end the clergy in choir hurried on the prayers to such an extent that one side could not understand the other, and the people in consequence despised divine worship, which feeling was also extended to the sermons. The breviary, missal, and other liturgical books must be examined and revised.[4] The legates replied to these demands by saying that the reform of the missal and breviary would be entrusted to the fathers who were engaged upon the Index, but that neither the laity nor the clergy could make any complaint concerning the length of the breviary; not the laity, because it was not necessary for them to take part in the prayer in choir, nor the clergy, because it was precisely for divine worship that they were there.[5]

As far as the Church was concerned, already for some time past, Leo X. and several provincial synods[6] had intended to give a new form to the canonical hours, while Clement VII. had encouraged attempts at reform of the most various kinds. Zaccaria Ferreri, who had wished to see classical Latin intro-

[1] Memorial of Juan ab Arce to the Council of Trent, 1551, in BÄUMER, 404. Anal. Iuris Pontif., XXVI. (1886), 922.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 424.

[3] c. 4, in LE PLAT, IV., 77 *seq.*

[4] LE PLAT, V., 243. *Cf.* the proposals made by the theologians to the Emperor Ferdinand on June 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 522; the advice of the Imperial orators at Trent, *ibid.*, 531.

[5] N. 14, in LE PLAT, V., 387.

[6] See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 478 *seq.*

duced into the breviary,[1] Gian Pietro Carafa and the Theatines, with their strictly ecclesiastical ideas for a revival, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Francisco Quiñones, who had greatly curtailed the prayer in choir, and in other respects as well had broken through the bounds which had been so strictly observed for a thousand years, all these had met with help and encouragement from the Pope.

Only the so-called Santa Croce breviary, issued by Quiñones in 1535, had had an important, if temporary, influence.[2] According to a declaration of Paul III., only the clergy who were very much occupied had the Papal dispensation to use this breviary, but soon afterwards several theologians declared that a special dispensation from the Pope was unnecessary,[3] and many had availed themselves of this opinion.[4] In forty years the work of Quiñones had gone through about a hundred editions, and in many places, as for example, several churches in Spain, had even come into common use by the faithful for prayer in choir.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 208 *seq.;* BÄUMER, 387-90; TACCHI VENTURI, 117 *seqq.* In his collection of hymns, Ferreri promised to reform the whole breviary. Part of his work is certainly preserved in the office (and mass) of St. Casimir; see TACCHI VENTURI, 121.

[2] *Cf.* BÄUMER, 391 *seqq.* Reprint by J. Wickham Legg of the Antwerp edition of 1537, London, 1908 (Henry Bradshaw Society., Vol. XXXV). The Santa Croce breviary is of interest to England because it was one of the sources of the Book of Common Prayer. In 1533 Quiñones had on loan from the Vatican some codices of lives of the saints. MERCATI in Rassegna Gregoriana, VI. (1907), 243.

[3] CANISII Epist., III., 70 n. 4.

[4] Hence Canisius declared that it was absolutely necessary that he and his subjects should have the faculty to allow the use of the new breviary (*ibid.*, 75). Examples of dispensations for the use of the Santa Croce breviary, *ibid.*, I., 346; Cartas de s. Ignacio, IV., 80, 346; BALUZE-MANSI, III., 513. Ignatius of Loyola had obtained for his Order permission to use the Santa Croce breviary; *cf.* the brief of Julius III., of June 3, 1545, Institutum Soc. Iesu, I., 11, Florence, 1892.

The Santa Croce breviary, however, did not fail to find many enemies. In 1551, the Spaniard, Juan ab Arce, addressed to the Council of Trent a memorial against the innovations of Quiñones.[1] After the third opening of the Council, in 1562, the Bishop of Huesco, Pedro Agustin, and all the bishops of Aragon, renewed their complaints to the Pope and the Council concerning the abuses to which the new breviary had given rise, and begged that the old Roman breviary, with the alterations planned by Paul IV., might be introduced throughout the whole Church.[2]

After Gian Pietro Carafa had received permission in 1524 and 1529 to draw up a new breviary and to test it in the Theatine Order, he had devoted himself zealously to this task, without, however, being able to obtain its approval from the irresolute Medici Pope. After Carafa had ascended the Papal throne as Paul IV., he again took up the work, together with the Theatine Cardinal Scotti and his confessor, Isachino, in collaboration with the future Cardinal Sirleto. Although it was not yet quite completed, the breviary of Paul IV. was adopted after his death by the Theatines in 1561, and soon afterwards was made the basis of the new arrangement of the canonical hours by the Council of Trent. The Carafa Pope had forbidden any further dispensations for the use of the Santa Croce breviary in 1558. On the strength of the memorial of the bishops of Aragon, the legates of the Council also sent the draft of a decree against the changes of Quiñones to Rome on November 23rd, 1562.[3]

Some six months were to elapse, however, before the reform of the breviary and missal was seriously undertaken at Trent.[4] The first step was taken when the legates, on June 24th, 1563, asked to have the preliminary work of Paul IV. on the breviary,

[1] Printed in Anal. Juris Pontif., XXVI. (1886), 784 *seqq.*, 911 *seqq.*

[2] Šusta, III., 72 *seq.* Already in an extract from the reform proposals of the Spanish bishops there was expressed a wish for a common breviary and missal; *cf.* Le Plat, V., 610.

[3] Bäumer, 418.

[4] Sickel, Konzil, I., 539.

then in the hands of Cardinal Scotti, and the work of Alessandro Pellegrini on the missal, sent to them from Rome for examination.[1] The so-called missal of Gregory the Great, which Cardinal Guise had seen in the Vatican Library, was also conveyed to Trent, carefully packed, at the end of October.[2] About the same time a deputation was finally appointed for the reform of the breviary and missal,[3] but it soon became clear that the deputation would not be able to bring its task to a completion before the close of the Council.[4]

Just as hitherto the revision of the liturgical books had, for the most part, gone hand in hand with the work in connection with the catechism, so, both before and after the close of the Council, the completion of both these tasks was entrusted to the same bishops, namely Calini, Marini and Foscarari.[5] In Rome the Pope gave them several assistants, among whom Sirleto and some members of the Theatine Order may be mentioned.[6]

[1] The legates to Borromeo, June 24, 1563, in Pogiani Epist., II., xviii; Šusta, IV., 95. The work of Pellegrini was found by Card. Scotti; it was very incomplete (Borromeo, July 31 and Aug. 4, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 162, 172). The Roman commission for printing begged on July 28 that the printing of the new missal and breviary might be carried out in Rome (*ibid.* 158).

[2] Borromeo to the legates, Oct. 21, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 341; *cf.* 347.

[3] Mendoça, 706. The Bishop of Faenza, Giov. Batt. Sighicelli, wrote on Nov. 4, 1563 to Sirleto: "Parmi intendere che gia siano stati deputati alcuni padri a revedere quello [breviario] di papa Paulo IV." See Schmid, *loc. cit.* 627.

[4] Mendoça, on Nov. 10, 1563, in Merkle, II., 710.

[5] A little while before his death Foscarari began a letter to the Pope, on Dec. 17, 1564, in which, contrary to his previous vote, he begs for the retention of the Little Office of Our Lady, as follows: "Etsi pro munere divini officii componendi r^mis^ archiepiscopis Lancian. [Lionardo Marini] et Iandrensi [Muzio Calini] mihique inuncto . . . .; published by Lagomarsini, Pogiani Epist., II., xxiii, and recently by Mercati in Rassegna Gregoriana, X. (1911), 293. *Cf.* Pogiani Epist., II., xxi.

[6] Schmid, *loc. cit.* 628 *seqq.* *Cf.* the bull of Pius V. of July 9, 1568, prefixed to the editions of the breviary.

The commission based their labours on the principle that it was not a question of providing anything new, but only of restoring the ancient prayer book of the Church to its original purity. They accordingly went back to the oldest breviaries attainable. The greatest alterations occurred in the case of the lives of the saints, into which much that was unsuitable and apochryphal had crept.[1] The task of giving to the revised lives a suitable literary form again fell to the lot of the celebrated Giulio Pogiani.[2]

On June 3rd, 1564, Borromeo wrote to Delfino that great pains were being taken to complete the breviary and missal,[3] but at the death of Pius IV. the printing of the two books had not yet been begun.

Paulus Manutius was summoned to Rome in 1561 to prepare correct editions of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church.[4] The IVth Session of the Council had already ordered that in future the Vulgate must be printed as exactly as possible, and it was obvious that only the Roman See was in a position to carry out such a task.[5] This work was also taken in hand under Pius IV.,[6] but it would seem that it had made but little progress.

[1] SCHMID, 633.

[2] BASCAPÈ in Pogiani Epist., II., xii ; *cf.* xxxiii.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 135.

[4] See *Epist. ad P. Victorium*, ed. Bandinius, I., lii, Florence, 1758. There was also question of printing the Greek text. See HILDEBRAND HÖPFL, Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament (Bibl. Studien, XIII.), 92, Freiburg, 1908.

[5] *Cf.* EHSES, II., 29, 37.

[6] On Oct. 21, 1562, Marsilio Caphano, "depositario della R. C. Apost. sopra la stampa," certified that he had received into his keeping from Ghislieri by the hand of Sirleto a very ancient codex of the Vulgate, which he was to return to whomsoever should be appointed by the "deputati sopra la stampa," Cardinals Scotti, Morone, Mula and Vitelli. The codex was to be compared with others, so that they might have a "Bibbia emendatissima" (VERCELLONE, Variae lectiones, I., xix, Rome, 1860). Already, immediately after the publication of the Tridentine decree upon the Vulgate, Sirleto, at the suggestion of Cardinal Cervini, had begun to collect various texts. HÖPFL, *loc. cit.* 9 *seqq.*

A new edition of the Fathers of the Church, especially the Greek Fathers, appeared to many people to be a necessity, as the text hitherto in use was looked upon as having been falsified by the heretics.[1] Charles Borromeo, by the Pope's orders, turned his attention to this matter as well. He endeavoured to obtain the services of the able Portuguese philologist, Achilles Stazio, for this undertaking,[2] and he encouraged the Archbishop of Corfù, who had sent some Greek codices to Rome, to search for unpublished works, assigning to him for this purpose a sum of money and a monthly stipend.[3] The time had not arrived, however, for such an extensive undertaking; there was not a sufficiently clear appreciation of the difficulties and requirements of such a task, nor any very clear idea of the principles of textual criticism; above all, there was, for the moment, a lack of trained experts.

In the event it was necessary to wait until the end of the century before the world saw the completion of even those undertakings which the Council had originally intended to accomplish itself, but which, under the force of circumstances, it had been compelled to hand over to the Holy See. Several of the undertakings which had been put forward by the

[1] P. Manutius wrote to Pius IV. that he had been called to Rome "ut sacros praecipue libros ab haereticorum nefaria peste vindicatos, ederem quam liceret emendatissime" (Epistolae, 426; *cf.* 28). It is the intention of the Imperial envoys to propose to the Council of Trent that it should issue a decree "ut libri catholici bibliorum sacrorum et ss. patrum per haereticos depravati restituantur." Memorial of June 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 522; *cf.* EICHHORN, Hosius, II., 273 *seq.*

[2] BALUZE-MANSI, III., 525. Under Pius V. Stazio was employed in the composition of the Papal letters. P. MANUTIUS, Epistolae, 410.

[3] BALUZE-MANSI, III., 526. Avanzato and Panvinio were given the task of examining the libraries of lower Italy in search of unpublished writings of the Fathers (RAYNALDUS, 1564, n.53). A *motuproprio of Jan. 8, 1564, created the office of a "correctore dei libri Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana copiati scorrettamente." Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell'arch. segreto Vaticano 1374–1557 (*sic* !), n.3 (State Archives, Rome).

Imperial envoys, such as the popular catechism, and the book of sermons for the use of parish priests, were later on left, both by the Council and the Pope, to the zeal and enterprise of private individuals. As a matter of fact it could not fall within the sphere of a Council's work to carry everything into effect, or to provide for everything itself down to the smallest details. The work of the Council was to trace the broad fundamental lines upon which the Church was once again to renew herself. In the fact that the Council of Trent discharged this duty in so eminent a degree lies its "epoch-making importance in the history of the world."[1]

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, I[6]., 226 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

Church Music.—Palestrina.

The Fathers of the Council were fully conscious of its duty and its dignity. The same thing came out clearly in the course of a discussion which has attained to a certain celebrity owing to the legendary development given to it at a later period. While it was conferring on the manner in which the holy sacrifice of the mass should be celebrated, attention was naturally drawn to the question of church music. Several of the fathers of the Council were of opinion that music should be entirely excluded from divine worship,[1] but this view did not find favour with the majority; the Spaniards especially urged the very ancient custom of the Church in favour of the existing practice, and pointed out the assistance that a dignified chant could render to piety. It was only necessary that anything voluptuous or profane should be kept out of the Church, while all possible care must be taken that the words of the liturgy did not become unintelligible.[2] A decree was therefore drawn up and submitted in this sense, which insisted upon these two points, namely, the exclusion of anything profane, and the necessity for intelligibility, as to which many special ordinances were proposed.[3] Together with many other proposals for reform, the Council referred the care of church music to the bishops; in its decree upon the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, it contented itself with ad-

[1] Naturally only figured music is spoken of here. There was no wish to touch the Gregorian chant, which had been recognized in sess. 23, de ref., c.18, and sess. 24, de ref., c.12.

[2] Paleotto in Theiner, II., 590. Pallavicini, 18, 6, 17.

[3] In Theiner, II., 122. Ehses, VIII., 926 *seq.* In two memorials printed *ibid.* concerning "abusus circa missae sacrificium" there are included (p. 918 and 922) abuses in the singing.

monishing the bishops to be careful to exclude anything frivolous or unclean.[1]

Many complaints had been made concerning church music even before the time of the Council. Bishop Johannes Roth of Breslau (1482-1506) had wished frankly to banish figured music, which he described as "cantus crispus," from the Church.[2] As in the draft laid before the Council of Trent, the complaints centred round these two points, that the words were rendered unintelligible by the music, and that the sacred and the profane were mixed up together.[3]

The meaning of these two complaints may be gathered from the historical development of church music. At the time of the Council of Trent the prevailing form of music was not that which is usual to-day, namely, the so-called monodic form, in which one voice alone takes up the melody, and the other voices have only to sing the harmonies which accompany it. The older form of singing for several voices was the so-called polyphonic style, in which all the voices are of equal importance, each one singing its own melody, and only, as it were, incidentally and by accident, harmonizing with the others.

This polyphonic or contrapuntal church music was a development from the old ecclesiastical Gregorian chant.[4] One of the singers, the so-called "holder" of the melody (tenor) rendered the ancient chant of the Church, while round this

[1] Sess. 22, Decr. "de evitandis." In Sess. 24, de ref., c. 12 (*cf.* THEINER, II., 376) church music is dismissed with a passing word. In the first draft of the reform decree of this session, but not in the second draft (in THEINER, II., 371 *seq.*), there was actually contained a prohibition of effeminate church music (PALLAVICINI, 22, 5, 14). Ferdinand I., to whom the first draft was sent, put in a word on Aug. 23, 1563 in favour of figured music (*ibid.*). KARL WEINMANN, Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik, Leipzig, 1919. *Cf.* App. n. 32.

[2] "cantum crispum appellavit" AMBROS, III., 24.

[3] AMBROS, IV., 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., Zweites Buch: Die Entwicklung des geregelten mehrstimmigen Gesanges, 339 *seqq.*

the other voices moved in their own melodies. Before long composers began to combine with the well-known ecclesaistical melody, a second one, already existing, and also well known; thus two well-known melodies were now being sung at the same time, while round these the remaining voices provided an artistic accompaniment of rising and falling scales. This counter-melody, which was thus combined with the chant, was very often taken from the chant itself, but was just as frequently drawn from among the popular songs of the day.

As a matter of fact, this mixture of the sacred and profane was by no means so offensive as, at first glance, it might appear. It must not be supposed that the words of the popular song were also sung.[1] The notes of the popular air were so long drawn out, and the melody so broken, shortened, and altered in rhythm, as to become almost unrecognizable. Through the polyphonic musical texture, only long drawn out notes were audible, which provided the foundation of the melody,[2] the secular air "being as it were, only the wire intended to hold together the flowers round which it was wound, without being itself visible."[3] Often the composer took from some secular song nothing but the motif, out of which he developed his Kyrie or Gloria, though even then, as an authority puts it,[4] in such a composition the secular melody was "everywhere and nowhere; everywhere, in that it permeates the music at every point, and nowhere, in that it scarcely appears definitely or in its original form at any point, except, at the most, occasionally in the tenor, when it again immediately disappears in the runs and waves of the counterpoint which envelopes it."

Nevertheless the practice had its dangerous side. When Jean de Richafort, in a Requiem, caused to be sung among the words of the ecclesiastical text, the words from the Psalms: "The sighs of death surround me," and when, in the midst of the Latin text of the liturgy, the two tenors, with ever-

[1] *Ibid.*, III., 24.
[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 15 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, II., 450.
[4] *Ibid.* (III., 46).

increasing anguish, exclaim to each other: *c'est douleur non pareille*, this violent intrusion of the deepest personal grief into the solemnity of the funeral rites of the Church may have been very affecting, but the hearer must have found it difficult to avoid receiving a false impression when he remembered that in the popular song from which it was drawn this *douleur non pareille* was occasioned by the emptiness of the purse.[1] It was already a scandal when people began to distinguish the different Masses by the popular songs on which they were based, and even named them by the first words of some well-known song.[2]

Richafort's Requiem also furnishes an example of another peculiarity of the music of that time, that of singing different words simultaneously, and thus rendering it almost impossible for the hearer to understand anything that was said. In a Mass of the great Jakob Obrecht, a prayer to St. Donatian is mixed up with the Agnus Dei.[3] Matteo Pipelare caused the whole story of the life of St. Livinus to be sung at the same time as the Mass.[4] The genial but fantastic Nicholas Gombert wrote a much admired motet entitled *Diversi diversa orant*, in which four different voices actually sang four different antiphons to Our Lady at the same time.[5] Such things are

[1] Ambros, III., 43. In a secular musical composition Jannequin describes a battle, in which one can hear the advance of the troops with their drums and pipes, the thunder of the cannon, the shouts of victory, etc. He then had the strange whim of converting this into a mass, which was known as "Battaille" (*ibid.* 344).

[2] A mass *O Venus bant* by Kaspar van Weerbeke, Ambros, III., 251; *La belle si siet* by Okeghem, Giov. Ghiselin, de Orto, *ibid.*, 179, 258. A mass *Adieu mes amours*, and another *Baisez-moi*, *ibid.*, xiv. Almost all the great composers before Palestrina, and after him, wrote a mass on the song *L'homme armé*; *ibid.*, 46; II., 450.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 182.

[4] *Ibid.*, 187.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 391 *seqq.*; III., 300. In an *Ite missa est* for three voices in the so-called mass of Tournai (xiii century) one voice sings the ecclesiastical text, a second sings a Latin sentence, and a third a secular French song; *ibid.*, III., 27.

frequently to be found in church music before the time of the Council of Trent.

There were undoubtedly excrescences and artificialities, but the music of the time was very full of both apparent and real artifices in the combination of several voices; these constitute a necessary transition stage in the development of polyphonic music, which represents an enormous advance upon classic antiquity, and is one of the most splendid achievements of the middle ages. The architecture which produced the Gothic cathedral has been described as frozen music, and indeed, as far as the strict co-ordination of measure and number is concerned, no other art is so closely akin to architecture as the one which has to build up its masterpieces out of variable and scattered notes. So it came to pass that number and measure, theory, and dry and rigid rules played an eminently fitting part in the evolution of music. The first compositions for several voices are rather sums in arithmetic than works of art, and for a long time to come music retained this character of being the production of the reasoning faculties, and of delight in making captious experiment. Men aimed at the impossible in the matter of the combination of voices, and we read of compositions for 24 and even for 36 voices.[1] By preference they cultivated the most difficult of the contrapuntal forms, the so-called "canon," in which all the different voices successively render the same melody, but the later voice commences the melody before the preceding one has finished it, so that the different parts are being performed simultaneously, and have each in their turn to be harmonized with the others. A "fantastic touch" is to be found in this music, and in every part of it, which reveals itself in strange refinements of composition. During the XVth century there are to be found in the compositions of the Netherland school "not a few pieces which are frankly impossible, but which, nevertheless, have a characteristic attractiveness, problems of musical composition which even a choir of trained singers could hardly have been able to

[1] *Ibid.*, III., 176, 210.

perform, because music had arrived at the point of exploring the utmost limits of its kingdom by searching experiments, sometimes very daring, so as to take the measure of its own strength by setting before itself the hardest problems."[1] The matter was still further complicated by singers who were skilled in their art adding, even in the case of difficult compositions, further flourishes and ornamentations of their own.[2]

It must not be supposed, however, that music before the time of Palestrina succeeded in producing nothing but artificial compositions, and no works of art. Little by little there arose masters who, while completely mastering the greatest technical difficulties, were able to infuse real warmth of feeling and spiritual expression into their compositions. After the first unwieldly attempts in Scandinavia and England, and later in France, the Netherlands became the home of music. The first great master arose in the person of Guillaume Dufay of Hainault (died 1474), who had been a canon of Cambrai since 1436. He was the first whose work showed real style;[3] deep warmth of feeling and a pure sense of beauty are expressed in them in a most attractive way, and through nearly all of them there runs the expression of a wonderfully tender melancholy and a graceful piety.[4] Dufay's most able pupils were Binchois, also a priest of Hainault, and above all, Busnois, whose works show a considerable advance on those of Dufay. While the earlier music went no further than to "envelope in harmony" a given melody, say from the Gregorian chant, it now begins to stand on its own feet and to follow out its own aspirations.[5]

A second Netherland school began with Johann Okeghem,

[1] *Ibid.*, 9.

[2] Examples of such so-called "diminuzioni" in Pierluigi da Palestrina, Werke, XXXIII., 45 *seqq.*

[3] Ambros, II., 496.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., 497. *Cf.* F. X. Haberl, Bausteine für die Musikgeschicte, I; Wilhelm Du Fay, Leipzig, 1885; *cf.* Hist.-pol. Blätter, XCVII. (1886), 279 *seqq.*

[5] Ambros, II., 504.

who died, when almost a hundred years old, in 1512. He probably was a native of East Flanders, and had been a singer in the chapel of Charles VII. and Louis XI., and later became treasurer of the capitular church of St. Martin, at Tours. Okeghem was master of the canon and all other musical artifices to an astonishing degree, but he also knew how to impart to his music "the singing soul," and we find in him "whole periods of the most wonderful melodic treatment, and an extraordinary gracefulness and fervour of expression."[1] A funeral cantata at the time of his death speaks of him as the prince of music, and there is no doubt that he exercised a very great influence on the later development of harmony. Jakob Obrecht (d. 1507) may be looked upon as his disciple, but it was principally through Josquin de Prés that Okeghem's style was spread in Italy, France, and even Germany, where the great composers, Heinrich Isaak[2] and Ludwig Senfl[3] were his followers. Josquin himself must be counted among "the greatest musical geniuses of all time." A master of all the subtleties and artifices of composition, it was he who "with a strong hand, broke through the thorny thickets the way which led to a more moderate form of art."[4] Notwithstanding the constraints which the fixed forms of the day imposed on him, his works express a "deep, pure feeling, which is capable of exciting the deepest emotion;" he frees himself more and more from the many imperfections of his earlier works, until he at last succeeds in creating "works of pure gold, which stand on the very pinnacle of artistic perfection."[5] Josquin was born in 1445 in Hainault, probably at Condé, where he died in 1521. He belonged to the Papal choir under Sixtus IV., and in 1480 was already a celebrated master at the court of Louis XI. of France, with whom he was on very intimate terms.

[1] *Ibid.*, III., 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, 389 *seqq.* His is the song, *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen*, of which he makes use in the *Kyrie* of his *Missa carminum*; *ibid.*, 389, 394.

[3] *Ibid.*, 414 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 207.

[5] *Ibid.*, 208 *seq.*

The music of the Netherlands gained a world-wide reputation owing to all these celebrated composers, and every important princely court sought to obtain their services for their chapels. They made their way to Vienna in 1498,[1] and Philip the Fair took them with him to Spain, where the chapel of Valladolid was one of the most celebrated in the world.[2] About 1480 three distinguished Netherlanders taught music at the same time in Naples,[3] and even Venice, which jealously took care that none but natives should hold the posts of organist and chapel-master, was persuaded in 1527 to invite Adrian Willaert there as a teacher of music.[4]

It was, however, of much greater importance that the Netherlanders also took possession of the Papal choir in Rome. Their position at the French court had paved their way to the Papal court at Avignon, and when Gregory XI. returned permanently to Rome in 1377, he took them with him, and they retained their position in the Papal choir until well on into the XVIth century. In the time of Dufay the list of the Papal singers contains only names which have a Flemish or French sound; Dufay himself, and later on Josquin, were for many years members of the Papal choir, the archives of which contain to this day a number of masses and motets by masters from the Netherlands.[5]

The supremacy of the Netherlander singers in Italy was as beneficial to their own school of music as it was for that of Italy. It preserved the Italians from a premature attempt to revert, by quite unexplored ways, to classical antiquity in the field of music as in other directions. The age of the Renaissance, as far as music was concerned, only began in the XVIIth century, and it then led to the creation of the modern or monodic style of composition, yet the Renaissance was not without its influence on the earlier practice of the art even in

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 516.
[2] *Ibid.*, 524.
[3] *Ibid.*, 538.
[4] *Ibid.*, 539.
[5] *Ibid.*, 494 *seq.*

the XVIth century. It was undoubtedly of the greatest value to the genius of Dufay or Josquin that both of them should have been brought into contact, at Rome and Florence, with the culture of the Italy of those days. Netherland music only attained to the highest perfection of which it was capable when the Italians, with their educated sense of beauty and their refined artistic temperament, adopted and made use of the achievements of their predecessors.

Even the greatest of the musicians of the XVIth century, Giovanni Pierluigi di Sante, commonly called Palestrina, from the place of his birth, can by no means be regarded as the creator of a completely new style of church music.[1]

Probably born in 1525,[2] he received his musical education in Rome, between 1540 and 1544, in the strict school of a Netherlander.[3] As his works prove, he had studied the Flemish

[1] Pierluigi da Palestrina, Werke, 33 volumes, Leipsic, 1862–1893, 1907. Jos. Baini, Memorie storico-critiche sopra la vita e le opere del G. P. da Palestrina, Rome, 1828. F. X. Haberl in Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch, IV. (1894), 87-89. Karl Weinmann, Zur Geschichte von Palestrinas *Missa Papae Marcelli* in the Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1916 anno XXIII., Leipsic, 1917, 23–42. W. Bäumker, Palestrina, Freiburg, 1877. P. Wagner, Palestrina als weltlicher Komponist, Strassburg, 1890 ; Das Madrigal und Palestrina in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, VIII. (1893), 423 *seqq.* ; Geschicte der Messe I., Leipsic, 1913 ; the same in Gregoriusblatt, XXXVIII. (1913), 55–56, 65–70. Th. Schmid in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVII. (1894), 113–136.

[2] Karl Weinmann arrives at this conclusion in his excellent monograph, Palestrinas Geburtsjahr, Ratisbon, 1915, which forms a chapter of the great biography of Palestrina, on which this learned writer on music has been at work for many years.

[3] Of Gaudio Mel. Baini wrongly identifies him with Claude Goudimel. Haberl in Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch, IV. (1891), 98. According to recent researches Palestrina's master was the Fleming, Firmin le Bel. *Cf.* Casimiri, Giovanni Pier Luigi da Palestrina. Nuovi documenti biografici. Rome, 1919. See also P. Wagner, neue Dokumente zur Lebensgeschicte Palestrinas, in *Musica Sacra* LII (1919). 5 *seqq.*

masters with great assiduity, and in his earlier works he followed closely in their footsteps.[1] In a few cases he even did not disdain to write masses which were founded on secular melodies,[2] and he is as expert in all the rules of counterpoint as any of the great Netherlanders. The thing, however, which especially distinguishes Palestrina from his predecessors is his extraordinarily refined sense of beauty. His melodies are "formed of pure gracefulness,"[3] he has discarded everything of the pedantry, affectation and want of spontaneity, which in various ways still adhered to the style of the great northern masters. In his hands the arrangements of the parts became more melodious and more full of life, and even under the constraint of the most complicated forms of counterpoint, he seems to move with supreme ease and freedom. His means of expression are in themselves very limited. He uses only four or six, or rarely eight male voices, which, for all their complexity, meet in but three pure harmonies. These voices, however, (which he occasionally divides into two choirs) he is able to group together in an exceedingly effective manner, so as to produce the most glorious effects. In this respect Palestrina, considered merely from the musical point of view, may be looked upon as "the last and most perfect flower of a development extending over centuries."[4]

Palestrina placed his powers as a composer entirely at the service of the Church. In his music the ancient ecclesiastical chants appear in festal array, and for the most part he constructed his compositions out of *motifs* drawn from the Gregorian chant, and he develops his melodies upon the lines of that chant.[5] The ease with which he composed enabled

[1] Ambros, IV., 23.

[2] He also wrote a mass on *l'homme armé* in 1570; in another written on the same song in 1582 he omits any mention of the theme, as is the case in his *Missa sine nomine* written upon a song *Je suis désherité*. *Cf.* Wagner in Gregoriusblatt, XXXVIII, (1913), 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, 66.

[4] Ambros, IV., 23.

[5] Wagner, *loc. cit.*, 66, 70.

him to write 93 masses, motets for all the feasts of the year, and hymns for all the ecclesiastical seasons ; his secular compositions, two volumes of madrigals, are hardly worthy of mention in comparison with these.[1] A tone of the deepest religious fervour pervades all his ecclesiastical works, for Palestrina penetrated deeply into the meaning and feeling of the liturgical text, and knew how to give expression to it in the most affecting manner. Compositions such as his *Improperia* and *Stabat Mater* cannot be listened to without emotion by anyone who has any ear for music, and even composers, whose point of view is quite different in other ways, have never been able to conceal their admiration for Palestrina in this respect.[2]

[1] According to Haberl's thematic list of the works of Palestrina in the complete edition, XXXIII., 97–129, the master composed (not including two of doubtful authenticity) the following masses : 39 for four voices, 29 for five, 21 for six, and 4 for eight ; besides 486 antiphons, motets, offertories and psalms, 69 hymns, 30 lamentations, 35 Magnificats, 11 litanies, 182 madrigals and secular songs.

[2] See in BÄUMKER, 24, 67, the opinion of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy on the *Improperia* and old Italian church music in general. Richard Wagner has often expressed his admiration for Palestrina. He has called the " celebrated ecclesiastical compositions of Palestrina " an " altogether intellectual revelation " by which " we are struck with an indescribable emotion." (Schriften und Dichtungen [s.a.] IX., 79 *seq.*). " For the connoisseur of art, we come to the decadence of Italian music with the rise of opera ; a statement which is evident to anyone who has arrived at a clear idea of the grandeur, wealth and unspeakably expressive depth of the Italian church music of the preceding centuries, and, after hearing, for example, the *Stabat Mater* of Palestrina, it is impossible to maintain the opinion that Italian opera is the legitimate daughter of that wonderful mother." (*Ibid.*, VII., 90.) " To ascend to an expression in melody suitable to its inmost meaning, the true Christian spirit invented polyphonic music on the basis of a harmony of four voices. . . . To what a wonderful depth of expression, such as had never in any way been attained before, melodic language attained with this discovery, we can see, with ever increasing emotion, in the alto-

The great simplicity and depth of Palestrina's style may be looked upon as the realization of the reform of Church music desired by the Council of Trent. The credit of having prepared the way for the reformer, and therefore for the reform itself, must be given to Pope Julius III., once bishop of Palestrina's native place, who had himself a great understanding of music.[1] It was probably he who, in 1551, summoned the youthful master from an unimportant position in the cathedral of his native place to be choir-master at St. Peter's in Rome.[2] It was also through the influence of Julius III. that, on January 13th, 1555, Palestrina was admitted into the college of the singers of the Papal choir, from which he was, however, dismissed on the 30th of the following July by the strict Paul IV., on the ground that the Papal singers must be clerics, and Palestrina was a layman and married. He was next appointed choir-master of the Lateran, and afterwards of St. Mary Major. It was only in 1571 that he was again entrusted with the direction of the music at St. Peter's, which position he retained until his death in 1594.

In Rome Palestrina had an opportunity of getting into closer touch with those circles from which had sprung the movement for ecclesiastical reform. He says himself that he had laboured with all his powers in accordance with the advice of distinguished and God-fearing men, to contribute by means

gether incomparable masterpieces of Italian church music," which produce an effect which in a wonderful way "stir the heart to the deepest piety" which "literally cannot be compared with any effect produced by any other among the arts." (*Ibid.*, VII., 106.) In his capacity as director of the court chapel of Saxony, Wagner formed the plan of banishing orchestral music from divine service in the court chapel, and of introducing in its stead the music in the style of Palestrina (*ibid.*, II., 252 *seqq.*). In *Parsifal*, at the mention of Good Friday, Wagner makes the orchestra play the first bars of Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*. *Cf.* J. HATZFELD in Musica Sacra, XLVI. (1913), 125 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 51.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* p. 332.

of his art to the glorification of the holy sacrifice of the Mass.[1] Later on he looked upon it as a great fault that he had, as early as 1555, published a volume of madrigals, in which the beauty of women and worldly love had been extolled.[2] It would seem that he formed a friendship with Philip Neri; at any rate the latter assisted the great master at his death. That in some way Palestrina had been brought into contact with Marcellus II., the zealous reforming Pope, may be gathered from the title he gave to one of his most celebrated masterpieces, the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*.[3] During the short reign

[1] "Faciendum mihi putavi, ut gravissimorum et religiosissimorum hominum secutus consilium ad rem in christiana religione omnium maximam et divinissimam, hoc est Sanctissimum Missae sacrificium novo modorum genere decorandum, omne meum studium, operam, industriamque conferrem." (Dedication to Philip II. prefixed to the second volume of his masses, 1567). The "novum modorum genus" has hitherto been understood in the sense that Palestrina wrote masses in a new style, and that he now appeared as the founder of this new style, with special reference to the *Missa di Papa Marcello*, which was printed for the first time in this volume. But Palestrina is speaking of *all* the masses in the volume, and that all these bear out the aforesaid "new style" cannot be claimed. Perhaps Palestrina merely wished to point out that he was presenting a new series of masses (K. WEINMANN in Jahrbuch des Musikbibliothek Peters für 1916, 24 *seqq.*); perhaps he is also alluding to the *canticum novum* of the Sacred Scriptures (Ps. 39, 4; 149, 1, etc.).

[2] WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 26.

[3] It was partly from the attempt to explain the enigmatical title of this mass that there sprang the story that the Council of Trent under Marcellus II. (!) had wished to abolish figured music, but that Palestrina saved it by means of this mass. Baini refutes this legend (*cf.* Hist.-pol. Blätter, XLII. [1858], 893–911) but does not suggest any other explanation in its stead. According to him Palestrina really saved church music, not against the Council of Trent, but against the commission of Cardinals appointed for the carrying out of the Council's decrees (*ibid.* 911–926). As to this see *infra*, p. 51, n. 3, and p. 54, n. 1. The Council had dealt with church music in the congregation "ad colligendos abusus de sacrificio missae," formed on July 20, 1562. EHSES, VIII., 721, 916.

of Marcellus the master belonged to the choir of the Sistine Chapel, and he must certainly have been present when the Pope summoned the singers and reproached them for the unsuitable music to which he had listened on Good Friday, 1555. Probably so as to give scope to the affectations of some virtuosi among the singers, they had, as Massarelli testifies, allowed the whole performance to appear rather as an expression of joy, than of sorrow, for the death of Christ. The Pope insisted that this must never occur again, and that the text of the chant must not be allowed to lose its intelligibility by reason of the embellishments and ornamentations of the singers. Massarelli, who relates the incident, adds that the singers, to the great satisfaction of the faithful, carried out the Pope's instructions.[1] A year later Palestrina himself wrote, in 1556, his *Improperia* for Good Friday, which almost entirely avoided all counterpoint, yet in their depth of feeling and their intrinsic beauty are among the most splendid compositions of the master.[2] In the same year he set the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremias to music, for use in Holy Week. It is very probable that it was about the same time that he wrote the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, and that in so doing he was actuated by the wish to carry out the Pope's plans for the reform of church music.[3]

[1] "Cum autem sacra ipsa a cantoribus non ea qua decet reverentia recitarentur, sed magis ab eis cantiones laetitiae cum eorum musicis concentibus proferri viderentur . . . pontifex ipse, vocatis ad se cantoribus ipsis, eis iniunxit, ut quae his diebus sanctis in mysteriis passionis et mortis Christi recitanda erant, ea rei condecentibus vocibus referrent, atque etiam ita referrent, ut quae proferebantur, audiri atque percipi possent. Quod quidem ab ipsis cantoribus cum maxima astantium consolatione executioni demandatum est." Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 256 *seq.*; *Cf.* WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 38 *seq.*

[2] Complete edition, vol. XXXI.

[3] WEINMANN, 41, *seq.* Baini maintains that this mass was written for the congregation of Cardinals of 1564, and that its preformance saved figured music from being banished from divine worship. This is impossible, because it can be proved that the *Missa di papa Marcello* was in existence at the latest in 1563. WEINMANN, 34 *seqq.*

The advance which church music made by means of Palestrina was due, in no small degree, to the advocates of ecclesiastical reform. Palestrina repaid the debt he owed to them by preserving their reforming zeal from undue precipitation. Even after the appearance of the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, the voice of certain zealots, who wished to see figured music entirely banished from divine service, was not at once silenced.[1] There is a well-founded tradition that Pius IV. himself was not altogether opposed to this view, and that he was on the point of proposing a decree in this sense to the Council of Trent. Palestrina's masses, however, made the Pope change his mind, and won him over completely to the style of the master.[2] Referring to the Christian name of Palestrina, John, Pius IV. is said to have remarked concerning the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, that it reminded him of the harmonies of the heavenly Jerusalem, heard by the Apostle St. John, of which another John had now given the world a foretaste.[3]

The impulse which the Council of Trent had given to the reform of church music, although it had not issued any actual decree on the subject, was not without effect in other ways. Its insistence, above all, that the words of the chant must always be intelligible, whatever the wealth of the musical ornamentation, was included by Charles Borromeo, together with the other Tridentine decrees, in an ordinance of his first

[1] Mario Corrado, in a dedication to Carlo Carafa, speaks of people, "qui furiosissime clamitant, modos musicos et musicae praeceptores de communi societate hominum eiici debere" Pogiani Epist. III., 194; *cf.* Ambros, II., Pref. p. xi. On Ferdinand I. "salvatore della musica ecclesiastica," *cf.* App. n. 32.

[2] The Jesuit, de Cressolles learned of the matter from Palestrina himself, through a third party. Lud. Cresollii Mystagogus, 627, Paris, 1629. Haberl in Kirchenmusik., Jahrbuch, VI. (1892), 94. Th. Schmid in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 1894, II., 124; *cf.* IV., 13.

[3] Baini *loc. cit.* (see *supra* p. 46, n. 1); Hist.-pol. Blätter, XLII. (1858), 920 (which, however, does not give the authority).

provincial synod of 1565;[1] with this, it was spread throughout the whole Catholic world, and was repeated in many provincial synods.[2]

In Rome itself, Cardinals Borromeo and Vitelli turned their attention to the subject of church music in connection with their duties on the congregation for the explanation of the decrees of Trent.[3] At first, it is true, they were occupied rather with the reform of the choir of Papal singers, than with the reform of music itself; fourteen of the members of the choir were dismissed, and the singers were reduced to the original number of twenty-four.[4] But the chant itself was examined, to see whether it was in accordance with the desires of the Council. Under the date of April 28th, 1565, the diary of the choir states that the singers performed several masses at the house of Cardinal Vitelli so that he might judge whether the words could be understood. By that time the two Cardinals had not to arrive at any decision as to whether figured music was to be retained in the churches or not. They were satisfied with the music then in use, and also with that of Orlando di Lasso, although he was even more free in his treatment of the subject than Palestrina. Through Cardinal Truchsess, in 1561 and 1562, Vitelli had copies of masses by Orlando sent to him by Duke Albert V., and declared that he, as well as Borromeo, was satisfied with them.[5]

We have no record of which the masses were which the Papal singers performed at Vitelli's house on April 28th,

[1] A comparison of the draft of the reform decrees upon church music (THEINER, II., 122; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 12, 5, 14) with the *Acta ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, I., 31, Bergamo, 1738 (HARDOUIN Collectio Conciliorum, X., 687) shows that Borromeo made use of this draft.

[2] *Cf.* Hist.-pol. Blätter, XLII. (1858), 920.

[3] HABERL, Die Kardinalskommission von 1564 und Palestrinas *Missa papae Marcelli*, in Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch, VI. (1892), 82–97. WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*

[4] HABERL, 85 *seq.* For the personnel of the choir of singers of the Papal chapel *cf.* CELANI in *Rivista music*, XIV. (1907), 753 *seq.*

[5] WEINMANN, *loc. cit.* 29–32.

1565.[1] It is probable that the works of Palestrina, seeing the vogue which he enjoyed, were not omitted, and this becomes all the more probable in view of the fact that in the October of 1565 "by reason of the compositions already published, or about to be published for the use of the Papal choir" his salary was increased in such a way that, although he was not a Papal singer, he nevertheless received the full salary of one.[2]

During the years that follow we still hear of the endeavours of ecclesiastically-minded composers to safeguard the intelligibility of the chant. The contemporary of Palestrina, Giovanni Animuccia, choir-master at St. Peter's, who also composed songs in a simple form for the "Oratory" of Philip Neri, published a book of masses in 1567, in the preface to which he speaks of the wish of "certain persons" that the words sung should always be intelligible. It would seem that his work satisfied the commission of Cardinals, for in the following year, by their express orders, he was told to compose hymns, motets and masses "in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, and the recent regulations

[1] From the fact that in a codex in the archives of the Sistine Chapel there are written together three masses by Palestrina, namely the *Illumina oculos meos*, the Mass of Pope Marcellus, and a third without a name, and that the Mass of Pope Marcellus bears the date 1565, Baini concluded that these three masses were written at that time by Palestrina and sung before Vitelli; also that the commission had to deal with the question whether figured music was any longer to be tolerated in divine worship. But this codex does not contain the oldest copy of the Mass of Pope Marcellus (see *supra* p. 51, n. 3); this appears from the pages bound up with these much later on, probably in 1724. It is not the Mass of Pope Marcellus which bears the date 1565, but the "mass without title," and the former is, as can be proved, earlier, namely 1562. The mass *Illumina* is so named because its themes are drawn from the motet *Illumina* by Andrea de Silva. The title is not, therefore, as Baini thinks, to be considered as a prayer of Palestrina invoking the divine assistance to save church music. HABERL, *loc. cit.* 89 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 87.

of the commission."[1] Cardinal Borromeo caused a certain Vincenzo Ruffo to compose psalms and masses, which state on the title-page their conformity with the rules of the Council of Trent.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 97. AMBROS, II., 600 *seq.*

[2] "Salmi . . . conformi al decreto del S. Concilio Tridentino, 1574." HABERL, *loc. cit.*, 92; *cf.* SYLVAIN, I., 265.

CHAPTER III.

Reforming Activity of Pius IV., Charles Borromeo, and the Jesuits.

While the Council was still sitting, Pius IV. had been accused by the Gallican party of encroaching on its liberty, a reproach which won a certain notoriety through the witticism of Lansac.[1] The answer to this charge, however, came from the Council itself,[2] and was to the effect that such talk not only impugned the honour of the assembly, but might even cast doubts upon its validity. If the Pope had no part in the Council, then it was no true Council at all, and its decrees would be null and void, as had been shown in the early ages of Christianity in the case of the so-called "Robber-Council" of 449. They who spoke in this way started from the false principle that it is not by the ordinance of God that the head and president of a Council must be the Pope, to whom in a special way the promise of infallibility in matters of faith has been given. The view that the Pope could be excluded from the Council, and that no courier must pass between Trent and Rome to learn his opinion, rested upon this false principle. The Pope is, in fact, in accordance with Catholic principles

[1] Lansac to de Lisle on May 19, 1562, in Le Plat, V., 169: "(qu') il luy plaise laisser les propositions . . . libres, sans y prescrire ancune limite, ny envoyer le S. Esprit en valise de Rome icy" (*cf.* Pallavicini, 16, 10, 12). A similar witticism had previously been employed at the conclave of Julius III.; *cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 24, n. 5.

[2] The Bishop of Tortosa, Martino de Cordoba de Mendoça, to his secretary, Gonzalo Perez, from Trent, Aug. 20, 1562, in Colección de documentos inéditos, IX., 278. The explanations of Cordoba refer expressly to the saying of Lansac, "que Su Santidad envia el Espiritu Santo acá en balija."

the head of the bishops ; he is so when the bishops are living apart from each other in their dioceses, and he is so in exactly the same way when they are assembled in a Council. The theory that an assembly of bishops is independent of the Pope, and can even impose laws on the Pope himself, is only an echo of those adopted in the XVth century, but of which the first ages of the faith and Christian antiquity had no knowledge. Some say, wrote Pius IV. in an autograph letter to Philip II.,[1] that the Council is not free, because they want a Huguenot, Protestant, or Lutheran Council. In reality it is free to such an extent that everyone says and puts forward whatever comes into his head, so that great confusion arises ; some indeed have become frankly insolent, and it would appear that they aim at nothing less than the destruction of the Roman see. He, however, would quietly go on his way, and would make provision for a reform of the strictest kind, which would make the whole Curia cry out in alarm.

It is true that the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees could not be the work of a single pontificate, but the credit of having, at any rate, made a resolute and decisive beginning cannot be denied to the Medici Pope. This carrying out of the decrees was inaugurated and placed on a firm footing by the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and by the appointment of the special congregation of Cardinals to watch over the reform. Pius further completed these arrangements by the fact that on February 17th, 1565, he declared null all privileges which ran counter to the decrees of Trent.[2]

[1] On June 1, 1562 (Collección de docum. inéd., IX., 243 *seq.*) : " Circa il concilio sapemo che alcuni dicono che non è libero, perchè vorriano que el fusse ugonotto o protestante o luterano. . . . Provedendo d'ogni reformatione conveniente etiam rigorosissima et che fa gridare tutta la corte." *Cf.* Pius IV. to Philip II. on May 23, 1562 (*ibid.*, 197 *seq.*).

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 277 *seq.*, where, however, the date " ab incarnatione " is wrongly fixed, and the bull is inserted in its wrong place. This is clear from the fact that § 3 of the bull speaks of privileges granted " since the time when the Council began to be binding," that is to say, after May 1, 1564 (*cf. ibid.*, 299). The bull

This congregation of Cardinals at once began to exercise its functions. Between October 8th, 1564, and August 31st, 1565, its secretary, Pogiani, had to send out 67 decisions, mostly to Italian and Spanish dioceses; these decisions prove that the congregation treated the doubts and complaints referred to them by the Pope strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Council, and that measures were already being taken in the dioceses to introduce the Tridentine reforms. A beginning was made by combatting the accumulation of benefices,[1] by insisting on the residence of bishops,[2] by the visitation of the religious orders,[3] and by the establishment of seminaries.[4]

More important, however, than all these separate measures was the radical renewal of the Roman official world, the reform of the Roman Curia which had so long been asked for, and which had been so definitely promised by Pius IV.

A picture of the conditions at the Papal court, in which definite and clear emphasis is laid on the causes of the evils, and the difficulties in dealing with them, was drawn, shortly after the close of the Council of Trent by the bishop who was afterwards to become Cardinal Commendone.[5] There is no place in the world, so he begins his description, which affords a more favourable spot for making one's fortune than Rome; at that court, more than at any other, or in any other state, a

therefore cannot have been issued on Feb. 17, 1564. The correct date is in magnum Bull. Rom., II., 145 *seq.* (Luxemburg, 1742). *Cf.* NILLES in Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol., XXV. (1901), 1 *seqq.*

[1] POGIANI Epist., III., 341, n. 11; 348, n. 22; 363, n. 48, etc.

[2] When the Pope learned that in the Neapolitan territory the duty of residence was being neglected with the tacit consent of the archbishops, he gave orders to the nuncios to proceed against those prelates. Decree of June 30, 1565, in POGIANI Epist., I., 359 *seq.*, n. 42 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 341, n. 9.

[4] *Cf. infra* p.

[5] *Discorso sopra la Corte di Roma, Casanatense Library, Rome; *cf.* App. No. 76.

number of ambitious people of every kind succeed in attaining the end of their desires ; there the door is open to all.[1]

The reason for this, to a great extent, democratic character of the Eternal City, is to be found, according to Commendone, in the very nature of the supreme government. It is a fact that the power of the Pope is accountable to no one on earth, yet he receives his power by the election of the Cardinals. Although he has suddenly been raised far above his fellows, he nevertheless owes his elevation to those who were yesterday his equals, and he is therefore inclined, at least at first, to use his power in a moderate manner, all the more so as a Cardinal is frequently elected Pope, of whose elevation there was little expectation. A popular character is thereby impressed upon the whole system of government. As is the case with a republic, anyone can entertain the hope of attaining to the most exalted positions. From this comes, too, the freedom to speak and act as one likes, which is allowed to all in Rome ; from this comes the anxiety of ambitious officials to stand well with everyone ; from this too comes the lavish expenditure which they make in order to attain this end, often far beyond their means.[2]

Moreover, people of every kind can make their fortune in Rome. Wealth, and the fact of having been born of a family which had already produced a Cardinal, certainly gives reason to expect high office, but even those of small means, so long as they are capable in other ways, can indulge in the most exalted hopes, for whereas at other courts there is need of but two officials of high attainments, a secretary and an auditor, the Papal government has need of the services of a whole number of auditors of the Rota, referendaries both *gratiae* and *justitiae*, deputies, governors, commissaries, auditors for the States of the Church, and finally Cardinals for the two *signaturae*, and all of these must be well skilled in the law. The wealthy and the nobles do not willingly devote themselves to learned studies, and for that very reason the widest field

[1] *Discorso, p. 230b.

[2] *Discorso, p. 233.

lies open in Rome to those of more modest means. Anyone, whether of high or low estate, can make his way, so long as he is capable.[1]

Rome is therefore a city of opposites and contrasts,[2] and this character is still further accentuated by the fact that the Popes are for the most part well advanced in years before they ascend the throne and the government is therefore frequently changed. On account of the unique position of the Popes, however, such an occurrence is accompanied by greater changes than would be the case elsewhere. These changes are such as would take place in an ordinary city, if the prince were frequently to change his dwelling place, and that at every such change all the streets had to be altered, so that they might lead to the new palace, and that to effect this houses were pulled down, palaces cut through, and streets hitherto deserted filled with life, while others which had hitherto been centres of traffic became deserted.[3] In addition to this the Cardinals often deliberately elect a Pope who in many ways is directly the opposite to his predecessor, either because they wish for a change, or because the mistakes and exaggerations of the deceased Pope have made his manner of government unpopular. In accordance with the dispositions of the head, there comes about a change in the behaviour of the court, even in matters that concern their private lives. People, therefore, only bind themselves by agreements for life, and should an exception occur, the heirs quickly dispose of the property in Rome, either because they can do nothing with it, or because they do not wish to remain in the city.[4] Everything in Rome is therefore in a constant state of change; even the names of houses, streets and squares are frequently changed, and those parts of the city which have nothing to do with the court, are nevertheless drawn into the vortex by the influence of those

[1] *Ibid.* p. 233b.

[2] *le quali conditioni tutte insieme fanno molto varia la republica (*ibid.*, p. 234b). There was a current proverb "A Roma gl'estremi" (*ibid.*, p. 230b).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 234b.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 235a.

circles which set the tone to Rome. A friend of Commendone used therefore to say that he did not know whether the constantly changing weather in Rome was the cause of the instability of the Curia, or whether the continual changes in the Curia affected the weather.[1]

Rome was, therefore, to use the expression of Commendone, no longer a city, but a place where foreigners lived for a long time, like a market or a diet, and everything was always on the move.[2] People with all the virtues and vices which marked the closing years of the Renaissance, flocked thither to seek their fortune. Once they had attained the object of their desires, they were distinguished from the laity by the possession of a benefice, or perhaps by ordination, but not by their manner of life ; they became clerics or prelates without even knowing the name of the office they held.[3] There was a complete lack of education in the spirit of the priesthood.[4]

As the principal root of all the evils existing in the Curia during the time of the Renaissance, Commendone points to its worldliness. The Pope and Cardinals were too anxious to emulate the secular princes ;[5] they forgot that the object of all ecclesiastical offices and revenues is the service of religion, and that religion can only be served properly by conscientiousness and virtue.[6] It had therefore come to pass that eccle-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 235b.

[2] *si questa città fosse veramente città, et non più tosto una lunga cohabitatione di huomini forastieri, simile ad uno mercato, overo ad una dieta con uno continuo flusso (p. 245).

[3] *essendo prima fatto chierico, o prelato, chiegli intende pure il nome delli officio che prende (p. 237b).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Le cagioni principali, che spingono fuori del cammino il Pontifice, credo che siano due, la prima, di voler vivere secolarmente et governare anchora lo Stato nella maniera che fanno i Principi secolari et ragunare thesori, et cercar gloria non coveniente . . . ., la seconda è il poco amore che ordinariamente si suole havere alle cose, che non sono proprio nostro. Discorso, p. 238a.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 236a, 237b.

siastical offices and benefices were looked upon as a means of enriching relations, rewarding devoted servants, and of forming parties in the College of Cardinals, so as to influence the election of the next Pope. Hence persons were promoted who were distinguished by anything rather than learning and piety, while, to enrich some special favourite, a whole number of benefices were heaped upon him.[1] The consequence of all this was a great loss of the respect in which the Pope and Cardinals were held.[2]

But the responsibility for the deterioration in ecclesiastical affairs also rested, in the opinion of Commendone, in no small degree with the laity, who were so loud in their complaints of the corruption of the Curia. Most of the offices and benefices had become hereditary in certain families,[3] and were disposed of as if they were private property. Especially during the last hours of the head of the family, relations and friends crowded round the bed of the dying man, besieging him with requests to secure the ecclesiastical property for the family, and he who refused to comply with their requests was looked upon as blameworthy.[4] The view had come to be held that the Church as such should not possess temporal goods;[5] the princes, therefore, looked upon ecclesiastical property as belonging to them, the good ones, in the belief that they could administer it better than the Church, and the bad ones from greed, and a kind of mania to absorb all rights into their own hands.[6] The Curia, therefore, no longer had the free disposal of the benefices, while the Pope found himself in the unhappy predicament of having either to give in to the proposals of the princes, or in some other way to take precautions so as to preserve the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 238a. More fully as to these relatives p. 240 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 246a.

[3] *la maggior parte degli honori et de benefitii si fanno hereditarii, et si tengono molto tempo in una famiglia. *Ibid.* p. 237b.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 244b.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 243b.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 244b.

bare essentials of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[1] The greater part of the official posts and ecclesiastical revenues were likewise in the power of the princes, wherefore many clerics entered into the service of the secular power,[2] while the Curia itself was divided because the princes all had their partisans there. The Pope could not even be sure of his ambassadors and nuncios, as they too were sometimes tempted to promote, at least in some matters, the interests of the princes rather than those of the Church. In Rome itself, the Cardinals could no longer be given that share in the government of the Church which they had formerly possessed, as they were to be considered rather as the honoured friends of the princes than as the representatives of ecclesiastical government.[3]

While the great prelates consumed the revenues of the ecclesiastical offices, the performance of the duties attached to those offices was left to badly paid and unworthy hirelings. The ranks of the secular clergy were crowded with such persons, just as the monasteries were filled with unworthy monks, who furnished heresy with its best preachers.[4] A serious symptom of the preponderance of a non-Christian spirit, was the exaggerated veneration paid to ancient paganism. Eulogies were delivered in praise of men who should be described as monsters rather than as merely criminals. People were even ashamed of names which had a Christian significance, and many changed them for others of pagan renown.[5] Even such trivial details as these show how far the

[1] *Per la qual cosa è la corte caduta in una miserabile necessità di concedere i beneficii hora ad instanza de' Principi, hora secondo la diligentia degli avvisi per mantenere la giurisditione nel modo che si può. *Ibid.* p. 246a.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 247a. *Cf.* the decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. 25, de ref., c. 17, against those prelates who forget the dignity of their state so far as to become the servants of ministers and royal officials.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 247a b.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 247b.

[5] *E piacesse a Sua Divina Maestà che tale non fosse hormai la corruttione presente che non si dovesse ragionevolmente temere

hearts of the people had strayed from religion, an estrangement which rendered the government of the Church and the defeat of heresy extremely difficult.[1]

Commendone concludes his description of the abuses both within and without the Curia with some reflections as to the manner of restoring to the Church her original purity and lustre. It is easy, he says, to speak of the need of reform, but very difficult to name a procedure by which it may be brought about. How will the princes be prevailed upon not to foster such abuses in the future? Reform decrees may be issued,

che dentro questi abisso ò poco lungi si trovino grandissimo numero di huomini; conciossia cosa che come inanzi la pestilenza si sente la mala dispositione dell' aere e putrefatione delli humori, così ancora si scopre una certa gentilità e nelli opinione e ne i costumi, che dà verisimile inditio, considerando le tante memorie che si honorano et si fanno di coloro che furono più tosto mostri che huomini, scelerati, con molto maggior laude di essi e desiderio et ammiratione della lor gloria che di quella de' martiri et de gli apostoli; et passa tanto avanti che alli figlioli che si battezzano molto più volontieri mettano i nomi gentili che li christiani; e vi sono alcuni di tanta vanità che, vergognandosi di quelli che hanno, li lasciano et, quasi sbattezzandosi, ne prendano dei novi et di gentili: alla qual pravità, non senza gran misterio del giudicio di Dio, si oppose, quando essa prima si scoperse, il pontefico di quei tempi Paolo II. Perciochè queste tali cose, benchè possano parere molte minutie di poco momento, nondimeno sono come i segni, per li quali i medici prevendono pestilenza et i nocchieri la futura tempesta; anzi appresso de buoni et intendenti sono per aventura di maggior importanza che le dimostrationi più spesse delle cose più gravi, perche, secondo quel savio, nelle cose più piccole, dove non si finge e non si mette studio di apparenza nè si teme di esser punito, facilmente si comprende et l'habito della virtù e la secreta inclinatione el dispositione che l'huomo dà verso i vitii; così adunque da queste minaccie si scuopre una estrema alienatione d'animi et una poca riverenza et poco amore verso la religione et verso questa Santa Sede, periche [*sic*] il grandissimo travaglio si supporta hoggidì nel reggere, volendo conservare l'authorità ecclesiastica et mantener la sana et pura dottrina christiana. Discorso, p. 249b.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

but to whom are they to be entrusted for execution? To the prelates of the day? That would be to pour new wine into old bottles. To prelates who are yet to be trained? Where are such to be found in sufficient numbers, and how are all the offices to be filled with them without having recourse to violence? Further, should they aim at the abolition of all the abuses at a single blow, or should they content themselves with particular reforms? The former course seems impossible, yet the latter is not enough; it would be a case of patching an old garment with new cloth. Finally should they issue new reform regulations, which actually contained nothing beyond what was already prescribed in the old canons, or should they be content to devote themselves merely to the enforcement of the ancient rules of ecclesiastical discipline?

When Pius IV. set to work, a few years later, really to put the work of reform into force, the greater part of the difficulties and fears of Commendone had already lost their force. The Council had decided as to how the renewal of Christendom was to be proceeded with. The reform of the princes and of the policy of national churches was indeed left to the judgment of history, but as far as the reform of the Roman court was concerned, it was precisely the crowning mistake of Paul IV., the war with Spain, which had brought about the most salutary change, in that henceforth the Papal States disappeared from among the number of the great powers of political importance, and the Pope and Cardinals had been thrown back upon their proper sphere of activity, the care of the spiritual government of the Church.

Pius IV. had, even while the Council was still sitting, issued drastic measures against the deplorable abuses in the Roman official world. The Rota, the Penitentiaria, and the various Roman tribunals had been subjected to new regulations.[1]

[1] Bull of reform for the Rota of December 27, 1561, Bull. Rom., VII., 155; for the Penitentiaria, of May 4, 1562, *ibid.*, 193 (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 188); for the corrector of the Apostolic Chancery, of May 27, 1562, Bull. Rom., VII., 200; for the tribunal of the Apostolic Camera, of May 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 79; for the auditor of the Camera, of June 2, 1562, *ibid.*, 207; for the other tribunals,

We have, the Pope wrote to Philip II., on May 23rd, 1562,[1] inaugurated a very strict reform, which will prove to be the salvation of the world, and we intend to carry it still further; in doing so, we are not considering our own advantage, for we have, at one stroke, deprived ourselves of 200,000 scudi. After the close of the Council, the superintendence of these tribunals, and the carrying out of this reform, was entrusted to the Congregation of Cardinals which was charged with the execution of the Tridentine decrees.[2] The Apostolic Camera, on November 1st, 1564, was again subjected to an ordinance of reform.[3] On November 7th, 1565, the Penitentiaria was placed under the direction of Borromeo as Grand Penitentiary.[4]

The reforms of Pius IV. in the matter of benefices were of great importance. All expectancies and reservations, even if they had been granted to Cardinals, were withdrawn or limited as early as September 10th, 1560.[5] A constitution of the same year was directed against the not uncommon artifice of begin-

of June 31, 1562, *ibid.*, 214; for the *Signatura iustitiae* of June 31, 1562, *ibid.*, 234. The *Avviso di Roma of March 31, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 2b, Vatican Library) records the rumour that the *Signatura gratiae* would also be reformed.

[1] "Noi di quà havemmo fatto et facemmo una reforma asperrima et che sarà la salute del mondo (Collección de documentos inéditos, IX., 198). Havemo già fatta et esseguita una rigorosissima riforma de le cose de la corte con danno nostro particolare di più di 200 mila scudi di capitali di officii, oltra quel che a la giornata si perde de gli emolumenti del datariato et altri officii, che è una sommo notabile." Instruction for the Archbishop of Lanciano of June 29, 1562, in Sickel, Berichte, II., 118 *seq.* In the same sense see Borromeo to the Spanish nuncio, Crivelli, May 24, 1562, in Ehses, VIII., 272, n. 5.

[2] See *supra* p. 57.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 310 *seq.*

[4] Raynaldus, 1565, n. 24. Panvinius, De creatione Pii IV., in Merkle, II., 599. *Avviso di Roma of November 5, 1565 (Urb. 1040, Vatican Library).

[5] *Regula revocatoria expectativarum, mandatorum, reservationum, facultatum et indultorum quibusvis etiam cardinalibus concessorum. Editti, 126 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

ning interminable lawsuits, so as not to be forced to give up illegally held Church revenues.[1] The so-called "confidential" simony, which was practised in the matter of benefices by means of the *accessus* and *regressus* and the like, had already been forbidden to the Cardinals by Pius IV. in the consistory of May 14th, 1562;[2] in the years that followed he again admonished them,[3] and issued a formal decree on the matter, which was chiefly aimed at the Curia itself.[4] The prohibition to the nuncios to receive benefices or promotion through the intervention of the secular princes, struck at the very highest dignitaries of the Church.[5] On May 12, 1564, the Pope ordered that when, for the future, the affairs of a Cardinal were discussed in consistory, as, for example, the conferring upon him of a church or abbey, the Cardinal in question was to withdraw from the room, so that the others might express their views on the case with greater freedom.[6] Pius also renewed and amplified the provisions of the Council of Trent against unconscientious titular bishops, who conferred Holy Orders on all and sundry who asked for them.[7]

The successor of Paul IV. had modified many of the strict regulations of that Pope, such as the constitutions against

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 77. The date October 26 (not 29), 1560, can also be fixed with certainty from the *Editti 125 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 188. *Cf.* EHSES, VIII., 272 *seq.*

[3] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae of December 30, 1563, and March 23, 1564 (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 257 and 290).

[4] Bull. Rom., VII., 305 (October 16, 1564). RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 55. Occasion for this decree was apparently afforded by the death of Cardinal Sforza, whose friends had demanded the keeping of about 20 benefices (consistory of October 6, 1564). *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, *loc. cit.*, 386 *seq.*

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 369 (May 18, 1565). RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 5. *Acta consist. Cancell., IX., of April 13, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[6] GULIK-EUBEL, 41.

[7] RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 23; *cf.* Conc. Trid., sess. 14, can. 2.

"apostates" from the religious orders,[1] the alienation of Church property,[2] and the Jews.[3] Moreover, a decree upon the Papal election, which Pius IV. had, at any rate, the intention of issuing, had, it would appear, been suggested to him by the very contrast between himself and his predecessor.[4]

When the reassembling of the Council of Trent was under consideration, Pius IV., following the example of Paul IV., and to a great extent in his very words,[5] had on September 22nd, 1561, issued a bull, by which the right of electing the Pope, even during the session of the Council, was restricted to the Cardinals and not to the Council.[6] The bull was only published in the consistory of November 19th, 1561. On this occasion Pius "decided and declared" that the Pope could not appoint his successor, nor a coadjutor with the right of succession, not even if all the Cardinals, either together or separately, gave their consent, so that the election was left to the free decision of the Cardinals.[7] According to the account of Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, Pius added that he had made this declaration because "certain people" thought that this power belonged to the head of the Church, and that he would make arrangements that a bull should be framed on the point.[8] It may be gathered from another report of the same consistory of November 19th, who the persons were who ascribed such wide powers to the Pope. Paul IV., it is here stated,[9] was of opinion that he could himself appoint his successor, and attempted to do so. Probably his eagerness to exclude from the tiara certain Cardinals of whose faith he entertained suspicions, notably Cardinal Morone, gave rise

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 15 (April 3, 1560).

[2] *Ibid.*, 58 (September 11, 1560).

[3] *Ibid.*, 167.

[4] For what follows, *cf.* EHSES in the Dritten Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft für 1913, 56-67.

[5] Bull of November 19, 1544, in EHSES, IV., 388.

[6] RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 8. EHSES, VIII., 248.

[7] Acta consist. Cancell. in EHSES, *loc. cit.* (Vereinsschrift), 57.

[8] *Ibid.*, 58.

[9] Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1561, *ibid.*

to this idea in the mind of Paul IV.;[1] Pius IV. accordingly took this opportunity to make any such attempt impossible for the future.

The promised bull did not appear, but Pius IV. again recurred to the matter in the consistory of May 18th, 1565.[2] The question, he said, whether the Pope has the right to appoint a coadjutor with the right of succession, has been controverted hitherto; discussions had been held on the point under various Popes, and recently under Paul IV., while even now the affirmative view had its supporters; he therefore intended to put an end to these differences of opinion by issuing a Papal decision. Morone, indeed, declared that such a decision was unnecessary, as no Pope would dare to name his successor himself, and this view found favour among the Cardinals. Some, with Reumano, even thought the proposed decree harmful, as it would give the impression of the existence of a real danger which had to be legislated against. Finally, however, the majority of the Cardinals agreed to the drafting of the constitution, whereupon Pius IV. declared his intention of proceeding with it. The existence of such a decree would always be an obstacle to any Pope who, in the future, might really desire to appoint his successor, even though it was not easy to safeguard it with such clauses as would render its abrogation impossible. Pius, however, did not, even now, go beyond this oral declaration in consistory; the proposed constitution did not appear, and the question which it was intended to decide still remained open as before.

The bull of Pius IV. concerning the conclave, dated October 9th, 1562, is, on the other hand, of great importance with regard to the conduct of the Papal election, the necessity for the reform of which had been so glaringly illustrated in the proceedings at the election of the Medici Pope himself.[3] In this

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 302 *seqq.*

[2] Acta consist. card Gambarae, published by SÄGMÜLLER in Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht, LXXV. (1896), 425 *seqq.*

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 230 *seqq.* A *Declaratio facultatum conclavistarum of September 22, 1562, in Editti, 156 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

new bull, which was issued after long deliberations,[1] Pius IV. confirms and amplifies the conclave bulls of his predecessors, from Gregory X to Julius II. The Cardinals absent from Rome are only to be waited for for ten days after the death of the Pope. The obsequies for the deceased pontiff are to last for nine days ; should a feast intervene, on which it is not possible to celebrate the funeral offices, it is nevertheless to be included in the nine days, and the disbursements for the service which is omitted are to be given to the poor. The funeral expenses, which had become exorbitant, are not to exceed the sum of 10,000 ducats, including the payments to the clergy who assist ; the money bestowed in alms on the Roman populace, however, was not included in this. After ten days had elapsed the Cardinals must go into conclave without fail, and set to work at once on the business of the election, without waiting to draw up an election capitulation.

During the vacancy the College of Cardinals is not to assume any power belonging to the Pope ; they are to issue no orders with regard to the temporal affairs of the States of the Church, or the Papal treasury, except such as may be necessary for the support of the Papal household or the defence of the States of the Church. The offices of Camerlengo and Penitentiary are to be retained, though their powers are restricted ; the office of Datary lapses, and the *Signatura Gratiae* is in abeyance.

In the conclave itself, the right of calling together the electors, and discussing with them doubtful points and matters of business which may arise, belongs, during the first three days, to a committee composed of the senior Cardinal Bishop, Cardinal Priest, and Cardinal Deacon. After the lapse of three days these give place to the next three in seniority, and so on. The cells of the conclave are to be assigned by lot, and are not to be changed or enlarged. A number of regulations enjoin the strict observance of the enclosure, which had

[1] Together with SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 131, 298 *seq.*, see the recent articles by SINGER in the Zeitschrift für Rechtgesch., XXXVII., Kanon. Abt., VI., 103 *seq.*

been almost entirely ignored at the last conclave. No one is to inhabit any room adjoining the conclave, either above or below or at the sides. The cells, as well as the walls of the enclosure must be frequently inspected by the deputation of Cardinals, to see that there are no prohibited openings. Each Cardinal is to be allowed only two servants, or, in case of illness, at the most three ; these must have been a considerable time in his service, and must be approved for the conclave by the deputation of Cardinals. Besides these, one sacristan, two masters of ceremonies, one confessor, two physicians, one surgeon, one apothecary, one carpenter, one chamberlain, two barbers, and ten servants, were to be admitted. In general, no visits from persons outside are to be allowed, nor any correspondence with them. Bets concerning the election are forbidden. The guardians of the conclave are to allow no news to enter, and a conclavist is only to be allowed to go into the city on the sworn testimony of a physician, and he must not return. Every elector must at least have received the subdiaconate. No one is to be excluded from the conclave on the pretext that he is excommunicated, or has otherwise incurred the censure of the Church. In giving their votes the Cardinals are not to be influenced by the recommendations of the secular princes or by other worldly considerations, but are only to keep God before their eyes. The prelates, officials and ambassadors, to whom the protection of the conclave is entrusted, must bind themselves by oath to the observance of these regulations, which must, on each occasion, be read and sworn to by the Cardinals before the beginning of the election proceedings.

Although all these regulations had been carefully thought out, it was not possible by such means to remove the principal cause of the disorders in the conclaves which had been held in recent times. Under the existing conditions it was impossible to deprive the Catholic princes of their influence upon the election. Once this was acknowledged, then intercourse between them and the Cardinals could not be completely prevented ; in other words, the strict regulations concerning the enclosure had to be relaxed, and as long as the existing

conditions remained unchanged, it was impossible for any decree to effect a reform of any importance.

The observance of the duty of residence, especially by the bishops, was looked upon by all persons of discernment as the principal point of ecclesiastical reform. The Council of Trent had already issued decrees on this matter in 1547; when it returned to the subject in 1562, Cardinal Seripando remarked that, in the opinion of all nations, the present Council would far excel all previous assemblies if it only succeeded in giving effect to this one decree as to residence.[1] All efforts, however, to enforce the observance of this duty had hitherto proved unsuccessful. Paul IV. had endeavoured to enforce it with the utmost severity during the last year of his life.[2] He only succeeded in driving the prelates who were forgetful of their duty to seek another Rome in Venice or Naples; after his death they returned to the seat of the Curia.[3] Pius IV. from the first displayed great determination with regard to the question of residence;[4] after a preliminary admonition in the consistory of February 7th, 1560, he summoned all the bishops then in Rome to appear before him eight days later, and ordered them to return to their dioceses at the beginning of Lent. The prospect, however, of soon being able to send them to the General Council at Trent, caused the Pope to refrain, for the moment, from further pressure. It was only

[1] Seripando to Borromeo, May 17, 1562, in SICKEL, Berichte, II., 116. Diego Covarruvias, Bishop of Ciudad-Rodrigo, wrote on September 7, 1562, that he had in his diocese one of the smallest in Castile, 156 persons with the care of souls, of whom hardly a quarter resided in their parishes (ŠUSTA, III., 10). This statement is very characteristic of the state of things at that time.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 234.

[3] Egidio Foscarari to Cardinal Morone, May 18, 1562, in BECCADELLI, III., 333. Foscarari was of opinion that things would be very different if the duty of residence were declared to be of divine precept, the breaking of which would be a mortal sin, "non essendo ancora gli Ecclesiastici venuti a questa impudenza di non curarsi di stare in peccato pubblico mortale (*ibid.*).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 129.

when this prospect did not seem likely to be realized, that he again assembled the bishops who were in the Eternal City, on September 4th, and exhorted them to fulfil their former promise ;[1] he then caused to be read to them a constitution, which reminded prelates of their pastoral duties, threatened the negligent, and promised privileges to the obedient.[2]

After the close of the Council, the Pope insisted, in the first consistories, that the question of residence should now be seriously taken in hand.[3] As, however, many of the prelates were worn out by their exhausting labours at the Council,[4] he was once more indulgent. It was not until March 1st, 1564, that he again summoned all the bishops in Rome to a consistory and exhorted them in a long speech to return to their flocks. No one was to be exempted from this duty ; he would in future employ no bishop for the business of the Curia, or make use of them as nuncios or governors, and would only grant a dispensation for the most urgent reasons ; his own nephews must spend at least a part of the year in their diocese. He was not at present thinking of a creation of Cardinals, but when he should do so, he would not overlook the merits and piety of each ; he then dismissed them with his blessing and permission to start on their journeys.[5] He gave the same

[1] LAEMMER, Melet., 212. ŠUSTA, II., 283. EHSES, VIII., 66. *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 255.

[2] Constitution of September 4, 1560, Bull. Rom., VII., 55. *Bandi V., 11 (Papal Secret Archives). See also WYMANN, 105 *seq.*

[3] See *supra* p. 2. A *motuproprio of March 10, 1563 "super parochialium ac aliarum ecclesiaarum curatarum collationibus necnon iuramenti et fideiiussione praestandis de residendo," in the *Editti, 165 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

[4] *Acta consist. card Gambrae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 268b.

[5] *Ibid.*, 267 *seqq.* " *Hoggi è stato concistoro et prima sua B^ne^ ha fatto chiamar tutti li prelati che sono in Roma et con longo ragionamento gli ha eshortati andare alle residenze loro, allegando non haver per hora risolutione di far cardinali, e che quando pensarà questo, non mancherà tenere memoria delli meriti di ciascuno et delle virtù loro, così gli ha benedetti et licentiati che

instructions to the Cardinals who held bishoprics; if any of them had given up their church in favour of a relative, they must now send that relative away and settle at least 1,000 ducats on him.[1] When Pius visited the Belvedere some weeks later, and found several bishops in the Hall of Constantine, he caused his chair to be stopped, and asked them why they had not returned to their dioceses. When some of them replied that they had been detained in Rome by lawsuits or other business, he insisted that they should go; they could leave behind procurators and advocates for the lawsuits, for anyone might plead a lawsuit as an excuse for not fulfilling the duty of residence; even the Cardinals must go. The Pope then summoned an auditor, and charged him to give orders to all to depart, on the penalty of losing their benefices. A short time afterwards a general monitorium was issued, which bound everyone to the duty of residence under the same penalty.[2] On November 25th, 1564, another ad-

vadino. Si dice che il medemo ha fatto de cardinali che hanno chiese, però con molta modestia." Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, on March 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] See GULIK-EUBEL, 40. *Cf.* the consistory of March 23, 1564. *Acta consist. card. Gambaræ, *loc. cit.* 290.

[2] *Questa mattina S. B^ne^ andando in Belvedere et vedendo nella sala di Costantino alcuni vescovi, si fermò, et seduta nella sede dove si fa portare dimandò a ciascuno di loro perchè non andavano alli loro vescovati, et allegando alcuni, chi liti et altre occasioni, gli comandò espressamente che andassero, et che chi havesse liti lasciasse procuratori et avocati, soggiongendo ogniuno si fingeria della lite per non andare alla residenza, volemo che ci vadino anco li cardinali, et chiamò l' auditore della camera ch' era gli presente et gli ordinò che comandasse a tutti che gli andavano, et anzi che sotto pena di privatione andassero, dicendo, ne privaremo due o tre, et così sarà exempio agli altri. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, Rome 1564, April 8. *Oltra l' admonitione che S. S^tà^ fece questi dì passati ad alcuni vescovi che andassero alli loro vescovati, nuovamente ha fatto formare un monitorio generale a tutti, ma in esso specialmente ni nomina molti, et tutti quelli che sono in Roma, nel quale li comanda che vadino alla residenza sotto pena di privatione, et si ha da intimare a

monition followed, and laid it down that the property of non-resident prelates and priests with the cure of souls, should revert at their death to the Apostolic Camera.[1] On May 5th, 1565, yet another monitorium against non-resident ecclesiastics was issued.[2]

The prescriptions of the Council on the subject of the accumulation of benefices also caused no small anxiety, and they could only be put into force gradually.[3] In accordance with the considerate principles of canon law, the Council's regulations were not extended to petitions which had been presented before the confirmation of the Council.[4]

One can hardly be mistaken in recognizing in all these

tutti. Tonina to the Duke, dated Rome, Apr. 19, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also WYMANN, 106. *Cf.* *Caligari to Commendone, Apr. 15, 1564, Lettere di princ., XXIII., 49 (Papal Secret Archives).

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 332 *seq.* *Bandi V., 11 p. 76 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79. *Editti 187 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

[3] *" Il tumulto nato per questi che hanno più benefici ha fatto tanto che hieri si fece una congregatione per questo ultimamente, per la quale si risolse che fosse bene far un altra prorogatione a rassegnarli et si crede che S. S^{tà} acconsentirà che si publichi la bolla. Et perchè li vescovi usano ogni rigore contra de questi et anco per le residenze, pare anco che S. B^{ne} vogli fare una regola di Camera, che tutti li benefici che vacaranno per li decreti del concilio siano affetti et tocchi solo a S. B^{ne} a conferirgli." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Dec. 25, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] *" È uscito finalmente il motu proprio che prolonga la residentia a preti dalle calende di maggio per tutto ottobre prossimo. La dataria è alquanto allargata et ha commissione di segnare tutte le supplicazioni che siano state presentate nanti la confirmatione del concilio. Passano medemamente le dispense de matrimonii contratti sin a quel tempo purchè li contrahenti giurino di non haver saputo quel che di ciò all'hora havesse ordinato il concilio in tal materia, et però è passata una dispensa di due scicliani li quali havevano contratto in 2° grado, la quale però gli è costata mille scudi." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, July 29, 1564, *loc. cit.*

regulations for reform the influence of the Secretary of State on his uncle the Pope. Borromeo came more and more to look upon the furtherance and carrying out of the decrees of Trent as his life's work, and to this task he devoted, with the greatest determination and persistence, all his talents, his no small influence over the Pope, and, later on, his pastoral labours. He became for all time the model and guide for the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees, and he thus became one of the most influential ecclesiastical reformers, while his name must ever be closely associated with that of the Council of Trent.

While the Council was sitting, the whole of the extensive correspondence with the legates passed through the hands of Borromeo.[1] Every week reports and letters from Trent were constantly arriving in Rome, often several on the same day, and it was the duty of the Secretary of State to present a report on all these to the Pope. It is true that short summaries of these documents were prepared for him by subordinate officials, but there is reason to believe that Borromeo did not base his reports to the Pope on these summaries alone, but that he read the documents themselves.[2] Pius IV. himself decided what answers were to be sent, but it was the duty of the Secretary of State to examine and correct the drafts of these replies.[3] It is clear, moreover, that on many occasions, Borromeo did not conduct the correspondence with the Council merely as a tool in his uncle's hands, but that he formed his own opinion on events, and maintained it even against the Pope.[4]

[1] For what follows *cf.* C. VITALI in La Scuola cattolica, Ser. 4, XVIII. (1910), 769-801.

[2] VITALI (*loc. cit.* 778) thinks he can find authority for this statement, by a comparison between the requests of the legates and the replies.

[3] For the progress of the negotiations in the secret secretariate see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 110.

[4] On the question of the safe-conduct for the Protestants he, on April 1, 1562, first sent that which the Pope had decided upon (ŠUSTA, II., 75), but he attached to this a letter to Simonetta,

The joy and self-sacrifice with which Borromeo took upon his shoulders this great burden of work, in which he saw the service of God, and the well-being of the Church, is sometimes to be seen in his merely business communications with the legates.[1] On the day of the closing of the Council he speaks of it as the greatest benefit which could have been conferred on the world, an enterprise redounding to the honour of the Pope, a thing both beneficial and necessary for Christianity, and one which had set free the Church of God from great danger at a moment of dire peril. Perhaps so distinguished a gathering would not meet again for many centuries, and he burned with zeal to see the Council carried into effect at once as the needs of Christendom demanded.[2]

Borromeo began the work of carrying out the Tridentine regulations in his own household and his own person. When, immediately after the close of the Council, he reduced his princely state, increased the simplicity and strictness of his manner of life, and set himself to the practice of preaching, he was led to this more than anything else by his respect for the ordinances of Trent.[3] The Council should not have vainly laid it down that the state of a bishop must be simple, and that preaching is his first duty.[4] Borromeo went much further than the mere words of the Council; the "almost regal

in which he expressed his own rather different idea (*ibid.*, 76). On the occasion of the controversy about the duty of residence, he, on May 11, sent to the legates, together with the Pope's letter, another one "in his own name" (*ibid.*, 136).

[1] KONSTANTIN GERMANUS, Reformatorenbilder, 157, 308, Freiburg, 1883. GRISAR, Disput., I., 400 *seq.*

[2] ŠUSTA, IV., 454 *seq.* "È tanto il desiderio mio che hormai s'attenda ad exequir poi che sarà confirmato questo santo concilio conforme al bisogno che ne ha la christiantià tutta e non più a disputare . . ." *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 119 *seqq.* *"Cardinal Mark Sittich wrote on June 15, 1564, to Count Hannibal von Hohenems that Cardinal Borromeo had dismissed 150 members of his suite, and got rid of all his horses." (Hohenems Archives).

[4] Sess. 25, de ref., c.1.; sess. 24, de ref., c.4.

magnificence of his court."[1] disappeared more and more, until it became an almost exaggerated simplicity.

It was an inestimable advantage for the reform movement in Rome that the nephew of the Pope, the first and most influential of the Cardinals, should have placed himself at its head. "He gives everyone so splendid an example," wrote the Venetian ambassador Soranzo, in 1565, "that it may indeed be said that he is in his own person the cause of more good at the Roman court than all the decrees of the Council of Trent taken together."[2]

If the Papal court, as Soranzo writes,[3] was no longer the same as it had been, this change must not be entirely attributed to the influence of Borromeo. The Cardinals had now become poorer, says the same correspondent,[4] since they had had to give up their benefices in England and Germany after the defection of those countries. Moreover, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence they could no longer accumulate three or four bishoprics and numerous benefices in their own hands. Besides this, the foreign princes no longer sought the friendship of the Cardinals so eagerly as they had been wont to do. The weakness of the States of the Church had become only too apparent under Paul IV.; it was, therefore, no longer of the same importance to the princes whether this man or that became Pope, so that they no longer strove, by means of costly gifts, to secure for themselves a party in the College of Cardinals or in the conclave. One hardly hears nowadays, writes Soranzo, that this or that Cardinal is Imperial, French, or Spanish, and their partisanship for the princes has disappeared with the liberality of the latter. Philip II., moreover, considered himself so powerful that in his opinion the Pope would in any case be obliged to be on friendly terms with him, while France, both on account of the whole tendency of her policy, and of her internal wars,

[1] The expression of Ciaconius (III., 891).

[2] Giac. Soranzo, 133 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, 136 *seq.*

could no longer think of mixing herself up in Roman affairs.

The vanishing wealth of the Roman princes of the Church was also the reason why men of talent no longer flocked to the Eternal City to make their fortunes in the service of the Cardinals. On account of the Tridentine decrees of residence, such men could, in spite of all their efforts to secure the favour of the great, only succeed in obtaining a single benefice. To serve a Cardinal any longer could not procure them a second, the duty of residence called them back to their flocks, and they left Rome.[1]

The greater simplicity which gradually prevailed in Rome, however, must not be explained merely by the disappearance of the means of making a great display. A spirit of greater seriousness and of deeper religious feeling was making itself felt in the Eternal City, and this was, in no small degree, owing to the influence of Borromeo. "At the Curia," again says Soranzo,[2] "they live very simply, partly, as has been said, from want of means, but perhaps not less on account of the good example of Cardinal Borromeo, for those in subordinate positions adapt themselves to the example of their princes. No Cardinal or courtier can any longer count on favour, if he does not live, either in reality, or at least in appearance, as he does. At any rate, in public they stand aloof from every kind of amusement. Cardinals are no longer seen riding or driving masked in the company of ladies; at the most they sometimes ride in coaches, but without any retinue.[3] Banquets, games, hunting parties, liveries, and all forms of external luxury, are all the more at an end because there

[1] *Ibid.*, 136.

[2] *Ibid.*, 138.

[3] These coaches, which had not long before made their appearance in Rome, seemed as unsuitable to dignitaries of the Church as, in our own day, was the case at first with bicycles or motor cars. On November 17, 1564, Pius IV. forbade the Cardinals to come to the Vatican in future in travelling coaches, or in wooden carriages with two horses; they must ride, or, in case of sickness, make use of a sedan chair. See WYMANN, 102, n.1.

are no longer any lay persons of high rank at the court, such as were formerly to be found there in great numbers among the relatives and intimates of the Pope. Priests now go about in the dress of their order so that the reform is visible to the eye. On the other hand," Soranzo adds, "artisans and shopkeepers might as well declare themselves bankrupt; since the offices and posts are in the hands of the Milanese, who are well known to show but little generosity, there are very few people here who are pleased with the government."[1]

It was inevitable that there should be no lack of complaints against the stern reformer and his "Theatine ways," but even Annibale Caro, who gives strong expression to this feeling,[2] testifies that people no longer came to Rome to make their fortunes, but to pray, and that the change in the city must be traced to the influence of Borromeo. Men of ecclesiastical sympathies,[3] as well as the Roman populace, were,[4] on the other hand, loud in the praises of Borromeo. It must have been of the utmost importance for the moral regeneration of the Eternal City that the Cardinal Secretary of State used his influence with the Pope to bring worthy men into the Sacred College. At the appointment of Cardinals on March

[1] Giac. Soranzo, 138.

[2] "Di Roma non so che me le dire, se non che quell'acconcia stagni e candelieri ha tolto a rifaria tutta; et non gli basta Roma, che vuol fare il medesimo per tutto" (to Torquato Conti on July 22, 1564, in Caro, Lettere famil., I., 50). "Se l'ambizione le facesse per avventura desiderar Roma, le ricordo che ci si viene hora per orare e non per pascere (letter to Sala on Feb. 20, 1564, in Caro, II., 100). *Cardinal Mark Sittich, who thought himself injured by Borromeo, wrote, on June 15, 1564, after Borromeo had reduced his own court, to Count Hannibal von Hohenems that he was of opinion that Borromeo would go mad from sheer stinginess; he acts as though he had not got an income of 2,000 crowns, nor is he satisfied with what he has, but is always seeking for more: this is the result of his *Theatineria* (Hohenems Archives).

[3] Canisius to Hosius on Sept. 17, 1565, Canisii Epist., V., 96.

[4] Sylvain, I., 243.

12th, 1565, no one was promoted except at the suggestion of Borromeo or with his consent.[1]

The example of his nephew did not fail to have an influence on the Pope himself.[2] At the end of July, and the beginning of August, 1564, he reformed the Apostolic Palace, and over 400 superfluous courtiers were dismissed. A new majordomo had already been appointed, and for this important position Pius chose a man who had not before come into public notice, and whom the least of the Cardinals would not have chosen for such a position in his household. The Pope dismissed all the chamberlains outside Rome except five, and the number of the *camerieri segreti*, chaplains, grooms and horses was reduced. It was calculated that the Papal household saved 20,000 ducats yearly by these reforms.[3]

[1] GIAC. SORANZO, 135. The Archbishop of Pisa was recommended for the cardinalate by Borromeo. SALA, III., 337 *seq.*

[2] BASCAPÈ, 10, 19.

[3] *" N.S. ha fatta riforma de la sua casa et dicono che ha cassato da 400 bocche per far il ponte di S. Spirito sopra il fiume et domani devesi publicare." Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma on July 22, 1564 (Carte Farnesiane 763, State Archives, Naples). *" S. Santità ha riformato il palazzo, id est n'ha cacciato 400 bocche." Girolamo Mei to Latino Latinio, Aug. 5, 1564 (Capitular Library, Viterbo). *" S. Beatitudine ha riformata la casa; il primo d' agosto prossimo si pubblicarà del tutto, et fra tanto ha pubblicato un maestro di casa nuovo, il quale è un Don Diodato Parmiggiano suo capellano, il quale sin qui non è stato in tanta consideratione che forsi qual si voglia minimo Cardinale sifosse degnato di haverlo per suo maestro di casa. Ha cassato tutti li camerieri extra muros eccetto cinque che sono mess. Aurelo Porcelaca Bresciano, il conte Porsia del Friulli, il Mandello milanese, mess. Paulo Palucelli Romano et uno di Savoia. Alli camereri secreti oltre che si restringono di numero ha ristretto anco il numero delle bocche et cavalcature, et ha cassato disdotto palafreneri et molti capellani. Et perchè nessuno delle essecutori di questa riforma la publichino prima del dì determinato, per non venir fastidito da questo et quello, gli ha comandato sotto pena di escommunicatione il silentio delli particulari. Quelli che intervengono a questa riforma sono,

Perhaps the measures that were taken for the improvement of ecclesiastical conditions in Rome were of even greater importance.[1] The Pope insisted that the divine worship in the titular churches of the Cardinals should be reorganized, and priests who gave scandal punished. Cardinal Savelli, the Vicar of Rome, received orders on May 12th, 1564, to arrange for the visitation of the Roman clergy by the titular bishop, Cesarini. Cesarini had previously been entrusted with the same duty; later on, Savelli, as well as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese made use of the Roman Jesuits for this difficult task, in the case of the churches which were under their jurisdiction. The same Society had also, in accordance

il cardinale Borromei, Altemps et s. Giorgio, il s. Gabrio Scierbellone, il castellano et il maestro di casa di S. Stà vecchio. Le bocche che si levano sono circa 475, li restanti si dice che saranno seicento, li quali haveranno pane et vino solamente, oltra quelli che haveranno le spense del tutto. L'avanzo che si farà per questa riforma si dice essere di 20 mille ducati ogni anno. Franc. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, July 29, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In a *letter of August 2, 1564, Tonina refers to the "mille stridi" on account of the reform in the "casa del papa." Already on Jan. 6, 1564, *Carlo Stuerdo had written to the Duke of Parma that "S. Stà sta per riformar la casa sua et dicono che si allegierà di molte bocche" (State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnes. 763). But at that time it was not carried out. Ludovicus Bondonus de Branchis Firmanus, Diarium, Aug. 2, 1564 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 12, 29 *seq.*, 374).

[1] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, May 12, 1564, Rome, 40—G—13 p. 315b *seq* (Corsini Library). SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 8 *seq.* (a. 1560); l. 8, n. 10, 20 (a. 1564). ŠUSTA, II., 233. * . . . "S. Stà nel ultima congregatione che si fece dimostrò di voler che in ogni modo si estirpassero gli abusi et parlò contro i vitiosi e dediti alle lascivie, il giorno seguente fece publicare un bando contro i concubinarii che in certo tempo debbano sbrigarsi dalle loro concubine sotto gravissime pene se non obediranno. Gli rmi cardli deputati sopra la reforma del collegio de cardli tosto riferiranno a S. Stà le constitutioni fra loro determinate accioche S. Stà approvi o levi quello che le parerà." Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Aug. 7, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

with the prescriptions of the Council, to examine candidates for Holy Orders, as well as those seeking benefices.

The reforming care of the Pope was also extended to the citizens and nobles of Rome. Several edicts of the years 1564 and 1565 are directed against blasphemy, against walking about in the churches, against prostitutes, who were not to be allowed to live in the neighbourhood of churches or of noble married women, against vagabonds, and against the bearing of arms.[1] A confraternity, which gathered together homeless and insane beggars from the streets of Rome, and gave them protection from cold and hunger, was confirmed by the Pope and enriched with indulgences and privileges,[2] as well as a pious association which combatted prostitution by undertaking the care and education of poor girls between the ages of nine and twelve.[3] The Hospital for Catechumens, which specially looked after the converts from Judaism, likewise enjoyed the protection of the Pope.[4] An edict of December 10th, 1563, issued by the magistracy in the name of the Pope, gave very detailed rules concerning the degree of luxury which might be allowed in matters of dress at banquets.[5] On the other hand, the Pope absolutely required of the Cardinals that they should maintain a state in keeping with

[1] *Bando sopra la biastema et del passegiare per le chiese. Jan. 8, 1564 (Bandi V., 7, p. 1, Papal Secret Archives). *Bando contra le corteggiane et altre persone scandalose, dell'armi, dell'aiutto si deve dare a chi è offeso, contra li vagabondi e sopra l'allogiare de forastieri, Sept. 20, 1564 (Editti V., 60, p. 207). *Bando contra biastemmatori, giocatori, et contra corteggiane o meretrici che non possino habitare appresso le chiese e gentildonne maritate, et che donne da 8 anni in su non possino andare vendendo per Roma cichorea et altre herbe. May 28, 1655, *ibid*, p. 208 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] Bull of Sept. 11, 1561, Bull. Rom., VII., 139 *seq.*

[3] Tacchi Venturi, I., 668 *seq.* ; *cf.* 675.

[4] Facultates et privilegia archiconfraternitatis monasterii B. Mariae Virginis annuntiatae et hospitalis catechumenorum de urbe. (*Editti 119, Casanatense Library, Rome).

[5] See Clementi, Carnevale, 225 *seq.* *Cf.* the Milanese *Pungolo di Domenica* of July 20, 1884 ; Rivista storica, 1907, 445.

their rank as princes of the Church. In the consistory of November 17th, 1564,[1] he accordingly forebade them to repair to the Vatican on solemn occasions in coaches. In accordance with the ancient custom they must come on horseback; Charles V. had especially admired the cavalcade of Cardinals at the ecclesiastical functions. The Pope was prepared to assign a dwelling in the Vatican to the poorer Cardinals who could not afford to keep a stable.[2] The whole of Rome, he said in the consistory of December 15th, 1564, was rejoiced that the Cardinals no longer rode about in coaches; such a means of conveyance should in future be left to women; it was not seemly for men, and he would take care that its use in future should be limited to ladies.[3]

The regeneration of the priesthood was not to be brought about by laws and penalties, but only by having the clergy of the future educated from their earliest youth in special establishments, and in a genuine sacerdotal spirit, so that an entirely new generation of priests might come into being.

[1] *Acta consist. Cancell., IX. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[2] GULIK-EUBEL, 41. *Cf.* HÜBNER, Sixtus V., I., 73, and *supra* p, 79, n.3. "Hora tutti li cardinali quando gli occorrono andare a palazzo vanno a cavallo et in pontificale et non in cocchio come facevano molti che erano poveri per eshortatione di S. Stà tornando ciò in decoro et riputatione id questa S. Sede, con haver dato intentione a quelli che non hanno il modo ni mantenere una stalla di cavalli di dargli le stanze in palazzo." Giacomo Tarreghetti to the Duke of Mantua, December 2, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

[3] "*Dixit totam urbem magnam laetitiam cepisse, quod his diebus cardinales non viderit in rhedis. Visum esse restitutum pristinum huius Curiae splendorem, propterea cupere se ut perseveretur, ac ne domum quidem redeundo cardinales rhedis utantur. . . . Rhedas mulieribus relinquendas, in quas ne nimium severus sit, velle se illis rhedas indulgere; sed maximum sibi abusum videri, viros tanquam feminas rhedis uti; vos inquit rogabimus, alios vero cogemus ut rhedis abstineant." Acta consist. card Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 409 (Corsini Library, Rome).

This view had already been expressed during the first period of the Council by the Jesuit Lejay, the representative of Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg.[1] The idea was first put into practice by Cardinal Truchsess in his college at Dillingen, in 1549,[2] and by Ignatius Loyola in the Germanicum in Rome, in 1552.[3] Later, in 1555, Cardinal Pole exhorted the Bishops of Cambrai and Tournai to imitate the foundation of Loyola in their dioceses.[4] and in 1556 he drew up for England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, his celebrated decree on seminaries, which became the basis of the decree on the subject in the Council of Trent.[5] This was unanimously approved by the fathers of the Council, and some were of opinion that even had the synod accomplished nothing more than the promulgation of this one decree, it would still deserve credit for a work of incalculable importance.[6]

The fathers of the Council had originally intended to embody in their decree an express wish that such a seminary might be founded in Rome itself as would serve as a model for the whole world. The legates sought to evade this request by promising in the name of the Pope that he would meet their wishes, and found a seminary in Rome which would be worthy

[1] Congregation of April 6, 1546, in EHSES, II., 79. *Cf.* the letter of the legates to Farnese on April 10, 1546: "fare come si faceva anticamente il seminario di bon preti, allevandoli da piccoli." EHSES, I., 501. PALLAVICINI, 7, 2, 3.

[2] TH. SPECHT, Gesch. der ehemaligen Universität Dilligen, Freiburg, 1902, 8 *seqq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 227.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 229 *seqq.*

[4] AUG. THEINER, Gesch. der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten, Mayence, 1835, 103.

[5] Sess. 23, de ref., c. 18. *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 392. "Anno 1562, quando SS. Pontifex Pius IV. opus Cardinalis Pole de Concilio in typographia Aldina Romae imprimi mandavit ad usum concilii Tridentini, hae constitutiones [of the English Council, 1556] sub titulo Reformatio Angliae una cum praefato opere typis editae fuere." Arch. Conc. Trid., vol. 49, p. 13, in the Documenta ad legationem Cardinalis Polis spectantia (Rome s. a. [1896]) 30. ŠUSTA, I., 155; II., 45.

[6] Paleotto in THEINER, II., 661.

of him and of the Eternal City. On July 26th, 1563, the legates therefore addressed a petition to Pius IV. in their own name and that of the Council, that he would soon take in hand a work which all considered so necessary and useful.[1] Borromeo answered on August 4th that the Pope already had in mind the plan of a model seminary in Rome.[2] In the consistory of August 18th, 1563, Pius IV. charged Cardinals Mula, Savelli, Borromeo and Vitelli to select, in conjunction with the Cardinal Dean, suitable youths, and to decide on the governing body of the institution ; 6,000 ducats, provisionally assigned from the Apostolic Camera, should be paid annually for its maintenance.[3]

After the close of the Council, the Pope, in a consistory on December 30th, 1563, insisted on the fact that, after the duty of residence, the next important point of the reform must be the establishment of seminaries. He promised to found these in Rome and Bologna.[4]

It is certain that the want of suitable professors among the secular clergy of Rome is the explanation of the fact that after the lapse of six months, the Pope, in the consistories of March 1st and April 14th, 1564, had to exhort the Cardinals to hasten this work.[5] Already, before the end of April, the deputation of Cardinals had arrived at the decision to entrust

[1] Pogiani Epist., III., 388. Šusta, IV., 142. Facsimile of the letter and of Borromeo's reply of August 4 in (Carlo Sica) Cenni storici del Pontificio Seminario Romano, Rome, 1914, 8-9, 12-13.

[2] Šusta, IV., 172.

[3] Susta, IV., 196. Pogiani Epist., III., 388. Later there was talk of 10 cardinals to take charge of the seminary. Astrain, II., 206.

[4] Pogiani Epist., III., 387.

[5] *Ibid.*, 389. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 272a, 301b (Corsini Library, Rome). In the *consistory of March 23 (*ibid.*, 291a) the financial difficulties of the undertaking were dealt with : "Clerum urbanum postulasse, ne qua nova taxatio beneficiorum fieret, semetipsos sua sponte taxaturos ; si modo res ad exitum perduceretur, modum non curare." *Cf.* Astrain, II., 207.

the seminary to the Jesuits ; the General of the Order, Lainez, gave definite promises in answer to the proposal made to him by Cardinal Savelli.[1]

The news of these proceedings let loose a storm of ill-will against the Jesuits. There already existed but little friendly feeling towards them among the Roman clergy, because the Vicar of the city, Cardinal Savelli, had entrusted them with the thorny task of holding the examination, prescribed by the Council, of those seeking benefices and of the candidates for Holy Orders, and because he, as well as Cardinal Farnese, had caused the Jesuits to make a visitation of the Roman parishes.[2] Several Cardinals, the chapters of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Mary Major, and almost all the parishes of the city, were loud in their complaints, and gave the Pope a list of secular priests who were fully qualified to be professors in the seminary.[3]

Pius IV. had not been particularly favourable to the Jesuits in the first half of the year 1564, as he thought the changed manner of life of his nephew, Cardinal Borromeo, was due to their influence. However, he allowed himself to be appeased by Lainez, and the deputation of Cardinals on the question of the seminary adhered to their decision,[4] which the Pope adopted in the consistory of July 28th.[5] On July 31st he visited the Roman and German Colleges, accompanied by several cardinals, and declared himself well satisfied with the Jesuits.

A new and more violent storm, however, was already brewing. The titular bishop, Cesarini, whom Savelli had employed to make the visitation of the Roman parishes, till he replaced him by the Belgian Jesuit Goisson,[6] drew up two indictments against the Order, full of every imaginable accusation against

[1] Astrain, II., 206.

[2] Sacchini, II., l. 8, n. 10.

[3] Astrain, II., 207. *Cf.* Lanciani, IV., 75.

[4] Sacchini, *loc. cit.* n. 19.

[5] Pogiani Epist., III., 389. *Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., 179b (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[6] *Cf. supra* p. 82.

the private lives of its members, as well as against their behaviour in the confessional and in the care of souls; these two documents were not only circulated among the Cardinals in Rome, but were also spread abroad, especially in Germany, among persons of influence.[1] The Pope was indignant with Cesarini, but nevertheless caused his accusations to be submitted to the reform commission for careful examination.[2] The investigation proved the innocence of the accused,[3] and at the end of the year the Pope himself took up their cause, describing the accusations, in briefs which he addressed to the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the three ecclesiastical Electors, and Cardinal Truchsess, as sheer inventions, and recommending the Society of Jesus to the goodwill of the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical.[4]

[1] SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 20 *seqq.*

[2] Polanco to Salmeron, October 28, 1564, and January 7, 1565, in SALMERON, Epist., I., 555, 566. Francis Borgia to Araoz, November 25, 1564, in S. FRANCISCUS BORGIA, III., 725.

[3] On some points the reform commission asked for more detailed information, which was given in *H. Natalis apologia Societatis Iesu* (NADAL, Epist., IV, 148-65).

[4] SACCHINI, VIII., n. 33. The brief to the Emperor, of December 29, 1564, in SACCHINI, II., l., 8 n. 34, and LAEMMER, Melet., 349 *seq.;* that to the Elector of Mayence, of December 30, in SACCHINI, II., l. 8, n. 35, and POGIANI Epist., III., 390 *seq.;* that to the Elector of Cologne, of December 30, in REIFFENBERG, Historia S. J. ad Rhenum inferiorem, Cologne, 1764, *Mantissa*, 24; that to Otto Truchsess, of December 28, in F. X. KROPF, Historia provinciae S. J. Germaniae superioris, pars V., decas 10, n. 425, Augsburg, 1754, p. 209. Manuscripts in the Papal Secret Archives, Brevia 20, n. 86 (to Truchsess), n. 89 (to Albert of Bavaria), n. 91 (to the Emperor), n. 92 (to the Archbishop of Mayence). *Cf.* CANISII Epist., IV., 761, 773, 943. These briefs were printed at Dillingen in 1565, with a preface by Cardinal Truchsess. Synopsis actorum p. 37 n; CANISII Epist., V., 11. Borromeo gives the following opinion on the affair in a letter to Ormaneto on January 6, 1565: Quanto al governo del Seminario [in Milan] non dubitate ch'io sia per rimuoverne i Padri gesuiti, sapendo bene la bontà, patientia et sufficientia loro in questo carico; et se il clero mi scriverà sopra questo, saprò quello che doverò risponder loro,

The excitement against the Jesuits frustrated the Pope's intention of setting an example to the world in carrying out the seminary decree of the Council of Trent. Cardinal Mula anticipated him in the middle of 1564 in his diocese of Rieti.[1] In the same year the first Tridentine seminary was established on German soil[2] through the zeal of Martin von Schaumberg, Bishop of Eichstätt, and soon afterwards the dioceses of Camerino[3] and Montepulciano[4] followed this example. For the moment the Pope had to content himself with promoting the execution of the decree by sending letters of exhortation to the bishops.[5] In France, the Archbishop of Cambrai, in his provincial synod of 1565, urged the establishment of seminaries.[6]

ne mi meraviglio che il demonio habbia suscitato costi degli istromenti suoi contra questi buoni padri, poi che non è mancato anchor qui in Roma chi ha cercato di impedirgli il medesimo governo con finger mille calunnie contra questi religiosi, le quali sono sparse in molti luoghi, et fino nella Germania ; onde Nostro Signore ha scritto diversi Brevi, et particolarmente all' Imperatore, giustificando la loro innocenza come vedrete per la copia che vi si mando ; pericò dico non mi par strano che anco in Milano si siano trovati di questi mali spiriti. SALA, III., 327.

[1] Cum decretum fuerit in s. synodo, ut in civitatibus erigeretur seminarium, ill^{mus} cardinalis meus primus fuit inter episcopos, qui illud erexit, et ascivit in illud pueros 26 iuxta tenuitatem sumptus. Lombardus to Hosius, July 24, 1564, in CYPRIANUS, 366.

[2] J. G. SUTTNER, Geschicte des bischöflichen Seminars in Eichstädt, Eichstädt, 1859. JULIUS SAX, Die Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstädt, Landshut, 1884, 458 *seq.*

[3] MILTIADES SANTONI, De Camertino clericorum seminario, Camerino, s.a. (short account of the seminary 1564-1861).

[4] POGIANI Epist., I., 347. According to UGHELLI, Italia sacra, IV., 1124, Rome, 1652, the seminary had already been started at Vercelli before 1562. *Cf.* CARDELLA, V., 25.

[5] RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53, makes mention of two of these letters, of July 14 and 22, 1564, for Venice and Lyons. *Cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 360, 427, 435 and *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 173 (Papal Secret Archives).

[6] See THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 139 *seq.*

The Jesuit colleges were looked upon as seminaries in the sense of the Council. For this reason the seminary decree of Trent had been framed in such a way as to exempt the Jesuit colleges from the duty of contributing to the diocesan seminaries,[1] and when the fathers of the Council urged the establishment of a model seminary in the Eternal City, Morone had replied that Rome already had such institutions in the Roman College and the Germanicum.[2] For this reason, after the publication of the decree, many of the bishops sought to fulfil their duty by asking for Jesuit colleges in their dioceses.[3] As Cardinal Truchsess wrote,[4] it was Charles Borromeo who was, above all, filled with the desire that seminaries should be established in every diocese of Christendom, and he had already, since the third opening of the Council, with the support especially of the legate Morone and the General of the Jesuits, Lainez, been working zealously with all his might for the carrying out of this plan. As early as 1564 he had set up an institution at Pavia, for noble youths who were studying at the university,[5] and at the end of the same year the opening of a true seminary in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent had followed in his own diocese of Milan.[6] The first

[1] Polanco, Trent, July 15, 1563, in CANISII Epist., IV., 292 *seq.*; *cf.* 285.

[2] Polanco, July 12 (13), 1563, *ibid.*, 289.

[3] Polanco to Canisius, beginning of July, 1563, *ibid.*, 286. SACCHINI, II., l. 7, n. 4. Concerning Mayence, see *infra.*

[4] To the Cologne Jesuit, Joh. v. Reidt, September 13, 1564, in JANNSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 427. On the efforts made to ininduce the Hungarian bishops to establish seminaries, see STEINHERZ, IV., 436; *cf.* 427.

[5] San Carlo, 195, 200. *Cf.* R. MAIOCCHI and ATTILIO MOIRAGHI, Il Collegio Borromeo di Pavia, 1908. See also Vol. XV. of this work, p. 122.

[6] Cardinal Borromeo to Ormaneto, Dec. 23, 1564. SALA, Docum., II., n. 197. The opening was originally fixed for Nov. 11, 1564. An indulgence brief of Pius IV., of Oct. 23, 1564, for those taking part in this festivity, in SALA, Docum., I., 147. Other briefs for the seminary, *ibid.*, 146, 148. For the efforts made by Borromeo to obtain candidates for the seminary, see

candidates received there came for the most part from Switzerland ;[1] he placed the direction of this establishment in the hands of the Jesuits, who, however, accepted the charge only as a temporary measure.[2]

In the consistory of January 12th, 1565, the Pope acknowledged that he felt put to shame by the zeal of his nephew, and that Rome must no longer allow other cities to show her the way in the carrying out of the seminary decree. Cardinal Savelli was instructed to see to it that the necessary contributions for the maintenance of the seminary were promptly made.[3] The institution was at last actually opened in the middle of February ; the students attended the lectures at the Roman College, and the palace of Cardinal Carpi, who had lately died (May 2nd, 1564) was assigned to the seminary as its home.[4]

Carpi was the first and last Cardinal Protector of the Jesuit Order. After his death the Society resolved not to renew the petition for the appointment of a Protector. The Pope approved of this decision, saying that he would himself in future take that office upon himself.[5] Except for the above-

SALA, Docum., II., 232 *seqq.*, n. 38-41, 45, 53, 61, 67, 78, 84, 86 *seqq.* *Cf.* also WYMANN, 100, and MAGISTRETTI, Liber seminari, Mediolanensis, in Arch. stor. Lomb., XLIII., (1916), 1-3.

[1] SALA, Biografia 23.

[2] SALA, Docum., III., 830.

[3] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 420b (Corsini Library, Rome). *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 590 *seq.* ; LAEMMER, Melet., 218.

[4] Borgia to Salmeron, Feb. 18, 1565, SALMERON, Epist., II., 6. The first Jesuit rector, Peruschi (*cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 167), took possession of the Roman Seminary on Jan. 28, 1565 (Polanco to Salmeron, Jan. 28, 1565, *ibid.* 3). For the subsequent history of the establishment see MORONI, Dizionario, LXIV., 5-22 ; HANNIBAL ADAMI, Seminarii Romani Pallas purpurata, Rome, 1569 ; (Carlo Sica) Cenni storici del Pontificio Seminario Romano, Rome, 1914.

[5] Polanco to Canisius, May 20, 1564, CANISII Epist., IV., 534. For the motives for not asking for another Protector, see SACCHINI, II., l. 8, n. 5 *seqq.*

mentioned temporary misunderstanding, Pius IV., in other ways as well, showed great favour to the Society of Jesus, by confirming and increasing their privileges.[1] He expressly annulled the regulation of his predecessor that the General should only retain his office for three years.[2] When the Council of Trent, in its decree on the religious orders, praised and recognized the special constitution of the Society of Jesus,[3] this was done with the express sanction of the Pope.[4] It was France which gave occasion for this declaration, when its Parliament had made the admission of the Order, which was so violently opposed there, dependent on the decision of the Council.[5] Later on, Pius IV. sent a letter, full of high praise of the Jesuits, to Charles IX., to whom he recommended the college of the Order in Paris.[6] On many other occasions as well he raised his voice for the promotion and protection of the young order. He wrote in this sense to Cardinal Granvelle,[7] in the Netherlands, where the Jesuits had great difficulties to contend with. He exhorted the Archbishop of Goa to respect their rights,[8] and the clergy of Augsburg to

[1] *Synopsis actorum* 27, n. 31 (confirmation of the general approval of 1561). Certain privileges renewed or granted, *ibid.* 30, n. 40; 31, n. 44; 34, n. 53; 35, n. 58; Institutum Societatis Iesu, I., 31, 34, Florence, 1892.

[2] Oral decision, attested by Cardinal Este, June 22, 1561; see CANISII Epist., III., 178 *seq.*; *cf.* SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 13 *seqq.*; l. 5, n. 121 *seqq.* SALMERON, Epist., I., 447; NADAL, Epist., I., 474; Bobadillae Monumenta, 377.

[3] Sess. 25, de regul. c. 16. ASTRAIN, II., 196 *seqq.* CANISII Epist., IV., 415. NADAL, Epist., II., 344, 379, 467, 630 *seq.*

[4] Borromeo to the legates of the Council, Aug. 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 171 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*; *cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 231.

[6] On May 29, 1565, in SACCHINI, III., l. 1, n. 19. He wrote at the same time, and in the same sense to the Queen-Mother, to the Parliament of Paris, and to Cardinal Bourbon (Synopsis actorum, 41 n. 78-80). In all these letters the confirmation of the Order by the Council of Trent is emphasized.

[7] On Oct. 30, 1561, in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 67.

[8] Synopsis actorum, 29, n. 39 (Dec. 1, 1562).

keep the peace with them.[1] He also recommended them to the governor and senate of Milan,[2] to the Doge of Genoa,[3] to the Emperor Ferdinand I.,[4] and to Maximilian II.[5] Pius IV. also instructed the nuncios Delfino and Commendone, when they were sent to invite the German princes to the Council, to arrange for the establishment of as many Jesuit colleges as possible in Germany.[6]

Lainez, the General of the Order, was held in high esteem by Pius IV., who sought his opinion, and attached great weight to his views, especially as to the difficult problem of the best manner of reassembling the Council.[7] It was on the advice of Lainez that duels were forbidden,[8] and the Tridentine profession of faith required of candidates for a doctor's degree.[9] The representations of the General of the Jesuits also had a great influence in bringing about the mitigation of the Index.[10] The successor of Lainez, Francis Borgia, was also treated with the greatest distinction by Pius IV. when, on the day of his election as General of the Society, July 2nd, 1565, he presented himself before the Pope.[11]

Pius IV. spoke in terms of special praise of the Jesuits in a letter to Philip II., which shows plainly his anxiety for the firmer establishment of one of the most important educational institutions of that time, the Roman College. "Among all the religious orders," he wrote to the king on November 24th,

[1] CANISII Epist., IV., 902 *seqq.*; *cf.* 662.

[2] *Brevia 11, n. 359, 360 (Papal Secret Archives). Synopsis 30, n. 41-2 (May 4, 1563).

[3] *Brevia 11, n. 362 *loc. cit.* Synopsis, 30, n. 43 (May 4, 1563).

[4] In RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 65 (Aug. 8).

[5] *Ibid.*, 1564, n. 53 (Sept. 30).

[6] SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 159; *cf.* l. 4, n. 7.

[7] The advice in GRISAR, Disput., II., 1 *seqq.* The criticisms made in this, e.g. p. 15, are taken into consideration in the final drafting of the bull.

[8] SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 10.

[9] See *supra* p. 12. SACCHINI, II., l. 8, n. 41.

[10] See *supra* p. 13.

[11] S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 17.

1561,[1] "the Society of Jesus deserves to be embraced with special love by the Holy See; it exercises a zealous and fruitful activity on behalf of the Church, while the progress which the Order has made in so short a time, the good it has done, and the colleges it has founded, are almost incredible." There is, he continues, a large college of the Order in Rome, and the Pope recommends it to the protection and benevolence of the king on the ground that this institution serves as the training ground for the colleges of the Order in Italy, Germany and France; from this source the Apostolic See continually draws capable labourers, to send them wherever they are needed.

Ignatius of Loyola had, as a matter of fact, when he founded the Roman College, the idea of providing a central point for his Order; from it, as he caused Borgia to be informed in a letter of 1555,[2] colleges had already been spread through the whole of Italy, as at Perugia, Florence, Naples, Loreto, Ferrara, Modena, Genoa and Bologna: to say nothing of the college at Vienna, they were just then sending subjects to found one at Prague: at Strasbourg, Ratisbon, Gran and Ermland, they were insistently asking for similar establishments. The greater the lack of educated and exemplary Catholics in those places, the more important it was to provide a remedy, by the training of a more worthy laity; this college therefore is an undertaking that concerns the whole world, and not the city of Rome alone.

In addition to being their training ground, it was stated in the same letter, the Roman College must also serve as the pattern and model for the other Jesuit colleges. According to the idea of Loyola, it was destined to become an instrument for the reform of the sadly decadent study of theology, in the first place for his own Order, and then over a much wider field. He wrote that he intended, in the capital of Christen-

[1] Sacchini, II., l. 5, n. 158. Raynaldus, 1561, n. 66. A *brief to Philip II. of Nov. 15, 1562, with a recommendation of the visitor, Nadal, and praise of the Jesuits, in Brevia 10, n. 365, p. 283b (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] On Sept. 14, 1555: Monumenta Ignatiana, Ser. 1, IX., 609 *seq.*

dom, and at the headquarters of the Society of Jesus, to find out by experience what was the best method of conducting such colleges. A scheme of instruction for universities had already been drafted, and they were preparing text-books; they were confident that in a few years' time they would be able to put forward a course of studies "in accordance with which, in the shortest possible time and in the best way, they would be able to teach all the sciences necessary for the service of God, and the care of souls." Moreover, there were, especially in Italy, Sicily, Flanders and Germany, many youthful members of the Order, of great talent and capacity for the care of souls, who were unable to obtain in those countries a scientific training, for the reason that there studies were conducted negligently, and in an excessively prolix manner. For such the Roman College was also necessary. On another occasion Ignatius wrote to Borgia:[1] "I estimate the importance of this educational establishment so highly, not only for the Order, but for the whole Church, that I do not know in all Christendom of a better work than its foundation. If the other colleges of the Order were to give the Roman one half of every loaf, and half of every cloak they possess, they would be doing something of great value to themselves as well."

The beginnings of the University, which later on became so celebrated, were very modest. A generous gift of money from the then Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, who was in Rome in 1550,[2] made it possible for Ignatius to come nearer to the realization of his plans. On February 15th, fifteen students of the Order moved into a hired house, and lectures in Latin and Greek were commenced there on the following day.[3] Hebrew was soon added to the curriculum;[4] on October 18th, 1553, the philosophical and theological studies were inaugurated by a solemn disputation in the

[1] On Dec. 28, 1554, Mon. Ign. Ser. l, VIII., 197; *cf.* XII., 290 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 177.

[3] Mon. Ign. Ser. l., III., 339.

[4] *Ibid.* IV., 59.

presence of six Cardinals. Medicine and civil law were excluded from the course of studies, but in 1554 there were five chairs of Latin, one each of rhetoric, Greek, and Hebrew, and three of philosophy. Every day there was a well attended lecture on mathematics, and another on morals, two further lectures on scholastic theology and one on the Holy Scriptures, being also given daily ;[1] the course of studies was widened in 1563 by lectures on cases of conscience, and moral philosophy, and it was also possible to obtain instruction in Arabic.[2] It was just because of this wealth of subjects that the Sapienza seemed to be eclipsed.[3] In the year 1561 the number of students had risen to about 800 ; in the years that followed it was still larger, so that several of the classes had to be divided.[4] In the reports special stress is laid upon the fact that many students also flocked to the lectures in philosophy and theology ;[5] this was something new for Rome, and was all the more wonderful as the lectures were generally in the morning or the evening, and there were frequent disputations. This fact is a sign of the spirit of reform which was gradually making itself felt. The exclusive predominance of humanism was weakening, and a more serious spirit was taking hold of the Eternal City.[6]

A survey of the subjects taught at the Roman College clearly shows in what sense Ignatius had formed his ideas for the

[1] *Ibid.* VII., 258 ; *cf.* V., 613 ; IX., 608 *seq.*

[2] SACCHINI, II., l. 7, n. 5.

[3] Mon. Ign. Ser. l., IX., 608.

[4] SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 62 ; III., l. 3, n. 44 ; l. 4, n. 146.

[5] Mon. Ign. Ser. l., VII., 258.

[6] Even outside learned circles attention was fixed on the Roman College. Francesco Tonina wrote as follows to the Duke of Mantua on Oct. 30, 1560 : *" Heri si fece una disputa da questi novi theatini nella loro chiesa, della predestinatione et altri articoli, alle quale intravenero presenti il card^le di Ferrara et il card^le Savello, et dopo finita quella disputatione salì sul pulpito un giovanetto paggio pur di esso r^mo di Ferrara, il quale fece una assai bella oratione, et la quale fu lodata assai da molti dotti che furono presenti " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

reform of theological studies. The things which he found fault with in the method of teaching the sacred sciences at that time were its extraordinary prolixity, which did not exhaust the subject in the course of many years, the tendency to dwell on sophistries and trivialities, the neglect of the Sacred Scriptures, and its uninteresting form. Therefore we find in the curriculum of instruction at the Roman College, great stress being laid upon the Sacred Scriptures, the classics, and the positive sciences ; the constant aim of the professors at the Roman College was to react against undue prolixity, and to discover a method which would combine the necessary thoroughness with the greatest possible brevity ; the number of the drafts and the proposals with regard to this matter which we possess, belonging to the period before 1586, would fill a large volume.[1] Ignatius held firmly to scholasticism, at that time so ostracized, but it was something new for Italy that it was no longer the " master of the sentences " Peter Lombard, but above all Thomas Aquinas whose works were made the ground-plan of the lectures.[2]

By means of his Roman College Ignatius exercised no small influence upon the adaptation to his times of the method of teaching theology, and therefore, indirectly, upon the methods of preaching and giving instruction. It is true that Thomas Aquinas had, since the beginning of the XVIth century, and even before, come back to his place as the great master of the west, and following in his footsteps, the founders of the new scholasticism, the Spanish Dominican, Francisco da Vittoria (died 1546), and his disciples, Melchior Cano, Domenico and Pietro Soto and others, had opened a new era in the treatment of the science of theology.[3] But it was of great importance for the triumph of this new treatment that the Order of the Jesuits should have adopted it in all its educational establishments, and thus have spread it far and wide.

[1] Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu, quae primam rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere, Madrid, 1901.

[2] Tacchi Venturi, I., 58. Sacchini, II., l. 4, n. 91.

[3] *Cf.* F. Ehrle in Katholik, 1884, II., 497 *seqq.*, 632 *seqq.* ; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XVIII. (1880), 388 *seqq.*

The actual alliance with the Spanish neo-scholasticism only took place, it is true, after the death of Ignatius. Francisco di Toledo, the talented disciple of Domenico Soto, who, when but 23 years old, was lecturing at the University of Salamanca, entered the Society of Jesus in 1558. In the following year he was teaching philosophy in the Roman College to 30 young Jesuits, who were being trained as professors. By his means the theological school of the new Order was linked with that of the older one.[1]

During the lifetime of Ignatius, and for some time after his death, the Roman College could only be maintained with great difficulty, owing to the lack of means. The many students, drawn from the most widely separated nations, were lodged in a hired house, and there were no fixed revenues for their maintenance. It was only under Pius IV. that, to some extent at least, provision was made for this necessity. A niece of Paul IV., after the death of her husband, wished to make over her palace, the dwelling of her uncle when a Cardinal, to some religious order. In 1560 Pius IV. induced her to give the building to the Jesuits, as the home of the Roman College.[2] The attempts of Pius IV. to complete this benefaction by assigning to it fixed revenues were unsuccessful.[3] On the other hand, the College received a church which, begun in 1562, was consecrated in 1567.[4]

Yet another establishment, dedicated to the education of noble youths, after modest beginnings under Paul IV., took definite form under his successor. The idea came from Lainez. Under Paul IV. this German College in Rome found itself on the verge of ruin,[5] and it was then that Lainez sought

[1] SACCHINI, II., l. 2, n. 153 ; l. 3,n.34.

[2] SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 2 *seq.*, 5.

[3] CANISII Epist., IV., 242 *seqq.*, 258 *seqq.*, 262, 282. ŠUSTA, IV., 163. BALUZE-MANSI, III., 510.

[4] SACCHINI, II., l. 6, n. 3. For the church of the S^ma^ Annunziata, on the site of which S. Ignazio afterwards was built, *cf.* CEPARI-SCHRÖDER, Hl. Aloysius, Einsiedeln, 1891, 42 *seqq.*, and L'Arte, 1913, Jan.-Apr.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 249 *seq.*

to render its continued existence possible by throwing it open to paying students of all nations, including even those who did not wish to enter the ecclesiastical state. In 1560 thirty-two such students were lodged with the original German students, whose number had then shrunk to seven. After that the number of the German students rose again to between twenty and thirty, while from the years 1563 and 1573 the College housed about 200 other students. After the new foundation of the Germanicum in the year 1573 the college of the nobles was united to the Roman Seminary.[1] In its new form the Germanicum won for itself a great name in the Catholic world, and sons of the most distinguished noble families sought their education there. Of the 180 extern students who were received there in 1565, 40 entered the ecclesiastical state, six of whom became bishops, while twenty entered the Society of Jesus.[2] Pius IV. came to the assistance of the German College with a monthly contribution of fifty gold florins.[3]

The tidings of the new religious life which had awakened in the Eternal City made a great impression everywhere. The Catholics of Germany, wrote Cardinal Truchsess, are filled with sheer joy at the news that the decrees of the Council are being carried out in Rome, and that the reform has penetrated into the household of the Pope himself. They have learned with the greatest satisfaction that the Pope has himself set up a seminary in Rome.[4]

[1] A. Steinhuber, Geschichte des Kollegiums Germanikum Hungarikum in Rom. I², 49 *seqq.*, Freiburg, 1906.

[2] Steinhuber, I., 52 *seqq.* ; *cf.* Pogiani Epist., III., 433 *seq.*

[3] Canisii Epist., IV., 244. A *motuproprio of May 13, 1560, grants the Germanicum exemption from tax for 20 barrels of wine per annum (Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell'Arch. segr. Vaticano, 1374-1557, n. 3, p. 203). A *motuproprio of Aug. 20, 1560, extends to 40 the exemption for 20 barrels granted by Julius III. to the Jesuits (*ibid.* 209). State Archives, Rome.

[4] Instruction for the Jesuit de Mendoça who was returning to Rome, in Ehses, in the Röm. Quartalschrift, Supplementheft, XX. (1913), 141.

The insistence and exhortations of the Pope[1] also called into being outside Rome at any rate the beginnings of a new life. Already in 1560 Cardinal Ghislieri had made a visitation of his diocese of Mondovì.[2] Commissioned by Cardinal Scotti, Caligari held a visitation of the neglected diocese of Piacenza.[3] Other visitations were completed during the years 1564 and 1565 at Perugia, S. Sepolcro, Bitonto and Oria;[4] it was, however, only under Pius V. and Gregory XIII. that these became common.

Morality had become greatly relaxed, even among the clergy, above all in Corsica, owing to the frequent wars. Acting on the reports of the Genoese ambassadors, Pius IV. exhorted the bishops there to take strong action with the help of the secular arm, to which he gave the right of proceeding against the guilty with the punishment of the galleys.[5]

[1] *Brief of Jan. 23, 1561, to G. Vida, Bishop of Alba, for the reform of the secular and regular clergy, Brevia 11, n. 13; to the vicar-general of the Bishop of Brescia, on Nov. 3, 1562, to the Cardinal of Trani, on Jan. 27, 1563, for the reform of the secular clergy; *ibid.* n. 306, 319 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] Gabutius, Vita S. Pii V., c. 3, n. 28 (Acta Sanctorum, May 1, 619, Paris, 1866).

[3] Caligari to Commendone, dated Piacenza, March 18, 1562, *Lettere di principi, XXIII., 44. In this letter the joy shown by the old cardinal for the "new life" is very interesting. *Cf.* the *brief to Cardinal Scotti of Jan. 27, 1563, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 319 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] Mazzatinti, Archivi di Stato, I., 87, 130, 140; II., 23. By the orders of Cardinal E. Gonzaga, the dean, F. Recordato, with Bart. Cavaccio and C. Olivio, visited as early as 1560 "tutti i mobili delle cappelle et altari delle chiese di Mantova" (*document of Dec. 1, 1560, Episcopal Archives, Mantua). A *brief of Nov. 3, 1562 (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 306, Papal Secret Archives), gave to the bishop's vicar at Brescia the power to proceed by apostolic authority, with the consent of the bishop, against the guilty; the steps taken by the vicar for the reform of the clergy who were giving scandal were looked upon by the dean of the city as an infringement of his rights.

[5] *Briefs of May 17, 1560, to the Bishops of Aleria, Ajaccio,

A reform of the religious orders was also set on foot. It was Pius IV. who, on July 17th, 1565, gave St. Teresa leave to found a reformed convent at Avila, thus paving the way to a renewal of the whole Carmelite order.[1] New life also showed itself in the Cistercian order ; Louis de Baissey, Abbot of Citeaux, undertook a visitation of the Cistercian convents in north and middle Italy ;[2] the Pope gave him his assistance in this undertaking by recommending him to the Viceroy of Naples, and the Dukes of Parma, Savoy, Ferrara, Florence, and Modena,[3] by increasing the powers of the Abbot of Citeaux, and granting him privileges against the system of commendams, to which was chiefly to be attributed the degeneracy in monastic life.[4] In 1563 Louis de Baissey charged Johann von Briedel, Abbot of Hemmerode, to hold a visitation of the convents in the archdioceses of Trêves and Mayence.[5] Jerôme de la Souchière, the successor of the Abbot-General Louis, held, on May 21st, 1565, a general chapter for the carrying out of the decrees of Trent. Strict regulations were issued upon the enclosure, the restoration of the monastic buildings, and the abolition of the holding of private property by individual monks ; it was enacted that heretical persons and writings were to be removed, and the necessary books for the divine worship procured ; it was also decided that, in order to restore

Sagona, Accia and Mariana, Brevia, 10, p. 208, n. 164b (Papal Secret Archives).

[1] Reprint of the bull in Acta Sanctorum, Oct. vii., 202 *seq.* *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 61 *seq.* Bull. Carmelit., II., 124 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, Roma, 1718.

[2] A. POSTINA in Cistercienser-Chronik, XIII., 193.

[3] *To the viceroy, Brevia Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 386 ; *to the Dukes of Florence, Ferrara, Parma, and Savoy, March 31, 1564, *ibid.* t. 20, n. 115 (Papal Secret Archives) ; *to the Duke of Modena, March 31, 1564 (State Archives, Modena). For the Cistercian reform in Tuscany, a *bull of Oct. 31, 1561, in State Archives, Florence, Cisterc.

[4] POSTINA, *loc. cit.*

[5] SCHMIEDER in Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden, XII. (1891), 84 *seq.* *Cf.* POSTINA, *loc. cit.*, 225.

monastic discipline, it should be possible to transfer well instructed monks from the better houses to those that were less good. So as to carry these regulations into effect visitors were appointed, namely, the Abbots of Salem and Kaisheim for Bavaria, the Palatinate and Saxony; the Abbots of Hemmerode and Altenberg for the lower and middle Rhineland.[1] As early as 1564, the Dominicans held a general chapter, and discussed the carrying out of the decrees of the Council in their Order, and they received the congratulations of Pius IV. on their work on April 30th, 1564.[2] The Pope had previously given the General of the Dominicans the task of visiting and reforming the convent at Rieti, saying that he wished for the strict observance of the constitutions of the Order in the sense of the Council of Trent.[3] The Franciscan Conventuals also received new constitutions through the care of the Pope.[4] In the case of the orders of women steps were

[1] Postina, *loc. cit.*, 225

[2] Brevia, 20 n. 164. Papal Secret Archives. Ripoll, V., 100.

[3] On April 24, 1564, *ibid.* n. 142 and Ripoll, V., 99 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 101 *seq.* brief of Aug. 5, 1565, on the reform of monasteries in the Venetian territory. A brief of July 18, 1561, on the reform of monasteries in Portugal in Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 283. Borromeo to the Duke of Florence on the reform of the Canons Regular of Fiesole, May 5, 1565, in Sala, III., 345.

[4] Constitution of Sept. 17, 1565, in Bull. Rom., VII., 399 *seq.* Camillo Luzzara wrote to the Duke of Mantua on March 24, 1565: *" Ogni di si fanno congregationi in camera di Borromeo, et quella d'oggi è stata sopra del stringere et unire i fratri conventuali di S. Francesco con quelli d'osservanza, si che siano tutti osservanti " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Arrangements as to the privileges of the Order of St. Lazarus in Bull. Rom., VII., 336 *seq.* (May 4, 1565), on those of the Antoniti, *ibid.* 379 (Aug. 19, 1565). For the reform of the Benedictine Order *ch.* Schmieder, *loc. cit.* 56 *seqq.*; for Abbot Joachim Eichhorn, the " second founder " of the monastery of Einsiedeln, see Allgem. deutsche Biographie, V., 730. For the reform of the Carmelites *see* Bull. Carmelit., II., 124 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, Romae, 1718.

taken to insist on the strict observance of the enclosure;[1] Pius IV. himself wrote to his two sisters, who were Dominican nuns in a convent at Milan, in order to overcome their dislike for the new regulations.[2]

The Council of Trent had attached special importance to the holding of diocesan and provincial synods. In 1562, Bishop Girolamo Vida held a synod for reform;[3] diocesan synods followed in 1564 and 1565 at Ravenna, Naples and Como.[4] During the same years provincial synods were held at Rheims and Cambrai, in order to promulgate the Tridentine decrees. Especially important was the provincial council at Milan, which formed, as it were, the introduction to that great pastoral activity, by which Charles Borromeo has identified his name for all time with the carrying out of the Council of Trent. Although he was kept in Rome by the Pope, Borromeo had never lost sight of his diocese. In order to set on foot there a radical reform, he begged from the Bishop of Verona the services of the celebrated Niccolò Ormaneto, who had been trained under the greatest of the pre-tridentine reforming bishops, Matteo Giberti.[5] He had accompanied Cardinal Pole to England,[6] had taken part in the Council of Trent, and was now, as a simple parish priest, in charge of a small con-

[1] POGIANI Epist., IV., 360, n. 44; 362, n. 46; 366, n. 54, etc. To the nuncio at Naples there was entrusted on Oct. 31, 1560, the *order to reform the convent of Benedictine nuns of S. Marcello (Brevia, 10, p. 278, n. 359, Papal Secret Archives). A *brief of Jan. 23, 1561, to Girolamo Vida, Bishop of Alba, with the charge to reform the convent of St. Martino of Augustinian nuns, and to provide for the residence of the chaplains, *ibid.* Brevia 14, n. 13.

[2] SYLVAIN, I., 270.

[3] Giorn. stor. d. letter. Ital., LVII., 332 *seqq.*

[4] *See* Synodus dioec. Rav. A° 1790, xxvii., Ravenna, 1791. The synod of Como was held from May 16 to 18, 1565. The government forbade the clergy of the Valtellina to attend it. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, I., lxxviii.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, pp. 424-442.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 465 *seq.*

gregation.[1] In the July of 1564 Ormaneto went to Milan and began the moral regeneration of the completely neglected diocese by assembling a diocesan council of 1200 ecclesiastics and promulgating the decrees of the Council of Trent. He was assisted by priests of the school of Giberti, by the Barnabites, and by the governor of Milan, Avalos de Aquino, Marquis of Pescara. Since 1563 two Jesuits had been preparing the way for the coming of Ormaneto.[2] At first Borromeo had contented himself with having reports sent to him of the more important affairs of his diocese, and consulting upon them with theologians chosen for the purpose.[3] At last, however, as the result of his repeated requests that he might be allowed to devote himself entirely to his diocese, he obtained in the autumn of 1565 permission from the Pope to go, at least for a short time, to Milan, and to hold a provincial council there, for the promulgation in due order of the decrees of the Council in his ecclesiastical province. At this assembly, which lasted from October 15th to November 3rd, eleven bishops were present, while others took part in it by means of representatives.[4]

The severe illness of Pius IV. called Borromeo back to Rome; the death of the Pope set him free from the burden of the Secretaryship of State. From that time forward Borromeo was only a bishop, and as such he became by his pastoral activity a shining example, and by his seven provincial synods, and his eleven diocesan ones, the recognized law-giver of a true ecclesiastical reform in accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent.

[1] BASCAPÈ, 13. SYLVAIN, I., 251 *seq.*

[2] BASCAPÈ, 13. *Cf.* the two letters of Borromeo of May 29 and June 23, 1566, in S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 250, 264.

[3] BASCAPÈ, 13-15.

[4] The synodal acta, e.g. in HARDOUIN, Collectio concil., X., 633 *seq.* Borromeo to Sirleto, Oct. 17 and Nov. 3, 1565, in DOM. TACCONE GALLUCCI, Monografia del Cardinale Gugl. Sirleto, Rome, 1909; *cf.* San Carlo, 136.

CHAPTER IV.

Attitude of the Powers towards the Tridentine Decrees.—The Question of the Chalice for the Laity and Ecclesiastical Celibacy in Germany.

In view of the close connection between Church and State, the attitude taken up by the civil governments was of the greatest importance to the complete carrying into effect of the disciplinary decrees of Trent. It would have been in the truest interests of the State to have worked hand in hand with the ecclesiastical authority, because the removal of abuses from among the clergy was bound at the same time to be advantageous to the laity, but even where this fact was recognized, the false idea prevailed that many of the prescriptions of the Council infringed upon the legitimate powers of the State, whereas in reality nothing was attacked but those usurpations of ecclesiastical rights which had crept into the relations of Church and State in later medieval times. The difficulties which were bound to result from this began to make themselves shown immediately after the conclusion of the Council.

Among the orators of the secular princes who had been represented at the Council, acceptance of the decrees had been made in writing on December 6th, 1563, by the representatives of the Emperor Ferdinand I., the Kings of Poland and Portugal, the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, the Republic of Venice and the Swiss Catholic Cantons.[1] Thus, the two great Catholic powers, where State interference in ecclesiastical affairs had assumed dangerous proportions, still held back: these were France and Spain.

While the French government continued to offer resistance to any recognition of the disciplinary decrees of Trent, Philip II.

[1] See Theiner, II., 516; *cf.* Pallavicini, 24, 8.

at last brought himself to accept them, but only with the proviso "without prejudice to his royal rights."[1]

In the states of Italy,[2] in Portugal,[3] as well as in Poland[4] the new ecclesiastical laws were received unconditionally; it was otherwise in Switzerland and Germany.

Apart from the French intrigues, the attitude of Switzerland was based upon the fact that state interference in ecclesiastical affairs had struck such deep roots in that country that there was reason to fear that the carrying out of the reform would put serious obstacles in the way of various claims put forward by the civil power.[5] Thus it came to pass that, in spite of their protestations of obedience, in spite of a Papal monitorium of February 15th, 1564, and of the zealous labours of Melchior Lussy, their representative at the Council, the Swiss Catholic Cantons were in no hurry to begin to carry out the Tridentine decrees. The requirements of the Church had been clearly set forth by the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Mark Sittich; he asked for the help of the secular power so that priests who were in need of reform might not be able, through their relatives, to secure the protection of the civil authorities against their own bishop.[6] All the efforts of

[1] For the details see *infra*, Chapters IX and X. For the fate of the decrees in the Netherlands see PIRENNE, IV., 411 *seq.*, 480 *seq.* and also in Volume XVIII. of this work. There is no account of the acceptance of the Council which satisfies the requirements of historical science. The two old works of LE COURAYER in his version of Sarpi (II. [1736], 772 *seq.*) and MIGNOT, Histoire de la réception du Concile de Trente (1756), altogether apart from their anti-Roman tendency, which led to their inclusion in the Index (see REUSCH, I., 597), are not sufficient in any-sense.

[2] *Cf. infra*, Chapter IX. As a reward for its acceptance of the Tridentine decrees the Republic of Lucca in 1565 received the Golden Rose; see SARDI in Rassegna naz., CXXXIII. (1903), 42 *seq.*, and FUMI in Rassegana Lucchese, II. (1905), 120 *seq.*

[3] See Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 173 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 24, 9; SCHÄFER, III., 369.

[4] See *infra*, Chapter V.

[5] *Cf.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., lxxiii. *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, lxix.; *cf.* lix.-lxii.

Pius IV. to obtain a definite promise from the five Catholic Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug were without result. In the first instance they wished to wait and see what the attitude of the other Catholic powers towards the Council would be ;[1] they next insisted that first of all the prelates, and especially the Cardinal Bishop of Constance, must obey the Council and observe the duty of residence.[2] Answers such as these were made about the same time as the conclusion of the alliance between the five Cantons and Pius IV. "with the purpose that the ship of Peter, the holy, Roman and Christian Church, and the true, ancient, and undoubted Christian Catholic faith, may be maintained, protected and defended, and the work of the holy, most Christian and most blessed Council of Trent carried into effect."[3]

The Emperor Ferdinand had, as early as September 20th, 1563, asked from the government of Lower Austria an opinion as to the reform articles of the Council "whether they were not prejudicial to the House of Austria and its legitimate authority, liberties, rights and privileges, to its lands and peoples, and with what arguments and reasons he could oppose them ; the other articles, which did not affect the laity, could be allowed to stand." On the strength of their opinion, Ferdinand did not publish those ordinances of the Council which seemed to encroach on the power of the state.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, xxxix., xli.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxiii.

[3] See the text of the league formed on April 10, 1565, between Pius IV. and the five Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug, in Schweiz. Abschiede, IV., 2, 1517-19. *Cf.* SEGESSER, Rechtgeschichte von Luzern, IV. (1858), 371 *seq.* ; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., lxviii. MAYER (Das Konzil von Trient und die Gegenreformation in der Schweiz I.) remarks that although this was drawn up only for the lifetime of Pius IV., and came to an end with his death, the pact nevertheless had an importance for the future which must not be overlooked, because "by the solemn recognition of the Council the Catholic Cantons were given a common end, which was clearly recognized as such, and a bond for common action." *Cf.* DIERAUER, III., 327.

[4] See WIEDEMANN, I., 241 ; BUCHOLTZ, IX., 705 *seqq.*

Since the work of Catholic reform in Austria, as in the rest of Germany, was at that time only in its initial stage, the decrees of Trent were received, even by the episcopate, with a reluctance which afforded a striking contrast to the eagerness with which, for so long a time, the Council had been demanded in Germany. It is clear from the complaints of Peter Canisius how little zeal the majority of the German bishops showed for the publication and carrying out of the new decrees.[1]

At the beginning of November, 1564, the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, had received instructions to send to each of the German bishops printed and attested copies of the Tridentine decrees, together with Papal briefs.[2] Delfino looked for but little success from the mere sending of the briefs and decrees; he knew that he would hardly receive even a reply from the greater part of the bishops. He therefore proposed to entrust their delivery to a special pontifical envoy, who was to go from one bishop to another, and induce them to accept the Council.[3] Delfino entrusted the carrying out of this task to his auditor, Anton Cauchius,[4] but his mission very soon came

[1] See the letter of Feb. 10, 1565, in CANISII Epist., V., 8.

[2] Borromeo to Delfino, Nov. 4, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 232. As early as March 18 Borromeo sent to Delfino 6, and on June 3, 25 copies of the second edition in order that he might distribute them among distinguished ecclesiastical and civil personages (*ibid.* 73, 135). *Briefs of Oct. 3, 1564, to 15 German bishops concerning the carrying out of the Council, in Brevia, 20, n. 41, Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 21, to the Archbishop of Trêves, Oct. 25, 1564, *ibid.* n. 42; Fr. Tonina wrote on Sept. 16, 1564, to the Bishop of Mantua: *"Ha parimente S. Stà mandato un libro del concilio a tutti li vescovi di Germania et voleva anco a tutti li principi, ma il dubitare del modo del legarli et servare li decoro conveniente per ciascuno di loro l'ha fatto risolvere di mandarli in mano al Nuncio là, che faccia come a lui pare. Alla Regina di Enghilterra ni ha mandato uno tutto miniato et benissimo accommodato." (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

[3] Delfino to Borromeo, Nov. 23, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 247. Reply of Borromeo, Dec. 9, *ibid.*, 248.

[4] *Ibid.*, 274 *seq.*

to a lamentable end. On the road between Leipsic and Bamberg, Cauchius was attacked near Kahla in Thuringia, his retinue was cut to pieces, and he himself alone escaped with the loss of all his baggage.[1]

They now sought in Rome for someone to take the place of Cauchius, and found him in the person of Peter Canisius,[2] who, on account of the election of the new General of the Jesuits, and the general congregation of the Order, had been in Rome since the end of May. Francis Borgia appointed him visitor of the Jesuit colleges in Upper and Lower Germany, and on the Rhine ; under cover of this mission Canisius would be able to visit the various German bishops without exciting comment. Pius IV. conferred with him in person, and Canisius left the Pope full of admiration for the great kindness and charity with which the pontiff spoke of the apostate Germans, for whose salvation he seemed prepared to make any sacrifice.[3] At the beginning of November the new Papal envoy arrived at Dillingen, where he gave Cardinal Truchsess the brief addressed to him ; thence he visited the Bishop of Würzburg at Aschaffenburg, and at Coblence he met the Archbishops of Mayence and Trêves, travelled down the Rhine to Nimwegen, afterwards visiting from Cologne the Westphalian dioceses. He had a personal interview with the Bishop of Osnabruck at Fürstenau, but contented himself with sending to the untrustworthy Bishop of Münster the copy of the Council's decrees and the Papal brief addressed to him. Nor did he visit in his episcopal city of Paderborn Rembert von Kerssenbrock, who was a zealous Catholic, but already broken down with years. The visit which he paid to Duke William of Cleves-Jülich at Dusseldorf was without results. At Cologne he was not successful in seeing the Archbishop, Friedrich von Weid, but on the other hand was able to work with success in the Catholic interest upon the town-council and the university.

[1] *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

[2] CANISII Epist., V., 148 *seqq.*, 639 *seqq.* BRAUNSBERGER in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXXI., 58 *seqq.*, 164 *seqq.*, 301 *seqq.*

[3] Canisius to Hosius, Sept. 17, 1565, in CANISII Epist., V., 96.

As soon as he had learned with certainty of the death of Pius IV., Canisius thought that his mission had expired.[1] In the course of his wearisome winter journey his efforts had not been restricted to the mere delivery of the decrees of the Council. He had special instructions for each of the bishops, he was to advise and encourage them, and above all he was to invite them to attend the Diet which had been summoned to Augsburg, which promised to prove of very great importance for the ecclesiastical situation in Germany, and for the attitude of the German church towards the Council of Trent. Further, he was to send to Rome, to Cardinal Mula, a report based upon his own observations of the state of affairs in the north.[2]

If Canisius, and others of his way of thinking, looked for the salvation of the Church in Germany in a strict observance of the Tridentine decrees, and at the same time in a renewal of the old ecclesiastical legislation, in other quarters, on the contrary, it was thought that it was only by making concessions, and by meeting the views of the innovators in every possible way, that the remnants of Catholicism in Germany could be saved. In accordance with this view, Charles V., as far back as 1548, had wished in his Interim to concede communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests.[3] The proposals of Ferdinand I. to the Council of Trent were upon the same lines. The people, so he stated in his reform libellum of 1562, did not understand very much about the more subtle doctrines of the reformers; the things that impressed them were certain more material points, which in their opinion were based upon the Holy Scriptures, namely, communion under both kinds, the right to eat meat, and the right of priests to marry. Since they thought that on these points the truth lay with the Protestants, they accepted their other doctrines as well without more ado. If, however, these three points should be conceded by the Catholics the people would not be likely to pay much

[1] That he still had mandates, at any rate for the Bishops of Strasbourg, Spires and Worms, see CANISII Epist., V., 649.

[2] BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 63 *seq.*, 319-323.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 413 *seq.*, 437.

attention to the other Protestant doctrines, which they did not understand. Besides, the only recommendation of the Protestant clergy, who were for the most part men of bad life, and therefore disliked, was that at any rate they lived in wedlock, whereas it was precisely the incontinence of the Catholic ecclesiastics which was unbearable in the eyes of the people.[1]

According to Catholic teaching the Eucharist is both sacrifice and sacrament. For the Eucharist in the sacrifice of the Mass the two species are absolutely essential, and therefore, as is self-evident, for the communion of the priest who celebrates Mass. But apart from this case they are not necessary, from the nature of the subject, for the reception of the sacrament, since the glorified Redeemer is present whole and entire under either species, nor can any divine precept of communion under both kinds be adduced.[2] As a matter of fact, even in the very earliest Christian times, the communion of the laity is to be found under one species as well as under both.[3]

That the Church would do well if she were once more to

[1] Le Plat, V., 248. *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 54, 64 (proposals of 1560).

[2] Conc. Trid. sess. 21, c.1.

[3] The passages from Tertullian, etc., in Grisar in the Zeitschrift fur kathol. Theol., V. (1881), 698. At a later date the chalice was sometimes granted to eminent laymen as a special mark of honour. Thus Clement VI., on Jan. 5, 1352, granted this privilege to the Dauphin of France (Martene-Durand, Vet. script. ampliss, collectio, I., 1456 *seq.* Sauerland in Pastor bonus, XIV. [1901-02], 128). During his Mass the Pope expressly administered the chalice to distinguished foreigners (Ord. Rom., XV., n. 85, in Migne, Patr. lat., LXXVIII., 1332. Thom. Waldensis, l. 2, c. 88, 149, Venice, 1571. Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Ernold von Harff, herausg. von. E. v. Grote, 34, Cologne, 1860). The very fact that the chalice was looked upon as a special mark of distinction for the laity was used as a powerful means of agitation by the innovators. *Cf.* Jak. Hoffmann, Gesch. der Laienkommunion bis zum Tridentinum, Spires, 1891; Jul. Smend, Kelchspendung und Kelchversagung, Göttingen, 1898.

allow the universal use of the chalice was the opinion of many persons who were otherwise strictly Catholic, on account of the eager desire of the people for the reception of both species. The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus, was especially, on the strength of his own experience, a keen champion of the concession; in the great plague of 1561, so he stated at Trent, in his capacity of Imperial envoy, out of a hundred dying people hardly one had shown any desire for communion under one kind alone: the people would rather have gone without the sacrament altogether than do without the chalice.[1] Ferdinand I. had forbidden (February 20th, 1554) the use of both species,[2] but the insistence of the States had been so great that he had withdrawn the prohibition in 1556[3] and, under the influence of his advisers, had thrown himself more and more into the arms of those who wished for the chalice.

He found a powerful ally in Albert V., Duke of Bavaria. In the beginning Albert, too, had firmly refused the request for the chalice made by his States,[4] but the concession made by the Emperor Ferdinand in 1556 had caused him, on March 31st of that year, to proclaim that communion under both kinds would not be visited with any penalties.[5] The idea then gradually took a firmer hold on his mind that "for the preservation of our other Catholic doctrines and rites" it would be necessary "to show a sympathetic comprehension and indulgence;"[6] his request that the bishops would at any-rate tolerate the administration of the chalice to the laity was not, however, granted by the two meetings of the bishops

[1] WIEDEMANN, I., 235. Analogous matters in KNÖPFLER, Kelchbewegung, 74. For the views of Archbishop Brus, *cf.* his memorial on the ordination of Utraquist priests in Bohemia in the year 1563, edited by STEINHERZ in Mitteilungen des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, XLV. (1907), 162-177.

[2] WIEDEMANN, I., 293.

[3] WIEDEMANN, I., 298.

[4] KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 6.

[5] KNÖPFLER, 21 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 345. The Duke of Cleves also asked for the chalice in 1556 (*ibid.*).

[6] KNÖPFLER, 28.

at Salzburg in 1558 and 1562.[1] Therefore, like the Emperor Ferdinand, Albert also had recourse to the Council at Trent, where the Bavarian envoy, Augustine Paumgartner, on June 27th, 1562, declared in a solemn speech that the granting of the two species was necessary, together with some modification of the law of celibacy.[2] His proposal, as far as the chalice was concerned, found support from the Imperial envoys, who declared that by this concession they might be able to win over the whole of Bohemia to the Church, while in Hungary, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Bavaria, Swabia, and many other parts of Germany there was a strong desire for the chalice.[3] If only the fathers of the Council had a closer acquaintance with the state of affairs in Germany. their doubts would disappear.[4]

But others who were well acquainted with conditions in Germany were of quite another opinion on the matter. Cardinal Otto Truchsess wrote on March 21st, 1562, to Charles Borromeo that he thought a plain refusal of the Bavarian demands was the only course to adopt, and that to entertain their request would do more harm than good.[5] From Trent Hosius, on March 31st, 1563, advised the Duke of Bavaria to act differently,[6] and for the most part the efforts of Ferdinand and Albert to obtain the concession of the chalice met with very little support from the German bishops. At first Peter Canisius had been of opinion that under certain circumstances communion under both kinds might be allowed to persons who in other respects were fervent Catholics,[7] but

[1] *Ibid.*, 32 *seq.*; 94.

[2] Knöpfler, 102. Le Plat, V., 335-344. *Cf.* Riezler, IV., 512 *seq.*

[3] Declaration of the Imperial envoys on June 27, 1562, nn. 9 and 17, in Le Plat, V., 347 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Ehses in Rom. Quartalschrift, Supplementheft XX. (1913), 139. Canisii Epist., IV., 619.

[6] Knöpfler, *loc. cit.*, Aktenstücke 78-84. For the opinion of Hosius *cf.* Raynaldus, 1558, n. 17.

[7] Canisii Epist., III., 749.

later on he strongly advised against any attempts to help the cause of the Church by any compromise with the innovators. Among the thousands who asked for the chalice there was scarcely one who in all other respects was a loyal son of the Church.[1]

Even before Paumgartner's speech the Catholic teaching concerning the two species had been discussed in the Council,[2] but, to the great disgust of the Imperial envoys,[3] at the next solemn session on July 16th, 1562, only dogmatic decrees were dealt with, the disciplinary side of the question, and therefore the Emperor's request, being reserved for further consideration. The discussions were very heated, and opinions very divided. The Pope, who, even during the conclave had expressed himself on the subject,[4] intended to meet the Emperor's wishes as far as possible.[5] The Papal legates worked in the same sense, while the Imperial envoys did all they could to secure the success of their master's wishes. These same envoys declared that no subject had been dealt with at the Council with greater heat and excitement.[6] The legates also wrote to the Pope that in none of the discussions of the Council had there been a greater diversity of opinion, or had more time been spent with so little result; the secretary had not ventured to set out the votes in definite lists,[7] for, in

[1] To Hosius, April 21, 1563, in CANISII Epist., IV., 151. Full opinion on the question, *ibid.*, 623-632.

[2] *Cf.* GRISAR in Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol., V. (1881), 672-720; VI. (1882), 39-112. *Ibid.* the speech of Lainez on Sept. 6, 1562, which very clearly sets forth the negative view on the matter. Much new material, especially with regard to the original votes, in EHSES, VIII., 788-909, 942-954.

[3] ŠUSTA, II.. 221 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 33.

[5] Pius IV. to the legates, July 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 270; *cf. ibid.* 282, 284, 289, 291. STEINHERZ, III., 113.

[6] Letter to the Emperor of Sept. 18, 1562, in LE PLAT, V., 504.

[7] To Borromeo, Sept. 7, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 347. The estimates of Massarelli (THEINER, II., 115) and Paumgartner (KNÖPFLER, 106) differ very widely from each other.

the case of many of the fathers it was not known whether they had said Yes or No.[1] At length, at the solemn session of September 17th, the whole matter was referred to the decision of the Pope.[2]

Albert V. thought that the time had now come to make representations in Rome, by means of an embassy, on behalf of the chalice for the laity, and for the admission to the ministry of the Church of married men of proved merit. The Pope received his envoys in a friendly spirit at several audiences, but finally declared that he intended to refer the whole matter back to the Council. Without, therefore, having obtained anything, the envoys set out on May 1st, 1563, for their own country,[3] where, in the meantime, Albert had allowed a further important concession to be wrung from him. At the diet of Ingolstadt he promised the states that if, by St. John's Day, no reply or a negative reply had come from Rome, he "would take steps to secure" the use of the chalice "during Mass, and after confession, and without giving scandal to others."[4] The demand for the chalice, he afterwards declared to the Archbishop of Salzburg, had been so violent, that he could not have avoided complying with it, except by sentence of banishment. Such a penalty was plainly out of the question, because, on account of the great number of those who demanded the concession, it would have occasioned a rising even greater and more serious than the Peasants' War.[5]

The news of Albert's concession caused consternation in Rome and Trent ;[6] it was already feared that now the Duke of Bavaria as well would go over to the side of the innovators, and would take with him the whole of southern Germany.

[1] To Borromeo, Sept. 10, 1562, in SUSTA, II., 353.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 296.

[3] KNÖPFLER, 106-113. On the question of the chalice in Bavaria *cf.* RIEZLER, IV., 515 *seq.* ; GOETZ-THEOBALD, Beiträge, 72 *seqq.*

[4] KNÖPFLER, 115.

[5] *Ibid.*, 129.

[6] *Ibid.*, 116-135.

By command of the Pope, Niccolò Ormaneto, who was also accredited and commissioned for the purpose at Trent by the president of the Council, was ordered to set out at once for Munich;[1] Hosius and the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, also addressed strong exhortations to the Duke.[2] Albert assured them that he was not wavering in his loyalty to the ancient Church, but he nevertheless continued his efforts to obtain the chalice for the laity.[3] In the meantime the Archbishop of Salzburg referred the matter to a meeting of the bishops, which indeed assembled at Salzburg on July 5th, 1563, but the meeting declared its intention of waiting for the outcome of the conference convoked by Ferdinand for July 15th, 1563.

The Emperor Ferdinand had not, after the decision of the Council on September 17th, 1562, given up his efforts to obtain the use of the chalice. It was his object to win over to a similar course of action the three ecclesiastical Electors, so that he might be able to put forward his requests in the name of all Catholic Germany. He had already, in the October of 1562, and at the electoral diet of Frankfort, taken some steps in that direction;[4] a short time before he had asked the Jesuits at Vienna and Prague, and Canisius, Staphylus and Gienger, for their opinions on the question whether he ought to ask the Pope for the use of the chalice, and in what form he should put his request.[5] After this, on December 27th, he sent from Freiburg a letter to the ecclesiastical Electors, asking them to send to Vienna, after his return to the court, learned counsellors to treat of the question of the

[1] Brief of May 19, 1563, to the Duke, with recommendation of Ormaneto, in ARETIN, I., Urkunden, II., 6.

[2] Letter of the president of the Council, of May 30, 1563, in KNÖPFLER, 117; *cf.* Calini, May 31, 1563, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 313. Letter of Hosius, of May 31, in ARETIN, Aktenstücke, 78 *seqq.*; of Delfino, of June 7, *ibid.* 7.

[3] *Cf.* ARETIN, *loc. cit.* 8 *seqq.*; reply to the Pope of June 15, 1563, *ibid.*, 16.

[4] SICKEL, Konzil, 577.

[5] SAFTIEN, 15-25. CANISII Epist., III., 449-513.

concession of the chalice, and concerning the modification of the law of celibacy.[1]

The proposed conference, at which delegates from Salzburg and Bavaria were present, took place at the end of July, 1563, but its results were not very satisfactory for the Emperor. Of the four archbishops, only one, the Elector of Trêves, declared himself in agreement with the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria on the question of the chalice;[2] if, at the end, in his farewell address,[3] Ferdinand was able to state that the majority of the assembly had been in favour of communion under both kinds, this bare majority had been secured only because the representative of Salzburg had not brought with him the right to vote, and in consequence the meeting only consisted of five voters. The Imperial proposals concerning the marriage of priests had met with opposition from all four archbishops.

Ferdinand, however, did not altogether give up hope of still winning over the Electors to his plans.[4] When the end of the Council was seen to be imminent, he once more, on November 5th, renewed his invitation to them to take part in the solemn embassy, by which he aimed at obtaining in Rome the use of the chalice for the laity, a dispensation for married clerics, and admission to the ministry of the Church of married laymen; the Electors, however, declared that they wished first to learn the views of their suffragans.[5] Then the Emperor resolved to proceed without them.

Deserted by the German bishops, the Emperor found an unexpected ally in the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino. At the beginning of October, 1563, when they were working in Rome

[1] Extract in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 660 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 663-671 *seq.*

[3] Of Aug. 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 576. On the conduct of the Bavarian envoys *cf.* L. PFLEGER, Martin Eisengrein, 1535-78, 31 *seqq.* Freiburg, 1908; the same in the Hist.-pol. Blätter, CXXXII., 55 *seq.*

[4] Farewell speech of Aug. 5, 1563, *loc. cit.*, and letter to the Electors of Aug. 14, 1563, in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 671.

[5] Their replies in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 676-9.

for the longed-for conclusion of the Council, Delfino had been able to win over the Emperor to this by pointing out to him that even after the Council was ended it would not be difficult for him to obtain from the Pope the concessions of the chalice and the marriage of priests which he so greatly desired.[1] He appealed to promises supposed to have been made by Cardinal Morone in the July of that year.[2] As a matter of fact there had been no question of promises, but only of certain proposals, which the Emperor had refused, and in these proposals there had been no mention, at any rate expressly, of any mitigation of the law of celibacy. The postscript of the Imperial letter of October 4th, which gave instructions to the envoys at Trent not to oppose the conclusion of the Council[3], had been drafted by Delfino himself.[4] From his pen had also come the draft of the letter in accordance with which the Imperial envoys in Rome were to express to the Pope the expectation that he would abide by the "promises" of Morone.[5] In his reports to Rome, however, the nuncio carefully concealed the advice he had given to the Emperor.

The embassy which Ferdinand I. proposed to send to Rome immediately after the close of the Council in January, 1564, did not meet with the approval of Delfino. The nuncio pointed out that the Emperor would do better to express his wishes to the Pope in writing. A solemn embassy, which would have to set forth its demands in public consistory, and give all sorts of reasons, would cause a sensation; the Pope would have to ask the advice of the College of Cardinals, there would be long discussions, in which not only the Cardinals would have to be heard, but also theologians like the Jesuits and "other learned men who were equally scrupulous and rigid" and the Cardinals and theologians were for the most part opposed to the concession of the chalice and to the mar-

[1] Steinherz, III., 440 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 380 *seqq.*, 452; IV. 43.
[3] Raynaldus, 1563, n. 207.
[4] Steinherz, III., 450.
[5] Sickel, Konzil, 629.

riage of priests.[1] The Emperor allowed himself to be persuaded all the more easily because he naturally thought that the nuncio was acting under the secret instructions of the Pope. Albert V. as well at once agreed to this course.[2]

On February 14th, 1564, the necessary letters were drawn up to the Imperial envoys in Rome,[3] to Cardinal Morone and to the Pope.[4] Albert V. had already on February 5th identified himself with the Emperor's wishes in letters to Cardinals Morone and Borromeo and to his ambassador, Arco.[5] In his letter to the Pope Ferdinand states that it was his zeal for the Church which had led him to ask the Council for the use of the chalice, and not any wish for temporal advantage, or because he personally was scandalized at the custom hitherto in use, but because, by the concession of the chalice, the conversion of many who had fallen or wandered away would be made possible, and the way prepared for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity. He had therefore continued his negotiations with the prelates and ministers of the Church, as well as with Duke Albert, and these had approved of the aims of the princes, and had promised to carry out whatever the Pope should decide upon. Relying upon the hints of Morone and Borromeo, and on the statements of Delfino, he now submitted in his own name and that of Duke Albert his request that the Pope would come to the assistance of the German nation, a thing which, in the opinion of many well-informed Catholics, could be accomplished by means of the concession of the chalice ; the incalculable advantage of this must be manifest to everyone. After careful consideration with pious and learned men, well acquainted with conditions in Germany, he called attention to the fact that, in order to

[1] Ferdinand to Maximilian, Jan. 27, 1564, in Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissensch. I., fasc. 5 (1848), 29 *seqq*. *Cf*. CANISII Epist., IV., 450.

[2] Letter of Feb. 5, 1564, printed in SAFTIEN, 77 *seqq*.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 36 *seqq*. *Cf*. Zeitschr. des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins, XXXIII., 141 *seqq*.

[4] RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 29 *seq*.

[5] In SAFTIEN, 78 *seq*.

save the small remnants of the Catholic religion and to stamp out heresy it would be a great help to leave their wives to the married priests, and where there was a lack of priests to admit suitable laymen to the service of the altar and to the administration of the sacraments. This he asked in his own name and that of Duke Albert. In a postscript the Emperor expressed his complete confidence that his wishes would be granted without delay. The letter to Morone especially recommended the question of the marriage of priests, as communion under both kinds would certainly not offer any difficulties. In the instructions to the Imperial envoys were given the names of the bishops to whom Ferdinand desired that the faculty to allow the chalice should be given: these were the Archbishops of Mayence, Trêves, Cologne, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Bremen, Gran, and Prague, and the Bishops of Naumburg and Gurk.[1]

The unprincipled nuncio had gone so far in his obsequiousness to the Emperor as to have himself drafted all three letters![2] It is no wonder that, after many other proofs of his devotion, Delfino should have been successful, thanks to the Emperor's intervention, in attaining his eagerly desired aim, the Cardinal's hat, though, on the other hand, it explains why this and similar happenings led the Pope to issue his severe decree of May 18th, 1565, against the servility of the nuncios.[3] The reports which Delfino sent to Borromeo at the same time as the dispatch of the Imperial letters, are expressed as though he were a mere observer and chronicler of what was happening. Certain points, however, are cleverly brought out. "I am informed," so we read in one of these reports, "that the people are so incensed against the clergy on account of the refusal of the chalice that it is feared that at the death of the Emperor all Catholics will be banished,"[4] he hints that if it is not decided to allow communion under both kinds, it is

[1] Steinherz, IV., 39.
[2] *Ibid.*, 40, 47.
[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 369.
[4] Steinherz, IV., 30, 33.

possible that Ferdinand and Albert will seek for a way out of the difficulty for themselves.[1]

Until March 15th Ferdinand hoped for a favourable reply,[2] but in spite of his earlier promises the Pope could not come to a decision so quickly. In the consistory of March 1st he spoke about the Emperor's requests: every day, he said, a number of Catholics were passing over to the heretics from a desire for the chalice, the granting of which, in the opinion of Ferdinand, was the only way to stop the apostasy. The state of the world showed a sad picture indeed, heresy was in the ascendancy everywhere; only Spain and Italy had kept themselves free of it, and these only partially, as could be seen in Venice and Naples. He was therefore of opinion that they should not reject the Emperor's proposals without further thought; on the other hand it seemed hard to break away from the ancient custom of the Church, especially as the successful issue of the concessions was not certain. In accordance with the advice of the Cardinals he would now commit the consideration of the whole matter to a commission of their body. In days gone by it would have been possible to ignore such demands, but now the number of the heretics had increased to such an extent that only a tenth part of all Christians were Catholics.[3]

From the whole tone of this speech it is clear that Pius IV. was not averse to the concession of the chalice; as the Spanish ambassador states,[4] he said in a public consistory that he had already promised the chalice in order to end the Council, but that opinion in the College of Cardinals was not favourable to the wishes of the Emperor. Besides this the Spanish ambassador, Luis de Requesens, spared no pains in working against them; on March 7th, the day before the decisive consistory, he visited between twelve and fifteen Cardinals in the

[1] *Ibid.*, 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, 38.

[3] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 269-272 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[4] To Philip II., March 4, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 555.

endeavour to prejudice them against the concession of the chalice by hinting at the scandal which would be taken by the whole Catholic world if the Pope were to yield, by pointing to the aversion which was felt even by the German ecclesiastical princes, who merely did not say plainly what they thought about it, and to the general danger of a policy of compromise ; he reminded them of the disastrous experiences they had had with the Greeks and Bohemians, and of the treachery of the heretics, who were asking for the chalice from any motives rather than those of piety. One concession would open the way to others ; what was granted to Bavaria and Bohemia could not be refused to other Catholics. At least they must not come to a decision hastily, and the whole question must be well weighed by learned men. On the whole Requesens found the opinion of the Cardinals so averse to the concession that three-fourths of them would have been opposed to the Pope if he had openly laid the matter before them in the consistory.[1]

As a matter of fact the Pope gave up the idea of proposing the question of the chalice for immediate solution. For the time being he only proposed to send to Germany a legate with very wide powers. Morone was chosen for this task, though he, for his part, tried by every means in his power to escape this thankless task.[2]

Under these circumstances, it was only to be expected that, at the decisive consistory of March 8th, the opposing views would be hotly debated. The Pope, however, thought that he would be able to prevent this. At the commencement of the consistory he caused the three nephews of Paul III. and ten other Cardinals who had not taken part in the secret sessions of the preceding days,[3] to take their places near the

[1] Requesens to Philip II., March 12, 1364, *ibid.*, 556 *seq.* *Cf.* Arco to the Emperor, March 12, 1564, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 718.

[2] Requesens to Philip II., March 4, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 555.

[3] Detailed report of the consistory in *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 277–289 (Corsini Library, Rome). *Cf.* LAEMMER, Melet., 214-217 ; *Averardo Serristori to the Duke

throne, saying to them that he had decided to send Cardinal Morone to Germany, in order that he might work for the carrying out of the Council of Trent, and attempt, in the approaching Diet, to win over to the Catholic cause one or more of the Protestant princes. As to the question of the chalice and the Emperor's demands, he said not a word.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese then began to speak. It was not wise, in his opinion, to send a legate to Germany. Similar missions had always turned out disastrously for the Apostolic See; the presence of a legate at the Diet would lead to religious discussions, and this was dangerous, because the Protestants were in a majority there. Therefore even Paul III., who at the beginning of his pontificate had sent many legates to Germany, had afterwards abandoned this policy. To the remark of the Pope that the present times were very different from those of Paul III., Farnese replied that it was just because the present times were so much worse that it was especially unwise to send a legate. Even if he were armed with the power to grant all the things asked for by the Emperor, much harm would result from this. Thereupon Farnese began to set forth the arguments against the concession of the chalice.

But the Pope cut him short; that subject was not under discussion at present; the legate was being sent for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council; as to the Emperor's demands, he himself, the Pope, would decide as God should inspire him. The decision belonged to him as Pope, and it had been left in his hands by the Council: "We, not you," he added passionately, "have to render an account to God in this matter." At these words the Cardinals who were standing near the throne made it plain by signs that they very willingly left the whole responsibility to him.

Farnese raised no further objections,[1] but his brother

of Florence, March 11, 1563 (Florentine style). (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3283, p. 248 *seq.*). *Cf.* Arco to the Emperor, March 12, 1564, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 717 *seq.*

[1] *"Cosi Farnese si ristrinse nelle spalle et se ne tornò a sedere." Serristori, *loc. cit.*

Ranuccio at once returned to the burning question. He had heard, he said, from respected and trustworthy men, that not a few of the Catholic bishops of Germany, and among them two of the Electors, had worked at the Council to induce the fathers to resist the concession of the chalice, on the ground that it would be a mortal blow to the Catholic religion in Germany. The Pope replied that he also had heard the same thing, but that changed times called for new measures, and he would obtain further information from Germany itself. Many of the Council, moreover, had changed their opinion, and in the end several of the Spaniards had declared themselves in favour of the concession. "With regard to that," Ranuccio replied, "I have heard just the opposite," and when Pius IV. appealed to the legates of the Council as his authority, the Cardinal answered that he was quite aware of what the legates said, but he noticed that many prelates of all the various nations gave quite another report on that very point, and had promised to furnish proofs to the Pope himself. Pius put an end to the discussion by remarking that he intended to trust his legates.

Then the Pope began a long speech. He said: "Now that the Council is happily ended, our most important task is to see that it is carried into effect. I therefore intend to send legates to all the princes, first of all to Germany, then to France, and finally to Spain. The Emperor, who is so full of good intentions, is seriously ill and near to death; we must therefore seize upon the opportunity to deal with a prince who is so well disposed and so deeply religious. As legate for Germany I have appointed Morone, in whose prudence and acceptability to the princes I have full confidence. I have arrived at this decision in secret consistory, because it has not been possible to treat of the whole matter in public; my predecessors acted in the same way. Paul III. often said that nobody but a heretic could deny that the Pope has the right to decide all questions himself. In order to keep Catholics in the Church and to bring back heretics to the fold, I am prepared to make any concessions which do not involve injury to the faith, to religion and the honour of God. The present

times, indeed, are worse than they were under Paul III. and Julius III., when France was altogether free from heresy, Germany contained more Catholics, Spain was united to Germany, and England under the rule of a Catholic queen. But the difficulties do not dismay me ; my predecessors were not able to bring the Council to an end, but I have succeeded in doing so. Everything that has not been done before is not necessarily to be rejected for that reason. I intend to meet the heretics in a spirit of gentleness ; if they act hypocritically they will deceive themselves, but not God." Turning to Morone, he begged him to accept the burden imposed on him for the honour of God and the salvation of Christendom.

Morone replied that it was his duty to be silent and to obey. As to the prospects of his legation he believed that the Pope, in virtue of his higher enlightenment, could see things which others could not see, and that a happy issue was possible. The difficulties, however, were so great that he almost despaired of being able to accomplish anything. He gave expression to this opinion now because men were wont to form their judgment after the event. But as far as he was concerned he would spare no pains to do what the Pope required of him.

Pius IV. replied with a few words of encouragement. If not all, at least some might be brought back to the old religion. The Elector of Brandenburg, for example, wore the crucifix which the Pope had sent to him, he had treated the Papal nuncios with courtesy, he had accepted a pontifical brief, and had blamed those who rejected them ; nor was it necessary to despair altogether of Duke Augustus of Saxony. The situation in Germany had changed for the better at any rate in so far that the heretics were no longer united, but broken up into many sects.

Morone then had to leave the consistory, and the Cardinals voted upon the question whether Morone should go as legate to Germany for the carrying out of the Council. No opposition was raised, though several took the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the demands of the Emperor.

At the end of his report of this consistory Cardinal Gambara

states that he has written it all down thus minutely in order that later on the opinion of the Cardinals as to Morone's legation might be known. If the Pope had submitted the Emperor's demands for discussion, they would certainly not have agreed to them. He concludes with the somewhat malicious remark that the Pope, who was unable to use his right arm on account of a bad attack of gout, had given his blessing to the new legate with his left hand.

However interesting the consistory may be as giving a picture of the feeling at the time, it had nevertheless very little importance as far as the course of events was concerned. The mission of Morone never took place; the Emperor's advisers had become sufficiently aware of his diplomatic skill during the course of the negotiations at Innsbruck in the previous year, and they at once decided that he must at all costs be kept away from Austria: "this Roman craftsman with his keen and penetrating shafts, who was so subtle and wonderfully trained *ex longo rerum usu*."[1] They realized that they were no match for him,[2] and they also feared the effect of long negotiations upon the life of the sick Emperor. In the evening of the very day on which, early in the morning, news had come of Morone's mission, Ferdinand told the nuncio Delfino that the Protestant princes feared lest the Pope should form a Catholic league for the carrying out of the Council. The arrival of a legate might furnish them with a pretext for forming a counter-league of their own, to which course they would undoubtedly be urged by Elizabeth of England and by France, and the consequence of which would be the complete destruction of the Catholic religion in Germany.[3] An Imperial letter to Arco[4] on the 26th, and another from Delfino

[1] Zasius to the Archduke Ferdinand, March 23, 1564, in HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 93. *Cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 82.

[2] "Non habemus homines, qui cum eo tractent" wrote Seld, in STEINHERZ, *loc. cit.* "Moronus adducet multos et magnos theologos, quibus non habemus nos quos opponeremus." SELD, *ibid.*

[3] Delfino to Borromeo, March 27, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 78; *cf.* 79, 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, 83.

on March 27th,[1] conveyed this intelligence to Rome. Borromeo replied to the nuncio in Venice on April 19th,[2] that Morone's mission would not take place, that the Pope had already granted the chalice to the laity, but that as far as the marriage of priests was concerned Pius IV. had never made any promises on the subject; in the meantime the Emperor was requested to submit his proposals more definitely.

It was true that, under the date of April 16th, the Pope had caused briefs for the more important bishops of Germany to be prepared, containing the concession of the chalice.[3] This, however, was not granted unconditionally nor universally. In the introduction of the briefs mention is made of the assurances made by Ferdinand and Albert that the remnants of the Catholic religion in Germany would disappear altogether if the chalice were not allowed. If the bishop to whom the brief was addressed could conscientiously say that this was really the case, then the Pope gave him power to appoint certain priests to give communion under both kinds. On the part of the communicants it was taken for granted that they were in communion with the Roman Church, that they had been to confession, and they must believe that the same is contained under one species as under two, and that the Roman Church was not in error in giving the Holy Eucharist under one kind alone. The concession was not to apply to the non-German parts of the German dioceses. At the same time the bishops were given the important power of reconciling, either in person or by their delegates, heretics who either publicly or in private had abjured their errors.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 76 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 94.

[3] The brief for Julius Pflugk of Naumburg in CYPRIANUS, 1 *seqq.*, Pogiani Epist., III., 161; for Nicolaus Olah of Gran in STEPH. KATONA, Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Austriacae, IV., 811 *seq.* Buda, 1799; for Urban of Gurk in Vierteljahrsschrift für kath. Theologie, VI. (1877), 88 *seqq.* Copies of the other briefs in KNÖPFLER, 138, n. 3.

[4] As to the importance of this faculty see MERGENTHEIM, Die Quinquennalfakultäten, I., 87.

For the moment the Pope kept these briefs a secret; in the consistory of April 14th he let nothing transpire about them. The excitement which had been aroused by the attitude of the Pope towards the concession of the chalice had by no means died down, and during the weeks that had elapsed the Spanish ambassador had caused a theologian to draw up a memorial against the concession which had been circulated among the Roman prelates.[1] Even in Germany the Pope's willingness to give way on the matter had caused as much surprise as though Pius IV. had become a Lutheran. Canisius, who reported what was being said to Rome, was himself of opinion that the concession of the chalice would throw the remainder of the German Church into hopeless confusion; the conditions made in Rome would not be observed, nor, despite the concession, would the authority of the Church or the Pope be recognized.[2] Even when the pontifical briefs had arrived, jokes were current on the subject because the permanent agent in the provinces for the granting of the chalice and for the Confession of Augsburg bore the family name of Teufel (devil) and because on the day that the briefs arrived a frost had almost destroyed the whole of the grape vintage in the district of Vienna.[3]

On May 9th the Papal briefs to the three ecclesiastical Electors, to the Archbishops of Salzburg, Prague, Gran, Magdeburg and Bremen, and to the Bishops of Naumburg and Gurk were in the hands of Delfino. The nuncio proposed to publish the pontifical concession at first only in Upper and Lower Austria and in Bavaria.[4] His suggestion was accepted and a beginning was made of the work of promulgation on June 18th, at Vienna, when Urban, Bishop of Gurk, and administra-

[1] Printed in SICKEL, Konzil, 377, who wrongly places it in the series for September, 1562; *cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 97, who is the first to give it its right date.

[2] To Lainez, March 25, 1564, in CANISII Epist., IV., 480. The letter was presented to the Pope: *ibid.*, 490.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 125 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 119 *seqq.*

tor of the diocese of Vienna, read and explained the brief in the Cathedral of St. Stephen.[1]

The success of the promulgation seemed at first to surpass even the most sanguine hopes. As Delfino wrote to Rome, at Vienna two-thirds of the Lutherans and others suspected of heresy declared themselves to be Catholics.[2] There is no doubt, he again wrote on November 20th, 1564,[3] that in Vienna and the small diocese of Vienna the concession of the chalice is having a beneficial effect; every day the number of those who assist at the sermons and divine offices is increasing. After so encouraging a beginning the briefs addressed to them were sent to the other ecclesiastical provinces in June, while similar concessions were asked for, and immediately granted by the Pope for the dioceses of Olmutz, Breslau, Weiner-Neustadt and Laibach.[4] Anton Brus boasted, when he received his brief, that the kingdom of Bohemia was restored to life; the Archbishop of Gran also looked for great

[1] For the discussions as to the way in which the brief was to be carried into effect, *cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 311 *seq.* For the information obtained as to the administration of the two species in the Greek Church, see SAFTIEN, 84 *seq.*, and the letter of Ferdinand I. of May 17, 1564, to his envoy in Venice, in Beiträge zur Kunde steiermarkischer Geschichtsquellen, IX. (1872), 115.

[2] Acta consist. in RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 35.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 244.

[4] STEINHERZ, IV., 140, 167. A fresh brief was also drawn up at that time for the Bishop of Gurk in his capacity of administrator of Vienna. The brief for Breslau is printed in KASTNER, Archiv für die Geschicte des Bistums Breslau, I. (1858), 262 *seq.*; *cf.* J. JUNGNITZ, Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau, Archidiakonat Breslau, Part I., 20, Breslau, 1902. The concession of the chalice for that part of Styria which was in the patriarchate of Aquileia was asked for in July, 1564, but was only granted on Sept. 24, 1565 (STEINHERZ, IV., 166, 169, 391). Printed edition of the brief in Pogiani Epist., III., 162 *seq.*, and in Beiträgen zur Kunde steiermarkischer Geschichtsquellen, IX. (1872), 115 *seq.* The brief for Magdeburg was sent back to Rome without having been used (STEINHERZ, IV., 139), that for Bremen followed (CANISII Epist, IV., 575).

fruit for the Catholic religion in Hungary from the concession of the chalice.[1]

It was with great satisfaction that the Pope was able on July 14th, 1564, to give the Cardinals the first official notification of the concession of the chalice which he had made some time before. The Emperor, he said, had represented to him that without some such concession Germany would become, not merely heretical, but pagan. It had not been in public, but quite in secret, that he had held consultations on the subject with certain Cardinals and former members of the Council, and he had done this in order that the expression of opinions might be more free, for he knew well with how many artifices and threats the concession of the chalice would be opposed. He attached great importance to the opinion of the Emperor, who at that moment was lying on his death-bed, and who was animated with a feeling for religion which could not have been more pure or supernatural in a monk or a Jesuit.[2] For Ferdinand I., indeed, the Papal concession was a great consolation in his last illness. On May 17th, he had a letter written to Rome, in which he said that no Papal utterance had ever given him such joy as the brief about the chalice.[3] He died on July 25th, 1564, with the consciousness that he had rendered a last great service to that ecclesiastical unity which he had always aimed at so zealously.

But it was not everywhere that the brief about the chalice was received with enthusiasm. At Cologne, the strong attitude taken by the University prevented the archbishop from carrying the concession into effect, though he was himself in favour of it; the University caused to be drawn up and gave

[1] Delfino to Borromeo, July 13, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 155. Anton Brus published the brief about the chalice on July 23, 1564. FRIND 7, and doc. 17.

[2] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, on July 14, 1564, Rome, 40–G–13, p. 333 *seqq.* (Corsini Library). That the brief about the chalice was up to this time not known in Rome is clear from the fact that Lainez, on June 24, asked for a copy from Canisius. CANISII Epist., IV., 573.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 123.

its sanction to a memorandum written by the Jesuit Coster, against the two species, and obliged all its theologians to accept it.[1] At Trêves the municipal council demanded from everyone a certificate from their parochial authorities that they had communicated under one kind alone.[2] At Mayence too the concession of the chalice had no tangible results.[3] It was only after long negotiations that the Archbishop of Salzburg agreed to the Imperial wishes, and even then the meeting of the bishops of the province of Salzburg limited in every possible way the administration of the chalice.[4] In the immediate neighbourhood of Vienna the distinguished Christian Naponäus Radiducius, Bishop of Weiner-Neustadt, at length, it is true, published the Papal indult, but in practice refused to administer the two species.[5] The Jesuits in Vienna were bound to allow the publication in their church of the brief about the chalice, but they insisted so strictly on the conditions laid down by the Pope that at first there were none, and afterwards very few, who received the two species at their hands.[6]

For the most part the enthusiasm among the Catholics for the communion of the laity under both kinds disappeared. It is true that its defenders, in the face of all the arguments of the theologians, had appealed to their knowledge of conditions in Germany,[7] but the event tended to justify the

[1] HANSEN, 494. CYPRIANUS, 376. CANISII Epist., IV., 694.

[2] HANSEN, 496.

[3] SERARIUS-IOANNIS, Rerum Maguntiacarum, I., 873, Frankfort, 1722.

[4] STEINHERZ, IV., 156, 169, 175, 182. Report of Joh. Pfister, Aug. 25, 1564, in CANISII Epist., IV., 619 *seqq.* *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 313 *seq.*; KNÖPFLER, 138-148.

[5] WIEDEMANN, I., 313.

[6] CANISII Epist., IV., 633-635. NADAL, Epist., IV., 289. DUHR, I., 447 *seqq.*

[7] So said Seld, according to the report of Delfino: "esser di bisogno udire li pratici delle cose . . . in Roma si grida pro reductione et si parla del fine, ma quanto alli mezzi o non si sanno o non si vogliono sappere" (STEINHERZ, IV., 32). On the other hand, Otto Truchsess, after the arrival of the concession of the chalice, deplores "quod sua Sanctitas non habuerit

wisdom of those who, equally relying on their own experience, looked for nothing but confusion and harm from any rapprochement with the innovators. As early as 1565 Draskovich said to Commendone that he repented of having worked with so much zeal for the chalice for the laity in his capacity as Imperial envoy at the Council of Trent, because the concession, when it had at last been obtained, had brought about nothing but harm.[1] Commendone wrote to Cardinal Borromeo from Petrikau[2] that experience in the districts bordering on Poland showed that the concession had done more harm than good; the conditions laid down by the Pope had not been observed, and the consequences had been scandal and confusion. He was trying by every means in his power to prevent the King of Poland from asking for the chalice, as he was being urged to do in many quarters. On November 10th, 1564, Lainez, the General of the Jesuits wrote,[3] that he was being informed from all parts of Germany that the concession of the chalice was doing more harm than good to religion, and that the heretics had only been rendered more insolent by it. To the question of Cardinal Hosius, as to what results the movement in favour of the chalice was producing in Bavaria, Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg[4] replied that as far as he himself was concerned the Pope had not ordered the use of the two species, and that he did not intend to introduce it until he had first made known in Rome his reasons for opposing it. The Duke of Bavaria, who at first had hoped for great results from the concession of the chalice, had entirely changed his point of view, and was saying openly that the chalice should not be allowed to anyone.

It was true that from being the champion of the chalice

meliorem magisque fundatam informationem de statu Germanicae nationis." (Canisii, Epist., IV., 619).

[1] Hosii Opera, II., 241, Cologne 1584. Canisii Epist., V., 97.

[2] June 6, 1565, in Pogiani Epist., III., 165.

[3] To Hosius, in Cyprianus, 376.

[4] November 20, 1564, in Cyprianus, 379, and Pogiani Epist., III. 165.

Albert V. had now become its strong opponent. The mission of Ormaneto and the discouraging letter of Hosius had already to a great extent cooled his enthusiasm.[1] More exact information in the years 1563 and 1564 showed that the number of those who wished for the chalice was by no means so great as might have been supposed from the hasty estimate of those who spoke on behalf of the concession, and that those who did were, for the most part, only to be found in a majority in the neighbourhood of Protestant districts.[2] The pontifical concession of the chalice was not promulgated in Bavaria, and the two species were only administered in individual cases, and secretly, and then only in certain localities and with strict limitations.[3] A few years later the Duke altogether forbade the chalice to the laity.[4]

In the meantime, in Austria, they not only held firmly to the chalice, but also sought to obtain a relaxation of the law of celibacy. Ferdinand I. had himself written to Rome on June 17th, 1564,[5] that the concession of the two species was not sufficient by itself, unless those priests who had taken wives were also allowed to retain them. It was not without reason that Germany had always advanced these two claims in conjunction with each other, because the concession of the chalice had always been advocated and defended for the most part by those who, despite their priesthood, had taken wives, and afterwards, from fear of ecclesiastical penalties, had turned against the Church and her prelates. Moreover, it was impossible for the bishops in many districts to provide the people with unmarried priests, and they were therefore forced to leave many cures vacant, and the people were in consequence forced to turn to the ministers. Finally the concession of the chalice was fettered with certain conditions, but what was the use of imposing conditions if there was no one to

[1] Canisius to Hosius July 31 1563, in CANISII Epist., IV., 300 *seqq.*

[2] KNÖPFLER, 154 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 156.

[4] *Ibid.*, 213.

[5] To Arco, in STEINHERZ, IV., 141 *seqq.*

explain them to the people or insist upon their observance? The Emperor therefore asked that priests who were already married might be dispensed, and that it should be allowed, in places where there was a scarcity of priests, that married laymen should be admitted to receive orders.

On September 19th, 1564, Maximilian II. renewed the demands of his father, which demands were also presented at the same time in the name of the Archduke Charles, on behalf of his territories of Styria and Carniola,[1] while the Archduke Ferdinand would have nothing to do with the marriage of priests as far as the Tyrol and the Swabian provinces of Austria were concerned.[2] It was once more the nuncio, Delfino, who, in gross violation of his duties as the representative of the Pope, drafted this letter which was so displeasing to Pius IV.,[3] while in his other communications with Rome, under the guise of a mere narration of events, he caused the Imperial wishes to appear in the best possible light.[4]

In consequence of these demands the Pope found himself in a very embarrassing position. He had already had disastrous experience of the policy of concession in the matter of the chalice,[5] but on the other hand it was very dangerous openly to oppose a prince of such doubtfully Catholic senti-

[1] STEINHERZ, IV., 205 *seq.* A *letter of the Archduke Charles to the Pope in favour of the concession of the chalice to the laity, dated Vienna, November 30, 1564, in the National Archives, Paris, Papiers de Simancas.

[2] "L'archiduca Ferdinando non ha scritto mai nè fatto dire a S. Stà cosa alcuna in questa materia del connubio, se bene dal imperatore si pretende, che li stati di detto Ferdinando siano ne la medesima necessità." Papal instruction of May 21, 1565, to the envoys at Vienna, STEINHERZ, IV., 364. *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 645. The chalice was not asked for Bohemia, where Ferdinand was the governor.

[3] STEINHERZ, IV., 207.

[4] Delfino to Borromeo, November 20, 1564, *ibid.*, 241 *seqq.*; *cf.* 330, 348.

[5] The Pope, as well as Borromeo, was very soon convinced of this. DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 623, 625; *cf.* CANISII Epist., IV., 480 and 1065.

ments as Maximilian, since opposition might have the effect of provoking a new and worse Interim at the approaching diet.[1] Pius IV. therefore sought to gain time.[2] It was only on January 20th, 1565, that he appointed a commission of Cardinals to discuss the Emperor's demands.[3] When, in March, this had led to no results, and the Emperor was still pressing for a definite reply,[4] the number of the Cardinals on the commission was reduced from eighteen to five ; these latter began their deliberations on April 14th[5] and on May 12th they advised the Pope as a first step to send nuncios to the Emperor.[6] On May 24th Archbishop Lionardo Marini and Pietro Guicciardini the Auditor of the Rota, set out for Vienna in this capacity.[7] Before this Pius IV. had found a powerful ally in Philip II. of Spain, who, in a letter of March 12th, 1565, had charged Cardinal Pacheco to oppose the requests of Maximilian by every means in his power.[8] The Pope, however, had not perfect confidence in the Spanish king, for he thought that Philip wished to drive him to a breach with the Emperor so that Spain might remain the only Catholic power, and he thus might be able to do as he liked with the Pope.[9] In June, 1565, Philip II. sent Pedro de Avila to Rome for the express

[1] Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 594, 612.

[2] Steinherz, IV., 323, 336, 374, etc. "En negocios tan arduos la dilacion es la importa" was, according to Cardinal Pacheco, the maxim which guided the Pope in this matter. Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 595 ; *cf.* 597.

[3] Borromeo to Delfino, January 20, 1565, in Steinherz, IV., 277. Maximilian II. to Arco, March 13, 1565, *ibid.*, 317. The Pope had already brought forward the matter for discussion in the consistory of January 12. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 416b *seqq.* (Corsini Library, Rome). Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 588 *seqq.* Laemmer, Melet., 217.

[4] Borromeo to Delfino, March 3, 1565, in Steinherz, IV., 306.

[5] Borromeo to Delfino, April 14, 1565, *ibid.*, 333. Pacheco to Philip II., April 20, 1565, in Döllinger, I., 598.

[6] Steinherz, IV., 375.

[7] *Ibid.*, 370.

[8] *Ibid.*, 335.

[9] Pacheco to Philip II., April 20, 1565, in Döllinger, I., 598.

purpose of raising objections against the granting of the Emperor's demands.[1]

In the meantime the two nuncios in Vienna were in an embarrassing position. According to their instructions,[2] it was their duty to try and make the Emperor change his mind, and to this end they were to point out that the Pope had to concern himself with the whole world and not with Germany alone, and that he could not inflict a grave injury on the whole of the Church so as to save a single country. There were the very gravest reasons for the celibacy of the clergy: the ancient custom of the Latin Church, dating from the time of the Apostles, and the dignity of the priesthood, which, on account of its close connection with the Holy Eucharist and the other sacraments, required virginity. If this concession were made in Germany, it would very soon be asked for in France and Flanders, and then in Spain and Italy, for which reason King Philip in particular had taken up a very decided attitude of opposition to the concession of marriage to the priests of Germany. The Emperor must further remember what difficulties this very request had occasioned at the time of the Interim and at the Council of Trent. Lastly, it was a mistaken policy to try and further religion by making concessions to sensuality, all the more so as it was generally felt in Rome that the same thing would happen with the marriage of priests as had happened with the concession of the chalice, which had caused scandal and loss of piety rather than edification, and in no case had produced the obvious advantages which had been promised. It was therefore much better to procure celibate priests, either from Germany itself or from elsewhere; once the necessary pressure was brought to bear, there was reason to hope that many such would be found. Should the Emperor reply that the needs of Germany called for prompt measures and no delay, the Pope undertook to send a certain number of celibate priests, who, even though they did not know the language of the country, would be

[1] His instructions, July 10, in DÖLLINGER, I., 602 *seqq.*

[2] Of May 21, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 356 *seqq.*

able to be of assistance so that by means of the seminaries good German priests could be trained. Since they had already waited 30 or 40 years, they could certainly wait for another three or four. Should the Emperor not accept all this, they might hold out to him the possibility of the renewal of the concessions granted by Paul III. and Julius III. to Charles V., though they had never been carried into effect, namely that dispensations might be given in individual cases for married priests. If this should not be enough, the nuncios were to declare expressly that the Pope could not, nor was it lawful for him to do so, introduce into the Church so great a change, except in the case where the necessity for it was altogether obvious, and where extraordinary advantages would result, as for example the conversion of the whole of Germany, and when both the one and the other were proved in a quite incontestable way. Moreover the Pope could not effect such a change surreptitiously, but he would have to consult all the prelates who had German subjects; for example, he would have to obtain exact information as to the number of celibate priests, and of those who wished to marry in each district, so that the remedy might be made commensurate with the need.

For a time it seemed as though these arguments were not without their effect on the Emperor. Some of the things laid before him by Marini were entirely new to Maximilian, because he had never discussed his plans with the theologians.[1] In any case it is a fact that on July 28th he wrote to Arco to beg the Pope to delay in coming to a definite decision.[2] But Maximilian very soon reverted to his former wishes. On September 11th, Marini and Guicciardini left Vienna without having accomplished anything.[3] One thing alone had their influence at Vienna helped to bring about; the double-dealing nuncio, Delfino, who at last, on June 26th, 1565, received the coveted cardinal's hat,[4] and who could not therefore any longer

[1] Report of the Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, to Philip II. on July 28, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 428.

[2] *Ibid.*, 435, 437.

[3] *Ibid.*, 452.

[4] *Ibid.*, 402. He was nominated on March 13, 1565; *ibid.*, 441

remain as nuncio,[1] was, in consequence of a letter from the Spanish ambassador, recalled from his post even before the approaching Diet.[2] The Emperor was thus no longer under the influence of this intriguing man, who had not only held out hopes of the certainty of the concession of the marriage of priests, but had also shown himself ready to accept other very strange concessions.[3] It seemed to the Papal legates that he and Arco had fostered the marriage of priests even more than the Emperor himself.[4]

Face to face with the renewed demands of Maximilian, the Pope endeavoured again to delay a decision. In the first place he replied to the insistence of the ambassador that he must await the return of Marini and Guicciardini, and when they had arrived on November 9th, he said that he wished to hear the views of Delfino before giving a definite reply. While he was still delaying, Pius IV. died.[5]

The matter of the publication and carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent had been quite pushed into the background by the question of the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. The hopes of a favourable outcome of this matter had become much less bright when, with the accession of Maximilian II., the reins of government had fallen into the hands of a prince who, confused and obscure in his religious sentiments, showed himself in the most varying aspects, and,

[1] *Ibid.*, 441. On August 4, 1565, Pius IV. also recalled the other nuncios who had been nominated as Cardinals.

[2] In a letter from Borromeo on August 18, 1565, *ibid.*, 440. The letter of Chantonnay, the contents of which were communicated to the Pope by Cardinal Pacheco, and had as its consequence the recall of Delfino, *ibid.*, 442 *seq.*; *cf.* 429 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Chantonnay to Philip II., July 21, 1565, *ibid.*, 405 *seq.* Chantonnay was frankly opposed to Delfino, but Marini and Guicciardini very soon lost in Vienna their confidence in Delfino. *Cf.* Chantonnay, July 14, 1565, *ibid.*, 404 *seq.* HIRN, in Allgem. Literaturblatt, XXVI. (1917), 48 *seq.*, passes judgment on Delfino in terms of justifiable severity.

[4] Avila to Philip II., November 14, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 638.

[5] *Ibid.*, 635, 638. STEINHERZ, IV., 462 *seqq.*, 465 *seq.*

in many important doctrines no longer took his stand upon the firm ground of the Catholic Church.[1] When, in the October of 1564, Delfino proposed to Maximilian that he should publish the decrees of Trent by an Imperial edict, he made profuse declarations which Visconti summed up very aptly by saying that, in view of the existing conditions in Germany the Emperor refused to comply with anything of the kind.[2] It was quite in accordance with this that he unceremoniously forbade the publication of the decrees in Hungary, for which purpose the Archbishop of Gran had summoned a meeting of the Hungarian bishops for April 23rd, 1564.[3] Whereas the Council of Trent had exacted from the professors of Catholic universities a sworn promise to teach in the Catholic sense, Maximilian had hardly mounted the throne before, in violation of the charter of foundation of the University of Vienna, he ordained that the profession of the Catholic creed was no longer necessary for appointment, but that it was enough if the candidate declared that he was a Christian Catholic.[4]

Under these circumstances the only hope of improvement lay in a bold stand being made by the episcopate. But at first the Austrian bishops were by no means in a hurry to reform their clergy in accordance with the decrees of the Council, or to provide for a healthy rising generation by the establishment of seminaries for priests.[5] The Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, Daniel von Brendel, endeavoured in 1564 to carry out the wishes of the Council by obtaining a pontifical decree empowering him to endow the Jesuit college

[1] For the religious attitude of Maximilian II., *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 210 *seqq.*, where the recent monographs of Götz, Walter and Hopfen are minutely examined. HUBER, IV., 226, also shows that Maximilian was not a Catholic of any firm conviction. V. BIBL, in Archiv fur österr. Geschicte, 106 (1908), 298 *seqq.*, gives further information on the matter of the religious attitude of Maximilian II.

[2] *Cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 224, 229.

[3] See STEINHERZ, IV., 65, 101.

[4] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 447.

[5] *Cf.* HUBER, IV., 227.

at Mayence and a seminary for poor boys, which he intended to entrust to the direction of the Jesuits.[1]

It was of great importance for Germany that little by little Bavaria set to work on the lines of a Catholic restoration.[2] It was a characteristic step in this direction when Duke Albert, on September 5th, 1564, entered into an agreement with the Archbishop of Salzburg and the other bishops for the carrying out of the decrees formulated at Trent and confirmed by the Pope.[3] A Bavarian bishop, Martin von Schaumberg of Eichstätt, was the one who, by establishing a seminary, in November, 1564, won the glory of having been the first to found in Germany an institution of the kind prescribed by the Council.[4] Side by side with this there was in the college of St. Jerome, founded at Dillingen as far back as 1549 by Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, an institution which, in its aims and organization, corresponded to the seminaries required by the Council.[5]

[1] See the letter of Polanco from Rome, April 10, 1564, in Canisii Epist., IV., 493 *seq.*

[2] Details in Janssen-Pastor, IV.[15-16], 445 *seq.*, 458 *seq.*, and Riezler, IV., 541 *seq.*

[3] See v. Aretin, Maximilian I., 152, n. 5, Passau, 1842.

[4] *Cf.* Schmidlin, 76.

[5] See Riezler, IV., 237.

CHAPTER V.

State of Religion in Poland.

Conditions in the kingdom of Poland, as in Germany, were the cause of no little anxiety to Pius IV. In Greater Poland and Lithuania the teaching of Luther and the community of the Bohemian Brothers had obtained a great hold, while the same thing was true in Little Poland of the doctrines of Calvin, who kept up an active correspondence with his adherents in the distant east. The real strength of the new opinions in the kingdom of the Jagellons lay among the "Schlachta" or smaller landed gentry, who saw in them the best means of completely overthrowing the clergy, as they had already succeeded in doing with the peasant and citizen classes.[1] The easy-going king, Sigismund Augustus, allowed things to take their course, the more so as he was, just at the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV., completely occupied by the danger which threatened him from the Russian Czar, Ivan the Terrible. In order to meet this danger he betook himself to Livonia, where he remained during the whole of 1560. He therefore took no active part in the negotiations for the reassembly of the Council, though he put no obstacles in the way of the Holy See in this matter.[2] At the beginning of March, 1560, he had sent an envoy to Rome for the *obedientia*, and was thus one of the first among the secular princes to perform this act.[3]

[1] See Ljubowicz, Istoria reformacii w Polszje, Kalwinisty y Antitrinitarii, Warsaw, 1883. *Cf.* Histor. Zeitschrift, LXVIII., 558 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Dembiński, Rzym, I., 186 *seq.*

[3] See Massarelli, 343, and Bondonus, 533, the former of whom dates the *obedientia* March 9, and the other March 5, 1560. This matter, which was left open by Merkle, is decided in favour of March 9, by the *Acta consist. Cam. IX., (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). The brief of thanks from Pius IV., in Theiner, Monum. Pol., II., 597 *seq.*

It never, however, entered the head of Sigismund Augustus that the ceremony of the *obedientia* made it incumbent upon the bearer of the crown to protect the Church. The final solution of the Livonian question, when exactly the same thing occurred as had happened in Prussia in 1525, showed how little the Polish king had the interests of the Church at heart. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Gotthard von Ketteler, returned to the lay state, and as Duke of Curland and Semgallen became the vassal of the King of Poland, who, on his side, promised to leave the country its independent constitution and full liberty to profess the Confession of Augsburg![1]

Pius IV. had appointed the Bishop of Camerino, Bernardo Bongiovanni,[2] as nuncio in Poland, in April, 1560. He was instructed to warn the king not to allow religious disputations, to prevent anything prejudicial to the Catholic Church at the approaching Diet, to encourage the Catholics to hold fast to the faith, and above all to urge the bishops to the zealous fulfilment of their duties, and the energetic defence of the rights of the Church.[3] In a letter of August 29th, 1560, Bongiovanni describes to Cardinal Morone the sad state of

[1] See SCHIEMANN, Russland, Polen und Livland bis zum 17. Jahrh. II., 307. *Cf.* SEIBERTZ on G. v. Ketteler in Zeitscrift für Gesch. und Altertumskunde, XXIX., Munster, 1871, and SCHEIMANN, Die Reformation Altlivlands, Reval, 1884.

[2] See the brief to the King of Poland, dated April 23, 1560, in THEINER, Monum, Pol., II., 598; *ibid.* reports of Bongiovanni to Morone of the years 1561-63. For the way Bongiovanni ignored Hosius see EICHHORN, II., 23.

[3] The instructions for Bongiovanni in Polish in *Relacye*, I., 74 *seq.* Also in various Italian collections of manuscripts there is to be found from Bongiovanni a *Relatione di Polonia (Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob., 2433, p. 165 *seq.*; 2510, p. 66 *seq.*; Urb. 1020, p. 20 *seq.* Chigi Library, Rome, R. 1, p. 51. Ambrosian Library, Milan, D. 208. State Archives, Florence., C. Strozz., 314). *Cf.* FABISZ, Wiadomosć o Legatach i Nuncyuszach Apostolskich w dawnej Polsce, Ostrów, 1866, 135. On the question of the succession to Bari, mentioned in the instructions, *cf.* EICHHORN, I., 315 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 319; III., 296 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., 25 *seq.*

affairs which he had found in Poland. He paints in strong colours the despotic and selfish attitude of the nobles, who had led their vassals away from the old faith, and the activity of the new preachers, of whom some called themselves Lutherans, others Sacramentarians, others Schwenkfeldians and followers of Servetus. The disunion among these preachers was very great and violent disputes took place at their meetings. Bongiovanni did not share the fear of many good Catholics that the king might fall away from the faith ; he thought that Sigismund Augustus would maintain his previous attitude of allowing everyone to believe what he pleased, but that he would personally remain true to the Catholic Church. The nuncio looked upon the furtherance of the sending of representatives to the Council as his principle task, as well as the strengthening of the Catholic senators in their goodwill with a view to the future Diet, and the winning back of the heretics, whom he looked on as being less obstinate than those in Germany.[1]

It did not escape the notice of Bongiovanni how much the king's attitude injured the interests of the Church. In his reports to Rome he deplores that Sigismund Augustus should be on friendly terms with the heretics, and allow them full liberty to draw people away from the Catholic Church. At the outset the nuncio absolutely condemned the protection which the king accorded to Jakob Uchanski, who was suspected of heresy, but had been designated for the bishopric of Kujavia,

[1] *Bongiovanni to Morone from Cracow, August 29, 1560 (Cod. Vatic. lat., 6409, p. 58, Vatican Library), translated in *Relacye*, I., 85 *seq.* Hosius describes the confusion in Poland in very similar terms in a letter in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 8. The deputation to the Council met with very serious opposition (see ŠUSTA, I., 121, 247 ; II., 40). On the failure of the efforts of Bongiovanni to win back Stanislaus Orzechowski, who had drifted away from the Church, see *Relacye*, I., 91 *seq.*, and Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, IX.,[2] 1103 *seq.*, where is to be found the special bibliography, to which has recently been added the monograph of L. KUBULA (Lemberg, 1906). On the faculties for absolving the heretics see ŠUSTA, I., 31.

although this had not been confirmed in Rome.[1] This was quite in accordance with the instructions which the nuncio had received from Pius IV., who in this matter took up exactly the same point of view as his predecessor.[2] It is therefore very difficult to understand how Bongiovanni should very soon have allowed himself to be completely won over by Uchanski. He absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures and did not rest until his confirmation as Bishop of Kujavia had been obtained.[3] He even went further! When Przerembski, Archbishop of Gnesen, died in January, 1562, Biongiovanni assisted his protégé to obtain this high and influential position.[4] The nuncio, who was before everything else a diplomatist and politician, hoped to effect more by mildness than by strict measures. His attitude towards the popular but quite unreliable Uchanski caused great scandal to zealous Catholics, and on this account they desired the appointment of a new nuncio. The relations between Bongiovanni and Uchanski seem at last to have given scandal in Rome as well, and the overthrow of Catholic interests at the Diet at Petrikau in 1562, made the nuncio's position untenable.[5]

Uchanski showed, in the immediate future, how little fitted he was to fill the highest position in the Church in Poland. The new primate, brought up as he had been among schismatics and uniats, hoped to gain everything by means of concessions in the matters of communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the introduction of the Polish language into the

[1] *Cf. Relacye*, I., 95 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 336.

[3] See *Relacye, I.*, 102 *seq.;* THEINER, II., 658 *seqq. Cf.* ZAKRZEWSKI, 141 *seqq.* The Papal confirmation arrived on June 2, 1561; see KORZENIOWSKI, Analecta, 108.

[4] Papal confirmation of August 31, 1562; see KORZENIOWSKI, *loc. cit.*, 109. The letter of the King, asking for the confirmation, in THEINER, II., 644. Moreover, Hosius also recommended Uchanski; *ibid.*, 646. *Cf.* ZAKRZEWSKI, 266.

[5] *Cf.* EICHHORN, II., 152, 208, corrected by ZAKRZEWSKI, 141, 175, 269; BAIN in Cambridge Mod. Hist., III., 82; DEMBIŃSKI, Rzym, I., 207.

liturgy. "By the help of all his arts, among which the intention to deceive and to take people unawares played no small part,"[1] he aimed at holding a national synod. Fortunately for the Polish Church, Pius IV. clearly recognized the threatened danger,[2] and after the recall of Bongiovanni at Easter, 1563,[3] he appointed the energetic and shrewd Giovanni Commendone as nuncio in Poland, who, together with the distinguished Cardinal Hosius, successfully frustrated such dangerous proposals. The petty artifices of Uchanski, no less than the activities of the innovators were powerless before these two "men made as it were of steel and granite."[4] They became the saviours of the gravely threatened Church in Poland.[5]

Commendone, who started from Venice on October 15th, 1563, passed through Pressburg, where he presented himself before the Emperor, Ferdinand I., and King Maximilian II.[6]

[1] Caro gives this opinion in Hist. Zeitschrift, LXXVIII., 516, in a valuable review of the monograph of Wierzbowski, J. Uchanski, arcybiskup Gnieznienski, 1562-1581, Warsaw, 1895.

[2] For the importance which Pius IV. attached to the King of Poland remaining true to the Church, *cf.* Šusta, III., 43; Giac. Soranzo, 150.

[3] *Cf.* Eichhorn, II., 153; Zakrzewski, 175.

[4] See Caro, *loc. cit.*, 518.

[5] The chief sources for the Polish nunciature of Commendone are his *reports, preserved in a volume written by Graziani in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello; a later copy in Cod. Barb. lat., 5789 (formerly LXII., 58), already used by Raynaldus (1563, n. 187 *seq.*), and Pallavicini (24, 13), translated into Polish by Malinowski (Wilna, 1847, 2 vols.), with regard to which, however, an examination of the original text is not unnecessary. There are also some letters and documents in Lagomarsini, De scriptis invita Minerva, II., 117 *seqq.*, and in Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., 1899, 75 *seqq.*; 1900, 51 *seq.* In comparison with these reports the life of Commendone by Graziani (Paris, 1669) is of only secondary importance. *Cf.* also Eichhorn, II., 208 *seq.* Commendone received a monthly stipend of 200 scudi; *cf.* Fabisz, 137, n. 2.

[6] See Steinherz, III., 477, 480. *Cf.* also Steinherz, Ein Bericht über Villach von 1563 in Carinthia, I. (1913). Hosius had worked for the mission of Commendone; see Šusta, IV., 208, 248.

He arrived in Cracow on November 21st, and from thence he hurried on to Warsaw where the Diet was opened on December 6th. The nuncio was accompanied, in addition to his secretary, Antonio Maria Graziani, by two other learned men, Federigo Pendasio and Paolo Emilio Giovannini. The sad condition of religion in Poland, and the ineffectual resistance which the disunited and weak episcopate offered to the dissemination of the new doctrines is evident, both from the account drawn up by Giovannini and from the reports of Commendone.[1] The opposite views of Uchanski, the Archbishop of Gnesen, and Padniewski, the Bishop of Cracow, became evident immediately upon the arrival of Commendone. The latter wished the nuncio to be received by the king in a public audience, the former only privately. Even in his first audiences Commendone had plenty of opportunities of realizing not only the disunion of the episcopate, but also the weakness of Sigismund Augustus. Friendly though his reception of the Pope's representative was, he nevertheless showed but little inclination to take any active part in securing the repeal of the decree issued in the Diet of the preceding year, limiting episcopal jurisdiction. Commendone could obtain little more than promises for the future, though he built great hopes on the influence of Hosius, whom the king had invited to Lomza after the close of the Diet (May 1st, 1564). On this occasion Hosius did not fail in displaying the greatest zeal and eloquence. Among other matters, his expostulations were directed against the proposal, which was now again being put forward, of holding a national council, to which the dissenters should be invited. Hosius endeavoured to convince the king that the ecclesiastical confusion would only be increased by such a course, and declared that he would be unable to take part in any such assembly. He explained that only an ecumenical council, such as that at Trent, could decide on matters concerning the Catholic faith, but not a provincial or a national council. As the sectarians had repudiated any such council, they would only attend in order to dispute, and where

[1] See KORZENIOWSKI, 180 *seq.*

could such disputation lead, if the decrees of an ecumenical council were to become a subject of controversy? It was therefore the duty of the princes to carry out the decrees of Trent.[1]

The most important question for ecclesiastical conditions in Poland was touched upon in these words. Upon its solution Commendone held consultations with Hosius whom he visited on May 20th, 1564, at Frauenberg, and with whom he stayed for two months.[2] In July, Commendone, who was then with Hosius at Heilsberg, received a letter from Borromeo, of March 24th, to which were attached five copies of the printed decrees of the Council, the acceptance of which in Poland he was instructed to bring about.[3] Commendone, as well as Hosius, was convinced that this could not be done in a private audience; on the other hand it did not seem advisable to deliver the decrees to the Diet, as many Protestants, with whom Uchanski, who was aiming at a national council, had secret relations, had a seat there. In spite of this, however, Commendone at length decided upon the latter course, as the other might lead to even greater complications. The king, however, must first be won over. The nuncio, who had won the favour of the king by his prudent attitude, hoped to be successful in accomplishing this by acting with both circumspection and promptitude. At the beginning of August he appeared at Parczow, where the king was holding a national assembly. In a long audience on August 7th, Commendone set before him the great importance of accepting the Tridentine decrees. The king listened attentively, and promised to give him an answer after he had deliberated with his counsellors; immediately after-

[1] See EICHHORN, II., 213 *seq.*, 216.

[2] See LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., III., 426 n.; EICHHORN, II., 217. Hosius continued in active correspondence with Commendone. A *letter dated from Posnaniae, 1564, Ian. 27, deals with the wearisome return journey; one of February 19, from Heilsberg announces his return; one of April 16 expresses his joy at the approaching visit of Commendone (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[3] See the report of Commendone of July 6, 1564, in LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., IV., 131 n.

wards Commendone was himself summoned into their presence. His surprise at this was very great, but he quickly recovered himself and explained his request in eloquent terms. He set forth in detail the reasons for and the work of the Council of Trent, the necessity for a supreme authority in matters of faith, and the confusion which had sprung from the setting up of "new and false papacies at Geneva, Wittenberg and elsewhere;" he also spoke of the evil effects of the religious innovations on political conditions, of which he had had personal experience in Germany, France, and England. His most earnest wish was that Poland might enjoy a happier fate, and with this he delivered the decrees, which alone would afford a remedy in the existing state of confusion. The stirring words of Commendone, and his skill in bringing out the advantages of the re-establishment of ecclesiastical unity for the domestic peace and the national greatness of Poland did not fail to make a great impression. When, after his speech, he was about modestly to withdraw, the king begged him to remain, saying that since he was ignorant of the Polish language, his presence would not interfere with the freedom of the discussion. Uchanski then proposed a further consideration of the question, but Sigismund Augustus declared that for his part it seemed to him fitting that they should accept the decrees of the Council at once. The reply, which was communicated in Latin by the vice-chancellor of the kingdom, declared that the king accepted the decrees of the holy Council of Trent, and would take care that they were carried into effect throughout the whole kingdom.[1] On August 7th, 1564, there

[1] See the report of Commendone to Borromeo of August 8, 1564, in LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., IV., 133-5 n.; *ibid.*, 20 n. the letter of the Polish king of August 9, and the reply of Pius IV., of November 3, 1564. *Cf.* also the letter of Uchanski of August 10, 1564, in WIERZBOWSKI, Uchansciana, II., 62, and the *letter of Hosius to Commendone dated Heilsberg, September 11, 1564, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. In the consistory of October 6, 1564, Pius IV. gave great praise to the King of Poland for his acceptance of the decrees of the Council. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 45.

appeared two royal edicts, which, only partially it is true, met the wishes of Commendone. The one set people on their guard against the new doctrines, while the other banished all foreign religious innovators.[1] The discredited Bernardino Ochino did not wait for their publication, but left Cracow at the beginning of September, 1564.[2]

The acceptance of the decrees by the king was not enough, as Commendone very quickly realized, to give them the force of law in Poland ; the nuncio therefore set to work to obtain their acceptance by the Diet as well. At a personal interview he prevailed upon the Bishop of Lemberg to take the carrying out of the decrees in hand.[3] Commendone extended his journey through the Polish kingdom as far as Podolia, his efforts everywhere being directed to the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses.[4] Since the end of the year he had again been occupied with the renewed danger of a national council, against which he worked upon the king, as well as in other ways, wherever he had an opportunity.[5] In the Diet which was opened in January, 1565, at Petrikau, the religious innovators strove with all their power for the holding of such a council.[6] This danger was indeed averted, but the Diet decided upon the liberation of the nobles from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[7] By

[1] See ZAKRZEWSKI, 271 ; ZIVIER, Neuere Geschicte Polens, I., Gotha, 1915, 748 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Commendone dated Lemberg, September 9, 1564 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello), which BENRATH, Ochino, 335, amplifies.

[3] *Cf.* ZIVIER, I., 756 *seq.* Particulars of the attitude of the Polish clergy towards the Tridentine decrees and their promulgation in Poland in Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, XXII. (1869), 84 *seq.*

[4] See the *reports of Commendone of May 19, October 7, and November 12, 1564 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[5] See the *reports of Commendone of December 23, 1564, and January 2 and 8, 1565, *ibid.*

[6] See the *reports of Commendone of January 23 and 24, 1565, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* ZIVIER, I., 759 *seq.*

calling attention to the disturbances in France, Commendone was successful in inducing even many persons of Protestant leanings to have no further desire for a national council.[1]

This danger seemed hardly to have been averted when a new one arose. The plan of divorcing himself from his wife, the Archduchess Catherine of Austria, who gave him no prospect of issue, was taking a stronger and stronger hold upon the king. The validity of his marriage was to be contested on the ground that Catherine was the sister of the king's first wife. A dispensation from this impediment, however, had been granted by the Pope, and it could hardly be supposed, therefore, that Pius IV. would consent to a separation.[2] The innovators now called upon the king to cause his divorce to be declared by a national council; they had already fixed upon a future queen in the daughter of Radziwill, the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants. If Sigismund Augustus had fallen in with these plans, there would have been a repetition in Poland of what had been seen in England under Henry VIII. Fortunately this extreme step was prevented, and this was in no small degree due to Commendone.[3]

The indefatigable nuncio had richly deserved the purple which was bestowed on him on March 12th, 1565. Always active on behalf of ecclesiastical affairs in Poland, he remained there until the end of the year, though when he left the kingdom, in spite of all his successes, he was greatly troubled at heart for its future. Political anarchy was as rampant there as the religious controversy.[4] The anti-Trinitarians were

[1] See the *report of Commendone of January 26, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[2] See the letter from Borromeo to Commendone of March 3, 1565, in THEINER, Monum. Pol., II., 716.

[3] See the *reports of Commendone of January 8, 30 and 31; February 1, 4, 8, 12, 16, 19, 20, 26 and 28; March 2, 4, 15 and 23; April 1 and 10; and May 3, 1565, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. *Cf.* WIERZBOWSKI, Uchansciana, I., 125 *seq.;* EICHHORN, II., 241 *seq.;* WOTSCHKE, 212.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Commendone of April 7, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

spreading everywhere; the question of the king's divorce as well as the untrustworthiness of Uchanski were sources of grave danger.[1] Nevertheless Commendone could console himself with the thought that he had, during his sojourn in Poland, laid the foundations for a reform and a Catholic restoration by the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees which he had obtained from the king.[2] The carrying into effect of these, especially that against the accumulation of benefices, and that about the duty of residence, opened out, it is true, extraordinary difficulties,[3] but on the other hand Commendone had the joy of witnessing the beginnings of a renewal of ecclesiastical life; at the Easter of 1565 he was able to report as to the increasing frequentation of the holy sacraments, and the first signs of the return of many Protestants to the Church.[4] In all his efforts for an ecclesiastical restoration, to which he continued to give his attention to the end,[5] no one stood more loyally by his side than Hosius. In August, 1565, they united in bringing their influence to bear on the diocesan synod of Heilsberg in favour of the carrying out of the Tridentine

[1] *Cf.* EHRENBERG, 164, 177. For the anxiety in Rome see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, dated Rome, May 19, 1565 (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 763).

[2] Writers of the most various points of view are unanimous in recognizing the importance which attaches to Hosius and Commendone in connection with the Catholic restoration in Poland. *Cf.* EICHHORN, II., 208 *seqq.;* ZUKOWIĚ, Il cardinale Hosio e la chiesa polacca, Petrograd, 1882 (in Russian); HIRSCH in Allgem. Deutsche Biographie, XIII., 182 *seq.;* SCHIEMANN, III., 325 *seq.;* LJUBOWICZ, Naczalo katoliczeskoj reakcii i upadok reformacii w Polszje (the beginnings of the Catholic reaction and the decline of the reformation in Poland; see Histor. Zeitschrift, LXVIII., 175 *seq.*, Warsaw, 1891); KORZENIOWSKI, 175 *seqq.;* Anzeiger der Krakauer Akademie, 1894, 221; WOTSCHKE, 209 *seqq.;* BAIN in Cambridge Mod. Hist., III., 83.

[3] *Cf.* the detailed *report of Commendone of June 3, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

[4] See the *report of Commendone of April 25, 1565, *ibid.*

[5] In a *letter dated Posnaniae, October, 1565, he speaks of his attempts to establish a seminary, *ibid.*

decrees.[1] It was due to both Cardinals that one of the most powerful instruments for the Catholic restoration, the Jesuits, turned their attention to the east. They immediately established colleges at Braunsberg, Wilna, and Pultusk. The college at Braunsberg became the centre of the Catholic restoration in eastern and northern Europe.[2]

[1] *Cf.* EICHHORN, II., 169 *seq.*

[2] Pius IV. had already, in a brief of August 28, 1561, recommended the introduction of the Jesuits to the Archbishop of Gnesen (see EHRENBERG, 93 *seq.*). For the introduction of the Jesuits into Poland see POGIANI Epist., IV., 136 *seq.;* THEINER, Monum. Pol., II., 717, 719; THEINER, Schweden, II., 168; EICHHORN, II., 173 *seqq.;* KRASICKI, De Soc. Iesu in Polonia primordia, Berlin, 1860; ZAKRZEWSKI, 269; CANISII Epist., IV., 461 *seq.*, 798; FIJALEK, Pierwsi Jezuici w Polsce (see Anzeiger der Krakauer Akademie, 1894, 226 *seq.*). ZALESKI, Jezuici w Polsce, I., Lwów, 1900. For Braunsberg see DUHR, I., 179 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

The State of Religion in France.

The crisis which the kingdom of France had to encounter was far more violent and dangerous than that in Poland. A victory of the new religious opinions there would have been of incalculably far-reaching importance for the whole of Europe.

The premature death of Henry II. (July 10th, 1559) brought about a decisive change in French affairs, and during the reigns of his sons, who were minors, the domestic dissensions in the kingdom grew more and more acute. In political as well as in religious matters grave disorders broke loose upon the kingdom. Calvinism, the adherents of which, in spite of the persecution of Henry II., were increasing in numbers,[1] had, with its fundamental doctrine of predestination, and its pitiless separation of the elect and the lost, pierced deep into the heart of ancient France.[2] It had, moreover, entered into close alliance with the opposition party in politics.

Under the first successor of Henry II., Francis II., who was only sixteen years of age, and who was weak in body as well as in mind, the reins of government fell into the hands of the Guise, of whom Francis, the bold and experienced soldier, and his diplomatic brother, the Cardinal, were the most important. Cardinal Charles Guise, that highly-gifted man, who had already received the purple at the age of twenty-three, had many high qualities, but also many grave faults. The youngest of the French Cardinals, he put the others to shame by his strictly ecclesiastical manner of life. In his diocese of Rheims he had devoted himself, above all, to the

[1] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 323 *seqq.*

[2] See Marcks in Histor. Zeitschrift, LXII., 43.

formation of a good clergy. His imposing presence, his knowledge of languages and his eloquence, aroused universal admiration, but all the more did his contemporaries blame his boundless ambition, his self-seeking character, and his greed of wealth and power.[1] The Guise knew well that the revolutionary tendencies of the people had their origin in the religious innovations,[2] and they accordingly strove to keep the latter in check with as much rigour as the dead king. This made as many enemies for them as the unlimited power which the king allowed them, and the want of consideration with which they used it. Having only recently settled in France, they were looked upon as foreigners, a thing which added to the number of their opponents. All these malcontents, as the Venetian ambassador, Soriano, says, united themselves with the Huguenots, as the Calvinists in France were then called, so that they might attain their private aims under the guise of religion.[3] Among these malcontents, in addition to many of the nobles, were to be found the princes of the blood royal, to whom, according to the old French custom, belonged the first place in the councils of a king who was a minor, but who now found themselves put in the background and passed

[1] See G. Michiel in ALBÈRI, I., 3, 440 *seq.* *Cf.* GRATIANUS, De bello, 303 ; RANKE, Französische Gesch., I ², 194 *seq.* BOUILLÉ (Hist. des ducs de Guise, Paris, 1849), FORNERON (I., 86 *seq.*), and GUILLEMAIN (Le card. de Lorraine, Paris, 1847) are defective from the point of view of criticism in their accounts. SOLDAN, (I., 215) remarks that the Protestant partisan writings must be used with caution, as well as the panegyrics of contemporary and later authors ; but he himself has not been sufficiently careful in this respect. The same is true of PHILIPPSON (Westeuropa, II., 97), who describes the Cardinal as a hypocrite "who was at bottom a complete infidel!" A biography, complying with the requirements of modern science, of the Cardinal, who was a man of very complicated character, is still very much wanted. The publication by H. MOYSSET of the Lettres et papiers d'État du card. Ch. de Lorraine will provide the basis for such a biography.

[2] The opinion of VOSS, Verhandlungen, 20.

[3] M. Soriano in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 131 ; *cf. ibid.*, 155.

over. Not a few of these important personages openly and unreservedly avowed themselves Calvinists, while others were at any rate strongly inclined to their opinions.

Of the princes of the collateral line of Bourbon, the only one who remained true to the Church was Charles de Bourbon, who had been raised to the purple by Paul III. His elder brother, Antoine de Vendôme, who was, through his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, titular King of Navarre, but actually only in possession of Béarn and Lower Navarre, was a man of weak character, who allowed himself to be guided by those about him. As his wife was a zealous adherent of the Huguenots, the latter counted upon his support; they were certain of that of his brother, Louis de Condé. This prince, who was as ambitious as he was cunning, was, despite his dissolute life and his love of pleasure, a man of great energy and resolution. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny must be described as an even more important personality; his severe manner of life was in strong contrast to that of Condé, but he was in complete accord with him in the matter of religion.

The opposition party, both political and religious, which ascribed to the Catholic Guise all the abuses in the French kingdom, set on foot, in the spring of 1560, the conspiracy of Amboise, which aimed at the overthrow of the Guise, the abduction of the king, and at setting Condé at the head of the government, and thus establishing the predominance of Calvinism. Condé himself was the secret leader of the conspiracy, the ramifications of which stretched as far as England and Germany.[1] The Calvinists justified their action on the ground of political necessity.[2] The plot, however, was discovered, and many of the conspirators were executed. Nevertheless, it did not fail to have an effect; a certain weakening began to show itself in the hitherto unbending attitude of the Guise; they allowed the appointment as chancellor of Michel de L'Hôpital, the leader of the so-called political Catholics, who were pursuing the phantom of compromise

[1] See RUBLE, II., 140 *seq.*; MARCKS, Coligny, 362.

[2] See PLATSHOFF, Theorie, 50.

(July 30th, 1560), while they also made further concessions, which were interpreted by their enemies as signs of fear, and which they therefore hailed with ridicule.[1] Thus the courage and the pretensions of the hitherto persecuted Calvinists began to revive, and they began to lift up their heads in many different places. As early as the summer of 1560 a close observer reported to Rome that heresy was steadily spreading in the provinces, because so little resistance was made to it. At Rouen nocturnal battles in the streets between the Catholics and Huguenots were not uncommon, while at Orleans, Poitiers and in other towns the Catholics showed themselves so timid that they scarcely dared to make complaint.[2]

Pius IV., who had since May been anxious about the turn of affairs in France,[3] sought vainly to remedy them by nominating, on June 13th, 1560, Cardinal Tournon as Grand Inquisitor for France, with the power of proceeding against the heretics even without the assistance of the local bishops. Fully realizing that the principal cause of the religious schism lay in the disorders among the clergy, he, at the same time, proposed to restore discipline among the French ecclesiastics by the appointment as legates of the two Cardinals, Tournon and Guise.[4] But this measure came too late. Many of the

[1] *Cf.* RUBLE, II., 317 *seq.*; SOLDAN, I., 346 *seq.*; RANKE, Französische Gesch., I[2]., 207; MARR, Calvin und die Widerstandsbewegung in Frankreich, Dresden, 1902, 66. For M. de L'Hôpital see the special works of TAILLANDIER (Paris, 1861), VILLEMAIN (Paris, 1874), GEUER (Leipzig, 1877), DUPRÉ-LASALE (Paris, 1875 and 1899,) ATKINSON (London, 1899), AMPOUX (Paris, 1900).

[2] See Epist. P. Broeti, 139. *Cf.* DEJARDINS, III., 419 *seqq.*; MARCKS, Coligny, 372 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Mula dated Rome, May 25, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 31 *seq.*, and 36. *Cf.* Voss, Verhandlungen, 62, for the mission of Cardinal Armagnac to save Antoine de Navarre and his wife from apostasy, and for the protection of Avignon. *Cf.* RUBLE, II., 371 *seq.*, 378; TAMIZEY DE LAROQUE, Lettres du card. d'Armagnac in the Rev. Hist., II., 517 *seq.*

bishops who had been nominated by the court party were tainted by the corruption of the times, and were quite unfit to take steps against the abuses among the lower clergy. Even the regular clergy had in various ways degenerated, while the new order of the Jesuits, which was so full of vigour, was not allowed into France.[1] It can therefore be no matter for surprise that, among the secular clergy, both the higher and the lower, as well as in the monasteries, there were to be found many secret Calvinists, who were held back from open apostasy only by the consideration of their benefices and the fear of punishment. Even several of the bishops, such as Jean de Montluc of Valence, Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzès, and Caraccioli of Troyes, as well as even Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, were followers of the new doctrines. The common people, as Giovanni Michiel bears witness, still remained loyally firm in their old faith, but on the other hand, the upper classes, and especially the nobles, were greatly tainted by the new religious opinions, and many only went to mass for the sake of appearances or out of fear.[2]

The religious situation in France became even more threatening when the government took up an antagonistic attitude towards the Holy See by reason of its policy with regard to the Council. Undeterred by the repeated assurances of Pius IV. that the ecumenical Council would very soon be convoked, the French Council of State projected the holding of a special assembly of the French prelates, which looked only too like a national council. Even good Catholics, discontented at the long suspension of the Council of Trent, gave their support to these proposals, which were the outcome of that Gallican spirit, which had for so long filled the Curia with anxiety. In spite of all the assurances to the contrary on the part of the French government, Rome saw in this assembly of the prelates, a national council, which would in all probability lead to schism.[3] In the case of the ambitious Cardinal Guise they feared that he was aiming at the dignity of French

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 203 *seqq.*, and Vol. XIV., p. 325.

[2] See Relazione di Francia in Albèri, I., 3, 426.

[3] See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 184.

patriarch.[1] How far his conduct was influenced by the idea of a national church, which would be incompatible with the unity of the universal Church, must remain an open question; at anyrate it was a strange and suspicious circumstance that both he and the untrustworthy chancellor, de L'Hôpital, were promoting a national council. The Venetian ambassador, Michele Soriano, has expressed the opinion that Guise only wished to throw dust in the eyes of the innovators by this plan of a national council.[2] Whatever the real objects of the Cardinal may have been,[3] his conduct with regard to the question of the Council had very disastrous consequences. Even though in November he changed his attitude, and threw over the national council, his policy had so encouraged the Huguenots that in those places where they were strongest they persecuted the Catholics and drove them from their churches.[4] They even threatened Avignon itself. Condé then planned a fresh conspiracy for the overthrow of the Guise, but this too was discovered and led to the imprisonment and condemnation of the prince. His execution was on the point of being carried into effect when the death of Francis II., on December 5th, 1560, completely changed the situa-

[1] See Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 349; Šusta, I., 183.

[2] See Albèri, I., 4, 132.

[3] Ranke (Französische Gesch., I[2]., 211) does not trust Soriano, and thinks that the Cardinal "merely from ill-will and to some, extent of necessity" agreed to the "convocation of the deliberative assemblies." Marcks, Coligny, 386, is of the same opinion. Dembiński, in his dissertation upon the relations of France with the Holy See during the reign of Francis II. (see Extrait du Bulletin de l' Acad. des Sciences de Cracovie, February, 1890) has paid detailed attention to the attitude of Cardinal Guise towards the Holy See, but he has not been able quite to clear up the mystery. Dembeński takes as his authority the correspondence of the French ambassador in Rome, Babou de la Bourdaisière, Bishop of Angoulême (see *F. franc. 16038, and V. Colbert 343, in the Bibl. Nat. Paris; the edition published at Rheims in 1859 is incomplete and often incorrect). *Cf.* also the correspondence between Morone and Guise in Ehses, VIII., 139 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*

[4] See Philippson in Flathes Weltgeschicte, VII., 363.

tion.[1] Once more a boy ascended the throne, the ten year old Charles IX., but the helm of the state passed into the by no means strong hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici.

This remarkable woman made an impression upon the history of France which was as deep as it was unfortunate. She possessed all the good qualities and all the weaknesses of her family. Gifted, a lover of the arts and of pomp, and filled with an indefatigable energy, her conduct was always dominated by that uneasy, cautious Medici prudence which was so characteristic of her great-uncle, Leo X. Like that Pope, to whom she bore a strong personal resemblance, Catherine was extremely irresolute, and at the same time very timid and superstitious. A faithful disciple of Machiavelli, and a past mistress of untruthfulness, she did not shrink from the employment of the very worst means in order to maintain her supremacy. It has with reason been said of her that her subtlety consisted only in the constantly changing use of trifling measures and self-seeking intrigues. It was vain to seek for any strength in her, who was capable of changing her mind three times in a single day. She always preferred half-measures. Externally she acted for the most part as a Catholic, but the differences of religion did not really affect her mind at all. How far she was under the sceptical influence of her compatriot, Pietro Strozzi, would be difficult to say, but it is beyond doubt that she always subordinated, and without the least scruple, questions of religion to political considerations. In face of the dangers which threatened France from the fanaticism of the Huguenots and the ambition of the Guise, the regent, caring only for honour and power, and looked upon by her subjects as a foreigner, hoped best to maintain her supremacy by a policy of preserving a

[1] See RUBLE, II., 326 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*, 425 *seq.* The news of the death of Francis II., which raised the hopes of the Calvinists (see MARCKS, Coligny, 422), cannot only have reached Rome on December 18, as SICKEL (Konzil, 153) maintains, because Pius IV. sent his condolences to Charles IX. as early as December 14; see RAYNALDUS, n. 83, 1560.

balance between the parties, following first one and then the opposite course, one day, as Aubigné says, pouring oil into the fire of the party feuds, and the next day water, aiming always at never allowing either of the opposing forces to secure a decisive advantage, using one against the other, and in this way ruling them both.[1]

The new government began by a reaction against the former despotism of the Guise, who now leaned more strongly than before upon the strict Catholic party. Condé was pardoned, Navarre received again the office of Lieutenant-General, and Coligny his former dignities. The Calvinists drew great advantages from the changed state of affairs. As early as the end of January, 1561, in spite of the protests of the nuncio, Gualterio,[2] they obtained such concessions as the suspension of all judicial proceedings in matters of religion, and the abrogation of penalties already inflicted. After the appointment of Navarre to the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, they thought that they could look upon themselves as masters of the country districts. Numerous preachers flocked into France from Geneva, who were allowed without interference to attack and flout the Catholic religion in Paris and other cities.[3] Very soon they even made their appearance at the royal court. Coligny brought a preacher with him to

[1] AUBIGNÉ, Hist. Univ., 1626, I., 141. For the personality of Catherine de' Medici see, among contemporary writers, especially the report of the Venetian ambassadors Giov. Capello (1554) in ALBÈRI, I., 2, 280, Giov. Michiel (1561), *ibid.*, I., 3, 433 *seq.*, Mich. Soriano (1562) *ibid*, I., 4, 143 *seq.* Giov. Correro (1569), *ibid*, 202 *seq.* *Cf.* BASCHET, Dipl. Venet., 460 *seqq.*, 511 *seqq.*; SOLDAN, I., 385 *seq.*; RANKE, Französische Gesch., I², 305 *seq.*; V.³, 81 *seq.*; SEGESSER, I., 54 *seq.*; RUBLE, III., 34 *seq.*; 175; SCHOTT in Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch., IV. (1887), 537 *seq.*; MARCKS, Bayonne, p. ix, xiii, 7 *seq.*, 11; DEFRANCE, Catherine de Médicis. Ses astrologues et ses magiciens-envoûteurs, Paris, 1911.

[2] *Cf.* RUBLE, III., 36; ŠUSTA, I., 171.

[3] The deterioration in the state of affairs appears among other things in the reports of the Jesuit Broët to Lainez: see Epist. P. Broëti, 158 *seq.*, 166 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 172.

Fontainebleau, and Catherine suffered this; she even one fine day accompanied the young king and her other children to a sermon of this innovator. The nuncio tried to make a protest, but was not granted an audience.[1] In view of the danger of the apostasy of the royal house Francis de Guise and Montmorency put aside their former enmity and were joined by the Marshal de Saint-André. At Easter, April 6th, 1561, these three men formed themselves into a league known as the Triumvirate. In consequence of this Catherine drew even nearer to the Calvinist party, who were still further encouraged in their activities by an edict of toleration on April 19th. With growing indignation Gualterio observed the behaviour of the government, dictated as it was by weakness and fear. His reports to Rome, though quite in accordance with the truth, were described on the part of the French as being too pessimistic, and consequently the position of the nuncio became more and more difficult. It became altogether intolerable when Pius IV. shrank from taking the strong course of action against the French government which Gualterio recommended. The diplomatic Pope feared an open break with France, principally because this would have left him completely at the mercy of the arrogance of the Spanish king, which was already so galling. It was not by severity, but rather by mildness that the people in question were to be won over. Taking into consideration the vacillating character of Catherine de' Medici and of Navarre, it appeared to him that such a course of action offered the best chance of a change of French religious policy in favour of the French Catholics. In May, 1561, the recall of Gualterio and his replacement by Prospero Santa Croce, Bishop of Cisamus, was decided upon.[2]

Pius IV. was in no small degree confirmed in this cautious policy by the behaviour of Navarre, who adapted his religious attitude to his political aims. While Francis II. was still

[1] See Ruble, III., 69.

[2] See Šusta, I., 31, 187, 189 *seq.*, 191 *seq.* For the correspondence of the nuncio Gualterio with the secret secretariate see Šusta, I., lxii., *seq.* Constant has undertaken to deal with the French nunciature under Pius IV.

alive, the titular king of Navarre had sent to Rome, in the person of Pierre d'Albret, an envoy to pay homage to the Pope, and thus obtain recognition as a sovereign prince. On account of the opposition of the Spaniards the Pope had long deferred this recognition, but at length, on December 14th, 1560, he had received the *obedientia* of the King of Navarre at a public consistory in the Sala Regia.[1] It would appear that very little had been known in France about this occurrence. Navarre was able to retain his popularity with the Huguenots all the more easily because he was secretly assisting their aims. He made such far-reaching promises to the Queen of England that Elizabeth looked upon him as a sure ally. But at the approach of Easter the fickle prince retired to a monastery, and during Holy Week publicly received Communion, taking good care that his Catholic behaviour was reported to Rome by the nuncio.[2] At the same time he sent the skilful Pierre d'Albret back to the Curia, hoping that he would be received by Pius IV. as the permanent ambassador of Navarre, which would have involved a recognition on the part of the Pope of his claims to that kingdom. When, at the end of April, d'Albret arrived in the Eternal City, he found that, in consequence of a strong protest lodged by Juan de Ayala in the name of Philip II. against the consistory of December 14th, 1560, the situation had been entirely changed, and that Pius IV. had been forced to a skilful diplomatic volte-face. While it was hinted that the Pope intended to refrain from mixing himself up in this difficult question, an excuse was found for sending d'Albret back to France. He was told to hold out hopes to his master that a better opportunity would be found, and at the same time to pave the way in France for the sending of a Cardinal legate.[3]

It seemed to the Pope that the man best suited for this

[1] *Cf.* Bondonus, 539; Raynaldus, 1560, n. 85; Ruble, III., 44 *seq.*

[2] See Ruble, III., 42 *seq.*, 46, 130. *Cf.* Heidenhain, Unionspolitik Philipps von Hessen, 181; Šusta, I., 190.

[3] See Šusta, I., 190 *seq.* *Cf.* Ruble, III., 47.

difficult mission would be Cardinal Ippolito d'Este.[1] This prince of the Church, who was as ambitious as he was wealthy, had, as the uncle of the Duke of Guise, and the cousin of the widowed Duchess Renée, been for many years on the best of terms with the kingdom of France, where he held many ecclesiastical benefices. The builder of the famous Villa d'Este at Tivoli was among the most brilliant figures in the College of Cardinals, and held an altogether exceptional position there.[2] An enthusiastic patron of the arts and of science, the son of Lucrezia Borgia was at the same time a diplomat of great ability, who was, moreover, intimately acquainted with French affairs. He fully shared the affection of his house for France, and in the last conclave had been the principal candidate of the then all-powerful Guise,[3] though he was now on the side of those who had control of the government, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre. For this reason, as well as on account of the popularity which he enjoyed with the French people, he was in a quite exceptional way fitted for the mission now intended for him.[4] As soon as Este had declared his readiness to undertake the task, which, in view of the ever-increasing confusion in the state of affairs in France, bristled with difficulties, Pius IV. burned with impatience to put his plan into execution. Even before the arrival of d'Albret in France,[5] he had already,

[1] I found the first notification that Este had been chosen for a mission to France in a *despatch from the Florentine envoys of March 5, 1561 (State Archives, Florence, Medic., 3281).

[2] *Cf.* concerning him Vol. XI. of this work, p. 183, n. 2. See also A. Baumgartner, Gesch. der Weltlit., V., 267.

[3] See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 8.

[4] See the note drawn up on the basis of Este's memorandum in the State Archives, Modena, in Šusta, I., 191 For Este's influence in France see G. Michiel in Albèri, I., 3, 451 *seq.*; for his position in Rome, *ibid.*, II., 4, 143.

[5] See the *letter of Arco, May 31, 1561 (Secret State Archives, Vienna), and that of Cardinal Gonzaga of May 31, 1561, in Šusta, I., 196. An *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1561, reports: "although he was taken ill on the 27, after the consistory, the Pope nevertheless, though still in bed, held a congregation on the 29, concerning Este's mission (Urb. 1039, p. 270b, Vatican Library).

on June 2nd, 1561, appointed Este as legate *de latere.*[1]

The departure of Este, however, was delayed, partly on account of the necessary preparations, for he wished to make his appearance with the greatest possible pomp, and partly because it was necessary to wait for the consent of the French government. Instead of this there arrived, in the last week of June, a report from Gualterio of the 14th of that month, containing the news of the assembly of the French prelates which had been convoked for July 20th. Although the French government did not fail to send soothing assurances, the terrifying picture of a national council took possession of the imagination of Pius IV. He was convinced that the reasons alleged for this assembly, namely the preliminary discussions about the ecumenical Council, and the consideration of the liquidation of the debts of the crown, were merely a pretext. On June 26th Gualterio was charged to do all in his power to have the assembly postponed, at anyrate until the arrival of Este; if he could not succeed in doing this, he was to prevent any steps being taken in the assembly to the injury of the Catholic religion.[2] In a consistory on June 27th the report of the French nuncio was read, and the conclusion was arrived at that there was no definite reason for supposing that a national council was intended.[3] Nevertheless the

[1] *Die lunae 2. Iunii 1561 fuit consistorium secretum in aula Constantini: . . . Descendit postea S. S^tas^ ad res Galliae et pluribus rationibus ostendit, in quo malo statu reperirentur, dixi que quod pro honore Dei ac suo officio, ad quod etiam principes christiani eam hortati fuerant, decreverat mittere legatum a latere suo ad illud regnum direxisseque oculus atque mentem in rev. dom. Ippolitum cardinalem Ferrariensem, virum gravem, probum ac prudentem illusque regni principibus gratum eumque de omnium rev. dominorum cardinalium consensu legatum ad eas partes deputavit. Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13). *Cf.* Bondonus, 541; Šusta, I., 195, 197; *Report of Fr. Tonina of June 4, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* Šusta, I., 38 *seq.*, 203, 215.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

departure of Este was hurried forward. He received the legatine cross on June 27th, and left the Eternal City on July 2nd.[1] His retinue was as splendid as that of a prince of the Church in the golden age of the Renaissance. His suite numbered more than 400 knights, while his own company of musicians added to the ostentatious display. Este also took with him several bishops, and the best canonists and theologians in the Curia, among whom, by the special order of the Pope, was the General of the Jesuits, Lainez.[2] Thus the representatives of Catholic reform had their place in the mission. Advisers of wide experience and of strict ecclesiastical views seemed all the more necessary in view of the difficulty of the problems which had to be dealt with in France, and also because the Cardinal, a true son of the Renaissance, was much more likely to be influenced by political than by religious considerations.

Cardinal Este travelled slowly by way of Siena, first of all to Florence, which he reached on July 13th, and where he had a conference with Cosimo I.; nor was the remainder of his journey at all hurried.[3] The reason for this was not only

[1] The accounts of Bondonus are erroneous (p. 542). *Cf.* STEINHERZ, I., 267, 274, and the *letter of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, July 2, 1561: "Este only started to-day because couriers arrived from France" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The brief to Charles IX., dated June 28, concerning the mission of Este in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 84; *ibid.*, n. 85, the briefs to A. de Navarre and Condé. The brief to Duke Alfonso of June 28, 1561, in the State Archives, Modena, that to Renée of Ferrara in FONTANA, II., 562 *seq.* *Similar briefs to the King and the grandees of France, dated June 28, 1561, in Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 154-77 (Papal Secret Archives). See also CIBRARIO, Lettere 59 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, I., 249. For Este's retinue see the *Avviso di Roma of July 2, 1561 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library), as well as ŠUSTA, I., 41 *seq.*, 63, 234, and Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 281 *seq.* To the *report of Tonina of July 2, 1561, there is attached a list of those who accompanied Este on his journey (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See ŠUSTA, I., 38, 216, 219, 221.

the great heat of the summer, but also the realization of the difficulty of his mission, and the hope that the complicated state of affairs in France would soon become clearer.

The object of Este's mission was to protect the interests of the Catholic Church in France, so seriously threatened by the weakness of the French government, by skilful diplomacy, and by winning over those in authority. His immediate object was to win over the influential but vacillating King of Navarre, to keep Catherine from making any further concessions to the innovators, and to guide her attempts to meet the religious crisis in the legitimate direction of an ecumenical Council, at the same time being very careful in all this to avoid anything which might lead to an open rupture. Even during the course of his journey the Cardinal showed himself as moderate and conciliatory as possible. He tried to show the King of Navarre into what an abyss of difficulties he would throw France by blindly pursuing his own private ends, and of what little value, in comparison with the power of the Catholics, were the hopes which he entertained of the help of England and Germany.[1]

The news which came from France at first was not very encouraging. The government persisted in its projected assembly of the prelates, and even openly declared that the leaders of the Calvinists must be invited to be present! But even if the optimistic view of the situation which, on the whole, had so far been held in the Curia had to be modified, fresh hopes were roused when news came of the edict of July, which contained several provisions favourable to the Catholics. It is true that there was little reason for satisfaction as far as the carrying out of these provisions was concerned,[2] and Gualterio reported that the government, in contradiction to the assurances which they had hitherto given, intended to allow the

[1] See Le Laboureur, Mém. de Castelnau, I., 729; Šusta, I., lxxix, 216, 296. *Cf.* Ruble, III., 164.

[2] See Sickel, Konzil, 210; Šusta, I., 66 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*, 220 *seq.* For the Edict of July, dated the 11, but only issued on the 30, see Soldan, I., 429 *seq.*; Ruble, III., 103 *seq.*; Heidenhain, Unionspolitik, 313.

discussion of the religious question at the assembly of the prelates. At the same time, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre, to whom it was of great importance to maintain the appearance of being good Catholics, were very lavish with every kind of promise. They sent friendly letters to the Pope, with the result that he again became reassured.[1] There was, however, but little justification for this, for the edict of July remained a dead letter.[2] On August 17th the Calvinist, Hugo Languet, wrote in triumph concerning it from Paris that the Papists had done nothing more by its means than to irritate the people they wished to be suppressed, so that these now did openly what they had before been accustomed to do in secret; in almost all the cities except Paris, sermons were preached, churches seized, images destroyed and relics of the saints burned.[3]

In order to appease the strict Catholics, and especially the professors of the Sorbonne, who even in May had strongly dissuaded the king from the idea of a national council, the following were stated to be the objects of the assembly of prelates: a preliminary consultation about the ecumenical Council, the appointment of the delegates who were to attend it, and the discussion of important matters relating to the Gallican church and the kingdom. That the government had other intentions, however, was shown by the edict of July 25th, which assured safe-conduct to Poissy to all French subjects, and therefore to the Calvinists as well, who wished to bring forward any matter concerning religion.[4] There, at Poissy, close to St. Germain-en-Laye, where the court was in residence, the clergy were to assemble, while the nobles and the third estate were to meet at the neighbouring city of Pontoise. Only a part of the bishops went to Poissy, among them Odet de Châtillon, Montluc, Saint-Gelais and Caraccioli, who were all more or less openly inclined to Cal-

[1] See Sickel, *loc. cit.*, 208 *seq.*, Šusta, I., 230, 234.

[2] See Ruble, III., 103 *seq.*; Soldan, I., 433 *seq.*

[3] Langueti Epist., II., 130, 137. Soldan, I., 433 *seq.*

[4] See D'Argentré, II., 192 *seq.*; Soldan, I., 437; Fouqueray, I., 250 *seq.*

vinism.[1] To these the Cardinals who were present formed a counterpoise, namely, Tournon, Armagnac and Guise. The assembly was opened on July 31st by the chancellor, L'Hôpital, who in the name of the king openly described it as a national council, which, far better than a general council, composed for the most part of foreigners, would be able, by means of "a reform of morals and doctrine" to afford relief to the difficulties of France. Speaking of the adherents of the new religion, he declared that it was the duty of the assembly not to condemn them in advance, but to welcome them kindly.[2]

While the nuncio Gualterio was making bitter complaints to Catherine and Navarre concerning this line of action, which was altogether at variance with that hitherto followed by the government,[3] the majority of the bishops, under the leadership of Cardinal Tournon, had taken up a definite stand. They repudiated the idea of a national council, and declared that, always supposing that there would be no discussion of doctrine, they could only take part in the deliberations concerning the removal of abuses; they were quite determined to maintain the obedience which they owed to the Pope.

To this double-dealing, so dear to the French government, with regard to the assembly of prelates at Poissy, were added other acts which were calculated more and more to destroy the hopes which the sanguine temperament of Pius IV. led him to entertain. In spite of her attempts to conceal the real objects of her policy, Catherine de' Medici found that the true state of affairs was nearly always reported to Rome. This could only have been done by the nuncio Gualterio, and since the Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, was also in the habit of sending frequent dispatches to Rome, she suspected a secret understanding between them. In order to discover

[1] *Cf.* Desjardins, III. 464; A. Pascal, Antonio Caracciolo, Vescovo di Troyes, Roma, 1915.

[2] See Soldan, I., 439; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 604.

[3] See the report of Gualterio of August 7, 1561, in Šusta, I., 227 *seq.*

this she caused the diplomatic dispatches to be intercepted and opened! Pius IV. loudly complained in consistory at this shameful proceeding, and threatened that he would no longer receive the French ambassador unless the stolen correspondence was restored.[1] Soon more bad news arrived from France; at Pontoise the nobles and the third estate had demanded the cessation of all persecution of the Calvinists, and the holding of a national council, and, in order to meet the financial crisis, they gave their support to a confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues.[2] The government showed itself well disposed towards this last proposal, and, moreover, persisted in its plan of abolishing the first-fruits, while it made difficulties about sending any prelates to Trent. In this way the assembly at Poissy developed into a religious conference with the Calvinists. Preachers, for the most part apostate Catholics, arrived from all parts; on August 23rd, Theodore Beza, Calvin's principal colleague, arrived at the court of St. Germain-en-Laye, and the reception accorded to him could not have been more ceremonious had he been the Pope himself. He was at once allowed to preach at the house of Condé, and in the evening Navarre took him to Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX., who received him very graciously. During the days that followed, Beza, as well as others, were allowed to preach at the royal palace before a large gathering of the nobility, as well as to hold a Calvinist service. All this was the cause of great anxiety to the Spanish ambassador, who felt as though he were at Geneva.[3]

It can hardly be wondered at, therefore, that in spite of the protests of the Sorbonne a religious conference was opened under the presidency of the young king on September 9th in

[1] Pius IV., who wished to avoid a rupture with France "at any cost," allowed himself to be pacified more easily than Spain, so that Charles IX. was obliged to disavow his mother's action. See RUBLE, III., 163 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 239.

[2] See SOLDAN, I., 464 *seq.*

[3] See the reports of Chantonnay in Mém. de Condé, II., 16 *seq.* *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 470.

the refectory of the Dominicans at Poissy.[1] Beza spoke first in the name of the twelve Calvinist preachers. He began with an emotional prayer, and then proceeded to explain, at first with great circumspection, the new system of doctrine. It was only when he came to the doctrine of the Eucharist that he came out in his true colours by saying: "The Body of Christ is as far removed from the consecrated bread as heaven is from earth." At these words loud murmurings broke out through all the assembly; even the adherents of the new religion were covered with confusion, while Coligny covered his face with his hands, and Cardinal Tournon turned to the queen, crying out excitedly: "Is it possible that Your Majesty can tolerate such a blasphemy?"[2] His appeal was in vain, and Catherine allowed Beza to finish his discourse. After Tournon had demanded a copy of the speech, so that he might frame his reply, the assembly broke up in great excitement.

At the second sitting, on September 16th, Cardinal Guise refuted the doctrines set forth by Beza in a brilliant speech, calling attention with great skill to the contradictions between the Calvinists and the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. The Cardinal's speech was couched in extremely measured terms, so that it could not fail to make a great impression on the moderate party, though as far as the matter was concerned he held firmly to the Catholic standpoint. On September 12th the government had succeeded in obtaining from the Parliament of Paris the registration of the great edict of

[1] *Cf.* Mém. de Condé, II., 490 *seq.;* BOSSUET, Hist. des variat., IX., 90 *seq.;* HENRY, II., 497 *seq.;* BAUM, Beza, II., 147 *seqq.;* SOLDAN, I., 467 *seqq.* MOURGUES (Strasbourg, 1859); KLIPFFEL (Paris, 1867); RUBLE, III., 154 *seq.;* 176 *seq.*, and Mém. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, XVI. (1890), 1 *seq.;* GOTHEIN, 594 *seq.;* LAVISSE, Hist. de France, VI., 1, 47 *seq.;* FOUQUERAY, I., 251 *seq.* See also the letter of Polanco in Précis hist., 1889, 71 *seq.;* THOMPSON, 106 *seq.* See also HAUSER, Sources, III., 172.

[2] For this incident *cf.* the reports of the envoys of Florence (DESJARDINS, III., 462), and Venice (RUBLE, III., 180), as well as the Avviso da Parigi di 13 Ottobre, 1561, in Riv. Cristiana, III., 363.

Orleans of January 31st, the edict which abolished the power of the Pope in the conferring of French benefices, and forbade the sending of first-fruits and other monies to Rome.[1]

Such was the state of affairs when at last, on September 19th, Cardinal Este, sent to act as mediator, arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye.[2] His reception at the court was courteous, but cold. Although Este had, through an intermediary, given tranquillizing assurances on the subject of his faculties, the chancellor, L'Hôpital, refused to give them the customary sanction by affixing to them the seal of state, on the ground that they were a violation of the edict of Orleans. Este did not allow himself to be intimidated by this set-back. Like the skilled diplomatist he was he sought to attain his ends by studious moderation. Making a virtue of necessity, he so completely shut his eyes to the dangerous policy of Catherine and the questionable behaviour of Navarre as to draw down upon himself the strong blame of the strict Catholics, who from the first had regarded him with distrust and dislike. Cardinals Guise and Tournon likewise feared a curtailment of their own powers. All the party of the Guise, as well as the Spanish ambassador, were strongly opposed to the policy of moderation pursued in Rome, which endangered their own aims. They, as well as the nuncio Gualterio, were convinced that Catholic interests could only be safeguarded by the fall of the existing government, the want of sincerity and double-dealing of which filled them with indignation.[3] Their remonstrances, in conjunction with the bad impression given by recent events, had at last caused Pius IV. himself to hesitate, and at the end of

[1] See Ruble, III., 153 *seq.* Šusta, I., 88.

[2] See Ruble, III., 184; Šusta, I., 295. For the correspondence of Este with the secret secretariate see the exhaustive account given by Šusta, I., lxxix., *seq.*, to which I have nothing to add except that the Chigi Library in Rome (Codex M—I—5) contains a copy of the manuscript in the State Archives, Modena, which, like that in the Royal Library, Berlin (*Inf. polit., 39), only goes down to July 28, 1562.

[3] See Šusta, I., 209, 231, 232-4, 296.

October he seemed to have decided to abandon the conciliatory policy which he had so far followed.[1]

Cardinal Este, however, did not allow himself to be deterred from his policy of moderation either by the changed attitude of the Pope or by the difficulties which he met with in France. He seemed to be willing to overlook everything: the equivocal behaviour of Navarre, the religious conference, and the toleration of Calvinism. From the first he had made it clear that he had come to show mildness, and to use gentle remedies against the disease.[2] In order to gain ground, his first care was to obtain the recognition of his faculties, by which the edict of Orleans would be completely set aside.[3] While the disentanglement of this problem was long delayed, he very soon secured the abandonment of the publicity which had hitherto been accorded to the religious conference; henceforward the king took no further part in its sittings. The very ambiguous formula concerning the Holy Eucharist adopted on September 29th gave great pleasure at the court, but was rejected by the Sorbonne. On October 9th the assembly of the prelates at Poissy proposed the banishment of all the preachers who should refuse to subscribe to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist; on the other hand they took upon themselves for the next sixteen years the payment of seventeen million livres for the liquidation of the debts of the state. On the strength of this the government promised to maintain the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom.[4]

[1] See Šusta, I., 88 *seq.* *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 225. For the state of opinion in the Curia see an *Avviso di Roma, Oct. 11, 1561 (Urb. 1033, p. 302b, Vatican Library), and a *letter from Caligari to Commendone dated Rome, October 11, 1561, in which he says: "Le cose di Francia vanno malissimo et quasi qui si hanno per disperate: admettono gl'heresiarchi non solo in colloquio ma alle prediche publiche. Ancora non s'intende che la gionta del logato habbia operata cosa di momento." (Lett. di princ., XXIII. 76, Papal Secret Archives.).

[2] See Hilliger, Katharina, 310 *seq.*

[3] See Ruble, III., 206, 212; Šusta, I., 298.

[4] See Soldan, I., 500 *seq.*, 512 *seq.* Ruble, III., 186 *seq.* *Cf.* also Cauchie, Les assemblées du clergé en France, in the Revue des sciences philos. et théol., II., 74-95.

At the same time it approved, at any rate in appearance, the sending of delegates to the Council of Trent. This was due, not only to the pressure of Este, but also to the threatening attitude of Philip II., who in the middle of October caused Catherine to be informed that this was the last time he would urge her to give up her policy of toleration of the Calvinists, and to enter upon one of stern repression; in that case she could count upon his assistance, but otherwise he must give it to those who were asking for it in order to preserve the old religion, since the protestantizing of France exposed both the Netherlands and Spain to danger.[1]

Catherine, who feared nothing so much as intervention on the part of Spain, was much alarmed at this, and on October 18th, she issued orders for the restitution of all the churches which had been seized by the Calvinists, put an end to the negotiations for a reunion, which were already hopeless, and solemnly promised that she would cause a good number of prelates, as well as a special envoy from herself, to go to the Council.[2] At last Este, in spite of the refusal of L'Hôpital, obtained the recognition of his faculties by their being stamped with the seal of state.[3] It was not until he had won this success that he sent a report to the Pope by Abbot Niquet. Pius IV., however, trusted the turn which affairs had taken in France all the less since the French ambassador had presented a petition for the granting of the chalice to the laity.[4] Niquet, who was eagerly awaited in Rome, did not arrive until November 14th, 1561. In the name of Este he begged for the continuation of the policy so far adopted, and of the negotiations to win over Navarre; at the same time he advised that such concessions as that of the chalice for the laity should be granted, since force would be of no avail at all. The detailed account which the representative of Este gave of the state

[1] See Hilliger, Katharina, 251; Soldan, I., 518; Ruble, III., 294 *seq.* Šusta, I., 262-4.

[2] See Mém. de Condé, II., 520; Soldan, I., 524 *seq.* Šusta, I., 297.

[3] See Ruble, III., 213; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 247.

[4] See Le Plat, IV., 727 *seq.* Šusta, I., 95.

of affairs in France held out but little prospect of any change for the better.[1] The mildness and conciliatory attitude of the government only roused the Calvinists to still greater hatred of the "idolators," as they called the Catholics. It seemed as though they intended to make it clear to the latter that they would not be satisfied with any mere toleration, but that they aimed at the complete overthrow of the Catholic religion in France. It was just at this moment that the acts of violence against the Catholics in many different parts of the country were multiplied. In many cities they were insulted and ill-treated, their images and relics burned, here and there churches were destroyed, priests and monks driven out, and sometimes even killed, or, as in Normandy, cruelly mutilated by the cutting off of their ears. The worst outrages occurred in the southern provinces, where in several places the Catholic worship was altogether suppressed.[2] The new religion had begun to penetrate even into the Papal territory at Carpentras.[3]

All this was bound to confirm Pius IV. in his conviction that the conciliatory policy of the past must be abandoned. Although he had so far defended Cardinal Este against the attacks of the Guise and the Spaniards, he now began to lend an ear to the accusations brought against him.[4] The displeasure of the Pope was still further increased by news

[1] See Šusta, I., 99, 298. *Cf.* also the *report of Serristori dated Rome, November 14, 1561 (State Archives, Florence). The letter from Este to Pius IV. taken by Niquet, of November 4, 1561, in Sala, III, 99 *seq.*

[2] See Döllinger, Kirchengesch., 531 *seq.*; de Meaux, 88; Desjardins, III., 466; Baguenault de Puchesse, Morvillier, 137 *seq.* For the cutting off of ears see the Paris report of October 13, 1561, published from the State Archives, Modena, in Riv. Cristiana, III., 363.

[3] See the *report of Fr. Tonina dated Rome, November 19, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The Pope sent money for the defence of the Papal territory against a surprise attack on the part of the Huguenots; see Šusta, I., 333.

[4] See Šusta, I., 332; *cf.* Pallavicini, 15, 14, 8.

which arrived on November 29th, which caused such consternation on all sides that no less a person than Morone demanded the recall of Este.[1] In his zeal to win over Navarre, Este, despite the protests of Tournon, allowed himself to be induced, at the invitation of Jeanne d'Albert and Catherine de' Medici, to be present at the sermon of a Calvinist, an apostate Franciscan![2] It availed the Cardinal very little that, in a detailed report, and with all the ingenuity of a true son of the Renaissance, he represented his conduct as an innocent act of courtesy to the two queens, who in return for his compliance had, together with Navarre, Condé and other Huguenots, assisted at the Catholic sermon preached by the court chaplain.[3]

When, at the beginning of 1562, Niquet left Rome, he was given a letter for Este which made it perfectly clear that Pius IV. did not intend to allow questions of religion to be treated from the political point of view. It was altogether unfitting, it stated,[4] that the Cardinal legate should have assisted at the sermon in question: very few people could be aware that this step had been taken with the best intentions and with forethought, while the scandal given was patent to all Catholics in France as well as abroad; such a thing must never take place again. Then the Pope went on in his letter to make bitter complaints of the behaviour of the French government, which put into force all the edicts issued in favour of the Huguenots, while those in favour of the Catholics remained a dead letter. He also complained of the demand

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, IV., 373.

[2] This event is minutely described by Chantonnay (*letter to Philip II., November 13, 1561, National Archives, Paris; used by Ruble, III., 213 *seq.*), and by the envoy of Frederick the Pious (Kluckhohn, Briefe, II., 221; *cf.* Delaborde, Les protest. à la cour de St. Germain, 70). *Cf.* also Šusta, I., 112, 307; II., 373; IV., 37.

[3] See the letters of Este to Borromeo of November 12 to 15, 1561, in Šusta, I., 303 *seq.*

[4] Pius IV., to Este, dated Rome, the beginning of January, 1562, in Šusta, I., 329 *seq.*

for the chalice for the laity which had been made by the French ambassador in Rome, of the delay in sending representatives to the Council of Trent, and of the edict of Orleans. As long as the latter remained in force, the Pope must consider the concordat and all indults as being in abeyance. The legate must make it clear to the King of Navarre that his wishes could only be met on the condition of his taking up a definitely Catholic position. As to the line of action to be followed in the future, Pius IV. did not conceal the fact that it no longer seemed wise to him to adopt or follow a policy of conciliation. The legate must make strong protests, without, however, coming to an actual breach. An autograph postscript added to the letter was highly significant; this left it open to Este to resign his legation under certain circumstances; in such a case he was to leave everything in the hands of Cardinal Tournon and the new nuncio, Santa Croce, who had been in France since October.[1]

As the Pope again later on repeatedly showed his displeasure at the conduct of Este, the latter sought in every possible way to justify himself. In doing this he especially blamed the Catholics who thronged about the Guise, from whom the Church had little to hope; on the other hand he took considerable pains to excuse the behaviour of Catherine. If the disturbances in France had been of a purely religious nature, so Este maintained, another line of action might have been advisable, but he had become more and more convinced that religion was only made a pretext for the furtherance of private ends; therefore the situation did not seem to him to be so hopeless as his enemies made out. It would be easy to precipitate a rupture, but nothing but mildness would do

[1] The reports of the nunciature of Santa Croce are published only very partially, and not always accurately, by AYMON, Synodes nationaux (La Haye, 1710), and CIMBER-DANJON, Arch. curieuses, I., 6. The Roman collections of codices contain many others, especially the Papal Secret Archives, *Bibl. Pia 133, and *Nunziat. div. 32; see ŠUSTA, I., lxxvi *seq.* See *ibid.* for the "Proposte"; *cf.* II., 383, for the peculiar position of Santa Croce as nuncio during the legation of Este.

any good. It was only in this way that he had been able to entertain any hopes of obtaining the recognition of his faculties, and of the sending of representatives to Trent.[1]

It was quite true that Este could boast of success in these two matters.[2] He was also destined to be successful in winning over Navarre and in obtaining the abrogation of the prohibition of the first-fruits, but in the thing that mattered most, the attitude of Catherine towards the Calvinists, things remained as they were. The queen held firm to her plan of maintaining peace by making concessions to the innovators, and of retaining the supreme power for herself by acting as mediator between the parties. Este assisted her in this, and hoped to win over Pius IV. to the concessions, while Catherine was determined to carry them out unaided by means of a religious conference.[3] That she had no idea of keeping the promise which she had made to the clergy of maintaining the Catholic religion was shown by an edict published on January 24th, 1562, in the framing of which L'Hôpital plainly showed his conviction that in course of time the old and the new religions would be able to exist side by side in France.

The January edict gave the Calvinists the free right to practise their religion outside the cities, and only imposed on them the restitution of the churches which they had taken from the Catholics, while it enjoined on both parties to refrain

[1] See Šusta, I., 322 *seq.*, 327. *Cf.* Pallavicini, 15, 14, 8 *seq.* Two letters in which Este defends his conduct to the Bishop of Caserta are printed in Lett. di princ., III., 256b.

[2] For the participation in the Council see Vol. XV. of this work, chap. VIII. The question of his faculties, about which the Paris Parliament specially made difficulties, was only settled in February, 1562, by a royal grant of approbation (*cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 268; Ruble, III., 220; Šusta, I., 321, 324, 326; II., 397). Pius IV. exhorted him to use his faculties with prudence, advice which Este complied with; see Šusta, I., 330; II., 396.

[3] See the excellent estimate of the policy of Catherine made by Šusta, I., 384.

from any acts of violence.[1] This edict was of "immense importance" for by it "the union of Church and State was broken."[2] The immediate consequence of this new concession was the outbreak of the first civil and religious war, which was to be followed by seven others. Even though at first the leaders of the Huguenots clamoured for the observance of the January edict, they had no intention of being contented with that. In this, as Beza clearly stated, they saw merely the first-fruits of victory;[3] their conception of the old Church, as an idolatrous institution, implied its complete destruction.

For the present, however, by far the greater part of the nation clung to the faith of their fathers,[4] which was so closely interwoven with the life and customs of the people. For centuries their ancestors, in noble emulation, had proclaimed in every part of the kingdom their piety, their wealth and their artistic sense by the erection of so many magnificent churches, and by adorning them within and without with the most splendid creations of sculpture and painting. These works of art symbolized for the people the doctrines of Christianity, and lifted them up above the miseries of earth to a better world. They formed at the same time their most cherished memorials, because almost every family of importance, and every confraternity and guild had provided the means for

[1] See Mém. de Condé, III., 8 *seq.* *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 565 *seq.* BAUER in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XI., 437 *seq.* RUBLE, IV., 17. To both Cardinal Este and Santa Croce Catherine had represented the contents of the edict as representing a victory for Catholicism (see BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 380; Arch. cur., VI.). When Santa Croce made complaints about it, Catherine replied with vague evasions. See ŠUSTA, II., 378 *seq.*

[2] The opinion of RANKE, Französische Gesch., I², 235, 239. *Cf.* GEUER, Die Kirchenpolitik des M. de l'Hospital, 38; PHILIPPSON in Flathes Weltgeschichte, IV., 366.

[3] See BAUM, Beza, II., App. 156. Calvin was of opinion that so long as the freedom promised in the edict remained in force the Papacy would be shaken to pieces. See HENRY, III., 523; SOLDAN, I., 568 *seq.*

[4] See RANKE, Französische Gesch., I.,² 240. *Cf.* PALANDRI, 100.

some artistic foundation, or for an altar, a statue, or a stained glass window.

It is easy to imagine what excitement and bitterness was caused when the followers of Calvin, ignoring all prohibitions, sacked, destroyed and pulled down churches and convents wherever they could! Nor did they stop at that. Their minds inflamed with the fantastic idea that they were called upon to adopt the rôle of the prophets of the Old Testament when face to face with pagan idolatry, they proceeded to attack the persons of the Catholics, wounding and even killing them. During the autumn of 1561 at Montpellier all the sixty churches and convents in the city were sacked, and 150 priests and monks put to the sword. A similar attack on the churches and convents was made at Nîmes in December; the statues and relics were burned on a pyre in front of the cathedral, and after dancing round it, crying out that they would have neither mass nor idols nor idolators, the new religionists set themselves to pillage the churches in the neighbourhood. At Montauban the Poor Clares especially suffered; their convent was burned and the defenceless sisters were exposed half naked to the insults of the people, who advised them to get married. In some cities the Catholic worship was entirely suppressed. The preachers of the new religion incited their followers to these acts of violence, and deliberately planned them in their assemblies. For example the reformed consistory at Castres ordered, in December, 1561, the captain of the city forcibly to take everyone who appeared in the streets to the sermons; in carrying out this order several priests were dragged from the very altar and taken there; nor did twenty inmates of the convent of the Poor Clares fare any better.[1] It was while the discussions concerning the edict of January were in progress that news came from Beza's city that after the terrible destruction of the cathedral there the Huguenots had forcibly

[1] See VAISSETTE, Hist. de Languedoc, V., 584 *seq.*, 591 *seq.*; DÖLLINGER, Kirchengesch., 532 *seq.*; ANQUETIL, 126 *seq.* *Cf.* PICOT, I., 10 *seq.* GAUDENTIUS, 110 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 85; MERKI, 389 *seq.*

driven away all the priests.[1] Not content with destroying the objects of veneration, such as the images, here and there, as for example at Montpellier, their fury was directed against the dead, whose graves were profaned, merely out of hatred for the religion which they had professed.[2] If it is said that all this was merely by way of reprisal, and that the Calvinists only gave as they had received, it may be replied that while this is no doubt true in some cases, as for example at Carcassonne, where the Catholics took a bloody revenge,[3] in the majority of cases it was the Catholics who were the injured party, and the victims of a system which aimed at the abolition of "idolatry" at all costs. The very fact that there were still many Catholics was looked upon by the Huguenots as a challenge. The violence of the Huguenots, which grew even more extreme during the course of the religious wars could only astonish those who were still wavering. What sort of religion, people asked themselves, can these men have, who profess to understand the Gospel better than anyone else? Where has Christ ordered men to despoil their neighbour and shed his blood?[4] The thing which above all caused bitter feeling was the Huguenots' lust for sacrilege, which not only destroyed images, crucifixes and relics, but led to the most revolting crimes against what the Catholics regarded as their most holy and precious possession, the Holy Eucharist. At Nîmes, Paris, and elsewhere, after the breaking open of the tabernacles, the sacred host was burned and trampled under foot.[5]

The behaviour of the Huguenots after the appearance of the edict of January could not but increase the exasperation of

[1] *Cf.* BAUM, Beza, II., App. 156. In January, 1562, in Gascony a priest could not be found within 40 miles. POLENZ, II., 278 *seq.*

[2] See VAISSETTE, V., 586.

[3] See DE MEAUX, 86 *seq.*

[4] RANKE (Papste, II.,[8] 41) quotes these words without giving their source: they are to be found in the report of Correro in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 186.

[5] See VAISSETTE, V., 592. *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 533 *seq.* DEJARDINS, III., 454, 469; POLENZ, II., 88.

the Catholics, and confirm them in their opposition to that enactment.[1] In the past the innovators had refused obedience to edicts which were unfavourable to them, but they now with all the more zeal insisted on a strict observance of the edict of January on the part of the Catholics, though they themselves paid no attention to the limitations which it imposed on them. As before they continued to hold their services, even in the cities, and as before they continued to allow themselves every kind of act of violence.[2] That their aim was the total abolition of the Catholic Church was shown by the decision arrived at in a synod held by 70 preachers at Nîmes in February, 1562, to destroy all the churches in the city and diocese, and to compel the Catholics to accept Calvinism. In conformity with this decision, on February 23rd, all the priests who still remained were driven out, and the work of destroying the churches begun by the burning of the cathedral.[3]

The first signs of a definite Catholic reaction appeared in Paris, which had already become the true capital of France. The Duke of Guise repaired thither, at the invitation of no less a person than Navarre, who now fulfilled the hopes of Este, and trusting in the deceitful promises of Philip, openly joined the Catholic party. This man, whom the Huguenots had so long looked upon as their leader, now openly expressed himself in favour of the introduction of the Inquisition into France![4]

[1] They were led in Rome to look for an improvement in the state of affairs from this opposition: see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, dated Rome, March 11, 1562 (State Archives, Naples. C. Farnes. 763).

[2] See VAISSETTE, V., 594; SICKEL, Konzil, 261.

[3] See VAISSETTE, V., 596.

[4] See the report of Este of March 3, 1562, in SALA, III., 133. For the winning over of Navarre to the Catholic side, which confirmed Este's conviction as to the ultimate success of his procedure, see RUBLE, III., 311 *seq.* ŠUSTA, II., 374, 390, 396, 419, 430. On March 15, 1562, Pius IV. expressed to the legate his satisfaction, and encouraged him to remain in France (see ŠUSTA, II., 413 *seq.*). The Papal brief to Navarre of April 23, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 141.

On March 1st at Vassy in Champagne, the followers of Guise came to blows with the Huguenots of that place, and sixty of the latter were killed. Guise had not ordered this butchery, and it is open to doubt to what extent the Calvinists, who, in defiance of the January edict, continued to hold their services at Vassy, had provoked the conflict.[1] This chance encounter was disastrous because, in the existing state of excitement, it was looked upon as intentional, and, as De Thou says, gave, as it were, the signal for the outbreak of civil and religious war. The attempt of Condé to seize the king failed; the Guise anticipated him by persuading the still hesitating Queen-Mother by prayers and threats to return with her son to Paris. Condé thereupon hastened to Orleans and called upon the whole Calvinist body to rise up in arms. In a short time the whole country was under arms, and the civil war had begun. The Huguenots had asked their preachers whether it was lawful for them to take up arms, and these decided that "it was not only lawful, but their duty to do so, in order to free the king and the queen from the power of the Guise, to defend religion, and to uphold the edicts which had been so solemnly promulgated."[2] It might have been thought from this that the whole aim of the Huguenots was the defence of the edict of January; there can, however, be no question of this. Beza and Calvin thought that their work would only be completed and assured when the ancient Church in France had been

[1] That Guise was quite innocent in this affair is clear from the trustworthy report in EBELING, Archivalische Beiträge zur Gesch. Frankreichs, Leipzig, 1872, n. 4, to the importance of which LOSSEN has called attention in the Theol. Litt.-Blatt of Bonn, 1873, 473, at the same time showing that RANKE (Französische Gesch., I.², 245) attaches too much importance to the incident. *Cf.* also Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, II., 510 *seq.*; XI., 499 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 87. See further, ŠUSTA, II., 405; Hist. Zeitschrift, C., 678; THOMPSON, 134 *seq.*

[2] See RANKE, Französische Gesch., I.², 250; DÖLLINGER, Kirchengesch., 535 *seqq.* *Cf.* CARDAUNS, Die Lehre vom Widerstandsrecht des Volkes gegen die rechtmässige Obrigkeit im Luthertum und im Calvinismus des 16. Jahrh., Bonn, 1903, 54.

destroyed. Any toleration of what the Huguenots called idolatry was contrary to their principles; they believed that they were called by God to purge the country from "the sons of Satan." But the Catholics were just as resolved to defend their religion against the threatened destruction, and their sanctuaries from pillage and fire.[1] Both parties knew well that everything was at stake. They therefore fought with a bitterness and cruelty that is unparalleled.[2] Catherine was forced against her will to take part in the war, but if she took up her position on the side of the Catholics this was principally in order that she might keep the management of that party in her own hands.[3]

The civil and religious war in France soon took on an international character, for upon its result depended the religious future of western Europe. The Huguenots obtained help from Protestant Germany and England, and the Catholics from Spain and the Pope. Queen Elizabeth only gave her help after the Huguenots had traitorously[4] given over Le Havre, the finest port in the north of France, into her hands. Philip II. and the Pope wished to send troops, but Catherine preferred help in money.

After the arrival in Rome (May 10th) of the Abbot Niquet with the request of the French government for help in the war against Condé, long negotiations followed as to the amount to be paid, and the manner and conditions of the payment which Pius IV. imposed.[5] The result, which was communicated to the Cardinals on May 27th, was as follows: the Pope, in spite of his serious financial straits, was prepared to make a gift of 100,000 scudi, and to make a loan of a similar sum.

[1] See SISMONDI, XIII., 446; XIV., 1; Katholik, 1863, II., 248; BAUER in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, II., 513 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* ANQUETIL, 124 *seq.*, 151 *seq.* For the misdeeds of Fabr. Serbelloni, the commandant of Avignon, see POLENZ, III., 199 *seq.*

[3] See HILLIGER, Katharina, 255.

[4] *Cf.* the strong words of POLENZ, II., 156. See further MARCHAND in Rev. des quest. histor., LXXVII. (1905), 101 *seq.*

[5] See SICKEL, Konzil, 308 *seq.* *Cf.* ŠUSTA, II., 435, 444 *seq.*, 450, 455.

25,000 scudi were to be paid at once, and the remainder within three months, but only after the fulfilment of the following conditions: the withdrawal of all the edicts in favour of the Huguenots, as well as of the anti-papal ordinances of that of Orleans, the banishment from the court of all open or secret Calvinists, and especially of the chancellor, L'Hôpital, the protection of Avignon, and the maintenance of the concordats and the Papal rights in France.[1]

The task of securing the acceptance of these conditions, which were based upon a well-founded distrust of Catherine's sincerity, devolved upon Cardinal Este. As the war was urgent, Cardinal Guise insisted upon the immediate payment of the 25,000 scudi, which were of more importance in view of the pressing need of money, than would be a million later on. Este yielded to his insistance and paid the first instalment without securing the fulfilment of the conditions imposed by Pius IV.[2] The Cardinal also gave 2000 scudi of his own, which he had with difficulty borrowed at 10 per cent.[3]

While the Pope held out to the French government the hope of financial aid he also had in view, on account of the critical state of affairs in France, another plan, which had been suggested to him by Cosimo I. In a letter of May 11th, Cosimo proposed, in order to save France, the formation of a great Catholic league, in which Spain and the Italian states, as well as the Pope, should join. Pius IV., who had already had some such idea in his mind, eagerly welcomed the proposal, but he found little inclination, either at Madrid or Venice, to enter upon so costly and far-reaching an undertaking.[4]

[1] See Šusta, II., 463 *seq.*

[2] See his report of July 5, 1562, in Baluze-Mansi, IV., 425 *seq.*, and Šusta, II., 493, 500.

[3] See his report of May 8, 1562, in Baluze-Mansi, IV., 409.

[4] See Sickel, Konzil, 307 *seq.*, 340, and especially Šusta, II., 480 *seq.*, also 169, 195 *seq.*, 198, 228, 512, 521 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, I., 261 *seq.*, for similar projects in the autumn of 1561. How much inclined the impulsive character of Pius IV. was to quick and decisive measures was to be seen even at the beginning of his pontificate, when he took into consideration the plan of the Duke

The plan of sending auxiliary troops to France, with which Cardinal Altemps was to have been sent as legate, was shipwrecked owing to the opposition of Catherine de' Medici.[1] It was no less painful for the Pope that he met with the gravest difficulties in securing the conditions which he had imposed on the French government in return for his financial aid. While Catherine at anyrate promised the withdrawal of the edict of Orleans, that is to say as far as the restoration of the first-fruits was concerned, she absolutely refused to dismiss the chancellor, who, she maintained, was a good Catholic. At the beginning of August, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Auxerre, was sent to Rome to negotiate for less severe conditions, and since Este also expressed himself in favour of their mitigation, at the beginning of September Pius IV. consented to a partial alteration. The principal demands which he now made were : the suppression of the Huguenots, the restoration of the first-fruits, and the promotion of the Council.[2] The French government still hesitated to accept these terms, so that the Pope began to fear that he had been deceived. His determination to adhere to the above-mentioned demands hardened when the news came that it was the intention of the French to raise the question of the first-fruits at the Council, and that Catherine refused to forbid this.[3] On November 21st, 1562, Cardinal Este had declared that the withdrawal of the clauses in the edict of Orleans which referred to the first fruits and preventions, was imminent, but it was not until January, 1563, that he received the royal patent on the matter. In consequence of this Este handed over to the French government a bill of exchange for

of Savoy of forming a league for the conquest of Geneva, only to abandon it in the following year. See SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 51 *seq.*, 175 *seq.* Venez. Depeschen, III., 182 *seq.* *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 333.

[1] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, II., 195 *seq.* Again in the consistory of October 25, 1564, Pius IV. lamented the rejection of his proposal ; see *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[2] See ŠUSTA, II., 502, 516 *seq.*, 520, 528 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*

[3] See ŠUSTA, III., 94 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 420 *seq.*, 454 *seq.*, 463, 476.

40,000 scudi of the subsidy,[1] a course which was approved by the Pope, who had now made the single condition that if Catherine entered into any agreement with the Huguenots which was harmful to the Catholics, the money should not be paid. When the instructions to this effect, which are dated January 15th, were sent to Este,[2] Rome was in a state of jubilation over the defeat which the Guise, with the help of the Spaniards, had inflicted on the Huguenots on December 19th, 1562, near Dreux. On January 3rd, 1563, a solemn mass of thanksgiving for this happy event was sung at S. Spirito.[3] Immediately afterwards Pius IV. sent letters to the principal French Catholics, in which he exhorted them to profit by the success which they had won.[4]

In the meantime Francis de Guise had commenced the seige of Orleans, which was the principal stronghold of the Huguenots. He expected by the capture of this city to paralyse the power of the enemy and to put an end to the terrible civil war. But while he was engaged upon this plan he was mortally wounded by a Huguenot assassin on February 18th, 1563. The leaders of the Huguenots loudly praised this crime.[5] Guise died a few days later, and his death was

[1] See GRISAR, Disput., I., 454; ŠUSTA, III., 480. For the two medals relating to the assistance given to France see BONANNI, I., 285 *seq.*, 288 *seq.*

[2] See ŠUSTA, IV., 480.

[3] See Bondonus, 544 (Bull. Vatic., III., 49 *seq.*, Roma, 1752). ŠUSTA, III., 152 *seq.*, 157, 165, 474 *seq.*, 481, 483 *seq.* According to the report of Jules (in LE PLAT, V., 561) Pius IV. feared lest the victory might strengthen the opposition of the French bishops at Trent. The deciding factor at Dreux were the mercenary troops of the Catholic Swiss Cantons. See SEGESSER, I., 249. *Cf.* E. LENZ, Die Schlacht bei Dreux, Giessen, 1915.

[4] See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 2.

[5] See PAULUS in Histor. Jahrb., XXVI., 190. RUBLE (L'assassinat de Fr. Guise, Paris, 1898) pronounces against the opinion of MARCKS as to the culpability of Coligny (Hist. Zeitschrift, LXII., 42 *seq.*). WHITEHEAD (Coligny, London, 1904) defends it. For MERKI, Coligny, 309 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, see Liter. Rundschau, 1912, 432 *seq.* *Cf.* also THOMPSON, 188 *seq.*

an irreparable loss to the Catholics,[1] who were now without a leader, Marshal Saint-André, as well as Navarre, having died some time previously.[2] Montmorency was a prisoner, and Cardinal Guise was at the Council of Trent. Then Catherine, in spite of the threats and protests of Philip II.,[3] renewed her negotiations for a compromise; the Prince of Condé she won over by the wiles and artifices of a lady of the court.[4] Under Catherine's influence, Condé and Montmorency, who had been set at liberty, concluded a treaty on March 12th, which was published on the 19th by Charles IX. under the name of the edict of Amboise. According to this the Huguenot nobles received, besides a general amnesty, full liberty to practise their religion for themselves and their families, and to some extent for their subjects. Moreover, in cities where the Calvinist worship had been in use up to March 9th, it was to be allowed to continue, and further, the reformed worship was to be allowed in one city in each administrative district, with the exception of Paris, and those places where the court was in residence.[5]

Nobody was satisfied with this new agreement except Catherine, who did not wish either of the rival parties to become too powerful, and whose object, before everything else, was to recover her own supremacy. Coligny and Beza looked upon the compact as a betrayal, and from the first would not accept it. In their opinion the concessions were too small, and they did not intend to be satisfied with anything less than equal

[1] For the grief of Pius IV., who caused a funeral service for Guise to be held in the Sistine Chapel, as though for an Emperor, see Šusta, III., 281, 316.

[2] Navarre had died on November 18, 1562, as a Protestant, as many believed; see Ruble IV., 371; Soldan, II., 77 *seq.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 436; Šusta, III., 457 *seq.*

[3] See Baguenault de Puchesse in Rev. des quest. hist., XXV. (1879), 17 *seq.*

[4] See Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 137 *seq.*

[5] See Mém. de Condé, IV., 311 *seq.* Soldan, II., 103 *seq.* d'Aumale, Les princes de Condé, I., 224; Segesser, I., 324.

rights. On the other hand, the concessions which had been made to their mortal enemies seemed to the Catholics to be too great. The Spanish king as well as the Pope saw nothing less than a violation of the league in such a compact of peace, as being inadmissible in principle.[1] Consequently Cardinal Este was not able to pay over to the French government the last instalment of the Papal subsidy.[2] With regard to the peace compact the Cardinal, in order to allay suspicion and anxiety, reported to Rome that Catherine and the leading Catholics had agreed to it only under the pressure of necessity, and against their will, and that he hoped, in a personal interview, to be able to convince the Pope of the good dispositions of Catherine. He accordingly still recommended the greatest possible consideration towards the latest requests of the French government, which had reference in the first place to the dispensation for the Cardinal of Bourbon to give up the ecclesiastical state, by which Condé would be precluded from all pretensions to be the first prince of the blood royal, and in the second place to the permission to sell ecclesiastical goods in order to relieve the extraordinary financial crisis.[3]

The conciliatory Cardinal legate had always been a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, but all their efforts to procure his recall failed before the opposition of Catherine, to whom such a man was very welcome. When, on April 22nd, 1563, Este started out on his often deferred journey home, this was entirely at his own wish. At the end of May he had an interview at Ferrara with the Cardinal of Guise, which was of great importance for the furtherance of the Council. After a second conference at Florence with Cosimo I., he made his entry into

[1] See Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 500; Marcks, Bayonne, 23; Šusta, III., 316, 545, 554. Pius IV. expressed himself against the peace on March 31, 1563, at the first, but still indefinite, news, and afterwards more strongly on April 17, 1563; see *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome). *Cf.* also Sickel, Konzil, 472.

[2] See Šusta, III., 514, 523, 554.

[3] See Šusta, III., 517 *seq.*

Rome on June 26th, where he very soon made his influence felt.[1]

While Este was still in France, the Pope had taken decisive steps in a matter of great importance. It had been pointed out by a Venetian envoy that one of the chief causes of the spread of the new religious opinions was the fact that men who were more or less avowed followers of Calvinism were able, in consequence of the unscrupulous way in which the French government abused the privileges given to it by the concordat, to insinuate themselves into the most important offices, and even become bishops and abbots.[2] This betrayal of the Catholic Church by its natural protectors, the bishops, forced the Pope to take proceedings. His rights in this matter had once more recently been confirmed at the XIIIth Session of the Council of Trent.[3] At the same time Pius IV. showed no undue haste in dealing with the matter. When reliable informants pointed out to him as being very suspicious the religious attitude of several ecclesiastical dignitaries of high rank, especially Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, the brother of Coligny, and Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, he first asked for further detailed information, and even after he had received this he still delayed in summoning the accused before him, in which he was supported, not only by the easy-going Cardinal Este, but also by the strict Cardinal Tournon, the Protector of the French Jesuits, who, in the July of 1561, was still advising him to delay.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, III., 7, 63, 120 *seq.*, 368, 421 *seq.*, 457, 476 *seq.*, 481, 517, 550; IV., 16 *seq.*, 27, 28; Hilliger, Katharina, 312. According to the *report of Fr. Tonina of June 26, 1563, Este arrived the day before and made his entry on the 26 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Albèri, I., 4, 163. According to Ranke, Französische Gesch, V.[3], 78, the report was from Michele Soriano.

[3] See the learned dissertation of Degert, Procès, 64.

[4] See Šusta, I., 189, 209, 221, 225. For Cardinal Tournon, who died April 21, 1562, *cf.* Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, XI.[2], 1908 *seq.* Fouqueray, I., *passim.* Rabelais had dedicated to Cardinal Châtillon the fourth book of his Pantagruel with its

Intervention on the part of the Pope, however, was all the more necessary since the French government did not show the slightest disposition to take steps against the bishops who were thus unfaithful to their trust. It was, however, only when Cardinal Guise, in May, 1562, declared himself to be prepared to proceed with the accusation against those prelates who openly supported heresy, that the Pope was able to take action. On May 25th he gave Cardinals Guise and Este the necessary powers, at the same time issuing six citations to appear before the Roman Inquisition. The Cardinals were to conduct the inquiry, though the Pope reserved the sentence to himself, or they might cause the citations to be delivered, and sent to Rome, in which case the conduct of the affair would pass into the hands of the Inquisition. Pius IV. would have preferred to have left the matter in the hands of Cardinal Guise alone, but the Cardinal legate, Este, would not suffer himself to be passed over. The latter, however, on account of the opposition of Queen Catherine, did not show any great haste, although there could no longer be any doubt as to the apostasy of Châtillon from the Church. Este had to be urged to execute the summons in September and November, 1562, and it was at the same time pointed out to him that the Pope was inexorable on this point, whether the queen gave her consent or not. A further delay occurred owing to the fact that in the first summons issued against Châtillon there was a technical error, which, in the opinion of the Inquisition, rendered it invalid. Accordingly, on December 8th, a second summons was sent to Este, with instructions to deliver it immediately, together with those issued against the other bishops, because complaints at the long delay in the proceedings were being made from all sides. This explains why it was only at the end of January, 1563 that the nuncio Santa Croce was able to send to Rome a formal notification that the summons against Châtillon and the Bishop of

attacks upon the Pope; see BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD, Gesch. der französ. Lit., I., 249.

Troyes had been delivered.[1] The Roman Inquisition then took the matter into its own hands. This tribunal had set on foot the most searching enquiries, which, in the case of Cardinal Châtillon, had made it clear that this disloyal prince of the Church had undoubtedly seceded to the Calvinists, whose doctrines he had disseminated in his diocese of Beauvais and wherever else he could. Châtillon had made no attempt to defend himself. Making use of the existing legal forms, Pius IV., with the assent of all the Cardinals, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices in a consistory on March 21st. This sentence was hurried forward because the Pope feared lest Michel de Seurre, who had been sent to Rome by Catherine to ask for the dispensation for Bourbon, and for permission to sell ecclesiastical property in France, should intercede for Châtillon.[2]

Pius IV. had no idea of limiting himself to these proceedings against Châtillon, and at the end of March he made it clear that it was his intention to deprive all the Huguenot ecclesiastics of their benefices. The Queen of Navarre was also declared to have forfeited her kingdom,[3] because she had tried to force upon it the acceptance of the new doctrines by means of threats of violence, such as the prohibition of public processions under pain of death.[4]

In virtue of a special bull, dated April 7th, 1563, the Roman Inquisition, on the 13th of the same month, published, by

[1] See Šusta II., 488 *seq.*; III., 114, 367, 422, 457, 474, 480 *seq.*; Raynaldus, 1563, n. 40; Merlet, Le card. de Châtillon, 10. It was considered certain in Rome in the autumn of 1562 that Châtillon would be deposed; see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma dated Rome, October 3, 1562 (State Arch., Naples. C. Farnes., 763).

[2] See in the report of Zuñiga of April 3, 1563, Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 499. *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1563, n. 49, and Bull. Rom., VII., 247 *seq.* (bull of March 31); Degert, 64 *seq.* Merlet, *loc. cit.* 12; Šusta, III., 545, 555.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga mentioned in preceding note.

[4] See the proofs from archives as to this in Duberet, Le protestantisme en Béarn, Paris, 1896.

affixing it in the four principal places in the city, a proclamation citing eight French bishops to appear within six months before that tribunal to defend themselves against the charge of heresy, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* and deprivation. The accused were Jean de Chaumont of Aix, Antonio Caracciolo of Troyes, Louis d'Albret of Lescar, Claude Regin of Oloron, Jean de Montluc of Valence, François de Noailles of Dax, Charles Guillart of Chartres, and Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzés.[1]

Except in the cases of Noailles the accusation was fully justified.[2] Only one of the accused, Caracciolo, asked the nuncio for mercy, the rest, appealing to the liberties of the Gallican church, refused to appear before the Inquisition.[3] The French government, which just at that moment had deeply offended the Pope by its arbitrary proceeding in the sale of church property, and by its equivocal attitude towards the Huguenot threat to Avignon,[4] now set a seal upon its hostile attitude by taking the part of the accused. It denied the right of the Pope to pronounce sentence in such causes at Rome; thus, in the face of the Pope's condemnation, Châtillon had the effrontery during August to appear at Rouen in his Cardinal's dress.[5]

It was just at this moment that Catherine appointed Cardinal Guise to defend the Gallican liberties; as soon as the rights of the crown were touched upon at Trent, he and all the French bishops were to leave the Council.[6] Catherine had felt the threat of proceedings against the Huguenot Queen of Navarre very deeply, since her deposition was bound to turn to the advantage of Spain.[7] The situation was thus

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 424 *seq.*; DEGERT, 62 *seq.* The bull of April 7, 1563, in Bull. Rom., VII., 249 *seq.*

[2] See the definite proofs in DEGERT, 66-78. For J. de Montluc *cf.* also the too eulogistic work of REYNAUD (Paris, 1893). See also SAMARAN in Rev. Gascog., 1905.

[3] See DEGERT, 80 *seq.*

[4] See ŠUSTA, IV., 470 *seq.*, 474, 481 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 486.

[5] See MARCKS, Bayonne, 41; ŠUSTA, IV., 533 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, chapter X.

[7] See MARCKS, *loc. cit.*, 42.

very strained when the nuncio Santa Croce, a short time after Charles IX. had attained his majority at Rouen, went to Rome on August 22nd, 1563, to discuss the questions at issue between France and the Curia. Santa Croce took with him, in Catherine's name, a proposal for a meeting of the principal Catholic sovereigns under the presidency of the Pope. This proposal, which to all outward seeming was quite harmless, but which in reality contained the "quite unmistakeable threat" of action on the part of the secular power, was aimed at preventing the Curia from going on with the reform of the princes at Trent, and the punishment of the Queen of Navarre.[1] Catherine, however, obtained just the contrary of what she wished; the diplomatic skill of Pius IV. proved to be far superior to her own. The Pope received the proposal which the queen had made very cordially, and united it to his own earlier proposal of a league of the Catholic princes for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council, and the extirpation of heresy, and thus made it appear that France was calling the princes to take the field in defence of the Council and against heresy.[2]

After this diplomatic victory the Pope firmly and successfully worked for the conclusion of the Council, but he did not on that account lose sight of the punishment of the Queen of Navarre and the heretical French bishops. Catherine experienced another diplomatic defeat when the envoy sent by her to Rome in October was refused an audience. It was very strange that she should have chosen for this office one of the accused bishops, François de Noailles, who was the close friend of Châtillon. Noailles was instructed to ask for the approval of the sale of Church property, which had already been carried out in the most arbitrary way by the French government, and he was also to protest against the deposition of Jeanne d'Albret and of Châtillon as being an infringement of the privileges of the French kings, of the concordat, and of the

[1] See *ibid.*, 42 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* *Cf.* also Šusta, IV., 239 *seq.*, 253, 266, 554 *seq.*

[2] See Soldan, II., 184 *seq.* Marcks, *loc. cit.* 43 *seq.*

liberties of the Gallican church, which enjoined that no French subject should be brought to judgment outside France.[1] Pius IV. absolutely refused to receive Noailles, so that the latter had to remain for the time being in Venice. In the meantime Cardinal de la Bourdaisière was doing his utmost in Rome to have the trial of the accused held in France. Cardinal Guise too, who was in Rome, used all his eloquence to make the Pope change his mind,[2] but Pius IV., who knew that the highest interests of the Church in France were at stake, remained firm. He continued to refuse to receive Noailles, and only waited for the departure of Cardinal Guise to take decisive steps. In a consistory on October 22nd, 1563,[3] after a statement as to the situation had been made by the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, it was declared that all the seven bishops had refused to obey the summons, that some of them were notorious heretics, and the rest strongly suspected of heresy. Therefore the Pope, who twice spoke against the proposal for delay put forward by Bourdaisière, pronounced sentence with the approval of all the Cardinals, namely deprivation of all their dignities and benefices in the case of all those who were proved to be heretics. It was left to the Inquisition to decide which of the bishops, as being only *contumaces*, had incurred the penalties threatened in the *monitorium* ; should they allow the year's grace now given them to pass without taking advantage of it, then definite proceedings were to be taken against them, and the accusations against them taken as proved.

On the same October 22nd Pius IV. caused a summons to be issued by the Inquisition, by which, on pain of losing all her possessions, Jeanne d'Albret was cited to appear within six months before the Roman Inquisition to answer the accu-

[1] See Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, II., 417 *seq.*

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 391 ; DEGERT, 86.

[3] *Cf.* *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 88 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) and *Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13) as well as the *instructions, first used by DEGERT (p. 87 *seq.*) of Cardinal Bourdaisière to his secretary, sent to France and dated [Rome] October 30, 1563 (Archives des affaires étrangers, Paris).

sations made against her.[1] Cardinal Guise once more interceded with the Pope on behalf of Jeanne d'Albret, Châtillon and the seven bishops, and sought to induce him to receive Noailles. The Pope's reply amounted to an absolute refusal,[2] and showed how determined he was to do his duty by taking action against the aforesaid persons in the interests of religion. It is of course beyond doubt that the Pope was within his rights in so doing,[3] but it is another question whether such procedure was opportune at that time. Guise did not fail to call the attention of Pius IV., through Morone, to the fact that in thus insisting upon strict justice he was really furthering the plans of the Huguenots, who desired nothing so much as to prevent the acceptance of the decrees of the Council by France; only when this matter had been satisfactorily accomplished could the fitting time come for taking further definite action.[4] These considerations, together with the threatening attitude of the French government,[5] led the Pope to defer the formal publication of the sentence on the seven bishops. He was able to do this because a year had been allowed to the condemned to come to a changed state of mind. But even when this period of grace had elapsed without their taking advantage of it, the sentence still remained unpublished,

[1] See Mém. de Condé, IV., 669 *seq.* RAYNALDUS (1563, n. 133), Requesens (Pio IV. y Felipe, II., p. 51 *seq.*) and Borromeo (ŠUSTA, IV., 253) all give the date October 22. The date September 22 given in the Mém. de Condé, *loc. cit.*, seems to be certain from the fact that the ordinance of the Inquisition had already been issued in September, since the *monitorium et citatio offitii s. Inquisitionis contra ill. et ser. d. d. Joh. Albret., reginam Navarrae, a copy of which is preserved in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy at Rome, bears the date September 28, 1563.

[2] See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 181; DEGERT, 91 *seq.*, 95. *Cf.* also SICKEL, Konzil, 637.

[3] See DEGERT, 95. *Cf.* the opinion of POLENZ, II., 301, 320.

[4] See ŠUSTA, IV., 410 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 356, the remonstrances of the legates at the Council.

[5] *Cf.* MARCKS, Bayonne, 44, 55. The French government also caused intervention to be made with the Pope in favour of Jeanne d'Albret by means of Maximilian II.; see STEINHERZ, IV., 101 *seq.*

though it was in no sense withdrawn.[1] In the same way no steps were taken against the Queen of Navarre, who was under the protection of Catherine.[2] This considerate conduct sprang from the wish, so often shown before, to avoid a definite rupture with France, a wish which was also responsible for the concessions made by the Pope in the matter of the concordat.[3] He was confirmed in his attitude by the behaviour of Catherine, who also, for her part, was careful not to drive things to an extremity. Noailles was recalled on December 17th, 1563, and a new envoy sent to Rome in his stead in the person of Henry Clutin d'Oissel, who presented a memorial setting forth the Gallican point of view of the government with regard to the French bishops summoned to Rome.[4] By that time, however, another matter had become the absorbing topic of interest, the acceptance of the decrees of Trent. Cardinal Guise and the nuncio Santa Croce laboured to bring this about with all their power, but they met with the greatest opposition.[5] L'Hôpital would not consent to the acceptance of the decrees on any terms, and Catherine was guided entirely by his advice.

To the first request made by Santa Croce Catherine had replied that with regard to the acceptance of the decrees of the Council she must first consult Guise, while even after this had been done she made the excuse that she must wait for the Pope's confirmation. When this had arrived she found another pretext for delay in the hesitating attitude of Philip II. This pretext being also disposed of, Catherine put forward the view that a healthy country like Spain could stand far more violent

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 425; DEGERT, 97 *seq.*

[2] See Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, II., 119 *seq.*, 153.

[3] *Cf.* GUETTÉE, VIII., 390; BAUDRILLART, Concordat, 97, and RICHARD in Rev. cath. des Eglises, I. (1904), 525, for the brief of May 12, 1564.

[4] See DEGERT, 69 *seq.* *Cf.* MARCKS, Bayonne, 44, 55; Venez. Depeschen, III., 254. The memorandum for Oissel in PITHOU, Libertés de l'Eglise gall., Paris, 1661, 66 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* (MIGNOT) Hist. de la réception du concile de Trente, I., Amsterdam, 1756, 198 *seq.*

treatment than a sick one like France, which drew from Santa Croce the retort that a sick man is in far more urgent need of medicine than a healthy one.[1]

The truth is that Catherine, acting under the advice of L'Hôpital, never seriously intended to accept the decrees of the Council. On February 25th, 1564, she referred the decrees to a commission of councillors of state and members of the Parliament. Their judgment was that there were many things in them which ran counter to the royal privileges and the liberties of the Gallican church. In addition to a number of special points of difficulty, among which was the prohibition of regular benefices being held in commendam, the consideration which above all caused their rejection was the fear of the Huguenots, whom Catherine was determined not to offend on any account.[2] Her fear of them was so great that she would not even allow the nuncio to distribute the printed decrees among the prelates. It was on this occasion that the queen made complaint of the attitude of the Pope with regard to the dispute as to precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors in Rome, which, she said, had given offence throughout France.[3]

This dispute, which had only with great difficulty been smoothed over in the Council at Trent,[4] was renewed when the new French ambassador Oissel arrived in Rome at the beginning of February.[5] Oissel announced that he had

[1] See the reports of Santa Croce from January to April, 1564, used by PALLAVICINI, 24, 11.

[2] See Mém. de Condé, V., 81 *seq.*; LE PLAT, VI., 320 *seq.*; MIGNOT, *loc. cit.*, 212 *seq.*; SOLDAN, II., 195 *seq.*; MARCKS, Bayonne 66 *seq.* *Cf.* also Bullet. de la Soc. p. l'hist. du Protest. francais, XXIV., 409 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Santa Croce of April 24, 1564, in PALLAVICINI, 24, 11, 5.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 331.

[5] For what follows *cf* the *reports of Requesens, of which only that of February 16, 1564, is printed in Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 234 *seq.*, and which STEINHERZ (IV., 86) was the first to extract from the State Archives, Samancas.

instructions to depart, and to withdraw the *obedientia* of France if the Pope were to raise the slightest question as to the right claimed by her that her ambassador should hold the next place after the representative of the Emperor, and always rank before that of Spain. The Spanish ambassador, Requesens, at once announced that he would leave Rome at once should the Pope arrive at a decision unfavourable to the claims of Spain. A letter which arrived from Philip II. on March 22nd, made it clear that he too was determined in such an eventuality to break off diplomatic relations.[1] Pius IV. was thus driven to seek a way out of a dilemma which seemed bound to lead to a rupture with one or other of these great Catholic powers. Accordingly, as a first step, he refrained from taking part in any public ceremony of the Church, on the pretext of ill-health. When Holy Week drew near, the dispute was still unsettled. The excuse which he had hitherto given was no longer of any use, since the Pope's health was now very good.[2] At the washing of the feet and the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* on Maunday Thursday it had never been customary to assign special places to the ambassadors, but on this occasion the French ambassador insisted on being present, even though the Pope should threaten him with excommunication. The Imperial ambassador there-

[1] See STEINHERZ, IV., 86. Cod. F. 23 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains *Ragioni a favore di Spagna per conto della precedenza colla corte di Francia esposte da Augusto de Crauctiz l'anno, 1564.

[2] Fr. Tonina reported to the Duke of Mantua on March 29, 1564: *Così dico solo che con tutto che in questi giorni santi non siano mai soliti li papi tralasciare di andare in capella et far le solite ceremonie, non di meno S. B^ne^ mai v' è stata ne vi viene, ne si crede è per venire, per questa contesa della precedenza tra Franza et Spagna, et ancora che detto N. S. sia stato indisposto sin quì della podagra, il che ha potuto dar colore, che per questo non vi venesse, non di meno questa ragioni hor cessa, perchè sta bene, et è andato hoggi et hieri in Belvedere senza farsi portare, et è notorio che resta per questa differenza. Non si crede anco per questa regione che dimani sia per fare la cerimonia del lavar dei piedi. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

fore thought that it was not in keeping with his master's dignity that he should absent himself from the ceremony. Accordingly on Maunday Thursday (March 30th) he as well as the French and Spanish ambassadors presented themselves at the Vatican, all three determined to maintain their rights at all hazards. So as to avoid a public scandal the Pope withdrew by a secret staircase to the loggia, where he gave his blessing; only the sound of the cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo made it known to the ambassadors who were waiting in the Hall of Constantine that the function had taken place. Oissel then attempted to join the suite of the Pope on his return, and was only prevented from doing so by force. He thereupon demanded his passports, and only the united efforts of the Pope and Cardinals Este and Morone were successful in inducing him to give up his departure, from which a complete rupture with France was to be feared. They tranquillized him by assuring him that the dispute would be settled by Pentecost.[1] Pius IV. thought that Philip II. would have given way by then;[2] the king, indeed, had given cause to hope that this would be the case, but he now declared that the affair had gone so far that he could not withdraw the instructions he had given to his ambassador.[3] On Ascension Day

[1] Together with the letters of Borromeo and Arco in STEINHERZ, IV., 84 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, and Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 272, 276, see also the **report of Fr. Tonina of April 1, 1564, *loc. cit.*, the **reports of Serristori of April 1, 4, and 5, 1564 (State Archives, Florence), and *the report of Caligari to Commendone from Rome, April 1, 1564 (Lett. di princ, XXIII, 47 *seq*, Papal Secret Archives). If Oissel departs, wrote *Tonina on April 5, 1564: "Si dubita che ne siano per seguire non solo la fatale alienatione di quel regno de la Sede Apost., ma altri inconvenienti come saria far un patriarcha in esseo regno et forse qualche guerra" *loc. cit.* On April 12 Tonina *reports that both the French and the Spanish ambassadors were threatening to depart. *Cf.* the reports of Requesens in Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 275 *seqq.*

[2] On April 5 he had a heated explanation with the Spanish ambassador. *Cf.* the *report of Serristori of April 7, 1564 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See PALLAVICINI, 24, 11.

the Pope took no part in the functions,[1] but to absent himself again at Pentecost seemed to be out of the question, not only because any further absence seemed hardly in keeping with the dignity of the head of the Church,[2] but also because the period of delay promised to the French ambassador had come to an end. All attempts to arrive at a compromise had failed, and the time had come to take up a definite stand. The Pope therefore decided that without any prejudice to the rights of the rival claimants, the precedence hitherto allowed to the French ambassador over the Spanish one was to be continued. Requesens therefore was not present at the High Mass on the day of Pentecost (May 21st) but instead made a protest and broke off all relations with the Curia.[3] On receiving his report Philip II., in the middle of July, ordered him to leave Rome, a step which Pius IV. diplomatically accepted as the result of a complaint which he had made at the arbitrary imprisonment by Requesens of a licenciate. As a matter of fact Philip himself did not wish to drive matters to an extremity; he had only recalled Requesens from Pius IV., but not from the Holy See, and the charge of his ecclesiastical interests was entrusted to Cardinal Pacheco.[4] The king felt that any further action, such as the withdrawal of the *obedientia*, would be imprudent, and he accordingly accepted the decrees of the Council, except in so far as they ran counter to his privileges.[5]

[1] See the *report of Fr. Tonina dated Rome, May 13, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* *Acta consist. card. Garbarae, May 13, 1564, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[3] See STEINHERZ, IV., 134. *Cf.* Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 390 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., I., XXXV. *seq.* According to the *report of Fr. Tonina, of May 31, 1564 (*loc. cit.*) the ambassador of Florence was also absent from the Pentecost mass.

[4] See HILLIGER, Katharina, 66 *seq.* CONSTANT, Rapport, 390.

[5] See Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 403 *seq.*, 444 *seq.* (*cf.* Pref., p. iii); PALLAVICINI, 24, 12. The presentation of the palfrey on St. Peter's Day took place, in spite of the state of tension, but not by the hands of Requesens himself, but of his secretary; see the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The attitude of the French government was very different. The Pope had hoped to induce them to accept the decrees of the Council by his recent procedure.[1] With this purpose he sent Ludovico Antinori to France in October as envoy extraordinary. The envoy at the same time took with him the permission for the alienation of Church property, and was to hold out hopes of the legation of Avignon being conferred on Cardinal Bourbon. In spite of this the French government continued to make evasive replies on the question of the acceptance of the decrees of the Council.[2] Catherine, who wished for peace at all costs,[3] adhered to her contention that the reform decrees were an infringement of Gallican liberties. The loyal Catholic bishops in France thought otherwise, and endeavoured in their provincial synods to carry the decrees of the Council into effect. Cardinal Guise gave a shining example in this at the synod which he held at Rheims in 1564.[4]

Santa Croce had continued as nuncio in France during all these events. His reports will always be an important authority for this period of French history, painting as they do in vivid colours the attitude of Catherine de' Medici both towards the Catholics and the Huguenots. Santa Croce's account of the first civil war, in which he gives a minute description of its atrocities and horrors to his friend Pietro Benedetti, form an important addition to his reports.[5] He

[1] *Cf.* BAUDRILLART, Concordat, 97; GUETTEE, VIII., 390.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, 24, 11, the *brief of recommendation for Antinori addressed to Charles IX., October 20, 1564, in Min. brev. t. 20, n. 20 (Papal Secret Archives). By the conferring of the legation of Avignon on Cardinal Bourbon on April 13, 1565, France became liable for the defence of that territory against the Huguenots; see STEINHERZ, IV., 383.

[3] See Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, II., 126.

[4] See HARDOUIN, Conc. coll., X., 529; PICOT, I., 6 *seq.* *Cf.* HUMBERT in Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig., XII. (1907), 293. On April 28, 1564, Pius IV. had appointed Cardinal Guise Inquisitor General for the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and for the Duchy of Lorraine; see FONTANA, III., 393 *seq.*

[5] *Cod. XXXIII., 74, of the Barberini Library, Rome (now Vatican Library), printed in MARTENE-DURAND, Coll. V., 1427 *seq.*

wrote this when his nunciature was drawing to an end. On March 12th, 1565, he received the richly deserved reward of his perseverance in his very difficult task by his elevation to the purple, but this did not yet bring with it the recall he so much desired. Thus it fell to his lot to take part in the famous meeting which Catherine and Charles IX. held, between June 14th and July 4th at Bayonne, with Queen Elizabeth of Spain and Alba. Catherine was led to this by her wish to enter into better relations with Philip II., and at the same time to undermine his enormous influence ; she also wished to pave the way for advantageous marriages for her sons.[1]

This meeting excited great interest, and filled the Protestants with grave anxiety, the more so as its negotiations and the decisions arrived at remained concealed behind a veil of complete secrecy. Only recent research has lifted this veil. It is clear that at Bayonne no treaty in the true sense of the word was arrived at, and that only oral promises were made. These were concerned in the first place with the acceptance of the decrees of the Council ; Catherine demanded a revision of the reform decrees, to be made by an assembly of prelates, but Alba rejected such a "counter-council." At last Santa Croce arranged a compromise, by which the French government pledged itself to accept the decrees after they had, with the Pope's consent, been subjected to examination by trustworthy Catholics, who, however, were not to touch upon dogma. With regard to her attitude towards the Huguenots Catherine made a general promise to take strong measures against them.[2]

[1] See MARCKS, Bayonne, 297 *seq.*, 302.

[2] See MARCKS, *loc. cit.*, 205 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, 238 ; HILLIGER, Katharina, 289 *seq.* *Cf.* also WIRTZ, Politik der Katharina von Medici, Fulda, 1891, 38 *seq.*, and Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung, 1892, 1302. Santa Croce still had to remain at his post since Francesco Beltramini, Bishop of Terracina, who was destined to succeed him, was not acceptable to the French government (DESJARDINS, III., 516, with the name given wrongly, and the *report of B. Pia from Rome, November 24, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the news of the death of the Pope, Santa Croce started at once for the conclave.

The treacherous queen, however, never had any intention of fulfilling the promise wrung from her by Alba. Pius IV. was the first to see through her deceitful game. When Cardinal Pacheco, by the order of Philip II., communicated to him the results of the meeting at Bayonne, the Pope advised him to put no faith in Catherine's word; she had often made similar promises, but had always found excuses and had never done anything. The only way to restore the old state of affairs in France was to take serious action against Coligny, Condé and L'Hôpital. This, however, could not be done without having recourse to arms, and it was just that that the queen-mother shrank from.[1] As before, her aim was the holding of a national council in France, which should discuss further concessions, so as to quiet the Huguenots. It was obvious to Catherine that Pius IV. would never consent to any such thing, but she was counting on the early death of the ailing pontiff. It was for this reason that at Bayonne she had discussed the question of the next Papal election in great detail with her daughter, the Queen of Spain, pointing out to her that the elevation of the weak Cardinal Este, who was devoted to herself, was important and even necessary in the interests of the French government.[2]

During the Bayonne conference a definite decision was also come to as to the status of the Jesuits in France. Long disputes had preceded this decision, which had brought out with surprising clearness the attitude of the most influential corporate bodies in France towards the rights of the Holy See.

As early as January, 1551, Henry II. had ordered the legal recognition of the Jesuits, but, relying upon the opinions of the Bishop of Paris and the University, the Parliament had

[1] See the *report of Pacheco to Philip II., dated Rome, September 15, 1565 (Simancas Archives), printed in part in HILLIGER, Katharina, 293. On June 8, 1565, Pius IV. had stated in the consistory: "*in Gallia quoque meliori res in statu esse atque in dies melius sperari, verum tot annorum et saeculorum vulnera uno momento sanari non posse." (*Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13).

[2] See HILLIGER, Katharina, 300 *seq.*

obstinately refused to register the royal letter, and thus give it the full force of law.[1] After this the whole question was dropped for many years, and it was only in 1558, when the energetic and skilful Cogordan had been appointed to assist the French provincial, that the matter was once more pressed by the French Jesuits with all their power. Francis II. was well inclined to their endeavours, but the beginning of the Huguenot war was not a suitable moment to try and break down the resistance of the Parliament to the royal power. On February 12th, 1560, the king endeavoured to secure the registration of the royal letter of 1551, but the Parliament would not obey. On April 25th, 1560, there was issued a second royal edict, which was of wider scope than the former one, in so far as it provided for the admission of the Jesuits, not only to Paris, but to the whole kingdom. But once more the Parliament, as a first step, asked for the opinion of the bishop and the university. After this the king sent notice to the Parliament that they must clearly state before the court whether they intended to obey or not, and to give their reasons for objecting to the Jesuits. But, neither in response to this notification, nor a second, did any of the officials condescend to put in an appearance. For a second time the opinion of Bishop du Bellay was asked; he thereupon gathered together all the parish priests of Paris, put the case before them from his own point of view, and obtained a unanimous declaration from them that the Order of the Jesuits was incompatible with the liberties of the Gallican church. Du Bellay then had recourse to the university, which replied in the same sense, giving as one of its reasons that the Order had not been approved either by an ecumenical council or by a provincial

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII of this work, p. 204. For the struggle of the Jesuits for admission from 1558 to 1565, *cf.* FOUQUERAY, I., 231 *seqq.*, 243 *seqq.*, 263 *seqq.* P. FÉRET in Rev. des quest. hist., LXV. (1899), 455-74; La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres. Epoque moderne, vol. I., Paris, 1900; ARISTIDE DOUARCHE, L'Université de Paris et les Jesuits (XVIe et XVIIe siècles), Paris, 1888.

one. In full keeping with its Gallican ideas, the university completely ignored the Pope's approval.[1]

Cogordan, however, did not yet lose heart. Since it was the Papal privileges which constituted the principal grievance against the Jesuits, he declared before the Parliament that he asked for nothing more than was possessed by the Mendicant Orders, who were fully recognized in France.[2] At the same time he obtained from Francis II. a further royal letter, dated October 9th, 1560.[3] This letter stated that the Jesuits, as they had themselves declared, had no wish to infringe upon the rights of the parish priests and bishops, that the Papal bulls had made no concession contrary to those rights, and concluded by urging the Parliament to recognize those bulls. This letter was the first to meet with success. The Parliament, it is true, tried yet again to escape compliance by appealing to the bishop, but the latter now declared himself, though with many reservations, in favour of the Jesuits.[4] On December 23rd, 1560, Catherine renewed the edicts of Henry II. and Francis II. The Parliament made a fresh attempt to bring the university into the field against the Jesuits, but at length declared, on February 22nd, 1561, that the decision might be made either by the States General or by the religious conference at Poissy, or by the next ecumenical council.[5]

Pius IV. had recommended the cause of the French Jesuits to his legate in France, Cardinal Este. The French Cardinals, Tournon, Lorraine, Armagnac and Guise were also favourable to them,[6] while the boldness of the Protestants at Poissy could not fail to recommend to them an Order which had as its

[1] FOUQUERAY, I., 231-7.

[2] For the sense of this declaration (i.e. a renunciation of the exercise of the privileges, but not of the privileges themselves) see FOUQUERAY, I., 237.

[3] An extract of this sent to Rome is printed in FOUQUERAY, I., 650 *seq.* *Ibid.* 238, because Cogordan wished for another *lettre de jussion*—this was the fifth.

[4] FOUQUERAY, I., 241 *seq.*

[5] FOUQUERAY, I., 243-6.

[6] *Ibid.*, 249, 253.

special work the defence of the old religion and of the Apostolic See. Accordingly the question of the Jesuits had been included among the subjects which the Catholics wished to bring forward at Poissy.[1] During the interval between the two sittings of September 9th and 16th, it was resolved for various reasons to refer the matter to the Bishop of Paris. Acting upon his opinion, the prelates signed, on September 15th, 1561, a document in which, though in very guarded terms, they recommended the recognition of the Jesuits. They were to be admitted, not as an Order, but as a society or college, to give up their name, to be in all things subject to the bishops, and to renounce the privileges granted to them in the pontifical bulls. On the strength of this document, the Parliament, on February 13th, 1562, recognized the Jesuits under the name of the Society of the College of Clermont.[2] Thus at length was obtained the long desired recognition, with all its important consequences; the restrictions under which it laboured were very soon one by one abolished.[3]

The days of struggle, however, were far from being ended. Even though the Parliament had been so far won over that it even began to take the Jesuits under its protection, on the other hand the university made all the difficulties it could. Once they had obtained legal recognition, the Jesuits endeavoured to make their college in Paris one of the principal educational establishments of the Order. A large house was bought, licence to give lectures was obtained from the Rector of the university, the course of studies which had been begun at the end of February, 1564, was gradually extended, and a number of distinguished professors summoned to Paris.[4] Among these was the Spaniard, Maldonatus, who had a great name as an authority on the Holy Scriptures, but who, at Paris, first lectured in philosophy. In view of the unbelief, which was steadily taking a firmer hold upon the upper classes,

[1] *Ibid.*, 251.
[2] *Ibid.*, 253-5.
[3] *Ibid.*, 256.
[4] MANARAEUS, 80, 83 *seq.*

Maldonatus treated in his lectures, not on fruitless subtleties, but on the doctrine of God and the immortality of the soul,[1] and in consequence of his learned treatment of these subjects it soon was found that no hall could accommodate the crowds who flocked to hear him, while every seat was filled two or three hours before the beginning of the lecture.[2] The other professors of the new college also taught with great success, and their lecture-halls were filled while those of the university became more and more empty.[3]

The ill-will of the University professors, some of whom, like Pierre Ramus, were Huguenots,[4] led to a series of attempts to silence these inconvenient rivals by means which were certainly not academic. In the first place they maintained that the faculty to lecture which had been granted to the Jesuits contained a defect in form. The provincial thereupon provisionally suspended the lectures, but the students showed their displeasure so violently that the Parliament ordered the Jesuits to recommence them. Then the university caused the famous jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was a Protestant, and very hostile to the Jesuits, to draw up a legal opinion on the controversy,[5] and, at a meeting on October 8th, 1564, followed up his condemnation of the Order by one of their own.[6] The

[1] "Admirabilem se praebuit in tractatibus de Deo et immortalitate animae, qui tracturus maxime opportuni videbantur ob multitudinem atheorum, praecipue nobilium, quae continenter augescebat" (MANARAEUS, 83 *seq.*). "*Il rè è cattolico, li populari cattolici et obbedienti al rè, la nobilità non ha religione alcuna ne vuole superiorità ne di Dio ne del rè, ritiene authorità et tirannide grande nelli populari, et quanto più anderà accrescendo di honori et di robbe, tanto sarà più inobediente di Dio et del rè et tiranna del populo." Cifra di Francia, dated Paris, August 22, 1570 (Papal Secret Archives, Francia, 4, 26).

[2] MANARAEUS, 84.

[3] DU BOULAY, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, VI., 916, in FOUQUERAY, I., 369.

[4] Cl. Matthieu, Mémoire, in PRAT, Maldonat, 594.

[5] FOUQUERAY, I., 372.

[6] *Ibid.*, 374.

fresh order for the suspension of the lectures was, however, at once cancelled by the Parliament.

Du Moulin had represented it as being something "monstrous, fatal, and contrary to public justice" that the Jesuits should be allowed to deliver lectures, independently of the university. Emboldened, perhaps, by the two judgments which had been given in their favour by the Parliament, the accused now sought to put an end once for all to this charge, which was indeed quite groundless, by putting forward a respectful request[1] that they might be incorporated in the university. They declared their readiness to forego all the dignities and emoluments, as well as the right of conferring academic degrees, or of themselves holding honorary academic positions. On the other hand, should their request be complied with, they promised complete obedience to the rector and statutes of the university, in so far as their own institute permitted.

The reply of the university to this petition was a renewed prohibition to teach, and a threat to the students that they would forfeit all their rights and privileges if they attended the lectures of the Jesuits. The latter then had recourse to the law, by calling for the protection of the Parliament against the attacks of the university on February 20th, 1565.[2]

This step let loose upon the new Order so terrible a storm that even their friends gave them up for lost.[3] All Paris took sides, either for or against the Jesuits. They were overwhelmed with satires and lampoons; on the same day and at the same hour sermons were preached against them in twelve different pulpits, and they were unable to show themselves in the neighbourhood of the university without being stoned.[4] During the legal proceedings, the speech of their opponents' advocate, the clever and eloquent Etienne Pasquier, injured

[1] Composed by Odo Pigenat, in FOUQUERAY, I., 375 *seq.*

[2] FOUQUERAY, I., 384.

[3] "Tum nemo erat, qui de nostra causa non existimaret conclamatum esse, foreque ut tota iuventus nos desereret." MANARAEUS, 88.

[4] MANARAEUS, 88, *seq.*

their cause considerably. His account of the history of Loyola, of the beginnings of the Company of Jesus, and of the contents of their statutes is all taken from Chemnitz, and is a tissue of lies, misrepresentations and distortions. But the audacity with which the most fantastic accusations were set forth as irrefutable truths, and the tone of conviction which this clever advocate knew how to give to his words, as he came forward in the rôle of the champion of law and religion against a faction of the enemies of progress, could not fail to make a deep impression in many quarters, and for centuries Pasquier's invectives remained a mine for attacks on the Jesuits. The real reason for the strong feeling against the Jesuits comes out many times in his speech, namely the essential antagonism felt by men of Gallican ideas to these champions of the Holy See. When ecclesiastical superiors, Pasquier said, have tried to use their powers wrongfully to the injury of the king's majesty, the Paris university, with the assistance of this parliamentary tribunal, has always resisted them, just as though a permanent ecumenical council were assembled in that city for the defence of French subjects. Paul III., he maintained, had confirmed the Jesuits for purely political reasons, because they bound themselves by vow to exalt the Pope above every other power on earth; the Bishop of Clermont had brought them to Paris so that the Pope might have a court of his own there. Nothing in the constitutions of the Society of Jesus roused the ire of Pasquier so much as the fourth vow of the professed members, by which they promised special obedience to the Pope with regard to the missions.[1] Similar views had been expressed in the opinion given by the university on the question of the admission of the Jesuits to that body. In this it was plainly stated that the incorporation with the university which they asked for could not be allowed because they placed the Pope above the Council.[2]

In spite of everything, however, the final result of this sensational suit was not all that the friends of the university

[1] Fouqueray, I., 394. Sacchini, III., l. 1, n. 8.
[2] Fouqueray, I., 383.

desired. Parliament refused to decide definitely in favour of either party, and on April 5th, 1565, it decided that in the matter of the Jesuits things were to remain *in statu quo.*[1] A fresh prohibition of the Jesuit schools on the part of the university met the same fate as its predecessors. At the Bayonne conference in 1565, the Jesuit Possevino obtained for the members of his Order a fresh letter from the Parliament, dated July 1st, 1565, which gave them permission to open colleges everywhere in France, and to call themselves the Company of Jesus.[2] With this the hostility of the university to the new Order was silenced until 1594.

In reality, in spite of all the attacks upon it, the Order had steadily gained ground in France, even during the pontificate of Pius IV., and had founded colleges at Tournon in 1561, Rodez in 1562, Toulouse in 1563, Mauriac in 1564,[3] Avignon, Chambéry and Lyons in 1565;[4] under Pius V. the colleges at Verdun, Nevers and Bordeaux were added to these. During the course of the struggle between the Jesuits and the university, Pius IV. himself, in the last year of his reign, had thrown into the scales his own influence as supreme pontiff,[5] by pointing out to the king that the Society of Jesus had been approved and confirmed by the Pope and by the Council of Trent, that in many countries of Europe it had done a great work in defence of the faith, while in Rome itself it enjoyed the protection and esteem of the Pope.

[1] FOUQUERAY, I., 415.

[2] *Ibid.*, 411.

[3] *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, I., 288 *seqq.*, 304 *seqq.*, 318 *seqq.* A laudatory *brief from Pius V., "Ordini civium nobilium Tolosae," for their generosity to the Jesuits, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 132 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] FOUQUERAY, I., 434 *seqq.*, 452 *seqq.* *Cf.* M. CHOSSAT, Les Jésuites et leurs œuvres à Avignon, Avignon, 1896.

[5] May 29, 1565, in SACCHINI, III., l. 1, n. 19.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Religion in England.

In England the young Queen Elizabeth had apparently, even in the time of Paul IV., almost entirely destroyed the edifice so laboriously built up by her elder sister. The crown had set itself to the work of taking possession of the ecclesiastical property restored by Mary, the monasteries were suppressed, while the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had destroyed the authority of the Pope, and compelled all the faithful to attend the Anglican worship.[1]

In spite of all this, however, English Catholics did not look upon their cause as lost. The change of religion, it was stated in a memorial to Pius IV. in 1559,[2] rested entirely upon the will of the queen; many important persons as well as most of the common folk were still devoted to the old religion; Elizabeth, moreover, had not enforced the new laws with any great rigour; there was therefore still hope that in time, either spontaneously or by force of circumstances, the queen would seek for reunion with Rome. Similar views were put before the Pope by the former English ambassador, Edward Carne, and by Francis Englefield, who during the reign of Queen Mary had been a member of the royal council, but who had left England on account of the religious laws, and was now living at Padua.[3]

The Spanish ambassadors in London, Count Feria and his

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 401 *seqq.* For the restoration under Mary see *ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*, and G. Constant in Revue historique, CXII. (1913), 1-27.

[2] In Meyer, 403 *seq.*, suppl. 1.

[3] Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 482 *seq.* For the subsequent adventures of Englefield see Stevenson, Calendar, Foreign, 1562, n. 127; 1563, n. 1027.

successor, Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, based their hopes upon quite other motives. The one ally of England, even in the time of Queen Mary, had been King Philip of Spain. It seemed inconceivable to the Spanish ambassadors that Elizabeth could persist in alienating this one ally by her religious legislation; the policy of the young queen was, speaking generally, altogether incomprehensible to them. Again and again they declared that Elizabeth could not go on in the course she had adopted, because it was obvious to everyone that she must soon meet with disaster on account of her indiscretions.[1] The twenty-five year old and frivolous queen, who, by reason of her open adulterous relations with the married Robert Dudley, had forfeited the popular favour,[2] was, in the eyes of the Spaniards, nothing but an inexperienced young girl, given up to fashions, vanities, caprices and love affairs, but who, as far as politics were concerned, had placed herself blindly in the hands of unscrupulous advisers, and who was hastening to a disastrous end.

It was only by slow degrees that de la Quadra realized how mistaken he had been in his estimate of the young queen. It was quite true that Elizabeth loved pomp and pleasure, but before everything else she was determined to remain queen, and she was a born ruler. In spite of her youth she had clear views as to the aims and methods of her policy, and these she had carefully weighed with her principal adviser, William Cecil. With rare judgment she knew how to choose her advisers and tools, while she had grasped the political

[1] "No hay quien no vea manifestamente la perdicion de la Reyna y de su reyno." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, November 12, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 86; *cf. ibid.*, 72, 111. Margaret thought the same, *ibid.*, 111, and xxi. Feria thought that Elizabeth would be like the cock in the Spanish proverb, which scratched until it dug up the knife which was to cut off his head. Chaloner to Cecil, from Brussels, December 6, 1559, *ibid.*, 121.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., xlvi.; *cf. ibid.*, 72, de la Quadra to Granvelle, January 13, 1560, *ibid.*, 689. As to Elizabeth's "puterias" *cf. ibid.*, 189, 225.

conditions of Europe with extraordinary shrewdness, and had made her arrangements for the attainment of her ends with iron inflexibility. But above all she very soon proved herself unequalled in intrigue and deceit. While still an infant she had lost her mother, when three years old she had been declared illegitimate and thrown upon the mercies of an openly antagonistic world. In these difficult conditions her character had developed in an extraordinarily crooked manner. She was excitable, irritable to a quite undignified degree, artificial, oversensitive, devoid of all good feeling, and entirely lacking in all nobility of heart or mind.[1] The adverse circumstances of her youth had caused her prematurely to have recourse to intrigue as her only means of defence. Her name was to be found mixed up in almost all the conspiracies against Queen Mary, but with incomparable skill she invariably succeeded in escaping from the most dangerous situations.[2] Now that she was queen she had the effrontery to declare with sighs in the presence of the Spanish ambassador that she desired to be a nun in a convent cell, and to spend her days in prayer, while all the time, to use an expression of de la Quadra, "she had a hundred thousand devils in her."[3] She could adapt herself to any rôle; she knew how to act the queen, full of majesty and dignity, just as well as she could, if occasion demanded, show herself amorous or pious, Catholic or Protestant. In this way, in order to deceive the world as to her real intentions, she would sometimes pretend to be a frivolous and impressionable girl, who, for example, would cause her admirer, the Archduke Charles of Austria, to be informed that she often stood in admiration before his portrait, and could not take her eyes off it,[4] while on the next day she would

[1] E. Marcks, Konigin Elisabeth von England und ihre Zeit Bielefeld, 1897, 15, 28, 47 *seq.*

[2] Brown, VI., p. 1058, 1060; *cf.* n. 80, 505, 510, 525, 1290.

[3] "Me dice siempre que muere por ser monja y por estarse en una celda rezando" De la Quadra to Feria, December 27, 1559, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 158; Correspondencia de Felipe II., I., 268.

[4] Tiepolo, December 15, 1559, in Brosch, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung, X. (1889), 128.

unctuously inform him "that she could not disregard the grace which Our Lord had given her, and that it would be her delight to live and die a pure virgin."[1]

As far as she herself was concerned, Elizabeth was very little affected by any religious views;[2] in her direction of the affairs of state her only God was success, and her gospel was that of Machiavelli. It was nothing but consideration for her own advantage which led her to base the whole of her policy upon the antagonism which, since the religious schism, had divided the peoples of northern Europe into two hostile camps. Since the marriage of the Scottish queen, Mary Stuart, with the heir to the French throne, it seemed as though the two kingdoms nearest to England must be united under one sceptre. The military resources of England, however, were not sufficient to hold their own against a Franco-Scottish alliance; the kingdom, which now numbers 32 million inhabitants, then contained but three or at most five millions, while the condition

[1] De la Quadra, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 439.

[2] "There never was a woman who was so completely devoid of all religious feeling as she was." (RICHARD GREEN, A short history of the English people, London, 1886, 368, in BROSCH, VI., 590). "Scarcely a trace of religious enthusiasm ever entered her soul" (MEYER, 12). "It cannot be said of her that she belonged to any of the religious bodies of her time" (RANKE, Englische Geschichte, I., 298). "According to the exigencies of the circumstances of the moment, the queen knew how to behave as a Catholic or Protestant with equal ease; she was an artist in politics, and it would be hard to say what part religion had in her artistry" (BROSCH, VI., 589). According to John Knox, Elizabeth was "neither a good Protestant nor a decided Papist" (History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. D. LAING Edinburgh, 1846, II., 174; *cf.* FLEMING, 285). Elizabeth, in 1560 said to Lethington, concerning the Sacrament of the altar, that it was the central point of the burning religious disputes: "Some think one thing and some another; who is right, God alone knows; in the meantime everyone adheres to his own opinion." POLLEN, in The Month, 1904, II., 501.

of its fortresses and armies were only calculated to excite the derision of military experts.[1]

In the face of the real or possible dangers of the political situation, it was very far from Elizabeth's intentions to unite herself with her brother-in-law, Philip, and thus commit herself to a Catholic policy. The unhappy example of her elder sister, as well as the weakness of Spain, were a warning to her. The English queen decided that it would be far more advantageous to her if she were to take up an independent position as a Protestant, and wherever it was possible to enter into friendly relations with Protestant subjects against their lawful rulers. In Scotland she encouraged the hatred of the Protestants for Mary Stuart, in France she supported the Huguenots against the house of Valois, and in the Netherlands she fomented the discontent of the future *gueux* against Philip II., and in this way she paralysed the activities of all those who might have proved a danger to her. At the very beginning of her reign a memorandum of her principal adviser, William Cecil, gave expression to the view that she should lend her assistance to religious discontent abroad, and above all encourage the hopes of those who "were inclined to good religion."[2] As early as 1560 the Spanish ambassador wrote that Elizabeth was resolved to set all Christianity on fire so as to secure peace in her own house; if the English intrigues should be successful, the queen, with the help of the new religion, would ruin all the neighbouring countries, and no one would any longer be safe by their own fireside.[3] It was inevitable

[1] Chaloner reports the opinion of Granvelle as to this to Cecil, December 6, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 119.

[2] "Especially to augment the hope of them who incline to good religion." A device for the alteration of religion, in BURNET, History of the Reformation, ed. Pocock, V., 497; *cf.* STEVENSON, in The Month, 1893, II., 26.

[3] "Ha determinado lo que agora vemos, que es solamente poner fuego en la Christiandad . . . para bivir ella descansada y ociosa." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, January 5, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 169. "Vuestra Alteza tenga por cierto que, si esta maldad de aqui pasa adelante, destruyra por esta via desta nueva religion todas las provincias convecinas." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, January 21, 1560, *ibid.*, 194-5.

that the whole tendency of her policy should have proved how illusory were the hopes of the return of Elizabeth to the Catholic Church.

It was of incalculable importance to Elizabeth that Philip of Spain still clung to these hopes. By means of her ambassadors in Spain the queen had caused the rumour to be spread that she was still at heart a Catholic ;[1] Philip, who was well aware of the fact that by his intercession on her behalf with Queen Mary, he had obtained the liberation of Elizabeth from the Tower, and thus saved both her life and her crown,[2] was all the less able to disbelieve her assurances because it was an integral part of his policy to maintain his alliance with the English queen. In the event of Elizabeth's rule being overthrown, or should she be declared illegitimate, the next lawful heir to the English crown was Mary Stuart, who, immediately after the death of Mary the Catholic had assumed the arms and title of Queen of England. Philip was seriously afraid of the French obtaining possession of England,[3] and if the most formidable rival of the Hapsburgs should succeed in uniting in his own person the crowns of Scotland and England, as well as that of France, the doom of Spain seemed to be sealed. In this sense Margaret of Parma wrote on December 8th, 1559, that it would be as fatal to tolerate the presence of the French in England as to open to them the gates of Brussels ; should the French become masters of England, then Flanders would

[1] "Yo se que esto que me ha respondido tanto en lo de su casamiento como en lo de la religion, es la suma de lo que tantos dias ha dieron por instruction a sus embaxadores para que lo dixesen siendo preguntados en España." De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 441.

[2] Granvelle to d'Assonleville, April 22, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 345. Elizabeth herself said, in 1564, to the Spanish ambassador, that she owed her life and throne to Philip. Guzman de Silva to Philip II., July 10, 1564, Collección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 512.

[3] POLLEN, in The Month, XCVI. (1900), 399.

be torn from Spain.[1] Granvelle too was of opinion that London must be defended as carefully as Brussels itself.[2] In addition to all this, Philip at that time desired above all things a policy of peace, so as to afford to his exhausted country the quiet which it so long had lacked. Moreover, Spain was so ill equipped for war, and was so deeply in debt,[3] that in 1557, and again in 1575, it was found necessary to declare a state of national bankruptcy.[4]

Elizabeth, therefore, had nothing to fear from Philip; on the contrary, the Spanish king was rendering her important service. The king reported in Rome[5] what Elizabeth had caused him to be informed as to her own Catholic sentiments, and it was Philip himself who dissuaded the Pope from taking stronger measures against Elizabeth, uniting himself for this end with Edward Carne and Francis Englefield, who sought to persuade the Pope that the change of religion in England was not to be attributed so much to the queen as to the counsellors by whom she was surrounded.[6]

[1] GACHARD, Correspondance de Marguerite de Parme, I., 73. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 111. *Cf.* KRETZSCHMAR, Invasionsprojecte, 2 *seq.*

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., xxi.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., xxxv.

[4] See ŠUSTA in Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung, XXX., 545.

[5] Philip pointed out to the Pope "que siempre se tenia esperanza que ella, como muger de ingenio y sabia, se reduzeria y procuraria de reducir los suyos a la religion universal y catolica, lo qual Su Magestad habia mandado decir y exponer al Papa para obviar a lo que ella sabe, que Franceses un tiempo procuraban contra ella [the excommunication]." De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 440.

[6] "Donnans la coulpe du changement et mutation d'icelle [of religion] plus tost à aulcuns ministres estans à présent en crédit vers ladicte Royne que à icelle Dame mesmes." De la Quadra and Glajon, to Margaret of Parma June 28, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 482 *seq.* Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, wrote on June 30, 1560, to Elizabeth, that the mission of Parpaglia had been urged by distinguished persons

Under the influence of these advisers, and in accordance with their views, Pius IV., on May 5th, 1560, addressed a letter to Elizabeth, which was to be taken to her by Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of S. Solutore.[1] The Pope, this letter stated, sincerely desired the prosperity and honour of the queen, as well as the consolidation of her power. Elizabeth therefore must take no heed of evil counsellors, who sought only their own advantage, but must accept the paternal advice of the Pope. For his part he promised to do everything he could in virtue of his office to bring about the salvation of her soul, and to assure her position as queen. The letter ended with an invitation to the Council which he hoped would shortly assemble, and with a recommendation of his nuncio.[2] On the same day Pius IV. wrote to Philip II. and to the King of the Romans, begging them to lend their assistance to his negotiations with the queen.[3] Parpaglia left Rome on May 25th,[4] and on June 17th he arrived at Louvain.[5]

The mission of Parpaglia came at a very opportune moment for Elizabeth; for some time past the French had been bringing pressure to bear in Rome to induce the Pope to recognize Mary Stuart as lawful queen of England. Paul IV. would not

in England, who had led the Pope to believe that the majority of Englishmen were opposed to the existing religion. STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1, n. 254, p. 156.

[1] The abbey of SS. Solutore, Avventore and Ottavio de Sangano, at Turin, had probably been suppressed in 1536. DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, II., 238. MAITLAND in the English Hist. Review, XV. (1900), 760.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1560, n. 43, 45. A letter to the Spanish ambassador in London of March 10, *ibid.*, n. 44.

[4] STEINHERZ, I., 34. Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1723, 15.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 470. His journey was via Spires, Cologne and Louvain to Brussels (*ibid.*, 472). For the mission of Parpaglia, *cf.* The North British Review, III. (1870); G. CONSTANT in Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont, Paris, 1913, 509-20; C. G. BAYNE, Anglo-Roman relations, 1558-65, London, 1913.

consent to do this,[1] and the letter of Pius IV. on May 5th, 1560, was calculated to put an end to any further anxiety on that score. But so long as Elizabeth paid no attention to the exhortations of the Pope and continued to force the Catholics to apostasy, it was not impossible that sooner or later they would take stronger measures in Rome; Pius IV., indeed, had already hinted at something of the kind.[2] A bull of excommunication might have the most disastrous consequences for Elizabeth. Even though, in the changed conditions of the times, there was less reason to fear the loss of the throne, a thing which, according to medieval ideas, would have been the consequence of such a Papal condemnation, nevertheless excommunication would have the effect of breaking off or at least disturbing friendly relations with Catholic powers, and since England, as far as the great majority of her people was concerned, was still Catholic in opinion, it might easily result in internal disturbances.

As soon as the news of the mission of a nuncio to England was received, Elizabeth had a conference with the Spanish ambassador.[3] She protested that she was as much a Catholic as the ambassador himself, and called God to witness that she believed all that the Catholics of her kingdom believed.[4] When de la Quadra thereupon asked her why she acted against her conscience, and caused her subjects to apostatize from the true religion, she replied that she was for the present forced

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 405.

[2] POLLEN, Papal negotiations, 46. *Cf.* MEYER, 36. Giacomo Soranzo had heard in Venice that should Elizabeth not obey, France and Spain would proclaim a commercial blockade against England (TURBA, III., 148). John Sheres wrote from Venice to Cecil on May 18, 1560, that Parpaglia had received the power to excommunicate Elizabeth and declare her a rebel, if she refused his demands. STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1, n. 108, p. 63.

[3] De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 440 *seqq.*

[4] "que ella era tan catolica yo y que hazia a Dios testigo de que lo que ella creia no era differente de lo que todos los catolicos de su reyno creyan." *Ibid.*, 440.

to act in that way, and that if the ambassador knew the true state of the case, he would certainly hold her excused.[1] De la Quadra acted as though he accepted these assertions, and he sought to hold the queen as firmly as possible to her statements, so that later on he might be able, should she speak in another sense, to convict her of her inconsistency. At length he even forced her to declare that she would willingly receive the nuncio, and that it would not be her fault if union with the Church were not restored.[2]

The difficult task of keeping Parpaglia out of England, without thereby again exciting the resentment of the Pope against her, was spared to Elizabeth, for Philip II. relieved her of it. Unfortunately for Parpaglia it was taken for granted at the Spanish court that his mission was the outcome of French intrigue, and was merely a French political move.[3] For this reason he had to be prepared to meet with difficulties on the part of Spain. Moreover, Philip II. looked upon it as certain on *a priori* grounds that the queen would not receive the nuncio; at the same time, so it was thought in Spain, the Pope would be bound to meet the open rejection of a Papal envoy by excommunication and deposition, and the Catholic King would be charged with the carrying out of the sentence ; otherwise the courage of the English Catholics would fail, and the Spanish king would be discredited on all sides. On the other hand, however, just then, when peace had hardly been concluded, a war with England was the very thing that could not be contemplated.[4] Moreover, not only was the moment for

[1] "que era forzada ad tempus y que, si yo supiese lo que a esto la habia forzado, que sabia que la tendria por escusada." KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, 441.

[2] "Hizele decir que holgaria de que viniese el nuncio que se decia que Su Santidad enviava y que por ella no quedaria que la Iglesia no se uniese siempre que los otros principes quisiesen." *Ibid.*, 441.

[3] Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 24, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513 : "Comme avez pu veoir par les pièces qui vous ont esté envoyées, il est certain que les François sont l'une de principalles causes de l'envoy dudict abbé."

[4] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513.

sending a nuncio ill-chosen, but so was the person selected for that office. Parpaglia was looked upon as a French partisan[1] and only eighteen months before Philip had had him banished from Flanders under threat of death, as a French spy.[2] Nor could he be welcome at the court of Elizabeth, on account of his close relations with Cardinal Pole, whom she had detested.[3]

On receipt of the news that Parpaglia was going to England, Philip at once caused remonstrances to be made in Rome.[4] He then sent instructions to Margaret of Parma to detain Parpaglia at Brussels until Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, should have made representations to the Pope.[5] On July 10th Parpaglia received a letter from Borromeo, and another from Vargas;[6] if he should not have already departed for London, the Pope ordered him to wait at Brussels, while should he have already reached England he was to be guided in all things by the advice of de la Quadra and not leave the country without further instructions.

In this way Parpaglia's mission was frustrated; all that remained to be done was to find some suitable pretext for his honourable recall. It could not be openly stated that consideration for Spain had been the determining factor in his recall, for that would have given offence to France, which had advocated the mission of Parpaglia.[7] According to

[1] "Dicen es Frances por la vida," De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 441. "Es mas Frances que Piamontes," Vargas to Philip II., May 6, 1560, in G. CONSTANT in Mél. d'hist. offerts à M. Ch. Bémont, 516.

[2] Tiepolo to the Doge, June 25, 1560, in BROWN-BENTINCK, VII., n. 176. Margaret of Parma, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513.

[3] Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 11, 1560, *loc. cit.*, 502; *cf.* 441.

[4] BROWN-BENTINCK, *loc. cit.* Philip II. to Vargas, June 1, 1560, in G. CONSTANT, *loc. cit.*, 516-8; GACHARD, Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche, I., 206. *Cf.* BEKKER, Elisabeth und Leicester, 4 *seq.*

[5] GACHARD, *loc. cit.*, 204. Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 11, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 502.

[6] *Ibid.*, 503.

[7] *Ibid.*

Vargas' letter to the nuncio, the Pope would now have preferred that Elizabeth should refuse him his passport to England, and that he would have liked de la Quadra to have influenced the queen in that sense. But, as the Duchess of Parma pointed out, if any such reasons were to be given for the recall of Parpaglia, the French in Rome would be encouraged to make further demands against Elizabeth, while on the other hand it would be impossible to pass over in silence such an insult as the refusal of a passport, without driving the English Catholics to despair. Margaret therefore advised that the Spanish ambassador should write to Parpaglia to the effect that, having carefully examined into the state of affairs, he had come to the conclusion that the granting of the passport was full of difficulties, and that therefore Parpaglia would be well advised not to ask for it, and to postpone the execution of his mission until the conclusion of peace and the opening of the Council.[1]

De la Quadra wrote the suggested letter on July 25th,[2] and on the same date he wrote to the Duchess of Parma[3] that it would not be impossible to obtain the passport, but that the queen wished first to see the dispatches carried by Parpaglia. She would refuse to receive the Papal letters unless in them she were accorded all her titles. This was as much as to say that she would in no case receive the nuncio, because they certainly would not give her in Rome the title of "defender of the faith" (Defensor Fidei). The queen added that the sending of a nuncio was unnecessary, since she was so firmly fixed in her faith that she would die rather than change it; de la Quadra had better see to it that Parpaglia did not come, since she did not wish to give displeasure to the Pope. Then she remembered that she had formerly told de la Quadra that she was of the same faith as himself, and began to argue

[1] Margaret of Parma, *loc. cit.*

[2] Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 516 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 515 *seq.* The letters to Parpaglia, Margaret of Parma and Vargas were also sent to Rome. De la Quadra to Philip II., July 25, 1560. Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 302.

with him, finally saying that in all essentials there was hardly any difference between herself and the ambassador.[1]

The nuncio in France also wrote to Parpaglia that he had better not proceed any further in the matter,[2] and in October Parpaglia returned to Italy.[3]

Philip II. was severely blamed by Catholics for his action with regard to the mission of Parpaglia ; the English Catholics complained that it was his policy which was responsible for the fact that heresy had taken such deep root in their country.[4] When Nicolas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, and Papal legate in Scotland, passed through London on his return home, he informed the Spanish ambassador there that in his opinion the mission of a nuncio to England was exceedingly opportune. The French ambassadors in Scotland, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Randan, made similar complaints against Philip. Pellevé saw the reason for Philip's indirect support of "Elizabeth's evil cause" in the king's matrimonial plans for the English queen.[5]

It was quite true that from the first Philip had entertained the idea of winning over Elizabeth to the Hapsburg policy by means of some suitable marriage, and thus forcing her to renounce her support of the religious changes ; he hoped that he would thus be able to attain his ends by peaceful means,

[1] "Se puso en disputas y en querer me provar que en lo substancial no diferiamos casi en nada." KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 516 ; Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 302 *seq.* *Cf.* Guzman de Silva, April 26, 1565, Collección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 539.

[2] De la Quadra to Parpaglia, July 29, 1560, Collección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 518.

[3] STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1, n. 815, 7. He stayed for eight days at Orleans, and then went straight on to Rome on November 20. *Ibid.*, n. 737, 10.

[4] De la Quadra to Philip II., July 25, 1560, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 303 : "El querer V.M. sustentar â esta Reina por la conservation de sus Estados, es causa que la herejía haga raices en este Reino." Philip II. wrote on the margin in his own hand, "Este capitulo es bien mirar."

[5] De la Quadra, August 12, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II. 522.

more easily than by having recourse to war or force. First of all he offered his own hand to his royal cousin, and when Elizabeth rejected this, he caused the Archduke Charles of Austria to be put forward in his stead. These suggestions were not displeasing to the queen, because so long as there was any possibility of a Hapsburg marriage she thought she would be safe from a Papal excommunication. Taught by the experience of her elder sister, she had resolved not to marry at all, and had definitely given expression to this resolve before Parliament. On another occasion, however, she had expressed herself in the opposite sense, so that no one knew what she really intended, and the hopes of her suitors were constantly receiving fresh encouragement.[1] Many others, besides the Hapsburgs, aspired to the hand of Elizabeth.[2] The queen did not formally reject any of them, she allowed presents to be made to her by all of them, and drew much political profit from the friendship of her many suitors. Her own subject, Robert Dudley, was the one who, above all, enjoyed her favour. When the wife of the latter met with a violent end, the rumour was soon current at court that Elizabeth had already married him in secret.[3]

Elizabeth made use of her relations with Dudley to confirm Philip in his illusions as to her own religious opinions. In

[1] E. WERTHEIMER, Hieratsverhandlungen zwischen Elisabeth von England und Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich, 1559-61; Hist. Zeitschrift XL., N.F. IV., 385-432; Wertheimer is of opinion (p. 402): "if we examine her conduct during these matrimonial negotiations, she appears as the very personification of deceit." M. BROSCH, Habsburgische Vermählungspläne mie Elisabeth von England, in Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung, X. (1889), 121-34.

[2] "Estamos aqui diez o doze embaxadores competitores de Su Magestad" wrote de la Quadra on October 29, 1559, to Feria, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 72. In BROWN-BENTICK, VII., n. 710, the names of the twelve suitors are given.

[3] De la Quadra's justification, April 30, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 17. For the end of the wife of Dudley, *cf.* WALTER RYE, The murder of Amy Robsart, London, 1885; BEKKER, Elisabeth und Leicester, 44-77.

January, 1561, a relative of Dudley, Henry Sidney, went to de la Quadra and pointed out to him how advantageous it would be for King Philip if Elizabeth could be induced to marry Dudley, because the latter was prepared to serve the king as his vassal, and Elizabeth would thereby be disposed to restore the old religion by means of the Council, in which case Dudley would certainly lend his aid;[1] an attempt was even made to overcome de la Quadra's doubts as to this by a sworn statement.[2] On February 13th Dudley himself paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador in order to confirm the promises made by Sidney,[3] and he even went so far on a subsequent occasion as to say that he was prepared to go in person to the Council should an ordinary envoy not be enough.[4] In the meantime Elizabeth acted as though she took the whole affair seriously. In the course of an audience of the Spanish ambassador she said, among many other things, that she would like to go to confession to him, and to tell him, under the seal of the sacrament, that she was not an angel, and that she could not deny her love for Dudley, but that she had not made up her mind to marry him or anyone else, although every day she saw more clearly the necessity of taking that step; she said that she could only marry an Englishman, and what would de la Quadra say if she were to choose one who was the devoted servant of Philip?[5] After Sidney's visit she began to single out the Spanish ambassador for special favour, and gave up persecuting the Catholics; on April 15th de la Quadra wrote to Philip II. that during the past three years they had never been left in so much peace as during the last three months.[6]

[1] De la Quadra to Philip II., January 22, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 312 *seq.*

[2] "Con juramentos grandes se esforzaron de persuadirme que la Reina y M. Roberto estaban determinados de restituir la religion por via del Concilio." *Ibid.*, 314.

[3] De la Quadra to Philip II., February 23, 1561, *ibid.*, 316 *seqq.*

[4] "Me dijo qui si no bastaba inviar al Concilio, iria allá él mismo." Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 319.

[5] De la Quadra to Philip II., February 23, 1561, *ibid.*, 317.

[6] *Ibid.*, 335.

The English Protestants saw all this with great anxiety. As the queen's lover, Dudley was no less distasteful to them than to the Catholics; the violent death of his wife afforded the preachers occasion for making remarks in their pulpits which certainly did not redound to the good name of the queen.[1] De la Quadra, however, did not allow himself to be deceived; he replied evasively to Elizabeth's demands, and advised the Catholics to build no hopes for success upon her marriage with Dudley. In spite of this he advised his king to support Dudley's schemes, pointing out that the marriage could only damage Elizabeth's reputation, and would make it impossible for her any longer to hold the diplomatists in suspense by means of their uncertainty as to her matrimonial intentions.[2] Philip's attitude towards the matter was one of great caution and reserve, though Elizabeth's vacillations had for him the advantage that at anyrate they caused the postponement of the arrival in England of a Papal nuncio. Philip sent instructions to Granvelle that the nuncio, whose mission had been suggested, must not start until the marriage of Elizabeth and Dudley had been openly decided upon.[3]

In spite of the failure of Parpaglia, Pius IV. had under consideration the sending of a fresh embassy to England. The Earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth had sent to the French court to convey her condolences at the death of Francis II., had, in the course of conversation with Catherine de' Medici, dropped the remark that there were many religious parties

[1] "Aun los predicadores en los pulpitos trataban dello de manera que prejudicaban á la honra y servicio de la Reina." De la Quadra, January 23, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 314. "Aunque ella [Elizabeth] ve que los herejes la tratan muy mal, especialmente los predicatores, y que Roberto está peor quisto dellos que de los católicos." De la Quadra March 25, 1561, *ibid.*, 329.

[2] De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 19, 1561, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 585.

[3] "Yo escribo [to Granvelle] que no le deje pasar hasta wer qué camino lleva la plâtica que os ha movido Sidney." Philip II. to De la Quadra, March 17, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 326.

in England, and that the English queen would be glad of the advice of Catherine as to how she was to act. It was, he said, her intention to put an end to the religious strife by taking part in the Council, but that it seemed to her that the powers on the north of the Alps must act together in order that the Council should be able to carry on its discussions with the necessary freedom. Elizabeth put forward this proposal merely to bring into being, under pretext of the Council, a union of the English and French Protestants against the ecumenical council. Bedford's remarks reached the ear of the Duke of Savoy through his ambassador, Morette, and were passed on by the duke to Rome, where they now took it as certain that Elizabeth would send representatives to the Council.[1] Pius IV., who had decreed the assembly of the Council of Trent on November 29th, 1560, and who was looking for the return of England to the Church by peaceful means,[2] now, therefore, turned his attention to the presentation of the brief of May 5th to the English queen by the hands of a nuncio, and in this way to invite her to send representatives to Trent. The Pope's choice fell upon Girolamo Martinengo, a noble

[1] De la Quadra to Philip II., March 25 and November 27, 1561, and January 10, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 326 *seq.*, 373, 378. De la Quadra to Granvelle, November 27, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 647 : " El caso es que este Moretta, persuadido del Conde Betford en Francia y con desseo de hazer Cardenal al Obispo de Tolon su cuñado, hizo que el Duque su amo dio este negocio por hecho al Papa, que fue causa de la venida del Abad Martinengo." *Cf.* SUSTA, I., 195.

[2] When Mula expressed to the Pope his hope that during his pontificate he would be able at least to a great extent to restore the unity of Christendom, Pius IV. replied : *" Dio il voglia, da noi non mancherà ; gia facemo quello che non hanno voluto far gli altri ; non andamo con durezze e scommuniche, ma volemo andar con pietà e carità con tutti. Dissi che le scommuniche alienorno il regno d'In ghilterra. Si, disse, e noi vi mandamo il nostro nuntio, ch'è l'abbate vostro Martinengo, per acquittarli et farli bene, se potremo." Mula to the Doge, January 31, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives, Miscell., Arm. III., 24, p. 431).

of Brescia, who, after having first refused, at length accepted the difficult mission.[1]

In his instructions of March 9th, 1561,[2] Martinengo was told to go in the first place through Germany to Brussels, and there take counsel with Granvelle and the Duchess of Parma, and to apply for a passport to England from Elizabeth. In London he was to place himself in communication with the Spanish and French ambassadors, but he was not to take up his abode with the former, and he must have his audience of the queen without his being present. Should the passport to England be refused, or should the queen delay in making reply, the nuncio was to have recourse to Rome for further instructions. He was only to ask for the release from prison of the English bishops after the matter of the Council had been dealt with. At the beginning of April Granvelle received news that the nuncio had started from Rome.[3]

On this occasion as well, Philip of Spain was not at first in favour of this Papal mission to Elizabeth. At the beginning of February his representative in Rome was instructed to ask the Pope to refrain from any such step, on the ground that it was impossible, on account of the religious disturbances in France, to take energetic proceedings against the English queen.[4] Pius IV. caused him to be informed that it was merely a matter of inviting her to the Council,[5] yet Philip wrote to Flanders in April that the departure of Martinengo for England must be prevented.[6] This letter, however, had no great effect

[1] Guido Gianetti to Elizabeth, and John Sheres to Cecil, dated Venice, December 21, 1560. STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1, n. 815-6.

[2] In MEYER, 407 *seq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINI, 15, 7, 1.

[3] Granvelle to de la Quadra, April 4, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 544.

[4] GACHARD, Corresp. de Marguerite de Parme, I., 400. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 544 n.

[5] De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 14, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 548 *seq.*

[6] Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, April 21, 1561: "Su Magestad ha escrito que se estorvasse la yda del Abad" (KERVYN

upon the course of events; on the contrary, in the opinion of the Duchess of Parma, the negotiations of de la Quadra in London had gone too far to render any interference advisable.

Elizabeth found herself in a position of no small embarrassment on account of the mission of Martinengo. She was fully resolved not to admit any nuncio to England, yet, out of consideration for Philip II., she did not dare openly to forbid him to set foot in the country. Accordingly she sought first to gain time. She told de la Quadra that she was delighted that the nuncio was coming, but that he must remember that according to the laws of the land it was impossible to give the Pope the title of universal or supreme bishop, and that he could only be entitled the Bishop of Rome.[1] On another occasion she declared that she was prepared to send representatives to the Council, and to accept its decrees, always supposing that it was a really free Council, but that she regretted that the Pope had not, as he had done in the case of the other princes, consulted her on the subject, and had thus treated her as a Protestant princess. She also said that she must have a guarantee that the bishops whom she sent would have a seat and a vote in the Council like the other Catholic bishops. By command of Elizabeth Cecil also had dealings with de la Quadra, though he went much further than the queen in the matter of making impossible conditions; at one time he insisted that the reconciliation with Rome should be brought about by means of a conference between the representatives of the Pope and the English theologians, while at another he claimed that the Papal brief must give the queen all the titles accorded to her by English law, and that otherwise it could not be accepted.[2] In conversation with de la Quadra

DE LETTENHOVE, II., 555; omitted by MEYER, p. 34). De la Quadra was working earnestly for Martinengo, but he was unaware of the intentions of Philip II. *Cf.* de la Quadra to Granvelle, April 12, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 546.

[1] De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 14, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 549.

[2] De la Quadra to Philip II., March 25, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 330, 333; MEYER, 34; FRERE, 75.

Dudley was at pains to assure him that both he and the queen were resolved to restore the old religion in England, and that Elizabeth only wished to put an end to the religious differences.[1] At last things advanced so far that a place was arranged for the meeting between the queen and the nuncio; Greenwich was chosen for this purpose, so as not to expose the Pope's representative to the risk of the insults of the populace in the streets of London.[2]

Before this, on April 12th, de la Quadra had written to the regent in the Netherlands to hurry forward Martinengo's journey, so that the queen might be forced to show her true colours.[3] Margaret of Parma agreed to this, but wished that the ambassador should first obtain from Elizabeth the necessary passport for Martinengo.[4] Cecil received the request with apparent courtesy, but on April 25th he paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador and made excuses for not being able to arrange the desired audience for the moment. When, however, he had another meeting with de la Quadra on the 28th, his attitude was very different; by that time he had hit upon a pretext for still keeping the nuncio out of England without occasioning any great scandal. In the middle of April certain important Catholics had been imprisoned for hearing Mass, and Cecil now magnified this affair into a Catholic conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador was involved. Moreover, Pius IV. had a short time before sent a nuncio to Ireland, which fact was made use of by the Secretary of State to pretend that this nuncio was stirring up the people in that country, and that he feared the same thing might happen if Martinengo came to England. Under these circumstances Cecil declared that there could be no longer any question of giving Martinengo a passport.[5]

[1] De la Quadra to Philip II., April 15, 1561, *ibid.*, I., 339.

[2] *Ibid.*, 338.

[3] De la Quadra to the Regent, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 545.

[4] The Regent to de la Quadra, April 21, 1561, *ibid.*, 555.

[5] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, *ibid.*, 559 *seq.*

On May 1st, 1561, the queen's Privy Council met at Greenwich to come to a decision as to the admission of Martinengo. Even then many of the councillors were still hesitating to exclude the nuncio from England without further consideration, when the Lord Privy Seal, Nicholas Bacon, declared that it would be high treason to vote in favour of his admission, and in the end Cecil succeeded in winning over the whole Privy Council to his view.[1]

On May 5th the Spanish ambassador was summoned to hear the decision of the Privy Council. De la Quadra refused to accept this, on the ground that he was not the ambassador of the Pope; the document was, therefore, merely read to him. This document stated that the admission of a Papal envoy was contrary to the law of the land, was opposed to wise policy, and was calculated to result in disturbances and rebellion. It was, moreover, no new thing in England to refuse admission to Papal nuncios, for Queen Mary herself had done this when the Cardinal's hat had been sent to Peto from Rome.[2] As far as the Council was concerned, the queen wished to have nothing to do with it. It was not a free Council, and the queen had had no information as to the place where it was to assemble, or of other circumstances connected with it, as should have been the case, and as had been the case with other princes. This was not to be taken as meaning, however, that the Anglican Church would not take part if at any time the princes should assemble a Council that was universal, free, Christian and holy.[3] It was quite untruthfully stated in the document that this decision had been arrived at by the Royal Council unanimously and without opposition.[4]

With this reply the separation of England from the universal Church was decided for centuries to come. Nothing but his realization of the enormous importance of this decision can explain why Pius IV., in spite of the insult offered to him, still

[1] MEYER, 35 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol XIV. of this work, p. 397.

[3] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, May 6, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 564 *seq.*

[4] MEYER, 35.

considered it his duty as supreme pastor, to let no opportunity go by of winning over the sovereign of a country which was still for the most part Catholic. The uncertainty as to her own private opinions, which Elizabeth knew very well how to keep to herself, seemed still to hold out at least a glimmer of hope, which the Pope may have considered it a matter of conscience to take into account. He therefore, on June 29th, 1561, charged Cardinal Este, who had been sent as legate to France, to open negotiations with the Queen of England as well, and to make concessions to her if she would but return to the Church.[1] When, on November 16th, the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, Morette, arrived in London on his way to Scotland, his companion, the protonotary Foix, on the strength of the remarks of the Earl of Bedford, had the boldness to seek an audience with Elizabeth. The queen made reply to his proposals that she should send representatives to Trent, by referring him to the decision of the previous May, and she accepted a letter from Cardinal Este with the remark that her ambassador, Throckmorton, would send a reply to the Cardinal.[2] This fresh attempt to win over Elizabeth naturally had no chance of success, but Pius IV. wished to give proofs that as far as he was concerned he had made every possible attempt, and had left nothing undone.[3] Before this the nuncio in France, Gualterio, had had equally unsuccessful dealings with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was violently opposed to the Catholics.[4] When, at the end of 1563, Thomas Sackville, the son of the under-secretary of the Treasury, Richard Sackville, came to Rome during his travels in Italy, this seemed to afford a fresh oppor-

[1] Šusta, I., 196. The letters of Este concerning his negotiations with the English ambassador on January 17 and 30, 1562, in Baluze-Mansi, IV., 381, 384.

[2] De la Quadra to Philip II., November 27, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 373, and to Granvelle, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 646 *seq.*

[3] So wrote Cardinal Borromeo to Cardinal Este, January 3, 1562, in Šusta, I., 335; *cf.* II., 417. The letters of Este of January 17 and 30, 1562, in Baluze-Mansi, IV., 381, 384.

[4] Meyer, 34.

tunity of finding out from both the son and his father whether there was any chance of the admission of a nuncio to England being allowed. At anyrate it does honour to the goodwill of Pius IV. that he should have made this attempt; it met with no success, and Richard Sackville informed his son that no one in England would dare so much as to suggest such a thing.[1] In this way, in Rome as elsewhere, there remained for a long time great uncertainty as to the real views of the English queen.[2]

After the rejection of Parpaglia and Martinengo, the question whether Elizabeth should not be formally excommunicated became acute.[3] In a letter dated July 16th, 1561, to his ambassador in Rome, Vargas, Philip II. was strongly opposed to such a step, on the ground that it would be impossible to give effect to a Papal excommunication by deposing Elizabeth.[4] The Emperor Ferdinand expressed himself in a similar sense on July 19th, 1563,[5] when a memorial[6] from the

[1] POLLEN in Publications of the Catholic Record Society, II., London, 1906, 1 *seqq*. MEYER, 45 *seq*. MAITLAND in the English Historical Review, XV. (1900), 757 *seqq*. Thomas Sackville (Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset) made a name for himself later as a poet.

[2] Even in 1581 Elizabeth succeeded in making the experienced and shrewd French ambassador Lansac believe that she was at heart a Catholic (BROSCH, VI., 589). The Protestants themselves did not feel at all certain about the queen's views. On August 10, 1565, Edward Warner wrote to Cecil from Spa that Elizabeth was seeking through an intermediary to induce the Pope to confirm the grants of benefices which she had made, and to recognize her legitimacy; King Philip was supposed to have urged her to do this; at anyrate such was the strong rumour which had several times come from Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, IV., 232 *seq*.

[3] Borromeo to the legates of the Council, June 2, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 49.

[4] In MIGNET, Histoire de Marie Stuart, I., 405 *seq*. MEYER, 36.

[5] Letter to the orators of the Council, in SICKEL, Konzil, 551 *seq*. *Cf*. ŠUSTA, IV., 97.

[6] In BUCHOLTZ, IX., 700 *seq*., and contained in a letter from the Imperial envoys to Ferdinand, June 12, 1563. *Cf*. ŠUSTA, IV., 87. A memorial urging the excommunication of Elizabeth is also to be seen in the English Hist. Rev., VII. (1892), 82-4.

English Catholics in Flanders had put forward the suggestion that the Council of Trent should at least make a declaration that Elizabeth deserved to be excommunicated, even though the carrying into effect of the ecclesiastical censure might have to be deferred. Granvelle in like manner, in a memorandum to the Council, advised strongly against the excommunication.[1] The Papal legates at Trent approved the Emperor's views.[2] The Pope did the same on July 6th,[3] although he had been inclined a short time before to decide in the sense suggested by the aforesaid English memorial.[4] This set forth the view that the Catholics in England were confidently awaiting a declaration by the Council against Elizabeth, and that unless this were made the assembly would forfeit all respect in their opinion. There was no need to be held back by the fear least such a step against Elizabeth would prejudice the position of the English Catholics, since the latter would willingly bear any such increase in their sufferings if only the Council would speak out on their behalf.[5]

The fear that Elizabeth would retaliate by taking fresh steps against her Catholic subjects was well founded. The mission of the two nuncios, Parpaglia and Martinengo, had already brought about a change for the worse in the position of the English Catholics. During the first years of Elizabeth the cruel religious laws had only been enforced with full severity in the case of the Catholic bishops who had remained true to their duty, though, even in their case, the government

[1] Poullet, I., 551; Raynaldus, 1563, n. 115; Meyer, 43.

[2] Sickel, Konzil, 555; Meyer, 410 *seq*; Šusta, IV., 111.

[3] Meyer, 410; Šusta, IV., 117.

[4] Meyer, 409. On October 31, 1563, Pius IV. informed Philip II. that the excommunication of Elizabeth had been postponed out of consideration for the Spanish king. Philip, on his part, begged Elizabeth not to persecute the bishops and the other Catholics. Raynaldus, 1563, n. 179. *Cf.* Šusta, IV., 139.

[5] A second part of the memorial, which was not put forward for discussion by the Papal legates at Trent, dealt with the transference of the English crown to a Catholic prince, who was to marry Mary Stuart. Bucholtz, IX., 701.

had taken good care not to go to the length of shedding their blood.[1] Two of the bishops were thrown into prison as early as the beginning of April, 1559, probably in order to remove from Parliament some who would be opposed to the new religious laws.[2] By the end of 1559, however, the only ones who retained their sees were Stanley of Sodor and Man, and the apostate Kitchin of Llandaff, all the others having been deposed during the course of the year. The penalty of imprisonment followed that of deposition, the eighty-five year old Tunstall of Durham being thus imprisoned in the palace of the Anglican archbishop Parker, while Baine of Coventry-Lichfield and Oglethorp of Carlisle were kept in custody in the house of Grindal, Bishop of London, a form of imprisonment more unpleasant to the prisoners than incarceration in the Tower. These three bishops died before the end of 1559. On January 12th, 1560, White of Winchester also died in the custody of his relatives, from fever which he had contracted during his long imprisonment in the Tower. Morgan of St. David's, who also did not outlive 1559, remained at liberty until the time of his death. In June, 1559, Goldwell of St. Asaph succeeded in escaping to the continent. Poole of Peterborough was allowed to remain at liberty in London, within a three mile radius.

Of the remaining bishops eight were thrown into the Tower or other prisons during May and June, 1560; Parpagalia wrote[3] that this was probably due to the suspicions aroused by his prospective mission rather than to any other cause. The prisoners were treated with extreme severity; when the arrival of Martinego was expected, and an intercepted letter

[1] BRIDGETT-KNOX, The true history of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Elizabeth, London, 1889; G. E. PHILLIPS, The extinction of the ancient Hierarchy, London, 1906; the same in the Dublin Review, CXLII. (1908), 315 *seqq.* BELLESHEIM in Hist.-pol. Blätter, CV. (1890), 278 *seqq.*, CXXXVI. (1908), 891 *seqq.* SPILLMANN, II., 34 *seqq.* For Bourne *cf.* BIRT in the Dublin Review, CXXI. (1897), 134 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 411.

[3] September, 8, 1560, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1561, n. 507.

from the Tower expressed the hope that before long the imprisoned bishops would at least recover their liberty through the intervention of the Pope and the King of Spain, all communication with the outside world was refused them.[1] It must be added that their life was in constant danger, while the successes of the Huguenots in France encouraged the government in December, 1562, to demand the taking of the oath of supremacy from the imprisoned bishops under threat of death.[2] At the opening of Parliament on January 12th, 1563, the principal theme of the Protestant preachers, both at Westminster before the queen, and at St. Paul's before the convocation of clergy, was the necessity of putting to death "the caged wolves."[3]

Elizabeth did not dare, however, further to provoke the Catholics before the conclusion of the war with France.[4] When she became afraid lest the French should stir up a rebellion in England the treatment of the bishops became much less severe than it had been before. Elizabeth gave back his liberty to the Archbishop of York, Heath, who was ill, about the middle of the year.[5] At the intercession of the Emperor Ferdinand,[6] Thirlby of Ely, Turberville of Exeter, Bourne

[1] De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 20, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 553 *seq.*; *cf.* 559. As the Warden of the Tower stated, they were still, on June 14, 1562, in "strict solitary imprisonment" (Hist.-pol. Blätter, CV., 287). Pius IV. tried to send them help in money by the hands of de la Quadra, but they were not to know whence it came. Philip II. to de la Quadra, March 17, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 325. *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, IV., 168, n. 3, 187 *seq.*

[2] De la Quadra to Granvelle, Dec. 13, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 209.

[3] De la Quadra to Carlo de Giesso, January 14, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 234.

[4] De la Quadra to Granvelle, May 1, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 366: "Hasta tener concluyda la paz con Francia, no osara venir la Reina a la execucion destos Catholicos."

[5] De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 3, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 499.

[6] A letter of his was already in the hands of de la Quadra at the beginning of May (de la Quadra to Granvelle, May 1, 1563, *ibid.*,

of Bath and Wells, Pate of Worcester, and Watson of Lincoln were released from the Tower and handed over to the custody of Anglican bishops, though even so their imprisonment was very strict. Only thoroughly Protestant servants were allowed to approach them, their custodians were not allowed, as was customary, to invite them to their table, but had to send them their meagre rations to their rooms; they were given nothing but Protestant books to read, they were forbidden to practise Catholic worship, and whenever possible they were forced to attend Protestant services and sermons.[1] Only Archbishop Heath was allowed to remain in his own house; Scott of Chester, who was released from prison in 1564, and placed under police surveillance, escaped to Louvain, where he died in the following year.

The intercession of the Emperor had only succeeded for a short time in opening the gates of the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark to Bonner, Bishop of London, who was the most hated and feared of all the Catholic prelates. In 1564 an attempt was made to implicate him in fresh charges. The Protestant bishop, Horne, in whose diocese Southwark was situated, was deputed once again to make the attempt to get him to take the oath of supremacy,[2] but Bonner was able to resist all his efforts in the most brilliant manner. He proved in an elaborate treatise that the Act of Supremacy was contrary to law, and that Horne was not a person competent to exact the oath of supremacy, because he could not, even in English law, be considered a bishop. The proofs adduced by this able jurist were irrefutable, since both the consecration of the English bishops, and the Act of Supremacy, were, even under English law, full of illegalities.[3] All further

III., 365). A second letter, of September 24, only arrived after the bishops had been liberated (Hist.-pol. Blätter, CV., 288).

[1] Orders of the Privy Council; see SPILLMANN II., 47.

[2] Luis Roman to Margaret of Parma, April 29, 1564, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, IV., 13 *seq.*

[3] The Act of Supremacy had been passed by the Upper and Lower Houses, but not, as was also necessary, by Convocation. It was therefore illegal. Parker, the consecrator of Horne, had

efforts to induce Bonner to take the oath of supremacy were given up, and in 1566 an attempt was made to remedy the legal defects which he had pointed out by means of a Parliamentary enactment.[1]

The arguments put forward by Bonner, did not, of course, induce the government to restore the ancient hierarchy. With the death of Watson of Lincoln on September 27th, 1584, after 26 years imprisonment, the last remaining Catholic bishop in England died. When, a year later, Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, also died in Rome, the ancient English hierarchy became extinct. By the Catholics the imprisoned bishops were looked upon as almost martyrs; they realized that the extreme penalty had been withheld in their case merely in order that they might be deprived of the glory of martyrdom, and that their long drawn out suffering was worse than a violent death.[2]

As had been the case with the bishops, the full rigour of the penal laws was not immediately put into force against the Catholic body in general. The Acts of Parliament which abolished the supremacy of the Pope and the Mass, and enforced attendance at Protestant worship,[3] received the royal assent on May 8th, 1559. In giving this the queen expressed her thanks for the care and moderation which had marked the debates, and promised to enforce these wise new laws which were so necessary for the maintenance of peace, justice,

been ordained according to the ordinal of Edward VI., for at the time of his consecration the Roman pontifical had quite certainly been abolished, but Parliament had forgotten to take steps to introduce the ordinal of Edward VI. Moreover, even according to English law, the consecration had to be performed by an archbishop and two bishops. Thus, at Parker's consecration, there could not have been any archbishop, and the four ecclesiastical dignitaries who took part in the consecration were all deposed bishops.

[1] FRERE, 130 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the remarks of Sander and Allen in PHILLIPS, Dublin Review, CXLII. (1908), 319.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 410.

and religious unity.[1] The first steps in this direction were taken in June; England was divided into six districts, and visitors were appointed; these were, in the case of the counties, chosen principally from the nobility, but each visiting commission had attached to it a lawyer, or at least a theologian. It was the duty of the visitors above all to exact the oath of supremacy from the clergy, and to introduce the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Inspectors were to be appointed in every parish, who were to denounce all those who, without valid excuse, were absent from divine worship. Besides this they were to remove all traces of the old religious practices, and especially to replace the altars with simple tables. It was also their duty to destroy in private houses, reliquaries, pictures and images.[2] A number of other regulations dealt with the introduction of the new religious conditions.[3]

We only have full reports of the proceedings of these visitations in the case of southern England. Although the commission nowhere found any enthusiasm for the new religion, it yet did not there meet with any strong opposition. At Durham, however, the episcopal city of the much-loved Bishop Tunstall, the chapter declared, almost to a man, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority in England belonged to the Pope;[4] at York a fourth part of the clergy refused to present themselves to take the oath, and a similar state of affairs was found at Chester and Carlisle. In other places, however, the parochial clergy showed themselves very compliant. The commission proceeded with great caution, gave

[1] FRERE, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 35 *seqq.* According to Frere (p. 39) the action of the government was illegal because both the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity lacked the approval of Convocation. He justifies it by stating that "a religious revolution, like any other revolution, must risk technical illegalities."

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 42. *Cf.* STEVENSON in The Month, LXXIX. (1893), 24 *seqq.*

time for consideration to those who refused the oath, and only deprived very few of their offices.[1]

In London, the headquarters of Protestantism, the change of religion was received by the people with unconcealed joy. In the cathedral church of St. Paul the visitors gave instructions for the destruction of the images, crucifixes and altars, and the order was eagerly carried out.[2] In September, 1559, the Spanish ambassador wrote that the state of religion was worse than it had ever been; for eight days, he said, they had not ceased to burn crucifixes, images, vestments and sacred objects, and they were proceeding with such violence against those who refused the oath or to obey, that it seemed likely that in the course of a few days Elizabeth would burn more Catholics than her sister had sent heretics to the flames during her whole reign.[3] For three weeks the populace was allowed to give free vent to its rage.[4]

The royal visitations came to an end in October, 1559.

[1] FRERE, 41 *seq.* Creighton maintains that out of 9400 ecclesiastics only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. Against this, according to the calculations of J. FORBES in Revue des quest. hist., LVIII. (1895), 456, 517, and H. N. BIRT (The Elizabethan religious settlement, London, 1907) it is clear that in 1559 there were only about 7500 ecclesiastics, and that for the years 1559–1565 the names of about 700 are given who suffered deprivation. At the same time 1934 prebends disappear from the lists between June, 1559, and the end of 1565, without counting new appointments. Birt therefore is of opinion that about 2000 priests refused the oath of supremacy. The question, however, is one that calls for further inquiry; it must in any case be admitted that the majority of the clergy did not show themselves staunch to their principles. *Cf.* Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XXXIII. (1912), 146 *seq.* Dublin Review, CXLIII. (1908), 212 *seq.*

[2] FRERE, 42.

[3] De la Quadra to Granvelle, September 2, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE II., 13. As early as July 13, 1559, de la Quadra wrote to Philip: "haberse commenzado á ejecutar las leyes del Parlamento en las cosas de la religion muy rigurosamente." Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 220.

[4] FRERE, 42.

In the meantime, on July 19th, a central permanent commission, consisting of three ecclesiastics, eight lawyers, and eight other laymen, had been set up; this was to carry out the royal power of visitation, give effect to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, watch over the attendance at divine worship, and see to other ecclesiastical ordinances. The task of exacting the oath of supremacy was also laid upon this commission in October. It began its work in November[1], and in the following year the newly-appointed Anglican bishops again took up the work of visitation.

The results of these episcopal visitations were by no means satisfactory to the friends of the new ecclesiastical conditions. Many of the clergy still maintained "externally the dress, and in their hearts the religious opinions which they had inherited from the days of Papal rule, and they bewitched the eyes and ears of the populace to such an extent that people might suppose either that Papal doctrines had not yet been abolished or would shortly be restored."[2] At Hereford the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady was still solemnly celebrated, and a strict fast observed on the vigil. Some who had refused to take the oath, and had been driven from Exeter, Worcester, and other places were lodged and entertained by the justices of the peace, and honoured with a torch-light procession, while the Anglican bishop was a stranger in his own diocese.[3] At Winchester many of the laity escaped the visitation by changing their houses, and special difficulties were encountered in the case of the leading Catholics in the country districts. Six months later the Book of Common Prayer was still not in general use.[4] The University of Oxford was a stronghold of Catholic doctrine. Bishop Horne of Winchester wrote to Cecil that if he were to take strict proceedings scarcely two people would be left in any house.[5] In the diocese of Carlisle the clergy were, it is true, ready to

[1] *Ibid.*, 44. [2] *Ibid.*, 58. [3] *Ibid.*, 64. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 65. The Mayor of Oxford declared in 1561 that there were not three houses in which there were not Papists; De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Nov. 15, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 643.

subscribe to the oath, but the Anglican bishop himself admitted that this compliance was merely the result of fear.[1] Pilkington, the Bishop of Durham, compared his visitation to a struggle with wild beasts, worse than that which Paul had to undergo at Ephesus.[2]

Reports of Catholic origin make it clear, no less than these Protestant evidences, that by far the greater part of England, during the first years of Elizabeth, was still firmly attached in its opinions to the old religion. The populace, wrote Sanders to Cardinal Morone about 1561, is composed of peasants, shepherds and artisans ; the peasants and shepherds are all Catholics, but some of the artisans are schismatics. The more distant parts of the country are still very far from being heretical, as for example, Wales, Devon, Westmoreland, and Northumberland. Since the cities of England are few and small, and since heresy has no hold in the country districts, it is the opinion of competent judges that not more than one per cent. of the English people is infected. The Lutherans therefore speak of their adherents as "a little flock"[3] De la Quadra wrote on January 16th, 1560, that the sacraments were still dispensed in England with the same frequency as of old, but in secret, and that in London many masses were celebrated every day.[4]

Nevertheless England was lost to the Catholic Church. The followers of the old religion had no leader, they had no organization, and above all they had no clear principles. The Book of Common Prayer was made up of psalms, of passages from Scripture, and of prayers which could also be found in the Roman Missal. Many who passed as good Catholics persuaded themselves that it was sufficient to maintain their faith in their hearts, and that they could obey the civil authority in externals, such as singing the psalms and

[1] FRERE, 67.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Publications of the Catholic Record Society, I. *Cf.* The Month, 1905, II., 547 *seq.*

[4] To Count Feria, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 186.

reading the Bible.[1] At the same time they allowed themselves to attend the Protestant churches and services, and sought to quiet their consciences by blocking their ears with wool, so as not to hear the Anglican sermons.[2] There were even priests who secretly offered the sacrifice of the Mass, and in public celebrated the Protestant worship, while some of the laity even went so far as to receive the Anglican communion,[3] which in their opinion was nothing but a little bread and wine. The want of clearness of ideas on the subject was so great that, in 1562, some Catholics thought of putting before the Council of Trent the question whether it was lawful to assist at Anglican services and sermons. De la Quadra sent a request to Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, that he would, by the Pope's orders, submit this question to certain theologians of the Inquisition. The reply of the Roman tribunal was a clear and decided negative.[4] In spite of this, however, in 1592, Cardinal Allen found himself obliged to exhort the priests in England to be very careful not to teach or defend the view that it was lawful to take part in Protestant worship.[5]

In view of this confusion as to questions of principle it is easy to understand how it was that the great majority of the clergy, in spite of their internal reluctance, accepted the oath of supremacy, and were followed in so doing by their flocks. On the other hand, the same thing explains why the govern-

[1] Report of Allen as to his work in England during the years 1562–1565, in Bellesheim, ALLEN, 18.

[2] Stone in Dublin Review, CIX. (1891), 322.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*

[4] De la Quadra to Philip II., November 8, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 425 *seq.* The letter of de la Quadra to Vargas, August 7, 1562, in an English translation in MAITLAND, English Hist. Rev., XV. (1900), 531, where is also given (p. 531 *seq.*) in the original Latin, the request to the Inquisition and the latter's reply. Another memorial from the English Catholics on the same subject was also sent to the Council by means of the Portuguese ambassador at Trent, Mascareynas. SUSTA, II., 297.

[5] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 18, n.

ment did not find it necessary to put the laws against the Catholics into force with extreme rigour, at anyrate, for the moment; so long as the majority of the adherents of the old religion conformed outwardly and attended the Protestant worship, the new religion was bound, by slow degrees, and as it were naturally, to take root in their hearts. The fears inspired by the frightful penalties of the law worked in the same direction.

The aim of the new penal laws of 1563 was to add to these fears.[1] While hitherto the penalties of *praemunire* and high treason had been attached only to the second or third offence against the Act of Supremacy, they were now to be incurred at the first or second act of defence of the Papal authority. At the same time the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy was extended to two further classes of persons; in the first place to all members of the House of Commons, and to all school-masters and lawyers, and secondly to all those who had ever held any ecclesiastical office, who openly showed disapproval of the State religion, or who celebrated or heard Mass. To those of the former class, the oath could only be offered once, and that under penalty of death. "The amazing violence and unlawful audacity of the followers of the Bishop of Rome" were given as the excuse for this extraordinary severity.[2] This excuse, however, was quite without foundation as far as the English Catholics were concerned; Lord Montague was quite right in stating in the Upper House that it was a well-known fact that the Catholics had not caused any disburbances in the kingdom. They did not hold disputations and they did not preach, they did not disobey the queen, nor did they put forward any new doctrines or tenets.[3] Elizabeth, however, often complained of the hostility of the Guise in France, and at the end of 1562, in connection with the so-called conspiracy of the two Poles, she raised an outcry that they "were cultivating relations in this kingdom with

[1] LINGARD, VII., 316.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

rebels and enemies of the crown."[1] These complaints, however, were but an excuse.

Arthur Pole, the nephew of Cardinal Pole, had, as the representative of the White Rose, certain claims to the English crown.[2] This young man, who was of a restless spirit, and combined great audacity with very little prudence or capacity,[3] had at first offered his services to the English queen, but had been rejected; in 1561 he had been placed in the Tower with Waldgrave because he was suspected of being a Catholic and the government distrusted him.[4] By the advice of certain sorcerers,[5] he determined to leave England in September, 1562, as de la Quadra informs us,[6] nominally on account of his religious opinions, but in reality to seek his fortune and, by the help of the Catholics, to obtain possession of the English crown.[7] De la Quadra and the French ambassador, Foix, to whom he turned for aid, refused to help the visionary,[8] who, when he was on point of taking ship, was imprisoned at the instance of an informer.[9] He then confessed that it was his intention to take service under the Guise in France, to marry his brother Edmund to Mary Stuart, and himself become Duke of Clarence.[10] The condemnation

[1] De la Quadra to Philip II., December 6, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 438.

[2] *Cf.* POLLARD in the Dictionary of National Biography, XLVI., 19.

[3] De la Quadra thus describes him in his letter to Philip II., September 15, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 421.

[4] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 561.

[5] De la Quadra to the same, December 19, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 215.

[6] To Philip II., September 15, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 421.

[7] "Pretender las sucesiones deste Reino con el favor de los católicos." *Ibid.*

[8] De la Quadra, *ibid.*

[9] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, October 17, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 166 *seq.*

[10] De la Quadra to the same, December 19, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 215.

to death of the two brothers was not carried into effect, and they remained in the Tower till their death.[1]

While the new religious laws were in preparation, the preachers fulminated in every pulpit against the "papists" giving as their reason the anti-Protestant demonstrations in Paris. There was never a sermon, wrote de la Quadra, which did not urge the kiling of the Catholics; at the same time Cecil and his party were working for the same end. Had they but dared, scarcely a Catholic in the country would have been safe.[2] But for the moment there could be no question of carrying out the religious laws in their full rigour; the duty of receiving the oath of supremacy was reserved to the Anglican bishops. At the suggestion of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker gave his suffragans instructions in a secret letter never to demand the oath a second time without first laying the full details of the case before him. It was also expressly forbidden by the queen that the oath should again be offered to the bishops in prison.[3]

By this insistence on the oath of supremacy Catholics were excluded from Parliament and from any kind of office; in this way they were bound to become a despised caste, and they and their religion robbed of all respect.[4] Frequent sermons on the pretensions of the Pope and the abominations of the Mass were formally ordered at the visitation of the diocese of Winchester in 1562.[5] The most unseemly parodies

[1] POLLARD, *loc. cit.*

[2] Nunca los predicadores de aquí hacen sermon en que no inciten al pueblo á degollar á los papistas, y el mismo Sicel y los de su liga nunca tratan de otro, y si osasen, bien creo que no quedaria católico en el Reino que no fuese degollado; pero son muchos los buenos y se venderian caros siempre que á esto se viniese. Corresp. de Felipe II., de la Quadra to Philip II., January 10, 1563. Vol. I., 464.

[3] LINGARD, VII., 318; FRERE, 102.

[4] Cecil gives this advice in his "Device for the alteration of religion," in BURNET, History of the Reformation, ed. Pocock, V., 497.

[5] FRERE, 65.

of the old religion were openly tolerated and approved, and on January 6th, 1559, in a comedy of this kind, at which the queen was present, crows were represented in the cardinalitial dress, asses in episcopal vestments, while wolves appeared as Catholic abbots.[1] Pamphlets, issued with episcopal approbation, dragged in the mire everything Catholic, at home and abroad.[2] The English Catholics were more heavily burdened with taxes than their fellow-subjects, while a custom grew up by which, whenever the Treasury was in special need of funds, the government had the right to levy so-called "loans" from private individuals, though everyone knew that they would never be repaid. The Catholics were especially liable to demands of this sort, sometimes to the extent of a hundred pounds sterling a head.[3] The war with France, which was essentially waged in order to assist the Huguenots against the French Catholics, was paid for, for the most part, with Catholic money.[4] But the most oppressive burden upon those who professed the old faith was the tax levied for non-attendance at Protestant worship. The ordinary individual

[1] Schifanoia, January 23, 1559, in BROWN-BENTINCK, VII., n. 10. De la Quadra wrote on October 3, 1562, to Margaret of Parma, concerning a comedy, in which Pietro Soto, confessor of Charles V., and professor at Oxford under Mary, and the well-known theologian Malvenda, urged fratricide (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 154). When, however, the students of Cambridge went to the length of deriding the much venerated imprisoned bishops in a comedy, this was more than the queen could allow, and she left the place with her torch-bearers, leaving the performers in the dark. Guzman de Silva to Margaret of Parma, August 19, 1564, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, VI., n. 88.

[2] De la Quadra to Philip II., August, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 609 n.

[3] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, December 19, 1562, *ibid.* III., 215; *cf.* 209. d'Assonleville to the same, April 24, 1563, *ibid.*, 355.

[4] "Bellum gallicum, ad quod plus pecuniae contribuere coacti sunt illi, qui catholici habentur, quam alii." Petition of the English Catholics to the Council of Trent, 1563, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 703.

might escape taking the oath of supremacy, he might retire from any official position, but the terrible obligation of attending Protestant worship was brought home to him week after week, and he could not comply with this without denying his faith and his conscience, though the penalty for non-attendance, a shilling for each offence, was ruinous to a man of small means at a time when the value of money was ten or twelve times as great as at the present day. Attendance at Mass, on the other hand, was punished by the truly enormous fine of at least a hundred marks.[1]

Few records have been preserved of the carrying out of these penal laws during the first years of Elizabeth. In the beginning extreme measures were only adopted when it was a case of bringing home the law, or when some political object was involved. When it was reported to the queen that the Catholic worship was still being carried on in several parts of London, she caused the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors to be visited during the time of Mass on the feast of the Purification (February 2nd), 1560, and imprisoned all who were assisting at Mass at the French embassy. The excuse she gave for this arbitrary proceeding was her fear that, under the guise of religious worship, intrigues were being carried on with the French ambassador; Elizabeth was very anxious to prevent Catholics from attending secret meetings,[2] and on the same day she therefore had others, both priests and laymen, who had celebrated or heard Mass, thrown into prison.[3] During May, June, and September, 1560, further severe penalties against the adherents of the old religion were formulated.[4] In April, 1561, when the immediate arrival

[1] One mark was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence; 100 marks was therefore in modern currency equivalent to 13,000 marks.

[2] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, February 7, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 223.

[3] TRÉSAL, 409.

[4] The Month, 1904, II., 507. A list of those imprisoned for celebrating or hearing Mass during the first 10 years of Elizabeth, *ibid.* 1909, II., 307–311. *Cf.* Publ. of the Cath. Record Society, I., 45, 49 *seqq.*; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1580, p. 173 *seq.*, 321, Addenda 1545–1565, p. 510, 524.

of the Papal nuncio, Martinengo, was expected, Cecil seized upon a pretext, quite insignificant in itself, for proving the hostility of the Catholics towards the state, and for taking severe measures against them. An English priest, who was embarking for Flanders, was recognized at Gravesend by his rosary and breviary, and thrown into prison; terrified by threats he made the following admissions: he was the chaplain of Sir Edward Waldgrave, a former councillor of Queen Mary; he was on his way to Flanders to distribute alms among the poor Catholic refugees; Mass was celebrated every day at the house of Waldgrave, where three or four priests dispensed the Sacraments. He also gave the names of a large number of noblemen and others who were accustomed to meet there.[1] Cecil magnified all this into a formal "papistical" conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador and the imprisoned bishops were involved,[2] and thus succeeded in providing a plausible reason for keeping Martinengo out of England. On April 20th the prisoners were taken under strong escort through the streets of London to the Tower,[3] and soon afterwards sixty more, all of them noblemen and persons of importance, were thrown into prison.[4] The persecution of the Catholics, the Spanish ambassador wrote on May 12th, 1561,[5] is proceeding apace; in some places the mayors and town councillors have been put into prison for ill-treating, or not treating with due respect, the new preachers. The cause of religion, he writes

[1] De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 20, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 553 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 21, 1561, *ibid.*, II., 557.

[4] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, *ibid.*, II., 560. According to the report of Sanders to Cardinal Morone, in addition to those imprisoned with Waldgrave, there were at that time in the Tower, for having heard Mass, 10 students of civil law, and 160 other persons. Publ. of Cath. Record Soc., I., 45. The Month, 1909, II., 309. *Cf.* de la Quadra to Philip II., May 5, 1561: "de los quales [católicos] tiene [the queen] las carceles llenas y cada dia se prenden más." Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 351.

[5] To Granvelle, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 568.

again in August of the same year,[1] is getting steadily worse; the Catholics are dying out, and those who remain are persecuted and forced into apostasy; the governor of Guernsey, one of the most determined and worthy men in the kingdom, is dead, and Waldgrave will soon follow him; Lords Ludburn and Wharton have allowed themselves to be persuaded to take the oath of supremacy in order to regain their liberty, while in the prisons death by starvation is carrying off those who remain steadfast.[2] In the middle of November six Catholic students of Oxford were sent to the Tower because they would not consent to the removal of a crucifix from their college chapel.[3]

The outbreak of hatred against the Catholics, which came to a head in the severe laws of 1563, had already shown itself in the August of the previous year. Whereas hitherto only three commissioners had been charged with the task of proceeding against the Catholics, fifty were appointed on July 30th, and there was every likelihood that the sword would now be employed against the adherents of the old religion.[4] Priests who refused to take the oath of supremacy were kept under strict supervision; they were obliged to live within certain areas, where they could more easily be watched; lists of "recusants" were drawn up, and arrests and imprisonments became more and more common.[5] Towards the end of

[1] To Philip II., *ibid.*, 608 *seq.* n.

[2] Waldgrave died in September, 1561. He had paid the fine of 200 ducats for having heard Mass, but he was not released from prison because he had given 10,000 ducats as alms to poor Catholics. The day before his death he ordered that all his property should also be divided among poor Catholics (de la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, September 6, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 620 *seq.* *Cf.* de la Quadra to Philip II., June 3, 1561: "No quieren admitirlos á la pena del Estatuto porque están determinados de no soltarlos." Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 358).

[3] De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Nov. 15, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 643.

[4] De la Quadra to Granvelle, Aug. 29, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 124. FRERE, 80.

[5] FRERE, 80.

1562 the Spanish ambassador thought there was reason to fear "terrible cruelty" against the Catholic prisoners in the Tower, even though the state of those imprisoned there was already so bad that they told the Warden of the Tower that they would rather be executed, "and to-day rather than to-morrow."[1] About the same time the authorities even ventured on the hitherto unheard of act of violating the privileges of the foreign embassies; all foreigners in London, including all persons who were not naturalized, were forbidden to hear Mass at the house of the Spanish ambassador.[2] In the following January the government even went so far as to close the doors of the Spanish embassy between the hours of 9 and 1, so that no one might be able to attend Mass there.[3] According to a letter from de la Quadra, Elizabeth, at the end of February, promised those who were in prison for hearing Mass that they should again be permitted to resume their old manner of life, but, he adds that the queen must have changed her mind as to this, since the prisons were still filled with such prisoners.[4] In the July of that year, however, Elizabeth was, at least for the moment, more mercifully inclined towards the Catholics.[5]

Side by side with this persecution of the old Church went various attempts to consolidate the new religion. Since the May and June of 1559, only two of the old bishops had not been deprived of their sees; these were Kitchin and Stanley; it was therefore necessary, before everything else, to set up

[1] "lo que han respondido al Castellano del Torre que los tiene presos es, que antes oy que mañana dessean que les acaben la mala vida que passan." De la Quadra to Granvelle, Dec. 27, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 223.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 439 *seqq.*, 484 *seqq.* De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Jan. 10, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 226. The reply of the royal council to the complaints of de la Quadra on Jan. 7, 1563, in Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 448; summary in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1563, n. 44, p. 25, 27.

[4] To Margaret of Parma, Feb. 27, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 259: "y assi se tienen las carceles llenas dellos."

[5] De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 3, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 499.

a new hierarchy. Elizabeth, however, was in no particular hurry to do this; Parliament had given the government the right to exchange Church property for other ecclesiastical goods which had already been confiscated, and the queen wished to see this exchange completed before she nominated new bishops. Matthew Parker had been chosen as Archbishop of Canterbury, and head of the new Anglican hierarchy in December, 1558. On August 1st, 1559, he was elected by the chapter of Canterbury, and consecrated on December 17th in the episcopal palace of Lambeth. Many difficulties, even from the point of view of English law,[1] were raised as to the legality of this consecration, but the queen, by means of a clause in the deed of appointment of Parker, supplied for all these defects.[2] By March, 1560, thirteen new bishops had been appointed, eleven of whom received their consecration at the hands of Parker; thus sixteen of the twenty-seven English sees were again filled.

The new bishops found their dioceses in a lamentable condition. In the archdeaconry of Colchester about a third part of the parishes had no pastor in 1563, and ten parishes in Colchester itself were vacant; three years later, out of 850 benefices in the diocese of London, about 100 were unfilled.[3] At Rochester only 13 of the 64 parish priests were able to preach, yet this, in comparison with other dioceses, was a very favourable state of affairs.[4] Grindal, the Bishop of London, ordained 100 clerics in four ordinations, while Parker ordained 150 in a single day, many of whom were ignorant artisans.[5] In a speech at the opening of Parliament in 1563 it was stated that the preachers had no zeal, and that the laity refused to listen to the doctrine approved by the state. There were, it was stated, very few ecclesiastics, and many of these were quite incapable; discipline was relaxed to such an extent that

[1] See *supra* p. 237 *seq.*
[2] FRERE, 5, 46-49.
[3] *Ibid.*, 105.
[4] *Ibid.*, 107.
[5] *Ibid.*, 60.

everyone lived just as he liked and without fear of punishment.[1]

Besides this, the Protestants were divided among themselves. Many who had fled to the continent under Queen Mary, had developed a taste for Calvinism in Switzerland; to such as these Anglicanism seemed to be a mixture of Catholicism and Protestanism, and by no means in conformity with the "word of God." Even many of the bishops were inclined to this so-called Puritanism.[2] The differences of opinion showed themselves at first in comparatively trifling matters, as for example whether it was lawful at divine worship to retain any of the vestments which had been used in the old Church, the use of which was still permitted by the Book of Common Prayer.[3]

The queen herself in many things clung to the external forms of the religion to which she had been accustomed since her youth. In her own chapel, a cross with two candles was before long replaced upon the altar, and she persisted in this in spite of the indignation of the Calvinists at such "a scandalous proceeding."[4] Still more remarkable was Elizabeth's dislike for married clergy, and it was only with great difficulty that Cecil dissuaded her from her intention of imposing the vow of celibacy on her clergy.[5]

The people were not asked for their opinion as to reform. Externally they obeyed the violence done to their consciences, but in their hearts they long remained attached to the old worship.[6] The effect of the anti-Catholic legislation was not

[1] *Ibid.*, 95. The position of the new bishops was by no means an enviable one in other ways as well. *Cf.* J. N. Birt in Dublin Review, CXXI. (1897), 125 *seqq.*

[2] Frere, 8 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.* Even the use of the ring at marriages was attacked by the Puritans. *Ibid.*, 95.

[4] *Ibid.*, 52 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*

[6] "To tell the truth" says (p. 129 *seq.*) the Protestant Frere, by no means friendly to Catholics, "the immediate results of what was called reform, were not calculated to make it popular

to produce enthusiasm for the new religion, but rather a growing indifference to all religion.[1] The truth was that comparatively few people had the moral courage to sacrifice their property and their liberty rather than act against their conscience, or to submit to the hardships of a voluntary exile from their country,[2] but those who did so were the noblest of their nation, and the glory of England and the Catholic Church.

among those who still clung to what, in the language of the time, was known as 'the old religion.' There was much talk of the restoration of purity of faith and worship, on the model of primitive times. But what people saw with their own eyes as the immediate result of the change was the profanation of churches by means of iconoclasm, the destruction of altars, the burning of the sacred objects in the churches, and contempt of pious usages. Impious mockery of the Eucharist was not merely a temporary outburst of the first days of reaction, but was considered as a suitable subject for jesting, in order to amuse the queen and her court on the occasion of her visit to Cambridge in 1564. Strong measures were taken to restore the communion, but the immediate result was that the celebration of the Eucharist became more and more rare. Efforts were also made to revive the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and for this purpose a system of daily divine service was introduced. But the immediate result was a falling off of daily worship. In his youth the recusant had been accustomed to see the churches filled day after day with worshippers, but now the doors of the churches began to remain closed from Monday to Saturday, the people discontinued their daily visits to the church, and contented themselves with attendance at divine worship on Sunday, with an occasional communion for appearance sake. It cannot cause surprise that to many people, and those the best, even the abuses of the old system were more dear than the reforms of the new."

[1] According to FRERE, 94, Parker, at the opening of convocation in 1563, urged "reform of that growing negligence of the people in worship which followed upon the Act of Uniformity and its system of enforcing church attendance by civil compulsion."

[2] *Cf.* R. LECHAT, Les Réfugiés Anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols, 1568 à 1603, Louvain, 1914.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of Religion in Scotland and Ireland.

In Scotland, where, since the XVth century the minority of three kings in succession had given a great impulse to the excessive influence of a depraved nobility,[1] both the political and religious revolutions made great strides when, in 1542, after the death of James V., a new minority began. The heir to the crown, Mary Stuart, was but a few days old when her father died, and from the time of her sixth year she had been in France as the destined bride of Francis II. She had been driven abroad by the violence of Henry VIII., who wished forcibly to obtain her hand for his own son by means of a series of plundering campaigns, and in France she was more and more lost sight of by her future subjects.[2]

In the meantime the young queen's kingdom was thrown into a state of anarchy and awful confusion by the campaigns of Henry VIII. In 1543, Lord Hertford was expressly charged by the English king to lay waste the northern kingdom with fire and sword.[3] Edinburgh was in flames for three

[1] James II., James III., and James V. all came to the throne as minors. Before that the imprisonment in England for many years of James I. had made a regency necessary (Bellesheim, I., 270 *seqq.*, 286 *seqq.*, 306 *seqq.*). Hosack (I., 2) says of the Scottish aristocracy of the time: "Scotland was oppressed by a nobility the most rapacious and corrupt that probably ever existed."

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 472.

[3] Hamilton Papers, II., 326; *cf.* Fleming, 189, n. 63. The instructions say, e.g.: "Do what you can out of hande, and without long tarrying, to beate down and overthrowe the castle, sack Holyrod house, and as many townes and villaiges about Edinborough as ye may conveniently, sack Lythe and burne and subverte it and all the rest, putting man, woman, and childe, to fyre and swoorde . . ." And they continue in the same barbarous strain.

whole days, 192 towns, parish churches and castles, and 243 villages were destroyed and reduced to ashes, and the whole countryside laid waste.[1] After the death of Henry VIII., Lord Hertford, who had now become Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, went on with the work which he had begun; he inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Scots near Pinkie, Leith was reduced to ashes, and the abbey of Holyrood sacked.

The decline of the ancient faith can be traced to this time of pillage and disaster. Broadly speaking Scotland was still Catholic at the time of the birth of Mary Stuart; the Lutheran preachers had met with but little favour, and in 1535 Parliament had passed severe laws against them.[2] The battle-cry of the Scots at Pinkie, "Death to the heretic English!" had proved that at that time the majority of the Scottish people still held firmly to the ancient faith, and also showed that they fully understood the true significance of the English invasion.[3] It was only by slow degrees that the religious innovations gained ground during those years of turmoil, though the attempts made in the synods of 1549 and 1551 to remove the principal pretext for religious change by a reform of the clergy, and by improving the state of religious instruction among the people by means of a new catechism for the use of parish priests,[4] did not meet with much success, even though the peace of Boulogne in 1550 put an end to the long war with the English.

During these wars the Scottish barons had played a disgraceful part. Won over by English gold, they voluntarily gave their services to the destroyers of their own native land "in order to introduce" as they said, "the Protestant religion into their fiefs, since the Bible was the foundation stone of all truth and honour."[5] A list of 200 such "men of

[1] Forbes-Leith, 21 *seq.*

[2] Bellesheim, I., 332.

[3] Forbes-Leith, 29 n., Bellesheim, I., 365.

[4] Bellesheim, I., 370 *seqq.* For the catechism of Hamilton, *ibid.*, 380; a reprint by Mitchel, Edinburgh, 1882, and by Graves Law, with a preface by W. E. Gladstone, Oxford, 1884.

[5] Forbes-Leith, 27.

honour" who had sold themselves to England, fell, after the death of Henry VIII. into the hands of the Scottish regent, Arran.[1]

At first the task of preaching the new religion in Scotland had been in the hands of quite unimportant persons;[2] it was therefore an event of great importance that, after the accession to the throne of Queen Mary of England, many of the Protestant preachers whom she drove out took refuge in the neighbouring kingdom in the north. It was even more pregnant in its consequences when the man who had once formed the first Protestant community from among the murderers of Cardinal Beaton and their sympathisers, and who, after passing 19 months as a prisoner in the French galleys had preached with feverish zeal in England, and who was destined to become the real author of the Scottish religious schism, fled to Geneva through fear of Mary, there to drink in at their fountain head the ideas of Calvin. Until then Scottish Protestantism had followed almost exclusively the lines laid down by Luther.[3] John Knox[4] was the man who definitely transformed it into Calvinism.

As had been the case with Calvin, Knox also laid down, as the basis even of political organization, the terrible doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which one half of mankind is created for heaven, and the other half is *a priori*

[1] *Ibid.* The attitude of the populace towards the attempt to make Scotland English was very different. The English ambassador, Sadler, heard it said that there was not a boy in Scotland so young that he would not throw stones, that the women would pursue them with their distaffs, and that the whole people would rather die in a *single day* than become the slaves of England. Hamilton Papers, I., 477, in FLEMING, 183 *seq.*, FORBES-LEITH, 18.

[2] BELLESHEIM, I., 383.

[3] BELLESHEIM, I., 326, 332, 334 *seq.*, 369. Wishart, however, whom Knox at first followed, was the disciple and friend of the Swiss reformers. Realenzykl. of Herzog, X³., 603.

[4] Works, edited by LAING, 6 volumes, Edinburgh, 1846-1864. Biography of TH. MACCRIE, 1811, and frequently by J. H. BROWN, 1895, A. LANG, London, 1905. P. J. KROMSIGT, John Knox als Kerkhervormer, Utrecht, 1895.

destined for eternal damnation. In his eyes, his own followers are the elect, the saints of the Lord, and the Catholics infidels and idolators, while he deduced from the Holy Scriptures, as being a precept of Almighty God, that if necessary, all idolators may be exterminated by the sword. Moreover, the elect of the Lord have both the right and the duty of enforcing, even by the use of arms, what they deem to be the will of God; in such a case it becomes lawful, even in opposition to a duly constituted authority, for the community, or for the individual acting in the name of the community, to have recourse to the sword or the dagger.[1] Such doctrines were very welcome to the Scottish barons, as affording them justification for the acts of violence which they had long indulged in, though they had never attempted to excuse them on the strength of texts from Scripture. Their teacher was naturally attracted to Calvinism by his own hard and unbending character, as well as by the gloom and irritability of his nature.

Knox was, no doubt, a man of no ordinary talent, but he cannot be described as having either greatness or originality. He was hasty and uncouth, but he was endowed with a great nimbleness of speech and a natural gift of eloquence; his ideas, however, except for the grossness with which he clothed them, were merely those of Calvin. He had no appreciation whatever for anything like culture or of the glorious history of his people. His religious teaching showed him entirely untouched by the gentle spirit of Christ or the Gospel; he was

[1] "When it is a case of carrying out this supreme will, then every other law, which may run counter to it in civil matters, and even the supreme civil authority, must give way; the people that professes the law of God must, in virtue of its rights, or rather of its duties, in case of necessity take its execution into its own hands, and do so forcibly, and where it is not possible for a people of God to act in common for this purpose, then it becomes the right or rather the duty of the individual zealot to do so." Realenzykl. of Herzog X³., 603. For the corresponding teaching of Calvin, *cf. ibid.*, III³., and the *Institutio* of Calvin IV., 20, 31 *seq.*

the apostle of the sword and the flaming torch. But he was not the stuff of which martyrs are made; at the approach of danger, he knew how to save his own skin, though once he was in safety his courage was unbounded, and with the help of a certain geniality he knew how to rouse the populace and drive them whither he would.[1]

The opportunity of taking an active part in the affairs of his country came for Knox when, in 1554, Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Stuart, succeeded the Earl of Arran as regent. Mary owed this appointment principally to the nobles in the pay of England; and she undertook it with the tacit understanding that she should secretly promote the new doctrines.[2] Knox thereupon returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1555, and began to preach energetically in the territories of the Protestant nobles. His thunders against idolatry were not without effect; wherever they could his followers at once put an end to Catholic worship, drove out the monks and priests, and burned the churches and ecclesiastical ornaments.[3] In this he was as little interfered with by the queen-regent as by the bishops, none of whom showed themselves worthy of their high office. When in the end a summons was issued against him, for May 15th, 1556, he, it is true, appeared for the proceedings, but his judges did not. On the strength of this the bold reformer thought it safe to preach publicly in Edinburgh on the same day, and to invite the regent in an open letter herself to adopt the new teaching.[4] His courage failed him, however, when threats of serious proceedings against him on the part of the Church were made, and he fled once more to Geneva.[5] Knox was then burned in effigy in Edinburgh, but the impression of weakness given by this tardy condemnation of one who was already in safety, really only served to encourage the innovators. John Douglas, an

[1] For Knox's character see BELLESHEIM, II., 134; HOSACK, II., 163 *seq.*

[2] FORBES-LEITH, 31; BELLESHEIM, I., 385.

[3] FORBES-LEITH, 32.

[4] BELLESHEIM, I., 385 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 387.

apostate Carmelite, now preached openly in Edinburgh,[1] and in March, 1557, the leaders of the party of the nobles did not hesitate to send an invitation to Knox to return to his native land. Knox, it is true, only ventured as far as Dieppe, but even though he did not appear in person, a letter which he sent to his friends in Scotland had a great effect. On December 3rd, 1557, the leaders of the nobles who had embraced the new religion met and gave their party a definite organization by signing their names to a covenant. They now styled themselves the "party of the Lord," and the Catholics the party of Satan; the signatories, with the Earls of Argyll, Morton and Glencairn at their head, bound themselves, in accordance with the ancient Scottish custom, to remain united until death, and promised to defend the new doctrines, "the holy word of God in His congregation" and openly to profess themselves the enemies of "the party of Satan, its abominations, and its idolatry."[2]

Thus was the old Church formally apprised of the declaration of a war of destruction. The nobles of "the party of the Lord" drove the Catholic priests from their estates, and replaced them with preachers of the new doctrines.[3] There was all the less reason at that moment to fear any strong measures being taken by the queen-regent, as she required the support of the Protestant nobles for the French marriage of her daughter. She even showed favour to the proposals put forward by the party to allow liberty for Protestant worship,[4] which proposals were in their turn rejected, as far as their substance was concerned, by a last and belated council of reform held by the Catholic prelates in March and April, 1559.[5]

It was only about Easter, 1559, that the regent changed her attitude towards the matter by forbidding the preachers

[1] *Ibid.*, 387 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 389 *seq.* FORBES-LEITH, 34. CALDERWOOD, History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. Thompson, Edinburgh, 1842, I., 326 *seq.*

[3] BELLESHEIM, I., 390.

[4] *Ibid.*, 392.

[5] *Ibid.*, 393 *seqq.*

to show themselves in public, and by making the administration of the sacraments dependent upon the consent of the bishop.[1] In the meantime events followed quickly one upon another. The preachers refused to obey, and Mary summoned them to appear for trial at Stirling on May 10th; they did not come and were declared outlaws. Thereupon, by way of reprisal, they delivered day after day at Perth inflammatory speeches against the "idolatry" of the Catholics, and the duty of exterminating them. The resentment which they excited reached its climax when Knox, who had been again in Scotland since May 2nd, 1559, preached at Perth on May 11th against "idolatry." The mob smashed the images of the saints and all the ornaments in the parish church, and then went to the churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carthusians, and reduced them to ruins and ashes.[2] Knox and the nobles uttered no word of blame of these atrocities, which were immediately repeated at Cupar.[3] The mob then marched by way of Crail and Anstruther, where also Knox's sermons had let loose the lust of iconoclasm, to St. Andrew's, the chief episcopal see in the country. After Knox had there inveighed during three days against "idolatry" the magnificent cathedral, the mother church of Scotland, with all its many monuments of prelates, nobles and famous men, was sacked and reduced to ruins; nor did the other churches of the city fare any better.[4] To the west of Perth lay the Abbey of Scone, a sanctuary indeed in the eyes of every noble-minded Scot, since from time immemorial the kings of Scotland had been crowned there; yet even this holy place was given to the flames.[5] Of all the churches of Stirling the citizens saved only that of the Franciscans. After the destruction of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, Knox marched with his followers on Edinburgh. The regent took to flight, and before long the capital was given over to

[1] *Ibid.*, 407.
[2] *Ibid.*, 408 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 409.
[4] *Ibid.*, 411 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 412.

revolt and pillage; not even the royal chapel was spared.[1] Similar scenes occurred in other places. One who took part in this work of destruction wrote: "This is our manner of proceeding: every kind of convent, and certain abbeys, which will not voluntarily accept the reform, are destroyed; as for the parish churches, they are purged of their images, etc., and orders are given that Mass is no longer to be said there."[2]

In the meantime the government was quite powerless to deal with this state of affairs; after the first acts of destruction at Perth, Mary of Guise had threatened to take stern measures, but the only result was that the innovators entrenched themselves at Perth, and sent an insulting letter to the regent. Thereupon she prepared to act, but civil war was once again averted by means of a truce arranged by the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart. But on the pretext that the truce had not been observed by Mary, the two mediators very soon openly joined the party of the innovators.[3]

In the meantime, with the death of Henry II. of France in July, 1559, the two crowns of Scotland and France were united in the person of his son, Francis II., the husband of the Scottish queen. Francis II. at once sent to his wife's mother 2,000 French auxiliary troops; 20,000 more were to follow under the command of the two brothers of the Scottish regent, the Marquis d'Elboeuf and the Duc d'Aumale.[4] The insurgents were unable to withstand the well-trained French troops, so they sought for aid from Elizabeth of England.

As early as July, 1559, Mary of Guise had publicly accused the nobles of "the party of the Lord" of daily receiving communications from England, and of sending them thither.[5] On August 3rd, 1559, John Knox had made to James Croft, the commandant of Berwick, the English frontier fortress, the traitorous proposal to hand over to the English several

[1] *Ibid.*, 413.

[2] W. Kyrkcaldy to Sir Henry Percy, July 1, 1559, in Forbes-Leith, 37, n. 2.

[3] Bellesheim, I., 409 *seq.*

[4] Hosack, I., 26, 32.

[5] Bellesheim, I., 414.

Scottish border fortresses, in return for which the "party of the Lord" was to receive help in English gold.[1] A little later the Scottish intermediary, Belnaves, openly informed the Englishmen, Croft and Sadler, that the nobles intended to renounce their allegiance to Mary Stuart, and to place on the throne in her place the Duke of Chatelherault or his son the Earl of Arran; on their part, the nobles looked for financial aid from England.[2]

These requests for aid met with an encouraging reception from Cecil, but at first the English Privy Council made difficulties about any open co-operation with the rebels.[4] Elizabeth contented herself with sending secret financial help, but when, in October, the Lords of the Congregation openly deposed the regent and besieged her in Leith, but found themselves forced to raise the siege, and in January, 1560, were pursued by the French troops as they fell back on Stirling, the English queen ventured upon a further step. Her admiral, Winter, as though by chance, and, as he stated, upon his own responsibility, was able, with his fleet, to render important services to the insurgents, for which Elizabeth duly expressed her regret in a letter to the regent.[4] In the meantime the nobles had sent to the English court an able diplomatist in the person of Lethington, Laird of Maitland, who, in conjunction with Throckmorton, till then English ambassador in France, succeeded, on February 27th, in persuading Elizabeth to enter into the treaty of Berwick, by which she promised her help to the Lords of the Congregation.[5]

Thus it seemed as though the internal disputes in Scotland were on the point of developing into a great war involving three kingdoms, and one which might prove very dangerous to Elizabeth if 20,000 French troops really landed in Scotland. Fortune, however, favoured the English queen, for two fleets carrying French auxiliary troops were destroyed by storms

[1] FORBES-LEITH, 41.
[2] *Ibid.*, 41 *seq.*
[3] HOSACK, I., 31 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 35.
[5] OPITZ, I., 25 *seq.*

off the coasts of Zeeland and Denmark.[1] Throckmorton stirred up the French Huguenots to rebellion against their government, while the conspiracy of Amboise made it clear to the French politicians that it would not be safe to let themselves be involved in any undertaking on a large scale abroad.[2] Mary of Guise thus had only her own French troops, well-equipped and trained, it is true, but only numbering at the most 3,000 men.[3] Mary had to suffer also for the preference which she showed for her French supporters and soldiers over the Scots, for the discontent caused by this led even some of the Catholic nobles to accept the treaty of Berwick and join the English cause.[4]

Under these circumstances Elizabeth had things in her own hand. The war was confined to skirmishes round Leith and the siege of that place,[5] but although the English army won but few laurels at Leith, and Elizabeth was angry with Cecil as the author of a long and inglorious campaign,[6] yet, after the death of the Scottish regent (June 10th, 1560),[7] Francis II. and Mary Stuart found themselves obliged to enter into negotiations for peace. Cecil went in person to Edinburgh as the English representative, and he hoodwinked the French envoys, Montluc and Randan, to such an extent that they agreed to terms, with regard to which he himself boasted that by them he had gained more ground in Scotland than all the English kings had by their wars.[8] By one of the articles of the treaty, which was signed at Edinburgh on July 6th, 1560,

[1] Hosack, I., 33; Forbes-Leith, 46.

[2] Hosack, I., 37 *seq.*

[3] Forbes-Leith, 45, n. 3.

[4] Bellesheim, I., 417.

[5] *Ibid.*, 418 *seq.*; Hosack, I., 42 *seqq.*

[6] Hosack, I., 47.

[7] For the date see Fleming, 216, n. 33.

[8] Hosack (I., 51) understands Cecil's words in the following sense: "Religious sympathy at length promised to bring about that which had baffled the power and skill of the greatest monarchs. Cecil well knew that if Scotland remained Catholic, the prospects of a peaceful union were more than ever hopeless."

Cecil and the incautious French caused Mary Stuart to renounce "for all future time" the use of English arms, which could be taken as meaning the renunciation of her claim to succeed to the English throne. The foreign troops were to be withdrawn, and Scotland thus was left open to the attacks of Elizabeth. The reins of government were placed in the hands of the allies of the English queen, the nobles who had embraced the new religion. In the absence of the queen the country was to be governed by a council of twelve, of whom Mary Stuart had indeed the power to nominate seven, but only from among twenty-five candidates chosen by the estates. The nobles of the "party of the Lord" and their adherents were not to be called to judgment for the excesses committed during the last few years. A Parliament was to meet on August 1st, 1560, the enactments of which were to have the same binding force as if it had been summoned by the express command of the regent herself. At the same time the treaty contained clauses in favour of Mary Stuart and the old religion. A deputation was to ask for the approval of the king and queen before the opening of the Parliament, and by the terms of the treaty a commission appointed by the Parliament was to lay the state of religious affairs before the two sovereigns. Bishops and other ecclesiastics who had suffered losses in the recent troubles were to have the right to make a claim for indemnity.[1]

In reality these apparent concessions to the sovereign and the prelates were of no practical value. Parliament assembled without the assent of the queen on August 1st, 1560, swept away the ancient Church, and established Calvinism as the state religion. On August 17th, a profession of faith, drafted by Knox and others, was solemnly accepted. On August 23rd there followed the prohibition of all Catholic worship; whoever celebrated or heard Mass was to be punished for the first offence by being flogged and deprived of his property, for the second offence by banishment, and for the third by death.

[1] Bellesheim, I., 420 *seq.*

August 24th saw the abrogation of the Papal authority in Scotland.[1]

All these enactments lacked the force of law because Parliament had assembled without the royal assent.[2] The astonishing majority upon which the reformers could count in the assembly had been secured by the admission, for the occasion, of 100 members of the lesser nobility, who, by the laws long in force in Scotland, had no right to sit in Parliament.[3] Besides this, the assembly was not free. During the debates, the preachers openly urged the nobles from the pulpit to use force against the recalcitrant clergy.[4] The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was threatened with death by his own brother, the Duke of Chatelherault, when he ventured to oppose the acceptance of the reformed profession of faith.[5] English influence dominated the assembly to such an extent that the leaders sought advice from London on all the more important matters.[6]

The violence which characterized the whole conduct of this Parliament to some extent explains why we hear so little of any opposition to its revolutionary enactments. It would appear that the bishops looked upon it as certain[7] that a new and legal assembly would soon be convened, and that they therefore disdained to pay any attention to

[1] *Ibid.*, 424 *seqq.* The "Confessio Scotiana" in MÜLLER, Bekenntnisse, 249 *seq.* The internal organization of the new church was settled by the *Book of discipline*, on the model of Geneva.

[2] The Convention of States which met in August, 1560, was possessed of no lawful authority." HOSACK, I., 33; *cf.* 55.

[3] FORBES-LEITH, 48; PHILIPPSON, I., 191; BELLESHEIM in Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXII. (1893), 566.

[4] "All their new precheris perswadis opinly the Nobilitie, in the pulpit, to putt violent handis, and slay all Kirkmen that will not concurr and tak thir opinion." The Archbishop of St. Andrew's to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in FORBES-LEITH, 49.

[5] BEKKER, Maria, 6.

[6] Tytler in FORBES-LEITH, 49, n. 4.

[7] BELLESHEIM, I., 429.

this packed Parliament, from which in any case they could expect nothing but indignity. It was perhaps for this reason that they did not appear even when, in accordance with the treaty of Edinburgh, they were invited to claim compensation for their lost ecclesiastical property.[1] Knox then tried to obtain possession of the benefices of the old Church for his own followers, but the nobles in Parliament wanted to keep these for themselves, and did not even condescend to reply to his request.[2]

The preachers met with better success, however, in another direction. In the north and west of Scotland convents and churches had been preserved in considerable numbers. The ecclesiastical assembly of May, 1561, therefore put before the nobles of the Privy Council a request for the destruction of all these remains of "idolatry" and several of the latter were actually charged to carry out this task, namely, Lord James Stuart for the north, and the Earls of Arran, Argyll and Glencairn for the west; there was not a church left that was not mutilated or destroyed; the timbers, the plate and the bells were sold, and the books and manuscripts burned. Not even the monuments of the Scottish kings were spared, so that to-day we do not know of a single royal tomb on Scottish soil.[3]

The complete breach with the past in Scotland was made without any attempt being made in Rome to interfere. On October 2nd, 1555, the thirteen-year-old queen had begged the Pope from France to allow her to levy a tax on the clergy for the needs of the kingdom. At the same time reports in cypher reached Rome as to the need for reform among

[1] FORBES-LEITH, 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, 51.

[3] BEKKER, Maria, 7; BELLESHEIM, II., 8 *seq.*; FORBES-LEITH, 52 *seq.* "In the whole of history," says HOSACK (I., 60 *seq.*), "this outburst of fanatical fury finds no equal. No army in any enemy country was ever guilty of such inhuman destruction. No people before or since has ever destroyed with greater deliberation and all the formalities of law the monuments of art and industry, or the heritage of its fathers."

the Scottish clergy, on the strength of which Cardinal Sermoneta in the following year demanded the appointment of a visitor for the northern kingdom. When, after the peace of Cave, Paul IV. sent Cardinal Trivulzio to France, he also empowered him, on October 27th, 1557, to appoint such a visitor, but Trivulzio died at the end of June, 1559, without having taken any steps in the matter.

Soon afterwards Henry II. of France made fresh remonstrances to the Pope,[1] describing ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland in the darkest colours, and declaring that in spite of her exhaustion France intended to send a large army there to punish the destroyers of the churches; he declared that it was absolutely essential that a Papal legate should be sent there, especially in view of the approaching Parliament of August 1st, 1560. He recommended as a fit person for this office, the Bishop of Amiens, Nicholas Pellevé. In spite of the reproachful tone which Henry II. used in this letter to the Pope, it would appear from the instructions which he sent about the same time to his envoys with the Scottish rebels, that the king's zeal for religion was not very deep-seated.[2]

Paul IV. at first received the royal letter courteously, and promised to take immediate steps. In the meantime, however, he began to entertain suspicions as to the orthodoxy of the proposed legate. He accordingly made answer to the ambassador that Scotland was no concern of Henry II.'s, while after the king's death he refused to send a legate on the ground that Francis II. and Mary Stuart had not asked for one.[3] Nevertheless, the royal couple,[4] as well as Mary of Guise,[5] had strongly pointed out to the Pope the necessity for reform in Scotland about the same time as Henry II.

[1] Letter of June 29, 1559, in POLLEN, 13-17.

[2] POLLEN, xxxii.

[3] The French ambassador in Rome to the Cardinal of Lorraine August 17, 1559, in RIBIER, II., 811 *seqq.*; POLLEN, 20 *seqq.*

[4] RIBIER, II., 808.

[5] P. HUME BROWN, John Knox, II., London, 1895, App. B, p. 300 *seqq.* *Cf.* POLLEN, xxviii.

His successor, Pius IV., did his best to repair the shortcomings of Paul IV. by giving full powers to Pellevé,[1] who had been in Scotland as French ambassador since September. The learned theologians who accompanied him defended the old religion in sermons and disputations with considerable success. Mary of Guise proclaimed liberty of conscience for all, which of course included the Catholics, brought back to Edinburgh the monks who had been driven out, restored the broken altars, so that the Catholic worship was once again carried on with greater fervour than before.[2] In other respects Pius IV. maintained a cautious attitude, and gave his nuncio in France, Sebastiano Gualterio, express instructions not to do anything which would involve the Pope in expenditure in Scotland.[3]

Francis II. of France died on December 5th, 1560. He had never recognized the peace of Edinburgh, but his death put an end to any further preparations against the Scottish insurgents.[4] In the meantime Mary Stuart was making ready to return peacefully to her own country. In February, 1561, she sent a message to this effect to Scotland, promised immunity for the past, and gave full powers for the assembly of a Parliament.[5]

Hitherto the Scottish nobles had hardly given a thought to their queen. At the conclusion of the Parliament of 1560 they had sent to her a simple gentleman to acquaint her with the decisions arrived at, while the more important members of their party went at the same time to Elizabeth to offer her the hand of the Earl of Arran in marriage, and with it the crown of Scotland, for it was their intention to make Arran king, and by means of his marriage with Elizabeth to unite England and Scotland as one great Protestant kingdom. Elizabeth, however, made difficulties about accepting the crown from the hands of traitors, while the

[1] Brief of Jan. 25, 1560, in POLLEN, 31-35.

[2] POLLEN, xliv.

[3] Instructions of May 15, 1560, in POLLEN, 45 *seq.*

[4] BEKKER, Elisabeth und Leicester, 15 *seq.*

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 11.

thought of ruling over such unruly subjects may well have had small attractions for her; moreover, she would have found herself called upon to buy the support of the Scottish leaders with considerable sums of money, and Elizabeth was alarmed at the prospect of heavy expenditure.[1] On December 11th, 1560, before she had yet had news of the death of Francis II., she refused Arran's hand. Irritated by her conduct, the nobles turned their backs on Elizabeth, and began to rally to Mary Stuart, from whom it was difficult to suppose there could come any threat to the supremacy of the new doctrines. Arran sent to France to ask for her favour and her hand, and Lethington himself offered Mary his support. This she accepted, under certain conditions. whereupon Lethington, together with Lord James Stuart, went so far as to maintain the hereditary right of Mary to the English throne![2]

At this juncture embassies set out for France, in the name of the Catholics, as well as in that of the reformers, to invite the queen to return to her kingdom. The first to arrive was the envoy of the Catholics, Leslie, the future Bishop of Ross. He advised her to land at Aberdeen, in the north of Scotland, where everything was still Catholic; there she would be met by the Catholic nobles with 20,000 men, with whose help she would be able to crush the insurgents, and in any case she should also take French troops with her to Scotland.[3] This suggestion, however, found no favour in Mary's eyes, while Leslie's advice that she should beware of her half-brother, James, who had designs upon the Scottish crown, made no impression upon her. When, on the following day, James presented himself as the envoy of the Protestant estates, she refused, indeed, to confirm the peace of Edinburgh, but in other respects received her half-brother in the most cordial way, and with simple confidence told him of all her ideas and plans, and sought his advice; it never occurred to her that her brother was in close relations with Elizabeth. On his return

[1] BEKKER, *loc. cit.*, 22 *seq.*, 25 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 35.

[3] So Leslie himself stated. *Cf.* FORBES-LEITH, 54 *seq.*

journey James had hardly reached Paris before he went in secret to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, and gave him a full account of all that his ingenuous sister had told him. Throckmorton lost no time in recommending this faithful friend of England to Elizabeth for a large reward in money.[1]

At that time Mary found herself treated by Elizabeth in a very harsh and hostile spirit. Refused the passport which she had asked for, for her journey through England, and with a grave risk of being taken prisoner by English ships on her voyage, the Scottish queen set out from Calais on August 14th, 1561, and landed safely at Leith on the 19th, under cover of a dense fog.[2] "Adieu mes beaux jours" are the words put into her mouth in the touching poem of her farewell to France, her second home. She could not yet guess the terrible way in which the future was to see this prediction fulfilled.

Mary was leaving behind her a happy and joyous youth.[3] She was possessed of a beauty that had won admiration on all sides, and had a great charm of manner in society, while she was at the same time a daring horsewoman and follower of the chase. She was also highly educated and a woman of great intellectual gifts, with a taste for poetry and music, while in the years that were to come she displayed courage and resoluteness in danger, together with a warlike disposition. A

[1] HOSACK, I., 62.

[2] For the negotiations about the passport *cf.* FLEMING, 240, n. 49, 247, n. 66. Bishop Leslie expressly stated that Elizabeth wished to seize Mary (*ibid.*, 43); this report was wide-spread (*ibid.*, 250 *seq.*; *cf.* 242 *seq.* and KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 589, 607). It is certain that the order was given to detain her in the southern English ports, where she wished to land. FLEMING 251 *seq.*; *cf.* Revue des quest. hist., LIII. (1893), 509 *seqq.* (according to the Rutland Papers in the Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission, II.).

[3] F. J. STEVENSON, Mary Stuart, a narrative of the first eighteen years of her life. London, 1886; BELLESHEIM in Hist.-polit. Blätter, XCIX., (1187), 282 *seqq.*, A. DE RUBLE, La première jeunesse de Marie Stuart, Paris, 1891; J. F. STODDART, The girlhood of Mary, Queen of Scots, London, 1908.

contemporary writes that it was her delight to listen to tales of valour and chivalry; that she admired these qualities even in her enemies, and willingly faced privations and risks if she thought they would lead her to victory.[1] All the reports relating to the years she had spent in France are full of her praises, and in her later life no one ever left her without carrying away the impression of a woman of great brilliancy.[2] Thanks to the careful education which she had received at the hands of her pious grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon,[3] Mary's youth was untainted by the corruption of the French court, which never disclosed its secrets to the promised bride of its future king. She tenderly loved her husband, Francis II., who was so unlike herself, and her brief married life was happy. As far as her religion was concerned, she frankly told the English ambassador, Throckmorton, that she thought the Catholic religion was the most pleasing to God and that she neither knew nor wished to know any other.[4]

This girl of nineteen years of age now assumed the reins of government in a country which was at the mercy of the strongest man among nobles who thought nothing of treachery and assassination, and amid a people which suffered itself to be roused to any act of violence by the tongues of demagogues, a girl, moreover, who knew nothing of the state of affairs in Scotland, who lacked the support of a powerful army, who had nobody to confide in, and not an adviser whom she could trust. In her very capital Knox thundered against her from the pulpit, while to the south Elizabeth was plotting her ruin, and what was worst of all, her political guides were her own half-brother, Lord James Stuart, and William Maitland, Earl of Lethington,

[1] Knollys to Cecil, June 11, 1568, in FLEMING, 175 *seq.* POLLEN in the Month, XCI. (1898), 349, gives the following opinion: "She was above all things a warlike queen, and her faults and sins were those of the Scottish camp, not of the Italian court."

[2] Not even her determined enemy, the cold Cecil, was an exception. HOSACK, II., 21.

[3] Concerning her, *cf.* DE PAMODAN, La mère des Guises, Paris, 1889.

[4] FORBES-LEITH, 56; HOSACK, I., 64.

a man of the highest gifts, but quite without principle, who gave his services to every party in turn, and betrayed them all.[1] It would have been indeed a miracle if the inexperienced and gay young queen had made no blunders and incurred no blame.

The young queen was to experience in the first days of her residence in Scotland, the difficulties that were awaiting her. At her landing, indeed, she met with a cordial reception from the people, and was greeted with loud cries of joy, but it was not difficult to guess the significance of the fact that in the evening the populace gathered outside the castle walls, and for three nights sang Calvinist psalms to her.[2] The Privy Council had allowed the queen to have daily Mass, but when, on the first Sunday after her arrival, they were preparing to celebrate it, Lord Lindsay presented himself at the chapel, at the head of a band of his followers, and threatened the "idolatrous" priest with death. These "men of God" were forced, however, "with anguish of heart" as Knox expressed it, to retire when Lord James Stuart took up his position at the door of the chapel in full armour, and prevented their entry. Similar scenes occurred many times during the first months.[3] Knox preached that a single Mass was a worse disaster than the landing of 10,000 foreign troops,[4] and every day he prayed that God would touch the hard heart of the queen, and strengthen the minds and the hand of His elect in their opposition to the rage of all tyrants.[5] The question was

[1] A proof of her confidence in him is given in a letter from Mary of the beginning of January, 1562, in POLLEN, 439: "pour le moigns quelque dificulté qu'il i est pour la religion, ils se conforment au rest à ce que je veuls, et sur tout mon frère le prieur et Ledinton se montrent affectionés . . ."

[2] Brantôme in FORBES-LEITH, 59.

[3] FORBES-Leith, 60.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 14 *seq.*

[5] "His prayer is dayly for her: That God will turn her obstinate heart . . . or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hand of His chosen elect stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants." Randolph, Oct. 24, 1561, in FLEMING, 258 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 317, n. 20.

openly raised whether it was lawful to obey so idolatrous a queen in civil matters.[1] Nothing shows better the state of affairs than the fact that Mary was powerless to deal with such assertions.

In spite of all this, however, Mary had by no means yet reason to despair. In a progress which she made in September, 1561, it was clear that the greater part of the people was sincerely loyal to the queen.[2] It was not unreasonable to hope that the wild tirades of Knox would gradually lose their influence. If only from the political standpoint Mary could not have acted more wisely in the face of such attacks than to continue to hunt and dance, and leave the disentanglement of the problem to the hand of time; little by little, good sense and reason, added to the innate loyalty of the people to the crown, were bound to restore calm. The charm which Mary's beauty exercised over the people, and even more her kindly behaviour, the mirror of a kind heart, helped to soothe and pacify her excited subjects. Many who approached her as her enemy, left her as a friend.[3] If she had but had the calm sagacity of her mother, Mary might perhaps have succeeded in steering the ship safely through the angry waves. But the impulsiveness of her temperament caused her too often to be led away by the impressions of the moment, and thus she offered to her enemies a welcome opportunity to ruin her.[4]

While she was still in France the queen had said that she did not intend to use any violence as far as religion was concerned,[5] and she adhered to this intention. After her arrival in Scotland, on August 25th, 1561, she proclaimed that the religious question would be submitted to the Parliament, and that in the meantime everything must remain *in statu quo*.[6]

[1] Randolph to Cecil, Nov. 11, 1561, in HOSACK, I., 79.

[2] OPITZ, I., 54.

[2] HOSACK, I., 71. BELLESHEIM, II., 14.

[4] HOSACK, I., 71.

[5] "I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish they were all as I am." Mary to Throckmorton; in FORBES-LEITH, 56; HOSACK, I., 64.

[6] BELLESHEIM, II., 14.

As a matter of fact the innovators not only kept in their hands the property they had seized, but continued to add to it. In the Privy Council which Mary called together on September 6th, 1561, there were only two Catholics;[1] she agreed that a stipend should be allotted to the Protestant preachers from the Catholic ecclesiastical revenues,[2] whereby the status of the body of the new religionists was recognized as legal. Thus Knox was able to continue his invectives undisturbed. The queen sought to influence him by summoning him to her presence several times, and, though of course without effect, by remonstrating with him for his revolutionary activities.[3] For her own part Mary remained staunch and unshaken in the Catholic faith, but in her desire that all might be led to see eye to eye with her, she took no active measures on behalf of her own co-religionists. Her own personal influence brought it about that at any rate there was no longer any attempt to put the capital penalty into force against the Catholics; while she had only with great difficulty been able during the first two years of her residence in Scotland to secure the release from prison of the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, who had celebrated Mass at Easter, during the last two years of her rule 9,000 and 12,000 persons respectively were able to receive their Easter communion in the royal chapel without creating any disturbances.[4] A description of the condition of the Scottish Catholics is given in the report of the Jesuit Nicholas Floris of Gouda in Holland, who was sent by Pius IV. as nuncio to Mary Stuart in 1562.

Immediately after the accession of Pius IV. to the throne, Francis II. and Mary had caused homage to be paid to him,

[1] *Ibid.*, 15. In a letter of June 10, 1561, Murray had advised Mary not to confer on the bishops the great offices of state, because they were not worthy of them, and would seek for further concessions. PHILIPPSON, III., 437. BELLESHEIM in Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXII. (1893), 568.

[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, 15.

[4] Hay to Francis Borgia, Paris, May, 1566, in POLLEN, 496. Guzman de Silva to Philip II., London, July 26, 1567, *ibid.*, 521.

for which he expressed his thanks in the consistory of May 4th, 1560.[1] On August 22nd, 1560, the Golden Rose was sent to the young queen;[2] the nuncio Lorenzo Lenzi, Bishop of Fermo, who was sent to the French court after the premature death of Francis II., took to Mary a letter of condolence from the Pope;[3] he, like the nuncio Gualterio at an earlier date, and Cardinal Este later on,[4] had instructions to enter into negotiations with her. While she was still in France, Mary received an invitation from the Pope to urge her representatives and the Scottish bishops to attend the Council of Trent.[5]

Affairs only took a more serious turn after Mary had returned to her own kingdom. When, in September, 1561, it was rumoured that the King of Denmark was aspiring to Mary's hand, Commendone, at that time nuncio in Germany called the attention of the Pope to Mary, whose marriage to a Protestant would mean an increase in the strength of the reforming party, whereas the destinies of Scotland, Ireland and England itself might be guided in quite another direction were she to give her hand to a Catholic prince.[6] As a matter

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 24. POLLEN mentions other letters of courtesy, p. 48 *seq.*

[2] STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-61, n. 446. The date of the brief "March 23, 1561" in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 76, cannot be correct; *cf.* POLLEN, 49.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 83. *Cf.* SUSTA, I., lxvii.

[4] Commendatory brief for Gualterio, of March 29, 1560, mentioned in POLLEN, 48; for Este, of July 1, 1561, printed *ibid.*, 56.

[5] Briefs of March 6, 1561, in POLLEN, 53. The invitations to the Scottish bishops were sent on the same date; *ibid.*, 55.

[6] Commendone to Charles Borromeo, September 5, 1561, in POLLEN, 63. A memorial, probably of May, 1566, intended for Philip II., expresses similar views. In the English schism, says the unknown author, is to be found the principal cause of the apostacy of Scotland, of the contagion in France, and of the infection in the Low Countries, where they are near to open apostacy. It is therefore of the utmost importance to help

of fact a great deal more depended upon the action of the young princess than Commendone guessed. She was the legitimate heir to the English crown ; it was Mary Stuart, and not Elizabeth, who was to become the ancestress of the English royal house. If she had maintained her own throne and her hereditary rights, if she had founded a line of Catholic sovereigns, the religious future of the whole English kingdom might have developed on quite different lines ; at anyrate, the toleration of the Catholic Church in England and its colonies, and consequently the principle of religious toleration in general would certainly have been accepted as a fundamental political principle more than two centuries earlier than was actually the case.[1]

From that time onwards Commendone kept Mary in mind,[2] and it was certainly in consequence of his representations that Pius IV. determined to send a nuncio to her in December, 1561.[3] It was obviously impossible to entrust this mission to a nuncio of high rank, and therefore the Jesuit, Nicholas Floris, of Gouda in Holland, commonly called Goudano, was chosen for this difficult task. Goudano's departure, however, was delayed until June, 1562, probably because Commendone was anxious to give him as a companion Everard Mercurian, provincial of the Jesuits, and a man of great experience. A brief of June 3rd, 1562, named Mercurian as nuncio in the

Mary : if she were to succeed to the English crown the return of England to the Church would more than half quiet France and would save the Low Countries. Apart from this, if Scotland remains true to the Church, England will be obliged to allow liberty of conscience to the Catholics. POLLEN, 241-247.

[1] *Cf.* POLLEN in The Month, 1900, II., 168.

[2] *Cf.* his reports to Rome from September 5 to November 30, 1561, in POLLEN, 63-8.

[3] For the mission of Goudano see his report to Lainez from Mayence, September 30, 1562, and his letter to Lainez of October 2, as well as one without date, in SCHNEEMANN in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XIX. (1880), 83-108, together with other documents recently edited by POLLEN, 113-61, and The Month, XCVI, (1900), 167-76.

place of Goudano,[1] but it arrived too late. Goudano had set sail for Scotland on June 10th, accompanied by a French Jesuit, and the Scottish priest, Edmund Hay; they reached Leith on June 18th.[2] The object of their mission was to encourage the queen, and to invite her to send the Scottish bishops to the Council.[3]

The arrival of a Papal envoy, the news of which, owing to an act of imprudence, was soon widely spread, caused the greatest excitement in Edinburgh. In almost all his sermons Knox inveighed against the diabolical emissary of Baal and Beelzebub;[4] Goudano could not show himself in public, and therefore Hay took him for safety's sake beyond the Firth of Tay, to his father's house near Errol, in Perthshire.

A whole month passed before Goudano was able to present himself before the queen, and even then it was necessary carefully to choose the moment when he could make his way into the city and the royal palace.[5] Knox was accustomed to preach on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and all the courtiers who professed the new faith attended these sermons.[6] Accordingly, at the hour of the sermon on Friday, July 24th, when all the reformers had left the palace, Goudano was able to obtain an interview with the queen.[7] He first of all set forth in Latin the objects of his mission, and when the queen

[1] RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 183. On the strength of this brief PHILIPPSON (Règne dè Marie Stuart, II., 40) makes Mercurian go as nuncio to Scotland.

[2] William Crichton, Memoir, in POLLEN, 144.

[3] *Cf.* the brief to Mary of December 3, 1561, which Goudano was to take, in POLLEN, 73 *seq.*

[4] POLLEN, 115.

[5] Lord James declared that the nuncio might become the cause of the disturbance of the whole country, and a source of personal danger to the queen, and that, with all his power, he could not prevent it. Letter of the English agent at Berwick, Randolph, June 26, 1562, in POLLEN 140.

[6] POLLEN, p. liv.

[7] Randolph nevertheless had news of it at Berwick. *Cf.* his letter of August 1, 1562, in POLLEN, 142.

explained that she could understand Latin better than she could speak it, the nuncio's companions were introduced, and with the help of Hay the interview was carried on in the Scottish tongue. Mary replied to the Pope's letter that he should look rather to her good will than to what she had been able to do for the cause of the Church; in order to save what was left of the Catholic faith in the country, she had been obliged to allow many things to be done which she certainly did not approve of. With regard to the sending of representatives to Trent, she would consult with her bishops, but she could not hold out any great hopes of success. As far as she herself was concerned she would rather die at once than lose her faith.[1]

Since the time at their disposal was limited, Goudano accepted this reply to the letter, and passed on to the discussion of other matters. Above all he asked how he could best deliver to the bishops the Papal letters addressed to them. At first Mary made answer that this certainly could not be done by the nuncio himself, but she afterwards added that perhaps the briefs could be entrusted to Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, who was president of the Parliament. When Goudano asked for a safe conduct, Mary refused it, saying that as far as the authorities were concerned, no action would be taken against him, but that as for other attacks which might be made upon him, she had no power to afford him any protection. Lastly the Pope's representative recommended, as the best way of disillusioning those who had gone astray, that a college should be established, where learned and pious men could give instruction to the people, and especially the young. To this Mary replied that for the moment it was quite out of the question to think of anything of the kind.[2] In the meanwhile the time had so slipped by, that the nuncio was obliged hurriedly to take his departure with his companions, though Mary again sent her secretary to him twice on the same day to obtain further information as to the wishes of the Pope, and

[1] Goudano, *ibid.*, 117 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 118 *seq.*

to offer her assistance in seeing that the briefs which he had brought were delivered to the bishops. Goudano agreed to this on the condition that the queen informed the Pope of this in her letter of reply to his.[1]

In this matter Mary had already asked the Bishop of Ross to deal with the nuncio, but the bishop's courage failed him; if the nuncio, he thought, were to visit him, his house would most certainly be burnt down within 24 hours.[2] To the proposal which he made in writing, that Sinclair should at least reply to the Pope by letter, Goudano received no direct reply, but he was informed by Sinclair, through a third party, that such a letter would be sure to fall into the hands of the reformers, and that therefore he did not dare to write it.[3] The Bishop of Dunblane, William Chisholm, was also in Edinburgh at that time, and he had scarcely got back to his house before the nuncio was daring enough to visit him, accompanied by a relation of the bishop, and dressed as a servant. Even so, however, he was refused admission.[4] After such experiences Goudano had recourse to the other bishops by letter alone. He received replies from the Archbishop of St Andrew's and Robert Creighton, the Bishop of Dunkeld; the latter also sent the nuncio a letter for the Pope, and even received him in a house of his which was situated on a remote island; Goudano, however, had to disguise himself as a money-lender, and to talk about nothing but financial matters during the meal.[5] Later on, after he had left Scotland, Goudano also received an answer to his letter from the Bishop of Aberdeen, William Gordon.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, 120 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, 122. When Goudano handed him the Papal brief in his room, "il povero vescovo caschò in tanta abondanza de lachrime per la consideratione del misero stato della religione nel regno di Scozia, et parimente il P. Goudano, che per un spatio di tempo non potevano dir una parola l' un all' altro." Crichton, Memoir, in POLLEN, 146.

[6] *Ibid.*, 153.

The nuncio learned that there were still many Catholics among the nobility, but that from fear of the heretics they kept far from the court and took no part in affairs of state. He sent Papal briefs to three of these.[1]

The nuncio describes the state of the kingdom in the most gloomy colours. The convents and churches, he laments, are destroyed, and Catholic worship in public is entirely suppressed, with the single exception of the royal chapel. Since baptism is only administered according to the Calvinist rite, and only on Sundays, many infants die without it.[2] The preachers of the new religion are drawn partly from apostate monks, and partly from artisans who are completely uneducated.[3] On one occasion during his stay, three priests abjured the ancient faith in a single day, not far from his lodging. During the same period, one of the most highly esteemed ministers, a monk and a doctor of theology, was openly married, notwithstanding his 70 years.[4] Anybody who has a lawsuit is first asked if he is a Catholic ; if he admits it, his suit is either disregarded or postponed.[5] The great men of the kingdom acknowledge the queen outwardly, but do not allow her to act as such. They put obstacles in her way on every occasion, and lead her into making many mistakes ; especially if she tries to do anything on behalf of the Catholics, do they hold up before her eyes the bogey of an English invasion. The young princess has no one to defend her or advise her ; even her confessor, René Benoist, whom she had brought with her from France, has deserted her. The nobles do not allow any one to have free access to her.[6] That the bishops, who are for the most part still good Catholics, considering the state of affairs, have no power to do anything

[1] *Ibid.*, 122.

[2] According to the "Book of discipline" it was a "gross errour" that baptism was considered necessary for the salvation of infants. POLLEN, 123, n. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 123.

[4] *Ibid.*, 124.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 124 *seq.*

even if they wish, was shown when, last Easter, the Bishop of Dunkeld tried to administer the sacraments according to the Catholic rite, and to have his people taught by a Catholic priest; he was accused of breaking the laws, and by the command of the queen herself was forced to abandon the idea. The bishops, therefore, do nothing; the only exception is the co-adjutor of the Bishop of Dunblane, who confirms many in the faith by his sermons and private instructions.[1] Apart from him there are very few Catholic preachers here, and even these either do not dare to treat of controversial matters, or are incapable of doing so.[2] Of the nobles and the upper classes a few still hear Mass in private; there are still many Catholics among the common people, but they suffer under the persecution of the new religionists, and rest their hopes principally upon the loyalty of the queen to the faith of their fathers [3]

Even Goudano, however, was of opinion that all hope for the Catholics of Scotland was not yet lost. The whole country might be won back to the Church if the queen were to marry a powerful Catholic prince, who would be able to keep the enemies of the faith in check by his authority; it would then be necessary to provide the queen with Catholic advisers, and to consider the appointment of capable bishops and prelates. Philip II. of Spain could be called upon to keep the designs of England upon Scotland in check [4]

His mission in Scotland over, Goudano, disguised as a sailor, set out in a boat from a lonely spot on the coast, and was conveyed to a Flemish ship, for a strict watch was being kept in all the ports of the kingdom for the nuncio and his correspondence.[5] Hay followed him later with a band of young Catholics, who entered the Society of Jesus, and afterwards laboured as priests in their own country.[6] With them also

[1] *Ibid.*, 125 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 126.
[3] *Ibid.*, 126 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*
[5] Goudano, *ibid.*, 128 *seq.*
[6] Crichton, Memoir, *ibid.*, 146.

went Ninian Winzet, who had hitherto been the most able defender of the ancient Church in Scotland.[1] This distinguished humanist had forfeited his position as professor of Latin at Linlithgow. He afterwards took up the pen in defence of the Church, first in open letters, and later in a larger work in which he challenged the new prophet, Knox, to demonstrate his right to reform the Church of Christ by proving his divine mission. The reply to this was the confiscation of the press which had issued his "trumpet call against the usurped authority of Knox." Winzet himself was forced to fly, and he died in 1592 as abbot of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon. The Abbot of Crossraguel, Quentin Kennedy (died 1564), had defended Catholic doctrine by his writings even before Winzet;[2] religious conferences between the Catholics and the reformers had been held on several occasions, but without any noteworthy results.[3] Winzet speaks with brutal candour of the abuses of the old Church, and especially the scandalous lives of the Scottish clergy,[4] but in his opinion, as in that of Goudano, "the true root" of the evil was to be found in the arrogance and rapacity of the nobles, who wished to provide for their sons from the benefices of the Church, and thus placed the highest ecclesiastical offices in the hands of men who were quite unworthy to hold them.[5]

As the result of Goudano's report, the queen was kept almost as a prisoner by her entourage; she was unable to receive any news from the outside world without the permission

[1] Goudano to Lainez, December 1562, in POLLEN, 152. Editions of the works of Winzet by John Blackgracie, Edinburgh, 1835 (Maitland Club), by James King Hewison, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1888 (Scottish Text Society). For Winzet *cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 20-35, and Hist.-polit. Blätter, CIII. (1889), 27-39; CVII. (1891), 704-12.

[2] BELLESHEIM, I., 402 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 7 *seq.*, 21, 35 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 22 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 24. *Cf.* Hist.-polit. Blätter, CVII. (1891), 711; Goudano in POLLEN, 127. Kennedy also expressed himself in the same sense. BELLESHEIM, I., 405.

of her ministers, except by stealth. The real ruler of Scotland was her half-brother, Lord James Stuart. The heretics, wrote Edmund Hay, the companion of Goudano,[1] with the exception of the Earl of Hamilton, are bound to him by their own interests, and he keeps the Catholics at bay by fear and by threats of appeal to the royal authority, so that no one dares oppose his will. He is always talking of the interests of the queen, but nobody in Scotland, who still retains a spark of intelligence, or who is not blinded by prejudice, can have the slightest doubts as to his real intentions. Leslie says plainly that James was aiming at the crown,[2] and that in order to attain this end he always strove to keep the management of the affairs of state in his own hands, to fill all offices with his own supporters, to deprive the Catholic clergy as far as possible of all their property, and lastly, to undermine the power of his enemies among the nobles.

The hostility of Lord James was especially directed against the Earl of Huntly,[3] the most powerful of the Catholic nobles, whose possessions in the north of Scotland formed almost a small kingdom. Huntly's past had not been blameless,[4] but he could at anyrate be considered the most important representative of the Catholic party, and he was a loyal adherent of the queen. About the time that the queen was making

[1] To Lainez, January 2, 1563, in FORBES-LEITH, 80.

[2] "Not content with the administration of the kingdom, aspired to the crown itself," in FORBES-LEITH, 81. The nuncio Laureo also wrote to Rome, March 12, 1567 (POLLEN, 362): "Muray [James] . . . ha havuto sempre la mira d'occupare il regno, persuaso della setta contraria che gli tocchi di ragione, et massime che pretende che la madre sia stata segretamente sposata dal Re suo padre." The memorial addressed in 1568 in the name of Mary to Cosimo I. of Tuscany mentions the fact of Murray's aspirations to the crown as a well known fact. LABANOFF, VII., 315.

[3] *Cf.* Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 84-92; BELLESHEIM, II., 43-5; HOSACK, I., 85 *seqq.* POLLEN, p. lviii-lxi.

[4] FLEMING, 82, 311.

a progress through the northern provinces, it happened that John Gordon, Huntly's second son, in a street quarrel with Lord Ogilvie in Edinburgh, wounded his opponent, was thrown into prison, and escaped a few days later. The hot-blooded young man was extremely irritated by a public summons to repair to Aberdeen, and by the order to return to prison, and thus place himself in the power of his enemies. Twice he attempted to attack the author of these orders, Lord James, even though he was in the queen's presence. A royal order to the Gordons then followed, that they were to surrender their castles of Inverness and Findlater, but this was resisted by the garrisons, who said that they must first have the consent of their own master.

Thereupon the queen summoned the nobles of the surrounding district to her aid, and called Huntly to account. The Earl would not risk placing himself in the hands of his enemies, but sent his secretary to hand over the keys of the castles, excusing himself for not being able to come in person, on account of Lord James, though he declared that he was ready to be imprisoned in Edinburgh, or wherever the queen might appoint, on condition that he should not be condemned to death without the consent of the whole of the Scottish nobility. Huntly's messenger was seized by Lord James, and by threats of torture forced to give evidence against the Earl. Three times more did Huntly try to send the same message to the queen, but each time his attempt was frustrated by Lord James. In the meantime armed forces had been sent to take Huntly prisoner in his castle of Strathbogie. As he could not feel safe anywhere, in desperation he summoned 1200 men to his defence. These came to blows with Lord James near Corrichie; Huntly was defeated, captured, and fell dead from his horse. His son, John Gordon, was beheaded, and the whole clan of the Gordons was deprived of its possessions and titles by the Parliament of 1563. Thus did Mary suffer herself to be led to the fatal step of cutting off from herself the very party upon whom she ought most to have relied. Her most dangerous enemy, on the other hand, her half-brother Lord James, returned from the north as Earl of Murray,

with the rich possessions of the Earl of Huntly in his hands.[1]

While the position of the Catholics continued to be precarious under Mary's rule, the reformers were enjoying the most complete liberty under her government. The preachers were allowed to pray openly in their pulpits that God would convert the queen, or give her a short life;[2] Knox was suffered to inveigh undisturbed against the queen's dancing, and the attire of her court ladies,[3] and this at the very moment when this delicate minded champion of morality, then a man of about 60 years of age, was paying his court to a girl of 16, whom he married in 1564.[4] The Catholics, on the other hand had no share in this religious tolerance. The laws, which allowed a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues to the reformers, were arbitrarily administered by Murray, in such a way that more was taken from the Catholic clergy than was left to them.[5] In order to practise their religion in accordance with the custom of their fathers, the Catholics had to take refuge in the forests and marshes, while Knox declared that even there they should be harassed by the fanatical reformers.[6] The fact that the death penalty imposed by law for the celebration of Mass was not carried into effect was, indeed, due to the influence of the queen, but in other respects she was only able to mitigate the severity of the sentences imposed in individual cases.

In 1563 a number of distinguished ecclesiastics were imprisoned, among them Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had dared to attempt to keep Easter according to the usage of the ancient Church. In order to save the accused,

[1] The condemnation of Huntly (in the presence of his dead body) by the Parliament in 1563 is described in the Rutland Papers; see Rev. des quest. hist., LIII. (1893), 514.

[2] Letter of the English envoy, Randolph, of February 28, 1563; see HOSACK, I., 90 n.

[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 45, 49.

[4] Randolph, January 22, 1563, HOSACK, *loc. cit.*

[5] Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 82.

[6] HOSACK, I., 95 *seq.*

Mary could think of no better plan than to send for Knox and ask for his intercession, although Knox was the very man who was pressing for the condemnation of all Catholic priests. On May 19th the Archbishop and 48 others were put on their trial for having heard confessions, and for having said or heard Mass, and were sentenced to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, though they were pardoned after nine weeks. After this the persecution of priests became more general, and on June 3rd, 1563, Randolph informed Cecil that the Catholic priests of Scotland were taking refuge in English territory.[1]

Fortunately for her Catholic reputation, Mary had, a little before this, made profession of her faith before the whole Catholic world at Trent and that in a way that created a stir in the Council.[2] The Bishop of Amiens, Pellevé, had already reminded her on April 21st, 1562, that Christian princes were accustomed to send representatives to such an assembly in order to assert their rank and dignity, and that not even Elizabeth, in his opinion, would hold back on such an occasion.[3] Soon after this the express Papal invitation reached her by the hands of Goudano.[4] Mary replied to the Pope on January 31st, 1563, by expressing her own good will, and explaining the difficulties of the times, but assuring him that she would do her best to send a certain number of the Scottish bishops to the Council.[5] At the same time she charged her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to make her excuses to the Pope if she had not carried out all her duties to the cause of religion.[6] On May 10th, 1563, a letter from the Queen of Scotland was read at Trent at a solemn general congregation, which was held with open doors.[7] In this letter Mary spoke of herself

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 46 *seqq.* HOSACK, I., 95 *seqq.* FLEMING, 374-6.

[2] POLLEN, lxi *seqq.*, 162 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 446.

[4] See *supra* p. 278.

[5] LABANOFF, I., 175.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Massarelli in THEINER, II., 264. The letter itself in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 111; LE PLAT, VI., 48.

as "a most devoted daughter of the Catholic Church," and acknowledged that as such she was bound to send some of her bishops to the Council, and that this would be for her subjects as well a great inducement to give to the Apostolic See the honour due to it. The times, however, did not permit of her sending even a representative, and she begged her uncle of Lorraine to give the distinguished assembly fuller information as to Scottish affairs. The Cardinal did this in the course of a long speech,[1] and the fathers of the Council made a reply,[2] which certainly contained the most splendid tribute which had ever been given to the Scottish queen by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities.

After the close of the Council Pius IV. gave express orders that a printed copy of the decrees should be sent to the Queen of Scotland.[3] This was entrusted to her envoy, Stephen Wilson. The brief which accompanied it exhorted the queen to do her utmost to carry out the decrees of the Council, and only to confer ecclesiastical dignities on Catholics who were above suspicion, and to do the same, as far as possible, in the case of civil offices.[4] At the same time briefs were sent to the two archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, together with exhortations to put the Tridentine decrees into force.[5] Mary's reply,[6] in which she again expressed her good will, only reached the Pope after a long delay, and he replied on May 1st, 1565, in words of praise and encouragement.[7]

The queen once more entered into correspondence with the Holy See when the lengthy negotiations on the subject of her marriage had been brought to an end.

[1] The legates of the Council to Borromeo, in Šusta, III. 325.

[2] Raynaldus, 1563, n. 112. The letter of reply was composed by Calini. Baluze-Mansi, IV., 308.

[3] Borromeo to Santa Croce, March 24, 1564, in Pollen, 181.

[4] Brief of June 15, 1564, *ibid.*, 185 *seq.*

[5] Both these letters, dated January 13, 1564, in Pollen, 138 *seq.*, 181 *seq.* Notice of the briefs to the other bishops, prelates, and Scottish nobles, *ibid.*, 184 *seq.* *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1564, n. 49.

[6] Of October 20, 1564, in Labanoff, VII., 6.

[7] In Pollen, 188 *seq.*

Mary's relations with foreign powers were, at the beginning of her reign, governed by three ideas ; she aimed at maintaining friendly relations with Elizabeth of England, at the recognition of her hereditary claim to the English crown, and at the consolidation of her position by marriage with some powerful Catholic prince.

In the first years of her reign she could hardly do enough in the way of reiterated protestations of friendship and admiration for her " good sister " of England. On one occasion she said that she wished to honour Elizabeth as an elder sister, and to follow her advice as she would her mother's.[1] She treated as precious treasures, which she carried near her heart, the letters of her " dear sister, and sweet cousin and friend."[2] The crafty Elizabeth willingly accepted such assurances, which afforded her an opportunity for exercising influence over Mary's decisions, and for interference in Scottish affairs. The hereditary right of her rival to the English throne, which had been called in question by the peace of Edinburgh, she never formally recognized, although she sometimes allowed her ambassador to make use of expressions calculated to encourage Mary's hopes.[3]

It was above all in the matter of the matrimonial plans of her neighbour that Elizabeth was thus able to exercise a powerful influence. Naturally Mary did not lack for suitors. First of all she thought of marrying Don Carlos, the son of Philip II.;[4] the Archduke Charles of Austria was also considered for a time.[5] From the first Pius IV. looked favourably upon the Spanish match, but, in consequence of the representations of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he, at the end of October, 1563, instructed his nuncio in Spain to lay before the Catholic King the Cardinal's arguments in favour of Charles

[1] Randolph to Cecil, November 3, 1564, in STEVENSON, VII., n. 772, 2.

[2] FLEMING, 321.

[3] *Ibid.*, 320, n. 33.

[4] Colección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 447 *seqq.*

[5] FOURNIER in Österr. Rundschau, 1908, 27-36.

of Austria.[1] But Philip II. had no wish to see the archduke, with his possible claims to Flanders, brought any nearer to the Low Countries, so in 1563 he gave up all thought of the Scottish match for his own son as well.[2]

Elizabeth had threatened hostilities on her own account if Mary were to marry either the Infante or a member of the House of Austria, but promised that she would find in her a sister and a friend if she made a choice in accordance with her wishes.[3] It was probably only with the purpose of still further postponing the dreaded marriage of her rival that Elizabeth, in March, 1564, suggested to Mary as a husband her own lover, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[4] Mary, however, towards the end of the same year, was herself coming to a decision, which was to lead her to her own undoing; she was thinking of marrying her cousin, Henry Darnley, who was only 19 years of age.

Darnley,[5] like Mary herself, was descended from a sister of Henry VIII.,[6] and after Mary Stuart was the nearest legitimate heir to the English throne. A marriage with him could not but strengthen her own claim. There was reason to hope, however, that he would be acceptable to the English queen in that the match would remove all fear of a foreign marriage, by means of which Scotland might gain an alliance on the continent, whereas Darnley was a subject of Elizabeth.[7]

[1] POLLEN, 178.

[2] It was only on August 8, 1564, that Philip II. informed his ambassador in England that he had given up the idea. FLEMING, 94.

[3] FLEMING, 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, 95; HOSACK, I., 97.

[5] We have adopted the form of the name then in use (Darnley and not Darley), just as for the same reason we give the name Murray instead of Moray.

[6] The grandmother of both Darnley and Mary was the sister of Henry VIII., Margaret Tudor, who was first married to James IV. of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, whose daughter Margaret was Darnley's mother.

[7] On February 23, 1564, de la Quadra wrote to Philip II. that Darnley's mother was thinking of marrying him to Mary. FLEMING, 34, 227.

His father, the Earl of Lennox, who belonged to one of the most distinguished Scottish families, had been obliged to leave his own country 20 years before, on account of his relationship with Henry VIII., and had since lived in England, where Darnley had been born. In consequence of representations made by Elizabeth, the Earl of Lennox obtained permission to return to Scotland at the end of 1564, to be followed in the next year by his son, who was presented to the queen on February 17th, 1565. The first impression which her young relative made upon her was very favourable, and unfortunately she allowed herself to be deeply influenced by this impression. In a short time she was entirely infatuated by the youth, who was quite incapable and unworthy, and when, in April, 1565, Darnley fell ill, she visited him very often and nursed him with a mother's care.[1] An eye-witness testifies that she had suddenly become a changed being ; her brightness, her beauty, her cheerfulness were all overshadowed, and her dignity had disappeared. People talked seriously of witchcraft, and claimed that they had seen the magic rings and bracelets.[2] In any case everyone felt sure that Darnley would be king.

When Elizabeth realized that this time Mary was in earnest, she at once sent orders to Lennox and Darnley to return to England, and tried in every way to prevent the marriage ; but all was in vain, for Mary remained fixed in her resolve. She declared that Elizabeth had no more right to interfere with her marriage than she had to meddle with Elizabeth's own matrimonial affairs.[3] The marriage was accordingly celebrated according to the Catholic rite on July 29th 1565.[4]

Mary was not unaware that, on account of her near relationship to Darnley, the marriage could not be validly contracted without a Papal dispensation. She had therefore attempted

[1] Bedford to Cecil, April 18, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-1565, n. 1105, 1.

[2] Thus at least wrote Randolph, who was Mary's enemy after the appearance of Darnley, to Leicester, June 3, 1565, STEVENSON, 1564-1565, n. 1221, 2.

[3] FLEMING, 340.

[4] See PHILIPPSON, II., 401 *seq.* OPITZ, I., 107.

in the first place to get into communication with Rome through her uncle, Charles de Guise. But at first the Cardinal would have nothing to do with Darnley, and he delayed so long that his messenger only reached Rome on July 20th, 1565. A messenger sent by the queen herself, namely, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, whom she dispatched to the Eternal City at the end of June, only arrived there on August 14th. Between this date and September 25th, Pius IV. granted the queen's request.[1] Thus, at the time of the marriage, July 29th, the dispensation had not yet been granted, though in all probability Sinclair, who celebrated the marriage, as well as Mary herself, took it for granted that it had been issued by that time, or else they thought that, in view of the urgency of the case, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, as Papal legate, could give the necessary faculties.[2] Almost simultaneously with the wedding Darnley was proclaimed king, and all future acts were to be published in his name as well as that of Mary. This provision, however, was illegal, in that it had not received the assent of Parliament, but Mary's popularity was so great at that time that no one made any protest.[3]

One reason why Mary thus at length entered into a new marriage is certainly to be found in her desire to escape from the tutelage of Murray, and manage her own affairs. Her choice of Darnley had also been determined by the fact that he came of a Catholic family, and was himself looked upon as a Catholic. As a matter of fact, if, in deference to Elizabeth's attitude, and in the interests of her own hereditary rights, she had to choose a husband who was a native of the British Isles, and one who was of the same religion as herself, her choice was

[1] The brief, which bears the wrong date, VIII. Kal. Iunii, 1565, is printed in POLLEN, 218. For the dispensation in general *cf. ibid.*, lxxii-xcviii, 191-231, and Scottish Hist. Review, IV. (1907), 241-8.

[2] *Cf.* POLLEN, cxi *seqq.* The dispensation for the marriage of Mary Stuart with Darnley is dated June 1, 1565, and in the *Reg. Vatic.* may be seen the recommendation "de spedirla quanto prima." See EHSES in Hist. Jahrbuch, XL. (1920), 251.

[3] HOSACK, I., 110.

very limited. In this the tragic blunder of her life, in having allowed the family of Huntly to be destroyed, was clearly shown.[1]

It was only natural that Mary's marriage should have antagonized Murray, and stirred up against her the religious fanaticism of the reformers. A Catholic queen, especially one who was so unassuming as Mary, might still have been tolerated, but with her marriage to Darnley the probability of a Catholic dynasty became acute. As early as March, 1565, Murray had entered into an alliance with Chatelherault and Argyll, by which they agreed to stand together, though with the proviso that this should only be in matters which were not opposed to God and the queen.[2] At the beginning of April, Murray left the court, where he had so long been all powerful; at the end of the month, however, by Mary's orders, he returned, but he refused to give his consent to the marriage with Darnley, basing his refusal upon the latter's religion.[3] He would consent, he said, only on condition that he should himself be made the head of the government, and that the Catholic religion should be proscribed.[4]

The general assembly of the reformers at the same time adopted a threatening attitude. A few days before the celebration of the marriage this assembly sent a deputation to the queen begging her to confirm its decision that the Mass must be suppressed "together with all manner of papistry, idolatry and Papal jurisdiction" all over the kingdom, including the royal court, and that throughout the country

[1] According to PHILIPPSON as well (II., 327), Mary let herself be led into the marriage not so much on account of her love for Darnley, as to secure her hereditary right to the English throne.

[2] FLEMING, 353.

[3] Randolph to Bedford, April 7, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-1565, n. 1085, n. 2.

[4] Mary to Paul de Foix, November 8, 1565, in LABANOFF, I., 301. "Pourveu qu'il maniast l'affaire luy tout seul et que mes dictz subjectz congneussent qu'il estoyt le chef, et que par mesme moyen (pour leur donner plus de couraige) il estoyt nécessaire de bannir de ce royaume la religion catholicque et romaine."

" the pure word of God and His true religion " be established.[1] Mary made answer that she did not consider that there was anything impious in the Mass, and that she felt sure her subjects would not force her to act against her conscience. She could not and would not deny the religion in which she had been brought up, and which she looked upon as the true religion founded upon the word of God. She had made no attempt to do violence to the consciences of her subjects, and did not intend to do so, but would leave each one to serve God as he deemed best; she claimed the same right for herself.[2]

This dignified reply was powerless to change the course of events. Even before it had been made known, the nobles of the new religion met at Stirling to decide what was to be done should Mary overthrow their religion or give Queen Elizabeth a pretext for invading Scotland.[3] When she was at Perth on June 30th, the queen received news that, at her departure from the city, which had been arranged for the next day, she was to be seized and imprisoned, and Lennox and Darnley killed. She immediately summoned 300 armed men to her aid, and frustrated the attack by leaving Perth at a very early hour.[4] The conspirators then had recourse to arms; Murray, Chatelherault and Argyll appealed for help to Elizabeth, whom they described as " blessed with the noble title of being, after God, the special protector of the champions of religion."[5] On July 10th they received an

[1] FLEMING, 108; *cf.* Randolph, May 3, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-1565, n. 1140, 9 (p. 353): " This day, Thursday, the chief of the Protestants, with the ministers, assembled in the church. Their deliberations contained three heads: first, how to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the Queen's chapel as others."

[2] HOSACK, I., 107. FLEMING, 352.

[3] FLEMING, 109.

[4] Later on Mary said that she could prove, by the testimony of a hundred nobles, that at that time her own imprisonment and the murder of Darnley and Lennox were intended. Letter of November 8, 1565, to Paul de Foix, in LABANOFF, I., 304 *seq.*

[5] FLEMING, 109.

encouraging reply from Elizabeth.[1] On July 12th, 1565, Mary answered the rumours being spread about by the reformers that their religion was in danger, by a fresh promise of religious freedom. Three days later she renewed this promise, and at the same time sent orders to her friends to assemble under arms at Edinburgh.[2]

This rebellion was not without real danger. Many powerful nobles took the part of the insurgents, such as the Earl of Argyll, who had almost unlimited power in the western Highlands of Scotland, and the Earl of Glencairn, one of the most powerful nobles in the south-west of the kingdom.[3] Moreover, the leader of the conspiracy, the Earl of Murray, was a skilful general, and behind him was Elizabeth, in reliance upon whose help the insurgents had taken up arms.[4] Elizabeth, however, was unwilling openly to declare war on Scotland, and her secret assistance was not enough.[5] Mary, on the other hand, in the face of this danger, displayed a warlike courage, together with judgment and decision, which excited the admiration even of her enemies. She herself took her place at the head of her armies, and at her approach the insurgents, who had intended to march on Glasgow, retreated. They seized Edinburgh, indeed, but they met with so little support there, in spite of the inflammatory sermons of the preachers, that they abandoned the city, and Mary was able to return there unopposed on September 19th. At the

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 53.

[2] FLEMING, 108.

[3] HOSACK, I., 111.

[4] Later on, on October 24, 1565, Murray wrote from Carlisle to Cecil that unless they had been encouraged by Elizabeth and her Privy Council, he and the other nobles would never have ventured upon the undertaking: "If they had not been moved to it by the handwriting of the Queen and her Council" (STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, n. 1592). On the same date Murray wrote to Leicester (*ibid.*, n. 1593): "They were not minded to take any appointment with Queen Mary unless Queen Elizabeth had been the dresser thereof."

[5] HOSACK, I., 115 *seq.*

beginning of October she again took the field against the rebels at the head of between 6,000 and 12,000 men, but their leaders had already sought refuge in English territory.[1] On October 23rd Murray had a humiliating audience of Elizabeth; in the presence of the Privy Council and the two French ambassadors he appeared before the queen in a simple black dress, and had to listen on his knees to a lecture, in which the great actress taught him a lesson as to the duties of a subject to his sovereign.[2] She had already denied on oath to one of the French ambassadors that she had sent any financial help to the Scottish rebels.[3]

To all outward appearance Mary's position at the end of the reign of Pius IV. was stronger than ever. She had at one blow thrown off the tutelage which had hampered her for years, and had shown a bold front to her most dangerous enemies, the nobles who had adopted the new religion, and the preachers, and she had overcome them. It can easily be understood that the queen should have sought to profit by her victory. Among the rebels, the Duke of Chatelherault was pardoned on condition that he went to live in France for five years; the others were summoned to appear before Parliament in March, 1566, when their case was tried, and their property forfeited to the crown.[4] Besides this the queen tried seriously to enforce her oft-repeated principle of religious toleration for all, in the sense that her own co-religionists were not to be excluded from this general liberty. As a consequence of this the Catholic nobles again began to assist openly at the worship of the ancient Church, and Catholic sermons were once more preached in the royal chapel of Holyrood.[5] An

[1] *Ibid.*, 113-8. FLEMING, 112 *seqq.*

[2] FLEMING, 117 *seq.*, 367 *seq.* According to the memoirs of James Melville Elizabeth made Murray bear witness at this audience that she had not come to any understanding with the Scottish rebels! HOSACK, I., 118.

[3] *Ibid.*, 116.

[4] Randolph to Cecil, December 23, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, n. 1748, 2; *cf.* n. 1751. FLEMING, 118, 369.

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 55. Darnley also took part at the function of Christmas night. STEVENSON, *loc. cit.*, n. 1752.

act granting religious freedom to the Catholics was prepared for presentation to the next Parliament, to which the clergy were also summoned.[1] The Dean of Restalrig, who had blessed Mary's marriage, was appointed president of the court, while John Leslie, the Bishop of Brechin, was made Bishop of Ross, and a member of the Privy Council;[2] both of these were worthy and deserving men.

Since the nobles who had adopted the new religion had sought and obtained financial aid from Elizabeth, it was natural that Mary should also seek for like assistance. Bishop Chisholm, who had been sent to obtain in Rome the dispensation for the marriage with Darnley, had received the further instructions to approach the Pope on this point. "In Scotland," he told the Pope,[3] "it is now a question of existence or extinction, both for the queen and for the Catholic religion. Even before her marriage with Darnley, the queen did all she could to re-establish the old religion, and this was the purpose she had in mind in entering upon the match. She cannot, however, do as she likes with her own property, because her treasurer and his secretary, who are both bitter heretics, will not allow her anything for purposes which they do not approve of. Mary's object is to crush the enemies of the faith, and those who disturb religious peace, to re-establish the Church, and to restore the former submissiveness and quiet; she is of opinion that she can attain this end very easily within four or five months, with the help of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, and she looks to the Pope for the necessary funds for the maintenance of these troops. This assistance would mean

[1] "The spirituall estate placed therein in the ancient maner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion." Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2, 1566, in LABANOFF, I., 343. "The parliament was opened and two measures submitted for discussion one allowing the bishops and rectors of churches the full exercise of there ancient religion. . . ." Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 108.

[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 56 *seq.* Processus ecclesiae Brechinensis, Romae, 1565, September 2 and 3, in POLLEN, 512-6.

[3] POLLEN, 204-7.

life and safety for the queen, peace and quiet for Scotland, restoration and new splendour for the Christian religion, and a renewal of respect and obedience for the Apostolic See. Without it, on account of the alliance of the Scottish heretics with Elizabeth, the queen can expect nothing but a martyrdom similar to that suffered by her mother."

Chisholm's speech certainly described the situation in over-strong terms. As far as she herself was concerned, Mary was sincerely devoted to the faith of her fathers, and she had in many ways alleviated the hard lot of her Catholic subjects, but it cannot be maintained that she was very zealous for the complete restoration of the former religious conditions. Pius IV., who had not at his disposal the considerable sum of money asked for,[1] answered her courteously on September 25th, 1565, and at the same time informed the Cardinal of Lorraine that the time was not yet come for the help demanded.[2]

Bishop Chisholm did not go straight back to Scotland from Rome, but was detained in Paris during the winter.[3] His mission gave occasion for a series of briefs of encouragement and praise to Archbishop Hamilton, and to the nobles who were Catholics, or passed as Catholics, such as the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassilis, Caithness, and Eroll and Mar, and Lords Hume, Seton, Semphill and Ruthven.[4]

On hearing the good news of the first successes of the queen against the rebels, Pius IV. to some extent abandoned his attitude of cautious reserve. In the consistory of October 12th, 1565, he said that he did not wish for war, but hated it, but that when it had been undertaken by others in defence of religion, it was the duty of the head of the Church to come to

[1] According to the Avviso di Roma of September 15, 1565, Mary asked for 300,000 ducats. POLLEN, 197.

[2] The letter in POLLEN, 221 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*

[3] E. Hay to Polanco, Paris, January 9, 1566, *ibid.*, 490.

[4] POLLEN, 225-7. Raynaldus wrongly ascribes these briefs to 1563 (n. 113). A covering letter from Borromeo to the queen in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 528.

the assistance of Catholics with advice and in other ways, and that this was also the duty of other Catholic powers. The respective Cardinal Protectors should therefore remind the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain of this duty.[1] By means of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Pope advised the queen not to place too much trust in some of her counsellors, who wished to make a compromise at the expense of the Catholic religion at the next Parliament.[2]

Besides appealing to the Pope, Mary had turned for help to Philip II.,[3] and on September 2nd Pius IV. also asked that monarch's advice with regard to Scottish affairs.[4] Philip's reply, dated October 16th,[5] showed that Mary's enemies had nothing to fear from him.[6] A small sum of money which he sent to the queen was unfortunately lost.

Pius IV. also tried to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland by sending a nuncio there, but, taught by his experience with England, he ordered him to go without any external pomp.

By the help of deceit and surprise, the English ecclesiastical laws concerning the abolition of Papal authority, the oath of supremacy, and attendance at Protestant worship, had been accepted by the Irish Parliament in 1560; the president of the Lower House, James Stanihurst, put the question to the vote at a time when the House was very thinly attended, and those present were altogether favourable to the change.[7] The displeasure of the other members was calmed by the

[1] In POLLEN, 228 *seq.*

[2] Pius IV. to Lorraine, October 15, 1565. See PHILIPPSON, III., 480; POLLEN, 228.

[3] Letter of September 10, 1565, in LABANOFF, I., 281. *Cf.* Phayre to Cecil, dated from Madrid, November 17, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, 2-6, p. 519. Mary had asked for the help of Philip as early as July 24, 1565. LABANOFF, VII,. 340.

[4] In POLLEN, 211 *seq.*

[5] In MIGNET, Histoire de Marie Stuart, I., Paris, 1854, 421. *Cf.* POLLEN, 213.

[6] *Cf.* Phayre, *loc. cit.*, 6.

[7] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 120 *seqq.*, 131.

assurance that the new laws would not be put into force. As a matter of fact the traditional form of the oath of loyalty was maintained,[1] and the Anglican liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer was unintelligible to the mass of the people because it was not translated into Irish.[2] Nevertheless after 1560 the public use of Catholic worship gradually came to an end,[3] although it was not found possible to prevent attendance at Mass, even in the neighbourhood of Dublin.[4] With a few exceptions[5] the Irish bishops remained true to the Church, and the government only dared to deprive two of their dioceses.[6] In 1566 the viceroy of Ireland, the apostate Archbishop Curwin, and the other members of the Irish Privy Council reported to the English queen that the new doctrines had only made any noteworthy progress in the dioceses of Armagh, Meath, and Dublin, while they were entirely unknown in the rest of the country.[7]

The great obstacle in the way of the sorely needed consolidation of the Catholic religion in Ireland lay in the condition of the clergy, and especially their religious ignorance. Cardinal Morone, the Protector of Ireland, therefore proposed to the Pope to send a nuncio to the island. It was of course no longer possible for a Papal envoy to appear with any external pomp; Pius IV. therefore appointed for this purpose, not a prelate, but, as had been the case in Scotland, a Jesuit, David Wolf, a native of Ireland,[8] who, by the order of the General of the Jesuits, was to make his appearance with the greatest simplicity, and was not to accept any payment for his work, not even by way of alms.[9] Indeed, for some time after his

[1] *Ibid.*, 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, 122, 124.

[3] *Ibid.*, 137; *cf.* 124.

[4] *Ibid.*, 130.

[5] *Ibid.*, 128, 140. For the apostacy of the Archbishop of Dublin, Curwin, *ibid.*, 114; for Devereux of Ferns, *ibid.*, 129.

[6] Namely Walsh of Meath and Leverous of Kildare; *ibid.*, 129.

[7] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 134.

[8] *Ibid.*, 137; *cf.* SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 45.

[9] BELLESHEIM, II., 138.

arrival in Ireland, in January, 1561, Wolf carried out his instructions so literally that he suffered real want among the poor Irish.[1]

The duty of the nuncio was to encourage the nobles and the bishops to be constant in the Catholic faith, and to devote himself to the reform of the clergy by suggesting to the Pope suitable bishops, by insisting that the bishops should promote capable priests, by looking after the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline and the erection of schools, and by watching over the preaching and the administration of the sacraments.[2]

The news of the arrival of a Papal envoy in Ireland had hardly spread when men and women, barefooted and in the poorest dress, came to him in crowds to obtain the absolution of their sins, and especially that he might set right invalid marriages. Wolf himself relates that in the course of a few months he made use of his Papal faculties in more than 1,000 such cases.[3] Many who had been more or less inclined to the new doctrines were reconciled by Wolf to the Church; it caused a great sensation when the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, William Cahessy, who was already a Catholic priest, returned publicly to the Church.[4] In accordance with Wolf's suggestions, at the consistory of January 28th, 1562, three new bishops were appointed to the dioceses of Raphoe, Achonry and Elphin, who received their episcopal consecration in Rome. Of the three bishops who took part in the Council of Trent, two, MacCongail of Raphoe, and the Dominican, O'Harte of Achonry, were proposed for their office by Wolf.[5]

A grave danger to religion in Ireland lay in the want of schools, where young clerics could receive a sufficient theological training; Wolf had been charged to obviate this danger by all the means in his power, and the Pope himself,

[1] *Ibid.*, 139. Wolf, however, did not remain faithful to this strict manner of life, and later he was dismissed from the Society. SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 149.

[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 138.

[3] Letter to Lainez, SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 148.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 145.

[5] *Ibid.*, 141.

on May 31st, 1564, issued a bull to the same effect.[1] This bull states that there is in Ireland no university at which men can study and receive the doctor's degree ; that the Irish are too poor to be able to go and study in other countries ; that consequently there are at most six or eight bachelors of theology in the whole island, that one or two at most are doctors in theology, and probably none at all in law,[2] that for a thousand years the Irish bishops have not given any assistance worthy of the name to theological study ; that, in spite of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent concerning seminaries, and the conferring of ecclesiastical dignities on graduates, it appeared that there was little likelihood that, even in the future, the bishops would change their ways, or give up their custom of conferring ecclesiastical benefices on quite unworthy persons ; nevertheless, in order that, in spite of this, a university and colleges might arise in Ireland, the bull granted to Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and to the nuncio, Wolf, the faculty to use for the purpose of places of instruction convents which had fallen into ruin or which had been alienated from their original purpose, as well as ecclesiastical benefices. This, the bull stated, had already been decreed by the Parliament at Dublin under Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary.[3]

Later on the schools became the principal object of the care of all the most important men of Catholic Ireland, many of whom devoted themselves personally to the work of instruction. The school of Peter White, formerly dean of the cathedral of Waterford, especially produced a number of distinguished scholars and priests.[4]

[1] MORAN, Spicilegium, I., 32-8.

[2] "Cum Hiberni in propria insula nullam studii generalis universitatem . . . habeant, nec illis . . . pecunia suppeditet, unde in exteris regionibus litteris vacare ac gradus huiusmodi suscipere valeant, propterea fit, ut in universa Hibernia nulli, ut creditur, ad s. theologiae praeter unum et alterum et ad iurisprudentiae doctoratus forsan nullus, ad bacchalariatus autem in ipsa theologia gradus non plures quam sex aut octo promoti reperiantur etc." MORAN, I., 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 133, 232.

Neither Archbishop Creagh nor the nuncio could, as a matter of fact, do anything at all to carry out the Papal letter. In 1564 the archbishop fell into the hands of the English; he succeeded several times in escaping, but he passed far the greater part of the rest of his life in English and Irish prisons, and died of poison in the Tower of London in 1585.[1] The nuncio too was thrown into prison, and on May 13th, 1568, the successor of Pius IV. tried to obtain the intervention of Philip II. with Elizabeth on behalf of him and the archbishop.[2] The distinguished bishops Walsh of Meath and O'Herlihy of Ross also endured a harsh imprisonment for many years [3] The same is also true of other bishops, of Edmund Tanner of Cork (died 1579),[4] of Peter Power of Ferns (died 1587), who for a time allowed himself to be led away by the blandishments of the government,[5] and Archbishop Nicholas Scered of Tuam (died 1583), an alumnus of the Germanicum in Rome.[6] After horrible cruelties the government executed the Bishop of Cashel, Dermot O'Hurley, in 1584;[7] like him, the Bishop of Mayo, Patrick O'Hely, of the Franciscan order, suffered death by hanging in 1578.[8] Besides him, a whole number of Irish Franciscans suffered a bloody death between 1565 and 1580[9]. In order to introduce the new doctrines by force a state of war was declared in Ireland, and in little more than a year and a half about 400 persons were put to death in the province of Munster.[10]

[1] *Ibid.*, 152 *seqq.*, 183 *seqq.*

[2] LADERCHI, 1568, n. 124; *cf.* Castagna to Bonelli, May 1, and Bonelli to Castagna, July 21, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 354, 417,

[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 144 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 188 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 187.

[6] *Ibid.*, II., 187 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 197 *seqq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 186.

[9] *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.*

[10] Report of Drury, March 24, 1578, *ibid.*, 191; *cf.* 201. For the Irish victims of the hatred of Catholics see O'REILLY, Memorials of those who suffered for the catholic faith in Ireland, London, 1868; DAVID ROTHE, Analecta, ed. by P. F. Moran, Dublin, 1884. *Cf.* Katholik, 1888, II., 179 *seqq.*

In the trials of the Irish bishops the forms of law were not infrequently entirely ignored. In a process against Archbishop Creagh at Dublin in 1567, the jury refused to find him guilty, although they were shut up for several days on bread and water, yet the archbishop was not set at liberty, while the court inflicted heavy penalties on the jurors.[1]

While Creagh was a prisoner in London the government vainly tried to convict him of treason. He was said to have had relations with Shane, a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who claimed the title of O'Neill, and to be King of Ulster, and caused a great deal of trouble to the English government, until he was killed at the instigation of an English official. At that time revolts were breaking out almost continually in that part of Ireland. The government was always on its guard against surprise, but it was only with the greatest difficulty that it could carry into effect the legal penalty of forfeiture of lands against the insurgents. The attempt to introduce English settlers into the confiscated property, and to leave it to them to defend it against its former owners, was a complete failure.[2]

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 155. *Cf. ibid.*, 199, 201, on what was done to O'Hurley.

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 126 *seqq.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION IN ITALY.

WHILE the storm of religious changes was raging over the whole of western Europe, the south remained for the most part untouched by the disturbance. Protestantism indeed knocked at the gates of Italy, and even found entrance in more than one place, but it was vigorously ejected by the Roman Inquisition. The attitude adopted by Pius IV. towards this body was in many respects different from that of his predecessor.

The destruction of the palace of the Inquisition at the death of Paul IV., and the wild scenes that accompanied it,[1] suggested to the new Pope,[2] even in the first weeks of his pontificate, the idea of introducing a reform of the tribunals of faith more in keeping with the needs of the times. Even during the coronation celebrations it was rumoured that he intended to abolish the powers of the Inquisition, and hand them over to the bishops.[3] Pius IV., however, did not go as far as that, but in a congregation on January 11th, 1560, he once again restricted the power of the Holy Office to its former limits, in such a way that only matters directly concerning the faith

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 414.

[2] The accounts of Pius IV. and the Inquisition in HINSCHIUS, Kirchenrecht, VI., 329 *seqq.*, 342, 363; HENNER, Päpstliche Ketzergerichte, 122, 369, 372; HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 607; PHILLIPS, Kirchenrecht, VI., 594; PAULUS, Hexenwahn, 254; CIACONIUS, III., 873 *seq.* are derived only from printed matter.

[3] *Si ragiona che S. Stà vorà che sian levate l' inquisitioni per tutto, lasciandone il carico alli vescovi delli luoghi . . . et questo acciò non segua più tal disordine come per il passato s'ha visto con gran ruina et vergogna della S. Sede Romana. Avviso di Roma, 1560. (Urb. 1039, p. 114b, of January 6, Vatican Library).

came before it, but not simony, blasphemy and sodomy Moreover, at the beginning of April, 1560, obviously in reference to the acts of Paul IV., he issued a statement in which he announced that all who lay under censure, exile or condemnation for heresy might submit their cause to a fresh juridical examination, in spite of the sentence pronounced by his predecessors.[2] On the other hand, at the request of the officials of the Inquisition, the new Pope, on December 10th, 1560, confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by his predecessor on January 1st, in the first year of his pontificate.[3] A monitorium issued by the Cardinal Inquisitors on January 7th, 1561, ordered the restoration of all the documents which had been stolen at the time of the destruction of the palace of the Inquisition.[4] Cardinal Ghislieri remained Grand Inquisitor, since no other Cardinal was willing to undertake that office.[5]

[1] *Avviso di Roma, 1560, Urb. 1039 p. 117, of January 13, (Vatican Library). *N. Signore sta bene et il giobbia [11. January] passato tenne congregatione per sonto della inquisizione, la quale sarà regolata con quel modo et iustitia che desiderávano per il passato i prudenti, cioè che non si tratti in essa se non cose meramente appartenenti alla [he] resia senza mescolarvi dentro nè simonia nè bestemia o sodomia. . . . Report of Ricasoli, dated Rome, January 12, 1560 (State Archives, Florence. Medic. 3279 p. 555).

[2] *Sua Santità ha declarato che, non ostante ch'alcuni siano o potessero essere incorsi in censura, escomunicatione o altra condemnatione per causa d'alcuna imputatione d' heresia, che possin' essere realditi [sic !] et possono produrre le loro ragioni et sarann' espediti giuridicamente, non ostante tutto quello che per li suoi antecessori potesse esser stato giudicato. Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 145, Vatican Library).

[3] *Div. Camer., t. 191, p. 145 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Editti, Casanatense Library, Rome. On September 20, 1560, *Pius IV. confirmed the brief of his predecessor of June 26, 1555, by which the Dominican, Tommaso Scoto of Vigevano, was made inquisitor, with powers to summon bishops, archbishops, primates and patriarchs (Cod. Barb., lat. 1502, p. 169–172 ; 1503, p. 80–83, Vatican Library).

[5] *Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 175, Vatican Library).

The sorely tried Cardinal Morone had no longer to remain in the prisons of the Inquisition. From the first, even before his formal acquittal, he enjoyed the special favour of the Pope, whose trusted confidant he became in all questions of importance.[1] On March 6th, 1560, his innocence was formally recognized by a decree of the Inquisition, signed by the Pope,[2] and the document was read at the consistory of March 14th ;[3] on the 18th the Cardinal was absolved at S. Maria in Trastevere from certain penalties which had been imposed upon him in view of the suspicions under which he had lain.[4] In view of his eminent position, so the Pope wrote to the Emperor on March 18th, 1560,[5] he had immediately after his election entrusted the case of Morone to Cardinals who were beyond suspicion and learned in the law, with the order that they were to examine the whole matter with the fear of God before their eyes. Their verdict was that the whole trial had been invalid, and that there was no evidence of any kind against the Cardinal, but that all the more important depositions of the witnesses, and other items of evidence, had proved his innocence so completely that no trace of suspicion could now attach to him. On the strength of this verdict the Pope proceeded to absolve Morone in the consistory. The other princes, as well as the Emperor, received copies of the verdict.[6]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560, *ibid.* p. 117, and of February 3, 1560, *ibid.* *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 307.

[2] *Editti V., 31, p. 43 (Papal Secret Archives). *Document concerning the absolution, *ibid.*, Borghese, I., 44, p. 1–6, and Colonna Archives, Rome (printed with the autograph signature of the notary, Claudio de Valle).

[3] *Acta consist. Cam., XI., 19 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Pergamene dell' archivio Farnese 81 (State Archives, Naples).

[5] *" Nihil contra ipsum cardinalem iure actum, nihil probatum fuisse, contraque et ex plurimorum eorumque gravissimorum testium dictis et ex aliis probationibus certissimis constare sibi ac patere innocentem eum, nec crimine solum, sed omni prorsus suspicione carere." (Brevia 10, p. 89b, n. 116, Papal Secret Archives).

[6] Thus, for example, *Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara, March 14, 1560 (State Archives, Modena) ; again, *Duke William of

At the consistory of May 29th, 1560, the Papal decision was read which declared that Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, who had been imprisoned at the same time as Morone, was also free from all suspicion of heresy.[1] His companion in misfortune, Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, was also splendidly justified by a decree of the Grand Inquisitor on January 1st, 1560. The examination, this decree states, had resulted in showing his complete innocence, and that the accusations against him were made by wicked and deceitful men.[2] On the other hand, at the same consistory which had seen the absolution of the Bishop of La Cava, Andrea Centani, Bishop of Limassol in Cyprus, was condemned as a heretic.[3] Immediately after the Pope's election Carnesecchi came to Rome,[4] in the endeavour to get the sentence pronounced against him under Paul IV. annulled; he too was absolved at the

Mantua, March 20, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 144, Vatican Library), claims to know that writings had been discovered, which had been concealed in the time of Paul IV., because they spoke in Morone's favour. The Pope therefore decided upon a new bull affirming the innocence of Morone, to be signed by all the Cardinals.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 307. *Mercore in concistorio furono date alcune chiese in Spagna, et al conte Marco nipote di S. Stà quella di Cassano, come scrisse che si doveva fare, et fu publicata la condennatione del vescovo di Limosso Zentani com' heretico, et letta l' assolutione del vescovo della Cava, già imprigionato al tempo di Paolo IV. per sospetto d' heresia. Report of Mula, dated Rome, June 1, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna); *Acta consist. Cam., May 29, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives). Ricasoli sent with his report of June 15, 1560, to Florence, the absolution of Sanfelice. (State Archives, Florence).

[2] The decree in CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 193.

[3] See note 1, *supra*. Concerning him *cf.* BUSCHBELL, 81, 153, 227.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 133, Vatican Library), according to which the case of Carnesecchi was to be decided at the next consistory.

beginning of June, 1560.[1] The mildness of Pius IV. was also shown by the complete abrogation of the strict regulations issued by his predecessor against the Jews.[2]

How little, however, in spite of this, the Pope intended to abolish the Inquisition, is shown by the fact that in his first consistory he entrusted Cardinals Carpi, Ghislieri, Scotti, Puteo and Pacheco with the direction of inquisitorial matters.[3] A Papal decree of October 14th, 1562,[4] gave the tribunal of the faith fresh powers. The Cardinals of the Inquisition are named in the introduction to the brief: these were the three Cardinal Bishops, Carpi, Madruzzo and Truchsess, and the seven Cardinal Priests, Puteo, Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera and Savelli.[5]

[1] AMABILE, Inquisizione, I., 155. "*Carnesecchi fù assoluto nel ultima congregazione del inquisitione." Report of Saraceni of July 7, 1560 (State Archives, Florence). Later on Pius V. said that Carnesecchi had escaped by means of lies: "che a tempo di Pio antecessore suo avava dette un monte di bugie, delle quali era stato assoluto." (Legaz. di Serristori [May 16, 1567], 436). For the other absolutions of 1560 (Galeoto and Bishop Verdura) see AMABILE, I., 234. *"Don Gabriele Fiamma frate del ordine della pace fu già inquisito due anni predicando in Napoli [*cf.* SALA, III., 161] mercordi [April 26] fu assoluto in una congregatione." Caligari to Commendone, April 29, 1564, Lett. di princ., XXIII, 50 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See RIEGER, 161.

[3] *Acta consist. Cam., VIII., p. 1b (Papal Secret Archives); *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 114b, Vatican Library). The *report of Ricasoli cited *supra*, 308, n. 1, gives the name of Reumano instead of Pacheco. On August 29, 1560, Carpi, Cueva, Puteo, Ghislieri and Dolera were named Cardinal Inquisitors. Bollett. Senese, XVII., 164.

[4] Bull. Rom. VII., 236–9. Already, on August 27, 1561, the inquisitors had been given the right to employ secular and regular clerics as notaries; *ibid.*, 138.

[5] With the exception of Madruzzo, Rebiba, Ghislieri and Savelli, the same Cardinals are named as Inquisitors General in a decree of the Inquisition of November 21, 1561, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 66. At a meeting of the Inquisition on July 8, 1561, there were present: Carpi Truchsess, Cueva, Puteo, Scotti, Simonetta,

In the introduction to this decree it is stated that the Pope is working with all possible zeal to suppress the damnable heresies, so that the purity of the Catholic faith and the true worship of God may flourish and that the apostates may either return to the bosom of the Church, or, if they remain obstinate, may, by their punishment, serve as an example to others. The Inquisition was set up by Paul III. with great wisdom, and under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and it had been maintained by the Popes who had succeeded him ; it has done such good service to the Church that it may be described as the strong shield of religion. Taking into consideration how useful, and even salutary and essential the tribunal of the faith is, it is the intention of Pius IV. now to extend its powers, and he therefore now confirms the Cardinal Inquisitors in their office for all Christendom. The crimes of heresy, Protestantism and Anabaptism especially come under their authority, as well as apostasy from the faith, together with witchcraft, it if be heretical, and lastly the prevention of these crimes, even though they be committed by persons of the highest rank, though bishops, Cardinals, and persons of royal rank retain the privilege that only the conduct of the trial shall belong to the Inquisition, and that the passing of sentence shall pertain to the Pope alone. In all other cases even the passing of the sentence shall belong to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and when they cannot all be present, the judgment of two of their number shall suffice. The Cardinals of the tribunal of the faith have further the power of appointing

Dolera, and Reumano, but not Ghislieri, because he was not then in Rome (CARCERERI, Grimani, 32). Later on Mula was also appointed to the Inquisition (GIROL. SORANZO, 100). At the end of 1560, contrary to his wishes, Seripando was added to the Inquisition ; in March, 1561, he had to give his opinion on the cases of Carnesecchi and Grimani (MERKLE, II., 462, 536). That Morone, before his departure for Trent, should have become a member of the "Consejo de la Inquisición," was looked upon by the Spanish ambassador Vargas as a "terrible escândalo." Cicada too was placed on the Inquisition. Vargas to Philip II. April 6, 1563, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 513.

deputies to discharge their functions, of dismissing them, and of calling in the aid of the secular arm. Those who show themselves repentant must first, in public or in private, renounce their errors, and promise on oath that they will not relapse, or countenance any similar crimes; after a penance has been imposed upon them, they may be absolved from heresy and censures, set free from the penalties which they have incurred, reconciled to the Church, and restored to their former state and office. A special mitigation of penalties is provided for those who spontaneously submit themselves to the Inquisition, even in the case of those who have relapsed. The supreme Roman tribunal can appoint, depose, and punish the commissaries and inquisitors anywhere in Christendom, and it has in general the right to do all that may be necessary for the proper discharge of its functions. It may summon to its assistance even the prelates and doctors of theology or law.

The fact that this decree thus once again gave the Inquisition powers over even the Cardinals and bishops, was, from the point of view of medieval law, an innovation,[1] which, however, was justified by the changed conditions of the times. About a fortnight later this decree was made even more severe by a motuproprio of October 31st, 1562,[2] which expressly referred to the sad experiences of recent times, when even some of those who ought to have stood out "as walls of Israel, had forgotten their duty and had listened to the wild statements of the enemy, and taken their part." Therefore the judges of the faith are commanded once more to take proceedings against bishops, though of the highest rank, and Cardinals, as soon as they show any signs of heretical opinions, and since the prelates against whom this command was aimed lived out of Rome, in places out of reach of the Inquisition, it was ordered on April 7th in the following year[3] that a summons to appear in Rome by the posting of an edict in certain fixed places in the city was sufficient notice even in the case of

[1] See HINSCHIUS, V., 474.

[2] *Barb. 1502, p. 182–7; 1503, p. 89–93, Vatican Library, see Appendix, n. 29.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 249–51.

bishops of the highest rank. Those summoned were obliged to present themselves in person in Rome, under penalty of excommunication, suspension, and forfeiture of their benefices. If they did not appear, the Inquisition was empowered to proceed against them even in their absence.

Before two years had passed the Pope, by a motuproprio of August 2nd, 1564,[1] formed a new congregation of Cardinals for the affairs of the Inquisition, on which only three of those who had been appointed on October 14th, 1562, were to be found. The number of Cardinal Inquisitors, it is here stated, is too large, and those who are appointed cannot all easily meet together. On account of the number of trials pending, as well as of those who repent, the discharge of all the duties of the Inquisition takes too much time, and is too protracted. Moreover, under Paul III. and Julius III. only five or at most six Cardinals were charged with the direction of the supreme tribunal of the faith, and it is essential, especially in the case of the Inquisition, that trials should be carried through with promptitude. Therefore, for the future only the following eight Cardinals were to be in charge of the Inquisition: Saraceni, Cicada, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera, Simonetta, Borromeo and Vitelli.[2] With the exception of the cases of bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, dukes, kings, and cardinals, this commission could give the final sentence in all trials; it

[1] *Barb. 1502, p. 187–94; 1503, p. 93–9, Vatican Library; see Appendix, n. 37. Pius IV. refers to this decree in the motuproprio printed in Bull. Rom., VII., 298 *seq.*

[2] With the exception of Borromeo, the names of the same Cardinals are given as Inquisitors General in a decree of the Inquisition of June 18, 1564 (Pastor, Dekrete, 25), in which (*ibid.*, 26) the number of the inquisitors is expressly stated as 7. *" N.S. ha sminuita la congregatione della inquisitione et de molti cardinali che vi erano l'ha ridotta a sette, due theologhi che sono Alessandrino et Araceli, et gli altri legisti, che sono Saraceno, S. Clemente, Reomano, Vitelli et Simonetta." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua [without the day of the month] (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *report of Galeazzo Cusano of June 17, 1564 (State Archives, Vienna).

was to have the same rights as those previously granted to it by the Popes.[1] The congregation was to meet at least once a week, at the palace of the senior member, or in that of some other Cardinal. All that it, or the majority of its members, should decide was to have the same authority as if it had been done by the former congregation or by the Pope himself. The Governor of Rome and the officials of the State were bound under pain of excommunication to obey the inquisitors in all that pertained to their office ; the civil princes were exhorted to show favour to the representatives of the tribunal of the faith, and to give them their assistance. When persons were accused before the Inquisition who were already in prison on account of some other crime, even if they had been imprisoned for some grave offence, they must first be brought before the Inquisition, and only after their case had been tried by that body were they to be taken back to prison and handed over to the other courts. The Papal secretaries were to give their services gratuitously to the Holy Office.

Later on Cardinal Alciati was added to the number of the eight Inquisitors General, and his appointment was confirmed by a brief, in which the earlier regulation concerning decrees made by a majority of the Inquisition was explained to mean that the decrees made by the Cardinals present at any session of the Inquisition were to have the force of law.[2]

For the most part, the only things known of the activities of the Inquisition are those trials which ended in a public

[1] Here the Pope mentions as decrees by which he had himself given faculties to the Inquisition, those of October 31, 1562 (see *supra* p. 311), October 14, 1562 (*supra* p. 312), and April 7, 1563 (*supra* p. 311). Since all these documents are in existence, we may feel sure that we know of all the more important decrees of Pius IV. concerning the Inquisition down to the end of August, 1564.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 298 *seq.* The brief is not dated, but it appears to be subsequent to August 27, 1564, since in a brief of that date the names of the eight Inquisitors General are given but without the name of Alciati. *Cf.* PANVINIUS, De creatione Pii IV. (MERKLE, II., 599), where the nine Cardinal Inquisitors are named, and certainly on the strength of the decree in question.

abjuration or condemnation. The Papal decree of October 14th, 1562, makes mention, however, of another field of activity on the part of the Holy Office, which was perhaps more extensive and important. This lay in the fact that when persons who knew that they were guilty of heresy repented and went to the tribunal of the faith, the Inquisitors General had faculties which were denied to ordinary confessors ; they could secretly absolve the offenders and reconcile them to the Church without scandal, or the loss of their reputation and position.[1]

From the facts which are so far at our disposal, or from other sources, it is difficult to arrive at any considerable knowledge of this side of the activities of the Inquisition, though it is hinted at in a decree of the tribunal of March 12th, 1565.[2] This concerns certain members of the Franciscan order who found themselves in the circumstances mentioned, and they were allowed to present themselves before a tribunal of the Inquisition composed of the Procurator-General of their Order, Felice Peretti, the future Sixtus V., the other members also all being Franciscans. With the exception of those who had relapsed, all who belonged to the Order might make their abjuration in secret before this tribunal and suitable witnesses, and thus be reconciled to the Church. All the acts, however,

[1] The Inquisitors General have the power " Ecclesiae catholicae omni abolita infamia reconciliandi " such persons " et pristino statui atque officio et habilitati restituendi " (brief of October 14, 1562, par. 8, Bull. Rom., VII., 238). An exception is made, however, in the case of priests, even though they have made their abjuration in private ; they may not hear the confessions of the laity any more (decrees of September 2, 1562, and November 15, 1565, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 24. 28. As I have since discovered, these two decrees are given in A. DIANA, Opera omnia, Lyons, 1667, 579, and *ibid.*, 577–80 others of the decrees of Paul IV. and Pius IV. concerning the Inquisition which I have published are also printed). Subjects of the kingdom of Naples are not to have leave to return thither even after a purely secret abjuration (decree of September 21, 1563, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 25).

[2] PASTOR, Dekrete, 27.

relating to their case had to be sent to the Holy Office and submitted to the members of that tribunal.

The proceedings were to a great extent absolutely private, because the congregation wished to keep the way to secret abjuration open. Under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope and the Holy Office the strictest silence had to be observed to externs on all that concerned the Inquisition[1] and it was only with the express permission of the supreme tribunal that the acts of trials held by the Inquisition could be referred to other courts.[2]

This secrecy, however, was not to serve as a screen, and the procedure was therefore strictly regulated. During the reign of Pius IV., in addition to the Papal ordinances, a decree of the Inquisition of June 18th, 1564, is of special importance in this respect.[3] The spirit in which the inquisitors are to act is shown in the first regulation, which orders that first of all the assistance of the Holy Ghost is to be invoked. Under pain of excommunication the members are forbidden to write anything either in favour of or against the accused. The accused may be allowed to have a defender, who may only exercise that office after he has been asked for, and has sworn to make use of no unlawful means and to abandon the cause of his client should the latter prove himself to be an obstinate heretic. He may give his assistance to repentant heretics ; if he knows of any accomplices he must denounce them. The accused has the right to dictate his depositions, and if he does not wish to do this his depositions must be read to him after the inquiry, or at the latest on the following day. The cases before the tribunal are to be distributed in order among the seven Inquisitors General, each of whom may call upon the assistance of the consultors appointed by the Pope. The Grand Inquisitor has, in case of necessity, a certain discretion concerning orders of imprisonment, and in answering letters on arrival, but he must give a report to his colleagues as to what he has

[1] Decrees of January 25, 1560 and June 18, 1564, *ibid.*, 24, 25.

[2] Decree of February 24, 1562, *ibid.*, 24.

[3] Decree of February 24, 1562, *ibid.*, 25 *seq.*

done, and is in general bound to conform in his replies by letter to their wishes. Release from the prisons of the Inquisition is to be made only with the consent of the whole congregation; in a case of necessity the votes of each of the Cardinals are to be taken at their own houses. The Cardinal in charge of a case may arrange for the attachment of accomplices and witnesses, but he must give an account of his conduct at the next meeting of the congregation. Those in prison are to be visited every month.[1]

Other decrees fixed the fees for the officials and executioners of the Holy Office.[2] A measure that told in favour of the accused was the order that all the inquisitors abroad must read over the depositions of the witnesses in the presence of the accused before they pronounced sentence.[3] Torture might be resorted to if plain answers were not given, or if replies were refused altogether.[4]

Pius IV. took little personal part, even in the drafting of the Papal decrees concerning the Inquisition. "His Holiness," the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo,[5] wrote in 1563, "has made no study of theology, and therefore cannot take part in the proceedings of the Inquisition with any personal authority: he is wont to say that he is content to leave all kinds of business to those to whom it is entrusted. And though it is well known that he does not much care for the great strictness with which the Inquisitors generally act, and that he has given it to be understood that he would be better pleased if, instead of behaving like strict monks they would rather act like courteous noblemen, he nevertheless does not

[1] At these visits the prisoners had the right to protest against their treatment. *Cf.* the report of a visit to the prisons on August 18, 1561, in A. Bertolotti, Le prigioni di Roma nei secoli XVI., XVII. e XVIII, Rome, 1890, 14 (extract from the Rivista di discipline carcerarie, XX).

[2] Decrees of September 14, November 16, and December 20, 1564, in Pastor, 26 *seq.*

[3] Decree of October 20, 1562, *ibid.*, 25.

[4] Decree of September 10, 1560, *ibid.*, 24.

[5] Albèri, II., 4, 74.

dare to oppose himself to their judgment, or at any rate does not like to do so, and very rarely interferes, so that for the most part their decisions are approved by him."

The Council of Trent, as well as the Pope, did not altogether approve of the strictness of the Inquisition. In a letter to Rome, the legates of the Council openly expressed their opinion that the conditions of the time called for a procedure marked by gentleness and charity, so that those who had strayed might be brought to understand that what was desired was their return to a good life and to ecclesiastical unity, and that the Church, like a kind and loving mother, was holding out her arms to them.[1] Similar sentiments were to be expected from the Council itself, as being a last attempt to restore the unity of Christendom. Just as after the death of Paul IV. the Council had promised a mitigation of the Index, so it was to be expected that it could and would show greater indulgence than the ordinary ecclesiastical tribunals in dealing with apostates from the Church. Accordingly, on May 11th, 1561, two Polish Dominicans, who had made their studies at Bologna and were about to return to their own country, told the legates that many heretics in Poland would have been reconciled to the Church if they had not feared the shame of a public abjuration. The legates thereupon agreed to their request, which Cardinal Ghislieri had refused, that certain trustworthy ecclesiastics in Poland should be given faculties to reconcile such persons to the Church with only a secret abjuration. The presidents of the Council had not the power

[1] "Niun altra cosa ci indusse ritrovandoci qui sulla porta della Germania a procurare d' havere quel Breve dalla Santità di N. S. di potere cognoscere le cause degli heretici, si non l' opinione che havevamo, che a questi tempi non si convenisse usare del rigore, anzi che fosse necessario con dolci et amorevoli maniere mostrare desiderio che gli sviati ritornassero sulla buona via, et si riunissero alla Chiesa santa, dando loro a conoscere ch' ella come benigna et pietosa Madre stava colle braccia aperte per riceve li tutti con carità." The legates to Borromeo (in the trial of the Genoese, A. Centurioni), March 8, 1563, published by CARCERERI in Archivio Trentino, XXI. (1906), 78.

to grant this faculty, but they had recourse to Rome to obtain it for themselves, and to give it to others.[1] Pius IV. granted their request, saving the rights of the Inquisition; not even the Council must interfere in the trials which would naturally come before that tribunal.[2] When the legates objected that such a limitation made the concession almost useless, since almost all those who would have recourse to Trent had come into the hands of the Inquisition,[3] the Pope amplified the faculties which he had granted in such a way that it only tied the hands of the legates in the case of the Roman Inquisition, but did not apply to accusations which had been made before other tribunals of faith.[4] Anyone, therefore, who had been summoned before the Roman tribunal could only, as had been the case before, be absolved at Trent in virtue of a special Papal brief.

After the Council had issued an invitation to those who had separated themselves from the Church, and had given them a full safe-conduct, some of them actually appeared at Trent and were reconciled to the Church, as, for example, a Genoese merchant, Agostino Centurione,[5] but for various reasons, there was an unwillingness in Rome to send other accused persons before the more gentle tribunal of the Council. The humanist, Ludovico Castelvetro, who, during his trial before the Inquisition in 1559, had fled from Rome and taken

[1] The legates to Borromeo, May 12, 1561, in Šusta, I., 19 *seqq.*

[2] Borromeo sent the brief on May 24, 1561, in Šusta, I., 21.

[3] The legates to Borromeo, July 31, 1561, *ibid.*, 63.

[4] Brief of August 8, 1561, in Theiner, I., 669; *cf.* Šusta, I., 64.

[5] Absolved on April 7, 1563. Carcereri in Archivio Tridentino, XXI. (1906), 65-99 (with printed account of the trial, p. 79-99). *Cf.* Šusta, III., 155, 175, 186, 247 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*, 280. The Cardinals of the Inquisition disapproved of the leniency of the Council; in general they considered it harmful to the reputation of the Inquisition to refer trials for heresy to the assembly at Trent (Šusta, IV., 379). For the trial of V. Marchesi, who in spite of the protests of Ghislieri, was sent to Trent, where he probably was judged lightly, *f.* Šusta, IV., 379, and Carcereri in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 89-93.

refuge in the Grisons, vainly sought to have his cause heard at Trent; the legates of the Council were informed that he must appear in Rome, at least for a secret abjuration.[1] A similar request in the case of the apostate monk, Pietro Scotti, was even more definitely refused.[2] The ex-Dominican, Jacopo Paleologo (Mascellara) of Chios, who had relapsed three times into heresy, several times escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition, and at the beginning of 1562 had asked to have his case tried by the nuncio to France, Cardinal Este,[3] was sent back from Rome to Trent, where his haughty behaviour caused so much scandal that in September, 1562, Bishops Foscarari and Pavesi, refused to have anything more to do with him.[4]

The attitude of the Pope as well as that of the Council of Trent towards the Holy Office is illustrated by the celebrated trial of Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, before the Inquisition.[5] When Soranzo speaks of the reserve of Pius IV.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 282; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 167 *seq.* Borromeo to Gonzaga, September 20, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 76. *Cf.* SANDONNINI, Lod. Castelvetro e la sua famiglia, Bologna, 1882; Opere varie critiche di Lod. Castelvetro colla vita dell' autore da L. A. MURATORI, Verona, 1727; Hist.-pol. Blätter, CXX. (1897), 813 *seq.*

[2] CARCERERI in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 87.

[3] Santa Croce to Borromeo, January 21, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 382.

[4] ŠUSTA, III., 11. Paleologo was summoned to Rome on July 1, 1562, and was brought before the Inquisition there; the Pope himself took an interest in his case (ŠUSTA, II., 258). In spite of this they had his cause under consideration at Trent later on (*ibid.*, III., 9 *seq.* *cf.* STEINHERZ, Briefe, 107, and NUNTIATUR, IV., 117). The "frivolous monk" fled to Prague; he was at last beheaded in Rome in 1585, after he had become reconciled to the Church. ORANO, 68, 72.

[5] *Cf.* CARCERERI, Grimani, 26 *seqq.* For the trial, besides the special monographs of Carcereri and de Leva, *cf.* CECCHETTI, I., 33 *seqq.*; 49 *seqq.* ŠUSTA, II., 66 *seq.* PALLAVICINI, 21, 7, 8; 22, 3, 10 *seq.*, and 11, 1; MENDOÇA, 692; BONDONUS, 570; *Processus in causa Ioannis Grimani patriarchae Aquileiensis, in Cod. Barb. XXXIV, 34 (Vatican Library), and Rossiana Library, Vienna. Some documents in I. H. SERRY, Hist. Congregationum de auxiliis divinae gratiae, Venice, 1740. For Grimani's attitude towards the Lutherans, *cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 287, 381.

in all matters that concerned the Inquisition, he is evidently alluding in a special way to his experiences as ambassador in Rome in connection with this trial.[1]

During 1549 a Lenten preacher at Udine had expressed himself in a way that occasioned wonder and scandal among the faithful upon a question that was just then being eagerly discussed everywhere, namely, the divine predestination to eternal life.[2] The vicar-general referred the matter to the patriarch, who replied in a letter of April 17th, in which he defended the preacher, and sought to reconcile the doctrine with the freedom of the human will.[3] The matter would in all probability have been forgotten if the Signoria had not in the following year suggested the patriarch for the Cardinal's hat, as being a prelate who was worthy of that dignity. In order to have "for safety's sake" two representatives for the patriarchate of Venice, the senate at the same time desired Grimani to resign, by way of the *regressus*, in favour of somebody else, which the patriarch did on December 17th, 1550.

In the meantime disturbing rumours as to Grimani's orthodoxy had reached Rome. His physician, Susio della Mirandola, had been brought before the Roman Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, but had been declared to be innocent.[4]

[1] This is proved by comparing the report cited *supra* p. 316, n. 5, with the other reports of Soranzo on the Grimani case. *Cf.* CARCERERI, 26 *seqq.*

[2] Appealing to St. Thomas Aquinas, he established the proposition "che il predestinato da Dio non può dannarsi, nè il prescito salvarsi." CARCERERI, 5.

[3] Latin translation of the letter in SERRY, App. 3-8. For the date (1549 and not 1547, as in ŠUSTA, II., 66) and the manuscripts of the letter, *cf.* CARCERERI, 6, n. 2.

[4] DE LEVA, Grimani 413, and "Su due lettere del cardinal di Trani al Patriarcha di Aquileja G. Grimani," in the Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Series 5, VII, Venice, 1881. It was rumoured later on that Grimani had received Vergerio in his house, and that an heretical monk was his teacher. *Cf.* ŠUSTA, II., 66, and Grimani's defence in DE LEVA, Grimani, 451 *seq.*, where there are also particulars of his journey to Rome and the *canonica purgatione.*

Grimani went of his own accord to Rome, and submitted himself to an inquiry before the Inquisition, and to the so-called canonical "purgatio." It was seen that he was innocent, but at the same time it did not seem possible to admit to the Sacred College a man who had been before the supreme tribunal of faith on the suspicion of heresy. All the waters of the Tiber, Julius III. had said, were not enough to wash out such a stain, since the fact of the accusation can never be removed.[1]

Pius IV. alone seemed inclined to pay attention to the insistence of the Signoria. During the first months following his election he had promised that he intended to take the wishes of the Signoria into consideration in the creation of Cardinals, and in October, 1560, there had followed a formal promise to nominate Grimani at the next creation.[2]

Grimani thus had the best reasons for hoping to be admitted to the senate of the Church at the coming creation of Cardinals on February 26th, 1561, when once more he imprudently put forward his views as to predestination and the foreknowledge of God. Grimani's letter of April 17th, 1549, had been sent to the Inquisition, and Cardinal Ghislieri had pointed out in it a number of propositions as being scandalous, heretical, or suspect;[3] the letter, moreover, had been widely circulated,[4] and was calculated to help the spread of Protestant ideas. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the moment to think of the promotion of the patriarch to the cardinalate. The fact that the Venetian ambassador Mula defended his protégé in audiences on February 21st and 22nd was of no

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 224. It would appear that Grimani's letter was not at that time in the hands of the Inquisition. CARCERERI, 15 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 11 *seq.*

[3] The document in CARCERERI, 15 *seq.*; and rather differently in SERRY, xlv.

[4] "Essendo la lettera andata per tutte le parti del mondo," said Pius IV. to Soranzo, in CARCERERI, 32.

avail,[1] nor that a special congregation of theologians, presided over in person by the Pope, to consider the case of the future Cardinal Seripando, pronounced favourably upon the letter of Grimani,[2] nor that in that same congregation the patriarch threw himself in tears at the Pope's feet, nor that Mula on the morning of February 26th, immediately before the creation, proposed to the Pope, as a way out of the difficulty, that he should nominate him *in petto* :[3] the sentence of the theologians, upon whom everything depended, in spite of all the demands of courtesy, ordered the patriarch to present himself before the Inquisition and submit himself to an interrogatory as to his beliefs, and though, at the end of the consistory of February 26th, Pius IV. allowed the Cardinals to state that they intended to vote for the elevation of Grimani,[4] even this was attached to conditions which Grimani would not accept.

Almost five months of negotiations followed. Mula himself had received the purple on February 26th, and Girolamo Soranzo had succeeded him as the representative of the republic, a special agent for the nomination of Grimani, Formenti, having also been appointed. With the help of these two men Grimani persisted in his efforts to be allowed to justify himself in writing, but the Cardinals of the Inquisition on their part persisted in their claim that an oral interrogatory of the patriarch must be held, so that at any rate they might be able to ask for an explanation of the not very clear statements in his written reply.[5]

At length, on August 19th, 1561, the Pope held a sitting of the Inquisition to consider the case of Grimani, after which

[1] CARCERERI, 15 *seq.* On February 21, the Pope said to Mula : " Il fare un cardinale è fare una persona, che possa esser papa per amor di Dio si guardi bene ciò che si fa ; " *ibid.*, 102. On February 25 Pius IV. declared that they were not trying to condemn Grimani, but only wished to exclude him from the cardinalate.

[2] CARCERERI, 17 *seq.*, Seripando in MERKLE, II., 463.

[3] CARCERERI, 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 20 ; *cf.* 102.

[5] *Ibid.*, 22-35.

he caused the patriarch to be brought in, and told him that out of special consideration for the Signoria, he would be satisfied with a reply in writing, which Grimani was told to draw up at once in the presence of four theologians. The patriarch sought to excuse himself on the ground of the difficulty of the case and his lack of books. But his case was not one that was concerned with abstruse theological speculations, but only with a dogma of the Church, with which, as a bishop, he ought to be well acquainted, and which could be expressed in a few simple propositions.[1] The Pope therefore insisted on his demand. The patriarch was given a list of the propositions which had given scandal, drawn from his letter of 1549, and was told that he must show that they were in agreement with the teaching of the Catholic religion. On September 11th a commission of theologians gave its opinion on the case, which was read to the Pope and the Cardinals of the Inquisition on the 16th.[2] The verdict of the theologians was unfavourable,[3] and the Pope decided that Grimani must be interrogated on the point of faith, and a process opened against him by the Inquisition as in other cases. The Signoria in consequence desisted for the moment from any further pressure in favour of the patriarch, who left Rome without taking his leave of the Pope.[4]

In spite of all this Grimani did not rest, and in March, 1562, it was learned in Rome, from the Venetian ambassador, that he was thinking of submitting his case to the Council of Trent.[5]

Although the Pope had given the Council full faculties for the absolution of heretics by his brief of August 8th, 1561, this

[1] The denunciations of De Leva are therefore out of place (419 *seq.*).

[2] CARCERERI, 35-41.

[3] *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.* See the vote of Lainez in GRISAR, Disput., II., 137-52; that of Felice Peretti, *ibid.*, 52. *Only the Bishop of Alife gave a favourable vote, in the sense that he passed over the apologia of Grimani, and said that everything in the letter could be understood in a correct sense.

[4] CARCERERI, 44 *seqq.*

[5] Borromeo to the legates, March 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 65.

concession did not apply to the case of Grimani, since his trial was pending before the Roman Inquisition, and the Council had no authority to deal with such cases.[1] Therefore, in spite of further intervention on the part of the Signoria, the Pope would not allow this fresh move on the part of Grimani.[2] Grimani's claim, so he informed the nuncio in Venice and the legates of the Council, was baseless, and was not in keeping with the dignity of the Roman See or with the canons; if he were to persist in it, it would be fatal to him.[3] He therefore sent to the nuncio in Venice a summons for Grimani to appear before the Roman Inquisition, which was to be delivered to him before he set out for Trent.[4] Fresh remonstrances on the part of the Signoria only wrung from the Pope the concession that Grimani should go to Rome to be judged by the whole College of Cardinals, or by a full meeting of the Inquisition.[5] Pius IV. adhered to his resolution[6] even when the legates of the Council recommended that Grimani's writings should be examined at Trent and his cause decided in Rome on the basis of that examination.[7]

The matter went no further for several months, until the question was once again brought forward by a petition from Friuli to the Signoria.[8] The present state of doubt as to the orthodoxy of the bishop, so this petition states, is a source of grave injury to the whole diocese; the Signoria should therefore take steps at the Council for the settlement of this question, which had now been so long pending. At length Pius IV. gave way before the insistence of the Venetian representatives; when Morone and Navagero started for Trent to replace the dead legates Gonzaga and Seripando, the Pope

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 317 *seq.*

[2] CARCERERI, 47 *seqq.*

[3] Borromeo to the legates, March 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 65.

[4] CARCERERI, 50 *seq.* *cf.* 52, 53; ŠUSTA, II., 202.

[5] CARCERERI, 51.

[6] Pius IV. to the legates June 11, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 201 *seq.*

[7] Letter from the legates to the Pope, June 1, 1562, ŠUSTA, II., 173 *seq.*

[8] Extract in SERRY, App. 13 *seq.* CARCERERI, 58 *seq.*

gave them the writings of Grimani for examination at Trent.[1] The patriarch accordingly went to Trent on June 18th, 1563, and, accompanied by twenty prelates, presented himself before the presidents of the Council.[2]

Contrary to all expectations, however, the settlement of this long disputed question met with difficulties from the legates of the Council, who, on June 22nd, declared to the Venetian orators that in order to be able to pronounce sentence in Grimani's case they must have faculties given them by a special Papal brief.[3] As soon as he heard of this reply on the part of the legates Pius IV. sent them instructions by a special courier to meet the wishes of the Signoria in the matter of Grimani in every way.[4] In accordance with these instructions great freedom was given to the orators of the Signoria as well as to the patriarch himself, to use their influence in the selection of the prelates who were to act as judges, and the Pope declared himself satisfied with the list that was submitted to him.[5] The final sitting of this judicial body was held on August 13th, and on September 17th the sentence was pronounced.[6]

Grimani had been wise in his generation when he thought that he would meet with greater kindness from the assembly at Trent. Even his judges at Trent, however, declared that all

[1] CARCERERI, 60; CECCHETTI, II., 50.

[2] CARCERERI, 63; ŠUSTA, IV., 86 *seq.* The absence of Grimani from the Council had already impressed the Spaniards; see letter of the Venetian envoys of March 9, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 33.

[3] The legates to Borromeo, June 22, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 92-5. The Council of Ten to its envoys in Rome, June 28, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 50 *seq.*

[4] The Pope's letter of July 11, 1563, in CARCERERI, 89. A special brief followed, but since the letter of July 11 was more favourable to Grimani, the latter was made the basis of the negotiations and the brief was kept back; *ibid.*, 69. *Cf.* the reports of the Venetian envoys of July 9 and 12, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 34 *seq.*

[5] CARCERERI, 70 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 75 *seq.* BONDONUS, 569 *seq.* The general sense of this sentence in CARCERERI, 97-9; *Cf.* THEINER, II., 410; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 137.

was not as it should be in the two statements of the patriarch, and in their final decision they stated that the two documents should not be published because several matters contained in them were not very clearly treated and explained. Otherwise it was decided that his explanations were capable of a sound interpretation. It was therefore declared that Grimani's letter and apologia were neither heretical nor suspect of heresy, nor would they give scandal so long as they were understood in the right sense.[1]

In Rome, in spite of the fact that Cardinal Borromeo sent the patriarch his congratulations, there was but little satisfaction at the result of the inquiry. In spite of the repeated demands of the Signoria,[2] Grimani did not even now receive the red hat. Nor was he recognized as the legitimate patriarch because he had not received the pallium from Rome, and was still thinking of having his case brought anew before the Roman Inquisition.[3] On hearing of the death of Pius IV. Grimani set out at once for Rome, in order to press his claims before the conclave to be treated as a Cardinal, to which dignity he claimed to have been appointed, but he returned home as soon as he heard that Ghislieri had been elected.[4]

Like the Roman Holy Office, the Spanish Inquisition also frequently found itself in touch with and in opposition to the General Council at Trent.

[1] Litteras . . . cum Apologia iunctas non esse haereticas, seu de haeresi suspectas, neque sic declaratas esse scandalosas, non tamen divulgandas propter nonnulla difficilia minus exacte in eis tractata et explicata (CARCERERI, 99). *Cf.* A. BATTISTELLA, L'assolurione del patr. Giov. Grimani, Cividale, 1914.

[2] CECCHETTI, II., 54 *seq.*, 56 *seqq.*, 60 *seq.*

[3] CARCERERI, 80-5.

[4] Pius V., like Gregory XIII., refused him both purple and pallium. Sixtus V. did the same at a sitting of the Inquisition on October 24, 1585, and imposed perpetual silence on the patriarch's wishes; he died at the age of 92 in 1593, as Patriarch of Aquileia. It was his continued insistence which especially lost him his heart's desire (CARCERERI, 85-7). For the attitude of Pius V. to Grimani *cf.* GOTHEIN, 527, 539.

When the Council had it in mind to invite the Protestants to Trent, it had thought of extending the safe-conduct in such a way as to include in its invitation all those who had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition.[1] It very soon occurred, however, to the legates that the Spaniards and the Roman Inquisition would not be at all satisfied with this arrangement,[2] and indeed in Rome they pointed out that on the strength of the proposed safe-conduct even those who were imprisoned by the Inquisition might claim the right of appealing to Trent,[3] while the Spanish envoy at the Council made urgent request that this should not apply to the Spanish Inquisition, because it would be the ruin of Spain.[4] The safe-conduct, when it was at last issued on March 4th, 1562, did not, as a matter of fact, contain any mention of those who were accused before the Holy Office. In order to safeguard the dignity of the Council against the claims of the Spanish Inquisition, they hit upon the expedient, after long negotiations with Rome, of making each nation at Trent name two prelates who were to examine into and decide whether the cases of their countrymen accused before the Inquisition should be referred to Trent.[5]

The sensitiveness with which the Spanish Inquisition sought to protect its rights may be seen especially in the discussions, already begun in the time of Paul IV., which

[1] *Cf.* the draft of the safe-conduct, in Šusta, I., 146.

[2] The legates to Borromeo, January 4, 1562, *ibid.*, 149.

[3] *Cf.* the observations made in Rome as to the original form of the safe-conduct, *ibid.*, II., 3.

[4] "Ci ha pregati strettamente il signor marchese di Pescara che non la vogliamo toccare, assicurandoci che sarebbe un ruinare tutto quel regno." The legates to Borromeo, March 23, 1562, in Šusta, II., 63. For the "great scandal" taken in Spain at the steps taken by the Council, *cf.* Mendoça, under date March 2, 1562, in Mérkle, II., 637.

[5] The legates to Borromeo, March 5, 1562, in Šusta, II., 41. The correspondence with Rome on the subject, *ibid.*, 49, 58, 62. The final decision of the Pope in a letter from Borromeo to the legates, April 1, 1562, *ibid.*, 75 *seq.*

took place as to the orthodoxy of the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza.[1]

Thinking that the process against the archbishop would be ended in a few months,[3] Pius IV. had, at the beginning of his pontificate, granted faculties to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Valdés, to conduct it, and had removed the possibility of difficulties, if the powers granted had to be transferred to subordinate judges, by entrusting the nomination of the judges to the king himself. The passing of the final sentence, however, was reserved to the Pope.[3] The discussion of the case against the imprisoned archbishop was then resumed. For the moment the Pope could do nothing to hasten matters because the reserve of the Spanish Inquisition had not even allowed it to inform them in Rome of the points of accusation which had been made; it was therefore only possible to give the nuncio Crivelli, who was sent to Spain at the end of 1561, general instructions upon the subject; he was told that he must be careful not to offend the king, that he must be satisfied if he could protect the archibshop from unjust treatment, that he was to try and induce the Inquisition to report to Rome, and that he must safeguard the right of the Pope to pronounce the final sentence.[4] It would seem that until then they had cherished the hope in Spain that they would be able to bring the whole affair to a conclusion by means of the Spanish Inquisition alone.[5] From the beginning of his nunciature Crivelli tried to have the acts of the trial reported to Rome, but he had to be content with fair promises.[6]

Paolo Odescalchi, who was sent to Spain as envoy extra-

[1] *Cf.* Vol., XIV of this work, p. 315 *seq.*

[2] "Credendo di poter in pochi mesi venir a la sentenza." Borromeo to the legates, November 14, 1562, in Šusta, III., 75.

[3] Briefs of May 5 and July 3, 1560, in Raynaldus, 1560, n. 22, 23.

[4] Instructions for Crivelli, December 8, 1561, in Šusta, I., 316.

[5] Report of Giulio Costantini of the end of 1561, *ibid.*, 319.

[6] Crivelli to Borromeo, June 8, 1562, in Šusta, II., 484.

ordinary in June, 1562, fared no better.[1] The king told him that it was a very important matter, and that he must therefore proceed very carefully; as soon as the examination of the witnesses was completed, which would be the case very shortly, copies of the evidence would be sent to Rome.[2] Odescalchi, however, received the impression that the Inquisition was exceeding its powers. Carranza's defender, the celebrated moralist Azpilqueta, was arrested in his own house by that tribunal because he had publicly stated the innocence of his client. At the court many people looked upon the whole affair as a mere piece of persecution, and said that the trial would go on for a long time because as long as it lasted the revenues of the archbishopric would go into the royal treasury;[3] out of these revenues Carranza did not even receive the 10,000 ducats reserved to him while in prison by the order of the Pope, in order that, as Odescalchi was informed, the archbishop should not be able to bribe the Curia![4]

In the meantime, however, the friends of Carranza were not remaining inactive. At the beginning of October, 1562, they were in possession of a Papal brief in his favour, and they had recourse to Odescalchi so that he might deliver this to the principal judge, Zuñiga, Archbishop of Santiago. Odescalchi went, accompanied by a notary, to Zuñiga, but the latter refused to accept the brief, saying that it must first be presented to the king. If Odescalchi had agreed to do this, one of two things must have happened: either the royal council would have discussed the brief at endless length, or the king would have forbidden its delivery, since, as Odescalchi wrote to Rome in August, all Madrid was

[1] His duties with regard to Carranza in his instructions of June 3, 1562, *ibid.*, 478 *seq.*

[2] Odescalchi, July 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 514.

[3] Odescalchi to Borromeo, July 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 513, and Corresp. dipl., II., ix, n. 3.

[4] "Che non se gli diano, perchè dicono che con quelli se non servirà a corrompere la corte di Roma." Odescalchi, August 3, 1562, in Šusta, II., 522.

trying to ruin the poor archbishop, whose revenues had been his undoing. Odescalchi tried to induce Zuñiga by arguments, to accept the brief, but in vain; he was told that he must make up his mind to present the Papal letter to the king.[1] The result of his attempts is shown in an autograph letter from Philip to Pius IV., of October 16th, 1562,[2] which is highly significant of the Spanish caesaro-papalism. The king, this letter says, has heard from Odescalchi that the Pope has sent a certain letter concerning the affair of the Archbishop of Toledo. His Holiness is aware of the care taken by the king that justice shall be carried out with all possible speed and equity in the execution of the Pope's instructions; he can therefore only feel surprise that the Pope, on the strength of unauthorized reports, should have given instructions on the subject without waiting for information from the king, since Philip is always careful to inform His Holiness of everything that he should know. For this and other reasons he has advised Odescalchi not to pay any attention to the brief; the king begs the Pope not to take this amiss, and to issue no orders until the reports of the trial are sent to him.

Cardinal Borromeo sent Philip's letter to Trent, so that the Council might see how far things had gone, and to prove to it that the Pope could not do any more for the archbishop unless he were willing to bring about a rupture with the Spanish king.[3]

After vainly making application to Philip II.,[4] Carranza had actually turned to Trent for help. There, in October, 1562, a monk made his appearance as his representative, and presented to the fathers a memorial in which the imprisoned archbishop begged the fathers of the Council to

[1] Odescalchi to Borromeo, October 5, 1562, in Šusta, II., 387.

[2] *Ibid.*, 386.

[3] Borromeo to the legates, November 21, 1562, in Šusta, III., 88.

[4] Laugwitz, 75.

intervene on his behalf with the Pope.[1] Borromeo, however, on receipt of Carranza's memorial, was only able to reply to the legates that, in spite of all efforts to hasten the trial, they had not yet even been able to obtain the copies of the depositions of the witnesses which they had so often asked for. The Pope did not know what to do; the fathers of the Council must decide for themselves whether it was wise to come to a rupture with the Spanish king, and to prefer the interests of an individual to the general well-being of the Church.[2] Seripando seemed to be right when he said that it was impossible to come to the assistance of Carranza either at Trent or in Rome.[3]

After the middle of 1563, however, the affair was brought a little nearer to a decision. Guzmán, a doctor of law, arrived in Rome from Spain in order to make a report of the progress of the trial.[4] Carranza's friends indeed declared that Guzmán's account must be treated with suspicion, as not being impartial,[5] but Pius IV. thought that at any rate it was clear that the imprisonment of the archbishop could not be said to be unjust, though in other respects he adhered firmly to his determination to reserve the final sentence to himself, while, in order to secure the production of the evidence, the powers of the Inquisition were extended until May 1st, 1564.[6] The nuncio Crivelli was instructed to pacify

[1] The legates to Borromeo, November 5, 1562, in Šusta, III., 54. Llorente (III., 266; *cf.* Laugwitz, 77, with a wrong reference to Pallavicini) maintains that the fathers of the Council went too far in their condemnation of the treatment of Carranza, and that they cannot have disclosed Philip's letters to the assembly. Carcereri in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 81, n. remarks that he cannot have found any support for this statement in the acts.

[2] Borromeo to the legates, November 14, 1562, in Šusta, III., 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, 88.

[4] Borromeo to the legates, June 19, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 98.

[5] *Ibid.*, 461, 464.

[6] Borromeo, *ibid.*, 98; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., I., 7, n.

Carranza's friends, by assuring them that no injustice to the archbishop would be allowed.[1]

About this time Carranza's friends tried to advance a step further by seeking to obtain from the commission of the Index at Trent an opinion upon the archbishop's catechism, which was the starting point of the accusation.[2] Many of the members of the commission did not understand Spanish, while others who did had the name of being his partisans, as being Dominicans like Carranza himself. Therefore, the Archbishop of Prague, Brus, who to some extent presided over the examination of suspected books, caused the catechism to be examined independently of the commission by four of the most celebrated and learned doctors of Spain and Portugal, and at the same time asked for a written opinion from four Spanish members of the Council, namely Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, and Bishops Blanco of Orense, Corrionero of Almeria, and Cuesta of Léon.[3] The opinions of all of them were favourable to the catechism, and accordingly the representatives of Carranza asked Brus to give them a written statement to that effect, and six or seven copies were given to them, all signed by the eleven members of the commission then present,[4] and this was immediately sent by Carranza's friends to Spain.[5]

No sooner had the Count di Luna heard of this than he immediately insisted on the withdrawal of this testimony, as being an insult both to the Spanish Inquisition and to the Pope, by whose instructions the tribunal was holding its inquiry.

With this the commission of the Index found itself in a position of great embarrassment. Some of the members were unwilling to withdraw their signature now that it had been given, while others maintained that in a matter of

[1] Borromeo to Crivelli, June 15, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 500.

[2] The legates to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, *ibid.*, 144 *seq.*

[3] Brus to Maximilian II., June 18, 1563, in Steinherz, Briefe, 110.

[4] The legates, *loc. cit.*

[5] Mendoça, 688.

such great importance the commission could only act collectively, that the signatures had not been attached for publication, and that the fact that not a single name of a Spaniard was among them must excite suspicion. Others changed their opinion, either for or against Carranza, so that out of the 18 members of the commission half were in favour of and half were opposed to the judgment which had been issued. Excited explanations followed, by which Brus was seriously offended.[1] The outcome of the affair was that the part taken by the Council on Carranza's behalf brought him no advantage.

On August 12th, 1564, the frequently extended powers which had been given to the Spanish Inquisition to conduct the trial of Carranza were once again extended for the last time,[2] but by January 1st, 1565, they had finally lapsed, and it became necessary to enter into fresh negotiations with Rome. About the middle of January, 1565, an envoy from Philip II., Rodrigo de Castro, arrived in Rome,[3] who sought in every way to induce the Pope to hand over to the Spanish Inquisition the pronouncement of the final sentence on the unfortunate archbishop. Such a concession, however, would not only have been contrary to the established law, but also against the Council of Trent,[4] and Pius IV. accordingly remained obdurate in the matter; the utmost that he could do for the king, if Philip insisted upon it, would be to send an apostolic legate, who, in conjunction with other Roman and Spanish prelates to be appointed by the Pope, would examine the acts of the trial on Spanish soil and pronounce sentence.[5]

[1] The legates, *loc. cit.* MENDOÇA, 688.

[2] Corresp. dipl., I., 7, n. 2.

[3] Borromeo to Crivelli, January 20, 1565, *ibid.*, 1.

[4] Apart from the legal difficulties Odescalchi saw as early as October 5, 1562, and the legates by April 1, 1563, that the only solution of the affair was for the Pope to take the trial into his own hands. ŠUSTA, III., 288, 387.

[5] Borromeo to Crivelli, February 24, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 1 *seq.*

In June, 1565, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, the future Pope Gregory XIII., was appointed legate for Spain,[1] and in the consistory of July 13th was formally constituted judge of Carranza's cause.[2] His assessors were to be Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, who was at the same time appointed nuncio in Spain, and the future Cardinal, Giovanni Aldobrandini.[3] The Papal judges arrived in Spain in November, 1565, and were received with great pomp, but the question whether any members of the Spanish Inquisition were to be attached to them as assessors[4] was still pending when Pius IV. died in December, 1565, leaving the trial of Carranza as an unpleasant inheritance to his successor. The Pope was and remained but little edified by his experiences of Spanish caesaro-papalism. Alluding to the magnificence with which the Papal judges had been received in 1565, while at the same time the Spaniards were only willing to allow the provincial councils demanded by the Council of Trent on condition that a state official were present, Altemps wrote to Boncompagni on November 17th, 1565, his opinion that the prevailing idea in Spain was that so long as they showed themselves loyal and devout in such external ceremonies, they could be as obstinate and rebellious in other matters as they pleased.[5] An instruction sent to the nuncio Castagna in August, 1565,[6] is full of complaints at the intrusion of the Spanish officials into ecclesiastical matters,

[1] Borromeo to Crivelli, June 10, 1565, *ibid.*, 3.

[2] RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 7. *Cf.* Cam. Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, July 14, 1565, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 29. The bull with faculties for Boncompagni, July 13, 1565, in Corresp, dipl., I., 4-9. *Acts concerning the mission of Boncompagni, which certainly come from his heirs, in Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. D. 4.

[3] Pius IV. to Philip II., August 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 18. Nomination of Castagna: Pius IV. to Philip II., August 20, 1565, *ibid.*, 17.

[4] Castagna to Altemps, December 18, 1565, *ibid.*, 47 *seq.* *cf.* 50.

[5] Corresp. dipl., I., 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

and a letter of protest of the same time relates how the president, Figueroa, in defending such acts on the part of the council of state had several times openly said that there was no Pope in Spain.[1]

Just at the time when the treatment of Carranza had caused such discontent with the Spanish Inquisition in Italy, news was received at the beginning of August, 1563, in Trent,[2] and in the middle of the same month at Milan,[3] that Philip II. intended, alongside of, or rather in the place of, the mild and purely ecclesiastical Inquisition then in existence, to introduce into his possessions in northern Italy a Holy Office like that in Spain,[4] and that the Pope had not thought it wise to offer any resistance to the Spanish king's wishes.[5] As a matter of fact the Archbishop of Messina, Cervantes, had been appointed Inquisitor General for Milan, and on August 7th, 1563, instructions were sent to the legates of the Council to give him leave to depart as soon as he asked for it.[6]

This news caused the greatest excitement in Milan. At the meeting of the civic council which was immediately summoned, and again in its reply to Rome, as well as in later memorials to the Pope, it was openly stated that the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition would mean the ruin of the Duchy, and that if the project were carried into effect the citizens would leave their homes with all possible speed,

[1] *Ibid.*, 144.

[2] Borromeo to Simonetta, August 4, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 175.

[3] Lucio Cotta to the vicar, Gottardo Reina, Rome, August 18, 1563; *cf.* Verga, 9.

[4] Besides the works of Verga, *cf.* Pallavicini, 22, 8, 2–4; Cantù, Eretici, III., 38 *seqq.*; Balan, VI., 507; Carcereri in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 82 *seqq.*, and the bibliography given in Šusta, IV., 168 n.

[5] "S. S^tà non par bene di farci resistenza" (Šusta, IV., 175). Pius IV. offered resistance from the first. Prospero d'Arco to the Emperor, August 4, 1563, in Carcereri, *loc. cit.*, 82, n. 1.

[6] Šusta, IV., 180.

and emigrate to foreign lands.[1] Recourse was had at once to the governor of Milan, the Duke of Sessa, who tried to pacify them and gave them leave to send envoys to Madrid and Rome. It was also resolved to send a distinguished Milanese citizen at the public expense to Trent in order to obtain from the two Milanese Cardinals, Morone and Simonetta, letters of recommendation to Cardinal Borromeo and the Pope.[2] In Rome the envoys of the city were instructed in the first place to go to the Spanish ambassadors, Vargas and de Avila, and to point out to them that with the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, commerce and trade would leave Milan, to the great loss of the king. The envoys were next to win over Cardinals Borromeo and Ghislieri to their side.[3] The city of Cremona also sent an envoy to ask the intercession of Morone with the Pope.[4]

The news of the Pope's acquiescence in the wishes of the Spanish king also caused great dismay at Trent. If the Inquisition is allowed for Milan, wrote Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, and confidential agent of the Curia, it will be impossible to refuse it for Naples. The other Italian princes would then ask for it, and since the Inquisition in Spain has authority over the bishops, the same concession would have to be made throughout Italy, to the great disadvantage of the Roman See. Out of fear of the Inquisition the bishops would seek above all to be on good terms with the princes, and in the event of another Council being

[1] In the municipal council they were "unanimemente risciolti che questa Inquisitione saria l' ultimo esterminio della Cità, anzi fargli tutta quella provvisione e resistenza dovuta che si puotrà ; la qual cosa quando altramente succedesse si è determinato abbandonare più presto le proprie case et andare in altri paesi." Letter of reply to L. Cotta, in VERGA, II. *Cf. ibid.*, 10, Reina in the municipal council, and the letter to Pius IV. of August 29, 1563, *ibid.*, 44 *seq.*

[2] VERGA, 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, 12 *seqq.* Printed copy of the instructions in CANTÙ. Eretici, III., 39-41.

[4] CARCERERI, *loc. cit.* 83, n. 2 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 214.

assembled, the Pope would no longer have any bishops upon whom he could rely. Nor is any consolation to be found in the fact that even the Inquisition of the Spanish type is dependent upon Rome, since the trial of the Archbishop of Toledo shows how lightly the Spanish Holy Office regards its duty of obedience.[1] The legates expressed themselves in similar terms. It is difficult to realize, they wrote,[2] how much the bishops have been affected by the fear that in a short time the Holy Office will be carried from Milan to Naples. Already some of the fathers are saying that they intend to act very cautiously in the matter of the reform of the princes so as not to draw down upon themselves the vengeance of Philip II. and his Inquisition.[3] The bishops of Lombardy thought of including among the reform decrees of the Council one to protect episcopal rights against the Inquisition ;[4] and when this plan was abandoned, 13 of them had recourse to Rome with a request that the proposal of Philip II. might be refused.[5] All this was reported to Rome by the legates.[6] The Pope then tried in repeated letters to tranquillize the frightened prelates : if, he said, the Inquisition is set up in northern Italy, it will not be dependent upon Spain but on Rome, it will not injure the bishops, and it will follow the usual course of ecclesiastical law.[7] The legates objected that this would not be enough if the appointment of the officials of the Inquisition was to be in the hands of the king, but at length they accepted the Pope's tranquillizing assurances.[8]

[1] VERGA, 20 *seqq.* BALUZE-MANSI, III., 492.

[2] August 23, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 198.

[3] Letter of August 19, 1563, *ibid.*, 190.

[4] Visconti to Borromeo, September 2, 1563, in CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 83 *seq.* On September 10 the plan was abandoned ; *ibid.*, 85.

[5] Borromeo to Simonetta, September 18, 1563, *ibid.*, 267 n.

[6] CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 84 *seq.*

[7] Borromeo to Morone, August 21, to the legates, August 25 and 28, to Simonetta, August 25, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 209, 217, 219, 222.

[8] CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 85, n. 1.

In the meantime they had been working hard in Rome, and apparently with success, against the Milanese Inquisition. All the Cardinals except Carpi,[1] and public opinion throughout the city were opposed to Philip's plan. The splendid reception which was accorded to the Milanese envoys was an expression of the general feeling; the Pope himself assigned the Villa Giulia to them for their residence,[2] and in conversation with the members of the Milanese colony in Rome he held out to them great hopes, though he forbade them under pain of excommunication to report what he had said to Milan.[3]

It seemed as though everything was going well for the Milanese, when it was suddenly reported that the Inquisitor General destined for Milan was expected in Rome, and that the bull which was to introduce the Inquisition into northern Italy was already drafted and consigned to Cardinal Ghislieri. The general fear was increased by some remarks of the Spanish ambassador.[4]

Surreptitiously, "by magic arts" as they expressed it, the Milanese succeeded in getting hold of a copy of the brief, which was immediately sent to Milan.[5] The draft of this document promised the Spanish king the right to nominate the Inquisitor for all his possessions in northern Italy, and gave the Milanese Inquisition all the rights of the Holy Office which had been granted by the Popes since Paul III., including the right to make use of torture.

The first signs of a popular rising now made their appearance at Milan, but the "vicario" at once went to the governor, the Duke of Sessa, who gave the assembled authorities the solemn assurance that he would use all his influence on behalf of the city, and persuaded them not to send their envoys to

[1] VERGA, 15. *Cf.* Seb. Gualterio to Morone, August 7, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 181: "tutti i cardinali se gli oppognono gagliardamente."

[2] VERGA, 23 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 28 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 24 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 25. Printed copy of the bull, *ibid.*, 38-43.

Madrid and Rome until they had more definite information. The Milanese allowed themselves to be pacified by these assurances, while their agents in Rome renewed their representations to the Pope, with the result that on September 21st, 1563, they were able to inform their country that their efforts had been crowned with success, and that the Pope had promised not to introduce any change with regard to the Inquisition in Milan.[1] As a matter of fact the Pope had told the Spanish ambassador, de Avila, that the protective measures which had been adopted hitherto were quite sufficient to prevent the entrance of heresy into Italy, and that there was no need to talk of the Spanish Inquisition there. Philip II. himself thought it more prudent to abandon his intention,[2] so that Naples also no longer had any reason to fear the introduction of the Spanish tribunal of faith, so much so that in the following year, 1564, they even dared to agitate against the Roman Inquisition.[3]

The reason why Philip II. wished to introduce a stricter form of the Inquisition into the province of Milan was the dangerous proximity of Switzerland, and especially of the Grisons ;[4] it seemed to him that the old and indulgent Milanese tribunal of the faith did not afford a sufficient defence against the very real danger from that quarter.[5]

In the Eternal City itself the Inquisition often had occasion to show how anxiously it was seeking to safeguard the unity

[1] *Ibid.*, 27 *seq.* Visconti to Morone, Rome, September 23, 1563, in Šusta, IV., 569.

[2] Verga, 30.

[3] G. Cappelletti, Gianfrancesco Alois e l'agitazione napoletana dell 'anno 1564 contra la s. Inquisizione, Urbino, 1913 ; Rivista storica, 1914. Arch. Napol., XXXIII., 467 ; Amabile, I., 273.

[4] Verga, 14.

[5] In their instructions for their envoys in Rome in 1563 the Milanese themselves say that for many years past most of the immigrants into their city had been accused before the Inquisition (Cantù, Eretici, III., 39). For the Roman Inquisition in Milanese territory, *cf.* L. Fumi in Arch. stor. Lomb., XXXVII. (1910), 1-124, 145-220, 285-414 ; concerning the Lutherans, *ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*

of the faith in Italy. Three executions on a charge of heresy are recorded during the first year of the Pope's reign.[1] The three victims, one of whom was Luigi Pasquali, the preacher of the Calabrian Waldenses, came from the north, and with the exception of Pasquali abjured their heresy before their death. In 1562 the burning of an obstinate monk and Greek bishop, Macarius of Macedonia, who had already twice relapsed and had received circumcision, caused a certain stir.[2] He was followed (January 23rd, 1563) by a heretic from Holland, and on September 4th, 1564, by another heretic from Cyprus, who, however, died a Catholic.[3] All these were foreigners, but in June, 1564, it was discovered that even the orthodoxy of the Roman nobility was not entirely above suspicion, and seven of the noblest Romans, among them the Marquis de Vico, a nephew of Paul IV., were summoned before the Holy Office to answer to a charge of heresy.[4]

[1] The executions took place on August 13, September 15 and 25, 1560 (ORANO, 9 *seq.*) One of the three was perhaps not a heretic. According to BENRATH (Realenzyklop. of Herzog, IX³., 539) two other *ministers* of the Waldensians, Stefano Negrini and Giacomo Borelli, were burned together with Pasquali. Orano and an *Avviso di Roma of September 21, 1560 (Vatican Library) say nothing of this; BERTOLOTTI (Martiri, 29) makes Negrini die (when ?) of starvation. For the heretics discovered in Rome in May, 1561, among them two Sienese, see Bollettino Senese, XVII., 166.

[2] ORANO, 13 (June 10, 1562). *Avviso di Roma of June 13, 1562: "Qua in Roma si è abbruciato vivo un vescovo Greco, che ha rinegato due volte et era circonciso, e si ha poi brusato cinque o sei statue di altri eretici." (Urb. 1039, p. 372, Vatican Library).

[3] ORANO, 13 *seq.*

[4] *Sono appresso instituti qui alla inquisizione sette delli principali di quella città per sospetti di hersia, fra li quali uno dei primi è il marchese de Vico, il quale anco si processa del regno per essere andato contro Beneventani per differenze che hanno insieme de' territorii, in forma di essercito come scrissi. Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, June 17, 1564 (Gonzagà Archives, Mantua). The trial was still going on on April 7, 1565; an *Avviso

We are exceptionally well informed as to the activities of the supreme Roman tribunal during the last two years of the reign of Pius IV., in a volume of the acts of the Roman Inquisition which got taken to Dublin by some means not yet explained. The six condemnations which it contains for the years 1564 and 1565 all concern strangers to Rome.[1]

Protestant students from Germany not infrequently visited Italy in the XVIth century, who, for the most part, if they were careful, were able to travel about unmolested.[2] For some unknown reason, however, it happened in June, 1565, that while he was travelling in Italy, Philip Camerarius, a son of the famous Leipsic professor, Joachim Camerarius, was imprisoned with his companion on a charge of Protestantism; by the intervention of Duke Albert of Bavaria and the Emperor Maximilian II., both of them were liberated at the beginning of August.[3]

di Roma (Urb. 1940, p. 9b) records that on that date de Vico had obtained from the Pope the privilege of not being placed in the prison of the Inquisition, but of going of his own accord to the Castle of St. Angelo.

[1] This volume contains the following for the time of Pius IV.: 1. Sententia contra frm. Thomam de Fabianis de Mileto O. Sti Franc. Conv., 16 dec., 1564, published by R. Gibbings, A case of a Minorite friar, Dublin, 1853; *cf.* Rule, History of the Inquisition, II., London, 1874, 196 *seq.* 2. Sententia contra Giovanni Micro de Napoli pro fisco, 16 dec., 1564, published by K. Benrath in Rivista cristiana, VII. (1979), 464-7. 3. Sententia contra Joh. Bapt. Saxum de Caserta, ult. febr., 1565, *ibid.*, 467-8. 4. Sententia contra Ioa. Paganum de Caserta, 12 apr., 1565, *ibid.*, 468-9. 5. Sententia contra Marcum Bergamascum de St. Germano, 16 sept., 1565, *ibid.*, 469-71. 6. Sententia contra Aurelium della Vista di Sto Angelo ad Fossanella, 4 oct., 1565, *ibid.*, 471-2.

[2] Elkan, Philipp Marnix, 72.

[3] A letter of Cardinal Circada of Dec. 5, 1567 (Rosi, Riforma in Liguria, 144; *cf.* 75) alludes to the case "d' alcuni favoriti del duca di Sassonia prigioni in Roma (ai tempi di Pio IV.)" and it is said "che si lasciorno andare per paura che quel duca non facesse amazzare li nostri nuntii che andavano per Germania

Of great importance for the activity of the Inquisition, as well as for the preservation of the unity of faith in Italy, was the influence exercised by Pius IV. over the Italian states. The courts of Mantua and Urbino were connected with him by ties of relationship,[1] but even the other states had to take him into account. The chief difficulties with regard to the sending of heretics to Rome came from the Republic of Venice,[2] though in other respects Pius IV. was

intimando il concilio." (*Cf.* also STEINHERZ, IV., 444 *seq.*). The report of Philip Camerarius is published in Io. GEORGII SCHELHORNII, De Vita, fatis ac meritis Philippi Camerarii, Nuremberg, 1740; *cf.* CANISII Epist., V., 741 *seqq.*, 750 *seqq.*; STEINHERZ, IV., 421 *seq.*; MASIUS, Briefe, 366; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 32; Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, XLV. (1868), 65 *seqq.*; KANNE, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Finsternis, etc., Frankfort, 1822. See also the report of Serristori of August 11, 1565, (State Archives, Florence).

[1] See GIROL. SORANZO, 114-15, and GIAC. SORANZO, 155 *seq.*, where there are particulars of certain misunderstandings. In a *brief of February 14, 1564, Pius IV. asked the Duke of Mantua to give him the help of the secular power against heretics in the diocese of Turin who would not abjure. (Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 219, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] On February 22, and again on March 29, 1560, Pius IV. asked Venice to hand over Francesco Stella, and to protect Felice da Montalto, the inquisitor at Vicenza, who was threatened by the members of his own order; see the *brief in App., nos. 1 and 2 (Papal Secret Archives). The Signoria however, was opposed to Montalto and would not accede to the request. On this account, as well as over the demand made by the Roman Inquisition a short time afterwards for the handing over of another suspect, Fra Andrea de Michaele, constant and angry disputes arose; see the *reports of Mula, dated Rome, May 18 and 22, June 15, August 31, September 7 and 21, October 19 and 26, 1560, and February 21, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives, and Court Library, Vienna). Cardinal Ghislieri, who could not later on as Pope forget these disputes (see P. TIEPOLO, 191), would not give way on the question, having the idea that Venice wished to model its Inquisition upon that of Spain. The Roman Inquisition insisted on the handing over of the accused on the ground that in

on the best of terms with that state. From the first he had shown what great importance he attached to the friendship of the only Italian state which was still quite independent, to which fact the hope of protection against a Protestant invasion of Italy also contributed.[1] The utter disgrace with his government incurred by the Venetian ambassador, Mula, who was deprived of his office and banished because, contrary to Venetian law, he had accepted the cardinalate,[2] did not bring about any substantial change in this attitude; the republic continued to be honoured in every way, and repeatedly received favours from the Pope.[3] On its side

Venice the witnesses would not be able to give their evidence freely. On June 19, 1560, Pius IV. appointed the Dominican Bartolomeo de Lugo (see FONTANA, 454 *seq.*), Inquisitor General at Venice, to deal with the cases of the Friars Minor among the accused. For the recall of F. de Montalto see also TEMPESTA, Sisto V., 1, 58. On March 28, 1561, Pius IV. demanded the handing over of the two other accused; see in App. n. 7 the *brief to Cardinal P. F. Ferreri, of that date (State Archives, Venice).

[1] See MOCENIGO, 10, *seq.*, 63.

[2] See GIROL. SORANZO, 100, and GIAC. SORANZO, 139; HILLIGER, 115.

[3] See GIROL. SORANZO, 115 *seqq.* It was only towards the end of the pontificate of Pius IV. that there was a cooling in the relations on account of the displeasure of the Pope with the attitude of Venice during the Council, and the strict insistence upon the disgrace of Mula (*cf.* GIROL. SORANZO, 151 *seqq.*; 156 *seqq.*; see also Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., 1900, 15). But even then Pius IV. granted them favours and showed his goodwill by the gift of the Palazzo di Venezia (June 10, 1564). It is true that what influenced him in this was the secret thought that the rich republic would contribute to the beauty of Rome by completing the unfinished Palazzo, a hope which, however, was not fulfilled. *Cf.* the careful notes in DENGEL, Der Palazzo di Venezia, 103 *seqq.* in conjunction with which we may also note the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 5, 1564: "Dominica mattina pross^{a} passata l' ambasciatore di Venetia fu a pigliare il possesso del palazzo di S. Marco in nome della S^{ma} S^{ia} come donata gli da S. B^{ne}, et qui

the government of Venice firmly upheld its own right to watch over the tribunals of the inquisition, though it did not fail to take action against the cases of heresy discovered in its territory.[1]

Cosimo I., Duke of Florence was, speaking generally, very accommodating in matters that concerned the Inquisition.[2] All the ambassadors speak of the Pope's intimate relations with the Duke.[3] Cosimo looked forward to the fulfilment of his ambitious schemes, and especially of receiving the title of king, since, like everybody else, he underestimated the independence of character of Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici.[4] He had every reason, however, to be satisfied with what he obtained. The first creation of Cardinals had already given his son Giovanni the red hat, while during his stay in Rome in November and December, 1560, the Pope had heaped favours upon him; he gave the Duke, who was a connoisseur of the arts, the magnificent column which now stands in the Piazza Trinità in Florence, as well as many

si oppose il card^le^ Pisani qual dice ch' egli ha havuto et ha poco rispetto, et che non se ha potuto fare questa donatione in pregiudicio suo, mentre che vive per il decreto et ordine di Paulo II. veneto che lo edificò et volse che sempre cedesse a beneficio del più vecchio cardinale venetiano, et ancora non si è potuto esso r^mo^ Pisani acquetare." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *report of G. Cusano of June 17, 1564 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

[1] See De Leva, Degli eretici di Cittadella, Venice, 1873, 65 *seq.*; *cf.* Benrath, 63 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*; Elze in Rivista crist., III., 20 *seq.* For the Anabaptists in Venetian territory, see Theol. Studien und Kritiken, LVIII. (1885), 38 *seq.* For Vicenza see Šusta, IV., 93, 99, 118, 143. For Padua, *ibid.*, 143, and Arch. stor. Ital., ser. 5, XV., 417. For Verona, Pallavicini, 24, 9, 3.

[2] For the Inquisition in Tuscany *cf.* Le Bret, VIII., 548 *seq.*; Hinschius, VI., 338.

[3] See Mocenigo, 60 *seq.*; Girol. Soranzo, 111 *seq.*; Giac. Soranzo, 152 *seq*

[4] See Šusta, Pius IV., 64, 66 *seq.*

antique statues.[1] The right of patronage for the archbishoprics of Florence, Siena and Pisa, and of six other bishoprics, which was granted to Cosimo in January, 1561, was of great importance from the point of view of ecclesiastical policy.[2] The next creation of Cardinals, in February, brought disappointment to the Duke, but on the death of Giovanni de' Medici (November 2nd, 1562) Pius IV. raised Cosimo's third son Ferdinand to the cardinalate in January, 1563, so that the rich benefices of his dead brother remained in the hands of the House of Medici.[3] Many people thought that Cosimo, who frequently received autograph letters from the Pope, could do anything he liked with his former protégé. Giacomo Soranzo, however, categorically denies this; it was only in financial matters that the Duke had any real influence, whereas in other matters, and even in the dispute for precedence between Ferrara and Florence, Cosimo was very far from getting all he wanted.[4] It is noteworthy that he did

[1] See GAYE, III., 43 *seq.*; MICHAELIS in Jahrbuch des Deutsch Archäol. Instituts, V., 43 *seq.*; LANCIANI, III., 250. The importance which Pius IV. attached to Cosimo is also shown by the splendid reception accorded to the "Principe de Firenze"; *cf.* the *report of the Bishop of Anglona, dated Rome, November 5, 1561 (State Archives, Modena), and the *letters of Fr. Tonina of November 9 and 12, 1561. Tonina further *reports on November 15, 1561, that Cardinal Ricci had presented a magnificent antique bust (of Pyrrhus) to the prince (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 239, Vatican Library), and GIROL. SORANZO, 111, who mentions the concessions for the foundation of the Order of St. Stephen (*cf. infra*, Chapter X). Montepulciano was made a bishopric at the request of Cosimo in 1561; see CIACONIUS, III., 881.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 573; also in Toskana, I., 320.

[4] See GIAC. SORANZO, 153 *seq.* The relations of Cosimo with Pius IV. are deserving of a special monograph based on documents in the State Archives, Florence, which contain numerous autograph letters of the Pope, especially of the first years of his pontificate. It is beyond doubt that the jealousy and envy of the other powers exaggerated the influence of Cosimo over Pius IV.

not attain to his chief aim of obtaining the title of king. In this matter the opposition of the Hapsburgs was of decisive weight; Philip II. saw with much displeasure the close relations between the Pope and Florence, and feared that any increase of his power would put Cosimo in a position to cause disturbance to the Spanish possessions in Italy; he therefore not only resisted Cosimo's scheme of becoming a king, but even prevented his meeting with the Pope at Bologna. The fear of a league of the Italian states still haunted the Spanish monarch,[1] and he very much disliked the establishment of the nunciature of Florence.[2] Nor was it only the Spaniards who worked against Cosimo in Rome, but Cardinal Borromeo as well, who was very far from being

For the disputes about precedence between Ferrara and Florence see the numerous *reports of Alessandro Grandi in the State Archives, Modena, in which the jealousy of the Este is strongly expressed. Thus Grandi reports on May 6, 1562: *"Il Papa è più affett^mo al duca di Firenze che mai" (State Archives, Modena). The often rather strained relations of Pius IV. with the Este, as with the Farnese at Parma, was connected with the hostile attitude towards them taken up by Cosimo I., as Girol. Soranzo brings out (p. 114 *seq.*). In the case of Ferrara there was the further question of the salt monopoly of Comacchio (*cf.* GIAC. SORANZO, 154), and the fear felt by the Este lest the Pope should threaten the existence of their state in the interests of his nephews, a thing which Cardinal Borromeo categorically denied. (See the *report of A. Grandi, dated Rome, July 22, 1562, State Archives, Modena). How the Duke of Ferrara behaved is described by Soranzo (p. 114): "Va dissimulando saviamente e non lascia addietro alcun officio che si convenga ad ubbidiente vassallo della Sede Apostolica faccendo sempre parte a S. S^tà di tutte le cose che stima desiderate a lei." Cardinal Ippolito d'Este worked indefatigably to bring about an understanding (see GIROL. SORANZO, 155), but at the last moment the action of the Duke against a Papal collector of tithes led to new and violent disputes. (See the *report of C. Luzzara, dated Rome, March 24, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the severity of Pius IV. to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, see ŠUSTA, IV., 371 *seq.*, 377, 409.

[1] See Fedeli in ALBÈRI, II., 1, 371 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 382.

well-disposed to him. All the more eagerly therefore did the Duke try to win over the other Cardinals, the nephews, and above all the Pope himself,[1] who remained devoted to him to the end.[2]

As was the case in Tuscany,[3] so was the Inquisition called upon to take action against the religious innovators at Lucca and Genoa.[4]

[1] See GIROL. SORANZO, 112 *seq.* *Cf.* the **report of Fr. Tonina of January 23, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See GIAC. SORANZO, 153.

[3] A letter from the Roman Inquisition in 1564 to the Bishop of Volterra asked him to take proceedings against an heretical body at S. Gimignano near Siena; see BATTISTINI, Un'accademia di eretici a S. Gimignano, in Miscell. stor. d. Valdelsa, XXIII. (1913), 3. For heresy at Siena, *cf.* Bollett. Senese, XVII., 164 *seqq.*

[4] * For Lucca see SICKEL, Konzil, 133; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 138; Arch. stor. Ital., X., App. 176 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 224. After the conclusion of the Council of Trent Cardinal Borromeo exhorted the city to break off its relations with the Lucchese Protestants at Geneva. For the way in which later on a vigilance commission against heresy was set up at Lucca, and how the city received the Golden Rose in 1565, *cf.* M. ROSI, La riforma relig. e l'Italia nel sec. xvi., Catania, 1892, 8 *seq.* After the nuncio in France, Gualterio, had reported to Rome that among the Lucchesi resident at Lyons there were only three families free from heresy, the Council of Lucca received from Parensi, its envoy in Rome, the advice that energetic measures should be taken by the republic to counteract the bad impression made in Rome by Gualterio's report (E. LAZZARESCHI in La Scuola cattolica, 1910, II., 281). As a result, on January 9, 1562, a decree was issued by the Council of Lucca which (1) placed a price of 300 gold scudi upon the heads of six Lucchesi who had been declared heretics and rebels, if they showed themselves in Italy, Spain, France, Flanders and Brabant; (2) extends and amplifies for the Lucchesi in Lyons all the laws passed in 1545 at Lucca concerning religious disputations, prohibited books, attendance at Catholic worship, the reception of the sacraments, etc.; (3) prohibits all its subjects to attend heretical sermons; (4) calls upon the Council to enforce these laws strictly (Arch. stor. Ital., X., App. 176 *seqq.*; the names of

The situation of the Church in Savoy was a cause of great anxiety, for there it was threatened by the Waldensians, who were so numerous in the valleys of the Alps. The forti-

those exiled, *ibid.*, 450). The decree fulfilled its object of satisfying the Pope; a brief of Pius IV. of January 20, 1562 (*ibid.*, 178; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 138), and a letter from Borromeo of January 23 (LAZZARESCHI, *loc. cit.*, 282) praises the zeal of the Council; the decree, however, was not put into force. Fresh complaints at the rebellious attitude of the Lucchesi in France and at Lyons gave occasion for a further letter from Borromeo on December 18, 1563, in which he demands the carrying out of these decrees "che voglino rinnovare gli ordini fatti sopra ciò con asseguirli severamente contro li delinquenti" (thus LAZZARESCHI, *loc. cit.*, 284, who rightly passes over the certainly wrong text in SALA, Documenti, III., 289). This is the letter on the strength of which Lord Acton in his letters maintains that Borromeo in his capacity of Papal secretary wished for the killing of the Protestants, and complained that no heretic's head had been sent to Rome (!): "Saint Charles Borromeo, when he was the Pope's nephew and Minister, wrote a letter requiring Protestants to be murdered and complaining that no heretical heads were forwarded to Rome in spite of the reward that was offered for them." (Letters to Mary Gladstone, ed. H. Paul, London, 1904, 186; *cf.* BELLESHEIM in Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXXXIX., 1907, 772). But (1) as far as Pius IV. is concerned, in the brief of January 20, 1562 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope expressly enumerates the points which he approves and praises in the religious laws concerning Lyons: "Exempla etiam litterarum legimus, per quas eiusdem Consilii mandato cives vestri, qui Lugduni negotiantur diligenter et severe admodum, ut decuit, admoniti fuerunt: *ut haereticorum omnium congressus, colloquia et conciones vitent, omnibusque dictis et factis declarent*, se s. Romanae Ecclesiae ritus, instituta et praecepta servare, neque ulla in re a recta fide et catholica regione deflexisse." In this there is *no* mention of any decree of banishment against the Protestants, to which the eulogies of the Pope make no reference. It is well known that it was considered unseemly for a priest to take part in pronouncing a sentence of death, no matter how just, or to assist at its carrying out. This in certain circumstances might even involve ecclesiastical censures. (2) The same thing naturally applies to the official

fied places, especially Turin and Chieri, which by the terms of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had remained in the hands of the French, had become hot-beds of Calvinist propaganda, owing to the indifference of the representatives of the French government.[1] The attitude taken up towards this state of affairs by Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, was all the more important as the organization of active measures against Geneva, the head-quarters of Protestantism in western Europe, depended upon him. Pius IV. was convinced that some decisive steps would have to be taken against "the new Rome of the heretics," and he therefore energetically took up the plan, already mooted by Paul IV., of crushing the viper in its own nest.[2] For this purpose the Pope counted

declarations of his minister as to the brief of the Pope. As a matter of fact, Borromeo, in his letter of November 18, 1563 (*loc. cit.*) only speaks of the laws passed in Lucca "che li loro cittadini et sudditi, che sono in Francia, *vivessero cattolicamente*" and he asks for the renewal and strict carrying out of the laws made *for that purpose*. He, too, does *not* speak of the order for proscription, and evidently on purpose, and for the same reason as that which kept the Pope silent (*cf.* H. THURSTON in The Month, 1910, II., 401 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 471). Moreover, Borromeo's insistence that the senate should *carry out* the laws, cannot in the nature of things refer to the order for proscription, since the declaration of banishment is merely a declaration; if it is issued and renewed the senate had done its duty; what else has the senate got to "carry out"? No historian would expect to find in those days any disapproval on the part of the Pope of even strict measures against the heretics, but this does not imply any express approval of the order for proscription. As to Genoa, besides ROSI, Riforma, 55 *seqq.*, 600 *seq.*, see FONTANA, 460 *seq.* and in Appendix Nos. 3, 4, 22, 34, the *letters of Ghislieri (University Library, Genoa). By a *brief of December 26, 1563, Pius IV. allowed "Hieron. de Franchis O. Pr. inquisit. Genuensis" to summon to Genoa and try heretics from all parts of the republic (Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 408, Papal Secret Archives).

[1] See ŠUSTA, I., 100 *seq.*; II., 394.

[2] See WIRZ, Bullen und Breven (Quellen zur Schweizergesch., XXI.), 376 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 317 *seq.* *Cf.* SICKEL, Konzil, 51 *seq.*, and CRAMER, I., 50 *seq.*

above all on the Duke of Savoy and the Catholic Swiss Cantons, as well as upon the help of the Spaniards and the Venetians. In the summer of 1560 he set aside 20,000 gold scudi for the Catholic Swiss Cantons, and promised a similar subsidy to the Duke of Savoy if he would undertake the projected campaign against Geneva.[1] The Duke agreed to do this; he was a strong Catholic and an old friend of the Pope,[2] and had shown his zeal against the new religion as early as February 15th, 1560, by the issue of a severe edict against the Waldensians in his Alpine valleys, which he had at once proceeded to put into force.[3] The nunciature which was established in Piedmont in June, 1560, became the centre of the Catholic activities; this Pius IV. entrusted to Francesco Bachodi, who was given the powers of legate *a latere*. The Pope and the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, sent with him the Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, who sought by means of sermons, disputations, and the establishment of seminaries for Catholic missionaries to obtain some lasting success.[4] When gentle measures failed, they took action against the Waldensians by force of arms, but the Duke met with such determined resistance that he found himself obliged to grant to his enemies the free exercise of their religion within certain clearly defined districts by the peace of Cavour on June 5th, 1561.[5] The Pope's zeal for the war projected against Geneva in June, 1560, had been cooled by the in-

[1] See SALA, III., 22 *seq.*; CRAMER, I., 54.

[2] See A. Boldù in ALBÈRI, II., 1, 421 *seq.*, 459 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 2, 35.

[3] See KARTTUNEN 38 *seq.*; BALAN VI., 510. A *brief of Pius IV., dated May 30, 1560, praises Franc. archiepisc. Panormit. for his zeal as inquisitor in Piedmont and exhorts him to continue. Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 202; *cf. ibid.* t. 11, nn. 119 *seq.*, the briefs to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, August 5, 1561, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See KARTTUNEN, 39 *seq.*; *cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 100.

[5] See BALAN, VI., 510 *seq.* As is made clear in the Rivista stor., 1917, 47, the account in JALLA, Storia della riforma in Piemonte fino alla morte di Em. Filiberto (1517-1580), Florence 1915, is unfair to the Catholics.

different attitude of the Catholic powers, and when the Duke of Savoy prematurely disclosed the plan at the beginning of the following year. Pius IV. withdrew from the undertaking, which ever afterwards seemed to be impracticable.[1]

Developments in Savoy continued to cause the Pope grave anxiety,[2] the more so as he feared that Filiberto's wife, Margaret of Valois, would apostatize from the Catholic faith. In a brief of January 30th, 1562, he urged the Duke to remove the heretical courtiers and ladies from his wife's suite.[3] The Duke did all that he could to recover the fortresses occupied by the French, and he also sought to prevent the further spread of Calvinism by sending Catholic preachers at his own expense to the threatened districts, while Antonio Possevino did all he could to foster this missionary activity.[4] He advised the Duke to remove all excuse for religious innovations by a reform of the secular and regular clergy, and even after some of the Waldensians had taken up arms, he still wished to rely upon gentle methods and organized a religious conference, which was, however, without result.[5] The restrictive edicts issued by the Duke were not put into force, with the result that the pretensions of the Waldensians kept on increasing; at the synod of Angrogne in 1563 they declared that they accepted the teachings of the church of Geneva; they imagined that the Duke was afraid of them and so conspired freely with Geneva. Emanuele Filiberto, who looked upon this as high treason, took much more

[1] *Cf.* CRAMER, I., 61 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*, 86, 90 *seq.*; II., 54 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 77 (in I., 86 the dispatch of Mula of February 14 [not 4, as in RANKE, I[8]., 211] is published).

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Mula of August 10, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna) and the *letter of Saraceni of August 26, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See ŠUSTA, II., 393 *seq.*

[4] See ŠUSTA, II., 395; III., 269. *Cf.* CIBRARIO, Lettere, 196. The *brief to Fr. Bachodi, May 28, 1561, in Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 70, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, (1904), 836 *seq.*

vigorous action against them in 1565 than he had done for the past five years.[1]

The Waldensians in Calabria had been almost exterminated in a series of bloody battles by the Spanish government in the years 1560-61.[2] The cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards in Calabria were published far and wide by the French in a series of pamphlets.[3]

[1] See KARTTUNEN, 45 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 589 *seq.* At the beginning of his reign Pius IV., had made an arrangement with the Duke of Savoy that he should provide for the bishoprics of Piedmont, leaving the nomination to those of Savoy to the Duke. Filiberto did not keep to this, and there was a controversy over the appointments to Turin and Mondovì, which disturbed the Pope very much (see GIROL. SORANZO, 110; ŠUSTA, III., 555 *seq.*; CIBRABIO, *loc. cit.*, 198 *seq.*). Othei difficulties also occured with regard to ecclesiastical politics, as for example the question of jurisdiction in Val d'Aosta (see CLARETTA, La successione di Eman. Filberto, Turin, 1884; *cf.* also FRIEDBERG, II., 705 *seq.*). On June 28, 1562, the Duke withdrew three decrees which were against ecclesiastical liberty (see RICOTTI, Storia d. Monarchia Piemontese, II.; MOROZZO, Elogio del card. M. A. Bobbo, Turin, 1799; Bollett. stor. Subalpino, VI., 257 *seq.*). If the relations between Savoy and Rome improved (see GIAC. SORANZO, 152 *seq.*), this was explained by the fact that in matters of importance the two powers were dependent on each other's help. But disagreements still continued. In a *brief of November 30, 1564, Pius IV. wrote to the chancellor of Savoy that he had heard that the bishops were unable to do anything against the heretics because they were hindered in various ways in the exercise of their powers, and begged him to co-operate in the removal of these hindrances when the bishops returned from the Council (Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 93, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See BALAN, VI., 511 *seqq.* *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., IX., 193 *seq.*; AMABILE, I., 235-260; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 28 *seq.*; BENDER, Gesch. der Waldenser, 102, *cf.*, 157; Realenzykl. of Herzog, XX. [3], 836; DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 838 *seq.* A *brief of praise to the Viceroy of Naples for the help given by him to the Inquisition, in Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 47 (Papal Secret Archives). For the Waldensians at Amalfi see CAMERA, Memorie d'Amalfi, II., 134.

[3] See the rare work Copie d'autres nouvelles de Romme et autres choses memorables, Lyons, 1561. For the Inquisition in Sicily see GARUFI in Arch. stor. Sicil., XLI. (1917).

CHAPTER X.

PIUS IV. AND PHILIP II.—THE TURKISH PERIL.

WHEN Pius IV. ascended the Papal throne, it was expected that the most cordial relations would exist between him and the King of Spain. Certainly the good-will was not lacking on the Pope's part; as a Cardinal he had been a partisan of Spain, and in view of the state of European politics, his position as head of the Church pointed in the same direction on account of the grave dangers threatening the Catholic religion in Germany, England, Scotland, France and Poland. Philip II. seemed to be the only reliable defender of the old religion, since, on account of the weakness of the Empire, the duty of protecting the Holy See devolved upon the Catholic sovereign who had the greatest power.

On his side, Philip II. looked upon himself as the political head of Catholic Christendom.[1] The geographical position of his kingdom pointed to him as its defender against the followers of Islam, since it comprised the greater part of the Christian countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Personally a fervent Catholic, and deeply penetrated by the conviction that ecclesiastical changes must bring civil revolution in their train, the King of Spain watched strictly over the maintenance of Catholic unity in his dominions. The progress of Protestantism in England, France and western Germany affected him directly on account of his possessions in the Netherlands, where the Catholics looked to the Spanish king as their chief protector. Everything therefore combined to make Philip II. the champion of the Catholic Church, though his shortcomings affected her interests no less than his good qualities.

[1] See MARCKS, in Philipp II., in Preuss. Jahrb., LXXIII., 205.

Very few princes have devoted themselves to the affairs of state so zealously, or taken their position as rulers so seriously as Philip II., whose natural autocracy was given a special character by the view he took of the heavy responsibilities which lay upon his shoulders. His unwearied assiduity at the council table would have been an excellent thing in the ruler of a small state, but in the case of a monarch who was master of half the world it could not fail to become a grave disadvantage, all the more so as it was united to a great want of decision. Instead of acting, Philip II. was for ever thinking things over, trying to gain time and to put off making a definite decision. His instinctive absolutism was shown in his mania for undertaking the personal direction of the smallest details of government throughout his dominions, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Not content with protecting, he wanted to rule the Church.[1] In this fact, as well as in the general development of politico-ecclesiastical conditions in Spain, was to be found the reason why the relations of the king with Pius IV. developed in a way so different from what had been expected.

Since the end of the Middle Ages the "Catholic Kings," by making skilful use of the conditions of the times, had aimed at obtaining a complete sovereignty over the Church in their dominions. While making a great parade of their Catholicism they had, by prayers and threats, wrung one concession after another from the Holy See.[2] After the Popes of the XVth

[1] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp., I., liii. *seq.*; MARTIN A. S. HUME, Philip II., London, 1897; HAEBLER in Hist. Zeitschrift, LXXXIV., 144 *seq.*; GAMS, III., 1, 192; FRIEDBERG, II., 542.

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, X. (1863), 14 *seqq.*; PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. und das Papsttum, in Hist. Zeitschr., XXXIX., 269 *seq.*; FRIEDBERG, II., 542 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, 37 *seqq.* *Cf.* also previous vols. of this work: IV., 397; V., 338; VI., 443; VIII., 435; X., 57, 370. DEMBIŃSKI, (I., 179) is quite right in saying that at that time Spain had in some ways succeeded in forming a church within the Church.

century had already granted them wide powers in the filling of the bishoprics, Charles V. had obtained the complete and permanent right of presentation and patronage in the case of all the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees of Spain. In the same way the Spanish government had succeeded in getting into its own hands the right of conferring the greater part of the other ecclesiastical benefices to which revenues were attached, as well as those of the great military orders. It had also, since 1476, exercised a wide supervision over ecclesiastical jurisdiction by means of the "royal council" of Castille. The crown lawyers appealed in this matter to the example of France, and indignantly rejected the idea that there was in this the least wish to infringe upon the authority of the Pope, which they professed to hold in the greatest reverence. This, however, did not prevent great liberties being taken. In spite of all the protests of Rome, the government held tenaciously to its claim to examine every Papal decree, and to pronounce it invalid for Spain if it infringed upon the laws and customs of the kingdom. It is true that all the external forms of respect were always observed, and that the procedure generally adopted was, by way of palliation, designated as the "holding back (*retenciôn*) of Papal bulls." In order to reconcile the Spanish church to the state of servitude into which it had fallen, the kings had increased its wealth to such an extent that at the beginning of the reign of Philip II. the revenues of the clergy from their landed estates amounted to five million ducats, which was a half of the whole fixed revenue of the kingdom. Of the seven archbishoprics and the thirty-nine bishoprics the most wealthy was the archbishopric of Toledo, which in 1566 was valued at 400,000 ducats. Many of the bishops and prelates made good use of their princely revenues, though there were not wanting some who acted in quite a contrary way.[1]

If the Spanish government had thus increased the riches of the Church its motive had been by no means disinterested,

[1] See the reports of Tiepolo and Soranzo in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 19, 79; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 279 *seq.*

for the goods of the Church served as an inexhaustible source of revenue. In order to levy these subsidies it was necessary, in accordance with canon law, to obtain the consent of the Pope, which was generally given, because in almost all the wars of Spain it was possible to plead the good of religion, but very often the sums raised were used for quite another purpose. This was especially the case with the large sums obtained in virtue of the bull of crusade (*Cruzada*) which was first granted by Julius II., and afterwards amplified in various ways.[1]

In order to bring the clergy, especially the cathedral chapters and the religious orders, into subjection to the absolute power of the king, Philip II. made misuse of the Spanish Inquisition whenever they tried to defend ecclesiastical rights and their own privileges, nor did he hesitate to use it against the laity as well. Rome steadily opposed this abuse, but the kings of Spain successfully aimed at making this tribunal a docile tool by means of which they could efficaciously fight their political enemies and all the opponents of absolutism, while, since two-thirds of the fines and confiscations inflicted by the Inquisition went to the king, the tribunal was also a rich source of revenue; in 1566 it paid over about 200,000 gold ducats.[2] It thus became very important for the Catholic Kings to extend to the other countries under their rule the extraordinary privileges which they possessed or claimed to possess in Spain. Julius II. had granted them the patronage of all the churches in the West Indies, and Clement VII. had done the same in the case of the bishoprics of the Kingdom of Naples. In all its Italian possessions the government exercised its right of examining, and if necessary "holding back" all Papal bulls, or the *exequatur*, as it was called in Naples and Sicily. The sovereign privileges claimed in Sicily, known by the

[1] See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, X., 10; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 281; HINOJOSA, 178; ISTURIZ in Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain, 1907, 388 *seq.* For the *Bula de la Cruzada* in general, *cf.* Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg II.², 1470 *seq.*

[2] See in Corresp. dipl., I., 449 *seq.* the memorial of the beginning of 1566.

name of *Monarchia Sicula,* amounted to a real caesaro-papalism.[1]

The Popes had repeatedly sought to limit this caesaro-papalism of the Catholic Kings, but they had always met with the most obstinate resistance. When Philip II. ascended the throne the long desired goal had been substantially attained; the Church which was intended to be free had been humbled, and had become the obedient and docile servant of the crown. This unnatural state of things, which was so full of inconsistencies, was in direct contradiction to Catholic principles, and contained the seeds of endless quarrels with the Holy See. When Paul IV. had attempted to throw off the Spanish yoke in Italy, the struggle had been embittered by the usurpations of the Spanish government in purely ecclesiastical affairs.[2] The peace of Cave had done so little to remove the source of the trouble that a kind of secret warfare between the Curia and Spain still went on. The true state of affairs is clear from the instructions given in the spring of 1559 to the new nuncio in Spain, Salvatore Pacini, who was told to watch over ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the obedience of Spain to the Holy See, because the royal council had interfered in many ecclesiastical matters, and had gravely prejudiced the cause of

[1] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 3 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. VI., of this work, p. 443. A pragmatic of August 30, 1561 forbade under strict penalties the publication of Papal decrees at Naples without the *exequatur* in writing (see GIANNONE, IV., 165; SCADUTO, Stato e Chiesa nelle Sicilie, Palermo, 1887, 208; PELUSO, Il diritto di placitazione nelle due Sicilie, Naples, 1898, 13). SCHÄFER (Beiträge zur Gesch. des Span. Protestantismus und der Inquisition im 16. Jahrhundert I., Gütersloh, 1902, 227) has shown that after the suppression in 1560 of the two communities at Seville and Valladolid, which were very small, Protestantism did not spread in Spain. Those who were condemned later on were generally foreigners, e.g. the Frenchmen executed at Toledo in 1565. For the disputes between the Inquisition in Sicily with the Spanish viceroys, see GARUFI, in Arch. stor. Sicil., XLI. (1917), 3 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 158.

ecclesiastical liberty.[1] The already dangerous state of affairs became worse when Philip II., not satisfied with his practically unlimited sovereignty over the Church in Spain, began to claim to have a decisive voice in the affairs of the whole Church. The result of the conclave encouraged him in this; he hoped that in the new Pope he had found a compliant instrument for the carrying out of his desires, since he had at one time been a Spanish subject, and had always lived on friendly terms with Spain. The Pope, however, was *a priori* little disposed to show such compliance either in important or in small matters.

The diplomatic correspondence between Madrid and Rome was therefore bound to become very difficult.[2] The Spanish nunciature, which, under Charles V., had played a very secondary part, in consequence of the importance of Philip II., both in European politics, and in the various interests of the Catholic Church, now became one of the most difficult, because Philip II. acted towards the Church in the same way as Louis XIV. a century later.

In order that his Spanish subjects should not have to undertake legal proceedings before the Roman courts, Charles V. had induced Paul III. to confer on the nuncio the same wide faculties as were given to a legate *a latere*. To safeguard jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, for the nuncio's tribunal was also a court of appeal, he was given an auditor to assist him.[3] Instead of easing the situation this new arrangement became the source of endless difficulties. As the nuncios greatly misused their faculties in many ways, the Spanish government was before long very dissatisfied with the arrangement which it had itself made, and asked that a royal assessor

[1] See LAEMMER, Melet., 174 *seq.* and PIEPER, Die päpstl. Legaten und Nuntien, Münster, 1897, 209.

[2] During the short pontificate of Pius IV. no less than 16 nuncios and envoys extraordinary were appointed for the court of Spain. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 111-169; ŠUSTA, I., lxx. *seq.*

[3] See HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, X., 29 *seq.*

should also be attached to the nuncio.[1] The negotiations carried on on the subject with the nuncio Pacini, who had been confirmed by Pius IV., remained without result until March, 1560, with the result that the Pope's representative had not yet succeeded in presenting his credentials.[2] On account of the opposition of Pius IV., the question of the appointment of an assessor was not raised again on the arrival of the new nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta,[3] because other matters were for the moment nearer to Philip's heart, especially that of relief from his pressing financial difficulties. The Pope granted him, for three years, a renewal of the bull of crusade (*Cruzada*), which produced annually more than 350,000 ducats.[4] Pius IV. was also sincerely desirous of doing all that lay in his power to meet the wishes of the one protector of the Catholic faith he could count on.[5] But Philip II. was insatiable in his demands, as was clearly shown in the negotiations concerning his request to be allowed to levy a very large annual subsidy from the Spanish clergy for the preparation and maintenance of a fleet against the Turks. In a bull which was delivered in January, 1561, by the nuncio extraordinary, Gherio, the Pope granted the annual levy of 300,000 gold ducats for five years, under

[1] *Cf.* Isturiz in Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain, 1907, 383 *seq.* For the greed of the Papal collectors in Spain see Desjardins, III., 411.

[2] See the report of P. Tiepolo in Brown, VII., n. 125, and that of Seb. de l'Aubespine in Paris, Négot. rel. au règne de Francois II. Paris, 1841, 292 *seq.*

[3] See the accounts of Raverta of his first audience with Philip II. on April 1, 1560, in his *report, dated Toledo, May 22, 1560 (Ms. Ital., 6, p. 326b, Royal Library, Berlin).

[4] The *bull, dated 1559 (Florentine style) V. Id. mart. A. I° in Arch. S. Angelo, Arm. 5, caps. 3 (Papal Secret Archives); *cf.* Brown, VII., n. 148.

[5] See Girol. Soranzo, 107. The strange proposal in the instructions for Brocardo Persico (Šusta, I., 280) of uniting the crowns of France and England with that of Spain, was certainly made merely with the purpose of thus discovering the intentions of Philip II., an opinion with which Šusta is inclined to agree (I., 284).

certain conditions, and at the same time he refused the request which had been subsequently made for the sale of the great Spanish ecclesiastical fiefs. Philip II., without informing the nuncio, thereupon in February sent a courier to Rome with orders to reject the bull, and to obtain more favourable conditions. At the same time he brought great pressure to bear in other ways, especially in the matters of sending envoys to the Council, and of payments to the Pope's nephews, seeking in this way to make the Pope more yielding.[1] It was very difficult for the Pope to come to a decision, because other states as well, such as France, Venice, and Portugal, were seeking similar permission to levy subsidies from their clergy.[2] On account of the critical state of affairs in France the Pope decided to meet the wishes of the King of Spain, and in April, 1562, he sent a new bull, antedated March 4th, by which he increased the subsidy to 420,000 ducats and promised to extend the permission from five years to ten. The permission to sell the ecclesiastical fiefs was held over until after the closure of the Council.[2] The Spanish clergy

[1] See Šusta, I., 31, 85 *seq.*, 92, 172, 205 *seq.*, 258 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*

[2] See Šusta, I., 284 *seq.* Pius IV. was on the best of terms with John III. of Portugal (*cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 109 *seq.*; Giac. Soranzo, 150). Since this sovereign always showed his Catholic sentiments, the Pope conferred many favours on him. Thus he named the Cardinal-Infante Henry legate *a latere*, and gave him the right to summon before himself all the trials pending before the bishops' courts for heresy, and also of reforming the clergy. From the reports in Corpo dipl. Portug., VIII.-IX., it is clear how favourable Pius IV. was to the Portuguese Inquisition, and how he granted to John III. even the right of taxing the clergy. *Cf.* also Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, LIII. (1885), 35. Pius IV. also favoured the project of marrying Francesco Maria de' Medici to Joanna, the mother of the future King Sebastian of Portugal (*cf.* Brown-Bentinck, VII., nn. 241, 254, 285). In the autumn of 1561 John III. sent to Pius IV. some rare animals, including an elephant, for the gardens of the Belvedere; see Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 400, 418 *seq.*

[2] See Raynaldus, 1562, n. 186; Šusta, II., 401, 423.

protested against the proposed retrospective effect of the bull of 1560.[1]

Even now Philip II. was not entirely satisfied, although he had every reason to be so, since, according to Paolo Tiepolo, he received during 1563 750,000 ducats from the *Cruzada* and the *Sussidio*, which was entirely due to the good-will of Pius IV. How small, on the other hand, were the payments which were at last made to the Pope's nephews after long negotiations and deliberate delays![2] According to a memorial drawn up in Rome after the death of Pius IV., the sum total of the ecclesiastical revenues accruing to Philip II. by Papal concession was 1,970,000 gold ducats a year![3]

The representatives of the other states, especially the ambassador of Venice, saw with jealousy and envy the favours granted by the Pope to the King of Spain; Philip had only to make a request, they thought, to have it granted.[4] But they were very much mistaken if they thought that Pius IV. had become a merely passive tool in the hands of the Spanish king. Philip II. himself ensured that this should not be the case, since the more compliant the Pope showed himself, the more did he increase his demands.[5] Knowing full well that the sovereign of the Papal States, shut in as he was to the north and south by the Spanish power, was almost powerless politically, the ruler of the empire on which the sun never

[1] See Šusta, III., 487.

[2] See P. Tiepolo in Albèri, I., 5, 47; Philippson, Philipp II. und das Papstum, 292. *Mula refers to the gifts made by Pius IV. to Philip II. on October 19, 1560: "S. S^{tà} apparecchia di mandare un presente al re cattolico d' una corona regia d' oro, adorna di gioie, d' una croce in cristallo con due candelieri della medesima materia e fattura, per adornamento d' un alture, et una tavola di pietre finissime, che fu di papa Giulio III., con un organo che fu del medesimo, un stocco che S. S^{tà} benedirà, et 4 teste, uno che è di marmo bellissimo" (Court Library, Vienna). **Cf.* Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 206^{b}, Vatican Library).

[3] See Corresp. dipl., I., 453.

[4] Girol. Soranzo, 107.

[5] See P. Tiepolo, *loc. cit.*; Šusta, II., 477; III., 346.

set thought to retain the right that the Holy Father should be at his command in everything. He stood out against Pius IV. with all the pride and cruel harshness of his Spanish nature, and it must be admitted that the Pope in many ways went too far in his readiness to give way. With haughty self-assurance the king laid aside all the respect that he should have shown. The "overbearing contempt" which the royal council showed in its dealings with the Curia gave the impression that it looked upon the Pope as a mere Milanese prelate; the nuncios and other representatives of the Holy See were treated in Spain as though they were the envoys of a subject of the Spanish crown.[1] Difficulties were placed in the way of all the Pope's wishes, both in great and small matters, while at the same time fresh demands were always being made. Besides the sale of the ecclesiastical fiefs, which would have produced a million ducats, Spain asked for a levy upon all ecclesiastical goods, and the extension for a further five years of the subsidy for the fleet, and for its application to Naples and Milan as well.[2] Claims such as these, together with the whole attitude of Philip II., clearly showed the reverse of the medal, and what lay behind his frequently ostentatious zeal for the Catholic Church, namely, that he was deliberately trying to make it powerless and subservient to his own ends. The disagreements which were in consequence always occurring were bound at last to lead to an open rupture, a thing which, nevertheless, many shrewd observers thought to be impossible, in view of the mutual dependence of the two powers.[3]

If for a time a crisis was avoided this was due to the skilful conduct of affairs by Alessandro Crivelli, who had been appointed nuncio in Spain in November, 1561. By his appointment of this diplomatist Pius IV. had openly shown his good will towards Philip II., since Crivelli, who was a

[1] See the opinion of PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 87; Philipp II. und das Papsttum, 291 *seq.* Giac. Soranzo brings out the readiness to give way on the part of Pius IV., in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 93, and Girol. Soranzo the obstinacy of the Spanish cabinet (108 *seq.*).

[2] See GIAC. SORANZO, 149.

[3] See GIROL. SORANZO, 108 *seq.*

Milanese by birth, was a loyal adherent of the Spanish cause, and was as prudent as he was retiring and conciliatory.[1]

Philip II. had chosen a man of quite another character as his representative in Rome, in the person of Francisco Vargas, who was a true Castilian. Vargas had many great qualities, especially a wide experience of politics, and a deep knowledge of theology and canon law, but his haughty, arrogant and overbearing nature rendered him little fitted for diplomacy. He set no limits to his zeal for the cause of the Catholic King, and it was his maxim that he must make a show of Spanish ruthlessness on all occasions, or, as he put it, show his teeth to the Pope. Yet, in spite of all this, this ambitious man flattered himself with the idea that he would receive the purple![2] With unwearied importunity he tried to make the head of the Church follow his advice in all things,[3] thinking that this was the only safe course for the Pope to follow. In spite of his strictly ecclesiastical views, his indiscreet zeal often led him to do injury to the reverence due to the Pope, and to make use of very worldly methods in dealing with ecclesiastical matters. It may be added that he was a strong partisan of the Farnese. It is not surprising, therefore, that very strained relations existed between him and Pius IV. from the first. As early as May 1561 there had been violent scenes between them, and this happened again and again.[4] On one occasion, in May, 1562, the Pope turned to Vargas in the presence of many persons and exclaimed that the only thing for him to do was to take up arms and fight the Holy See; that he wanted to lord it completely over the Pope and find fault with all he did; that His Majesty made no return of any kind for the

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., xxxiii. *seq.*

[2] See the excellent character sketch of Vargas given by CONSTANT, Rapport, 367 *seq.*, in which he has made use of many reports drawn from the archives of Simancas. *Cf.* also Vol. XV. of this work pp. 25, 37, 63 *seq.*

[3] A striking example was his attempt to lay down for the Pope whom he should receive in audience. See *Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1560 (Vatican Library).

[4] See ŠUSTA, I., 301 *seq.*; CONSTANT, Rapport, 371.

benefits which were continually being bestowed upon the Catholic King.[1] Many times Pius IV. declared that he would not have anything more to do with Vargas, and asked Philip II. to put an end to a state of affairs which had become intolerable by recalling his ambassador. The king promised to do so, but kept on putting off the fulfilment of his promise. So long as the Council was sitting the presence of a man like Vargas in Rome seemed to him to be necessary, and it was not until the autumn of 1563 that Requesens was sent in his place.[2]

The attitude of Philip in the matter of the Council, the essential point of Catholic interest, had not been all that could be desired from the first.[3] It now became of decisive importance to his relations with the Pope.[4]

In view of the sincerely Catholic sentiments of Philip II., his dilatory and even hostile attitude towards the opening of the ecumenical council, a thing which was absolutely necessary, can only be described as surprising. This attitude, like his failure to accept the Pope's proposals for a Catholic league, and for energetic action against the Queen of England, can only be explained by the painful anxiety of the Spanish monarch to avoid all warlike complications, to say nothing of the lamentable state of his finances. When the Council was at last assembled, the attitude taken up by none of the princes caused so much fear to the Pope as that of Philip II., whose representative in Rome was for ever trying to thwart the policy of the Curia.[5] The way in which the king sought to

[1] See the report of Vargas of May 23, 1562 in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 429 *seq.*

[2] Vargas left Rome on October 12, 1563; see the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti of October 13, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also CONSTANT, Rapport, 372 *seq.*, 376; ŠUSTA, I., 283, 313; II., 485 *seq.*; III., 390, 484.

[3] ŠUSTA in Mitteilungen des österr. Instituts, XXX., 546. *Cf.* the complaints of Pius IV. of March, 1563, in Legaz. di Serrestori, 389 and ŠUSTA, III., 526 *seq.*

[4] The Venetian orators bring this out repeatedly. See GIROL. SORANZO, 109; GIAC. SORANZO, 149.

[5] See ŠUSTA, II., 400 and in Mitteil. des österr. Instit., XXX., 546.

make use of the conduct of the bishops of his kingdom in questions of dogma in order to extort important concessions from the Holy See, gives a very painful impression. The favourable turn given to the relations between Madrid and Rome in May, 1563, did not last long, and were even made worse by the efforts of the Spanish government to delay the discussions of the Council as much as possible.[1] The Venetian orator, Girolamo Soranzo, openly says that in this they were only aiming at obtaining a lever to wring fresh concessions from the Pope, especially in matters of finance.[2] The same writer clearly shows how the tension became greater when the Pope decided in favour of France in the dispute about precedence. The disrespectful attitude of the court of Madrid, where the Pope was reviled as an irascible man of but little judgment, was in keeping with the recall of the Spanish ambassador. The Pope was deeply roused, and even allowed himself to be led into making open threats against Philip II.[3] He had already spoken of recalling his nuncio in February, 1564, when Spanish influence was interfering with his sovereign rights in Rome.[4] In addition to the former grievances fresh cause of offence was given by the delay of Philip in publishing the decrees of the Council in his dominions,[5] and when the king at last did so, on July 19th, 1564, his love of caesarism led him to add a clause, as a consequence of which many of the most salutary decrees could not be put into force.[6] With

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work p. 358. The indignation of Pius IV. at the behaviour of Spain over the question of the Council was strongly expressed in his letter to Crivelli of October 30, 1563 (Šusta, IV., 586 *seq.*). *Cf.* also the complaints of Pius IV. about Philip II. in the **report of Serristori of September 11, 1563 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] Albèri, I., 5, 93 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 94 *seq.* *Cf.* Forneron, I., 189.

[4] See Legaz. di Serristori, 407, 410, 414.

[5] See the report of Requesens of July 6, 1564, in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 564.

[6] *Cf. supra* p. 106. *Cf.* Gams, III., 1, 188 *seq.*; (Mignot) Histoire de la réception du Conc. de Trente, I., Amsterdam, 1756, 25 *seq.*

regard to those decrees which ran counter to the *Monarchia Sicula* Philip retracted his own ordinance of July 19th, 1564, when the governor of Sicily raised objections to it.[1] The simultaneous recall of Requesens did not, it is true, lead to a complete rupture between Madrid and Rome, but the relations between the two courts became obviously more strained.

It was clearly seen how great the state of tension had become when, in the winter of 1564-65, the Turkish question became extremely threatening. All Europe was ringing with the news of the vast preparations being made by the Sultan, Sulieman.[2] For a long time it was uncertain where his attack would be made, but at last it became clear that he was planning a great stroke in the western Mediterranean. Malta was the gate by which the enemy hoped to break in; if this stronghold of the Knights of St. John were to fall, Sicily and the coasts of Italy would be in imminent peril.

Pius IV., who from the beginning of his pontificate had sought to secure the safety of Rome as well as of the coast of Italy,[3] now redoubled his efforts.[4] In a consistory on February 23rd, 1565, he spoke of the Turkish peril,[5] and in that of April 13th he alluded to the activities of the commission which he had set up, composed of Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mula and Este. He then spoke at length of the Turkish war, enumerated the concessions which he had made to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, and to the Republic of Venice,

[1] See CARUSO, 260 *seq.*; SENTIS, Monarchia Sicula, 117.

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, II., 772, 777, 780.

[3] *Cf. infra*, Chapter XII. For the Order of St. Stephen, founded in 1562, for the protection of the Mediterranean coasts, see REUMONT, Toskana, I., 234 *seq.*; RANKE, Histor.-biogr. Studien, Leipzig, 1877, 433; FRIO DA PISA in La Lettura, VII., (1912). For the Papal confirmation see Esenzioni d. famiglia Castiglione, Mantua, 1780, App. 2 and 12.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of March 31, April 14 and 28, and May 1, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 1, 3, 7bb., 12b. Vatican Library).

[5] See *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 116 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

so that they might defend Christendom against the common enemy, and expressed the hope that Philip II. would in the end do his duty in this respect.[1] On May 18th prayers were ordered for the removal of the Turkish peril,[2] and on May 31st it was reported that a Turkish fleet of 150 ships, bearing heavy artillery and 30,000 men had appeared before Malta.[3] The Pope had sent the Knights of St. John 10,000 ducats, but he had sent no troops because he thought that the defence of Malta belonged in the first instance to Philip II., whose father had given the island to the Knights, and who, on account of the nearness of the island to Sicily, was the party principally concerned. When the Knights asked for military help as well, Pius IV. sent them 600 men under the command of Pompeo Colonna.[4] Ascanio della Corgna, who was set free from prison, also went to Malta.[5]

Under the supreme command of the Grand Master, Jean de la Valette, the Knights of St. John made so heroic a resistance that the Turks only succeeded in storming the small fort of St. Elmo (June 23rd).[6] In spite of all their efforts the assailants

[1] See *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, (Cod. 40—G—13, Corsini Library, Rome).

[2] See *Acta consist. Cam., *loc. cit.*

[3] *" Eodem die [ult. Maii] etiam venit pessimum novum ad urbem, qualiter classis Turcharum in Melitam insulam descenderat." *Diarium of L. Bondonus (Miscell. Arm. XII., 29, p. 382b, Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, of June 8, 1565, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also *Avviso di Roma of June 16, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 31, Vatican Library. See also VERTOT IV., 447).

[5] *" Die 3 iulii ill^{mus} dominus Ascanius de Cornea fuit a carceribus liberatus et de arce S. Angeli. Et die 12 dicti mensis discessit ab Urbe Melitam versus ad instantiam Regis Catholici." Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 383 (Papal Secret Archives).

[6] *" Die 11 dicti mensis allatum fuit novum quod Turcae maximo impetu aggressi sunt fortilitium sancti Hermi et illud maximo conflictu expugnaverunt et omnes milites religionis ac omnes alios ibidem repertos trucidarant et ex ipsis Turcis perierant circa quinque millia." *Ibid.*

were unable to capture the other two fortresses of the harbour. As time went on their courage flagged more and more ; sickness reduced their numbers, and the fate of the siege was decided on September 7th, by the arrival of the Spanish fleet, whose sailing had been long delayed by the dilatoriness of Philip II., and the excessive caution of the timorous Viceroy of Sicily.[1] On September 11th the Turks gave the signal for the raising of the siege.[2]

This failure was a fresh inducement to the Sultan to restore the prestige of Turkish arms by resuming the war on land against Hungary. Here too Pius IV. contributed his share by giving 50,000 ducats ; half of this sum was sent in hard cash in August, and the other half was paid by Count Biglia, the new nuncio at the Imperial court, who left Rome at the end of September, and arrived in Vienna on October 17th. In the event of peace, or at least an armistice, not having been concluded with the Turks by the following spring, the

[1] *Cf.* MANFRONI, Marina, 431 *seq.*

[2] For the siege of Malta see VERTOT, IV., 461 *seq.*, 519 *seq.* ; HAMMER, III., 747 *seq.* ; ZINKEISEN, II., 898 *seq.* ; PRESCOTT, II., 221 ; FORNERON, I., 376 *seq.*, 381, 384 *seq.* ; CARLO SANMINIATELLI ZABARELLA, L'assedio di Malta, Turin, 1902 ; JORGA, III., 107 ; JURIAN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, Les chevaliers de Malte et la marine de Philippe II., Paris, 1887. Numerous writings in prose and verse extolled the bravery of the Knights of St. John ; see the bibliography in [V. ARMANDO], Il successo de L'Armata de Solimano Ottomano dell'impresa di Malta. Poemetto, Turin, 1884, and in A. BOSELLI in Archivum Melitense, 1911. Among these must be numbered the Greek poem of Antonios Achelis recently published by H. Pernot, with a reprint of the excellent account by Gentil de Vendosmes (Paris, 1910). *Cf.* GERLAND in Lit. Zentralblatt, 1911, 695 *seq.*, and WEIGAND in Lit. Rundschau, 1912, 488 *seq.* See also BOSELLI in Malta letter, VIII., 87. A description of the siege of Malta which has certainly not so far been published is given by BARTH. GRYHIUS, De expeditione classis Turcicae et melitae obsidione, in Cod. Pal. 934 of the Vatican Library. In the "Galleria geografica" of the Vatican, on the right of the entrance, the siege of Malta is depicted opposite the battle of Lepanto.

Pope promised to place in the field 4,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.[1]

Europe had awaited the result of the siege of Malta, which lasted for three months, in the greatest anxiety. The agitation in Rome had been very great, since at the end of May two Turkish vessels had appeared before Ostia, so much so that the city had been placed in a state of defence.[2] The relief at the end of the siege was therefore very great.[3]

The Spaniards, who had had no share in the danger of the Knights of St. John, but only in their success, claimed nevertheless to be hailed as the real victors. Pius IV., however, refused to allow this, and when he informed the Cardinals that the Turks had withdrawn from Malta, he remarked that this success was due to God and the bravery of the Knights. He made no mention of the Spanish help,[4] and made no attempt to conceal the fact that he considered it quite insufficient.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 64b, Vatican Library); *Acta consist. Cam. IX., on August 17, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); Venez. Depeschen, III., 303; SCHWARZ in Hist. Jahrb., XVIII., 393; STEINHERZ, IV., 456. HUBER, (IV., 225), makes Pius IV. contribute only 25,000 ducats.

[2] Description by Philip Camerarius; see Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, XLV.[1], 64.

[3] The *Lettera del Gran Maestro della Religione de' cavalieri Gerosolimit. J. di Valetae a P. Pio IV., d.d. Malta, 1565, 11 September, in Cod. Ital. 171, p. 221b. *seq.* (State Library, Munich).

[4] See the letter of P. Davila in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 629, and the *report of Camillo Luzzara dated Rome, September 22, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the celebration of the victory in Rome see PAGLIUCCHI, 147, and the *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1565, (Urb. 1040, p. 99, Vatican Library). *Ibid.*, 130 and 135 b. the *Avvisi di Roma of November 5 and 17, 1565, refer to the scheme of Pius IV. for securing the permanent safety of Malta. *Cf.* *Acta consist. Cam. IX. for August 22, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). It is necessary to inquire carefully into the question of the seriousness of the thoughts and plans of Pius IV. for a crusade, of which GIAC. SORANZO speaks (p. 145 *seq.*).

But however great his displeasure with Philip II. was, on account of the preponderance of Spain, and his experiences of the utter unreliability of the French government, he found himself, so as to avoid a complete rupture, constrained to treat the King of Spain with great consideration, that monarch who proudly called himself the Catholic King.[1] This came out once more in his treatment of the trial by the Inquisition of Bartolomè Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo, who had been imprisoned on August 22nd, 1559, on a charge of heresy.[2] The Inquisitor General, Fernando Valdés, was, like Philip II., convinced of the guilt of the accused. Philip had further a special political interest in the affair; by thus humiliating the primate of Spain he struck fear into the hearts of all the other bishops, and drove them into complete submission, while by the confiscation of the archbishop's revenues he received 800,000 ducats.[3]

The conduct of the trial resulted in a whole series of usurpations on the part of the Spanish government. The concession made by Paul IV. that the trial should take place in Spain, with the reservation to the Pope of the final sentence, was understood in Madrid as meaning that the whole affair was to be concluded in Spain. Pius IV. protested against this, and adhered to his point of view, but his representatives, Crivelli

[1] In a cypher *report of Alfonso Roselli to the Duke of Ferrara, dated Rome, September 26, 1565, it is stated: "Il papa circa il succeso di Malta parla più tosto con manco honore di don Garcia di quello che vanno mettendo li suoi Spagnuoli in cielo, et in vero il papa, ove puo, mostra mala satisfattione del rè cattolico et de suoi ministri in publico et in privato, ma al fine la potenza è tale di questo rè in Italia che il papa con tutto ciò si vede che procede con molto rispetto poi al fine dubitando della potenza sua, ma in suo intresco non gli vuol bene et dice che è longa differenza da lui al padre suo et al governo dell' uno all' altro." (State Archives, Modena).

[2] See *supra* p. 318. LAUGWITZ, B. Carranza, Kempten, 1870; LEA, Inquisition of Spain, II.; FORNERON, I., 196 *seq.*

[3] See PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. und das Papsttum, 293, 297. For Carranza's fault, if indeed it is possible to call it a fault, *cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 315.

and Odescalchi, met with insuperable difficulties. Philip II. remained deaf to the Pope's remonstrances; Borromeo repeatedly complained that there was no way of helping the archbishop unless they were prepared to come to a complete breach with Spain.[1] In a letter of August 15th, 1563, the king definitely refused, as being a violation of his sovereign rights, to send Carranza and the acts of the trial to Rome, as was requested both by the Pope and the Council.[2] When the Council was concluded he again set to work to do all in his power to prevent the transference of the imprisoned archbishop to Rome. By the advice of the Spanish Inquisition Philip II. asked the Pope to send judges to Spain. Pius IV. gave way even on this point,[3] but chose men whose character was a guarantee of a just decision, namely, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, as legate *a latere*, Giovanni Aldobrandini as Auditor, the new nuncio, Giovan Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and the Franciscan, Felice da Montalto. This embassy, by means of which Borromeo hoped to secure the recall of Requesens from Rome, is the only instance in the whole history of Papal diplomacy in which three of its members were destined to ascend the throne of St. Peter.[4]

Philip II., who had always taken care to obtain his end under the outward appearances of great respect for the Holy See, showed the legates every sign of honour, but he asked that the Court of the Inquisition, on which the Papal envoys were merely to take their place as co-members, should pronounce the final sentence.[5] This claim, which the legate was bound to refuse, was the result of the same idea of caesarism as had led to the sending of royal officials to the provincial councils. This new interference on the part of the king in ecclesiastical matters drew fresh complaints from Pius IV., and the Cardinal legate was charged on November 17th and 29th, 1565, to make strong protests and to demand the with-

[1] *Cf.* Šusta, III., 75, 87 *seq.*, 304 *seq.*

[2] See Colección de docum. inéd., V., 447; Laugwitz, 77 *seq.*

[3] See the remark of Borromeo in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 628.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 334.

[5] See Corresp. dipl., I., 47 *seq.* *Cf.* Laugwitz, 86.

drawal of the order, but these instructions had not yet reached Boncompagni when the news of the Pope's death called him back to Rome for the conclave.[1]

A little while before his death Pius IV. had bitterly complained to Cardinal Pacheco and Pedro de Avila, who had been sent as envoy extraordinary in July, 1565, of Philip II. and his ministers, saying that he had received worse treatment at their hands than had been shown to any of his predecessors by a Spanish sovereign. In stern words he declared that Philip II. wished to influence the decisions of the provincial councils by means of laymen, that he had assumed the right of interpreting even the Council of Trent, and even claimed to pronounce upon the publication of the pontifical bulls, briefs and decrees. Never before had the Pope so strongly condemned the caesarism of Philip II. "You in Spain," he exclaimed, "wish to be Pope, and to refer all things to the king," but "if the king intends to be king in Spain, I intend to be Pope in Rome."[2]

[1] See HINOJOSA, 162 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., I., 30 *seq.*, 38 *seq.*

[2] See the report of Pacheco of November 30, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 640 *seq.* The strong words of the Pope were quickly noted. An *Avviso di Roma of December 1, 1565 says that the Pope had replied to Pacheco "che non era bene che il Re volesse esser anco Papa et che era sopra il concilio, che poteva fare quello che le pareva." (Urb. 1040, p. 140b, Vatican Library). In Corresp. dipl., I., 443 *seq.* there is a list belonging to the beginning of 1565, of the offences against ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the civil power in Spain. *Cf. supra* 334.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES. THE CONSPIRACY OF ACCOLTI.—END OF THE PONTIFICATE.

THE great readiness to yield shown by Pius IV. to Philip II. was caused principally by the weakness of the Papal States.[1] Although they were of great importance in many respects, the temporal possessions of the Holy See had no sufficient means of defence against the great power of Spain, which shut them in both to the north and the south. The long frontier on the side of Naples was hardly fortified at all, and Pius IV. sought to remedy this defect by fortifying Anagni. To the north there was no *point d'appuis* against the attack which might come from Milan, but which might also be undertaken by the Duke of Tuscany, who had become a power to be reckoned with since he had obtained possession of Siena. There was the further disadvantage that the territory of Cosimo, together with that of Urbino, cut the Papal States in half. Orvieto, which was almost impregnable on account of its position, was insufficiently fortified, and the same was true of Perugia, Ancona and Civitavecchia. Ravenna was only given adequate fortifications in the time of Pius IV.[2] Some of the inhabitants of the Papal States, such as those in the Romagna, Bologna, Perugia and Spoleto, had the reputation of possessing a great aptitude for war, but owing to the disconnected nature of their governments they

[1] The other possessions of the Holy See, Avignon and the ioslated territory of Benevento, made no more difference to the independence of the Pope than the great fiefs of Naples, Urbino and Parma, which only recognized the sovereignty of the successor of St. Peter in name.

[2] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, 26; GIROL. SORANZO 86. For the fortification of Anagni and Ravenna, see *infra*, Chapter XII.

had no unity for military purposes. In 1560 Mocenigo said that the Papal States might put 25,000 soldiers in the field, but that all their capable commanders were in foreign pay; while they could hardly provide 500 armed horsemen between them.[1]

It had been seen, during the pontificate of Paul IV., how easily, under certain conditions, an enemy could advance to the very gates of Rome. This explains the anxious care of his successor to ensure at least the safety of the Eternal City from a surprise attack by the erection of extensive fortifications.[2] In spite of this the situation in 1563 was still such that the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, was of opinion that the Papal States were so weak that their sovereign could not and should not think of defending them except by peaceful means, since Paul IV. by his war had made it plain to all the world what a low estimate must be formed of their military power.[3] The plans formed by Pius IV. in 1564 of reorganizing the Papal army were not carried into effect.[4]

Nevertheless, even though they but imperfectly fulfilled their primary purpose of safeguarding the liberty and independence of the Pope, the Papal States were of great value to the Holy See. After Venice they formed the most important power in Italy, so much so that by their means the Pope was able to bring efficacious pressure to bear upon the various governments of Italy, even in ecclesiastical matters, while apostasy from the Church was rendered very difficult for them.[5]

[1] Mocenigo, 26; Šusta, Pius IV., 52 *seq.* For the warlike skill of the inhabitants of the Papal States, see the account in Ortensio Landi, Forcianae quaestiones, Naples, 1586. *Cf.* Burckhardt, Kultur der Renaissance, II.[10], 305. For Pius IV. and the army, see App. n. 36.

[2] See *infra*, Chapter XII.

[3] See Girol. Soranzo, 88 *seq.*

[4] See the *report of Fr. Tonina of August 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See *supra*, p. 342.

The territory belonging to the Popes as temporal sovereigns was divided into six administrative districts or legations; the Campagna of Rome, the Patrimony of St. Peter, Umbria (Perugia), the March of Ancona, the Romagna, and Bologna. In the Eternal City itself, the Pope's power was almost absolute, and Mocenigo describes the power of the Romans as a shadow.[1] A Cardinal legate administered each legation in the Pope's name, but the real ruler was his representative, called vice-legate or president. In the larger cities the Papal authority was represented by a governor, appointed by the vice-legate, or a *podestà* elected by the citizens and confirmed by the Pope. The smaller cities, which belonged as fiefs to baronial families, were administered by commissaries or vicars appointed by the vice-legate.[2]

The richest province was undoubtedly the fertile Romagna, with its dense and wealthy, but very restless population. It was the one district of Italy where the free peasant was still to be found. Bologna, situated in the fertile grassy plain between Reno and Savena, was the largest and most prosperous city, and had retained almost all the outward appearances of its former civic independence. In the other half of the Papal States, besides the barren mountain districts of the Appenines, the already desolate Campagna and the Pontine Marshes, there were also many fertile districts, as for example the neighbourhood of Ancona in the March, the plain of Foligno in Umbria, and the district round Viterbo in the Patrimony. The economic conditions, however, were by no means in keeping with the natural conditions, which were in many ways so promising. Some of the districts, like the March of Ancona, were only able to export corn in very good years; the production of wine was still very backward everywhere, and only supplied local needs; the Papal States could not compare with Tuscany in this respect, nor in the production of oil. Of the more than 40

[1] See MOCENIGO, 30. For Pius IV. and the administration of Rome, see RODOCANACHI, Instit. commun., 266, 268, 273, 275.

[2] See MOCENIGO, 26 *seq.*; GIROL. SORANZO, 58 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 52 *seq.*

cities the more important were: in the Campagna, Anagni, Velletri and Terracina; in the Patrimony, Viterbo, Orvieto and Civitavecchia; in Umbria, Spoleto, Foligno and Perugia; in the March of Ancona, Fermo, Ascoli, Macerata and Camerino; in the Romagna, Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, Forli and Cesena; in Bologna the city itself. As a port, Ancona was far more important than Civitavecchia.[1]

Certain decrees made by Pius IV. concerning the notaries were very useful for the development of trade. It had been a great drawback that in the Papal States there had been scarcely any archives for the preservation of contracts and processes, and that very often the notaries lacked the requisite legal knowledge, and allowed infringements upon legal rights; Pius IV. met this difficulty on October 6th, 1562, by renewing a decree of his predecessor, and at the same time placing the notariate in the charge of the Apostolic Camera;[2] he also introduced a fixed scale of charges for the notaries.[3] The retail dealers in the city of Rome were given a special tribunal for the settlement of their disputes, and their commercial books were given the status of public documents, as had already been ordered by Boniface IX.;[4] forged accounts were publicly burned to the sound of a trumpet on the Capitol, and the name of the forger publicly proclaimed. Debtors who tried to evade their liabilities by appealing to various legal exemptions could neither obtain nor avail themselves of such benefits unless they made themselves known to everyone by wearing a green hat.[5] Pius IV. also set himself to the task of frustrating the tricks of the money-makers by the prevention of usurious interest.[6]

[1] See Girol. Soranzo, 86 *seq.*; Šusta, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Bull. Rom., VII., 285 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 177 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 267 (February 5, 1564).

[5] *Ibid.*, 145 (October 27, 1561).

[6] *Ibid.*, 1 *seqq.* (s.d.). For the complicated money transactions of the traders of that time see the account of Lainez, De usura variisque negotiis mercatorum, in Grisar, Disput., II., 227-331. The craftiness of the merchants, says Lainez, has evolved so

As was the case in the other states of Italy, so in the States of the Church political economy limited itself to the regulation of prices and the prohibition of exports.[1] The absence of any stable form of administration caused much harm;[2] each pontificate brought with it a complete change of officials, and the proverbially quick changes that took place in Rome at the court itself, after the election of a new Pope, found an echo in the provinces.[3] Under the pressure of the discontent which had been aroused by the hardships occasioned by the previous administration, the new one was generally disinclined to carry on the system of its predecessor.

Pius IV. did not depart from the custom of previous Popes of filling the administrative offices with their own countrymen. Just as in the time of Clement VII. these had been filled by Florentines, and in that of Paul IV. by Neapolitans, so now they were given to Milanese. All competent observers lament the way in which the latter sought to enrich themselves, and the bad administration of justice, and especially the settlement of tedious legal processes by money payments.[4] It was recognized, however, that Pius IV. was genuinely seeking to secure the safety of the Papal States by a series of enactments. The laws which had been made since the time of Pius II. against murderers and brigands were con-

many tricks (in order to escape the laws against usury) that it is difficult even to understand them, let alone to pass judgment on them (*ibid.* 228). Lainez advises that a Papal decision should be asked for in difficult cases (*ibid.* 227).

[1] *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VII., 376 *seq.* On the care shown by Pius IV., in times of scarcity see PANVINIUS, Vita Pii IV.; Cardinal Borromeo too worked to prevent the raising of prices of food; see GIUSSANO, 17.

[2] *Cf.* ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 53 *seq.*, and I., 68.

[3] With regard to this *cf.* the *Discorso della corte di Roma by Commendone quoted *supra* p. 58, n. 5.

[4] See GIROL. SORANZO, 88 *seq.*; GIAC. SORANZO, 132, 138, 142.

firmed and strengthened,[1] and in order to fight this evil more vigorously, in 1564 Cardinal Mark Sittich was appointed Papal legate for the Marches,[2] though it was especially under his government that the evil consequences of the custom of escaping penalties by payments of money made themselves felt. Pius IV. had strictly prohibited duelling as early as November 13th, 1560; this decree referred primarily to the Papal States, but it also bound the civil authorities in general to take proceedings against this evil.[3] By an edict of December 14th, 1564, the privilege possessed by certain confraternities of liberating a murderer from prison on Good Friday or some other fixed day was abrogated.[4] It was especially enacted for Rome on February 18th, 1562, that the palaces of the Cardinals and foreign ambassadors should no longer afford sanctuary to a murderer from the officers of justice.[5] In 1563 Pius IV. issued a proclamation against excessive luxury in Rome,[6] and in 1564 and 1565 there were edicts against women and other persons of ill-fame, as well as against that deep-rooted plague-spot of the Eternal City, the vagrants.[7]

A very vital matter was the administration of the Papal finances, and especially the national debt.[8] It was impossible

[1] See the constitutions of January 6, 1561, April 10 and October 8, 1562, and May 21, 1565 in Bull. Rom., VII., 102, 186, 187. *Ibid.*, 171 *seq.* a prohibition to carry fire-arms, of March 6, 1562; a "Bando" explaining this in *Editti 171, (Casanatense Library, Rome).

[2] *Consistorial decree of October 25, 1564 (Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 389 *seq.*).

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 83 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 334 *seq.* Pius IV. himself had granted a similar privilege on May 15, 1561; *cf. ibid.*, 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, 166. *Cf.* Raynaldus, 1565, n. 5.

[6] See Lodi in Pungolo della Domenica, Milan, 1884, July 20.

[7] See the *Bandi of September 23, 1564 and May 28, 1565, in Editti, V., 60, p. 207 and 208 (Papal Secret Archives).

[8] *Cf.* the statements of M. Michiel [1560] in Albèri, II., 4, 12; Mocenigo [1560], 27 *seq.*, 62; Girol. Soranzo [1563], 86 *seq.*; Giac. Soranzo [1565], 131 *seq.*, 147; P. Tiepolo [1569], 174,

to think of placing the finances on a sound basis so long as the principle obtained of meeting the financial deficit by the so-called *Monti*, or state loans, by which certain definite imposts were made over to the whole body of subscribers. This system,[1] which entirely withdrew from the public treasury more than half the revenues of the state, was continued by Pius IV., who even set up two new *Monti*.[2] In addition to the already existing saleable offices, he established in 1560 a body of 375 *cavalieri di Pio*.[3] The number of persons maintained by the revenues of the Apostolic See increased in his time to 3,645.[4] According to the report of the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, in June, 1563,[5] the greater part of the revenues was employed to satisfy the

whose notes in cypher, however, are not quite clear. Of recent writers see RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 271 ; REUMONT, III., 2, 594 *seq.* ; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 54 *seq.*, who was the first to make use of the State balance sheet of 1564 in Cod. ottob. 1888, of the Vatican Library, from which it is clear that the greater part of the taxes did not come to the Camera.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 100, n. 4.

[2] See the accounts in *Cod. N.—II.—50 of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* PANVINIUS, Vita Pii IV. ; MORONI, XL., 149 *seq.* ; COPPI, Finanze, 4 ; CUPIS, 161.

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of March 23 and April 27, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 141, 151, Vatican Library). *Cf.* Arch. d. soc. Rom., IV., 266.

[4] *Lista degli officii della corte Romana, in Cod. N—II.—50, Chigi Library, Rome, used by RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 271, and ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 56. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Aus der Camera Apost., Innsbruck, 1889, 251 *seq.*

[5] GIROL. SORANZO, 86 *seq.*, ŠUSTA (Pius IV., 50, n. 1), in which he disagrees with Ranke and Brosch, doubts the statistics given by the Venetian reports, and that because the Venetians did not take sufficient pains in collecting them. Often the envoys repeat the same figures in quite a mechanical way. No one outside the *Tesoriere generale* was in a position to give the receipts of the Dataria, and the sums drawn from the various compositions, which were certainly kept secret. It is very doubtful whether, in view of the gaps in the archives, any special inquiry would throw much light upon the subject.

creditors of the state. The ordinary revenues, which were drawn from the customs of Rome, from the common taxes and imposts of the city and state, from the salt-mines of Comacchio and from the feudal payments, were estimated by Girolamo Soranzo at about 600,000 scudi, of which, however, the Pope only received such revenues as were not assignable to the creditors, or 200,000 scudi in all, which was hardly sufficient for the upkeep of the court, which cost about 70,000 scudi, for the pay of the Swiss Guard and the light cavalry, and for the salaries of the nuncios and the poorer Cardinals. The greater part of the extraordinary revenues had been furnished in the past by the Dataria, but this, under the strict regime of Paul IV., had only produced, according to the estimate of the not always reliable Soranzo, 6,000 scudi a month; Pius IV. increased this to between 25,000 and 30,000 scudi, and again to 40,000 scudi, until the carrying out of the reform again lowered it to 8,000 scudi a month. By means of this the Pope met the deficit in the ordinary revenues, and provided for buildings, presents, and other expenses. In spite of the greatest economy,[1] it was only with great difficulty that the cost of the Council could be defrayed from the existing revenue, and when in addition to that, the defence of the Catholic religion in France and Savoy called for considerable financial help, Pius IV. found himself obliged to open out fresh sources of revenue.[2] First of all, in May, 1562, a fresh direct tax was laid upon the provinces and cities of the Papal States, which was to bring in 400,000 scudi, while a hearth-tax was also laid upon Rome and the neighbourhood. By this means and the heavy fines laid upon Cardinals Alfonso Carafa and del Monte, as well as by new state loans and the sale of offices, the annual receipts were raised to 900,000 scudi. The financial help of 50,000 scudi sent to the Emperor for the Turkish War in 1565, gave occasion to a fresh levy, which produced a further 400,000 scudi. In this way, during his six years' pontificate, Pius IV. raised about six million scudi. Of this sum, according

[1] See Šusta, I., 53.

[2] *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 309 *seq.*

to an estimate made at the time, a million was spent in extinguishing the debts of Paul IV., a million and a half on buildings and fortifications in Rome, Agnani, Civitavecchia and Ancona, 300,000 scudi on the reception and entertainment of princes, 600,000 on the Council of Trent, 300,000 on the defence of Avignon against the Huguenots, 50,000 in helping the French Catholics, and as much for the Emperor's war against the Turks. There remained a further large sum spent on presents, while a considerable sum passed into the hands of the nephews.[1] The treasurer, Donato Matteo Minale, also appropriated considerable sums.[2]

As was only to be expected, the searching demands made by Pius IV. upon the contributions of his subjects caused great irritation and deep discontent. The original popularity of the Pope was entirely lost throughout the Papal States.[3] In July, 1562, pamphlets and broadsheets were spread in Rome in which he was denounced as a tyrant, who deserved death. Pius IV. then threatened to transfer his residence to Bologna, caused many arrests to be made, accumulated arms in his summer residence, the palace of S. Marco, and increased his guard.[4] The disturbance reached its climax when, on

[1] See Giac. Soranzo, 133. For the redistribution of the taxes in May, 1562, see Fontana, III., 391, for the sums deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo by Pius IV., see Studi e docum., XIII., 314 *seq.*, 311 *seq*; Pagliucchi, 143 *seq.*; Rodocanachi, St.-Ange, 164; for the coinage of Pius IV., see Serafini, I., 287 *seq.* For *Due scudi d' oro spettanti a Pio IV.*, *cf.* Bullett. numism., 1882-1883.

[2] An inquiry into the case of Minale was therefore made under Pius V., which ended in his condemnation. See Vol. XVII. of this work.

[3] See the *report of Romeo Foscarari, dated Rome, August 6, 1561, and that of Vincenzo Campegio, of December 17, 1561 (State Archives, Bologna).

[4] Besides the reports of the Spanish and Imperial ambassdors in Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 447 *seq.*, and Sickel, Konzil, 310 *seq.*, *cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 394, and in App. nn. 25, 26, the interesting *reports of Fr. Tonina of July 29 and August 1, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the second Sunday of August, 1652, a shot was fired from the street into the Hall of Consistories in the palace of S. Marco, where the Pope had been a short time before. It was said that the bullet had been found and that it was a case of an attempt upon the Pope's life.[1] The body-guard was increased and several persons were imprisoned; the Pope did not go out in public any longer, and troops were gathered in the city.[2] In the meantime fresh taxes were under consideration, in which, however, the Pope wished to spare the common people.[3] The situation only became easier when, at the end of August, Marcantonio Colonna came to Rome; the Pope began again to appear in public,[4] but he remained very nervous.[5] At the beginning of January, 1564, it was rumoured that guards had been permanently stationed at four places in the Vatican for the protection of the Pope.[6] How very necessary such pre-

[1] See the *report of Alessandro Grandi of August 5, 1562 (State Archives, Modena), and in App. n. 27, the *report of Tonina of August 5, 1562 (State Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* Bondonus, 543; Dengel, Palazzo di Venezia, 101.

[2] See the *reports of Tonina of August 8 and 12, 1562 (some of those imprisoned were in relations with the Huguenots !), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and that of *A. Grandi, of August 8, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

[3] *Cf.* Sickel, Konzil, 311.

[4] *Letter of A. Grandi, dated Rome, August 29, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

[5] For the inquiry upon G. A. Santori, opened in July, 1563, which, however, revealed no crime, see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 337. The ambiguous remarks of Pius IV. in the consistory of December 30, 1563, refer to this; see Pogiani Epist., III., 383 *seq.*

[6] See Bondonus, 571 n. and the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti, of January 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The discontent of the Romans was increased by Pius IV.'s plan of going to Bologna, in which many people thought they detected all sorts of schemes on the part of the Pope and Cosimo I., who was aiming at the title of king (see Sickel, Konzil, 426). With regard to this latter point *Tarreghetti reported from Rome on May 16, 1565: *" N.S. ha fatto scrivere in iure ad alcuni dottori et ciò è stato per vedere se si poteva crear Re di Toscana il duca di Firenze et per quali ragioni." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

cautions were was made clear during the course of the same year.

In the December of 1564 the news spread in Rome that a conspiracy to kill the Pope had been discovered. Those who were better informed were careful not to speak of this unpleasant affair, but the people had no such scruples. It was only by degrees that the details became known.[1] The head of the conspirators was generally said to be Benedetto Accolti, the illegitimate son of the immoral Cardinal who had been so severely punished by Paul III., and had died in exile in 1549.[2] Benedetto Accolti, who had for a time lived at Geneva, had shown from his youth a great tendency to mental excitement and prophetical imaginations. He also knew how to infect other people with his ideas, such as Count Antonio di Canossa, Taddeo Manfredi, Giangiacomo Pelliccione, his nephew, Pietro Accolti, and Prospero de' Pittori. He succeeded in getting these people to believe that dreams and visions had made known to him that if Pius IV. were removed, by resignation or murder, he would be succeeded by a Pope who would be holy, angelic, and who would become the ruler of the whole world, and would satisfy the desires of all Christendom. It was Accolti's plan to present to Pius IV. a petition pointing out to him the necessity of his abdicating, and in the event of his refusal to kill him with a poisoned dagger. Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione were to assist him in this act, which he looked upon as a holy deed, and pleasing to God, while the other two, who had not been completely initiated into the criminal scheme, were to await results in the piazza of St. Peter's.

On the day appointed, Accolti, Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione, with daggers concealed about their persons,

[1] See the *reports of G. Tarreghetti dated Rome, December 20 and 24, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the account of P. Tiepolo (p. 194 *seq.*) based on the Venetian reports ; *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Papal Secret Archives (see App. nn. 47, 48) ; the *report of Fr. Priorato, State Archives, Modena (see App. 43 and the documents *ibid.* nn. 40-42).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 310 *seq.*

presented themselves at the Vatican. Accolti presented his petition to the Pope, who was attending a sitting of the Segnatura, but at the very moment when he intended to strike his fatal blow, he was seized with such fear that he dared do nothing. The conspirators returned without having accomplished anything, and fell to quarrelling among themselves. Pelliccione, who feared lest the others should reveal the plot, decided to disclose the conspiracy, so as to save at any rate his own life. They were consequently all imprisoned, and an inquiry was immediately opened, which was begun in the prison of Tor di Nona, before the governor of the city, on December 14th, 1564, and lasted till January 5th, 1565.[1]

The Pope, who had already informed the Cardinals of the

[1] The *original protocol of the trial in Arch. crim. Processi del sec. XVI. (1564), vol. 100 (State Archives, Rome) includes 262 sheets. It is headed as follows: "Repertorium constitutorum inferius annotatorum:

Ioannes Iacobus Pellicionus Ticinensis reus fol. 1 35 60 88 105 137.
Ioannes quondam Ioannis Petri Nursinus fol. 6 150.
Thadeus de Manfredis fol. 9 49 89 117 185 205 244.
Benedictus de Accoltis fol. 14 68 102 129 142 167 169 206 227 237 224 258.
Petrus quondam Adriani de Accoltis fol. 27 47 115 233 245.
Presbiter Oratius Cattarus de Urbino fol. 43 52.
Dominus Nicolaus Della Guardia Aprutinus fol. 56 247.
Prosper Francisci de Pettoribus fol. 63 149.
Elisabetta uxor Thadei Manfredi fol. 67.
Comes Antonius Canosius fol. 90 107 116 118 140 152 199 242 243 251.
Petrus Maronus spadarius fol. 101.
Eques Nicolaus Zololus fol. 119.
Petrus Paulus Angelinus fol. 126.
Alphonsus Bovius fol. 128.
Iulius Colanus de Accoltis fol. 189 222 236 246.
Elisabetta Agra fol. 220.
Petrus Ludovici Corsi fol. 222 249.
Honofrius Cominus fol. 248."

plot in the consistory of December 15th, 1564,[1] again spoke to them on the subject on January 6th, 1565, and again on the 19th, saying that some of the conspirators had resided at Geneva, but that there was no foundation for the wide-spread rumour that even some of the princes had had a share in the conspiracy. As far as he personally was concerned, he forgave the offenders, but that for the sake of example he must let justice take its course.[2] The execution of the conspirators was expected as early as January 10th.[3] Francesco Priorato, the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, visited them on that day in the Castle of St. Angelo, whither they had been transferred from Tor di Nona. According to his account, Benedetto Accolti was a small, ugly man, of varied attainments, and by profession an astrologer. He made no secret that he believed that he had been inspired by God with the idea of killing Pius IV. Priorato further relates that Manfredi had been enamoured of the beautiful wife of Count Canossa, and had thus been won over to the conspiracy. Canossa himself told the envoy that on the very day of his imprisonment he had made up his mind to reveal the plot to the Pope; he had gone twice to the Vatican but had been unable to obtain an audience. Urged on by the devil and their wild imaginings, says Priorato, the delinquents had determined to kill the Pope, and said so openly: Accolti, who intended to use a poisoned dagger, seemed to him to be a madman on account of his wild prophecies.[4]

The depositions which Accolti and his companions made

[1] *Quaedam deinde de coniuratione per scelestos quosdam et amentes infimae sortis homines contra se inita dixit, quae cum in sequenti consistorio latius dixerit, hic omittenda censui. Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome). 40—G—13.

[2] See *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 111b (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, 41. See also the report of Arco in Venez. Depeschen, III., 291, n. 8, and *that of Fr. Priorato of January 6, 1565 (State Archives, Modena), see App. n. 44.

[3] See in Appendix 45, the *letter of Fr. Priorato of January 10, 1565 (State Archives, Modena).

[4] See *ibid.*

during the course of the inquiry, gave the same impression, but since torture was employed,[1] their statements are not of very much value. As to his object, Accolti said that he had intended to liberate Italy and the whole world from tyrants, beginning with the Pope. When he was asked who would then be the chosen people and who the angelic Pope, whose coming he prophesied, he replied that he would be a holy man, and an old man like the early Popes, and that he would be that Pope whom the Romans spoke of as "Papa angelico." He only wished to injure the reigning Pope in case of necessity, and with the help of the chosen people. Accolti also stated that he had told Canossa, Manfredi, Pietro Accolti and some others, but not Prospero de' Pittori, that he intended to go to Pius IV., and if the latter would not agree to his proposal, to kill him, not indeed as Pope, for as such he did not consider him, but as a private individual, and the enemy of Christ and the apostolic faith. Accolti confessed that he had taken the aforesaid accomplices with him to the Vatican in order to carry out the attempt.[2] On the other hand he maintained most emphatically that he had initiated some persons of princely rank into his scheme.[3] He spoke of the reading of Lutheran books, as well as of the account by Platina of the conspiracy of Porcaro to kill Nicholas V. as having given him the idea of killing Pius IV., and he particularly asserted that Pietro Accolti was urged to it by him.[4]

How filled with fear the Pope was is made clear by the fact that the guard in the Vatican was doubled, and that the only persons admitted to the antecamera were the Cardinals and ambassadors, and nobody else, not even the bishops.[5]

[1] See the *Acts of the trial, p. 24 (State Archives, Rome). *Cf.* the * letter of Fr. Priorato of December 30, 1564 (App. n. 43). and Venez. Depeschen, III., 292 a.

[2] See these depositions in App. nn. 40-42, from the *Atti processuali in the State Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* the *Atti processuali, *loc. cit.*, n. 25 and 261.

[4] See his testimony in App. nn. 40-42.

[5] *Per questa congiura si sono raddopiate le guardie in palazzo et le genti non ponno andare più nell' anticamera di N.S. come si

Pelliccione, who had revealed the conspiracy, was pardoned, and Pietro Accolti and Prospero de' Pittori were condemned to the galleys for life. Benedetto Accolti, Canossa and Manfredi, were handed over, as guilty of high treason, to the criminal court of the city, and were barbarously put to death on the Capitol on January 27th. The terrible scene struck even the brothers of the *misericordia* with horror, although they were well accustomed to such sights.[1] To the end Benedetto Accolti maintained the innocence of his nephew, Pietro, and he as well as his two companions resigned themselves to death, after having received the sacraments on the previous day.[2]

As is generally the case with conspiracies which are crushed before they come to a head, so in this case there still remains a good deal of doubt as to its objects. It is, however, undeniable that Benedetto Accolti was the originator of the murderous plan, and that it was he who had drawn the others into it. In a letter to his parents and relatives, written from the Castle of St. Angelo on January 25th,[3] Canossa protests his innocence,

faceva di prima, eccetto che li cardinali et gli ambasciatori, et questo non è anco concesso alli vescovi. Reports Giac. Tarreghetti on January 6, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] Besides the short *report of Giac. Tarregehetti, dated Rome, January 27, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which records the sentence of *galera perpetua* on the two lesser offenders, *cf.* the full description of L. Bondonus (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 47-48, and *ibid.* n. 46, the précis in the *book of the *Giustiziati* in the Archives of S. Giovanni Decollato (State Archives, Rome).

[2] See the *book of the *Giustiziati*, III., 306, 308b, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *text in App. nn. 40-42, III. (Corsini, Vatican, and Chigi Libraries, Rome). RANKE, (Päpste, I.[8], 229) was the first to make use of this letter; he only knew, however, of the Corsini Library copy, and says that he has not found anywhere else the information contained in the letter, nor does he hesitate to build up his whole account of the conspiracy of Accolti on this one document. If such a proceeding is a dangerous one in any case, this applies even more to the general conclusions which he thinks he can draw from the letter. One can only feel surprise at the way in which Ranke, with categorical assurance makes the mad

and gives a detailed account of the way in which he had been misled by the fantastic ideas of Accolti. The latter had confided to him that he was in possession of a secret that had been made known to him by God, the truth of which he was

visionary Accolti into a representative of Catholic reform, and this he does as definitely as though he were dealing with a scientifically demonstrated fact. He begins his narrative as follows: "The spirit which was showing itself in the strictly Catholic movement very soon became a dangerous one for the Pope; a certain Accolti, who was an extreme Catholic, came to Rome." In the course of the narrative Accolti is again described as "a fanatically Catholic man," and Ranke concludes as follows: "One can see what kind of spirit was at work in the deeply stirred life of the times. In spite of all that Pius IV. had done for the reconstruction of the Church, there were many who looked upon this as quite insufficient, and who were forming quite different plans." This account, which has been followed by almost all subsequent historians, calls for emphatic contradiction. Views such as those of Accolti may be looked for in vain among the champions of a strongly Catholic policy, apart from the fact that it never even entered the minds of anyone of that party to remove a worldly minded Pope by assassination. There are no grounds at all in Canossa's letter for the hypothesis put forward with such assurance by Ranke. The same holds good of the many other reports of the conspiracy, which I have collected and used in my own account. In so far as these are not yet published, one cannot blame Ranke for not having known of them, though one of these reports, that of the Venetian Tiepolo, was known to Ranke, since he frequently quotes it. It is all the more significant, therefore, that Ranke is silent as to what Tiepolo says about Accolti's conspiracy, including his statement that many people at that time thought that the conspiracy had been organized by the Protestants. This opinion was shared by many contemporaries, including Pius IV. himself, and met with more belief since Accolti had resided at Geneva. In spite of that, however, no reliable historian would venture to say, on the strength of such evidence, that Accolti was inspired by Protestantism; to do that much stronger proofs would be necessary. But on the other hand unprejudiced science must strongly protest when Ranke ascribes Accolti's attempt to the strict Catholic movement. It is very hard to form a definite judgment as to the real motives

willing to prove by passing unscathed through a burning pyre in the Piazza Navona, in the presence of learned theologians and all the people. He had depicted the future in eloquent words: the union of the Greek Church with Rome, the submission of the Turkish empire, the extirpation of all sects, and the rule of perfect justice under a holy Pope, the anointed of Christ, who would govern as a universal sovereign. Accolti had incited him to the attempt, and had promised him the reward of God and of the future Pope, if he would co-operate in opening the way for him by killing Pius IV., who was not a true Pope. Canossa claimed that he had at first resisted the criminal design, but had at last yielded, and had seen how Accolti, at the very moment when he was about to carry out the deed, had changed colour and had not dared to deliver the blow. He had then declared his intention of giving up the design. "As Pelliccione can testify, I have bitterly bewailed my folly, and have wished to make it known to the Pope that Accolti still adhered to his intentions. For that purpose I went twice to the Vatican, but could not obtain an audience. On my return I went to the house of Manfredi, and there I heard Accolti say that he intended to carry out his mission to the Pope on the following morning, "with good effect." He had then wished to return home, but had suffered himself to be detained for the night; it had been his intention to go in the morning to the Vatican to reveal the whole thing to the Pope before the arrival of Accolti, when suddenly the police arrived to arrest Accolti and Manfredi, for debt, as it was

of Accolti and his companions. This is shown by the fact that even well-informed contemporaries, such as Pius IV. and Tiepolo, held quite different opinions. The confused religious utterances made use of by the conspirators, are sufficiently explained by the visionary prophecy of the *Pastor angelicus*. How far confusion of ideas can go in such cases may be seen, e.g. in the fact that the murderers of Galeazzo Maria Sforza prayed before their crime in the church of S. Stefano to the titular saint and heard mass before going out to commit the murder (*cf.* BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, I.[10], 60 *seqq.*). Historical criticism is not called upon to give any sort of explanation of such acts of religious mania.

thought at first; when he heard later that the arrest had been made on account of the projected murder, he had offered to appear before the governor of the city to prove his innocence, which he still maintained. He had not given his adherence to the scheme with a view to obtaining any advantages, but, misled by Accolti's eloquence, he had only wished to serve God. He therefore, on account of his simplicity, his whole behaviour, and the fact that he had not gone to the length of carrying out the murder, claimed that he was not guilty of death. He firmly believed that Pius IV. was the vicar of Christ, and hoped that he would pardon him on account of his repentance. In a postscript Canossa records the sentence of death which had been pronounced on the evening of January 25th, and says that he accepts it with Christian resignation, and that he was preparing himself for death in those sentiments.

One can only read these lines with deep compassion for the deluded man; the others too deserve our compassion, for it is evident that their heads had been completely turned[1] by the still prevailing prophecy of the coming of an angelic Pope (Pastor Angelicus).[2]

Pius IV. and many others were of opinion that Accolti and his companions had been urged to the attempt by the Calvinists.[3] This can hardly surprise us if we remember the serious fears of an invasion of Italy by the French Protestants[4]

[1] Such visionaries would to-day become a subject of study by alienists, but no one thought of such a thing then.

[2] For this prophecy see Vol. I of this work, 155 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Arco of January 6, 1565, in Venez. Depeschen, III., 291, n. 8; *letters of Fr. Priorato of January 6 and 10, 1565 (State Archives, Modena) in App. nn. 44, 45; P. Tiepolo, 195.

[4] *Cf.* Mocenigo, 63 and Girol. Soranzo, 82. F. Tonina reports as to the fortification of Ravenna on May 5, 1563: "*La principal causa di questa fortificatione è però giudicata essere per qualche timore che Sua Beatitudine habbia che questi oltramontani non se ne vengano di longo a Roma, et questo si cava da alcune parole che S. B^ne^ disse quando pransò a Campidoglio banchettata da Romano, da se stessa dicendo loro che non dubitassero degli Ugonotti che gli havrebbe tagliato il camino a mezzia

which had prevailed for some years past, especially when Accolti confessed that he had been in Geneva, and had read such Protestant books as the *Institutiones* of Calvin, and Luther's incitements to the murder of the Pope.[1] The Venetian ambassador, Tiepolo, was one of those who inclined to the opinion that the conspirators had been led to their scheme by criminal vainglory, and that they thought they could not better satisfy this than by washing their hands in the blood of a Pope.[2] In this way Accolti would have been numbered among those assassins of the time of the Renaissance,[3] whose outrageous vainglory found expression in a truly demoniacal form.[4]

It was while the trial of Accolti and his companions was going on that Rome became the witness of the splendid marriage of one of the Pope's nephews. In May, 1563, Cardinal Mark Sittich had written to Count Hannibal von Hohenems, who was in disgrace,[5] that the Pope would not even have his name mentioned, and that after the death of Federigo he did not want to have any relatives. Nevertheless Mark Sittich advised Hannibal to come to Rome, and at once pay his respects to the influential Cardinal Borromeo.[6] The unceasing efforts of Mark Sittich to reconcile his brother to the Pope were at

strada et da altro che nouvamente disse questi dì mentre che si trovava in Belvedere per risposta al cardinale di Trento che gli disse : Padre Santo io dubito che un dì haveremo un stuolo di questi Ugonotti a Roma, et esso rispose, non dubitate che havemo già pensato alle provisioni " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the fear of an understanding with the Hugenots in Rome, see *supra*, p. 383, (report of August 12, 1562).

[1] See the *depositions of Accolti in App. nn. 40-42 (State Archives Rome).

[2] P. Tiepolo, 194.

[3] Some remarks in the *Sommario are a further proof of this ; see App.

[4] For this *cf.* Vol. III of this work, p. 100, and Burckhardt, Renaissance, I.[10], 164 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* App. nn. 9, 10, 28.

[6] *Letter of Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal von Hohenems, May 14, 1563, (Hohenems Archives).

last crowned with success. In spite of the serious blow of November, 1563, Pius IV. had not altogether given up his thoughts of the exaltation of his house. Thus the Hohenems were readmitted to his favour, and in July, 1564, the marriage of Hannibal to Virginia, the widow of Federigo Borromeo, was under consideration. This, however, did not come to pass, since it was found impossible to come to an agreement with the Duke of Urbino.[1] At length a plan for reconciling the Hohenems and the Borromei was found in the marriage of Hannibal with Ortensia, the half-sister of Charles Borromeo,[2] and on January 6th, 1565, the anniversary of the coronation of Pius IV., the insignia of Captain General of the Church were conferred on Hannibal, which was followed by his marriage to the thirteen-year-old Ortensia.[3] When the fine weather had come, the marriage was celebrated in Bramante's cortile at the Vatican with a magnificent tourney.[4]

[1] See HILLIGER, 39. In addition to the sources cited there, *cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal, October 10, 1564 (Hohenems Archives).

[2] At the end of the year the marriage and the promotion of Hannibal were decided upon. "It is clear," reports Fr. Priorato on December 30, 1564, "that the Pope intends to go on promoting and honouring these *tedeschi*." (State Archives, Modena).

[3] Besides SALA, III., 326, *cf.* the *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Miscell. Arm. XII., 29, p. 377b (Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti, dated Rome, January 6, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *report of Fr. Priorato of January 6, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). The *document for the appointment of Hannibal, dated January 5, 1565, in the Archives of the Museum Bregenz, n. 107; *ibid.*, n. 108, a *document of October 30, 1565, by which Pius IV. gives the Count full authority over all the troops, including the *ius gladii*.

[4] *Cf.* L. BONDONUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*, p. 379b (Papal Secret Archives), and the full account of A. F. Cirni, printed in ALVERI, Rome, 1664, 143 *seq.*, and also in the *nozze* publication *Narrazione del Torneo fatto nella corte di Belvedere*, ed. A. Betocchi, Rome, 1898. An illustration in the well-known engraving of Du Pérac. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, Vatican, I., Belvedere, pl. 7; MAES, in Cracas, 1890, 354 *seq.*, 585 *seq.*, 631 *seq.*; CLEMENTI, 229, 232, 240; EHRLE, Pianta, 10.

A little later, on March 12th, 1565, there followed the long expected creation of new Cardinals. Immediately before the consistory, the Venetian ambassador had again vainly attempted to get the Patriarch of Aquileia, Grimani, included in the list of candidates which had been decided upon the previous evening. When the Cardinals had assembled, the Pope announced that he thought the time had come to recompense those who, during the Council or in other ways, had rendered faithful service to the Holy See. In reading out the list, which included 22 names, he added in each case the reason why each seemed worthy of the purple. The Cardinals, especially the older ones, were but little pleased with the new nominations, but none of them dared to say so openly. Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese joined with Morone and Simonetta in interceding on behalf of the distinguished Gabriele Paleotto, for whose promotion Borromeo also wished. Pius IV. included Paleotto in the list, but on the other hand the Archbishop of Otranto was excluded, because his complete justification before the Inquisition had been no more successful than that of Grimani.[1]

With one exception, the Frenchman, Antoine de Créquy, all the 23 new Cardinals were Italians by birth; six of them came from Milan. Of these, Carlo Visconti and Francesco Abbondio Castiglione had rendered important service during the Council, Alessandro Crivelli had filled the difficult Spanish nunciature with so great ability that Philip II. himself had recommended his promotion. Francesco Alciati and Francesco Grasso had a great reputation as jurists; the former had been the master of Charles Borromeo, and the latter had won distinction as governor of Bologna. Also closely connected with Borromeo were the private secretary, Tolomeo Galli, who was a native of Como, the distinguished Guido Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, and the two natives of Bologna, Ugo Boncompagni and Gabriele Paleotto; they were all men of high character, and an ornament to the Sacred College by reason

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Camillo Luzzara of March 12 and 14, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

of their learning. The same was equally the case with the Calabrian, Guglielmo Sirleto. The fact that the Neapolitan, Annibale Bozzuto, was included, is rather surprising, because he had once been secretary to Carlo Carafa. The Genoese, Benedetto Lomellini, had filled the same office with Cardinal Rebiba. Cosimo I. had interceded on behalf of the Florentine, Angelo Niccolini, the Duke of Savoy for Marcantonio Bobba, Catherine de' Medici for Prospero Santa Croce, and the Emperor for the ambitious Delfino. Among the new Cardinals, Giovanni Francesco Commendone was also a diplomatist, while Luigi Pisani, Bishop of Padua, who was a Venetian like Delfino and Commendone, had done good work at the Council, as had the Archbishop of Taranto, Marcantonio Colonna ; the nomination of the jurist, Flavio Orsini, balanced the elevation of this scion of the celebrated Roman princely house. Alessandro Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, had done good service in the administration of the food supplies. Last of all there was Simone Pasqua, the Pope's physician, who was also a scholar of great repute.[1]

However much personal ties between the new Cardinals and the Pope and Borromeo influenced the choice made at the great creation of Cardinals of March, 1565, it cannot be denied that on this occasion ecclesiastical interests were more taken into consideration than in the creations of 1561 and 1563, and it is beyond doubt that the credit for this is due to the strict Charles Borromeo.[2]

Borromeo had wished for a long time past personally to visit his diocese of Milan. When his desire was fulfilled in the autumn of 1565, his place at the secretariate of state was filled by Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems, who had been authorized by brief since January to discharge all the business of the Papal States ;[3] but this appointment only referred to current

[1] *Cf.* PETRAMELLERIUS, 74 *seq.* ; CIACONIUS, III., 945 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, V., 55 *seqq.* ; HILLIGER, 42 *seq.* ; HERRE, 89 *seq.* For Fl. Orsini, *cf.* SARNELLI, Lettere eccles., Naples, 1686, 333 *seq.* ; for Sforza, see GARAMPI, 293. *Cf.* also MOROZZO, Elogio del card. M. A. Bobba, Turin, 1799.

[2] See HERRE, 89 *seq.*

[3] See HILLIGER, 39.

business, all more important decisions being kept until the return of Borromeo.[1]

Cardinal Borromeo, who had been appointed legate for the whole of Italy on August 17th,[2] left Rome on September 1st at night, so as to avoid the customary ceremonial.[3] He went by Viterbo to Florence, where he stayed from the 7th to the 9th, and was received with great honour by Cosimo. After a short stay in Bologna he reached his episcopal city on September 23rd.[4] There on October 8th he received a visit from Morone.[5] After he had held a provincial council,[6] he went by the Pope's orders on November 6th to Trent, in order to escort into their new country the sisters of Maximilian II., one of whom was promised in marriage to the hereditary prince of Florence, and the other to the Duke of Ferrara. On his

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 78b, Vatican Library). Mark Sittich only affixed his signature, but T. Galli conducted the affairs; see Törne, 84; Corresp. dipl., I., xxxviii.

[2] See the *letter of Serristori of August 17, 1565, (State Archives, Florence).

[3] See the *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1565, *loc. cit.* C. Luzzara reports on September 1, 1565: *" Il s^r card^le Borromeo è partito questa mattina per Milano tanto per tempo che per un pezzo gli è convenuto caminare con le torcie, et il piacere con che va a questo viaggio è cosa che non si può imaginare. Il Papa per la sodisfatione grande di S. S. Ill. l' ha lasciato andare volentieri." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] For the journey to Milan see the *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Miscell. Arm. XII, 29, p. 387 (Papal Secret Archives) where (p. 392) the entry into Milan is also described. *Cf.* Merkle, II., cxi., and the letter of Felice da Montalto in Taccone Galucci, G. Sirleto, Rome, 1909, 16 *seq.* See also Sala, III., 361 *seq.*; Mitteil. des österr. Instit., III., 636, and the letter of Borromeo of September 23, 1565 in *San Carlo*, I., 116. On August 21, Borromeo wrote to Philip II. about the object of his journey. The reply of the king on September 25, 1565, is published in an Italian translation in *San Carlo*, I., 251.

[5] See *Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 398b.

[6] See *supra* p. 104.

way home he received news at Firenzuola in Tuscany that his uncle was seriously ill. A second report was more reassuring, but the Cardinal nevertheless made his way as quickly as possible to Rome, in time to administer to the dying Pope the last consolations of religion.[1]

Pius IV. had been very vigorous during the first years of his reign, in spite of his gout,[2] and he had not allowed his frequent attacks to interfere with his attention to business, nor with his activity.[3] He also often suffered from catarrh, and during the spring of 1562 so seriously as to cause him grave anxiety,[4] though he soon recovered.[5] His anxieties in connexion with France and the Council, his periodical attacks of illness, and finally the death of Federigo in November, 1562, greatly taxed his strength.[6] Although he was not feeling at all well, he

[1] See BASCAPÈ, 15-20; *Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 419. Two letters of Borromeo from Trent, of November 21 and 22, 1565, in SALA, III., 368 *seqq.* In a *letter from Rome on December 1, 1565, Cardinal Mark Sittich expresses to Borromeo the Pope's satisfaction at his activity (State Archives, Naples: C. Farnes. 737).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 87.

[3] See SICKEL, Konzil, 226. In spite of his gout the Pope has good "ciera" Tonina *reports on June 21, 1561; on June 28; he has got to keep his bed (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the attack of gout in December, see ŠUSTA, I., 133, and the *report of Tonina of December 31, 1561 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] See SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 289; ŠUSTA, II., 409.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of March 14, 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 347, Vatican Library). The doctors spoke very pessimistically in June; see the *report of A. Grandi, dated Rome, June 24, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 373b) concerning a *flusso* and fever. On June 24, 1562 Tonina *reports that the Pope seems to be attacked: "è travagliato assai dell' animo a quanto s'accorge non solo delle cose di Franza, ma pur anco da queste del concilio"; on July 2: the Pope is better, and eats five times in the day and again in the night; on November 28: his sorrow at the death of Federigo; on December 16: the Pope was carried to the consistory, as he could not walk on

insisted on celebrating the mass on Christmas Day.[1] In June. 1563, Girolamo Soranzo says in his reports that the gout had never troubled the Pope so much as it was doing then, and that as he would not spare himself the doctors were not without anxiety. He had not been able to move for four months. He was moreover suffering from catarrh, and there had also been symptoms of nephritis, though when he began to be more careful in his diet, the doctors began to hope that he might live for a long time.[2] When this report arrived in Venice the Pope was again suffering from gout,[3] and at the end of November he had that dangerous attack which led the fathers of the Council to bring their deliberations to a rapid conclusion.[4]

The falling off in the mental elasticity of Pius IV., which is noticed by all correspondents at the end of 1563, was the result of his bad state of health,[5] and not of his freedom from the anxieties of the Council.[6] After the Epiphany

account of the gout (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On December 12, 1562, Alf. Roselli wrote: "S. S^tà è colerica et rotta per questo accidente del conte Federico et per li molti negotii fastidiosi che ha hora per le mani." (State Archives, Modena).

[1] *Report of Alf. Roselli, dated Rome, December 26, 1562, *ibid.*

[2] See GIROL. SORANZO, 73. For the suffering state of Pius IV., who often made mistakes in his diet, see the *reports of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, January 20, 27, and 29, February 17 (definite improvement), and March 3, 1563 (complete recovery), (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). If we can believe the account of P. Tiepolo (p. 181), which is manifestly inspired by dislike, Pius IV. afterwards observed the dietary precautions so little that his sudden death was not to be wondered at. The bad effect of his mistaken dietary told upon his gouty condition.

[3] See the **reports of Tonina of June 9 and 24, July 14 and 17, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 361.

[5] See especially the *report of Alf. Roselli, dated Rome, December 18, 1563. (State Archives, Modena). See also the **reports of Serristori of December 8 and 18, 1563 and January 21, 1564 (State Archives, Florence).

[6] Thus P. Tiepolo (p. 171 and 180) with evident bias. *Cf.* on the other hand Legaz. di Serristori 404, and the *report of Alf. Roselli of December 18, 1563, *loc. cit.*

of 1564, the Pope had completely recovered.[1] He was, however, filled with serious thoughts, and on February 8th he disposed of his private property;[2] a little later he had another attack of gout, and again in March and June.[3] These attacks recurred during 1565 in April and May, though the Pope was still able to carry out the Easter function, which lasted for five hours.[4] At the beginning of May he was very preoccupied with the quarrels of his nephews,[5] and at the end of June he had a severe attack of fever.[6] Soon afterwards he felt so much better that Cardinal Borromeo was able to leave Rome with an easy mind on September 1st. Further attacks of gout followed during the autumn, but the sick man was still able to attend to his duties.[7] In spite of this the idea was widespread among the people of Rome that the Pope would die in December.[8] This conviction grew stronger when, on December 2nd, the first Sunday in Advent, the candle nearest to the Papal throne twice went out at mass for no explicable

[1] See the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti, January 8, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On January 26, 1564, Carlo Stuerdo *informed the Duke of Parma that the Pope was well, but was without appetite, *pero travaglia assai* (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 763). This disposes of the statement so often made that after the Council the Pope did no more work.

[2] See Studi e docum., XIV., 373 *seqq.*

[3] See the *reports of Giac. Tarreghetti of February 16, March 15, and June 24, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 6 and 28, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 9, 12b, Vatican Library), and the *reports of Giac. Tarreghetti of May 12 and 19, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See in App. the *report of Alf. Roselli of May 2, 1565 (State Archives, Modena).

[6] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 30, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 36, Vatican Library).

[7] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 15 and 29, and October 13, 1565 (*ibid.*, p. 95, 103b, 117b, Vatican Library).

[8] *Letter of Serristori from Rome, November 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence), and of *Bernardino Pia from Rome, November 24, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

reason.[1] On December 3rd the Pope had arranged for a sitting of the Segnatura as usual on the following day, but during the night he was attacked by catarrh, sickness, pains in his chest and fever. The doctors ordered him to bed but were not very anxious.[2] During the night between the 4th and 5th the sick man had three relapses, one so severe that his attendants thought him dead. Towards morning, however, there was an improvement.[3] The Pope had mass said in his room and received Holy Communion with great devotion,[4] after making his confession. Cardinal Borromeo had been at once informed of this unexpected illness, and all the necessary measures of security had been taken in the city in case the Pope should die. But soon there was a manifest change for the better, so much so that they hoped he would quite recover; some of the doctors, however, were anxious, because the fever had greatly sapped the strength of the sixty-six year old man.[5]

[1] *Die 2ª decembris. In dominica prima adventus fuit missa in capella, absente Papa, quam celebravit revmus patriarcha Hierosolimitanus. Fuit sermo ut moris est. Eodem mane, dum missa celebrabatur, candela ultima a conru evangelii quae propinquior erat solio Pontificis, absque aliqua accidentali causa, a se ipsa bis extincta fuit, quinque aliis accensis permanentibus. Causam Deus scit; sed malum omen ab omnibus iudicatum fuit. Attamen vox populi erat per multos dies antea, quod Pontifex in illo mense erat moriturus: quod pronosticum, cum ego essem Mediolani, a quodam nobili viro pro certo mihi dictum fuit et quod antequam ego Romam redirem Pontifex esset moriturus et quod ego non invenirem eum viventem. Diarium caerem. XII., 29, p. 420 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Fr. Tosabezzo, dated Rome, December 4 and 7, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Avviso di Roma of December 9, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 148, Vatican Library).

[3] See the **reports of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 5, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] Cornelius Firmanus in MERKLE, II., cxv.

[5] See the *report of Serristori of December 5, 1565 (State Archives, Florence), as well as the *report of Girol. Oltramari of December 5, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). On December 6 Serristori *writes that it is believed that the Pope is out of danger (*loc. cit.*). For the doctors of Pius IV. see MARINI, I., 417 *seqq.*

Besides many other alarming symptoms, he was now suffering from colic and nephritis.[1]

During the night between December 6th and 7th the Pope had another relapse, and the fever increased. It was rumoured in the city that he was already dead, and the scenes customary at a vacancy in the Holy See began. The sick man was not dead, but his end was fast approaching.[2] On December 8th the Cardinals were summoned, and with their consent the Pope made provision for some of them, and arranged money gifts for his nephews to the amount of 200,000 scudi.[3] Cardinal Borromeo arrived during the night between December 8th and 9th, and the Pope rejoiced greatly at the coming of his faithful counsellor; in the morning the Cardinal gave him Holy Communion,[4] and then administered Extreme Unction. When Morone told him that he had only a few more hours to live, the Pope replied: God's will be done; with the crucifix in his hands the Pius IV. died on the evening of December

[1] The Hofrat, v. Tschermak, to whom I submitted the accounts of the last illness of Pius IV., is of opinion that the sudden beginning, followed by the frequent relapses and fever, the sickness, the fainting, the pain in the chest (certainly too in the reins), and the retention of which many of the accounts speak, are quite in accordance with the description as nephritis, which was also accompanied by uremia.

[2] See the two *reports of Caligari to Commendone, of December 8, 1565, Lett. di princ. XXIII (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] See the two **reports of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 7, 1565 (State Archives, Mantua), the *report of Girol. Oltramari of December 8, 1565 (State Archives, Modena), the *Avviso di Roma of December 9 *loc. cit.*, and the *reports of Serristori of December 7, 8, and 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence). *Cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, 41 and HILLIGER, 48 *seq.*

[4] See the *report of Prospero d'Arco, dated Rome, December 9, 1565, (Archives, Innsbruck, Ambraser Akten); the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of December 9, 1565, *loc. cit.*; the *letter of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 9, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Here Tosabezzo reports that the doctors were saying that the Pope was *patientissimo et obedientissimo.*

9th, 1565.[1] The body was placed on a bier in the Pauline Chapel, and afterwards buried in St. Peter's. On December 11th the funeral offices were begun.[2]

In accordance with his instructions, the mortal remains of Pius IV. were removed on January 4th, 1583, to S. Maria degli Angeli.[3] His very simple tomb stands on the left of the chapel, which now serves as the choir. The tablet for the inscription, which is adorned with marbles of various colours, is reminiscent of Michelangelo in the design of the cornices, brackets, scrolls, fillets and coats of arms; it must have been designed by an artist who had come under the influence of the master.[4]

[1] The death took place on the 9th (not the 10th, as stated by many) *hora 2 noctis;* see Cornelius Firmanus in GATTICUS, 447 (*cf.* MERKLE, II., cxv.) *letter of Serristori of December 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence). For the last hours of Pius IV., see the letters of Borgia to F. Coster in SUAU, Fr. de Borgia, II., 129. The Pope died *in cameris suis torrae Borgiae;* see Acta consist., Cam., IX., 132 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). Giov. Amadori tells in his *report of December 19, 1565, how Pius IV. was able to speak to the end, and thanked Cardinal Paleotto for his spiritual help (State Archives, Modena). [RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 28, states that Pius IV. was assisted at his death by two saints, Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri. Ed.— note].

[2] See C. Firmanus, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 10, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 480. Besides the *Avvisi di Roma of July 28, 1582, and January 8, 1583 (Urb. 1050 and 1051, Vatican Library), *cf.* for the new tomb of Pius IV., the *report of the Mantuan ambassador Odescalchi of December 18, 1582: *"La sepultura di Pio IV., che il card. S. Giorgio [Altemps] ha fatto fare in S. Maria degli Angeli alle Therme è finita et scoperta, la quale è reuscita assai bella." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See CIACONIUS, III., 882; MAI, Spicil., IX., 364; FORCELLA, IX., 154; LANCIANI, III., 208; THODE, Kritische Untersuchungen, V., 241. Steinmann found a sketch for a larger monument for Pius IV. in the Dyce Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

If we try to sum up what had been accomplished by Pius IV. during his six years' pontificate, we find him to have been, apart from certain exceptions not surprising in one so changeable, a man who with great sagacity and skill took into consideration the requirements of the general conditions of his time, both political and religious, and one who, in spite of his studied moderation, was always careful to maintain the rights of the Holy See. His character, rather cold and averse to all extreme measures, was far better suited for the continuation of the Council than that of Paul IV., who was so self-assured and impulsive, though the fourth Pius lacked the imposing majesty of his predecessor. In spite of this, however, if we compare him with Paul IV., who only too often ruined wise measures by going to extremes, and who may be said to have looked for quarrels, while Pius IV. tried to avoid them at all costs, the latter stands out to advantage. On the other hand, Pius IV. suffers in the comparison with his holy successor, who may be described as the incarnation of Catholic reform in its highest and most ideal form. But although Pius IV. was so little imbued with the new ecclesiastical spirit, and had so many weaknesses, which were not to be found in Pius V., his pontificate is nevertheless of great importance in the history of Catholic reform.[1] It was he who reopened the Council of Trent, and brought it to its successful conclusion, although the difficulties which he had to overcome were enormous.[2] This was the outstanding and undeniable result of his pontificate, which in other respects was overshadowed by many dark clouds. In his determination to keep the control of the Council in his own hands, Pius IV. repeatedly interfered in its deliberations in a very personal way,[3] though this does not take away from the wise moderation which also guided him in his relations with the Catholic princes. The new policy

[1] *Cf.* Reinhardt-Steffens, I., xxi. *seq.*

[2] See Eder, I., 33; Reumont, III., 2, 557.

[3] See Steinherz in Mitteil. des österr. Instit., XVII., 681; Sickel, in the preface to Šusta, Kurie, I., vii. *seq.* Here Sickel bases his decided opinion in favour of the complete liberty left to the Council upon the official edition of the Acta.

of the Holy See which he inaugurated in this matter became of great importance for the spread of the reform and the Catholic restoration. The results of his efforts in this direction, as well as those of his reforming activities, only came to maturity in later times. It is noteworthy that, in spite of all the worldly tendencies of Pius IV., the strict ways of Paul IV. were for the most part continued in his time.[1] The chief credit for this is due to his Secretary of State, Charles Borromeo, who worked wonders by his example. This man, to whose perfect disinterestedness, zeal for religion, and spotless purity even the coldest of his critics pay tribute, was to the end the good genius of Pius IV., and it was to him that the Pope's greatest triumphs were due.[2]

[1] See GIAC. SORANZO, 183; BASCHET, Dipl. Venet., 192. In the time of Pius IV. several new dioceses were formed in missionary countries; e.g. a consistorial decree of June 27, 1561, forms Santiago in Chili, and Vera Paz in Mexico, and one of Novemder 19, 1561, Yucatan, which was united to the diocese of Cocumel, which had existed since 1520. The episcopal see of Santa Marta was transferred to Santa Fè de Bogotà. Extracts from the consistorial acta concerning these in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, X., (1899) 339-341. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 58. The Greeks in Italy were placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops by a brief of February 16, 1564 (*Editti, V., 10, Papal Secret Archives). For the relations of Pius IV. with the East see App. nn. 50-52.

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., xxi. *seq.* *Cf.* BENRATH in Realenzyklop. of Herzog, XV.[3], 438.

CHAPTER XII.

PIUS IV. AND ART.—WORKS IN ROME.—THE VILLA PIA.—ST. PETER'S.—DEATH OF MICHELANGELO.

OUR picture of Pius IV. would be incomplete without taking into consideration his relation to science and art. As had been the case with Paul III. his patronage of letters was far less important than his artistic interests.

That Pius IV. appreciated scientific and literary merit is shown by the liberal assistance which he bestowed upon writers,[1] as well as by his having conferred the purple on such

[1] An *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 120, Vatican Library), already refers to the great liberality of Pius IV. towards the *literati et poveri*. In February, 1560, Latini speaks of the favour shown to the humanists; see MASIUS, Briefe, 322. The Pope himself in a *brief of 1564 (Min. Brev. 20, n. 177, Papal Secret Archives) expresses his great appreciation of learned men. *Cf. ibid.*, 166, the *brief to Mattia Sittardus. Pius IV. gave effect to this appreciation among other things by the favour shown to Sperone Speroni, the celebrated orator and philosopher (see FLAMINI, 474; FRATI, Catal. dei Mss. d. Bibl. Marciana, I., 98; ZAMBETTI, Sp. Speroni, Lecce, 1913) and Gabriele Faerno (see RENAZZI, II., 215 *seq.*; FLAMINI, 117; REUMONT, III., 2, 693). The poet Luigi Tansillo owed it to Pius IV. that his name was expunged from the Index (BAUMGARTNER, Weltliteratur, IV., 330). Pompeo della Barba, who was summoned as a physician to Rome, was also distinguished as a man of letters (MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 236). Francesco Alciati, who was distinguished as a jurist, also came to Rome at the invitation of the Pope, where he obtained important offices, and eventually became a Cardinal (*ibid.*, I., 1, 372). For Panvinio and Pius IV. see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 415. For the preacher, Musso, who was much esteemed by Pius IV., see Mitteil. nes österr. Instit., vol. supplem. VI., 555 *seq.* Pius IV. expressed his own pleasure at the defence of religion made by the

men as Seripando, Hosius, Navagero, Marcantonio Colonna, Commendone, Paleotto, Francesco Alciati, Guglielmo Sirleto and Charles Borromeo. Many good Latinists were to be found among his private secretaries, such as Giulio Poggiani, Gian Battista Amalteo and Silvio Antoniano.[1] The latter was one of the principal members of the Accademia Vaticana founded by Cardinal Borromeo. From April 20th, 1562, the indefatigable Cardinal gathered together in this a chosen band of friends of like interests and common tastes, who met several times a week at the Vatican at a late hour in the evening, for academical discussions and for their mutual encouragement and instruction. This was Borromeo's recreation after his wearisome daily labours. Besides Silvio Antoniano, the following were to be found among their number : Francesco Alciati, Carlo Visconti, Guido Ferreri, Tolomeo Galli, Francesco Gonzaga, Agostino Valiero, who all received the purple in course of time ; besides these there were Ugo Boncompagni, the future Gregory XIII., Sperone Speroni, the Milanese, Pietro da Lonate, and the Count of Landriano. The literary gatherings of these men had something of the character of the Renaissance in so far that, in conformity with the ideas of the time, they assumed other names : Charles Borromeo was called *il Caos*, Galli *il Segreto*, and Speroni *il Nestore*. But their spirit was very different from that of the Roman academies of the time of Leo X., which, in the sources at which they drank, and the things which they lauded, paid homage to none but classical literature, and especially to Greek and Latin

learned G. Witzel in a *brief of December 7, 1660 (Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 436, Papal Secret Archives). For Pius IV. and the reform of the Calendar see RENAZZI, II., 224. From a remark in Spicil. Vatic. 80 *seq.*, it is clear how highly Pius IV. appreciated a discovery.

[1] *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 26 ; MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 858. For the work of Borromeo on behalf of the mathematician Girolamo Cardano, see Arch. stor. Ital. Series 5, XXXV., 425 *seq.* ; for his relations with the jurist Lodovico Settala, see FOGOLARI, Il Museo Settala, in Bollett. stor. d. Svizz, Ital. XXVIII., (1900) fasc. 3.

poetry. In the Noctes Vaticanae of Charles Borromeo, the study of profane literature also at first held the place of honour, but the spirit in which they treated it was altogether different from that of the age of the Renaissance. They strictly adhered to the point of view that ancient poetry and philosophy must receive their interpretation and sanction from the light of Christian truth. After 1563, the Accademia assumed a more and more theological character; discussions were held upon the eight beatitudes and the mysteries of the life of Christ, although they still continued to treat of profane matters. Science and faith went hand in hand.[1]

Sperone Speroni dedicated the following beautiful verses to the new Accademia Vaticana:

Schiera gentil, che l'alto Vaticano,
Onde umilmente il tuo gran nome prendi,
Con si chiaro valore orne e difendi,
Che invidia tenta ormai di armarsi invano:

Tu di ogno stato tuo sacro ed umano
Giusta ragione al cielo e al mondo rendi:
Tu sola forse intentamente attendi,
L'ombra lasciando, al vero onor sovrano.

Io, che si poco amar solea me stesso,
Ben troppo altrui, io tuo padre in etade,
Ma nelle opre e nè premii inutil servo;

[1] See Sassi, Noctes Vatic. seu sermones habiti in academia a S. Carolo Borromeo Romae in palatio Vaticano instituta, Milan 1784. *Cf.* Renazzi, II., 221 *seq.*; Dejob, 17; Tacchi Venturi, I., 108 *seq.*; Reinhardt-Steffens, I., xxii.; F. Sprolte, Zur Gesch. des hl. Karl Borromäus, Convivium noctium Vaticanarum, Oppeln, 1893, and the valuable monograph, which includes some unpublished sources, by L. Berra: L'Accademia delle notti Vaticane fondata S. Carlo Borromeo, Rome, 1915; Charles Borromeo was also the protector of the Accademia degli affidati at Pavia; see D. S. Ambrogio, Un marmo del card. S. Carlo Borromeo nel museo di Porta Giovia, in Riv. di scienze stor.; V., Rome, 1908, fasc. 8-9.

Or vuò sempre adorarti, se da presso
Già ti onorai, che la vita, che cade,
Seco non trahe la mente, ove io ti servo.[1]

How predominant in the literary patronage of Pius IV. were ecclesiastical interests was shown in his establishment of a private press, already projected by Paul IV., at the head of which was placed Paulus Manutius. This son of the celebrated Venetian printer, Aldus, was living in a state of great poverty at Padua, when the Pope summoned him to Rome in 1561, and assigned to him an annual salary of 720 gold scudi. His duties were to be the printing of editions of the Fathers of the Church and other ecclesiastical writers, a thing which was being urged by the Council. Paulus Manutius opened his press as early as the summer of 1561, and the city of Rome was to contribute to its upkeep. He attracted celebrated scholars to act as editors, such as Sirleto, Faerno, Latino Latini, etc.[2] Pius IV. ordered in several briefs that Paulus Manutius was to choose in the first instance such Latin and Greek works of ecclesiastical writers as were suited to bring out clearly the truth of Catholic dogmas, in answer to the attacks of the religious innovators, and that he was to take into consideration not only such works as had been imperfectly published, but also those that had not been published at all. The principal source was found in the codices of the Vatican Library, for the completion of which, in May, 1563, and again in the August of the same year, envoys were sent to Sicily to search the libraries there. The results of these researches were to be referred to the learned Cardinal Mula, who was the head

[1] Opere di Sp. Speroni, IV., Venice, 1740, 374 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Pogiani, Epist.. I., 329 *seq.*, n. ; II., 273 *seq.* ; Renazzi, II., 205 ; Rodocanachi, Capitole, 115 *seq.* ; Nolhac in Mél. d'archéol., III., 267 *seq.* (with further bibliographical references) ; Beltrami, La tipografia Romana diretta da P.M., Florence, 1877 ; Fumagalli, Lexicon typogr. Italiae, Florence, 1905, 346 *seq.*, 476. *Cf.* also *supra* p. 35. As early as September 26, 1561, P. Manutius became an honorary citizen of Rome ; see Gregorovius, Kleine Schriften, I., 316.

of the commission set up by Pius IV. for the publication of such works as were called for by the times.[1] Mariano Vittori, who was well known for his writings against the new religion, undertook, by the order of the Pope, an excellent new edition of the works of St. Jerome.[2]

Pius IV. on several occasions added to the Vatican Library by purchase, and after the death of Alfonso Carafa Mula became its librarian.[3] On January 8th, 1562, the Pope created the office of corrector of the Greek codices.[4]

The first place among the learned men employed by Pius IV. was taken by Guglielmo Sirleto.[5] This man, who was as distinguished for his vast erudition as for his modesty and piety, lived in the convent of the Theatines on the Quirinal. By his many letters and counsels he exercised a great influence upon the deliberations of the Council, and provided the theological matter for the legates.[6] When the Council was drawing to an end, Seripando was able to write to him that he had done them better service in Rome and given them more help than if fifty prelates had been sent to Trent.[7] He was

[1] See in App. nn. 30, 31, the *briefs of May 22 and 26, and August 26, 1563 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See Hurter; Nomenclator, I., 32, and the excellent monograph of A. Sachetti Sassetti : La vita e gli scritti di M. Vittori, Rieti, 1917.

[3] See Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 179; *Serapeum*, 1846, 256, 295 *seq.* For those employed *cf.* Mitteil. des österr. Instit., XIV., 586 *seq.* The edict of May 15, 1565, issued by order of Pius IV., and published from the Chigi Library by Cugnoni in La Scuola Rom. IV., (1886), 288 *seq.*, has to do with the preservation of codices.

[4] *Motuproprio con cui Pio IV. erige l'uffizio del correttore dei libri greci, dated January 8, 1562 (State Archives, Rome).

[5] A biography of Sirleto, for which there is plentiful material at the Vatican, is still wanting. Some information about him in Taccone Gallucci, Monografia del card. G. Sirleto, Rome, 1909. *Cf.* also Anecd. litt., IV., 328 *seq.*, 369 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* especially *Cod.. Vat. 6179 and 6189 (Vatican Library).

[7] See Taccone Gallucci, 56.

also highly esteemed by Borromeo.[1] The distinguished Silvio Antoniano,[2] who preached the funeral oration of Pius IV., was also high in the esteem of both the Pope and the Cardinal.[3]

Intended at first to meet a purely practical need, though it afterwards proved to be of the highest importance for historical science, was the attempt of Borromeo to form regular archives for the secretariate of state.[4] It is a thing deserving of our highest admiration that, in the midst of the many and exacting duties which occupied his attention, the Cardinal found time to give his attention to the proper preservation of the current archival documents. By his advice and that of others, Pius IV. first ordered the formation of the consistorial archives, and by a brief of June 15th, 1565, charged Cardinal Mula, who had had experience of such work in Venice, to set up a central archivium for the Vatican. Connected with this was the resumption of the transference of the archives from Avignon, which was continued later on by Pius V.[5]

From the very beginning of his reign Pius IV. turned his attention to the revival of the Roman University.[6] He

[1] For the letters of Borromeo to Sirleto see La scuola catt., 1910, Mar.

[2] Besides the monograph cited in the following note, *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 858 ; RENAZZI, II., 198 *seq.*, and CARBONERA, Silvio Antoniano o un pedagogista della riforma cattolica, Sondrio, 1902.

[3] Silvii Antoniani card. Vita a IOSEPHO CASTALIONE et eiusdem Silvii orationes XIII., Rome, 1610, 113 *seq.*

[4] DUDIK, Iter Roman., II., Vienna, 1855, 21. PALMIERI, Ad Vatic. Archivi Rom. Pontif. Regesta manuductio, Rome, 1884, xxiii. *seq.* Regesta Clementis V., Praef., p. lii. Studi e docum., VIII. (1887), 12. See Revue d'hist. ecclés., XI., (1905), 524 ; MERKLE, I., xix ; II., lxxv. *seq.*

[5] See DUDIK, *loc. cit.*, 21 ; SICKEL, Berichte, I., 13, 16 ; MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatican, Paris, 1886, 115 *seq.*

[6] Mula *reports on June 26, 1560 : " Nell' ultima congregatione si parlò di risecar le spese superflue e si diede carico a dieci cardinali si che si procurasse di riformare qui un studio di lettere in diverse professioni " (Arm. 3, t. 24, p. 71, Papal Secret Archives).

interested himself in its revenues,[1] its new buildings, and above all in obtaining for it new professors, the number of whom was increased in 1561 to 24, and in 1563 to 34.[2] Among the new appointments may be named Girolamo Vielmo, Girolamo Politi, Girolamo Parisetti, Marcantonio Mureto and Silvio Antoniano, who in 1564 became the coadjutor of the rector, Camillo Peruschi.[3] The new building, which Pius IV. provided for by the creation of the *Monte dello studio*, was entrusted to Pirro Ligorio.[4] In the Papal States Ancona was given a university in 1562;[5] and the establishment of another at Douai was provided for by a bull of January 6th, 1560.[6] Philip II. established one at Dôle in 1561 in response to the appeal of Pius IV.[7] The University of Bologna, when it had been "reformed, and almost refounded" by Cardinal Borromeo, who was legate of the city, had its former privileges confirmed.[8]

[1] See Renazzi, II., 136.

[2] See *Cod. H.—III.—62, Chigi Library, Rome. Fr. Tonina *reports from Rome on November 29, 1561: "È gionto anco qui, non hieri l' altro, l'Imola dottore in leggi, qual leggeva a Padova, condotto da S. B^ne^ perchè lega quì, con animo che essa ha di voler far bello questo studio, et di voler far venire de valent' huomini per lettori" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] See Renazzi, II., 137, 156, 169 *seq.*, 175, 181 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 138.

[5] See Arch. stor. per le Marche e l'Umbria, I. (1884), 230 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*

[6] The bull (Duthilloeul, De l'université de Douai, Douai, 1855, 29) reproduces the brief of Paul IV., the real founder; see Leman, Paul IV., et la fondation de l'université de Douai, Lille, 1912, 10.

[7] See Weiss, Papiers de Granvelle, VIII., 529.

[8] See Bull. Rom., VII., 254 *seq.* *Cf.* Ciaconius, III., 874. The vicelegate of Bologna, Donato Cesi, summoned such men as Carlo Sigonio, Giov. Angelo Papio, and put an end to the trial which had been set on foot against the young Tasso on account of a pasquinade; see Gualandi, Processo fatto in Bologna, 1564, a T. Tasso, Bologna, 1862; Arch. stor. Ital., N.S., XV. (1862), 456 *seq.* For the University of Perugia, see Rizzati, Perugia,

Among the works dedicated to Pius IV.[1] the most noteworthy is that of Lodovico Parisetti the younger, in which, in 1560, he publicly submitted to the Pope his desires and suggestions for the reform of the Church.[2] The work consists of a series of letters composed in elegant Latin. The papacy is instituted, says Parisetti, for the honour of God, and the salvation of mankind ; it is not instituted for the sake of the

Bologna, 1911, 150. For a favour granted to a German university, see WEGELE, Univ. Würzburg, II., 52 *seq.* For Duisburg, see Rom. Quartalschrift, XXIII., 62 *seq.* *Cf.* also in this connection the *brief for the *Rector et universitas Friburgi*, dated August 23, 1560 : it recommends the *Studium*, granted in *conventu Adelhausen O.P.* in Freiburg. Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 296 ; *cf.* n. 297 *episc. Constant D. ut s.* (Papal Secret Archives).

[1] Some dedications are recorded in CIACONIUS, III., 882. For the lives of the Popes of Platina, see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 416. NOLHAC (Bibl. Orsini, 160) gives a Greek poem by Matt. Devaris, and RENAZZI (II., 193) a work on medicine. There is also the *Ode to Pius IV. by Ippolito Capilupi in Cod. Regin. 2019, p. 148 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Cod. XXIX., 176 of the Barberini Library contains a poem : *Vellus aureum divi Pio IV. Ioannes Henrici Cornel. Agrippae fil. d.d. In the *brief to Girolamo Roth dated May 26, 1561. it states : " Opusculum tuum grato animo accepimus." We send you 100 aureos (Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 66, Papal Secret Archives). The work of Roth von Schreckenstein (*cf.* K. H. FRHR. VON ROTH-SCHRECKENSTEIN, H. Roth v. Schr., Karlsruhe, 1879) is entitled : De veritate, firmamento et stabilitate donationis Constantinianae ad S. Pium IIII. P.M., Dillingen (s.a.). The dedication states : " Ita dilucide negotium tractabo ut luce meridiana clarius pateat, eandem [donat. Constant.] et factam et validam ! " It may here be recorded that the *Lettere di principi*, which are so important to the historian, were also dedicated to Cardinal Borromeo in 1561. For the efforts of Borromeo for the publication of the reports from the new world of the missions of the Jesuits, see in App. 36 the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Iunioris Ludovici Pariseti Regiensis epistolarum ad Pium IIII. Pontif. Max. libri III., Bologna (apud Alex. Benaccium) 1560. No doubt on account of its great rarity this work has hitherto been entirely disregarded.

Pope, but rather the contrary, and no one will have to render a more rigorous account before the tribunal of God than the vicar of Christ. Parisetti recommends, as one of the principal means for the reform of the Church, the assembly of a Council, on the ground that one had always been summoned to meet the Church's greatest difficulties. This Council should principally turn its attention to seeing that suitable bishops were appointed, this being a thing of greater importance to reform than the making of many laws; but the bishops, for their part, must devote themselves to their office, and not mix themselves up in other matters. The system of commendams is a cancer upon the religious orders, which has brought it to pass that many monasteries in Rome and elsewhere are empty. As for the Pope himself, he must take the exhortations of the Council as applying to himself, and not alter its decrees at his own caprice; he must try to win the hearts of his subjects and exercise his office in a spirit of charity. He must not admit persons of worldly views to ecclesiastical offices, nor such as scheme to obtain them; above all he must keep far from simony, nor tolerate it in others. Parisetti speaks in very plain words of the abuses which had hitherto prevailed at the Papal court; the sins of the Popes and the bishops had had their share in the blame for the religious disruption. He had himself been scandalized during his stay in Rome by the worldly ostentation and the excessive luxury of the Papal court.[1]

This work is noteworthy as a sign of the times, and it is at the same time to the honour of Pius IV. that anyone should so freely have dared to give expression to such grave truths in a book dedicated to him.

[1] When he was called to an audience, Parisetti goes on to say, they kept him waiting in the antecamera while musicians and buffoons were admitted. This certainly refers to the time of Julius III. (see Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 64). In his other complaints Parisetti has the pontificate of Paul IV. in mind: e.g. when he pillories the evils of nepotism, or when he says that after the election many people became quite different from what they had been before, or when he claims to have seen for himself in recent times how unsuitable explosions of anger are in a Pope.

The patronage given to art by Pius IV. is much more important than that given by him to letters. What had been prevented in the time of his predecessor by the war with Spain, lack of money, and care for ecclesiastical reform, namely, the continuation by the Holy See of its traditional patronage of the arts, was resumed by Pius IV. with the greatest zeal. In his anxiety to pass for a true Medici, he was full of eagerness to live up to the magnificent artistic reputation associated with that name. It was not possible to give him greater pleasure than by praising the zeal for building which was a real passion with him.[1]

Of the two palace architects employed by Pius IV., one, the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio, had served his predecessor, and the other, Sallustio Peruzzi, was a son of the celebrated Baldassare, though the younger man showed that he was far inferior to his father.[2]

Pius IV.'s passion for building was chiefly employed for the Vatican itself. Numerous coats of arms and inscriptions, besides the account books in the State Archives in Rome, bear witness to the extent of the alterations which were undertaken there, as well as of the new buildings[3] which were in the first place concerned with the completion of the Belvedere, where, since the time of Julius III., the Popes had for the most part taken up their abode. At the end of August, 1561, the new portions begun by Paul IV. had been practically finished, and tastefully adorned with statues and fountains.[4] The Pope

[1] *Cf.* GIROL. SORANZO 76 *seq.* Giov. Visbroc wrote from Rome on December 11, 1562, that Pius IV. outshone Paul III. in his building activities; see MASIUS, Briefe, 348. *Cf.* also the funeral oration delivered by Silvio Antoniano, in Silvii Antoniani Vita a I. CASTALIONE, 117.

[2] See the accounts of the *Fabriche Palatine (State Archives, Rome) in FRIEDLÄNDER, 124.

[3] See LANCIANI, III., 212 *seq.* *Cf.* Panvinius in MAI, Spicil., IX., 368, 379; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, II.: Loges. The inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 73 *seq.* A painted coat of arms of Pius IV. on the upper wall in the cortile of the Papagallo.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 296, Vatican Library). According to the inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 78, the works were all finished in 1562.

visited them on August 30th.[1] Some of the rooms, which now form the Etruscan Museum, were decorated with pictures representing biblical, allegorical and mythological subjects, which are still for the most part in a good state of preservation.[2]

The erection of the two floors of the new façade of the Belvedere took place in 1562. At that time, as a drawing by Giovan Antonio Dosio shows, the large cortile was enclosed to the west by plain walls.[3] To correspond with the treatment of the east side begun by Julius II. and completed by Paul III., Pius IV. caused Pirro Ligorio to carry out a corridor in three floors thus completing the original idea of Bramante almost half a century after the master's death.[4] At the same time Ligorio superintended the execution of the huge niche, the famous Nicchione, which had probably already been planned by Michelangelo when, in the days of Julius III., he gave the staircase facing the exedra of Bramante its present form. Ligorio carried out this scheme by building a second floor on the lower north side, erecting at the same time the half dome over the Nicchione, and crowning it with a loggia giving a beautiful view over the city and campagna.[5] In the time

[1] Fr. Tonina *reports on August 30, 1561, that Pius IV. had visited "Tutte le fabbriche di Belvedere," which would shortly be completed (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* TAJA, 354 *seq.*; FRIEDLÄNDER, 68 *seq.*, 119, 129. Friedländer proves that these pictures are by the same group of artists as were employed in the Casino of Pius IV. *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 114, 118 *seq.*, 135; Art. Bologn., 43; Jahrb. der Preuss. Kuntsamml., XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 166.

[3] See EGGER, Veduten, tav. 47.

[4] *Cf.* LANCIANI, III., 214 *seq.*

[5] Hitherto the design for the huge niche has been universally attributed to Bramante. In a work shortly to be published Dr. Dagobert Frey will show that Bramante only planned the exedra on one floor, with an open semi-circular staircase, and that the idea of the strikingly magnificent Nicchione probably came from Michelangelo. That the gigantic niche was only erected under Pius IV. is shown by the hitherto unnoticed inscription: "Pius IV. Medices Mediolanensis Pont. Max. quo commodiores honestiores-

of the Romans similar colossal niches, like the one which to-day looks over the Palatine in the so-called *Stadion* in the Imperial palace, was the decoration generally preferred for gardens.[1]

The general effect of the huge cortile thus formed was very wonderful. With its adornment of antique statuary contemporaries praised it as one of the most beautiful and noteworthy creations since the days of antiquity. The work was begun in the summer of 1561,[2] and lasted for four years. On occasions of great festivities, jousts and tournaments, it was difficult to imagine a better setting than this great theatre, closed in to the north by the Nicchione. On festal occasions the Pope and the College of Cardinals took their places on the external stairs leading from the lower cortile to the Giardino della Pigna, the other spectators being seated partly in the porticos of the lateral corridors, and partly in the exedra at the lower end of the cortile.

A striking picture of the festivities with which, on Carnival Monday, 1565, this magnificent cortile, "this atrium of pleasure," was opened, is given in the engraving, carried out with his customary detail, by Etienne du Pérac, which represents the splendid tourney, with the spectators massed around, which was held on that day to celebrate the marriage of Hannibal von Hohenems with Ortensia Borromeo, in the presence of all the Roman nobility.[3]

que sibi successoribusque, hortos Vaticanos redderet, complures aulas, cubicula et scalas, circum supraque hemicyclum pleraque a fundamentis extraxit, quasdam in veterem formam restituit atque exornavit. Anno salutis MDLXII Pont. sui anno III. Cal. Ian. absolvit." Du Chesne, Hist. des Papes II., Paris, 1653, 422.

[1] *Cf.* M. Gothein, Geschichte des Gartenkunst, I., 242.

[2] According to Bondonus, in Bonanni, I., 282, and Merkle, II., 542, the first stone was laid on August 1, 1561. *Cf.* the *letters of Caligari, August 30, and October 11, 1561, in App. nn. 15, 17.

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 392. Troops were also reviewed in the cortile of the Belvedere; see the rare work, illustrated by woodcuts: *Descrittione della mostra generale fatta dalli Caporioni di Roma, alli 3 di giugno, 1565, in Belvedere, innanzi alla Santità di N.S. Papa Pio IV.*, s. l. (Rome, 1565).

Pius IV. had taken a most active interest in the building of the Belvedere. According to the reports of the Mantuan representative Tonina he had visited the works several times during October, 1563, and January, 1564.[1]

During 1563 another work at the Vatican was completed which had been begun in 1560; the Loggia della Cosmografia. The west wing of the third floor of the Loggia had so far remained without decoration. Pius IV. had the ceiling and walls of this very richly adorned with stucco and paintings, especially with maps on the walls. According to Vasari this work was entrusted to Giovanni da Udine, who had come to Rome in 1560 with Cosimo I.[2] A glance at the work, which is still well preserved, shows clearly how the master had aged, and how decadent this form of art had become. The inspiration of antiquity has become almost extinct; changed taste and misplaced learning have introduced into the scheme of decoration subjects and facts which cannot be treated artistically, and give a heavy effect.[3] Sacred and allegorical subjects appear in a strange medley, together with fantastic landscapes and maps, the latter being designed by Pirro Ligorio. The name and armorial bearings of the Pope who commissioned the work are repeated wherever it is possible in a way that is wearisome. Besides this a long series of inscriptions records all the actions of Pius IV. In these he is lauded as the restorer

[1] See the *reports of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, October 6 and 27, 1563, and January 19, 1564, in which however the "fabriche" in the Belvedere are only spoken of in general (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] VASARI, VI., 563. *Cf.* CHATTARD, II., 33; Arch. di Soc. Rom., XXXI., 412; Jahrb. des Preussen Kunstsamml., XXX., (1909), Beiheft p. 161. According to the account books the work was only finished in 1564; see LANCIANI, III., 214. For the majolica decoration of the floor *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb. I., 115 *seq.*, and Art. Subalp., 148; EHRLE, Appart. Borgia, Rome, 1897, 41.

[3] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance[5], Esslingen, 1912, 357. It is a view that has by no means been proved that "the incipient counter-reformation" was to blame for the decadence of this form of art.

of peace, the champion of justice, the helper of the poor, the promoter of learning, the reformer of ecclesiastical discipline. The Council of Trent, a session of which forms the subject of one of the pictures, is several times justly celebrated as his principal achievement; the same is done with the help given to the French Catholics. The multifold building activities of the Pope, both in Rome and the Papal States, are recorded in detail, while the inscriptions which explain the maps are not without interest. It is noteworthy that neither in the case of England nor Germany is any mention made of their religious apostasy; if one were to judge from the inscriptions it might be thought that no change had occurred in the relations of those countries with Rome. Of Spain it is stated that that land produces the most devoted sons of the Christian religion, and that they spread the faith far and wide. The subjection of Greece to the Turks is carefully recorded, while of Italy it is stated that it is the most beautiful, healthy and fertile country in the world, distinguished for its doctrine, the value and richness of its minerals, and in general for all the necessaries of life; once queen of the peoples, it still possesses in the Holy See the central point of the Christian religion, and is as it were, the one refuge of virtue.[1]

In the same good state of preservation as the third floor of the Loggia is the Hall of Secret Consistories, newly erected by Pius IV. In the middle of the magnificent coffered ceiling are the brilliant gilt armorial bearings of the builder, with the

[1] See TAJA, 232-253. *Cf.* B. PODESTÀ in Riv. Europ., VIII., 2 (1877), 34 *seqq.*; F. PORENA in Bollett. della Soc. geogr. Ital., 1888; Mél. d'Archéol., XX., 290 *seq.*; E. SCHMIDT in Geogr. Zeitschrift of Hettner, XVII. (1911), 503. The inscriptions were often copied later on; *cf.* N. CHYTRAEUS, Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae, Herborn, 1594. Information from the *registers of expenditure (State Archives, Rome) for the Loggia bella delle Cosmografie, in LANCIANI, III., 214. *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXI., 412. Payment for the majolica tiles for the pavement, which were brought from Genoa, in BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 149.

words: "Pope Pius IV. in the fourth year of his reign, 1563."[1]

How extensive the works undertaken by the Pope in the Vatican were, is also shown by the adornment of the Sala dei Papi, the Sala Regia, and the Sala Ducale. In the first named, the arms of Pius IV. are conspicuous on all four walls; the paintings, however, have suffered so greatly that it is only with difficulty that one can imagine its former appearance. Sturdy cariatides painted in bright sepia with baskets of flowers on their heads, and placed at regular intervals, seem to be supporting the sections of the richly decorated vaulting; they are fairly well preserved as far as their general outline is concerned. The views of Rome in the wide spaces between, among which is the new Porta Pia, are almost completely destroyed.[2] The Sala Ducale was adorned with a frieze, in which landscapes and figures of the virtues alternate; fine arabesques stand out on the white stucco of the vaulting.[3]

In the Sala Regia, coats of arms and inscriptions record the decorative work, which was carried out under the direction of Cardinal Mula. Since it was there that the ambassadors were received, it was fitting that the paintings on the walls should principally represent events in the history of the Popes relating to the gifts made by the civil princes to the Holy See, and to the relations of the latter with the Emperor. Long inscriptions explain these historical scenes. A number of painters were employed upon them, among whom were Taddeo Zuccaro, Daniele da Volterra, Girolamo Sicciolante da Sermoneta, Livio Agresti, and Francesco Salviati.[4]

The celebrated *casa di campagna*, the Casino di Pio IV., or

[1] See TAJA, 79. This hall is now entitled *La prima camera de' paramenti.*

[2] *Cf.* STEINMANN, Das Appartamento Borgia im Vatikan, in Allgem. Zeitung, 1896, suppl. n. 74. See also TAJA, 88.

[3] The coat of arms in the ceiling of the Sala Ducale gives only the name "PIUS IIII.," without date.

[4] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 39, 573; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 118, Art. Bologn., 44 *seq.* JAHRB. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXX, (1909), Beiheft, p. 166; LANCIANI, III., 228.

the Villa Pia, forms the crowning achievement of the works executed at the Vatican. This building was constructed facing the Cortile di Belvedere in the southern part of the Vatican Gardens, close to a small wood,[1] and has preserved the name of Pius IV. in the memory of all lovers of art down to our own days.

Its builder, Pirro Ligorio, was probably born at Naples before 1510, and died in 1583. He was a man of considerable learning and imagination, but was whimsical and fickle. An architect, an engineer, a painter, a writer, and an antiquarian, he nevertheless has a bad name among archeologists on account of his frequent falsification of inscriptions.[2] His vast knowledge of antiquity and his many other gifts are splendidly shown in his work as architect of the Villa Pia. The view of a writer of the XVIIIth century, that he took as his model an old Roman villa on the Lake of Gabi, is only true in a very limited sense.[3] It is true to say that, as had been the case with the Villa d'Este, so in the Casino di Pio IV. Ligorio was able, in a supremely skilful way, to draw upon his extensive knowledge of ancient Roman monuments, but it is impossible to speak of a direct imitation of any definite building of antiquity,

[1] Therefore called in the account books and in letters (see App. n. 17) "la fabbrica del boschetto" or "Bosco di Belvedere" VASARI too (VII., 257) speaks of the "palazzetto del bosco di Belvedere."

[2] *Cf.* HANZEN in Comment. phil. in honorem Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1877, 627 *seqq.* DESSAU in Sitzungsber, der Berliner Akad., 1883, II., 1077 *seq.*; HENZEN in Corpus inscript. lat., VI., 1, 41 *seq.*; HÜLSEN in Mitteil. des Deutschen Archäol. Instit., Rome, Abt. XVI. (1901), 123 *seq.*; Atti Mod., III., 110 *seq.*; FRIEDLÄNDER 10 *seq.*, 14; NOLHAC, P. Ligorio, Paris, 1886; PLON, Leoni, 176 *seq.*; BONACCI, Note intorno a P. Ligorio, Naples, 1905; PORENA in Atti d. Accad. d. Arch. di Napoli, N.S. I., (1912). For the house of Ligorio in Rome see N. Antologia, CXXXVI. (1908), 416 *seq.* On December 2, 1560, P. Ligorio became an honorary citizen of Rome; see GREGOROVIUS, Kl. Schriften, I., 315.

[3] VENUTI, Descriz. di Roma, 501.

since the decorative and architectural forms with which every part of the Villa Pia is profusely adorned, are drawn from ancient Roman models and from many different sources. Antiquity indeed pervades the whole of this graceful building, which is more than ordinarily attractive on account of its beauty, but it is nevertheless an entirely original conception.[1]

Paul IV. had begun the construction of this casino, "the most beautiful resting place for the afternoon hours which modern architecture has produced,"[2] in May, 1558, but the works had come to an end by the end of the same year.[3] Pius IV. resumed them in May, 1560, and made such rapid progress that in the course of the following year the entire scheme, which is so beautiful, was completed as far as its general features are concerned. In the autumn of 1562 the interior and exterior decoration was also finished, including the setting up of the draped antique figures, so that it was possible to go and live there.[4] A great deal of antique material was used

[1] See MÜNTZ, III., 344; FRIEDLÄNDER, 15 *seq.* *Cf.* QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, Gesch. der berühmten Architekten, I. (1831), 293; BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, Leipzig, 1914, 11 *seq.*

[2] BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 208.

[3] *Cf.* ANCEL, Le Vatican, 63 *seqq.*

[4] See FRIEDLÄNDER, Kasino Pius' IV., 5–8. This work, which is written with great restraint, and is the basis of the description which follows, surpasses all the other works which have so far appeared, among which may be named: TAJA, 499 *seq.*; CHATTARD, III. (1762), 232 *seq.*; BOUCHET, La Villa Pia des jardins du Vatican, Paris, 1837; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL - II.: Villa Pia; BARTOLINI in Giorn. Arcadico, VIII. (1901), 85 *seqq.*; LANCIANI, III., 217 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.* For a criticism of Friedländer and of the work of Krommes cited *infra* p. 424, n.2, *cf.* H. Voss in Monatshefte fur Kunstwissenschaft, V., 381 *seq.* See also the pleasant article by SCHMARSOW, Das Gartenhaus Pius' IV., in Deutsche Lit.-Zeit., 1912, n. 15. On the strength of the account books and the inscriptions (see FORCELLA, VI., 72 *seq.*), Friedländer (p. 8) rightly places the completion of the exterior at the end of 1561. The *letter of Caligari of October 11, 1561, gives the date more exactly; *cf.* App. n. 17 (Papal Secret Archives.)

in the construction, a thing which continued to be done for a long time to come.[1]

The Villa Pia was admirably suited for the purpose of providing the Pope with an easily accessible place of quiet and recreation, whither, either alone or with a few friends, he could withdraw from the bustle and pomp of the court. The Villa Pia also holds a particularly important place in the history of building architecture, for it is the only secular building in an almost complete state of preservation belonging to the transition period between the Renaissance and the baroque style. In it architecture, decoration and painting are combined in perfect harmony.

The Villa consists of two small buildings, the Casino proper and the Loggia. The Casino, which is a strictly symmetrical building half hidden in the wood, has added on to it, behind and to the left, a small tower, "as if it had been felt necessary to add this last touch so as to give to the whole edifice the appearance of a happy informality."[2] The Loggia stands like a well-house in the middle of a basin fed from "maschere." In front of the Loggia there is a parterre with formal beds of flowers.[3]

The Casino and the Loggia are separated by an oval shaped cortile surrounded by a parapet with seats, and a graceful fountain plays in the middle. This fountain, the oval basin of which corresponds to the shape of the cortile, is adorned by two marble figures of putti riding upon a dolphin; these are the work of the sculptor Casignola. The paving of the cortile is composed of flat stones of different colours, white travertino and dark peperino, in such a way that there is no regular pattern, thus increasing the general appearance of informality. At the two sides there are entrances consisting of richly

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, III., 212, 217. An important discovery was made in 1562 at SS. Cosmas and Damian, where some fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae were found. *Cf.* DOREZ in Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript., 1910, 499 *seq.*, and HÜLSEN, Dei lavori archeol. di Giovanantonio Dosio, Rome, 1913, 3.

[2] BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 250.

[3] See A. GOTHEIN, Gesch. der Gartenkunst, I., 278.

decorated gateways, forming vestibules, the outer part of which, towards the Casino, form the beginning and end of the great wall which encloses the whole of the north-west part, especially the principal building, and cutting it off, as though to ensure absolute privacy.[1]

A characteristic of the whole undertaking, which was intended to be, above all things, a splendid example of decorative art, is the complete preponderance of the decorative element over the purely architectural. The façades of both the Casino and the Loggia, display, from top to bottom, a prodigality of graceful decoration. Almost every inch of available space is filled with stucco ornamentation, in such a way that the architectural lines almost entirely disappear. The part taken in the reliefs and sculptures by the antique is noteworthy, and characteristic of the worldly tendencies of Pius IV. On the façade of the Loggia, which is open at both ends, may be seen reliefs in stucco representing Apollo with the nine Muses and two Bacchic figures. The tympanum, in the centre of which is Aurora reclining upon the clouds, is surmounted by an antique female figure. On the north east side a relief represents the nymph Amaltea with a she-goat, which is suckling the infant Jove.

Four columns of grey Numidian granite adorn the entrances of both the Loggia and the Casino. The façade of the Casino, which is without windows, and is purely decorative, has numerous allegorical scenes in relief. Eirene, Dike, Eunomia and Aegle are accompanied by Pan and Silenus, all distinguished by inscriptions. In the central space a five-line Latin inscription in large letters informs us that in 1561 Pius IV. erected a loggia, cortile, fountain and casino in the wood of the Vatican Palace for himself and his successors. The marble coat of arms of the Pope stands out boldly underneath this inscription, held up by two winged figures, and surmounted by the crossed keys and the tiara.

From the portico of the Casino, which is richly decorated in mosaics, conches, stucco, paintings and statues, a lower door

[1] FRIEDLÄNDER, 18, 20 *seq.*

leads to a wide rectangular hall, the principal feature of the ground floor. There are two other rooms ; out of the larger we pass into a small empty one, in which is placed the narrow staircase, which, by means of a few square landings, leads to the first floor, and opens on to a small platform with a balustrade, and lighted by three windows. The apartments on the first floor correspond as to their arrangement and size with the more lofty and airy ones on the ground floor.[1]

The interior decoration of the Casino is even more magnificent than that of the exterior. The floor is covered with small tiles of majolica, arranged with a taste which, both as to the varied design and the bright colouring, recall the best period of this branch of art. The walls have no paintings ; they were intended to be covered with hangings, because frescoes would have spoilt the effect of the antique statues which were placed there, and which were taken for the most part from the villa of Julius III.[2] The principal and outstanding decoration is to be found in the beauty of the ceilings, where a scheme of vaulting " a specchio " has been adopted. " The vaulting springs from a wide cornice, and rises from all four sides to the centre, meeting at the corners in groins which are covered with decoration."[3] Rome already possessed several outstanding examples of this type of decoration in the Loggia of Raphael, at the Castle of St. Angelo, and in the Villa di Papa Giulio. That of the ceiling of the Casino is on the same lines, and was entrusted, by the advice of Cardinal Mula, to a number of artists, among whom were Federigo Zuccaro,

[1] In the vestibule of the Casino two specimens of cosmati work of the XIIth century are used in the pavement. In one of these there can be read in capital letters an inscription which may be reproduced here, as it is not mentioned in FRIEDLÄNDER in his otherwise complete and detailed description ; it runs as follows : " Hunc operis quicquid chorus ecce nitet preciosi artificis scultri scomsit Bona dext. prae Pauli."

[2] *Cf.* HÜBNER, Le statue di Roma, I. : Quellensammlung, Leipzig, 1912, 79 *seq.*

[3] FRIEDLÄNDER, 46.

Santi di Tito and Federigo Barocci.[1] Barocci, who was a compatriot of Raphael, distinguished himself especially in this work. His paintings are marked by great strength and beauty, both in their design and colouring. In his treatment he departs from that adopted by his predecessors, for whereas hitherto the symbolical representations had been spread over the whole curve of the vaulting, Barocci places the principal motif in the centre, and thus has the most important scene at the true point of view.[2]

The decoration of the ceilings in each of the rooms in the Casino is extraordinarily varied; no two are alike, and each is in some way characteristic of the art of the day. The spectator is presented with a rich display of gilt and painted stucco work, and the motives in each case are extremely beautiful, while the general impression is very fine. Anyone who examines the stucco work even casually will find that it leads up almost insensibly to the paintings themselves. Inscriptions and armorial bearings at every turn pay their homage to the Pope who caused the work to be carried out.

On the ground floor the paintings on the ceiling in the large hall consist of small grotesques, all connected with each other, among which are smiling landscapes and larger decorative frescos of single figures, splendid allegorical figures of women and putti, and lastly of independent paintings, which are separated from the cornice by scenes from the life of Christ. Among these the central point and the principal picture is a magnificent fresco of the Holy Family by Barocci, in which the influence of Correggio is plainly to be seen. The other smaller paintings, which are drawn from the New Testament, are the work of Barocci's principal assistant, Pierleone Genga.[3]

The vaulting of the adjoining room, the decoration of which

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 91.

[2] See FRIEDLÄNDER 50 *seq.*, 54. For Barocci *cf.* SCHMARSOW, F. Barocci, I.-III., Leipzig 1909–1911; BOMBE, F. Barocci Perugia 1909; KROMMES, Studien zu Leipzig, 1909–19. See also FRIEDLÄNDER in Thieme-Becker, Lexikon der bild. Künstler, II., 511 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* FRIEDLÄNDER 54 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*

has much in common with that of the large hall, but betrays a later tendency, and a more advanced baroque style, is also adorned by a fresco of the Annunciation by Barocci. Rarely has this subject been depicted with so great dramatic power as here. The mysterious chiaroscuro, which Barocci employed here for the first time, is in keeping with the subject. The angel, who is shown as a young man, hovers above the Blessed Virgin who, on her knees before her prie-dieu, stretches out her hands in wonder, yet receives the tidings with a royal dignity.[1]

The four pictures in the vaulting of the well of the staircase are important on account of their subjects, and were the work of the Florentine, Santi di Tito ; this too was completed under Pius IV. These paintings represent : the Casino itself, as it appeared immediately after its completion, the horses of Montecavallo with the road which the Pope had constructed, ending in the Porta Pia, the Via Flaminia to its end, the Porta del Popolo, which also had been restored by the Pope, and lastly the Cortile di Belvedere, in which the connecting link erected by Pius IV. is not yet to be seen. In these pictures the architecture is only a background ; they are rather to be described as dainty little landscapes, enlivened by figures.[2]

The Loggia, which was certainly used for meals in the open air, had a delightful view over the fishpond below, and the flower beds of the garden. On the ceiling, where painting and stucco are alike employed, Federigo Zuccaro painted scenes from the history of Moses. Again here the pictures are drawn entirely from sacred history, whereas one would naturally have been led to expect a return to antiquity. The erotic and mythological paintings round the side walls, however, show how strong a hold such things still had upon men's taste. The changed times nevertheless appear in the fact that in the Casino of Pius IV. not only are there many pictures of religious subjects, but also that, in contrast to the

[1] See *ibid.*, 72 *seq.*, 119 *seq.* The reproduction in Friedländer gives the picture the wrong way round.

[2] *Ibid.*, 86 *seq.*

Villa of Julius III., the allegorical figures are nearly always draped.[1]

Since the Villa of Pius IV. was situated in a more or less hidden place, and was not generally accessible, there is little mention in the guides to Rome of this "little jewel" in which Ligorio so cleverly combined a house and a garden.[2] Contemporaries only refer to it rarely,[3] but all the more fully do they speak of the other buildings with which Pius IV. enriched and fortified the Eternal City.

The events of the war of Paul IV. with Spain had shown how much Rome stood in need of defences. Pius IV. could not forget the experiences of those days. After the news of the sudden defeat of the Spanish fleet near Jerbeh in May, 1560,[4] the Turkish peril was always present before the minds of the Curia.[5] In order to protect his capital against a sudden attack by the Turkish corsairs, Pius IV. was not content with

[1] The stricter views which came into force in this respect after the Council of Trent, produced the decision to paint over the nudities of Michelangelo's Last Judgment in 1564. *Cf.* Vol. XII. p. 611, of this work. Mention is also made *ibid.* a thing which has been passed over by NOGARA in Monatsschrift fur Kunstwissenschaft, III. (1910), 160 *seq.*, of the memorial containing a strong attack on the Last Judgment of Michelangelo, which was sent on September 6, 1561, to the Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, for the Pope, by Scipione Saurolo. It is due, to NOGARA or to G. MERCATI that Saurolo's letter, which I was informed had been lost, is printed together with the memorial, in SALA, III., 90 *seqq.* For the opposition of the Bologna clergy to the nude figure of Neptune on the fountain of Giambologna at Bologna see PATRIZIO PARRIZI, Il Gigante, Bologna, 1897.

[2] See GOTHEIN, Geisch. der Gartenkunst, I., 280.

[3] Friedländer (p. 86) has already called attention to this. The following passage in the *letter of Caligari to Commendone, dated Rome, April 4, 1564, certainly refers to the Villa: "N. S^re^ domenica mattina fece pasto a la vigna a molti suoi parenti." (Lett. di princ. XXIII., n. 50, Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, II., 885 *seq*; JORGA, III., 104 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 345; HAMMER, II., 301; ZINKEISEN, II., 885 *seq.* GUGLIELMOTTI, Pirati, II., 413 *seq.*

strengthening the Aurelian Walls,[1] but in January, 1561,[2] he resolved to undertake a great new scheme of fortification.

The first consideration was to add to the defences of the Leonine City, a matter which Paul III. had already taken in hand.[3] A beginning was made by strengthening the defences of the Castle of St. Angelo, where the third pentagonal rampart which had been commenced by Paul IV. had been in great measure destroyed by the overflowing of the Tiber in September, 1557.[4] A commission, composed of Cardinals Tiberio Crispi, Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio di Santa Fiora, was set up, which entrusted the general supervision of the works to the commandant of St. Angelo, Giovanni Battista Serbelloni, and his brother, Gabrio, the celebrated military engineer.[5] By the advice of Michelangelo, the carrying out of the new work was given to the well-known engineer, Francesco Laparelli, who was assisted by Latino Orsini, Galeazzo Alessi, Ascanio della Corgna and Francesco Paciotti.[6]

In the last week of February, 1561, the Pope and the Cardinals held a meeting to discuss this important matter,

[1] See NIBBY, Le mura di Roma, Rome 1820, 301, 322, 324, 356, 367, 380; Revue archéol., VI., 31, 32 *seq.*; VII., 130, 136, 226. *Cf.* FORCELLA, XIII., 34. Two coats of arms of Pius IV. with the date 1563 are preserved in the walls of the Via delle mura near Porta Cavalleggieri.

[2] *" Qui si da ordine per fortificare Borgo " says Fr. Tonina on January 11, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and on January 16 G. Grandi: *" N. S^re^ ha dato principio alla fortificatione del Borgo " (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* the report of the Portuguese ambassador of January 16, 1561, in Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 164 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 560.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 169, and BORGATTI, 131 *seq.*

[5] This is clear from *Mandati camerali 1560–1562, p. 84 (State Archives, Rome), and from the Motuproprio of July 30, 1562, published by PAGLIUCCHI (p. 162 *seq.*).

[6] *Cf.* VENUTI, Vita del cap. Fr. Laparelli, Leghorn, 1761, 7, 13, 22; GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 373 *seq.*; BORGATTI, 135, 211; ROCCHI, Piante 73, 319 *seq.* See also BERTOLOTTI, Art. subalp., 97.

also taking into consideration the question of strengthening the fortifications of the coast.[1] For this purpose Pius IV. had already visited Ostia at the end of January, 1561,[2] and on April 18th he went, accompanied by experts, to Civitavecchia.[3]

On May 8th the first stone of the new fortifications of St. Angelo was laid with great solemnity, the Pope, who was accompanied by a suite of 18 Cardinals and many prelates, himself performing the ceremony. The arms of Pius IV. were engraved on one side of the foundation stone, and his name with the date of the second year of his pontificate on the other, while coins of gold, silver and copper were buried with the stone. A salvo of cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo proclaimed the important event to the city.[4]

The work on the fortifications was carried on with feverish haste during the summer of 1561 and until the autumn.[5]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 22nd, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 255, Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Fr. Tonina of January 22 and 25, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See App. n. 6,

[3] The *Avviso di Roma of April 18, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 268, Vatican Library) mentions as one of those who accompanied the Pope, the engineer of the Duke of Urbino, Baldassarre Tacco of Urbino, who had made the "modello della fortificazione di Borgo." This was the "Baldassarre architetto," of whom Saraceni remarks in his *report of April 7, 1561 (State Archives, Florence) that the Pope was awaiting his arrival in order that he might go with him to Civitavecchia.

[4] See the *letter of Saraceni of May 9, 1561 (State Archives, Florence), and the detailed report in the *Avviso di Roma of May 10, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 272, Vatican Library). May 8 is here given as the date of the laying of the first stone. Bondonus is accordingly corrected on this point in Merkle, II., 541 (May 7) and in Bonanni, I., 283 (May 6). *Cf.* also the *report of Fr. Tonina of May 10, 1561: *"Di nuovo qui è che giobbia passata S.S^tà in forma solenne andò a porre le prime pietre della fortificazione che si è cominciata di Castel S. Angelo et di Borgo." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] *Cf.* in App. nn. 13, 17, the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives). An *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1561 (Vatican Library) speaks of the zeal with which

In October a Mantuan agent reports that the Pope inspected the progress of the work every day, and desired nothing so much as its completion.[1] To obtain the necessary money for the expenses the tax for grinding corn and slaughtering beasts was increased,[2] in spite of the opposition of the Romans.[3] The sums swallowed up by the fortification of the Castle of St. Angelo may be seen from the account books : for the years 1561–1562 45,502 scudi were expended, in 1563 44,551, and in 1565 46,484.[4] Considerable expropriations of property were needed in order to isolate the passage leading from the Castle to the Vatican ;[5] and connected with this was the displacement of the north wall of the ramparts of the Leonine City. The new gate that was made there was called the Porta Angelica, from the baptismal name of the Pope ; armorial bearings and inscriptions record its construction at the instance of Pius IV. There, as on the restored Porta di Castello, may be read another and very significant inscription : "Let him who would preserve the city follow our example."[6]

they were working at the fortifications of the Castle; see App. n. 16. On September 17, 1561, Fr. Tonina writes : *" Si dovea tirar hoggi il filo della muraglia chi si ha da fare da Castello a Palazzo. ma non è seguito poi, forsi domani " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua),

[1] *" N.S^re va ogni dì a piedi a vedere la fabrica che si fa della fortezza del Castello et pare che non desideri altro che questa fortezza." Fr. Tonina from Rome, October 15, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 11, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 240b, Vatican Library).

[3] *Cf.* Rodocanachi, St.-Ange, 163, and Pagliucchi, 143.

[4] *Cf.* Rocchi, Piante, 304 *seq.*

[5] See Rodocanachi, St.-Ange, 264 *seq.*

[6] See Forcella, XIII., 32 ; Guglielmotti, 366 *seq.* ; Tomassetti, III., 1 *seq.*, 8 (drawing). *Cf.* Inventario dei Monumenti di Roma I., Rome, 1912, 441. The inscription on the Porta di Castello is now in the Museum of the Castle of St. Angelo. In spite of all protests (*cf.* A. Sacco, Le torre poligone di Castel S. Angelo, Florence, 1890, 6) the Porta Angelica was destroyed in 1890 in making the Piazza del Risorgimento ; some remains of it were built up not far from its former site in the outer walls of the enclosure of the Vatican.

The enlarged part of the Leonine City received the name of Borgo Pio, and the work of construction was helped on by the granting of privileges.[1] The above mentioned passage, which Pius IV. caused to be restored, separated the Borgo S. Angelo from this new quarter. In order to provide convenient means of access seven tall entrance gates were formed, on both sides of which fine shields bearing the arms of the Pope can still be seen.[2]

The old parish church of S. Maria in Traspontina, which stood close to the moat of the Castle, and not far from the bridge, was pulled down to make room for the new fortifications in 1564–1565. Pius V. had it rebuilt in March, 1566, the design for the façade being the work of Sallustio Peruzzi.[3]

The Venetian envoy, Girolamo Soranzo, in his report of June 14th, 1563, says that the fortifications in the Borgo and at the Castle of St. Angelo had made great progress, but that the work took so much time and was so costly, that unless another Pope of the same way of thinking should succeed Pius IV., like many other such undertakings, it would never be finished.[4] This view can easily be understood if we bear in mind that the circumference of the fortifications was three kilometres in length and included ten bastions and five gates. Soranzo's prediction was fulfilled, not only on account of the great expense, but also because of the difficulty of finding

[1] See "Bulla Pii Papae IV. erectionis civitatis Piae, prope arcem S. Angeli, ac gratiarum in ea aedificantibus concessarum," dated August 23, 1565, Rome (Bladus) 1565; also in Bull. Rom., VII., 381 *seq.* *Cf.* also LANCIANI, IV., 11.

[2] See in FORCELLA, XIII., 32, the inscriptions on the entrance nearest to the Vatican, which took the place of the old Porta S. Pellegrino. *Cf.* BORGATTI, Le mura di Roma, Rome, 1899, 398.

[3] *Cf.* PAGLIUCCHI, 141 *seq.* L. Bondonus says: *"Die 13 iuli [1564] ex commissione S^mi D.N. fuerunt dirutae quaedam domunculae, quae erant prope dictam arcem [S. Angeli], ac etiam paries beatae Mariae Transpontinae." (Papal Secret Archives. Miscell. Arm., XII, 29, p. 374).

[4] GIROL. SORANZO, 83. For the progress of the works see SICKEL, Konzil, 455, and in App. n. 33 the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti of September 15, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

suitable ground for the proposed bastions[1] in the wider sweep of the ramparts both on the slope of the Vatican hill, and on the north side of the Leonine City between the Belvedere and the Castle of St. Angelo. Bernardo Gamucci extols these new works which were being carried out in accordance with the modern ideas of fortification as one of the wonders of Rome, and says that it is a superhuman undertaking.[2] Pius IV., who had always taken the most keen interest in the work,[3] nowhere else proclaims by means of inscriptions and coats of arms his responsibility for the work so fully as he does here.[4] A special commemorative medal was struck to record it.[5] Between the years 1562 and 1565 the Castle of St. Angelo was equipped with new cannon and arms, and stocked with supplies; restorations were also effected in the interior and new quarters formed.[6]

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 5, the *report of Fr. Tonina of January 18 1561 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] GAMUCCI, Antichità, 179 *seq.*

[3] On April 8, 1562, the Pope visited the *fabrica del Castello* (*report of Tonina of that date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); he did the same in February, 1563 (*report of the same of February 17, *loc. cit.*) and again in August, when he also visited the *fabrica di Borgo* (*report of the same, August 11, 1563, *loc. cit.*).

[4] See FORCELLA, XIII., 145; BORGATTI, 211 *seq.*; PAGLIUCCHI, 141 *seq.* *Cf.* BARTOLI, 92, and BORGATTI, Il Mausoleo d'Adriano e il Castel S. Angelo, Rome, 1902, 52. At the present day (1913) there are preserved in the Castle of St. Angelo no less than 11 inscriptions some with the arms of Pius IV. Two read: Pius IIII Mediolan. P.M.; five: Pius IIII Mediolan. Pont. Max. Anno sal. 1563 (these were placed in the curtains of the pentagonal ramparts); two others: Pius IIII Medices Mediolan. Pontif. Max. anno sal. 1563. Lastly there are two key-stones; angels holding up tablets with the inscription: Observato fines Pius IIII Pont. Max. Anno sal. 1565. Several coats of arms of Pius IV. are also to be found in the covered way leading to the Vatican.

[5] *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 283 *seq.*; VENUTI, 111; ARMAND, II., 217.

[6] *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, St. Ange, 173; PAGLIUCCHI, 143. For the restoration of the Ponte S. Angelo see Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml, XXXVI, Beiheft, p. 59.

Extensive constructions were planned, and partly carried out, for the protection of the coasts of the Papal States. In accordance with the proposals of Martino de Ayala fortified towers were erected near Terracina, Monte Circeo, Anzio and Palidoro, where the inhabitants might take refuge at the approach of the Turkish corsairs. A complete system of such towers was projected, but the fulfilment of the scheme was left to Pius V.[1] At the same time the strengthening of the fortifications of the ports was taken into consideration.[2] At Ostia Pius IV. made good in 1561 the damage which that fortress had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards under Paul IV.[3] The works at Civitavecchia were on a larger scale; the Pope inspected them in person several times, first in October, 1561,[4] and again in November, 1563.[5] A medal commemorates the improvement in the harbour and the security given to the city by Pius IV. The work only reached completion under his successor.[6] When, especially in 1562, the Mediterranean coast, and later, that of the Adriatic, were disturbed by Turkish attacks,[7] Pius IV. made provision for

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 398-405, 430 *seq.*, 449, 478. *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., 180.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of May 10, October 4 and 25, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 272, 301, 305b, Vatican Library).

[3] See the *report of Mula of January 25, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives), and the Relazione of Tiepolo, 196. *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 84; DURUY, 200, n. 4; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I, 170, and the *report in App. n. 6.

[4] See in App. n. 18, the *letter of Caligari of October 22, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* SUSTA, III., 44.

[5] See the *report of Giac. Tarreghetti, dated Rome, November 13, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] See GUGLIELMOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 286 *seq.*, 290, 294, 296. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 290. Two letters of Charles Borromeo of 1562 concerning the fortifications of Civitavecchia in PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, Guida di Orvieto, 357 *seq.* On the principal gate of the Rocca at Civitavecchia the name of Pius IV. may still be seen.

[7] An *Avviso di Roma of June 6, 1562, reports that the corsairs were taking away many prisoners near Ardea; a man who had conspired with them had been imprisoned (Urb. 1039, p. 368b,

the protection of his subjects.[1] Specially noteworthy was the improvement carried out by his orders of the defence works at Ancona, where the harbour was also improved.[2] How methodically the Pope proceeded with his fortification works in the Papal States may be seen from the fact that at the end of 1561 he ordered Gabrio Serbelloni to make a tour of the whole territory in order that he might personally satisfy himself as to the places which stood in special need of defences.[3] The Papal States were also in need of protection against other enemies than the corsairs, and Pius IV. accordingly in 1561 had the defences of Bologna strengthened, and enclosed Anagni, which was situated in an exposed position, within a completely new line of walls. The Florentine, Giovan Antonio Dosio, who was well known for his archeological researches, drew the plans for this.[4] In May, 1563, Ravenna was fortified, which

Vatican Library). Another surprise attack had been made near Ostia on June 18 and 19 (see *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1562, *ibid.*, 374). Some corsairs even got as far as Tre Fontane, in consequence of which the Pope sent 500 men to Ostia " per vedere di resistere alle ruine " (*Avviso of June 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 375). For the fortifications at Nettuno in 1563, see TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 332.

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 16 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 363b), March 31, April 14 and 28, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 1, 3, 7b, Vatican Library).

[2] *Cf.* LEONI, Ancona illustr. Ancona, 1832, 294 ; SALA, III., 86 ; GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 489 ; according to a *report of Mula of July 27, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives) a strong fortification of Ancona was already under consideration. The *brief " super solutione 8,000 scutorum pro reparatione portus Anconit." (Editti, in Casanatense Library, Rome) is dated June 9, 1561 ; Faenza was exempted from the tax ; see *brief of May 28, 1564 (Communal Archives, Faenza).

[3] See in App. n. 19, the *letter of Caligari of November 8, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] A *report of Fr. Tonina of January 11, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), records the fortification of Bologna, and GIAC. SORANZO, 131, that of Anagni, 238 *seq.* *cf.* DE MAGISTRIS, Storia d'Anagni, I (1889), 169, 238 *seq.* See also Pio IV. y Felipe II., 343. As to Anagni an *Avviso di Roma of May 3, 1565, announces that

caused it to be said that fears of a Huguenot invasion of Italy were entertained.[1]

The Pope combined his fortification works with aesthetic considerations in his restoration of the gates of Rome, for which Michelangelo provided many of the sketches. For the new gate which was to take the place of the ancient Porta Nomentana or of S. Agnese, the master made three designs, which Vasari describes as being as beautiful as they were clever. From motives of economy Pius IV. chose the one which was the least costly.[2] In March, 1561, the work was commenced upon this new entrance to the city, which was erected between the ancient Porta Nomentana and the Porta Salaria.[3] On June 18th of the same year Pius IV. laid the first stone of the gate, which was named after him Porta Pia.[4] The contract made by the Apostolic Camera with the builders employed on this work is dated July 2nd, 1561. In this document Michelangelo is spoken of as the director of the works, and Pierluigi Gaeta appears as overseer.[5] For the sake of safety, a motuproprio ordered the closing both of the Porta Salaria and the old Porta Nomentana, and Count Ranieri was appointed custodian of the new gate, with permission to build an inn there.[6] The façade of the Porta Pia towards the city,

the Pope is going there for the Ascension "a veder la fortezza, alla quale s' è tuttavia intorno" (C. Farnes. VI., State Archives, Naples). For Dosio see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 62. *Cf.* also HULSEN, Dei lavori archeol. di G. Dosio, Rome, 1913, 3.

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Tonina of May 5, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See VASARI, VII., 260; DAELLI, n. 23; THODE, V., 208. *Cf.* GAMUCCI, Antichità, 116.

[3] See LANCIANI, III., 231 *seq.* *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 475; Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 166.

[4] See Diarium caerem. in BONANNI, I., 278 and in App. n. 11. the *letter of Tonina of June 18, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the Annuaire Pontifical, 1915, p. 168, is an old picture of the Porta Pia, and on p. 169 a picture of the tomb of Pius IV.

[5] GOTTI, II., 160 *seq.* *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. subalp., 40 *seq.*; THODE, I., 471; V., 207.

[6] See BICCI, Notizia della famiglia Boccapaduli, 230.

which was only completed in the time of Pius IX., clearly shows the intention of the master to give the actual gateway a more imposing appearance; as far as the construction is concerned this is carried out in such a way as to produce an extremely fine effect, being surrounded by small secondary windows and sham battlements. The construction of the actual adornment is subordinated to this purpose, and is in itself quite trivial.[1] In the upper part, above the entrance, was placed the coat of arms of the founder, carved out of a colossal marble capital discovered under the palace of Cardinal della Valle.

The reconstruction of the Porta del Popolo, which swallowed up more than 10,000 scudi, was decided upon in the autumn of 1561,[2] but was only taken in hand in 1562.[3] On July 23rd of the following year Pius IV. inspected the outer faaçde;[4] this takes the form of a triumphal arch, and is adorned with four Doric columns, two of granite and two of marble.

The inscriptions on the Porta del Popolo and the Porta Pia tell us of the rearrangement of the streets which was undertaken by Pius IV.,[5] which, like the levelling and reconstruction of the piazze near the Lateran[6] and Capitol,[7] were undertaken

[1] See BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 231. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 721; GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als architekt, 39 *seq.*, 55 *seq.*; KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 654; MACKOWSKY, Michelangelo 324 *seq.*; also NIBBY, Roma antica, I., 143, and Arch. d. soc. Rom., XI., 157.

[2] *Cf.* in App. n. 17, the *letter of Caligari of October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] See LANCIANI, III., 234 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 474 n. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 287; VENUTI, 113 *seq.*

[4] *"Hieri S.B^ne . . . riguardò assai la porta del popolo riformata per Sua B^ne" Report of Fr. Tonina from Rome, July 24, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Here, too, is given the inscription (Anno III.) from which THODE (V., 210) wrongly calculates the beginning as well as the end of the work.

[5] See FORCELLA, XIII., 31 *seq.* *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 476 n.

[6] See CONTARINI, Antichità, 41.

[7] See RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 80.

from motives both of utility and beauty. The street leading from Monte Cavallo to the Porta Pia, which was named after the Pope, was finished in June, 1561, and is one of the most beautiful in the whole city.[1] It is rivalled by the Via Flaminia, which Pius IV. improved and beautified as far as Ponte Molle. It is impossible to imagine, boasts a contemporary, any entrance to a city more beautiful than this, which so splendidly prepares the stranger for the grandeurs and marvels of Rome.[2]

Pius IV., who also took steps to connect the Via di Porta Angelica with the Via Cassia, and to restore the Via Merulana and Via Aurelia, had even more extensive plans for the well-being of his capital; above all he wished to improve the communication between Rome and the sea-coast.[3] Another of his projects was to prevent the inundations of the Tiber, which so frequently afflicted the city.[4] In order to put an

[1] See in App. nn. 5, 11, the *reports of Tonina of January 18, and June 18, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the note of Girol. Ferrucci to ANDREA FULVIO, L'antichità di Roma con le aggiutioni di G. F., Venice, 1588, 26b.

[2] GAMUCCI, Antichità, 133.

[3] See the inscriptions in TAJA, 244 and FORCELLA, XIII., 32, as well as LANCIANI, III., 169. The construction of the street from SS. Quattro Coronati to the Lateran is recorded in the guide, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma*, Rome, 1563, 28. Reference is made to the Via Aurelia in the *Avviso di Roma of October 4, 1561 (Urb. 1039): the Pope is about to make "una strada commoda de poter andare da Roma a Civitavecchia, anche per li carri." An *Avviso di Roma of October 25, 1561, announces that the Pope intends to fortify Ostia and Civitavecchia. At Civitavecchia, besides repairing the road, there was a plan for "un naviglio over di trovar un modo di poter far andare le barche giunte che siano nel porto insino a Polo, ove potranno discargare le robbe per condurle più facilmente a Roma per esser quella strada più commoda che non è quella d'Hostia" (Urb. 1039, p. 305b, Vatican Library).

[4] An *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1561, says that Pius IV. "ha proposto di voler far con l'aiuto de Romani che si facci passare un ramo del Tevere per i Prati insino alla Magliana, ove

end to the brigandage in the neighbourhood of Rome, the Pope had the woods round Civitavecchia, which formed such a good hiding place, cut down.[1]

In some respects Pius IV. was the precursor of Sixtus V., not only by his improvement of the streets, the beauty of which was so praised by his contemporaries,[2] but also because, from the second year of his pontificate,[3] he set himself to the task of providing for one of the most important needs of the life of Rome, a good water supply. With this end in view he entirely renewed the Acqua Vergine.[4] The necessary steps were decided upon in the spring of 1561;[5] not only the Roman people, but the College of Cardinals as well, were to contribute to the cost.[6] In April, 1562, Pius IV. inspected the works near Salone.[7] Contemporaries were right in praising this

habia a ritornare nel Tevere et questo per metter Borgo in peninsula et per obviare alle inundationi" (Urb. 1039, p. 283b, Vatican Library). For the plan of Antonio Treviso of 1560 *cf.* GASPORONI, Arti e Lettere, Rome, 1865, 117 *seq.*; BELTRAMI in Riv. Europ., XI. (1880), 361 *seq.*, 367 *seq.* The same, L. BUFALINI, Florence, 1880. A medal of Pius IV. records the alteration in the course of the Savio in the Romagna (Sapio intra novum alveum coercito); see BONANNI, I., 288; VENUTI, 121.

[1] See in App. n. 18, the *letter of Caligari of October 22, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 196.

[3] *Cf.* in App. nn. 15, 17, the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Cf.* L. PETI, De mensuris et ponderibus Romanis et Graecis, Rome, 1573, 113 *seq.*; P. TIEPOLO, 196; BONANNI, I., 280; NIBBY, Roma mod., II., 12; LANCIANI, III., 235 *seq.*; BERTOCCHI, L'acque e acquedotti di Roma, Rome, 1879, 23 *seq.*; ROCCHI, 212 *seq.*

[5] See BELTRAMI in Riv. Europ. XI., (1880), 371 *seq.*

[6] See *acta consist. September 19, 1561, Corsini Library, Rome, 40–A–13, p. 123.

[7] See the *Avviso di Roma of April 25, 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 358b, Vatican Library), and the *report of Tonina of April 2, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

linking up with the work of Nicholas V., the first Pope of the Renaissance.[1] Unfortunately Pius IV. did not live to see his efforts crowned with success; the man to whom the undertaking was entrusted, Antonio Treviso, let it drag on with incomprehensible and blameworthy indolence, and the disputes which he entered upon were not yet finished when the Pope died.[2]

His plan of restoring the Acqua Vergine was connected with Pius IV.'s intention of bringing back life and prosperity to the hill district which had been deserted since the time of Gregory VII., but the fulfilment of this great work too was reserved for another Pope. Nevertheless Pius IV. had the satisfaction of seeing his capital enter upon an era of improvement. All writers are at one in recognizing the great credit due to him for the revival and adornment of Rome. As early as 1563 the number of the inhabitants had increased to 80,000, and a commemorative medal was struck, with the inscription: *Roma resurgens.*[3] Luigi Contarini wrote in 1569: "If this eminently praiseworthy Pope had lived for another four years, Rome, thanks to his buildings, would have become a new city."[4] The shortness of the pontificate was also the reason why Pius IV. did not continue the erection of the palace, planned on so grandiose a scale, to house the courts and the legal offices of the city in the Via Giulia, which

[1] See Bacci, Del Tevere, Rome, 1576, 30. *Cf.* also the eulogies showered on the improvements in the streets made by Pius IV., especially the Via Pia, in the guide, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (1563). See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 422, n. 3.

[2] See Peti, *loc. cit.*; Bonanni, I., 280; Beltrami, *loc. cit.*, 372 *seq.*

[3] See *acta consist. June 27, 1561 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in App. n. 12. On September 19, 1561, a "contributio cardinalium pro aqua Salonis" was decided upon (*ibid.*). *Cf.* Girol. Soranzo, 83; Venuti, 113; also Gamucci, Antichità, 116, 134, 182, 192, and Epist. P. Manutii, Venice, 1573, 345.

[4] Contarini, Antichità, 41. *Cf.* the verses of Masson, De episc. Urbis 412, which Lanciani (III., 212) thinks are fully justified; to me they seem exaggerated.

had been designed by Bramante, and which had only reached the commencement of the first floor in the time of Julius II.[1]

Pius IV. took an active part in the completion of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In 1555 the Roman senator, Prospero Boccapaduli, had made great efforts to get the Senate to take in hand the plans which Michelangelo had designed in 1538, but which had only been carried out to a very small extent. At length, however, in the spring of 1563, through the personal intervention of the Pope, the work, which it would appear had been commenced in 1560, took a more favourable turn. After a banquet which the Romans gave to Pius IV. at the Capitol on March 21st, he took the necessary steps; Boccapaduli was named superintendent in 1564, and Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi appear as architects between 1560 and 1577.[2]

Between the years 1561 and 1564 Pius IV. erected a new palace in the Via Flaminia near the monumental fountain of Julius III.; this was designed by Pirro Ligorio.[3] Restorations and improvements were also carried out in the Palace of Paul III. on the Capitol,[4] in the passage leading thence to

[1] For this important project, hitherto unknown, which twice occupied the attention of Pius IV., see in App. nn. 13, 26, the account of Fr. Tonina in his *reports of July 15, 1561, and July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 87 *seq.*, as well as O. POLLAK in Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur, III. (1910), 201 *seqq.* and in the gazette of the Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrb. der K.K. Zentralkommission, 1910, 165 *seq.* The account of the intervention of Pius IV., till then quite unknown, was found in the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 11, 1563, where, after speaking of the banquet, he says: "S. B. ordinò poi circa la fabrica che si ha da fare nel palazzo de Conservatori, et disse quello che era di parer et di voler suo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* BALESTRA, La fontana pubblica di Giulio III. et il palazzo di Pio IV. sulla Via Flaminia, Rome, 1911, 16, 23, *seq.*; 29 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

[4] See CASIMIRO, S. Maria in Araceli, Rome, 1736, 469; VETTER, Aracoeli, Rome, 1886, 73 *seq.*; NOVAES, VII., 46; LANCIANI, III., 230; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 104.

S. Marco,[1] and above all in the Palazzo Colonna, near the church of SS. Apostoli, which was the dwelling of Cardinal Borromeo. All these works were on a considerable scale, and the expense involved was very great; the Pope took much personal interest in them.[2] At the Villa Magliana he erected a fountain in very good taste,[3] and another near the Porta Cavalleggieri.[4] The assistance which he gave to the Roman College, which the Jesuits were building for their successful educational establishment, was of great value.[5] The work of education was also promoted by the establishment of a college at Bologna, and new buildings at the university of Bologna, on the entrance gates of which the name of Pius IV. may still be read. Begun in March, 1562, this building, which is distinguished alike by its beauty and its size, and which marked the opening of a new era in the University of Bologna, was ready for occupation by October, 1563. This was principally due to the energy of Pier Donato Cesi, who was in charge of the government of the city as vice-legate of Cardinal Borromeo. The pontificate of Pius IV. and the legation of his nephew are also memorable for Bologna for other reasons; besides the Piazza del Nettuno with its celebrated statue on the fountain of Giambologna, they saw the erection of the beautiful façades of the Palazzo dei Banchi and the Ospedale della Morte, as well as the fountain at the Palazzo Pubblico.[6]

[1] *Cf.* in Lanciani, III., 230, the account of Fr. Tonina in the *letter of August 9, 1561: "S.S^tà s'è ritirata ad Araceli, al qual loco passa da S. Marco per il corri [doro], che già Paolo IV. fece guastare et il quale essa ha fatta rinovare" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See in Vol. XV. of this work, p. 414, the *report of Tonina of August 12, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXII., 483, 485; Forcella, XIII., 105.

[4] See Tomassetti, Campagna, II., 478.

[5] *Cf*, Neher, Statistik, 45.

[6] *Cf.* Masini, Bologna perlustrata, Bologna, 1666. I., 199, 526; III., 217; Venuti, 118 *seq.*, 120; Bonanni, I., 280 *seq.*, 287; G. B. Guidicini, Monografia sull'Archiginnasio di Bologna (p.p. F. D. Guerrazzi), Bologna, 1870, 17 *seq.*; F. Cavazza, Le

Pius IV. showed his care for the churches of the Eternal City on June 27th, and again on August 8th, 1561, by laying an obligation on the Cardinals to restore their titular churches.[1] He himself carried out restorations in the Sistine Chapel, at the Pantheon, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, SS. Andrea e Gregorio

scuole dell'antico Studio Bolognese, Milan, 1896, 231 *seqq.*, 243 *seq.* (Ant. Terribilia architect of the new building), 250 *seqq.* For the fountain of Neptune, see the monographs of P. PATRIZI, Il Gigante, Bologna, 1897, and Il Giambologna, Milan, 1905, 61 *seq.* *Cf.* also SUPINO in Arte e Storia, XXX. (1911), 65 *seq.* In his discourse on the new building of the Bologna University Sebastiano Regoli says that in ancient times they would have placed the Pope, the legate and his representative among the Gods (CAVAZZA, *loc. cit.*, 245 *seqq.*). The city of Milan owes to Pius IV. the restoration of the college of jurists (see VENUTI, 116 *seq.*; BONANNI, I., 175 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 66) and the palace (pulled down in 1867) in the Via Brera (*cf.* BELTRAMI in Arch. stor. dell'arte, II., 57 *seq.*). In the duomo at Milan, to which the Pope made rich gifts, he erected a magnificent mausoleum to his brother Giangiacomo; *cf.* VASARI, VII., 539 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.*, I., 301; PLON, Leoni, 150 *seq.*, 304 *seq.*; FREY, Briefe an Michelangelo, Berlin, 1899, 389; CALVI, Famiglie Milan, IV., tav. 15, and AMBROSOLI in Roma e Lombardia, Castello Sforzesco, 1903, 142 *seq*, 158 *seq.*, where there is also a special biography.

[1] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in App. nn. 12, 14; P. TIEPOLO, 196; PANVINIUS, Vita Pii IV.; MORONI, XLI., 230. Pius IV. renewed the order of Paul IV. against such momuments as caused a dislocation in the churches (*cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 413, n.): *"1561 nel mese di Novembre furono levati tutti li depositi delli corpi morti che stavano in alto nelle chiese." (Cola di Coleine, Diario, Chigi Library, Rome, N–II.–32). See FORCELLA, I., 197; SICKEL, Konzil, 310; Arch. stor. Ital., 3 series, IX., 1, 87. Cardinal Borromeo took the same steps at Milan: *"Die 8 novembris [1565] Sepulchra omnia ducum et aliorum principum, quae erant in sublimi parte ecclesiae cathedralis collocata, ex commissione ill^mi^ cardinalis Borromei fuerunt deorsum missa nocturno tempore." Diarium of L. Bondonus in Miscell. Arm. XII., 29, p. 415 (Papal Secret Archives).

in clivo Scauri, S. Marta, SS. Quattro Coronati, SS. Apostoli, S. Chiara, and especially at the Lateran. In the principal nave of the latter basilica, the name and arms of the Pope are still resplendent in the middle of the magnificent carved wooden roof, as a reminder of the pontiff who adorned his cathedral church with this splendid work of art.[1]

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, III. 74, 212, 238. For the restoration works at the Sistine Chapel see STEINMANN, II., 780, for the works at the Pantheon the *report of Fr. Tonina of Feb. 18, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, in App. n. 23; *cf.* n. 24). See *ibid.* n. 35, the *brief of November 10, 1563 (Papal Secret Archives) referring to the restoration of SS. Quattro Coronati. For the roof of the Lateran see FORCELLA, VIII., 32. *Cf.* THODE, V., 189; ROHAULT DE FLEURY, 264 *seq.*; NOHL, Tagebuch einer ital. Reise herausg. von. Lübke, Stuttgart, 1877, 183 *seq.* For the care of Pius IV., for the Lateran basilica and the baptistry see also CRESCIMBENI, L'istoria di S. Giovanni avanti Porta Latina, Rome, 1716, 367 *seq.*, and especially LAUER, 312 *seq.*, 602 *seq.*, planche XXV. See also in App. n. 20, the *Avviso di Roma of November 8, 1561 (Vatican Library). In 1562 the Pope restored the hospital of St. Antonio (FORCELLA, XI., 128) and the Ponte di S. Maria (LANCIANI, II., 24). For the erection of the church and house for penitent women in 1563, to which the Pope was led by Charles Borromeo, see LANCIANI, IV., 73. For the restoration of the statue of S. Hypolitus see Mél. d'archéol., 1895, 481. In the same year the Pope helped by a gift of money to build the dome of the cathedral of Foligno; see L. IACOBILLI, *Croniche di Foligno, a manuscript in the possession of Faloci-Pulignani at Foligno. Among the Cardinals, Cesi, who died on January 29, 1565, was distinguished for building churches; he erected S. Caterina de' Funari. His body was buried at S. Maria Maggiore "ubi pulcherrimam capellam construxerat, aliam similem in S. Maria de pace erexerat. . . . Fuit vir elemosinarius," says Bondonus (Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 29, Papal Secret Archives). Cesi left a legacy for the completion of the chapel in St. Maria Maggiore, see the *report of Fr. Priorato of January 3, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). Mention may here be made of the richly decorated chapel in S. Maria in Trastevere erected by Cardinal Mark Sittich, although it was only built after the pontificate of Pius IV. There, over the altar, Pasquale Cati da Iesi painted Pius IV. with Cardinal

One of the most important artistic undertakings of Pius IV. was his transformation of the best preserved part of the Baths of Diocletian into a great church. The first idea of this probably came from Antonio del Duca, a Sicilian priest who was filled with zeal for the cultus of the angels, and who, as early as 1550, with the permission of Julius III., erected a chapel in honour of Our Lady, Queen of Angels, in the Terme. Very soon, however, to the great sorrow of del Duca, the violence of the Roman wastrels in those ruins brought the work to an end. All the greater was his joy, therefore, when Pius IV. once more took up the scheme, in which he was certainly influenced by the idea of repopulating the deserted region of Monti.[1]

It was, however, by no mere chapel, but with a magnificent church that these ruins of the mighty edifice erected by the most terrible of the persecutors of Christianity were to be made subject to the Nazarene who had overcome him, all the more fittingly as the Emperor had employed the forced labour of thousands of his victims in its construction. Condivi and

Mark Sittich; frescoes on the side walls, containing many portraits, represent a session of the Council and the nomination of the nephew as Cardinal (*cf.* BAGLIONE, Vite de' pittori, Naples, 1733, 64 *seq.*, 84, 105, 147, 190). Further light may be thrown upon the artists employed by the Cardinal by the family archives at Gallese, which have not as yet been put in order, or by the Serbelloni-Busca Archives at Como.

[1] The connection of Antonio del Duca with the cultus of the angels, and with the Baths of Diocletian has been described, to some extent in the form of anecdotes, by M. Catalani (see CANCELLIERI, De secret., II., 1024 *seq.*, and the same, Le terme Diocleziane, in *Cod. Vatic. 9160): *cf.* BARACCONI, 136 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, and LANCIANI, II., 136 *seq.* The inscription on the tomb of A. del Duca is given wrongly by Forcella, and more correctly in Baracconi *loc. cit.* The *decree of Julius III. for the foundation of the chapel is dated August 10, 1550; see *Cod. Vatic. 9160, p. 53. In what a deserted state the Terme were may be seen from the following statement in a *letter of Mula of August 17, 1560: "Sono stati giustitiati due monetarii che hanno fatte nelle terme di Diocleziano assai monete false." (State Library, Vienna).

even more fully, Vasari, tell how Pius IV. ordered a competition of all the best architects for this work, and how the aged Michelangelo was the victor. The Pope and his whole court, says Vasari, were lost in admiration at Michelangelo's solution of the problem.[1] The master destined for the nave of the new church the central vaulted hall of the Terme, the *tepidarium*, which was certainly still in a good state of preservation with its eight colossal columns of red syenite. He placed the entrance in front of the choir in a small adjoining hall to the south-east, that is to say, in the direction of the modern central railway-station of Rome. Two lateral halls to the south-west and north-east and in the middle of the great central hall were to form the arms of the cross of the basilica; four further halls, the entrance to which was between the columns dividing the side wall, were intended to form as many chapels. There was also to be a side entrance towards the modern Piazza delle Terme. In the middle of the XVIIIth century this was made into the principal entrance, the space intended for that purpose by Michelangelo being walled in and made into a chapel. The result of this absurd alteration is that to-day, when we enter the church we no longer have before us the mighty hall of the Terme in all its length, and the grand effect intended by Michelangelo is destroyed. There is, however, reason to hope that the old form may be restored to it,[2] a thing which some day will make this church, after St. Peter's, the most effective and imposing in the Eternal City.[3]

On the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, August 5th, 1561, the Pope went with a retinue of twenty Cardinals to the Baths of

[1] Vasari, 260 *seq.*; *Cf.* Condivi, 100; Daelli, n. 37. See also Titi, Descrizione, 286 *seq.*, and C. Ricci in Bollett. d'arte, III. (1909), 362 *seqq.*, where are reproduced the drawings which G. A. Dosio made of the great hall before it was changed into a church; *ibid.* 370 the drawing by Dosio of the entrance intended by Michelangelo for the new church of S. Maria degi Angeli. *Cf.* Bartoli, 77–79.

[2] See C. Ricci, *loc. cit.* For the changes of Vanvitelli, *cf.* Gurlitt, Gesch. des Barockstils in Italien, Stuttgart, 1887, 538.

[3] *Cf.* Gamucci, Antichità, 114.

Diocletian, and, on the spot where the high altar was to stand, laid the first stone of the new church, which was to be dedicated to Our Lady, Queen of Angels.[1] In several briefs the Pope points out how the Terme, which had been built by the sweat of the Christians for the service of pagan sensuality by an infidel tyrant and a bitter enemy of the Church, was now to be used for the worship of Almighty God, and to encourage the piety of the faithful.[2] A coin was struck with the inscription: "What once was used for pagan purposes is now a temple of the Virgin; its founder was Pius; take flight, ye demons!"[3]

The care of the divine worship in S. Maria degli Angeli was given to the Carthusians, who took possession of a convent close by, which, with its great cloister adorned with a hundred columns of travertino formed a worthy counterpart to the new church.[4] In the middle of the cortile may still be seen the remains of the hoary cypresses which tradition says were planted by the hand of Michelangelo, the creator of this foundation. Since the previous monastery of the Carthusians near S. Croce could only be inhabited during the summer months with risk to life, on account of the bad climate, the Order had an interest of its own in the new building, and promised the Pope a considerable contribution towards the expense of its erection.[5] The latter gave the Carthusians

[1] See BONDONUS, 524 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, De secret., II., 1027. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of August 9, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 293b, Vatican Library), which records that Pius IV. had on August 6, 1561, prohibited under pain of excommunication "che in detto luoco non vi si vada a giocar ne con cocchi ne cavalli."

[2] See the brief of March 10, 1562, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 189. The *brief of November 2, 1564, to the nuncio in Spain is to the same effect (Papal Secret Archives); see App. n. 38.

[3] See BONANNI, I., 284.

[4] The Certosa near Florence was taken as a model. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, III., 316, 317; THODE, V., 185.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1561: "I frati Certosini han promesso a S.S^{tà} dispendere 40^{m} ducati in una fabrica nuova che la vuol fare per la chiesa nuova dei martiri che

proprietary rights over the Terme, disallowing any claims which the city of Rome might make in the future.[1]

The building of S. Maria degli Angeli was only finished in 1566.[2] Pius IV. had visited the new church in July, 1564, and on that occasion he pointed out to the Cardinals the chapels which they were to build.[3] On May 18th, 1565, he made the church a cardinalitial title, and conferred it upon Cardinal Serbelloni.[4] He caused Michelangelo to design a tabernacle for the high altar, which was cast in bronze by the Sicilian, Jacopo del Duca.[5]

Pius IV.'s high esteem for Michelangelo was shown in his attitude towards the hostility which the aged master still had to face in his capacity as architect of St. Peter's. The election capitulation had bound Pius IV. to work zealously for the completion of St. Peter's,[6] but no such incentive was necessary

la sia poi di loro et che il Papa l'habia del resto a far finire a spese sue proprie" (Urb. 1039, p. 292, Vatican Library). According to the *brief of November 2, 1564 (see App. n. 38) the contribution was given for the building of the covent.

[1] *Cf.* the bull of July 27, 1561, in full in the *Editti, I., n. 140 of the Casanatense Library Rome, and in part in Laciani, II., 136 (*cf.* III., 230), in an Italian translation in *Cod. Vatic. 9160, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Rodocanachi, Antiquités, 127.

[2] *Cf.* Lanciani, II., 137; who like Rodocanachi (*loc. cit.*) places the commencement of the work, on the strength of the account books, in April, 1563. According to the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives; see App. n. 16, 17) and the *brief of November 2, 1564 (App. n. 38) an earlier commencement of the work would seem to be indicated.

[3] "S.B^ne attende tutta via a queste sue fabriche et una di queste mattine andete alla chiesa di S. Maria dell'Angeli, che si fa nelle therme Diocletiane et li elesse di molte capelle che voule che diversi cardinali fabrichino." Letter of Fr. Tonina from Rome, July 8, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[4] See *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 120 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[5] See Vasari, VII., 261; Daelli, n. 37; Thode, I., 468; V., 183.

[6] See Le Plat, IV., 613.

in his case, since he was determined to forward that undertaking[1] with all the energy of his predecessors.[2] Motives of piety came to the assistance of his natural love of building; he was determined that the burial place of the first Pope should be completed, whatever the cost might be.[3] As Panvinio relates, Pius IV. assigned monthly payments to the new building;[4] on March 1st, 1560, he confirmed the privileges of the Fabbrica,[5] and saw to it that the legacies for the basilica

[1] See *Acta consist. June 27, 1561 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) (see App. n. 12). *Cf.* Bull. bas. Vat., III., 35 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vols. V.–XIV. of this work. As far as Paul IV. is concerned, he certainly at first had the best intentions of energetically going on with the building of St. Peter's. In the *Confirmatio privilegiorum et indulgentiarum fabricae principis apostol.*, dated Rome, June 24, 1555, the Pope says: "Post nostram ad summi apostolatus officii assumptionem toto cordis affectu semper mente recoluimus, celeberrimam divi Petri apostolorum principis basilicam, quae in admirabilem consurgit structuram, prout tenemur, debito fine terminare, ne desertis aedificiis quod iam factum est, pereat et tantum opus tanta pecuniarum vi excitatum frustra corruat." (Privilegia, indulgentiae fabricae princ. Apost. S. Petri de Urbe, Rome 1559, 131; *cf.* Bull. bas. Vatic., III., 35 *seq.*). The Pope then persuaded Michelangelo to remain in Rome (see Condivi, 99; Vasari, VIII., 235 *seq.*; Grimm, II.,[5] 434 *seq.*, 437. For the relations of Paul IV. with Michelangelo *cf.* Ancel, Le Vatican, 70 n. 2). But the disturbed political conditions and especially the want of money led to a cessation of all building operations (see Vasari, VII., 257; Brown, VI., 2, n. 788; Ebe, Spät-Renaissance, I., 137; Thode, I., 458 *seq.*; V., 155 *seq.*) Paul IV.'s care for the restoration of the goods of the basilica of St. Peter's gave occasion for the inscription and the bust, which may still be seen in the passage of the sacristy; see Castaldo, Vita del p. Paolo IV., Rome, 1615, 160-3.

[3] *Cf.* in App. n. 38, the *brief of November 2, 1564, to the nuncio in Spain. (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] Panvinius, Vita Pii, IV. For the sums expended see Fea, Notizie, 36.

[5] The bull "Praeclarum opus fabricae basil. principis Apost." in the Barberini Library, Stamp. TTT, II., 16, p. 274. The conditions of the time were not favourable for collecting money.

were applied to their proper purpose.[1] In May, 1562, however, in order to prevent abuses, he found himself obliged to abrogate the privileges of the commissioners of the Fabbrica, as far as indulgences and other faculties were concerned.[2] On the other hand he showed his solicitude for the Fabbrica in 1565 by exempting it from the taxes which it had had to pay ever since the time of Leo X.[3] A bull of June 20th, 1564, dealt with the goods belonging to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.[4]

How great a personal part Pius IV. took in the completion of St. Peter's may be seen from the hitherto unknown evidence contained in a report of the Duke of Mantua's Roman agent, dated March 29, 1561. He says that on the 28th the Pope had climbed the dome of St. Peter's and had on the same day inspected the basilica for the second time.[5]

Pius IV. had the joy of seeing such progress made in the works that it could easily be foretold, as a contemporary states, that the new church would be one of the wonders of the world.[6]

Alfonso d'Este refused the request made to him by Cardinal Borromeo on July 3, 1560, to allow the commissaries of the Fabbrica to enter his territory (see CIBRARIO, 33); see the *letter to the Bishop of Anglona dated Ferrara, July 13, 1560 (State Archives, Modena). Brief to Philip II. of May 10, 1561, concerning the help he was asked to give to the commissaries of the Fabbrica in the Low Countries, in BROWN, I., 190.

[1] See the *brief of January 15, 1562, in App. n. 21 (Papal Secret Archives) and the bull of December 18, 1562, in Bull. Rom., VII., 241 *seq.*

[2] See ŠUSTA, II., 151; *cf.* 167.

[3] Decree to "Vitellotio card. Camerario" dated Rome, January 18, 1565, in VESPIGNANIUS, Compend. privileg. fabricae S. Petri, Rome, 1762, 88. *Cf.* NICOL. MARIA DE NICOLAIS, De Vatic. basilica, Rome, 1817, 18.

[4] The bull "In supereminenti dignitatis Apost. specula," dated XII. Cal. Iulii 15, 1564, in Editti, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[5] See in App. n. 8 the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 29, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[6] PANVINIUS, Vita Pii, IV. For Pius IV.'s plan of having St. Peter's decorated by G. della Porta, see Mél. d'archéol., IX., 68.

The aged Michelangelo remained supreme director of the works. Pius IV. not only confirmed him in his former position as architect of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, but also restored to him a great part of the revenues which had been taken away from him by Paul IV.[1] Even more important was the effectual protection from his enemies which he gave him. These enemies gave him no rest; the beginning of the new pontificate seemed to them a suitable moment for recommencing their manœuvres. Since Michelangelo was in his eighty-sixth year, and the strength of but few men at that advanced age is capable of heavy work, it was not difficult to make even the well-disposed members of the Fabbrica, such as Cardinal Carpi, believe that the old man was no longer fit to discharge his duties. Statements to this effect reached the ears of Michelangelo, who accordingly, on September 13th, 1560, addressed a letter to his old friend the Cardinal, in which he expresses his surprise that even Carpi should have lent an ear to such nonsense. He continues: "this matter has pained me very much, both because your lordship has been wrongly informed, and because I, as is my duty, desire more than all men that it should go on well. And I think, if I do not deceive myself, that I can assure you in all truth that as far as the work is going on at present, it could not be going better. But since perhaps my own interests and my old age may be deceiving me, and thus, against my will, cause injury or prejudice to the building, I intend, as soon as possible, to ask leave from his Holiness to retire; moreover, to save time, I wish to ask, as I now do, your most illustrious and reverend lordship, to be so good as to set me free from this burden, at which, as your lordship knows, I have, by the command of the Popes, worked gratis for seventeen years. It can plainly be seen how much has been accomplished on the said building during that time by my labours. Once more I earnestly beg of you to accept my resignation, feeling that you could not by any act do me a more signal service. With

[1] VASARI, VII., 257. *Cf.* FANFANI, Spigolat. Michel. (1876), 143 *seq.*

all reverence, I humbly kiss the hand of your most illustrious and reverend lordship. Michelangelo Buonarroti."[1]

Pius IV. did not dream of accepting the resignation of Michelangelo. His appreciation of the great master was again shown by the fact that he chose his plans, among all the others, for the Baths of Diocletian and the Porta Pia. In April, 1562, he made him a present of 200 gold scudi.[2]

In spite of all these manifest signs of favour on the part of the Pope, the opposition to Michelangelo did not cease. It started with Nanni Bigio, who made use of every possible means to obtain the honourable and important office of architect of St. Peter's. His unscrupulous ambition was successful once more in 1563 in winning over the commission for the Fabbrica. When in August of the same year the aged Michelangelo appointed as superintendent of St. Peter's the youthful but extremely capable Pier Luigi Gaeta in the place of the murdered Cesare da Casteldurante, the deputies of the Fabbrica refused their consent. Michelangelo, irritated at this infringement of his rights, held firmly to his nomination of Gaeta, and in his easily understandable excitement said to his friends that if it were not accepted he would retire from the building. His enemies then thought that they had won the day, and that the time was now come to put Nanni Bigio in his place. The old man, they declared, was no longer fit to attend to his duties, and must be given a successor; he had himself said that he did not wish to have anything more to do with the building. But Michelangelo denied any such intention, and charged Daniele da Volterra to explain his attitude to Bishop Ferratini,[3] who was a very influential member of the commission. The latter complained that Michelangelo did not tell anyone, not even the members of the commission, about his plans for the building, and was of opinion that it was time a successor was appointed. He then proposed that Volterra

[1] Lettere, ed. Milanesi 558. *Cf.* GRIMM, II[5]., 442 *seq.*; GUHL, I., 173.

[2] THODE, I., 469.

[3] *Cf.* for him K. FREY in Beiheft of vol. 37 of the Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml., p. 45, n. 1.

should take his place, and Michelangelo agreed. But at the meeting of the deputies, Ferratini proposed, if we can believe Vasari, not Volterra but Nanni Bigio; it is, at any rate certain that the commission appointed Nanni Bigio without consulting Michelangelo. Bigio, happy in having at last attained his end, at once issued orders for the building, which showed that he looked upon himself as absolute master there.

Michelangelo was beside himself; he could think of no other course than to go to see the Pope. He met him in the Piazza del Campidoglio. The angry artist complained bitterly of the proceedings of the commission of the Fabbrica, tendered his resignation, and announced his intention of going to Florence, whither the Duke had warmly invited him. The Pope, disconcerted and grieved, tried to soothe the old man and promised to inquire into the matter thoroughly. For this purpose a meeting of the deputies of the Fabbrica was summoned in the palace near the Ara Coeli, and an exhaustive inquiry was made by unprejudiced parties under the presidency of Gabrio Serbelloni. The outcome of this was that Bigio had to retire from his office, although this was effected as kindly as possible, by indemnifying him for his short term of office, which had lasted hardly a month. The Pope himself then named the architect Francesco da Cortona as successor to Michelangelo; neither Michelangelo nor the deputies of the Fabbrica could feel offended at this skilful expedient. In this way did Pius IV. once more display his great diplomatic skill, even in this artistic controversy. Even though the appointment of Cortona implied a usurpation of Michelangelo's rights, the latter could not take exception to it, since the Pope was the supreme arbiter. Pius IV. quite reconciled the master to the change by ordering that not the slightest deviation should be made from the plans of Michelangelo.[1]

The many persecutions which Michelangelo had suffered had

[1] See VASARI, VII., 264–6 and especially FREY, *loc. cit.*, 45–7, who puts more fairly Vasari's evidently biassed and artificial story.

not been able to cool his zeal for his direction of the building of the new St. Peter's, a work which he had taken upon himself without any reward, and purely from religious motives, "for the love of God, and out of veneration for the Prince of the Apostles." The self denial and the determination with which, in spite of all opposition, he remained true to his great purpose, gives a truly tragic consecration to his closing years.[1] He did not shut his eyes to the fact that he would never see the completion of his gigantic task. In order to ensure above all the carrying out of his dome, he had already in the time of Paul IV., at the instance of his friends, especially Cardinal Carpi and Donato Giannotti, begun to make a model in clay, from which was made the larger one in wood, which is still preserved in St. Peter's, and which gives all the measurements exactly.[2] How far the building had progressed under Michelangelo can only be decided after a fuller examination of the archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's.[3] Judging by the accounts and drawings at present available, it may be stated as certain that when the master died the drum was almost finished, the south arm and the

[1] Opinion of JOVANOVITS, Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche, Vienna, 1877, 113.

[2] *Cf.* GOTTI, II., 136; GEYMÜLLER, Michelangelo als Architekt, 39; THODE, I., 459, 463, 466; V., 155 *seq.*, 163 *seqq.*; Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 171 *seq.*; XXXVII., p. 81 *seq.*

[3] The archivium of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, in the rearrangement of which its president, Mons. de Bisogno, and Fr. F. Ehrle have done great service, was recently examined from the point of view of the history of art by KARL FREY and OSCAR POLLAK (who fell on the Italian front on June 11, 1915, after he had been a year previously appointed assistant for the history of art in the Austrian historical institute in Rome), Ausgewählte Akten zur Geschichte der römischen Peterskirche, 1535–1621, in Beiheft to vol. 36 of the Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml., Berlin, 1915, where on p. 56 *seq.* and 109 are given the account books of the time of Pius IV. The information of K. FREY is given in Beiheft to vol. 37, p. 22 *seq.*

south tribune were quite complete, and the north tribune nearly so.[1]

At the end of August, 1561, Michelangelo had a serious warning of his approaching death in a dangerous attack, but he was able to look death tranquilly in the face, since he had always, as a faithful son of the Church, scrupulously fulfilled the duties and practices which she inculcates, with a deep conviction of their necessity and usefulness as the means of salvation.[2]

The vitality of the master, however, was not yet exhausted. He rapidly recovered from his attack, and within a few days was able to go out on horseback. The proud determination with which he defended himself against the attacks of the enemies of his building of St. Peter's showed that he was still his old self. He continued to work with his chisel, and besides a statue of the Prince of the Apostles, in the dress of the Pope, he employed himself during the autumn and winter, though he was ninety years of age, on a Pietà and a small figure of Christ carrying the Cross.[3]

[1] *Cf.* THODE, V., 160, 172, 176. Of great interest and not hitherto used is an account of the work of Michelangelo at St. Peter's, in 1565, given by GAMUCCI (Antichità, 197 *seq.*). He says: "Con l'accurezza del suo ingegno l' ha in tal modo abbellita et riordinata col suo disegno che in alcuna parte non le manca ne ordine ne dispositione ne compartimento ne decoro, secondo che ricerca una cosa di tanta importanza et l' ha in tal modo lasciata inviata che potranno gl' architettori promettersi senza sospetto d' haverla a condurre alla sua intera perfettione secondo il disegno et modello da lui lassato non ostante che vi sieno restati i più importanti membri da finire che si ricerchino in tutta quella opera."

[2] FREY, Michelangelo Buonaroti, Berlin, 1907, 193, who goes on to remark: "Like Luca Landucci he withdrew from the excommunicated Savonarola, and Luther's declarations and objects were entirely incomprehensible to him, as well as antipathetic." So also JUSTI, Michelangelo. Neue Beiträge, Berlin, 1909, brings out Michelangelo's entirely Catholic sentiments (p.425).

[3] Michelangelo had been at work on the Pietà all day long on February 12, 1564, standing all the time; see the letter of Daniele da Volterra of June 11, 1564, in DAELLI, n. 34. *Cf.* THODE, I., 474, 475; GOTTI, I., 358.

On February 14th, 1564, the friends of Michelangelo and indeed all Rome were alarmed by the news that the great master was seriously ill. The slow fever which had attacked him was worse on the following day, but in spite of this the sick man was able to get up and sit by his fire. By February 16th he was unable to leave his bed, and on the 18th, at five in the afternoon, an hour before the bells of Rome rang out the *Ave*, he gave up his great soul to his Creator.[1] The next day the body was carried from his studio in the Macel de' Corvi, not far from the Forum of Trajan, to the neighbouring basilica of SS. Apostoli by the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, to which Michelangelo had belonged for fifty years, his friends, all the artistic world, and his Florentine fellow-countrymen, taking part in the procession. There it was to remain until the monument which the Pope wished to erect to him in St. Peter's was ready.[2] Michelangelo had expressed the wish to be buried at Florence, his native place, in the vault of his ancestors at S. Croce,[3] and his nephew Lionardo carried out this wish. As there was reason to fear opposition on the part of the Romans, Lionardo removed the body secretly, under the guise of merchandise, to Florence, which was reached on March 11th. The next day, the second Sunday in Lent, the removal of the body to S. Croce and the burial took place. The president of the Florentine academy had the coffin opened; the features showed no change whatever; dressed in black damask, the spurred shoes on his feet, a cap of felt in the ancient style upon his head, the master lay there

[1] See the letters in DAELLI, n. 27, 28; GOTTI, I., 353 *seq*; GAYE, III., 126. *Cf.* STEINMANN in Deutsche Rundschau, XXXVI. (October 1, 1909), and Pilgerfahrten, Leipzig, 1910, 229 *seq.*

[2] See VASARI, VII., 286; SCHREIBER in Festgabe für A. Springer, Leipzig, 1885, 109. In the oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome Iacopo del Conte has painted his great compatriot in the left hand corner of his fresco "The angel announcing to Zachary the birth of the Redeemer"; see STEINMANN, Porträtdarstellungen 21 *seq.*

[3] See GAYE, III., 132.

as though asleep. Immediately many poems were written to celebrate the place where one of the greatest artists of all time was laid. When on July 14th, 1564, the solemn funeral rites were celebrated at S. Lorenzo, a picture by Pierfrancesco Toschi was hung over the catafalque representing Michelangelo with the model of St. Peter's before Pius IV.[1]

It is characteristic of Nanni Bigio that immediately after the death of Michelangelo he renewed his efforts to obtain his office. His petition to the deputies of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's is still preserved ; it is a mixture of humility and pride, and full of open or covert attacks on the great master.[2] The Pope very properly paid no attention whatever to the document.

The commission of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's had approached the Pope the day after the death of Michelangelo, but Pius IV. refused to come to any decision until after he had given deep consideration to the question who was to succeed the master.[3] There was therefore a vacancy of nearly five

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 286 *seq.;* GOTTI, I., 361 *seq.;* II., 159 ; GAYE. III., 133. Esequie del divino Michelangelo Buonarotti celebrate in Firenze dall' Accademia dei pittori, scultori e architetti nella chiesa di S. Lorenzo [July 14, 1564], Florence, 1564 ; STEINMANN, Porträtdarst., 70 *seq.;* THODE, I., 477, 479. THODE, *ibid.*, 481 *seq.* gives proof that Michelangelo had nothing to do with the monument in the corridor of the convent near SS. Apostoli in Rome, which represents a reclining man, with his head resting on his left arm. The inscription over the monument is a later addition. For the monument at S. Croce see POGATSCHER in Repert. fur Kunstwissenschaft, XXIX., 414 *seq.*, and STEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 75 *seq.; ibid.*, tav. 91 : Domenico Passignani, "Michelangelo shows to Pius IV. the model of St. Peter's." Fresco in the casa Buonarotti.

[2] In *Cod. Vatic. 3933, p. 57 (Vatican Library) : from which it was published by JANITSCHEK in Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft II., 418 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the interesting and hitherto unknown *letter of Fr. Tonina, of February 19, 1564, which states : "È di presente morto Michelangelo Bonarotto, la memoria del quale chi lauda per la eccellente virtu, et chi la vitupera, per non havere mai voluto

months. It was only in August, 1564, that Pirro Ligorio was appointed first architect of St. Peter's in the place of Michelangelo, receiving a monthly stipend of 25 gold scudi; Michelangelo had received twice that sum. Jacopo Vignola appears as second architect, and associated with him, in the autumn of 1564.[1] A year later both were dismissed from their posts, it was said because, contrary to the Pope's orders, they had not kept to Michelangelo's plans. So far we have no particulars as to the work done by them on the building.[2] Certainly one of the problems that they had to face was the difficult one of the vaulting of the dome. What an interest the Pope took in this question may be seen from a document which has only recently been published. From this we learn that the Pope presided at the meetings of the deputies of the Fabbrica whenever the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's was under discussion. The meeting decided to ask the opinion of all the most eminent architects in Italy and abroad as to this matter, which was as important as it was difficult. During the discussions Guglielmo della Porta was especially asked for his opinion, since he was the best informed as to the plans of Michelangelo and Sangallo on account of his intimate relations with them.[3]

The large sums assigned by him to the Fabbrica in 1565 show with what keen energy Pius IV. devoted himself in other ways to the great work.[4] The ideas of the Pope, who, from his

allevare sotto di se allievo alcuno che lo imitasse. Questa mattina li superiori della fabbrica di S. Pietro sono stati a S.B^{ne} per far sostituire in quel luogo un altro, ma essa non si ha voluto risolvere" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] See K. Frey in Beiheft to vol. 37, of the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., p. 48 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 49.

[3] See the document from the Papal Secret Archives published by K. Frey in Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXXIII., 152.

[4] *"Martidì doppo la capella S.S^{tà} fece una congregatione sopra la fabrica di S. Pietro, alla qual donò il casal di Conca, membro già della badia di Grotta Ferrata, che vale da 40^{m} ducati." (*Avviso di Roma, of April 28, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 12b). An

villa in the Vatican Gardens, was well able to watch the progress of the works, went further than that. According to a hitherto unknown document, he had already planned in July, 1564, what it was only granted to a future generation to see realized; namely, to give to the Piazza of St. Peter's, by means of a colonnade, an adornment worthy of the huge dome.[1]

Pius IV. retained his keen interest in art to the end of his pontificate. Besides the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, he was always planning new buildings and streets. His projects were so extensive that in a report of June 17th, 1564, Galeazzo Cusano said: "If the Pope lives for a few years longer, he will entirely renew the face of the city of Rome."[2]

*Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1565, gives an account of a congregation on the building of St. Peter's held on July 3, in the presence of the Pope: "Ordinò S. S^{tà} che li si donassero 6^{m} scudi dovendosene poi rimborsare sovra Conca." (Vat. 6436, p. 36). In an *Avviso di Roma of October 6, 1565, it is stated: "S.S^{tà} è persuasa da un cardinale, che ha cura di fabriche di levar tutte le tegole della chiesa di S. Pietro che sono di bronzo et porvi tegole di terra cotta et dice vagliano 80^{m} ducati; non si sa se lo farà." (Urb. 1040, p. 109, Vatican Library).

[1] See the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 36. To prepare for this work they began in 1564 to pull down houses, by which the piazza would be enlarged and beautified. *"Die 20 Novembris [1564] incepta fuit desolatio domorum in platea S. Petri de ordine Papae ad ampliandam plateam et pulchriorem reddendam." Diarium Firmani in Miscell. Arm., XII., 29 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *On Tuesday, reports Cusano, the Pope went to the Lateran to celebrate Mass, "et di poi cavalcò per Roma vecchia et tutta la mattina non fece che disegnar strade e fabriche a tale che se vive ancora qualche anni la innoverà in modo che la non si riconoscerà." (State Archives, Vienna).

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

1. Pope Pius IV. to the Doge.[1]

1560, February 22 [Rome].

Reply to his congratulations on the promotion of his two nephews. He hopes that the Catholic religion will be protected in Venice. Since the inquisitor at Venice, Felix da Montalto, O. Min. Convent, fears lest he be hampered in the exercise of his office, we inform you of this in order that you may see to his liberty to do so, and beg you to assist him. We beg you to give orders that Francesco Stella, who is a prisoner with Bishop Michele di Cenada, may be taken to Ancona.

[Min. Brev. in Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 94. Ibid. n. 92, *brief to Michael, episc. Cenetensis: order to have the heretic Francesco Stella "qui apud te custoditur" taken under strong guard to Rome, after Venice shall have given orders for his being sent to Ancona [Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Pope Pius IV. to Pier Francesco Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, Nuncio to Venice.[3]

1560, March 29, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Petro Francisco episcopo Vercellensi nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuncio in dominio Venetorum.

Pius Papa quartus.

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Superioribus diebus egimus cum dilecto filio nobili viro duci Venetiarum duabus de rebus. Nam et nobilitatem eius diligenter sumus ut iniquitatis filium Franciscum Stellam, haereticae pravitatis reum, qui apud venerabilem fratrem Michaelem episcopum Cenetensem in custodia habetur, brachii sui saecularis auxilio fideli satellitum manu custoditum quamprimum ad urbem nostram Anconam deduci iuberet, et dilectum Filium Foelicem de Montealto ordinis minorum conventualium, constitutum a nobis istic haereticae pravitatis inquistorem, hominem nobis valde probatum, sed a nonnullis,

[1] *Supra*. p. 342. [3] See *supra*. p. 342, n. 2.

ut audimus, eiusdem ordinis sive etiam conventus fratribus, quominus officium suum et mandata nostra exequatur, ad hoc tempus, contra ac decuit impeditum a nobis haberet, eum auctoritate et auxilio suo ut exercere libere ac tuto munus sibi ab Apostolica Sede commissum possit, adiuvaret. Cum autem harum rerum utraque nobis curae sit pro eo ac debet, volumus ut fraternitas tua cum ipsius nobilitate nostris verbis eisdem de rebus agat horteturque eum diligenter ad satisfaciendum desiderio nostro, sicut facturum illum pro suo catholicae fidei studio et in hanc sanctam Apostolicam Sedem observantia et devotione confidimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die vigesima nona martii millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Antonius Florebellus Lavellinus.

[Copy, Arm. 44, t. 10, epist. 130, p. 97b–98b. Papal Secret Archives.]

3. Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa.[1]

1560, July 26, Rome.

. . . Quanto alle Bibie volgari vadasi ritenutamente concedendole ad alcuni che non siano conosciuti di legero cervello, pur che siano però delle antiche e non passate per mano di persone et particolarmente di stampatori sospetti, ma che siano dell' antica tradottione.

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

4. Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa.[1]

1560, August 9, Rome.

. . . Quanto poi al particolare delle Bibie volgari, le dico che a monache in modo nessuno non si devono concedere ; ma a qualche donna secolare di buona fama et maturità potrassi concedere, andando però tuttavia ritenutamente a tal concessione, tanto a donne quanto a huomini, giudicando prima la qualità della persona a chi s'habbia a concedere tal licenza et considerare quanto pesa ; percioche per non causare qualche errore sarà meglio usare piu tosto difficolta et scarsita che largheza, massime in questi tempi.

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

[1] See *supra*. p. 349. [1] See *supra*, p. 349.

5. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, January 18, Rome.

. . . Andò poi agli horti del già r^mo Bellai per vedere una strada nominata dal suo nome, Pia, la qual fa fare giettando a terra case et guastando vigne, et comincia a Monte Cavallo, et finirà alle mure de la città, tra porta Sellara et porta S. Agnese, fra le quai due porte si fabricarà all' iscontro di quella strada una nuova porta, che si chiamerà porta Pia. Tornò poi a palazzo, et nel ritorno andò pur anco a vedere questo disegno della fortificatione di borgo, la quale gli è stata appresso la spesa, dissuasa, per la qualità del terreno il quale è sabbionizzo. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1561, January 25, Rome.

. . . La cagione di questo viaggio è stata per fortificare il detto luoco d' Hostia per il timore che si ha degli infedeli, et insieme anco per provedere alle innondationi del Tevro, per il che hanno risoluto slargar la bocca di esso fiume la, il che servirà ancho a venire più commodamente le barche a Roma, et altri commodi, che si sono assai ivi quel che intendo, considerati. . . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7. Pope Pius IV. to Cardinal Pier Francesco Ferreri.[3]

1561, March 28, Rome.

Audimus haereticae pravitatis reos Guidonem Lanottum Fanensem, qui fe. re. Pauli III praed. nostri tempore sacri inquisitionis officii iudicio fuga se subtraxit, et Nicolaum Spanochium Senensem, qui cum Bononiae esset ipse quoque e carcere aufugit idem ob crimen, ambos istic in carceribus haberi. Quoniam vero magnopere cupimus Romam eos ad ipsum inquisitionis officium deduci, volumus et circumspectioni tuae mandamus ut cum dil. fil. nob. viro Venet. duce diligenter agas, that the prisoners be taken under strong guard to Ancona.

[Orig. State Archives, Venice, Bolle.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 431, 436. [2] See *supra*, p. 428. [3] See *supra*, p. 343.

8. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, March 29, Rome.

. . . Il Papa hieri mattina andò su la cima de la cubba di S. Pietro et circondò tutta quella fabrica, cosa nella quale un giovane de vint' anni si saria stancato. La sera poi anco tornò in S. Pietro a piedi et ritornò sempre per quelle scale gagliardissimamente. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems.[2]

1561, March 31, Rome.

Autograph postcript of the Pope: Noi vi resolvemmo con questa che non bisogna che pensiati a ritornare in qua sin che a noi non piacera, mancho ci sono piaciutte altre cose che voi haveti presumpto di la senza haver ne da noi authorita et sopra tutto ne è despiaciuto che habbiati lassato dove vi è parso la spata che mandaramo a Sua M^tà^ come a deffensore nostro et de la fede catholica, ne in cosa alchuna ne havresti potuto far piu despiacer di quello che haveti fatto in questa et nel medesimo si dolemmo ancho del nontio nostro che li doveva provedere, se voi non volevati; per canto attendareti da qui inanti a servir a Sua M^tà^ et a non vi impacciar de le cose nostre et lassar fare al nontio nostro, al[tre]mente la romperemmo in tutto et per tutto con voi, come gia la tenemmo per rotta per li vostri mali portamenti. . . .

[Orig. Hohenems Archives.]

10. Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems.[3]

1561, May 5, Rome.

Da Don Giovanni d' Ayala havemo ricevuta la vostra di XIII di Marzo et poi l' altra di 3 d' Aprile, a li quali rispondendo con questa vi dicemo che quanto ali negotii che cotesto ser^mo^ Re ha con noi et con questa santa sede non è bisogno che voi ne altri s' intrometta essendo tra noi l' amore et buona intelligentia che tutto il mondo sa. He must not associate himself with Avanzino by undertaking his defence. Havemo ancora da dolerci di voi che non ci habbiate mai scritto il modo che havete tenuto io presentar li doni et come siano stati grati et che cosa vi habbiano risposto sopra di cio quel signori

[1] See *supra*, p. 448. [2] See *supra* p. 391. [3] See *supra*, p. 391.

massime che da nessun di loro ci è stato risposto pur una riga di letera come pur haveriano fatti se li doni fossero stati presentati in nome nostro. Questi fatti non sono atti d' acquistar la gratia nostra, pero vi torniamo a dire che per l' avvenire debbiate vivere d' altra maniera. . . .

[Orig. Hohenems Archives.]

Ibid., another letter of reproof of similar tenor, dated Rome, May 21, 1561.

11. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, June 18, Rome.

La Stà de N.S. ritornò non hieri l' altro de Frascati et venne al giardin suo a Monte Cavallo, dove è stata sino a questa mattina per tempo, neila quale poi accompagnata da molti cardli è andata per le strada da lei fatta, nominata Pia, la quale hora è una bellissima strada, havendo quasi tutti che le sono vicini fatte le muraglie belle et alte con vaghissime porte, che portano in quelle vigne, et altri ornamenti, et cosi di longo si ne è ita alle mure della città, dove fa fare la porta Pia et ivi ha fatto la cerimonia solita et poste le prime pietre con diverse medaglie dentro. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. Consistory of 27 June, 1561.[2]

I. . . . Deputavit similiter rev. S. Angeli, S. Vitalis, Sabellum, Amulium et Camerarium pro provisione et reparatione facienda adversus inundationem Tyberis et per institutionem novi alvei ac alias prout expediens fuerit.

[Copy, Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., 90. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

II. Dixit postea [die 27 iunii] quod intendebat reparare propria pecunia ecclesiam Sti Ioannis Lateranensis, quae minabatur ruinam, et etiam alias ecclesias Urbis, et nihilominus con inuare fabricam Sti Petri et hortata est omnes reverendissimos ut tam in fabricis quam in cultu divino vellent instaurare ecclesias suorum titulorum et exponere in illis aliquam partem distributionis pilei; et ad hoc deputavit

[1] See *supra*, pp. 434, 436. [2] See *supra*, pp. 438, 441, 447.

reverendissimos dominos Moronum, de la Cueva, Saracenum, S^ti^ Clementis et S^tae^ Fiorae.

[Copy. Acta consist. Camer., IX., 46^b^. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

13. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1561, July 15, Rome.

. . . Nel venir che ha fatto questi dì da palazzo a S. Marco è stata a vedere il luogo che già cominciò Giulio II in strada Giulia per porvi tutti gli ufficii, et insieme è stata a vedere le scole publiche, et dice che vuole far finire ambidui essi luochi, il che saria opera lodatissima. Molti credono che sarà una mossa, ma che non si farà poi con effetto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Consistory of 8 August, 1561.[2]

In eo consistorio [veneris 8 augusti] papa ante omnia fecit iterum verbum de instaurandis ecclesiis Urbis, quarum principaliores cum intenderet S.S^tas^ reparare, hortata est reverendissimos ut idem facerent in ecclesiis suorum titulorum tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus, obtulitque se subventuram iis, quibus deesset facultas reparandi: de quo omnes reverendissimi egerunt gratias S. S^ti^.

[Copy. Acta consist. Camer., IX., 50^b^. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

15. Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone.[3]

1561, August 30, Rome.

. . . Qui non è altra cosa di novo se non fabriche grandi. N.S. fa l' altro corridore di Belvedere incontro al primo; finisce di muraglie li bastioni di Castello; conduce d' Antirana [sic !] acqua grossa per servitio del publico; edifica il tempio di Santa Maria da gli Angeli sopra le Terme a gli horti Bellaiani. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi XXIII 69^b^. Papal Secret Archives.]

16. Avviso di Roma of 30 August, 1561.[4]

. . . S' attende con molta sollicicudine alla fortificatione

[1] See *supra*, p. 439. [2] See *supra*, p. 441. [3] See *supra*, pp. 415, 428, 437. [4] See *supra*, pp. 429, 446.

del castello S. Angelo et alle altre fabriche et di finire il corridore in palazzo et le stancie principiate nel Belvedere da Paulo IV ha fatto finire et adornate di bellissime statue et fontane. . . .

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 296. Vatican Library.]

17. Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone[1].

1561, October 11, Rome.

. . . Nel resto si vive qui molto quietamente et con abbondanza. N. S. fabbrica in molti lochi con grossi[ssi]ma spesa. Conduce dentro di Roma due acque grosse, la Marana e l'acqua di Sciallone, che serviranno per parecchie fontane; fabrica la porta Pia bellissima nella muraglia per la strada diritta che ha fatto dalli Cavalli fino a Stà Agnese. Si edifica la chiesa di Santa Maria degli Angeli nelle Terme per li frati della Certosa: si fanno i baloardi intorno a Castello secondo l'ordine della fortificatione del sigr Camillo Orsino. Tira uno altro corridore a Belvedere da torre Borgia al paro del vecchio. Fa una bellissima porta alla porta del Populo. Cava una conserva d'acqua nel giardino secreto tanto grande che terra trento [sic] o 40m some d'acqua, et horamai tutto il palazzo è restaurato. Fu finita la fabrica del bosco di Belvedere et tirata su tutta quella del teatro di Giulio II, dove stava già Pisa, del quale non si parla punto et stassi in Castello.

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 76b. Papal Secret Archives.]

18. Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone[2].

1561, October 22, Rome.

. . . N. S. è stato sei di a Civita Vecchia, dove fa fabricare fortezze et tagliar boschi per assicurare le strade da assassini et edificare una torre contro li corsari. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 82b. Papal Secret Archives.]

19. Giovanni Andrea Caligari to Commendone[2].

1561, November 8, Rome.

. . . Il sigr Gabrio ha havuto un breve di andare a rivedere tutte le terre de lo Stato della Chiesa se hanno bisogno di

[1] See *supra*, pp. 415, 420, 428, 435, 437, 446.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 432, 437.
[3] See *supra*, p. 433.

fortificatione et come. Menerà con seco monsignore Odescalco, il quale rivederà i tribunali et riformerà dove bisogni.

N. S. ha detto di fare concistoro lunedi prossimo per spedire il cardinale Simoneta al concilio di questa altra settimana. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 85. Papal Secret Archives.]

20. Avviso di Roma of 8 November, 1561[1].

S. Stà ha ordinato, che sia rifatto il palazzo antiquo di S. Gio. Laterano, volendolo totalmente ridurlo in essere che li pontifici vi possino fermare et alloggiare comodamente et vuole che la soffita della chiesa si facci assai bella, come quella di S. M. Maggiore, il che si farà dell' intrate d' alcune monasterie et chiese di Roma . . . et si fa conto che ne l'haverà meglio di 50m scudi.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 308b. Vatican Library.]

21. Pope Pius IV. to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza[2].

1562, January 15, Rome.

Dilecto filio nobili viro
Octavio Farnesiae, Parmae et Placentiae duci.
Pro fabrica Sancti Petri.
Pius papa quartus.

Dilecte fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venerandam Principis Apostolorum basilicam Christifidelibus studiosius commendamus, non solum illius honori hoc damus, cui licet indigni in huius sanctae sedis administratione successimus, sed filiis etiam nostris tanti apostoli gratiam et suffragium conciliare studenmus. Sane beati Petri basilicae, quae in Vaticana colle sumptibus aedificatur ingentibus, praeter alia privilegia concessum etiam quondam fuit, quod an curandam executionem pertinet eorum legatorum, quae a testatoribus ob pias relicta fuerint causas: dignum sane quod et probetur ab omnibus et ubique servetur, eo namque privilegio testatorum pia impletur voluntas, haeredum liberatur fides et conscientia exoneratur, ii vero, quibus eiusmodi legata relicta fuerint, id quod sibi debetur sine sumptu, sine labore ac molestia sua consequuntur. Cum

[1] See *supra*, p. 442. [2] See *supra*, p. 448.

igitur id tam pium et tam aequum ac iustum sit, nobilitatem tuam hortandam in Domino duximus ut commissarium eius fabricae, ad curandam executionem huiusmodi legatorum cum his literis venientem, pro tua erga tantum apostolum devotione non modo libenter admittas atque recipias, sed etiam, ut libere commisso sibi officio fungi possit, ope et auxilio tuo, quotiescunque et ubicunque opus fuerit, in urbibus et locis ditionis tuae adiuves. Quod cum facies, sicut facturum to esse confidimus, pii principis officio fungeris et eum in coelis intercessorem habebis, cuius honori et cultui in terris in exaedificanda ipsius ecclesia debitum studium ac favorem impenderis.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die decima quinta ianuarii millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Antonius Florebellus Lavellinus

[Min. brev., Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 193. *Ibid.* n. 194 similar brief to the King of Portugal, dat. 1562 Jan. 30. Papal Secret Archives.]

22. Cardinal Ghislieri to the Inquisitor of Genoa[1].

1562, February 13, Rome.

E superfluo che quella ill^ma^ Signoria mi ringratii di quanto V. R. gl' ha detto in mio nome, perche s'ha da render certa che in amarla et desiderarli ogni vero contento non cedo a nessuno, ma ben temo per l'affettione che li porto che Lione non sia causa di macchiare quella si catholica città; il che saria rovina di essa rcpublica. Fra Jacomo non mancherà come buono instrumento del demonio di aituarli ad ammorbare quanto potrà. Pur se quella vi farà le considerationi et provisioni che si deve in servitio del sig^re^ Iddio et della santa fede, spero anco che sua Divina M^tà^ gli trarà fuori d' ogni periculo. . . .

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

23. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua[2].

1562, February 18, Rome.

. . . Solo occorre dire a V. Ecc^a^ che non hieri l' altro dì sera la S^tà^ di N. S. se ne venne in castel S. Angelo, dove

[1] See *supra*, p. 349. [2] See *supra*, p. 442.

cenò et dormì. Poi la matina dopo l'haver dato audienza pur in castello a diversi card^li, andò alla Rotonda dove fa accomodare quelle porte di bronzo et fece apicciar le torze per salire nella cimma, ma poi si pentì lasciò. Partì de li pur sempre a cavallo, et se n'andò alla chiesa che se fabrica a terme et d'indi a porta Pia, et poi se ne ritornò a desinare in castello et il dopo desinare poi a palazzo dove hora è. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

24. Avviso di Roma of 21 February, 1562[1].

S. S^tà sta hora bene et va revidendo le fabriche che si fanno et è stato alla Rotonda et vuole che la porta che è di ottone sia lustrata et coperto il volto della chiesa di sopra di piombo dove manca, et è stato ancora a rivedere le altre sue fabriche che si fanno.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 341. Vatican Library.]

25. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua[2].

1562, July 29, Rome.

. . . Si sono questi dì trovati alcuni cartelli per Roma nelli quali si diceva assai male di N. S. imputandolo come tiranno et minacciando a lui et parenti suoi, et fra l' altre cose dicendo che se a Paulo IV morto fu fatta ignominia di tagliare la testa alla statua sua, che si guardi di peggio lui et suoi, minacciandogli quasi in vita. Queste scritture furono portate per il governatore di Roma a S. B^ne la quale ne è stata et è in grandissima colera, et si dubita che non prorompa a qualche danno con Romani ancorche il comune guidicio sia che li detti cartelli non siano stati fatti da alcun Romano, ma da altri per irritare S. B^ne con loro. Si dice che S. B^ne ha havuto a dire in colera che per castigare Romani levarà la sede de qui et se ne verrà a star a Bologna. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

26. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua[3].

1562, August 1, Rome.

. . . Dall' occasione delli cartelli de quali scrissi nelle precedenti a V. Ecc., è seguito che N. S. ha fatto ditenere

[1] See *supra*, p. 442. [2] See *supra* ,p. 381. [3] See *supra*, p. 381.

Pompeio da Castello gentilhuomo Romano il Sr Hostilio Savello et alcuni altri et diversi ni stanno fugiti. Da buono loco intendo che pensano di scoprire una coniura contra S. B^ne^, et se pur non vi è stata S. S^tà^ ni ha temuto et teme, et quindi è successo che a S. Marco ha fatto impire le camere d'armi et accrescer la guardia. Hoggi poi se n'è venuta a S^to^ Apostolo ne si crede che più se ne vadi a passeggiare come facea in luoghi solitarii et con pochissima guardia. Et di più si tiene che prestissimo sia per ridursi a palazzo. A motti che S. B^ne^ ha fatto si comprende che habbi animo di abbassare Romani et di levar loro del tutto la giurisditione et particularmente l'ufficio di conservatori o riformarla almeno in modo che non habbino ne occasione ne podestà con li Papi. Ma Dio voglia che questo non causi qualche gran tumulto, tanto più se S. B^ne^ mettesse mano a far tagliar teste, come pare che se più trovarci l'occasione ni habbi l'animo. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua[1].

1562, August 5, Rome.

. . . Dominica prossima passata fu tirata una archibugiata in una delle sale di S. Marco nella quale poco prima era stata N. S. et in quell' hora si trovava essere ito a riposare secondo il costume suo. Fu sentita l'archibugiata, ma fu strepito sordo, si trovò nel muro la botta et la balla in terra ripercossa dal muro, et pareva balla d'archebugio da posta. Si fa ogni diligenza per trovare onde sia stata tirata, havendosi opinione che sia stata tirata per S. B^ne^. Et benchè questa cosa paia haver poco colore, perchè all' hora essa non era in quel luoco, ne persona che havesse voluto fare un eccesso tale haveria voluto tirare a vento, non di meno d' altra parte si giudica che habbi voluto far prova come riusciva il tiro, massime afteso che si poteva pensare che tal botta non saria stata sentuta per la qualità della polve. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

28. Pope Pius IV. to Hannibal von Hohenems[2].

1562, October 8, Rome.

From his letters, especially that of Aug. 12, the Pope had

[1] See *supra*, p. 382. [2] See *supra*, p. 391.

learned of his repentance. He pardons him and restores him to favour: "quando pero havrete fatto altre tanto di bene quanto sin'hora havete fatto di male."

[Orig. Hohenems Archives[1].]

29. Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. in favour of the Roman Inquisition[2].

1562, October 31, Rome.

Pius IV

Motus proprius in favorem officii sanctae Romanae Inquisitionis facultatis procedendi contra quoscunque praelatos, episcopos, archiepiscopos, patriarchas et cardinales.

Motu proprio etc. Saepius inter arcana mentis in amaritudine animae nostrae recolentes quam luctuosam totoque lachrimarum fonte deplorandam calamitatem hoc infoelici saeculo perditissimi homines et ab orthodoxa fide, quam in baptismo solenniter professi sunt, apostatae in sanctam Dei Ecclesiam invexerint, quantamque animarum precioso D. N. Iesu Christi sanguine redemptarum stragem perfidi castrorum Altissimi desertores et transfugae in profundum aeternae damnationis baratrum obstinate collapsi quotidie secum miserabiliter attrahant ac ut nocturni lupi passim insidiantes feraeque truculentae immaniter grassantes, non solum integros Domini greges absorbeant, sed etiam aliquando somnolentis ignavisque neglectorum gregum pastoribus turpiter imponentes illos impietatibus suis involvunt, Nos, pro supremi pastoralis officii nobis divinitus crediti debito, sicut venerabiles fratres nostros episcopos, archiepiscopos, patriarchas atque etiam ipsos S. R. E. cardinales aliosque antistities in vera salutis aeternae via, quae Christus est, constanter ambulantes coadiuvare et confirmare non cesseamus, ita etiam discolos, devios et in reprobum sensum distractos, si qui reperiantur, apostolatus nostri ministerio quam primum in semitam rectam omni ratione reducendos esse iudicamus. Hinc est quod nonnullos ex antistibus praedictis status, salutis et famae suorum adeo immemores esse non ignari, ut impiorum haereticorum inconsutilem Salvatoris nostri tunicam discerpere conantium consiliis abire, et in

[1] *Ibid.* another *letter of November 26, 1562: Hannibal is to remain at the court of the King of Spain until the Pope recalls him.
[2] See *supra*, p. 311.

cathedra pestilentiae sedentes adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius, cum quo dulces cibos tamdiu proditorie ceperunt, impinguati calcitrando blasphemare, et qui se murum pro Israel adversariis abiicere debuerunt, illorum insaniis consentire partesque confovere non erubescant, huiusmodi contagio, ne latius illud etiam inter infirmos et imprudentes ovium ductores serpere contingat, occurrere volentes, venerabilibus fratribus nostris eiusdem Ecclesiae Romanae cardinalibus ceterisque ad officium s^tae^ generalis Inquisitionis in alma Urbe deputatis ex certa scientia et de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine in virtute sanctae obedientiae districte praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus ipsi contra cmnes et singulos huiusmodi episcopos, archiepiscopos, patriarchas, cardinales et alios praelatos et antistites quoscunque, cuiuscunque status, conditionis et praecellentiae, tam praesentes quam absentes, et ubique locorum, regnorum et dominiorum, tam citra quam ultra Alpes, etiam de licentia nostra existant, de quibus qualecunque haereticae pravitatis indicium ad officium ipsum allatum quive de haeresi quocunque modo suspecti fuerint alias, ut moris est, inquirere, testes aliasque probationes recipere et examinare necnon processus integre usque ad sententiam exclusive formare et concludere procurent ; ac processus huiusmodi ad nos in consistorio nostro secreto ad effectum sententiam desuper per nos vel alium seu alios ad id a nobis deputandos consistorialiter iuxta deputatorum ipsorum relationem ac sacrorum canonum formam et alias prout nobis expedire videbitur, pronuntiandi et proferendi, prolatamque debitae executioni demandari faciendi, quanto citius commode potuerint afferant. Nos enim eisdem deputatis contra omnes et singulos etiam cardinales predictos, etiam absentes et ubicunque gentium etiam ultra montes consistentes super haeresi haereticaque pravitate huiusmodi quomodolibet inquirendi, testes aliasque probationes recipiendi et admittendi, processus integros usque ad sententiam exclusive formandi et concludendi, necnon intus et extra etiam per edictum publicum citandi et inhibendi ceteraque in praemissis et circa ea necessaria et opportuna faciendi, exercendi, gerendi et exequendi plenam et liberam licentiam, facultatem et auctoritatem de dicta plenitudine tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus. Ac solam praesentium signaturam, etiam absque ulla illius registratura sufficere, et ubique, etiam in iudicio fidem facere,

regula contraria non obstante, necnon illius transumptis manu notarii dicti officii vel alterius cuiusvis signatis et eiusdem officii vel alicuius personae in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae sigillo munitis plenam et indubiam eandemque prorsus fidem, quae praesentis motus proprii schedulae, si ostensa foret, adhiberetur, tam in judicio quam extra adhiberi debere decernimus; non obstantibus quibusvis apostolicis et provincialibus ac synodalibus conciliariisque constitutionibus et ordinationibus, statutis, concordatis nationalibus et pragmaticis sanctionibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et litteris apostolicis praelatis huiusmodi etiam cardinalibus ac sacro illorum collegio etiam contra similes inquisitiones et processus etiam per viam iurati contractus et alias quomodolibet concessis etc.; quibus omnibus illorum tenores praesentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, hac vice dumtaxat motu simili specialiter et expresse derogamus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Placet motu proprio [Iohannes.]

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum pridie kalendas novembris anno tertio.

Registrata lib. primo secretorum fol. 226 H. Cumyn. et in libro actorum S^ti^ Officii Inquisitionis, Romae die martis tertia novembris 1562 fol. 37.

Ita est. Claudius de Valle sanctae Inquisitionis notarius.

Collationati fuerunt per me notarium infrascriptum suprascripti Motuproprius et bulla S^mi^ D. N. D. Pii papae Quarti sic ut supra registrati et auscultati cum propriis originalibus concordant. Quod attestor ego Claudius de Valle S. Rom. universalis Inquisitionis notarius.

Ideo me hic in fidem manu propria subscripsi.

[Copy. Barb. 1502, p. 182 *seq.* and 1503, p. 89 *seq.* Vatican Library.]

30—31. Pius IV. and the Roman Printing House of Paulus Manutius[1].

1. Universis fidelibus Siciliae.

1563, May 22, Rome.

Cum instituta iussu et magnis sumptibus nostris fuerit in hac Alma Urbe officina librorum ad libros latinos graecosque,

[1] *Supra*, p. 408.

qui nondum in lucem prodierint, imprimendos, qui forsitan nisi imprimerentur, interituri fuissent, et ad eos, qui mendosius editi fuerant, diligentiore correctione adhibita de integro edendos, presertim sacrorum ecclesiasticorumque scriptorum, qui non parvo forsitan futuri sint usui dis temporibus ad tuendam catholiccorum dogmatum veritatem, mittendum in Siciliam ducimus, ubi variis in bibliothecis extare accepimus libros admodum veteres manuscriptos. Let Anton. Franc. a Neapoli of Messina be sent to visit all the libraries of the cathedrals and monasteries, there to compile a catalogue of the ancient books, to buy what he can and take them to Rome. An order to all the archimandrites, chapters, etc., to allow this.

[Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 355. Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Proregi Siciliae, duci Medina Coeli.

1563, May 26, Rome.

We beg your help in searching for codices, especially of ecclesiastical writers, intending to have them printed. Some of those that are wanting to the Vatican Library may easily be found in Sicily, or else older and better ones. This would be useful for "omnium studiosorum utilitatem non mediocrem" and perhaps among them, as we greatly desire, there are some of which the Council of Trent could make use in order to confute the heretics.

[Ibid. n. 327.]

3. Francisco Avanzato.

1563, August 26, Rome.

"Pro nostro erga studia literarum amore et earum studiosos adiuvandi perpetuo desiderio" we have established "officinam librorum." He charges him to search the libraries of Sicily and to send the results to Cardinal Mula.

[Ibid. n. 381.]

4. Francisco Avanzato.

1564, April 17.

[Brev. t. 20, n. 131. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53, where O. Panvinio is also appointed for the same purpose.]

32. THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I. TO HIS ENVOYS IN TRENT.[1]

1563, August 23, Vienna.

In speaking of the reform of music at the Council of Trent, it is usual, on the strength of a passage in PALLAVICINI (22, 5, 14) to record of the Emperor Ferdinand I. that he threw into the balance "a very important recommendation" in favour of figured music, and that for this reason he may "in a certain sense" also make a "claim to the title of saviour of sacred music." (AMBROS, IV., 15). It is worth while therefore to give here in their original form the words of Ferdinand I., which are to be found in a letter to his envoys at the Council of Trent, dated Vienna, August 23, 1563: Porro sunt etiam alii quidam articuli, de quibus in specie vobis mentem nostram declarandam esse censemus, inter quos est ultimus tertii capitis, qui statuit, reiiciendos esse molliores musicorum cantus et in ecclesiis retinendam esse modulationum gravitatem, quae ecclesiasticam simplicitatem maxime decet. Quo quidem si di agitur, ut cantus figuratus protinus ex ecclesia in universum tollatur: nos id probaturi non sumus, quia censemus, tam divinum Musices donum, quo etiam animi hominum, maxime eius artis peritorum vel studiosorum, non raro ad maiorem devotionem accenduntur, ex ecclesia nequaquam explodendum esse.

The letter refers to the articles of reform sent by the envoys to the Council on August 13, 1563.

[Copy in Registers. Cod. 11055, p. 175[b]. State Library, Munich.]

33. GIACOMO TARREGHETTI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[2]

1563, September 15, Rome.

. . . La fabrica di Castello et di Borgo tuttavia va inanzi, et in breve se li darà ispedicione, et al fine di questo vengono 6000 [sic !] guastatori che hanno di cavare le fosse, et hora si cinge d'intorno Belvedere et S. Pietro di muraglia nuova . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 39, 52. [2] See *supra*, p. 430.

34. Cardinal Ghislieri to Girolamo Franchi, O. Pr., Inquisitor of Genoa.[1]

1563, September 18, Rome.

. . . Certo che quelli ill^{mi} signori et il sig^{r} ambasciator di Spagna non dovevano fare instanza a V. R. di lassare passare le cinque casse de libri per Sua M^{tà} Catholica, senza che da lui fussero veduti, anzi (anchorche io non dubiti che fussero fuori d' ogni sospetto circa le cose della fede) con tale occasione era bene dare essempio a tutti et mostrare che Sua M^{tà} non solo non intende che in simili cose della fede s' habbi da domandare essentione per persona alcuna, ma ne anco la vuole torre per se stessa . . .

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

35. Pius IV. to Cardinal Henry of Portugal.[2]

1563, November 10, Rome.

Card. Portug. Infanti.

Reply to his thanks of June 12 for the privileges given to the King: De Ecclesia s. 4 Coronat. admodum veneranda, quae curationis est tuae tuique cardinalatus titulus, vere tibi relatum fuit, Nobis curae fuisse, ut cum propter vestutatem et superiorum temporum incuriam pene collabi coepisset, nimis certe deformata esset, reficeretur, quod eo libentius curavimus, quod id pertinere etiam ad honorem et existimationem tuam intelligebamus, praesertim aliis cardinalibus suas ecclesias reficientibus: We do not doubt that you will have done this in such a way that your example will have spurred on the other Cardinals; we do not doubt that it will accomplish the rest.

[Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 394. Papal Secret Archives.]

36. Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1564, July 22, Rome.

. . . Ha fatta risolutione di riformare la casa, on la qual riforma cassa di molte bocche, et ha detto anche di voler minuire li soldati che sono pagati, et fare una nuova militia nel stato eccles^{co} conforme a quella del duca di Firenza che

[1] See *supra*, p. 349.
[2] See *supra*, p. 442. The work Le cose meravigliose di Roma, Rome, 1563. 28, records the large expenditure on the restoration of SS. Quattro Coronati.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 374, 411, 439, 457.

sarà sempre in pronto ad ogni sua voglia. Dice di voler finire il palazzo, in strada Giulia già cominciato da Giulio II. per rimettervi tutti gli ufficii di Roma et voler circondare la piazza di S. Pietro di portichi. La chiesa Transpontina ch' è delli frati di S. M. del Carmine conventuali, è in parte già per terra per la fabbrica del Castello che vi si stende con una parte di un balluardo dentro. Il s^r card^le Borromei sta tutta vio intento per far tradure dui grossi volumi di lettere scritte a diversi amici in diverse bande et che tutta via si scrivano da Giesuiti che sono del mundo nuovo overo Indie trovate da Spagnoli, sopra il progresso che fanno quelle genti di là nella fede da Christo . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

37. Motuproprio of Pope Pius IV. for the Eight Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition.[1]

1564, August 2, Rome.

Pius IV

Motus proprius facultatis concessae octo cardinalibus deputatis ad officium S^tae Inquisitionis.

Pius papa quartus.

Motu proprio etc. Cum sicut accepimus postquam nos nuper zelo fidei ac censi, ut ii, qui a caula dominici gregis diabolica fraude in dies seducuntur, ac eam aspirante Domino facilius reducerentur vel si in eorum damnato proposito obstinato animo perseverare contenderent, taliter punirentur, quod eorum poena aliis transiret in exemplum, nonnullos S.R.E. cardinales officio supremo in alma Urbe et curia nostra ac tota republica christiana S^tae Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis eiusque causarum audientiae et cognitioni, ut causae ipsae celerius expedirentur, praefeceramus et deputaveramus, tum ob cardinalium eorundem officio huiusmodi praefectorum numerum et in unum concursum difficilem, tum etiam propter inquisitorum et ad poenitentiam in dies redeuntium multitudinem, causas huiusmodi illarumque decisionem in longum protrahi et differri, ipsa experientia teste, cerneremus, Nos vestigiis fel. rec. Pauli Tertii et Iulii etiam Tertii praedecessorum nostrorum, qui dudum quinque et ad summum sex dumtaxat cardinales officio Inquisitionis illiusque causarum

[1] See *supra*, p. 312.

huiusmodi cognitioni et decisioni praefecerunt, inhaerentes, ac, cum praesertim urgens necessitas et eiusdem utilitas id exposcat, reprehensibile videri non debere, si iuxta temporum varietatem statuta quoque varientur humana, et pastorali officio nihil decentius et convenientius esse, quam causarum praesertim dicti officii maturam et celerem expeditionem procurare iudicantes, motu simili etc. quod ex toto numero cardinalium deputatorum huiusmodi infrascripti octo dumtaxat cardinales causarum huiusmodi officii cognitioni et decisioni praeficiantur, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus et ordinamus ac dilectos filios nostros Ioannem Michelem S^tae^ Anastasiae Saracenum, et Ioannem Baptistam S^ti^ Clementis Cicada, ac Ioannem Suavium S^tae^ Priscae Reomanum necnon Michaelem S^tae^ Sabinae Ghislerium et Clementem S^tae^ Mariae in Aracoeli Monelianum et Ludovicum S^ti^ Chiriaci in Thermis Simonetam et Carolum S^ti^ Martini in Montibus Borromaeum presbyteros ac Vitellotium S^tae^ Mariae in Porticu Vitellium diaconum miseratione divina titulorum S. R. E. cardinales officio Inquisitionis et causarum huiusmodi cognitioni et decisioni auctoritate et tenore praedictis praeficimus et deputamus ; ac eis et eorum maiori parti quorumcunque inquisitorum, quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana dignitate praefulgentium, exceptis dumtaxat episcopis, archiepiscopis, patriarchis, ducibus, regibus et S. R. E cardinalibus, quorum causas nobis cognoscendas terminandasque reservamus facto prius tantum per dictos octo cardinales processu et nobis in consistorio nostro secreto relato, causas tam hactenus motas[1] quam in posterum movendas inter seipsos per turnum distriquendas cum omnibus et singulis earum incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis, tam coniunctim quam divisim arbitrio suo audiendi, cognoscendi, decidendi fineque debito simul vel successive etiam adhibitis seu non adhibitis consultoribus per nos similter deputandis et ad certum numerum restringendis, fine debito prout iuris fuerit terminandi ; et insuper eandem et facultatem et auctoritatem in praemissis et circa ea, quam omnibus et singulis aliis cardinalibus, officio Inquisitionis huiusmodi per nos ut praefertur praefectis, per quoscunque praedecessores nostros concessas et attributas et quas nos per quasdam nostras sub pridie kalendas novembris tertio et alias sub pridie idus octobris[2] etiam tertio ac alias sub

[1] Cod. 1503 has " et pendentes."
[2] See Bull. Rom. VII., 237 *seq.*

septimo idus aprilis quarto pontificatus nostri annis datas litteras dederamus et concesseramus, quarum omnium concessionum et litterarum tenores praesentibus pro expressis haberi volumus, auctoritatem et facultatem concedimus et indulgemus ; mandantes nihilominus eisdem octo cardinalibus seu maiori eorum parti, qui pro tempore congregabuntur et intererunt, pro celeriori causarum huiusmodi expeditione et ne in dies haereses latius serpere contingat, quatenus ipsi saltem semel in hebdomada in alicuius cardinalis eorundem octo cardinalium antiquioris vel alterius eorum palatio, prout eis videbitur, in unum conveniant et causarum huiusmodi pro tempore pendentium decisioni incumbant illasque prout iuris fuerit et alias, prout eis seu eorum maiori parti pro rerum, temporum et personarum qualitate honestum et congruum ac expediens visum fuerit, decidant et fine debito terminent. Decernentes omnia et singula quae per eosdem octo cardinales seu eorum maiorem partem pro felici directione ipsius officii et alias in praemissis et circa ea pro tempore statuta, acta, gesta, ordinata, sententiata et decreta ac etiam immutata et alterata ac reformata fuerint, ita ut de illorum nullitate aut invaliditate seu iurisdictionis aut quovis alio defectu excipi seu illa impugnari aut revocari non possint, eandem vim idemque prorsus robur in omnibus et per omnia obtinere perinde ac si ab omnibus et singulis cardinalibus antea deputatis praefatis in eorum generali congregations vel a nobis aut Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente statuta, acta, gesta, ordinata, sententiata et decreta, immutata et alternata ac reformata forent, prout illa ex nunc prout ex tunc et e contra auctoritate et tenore praedictis confirmamus et approbamus, illaque perpetuae firmitatis robur obtinere et ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari debere, sicque per quoscunque iudices ac etiam S. R. E. cardinales, sublata etc. Irritum quoque etc. decernimus ; supplentes omnes et singulos iuris et facti defectus, si qui pro tempore forsan intervenerint in eisdem ; cum potestate citandi etiam per edictum omniaque et singula faciendi, gerendi et euxeqendi in praemissis et circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna. Approbantes nihilominus et confirmantes omnia et singula, quae per dictos octo cardinales seu eorum maiorem partem ante datam praesentium seu earum in actis praesentationem acta, gesta, statuta et ordinata ac decisa fuerint in praemissis, ita quod nullatenus de iurisdictionis vel alterius nullitatis defectu notari aut

impugnari valeant; Mandantes dilectis filiis almae Urbis nostrae gubernatori, senatori, vicario et camerae apostolicae auditori et quibuscunque legatis, vicelegatis, gubernatoribus provinciarum et terrarum nobis et Romanae Ecclesiae mediate vel immediate subiectarum ac eorum locatenentibus, officialibus, barisellis et aliis ministris necnon aliis locorum ordinariis ceterisve magistratibus et officialibus ac cuiusvis conditionis et status hominibus in omnibus et singulis terris, oppidis, et civitatibus ac in tota republica christiana existentibus sub excommunicationis latae sententiae ac indignationis nostrae ac aliis arbitrio nostro et eorundem cardinalium imponendis et exequendis poenis, ut eisdem cardinalibus Inquisitoribus ac eorum praeceptis et mandatis in quibuscunque officium Inquisitionis huiusmodi concernentibus pareant et obediant. Reges vero, duces, comites, barones et quosvis alios principes saeculares in Dei nomine rogantes, ut eisdem cardinalibus Inquisitoribus eorumque officialibus faveant auxiliumque praebeant et a suis magistratibus subditis auxilium praeberi faciant in negotiis dictum officium spectantibus; necnon carceratos quoscunque pro quibusvis debitis et delictis etiam atrocibus apud dictum Inquisitionis officium quomodolibet delatos vel denunciatos, suspensa aliorum criminum inferiorum cognitione, ad eosdem cardinales et Inquisitionis carceres, ibidem usque ad criminis haeresis totalem cognitionem et expeditionem retinendos et postea ad eosdem officiales pro aliorum criminum cognitions remittendos, sine mora transmittant. Necnon dilectis filiis secretariis nostris et aliis litterarum apostolicarum expeditionibus et ministris, ut quascunque etiam in forma brevis et alias litteras et scripturas pro executione officii Inquisitionis huiusmodi quomodolibet necessarias et opportunas absque mora et dilatione gratis expediant et expediri ac ministris dicti officii consignari libere faciant. Irritum quoque etc. decernimus. Non obstantibus praemissis ac quibusvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis et omnibus illis quae in singulis litteris praedictis voluimus non obstare, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque, praedictarum litterarum tenores ac eorundem cardinalium ut praefertur deputatorum necnon quorumcunque inquisitorum nomina et cognomina ac causarum huiusmodi status et merita praesentibus pro expressis habentes; decernentes solam praesentis nostri motusproprii signaturam sufficere et abique fidem facere in iudicio et extra, regula contraria non

obstante, seu litteras desuper per breve nostrum expediri posse.

Placet motuproprio I[ohannes.]

Datum Romae apud S^tum^ Marcum quarto nonas augusti, anno quinto.

Registrata lib. 6. fol. 230.—H. Cumyn. 8 augusti per Mar.

[Copy. Barb. 1502, p. 187 *seq.* and 1503, p. 93 *seq.* Vatican Library.]

38. Pope Pius IV. to Alessandro Crivelli.[1]

1564, November 2, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Alexandro episcopo Cariatensi nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuncio in regnis Hispaniarum.

Venerabilis frater, salutem, etc. Tertius iam annus exactus est cum nos, qui Carthusiensium ordinem precipua charitate prosequimur, cupientes monachorum eius ordinis in alma urbe commodo valetudinique consulere et divinum cultum simul augere, locum ipsis quidem ad aedificandum monasterium concessimus in thermis Diocletiani, ex insalubri ubi quotannis plerique eorum graviter aegrotare solebant, eamque ob causam divino cultui vacare non poterant, in locum eos non minus salubrem quam amoenum transferentes : ecclesiam vero ibidem aedificare sumptibus nostris coepimus sub invocatione beatae Mariae Virginis et omnium angelorum ac martyrum. . . .

. . . Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum etc. die II novembris 1564, anno quinto.

[Copy. Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 63. Papal Secret Archives.]

39. Commendone's Discorso sopra la Corte di Roma, 1564.[2]

Among the many treatises on the Roman court which appeared in the XVIth century, and which for the most part have an introduction on the course to be adopted,[3] the *Discorso*

[1] See *supra*, pp. 445, 446, 447. [2] See *supra*, pp. 58 *seqq.*

[3] The following are among the dissertations quoted by Ranke (Päpste I[6]) 333, from the Berlin Library (Inf. polit. XII : *Instruttione al sig. card. di Medici del modo come si deve governare nella corte di Roma, and *Instruttione et avvertimenti all' illmo card. Montalto sopra il modo col quale si possa et debba ben governare come cardinale et nipote di Papa, as well as Inf. polit. XXV, p. 48 *seq.* *Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma), which are also to be found in other libraries, e.g. the last named Avvertimenti with their rather too roughly expressed advice, in Cod. X-VI-31 of the Casanatense Library, Rome, the *Instructions for Montalto, otherwise apochryphal, in Cod. 5862 Nr. 6 of the Court Library, Vienna. *Ibid.* 5814 Nr. 2 : *Ricordi per la corte di Roma, 1580, the author of which gives great praise to the treatise of Commendone.

of Commendone holds a most important place. The treatise contains much that is of interest, and worthy of being known, and which is put forward very boldly. It cannot be wondered that it had a large circulation. How wide this was may be seen from the following far from complete list.

Arezzo, Library of the Confraternità di S. Maria : Miscell. dipl. I 33.

Auxerre, Library : Cod. 217.

Basle, Library : Cod. O—II—9 p. 1 f.

Bologna, University Library : Cod. 2776 (di S. Salvatore), used by Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 313 *seq.*, and Cod. 4082 ; see Frati in the N. Antologia V, 170 (1914) 727.

Città di Castello, Graziani Archives.

Colmar, State Library.

Florence, National Library : 5 Copies ; see Frati *oc. cit.* State Archives, C. Strozz. Nr 261.

Karlsruhe, Library : Cod. D. 29 p. 381 *seq.* and D. 43 p. 381 *seq.*

Milan, Ambrosian Library : Q. 119 sup. and N. 245 sup.

Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibl. : Ital. 1 p. 1 f and 222 p. 1 f.

Naples : 1. Bibl. Brancacciana ; 2. Bibl. Nazionale : Cod. X—C—66. 3. Libr. of the Oratorians ; s. Mandarini, I Mss. Orat. di Napoli, Neap. 1897, 147.

Paris, National Library : 10051 ; s. Montfaucon, II., 892 ; *cf.* also Marsand, I., 322 *seq.*

Parma, Bibl. Palat.

Pistoia, Bibl. Forteguerri : Cod. E. 359.

Prague, Bibl. Nostitz : Cod. VII., 92 1.

Rome : 1. Vatic. Library : a) Barb. 5332 ; b) Vatic. 5899, p. 149 *seq.* 8167 ; 9730 p. 109 *seq.* c) Ottob. 876 ; 2264 p. 1 *seq.* 2418 p. 79 *seq.* (with wrong date 1574) ; 2430 p. 1 *seq.* 2689 p. 72 *seq.* 2767 p. 119 *seq.* 2808 p. 267 *seq.*

2. Papal Secret Archives : XI. 182 and Varia polit. t. 24 p. 297 *seq.* and t. 95 p. 360 *seq.*

3. Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuit. 156.

San Severino (Marches), Bibl. Comunale : Cod. XLVI.

Stockholm, Library : Hist. Ital. Miscell. p. 101 f.

Upsala, Library : Ms. Celsius N. 54.

Venice, Bibl. Marciana : 4 Copies ; see Frati *loc. cit.*

Volterra, Bibl. Guarnacci : Cod. 6186.

Vienna, 1. Court Library: 6302 p. 1 *seq.* 6336 (Rangoni 15) p. 278 *seq.* 6625 p. 290 *seq.*

2. Bibl. Liechtenstein: Cod. G. VIII. 29, p. 155 *seq.*

In all these codices Commendone is given as the author. The doubt raised by Ranke (Päpste, III., 57*) is quite unfounded. The dedication to Girolamo Savorgnano is wanting in many of the codices, which is not surprising.

Among historians of literature TIRABOSCHI was the first (VII., 1, 313) to call attention to this treatise, which was known to him in the Bologna codex. RANKE (III., 57*; *cf.* I., 133) quotes the Discorso from the Vienna codex, and in both cases gives the wrong signature Rangoni 18 instead of 15. MAI (Spicil., VI., 41 *seq.*) used a codex at the Vatican. Among modern historians who have used the treatise of Commendone are ŠUSTA (Pius IV., 102), TÖRNE (Gallio, 4 *seqq.*) and lastly FRATI in the Nuova Antologia of Apr. 16, 1914, p. 726 *seq.*

Opinions differ as to the time of its composition. That of Ranke, who says "according to all appearances it belongs to the time of Gregory XIII." is altogether wrong. It is contradicted by the title which occurs in the majority of the codices: "Monsignor Commendone Vescovo di Zante," a dignity which Commendone received at the beginning of the pontificate of Paul IV. The opinion of Mai, who gives the year 1554 (Spicil. VI. 4) is also wrong. Nor is that of Törne that it belongs to the pontificate of Paul IV., a correct one; in the copy of the treatise in the Graziani Archives, the word *presente* next to *Papa* is cancelled when speaking of Paul IV. Palermo (I. manoscritti Palatini, I., 321) hesitates between 1555 and 1559: Cantù (Eretici II. 66) pronounces in favour of the latter year. These dates cannot be seriously considered since it is clear from its contents that the *Discorso* was written after Commendone's journey to Germany in 1561. And since in one place we read: "perche già siamo al quinto anno del presente papa" we must give 1564 as the year of its composition, in support of which Frati (*loc. cit.* 728) adduces a letter of Cod. 2776 of the University Library, Bologna. The information so far given concerning the *Discorso* by this scholar, does not deal in its entirety with its interesting contents. *Cf.* our remarks, *supra* p. 58 *seq.*

40–42. Concerning the Conspiracy of December 1564.[1]

I. State Archives, Rome: Archivio criminale, Processi del sec. XVI., vol. 100.

. . . Respondit [Benedictus de Accoltis]: Io dico liberamente che intendevo e intendo de liberare tutta la Italia e mondo sopradetti dalle mani de qualsivoglia tiranno che li oppremesse di sorte cominciando dal pontefice istesso, se nella gionta di questo popolo egli se retrovasse non fare l' offitio de vero pontefice, come sin qui tengo che lo faccia, che questo popolo lo fosse per deporre e per sustituire un altro pontefice, e così de mano in mano.

Et replicando dictis quod non interrogatur de populo, sed de se ipso et propterea respondeat, a manibus cuius ipse intendebat cum dicto gladio liberare Italiam et totum mundum,

Respondit: Io dico che per metterla in esempio ogni volta che fosse venuto che io fosse stato oppresso ingiustamente da qualsivoglia de sopradetti capi, se bene fosse el papa proprio, ogni volta però che io havesse conosciuto che con il detto populo se renovasse altro pontefice che questo, che io possendo nocere o a lui o qualsivoglia altro principe, li haverei nociuto con il confessare subito questo braccio de Dio et aspettare che facesse l'esito suo: et la conclusione è questa che, in evento che questo papa presente me havesse oppresso et che se fosse trovato altro pontefice, io l' averei ammazzato questo papa con quel coltello, se io havesse possuto; e di più de novo dico che ogni volta che me vedesse al presente opprimere contra la giustitia, confessarei liberissimamente che ci è un altro pontefice in ornine con questo populo per liberare Italia e tutta la Christianità.

Interrogatus an ipse sciat in quo loco sint ipsi pontifex et

[1] The information concerning the acts of the trial (see *supra* p. 384) is here published for the first time. The letter of Canossa was taken advantage of, but without any critical sense, by Ranke (see *supra*, p. 387). The Sommario delle confessioni of the conspirators was known to Adriani (XVIII, 2), to Mambrino Roseo (Istorie del mondo, Venice, 1585, vol. II, part 3, l. 8, p. 61), to Nicc. Conti (Istorie de' suoi tempi, Venice, 1589, part 1, l. 14, p. 388), and to Campana (Vita di Filippo II, Venice, 1608, part 2, l. 16, p. 147). A quite peculiar account of the conspiracy is to be found in Bernardino Azzurrini, Libro de' fatti moderni occorsi nella città di Fano, printed by A. Missiroli in the Bollett. d. bibl. comunalo di Faenza, Faenza, 1913, 3, according to which the conspiracy was organized by Garcia di Toledo and many other Neapolitans out of revenge for the execution of the Carafa. For a conspiracy which is said to have been formed against Pius IV. in 1564, as being the enemy of the Carafa, see Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 337.

populus preservatus et cuius etatis et stature etc. . . sit dictus pontifex,

Respondit : Questo no, che non lo so, perche non lo so in vero ; subdiditque : lo dico, se questo papa non me fara iustitia, che io tengo certo che ce sia un altro pontefice con detto populo preservato, massimamente se questo papa mi facesse iniustitia perche io tenesse questa opinione, e credo che in evento che ce sia questo pontefice novo et quale dico che ci è, ogni volta che questo faccia iniustitia a questa cosa, terrei e crederei che fosse l'homo de santissima vita, di età senile che havesse spirito de Dio da poter mostrare la authorita sua come l'abbia havuto uno de quelli santi pontefici antiqui.

Interrogatus, an ipse dixerit alicui seu aliquibus quod immo et populus et pontifex novus predicti iam erant in itinere cum maximo numero gentium tam equestrium quam pedestrium et veniebant versus Urbem, et quod ille pontifex habebat barbam longam et erat senex et ipse appellabat eum suum barbum,

Respondit : lo ho detto che così come io tengo per certo è certissimo che ce sia detta chiesa preservata, la quale ha da aggiustare tutti li pesi, così io credo che detta chiesa sia già in viaggio, se bene io non lo so, e tengo per certo de quella sorte che io tengo che ce sia essa chiesa, et così che, vedenda tante iniustitie per il mondo quante sono, credo che sia aparechiato un home che in ogni evento che bisogni sia per essere il pontefice de Dio, e quel pontefice che ordinariamente dal popolo Romano è chiamato pontefice angelico. E ho detto che io credo che ce sia un altro papa che venga con il popolo, ma non noci a questo se non in caso che sia necessario.

Monitus quod velit ingenue fateri veritatem : si ipse cum predictis comite Antonio, Thadeo Manfredo, Prospero et eius nepote ac aliquibus aliis unquam dixit procurare habere audientiam secretam a summo pontifice ad effectum ut ille facilius cum dicto gladio posset percutere et interficere, requisivitque eos ut vellent ipsum associare ad dictum maleficium commettendum et deinde a dicto palatio evadendum,

Respondit : Liberissimamente io ho detto a tutti costoro, ecceto a Prospero che io volevo andare da papa Pio e con lui conferita tutta questa cosa e visto che lui la havesse biastimata e negato che ce fosse chiesa preservata o reforma de Christo alcuna e recusato la esperienza che se haveva a demostrare, che io allhora, non come pontefice, perche non lo haveria in

loco de pontefice, ma come persona privatissima et in questo caso avversario et inimico de Christo et della fede apostolica lo volevo percotere et ammazzare e farli tutto quello che havesse possuto con quel coltello o con altro, e pregai li sopradetti da Prospero in fori, che me accompagnassero per fare questo effetto, e dettè al conte Antonio et altro, che se domanda Ioan Jacovo de Lusignano, il quale per sorte deve essere questo che ha detto tutte queste cose, ma io non me ne curo, che io volevo che loro dui entrassero con me, perchè so [no] meglio vestiti, in camera del papa et aiutarme a fare questo effetto : loro mi promessero de volerce venire, et una volta sola menai li sopradetti per questo effetto in palazzo in compagnia cioè detto conte Antonio, detto cavaliere Taddeo, Pietro mio nepote e Prospero de Regio, non spaendo però Prospero la cosa.

Interrogatus an ipse fuerit unquam in civitate Genevre et quando et cum quibus et per quantum temporis spatium et quid ibidem egerit,

Respondit : Io ce andai nel 1544 o 45 per andare in Francia e passai per li Svizari e da quelle bande, per esser tumulti de querra in Piamonte, et me fermai li circa sei o sette giorni in casa de un ms. Oddo, el quale pizicava de esser lutherano.

Interragatus an aliquos libros lutheranos in dicta civitate Venetiarum seu Padue legerit vel alibi legerit.

Respondit : lo ho letto li comentarii de Martino Luthero, de Martino Buccero, alcune opere di Zoinglio scritte al re di Francia, una opera diabolica de Martino Luthero contra papam a diabolo inventum, un altra operetta pur de Martino Luthero dove afferma una certa spetie de purgatorio ; ho letto quel del Caronte e Mercurio, ancora Pasquino in hestasi e una tragedia fatta da un monaco negro, un altra de [libero] arbitrio ; ho letta l' institutione de Giovan Calvino ; ho letto la traduttione de Leon Juda, le opere de Antonio Brucciolo ; ho letto le prediche di fra Bernardino Lucchino, alune opere de Philippo Melantone, uno pur de Sebastiano Busteo e molti altri libri, perche in Bologne in casa del Magio ce ne venevano le cataste, essendo lì molti tedeschi ; et ne ho letti in più lochi, ma li principali dove ho letto assai è stato a Bologna, in Ferrara, in Modena et il manco de tutti in Venetia et in Genevra alcune poche cose e qui in Roma non ho letto nè conterito cosa alcuna, eccetto che li dialoghi de Erasmo, ma con mons^r Carnesecchi, mentre che stava a Santo Honofrio e che se era per giustificare :

ragionando insiemi lui mi disse che sapeva per cosa chiara, il che mi parve una favola, che uno era state preso da un angelo de poso, condotto qui in Roma e che quel angelo li haveva detto a colui: Maledic huic urbi; e che lui la maledisse: ma non me disse il nome. Et de più me pare che il Carnesecchi mi dicesse che a costui era stato detto che Roma, Fiorenza e Milano havevano a capitare male, e chi abrusciato e chi arrovinato. E questo mi disse stando su l'essere iustificato in Santo Nofrio, come ho detto.

Interrogatus a quo vel a quibus habuit dictos libros hereticos et quid de eis fecerit, et an sciat quod in Urbe aliquis teneat et legat similes libros hereticos,

Respondit: Li libri in Bologna in casa del Maggio li accattavo da quelli Tedeschi, li quali loro istessi me li offerevano, chè li portavano a leggere a tutti; in Padova delli libri de ms. Oddo, che ne haveva parecchi in casa; in Venetia, quando ce fui inanti al 47, teneva di questi libri ms. Baldassare Altieri e in Modena in casa del medico Machella, che ne haveva un infinità lui e ms. Francesco Portagreco, che fo poi maestro delle figliole di madonna Ravega et li Grillenzoni; et qui in Roma quelli colloqui de Erasmo li hebbi dall'hostaria de Jacomo Venetiano che non so chi diceva che ce li haveva lassati. Et io non so nessuno in Roma che habbia libri heretici; ma quanto al vedere mio, se non ne fosse qualcheduno in casa del cord. Morone, che in Modena, o dicessero il vero o dicessero la bugia, che non lo so, lo reputavano per un protettore de questa setta; ma io non so certo nè tanpoco so nè affermo cosa alcuna de Morone.

Et sic de mandato Domini elevatus dixit: Christum, Christum, Christum et tacuit; deinde dixit: Christum, lo spirito mio, Christum lo spirito mio, Christum, Christum, Christum, metteteme giù che ve dirò che da quelli libri lutherani è venuta questa cosa che dicevano che era lecito ammazzare el papa, e io legendoli me so messo questa sententia in capo che me fosse lecito ammazzarlo. Metteteme giù, chè adesso me so recordato una cosa che me disse el cardinale.

Eidem d[ictum] quod ibidem eam dicat, respondit: Mi disse che, se lui potesse havere da 4 o 5 milia persone, che haverebbe fatto gran cose.

Eidem d[ictum] quod dicat veritatem, dixit: Li lutherani cani sonno cagione de ogni male per li libri e per le parole, li quali lutherani dicono tutti li mali contra il papa.

Çui sic depositus, cum stetisset aliquantulum absque eo quod loqueretur et cum oculis clausis et deinde in se rediisset, monitus a Domino quod velit ingenue dicere veritatem super quibus interrogatus fuit,

Respondit: Liberamente io confesso che questa cosa de ammazzare el papa è stato un ludibrio diabolico, e questa cosa non mi è venuta in capo per altra causa che per havere letto libri lutherani et anche per haver letto certe coniure in Platina contra un papa de un Stephano Porcaro, la quale coniura fo poi scoperta et pur non so che altre coniure che sono li in quel Platina; et me ero messo questa chimera in capo, ammazzato che fosse il papa, che tutto il mondo havesse a stare attonito, e io allhora haverei comenzata a predicare al popolo e dirli che era in essere un papa novo, angelico, con gente assai; la qual cosa era una fittione che me havevo immaginato de dire, pensando con questo strada di fermare le gente, e il conte Antonio[1] dall' altra banda diceva che parlaria a' conservatori, a' caporioni et tutti, e il cavaliere anche diceva che voleva parlare ancora lui. O quanto male me ha detto questo cavaliere delle ingiustitie del papa et che se facevano a Roma; et diceva che haveva parlato con quelli lavoranti del Belvedere e che dicevano male del papa. E lui è quello che me instigava ogni dì più a fare questa cosa: e questa è la pura e mera verità, e questo era un ludibrio del diavolo che me era troppo fisso nella mente; e dico che contra la coscienza mia ma instigato da loro, che rabbiavano in questo, mi messi a portare il pugnale per ammazare il papa.

II. Vatic. 7951 p. 31 *seq:* Sommario della sustanza delle confessioni dell' infrascritti carcerati il conte Antonio Canossa, il sig. Taddeo Manfredi, il cavalier Pelliccione, Benedetto Accolti, Pietro Accolti, Prospero de Pittori, estr. dall' Arch. segr. Capitolino Arm. 6, t. 63, p. 81 *seq.* (Copy of Galletti).

Persuasi dal suddetto Benedetto Accolti che V. S^tà^ non era vero papa con dire altri mali de lei e che era in essere un papa novo onto, santo et angelico con una parte de christiani preservati dal Signore Iddio, li quali verriano con detto papa a Roma e che saria monarca del monde et che esso Benedetto avea autorità et facoltà ed fare donativi a ciascuno che lo aiutasse ad ammazzare V. B. in evento che lei non li volesse credere quando li parlaria et che ora havesse da essere la rin-

[1] Canossa.

novazione della chiesa et le cose suddette et dettoli similmente che non mancaria aiuto et favore per eseguire questo negozio et che se vederiano miracoli dal cielo et che per questo non patiriano mali alcuni, anzi 'l Signore Dio li cacciaria sicuri d' ogni pericolo, et che questa era una cosa santa et de Dio et molte altre parole simili dette da lui et con avere promesso al conte Antonio la città de Pavia, al signor Taddeo Cremona, al cavalier Pelliccione Aquilea, a Pietro Ravenna a Prospero cinquemila ducati di entrata non solamente indusse li sopradetti a credere quello che lui diceva, ma a prometterli di voler essere insieme con lui ad ammazzare V. Stà e dargli ogni aiuto e favore, dato però ordine fra loro poiche lui li dava da intendere che era cosa santa et di Dio di confessarsi prima et communicarsi, et far dire tre messe dello Spirito Santo come fecero, che si confessorno in S. Onofrio et dopo si communicorno in S. Pietro Montorio.

Il trattato fatto tra loro più volte d' ammazzarla è seguito come appare nelle confessioni loro di questa maniera.

Furono trovati dal cavalier Pelliccione dui pugnali domandati fusetti overo stiletti, li quali sono in mano della corte per fare questo effetto, li quali pugnali furono arrotati et super quello che aveva da portare Benedetto Accolto li fu menato cipolla per venenarlo. Di poi acciò nel metterli mano non si vedesse lustrare li fu messo sopra una guaina di taffetta nera e tra le altre volte fu concluso tra loro una sera nella casa dove stavano, che la mattina seguente, che aveva da essere la segretaria, s' avesse a fare questo effetto dal detto Benedetto col detto pugnale, et dal detto cavaliere Pelliccione con l' altro pugnale et che li altri quattro sopranominati, li quali si erano messi in ordine de spade et l' avevano fatte arrotare, havessero ad aiutare con metter mano alle spade questa scelleragine et acciò potessero più facilmente entrare al cospetto di lei ferno trovare certi vestimenti boni per vestire li suddetti Benedetto a Taddeo, et il detto Benedetto disse di voler essere il primo a menare contra la Stà V. fingendo di darli una poliza et dicendo di volerla percuotere ogni volta che avesse visto il segno che lei non fosse papa cioè che non li avesse voluto credere quelle cose sopradette che diceva di volerli proporre, e fa similmente dato ordine tra loro in quella fattione gridare pensando con questa voce d' impaurire le brigate et il conte Antonio Canossa portava con se cinque polize che aveva fatte tre dirette alla guardia de cavalli leggieri, alla guardia dell'

archibugieri et alla guardia de Suizzeri, et due alli signori conservatori et caporioni; in queste due ultime si scriveva alli detti signori conservatori et caporioni che dovessero venire a Palazzo et che se li renderà conto per che causa era stato ammazzato non il papa, ma il cardinale de Medici et che era in essere il papa vero qual' era santo et angelico et altre parole. Alle tre guardie tra le altre cose se li scriveva che se li dava le guardarobbe del cardinal Borromeo et del cardinal S. Giorgio[1] di monsignor Gallese et di monsignore Tolomeo et che attendessero alle guardie loro. Così la mattina a buon ora della segretaria tutti sei insieme risoluti di fare questo assassinamento se ne vennero in Palazzo con quel pugnale in petto et con un coltello, il quale lui ha detto d' aver portato molto tempo per questo effetto et il cavalier Pelliccione con la spada et col pugnale nella gaglioffa delle calze et li altri quattro similmente armati con spade et entrarono nell' anticamera di V. B. et li se intertennero con animo risoluto di voler fare questo effetto, sin a tanto che la S. V. uscì alla sigretaria, nella quale sigretaria il detto Benedetto e conte Antonio e cavaliero entrorno, ma non fecero poi altro, perche dicono che m. Benedetto non si pote accostare per la troppa moltitudine a parlare alla S^tà^ V. et alcuni di loro dicono che il detto Benedetto si smarrì et diventò morto in faccia come la terra, perciò se ne tornarono a casa et che ebbero parole insieme et mostrarono collera contro detto m. Benedetto perche non aveva fatto l' effetto et perche non avevano visto segno alcuno. Nondimeno reattaccarono un altra volta ragionamento di volerlo fare et m. Benedetto disse che se non lo poteva fare con la S^tà^ V. l' averia fatto col cardinale Borromeo, et hanno cercato per questo diverse persone per avere audienza secreta da V. S^tà^ et offertoli somme di danari in evento che la potessero avere dicendo a questo et a quello che avevano a trattare con la S^tà^ V. cose di grandissima importanza. Ultimamente avendo speranza di dovere avere giovedì a mattina audienza dalla S^tà^ V. comparse da lei il rivelatore la sera innanzi et così la notte furono presi.

Il detto Benedetto confessa avere avuto il medesimo animo altre volte contra Paolo quarto et contra la Santità Vostra et dice che si era risoluto un anno e mezzo fa di farla lui solo con quel coltello che portava et che per questo ordinò al detto Pietro et a un Giulio, che tutti dui li domanda nipoti, che

[1] Giovanni Serbelloni.

dovessero andarsi con Dio da Roma perche lui aveva da fare una cosa grande che faria meravigliare tutto il mondo et che non voleva che ci si trovassero acciò non ne havessero a patire et così se ne andarono sino a Rezzo, dove stettero certi giorni et poi tornarono a Roma vedendo che non intendevano cosa alcuna.

Il suddetto Benedetto dice che conosce che questa è stata illusione diabolica et che si era messo in capo di fare questa impresa per aver letto più libri lutherani et heretici, nelli quali ha trovato che li papi non sono papi, ma antichristi, et che si faria un gratissimo sacrificio a Dio di ammazzarli, et di estirpare loro et li pontificati et per aver letto nel Platina certe congiure fatte contra un papa da certi de casa Porcaro et confessa avere confinto con li sopradetti la casa del papa nuovo et delle genti che erano in essere per indurli a fare quanto esso desiderava.

Il medesimo Benedetto confessa avere avuto qualche opinione heretica, aver letto in più luoghi libri et opere di Luthero et del Calvino et molti altri libri lutherani et heretici et specialmente un' opera di Martin Luthero contra papatum a diabolo inventum et confessa ancora di aver praticato con molti heretici et di essere stato molti anni sono in Ginevra.

Tutti li nominati sopradetti han trattato come è detto di sopra contra la persona della Stà V. et son venuti a questo effetto in Palazzo al giorno della sigretaria, ma Prospero supernominato concordano tutti, che non sapeva cosa alcuna che s' avesse da offendere ne d' ammazzare Vostra Santità, aveva ben promesso di menare le mani e far quello che facevano l' altri.

Padre bmo

Quest' è il sommario del scelleratissimo, horrendissimo et inaudito trattato tanto empiamente fatto dalli sopradetti ribaldi contra la persona della Stà V. la quale insieme con tutto il christianesimo ha da ringraziare perpetuamente il Signore Dio Benedetto che non solamente abbia scoperto et impedito l' iniquissima e perversa deliberazione loro e miracolosamente fattoli dar tutti in potere di Stà V. et della iustitia, ma perche sarà causa ancora che con l'esemplare dimostrazione che si farà per giustizia contra le persone loro si darà tal terrore al mondo che mai più persona ardirà o potrà pensare d' offendere Vostra Beatitudine, vero Vicario di Jesu Christo in terra e suo successore.

Piaccia intanto alla Divina Maestà concederli longa vita, et quanto lei stessa desidera.

III. Corsini Library, Rome Cod. 35 B. 3 [674] p. 95 *seq.*, and with variants in Vatic. 7951 p. 36 *seq.*, also in N—II—31 p. 481 *seq.* of the Chigi Library, Rome.

Sommario della depositione di Antonio Canossa, che fu fatto morire nel pontificato di Pio IV. con una lettera scritta a suoi parenti.

Questo è il sommario della mia depositione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnarà V. S. mandare alli miei s^ri^ padre et madre et a tutti gl' altri parenti miei subito che io sarò morto.

Benetto Accolti propose di haver una cosa da manifestar per Christo, e che quando pensasse di dover ottener gratia di poter farla conoscer vera, lui havria domandato, che fossero stati congregati in Agone theologi chiarissimi, et altre genti et havria proposto il suo secreto con un rogo grandissimo di fuoco acceso, et vi si saria messo dentro, et ne saria uscito salvo ; ma per conoscere, che la gratia non li sarina concessa, era risoluto voler fare come egli era indrizzato da Dio, che era questo, voler fare una confessione della Chiesa divina preservata, sotto la quale diceva ha da unirsi la chiesa Greca con la Romana, et a cui la sede e regno delli Ottomani si sottoponerà e tutte la sette contro la fede catolica seranno distrutte, e sarà una giustitia generalissima, et il papa sarà monarca et huomo santo unto da Christo ch' havrà l' obedienza universale etc. Ma in proponere il soggetto di questa cosa a papa Pio che l' portava pericolo non lo accettasse, perche teneva per certo che non fusse vero Papa, et in tal caso che lui haveria il segno da Dio, et era necessario che lui lo amazzasse, o almeno li facesse un segno di ferro con bravura, e mi esortava a farli compagnia per far questa santa opera, che da Dio prima, e dal sommo monarca saria remunerato. Io gli risposi molte cose in contrario et in finire che per servire a Dio io havria speso la vita volontieri, ma non volevo consentire alla morte, non solo di un principe come questo, ma ancora di qualsivoglia grado inferiore, quando anchor fusse certo dover essere incoronato re di tutto il mondo, et se era cosa, che si potesse fare validamente col gran Turco, che io saria stato piu pronto in andarvi, et farla christiano, se bene fusse stato certo lasciarvi la vita per acquistare la gratia di Dio ; lui mi rispose, che bisognava che Christo operasse col miracolo per tutto, et che

era più necessario qui, che col gran Turco per più rispetti, perche non era bastante esso a far tal impresa senza il miracolo evidentissimo et mi promise che non veniva ad effetto alcuno, et che mi faria vedere il miracolo segnalatissimo nel tempo chi el fusse per manifestare il segreto della cosa, e con tal promissione andai ancor io in sua compagnia, come fanno tutti gl' huomini che veggono volontieri cose nuove ; ma poiche ci fussimo condotti et in Palazzo, che il papa veniva, e che io veddi m. Benedetto cambiarsi di colore, et che l' incominciò a tremar la voce dicendomi non so che di trapasso, io subito mutai proposito, dicendo che non mi ci coglieria mai più, et entrato et uscito della signatura ritornai in casa in Borgo, et ritiratomi in una stanza remota piansi la mia sciocheria d' haver dato fede a costui ; cosi Iddio Nostro Sig^re^ mi è testimonio et ancora il cavaglier Pelliccione, che mi ci trovò et con tal cordoglio, lassai m. Benedetto in Borgo et andai a Roma allo allogiamento, con deliberatione di non voler più prattica di m. Benedetto, il quale venne a ritrovarmi il dì seguente, et io li feci dire per suo nepote, che si dovesse provedere di stanza e di vivere, et cosi all' hora se ne andò via, ne lo viddi per trè o quattro giorni ; ma poi di nuovo ritornò per allogiare, dove io era e quando viddi che non voleva lasciar stare chiamai il cavagliero, et pigliamo una camera locanda in casa di madonna Faustina a canto il cardinal Saraceno, et intendendo che m. Benedetto ritrovato uno del sig^re^ Marc Antonio Colonna, che lo favoriva per haver audienza da Sua Santità andai due volte a Palazzo per dire al papa quest' humore di m. Benedetto, ne mi essendo successo di parlarli, me ne andai dal cardinale Gonzaga pregandolo mi volesse fare ottenere dal papa un certo honesto partito, con la qual' occasione havria havuto intratura di potere palesare questa facenda a Sua Beat^ne^ ; partitomi dal cardinale per voler tornare alla mia stanza, passai da casa del Manfredo per intendere che cosa era per fare m. Benedetto, e non essendo in casa lo volsi aspettare, acciò non andasse dal papa prima di me, et ritornò a trè hore di notte et disse che haveva dato ordine con quello del sig^re^ Marc Antonio Colonna di andare dal papa la mattina sequente per proponere il suo secreto amorevolmente. Io me ne volsi andare a casa mia, ma mi ritenero a cena per forza et dopo cena per l' hora tarda mi lasciai ancora ritenere a dormire, et mentre che io pensava volermi levare a buon hora per andare a Palazzo prima di m. Benedetto per far sapere al papa questo

humore e sua venuta, venne la corte et li piglio tutti, salvo me che fugii pensando fusse per debiti; ma intesi poi esser per la cosa di m. Benedetto et però scrissi al governatore che io volevo presentarmi, perche io era innocente; quanto alla poliza, che io haveva scritto et stracciato, l'attribuisco a una pasquinata, conciosia cosa che non havevano fondamento d'intendimento alcuno, et le pasquinate si tollerano per meglio governare. Delli pugnali defendesi il cavagliero, et portatore d'essi, io non vi ho colpa. Per la causa principale non ho peccato, non havendo machianato di trattato, che mi volesse impadronire per me, o per altri di città, castelli o terre o denari, ma solo indotto dal desiderio di servire a questo omnipotente, persuaso per le parole efficacissime del sudetto, che haveriano fatto incorrere nel suo parere ogni savia testa, non che me debole instrumento, a tale che considerata la simplicità mia, il procedere mio, il non essere io inventore di novità tale et il non esser successo segno alcuno di scandalo, non son degno di morte, considerata poi la qualità del principe, ancora credo fermamente che sia vicario di quel Christo nostro redemptore, che perdono a S. Pietro che l'haveva tre volte con giuramento, perche si ravvidde dell'errore, si he haver creduto che m. Benedetto cosi arguto mi potesse far vedere miracolo contro il vicario di quello che fu negato affermativamente, et perdonò; io mi habbi ad essere dato alla morte di cosa dico che non è gia stata messa in prova, ne in detti, ne in fatti et di che mi sono emendato et ho pianta, et è stata ancora con ferma deliberatione, e prova di dirlo a Sua S^{tà}; questo rigore di farmi morire per tal causa non doveria già cadere in mente ad un papa, ne si deve paragonare un papa a principi novelli, li quali usano simili rigori per assicurare li stati novi per li successori, et vadane la vita a chi toca, ma inanti al tribunal di Christo si danno poi le sentenze perpetue, ne vi è scusa appresso sua Divina Maestà, la qual prego che illumini il cuor di Sua Beat^{ne} e di questi sig^{ri} giudici, perche connoschino l'innocenza et la simplicità mia riguardando ancora che io son pur d'una famiglia, che ha donato alla Sede Apostolica il ducato di Spoletto et il Patrimonio di S. Pietro.

Data in Castello Sant'Angelo alli 25 di Gennaro 1565 in prigione.[1]

Io Antonio Canossa di mano propria.

[1] The Cod. Corsini gives date of 17 Gennaro 1565; the correct date in the Vatican, *loc. cit.*

Ill^{mi} sig^{ri} padre et madre, fratelli et altri miei parenti osservandissimi.

Acciò che non pensarete voi et altri amici che io fossi fatto morire per haver commesso homicidii, rapine, furti, incendii, ribellioni o qualche altra cosa simile vi hò resoluto indrizzare il sommario di tutta l' essamine con la quale mi è stato questa sera nunciata la morte per post domani, che sarà sabbato, alla quale morte io vado tanto volontieri, che a me pare havere a celebrare le nozze, perche confidendomi nella bontà di Dio misericordioso, mi son gettato a suoi santissimi piedi, et sono certo che per sua misericordia mi accettarà nel regno celeste e nelle sue sante braccia, perche non nega mai la sua gratia a chi ricorre a Sua Maesta quale volse morire in croce per noi per haver la croce quattro braccia denotando che da tutte la bande si appressa per raccogliere chi a lui ricorre, e venga da qual parte si voglia, che da tutte la bande accetta e raccoglie. Hora è piaciuto e piace a Sua Divina M^{tà} che io vaddi a lei per questa strada, la quale parrà a voi che sia obbrobriosa per mano di giustitia, et io l' accetto per gratia di Dio, perche son certo d' andare in paradiso senza havere a patire di là le pene del purgatorio per sapere io l' innocentia mia e simplicità in tal causa, e con questa ferma e certa speranza mi son preparato a far quanto ci comanda il Sig^{re} Dio quando ci dice, che chi vuole seguir lui deve disprezzar se stesso, e toglier la sua croce e seguirlo, et esso vuole essere il primo a portare la croce per lasciar essempio a noi altri. Pero allegrammente corro ad abbracciar la mia, hora che tocca á me, cosi prego Sua Bontà divina, che mi dia fortezza e quella costanza d' animo sino al fine che mi trovo hora, accio che io possa resistere, e alle tentationi di questa carnaccia, che pur vorria repugnare, perche li par che questo sia un bel mondo, ma non dubito punto, perche ho tanta fede nel Signore che mi conserverà constantissimo, et non permetterà che lo spirito, la ragione siano superati dal senso. Non dubito che questa mia morte sia per apportare infamia alcuna alla nostra cosi nobile et antica famiglia, perche questo è più presto permissione di Dio per volermi tirare a se, che debito di morte, et specchiandoci nella sua santissima passione si vede prima, lui esser stato il piu nobile di carne e di spirito, che huomo che sia gia mai stato in terra, essendo lo spirito disceso dal cielo santissimo et la carne del sangue regio di David, et volse ad esempio nostro patir fame, sete, freddo, tentationi diaboliche, persecutioni, tradimenti, cattura,

schiaffi, sputi, flagelli, percussioni, essere beffeggiato, coronato di spine accutissime et al fine inchiodato in croce e morto, per la quale e mediante la quale noi siamo, a lui, purche noi stessi vogliamo, tenedo questo cosi bello specchio avanti gl' occhi della memoria, come faccio, et farò sino al fine per andarmi a godere di quella patria celeste, tanto soavve, nobile e giocondo et persuate sig^ri miei che se non fosse cosi nostro Sig^re Iddio non si saria affaticato tanto, et con tanto stento per insegnarci la strada di quella disideratissima habitatione, et beato colui che lo conosce. Vi prego d' una cosa sola per quanto amore voi dovete a nostro Sig^re Iddio, cioè che chi haverà la nuova in quel tempo mi sarà giocondissimo che non se ne pigli travaglio, e state sani.

43. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1564, December 30, Rome.

. . . Tutti questi giorni sono stati in Castello ad esaminare et far esaminare quelli della congiura cioè l' Accolto, figliolo del card. d' Ancona, Ludovico[2] Manfredi, Marc Antonio Canossa et un cavaliere Pavese, il qual fù quello che rivelò la congiura. They were tortured, but did not confess who was the originator. They had already admitted their guilt, but no particulars were extorted. One died under torture.[3]

[Original. State Archives, Modena.]

44. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara.[4]

1565, January 6, Rome.

. . . After the banquet the Pope spoke of the conspiracy, as I have already reported: "solo soggiunse S.S^tà questo d' avantaggio che costoro volevano ammazzarlo per far piacere a Calvino et che in effetto non ci erano interessati principi di sorte alcuna." Pius IV. said that personally he forgave the conspirators, but that for the sake of example he must let justice take its course freely.

[Original State Archives, Modena.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 383, 386.
[2] Generally called Taddeo.
[3] In another *letter of December 30, 1564, F. Priorato wrongly states that Canossa died in consequence of torture.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 385, 390.

45. Francesco Priorato to the Duke of Ferrara.[1]

1565, January 10, Rome.

To-day I went to the Castle of St. Angelo to see the conspirators who are imprisoned there; "in fatti trovo che l'Accolti era capo di tutti. Costui è un huomo piccolo di brutta effigie, ma literato molto et il quale fa professione d'astrologo et dice che era inspirato da Dio di far questo enorme et scellerato effetto. . . . Egli subornò il Manfredo, il quale per havere una bella moglie, de la quale era inamorato il conte Canossa, tirò nel suo parere anco il detto conte, il quale m'ha detto che egli il giorno istesso che fu preso voleva scoprir la cosa al papa al che andò per due volte, ma che mai lo puote parlare. La conclusione è che inspirati dal demonio et da pazzia volevano ammazzare il papa et tutto hanno confessato al confessario." Accolti had a poisoned dagger. He uttered such false prophecies (this year there is going to be an upheaval of all things) as to seem to be a madman. "E stato a Geneva et credo che tocchi grandemente di Luterano." Those who made the conspiracy known were pardoned.

[Original State Archives, Modena.]

46. Execution of the Conspirators against Pius IV. Benedetto Accolti and his Companions.[2]

1565 Venerdi 26 di gennaio a ora una di notte . . . furno consegnati l'infrascritti tre condennati etc. . . .

Di poi questo si disse la santa messa et tutti tre furno comunicati la mattina seguente circa hore 18 furno cavati di Campidoglio et stracinati a coda di cavallo su certe ruote a uso di carretti alti un palmo da terra, et andorno per tutta Roma, poi ritornorno in Campidoglio dove era fatto un palchetto di legname, et quivi a uno per uno fu dato loro d'un mazzo in su la testa; di poi turno schannati a guisa di vaccine, cosa horrenda, et poi squartati. La sera poi all'hora solita furno levati li detti quarti et portati alla nostra compagnia et sotterrati nel luogo solito.

[Orig. Arch. di S. Giov. decollato, Giustiziati 1556—1565 vol. 3, p. 308b. State Archives, Rome.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 385, 390. [2] See *supra*, p. 387.

47-48. L. Bondonus de Branchis concerning the Conspiracy of Benedetto Accolti[1].

1565, January 27.

Coniuratio contra pontificem.

Die 27 ianuarii. Quidam Benedictus de Accoltis Aretinus quidam filius cardinalis de Ravenna, Taddaeus Manfredus, Antonius comes Canossae et quidam qui valgariter dicebatur il cavalier Pilliccione, qui omnes coniurarunt contra vitam Pontificis cum pugionibus volentes eum interficere, a iustitia condemnati, turpissima morte iugulati sunt ut infra videlicet : Praefati insani coniurati, a diabolica fraude seducti, fabricare fecerunt quosdam parvos pugiones et cogitarunt petere audientiam a pontifice, et solum eum repertum cum dictis pugionibus interficere. Tandem audientiam obtinuerunt et diabolicum scelus perpetrare conati sunt ; et dictus Benedictus ut eorum principalis, qui primus in vulnerando esse debebat, ut Deo placuit, amisso animo, tantum scelus perpetrare non ausus est, sed pro alia vice ad maiorem commoditatem distulit. Interim Deo inspirante prefatus eques Pelliccionus dictam coniurationem detexit, et omnes fuerunt carcerati in Turrinona et delictum confessi sunt. Qui postea translati ad carceres capitolinos, traditi sunt in potestatem Senatus, a quo adiudicati fuerunt ut positi essent supini unusquisque eorum super tabolam cum quatuor parvis rotis et tracti essent ad caudam equorum per urbem, tubicine equitante et precedente ac tubam in signum mestitie sonante. Qui tandem reducti ad plateam Capitolii supra suggestum in medio plateae ad hoc fabricatum unus post alium, dum genuflexi permanerent et orarent, a carnifice cum malleo ligneo in capite percussi sunt et statim cum eorum prefatis pugionibus eos iugulavit et eos postea in quatuor partes delaniavit. Fuerunt etiam in dicta coniuratione quidam dominus Petrus et Prosper de Accoltis, quibus dictum fuerat ut starent parati in platea S^ti^ Petri, quia ipsi quoddam effectum facere volebant, et, si opus esset, eos adiuvarent : non tamen prefati sciebant quid ipsi facere intendebant. Qui postea fuerunt missi ad triremes.

[Copy. XII 29 p. 378^b^. Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 387 *seqq*.

49. Alfonso Rosselli to the Duke of Ferrara[1].

1565, May 2, Rome.

In cypher : La intelligenza fra il conte Annibale Altaemps et Borromeo è grandissima per causa del parentado rinovato et questi tre sono hora omnipotenti et totalmente volti ad abbassare il sig^ro Gabrio et altri fratelli Serbelloni, li quali si tengono bene per quanto possono, ma serà dura cosa che resisteno alla omnipotenza di questi tre. Il Papa pero procura di accomodarli quanto puo ; sono cose solite fra parenti de papi et anche nelle altre corti.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

50–52. Pius IV. and the East.[2]

Relations with the Eastern schismatics had become closer especially as a result of the Portuguese voyages of discovery. A priest from Abyssinia had been sent to the church of S. Stefano near the Vatican, at whose request, by a brief of November 20, 1560, Cardinal Morone had been appointed protector of the Abyssinians and the use of the church of S. Stefano confirmed to them.[3] Pius IV. gave the church of S. Lorenzo d' Cavalluzzi for the use of the Armenians in Rome,[4] and was also inclined to give a church to the Copts.[5] In 1562 the Pope sent a letter of recommendation to his nuncio in Spain, Crivelli, and to Philip II, on behalf of two Coptic monks from Egypt who wished to make a tour of Europe.[6]

Under Pius IV. bishops from the East frequently came to the Eternal City. Thus the Patriarch of the Armenians[7] visited Rome in 1550, and there personally in 1553 brought

[1] See *supra*, p. 398. [2] See *supra*, p. 403.

[3] *Card. Morono. " Cum nobis curae sit, sicut decet, ut Aithiopes sive Abyssini, qui in hao Alma Urbe commorantur, et quos ad Apostolorum limina venire contigerit, nulla a quoquam molestia incommodove afficiantur, et ut ecclesia S. Stephani in Vaticano resque et bona et iura eius omnia ad ipsam et Abyssinos pertinentia salva conserventur, et ut habeant idoneum protectorem, per quem sua desideria, quoties opus fuerit, in nostram notitiam preferre possint, "at the request of the Prior of the church, Io. Bapt. Abyssini, we name you protector of the church of these Abyssinians (Brevia Arm, 44, t. 10, n. 81, p. 597, Papal Secret Archives). The priest, John Baptist, was made Patriarch of the Abyssinian nation on September 7, 1565. Gulik-Eubel III, 275.

[4] Giaconius III., 882.

[5] *Cf.* the brief quoted *infra* p. 502, n. 3.

[6] Brevia Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 209 : Aloxandro episc. Cariatensi (s.d.), and n. 211 (February 7, 1562) to Philip II. For the reason why Pius IV. looked upon these monks as being united to Rome see *infra*, p. 502.

[7] Merkle II., 15. *Cf.* Vol. XIII of this work, p. 313, n. 3.

about the adhesion to the Roman church of Sulaka, the Catholikos of the Eastern Syrians, who had hitherto been Nestorians,[1] and in like manner, in 1562, the successor of Sulaka, Abdjesu, appeared in Rome to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pope ; the Catholikos declared himself ready to accept the dogmatic decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

By the advice of Abdjesu, his suffragan, Abraham, metropolitan of the Christians of St. Thomas in distant India, also took refuge in Rome. His predecessor, Joseph, had had to retire to Portugal under suspicion of Nestorianism, but he returned, and obtained from the viceroy the banishment of Abraham, who, encouraged by Abdjesu, did not shrink from undertaking the long journey in order to seek for his rights in the Eternal City. In 1565 Pius IV sent letters. on his behalf to Abdjesu, to the Archbishop of Goa, and to the Bishop of Cochin.[3]

An Eastern Syrian bishop, John Ibrahim Cassa, also stayed for several months in Rome in 1562. He gave information as to the favourable dispositions towards Rome of the Jacobite Patriarch of Mardin, Nehemias, to whom Pius IV. sent a letter inviting him to communion with the Roman church.[4] Three years later Nehemias actually sent envoys to Rome to seek reunion with the Apostolic See.[5]

Before this, Michael, the Armenian Bishop of Ezmiadsin, had, with the same intention sent as an envoy to Rome a certain Abgar, who, on December 10, 1564, there made the profession of faith of the Roman Church.[6] In order to obtain fuller information as to Nehemias and Michael, Pius IV. appointed John Baptist, Bishop of the Abyssinians in Cyprus, as his nuncio[7] ; he had been educated in Rome, and was also to visit, during his journey in the east, the Catholic bishops, Nicholas Frydo of Nachitschewan, Peter, the Patriarch of the Maronites, and Abdjesu at Mosul. Nehemias did not remain loyal ; he not only apostatized from the Roman church, but

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 313, n. 3.
[2] MERKLE II., 594 n.h. RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 28 *seqq.*
[3] DIB in Revue de l' Orient chrét. 2 Series IX. (1914), 28. GIAMIL, Genuinae relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Syrorum orientalium, seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam. Nunc maiori ex parte primum editae historicisque adnotationibus illustratae cura Rmi Abbatis Samuelis Giamil, ecclesiae Babylonensis archidiaconi et patriarchae Chaldaeorum apud sanctam Sedem procuratoris generalis. Rome, 1902, 69-73.
[4] RAYNALDUS 1562, n. 31.
[5] DIB, *loc. cit.*, 24, 28.
[6] RAYNALDUS 1564, n. 52.
[7] Letter of March 10, 1565, in DIB, *loc. cit.*, 29.

even from Christianity; however, under Gregory XIII. he came to Rome as a penitent, to be reconciled to the Church. It may be looked upon as a sign of the new relations opened with the East that in the time of Pius IV. a printing press was set up with Armenian and Arabic type, which however did not issue its first works until the time of Pius V.[1]

Pius IV. profited by these new relations with the Easterns to invite them to the Council of Trent. For this purpose he issued, on August 20, 1561, a letter to the Negus of Abyssinia,[2] which did not reach its destination. An envoy was sent to the Coptic Patriarch, Gabriel, on February 17. 1561.[3] Already in the time of Paul IV. a certain Abraham had come to Rome as his representative, who declared himself to be armed with full authority to arrange reunion with the Roman Church. Pius IV. prudently charged Cardinal Ghislieri to obtain information about Abraham through the Venetian consul in Egypt. The report was satisfactory; the Patriarch Gabriel also sent a fresh letter asking for a nuncio to be sent. The Pope appointed for this purpose two Jesuits, Cristoforo Rodriguez, and the Jewish convert, Gian Battista Eliani, who was skilled in languages, but who, in spite of all his caution, fell victim to a miserable mistake. The Patriarch accepted the presents of the Pope, but at length, after long negotiations, declared that the idea of reunion had never been seriously contemplated, that Abraham had wished to see Rome, and that it had only been for that reason that he had been given the letters which he had shown there; the second letter, with the request that a nuncio might be sent, had been sent with the object of setting Abraham free from the imprisonment into which he had fallen;[4] and that the promise of obedience to the Pope had only been an expression of courtesy.

[1] GELZER in Real-Enzyklopädie of Herzog, II³, 86. SACCHINI, I, 1. 8, n. 40.

[2] Printed in BECCARI X, 125-130. A brief to the Bishop of Oviedo, *ibid.* 130 *seq.*; *cf.* RAYNALDUS 1561, n. 63. On February 6, 1563, Pius IV. begged King Sebastian of Portugal to protect Abyssinia against the Turks. RAYNALDUS 1563, n. 226.

[3] *Arm. 44, t 11, n. 20. According to this letter *Ambrosius episc. Auriensis* had decided the patriarch on conversion. Abraham was received in Rome in the presence of many Cardinals. Gabriel appointed as his representative at the Council the priest Joh. Bapt. Habiscinus, with whom Abraham took up his residence, and who knew Arabic and Latin. His successor was to have a house and church in Rome. Morone and Ghislieri are named as procurators of the Abyssinians at the Holy See. A *brief of August 15, 1560 (*sic*) enjoining upon Cristoforo Rodriguez to induce the Patriarch of Alexandria to send representatives to the Council is in Brev. Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 352, p. 268 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] ASTRAIN II, 396 *seqq.* According to the letters of Rodriguez of December 10, 1561 and April 7, 1562. *Cf.* SACCHINI II, 1. 5, n. 135 *seqq.*; 1. 6, n. 121 *seqq.*

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XVI.

ABDJESU (Catholicos of the Syrians), 501.
Abgar (envoy of the Armenian Church in Rome), 501.
Abraham (envoy of the Copts in Rome), 502.
Abraham (Metropolitan of the St. Thomas Christians in India), 501.
Accolti, Benedetto (conspirator) 383 *seq.*, 385–391, 485 *seqq.*
Accolti, Pietro (nephew to Ben. Accolti), 383, 386 *seq.*
Achelis, Antonios (Greek poet), 368 n. 2.
Acton, Lord, 348 n.
Agresti, Livio (painter), 418.
Agricola, George, 20 n. 7.
Agrippa, Joh. (poet), 411 n. 1.
Augustin, Pedro (Bishop of Huesca), 33.
Agustino, Antonio (Bishop of Alife, later of Lerida), 17 n. 3, 323 n. 3.
Alba, the Duke of, 202 *seq.*
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 53, 88, 112 *seq.*, 115 *seqq.*, 119 *seqq.*, 127, 132 *seq.*, 140, 341.
Albret, Jeanne d' (Queen of Navarre, wife of Antoine de Vendôme), 155, 156 n. 4, 175, 191–196.
Albret, Louis d' (Bishop of Lescar), 192.
Albret, Pierre d' (envoy from Navarre in Rome), 162 *seq.*
Alciati, Francesco, Cardinal, 313, 393, 404 n. 1, 405.
Aldo (Venetian printer, father of P. Manutius), 407.
Aldobrandini, Giovanni (auditor of Card. M. Boncompagni in Spain), 334, 371.
Alessi, Galeazzo (architect), 427.
Allen, William, Cardinal, 243.
Altemps, *see* Hohenems.
Amalteo, Gian Battista (latinist, papal secretary), 405.
Amulio, *see* Mula.
Animuccia, Giovanni (chapelmaster at St. Peter's), 54.
Antinori, Lodovico (papal ambassador to France), 201.
Antoniano, Silvio (latinist, papal secretary), 405, 409 *seq.*, 413 n. 1.
Aracœli, Cardinal, *see* Dolera.
Aragon, Fernando de (Archbishop of Saragossa), 7 n. 2.
Arce, Johannes ab, 31 n. 1, 33.
Arco, Prospero d' (Imperial envoy in Rome), 4 n. 4, 119, 126, 137 *seq.*
Argyll, the Earl of, 260, 262, 267, 293 *seqq.*
Armagnac, Cardinal, 156 n. 4, 205.
Arran, Earl of (son of Duke of Chatelherault), 263, 267 *seqq.*
Atholl, the Earl of, 298.
Augustus (Elector of Saxony), 125, 341 n. 3.
Aumale, Duke d' (brother to Mary of Guise), 262.
Avalos, Fernando Francisco, *see* Pescara.
Avanzato, Francisco, 36 n. 3.
Avila, Pedro de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 128, 135, 336, 339, 372.
Ayala, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 162, 464.
Ayala, Martino de, 432.
Azpilcueta (moralist, defender of Archbishop Carranza), 329.

Bachodi, Francesco (nuncio and legate in Piedmont), 350.
Bacon, Nicholas, 231.
Baine (Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield), 235.
Baissey, Louis de (Abbot-general of Citeaux), 101.
Barba, Pompeo della (physician - in - ordinary to the Pope), 404 n. 1.
Barocci, Federigo (painter), 424 *seq.*
Beaton, James (Archbishop of Glasgow), 288.
Beccadelli, Lodovico (Archbishop of Ragusa), 17 n. 6, 18 n. 4.
Bedford, the Earl of (English envoy in France), 226 *seq.*, 232.
Bellay, Eustache du (Bishop of Paris), 203 *seq.*, 206.
Belnaves (Scottish negotiator), 263.
Beltramini, Francisco (Bishop of Terracina), 202 n. 2.
Benedetti, Pietro, 201.
Benoist, René (confessor of Mary Stuart), 281.
Bergamascus, Mark (heretic), 341 n. 1.
Berghes [Bergis], Maximilian de (Archbishop of Cambrai), 89.
Bernardi, Giov. Batt. (Bishop of Ajaccio), 100 n. 5.
Bettendorf, Theodoric von (Bishop of Worms), 110 n. 1.
Beza, Theodore (Calvinist), 169 *seq.*, 178, 182, 187.
Bigio, Nanni (architect), 450 *seq.*, 455.
Biglia, Count (nuncio in Vienna) 368.
Binchois (musical composer), 43.
Blanco (Bishop of Orense), 332.
Bobba, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 394.
Boccaccio, 19, 23.
Boccapaduli, Prospero (Roman senator), 439.
Bollani, Domenico (Bishop of Brescia), 17 n. 6.
Bologna, *see* Giambologna.
Boncompagni, Ugo, Cardinal, (later Pope Gregory XIII.), 10 n. 3, 334, 371, *seq.*, 393, 405.
Bondonus, Ludovicus, de Branchis Firmanus (master of ceremonies at the conclave of Pius IV.), 387 n. 1.
Bongiovanni, Bernardo (Bishop of Camerino, nuncio to Poland), 142–145.
Boniface IX., Pope, 376.
Bonner (Bishop of London), 237 *seq.*
Borelli, Giacomo (Waldensian), 340 n. 1.
Borgia, Francis (general of the Jesuits), 93 *seqq.*, 109.
Borgia, Lucrezia, 163.
Borromei, Family of the, 392.
Borromeo, Charles (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 6, 7 n. 2, 14, 16 n. 3, 20, 30, 35 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 55, 66, 76–81, 86 *seq.*, 88 n. 4, 90, 102 n. 4, 103 *seq.*, 108 n. 2, 113, 119 *seq.*, 127, 132, 134 n. 5, 138 n. 2, 147, 221, 232 n. 3, 312, 317 n. 1, 326, 327 nn., 330 *seq.*, 336, 346, 347 n. 4, 371, 377 n. 1, 391 *seq.*, 393, 394 *seqq.*, 398 *seqq.*, 403, 405 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*, 411 n. 1, 426 n. 1, 432 n. 6, 440, 442 n. 1, 478 *seq.*
Borromeo, Frederick, Count (nephew of Pius IV.), 391, 396.
Borromeo, Ortensia (wife of Count Hannibal von Hohenems), 392, 415.
Bourbon, Antoine de, *see* Vendôme.
Bourbon, Antoinette de, 272.
Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal, 92 n. 6, 155, 188, 201.
Bourdaisière, Philibert Babou de la (Bishop of Angoulême, French ambassador in Rome), Cardinal, 158 n. 3, 194.

Bourne (Bishop of Bath and Wells), 236.
Bovio, 19.
Bozzuto, Annibale (secretary to Card. C. Carafa), Cardinal, 394.
Bramante (architect), 392, 414 n. 5.
Brendel, Daniel von (Archbishop and Elector of Mayence), 109, 120, 139.
Briedel, Johann von (Abbot of Hemmerode), 101 *seq.*
Broët, P. (S.J.), 160 n. 3.
Brus von Müglitz, Anton (Archbishop of Prague), 17, 20 *seq.*, 25, 112, 120, 128 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*
Busnois (musical composer), 43.

Cahessy, William (Protestant Bishop of Limerick), 301.
Caithness, the Earl of, 298.
Caligari, Giov. Andrea, 100, 172 n. 1, 426 n. 3.
Calini, Muzio (Archbishop of Zara), 15 n. 1, 17 n. 2, 21 n. 4, 28, 34.
Calvin, John, 141, 169, 178 n. 3, 182, 257, 391.
Camerarius, Joachim, 341.
Camerarius, Philip, 341.
Campegio, Vincenzo, 381 n. 3.
Campensis, Joh., 19, 20 n. 7.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 12 n. 1, 25 *seq.*, 32 n. 4, 108 *seqq.*, 113, 116, 128.
Cano, Melchior (O.P.), 97.
Canossa, Antonio di (conspirator), 383, 385–390, 489.
Caphano, Marsilio, 35 n. 6.
Capilupi, Ippolito (nuncio to Venice), 14 n. 7, 19, 411 n. 1.
Capilupi, Lelio (brother to the nuncio), 19.
Capua, Pietro Antonio di (Archbishop of Otranto), 393.
Caraccioli, Antonio (Bishop of Troyes), 157, 167, 192.
Carafa, Alfonso. Cardinal, 68, 380, 408.
Carafa, Carlo, Cardinal, 52 n. 1, 394.
Carafa, Gianpietro, *see* Paul IV.
Cardano, Girolamo (mathematician), 405 n. 1.
Carlos, Don (son of Philip II.), 289.
Carne, Edward (English envoy in Rome), 211, 217.
Carnesecchi, Pietro (heretic), 308, 309 n. 1, 310 n.
Caro, Annibale, 80.
Carpi, Pio Rodolfo, Cardinal, 91, 309, 338, 449, 452.
Carranza Bartolomé (Archbishop of Toledo), 20, 328–335, 337, 370 *seq.*
Caselli, Tommaso (Bishop of La Cava), 17 n. 6.
Casignola (scupltor), 421.
Cassa, John Ibrahim (Syrian bishop), 501.
Cassilis, the Earl of, 298.
Castagna, Giov. Batt. (Archbishop of Rossano, nuncio to Spain, later Pope Urban VII.), 17 n. 5, 334, 371.
Casteldurante, Cesare da (director of works at St. Peter's), 450.
Castelvetro, Ludovico, 318.
Castiglione, Franc. Abbondio, Cardinal, 393.
Castro, Rodrigo de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 333.
Catherine of Austria (wife of King Sigismund Augustus of Poland), 150.
Cati de Jesi, Pasquale (painter), 442 n. 1.
Cauchius, Anton (auditor of the nuncio Delfino), 108 *seqq.*,
Caucus, Antonius (Archbishop of Corfù and Patras), 36.
Cavaccio, Bartol, 100 n. 4.
Cecil, William, 212, 215, 229 *seqq.*, 241, 246, 249, 264, 272 n. 2, 287, 295 n. 4.
Centani, Andrea (Bishop of Limasol), 308.
Centurione, Agostino (Genoese, merchant), 317 n. 1, 318.

Cervantes (Archbishop of Messina), 335.
Cervini, Cardinal, 6, 35 n. 6.
Cesarini (titular bishop), 82, 87 *seq.*
Cesi, Cardinal, 442 n. 1.
Cesi, Pietro Donato (vice-legate of Bologna), 410 n. 8, 440.
Chantonnay (Spanish envoy to France), 137 n. 1, 138 n. 3, 169, 175 n. 2.
Charles, Archduke of Austria, 134, 213, 224, 289 *seq.*
Charles V., Emperor, 31, 84, 111, 137, 247 n. 1, 355, 358.
Charles VII. (King of France), 44.
Charles IX. (King of France), 92, 159, 169, 187, 193, 202, 366.
Chatelherault, Duke of, *see* Hamilton.
Châtillon, Odet de (Bishop of Beauvais), Cardinal, 157, 167, 189–193.
Chaumont, Jean de (Bishop of Aix), 192.
Chemnitz, 209.
Chisholm, William (Bishop of Dunblane), 280, 282, 292, 297 *seq.*
Cicada, Cardinal, 5, 312, 341 n. 3.
Cicada, Niccolò (Bishop of Mariana), 100 n. 5.
Cirni, A. F., 392 n. 4.
Clario, Isidore, 19.
Clement VI., Pope, 111 n. 3.
Clement VII., Pope, 31, 356, 377.
Cogordan (S. J.), 204 *seq.*
Coligny, Gaspard de (admiral), 155, 160, 170, 186 n. 5, 187, 189, 203.
Colonna, Marcantonio, 382, 494.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Archbishop of Taranto), Cardinal, 394, 405.
Colonna, Pompeo (commander of Papal troops), 367.
Commendone, Giov. Franc., Cardinal, 58 *seq.*, 61 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*, 93, 100 n. 3, 132, 145–151, 276 *seq.*, 377 n. 3, 394, 405.
Condé, Louis de (Prince of Bourbon), 155, 158, 160, 175, 182, 187 *seq.*, 203.
Condivi (art critic), 443.
Contarini, Luigi, 438.
Conte, Jacopo del (painter), 454 n. 2.
Cordes, Eutychius de (abbot), 17 n. 6.
Cordoba, Martin de, *see* Mendoça, Martin.
Corgna, Ascanio della (nephew of Julius III.), 367, 427.
Coreggio (painter), 424.
Corrado, Mario, 52 n. 1.
Corrionero (Bishop of Almeria), 332.
Cortona, Francesco da (architect), 451.
Cosimo I. (Duke of Florence), 105, 165, 184, 188, 284 n. 2, 344–347, 373, 382 n. 6, 394 *seq.*, 416, 451.
Coster (S. J.), 131.
Covarruvias, Diego (Bishop of Ciudad-Rodrigo), 72 n. 1.
Creagh, Richard (Archbishop of Armagh), 302 *seqq.*
Creighton, Robert (Bishop of Dunkeld), 280, 282.
Créquy, Antoine de, Cardinal, 393.
Cressolles, de (S. J.), 52 n. 2.
Crispi, Tiberio, Cardinal, 427.
Cristoforo of Padua (General of the Augustinians), 17 n. 6.
Crivelli, Alessandro (Bishop of Cariati), Cardinal, 66 n. 1, 328, 331, 362, 370, 393, 500.
Croft, James (English commander), 262 *seq.*
Croy, Charles de (Bishop of Tournai), 85.
Croy, Robert de (Bishop of Cambrai), 85.
Cuesta (Bishop of Leon), 332.

Cueva, Bartolomeo de la, Cardinal, 309 n. 5.
Curwin (Archbishop of Dublin), 300.
Cusano, Galeazzo, 457.
Cyprian, St., 24.

DARNLEY, The family of, 291.
Darnley, Henry (husband of Mary, Queen of Scots), 290–294, 297.
Delfino, Zaccaria (Bishop of Lesina, nuncio). Cardinal, 35, 93, 108, 116, 120, 126, 129, 137 *seqq.*, 394.
Devaris, Matth. (poet), 411 n. 1.
Dolera [Aracœli], Cardinal, 309, 312.
Dosio, Giov. Antonio (artist), 414, 433, 444 n. 1.
Douglas, John (Scotch preacher) 259.
Douglas, Margaret (mother of H. Darnley), 290 n. 6.
Draskovich, Georg (Bishop of Fünfkirchen), 27 n. 2, 132.
Duca, Antonio del (priest), 443.
Duca, Jacopo del (artist), 446.
Dudley, Robert (Earl of Leicester), 212, 224 *seqq.*, 290, 295 n. 4.
Dufay, Guillaume (musical composer), 43, 45.
Du Moulin [Molinus], Charles (French jurist), 15, 207 *seq.*
Du Prat, G. ((Bishop of Clermont), 209.

EGLINTON, the Earl of, 298.
Eichorn, Joachim (Abbot of Einsiedeln), 102 n. 4.
Elboeuf, Marquis d' (brother of Mary of Guise), 262.
Eliani, Joh. Bapt. (nuncio), 502.
Elio, Antonio (Patriarch of Jerusalem), 399 n. 1.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 108 n. 2, 126, 162, 183, 211–234, 236, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248, 251 *seqq.*, 262–265, 269 *seqq.*, 277, 287, 289 *seqq.*, 294–298, 364.
Elizabeth (Queen of Spain), 202.
Emanuele Filiberto (Duke of Savoy), 105, 227, 232, 349 *seqq.*, 394.
Ems, *see* Hohenems.
Englefield, Francis, 211, 217.
Erasmus, 21, 24.
Eroll, the Earl of, 298.
Este, the family of, 346 n.
Este, Alfonso II. d' (Duke of Ferrara), 165 n. 1, 307 n. 6, 346 n., 370 n. 1, 385, 395.
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 163–166, 171–177, 181, 184 *seqq.*, 188 *seqq.*, 203, 205, 232, 276, 319. 346 n.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 346 n.

FABIANIS, Thomas de (Franciscan, heretic), 341 n. 1.
Faerno, Gabriele (scholar), 404 n. 1, 407.
Farnese, the family of, 346 n., 363.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 82, 87, 123, 366, 393, 427.
Farnese, Ottavio (Duke of Parma), 398 n. 1.
Farnese, Ranuccio, Cardinal, 124, 393.
Federicis, Girolamo (Bishop of Sagona, governor of Rome), 100 n. 5.
Ferdinand I., The Emperor, 3, 25 *seq.*, 31, 39 n. 1, 88, 93, 105, 107, 110, 112 *seqq.*, 116 *seqq.*, 121, 123 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 130, 133 *seq.*, 145, 233, 236.
Ferdinand (Archduke of Austria, governor of Bohemia), 134.
Feria, Count (Spanish envoy in England), 211, 212 n. 1.
Ferratini, Baldo (Bishop, member of the building commission for St. Peter's). 450 *seq.*
Ferreri, Guido (Bishop of Vercelli), Cardinal, 393, 405.
Ferreri, Pier Francesco (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio to Venice), Cardinal, 393.

Ferreri, Zaccaria (Bishop), 31. 32 n. 1.
Fiamma, Gabriele (Frate), 309 n. 1.
Figueroa, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 335.
Filiberto (Duke of Savoy), *see* Emanuele Filiberto.
Firmanus, *see* Bondonus.
Flaminio, Marcantonio (humanist and theologian), 19.
Floris [Goudanus or Goudano], Nicholas (Dutch Jesuit, nuncio in Scotland), 275, 277–280, 282 *seq.*, 287.
Foix (protonotary, French ambassador), 232, 245, 248.
Formenti (Venetian agent in Rome), 322.
Foscarari, Egidio (O.P., Bishop of Modena), 17 nn. 3, 6, 28, 34, 72 n. 3, 308, 319.
Foscarari, Romeo, 381 n. 3.
Franchis, Hieron. de (O.P., inquisitor in Genoa), 349 n.
Francis II. (King of France), 26, 153, 158, 161, 204 *seq.*, 226, 255, 262, 264, 268 *seqq.*, 275 *seq.*
Frederick II. (King of Denmark), 276.
Frydo, Nicolas (Bishop of Nachitschewan), 501.
Fuchs, Leonard (scholar), 15.
Funtidueña (theologian), 28 n. 1.
Fureiro, Francisco (O.P.), 21 *seq.*, 23 n. 1, 29 *seq.*

GABRIEL (Coptic patriarch), 502.
Gaeta, Pierluigi (director of works at St. Peter's), 434, 450.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal, 393, 395 n. 1, 405.
Gambara, Francisco, Cardinal, 125.
Gamucci, Bernardo, 431.
Geiler von Kaisersberg, 21 n. 1.
Gelli (author), 18 n. 4, 23.
Genga, Pierleone (painter), 424.
George of Brunswick (Archbishop of Bremen), 7 n. 2, 120, 128.
Gherio (Bishop of Ischia), 359.
Ghiselin, Joh. (musical composer), 41 n. 2.
Ghislieri, Michele (O.P.), Cardinal, 5, 13 *seq.*, 19, 35 n. 6, 100, 194, 306, 309, 312, 317, 321, 336, 338, 342 n. 2, 350, 502.
Giambologna (sculptor), 426 n. 1, 441 n.
Giannotti, Donato (friend of Michaelangelo), 452.
Giberti, Matteo (Bishop of Verona), 103.
Gienger, George (imperial counsellor), 116.
Giovannini, Paolo Emilio, 146.
Glareanus [Loriti], Henry (humanist), 13 n. 2, 20 n. 7.
Glencairn, Earl of, 260, 267, 295.
Goisson (S.J.), 87.
Goldwell (Bishop of St. Asaph), 235, 238.
Gombert, Nicolas (musical composer), 41.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal 100 n. 4, 324.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal, 405.
Gonzaga, William (Duke of Mantua), 108 n. 2, 307 n. 6, 342 n. 1.
Gordon, Scotch family of, 285.
Gordon, George (Earl of Huntly), 284 *seqq*, 298.
Gordon, John (son of George Gordon), 285.
Gordon, William (Bishop of Aberdeen), 275 280.
Goudanus *see* Floris.
Goudimel, Claude (musical composer), 46 n. 3.
Grandis, Julius de (Bishop of Anglona), 448 n.
Granvelle, Cardinal, 92, 215 n. 1, 217, 226, 228, 234.
Grasso, Francesco (governor of Bologna), Cardinal, 393.
Graziani, Ant. Maria (secretary to Commendone), 146.
Gregory the Great, St., Pope, 34.
Gregory X., Pope, 70.

Gregory XI., Pope, 45.
Gregory, XIII., Pope, 100, 326 n. 4.
Grimani, Giovanni (Patriarch of Aquileja), 19, 310 n. 319–326, 393.
Grindal (Anglican Bishop of London), 235, 252.
Gryphius, Barth., 368 n. 2.
Gualterio, Sebastian (Bishop of Viterbo, nuncio to France), 160 *seq.*, 164, 171, 232, 269, 276, 347 n. 4.
Guerrero, Pedro (Archbishop of Granada), 332.
Guicciardini, Pietro (auditor of the Rota), 135, 137 *seq.*
Guillart, Charles (Bishop of Chartres), 192.
Guise, Family of the, 153 *seqq*, 159 *seq.*, 171, 174, 176, 244 *seq.*
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 34, 153 *seq.*, 156 *seqq.*, 170 *seq.*, 184, 187, 190, 192, 194 *seqq.*, 201, 205, 287 *seqq.*, 292, 298 *seq.*
Guise, Francis, Duke of, 153, 161, 163, 181 *seq.*, 186.
Guise, Louis de, Cardinal, 205.
Guise, Mary of (Queen-Regent of Scotland), 259 *seq.*, 262, 264, 268 *seq.*
Guzman (Spanish doctor of law), 331.

HAMILTON (Duke of Chatelherault), 259, 263, 266, 284, 293 *seq.*, 296.
Hamilton, John (Archbishop of St. Andrews), 256 n. 4, 266, 275, 280, 286, 288, 292, 298.
Hartung, Joh., 21 n. 1.
Hattstein, Marquardt von (Bishop of Spires), 110 n. 1.
Hay, Edmund (Scottish priest), 278, 284.
Heath (Archbishop of York), 236 *seq.*
Henry (Infante of Portugal), Cardinal-Legate, 30 n. 1, 360 n.2.
Henry II. (King of France), 153, 203, 205, 262, 268.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 150, 255 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*
Hertford, Lord (Duke of Somerset), 255 *seq.*
Hohenems [Altemps], Family of the 392.
Hohenems, Hannibal von (Count), 77 n. 3, 80 n. 2, 391 *seq.*
Hohenems, Mark Sittich II. von, Cardinal [Altemps], 77 n. 3, 80 n. 2, 106 *seq*, 185, 334, 378, 391, 394, 396 n. 1, 415, 442 n. 1.
Horne (Protestant Bishop of Winchester), 237, 241.
Hosius, Stanislaus (Bishop of Ermland), Cardinal, 3 n. 1, 28 n. 6, 89 n. 1, 113, 116, 132 *seq.*, 142 n. 2, 143 n. 1, 144 n. 4, 145 *seqq.*, 151 n. 2, 405.
Hoya, Johann von (Bishop of Osnabrück), 109.
Hume, Lord, 298.
Huntly, *see* Gordon, George.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, ST., 85, 94, 97 *seq.*, 209.
Imola (jurist), 410 n. 2.
Isaac, Heinrich (musical composer), 44.
Isachino, Geremia (Theatine), 33.
Ivan Wassiljewitsch, "The Terrible" (Tsar of Russia), 141.

JAMES IV. (King of Scotland), 290 n. 6.
James V. (King of Scotland), 255.
Jannequin (musical composer), 41 n. 1.
Joachim II. (Elector of Brandenburg), 125.
Joanna (mother of King Sebastian of Portugal), 360 n. 2.
John Baptist (Abyssinian bishop and Patriarch), 501.

John III. (King of Portugal), 105, 360 n. 2, 366.
Joseph (Metropolitan of the St. Thomas christians), 501.
Josquin de Près (musical composer), 44 *seqq.*
Julius II., Pope, 70, 356, 414, 439.
Julius III., Pope, 49, 125, 137, 312, 321, 361 n. 2, 412 n. 1, 413 *seq.*, 423, 439, 443.
Justiniani, Vincenzo (General of the Dominicans), 102.

KAISERSBERG, George II. (Abbot of Salem), 21 n. 1.
Kennedy, Quentin (Abbot of Crossraguel), 283.
Kerssenbrock, Rembert von (Bishop of Paderborn), 109.
Ketteler, Gotthard von (Duke of Curland and Semgallen), 142.
Khuen-Belasy, Joh. Jak. (Archbishop of Salzburg), 115, 120, 128, 136 140.
Kitchin (Bishop of Llandaff), 235 251.
Knox, John, 214 n. 2, 257-262, 265, 267, 272-275, 278, 283, 286 *seq.*
Konarsky, Adam (Provost of Posen, envoy for the *obedientia* from the King of Poland), 141.

LAINEZ, James (General of the Jesuits), 13, 87, 90, 93, 98, 114 n. 2, 130 n. 2, 132, 165, 323 n. 3, 376 n. 6.
Landriano, the Count of, 405.
Landucci, Luca, 453 n. 2.
Languet, Hugo (French Calvinist), 167.
Lanotto, Guido, 463.
Lansac (French envoy to the Council), 56, 233 n. 2.
Laparelli, Francesco (engineer), 427.
Latini, Latino (scholar), 81 n. 3, 404 n. 1, 407.
Laureo (papal nuncio), 284 n. 2.
Leccavella, Sebastian (Archbishop of Naxos), 17 n. 6.
Lejay, Claude (S.J.), 85.
Lennox Earl of (father of Darnley) 291, 294, 298.
Lenoncourt, Philip de (Bishop of Auxerre), 185.
Lenzi, Lorenzo (Bishop of Fermo, nuncio to France), 276.
Leo X., Pope, 31, 159, 405, 448.
Leslie, John (Bishop of Brechin, later of Ross), 270, 271 n. 2, 297.
Lethington, William Maitland, Earl of, 263, 270, 272.
Leverous (Bishop of Kildare), 300 n. 6.
Leyen, Johann von der (Archbishop of Trêves), 108 *seq.*, 117, 120.
L'Hôpital, Michel de (French chancellor), 155, 171, 173, 177, 184, 197, 203.
Ligorio, Pirro (architect), 410 413 *seq.*, 416, 419, 439, 456.
Limburg, Erasmus von (Bishop of Strasburg), 110 n. 1.
Lindsay, Lord, 273.
Lionardo (nephew to Michelangelo), 454.
Logan, Caspar von (Bishop of Breslau), 129.
Lombard, Peter, 24, 97.
Lomellini, Benedetto, Cardinal, 394.
Lonate, Pietro da (of Milan), 405.
Lorraine, Cardinal of, *see* Guise, Charles.
Louis XI. (King of France), 44.
Louis XIV. (King of France), 358.
Ludburn, Lord, 250.
Lugo, Bartol. de (O.P., General inquisitor in Venice), 343 n.
Lullus, Raimandus, 19.
Luna, the Count of (Spanish envoy to the Council), 332.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 439
Lussy, Melchior (Landammann of Unterwalden), 106.
Luther, Martin, 391, 453 n. 2.
Luzzara, Camillo, 102 n. 4, 369 n. 4.

Mac Congail (Bishop of Raphoe), 301.
Machiavelli, 18 n. 4, 214.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 5, 13 n. 5, 309.
Maitland, *see* Lethington.
Macarius (Greek monk and bishop, heretic), 340.
Maldonatus (S. J.), 206 *seq.*
Malvenda (theologian), 247 n. 1.
Mandello (Papal chamberlain), 81 n. 3.
Manfredi, Taddeo (conspirator), 383, 385 *seqq.*, 389, 489.
Manutius, Paulus (roman printer), 7, 14, 35, 36 n. 1, 407, 474.
Mar, the Earl of, 298.
Marcellus II., Pope, 50 *seq.*, 54 n. 1.
Marchesi, V., 318 n. 5.
Margaret of Parma (Governess of the Netherlands), 212 n. 1, 216, 220, n. 3, 221 *seq.*, 228 *seqq.*, 247 n. 1.
Margaret Tudor, 290 n. 6.
Margaret of Valois (wife of duke Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy), 351.
Marini, Leonardo (O.P., Archbishop of Lanciano), 28, 34, 66, 135, 137 *seq.*
Martinengo, Girolamo (Abbot, nuncio for England), 227-231, 233 *seqq.*, 249.
Martyribus, Barthol. de (Archbishop of Braga), 17 n. 6.
Mary the Catholic (Queen of England), 211 *seqq.*, 216, 231, 253, 257, 302.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 214 *seqq.*, 218, 245, 255 *seqq.*, 259, *seqq.* 264 *seq.*, 268-299.
Mascareynas, Fernando Martinez de (Portuguese envoy to the Council), 243 n. 4.
Mascellara, *see* Paleologo.
Massarelli, Angelo, 7 n. 2, 51.
Masson (author), 438 n. 4.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 93, 134-139, 145, 194 n. 5, 307, 341, 394, 395.
Medici, Catherine de' (Queen-Regent of France), 92 n. 6, 159, 161, 163, 166-171' 173, 175 *seqq.*, 183 *seq.*, 186 *seqq.*, 190, 192 *seq.*, 196 *seq.*, 201 *seqq.*, 205, 226 *seq.*, 394.
Medici, Ferdinand de' (son of Cosimo I.), Cardinal, 345.
Medici, Francesco Maria de', 360 n. 2.
Medici, Gian Giacomo de' (brother of Pius IV., Marquis of Marignano,) 441.
Medici, Giovanni de' (son of Cosimo I.), Cardinal, 344 *seq.*
Medina, Michael (Franciscan), 27 n. 1.
Mel, Gaudio (musical composer), 46 n. 3.
Melville, James, 296 n. 2.
Mendoça, de (S. J.), 99 n. 4.
Mendoça, Martin de Cordoba de (Bishop of Tortosa), 56 n. 2.
Mendoça, Pedro Gonzalez de (Bishop of Salamanca), 27 *seq.*
Mercurian, Everard (S. J.), 277.
Michael (Armenian bishop), 501.
Michaele, Fra Andrea de, 342 n. 2.
Michelangelo, 401, 426 n. 1, 427, 434, 439, 444-447, 449-456.
Michiel, Giovanni, 157.
Michiel, M., 378 n. 8.
Micro, Giovanni (heretic, of Naples), 341 n. 1.
Minale, Donato Matteo (Papal treasurer), 381.
Mirandola, Susio della (physician), 320.
Mocenigo, Luigi, 374.
Molinus, *see* Du Moulin.
Montague, Lord, 244.
Montalto, Felice da (Franciscan, inquisitor), 342 n. 2, 371, 461.
Monte, Innocenzo del (Cardinal), 381.
Montluc, Jean de (Bishop of Valence, French envoy to Scotland), 157, 167, 189, 192, 223, 264.

Montmorency, the Constable, 161, 187.
Montrose, Earl of, 298.
Morette (envoy of the Duke of Savoy), 227, 232.
Morgan (Bishop of St. David's), 235.
Morone, Giovanni Girolamo, Cardinal, 3, 5, 14, 35 n. 6, 68 *seq.*, 90, 118 *seq.*, 120, 122-127, 142, 175, 195, 242, 249 n. 4, 300, 307, 310 n., 324, 336, 366, 393, 395, 400, 500.
Morton, Earl of, 260.
Mula [Amulio], Marcantonio da, Cardinal, 14, 35 n. 6, 86, 89, 110, 227 n. 2, 310 n., 321 *seq.*, 343, 366, 407 *seqq.*, 418, 423.
Mureto, Marcantonio (professor in the Roman University), 410.
Murray, *see* Stuart, James.
Musso (preacher), 404 n. 1.

Nadal (S.J.), 20, 94 n. 1.
Navagero, Bernardo (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 3 n. 1, 324, 405.
Navarre, *see* Vendôme, Antoine de
Neapoli, Ant. Franc. a (of Messina), 475.
Negrini, Stefano (Waldensian), 340 n. 1.
Nehemias (Jacobite Patriarch), 501.
Neri, Philip, St., 50, 54, 401 n. 1.
Nerli, Benedetto (Bishop of Volterra), 347 n. 3.
Niccolini, Angelo (Archbishop of Pisa), Cardinal, 81, 394.
Nicholas V., Pope, 386, 438.
Niquet (Abbot of St. Gildas), 173, 175, 183.
Noailles, François de (Bishop of Dax, French envoy), 192-196.

Obrecht, Jacob (musical composer), 41, 44.
Ochino, Bernardino, 149.
Odescalchi, Paolo (auditor of Card. C. Borromeo, envoy to Spain), 328 *seqq.*, 333 n. 4, 371.
Ogilvie, Lord, 285.
Oglethorpe (Bishop of Carlisle), 235.
O'Harte (O.P., Bishop of Achoury), 301.
O'Hely, Patrick (Bishop of Mayo), 303.
O'Herlihy (Bishop of Ross), 303.
O'Hurley, Dermot (Bishop of Cashel), 303.
Oissel, Henry Clutin d' (French envoy in Rome), 196 *seq.*
Okeghem, Johann (musical composer), 41 n. 2, 43 *seq.*
Oláh, Nicolas (Archbishop of Gran), 120, 127 n. 3, 128 *seq.*, 139.
Olivo, C., 100 n. 4.
O'Neill, Shane, 304.
Orlando di Lasso (musical composer), 53.
Ormaneto, Niccolò, 88 n. 4, 103 *seq.*, 116, 133.
Orozco, Franciscus de (Archbishop of Palermo, inquisitor in Piedmont), 350 n. 3.
Orsini, Camillo, 467.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 394.
Orsini, Latino, 427.
Orto, de (musical composer), 41 n. 2.
Orzechowski, Stanislas, 143 n. 1.
Otther (humanist, apostate), 21 n. 1.

Pacheco, Pedro, Cardinal, 135, 138 n. 2, 200, 203, 309, 372.
Pacini, Salvatore (Spanish nuncio), 357, 359.
Paciotti, Francesco (engineer), 427.
Padniewski (Bishop of Cracow), 146.
Paganus, Joh. (of Caserta, heretic), 341 n. 1.
Paleologo [Mascellara], Jacopo (O.P.), 319.

Paleotto, Gabriele, Cardinal, 28, 393, 401 n. 1, 405.
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi Sante da (musical composer), 41 n. 2, 43, 46–54.
Pallavicini, Pier Franc. (Bishop of Aleria), 100 n. 5.
Palucelli, Paolo (Papal chamberlain), 81 n. 3.
Panvinio, Onofrio, 36 n. 3, 404 n. 1, 447.
Papio, Giov. Angelo, 410 n. 8.
Parensi (representative of Lucca in Rome), 347 n. 4.
Parisetti, Girolamo (professor in the Roman university), 410.
Parisetti (junior), Lodovico, 411 *seq.*
Parker, Matthew (Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury), 235, 237 n. 3, 246, 252.
Parmiggiano, Diodato (Papal steward), 81 n. 3.
Parpaglia, Vincenzo (abbot, nuncio for England), 218, 219 n. 2, 220–223, 233 *seqq.*
Pasqua, Simone, Cardinal, 394.
Pasquali, Luigi (Waldensian preacher), 340.
Pasquier, Etienne (French jurist), 208 *seq.*
Passignani, Dom. (painter), 455 n. 1.
Pate (Bishop of Worcester), 237.
Paul II., Pope, 344 n.
Paul III., Pope, 32, 122 *seq.*, 137, 155, 209, 310, 312, 338, 358, 383, 404, 412 n. 1, 414, 427, 439.
Paul IV., Pope, 12, 16 *seq.*, 18, 20 *seqq.*, 26, 32 *seq.*, 49, 67 *seq.*, 72, 78, 98, 211, 268 *seq.*, 305 *seq.*, 308, 317, 349, 357, 374, 377, 380, 402 *seq.*, 407, 210 n. 6, 413, 426 *seq.*, 432, 441 n. 1, 447 n. 2, 452.
Paumgartner, Augustine (Bavarian envoy to the Council), 113 *seq.*
Pavesi, Guilelmo (Archbishop of Sorrento), 17 n. 6, 319.
Pellegrini, Alessandro, 34.
Pellevé, Nicholas de (Bishop of Amiens, Papal legate in Scotland), 223, 268 *seq.*, 287.
Pelliccione, Giangiacomo (conspirator), 383, 387, 389, 489.
Pendasio, Federigo, 146.
Pérac, Etienne du (engraver), 415.
Pereira, Gaspar de Leam (Archbishop of Goa), 92.
Peretti, Felice (procurator-general of the Franciscans, later Pope Sixtus V.), 314, 323 n. 3.
Persico, Brocardo (Papal envoy to Spain), 359 n. 5.
Peruschi, Camillo (S. J., rector of the Roman Seminary), 91 n. 4, 410.
Peruzzi, Sallustio (architect), 413, 430.
Pescara, Fernando Francisco de Avalos, Marquis (envoy of Philip II. to Trent), 104, 327.
Peter (Maronite Patriarch), 501.
Peto, Cardinal, 231.
Pflug, Julius (Bishop of Naumburg), 120, 127 n. 3, 128.
Philip the Fair (King of Spain), 45.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 21, 57, 66, 78, 93, 105, 135 *seq.*, 162, 173, 181, 183, 187 *seq.*, 196, 198 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, 212, 215–218, 220 *seq.*, 223–229, 233, 234 n. 4, 236, 276 n. 6, 282, 289 *seq.*, 299, 303, 330 *seq.*, 333, 335, 337 *seqq.*, 346, 353–367, 370–373. 395 n. 4, 410, 500.
Pigenat, Odo (S. J.), 208 n. 1.
Pilkington (Bishop of Durham), 242.
Pipelare, Matt. (musical composer), 41.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 344 n.
Pisani, Luigi (Bishop of Padua), Cardinal, 344 n.

Pittori, Prospero de' (conspirator), 383, 386 *seq.*, 489.
Pius II., Pope, 377.
Pius IV., Pope, Vol. XVI., caps i. to end.
Pius V., Pope, 36 n. 2, 100, 210, 326 n. 4, 381 n. 2, 402, 430, 432.
Pius IX., Pope, 435.
Platina (historian), 386, 411 n. 1, 489.
Pogiani, Giulio (humanist), 11, 28 n. 6, 35, 58, 405.
Pole, Arthur (nephew of Card. Pole), 245.
Pole, Edmund (nephew of Card. Pole), 245.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 14 n. 7, 85, 221, 245, 302.
Politi, Girolamo (professor in the Roman university), 410.
Poole (Bishop of Peterborough), 235.
Porcaro (conspirator), 386, 489.
Porcelaga, Aurelio (Papal chamberlain), 81 n. 3.
Porsia (Papal chamberlain), 81 n. 3.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 439.
Porta, Guglielmo della (architect), 456.
Possevino, Antonio (S. J.), 12 n. 1, 210, 350 *seq.*
Power, Peter (Bishop of Ferns), 303.
Preconio, Ottaviano (Bishop of Ariano), 17 n. 6.
Prés de, *see* Josquin.
Priorato, Francesco (Roman envoy to the Duke of Ferrara), 385, 392 n. 2.
Przerembski (Archbishop of Gnesen), 144, 152.
Puteo, Giacomo, Cardinal, 309.

QUADRA, Alvaro de la (Bishop, Spanish envoy to England), 212 *seq.*, 215, 216 n. 1, 217 nn., 219, 222, 225 *seq.*, 229 *seqq.*, 236, 240, n. 3, 241 n. 5, 242 *seq.*, 245 *seq.*, 249, 251.
Quiñones, Francisco, Cardinal "Santa Croce," 32 *seq.*

RABELAIS, 189 n. 4.
Radiducius, Christianus Napanäus (Bishop of Weinerheustadt), 131.
Radziwill (Lithuanian protestant), 150.
Raesfeld, Bernard von (Bishop of Münster), 109.
Raimundus Lullus (see Lullus)
Ramus, Pierre (professor in the university of Paris), 207.
Randan (French envoy to Scotland), 223, 264.
Randolph (agent of Elizabeth), 278 nn. 5, 7, 287, 291 n. 2.
Ranieri, Count (custodian of the Porta Pia), 434.
Raphael, 424.
Raverta, Ottaviano (Bishop of Terracina, nuncio to Spain), 359.
Rebiba, Scipione, Cardinal, 309, 394.
Recordato, Fr. (Dean of Mantua), 100 n. 4.
Regin, Claude (Bishop of Oloron), 192.
Regoli, Sebastiano, 441 n.
Renée, the duchess (of Ferrara), 163, 165 n. 1.
Requesens, Luis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 121 *seq.*, 197 n. 5, 198, 200, 364, 371.
Reumano, Cardinal, 69, 309, 312.
Ricci, Cardinal, 345 n. 1.
Richafort, Jean de (musical composer), 40 *seq.*
Robsart, Amy (wife of Robert Dudley), 224.
Rodriguez, Cristoforo (S. J.), 502.
Rosselli, Alfonso (envoy of the Duke of Ferrara in Rome), 370 n. 1, 397 nn.
Roth, Johannes (Bishop of Breslau), 39.
Roth von Schreckenstein, Girolamo, 411 n. 1.

Rovere, Guidobaldo della (Duke of Urbino), 18 n. 4, 392, 428 n. 3.
Rovere, Virginia della (wife of Federigo Borromeo), 392.
Ruffo, Vincenzo (musical composer), 55.
Ruthven, Lord, 298.

SACKVILLE, Richard, 232 *seq.*
Sackville, Thomas, 232, 233 n. 1.
Sadler (English ambassador in Scotland), 257 n. 1, 263.
Saint-André (Marshal), 161, 187.
Saint-Gelais, Jean de (Bishop of Uzès), 157, 167, 192.
Sala, Giacomo Maria (Bishop of Viviers), 17 n. 3.
Salviati, Francesco (painter), 418.
Sanders, N., 249 n. 4.
Sanfelice, Gian Tommaso (Bishop of La Cava), 308.
Sangallo (architect), 456.
Santa Croce, Prospero (Bishop of Cisamus), Cardinal, 161, 176, 178 n. 1, 190, 193, 196 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*, 394.
Santa Fiora, *see* Sforza.
Santi di Tito (painter), 424 *seq.*
Santo Tis (theologian), 27 n. 1.
Santori, G. A., 382 n. 5.
Saraceni, Cardinal, 312.
Sarpi (historian), 3 n., 6 n. 4.
Saurolo, Scipione, 426 n. 1.
Savelli (Vicar-general of Rome), Cardinal, 82, 86 *seq.*, 91, 309.
Savelli, Hostilio, 471.
Savonarola, 453 n. 2.
Saxus, Joh. Bapt., of Caserta (heretic), 341 n. 1.
Scered, Nicolas (Archbishop of Tuam), 303.
Schaumberg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 89, 140.
Scoto de Vigevano, Thomas (O.P., inquisitor), 306 n. 4.
Scott (Bishop of Chester), 237.
Scotti (Theatine), Cardinal of Trani, 14, 33 *seq.*, 35 n. 6, 100, 309.
Scotti, Pietro (apostate monk), 319.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 360 n. 2.
Seld, Sigmund (Vice-chancellor of Ferdinand I.), 25, 126 n. 2, 131 n. 7.
Sempill, Lord, 298.
Senfl, Ludwig (musical composer), 44.
Serbelloni, Fabrizio (nephew of Pius IV.), 183 n. 2.
Serbelloni, Gabrio (nephew of Pius IV.), 82 n., 427, 433, 451, 467.
Serbelloni, Gian Antonio, Cardinal, 446.
Serbelloni, Gian Battista (nephew of Pius IV., bishop of Cassano), 427.
Seripando, Girolamo, Cardinal, 14, 26, 27 n. 1, 30 n., 72, 310 n., 322, 324, 331, 405, 408.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 268.
Sermoneta, Girolamo Sicciolante da (painter), 418.
Servetus (heretic), 143.
Sessa, Duke of (governor of Milan), 336, 338.
Seton, Lord, 298.
Settala, Lodovico (jurist), 405 n. 1.
Seurre, Michel de (French envoy in Rome), 191.
Sfondrato, Niccolò (Bishop of Cremona), 17 n. 6.
Sforza, Alessandro (Count of Santa Fiora), Cardinal, 394.
Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, 389 n.
Sforza, Guido Ascanio (of Santa Fiora), Cardinal, 67 n. 4, 427.
Sheres, John, 219 n. 2.
Sidney, Henry (kinsman of Dudley), 225, 226 n. 3.
Sighicelli, Giov. Batt. (Bishop of Faenza), 34 n. 3.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 105, 132, 141 *seqq.*, 146, 150.
Sigmund of Brandenburg (Archbishop of Magdeburg), 120, 128.

Sigonio, Carlo, 410 n. 8.
Silva, Andrea de (musical composer), 54 n. 1.
Silva, Guzman de, 216 n. 2, 247 n. 1.
Simonetta, Lodovico, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 6, 76 n. 4, 309 n. 5, 312, 336, 393.
Sinclair, Henry (Bishop of Ross) 279 *seq.*
Sirleto, Guglielmo, Cardinal, 33 *seq.*, 35 n. 6, 104 n. 4, 394, 405, 407 *seq.*
Sittard, Matthias (theologian), 404 n. 1.
Sixtus IV. Pope, 44.
Sixtus V., Pope, 326 n. 4, 437.
Somerset, Duke of, *see* Hertford.
Soranzo, Giacomo, 219 n. 2, 345, 362 n. 1.
Soranzo, Girolamo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 78 *seqq.*, 316, 319, 322, 362 n. 1, 365, 374, 379 *seq.*, 397, 430.
Soriano, Michele (Venetian ambassador), 154, 158.
Soto, Dominic (O.P.), 97 *seq.*
Soto, Peter (O.P.), 97, 247 n. 1.
Souchière, Jérôme de la (Abbot-general of Citeaux), 101.
Spanocchi, Nicolas, 463.
Speroni, Sperone (orator and philosopher), 404 n. 1, 405 *seq.*
Stanihurst, James, 299.
Stanley (Bishop of Sodor and Man), 235, 251.
Staphylus, Fred (theologian), 116.
Stazio, Achilles, 36.
Stella, Francesco (heretic), 242 n. 2, 461.
Strozzi, Giovanni (Florentine envoy to Trent), 19.
Strozzi, Pietro, 159.
Stuart, James, Lord (Earl of Murray, half-brother to Mary Stuart), 262, 267, 270-273, 275 n. 1, 278 n. 5, 284 *seqq.*, 292-296.
Stuerdo, Carlo, 4 n. 4, 81 n. 3, 398 n. 1.
Sulaka (Syrian Catholicos), 501.
Suleiman (the Sultan), 366.
Superchio, Giulio (Bishop of Accia), 100 n. 5.

Tacco da Urbino, Baldassarre (engineer), 428 n. 3.
Tanner, Edmund (Bishop of Cork), 303.
Tansilio, Luigi (poet), 404 n. 1.
Tarlo, Paul (Bishop of Lemberg), 149.
Tarreghetti, Giacomo (Mantuan ambassador in Rome), 9 n. 1, 84 n. 2, 387 n.
Tasso, Bern., 8 nn. 1, 2.
Tasso, Torquato (poet), 410 n. 8.
Teresa, St., 101.
Terribilia, Ant. (architect), 441 n.
Thirlby (Bishop of Ely), 236.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 24, 97, 320 n. 2.
Throckmorton (English envoy to France), 217 n. 6, 232, 263 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*
Thou, A. de, 182.
Thun, Sigmund von (envoy of Ferdinand I. to the Council), 25.
Tiepolo, Paolo, 361, 388 n., 391, 397 n. 2.
Toledo, Francesco di (S.J.), 98.
Toledo, Garcia di, 485 n. 1.
Tonina, Francesco (Mantuan ambassador in Rome), 8 nn. 1, 2, 74 n. 2 *seq.*, 82, 96 n. 6, 108 n. 2, 198 n. 2, 396 nn., 416, 429, 448, 455 n. 3.
Torelli, Lelio, 18 n. 4.
Torres, Francesco, 28 n. 6.
Toschi, Pierfrancesco (painter) 455.
Tournon, Cardinal, 156, 170 *seq.*, 176, 189, 205.
Trevisano, Giovanni (Patriarch of Venice), 17 n. 6.
Trevisano, Girolamo (Bishop of Verona), 17 n. 6.
Treviso, Antonio, 438.
Trivulzio, Cardinal, 268,

Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 12, 85. 88, 90, 99, 109, 113, 131 n. 7, 132, 140, 309.
Tunstall (Bishop of Durham), 235, 239.
Turberville (Bishop of Exeter), 236.
Tyrone, Earl of, 304.

UCHANSKI, Jacob (Archbishop of Gnesen), 143–148.
Udine, Giovanni da (artist), 416.
Udine, Leonardo da (Dominican), 19.
Urban (Bishop of Gurk), 120, 127 n. 3, 128 *seq.*

VALDES, Fernando (Archbishop of Seville), 328, 370.
Valette, Jean de la (Grand-Master of the Knights of Malta), 367, 369 n. 3.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 405.
Valle, della, Cardinal, 435.
Vanvitelli (architect), 444 n. 2.
Vargas, Francisco de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 221, 222 n. 3, 233, 243, 310 n. 336, 363 *seq.*
Vasari (art-historian), 416, 434, 444, 451.
Velasco, Jeronimo de (Bishop of Oviedo), 17 n. 6.
Vendôme, Cardinal, *see* Bourbon, Charles de.
Vendôme [Bourbon], Antoine de (titular King of Navarre), 155, 156 n. 4, 160 *seq.*, 162 *seq.*, 166 *seqq.*, 171 *seqq.*, 175 *seqq.*, 181, 187.
Vendosmes, Gentil de, 368 n. 2.
Verdura (Bishop), 309 n. 1.
Vergerio (apostate), 320 n. 4.
Vico, Marquis de (nephew of Paul IV.), 340.
Vida, Girolamo (Bishop of Alba) 103.
Vielmo, Girolamo (professor in the Roman university), 410
Vigerio, Urban (Bishop of Sinigaglia), 17 n. 6.
Vignola, Jacopo (architect), 456.
Visbroc, Joh., 413 n. 1.
Visconti, Carlo (Bishop of Ventimiglia), Cardinal, 139, 336, 393, 405.
Vista, Aurelio della (heretic), 341 n. 1.
Vitelli, Cardinal, 14, 35 n. 6, 53, 86, 312.
Vittori, Mariano, 408.
Vittoria, Francisco (O.P.), 97.
Volterra, Daniele da (painter), 418, 450 *seq.*

WAGNER, Richard, 48 n. 2.
Waldgrave, Edward, 245, 249 *seq.*
Walsh (Bishop of Meath), 300 n. 6, 303.
Warner, Edward, 233 n. 2.
Watson, Thomas (Bishop of Lincoln), 237 *seq.*
Weerbeke, Caspar von (musical composer), 41 n. 2.
Weid, Friedrich von (Archbishop of Cologne), 109, 120, 130
Wharton, Lord, 250.
White (Bishop of Winchester), 235.
White, Peter (dean of Waterford), 302.
Willaert, Adrian (music-master in Venice), 45.
William (Duke of Cleves-Julier), 109, 112 n. 5.
William Duke of Mantua, *see* Gonzaga.
Willock (protestant preacher in Scotland), 263.
Wilson, Stephen (Scottish envoy in Rome), 288.
Winter, Admiral, 263.
Winzet, Ninian (Abbot of the Scots monastery at Ratisbon), 283.
Wirsberg, Friedrich von (Bishop of Würzburg), 109.
Wishart (Scottish reformer), 257 n. 3.
Witzel, G. (scholar), 405 n.
Wolf, David (S.J., nuncio in Ireland), 300 *seqq.*

ZAMORRA, Francis (General of the Franciscan Observants) 17 n. 6.
Zasius, Ulrich (jurist), 15, 20 n. 7, 126 n. 1.
Ziletti (Venetian printer), 14 n. 7.
Zuccaro, Federigo (painter), 423, 425.
Zuccaro, Taddeo (painter), 418.
Zuñiga (Archbishop of Santiago), 191 n. 2, 329 *seq.*

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Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia, ubi Ecclesia,
ibi nulla mors, sed vita aeterna.
(St. Ambrose, in Ps. 40, v. 30)

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII.

PAGE

Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XVII. and XVIII. vii
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XVII. and XVIII. ix
Table of Contents xxvi
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . . xxxiv
Pope Pius XI. to Baron von Pastor xxxv

PIUS V. 1566–1572

The Conclave and Election of Pius V. 1
Previous Life and Character of Pius V.; his first Measures of Reform 46
Government of the States of the Church. Pius V. in relation to Literature and Art 98
Reforming zeal of Pius V. Reform of the College of Cardinals, the Curia and the Roman Clergy . . . 136
Reform of the Church on the Basis of the Tridentine Decrees 192
The Reform of the Religious Orders 240
The Roman Inquisition preserves Religious Unity in Italy 288
The Trial of the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza. The Condemnation of Baius 344
Appendix of Unpublished Documents 383
Index of Names 427

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVII.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE AND ELECTION OF PIUS V.

A.D.		PAGE
1565	Rome completely quiet after the death of Pius IV.	1
	Preparations for the conclave	1
	The state of the Papal treasury	2
	The principal candidates	3
	A long conclave probable	4
	The Cardinals go into conclave (December 19th)	5
	The number of the electors	6
	Parties in the conclave	7
	Strict observance of the enclosure	8
	Very little interference on the part of the princes and ambassadors	9
	The attitude of Cosimo de' Medici	10
	The policy of France	11
	The attitude of Philip II. of Spain	12
	The report sent by Requesens to the Spanish king	13
	His recommendations	15
	The influence of Spain upon the election of no great importance	16
	The Spanish Cardinals in the conclave	17
	The three party leaders: Borromeo, Farnese and Este	18
	Borromeo's attitude of reserve; he refuses to use his influence at first	19
	The efforts of Este and Farnese	21
	The attempts of Este to secure the tiara for himself	22
	The influence of Borromeo	23
	Attempt to elect Morone	24
	This attempt is very nearly successful	27
	Morone's opponents	28
	The guidance of the conclave passes out of the hands of Borromeo	30
	Farnese's hopes of success	31
	His great popularity in Rome	33
	The candidature of Ricci	33
1566	The death of Gonzaga a blow to Farnese's hopes	34
	Various candidates put forward	35
	Rumour that Philip II. had nominated Ghislieri	36
	Borromeo once again takes a leading part, and puts forward Sirleto	37
	Borromeo comes to terms with Farnese, and secures the election of Ghislieri	39

A.D. PAGE
The election of Ghislieri; his acceptance of the dignity (January 7th) 40
He takes the name of Pius V. 40
Unexpectedness of the election 40
The decisive influence of Borromeo upon the election 43
General rejoicing among the Cardinals and in the city 44

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PIUS V. HIS FIRST MEASURES OF REFORM.

1504 The birth of Michele Ghislieri; his home and family 46
1521 He enters the Dominican Order 47
Ghislieri as a Dominican friar 47
Ghislieri as Inquisitor; he is brought into contact with Cardinal Carafa 48
1551 He becomes Commissary-General of the Inquisition 49
1556 And Bishop of Sutri and Nepi 49
1557 Ghislieri created Cardinal by Paul IV. (March). . 49
1558 And Grand Inquisitor of the Roman Church . . 49
Cardinal Ghislieri not in favour with Pius IV. . . 50
His personal appearance 52
1566 The character of Pius V. 53
His sense of the responsibilities of his office . . 54
His strict manner of life; his great abstemiousness . 55
His health gives cause for anxiety 55
His great personal activity 57
His delight in prayer 58
His regular attendance at ecclesiastical functions . 59
Visits to the Seven Churches 60
His great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament . 61
"The Pope is a saint" 62
His great strictness recalls the days of Paul IV.. . 63
The opinion of the ambassadors 65
He has little experience of political affairs . . 66
Fears of the Pope's severity on the part of the Romans 67
The Pope's allocution to the Cardinals (January 12th) 67
He announces his policy: the extirpation of heresy, peace among the princes, and war against the Turks 68
His spirit of independence 68
The Pope's popularity rapidly increases . . . 69
His coronation (January 17th) 69
First reform measures; the Dataria and Segnatura . 72
His zealous attendance at the Congregations . . 72
The influential Cardinals 73
The Pope and his relatives 74
Michele Bonelli created Cardinal (March 6th) . . 77
The Pope puts all his trust in spiritual arms . . 79
Cardinal Bonelli's powers very restricted . . 80

A.D. PAGE
Pius V. and the Cardinals 81
The Pope and Cardinal Bonelli 83
1567 Paolo Ghislieri made Governor of the Borgo . . 84
His banishment 85
Ruthless severity of the Pope in offences against morality 86
The restriction of luxury 87
Strict rules for physicians 88
The Pope's war against public immorality . . 89
The prostitutes banished from Rome . . . 90
Severe ordinances against adultery; the death penalty threatened 93
The Pope's strict watch over his household; the Swiss Guard 95
Religious instruction in Rome 96
Rome becomes "a world-wide monastery" . . 97

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNMENT OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH. PIUS V. IN RELATION TO LITERATURE AND ART.

Pius V. as a temporal sovereign 98
Reform of the administration of justice . . . 98
Revision of the trial of the Carafa . . . 99
Many executions in the Papal States . . . 101
The Pope and brigandage 102
Repression of feuds and factions 103
The financial administration of Pius V.; his personal economy 104
But new taxes are forced upon him . . . 105
The Pope's lavish almsgiving 106
Charitable works in Rome 107
Protection of agriculture; the price of bread . . 109
Pius V. in relation to Art 110
The Belvedere collection 111
The Pope and the treasures of antiquity . . 112
But he can in no sense be called the enemy of antiquity 114
Though his interests lie entirely in religious matters . 115
Restoration of the Sistine Chapel 117
The Torre Pia at the Vatican built by the Pope. . 118
Building operations in the city; restoration of churches 121
Pius V. and the building of St. Peter's . . . 122
Jacopo Vignola 123
Buildings at Loreto and Assisi 124
The water supply of Rome 125
Fortification works in the Papal States . . . 126
Painters employed by Pius V. 127
Pius V. and Literature 128
His interests entirely ecclesiastical; the works of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure 129

A.D. PAGE
Biblical studies 130
The Vatican Library 132
The Papal Archives 133
The Roman University 133
A changed spirit in Rome 135

CHAPTER IV

REFORMING ZEAL OF PIUS V. REFORM OF THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS, THE CURIA AND THE ROMAN CLERGY

The Pope's zeal for reform 136
The court officials 137
Pius V. and Cardinal Borromeo 138
Niccolò Ormaneto 139
The reform of the Papal household 140
The reform of the court 141
The Pope urges the Cardinals to simplicity of life and the imitation of Christ 144
He complains of electoral intrigues among them . 147
The Cardinals and the duty of residence . . . 148
Cardinalitial rights of presentation restricted . . 149
Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte 150
Pius V.'s consideration for the Cardinals . . 152
His condemnation of intrigues concerning the Papacy 153
Plans for a renewal of the Sacred College . . 154
1568 Four new Cardinals appointed (March 24th) . . 156
Diego di Espinosa 157
Jerôme Souchier 158
Paolo della Chiesa and Antonio Carafa . . . 159
Further creations expected 160
The princes and the Sacred College 161
1570 Sixteen new Cardinals created (May 17th). . . 162
The new Cardinals 163
1571 General fears of a "terrible" reform . . . 170
The reform of the Curia 170
The Dataria: "cessioni" and "renunzie" . . 172
Reform of the Penitentiaria 175
The College of Penitentiaries 178
The Segnatura, Cancelleria and Apostolic Camera . 178
The Pope in person begins a visitation of Rome . 179
Reform of the Roman clergy; the Apostolic Visitors 181
They discharge their duties very strictly . . 183
Examination of confessors; sacerdotal conferences. 184
Ecclesiastical dress 185
The duties of parish priests 186
The duty of residence 187
The Pope returns to this question again and again . 189
Visitation of the Papal States 190
Plan of a provincial synod for the whole of Italy . 191

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER V.

REFORM OF THE CHURCH ON THE BASIS OF THE TRIDENTINE DECREES

The Tridentine decrees the Pope's guide in all his work of reform 192
The Roman Catechism 192
It is translated into several languages . . . 193
Reform of the Breviary 194
The Breviary of Pius V. 195
The Vulgate 198
Canon Law 199
1567 St. Thomas Aquinas declared a Doctor of the Church (April) 200
Pius V. in relation to science and literature . . 202
Hagiography and historical criticism . . . 203
The Congregation of the Index 203
Pius V. and questions of dogma 204
The Immaculate Conception; the chalice for the laity 205
The question of bull-fights in Spain . . . 206
Church Music 208
The Pope's great zeal for the Council of Trent . . 209
The establishment of seminaries 211
Provincial synods 214
The duty of residence 216
Diocesan visitations 218
Apostolic Visitors sent throughout Italy . . 219
Pius V. and the bishops 220
Confraternities of Christian Doctrine . . . 223
Regulations concerning divine worship . . . 224
Superstitious practices condemned 225
Caste prejudice in Spain 226
Reverence for the Blessed Sacrament . . . 226
Pious confraternities 227
Pius V. and simony 229
"Confidential simony" 231
The alienation of ecclesiastical property . . 233
The right of presentation 235
The efforts of the Pope supported by the presence of many saints; Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo and Peter Canisius 236
Juan de Avila and Alessandro Sauli . . . 237

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORM OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Earlier attempts at the reform of the religious Orders in the XVth and XVIth centuries 240
Nevertheless the Council of Trent a turning point in their history 241

A.D. PAGE
Reform of the Cistercians ; a general visitation begun 241
Deplorable state of their houses in Italy . . 243
The Order of the Humiliati . . . . .
Borromeo attempts the work of reforming the Order 245
Attempted assassination of the Cardinal . . 246
1571 Suppression of the Order (February 7th) . . 247
In many cases Pius V. combines the various branches of the Orders 248
The religious Orders in Spain ; the Order of Calatrava 249
The co-operation of the civil authorities in Spain necessary but dangerous 250
Decadent state of the Spanish Conventual Franciscans 251
They are placed under the Observants . . . 252
The same done in the case of other Orders . . 252
Difficulties with the civil power in Spain . . 255
The religious Orders in the Low Countries and Portugal 256
General reform of the Conventual Franciscans . 256
The Third Order of St. Francis 257
Many other Orders reformed by the Pope . . 258
The Military Orders in Portugal 259
Reform ordinances of Pius V. for the religious Orders 260
He regards the vow of poverty as their foundation stone 263
Abuses in the Orders ; monks living outside their houses 265
The enclosure of nuns insisted upon ; prevalent laxity in this respect 266
Cardinal Borromeo and the nuns of Milan . . 267
The organization of the great Orders necessitates exceptions to the decrees of Trent . . . 268
Difficulties experienced by the Mendicant Orders in relation to episcopal jurisdiction . . . 269
Several further Orders declared to be true Mendicants 270
The Pope's high esteem for the Mendicant Orders . 271
His favours to the Dominican Order . . . 272
A great impulse given to the Benedictine Order . . 273
New and stricter Congregations forming themselves in the Orders 275
Peter of Alcantara 275
Teresa of Jesus 277
The question of solemn vows ; the Pope does not look with favour upon religious with simple vows . 278
This affects the Society of Jesus ; the Pope's attempts to change their Constitutions 278
The decree making solemn vows necessary for ordination 280
But the Pope was in no sense hostile to the Society . 282
He pays a glowing tribute to their work . . 283
New constitutions given to the Somaschi, Theatines and Barnabites 284
John of God and the Fatebenefratelli . . . 285
The Pope's unflagging zeal for the Tridentine decrees 286

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION PRESERVES RELIGIOUS UNITY IN ITALY

The plans of Pius V. for a new palace of the Holy Office 288
The first stone of the new building; its completion . 289
The Pope's great zeal for the work of the Inquisition 290
New Congregation of the Inquisition . . . 292
Many stern edicts concerning the Inquisition . . 294
The Pope convinced that stern measures alone will save Italy from Protestantism 297
The underground methods of Protestantism in Italy 299
Many public autodafés held in Rome . . . 300
The case of Pietro Carnesecchi 302
The heretics for the most part make their abjuration 305
Bartolomeo Bartoccio 306
The case of Paleario 307
Autodafés less common in the second half of the pontificate 311
The Inquisition in the Papal States . . . 312
Heresy at Faenza 313
But heresy takes very little real root in Italy . . 314
Great vigilance of the Inquisition 315
The Inquisition in Venice; difficulties with the Senate 316
The Inquisition at Genoa 318
And at Lucca 319
Fear of the Spanish Inquisition in Milan . . 320
Opposition to the Inquisition at Mantua . . 321
Intervention of Cardinal Borromeo . . . 324
Revolutionary tendency of heresy in Italy . . 325
The vigilance of the Pope 326
The Italian princes and the Inquisition . . . 328
Protestant students at the universities . . . 330
The Pope's ruthless measures against sodomy . 331
Sorcery and witchcraft 333
Pius V. and the Jews: their responsibility for many crimes leads to severe edicts 334
Pius V. reverts to the laws of Paul IV., for the most part abrogated by Pius IV. 336
1569 Edict of expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States (February 26th) 338
The Pope's efforts to convert the Jews . . . 340
Notable converts from Judaism 341
Personal part taken by the Pope in the work of the Inquisition 342

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRIAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO, BARTOLOMÉ CARRANZA. THE CONDEMNATION OF BAIUS.

1566 Pius V. successful in getting the trial of Carranza transferred to Rome (December) . . . 344

A.D. PAGE
The arrival of the archbishop in Rome . . . 345
The composition of the tribunal 345
1567 The trial begun (June) 346
Public opinion in Rome favours Carranza . . 348
An early end of the trial expected . . . 348
Nevertheless, the case drags on year after year . 349
Reasons for this delay; efforts on the part of Spain to avert an adverse decision 350
Philip II.'s letter to the Pope; his instructions to Zuñiga 351
The Pope accused of being predisposed in favour of Carranza 352
Pius V.'s determination to be guided by justice alone 353
Arrogant pretensions of the Spanish Inquisition . 354
And of Philip II. 355
His characteristic letter to the Pope . . . 357
Pius V.'s courteous but firm reply . . . 358
His warning to the king 360
The minute attention given to the case by the Pope. 361
The unfair methods of the Spanish theologians . 362
In spite of everything the Pope remains perplexed about the case 363
His labours and anxiety injure his health . . 364
And undoubtedly hasten his death . . . 365
The Pope's sternness prompted by his conviction of the necessity for strong measures against heresy. 365
His strong sense of duty; in the second half of his reign his severity considerably relaxed . . 366
A new form of heresy in the Low Countries . . 367
The beginnings of Baianism 368
The doctrines of Baius 369
Baius and the University of Louvain . . . 370
The spread of Baianism; the mission of Commendone 371
Silence imposed upon the disputants . . . 372
Baius republishes some of his works; Philip II. appeals to the Pope for a decision . . . 373
1567 Seventy-six of the propositions of Baius condemned (October 1st) 374
Baius, however, is not named in the bull, nor is the bull publicly posted 374
Submission of Baius; apparent end of the controversy 375
Baius, nevertheless, continues to defend his doctrines, and addresses an apologia to the Pope . . 376
1569 Abjuration of Baius 377
He once more defends his opinions; the bull of condemnation is published and accepted . . . 379
Pius V. and Italian Protestantism 380
Beneficial effects upon Italy of the Pope's severe methods 381
He undoubtedly saved his country from revolution and civil war 382

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	The Conclave of Pius V. according to the Diary of Cornelius Firmanus	383
2	Francesco Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua	387
3	Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566	389
4	Cornelius Firmanus on the Coronation of Pius V.	391
5	Niccolò Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.	392
6	Johannes Sambucus to Cardinal G. Sirleto	392
7–8	Camillo Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua	393
9	Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1566	393
10–15	Buildings of Pius V. at Bosco	394
16–25	Purification of morals in Rome, 1566	395
26	Bernardino Pia to Camillo Luzzara	398
27	Pope Pius V. to the Governor of the Campagna and Marittima	399
28–34	Avvisi concerning the purification of morals in Rome in 1567	399
35–47	Extracts from the "Diarium" of Cornelius Firmanus concerning the activity of the Roman Inquisition, 1566–1568	400
48	Pope Pius V. to the Duke of Mantua	404
49	Avviso di Roma of May 29, 1568	405
50	Bernardino Pia to Camillo Luzzara	405
51	Death of Cardinal Vinc. Vitelli (November 19, 1568)	405
52	Niccolò Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.	406
53–57	Avvisi concerning the purification of morals in Rome in 1568	406
58	Niccolò Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.	407
59	Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1569.	407
60–65	Avvisi concerning the purification of morals in Rome in 1569	407
66	For the History of the Church of St. Peter's under Pius V.	408
67	Cardinal Santori and his Audiences with Pius V.	409
68	The Briefs of Pius V. and the Archives of Briefs	413
69	The Biographers of Pius V.	420

POPE PIUS XI. TO BARON VON PASTOR

PIUS PP. XI.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Cum, exeunte hoc mense, integris, mentis corporisque viribus septuagesimum acturus sis natalem tuam, quos in Oenipontana studiorum Universitate habuisti olim vel discipulos vel in docendo conlegas, ii parant, ut nuperrime accepimus, conspirantibus quidem ceteris quorum tibi amorem admirationemque conciliasti, praecipuis te venerationis laetitiaeque suae honestare testimoniis. Qua in meritorum tuorum commemoratione num Romanum Pontificem, num Nos, qui tanti te laboresque tuos facimus et vetere tecum necessitudine coniungimur, silere deceat aut primas partes cuiquam cedere? Praedicent quidem ii omnes, quotquot te quondam in celebri Athenaeo multos annos audierunt, summam illam tuam rerum gestarum cognitionem cum peracuta iudicii subtilitate incorruptoque veritatis studio coniunctam, seque beatissimos putent quod idem studium eandemque vestigandarum existimandarumque rerum rationem, ductu tuo, hauserint ac veluti imbiberint. At vero opus tuum princeps omnibusque expletum numeris, quod est *Historia Romanorum Pontificum*, Apostolica Sedes, hac opportunitate data, per Nos publice dilaudat atque extollit veluti iure suo et tamquam rem suo fotam gremio, quandoquidem immortalis memoriae decessor Noster Leo XIII. Tabularium tibi primo patere iussit, unde litterarum monumenta paene infinita in lucem eduxisti, quibus narratio tua niteretur. Tu autem, Dilecte Fili, ad tam grande opus aem attulisti ingenii aciem exquisitaeque doctrinae copiam, ut nullus fortasse unquam instructior paratiorque ad eius generis laborem accesserit. In iis enim voluminibus, quae ad hunc diem aliud ex alio edidisti, praeterquam quod omnia, vel minima, ad tabularum auctoritatem fidemque exiguntur, certa tutaque causarum consecutionumque indagatione eventa quaelibet penitus dispicis et, si qua eorum dubia aut in controversiam deducta, recte acuteque interpretando explanas. Quid, quod singulares ac proprias uniuscuiusque aetatis notas complexu tam miro proponis, ut quasdam quasi tabulas plenas veritatis, plenas artis depingas? Factorum praeterea expositionem iis verborum sententiarumque luminibus exornas, ut unum aliquid inde exsistat absolutissimum, quod in sui admirationem studiosorum legentiumque animos convertat ac rapiat. Nec profecto ignoramus, adeo immensam tibi adesse, ex aliis quoque paene omnibus Europae bibliothecis atque archivis, materiam, ut haec tibi cotidie crescat, et crescant item praeter exspectationem, scribendo, volumina. Quid igitur tibi, Dilecte Fili, fausta hac occasione cupiamus, nisi ut Illé, cuius vice fun-

gimur, prorogata tibi aetate diutissime, ingenii corporisque tui vires confirmet, immo etiam exacuat, ne totius operis conficiendi facultas te spatiumque deficiat ? Quod quidem opus quo magis procedit, eo clarius, rebus pro veritate exploratis, divina Ecclesiae virtus elucet ac splendet. Quamobrem perge, invicta qua soles alacritate, laboriosissimum persequi utilissimumque inceptum, cui nec Noster bonorumque omnium plausus nec caelestium deerit remuneratio gratiarum. Quarum interea auspicem paternaeque benevolentiae Nostrae testem, tibi, Dilecte Fili, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die VIII. mensis Ianuarii anno MCMXXIV., Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. XI.

Dilecto Filio Ludovico baroni de Pastor Legato apud Nos Extraordinario atque Administro cum liberis mandatis Reipublicae Austriacae.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave and Election of Pius V.

In the December of 1565, after a pontificate of less than six years, the dreaded time of a vacancy in the Holy See had once again come. This time, however, in strong contrast to what had occurred at the death of Paul IV., the quiet of the Eternal City remained undisturbed. No wild demonstrations of joy disturbed the streets, and no hand was raised to destroy the traces of the dead Medici Pope, whose body peacefully awaited in the Pauline Chapel its removal to St. Peter's.[1]

The usual accommodation for the conclave was prepared, with the addition of the apartments of Borromeo in the Borgia Tower.[2] Five companies of infantry, under the command of Hannibal von Hohenems, were held in readiness for the protection of the Cardinals, and after the daily mass for the repose of the soul of Pius IV., the Cardinals met in consultation each day for five hours.[3] Everything proceeded smoothly, and Pasquino could find scarcely any material for his spiteful comments.[4] It was said that never in the memory of man had there been so peaceful a vacancy in the Holy See, so that men hardly seemed to realize that the Pope was dead.[5]

[1] *Fr. Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua, December 10, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of Dec. 15, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 152b, Vatican Library. Artists such as Ant. Labacco and Giac. Barozzi da Vignola took part in the preparation of the conclave; see Bertolotti, Art. Mod. 20.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of December 15, 1565, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 153.

[5] *"Per Roma non si fa strepito nissuno, et vanno le cose tanto quiete, che dal no esserci la persona di Papa, in poi non par che il Papa sia morto" (*loc. cit.* p. 152b). *"Le cose passano quiete più che mai in sede vacante a memoria di huomo," wrote Girolamo Oltramari on December 12, 1565. State Archives, Modena.

In order to ensure the good behaviour of the populace strict regulations were issued; no one was to enter Rome from outside, all disputes were to be stopped, and anybody who drew his sword was to lose his hand.[1] The procurator-fiscal, Pallantieri, and Francesco Guarini, Bishop of Imola, for the Borgo, were to act as governors for the maintenance of order.[2] The result was that the peace of the city was not broken during the whole period of the conclave.[3]

The College of Cardinals was suddenly called upon to deal with the pressing question of rendering assistance to Malta, which was menaced by the Turks. Count Broccardo asked for the payment of the 10,000 ducats promised by Pius IV. The Cardinals were hesitating whether their powers would allow them to accede to this demand, when all at once Ippolito d'Este, as the representative of the Knights of Malta, came forward and declared that, should the new Pope not confirm the gift, he would be ready to guarantee the sum from his private means.[4] The State Treasury, which was far from possessing the large sums which it was supposed to contain, had already been called upon to provide 20,000 ducats, including 300 for each of the poorer Cardinals;[5] at the death of Pius IV., there was not more than 205,000 scudi in cash, and 300,000 in securities, at the Castle of St. Angelo.[6]

[1] *"Chi pone mano all'armi, ne vadi la mano." Avviso di Roma, December 15, 1565, *loc. cit.* p. 153.

[2] *Avviso di Roma, December 15, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 153. Vatican Library.

[3] *"Roma sta quietissima" wrote Federigo Cataneo to Mantua, December 22, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of December 15, 1565, *loc. cit.* p. 153. Immediately before the closing of the conclave Cardinal Pacheco recommended Malta to the protection of Philip II. Letter of December 20, 1565, in Corresp. dipl. I, 54.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of December 15, 1565, *loc. cit.* p. 153b.

[6] *"Si sono trovati in Castel S. Angelo ducento e cinque mila scudi in contanta solamente, et crediti per trecento mila, in pollici; oltre i cinquanta mila scudi che si levarono già di Castello ne se sono anco levati altri 25 mila." Fr. Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua, December 13, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

In the meantime Rome was giving itself up to speculation as to the result of the coming conclave. "Many are hoping for the tiara," Arco wrote on the day of Pius IV.'s death, "but generally speaking only eight or nine names are commonly mentioned, namely, the two religious, Dolera and Ghislieri, Morone, Ippolito d'Este, Ricci, Ferreri, Boncompagni, Sirleto and Grasso; it is the general opinion that whoever is supported by the nephews of the dead Pope and the Duke of Florence will be the successful candidate."[1] Andrea Caligari[2] gives the same names, but adds five others, Farnese, who was working for his own election, Mula, Scotti, Saraceni and Crispi, each of whom had several supporters. A few days later Caligari gives a longer list,[3] adding to the above named Pisani, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Reumano and Salviati as aspirants to the tiara; he could feel fairly sure of having hit the mark, since his list of eighteen names included all the possible candidates. He says of Ghislieri that many well informed persons entertained great hopes of his success, for secret reasons which he had not been able to fathom.[4] Caligari himself places Boncompagni, the Cardinal of Bologna, first; all eyes are upon him, he says, and nothing but the fact of his absence in Spain stands in his way; his compatriots of Bologna have therefore sent messengers to recall him with all speed, and are prepared to pay all the expenses of his journey.[5] In other letters

[1] *"Molti aspirano al pontificato, ma quelli che sono più nominati sono otto o nove, i due frati Araceli et Alessandrino, Morone, Ferrara, Montepulciano, Fereereo, Buoncompagni, Sirleto et Crasso." Arco to the Archduke Ferdinand, Dec. 9, 1565, State Archives, Innsbruck, Ambraser Akten.

[2] *Letter to Commendone of December 12, 1565, Lettere di princ. XXIII 56 (now 121), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Letter to Commendone of December 19, 1565, *ibid.* 61 (now 131).

[4] *"Alcuni homeni di giudicio fanno gran caso di Alessandrino per certi rispetti occulti che io no ho potuto sapere." Caligari to Commendone, December 12, 1565, *ibid.*

[5] Among the friends of Borromeo* "viene messo in gran consideratione Boncompagno; ma perchè è absente, si dubita.

Caligari says that Morone is in much favour, and that his name is often mentioned.[1]

It is, however, very significant of the general uncertainty which existed that, in addition to the above-mentioned names, several others appear in some of the dispatches of the time. Thus Nosti Camaiani names among others the Cardinal of Lorraine and Simonetta.[2] Guido Ferreri names Corgna and Cicada among the older Cardinals; the Cardinals created by Pius IV. would have liked their leaders, Borromeo and Mark Sittich von Hohenems, to work for the election of one of their own number, such as Crivelli, Sirleto, Paleotto, Boncompagni, Commendone or the elder Ferreri.[3] In the general uncertainty, one thing seemed fairly clear, namely that the conclave would be a long one, and that a decision would only be reached after many differences of opinion. The Bishop of Viterbo, Sebastiano Gualterio, circulated a memorandum in which he gave expression to these views. He was of opinion that, on account of the many different parties in the conclave, they should not attempt to form any preconceived ideas as to the person of the future Pope, since, even if two of the parties were to act in concert, they would not be in a position to secure the election of their candidate.[4] Caligari wrote that the general opinion was that the conclave would last for six months;[5]

I signori Bolognesi, dice il publico, volendo torre via questo obietto, per quanto ho inteso di bonissimo loco, hanno spedito corrieri a richiamarlo con ogni celerità, volendo essi pagare tutti le spese del viaggio." *Ibid.*

* To Commendine, December 8 and 15, 1565, *ibid.*

[2] Dec. 5, 1565, in PETRUCELLI, 179.

[3] On Dec. 20, 1565, to the Duke of Savoy, *ibid.* 181 *seq.* *Cf.* on this matter HILLIGER, 90 n.

[4] *Caligari to Commendone on December 19, 1565, *loc. cit.*

[5] *" La comune opinione è che'l conclave habbia a durare sei mesi o poco manco et habbia ad esser molto garbuglioso per molti baroni che vi sono et di diversi pareri " (Caligari, December 12, 1565, *loc. cit.*). *" Vanno in conclave domani mattina," wrote Lionardo Conosciuti, December 19, 1565, " et si tien per fermo che v'habbino a stare un gran pezzo " because there are many disagreements (State Archives, Modena). *" Quelli che più sono

Pacheco thought that Este would be able, by his scheming, to keep the electors in conclave for a whole year.[1] The Venetians therefore took advantage of their audience on December 28th to urge the hastening of the election by calling attention to the ever increasing Turkish danger and the approaching Diet in Germany.[2]

In spite of these anxieties the question was debated in the College of Cardinals whether they ought not spontaneously to postpone the beginning of the conclave, and with it any prospect of completing the election, so that the French Cardinals might have time to be present. Only a short time before, Pius IV. had confirmed the old regulation which ordered that the Cardinals should enter the conclave ten days after the death of the Pope, and Cardinal Borromeo successfully resisted the proposal to make an exception to this rule on the very first occasion that offered.[3]

The solemn funeral offices for Pius IV. were completed on Wednesday, December 19th; they had been celebrated with greater magnificence than for any Pope since the time of Paul III.[4] In the evening the electors went into conclave, which, however, was not yet closed.[5] On Thursday, December 20th,

in considerazione al Papato sono Morone, Ferrara, Araceli, Montepulciano, Ferrerio et Buoncompagno et alcuni vi aggiungongo anco Pisani et Trani, et si stima, che si tardara ad havere il Papa." (Avviso di Roma of December 15, 1565, *loc. cit.* p. 153b). *Tosabezzo expected a long conclave, especially on account of the number of Cardinals (to the Duke of Mantua, December 10, 1565. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] Corresp. dipl. I 54.

[2] Requesens on December 30, 1565, *ibid*, 67.

[3] HILLIGER, 110.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of December 22, 1565, *loc. cit.* p. 156. *Giov. Amadori, December 19, 1565, State Archives, Modena. *Spesa per il funerale . . . fatta nella sede vacante di Pio IV, Papal Secret Archives, Arm. XXXV., 79.

[5] *"Ali XIX di decembre 1565 à hore XXII entrarono in conclave 48 cardenali." On the 20th, as the infirm Cardinal Pisani was unable to do so, Cardinal Morone said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, which was followed by the reading of the various bulls

1565, High Mass was celebrated in St. Peter's, and in the evening the Cardinals assembled in the Pauline Chapel, where the conclave bull of Pius IV. was read, and was sworn to by those Cardinals who had not been present at the first congregation after the death of the Pope. After this the ambassadors swore to guard the conclave and to observe the regulations of the bull, and the same was done by the two governors of the city, the auditors of the Apostolic Camera, the auditors of the Rota, the caporioni, and lastly by Count Hannibal von Hohenems as Captain General of the Church, and by Gabrio Serbelloni as Captain of the Guard. The Cardinals then went in procession into conclave, though they afterwards left it for supper, and came back one by one. About midnight the conclave was closed and walled up.[1]

The number of Cardinals was at first forty-eight.[2] Only

and then the first scrutiny. Thus state the introductory remarks to the list of the scrutinies for Maximilian II. in the State Archives, Vienna, "Romana," Hofkorrespondenz fasc. 6, 1564-1567. For the conclave of Pius V, *cf.* above all, the useful monograph of HILLIGER, published in 1891, where, p. 107, n. 1, there is a good review of the sources, which, in our account, have been added to from a number of unpublished reports, among which special mention must be made of the *Diarium of Cornelius Firmanus and the *Report of Francesco Tosabezzo (see App. nn. 1 and 2). The account in *Conclavi de' Pontefici*, which HILLIGER attributes to Cardinal Galli, more probably came from the pen of a confidential conclavist of that Cardinal. Besides HILLIGER *cf.* HERRE, Papsttum, 103 *seqq.*

[1] *Avviso di Roma of December 20, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 155 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *List in the report of the Cardinals to Maximilian II., State Archives, Vienna. This list may be checked by the lists of the Cardinals present on Dec. 24 and Jan. 7 in Cornelius Firmanus, *Diarium, Arm. XII of the Miscell. 31, p. 25b, 35, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* App. n. 1). In the first instance Firmanus gives 51 Cardinals, but the Vatican copy only names 50; Castiglione is missing, whose arrival was announced on the preceding day. Incorrect lists are given by CIACONIUS, III., 992 (Sirleto is left out!), PETRAMELLARIUS, 131 (S. Croce is given as present and Este as absent) and ALBÈRI, II., 4, 165 *seq.* (only 51 Cardinals are given as taking part in the conclave instead of 53).

one of them, the Cardinal Dean, Francesco Pisani, had been created by Leo X., the other Cardinal Bishops who were present, Morone, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Farnese and Crispi, had received the purple from Paul III., as had the Cardinal Priests, Savelli, Gaetani, Ippolito d'Este, and the Cardinal Deacon, Rovere. Ten years had not passed since the days of Julius III., but there were only eight of his Cardinals still living, seven of whom entered the conclave on December 20th, namely, Corgna, Saraceni, Ricci, Cicada, Cornaro, del Monte, and Simoncelli. Death had also carried off many of the Cardinals of Paul IV., and only six took part in the election of his second successor; these were Rebiba, Reumano, Capizuchi, Ghislieri, Dolera and Vitelli. All the other electors owed the purple to the late Pope. No less than twenty-four Cardinals created by the Medici Pope went into the conclave on the evening of December 20th, namely, Serbelloni, Salviati, Simonetta, Pacheco, Mula, Gambara, Gesualdo, Gonzaga, Avalos, Colonna, Galli, Delfino, Bobba, Sforza, Orsini, Guido Ferreri, Lomellini, Sirleto, Grasso, Luigi d'Este, Luigi Madruzzo, Medici, Alciati and Paleotto.[1] During the days and weeks that followed there arrived Niccolini,[2] Luigi Pisani and Castiglione[3], Correggio[4], and Pier Francesco Ferreri[5], who had all received the purple from Pius IV. Thus the number of

[1] Thus the list prefixed to *that of the scrutinies prepared for Maximilian II.

[2] *"Si fece poi il primo scrutinio et dopo pranzo arrivò il card. Nicolino, il quale portò l'intiero de la mente del S. Duca di Fiorenza, et fece unire il card. de Medici col card. Borromeo. Report of the conclave for Maximilian II.

[3] They arrived during the night between Dec. 22 and 23, 1565. Firmanus, *Diarium p. 25, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] He was present on the night of December 24; *ibid.* p. 25b. According to Camillo Luzzara (*letter of December 26) Gonzaga only arrived on that day. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] He arrived January. 2, 1566 (*Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 161b, Vatican Library). Crivelli appeared only a quarter of an hour after the election had taken place. Requesens on January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 98.

Cardinals had risen to fifty-three, which was again reduced when Gonzaga died on the eve of the election.

On this occasion the closure and walling up of the apartments set aside for the conclave was no mere formality. Even before the Cardinals entered the conclave, wrote Pacheco, they were firmly resolved to observe the rule of isolation from the outer world more strictly than ever before, since the bull of Pius IV. had closed the conclave in such a way and under such strict penalties, including that of excommunication, that no one would dare to receive even a note from outside or to enter into any written communication with the outside world.[1] Pacheco's estimate was verified. The entrances to the place of election were strictly guarded,[2] and even though it was impossible to prevent stray items of information passing the barriers, it caused a considerable stir when on one occasion the guard discovered a note containing forbidden information in the cloak of Cardinal del Monte.[3] This time, too, the Cardinals' servants were much more severely restricted in their opportunities of receiving communications.[4]

As a natural consequence of this strict isolation the ambassa-

[1] "Ençerrandonos oy en el conclave, muy determinados que sea mas estrecho que fuè jamàs." (To Philip II., December 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 52). "La Bula del Papa Pio çierra de manera el conclave y pone tan abominables excomunicaciones que ninguno osará tomar poliça ni corresponderse con hombre de fuera (*ibid.* 53).

[2] *"Benche le cose vadino con molta stretezza, et che alle porte si facci per li deputati esatissima diligenza, perche non vi entrino ne eschino avisi di quel che passa, nondimeno hoggi si è detto che tutta questa notte havevano veghiato." Avviso di Roma, Urb. 1040, p. 155b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1566, *ibid.* p. 161b.

[4] *We manage to learn very little, wrote Camillo Luzzara to Mantua, December 29, 1565, "essendo i nostri conclavisti scrupulosi tanto, che non osano ne di aprir la bocca, ne di scriverci due parole." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Nevertheless Requesens says that all the same they knew what was happening in the conclave more than was right, but that the isolation was stricter than ever before, and that therefore he thought that many of

dors of the foreign powers could not on this occasion exercise that influence upon the election which they had brought to bear at the elevation of Pius IV. Besides this, the princes themselves had become less inclined to interfere than in former days. It is true that the question of the most suitable candidate for the tiara was freely canvassed in the correspondence of the ambassadors, but no definite policy was arrived at, nor was any actual interference attempted. Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, indeed, immediately after the death of Pius IV., sent Paolo Emilio Bernieri to the Emperor Maximilian II. to try and obtain the election of his uncle, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este,[1] it being, in his opinion,[2] very advisable to secure the tiara for a Cardinal of princely birth, after the disastrous experiences they had had, under recent Popes, of upstarts and ambitious relatives; the Emperor should therefore, said Duke Alfonso, write to the leading Cardinals, and to the whole Sacred College, to the Duke of Florence and Philip II., to support the candidature of Este.[3] Maximilian, however, replied[4] that, following the example of his father, who had not wished to interfere with the Papal election, he had contented himself with urging the Sacred College to make a wise choice, and that he could not now act in a different sense by espousing the cause of any definite candidate.

As a matter of fact the Emperor had not been quite as neutral as he pretended. He had already, during the later days of Pius IV., asked Cosimo de' Medici to tell him which Cardinals were looked upon as probable candidates for the tiara,[5] and after the Pope's death he had announced that he

the items of news which were supposed to have leaked out of the conclave were false. Letter to Philip II. of December 30, 1565. Corresp. dipl., I., 61.

[1] BIBL, Korrespondenz, I., 339. Instructions of Bernieri of December 15, 1565, *ibid.* n. 300 *seq.*, p. 339 *seq.*, 341 *seq.*

[2] Instructions for Bernieri, *ibid.* 340.

[3] *Ibid.* 341 *seq.*

[4] December 24, 1565, *ibid.* 351.

[5] *Cf.* the reply of Cosimo of December 2, 1565, in WAHRMUND 265; HILLIGER, 96; BIBL, Korrespondenz, I., 331.

intended to take a strong and decided interest in the election.[1] However, except for Delfino, Maximilian could scarcely count upon a single reliable supporter in the Sacred College.[2] He could indeed name, though as a profound secret, either through the Duke of Florence,[3] or through his ambassador, Arco, four Cardinals, namely, Boncompagni, Grasso, Niccolini and Ricci,[4] as being acceptable to him, but to promote the actual election of any one of them Arco had to turn to the Duke of Florence for help.[5] Perhaps the reason why he made no mention of Morone was that he was not in favour with the Duke, though he would have been most acceptable to the Emperor, who hoped to obtain from him the concession of the marriage of priests.[6]

Cosimo de' Medici did his utmost to obtain a decisive influence upon the course of the election. In order to strengthen the hand of his ordinary ambassador in Rome, Serristori, he sent thither the crafty Bartolomeo Concini,[7] while another of his agents, Nosti Camaiani, managed to make his way into the conclave in the guise of a conclavist.[8] Cosimo could also count upon his young son, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, and upon Niccolini, who had undertaken to promote the

[1] Giulio Ricasoli to Cosimo, December 14, 1565, in PETRUCELLI, 173.

[2] In a report of December 15, 1565, Arco says that among the Cardinals there were "Imperiales 6, Re Filippo 10, Re di Francia 10, Duca di Firenze 8." But among these are counted the absent Cardinals (WAHRMUND, 265). For the attitude of Maximilian II. towards the conclave *cf.* also G. WOLF in *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen*, CLXXX. (1918), 442.

[3] December 21, 1565, in BIBL, Korrespondenz, I., 347.

[4] This secrecy was impressed a second time on Dec. 24, 1565, BIBL, Korrespondenz, I., 354.

[5] HILLIGER, 105; *cf.* 89. The letter from the Emperor to Arco was of December 21 and reached Rome on the 31; *ibid.* 106. *Cf.* BIBL in *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, CIII., 21.

[6] Requesens, December 30, 1565 Corresp. dipl., I., 67.

[7] PETRUCELLI, 176. HILLIGER, 95. Cosimo to Borromeo, December 11, 1565 in SALA, Docum., III., 370.

[8] PETRUCELLI, 176.

Duke's wishes. The leader of the Florentine party in the conclave was undoubtedly Sforza. Cosimo had strongly dissuaded the Emperor from giving his support to any Cardinal of princely family, or to one of any great distinction, such as Este, Farnese, Madruzzo, or Morone, on the ground that such men, as experience had shown, were likely, if they became Pope, to sacrifice everything so as to enhance the splendour of their own family. Several others, in the opinion of the Duke, were not to be supported, Pisani and Mula, because they were Venetians, Reumano because he was a Frenchman, and Ghislieri because he was obstinate and unbending, though he was a man of exemplary life. On the other hand he recommended to the Emperor, Cardinals Cicada, Dolera, Boncompagni, Niccolini, Grasso, Ricci and Ferreri,[1] though later on, in more particular negotiations with Arco, he decided in favour of Ricci, the Cardinal of Montepulciano.[2] Of the other Italian princes, the Duke of Urbino worked against Ricci, and the Duke of Savoy on behalf of the Cardinal of Vercelli, Pier Francesco Ferreri, as well as for Morone.[3]

French policy was not more likely to exercise much influence over the conclave than that of the Emperor. It is quite true that the power of France in the Eternal City had considerably increased under Pius IV. ;[4] proof of this may be found in the controversy as to precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors, which the Pope had decided in 1564 in favour of France, and had thereby caused the departure of the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, who had already pointed out to his sovereign that he would have to take serious steps

[1] Bibl, Korrespondenz, I., 331 *seqq.*

[2] Bibl, Korrespondenz, I., 333, 366. *Cardinal Gonzaga sent news to Mantua that the Duke favoured Ricci, Dolera and Niccolini ; that the last named was really the most pleasing to him, but that Ricci was " più riuscibile " (Fr. Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua, December 15, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *" Non vorria [Cosimo] ne Morone ne Farnese." Cardinal Gonzaga in Tosabezzo, *loc. cit.*

[3] Requesens, December 30, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 67.

[4] Corresp. dipl., I., 66 *seqq.*

if Spanish influence in Rome was not to disappear,[1] while during the illness of Pius IV. in 1563, the leader of the French party among the Cardinals, Ippolito d'Este, had been in a position to aspire quite openly to the tiara, and had dared to say that this time his efforts would not be unsuccessful.[2] Catherine de' Medici would certainly have been quite satisfied with a Pope like Este,[3] but the Queen Regent lacked the means of carrying her wishes into effect since, of the French Cardinals, only Reumano took part in the conclave. Catherine's daughter, however, Queen Elizabeth of Spain, tried to influence her husband in accordance with French policy.[4]

In spite of his many shortcomings Philip II. still had greater influence in the Sacred College than any other prince in Christendom,[5] but he refused to make any use of it in the election of the new Pope. He had, however, on December 18th, 1562, sent to his ambassador, Luis de Requesens, certain instructions in which the election of the Pope was touched upon, and in which he stated that the one thing necessary was to elect a Pope who should be pious and a lover of peace, or in other words a Pope who would not make political complications for the Spanish king, and who would have the reform of the Church at heart. The election of Carpi, Puteo, Morone,

[1] *Ibid.* 62 *seqq.*

[2] " . . . Ferrara, il quale, per quanto intendo, si lasciava intendere di tenersi per certo il Papato ; è però S. S. Illma persona da conscere, se non in tutto, in parte almeno, le difficultà che ci haria, ma penso che lo faccia giudicando con questa opinione farsi favore, et mettere a qualcuno il cervello a partito. Intendo havere fatto anco professione che si creda che la riforma dispiaceva più a lui che alcuno altro, et se ne è lasciato intendere, et tutto giudico sia fatto per piacere ai cardinali giovani et perchè sperino nella larghezza sua." *Serristori on December 3, 1563, State Archives, Florence, Medic, 3283, p. 171.

[3] DESJARDINS, III., 521 ; HILLIGER, 79.

[4] *Cf.* DOUAIS, Les dernières années d'Élisabeth de Valois, reine d'Espagne, Toulouse, 1896.

[5] " V.M., a quien oy se tiene mas respecto en el colegio que a ningun principe christiano." Cardinal Pacheco to Philip II., December 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 51.

Ricci and Dolera might be furthered, while the Cardinal of Ferrara and all Frenchmen must be excluded.

When Pius IV. decided the quarrel about precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors against Spain, Philip II. recalled his ambassador, but kept him at Genoa, and told him to draw up a statement on the next Papal election, and the prospects of all the Cardinals. Requesens complied with these instructions by giving a sketch of the whole College of Cardinals in a lengthy document.[1] The outstanding personality, in his opinion, was undoubtedly Morone. Requesens describes him as a vigorous man, of but fifty-seven years of age, and he adds the following remarks: "Morone is a man of agreeable character and wide experience, and for thirty years the most difficult missions have been entrusted to him; if he were Pope he would do honour to his office, as no one else could do. On the other hand he is quite inscrutable, and no one can say whether in his heart he is well disposed towards the Spaniards, besides which, he lies under the reproach of having been in the hands of the Inquisition.[2] Another very distinguished Cardinal, Alessandro Farnese, must be regarded with suspicion as far as Spain is concerned, on account of the whole history of his family. He is not more then forty-six, but has already some grey hairs; he is already one of the six Cardinal Bishops, has many friends, and a great gift of making new ones; thus the hope which he entertains of gaining the tiara is well founded. Ricci, too, who is already seventy, but very vigorous, has good prospects, since he is old and much liked, and has the support of the Duke of Florence. He has had much experience of Rome, is very prudent, and would be a friend to Spain.[3] On the other hand, the Cardinal of Ferrara, Ippolito d'Este, who is clever and well versed in politics, is altogether on the side of France. He will never give up his attempts to obtain the Papacy, of which

[1] Letter of January 5, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 571-588.

[2] *Ibid.* 573 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 578.

indeed he is by no means worthy, though his chances are now greater than they have ever been, now that his old rival, Carpi, is dead. Five Cardinals are related to him, and there are others in the Sacred College who would be generously helped by him in their poverty; he will be a source of much anxiety to the representatives of Spain at the next conclave. It would only be as a measure of desperation that the aged Pisani would be elected, since he is bound to die before long, and if he were Pope he would have to entrust the direction of affairs to others.[1] There are others, such as Madruzzo and Corgna, who think they have a chance, but this is not really the case.[2] Cicada has just as little chance, though he might be put forward as a Spanish candidate for the sake of the honour.[3] Paul IV. bestowed the purple on several men who might very well attain to the supreme dignity. Rebiba, for example, is a good theologian, a distinguished man, and full of zeal for the cause of religion."[4] Requesens accords similar praise, in an even higher degree, to Cardinal Ghislieri.[5] In his opinion, Rebiba would be a very good Pope, but Ghislieri would be the Pope called for by the times.[6] Requesens, however, thought that these two would not receive any votes. He speaks less disparagingly of the prospects of the Franciscan, Dolera, whom he describes as learned and exemplary, the only objection to whose election might be the fact that a religious was not likely to be chosen.[7] Of the Cardinals created by

[1] *Ibid.* 572 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 575, 577.

[3] *Ibid.* 578.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* 579. It is also stated in a letter from Cosimo to Maximilian II. of December 2, 1565: "L'Alessandrino è di vita esemplare, non di meno ha del cervicioso e del rigido" therefore Ghislieri is placed among the "sospetti" whose election is not to be favoured. BIBL, I., 331.

[6] "Es teologo y muy buen hombre y de vida muy exemplar y de gran celo en las cosas de la religion, y a mi juicio es el Cardenal que en los tiempos de agora mas convendria que fuese Papa." DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 579.

[7] *Ibid.* 579.

Pius IV., Mula and Correggio would have to be reckoned with. Mula, trained as a humanist, a man of prudence and experience of public affairs, is wished for by the nephews of Pius IV.;[1] Correggio is not personally known to the ambassador, though he has never heard anyone so highly spoken of by the world in general; if Farnese should be unable to effect his own election at the next conclave, he will put forward Correggio.[2] It is necessary, too, to keep a watchful eye upon Vitelli, appointed by Paul IV.; his youth precludes him from aiming at the tiara himself, but he is a clever man, who knows how to make himself agreeable everywhere, has unbounded energy and possesses many friends. He will have to be reckoned with at the next conclave. Philip would do well to try and win him over, the more so as he is much courted by the French.[3] The remaining Cardinals need not be taken into consideration, either because they are too young, or for some other reason.

As the result of this review of the Cardinals, Requesens advises the king to recognize as acceptable candidates, Morone, who cannot be omitted from the former list without offence, Ricci, Ghislieri, Dolera, Farnese, Madruzzo, Cicada and Correggio, or, if this be too many, to omit the last three names. Among them Philip should really exert himself on behalf of none but Ricci, Ghislieri and Dolera,[4] though the ambassador himself was of opinion that it was impossible to effect anything in the case of Ghislieri.[5] Only Ferrara and the Frenchmen should be excluded. Philip would do well to send Cardinal Granvelle to Rome to act as the leader of his party.[6]

Granvelle received orders to proceed to the Eternal City,[7]

[1] *Ibid.* 581.

[2] *Ibid.* 584 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 583 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 586.

[5] "... Alejandrino, aunque salir este postrero lo tengo por imposible." *Ibid.* 586. *Cf.* 579: "Pienso que no tendra voto para ello, porque lo tienen por riguroso."

[6] *Ibid.* 586 *seq.*

[7] October 22, 1565, in HILLIGER, 75.

though he arrived too late for the conclave, since he only started on December 31st.[1] Requesens' lengthy recommendations were without result in other ways as well. Philip delayed in making up his mind, and when various letters of December 5th, 1565, warned him that the death of Pius IV. was at hand, and that he must not delay any longer, even then he did not send any names to his ambassador.[2] As had been the case at the last conclave, so on this occasion he declared that his only wish was to see a Pope elected who was filled with zeal for the honour of God, and who would think of the general good of Christendom, the ending of the religious differences, the reform of the Church, and the preservation of peace among Christian princes, especially in Italy. He did not wish to point out any Cardinal in particular as acceptable to himself, because, as experience had shown, such a course would only lead to discord in the Sacred College, while he himself would be satisfied with any Pope whose election would be for the good of the Church. If Pacheco and Granvelle had already arrived in Rome they could see to it that votes were not wasted. The ambassador ought to keep in close touch with Farnese and the Duke of Florence. Personal letters to Mark Sittich and Serbelloni were enclosed. Vitelli had offered his services to the king; the Cardinal would have an opportunity of giving expression to his good will at the coming election. Ferrara and all the Frenchmen must be excluded. A private letter from the king urged the ambassador to act very circumspectly with regard to Morone; it would perhaps be wise to close the way to the Papacy in his case.[3]

Philip's letter did not arrive till ten days after the beginning of the conclave; until then the Spanish Cardinals might in any case have felt themselves free to follow their own judgment

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Letter of December 21, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 55 *seqq.* Arco nevertheless claims to know that the ambassador had secret instructions to work on behalf of Ghislieri and Dolera To Maximilian II. on December 22, 1565, in WAHRMUND, 267.

[3] Corresp. dipl., I., 57 n.

without scruple, but the medieval ideas of loyalty to the sovereign were so deeply rooted in the men of that time, that the Cardinals hardly dared to use their liberty, and sought by every means to learn the king's wishes. Pacheco, who was in Florence at the time of the death of Pius IV., wrote at once to Philip when he heard the news to send Requesens to Rome. When Pacheco arrived in Rome, the other Spanish Cardinals had already sought information from Pedro de Avila as to the king's wishes, and they now asked for further instructions from Pacheco; since they both had to admit their ignorance on the subject, they anxiously wrote to Requesens, who could not possibly arrive before the beginning of the conclave, to send them in writing the information which they would no longer be able to receive orally once the Cardinals had gone into conclave.[1] In his letter to the king[2] Pacheco went so far as to say: "Among the chastisements with which we are threatened by God is the fact that it has seemed good in the eyes of your Majesty and the royal council to leave us our liberty, since, if a Pope were to be chosen who was unworthy and not sincerely Christian, I am convinced that all that remains of Christendom would fall to pieces." Since Requesens was unable to give any definite information, they held to the former royal instructions which the ambassador had left behind him in Rome on his departure in 1564, by which Carpi, who was since dead, Ricci and Dolera were named as candidates.[3]

Requesens arrived in Rome on December 21st,[4] and on the 23rd he had an audience at the doors of the conclave, at which, in a long speech, he exhorted the Cardinals to choose a good Pope.[5] He was able, by means of Correggio, who arrived late, and with whom he spoke in Florence, and again in Rome, to inform Borromeo and Mark Sittich of the exclusion of

[1] To Philip II., December 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 51 *seq*; *cf.* 60 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 54.

[3] *Ibid.* 52.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., Dec. 30, 1565, *ibid.* 60.

[5] *Ibid.* 62 *seq.*

Ferrara.[1] By December 30th it was no longer possible to send any news into the conclave or to receive any communications from within.[2] As a matter of fact, the agents of the Italian princes were quite unable to give much information as to what was happening in the Vatican. In these straits Camillo Luzzara had to console himself with setting forth the reasons why the election was bound to be a long one;[3] he succeeded in finding eighteen such reasons, based on general principles,[4] and eleven more which he based upon the character of individual Cardinals, and the like.

Thanks to the strict enclosure of the conclave, and the attitude of reserve maintained by the foreign powers, the Cardinals on this occasion found themselves less subject to external influences than had ever been the case in the memory of man. Goings and comings such as Vargas had contrived at the previous conclave were out of the question now, and the decision lay entirely in the hands of the electors, and of the three party leaders, Borromeo, Farnese and Ippolito d'Este.

Another circumstance of good augury lay in the great influence which Borromeo was likely to exercise as the leader of his party. It was customary that the Cardinals created by the late Pope should submit themselves in the conclave to the judgment of the nephews.[5] If Borromeo, the most important nephew from the spiritual point of view, had taken

[1] *Ibid.* 63.

[2] *Ibid.* 67.

[3] *To the castellan of Mantua, Dec. 29, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Requesens sent the same or exactly similar information to Philip II. (December 30). Corresp. dipl., I., 69.

[4] "The number of the electors is large, and each of the parties among them is small; some of the Cardinals are old, others are noble; some are rich, others are poor; some are hostile, others friends. All these things are to him reasons which support his contention; every foreign Catholic power and every Italian prince affords him a further reason." *Loc. cit.*

[5] "Se tiene por muy mal que en la primera elecçion de Papa no acudan las creatures a sus sobrinos." Pacheco to Philip II., Dec. 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 53.

advantage of this, he could have commanded more than twenty votes, which was enough to prevent the election of anyone he did not think suitable, but, as was only to be expected from a man of his character, he would only make use of this power for the good of the Church even at the cost of his personal predilections. It is very doubtful, however, taking into consideration his holiness and his strict conscientiousness, whether he would have made use of this power, and whether he would not have felt bound to leave the electors free to follow their own consciences.[1] Pacheco foresaw this risk,[2] and he therefore, before the conclave, urged Borromeo to be careful, above all things, to see that a good Pope was elected, saying that he would gain more merit in the sight of God by so doing than by giving himself up to fasts and disciplines for the rest of his life.[3] It is clear that Borromeo did not follow this advice in the sense intended by Pacheco. Before the beginning of the conclave, he consulted several Jesuit theologians as to whether he could with a good conscience use the votes of his Cardinals in the customary way, and he received in reply the written opinion that he must exactly follow the bull of Pius IV. which forbade any such party action.[4] It would seem that in practice he left it free to the Cardinals to follow him or not as they pleased, and it is very difficult to explain in any other way the

[1] * Pare che il card. Borromeo non si vogli impacciar de voti, et che concorrerà a persona idonea et buona." (Avviso di Roma of Dec. 15, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 153b, Vatican Library). *" S'intende che il S. card. Borromeo vuole hora, contra quello che fu detto prima, attendere a fare il nuovo pontifice, et per ciò aspetta tutte le sue creature et in particolare Buoncompagno" Fr. Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua, December 13, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] "Desde Florencia escrevi a V.M. que temia que Borromeo por sus escrupulos se havia de encoger en esta elecçion y dexar ir a sus creaturas adonde quisiessen." Corresp. dipl., I., 53.

[3] Pacheco, *loc. cit.*

[4] False reports concerning the reply of the Jesuits were spread at Naples, for which reason Borgia published the whole matter in a letter to Salmeron of Dec. 30, 1565. SALMERON, Epist., II., 60 n. 9.

want of unanimity among his party. At the beginning of the conclave he actually made over the duty of leading the Cardinals of Pius IV. to Mark Sittich, though he resumed it when Morone pointed out to him that this would result in the election of Farnese or Este.[1]

On his death-bed Pius IV. had advised his nephew to procure the election of one of the Cardinals created by himself; if this should prove impossible he should give his support to those recommended by the Duke of Florence, and in that case he should lean in the first place to Morone, then to Ricci, and lastly to Dolera.[2] As a matter of fact, as he said in a conversation with Pacheco before the beginning of the conclave, Borromeo would gladly have seen one of the Cardinals to Pius IV. elected Pope,[3] probably because for the most part he saw in these younger members of the Sacred College more pious dispositions than in the older ones. In this conversation

[1] *"Egli ha represo l'assonto et il maneggio dei voti in se, i quali havea già renonciato ad Altemps, et questo per la coscienza glien'ha fatto Morone, dicendo che sarebbe causa, che come pecore smarrite si venderebbero a Ferrara o a Farnese, a chi più de loro offerisce." Federigo Cattaneo to the castellan of Mantua, December 29, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The same report is also substantially found in the *Avvisi di Roma, January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 167b, Vatican Library. "[Morone] ha rivolto Borromeo a ripigliar li suoi voti, li quali pareva che havesse posti in sua libertà, con mostrarle che altramente questo era un tirarsi sopra le spalle il Pontificato di Farnese o Ferrara, offesi l'un l'altro dal Papa suo zio, del quale egli poi portarebbe sopra di se gli odii et le inimicitie." *Avviso di Roma of December 20, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 155b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* HILLIGER, 116.

[2] *"Perchè finalmente il Papa nell'ultimo della sua morte ha lasciato per ricordo a Borromeo, che non potendo far venire al Pontificato niuna delle sue creature, debba concorrere con cui vorrà il duca di Firenze et confidarsi nelle promesse di S. Eccellenza." *Avviso di Roma of December 22, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 167b, Vatican Library.

[3] Pacheco to Philip II., December 20, 1565. Corresp. dipl., I., 53.

he suggested Boncompagni, Mula and Commendone, of whom, it would seem, Mula was the one wished for by Pius IV.[1] Pacheco was doubtful whether any of the younger Cardinals would have any chance of success, and said that in the event of Borromeo's chosen candidate meeting with insuperable difficulties, the wishes of Philip II. should be taken into account, pointing out at the same time that it would be easier to get votes for Dolera than for Ricci.[2]

We may question whether Borromeo let Pacheco fully into the secret of his own wishes. Later on his friends learned from him that he had from the first thought of the man who was actually elected, but that he had never made his idea known to anyone; he also said that he had at first, in order to show them honour, put forward the names of those to whom he or his party were under an obligation. It was only later that he directed all his efforts to the election of a Pope of holy life and profound theological learning.[3]

The decision, however, was by no means entirely in the hands of Borromeo; there were opposed to him Este and Farnese, who both surpassed him in experience and political skill, and without whose help he could not attain his ends. The Floren-

[1] Giac. Soranzo, October 30, 1565, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 157. HILLIGER, 115.

[2] Pacheco, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Antequam ingrederetur conclave, plures ille quidem animo sibi proposuit, qui viderentur pontificatu digni, neque eum, qui postea electus est, ut eius intimi deinde cognoverunt, praetermisit, sed tamen mentem suam patefecit nemini." (BASCAPÈ, I., 1, c. 9, p. 21). It cannot be established whether Bascapè, who was one of Borromeo's confidants, includes Morone among the number of those proposed, merely for the sake of the honour. For the rest it was very soon understood in Rome that Borromeo was bound to feel drawn to Ghislieri. Lionardo Conosciuti *wrote on December 19, 1565, to Modena that in all probability Borromeo will make a "mina fratesca" that is to say either for Dolera or Ghislieri, "li quali ancorachè si creda che non siano per giungere al segno, si tien per fermo almeno che darano da sospicare alli degni di questo grado." (State Archives, Modena).

tine party under Sforza, and that of the Cardinals of Paul IV. under Vitelli, had also to be reckoned with. He could, however, with the help of the twenty votes and more of his own followers, at least exclude anyone who did not seem to him worthy of the supreme dignity in Christendom. The result was that several who aspired to the tiara, and who were much spoken of at the time, really had very little chance. Ippolito d'Este who, before the conclave, to the scandal of all Rome, openly tried to obtain the votes of the Cardinals, and boasted that he had already secured twenty,[1] giving it to be understood that through the influence of Catherine de' Medici and the French ambassador, even Philip II. had given up his opposition to him,[2] had vainly tried to win over Borromeo to his side, and for this purpose had summoned his cousin Cesare Gonzaga to Rome.[3] The partisans of Este imagined that a close understanding had been arrived at between their leader and the strict nephew,[4] but it was *a priori* impossible that Borromeo should lend his support to the worldly Cardinal. Altogether apart from the veto of Philip II. and Cosimo, Este's candidature was thus doomed to fail. The same was true in the case of the Cardinal of Montepulciano, Giovanni Ricci; he was a man of great ability, and he had Spain and Florence

[1] Pacheco to Philip II., December 20, 1565 Corresp. dipl., I., 52. *Cf.* also the *report of L. Conosciuti of December 19, 1565, *loc. cit.*

[2] Requesens, December 30, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 61.

[3] *" Il signor card. di Ferrara ha mira d'esser Papa, et perciò desidera il signor Cesare eccellentissimo se ne venga a Roma per aiutarlo col mezzo del signor card. Borromeo, et a questo fine Ferrara spedisce hora il Cortese a Mantova per le poste et non vuole che si sappia parola di questo suo disegno." Franc. Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua, December 8, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] On December 19, 1565, *Giovanni Amadori was of opinion that Este might easily become Pope on account of the " stretta intelligenza che dicono aver fatto con Borromeo et Altaemps." Este arrived on Sunday evening (December 16); the first cell was allotted to him which was a good omen (State Archives, Modena).

on his side, but his hopes were bound to be disappointed, since Borromeo could not lend his support to a candidate whose ideas were so unecclesiastical.[1]

The great influence over the election which was generally attributed to Borromeo is shown in a report which Cardinal Gonzaga caused to be sent to the Duke of Mantua before the conclave, dealing with the prospects of the various candidates.[2] In the case of almost every candidate Gonzaga mentions the attitude towards him adopted by Borromeo, and in many cases he looks upon this attitude as a decisive factor. He speaks especially of three Cardinals, Morone, Farnese and Ferreri. Morone stands first among those whom Borromeo does not wish for any more than he does, but if the French have not time to arrive before the election, and Este is unable to exclude him, there is great reason to fear that he will be successful. In order to gain time Gonzaga tried to persuade Borromeo that he would be well advised to await the arrival of those Cardinals of Pius IV. who were still absent, Boncompagni, Crivelli, and Commendone. Farnese is popular with the poorer Cardinals on account of his wealth; nevertheless Gonzaga hopes to be able to keep Borromeo and Mark Sittich from supporting him. In the opinion of Gonzaga, Ferreri has the support of Borromeo, and therefore has a good chance, though the older Cardinals look upon him as a man of but small importance and learning.

In Gonzaga's opinion a large number of other candidates are far less to be reckoned with than the three already named. Farnese is supporting Ghislieri, not in order that he may become Pope, which would be difficult to bring about, but in order to open his own way to the Papal throne. So far Ippolito d'Este had no chance, since Borromeo will not support him on any terms. He will therefore have to wait for help

[1] "Montepulciano sarebbe Papa, si Borromeo lo volesse, ma lo abhorrisce come la peste." Opinion of Cardinal Gonzaga sent to the Duke of Mantua by Fr. Tosabezzo on December 15, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *By means of Tosabezzo, December 15, 1565, *ibid.*; see App. n. 2.

from France, and see to it that Borromeo is involved in endless delays. In spite of the support of Cosimo, Dolera can hardly become Pope, and the same is true of Scotti, in spite of Farnese's favour, since before his death Pius IV. recommended the Cardinal nephews not to elect a Theatine, which Scotti is, and still less any of the Cardinals of Paul IV. Mula would certainly have the support of Borromeo, but he is by no means in favour with the whole of the Sacred College. The Duke of Florence favours Ricci, Dolera and Niccolini; he is working for Ricci because he has the best prospects, though he himself prefers Niccolini; he will have nothing to do with Morone and Farnese. In order to exclude those not acceptable to the house of Gonzaga, an attempt will be made to support one of Borromeo's candidates, either Boncompagni, Commendone, or Crivelli. Borromeo prefers Commendone, but Boncompagni would be better for the house of Gonzaga; the Duke of Florence also wishes for him. Ricci could be Pope if Borromeo were willing, but the latter detests him like the plague. "In a word," the report ends, "everything is upside down, and nobody knows which party to support."

It appears that Gonzaga was right in thinking that an attempt would be made to elect Morone suddenly, and without formal voting; even before the conclave began rumours of this had been current.[1] On December 19th, and during the following night Cardinal Simonetta went in secret to the followers of Borromeo and proposed to them that on the following morning, and therefore before the formal closure of the conclave, there should be an assembly in the chapel in order to pay homage to Morone as Pope. He got together thirty votes, but Ghislieri discovered the plan, Ippolito d'Este, Farnese and the Cardinals of Paul IV. declared themselves against it, while the French ambassador entered a strong protest, and thus Borromeo's intentions were frustrated. Delfino in particular had supported Morone; he claimed that in passing through Florence he had won over the Duke to his cause, and had

[1] *Avviso di Roma of December 22, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 156b, Vatican Library.

written to the Emperor, by whose help he hoped to obtain seven or eight more votes.[1] Ghislieri, on the other hand,

[1] " *L'istessa notte [from December 19 to 20] usci voce che Borromeo pensava di far papa la mattina seguente il cardinal Moron. Ma Ferrara et Farnese offersero al incontro tutti li voti loro per il cardinal d'Araceli, et in questo modo fu sedata la pratica " (List of the scrutinies for Maxmilian II., State Archives, Vienna). *" Mercordi [December 19] il giorno e la notte Simonetta andò segretamente a tutti li cardinali Borromeisti, et ordinò loro, che il giovedì mattina [December 20] in Capella andassero ad adorar Morone in quel punto che ci sarebbe andato Borromeo, e se questa pratica non fosse stata scoperta da Ferrara, e fatta impedire tutta quella notte dell'ambasciatore di Francia, che fece protesti et il diavolo per romperla, certamente Morone giovedì mattina, inanzi che si fossero chiusi in Conclave, riusciva Papa ; pure passò quella furia ne la mattina di giovedì ne tutto il giorno infino alle 7 di notte; che all' hora si chiusero dentro tutti i cardinali fu fatto altro ; si è bene inteso, che il venerdì mattina (December 21), e piu il venerdì sera è stata rinforzata la medesima pratica di Morone, che ha havuto (December 22) a 29 voti . . . e questo e tutto quello, che s' è inteso hoggi, che è sabbato li XXII. del presente e stasera alle 2 di notte è fama che questa notte sono per far gran rumore, come l'avisano particularmente di man in mano alla giornata " (Report of December 22, 1565, inserted in the Avvisi di Roma of January 19, 1566, *loc. cit.* p. 167). " *Dicono che Alessandrino scoperse una prattica di forsi 30 voti, che voleano adorare Morone nella prima congregatione che si fà in capella post ingressum conclavis cantata missa Spiritus Sancti, et scoperta, fù disturbata da Ferrara et Farnese, che non ci vanno con molti altri et in particolare le creature di Paulo IV. In questi 30 voti era Borromeo con tutti i seguaci et alcuni altri, in particolare il Delfino, che dicono fà cose grandi per Morone et, passando per da Fiorenza, ha messo il cervello a partito al duca et ha scritto all' imperatore, et spera per suo mezzo di farsi patrone di 7 o otto voti, purche habbia spacio che venga la risposta dall' Imperatore, il quale spera haver a sua devotione, per quanto si dice qui, che potrebe esser falso, Trento, Mondovi, Augusta, Altaems, et quei di Fiorenza." Caligari to Commendone on December 27, 1565, Lett. di princ. XXIII. 65 (now 140), Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Delfino in HILLIGER 121 n.

declared that he could not understand how anyone could support Morone with a clear conscience, knowing that he had been brought to trial for heresy. If some of the matters of the accusation were carefully examined he would not be acquitted so completely as had been done by Pius IV.; in any case the mere suspicion of heresy was enough to exclude him from the Papacy.[1]

The attempt to elect a Pope by a bold stroke of this kind was therefore frustrated. Borromeo thought that he had the electors in his own hands, but it now appeared that not all the Cardinals of Pius IV. were prepared to follow their leader.[2]

[1] "*. . . che non vedeva, come con buona conscientia si potesse aplicar l'animo a Morone, sapendosi che contro di lui vi era un processo di heresia, nel quale non mancano alcuni capi, che quando fossero stati ben ventillati, et che si fosse havuta debita cognitione della causa, non sarebbe stato così facilmente assoluto, come precipitosamente fu nel principio di questo Pontificato passato, et che l'esser stato solamente sospetto di heresia, questo bastava di ragione per escluderlo del Pontificato, sicome si offeriva di mostrare con i libri in mano et con il processo, che diceva di haver altre cose che haverebbe da dire; et perche li fu detto, che Paolo IV. l'haveva processato perche li voleva male, rispose che se Paolo IV. l'haveva inquisito d'heresia, per male, che li voleva, Pio IV. l'haveva an co assoluto nulla habita causae cognitione perche li voleva troppo bene, onde si stima, che questo habbia molto debilitato li dissegni et le speranze di Morone, se però non siano ciancie sparse da malevoli come facilmente occorse in simili pratiche (Avisi di Roma *loc. cit.* p. 157). Lionardo Conosciuti *writes on December 22 to Modena that Ghislieri is very hostile to Morone, remembering the trial "quel si tien per fermo che porti continuamente nella sacchozza." Whether this is true or not, all Rome is talking of it. State Archives, Modena.

[2] "El cardenal Borromeo entró en el conclave con el mayor sequito de cardenales que nunca tuvo sobrino de papa, porque los presentes, hechos de su tio, pasavamos de XXX. Ymaginóse que estava en su mano el hacer pontifice. . . . Quedó (in the attempt on behalf of Mula) con quexa de algunos de los suyos de no havellos visto tan dispuestos a su voluntad como quisiera." Pacheco to Philip II. on January 22, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I. 95.

Borromeo then fell back upon his own wish, of securing the success of one of his uncle's Cardinals. For this purpose he had conferences with each of the electors, at first naming Mula and Boncompagni as his choice,[1] but afterwards, out of consideration for the older Cardinals, who wished to see one of their own number elected, Morone, Mula, Boncompagni and Sirleto.[2] But Farnese at once gathered twenty-seven votes against Mula, which meant that he was cut off from any chance of success.[2] On account of his absence Boncompagni had but little prospect of being elected, while Sirleto was not very popular. Nothing remained, therefore, but to make another attempt on behalf of Morone.[4]

During the night between December 22nd and 23rd they worked feverishly in the conclave both for and against Morone.[5] Nobody thought of going to bed and rumours and excitement were rife throughout the enclosure. The Cardinals forgot to have torches carried before them by their conclavists, and themselves ran from one to another with candles in their hands, and only half dressed. An eye-witness, Cornelius Firmanus, says that the excitement passed belief, and that such behaviour had never been seen before on the part of any Cardinal. If, during that night, Morone had been taken to the chapel to receive homage, he would have become Pope, as his opponents were so taken by surprise and fear that their faces were white as sheets, and they did not know what to do. Many, as it were against their will, and on the verge of tears, went towards the chapel, thinking it impossible to prevent the election.

As the opportunity was not seized at once, however, Morone's opponents plucked up courage. Este in particular

[1] Delfino in HILLIGER, 121 n.

[2] *Ibid.* Pacheco, *loc. cit.*, Corresp. dipl., I., 95. Conclavi de' Pontefici, 170.

[3] HILLIGER, 123.

[4] *Ibid.* 124.

[5] See in App. n. 1, the *report of C. Firmanus, Papal Secret Archives.

worked like ten men to secure Morone's exclusion.[1] Sermoneta, Rovere and others were equally active, and they were successful in collecting the needful number of votes against Morone.

Before day dawned the business of the election was recommenced. Many insisted that the Master of Ceremonies should ring the bell for mass at once, so that they might get to the voting and finish the election as quickly as possible, but the Cardinals in charge of such matters protested, and mass was accordingly celebrated at the usual hour, and the voting then took place. It was soon obvious that Borromeo was mistaken in thinking that he could count on thirty-nine votes.[2] Only twenty-six electors declared themselves for Morone, nor did it make any difference when Sforza, Orsini, and Guido Ferreri successively gave their *accessus*, for five votes were still wanting, since, with fifty-one electors, the two-thirds majority was thirty-four votes.

The principal opponents of Morone were the two Este and their friends, all those who had received the purple from Paul IV., Morone's great enemy, some of Borromeo's Cardinals, and lastly, though Farnese himself gave his vote to Morone, *titulo honoris*, Farnese's party, some of whom were actuated by personal dislike, others because they would not give up their own hopes of the tiara, and others on account of religious scruples, and their recollection of the trial of Morone before the Inquisition.[3] Twenty-one votes were thus cast against Morone, whereas eighteen were sufficient to exclude him.[4] Morone bore the shipwreck of his hopes with so much

[1] This refers to the young Luigi d'Este, "qual'oltre l'ardir del sangue si faceva pronto per gli ammaestramenti del cardinal di Ferrara suo zio" (Conclavi de' Pontefici, 172). The elder Este was lying ill in bed.

[2] Pacheco, *loc. cit.*, 96.

[3] *Ibid.* HILLIGER, 125 *seq.*

[4] *"A l'esclusione di Morone sono corsi questi : Ferrara, Mantova Este, Savello, Pisa, Urbino, Crispo, Gambara, Correggio, Reumano, Padova, Simoncello, Capisucco, Saraceno, Alessandrino, Cornaro, Vitello, Araceli, Salviati, Aragona. Ritirati da Morone :

calmness and dignity, that it could not fail to increase the respect in which he was held.[1] What had been most harmful to him was undoubtedly his trial before the Inquisition. "If his reputation had not been thus tarnished," says Requesens, "he would have had a greater following than any other Cardinal. I do not know how this can be, everyone admits Morone's great qualities, yet when an attempt was made to elect him there was general uneasiness, and much joy when he was excluded."[2] The hostility of the Duke of Florence was very disadvantageous to him, and the Spanish ambassador was of opinion that Morone would have become Pope if the adherents of Cosimo had supported him.[3]

At first Borromeo tried to hold to the candidature of Morone, and to gain for him the votes still required. He was not successful in this, but even lost some of his twenty-nine

Farnese, Trento, Madruzzo." (Letter of Camillo Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, December 29, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In HILLIGER, 128, a list of the conclave adds to the twenty names given by Luzzara that of the elder Pisani. *Cf.* Concini, December 29, 1565, in PETRUCELLI, 191 *seq.*, where Crispi is missing and the name of Sermoneta is given instead of Saraceni, and Reims (!) instead of Reumano. In his *reports to Commendone Caligari states (December 29, 1565) that there were 22 steady votes against Morone, among whom were all the Cardinals of Paul IV., and especially Ghislieri. Simonetta, Cicada and Delfino were steadily for Morone. In the meantime everything will drag on because Farnese and Este are waiting for replies from Spain and France (Papal Secret Archives). After December 26 *Caligari states that Morone's success was impossible; "La cosa è più intrigata che fosse mai" (*ibid*).

[1] *" Mostrò Moron is questa attione constantia notabile et si portò talmente che fu giudicato virtuosissimo" (anonymous report to Maximilian II. of January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna). "El lo pasó todo con grandissima prudencia ye disimulaçion sin mostrar gana de ser Papa, antes de lo contrario." Pacheco, *loc. cit.*, 96.

[2] Requesens to Philip II., December 30, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 65.

[3] *Ibid.*

followers as the days went by. He then found himself in great difficulties in choosing another candidate, since, if he decided upon one of the younger Cardinals, he would offend the older ones, while among the latter there was not a single one who seemed suitable both to him and to the other electors. He therefore asked the Dean of the Sacred College, Pisani, to call together Cardinals Farnese, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Este, Corgna, Pacheco and Vitelli, and asked them to nominate a suitable candidate from their point of view, promising that, if his conscience permitted, he would support him with all his party.[1]

Borromeo's proposal was received with suspicion. They feared that he was not in earnest, and that he only wished to lay the responsibility for the long duration of the conclave upon the shoulders of his colleagues, or else that he would only pretend to support the candidate thus nominated, and thus weary the electors, leaving the way open for his own supporters.[2] Corgna, however, nominated Saraceni, Ricci, and Cicada, while Vitelli put forward the Franciscan, Dolera.

Borromeo rejected Ricci on the spot, and, in spite of the remonstrances of Delfino, persisted in so doing. He would have allowed himself to be won over to the candidature of Dolera, but Mark Sittich, whose views had to be respected as a nephew of Pius IV., flatly declared that he did not want a religious.[3] Neither Saraceni nor Cicada seemed suitable to Borromeo, and thus the conference in Pisani's cell had no results as far as choosing a candidate was concerned.

Thus the position of the man who had so far been the leading personality in the conclave was completely changed. Until now it had been Borromeo who put forward the proposals, while the others had been content to give their opinion as to their value, or to take steps to frustrate them. But now

[1] Hilliger, 129 *seq.*

[2] *"Fu sospettato da qualch'uno deli detti cardenali che Borromeo havesse fatto questo officio per mostrare che per ipsum non stabat quin pontifex eligeretur." Report of the conclave to Maximilian II. of January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Hilliger, 133.

the leadership had passed to the other parties, and it was they who put forward the candidates, and if the proposals of another party were displeasing to him, he had no other course open to him than to take the defensive and work for their exclusion.

Farnese thought that his time was come at last.[1] He made great efforts to win over Borromeo, but in vain. Nor were the Spaniards favourable to him, and it was even rumoured, and it would seem that Pacheco lent his support to the rumour,[2] that the Spanish ambassador had handed in a veto against him. It is true that Requesens denied the rumour, and sent for Farnese's secretary to tell him that he was ready to declare it false in a public audience in the presence of the whole conclave,[3] but when the Florentine agents called upon him, and pointed out to him that, as was only to be expected from the whole history of his house, Farnese could not be an acceptable candidate to Spain, he asked his king for exact instructions as to the attitude which he was to adopt, saying that, though he was bound to support Farnese in public, he could not be blind to the fact that his election to the Papacy would give very little guarantee of peace for Italy.[4] Requesens seems to have let himself be frightened by fictitious statements as to the great number of votes which Farnese and others were supposed to have obtained in the scrutinies.[5] Moreover,

[1] *L. Conosciuti reported concerning his efforts on December 19, 1565, adding that Farnese's hopes were vain. State Archives, Modena.

[2] Diary of Delfino, December 30, 1565, in WAHRMUND 267; HILLIGER 133, n.2.

[3] Requesens to Philip II., December 30, 1565. Corresp. dipl., I., 66.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., December 31, 1565. Corresp. dipl., I., 72 *seq.*

[4] Including the *accessi* the following figures were supposed to have been reached: Farnese, 32 votes; Ippolito d'Este in the same scrutiny, 26; Morone, 28; Ricci, 29; Pisani, 30; Dolera, 31; Corgna, 25; Saraceni, 23 (Corresp. dipl., I., 72). An *Avviso di Roma of December 29, 1565, gives similar figures (Urb. 1040, p. 160, Vatican Library): Farnese and Morone, 24 each,

the rumour of the exclusion of Farnese by Spain, which he had at first thought it his duty to deny so vigorously, Requesens later on stated to have probably originated from Farnese himself, with the idea of winning the support of France.[1]

Two days later the credulous ambassador had a fresh move to report, which had reached him from Cardinal Vitelli, through Marcantonio Colonna. He reports as follows: The adherents of Farnese are determined to make their leader Pope at all costs. If they can get twenty-eight or thirty votes for him their plan is to place him on the Papal throne in the chapel, and to keep him there till everyone has paid him homage, even if it takes two days. In view of Farnese's strong prospects no one would like to be the last to declare himself for him, and thus he would win over all the electors by degrees. In

and 4 *accessi*; Ricci, 22 and 7 *accessi*; Dolera, 25 and 7 *accessi*. Obviously this series of votes, rising with so great regularity, was intended to deceive the curious ambassadors and frighten them. According to the *report of the conclave for Maximilian II. (State Archives, Vienna) the true figures for the principal candidates from December 22, 1565, to January 5, 1566, were as follows:

	December										January				
	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Morone	11	17	29	11	10	10	12	10	12	12	14	12	15	12	10
Farnese	10	7	7	7	14	13	10	12	9	12	13	13	12	16	11
Ricci	7	8	1	5	10	13	11	11	12	10	10	10	10	12	12
Ghislieri	8	10	9	17	8	8	9	10	8	9	12	13	15	16	16
Dolera	5	2	—	9	10	13	11	16	9	9	9	7	11	12	6
Boncompagni ..	6	8	—	5	5	6	5	8	6	7	7	4	3	4	3
Este	5	5	—	2	4	4	5	5	4	4	3	6	7	4	10
Sirleto	12	4	—	4	4	8	5	8	6	6	8	7	8	7	8

Cristoforo Madruzzo reached his highest figures on January 3 and 4, with 10 and 12 votes; Ferreri obtained 14 votes on January 4; Cicada reached 13 and 10 on December 31 and January 1; Corgna 11 and 10 on December 27 and January 5; Saraceni 10 on both December 26 and 27.

[1] Requesens to Philip II., December 30, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 71.

order to bring still greater pressure to bear upon the Cardinals, the Roman people were to take up arms on the appointed day and, after making a little disturbance acclaim Farnese as Pope.[1] It is a fact that during the night following January 4th such cries were to be heard in the streets of Rome.[2] The munificent Farnese was indeed very popular in Rome, and on his return from Parma after the death of Pius IV. he had been publicly hailed by the people as the next Pope.[3]

Cusano, the not very reliable Imperial agent, claims to have learned that Farnese was not very far from attaining his end, and that he only lacked two votes ; in order to frustrate him, he says, the Florentines set to work on behalf of Ricci,[4] whose hopes had run very high from the first. Requesens, too had for some time been recommending Ricci, who was not learned, but very capable, to Borromeo, besides the two religious, Dolera and Ghislieri.[5] On the evening of December 30th there was much activity on behalf of Ricci,[6] and even many of Borromeo's Cardinals, especially Mark Sittich, would have declared themselves in his favour,[7] if their leader had allowed them to do so. It now appeared, however, that in spite of his piety and gentleness, Borromeo could be severe, when he deemed it necessary. He spoke openly of Ricci's defects, and injured his chances of election considerably.[8] In order

[1] Requesens, January 3, 1566, *ibid.* For the rest Requesens adds that it must be admitted that Colonna had been deceived; *ibid.*

[2] *Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 161. Vatican Library.

[3] "Il popolo alla prima vista l'ha cridato publicamente per Papa" Cusano to Maximilian II., December 22, 1565, in HILLIGER, 86, n. 2.

[4] *Cusano to Maximilian II., January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Requesens to Philip II., January 22, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 96.

[6] Corn. Firmanus ,*Diarium XII., p. 28b, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Anonymous report on the conclave to Maximilian II., January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[8] Requesens, *loc. cit.*, 96. Ricci left an illegitimate son ; see ZUÑIGA in *Nueva colección de docum. inéd.*, II., 243.

to satisfy Mark Sittich, he promised him that he would not, for his part, work for either Dolera or Ghislieri. In spite of this, however, even without Borromeo's help, Ricci succeeded in collecting thirty votes for himself,[1] and if he had had two days longer he might perhaps have attained the goal of his ambitions. In the meantime Farnese had not given up hopes of winning the tiara. He sent a courier to Mantua in order to arrange a matrimonial alliance between his house and the Gonzaga and Este, and thus win votes.[2] On January 3rd, 1566, he sent Cardinals Orsini and Paleotto officially to Borromeo to beg his support in the election, but on the next day he received a reply from Borromeo and Mark Sittich that they considered it quite impossible to accede to his request.[3]

If Farnese had hoped by means of his matrimonial plans to win over to his side Cardinal Gonzaga, who had been opposed to him so far, he was soon to be undeceived. Gonzaga had been very ill since the beginning of the conclave, and at the end of 1565 his condition became so critical that on December 31st he received the last sacraments.[4] On January 6th, 1566, though he was only twenty-eight years of age, he was dead.[5] During the last days of his illness the election proceedings were almost entirely suspended, out of respect for the dying man.[6]

Borromeo could hardly feel any more enthusiasm for his cousin, the Cardinal of Vercelli, Pier Francesco Ferreri, than

[1] Requesens, *loc. cit.*, 96. *Cusano, *loc. cit.* speaks of 19 votes and 13 *accessi.*

[2] Cusano, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Report of the conclave to Maximilian II., January 5, 1566, *ibid.*

[4] Requesens, January 3, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 74. The rumour that he had been poisoned was of course spread abroad. *Arco, January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Corresp. dipl., I., 74 n.

[6] *" Le cose del conclave sono state assai quiete per dui o tre giorni attesa l'indispositione di Mantova, nella quale è stato molto assiduo Buorromeo." Serristori, January 2, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3285, p. 3.

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he had for Ricci and Farnese. Ferreri had arrived in Rome on January 1st, 1566, and went into the conclave with the highest expectations, based on the support of the Duke of Savoy, who, he believed, had already won over France to his support, and would do the same with Spain.[1] But Ferreri did not satisfy Borromeo's determination to have a holy Pope, while he found an enemy in Vitelli, who very soon succeeded in collecting thirty-two votes against him.

The finding of a new candidate had now become a very serious problem, and attention was now turned to those Cardinals who had not been able to be present at the conclave.[2] Thus the Theatine, Scotti, who would have been very acceptable to Borromeo, was spoken of,[3] while the praises of Boncompagni were also sung, and it was thought that he would certainly have become Pope if he had been present;[4] many deplored the fact that Crivelli, like Boncompagni, had not returned from his mission to Spain.[5] When, on January 2nd, 1566, the Imperial ambassador delivered to the Cardinals his master's letter of December 21st, together with the usual exhortation to them to make a speedy and a wise choice, attention was once again drawn to the Imperial candidate, Morone.[6]

[1] Requesens to Philip II., January 3, 1566. Corresp. dipl., I., 76. Delfino to Maximilian II., January 4, 1566, in HILLIGER, 140.

[2] HILLIGER, 137.

[3] Requesens to Philip II., December 30, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 68.

[4] "A Boncompagno tienen aqui por buen hombre; y todos affirman que si estuviera presente, tuviera mas parte que ninguno." Requesens to Philip II., January 3, 1566, *ibid.* 76.

[5] HILLIGER, 137.

[6] Requesens to Philip II., January 3, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 77. Arco gives an *account of his audience of January 5, 1566, and adds that Morone, Ricci and Dolera "multorum in se animos convertunt. Ferunt autem regem catholicum pro card. Alexandrino vehementer laborare." (State Archives, Vienna). A list of the conclave which is attached, however, professes to show that Madruzzo, Este, and Farnese have been able to secure the exclusion of Cardinal Ghislieri.

But Farnese now definitely declared himself against him, and thus rendered his election impossible.[1]

There was great excitement when, on January 4th, a Spanish courier arrived, and the rumour spread throughout Rome that Philip II. had nominated one Cardinal alone as acceptable to him, namely Ghislieri.[2] According to Requesens Este's party had spread this rumour in order to stir up feelings of resentment against Spain among the more influential Cardinals: with Borromeo, because his uncle had not been a special friend of the Dominican Cardinal; with Morone, because Ghislieri had opposed him in the conclave; with Ferreri and the older members of the Sacred College, because they thought they had a better right than one of the younger Cardinals.[3] At the same time the rumour was prevalent that the King of Spain, in accordance with the advice of his ambassador in Rome and the Viceroy of Naples, preferred a man who had been Grand Inquisitor, because he was himself thinking of introducing the Inquisition into all his kingdoms; for this reason the three or four Neapolitan Cardinals took great alarm,

[1] HILLIGER, 140. The efforts that were being made on behalf of Morone, however, caused a Florentine agent much anxiety, so much so that he even advised the support of Morone. *Serristori, January 2, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3285, p. 3.

[2] Requesens to Philip II., January 11, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 82 *seq.* According to *Arco "è stato detto, che porta commessione al commendatore [Requesens] perchè favorisca Alessandrino et Araceli, ma il commendatore nega et dice che'l rè catholico non vuole raccomandar alcuno. Nondimeno si sa che procura quanto può di parlare al card. Borromeo." To Maximilian II., January 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Requesens, *loc. cit.* *"Le brigate tutte stupiscano che Alessandrino sia nominato et questa cosa ha messo il cervello a partito a molti." Este saw with satisfaction the disunion among the adherents of Borromeo, as showing how little Philip II. took them into consideration. Farnese thought otherwise, "il quale è stato con Ferrara più d'un hora et di mesto che vi entrò ne usci lieto assai, essendosi visto più lieto di lui Ferrara." List of the conclave of January 4, attached to a *letter of Arco of January 5 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

and Requesens thought it necessary to ask an audience of the conclave and to make a public declaration that Philip II. had not nominated any Cardinal.[1]

In the meantime the choice of possible candidates had become so restricted that Borromeo thought the time had come when he must throw aside all reserve, abandon the defensive attitude, which he had so far adopted, and once again take into his own hands the management of the election. On the morning of January 5th he put forward the name of Sirleto as the man whose election should be attempted.[2] This caused great excitement among the electors. Borromeo's suggestion met with approval in some quarters, but Ricci, for whom many were still working energetically, tried to exclude Sirleto. This time Borromeo again failed; it was a disadvantage to him that he had omitted to give notice of his proposal to at least the party leaders. Sforza, the head of the Florentine party, was so annoyed that he openly informed Borromeo that he would not have co-operated with him, even though Sirleto was his friend, and worthy of the tiara. He immediately, however, gave solid proof of this friendship, for when Borromeo asked him at least to allow Cardinal Medici to support Sirleto, he at once gave his consent. In spite of this Medici's vote was lost, since, when Vitelli went to him to tell him that the Pope was already elected, and that Medici must come and pay him homage, he received the angry reply that it was no use trying to effect the election by such fictions, and he refused to go at all. Not even Farnese had been told beforehand of the efforts which were being made for Sirleto. Borromeo now went to him with fifteen Cardinals and begged him to accompany them to the chapel, and to elect Sirleto by paying him homage. Farnese replied that he must first consult his party, and suggested that a ballot would be the better way. Sirleto himself, who was ill in bed during these negotiations, showed no desire for the supreme dignity; he even begged to be spared the burden of the

[1] *Loc. cit.* 83.

[2] Corn. Firmanus, *Diarium, XII., p. 32-32b, Papal Secret Archives.

Papacy, saying that his shoulders were not broad enough for it. In this connexion Cornelius Firmanus remarks: "I am convinced that he was speaking from his heart when he said this, for he was ever a man of exemplary life, a great lover of poverty, and living almost in penury; he had no pride, was very courteous in manner, and was, in a word, a man of very holy life."[1]

This first failure with Sirleto did not discourage Borromeo, but it led him to take a definite step as far as Farnese was concerned.[2] In the afternoon of January 7th, he convinced

[1] *Diarium, p. 32b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *" Borromeo fece sapere a Farnese, che non s'aggirasse più il cervello in voler esser Papa, perche era risoluto di non lo voler questa volta, che però l'essortava come christiano a risolversi in far un altro. Farnese rispose, che non lo credeva cosi ingrato, che pensava si ricordasse che Pio IV. era stato fatto cardinale dall'avolo suo et che esso l'haveva aiutato a far Papa, dal che era nata tutta la grandezza d'esso Borromeo, mà poiche si mostrava tal per non tener piu sospeso il mondo proponeva, 4, Trani, Araceli, Alessandrino et Montepulciano. Borromeo accettò Alessandrino perche Montepulciano era stato offeso da esso gravemente; Araceli era nemico d'Altemps et Trani era absente; cosi non passorno 2 hore del tempo che la prattica cominciò, che d'accordo quei 2 con le loro sequele chiamorno tutti gl'altri et condussero Alessandrino dalla sua cella nella capella, et l'andororno Papa poi lo vestirno et lo portorno in chiesa la medesima sera rompendo il conclave" (Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, Urb. 1040 p. 163, Vatican Library. *Dipoi s' è inteso, chel cardinale Borromeo fece intendere al cardinal Farnese, che non pensassi al papato, perchè non era tempo ancora che facessi questi disegni, et che doveva più tosto pensare a convenire seco in un buono subiecto, che tener il mondo sospeso con tanto danno . . ." [What follows is in complete agreement with the Avviso quoted.] Cosi il card. Borromeo convenne in Alessandrino, perchè Trani non era in Roma, Montepulciano era stato offeso da esso [on account of his public statement that Ricci was an ignorant man and had led a rather immoral life], Araceli era in odio ad Altaemps [on account of the suspicion that he had come to an understanding with Cardinal Cesarini, with whom Altemps had been quarrelling about a rich Abbey](Arco on January 12,1566,

him, through Alciati, that he must abandon all hopes of the Papacy on this occasion, since he, Borromeo, was determined to refuse him his support. Instead of keeping the whole world waiting, to its great injury, let him rather act in a Christian spirit, and join forces with Borromeo for the election of a good Pope. In his reply to this the grandson of Paul III. referred to the services rendered by the Farnese to the Borromeo; it was thanks to his grandfather that Pius IV. had been made a Cardinal, and he had become Pope by the personal help of Farnese himself; the present greatness of the Borromei was the result of the pontificate of Pius IV. Since however the Cardinal nephew was determined to make no recompense for these services, he proposed four Cardinals, for whose election he promised his support; these were Ricci, Scotti, Dolera and Ghislieri.[1] Borromeo decided upon the last named, and thus was Ghislieri assured of the necessary majority, and more was accomplished in the two hours that followed than had been effected so far in three weeks' hard work.[2]

In the evening the Cardinals went to Ghislieri's cell, and almost by force and against his will, led him to the Pauline

State Archives, Vienna). *"Havendo Borromeo mandato hoggi Alciato a Farnese instandolo che si risolvesse al fare del Papa; egli rispose, Borromeo si risolvesse di ellegersi uno ch'egli gli haveva nominato, et che di questo modo il Papa si saria fatto. Nominò Farnese: Montepulciano, Araceli, Crispo et Alessandrino et a questo si attacò Borromeo, et con tutto che si creda certo che il disegno di Farnese fosse di voler balzare anco questo card^lo pure il fatto è andato di modo che egli è riuscito Papa. Più oltre non so per hora, ne in questi tumulti posso sapere più oltre, ma domani spererò di saper meglio il fatto." Camillo Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, on January 7, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] Other reports also include Pisani (HILLIGER, 143 n.). The three names of Ricci, Dolera, and Ghisieri appear in all the reports; otherwise there is great diversity.

[2] According to *Arco fear of the election of Ricci united Farnese and Borromeo; before that they had left their adherents at liberty under the impression that they had excluded Ghislieri. To Maximilian II., January 12, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

Chapel. At first there was considerable excitement and dispute as to the manner in which the election was to be effected. Some maintained that they should be provided with black and white ballot balls, and vote with them; others desired that the chapel should be arranged in the usual way for the scrutiny, while others again wished that the Cardinals should merely declare themselves one after another and openly for Ghislieri. This last proposal met with general approval. When the excitement had abated, all took their seats in their accustomed places, when Pisani rose and said: "I, Cardinal Francesco Pisani, Dean of the Sacred College, elect as Pope my most reverend lord Michele, known as Cardinal Alessandrino." Morone followed, and gave his vote in similar terms, and then all the rest in their turn. Luigi d'Este and Guido Ferreri voted in the names of their sick relatives, Ippolito d'Este and Pier Francesco Ferreri. All then rose and approached the newly-elected Pope. When Pisani asked him if he accepted the election, Ghislieri stood for a moment in silence, while the Cardinals waited for his reply. At length he answered with the simple words: "I am willing."[1] It would have been natural that he should have taken the name of his patron, Paul IV., but out of consideration for Borromeo he took the name of the dead Pope,[2] even though he had met with little favour during the late pontificate. By this magnanimous act the new Pope displayed a forgetfulness of self not unlike that of Charles Borromeo.

The election was generally unexpected.[3] Only a few days before the Spanish ambassador had written that, save for a miracle, the conclave would be indefinitely protracted, especially as the arrival of the French Cardinals was imminent.[4] This was also the general opinion in the city, where Crispi

[1] *"Mi contento sù" Corn. Firmanus, *loc. cit.*, p. 35b.

[2] Requesens to Philip II., January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 78. CATENA, 22.

[3] "Cosa que no se pensó," Requesens, *loc. cit.* 77; "inaspettatamente" Serristori, January 23, 1566, Legaz. di Serristori, 420.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., January 3, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 73.

was looked for as the next Pope.[1] The Florentines, on the other hand, thought that they had skilfully arranged everything for the election of Ricci,[2] when suddenly and unexpectedly they began to work for Ghislieri, whom they like many others among the electors, had passed over.[3] Pacheco wrote that the election was evidently the work of the Holy Ghost, since many who, at their entry into the conclave, would have cut off their feet rather than support Ghislieri, had been the first to agree to his election.[4] Among these was Mark Sittich, who had previously so brusquely rejected the idea of the election of a friar, but who now was all on fire for the elevation of the Dominican.[5]

[1] *" Et cosi sono in tal disordine et discordio [after the failure with Sirleto], che per un pezzo non haveremo Papa, massime con la venuta de' Francesi " (Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 161b, Vatican Library). *Ibid.* 161 : Crispi has the best expectations,since Dolera and Ricci, who were proposed together with him to Cardinal Borromeo by Farnese have not attained success.

[2] *" Quando noi pensavamo d'haver condotto le cose in buon termine per la persona di Montepulciano, è venuta grida di palazzo che Alessandrino è stato adorato Papa in questo punto, et l'effetto è certissimo, perchè di già card. Capizucca di conclave è sceso in s. Pietro a render gratie a Dio. . . ." Serristori and Concini to the Duke of Florence on January 7, 1566, " hore XXXIII. (!)," State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3285 p. 9.

[3] Card. Sforza to the Duke of Tuscany, on January 8, 1566, State Archives, Florence.

[4] " Nos llevó el Spiritu Santo sin padecerse presion, como se a visto oy en muchos hombres, que quando entraron en conclave antes se cortaran las piernas que ir a hacer papa á Alexandrino, y corrieron a hazerle los primeros." Pacheco to Philip II. on January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I. 80.

[5] Catena 20. Hilliger 145. P. Tiepolo adduces the election of Pius V. as an example of the way in which a Papal election often takes the most unexpected turn : " quasi usciti da loro medesimi vanno dove mai non averiano creduti . . . corrono come persone prive di consiglio, dubitando ciascuno d'esser ultimo ; et però si vede bene spesso riuscir pontefice chi meno si era creduto, come è successo nel presente." Report of 1569, in Albèri II. 4, 185.

Ghislieri himself can hardly have expected his election ;[1] later on he confessed that he had only accepted it because otherwise the Papacy might have fallen to Morone, a thing which might easily have been harmful to the Holy See.[2] In other respects, however, he had, even during the conclave, held out the hand of friendship to his former adversary.[3] That Ghislieri had all the necessary qualities for a distinguished Pope had often been recognized, but it had not been thought that he would ever obtain the necessary votes ;[4] what had been especially feared was the opposition of Borromeo, for it was hardly to be expected that the nephew of Pius IV. would ever give his support to a Cardinal upon whom his uncle had never looked with favour.[5] As a matter of fact, as he wrote to Philip II., ever since the death of Pius IV., Borromeo had had Ghislieri in mind, among others, as a suitable Pope ;[6] if he had not at once declared

[1] "Trovandosi il Papa posto in questa Sede inaspettatamente, credo senza averci mai prima pensato." Serristori, January 23, 1566, Legaz. di Serristori 420.

[2] "Lo avrebbe volontieri ricusato, e lo avrebbe fatto, se avesse pensato che fosse potuto cadere in una persona ragionevole, ma vedeva le cose disposte in modo che dubitava non venisse in persona di Morone o qualche altro soggetto, con molto danno di questa Santa Sede." *Ibid.* 422.

[3] *Cf.* the *report on the conclave of Clement VIII., Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome.

[4] *Cf. supra* pp. 3, 14, 21, 32, and HILLIGER, 62, 65, 73.

[5] *"Convenne dunque Borromeo in Alessandrino, et in spatio di due hore contro l'opinioni si può dire di tutti fu creato papa, perchè pochi volevano credere, che Borromeo fosse mai per andare in una creatura di Paolo quarto et in uno ch'era stato offeso non poco da papa Pio." Arco to Maximilian II., January 12, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] "Io in questa attione ringratio infinitamente Dio che mi ha fatto gratia di attendervi da di de la morte di Pio IV. sino a quest'hoggi, spogliato d'ogni privata passione e rispetto, con la sola mira del servitio e gloria di Dio." (Borromeo to Philip II., January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 79). *"Con determinata volontò mi diedi a far tutto quello che m'era possible per veder

himself in his favour, this was undoubtedly because, in so doing, he would have rendered him a very doubtful service.[1] In any case the election of Pius V. must be attributed to him, and that not only in the sense that he succeeded in thwarting the artifices of Farnese and Este, and thus at length united all votes for Ghislieri. The Spanish ambassador[2] and the astute Florentines[3] had no great opinion of Borromeo's powers of dealing with tricks and subterfuges, and his confidant, Bascapè,[4] expresses the same opinion; in the matter of the election of Pius V., as had so often happened to him before, his secret desires seemed to be fulfilled of their own accord, and from the force of circumstances. Borromeo's great merit, however, lay in the fact that he looked beyond the petty considerations of a short-sighted family policy,[5] that he waited

la sua esaltatione." (Borromeo to Philip II., January 27, 1566, Ambrosian Library, Milan, F.37, Inf. p. 7). *Cf.* Borromeo to King Sebastian and Cardinal Henry, February 25 and 26, 1566, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 529.

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 36.

[2] "El negocio de Moron y de Sirletto estuvo tan çerca que qualquiera dellos fuera Papa, si Borromeo supiera darse buena maña." To Philip II., January 11, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I. 84.

[3] *"Basta che siamo fuori delli scogli, i quali si sono schifati non già per il buon governo di Borromeo." Serristori and Concini, January 7, 1566, *loc. cit.* (*cf. supra* p. 19, n. 1).

[4] "Minus sagaciter vel etiam prudenter eum curasse aliquid et ideo non obtinuisse putamus interdum, qui sibi aequo animo passus id fuerit eripi; contra nec opinantem et pene coactum admisisse, quod consulto sit secutus ac non libenti solum, sed gaudenti etiam animo acceperit" (l. 1 c. 9 p. 21). In his report for 1569, Tiepolo gives the following description of Borromeo as the leader of the party: "sebbene nel conclave passato dasse a'cardenali malissima sodisfazione, e si governasse in modo che perdesse assai dell'amor loro." ALBÈRI II. 4, 184.

[5] "El cardenal Borromeo y Alteps an hecho a este, siendo mal tratado de su tio; digo que le an hecho, porque estava en su mano el excluylle, y sino vinieran en él, fuera imposible sello; es action con que Borromeo a dado muy buen exemplo al colegio" (Pacheco to Philip II. on January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I. 80).

for the right moment, and when that time came made his decision in favour of Ghislieri.

Once the election was an accomplished fact there was general rejoicing among the Cardinals that they had given to the Church the very Pope called for by the times.[1] In the Eternal City men learned with satisfaction of the unexpected elevation to the throne of St. Peter of a Cardinal of such holy life. As Caligari said, just as the rules of the Church had not been so strictly observed for many years past, so it was the general opinion of all good men that the election would bring about in a high degree the glory of God and the exaltation of the Holy See.[2] Others, on the contrary, were much alarmed, because they knew they must expect little from the well known strictness of the newly elected Pope, and it would seem that for some time this was the prevailing opinion among most of the Roman people. The new Pope was not the man to allow himself to be turned from his purpose, but he said that with the help of God he hoped to govern in such a way

"Fu fatto dal card. Borromeo davero, che altri l'havevano proposto de burla per escludere Sirletto. . . . Questo è notorio a tutto il mondo, che in mano del card. Borromeo era l'esclusione de tutti ch'erano in conclave" (C. Borghese to Cesare Borromeo on February 2, 1566, Arch. stor. Lomb. 1903, 360 f).

[1] "Todos salimos los hombres del mundo mas contentos de ver en esta Silla una persona tan exemplar como los tiempos en que estamos lo requieren." Pacheco to Philip II. on January 7, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I. 79.

[2] *"Questa elettione, si come è stata la più canonica et legitima che sia stata fatta molti anni sono, così dà speranza di dovere resultare in grandissimo servitio di Dio et esaltatione di questa Sta Sede; et così credono et tengono per fermo tutti i boni. Bene è vero che molti licentiosi ne restano sbigottiti, in particolare l'amico, al quale in questo non potrà cadere cosa più contraria a suoi disegni, li quali a che fine mirino V. S. Illma lo sà meglio di tutti." To Commendone on January 9. 1566, Lett. di princ, XXIII. 160^b^—161, Papal Secret Archives.

that the grief felt at his death would be greater than that which was felt at his election.[1]

[1] CATENA, 24. When on January 15, 1566, the Emperor Maximilian II., from a letter of Cosimo de' Medici, learned of the election of a monk, he jeered at the news (DENGEL, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 33). The Viceroy of Naples, on the other hand, showed extraordinary joy (excessiva consolación) at the election, and celebrated it with fireworks and salvos of artillery, such as had never been known at Naples at the election of a Pope. Salmeron to Borgia, January 13, 1566, in SALMERON, Epist., II., 63.

CHAPTER II.

Previous Life and Character of Pius V. His First Measures of Reform.

It is easy to describe the previous life of the new Pope.[1] He was born on St. Antony's Day (January 17th), 1504, at Bosco, near Alessandria, in the Duchy of Savoy, and he had received the name of that saint in baptism. His family had been settled in that place since 1366,[2] but had afterwards fallen into great poverty. The humble house in which the future Pope first saw the light is still preserved at Bosco.[3] From his early youth it was Antony's wish to give himself entirely to God. His father, Paolo, and his mother, Domenica Augeria, put no obstacles in his way, though they had not the means to educate their son, whose duty it became to tend the flocks. But a certain Bastone came to their aid, and he sent little Antony, together with his own son Francesco to the Dominicans at Bosco.[4] The friars soon recognized the boy's

[1] Of the biographies (*cf.* App. n. 69) see especially Catena, 2 *seq.* *Cf.* also P. Tiepolo, 169 *seq.*

[2] See Bruzzone, Storia del comune di Bosco, II., Turin, 1863, 265. *Cf.* the Roman periodical, *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 59 *seq.*; *ibid.* 1903, 138 *seq.*, proof of the branch of the family at Pinerolo. The view held by all the older biographers, that the Ghislieri of Bosco went there in 1445, after their expulsion from Bologna, seems to be hardly tenable. It was only after the elevation of Michele to the Papal throne that the Bologna family thought itself honoured in recognizing him as a descendant of the same family. *Cf.* Claretta in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, X., 710; *Riv. di Alessandria*, X., 3 (1901), 69; Spezi, 12 n. 1.

[3] See Bruzzone in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 56 *seq.*; *ibid* 36 a reproduction of the house where Pius V. was born.

[4] This hitherto unknown episode of the youth of Pius V. is related by Cusano in a *letter of February 2, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), printed in App. n. 5.

abilities, and since the regulations of the Council of Trent were not yet in existence, Antony was able, when he was only fourteen years old, to enter the Dominican convent at Voghera,[1] where he received the name of Michele. His superiors first sent him to Vigevano,[2] where he was professed on May 18th, 1521,[3] and afterwards to Bologna for his scientific training, and lastly to Genoa, where he was ordained priest in 1528.

For many years Fra Michele of Alessandria, as he was called, was lecturer in philosophy and theology in the convent of his Order at Pavia.[4] During this period of teaching, a duty which he discharged most conscientiously, he distinguished himself at the General Chapter held at Parma in 1543 by his defence of certain theses which boldly proclaimed the authority of the Holy See. Fra Michele was also commissary of the Inquisition in the city and diocese of Pavia, as vicar of his fellow Dominican, Sante of Padua.[5] He acquitted himself of all these offices so well that men compared him to St. Bernardine. The least rule of his Order was sacred to him; he never travelled except on foot, with his wallet on his shoulder. He was a shining example to all his brethren by his great humility, his strict observance of poverty, his unwearied activity and his spotless purity of life. He could not avoid being twice elected Prior, but accepted the dignity most unwillingly, and this was still more the case when the

[1] When he was Pope Ghislieri showed his gratitude to this convent; see A. CAVAGNA SANGIULIANA, Dell'abbazia di S. Alberti di Butrio e del monastero di S. Maria della Pietà in Voghera 1865.

[2] His cell is still shown: see C. CLERICI, Vigevano, 1880, 82.

[3] See the attestation in manuscript in GRANELLO, Fra Michele Ghislieri, I., Bologna, 1877, 25.

[4] See MAJOCCHI, La chiesa e il convento di S. Tommaso in Pavia, Pavia, 1895, 82 *seq.*; *cf.* DELL'ACQUA, 33 *seq.*; An incunabulum (PEROTTUS, Cornucopiae seu Comment. linguae latinae, Venetiis, 1490) with annotations in the hand of Ghislieri was put up for sale in 1899 by the Roman antiquarian B. Benedetti (Catalogue 61, Nov. 1899, n. 2099).

[5] See *Riv. di scienze storiche*, IV., 1, Pavia, 1907, 62 *seq.*

provincial chapter of Lombardy elected him Definitor, the office next in importance to that of Provincial.

In every way Ghislieri was the model of the true religious; he refused to wear a mantle because he thought that one who belonged to a mendicant order should be content with his cowl. He was a great lover of cleanliness, and used to say that he had ever loved poverty, but never dirt. He allowed nothing to interfere with the performance of his duty, and when, as Prior of Alba, he found himself obliged, for the safety of his convent, to oppose the Count della Trinità, who threatened to have him thrown down a well, Ghislieri replied: "What God wills will be done."[1]

Ghislieri entered upon a very difficult task with his appointment as Inquisitor of the diocese of Como, which, on account of its proximity to Switzerland, was likely to be infected with the new religious ideas. When, in 1550, he confiscated twelve bales of heretical books, the booksellers affected managed to win over the bishop's vicar-general and the chapter, which obliged Ghislieri to appeal to the Inquisition in Rome. This tribunal summoned the accused before them, which caused so great a tumult in the city that Ghislieri was obliged to seek protection from his friend Bernardo Odescalchi. His position became even more perilous when the governor of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, took the part of his enemies. In order to clear up the affair, Ghislieri, at the end of 1550, betook himself to Rome, where he was brought into contact with the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and especially with Carafa, who was quick to recognize in the Lombard a kindred spirit, and one who was prepared to maintain the purity of the faith with unbending firmness.

As time went on, no threats and no dangers held any terrors for Ghislieri when it was a question of doing his duty. When he was given a mission to Coire, it was suggested to him that he would do well to travel through the heretical canton of the Grisons in disguise, but he vigorously refused, saying that he

[1] See CATENA, 150. The incident is related somewhat differently by Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 51.

would be glad to die as a martyr dressed in the habit of St. Dominic. Twice Ghislieri acted as Inquisitor at Bergamo, a very difficult office.[1] In 1551, at the recommendation of Carafa, Julius III. summoned him to Rome as commissary general of the Inquisition. In this office he displayed the greatest zeal, and had many dealings with Marcello Cervini,[2] who, after the death of Julius III., ascended the Papal throne as Marcellus II. After the death of the latter, which followed almost immediately,[3] his patron Carafa became Pope, and he confirmed Ghislieri in his office of commissary general of the Inquisition, and on September 4th, 1556, appointed him Bishop of Sutri and Nepi, taking care at the same time that this indefatigable man should not be altogether removed from his previous activities, by making him Prefect of the Palace of the Inquisition.[4]

Michele fought hard against accepting the episcopal dignity, but Paul IV. thought it well to attach a chain to his feet, lest he should again think of retiring to his convent.[5] How highly the Pope esteemed the humble Dominican is shown by the fact that on March 15th, 1557, he appointed him Cardinal, and on December 14th in the following year Grand Inquisitor of the Roman Church.[6] Ghislieri received as his

[1] See P. Tiepolo, 191 ; Catena, 9 *seq.*, 148 ; Gabutius, 9 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 219.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 220, 222 ; XIV., 269 *seqq.*

[3] A letter of Fra Michele Alessandrino to G. B. Brunatello in Venice, dated Rome, June 8, 1655, refers to the trial of the surgeon of Marcellus II., who was accused of having poisoned the Pope ; see Fillon, n. 2447.

[4] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 271. *Cf.* Moroni, LXXI., 118. In the episcopal palace of Sutri, the door through which Ghislieri was accustomed to pass has been walled up, so that no one should use it any more. The episcopal archives at Nepi were destroyed during the French occupation. In the episcopal palace there nothing but a picture (Pius V. in prayer before the crucifix) tells of the former occupant of the see.

[5] See Albèri, II., 4, 200 *seq.*

[6] See Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 262, 271.

titular church S. Maria sopra Minerva, which later on, in 1561, he exchanged for S. Sabina.

During the campaign of Paul IV. against heretical books, Cardinal Alessandrino, as Ghislieri was called from his native place, had repeatedly dissuaded his subordinates from too severe or hasty action. Towards the end of the reign of Paul IV. he had to face bitter reproofs from the Pope, who was daily becoming more gloomy and violent, on account of his conduct in the affair of the Spanish archbishop, Carranza.[1]

Ghislieri's position became even more difficult under Pius IV., whose more worldly outlook was in strong contrast to his own rigid views.[2] Several times the Cardinal, who since 1560 had been Protector of the Barnabites,[3] and Bishop of Mondovì, where he laboured alike for reform,[4] the promotion of learning,[5] and ecclesiastical liberty,[6] boldly addressed severe rebukes to Pius IV., especially when, at the beginning of 1563, two sons of princes were about to be nominated to the Sacred College. Ghislieri was not able to prevent these

[1] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 315 *seqq.*

[2] See the characteristic letter of Ghislieri to his nephew in MAFFEI, Pio V., 47 *seq.*; BRUZZONE, Bosco, I., 139 *seq.* That Ghislieri's nickname "fra Scarpone" (SANTORI, Autobiogr., 371) does not mean "scorpion" as HERRE (p. 204) thought, has been proved by ŠUSTA (*Mitteil. des österr. Instituts*, XXX., 546) and SCHELLHASS (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.* XXX., 143 n. 2).

[3] See PREMOLI, Storia dei Barnabiti nel cinquecento, Rome, 1913, 181. *Cf. ibid.*, 24, for the early relations of Ghislieri with the Barnabites.

[4] See CATENA, 15.

[5] By the erection of a university; see DELL'ACQUA, 38 *seq.*, where there are also some particulars as to the traces of Pius V. preserved in the cathedral at Mondovì. *Cf.* GRASSI, Mem. della chiesa di Monteregale in Piemonte, I., Turin, 1789, 87. The Library at Alessandria still contains a beautiful choir-book of Pius V.

[6] *Cf.* the characteristic letter of Ghislieri to Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, dated Mondovì, October 1, 1561, in *Bollett. Subalp.* VI., 255 *seq.*

appointments, any more than he could the limitations set upon his powers as Grand Inquisitor by Pius IV.[1]

Since he was manifestly out of favour with Pius IV.,[2] it can easily be understood that Ghislieri seriously thought of returning to his bishopric of Mondovì, in order to complete the reforms which he had begun there in 1560. Moreover, he was so seriously attacked by stone in 1564 that he caused his monument to be set up in S. Maria sopra Minerva.[3] It is certain that no one in Rome at that time anticipated his elevation to the Papal throne, and least of all, in his simplicity and humility, the Cardinal himself, who, when he found himself faced with the fact of his election, which took him altogether by surprise, hesitated for a moment before he accepted it. The very sense of responsibility, which had always made him shrink from any dignity, was what at length decided him to obey the call of the Sacred College, for he dared not withstand the voice of God.[4]

Sprung as he was from a poor and obscure family, Pius V.

[1] *Cf. Arch. stor. Ital.*, IV., 6, 372.

[2] In his report on May 17, 1572, of the election of Gregory XIII., Cusano, speaking of the way in which Bonelli had gone over to the side of Boncompagni, remarks: *" a lui è intervenuto come al card. Borromeo, il quale fece Papa Pio V., che era in tutto naturale di Paolo IV. et non v'era cardinale in questo conclave di questo tempo che fosse stato più dispregiato et vilipeso da Pio IV. suo zio che la manca parola che dicesse contra di esso di frate scarpone [see *supra* p. 50, n. 2] et che farebbe rotornar al refettorio, et non ostante questo elesse in pontefice come ha fatto l'Alessandrino." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the inscription in CATENA, 18; *cf.* DELL'ACQUA, 37. As Cardinal, Ghislieri lived in lodgings in the Borgo; see Avviso di Roma of Feb. 22, 1567: *" Il Papa ha comprata la casa, nella quale stava quando era cardinale et dice voler che la goda il card. Alessandrino mentre vive et dopo la sua morte sarà dei suoi parenti." (Urb. 1040, p. 363b, Vatican Library.) *Cf.* LANCIANI IV., 22 *seq.* For the *famiglia* of the Cardinal see the *Rotulo* in MORONI, XXIII., 76 *seq.*

[4] See *Legaz. di Serristori*, 421–422. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 23, 1566, Urb. 1040, Vatican Library.

had, so to speak, passed through every grade of the Church's army. It had not been on account of his birth, nor by the favour of princes, nor by intrigue, but merely in virtue of his zeal in the service of the Church, that the strict religious had become in turn Prior, Inquisitor, Bishop, Cardinal, and at last Pope. His life, spent in unwearied labours, and amid penances and privations of every kind, had left its manifest traces upon his bodily strength. Although he was only sixty-two, his emaciated figure, with bald head and his long white beard, gave the impression of an old man. He was of middle height, with small eyes, but a keen sight, an aquiline nose, clear and healthy complexion, and strongly marked features.[1] The general impression of asceticism, which made

[1] For the physical appearance and natural characteristics of Pius V., see the famous description by Tiepolo in 1566 (*Relazione*, 169 *seq.*) according to which the new Pope stands out in contrast to the dead Pius IV. "in luminoso contrasto e meravigliosa richezza" (ANDREAS, 106), though his great spirituality seems exaggerated in more than one respect. *Cf.* also the Ritratto di Pio V. of M. Soriano (ALBÈRI, II., 200 *seq.*), the "Informatione delle qualità di Pio V. e delle cose che da quello dipendono," written in November, 1566, and July, 1567, and published by VAN ORTROY in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXIII. (1914), 192 *seq.*, and in App. nn. 7 and 8 the *report of C. Luzzara of Mar. 27, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The markedly ascetic traits of Pius V.'s features are clearly shown in his medals, especially that of Giov. Antonio Rossi (see VASARI, V., 387; ARMAND, Médailleurs ital., Paris, 1879; MÜNTZ, III., 242; MORTIER, S. Maria della Quercia, 161). For two other medals of Pius V. see DE FOVILLE, Médailles de la Renaissance in the *Revue numismat.*, XVIII. (1914), 1. There is a beautiful cameo of the head of Pius V. in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican. Of the many engravings on copper, which depict Pius V., special mention may be made of those by Beatrizet (*cf.* HÜBNER, Le statue di Roma, I., 35), by Niccolò Nelli (Pius V. aetat. LXIII. A. 1567; a copy in the collection of engravings in the gallery at Munich), that by Philippus Soius (Soye, died 1567) made for O. Panvinio, that of Moncornet and F. van Hülsen (good copies in the Imperial Familien-Fideikommiss library at Vienna). The engraving in the "Imagines" of F. Zenoi

him look, as an ambassador wrote, as if he were but skin and bones,[1] inspired awe. Everyone felt that he was in the presence of a man of unshakeable firmness, and of a profound seriousness, which, far removed from anything of this world, was fixed entirely upon spiritual things.

Pius V. was so imbued with the responsibilities of his office that he looked upon it as an obstacle in the way of his salvation. It was, indeed, obvious how much his new dignity weighed down this man, who would have wished above all things to have remained a friar.[2] It was only in the quiet of his convent, he would say with many sighs, that he had known real peace of conscience, and that already before this, his dignities, both

(Venice, 1569), is in MÜNTZ, III., 33. Rome is very rich in oil paintings of Pius V. They are to be seen at S. Silvestro al Quirinale, at SS. Domenico e Sisto (first altar on the left, and probably from the monastery founded by Pius V.; see NIBBY, I., 209), in the Vatican Library and in the palace of the Holy Office. The best of these portraits, which shows a full length figure of the Pope, who is seated, is by Scipione Pulzone, and is in the Colonna Gallery, Rome. Another copy is in the Collegio Ghislieri at Pavia (reproduced in DELL'ACQUA, Pio V, Milan. 1904), and a third in the convent of the Dominicans in Milan. In BARGELLINI, Etruria merid., Bergamo, 1909, 132, there is a reproduction of the fairly good portrait in the Cathedral at Sutri. The well known portrait of Pius V. by Dom. Muratori only dates from the beginning of the XVIIIth century; the original is in his cell at S. Sabina; see *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 3. The marble bust of Pius V. at the Trinità dei Monti on the tomb of Cardinal Carpi, erected by the Pope in 1568 (see FORCELLA, III., 125) is no longer in existence. The statue at S. Croce at Bosco (see DELL'ACQUA, 44) represents the Pope kneeling; the seated figure on his tomb in S. Maria Maggiore is the work of Lionardo da Sarzana. A later, but excellent, portrait of Pius V. in profile (Italian work) is in the Museum at Copenhagen. For the arms of Pius V. see PASINI-FRASSONI, Armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906, 38.

[1] Report of Cusano of January 26, 1566. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *letter of Cusano of March 2, 1566. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 46.

as bishop and cardinal, had sadly disturbed it; this was now the case more than ever when he remembered the account which, as Pope, he would one day have to render to Almighty God.[1] The supreme dignity seemed to him a heavy cross, under which he feared to fall. In a letter to the Grand Master of Malta he confessed that he had had thoughts of renouncing the tiara, and that the only thing which had held him back from such a step was his firm trust in the help of the Almighty.[2] Both in public and in private he begged people to pray much for him,[3] while at the same time he redoubled his accustomed exercises of piety and mortification.

Pius V. made it plain that now that he was Pope he still intended to remain the strict mendicant friar that he had been all his life, for he refused to lay aside his rough shirt,[4] and as far as possible continued his former manner of life. He went early to bed so as to be able to rise early in the morning. He said mass every day,[5] after which came prayers and meditation; he also recited the Rosary every day.[6] Immediately after he had broken his fast he devoted himself to the affairs

[1] See TIEPOLO, 201; CATENA, 31 *seq.*; GABUTIUS, 226–227. *Cf.* the saying of Pius V. related by Tiepolo, in MUTINELLI, I. For the meaning of similar expressions see LADERCHI, 1566, n. 6.

[2] See the beautiful letter to Pietro di Monte of December 8, 1570, in CATENA, 290 *seq.*

[3] See CATENA, 35; GABUTIUS, 199.

[4] *"Sotto ai panni pontificii porta la camiscia di rascia come facea quando era frate et essendogli portata rascia fina et sottile per far camiscie, ne ha fatto pigliar della più grossa dicendo che non vuol mutar quello che non si vede dal vulgo." Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166b. Vatican Library.

[5] According to TIEPOLO, 172, it might be supposed that he only celebrated mass frequently, but Arco, on January 12, 1566, expressly states: *"Ipse bene valet et *quotidie* sacris privatim operatur." (State Archives, Vienna.) The same thing is stated in the *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, printed in App n. 3, as well as in other reports, *e.g.* POLANCI Epist., in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 51, and the letter of Requesens of March 18, 1566, *Corresp. dipl.*, I., 161.

[6] CATENA, 35.

of state and granted audiences. He was indefatigable in this latter respect, and even when Rome lay under a heavy scirocco, he would not allow himself any rest.[1] He said that the best cure for the oppressive heat was to eat and drink very little. The small quantity of food and drink that sufficed him was extraordinary. At noon he took some bread-soup with two eggs, and half a cup of wine, and his supper in the evening generally consisted of some vegetable broth, salad, shell-fish, and cooked fruit. Only twice a week did meat appear at his table. Before and after the meal long prayers were recited, and during part of it a book was read, after which he and his guests maintained a monastic silence.[2] Nor did he act differently all through the day; only rarely did he allow himself any recreation, yet in spite of this he was of a naturally lively disposition, as Bernardo Cirillo, his majordomo, often had occasion to remark.[3]

The health of Pius V. had for many years suffered from stone;[4] the doctors and diplomatists therefore thought that he would not live very long.[5] Although he often felt very

[1] *Cf.* the *report of C. Luzzara of March 27, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *letter of Requesens, *supra* p. 54, n. 5, and the *letter of Arco of August 31, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 55 *seq.* (where instead of *fortaia* is found *tortaia*). C. MARINI, II., 320; CATENA, 27 *seq.* On November 18, 1567, Arco *states that the Pope has still further reduced his table, on which he only spends three and a half scudi a day. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the "Informatione delle qualità" in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 195.

[4] See TIEPOLO, 181; MARINI, II., 318 *seq.* and the *report of Arco on September 7, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the letter of Granvelle of March 10, 1566 (Corresp., ed. PIOT, I., 155) and the *report of C. Luzzara of June 12, 1566: *"La maggior parte di questi medici del Papa intendo che conchiudono che S.Stà habbia la pietra et grossa, et che facciano mal giuditio de la vita sua, aggiunto a questo la magrezza et attinuatione ne la quale è, che non può essere maggiore." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

unwell,[1] the Pope would not hear of sparing his strength,[2] all the more so because on the whole his health was better as Pope than it had been when he was a Cardinal.[3] He continued his former practice of taking a great deal of exercise, and when, in November, 1566, he went to the sea coast to inspect the works of fortification, he made very little use of his litter. He generally went about on foot, and in spite of all his labours, never slept more than five hours.[4]

As time went on all those who had hoped for the early death of the Pope were disappointed. As a remedy for the stone Pius used asses' milk, and though the physicians feared lest he should weaken his stomach, he persisted in the use of this remedy, which he had often found useful before.[5] Speaking generally, his state of health was fairly satisfactory, even in 1567. "He flourishes like a rose tree, and will live a long

[1] See the *report of Arco of May 25, 1566, State Archives, Vienna and the *letter of C. Luzzara of June 1, 1566: *"E voce pubblica per Roma che il Papa sia molto debole et ch'egli medesimo diffidi de la vita sua." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *report of Serristori of November 1, 1566 (State Archives, Florence).

[2] See the *report of Cusano, February 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and *that of Babbi, November 1, 1566, State Archives, Florence.

[3] With the reports of Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 39 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*, *cf.* the *letter of Serristori, April 1, 1566, State Archives, Florence, and the letter of July 13, 1566, in MASIUS, Briefe, 374. *Cf.* the *letter of Caligari to Commendone, September 21, 1566, Lett. di princ., XXIII, Papal Secret Archives; *Avviso di Roma of December 28, 1566 (Urb. 1040, p. 330b, Vatican Library); *report of B. Pia of May 31, 1567 (sta tanto bene quanto si stesse mai), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of November 23, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 305, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 45 *seq.*, the *report of C. Luzzara of May 29, 1566 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Avvisi di Roma of June 29, 1566 and June 19, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 248, 526b, Vatican Library.

time," wrote Serristori on March 15th, 1567.[1] Even during the summer of the same year the reports continue to be favourable,[2] and during the procession of Corpus Domini in 1567 the Pope seemed more vigorous than any of the Cardinals.[3] In the December of the same year they wrote from Rome that though the Pope fasted and prayed during Advent like a monk, he looked very well.[4] He continued his great activity ; often he walked eight miles in spite of the heat of summer, and they were afraid that he was doing too much for his age.[5] In the autumn he went almost every morning to his little villa outside the Porta Cavalleggieri. In his visits to the churches, which he often made on foot, he tired out those who accompanied him.[6] During the Holy Week of 1568 he fasted so strictly that he brought on a serious giddiness.[7] It was only the advice of a new doctor which was successful in the following year in persuading him to have more consideration for his health and his age,[8] to sleep longer and to restrict his fasts to some extent, though he insisted in this last respect on doing as much as possible. He ordered the cook, under pain of excommunication, not to put anything forbidden into his soup on days

[1] See the *letter in the State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287, p. 77.

[2] See the *report of Arco of June 15, 1567, State Archives, Vienna and the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of July 16, 1567, Lett. di princ., XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report of Arco of May 24, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *" Con tutto che osservi l'advento alla fratesca con digiuni et celebratione ha una buona ciera." Avviso di Roma of Dec. 13. 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 460, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 22, and August 21, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 520,567, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *reports of Arco of June 21 and July 5, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of October 2, 1568, and October 5, 1569, Urb. 1040, p. 590 ; 1041, p. 158b, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso di Roma of April 17, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 503b, *ibid.*

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1569, Urb. 1041 p.198b, *ibid.*

of abstinence,[1] and on Good Friday he would take nothing cooked at all.[2]

The Pope found his chief delight in prayer, and his fervour often moved him to tears.[3] Every time that he had to come to an important decision he prayed with special fervour.[4] As soon as he had concluded his official duties he returned to his spiritual exercises,[5] and during Holy Week he retired altogether, so as to give himself up entirely to meditation on the Passion of Christ,[6] and since his special devotion was to the Crucified,[7] Pius V. is represented in most of his pictures with a crucifix in his hands.

[1] " *Il Papa fa grand' astinentia, fa la quaresima et digiuna ogni giorno et ha comandato espressamente a quelli, che hanno cura della bocca sua, che guardino per quanto hanno cura la sua gratia de non alterarli li brodi con istilati o altro, publicando che saranno escomunicati oltre le pene arbitrarie se uscirano del suo comandamento " (Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 362b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of B. Pia of December 20, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also MARINI, II., 319. As Pope, Pius V. kept the cook whom he had had as Cardinal; see MORONI, XXIII., 77. The title of " cuoco segreto di Pio V." was also borne by Bartolomeo Scappi, who, since he had no opportunity of putting his office to practical use, used his skill theoretically in a very widely sold cookery book (Opera, Venice, 1570, 1596, 1605). *Cf.* HÜBNER, Sixtus V., II., 138 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Rome, 48.

[2] See in App. n. 9 the *Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1566, Vatican Library.

[3] TIEPOLO, 172. POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 46.

[4] See GRATIANI Epist., 379.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of January 26, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 170b, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 40.

[7] " *S. Pius V. una cum S. Carlo Borromeo coemiterium visitare et ante crucifixi imaginem, quae in capella Campi Sancti summa ab antiquis temporibus veneratione colitur, preces fundere consuevisse vetera confraternitatis monumenta tradiderunt," reports the Historia Campi Sancti, MS. in the Archives of that Confraternity.

It is said of him that throughout his pontificate Pius V. never failed to be present at any of the ecclesiastical functions prescribed by the ceremonial, even when he was ill.[1] He gave everyone a striking example by the recollection and piety he displayed on those occasions.[2] At Christmas he first assisted at matins and mass, then said two low masses, after

[1] TIEPOLO 172. C. FIRMANUS, *Diarium XII., 31 p. 154: "Smus Dominus Nr a die sue assumptionis ad pontificatum usque ad hanc diem (*Cf.* February 20, 1567) semper celebravit missas et solum per undecim dies cessavit; nunquam reliquit aliquam capellam nisi in cathedra Sti Petri in die subsequenti suam coronationem, quam reliquit pro cardinalium commoditate, et in anniversario coronationis et cathedra Sti Petri precedenti propter maledictam differentiam precedentiarum ut supra" (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of January 8, 1569, and *that of Arco of February 5, 1569 (the Pope often in the ceremonies "maximo cum labore et incommodo, quod tamen iucunda admodum facie et hilari animo pertulit"), State Archives Vienna. Sometimes he did more than he was obliged to do. For example, he attended the funeral offices for the Cardinals. When the master of ceremonies reminded him that the Popes were not accustomed to attend such ceremonies, he said: "Anco i monaci mal volontiere vedono l'abate in coro, ma noi vogliamo venire seben non è usanza, et così si andò" (Urb. 1040, p. 317, Vatican Library). See also the *Avviso di Roma of December 28, 1566: *"Questi altri giorni sempre s'è trovato alle capelle con tanta sollecitudine che i cardinali son stati sforzati levarsi avanti il giorno." (Urb. 1040, p. 330b; *cf. ibid.* 338, *Avviso of December 8, 1566: *"Passerà questo tempo con solitaria devotione ne resta mai di venir alle solita capelle dell'Advento et altre et digiuna ogni giorno et dice messa e fa chel card. Alessandrino faccia il medesimo"); also the *Avvisi of April 5, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 375b, and of December 9, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 380b, Vatican Library.

[2] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 40. An *Avviso di Roma of April 17, 1568, refers to the reading of the Passion, "stete sempre in piedi con gran devotione come ha anco fatto in tutti li altri officii di questa settimana santa" (Urb. 1040, p. 502b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of March 9, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

which he celebrated High Mass in St. Peter's.[1] He also assisted regularly at the sermons in the Vatican.[2] Sometimes the Pope himself preached in St. Peter's, at S. Maria sopra Minerva, and at the Lateran.[3] At Easter time, or when a jubilee had been proclaimed, he liked to give communion himself to his household.[4] On Ash Wednesday he would give it for perhaps three hours to many of the faithful,[5] and during Lent he liked to visit the church of S. Sabina on the Aventine.[6]

A pious exercise which was very ancient, and which Pius V. and Philip Neri especially revived,[7] was the visit to the seven basilicas. At least twice a year, generally in spring at the time of the Carnival, when reparation for excesses seemed to be especially called for, and in the autumn, the Pope made this long and fatiguing pilgrimage,[8] and in doing this, as was always his custom when he went about, he was accompanied by a small retinue, and distributed alms to the poor with his

[1] *Avviso di Roma of December 28, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 330b, Vatican Library.

[2] *" Ogni mattina S.S. va alla predica in palazzo dove predica il prior di S. Sabina " (Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 362). The Pope was always to be seen at the sermons of P. Benedetto (*Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 1, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of March 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and POLANCI Epist. in *Anal Bolland.*, VII., 51.

[3] See POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 65.

[4] See C. Firmanus, *Diarium, August 3, 1566, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *letter of Arco of March 6,1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of February .15, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 355, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* MESCHLER, Die Fahrt zu den sieben Kirchen in Rom, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVIII., 20 *seq.*

[8] See C. Firmanus, *Diarium, April 8 and October 10, 1566, April 3 and November 5, 1567, March 2, April 12, and October 29, 1568, Papal Secret Archives ; *report of Zibramonti of March 4, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

own hands.[1] No Pope had ever been known to make so wearisome a pilgrimage during the whole period of the Renaissance, and it was therefore looked upon as something quite new.[2] But, as was the case with other things, Pius V. soon found imitators in this, and at Easter, 1571, it is reported that the Cardinals and almost all the prelates of the court made the visit of the seven basilicas.[3]

Pius V. always showed a great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament; this was especially evident at the feast of Corpus Domini. In the first year of his reign he was one of the first to arrive for the function, and so early that they had to light lamps in order to see. First of all the Pope said a low mass, preceded and followed by long prayers and meditation. At the procession previous Popes had made use of a litter, and had worn a precious tiara, but he went on foot, carrying the eucharistic Saviour with bare head and the greatest devotion. With eyes fixed on the Blessed Sacrament, and with unceasing prayer, Pius V., in spite of the great heat, made the whole procession, which passed through the Borgo, which was all decorated for the feast; men noticed his compunction, as well as the fact that he frequently burst into tears.[4] In the years that followed the ambassadors could never say enough of the Pope's deep recollection, especially at the feast of Corpus Domini.[5] It can clearly be seen from their letters

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1566, in App. n. 9; Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 40; *report of Cusano of April 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna; *letter of C. Luzzara of November 19, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Arco of April 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the *Avviso di Roma of April 14, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 46, Vatican Library.

[4] See the report of Tiepolo of June 15, 1566, in MUTINELLI I., 47 *seq.* and POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland*, VII., 63.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of B. Pia of May 31, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avviso di Roma of June 19, 1568: *"Andò in processione con il Corpus Domini in mano et testa tutta scoperta con gl'occhi sempre affissi nel santissimo sacramento con molta

what a deep impression his piety made.[1] His behaviour, as even a man so given to criticism as Galeazzo Cusano admits, was faultless, and worthy of the successor of St. Peter.[2] In 1566 so cold a diplomatist as the Spaniard, Requesens, gave it as his opinion that the Church had not had a better head for the past three hundred years.[3] In the reports we constantly find the words: "The Pope is a saint."[4]

"In consequence of his mortification," we read in an account

devotione" 34 bishops and 26 cardinals took part in the procession (Urb. 1040, p. 526b, Vatican Library); *Avviso di Roma of June 11, 1569: *"N.S. sotto il baldachino a piedi con il capo scoperto con una grandissima devotione." (Urb. 1041, p. 91b, *ibid*) *Arco on June 15, 1566, reports concerning the part taken by the Pope in the procession on Corpus Domini that he went on foot with his head uncovered "humiliter et sancte, quod multo ex tempore nullos ex Pontificibus alios fecisse constat." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] *Cf.* Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I., 124 and the letters of Giov. Polanco published by DELPLACE in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 46 *seqq.*, which to some extent had appeared in a translation and somewhat altered in "Epistolae . . . ex urbe ad Germaniae principes quosdam et alios primarios viros scriptae de gestis Pii V. P. M., Coloniae, 1567; see *Anal. Bolland.*, XV., 77 *seq.* where, however, the earlier edition (catalogued by PFLEGER, Eisengrein 127) of M. Eisengrein is forgotten, "Nova fide digna de rebus hoc anno a R. P. Pio V gestis ex epistolis doctor. quorundam excerpta, Ingolstadt, 1566."

[2] *Letter of April 20, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Corresp. dipl., I., 203.

[4] "The Pope appears to me every day more holy," is the judgment of so coldly calculating a diplomatist as Granvelle, on March 10, 1566 (Corresp. éd. POULLET, I., 147; *cf.* 124, 345). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of January 26, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 170b, Vatican Library; Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 53. On April 1, 1569, B. Pia wrote: *"Dio benedetto sia lodato che dadegno di voler sotto questo santo papa aiutar la sua navicella nel più tempes-toso mare." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

based upon close personal observation,[1] "Pius V. is almost entirely free from passions, and in this stands out in strong contrast to all other men. Nothing is so near to his heart as the wish to restore the Holy See to its former greatness and its ancient splendour, by the improvement of morals and the rooting out of abuses. When it is necessary, no trouble is too great for him, and no measures are too strict. Even when he grants a favour, like a good confessor, he adds thereto some good advice. As soon as he detects anything in the nature of a profanation of holy things he is seized with a righteous anger, his countenance is inflamed, and the culprit has to listen to many stern rebukes, though his heat disappears as soon as he sees signs of repentance. He is quite inexorable in the case of the smallest offence against the divine law, or against the precepts and teaching of the Church."[2]

Pius V.'s strictness in all that concerned reform, the administration of justice, and the Inquisition, recalled the days of Paul IV. Himself as pious as he was humble, and as grave as he was severe, Pius V. expected much from others. Above all, he insisted on absolute truthfulness; the man who had once told him a lie lost his favour for ever.[3] He liked people to speak frankly to him and to tell him of his mistakes, but he had no opinion of those who always agreed with him or

[1] See the "Informatione delle qualità di Pio V." in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 192. When the secretary of State, Bonelli, was ill, an *Avviso di Roma of July 12, 1570, reports with what calm Pius V. bore adversities. Urb. 1041, p. 304, Vatican Library.

[2] See the Informatione, etc., *loc. cit.* 193; TIEPOLO, 175 *seq.*; SORIANO, 200; CATENA, 28 *seq.* *"Il papa" Serristori reports to Florence on February 7, 1567, "è di natura molto sensitiva et in un' tratto si accende et viene in collera, poi facilmente, come vede V.E., si lascia piegare de un poco di humiltà et submissione." (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287, p. 40). *Cf.* also the *reports of C. Luzzara of May 15, and June 12, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *report of Arco of May 18, 1566, and *that of Strozzi of September 28, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] SORIANO, 201. CATENA, 31.

flattered him ;[1] he often gave proof that he was always ready to hear the truth, even when it was bitter.[2] He was exceedingly condescending to the poor and those of low estate, and plainly showed his disappointment when he was unable to grant any request. His charity towards the needy, and his generosity to those who served him well, were very great, indeed too great in the opinion of many.[3]

Pius V. did not allow himself to be led away by first impressions, but once he had formed a definite opinion on any subject, it was almost impossible to shake him. He was quicker to form a bad opinion of anyone than a good one, especially in the case of people he did not know well.[4] Neither worldly considerations nor violent threats could move him from what he thought to be right. He once said that he would rather retire into privacy at the Lateran with two chaplains than allow anything he considered wrong. The Venetian diplomatist, Soriano, was of opinion that it was necessary to know such a Pope in order to understand how it was possible for a man who had sprung from such lowly circumstances to feel so sure that he could forego all human considerations.[5]

[1] For example, Arco, on August 31, 1566, *reports that when, sometimes, in a question of a dispensation, an appeal was made to the opinions of theologians, Pius V. replied "che molti theologi et canonisti erano adulatori de pontefici." (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* also CIACONIUS, III., 1014. On November 25, 1567, B. Pia *reports that the Pope paid no attention to *dottori* (jurists) and that he governed his actions by his *massime theologiche* (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 340.

[2] See the episode related by Cusano in his *letter of April 6, 1566. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the "Informatione delle qualità," etc., 193 *seq.* *Cf.* Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 58.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] SORIANO, 202. *Cf.* POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 57 ; CATENA, 32. It is certain that several of the diplomatists were led by Pius V.'s great conscientiousness to think that he was very timid : thus *Khevonhüller on March 30, 1566, and

Even those who judged merely in the light of worldly considerations paid tribute to the merits of Pius V. The ambassadors, who were bound to look at everything from a prejudiced point of view, and always to keep before their eyes the frequently excessive demands of their masters, mention as weaknesses in the Pope his readiness to believe bad tidings, his great scrupulosity, which they attribute to his sensitive conscience, the obstinacy with which he clung to any idea which he had formed, and especially his tendency to distrust people.[1] Requesens is right in saying that the bitter experience which Pius V. had had of the selfishness of certain Cardinals was the reason why he did not dare to trust more than a few people.[2] But above all the ambassadors lament the Pope's lack of experience in political matters.

It is true that Pius V. had had as little to do with politics hitherto as with the affairs of the court, and he was certainly at a disadvantage in both respects, and that not only from his want of knowledge of men and of the world, but also

*Cusano on February 2, in the same year. Arco's view was more correct; on September 7, 1566, he expressed the opinion that the Pope would make further mistakes "perchè è troppo fermo nelle sue opinioni et mostra di curare poco delli principi." State Archives, Vienna. On April 28, 1567, Vincenzo Matuliani wrote: *"La natura di questo principe è di non voler fare cosa a requisitione di persona che viva se non quello che viene dalla sua volontà governata con molta prudenza e retta da una mente santissima." State Archives, Bologna.

[1] See TIEPOLO, 175; *cf.* SORIANO, 202. On May 16, 1566, Serristori complains: *"Non si fida di huomo del mondo et quello che è peggio fuori di queste cose della religione S.S^tà^ non intende punto delle cose del mondo et manco di quelle della corte; non si fida d'huomo che viva, non ha ministri che intendino, dall' che le cose di qua vanno a mal camino." (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3592). *"Il papa non si fida d'alcuno" reports Khevenhüller March 30, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Corresp. dipl., I., 161.

because he had not had the necessary experience.[1] The consciousness that God had called him to the supreme dignity, and that he was ignorant of these less important matters, often led him to act, even in worldly affairs, with a determination that was quite wanting in consideration for others, and which refused to listen to any arguments suggested by human prudence. Starting from this idealistic standpoint, and looking at everything merely from the supernatural point of view, it was natural to him to pay too little attention to the actual conditions with which he was faced.

Pius V. was no diplomatist, nor did he profess to be one. He was as sharply marked off from his predecessor, Pius IV., by his complete indifference to political considerations as he was by the strictness of his own life. It has rarely happened in a Pope that the sovereign has been so subordinated to the priest, as was the case with this son of St. Dominic, who now sat on the throne of St. Peter. One thing alone was dear to his heart, the salvation of souls; to this he devoted all his energies, and he estimated the value of every institution and every act in accordance with its usefulness for that purpose.

The reputation for ruthless severity which attached to Pius V. as a former Grand Inquisitor, roused the fear of the Romans during the days that followed his election, lest they should be entering upon a pontificate like that of Paul IV. The Pope, who fully realized this feeling with regard to himself, sought to calm men's minds by declaring that he knew very well that he had to deal with men and not with angels.[2] The generosity which the Pope displayed during the first days of

[1] With the "Informatione," etc., *loc. cit.*, 194, *cf.* especially TIEPOLO, 179 and SORIANO, 202. See also Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I. 519, 595; Corresp. dipl., I., 161, and the *letter of Serristori of May 16, 1566, quoted *supra* p. 65, n. 1.

[2] See the *report of Arco of January 12, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, the *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, Vatican Library (see App. n. 3), and CATENA, 24. *Cf.* also the *letter of Babbi of January 8, 1566, State Archives, Florence. P. PASCHINI, Note per la biografia del card. G. Sirleto, Naples, 1918, 56 *seq.*

his reign also helped to allay these fears. The conclavists and auditors of the Rota received gifts of money, as did the poorer Cardinals, among whom 20,000 scudi were distributed. Hannibal von Hohenems, to whom Pius IV. had promised 100,000 scudi before he died, received at least half that sum, and was confirmed in the offices which he had held.[1]

If, in spite of all this, the fears of the Romans were not quite allayed, the reason lay in the fact that, side by side with these proofs of his benevolence, Pius V. also displayed great severity. He refused all the petitions presented for his signature after his election;[2] the Conservatori were not allowed to kiss his foot, because, during the vacancy they had taken from Paulus Manutius the house which contained his printing press. The fact that, at the distribution of offices, the friends of Paul IV., and not those of Pius IV., were selected, also pointed to increased severity.[3]

The allocution which the Pope addressed to the Cardinals at the first General Congregation on January 12th, 1566, was full of significance; he said that he did not intend to treat them as his servants, but as his brethren, remarking at the same time that the evil life led by many ecclesiastics had played no small part in the beginning and spread of heresy. He exhorted them to reform themselves and their households; if they would do that he would repay them by his favour and his confidence. He declared that it was his intention to carry

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Cico Aldrovandi of January 9, 1566 (liberalità degna di principe), State Archives, Bologna; the *letter of Serristori of January 11, 1566, State Archives, Florence, and the *report of Arco of January 12, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. The *confirmation of the gift to Hannibal von Hohenems, of January 11, 1566, in the Archives of the Museum at Bregenz, n. 109.

[2] *"Electus noluit signare ullam supplicationem." C. FIRMANUS, Diarium, in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 36, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the two *reports of Arco of January 12, 1566 (in Latin and Italian), State Archives, Vienna. For the question at issue between the Romans and P. Manutius see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 118 *seq.*; *cf. Mél. d'archéol.*, III., 269 *seq.*

out the decrees of the Council to the letter, and especially the duty of residence. Turning to the Cardinals who were the Protectors of the various countries, the Pope said that they must seek for nothing for themselves or their relatives, but must be willing to meet the wishes of the princes in so far as they did not run counter to the Council and the work of reform. His own policy would be directed to nothing but the maintenance of peace among Christian princes, the extirpation as far as possible of heresy, and the obtaining of help against the Turks. Pius V. then listened patiently to the petitions of all the Cardinals, and granted them as far as possible, though he observed that it was not in keeping with the dignity of Cardinals that they should approach the Pope ten at a time; they should seek an audience singly, and he would willingly receive them at any hour. The poorer Cardinals must come to him for help without any hesitation.[1]

From the first the new Pope gave signal proof of his independence in spiritual matters. His former brethren in religion, who made frequent appearances at the Vatican, were informed that they must remain in their own convents; if his Holiness had need of them, he would send for them.[2] Pius V. showed in like manner that he intended to be free from the influence of the Theatines and the Jesuits.[3] He told the Imperial ambassador, Arco, that he would gladly give help to Maximilian II. against the Turks, but that the Emperor must spare him any requests for concessions to the apostates, such as he had made to Pius IV. The Pope definitely refused the request of the ambassador that he would confer the red hat

[1] With the report in Legaz. di Serristori 420, *cf.* the * letter of C. Aldrovandi of January 12, 1566 (State Archives, Bologna), also *report of Arco of January 12, 1566, and that of G. Cusano of January 19, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna). LADERCHI (1566, n. 28), wrongly describes this meeting as a *consistorium*; the wrong date given by him (January 11) is taken from the *Diarium of Firmanus (*loc. cit.*) p. 39b, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See the two reports of *Arco of January 12, 1566, *loc. cit.*

[3] See in App. n. 3 the *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, Vatican Library.

on Diego Lasso at the first consistory, saying that his predecessor had already increased the number of the Sacred College overmuch, and had thereby lowered its dignity; he added that he was not thinking of making any new Cardinals.[1]

When he heard that Paulus Manutius had received back his house, Pius V. at once extended his favour to the Conservatori, and promised that he would not burden the people with extraordinary taxation, since he himself could manage with very little, when a piece of bread and two eggs were enough for him. On January 12th, 1566, the Pope's intention of naming three Cardinals to attend to political affairs was announced, for he wished to devote himself as far as possible to spiritual matters. From motives of economy, and because he was convinced that the Popes would always be protected by the hand of God, he gave orders for the disbanding of the light cavalry, with the exception of two companies; his arms, he said, were the Holy Scriptures, and his defenders the sons of St. Dominic.[2] He would have liked to have done without any troops at all.[3]

Popular opinion, at first so unfavourable, soon changed completely. At a public meeting of the senate, it was resolved that all the civil officials should receive festal robes for the Coronation, which was fixed for the feast of St. Antony, the Pope's sixty-second birthday. In the procession on this occasion, from which the Spanish ambassador and Marcantonio Colonna were absent on account of the dispute about precedence, the Caporioni carried the Pope to the crypt of the

[1] See the two *reports of Arco of January 12, 1566, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the *letter of Cusano of January 19, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), *cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166, Vatican Library. The complete disbanding of the light cavalry, however, had to be suspended on account of the disturbances at Ascoli and the Turkish peril (*report of Cusano of January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna); *cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 173, Vatican Library (see *infra* p. 103, n. 1).

[3] See the *letter of Arco of January 22, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

Prince of the Apostles. The coronation was performed by Cardinals Rovere and del Monte in front of St. Peter's, upon a tribune in full view of the great crowds of people, and which had been adorned with allegorical pictures. Filled with enthusiasm, the people cried: "Viva Pio V.!" The ceremony was so long that night was falling when the Cardinals went to the coronation banquet, which had been made ready in the apartments of Innocent VIII. The banquet was on a splendid scale, but not unduly lavish; indeed the service and arrangements were somewhat deficient considering the number of the guests. The Pope himself ate as little as if he had been in the refectory of his own convent. "God grant," so runs a report from Rome, "that he may be preserved to us, because so far he has shown himself to be a true Vicar of Christ."[1]

At the coronation of Pius IV., several persons had been crushed to death in the crowds; the new Pope, therefore, did not have money scattered among the people, but sent instead large alms to the poor and the religious houses. His first act after his coronation, and one which was in itself a sign of his strict views, was to give orders for the dismissal from the Vatican of Doctor Buccia, the court jester of Pius IV.[2] In 1567 the custom of celebrating the anniversary of the coronation by a state banquet was abolished, and the money which would have been spent was distributed to the poor.[3]

"The Pope," thus begins an account of the solemn ceremony

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166b-167, Vatican Library, and C. FIRMANUS, *Diarium, in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 40b *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives, *Cf.* App. n. 4.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of January 19, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. According to the *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566 (Urb. 1040, p. 166, Vatican Library), Buccia was a *schiavone*. For his life see CONSTANT, Rapport, 222 *seq.* Naturally Pius V. did not wish to have anything to do with actors; see *Giorn. d. lett. Ital.*, LXIII., 298 *seq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 18, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 350, Vatican Library,. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 110.

of taking possession of the Lateran, which took place on January 27th, 1566, "perseveres in his holy life, and shows himself a true Vicar of Christ. The Romans love him as a father. On his way to the Lateran they hailed him with such manifestations of joy as have not been seen for ten pontificates." The news went round that as he was leaving his apartments he had patiently stopped to listen to a man who was seeking justice, saying that such simplicity delighted him. When, during the procession, he caught sight of his old school-fellow, Francesco Bastone, who had come from Alessandria, Pius V. called him to his side, and in grateful memory of the help which his father had once given him, appointed him Keeper of the Castle of St. Angelo. This act showed all Rome from what a lowly family the Pope had come. It is a wonderful thing, wrote a diplomatic agent of the Emperor, that this man, who once tended the flocks, should now have become the chief shepherd of Christendom."[1]

Four days before the taking possession of the Lateran, a consistory had been held, at which the Pope announced certain reforms for the clergy and people of Rome. A special commission of Cardinals was appointed for the reform of the secular clergy; this was composed of Borromeo, Savelli, Alciati and Sirleto, and they were to inquire into the learning, life and morals of all priests. On this occasion the Pope exhorted the Cardinals to watch carefully over their households, and told them that he had abolished the right of sanctuary, since justice must be able to lay its hand upon the guilty everywhere, even in the Apostolic Palace. The bishops were reminded of the duty of residence, from which only those were to be exempt who, like the Datary, were directly employed

[1] See in App. n. 5 the *letter of Cusano of February 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 172, Vatican Library; Firmanus in CANCELLIERI, 111, *seq.*; RODOCANCHI, St. Ange, 170, and Capitole, 113; BRUZZONE in *Riv. di Alessandria*, XIV. (1905), 378 *seq.*, where there are other instances of favours conferred by Pius V. on his compatriots.

at the Papal court.[1] The Pope had reformed the Dataria immediately after his election.[2] At the beginning of February he also undertook the reform of the Signatura, the personnel of which was substantially reduced.[3] Since no record could be found of many of the expenses of Pius IV., the late Pope's treasurer, Minale,[4] was called to account, and being found guilty, was condemned to the galleys for life.[5] Under pain of excommunication, a *motu proprio* demanded from all the Cardinals a list of the revenues and benefices which they had received from Pius IV., since, so the new Pope declared, he did not wish to help rich Cardinals.[6]

The zeal with which Pius V. devoted himself to the sittings of the congregations, especially that of the Inquisition, and to giving audiences, knew no bounds.[7] Every Sunday and Thursday he gave public audiences, when the poor people were given precedence. The patience which the Pope showed in listening to their complaints restrained the officials from any act of injustice, while it inspired the Romans with enthusiasm. It is said that on these audience days the Pope would listen to the people who presented themselves, without leaving his

[1] See the *report of Arco of January 16, 1566, and *that of Cusano of January 26, 1566, both in State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See in App. n. 3 the *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *letters of Cusano of February 2 and 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See the *report of Cusano, March 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 27, 1567, June 19 and Sept. 25, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 442, 527, 584, Vatican Library, and the *report of Arco of November 29, 1567, State Archives, Vienna. Minale died in prison at Ostia; see *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 109, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *reports of Arco and Cusano of February 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] Concerning these audiences Arco wrote on February 23, 1566, that Pius V. granted them *"omni studio omnique conatu etiam supra vires" State Archives, Vienna.

throne, for ten hours at a time.[1] He earnestly impressed upon the Conservatori the duty of seeing to a regular supply of provisions, and promised them every assistance in this respect, saying that if it were necessary he was ready to give them an audience at any time. He showed special marks of honour to the Cardinals, and when they came for an audience he made them remain covered, and begged them to be seated, which had not been customary in the time of Pius IV.[2]

At first the Cardinal who had the greatest influence was Alessandro Farnese, who had effected the election of Pius V., and was specially experienced in political affairs. As it was precisely in this respect that Pius V. lacked knowledge, he was all the more ready at the beginning of his pontificate to avail himself of that of Farnese; it was thought that the latter would in this way pave the way for himself to the supreme dignity.[3]

Besides Farnese, Pius V. entrusted the direction of political matters to Cardinals Vitelli, Rebiba and Reumano, the administration of justice to Capizuchi, Niccolini and Gambara, and matters connected with benefices to Scotti, Rebiba and Reumano. Archbishop Marcantonio Maffei was appointed Datary.[4] Of those who obtained positions of influence and

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of Cusano of January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 183b, Vatican Library. See also CATENA, 28.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna (*infra*, p. 152).

[3] The Pope, *wrote Serristori on January 8, 1566, hands over all memorials to Cardinal Farnese "essendo quello che adesso governa tutto" (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3591). Farnese, *reports Cusano on January 26, 1566, has a say in all important matters *"e in vero S.S.Illmo è quella che dà la norma a tutti come meglio instrutta delle cose di governo di stati ch'ogno'altro cardinale et fino a qui tutto si è fatto con sua consulta." (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 421.

[4] See the *Italian report of Arco of January 12, 1566, State Archives Vienna.

authority, the majority were men belonging to the school of Paul IV.[1]

At first Pius V. was unwilling to have a Cardinal nephew to assist him. In the place of Tolomeo Galli, who had been very influential during the last year of Pius IV., he appointed as *segretario intimo* his former secretary, Girolamo Rusticucci,[2] whom he knew and valued as a man of few words, a retiring disposition, and entirely devoted to him.[3] He entrusted the direction of his correspondence, and the carrying out of his orders, which was equivalent to making him Secretary of State, to a man of the strict school of Carafa, Cardinal Reumano,[4] who occupied Borromeo's apartments in the Borgia Tower,[5] but the Pope retained the real control of the government in his own hands. His consciousness of his great

[1] *" Et in questi principii tutte le creature di Paolo IV. pretendono assai et si vede chiaramente che N.S^re^ le abbraccia." Caligari to Commendone from Rome, January 9, 1566, in Lett, di princ., XXIII., p. 73b, Papal Secret Archives. The majordomo, B. Cirillo, was also a " creatura di Paolo IV " ; see *report of Serristori of January 8, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic.3591.

[2] See TÖRNE, Pt. Gallio, 48 *seq.* With Rusticucci were associated the two secretaries of briefs, Cesare Glorierio and Antonio Fioribello, as well as the secretary for cyphers, Trifone Bencio. Fioribello retired in October 1568, and, since Giulio Poggiani had died on November 5, 1566, was succeeded by Tommaso Aldobrandini (November 30, 1566). *Cf. Mitteil. des österr. Instituts*, XIV., 562, 585 *seq.* ; RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 521 *seq.* ; MEISTER, Geheimschrift, 51. For the collection of the briefs of Pius V. and the Archives for Briefs see App. n. 68. Pius V. was the first to introduce a fixed salary for nuncios ; see BIAUDET, 27, 75.

[3] See " Informatione delle qualità," *loc. cit.* 198. The influence of Rusticucci steadily increased. An *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1568, speaks of him as " più favorito che mai " (State Archives, Vienna). Later on he was replaced by Bonelli as Secretary of State (*cf.* PALANDRI, 130, n. 2) ; see Vol. XVIII. of this work.

[4] See the report of Serristori of January 19, 1566, in TÖRNE, 48 ; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., I., 123. For Reumano *cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 23.

[5] See the *letter of Caligari to Commendone, January 22, 1566, in Lett. di princ,. XXIII., p. 79. Papal Secret Archives.

position, and of the fact that he had never had any ulterior ends, gave Pius V. a great freedom of action, which from time to time showed itself in altogether unexpected decisions. And since this only came to be understood by degrees,[1] the diplomatists at first tried to guess which of the Cardinals would attain to the greatest influence.[2] For their part the Cardinals were filled with the deepest jealousy of Reumano.

Pius V. was accustomed to give his confidence only to those who sought nothing for themselves.[3] He very soon discovered that the ambitious Farnese thought more of his own interests than of those of the Church,[4] and his opinion of the disinterestedness of Vitelli, whom he still trusted at the beginning of February,[5] was also soon destroyed, and therefore Pius V.

[1] From a *report of Serristori of February 7, 1567, (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287. p. 40), it is clear with what dislike the Cardinals viewed the independence of Pius V. On June 19, 1568, Cusano *reports that the Cardinals were complaining of the strictness of the Pope; on July 10 he *announces that the Pope decides all important matters himself, and that only matters of small importance are raised in the consistory (State Archives, Vienna). In an *Avviso di Roma of January 4, 1570, we read: *" Le resolutioni così repentine del Papa fanno suspettare tutta la corte che si habbia da fare una promotione all'improviso senza saputa d'alcuno." Urb. 1041, p. 204b. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of May 13, 1570: *" L'impenetrabil mente del Papa" causes the most divergent rmours in the court concerning a nomination of Cardinals. Vatican Library.

[2] When Cardinal Scotti was assigned apartments in the Vatican, Cusano (*letter of March 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna) was of opinion that he would attain to the most influential position. The Florentines were afraid of the influence of Farnese, and were working against him; see Legaz. di Serristori, 421, 423 *seq.* HILLIGER, 151.

[3] See the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of February 2, 1566, in Lett. di princ., XXIII., n. 88, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *" S'intende che Farnese s'andava apparechiando la via al papato il che venuto alle orechie del Papa ha detto che fa male et che ce lo farà intendere." Arco on February 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *letter of Caligari mentioned in n. 3.

found himself constrained to call to his assistance one of his relatives, in whom he thought that he could put absolute confidence. To have done this must have cost him a considerable effort, for he hated nothing so much as any kind of nepotism. When, during the first days of his reign, he was reminded that he ought to promote his relatives, he had replied: "God has called me to be what I am, in order that I may serve the Church, and not that the Church might serve me."[1] He sent word to one of his relations, who had come to Rome without his knowledge at the end of January, that he must go away at once.[2] Two sons of Domenica Bonelli, the daughter of the Pope's sister, Gardina Bonelli, were inmates of the Germanicum, and studying under the Jesuits;[3] Pius V. sent them word through the rector that they were to go on with their studies, and that he would take care of them if they remained hidden and humble, but that they must not expect great things from him.[4]

While he was still a Cardinal, Pius V. had sent yet a third

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Caraccia in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 34.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January ,1566, Urb. 1040, p. 170b, Vatican Library, and the *letter of Caligari of January 26, 1566, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Gardina married first Marcantonio Manlio, and secondly Bartolomeo Gallina. She died in 1548. *Cf.* BRUZZONE in *Riv. di Alessandria*, X., 2 (1901), 27. See also *Diversi appunti e notizie d. famiglia Bonelli, in the Bonelli Archives in the Villa Le Selve near Signa (Tuscany). In these archives, of which Prof. Dengel was the first to make use, the *acta* from the earlier Bonelli archives in Rome are not to be found, as was to have been expected from the date of Laderchi and Garampi. [In the Barberini Library (now in the Vatican Library), not only the codices 3615 and 3638 (see SERRANO, Corresp. dipl. I., XXIX., but also 3613, 3614, 3635, 3636, 3637, come from the Archives of Cardinal Michele Bonelli, and the numbers by which LADERCHI quotes them are still visible, though very imperfectly.]

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 185b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* POLANCI Epist., in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 61; STEINHUBER, I², 62.

son of Domenica Bonelli, named Antonio, to study at the Germanicum. This man had followed in his uncle's footsteps, and had entered the Dominican order, taking the name of Michele. At the time of the Pope's election this great-nephew, who was then twenty-five years of age, was studying at Perugia. At the very commencement of the pontificate it was said in Rome that Michele Bonelli would be made a Cardinal,[1] and indeed, on March 6th, 1566, he was received into the Sacred College.[2] The Pope had only allowed himself to be persuaded to take this step at the urgent request of all the Cardinals and the Spanish ambassador, who pointed out to him the necessity of the appointment of a trustworthy confidant for the carrying out of his many duties.[3]

Cardinal Alessandrino, as Bonelli was called, remained,

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, Vatican Library. See App. n. 3. In his *report of February 27, 1566, C. Aldrovandi describes Michele Bonelli as "giovane di buoni costumi." State Archives, Bologna.

[2] At first Bonelli stayed for some days in secret in the Dominican convent at the Minerva; he presented himself at the Vatican for the first time on March 2; see the *letter of Cusano of March 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 187b, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 185b, an *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1566, according to which the envoy from Alessandria asked for the promotion of the Pope's nephew. The college of jurists at Alessandria also sent a special mission; see *Riv. d'Alessandria*, XV., 483.

[3] For the nomination of Michele Bonelli on March 6, 1566, *cf.*, besides Legaz. di Serristori, 424, and Tiepolo in TÖRNE, 241 *seq.*, the *reports of Babbi of March 5 and 7, 1566 (State Archives, Florence), the P.S. to the *report of Arco of March 5, with the account of the consistory of March 6, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), and the report of F. Borgia to the Jesuit rector at Genoa on March 8, 1566, in SUAU, II., 129 *seq.* See further Corresp. de Granvelle éd. POULLET, II., 154; CIACONIUS, III., 1029 *seq.*; LITTA, 80; MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1593; GULIK-EUBEL, 47; CARDELLA, V., 110 *seq.* For the tomb of Bonelli see BERTHIER, Minerve, 259 *seq.* His portrait by Scipione Pulzone in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 25.

by the Pope's desire, a member of the Dominican order; he was given as his titular church, that of the Order, S. Maria sopra Minerva, with apartments in the Vatican,[1] where he was very soon initiated into official business.[2] It was his duty to direct the affairs of the Pontifical States,[3] but Cardinals Reumano and Farnese were associated with him as his advisers in matters concerning the foreign princes, though in such a way that they were to work under his orders.[4]

Reumano fell ill at the end of April, and, to the Pope's great sorrow, he died on the 28th of that month,[5] so that the sole charge of affairs fell upon the shoulders of Bonelli, all the more so as since March, Farnese and Vitelli had gradually fallen into the background.[6]

[1] The "Stanze nella galeria di Belvedere" reports an *Avviso di Roma of March 9, 1566, which also states "fra pochi dì farà facende come nepote." (Urb. 1040, p. 191, Vatican Library). Afterwards Alessandrino moved to the apartments of Borromeo; see the *report of Arco of May 5, 1566. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Alessandrino, *reports Arco on March 16, 1566, has begun to attend the Consulta and the congregations; he signs many letters; it is thought that he will shortly have the government in his hands; he has, however, only received 1000 scudi as salary (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Serristori in Törne, 50, *Avviso di Roma of March 16 and 23, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 194b, 197 (Vatican Library), and the *report of Arco of March 23, 1566, which makes mention of a brief giving the nephew power to take charge of the affairs of the Papal States. Alessandrino, *says Cusano on March 30, 1566, takes part in everything, although he has not got the same authority as has previously been enjoyed by the Pope's nephews. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the *report of Arco of March 23, 1566. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See the postscript to the *report of Francis von Thurm, dated Venice, April 6, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), and the *Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 203, Vatican Library.

[5] With Corresp. dipl., I., 217n. *cf.* the *report of Cusano of May 4, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *"Farnese e Vitelli hanno perduto in fatto l'autorità" writes Serristori on April 1, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3592. On March 27, 1566, C. Luzzara reports: *"Il card. Alessandrino

Vitelli had become troublesome to the Pope because he wished to interfere in everything, and also because he was too intimate with Cardinal Bonelli.[1] He and Farnese were both of them too different in character from the Pope ever to be trusted advisers; an example of the great divergence of their points of view may here be given.

At the beginning of his pontificate Pius V. understood in such a literal sense the protection which Our Lord had promised to his Vicar on earth, that he would have liked to have done away with all human means of defence. When Vitelli and Farnese pointed out to him that a fortress of such importance to the safety of the Papal States as Anagni ought to be put into a better state of repair, the Pope replied that the Church had need of neither cannon nor soldiers. Her arms were prayer and fasting, tears, and the Holy Scriptures, and he would prefer to follow in the footsteps of those Popes who had defended the dignity of the Holy See by spiritual arms. Moreover, there was no reason to fear that the Spaniards would seize Anagni, since Philip II. was allied to both the Emperor and France, and all three would defend

comincia ad havere tutte le facende o poco manco." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* as to this the already quoted *report of Serristori, of April 1, 1566. *" Il card. Alessandrino fa hora le facende come fanno li nepoti de Papi et è in capite et il card. Reumanio sta mal alla morte." (Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 218b, Vatican Library). Bonelli received a monthly stipend of 100 ducats (see *ibid.* p. 235b.). Later on his revenues were greatly increased, so that he was able to help his brothers, towards whom the Pope showed himself very reserved (see TIEPOLO, 177). On Decemb r 12, 1568, Bonelli became camerlengo, but resigned the office on May 10, 1570, in favour of L. Cornaro for 70,000 scudi, which Pius V. seized for the Turkish war; the nephew was compensated with the abbey of S. Michele at Chiusi, and the priorate of the Knights of Malta. See CARDELLA, V., 111; *cf.* GARAMPI, 269.

[1] Thus *reports Cusano on March 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. When, a year later, Vitelli's schemes to obtain the tiara for Este were discovered, Vitelli fell into complete disgrace; see the *report of Arco of May 3 and June 7, 1567, *ibid.*

the rights of the Apostolic See. Neither would Pius V. hear of keeping up the artillery, leaving this matter to the care of the citizens of Anagni. After this the Cardinals, as Cusano wrote, were convinced that if the Pope lived a long time he would get rid of all his troops, and would even do away with the Swiss Guard.[1]

Pius V. was but ill-satisfied with the way in which the Commission of State, which was at first composed of Farnese, Reumano, Rebiba and Vitelli, carried out its duties, and he added Granvelle to their number, which did not at all please the other four. Vitelli at once resigned, and Farnese thought of doing likewise; it was generally thought that he would leave Rome so as to avoid an open quarrel.[2]

The importance of Bonelli's position was externally manifested by the fact that in May, 1566, he took possession of the apartments in the Borgia Tower vacated by the death of Reumano, and which were usually occupied by the Cardinal nephew.[3] Cardinal Bonelli familiarized himself with his duties more quickly and far better than most people had expected.[4] He was not, however, a personality of any great weight, for which reason the Pope did not allow him to do anything of importance without his consent.[5] The same thing held good throughout the pontificate. The influence of the Cardinals tended to grow less as Pius V. realized that many of them were dependent upon the princes, and were

[1] *Report of Cusano of March 23, 1566, *ibid.* *Cf. supra* p. 69.

[2] *Reports of Cusano of March 30 and June 15, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. For the complete disgrace into which Vitelli fell, see HERRE, Papsttum, 152 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Cusano of May 11, 1566. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] According to the *report of Cusano of March 2, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), Pius was in doubt, even then, whether Bonelli was fit for the duties of Secretary of State. *Cf.* TÖRNE, 50.

[5] See TIEPOLO, 175–176; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 377. According to the *report of Strozzi of November 15, 1566, Bonelli said in complaint: "gli altri [nipoti] havevano autorità dal Papa et io non n'ho alcuna." State Archives, Vienna.

working for their own selfish ends; his want of confidence in them became so great that he often acted in direct contradiction to their advice.[1]

In spite of his spirit of independence,[2] Pius V. did not altogether despise good advice, though he only made much account of those who belonged to the strict school, such as Scotti, Rebiba, Sirleto, Capizuchi, Mula, Dolera, Simonetta, Alciati,[3] and Commendone, who for a time held the first place among the Pope's confidants.[4] Granvelle, too, counted for a good deal from the first.[5] Later on Cardinal Chiesa took an important share with Bonelli in the work of administration.[6] The advice of Morone was especially sought

[1] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 87.

[2] *" Vuol intendere tutte le cose Lei," wrote Serristori on April 1, 1566. State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3592.

[3] These had apartments in the Vatican; see *Nota di tutte le stantie de Palazzo et chi l'habita questo dì 3 de Marzo, 1566, Varia Polit., LXXIX., 218 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. A *letter from Rome of September 28, 1566, names Morone, Dolera, Rebiba, Gambara and Bonelli as the Cardinals of the greatest influence (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* the *letter of Strozzi of October 5, 1566, concerning Pius V.'s leaning to Sirleto (*ibid*). The influence of Rebiba is again mentioned in May, 1570; see VOINOVICH, 554.

[4] *" Commendone è hoggi il primo cardinale della corte et quello a cui il Papa crede più che ad alcun altro" says B. Pia in a *letter from Rome on February 7, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 48, and the *report of Strozzi of February 8, 1567 (" Ha [il Papa] per molto favorito il card. Commendone," and often calls for his advice), State Archives, Vienna. After the nomination of Chiesa as Cardinal *Cusano states on May 1, 1568, that Commendone was " caduto assai del favor del Papa." *Ibid.*

[5] *" Il card. Granvella è stimato assai dal Papa et è chiamato a tutte le consulte per le cose di Germania." Arco, March 30, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of April 3, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 499b, Vatican Library.

in political affairs,[1] as well as in matters of reform, in the carrying out of which Pius made use of such distinguished men as Ormaneto and Giovanni Oliva.[2] For the conduct of all political affairs which concerned the princes, he appointed a congregation at the beginning of November, 1566, composed of Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mula, Granvelle and Commendone.[3] The Pope had also a high opinion of the Datary, Maffei.

At the end of 1566 a well-informed correspondent gave it as his opinion that anyone could get an introduction to the Pope through his more intimate friends, but that to get any important business transacted it was necessary to have recourse to Cardinal Bonelli and the secretary, Rusticucci, through whose hands all business passed.[4] Yet Pius V. was not altogether dependent upon them; in order to make it quite clear that his nephew did not exercise any undue influence over him, the Pope often found fault with him,

[1] The *Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1566, relates that the Pope had kept Morone in Rome because he thought "haver bisogno de pari suoi qua et lo stima et honora assai" (Urb. 1040, p. 197, Vatican Library). In his *report of May 29, 1566 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), C. Luzzara remarks how much weight Morone had with the Pope. Zuñiga also, in his letter of December 29, 1570, witnesses to Morone's influence in political matters, Corresp. dipl., IV., 156. *Cf.* also on this point the *Avviso di Roma of July 7, 1571. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 763.

[2] See the "Informatione," etc., in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 188 *seq.*, 194 *seq.*

[3] *"Creò una congregazione di 5 cardinali che attendano alle cose con li principi che sone," etc. *Avviso di Roma of November 9, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 318b, Vatican Library.

[4] See "Informatione," etc., *loc. cit.* which brings out very fully the distinction between the old and the new confidants of the Pope, which continued to exist (see *Mitteilungen des österr. Instit.*, XIV., 544), and their relative position. Rusticucci obtained the rights of Roman citizenship (see Lanciani, IV., 23) and even though he accepted gifts, he managed to keep in favour with Pius V. (see Tiepolo, 175). For the majordomo of Pius V., Franc. de Reinoso, *cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., li. *seq.*

and especially exhorted him to a strict and retired life. When he heard that the Cardinal often went out to the vigna, though in a perfectly innocent way, and in the company of ecclesiastics, he reproached him, and held up before him as an example his own conduct when he was a young man.[1] He himself selected the members of Bonelli's household, and limited their number, and he expressly forbade his nephew the use of silk attire and silver plate.[2] In a letter to Hosius on November 2nd, 1566, Francis Borgia relates how the Pope, when making a chance visit to Bonelli's apartments, noticed some silk hangings, and ordered their immediate removal. Later on he desired his nephew to live, not as a Cardinal but as a religious.[3] From the first the stipend allotted to Bonelli was very small, and when the Cardinal asked the Pope to allow him some of the *spoglie* from Spain, Pius V. was very angry, and his wrath was even greater when he learned that it was Cardinal Vitelli who had given him this advice; the Pope then forbade his nephew to have anything whatever to do with the said Cardinal. The scene was such a violent one that Bonelli was made quite ill by it.[4]

[1] *"Havendo il Papa inteso che il card. Alessandrino andava troppo speso alle vigne et parendoli vita troppo licentiosa, gli ha commesso che non parta più di Palazzo et che piglia esempio della vita de S.Stà quando anco era giovane." (*Avviso di Roma of June 22, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 245b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of June 8, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of July 13, in Lett. di princ., XXIII., n. 12, Papal Secret Archives, and that of July 20, 1566, in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 210, n. 1.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 37; *cf.* the *report of Babbi, March 13, 1566, State Archives, Florence, and the *Avvisi di Roma of September 28 and October 26, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 289b, 311b, Vatican Library.

[3] See SUAU, II., 130; *cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 50. See also *Avviso di Roma of May 3, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 390, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *reports of Arco and Cusano of May 18, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *report of Cusano of December 2, 1568, according to which Bonelli's revenues, which at first only amounted to 3,000 to 4,000 scudi, were considerably increased.

His other relations were treated with equal severity. Bonelli's father, who came to pay a visit to this son of his who had climbed so high, received orders to go back home as quickly as possible.[1] The Cardinal's mother was only able to go to him at night, for Pius V. would not hear of such vanities as a public reception.[2] When Bonelli's sister married, she only received a small dowry, and in the same way all his other relatives, whose hopes had run high, were completely disillusioned. The Pope saw to it that they had a modest competence and could live decently; he educated their sons with the Jesuits, but he did no more for them, and kept them at a distance as much as possible.[3]

Pius V. made an exception in the case of Paolo Ghislieri, his brother's son, whom he redeemed from captivity with the Turks, and first sent back to his own country, but afterwards, since he was a capable soldier, summoned to Rome, and in May, 1567, appointed Captain of the body-guard, and Governor of the Borgo.[4] Paolo had already several times drawn down upon himself the severe censure of the Pope for

[1] *Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 295, Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of October 4, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 445, *ibid.*

[3] See in App. n. 3 the *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1566, *ibid.*; the *report of Cusano of March 30, 1566, State Archives, Vienna; the *letter of C. Luzzara of August 3, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* TIEPOLO, 178; Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 596; POLANCI Epist. in *Anal Bolland.*, VII., 52 *seq.*; MORONI, XXX., 193; BRUZZONE, Bosco, 140 *seq.* and *Riv. di Alessandria*, XIV. (1904), 382. Girolamo Ghislieri, who felt no vocation to the ecclesiastical state, had to go back to his brother Michele (*cf.* STEINHUBER, Collegium Germanicum, I., 62) and later on became governor of the Borgo; see *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 596, Vatican Library. For the subsequent fortunes of the Pope's family, see the detailed accounts in *Riv. di Alessandria*, X., 3 (1901), XIV. (1904), 396 *seq.*

[4] With Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I. 54, *seq.*, *cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of October 5 and 12, 1566, April 19 and May 3, 1567 (Vatican Library) and the *letter of Arco of May 3, 1567, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also GABUTIUS, 230.

the pomp which he displayed,[1] but when Pius V. caught him in a lie, he very nearly banished him in disgrace, and the young man had the greatest difficulty in appeasing the angry Pope.[2] His displeasure was again aroused when Paolo, by his display of pomp, offended against a recently issued edict for the reduction of luxury. Not only did Pius V. punish the offence, but he forbade his nephew, since he could no longer trust him, to leave the Vatican after the Ave Maria.[3] When, later on, it was discovered that Paolo was leading an immoral life, his fate was irrevocably sealed; the Pope had him called before him in a civil court, and then, without looking at his nephew, caused his sentence to be read aloud, which ran as follows: Paolo Ghislieri is to forfeit all his goods and revenues, and under pain of death is to leave the Vatican within two days, the Borgo within three, and the Papal States within ten.[4] Every attempt to get the sentence of banishment revoked was in vain, although several very distinguished persons intervened on his behalf, and the Pope absolutely refused to send any help to the outlaw, as he wandered about from country to country.[6]

[1] Tiepolo, September 21, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 56 *seq.* *Avvisi di Roma of June 14 and 21, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 403, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 17 and May 1, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 502b, 510, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of September 11, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 579b, Vatican Library, and the *report of Arco of the same date, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See C. FIRMANUS, *Diarium, October 22, 1568, Papal Secret Archives, the *Avvisi di Roma of October 20 and 26, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 587b, 588b, Vatican Library, and the *report of Arco of October 28, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of December 18, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 616; February 5, July 23, August 24, and October 8, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 19b, 117b, 138, 162, Vatican Library. In 1571 Paolo took part in the Turkish war. When he came back after the battle of Lepanto, he could not remain in Rome, nor did he receive any assistance from the Pope. In February, 1572, we find him in Naples, where he was assisted by Don Juan; see

The Romans had many other opportunities of realizing with what ruthless severity Pius V. punished moral offences. As early as January 19th, 1566, Caligari informed his friend Commendone of the publication of a stern edict against the immorality prevalent in Rome.[1] At the consistory of January 23rd the Pope spoke, not only of the need of reform among the clergy, but also of his intention of taking action against blasphemy and concubinage.[2] To give effect to this intention he issued, on April 1st, 1566, an edict which imposed the severest penalties for the disturbance of divine worship, the profanation of Sundays and festivals, simony, blasphemy, sodomy and concubinage.[3] In July, 1566, an ordinance was issued for the limitation of luxury in dress and of excessive lavishness in banquets,[4] which was followed

*Avviso di Roma of February 23, 1572, Urb. 1042, p. 41, *loc. cit.* That the Pope's severity was justified is shown by the condemnation of Paolo to death for homicide in 1577. He died in 1596. See BRUZZONE in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1903, 141; 1904, 61.

[1] *Lett. di princ., XXXIII., n. 77, Papal Secret Archives. A copy of the *Bando generale concernente il governo di Roma, dated January 15, 1566, is in the State Archives, Vienna, Varia 3.

[2] *Report of Arco of January 23, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See Bull. Rom. VII., 434 *seq.* The edict ordered also "ut cadaverum capsae in ecclesiis super terram existentes amoveantur" a thing which had already been ordered by Paul IV. The penalties were quite in the draconian spirit of the Carafa Pope; *cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, 259 *seq.*

[4] In the collection in the Papal Secret Archives and in the Casanatense Library in Rome there is no copy of the "Bando e riforma sopra le immoderare spese et pompa del vestire et de' conviti" which is spoken of in the *Avviso di Roma of May 25 and June 1, 1566 (Urb. 1040, p. 220. 231b, Vatican Library); the same is true of the Bando of January 15, 1566 (see *supra* n. 1). A copy is preserved in the State Archives, Vienna, Varia 3, and bears the date June 28, 1566, but according to the *report of Cusano of July 6, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna) it was only published at the latter date.

in October, 1566, by another edict concerning dress.[1] In June, 1567, there came a special law against excessive pomp at marriages, and the ruinous inflation of marriage dowries and settlements.[2] Special regulations were made against games on festival days,[3] and against the spreading of reports that were libellous and treasonable by means of written broadsheets.[4] Scandal-mongers, Pius V. said, ought to be punished

[1] See "Bando sopra la reforma del vestire," dated October 4, 1566, Editti in Miscell., Arm. V., 60, p. 229, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* *Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 294, Vatican Library. On November 9, 1566, Strozzi reports as to its rigorous carrying out; *"Gli sbirri sono andati nella contrada del Pellegrino, ch'è delle principali di Roma, et hanno spogliato le botteghe degli orefici di lavori d'oro, di gioie et di perle dicendo che sono contro la pragmatica." (State Archives, Vienna.) See also the *Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 403b, Vatican Library. CALVI in *N. Antologia*, 142 (1909), 593, speaks of a tax of 1568 on the use of carriages by ladies.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 596 *seq.* *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Institutions, 277.

[3] *"Ha fatto andar un bando sotto pene gravissime che veruno non giuochi queste feste." Strozzi on December 21, 1566. He also *reports on December 28, 1566, an order to "dar corda" to certain persons for having gamed on a feast day. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] As early as October 27, 1566, Carlo Stuerdo reports from Rome to the Duke of Parma: *"Qua vien minacciato di carcere quelli che scrivono a Venetia mille baiate." (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 763). The severe constitution of March 17, 1572, in Bull. Rom., VII., 969 *seq.* *Cf.* *Arch. stor. d. Soc. Rom.*, I., 406, 408; *Hist.-pol. Blatter*, XXXVII., 574 *seq.*; CIAMPI. Innocenzo X., p. 254; BERTOLOTTI, Giornalisti, astrologi, e negromanti in Roma, Florence, 1878, 1. The partisan work of PICCA, I martiri del giornalismo nella Roma papale, Rome, 1912; the author is ignorant of the celebrated collection of Avvisi in the Vatican Library. There (Urb. 1041, p. 316b) an *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1570, states: *'Il papa è in colera con alcuni che hanno fatte alcune pasquinate contro alcune persone da bene:" it will go badly with them.

as murderers.[1] That long-established pest of Rome, the beggars, was to be dealt with,[2] and in 1567 all vagrants[3] and gypsies[4] were banished from the Papal States. The amusements of the Carnival were purged of all unseemliness, and no one was allowed to dress up as a woman or a religious. Bull-fights were altogether prohibited, and the races restricted to the Corso, because such things seemed unfitting in the Borgo, where the head of the Church resided.[5] To what an extent these ordinances went into detail is shown among other things by the fact that shop-keepers and artisans were forbidden to make use of the images of the saints as signs.[6]

The Fourth Council of the Lateran had already laid upon physicians the obligation of immediately urging the sick to receive the Sacraments, but this very necessary and well meant law had been but little observed. For this reason

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1569, Urb. 1040, p. 1, Vatican Library.

[2] The Pope wishes *" ridur i poveri mendicanti della città in 4 quartieri con farli proveder di vitto necessario acciò non vadino vagabondi e disturbando, per le chiese le orationi et che i curati si piglino fatica di ammaestrarli a viver christianamente et a darli li s. sacramenti a tempi debiti " (*Avviso di Roma of March 12, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 41, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VII., 436, and TACCHI VENTURI, I., 394.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of June 12, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 421, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Arco of January 24, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of September 20, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 437. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 290b, according to which some gipsies were also sent at that time to the galleys. Vatican Library.

[5] See in App. n. 26 the *report of B. Pia of January 22, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the action taken by Pius V. against actors see CATENA, Lettere, 481. This evidence has been missed by E. RE in his article Commedianti a Roma nel sec. XVI., in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital.*, LXIII., 298 *seq.*

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 407, Vatican Library.

several provincial synods had made strict regulations on the subject. A synod held at Ravenna in 1311 had ordered doctors to withhold their services from the sick to whom they were called until they had first seen to the salvation of their souls. A synod held at Tortosa in 1429, and the provincial synod held by Charles Borromeo at Milan in 1565 had made similar laws. Fired with zeal to promote in every possible way, and by every possible means, the spiritual welfare of all Christians, Pius V. returned to the attack, and on March 8th, 1566, issued a constitution which laid down that every physician who was summoned to a sick person who was confined to his bed was before everything else bound to exhort him to receive the sacrament of penance, and to suspend his visits after three days unless a confessor had attested in writing that the confession had been made, or else that for some good reason an extension of the time had been allowed.[1] In spite, however, of the severe penalties imposed for the non-observance of this regulation, it did not meet with much success.[2]

It is not surprising that so strict a Pope should have waged war against public immorality in Rome, and should have

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 430 *seq.*; *cf.* KOBER in *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift*, LV., 660 *seq.* The extract in RANKE, Päpste, I[8], 233, is partly inexact. An *Avviso di Roma of March 19, 1569, records the severe ordinance against doctors who gave persons in good health permission to eat meat on fasting days (Urb. 1040, p. 37b). *Cf.* in Urb. 1042, p. 29b, the *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1571, Vatican Library.

[2] Theologians and canonists of repute maintained the view that the rigorism of the ordinaces of Pius V. went too far, and they accordingly declared that when the malady was dangerous the doctor was not obliged to suspend his care and aid, and that in such a case the ordinance was not binding. Other theologians made yet another limitation; namely that the doctor was bound to make his exhortation to the reception of the sacraments, not in every illness, but only in the case of those which were dangerous, or where the issue was doubtful. See BENEDICT XIV., Instit., XXII.; KOBER, *loc. cit.*, 666 *seq.*

tried to put an end to the evils of prostitution.[1] As a first step, at the end of June, 1566, all women of ill-fame were driven out of the Borgo by the police, and the Conservatori were ordered to find some segregated locality for the others who lived in various parts of the city. The Trastevere was thought of as a place for this purpose. An edict published on St. Mary Magdalen's day, July 22nd, 1566, ordered that the more notorious prostitutes (cortegiane) were to be expelled from Rome within six days, and within a further period from the Papal States, unless they preferred to marry or enter the convent delle Penitenti. This edict caused great anxiety in Rome; many complained that such rigour would depopulate the city, and that many tradesmen, who had supplied goods to these people on credit, would suffer seriously. The customs authorities asked for a reduction of their tax by 20,000 ducats, on the ground that the expulsion of these people would mean a great reduction in the importation of dutiable goods.[2] The city council met and decided

[1] The police measures, as far as morals were concerned, which were taken by Pius V., dealt principally with the increase of prostitution dating from the XVth century; as to this see what has been said in Vol. V. of this work 98 *seqq*. With GRAF (Attraverso il Cinquecento, Turin, 1888, 269 *seq*., 281) and RODOCANACHI (Courtisanes et Bouffons, Paris, 1894, 82 *seq*., 174) BERTOLOTTI has treated of the matter specially fully (Repressioni straordinarie della prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI., Rome, 1887); he has published valuable reports from Mantua, but has been as little fair to Pius V. as BROSCH (I., 242 *seq*.). Altogether apart from the undignified treatment of so serious a matter, the reproaches which they both make against Pius V. are quite unjustified. It may be admitted that the means adopted by Pius V. did not altogether attain the end in view, but it must be remembered that our age is still in as great a state of perplexity as to how to deal with the evil of prostitution, and it is still a matter of dispute whether the means finally adopted by Pius V. were right or wrong. That the Church has the right to work for the extirpation of prostitution *by every means* is brought out by PENCK in the Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, V., 296.

[2] *Cf*. the *Avvisi di Roma in App. nn. 16 to 25 Vatican Library.

to send to the Pope a deputation of forty citizens to ask for the recall of the decree, which had already been put into force. The deputation—and they could have expected nothing else—met with a stern refusal. Such shame, the Pope said, could not be tolerated in holy Rome; he would rather change his residence to some other less tainted place. A written protest[1] was equally unsuccessful, nor was even the intervention of the ambassadors of Spain, Portugal and Florence of any avail.[2]

Pius V. remained inexorable on the subject of the expulsion of the more notorious courtesans. By August 10th most of them had already left Rome, and others were preparing to do so, though many had been converted. The fact that some of those who had been expelled had been killed by highwaymen told in favour of those who were still in Rome. These were accordingly not expelled, but had to put a stop to their public disorders, and a segregated quarter was assigned to them near the Ripetta, which they were not to leave either by day or night under pain of a public whipping. By this severity Pius V. hoped to induce them either to leave Rome or to be converted. For this purpose special sermons were arranged for them, as was also done in the case of the Jews. On September 5th, 1566, a fresh order for the expulsion of those who were quite incorrigible was issued.[3]

[1] See *ibid.* There are many copies in manuscript (Berlin, Royal Library; Inf. polit., XII., 230 *seq.*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale [see MARSAND, I., 630, 757 *seq.*], Mazarin Library, Cod. 1779, p. 220 *seq.*) of an "Epistola a N.S^re^ P. Pio V. nella quale si esorta S.S^tà^ a tolerare in Roma gl'Hebrei et le cortegiane," dated August 13, 1566, printed in *Rev. des études juives*, July, 1892, which among other things elaborates the argument that, by driving out the aforesaid persons "V.S^tà^ non havra poi chi ridurre al bene ne che punire al male." If he drives them out now, they may all be lost, whereas it might be possible to convert them if they remained!

[2] See the *letter of Arco, August 3, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See *Avvisi di Roma in App. nn. 16 to 25, and in BERTOLOTTI,

How deep seated this evil was is clear from the fact that during the whole of his reign Pius V. was forced to take action against it year after year. Prostitutes who had left their quarters were constantly whipped, and others expelled. A proof of the anxiety which the Pope felt for the conversion of these fallen women is to be found in the fact that in August, 1567, he persuaded six elderly ladies to devote themselves to this difficult task.[1] Those who returned to a better manner of life received large alms, so that they might not relapse into their former state. The segregation of the incorrigibles was made even more complete in the autumn of 1569 by the erection of walls and gates round their quarter, like the Ghetto.[2] Lodgings were subjected to a very strict police supervision, and since this constantly gave rise to inconvenience, in 1570 all women under forty years of age, even though married, were forbidden to let rooms.[3]

The Pope watched over the sanctity of family life very carefully and nothing escaped his attention. Thus he forbade young girls from being employed as servants,[4] while an

loc. cit., 10–11. In his *Diarium (Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 143) Firmanus states : *" Die dominica 24 [Novembris] fuit praedicatum in multis ecclesiis Urbis, vicinis habitationibus meretricum, de ordine rev^mi vicarii Suae S^tis , et solum meretrices iverunt et non aliae personae." Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of 1567–1569 in App nn. 28-34, 53-57, 60-65, Vatican Library. For the last years *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* 13 *seq.*, where, however, the dates are often wrong (p. 13 the Avviso di Roma of May 19 belongs to 1571, as does that of July 14 on p. 14.).

[2] See the *Avviso di Roma of October 17, 1569, in App. nn. 60-65, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 9, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 339 ; *ibid.* 342b and *Avviso of September 20, 1570 : " 20 donne " who kept " camere locande," are imprisoned (Vatican Library). According to an *Avviso of September 9, 1570, in the State Archives, Vienna, it was ordered that the married women who let rooms must be at least 50 years of age.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 525. According to an *Avviso of July 12, 1567, the following edict was

edict published in the autumn of 1566 forbade, under severe penalties, all Romans who had houses of their own to frequent taverns.[1]

The many cases of adultery which occurred in Rome filled Pius V. with indescribable grief, and ever increasing indignation; from the beginning of his reign he did all he could to bring about a change in this respect. The many difficulties which he met with[2] forced him to take more and more strict measures. A report of August 25th 1568 states: "The threat of the death penalty for adultery is expected, so that everyone will either have to become moral or leave the city."[3] People were constantly imprisoned without consideration of rank.[4] In September, 1568, a noble Roman lady who had been found guilty of adultery was imprisoned for

issued: no young married woman may keep "camere locande"; *ibid.* p. 418b, Vatican Library.

[1] "Bando che niuno habitante in Roma et borghi possa andare all' hostaria con la prohibitione delli giuochi, baratterie et altre cose illecite," a very rare pamphlet of Ant. Bladus, Rome, 1566. The exact date of this order is seen from the *Diarium of Firmanus (October 3, 1566), Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 130b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 294, Vatican Library. According to the *letter of Arco of September 14, 1566, the Pope had spoken of the matter in consistory on the 14th. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *"Il continuo metter prigione le donne in questa città causa errori grandi," one has committed suicide. *Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma from Rome, October 27, 1566, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 763. *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* 11.

[3] *"Qui s'aspetta de dì in dì con gran terrore, che esca una bolla contra li adulteri, la qual si dice sarà terribilissima, et che le pene saran capitali, si che sarà necessario, ch'ogn' huomo diventi buono ò se risolva abbandonar questa patria." Urb. 1040, p. 570b. *Ibid.* 440b an *Avviso di Roma of September 13, 1567, according to which such a bull was already expected. Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1568, State Archives, Vienna; another of August 13, 1569, in App. nn. 60-65.

life.[1] One of the richest and most respected bankers in Rome, the Sienese de Vecchi, having been convicted of adultery, was publicly whipped in December, 1568, "as a salutary example for the nobles," says the chronicler.[2] In the following year it was rumoured that the Pope intended to expel from Rome all married women who fell into this sin[3], and this penalty was often inflicted after the culprit had been whipped for the first offence.[4] In June, 1570, the Governor of Rome had great difficulty in dissuading the Pope from inflicting the death penalty for adultery, but at length Pius V. agreed that adulterers should be punished by whipping, imprisonment, or banishment.[5]

The Pope watched over the morals of his own servants with a special strictness.[6] The Governor of Anagni was be-

[1] *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 585 Vatican Library.

[2] *"Dicta die [veneris 3 decembris] fuit fustigatus per Urbem nobilis Senensis dominus de Vecchiis, qui fuerat ditissimus et superbissimus bancherius, postea decoxerat et propter quaedam adulteria fuit carceratus per multos dies et tandem favoribus non suffragantibus, sic mandante S^mo^ D^no^ N^ro^, ad exemplum delinquentium nobilium, fuit, ut dixi, per loca solita fustigatus." (FIRMANUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*, p. 272b. Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit*, 11.

[3] Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, l., 80 *seq.*

[4] Soriano in BROSCH, I., 243. In the face of Pius V.'s strong sense of justice, one can only treat as uncalled for Brosch's remark, "We do not know what sort of proofs of this crime were obtained.'

[5] See the report of Capilupi of June 26, 1570, in BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* 12. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1570, Urb. 1041, P. 296 Vatican Library.

[6] Giulio Orsini for example was forced to send away his concubine; see the *reports of Arco of March 30 and April 4, 1566, State Archives, Vienna: *"Die XV. dicti mensis, [ianuarii] pontifex creavit magistrum capelle r^dum^ dominum sacristam, qui eius pedes fuit osculatus, cui mandavit ut reformaret cantores, inter quos sciebat esse aliques concubinarios et discolos; et verum dicebat." C. FIRMANUS, *Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

headed in 1571 for violation.[1] The Swiss Guards were forced to marry their concubines or leave them,[2] and in order to effect a radical change among these old soldiers, Pius V. had sermons preached to them and their servants in their own language by a Jesuit.[3] The cavalry were obliged to receive the sacraments regularly,[4] and they were not allowed to go out in the evening without the permission of their captain. A list was kept of all who left the Vatican after dusk, and this the Pope caused to be submitted to him regularly.[5] Women were not allowed to set foot in the Belvedere.[6]

Even unfriendly judges have recognised that Pius V. was actuated by the best intentions in his efforts to root out the moral evils of the day.[7] Very often his strictness was excessive, because he punished with great severity, not only grave offences, but also smaller transgressions,[8] so that the prisons were overcrowded.[9] Moreover, looked at from the point of view of the evils that were actually stamped out, the results were far from satisfactory. This was due, among

[1] See the *report of Arco of August 18th, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 525, Vatican Library, and the *report of Arco of June 5, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Polanci Epist., in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 51.

[4] See the *report of Arco of May 17, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 585, Vatican Library.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of June 12, 1568, *ibid.* 534.

[7] See Le Bret, VIII., 223.

[8] See the *Avviso di Roma of October 20, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 589, Vatican Library.

[9] According to an *Avviso di Roma of August 31, 1566, the prison at Tor di Nona had already had to be enlarged on account of the number of prisoners (Urb. 1040, p. 278, Vatican Library). An undated *report of B. Pia in 1568 states that there were 1200 persons in the prisons of Rome and "infinite donne." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

other things, to the peculiar character of Rome itself, as an international city, and one filled with foreigners.[1]

Knowing well that if any definite success was to be obtained the rising generation would have to be trained on better lines, Pius V. above all devoted himself to seeing that the young received systematic and easily mastered instruction in the truths of the Christian religion. In 1568 the parish priests of Rome were instructed to make it known to the faithful that they were bound, under grave penalties, to send their children on Sunday afternoons to the church for instruction in Christian doctrine, as had been laid down by the Council of Trent.[2] When, later on, special associations were formed to assist the priests in this work, the Pope in 1571 formed them into a regular confraternity called "della dottrina cristiana" enriched it with indulgences, and asked the bishops to set up similar confraternities everywhere.[3] In this way a real improvement in moral conditions was bound gradually to be effected, and there is good evidence to show that this took place even during the life of Pius V.[4]

[1] P. Tiepolo brings out this aspect of Rome in the introduction to his *report of 1569; see Cod. 6624, p. 317, Court Library, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of Arco of July 17, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VII., 945 *seq.*

[4] P. Tiepolo, who says: "gli uomini, se non sono, almeon paiono migliori" (p. 172), also recognizes the change in Rome. This was already clearly to be seen in 1566 (see PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 50 *seq.*; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 108 *seq.*) *"Le feste" reports an *Avviso di Roma of January 3, 1568, "si non passate con prediche et altre divotioni, non s'è giocato in loco alcuno, prohibite le mancie, livree et ogni altra vanità." Urb. 1040, p. 446b. *Ibid.* December 4: the greater part of the people gained the Jubilee. Urb. 1041, p. 1, January 1, 1569: *"Bandi sopra il gioco in queste feste assai ben osservati." In Urb. 1042, p. 48 (April 14, 1571) there is mention of the extraordinary zeal with which the people frequented the churches in Holy Week (Vatican Library). Giulio Gabrielli of Gubbio (died March 12,

Under the strict regime which had now been set on foot the Eternal City began to assume that peculiar character, which has been given the name of the "world-wide monastery."[1]

1579) gave the following judgment: "Quis enim non videat, postquam ecclesiae gubernaculo Pius V. P.M. praepositus est, tantam et in urbe Roma et in aliis suae dictionis oppidis factam esse morum mutationem, ut libido in pudicitiam, luxuria in temperantiam, impietas denique, ipsius nomen sequuta, in pietatem versa videatur?" (S. Gregorii Naz. Orationes tres, Antwerp 1573, 163). Gianfrancesco Lombardo expresses himself in similar terms in a letter of November 11, 1568; see CYPRIANUS, 484 *seq.*

[1] The supposed intention of Pius V. to change Rome into a convent, was discussed by his contemporaries very shortly after his election; see MASIUS, Briefe, 374.

CHAPTER III

Government of the States of the Church. Pius V. in Relation to Literature and Art.

A man of such strictness, such untiring energy, and such stainless character as Pius V., was pre-eminently fitted for the task of introducing into the life of the Church the reform decrees of the Council of Trent, and thus to set the seal upon the labours of his predecessor. For this reason his pontificate is of the highest importance, while only less important were his unflinching struggle against the new doctrines, and his energetic revival of the old idea of a Crusade against the Turks in defence of the Christian faith and European civilization.

In comparison with this threefold activity, which was to a great extent crowned with success, the work of Pius V. as the ruler of the Papal States[1] falls into the background, all the more as in this respect he was upon ground that was unfamiliar to him, and which to a great extent remained so to the end. He certainly had the will to remove abuses and to restore good order, though he lacked practical experience and did not know how to temper his severity.

During the latter days of Pius IV. no branch of the temporal administration had been in such a bad state as that of justice. The exhortation which Pius V. addressed to the assembled judges in the Hall of Constantine on October 30th, 1566,[2]

[1] A *list of the provinces of the Papal States, with particulars of the officials, revenues and troops in the time of Pius V., is in Varia Polit. 79 (now 80), p. 253 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the introduction, not printed in Albèri, to the *report of P. Tiepolo of 1569, which is to be found in many collections of codices (Libraries at Avignon, Berlin, Gotha, Munich, Venice, Vienna, Vatican, etc.).

[2] See *Urb. 1040, p. 313, Vatican Library.

made it plain that he considered it his sacred duty to provide for a strong and impartial administration of justice. It now became as difficult for culprits to escape by means of bribery as it had been easy under his predecessor, and it was above all to seeing that the poor and the helpless should have justice that Pius V. directed his efforts. When a poor baker complained to him that Cardinal Simoncelli had owed him 36 scudi for bread for six years, the nephew of Julius III. was forced to make immediate payment. On the last Wednesday of every month Pius V. held a public audience at which all were at liberty to make their complaints about the courts of justice. The Pope also turned his attention to the reform of the legal fraternity.[1] What a deep respect he had for justice is certainly best shown by the revision of the trial of the Carafa which he caused to be made, and which ended on September 26th, 1567, in the annulment of the sentence pronounced by Pius IV., and the restoration of the house of Carafa.[2] By such procedure as this Pius V. showed that he did not hesitate to act in direct opposition to all the rules of

[1] See the *report of Arco of April 26, 1567, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 14 and December 18, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 486, 616, Vatican Library. *Cf.* TIEPOLO, 173; CATENA, 136 *seq.*; GABUTIUS, 218; LADERCHI, 1566, n. 113 *seq.* Pius V. took great trouble to secure a good administration of justice even in the provinces. An *Avviso of March 9, 1566, relates that power over criminal cases was withdrawn from Cardinal Mark Sittich at Terni, in consequence of which the Cardinal resigned civil cases as well, and went away "et nell'universale li nipoti et parenti di Pio IV. par che restino mal sodisfatti del Papa." Urb. 1040, p. 190b, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the authoritative account by ANCEL, Disgrâce, 169–181, who makes it clear that the new trial, the acts of which have not so far been found, seems to have dealt almost entirely with the *crimen laesae maiestatis*, and that the assassination of the Duchess of Paliano was not again brought under consideration. That Pius V. did not consult any Cardinal before coming to his decision (ANCEL, 178) is also attested by Arco in his *report of September 27 1567, State Archives, Vienna. See also Corresp. dipl., II., 218 *seq.*, 224.

prudence, or to compromise the reputation of his predecessors, even in the case of Paul IV., whom he had so revered ; he was also ready to trample on the interests of people whose assistance might be very useful to him.[1] Even Alessandro Pallantieri, the procurator-fiscal in the Carafa trial, did not escape punishment. He had become governor of the March of Ancona at the beginning of 1567,[2] and it seemed as though his great severity had won the Pope's favour to such an extent that men were prophesying the cardinalate for him,[3] when all of a sudden, on September 17th, 1569, he was imprisoned by the Inquisition[4] on the charge of having, in the time of Julius III., obtained by bribery the release from prison of a relapsed heretic of Faenza, of having retained a considerable part of the Carafa property in spite of the order for restitution made by Pius V., and of having paid no attention to the excommunication which he had incurred by so doing.[5] The investigation of these charges brought to light the part which Pallantieri had played in the conduct of the Carafa trial.[6] The trial of Pallantieri ended in his being condemned to death, and on June 7th, 1571, the sentence was carried out on the very spot where the Duke of Paliano had been beheaded.[7]

[1] See ANCEL, *loc. cit.* 181.

[2] See GARAMPI, Sul valore, 293.

[3] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 9, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 70, Vatican Library.

[4] See MARINI, I., 428.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of September 27, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 155b, Vatican Library.

[6] According to the *Avviso di Roma of October 8, 1569 (*loc. cit.* 159) all the acts of the Carafa trial were then taken to the Inquisition ; it is in those archives, therefore, that search must be made for the acts of the revision held by the orders of Pius V.

[7] See *Avviso di Roma of June 9, 1571, *loc cit.* and the *report of Arco of June 9, 1571. The latter *relates on May 19, 1571, that on the Thursday the case of Pallantieri was considered in the presence of the Pope, who for three hours heard *pro et contra.* State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso of March 17, 1571, according to which Pallantieri tried to save himself by paying 30,000 scudi. In the opinion of Pallavicini, Palantieri deserved

Pius V.'s interference with questions of justice, however, was not always just or reasonable; he sometimes pronounced hasty sentences which he afterwards had to revoke. Tiepolo says that the Pope never tempered a criminal sentence with mercy, and that generally he would have liked to have made it more severe.[1] No rank or dignity could obtain any mitigation of the punishment. A noble Roman lady who had committed homicide was executed, and that publicly, which was quite unusual, in spite of the intercession of the Conservatori and many Cardinals.[2] A circular addressed to the governors of the Papal States in August, 1568, urged them to employ nothing but severity, and to show no mercy. It was estimated that more executions took place at that time in a single month than in four years under Pius IV.[3] Many, including light offenders, took to flight before this excessive severity, with the result that the bands of robbers who infested some parts of the Papal States, and especially the mountainous districts towards Naples,[4] were constantly on the increase, which was one of the reasons why the Pope's praiseworthy efforts to deal with this pest were only partially successful.[5]

the death sentence. *Cf.* PASTOR, Dekrete, 16, n. See RODOCANACHI, St.-Ange, 173. *Ibid.* 175, the trial of Matteo Minale.

[1] TIEPOLO, 173. From FIRMANUS, *Diarium (Miscell., Arm. XII., 31 in Papal Secret Archives) it is evident how frequent death sentences were.

[2] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 78–79.

[3] See the *report of Cusano from Rome, August 17, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 92.

[4] A *letter from Cardinal Bonelli to Francesco Ghislieri, governor of Ascoli, dated Rome, April 17, 1566 (in 1911 in the possession of the antiquarian Luzzietti) deals with the bandits who had taken refuge in the Abruzzi. For the bandits at Teramo, see *Riv. Abruzzese*, XXVII., (1912) 458 *seq.*

[5] In his *report of June 7, 1567 (State Archives, Vienna) Arco tells of an expeditionary force against the bandits. For the outbreak of brigandage in 1570, see HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol, I., 505 n. 1. For the whole subject *cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 122 *seq.*

Another reason was to be found in the fact that the very proper attempts to act in concert with the neighbouring states in putting down brigandage led to frequent and bitter disputes with Naples.[1] The bull which was issued on July 13th, 1566, against those who harboured murderers and bandits, was made even more severe on August 15th, and enacted that the death penalty was to be inflicted on the offenders, and that of banishment on their relatives.[2] In order to stamp out brigandage, the Pope, in 1567, ordered the destruction of the forests in the neighbourhood of Rome,[3] a thing which led to the spread of malaria, and contributed in no small degree to the deterioration of the healthiness of the Compagna, so that every year a large number of the foreign labourers who had come for the harvests died of fever.[4]

Public safety in the Papal States was threatened, not only by the brigands, but also by the long established feuds between the cities, and among the nobles. At Ascoli, Anagni, Città di Castello, Sassoferrato, Perugia, and elsewhere, disturbances broke out which caused the Pope much anxiety, and several times obliged him to send armed forces against them, a thing which was especially galling to him, whose high ideals would

[1] *Cf.* Tiepolo, 173; Catena, 51 *seq.*; Brosch, I., 238 *seq.* See also Corresp. dipl., II., 368. An *Avviso di Roma of March 26, 1569, relates that two days previously at the Bridge of St. Angelo had taken place the execution of "Cecone da S. Lupidio, cappo de'banditi della Marca." Urb. 1041, p. 47, Vatican Library.

[2] See Bull. Rom., VII., 452 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*

[3] An *Avviso di Roma of April 26, 1567, relates that between Porta Prima and Romana the Venetian courier had been attacked and robbed, that the Pope had ordered him to be compensated, and had further enacted "che si levino et abbrugino tutte quelle machie sino a Prima porta" (Urb. 1040, p. 385, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *brief of December 5, 1567, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* App. n. 27.

[4] 9 Sreports Tiepolo in the unpublished part of his *report for 15.60 Cod. 6624, p. 319, Court Library, Vienna.

rather have led him to disband all his troops.[1] The rival factions made use, not only of those who had fled from Rome or been exiled, but also of soldiers who had deserted and of unworthy monks who had come into conflict with the reforming activities of Pius V., and even, in some parts of the March and in the Romagna, of heretics. When the Pope learned that Faenza was full of heretics, he thought of proceeding to the very limits of severity; he wished to destroy the city, and transfer the inhabitants to some other place.[2] At the end of the pontificate, however, there was for the most part greater tranquillity in the Papal States than there had been before.[3]

On February 12th, 1572, the orders which Pius IV. had issued against the carrying of arms, and which applied to

[1] From the *report of Cusano of January 26, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna) it is clear how unwillingly the Pope made up his mind to take proceedings against Ascoli. In an *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1566, it is stated that Pius V. had disbanded the cavalry with the exception of two companies, *" et dice che i pontefici sono guardati dalla man di Dio et non da archibugi. Non vuol guardia o cavalleria per esser necessitato a pagarli metter impositione of popolo." (Urb. 1040, p. 173); *cf. supra* p. 69. But as early as February 9, Torquato Conti had to be sent to Ascoli with " 150 fanti " to suppress the rising (*ibid.*, 169, Vatican Library). *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 241 for the disturbances at Città di Castello. For others at Anagni, see *Avviso di Roma of May 11, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 225. *Ibid.* 1041, p. 127b, an *Avviso of August 27, 1567, on the disturbances at Perugia, which annoyed the Pope very much. For Ascoli, see *Saggio di cose Ascolane*, Teramo, 1766, App. ccxcvi. On January 24, 1567, *" Alex. Pallanterius, gubernator Marchie," obtained " facultates contra bannitos Asculi et Firmi." Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 79; *cf. infra* p. 313 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1571 (Urb. 1042, p. 117b. Vatican Library) reports the banishments which had taken place in the territories of Cardinal Farnese.

[3] This is proved from *Tiepolo in 1569; see Cod. 6624, p. 320, Court Library, Vienna.

Rome and the whole of the Papal States, were renewed, and made more severe.[1]

The bull of March 29th, 1567, concerning the inalienability of the territory of the Roman Church, has attained great notoriety.[2] It was aimed at putting an end to nepotism, which had had such disastrous effects upon the Church.

Pius V.'s financial administration of the Papal States calls for particular notice. Immediately after his election he abolished the duty on wine in Rome,[3] revised the other taxes, and caused the expenditure to be carefully examined.[4] In the Patrimony he abolished the duty on flour in consideration of the payment of a sum of money, to be made once for all.[5] The Pope hoped that his great personal economy[6] would make it possible for him to give relief in other ways as well. To a bishop who submitted to him a scheme for improving the finances he replied that he had better help the Church by his prayers and his good life, and that she had no need of wealth ;[7] a sentiment which, though very idealistic, scarcely met the

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 965 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 560 *seq.* ; *cf.* Freiburg Kirchenlexikon VII., 599. Further particulars *infra* p. 233 *seq.*

[3] The import duty was " 4 giulii per barilla ; " see *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166. Vatican Library.

[4] *" Questo fa che la plebe ama molto S.Stà " says the *Avviso di Roma of March 16, 1566, *ibid.* 194.

[5] See Tiepolo in Brosch, I., 245, n. 1.

[6] Thus for example the Vigna di Giulio III. was given " in governo " to the Cardinal of Aragon *" e così viene ad esser desobligato di recever gl'ambasciatori e fare spesa, come si usava prima." (*Avviso di Roma of May 4, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 220b, Vatican Library). For the reduction of expenditure on the troops see *Quellen u. Forschungen*, VI., 84.

[7] *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 166. The Pope does not wish for taxes, even indirect ones, says an *Avviso of March 30, 1566, Urb. 1040, 199b, Vatican Library. The Florentine, Bartolomeo Bussoti was *Thesaurarius* of Pius V. ; see Firmanus, *Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 47. Papal Secret Archives.

needs of the times. As early as November, 1567, the Pope found himself in great financial difficulties;[1] he set himself to devise a way of meeting them without overburdening his subjects,[2] but since he could not avoid having to give assistance to the French Catholics, to his great grief he at length found himself obliged to impose some extraordinary taxes upon his subjects,[3] though he took care that they should fall principally upon the wealthy, and that the clergy should make a suitable contribution.[4]

Since the revenues steadily continued to decline—it was calculated in 1570 that the falling off since 1538 was as much as 400,000 scudi[5]—while the wider interests of the Church, the helping of the oppressed Catholics, especially in France, and the Turkish war, demanded ever greater and greater sacrifices, the Pope, in 1569, found himself obliged to impose a further extraordinary tax of 500,000 scudi upon imports, a

[1] See the *brief to the "dux Nivern." of November 15, 1567 (in summa fisci nostri inopia), Arm. 44, t. 13, n. 73b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *"Die noctuque cogitat quonam pacto pecunias reperire possit minimo cum populorum et plebis damno." (Arco on November 8, 1567, State Archives, Vienna). In the interest of his subjects Pius V. also issued severe enactments against the acceptance of presents by the state officials; see *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterzienserordens*, I., 3, 213.

[3] The hopes which had been built upon the recovery of ancient coins at Civitavecchia were not fulfilled. (*Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 372, Vatican Library; *cf.* on this matter *Spicil. Vatic.*, 83 *seq.*); see GRATIANI Epist., 277. For the taxes *cf.* the *reports of Arco of November 8 and 15, 1567. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See LADERCHI, 1567, n. 141 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*; *cf.* GUILLAUME, L'abbaye de Cava, Cava de' Tirreni, 1877, 320. In order that it might be able to pay the tax, Ancona in a *brief of February 8, 1568, obtained permission to increase the tax on slaughtering. Communal Archives, Ancona.

[5] See SERENO, 398.

thing which occasioned much surprise.[1] Besides this, during the later years of his reign the permanent public debt was quadrupled by the establishment of the Monti.[2]

Although he was so parsimonious, the Pope nevertheless practised almsgiving on a grand scale.[3] He not only freely assisted the poorer Cardinals, and the bishops who had been driven from their sees, but also his needy servants. In Rome he contributed largely to the hospitals, especially that of S. Spirito, to which he gave 20,000 scudi, and several times personally visited the sick. When, in the summer of 1566, the city was visited by a pestilence brought on by the excessive heat, he dealt with the emergency in every possible way, sent for doctors, and especially concerned himself in relieving the poor by the help of the religious.[4] The same thing happened when the pestilence recurred during the summer of 1568. The parish priests were instructed to draw up lists of the sick,

[1] See TIEPOLO, 174. In his *letter of January 22, 1569 (State Archives, Vienna) Cusano shows how difficult it was to obtain money. In order to ease the finances in June, 1569, all the notariships in the Papal States were sold, bringing in a sum of 70,000 scudi (*Avviso di Roma of June 11, 1569, Urb. 1040 p. 91b). The *Avvisi of June 29 and July 9, 1569, Urb. 1040, p. 101, 107b, Vatican Library, mention other financial schemes.

[2] Namely the Monti Novennale, Giulio, Religione and Provincia; see COPPI, Sulle finanze dello Stato pontificio, Rome, 1855. *Cf.* MORONI, LXXIV., 291; SANTORI, Diario XXIII., 330; XXIV., 106. According to Cerasoli Pius V. deposited 467,000 scudi in the Castle of St. Angelo, and drew out on various occasions 288,000. *Cf.* Studi e docum., XIII., 305, as well as SERAFINI, Le monete e le bolle plumbee nel medagliere Vaticano, I., Milan, 1910.

[3] *Cf.* CATENA, 25, 136, 149; GABUTIUS, 204 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1568, n. 48 *seq.*; the periodical *Caritas*, 1898, n. 7.

[4] See CATENA, 50. For the cause of the pestilence in the summer of 1566 (heat "con un vento sirocale che abbruggiava il dì et la notte") see *Avviso di Roma of August 31, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 278. *Ibid.* 284 and 287, *Avvisi of September 14 and 21, 1566: *"Il Papa continua tuttavia in far visitar gl'infermi et sovenirli." Vatican Library.

and to send them to the Jesuits, whose duty it was to visit them and succour them with means furnished by the Pope.[1] He increased the dowries for poor girls at the Minerva, and the Monte di Pietà received in January, 1567, a gift of 10,000 scudi, so that the institution might be able to advance loans without interest, and at the same time it was ordered that the things pledged were not to be sold before 18 months had elapsed.[2] The Pope was also indefatigable in ransoming and helping the unfortunate people who had been enslaved by the Turks.[3]

It was the unanimous opinion in Rome that no Pope for a long time past had been so active in works of charity as Pius V.[4] The abolition of the excessive levy of duty at the city gates met with universal approval,[5] as did the Pope's efforts to promote industries in Rome, as for example, the weaving

[1] See the *report of Arco of August 28, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of August 14 and September 4, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 562-573, Vatican Library; C. FIRMANUS, *Diarium, in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 253. Papal Secret Archives. A *brief to Girolamo Mercuriani of November 10, 1569, recalls him from Padua to Rome, where there was a lack of doctors; see Arm. 44, t. 14, n. 287 and 288, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* with GABUTIUS, *loc. cit. cf.* the *report of Strozzi to Maximilian II. from Rome, January 18, 1567, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma of March 8, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 367b, Vatican Library.

[3] See GABUTIUS, *loc. cit.* The other day, reports an *Avviso di Roma of August 10, 1566, the Pope received in the Sala grande of the palace of S. Marco 100 Christian slaves set free by Doria; each received "1 scudo, buon pranzo, camisa nova, capello et paio di scarpe." Urb. 1040, p. 269. *Cf. ibid.* 399 *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1567 and Urb. 1041, p. 4 the *Avviso of January 4, 1569. Vatican Library. See also LADERCHI, 1569, n. 347; SANTORI, Autobiogr., XII., 346, and in App. n. 67 the *audiences of Santori with the Pope. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *"In effetto in operibus pietatis da un gran tempo in qua non è stato maggior Papa di lui." *Avviso di Roma of May 10, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 392b, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1566, *ibid.* 290.

of cloth.[1] Trade was also protected by special constitutions against usury on the exchange market, and against fraudulent banking.[2] A special constitution was directed against the robbery of shipwrecked mariners.[3] The death penalty, already in existence for the crime of clipping the gold coinage, was extended in 1570 to the silver coinage as well.[4]

Just as in Rome itself efforts were made to improve the unhealthy districts, and steps were taken to prevent the pollution of the Tiber, which was generally used for drinking purposes,[5] so Pius V. also directed his attention to the draining of the marshes in the Campagna[6] and in other parts of the Papal States, as for example, in the neighbourhood of Ravenna and Foligno.[7]

[1] See Bull. Rom., VII., 612 *seq.*; *cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of September 27, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 442, Vatican Library, and July 3, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. In the first of these *Avvisi the subsidy for the weaving of cloth from the Pope is given as 10,000 scudi (the 100,000 in CATENA, 128 *seq.* is an exaggeration).

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 862 *seq.*; *cf.* DE CUPIS, 158.

[3] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 142 *seq.*

[4] See Bull. Rom., VII., 861 *seq.*

[5] See CATENA, 50; LANCIANI, II., 26; IV., 13 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 28. In his *letter of April 27, 1566, Cusano (State Archives, Vienna) speaks of the order that the Cardinals must pave the street before their palaces. *Cf.* in App. n. 50 the *report of B. Pia to Luzzara of July 10, 1568. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso di Roma of August 21, 1568, also states that a monthly tax of "3 giulii" was imposed for the keeping clean of the streets on every possessor of a carriage (Urb. 1040, p. 567b, Vatican Library). In the inundation of the Tiber in January, 1567, when part of the passage between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo fell in, Pius V. gave all the assistance that he could. See the *report of Strozzi of January 4, 1567, State Archives Vienna. See also BACCI, Del Tevere, Rome, 1576, 369 *seq.*

[6] See the motu proprio "Dei nostri almae urbis." *Cf.* DE CUPIS, 149 and LANCIANI, IV., 14.

[7] See the *brief to "Franc. episc. Imolae, Romand. gubern." of March 21, 1566 (Ravenna) and the *other, to "Ioh. Bapt. Garganus, civis Rom., commiss. noster," of November 2, 1567 (Foligno), Archives of Briefs, Rome.

The greatest credit is due to the Pope for the improvement effected in agriculture in the Campagna, and the establishment of granaries in Rome. After he had, in September, 1566, set up the tribunal of agriculture, he issued, on October 11th in the same year, a constitution which has deservedly become famous, which afforded protection and support of all kinds to agriculture in the Campagna, secured the importation of grain into Rome, and strictly forbade every kind of monopoly. Anyone who offended in this respect, be he baron, bishop, or even Cardinal, was subject to the severest penalties. In his care for the well-being of his subjects, the Pope constantly saw to it that the officials in charge of the supply of grain, who were partly municipal and partly subject to the Apostolic Camera, and who fixed the price of grain, should always supply it to the bakers at the same fixed price, however high might be the price at which it was purchased.[1] Especially in times of famine, as for example in 1568 and 1569, the Pope made unwearied efforts to meet the scarcity, and to prevent any kind of usurious profit being made out of the crisis. The people must have bread at a fair price, since, as he was accustomed to say, it is written in the Bible: *qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis.* (Prov. xi 26.)[2]

[1] *Cf.* CATENA, 53 *seq.*; GABUTIUS, 206 *seq.* For these two ordinances see Bull. Rom., VII., 481 *seq.*, 484 *seq.* Besides NICOLAI, II., 37 *seq.*, see also DE CUPIS, 151 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, and the same author's Saggio bibl. degli scritti e delle leggi sull'agro Romano, Rome, 1903, 146, and Usi civili nell'agro Romano, Rome, 1906, 21 *seq.*; also ARDANT, Papes et paysans, Paris, 1891, 147 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI, I., 215; RODOCANACHI, Institutions, 280. An *Avviso di Roma of July 6, 1569, announces that on the previous day the Pope had taken 30,000 scudi from the Castle of St. Angelo for the "abondanza," and had sent 20,000 to the Marches for grain. Urb. 1041, p. 106, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* CATENA, 53 *seq.*, and the *Avvisi di Roma of August 17 and September 24, 1569, August 12, 1570, and September 12, 1571, Urb. 1040, p. 133, 146; 1041, p. 318; 1042, p. 112, Vatican Library. See also Bull. Rom., VII., 848 *seq.*

Unfortunately, his subordinates did not always act up to the noble aims of the Pope,[1] who, moreover, was not always very happy in the steps he took in his capacity of temporal ruler. For example, an edict concerning the coinage which he issued in July, 1571, caused great consternation.[2] His true sphere was to be found in his care for spiritual matters, and, like Cardinal Bonelli, he was, in view of all that had to be done in that direction, unable to devote sufficient attention to the temporal administration. Therefore, in April, 1568, Cardinal Chiesa was appointed to assist the Cardinal nephew, and in the January of the following year, Cardinals Alciati and Paleotto were likewise appointed.[3] In July, 1570, it was rumoured that the Pope intended to withdraw altogether from temporal affairs, and leave them to these four Cardinals.[4]

The attitude of Pius V. towards art has been misjudged in more than one respect. He laid himself open to this by an enactment by which he placed himself in direct opposition to the Popes of the age of the Renaissance. On February 10th, 1566, it was learned in the city that the Pope had made over to the Roman people all the antique statues which were in the theatre of the Belvedere and its surroundings, and had charged some of the nobles to have them moved to the Capitol. It was further said that the priceless treasures which stood in the cortile of the Belvedere, and which had been protected from rain and risk of injury by screens in the time of Pius IV., were to share the same fate. The Pope's reason for this was that it was unfitting that the successor of St. Peter should

[1] *Cf.* Rodocanachi, Institutions, 280.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of July 18, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 90, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 3, 1568, and January 15, 1569, Urb. 1040, p. 479, and 1041, p. 4, Vatican Library.

[4] An *Avviso di Roma of July 8, 1570 (Urb. 1041, p. 307, Vatican Library) reports: "S'è sparso voce per la corte chel Papa non voglia più intervenire alli negotii profani et secolari, ma deputarvi sopra 4 cardinali cioè Cesi, Thiano, Montalto et Piacenza, et che Sua Stà voglia attender solamente alle cose spirituali et dell' inquisitione."

have pagan images in his palace. In view of the enthusiasm for sculpture then prevalent in Rome it is not surprising that this proposal of the Pope should have aroused much opposition, even from many of the Cardinals, and it was due to their remonstrances that the famous antiques of the gallery of statues in the Belvedere were retained in the Vatican. Pius, however, gave way to the entreaties of the Cardinals on condition that the collection should remain closed to the public.[1]

An inventory, compiled on February 11th, 1566, of the antiques which were to be made over to the Roman people, includes 127 pieces, among which, it is worthy of note, was even the statue of St. Hippolytus. On February 27th a further list of about twenty busts and statues was added.[2] The

[1] See the *report of Cusano of February 16, 1566 (which escaped the notice even of Michaelis, the best authority on this matter), according to which the words used by Pius V. were: "che non conveniva a chi era successore di Pietro tener simili idoli in casa . . et perchè ve ne sono alcune servate delle più rare par pur' che ad instantia di molti cardinali che glielo chiesero in gratia speciale S. Stà si sia contentata ci restino ma con fatto stiano sempre chiuse." Cusano goes on to relate that when Cardinal Farnese pointed out to the Pope that it would be desirable to give to the Emperor the 12 busts (che sono per moderni cosa rarissima) which had been copied in the time of Pius IV. from antique busts of the Emperors, Pius V. assented (State Archives, Vienna). The letters of Arco on this subject were published by MICHAELIS (Statuenhof, 63); his doubt as to whether the last letter, which tells how the busts had been sent to Spain, belongs to 1568 or 1569, is settled by an *Avviso di Roma of January 24, 1568, which states: *"Li 12 imperatori, che con tanta diligentia erano custoditi in Belvedere da Pio IV., sono stati tutti incassati et si mandono per ordine del Papa a donare al re catholico." Urb. 1040, p. 479b, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 169b, an *Avviso of February 9, 1566, with the notice: *"Il papa ha donato tutte le statue di Belvedere al popolo Romano con non poco dispiacere delle creature di Pio IV."

[2] These lists in BICCI, Boccapaduli, 115 *seq.*, from which is taken the new edition of MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 60 *seq.*, with a note of those which were sent to the Capitol, and of those sent to Florence.

senate and people of Rome at once took steps to take possession of this precious gift, and ordered that a mass of thanksgiving should be celebrated at the Minerva on St. Antony's day.[1] They first received 17 statues and statuettes, a small group with putti, and 12 busts, which did not include any works of great importance, and which came for the most part from the stairs leading to the Belvedere, and from one of the rooms in the Vatican. In the meantime the Cardinals of Pius IV. were successful in dissuading the Pope from sending the remaining statues. The Romans, however, did not give up hopes of acquiring them, and in February, 1570, they made a claim for them, though without immediate success.[2]

The news that the Pope intended to purge his palace of antiques aroused in the mind of so great a connoisseur as the Emperor Maximilian II. the desire to obtain possession of some pieces for his own collection. Since, however, Pius V. had in the meantime made a present of some of the statues to the Cardinals, it was not easy to find any which would suit the Emperor's purpose. In July, 1569, two more than life-size statues were sent to him, a Hercules and an Aphrodite, which were followed some years later by three statues from

[1] '*Le statue del Belvedere già si levano e le conducono in Campidoglio per haver il Papa fattone gratia al popolo Romano, et perciò s'obligano in perpetuo far celebrar una messa nella Minerva nella capella di S. Tommaso d'Aquino il giorno di S. Antonio e dare un calice con 4 torcie bianche ogn'anno, e mercordi cominciorno, ove furono tutti i cardinali Rom." (Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 182. Vatican Library; *cf.* FIRMANUS, *Diarium, in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, p. 56b, Papal Secret Archives). On March 2, 1566, Cusano *reports that the deputies of the city of Rome had been during the whole week transporting statues from the Belvedere to the Capitol (State Archives, Vienna). Of the inscriptions of thanks at the Capitol, one mentions no definite number, and the other mentions 30; see FORCELLA, I., 61–62.

[2] *"Li conservatori hanno dimandato in gratia al Papa le statue di Belvedere per metterle nella bella fabrica di Campidoglio," the Pope has postponed "il levarle." *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 231b, Vatican Library.

the Villa Giulia.[1] Several pieces from the same place were also sent to Florence, as a gift to Francesco de' Medici, the eldest son of Cosimo. The agent of the Medici in Rome obtained from the Pope in March, 1569, the gift of no fewer than 26 statutes taken from the villa of Pius IV.[2]

This generosity of the Pope, which had stripped the villas of Julius III. and Pius IV., aroused the fear in Rome that Pius V. intended to make a clean sweep of all pagan remains. In the spring of 1569 the Imperial agent, Cusano, announced to his master that the Pope intended not only to destroy the theatre of the Belvedere, but also to lay hands on the Colosseum and the triumphal arches, in order to remove the temptation from visitors to Rome to pay more attention to pagan than to Christian things. The fear was expressed, as had been the case in the time of Adrian VI., that, in order to obtain the material for the restoration of the churches, Pius would make an onslaught on the grandest monuments of Roman antiquity and reduce the statues to lime,[3] though it was soon realized that these fears were exaggerated. The changes in the theatre of the Belvedere were limited to the removal of the tiers of seats, so that there might be no more public performances

[1] See the reports of Arco in MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 63 *seq.*, to complete which use may also be made of the *report of Monti from Rome, July 28, 1569, which mentions the statues of Hercules and Aphrodite (8–9 palms in height) presented to the Emperor, "et sono stimate assai per la loro bellezza et antichità." State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *report of Arco, which escaped the notice of Michaelis, of March 19, 1569: Cardinal Colonna has presented to the Emperor a bust of Socrates and one of Antoninus, Farnese a statue of Mercury. In Varia, fasc. 4 of the State Archives, Vienna, there is also a *letter from Fra Guglielmo della Porta to Maximilian II., of March 23, 1569: he sends the Emperor a sketch for a crucifix.

[2] See MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 43 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*; *cf. Archäol. Zeitung*, XXXIV., 152.

[3] See in App. n. 58 the *letter of Cusano of March 26, 1569, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 50, Vatican Library (App. n. 59).

there, a thing which, in the eyes of Pius V., was unseemly in the palace of the head of Christendom.[1] The Colosseum and the triumphal arches were quite unharmed, while much of the magnificent statuary with which the Renaissance Popes had enriched the Vatican remained to excite the admiration of future visitors; this was especially the case with the famous gallery of statues which, though closed to the public, was placed under the care of the Pope's physician, Michele Mercati, who was director of the botanical garden established by Pius on the Vatican Hill.[2]

All this shows that the reproach which has been levelled against Pius V., that he was the declared enemy of antiquity, is unjust.[3] Granted his great strictness as to morals,[4] it was only to be expected that he would be scandalized at the many nude statues, as indeed had previously been the case with northern visitors to Rome,[5] but there is no evidence as to this,

[1] *"La destrutione del teatro di Belvedere si ridurà a questo che quelle scale si levino via tutte et che si facino stanze habitabili acciò non ci resti comodità di far spettacoli publici." *Avviso di Roma of April 16, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 54b, Vatican Library.

[2] See MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 44. That of Cosimo I. served as a model for the botanical garden; see REUMONT, Toskana, I., 273.

[3] This has recently been set forth clearly by HÜLSEN (*Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, n. 5, p. 271 n. 3).

[4] In this connexion mention may be made of the hitherto unnoticed, but highly characteristic, comment, which is found in a letter from Archbishop Olaus Magnus of Upsala to Hosius, dated Venice, June 8, 1552. In this letter the strict northerner blames the freedom of Cardinal Crescenzi: "mentre egli viveva io vidi nel suo palazzo a Roma fauni, satiri e nudità femminili, come se la carne ribelle non avesse forza sufficiente a indurre la debole natura umana in mille immagini e pericoli malvagi." HOSII Epist., II., 211.

[5] Cardinal Ricci obtained in August, 1569, the busts, statues and bas-reliefs hitherto preserved in the villa of Julius III.; he sent them to Florence; see *Avviso di Roma of August 6 and 13, 1569 ("Il residuo delle statue della vigna di Giulio III., che ha havuto il card. Montepulciano, si mandano a poco a poco al duca

and the very fact that the Pope presented such statues to the Romans, as well as to the cardinals and princes,[1] to be publicly exposed in their palaces, goes to show that he, in common with almost all Italians, felt no scruples on the subject.[2] If he had considered the exhibition of nude statues in his palace dangerous for himself, he would certainly have acted ruthlessly in the matter. All that can with truth be said of his hostility for antiquity is that, to Pius V., whose interests lay entirely in religious matters, the statues of antiquity, which were, in the eyes, not only of the learned men

di Firenze et alcune sorte di pietre mischie bellissime"), Urb. 1041, p. 117, 131, Vatican Library. Since the gift had only been made by word of mouth, Pius V. confirmed it in a *motu proprio of September 27 1571, Ricci Archives, Rome. Cardinal Este also received presents before his quarrel with Pius V. (see LANCIANI, III., 81; *cf.* WINNEFELD, Die Villa Hadrians bei Tivoli, Berlin, 1895, 5); see in App. n. 52 the *report of Cusano of December 18, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. The two examples of the Pasquino group which had been found near the Mausoleum of Augustus and outside the Porta Portese also went to Florence in 1570. The most important discoveries of antiquities in the time of Pius V. were the monuments and inscriptions of the brothers Arvali which came to light in 1570 outside the Porta Portese, and which for the most part went to the collection of Fulvio Orsini; see HENZEN, Acta (1874). An *Avviso di Roma of October 25, 1569, relates the discovery of an antique which had taken place in a rather curious way in the city: *"L'orso del card. Orsino che sta legato appresso Pasquino graffiando l'altro giorno la terra sotto quella pietra di marmo, dove è fermato Pasquino cavò fuori moti giulii antichi et alcune medaglie d'oro con una chiave d'argento." URB. 1041, p. 169b, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 112 *seq.* In 1569 and 1570 Albert V. of Bavaria also received from Pius V. presents of antique statues; see GOETZ, Beiträge, 508, n. 2, 733 n. 1. In BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Venez., Venice, 1884, 27, a permit to M. Soriano of July 14, 1571, to transport from Rome to Venice "2 teste di marmo antiche."

[2] Since scandal was given at Bologna by the nudity of the statue of Neptune on the fountain there, Pius V. approved of its being covered up; see PATRIZI, Il Gigante, Bologna, 1897, 62.

of the time, but also of princes of strict Catholic principles "venerable relics of ancient days"[1] were either matters of indifference, or else, as being idolatrous, unsuitable for the adornment of his palace; his point of view was very similar to that of Adrian VI.[2]

Even though we may admit a want of understanding on his part of the great educational value of such artistic treasures, Pius V. was by no means indifferent, and still less, hostile, towards the arts. There exists an authentic document concerning the inventory made after his death of the objects which adorned his private apartments; this shows that they were filled with all manner of works of art, bronzes, intarsia, cameos, medals, paintings on wood, among them a Last Judgment by Fra Angelico, miniatures by Giulio Clovio, and other precious objects.[3] Since Pius V. did not allow himself the smallest luxury—he went so far in his parsimony that he at first used the robes worn by his predecessor before having new ones made for himself[4]—one can only suppose that these objects of art were for the most part presents. Some of them, as for example the gifts of Requesens and Cardinal Ricci,[5] and that of the Bishop of Portalegre, can even be

[1] In the *letter from Albert V. to his agent, Castellini, dated Munich, April 27, 1568, we read: "Literas tuas, quarum dies fuit 27 Martii, accepimus et ex iis pergratum nobis fuit intelligere quid de statuis ac antiquitatibus illis egeris, nec dubitamus quin rev. dom. card. Alexandrinus tantum officii ea in re in nostri gratiam sit positurus, tu nulli labori parcens omni labore, studio et diligentia in id totum incumbas, ut tandem etiam aulam nostram *venerandae antiquitatis monumentis* secundum vota nostra conspicuam havere possimus." Orig. in Cod. B. 34, p. 5, Library at Faenza. For Castellini and the Duke's collection *cf.* the article of CHRIST in the Papers of the Academy at Munich, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, X., 357 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. VII. of this work p. 7 *seq.*

[3] See LANCIANI, IV., 41 *seq.*

[4] See CATENA, 27.

[5] "*Il commendator di Castiglia ha dato a S. St^tà^ un panno d' oro et di seta nel quale è ritratta l'historia de tre magi. Il card^lo^ di Montepulciano ha donato a S. B. una canna d'India

identified. In May, 1568, the Duke of Urbino presented Pius V. with some valuable majolica, which afterwards came into the possession of Cardinal Bonelli.[1]

The building operations of Pius V. in the Vatican must have cost 30,000 scudi.[2] First of all he had to undertake a restoration of the Sistine Chapel, in the ceiling of which serious cracks had appeared as early as October, 1565. The state of the chapel was so bad that none of the functions could be held there on January 18th, 1566, the feast of St. Peter's Chair. Pius V. at once took the work in hand with so much energy that the chapel was soon fit for use again. The pictures on the ceiling were saved, and skilfully restored by the Modenese painter, Domenico Carnevale.[3]

In the Vatican Palace Pius V. completed the works begun by his predecessor,[4] and he further erected a new building

d'altezza d'un huomo, i cui nodi sono cerchiati d'argento ne quali è scritta la vita di S. Pietro." Strozzi to Maximilian II. from Rome, January 4, 1567, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *brief to Andreas de Noronha, August 22, 1569, Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 191, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] This gift of the "bellissima credenza de piati de maiolica historiata con figure" is noted in the *Avviso di Roma of March 13, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 487b, Vatican Library. The gift to Cardinal Bonelli is related by Cipriano Saracinello in a *letter to Cardinal Farnese from Rome, March 6, 1568, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 763. A majolica plate (Venetian work) with the cardinal's arms of the Ghislieri in the collection of R. Zschille is mentioned by O. v. FALKE in his Katalog der italien. Majoliken, Leipzig, 1899, n. 22, but in assigning it to the year 1550, he is certainly putting the date too early.

[2] *Cf.* CATENA, 135.

[3] See STEINMANN in *Kunstchronik*, N.S., XV. (1903–04), 570 *seq.* and SIXTINA, II., 779 *seq.* To the evidence there given must be added a payment of December 20, 1569, from the *Secondo libro d. Recettoria d. r. Camera Apost. del A° 1567, State Archives, Rome.

[4] Arco on April 12, 1567, reports: *"S.S^tà ha detto di voler far finire le fabriche principate da Pio IV. et principalmente quella

adjoining the Borgia apartments. The Torre Pia contains three chapels, one above the other, which were dedicated to St. Stephen the martyr, St. Peter Martyr, the Dominican, and St. Michael, and were richly adorned by Giorgio Vasari and Guglielmo della Porta.

The chapel of St. Stephen, on the ground floor, and now adjoining the store-rooms of the Vatican Gallery, still bears the arms of Pius V. on the door. The frescoes on the walls represent scenes from the life of the protomartyr; his preaching, the healing of a cripple, his distribution of alms, and his burial. On the frieze, besides the date, 1571, may be seen the words of the saint in the Acts of the Apostles: "I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." The painting on the ceiling shows the heavens opened, with the most holy Trinity and the choirs of angels. The altar-piece, which is the key to the other paintings, represents the stoning of St. Stephen. This latter work of Vasari is now in the chapel of Nicolas V.[1]

The chapel dedicated to St. Peter Martyr, and adjoining

del Palazzo," and on October 4, 1567, *it seems that the Pope wishes to finish the "fabrica di Belvedere" (State Archives, Vienna). The arms of Pius V., among other things in the Cortile of the Belvedere, are noted in CHATTARD, II., 237, 242, 405, 407, 433. One is still preserved on the inside of the doorway of the Mint.

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 715 *seq.*; TAJA, 95 *seq.*; CHATTARD, II., XXVIII, 92 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 8 *seq.* In the *books of accounts of the "Deposit. gen. della Camera Apost." there are entered for the years 1570-1572 many payments for the "fabrica delle stanze nuove in palazzo apost. acanto a Torre Borgia," and of the "capelle" there. In spite of the description, which is very incomplete, which has been given by Taja, Chattard, and Moroni (IX., 156 *seq.*), these chapels are now almost entirely forgotten; the first and the third are only accessible by special permission. For the chapel painted by Vasari with the help of his pupil, Zucchi, see also Voss, Die Malerei der Spät Renaissance in Rom und Florenz, II., Berlin, 1920, 292.

the Borgia apartments, is also in a good state of preservation. The walls and ceiling are decorated in a very rich style in stucco, gold, and fresco. The altar-piece, also the work of Vasari, represents the martyrdom of the champion of the faith against the Cathari, who came from the Dominican order. The frescoes on the walls, still quite intact, and executed by Vasari and his pupils, depict scenes in the life of the saint. On the right the saint is seen driving away the devil who had appeared in the market place of Florence to disturb his preaching; on the left is another of his miracles. On the small wall to the right of the entrance is shown the presentation of standards with red crosses to those who went to fight the heretics, and on the left the saint in prayer before the crucifix. The ceiling shows the triumph of the Church over the heretics, together with allegorical figures of the cardinal virtues and portraits of Dominican saints; first the founder with the lily, two Popes, probably Innocent V. and Benedict XI., and three writers, Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, and Vincent of Beauvais.[1] No less significant than the choice of subjects is the fact that the allegorical figures, which the artists would naturally have shown as naked, are clothed. It is also noteworthy that the builder of the chapel in his modesty has introduced nothing to record the fact.

The chapel of St. Michael, adjoining the Stanze, has been completely changed by later decoration.[2] The altar-piece, by Vasari, showed the Coronation of Our Lady, while in the dome was seen the expulsion of Lucifer and the rebel angels from heaven.

The chapel dedicated to St. Peter Martyr was intended for the use of the Pope himself, and the other two for his household, who were obliged to say or hear mass daily. For the same reason, a special little church, S. Martino e S. Sebastiano, decorated by Giulio Mazzoni, a

[1] *Cf.* CHATTARD, II., 303.

[2] The lunettes are completely destroyed, and the paintings are by modern hands.

pupil of Vasari and Daniele da Volterra, was erected behind the bastion of Nicholas V. for the use of the Swiss Guard at the Vatican.[1]

At the Villa Pia Pius V. only completed what was strictly necessary. In a very different spirit from the rather pompous way in which Pius IV. called attention to his own work, Pius V. very modestly marked the part which was due to him with a small tablet bearing the letters P.V.[2] He ordered his physicians to grow palms and exotic shrubs in the garden of the Villa, which rather interfered with the character of the building.[3] During the summer of 1569 Pius V. often dined at the Villa ;[4] he only resided at the Palace of S. Marco during the first summer of his pontificate.[5] Later on his only recreation consisted in walks to his beloved convent of S. Sabina on the Aventine,[6] and to the modest little villa which

[1] *Cf.* CHATTARD, III., 334, ARMELLINI, 463, LANCIANI, IV., 9. The arms of Pius V. on the exterior are still preserved, but the inscription mentioned by FORCELLA (VI., 79) is destroyed. The frescoes over the altar represent God the Father, in the right hand niche is St. Sebastian, and in the left one St. Martin. The altar-piece is an Annunciation of the Madonna. On the right hand wall near the altar recess Christ is depicted on the cross with Peter and John, and on the left is the Madonna with St. Anne and the Bambino.

[2] See FRIEDLANDER, 88, who has not made use of the *Avviso di Roma of June 10, 1570 : *Pius V. brought a water supply from the Vatican to the casino of Pius IV., which had been commenced by his predecessor. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* A. GOTHEIN, Gartenkunst, I., 278.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of July 6, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 106, Vatican Library.

[5] DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 106 *seq.*

[6] According to a *report of Arco of June 21, 1567 (State Archives, Vienna) the Pope visited the humble cell, which commands a splendid view, and contains memorials of himself, and adds that he had once lived there as a monk. The name of Pius V. occurs several times in inscriptions in the convent ; see FORCELLA, VII., 305.

he had built as Cardinal outside the Porta Cavalleggieri on the Via Aurelia.[1]

Pius V. once declared that the Popes ought to rejoice the world, not so much by their buildings as by their virtues, and accordingly his building operations in the city were confined to what would either serve some religious purpose or would be for the public utility.[2]

To the former class belong the completion of S. Maria degli Angeli,[3] S. Maria in Traspontina,[4] and the ceiling of the Lateran basilica,[5] the building of SS. Domenico e Sisto and the adjoining convent of Dominican nuns on the southern slope of the Quirinal,[6] the Palace of the Inquisition,[7] the erec-

[1] There he sometimes recreated himself in the autumn with "caccia de tordi"; see *Avviso di Roma of October 20, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 135b, Vatican Library. For the "Casaletto di Pio V.," now a school of agriculture, see FEA, Storia delle acque, 37; NIBBY, Dintorni, I., 405 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 31 *seq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, LXXXV., 137 *seq.* On the right of the entrance is the simple kitchen, then comes the garden, and lastly the villa, with a large court-yard. No inscription nor coat of arms recalls Pius V., whereas the arms of the subsequent owners, the Chigi, are still to be seen. For the neighbouring chapel of the Madonna del Riposo, see TOMASSETTI, II., 480.

[2] See GABUTIUS, 208. Here, as in CATENA, 132 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, is a series of notes on the attitude of Pius V. towards art, which, however, could be added to in many ways.

[3] See the briefs of March 30, 1566, and February 7, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 70 and 1568, n. 28; Corresp. dipl., I., 182 *seq.*

[4] See BONANNI, I., 320 *seq.*; VENUTI, 130 *seq.*

[5] See RASPONUS, 16, 18; ROHAULT, 266, 519 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 136; Art. Francesi, X. (1907), 134; THODE, V., 189; LAUER, 314 *seq.*, 316, 318 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 28. *Cf.* Bibl. Corvisieri, II., Rome, 1901, 376. The constitution of Pius V. on the pre-eminence of the Lateran Basilica in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 48. An *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1568, states: Pius V. visited at the Lateran "la fabrica che S. S^{tà} fa fare per li penitencieri di S. Pietro." State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See CATENA, 25; NIBBY, I., 209.

[7] *Cf. infra*, p. 288 *seqq.*

tion of a house for converted Jews near the church of the SS. Annunziata in the ruins of the Forum of Augustus,[1] the conversion of the monastery of S. Basilio into a place of instruction for catechumens, the restoration of various churches and monasteries,[2] and lastly the continuation of the new building of St. Peter's.[3]

Pius V. rendered great service to the completion of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles by devoting large sums of money to it.[4] The difficult question of the vaulting of the dome, which had already been a matter of anxiety to his predecessor, especially preoccupied him.[5] This matter, together with others connected with the building, was discussed in the spring of 1567, when, as the result of the pressing and repeated invitation of the Pope, Giorgio Vasari came to Rome, where he was given lodgings in the Vatican close to the Pope's

[1] See NIBBY, I., 100; ANGELI, Chiese, 49; LANCIANI, IV., 25. On the gate of the convent (Via di Tor de' Conti, n. 1) may still be seen the inscription "Pius V. Pont. Max."; the coat of arms which was above it has been destroyed.

[2] See ARMELLINI, 215,375; *ibid*, 298 *seq.* the assignment of S. Maria Egiziaca to the Armenians. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 12. Payments for the restoration of S. Sabina in the *Terzo libro d. Deposit. d. v. Cam. Apost. 1568, State Archives, Rome. On the two side entrances, now walled up (facing the Via de'Penitenzieri) of S. Spirito in Sassia may be read the name "Pius V. P.M."; on the façade of the church of the Minerva his arms may be seen. On May 15, 1568, Arco reports: *on Monday the Pope went to S. Sabina and ordered that the ruined church of the Priory on the Aventine be restored; on June 19, 1568, he reports: *the heirs of Cardinal Salviati were ordered to pay 3,000 scudi, as Pius V. wished "sgravar l'anima del cardinale con far riparare la chiesa del priorato alla quale non haveva mai fatto beneficio alcuno" (State Archives, Vienna), the arms of Pius V. on the Torre di S. Andrea at Orvieto also undoubtedly tell of some work of restoration.

[3] *Cf.* App. n. 66.

[4] See LADERCHI, 1569, n. 50; *cf.* J. C. VESPIGNANI, Compend. privileg. fabricae S. Petri, Rome, 1676, 6 *seqq.*, 17 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 152 *seq.*

own apartments. Vasari takes to himself the credit of having determined Pius V. not to allow the smallest deviation from the plans of Michelangelo. Jacopo Vignola[1] was appointed architect in chief of St. Peter's, at first by himself, and later with his son, Giacinto.[2]

It was Jacopo Vignola who, in 1568 by the order of Cardinal Farnese, began the building of the magnificent church of the Jesuits, the Gesù, which was to attain to such importance, both from the artistic and the religious point of view.[3]

An especially beautiful trait of the character of Pius V. was his gratitude to all those who had ever conferred any favour on him. To this feeling of piety were due the monuments, so remarkable for their rich decoration in coloured marbles, which he erected to Paul IV. in S. Maria sopra Minerva, to Cardinal Alfonso Carafa in the Cathedral of Naples, and to Cardinal Ridolfo Pio di Carpi at the Trinità dei Monti.[4] For

[1] *Cf.* D. FREY, Michelangelo-Studien, Vienna, 1920, 111 *seq.*

[2] See *Frey* in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Beiheft, p. 50 *seq.* The "Deputati della fabrica di S. Pietro," who confirmed the mandate published by Frey, *loc. cit.* were: "Fr. Ar. Senensis, P. Narniensis, Alex. Casalis and Alex. Riarius." From a Bando concerning "beni alienati" of June 15, 1571, bound up with the Privilegia, auct., facult., indulgentiae fabricae princ. apost. S. Petri de Urbe, Rome, 1559, Barberini Library (now at the Vatican), stamp. TTT, II., 16, it appears that the deputies at the time were: "A. Riarius, F. archiepisc. Senen., A. Casalius, Dom. Pinellus." It is therefore incorrect to describe, as does Frey, *Fr. Ar.* as *Arberinus*; we must read *Fr*[*anc.*] *Ar*[*chiep.*] *Senensis*, that is Bandini, who was Archbishop of Siena from 1529 to 1588.

[3] See in App. n. 49 the *Avvisi di Roma of May 29 and June 3, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. In 1567 there arose near the Torre delle Milizie the church and convent of S. Caterina da Siena, in 1568 on the road leading to S. Paolo the chapel of the "Divisione degli Apostoli," and in the years 1566-1569 the façade of S. Maria dell'Orto; see *L'Arte*, 1913.

[4] See CATENA, 54 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 100, 102 *seq.*; FORCELLA III., 125; ANCEL, Disgrâce, 178, n. 2. For the tomb of Paul IV., see also Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 416. Pay-

his own tomb he chose Bosco, his native place, where he built a richly endowed convent for the Dominicans. Vasari received the order to supply for this church of S. Croce a great high altar with a representation of the Adoration of the Magi; he sent the painting to the Pope in the spring of 1567. In October 1568 Pius V. commissioned another sculptor, Gianantonio Buzi, to erect his own tomb. The monument is still in a good state of preservation. Between two rows of colums there is shown the risen Christ, with the Pope kneeling at his feet. At the two sides, between pillars, are large statues of Faith and Charity. The monument is completed above by a niche surmounted by a cross, and containing a statue of the archangel Michael slaying the dragon.[1]

His love for his own country, which also found liberal expression in other ways,[2] did not lead Pius V. to forget such venerated sanctuaries as Loreto and Assisi. At Loreto he had four magnificent bronze doors cast for the marble casing of the Holy House, while at Assisi, over the chapel where St. Francis died, he gave orders for the commencement of the great church of S. Maria degli Angeli, which is distinguished for its grand simplicity, and the lofty dome which can be seen for miles across the plain of central Umbria.[3]

ments for the tombs of Paul IV. and Carpi in *Secondo e terzo libro d. Recett. d. r. Cam. Apost. 1567 and 1568, State Archives, Rome.

[1] See DELL'ACQUA; 44, where there is a good reproduction; CATENA, 133 *seq.*; THIEME VI. 380. *Cf.* BRUZZONE, Bosco, I., 131, 133; II., 164 *seq.*; *Riv. di Alessandria*, 1902, and XIV., 383, 395; LANCIANI, IV., 44 *seq.*; *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIX., 194 n. 1; KALLAB, Vasari-Studien, 125, 129; BRUZZONE in *Cosmos* illustr., 1914, 43; L. MINA, Della chiesa e convento di Bosco Marengo, Alessandria, 1904. For the altar of Vasari, *cf.* KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 683. For the buildings of Pius V. at Bosco, see App. nn. 10-15.

[2] See BRUZZONE, Bosco, I., 134 *seq.*; DELL'ACQUA, 29.

[3] See BEISSEL, Das hl. Haus zu Loreto, Freiburg, 1891, 18; LASPEYRES, Kirchen der Renaissance in Mittel-Italien, Leipzig, 1882, Pt. 2, p. 37; GURLITT, Gesch. des Barockstiles, 56 *seq.*;

Rome also owes to Pius V. a number of foundations of great public utility; an establishment for the manufacture of wool, the continuation of the University buildings, the erection of suitable quarters for sick prisoners near Tor di Nona, the construction of the Via Alessandrina, and the Via Bonelli, which still keep alive to-day his own name and that of his secretary of state, and lastly the restoration of the Acqua Vergine,[1] by means of which Pius V. could boast that he had restored to the city a good water supply.[2] At first the Pope would hear nothing of fortifications, but the Turkish peril

GUASTI, La chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence, 1882, 76; CAVANNA, L'Umbria Francescana, Perugia, 1910, 2 *seq.* According to the researches of P. GIUSTO, it was not Vignola but Galeazzo Alessi who sketched out the plan for S. Maria aigli Angeli. See *Corriere d'Italia*, 1920, No. 185.

[1] With GABUTIUS and CATENA *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also FEA, Storie d. acque antiche, 12 *seq.*; NIBBY, II., 14; *Riv. Europ.*, 1880, 375 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 12 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1568 relates: *" S'è risoluto che la fabrica già cominciata da Pio. IV. per condursi qua l'acqua di Salone si finischi secondo il disegno a beneficio publico." On the following Friday there was a meeting of the street authorities and deputies under the presidency of Cardinal Ricci. Urb. 1040, p. 562b, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 1041, p. 268, an *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1570: On Wednesday the Pope went to Salone to give orders "che quell'acqua sia tirata in Roma sino insu la piazza della Rotonda sicome è stato principiato da Pio IV." *Ibid.* 334b, an *Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1570: The Pope went to the vigna and visited the acqua di Salone, which now goes to the fountain of Trevi. An *Avviso of September 9, 1570 (State Archives, Vienna) reports: "L'acqua di Salone è condotta in Roma alla fontana de Trevi e si tratta di condurla in piazza Navona."

[2] *Cf.* the poems of Ludovico Cavani in *Carmina illustr. poet.*, III., 320 *seq.* Another project of Pius V.'s was not carried out; Arco says of it in his *report of November 11, 1570: *" Qui si tratta di far fontane su tutte le piazze et si fa conto che si spenderanno più di 40 mila scudi." State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of August 26, 1570, concerning the fountain of Cardinal Ricci at the "Collis hortulorum" (Pincio).

soon made him change his mind. On account of this the city walls were repaired, the fortifications of the Borgo,[1] on which the Turks taken prisoner at Lepanto were made to work, was completed,[2] the Castle of St. Angelo was strengthened,[3] the sea coast of Latium was protected by towers,[4] and the works at Civitavecchia, Ancona, and Camerino were finished.[5] Cesare Guasco,[6]

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 10 *seq.*; *Inventario*, I., 317. Several coats of arms are preserved in the Via delle Mura, near the Porta Cavalleggieri, among them a large one of Pius V. of 1568.

[2] See the *letter of Arco of December 15, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See RODOCANACHI, St.-Ange, 171, according to whom the expenses came to 50,000 scudi. Nevertheless, in the museum of the Castle of St. Angelo there is only one inscription of the modest Pius V. He applied himself at once to the fortification of the Borgo; see the *Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1566, and the *report of Serristori of January 19, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3285. An *Avviso of March 20, 1568, states that for the fortification of the Borgo, besides the 50,000 scudi taken from the treasure in the Castle, Pius V. intended to impose a fresh tax "alla mola;" Mons. di Narni supervised the works, which the Pope was anxious to hurry forward (Urb. 1040, p. 490). An *Avviso of April 3, 1568, says: *"Si seguita la fortificatione di Borgo et Castello con tanta dilgenza che l'opera sarà finita per tutto Giugno." (*ibid.* 499). But even by May 14, 1569, an *Avviso says that Narni is still going on "a far fabricare la fortezza di Borgo (Urb. 1041, p. 76, Vatican Library). *Cf.* ROCCHI, Le piante icnografiche di Roma del sec. XVI., Turin-Rome, 1902. Reference to the same subject is also made in the *Discorso sopra la fortificatione di Castel S. Angelo et del Borgo di Roma l'anno, 1568, Stockholm Library, Ant. Coll. Donation, 1742, Fol. Nr. 8, p. 341 *seq.*

[4] See Vol. XVIII. of this work.

[5] See GABUTIUS and CATENA, *loc. cit.*, BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 72 *seq.*, and Vol. XVIII. of this work. The fortification of Castelfranco, which was begun for the defence of Bologna, was not completed; see BOTERO, Relationi VI., Venice, 1618, 40.

[6] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 68 *seq.*

Torquato Conti,[1] and Paciotti[2] were the engineers employed by the Pope. According to Catena Pius V. spent 341,800 scudi upon his building operations.[3] Of the painters employed by the Pope, among whom was to be found a Netherlander, Bartolomaeus Sprenger,[4] Vasari is the one most frequently mentioned. Towards the end of the pontificate of Pius V. he sketched the great mural paintings which were to decorate the Sala Regia; besides the pictures of the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon to Rome, no less than three paintings were to celebrate the victory over the Turks, but only that of the Battle of Lepanto had been finished when the Pope died.[5]

[1] See the *report of Cusano of May 18, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *brief of February 27, 1572. Archives of Briefs, Rome. Payments to the "Cavalier Paciotto" in *Deposit., t. 157 (1572), State Archives, Rome.

[3] CATENA, 226.

[4] See *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. der österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVIII. 105; *cf.* JANSEN-PASTOR, VI., 15–16, 113. *Bullett. de l'Institut historique Belge à Rome*, I., Rome, 1919, 309. Zuccaro fell a victim to the plague which raged during the summer of 1566; see *Avviso di Roma of September 7, 1566; the other day took place the burial of "Thadeo pittore tenuto in tal stima che l'hanno posto nella Ritonda vicino a Raffaello d'Urbino." (Urb. 1040, p. 282b, Vatican Library). His exaggerated epitaph in FORCELLA, I., 297. In a *letter of May 29, 1569, Arco speaks of a "dipintore chiamato Ulisse da Volterra (la sua professione principale è di lavorare di stucho et di fontane)" whom he recommends to the Emperor (State Archives, Vienna). For the lack of painters in Rome (1568) see GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., II., 51. For the goldsmiths of Pius V. see *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1877, I., 295 *seq.* and *Kunsthistor. Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XII., 153 *seq.*, where there is an illustration and reproduction of the sword and hat (now in Vienna) sent in 1568 by Pius V. to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol. Payments to Giov. Ant. de Rossi *supra* p. 52, n. 1) "intagliatore della Zecca," in *Deposit., t. 157 (1572 Exit., p. 16, 19, State Archives, Rome).

[5] See KALLAB, Vasari-Studien, 134; ORBAAN in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIX. (1919), Beiheft, p. 7.

Pius V. also took steps to promote learning, although—a thing which in view of his whole character cannot be considered surprising—worldly and aesthetic considerations gave place entirely to those which were practical and ecclesiastical.[1]

The poetical effusions with which he was hailed immediately after his election,[2] and again and again later on,[3] certainly made no appeal to him, any more than did the laudatory panegyrics of the various embassies for the *obedientia*.[4] We do not know of any poets being rewarded by him, though it is recorded that one who had composed pasquinades was severely punished.[5] It would appear that even the poets[6]

[1] While still a Cardinal Pius V. had been active in this sense with the Venetian academy or "della Fama," which elected him its protector; see HARTIG, Münchner Hofbibliothek, 216 *seq.*

[2] See CES. SACHETTI, I tre conti per la nuova creatione di Pio V., Bologna, 1566. The Bavarian humanist, Johann Anspach, also acclaimed Pius V.; see *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, C., 501 *seq.*

[3] See the poems of Girol. and Cornelio Amalterio, of Girol. Catena, Lodovico Cavani and Tommaso Correa in *Carmina illustr. poet.*, I., 136 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*; III., 314 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*, 319 *seq.*, 330 *seq.*, 448 *seq.* *Ibid.* many poems on the battle of Lepanto. *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work.

[4] The "Oratio ad Pium V.P.M. nomine ducis Alfonsi II. habita in Roma A, 1566," of M. A. Muret was at once printed in Rome by de Accoltis. Muret had also saluted Pius IV. in the name of Francis II. (Oratio, ed. Romae, A. Bladus, 1560). The *discourse of Poggiano to Pius V. in the name of the King of Poland in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[5] A poet, relates an *Avviso di Roma of January 4, 1567, asked the Pope for a vacant office; Pius V. had the matter gone into,

[6] poi li disse per esser authore et compositore di pasquinate in loco di gratia vi priviamo delli beneficii che tenete indegnamente aggiungendo che mai ne possiate havere et così se lo levò davanti." Urb. 1040, p. 343, Vatican Library.

[6] A Caro was looked upon as the most eminent poet, on whose death FIRMANUS (*Diarium XII., 31, p. 142b) reports: "Die dominica 17 novembris [1566] obiit in via Julia . . . Hannibal Carus. . . . Hic erat poeta unicus illis temporibus in Italia, pulcherrimi aspectus, optimae vitae, exemplaris in omnibus suis actionibus et honor, decus ac principale ornamentum totius nostri Piceni." Papal Secret Archives.

who sang the praises of the part taken by the Pope in the victory of Lepanto remained without recognition.[1] The fact that in spite of his parsimony he gave 5,000 scudi for the reprinting of the works of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure shows in what direction the real interests of Pius V. lay.[2] It is true that he never carried into execution the literary plan which he had once, while a simple religious, propounded to a learned German, namely, an edition of unedited Greek works,[3] but on March 5th, 1571, he appointed a commission composed of Cardinals Sirleto, Hosius, Maffei, Montalto, Colonna and Giustiniani to examine and refute in writing the Confession of Augsburg, and the attacks of the Centuriators of Magdeburg.[4] Clearly realizing the necessity of a solid defence against the attacks of the Protestants in the matter of Church history,[5] the Pope in 1567 charged the learned Jesuit Canisius to show in the first place, with examples, how the Centuriators had distorted historical events.[6] Since Pius V. died hardly a

[1] See the poems of G. B. Albano, H. Catena, Lud. Cavani, and Tommaso Correa in *Carmina illustr. poet.*, I., 456 *seq.*; III., 316 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*, 448 *seq.* Of the many poems which were occasioned by the Battle of Lepanto (see Vol. XVIII. of this work) there was dedicated to the Pope the very rare "Canzone supra la vittoria ottenuta dall'armata de principi christiani contra la Turchesca," Venice, A. Muschio, 1571, on the title-page of which there is a vignette with the motto: "Roma et Italia resurgens." Perhaps its author was the Venetian, Ottaviano Maggi; *cf.* MELZI, I., 171. Another very rare work is "Hier. Zoppio, Laude del santiss. et grandiss. Pio V.P. per la glorios. et felic. vittoria contra Turcho," Bologna, Aless. Benaccio, 1571.

[2] See CATENA, 136.

[3] See the *letter of Giov. Sambucus to Sirleto of February 20, 1566, Vatican Library; see App. n. 6.

[4] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae*, XXIII., 322.

[5] The *Centenarius* of Wilhelm Eisengrein (Ingolstadt, 1566) of which Pius V. accepted the dedication, certainly gave the first impulse to this; see PFLEGER in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XXV., 782 *seq.*; *cf.* also BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 62 *seq.*, and *Corresp. dipl.*, II., 273.

[6] See CANISII Epist., V., 480 *seq.*; *cf.* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 64 *seq.*

year after the appointment of the commission, the plan of a great and exhaustive refutation of the Centuriators could not be carried out.[1] The Pope, however, saw the publication of the new edition of the works of St. Thomas, which filled seventeen folio volumes; this had been prepared by the Spanish Dominican, Tommaso de Manriquez, with the help of his brethren, and was dedicated to Pius V.[2] A bull of April 11th, 1567, ordered that henceforth the day of the death of the "angel of the schools," March 7th, should be kept throughout the Church in the same way as the feasts of the four great Doctors of the Church.[3] The most celebrated and valuable work which was dedicated to Pius V. came from the pen of the great Biblical scholar, Sisto da Siena, whose life the Pope had saved when he was commissary-general of the Roman Inquisition. This was the Bibliotheca Sancta, printed at Venice in 1566, which has served as a rich mine to later students of the Holy Scriptures.[4] The Dominican, Jacopo Nacchianti, a fellow-student of the Pope, dedicated to him his commentaries on the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Romans.[5] A learned German, Doctor Georg Eder, also dedicated to Pius V. a kind of introduction to the Holy Scriptures.[6]

Certain other works dedicated to Pius V. are also characteristic. Besides a poem on the birth of Christ,[7] there is a dis-

[1] See SCHMID in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVII., 83; EICHHORN, II., 463 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Corresp. dipl.*, IV., lx. *seq.*

[2] See QUÉTIF-ECHARD, II., 230, and *infra* p. 200.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 564 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* KAULEN, Einleitung in die hl. Schrift, Freiburg, 1898, 9 *seq.*

[5] See LAUCHERT, 587 *seq.*

[6] For the "Oeconomia Bibliorum" of Eder, Cologne, 1568, see PAULUS in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXV., 25 *seq.* For his Vite dei Santi Surius received two briefs of praise. See LADERCHI, 1570, n. 446; 1571, n. 39. Martin Eisengrein also was repeatedly honoured by Pius V.; see PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 72 *seq.*, 79 *seq.*

[7] *Laevinii Torrentii, Hymni de partu Virginis ad Pium V., in Cod. Ottob. 886, Vatican Library.

sertation by Lorenzo Belo, who defends, quite in accordance with the mediaeval theory, the supreme power of the Pope even in temporal matters.[1] There is also an Italian translation[2] of the description of the seven basilicas of Rome by Onofrio Panvinio, an essay on the primacy of St. Peter by the same writer, and a new edition of the Vite dei Papi by Platina.[3] When the envoy of the Duke of Urbino presented to the Pope in 1570 a work by Pandolfo Sansovino on the life of Christ, he received a gift of 200 scudi; on the other hand, the Greek, Antonio Esparcho, who had been collecting manuscripts for the Vatican Library in his own country, and had been receiving a pension granted by Paul III. and continued by Paul IV. and Pius IV., tried in vain to secure the continut ance of this help.[4] The reason why Paulus Manutius lef-

[1] *Laurentii Beli, De summa pontificia potestate creandi et destruendi dignitates et potestates in toto terrarum orbe ad Pium V., in Cod. Vatic. 5495 and Ottob. 815, Vatican Library; also in *Carte Strozz. State Archives, Florence. For Belo *cf.* MARINI, Lettera, 55 *seq.* In Cod. Vatic. 1107 *Petri Pontii Consultatio ad Pium V., quod super matrimonio rato Papa dispensare possit.

[2] Made by Marcus Ant. Lanfrancus Veronensis, in *Cod. Vatic. 6432, Vatican Library.

[3] O. PANVINIUS, De primatu Petri et apost. sedis potestate lib. II. ad Pium V., in Cod. S. 8, 9 of the Angelica Library in Rome, printed in a compendium at Verona, 1589, and several times afterwards; see NARDUCCI, Catal. Bibl. Angel., 528. For the new edition of 1568, dedicated to Pius V., of the *Vite dei papi* of PLATINA, see Vol. XV. of this work p. 421. The dedication of a work on canon law in CIACONIUS, III., 1064. The Cod. Vatic. 3944, p. 48 *seq.* contains, *Capizuchus, Ad Pium V. super clericorum connubiis a Germanis petitis (Vatican Library). In Cod. Urb. 1235 is to be found a *Trattato della quiete civile e della sua causa da Niccolò Sergiusti Lucchese detto il Dirceo con lettera a P. Pio V. Vatican Library.

[4] See *Mél. d'archéol.*, XIII., 290 *seq.*, an *Avviso di Roma of July 17, 1568, announces that Mons. Foglieta, who was writing the "Historia del mondo, s'è posto al servitio del card. Ferrara" (Urb. 1040, p. 549, Vatican Library). *Cf.* "U. Folietae Tyburtinum H. Estii card. Ferrariensis" in GRAEVIUS, Thes., I., 2. 1228 *seq.* and *Atti Mod.*, V., 204.

Rome in 1570 was certainly not only his spiritual state, but also his need of support.[1] With the exception of works of an ecclesiastical character,[2] Pius V. only showed any real interest in those concerned with his favourite subject, the war against the Turks.[3]

The use of the Vatican Library, of which Cardinal Sirleto[4] was made librarian for life in 1572, was made more difficult,[5] though on the other hand Pius V. tried to acquire for it the famous collection of manuscripts belonging to Cardinal

[1] In his letters Paulus Manutius speaks in a confused and contradictory manner of his departure; see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 165 *seq.* The monograph which Mgr. Le Grelle is preparing will no doubt throw full light upon this matter. For the attitude of Pius V. towards the mysterious G. Cardano, see *Bollet. Pavese*, IV., 591 *seq.*

[2] Pius V. encouraged Girol. Muzio to compose his "Risposta all' Apologia anglicana"; see LAUCHERT, 665.

[3] POMETTI, 66 *seq.* enumerates a series of these from the codices in the Papal Secret Archives. The *Discorso a Pio V. and the *Discorso of G. Selvago are also in Cod. Maggliabecch. XXIV., 33, p. 258 *seq.*, 226 *seq.* of the National Library, Florence. *Ibid.* XXX.-46 the discourse of P. Vettori. This matter is also dealt with by *Fr. Brochii civis Florent. Oratio de bello decernendo contra Turcas ad Pium V. (Cod. Vatic. 6153, Vatican Library) and Vinc. Negusantius (architect. Arbensis), Pro bello in Turcas ad Pium V. oratio, Fano, 1595.

[4] The *brief "Tuorum magnitudo meritorum" of March 18, 1572, is in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[5] CIAN in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital.*, IX., 456, deals very well with this matter. G. Mercati is about to publish an article in Histor. Jahrbuch on the prohibition, mentioned on the authority of an *Avviso di Roma of April 29, 1570 (Urb. 1041, p. 269b) that "niuno," under pain of excommunication, "possia copiare scritture nella libreria Vaticana." This prohibition certainly only refers to the use of codices which were under suspicion from the ecclesiastical point of view by incompetent persons; it is clear among other things from the particulars in *Histor. Jahrb.*, XVII. 81; XXV., 788, that learned Catholics, even Germans like William Eisengrein, were allowed to work in the Vatican Library under Pius V.

Vitelli,[1] and continued the transference of manuscripts from Avignon to Rome which had been undertaken by his predecessor.[2] In the spring of 1567 the Pope gave orders for the preparation of a place in the Vatican to serve as a secret archivium for the more important *acta*,[3] while a special provision of 1566 dealt with the preservation of ancient documents.[4] A motu proprio of August 19th, 1568, ordered the compilation of a full and detailed catalogue of all manuscripts relating to the Roman Church, but the plan, like that of Pius IV. of forming a central archivium, met with insuperable difficulties. Apart from the fact that the Church was at that time faced with more pressing undertakings, the necessary conditions and powers were lacking.[5]

On the other hand the efforts which Pius V. made on behalf of the Roman University were crowned with success. Although, at the end of the XVIIIth century, Pavia showed, by the erection of a monument, its gratitude for the foundation of the Collegio Ghislieri, which was founded to receive 24 students for the University there,[6] no outward sign records the services of Pius V. to the Roman institution, which,

[1] See the *report of Firmanus of November 19, 1568, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See MUNTZ, La bibl. du Vatican, Paris, 1886, 115 *seq.*

[3] See LANCIANI, IV., 8.

[4] See ORBAAN, Een pauselijk verbod tegen het opgebruiken van handschriften, in *Tydschrift van boek en bibliotheekwezen*, 1907, Pius V. also insisted that the nuncios should keep a record of their dispatches; see *Nunziat. di Polonia*, I., 18 (instructions of April 19, 1567). Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Opinion of SICKEL, Beiträge, I., 13 *seq.*; 16 *seq.*; II., 86 *seq.*; MARINI, Mem. d. archivi, 25 *seq.*; *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 12; Merkle,* I., xix., civ.

[6] For the Collegio Ghislieri, which still exists to-day, though in a different form, see LADERCHI, 1571, n. 159; BONANNI, I., 295; VENUTI, 132; BRUZZONE, Bosco, II., 106 *seq.*; 366 *seq.*; *Riv. di Alessandria*, XIII., 61 *seq.*; DEL GIUDICE in *Rendiconti del R. Istit. Lomb.*, 2ª Serie, XXIII. (1890); E. GALETTI, Il Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia, Pavia, 1890; *Bibl. Corvisieri*, II., 401; DELL'ACQUA, 51 *seq.*

however, are proved by the records in its archives. He not only took care that the new buildings made good progress, but he also saw to it that the internal requirements of the University were met by efforts to remove the abuses by reason of which its financial affairs had fallen into a state of confusion. If he was not completely successful in this, it is beyond question that his ordinances laid the foundations for the subsequent development of the "Sapienza" just at the time when the other Italian universities were beginning to lose their former splendour. The Pope showed what an interest he took in the affairs of the University by several times presiding in person at the meetings of the commission of studies formed by Julius III.[1]

The number of the professors at the Roman University, which had been 34 in 1536, was increased to 37 in 1568;[2] not a few of them were men of great distinction and repute, such as the jurists, Girolamo Pariseti and Camillo Plauto, the physicians, Francesco Ginnasi, Ippolito Salviano, and above all, Marc Ant. Muret and Silvio Antoniano.[1] What a change had taken place in men's ideas is characteristically shown by the decision of the commission of studies on October 16th, 1569, to substitute for the formula, *Quod bonum faustum felixque sit*, which had been placed at the head of the register in the time of Leo X., the words, *In nome della santissima e indivisibile Trinità*.[4]

The spirit which had become paramount in the Eternal

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of November 2 and 9, 1566, and October 2, 1570, Urb. 1040, p. 314b, 317; 1041, p. 357, Vatican Library; MARINI, Lettera, 128 *seq.*; RENAZZI, II., 140 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1566, n. 157 and the important contribution of POMETTI in Scritti vari di filologia dedic. a E. Monaci, Rome, 1901, 70 *seqq.*, 89 *seqq.*, where, however, no notice is taken of the "Rotulus" of 1568, published in *Il Muratori*, I., Rome, 1892, 77 *seq.*

[2] See in *Cod. H-III-62, p. 16 *seq.* of the Chigi Library, Rome, the catalogue of Carlo Cartari based upon the **Ruoli* in the Sapienza Archives.

[3] *Cf.* POMETTI *loc. cit.*, 90.

[4] See MARINI, Lettera, 17.

City under Pius V. is shown no less clearly in the inscription over the principal entrance of the Palazzo dei Conservatori: "The senate and people of Rome entrust the protection of the Capitol, once sacred to Jove, to the true God, to the author of all good, Jesus Christ, with a prayer for the common good. In the year of salvation, 1568."[1]

[1] See BICCI, Notizie d. famiglia Boccapaduli, Rome, 1762, 132; FORCELLA, I., 38; POGATSCHER in *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX., 500 *seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

Reforming Zeal of Pius V. Reform of the College of Cardinals, the Curia, and the Roman Clergy.

Everyone who, even by repute, knew his fiery zeal, realized that with Cardinal Ghislieri the genius to reform and the spirit of the Council of Trent had ascended the Papal throne. The advocates of a radical ecclesiastical revival joyfully spread the news of the election of Pius V.,[1] and of his first reforms,[2] while, at the end of the first year of his reign, a correspondent summed up his impressions of him as follows: "The new Pope, for whom his ill-wishers predicted a short pontificate,[3] has strength for another ten years, and reform plans for another hundred or a thousand years."[4] Pius V. himself made no secret of his intentions. On July 1st, 1566, in imploring the Republic to abstain from any further plans of war, in order that no obstacles might be placed in the way of peace in Italy, and thus in that of an ecclesiastical revival, he wrote to Genoa that he wished to reform everything in the Church of God that stood in need of reform.[5] On March 2nd, 1566,

[1] Circular in the name of Francis Borgia to the provincials of the Jesuits, January 15, 1566, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 162-167.

[2] *Cf.* circulars of Polanco to the Society of Jesus, of January 25, April 30, June 17, and October 21, 1566, *Anal. Bolland.*, VII. (1888) 46 *seqq.* These letters were published with some editions at Cologne in 1567; *ibid.*, XV. (1896), 77 *seq.*

[3] Catena, 21.

[4] *Ciregiola to Cardinal Medici, December 8, 1566: "Non solo supera tutte le stravagante opinioni e umore e male mercantie di mercato nuovo, ma che haverà vita per dieci anni e riforme per cento a per mille." State Archives, Florence.

[5] *[Reformare] sicut instituimus, in Ecclesia Dei quidquid reformatione indigere perspicimus. Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 79, Papal Secret Archives.

Cardinal Granvelle declared that everything was changed in Rome.[1] The new officials who had been appointed during the first days of the pontificate, for the Apostolic Palace, the Dataria, the government of the Papal States, and other important offices, were all significant of the new methods which the Pope intended to adopt.[2] In affairs of State, the Spanish ambassador says, when giving a list of the new officials, he will make use of Farnese, but for the administration of the city, and for the carrying out of the Council of Trent, which, it is said, he intends to do with full rigour, Borromeo will be his right hand.[3]

[1] Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I., 247.

[2] *" Ha creato officiali : monsgr. Cirillo maestro di casa, msgr. Alessandro Casale Bolognese maestro di Camera ; governatore di Roma il vescovo d'Imola segretario de brevi Fiordibello et msgr. Cesare segretario delle lettere si è detto del vescovo di Cesena, ma non è anco stabilito. Il datario andarà alla foggia di Paulo IV., assistendo Pisa, Trani et Reomano ; et questo datario seguitarà va per detto, tanto che sia stabilito l'altro : non si piglieranno compositioni. Ms. Giovanni Battista Pistone fiscale è stato confirmato et tuttavia si sta sul negotiare. Addesso de cardinali sono favoriti Farnese, Savello, Gambara, Correggio, Vitelli, Pisa, il quale si dice che haverà Bologna et forsi il carico de negotii." Caligari to Commendone on January 9, 1566, Lett. di princ. XXIII. 73[b] (now 160[b]–161), Papal Secret Archives. " Ha hecho un muy buen datario que es el arçobispo [of Chieti, later on Cardinal] Mafeo, y puesto por superintendentes de la dataria los cardenales Trani, Reumano y Pisa que ya lo fueron en tiempo de Paulo IV. ; y pienso que se proveeran los beneficios por examen, como en su tiempo se hazia. Ha encomendado la superintendencia del govierno y justicia criminal de todo el estado eclesiastico a los cardenales S. Clemente, Gambaro y Nicolino." Requesens to Philip II., on January 11, 1566, Corresp. dipl. I., 86.

[3] " En todas las cosas de estado creo que se governará por el parescer del card. Farnes. como lo ha començado ; y creo que él y Vitello y Pisa seran los que mas podran con Su Beatitud, y tambien creo que se servirà de Borromeo en lo que toca al govierno spiritual de esta çiudad y execucion de las cosas del concilio, el qual dizen que quiere guardar en todo rigor." *Ibid.*

In all his reform work Pius V. allied himself closely with Cardinal Borromeo, who frankly made known to the Pope his own ideas for the renewal of the Church, and of the things that she chiefly stood in need of.[1] There is no Cardinal holier than he, said Pius V., in July, 1566, nor one who tells me the truth more frankly than he does.[2] The other Cardinals have nothing but their own interests in view, whereas all Borromeo's counsels are directed to the common good. He wished him, therefore, to return to Rome and to have him always by his side.[3] Indeed, in spite of his zeal for the observance of the duty of residence on the part of the bishops, it was only very unwillingly, and on the condition of his early return in the autumn, that Pius V. at length gave the Cardinal of Milan permission to go to his diocese in April, 1566,[4] and again later on it was rumoured that in spite of his reluctance Borromeo would be recalled to Rome.[5]

In order to make up for the absence of the Cardinal of Milan, immediately after the latter's departure from Rome, Pius V. summoned to his side the man who had so far been Borromeo's

[1] BASCAPÈ, I., 1, c. 9, 9. 22.

[2] *Ciregiola to Cardinal Medici, July 19, 1566, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 243, Vatican Library. "Esso [Pius V.] poco si consiglia, dubitando quasi di non poter trovar fedel consigliero, perciochè in Roma in vero si parla a passione più che in qualsivoglia altra parte, etc." TIEPOLO, 179.

[4] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.* "Il Papa fa difficoltà dare licentia al cardinal de venire a Milano et lo ticne occupato ncle sue facende et negotii et dic [ono] che egli è uno Angello . . . Et cardinale Borromeo viene ogni giorno apresso questa corte in magior reputatione, stimandolo che possa ciò che vuole dal Papa e così voresse domandare come haveria, ma lui fa con questo come faceva ancora con il suo passato." Camillo Borromeo to Cesare Borromeo, in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1903, 361. Borromeo left Rome on March 11, 1566 (*Avviso di Roma of March 16, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 194, Vatican Library), and reached Milan on April 5 (SPROTTE, 2).

[5] *Avviso di Roma of November 12, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 152, Vatican Library. *Cf. San Carlo*, 113, 224.

right hand in the reform of his archdiocese, Niccolò Ormaneto,[1] a priest of Verona who had been trained in the school of Matteo Giberti. After prolonged studies, especially in Canon Law, Ormaneto had at first had charge of the parish of Bovolone as archpriest. When he was sent as legate to England in 1553, Cardinal Pole chose this able man as his companion, and made use of his services for important missions to the Pope and the Emperor,[2] as well as for the reform of the English clergy and the University of Oxford.[3] After the death of Pole, Ormaneto might have received the archbishopric of Avignon, but he preferred to return to his post as a simple priest in his parish of Bovolone, though he was soon to exchange this quiet work for a field of wider activity. His bishop, Navagero, took him with him to the Council of Trent, and when it became necessary to restrain Albert V. of Bavaria from precipitate action in the matter of communion under both kinds, this thankless task was entrusted to Ormaneto, who carried it out with complete success.[4] As Valiero, Navagero's successor, attests, he next won considerable repute at the diocesan synod which was held at Verona after the conclusion of the ecumenical council. Cardinal Borromeo chose this prudent and experienced disciple of his master Giberti to hold the diocesan synod at Milan, and thus set on foot the work of ecclesiastical reform.

A yet wider and more important field of work opened before Ormaneto when, in June, 1566, he was summoned to the capital of Christendom.[5] Borromeo let him go most reluctantly ; I feel, he wrote,[6] as if my right hand had been cut off.

[1] *Cf.* F. M. Carini, Monsignor N. Ormaneto, Rome, 1894. C. Robinson, Nic. Ormaneto, London, 1920.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 275, 278.

[3] Carini, 6.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 331; Šusta, IV., 23 *seq.* 28 118.

[5] For his arrival in Rome (July 8) and his first audience *cf.* van Ortroy in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII. (1914), 189.

[6] To Cardinal Alciati, June 5, 1566, *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 194, n. 4. At first Ormaneto was only summoned for two years. Borromeo to Pius V., June 26, 1566, in Baluze-Mansi, III., 531.

Following Borromeo's example, Pius V. had taken in hand, before everything else, the reform of his immediate entourage; the moral revival which was to spread from the court was to extend, in the first place to the Cardinals, and by their example spread to the rest of the clergy, and so to the whole of Christendom.[1] He was therefore very particular in the choice of the pontifical household. It is true that at the beginning of his pontificate he had, as the result of pressure put upon him by important persons, to admit some whom he would not himself have chosen,[2] but it very soon transpired that he had limited his court to 500 persons, and that he did not intend to spend more than 50,000 ducats a year upon his household.[3] Anyone who wished to remain in his service had to make up his mind to lead a strict life; almost every day a Dominican held a religious conference in the Apostolic Palace, at which the Pope himself and the Cardinals assisted. When an indulgence on account of the Turkish danger was published, Pius V. insisted that the court officials must gain it, and distributed Holy Communion to them with his own hands.[4] Even in the first year of his reign men wrote several times from Rome that the Apostolic Palace was like a monastery, and that there were no longer any traces of the old court life.[5]

[1] Polanco, January 25, 1566, *Anal. Bolland.*, VII. (1888), 47.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *" Ritenne solo cinquecento boche perchè non vuole si spenda l'anno nella casa sua più di 50,000 ducati." Cusano, January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Polanco, April 30, 1566, *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 55.

[4] *Ibid.* 51.

[5] *" Nel palazzo del Papa non si vedono le gente se non in quel modo che si va alli monasteri de frati osservanti, niuna sorta di corte si vede." Camillo Borromeo to Cesare Borromeo, on February 23, 1566, Trivulzi Library, Milan. Cod. 551. *" Le cose de la corte passano in silentio al presente, et V. S. facia conto che il palazzo dal' audientia in poi che da il ill. cardinale Alessandrino la mattina, sia un convento quietissimo et solitario de frati." Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, on August 10, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

"Only monks and Theatines go to the palace, and they think they can reform the world in a day," wrote the Imperial agent Cusano, in June, 1566,[1] yet at that time they were only in the first stages of the reform.

When Ormaneto had arrived in the Eternal City, even the Papal court was gradually brought under the watchful eye of that experienced reformer. On October 6th, 1566, the Pope himself addressed a stern allocution to his assembled household, exhorting them to lead exemplary lives, and giving them a number of rules, which were for the future to be binding upon the whole court. He ordered in the first place that a list should be made of all those employed about the court, showing their ecclesiastical rank, and the benefices enjoyed by each, so as to prevent an accumulation of benefices or the non-observance of the duty of residence.[2] The priests were bound to say mass at least three times a week, and the rest were to receive the sacraments every two weeks. The court clerics were forbidden to use dresses with collars and cuffs, and wide sleeves, or velvet or silk; henceforward they were to wear the customary dress of clerics, made of plain cloth. In order that the court gentlemen and their servants should not waste a great part of their day in idleness, lectures were to be delivered at the palace on theological and philosophical subjects, and furthermore, books were to be provided so that the chamberlains and attendants might be able to occupy their time profitably. Ormaneto was given full authority to reprove and admonish the whole of the household, and to refer to the Pope if necessary. The maestro di camera, Cirillo, might dismiss all who were disobedient or incorrigible. In conclusion, the Pope pointed out that his duty as chief

[1] *Per palazzo non si vedono altri che frati et Chiettini, che pensono riformar il mondo in un giorno." On June 8, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Polanco, October 21, 1566, *loc. cit.* 65. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of November 9, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 318, Vatican Library. Later on Carniglia went back to all the Cardinals and prelates, exhorting them to urge their servants to residence. *Avviso of December 23, 1571, *ibid.* 1042, p. 167b.

shepherd constrained him to make these rules, and he again urged Ormaneto to watch over the carrying out of his orders unless he wished to bring down punishment upon himself.[1]

Ormaneto waited before taking any drastic steps until he had completely mastered the conditions obtaining in the apostolic palace. Then, following the example of Cardinal Borromeo, he began his reform of the court in June, 1567, by dismissing about 150 of the gentlemen and minor officials. Of the six physicians only three were retained, and of the 37 employed in the stable only 18. So that none should go away discontented the gentlemen received 200 scudi each, and the others 100. This reduction of the court personnel made possible a saving of 5000 scudi a year, which was devoted to the assistance of monasteries and pious foundations.[2]

[1] POLANCO, October 21, 1566, *loc. cit.; cf.* MUTINELLI I., 57. *" Die dominica, 6 Octobris [1566] Papa fecerat intimari omnibus familiaribus suis quod hora 19 omnes reperirentur in aula Constantini, in qua convenerunt infiniti offici les, sed Papa, hoc forsan ignorans, hora 20ª in camera audientie fecit longum sermonem illis qui ibi reperiebantur circa morum reformationem, cum vellet Sanctitas Sua reformare mores depravatos aliorum, nemo posset dicere debuisse prius suos familiares deinde alios corrigere; hortatus fuit omnes ad celebrandum sepe, dico presbiteros, et alios omnes quod communicarent saltem bis in mense. Dixit multa circa vestimenta; prohibuit vestes de serico et de velluto et caligas frappatas ac calciamenta et multa similia" (FIRMANUS, Diarium XII. 31 p. 131, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of October 12, 1566, Urb. 1040 p. 300ᵇ, Vatican Library. *S. Stᵗà per dar esemipo ad altri nella riforma, comincia sempre da se et dalla sua famiglia, et dicono che fa vestire tutti li suoi staffieri et officiali di negro simplicemente con le calce all'antiqua." Avviso of October 19, *ibid*, 306.

[2] *" Per principio di nova rifforma della casa, instituta da monsignore Ormaneto a imitatione di quella che fece già Borromeo, si sono licentiati delle 37 parafrenieri che S. Stà havea 19, et se gli sono prima dati cento scudi dono per ciascuno, a quelli che restano vuole S. Beatitudine che si proveghi in modo che tutti possino star in Palazzo, et questa spesa che si scema dei detti licentiati et altri che di mano in mano come più comodi si ripar-

While the court of Paul IV. had numbered 421 nobles and 313 lesser officials, or 734 in all, with 247 horses, and Pius IV. had increased this number to 533 nobles and 529 others, or in all 1062 persons, with 358 horses, under Pius V. in 1571 the total was 319 nobles and 282 others, or in all 601 persons, with 161 horses.[1]

In spite of all this he did not desist from his labours for the reform of the court in 1568 and 1569. We constantly hear either of an exhortation addressed by Ormaneto to the chamberlains in the Pauline Chapel,[2] or that he was employed in other ways on the reform of the court,[3] or that the curiosity of Rome on the subject of a secret consistory had led men to guess that it was concerned with the reform of the apostolic palace.[4] Further regulations were also issued; thus at the beginning of 1568 the Pope insisted that all the members of his household should reside in the Papal palace, and that the gates should be shut at night.[5] Then came the order that

tarano, vuole che se ne aiutino i monasteri et luoghi pii" (B. Pia to Luzzara, on June 7, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). "*La riforma della casa del Papa oltri li 19 parafrenieri si risolse in licentiar tre medici delli sei che servarano il Palazzo (B. Pia to Luzzara on June 7, 1567, *ibid.*). *Mons. Ormaneto ha reformata la famiglia del Papa, ha levato tra palafrenieri et gentilhuomini ca. 150 bocche et. il Papa per non mandarli malcontenti ha fatto donare alli palafrenieri 100 sc. per uno, alli altri 200" (Avviso di Roma of June 7, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 399b, Vatican Library; *cf.* May 31, 1567, *ibid.* 389). On November 20, 1566 *C. Luzzara wrote from Rome that the Pope wished still further to reduce his household "perche non vuole maritate ne persone che habino benefici di residenzia al suo servitio." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] SICKEL in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, XIV. (1893), 569. About a sixth part of the household of Pius IV. continued under his successor; *ibid.* 545.

[2] *B. Pia, May 22, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of February 14, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 487b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of December 14 1569 *ibid.* 1041 p. 196b.

[5] *Arco, January 17, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. *"S. S^tà non vuole che donna di sorte alcuna si possa accostare al Belvedere." Arco, June 12, 1568, *ibid.*

all the doors of the palace should be walled up save two, and that of these two only one should be open at night, and that all the residents in the palace should be within by nightfall.[1] Thus, although the Pope was constantly called upon to deliver exhortations and make new rules, the reform of the court had nevertheless made great progress, and the abuses and liberties which had formerly existed had disappeared.[2]

Cardinal Borromeo kept in constant and confidential touch with Ormaneto from Milan. On December 18th, 1566, he wrote to him about the need for the reform of the College of Cardinals, "a thing which" Borromeo adds, "I have already proposed to the Pope."[3] During the course of the same year he sent his views on the subject to Ormaneto,[4] and in November, 1566, Pius V. sought the latter's aid in the difficult task of the spiritual renewal of the great princes of the Church.[5]

In his first consistory, a few days after his election, Pius V. had exhorted the Cardinals to a manner of life in keeping with

[1] *"Tutte le porte di Palazzo si murano ne staranno aperte se non quella che va in S. Pietro et quella de Svizzeri, et da 24 hore in su quella sola de Svizzeri, et chi abita in Palazzo havrà da ridurvisi alle 24." B. Pia to Luzzara, on August 21, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Arco, August 21, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *On the Wednesday the Pope made a speech in the consistory, tuttavia più questa corte si va restringendo al ben oprare at ıassare li abusi et la licentia del viver dannoso." (Avviso di Roma of March 5, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 35. Vatican Library). On October 17, 1567 *Serristori wrote from Rome that the Pope had already reformed his palace and reduced the expenditure. State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287.

[3] Ambrosian Library, Milan, F. 37, Inf. 475.

[4] 1566, without date of the day; *ibid.* 356.

[5] *"Il Papa è ingolfato più che mai in queste sue riforme. Il principal ministro è un gentilhuomo Veronese mons. Ormaneto," lately vicar of Borromeo at Milan. "Hora si attende alla riforma de frati sfratati et de cardinali, delli quali si mettono in ordine le bolle." Avviso di Roma of November 16, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 320, Vatican Library.

their position, so that the lower clergy might take their lead from them.[1] What would have pleased the Pope most would have been if the princes of the Church would all have adopted a manner of life after the example of Borromeo. In August, 1566, it is said that he expressed the view that the Cardinals should not have gold or silver plate at their tables, but only porcelain,[2] and on another occasion he urged them to have reading at their meals,[3] though there was no question of any precept on the subject being enjoined. The Pope, however, took every opportunity of recommending to the princes of the Church poverty and apostolic simplicity, and he tried to influence them in that direction by his own example. At one of his first consistories he had exhorted them to lead exemplary lives by pointing out that the heresies of the time had been brought into being for the most part by the evil lives led by ecclesiastics,[4] and, fourteen days later, he returned to the same subject; it was his wish to abolish the right of sanctuary exercised by the Cardinals. At the beginning of April he announced in consistory that it was his intention to reduce his own court for reasons of economy; the Cardinals ought to follow his example, and be careful to lead exemplary lives, and wear ecclesiastical dress if they were in orders or in possession of benefices.[5] When he conferred the purple on his nephew

[1] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 28. Serristori, January 12, 1566, Legaz., 420.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of August 17, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 274b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Arco, January 19, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Legaz. di Serristori, 420 (January 12, 1566). *Cf. supra*, p. 67.

[5] *Arco, January 26 and April 6, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Caligari to Commendone, June 18, 1566, Papal Secret Archives; *B. Pia, June 5, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The right of sanctuary in favour of the houses of the Cardinals and the foreign ambassadors had been revoked by the Pope on January 23 1566 (Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, II., 47 n.). A limitation of the right of sanctuary for assassins in Spain and Rousillon made by a brief of October 6, 1567, in Bull. Rom., VII., 617.

Bonelli, he turned in consistory to the newly-made Cardinal and spoke of the office and dignity of the cardinalate, making it clear that this high position called for a blameless manner of life; let Bonelli, he said, look upon his undeserved dignity as an occasion for showing a greater gratitude to God, humility, meekness, fear of God, obedience, and charity to his neighbour.[1]

For the most part, it must be admitted, the lofty tone of these pontifical allocutions had in the end to be adapted to very everyday requirements. Thus, in 1566, Pius V. took the opportunity of the approach of Advent to make "a magnificent speech" urging his hearers who bore the purple to sanctify the time of preparation for Christmas by prayer and fasting, but he had to end by reproving them for gossiping and disputing in the churches to the scandal of the people.[2] He himself gave a shining example in the sanctification of Advent, and he insisted that Bonelli, and requested that the others, should do the same. As far as I know, wrote the Imperial agent, Pacheco and Gambara follow his example.[3] A little before Christmas he exhorted the consistory to the imitation of Christ, as He had shown Himself when He came upon earth, by their obedience, poverty, sound doctrine,

[1] "*[Die mercurii 6 martii fuit consistorium secretum]. . . . In fine dicti consistorii . . . [frater Michael Bonellus creatus cardinalis] . . . genuflexus audivit quedam que S^tas^ Sua dixit circa officium et dignitatem cardinalatus et viram inreprehensibilem quam agere debebat hortans eum ut eo magis Deo gratias ageret essetque humilis, mansuetus, Deo serviens ac hominibus obediens et gratus, quanto quod nullis ipsius concurrentibus meritis ad tam grande fastigium et tanti momenti dignitatem promotus fuisset, et alia similia." FIRMANUS, Diarium XII., 31, p. 63, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] * Ciregiola to Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici, November 29, 1566, State Archives, Florence. *Strozzi, November 30, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. On November 30, 1567, when four of the Cardinals were gossiping during the mass of Advent, the Pope made them a sign; see Firmanus, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Strozzi, December 7, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

peace, charity to their neighbour, good example and holy life, but this time his speech wound up by complaints about the many intrigues being carried on about the next Papal election. "I have exact information," he said, "and I marvel at the indifference with which men view the things which are subject to excommunication. If many people desire my death, I conform myself to the will of God, but in the meantime I am quite prepared to go on living."[1] He was unwearied, especially in Lent, in exhorting them to fervent prayer and the worthy reception of the sacraments.[2] Pius followed up his exhortations by his example. On the Monday in Holy Week in 1571 he visited the seven basilicas of Rome, going on foot for four miles, and accompanied by six Cardinals. All the prelates of the court, and even the Cardinals, followed his example.[3]

The Pope was well aware of the difficulty of moving from a manner of life to which they had long been accustomed, a body of men of mature age, who all looked upon themselves as princes.[4] In spite of this, however, he never ceased from his exhortations and requests. In the August of 1568 he expressed to Cardinals Morone and Ricci his desire that the Cardinals should cut down the expenses of their households in order that they might save money to help the French Catholics.[5] At the beginning of 1571 "the reformers" had

[1] *Ciregiola to Cardinal Medici, December 20, 1566, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* *B. Pia, March 12, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] "*Con l'esempio di questa divotione del Papa non ci resta cardenale, che non habbia visitato o che non sia per visitare le dette sette chiese, et il simile fanno tutti li prelati di questa corte." Avviso di Roma of April 14, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 46[b], Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed *report of Serristori of January 17, 1567, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287.

[5] *Il Papa disse hieri a Morone et Montepulciano che voleva riformare la sua casa et che anco riformassero le loro i cardenali per dar quel che si spende nel superfluo de servitio a Francia per aiuto (B. Pia to Luzzara, August 28, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Cusano, August 28, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

presented to the Pope their ideas as to the manner of life of the Cardinals, suggesting that it was not seemly that they should use silver plate at their tables, that their households ought to wear clerical dress, and that they should maintain a chaplain to administer the sacraments every month to their households.[1] It was certainly not the fault of the Pope if these proposals were not made matters of strict precept,[2] for he would even have liked to have simplified, as having somewhat too worldly an appearance, the terms in which the matter was laid before the Cardinals.[3]

Even in the case of the most exalted princes of the Church, Pius V. did not always restrict himself to exhortations and prayers, but spoke to them with all the authority of the Vicar of Christ, and reminded them of the strictness of the Church's laws. At the beginning of his pontificate he very plainly brought home to the bishops who were numbered among the senate of the Church their duty of taking up their permanent residence in their sees and among their own flocks.[4] Many

[1] "*Si dice anco che li reformatori [i.e. Ormaneto and Binarini] hanno detto al Papa che sarebbe bene riformare li cardenali et le case loro, et non lasciare che magnassero in argento et che facessero andare le loro famiglie vestite di longo et tenessero un confessore in casa che ogni mese confessasse et comunicasse tutta la famiglia loro" (Aurelio Zibramonti to the Duke of Mantua, January 13, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For Alfonso Binarini, the companion of Ormaneto, who died Bishop of Camerino, *cf.* UGHELLI, I., 612.

[2] Cusano (*report of January 20, 1571, State Archives, Vienna), claims to have heard "da buona fonte" of a strict reforming regulation for the houses of the Cardinals, which was very shortly to be issued. On February 12, 1571, *B. Pia knew of a consistory concerning the reform of the Cardinals and their households. On February 9, 1572, he *announces that the Pope had exhorted the Cardinals in consistory to live piously together with their households especially during the time of the carnival, which was then going on. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] They were only to be called *Reverendissimi*, and no longer *Illustrissimi*. *Arco, December 24, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Arco, January 26, 1566, *ibid*.

of the Cardinals obeyed, and sooner or later left the Eternal City,[1] but the Pope often had to return to the subject and repeat his exhortations.[2] Pius V. himself, however, forbade some of the Cardinals to go to their dioceses, because their presence in Rome was necessary for the government of the Church.[3]

Up to that time the Cardinals had in various ways possessed the right of conferring parishes, convents and benefices at their pleasure, in such a way that the Pope found his hands tied when he wished to reward deserving men. On April 30th, 1567, Pius V. caused the Cancelleria to revoke all the Papal edicts on which these rights of the Cardinals rested,[4] in such

[1] E.g. Mula, Dolera and Bobba (*Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 196b, Vatican Library), Sirleto (*Avviso of November 16, 1566, *ibid.* 320b), Santa Croce (*Arco, March 8, 1567, State Archives, Vienna), Guido Ferreri (*B. Pia, February 21, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On January 13, 1567, the Pope had exhorted the Cardinals to send their dependents into residence, and to do the same themselves. Firmanus, *Diarium, *loc. cit.* p. 152, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* *Arco, February 6, 1566, and December 20, 1567, State Archives, Vienna; Serristori, December 20, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287; *Avviso of January 24, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 12, Vatican Library. *"Par che li cardenali non sappiano trovar la strada di partir per la loro residentia, et che vi vadino mal volontieri a questi tempi," Avviso of February 7, 1568, *ibid.* 1040, p. 485.

[3] Thus to Cardinals Santori (see *infra*, p. 166) and Delfino (*Avviso di Roma of November 2, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 314, Vatican Library). Farnese, who received the pallium on January 25, 1568, was exhorted to go to his bishopric of Monreale, but to come back shortly (*Avviso of January 31, 1568, *ibid.* 481b). For his departure *cf.* the *Avviso of February 14, 1568 (*ibid.* 486). In 1571 Sirleto wished to go to his diocese, but the Pope kept him (*Avviso of April 14, 1571, *ibid.* 1042, p. 47b). On June 12, 1568, *B. Pia announces the forthcoming departure of Commendone for Padua and Verona to his abbey, Gonzaga Archives. Mantua.

[4] Bull. Rom., VII., 571. Pius V. was planning this arrangement as early as October, 1566. *Strozzi, October 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

a way that they were only able to exercise them in a very limited degree. This ordinance was of great importance, for the Pope thus took into his own hands the full disposal of a great number of benefices in every diocese, and at the same time very greatly limited the influence of the Cardinals.[1]

It must have been especially painful to the noble soul of Pius V. that even his nephew Bonelli was not able to stand, like another Borromeo, the sudden change from the sheltered walls of a convent to the possession of great power, and that he should have found himself called upon to make strict provisions even in his case.[2]

It was the unhappy Innocenzo del Monte, however, who gave the Pope the greatest trouble. On many different occasions it had been made evident how inexcusable had been the action of Julius III. when he had raised such a man to the purple.[3] Pius IV. had kept this man, who had been depraved from his youth, a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo for sixteen months,[4] and under Pius V., del Monte was again placed in the same prison on account of further charges,[5] though the

[1] *"Questa è stata una fatione notabilissima et tornarà a molto servito di questa corte, poi chè il Papa ritenerà collatione de benefici in tutte le diocesi, si che puoco più havranno i cardenali dei vescovi ordinari." B. Pia to Luzzara on May 3, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Cusano, June 23, 1571, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 78b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 71.

[4] Bruzzone published in the *Messagero*, an. XXXIII., no. 198, of July 18, 1911, the request for pardon made by del Monte, with a full confession of his guilt. *Cf.* Gulik-Eubel, 35; Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 165. For the fresh punishment of del Monte see *Avvisi di Roma of August 4 and 14, 1566, Urb. 1040, Vatican Library.

[5] *Avvisi di Roma of May 7, 14, 18, 21, 25 and 28, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 70, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, Vatican Library. *Arco, May 25, 1569, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the *citation of del Monte of January 28, 1568, for a scandal committed in the territory of Siena, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 132, Papal Secret Archives: charge given on January 30, 1568, to the Jesuit Rodriguez to get

commission of Cardinals appointed to try his case decided that his guilt was not deserving of death or degradation.[1] In 1569 Pius banished him with some servants to Montecassino,[2] where two Jesuits were given the difficult task of trying to bring him to a better moral state.[3] At the end of July the abbot thought he could report an improvement in the Cardinal,[4] and later on del Monte was allowed to take up his residence in a monastery at Bergamo.[5]

The conduct of Pius V. in the case of del Monte was certainly not excessively stern, for it was evident that the unfortunate man could not be held accountable for the mistake by which, without any fault on his part, he had been placed in a position for which he was totally unfitted.

together information on the case, *ibid.* p. 134; *brief of February 21, 1568, to the Duke of Florence, who had interceded on behalf of del Monte, *ibid.* p. 156. The Duke attests that del Monte was not guilty of rapine, of which he had been accused. The Pope consequently agreed that the Cardinal should still remain in Tuscany, provided that the Duke would take charge of him and give him a Theatine to instruct him (*Arco, February 21, 1568, State Archives, Vienna). A severe exhortation from the Pope to del Monte (*Arco, February 28, 1569, *ibid.*). Prohibition to del Monte to return to Florence: *Avviso di Roma of December 11, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 615, Vatican Library. A room was assigned to del Monte in the Vatican, and two Theatines were appointed to be his companions; *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1568, in the reports of Cusano, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] *Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 90, Vatican Library.

[2] *Avvisi di Roma of June 11 and 16, 1568, *ibid.* 91, 95b. *Brief of June 13, 1569, to the abbot of Montecassino, Brevia Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 125, Papal Secret Archives; *another of June 22, 1569, to the same (he is not to admit anyone to see del Monte who could interfere with his conversion), is in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[3] *Arco, May 11, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 125, Vatican Library.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of March 17, 1571, in the reports of Arco, State Archives, Vienna.

In other respects Pius V. honoured the Cardinals as the greatest princes of the Church, and his natural advisers. "The Pope," writes Cusano, "informs them of everything that concerns the Apostolic See, he listens to their opinions, honours them, and shows that he values them greatly. At audiences he treats them with the greatest consideration. Unless things change very much," he adds, "Pius V. will be the best-loved Pope we have had for many years."[1] A few weeks after his election Pius V. said that the poorer Cardinals must turn to him for help without hesitation,[2] and at the end of January, 1566, he distributed forty purses, containing in all 20,000 scudi, to the poorest Cardinals.[3] All were made to hand in a list of their revenues, and those who had more than 6,000 scudi had to give up a fifth part for the benefit of their poorer colleagues and for ecclesiastical purposes.[4] The attempt on the life of Cardinal Borromeo gave the Pope an opportunity of making the constitution of Boniface VIII. against all acts of violence against a Cardinal more severe.[5] At the same time this zealous champion of the purity of the

[1] *"Buono che S. Stà è risoluta di far participi d'ogni cosa pertinente alla Sedia Apostolica alli cardenali con pigliar nelle risolutioni il voto loro, i quali honora et mostra tenerli in molta stima perche quando li vanno a parlar, li fa coprir et sedere, cosa ch'era stata messa in abuso da Pio IV, che li strapazzava come ogni altro huomo." Cusano on January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, see *supra*, p. 53.

[2] *Arco, January 19, 1566, *ibid.* *Cf. supra*, p. 72.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 26, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 171b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of February 6, 1566, *ibid.* 182b. *Cf.* *Arco, February 6, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. According to a *report of Arco of February 9, 1569, at the consistory of February 6, pensions of 1,000 scudi were granted to Santa Croce, Orsini, Lomellini and Boncompagni; *ibid.*

[5] Bull of December 19, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 792 *seq.* For the motuproprio of 1567 revoking all enactments contrary to the "capitula conclavis iurata," see *Quellen und Forschungen*, XII., 227.

Church did not succeed, in spite of his affability and condescension, in making them forget his strictness. As early as June, 1566, we hear of Cardinals who keep at a distance from the Pope, that he is very severe in matters of religion, that he has no respect for persons, and becomes more terrible every day.[1] At the end of 1569 it was rumoured in Rome that the Pope had complained in consistory that the Cardinals did not form a circle round him when he vested for a function, and thus plainly showed how little they cared for him.[2]

Even more painful to Pius V. than these manifestations of dislike were the things he heard, even within a few months of his ascending the throne, of intrigues among the Cardinals concerning the next Papal election. On account of the broken health of Pius V. it was thought that there must soon be another conclave; Farnese looked upon himself as already Pope and was seeking the support of Spain, while Vitelli was at the head of a French party.[3] When the Pope heard of these intrigues, in May, 1566, in the first outburst of his just anger, he declared that he would show the Cardinals that there had not been a more terrible Pope for two hundred years than he.[4] He did not, however, carry this threat into effect, and when, about Christmas, 1566, he spoke on this painful subject in the consistory, he did so in all seriousness, but at the same time very gently; all that he did was to keep a watch upon the correspondence of the Cardinals.[5] He adopted the same tone a few months later, when he had again to speak of electoral intrigues. At the consistory of June 4th, 1567, just about the time when he had so drastically cut down his own court, he reminded his hearers of the sublime dignity

[1] *Priorato to the Duke of Modena, June 19, 1566, State Archives, Modena.

[2] *"Si duolse S.S. con li cardinali che mentre lei si apparava non li facevano circolo intorno, come si conveniva, ma che demostravano segno manifesto che poco lo stimavano." Avviso of December 17, 1569. Urb. 1041, p. 199, Vatican Library.

[3] HERRE, 138 *seqq.*, 151 *seqq.*

[4] *Cusano, May 25, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] *Arco, April 5 and June 21, 1567, *ibid.*

to which they had been called by God, and deplored the fact that the thoughts of some of the Cardinals were directed to nothing except intrigues to obtain the papacy either for themselves or their friends. This did not grieve him so much in itself as the fact that any of them should treat so lightly the bulls of Paul IV. and Pius IV. If they did but know how wrong and displeasing to God it was, they would certainly not act in such a way.[1] It is said that while he was speaking the Pope kept his eyes fixed upon Cardinal d'Este.[2] After the consistory Este several times asked the Pope for absolution from the censures which he had incurred by his conduct.[3] Cicada, too, had taken part in the intrigues to obtain the tiara, a fact which specially roused the indignation of the Pope, since Cicada had been one of those who had been principally consulted in the drafting the the bull of Pius IV.[4]

It would seem that for a time Pius V. contemplated the issuing of a bull for the reform of the conclave,[5] but it was principally by taking care that there were worthy electors that the Papal election was to be safeguarded, and therefore the renewal of the College of Cardinals was one of the main objects of the zealous Pope. At a moment of physical illness, a few months after he had ascended the throne, he said that he felt his strength failing; he regretted this, not for its own sake, since he was ready to appear before God at any moment, but because he would have to leave the College of Cardinals

[1] LAEMMER, Melet., 219.

[2] *Arco, June 7, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Arco, June 15, 1567, *ibid.*

[4] *Arco, June 21, 1567, *ibid.* B. Pia as well (to Luzzara, June 7, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) had information that *alcuni* cardinals had asked pardon of the Pope, and had obtained it on condition of amendment. In another *letter of the same date (*ibid.*), Pia says that in his discourse the Pope had named Este and Vitelli.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of March 20, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 490b, Vatican Library. The powers of the Camerlengo were to be restricted, as well as the expenditure during a vacancy in the Holy See.

filled with ambitious and unconscientious men, and that he had not been able to effect any change.[1]

Death, however, was not so near to the zealous champion of the purity of the Church as he supposed, and he was able to set his hand to the reform of the supreme senate of the Church, and that not in any hurried way, but after long consideration.

Pius V. had allowed two years of his pontificate to elapse without investing anyone with the purple, with the exception of his nephew, Bonelli. Attempts, however, to induce him to create new Cardinals had not been wanting. Those who knew the Pope's ideas, and the considerations which would have weight with him, pointed out to him into what unworthy hands the government of the Church might fall if he did no take steps in time to increase the number of the party of the Cardinals of strict ecclesiastical views by quickly making some appointments. But Pius V. refused to let himself be led into any hasty action, even by these considerations. Month after month went by, and men's expectations were still left unfulfilled.[2]

[1] *"Essendo apparecchiato ogni hora che Dio lo chiamasse, ma gli doleva, che lasciava il collegio pieno d'huomini ambitioso et di poca consciencia, al che havrebbe rimediato se Dio gl'havesse dato vita." Arco, May 25, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *"Si presentono pratiche di fare card^li^ nuovi, et perchè l'humore del Papa non vi inclina, cercano di disponerlo con queste ragioni, et la pratica è giudicata da questi santocci et frati domestici del Papa, i quali vanno sforzandosi di dargli ad intendere che sapendo S. S^tà^ quai siano que card^li^ che fanno pratiche di papato, et in che male mani cascheria il governo de la chiesa quando egli toccasse ad uno di questi tali, è opera degna et debita di lei di provedere a questo pericolo et danno de la sede apostolica. El modo de provederci è di fare sei over otto card^li^ che impedissero queste pratiche presenti, di maniera che se quest'humore sarà pronto mosso et aiutato, o da la M^tà^ dell'imperatore o da altro principe, et massimamente dal re cattolico, si può tenere per fermo che a settembre, o poco più la si haveranno card^li^, vivendo però il Papa, il che negano questi astrologi, i quali non vogliono che passi agosto." Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua May 25 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

An addition to the College of Cardinals was looked for all the more eagerly at Ash Wednesday, 1568, because the next creation was likely to be of decisive importance at the next Papal election. The fact that no less than six friars were named among those upon whom his choice was expected to fall is very significant of the idea which men had of Pius V.[1] The rumours, however, came to nothing.[2] Ash Wednesday had brought only disappointment, when suddenly, on March 24th, there came news of the nomination of four Cardinals; those chosen were the Spaniard, Diego de Espinosa, the Frenchman, Jerôme Souchier, and the two Italians, Antonio Carafa and Paolo della Chiesa.[3] The story was current in Rome that the Pope had told none of them of his decision but that only a few days before he made up his mind he had ordered prayers in the churches and convents for an important matter concerning the Church.[4] The unexpected step did not fail to excite opposition; Cardinal Mula made objections, while the French ambassador at once went to the Vatican, accompanied by Rucellai, to demand the withdrawal of the nomination of Souchier. The Pope, however, rejected the demand unhesitatingly, whereupon the French ambassador withdrew with the remark that Pius V. was too partial to the

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 7, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 485, Vatican Library. Corresp. dipl., II., lxxvii. *seq.* On January 10, 1568, Arco showed himself on the whole well informed as to the candidates. For Germany, the Archbishop of Trêves or of Salzburg, or Canisius, was to be nominated, for Spain Espinosa, for France Souchier or Pellevé, for Rome Carafa, Chiesa, Cesi, Melchiori (Bishop of Macerata) Peretti, Giustiniani, the General of the Augustinians, Paolo d'Arezzo, and Pavesi (Archbishop of Sorrento). On February 14 Arco added Aldobrandini and Rusticucci to his list. Canisii Epist., VI., 731 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 14, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 487, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of March 27, 1568, *ibid.* 493. Arco, March 27, 1568, Canisii Epist., VI., 732.

[4] Graziani to Tomicio, March 27, 1568 in Mai, Spicil., VIII., 379.

Catholic King.[1] Otherwise the Pope's choice was received with general satisfaction, the reform party in particular rejoicing that the supreme ecclesiastical dignity had been conferred on men of their own way of thinking.[2]

No less great was the satisfaction of Philip II. when, on Maundy Thursday, 1568, a special courier from Bonelli informed him that the red hat had been bestowed upon his trusted servant, the first minister of Spain, Diego de Espinosa.[3] Born in 1512 of a noble family which had fallen into reduced circumstances, Espinosa, after a distinguished course of studies in law at Salamanca, first received the post of judge in the court of appeals of the archiepiscopal curia of Saragossa, and afterwards, purely on account of his merits, passed from office to office until, at 43, he was appointed President of the Royal Council of Castille. Honour and position were heaped upon him, and the king's favour raised the President of the Royal Council to that of President of the Council of State and of the *camera di grazia;* in 1558 he received the very rich bishopric of Siguenza, which had the enormous revenue of 36,000 ducats a year. Later on, Pius V. regretted that he had consented to the appointment of Espinosa as Grand Inquisitor, because this office, united to all his other dignities, made him almost a Pope in Spain. In 1567, Philip II. asked for the cardinalate for his favourite in an autograph letter, in order that, during the king's projected journey to Flanders Espinosa might act with greater authority as regent in Spain. When the cardinal's hat was sent to him at the Ascension, 1568, Philip honoured him in every way as a prince of the Church. When Espinosa went to consult him the king went to meet him in the ante-chamber, saluted him with uncovered head, and made him sit in a chair but little lower than his own. Espinosa retained his dignities till his death, but his health failed pre-

[1] *Arco, March 27, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of March 27, 1568, *loc. cit.* Graziani, *loc. cit.*

[3] For Espinosa *cf.* especially SERRANO in *Corresp. dipl.*, II., lxxv–lxxxiv. See also CIACONIUS, III., 1031, CARDELLA, V., 114 *seq.*

maturely under the heavy burden of his duties, and shortly after the death of Pius V. he, too, ended his life of labour on September 5th, 1572.

If Espinosa owed his elevation to foreign influence, that of Jerôme Souchier, the learned abbot-general of the Cistercians, came entirely from Pius V. himself, who had found in him a man after his own heart.[1] As had been the case with the Pope himself, learning and piety had been Souchier's only delight from youth. After he had entered the Cistercian Order, his superiors sent him to the University of Paris, whence he returned a doctor in philosophy and theology. His clear discernment and calm foresight brought him to the notice of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and through him to that of Henry II. and Charles IX. Having been made Abbot of Clairvaux he took part in the Council of Trent, where his learning and strong ecclesiastical views won for him the esteem of Cardinals Hosius and Borromeo. After his return from the Council he set to work to bring new life into his Order, as abbot-general of the Cistercians. The dignity of the cardinalate was not only unexpected by him, but was unwelcome, and he told the Pope that its weight would prevent him from labouring any more for his own Order, and that he did not possess the necessary qualifications for a prince of the Church. Pius V. succeeded in reassuring the humble religious on both these points; he must leave it to the Pope, he was told, who could not forego the services of such men as he in the discharge of his apostolic office, to decide who was fit to be a Cardinal and who was not.[2] Souchier, however, did not bear the burden of the cardinalate for long. When the news of his death on November 23rd, 1571, was brought to the Pope, Pius V. said: "Would that I could die the death of this just man!" and at the next consistory he lamented that a great light of the Church had been extinguished.[3]

[1] *Arco, December 24, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. CIACONIUS, III., 1033.

[2] Brief of May 8, 1568, in GOUBAU, 79 *seq.* CIACONIUS, III., 1032 *seq.*

[3] CIACONIUS, III., 1034. CARDELLA, V., 117.

Just as with Souchier a doctor of the Sorbonne and a representative of theological learning had entered the Sacred College, so with Giovanni Paolo della Chiesa there came a representative of the celebrated school of law at Padua. Della Chiesa, who was born at Tortona in 1521, had been married, and had only entered later into the service of the Church. A distinguished jurist, and the most skilful advocate in the whole of Milan, he defended the rights of the Duke of Terranuova against Philip II., and was afterwards made a senator of Milan. After the death of his wife he was sent to Rome to maintain the claims of the senate of Milan in their dispute with Cardinal Borromeo. Pius V. drew this able man into the service of the Church, conferred benefices on him, made him Cardinal Deacon and Cardinal Priest, and entrusted to him the Signatura Justitiae. Della Chiesa only lived 55 years, and died on January 13th, in the year of Jubilee, 1575.[1]

The fourth of the new Cardinals, the Neapolitan, Antonio Carafa, was distinguished in yet another branch of learning.[2] He had become a profound Greek scholar in the school of Sirleto, and in that capacity later on rendered great services to the Church under Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., especially by his emended edition of the Greek version of the Old Testament. Carafa only attained his thirtieth year the day after his nomination as Cardinal. He had already been destined for the Roman purple by Paul IV., but under Pius IV. he not only saw all hope of his promotion vanish, but he even lost his canonry of St. Peter's. Pius V. again reverted to the intention of Paul IV., obviously with the intention of restoring the good name of the Carafa Pope and his family in the person of Antonio Carafa.[3] The later life of the Cardinal proved how

[1] See CARDELLA, V., 118.

[2] See *ibid.* 119 *seq.*

[3] Albert V. of Bavaria showed his joy in a *letter to Castellini of April 27, 1568, Cod. B. 34, Library, Faenza. Many *letters of congratulation to Carafa on his cardinalate are in Cod. Barb. LXI., 40, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 41–48, *Lett. orig. ad A. Carafa, 1568–1577.

happy the selection was. All Rome was thrown into mourning when, on January 13th, 1591, he succumbed to heart disease. The master of ceremonies, Mucanzio, could hardly find words to express the great qualities of the dead man, who had made the Maronite College his heir, and had expressed the wish to be buried without pomp and in silence.[1]

After this first creation of Cardinals more than two years went by, and the Pope had taken no further steps to complete the number of the senate of the Church by fresh nominations. The state of expectancy at the Roman court grew greater and greater at the prospect that once again, without any notice or consultation, he would suddenly produce a new list of Cardinals.[2] Of the sixty-eight Cardinals at the beginning of the pontificate eight had died by the end of 1567, and eight more by 1569,[3] and it had become necessary to fill the places of such eminent men as Reumano, Dolera, Scotti, Mula and Cicada. There was no lack of conjecture and rumour as to those who had been chosen by the Pope, and it was said that Pius V. had written to cause inquiries to be made in all the countries of the world, in order to discover learned and blameless men, and that he would not give the preference to Italians over those of other nationalities.[4] The nomination of eight Cardinals was looked upon as certain at Christmas, 1568, and

[1] *"Urbs tota et universa curia tanti viri iacturam moleste admodum tulit, spectatae enim probitatis, integerrimae vitae et sicuti a nonnullis audivi virgo habebatur, religione, caritate animi, candore, humanarum rerum scientia, eruditione et usu cunctis amabilis in magna fuit hominum veneratione et aestimatione; eius etiam ultimum elogium quantus vir fuerit demonstrat; instituit enim haeredem collegium Maronitanum quod paupertate laborabat et reliquit, ut eius corpus sepelliretur sine pompa noctis tempore in ecclesia s. Sylvestri in monte Quirinali." MUCANTII Diaria caerem., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 196b, Vatican Library.

[3] CIACONIUS, III., 1066. For the death of Cardinal Vitelli, see App. n. 51.

[4] Cusano, August 7, 1568, CANISII Epist., VI., 732.

men thought that they could name six of them.[1] Still greater expectations were raised at the Christmas of the following year, because, in the middle of December, 1569, the Pope did not give audience on matters of business for several days, and had unexpectedly summoned a consistory, at which he appeared with a roll of paper in his hand, and admitted none but the Cardinals.[2] But even this conjunction of circumstances proved illusory, and men's curiosity was kept at breaking point for yet another six months. In the meantime France and Spain[3] were naturally seeking to bring influence to bear upon the next appointment. Philip II. named several possible candidates as indifferent to him, and others who would be acceptable; his ambassador was instructed to oppose the nomination of Burali and Santori, the former because he was a Lombard, and the later because he was a Neapolitan; either of them, if he became Pope, might create

[1] Cusano, November 13, 1568, *ibid.* "The name of Canisius has again been put forward as a candidate, but he has made counter-representations to the Cardinals." B. Pia too wrote on November 13, 1568, to Luzzara: *"N. Signore ha pensiero di far cardinale uno della natione Tedescha, et ha in consideratione tre persone, Treviri, et Salsburg Arcivescovi et il Canisio Giesuita. Ha anco molta inclinatione al frate fratello del commendator mayor ambasciatore di Spagna qui [Gaspare de Zuñiga], et per essere molto edificato di lui et per rispetto del fratello, del quale S. S^tà fa gran conto. Francesi fanno instanza per un tale de Amiens [undoubtedly Pellevé] . . . et da molte parti son fatte delle mosse anco da chi crede di piacere a S. S^tà così facendo, et seco se nominano Ceneda [Mich. della Torre], Narni [Cesi], Macerata [Girol. Melchiori], Datario [Pietro Ant. Maffei], et generale della Minerva [Vincenzo Giustiniani]. Ma del Datario et generale se ne crede puoco, l'uno per essere tanto creatura di Farnese et da vita differente dall' humor de N.S., l'altro perchè entranto. S. Beatitudine a far il generale, par che pace non possa restare di non far anco di altra religione, come di S. Agostino et S. Francesco. et se non generale almeno frate." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 196b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. supra* n. 1, the *letter of B. Pia of November 13, 1568.

difficulties for the Spanish rule in Italy.[1] Zuñiga pointed out to his master the risk of any political interference; he was of opinion that under certain circumstances a Spanish recommendation might even prove absolutely fatal to the persons recommended, because the Pope would suppose that they had sought the intercession of the king, and would thus forfeit the good opinion of Pius V.[2] Had not Pius plainly said that the Pope did not give his advice to the princes as to whom they should appoint as their officials or generals, and that there was, therefore, no reason for finding fault with him if he did not entertain the suggestions of the princes in the nomination of Cardinals?[3]

After careful thought and inquiry Pius V. at last made up his mind on the subject of his candidates in the middle of May, 1570. This time the actual nomination was not made suddenly or without warning, for the Pope announced the creation for the Wednesday after Pentecost, May 17th, and revealed the names of the sixteen whom he had decided upon on the previous Sunday, so that all might have time to submit their difficulties and objections.[4]

The Pope's choice caused widespread amazement. Men were prepared for eight or ten, or at the most, twelve new Cardinals, but to create sixteen at once seemed to many people to be subversive of all precedent. Many especially could not understand why the Emperor's candidate, Gianvincenzo Gonzaga, Prior of Barletta, was not to receive the red hat. In their opinion a man of such noble birth, related to so many princely German houses, and who had been so many times recommended by the Emperor, could not and should not be passed over, all the more so as both Spain and France had been taken into consideration in the nomination. Arco, therefore, as Imperial ambassador, Madruzzo and Otto Truchsess, as German Cardinals, and Urbino as a near relative, made incredible

[1] Corresp. dipl., III., 101 n.; *cf.* 148.

[2] Letter to Philip II. of September 23, 1569, *ibid.* 147 *seq.*

[3] *Strozzi, December 7, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *B. Pia to Luzzara, May 16–17, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. SANTORI, Diario, 303.

efforts to get him nominated even at the last moment, but the day of the consistory arrived without their having met with any success.[1] The Spanish ambassador met with no more success in the objections which he made to some of the chosen candidates. Pius V. plainly said to him that he was appointing the Cardinals purely for their merits, and not on account of the recommendations of the princes, and he might rest assured that even the king would be satisfied by the choice which he had made.[2]

Immediately before the consistory of May 17th the Pope had to face a last attack. The Cardinals were admitted to his presence ten at a time, and for six hours they attempted to shake the Pope's determination. But Pius stood firm, and neither was the Prior of Barletta, nor any of the others who had been passed over, included in the list, nor were any names omitted.[3]

Although the recommendations of the Emperor and the King had not been allowed to weigh in the scales, the wishes of the princes had not been altogether disregarded. Of the two Frenchmen raised to the purple on May 17th, the Bishop of Le Mans, Charles d'Angennes de Rambouillet, who was the experienced counsellor of the French court in all the most difficult questions, and had been its envoy at almost all the courts of Europe, had been suggested by Charles IX.[4] Pius V., however, had had personal knowledge of him when he was ambassador in Rome, and had formed a high opinion of his loyalty to the Roman See.[5] The other Frenchman raised to

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "Que él hace cardenales a los que lo merecen, no a supplicacion de principes." Corresp. dipl., III., 358 n.

[3] *B. Pia to Luzzara, *loc. cit.* SANTORI, *loc. cit.*

[4] CIACONIUS, III., 1047. CARDELLA, V., 134.

[5] "Dice [the Pope] que tiene hecha mucha experiencia del buen zelo deste ambaxador; y a otros ha dicho que piensa tener en él otro cardenal Bordisera que le avisa de todo lo que passa en Francia sin perdonar a la Reyna ni a otro consistorio ninguno" (Zuñiga to Philip II., May 17, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 357). In the *brief of May 26, 1560, which announces to the King of France

the cardinalate, Nicholas de Pellevé, had owed his appointment as Bishop of Amiens, Archbishop of Sens, and lastly as Archbishop of Rheims, to the favour of the French kings, Henry II. and Charles IX. Under Paul IV. he had been sent as envoy to Mary of Guise in Scotland, and had there done all he could to save the Catholic religion.[1] Pellevé's zeal for the Catholic faith, his theological learning, and his blameless life,[2] clearly justified the honour now bestowed upon him.

Like France, Spain too was represented by two Cardinals among the new creations. Of these, Gaspare de Zuñiga Avellaneda, the son of the Count of Mirandola, was a cousin of the Spanish ambassador in Rome, who was much in the favour of the Pope. He had distinguished himself for his learning as professor of theology at Salamanca, and for the way in which he had governed his dioceses as Bishop of Segovia and Archbishop of Seville. Zuñiga died before Pius V., on February 2nd, 1571, at Jaen.[3] Gaspare Cervantes had also merited the red hat by the way he had discharged his duties as Archbishop of Tarragona.[4] Like Pellevé, he had taken part in the Council of Trent; it is significant of his zeal for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council that he immediately afterwards held a diocesan synod, being at that time Archbishop of Salerno,[5] and later on, at Tarragona, established a seminary for boys. His friendship for the Jesuits is another proof of his ecclesiastical views; in 1574 he established a noviciate for them at Tarragona, and when he had to go to Rome in connexion with the case of Carranza, he appointed a Jesuit, Alonso Román, as visitor of his diocese.[6]

Like France and Spain, the east may be said to have been

the elevation of the two French subjects, the assurance is given that there had never been a more trustworthy ambassador than Rambouillet. Brevia Arm. 44, 6. 15, p. 115b, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] BELLESHEIM, Scottland, I., 413.

[2] CIACONIUS, III., 1041. CARDELLA, V., 125 *seq.*

[3] See CARDELLA, V., 123 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.* 124.

[5] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 182.

[6] ASTRAIN, III., 41 *seq.*

also represented in the creation, since one of the new Cardinals, the General of the Dominicans, Vincenzo Giustiniani, a member of the well-known and celebrated Genoese family, had been born in the island of Chios, and had there entered the Dominican Order, attaining to its highest dignity by the time he was 38 years old. He, too, was at the Council of Trent with 18 bishops and 27 theologians of his Order. At the time of his nomination as Cardinal he was Papal envoy in Spain, where he defended the cause of the Pope and Cardinal Borromeo in the long Milanese controversy concerning jurisdiction, and at anyrate brought about "the beginning of the end" in that weary dispute. In the world of learning he had rendered great services in the preparation of the new edition of the works of St. Thomas.[1]

Besides Giustiniani, three others of the newly-appointed Cardinals belonged to the religious orders; the first of these was the Dominican, Arcangelo Bianchi, who had long been the regular confessor of Pius V., his trusted companion when he was inquisitor, and who, when Ghislieri became Pope, had been made Bishop of Teano and Commissary General of the Inquisition.[2] Of the Franciscans, the purple was conferred on Felice da Montalto, the future Sixtus V., whom Pius V. had already made General of his Order. Pius V. also gave the newer Orders a representative in the Sacred College by the nomination of the Theatine, Paolo Burali of Arezzo, a man of extraordinary sanctity. Philip Neri lamented the death of Paolo as a misfortune for the whole of Christendom. His canonization was seriously contemplated, and his fellow Theatine, Andrew Avellino, who was himself raised to the altars of the Church, ranked him with St. Charles Borromeo. Burali had at first been an advocate, and afterwards a judge; his impartiality and incorruptibility were especially remarkable, and it is related that in a certain trial, when he had to give judgment against a poor widow, he indemnified her out of his own means. He entered the Theatine Order at the age of

[1] See CARDELLA, V., 146 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 135. The tomb of A. Bianchi, with a fine bust, at S. Sabina; the inscription in FORCELLA, VII., 306.

forty, and would have wished to remain a simple lay-brother, if his superiors would have allowed him to do so. Later on he was offered several bishoprics, which he refused, until, after the death of Cardinal Scotti in 1568, Pius V. obliged him to accept that of Piacenza. As a bishop he continued to live as he had done as a Theatine; he built schools for the poor, in which the instruction was given gratis, a seminary, an orphanage, a home for girls and widows, a refuge for penitents, a convent for the Capuchins, and another for the Theatines. The acts of the synod which he held in 1570 were printed.[1]

Among the new Cardinals, Giulio Antonio Santori stood out on account of his extraordinary nobility of soul.[2] A man of the greatest purity of life and vast learning, Santori led a life of great asceticism, slept very little, and did penance after the manner of the early saints; his charity led him to expend, during the time of his cardinalate, 70,000 ducats on the poor, whose father he was called.[3] Like Burali, he had originally been an advocate, though he soon gave up his career in order to enter the priesthood, and was soon made vicar-general of the Bishop of Caserta. Since he worked with all his energies against the Protestant movement, which was very powerful in that place, he had to bear many calumnies and attacks, and was even in danger of his life.[4] In the autumn of 1563 he had to flee before his enemies, and retired to Naples, where he helped Cardinal Antonio Carafa. But the persecution broke out anew in that place, and after the death of the Cardinal, Santori went into retirement, and gave himself up to works of charity and his studies; it was at this time that

[1] Ciaconius, III., 1053. Biographies of Burali were written by G. A. Cagnano, Rome, 1649; G. B. Bagatta, Venice, 1698; G. Bonaglia, Rome, 1732. Clement XIV. proclaimed Burali Blessed; see brief of May 13, 1772, Bull. Rom. Contin., IV., Rome, 1841, 428.

[2] *Cf.* App. n. 67.

[3] He is styled "Promotor delle opere pie et padre dei poveri" by the author of the *Relatione fatta all'ill. sig. card. d'Este, in 1599, Cod. 6619, p. 89b, Court Library, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 285.

he wrote a book on the morals of the heretics.[1] His great learning and his zeal for the faith were the things that recommended him to Pius V.,[2] who summoned him to Rome, made him a consultor of the Inquisition, and Archbishop of Santa Severina. It was with great difficulty that Santori obtained from the Pope, in spite of the latter's zeal for the residence of bishops, leave to retire to his diocese, but he was still on his way thither when he received an order from the Pope to return, because Pius V. intended to make him a Cardinal, and employ him in the service of the universal Church. Santori was a scholar of great attainments, especially on all liturgical matters; he read much, and remembered all that he read. He especially applied his learning to the reform of the Roman Ritual. Strict with himself, he was also strict with others,[3] and in his zeal for the reform of discipline and for the purity of the faith, he was a kindred spirit to Pius V.

Like those already named, so were all the others men on whose worth the Pope thought that he could rely, since for the most part he had himself known them for a long time. Thus Girolamo Rusticucci had been his secretary for nine years.[4] Ghislieri had made the acquaintance of Giovanni Girolamo Albani, who, after distinguished studies in law had risen to a high military position in the service of Venice, when he was Inquisitor at Bergamo. After the death of his wife, this man, who was clever, and of quick and sound judgment, was summoned to Rome by the Pope, and employed in the administra-

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 339.

[2] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, Amsterdam, 1648, 62.

[3] See the *Relatione, p. 90, cited *supra* p. 166, n. 3.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 74. For Rusticucci see the information in CARDELLA, V., 148 *seq.* The author of the *Relatione cited *supra*, p. 166 n. 3, describes Rusticucci thus: "d'ingegno posato, ma sagace, di moto tardo, ma diligente, di buoni sentimenti, ma di tardissima espressione. . . . Ha più prudenza che dottrina. . . . È officioso, amorevole." It is further stated: "Servì con molto amore per sottosegratario il card. Alessandrino, al quale ancora in una sua necessità provedde di non so che picola somma de denari." *loc. cit.* 91.

tion of the Papal States.[1] Giovanni Aldobrandini had made a great name for himself as Bishop of Imola, and later as Grand Penitentiary; Marcantonio Maffei, Archbishop of Chieti, had done the same as head of the Dataria, and Carlo de Grassis, Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto, as Governor of Rome.[2] The Roman, Pietro Donato Cesi, Bishop of Narni, of whose diplomatic skill the Pope made use later on, had been Prefect of Ravenna, and vice-legate of Bologna. His love for the poor was justly celebrated, and in a time of famine he looked after them like a father; he also constructed an aqueduct, so as to obtain fresh water from the mountains. Later on Ravenna asked him to come and act as arbitrator in order to settle its disputes by his skill and sense of justice.[3] All those mentioned were made Cardinal Priests. Giulio Aquaviva, who was only twenty-four years of age, a scion of a princely house, and a man of great piety, was made Cardinal Deacon.[4] Of Giulio's six brothers, three entered the ecclesiastical state; Ottavio also became a Cardinal, Orazio a Cistercian and a bishop, while Ridolfo entered the Society of Jesus, and died a martyr in India.

The creation of Cardinals of 1570 was naturally viewed in many different lights in Rome.[5] The Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, whose advice upon the question had been so often rejected by Pius V., was of opinion that the nomination had undoubtedly been made "somewhat hastily" and that persons of greater eminence and deeper learning should have been appointed,[6] but such remarks only show how much public opinion had lost sight of the qualities required in a prince of

[1] See CARDELLA, V., 151 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 122 *seq.*, 133 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 131 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 150 *seq.*

[5] *Avviso di Roma of May 20, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 281, Vatican Library.

[6] "No ay deffecto notable en los italianos; pero deviera S.S. escoger mas raros subyectos y mayores letrados, porque no se puede negar sino que la promocion es algo desbaratada." To Philip II., May 17, 1570, Corresp. dipl. III., 357 *seq.*

the Church, though, in other things he says, Zuñiga justifies the Pope's choice in the most surprising way. Even at the last moment he had raised objections to Aquaviva and Cervantes, though he himself says of the latter that he had never seen a man of less ambition or more exemplary life;[1] he speaks of Aquaviva as a virtuous young man, of good scholarly attainments.[2] According to the instructions of his master, he would, if it had been possible, have excluded Burali and Santori as well from the cardinalate, but when in 1570 there arose the question of appointing a legate for Germany, Zuñiga wrote that they ought to choose a man of exceptionally virtuous life, and recommended Burali as one who had a great reputation in this respect, and who would be much esteemed in Germany.[3]

Pius V. was well aware of all this, because he had so long and so carefully sought for suitable Cardinals, and, in spite of every attack, had so firmly insisted upon the men whom he had chosen. If the Council of Trent had exhorted the chief shepherd of the Church to include in the ranks of its supreme senate none but the most eminent men, and if, in so doing, as well as in the appointment of distinguished bishops, it had put its finger on the thing most needed for the reform of the Church,[4] Pius V. had done his best to act up to that exhortation. The next Papal election seemed to be assured; if the next Pope should walk in the ways of his predecessor, no longer would those scandals which had so often placed their best weapons in the hands of the enemies of the Holy See be found in the senate of the Church. For this reason the renewal of the Sacred College of 1570 was, in the best sense of the word, a great act of reform.

The Pope, wrote Tiepolo on October 19th, 1566, does nothing but reform;[5] on the same day Strozzi states that on the Monday there had been a meeting of the Congregation of the

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., May 15, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 358 n.
[2] *Ibid.* 357 (May 17, 1570).
[3] *Ibid.* 363 *seq.* (May 19, 1570).
[4] Sess. 24, de ref., c. 1.
[4] MUTINELLI, I., 57.

Council, on the Tuesday a meeting about the new scheme of studies, on the Wednesday one about the reform of the Breviary, on the Thursday before dinner one about the Inquisition, and in the afternoon one about the reform of the clergy, and that the Pope had busied himself about all these matters.[1]

Since 1566, by the Pope's orders, a great scheme of reform of all the tribunals and officials of the Curia had been in preparation.[2] About Christmas, 1568, the reform commission was able to present its report,[3] which the Pope went into very fully on January 5th, 1569. For four hours it was reported in Rome, the Pope listened to the reading of the report, and even then only a third part of the lengthy document was got through. But, just as had been the case when the scheme was first mooted, so now the head of the Church did not seem inclined to put it into execution forthwith. Pius V. had said that he did not wish to embitter the whole court against him, and therefore men comforted themselves in Rome with the hope that the reform which they all dreaded would not be so terrible after all.[4] Fear, however, was by no means allayed in those circles which were the first to be attacked. In June, 1569, it was reported that Abbot Bonhomini, the agent of Cardinal Borromeo, had arrived with a thick volume of reform proposals. At the beginning of March, 1571, men once more expected a "terrible reform."[5] At the same time, however,

[1] *" tal che s'occupa tutto in questi essercitii." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of December 25, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 619, Vatican Library.

[3] *Ibid.* For the nomination of the five deputies for the reform of the tribunals see *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1567, *ibid.* 426. A *motu proprio (undated) "super reformatione taxarum, officiorum et tribunalium urbis" in Bandi V., 36, p. 10, Papal Secret Archives. *" Facultates concessae per Pium V. deputatis ad reformationem tribunalium et officiorum Urbis," *ibid.* p. 12.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 624, Vatican Library.

[5] *Avvisi of June 11, 1569, and March 1, 1571, *ibid.* 1041, p. 92; 1042, p. 23b.

there was no secret in Rome as to the difficulties which seemed to make any radical change of the existing conditions almost impossible.[1]

The chief obstacle in the way of any complete change in the Curia lay in the fact that for a long time past many of the offices therein had been sold for money.[2] More especially since the time of Sixtus IV. the Popes had often found themselves in great financial difficulties, and in order to provide a remedy the number of official positions which were sold for large sums was increased; for example, the position of clerk, which under Callixtus III. had been obtainable for 1000 gold florins, had cost twice that sum under Julius II., and three times as much under Leo X.[3] Anyone who had thus obtained a post to which an income was attached, naturally sought to administer it in such a way as to enrich himself; complaints that there were no limits to the venality of the Roman officials, or to the corruption of the clerks, and indeed of the whole Papal court, were the inevitable consequence of such a state of affairs, which even the Popes deplored as intolerable, but which they were unable to remedy at a single blow.[4] Once so many clerks, procurators, etc., had bought their offices in good faith they could not be dismissed without suitable compensation. But whence was to come the means for suitably compensating a whole army of officials?[5]

Pius V. had wished from the first to put an end to this unseemly state of affairs at all costs. The holy severity which animated him found almost ruthless expression when he replied in 1569 to the complaints of some officials who had

[1] * Avviso of July 30, 1569, *ibid.* 1041, p. 125.

[2] *Cf.* GÖLLER, II., 1, 91 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 92 n.

[4] For the attempts at reform in this respect, especially in the case of the Penitentieria, see GÖLLER, II., 1, 97 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* GÖLLER, II., 1, 94. In the time of Pius IV. we may learn from the notes on the draft of his bull for the reform of the Penitentieria that several persons had sacrificed their whole property in order to buy a post in that department; *ibid.* 128 and II., 2, 134. *Cf. ibid.* 103 a note from the time of Alexander VI.

been dismissed from the Penitentiaria: It is always better, he said, to die of hunger than to lose one's soul.[1] In reality he had no intention of condemning anyone to die of hunger, and therefore, in spite of his zeal, he had to proceed step by step.

In the first months of his reign, Tiepolo wrote that the Pope was watching the Dataria very closely, and that he would no longer tolerate the slightest suspicion of simony.[2] Immediately after his election he had set a very distinguished president over this department in the person of Archbishop Maffei, and had placed it under the care of Cardinals Scotti, Reumano and Rebiba,[3] ordering that for the future money was no longer to be taken for compositions.[4] A constant source of scandal and simoniacal intrigue were the many *cessioni* from benefices, made to the Pope, not unconditionally, however, but in favour of some third party.[5] Pius V. forbade all such arrangements;[6] the Datary must submit to him all requests for such resignations, so that he might be sure there were no unjust conditions attached to them.[7] In 1566 he appointed several Cardinals to examine into the question how far such resignations could

[1] *Arco, February 19, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] May 25, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 45.

[3] See SALMERON, Epist., II., 60.

[4] Requesens, January 11, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 86.

[5] *" [le renoncie], dalle quale procedevano infiniti scandali di simonie et altri errori " *Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 291b, Vatican Library.

[6] " *Nella medesima signatura ordinò al datario che non passasse più suppliche di quelle che parlano di rinuntie de benefici in mano del Papa, ma però in favore di tale, perciochè pare a lui che questo sia modo di appropriarsi troppo lungamente beneficii ecclesiastici et in se stesso non può patire questa cosa, con tutto che per tanti et tanti anni sia stata accettata et usata dai pontefici et da la corte. Di modo che da qui innanzi chi vorrà rinuntiare in mano del Papa bisognerà rinuntiare liberamente, et non più in favore di persona." Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, May 15, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] *Avviso di Roma of May 18, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 229, Vatican Library. These " profane conditions " might be, for example, the various forms of confidential simony.

be allowed without sin,[1] and in the following year theologians and canonists were appointed to discuss the matter.[2] The conditions under which such resignations or *renunzie* were lawful were laid down in detail, and were to be expressed in accordance with a definite formula in the briefs which granted them;[3] only in certain very limited cases could the bishops receive such permission;[4] nobody who was not in major orders could renounce his benefice without making restitution of the fruits he had already enjoyed.[5] In dealing with offices with a cure of souls attached to them, the Datary was not to allow the resignation of such an office except on the grounds of old age or illness.[6]

Pius V. not only issued these orders for others, but con-

[1] *Arco, May 25, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 362b, Vatican Library.

[3] Motu proprio of May 13, 1567. Bull. Rom., VII., 552 *seqq.* The resignations, *states Arco on February 22, 1567, were allowed, but there must be no admission of unworthy candidates, or of such as had given rise to the least suspicion of simony (State Archives, Vienna). The acceptance of such resignations had been forbidden to the Roman authorities and to the ordinaries pending a definite regulation of the question. Bull of August 8, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 4.

[4] Bull of April 1, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 664 *seqq.*

[5] *" S. B^ne ha prohibito al datario le resignationi di quelli che hanno beneficii et non sono in sacris, et vogliono lasciarli, volendo che col lasciarli restituiscono anco i frutti percepti accioche a piacer loro non habbino di quei della chiesa o fatto acquisto et pensino hora di scaricarsene." B. Pia to Luzzara, Rome, May, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] *" S.S continua a restringere anco un poco più le cose della riforma et particularmente nella Dataria, non volendo che si possi più far resegni de beneficii curati per qual causa che sia, non amettendo nè vecchiezza nè infirmità" (Avviso di Roma of November 3, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 145b, Vatican Library). Age and illness are naturally recognised as a judicial reason for a resignation; see Bull. Rom., VII., 665, 3. The *Avvisi frequently insist upon the Pope's strictness in the granting of matrimonial

sidered himself bound by them as well. Through his ambassador, the Duke of Florence had asked for his approval of the compulsory resignation of the aged Bishop of Pistoia in favour of Alessandro Pucci. Without a moment's hesitation Pius V. definitely refused the request, on the ground that such resignations made the bishops rulers of their dioceses even after their death.[1] On account of the position of the Church in Germany, however, he was at last forced, after long resistance, to allow the resignation of the Bishop of Freising in favour of the young Bavarian Duke Ernest.[2]

Even during the first year of the Pope's reign certain remarkable effects of these strict measures had made themselves felt. In September, 1566, the abbreviators presented a petition asking for compensation for the emoluments which they no longer received from the *renunzie*.[3] In the October

dispensations. The Spanish ambassador offered him 12,000 ducats as a fee for such a dispensation; Pius V. replied: *"che non ne vuole far altro a modo alcuno et che non era licito." (August 10, 1566, *loc. cit.*, 1040, p. 271b). Dispensations in the second and third degrees of kindred were done away with except in the cases of great lords (November 22, 1570, *ibid.* 1041, p. 373b; *cf.* Conc. Trid., sess. W4, c.5). Dispensations in the second degree which approached the first were refused by Pius V. even to these latter, as for example to Count Ferrata di Ladrone, who was recommended by the Emperor (*Arco, February 16, and August 3, 1566), to the Marquis of Veles (*Arco, July 5, 1567, State Archives, Vienna). When it was said to the Pope that according to theologians and canonists he could grant such dispensations, he replied that many of these had been flatterers of the Popes (*Arco, August 3, 1566, *loc. cit.*). No dispensation was granted without the attestation of the bishop (*Avviso of March 5, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 34, Vatican Library). *Cf.* SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, I., 63, 72.

[1] "Risposemi risolutamente senza pensarci punto; non lo volere acconsentire." Legaz. di Serristori, 447.

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 263 *seq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 291b, Vatican Library.

of the same year the complaint was made that the Dataria had not received a quarter of its usual revenue, because the Pope had entirely done away with compositions, namely those fines which had been customary in connexion with the absolution of certain offences, and that various other sums which had come to the Dataria under other pontificates had also been lost.[1] These fines, however, were not in the least simoniacal, and thus it is easy to see why the Pope gave two Cardinals leave to impose such fines in connexion with certain offences in order to raise money for the league against the Turks.[2] The administration of the basilica of St. Peter's also received similar powers.[3]

Even more than the Dataria the Pope had at heart that tribunal which, according to its original purpose, dealt expressly with matters of conscience, or for the peace of men's consciences, and which, for the most part, did its work in the confessional, the Apostolic Penitentiaria. This had come into being at the end of the XIIth century, principally to meet the need felt in Rome for a body of confessors who should be able, by Papal authority, to absolve from all reserves those penitents who flocked to the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles.[4] In course of time the Penitentiaria had acquired many powers and faculties which held good outside the confessional, and in public.[5] Even in the Penitentiaria, however, some of the offices had become open to sale,[6] and in this way

[1] *"La Dataria non fa più un quattrino, perchè le compositioni sono levate del tutto, et quelli emolumenti, che detta Dataria solea portare alli altri pontefici." Avviso di Roma of October 26, 1566, p. 312b, Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso of December 8, 1571, *ibid.* 1042, p. 150b.

[3] *Avviso of August 16, 1570, *ibid.* 1041, p. 327.

[4] GÖLLER, I., 1, 75 *seqq.*, 81. For the old archives of the Penitentieria see GÖLLER in *Festschrift für A. de Waal*, Freiburg, 1913, 1 *seqq.*

[5] GÖLLER, I, 1, 1 *seqq.*

[6] GÖLLER, II., 2, 93 *seq.* 146.

the general blight had made its way into this, the holiest of the Roman tribunals.[1]

Attempts to bring about an improvement had not been wanting. All the Popes of the XVIth century except Pius III. had turned their attention to it, not even Alexander VI. and the three weeks' pontificate of Marcellus II. being exceptions.[2] The bull of Pius IV. of May 4th, 1562, marked a notable advance in the reform of the Penitentiaria,[3] which, however, it was left to Pius V. to set upon an entirely new basis.

A first step was taken at the end of 1566. With the object of obtaining dispensations from matrimonial impediments more easily some of the officials of the Penitentiaria had been making false statements in their supplicas; this abuse was declared by the Pope to fall under the same penalties as forgery,[4] It was not long, however, before he set his hand to effecting a radical change in the whole department, at the suggestion, and with the advice of Cardinal Borromeo and his confidant, Ormaneto.[5] We again hear of reforms and projects of reform during 1567;[6] in the following year Cardinals were appointed to consider these projects,[7] and in 1569 definite

[1] It is therefore untrue that the fees demanded by the Curia were a payment for absolution; they were nothing but the charges made for the drawing up of the documents. *Ibid.* 132 *seqq.*

[2] GÖLLER, II., 1, 101 *seqq.* For Paul III. and Paul IV. see also Vol. XI. of this work p. 197; Vol. XIV., p. 203.

[3] GÖLLER. II., 1, 126 *seqq.* *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 411.

[4] Muto proprio of December 5, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 315. The date in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 88.

[5] Letter from Ormaneto to Borromeo, February 7, 1567, on the reform of the Penitentieria, Ambrosian Library, Milan, F. 38, Inf. p. 85–91b, with many other matters connected with this reform attached.

[6] The reform of the Grand Penitentiary and other court dignitaries is announced as complete in an *Avviso of August 9, 1567 (Urb. 1040, p. 413, Vatican Library); there is hardly any more business; the employés can hardly support themselves. An *Avviso of August 9, 1567 (*ibid.* 427b) speaks of a Papal decree according to which all the employés must be clerics.

[7] *Arco, March 13, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

action was taken. The Penitentiaria in its existing form was entirely suppressed with all its powers,[1] in order to come into being again in an entirely new form, in virtue of the bull of May 18th, 1569.[2] Except in a few cases, the new Penitentiaria only had powers of absolution and dispensation in the internal forum,[3] everything else being in the hands of the Dataria and Cancelleria. There was also a considerable change in the office of the Grand Penitentiary; the clerks and procurators, who had previously numbered 27 and 24 respectively, were reduced to two, in each case, while the offices of referendaries, correctors and revisors, were abolished,[4] the superfluous clerks and procurators being employed in the Apostolic Cancelleria.[5] The Grand Penitentiary and all his subordinates were to exercise their office in person;[6] the procurators were to be priests, or at least subdeacons,[7] and no fees were to be demanded for the issue of documents.[8] The sale of offices was entirely done away with.[9]

[1] *"Pubblicata la Bulla della penitentieria," and by this it is abolished, and there is no more business; everything now goes to the Cancelleria and Dataria (*Avviso di Roma of March 5, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 34, Vatican Library). Bull of April 23, 1569, in GÖLLER, II., 2, 98. As early as February 14, 1569 (Urb. 1041, p. 14) an *Avviso declares that the matrimonial dispensations of the Penitentiaria were suspended, because a dispensation had been granted, but that the Pope had refused it.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 746 *seqq.*, 750 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 750 §2. In GÖLLER, II., 2, 15 *seqq.* there is a list of the faculties granted to the Grand Penitentiary by Pius V., and later on by Gregory XIII.

[4] Bull. Rom., VII., 747 § 3.

[5] Bull of May 19, 1569, *ibid.* 752.

[6] *Ibid.* 747, § 6 and 12.

[7] *Ibid.* § 10.

[8] *Ibid.* 749, § 17.

[9] "Illorumque omnium officiorum in ipso Poenitentiariae officio constitutorum venditionem, aut quamvis aliam voluntariam tacitam vel expressam ea dimittentium dispositionem expresse prohibemus," and this under pain of invalidity.

The college of penitentiaries who, by commission of the Grand Penitentiary, were at the service of penitents in the three great basilicas of Rome, were also subjected to new regulations. According to the provisions of Pius IV., twelve of these so-called "minor penitentiaries," drawn from various religious orders and nationalities, were to work at S. Maria Maggiore; Pius V. halved the number and ordered that they should all of them be drawn from the Roman province of the Dominican Order, assigning to them a suitable house near S. Pudenziana, and a sufficient revenue.[1] Eight Franciscan Observants were to act as penitentiaries at the Lateran,[2] and twelve Jesuits at St. Peter's, who also lived close by in a house of their own.[3] The community life which he insisted upon for the penitentiaries was the reason for assigning this office to religious, and it was also obviously suitable that those who thus lived together should belong to the same Order; at the same time, the Pope left the selection of capable men to the Provincials of the various Orders.[4]

The other Papal tribunals and courts did not escape the zeal of the Pope, who was anxious to effect improvement everywhere. On February 15th, 1566, the reform of the Segnatura was effected,[5] and since the officials of the Apostolic Camera had exercised their office with excessive strictness,

[1] Bulls of September 1 and 6, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 703 *seqq.*, 706 *seqq.*

[2] SACCHINI, P. III., 1, 6, n. 2. S. Franciscus Borgia, V., 371.

[3] SACCHINI, n. 1–8. Circular of Francis Borgia to the provincials of the Jesuits, April 24, 1570, S. Franciscus Borgia, V., 356; to the provincials of Spain, April 28, 1570, *ibid.* 371. *Cf.* Cardinal Alciati to Fr. Borgia, July 8, 1569, *ibid.* 121; GÖLLER, II., 1, 48 *seq.*

[4] SACCHINI, *loc. cit.* n. 2. In GÖLLER, II., 2, 139 *seq.* a list, dated March 16, 1568, of the sins withdrawn from the absolving power of the penitentiaries.

[5] There only remained the four Cardinals, Reumano, Cicada, Simoncelli, and Vitelli with 34 referendaries; only 12 of the latter had a consultative vote. *Cusano, February 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

the Pope took rigorous measures on May 29th, 1567.[1] It was rumoured in June, 1567, that the powers of the Camerlengo were to be limited.[2] The correctors of the Cancelleria were reformed on October 21st, 1569,[3] and after long discussion,[4] the auditors of the Camera, by a decree of November 20th, 1570.[5] Towards the end of 1568, it was reported in Rome that the Cancelleria had decided to meet only twice a week, on account of the reduction of its business.[6] Lastly, the reforming zeal of the Pope was turned to the improvement of the archives of the Curia, which had hitherto been very much neglected.[7]

The Council of Trent had entrusted the reform of the Church to the bishops; it therefore seemed obvious to Pius V. that, as Bishop of Rome, he must set them an example in his own diocese.

The Council had laid it down that one of the principal duties of a bishop was to make a visitation of all the churches and of all the ministers of the sanctuary. The Pope therefore wished to fulfil this obligation of visitation in the Eternal City as far as he could in person.[8] He began on Sunday, May 12th, 1566, with the basilica of St. Peter's, in order to

[1] Bull. Rom. VII. 601 *seqq.* On the other hand, however, Pius V. protected the rights of the Camera; *ibid.* 609, 641 *seq.*, 646, 690, 697, 894.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 403, Vatican Library.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 785.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of August 16, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 327, Vatican Library.

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 865. An *Avviso di Roma (Urb. 1041, p. 380, Vatican Library) reports on December 9, 1570, the publication of the bull.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1568, *ibid.* 1040, p. 597.

[7] Motu proprio of July 18, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 762. Order of August 19, 1568, for the registration of the documents belonging to the Apostolic Camera, for the search for those which had been lost, etc., *ibid.* 697.

[8] *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 218b, Vatican Library.

ascertain for himself if everything was in good order for the administration of the sacraments, and for the worthy celebration of divine worship. The baptismal font did not satisfy him, and he gave orders for a better one to be made, more in keeping with the dignity of the noblest temple of God on earth. In the sacristy he examined the reliquaries, the chalices, the sacred vessels and the vestments. After that, all laymen were excluded, the canons and other priests, including the bishops, knelt down, and the Cardinals formed a semi-circle on the right of the Pope, who then delivered a long discourse on the things necessary for the sacerdotal life, and the due performance of the divine worship.[1] After the visitation, the Pope turned to the Archpriest of St. Peter's Cardinal Farnese, and said to him that he hoped he would find all the other churches in as good a condition.[2] On July 1st, 1566, he visited the church and hospital of S. Spirito, and here again he satisfied himself minutely as to the custody of the Blessed Sacrament, the baptismal font, the chrism, the sacred vestments, the sacristy and the sacristans. He then went to see the sick in the hospital, "doing everything with all possible charity and love."[3] He also personally

[1] *["Die dominica XII. maii (1566) hora 17 . . . ivit ad ecclesiam S^ti^ Petri] . . . ordinavit quod fieret fons [baptismalis] pulchrior, prout dicebat requirere nobilitatem et ecellentiam ecclesiae, quam dixit esse primam totius orbis. Vidit postea sacellum, reliquias sanctorum, calices, vasa sacra et omnia super magna credentia parata, etc. Deinde sedens super sede ibidem parata, emissis extra sacellum omnibus laicis, fecit longum sermonem canonicis et aliis presbiteris, omnibus genuflexis etiam episcopis, et male dico quoad episcopos ipsos, cardinalibus in circulum a dextro latere sedentibus; et sermo fuit circa mores ipsorum et modum deserviendi in ecclesia et multa dixit de dignitate sacerdotali" (FIRMANUS, *Diarium, p. 87. Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* *Cusano, May 18, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, *Avviso di Roma of May 18, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 229b, and *report in Cod. Vatic. 5514, p. 1–15, Vatican Library.

[2] * Avviso di Roma of May 18, 1566, *ibid.*

[3] * Avviso di Roma of July 6, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 251 *seq.*, Vatican Library: "il che tutto con tanta carità e amore quanto dir si possa."

visited the other patriarchal churches,[1] going on July 10th, 1566, to the church and hospital of the Lateran,[2] and on September 30th to S. Maria Maggiore.[3] He had still further projects; he wished to visit all the hospitals in Rome, as well as the convents of women and the prisons;[4] he had a project of appointing a Cardinal to look after the prisoners, and expedite their trials.[5] "His Holiness," wrote the Imperial ambassador to the Holy See," is always working to reform the state of affairs in Rome, which is very distasteful to many people."[6]

Naturally the Pope had not the time to carry out all these visitations in person. In January, 1566, he had appointed a special congregation, composed of Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Savelli, Borromeo, Alciati and Paleotto, for the reform of the Roman clergy.[7] The Cardinal of Milan, who was undoubtedly the most important member of this congregation, soon left for his episcopal city, but in the middle of July the reform of the Roman clergy was committed to his intimate friend, Ormaneto,[8] who was in constant correspondence with the

[1] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 63.

[2] *"Il Papa è stato questa mattina a S. Giovanni a visitare la chiesa et l'hospitale et è andato per tempissimo et con pocchissime persone. A quest'hora ha visitato S. Pietro, S. Spirito et S. Giovanni." (Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, July 10, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Arco, July 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna; *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 243, Vatican Library.

[3] *Strozzi on October 5, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Arco, July 13, 1566, *loc. cit.* *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1566, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1566, *loc. cit.* For the visitation of the prisons *cf.* Bull. Rom., VII., 688, 696, 801.

[6] *Arco, July 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] *Cusano, January 26, 1566, *ibid.*

[8] "Giovedi fu congregazione dell'Inquisizione et dopo pranzo del Concilio dove si trattò de riforma del clero di Roma, la qual cura è data a monsignor Ormaneto." Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1566, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 37.

Cardinal,[1] and thus acted as an intermediary, by whose means the Archbishop of Milan continued his work of reform even in Rome.

The influence of Borromeo upon the renewal of the Roman church was universally recognized in other ways as well. The Pope, wrote Ciregiola, intends to hold a provincial synod, and to visit, either in person or by his deputies, all the churches in Rome, and it is thought that Borromeo will be recalled to Rome for that purpose, as he has had great experience in these matters.[2] When Bonhomini was expected in June, 1569, as a member of the reform commission, it was thought in Rome that he would bring with him a large volume of reform proposals from Cardinal Borromeo.[3] In December, 1566, Poggiani wrote that it was well known that the Roman reform was the offspring of that in Milan, and that its promoter had taken as his model a certain member of the Church.[4]

Under the presidency of Cardinal Savelli, Vicar of Rome, the reform commission held a series of sessions, at which Ormaneto, the Prior of Foligno, and Oliva di Perugia were

[1] Letters between the two are noted in *San Carlo*, indexed under Ormaneto.

[2] Letter to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, June 19, 1566, State Archives, Florence. *Arco expected the return of Borromeo on account of the synod which was to be held in September (July 20, 1566, State Archives, Vienna); *Caligari thought his recall was certain that he might take part in the reform of the Church (to Commendone, August 3, 1566, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] *Avviso di Roma of June 11, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 92, Vatican Library.

[4] "Non occorre, ch'io dica altro a V.S. ill. intorno alla stima, che si fa della sue constitutioni sinodali, vedendo ognuno, che la riforma romana è filgliuola della milanese, il che di giorno in giorno si va così dilatando, che cotesto membro entrarà in molto maggior riputatione, poichè da quello a un certo modo ha preso esempio il capo." To Borromeo in POGIANI Epist. II., xv.

also present.[1] One result of these meetings was certainly the edict of October 30th, 1566, which enjoined upon the Roman clergy the rules for leading a truly priestly life.[2] In August four visitors were charged to fulfil that duty in the Roman churches,[3] and a visitation of even the titular churches of the Cardinals was ordered in September.[4]

In the opinion of many members of the Curia, the visitors discharged their duties "very strictly."[5] One of them wrote in December to Florence that the Pope "has a very strict minister, who is Monsignor Ormaneto, who has no respect for anyone, since that is the wish of the Pope";[6] it was thought that a special motu proprio would permit him to take action and to inflict punishment without the usual legal procedure.[7] The Canons of St. Peter's sought to shield themselves from the reform by appealing to an ancient privi-

[1] Caligari to Commendone, June 18, 1566, Papal Secret Archives *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII. (1914), 195, n. 1. Oliva was afterwards Bishop of Chieti. The "Prior of Foligno" must be Tommaso Orfino (his name is Orfino, not Orsini or Ursinus as written by LADERCHI, 1566, n. 184; 1567, n. 64 and GAMS, p. 696, 928; *cf. infra* n. 3; UGHELLI, I., 773; IX., 733; MORONI, XXV., 141; LXX., 200, and in the index).

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 58.

[3] *Arco, August 17, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. The names of the four visitors are in the letter in which Savelli announces the the visitation to each of the churches: "Vobis per praesentes denunciare decrevimus, qualiter die . . . ad vos vestramque ecclesiam Nos seu RR. PP. DD. Thomas Orphinus episcopus Stragulen., Alphonsus Binarius utriusque Signaturae referendarius vicesgerens noster, Nicolaus Ormannettus et Joannes Oliva visitatores a Nobis deputati veniemus seu venient, aut aliquis eorum veniet." *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., Rome, 1855, 2734.

[4] Consistory of September 6, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 63.

[5] *Ciregiola to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, November 30, 1566, State Archives, Florence.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of December 8, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 337b, Vatican Library: "Ha un rigoroso ministro che è mons. Ormaneto che non ha rispetto a niuno perchè così è la mente del Papa."

[7] *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1568, *ibid.* 585b.

lege, according to which they could only be visited by the Pope, but they only succeeded in getting their privileges annulled, and a report from Rome states that they had been visited, and were "in danger" of a startling reform.[1] When visiting S. Pietro in Montorio, Ormaneto and his colleague Binarini found that the guardian had not complied with the command to join the Observants of his Order; he was thereupon imprisoned, even though he had been the confessor of Pius IV.[2] Great discontent was caused among the canons and beneficiaries of Rome by the fact that the commissioners obliged them to officiate in their churches all through Lent, whereas previously they had only been obliged to do so for ten days in the month.[3]

Another regulation, which was undoubtedly just and necessary, and which was made about the same time, could not fail to increase the discontent in many quarters. It had for some time been rumoured that it was the Pope's desire that all secular and regular priests should satisfy their bishop as to their fitness to hear confessions.[4] In March,

[1] *Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1566, *ibid.* 308. LADERCHI, 1566, n. 62. On November 30, 1566, Strozzi *wrote that they wished to induce the Canons of St. Peter's to build themselves near the basilica a house where they could lead a community life, and constantly take part in the functions, and that Farnese as Archpriest was working against this proposal. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of April 3, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 499, Vatican Library. In his visitation of St. Gregorio, Ormaneto found grave abuses in the matter of alms for masses, whereat the Pope was much displeased. *Avviso di Roma of October 1, 1569, *ibid.* p. 159.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of March 8, 1567, *ibid.* 1040, p. 366.

[4] *"S'intende che vuole che tutti li confessori come preti come frati vadino ad essaminarsi al vescovato, se sono idonei alla confessione, altramente saranno privati del confessare trovandosi inesperti." (Avviso di Roma of November 16, 1566; Urb. 1040, p. 321, Vatican Library). Already in the consistory of January 23, 1566, Cardinals Borromeo, Savelli, Alciati and Sirleto had been appointed commissaries for the examination of parish priests in general. *Arco, January 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

1567, Pius V. had all the confessors of the Roman churches examined, and those who were unfit removed;[1] at the beginning of 1571 the *approbatio* of the congregation of reform was required for all confessors.[2] An attempt was made to put difficulties in the way of unsuitable candidates receiving the priesthood, and it was ordered that for the future orders were not to be conferred unless the candidate had been examined before the Pope's Vicar a month previously.[3] Only by the express permission of the Pope could the Segnatura permit ordinations *extra tempora*, or the legitimatization of the illegitimate.[4] Even the Cardinals could no longer confer benefices in the churches of Rome, except on those who had been accepted as suitable by the vicar-general.[5]

With a view to creating a good spirit among the clergy the reform commission introduced sacerdotal conferences. All the parishes of Rome were divided into six districts, and the priests of each district had to meet once a week in one of the churches for the discussion of the needs of the parishes, as though in a little synod.[6]

The Pope also turned his attention to the exterior behaviour of the ecclesiastical body. In order to meet the evil custom by which even priests dressed as laymen, all clerics were obliged to wear the ecclesiastical dress;[7] those who did not

[1] *Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 370, Vatican Library.

[2] *Zibramonti, January 20, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 7, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of May 12, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 60, Vatican Library.

[4] Order to Capizuchi. *Avviso di Roma of January 29, 1569, *ibid.* 1041, p. 13.

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 423. For the date see LADERCHI, 1566, n. 59.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of March 8, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 366, Vatican Library.

[7] Edict of Cardinal Savelli of October 30, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 58; *cf. ibid.* n. 63. *Strozzi, November 11, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

comply with this regulation were to lose their benefices.[1] Doctors, physicians and jurists were ordered to give up wearing the biretta.[2]

With a view to putting the care of souls in a better state the Cardinal Vicar issued more detailed regulations for those churches which exercised parochial rights.[3] Since some of the parishes were too large to allow of the efficient discharge of their parochial duties, a motu proprio erected in these parishes eleven new vicariates, which were subject to the Cardinal Vicar,[4] while the Cardinals were exhorted to provide vicars for their titular churches.[5]

By order of the vicar-general all parish priests were to be in their churches for two or three hours on feast days to instruct the children in the fundamental truths of the Christian faith.[6] When many people had been struck down by the

[1] *Avviso di Roma of January 31, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 381b, Vatican Library. For the preparation of the *bando* relating to this matter, *cf.* *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1566, *ibid.* 218b.

[2] *Arco, November 1, 1566; *cf.* the *letters of April 27, 1566, November 1, 1567 and February 12, 1569. State Archives, Vienna; *Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 309, Vatican Library; LADERCHI, 1567, n. 37. A general prescription on the dress of priests, laymen and women was issued on May 19, 1566, at the Capitol (*Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 331b, Vatican Library); this was soon made less strict, but the household of the Pope and the Cardinals were obliged to observe it strictly (*Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1566, *ibid.* 255). *Zibramonti reports a further constitution on ecclesiastical dress on September 15, 1571, to the Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of October 18, 1570 (*loc. cit.* 357). A prohibition to clerics to wear beards was proposed (*Avvisi di Roma of August 17 and September 7, 1566, *loc. cit.* 275, 282b; *Arco, August 3, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] On September 13, 1569. DENGEL, Palast und Basilika S. Marco in Rom, Rome, 1913, 85.

[4] November 5, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 947.

[5] *Arco, September 7, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of July 17, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 549, Vatican Library.

plague in the Borgo, the parish priests were urged to visit the sick, and then to make a report as to those in need, so that they might be provided for and helped.[1] They were told above all to look after the poor, to exhort them to lead Christian lives, and to give them the sacraments at due times.[2]

If the Eternal City was little by little to assume a new appearance in religious matters, it was necessary to purge if of many priests and prelates who, in forgetfulness of their duty, lived in Rome, far away from their dioceses and benefices. Even in the first weeks after his election, Pius V. ordered Cardinals Morone, Corgna and Rebiba to summon all the bishops living in Rome, and to send back to their dioceses all who were not excused for some urgent reason.[3] At the congregation he again repeated this order in the presence of the three Cardinals. The excuses which were made were received by the Pope with a bad grace (or at least so it was said in Rome); the bishops, he said, had no other duty than to repair to their dioceses, and to see to it that the reforms and decrees of the Council were enforced there.[4] The parish priests received similar orders to those which the Pope had already given to the bishops at an audience,[5] and in order that it might be taken seriously he ordered the auditor of the Apostolic Camera, Alessandro Riario, to take legal proceedings against those who disobeyed.[6] The penalty of se-

[1] *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1568, *ibid.* 562b; *cf. ibid.* 573. *Avviso di Roma of September 4, 1568.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of March 12, 1569, *ibid.* 1041, p. 40.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 26, 1566, *ibid.* 1040, p. 172. Acta consist. of January 23, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 46; GUILIK-EUBEL, 47.

[4] *"Resideant, s'attenda alla riforma per mantener li decreti del Concilio." Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 182, Vatican Library.

[5] *Avviso of February 24, 1566, *ibid.* 184b.

[6] Motu proprio of June 10, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 46. Bull. Rom., VII., 464. Riario was instructed to take summary proceeding against all "tam in Urbe quam alibi et ubique locorum existentes et in propriis diocesibus non residentes."

questration was actually laid upon the diocese of Vaison, because the bishop of that city never visited his diocese.[1] The strict reformer did not give a thought to the fact that by these orders his own court would be shorn of its splendours. The Cardinals received orders to send back at once to their posts those members of their households who held benefices entailing the care of souls, and also to go themselves to their own sees.[2] The Pope had already told a hundred Spaniards at the court that they must go back to their benefices. The correspondent who reports this fact was of opinion that very soon the city would be half emptied of all important personages.[3]

Naturally such expressions must not be taken quite literally. Even a Pius V. could not eradicate an inveterate habit by words and exhortations alone, and accordingly in the following year he began to take more stringent measures. Five or six parish priests, who had no business in Rome,

[1] *Avviso of November 9, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 318, Vatican Library. According to a *report of Strozzi of the same date (State Archives, Vienna) the bishop was deposed. The Bishop of Vaison in 1566 was Giacomo Cortesi, Patriarch of Alexandria, died 1570. His successor in the patriarchate was appointed November 8, 1570 (Moroni, LVII., 173). In 1569, Chisholm, the envoy of Mary Stuart, appears as Bishop of Vaison (Gams, 648; Dictionary of National Biography, X., 262).

[2] Consistory of September 6, 1566, according to the Diarium of Cardinal Farnese, in Laderchi, 1566, n. 63. *"Die lunae scilicet 13 ianuarii [1567] fuit consistorium sacretum, in quo inter alia S^mus^ D.N. hortatus fuit cardinales, quod mitterent eorum familiares habentes curam animarum ad earum curas quanto citius, quia volebat, quod omnes episcopi et curati indifferentur irent, etc.; dixit etiam quod cardinales, qui poterant, irent ad eorum ecclesias similiter" (Firmanus, Diarium, p. 152, Papal Secret Archives). In the consistory of October 8, 1567, all prelates were again bidden to return to their churches (*ibid.*).

[3] *"Di modo che questa terra rimarrà mezza dissoluta d'huomini di conditione." Avviso of December 8, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 338, Vatican Library.

were imprisoned,[1] and at the end of the year Binarini and Ormaneto received an order, which they were to carry into effect with all their power, to take proceedings against the bishops after having warned them, and against all other offenders without warning.[2] On Sunday, after the pontifical High Mass, the bishops were informed that the Pope did not intend any longer to exhort them to their duty,[3] and in the following year, 1568, the Pope made inquiries as to how many bishops, who had not resigned their sees, were still in Rome, and sent some of them to the Castle of St. Angelo.[4]

The question of residence made its appearance once more during the last years of Pius V. This time the man in whose hands was placed the carrying out of this difficult task was Carniglia. In virtue of a Papal edict, which bound all priests living in the Curia to furnish in writing their names, together with their benefices and their native land,[5] he drew up a list of all the possessors of benefices residing in Rome.[6] These then received orders to repair to their benefices,[7] and those who failed to obey were forced by Carniglia, acting under

[1] *Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1567, *ibid.* 365.

[2] *" S. Stà domenica ordinò a mons. Binarini et all Ormaneto che intimassero a tutti i vescovi che si trovano qui, la residenza et procedessero anco contro di loro, di maniera che a questo s'attende con ogni diligenza, et così anco per conto de curati, contra qualli prima si viene all' esecutione che a citatione come contumaci d' altre intimationi " (B. Pia to Luzzara, December 20, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Arco, December 13, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Avviso of December 20, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 164b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso of March 20, 1568, *ibid.* 491. For the enforcement of the obligation of residence in 1568 *cf.* GRATIANI Epist., 366 ; for the bull of July 8, 1568, see *infra*, p. 217.

[5] *Avviso of February 8, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 224b, Vatican Library. For a similar but earlier order *cf.* *Avviso of November 9, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 318, *ibid.*

[6] *Avviso of December 30, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 390, *ibid.*

[7] *Avviso of January 24, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 12, *ibid.*

the Pope's instructions, to make restitution of the fruits.[1] Carniglia was also instructed to exhort all the Cardinals and prelates to send away all the members of their households who held benefices with a cure of souls,[2] similar instructions having been already sent to all Spaniards holding such offices.[3]

This renewal of religious life was naturally not limited to Rome. At the beginning of 1571 four bishops were appointed to make a visitation of the dioceses in the Papal States, namely Pietro de Lunel of Gaeta for the Marches, Giovanni Francesco Sormanni of Montefeltro for Umbria and the Patrimony, Paolo Maria della Rovere of Cagli for the Romagna and Lombardy, and Vincenzo Ercolano of Sarno for the Campagna.[4] They were to start at the beginning of Lent, and were especially to insist on the observance of the duty of residence, to regulate the granting of benefices, to see to the restoration of delapidated churches, and to examine into the proper distribution of revenues.[5] Four Jesuits were appointed to accompany them to preach to the people and to act as their advisers.[6] Sometimes the Pope himself acted

[1] *Avviso of January 27, 1571, *ibid.* 12b. A fresh warning to the bishops about residence: *Avviso of March 3, 1571, *ibid.* 25b.

[2] *Avviso of December 23, 1571, *ibid.* 168.

[3] *"Il Papa ha fatto intimare a tutti li Spagnoli che hanno beneficii curati, che debbano andare alle loro residenze." (Zibramonti to the Duke of Mantua, January 13, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Avviso of January 13, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 4, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso of January 6, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 2, Vatican Library. The *briefs for the four bishops, of February 3, 1571, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[5] *Avviso of January 24, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 12, Vatican Library.

[6] *"S. S^tà^ ha deputato quattro vescovi et quattro di questi padri del Giesù che vadino per lo State ecclesiastico visitando i vescovati. I vescovi visiteranno le città et quei padri visiteranno le diocesi et ordineranno quello che giudicheranno esser' servitio di Dio, et a disordini a quali non potranno remediare, si remetteranno alla relatione che ne faranno a S. S^tà^, che poi riprenderanno quell' espeditione che le parerà più opportuna." (Zibramonti, January 6, 1571, to the Duke of Mantua, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). It

as visitor in the neighbourhood of Rome. When he visited Porto to see to the erection of fortifications against the corsairs,[1] he also went to Ostia, and finding the church there very much neglected, he bitterly reproached Cardinal Pisani and took away 3,000 scudi from his revenues in order to make good the damage.[2]

Besides all this, Pius V., first in the autumn of 1566, and again in the following Lent, planned to hold a great provincial synod of all the bishops of Italy, which was to lay down in detail the line of reform to be adopted,[3] but as the provincial synod of Milan held by Cardinal Borromeo had already covered this ground, we may reasonably suppose that it was on that account that the plan was allowed to lapse.[4]

would appear that only two of these bishops were actually accompanied by a Jesuit (SACCHINI, P. III., 1. 7, n. 16). *Decree of reform from Sormanni for Rimini in Cod. CP 5n. 24 of the Gambalunga Library, Rimini.

[1] LADERCHI, 1566 n. 63.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 64. *Strozzi, November 6, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Avviso of November 16, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 320b, Vatican Library. The Pope also intended to visit Civitavecchia; *ibid.*

[3] See *supra*, p. 182, and *Avvisi of September 17 and December 8, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 148b, 338b, Vatican Library. *Strozzi, December 7, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] How highly Pius V. appreciated the provincial synod of Milan appears from a letter from Borromeo to the Bishop of Brescia dated December 27, 1566: La Santità di Nostro Signore per la satisfatione che ha havuta di questro nostro concilio, et per il desiderio che ha di vider la riforma incamminata, ha fatto prohibere a i tribunali di Roma che non faccino cosa alcuna contro a i decreti del suddetto concilio." In SALA, Docum. II., 272.

CHAPTER V.

Reform of the Church on the Basis of the Tridentine Decrees.

In all his work for ecclesiastical reform in Rome and the Papal States the Pope always kept before him as his guide and rule the decrees of the Council of Trent, which he wished to see carried into effect with the minutest exactitude, and above all other places in his own immediate surroundings. The activities of Pius V. for the reform of the universal Church were planned upon the same lines.

In the first place he set himself, in some sense, to complete the work of the Council by carrying to a happy issue some of those undertakings which the Fathers of Trent had handed over incomplete to the care of the Apostolic See. Already, under Pius IV., the Catechism, which it was the wish of the Council to make the basis of uniform instruction throughout the Church, had neared completion.[1] Now, after a final revision made under the supervision of Sirleto,[2] it was found possible, towards the end of 1566, to issue it at the press of Paulus Manutius in Rome in several Latin editions, as well as an Italian one, which had, by the Pope's orders, been prepared by the Dominican, Alessio Figliucci.[3] The Pope also interested himself personally in the preparation of versions in other tongues. He entrusted the Jesuit, Paul Hoffæus, with the translation of the Catechism into German, and Peter

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p 24 *seq.*

[2] "[Sirleto] modo incumbit negotio τοῦ κατηχισμοῦ cum archiepiscopo Lancianensi et magistro s. Palatii. Et spes est illorum cito editum iri typis Aldinis" (Lombardo to Hosius, April 1, 1566, in Cyprianus, 413). For the part taken by Sirleto, *cf.* Pogiani Epist., II., xxxviii.

[3] Skibniewski, 58 *seq.*, 134. Renouard, Annales, II., 57 *seq.*

Canisius was ordered to assist him.[1] The work of Hoffaeus was published at Dillingen at the beginning of 1568, with an introduction by Cardinal Truchsess.[2] The Pope also entrusted to the Jesuits the French translation of the Catechism.[3] He placed the work of preparing the Polish version in the hands of Cardinal Hosius of Ermland,[4] at the same time warning him to avoid a notable defect in the first Latin edition, which defect was also avoided in the German translation ;[5] the first publishers had been careless in the matter of its division into chapters and sections. The Catechism met with difficulties in Spain. The permission which had already been given to print it there,[6] in spite of the privilege granted to Paulus Manutius, was withdrawn by the Pope[7] when certain Spanish theologians took it upon themselves to find fault with a certain equivocal passage in the Catechism.[8] Cardinal Espinosa had been charged with the preparation of a Spanish translation, which was made by Funtidueña, but the censors expressed the view that it would be wiser to give up all idea of any translation into the vernacular.[9]

[1] Polanco to Hoffaeus, September 3, 1566, CANISII Epist., V., 816.

[2] *Ibid.* VI., 667.

[3] SACCHINI, P. III., 1, 2 n. 6.

[4] Brief of September 28, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 343.

[5] CANISII Epist., VI., 109, 121.

[6] Of April 18, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 85 n. The same permission was given for Dillingen (CANISII Epist., VI., 660 *seq.*), and Poland (LADERCHI, 1566, n. 343), etc.

[7] July 19, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 85 n.

[8] From P. II., c. 2, n. 17, it appeared, in their opinion, that the precept of baptism in Matth. XXVIII., 18, did not apply to those who were damned. Corresp. dipl., *loc. cit.*

[9] Corresp. dipl., II., 85 n. An opinion of February 14, 1570, unfavourable to the translation of the Catechism was found among the writings of Carranza ; from this it may be supposed that the Catechism of Carranza had given rise to this doubt. Besides this there were, especially in Spain, many who were very nervous about theological works in the vernacular. In a letter to Castagna Rusticucci, on October 8, 1571, expressed the desire that the translation by Funtidueña should be printed. Corresp. dipl., IV., 453.

The year 1568 saw the printing of the revised breviary, that is to say the book of prayers used in the recitation of the canonical hours.

The custom of the recitation by the clergy, at certain fixed hours, of prayers in the name of the whole Church, could be traced back to the first centuries of the Christian era, and in its original form consisted of certain passages from the Holy Scriptures.[1] In course of time these hours of prayer had become seven, one for the night and six for the day, and the breviary was for the greater part made up of the psalms, arranged in such a way that the whole Psalter was recited from beginning to end once in a week, the psalms being interrupted, especially in the night hour, by lections from the Holy Scriptures, or, on the festivals of saints, by lections drawn from their lives.[2]

Ever since the beginning of the XVIth. century more and more complaints had been heard of the departure of the breviary from its traditional form.[3] It was objected that, as a result of the multiplication of the feasts of the saints, which had proper psalms of their own, these few psalms were constantly being said, and that the recitation of the complete Psalter had become almost impossible ; it was also objected that not enough time was devoted to the lections from the Holy Scriptures, while those drawn from the lives of the saints contained many incredible things, and were, moreover, written in very barbarous Latin.[4] Moreover, so many secondary, but obligatory prayers had been added to the breviary properly

[1] The prayer for example at the ninth hour in the Acts of the Apostles III., 1.

[2] *Cf.* S. Bäumer, Geschichte des Breviers, Freiburg, 1895. Battifol, Hist. du bréviare romain, Paris, 1911.

[3] Jos. Schmid in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXVI, (1884), 467 *seq.*, 452 *seq.* 478 *seq.* ; Bäumer 364 *seqq.*

[4] A Papal permission attributed to Julius II. allowed the use of special offices when they were not expressly prohibited by the Church or incompatible with the Roman rite. Such a permission opened the way to all manner of vagaries. *Cf.* Mercati in Rassenga Gregoriana, II. (1903), 419.

so called, that, except on festival days, the recitation of the Divine Office took an unreasonably long time. The directions, moreover, for the prayers which were to be said each day were not arranged in any clear way, but entailed prolonged search in various parts of the breviary, and much loss of time.

The breviary which Pius V., in continuation of the work of his predecessor, brought forward for discussion,[1] and eventually placed in the hands of the clergy, accompanied by a bull of July 9th, 1568,[2] sought to obviate all these difficulties.[3] The Psalter and the Holy Scriptures were restored to their proper importance, and provision was made for due order and clearness. The changes now made were principally in the direction of a rearrangement of the breviary lections. Many things that were spurious or incredible were expunged, thus giving full recognition to the science of historical criticism which had been inaugurated by humanism; even certain feasts, such as those of St. Anne and St. Joachim, and the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple, were sacrificed out of regard for similar considerations.[4] The passion of the time for good latinity was taken into account in composing the historical lections, the compilation of which was the work of the first humanist of the day, Giulio Poggiani.[5] The efforts of

[1] Every Wednesday there were consultations on the reform of the Breviary (*Strozzi, October 19, 1566, State Archives, Vienna). For the purpose of these meetings on the breviary Savelli proposed Sirleto to the Pope, but Pius V. made difficulties about this, as Sirleto was bound by his duty of residence in his own diocese (*Avviso di Roma of October 26, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 312, Vatican Library). *Cf.* TACCONE GALLUCCI, 40.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 685 *seq.* The bull was published on July 16 (*Avviso of July 17, 1568, sent by Cusano, State Archives, Vienna). On August 17, 1568 Bonelli wrote to Castagna: "Si è dato fuori il Breviario riformato." Corresp. dipl., II., 433.

[3] SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 634. BÄUMER, 438.

[4] SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 647, 649. BÄUMER, 441, 450.

[5] POGIANI Epist., II., xxiii. For the time being the hymns of the Breviary remained untouched, though Scripando wished for their correction (letter of Capilupi, January 13, 1563, in *Arch.*

Christian humanism to give the west the full benefit of the writings of the Greek Fathers were gloriously crowned with success by the fact that the breviary lections were now drawn from their works as well, and that now for the first time the four great Greek Doctors, Althanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom were honoured by the Apostolic See with public cultus as teachers of the universal Church, and placed side by side with the four great Doctors of the west.[1]

Just as the Breviary of Pius V. was not a completely new work, but rather a restoration of the ancient usage of the Roman Church, with such changes as were called for by the times,[2] so the same thing may be said of his Missal, which was given the force of law by a bull of July 14th, 1570.[3] The introduction of this reform of Pius V. was made obligatory for all the churches of the west which had not possessed a liturgy of their own for at least 200 years.[4] It was of great benefit to the Church that any changes in these two liturgical books were reserved to the Apostolic See, for this put an end

stor. Lomb., 1893, 116). For some of the hymns included at that time, see DELAPORTE in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, VI. (1907). 495 *seq.*; *Rivista storica*, 1910, 329.

[1] This was shown for the first time by K. KELLNER in *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, XL. (1916), 1 *seqq.*

[2] "I believe," wrote Sirleto on October 23, 1563, "that the first thing to be done is to remove all novelties, but in such a way that no further novelties are put in their place." MOLITOR, 4.

[3] Bull. Rom., VIII., 839 *seq.* *Cf.* J. WEALE in *Analecta liturgica*, I., (1888). A *bull "super breviario et missali novo" of August 14, 1571 in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. On March 11, 1571, all earlier versions of the office of the Madonna were forbidden, because they contained much that was superfluous and had been filled with superstitions through the covetousness of the printers. Only the new and corrected edition was allowed and enjoined. Bull. Rom., VII., 896 *seq.*

[4] Thus the breviary of Quinoñes was especially superseded; this, moreover, had already been prohibited by Paul IV. on August 8, 1558. BROMATO, II., 493.

to the caprices of incompetent persons, who had introduced so many unsuitable things, even into the Mass itself.[1]

The liturgical reforms of Pius V. made rapid progress in almost every diocese. Even many of those churches which might have retained their ancient breviary, nevertheless, with Pope's permission, drew largely upon the new breviary and missal.[2] The reforms, however, were not carried into effect everywhere without meeting with great difficulties. In Spain they caused great excitement,[3] because there the churches used in the choir magnificently illuminated books of great size, which could only be replaced by new ones at great cost. The Spanish Hieronymites, who only fell short by six years of the 200 required by the bull of Pius V., declared that the change would cost them in Spain alone 200,000 ducats. The monopoly which gave Paulus Manutius the sole right to print the breviary, under pain of excommunication, gave rise to much complaint ; one single press, it was said, could not cope with the enormous demand, while the absence of competition led to both inferior printing and increased prices.[4] Pius V. very soon gave Spain leave to print the new breviary independently of Paulus Manutius.[5]

[1] *Cf.* A. FRANZ, Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter, Freiburg, 1902.

[2] JOS. SCHMID in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1885, 468 *seqq.* ; BÄUMER, 457 *seqq.* Pius V. himself, however, allowed several exceptions to the obligation to use his Breviary, as for example to the Canons Regular of the Lateran (brief of December 18, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 875 *seq.*) and to the church of Toledo (brief of December 17, 1570, in MOLITOR, 294 ; *cf.* 15 *seq.*).

[3] " grandissimo moto " ; Castagna to Bonelli, October 1, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II,. 468. Pacheco had obtained leave from the Pope that only the second, corrected, edition of the breviary should be sent to Spain. *Arco, September 4, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* the memorial of Bandini to Clement VIII., published by MERCATI in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, V. (1906), 18 *seqq.*

[5] Bonelli to Castagna, November 3, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 187 ; *cf.* II., 468 ; III., 102, 142. Complaints of Manutius' printing monopoly in general were specially made in Germany. where

The bringing to perfection of the Roman Catechism, as well as of the two liturgical books was to a great extent due to the zeal and energy of Cardinal Borromeo.[1] To the services which he had already rendered to the Church at the Council of Trent, he thus added the further one of having given effect, and that without any great delay, to a desire which the Fathers of the Council had expressed to the Holy See before they separated.[2]

It was more difficult to comply with another wish of the Council, namely the printing of an edition, which should be as far as possible free from errors, of the Holy Scriptures, and especially of the Latin version which had been in use in the Church from ancient times. But Pius V. set to work with great zeal on this matter as well.[3] For this purpose, in 1569, the Pope appointed a commission composed of Cardinals Colonna, Sirleto, Madruzzo, Souchier, Carafa, and Morone ;[4]

the Protestant printers paid no attention to such privileges and excommunications as the Catholic publishers had to do. CANISII Epist., V., 281, 282 ; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 67.

[1] " Prius vero quam discederet [Roma], Catechismum, quam avunculi auctoritate iusserat inchoari, perficiendum, et Breviarium item, Missalemque librum restituendum curavit " (BASCAPÉ, I., 1, c. 9, p. 22). In a letter to Sirleto of September 4, 1566, Borromeo urges him to hasten as much as possible the work on the breviary (JOS. SCHMID in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1884, 654 ; *cf.* SALA, Docum., II., 244). From Milan he also took steps to get Marini to compile a book of sermons (homiliarium) for the use of those having the care of souls. SALA, II., 244, n. 3, 246, 258, n. 117 and 120.

[2] Sess. 25 contin.

[3] HÖPFL, 77–101. C. VERCELLONE, Variae Lectiones, I., Rome, 1860, xx *seqq.*

[4] HÖPFL, 78. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 12, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 40, Vatican Library. On November 11, 1568, Lombardo wrote to Hosius (Cyprianum 484) : " Manutius incumbit Breviario novo, et missale edetur in lucem in paschate., Marianus Rheatinus, Hieronymi scholiastes incumbit Bibliis, ut editio vulgata emendatior prodeat." An *Avviso of April 16, 1569, sent to Vienna by Cusano, records the beginning of the labours of the Biblical commission. State Archives, Vienna.

the commission set to work with the help of twelve consultors. Learned men were found, even outside Rome, who placed their talents at the service of the commission. Thus the Benedictines of the Badia in Florence, at the command of the Pope, collated twelve Florentine codices, the monks of Montecassino thirty-four, while another member of the Cassinese Congregation, Ambrogio Ferrari, Abbot of S. Benigno at Genoa, furnished critical notes on certain passages of the Bible. The labours of the commission, however, made very slow progress; thus Arias Montanus at Antwerp, produced more work on the Antwerp polyglot in a month than the Roman commission on the Vulgate in a whole year.[1] In the opinion of Cardinal Colonna the reason for this was the diversity of views among the members of the commission, some of whom wished to change everything out of hand, while others wished to treat everything as authentic.[2] However, the work on the Vulgate was never allowed to come to a complete standstill in the time of Pius V.

Steps were also taken in the time of Pius V. on the difficult task of preparing an authentic edition of the codex of Canon Law. The congregation set up in 1566 for the emendation of the decretals of Gratian was composed of Cardinals Colonna, Boncompagni, Sforza, Sirleto and Alciati, to whom Ferreri and Carafa were afterwards added; these had at first twelve and afterwards fifteen lawyers to advise and assist them.[3]

[1] Colección de docum. inéd., XLI. (1862), 178. HÖPFL, 101.

[2] Carafa to Salmeron, June 17, 1569, in HÖPFL, 308 *seq.*

[3] AUGUSTINI THEINER disquisitiones criticae in praecipuas canonum et decretalium collectiones, Rome, 1836, App. prima 3 *sqq.* A *brief of February 18, 1567 "pro cardinalibus deputatis ad correctionem decreti Gratiani: facultas recipiendi e bibliotheca Vaticana quoscunque libros opportunos facto chirographo bibliothecario de illis restituendis" in the Archives of Briefs, Rome, I., 2, 1867b. A *brief of March 26, 1568 to the Bishop of Plasencia renews the exhortation already sent to him under Pius IV. to send to Rome for the purpose of correcting the decretals of Gratian five unpublished councils of Toledo, and the most correct manuscripts in his possession, for those already printed

In this way, under Pius V., active measures were taken to lay new foundations in every direction, and to call into existence the groundwork for the uniform instruction of the people, for the worthy celebration of divine worhsip, as well as for the development of ecclesiastical jurisprudence and theology. A further ordinance of the zealous reforming pontiff was of importance for ecclesiastical science. When, in 1568, he issued his Breviary, not only were the four Greek Fathers declared Doctors of the Church, but a fifth was added in Thomas Aquinas, who had been raised to this dignity by a special bull of April 11th, 1567.[1] This honour conferred on the great theologian was also directly connected with the Council of Trent. During the long controversies of the XIVth and XVth centuries his teaching had stood all tests, and his victory was complete at the close of the Middle Ages; at the Council of Trent the difficult task of formulating the doctrine of justification against the reformers had been solved by following St. Thomas,[2] while the sovereignty of the great Dominican theologian had been unquestioned at the Council

(*ibid*). At the Council of Trent (THEINER, Acta, II., 654) the desire had been expressed for the compilation of an entirely new ecclesiastical codex, a thing asked for by the Vatican Council, undertaken under Pius X., and completed under Benedict XV. by Cardinal Gasparri.

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 564 *seq.* The complete edition of the works of St. Thomas which Pius V. caused to be prepared (see *supra* p. 130) was printed in an addition of only 1000 copies, so that the edition was already almost exhausted at the time of its appearance. Francis Borgia, October 28, 1569, in S. Franciscus Borgia, V., 223.

[2] Conc. Trid., sess. 6, c. 6 is taken from S. Thom., S. th. 3, q. 85, a. 5; sess. 6, c. 7 from 1, 2, q. 112, a. 4 and 2, 2, q. 24, a. 3. *Cf.* MANDONNET, Dictionn. de théol. cath., IV., 915. Pius V., in the above mentioned bull of April 11, 1567, says that thanks to the teaching of St. Thomas the errors which only made their appearance after his death were refuted "quod et antea saepe et liquido nuper in sacris Tridentini concilii decretis apparuit." Bull. Rom., VII., 564.

in other matters as well.[1] When, therefore, a Papal bull conferred upon him, the representative of scholasticism, an honour hitherto reserved for the mighty intellects of antiquity, not only did the Church herself take the science of the Middle Ages under her protection against the hostility of the Protestants and even of some Catholics, but she also recognized the teaching of Aquinas as the richest fruit of an earlier scientific evolution, and as an unperishable treasure, but at the same time she proclaimed that she recognized her own doctrines in those of the great schoolman.[2] At the same time

[1] In a speech made at the Council, delivered on March 7, 1563, the feast of St. Thomas, the speaker said that since the death of Thomas no council had been held without his help, and that this held good of the Council of Trent: "Vestra comitia perpendite. Ex plurimo eoque honorabili doctorum coetu quotusquisque consultor accedit, qui d. Thoma auctoritate veluti splendente gemma, suam sententiam non exornet? At in consultissimo patrum recessu, doctor pie sententiam rogatus, frequentissime censet, ad quem ut ad Lydium lapidem, si quid ambiguitatis aut controversiæ fuerit exortum, communibus votis referendum existimetis, et qui eum sui placiti patronum obtinuerit, incertam indiciorum aleam non sit habiturus, quin secundum eum sententia ferenda sit." (Icannis Gallio Burgensis Oratio in laudem ss. doctoris Thomae Aquin. in LE PLAT, I., 625). In a brief of November 3, 1593, to the Jesuits, Clement VIII. says that the Council of Trent approved and adopted the works of St. Thomas (ASTRAIN, III., 580). *Cf.* MANDONNET, *loc. cit.*; FRANC. SYLVII Opera, V., Antwerp, 1698, 386.

[2] In the bull of July 29, 1570, Pius V. says: "[D. Thomae] doctrinam theologicam ab ecclesia receptam aliis magis tutam et securam existere." (Bull. Rom., VII., 481). In consequence of the ordinance of the Council (sess. 5, de ref. c. 1) that in every cathedral there should be a prebend for a teâcher of theology, this bull assigns in perpetuity to the Master of the Sacred Palace a prebend at St. Peter's together with the obligation of expounding the doctrine of St. Thomas. Already in a consistory of March 6, 1566, Pius V. had manifested his devotion to St. Thomas by inviting the Cardinals to attend the High Mass on the following day at the Minerva, the feast of the saint. Consistorial Archives, in GULIK-EUBEL, 47.

the line for further theological development was clearly traced out. Just as the raising of the four principal Greek Fathers to the dignity of Doctors of the Church signified ecclesiastical approval of the efforts which had been made to spread the knowledge of the Greek Fathers in the Latin Church, and to place them side by side and on equal terms with those of the west, so the conferring of the same honour on St. Thomas was an ecclesiastical approval and a solemn confirmation of those schools of theology which, ever since the beginning of the century had made the writings of Aquinas the basis of all theological teaching, and which, by following him, had paved the way for a further development of ecclesiastical science.[1]

All scientific and literary activity found, generally speaking, an intelligent patron in Pius V., a man himself of keen intellect. Wherever in the world any useful scientific work was produced by Catholics, the Pope was quick to help it with his encouragement and assistance. He found time to praise the canon, Martin Cromer, in far off Cracow,[2] and the Imperial councillor, Georg Eder,[3] as well as the learned Augustinian, Panvinio, and Girolamo Muzio, who were close at hand. At the same time the light of his favour did not shine only on the champions of approved antiquity, or on behalf of those things which, like dogma and canon law, interested him personally. During the XVIth century there was a great activity in the theological sciences; new branches of learning were springing up, and Pius V. gladly extended his protection to the tender plants. The name of his brother in religion, Sisto da Siena, the founder

[1] Modern scholasticism is distinguished from the old by the fact of its adherence to Thomas Aquinas, and by its closer union of positive with speculative theology (CHR. PESCH, Praelect. dogm., I[5], Freiburg in Breisg., 1915, 26). These two things found expression in the raising of Thomas Aquinas and the four Greek Fathers to the position of Doctors of the Church.

[2] *Brief of February 18, 1569, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 26, Papal Secret Archives. For what follows *cf. supra* p. 129 *seqq.*

[3] Brief of January 2, 1569, *ibid.* t. 13, p. 286, which is printed in the beginning of the later editions of Eder's book. N. PAULUS in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXV. (1895), 25.

of biblical criticism, is indissolubly linked with his own. He encouraged the efforts of the Cologne Carthusian, Surius, to lay the sound foundations of hagiography. Rudely awakened from its sleep by the Centuriators of Magdeburg, historical criticism began to attempt its first flights in reply, at the hands of Catholic writers, and here too it was Pius V. who, in answer to the request of Hosius, sought to organize this form of defence against Protestant attacks.[1]

Pius V. also had a share in another way in laying the solid foundations of the structure upon which, under the influence of the Council of Trent, the life of the Church was to be built anew. To the already existing cardinalitial congregations of the Inquisition and the Council, he added a third in the Congregation of the Index of prohibited books. The first and eighth Tridentine prescriptions on the Index had called for the correction of certain classes of books, but so far no inquisitor or bishop had taken any steps to comply with this demand. On November 9th, 1570, he gave instructions to Manriquez, the Master of the Sacred Palace, at the same time giving him the fullest powers to carry out his task.[2] This act in itself implied the power to form a special congregation of the Index, but the actual congregation of Cardinals was only appointed in the March of the following year, and held its first meeting on March 27th, 1571.[3] Yet another congregation,

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 129. EICHHORN, Hosius, II., 463. On December 16, 1567, Philip II. asked the Pope for permission to print the work of the Franciscan, Michele de Medina, against the Centuriators. Corresp. dipl., II., 273 *seq.*

[2] The motu proprio is printed in HILGERS, 510-513.

[3] SANTORI, Diario XXIII., 322 (March 5, 1571). Report of Antonio Posio, the first secretary of the Congregation of the Index, in HILGERS, 513. *Avviso di Roma of September 9, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 338b. Vatican Library: the censorship of theological and philosophical books is no longer to be in the hands of the Cardinals, but of the Master of the Sacred Palace. *Avviso of October 13, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 131b, *ibid.*; the Pope has appointed four Cardinals to draw up a new Index; Martial, Propertius, etc. "si leveranno via." On July 17, 1568 (State Archives,

that of the bishops, owed its origin to Pius V., who, in a brief of February 13th, 1572,[1] charged Cardinals Ludovico Madruzzo, Santori, Burali and Aldobrandini to examine the petitions of the bishops, as well as any accusations brought against them, and to submit their decisions to the Pope for approval. This new congregation, however, had already held its first meeting in the autumn of the previous year.[2]

The congregation which had been formed for the interpretation of the decrees of the Council was kept specially busy with questions in the time of Pius V.[3] These dealt for the most part with practical questions concerning benefices, the obligation of making contributions to the seminaries, the education of girls in the convents of women despite the law of enclosure and the like. The French Calvinists gave occasion for a decision of greater dogmatic importance. According to Calvin baptism had not the power of taking away original sin, and the French preachers, in consequence, made it clear that in baptizing they had no intention of doing what the Roman Church understood by baptism. The Council had declared that the baptism of heretics was only valid if they intended to do what was intended by the Church of Christ,[4] and the French Catholics therefore felt serious doubts

Vienna). *Arco wrote that in accordance with the request of the Duke of Florence Boccaccio was being reprinted at Padua after the Roman Inquisition had purged it of its more scandalous contents. *Cf.* DEJOB, De l'influence du Concile de Trente, 167, and Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 12.

[1] Published by J. HILGERS in *Pastor bonus*, XV. (1902-3), 238. That the "congregatio episcoporum" still existed in the time of Gregory XIII., see in *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., Rome 1855, 2257.

[2] "*Alli 22 di settembre [1571], di sabato, nelle quattro tempora, intervenni alla prima congregazione della Consulta de' vescovi, instituta da Sua Santità acciò i vescovi et anco i sudditi sapessero a chi ricorrere, per non infestare sempre l' orecchi di Sua Beatitudine." SANTORI, Autobiografia XII., 352.

[3] The decrees of the congregation, edited by Poggiani, have been printed; between February 2, 1566 and September 25, 1568, there were 257. POGIANI Epist., I., 372-496.

[4] Sess. 7, de bapt. can. 4.

as to the validity of Calvinist baptisms.[1] The Congregation of the Council decided in favour of their validity, on the ground that, in spite of their errors as to the effects of baptism and the true Church of Christ, the preachers steadily maintained their intention of administering true Christian baptism, and of doing what the Christian Church had always done in conferring it.[2] This decision was confirmed by Pius V.[3]

In the same way other decisions of the Pope which touched more or less directly on questions of dogma were based for the most part on the Tridentine decrees. Thus, in conformity with what had been done at the Council, he forbade too heated discussions of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.[4] With regard to the question of the chalice for the laity, which the Council had referred to the decision of the Apostolic See, he showed himself openly opposed to the attitude adopted by his predecessor, and when the Bishop of Passau addressed a question to him on the matter, he told him in the clearest terms that he was, under no circumstances, to allow the chalice in his diocese.[5] Some of his decrees on

[1] *Cf.* the letters of the Jesuit, Joan. Maldonatus of June 28, 1567, and October 5, 1568, to Cardinal Hosius, in CYPRIANUS, 442 *seq.*, 469 *seqq.*; J. M. PRAT, Maldonat et l' université de Paris au XVIe siècle, Paris, 1856, 202 *seq.*; MALDONATI Disputationum et controversiarum, tom. I., Lyons, 1614, 62 *seqq.*

[2] P. FAGNANUS in *I Decretalium*, I., Cologne 1704, 133. BENEDICT XIV, De synodo dioec. 1. 7, c. 6, n. 9 (Opera, XI., Bassani, 1767, 128). BELLARMINE, De sacram. in genere, I., 1, c. 27 (Opera, III., Venice, 1721, 50).

[3] Sanctissimus auditis votis dixit, non esse rebaptizandos. Decree of the Inquisition of March 5, 1606 in *Annal. eccles.*, II., 140, MIRBT, Quellen[3], (1911) 311 *seq.*

[4] Decrees of August 7 and November 30, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 845 *seq.*, 872 *seq.* *Avviso of September 23, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 347b, Vatican Library.

[5] Brief of May 26, 1568, in GOUBAU, 83 *seq.* It states, in reply to the bishop's observations: "in eadem sententia mansimus, in qua etiam tum, cum a praedecessore nostro ea licentia efflagitata atque expressa fuit, fueramus." *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, Reformation, I., 315 *seqq.* Already on February 2, 1566, Polanco had written

matters dealing with the rate of exchange[1] and the payment of interest,[2] have no relation to the decrees of the Council, and still less was this the case with his renewal of the constitution of Paul IV., directed against those who denied the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity and the principal truths of Christology.[3]

The Council itself had recognized the right of the Holy See to interpret, or where there was any doubt to define more clearly, the decrees of the assembly, and Pius exercised this right with regard to certain matrimonial impediments which had been formulated at Trent, the meaning and scope of which he now determined more exactly in special decrees.[4]

Several other questions which had been mooted at Trent, but which for various reasons had not been settled, were subsequently approved and sanctioned by the Apostolic See. Several Spanish bishops, for example, had proposed to the Council the prohibition of bull-fights,[5] but in the time of Pius IV. it had been considered very doubtful in Rome

to Hosius: "Non est, quod de coniugio sacerdotum, de calice vel aliis huiusmodi multum timeamus" (in CYPRIANUS, 405; *cf.* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 41). Phillip II., however, in a letter to Cardinal Ricci of June 11, 1568 thought it opportune to take steps even with Pius V. to prevent the concession of the marriage of priests in Germany: *"Dovendo D. Pietro di Avila trattare con S. Stà da mia parte sopra vari affari e pregarla in primo logo di non accordare il matrimonio ai sacerdoti di Germania secondo l' istanza fattane per esser un affare della più grande importanza, gli ho commandato ancora di participarvi tutto. Ricci Archives, Rome.

[1] Bull of January 28, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 884 *seq.*

[2] Decrees of January 19, 1569, and June 10, 1570, *ibid.* 736, 738; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1570, n. 164.

[3] Bull of October 1, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 722 *seq.*

[4] The impediments of spiritual relationship and affinity (sess. 24, de matr. c. 2 and 4) in a brief of August 20 1566, and that of public honesty (*ibid.* c. 3) in a brief of July 1, 1568. Bull. Rom., VII., 476, 678.

[5] ŠUSTA, II., 117, n. 53 *seq.*

whether such a decree would meet with any success.[1] Pius V. showed greater courage. After, as had already been done by Thomas of Villanova [2] the Council of Toledo in 1566[3] had expressed itself against this popular sport, which was so dear to the Spaniards, Pius V., through his nuncio in Madrid, begged the king to abolish a custom which the Pope had already done away with in the Papal States.[4] Philip II. resisted this proposal on the score of the great irritation and discontent which it would cause in Spain.[5] On the other hand Pius V. was of opinion that if the Council had forbidden duels, it was all the more necessary to combat the abuse of bull-fights,[6] and, acting on the advice of Francis Borgia, on November 1st, 1567, he issued a bull which strictly prohibited these spectacles "which were more suited to devils than to men."[7] Although the Papal nuncio was at pains to see that the Papal prohibition was made known far and wide by the Lenten preachers, the Spanish bishops had not the courage formally to publish the bull.[8] The king begged that the old custom might be allowed to continue, at least under certain conditions;[9] it was maintained that as the bull-fighters were

[1] "Placerent [this and another proposal] nisi essent difficilis observationis." so it was said in Rome. *Ibid.*

[2] Opera, Venice, 1740, 627. *Cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXV., 246.

[3] Conc. Tolet. of 1566, n. 26, in HARDOUIN, X., 1169.

[4] Bonelli to Castagna, January 31, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 31.

[5] "grandissimo disturbio et discontento di tutti li popoli." Castagna to Bonelli, June 17, 1566, *ibid.*, 137.

[6] Bonelli to Castagna, July 11, 1567, *ibid.*, 155.

[7] Bull. Rom., VII., 630. That this bull was obtained through the influence of Francis Borgia, see Borgia to Polanco, November 19, 1567 (S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 551). Borgia had been led to take this step by Juan Quirós de Sosa (his letter to Borgia of August 17, 1567, *ibid.*, 517 *seqq.*) and Pietro Camaiani, Bishop of Ascoli (Borgia to the latter, November 22, 1567, *ibid.*, 552; *cf.* 155). For the attitude of the Jesuits towards bull-fights, *cf.* NADAL, Epist., IV., 390 *seq.*

[8] Castagna to Bonelli, May 14, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 366.

[9] Castagna to Bonelli, June 16, 1568, *ibid.*, 323.

mounted on horses there was no danger.[1] In the end all that Pius V. obtained was that the bull-fights were forbidden for a time, on the pretext of the mourning in which the nation was plunged on account of the imprisonment of Don Carlos;[2] otherwise the bull had no effect in Spain, and Gregory XIII. found himself obliged to remove the penalty of excommunication inflicted by his predecessor.[3]

A warning of the Council may perhaps have lent strength to the intention of Pius V. to prohibit the use of figured music in divine worship, and to allow nothing but the Gregorian chant.[4] A brief directed against a kind of Church music which provoked sensuality rather than piety was issued by him a few years later, on the authority of what had been said at the Council, to the Bishop of Lucca, in whose city the musical performances during Holy Week occasioned all manner of scandals among the young people of both sexes, who flocked to them in great numbers.[5] A prohibition of burials in the churches was also the outcome of a proposal

[1] *Ibid.* 366.

[2] *Ibid.* 323.

[3] THEINER, Annales, II., 122, 590.

[4] *Avviso of July 5, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 413, Vatican Library. Perhaps the legend of the threat to figured music in Rome, and how it was saved by Palestrina, sprang from this statement and a confusion of Pius V. with his predecessor. It was in this same year 1567 that Palestrina thought of leaving Rome and entering the service of the Emperor: *" Il cantore Giov. di Palestrina si contenta di venir a servire la M^tà V^ra per quattrocento scudi d' oro l' anno; io ho fatto quanto ho potuto per ridurlo ancora a meno, ma non ho potuto ottener più. Adesso aspetterò che la M^tà V^ra mi commandi quello ho a fare circa quest' huomo, il quale mi vien lodato da molti" (Arco, November 8, 1567, State Archives, Vienna). *" Con Giov. di Palestrina non passerò più innanzi." (Arco, January 3, 1568, *ibid.*).

[5] Brief of April 4, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 165. In this, as the Council had done, Pius V. censured the "lascivia" of these performances. Two other briefs, of April 2, 1570, on ecclesiastical music in Mexico, *ibid.* 1570, n. 417.

which had been put forward at Trent,[1] and for the future only the bodies of the saints were to find a resting place in the churches.[2]

If Pius V. was careful to observe the instructions of the Council in such secondary matters, much more did he prove himself its champion and defender the moment the more essential matters on which the assembly had built up its scheme of reform were called in question.

In 1566 the Bishop of Córdova wrote to Pius V.[3] that after the Council of Trent one hope alone remained to the adversaries of a radical reform of the Church, namely that more attention would be paid to its practical application than to its wishes, and that Rome would be quick to dispense its stricter ordinances. But even this last hope met with bitter disappointment under a Pope of whom it had been foretold that he would be quite inexorable in all that concerned the Council,[4] and who, at the beginning of the second year of his reign could write that he thought his zeal for the carrying out of the Council was known to all the world, and that the office of the man who was entrusted with the care of the whole Church called for as much zeal as responsibility, since the decrees of a Council were useless unless they were carried into effect by the Pope and the bishops.[5]

Pius V. had certainly taken care that nobody should be left in the dark as to his own zeal for the Council. He continued with all his energies that ordinance of his predecessor

[1] Theiner, ANNALES, II., 590. *Cf. supra* p. 86, n. 3, and Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 441 n.

[2] Bull of April 1, 1566, §5, Bull. Rom., VII., 436. *Bandi, V., 7, p. 2-3, Papal Secret Archives. PECCI, Storia di Siena, II., 70.

[3] In THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 112.

[4] *"In le cose di concilio, religione a iustitia sarà inesorabile" (Serristori, February 15, 1566, State Archives, Florence). On January 12, 1566 *Camiani wrote to the Duke of Modena (State Archives, Modena) that the Pope intended that the Council should be carried out in every respect.

[5] To the Archbishop of Cambrai, January 26, 1567, in GOUBAU, 23.

which enacted that the bishops-elect and the university professors in particular must swear to the Tridentine profession of faith.[1] He perseveringly did all in his power to have the decrees of Trent accepted and recognized everywhere.[2] He sent the decrees of the Council together with the announcement of his accession to the throne to the ends of the earth, as for example to the archbishops and bishops of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and Venezuela, as well as to Goa.[3] He at once caused an exhortation to observe them to be sent to Spain,[4] as well as to Hungary and Poland,[5] at the same time repeatedly expressing his conviction that

[1] *To the rector of the university of Macerata, January 5, 1569; the ordinance of Pius IV. was not observed there, and the Pope sends copies of the profession of faith (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 287b, Papal Secret Archives). Similar *briefs to Bologna and Perugia of the same date (*ibid.* p. 228b, 289b); to the Archbishop of Cologne, Frederick von Wied, of June 13, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 269; to the university of Cologne in 1571, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 596 *seq.*; *cf.* 589, n. 1, 638, n. 1; to the Bishop of Eichstätt for the university of Ingolstadt on January 29, 1568, in MEDERER, IV., 319 *seqq.*, 322. *Cf.* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 12-19; SACCHINI, P. III., 1. 4 n., 130. Also an Arabic version of the Tridentine profession of faith was printed in Arabic characters *Romae iussu SS. D. N. Pii V. in colleg. soc. Iesu anno* 1566; see ZENKER, Bibliotheca orientalis, I., 191.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 192 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 500 the letter to the Archbishop of S. Domingo of February 3, 1566; *ibid.* n. 501 the list (incomplete) of the American bishops to whom similar letters were sent. The two letters to the Archbishops of Goa and Mexico, of October 7, 1567, in GOUBAU, 41 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*

[4] GOUBAU, 2 *seqq.* Collección de docum. inéd., IX., 395.

[5] To the Archbishop of Gran, February 11, 1566, in GOUBAU, 6; to the Archbishop of Gnesen and the Bishop of Cracow, January 17, 1569, *ibid.* 125 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*; to the diocesan synod of Freising, February 28, 1567, *ibid.* 31; to the Archbishop of Prague, July 23, 1568, *ibid.* 93; to the Bishop of Ajaccio, May 4, 1569, *ibid.* 177; to the legate of Avignon, June 25, 1569, *ibid.* 185.

the observance of the Tridentine decrees was the one and only cure for the wounds of the Church.[1]

If he exacted obedience from the bishops for all the precepts of the Council, there was one in particular which he insisted upon in their regard, which was fully in accordance with the wishes of the assembly, namely the establishment of seminaries for the education of the future clergy.[2] He frequently wrote that among all the ordinances of the Council none was so useful or so much in keeping with the needs of the times as the decree about seminaries.[3] It is true that in more than one diocese there was a long delay before the establishment of a seminary was brought about; Pius V. therefore found himself obliged to send pressing exhortations to many of the bishops,[4] and to others, especially the ordinaries

[1] "Ad has igitur, quibus afflicta laborat ecclesia, tot tantasque plagas utcunque sanandas et ad iram Dei aliquo modo avertendam atque placandam unicum nobis remedium superest, diligens videlicet ss. oecumenici concilii Tridentini decretorum custodia." (Christophoro episcopo Palentino, on February 1, 1566, in GOUBAU 3). "Nullum enim occurrit nobis, mentem nostram huc et illuc versantibus, aliud remedium ad ecclesiam ipsam in commodiorem et tranquilliorem statum redigendam, quam ut s. generale concilium Tridentinum . . . utique servetur" (to the Archbishop of Gran, February 11, 1566, *ibid.* 6).

[2] "Districte praecipimus ut ipsum concilium . . . observes ac praeter cetera illud de seminario in unaquaque ecclesia instituendo saluberrimum laudatissimumque decretum primo quoque tempore exequaris," (to the Bishop of Würzburg, January 23, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566 n. 223). "Obtestamur, ut officii vestri memores, cum alia, quae . . . in ipso concilio statuta fuerunt, debita obedientia observare curetis, tum illud de clericorum seminario in unaquaque ecclesia instituendo," (to the Archbishop of Gran, February 11, 1566, in GOUBAU 7).

[3] "Quo nihil utilius, nihil his temporibus ecclesiis opportunius neque accommodatius statui potuit" (GOUBAU 7). "Res ipsa declarat, nihil a concilio Tridentino providentius et utilius statutum fuisse," (to the Archbishop of Prague, July 23, 1568, *ibid.* 95).

[4] *Cf.* the briefs to Prague and Gran already cited. *Exhortation on October 26, 1570, to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order

and chapters of Portugal,[1] stern rebukes. On the whole, however, the Council met with willing obedience. As the Pope himself recognized, in many places similar institutions had already been set up, while new ones were coming into existence every day.[2] The Congregation of the Council had to answer many questions,[3] especially from Italy, as to the

to found a seminary, as he had many parishes under his care, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 238, Papal Secret Archives. *Praise for the Bishop of Breslau for having erected a seminary; *ibid.* t. 13, p. 187.

[1] Briefs to the Bishops of Guarda, Evora, Portalegre and Viseu of July 26 and 27, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569. n. 318, 321; to their respective chapters, *ibid.* n. 322-325; two of these letters are also in GOUBAU, 193 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*; letters to the Bishops of Portalegre, Porto and Leiria, of July 27, August 9, and September 1, 1569, Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 331, 335, 339.

[2] "Et in aliis locis quam plurimis huiusmodi seminaria instituta fuerunt quotidie instituuntur," (to the Archbishop of Prague in GOUBAU, 95.)

[3] *e.g.* in 1566: at Gravina (POGIANI Epist., I., 382), at Reggio (*ibid.* 394), at Turin (403); in 1567: at Casale (404), Imola (405, 445), Nocera (411, 441), Marsico (414), Como (417, 428, 435), Naples (419, 450 *seq.*), Majorca (433), Benevento (430), Braga (439), Milan (439), Trani (440), Nicastro (441), Brescia (448, 462). Venice (453); in 1568 (up to September 25): at Milan (454, 490), Cremona (445), Ravenna, "cardinali Urbinatensi" (460), Padua (461), Catanzaro (463, 465), Perugia (460), Nicastro (466), Naples (463, 480 *seq.*, 488), Portugal, "cardinali Infanti" (467 *seqq.*, 470, 489, 491 *seq.*), Braga (471), Coimbra (471), Rimini (472 477), Salerno (475), Gerace (476), Savona (484), S. Angelo de' Lombardi (495). The list in THEINER, Bildungsansalten 118 *seq.*, is incomplete, and Bergamo, Messina (and Polizio) are wanting. *Exhortation to Antonio, Bishop of Como, to found a seminary, April 24, 1567, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Ibid.* *bulls of August 6 and December 8, 1567, for the seminaries of Eichstätt and Naples *Praise to the Bishop of Saint-Omer for the erection of a seminary, *ibid.* According to SIEBENGARTNER (p. 87) the earliest seminaries were set up at Rieti and Eichstätt in 1564, at Milan in 1565, at Benevento, Verona and Larino in Sicily in 1564, at Brixen (? certainly Brescia) in 1568; in the meantime France

duty of contributing to the seminaries. At first Germany rather lagged behind in the establishment of these institutes ;[1]

lagged behind ; in Spain the earliest seminaries are those of Mondoñedo and Tarragona (1570). In the Low Countries the proposal of the council of Malines in 1570 to set up a seminary met with opposition because the three existing " convitti " were in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council. A. DEGERT (Histoire des séminaires français jusqu'à la révolution, Paris, 1912) mentions as the earliest seminaries those of Rieti 1564, Rome 1565, Milan 1566, Imola and Ravenna 1567, Rimini and Bologna 1568. In Italy the seminary of Orvieto dates from 1566 (PARDI, Guida di Orvieto, 100), Bonomi erected that of Spoleto in 1567 (COLOMBO, Vita di Bonomi, Turin, 1879, 15), Cardinal Giulio della Rovere that of Ravenna in 1567 (*Manuscript in the Seminary Archives there), and Cardinal G. Paleotto that of Bologna (GUIDICINI, Miscellanea Bologn., 52 ; MASINI, III., 219 ; Omaggio del seminario di Bologna all'arciv. Giac. della Chiesa, Bologna, 1908), Bishop Valerio that of Verona (*cf.* *Costituzioni fatte per il Ag. Valiero et il capitolo sopra la schola degli accoliti 1571, Capitular Library, Verona). In 1571 a seminary was also established at Padua ; see (L. TODESCO and SEB. SERENA) Il seminario di Padova, Padua, 1911. FRANC. LANZONI (La fondazione del seminario di Faenza e S. Carlo Borromeo, Faenza, 1896, 41) places the date of the foundation of all the seminaries in the Romagna as follows : Imola, January 1, 1567, Ravenna, May 25, 1567 (or 1568), Rimini, May 18, 1568, Bologna, June 27, 1568, Faenza, July 15, 1576, Ferrara, 1584, Sarsina 1646, Folri, May 29, 1659, Bertinoro (apparently) 1708, Cervia 1827 (there is no definite information as to a small earlier seminary), Cesena 1570, Comacchio 1779 (these last two dates from information courteously supplied by Lanzoni). A brief of Pius V. of August 23, 1566, placed Swiss youths in the seminaries of Milan, Cremona, Pavia, Parma and Modena ; see WIRZ, Materialen zur Schweizergesch., n. 405, p. 386 *seq.* For the foundation of the seminaries *cf.* MICHAELIS THOMASII, Disputationes ecclesiasticae, Rome, 1565, 151 *seqq.*; De variis collegiis ad utilitatem publicam constituendis ; p. 192 *seqq.*; De seminario puellorum Deo dicandorum.

[1] " For the most part the German bishops sent their clerics to the rapidly developing Jesuit schools, which were generally united to establishments for poor students. Such were soon set up at Graz, Olmütz, Vienna, Innsbruck, Linz, Komotau, Dillingen,

the Bishops of Augsburg, Eichstadt, and a few more were willing to set them up, but they were rather hampered than helped by their cathedral chapters.[1]

A pontificial brief to the Bishop of Breslau added to praise for the foundation of a seminary, congratulations on the synod held there for the purpose of promulgating the Tridentine decrees.[2] A seminary and a synod were also the things which above all recommended to the Archbishop of Prague, in a letter which was sent to him by the Pope.[3] What real importance the Pope attached to the holding of synods everywhere, in accordance with the decrees of Trent, is shown by a letter to the Archbishop of Salerno, who sought to excuse himself in Rome for having twice postponed his promised provincial synod. The Pope rebuked him for his delay, saying that the excuses which he had put forward were worthless, that the archbishop must pay no attention to the discontent of some of the bishops and lay judges, but go forward quietly with the work and that he, the Pope, now that the deliberations of the Council had at last, after such great labours and difficulties, and so many delays, been brought to a happy issue, was fully resolved to carry them into effect.[4]

Ingolstadt, Munich, Trêves, Mayence. The bishops also sought to secure free places in the Papal seminaries. The synods of Augsburg 1566, Constance, 1567, Salzburg, 1569 . . . and others, had, however, decided upon the establishment of seminaries. Similar decisions were actually carried out, though on a very modest scale, at Eichstätt in 1564, at Würzburg in 1570, and at Breslau in 1571." (SIEBENGARTNER, *loc. cit.*). The Bishop of Würzburg on August 7, 1566, expressed to the Congregation of the Council his readiness to found a seminary. *Cf.* the reply of the Congregation of March 25, 1567, in POGIANI Epist, I., 412.

[1] To Francis Borgia, April 5, 1568, CANISII Epist., VI., 181.

[2] *Brief of May 14, 1568, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 186, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Brief of June 23, 1568, *loc. cit.* p. 216, printed in GOUBAU 93, with the date July 23.

[4] Brief of May 24, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 182, where is also the letter of the archbishop. The provincial synod was held at Salerno in 1566, diocesan synods in 1565 and 1567. LADERCHI 1566, n. 183. *Cf. ibid.* 341 the exhortations to the Archbishop of Gnesen.

It would appear, however, that for the most part no special exhortations from the Pope were necessary in this matter, and that during his pontificate many provincial and diocesan synods were held without any difficulties being made.[1] The

[1] CALENZIO (Documenti, 577 *seqq.*) gives the following list of synods from 1564 (provincial synods in italics):

1564: *Rheims*, Haarlem, Milan, Orvieto, Parma, Perugia, Sebenico.

1565: *Braga, Cambrai, Compostella, Evora, Granada, Mexico, Milan, Prague, Saragossa, Toledo, Valencia, Utrecht*, Modena, Naples, Ermland.

1566: Lucca, Pavia, Tarragona, Toledo, Valencia, Vicenza, Cambrai.

1567: *Benevento, Manfredonia, Otranto*, Augsburg, Cambrai, Constance, Naples, Narni and Terni.

1568: *Ravenna*, Luni, Sarzana, Milan, Olmütz, Utrecht, Orvieto.

1569: *Capua, Milan, Salzburg, Urbino*, Faenza.

1570: *Malines*, Arras, Leeuwarden, Namur, Osnabrück, Piacenza, Ravenna, Roermond, Salamanca, Trêves.

1571: *Benevento, Besancon*, Bruges, Bois-le-duc, Foligno, Ghent, Haarlem, Lucca, Osnabrück, Siguenza.

1572: Granada, Malaga, Milan, Seville, Vercelli.

The list only includes councils of which Calenzio knew of the printed acta, either separately or in collections; it is nevertheless incomplete. Thus synods were held at Tarragona in 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1569 (GAMS, Series episc.). According to information kindly supplied by Canon Lanzoni ten diocesan synods were held at Faenza between 1569 and 1580, of which those of February, 1565, October 1569, and July 1571, come during the pontificate of Pius V. The Capitular Library, Verona, possesses the *acta of the Paduan synod of August 17, 1566, and the *decrees of the synod of Mantua of 1567 (Cod. DCCXC., Io. Iac. Dionisii Collactanea, p. 262 *seq.*, 267 *seq.*). In the archiepiscopal archives at Ravenna are *notices of the diocesan synods held there in 1564, 1567 and 1571. A synod of Lucca in 1570 in Sinodi Lucchesi (Memorie e documenti per . . . Lucca, VII.), Lucca, 1834, 167; one of Bologna, 1567, in LE BRET, IX., 560, at Terni in 1567 in POGIANI Epist., II., xxxi. GAMS (*loc. cit.*) records the Portuguese synods of Braga 1566, Guarda 1565 and 1570, the two provincial

most important was the provincial synod held at Milan in 1569 by Cardinal Borromeo, which, like that held in 1565, in the reign of Pius IV., was confirmed by a brief from the Pope.[1]

Another matter upon which Pius V. was insistent with the bishops was one which had so far been urged both by the Council and by recent Popes without much effect, namely the obligation, both of residing in person amid their flocks, and of exacting the same residence from priests in charge of souls. A great step was taken towards this important reform when Pius V., by a series of ordinances, made the Eternal City, the favourite place of refuge, extremely uncomfortable

councils of Lisbon in 1566 and Goa in 1567, the synod of Lima in 1567, that of Syracuse in 1567, Lyons in 1568, and Avignon in 1569. LADERCHI records synods in Belgium : 1566, n. 440, 469 ; 1570, n. 284 *seq.* ; those in Portugal and Spain ; 1566, 488 *seqq.*, those of Goa ; 1567, n. 249 ; 1570, n. 429 ; the synod at Urbino : 1569, n. 346 ; those of Salzburg, Lucca, Naples : 1571, n. 66, 165, 478. The synod of Ravenna, *ibid.* 1568, n. 47 (the acta printed in app. to t. XXXVI. of MANSI, Paris, 1882, 289), the confirmation of the council of Milan, 1566, n. 51, of that of Valencia, 1567, n. 268. For the synod of Salerno, see *supra*, p. 214, n. 1, for that of Manfredonia 1567 *cf.* TÖRNE, Pt. Gallio 42 *seq.* For the synod of Constance 1567 *cf.* LÜTOLF, in *Kathol. Schweizerblättern*, X. (1894), 453 *seqq.* ; SAMBETH in *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv*, XXI. (1890), 50 *seqq.* *" Dis veneris 28 maii [1568] in sero reversus fuit ad Urbem rev. cardinalis Moronus, qui visitavit ecclesiam suam Mutinensem et fuerat in concilio synodali sive provinciali facto per rev. dominum et protectorem meum cardinalem Urbinatensem in civitate Ravennatensi." (Frimanus, Diarium, p. 240b, Papal Secret Archives). An *Avviso di Roma of December 20, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 164b, announces that after Lent the Cardinals (Morone, Farnese, Sforza) would set out for their churches in order to hold provincial synods there, Vatican Library.

[1] Briefs of June 6, 1566 and May 12, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 458, 819. The latter brief corrects some decrees of the synod, as was also done by the brief of November 4, 1567, in the case of the synod of Valencia (*ibid.*) 631). *Cf.* the decrees on the synods of Rheims of October 27, 1566, and of Valencia of November 11, 1567, in POGIANI Epist., I., 393, 442.

for the prelates and priests who were bound to residence.[1] A further edict took away from those who were still neglectful of their duty the last hiding places and refuges which the Council had been obliged to leave to them. In those cases where there was no recognized episcopal authority, the bishops were given power to act as the representatives of the Apostolic See, and there was to be no appeal from their sentence in the matter of residence, while all the existing Papal dispensations were revoked.[2] These general ordinances were followed by particular Papal directions addressed to individual bishops. Thus, immediately after he had ascended the throne, Pius V. charged the Bishop of Verona, in a special brief, to carry out, by force if necessary, the decree of the Council as to residence, it having come to his ears that this matter was somewhat neglected in Verona.[3] The Archbishop of Candia, who only found four of his nine suffragans in their dioceses, was ordered to confiscate their revenues and apply them to the restoration of churches.[4] The Emperor himself, when he asked that one of his councillors might be excused from the duty of residence, had to be content with a refusal.[5]

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 187.

[2] Bull of July 8, 1568, Bull. Rom., VIII., 683 *seqq.*; *cf.* *Bandi V. 11, p. 94, Papal Secret Archives. Concerning a general monitorium threatening the loss of benefices to non-resident bishops and parish priests, see *Avviso di Roma of April 3, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 496, Vatican Library. "All must go into residence; those who wished to be excused must renounce the revenues they had already received." *Avviso of August 28, 1568, *ibid.* 565b.

[3] *Brief of March 14, 1566, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 36, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Brief of August 3, 1569, *ibid.* t. 14, p. 165. In the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council at the Vatican are preserved the *acta* of the visitations made by Lunel, Bishop of Gaeta, at Città di Castello, Norcia and Narni (3 vols.); there are also four vols. for the visitation of Rimini and Cesena made by G. Fr. Sormanni, Bishop of Montefeltro, in 1572, and one volume for the visitation at Camerino made in the same year.

[5] Brief of July 16, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569 n. 217. An *exhortation of June 27, 1571, to the King of France to order the

This personal presence of the bishop in his diocese was naturally desired both by the Council and by the head of the Church principally in order that the pastor might make himself acquainted with the state of his flock by frequent visitations, and wherever good bishops were found they manifested their zeal in this way.[1] Above all others, that great champion of reform, Cardinal Borromeo, gave a splendid example in this respect, especially by his laborious visitation of the Swiss portion of his diocese. By means of the visitation of the Roman churches, which Pius V. began in person,[2] he aimed at inciting all the bishops to imitate him, while he also tried in every way to make their fulfilment of this duty of their office easy for them. In the case of parish churches no obstacles were to be put in the way of their examination and intervention into everything, even on the plea of Papal exemptions ; if their episcopal faculties were not wide enough, they were to make their inquiries as the representatives of the Apostolic See.[3]

In practice, however, the Pope found so few signs of the zeal he looked for in the discharge of this duty among the

bishop " Ventiarum " (Vence) to go into residence and to provide for the lack of priests, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 170b, Papal Secret Archives. *Brief of March 15, 1571, " Angelo [Giustiniani] Gebennensi " on account of his long absence from his church, which had given rise to scandal and harm, *ibid.* p. 35b.

[1] *Thus Cardinal Giulio Feltre della Rovere, Archbishop of Ravenna, visited his city in 1566 and again in 1571, and his diocese in 1567 (Archiepiscopal Archives, Ravenna). *Visitatio Veronensis diocesis sub. Aug. Valerio ep. Veronesni ab a. 1565 ad a. 1573, in the episcopal archives, Verona, XIII. *Fragment of the acta of a visitation made by the " episcopus Feltriensis anno 1569," in Cod. Regin., 377, p. 105-108, Vatican Library. Abbot Bonhomini of Nonantola visited his district : Colombo, Vita di M.G.F. Bonomi, 15.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 179 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the bull of September 22, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 943 ; Laderchi, 1571, n. 166, on the visitation of the parishes belonging to the Gerosolimitani.

bishops of Italy, that he decided to send apostolic visitors to all the Italian dioceses to demand an account of the bishops and chapters as to how they fulfilled their duties.[1] He began with the Kingdom of Naples, a Papal fief, which was to be visited by Tommaso Orfino, Bishop of Strongoli. Declaring that if the Archbishop of Naples had the right of visitation in all the dioceses under his jurisdiction without the royal *exequatur*, the Pope, as the head of the bishops, had the same right in a higher degree, Pius V. brushed aside the difficulties raised by the Viceroy of Naples in claiming that the royal *exequatur* was necessary for the apostolic visitor.[2] Orfino was therefore able to carry out the task imposed on him in the churches of Calabria, at Otranto and Bari and the neighbouring districts, and even in Naples itself.[3] A similar duty to that which had been laid on Orfino for the south, was entrusted to the distinguished Dominican bishop, Lionardo Marini, in north and central Italy. In the autumn of 1566 Pius V. appointed Marini Bishop of Alba in Monferrato, and empowered him to make on his way there a visitation of 24 churches in northern Italy.[4] Marini did not altogether come up to the hopes of the zealous Pope, and two years later he rebuked him because he had not as yet visited all the places in his district.[5] We have proof that during 1571 and 1572 apostolic visitors were sent to several of the cities

[1] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 184.

[2] *Ibid.* 1567, n. 64. *Cf.* Bonelli to Cristoforo Rodriguez, S.J. (who was to accompany Orfino), December 30, 1566, S. FRANC. BORGIA, IV., 691; Bonelli to Orfino, December, 1566, *ibid.* 692; Rodriguez to Pius V., January 7, 1567, *ibid.* 693; Salmeron to Rodriguez, August 18, 1566, SALMERON Epist., II., 95 *seqq.* For the name of Orfino, *cf. supra* p. 183, n. 1.

[3] LADERCHI, 1567, n. 65.

[4] Namely Sulmona, Marsi, Chieti, Penne and Atri, Ascoli, Ancona, Sinigaglia, Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Forlì, Bertinoro, Faenza, Imola, Modena, Reggio, Mantua, Lodi, Vigevano, Casale, Asti, Acqui. Brief of October 24, 1566, in UGHELLI, IV., 422.

[5] Brief of August 19, 1568 in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 43.

of Italy.[1] Commendone made a visitation of the monasteries of South Germany in 1569 as Papal legate,[2] while Bartolomeo Porzia did the same in the diocese of Aquileia, with the consent of the Archduke, Charles of Austria.[3] The Pope intended to extend to Spain,[4] and even to the whole Church,[5] the visitation which he had ordered for Italy.

The unfortunate experience which Pius V. had had of some of his episcopal brethren made him seek with all the more anxiety for means of excluding unworthy candidates from the episcopate, at least for the future. In a secret consistory on April 18th, 1567, he enacted that henceforth every Italian bishop must be examined in Rome by a commission.[6] On May 3rd three archbishops were charged with the duty of examining all those who were proposed in consistory for bishoprics and abbacies.[7] As far as he could,

[1] *Decreta a rev. D. visitatore apostolico facta de anno 1571 pro ecclesia parochiali S. Michaelis de Arimino: Barb. L 152, Vatican Library. *Appunti e decreti della sacra visita di Pietro de Lunel vescovo di Gaeta deputato del Papa come legato apostolico a visitare le diocesi di Spoleto: Cancellaria arcivescov. at Spoleto. *Cf.* SORDINI in Bollet. per l'Umbria XIII. (1908).

[2] LADERCHI, 1568, n. 90. M. MAYR in *Studien u. Mitteil. aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterzienserorden*, XIV. (1893), 385 *seqq.* A. STARZER in *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, 1892, 156 *seq.*

[3] LADERCHI, 1569, n. 222. A *command to the Archbishop of Avignon, of July 17 1569, to begin the visitation of the legation as soon as possible, in Brevia, Arm. 44. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., February 1, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 31.

[5] Letter from the Cardinal of Portugal to Francis Borgia, of October 25, 1569, S. FRANC. BORGIA, V., 222.

[6] *B. Pia to the Duke of Mantua, April 19, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Arco, on the same date, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] *"Furono deputati tre arcivescovi sopra l' esamine di quelli che da qui innanzi havranno da esser proposti in concistorio a vescovadi et abbadie, et sono l'arcivescovo Maffeo, l'arcivescovo S. Severina et l'arcivescovo Feruffina" (B. Pia to the Duke of

Pius V. also took strong measures against unworthy prelates,[1] though he knew well, at the same time, how to find words of comfort and encouragement whenever a good bishop was in danger of losing heart under the stress of the difficult conditions of the time and the weight of his responsibilities.[2] He was never sparing of letters of exhortation and encouragement to the bishops of the whole world.[3] It was with manifest joy that he bestowed his praise on the Bishop of Verdun, the Premonstratensian, Nicholas Pseaume, for his loyalty to the Catholic religion and the Holy See, saying that Pseaume, almost alone among the bishops, had kept his flock free from the heresy which surrounded it on all sides, and that God

Mantua, May 3, 1567, *loc. cit.*). For the part taken by Santori in the examination of bishops see his Autobiografia, XII., 350, and *Audienze del card. Santorio from 1566 to 1579, Papal Secret Archives, Arm. LII., 17, where there is a list of "persone di consideratione" suited to fill episcopal sees.

[1] The Bishop of Rimini ended his days in the Castle of St. Angelo in 1569 for immorality, and the Bishop of Bovino for simony (RODOCANACHI, St. Ange, 175). *Zibramonti, February 2, 1572: action taken against Archbishop Verallo for immorality. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the action taken by Pius V. against the Archbishop of Besançon, Claude de la Baume, see FEBVRE, Philippe II. et la Franche-Comté, Paris, 1911, 580 *seq.*, 590 *seq.* De la Baume had to pledge himself to the publication of the Tridentine decrees, and to follow this by putting the Catholic reforms into force. *Cf. ibid.* 584 *seq.*, the attempt to introduce the Roman Inquisition into Besançon.

[2] Letter of September 21, 1569, to Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, who wished to resign "ob praesentium temporum calamitates episcoporumque ignaviam" in LADERCHI, 1569, n 316; GOUBAU, 227 *seq.* In LADERCHI, 1571, n. 146, intervention by Pius V. on behalf of the Bishop of Lausanne.

[3] *Exhortation to the Spanish and French bishops in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 24. *Ibid.* t. 16, p. 66b: "Episcopo Coriensi." of April 23, 1571: he is praised because he has published the decrees of the Council, and had improved the morals of his clergy: he is exhorted to persevere, and not to overlook the Zwinglian part of his diocese. Papal Secret Archives.

had shown by this how much can be accomplished by a good pastor who, without any human help, and armed only with his own zeal, is ready to expose his life to all risks, to shoulder every burden, and who will not admit into his city even royal officials, if they are objects of suspicion.[1] When he bestowed the title of patriarch of Antioch on the distinguished Juan de Ribera, who had been Bishop of Badajoz since 1562, and Archbishop of Valencia since 1568, Pius V. used even stronger terms of eulogy, styling him the "light of all Spain" and a model of sanctity, before whose humility and strictness of life the Pope felt himself quite ashamed; he recalls the way in which Ribera himself took the sacraments to the sick, and states that he led the life of a monk rather than of a bishop, and that his example had been a mighty influence for good upon many of the Spanish bishops.[2]

By his regulations concerning examination for orders and parochial office,[3] and on the choice of parish priests,[4] Pius V. had seen to it that the bishops should have good priests to assist them in the care of souls. In his capacity as Bishop of Rome he issued a series of ordinances on the sacerdotal manner of life for those holding office in the Eternal City,[5] but he left it to the bishops to make their own provision for this elsewhere; very few constitutions of the kind which

[1] *Brief of May 7, 1569, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 107b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* brief of July 5, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 193. Praise for Valeriano Protaszewicz, Bishop of Vilna, September 6, 1567, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] In NIC. ANTONIO, Bibliotheca Hisp. nova, Madrid, 1783, 767. Pius VI. beatified Ribera (died 1611) on August 13, 1796 (BARBÉRI, Bull. Rom. contin., X., Rome, 1845, 34); the Jesuit Francesco Escriva wrote his life, Valencia, 1612. He was the son of the Viceroy of Naples, Pedro Afan de Ribera.

[3] See *supra*, p. 184 *seq.*

[4] Editti of March 18 and August 19, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 555, 605. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of May 17, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 396b, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 183.

were applicable to the whole Church were issued in the reign of Pius V.[1]

Pius V. interested himself greatly in the religious instruction of the people, and in their edification by means of the worthy celebration of divine worship. A custom had already grown up by which, on Sundays and festivals, even pious laymen gathered together the children of the poor in the churches and instructed them in the fundamental truths of Christianity. Now, in accordance with a recommendation of the Council of Trent,[2] Pius V. exhorted the bishops to promote and encourage this pious custom, and to set up confraternities of Christian Doctrine, to the members of which he granted an indulgence.[3] Such confraternities had been formed at Milan about 1560 by a simple hat-maker, Marco Sudi, and had spread rapidly, as far as Rome, where they received a great impetus from the protection extended to them by the Pope.[4] Even for the island of Corsica, which was in such a low moral state, Pius V. urged with great insistence, as one of the principal remedies to be adopted, the instruction of the children and young people in the fundamental truths of religion, Christian doctrine, and a catechism in the vernacular.[5] He addressed a similar exhortation to Avignon,

[1] On August 30, 1567, Pius V. confirmed the ordinance of Pius IV. of November 9, 1560, that all that a cleric might have gained by illicit trading should pass to the Apostolic Camera (*Anal. iuris Pont.*, VIII., 1430, *seq.*). He declared null (*ibid.* 1799) the wills made by clerics in favour of their natural children. *Cf.* * B. Pia to the Duke of Mantua ; *Avvisi di Roma of January 31, 1568, and March 3, 1571, Urb. 1040, p. 481b ; 1042, p. 25b, Vatican Library. According to the *Avviso of November 2, 1566 (*ibid.* 1040, p. 313) on that date a bull was issued on the reform of priests in accordance with the Tridentine decrees.

[2] Sess. 24, de ref. c. 4.

[3] Bull of October 6, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 945 *seq.*

[4] LADERCHI, 1571, n. 170 *seq.*

[5] "Omnibus viribus ac diligentia eniti debes, ut instituendorum in tua dioecesi puerorum . . . quam maximam curam suscipias." To the Bishop of Ajaccio, May 4, 1569, in GOUBAU, 178.

where heresy was threatening to take a stronger and stronger hold.[1]

Pius V. watched with special care over all that pertained to the proper celebration of divine worship. An abuse had crept in in Rome by which the churches and their porticoes were disfigured by all kinds of buildings, by the setting aside for dwelling purposes of the more remote parts of the churches themselves, and by the opening of windows from the adjoining houses which looked into the interiors of the churches. An edict of the Cardinal Vicar, Savelli, on November 28th, 1566, ordered the removal of all such constructions within fourteen days; at the same time a stop was put to all burials under the pavements of the churches.[2] The Romans at that time were far from strict in their behaviour in church and during the services,[3] and Pius V. found himself obliged to order by a bull, that which is generally taken for granted among good Christians, namely, that they should go to church modestly and reverently, speak in a low voice, pay attention to the services, and always bend the knee before the Blessed Sacrament. If we may judge from another prohibition contained in the bull, disturbances and quarrels, and even acts of violence were by no means uncommon in the churches; very often ladies of ill fame held their court there with their admirers, amid much chattering and laughter, while beggars pestered the worshippers during the functions and sermons; the courts, too, made use of the precincts of the churches for their business.[4] For example, the disputations with which the judges who were entering upon their term of office, were accustomed to prove their worth were usually held in the church of Sant'Eustachio.[5] Festival days were profaned in all sorts of ways by servile work, markets, etc.[6] Hitherto,

[1] May 18, 1569, *ibid.* 179.

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 68.

[3] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 177 *seqq.*

[4] Bull of April 1, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 435 *seq.*

[5] *Strozzi, December 21, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. LADERCHI, 1566, n. 66.

[6] Bull. Rom., VII., 436. *Avviso di Roma of November 2, 1566 Urb. 1040 p. 315 Vatican Library.

from the vigil of All Saints onwards, the church of S. Maria ad Martyres, the ancient Pantheon, had remained open all night for the purpose of gaining an indulgence, giving rise to grave scandals.[1] Both the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities had already on previous occasions issued ordinances against the profanation of the House of God,[2] but no one set himself against it with so much resoluteness or with such grave threats as Pius V.,[3] who found a powerful ally in the reformed Orders, whose churches were for the most part only frequented by those people to whom piety was a matter of deep reality.[4] In his fight against superstition the new Pope was again helped by Ormaneto who, for example, caused to be cut off from the Chair of St. Peter the cords which some women, probably from superstitious motives, had tied to it.[5] It is clear that almost all these ordinances were suggested by the decrees of the Council of Trent on the worthy celebration of mass.[6]

In the diocese of Calahorra, a remarkable exhibition of the proverbial Spanish class feeling had led to disturbances and damage even in the churches. There were two parties, the *hidalgos*, who were exempt from taxes, and the *pecheros*, who were not thus exempt. The *hidalgos* claimed precedence over the others and the first places, even in the churches, at mass, at the reception of the sacraments, and in processions. This gave rise to endless strife and quarrels, and in the little city of Osio, during the procession of Corpus Domini, the mayor

[1] LADERCHI 1566. n. 65. *Avviso di Roma *loc. cit.*

[2] TACCHI VENTURI I., 184.

[3] In the bull already cited.

[4] TACCHI VENTURI, I., 186.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of January 24, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 479, Vatican Library.

[6] Sess. 22, "de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missae." This decree is supported by the ordinance that Mass is to be celebrated at a suitable time, and by a motuproprio forbidding its celebration during the evening hours of the day preceding the midnight mass of Christmas, and of the early morning mass of Easter. Published March 29, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 433.

and others were killed, and several persons severely injured. The provincial synod of Saragossa in 1565 attempted to suppress the evil, but in vain. The intervention of the civil authority, which divided the churches into two, lengthways, assigning the right half to the *hidalgos* and the left to the *pecheros*, only made matters worse, and embittered the state of feeling. Pius V. then intervened with all his energy against these exhibitions of an "Indian spirit of caste"; he revoked the decision of the civil authorities as inadequate, and declared that anyone who claimed a special place in church would incur excommunication.[1]

The Pope also addressed a severe rebuke to the priests of many dioceses in Spain, who were wanting in respect for the Blessed Sacrament especially during the celebration of the divine mysteries.[2] On the other hand, Pius V. did all he could to keep alive among both priests and people reverence for the Most Holy Sacrament. When it was carried through the streets of Rome to the sick, the Pope ordered that even the Cardinals who met It must get off their horses, or from their carriages and accompany It, as the King of Spain and other princes were accustomed to do.[3] The Franciscans

[1] Brief of February 14, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 168.

[2] To the Archbishop of Tarragona, January 8, 1571, *ibid.* n. 167. Briefs to the same effect sent to eight other Spanish bishops, *ibid.* n. 168.

[3] *"In consistoro lunedì S. St^tà ordinò doppo un longo esordio che sempre che serà portato per Roma il s^mo sacramento per communione tutti quelli che lo incontrano anco cardenali o altri signori personaggi smontino di cocchio o cavalli dove si trovino et vadino ad accompagnare il s^mo sacramento, lasciando da canto ogni negotio, et allegò in questo proposito quello che il re cattolico et altri principi religiosissimamente hanno usato di fare." (B. Pia to Luzzara, July 10, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* consistorial acta of Cardinal Farnese, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 19. Ormaneto thought of issuing an ordinance that during the procession of *Corpus Domini* made by the Pope, women should not stand at their windows, but should take part in the procession. *Avviso di Roma of June 12, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 534, Vatican Library.

obtained the privilege of venerating the Blessed Sacrament during the recitation of the breviary.[1] A sacrilege committed against the Blessed Sacrament by a Protestant who had broken into a Catholic parish church at Tarvis in Carinthia, led to a special brief from the Pope to the Archduke Charles, asking for the condign punishment of the offender.[2] On the other hand, he refused his approval to the custom existing in some districts of refusing to give the Blessed Sacrament, through a mistaken sense of reverence, to those. condemned to death.[3] In accordance with the decrees of Trent,[4] Pius V. sought to promote the frequentation of the sacraments, especially among the clergy. Clerics in minor orders were to go to confession and communion at least once a month, and those in major orders twice a month; priests were to say mass at least once a week, even those who had no care of souls.[5]

Pious bodies for the encouragement of prayer and works of charity, especially those which originated from the Dominican Order, found a strong protector in Pius V.; such were the Confraternity of the Rosary,[6] that of the Name of God for the healing of feuds,[7] that of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, which took charge of those condemned to death,[8] the

[1] Brief of January 8, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 647 *seq.*

[2] Brief of January 21, 1568, in GOUBAU, 66.

[3] To Castagna, January 25, 1568, *ibid.* 68 *seq.* LADERCHI, 1568, n. 200. For the immediate occasion of the brief, *cf.* SACCHINI, P. III., I., 1, n. 22. The brief, it is true, caused much displeasure to the King of Spain and his counsellors "per essere cosa molto nova in questi regni" (Castagna to Bonelli, March 8, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 321). Later on Philip II. ordered that in every prison there should be a chapel where those who were condemned to death could receive communion. SACCHINI, *loc. cit*

[4] Sess. 23, de ref., c. 11, 13, 14.

[5] To the chapter of Valence, October 14, 1569, in GOUBAU, 234 *seq.*; *cf.* Polanco, October 21, 1566, *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 66.

[6] Brief of September 17, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 774.

[7] Briefs of September 20, 1569, and June 21, 1571, *ibid.*, 777, 921.

[8] Brief, without date, *ibid.*, 768.

Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity, founded in 1549 by Philip Neri, which housed poor pilgrims for three days, and gave assistance to those who were dismissed from the hospitals, until they were recovered,[1] and that of the Annunciation of Mary established at the Minerva to give dowries to poor girls.[2] The Pope personally took part in this last named good work, which saved so many girls in danger of dishonour. On April 5th, 1567, he went to the church of his Order and gave dowries to 80 poor girls;[3] the Imperial ambassador wrote that the Pope intended to spend as much as 10,000 scudi for this purpose.[4] Pius V. also showed his high esteem for virginity and the honour of women by the care which he took of the convent of S. Caterina della Rosa for the education of the daughters of the poorer classes who were exposed to risk,[5] as well as by the severity with which he proceeded against offenders in this respect.[6] He strove with special zeal against blasphemy, which at that time had become almost habitual.[7] and sent to the bishops a bull which, among other things, visited this offence with heavy penalties, begging them to call in the help of the secular arm in carrying it out.[8] When Benevento made difficulties about accepting the bull, the Pope called upon the assistance of the Neapolitan troops, under the command of Hannibal von Hohenems, against the city.[9] As he had done in the

[1] Brief of March 21, 1571, *ibid.*, 901. LADERCHI, 1571, n. 172.

[2] Without date, Bull. Rom., VII., 962.

[3] *Arco, April 5 and 12, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Arco, March 8, 1567, *ibid.*

[5] Brief of February 10, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 655.

[6] Strict action against a concubinist taken "in flagranti": *Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 307, Vatican Library. A very strict bull against concubinists: *Avviso di Roma of May 14, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 76, *ibid.*

[7] "Blasphemiae scelus (quod nunc) supra modum invaluit." Bull of April 1, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 437. *Cf.* *Bandi, V., 7, p. 2 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[8] Brief of April 16, 1566, to the Duke of Ferrara, in sending him the bull of April 1, 1566, to be carried out with the help of the secular arm. LADERCHI, 1566, n. 84.

[9] *Arco, August 3, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

case of blasphemy, so did the Pope take action against slander among the Romans. Defamatory pamphlets against princes, prelates, officials, and anyone else were prohibited under grave penalties, as being a source of hatred and feuds, which sometimes even led to murder. The first beginnings of the Roman newspapers also fell under this ban, namely, those "Avvisi" which were spread abroad in manuscript, at least when the good name of anybody was attacked, or any matter which was being dealt with by the Pope in private was divulged.[1] By the advice of Ormaneto Pius V. contemplated throwing the statues of Pasquino and Marforio into the Tiber.[2]

Just as he sought to strengthen religious feeling everywhere, and thus renew the life of the Church from within, so did this zealous reformer who was now seated on the chair of Peter set himself to remove all those things which hitherto had done harm to the Church, and had given her enemies cause for accusations and calumnies. He therefore inaugurated a ruthless war against every kind of simony. From the first Pius had displayed an almost morbid fear of soiling his hands with money, and could hardly bring himself to discuss financial questions. When Grassi, a cleric in the Apostolic Camera, wished to lay before him a scheme for adding to the Papal revenues without burdening the people, the Pope replied that he had no wish to amass wealth, and that Grassi would do better to devise some means of bringing back to the Church the nations that had broken away from her.[3] He condoned in the case of the Archbishop of Tréves the payment of annates, with the exception of a fifth part, and it would seem that he would have liked to condone them altogether in the case of the Archbishop of Cologne, and contrary to all custom the bulls were issued before the money was paid.[4] When the Archbishop of Naples received the pallium the question was urgently raised as to whether it was lawful in such cases

[1] Brief of March 17, 1572, Bull. Rom., VII., 969.

[2] *Cusano, July 17, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cusano, July 6, 1566, *ibid.*

[4] Braunsberger, Pius V., 12.

to demand the fees which had hitherto been paid for the support of the officials of the Curia. Paul IV. had wished that it should be done gratuitously, and accordingly Pius V. had the question examined anew by Cardinals Morone, Corgna and Dolera. When these Cardinals reported that some fee should be demanded, Pius V. was not satisfied with their opinion, and in the consistory he spoke in severe terms of such payments as an abuse which has long been tolerated, but which he forbade for the future; henceforth the consistorial advocates were not to receive more than four scudi from an archbishop who asked for the pallium.[1] In Poland, where the clergy had a bad name for being covetous of money, the inter-nuncio Vincenzo Portico was ordered to grant Papal dispensations entirely gratuitously; he must recieve no payment whatever for the drawing up of the documents.[2] The Pope had granted an indulgence in favour of Philip II. to all those who assisted the king with money in his warlike undertakings against the Moors and Turks, but he firmly rejected the proposal to keep part of the funds raised in this way for the needs of the Holy See, and this he did so as to avoid any appearance of having made the concession in his own interests.[3] Pius V. entirely abolished the faculty of sending out preachers of indulgences which had belonged to certain churches and hospitals, a thing which had given, and still gave, occasion for many justifiable complaints.[4]

[1] *Arco, February and April 6, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. Consistorial acta of February 15 and April 26, 1566, in Gulik-Eubel, II., 47 n. Laderchi, 1566, n. 44.

[2] Laderchi, 1569, n. 24, from Gabutius.

[3] Laderchi, 1566, n. 72.

[4] Bull of February 8, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 535. *" N.S. ha rivocato tutte le indulgenze si può dir del mondo che la Spagna con essa revocatione havrà gran negotio." (B. Pia to the Duke of Mantua, sending him the bull, February 22, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Laderchi, 1567, n. 25. Bull of January 2, 1569 against unauthorized letters of confession and indulgences of Spanish bishops, in Bull. Rom., VII., 735. The prescriptions of the Council concerning preachers of indulgences, see in sess. 21, c. 9; sess. 25, de indulg.

In accordance with the warning of the Council, the Pope was very cautious in granting new indulgences.[1]

The zealous reformer fought with special vigour against the so-called "confidential simony," by which a benefice was taken in charge (*confidentia*), generally by a bishop or a Cardinal, on behalf of somebody else, either because the latter had not yet reached the canonical age, and was perhaps still a child, who could only obtain the actual possession (*accessus*) of the benefice much later, or else because he intended at a later date to resume the benefice (*regressus*) which he had to all appearance resigned. These "confidenze" made it possible for certain bishoprics and benefices to become practically hereditary in families, passing from one relative to another, and as often as not were in quite unworthy hands. The Council of Trent and Paul IV. had prohibited this abuse;[2] Pius V. expressly declared that before everything else, and more than anything else, he had from the first had at heart a determination to root it out.[3] Nobody but the Pope was in a position to act with the necessary authority against this plague, because the principle delinquents, the so-called "custodini" were for the most part Cardinals and bishops, against whom it was not easy to take judicial proceedings.[4] For this reason Pius V., as a first step, reserved to himself the decision of all disputes which had arisen on the subject of "confidenze."[5] There then followed a careful investigation

[1] *"Non concede più indulgentie plenarie di colpa et di pena, ma solo concede indulgentie per 7 anni. per un giorno solo." Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 364b, Vatican Library.

[2] Sess. 25, de ref., c. 7. For Paul IV. see Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 197 *seq.*

[3] Motuproprio published on January 5, 1567, §5, Bull. Rom. 510. LADERCHI (1568, n. 11) wrongly assigns the edict to 1568. As early as May, 1566 the Pope declared that on account of the bull of Paul IV. forbidding further "regressi," those granted by Pius IV. could not be allowed. *Arco, May 18, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Motuproprio of January 5, 1567, §4.

[5] *Ibid.* §5.

of every case in which confidential simony was proved;[1] next came an express declaration that even the Cardinals were included in the prohibition which had already been issued,[2] and lastly the revocation of all the "confidenze" which had so far been allowed, and a prohibition of any being allowed in the future.[3] After this the Council's prohibition of the reservation of any part of the revenues when a benefice was granted, was renewed.[4] Outside Rome, it would seem that confidential simony was especially prevalent in the Low Countries, for which reason a severe rebuke was addressed to the bishops there by the Apostolic See as early as 1568.[5]

The prohibition of "confidenze," and even more, the restrictions in the matter of renunciations, cut off a rich source of revenue from the Apostolic Camera, and struck a severe blow at the Papal finances. But though the Pope was often urged to relieve his pecuniary straits by once more allowing the *regressi*,[6] it was impossible to induce him to do so. On

[1] On June 1, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 754. Here are adduced some of the reasons why certain persons were unwilling to take immediate possession of their benefices: some do so because they do not wish to be forced to take orders, or to go into residence, or to wear ecclesiastical dress, others because they are thinking of taking part in war, or having recourse to lawsuits, and others again because they have not yet obtained absolution from crimes, etc. (*ibid.*, 755).

[2] November 14, 1569, *ibid.*, 758.

[3] September 12, 1571, *ibid.*, 939. He issued the bull "volentes omnem haereditariam beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum successionem de ecclesia Dei tollere" and to facilitate the free conferring of benefices on worthy persons. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of September 8, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 115, Vatican Library.

[4] June 1, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 827; *cf.* Conc. Trid., sess. 24, de ref. c 14.

[5] To the Archbishops of Malines, Cambrai, and Utrecht, to the Bishops of Bois-le-duc, Ypres, Middelburg, Haarlem, Tournai, Arras, Saint-Omer and Namur, July 5, 1568, in GOUBAU, 91 *seq.*

[6] Letter of November 16, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 59. *Avissi di Roma of April 19, 1570, and July 25, 1571, Urb. 1041, p. 267b; 1042, p. 95, Vatican Library.

one occasion it was said to him that his strictness in the granting of benefices was ruining the Curia, but he replied that it was better that the Curia should be ruined than that the service of God and the very existence of Christianity should suffer the same fate.

Very often the "confidenze" were nothing but a device to alienate ecclesiastical property from its original purpose; the benefice was placed in custody with the condition that the fruits should be given over to a layman.[1] There were many such devices. In these latter days, so runs a complaint in one of the bulls of Pius V., "in these latter days, the making over of ecclesiastical property to the laity has come to such a pass that little by little the better part is being devoured by strangers; what was intended for the maintenance and training of the ministers of the Church, for the establishment of seminaries, the assistance of the poor and the sick, the building of churches, the restoration of buildings that are falling down, the education of good and learned men—all that is being appropriated by hordes of laymen."[2] Naturally it was out of the question to eliminate at a single blow so widespread and deeply rooted an evil, but Pius V. issued a series of special regulations which at least limited it and prevented its further growth.[3]

A constitution of Pius V. concerning the sale of places and territories in the Papal States is specially important.[4] In this we read: Previous Popes had forbidden the alienation of ecclesiastical goods by declaring it invalid, but people who

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 755.

[2] Bull of September 9, 1568, *ibid.* 709.

[3] Revocation of certain privileges of officials of the Curia, etc. *ibid.*; protection of the rights of the Apostolic Camera over the inheritance of ecclesiastics; edict of January 5, 1568, *ibid.* 646. In controversies concerning prebends the fruits must be deposited with some trustworthy person named by the judge; brief of March 30, 1568, *ibid.* 663. During the vacancy of bishoprics all the benefices are reserved to the Pope: brief of March 9, 1568, *ibid.* 659.

[4] Bull of March 29, 1567, *ibid.* 560 *seq.*

were ambitious and greedy of power had under all manner of pretexts suggested to the Popes that it was more advantageous to the Church that certain cities, territories and fortresses in the Papal States should be held either permanently or temporarily in fief. Several Popes had consented to this, but since the inviolable loyalty towards the Holy See of the cities and territories of the Papal States was of great importance in these days, he intended to put an end to such alienations; this was his definite intention for the period of his reign, and he wished at any rate to prove to his successors that he could not consider it right to look upon such things as lawful, and he hoped that they would remember that the Popes must render an account of their administration before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. He wished also, as far as possible, to remove even the occasion of such alienations, and he accordingly declared that all the territories of the Papal States, including those which had hitherto been held in fief, were now, in virtue of this his present declaration, incorporated in the Apostolic See and restored to it, and he ordered that in future no one must even propose to make a fief of any city or territory in the Papal States under pain of excommunication and treason. Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Innocent IX. and Clement VIII. confirmed and amplified these prescriptions. It was in virtue of this constitution that the Duchy of Ferrara was restored to the Apostolic See under Clement VIII., and that of Urbino under Urban VIII.[1]

As had been the case with Church property, so several of the preceding Popes had proved themselves too easy-going with other ecclesiastical rights. Specially harmful had been the concession to the civil princes of the right of presentation to several bishoprics and important benefices. In the election capitulation drawn up after the death of Paul IV., the decision that the future Pope should only grant such rights with the consent of two-thirds of the Cardinals had been expressly accepted and sworn to by all the Cardinals, but Pius IV. had thought himself at liberty to dispense himself from the oath in a number of cases. Pius V. thought very differently. At

[1] LADERCHI, 1567, n. 12.

the very beginning of his pontificate he publicly called attention to this principle of the election capitulation,[1] and a short time afterwards took away from the Duke of Mantua the right of presentation to the bishopric of that city which had been granted to him by Pius IV.,[2] and later on he extended the same thing to all the rights of presentation which had been granted by his predecessors, except such as had really received the required consent of the Cardinals.[3] It was in vain that the princes protested. The Mantuan agent in Rome wrote to the Duke that the Pope was so determined in his opposition to such rights of patronage that he did not even dare to speak to him on the subject; there was no hope whatever of making him change his mind, where the liberties of the Church were concerned.[4] The Pope courteously but firmly rejected all the complaints of the princes.[5]

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 427.

[2] Acta consist. card. Gambarae, July 19 and December 23, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 197 *seqq.*

[3] *" Aspetti V. S. R^ma di veder presto bolle di riforme di molte cose, le quali N. S. vuol dar fuori. Ha fra l'altre rivocato tutti li iuspatronati, etiam ducum et regum, che sono ex privilegio, onde il re di Portogallo havrà qui che fare." (B. Pia to the Bishop of Mantua, September 17, 1567. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *The Pope has abolished all rights of patronage except those " ex fundatione et dotatione " (Arco, December 13, 1567, State Archives Vienna). *Abolition of the Portuguese right of patronage by a brief of February 7, 1567, Corp. dipl. Portug., X., 237. *Arco, August 23, 1567, State Archives, Vienna; *cf.* *Arco, March 23 and 29, 1567, *ibid.* See also Acta consist. card. Farnes, February 7, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 14.

[4] *" Il card^le mi replicò ch' egli credeva che tutto questo fosse vero et che averebbe anco fatto opera di farne capace N. S., ma che sapesse certo che S. S^tà stava tanto mal disposta contra questi iuspatronati che restava offeso solo a sentirne parlare, et che difficilissima cosa, per non dire impossibile, pareva a lui che fosse il sperare di poter vincere il Papa in queste materie ne le quali si tratta de la libertà de la chiesa." Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, June 12, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] Two letters to the Cardinal of Lorraine and his mother

It was doubly fortunate for the Church that she should have found at her head so wise and vigorous a leader in the way towards a complete renewal of her life, and that that leader should have presented himself just at the right moment. In the time of Adrian VI. even such an eagle as Pius V. would certainly have found his wings clipped, but now the way lay open before him, and this was especially owing to the labours and sacrifices of those great men who, by their foundation of the great reforming Orders had found a way of multiplying themselves, and producing innumerable more or less faithful copies of themselves. Besides this, the great reforming Pope found among his own contemporaries many men of a like stamp with himself. Philip Neri with his band of disciples was working close at hand for the moral regeneration of the Eternal City.[1] In north Italy it was under Pius V. that the great Archbishop of Milan began by means of his provincial councils to become the disciplinary law-giver for the whole Church. Germany had its Peter Canisius and France at least its Cardinal of Lorraine and its Possevino. These men formed the mountain tops, which, visible to the eyes of all the world, shed their light far and wide, but the historian, if he looks a little deeper, can see that they were neither isolated nor alone, but only the highest peaks of a whole mountain range, yet showing at the same time that side by side with these heights of sacrifice and energy there were still to be found the lowest depths of decadence and immorality.

According to the saying of Borromeo,[2] in the XVIth century it was the clergy of Spain who especially proved themselves the "nerve centre of Christianity."[3] Among them must be

Christina, of October 16, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 15 *seq.*; two others to King Sebastian and Cardinal Henry of Portugal, of October 27, 1567, *ibid.*, n. 17 *seq.*

[1] Further particulars in Vol. XIX. of this work.

[2] "Il clero . . . di Spagna che è il nervo di tutta la christianità." Borromeo, August 18, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 436.

[3] The following Spaniards of the XVIth century were deemed worthy of canonization: John of God (died 1550), Francis Xavier (died 1552), Thomas of Villanova (died 1555), Ignatius of Loyola

numbered that simple priest who, before the time of Pius V., had for forty years travelled about in voluntary poverty, preaching from one city to another, and by his eloquence working miracles of moral regeneration; this was Juan de Avila. His original intention had been to go as a missionary to America, but at Seville, whence he was preparing to set sail, the archbishop persuaded him to devote himself to his archdiocese. Avila's eloquence sprang from his very soul. His only preparation for his sermons consisted in spending the preceding night in meditation and prayer; it was said of him that he studied on his knees; when he was asked how to become a good preacher, his answer was that it was only necessary really to love God. His own discourses, to quote an eye-witness, kindled a fire in the hearts of his hearers; not only did the common people flock to him, but noble lords and ladies gave up lives of sin, or dedicated themselves to lives of high perfection. In many ways his ideas coincided with those of Ignatius Loyola, whom he greatly venerated. Avila, too, realized that the true foundation for a lasting renewal of the Church was to be sought specially in the instruction of the young, and the training of good priests. The Apostle of Andalusia died at Montilla at the age of seventy, on May 10th, 1569.[1]

That thing which was so often manifested in the work of Avila, namely that a small impulse is sufficient to call into being a deep religious life, even in a community that is to all appearances quite depraved, was also proved by another great popular missionary, Alessandro Sauli, the Apostle of Corsica, in a much more neglected field of missionary labour.[2] Born

(died 1556), Peter of Alcantara (died 1562), Francis Borgia (died 1572), Louis Bertrand (died 1581), Teresa of Jesus (died 1582), John of the Cross (died 1591), Paschal Baylon (died 1592).

[1] Beatified by Leo XIII. in 1894. Louis of Granada wrote his life (Opere, VI., Madrid, 1787, 611 *seqq.*). Other special literature in *Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg*, I², 1766.

[2] Life by GABUTIUS in *Acta Sanct.*, October, V., 806-83. *Cf.* S. Alessandro Sauli, Note e documenti, Milan, 1905. His correspondence with Bascapé was edited by PREMOLI in *Riv. di scienze storiche*, 1907 and 1908.

of a noble family at Milan, the fifteen year old Sauli knocked one day, dressed in cloth of silver, at the doors of the Barnabite convent in that city, and asked to be received into the Order. In order to test his firmness of purpose, he was ordered to go in broad daylight, with a cross upon his shoulders, to the market place and there preach a sermon on penance. Sauli did as he was told, and found men ready to listen to him, which is certainly a striking proof that, in spite of all their licentiousness, a true Christian spirit was still to be found in the great cities of Italy. Ordained priest, this young man, who was so full of talent, was first given a cure of souls at Pavia, where he also taught philosophy and theology; in 1567 he was elected General of his Order, and in 1570 was made Bishop of Aleria in Corsica by Pius V.[1]

Sauli found appalling conditions existing in the island. After the insurrection of Sampieri (died 1567) the country had become a desert, the people greatly reduced in numbers, and in a state of absolute barbarism. Pestilence and famine, too, were rife, agriculture was at a standstill, and men subsisted on acorns and herbs. Filippini, the historian of Corsica, gives the names of sixty places which were laid waste and entirely deserted; within a period of thirty years 28,000 murders had been committed.[2] After his arrival in the island Sauli wrote to Borromeo that in his whole diocese he could not find two habitable rooms, and that he had not the materials to build even a Capuchin's cell. In his episcopal city only the walls of the cathedral and a fort were standing, everything else had been destroyed by fire and pillaged. For the time being, therefore, Sauli took up his residence at Corte, and courageously began his episcopal labours. The means by which he sought to repair the religious devastation were those recommended by the Council of Trent. The first thing he sought for was a supply of priests to instruct the people; he gathered them together in synods to instruct them in their

[1] By a bull dated "anno dell' incarnatione 1569, 4 id. febr., i.e. February 10, 1570, printed in S. Alessandro Sauli, 110 *seqq.* *Cf.* PREMOLI, Barnabiti (1913), 231 *seqq.*

[2] F. GREGOROVIUS, Corsica, I., Stuttgart, 1854, 54-56.

duties, he established a seminary, urged catechetical instruction, and with incredible privations and labour carried out an episcopal visitation. Time after time he fell ill, as the result of his toil in that pestilent climate, but he persevered none the less. In the most desolate part of his diocese, at Argagliola, his fellow workers deserted him, and left him alone at his post. Besides the duties of his episcopal office he undertook all the labours of a simple priest; in the seminary he himself delivered the lectures, and on his journeys he himself taught the catechism, visited the sick and heard confessions. His influence over the people was so great that, in the quarrels which were always breaking out, he dared to throw himself between the combatants, in order to prevent the shedding of blood, and thus to obviate those consequences which, on account of the appalling prevalence of the vendetta, followed upon a murder. He continued his unwearied activities for more than twenty years, until Gregory XIV. in 1591 translated him to the see of Pavia, where he died in the following year. Pius X. canonized him in 1904.

Pius V. had his part in the reform of Corsica by addressing briefs of encouragement to Alessandro Sauli and the other four bishops of the island, in which he strongly urged upon them above all things the religious instruction of the common people, the reform of the clergy, and the strict observance of the Tridentine decrees.[1] He exhorted the Republic of Genoa to assist the Corsican bishops in their laborious task.[2]

Just as Sauli, like the Pope himself, had come from a religious Order, so was it to fall to such bodies in the future to take an immense part in the renewal of ecclesiastical life. Pius V. fully realized the importance of this, and from this conviction sprang his anxiety to give back their full vigour to these valuable instruments of reform.

[1] Briefs of May 4, 1569, onwards, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 81 *seq.* The Bishop of Sagona, Girolamo Leonio, received a special brief praising him for having worked with success for the establishment of peace. The other four briefs are in the same strain. For Blessed Burali and Ribera see *supra* pp. 165, 222.

[2] Brief of May 4, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 83.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reform of the Religious Orders.

The Council of Trent also forms a landmark in the history of the religious Orders, which were able to raise themselves from the low state into which they had fallen, on the basis of its decrees. It is true that even in the first half of the XVIth century the monastic Orders still retained their important place in the Church;[1] they still gave to her a number of good bishops, while they gave the Holy See its nuncios and Cardinals, and the universities their professors of theology; at the Council of Trent they had been represented by distinguished and influential doctors and bishops. The Dominican Order in particular had distinguished itself in the years immediately preceding the Council by a band of men who were illustrious alike in ecclesiastical learning and administration, and in his many rescripts in favour of his own Order, Pius V. professed himself its grateful son and disciple, and one who owed everything to it.[2] Another proof that not everything in the monasteries was corrupt and spoilt is to be found in the many attempts made to awaken the old ideals to a new life by the formation of reformed congregations; the whole of the XVth and XVIth centuries are filled with such attempts and foundations.[3]

But it is plain that, although individual members of the

[1] Tacchi Venturi, I., 43 *seq.*

[2] "Unde, licet imparibus meritis, Nos etiam tamquam ex fonte profluximus." Constitution on St. Thomas Aquinas, §2, Bull. Rom., VII., 564; *cf.* 801, 904.

[3] Tacchi Venturi, I., 45. Pius Schmieder in *Studien und Mitteil. aus den Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden*, XI. (1890), 580 *seqq.*; XII. (1891), 54 *seq.* For the good convents in Germany see Braunsberger, Pius V., 70.

Orders could, if they so wished, keep themselves free from the general decadence, these shining exceptions could not disguise the fact that the decadence existed, and it was these very men who so eminently represented their Orders who made the fact clear.[1] To this matter the Council had set its hand. In its decrees on the reform of the religious, both men and women, it struck a mortal blow at the principal existing abuses, and wherever these decrees took effect and were carried out the Orders took on a new lease of life. In reality, during the century that followed the Council, all the ancient Orders were reformed, while some of them attained to a state of perfection such as had never been seen even in the best period of religious life.

In the case of several of the Orders the difficulties in the way of a renewal were so great as to seem almost insuperable, even with the best will in the world. By order of Pius V. in 1569 the procurator-general of the Cistercian Order, Nicholas Boucherat, and his companion, Dionigi de Laceronis, made a visitation of all their convents in south and central Italy, as well as in Sicily.[2] In the 27 Cistercian houses on the mainland they only found 56 Cistercians, distributed over

[1] Testimony of Musso, Seripandò, etc., in TACCHI VENTURI, I., 46 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* A. POSTINA in *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIII. (1901), 193 *seqq.* Postina (p. 196, n.) attributes the report of the visitation to 1561, but it bears the date 1569, though in another hand; moreover, the *brief giving faculties for the visitation is dated January 28, 1569 (Nicolao Boucherat, proc. gen. ord. Cist. de Recluso Trecensis dioec., ac Dionysio de Laceronis de Morimondo Mediolanensis dioec. Monasterii dicti ordinis Cist. prioribus commissariis: Archives of Briefs, Rome); lastly, in the bull of March 8, 1570, the visitation is spoken of as having taken place recently (recenti visitatione). Nor is any proof to the contrary furnished by the mention, made in the report, of Cardinal Taddeo Gaddi (died 1561), because it does not state that Gaddi was still alive. For the reform of the Cistercians at Florence, *cf.* GUILLAUME, L'abbaye de Cava, Cava de' Tirreni, 1877, 324. A brief of September 7, 1566, on the reform of the Cistercians in Tuscany in WADDING, XX., 429.

eleven centres, while the remaining abbeys and priories were either completely abandoned, or inhabited by monks of other Orders, and in some cases by a few secular priests in order to provide for the bare necessities of divine worship. The report of the visitation of the famous Abbey of Fossanova, says that the church indeed was very spacious, but was stripped of all adornment, that the ancient stalls of the choir had absolutely disappeared, that the roof of the church was full of holes, so that the rain came in everywhere, and the monks could not remain in choir near the altar. A fourth part of the house of the monks was in ruins, and here too the rain came in everywhere, so that what was left of the house was falling into ruin. The chapter-house was still intact, but the windows had no glass or protection of any kind, so that the cold and wind came in unchecked ; it was the same with the windows of the church, so that in the winter the monks could not sing office there, nor even say mass because of the danger of the wind blowing away the sacred host. The chapel and the room in which St. Thomas Aquinas had died were without a roof, and on the verge of falling down. In the dormitory the rain came in so badly that very often the monks had to leave their cells on account of the water that poured in, and move their beds to some other place. Things were no better in the other monasteries ; of some we are told that no one any longer dwelt within their tottering walls, and where we do hear of monks being in residence it is often added that they lacked the necessary means of support. Conditions were, comparatively speaking, best in the monastery of S. Maria del Sagittario, in the diocese of Anglona. There there were ten monks, says the report, but they had not the means to support and clothe themselves. The monastery was falling down and they had no refectory. The dormitory was still standing, however, and the church was intact and well equipped, but even this was due to the fact that the monks were for the most part carpenters by trade.

The seven Cistercian houses in the island of Sicily were in rather a better state. Some of them were still either completely or partially in a good state of repair, but taken

altogether they only contained thirteen monks, and all of them lacked the books and vestments necessary for divine worship.

It is uncertain whether the monasteries in question had come to be held in commendam because they were ruined and deserted, or whether the commendatory abbots were responsible for the ruin, but so long as the revenues of the abbeys passed into alien hands it was impossible in every case to bring about a revival of their religious life; even zealous and energetic men, who were likely to give them a new impetus, could not but feel but little inclination to enter half ruined monasteries. In these desperate circumstances Pius V. did all that he could. In a bull of reform for the Cistercians,[1] he not only assured them of his own sympathy, declaring that one of the most pressing of all his many pressing anxieties was that so many religious houses had been stripped of their rights and left to fall into ruin, but he also forced the commendatory abbots to leave a sufficient number of religious in the monasteries, to provide them with all that was necessary, and to restore the ruined buildings. He further gave the monks themselves a number of regulations, the observance of which was calculated to produce a revival of religious life. In the circumstances of the times Pius V. did not dare to abolish the system of commendams itself. This had become widespread, especially in France, where no less than 1040 monasteries were held in commendam,[2] but a conference in consistory on this deplorable state of affairs only resulted in everything being left as before.[3]

Pius V. had been asked for help by the Cistercian abbots, but in many cases he took action without waiting to be asked, driven thereto by the burning zeal which he felt for the restoration of the religious Orders. There is nothing in the Church

[1] Of March 8, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 813 *seqq.* On October 23, 1567, Pius V., had granted a brief of protection against the commendatory abbots; *ibid.* 622.

[2] THEINER, Acta, II., 679.

[3] "Decretum est, nunc quidem nihil innovare." Consistory of December 11, 1570, in GULIK-EUBEL, II., 47.

of God, he wrote on one occasion,[1] which we consider more glorious and more useful than the flourishing of true discipline among those who, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, have dedicated themselves to the monastic life. In the case of those houses which through their own fault persisted in a state of decadence, he showed both his zeal and his ruthlessness, as was the case with the Abbey of Fonte Avellana in the diocese of Gubbio, once famous on account of St. Peter Damian. In the first instance the Pope sought, through the agency of the Archbishop of Ravenna, Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, to bring back the monks, who had fallen into a very bad state, to a better manner of life,[2] but when they rejected his reforms on the pretext that their vows only bound them to the more or less easy life then prevalent, Pius V. suppressed the abbey and gave it to the Camaldolese; the former monks of Fonte Avellana were obliged either to join the latter or enter some other Order.[3]

The suppression of the Order of the Humiliati caused a greater stir.[4] This Order, which owed its origin to a body of men of noble birth who had been taken to Germany as hostages, and had there devoted themselves to a zealous religious life, had adopted as their form of manual labour the manufacture of cloth, and had in this way attained to a wealth which brought about their ruin. About the middle of the XVIth

[1] Bull of April 23, 1568 (for the Knights of the Cross), Bull. Rom., VII., 666.

[2] *Brief to the Cardinal, March 26, 1568, Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[3] Bull of December 10, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 52, and in Bull. Rom., VII., 788. *Cf.* ALB. GIBELLI, Monografia dell'antico monastero di S. Croce in Fonte Avellana, Faenza, 1896; MITTARELLI, Ann. Camaldul., VIII., Venice, 1764, 130 *seqq.*

[4] SALA, Documenti, I., 195 *seqq.*, 215 *seqq.*, 220 *seq.*, 237 *seqq.*, 248 *seqq.*, 254 *seqq.*; III., 339, 383 *seqq.* BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 4 and 10, p. 34 *seqq.*, 44 *seqq.* SYLVAIN, II., 17 *seqq.* *De reformatione Humiliatorum in Cod. Ottob. 2519 (varia diversorum, t. XII. cardinalis Ludovisii) p. 146-156; *ibid.*, p. 152-154, sopra le cose de Frati Humiliati a Ms. Ormaneto, Vatican Library.

century it comprised less than 200 members,[1] who, living in magnificent palaces, and surrounded by servants, squandered the great possessions of the Order in banquets and worldly pleasures.[2] It needed some courage to interfere for their reform, because the nobles of Lombardy looked upon the rich houses of the Humiliati as places of retirement for the members of their families, and because the Order had at its command the influence of powerful friends and relatives.[4] Cardinal Borromeo, however, who had been Protector of the Humiliati since 1560,[4] possessed this courage. He had already, in the time of Pius IV., made some attempts to reform them through the agency of Ormaneto, but in vain. After the death of his uncle he went into the matter with Ormaneto and with the Pope himself, and asked for a brief ordering all the superiors to resign their office, limiting their term of office to a short period, placing in other hands the administration of the property, and obliging all the members to a true monastic and common life.[5] Armed with this brief, in June, 1567, Borromeo took the Humiliati by surprise at their chapter at

[1] According to BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 13, p. 54, in the 94 provostships, of which many were vacant, there were 174 monks, with revenues of 25,000 ducats; another 30,000 ducats of revenue were given in commendam. In Milan alone the Humiliati possessed eight churches. The bull of February 8, 1571, mentions only 84 priests and 17 lay brothers (Bull. Rom., VII., 891). According to Tiraboschi (Vetera Humil. monumenta, I, Milan 1766, diis. VIII) the order in the middle of the XVIth century had 162 members, including the novices and lay brothers, 97 houses, of which 39 were commendams and 58 provostships, and 60,000 gold florins. SALA, Dissertazioni e note (for the biography of Borromeo), 413, n. 3.

[2] Thus the bull of reform of May 1, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 74.

[3] BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 4, p. 35.

[4] SALA, Docum, I., 414.

[5] Brief of May 1, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 74. SALA, Docum. I., 195 *seqq*. *Cf.* BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.* A *brief "Duci et dominio Venetiarum" of June 20, 1567, invites him to assist the Cardinal in the reform of the Humiliati. State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

Cremona; they had had no suspicion of what was impending when he declared the recently held election of a new General invalid, and in virtue of his plenary powers from the Pope[1] conferred that office on a more worthy man, who, under the influence of the Barnabites, had adopted a stricter manner of life.[2]

Borromeo had been quite prepared to have to secure the acceptance of the brief by force, but the Humiliati did not venture on armed resistance until it came to a question of imposing new superiors.[3] They maintained that the brief had been obtained by means of misrepresentations, and was therefore invalid; they appealed to the Pope, and at the same time sought to secure the protection of the secular princes. These steps having proved unavailing,[4] and as Borromeo continued his efforts to impose the reform,[5] the exasperation of many of the members of the Order grew beyond all bounds. On the evening of October 26th, 1569, the Cardinal was taking part in some devotions in the little chapel of his palace when a shot was fired at him from a distance of some four or five paces. The ball struck him on the spine, but only penetrated his dress, and was afterwards found on the ground; some small shot pierced his dress and reached the wall without doing any damage. In the midst of the general confusion Borromeo remained quite unmoved, and ordered that the function should be quietly proceeded with, a thing which facilitated the escape of the assassin.[6]

[1] Of May 10, 1567, in SALA, Docum., I., 201.

[2] For the latter see BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 4, p. 36.

[3] *Cf.* the five letters of Borromeo of June 26, 1567, in SALA, Docum., III., 383 *seq.*

[4] Brief of June 28, 1567, *ibid.* I., 205.

[5] *Brief to Borromeo of September 10, 1568, with faculties for the reform (it includes the notice: "S.D.N. mandavit fieri reformationem etiam per viros alterius ordinis a cardinali deputandos). Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Cf.* the *brief of May 22, 1567, to the General of the Humiliati, *ibid.*; BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 10, p. 44; bull of July 23, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 695.

[6] Letter from Borromeo to Pius V., October 29, 1569, in *San Carlo Borromeo*, 366 (in GIUSSANO, 176 the letter has been altered

Soon afterwards the responsibility for this crime began to be attributed to the Humiliati. Before long Borromeo learned further particulars when a provost of the Humiliati, named Bartolomeo, struck with remorse, secretly informed the Cardinal that he had actually heard some of the Humiliati planning his assassination. If the matter had been dealt with in accordance with Borromeo's wishes, a judicial inquiry would have been held, but Pius V. was determined upon the punishment of the assassins. The bishop who was sent to try the case declared that all who did not inform him of what they knew about the matter were excommunicated. At this point Borromeo thought it a matter of conscience to urge Bartolomeo to comply with this demand. With the help of several confessions made before the Papal commissary, the full truth was at length discovered, namely that the affair had been carried out by one of the Humiliati, and had been planned by three dignitaries of the order, the provosts of Vercelli, Caravaggio and Verona.[1]

Pius V., who had previously had thoughts of abolishing the Order, now determined to expiate the crime by the suppression of the whole institute. At a consistory which he held on the subject on February 7th, 1570, none of the Cardinals spoke openly in favour of its continuance, and Pius V. declared that, with the exception of the General, he did not know of a single worthy man in the whole order.[2] A bull of February 7th, 1571, suppressed the Order,[3] and another of the following day

in style). Contemporary report in SALA, Docum., III., 418. *Cf.* BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 12, p. 50; L. ANFOSSO, Storia dell' archibugiata tirata al card. Borromeo in Milano, 1569, Milan, 1913.

[1] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 50 *seq.* A *brief of July 15, 1570, on the attempt in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] SANTORI, Diaro, 320 *seq.* For the steps taken by the General an behalf of his Order *Avvisi di Roma of September 23 and 27, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 343, 348, Vatican Library. There was also on idea of incorporating the Humiliati with the Barnabites and thus helping their reform. *Cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 263 *seq.*; S. Alessandro Sauli, 104 *seqq.*

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 885. On March 6 the bull was publicly posted: see *Avviso di Roma of March 7, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 28, Vatican Library.

made over its possessions to various ecclesiastical purposes.[1] The female branch of the Order, however, was allowed to continue.[2]

In the case of some of the Orders, in order to simplify their government, and thus conduce to their reform, Pius V. reunited the various branches to their parent stock. For example, with the original intention of reintroducing a stricter monastic life, a special congregation of Servites had been formed alongside the original Servite order, and in the same way the Amadei, and to some extent the Clareni,[3] had sprung up within the Franciscan Order, but with the lapse of time decadence had crept into even these congregations, and Pius V. therefore, in these two cases, did away with their separation from the main Order.[4] Borromeo in particular worked for the reform of these Franciscan congregations, though it was only after a long time, and after having to overcome an

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 888; *cf.* SALA, Docum., III., 248. Sums were also distributed among the Cardinals: see *Avviso di Roma of February 14, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 22, Vatican Library. A letter of August 5, 1573, on the punishment of the guilty Humiliati in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1908, 187 *seq.* The brief of March 13, 1570, which asks the Duke of Savoy to hand over the aggressor, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 156. For the use made of the Humiliati houses of Lugano and Locarno *cf.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Dokumente, 21

[2] A *brief of July 6, 1571, to the Bishop of Verona approves his plan of adding to the nuns of S. Cristoforo at Verona four experienced nuns, who would be able by their example to lead the others to a better manner of life. The bishop received the power to change at will the habit and office of the Humiliati nuns. Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 189 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] The Clareni began in 1294; the founder of the Amadeisti died in 1482.

[4] Bull concerning the Servites, May 5, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 817; on the Amadeisti, etc., January 23, 1568, *ibid.* 651. SALA, Docum., I., 190; *cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 138; WADDING, XX., 445, 447, 461, 476.

obstinate resistance, that he succeeded in reuniting them with the Observants.[1]

Immediately after his election Pius V. displayed special anxiety in the case of the Spanish Orders. This was the result of representations laid before him by Philip II. Even before the Council of Trent had issued its decrees on religious communities, the Spanish king had had their reform under consideration. His particular object was to make the Orders in his kingdom independent of superiors residing abroad. The reasons which prompted this desire had their root in a genuine zeal for religion. In the case of the Order of Calatrava, for example, the superior was appointed by the Cistercian abbot of Morimond, and his choice almost always fell upon a Frenchman, who did not know Spanish, did not understand the conditions of his subjects, and who therefore could not remove the evils which had crept in. The French monasteries, moreover, were decadent in various ways, and in some cases were even infected with the ideas of the new religion, to such an extent that Philip very reasonably could not look for any good results from this close union with France. It must be admitted, however, that considerations of quite another kind also influenced the king. Some of the monasteries in Navarre and Aragon had to make contributions to the mother houses in France, which gave the French king an excuse for interference in Spanish affairs.[2]

In 1560 the king obtained from Pius IV. for the Order of Calatrava its independence from Morimond. He had similar plans for the Cistercians in Navarre and Aragon, and later, in 1564, for the Trinitarians, and in the same year for the Carmelites, who were all to be only nominally dependent upon their Generals in Italy. It was also the king's wish that the Grand Master of the Mercedarii should always be a Spaniard, though he was never to hold his office for life. When in 1563

[1] LADERCHI, 1568 n. 34. BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 5, p. 36. Ioanni de Stronconio O. Min. on the reform of the Clareni, August 1, 1567, in WADDING, XX., 445.

[2] SERRANO in Corresp. dipl., IV., xxix.

the Cortes suggested a reform of the Order, Philip conceived a far-reaching plan. His ambassador in Rome, Requesens, was instructed to ask that the king might appoint visitors; until they had completed their work, and new rules had been published for the Order, no more novices were to be accepted, and after the visitation new superiors were to be appointed; it was also provided, as part of the proposed reform, which was to be carried out under the supervision of the archbishops, that all the small houses were to be suppressed, and the superiors were only to remain in office for three years.[1]

All these proposals were shipwrecked, partly on account of the protests of the French king, and partly because of the opposition of the superiors of the Orders. When he went as legate to Spain in 1565,[2] Cardinal Boncompagni took with him briefs for the reform of the Trinitarians, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians and Isidorians, but he made no use of his powers because, at the death of Pius IV., which occurred soon afterwards, he returned hurriedly to Italy.[3]

Better days for the reform of the Spanish Orders came with the accession to the throne of Pius V. Even in the first days of his reign the new Pope said to the Spanish ambassador that in this matter he would grant the king more than he had asked for; let them send him from Madrid their proposals as to how the necessary faculties should be drawn up, but let them at the same time keep the matter secret, because in such cases passions were likely to be sharply divided, and the Orders had their agents everywhere.[4] In spite of this, however, the sending of the necessary briefs was delayed for a time. In Rome they were convinced that the reform could never be carried into effect without the co-operation of the civil power, but at the same time it seemed dangerous to give such wide powers over ecclesiastical affairs to the king and his nominees. Pius V., moreover, did not wish to place the reform of the Orders

[1] *Ibid.* xxx *seq.* For Calatrava *cf. ibid.* I., 306.

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 334.

[3] Corresp. dipl., IV., xxxiii; *cf.* I., 9.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., January 25, 1566, *ibid.* I., 112.

in the hands of bishops who were not themselves religious, and had no experience of monastic affairs.[1] For all these reasons the briefs had to be written and rewritten several times before they were thought to comply with all the existing requirements.[2]

The reforming zeal of the Pope specially had in view the Spanish Conventual Franciscans, who had a bad name with him; the same thing applied to those other religious bodies which, following the example of the Franciscans, had divided into two branches, one more strict, and known as the Observants, and the other more mitigated, and called Conventuals. Pius V. now sought to counteract that tendency to decadence which followed upon the extension among the Spanish convents of the less strict branch, by putting an end altogether to this division in the Orders, and making them all Observants. The bull which was issued for this purpose on December 2nd, 1566,[3] complains in its preamble of the bad state of so many Orders which for a long time past had been drifting away from their original rule, and especially of the scandalous life of the Franciscan Conventuals, with regard to whom King Philip had asked for the intervention of the Pope.[4] The Pope therefore ordains that the bishops, together with the Provincial of the Observants, and another religious of the stricter manner of life, shall introduce the reform into all their convents. Those who had hitherto been Conventuals must make over their houses to the Observants, and suffer themselves to be

[1] Requesens 13 (18 ?) September, 1566, *ibid.* 339.

[2] Requesens, December 8, 1566, *ibid.* 409.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 494.

[4] *Cf.* *Fragmento d' una lettera del Re di Espagna [d. d. 15 Nov. 1563. con un Memoriale circa gl' abusi de Regolari: Cod. Ottob. 2519 (Varia diversorum t. XII cardinalis Ludovisii) p. 200-209. The Memoriale *ibid.* 202b-204. *Ibid.* 204-205: De reformatione regularium et conventualium ("Rex catholicus petit revocari omnia privilegia" etc.); p. 205-209: Memoriale d' alcuni capi occurrenti sopra la reformatione di Espagna ("Che si representa a S. Stà la necessità che è di riformare nelli regni di Castiglia, Aragon, Valencia"). Vatican Library.

scattered among the various convents. For the future no one was to be superior of a convent unless he belonged to the stricter branch. What was thus ordered in the case of the Franciscans was to apply equally to all the other Spanish Orders which were divided into Conventuals and Observants, such as the Canons Regular, the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Dominicans, the Augustinian Hermits, and the Carmelites. Where more grave defects had occurred severe penalties must be inflicted, and, in case of need, even condemnation to the galleys and imprisonment for life. The convents of nuns, which had hitherto been under the direction of the Conventuals, must also be reformed by the bishop and his colleagues, and placed under the care of the Observants.[1]

Naturally the bishops were unable to visit all the houses of their dioceses at the same time, and it was therefore possible for the religious who were unwilling to change their manner of life, to fly to another house of their Order before the arrival of the commissioners and thus perpetually escape the notice of the bishop. Several of the Conventual houses, moreover, were not conveniently situated for the purposes of the Observants, and could only with great difficulty be taken over by them. As the result, therefore, of some representations made to him by the king, the Pope declared[2] that the visitation could also be carried out by other persons commissioned for this purpose by the bishops and the provincial superiors, and that the bishops and provincials might decide

[1] Edict of December 12, 1566. Bull. Rom., VII., 496; cf. WADDING, XX., 435.

[2] April 16, 1567, *ibid.* 565 *seqq.* A *bull for the reform of the Spanish nuns, July 15, 1567, in the Archives of Briefs, Roma; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1568, n. 38. In the Archives of Briefs, Rome, there is another *bull of November 9, 1568, on the extension of the reform of the convents of the Franciscans and Poor Clares to the kingdoms of the crown of Aragon. A *brief of January 7, 1571, to the Bishop of Urgel, who is unwilling to assist the provincial in the reform of the recalcitrant nuns, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 286. Papal Secret Archives.

what was to be done with monastic houses which were not suitably situated for the Observants.[1]

In the same brief the Pope also made provision for those Orders which had no houses of the stricter observance, and which could not therefore be reformed by removing their members to such houses. Pius V. placed these under the care of other religious of a similar manner of life, as for example the Franciscan Conventuals of the Third Order under the Observants of the Premonstratensians, and the Hermits of St. Jerome under the Observants of the Order founded by the same saint.[2] The Carmelites, Trinitarians and Mercedarii were to be led to a better manner of life by the bishops, with the assistance of two Dominicans.[3]

The Franciscan Conventuals willingly submitted to the reform, and as early as November 5th, 1567, the Pope was able to express his satisfaction at what had been accomplished.[4] The attempt to subject the Spanish branch of the Premonstratensians to a reorganization met with greater difficulties. The Hieronymites were appointed as their visitors. Philip II. would have liked them to adopt the rules and habit of the visitors, and thus end their days in the Order which he himself favoured;[5] a pontifical ordinance to this effect had already been issued,[6] but now, in response to the protests of the

[1] Edict of April 16, 1567, §3, 5, *loc. cit.*, 568 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* §6-7, *ibid.* 569. *Cf.* Requesens to Philip II., March 16, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 72. Castagna had called attention to the conditions existing among the Spanish Premonstratensians, in the Third Order, and in a branch of the Hieronymites: to Bonelli, January 2, 1567, *ibid.* 1 *seq.*

[3] Edict of April 16, 1567, §8, *loc. cit.*, 570.

[4] Corresp. dipl., IV., xxxiv, n.

[5] *Ibid.* xxxviii. As a reason for the suppression Philip II. brings out the fact that in the greater part of the 18 Spanish houses of the Premonstratensians there were not more than from four to eight religious, who were ignorant and not very edifying. Letter to Zuñiga of May 14, 1568, *Coleccion de docum. inéd.*, VII., 531.

[6] Corresp. dipl., IV., xxxix: "Mandamus, quod dicti fratres Praemonstratenses ad observantiam fratrum s. Hieronymi de observantia Hispaniarum cum effectu reducantur."

Premonstratensians, Pius V. revoked his brief and turned in great displeasure on the Hieronymites because, it would seem, they had begun to carry out the brief too literally,[1] but though he no longer contemplated the total suppression of the Order, the Pope did not cease to insist upon the reform, and fresh briefs, drawn up by Ormaneto,[2] were dispatched, which were very strict, and aimed at the removal of the existing disorders. The nuncio was ordered to examine the acts of the visitations and to proceed against the more serious abuses with the greatest severity. A reform bull from the Pope then sought to secure a better state of affairs for the future.[3]

The reform of the Franciscan convents of the Third Order met with similar difficulties. These were true religious, because the inmates of these houses for the most part took true vows, but their manner of life was so far from edifying that the Pope thought of suppressing them. At first, as the result of insufficient information, Pius V. had looked upon them as people living in the world, and had arranged for the total destruction of their communities. On the representation of the Provincial, Gordillo, he withdrew this ordinance and substituted for it an exhortation to embrace the rule of the Franciscan Observants, placing at the disposal of those who did not wish to do so certain convents where they could end their days, but without the right of taking novices. This arrangement of the Pope's did not please Philip II., and he endeavoured to postpone its execution in the hope that he

[1] To Castagna, March 18, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 661 *seq.* Philip II. said that the acts of violence of the Hieronymites against the Premonstratensians referred to in §2 of this brief were an invention. To Zuñiga May 14, 1568: Bull. Rom., VII., 530; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 270, 382, 416, 450.

[2] From December 8, 1569, to January 4, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 234 n.

[3] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., xxxviii-xli. For the reform of the other Orders *cf.* *brief of July 13, 1568, on the Augustinians in Aragon, of November 3, 1569, to the Bishops of Valencia and Segovia on the convent of nuns of Las Huelgas in the diocese of Burgos, etc. Archives of Briefs, Rome.

might eventually succeed in winning over the Pope to the total suppression of the *Tercerones*, but Pius V. would not give way, and at last, after many negotiations, the affair was settled in accordance with his plan.[1]

Although he had himself asked for the Pope's intervention in the case of the Spanish Orders, Philip II. was far from satisfied with all the Papal provisions. Thus, in a letter to Zuñiga, his ambassador in Rome, he bitterly complained that the Pope had given neither him nor the ambassador any previous notice of the briefs concerning the Premonstratensians,[2] nor did he approve of the Carmelites, Trinitarians and Mercedarri being brought back to better ways by the Dominicans. Pius V., however, adhered to his arrangement on the ground that the bishops already had enough to do in the administration of their dioceses, and that, moreover, they knew nothing of the religious life or rule.[3] When, too, the king reverted to his former wish that the Spanish Cistercians should be separated from the main body of the Order and formed into a special congregation, the Pope would not agree to this.[4] In other matters as well there was good reason for complaint in Rome as to the excessive and usurping interference of Philip in the affairs of the Orders; he had, for example, sent a layman to preside at the provincial chapter of the Mercedarii, a proceeding which Pius V. was not slow to censure.[5]

The arrangements which Pius V. had made for the Third Order and the Conventuals in Spain soon came into force for the Low Countries as well.[6] In Portugal, too, at the request

[1] Corresp. dipl., IV., xli-xlv; *cf.* WADDING, XX., 459, 467, 469.

[2] Letter to Zuñiga from Cordova, March 30, 1570, *ibid.* III., 283.

[3] Bonelli to Castagna, December 16, 1569, *ibid.* 201; *cf.* 262, 323.

[4] Bonelli to Castagna, April 29, 1570, *ibid.* 263. Attempts had already been made in the time of Pius IV. to separate the Spanish Cistercians from Morimond; *ibid.* I., 305.

[5] Bonelli to Castagna, September 6, 1569, *ibid.* III., 138.

[6] The Bull. Rom., VII., 624, n. mentions the brief of November 2, 1567 (Angelo Aversano). A *brief on the reform of the Observants (to the same) of October 23, 1567, in Archives of Briefs, Rome.

of King Sebastian, the same prescriptions were made binding in 1567.[1] In the preceding year a request had been addressed to the Pope in the name of the king that he would unite all the Benedictine houses in Portugal after the manner of the Castilian and Cassinese congregations. Archbishop Bartolomeo a Martyribus, the Bishop of Oporto, and two Benedictines of the congregation of Valladolid, had introduced this reform, which Pius V. confirmed on April 30th, 1566.[2] He also united the Cistercians in Portugal to the congregation of Alcobaça in 1567.[3] Immediately after this an exhortation was sent to Cardinal Henry to bring back the monks and nuns of the order of Vallombrosa to a true religious life.[4]

The care which Pius V. had shown for the Franciscan Conventuals in the Iberian peninsula was soon afterwards extended to the whole Conventual Order. At the beginning of June, 1568, he released them from the direction of the nuns of their Order,[5] and set himself to revive the full severity of the Franciscan ideal of poverty by forbidding them once more the possession of private property.[6] This ordinance on poverty found a ready welcome among the Conventuals, and the Order of its own accord began to set about the work of reform. A

[1] Brief of October 30, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 624; *brief on the reform of convents, May 28, 1568, to Gasparo, Bishop of Leiria in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Brief of December 13, 1569, regretting that the king has entrusted the visitation of a convent to a young cleric, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 301, Papal Secret Archives. The reform had already been begun under Pius IV.: *letter from King Sebastian of Portugal to Cardinal Ricci of February 20, 1565, Ricci Archives, Rome.

[2] The brief was repeated in an edict of Gregory XIII., Bull. Rom., VIII., 3. *Cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., X. (1891), 208 *seq.*; SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteil. aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden*, XII. (1891), 73.

[3] SCHMIEDER, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Brief of July 4, 1568, Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[5] June 3, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 674. The reform had already begun under Pius IV.; *cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 589, and *supra* p. 251.

[6] June 8, 1568. Bull. Rom., VII., 676; WADDING, XX., 474, 481.

general reform was inaugurated at the general chapter of 1568, and this was, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope, made more strict and comprehensive by the General and Provincials, and then confirmed by a bull.[1] The Pope charged the Protector of the Order, Cardinal Borromeo,[2] with its execution, and the latter took great pains with the introduction of community life among the Conventuals of his diocese.[3] In Borromeo's name, and through the agency of the visitors and the commissary-general, Girolamo Curti, of Milan, the new constitution was also accepted in Germany by the chapter of the Order at Ueberlingen in 1572. The zealous Provincial of the Franciscan Conventuals in Upper Germany, Jodocus Schlüssler, had already, previously to this, been appointed apostolic visitor by Papal brief; in 1571 a chapter, also held at Ueberlingen, had introduced several useful reforms, especially one which provided that in future no one should have the office of superior conferred upon him by the civil power.[4]

The Congregation of the Third Order of St. Francis was also committed to the care of Borromeo. Before this, Cardinal Carpi had already worked on behalf of the Order, and on April 28th, 1569, he had issued some ordinances for its use, which aimed at the revival of its religious life, which had fallen into a lax state.[5] The success which these provisions

[1] July 23, 1568, *ibid.* 691 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* §3.

[3] BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 5, p. 36.

[4] K. EUBEL, Gesch. der oberdeutschen (Strassburger) Minoritenprovinz, Würzburg, 1886, 118. For the part played by the future Sixtus V. in the reform of his Order *cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 70 *seqq.* and Corresp. dipl., I., 113. *Brief to the senators of Savoy and the Bishop of Geneva, January 7, 1570, on the reform of the Franciscans at Chambéry and of the Augustinians of the convent of S. Pietro de Albignaco, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 327b, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Bull of July 3, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 679. On November 15, 1567, a *brief was sent to the Observant, Angelo da Stronconio, on the reform of the Brothers and Sisters of the Third Order in Italy. Archives of Briefs, Rome.

met with, however, was but small. Pius V. himself then intervened with so much severity that it was said in Spain that he wished to make an end of the Third Order. This report was declared to be false in a special letter from the Pope,[1] but the prescriptions of the Papal bull, later on mitigated by Sixtus V., were certainly very drastic. The government of the congregation was regulated, private property was prohibited, enclosure was enforced, and obedience to the ordinances of Carpi was prescribed.[2]

Similar exhortations and ordinances were sent under Pius V. to a number of religious communities. Such were the Knights of the Cross, who had fallen into a bad state on account of the system of commendams,[3] and the Canons Regular of San Salvatore, to whom a new General, visitor and procurator-general were given.[4] Two Dominicans were sent to the Camaldolese to satisfy themselves as to the conditions prevailing in the order, and to take what steps were necessary;[5] new statutes, which paid special attention to the matter of studies, received the Papal approval in 1571.[6] Pius recommended the monks of Vallombrosa to the care of Cardinals Ricci and Bobba.[7] Even the Cassinese congregation of the

[1] To Castagna, July 15, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 36.

[2] Bull of July 3, 1568, *loc. cit.*

[3] April 23, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 666.

[4] Edict of December 7, 1571, *ibid.* 953. Bull. Congr. S. Salvatoris, I., 139 *seq.*

[5] *Briefs "Archangelo de Tonsis de Soncino O. Praed." of March 8, 1568, and "Eliseo Veneto Ord. Praed." of May 3 1568, the latter on reform in the Veneto (Archives of Briefs, Rome). Mittarelli, Ann. Camald., VIII., 128.

[6] MITTARELLI, *loc. cit.*, 134 *seq.* SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteil. aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterzienserorden*, XII., 69. The Pope ordered them to resume the monastic habit; hitherto they had worn the dress of secular priests (*Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 96 Vatican Library). Suppression of the Camaldolese Conventuals, May 26, 1569: MITTARELLI, *loc. cit.* 135.

[7] *To Cardinal Ricci, April 10, 1568, to Cardinal Bobba for the reform of the convent of Pinerolo, June 30, 1568, Archives of

Benedictines, which on the whole was able to point to many worthy members,[1] received an exhortation to restore their former purity of observance, since, through the neglect of superiors, the Order had fallen away from its former eminence.[2] The Pope addressed a similar reproof to the General of the Carthusians, saying that he had learned with great sorrow that even there there was reason to fear the loss of discipline, unless attention was paid at once to repairing the damage done, and that holy men must be placed at the head of their houses, whose whole care must be devoted to the maintenance rather than the weakening of discipline.[3] Pius V. was specially dissatisfied with the Carthusians in Spain.[4]

Several apostolic letters were sent to Portugal complaining of the state of affairs in the military Orders there. The struggle with the Moors, on account of which these bodies had been founded and endowed with property and ecclesiastical privileges, had lost its importance as far as Europe was concerned, but Pius V. could not understand how the heirs of those heroes of the Moorish wars could live in ease on their

Briefs, Rome. *Brief of March 10, 1570, "Nicolao praesidenti generali congregationis Vallumbrosae," with powers to carry out a reform, *ibid.*

[1] SCHMIEDER, *loc. cit.* 69.

[2] *Brief of April 7, 1571, "Capitulo generali Congregationis S. Iustinae de Padua O.S.B." in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 23. *"Memoriale ad Pium V. pro reformatione congregationis Casinensis" in Archives of S. Angelo, Arm. 12, caps, 4, n. 10, Papal Secret Archives. A brief with faculties to absolve, June 13, 1571, in Bull. Rom., VII., 919.

[3] *Brief of March 19, 1571, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] LADERCHI 1568, n. 28. *Brief of June 11, 1571, to Basilio d'Urbino, on the reform of the Certosa of Pisa, Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Brief to the King of Poland, July 5, 1568, against his interference in the administration of the Certosa "Paradisus Mariae," in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 225, Papal Secret Archives. For the reform of the Augustinians see *Avvisi di Roma of September 27, 1570, and April 14, 1571, Urb. 1041, p. 343; 1042, p. 47b, Vatican Library.

rich benefices and in the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical privileges, without ever drawing a sword. If they could no longer win laurels on Portuguese soil, let the Knights go to Africa and there measure themselves against the infidel in warfare in defence of the Christian faith. It would seem that his first exhortation to this effect, addressed to the Order of Christ,[1] did not fall on deaf ears.[2] When similar appeals to the Orders of S. Giacomo della Spada and di Avis[3] had no effect, Pius V. withdrew from them their ecclesiastical privileges,[4] and ordered that no one be allowed to put on the habit of the Knights of these Orders unless they had served for three years in the wars in Africa, and that the offices which had a revenue of more than 100,000 reals should not be conferred on account of seniority, but solely for merit. A seminary must also be established for the training of the young Knights in Africa.

Pius V.'s anxiety for the revival of the religious life was by no means exhausted with the ordinances already mentioned. On July 3rd, 1568, he wrote[5] that in virtue of his office it was his duty to exact from the religious Orders, even more than from any other part of the Church, that they should keep themselves in a high state of efficiency, or return to it, and to this end, especially in the years 1567 and 1568, he issued a number of ordinances aimed at removing abuses in the Orders.[6]

[1] Of May 29, 1566, Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 214.

[2] In a brief of June 28, 1569, it is held up as an example to the other military Orders. LADERCHI, 1569, n. 330.

[3] Of June 28, 1569, which mentions another of September 13, 1568; *ibid.*

[4] August 28, 1570, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 135. *Cf.* Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 355. For the reform of the Order of St. Lazarus *cf.* bull of January 26, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 516-533; LADERCHI, 1567, n. 26.

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 679.

[6] Many such letters e.g. in WADDING, XX. (= W.) and specially in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. Thus, in addition to those already quoted or to be quoted later on, we find :—

For 1567: *January 15, to the Capuchin nuns at Naples concerning the wise administration of their convent; *January

The ambassador of the Duke of Modena had just arrived when, on February 20th, 1566, the Pope again wrote that in matters

24, to the Cardinal of Lorraine: faculties to reform the nuns in the dioceses of Metz and Verdun; *February 15, to Cardinal Giulio della Rovere for the reform of the Poor Clares at Ravenna; *March 7, to Carafa, Archbishop of Naples: "there must not be a greater number of nuns in a convent than the revenues can support"; *March 11, bull concerning the direction of the convents of women at Milan; *March 13, to Cardinal Savelli, Archbishop of Benevento, on the visitation of convents; *April 12, to the Bishop of Tournai on the reform of the Benedictines; May 10, to the Minister General of the Observants concerning the reform at Ragusa (W. 443); May 22, to the Bishop of Assisi: "youths under 10 not to be allowed in the convents" (W. 444); *May 28, to Cesare Gambara, Bishop of Tortona; *June 11, to Cardinal Bobba, on the Augustinian nuns of the convent of S. Caterina at Aosta in the province of Tarantaise; *July 2, to the Bishop of Mileto on a convent at Squillace; *July 8, to the Bishop of Tournai; August 1, to the Observant, Paolo Ariguccio, Provincial of Tuscany (W. 447); *August 6, to the Bishop of Montefeltro: "he must make a visitation of the abbey Castri Durantis."

For 1568: *January 19, to Federico [Cornaro], Bishop of Bergamo: reform of nuns; *January 28, on the enclosure of the Carthusians in France; February 2, to Cardinal Giulio della Rovere on reform at Ravenna (W. 464); *April 8, to Cardinal Morone on the Hieronimites of the rule of St. Augustine; *May 28, to the convent of St. Ursula at Louvain: "let them keep the enclosure"; July 14, reform of the convent of Cuneo, in the diocese of Mondovi (W. 474); *July 17, to the General of the Franciscans: "they are to send some monks from Lombardy to reform the Poor Clares of Naples"; *July 21, to the Dominican, Dom. della Rovere (Astensis dioecesis): reform of nuns; *July 27, to the Bishop of Sulmona; *August 10, to the Cassinese abbot on the nuns at Capua; *August 11, to Bonelli (Autograph of the Pope); *September 1, to the nuncio, Vincenzo Portico: reform of the convents in Poland; *September 10, to Giov. Franc. Bonhomini, a cleric of Verona: faculty for the visitation of his monastery at Nonantola; *October 1, to Cardinal Borromeo; *October 15, to the Cardinal of Aragon on the visitation of the

of religion, and in all that concerned friars and priests, there

convents in his diocese of Mileto; *December 7, to Federico, Bishop of Bergamo: he is to make a visitation of churches and monasteries.

For 1569: *June 10, to the Bishop of Fiesole; *June 18, bull for the reform of the convent of the Observants, S. Montani at Gaeta.

For 1570: April 4, to Stefano Molina, Franciscan Observant, on the reform of the Poor Clares at Naples (W. 495); *April 12, to Tommaso (Orfino), Bishop of Foligno, on the reform of the Benedictines; *July 14, to Cardinal Borromeo; *July 15, to the Archbishop of Prague; *December 4, "Ruffino Campaniae archipresbytero ecclesiae Veronensis, commissario nostro," on a scandal in the convent of nuns, of the Carmenino at Mantua; *December 8, to Stefano Molina: "he is to transfer 4 nuns from Aquila to the convent of the Augustinian nuns of S. Maddalena at Naples, in order to reform it"; *December 15, "episcopo Mazariensi" on the nuns of Trapani.

For 1571: *January 25, Bonifacio [de Stephanis], episcopo Stagnensi on the Observants in Bosnia; *February 8 and March 10, to Niccolò [Ormaneto], Bishop of Padua; *February 13, to [Boldrino Gregorio], Bishop of Mantua, on the enclosure of nuns; *March 10, to Cardinal Borromeo; *May 28, bull on the Franciscans; *June 12, to the Bishop of Padua on apostates; *July 2, to the archpriest, Ruffino, on the punishment of nuns in the convent del Carmenino at Mantua; *July 2, "Episcopo Carthaginensi" on the reform of nuns; *August 15, to the King of France: "may God help in the reform of the Dominicans at Paris"; *August 22, to the Archduke Charles on the reform of convents; *September 8, to Cardinal Borromeo on the Cluniac nuns of the convent of S. Maria de' Cantuani; *to Cardinal Morone on the reform of S. Chiara at Mantua; *September 17, to the Cardinal of Vercelli, G. Ferreri, on a Benedictine monastery "nullius dioecesis"; *September 18, to [Antonio Altoviti], Archbishop of Florence, to the Prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti there, and to the Provincial of the Franciscans of the province of Tuscany, on the reform of the nuns in the diocese of Volterra; *November 10, to [Pietro de Lunel], Bishop of Gaeta, on the reform of the nuns of S. Chiara at Montefalco; *November 29 "Episcopo Carthaginensi" on the reform of nuns.

was no need to press him, and that there, if anywhere, he must act with extreme care.[1]

In all his enactments concerning the Orders the Pope adhered strictly to the prescriptions on which the Council of Trent had built up its legislation for monastic life.[2] Like the Council[3] he started with the principle that their preservation as well as the guarantee of new life was not to be sought in new expedients, but in a return to the manner of life traced out for the Orders by their founders; therefore all his ordinances were carefully adapted to the peculiar character of each congregation. The great stress which Pius V. laid upon the vow of poverty as the foundation stone of the Orders was quite in keeping with the spirit of the Council.[4] In vigorous terms he condemned the abuse which had crept in in so many ways, which allowed to individual monks and nuns a kind of private possession and thus undermined the community life, and destroyed the sense of homogeneity among the members of a religious house; this abuse, he said, is the root of all evils in any convent where it has crept in, and not even the

For 1572: *February 8, to the abbot of the Cassinese congregation: he must reform the Benedictines at Capua; *March 12, to the Prior-General of the Carmelites, Giov. Batt. de Rubeis: faculties to reform the convent at Mantua; *April 12, to the Archbishop of Palermo [Iacopo Lomellini]; he is to excommunicate those who have seized the property of the monastery of S. Martino (State Archives, Palermo). L. Iacobilli, *Croniche di Foligno, in the possession of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani at Foligno, relates the reform of the Dominican convent at Foligno in 1566-1567. For the "Constitutioni delle venerabili monache convertite di Napoli" which were corrected by Pius V. himself, see PADIGLIONE, La Biblioteca del Museo Nazionale nella Certosa di S. Martino in Napoli, Naples, 1876, 110 *seq.*

[1] *"Nelle cose della religione, delli frati e delli preti non bisogna toccarli et averli tutti li rispetti possibili si mai s' ebbero." Rosetti to the Duke of Modena, State Archives, Modena.

[2] Sess. 25, de regularibus et monialibus.

[3] *Ibid*, c. 1.

[4] Sess. 25 de reg. et mon. c. 2-3.

holiest monastic rule can prevent its ruin.[1] The Tridentine decrees had carefully sought to prevent the government of monastic houses falling into improper hands, and quite a third part of its reform prescriptions is devoted to this very matter.[2] In this, too, Pius V. showed himself in complete agreement with the views of the Council. Who does not know, he wrote to the Carthusians, that the neglect of superiors is the ruin of their subjects?[3] In order that those who had no claims should not insinuate themselves into the office of superior, Pius V. threatened severe penalties against all intrigues of this kind.[4] He further limited the tenure of office by superiors in most cases to a few years,[5] and obliged them to share in the common life of their subjects, while as regards their rooms, table and dress they were to be in no way different from the others.[6] By this he secured two further points: if the superiors of religious houses no longer made their appearance as great nobles, their office would no longer offer such attractions for ambitious men, and this in its turn was bound to produce a reaction in the direction of a rule that was tempered by humility and charity.

A crying evil throughout the Church were those monks who, under the pretext that they had only taken the vows of religion out of fear, or while they were still boys, and without fully realizing what they were doing, had surreptitiously obtained

[1] "Omnium malorum radix, ubicunque gliscit, omne bonum in regula quamvis bene instituta pervertit" (to the Cistercians § 19, Bull. Rom., VII., 816): "cum omnis religio privatae proprietatis usa labefactetur et corruat" (to the Servites, § 1, *ibid.* 821). *Cf. ibid.* 693, § 16 (to the Conventuals), 671, § 19 (to the Knights of the Cross), etc.

[2] *Loc. cit.* c. 6 *seqq.*

[3] *"Quis enim nescit, negligentiam praepositorum esse subditorum ruinam?" *brief of March 19, 1571, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Bull. Rom., VII., 677, § 8 and 693, § 24 (for the Conventuals), 823, § 5 (for the Servites), 670, § 18 (for the Knights of the Cross).

[5] *Ibid.* 692, § 10, 824, § 17, 669, § 15.

[6] *Ibid.* 677, § 4, 693, § 17, 824, § 22.

permission from the Penitentieria to lay aside their habit, and had then obtained a cure of souls. Italy was full of such, and they provided heresy with its ablest preachers.[1] The Council had set up a barrier against this fatal tendency by making it very difficult to leave an Order, and by declaring that for the future all vows of religion taken before the age of sixteen were invalid.[2] The Pope carried the matter a step further by fixing the age of nineteen as that necessary for religious profession in several Orders.[3] Paul IV. and Pius IV. had already issued ordinances against monks living out of their monasteries, and it only remained for their successor to put these laws into force, a thing which Pius V. proceeded to do in the first months of his reign.[4] He also removed another abuse which had in various ways given occasion for apostasy from the religious life. It often happened that monks, on the pretext of seeking a higher state of perfection, passed to another Order, and then easily obtained permission to live outside their monastery, when they began to lead an unsettled life, and even to put aside the religious habit altogether. The Council of Trent had already taken steps against this abuse, but several superiors of Orders, on the strength of certain pretended privileges, continued to accept such monks who had left their monasteries. Pius V. put an end to this by declaring all such privileges invalid.[5]

In the case of the convents of nuns, the decrees of Trent, besides securing freedom of entry into an Order, had strongly insisted upon enclosure, by which no nun, once she had taken her vows, could leave her convent, and no stranger could enter

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 299.

[2] Sess. 25, de reg. et mon, c. 15 and 19.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 692, § 5 (for the Conventuals), 825, § 23 (for the Servites: "youths under 15 must be sent back from their convents to their home.")

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of March 23 and December 8, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 197b, 337b, Vatican Library.

[5] Bull of October 14, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 783 *seqq.*, issued on December 2, 1569. *Avviso di Roma of December 3, 1569, Urb. 1041, 193b, Vatican Library.

it without the permission of the bishop. Pius V. strengthened this law in both respects, ordering that the enclosure must be set up even when this had not been contemplated in the rule, or had not been observed from time immemorial.[1] It was Borromeo and Ormaneto who had asked for this bull.[2] A further edict declared that abbesses and prioresses came under the law of enclosure, even when they were of royal blood.[3] The Pope adhered strictly to what he had laid down,[4] and it was only with great difficulty that Serristori was able to obtain leave for the Duchess of Florence to be admitted to convents with two or three ladies when she was travelling in places where she could not find a lodging elsewhere.[5]

Since the co-operation of the secular arm was necessary for the enforcement of his bull on the enclosure, Pius V. addressed briefs on the subject to several of the Italian princes.[6] In Rome Ormaneto and the other reformers began at once to make strict use of their powers.[7] The nuns were obliged to set up the enclosure, and small convents were united to large ones ;[8] thus, for example, five convents were

[1] Bull of May 29, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 447. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 231b, Vatican Library.

[2] BASCAPÈ, 1, 2, c. 1, p. 26.

[3] Of January 24, 1570, Bull. Rom., VII., 808 ; *cf.* 450. B. Pia *reports a new bull to enforce the enclosure on April 29, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Examples in Corresp. dipl., II., 105, n. 2.

[5] Serristori on September 29, 1568, Legaz. di Serristori, 455.

[6] *Arco, July 12, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] *" Attendono hora li riformatori a voler serrar le monache." (*Avviso di Roma of June 7, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 399b, Vatican Library). *" Alphonso Binarino vicepres. vicarii almae arbis et Nitolao Ormaneto notaria nostro et Ioanni Olivae et Leoni Carpano commissariis nostris " November 12, 1567, on the visitation and reform of the religious women in Rome ; *brief of January 20, 1568, on the reform of S. Maria di Campo Marzo, *ibid.* *of July 7, 1568, and February 22, 1570, on the convent of Poor Clares at S. Silvestro in Rome, *ibid.*

[8] *Avviso di Roma of March 8, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 366, Vatican Library.

formed of the eleven belonging to the Franciscan nuns of the Third Order, and the Dominican and Augustinian nuns were treated in a like manner.[1] In order to cultivate a better spirit in the convents the Pope caused some of the older sisters from other cities to be transferred to the houses in Rome.[2] Naturally such a method was only of use where there was already good will, and where the only cause of trouble had been the lack of knowledge, but too often this good will was wanting; it was said in Rome that some of the nuns had poisoned themselves at the prospect of reform at the hands of Carniglia.[3]

As had been the case in the Eternal City, the enclosure was enforced in the Papal States,[4] and in the rest of Italy and in Spain.[5] A beginning had already been made under Pius IV.; the correspondence of Cardinal Borromeo gives some idea of the difficulties which had to be overcome.[6] At Milan the law of enclosure had been so completely lost sight of that even dances were held in the convents; the nobles of the city would not hear of the shutting up of the religious houses because they did not wish for any interference with their intercourse with their relatives who were nuns, while the religious themselves looked upon the enclosure as a mark of want of confidence. Cardinal Borromeo had to send long letters to the three sisters

[1] *Avviso di Roma of May 3, 1567, *ibid.* 390b.

[2] "They are expecting eight experienced nuns from Perugia for the reform of the Roman convents," says an *Avviso di Roma of March 16, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 37, *ibid.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of February 7, 1571, *ibid.* 46. For the corruption in the convents of women see TAMASSIA, Famiglie italiane, Milan, 1910, 322 *seq.* (for the years 1554 and 1555).

[4] Reform of the convents of women in the Roman province of the Dominicans: *brief of May 15, 1568, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 189, Papal Secret Archives; enforcement of the enclosure at Perugia in 1571; PELLINI, Storia di Perugia, II., 807.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1568, on the reform of the Conventual women, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., VI., 1. Brief to Spain of January 15, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 38.

[6] SYLVAIN, I., 267 *seqq.* *Cf.* S. Aless. Sauli, Note e documenti, 81.

of Pius IV., who had taken the veil at Milan, in order to overcome their opposition to the law of enclosure.

Pius V. was also responsible for the first Papal law of universal obligation forbidding women to enter the monasteries of men,[1] and abolishing all contrary privileges which had hitherto been granted. This law was issued in response to a request of the Carthusians, and later on was published in greater detail by Pius V. at the request of the Benedictine congregation of Monte Vergine.[2] In Germany, however, it was found difficult to carry the law into effect immediately or everywhere.[3]

Before long various objections and disagreements made themselves felt with regard to some of the Tridentine decrees. The Council had based the reform of the Church principally upon the authority of the bishops,[4] who were to have full power in their own dioceses, and in ordinary circumstances had all matters in their own hands. But the whole organization of the great Orders, which extended, under their own superiors, over many dioceses, rested upon the principle that in some respects they must form an exception to this rule; to such religious bodies as the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits it would have been fatal if they were to be broken up into as many divisions as there were dioceses, and if each of these divisions were to be placed under independent superiors. Differences of opinion were therefore both possible and even probable, nor in practice were they wanting. Even a man like Cardinal Borromeo thought that he was acting entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Council when he disposed of the regular clergy of Milan with a greater freedom than even a Philip Neri was willing to allow, and for that reason he himself founded a special congregation of priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, who were to be absolutely under obedience to the Archbishop of Milan.[5] The so-called "men-

[1] Brief of October 24, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 487.

[2] Brief of July 16, 1570, *ibid.* 488.

[3] BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 73 *seq.*; *cf.* 100.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 337.

[1] *San Carlo*, 76. VAN ORTROY in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXIX. (1910), 373.

dicant" orders found themselves in a specially difficult position; these were those religious bodies which were devoted to the care of souls, and which, according to their original constitution, could not possess property, though more than one such Order had been dispensed in that respect. Several of the bishops, after the Council, were unwilling any longer to recognize the existing privileges of these congregations. The result was that the Mendicants could no longer preach even in their own churches in virtue of the mere approbation of their own superiors, while several bishops would no longer give them permission to do so gratuitously, and even in some cases unreasonably prohibited this or that member of an Order from preaching at all. Other bishops would not allow their flock to receive communion in the churches of the Mendicants, or else publicly declared that all who assisted at Mass except in their own parish churches were excommunicated. Others, again, claimed for themselves, either wholly or in part, the legacies made to the Mendicants; in a word, as the Pope said[1] they laboured with might and main to subject the Mendicants to themselves, and were of opinion that the care of souls was not the concern of religious, but belonged only to the secular clergy.[1] Since almost all these infringements of rights which had been guaranteed by the Church were based upon ill understood passages in the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Pope in a bull dealing with the subject, gave an explanation of 26 such passages, which had given occasion for as many interpretations which were prejudicial to the Mendicants.[2] The prescriptions of this bull were later on extended to a number of other Orders,[3] while the Dominicans were once more specially protected against certain infringements of their

[1] Bull of May 16, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 573 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] To the Canons of the Lateran, of S. Salvatore and of S. Croce di Olimbaia, to the Cassinese, the Olivetans, the Vallombrosans, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the Spanish Hieronymites, the Camaldolese and the "Fratres Militiae Iesu Christi reformati" in Portugal. Bull of August 16, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 584.

rights.[1] In one respect, however, the Pope afterwards adopted a stricter attitude towards the Mendicant Orders; he had declared that their members could be authorized to hear confessions by their own superiors without the approbation of the bishops,[2] but as the result of some unfortunate experiences he withdrew this privilege.[3]

It might have been supposed that the ancient privileges of the Mendicant Orders, which Pius V. himself added to,[4] had been fully defined and explained by these bulls, but suddenly a fresh difficulty arose. The Council, it was said, had granted to all the Orders, with the exception of the Capuchins and the Franciscan Observants, the right to possess real estate; the result of this, it was claimed, was that, except for these two bodies, there were no longer any Mendicant Orders, and that the erstwhile Mendicants were bound to contribute to the seminaries. Pius V. accordingly declared[5] that the aforesaid dispensation of the Council had in no way altered the character of those orders, and that the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinian Hermits, and Carmelites, to whom he added the Servites, must be considered to be Mendicant Orders as before; that the noviciates of these Orders were nurseries for capable preachers and confessors, and were deserving of the name of seminaries no less than those which were established by the bishops, and must therefore be held to be exempt from contributions to the episcopal seminaries.[6] Once this bull had expressly placed the Servites on the same footing as the four older Mendicant Orders, the same privilege could no longer be withheld from other Orders, and the Minims of St. Francis of Paula,[7] the Gesuati[8], and the Jesuits,[9] obtained a declaration

[1] Bull of September 23, 1567, *ibid.* 586.

[2] *Ibid.* 574.

[3] Bull of August 6, 1571, *ibid.* 938 *seq.*

[4] Bull of July 29, 1566, *ibid.* 468 *seq.*

[5] October 3, 1567, *ibid.* 614 *seq.*

[6] "eorumque domos, non minus quam ea, quae per ordinarios erecta sunt, seminaria vocari posse." Bull. Rom., VII., 614, § 2.

[7] November 9, 1567, *ibid.* 633.

[8] November 18, 1567, *ibid.* 636.

[9] July 7, 1571, *ibid.* 923.

that they were true Mendicant Orders and shared in their privileges. Other bodies as well obtained a share in these privileges, even though they were not by their constitution Mendicant Orders; such were the Congregation of S. Giorgio in Alga, near Venice,[1] and the Hermits of St. Jerome[2], but in these cases the concession extended only to spiritual and not to temporal privileges.[3]

In several of these bulls the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the work being done by the Mendicant Orders. He speaks of "the rich fruits which they daily produce in the vineyard of the Lord" and of "the purity of their zeal for religion and their voluntary poverty, by means of which they devotedly serve the Most High in a spirit of true humility," and he therefore exempts them from imposts, and from the obligation of supporting the troops that pass their way.[4] He bestows special praise on the Franciscan Observants, which Order, he says, is "founded on humility, and on joy in the midst of sorrow," and which hitherto "has produced such abundant fruit, and continues to produce it in full measure day by day."[6]

[1] September 11, 1569, *ibid.* 772.

[2] March 30, 1571, *ibid.* 908.

[3] Brief of July 30, 1570, *ibid.* 837. The Knights of St. John to some extent shared in certain exemptions of the Mendicants from taxes: November 29, 1568, *ibid.* 726 *seq.*

[5] Bull of July 20, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 468. On exemption from military charges *cf. ibid.* 507, 971. The abolition of the "gabelle" for the Mendicant Orders was under consideration from the beginning of 1567; when the Pope was told that they brought in 15,000 scudi, he replied that in spite of that he was abolishing them in order to give a good example to the princes. *Avviso di Roma of January 18, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 349, Vatican Library.

[6] Bull of May 28, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 917. For the privileges granted by Pius V. to the orders *cf.* Ant. Maria Bonucci, Compendio delle grazie e favori, conferiti dalla somma beneficenza dell' ottimo, e massimo Pontefice San Pio Quinto agli ordini e specialmente alla Compagnia di Gesù, Rome, 1713. For the rights of precedence of the Canons of the Lateran and the Canons of S. Giorgio in Alga, *cf.* Bull. Rom., VII., 877, 915.

The great degeneracy of many Orders, which is blamed in the strongest terms in the edicts of Pius V., was not of universal application. If the Pope spoke in words of bitter reproach of the Spanish convents of the Conventuals, a testimony to the generally healthy state of the Observants is to be found in the fact that he was able to call upon them to reform the more mitigated branch of their Order.[1] In Italy, at any rate, the Franciscan Conventuals were, according to the testimony of Pius IV., "learned and zealous."[2] Pius V. expressly praised the stricter Hieronymites,[3] and if King Sebastian of Portugal could not speak well of the Benedictines in his kingdom, the Papal bull of reform repeats the eulogies pronounced by the king on the congregations of Montecassino and Valladolid.[4] The briefs issued by the Pope in favour of the Order to which he himself belonged are very numerous; these documents do not give the impression that he found much to find fault with or to reform in the Dominican Order; the paternal love which, as he himself often confessed, he felt for his Order,[5] moved him, not to find fault, but rather to grant new favours and privileges.[6] He sought above all to keep the

[1] See *supra*. p. 251.

[2] "sabios y celosos en Italia . . . no asi in España," Corresp. dipl., I., 112 n.

[3] "ubi [in Spain] multa et insignia sunt monasteria ipsorum fratrum s. Hieronymi, qui sub segulari observantia et religiosa vita degentes devotum Altissimo famulatam continuo exhibent" (Bull. Rom., VII., 569). Castagna wrote to Bonelli on October 11, 1568: "Los Jerónimos tienen muy buena fama en España y los distingue el Rey." Corresp. dipl., II., 416 n.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 3. [5] *Ibid.* VII., 801, 904.

[6] Edict of February 14, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 544 (for Majorca); of February 16, 1567, *ibid.* 546 (for the Irish province); of August 27, 1568, *ibid.* 699 (since they were the first confirmed by the Pope, the Dominicans have precedence over the other Mendicant orders); of September 1, 1568, *ibid.* 703 (on the penitentiaries of S. Maria Maggiore); of September 23, 1568, *ibid.* 714 (for the college of recently converted Moors at Tortosa); of January 18, 1570, *ibid.* 801 (on the privileges of the whole Order); of June 27, 1570, *ibid.* 833 (the same); of July 21, 1571, *ibid.* 931 (of the

Dominicans in the front rank in the matter of learning; he therefore ordered in the case of the Dominicans of Aragon that no one should take a bachelor's degree unless he had taught theology and philosophy for four years, and that no one should attain the degree of master unless he had been appointed by the General of the Order or the chapter-general to interpret Peter Lombard, had taught for four years, and had been proposed for the dignity by the provincial chapter.[1]

The prescription of the Council of Trent which ordered the grouping into congregations of those monasteries which were isolated and independent of the bishops was of great importance to the Benedictines. The fresh impulse which that Order experienced during the post-Tridentine period coincided with the formation of such groups, as had already been the case in the XVth century and even earlier. The grouping of five abbeys in Flanders into the Congregation of the Exempts of Belgium (1569) took place in the time of Pius V.[2] Before the close of the century two of its abbots had been appointed Bishops of Cambrai and St. Omer respectively, while the Society of Jesus owed various colleges to it.[3] The day of the

faculty for absolution of the "bolla crociata"); of March 21, 1571, *ibid.* 904 (superiors may nominate their subjects as notaries). Pius V. issued several bulls of reform for the female branch of the Order, as well as one for the Dominicans of Paris; see *supra* p. 267; in Spain he abolished the Dominican Conventuals; see *supra.* p.252.

[1] Edict of July 7, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 760.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und Zisterzienserorden*, XII., 78.

[3] The abbot of Saint-Bertin as Bishop of St. Omer set up a college there "e pecunia, quam sacerdotali frugalitate ac parsimonia ad alendos pauperes studiosos seposuerat." SACCHINI, P. III., 1, 3, n. 151. Brief of Pius V. of November 3, 1569, on the college at Douai, *ibid.* 1, 4 n. 208 (with wrong date 1568; *cf.* Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 14, n. 276b, Papal Secret Archives): "Collegium vestrae Societatis sumptibus monasterii Aquicinctensis [Anchin] eiusque abbatis [Jean Lentailleur] nuper illic institutum esse cognoscentes . . . et monachorum eorum, qui in opere tam egregio perficiendo de religione quam optime meruerunt, pietatem caritatem devotionem vehementer in Domino commendavimus."

election of Pius V. saw the death of the celebrated ascetic Louis of Blois (Blosius), who had brought his abbey of Liessies in Hainault[1] to a very flourishing condition, and who was himself a zealous supporter of the Jesuits and their work.[2] The union of the Benedictine abbeys in the diocese of Constance was decided upon at a meeting of the abbots at Ravensburg in 1568, but at first had to endure much opposition from the bishops.[3] In Switzerland the abbeys gradually began to recover from the injuries inflicted upon them by the religious innovations; at Einsiedeln, Abbot Eichhorn won for himself the name of second founder of that ancient centre of learning by his services to the economic improvement of the abbey, and his zeal for monastic discipline.[4] At St. Gall, where Protestantism had even made its way among the monks, Cardinal Borromeo, when he visited it in 1570, found in the abbot, Othmar Kunz, a man who was full of good intentions to bring about a better state of affairs;[5] Pius V. sent him a brief to encourage him and urge him forward.[6] The abbot

[1] Opera omnia, Louvain, 1568, Antwerp, 1632 (in the latter at p. xxxvii-lxxxvi his biography). *Cf.* ZIEGELBAUER, IV., 144; HURTER, Nomenclator, III³., 133 *seqq.*

[2] O. MANAREI de rebus Soc. Iesu commentarius, 18.

[3] SCHMIEDER, *loc. cit.*, 81. For the visitation of convents made by Commendone *cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work.

[4] MEIER VON KNONAU in *Allgem. Deutsche Biographie*, V., 730.

[5] Borromeo, September 30, 1570, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Doc. I., 12.

[6] SCHMIEDER, *loc. cit.*, 82. MAYER, Konzil von Trient, II., 155. How much he had it at heart that the Benedictines should be united in a congregation appears from the attitude of Pius V. towards the monastery of Farfa and the German monks there. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV. (1903), 258 *seqq.* Already under Julius III. a reform had been attempted at Farfa by the Jesuit Bobadilla (a thing which has escaped the notice of Schmidlin). For the state of the monastery *cf.* POLANCO, Vita Ignatii, IV., 133: "Fere viginti monachi germani ibi versabantur, qui et vivebant, et ut ipse [Bobadilla] scribit, bibebant germanice; et eos ad arctiorem vitae rationem traducere nihil alius esse, quam vel sepelire eos, vel dimittere." Cardinal Alessandro Farnese on

of Dissentis, Christian von Kastelberg, both as head of his venerable monastery, and as leader of the League of the Grisons, laboured in all things "in accordance with the spirit of Borromeo."[1]

While among the Benedictines the congregations were formed by the grouping of several independent abbeys, in other Orders a similar formation of congregations took place owing to the fact that members of different monasteries, who were desirous of a stricter manner of life, joined together within the Order, generally under a provincial of their own. Since the middle of the XVIth century quite a number of these congregations testified to the formation of a stricter party, which subsequently stood for the reform section of each order. It was above all the rule of St. Francis of Assisi, which, over and above what was strictly enjoined, contained so much that was only a matter of counsel and represented an ideal, which opened the way to the formation of such special congregations. One such had come into being in the houses of the so-called Recollects, whither those friars who aimed at a stricter manner of life could betake themselves. Pius V. gave encouragement to these establishments by enjoining that in each province of the Franciscan Observants there must be two such houses.[2]

One Franciscan congregation of extreme severity began to take a wider extension under Pius V. Its founder was Peter of Alcantara, who imitated the penance and poverty of St. Francis so literally that he himself did not advise it in the case of others, and which seems almost inconceivable.[3] According to the account of St. Teresa,[4] who knew him personally, for

July 19, 1566, asked for two German Jesuits for the reform of Farfa (S. Franc. Borgia, IV., 285 *seq.*), and got them (Borgia to Farnese, July 27, 1566, *ibid.* 291).

[1] WYMANN, 241. MAYER, *loc. cit.* 166.

[2] March 9, 1569, Bull. Rom., VII., 742.

[3] Acta Sanct., October VIII., 623 *seqq.*

[4] Autobiografia, c. 27 and 30 (Oeuvres, éd. M. BOUIX, I., Paris, 1859, 330 *seq.*, 364; German translation, Aachen, 1868, 358 *seq.*, 394). *Cf.* RENÉ DE NANTES in *Études franciscaines*, X. (1903), 162 *seqq.*

forty years he never slept for more than an hour and a half a day, and that standing with his head leaning on a piece of wood fastened to the wall; he could not lie down because his cell was only four and a half feet in length; often he ate only once in three days, and "when I expressed my wonder at this," says St. Teresa, "he said that it was very easy once he had got accustomed to it; his body was in consequence extremely emaciated." With all his sanctity, he was very gracious, he only spoke when he was spoken to, but then the holiness and grace of his soul gave to his words an irresistible power and attractiveness. His whole life was one unbroken prayer, in which he attained to the highest degree of mystical contemplation.

When he was a student of 16 at the University of Salamanca in 1515 Peter entered an already very strict congregation of Franciscan Observants, which had come into existence in the time of Alexander VI., and had one so-called *custodia* in Spain, and another in Portugal. Peter himself and his whole life is an eloquent witness to the spirit which prevailed in this body. In spite of his overwhelming austerity he was elected guardian, and in 1538 provincial of his *custodia*, which had by this time been formed into a province. His constitutions, in which he still further increased strictness to its utmost limits, were immediately accepted in 1540 by the chapter-general at Plasencia. Soon afterwards Peter was called to Portugal to introduce his reform there. There, too, disciples flocked to him, so that it was possible to form a new *custodia*, that of Arabida, which in 1560 became a province. He was able at last to satisfy his desire of leading a life given over entirely to meditation in a lonely convent, but once again he felt himself irresistibly drawn to the foundation of a manner of life of even greater severity and self-denial. Since this time he met with opposition, he travelled bare-foot to Rome, in 1555, and after many difficulties won over Julius III. to his plan, and then founded at Pedrosa, near Plasencia, a convent in accordance with his ideals. In spite of its severity the new life met with such success that in 1561 an entire province of the Order followed its example, and after the death of the

founder in 1562, it gradually spread through no less than 20 provinces of the order. Clement IX. proclaimed Peter of Alcantara a saint in 1669.

A little later than the Spanish Franciscans, a reformed congregation was set up among the Carmelites in Spain. The convents of women in that Order contained many members, but there was hardly any enclosure and their manner of life was far from strict. Yet it was precisely there that the fire was smouldering beneath the ashes; when Teresa de Ahumeda, a Carmelite nun of great ability in the convent of the Incarnation at Avila, went with four sisters of like mind with herself to a small house at Avila, in order to devote herself, in complete segregation from the distractions of the world, entirely to prayer and penance, the enthusiasm for a like life of sacrifice spread rapidly. In 1567 Teresa began to found other convents of a like spirit in other places, while by means of the Carmelite friar, John of the Cross, the movement spread to the male branch of the Order, and became of great importance to the Church in the centuries which followed.[1] Both Peter of Alcantara and Teresa were guided in the exercise of prayer and self-denial by the desire to make atonement, after the example of Christ crucified, for the sins of the world, and to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of others and the reform of the Church. Looked at in this light, the congregations which they founded belong to the period of Catholic restoration; they differ from the contemporary Orders which were devoted to the care of souls only in the means which they adopted, and not in the end they had in view.

If Pius V. restored their religious life to many of the Orders, in others he reformed the rule itself, or for the first time gave them a rule and constitution. The congregation of the Canons Regular of S. Giorgio in Alga, near Venice, the Hermits of St. Jerome, and in general all those religious bodies which led a community life, and were distinguished by their dress from the secular clergy, but which had hitherto retained their property and taken no vows, were now obliged to take the

[1] Particulars in Vol. XIX. of this work.

three solemn vows of religion, and adopt a definite religious rule, and were forced to expel those of their number who would not agree to this.[1] Of no less vital importance for the religious without solemn vows was another regulation concerning ordination to the priesthood. In order that priests, to the lowering of their dignity, should not have to beg for alms publicly, or provide for their support in some other undignified way, the Council of Trent had ordered that in the case of the secular clergy only those should receive priests' orders who either possessed a benefice or were able to live upon their own patrimony.[2] Pius V. now extended this order to all religious who had not taken solemn vows.[3] Solemn vows are distinguished from simple ones by their almost indissoluble character; dispensation from the simple vows of religion can be easily obtained, but solemn vows, on the other hand, are hardly ever dispensed, not even if a person leaves his Order. Moreover, certain special canonical effects are attached to solemn vows; marriage, for example, is invalid in the case of those bound by them, whereas, *in se* and *per se*, it is only illicit for those who have taken simple vows. The ancient monasticism did not recognize the solemnity of vows, but St. Thomas Aquinas considers them an essential part of the religious state.

That Pius V. did not look with favour upon religious with only simple vows is made clear by the bulls already spoken of, and still more by his attempts to change the constitution of the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions had all passed through the complete course of philosophy and theology at Paris, at that time the first university in the world, and had obtained the degree of master. When they gave their hitherto free company the form of a religious Order with solemn vows, they aimed at maintaining the high standard of learning which they had thus attained, and they therefore decided

[1] Bull of November 17, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 725 *seq.*

[2] Sess. 23, de ref. c. 2.

[3] October 14, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 723.

that only those should become members of the Society of Jesus who had in like manner proved their capacity for learning by means of searching examinations. Since, however, the number of the members would have to remain very small as the result of this decision, and it would be impossible to carry on their work on any large scale, they also admitted other capable priests, but only as *coadiutori*, that is to say as fellow-labourers with the Society properly so-called. The *coadiutori* only took the simple vows of religion; they could fill almost all the offices in the Order, but were not represented in its legislative assemble, the General Congregation, and thus could not pass laws which would have lowered the scholarly status of the Order.

Since a sufficient number of fully qualified priests did not enter the Order, and Ignatius had in consequence decided to receive youths and educate them in the Society, he only granted solemn vows to those who had given proof of possessing sufficient learning, and that only after a long noviciate, generally of sixteen years. Until then these young religious on their part, were only bound to the Order by simple vows, while the Order, on its part, was not bound to them at all; should they show themselves unsuited to the purposes of the Society of Jesus, the General could dispense their vows and dismiss them.

The bulls of Paul III. and Julius III. had approved this arrangement, but Pius V. thought that there was a certain want of equity in the fact that with these simple vows the Order was not bound in the same degree as were those who entered it.[1] He did not, however, interfere immediately, but in 1567 he ordered the Jesuits to lay before the Congregation of the Council a justification of these simple vows for the scholastics; at the same time he once again reverted to the intention of Paul IV. of forcing the Jesuits to adopt the use of prayer in choir; the memorial which he now asked for was to deal with that matter as well.

The arguments put forward by the Jesuits did not meet

[1] SACCHINI P. III., 1, 3, n. 1 *seqq.* ASTRAIN, II, 317 *seqq.*

with complete success;[1] with regard to the simple vows of the scholastics the Pope declared himself satisfied, nor did he insist any further on this point; the reasons adduced also convinced him that solemn office sung in choir was not compatible with the active work of the Jesuits in their care of souls, but he felt that it was his duty to hold them to prayer in choir, though without singing, and allowing the students and colleges to be exempt; in the case of the other churches of the Order he said that he would be satisfied if, in the case of necessity, the choir was formed of two persons only.[2] Even this obligation was only imposed orally, without any formal annulment of the earlier Papal concessions, and with a further grant of a delay pending the publication of the new breviary.[3] In the professed house in Rome the choir was commenced in 1568,[4] but did not continue for long, since Pius V.'s successor, Gregory XIII., revoked the order of his predecessor.

A much deeper blow was struck at the constitution of the Society of Jesus by the decree of October 14th, 1568, which made solemn vows a necessary condition for sacerdotal ordination in the case of religious. This decree had been in readiness for some time; as early as the Christmas of 1566 the Pope had ordered his vicar-general not to admit to the priesthood any religious who had only taken simple vows. The General of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, accordingly had recourse to the Congregation of Cardinals to ask whether the Society of Jesus was affected by this order notwithstanding the bulls of Paul III. and Julius III. The Congregation replied that the Jesuits might continue to do as they had hitherto done, but that if a priest was dismissed from the Order and found himself in need, they must provide for his support. Neither the Jesuits nor the Pope were satisfied with this reply; Pius V. ordered the congregation to re-examine the question, and when it had decided to abide by its decision, he still thought it better that

[1] Extract in SACCHINI P. III., 1, 3, n. 1-22; *cf.* ASTRAIN, II., 318 *seq.*

[2] SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* 1, 4, n. 144.

in the case of the Jesuits as well, sacerdotal ordination should only be allowed after the taking of solemn vows.[1] On May 26th, 1567, Cardinal Alciati informed the General of the order of the Pope's decision, which was to apply, not only to Rome, but to the whole Order.[2] The decree of the following October revoked all contrary privileges possessed by the Jesuits.

With this act one of the essential fundamental principles of the Jesuit Order, as hitherto constituted, was destroyed, and the Society of Jesus, as conceived by Ignatius of Loyola, was bound to disappear within a few years. The long period of probation before definite admission into the Order could no longer be retained, since ordination could not be put off for so long, and Loyola's principle of strict selection of those to be accepted became impracticable for the future.

In these circumstances Borgia addressed a circular to the provincials and the more eminent Jesuits, asking them how it would be possible to adhere to the constitutions of the Order without in any way failing in obedience to the Pope.[3] At last recourse was had to the expedient of making all without exception to take the vows of religion solemnly before ordination, but reserving the right to take part in the General Congregation to those who were subsequently admitted to the fourth solemn vow of obedience to the Pope.

Even so, the change which Pius V. had introduced into the constitutions gave rise to disturbances within and hostility without. Ignatius had introduced many things into his Order which later on proved their wisdom, but which at that time seemed altogether novel. Hitherto, in reply to the difficulties which might arise, it could be answered that these

[1] Borgia to Nadal, June 7, 1567, in NADAL, Epist., III., 480 *seqq.*; SACCHINI P. III., 1, 3, n. 26 *seqq.*; ASTRAIN, II., 321 *seqq.*

[2] SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*

[3] CANISII Epist., V., 487. SACCHINI, *loc. cit.* n. 38. The letter to Nadal in his Epist., III., 480 *seqq.* The reply of Nadal from Liège, August 14, 1567 *ibid.* 521 *seqq.* The reply of Salmeron of June 22, 1567, in his Epist., II. 121. *Cf.* SACCHINI P. III., 1, 4, n. 122 *seqq.*

things had received the approval of the Popes, and rested upon the authority which Ignatius enjoyed among his followers as a saint and a man enlightened by God, but now these two pillars on which the Order rested had been severely shaken when Pius V. withdrew the concessions of his predecessors, and declared an essential point in the conception of the founder to have been a mistake.[1] The enemies of the Order made the most of this reform of Pius V.; the Pope, so they said, is opposed to the Jesuits, he intends to change the Order completely, or to suppress it,[2] etc.

In reality Pius V. was in no sense hostile to the Society of Jesus. He valued their services,[3] endowed their colleges with revenues,[4] added to their privileges,[5] and helped them in

[1] "Infirmantur in fide instituti animi omnium, quotquot ad hanc religionem vocati sumus; si enim duas illius partes videmus abrogatas, quo pacto poterimus reliquis confidere?" Nadal in his memorial to Gregory XIII., in NADAL, Epist. IV., 171.

[2] *Cf.* a letter of the Jesuit, Gonzáles Dávila, of December 18, 1567, in S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 576 n. Borgia sent a letter to Spain on March 7, 1568 in answer to these insinuations; *ibid.* 575 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the account in SACCHINI P. III., 1, 2, n. 4 *seqq.*; ASTRAIN, II., 326 *seq.*

[4] (DELPLACE) Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in causa Societatis Iesu 1540-1605, Florence, 1887, 44-58 (52 numbers, for the most part permissions for colleges). *Motuproprio di S. Pio V sotto il dì 26 febbr. 1566 con cui concede la facoltà al collegio dei Gesuiti di Roma di poter ricevere la rassegna di 120 luoghi del monte Giulio e Pio detti del soccorso di Avignone, o tutti di un solo monte, o il prezzo per la compra dei medesimi e di tenerli per lo spazio di 10 anni, il quale terminato possano rendere, transferire e dovendo reprindere la primiera loro istituzione di vacabili (Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell' arch. segreto Vatic. 1374 *seqq.* Serie 4 dell' Inventario, p. 122, State Archives, Rome). *Brief of April 22, 1567, for the college of Olmütz (handing over of a Conventual convent), Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Cf.* Gregory XIII., January 22, 1572, in *Synopsis*, 63.

[5] Institutum Societatis Iesu. I: Bullarium, Florence, 1892, 38-49.

their difficulties with letters of recommendation. The Order he wrote to Toulouse in 1566, is doing so useful a work in the Church by its colleges that anyone who loves and supports it thereby proves himself a true and pious Catholic.[1] He exhorted the University of Cologne[2] to put no obstacles in the way of the Jesuits, for their colleges were nurseries of Catholic doctrine and of a life led in the Christian spirit, and had been called into existence by the providence of God; he himself embraced with paternal love the colleges and all the priests of the said Order. In another edict Pius V. speaks of the incalculable fruits produced in the Christian world by the Society of Jesus, which had trained such teachers, preachers, and missionaries, men distinguished alike for learning and piety, and for their exemplary life and holiness.[3] He paid another equally glowing tribute to the Jesuits in the last year of his life, when he spoke of them as men who had truly renounced the attractions of the world, and who, despising earthly riches, had united themselves so closely to their Saviour that, girt about with poverty and humility, they

[1] "ut qui illam diligunt et fovent, plane ostendant, vere se pios esse et catholicos et utilitatis publicae studiosos." Ordini civium nobilium Tolosae (s.d.), Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 132, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] "Societatis Iesu collegia, quae quasi quaedam catholicae doctrinae christianorumque morum seminaria Dei providentia per diversas orbis provincias calamitosis hisce . . . temporibus excitavit, atque adeo Patres omnes praedictae Societatis ea benevolentia paterna prosequimur etc." Brief of July 3, 1570, in REIFFENBERG, I.: Mantissa, p. 50.

[3] "Innumerabiles fructus, quos benedicente Domino christiano orbi Societas Iesu, viros litterarum praecipue sacrarum scientia, religione, vita exemplari morumque sanctimonia perspicuos, multorum religiosissimos praeceptores at verbi divini etiam apud longinquas et barbaras illas nationes, quae Deum penitus non noverant, optimos praedicatores et interpretes producendo, felicissime haetenus attulit." Brief of April 29, 1568, Bull. Soc. Iesu, 42.

went to the very end of the world to preach the Gospel at the peril of their lives [1]

If the decree making solemn vows a condition for sacerdotal ordination was a blow to the Jesuits, it was an advantage to the Somaschi, founded by Jerome Emilian. This Order had not as yet fully worked out its constitutions, and the Pope's decree put an end to several canonical uncertainties. The Order now adopted the rule of St. Augustine.[2]

As far as the other Orders were concerned Ormaneto laid before the Pope proposals for the reform of the Capuchins.[3] The Theatines were confirmed in their former privileges, and received new ones.[4] So far the Barnabites had not spread very widely, and in 1552 and 1559 steps had been taken to merge the Order into that of the Jesuits.[5] Under Pius V., however, the Order received a new life owing to the merits of the man who may be considered its second founder, Alessandro Sauli.[6]

Pius V. gave its first Papal approbation to a religious congregation which had only recently come into existence, and thus greatly assisted its progress towards becoming a true

[1] Brief of July 7, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 923. The Venetian ambassador wrote on April 12, 1567, that the Pope favoured the Roman Jesuits, who devoted themselves zealously to the service of God and the instruction of youth; they have four houses in Rome, their churches are always full, and many receive the sacraments there. MUTINELLI, I., 72.

[2] Brief of December 6, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 729 *seqq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 25, Vatican Library; *cf.* *Avviso of June 14, 1570, *ibid.* 290b. Prohibition of passing from the Capuchins to the Minims and vice versa: brief of October 6, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 617.

[4] February 13, 1568 (year of the Incarnation 1567), Bull. Rom., VII., 537; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1568 n. 17. *Motu proprio of July 12, 1566, which grants exemption from "gabelle" to the Clerks Regular of S. Silvestro in Rome, in Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell' arch. segreto Vatic. 1374-1557, serie 4 dell' Inventario, State Archives, Rome.

[5] *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XXXVIII. (1911), 152 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* PREMOLI, Barnabiti, 206. *Cf. supra*, p. 237 *seq.*

religious Order; this was the congregation of the Fatebenefratelli. After a long life spent as a shepherd and as a soldier, its founder, John of God, had been suddenly filled with the deepest sorrow for his past life by a sermon of the Apostle of Andalusia, John of Avila. By Avila's advice he began to devote himself to the service of the sick. He first established a small house at Granada, and then a large hospital, of which he took charge with a few companions until his death in 1550.[1]

Most likely John of God had no thought of founding a new Order; he and his companions, however, wore a special dress, but they took no vows of religion, and thus remained seculars. They only adopted a definite rule through the efforts of Rodrigo de Siguenza, who also had been a soldier, and had then devoted himself to the service of the sick in the hospital at Granada, and was soon afterwards elected Superior of the little company. Rodrigo then sent his predecessor in that office, Sebastian Arias, to Rome, to obtain from the Pope his approval of their pious fraternity, and leave to wear a religious habit, which could not then be worn by others, since the one which they had hitherto used had been made use of by impostors in order to obtain alms. The bull in which the Pope granted this request, and placed the brotherhood under the Augustinian rule,[2] gives some particulars as to the extent and activities of the congregation. In the hospital at Granada more than 400 incurables, lunatics, cripples and aged persons were maintained. The annual cost was more than 16,000 ducats, gathered by the Brothers as voluntary alms. Besides the one at Granada, the congregation had similar hospitals at Córdova, Madrid, Toledo and Lucena. The bull of Pius V. did not as yet give the Fatebenefratelli the right to elect a superior for the whole congregation, nor did it oblige them to take the three vows of religion.

Pius V. had only a short span of life left to him when he signed the bull in favour of the Fatebenefratelli, but at the close of his days he could truly say that the work of reform

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 529 *seq.*

[2] Of January 1, 1572, Bull. Rom., VII., 959.

of the Church in its head and in its members had been substantially accomplished.

If we attempt to form a general idea of the reforming activities of Pius V. we can only wonder that he should have been able to accomplish so much in his comparatively short pontificate.. In versatility and zeal he surpasses all the reforming Popes of the XVIth century. It was characteristic of him that he was never satisfied with what he had done. The Imperial ambassador wrote that when the Pope was entering upon the second year of his pontificate, it seemed that his Holiness had become "terrible," and was stricter and more fixed in his purpose, and without consideration for any of the princes. Only now, so he himself said, was he beginning to be Pope and to understand all that that implied.[1] A year later the Pope declared in consistory that he had not done his duty completely, that he begged God to pardon him for his neglect, and promised that he would be more full of zeal henceforward.[2] At the beginning of March, 1571, the Romans were expecting in terror from hour to hour a reform which, as a news-sheet that was secretly passed from hand to hand put it, would be "terrible."[3]

Yet how unfavourably had the secular ambassadors, especially those of the King of Spain, expressed themselves as to the goodwill of the Roman court in the matter of the carrying out of the decrees of the Council! It is the special glory of Pius V. that he gave the lie to these doubts and fears. By his unflagging zeal the dead letter of the Council gradually became a living force and changed the whole appearance of

[1] *"che sia divenuta [S. Stà] terribile e più dura e pertinace nelle sue oppinioni senza haver rispetto a principe alcuno et ha detto c' hora comincia a esser papa e a conoscerlo." Strozzi, January 25, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *"conoscer di non haver fatto tutto quello gli conveniva con tutto ciò ch' haveva fatto molte riforme, però pregava Dio a perdonarci, perchè da qui innanzi sarebbe più diligente." Arco, January 24, 1568, *ibid.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1571, Urb. 1041, p. 23b, Vatican Library.

the Church. It is with deep emotion that one may see to-day in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, among the relics of the great Pope, the printed copy of the Tridentine decrees which he used.[1] This little book became in his hands the lever by means of which he uprooted from its bed a whole world of disorders.

[1] Venice, 1565.

CHAPTER VII.

The Roman Inquisition preserves Religious Unity in Italy.

The wish that his works might be buried together with the great champion of the tribunals of the faith had found expression at the time of the death of Paul IV. in the destruction of the Palace of the Inquisition. But the futility and impracticability of any such idea was manifest to all when the former Grand Inquisitor of Paul IV., as soon as he had ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Pius V. proceeded to build a new and even more secure home for the Holy Office. On May 18th, 1566, the palace of the deceased Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, situated in the Leonine City, close to the German cemetery, passed, mainly by purchase, into the hands of Pius V., and the building, where the Inquisition was already carrying on its business, was made over to it as its permanent abode.[1] In the July of that year we find it stated that the Pope was thinking of erecting a new building, that three plans had been prepared, and that 50,000 scudi had been assigned for the purpose from the Papal treasury. In the opinion of the architect, Pino, however, this sum was insufficient. The projected palace would have to be very large, must have room for the prisons in its upper storeys, and must be built in such a way as to be safe from attacks such as that which had taken place at the death of Paul IV.[2]

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 445 *seqq.; cf.* Fontana in *Arch. Rom.*, XV. (1892), 462. A *bull "Cum nos" of August 15, 1567, contains the "confirmatio emptionis palatii ipsius inquisitionis." Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] *Ciregiola to Cardinal Medici, Rome, July 19, 1566, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 5096. *Arco on August 10, 1566, wrote to Vienna that the money for the building had been taken

The Pope, our informant adds, is occupying himself on the subject of the Inquisition more anxiously than anything else.[1]

On September 2nd, 1566, the first stone of the new building was laid with great solemnity, amid salvos of cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo,[2] and then was pushed forward with all speed. The builders of St. Peter's were instructed to interrupt their labours on the basilica, and assist with the building of the new palace of the Holy Office.[3] In July, 1567, the Pope paid a visit to the building,[4] but it was not until 1569 that he was able to place over the iron doors of the completed edifice his own coat of arms, together with those of Cardinals Pacheco, Rebiba, Gambara and Chiesa, with an inscription proclaiming that the palace was to be used for the warfare against heresy, and the spread of the Catholic religion.[5] Even before the first stone was laid the Pope

from the revenues of St. Peter's (State Archives, Vienna). The *Diarium of C. Firmanus on July 1, 1566, gives as the names of the architects "domini" Pino and Sallustio. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] * "A niuna cosa più attende S. S^tà che all' inquisizione." Ciregiola, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Avviso di Roma of September 7, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 282, Vatican Library.

[3] * "La fabrica della Inquisizione tuttavia si sollicita, et per formarla presto, hanno levato li muratori et scarpellini di S. Pietro, nel qual hora si fa niente." (Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1566, *loc. cit.* 295). The Imperial secretary, Francesco Strozzi, also *wrote on October 26, 1566, to Maximilian II. that in spite of his poverty and niggardliness (towards the Emperor) the Pope was pushing forward "gagliardamente" the building of the palace of the Inquisition; all the builders in Rome had been made to assist and it was becoming like a fortress. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Report of B. Pia of July 19, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] "Pius V. P.M. Congregationis sanctae inquisitionis domum hanc qua haereticae pravitatis sectatores cautius coercerentur a fundamentis in augmentum catholicae religionis erexit anno 1569." (Ciaconius, III., 992. Buchelius, Iter Italicum [1587-1588], in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXIII. [1900], 49). For the palace of the Inquisition *cf.* Lanciani, IV., 21-23.

had taken steps for the formation of well-arranged archives in the new building, ordering all that the minutes of the trials of the Inquisition should be collected and placed in the Holy Office, and that they were only to be made use of there.[1] Pius V. then took steps to provide the necessary revenues for the Roman tribunal of the faith.[2]

If Pius IV. had imitated the mildness of Paul III. and Julius III. in his administration of the Inquisition, it was only natural that one who was so stern and so zealous for the purity of the faith as was Pius V., should once more adopt the policy of Paul IV. It was an expression of his holy zeal when, making use of the very words of Paul IV., he declared that questions of faith must take precedence of all other business, since the faith is the substance and groundwork of Christianity,[3] and he stated in a solemn constitution that it would be his first care to see that heresies, false doctrines, and errors were removed and banished as far away as possible, for that

[1] Decree of January 31, 1566, n. 102; PASTOR, Dekrete, 28 *seq.*

[2] On April 3, 1566, the tenure of Conca (as to this see TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 387 *seqq.*; ABBATE, Provincia di Roma, II. [1894], 215), hitherto belonging to Grottaferrata, was assigned in consistory to the Holy Office (Diarium of Cardinal Farnese, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 94. *Bulla dismembrationis tenutae Conchae etc., tertio nonas April, 1566, registered on May 20, Arm. 52, t. 5, p. 1 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Bull. O. Praed., V., 124; LANCIANI, IV., 23). An *Avviso di Roma of July 7, 1571 (Urb. 1042, p. 84, Vatican Library) announces that the Pope in spite of his financial straits has assigned 12,000 scudi to the Inquisition from the sale of the property of Pallantieri. *"Notificatio facta S.D.N.P. et consensus Suae S^tis^, quod scuta 3000 partis palatii s. Inquisitionis exponantur seu investiantur in tot locis montis fidei per M. Lor. Puccio," of July 27, 1569, Arm. 52, t. 3, p. 198, Papal Secret Archives. A *mandate of January 11, 1570, assigns a salt mine "pro usu familiae et pauperum carceratorum" in the palace of the Inquisition; *ibid.* Arm. 29, t. 242, p. 189. A *mandate of November 19, 1567, orders that the exemption of the Inquisition from taxes is to be strictly observed; *ibid.* t. 232, p. 11.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 422. *Cf.* Paul IV. in PASTOR, Dekrete 16.

only thus could security and peace be restored to the Church.[1]

After an audience with Pius V., the Inquisitor of Brescia gave it as his opinion in March, 1566, that in all that concerned the tribunal of the faith the Pope stood in need of the bit rather than the spur;[2] a short time afterwards the Venetian ambassador, Tiepolo, wrote that nothing lay so near the heart of the Pope as the Inquisition.[3] Under his government all appearance of any readiness to offend against it or to favour heresy had to be carefully avoided. Cardinal Sirleto, a few weeks after the election of Pius V., thought it advisable to send a special warning to Commendone on the subject. The Pope, so he wrote by Caligari, is very scrupulous in matters of faith; Commendone must be on his guard against having any private conversation with the heretics, or, like Cardinal Este at Poissy, attending their sermons, for Pius V. would take any such act very ill.[4] When, in the last year of the Pope's life, the case of the Count of Cajazzo was being considered by the Holy Office, Cardinal Rambouillet dared to say a word on his behalf, but Pius V. silenced him abruptly, saying that it ill beseemed one who wore the Cardinal's robes to speak on behalf of anyone accused by the Inquisition.[5]

[1] Bull of December 21, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 499.

[2] Tiepolo on March 9, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 37. For Pius V.'s great strictness in all that concerned religion, see also the *report of the Este ambassador of February 23, 1566, State Archives, Modena.

[3] Tiepolo on July 20, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 50. In like manner *Arco, June 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *"che Nostro Signore è molto scrupuloso nelle cose della fede. . . . Nostro Signore haveria malissimo e quì sono molti osservatori delle sue attioni." Caligari to Commendone, February 2, 1566, Lett. d. princ., XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *"Mal vi si conviene, Monsignore, a parlare in difesa d' uno inquisito havendo l'habito che havete." (Avviso di Roma of January 31, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 15, Vatican Library). Cajazzo, however, after a "canonical purgation" was dismissed by the Inquisition (*Avvisi di Roma of September 15 and 27, 1571, *ibid.* 120, 123). On September 8, 1571, Arco *announces that his liberation was imminent. State Archives, Vienna.

From the first no one expected anything else from Pius V. The new Pope, so wrote Cardinal Cicada in announcing the election to the Republic of Genoa, will be a distinguished pastor, who will above all things set his heel upon the heretics and the enemies of the faith.[1] As early as the beginning of February, 1566, the Imperial ambassador Arco wrote that there was talk of reorganising the tribunals of the Inquisition;[2] a few days later he speaks of the reform as an accomplished fact; an entirely new congregation had been set up for the administration of the Inquisition, composed of the four Cardinals, Scotti, Pacheco, Rebiba and Gambara[3] In a motu proprio the Pope justified this step by saying that he wished to facilitate a more speedy decision of the trials then pending before the Holy Office, and that the nine members of the old commission were too busy with other matters; the ordinance of Pius IV. held good in the case of the new

[1] "Bonissimo pastore, el quale sopra tutto sarà acerrimo persecutore delli heretici et altri nemici della nostra fede." Cicada, January 11, 1566, in Rosi, Riforma in Liguria, 63.

[2] * Arco, February 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] * Arco, February, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. *Serristori, February 6, 1566, State Archives, Florence. The names of the same four Cardinals are given as Inquisitors on the occasion of the autodafè in Rome on June 23, 1566 (Firmanus, *Diarium, p. 101b, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* App. nn. 35-47) as well as in an edict of July 4, 1567, in Hilgers, Index, 504. On the death of Scotti in 1568, Chiesa took his place (*Arco, April 3, 1568, *loc. cit.;* a list of the Cardinals of the Inquisition in Firmanus, *Diarium, on November 30, 1568, *loc. cit.*, 272; *cf. supra,* p. 289). On February 28, 1568, the *Avvisi di Roma (Urb. 1040, p. 484 Vatican Library) report that Borromeo as well was to be summoned to the Inquisition. Santori was appointed consultor to the Inquisition; see his *notes on his audience with the Pope on February 5, 1566, Papal Secret Archives, Arm. LII., 17, and his Autobiografia, XII., 340. "Arcangelus Blancus, episc. Theanensis," became "commissarius generalis Inquisitionis" in 1566; Brevia, Arm. 29, t. 224, p. 7b, Papal Secret Archives. For the important services of Gambara to the Inquisition *cf.* Albèri, II., 4, 186; Corresp. dipl., II., 76.

commission, namely that the consensus of even two of its number gave legal force to its decisions.[1]

About the middle of February, 1566, it was feared in Rome that in the administration of the Inquisition the new Pope would follow in the footsteps of Paul IV., the more so as the procurator-fiscal of the tribunal had taken up his abode at the Vatican, and held long consultations with the head of the Church.[2] It was a fact that the Pope, following the example of Paul IV., was frequently present at the meetings of the Inquisition, and that in his decrees on matters concerning the tribunal of the faith he closely imitated those of the Carafa Pope.[3] A decree of July 28th, 1569, according to which an accused person, once he had been convicted of heresy or had confessed to it, was to be forced to fuller confession by means of torture, is directly reminiscent of Paul IV.[4] When he enacted that all the decisions arrived at at a meeting of the Inquisition were to be issued in the name of the Cardinal Inquisitors, even though they resulted from a Papal order,[5] or when he laid it down that participation in the acts of the tribunal of the faith carried with it no sort of irregularity,[6] or that heresy involved the immediate forfeiture of all ecclesiastical benefices,[7] Pius V. was using the very words of the edicts of Paul IV. An edict of Pius V.

[1] Motu proprio "Cum felicis" (without date), Bull, Rom., VII., 502.

[2] *Cusano, February 16, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The contrast with Pius IV. is shown in the decrees which I have published, even as regards their exterior form. While those issued under Pius IV. all appear under the names of the Inquisitors, of the 14 issued under Pius V., 7 bear the name of the Pope at their head; see PASTOR, Dekrete, 28.

[4] *Ibid.* 31. DIANA, 580.

[5] Decree of March 14, 1566, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.*, 29; it is in literal conformity with that of Paul IV. of May 28, 1556; *ibid.* 19.

[6] Decree of December 9, 1567, *ibid.* 30; *cf.* the decree of Paul IV. of April 29, 1557, *ibid.* 21.

[7] The corresponding decree of Paul IV. of June 17, 1556, *ibid.* 19 (in DIANA, 178, with the date July 18, 1556) was renewed by Pius V. (DIANA, 579; *cf.* PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 23, n. 2).

of June 6th, 1566,[1] is merely a fuller statement of the ideas of Paul IV.; this edict is an exhortation to the princes, and a command to all other Christians to obey the Cardinals of the Holy Office in all that concerns the Inquisition, and it gives the Inquisition precedence over all other tribunals in its right to pronounce judgment on offenders. The opening words of the decree in which Pius V. orders that matters concerning the faith, which is the substance and basis of Christianity, must take precedence of all other matters, are copied literally from the decree of Paul IV. The obligation of secrecy concerning all matters treated of by the tribunal, which had been imposed by his two predecessors, was insisted upon even more strictly by Pius V.; any infringement of this secrecy was to be considered as a personal affront to the Pope.[2] The advice of the consultors was taken under Pius V. with regard to the old custom of not making known to one who was accused before the Inquisition the names of the witnesses, and of taking precautions against their becoming known; as the result of their advice the existing custom was retained.[3]

Probably the contrast between Pius V. and his predecessor comes out most clearly in a constitution upon the procedure of the Inquisition which he issued towards the end of the first year of his reign.[4] He appeals in the first place to his

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 422, without date; with date in Cod. Barb. Lat. 5195, p. 100b-101b, Vatican Library. The decree was only issued at the beginning of October, 1566 (*Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1566, where the decree is also assigned to June; Urb. 1040, p. 294, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the decree of Paul IV. of October 1, 1555, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 15 *seq.*

[2] Decree of January 31, 1566, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 28 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1566, n. 2. On June 10, 1569, Pius IV's prohibition of making copies of the acta of the Inquisition was renewed (see Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 315). PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 31.

[3] Decree of March 14, 1566, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 29; DÍANA, 579; AMABILE, I., 291. *Cf.* HINSCHIUS, VI., 346, n. 10.

[4] Of December 21, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 499 *seqq.*; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 95.

own long experience as Grand Inquisitor; this had shown him that many of those summoned before the tribunal of the faith brought false witnesses to speak for them, and that in their depositions accused persons helped each other, and by means of cunningly devised excuses and artifices deceived their judges and even the Popes.[1] Several accused persons had even succeeded in obtaining from the tribunals of the faith and from the Popes documents in their own favour, as for example certificates in which they were declared to be good Catholics, both in their life and their beliefs, or else Papal briefs and consistorial decrees which ensured to them the protection of the Pope, and prevented the Inquisition from taking any further action against them. Their former errors were thus maintained and even more widely spread under the aegis of such declarations. In order to obviate this abuse Pius V. then proceeds to give the Inquisition a free hand to take steps against heretics in spite of such documents, especially when they had given fresh signs of heresy. Even when a trial had been decided by the authority of the Council of Trent itself, the Inquisition has the right to reopen the case and re-examine it. Finally, the Pope renews the bull of Paul IV. of February 15th, 1558, against heretics and schismatics.[2] It is obvious to whom the Pope refers when he complains that even some of the Popes had been deceived by the heretics.

Some of the decrees of the Cardinal Inquisitors form a corollary to this stern edict. It was certainly in order to foil the intrigues of the prisoners of the Inquisition in the matter of mutual assistance, that it was enacted that except when they were making their defence, those who were imprisoned might only confer with other persons, or read or write, with the permission of the Inquisitors. Anyone who broke this rule might be subjected to torture. Even the

[1] The printed version of the bull in Bull. Rom., VII., 499 is very much mutilated at this point; it may be completed from the text in Laderchi.

[2] For this bull see Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 303.

governor of the prison could only visit a prisoner if he was accompanied by somebody else.[1]

If Pius V. sought to put an end to cunning intrigues against the Inquisition, he also took steps to protect his officials from violence. Acts of hostility and actual violence against the Inquisitors were not unknown in the XVIth century. On August 27th, 1561, Pius IV. complained that, from fear of the heretics, few persons offered their services as notaries for the tribunal of the faith,[2] and that at Avignon nobody dared to take action against the heretics from fear of the consequences.[3] Pius V. had learned by his own experiences of early days that it needed courage to be an Inquisitor.[4] In a constitution of April 1st, 1569,[5] he complains of the influence which was daily being gained by wicked men, who sought in every way to overwhelm the Inquisition and to obstruct the labours of its officials ; the very gravest penalties were accordingly to be inflicted upon anyone who should kill, maltreat or intimidate an Inquisitor, or any of his assessors and assistants, as well as those who should attack, set fire to, or rob the churches, houses, or property of the Inquisition and its officials, or burn, steal or disturb the docu-

[1] Decrees of June 7th, 1567, July 13 and October 26, 1569, in PASTOR, *loc. cit.* 29, 31.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 138.

[3] *Ibid.* 146.

[4] CATENA, 7 *seq.*, 10. For another case of violence, against Santori at Naples, see the latter's Autobiografia, XII., 335, 337 and *supra* p. 166. *cf.* FUMI, L'Inquisizione, 204.

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 744 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1569 (Urb. 1041, p. 68b, Vatican Library) and the *report of Arco of the same date, State Archives, Vienna. For the probable occasion of this constitution (a decree for the Grisons, which, on account of the arrest of the heretic Cellaria, had set a reward on the head of the Inquisitor, Pietro Angelo Casanova) *cf.* LADERCHI, 1569, n. 57. The proposed publication of the bull at Naples proved to be unnecessary ; *ibid.* n. 76. Another *bull of 1569 contra molestantes ministros S^tae^ Inquisitionis," in Arm. 8, caps. 4, n. 1, Papal Secret Archives.

ments belonging to the Holy Office, or should abet such offences; and lastly those who should forcibly break into the prisons of the Inquisition, set free its prisoners, or rescue the imprisoned from their gaolers, or give them sanctuary. Anyone who was guilty of such acts of violence at once incurred excommunication, was held guilty of high treason, forfeited his benefices and property, and was to be handed over to the secular arm. A special brief, on the other hand, again confirmed in its privileges a confraternity which, since the middle ages, had undertaken the defence of the Inquisition.[1] Another edict was specially directed to the safeguarding from molestation of those religious who had recourse to the tribunal of the faith or were cited by it as witnesses.[2]

Pius V. appealed to his own long experience as Inquisitor in justification of his stern measures against the followers of the new religion. If we may judge from his decrees it certainly cannot be held that his experience had given him any respect for the Protestant movement in Italy. Judging from what he says in these decrees the Italian Protestants were in his opinion a sect which was groping in the dark; they had sufficient courage to spread their doctrines secretly and unseen, but once they were discovered and brought to judgment, in the great majority of cases their boldness miserably crumbled away, at the very moment when it was called upon to prove that the movement really inspired constancy of opinion and the courage that makes martyrs; on the contrary, they denied their Protestantism and recanted. For this reason, as he often said, in his opinion sternness was the

[1] Brief in favour of the "cruce signati" of October 13, 1570, Bull, Rom., VII., 860. In his early activities as Inquisitor Ghislieri had been helped by a member of the Compagnia della Croce against the heretics in the Swiss part of the diocese of Como (CATENA, 6). For the Crocesegnati *cf.* FUMI, L'Inquisizione, 19-26. The Duke of Florence quickly dissolved a confraternity of Crocesegnati which was set up in Siena in 1569. CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 452.

[2] Decree of August 7, 1567, in PASTOR, Dekrete. 30; DIANA, 580.

true remedy for heresy.[1] If they did not hesitate to inflict the severest penalties in a few cases, Italy would be saved from a civil war, which, as had already happened in France,[2] would drown the country in blood, while the religious divisions would only grow worse; whereas by acting as he suggested the punishments with which God would otherwise visit the world would be averted.[3]

The Pope's views of justice, however, afforded the heretic some excuse, even though they did not justify them; he often recognized that the low state of morals among the clergy, a thing which he fought against with all his strength, was the starting point and foundation from which the Protestant movement drew its force.[4] This, however, was far from giving the

[1] "Omai l'esperienza, che in caso di erectici si è fatta anche in altre città d'Italia, mostra, giusta l'opinione del Pontefice, che il rigore sia la vera medicina di questa peste." (Cardinal Cicada to the Doge of Genoa, June 4, 1568, in Rosi, Riforma in Liguria, 90). "Quo lenius cum illis [Hugonottis] agitur, eo magis eorum corroboratur audacia" (Pius V. to Catherine de' Medici, June 27, 1566, in Laderchi, 1566, n. 423).

[2] Catena, 68 *seq.*

[3] So wrote Pius V. to Charles IX. on April 13, 1569, after having enumerated the crimes of the Huguenots: "nam si qualibet inductus causa (quod non putamus) ea de quibus Deus offenditur insectari atque ulcisci distuleris, certe ad irascendum eius patientiam provocabis, qui quo tecum egit benignius, eo debes acrius illius iniurias vindicare." Goubau, 166; *cf.* 163.

[4] "che il principio e origine delle eresie nella maggior parte era stato il mal esempio che avevano dato gli ecclesiastici; però li confortava [i cardinali] e pregava al ben vivere." (Pius V. in the consistory of January 12, 1566, in Serristori, Legaz. 420; *cf.* Goubau, 2, 12, 24, 28, 109, 127 *seq.*, 132, 143, etc.). The principal objection which he had met with from the Italian Protestants when he was Inquisitor was the "scandalo delle meretrici di Roma" and, in connection with that, the corrupt life of clergy and laity, whereas it was Rome which should have set an example to the world (Catena, 49). For moral and religious conditions in Italy *cf.* the picture drawn by H. Böhmer, Studien zur Geschicte der Gesellschaft Jesu, Bonn, 1914, 177 *seqq.*

reformers any right to undertake the foundation of an entirely new Church. There has always been on earth, so Pius V. wrote, only one true religion, and there can be only one which is the religion which the Apostles preached, which the early martyrs attested by their blood, and which has been handed down from the time of the Apostle Peter to later times by means of his successors.[1] In the opinion of the Pope, therefore, it is obvious where the true Church of Christ is to be found, and if the new believers still resist it after they have been sufficiently instructed, their conduct could only be looked upon as obstinacy and pride.

In Italy, Protestantism did not come forward, as it did in Germany, more or less openly, but made use of underground ways to propagate its doctrines. From his own experience in this matter, Pius V. was borne out in his view as to the altogether treacherous character of the religious innovators. Books containing the new doctrines were secretly disseminated;[2] preachers of the new "Gospel" travelled about the country disguised as merchants or in other ways,[3] and, what was worse, ecclesiastics who had secretly lapsed from the faith appeared in Catholic pulpits, dressed as Catholic priests, and covertly spread the opinions of Luther and Calvin under the

[1] To Sigismund Augustus of Poland, December 17, 1568, in GOUBAU, 114 *seq.*

[2] "Ho inteso dire che gli eretici hanno consertato di mano in mano tra di loro di fare ogni opera adesso per infettare Italia con mandarvi homini secreti con libri et con ogni sorta d'industria" (Castagna' June 5, 1568, Corresp. dipl. II. 381). "Ha çerca de un año que el Papa fué avisado por el Duque de Florentia y por otras personas que estuviesse sobre aviso; que de Alemania, Flandes y Francia y otras partes donde ay hereges se embiavan cartas y libros contaminados a muchas personas de Italia, donde avia artas dañadas en lo de la fee." The Pope charged Cardinal Gambara with the task of watching over heretical books (Requesens to Philip II., March 16, 1567, *ibid.* 76).

[3] ROSI, Riforma in Liguria, 68.

guise of Catholic doctrine.[1] The honesty of a Pius V. could only see in such folk dishonest hypocrites and traitors to the Church.

It would then have needed outstanding instances of the courage that makes martyrs, as well as deep religious convictions, and what is more, many such instances, to have led the Pope to have formed a higher opinion of Italian Protestantism, but any such examples of strength of character were altogether lacking during his pontificate. The new believers almost all made their abjuration at the sight of the stake, or in any case returned to their allegiance to the Church at the last moment.[2]

The first autodafé took place on June 23rd, 1566, at the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva,[3] when fifteen sentences were pronounced, and fourteen of the condemned were present, seven of whom were sentenced by false witness to scourging and the galleys, and seven made their abjuration. Two of these were specially notorious. One, a heretic whose name is not known, had had himself circumcised in order to be able to marry a Jewess, although he already had a wife in Spain. The other, Pompeo de'Monti, a Neapolitan noble, and a relative of Cardinal Colonna, was handed over to the secular arm as a relapsed heretic. As we learn from the sentence,[4] Pompeo, since his relapse was well known, had

[1] Tacchi Venturi, I., 330 *seqq.* The first preachers of the reformation in Italy, Fra Galateo, Fra Bartolomeo Fonzio, and Fra Ubaldo Lupetino, were all apostate monks. Benrath in Real-Enzyklopädie of Herzog, IX[2]., 529 *seq.* Examples from the time of Pius V. see *infra* 301, 306, 311 *seq.*

[2] Attempts to effect conversions were not wanting at this time. *Cf.* Cod. Vatic., 6317 : *Fra Lattantio Arturo, Raggionamento fatto ad un carcerato inquisito d'heresia (on the worship of the saints), 1570, Vatican Library.

[3] Tiepolo on June 29, 1566, in Mutinelli, I., 48 ; Firmanus, *Diarium, see App. nn. 35-47. Corresp. dipl., I., 288. *Arco, June 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 342.

[4] Preserved in Dublin, and published by Benrath in *Rivista cristiana*, VII. (1879), 503–505, and in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1877, n. 76, Beilage.

spontaneously given himself up to the Inquisition. At first he denied that he had ever held or abjured heretical opinions, and then, in spite of all the proofs to the contrary, he maintained that at any rate after his abjuration he had not again fallen into heretical opinions, but under torture his courage proved unequal to further denials. After his abjuration Pompeo de'Monti was beheaded and burned on July 4th, 1566; he died with every sign of repentance.[1]

In the time of Pius V. the autodafés were conducted with greater solemnity than under previous Popes;[2] the Cardinals and all the Papal court attended, and a great concourse of people assembled, especially when some one who had hitherto been held in high repute had been discovered to be a secret heretic and had been condemned as such. On account of the great crowd the Cardinals could hardly obtain seats at the first autodafé of 1567, which took place at the Minerva on February 24th; among those who made their abjuration there was a well known preacher who, in the previous year, had set up his pulpit amid great crowds in Florence and even in Rome, and had been condemned to imprisonment in his convent as a convicted heretic.[3] The second autodafé of the same year, on June 22nd, caused a similar demonstration, when the distinguished Neapolitan noble, Mario Galeota, made his abjuration with nine others.[4]

[1] FIRMANUS, *Diarium, see App. nn. 35–47. SANTORI, *loc. cit.* ORANO, 15. BERTOLOTTI (Martiri, 36) quite wrongly and without any proof says that he was *burned alive*. *Cf.* the information from the Archives of S. Giovanni Decollato in AMABILE I. 296: *ibid.* 297 *seq.* for the sending of heretics from Naples to Rome.

[2] Requesens, July 4, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 288.

[3] FIRMANUS, *Diarium, see App. nn. 35–47. An *Avviso di Roma of September 21, 1566 (Urb. 1040, p. 287, Vatican Library) is able to tell us that the preacher in question (Basilio) had admitted his heresy. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma, without date, sent by Arco with his letter of March 1, 1567. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] FIRMANUS, *Diarium see App. nn. 35–47. B. Pia in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 43. For particulars as to the relapsed heretic

Even greater excitement was caused by the autodafé of September 21st, 1567.[1] Among the seventeen condemned there was a prelate who was a well-known figure in Rome, the protonotary-apostolic, Pietro Carnesecchi,[2] at one time principal private secretary to Clement VII., and held in high esteem by the Duke of Florence and the Queen-Mother of France. After having been brought several times before the Inquisition, Carnesecchi had, in the time of Pius IV., obtained a discharge,[3] but Pius V., in consequence of fresh signs of

mentioned by Pia, who was condemned and burned on the following day, see *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 410, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCIPIONE VOLPICELLA, Mario Galeota letterato Napoletano del secolo XVI. (Memoria letta all'-Accademis di Archeologia, lettere e belle arti), Naples, 1877, and Appendice alla mem. su M. Galesta. BENRATH in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, VI. (1885), 169–196. An apostate Dominican, Perini, who had married and become a professor in Calabria, made his abjuration as a relapsed heretic (*Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 410, *loc. cit.*). The Bishop of Policastro made his abjuration before the Pope (*ibid.* and *Arco, June 21, 1567, State Archives, Vienna).

[1] FIRMANUS, *Diarium see App. nn. 35–47. *Avviso di Roma of September 27, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 442, Vatican Library. Report of B. Pia in DAVARI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, VI. (1879), 795. BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 38–43.

[2] L. WITTE, Pietro Carnesecchi, Ein Bild aus der italienschen Martyrergeschichte, Halle, 1883. LEON. BRUNI, Cosimo I de' Medici e il processo d'eresia del Carnessecchi, Turin, 1891. A. AGOSTINI, Pietro Carnesecchi e il movimento valdesiano, Florence, 1889 (*cf. Arch. stor. Ital.*, Ser. 5, XXVI., 1900, 325 *seq.*). A. DAL CANTO, Pietro Carnesecchi, Rome, 1911. MUTINELLI, I., 52, 73. PALANDRI, 116. GIAC. MANZONI, Estratto del processo di Pietro Carnesecchi (*Miscellanea di Stor. Ital.*, X), Turin, 1870. HASE in *Jahrb. für protest. Theol.*, 1877, 148. 189. CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 422–434 and *Arch. stor. Ital.*, Ser. 3, XIII. (1871), 303 *seq.* *Arco, September and October 4, 1567, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. Rivista stor.*, 1912, 41; 1913, 187. For the proceedings against Carnesecchi, see also, AMABILE, I., 148.

[3] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 308 *seq.*

heresy, had had his case reopened.[1] Cosimo de' Medici did not dare to refuse to hand over his protégé.[2] Confidence in his powerful patron encouraged the inconstant man in the mad idea of trying to save himself again on this occasion by an obstinate denial of the charge. The Florentine ambassador in Rome soon learned that for this very reason, and in spite of all the efforts of the Duke of Florence and other powerful friends, the trial was taking a very ugly turn.[3] Carnesecchi had to appear at the autodafé on September 21, 1567, and receive sentence.

The reading of the minutes of his trial lasted for two hours, and with increasing surprise the hearers learned how a man, who had always, as far as outward appearances went, been a minister of the Church, and who had apparently without any scruple enjoyed the richest ecclesiastical benefices, had had secret relations with almost all the heretics, had accepted a number of doctrines contrary to the faith, and had succeeded by impudent lies and subterfuges in deceiving his judges.[4]

The Florentine and Mantuan envoys describe the impression made by the reading of the acts of the trial by speaking of him as "a very wicked man" and "the most loathsome and villan-

[1] A letter of Carnesecchi found among the papers of Giulia Gonzaga gave the excuse (*Arco, June 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. On May 15, 1566, Camillo Luzzara wrote to the Duke of Mantua that it was said at the court that many people would have to do with the Inquisition, "massime quelli che hebbero stretta practica con la S. Donna Giulia, contro la quale vogliono che si sian de male cose, et che se fosse viva che dovesse essere chiamata a Roma infallibilmente. L'arcivescovo d'Otranto fu molto amico suo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For his handing over *cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 195 *seq.* (briefs of June 20 and August 1, 1566).

[3] "Risposemi [Cardinal Pacheco, che le cose del Carnesecchi erano in mal termine . . ., e mi tornò a dire che non ha cervello, ed essersi governato molto male, e che portava gran pericolo della vita non si mostrando penitente. . . . Crede il cardinale che la speranza ch'egli ha havuto nell' EE. VV. gli abbia nociuto." Serristori, May 16, 1567, Legazioni 435 *seq.*

[4] A list of his heretical opinions in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 54.

ous heretic" who had been heard of for many years.[1] His behaviour during the autodafé was not calculated to help popular opinion in favour of the unhappy man. At first Carnesecchi, relying on his powerful patrons, listened to the accusation with a lofty air, but he suddenly collapsed when, contrary to his expectations, he was condemned to be handed over to the secular arm. On his return to his prison he sought consolation from the Capuchin, Pistoja, who was wont to care for the unhappy sinners.[2] Once more the Pope postponed the carrying out of the sentence for ten days, in order to give the blinded man an opportunity for the contrite confession of his errors, which would have saved his life.[3] On October 1st, he, together with another, was beheaded and burned, but to the end he was so vague and confused in his statements that, as he himself had said, neither the Catholics nor the heretics could feel satisfied about him.[4]

[1] "Gl'inquisitori e tutti dicono essere malissimo uomo (Serristori September 21, 1567, Legaz. di Serristori 441). In ristretto non fu udito da molti anni in qua il più brutto, il più scelerato heretico di costui. . . . Ogniuno di passo in passo stupiva d'udir tanta scelerato heretico di costui. . . . Ogniuno di passo in passo stupiva d'udir tanta sceleragine" (B. Pia to the Duke of Mantua in Bertolotti, Martiri 39).

[2] B. Pia, *loc. cit.* For Pistoja *cf. Arch. Rom.*, XIII., 156.

[3] Legaz. di Serristori, 443.

[4] "Egli medesimo in ultimo confessò non aver satisfatto nè alli eretici, nè alli cattolici" (Tiepolo, September 27, 1567, in Cantù, Eretici, II., 434). Giov. Antonio de Taxis wrote on October 11, 1567: "Il Carneseccha se confesso et comunico il dì inanzi, pero con tutto questo dicono che mori non del tutto repentito" (in Lassen, Briefe des Masius, 396). It may be supposed that Taxis confused Carnesecchi with his companion, who was really converted. But Firmanus (*Diarium p. 195, Papal Secret Archives: see App. nn. 35–47) on October 1, 1567, says of the *two* victims: "Isti die praeterita acceperant ss. sacramentum Eucharistiae" although he calls him "*impoenitens*" (that is, impenitent while there was still time). *Arco on September 29, 1567, writes of Carnesecchi: "Esso mostra curar poco di vita o di morte" (State Archives, Vienna). On October 4 he *relates

It must be pointed out that in 1568, among more than sixty persons condemned by the Inquisition, we find only two who persisted in their opinions until death. At the first autodafé in that year, on January 4th, all the twenty-two who were summoned made their abjuration.[1] On May 9th, five out of the twenty-five who had to appear at the solemn autodafé were handed over to the secular arm; three of these, who had been condemned to the stake as relapsed heretics, showed themselves repentant and were exempted from the death penalty. Among them was an old man of seventy who, taking his stand under the gallows, delivered a truly Christian discourse to the people, so that all who were present were much moved. Two, however, who were quite impenitent, remained firm in their opinions, and perished at the stake.[2] At the third autodafé of this year, on November 30th, sixteen of the accused recanted; three, who had relapsed, were handed over

that Carnesecchi was burned on the Wednesday, and with him a Minorite; it is doubted whether he repented, since before he was beheaded he wished to make a speech, but was not allowed to do so. The friar died repentant (*ibid.*).

[1] FIRMANUS, *Diarium, see App. nn. 35–47. According to the *Avviso di Roma of January 10, 1568 (Urb. 1040, p. 473, Vatican Library) there were 23. Among them was Niccolò Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, who had occasioned doubts as to his Christian faith by keeping a harem of Jewesses (LITTA, Famiglie celebri Italiane, Fam. Orsini, tav. XVIII): he was condemned to pay a thousand scudi and to do penance for a time with the "Theatines" (i.e. according to EDUARDO FUGGER, Arch. stor. Ital., Ser. 5, XLII. [1908], 371, the Jesuits). *Cf.* *Avvisi, *loc. cit.*; LADERCHI, 1567, n. 89; Corresp. dipl., II., 108 *seqq.* His safe conduct of June 14, 1566, in FONTANA in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XV. (1892), 466 *seqq.* The baron Bernarcedo of Naples was condemned to perpetual imprisonment (*Avvisi, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Avviso di Roma of May 15, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 517b, Vatican Library. *Arco to Maximilian II. on the same day, State Archives, Vienna. ORANO, 23–25 (where only the names of those who died penitent are given).

to the secular arm, but died on December 6th with every sign of repentance.[1]

The following year, 1569, produced just as few obstinate heretics. On February 28 an "obstinate Lutheran" was executed by hanging; it was found impossible to the end to induce him to return to the Church.[2] Another solemn autodafé took place on May 22nd;[3] four of the ten who were sentenced were handed over to the secular arm; of these only one, Bartolomeo Bartoccio, remained steadfast in his opinions even to the terrible death at the stake.[4] One of his companions in misfortune, a rich man of noble birth, and a skilled lawyer, who had several times previously been brought before the Inquisition, but had recanted, seemed likely on this occasion to display a greater firmness of purpose at the autodafé. When his sentence had been read he attempted to make a discourse to the people, but was prevented by a gag.[5] Before his execution he too confessed "with great devotion, and in the Catholic way"[6] One of the four who were condemned, who was not a relapsed heretic, received a pardon, of which,

[1] FIRMANUS, *Diarium, see App. nn. 35–47. *Avviso di Roma of December 4, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 612, *loc. cit.* For the execution of the repentant see ORANO, 27–9; B. Pia in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 50; *Arco, December 8, 1568, *loc. cit.*

[2] ORANO, 30.

[3] *Cf.* the printed copy of the Avvisi of May 27 and 28, 1569, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 54; *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 83, Vatican Library. "Domani si farà nella Minerva una grossa abiuratione, dove saranno da sei o otto comburendi." (B. Pia to Luzzara, May 21, 1569, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 49, printed with the doubly erroneous date of May 27, 1568). Tiepolo, May 28, 1569, in MUTINELLI, I., 80.

[4] M. ROSI, La riforma religiosa in Liguria e l'eretico umbro Bartolomeo Bartocci, Genoa, 1894. A. FALCHI, Un eretico Castellano (Bart. Bartoccio) bruciato in Roma, Città di Castello, 1908.

[5] BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* and *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1569, *loc. cit.*

[6] ORANO, 30; *cf.* ROSI, *loc. cit.*, 171.

however, he was not informed until he was actually on the gallows, and there showed himself to be steadfast in his protestations of repentance.[1]

Much more notorious than Carnesecchi and Bartoccio was Antonio della Paglia da Veroli, or as he preferred to call himself in ancient Greek form Aonio Paleario, a professor of belles lettres at Siena, Lucca, and after 1555 at Milan, who, especially at a later date, was held up as a martyr and a saint of the Protestant faith.[2] The works of Paleario, a didactic poem on the immortality of the soul, and various discourses and letters, show him to have been a talented humanist; a satirical work against the Papacy, which was only printed after his death, but had been sent to Germany by Paleario in 1566, belongs to the time while he was still at Siena, and proves that he had then thrown himself headlong into the cause of

[1] BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* The apostate Franciscan and protestant preacher Cellaria was executed at this time; he had already recanted in 1557, and before his death became a Catholic. For his "ex abdito Archivo" see LADERCHI, 1569, n. 57 *seqq.* Guido Zanetti da Fano a heretic of long standing, but not relapsed was condemned to imprisonment; *ibid.* n. 66 *seqq.*

[2] GURLITT, Leben des Aonio Paleario, eines Martyers der Wahrheit, Hamburg, 1805. Later biographies by M. YOUNG (pseudonym of the authoress), London, 1860; J. BONNET, Paris, 1862, trans. into German by Merschmann, Hamburg, s.a. (1863); DES MARAIS (Marchese Bisleti in Veroli), Rome, 1885; G. MORPURGO, Un umanista martire, Città di Castello, 1912. For the appointment of Paleario as professor at Lucca *cf.* GIOV. SFORZA in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital.*, XIV. (1889), 50-71; for his family and his relations with them LEON. DINI in *Arch. stor. Ital.*, Ser. 5, XX. (1897), 1 *seqq.; cf. ibid.* Ser. 5, XXIV. (1899), 352. An extract from his trial at Rome published by FONTANA in *Arch. della Soc. Rom.*, XIX. (1896), 151-175. A. RONCHINI, Due lettere inedite di A. Paleario in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie Moden. e Parm.*, VII., 4, Modena, 1874. *Cf.* CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 452-462; BENRATH in *Real-Enzyklopädie of Herzog*, XIV.[3], 602 *seqq.;* REUMONT, Bibliografia, 98 *seqq.*, 307. A portrait of Paleario in the episcopal seminary at Veroli.

the religious innovators.[1] The year 1542 saw him summoned before the Inquisition at Siena, the principal matter of accusation being a small work in Italian on the Passion of Christ.[2] Paleario replied to the questions that were put to him, mainly concerning the power of the Pope, to the satisfaction of the judge, so that he was released without condemnation.[3] Undoubtedly in order to remove the bad impression caused by his summons, Paleario then published a letter to a friend, and more especially an apologia to his judges, in which, however, the true facts are quite differently stated.[4] The clever humanist later on himself confessed that his discourse had never been delivered, and that he had made use therein of statements that were quite fictitious.[5] By the advice of Sadoleto Paleario

[1] For the time of his apostasy from the Church (1535) *cf.* STÄHELIN, Briefe aus der Reformationzeit (Schriften der Universität Basel, 1887), 35 *seq.*, where other sources concerning Paleario are given.

[2] Later confused with the treatise 'De beneficio Christi"; *cf.* Vol. XII of this work, 496.

[3] "Ad singula respondit recte, quamvis in aliquibus capitibus not satis clare." FONTANA, 164.

[4] BONNET-MERSCHMANN, 128-150.

[5] "Haec oratio non fuit habita, sed scripta, et multa sunt efficta, imo vero pene omnia in peroratione, neque enim concursus ille tot civium senensium verus fuit ulla ex parte, etc." Thus Paleario himself at his trial in Rome, FONTANA, 175. It is strange therefore that BENRATH, *loc. cit.* IX.[3], 603, acquits the humanist on the strength of that very speech! With all its pathetic statements and its obvious evasions of the matter in question, Bonnet takes it as true gold. The conscientious historian on the other hand can only attach importance to the stern coldness of the acta of the Roman trial. It is true that Paleario in his discourse declares that he could not attain a happier lot than martyrdom, and that "in times like ours I believe that no Christian ought to die in his bed," etc. (BONNET-MERSCHMANN, 141), but Paleario's actual behaviour before his judges makes it quite impossible to attach the full meaning to these and other such high-sounding phrases. For the trial at Siena *cf.* GROTTANELLI DE' SANTI in *Miscell. stor. Senesi,* II., (1894).

then abstained for a time from all theological discussion.[1]

In 1559, however, Paleario was again accused, this time before the Inquisition at Milan; he voluntarily appeared before the judge, and on January 23rd, 1560, was able to obtain an acquittal.[2] In spite of this, in 1567 the Milanese tribunal had once more to inquire into his opinions, the matter of the accusation this time being his Sienese apologia, which had now been printed.[3] In the following year, by order of the Pope, his trial was transferred to Rome.[4] At the Roman inquiry, the excitable but vague and credulous rhetorician cut a sorry figure. He maintained in all seriousness that the reigning Pope had bought the Papacy by a gift of 30,000 and 8,000 scudi. He saw a serious fault on the part of Pius V. in the fact that the new edition of the Roman breviary no longer contained an office of the Holy Name of Jesus which had been approved by Clement VII. and Paul III., and for this "grave public sin" as well as on account of the strictness of the Pope against the heretics, he maintained that Pius V. was not the true Pope, and that anyone who lives in grave public sin cannot be the Vicar of Christ. But on the other hand he was so far from being a true Protestant that he accepted the authority of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine, and of the Council of Trent.[5] He refused from the first to admit any

[1] BONNET-MERSCHMANN, 151. FONTANA, 175.

[2] FONTANA, 165 *seq.*

[3] FONTANA, 166. For the other charges against Paleario *cf.* LADERCHI, 1568, n. 40 *seqq.* Laderchi had at his disposal the acta of the Roman Inquisition.

[4] F. GABOTTO in *La Cultura*, 1891, tries to prove from a letter of Paleario of May 17, 1568, "non esser vero che da questa città [Milan] il Paleario fosse tratto a forza." This letter, with the date May 11, 1568, was already published by CANTÙ in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, VI. (1879), 481, n.

[5] "Subscripsi mea manu quod dictaverunt mihi theologi . . ., qui allatis codicibus divi Augustini [perhaps this refers to the passages on the punishment of heretics] ostenderunt mihi multa quae ignorabam et propterea fuimus concordes. Item, allatis concilii Tridentini decretis, sententiis Patrum, a quibus mens mea numquam soluit dissentire, ut dixi in primo meo responso etc."

formal error on his part, saying that there could be no error in the love of one's neighbour and of the honour of Christ ;[1] he again renewed his often expressed assurance that he was ready to die " for Christ "[2] but at the same time he subscribed to a retraction, proposed to him by the Jesuit Ledesma, in which he accepted the Council of Trent, and the faith of the " holy, Catholic, and Roman Church," and retracted his views as to the unlawfulness of punishing heretics, and the forfeiture of the Papal power on account of grave sin.[3] The sentence of the Inquisition only took the form of making him promise no longer to appear in the dress of a heretic. When he refused to accept this Paleario was treated as impenitent and was handed over to the secular arm.[4] He was strangled, and his body was consigned to the flames on July 3rd, 1570 ; before he died he confessed, invoked the Madonna and the saints, and made a profession of the faith of the " holy Roman Church."[5]

(FONTANA, 174). For the reassembly of the Council of Trent under Pius IV. Paleario had composed an " Epistola de concilio universali et libero " (republished by ILLGEN, Programm der Leipziger Universität, 1832).

[1] FONTANA, 172.

[2] LADERCHI, 1568, n. 42.

[3] Published by DAUNOU, Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes, II., Paris, 1818, 278. An extract in FONTANA 172 : " Credo et confiteor, quidquid s. concilium Tridentinum definivit et quidquid sancta Ecclesia catholica Romana credit et confitetur."

[4] FONTANA, 175.

[5] Thus the register of the Confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato (in ORANO, 38 *seq.;* FONTANA, 158), which took charge of those condemned to death. The notice of Paleario, published for the first time by Lagomarsini (Pogiani Epist., II., 188), was called in question or rejected by protestant writers, as for example by BONNET-MERSCHMANN, 265 n., by MENDHAM, Life of Pius V., 117, by MACCRIE, etc. But it is incontestibly genuine (see ORANO, 38 *seq.*, and FONTANA, 158), nor is it possible to see why the book of the confraternity should have invented it. In that book obstinate heretics are either not mentioned at all or else are entered

Although during 1567 the autodafé was held three times in Rome, and the same number of times in the following year, during the second half of the pontificate of Pius V. we only have records of two such solemn spectacles.[1] After the above

as such. BENRATH (*loc. cit.* 605) is right in saying: "this retractation was not in any case made officially," but the register of the confraternity does not claim that there was any retractation before the tribunal, and only speaks of a simple declaration made before his death, as occurs in many other instances: such a belated repentance would at the utmost only entail that the death by fire was changed to strangulation, with the subsequent burning of the body, but not a pardon: "it is proper to bear in mind that repentance after sentence was of use for the salvation of the soul, but made no difference for the saving of the body" (FONTANA, 150:. It is quite impossible to see how the last letters of Paleario to his family, which were entrusted to the said confraternity for transmission, prove the report to be a falsehood (as BONNET, *loc. cit.* claims). For that matter Paleario lived quite cut off from his strictly Catholic family, and it would appear that this separation was not merely local. (DINI in *Arch. stor. Ital.*, Ser. 5, XX., 1897, 16). Thanks to De Thou the view got about that Paleario died the true death of burning which was reserved for heretics. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1569, n. 71 *seqq.*

[1] As neither the Avvisi di Roma nor the reports of the embassy to Vienna mention any solemn autodafés for the years 1570 and 1571, and no information is to be found in the lists of the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, it may be concluded that there were none. For 1570 Orano (p. 36-40) besides Paleario mentions as being executed for religion a certain Porroni of Rome, who was in the prisons of the Inquisition, but, it is expressly stated, *not* as a heretic ("non come luterano"), and also the poet Niccolò Franco, who according to a false entry in the book of the confraternity was executed for heresy, and according to three other witnesses (BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 51) for libel (*cf.* Scritti in onore di A. d'Ancona, 1901, 543 *seq.*; CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 435), and [illegible] whom Orano himself does not dare definitely to call a [illegible] For 1571 Orano (p. 40, has nothing in particular to report [illegible] Bertolotti (p. 57-66) has no executions to report. The AVVISI of July 8th, 1570, says that Altinio Paltoni was burned on that date; he had been a lector at Pavia. Urb. 1041, p. 307, Vatican Library.

mentioned autodafé of May 22nd, 1569, the Cardinals and prelates did not assemble again in any numbers at the Minerva until February 3rd, 1572, in order to assist at the abjuration of thirteen heretics, one of whom was handed over to the secular arm and was burned on February 9th, together with four women; all five were reconciled before they died.[1] During 1571 it is true that the abjuration of five of the common people took place on February 18th, but this occasion was not published in advance, and took place without any solemnity in the Sistine Chapel, it being feared that the fact that even members of the lower classes had been condemned on so grave a charge might give scandal.[2] It would seem that heresy among the true Romans was looked upon as something extraordinary; the records of the Confraternity of the S. Giovanni Decollato do not number a single person of Roman birth among the heretics who were put to death up to the time of the death of Pius V. and even later.[3]

Among the cities of the Papal States none was called upon to send more of its inhabitants for judgment before the Roman Inquisition than Faenza.[4] It is reported in April, 1567, that many persons had been arrested there and taken to Rome on the suspicion of heresy together with a Servite preacher, and that at the same time the bishop was called upon to give

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 9th, 1572 (Urb. 1053, p. 31, *ibid.*). *Arco, February 9, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 61 *seq.* ORANO, 40-44. See also AMABILE, I., 315 *seq.* The four women, according to the *Avviso already quoted, were "streghe." ORANO (p. 45-52) mentions four other executions in 1572, on February 22, March 15, and July 19, but in all four cases the reason for the capital punishment is not sufficiently clear.

[2] BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 58.

[3] *Cf.* the lists of those who abjured in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.* XII. (1889), 342; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 45, 55. That the "Porroni romano" of Orano (p. 36) is wrongly included among the heretics, see *supra* 311, n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* ORANO, 25–27, 30, 32; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 41, 55.

an explanation of his negligence.[1] At Faenza, so states a report of the following year, thirty-seven heretics had recently been imprisoned, and the whole district had been infected by a teacher who had now fled to Geneva, and that probably the only remedy was the free use of the stake.[2] In September, 1568, Tiepolo reported that at Amandola, a small town in the Marches, brigands and escaped monks had set fire to the churches and destroyed the sacred images, and that the Pope intended to take severe measures with Amandola and the neighbouring S. Ginese, since he had heard that there were many heretics there. No place in the Papal States, however, had a worse name in this respect than Faenza; the Pope even thought of destroying the city and transferring its inhabitants elsewhere; many persons from that city had recently been handed over to the Roman Inquisition.[3]

The Pope, who had already had experience of that place as Inquisitor, set up there a commissariate-general of the Inquisition, whose jurisdiction extended over the dioceses of Faenza, Ravenna, Imola, Cervia, Cesena, Bertinoro and Sarsina.[4] The choice of the first commissary-general, however, was not a happy one; this was Angelo Gazini da Lugo. The Inquisitor was too severe; a chronicler wrote that even the stones trembled before his terrible rigour. A contemporary

[1] *"In Faenza sono stati presi molte persone havute per heretiche con un frate de Servi predicatore che si conducono qui, et il vescovo è chiamato per la negligenza usata." B. Pia to Luzzana, April 12, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *". . . et si scuopre quella terra tutta infetta per opera di un maestro di scuola che se n'è poi fuggito a Genevra che si dubita che non bisogni andarvi col fuoco." Cipriano Saracinello to Cardinal Farnese, February 28, 1568, State Archives, Naples C. Farnes, 763.

[3] Tiepolo, September 25, 1568, in MUTINELLI, I., 79. *Cf.* CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 408; *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1568, among the correspondence of Cusano, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] What follows is taken from the kind information of Prof. Giuseppe Donati of Florence, who is preparing a work on the Riforma e Contrariforma a Faenza nel sec. XVI.

names 115 persons who had been accused of heresy, and even so the list was not complete. About half the accused had to be released for lack of proof, but the others were visited with the severest penalties, such as death, the galleys, and imprisonment. A painter named Giovanni Battista Bertucci was sent to prison merely for having said that indulgences which had been bought with money were of no value.[1] It would seem that at first Pius V. was well pleased with the Inquisitor of Faenza, for on November 20th, 1570, he made him Bishop of Polignano in Apulia. But this satisfaction of the Pope had been based upon false information, and quickly evaporated when he was better informed. A contemporary writer says that if Gazini had not died the Pope would have ignominiously deprived him of his bishopric.

In spite of the wide extent which the Protestant movement seemed likely to attain at Faenza, it was soon evident that even there, as in the rest of Italy, it had taken no real root among the masses of the people. In a great fire which had broken out in the city an image of the Madonna remained unharmed amid the flames. Everyone saw a miracle in this occurrence, and at once the daily diatribes of the Protestant preachers against the worship of the saints and of their images failed to have any effect. The clergy, the city council and the populace ran to witness the miracle; pilgrimages came in great number from the surrounding country to the miraculous image; startling cures were effected to the amazement of the physicians; a little church was erected by popular subscription to contain the image, and finally Pius V. in a brief which gave the city the assurance of the Pope's forgiveness, approved the religious celebrations which were held in celebration of the event. Later on Gregory XIII. condoned, in the case of those persons who had been condemned by Gazini, those penalties which had not already been complied

[1] From Donati. *Cf.* P. Beltrami, L'atto d'abiura dell'eretico faentino G. B. Bertucci (1564) in *Romagna*, II., 6 *seq.* According to Marcello Valgimigli, *Notizie storiche, for the year 1567, 200 persons were condemned at Faenza under Pius V. Library, Faenza.

with. Gazini's successor administered the inquisition with so great mildness that none of the records have anything to say about his activities. Protestantism at Faenza was practically at an end.[1]

On July 20th, 1566, Tiepolo tells us how, during the previous conclave a casket containing notes for the Inquisition had been stolen from Cardinal Ghislieri, the reigning Pope; this was later on recovered, to his great satisfaction, because it would have entailed many imprisonments, both in and out of Rome.[2] This casket may have been a fiction of the popular imagination, but it is at any rate a fact that the Pope watched with the greatest care for every sign of heresy, especially in Italy, and his vigilance extended even further than that. It was said, so Arco wrote after the Pope had read to him a letter received from Germany, which stated that the government in Austria was composed of ten Protestants and two Catholics, that the Pope had his spies everywhere;[3] that if the former Grand Inquisitor had eyes and ears even beyond the Alps, in his own country he did not altogether trust to the vigilance of the tribunals in the various cities; that when he did not receive information from any place concerning heretical tendencies he thought that the

[1] There were also heretics in other parts of the Papal States. *Cf.* Tiepolo, September 25, 1568 (MUTINELLI, I., 79), for the disturbances and destruction of the sacred images at Amandola; CANTÙ, Eretici, III., 719, for the heretics executed at Bologna in 1567 and 1568; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 41, for the heretics from Bologna and Forlì condemned in Rome in 1567; *cf.* WACHLER, G. Rehdiger und seine Buchersammlung in Breslau (1828), 14; *brief of February 2, 1569 "Thomae de Arimino O. Praed. deputato in inquisitorem in Arimin., Pisaur. et Fanens. civitatibus," Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] MUTINELLI, I., 49.

[3] "*Mi vien ancora detto, che ha non solo in Italia, ma anco fuori d'Italia per tutti i regni et stati spie, che gli danno minuto raguaglio della vita et costumi de'principi, de ministri loro, et di quelli che sono loro appresso." Arco, July 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

Inquisitor there was not doing his duty.[1] In such cases, and more especially when the said tribunals found themselves opposed by apparently insuperable difficulties, he was wont to intervene directly; more than one of the haughty princes and nobles of Italy had in the end to yield to the undaunted resolution and persistence of this man, who was universally venerated as a saint.

Venice in particular was looked upon as the starting point and refuge of heresy in northern Italy. The Venetian ambassador in Rome exerted himself to convince the Pope that in spite of isolated cases of heresy in his native place all was well in Venice, and that Rome could rely upon the vigilance of the Council of Ten,[2] but Pius V., who had had distressing experiences as Inquisitor in Venetian territory, did not trust the Republic.[3] During the first months of his pontificate he sent as nuncio to the city of the lagoons Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, the future Innocent IX., to labour there for the reform of the clergy and the convents of nuns, and against the new religionists.[4] However unwillingly the Venetians accepted this supervision of their own Inquisition, and however much they disliked the zeal of Facchinetti,[5] they did not quite dare to oppose the will of the Pope; while, during the pontificate of Pius IV. only forty-one trials concerning questions of faith had taken place in Venice, we have record of eighty-two during the reign of his successor.[6] It caused

[1] Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 172.

[2] Tiepolo, March 2 and 9, and April 27, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 35, 37, 41 *seq.*; *cf.* CANTÙ, Eretici, III., 140.

[3] *Cf.* the report of Tiepolo for 1569, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 191.

[4] Tiepolo, March 2, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 35.

[5] *The Florentine ambassador to Venice, Cosimo Bartoli, to Cosimo I., August 2, 1567, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 2978.

[6] *Cf.* COMBA, Elenco generale degli accusati di eresia dinanzi il Sant' Uffizio della inquisizione di Venezia A. 1541–1600, in *Rivista Cristiana*, III. (1875), 28 *seqq.*, 71, 100 *seq.*, 158, 207, 235, 297, 326, 366 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*, 447. The list is arranged according to the native places of the accused. Vicenza heads the list with 23 names. Particulars in BENRATH, Gesch. der Reformation in

great excitement when the Pope demanded—a thing that often occurred in the time of Pius V., when it was hoped that such a course would yield fuller information as to the spread of the Protestant movement—that a heretic, Guido da Fano, should be handed over to the Roman Inquisition. At first the Senate refused its consent absolutely and repeatedly, saying that Venice was not accustomed to send its accused before foreign tribunals, but in spite of this Pius V. remained immovable in his demand, and in the end the proud Signoria had to yield him the victory; by the end of August, 1566, Guido had arrived in Rome.[1]

As was the case with Venice, the Pope also distrusted the Republics of Lucca and Genoa, both of which were brought into contact with the Calvinists by their commercial relations with Lyons and Geneva.[2]

Hitherto the Genoese had shown themselves quite docile

Venedig, Halle, 1887, 70 *seqq.* *Cf.* also L. G. PÉLISSIER, Les archives des inquisiteurs d'état à Venise, Besançon, 1899. See also the learned dissertation by P. PASCHINI Una umanista, disgraziato nel Cinquecento, Publio Francesco Spinola (executed on January 31, 1567), Venice, 1919.

[1] BENRATH, *loc. cit.* 68 *seq.* "El papa los ha apretado de manera que se resolvieron en embiarle" wrote Requesens to Philip II. on September 18, 1566. Corresp. dipl., I., 347. LADERCHI, 1566, n. 194. *Arco, August 3, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. Pius V. had already made it a condition for his receiving the Venetian embassy for the "obedientia" that Niccolò da Ponte, who had been withdrawn from the Roman Inquisition, should be handed over. *Cusano, February 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. The two letters to the Doge and the nuncio in Venice, dated July 27, 1566 (Nunziat. de Venezia 17, 10 and 11, Papal Secret Archives), in which Pius V. asked for the handing over of Guido Zanetti da Fano, belong to the so-called "Lettere di proprio pugno." Different from these are the completely autograph letters of Pius V., at the head of which the Pope placed the name of Jesus. *Some of these are preserved, though unimportant as to their contents, in the State Archives, Florence.

[2] Tieplo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 190.

to the spiritual authority,[1] but their obedience was put to a hard test when, in October, 1567, Bartolomeo Bartoccio was imprisoned at Genoa, when he was passing through the city, as a propagator of Protestant doctrines in Italy.[2] Cardinal Cicada demanded the handling over of the heretic to the Roman Inquisition,[3] but the Senate of Geneva, where Bartoccio had resided for twelve years, threatened to break off commercial relations if the prisoner were not set at liberty.[4] A long correspondence ensued, both with the Swiss republics of Geneva and Berne, and with Cardinal Cicada. In Rome Genoa pointed out that all its trade with Flanders and Germany passed through Switzerland, and that the people in the latter country were "but little versed in the usages of civilisation";[5] that Berne had already kept back 24,000 scudi of Genoese money;[6] Rome should at least allow them to pacify the irritation of this barbarous people.[7] but Pius V. would not suffer himself to be turned from this purpose by any of these considerations, and at length induced the mercantile Ligurian republic to bend to his will, even in a matter that so much concerned their trade and finances, and Bartoccio was tried in Rome.[8]

Soon after Bartoccio had been taken away fresh difficulties for the Senate of Genoa made their appearance. It would seem that the Eucharist had been celebrated in Genoa according to the Calvinist rite for the first time, and the mildness with which the Inquisitor had dealt with the case had caused surprise and even consternation in Rome. It availed the

[1] Rosi, Riforma, 17 *seqq.* From 1540 to 1583 there were 366 trials before the Inquisition at Genoa, which, however, must not be counted as cases of heresy; *ibid.* 43.

[2] *Ibid.* 68 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 70.

[4] *Ibid.* 73.

[5] "Per la Svizzera, dove habita una nazione assai incolta di costumi civili"; *ibid.* 74.

[6] *Ibid.* 75.

[7] *Ibid.* 74.

[8] See *supra*, p. 306.

Senate nothing that it sought to show that the matter was of no real importance; the Pope sent Bianchi, Bishop of Teano, as judge-extraordinary, and when the latter proceeded with the utmost rigour, condemned some of the offenders to the galleys and insisted on their making a public recantation in penitential dress, contrary to all previous usage in Genoa, of just as little avail were the protests which were made, to the effect that it would be better to spare such Spanish procedure in a city which was "all zeal, good-will, and piety" and that the very publicity of the recantation only served to call attention to the heresy. The Senate resigned itself to what had been done when the Pope paid tribute in a brief to Genoa as a city of long proved Catholic loyalty, but went on to show that for that very reason the city ought not to take exception to the wiping out of the recent stain upon its honour by means of the same penalties as were used in Florence, Venice, Rome and elsewhere.[1] Two years later Pius V. himself, in answer to a request from the Senate, mitigated the penalties which had been inflicted as far as possible.[2]

Immediately after receiving news of the election of Pius V., the Republic of Lucca had hastened to renew its edicts against any dealings with the exiles from Lucca at Lyons.[3] and thus, even before paying its homage to the new Pope, the city had met his wishes. In the following year all dealings with their exiled fellow-citizens at Lyons were even more strictly prohibited.[4] But in spite of all its loyalty to the Holy See, the Republic, in its instructions for the paying of homage had charged its representative to do all he could in Rome

[1] Brief of June 5, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 44. ROSI, *loc. cit.* 158 *seq.*

[2] Brief of October 27, 1570, in ROSI, 159 *seq.*

[3] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 347.

[4] Edicts of January 11 and 15, and March 27, 1566, 1567 and 1568, given by EUG. LAZZARESCHI, Le relaziono fra S. Pio V. e la repubblica di Lucca, Florence, 1911, 6–8. The Pope soon lost his distrust of Lucca, Requesens to Philip II., November 21, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 262 *seq.*; *cf.* 158.

to prevent the Pope from introducing the Inquisition into Lucca.[1]

Similar fears were also felt in other cities of northern Italy in the time of Pius V., at any rate of that form of the Inquisition which was customary in Spain. At Milan where, only a short time before, such strong and heated opposition had been offered to the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition,[2] the Papal bull against irreverence in church, simony, sodomy and concubinage,[3] once more caused anxiety lest this edict should pave the way for the introduction of Spanish methods.[4] This time it was the archbishop himself, Cardinal Borromeo, who laid before the Pope the fears of the city. Nothing is left undone in Milan, so he wrote, in the matter of the punishment of the guilty, but the bull allows judicial proceedings to be taken on the strength of a mere secret accusation,[5] whereas, according to the Imperial code, secret accusations are not permitted. The real cause, however, of all the anxiety which is felt is to be found in the suspicion that it is intended to introduce the Inquisition on the Spanish model, not so much out of love for religion, as for political reasons, and because some of the municipal authorities wish to enrich themselves at the expense of the citizens. All attempts to remove this fear from the minds of the Milanese are vain; they tell me that the Pope himself is guided by the purest motives, but that in practice the ordinances of the bull can be interpreted by the officials in their own way, and that thus all kinds of novelties will be introduced by degrees.[6]

[1] Lazzareschi, *loc. cit.* 7 n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 336 *seq.*

[3] Of April 1, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 501 *seqq.*

[4] Verga, 30 *seqq.*

[5] 'Ut praemissorum delictorum . . . notitia facilius habeatur, volumus quod in singulis casibus, non solum per accusationem et inquisitionem, sed etiam ad simplicem et secretam denuntiationem procedatur." Bull. Rom. V., 437, § 13.

[6] "Et acciochè N. S. sappia una volta la radice ed il fondamento ove s'appoggiano tutte queste difficoltà, bisogna che habbia questo per una massima verissima, che in questo popolo è universale

The same bull of Pius V. met with similar opposition at Mantua as well; it was thought by the priests and monks that it would lead to malicious accusations, and pave the way for the Inquisition. The publication of the Latin text occasioned a great deal of murmuring, and efforts were made to induce the Duke to protest against the proposed Italian version.[1]

At that time Duke William was already annoyed with Rome because the Pope was disputing the right of presentation to the bishopric of Mantua which had been granted to him by Pius IV., and which had been finally taken away from him by a decree of December 23rd, 1566.[2] The Pope had gone so far as to send the Duke a citation; when, subsequently the citation was taken away from the envoy together with his

suspicione che si cerchi di mettere in questo stato l'inquisizione alla foggia di Spagna, non tanto per zelo di religione quanto per interessi di stato et per voracità di qualche ministro o consigliere che per questa via disegnasse di arricchirsi colle facoltà di questi gentilhuomini e cittadini" (in VERGA 31). At Milan there were hardly any condemnations to the stake for Lutheranism. FUMI, L'inquisizione Romana, 301.

[1] STEFANO DAVARI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, VI. (1879), 773 *seqq.*, 787 *seqq.* The Spanish Inquisition was feared and hated at that time not only in Italy. When in 1569 the Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, returned to Rome from a journey to Avignon, the report that he had been charged by the Pope to introduce the Spanish Inquisition there caused a riot and an attack on the Jesuit college (LADERCHI, 1569, n. 180 *seq.* SACCHINI, P. III., 1. 5, n. 139 *seq.* FOUQUERAY, I., 443–446). The energetic measures taken by the Pope, however, were successful in keeping Avignon safe from Protestantism in spite of the dangerous proximity of Orange (LADERCHI, 1566, n. 414 *seqq.*; 1567, n. 163; 1568, n. 171; 1569, n. 176 *seqq.*; GOUBAU, 133, 135, 169, 179, 184, 217). The Pope himself in a letter to Philip II. of October 26, 1569 (Corresp. dipl., III., 168 *seqq.*) had to defend himself against the charge that he did not pay enough respect to the privileges of the Spanish Inquisition.

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 197; *cf.* 1567, n. 22. Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 180, 190.

ambassadorial credentials, the Pope thought of forcing the Duke to present himself personally in Rome, and of deposing him if he did not appear.[1] In Mantua the Inquisition had to bear the brunt of the displeasure of the prince, whose irritation was shared by the whole city. When in 1567 the Inquisition imprisoned some Mantuan citizens, the Duke's representative, Francesco di Novellara, made a protest against any further action being taken by the tribunal until the prince had had satisfaction.[2]

Pius V. had no intention of quietly allowing any such violation of recognized ecclesiastical rights. On May 31st he had recourse to the Duke with a request that, for the sake of peace and quiet, he would refrain from any such usurpations of the rights of the Church, and would allow the guilty parties to be punished. He informed him at the same time that he had removed the Inquisitor, Ambrogio Aldegati, as being too easy-going, and had appointed in his place the Dominican, Camillo Campeggio.[3]

The irritation felt both at the court and in the city was by no means allayed by this appointment, the more so as Campeggio made some further arrests, and arranged auto-dafés for August 3rd and October 26th, at which several persons made their abjuration.[4] Besides this, several of the

[1] Requesens to Philip II., September 18, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 346; *cf.* 388.

[2] DAVARI, *loc. cit.* 774, 788.

[3] *Ibid.* 775. The *brief of nomination, May 31, 1567, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[4] "Si dice che hoggi i frati de S. Domenico doppo il vespero fanno *abiurare* dieci di quelli loro prigioneri et che si faranno salire in pulpito imitrati a chiamarsi in colpa" (L. Rogna, August 3, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). So runs the text, as I am assured by the keeper of the Archives, A. Luzio. Davari, who published it, *loc. cit.* 790, besides unimportant changes, has read *abbrucciare* instead of *abiurare!* On October 26, 1567, L. Rogna wrote: "Oggi su un palco eminente fatto in S. Domenico si *abiureranno* alquanti di quelli reputati eretici." Even here Davari, *loc. cit.* has changed *abiureranno* into *abbruciarono.* According to the records that have so far come to light no heretic *died* at the stake in Mantua.

Duke's counsellors were themselves heretics,[1] and heresy had assumed a revolutionary and political character at Mantua.[2] A canon of Mantua, whom Pius V. demanded should be sent to Rome on October 31st, 1567,[3] openly maintained that the human soul perished with the body.[4] The convent of the Dominicans was violently assaulted,[5] and the Duke summoned the Inquisitor before him and rebuked him for having imprisoned respectable citizens without the knowledge of the prince.[6] An attempt to obtain from Rome, by means of a special envoy, the recall of the Inquisitor, was rendered hopeless by a fresh act of violence which occurred immediately after the departure of the envoy. On Christmas night, two brothers of the Third Order, who were on their way to the midnight service, were killed in the public streets.[7] As was only to be expected Pius V. refused the request of the envoy, saying that if the Duke persisted in his leniency towards the heretics, he would witness even worse crimes; that the Pope could not allow himself to be frightened or turned aside from his course of action against the heretics even if all the Dominicans were cut to pieces.[8] The envoy returned home in January, 1568, without having accomplished his purpose. All that he had obtained was that the Inquisitor was to make his excuses to the Duke.[9]

In order to put an end to this state of confusion, Pius V.,

[1] "Qui [a Roma] si sa molto bene . . . che l'Ecc. V. è male consigliata et ingannata, e che ha tre o quattro consiglieri heretici marci." The Count of S. Giorgio to Mantua, December 24, 1567, in DAVARI, 793.

[2] Campeggio, October 14, 1567, *ibid.* 791.

[3] See the *brief to the Duke of Mantua in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 45. He was an Averroist or follower of Pomponazzo.

[5] DAVARI, 776.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.* 792.

[8] *Ibid.* 777; *cf.* 793.

[9] *Ibid.* 777 *seq.*; 795.

at the beginning of 1568, sent the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Borromeo, to Mantua.[1] What a serious view the Cardinal took of his difficult task is shown by the fact that in order to obtain a happy issue he ordered continuous prayers by day and night in all the churches and convents of Milan, arranged in such a way that as the hour of prayer ended in one church, it was taken up in another.[2] As a matter of fact Borromeo's skill and prudence were successful in February, 1568, in appeasing the Duke and restoring the authority of the Inquisition. The more important offenders were to make their abjuration in private, and on April 4th a public auto-dafé took place, at which three natives of Verona were handed over to the secular arm, and on April 12th were beheaded and burned.[3] The reconciliation with the head of the Church was completed by a brief of April 21st, in which the Pope returns thanks for a communication which the Duke had addressed to him concerning the public autodafé.[4]

At the end of 1567 Cardinal Correggio had written to the Duke that those who made light of the old religion were also the enemies of their hereditary prince, quoting as an example the machinations of the French Protestants.[5] Events at

[1] BASCAPÈ, 1. 2, c. 6, p. 37.

[2] In this way Borromeo was the first to order the so-called perpetual prayer, a thing which he often employed later on. BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*

[3] Letter from Capilupi and Amigone in DAVARI, 796.

[4] Gonzaga Archives, Mantua: see App. n. 48. Already on March 8, 1568, the Pope had praised the Duke for his devotion, and for doing what he had promised Borromeo (*Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 164, Papal Secret Archives). Rome continued to keep a close watch on Mantua after this, sending warnings as to heretical tendencies, and asking for the handing over of those who, in any specially dangerous degree, were propagating them. *Cf.* the letters from Rebiba to Mantua of September 11 and November 6, 1568, and of June 16, 1571, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 48 *seq.*, 58.

[5] "nè hanno altro fine che di fare in ogni luogo quello che hanno fatto et fan del continuo in Francia" Correggio, December 20, 1567 in DAVARI 791.

Mantua seemed to bear out the Cardinal's words; the sending to Rome of one of the Mantuan heretics led to a conspiracy against the sovereign. Pius V. gave the Duke all the help he could in the investigation of the plot. The Bishop of Casale was given the necessary powers to imprison and examine even the clergy, and when a certain Flaminio Paleologo appealed from the bishop to his privileges as a Knight of the Order of Santiago, Pius V. had a letter written to the King of Spain to beg him not to extend his protection to the criminal.[1] Speaking generally, the new religion at Mantua did not fight with religious weapons only. In March, 1568, manifestos were discovered which held up as meritorious acts before God and man the murder of Cardinal Borromeo, the bishop and the Dominicans.[2] A preacher who had leanings towards the innovators dared to condemn from a public pulpit the methods of procedure adopted by the Inquisition, but the Pope had him summoned to Rome and punished.[3]

Revolutionary ideas were also disseminated by the innovators in the district of Tenda in the Maritime Alps. Many of their adherents no longer believed in one God, while others held that any acts of violence against clergy who possessed property were lawful. In 1566 a widespread insurrection against Count Honoratus II. broke out, but this was easily

[1] Brief to Philip II. of June 28 1569 in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 64. Bonelli to Castagna, June 29, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 94. F. VALERANI, Prigionia e morte di Fl. Paleologo, 1568–1571, Alessandria, 1912 (Extract from *Rivista di storia ed arte della provincia d'Alessandria*).

[2] *Arco, March 29, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. Cardinal Rebiba in a letter to the Bishop of Mantua of March 27, 1568, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 46, mentions a "bando" which the Duke "ha fatto fare per trovare et castigare gli autori di quei cartelli contro il santo offitio."

[3] Roberto Novella da Evoli. *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* 51 *seqq.* and the trial of Paleario in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, 1896, 171, 173 *seq.*; *Avviso di Roma of June 17, 1570 (his removal to the prison of Ostia), Urb. 1041, p. 295, Vatican Library.

suppressed.[1] It was not only Protestant errors, properly so called, which had to be dealt with in Italy at that time. In 1568 sixteen heretics, who among other things had revived monothelism,[2] were arrested at Ferrara, and condemned to the galleys and quarries, while at Naples a sect made its appearance in 1567 which had adopted the rites of Judaism.[3] Moreover, a great number of the Italian Protestants belonged to that purely rationalistic sect known as the Anabaptists,[4] not because its condemnation of infant baptism was its principal doctrine, but because in the eyes of the world at that time, that was their most monstrous belief. From time immemorial men had been admitted into the Church by baptism almost exclusively as infants; if the sacrament had been administered to such invalidly, it followed that for many centuries there had been no Christians and no Church, and that the foundation of Christ had long since disappeared. This explains the great horror that was felt for the Anabaptists.

Rome kept a watchful eye upon all these many forms of heresy. At the beginning of his reign Pius V. formed the project of sending to all the Inquisitors of Italy orders to furnish reports to Rome of all who were suspected of heresy.[5]

[1] Report of the Franciscan Conventual, Bojero of Nice, who by the orders of the Bishop of Ventimiglia gave missions in Tenda in 1566 (GIOFFREDO, Storia delle Alpi marittime, V., Turin, 1839, ad an. 1566. *Cf.* P. DEGIOVANNI, Gli eretici di Tenda-Briga-Sospello nei secoli xv. e xvi. Florence, 1881, 9 *seq.*, extract from *Rivista crist.*). In a *brief of August 7, 1566, Pius V. praises the zeal of the Count for the repression of heresy, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, p. 99, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 98.

[3] *Ibid.* 332. Laderchi 1567, n. 61. Little is known of the heretics in Sicily (*cf.* V. LA MANTIA, Origini e vicende dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia in *Riv. stor. Ital.*, 1886, 481 *seq.*); in 1568 and 1569 an autodafé took place at Palermo (*Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XXXVIII., 1914, 306, 309. For the heretics at Verona *cf.* *Riv. stor. Ital.*, 1912, 241.

[4] *Cf.* BENRATH in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, 1 *seqq.*

[5] Babbi, the Tuscan envoy to Rome, July 2, 1566, in CANTÙ, II., 431.

Even though it is true that such reports arrived in great numbers, the Inquisitors in the various Italian provinces had to submit to constant admonitions and even to deposition when they were negligent in fulfilling their duty.[1] A whole series of letters was addressed to the secular princes on behalf of the Inquisition, either to recommend to them a new Inquisitor,[2] or to demand the handing over of some specially dangerous heretic,[3] or to threaten punishment to the princes

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 322.

[2] Camillo Campeggio, appointed Inquisitor at Mantua (see *supra* p. 322) was, by a *brief of May 31, 1567, also recommended to the Duke of Ferrara for his dominions, on the ground that there were heretics there, who were causing the Pope much anxiety. Archives of Briefs, Rome, and State Archives, Modena.

[3] Brief of March 30, 1566, to the Duke of Ferrara, in FONTANA, Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XV. (1892), 461. *Brief to Luigi Birago, Governor of Saluzzo, of December 29, 1567. Archives of Briefs; a brief of June 3, 1566, to the same, urging him to drive out the Huguenots, who were wont to escape from Piedmont to Saluzzo, in FONTANA, *loc. cit.* 463; to Lelio Orsini, Lord of Ceri, May 9, 1566: he is to hand over to the bearer of the brief his agent Baldo Fabii, in order that he may take him to the Roman Inquisition, *ibid.* 461 *seq.*; to the Count of Tenda, December 30, 1569, with a request to hand over to the Bishop of Ventimiglia two heretics, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 74; FONTANA, *loc. cit.* 473; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1570, n. 145 *seq.*; to the Duke of Savoy, April 29, 1570, on a similar occasion, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 143; FONTANA, 474. In a *brief of August 30, 1567, Lodovico Pico Count of Mirandola is asked to deal with the imprisoned heretic Lanzoni as the Inquisitor, Campeggio, shall order (Archives of Briefs). By order of the Pope, Cardinal Rebiba wrote on September 11, 1568, to the Duke of Mantua that a heretic who had already been condemned by the Inquisitor was continuing his activities in the Duke's territory: he must be handed over to the Inquisitor, and the officials must be told that the Duke intends to be obeyed in these matters. There was a further admonition on November 6, 1568, on account of certain heretics who thought themselves safe at Pavia and Monferrato under the protection of certain influential persons (BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 48 *seq.*); in like manner on June 16,

themselves in the case of undue interference. Ercole, Lord of Sassuolo, in the Duchy of Modena, who had allowed two heretics into his territory, was placed in the Castle of St. Angelo, until he had caused both of them to be delivered to the Roman Inquisition.[1] When he had on his own authority mitigated the punishment of a relapsed but repentant heretic, Pius V. threatened the Duke of Savoy with excommunication,

September 15, and December 8, 1571, concerning a heretic who lodged at Monferrato and Leghorn, and who was finally captured by brigands, who sought to obtain their pardon on the score of this capture (*ibid.* 58 *seq.*). Cardinal Bonelli wrote by the Pope's command on April 26, 1566, to the Duke of Savoy, concerning a school master who had already been condemned, but who was continuing to spread his doctrines, and whom the civic officials would not hand over to the Inquisitor (*ibid.* 34). On January 30, 1570, on February 13 and April 24, 1571, Cardinal Bobba had recourse to the Duke for the handing over of a Franciscan heretic, who had spontaneously surrendered to the Inquisition at Turin (*ibid.* 56 ; *cf.* 57). For the vigilance of the Roman Inquisition *cf.* also the information in BATTISTELLA, Il S. Officio e la riforma religiosa in Bologna, Bologna 1905, 65, *seq.* ; *ibid.* 97 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 105, for the execution of heretics at Bologna in 1567, 1568, 1570.

[1] " *La cosa, ch'io scrissi a V. S. Illma, che Nostro Signore haveva intentione di mandar un commissario a Modena per le cose della inquisitione, non essendo quella città la più netta del mundo pare che si vada credendo et crescendo perche a questi giorni N^{ro} Sig^{re} fece mettere qui in castello il sig^{r} Hercole de li signori di Sassuolo per havere, come dicono, tollerato dui heretici Modenesi, un Rangone et uno Castelvetro, in detta terra sua. Ma perche scrisse subito questo signore a'suoi agenti che prendessero questi tali et li consegnassero a chi ordinava Sua Santità, è stato rilassato con segurtà di presentarsi et fare ogni sforza perche questi tali effettualmente siano dati nelle forze di Sua Beat^{ne} Tutta questa istoria dicono che dà molto di pensare a Morone, et però il povero signore ha una chiera molto afflitta, o sia per il male passato del corpo o per l'infirmità presente dell'animo." Caligari to Commendone, June 29, 1566, Lett. di princ. XXIII. 270, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Arco, June 22, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

and the Duke had to give way.[1] The Duke of Florence showed himself most favourable to the Roman Inquisition,[2] but on the other hand, Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, the son of that Rénée of France who had Protestant leanings, behaved very differently.[3] Under the influence of his wife, Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy had more and more tolerated the Protestants.[4] Again and again Pius V. urged him to take steps against the religious innovators,[5] and at last had the satisfaction of seeing the Duke turn definitely against them, so that about 1570 they were driven out from Cuneo and Caraglio, the two principal centres of their activities, and in this way their power was broken.[6]

[1] Letter from Rome of January 22, 1567, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 34 *seq.*

[2] "Es grande essecutor de lo que se ordena en la Inquisicion de Roma" (Zuñiga to Philip II., September 17, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 460). *Cf. Bollett.* Senese, XVII., 160, 197. At Siena as well the Florentine government was very vigilant against the heretics (*ibid.* 171); for the trials of heretics held there, *ibid.* 171 and CANTÙ, III., 449 *seqq.*; for the Sienese heretic Benvoglienti summoned to Rome on March 10, 1569, CANTÙ, 450 and *Bollett. Senese*, XVII., 183. In 1569 Pius V. still entertained suspicions of heresy at Siena.

[3] ALBÈRI, II., 2, 415. *Bibl. in Archiv für osterr. Geschichte*, CIII. (1913), 26.

[4] Zuñiga wrote on April 7, 1568, that in the opinion of the Duke of Florence a descent of the French heretics upon Italy would not meet with much opposition in Savoy "o porque no querria declararse contra Francia porque le governava su muger, la qual no acogeria de mala gana los hereges." Corresp. dipl., II., 339. *Cf.* ALBÈRI, II., 4, 189, and Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 351.

[5] *Cf.* the report of the "abbate di S. Solutore" to the Duke, Rome, December 9, 1566, in CIBRARIO, Lettere inedite di Santi, Papi, Principi, Turin, 1861, 394 *seq.* In Cod. K. 20 of the Vallicella Library, Rome, there are accounts *"de comprehensione Ioh. Honorati Marini haeretici opera Pii V. a duce Sabaudiae permissa eiusque causa in Taurinensi Inquisitione agitata 1566."

[6] A. PASCAL, Storia della riforma protestante a Cuneo nel sec. XVI., Pinerolo, 1913.

The edicts addressed by Rome to the provincial Inquisitors, however, did not always contain exhortations to greater activity. When complaints reached Rome about the Inquisitor at Pavia, Fra Pietro da Quintiano, who had imprisoned a certain Miliavacca, the Roman Inquisition had the minutes of the trial sent to it, and as a result, on October 18th, 1568, ordered the Inquisition of Pavia to acquit and release the condemned man from his imprisonment.[1] The unjust Inquisitor was informed that the Cardinal Inquisitors had been very much astonished at the trial, that the witnesses were not worthy of credence, that their depositions were negligible, and in no way proved the charge of heresy, and that it had been suggested to the witnesses, by the way in which the questions had been put, what answers they were to make.[2] The Cardinal Inquisitors sought to lay the principal blame on Fra Pietro's subordinates,[3] but he had nevertheless to resign his office.[4]

The German students at the University of Padua, many of whom were Protestants, remained for the most part undisturbed, so long as they did not rouse the hostility of the

[1] The decree (of Cardinal Ribiba) is printed by Ettore Rota in *Bollett. della Soc. Pavese di storia patria*, VII. (1907), 27-29.

[2] "Questi signori miei sono restati molto scandalezzati di detto processo, e gli è parso che si sia dato a' testimoni esaminati più fede di quello che conveneva, attenta maximamente la qualità loro e detti suoi, e l'interessi ch'havevano con il Miliavacha; oltrache, la maggior parte delle cose che dicono sono frivole, et anco non pertinenti alla heresia, et in quella che potevano toccarla, poco verisimili; sono stati interrogati di mal modo et con interrogatori suggestivi; et il mettere prigione quel testimonio et fare alli altri precetti penale pecuniarii in simil caso non è stato laudato, et in somma non s' è proceduto con quella saldezza e gravità che conviene a tanto tribunale." Although Miliavacca may not be the best man in the world, the Inquisition must nevertheless confine itself to inquiring into heresy, or at least into those offences which smack of heresy. *Bollett. Pavese, loc. cit.* 27 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 28.

[4] *Ibid.* The gravest accusations of abuse of his office were also brought against him (*ibid.* 23 *seqq.*).

people by provocative behaviour in the churches and by making fun of Catholic things.[1] An exception to this general tolerance occurred in the time of Pius V. when, in 1570, the German professor, Weydecker, was brought before the Inquisition, and only released when he had abjured Protestantism.[2] At Padua they contrived to evade the making of the Tridentine profession of faith, which Pius IV. had made a necessary condition for taking a doctor's degree, by conferring the academic degrees without any public ceremony, at the hands of the so-called Counts-Palatine,[3] a right which Pius V. took away from the said Counts as far as he could.[4]

According to Arco two things especially occupied the Pope in the middle of the first year of his pontificate,[5] namely, his care for the Inquisition, and his struggle against "that terrible sin on account of which the dreadful judgment of God burned the cities that were infected by it"—sodomy.[6] On April 1st, 1566, he gave orders that those guilty of sodomy were to be handed over to the secular arm,[7] and under Pius V. there was

[1] Biagio Bruni in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Ser. 7, V. (1893-94), 1015-1033. Between 1550 and 1599, 5083 German students of law, and 977 of philosophy ("artisti") were lodged at Padua; *ibid.* 1016.

[2] *Cf.* A. Luschin von Ebengreuth in *Zeitschrift für allgem. Geschichte*, III. (1886), 805-817.

[3] Bruni, *loc. cit.* 1030 *seqq.* It is also related of the students at Pisa in 1567 that they made vile mockery of the Catholic religion (Cantu, Eretici, II., 437). At Siena, in April, 1566, the making of a profession of faith was demanded of the students (*Bollett. Senese*, XVII, 167). The governing body there kept a special watch on the German students (*ibid.* 167, 189 *seqq.*, 195).

[4] Edict of June 1, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 673. *Avviso di Roma of July 17, 1568, Urb. 1046, p. 549, Vatican Library. As early as March 20, 1568, the *Avvisi (*ibid.* 491) report that it had been decided "che tutti che si vogliono addottorare passino per ignem et aquam."

[5] *Arco, July 20, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] Pius V. in a brief of August 30, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 702 *seq.*

[7] Bull. Rom., VII., 43; among the *Editti, 205, there is one against blasphemy and sodomy, dated 6 Kal. apr. 1566, Casanatense Library, Rome.

no fear of such a bull remaining a dead letter. A number of imprisonments for sodomy[1] during July, 1566, filled Rome with fear, especially the nobles, who well knew that the Pope would apply his law in the case of great and small alike;[2] it is a fact that the punishment of burning was used in cases of crimes against nature all through the reign of Pius V.[3] In October, 1571, the complaint made by a preacher in the Apostolic palace, that justice was only employed against the poor and not against the rich, called forth a Papal edict ordering the strict enforcement of the laws against sodomy.[4] A brief had already been issued by which clerics who were guilty of that offence lost all their benefices, dignities and revenues, and, after degradation, were to be handed over to the secular arm.[5]

Since the Inquisition had the power to deal with crimes against nature, as giving ground for the suspicion of incredulity and heresy, the same thing held good, and for the same reason, of attempts to invoke the assistance of the evil spirits for any

[1] Tiepolo, July 20, 1566, in MUTINELLI, I., 50.

[2] *' che fa giusticia anco per i grandi" (Arco, July 20, 1566, State Archives, Vienna). An *Avviso di Roma of July 20, 156 (Urb. 1040, p. 255, Vatican Library) states: "Roma è quasi tutta sbigottita per le gagliarde provisioni et essecutioni, che si fanno contro li maledetti sodomiti nè si guarda in faccia a persona."

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of April 2, 1569: "a sodomite was burned," September 3, 1569: "the servant of a sodomite was actually burned, and his master, who had fled, in effigy"; May 13, 1570: "a man was burned for bestiality"; October 6, 1571: "to-day four sodomites were burned" (Urb. 1041, p. 51, 143, 274; 1042, p. 129, Vatican Library). *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 50; *Bollett. Pavese*, IV., 591 *seq.*

[4] *Avviso of October 20, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 135, *loc. cit.*

[5] August 30, 1568, Bull. Rom., VII., 702 *seq.* A *brief of March 15, 1569, to the vicar of the Archbishop of Tarragona, which orders the carrying out of this edict, in Brevia Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 33, Papal Secret Archives.

purpose whatever.[1] During the humanist period, when the study of the occult played so great a part,[2] this side of the activities of the Inquisition must have been specially important, but we know very little about it. In 1568 the tribunal of the faith at Pavia was engaged upon the case of a magician who, by means of astrology, divination and alchemy, claimed to be able to discover hidden treasure, and was engaged in compiling, together with other people, a manual of magic. In that same year five other persons were accused before the Inquisition of witchcraft.[3] During the reign of Pius V. several witches were condemned in Rome,[4] Milan,[5] and elsewhere.[6]

[1] It is evident from various sources that even under Pius V. the Inquisition did not confine itself to questions of faith alone. Ciregiola on September 10, 1568, *wrote to Cardinal F. de' Medici that the Cardinal Inquisitors had persuaded Pius V. that it was his duty to undertake some far-reaching enterprise against the Huguenots, and to add some new saints to the Breviary (State Archives, Florence). An *Avviso di Roma of April 1, 1570 (Urb. 1041, p. 251, Vatican Library) tells of a meeting of the Inquisition on account of the Emperor's protest. An adulterer was handed over to the Inquisition: *Cusano, March 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Fumi, L' Inquisizione, 72 *seqq.*

[3] Ettore Rota in *Bollett. Pavese*, VII. (1907), 20 *seq.*

[4] See *supra* p. 312, n. 1. A sorceress was imprisoned by the Roman Inquisition in 1569 for having foretold to the Pope his coming death and to Cardinal Mula the tiara (*Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 206b, Vatican Library). *" Frustrate 5 vecchie in Roma fattucchiate " (August 6, 1569, *ibid.* 116b).

[5] *Brief of September 10, 1569, to the Senate of Milan concerning witches condemned by the archiepiscopal tribunal. Brevia, Arm. 44, t.14, p. 224, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] A woman was accused of witchcraft at Cocconato in Piedmont on August 31, 1569: " Margaritam Allamanam . . . deviasse a fide Christi catholicaque religione et ministeriis sacrosanctae ecclesiae, retro post satanam conversam daemonum illusionibus et fantasmatibus seductam eius iussionibus obedire, ad eiusque servitium revocari ad cursum; et publice vociferatur, ut vulgo dicitur, eam esse mascham." (Ferd. Gabotto, Valdesi, Catari e

A bull of Pius V., dated February 26th, 1569, expressly states the fact that the Jews, in particular, made use of "divination, conjuring, magic arts, and witchcraft," and led many persons to believe that by such means it was possible to foretell the future, trace thieves, discover hidden treasure, and in general obtain knowledge otherwise beyond the reach of mankind.[1] It is well known that Juvenal, in his 14th satire, speaks of the divination practised by the Jews in Rome. The Jews often appear as magicians and wizards during the period of the Renaissance. In Ariosto's comedy, *Il Negromante*, the hero is a Jew who had been driven out of Spain, who makes use of his magic arts at the expense of disappointed or infatuated lovers.[2]

The same bull accuses the Jews of many other crimes, as well as of dabbling in magic. It states that they are usurers and are bleeding needy Christians. They afford a refuge to robbers and brigands, and enable them to dispose of their

streghe in Piemonte dal sec. XIV. al XVI., Extract from n. 18 of the *Bulletin de la Soc. d' hist. Vaudoise di Torre Pellice*, Pinerolo, 1900, 17). A trial for witchcraft in 1567 is related by BERTOLOTTI in *Rivista Europea*, XXIII. (1883), 625.

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 740. Several examples are given by the *Avvisi di Roma. Gabriele Pianer, dean of the pontifical chaplains, was imprisoned with a Jew because they were making calculations as to the length of the Pope's life, the Jew making use of a phial, in which devils were shut up; he was condemned to the punishment of scourging (*Avvisi of June 12 and July 31, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 533, 556, Vatican Library: *cf.* *Arco, June 12, 1568, State Archives, Vienna). A Jew was imprisoned, who made predictions with the "bolla de' spiriti" about the Pope's life. (*Avviso of July 23, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 117, *loc. cit.*). For the "Processi per ebraismo in Napoli" see AMABILE I., 306 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, II.[10], 268, 275 *seq.*, 373. See also the example in the time of Paul III., mentioned in Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 215. GREGOROVIUS (Wanderjahre in Italien, 1[2]., Leipzig 1864, 75) in explaining the bull of Pius V. mentions the fact that "oggi pure donne ebree a Roma portano segretamente nelle case arti magiche e filtri amaforii."

booty as receivers of stolen goods. Going about the city in the guise of itinerant pedlars, they act as procurers, and have thus brought about the ruin of many innocent women. In general, they hate the name of Christian, and seek treacherously to ruin all who bear it.[1]

Several of the edicts of Pius V. against the Jews are more easily understood, both as regards their occasion and their purpose, if the above-mentioned accusations are borne in mind. When, in 1569, Cardinal Bonelli caused all their books to be confiscated in order that a better idea might be formed of their privileges in the matter of demanding interest,[2] and when, a year later, these privileges were declared void and the Jews were subjected to the ordinary laws concerning usury.[3] these measures speak for themselves, and it is equally obvious why the Jews were forbidden to enter the houses of prostitutes, or to admit them to their houses, shops, or work-rooms,[4] and why licenses to ply the trade of pedlar were only to be granted for the future to Jews whose moral character was above suspicion.[5] It is also plain that it was useless to expect from the Jews a conscientious observance of the ecclesiastical

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 740.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of January 15, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 4b, Vatican Library. Decrees of Cardinals Saraceni and Sirleto of October 11 and 16, 1567, in RIEGER, II., 167.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of September 20, 1570, *loc. cit.* 342 *seq.* A Papal decree of October 8, 1566, allowed them an interest, which according to our reckoning would be 12 %. (VERNET in *Université catholique*, 1895, II., 108 n.). For the enormous charges for interest among the Jews in the XVth and XVIth centuries *cf.* ERLER in *Archiv für kathol. kirchenrecht*, LIII. (1885), 5, 11, 37. Even in 1569 the profits averaged 20 % (RIEGER, II., 167). The Jews, says Sadolet, in 1539, are the masters of the Christians and every day take away from them their property and force them to emigrate (ERLER, *loc. cit.* 41).

[4] FERRARIS, Prompta Bibliotheca, IV., s. v. 'Hebraeus" n. 25. ERLER, *loc. cit.* 52.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of August 17, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 275b, Vatican Library.

laws as to books, and accordingly they were only allowed to buy and sell books by special license.[1]

The strict laws of Paul IV., according to which the Jews were not allowed to live among the Christians, to go about without a distinctive mark, to acquire landed property, or keep Christian servants,[2] had been almost entirely repealed by Pius IV. on February 27th, 1562,[3] as being a source of trial and vexation to the hated children of Israel. Pius V., it is true, caused the Governor of Rome, Pallantieri, to publish an edict on April 10th, 1566, which ordered that any offence committed against the Jews should be punished by flogging,[4] but in other respects he reverted to the laws of Paul IV. In the middle of February it was reported that the wall surrounding the Ghetto had been restored, and that those who were forced to remain within vainly attempted to obtain the enlargement of the space allotted to them for their habitation.[5] They were all forced to go to the Ghetto, nor was any attention

[1] Edict of the "Magister s. Palatii" Tommaso Manriquez of January 19, 1566, printed in HILGERS, Index, 501; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 28; ERLER, *loc. cit.* 52; CATENA, 51. RIEGER (II., 164) without any justification limits this prohibition to buying and selling Jewish books.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 272.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 167 *seqq.* For Pius IV.'s indulgence towards the Jews *cf.* ERLER, *loc. cit.*, 49; VERNET, *loc. cit.*, 1891, II., 642 *seq.* *"Sono molto travagliato per conto degli Hebrei i quali hanno grandissimi favori per ritornare le cose loro nel stato che erano innanzi la bolla di Paolo IV." (T. Cospi, January 18, 1561, State Archives, Bologna). Even Cardinal Borromeo showed himself very indulgent towards the Jews (LANCIANI, IV., 16).

[4] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 107. *Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 210, Vatican Library. ERLER, *loc. cit.* 52.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1566, *loc. cit.* 182. With reference to the consistory of January 23, 1566, Arco announces: *"Vuole S.S^{tà} che li Giudei ritornino tutti nel seraglio deputato loro al tempo di Paulo quarto" (State Archives, Vienna). Under Pius IV., as *Cusano writes on February 2, 1566, the Jews were scattered all over the city, having paid many ducats to the Pope for that permission (*ibid.*).

paid to their request to be allowed to wear a red distinctive mark instead of the yellow one which had been ordered for the Jews.[1] A little later on the Pope forbade them to take part in the market hitherto held on Wednesdays—that day having been chosen for their sake—and transferred it to the Saturday.[2]

By April 19th, 1566, all the prescriptions of Paul IV.'s bull concerning the Jews had been renewed, and extended to the whole Church, while Pius IV.'s mitigation of it had been expressly revoked.[3] Since the Jews evaded the prohibition of possessing landed property by means of fictitious sales, a new ordinance was issued according to which all such property which had not been actually handed over within a fixed time reverted to the house of catechumens and the Monte di Pietà.[4] On the strength of certain briefs of Paul III. and Pius IV., however, an exception was made in the case of the Jews of Ancona.[5]

It was not to be expected of the Jews of the Middle Ages or of the modern era that was just beginning that they should grow up side by side with a Christian nation, or look upon a Christian land as their home. Staff in hand, they constantly wandered from one Christian country to another, and were

[1] *Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 210, Vatican Library. LADERCHI, 1566, n. 112. Even in this respect Pius IV. had been more lenient with them (LANCIANI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVII. [1894], 229 *seqq.*).

[2] *Cusano, May 11, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Bull. Rom., VII., 439. The *brief of May 17, 1566, with which it was sent to Cardinal Borromeo, says that the bull had become necessary because of the intolerable freedom allowed to the Jews. Borromeo must publish it, and as at that time the Christians at Milan were oppressed by the usury of the Jews, let him enact that no other interest is to be demanded but such as is customary in the Papal States, and never compound interest. Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 79, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Motuproprio of January 19, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 514.

[5] Brief of April 5, 1567, Bull. Rom., VII., 32 (in the bull of Gregory XIII. of February 23, 1573).

convinced, deeply hating the Christians as they did, that they could make use of their knowledge of Christian affairs for felonious purposes among the Turks and infidels.[1] It was said as early as July, 1566, that the Jews felt that under the stern regime of Pius V. it was no longer any use for them to remain in the Papal States.[2] A year later 300 Jews from Rome actually accepted the invitation of a renegade who claimed to have obtained from the Sultan the city of Tiberias and certain islands of the Archipelago for the purpose of colonizing them with members of the chosen people.[3] It was reported in Rome in April, 1567, that the Pope intended to drive the "Hebrews," as they were called, from his dominions.[4] In a bull of February 26th, 1569,[5] Pius V. actually took this extreme step, which had previously been taken by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1492, and by Charles V. in Naples in 1539. In this edict the Pope first sets forth the grievances against the Jews.[6] Since the gravity of their offences was increasing every day, to the injury of the state, and since the Jews contributed nothing of importance to the common good, they

[1] LADERCHI, 1569, n. 78. Erler *loc. cit.* 36.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 255b, Vatican Library. *Arco wrote on July 20, 1566, that the Pope wished that the Christians should not in any way help the Jews, for which reason some had themselves baptized and others went away. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of July 5, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 413, Vatican Library. *B. Pia wrote on July 19, 1567, that every day Jews were leaving for Tiberias, which had been given to them (State Archives, Mantua). On July 5, 1567, *Arco reports that more than 40 Jewish families had left for Tiberias during that week State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of April 19, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 382b, Vatican Library.

[5] Bull. Rom., VII., 740. An *Avviso di Roma of February 14, 1569, reports that the bull had been "spedita" (Urb. 1041, p. 14b, Vatican Library). *Cusano speaks of it on March 5, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Cf. supra* p. 334.

must within three months leave the whole of the Papal States, with the exception of Rome and Ancona; if any of them, after that period, were found within Papal territory, they were to forfeit their possessions and become the serfs of the Roman Church. The Jews left the Papal States in May, and went for the most part to Asia Minor.[1]

Feliciano, the Archbishop of Avignon, had the courage, in a letter of April 6th, 1569, to intercede for the Jews in his diocese, on the ground that they had lent money to the Catholics in the war against the Huguenots, and that their exile would lead to disturbances. The Pope replied that, according to the testimony of the Bishop of Carpentras, no decree had given so much satisfaction in the Venaissin for many years as the bull against the Jews.[2] At the request of the syndics, however, he extended the time fixed for their departure until

[1] ERLER, *loc. cit.* 54. RIEGER, III., 168. According to the *Avviso di Roma of March 19, 1569, they asked for a delay in their departure in order that they might collect the debts owing to them (Urb. 1041, p. 18b, Vatican Library). In various places the bull was either not obeyed at all or only for a short time; see FABRETTI, Sulla condizione degli ebrei in Perugia, Turin, 1891, 9 *seqq.* Of the Jews in Rome it is stated in May, 1569: *"Si dice che S.S. vuole che li Hebrei vadino ad habitare al Coliseo, onde per le quotidiane restrintioni questi poveri se ne vanno più tosto che obligarsi a così dure novità" (*Avviso di Roma of May 14, 1569, *loc. cit.* 76). At Bologna, where the Jews were enclosed in the Ghetto in 1566 (GIUDICINI, Miscell. Bologn., 56), several pious foundations were trying to get the house of catechumens left to them, on the ground that with the departure of the Jews there was no longer any need for it; against this the governing body of the house pointed out in a *petition on April 13, 1569, that it was just the time when many Jews would be converted (Cod. Vatic. lat. 6184, p. 82, Vatican Library). In a *brief of March 26, 1568, Pius V. had given the catechumens of Bologna a synagogue which had come into the possession of the Apostolic Camera. Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] Brief of May 3, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 187. In this brief we read: "Scimus perversissimam hanc gentem omnium fere haeresum causam seminariumque semper fuisse."

August 15th.[1] Venice, too, thought of banishing the Jews in 1569, on account of their felonious relations with the Turks.[2]

Notwithstanding all these strict ordinances, Pius V. had a certain feeling of kindliness for this unhappy people; above all, he sought as far as possible to win them to Christianity, nor, as he himself says, were his efforts altogether unsuccessful. Many Jews and Jewesses were baptized; whenever any of the more eminent among the Roman Jews showed themselves ready for conversion, the Pope performed the sacred rite with his own hands, and in this way many were led to follow their example. At the end of November, 1566, the house of catechumens, built by Paul III., was almost quite full, and about the same time, the convent of the Annunziata, where recently-converted Jewish girls could take the veil, was found to be too small for the numbers that entered, so that the convent had to be transferred to a larger house.[3] Pius V. also furnished revenues for the catechumenate, which he placed under the spiritual care of the Jesuits.[4] He soon gave up his idea of purchasing a special palace for the use of the converted Jews,[5] and later on he thought it better not to have

[1] Brief to Cardinal Armagnac on May 4, 1569, in LADERCHI' 1569, n. 190. According to the *Avviso of July 26, 1570 (Urb. 1040, p. 312, Vatican Library) the Jews at Avignon vainly offered large sums of money to the Pope to be allowed to remain. According to CHARPENNE, Avignon, II., 453, the Jews of that place nevertheless succeeded in remaining.

[2] LADERCHI, 1569, n. 78.

[3] Bull of November 29, 1566, Bull. Rom., VII., 489.

[4] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 109. SACCHINI P. III., 1, 2, n. 70. The Jesuits very soon gave up the house of catechumens.

[5] Negotiations were made for the palace of the former abbreviator, Chirinotto, "che é sotto la Trinità" (*Avviso di Roma of August 31, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 278b, Vatican Library). Pius V. abandoned the plan because he feared to be cheated in the price (**ibid.* 301, October 12). A *"Bulla pro domo catechumenorum Urbis," of August 28, 1568, is in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. According to the *report of Strozzi on January 18, 1567, the Pope gave the catechumens 10,000 scudi (State Archives, Vienna).

any special place for the catechumens, preferring to place the sons of the converts either in the houses of craftsmen or in seminaries.[1]

Among the more notable Jewish converts mentioned above, whom the Pope baptized with his own hands, the place of honour belongs to the seventy-year-old president of the synagogue, Elias, and his three sons. They received the sacrament with great solemnity, in the presence of the Cardinals, and a great crowd of people, including many Jews, in St. Peter's, on the third day of Pentecost, June 4th, 1566.[2] "Moved by the great pity, goodness, and holiness which they daily saw in the life of the Pope," in August, 1566, twenty-six Jews, and twelve more in October, of the same year, followed the example of Elias.[3] In each case it was arranged that baptism should be conferred with great solemnity by a Cardinal.[4]

Cod. Vatic. lat. 6792, 1, 94 *seq.* contains an estimate of the *"Intrata tanto ordinaria quanto extraordinaria della casa di catecomini" from January to April, 1568, Vatican Library.

[1] *Avviso di Roma of May 28, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 84b, Vatican Library. An *Avviso of August 16, 1567 (*ibid.* 1040, p. 431b) speaks of 10 catechumens who wished to escape to Tiberias in order to return to Judaism. The Pope had them arrested. *Arco, August 16, 1568, tells the same tale (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 108. *Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 135, Vatican Library. *Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. Description of the ceremonies of the baptism in Firmanus, Diarium, published in RIEGER, II., 423 *seqq.*

[3] *Avvisi di Roma of August 17 (the baptism is announced for the following day) and October 19, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 274b, 306b, Vatican Library. Baptism of a learned Jew: **ibid.* 225, July 20, 1566. "Arbitror" wrote Poggiani to Otto Truchsess on September 21, 1566, "hoc pontifice, amplius centum iudaeos homines Iesu Christo nomen dedisse, et ex illis ditissimum et doctissimum quemque. Transeunt ad christianam religionem viri cum coniugibus et liberis, neque urbani modo, sed provinciales et externi." (Epist., IV., 121).

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of August 17 and October 19, 1566, *loc. cit.* There was a case of a Jew who had himself baptized twice over, and was therefore burned (*Avviso of November 26, 1569, *ibid.* 1041, p. 190b, Vatican Library.

The sermons, too, which after the beginning of 1568 were preached for the Jews on all feast days,[1] led to several conversions.[2] In the middle of 1569, twenty-seven Jews asked for Baptism at Benevento.[3]

The attraction exercised by Judaism in Spain, even in the XVIth century, is shown in a remarkable way by a brief of Pius V., of September 6th, 1567. In this brief the Pope says that he has already conferred on Cardinal Espinosa, the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, faculties to absolve from their sin those Christians who had made use of Jewish religious rites; he goes on to declare that in the case of priests and clerics who had been guilty of such things, it was not possible to remove all the canonical consequences of such an act. The Grand Inquisitor must no longer allow anyone who, having received any ecclesiastical order, had taken part in Jewish rites, to enjoy ecclesiastical benefices; he must not advance them to a higher order, nor must he under any circumstances allow priests who had been guilty of that offence to say mass.[4]

The Pope took part in person in all the many activities of the Inquisition. If we have constant record of his activity in this respect during the first months of his pontificate,[5] the same thing is true of the whole of the first half of his reign. On June 14th, 1567, Bernardino Pia wrote to Mantua that it was not possible to give greater pleasure to the Pope than by helping him in things concerning the Inquisition.[6] A little later, the Imperial ambassador, Arco, was of the opinion that Pius V. was more full of zeal against the heretics than

[1] *Avviso of January 17, 1568, *ibid.* 1040, p. 477.

[2] *Avviso of May 7, 1569, *ibid.* 1041, p. 68b, (4 conversions).

[3] Petition from the "consoli et città di Benevento" June 29, 1569, that a jubilee might be granted to all who were present at the baptism, in Cod. Vatic. lat. 6184, p. 14, Vatican Library.

[4] To Didacus de Spinosa, Cod. Barb. 1502, p. 221 *seqq.*; 1503, p. 120 *seqq.* Vatican Library.

[5] See *supra* p. 170, 291.

[6] *A. Luzzara, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

against the Turks;[1] the prisons, he says, are full of them,[2] so that they are far too small,[3] and again in September Arco repeats that the Pope is extremely scrupulous about all that concerns the Inquisition.[4] The Spanish ambassador, Requesens, also wrote in July, 1566, that the Pope had not so far been absent from a single session of the Inquisition,[5] although these were held at least once a week, and sometimes two or three times;[6] moreover, the Pope's view is always most practical and severe,[7] and carries the day even against the votes of all the Cardinals.[8] It was said in Rome in February, 1568, that the Pope was thinking of following the example of Paul IV. by appointing a Grand Inquisitor;[9] during Lent he would not hold consistories in order that an extra session of the Inquisition might be held each week. These extraordinary sessions had been called for by the case of the unhappy Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomè Carranza,[10] whose trial Pius V. had called to Rome.

[1] *Arco, October 13, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] **ibid.* May 10, 1567.

[3] **ibid.* November 22, 1567,

[4] "*scrupolosissimo"; *ibid.* September 11, 1568.

[5] To Philip II., July 4, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 288.

[6] To Philip II., September 18, 1566, *ibid.* 350.

[7] *Ibid.* See also the following note.

[8] "En las cosas de Inquisicion se haze siempre lo que el Papa vota aunque sea contra el parecer de los cardenales, y el voto de S.S. diz que es el mejor y mas riguroso que ninguno de los otros." To Philip II., May 17, 1567, Corresp. dipl. II. 115.

[9] *Avviso di Roma of February 14, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 487, Vatican Library.

[10] *Ibid.* On June 7, 1567 *B. Pia wrote to Luzzara: "Due congregationi si fanno hora ogni settimana inanzi a N. S. di ordinario per la S^mt^ Inquisitione. Il lunedi et questa sola per la causa de l'arcivescovo di Toledo. Il giovedi l'ordinaria, non si potria dire con quanta ansia et diligenza S. B^na^ attenda a questo." (State Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Serristori, February 13, 1567. State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Trial of the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomè Carranza. The Condemnation of Baius.

The removal of Carranza to the Eternal City is certainly one of the most striking proofs of the great impression which the personality of Pius V. had made even upon the greatest men of his time. It had been in vain for Pius IV. to attempt to intervene in the discussion of the case of the disgraced archbishop.[1] King Philip was of opinion that the authority of the Spanish Inquisition would suffer if a trial were to be removed from its jurisdiction, and perhaps decided in a contrary sense by the Papal tribunals, while he was convinced that he could not do without the help of the Inquisition in the government of his kingdom.[2] He had therefore strained every nerve, even with Pius V., to keep the trial of the Archbishop of Toledo in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. But when the Pope persisted, the apparently impossible took place, and the mighty Spaniard gave way. To the amazement of all Spain, on December 5th, 1566, the archbishop left Valladolid in the litter which was to convey him to Cartagena. There he had to wait until April 1567, for the Duke of Alba, who was to

[1] See Vol. XVI of this work, 370 *seq.*.

[2] Serrano in Corresp. dipl. II. xi: "El secreto de toda la resistencia de Felipe II. en este asunto, estaba en hallarse convencido . . ., que yendo la causa à Roma sufría un golpe mortal la autoridad de la Inquisición Española." Requesens pointed out to the Pope that it was the conviction of Philip, "que non podia guardar sus reinos en la religion y obediencia de la Sede Apostolica, non conservando la autoridad del Santo Officio, a quien seria gran nota no confiar S. B. dél este negocio." To Philip II. June 1, 1566, *ibid.* I. 256; *cf.* II. xi. *seq.*

convey him to Rome, so that it was only on May 28th, that Carranza reached the Eternal City.[1]

The Spanish Inquisition had a bad name with the Roman people.[2] The archbishop was universally looked upon as innocent,[3] and it was commonly said that the trial would be over in a few weeks, and that Carranza would go back to Spain a Cardinal. His supporters hoped that he would have entered Rome amid popular acclamations, and would be received by the Pope before the trial commenced. In reality, the day after the arrival of Carranza at Civitavecchia, the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, set out to go there to receive him accompanied by two companies of cavalry under the command of Paolo Ghislieri, but the latter had had orders to receive the archbishop merely in the name of the Spanish king, and not of the Pope, and when on the return journey the cavalcade neared the gates of Rome the great crowd of people sought in vain for the archbishop. Requesens took him secretly, accompanied only by a few horsemen, in a litter as far as the gates of the Castle of St. Angelo, where, to Carranza's disgust, his former jailor, Lope de Avellaneda, took charge of him in Rome as he had done in Spain.[4]

In the composition of the tribunal the Pope had every consideration for the Spanish king. If among the assessors of the four Cardinal Inquisitors there were to be found the Master of the Sacred Palace, Tommaso Manriquez, and other declared friends of Carranza, there were also Giulio Santori

[1] Corresp. dipl., II., vi, xviii. POGIANI Epist., IV., 262.

[2] "Todo el pueblo està mal con la Inquisición de Espana de gracia, ó por mejor decir, malicia ó de falta de celo de la fé y religión." Dr. Simancas to Busto de Villegas, November 5, 1568, Corresp. dipl., IV., vi.

[3] Zuñiga to Philip II., March 9, 1568, *ibid.* v.

[4] Requesens to Philip II., May 31, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 124 *seqq.*, *cf.* xix. *seq.* *B. Pia, May 31 and June 4, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the volumes, from the legacy left by Santori, bearing the title "Processus in causa Toletana," in Miscell. Arm. X., 1–4, Papal Secret Archives, the use of which would be of value for a special work on the subject.

and Felice Peretti who, as Neapolitan bishops, acknowledged Philip as their sovereign. Among the Cardinals of the Inquisition, Pacheco was a Spaniard and devoted to the king. Philip, too, was allowed to nominate as many persons as he chose as auditors and assessors.[1]

The tribunal began its work at the beginning of June, 1567; at least one meeting was held every week to deal with the case of Carranza.[2] First of all the minutes of the Spanish trial were read, which drove the Italians to desperation by their endless prolixity.[3] Very soon the Spanish acta were set aside, and they devoted themselves entirely to the writings of the accused man, in so far as they did not feel satisfied in Rome with the verdict of the Spanish theologians as to his doctrine; many of the propositions which in Carranza's own country had been stigmatized as heretical or at least suspect of heresy, seemed to learned men in Rome to be quite harmless.[4] The Pope himself formed an unfavourable opinion of the views of the Spanish theologians.[5] Moreover, he found fault with the fact that so few questions had been put to the archbishop, so that he might have had the opportunity of explaining in what sense he had meant statements which might seem erroneous when spoken or written. That is not just, he said to the Spanish ambassador, when he tried to justify the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition, because heresy lies in the intellect

[1] List of the members of the tribunal in Corresp. dipl., II., xxi. *seq.*

[2] According to the *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1567, every Monday. Urb. 1040, p. 425b, Vatican Library.

[3] Corresp. dipl., II., xxiii.

[4] Cardinals Pacheco and Gambara told Zuñiga: "Muchas de las proposiciones que allá [in Spain] se dieron por heréticas y sospechosas, se ha declarado aqui de comun consentimiento de todos los teólogos de esta congregación y de ortos que eran católicas." Zuñiga to Philip II., April 29, 1570, Corresp. dipl. IV., xvi.

[5] "Díjome [the Pope] mucho mal de las calificaciones que se habian hecho en España." Zuñiga to Philip II., Corresp. dipl., IV., xiv.

and in obstinacy, and not in words or letters.[1] The Pope had assumed control of the trial with the idea that the accusations made against Carranza were only too well founded, but when he came to examine the matter at first hand he realized that several of the accusations were groundless; he began to hesitate,[2] and remained undecided to the end. Not even his friends, however, were able to clear the ground from all the charges against the archbishop. Carranza's zealous advocate, the distinguished moral theologian Azpilcueta, who had come to Rome to defend him in spite of his age and weak state of health,[3] considered that the charge of heresy against his client was without foundation, but admitted that the Inquisition had only done its duty in imprisoning him.[4] Cardinal Chiesa, to whose opinion Pius V. attached much importance, thought

[1] "que agora havia sido menester tornarle a examinar, porque en España hubo en esto gran descuydo, porque dixo que quisieron hacer mucho caso de lo que se hallava dicho y scripto del arçobispo, y no trataron tanto de saber del como entendía y estava en todas aquellas materias en que parescia que habia errado. . . . Dixome que no se havia de hacer assy, porque la heresia estava en el entendimiento y en la pertinacia y no en la escripto." Zuñiga to Philip II., August 17, 1568, Corresp. dipl. II., 439 *seq.*

[2] Dixo [the Pope] que ante que viesse el processo del arçobispo lo tenia por muy culpado; que despues havia stado algo suspenso, porque havia visto que no se verificaban algunas cosas de las que le havian referido (Zuñiga to Philip II., July 13, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 388). Just then Zuñiga had reproached the Pope for having come to the trial with the conviction of the innocence of Carranza (*ibid.*; *cf.* the letter to Philip II. of October 21, 1569, *ibid.*, viii.).

[3] Corresp. dipl., IV., vii.

[4] "Concebí, creí, y confirmé muchas veces dos cosas, la una que el dicho Reverendísimo estaba bien preso; y al cabo, los que le prendieron quedar ian honrados por haber hecho su deber contra un tan gran varón." (Memorial á Felipe II., in *Ciencia Tomista* VII., 407; Serrano in Corresp. dipl. II., xxix.). Azpilcueta came to Rome on October 21, 1567. A very laudatory letter of recommendation of him from the nuncio in Spain, in Corresp. dip., II., 94.

that a strong suspicion of heresy attached to Carranza's name.[1] The same view was expressed by the Jesuit, Toledo, who had a great reputation for learning in Rome,[2] and who, in January, 1570, was called in to assist at the discussions, and often had interviews with the Pope on the subject.[3] The archbishop's friends could only set against this that the erroneous propositions had been corrected elsewhere in his writings.[4] If Carranza had been willing to ask pardon for his imprudent propositions, it would certainly have been granted, but he continued to make complaints of his opponents and to attempt to justify himself, so that the Pope sent him a severe rebuke.[5]

In the meantime opinions and rumours, both for and against the accused, were making themselves heard in Rome. Often enough, says an eye-witness, one can in a single day see the wind blowing from all four quarters in this matter.[6] For the most part, however, public opinion favoured Carranza. In July, 1567, it was rumoured that the case was almost settled in his favour, and that very soon the task of passing a judgment on his doctrines would be referred to the ordinary Roman courts, and that the archbishop would be given quarters in one of the monasteries of Rome instead of in the Castle of St. Angelo. When none of these things came to pass a fresh rumour was current that a decision would be arrived at before Christmas.[7] while similar reports recurred again and again during the years that followed.[8] The Pope himself wrote to

[1] *Ibid.* IV., xvi.

[2] *Ibid.* xvii., n.

[3] *Ibid.* xiii, xxi. Zuñiga thought that Toledo, and the Jesuits generally were predisposed in favour of Carranza ; *ibid.* xiii.

[4] Zuñiga to Philip II., July 13, 1571, *ibid.* 389.

[5] Corresp. dipl., IV., ix., n.

[6] *Ibid.* viii.

[7] See the extracts from the Avvisi di Roma, *ibid.* II., xxiv.

[8] For 1568 *cf. ibid.* xxvi. According to the *Avviso di Roma of August 17, 1569 (Urb. 1041, p. 133, Vatican Library) the Spanish ambassador went to Carranza to congratulate him on his release. On September 24, 1569 (*ibid.* 146b) we are told that the decision had been come to. On December 10, 1569 (*ibid.* 195) it is again

the chapter of Toledo on July 20th, 1567, that the trial would end "very soon."[1]

As a matter of fact, however, the decision was by no means at hand. On November 7th, 1567, the tribunal asked to be allowed first to examine the writings of Carranza which had been left in Spain. On March 27th, 1568, it wrote to Spain for further information as to the various statements of the archbishop. On August 2nd in the same year, the Pope, in a brief to the Cardinal Espinosa, asked to have the writings of Carranza on the Epistles of St. Paul, and his sermons which were in the possession of private individuals.[2] The case had not really been ripe for judgment when it had been transferred to Rome. On December 31st, 1564, the day when the Papal demand to take over the case took effect, the trial in Spain had been abruptly stopped and no further steps had been taken there to continue it.[3] About the middle of 1569, however, the deliberations were so advanced that everyone was of opinion that a decision was imminent. In October the sessions and deliberations of the commission came to an end, the Pope took possession of the minutes of the trial, and together with Cardinals Peretti and Aldobrandini subjected them to a close examination in order that he might form his own opinion on the matter. It was thought that the final judgment would be pronounced about Easter, 1570.[4]

This time, too, the general expectation was at fault; events

stated that the archbishop will soon be set at liberty. On August 12, 1570 (*ibid.* 318) it is reported that the end of the case had been proposed, but very secretly, at a meeting of the Inquisition. On July 18, 1571 (Urb. 1042, p. 89b, *loc. cit.*) it is stated that the case s very near its end.

[1] Pogiani Epist., IV., 260 *seq.*

[2] Corresp. dipl., II., xxiv. *Cf.* Zuñiga to Philip II., August 17, 1567, *ibid.* 439 *seqq.*; Philip II., October 11, 1568, on the appointment of further Spanish assessors, *ibid.* 474 *seq.* The *brief of November 7, 1567, to Cardinal Espinosa in Brevia, Arm. 44, t.13, p. 60b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Corresp. dipl., II., xxvii.

[4] *Ibid.* IV., x., xiv.

were tending in the direction of trying to find further reasons for putting off the decision to the Greek Kalends. For a long time it had been no secret that the Pope's decision would not be in accordance with that of the Spanish Inquisition, and this gave rise to great excitement in Madrid as well as at the Spanish embassy in Rome. If the Apostolic See should decide against the Inquisition, and Carranza had to return to Toledo, and resume his former position as first bishop of the kingdom a terrible blow would, in the opinion of Philip, have been struck at the Inquisition, and this its royal protector wished at all costs to avoid.[1] Thus the controversy as to Carranza's guilt or innocence had developed into a struggle between the cesaropapalism of Madrid and the interference of Rome, and also into a struggle between the Roman and Spanish schools of theology. If in the Eternal City an unfavourable judgment were passed upon the captious pedantry of the Spanish view of Carranza, then the Roman theologians would find themselves overwhelmed with reproaches, with the object of showing that the self-opinionated Spaniards knew better than Rome itself what was Catholic and what was not. The letters of the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, in 1569, are filled with complaints of the Roman judges. According to these letters the Pope was prejudiced in favour of the archbishop, and let himself be influenced by his friends. The officials who had charge of the trial were all suspected by Zuñiga; they had allowed themselves to break through the proper procedure, and had not the necessary learning to enable them to pronounce on theological questions. Things would have gone very differently if a greater number of theologians had been sent from Spain to act as assessors, and the Romans would not have been able to forget the respect due to the Spanish Inquisition. Let new opinions on Carranza's writings be prepared in his own country, so that men might be able to form a truer judgment as to the meaning and consequences of his propositions.[2]

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 344, n. 2.

[2] Corresp. dipl. II., ix.

As far back as July 28th, 1568, in an autograph letter to the Pope, Philip II. had made complaints of the direction in which the discussions of Carranza's case had seemed at that time to be tending.[1] He now renewed his protests in a stronger form. His letter of October 26th, 1569,[2] addressed to the Spanish ambassador in Rome, but really intended for the Pope, to whom it was to be presented, bears at its head the name of the king, but it is really the Inquisition which is speaking by the mouth of the king, and its language, as though conscious of its power even against the head of Christianity, is in striking contrast to the reverence otherwise shown to the Vicar of Christ. In the first place we find enumerated the departures from the usual procedure which had been allowed in Rome, in order to favour Carranza and to keep from the Pope a full understanding of his errors, and this, moreover, in an affair which had become "the spectacle of all the nations." Trials of bishops in Spain had always come before the Inquisition, and the exception made for Carranza "contrary to the privileges and authority of the Holy Office" had been founded upon the firm confidence that the prudence, secrecy and due order to which they were accustomed in Spain would be observed in his case.[3] In a covering letter[4] the ambassador had further supplementary instructions. In this we read: Carry out the task with all the diligence and zeal which I look for in you, and which the nature of the case, as you will see for yourself, demands; you must ask the Pope to listen to you attentively and without interruption, as the nature of the communication demands. He was then to point out that no one ought to favour the Inquisition or strive so much for the preservation of religion in the Spanish dominions as the Pope, in obedience to whom that realm had been kept by the Inquisition and by true religion; that the Pope's attitude had ruined the Holy Office,

[1] *Ibid.* vii.

[2] Extract, *ibid.* xi. This important document, however, is not given in its context.

[3] "la cautela, secreto y orden acostumbrados en España" *ibid.*

[4] Extract, *ibid.* xii.

but that as far as the king was concerned, he could not and would not cease to favour the Inquisition, as he had done all his life.

At first Zuñiga did not dare to comminicate these rebukes and threats to the Pope; Cardinal Pacheco, too, as well as Simancas, the Bishop of Badajoz, and later on Cardinal Granvelle, dissuaded him from doing so.[1] Now that Philip —so ran the opinion of Granvelle—has handed over the archbishop and his trial to the Roman tribunals, and the Pope has examined the acta so carefully, he will not be able to persuade the world that the royal tribunals, which do not possess the complete acta and have not heard all the parties, can still be better informed as to the true state of the case. As far as he personally was concerned, Granvelle adds, he would never have given his approval to the king's allowing the case to be taken out of Spanish territory. This had proved a serious blow to the Inquisition, and it afforded very good grounds for a breach of relations if the Pope did not mend his ways; such a breach would compel him to do so. Zuñiga did not dare to take Granvelle's advice and urge violent measures. He wrote to the king that as soon as he heard that there must be no question of Carranza's going back to Spain, he would endeavour to win over the judges to consent to that.[2]

When, a little after Easter, 1570, the decision of Carranza's trial was thought to be imminent, Zuñiga thought that the time had come to inform the Pope of the principal points in the royal instructions. In questions of smaller moment Pius V. had often felt it right to resist, even with considerable heat, the demands of the princes, but now the strong-willed man remained outwardly calm. With characteristic brevity he assured Philip in a few stiff autograph lines, that he was always glad to receive the observations of the ambassador and the king concerning the trial, and that if his office permitted even greater concessions in the case of trials of bishops he would have been quick to make them. The

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* IV., xiii.

king, however, must remember that his warnings concerned matters which either formed part of the trial or did not; if they did not, they could not influence the decision, while if they did, they were quite well known to the Pope.[1]

Some time after Zuñiga had thus communicated to the Pope the principal points of the king's memorial, he read to him the complete document. This time, too, the Pope remained perfectly calm. He even condescended to reply to the accusations: some of the complaints, he said, rested on a false basis while others were of no importance. Then Zuñiga touched upon the matter which had specially wounded the sensibilities of the Spaniards, namely that the opinions of their theologians had been set aside in Rome. With regard to this, Pius V. openly told the ambassador that he did not think very highly of those opinions, and that in the matter of Carranza's Catechism, which had been so violently attacked, the book indeed contained many things that were not suited for the populace, and that for that reason it had quite rightly been prohibited, but he let it be understood that he considered it quite orthodox as far as its doctrine was concerned. God knows, he said, that there was no predisposition in favour of the archbishop on his part. If Carranza were guilty he could not have fallen into worse hands. The king might rest assured that the Pope would be guided by the dictates of justice alone. If the archbishop should be reinstated, that would not prevent the king from banishing him if he feared disturbances for his kingdom from his return. The Pope would consent to this if the fear were shown to be well grounded. Zuñiga replied that the king did not fear disturbances, but was only afraid of the scandal that would be caused by Carranza's return, and that his fear sprang from his zeal for religion.[2]

While the ambassador was doing his best in Rome to avert

[1] "que si las advertencias que de allà pueden venir son fuera del proçesso de la causa, que no pueden servir a la determinacion della; y que si están eo el proçesso, nos son notissimas." Letter of April 19, 1570, *ibid.* III., 295.

[2] Corresp. dipl., IV., xiv. *seq.*

the dreaded blow, they were not inactive in Spain. The Inquisition sought in the Orders and universities, and among the bishops, for learned men to examine the doctrines of Carranza anew.[1] and opinion after opinion was sent to Rome.[2] Many suggestions were submitted to the king as to how he could evade a final decision by the Pope. Zuñiga advised definite resistance; let the king declare that he would only accept the Papal decision if it were expressed in such and such terms, and be in accordance with the views of the Spanish theologians; if this could not be obtained, let him apply for the right to decide the case in Spanish territory.[3] The Bishop of Badajoz was more moderate; he advised that the Papal decision be accepted, but that the archbishop be induced to resign.[4] The secret Council of State, on the other hand, held that the best course would be to obtain, with the Pope's approval, the appointment of a reliable administrator of the archdiocese with the right of succession,[5] as this would prevent Carranza from returning with his former power. The strangest advice was that given by the supreme council of the Inquisition; the Pope must be given to understand that the King could not co-operate with him in letting the hands of justice be tied, and still less in allowing the archbishop to return, or to receive the revenues of the bishopric in his absence.[6] The Holy Office apparently claimed the right of surveillance even over the Vicar of Christ. It is true, however, that it only looked upon its own proposal as an extreme step, to be taken if the Pope refused to accept the representations of the king. In the meantime let fresh

[1] List of the names suggested to Cardinal Espinosa, February 3, 1570, *ibid.* xvi., n. 2.

[2] The first in June, 1570, *ibid.*, xvii, *cf.* 385; others on May 11, June 14 and 29, 1571, *ibid.* xxiv, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.* xx. *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* xxi.

[5] *Ibid.* and Castagna to Rusticucci, November 2, 1570, *ibid.* 68.

[6] *Ibid.* xxi.; "no podia el Rey dar lugar que se deje de hacer justicia."

consultors be sent to Rome, and steps be taken to see that the Pope listened to them.

The letters of Philip II. to his ambassador as well as to the Pope himself bring out clearly the pretensions of the Spanish supremacy. To the few lines in his own hand which Pius V. had addressed to the king about Easter, 1570, in answer to the communications made to him by Zuñiga,[1] the ambassador was instructed to reply by a long defence of the Spanish condemnation of Carranza;[2] eminent men of learning, of unblemished reputation and great authority, had expressed themselves as to his case, above all the two Dominicans, Domingo de Soto and Melchior Cano;[3] on the other hand the learned Romans were quite unknown in Spain, while Manriquez was looked upon as the declared friend of the archbishop, and as for Toledo, every sort of report was current concerning him;[4] if the archbishop were reinstated and came back to Spain, he would be able to teach and preach as he liked with greater authority than ever, so that it would have been better never to have taken any proceedings against him.[5] If Pius V. had written to the king saying that he must leave the question of Carranza's guilt to his, the Pope's, conscience, Zuñiga must, by the king's orders, inform the Pope in return that Philip's conscience with regard to his royal duty was not satisfied to do so. The ambassador must then put forward two demands: in the first place the decision must be left to men of knowledge and experience, and they must be in sufficient numbers, and secondly the final sentence

[1] See *supra* p. 352.

[2] Philip II. to Zuñiga, Ubeda, June 6, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 383-386.

[3] It is significant of the attitude of Pius V. that in his eyes the eccentric Cano was no authority, notwithstanding his learning: "que él [Pius V.] tenía en ruin opinión á Melchor Cano," Zuñiga, July 23, 1570, *ibid.* IV., xix.

[4] They maintained that he was of Jewish origin: "Si es verdad que es confeso, como algunos piensan, tengolo por de mucho inconveniente." Zuñiga wrote on October 21, 1569; *ibid.* xiii., n.

[5] *Ibid.* III., 384 *seq.*

must be submitted to the king before it was published. If it should happen that " extraneous considerations and private ends " entered into the trial, the king would be " constrained " for the safeguarding of the " common good " to remedy this by " the means best suited to prevent a scandal."[1]

The same ideas and demands recur several times in other letters from Spain. What was bound to hurt the Pope most was the fact that, notwithstanding his assurances, both Zuñiga and the king persisted in making out that he was predisposed in Carranza's favour, and that he was not allowing justice to take its course.[2] Nor were threats wanting. Zuñiga openly declared that his master found himself constrained for the safeguarding of the common goood to take steps to prevent the return of Carranza, as, for example, by calling together a conference of prelates to consider the matter, on the plea that in Spain, as in other countries, princes who were strongly Catholic, and most obedient to the Holy See, had not infrequently held such conferences in order to obviate difficulties which were feared as the result of certain Roman ordinances, and which might have disturbed the peace of their countries.[3]

[1] " Advirtiendo a S. B. que si entendieremos que se tiene consideracion a otros respectos y fines particulares, nos seria forçado . . . acudir al remedio por el beneficio universal por los mejores medios que conviniesse para el buen exemplo." *Ibid.* 38.

[2] Zuñiga to Philip II., July 13 1571 (report of his audience with Pius V.), *ibid.* IV., 388 : " Dixele que en el modo que havia procedido, havia dado muchas occasiones a que V. M. tuviesse en esta parte alguna sombra ; y que Su Santidad havia entrado a ver esta causa con opinion que el Arçobispo stava siu culpa, y habia nombrado consultores muy apasionados y sospechosos, etc." *Cf.* Zuñiga to Philip II., October 12, 1571, *ibid.* 472.

[3] " Como seria hacer junta de prelados sopra esta causa, pues en estos reinos y en otros han acostumbrado principes muy católicos, y muy obedientes á esta Santa Sede hacer semejantes juntas para resistir á los inconvenientes de algunas cosas de las que en Roma se han proveido, que parecian podrian disturbar la quiete de sus estados." Zuñiga, July 23, 1570, *ibid.* IV., xix.

In this way a complete net-work—in which the web was the national sense of superiority, and the woof specious maxims, rebukes and threats—enfolded the Pope more and more, so as to tie his hands completely and remove the decision to Madrid. Very characteristic is an autograph letter of May 11th, 1571,[1] in which the king "the devoted and loving son" of the Pope, sought to deprive him of all freedom of action. First Philip lauds his own zeal in the affair of Carranza, a zeal which he says befits "his own duty to the service of Our Lord, the defence of his Catholic faith, his Church and his religion." He has not been able to forego taking the steps he has taken, or undertaking the course in which he still persists, that is to say his determination to set his hand to the measures best suited to ensure that the world, which is watching the affair so closely, shall realize and understand his intention. This intention is nothing but the wish and the aim that justice shall be done on the basis of the manifest truth. Since the unhappy business has dragged on so long, it has seemed good to Philip, as the devoted and loving son of the Pope, to warn him that his authority and good name would be greatly jeopardized if the idea got about that His Holiness intended to reinstate the archbishop out of any considerations of favouritism or affection; at present, however, as the ambassador has already, by the king's orders, pointed out to the Pope, the methods and procedure of the Roman trial seemed to suggest that that was the case.[2] He therefore implores the Pope to treat an affair of so great importance with the care, freedom of judgment and zeal which men looked for in him, taking counsel with learned men who were inspired with zeal for religion,

[1] *Ibid.* 273 *seq.*

[2] "Me ha parecido como devoto hijo de V. S. y que tanto amor le tiene, advertirle quanta autoridad y reputacion aventuraria V. S. en que se pensase, que de algun genero de pasion o aficion queria librar al Arzobispo, como lo ha dado a entender en el modo y orden con que se ha procedido como de my parte se lo ha referido my embaxador" (Corresp. dipl., IV., 274). The ambassador renewed this complaint again later on; see *supra* p. 356, n. 2.

and above suspicion that they would suffer themselves to be guided by anything but the love of truth and justice. In saying this the king was but complying with his duty of serving His Holiness, and he does so in order that the Pope may realize that other duty which, should the matter turn out otherwise, the king would feel bound to perform. "May Our Lord preserve the sacred person of your Holiness, as is so necessary for us. Aranjuez, May 11th, 1571. Your Holiness' very humble son: the King."

It certainly called for all Pius V.'s command of himself to reply, not only gravely and firmly, but also with dignified gentleness, to a document which almost in every line concealed a sharp pin-prick. In his reply he assures the king that the archbishop is not being judged with any partiality other than that which is due to the love of the truth; he is at peace in the consciousness that God has given him this grace. The interpretation which the king sets upon the Pope's conduct he gladly attributes to his praiseworthy zeal, but at the same time he gives him a paternal exhortation not to lend his ear to those who would make him presume to attribute the supernatural jurisdiction of the one true Judge to his own tribunal or to any other. In reference to Philip's words which claimed that zeal for the faith, the Church, and religion was what had guided his actions, he points out that it is not possible to fight for the Church if one's hand is raised against the Church, and still less for religion and the faith, if one takes up a position opposed to religion and faith.[1] For the rest the Pope re-

[1] "La torniamo di nuovo paternamente ad avertire a non prestar mai boni orecchi a chi volesse estendere questo suo buon zelo a presumere di volere alligare al suo nè ad altro iuditio la soprannatural giuridittione del judice proprio, nè a chi tentasse perniciosamente insinuare che si potesse pugnare per la Chiesa contra Chiesa, nè per religione contra religione, nè per la fede contra la fede." Letter of August 12, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 408. The king's letter of May 11 did not reach the Pope until July 31 (*ibid.*); Philip's autograph reply of September 10, 1571 (*ibid.* 437) sought to justify and excuse the attitude which he had taken up; if he thinks for the peace of his kingdom and makes

fers him to the replies which he had already made to the same accusations.

It was true that the Pope "with all the moderation that was possible in dealing with such a document,"[1] had given a full reply to the complaints of Philip II. on June 6th, 1570.[2] As for the trust which the king put in the theological opinions which were supposed to make Carranza's guilt clear, the Pope repled that if the archbishop were guilty, His Holiness firmly hopeid that the mercy of God would not allow him to be deceived against his will; in other words, if Carranza is guilty, let the king rest assured that he will be condemned. But if the appeal to the Spanish opinions is to be taken as meaning that a Roman decision which did not agree with them would not meet with the obedience and respect due to it, then the counsellors who suggested such an idea to the king must remember that the Church of God has but one head on earth; such a view would be clearly at variance with the sense of that dogma; in a word it would mean that they were setting up a rule and measure for the decisions of the Holy See in matters concerning which it belonged to it alone to judge.[3]

A second matter of complaint was contained in the demand that more learned theologians should be consulted, and in greater number. To this it was replied that, although Philip had a high opinion of the Spanish theologians, the Pope thought just as highly of the other members of the com-

complaints to the Pope, it is by no means his intention to act in any way against the obedience which he owes to the Pope as a loyal son.

[1] "con quella maggior temperantia che i sensi di detta scrittura permettono." Corresp. dipl., III., 386.

[2] *Ibid.* 386-388.

[3] "Si risponde con lacrime di charità, che lasciando hora da parte la causa del arcivescovo, s' attenda bene a chi suggerisse questi pensieri a S. M.; che la Chiesa di Dio non ha in terra senon un capo, et che questo sinistro concetto offenderebbe molto la integrità di questo articolo, perchè questo sarebbe in effetto volersi far regola dei iuditii di questa Santa Sede nelle cause che a lei sola toccano di giudicare." *Ibid.* 386.

mission, which, with the Cardinals, comprised sixteen persons, a quite sufficient number.[1]

The complaint that was most offensive to the Apostolic See was Philip's hint that other points of view which were not objective, as well as private ends, might influence the decision.[2] Once more the reply to this is indeed severe, but at the same time very restrained. The Pope is willing, we read, to put an indulgent interpretation on this assertion, and to ascribe it to the king's zeal, but with all love he would have him reflect that the zeal of a son must never go to the length of hurting his father. If Philip had seen fit to threaten "suitable remedies" on account of these "inapplicable considerations and private ends" he now received the reply: let the counsellor who has led the king into a stream that is so full of shoals remember "that God had provided His Church with sound remedies with which to deal with bad ones."[3]

The Pope gave no definite answer to the other two demands of the king, namely, that the final decision should be communicated to Madrid before it was published, and that the Pope should first take into consideration the new opinions sent by the Spanish theologians; with regard to the latter it is courteously, but quite clearly pointed out that it is not the king's business to try and teach the Roman See with unsought theological opinions, or to anticipate the final sentence. Let Philip remember, the reply runs, what happened in the Old Testament to King Ozias[4] when he tried to offer incense, thereby taking upon himself a function which belonged to the priest alone.[5]

The last part of the document brings out the extreme care with which Carranza's case had been dealt with in Rome. The Pope had been present in person during the whole of the

[1] *Ibid.* 386 *seq.*

[2] See *supra* p. 356.

[3] "che contra caltivi rimedii Dio ha provisto nella sua chiesa di rimedii buoni" (This was certainly a threat of excommunication). Corresp. dipl., III., 387.

[4] Paral., xxvi., 16 *seqq.*

[5] Corresp. dipl., III., 387.

reading of the minutes, and when it was seen that the archbishop had not been sufficiently fully examined in Spain, he had appointed Spanish and Italian consultors, who had diligently questioned Carranza on all the more important points during more than two months. Besides this the Pope had several times sent to Spain to seek for information and to investigate the archbishop's writings;[1] several matters had been gone into in Rome which had either been passed over in Spain or were unknown there. As to the procedure adopted in the deliberations, the Pope caused all present to give their opinions; the controverted points were discussed by all, and the Pope made everyone give his opinion on each single point, and finally had himself gone personally into the whole in his own study. Three years had been spent in this, and he hoped therefore that the final decision would be a just one, not only before God, but even in the eyes of men.[2]

In spite of this crushing retort Philip II. remained fixed in his ideas. Zuñiga was instructed to make a public protest if the final decision should take the form of the acquittal of Carranza, or if it should not be submitted to the king before it was published.[3] In Philip's eyes Pius V. was still prejudiced in favour of the archbishop.[4] Zuñiga was instructed to go on making the former Spanish demands, and to do all he could to make the Pope look favourably upon them; he even one day said to him that he must not let the stain rest upon his good name of having had a man like Morone acquitted by him as Cardinal, and the Archbishop of Toledo similarly set free by him as Pope. This remark was not without a calculated sting, for Zuñiga knew that the Pope's conscience was not quite easy about the acquittal of Morone.[5]

[1] See *supra* p. 349.

[2] Corresp. dipl., III., 387 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* IV., xxii., xxiv., n.

[4] Zuñiga, July 13, and October 12, 1571, *ibid.* 388, 472.

[5] "que no dexasse tal memoria de si como seria que fuese absuelto, siendo cardenal, un hombre como el Cardenal Moron, y siendo pontifice, el Arçbispo de Toledo. Muevele en gran manera la conscientia de aver absuelto a Moron. . . ." Zuñiga to Philip II., July 13, 1571, *ibid.* 389.

In several respects the Pope met the king's wishes. He did not, it is true, give in to the frequently repeated proposal that a larger number of theologians should be allowed to take part in the discussions, and when the ambassador protested he replied that if that were to be done, they would not get through in ten days what was now accomplished in an hour ;[1] when Zuñiga expressed the wish that the Pope would at any rate summon to Rome the authors of the most recent opinions in order to hear their explanations, Pius was very angry, and answered that he would not do so, and that Zuñiga wanted the case to drag on for ever.[2]

Pius V. was willing to make some concession in the case of Philip's other demand, namely that the final sentence should be sent to Madrid before it was published.[3] On the other hand he gave a ready consent to a third wish expressed by the king, declaring that he was quite ready to examine the opinions which had recently been submitted by the Spanish theologians. As a matter of fact these last opinions satisfied him as little as had the previous ones, and the nuncio, Castagna, was told to inform the king[4] that these opinions concerned themselves only with words, and did not take into consideration the sense which the author attached to the words ; to understand the sense it was necessary to keep before one's mind the whole sense of the writings. The method adopted by the Spanish theologians would make heretics of St. Augustine and other perfectly orthodox doctors, by divorcing their words from their context. It must also be remembered that the archbishop had written previous to the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that where errors or heresies were discovered in his writings it was very difficult to say that he must on that account be held a heretic, and whether the final decision should be left to the canonists or the theologians.[5] This last

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., October 12, 1571, *ibid.* 470.,

[2] *Ibid.* 473.

[3] Zuñiga, January 30, 1571, *ibid.* xxiii.

[4] Rusticucci to Castagna, August 20, 1570, *ibid.* III., 514 *seq.*

[5] " Le dica liberamente [to the King] che le censure atte sopra il scritti che qua si chiamano scartafacci, sono più presto censure

remark was certainly added because Zuñiga had attributed the divergence between the Spanish views of Carranza to the fact that the learned men in Rome were canonists and not theologians.[1] According to the view held in Rome it was certainly the business of the theologians to decide whether a proposition were orthodox or not, but whether a man was to be considered a heretic because of an heretical statement was the business of the canonists. Zuñiga also had to hear from the Pope's own lips that the authors of these opinions were not fit to form a judgment, because they paid attention only to the words used, and did not take into consideration the context or the meaning of the writer ;[2] these much discussed writings undoubtedly contained real heresies.[3]

The Spanish opinions, however, were not without their effect on Pius V. He became perplexed, and had the opinions carefully examined, with the result that the final decision was again postponed. Such was Zuñiga's account of the situation in April, 1571,[4] and in July of the same year the Pope himself

delle parole che di quello che habbia inteso per quelle parole l'autore o scrittore ; e che a voler vedere il senso dell'autore convien ponderare la scrittura precedente et subsequente ; perchè in quella maniera che hanno censurato quelle si potrebbe censurare ancora S. Agostino et altri Santi Catt. Dottori, prendendo le lor parole troncate." Corresp. dipl. III. 514.

[1] *Ibid.* IV., xvi.

[2] "Dixo que no saben qualificar los theologos que las [the qualifications] han hecho, porque hechan mano de las palabras y no del sentido que se puede collegir que tuvo el author en toda la obra." Zuñiga to Philip II., July 13, 1571, *ibid.* 388. "Todo el fundamento de lo que se allega por parte del Arçobispo consiste en decir que si bien se hallan en el Catecismo y en sus cartapacios muchas opiniones hereticas, que en estas mismas obras se verá que donde trattó de proposito cada materia, la declaró catholicamente, y que esto prueva el buen animo del author." *Ibid.* 389.

[3] *Ibid.* 473.

[4] "que le aperitan mucho las calificaciones que de allá se embiaron, que las hace ver con diligentia, y así la resolucion irá mas á la larga de lo que se pensaba." Zuñiga, April 20, 1571, *ibid.* xxii.

told him that he had not been able yet to come to a decision ;[1] when in October the ambassador insisted on knowing when the matter would be settled, Pius answered him on oath that he himself did not know.[2] The Pope was almost continually occupied with the acta of the trial, and had not yet completed his examination of them, in spite of the assistance given him by Cardinals Montalto and Aldobrandini.[3]

In this way the whole of 1571 went by. In the first months of 1572 the state of the Pope's health did not allow of his dealing with important business,[4] with the result that when his death occurred on May 1st, 1572, the trial of Carranza was not yet finished. One determination alone had remained clearly before the mind of this conscientious judge, amid all the vicissitudes of the discussions ; he was determined not to give the judgment of a Pilate, but to decide according to the dictates of justice alone, even though the whole world should fall in ruins.[5] There can be no doubt that the wearisome business had entailed for him a whole world of anxieties and troubles ; the unwearied perseverance with which he had always assisted in person at the endless discussions aroused the wonder of his contemporaries.[6] On February 24th, 1568, Bernardino Pia wrote to Mantua that he had been unable to get through his business because of the constant meetings which were held over the affair of the archbishop.[7]

[1] Zuñiga, July 13, 1571, *ibid.* 388.

[2] " Preguntéle quando pensava acabar este negocio, Juróme que no lo sabia." Zuñiga, October 12, 1571, *ibid.* 471.

[3] *Ibid.* 470, 474.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] " Confesóme el Papa, que era verdad que habia dicho á Alvaro de Lugo que si el Arcobispo estaba innocente, que él no haria la sentencia de Pilatos, que por temor del alboroto del pueblo condenó á Nuestro Redentor conociendo que no tenia culpa." Zuñiga, July 4, 1571, *ibid.* xxiv. " Però S.S. non è mai per deviare del retto guiditio, nè da quello che concerne la giustitia, se bene ruinasse il mondo." Rusticucci to Castagna, August 25, 1570, *ibid.* III., 515.

[6] *Ibid.* II., xxiii.

[7] Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The Imperial agent, Cusano, was of opinion that the wearisome trial was one of the causes which hastened the death of the Pope. On the one hand, Cusano says, he had realized the innocence of the archbishop, and considered it his duty to acquit him, but on the other there was reason to fear nothing short of a breach with Spain if he were to annul the sentence of the Spanish Inquisition. Cusano also bears witness that Philip II. had expressed himself quite definitely on this point, for the reason that there would be great scandal and much harm done in Spain if the Inquisition should fall under the suspicion of having made use of its power for the furtherance of the private vengeance of any of its officials. The constant anxiety and uneasiness of conscience, the difficulty of steering a course between these two reefs was, says Cusano, the real commencement of his incurable malady, the stone, which brought about his death.[1]

It would be quite unjust to look upon the zeal of Pius V. for the Inquisition and for the punishment of the guilty as a sign of any natural hardness of character. In the advice which he sent to the princes and bishops as to the way in which they should treat heretics, he clearly expressed the ideas which governed his conduct towards the followers of the new religion. In the first place, he was convinced that the first duty of a ruler is the administration of justice, and justice demands the punishment, and the severe punishment, of the guilty as much as the protection of the innocent, while apostasy from the Church was in his eyes a grave crime.[2] Moreover, he was firmly convinced that it was precisely by stern measures against the sectarians of the time that he could prevent much shedding of blood, while, on the contrary, tolerance and half measures could only lead to greater evils.[3] Hence came his warning to

[1] *Cusano, May 24, 1572.

[2] "Mali vitiorum poenam, boni virtutum praemium, sibi a te expectandum esse intelligant. Haereticorum venena ne gregem tuam inficiant, quanta potes diligentia contende." To the Bishop of Agram, August 11, 1569, in GOUBAU, 203.

[3] "Habes, carissime Fili, recens exemplum sceleris, furoris, audaciae haereticorum. Vides, quam noceat cum iis molliter

Catherine de' Medici, which at first sight gives a wrong impression: "in no way and for no reason must you show mercy to the enemies of God; you must use all rigour with men who will show no mercy either to God or your sons."[1] He himself acted on this principle, not out of harshness but from a sense of duty.

It is, however, clear that in the second half of his reign the Pope did not attach to the repression of heresy the same predominating importance which he did at first; the fact that from 1569 to 1572 there were only two autodafés in Rome points to this.[2] At the beginning of 1570 the Capuchin, Pistoja, who was highly esteemed by Pius V., remarked to him that he saw every day manifest examples of the Pope's zeal for the administration of justice, but the Pope ought to bear in mind that for one passage in the Sacred Scriptures where God is called just, there are ten which bring out His mercy. Let the Vicar of Christ then take care to perform works of mercy instead of justice on the heretics, since the unhappy souls which were being sent to perdition through the power of the Turks afforded him every opportunity of exercising the former virtue.[3] The zeal with which Pius V., from that time forward, worked for the formation of a league

agere quibus impunitas auget audaciam, patientia furorem, clementia feritatem. Intelligere potes, quam inutile sit eorum consilium, qui suadent, ut differas et procrastines, etc." To Charles IX., June 16, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 423. "Si superiores reges Franciae dissimulando et tolerando id malum crescere non fuissent, facile extirpare haereses et regni sui paci et quieti consulere potuissent; neglectis praedecessorum nostrorum paternis hortationibus, dum istiusmodi carnis prudentia nituntur, sublata pace, quae sine unico rectae veraeque religionis cultu manere non potest, regnum illud . . . in extremum periculum adduxerunt." To Sigismund of Poland, March 26, 1568, in GOUBAU, 73.

[1] March 28, 1569, *ibid.* 155.

[2] See *supra* p. 312.

[3] The Venetian ambassador, April 15, 1570, in CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 410.

against the Turks, may really to a great extent afford an explanation of the fact of the cooling of his zeal for the punishment of the new believers. Peter Canisius, too, when he was in Rome, had successfully urged him to show moderation towards those prelates in the north whose faith was so feeble.[1]

While Protestantism had undoubtedly received a mortal blow in Italy, it was every day becoming clearer that a new form of heresy was springing up in the north under a Catholic disguise. The news of this was received with all the more anxiety in Rome because the Low Countries, already so much endangered on the score of religion, threatened to become the centre of the new movement, and especially the long celebrated University of Louvain, which had hitherto been the staunch opponent of Luther.

For a long time past Protestant doctrines had been an incentive for Catholic theologians to maintain the opposing doctrines of the Catholic Church, to go into them more deeply and to develop them scientifically. The untiring zeal with which the followers of the new religion sought to spread their ideas by means of books and writings, broadsheets and ballads, explains the way in which Protestant ideas had obtained a hold upon public opinion, and had acquired a greater influence even with many Catholics than they themselves suspected. The fact that Luther's fundamental and principal doctrine had found a reflection in the theory of justification held by Contarini, Pole and Gropper had been of far less importance. On the other hand, a fatal influence which was to last for many centuries had been introduced into Catholic thought and life by the Protestant teaching as to grace and free-will as the outcome of the system which was founded at Louvain after the middle of the XVIth century by Baius, and which was carried to completion in the following century by the Jansenists.

Baius (Michael du Bay)[2] who had occupied the royal chair

[1] Canisii Epist., VI., 583.

[2] X. Le Bachelet, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, II., Paris, 1905, 38-111. M. Scheeben in Kirchenlex. of Freiburg, I², 1852–1862. F. X. Linsenmann, Michael Bajus und die Grundlegung des Jansenismus, Tübingen, 1867; also Scheeben

of Sacred Scripture at Louvain since 1552 directed his studies, as he wrote to Cardinal Simonetta in a letter of 1569, to the attempt to reconcile the followers of the new beliefs with true Catholic doctrine. Since the Protestants, so he wrote, attach no value to anything outside the Sacred Scriptures and the most ancient Fathers of the Church, I have tried to reduce theology to the study of the sacred books and of those Fathers who are still of weight among the Protestants, such as Cyprian, Prosper, Leo, and the four western Doctors.[1] But when Baius tried to set aside the intellectual labours of the medieval theologians his doing so was not inspired only by his wish to conciliate the exponents of the new faith, but rather by his opinion that in the Middle Ages theology had degenerated, and had got on to the wrong lines by mixing itself up with Aristotelian philosophy, and that it ought to be brought back to the earlier Fathers, among whom he looks to St. Augustine as his master above all others.

This breach with medieval tradition was at once shown to be fatal by his treatment of the fundamental question of the whole of Baianism, the original state of man. If, according to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, Adam was from the first not only the servant but the son of God, if the movements of concupiscence were restrained in him and made subject to reason, theologians had hitherto seen in these and other gifts of the first man nothing but free and gratuitous gifts of God. Since human nature could have no claim whatever to these gifts as things necessary or due to it, such gifts of grace were called supernatural; if God had left the first man in a state in which he lacked all these graces, nothing would have been wanting to his nature of the things that

in *Katholik*, 1868, I., 281 *seqq*. M. Baii . . . Opera omnia, cum bullis Pontificum et aliis ipsius causam spectantibus . . . studio A.P., Colon., 1696 (due to the labours of the Jansenist Gerberon; the second part contains under the title *Baiana* the documents relating to the controversy). The Library of the Anima, Rome, contains in MS Preuckiana Collectanea ms. C 43, p. 5–36, several *documents on Baianism.

[1] Le Bachelet, II., 38.

belonged to it, and his state would have been in no way abnormal.

But Baius rejected this idea of natural and supernatural gifts in the first man as a manifest error, for which philosophy by its interference in matters of faith was responsible. If, according to Baius, Adam's sonship of God and his freedom from the rebellion of concupiscence are a necessary part of human nature, the absence of such an equipment in the state of fallen man to-day must be a defect, an alteration of human nature which, according to the Louvain theologian, had been absolutely spoiled and evil since the time of the Fall, and the virtues which are related of the heroes of classical antiquity are really only vices, having the appearance of virtues. Concupiscence, such as now exists in man, is according to him nothing but original sin. At this point the question at once arises as to how movements in man independent of his will can be looked upon as personal sin. Baius replies that the concept of liberty only excludes external violence, but not interior necessity. Thus Baius, from the starting point of his fundamental error, proceeds to its further consequences, and builds up a whole theological system on grace and redemption, on sin and merit, and on the love of God and justification. In his teaching on sin in general and original sin in particular, "he scarcely distinguishes his views on both questions from the terrifying doctrine of the reformers of the enslavement of human nature by the devil which was brought about by sin."[1]

In 1563 Baius began to make his views public by means of small works written in clear and precise terms, in which for the most part he makes use of the words of St. Augustine, but, taking the sentences of Augustine out of their historical setting, the Pelagian controversy, he often gives them an entirely new meaning.

Long before he had begun to write, he and his disciple Hessels had maintained their views at the university, and had met with so much support there that the Chancellor of the

[1] SCHEEBEN in Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, I.[3], 1861.

university, Ruard Tapper, when he returned to Louvain from the Council of Trent in 1552, was quite amazed at the change which had taken place there during his absence. Although he was Inquisitor General of Flanders he tried at first to resist the new movement by methods of persuasion, but his efforts met with no success, while even a warning from Granvelle which Tapper obtained was only able to check the movement for a short time. The struggle began to break out when the guardians of the Franciscan convents of Ath and Nivelle sought to put an end to Baianism among their subjects by obtaining from the Paris faculty, on June 27th, 1560, a condemnation of 18 propositions drawn from the new teaching. At this point Baius thought that the time had come to defend himself; his supporters formed the plan of printing the works of St. Prosper, in order to show that the Louvain professors were only putting forward the doctrines of ancient Christianity. Their adversaries, however, were not silent, and they had recourse to Granvelle with a memorial. The Cardinal, who found the controversy exceedingly inopportune at that moment of unrest in Flanders, tried to smother it by obtaining a brief from Pius IV. imposing silence on both parties. Philip II. approved the step taken by his representative in a letter of November 17th, 1561.[1]

It had been realized in Rome since the end of 1560 that all was not well in the University of Louvain. For a long time past an order had been in force there that every student, before he was admitted, should take an oath that he would remain in the Catholic Church, of which the Pope was the head. Now, however, there was a movement in favour of doing away with this oath, as being an obstacle to the free coming of students. Pius IV. issued two briefs on this subject, one on January 29th, 1561, to Granvelle, and one on February 5th to the university, in the latter case threatening excommunication to anyone who opposed the oath.[2] The prudence of the legate Commendone, who had been sent to invite the

[1] Le Bachelet, II., 40.

[2] Šusta, Kurie, I., 49. Raynaldus, 1561, n. 42.

prelates of Lower Germany to the Council, and who arrived in Flanders in May, 1561, was successful in adjusting the matter in a peaceful manner.[1]

Commendone, however, had to report many disturbing things as to the state of affairs at Louvain. The party of Baius and Hessels, so he wrote on June 9th, 1561, is very strong; a great number of the graduates, and about half the professors, favour the innovators; since three of the representatives of the old regime have recently been promoted to the episcopate, none but Baians remain in the faculty, and they have everything in their own hands. It is not possible, however, to take severe measures against this new movement, since that might drive Baius and Hessels into apostasy, a thing which would have the gravest consequences on account of the great esteem in which they are held on account of their learning and their irreproachable lives. The assembly of the Council causes special difficulty as Baius and Hessels wish to be sent to it as the representatives of the university, and there is a disposition at Louvain to grant their request. If however, so Commendone thought, these two men were allowed freely to express their views at the Council, there would be disturbances in Germany, while if they were not, a pretext would be afforded to the Protestants to complain of the absence of free speech at the Council. There was also danger to be feared from the imprudence of the opposing party; very soon the General Chapter of the Franciscans would be held, at which the theological controversy would be discussed. It was quite possible that on that occasion the small fire might develop into a great conflagration.[1]

While he was at Louvain Commendone tried by every means, on May 24th, 1561, to reconcile the contending parties. But the legate learned how tenaciously the innovators stood by their contention that Baius was only defending the ancient teaching of the Church from a letter addressed to him by

[1] RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Miscell. di storia Ital.*, VI., 162. RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 44. PALLAVICINI, 15, 7, 7.

Hessels on May 27th, 1561.[1] In his letter to the legates of the Council Commendone proposed, as the best way to avert the threatened storm, that the Pope should summon the case before himself, impose silence on the Franciscans, and in his own name suggest the sending of Baius and Hessels to the Council.[2] This advice, however, which the legates referred to Rome together with their own proposals,[3] arrived too late. Cardinal Borromeo replied to them on July 6th, 1561, that he had already had information on the subject from Granvelle, and that the Pope had decided to send the latter a brief imposing silence, on his own initiative, even under censures and penalties, until either the Council or the Pope had decided the question.[4] Pius IV. had come to this decision so hastily that there was no possibility of awaiting the fuller report which the legates of the Council had promised to make upon the controversy and the proposals of Commendone.[5] The latter, who continued to insist upon Baius and Hessels being summoned to the Council,[6] received a reply in a letter from Cardinal Gonzaga on August 31st, that the Pope had already made up his mind.[7] It was not until two years later that Baius and Hessels were sent to Trent by Margaret of Parma as royal theologians,[8] and assisted at the last three sessions of the Council, which afforded them no opportunity of explaining

[1] In Šusta, Kurie, I., 192. "Nobis" we read "praecipue incumbere putamus, ut studendo, docendo, disputando ex antiquissimis et solidissimis nostrae religionis fundamentis studeamus nostri temporis erroribus occurrere."

[2] Letter of June 9, 1561, *ibid.* 36.

[3] June 30, 1561, *ibid.* 34 *seq.*

[4] Borromeo to the legates, 6 July, 1561, *ibid.* 49: "Hoggi ha risoluto di scriver al detto cardinale un breve, dove gli commette, che *imponat silentium sub censuris et penis* sin'a le determinatione del concilio oche espongano a S. Stà le lor differenti." *Cf.* Borromeo to the legates, 12 July, 1561, *ibid.* 58.

[5] *Ibid.* 50; *cf.* 36.

[6] From Lübeck, July 24, 1561. *Miscell. di storia Ital.*, IV., 200. Pallavicini, 15, 7, 10.

[7] In Šusta, *loc. cit.*

[8] Raynaldus, 1561, n. 46.

their views. Their private statements, and the writings of Baius occasioned much scandal, but in their capacity as royal theologians, and on account of the speedy closing of the Council, they escaped condemnation.[1]

Although Granvelle had forbidden the two professors any further exposition of their doctrines under pain of excommunication, Baius nevertheless allowed himself to be persuaded to the false step, after his return from Trent, of publishing some further writings on the controverted points, and of reprinting his earlier works. His principal adversary in the university, Joss de Ravestein, known as Tiletanus, then had recourse to the Augustinian Hermit, Lorenzo de Villavincentio, who was highly esteemed by Philip II. Lorenzo wrote to the king from Brussels on November 21st, 1564,[2] with the result that the Universities of Alcalà and Salamanca condemned a series of the propositions of Baius.[3] At the same time Philip II. appealed for a definite decision of the controversy to the Pope, to whom Tiletanus also made a report of the case.[4]

Baius was not known in Rome. Granvelle, who had had to take proceedings against him, but who was otherwise favourably disposed towards him, was at that time in the Eternal City. As Grand Inquisitor, Pius V. had had to deal with Baianism in the time of his predecessor, and had a good recollection of the case when Granvelle represented to him that Baius was a learned and cultured man, and a priest of irreproachable life, who could do a great deal for the Church, and in any case had a right to be treated with every consideration.[5] The Pope was very ready to take this point of view. Learned men of various nationalities were charged to give

[1] Morillon to Granvelle, June 20, 1568, in POULLET, III., 279.

[2] GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., II., xx.

[3] LE BACHELET, II., 41, 47. No particulars of this condemnation are known.

[4] *Ibid.* 48. *Cf.* the letter of Villavincentio of 1571 in GACHARD, *loc. cit.* 174.

[5] Granvelle to Morillon, November 13, 1567, in POULLET, III., 106.

their opinions of the writings which were submitted to them for examination, and the prudent step was taken of giving them copies without a title page, so that they might not know who was the author. The bull in which, on October 1st, 1567, as the result of these opinions, Pius V. condemned 76, or according to a later estimate, 79 propositions,[1] does not name Baius or Hessels, and where mention is made of the supporters of the condemned propositions they are spoken of in terms of respect. It was certainly out of consideration for them that the propositions were enumerated without any mention of the censures which they individually deserve, and it is only at the end of the list that it is stated that they are proscribed as a whole as heretical or erroneous, suspect, etc., but it is not stated which of them are heretical, erroneous, etc.[2] Moreover the bull was not printed or publicly posted, and the Pope left its execution to Cardinal Granvelle, who was told to proceed with all possible moderation.[3]

Granvelle did not like to have the bull solemnly published in Louvain, and he entrusted its execution to his vicar-general, Maximilian Morillon. Hessels had died in November, 1566, and Morillon was to summon Baius before him and show him the bull. If necessary the vicar-general was to communicate it also to the theological faculty, and to insist that no attempt be made in any way to defend the condemned propositions, since, as he wrote to him, Granvelle could assure him that everything possible had been done to interpret them in an orthodox sense, and that the Pope had gone into the matter as carefully as if he had been concerned with the salvation of the whole world.[4]

[1] The bull itself does not give the number of the propositions.

[2] "Quas quidem sententias . . . haereticas, erroneas, suspectas, temerarias, scandalosas et in pias aures offensionem immittentes respective damnamus."

[3] Poullet, III., 106 *seq.* Le Bachelet, II., 48.

[4] "Car je vous puis asseurer que, pour les saulver, l' on a faict tout ce qui a esté possible, et qu' en cest affaire Sa Saincteté a usé d'une diligence que, si ce fut esté pour gaigner tout le monde, l'on n'eust sçeu faire plus." Poullet, III., 107.

The letter to Morillon, in which Granvelle gave him full instructions on all these matters, was fated to come under the notice of Baius himself. In another letter, also addressed to Morillon, Granvelle expressed his fears for the future, because learned men like Baius have a love for their books like the love of a father for his son. He takes the opportunity of urging all possible gentleness in the execution of the bull.[1]

At first it seemed as though Granvelle's fears would not be justified. On December 29th, 1567, Morillon informed the dean and the eight professors of theology of the bull, and all of them, not excepting Baius himself, declared their readiness to submit to it.[2] The commissary of the Flemish province of the Franciscans also received orders to forbid to his subjects the use of the condemned propositions.[3] The Franciscans obeyed,[4] and in 1568 Cornelius Janssen the elder, Bishop of Ghent, bore witness concerning Baius that he considered him a man worthy of all respect, who said mass every day and was definitely opposed to the sectarians; that as a teacher he was as capable as could be desired, while in his lectures he never touched upon his new doctrines, nor had he acted otherwise for three years previous to the Papal condemnation; Janssen adds that he would never have thought it possible that the new doctrines should have disappeared so completely; in the schools there is as little thought of them as if they had never existed, while Baius himself, when there had been a question of putting them forward once more, would not agree to do so. Among some of the most learned graduates they are now held in as great horror as once they were esteemed.[5]

Baianism thus seemed to be dead, but this was only in appearance. Baius did not abide by his first resolution of simple obedience to the decision of the Church. In June,

[1] Granvelle to Morillon, November 13, 1567, *ibid.* 104 *seq.*

[2] Le Bachelet, II., 49. Morillon wrote to Granvelle on December 21, 1567, that he would have Baius brought before him on the following day. Poullet, III., 153.

[3] Morillon to Granvelle, January 11, 1568, in Poullet, III., 169.

[4] Morillon to Granvelle, June 20, 1568, *ibid.* 282.

[5] *Ibid.* 281.

1568, Morillon wrote that he found him greatly changed. Baius was complaining that he had been condemned without being heard; he maintained that some of the condemned propositions were not to be found in his books, while others were wrongly stated; that points had been decided which hitherto had been open, and that it might well be that some day he would write a book against the bull.[1] Morillon did not fail to reply to this, and advised him specially to refrain from publishing anything against the bull, because neither the Pope nor the king would suffer it, and that Baius would only do himself harm by so acting.[2] Baius then calmed down, and at last gave a clear assurance that it was his intention to persevere in obedience to the Pope; Morillon must excuse his irritation on account of the great pain which the Pope's condemnation had given him, which had been aggravated by his enemies' refusal to keep silence. It was true that Tiletanus had sent the bull to the Bishop of Ypres, the University of Douai, and to several monasteries.[3]

In spite of all his promises, however, Baius tried to defend the condemned propositions in writing. On January 9th, 1569, he sent an apologia to the Pope, in which he acknowledged 30 of the propositions which had been condemned in Rome, but maintained that they contained nothing but what had been taught in the Holy Scriptures and by the Fathers of the Church. In a covering letter he said that the honour of the Pope had suffered by the bull being published so widely, firstly because of the obvious calumnies which it contained, and secondly because it was opposed to the words and ideas of the Fathers of the Church. It was a scandal to many learned men in the north, who on account of their struggle with the heretics were wont to lean more upon the teaching of the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers than were the medieval theologians, and who might get the idea that zeal for scholasticism had led to the condemnation of the Fathers

[1] Morillon to Granvelle, June 20, 1568, in POULLET, III., 278.
[2] *Ibid.* 279.
[3] *Ibid.* 280.

themselves. That was why he was presenting this apologia; the Pope must decide whether the bull had not been fraudulently obtained. On March 16th, 1569, Baius sent a similar letter to Cardinal Simonetta, who, however, was already dead by the time it arrived.[1]

It was very obvious what the consequences of this must be. Some of the Franciscans in Flanders, it is true, encouraged the mad idea that the Pope was inclined to withdraw the bull,[2] whereas in fact a Papal brief of May 13th, 1569, declared that even if the bull had never been issued, it would have to be now; the Pope now confirmed it, and imposed perpetual silence upon all who approved the propositions condemned. Morillon received from Granvelle the difficult task of inducing the hot-headed scholar to recant, and then to absolve him from the ecclesiastical censure under which he had fallen.

On June 20th, 1569, Morillon set himself to discharge this duty. At first Baius was surprised that he should have brought down ecclesiastical penalties upon himself by his remonstrances to the Pope; but he then knelt down to ask for absolution. When, however, Morillon insisted that he must first recant, he rose to his feet and declared that he must first receive a copy of the bull, because the latter itself admitted that some of the condemned propositions could be defended "*in rigore* and according to the strict sense of the words."[3]

[1] Le Bachelet, II., 50.

[2] Morillon to Granvelle, March 20-21, 1569, in Poullet, III., 521.

[3] In reality the bull does not admit this, but says that the propositions are "rejected" according to the tenor of the words and in the sense in which they had been maintained by their defender "Quas quidem sententias . . . quanquam nonnullae aliquo pacto sustineri possent in rigore et proprio verborum sensu ad assertoribus intento haereticas, etc., damnamus." The bull is written without punctuation marks and Baius placed a comma after "intento" although it should obviously come after "possent" so that the "in rigore" etc., refers to "damnamus." The controversy concerning the "Comma Pianum" is still being carried on.

Morillon replied that the bull could not be given either to him or to his opponents, because the Pope intended to put a stop to the whole controversy. Baius replied that he was very glad to hear that, but regretted that the condemned propositions should have been so freely made known to his adversaries. After a long discussion Baius at length agreed to make his recantation.[1] The Provincial of the Franciscans in Flanders, too, among whom the celebrated Louvain professor always had a number of adherents,[2] obliged the guardians of the province, by a decree of September 1st, 1569, to give currency to the abjuration which he had made.[3]

In spite of this, however, the new doctrines were not yet entirely crushed. It took Baius a long time to overcome the interior struggle between his obedience to the Pope and his attachment to his ideas, which he looked upon as the teaching of St. Augustine, nor did he always keep his feelings to himself. The Franciscan, Godfredus of Liège, thought it necessary to preach against Baianism, and theologians like Cunerus Petri and the youthful Bellarmine, at that time a professor in the Jesuit college at Louvain, wrote refutations of it,[4] for the new doctrines still found many followers.[5] It must be added that in 1570, after the death of Tiletanus, Baius had become dean of the faculty, and the college of professors was composed entirely of his disciples. Under these circumstances, some of the bishops of Flanders thought it right to demand of Baius a public statement of his attitude towards the condemned propositions.[6]

Morillon had long been of the opinion that the fault of Baius lay in his want of knowledge of scholasticism, and in

[1] Morillon to Granvelle, June 20, 1569, in POULLET, III., 607 *seqq.*

[2] Morillon, September 26, 1568, *ibid.* 369.

[3] LE BACHELET, II., 51.

[4] LE BACHELET, Auctarium Bellarminianum, Paris, 1913, 314-338.

[5] "Advertens non deesse multos, quibus hae opiniones placerent" Autobiography of Bellarmine edited by LE BACHELET, 452.

[6] *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1570, n. 292.

his lack of judgment, remarking that he had for a long time past noticed the latter defect in the celebrated professor.[1] Baius gave further proof of this by the way in which he complied with the demand of the bishops. In his lectures on April 17th and 19th, 1570, he set forth his attitude towards the bull, substantially reiterating the point of view, apparently long since set aside, which he had adopted in his apologias to Pius V. and Cardinal Simonetta.

This settled the fate of Baius. The Duke of Alba intervened and demanded of the provincial council, then assembled at Malines, in June, 1570, that the bull should be solemnly published at Louvain, and subscribed by all the professors. The bishops had the courtesy to inform Baius privately of what was about to be done, and found him ready to accept it. On November 16th the bull was published by Morillon at Louvain, in the presence of Baius, the professors and the students. The doctors then had to swear to the bull, a thing which drew tears from Baius.[2] In the evening the rector of the university sent each of the doctors a formula, in which they had to declare that they accepted the condemnation of the 76 propositions, and that they would act in accordance with their acceptance. No signatures, however, were received to this formula, for when Morillon had gone it was rumoured that he had carried out the publication of the bull on his own authority without the order of the bishops, and the latter had to defend him against this charge in a special letter.[3]

Later on, however, after further pressure on the part of the Pope and the Duke of Alba, the doctors decided on April 17th, 1571, that they must look upon the 76 propositions as condemned, and take away from the students all the books which contained them. Yielding to further pressure on the part of Alba the doctors on August 29th promised the fullest

[1] To Granvelle, June 4, 1569, in POULLET, III., 596: "Tout le mal est que, comme jugent par delà les sçavantz de luy, qu'il n'est d'érudition fondée en scholastique ny de bon jugement, et il y at longtemps que je m'apperceois de ce dernier poinct."

[2] LADERCHI, 1570, p. 292.

[3] Of December 23, 1570, *ibid.* n. 293.

submission. Baius had to declare that he accepted the bull with all reverence, that he considered it to have been sufficiently promulgated, that he submitted to it unreservedly, and that if the Pope wished for anything further he would do it.[1] The Louvain controversy then remained quiescent until the death of Pius V.

With the exception of his bull against Baius, Pius V. only issued one other decree in direct defence of doctrine; on October 1st, 1568, he renewed the constitution of Paul IV. against that form of Protestantism which denied the Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ, His miraculous conception and the satisfactory value of His death, and the virginity of His Mother,[2] thus almost completely depriving Christianity of its supernatural character. By this decree Pius V. dealt his final blow in the struggle against Italian Protestantism, since it was Italians, the Sienese Lelio and Fausto Socinus, who maintained these opinions in their fullest form, and it was the Italian form of Protestantism from which Socinianism sprang. From the first Protestantism in Italy was strongly infected by infidelity,[3] and it was at the hands of Italians that the transformation of believing Protestantism into complete infidelity received its first impulse and its subsequent development.

But how disappointed had been the hopes of the Italian

[1] Le Bachelet, II., 52.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 722.

[3] Ochino "in his later writings shows himself involved in a volte-face from the positive rigorist view . . . towards those ideas of which Seb. Castellio and Lelio Socinus are the representatives. . . . The Geneva theologians themselves complained of the Italian exiles as 'academic sceptics' . . . but how little the course taken by the Italian reformation had followed these developments . . . a broader examination of the question can hardly be said to give the lie to the above mentioned theologians of Geneva, when they recognized in these men a specifically Italian form of scepticism." This is the view of K. Benrath: "Über die Quellen der italienischen Reformationsgeschichte, Bonn, 1876, 11 *seq.*

religious innovators! Italy, so thought Curione in 1550, makes progress from day to day, and the time of the harvest is now at hand.[1] Shortly after the election of Pius V., a Protestant of Valtellina wrote to a co-religionist at Trent that at Valtellina the Papacy was more and more discredited; that there was reason to hope that the "diabolical mass" would soon be abolished in the Grisons, that the preaching of the "Gospel" was spreading in France, and that the "cursed mass" was altogether stamped out in Scotland and England; it was reported that "Christian liberty" was taking root in Poland and other countries; that he and those who shared his opinions hoped that ere long they would hear of great things, and especially of the complete destruction of the kingdom of the Roman Antichrist.[1] But by the middle of the reign of Pius V. the doom of Protestantism was sealed at least in Italy.

If in these modern times, with their hostility to all restraint of freedom of thought, the method of procedure by violence adopted by Pius V. could not be tolerated, it was undoubtedly a blessing for Italy in its results. It was not in vain that the Pope so often called for vigilance, and so insistently pointed to the horrors of the Huguenot wars. He knew his fellow

[1] TACCHI VENTURI, I., 350.

[1] "*De le nuove di qua in circa la religione per la gratia del Signore son molto buone et prima qui in Valtelina ogni giorno si va distruggendo il Papato et speremo in breve che i signori Grisoni habbia[n] a mandare a spassa la diabolica messa. Di poi si dice per cosa certa che la Francia ha levato via del tutto la persecutione et è posto ognuno ne la libertà de la fede talmente che la religione ogni dì va crescendo et cominciasi a predicare l'evangelio e farsi le congregazioni in publico. La Scocia e l' Ingalterra ha [sic!] levato via del tutto la maledetta messa. Si dice anchora di Polonia et di molti altri regni esser venuti ne la libertà christiana et percio speriamo in curto tempo de sentir gran cose et massime l' ultima ruina del gran regno d' Antichristo Romano." Letter of Giov. Ant. Zurleto to Leonardo Columbino to Trent from Tirano, April 13, 1566, original in Cod. Mazzetti, 616, p. 21, Municipal Library, Trent.

countrymen, and he well understood that if the new ideas took strong root in their easily heated imagination there was every reason to fear that the sword and dagger would soon be drawn by citizen against citizen, and by city against city, and the struggles of Guelph and Ghibelline would be renewed with all their horrors and with redoubled fury.[1] It can hardly be doubted that the victory of Protestantism would have given to Italy as well its Thirty Years' War. The country-side would have become a wilderness, and the lover of art can only think with horror of the fate that would have overtaken the masterpieces of Raphael and Michelangelo if a war against sacred images had broken loose in the privileged sanctuary of the arts. The resoluteness and energy of Pius V. saved his country from being bathed in streams of blood. Politically, Italy was broken up, but he preserved to her one bond of union, her common religious thought and outlook. At the same time he preserved to her—a thing which in the absence of political importance was her strength—the unchallenged glory of being and remaining the supreme school of the arts in Europe.

[1] Through the Bishop of Narni he invited the Italian princes to help Charles IX. against the Huguenots in the following terms: "Potersi mentre i tumulti son lontani, i principi de sudditi lor prevalere: ma quando s'aventassero questi mostri in Italia, quale infermità, et difficultà patiscano gli stati col mezzo dell' heresie proverebbero. La cui pestilenza pur troppo sparsa per l' Italia poco più vi ponesse piè, esser facil cosa da imaginare quel fuoco fosse per accendere ne cervelli Italiani." CATENA, 69.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alterations I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic*." Those passages which I have omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the Press, and which were not essential or unnecessary for my purpose, are marked by dots (. . .).

1. THE CONCLAVE OF PIUS V. ACCORDING TO THE DIARY OF CORNELIUS FIRMANUS.[1]

Ea nocte [sequenti diem 23^{am} decembris 1565] omnes rev^{mi} vigilarunt facientes praticas pro electione novi pontificia: erant enim multi qui quaerebant et totis viribus instabant quod eligeretur in pontificem rev^{mus} Moronus, alii erant qui ipsius exclusionem quaerebant: fiebantque praticae et conventiculae tanta cum celeritate, strepitu, rumore ac concursu quod vix credi possent; aliqui rev^{mi} ibant fere currentes portantes de per se busias cum luminibus absque aliquibus ex eorum conclavistis, alii sine luminibus nec omnino vestiti, adeoque videbatur maximus conflictus. Sed si illa nocte

[1] See *supra*, p. 27, n. 5.

ducebatur in capellam praedictus rev^{mus} Moronus, erat certe pontifex; nam ipsius adversarii erant perterriti et habebant facies albas prout pannus lineus est, nec sciebant a principio quid facerent; sed quoniam habuerant tempus procurandi exclusionem, vel quia sic erat Dei voluntas, cuius secreta non est nostrum scire, seu quia adhuc non venerat hora eius, antequam fieret scrutinium, fecerunt perfectam et securam exclusionem. In mane autem antequam lucesceret dies, ceperunt cardinales pontificem eligere, cupientes magna cum celeritate venire versus capellam ut concluderetur negocium; qui maxime infestarunt me ut cito pulsarem campanellam pro missa ut citius fieret scrutinium; et deputati ex capitibus ordinum mandabant quod pulsarem hora solita et consueta, prout feci et forsan prius, ut utrique parti ut melius possem complacere. Fuit dicta missa ex more et factum deinde scrutinium, in quo praedictus rev^{mus} Moronus habuit 26 vota et tres accessus, quos dederunt rev^{mi} Sforzia, Ursinus et Vercellensis.

Erant tunc in conclavi 51 rev^{mi}, videlicet Pisanus, Moronus, Tridentinus, Farnesius, Crispus, de Perusio, Saracenus, Sancti Vitalis, S^{ti} Clementis, de Pisis, Reumanus, Capisucus, Alexandrinus, de Araceli, Sabellus, S^{ti} Georgii, Cornarius, Salviatus, Simoneta, Pacecus, Amulius, Corrigiensis, de Gambara Borromeus, Altaemps, Gesualdus, de Sermoneta, Ferrariensis Mantua, de Aragonia, Colunna, Novocomensis, Patavinus, Delphinus, Bobba, Sforzia, Ursinus, Vercellensis, Lomellinus, Crassus, Sirletus, Urbinas, de Monte, Simoncellus, Vitellius, Estensis, Madrutius, Medices, Alciatus, Paleotus [et Castiglione]: adeoque pro perfecta pontificis electione requirebantur 34 vota, de quibus quinque defuerunt; sed certe fuit maximus conquassus, strepitus ac rumor in nocte: nullus enim cardinalis quievit, et multi ipsorum fere currebant per conclave praesertim rev^{mus} Estensis, qui laboravit pro decem hominibus et aperto marte quaerebat exclusionem. Similiter fecerunt etiam rev^{mi} de Sermoneta, Urbinas et nonnulli alii. Visi fuerunt multi rev^{mi} perterriti et quasi flentes, qui, licet inviti, ibant tamen ad capellam ad consentiendum electioni fiendae, considerantes non posse ipsam electionem aliquo pacto impedire. Nunquam vidi tam magnam in alicuius rev^{mi} favorem frequentiam, quae tamen nil profuit, quia sic datum erat desuper. Credo equidem quod optimus fuisset pontifex et bene gubernasset Romanam Ecclesiam.

Illo sero [diei 30] fuerunt visae multae conventiculae et praticae cardinalium quaerentium creare pontificem rev^{mum} S^{ti} Vitalis. Nil tamen factum fuit; nam rev^{mus} Borromeus (qui habebat in posse suo magnam votorum quantitatem) nolebat accedere, licet quidam de suis libenter accessissent. Dictus vero Borromeus cupiebat creare rev^{mum} de Araceli; sed rev^{mus} de Altaemps non erat contentus, et sic fuit diu praticatum et laboratum in vanum.

Die 5^{a} summo mane hora XII^{a} fuit inceptus magnus rumor pro creando in pontificem rev^{mum} cardinalem Sirletum, et duravit, maxima cum multorum rev^{morum} acceleratione et concursu usque ad horam 15; nam aliqui ex parte rev^{mi} Borromei adiuvabant dictam electionem, multi etiam faventes rev^{mo} S^{ti} Vitalis quaerebant exclusionem. Illo interim rev^{mus} Sforzia publice in aula Regum dixit rev^{mo} Borromeo quod nolebat aliquo pacto ire ad rev^{mum} Sirletum, quia nunquam in tota nocte aliquid de eo sibi dixerat, cum honestum ipsi videretur quod omnia debuisset scire et replicavit nunquam nisi coactum iturum dicta ex causa, licet ipsum rev^{mum} summopere diligeret et pontificia dignitate dignum cognosceret. Cumque videret rev^{mus} Borromeus firmo ac determinato animo ea dici, rogavit rev^{mum} Sfortiam quod saltem permitteret ire rev^{mum} de Medicibus: cui respondit se nunquam prohibiturum, immo eum rogaturum ut iret in eius praesentia; et exinde omnia ref igescere ceperunt, licet rumor in totum non cessaret.

Illo mane ceperunt magistratum triduanum rev^{mi} Pisanus, Reomanus et Madrutius.

Dum fieret rumor pro eligendo rev^{mum} Sirletum in pontificem rev^{mus} Vitellius camerarius ivit ad cameram rev^{mi} de Medicibus, cui dixit pontificem iam fuisse creatum et quod propterea ipse etiam iret et cum aliis interveniret, qui tumultuanter incepit dicere quod non per terrorem et metum fiebant pontificum electiones et quod nolebat ire, et iratus exivit a sua cella sive camera, tertio eidem replicando. Deinde fecerunt circulum circa 15 cardinales in capite aulae regiae ante cameram rev^{mi} Reumani, ubi Borromeus et quidam alii rev^{mi} satis rogarunt rev^{mum} Farnesium ut secum iret ad ducendum rev^{mum} Sirletum ad capellam ut eum pontificem crearent; qui respondit quod sibi non displicebat et bene sciebat eum fore dignum pontificatu, sed tamen nolebat iri nisi audita intentione et voluntate suorum consociorum et quod cito respon-

deret ; interim autem bene factum putabat fieri scrutinium, in quo forsan Deus inspirasset quid foret agendum ; et sic factum fuit. Nec praetermittam quod dum fierent praticae supradictae, rev^{mus} Sirletus, qui divum Jeronimum repraesentare videbatur, flebat continuo et rogabat rev^{mos} ipsius fautores quod desisterent ab incepto nec quaererent ipsum in pontificem eligere, quia sciebat se non fore sufficientem ad sustinendum tam grave pondus et habendum gubernium tanti momenti, genuflexusque in lecto (in quo infirmus iacebat) indesinenter flebat et rogabat eius familiares ut Deum deprecarentur supliciter quod non succederet ipsum eligi in pontificem ; et credo certissime quod supra dicta ex toto corde agebat, nam semper fuit vir exemplaris, amator paupertatis et in minimis contentus, absque superbia, dulcissimae, conversationis et denique sanctissimae vitae.

Illo sero fuerunt factae praticae pro rev^{mo} cardinali Tridentino, credo potius ad honorandum eum quam quod aliqua esset intentio ipsum creandi pontificem.

Die 6^{a} ianuarii, quae erat dies Epiphaniae, celebrarunt omnes infrascripti rev^{mi}, videlicet Moronus, Farnesius, Crispus, Saracenus, S^{ti} Vitalis, Pisarum, Reumanus, Alexandrinus, Sabellus, Simonetta, Pacecus, Amulius, Corrigiensis, de Gambara, Borromeus, Gesualdus, de Sermoneta.

Illa die post prandium fuit aliqualis rumor in conclave et visae fuerunt quaedam praticae multorum rev^{rum} pontificem diversimode creare quaerentium, in vanum tamen, quia nondum venerat hora.

Illa die inter horam 21^{mam} et 22^{mam} omnes rev^{mi} iverunt ad cameram rev^{mi} cardinalis Alexandrini, quem quasi invitum et per vim duxerunt ad capellam Paulinam, et cum vellent eum eligere in pontificem, tanta erat confusio quod nesciebant quomodo illud agere deberent : aliqui enim petebant fabas ut per vota fieret, alii dicebant quod portarentur scabella et alia consueta pro scrutiniis, alii etiam, meliorem viam ac magis expeditam eligentes, dicebant quod publica voce danda essent vota per quemlibet cardinalem, et ita fieri deberet electio ; prout, sedato clamore ac magno strepitu, factum fuit. Nam omnes sederunt in solitis eorum locis et tunc rev^{mus} decanus stans dixit : Ego Franciscus cardinalis Pisanus, sacri collegii decanus, eligo in summum pontificem rev^{mum} dominum meum Michaelem cardinalem Alexandrinum nuncupatum. Post eum rev^{mus} Moronus similibus verbis

elegit eundem, deinde rev^{mi} omnes infrascripti similiter elegerunt, videlicet Tridentinus, Farnesius, Crispus, de Perusia, Saracenus, S^{ti} Vitalis, S^{ti} Clementis, Pisarum, Reumanus, Capisuccus, de Araceli, Sabellus, S^{ti} Georgii, Cornarius, Salviatus, Simonetta, Paceccus, Amulius, Corrigiensis, Gambara, Borromeus, de Altaemps, Gesualdus, de Sermoneta, de Aragonia, Colunna, Novocomensis, Nicolinus, Patavinus, Delphinus, Boba, Sforzia, Ursinus, Castellionensis, Vercellensis, qui etiam tulit votum descripium rev^{mi} cardinalis Ferrerii patrui sui qui erat podogra impeditus et nomine etiam ipsius elegit, Lomellinus, Crassus, Sirletus, Urbinas, de Monte, Simoncellus, Vitellius, Estensis, qui etiam elegit nomine rev^{mi} cardinalis Ferrariensis patrui sui infirmi, Madrutius, Medices, Alciatus, Palcotus. Quo facto, licet scrutininium fieri debuisset etiam sine praeiudicio electionis, tamen eo omisso omnes rev^{mi} surrexerunt et iverunt versus dictum rev^{mum} Alexandrinum, qui surgens, fuit per rev^{mum} decanum interrogatus an acceptaret electionem de se factam per sacrum collegium; qui stetit aliquantulum nolens respondere, tandem, sollicitatus per multos rev^{mos}, dixit haec propria verba: Mi contento su. Et nos clerici cerimoniarum fuimus rogati tam de electione quam acceptatione.

[Copy, Papal Secret Archives, XII., 31 p. 25 *seq.*]

2. Francesco Tosabezzo to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1565, December 15, Rome.

. . . Mon^{r} Illmo nostro che come saggio et prudente ha scoperto un gran paese nel particolare della creatione del nuovo Pontefice, ha voluto secondo l'amorevolezza di che è verso V. Ecc^{a} ch' ella sappia il termino in che si trovano le cose, che fin adesso più tosto si ha da temere che sperare d'haver cosa che sia in nostra sodisfatione. Dice dunque S. S. Illma che ci sono tre soggetti che vanno per li tavoglieri, li quali fanno più strepito d'ogni altro, l'uno è Morone et questo è tanto inanzi che Borromeo non desidera alcuno più di lui, onde se non si dà tempo alli Francesi di venire el al card^{le} di Ferrara di fargli l'esclusione, va a pericolo di riuscire Papa subito. Per rimedio di che ha pensato S. S. Illma di persuadere a Borromeo che voglia aspettare le sue creature, cioè Buoncompagno, Crivello et Comendone, et così vedere di fuggire questa borasca, non essendo come V. Ecc. sa Morone buono ne

[1] See *supra*, p. 23, n. 2.

per noi, ne per li mondo. L'altro è Farnese il quale de ha anch'egli buono, non perchè non sia conosciuto, ma perchè il collegio è tanto povero che quando li card^{li} vedranno di havere a distribuire fra loro ottanta mila scudi d'entrata, dubita che non si risolvi. Tuttavia il S. Card^{le} nostro spera di tenere saldo Borromeo et Alt'Emps, con tutto che ad Altemps sia stata offerta la vicecancelleria. Il terzo soggetto è Ferrero, il quale è desiderato da Borromeo, ma il collegio vecchio l'ha per un da poco et un ignorante, però la sforza di Borromeo fa ch'egli ne habbia buono, et il S. Card^{le} nostro confessando la cosa come la sta, dice, che quanto sie per lui non gli spiacerebbe, perchè è suo amico, come è anco il ca d^{le} Vercelli suo nipote, oltre che sa per essere lui un da poco, serebbe forse più largo che non fu Papa Pio. Ma vi è questo oggetto della gelosia che si ha da havere dello stato di Monferrato per conto di Savoia, et però il Card^{le} nostro non concorrerà in questo soggetto se non in caso che non possa fare di manco, anteponendo sempre l'utile et interesse particolare di V. Ecc^{a} al suo proprio. Farnese propone Alessandrino non perchè riesca Papa conciosia che è difficile cosa, ma si bene per fare l'adito più facile a se stesso. Di Ferrara non vi è speranza, fin qui, non ci volendo concorrere Borromeo in alcun conto laonde bisogna aspettare aiuto di Franza et vedere di straccare con lungo tempo Borromeo, nel qual caso Ferrara potria havere anch'egli buono, ma a questo ci vuol tempo et per ciò bisogna sapere schrinire bene. Araceli è cosa che sia Papa, con tutto che Firenza l'aiuti et maggiormente Trani, con tutto che Farnese lo favorisca, il qual Farnese fa questo acciò che riuscendo Papa habbia da vivere poco et da fargli una promotione di card^{li} a suo modo, col mezzo dei quali possa poi al sicuro et in breve entrare Papa in conclavio ad un altra sede vacante, et la causa che questi due ne hanno poco buono è che la S^{tà} di Pio nanti la morte sua lasciò ordine alli nepoti card^{li} che non facciano Papa Theatino alcuno et manco creatura di Paulo quarto. Amulio sarebbe aiutato da Borromeo, ma è in malissima opinione di tutto il collegio, di modo che ha da sperare poco al papato. Fiorenza favorisce Montepulciano Araceli et Nicolino, ma vorria piutosto Nicolino et pur vede che Montepulciano è più riuscibile et l'aiuta, non vorria ne Morone ne Farnese. Hora per vedere d'impedire che uno de soggetti amico alla casa non succeda Papa si procurerà per una delle creature di Borromeo, cioè per Buoncompagno, per

Comendone et per il Crivello, ma si dubita che sieno difficili tutti. Borromeo lauda più Comendone, ma Buoncompagno seria più a proposito per la casa, et questo è appunto disiderato da Fiorenza, venendosi però al particolare delle creature, Montepulciano sarebbe Papa, se Borromeo lo volesse, ma lo abhorrisce come la peste, però si conchiude che ogni cosa è in grandissimo disordine, ne si sa vedere altro che imbarazzi et travagli. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. Avviso di Roma of 12 January, 1566.[1]

. . . Si vede veramente, che è stata opera del Spiritu Santo, perchè il Papa si mostra tutto buono, tutto santo et tutto sinciero, pieno d' humanità et d' affabilità senza veruna hipocresia. Dice messa ogni dì, detto la messa fa collatione, 1 panata et 2 ovi con mezzo bicchiero di vino, poi dà audienza fino alla sera, che cena a 24 hore con poco di carne. Discorre spesso con cardinali quali tiene per fratelli ; dice haver parenti nepoti, figliuoli di una figlia di sua sorella, quali dice voler lasciar in modo c e non siano mendichi, ma non li vuolene duchi ne marchesi ne conti, et un parente frate, che stava a Perugia, che l'ha mandato a chiamare, et lo farà cardinale, et ha anco chiamato uno di quelli della casa di Gislieri di Bologna, che dice lui esser di quella casa, et si crede che lo farà general della chiesa. Non vuol cosa alcuna da prencipi, ne per se ne per i suoi, che a essi prencipi farà tutte le gratie che potrà. Non vole ne gabelle ne dacii straordinarii, che viverià con quel poco che ha, et che la sua panata con li suoi 2 ovi li bastano. Ha levato la bottega della Dataria, et fatto Datario il vescovo Maffei, ne vuol più compositioni, et ha fatto castellano l'arcivescovo di Napoli, et confirmato governatore di Roma il Palentieri. Vuole che i cardinali servino il grado loro, non gli vuole ne Theatini ne frati ne Giesuiti, che i ricchi tenghino il grado loro et che a i poveri darà di quello che vaca a ciascuno la parte sua. Quando gli viene raccordato qualche fatto di qualcuno, è solito a dire, che sa d'esser posto alla cura d'huomini e non d'angeli. Raccoglie humanamente non solo tutti quelli che mai lo servirno, ma ciascuno che mai lo conobbe ; fa gratie et incita le persone a chiederle. Piglia et abraccia tutte le creature di Paulo IV. ; si dice che fa venir

[1] See *supra*, pp. 54 n. 4, 66 n. 2, 68 n. 3, 72 n. 2, 77 n. 1, 84 n. 3.

Don Antonio Caraffa et il figliuolo del duca di Paliano et anco sig. Matteo Stendardo, ai quali dice volersi mostrar grato. Quelli che governano hora sono Farnese, Vitelli, Pisa et Reumano. Fa venir anco a Roma il duca Ottavio per dar grandezze alle cose. He has made Vitelli governor of the Borgo, the brother of the Cardinal and General of the Knights of Orsino, "in somma grandissima liberalità"; he has restored his apartments to Cardinal Urbino, and given him the bishopric of Montefeltro, he has given 40 poor Cardinals 500 scudi, and 100 scudi a month to each, 10 scudi to the conclavists, 4 to his servants 50 to Count Hannibal d'Altemps, and 200 to each Auditor of the Rota. He has given Farnese the direction of the Segnatura, and will assign to him the "stanze di Torre Borgia." He is retaining some of the "famiglia" of Pius IV., and is replacing many by creatures of Paul IV., a thing which makes others, especially Marcantonio Colonna, jealous, since the Carafa have been recalled, but this is a vain fear "perchè non si mostra vendicativo sin hora. Vuol pagare tutti i debiti di Paolo IV et vol fornir la fortificatione di Borgo, et questa mattina si ha cominciato a lavorare et anco finirà le fabriche di Belvedere." This morning there was a General Congregation "per consolar i cardinali": he listened to each of them and granted all the favours asked for so long as they were not to the disadvantage of third parties; he then caused all to go out except the Cardinals, whom he thanked saying to them, "che non li vuole tener per servitori ma per fratelli;" and published the day of St. Antony, his birthday (in his 62nd year) as the day of his coronation. "Da tutti questi indicii si raccoglie che siamo per haver un buon Papa, et dove la nova della sua creatione spaventò tutta Roma, per esser frate et di S. Domenico, così le sue attioni fanno giubilar tutti et ciascun li prega longa vita et sanità, della quale ha bisogno patendo di renella grandemente, et essendo mal complessionato." Ha perdonato a Morone, che adorandolo poi avrebbe detto: "Dimitte nobis debita nostra, gli rispose in generalibus" e lo ha benedetto. "Ha trovato l'introito molto felice, essendo da conferir in beneficii più di 200^{m} sc. et trovato in Castello da 800^{m}. Ha detto di voler deputar 3 cardinali, quali habbino a conferir tutti li beneficii vacati et che vacaranno, sicome era a tempo di Paulo IV, et alle cose temporali vuole deputar alcuni altri cardinali, volendo lu solo attendere

alla conservatione della religione. Il comendator di Castello vorrebbe dar a credere, che lui fosse stato quello che havesse fatto il Papa, ma è stato veramente il Spiritu Santo."

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 163, Vatican Library].

4. Cornelius Firmanus on the Coronation of Pius V.[1]

17 January, 1566.

Gatticus has published (p. 342) some passages from the long description given by Firmanus of the Coronation of Pius V. The following, hitherto unpublished, description of the *Forma suggesti pro coronatione papae facti*, is of interest :

" . . . Erat in primo arcu a dextris dictae sedis depicta mulier magnae staturae, quae dextra tenebat flammam, sinistra vero securem cum tallio ab utroque latere, super cuisus capite erat scriptum : Abundantia, status temporis, et ad pedes : Iustitia. In secundo arcu prope praedictum, per quem intrabatur in sugesto per eos qui veniebant a Sancto Petro, erat alia mulier ut supra depicta, quae prope dextrum crurem [sic] habebat scabellum cum calice desuper, et dicta mulier tenebat pateram in dextra super calicem tanquam si voluisset aliquid in eum immittere, manum sinistram tenebat spalmatam et ab eodem latere puer nudus amplectebatur eius crurem [sic] ; super eius capite erat scriptum : Amor, Charitas, Clementia ; ad pedes autem : Charitas. In angulo erat mulier, quae super manum dextram tenebat ecclesiam et brachio sinistro amplectebatur tabulam cum quibusdam litteris quae legi non poterant ; super cuius capite erat scriptum : Felicitas animi Tranquillitas ; ad pedes autem : Religio. In primo arcu ad sinistram sedis erat depicta mulier respiciens caelum, devote manibus iunctis tenens tres rosas, super cuius capite erat scriptum : Existimatio bona gloria ; ad pedes vero : Spes. In alio arcu prope praedictum erat mulier, quae dextra tenebat bilanciam et brachio sinistro amplexa fuerat cornu abundantiae ; supra caput erat scriptum : Facultas copia status temporis ; ad pedes vero : Aequitas. In pariete respiciente domum archipresbiteratus S^ti^ Petri erat mulier, quas dextro brachio tenebat organum, et sinistra habens brachium extensum tenebat calicem, cum inscriptione tali supra caput, videlicet : Charitas nominis bona fama laus ; ad pedes autem : Fides.

[Copy, Miscell. Arm. XII, 31, p. 43, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 70 n. 1.

5. Niccolò Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

1566, February 2, Rome.

L'ultimo del passato mese il Papa fece castellano di Castello S. Angelo di Roma un certo Francesco Bastone[2] ch'è del Bosco sua patria, il quale si dice l'ha fatto per render a lui la gratitudine del obligo haveva al padre del detto Bastone perche dicono lo levò da guardare le peccore ove la madre sua l'haveva mandato non havendo altro modo miglior da notrirlo essendo in estrema povertà et l'aiutò ad imparare lettere mandandolo alla scola col figliolo dalli frati che stavono nel Bosco sua patria, i quali visto che'l era per riuscire nelle lettere lo fecero frate, ove continuò li studii in modo che divenne dottore in theologia. Accade che fu data querella alla Inquisitione di Roma d'alcuni di questi frati di non so che d'heresia, i quali lo mandarono a Roma a giustificarli, il che gli reuscì così bene che l'Inquisitor vedendolo cosi dotto et di buona vita lo ritenne seco dandolo in mano tutte le cose della Inquisitione, le quali trattò con tanta sodisfattione del card^le^ di Chieti che essendo Papa lo fece morendo il suo padrone Inquisitore et poi vescovo et cardinale per il ch'è hora venuto Papa onde di minimo et povero guardiano di peccore è venuto pastor generale sopra tutti li pastori del grege di Christo ch'è de miracoli di questa corte.

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna.]

6. Johannes Sambucus[3] to Cardinal G. Sirleto.[4]

1566, February 20, Vienna.

Cum, ut scis, aliquoties hunc pontificem familiarissime ante 3 annos accessissem atque de studiis et vetustis codicibus edendis admonerem, quorum copia tanta apud nos delitescit, memini illum mihi aliquoties respondisse: 'Mi Sambuce, utinam per me staret: ego ederem optimos quosque libros graecos, neque hic eos tineis absumendos paterer. Sed sum pauper fraterculus; in meis viribus id situm non est.' Utinam, mi optime atque illustrissime Schirlette, hanc vocem illi aliquis repeteret atque ad sanctos literatosque conatus ex-

[1] See *supra*, pp. 46 n. 4, 71 n. 1.
[2] The *Diarium of Cornelius Firmanus announces on October 13th, 1568 the death of "Franc. Bastonus (senex)"; his successor as castellan of S. Angelo was his son Albert. Papal Secret Archives.
[3] Polyhistor; historiograph to Maximilian II. and Rudolph II., born 1531, died 1584; see *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXX., 307 *seq.*
[4] See *supra*, p. 129 n. 3.

citaret, quod non dubito sponte ipsum ac prolixe facturum. Vale.

Viennae X kalendas martii MDLXVI.

[Orig. Vatic. 6792, p. 127. Vatican Library.]

7–8. Camillo Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

Rome 27 March, 1566.

Il Papa continua nel levare la mattina per tempissimo et subito dice la messa et sta un poco ritirato, poi fa colatione et dopo dà audienza, et questa dura tutto il di, se non viene interrotta o da consistorii o da le congregationi o da le segnature che si fanno ad ogni settimana. Di queste le congregationi sono le più continue, perchè sono sopra le cose del concilio, de la inquisitione et de lo stato de la chiesa, et in queste comincia ad intravenire il S. card^le^ Alessandrino il quale comincia ad havere tutte le facende o poco manco, et già qualche card^le^ come Aragona, che so io, piglia l'hora de l'audienza del Papa col mezo di lui. et ricerca che sia presente a quanto ha da trattare, et di questo card^le^ d'Aragona altro non so io che dire, se non che è assai caro al Papa . . . . . Nella corte passano hora poche novità che diano materia di ragionare, perchè questo Papa se ne passa con una maniera di vivere assai quieta et ritirata, nè in Palazzo si fanno più quei ridotti che al tempo degli altri papi vi si solevan fare d'ogni conditione di cortigiano. Banchi anch'esso in questa parte non è quel che solea essere già, di modo che a volere sapere vovelle della corte conviene andare per le case de card^li^ et de ambasciatori, et a questo ci vuole otio et commodità grande, il che non posso havere io che ho da spendere il tempo in altro come ben sa l'Ecc. V., la quale si degnarà di scusarmi hora se in questa parte io non supplissi al mio debito et al desiderio che forse ella haverà di sapere le minutie di tutta questa corte.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. Avviso di Roma of 13 April, 1566.[2]

Il Papa andò lunedì alle 7 chiese con pochissima compagnia di gente et solo il card. Alessandrino e Savello, et con molta devotione ; et fa ogni giorno opera con intelligentie, reforma et bandi, perchè si viva più christianamente che sia possibile,

[1] See *supra*, p. 52 n. 1. [2] See *supra*, pp. 58 n. 2, 61 n. 1.

et sin hora riesce giusto et santo principe, et se ne spera tuttavia de bene in meglio, et è essemplarissimo in tutte le sue attioni et di tanta bona mente quanto si può desiderare. E stato tutta questa settimana santa alle funcioni della Capella et il venerdì santo comandò, che non si cocesce cosa alcuna in casa sua, et non solo ha fatto la quaresima, ma l'ha degiunata tutta non ostante alcuni difetti d'infirmità et la vecchiezza, così sia pregato Iddio che la mantenghi et prosperi lungamente.

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 210. Vatic. Library.]

10–15. Buildings of Pius V. at Bosco.[1]

1. Avviso di Roma of 23 March, 1566.

The Pope intends to employ for the construction of the church at Bosco the 20,000 scudi deposited at Milan by Pius IV. for the Swiss League.

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 197. Vatic. Library.]

2. Avviso di Roma of 14 June, 1567.

S. S. fa fabricare al Bosco un monasterio dell'ordine suo, per il qual s'intagliano qui le porte, balursti et finestre de preciosissimi marmi, li quali poi si mandaranno. Expenditure 200^{m} Scudi, for 30–40 frati who shall live in the convent, et si fa far una superbissima sepultura, perchè là vol essler sepolto, et ha mandato per via del mare l'altr'hieri a quel a fabrica molte colonne de serpentini et porfidi, et la solicita, come s'havesse a morir fra un mese.

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 407. Vatic. Library.]

3. Avviso di Roma of 19 July, 1567.

On Tuesday the Pope received from Cardinal Ricci "una pietra nera lunga una canna," which will be sent to Bosco.

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 421. Vatic. Library.]

4. Avviso di Roma of 23 July, 1569.

Il Papa sollecita la sua sepultura che fa lavorare nella casetta del Bosco, la quale è di marmo bianco con statue e con la sua persona ritratta di naturale con gli habiti alla

[1] See *supra*, p. 124 n. 1.

pontificiale ingenocchiato avanti un crucifisso con un breve in mano aperto, che sarà di gran valuta, et finita la manderà al Bosco alla chiesa che fa fabricare.

[Orig. Urb. 1041, p. 117[b]. Vatic. Library.]

5. Avviso di Roma of 5 December, 1570.

P. Serafino (Grindelli ; see BRUZZONE in Riv. Alessandria, XI., 8 [1903], 7 *seq.*) reports to the Pope about the fabric of the convent at Bosco.

(Orig. Urb. 1041, p. 376. Vatic. Library.]

6. Brief of 17 October, 1571, to the Governor of Milan.

"Mittimus dil. fil. Iacobum de la Porta architectum ad nostrum monasterium Boschi." Please help him.

[Archives of Briefs, Rome.]

On June 21, 1567, Arco* reports that the Pope "andò a vedere certe colonne che manda alla chiesa del Bosco"; (State Archives, Vienna). *Ibid.* an * Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1569. concerning the sending of rich vestments to Bosco ; for the tomb of St. Dominic at Bologna "fa anco fare di molti ricchi acconci da porre sul altare et sopra l'arca."

16–25. PURIFICATION OF MORALS IN ROME, 1566.[1]

1. Bando.

"che non si vada la notte accompagnato con donne di mala vita per Roma, che dette donne non tenghino arme in casa ne nissuno vi vadi in casa con arme etc.", 12 maggio 1566.

[Editti V, 60, p. 204. Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Avviso di Roma of 25 May, 1566.

An order will shortly be issued "che le cortegiane stiano in una o due parte della Città come seria in Trastevere o verso il Popolo."

(Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 231[b], Vatican Library.]

3. Avviso di Roma of 1 June, 1566.

Difficulty about the order concerning the "cortegiane"; perhaps they will now receive a sign.

[Orig. *Ibid.* 220[b].]

[1] See *supra*, p. 90, n. 2.

4. Avviso di Roma of 29 June, 1566.

"Hiersera a forza de sbirri le meretrici sgombrorno Borgo et li conservatori s'affaticarno per trovar luoco da serrarle."

[Orig. *Ibid.* 248.]

So reports Arco on June 29, 1566 (original in State Archives, Vienna).

5. Avviso di Roma of 27 July, 1566.

By order of the Pope, the Vicar on Monday issued the following order against prostitutes: "che se ne vadino molte cioè le più scandalose, et l'altre vadino in Transtevere. Ma li habitanti di quel luoco in numero di più di 400 con il loro caprione andorno dal card. Morone, che vi habita, pregandolo, che fosse loro protettore appresso il Papa, accio esse cortegiane non vi fossero poste, et mercordì andò da S. S., nè con molte raggioni che dicesse non pote ottener altro, se non che per adesso non si poteva far altro. Il senatore, conservatore et il popolo tutto di Roma hanno poi fatto officio, che solo si levino dalle strade maestre et d'appresso le chiese monasterii et dalle case di gentildonne et che le lascia habitar nelle altre strade men publiche di Roma, nè anco l'hanno potuto ottenere, ma solo s'è contentato, che possino habitar tutta strada Giulia, da Ponte S. Angelo a Ponte Sisto, nondimeno sin hora non si vede, che vadano, nè in uno nè in l'altro loco."[1]

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 260[b]. Vatic. Library.]

6. Avviso di Roma of 3 August, 1566.

Questi dì li Romani fecero consiglio contra le mutationi delle meretrici et 40 di loro con li conservatori andorno a supplicare il Papa, che non le voglia mandar in Trastevere; hebbero in risposta: Tutta questa matina havete sonato il vostro campanozzo in congregarvi a far che per conservarvi l'infamia, che noi per debito nostro, honor nostro et commune satisfatione cercamo di levarvi, nè è bene comportar, che dalle meretrici siano habitate le più belle strade di Roma santa, ove è sparso il sangue di tanti santi martiri, ove sono tante reliquie, tante devotioni, ove è la Sede Apostolica et tanta

[1] *Cf.* the letter of C. Luzzara of 27 July, 1566, in BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni, 8 (wrong date, the 22nd); report of Tiepolo of 26 July, 1566, in MUTINELLI I., 51 *seq.* letter of Arco of 27 July, 1566 (State Archives, Vienna), and especially the *report of Aless. Mola to Card. Ferd. de' Medici, dated Rome, 25 July, 1566 (State Archives Florence, Medic. 5096).

religione: città, che per specchio del mondo tutta doverà esser monda da vicii et peccati a confusione d'infideli et heretici, in fine non conoscete il ben vostro: con che se gli levò davanti.

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 264. Vatic. Library.]

A similar Avviso in BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni, 9; see *ibid.* 8, the report of Luzzara. *Cf.* Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 53 *seq.* According to Firmanus, Diarium (Papal Secret Archives) the deputation was received on July 24, 1566. On August 3, 1566, Arco reports that the Pope replied: "O volete le meretrici o moi; se volete esse, noi partiremo di Roma, se volete noi lasciate che obediscano." (State Archives, Vienna).

7. Avviso di Roma of 10 August, 1566.

Questi dì li conservatori di Roma a nome del popolo presentorno una littera con molte informationi delle meretrici, et di scacciarle, allegando molte ragioni, per conservation della Città, dell' honore delle donne maritate et delle citelle; hebbero in risposta: Noi lo vederemo, consideraremo et se sarà bene, l'abrazzaremo; et hoc interim per causa del monitorio sono già partite più di 300 meretrici delle principali di Roma, et tuttavia vanno fuori, per questa causa, molte ritornate in se si sono maritate, retirate et convertite, et le triste non trovano, chi comprinoi le loro robbe con tutto il buon precio, parendole quelle di mal acquisto. Li patroni delle case restano mal contenti, che non le pono affittare se non assai manco, et di questo beneffetto ne gode più il publico, se ben i Romani se ne becano il cervello con voler impedire. Anco la pragmatica del vestire va inanzi, ne s'ha rispetto a persona, et contra alcuni contrafacenti si procede hora con farli pagar assai grande penne. Si publicarà quest'altra senttimana una terribil bolla contra li adulteri et un bando contra tavernarii et hosti per non supportare tanto gran numero di forfanti, che si sono posti alla poltronaria in quei luochi. S'aspetta anco una bolla et generale riforma di tutto questo clero oltra la corte, il popolo et la città tutta, la quale purgata di tante et tante imondicie portà ben farsi chiamar Roma santa. Hieri havemmo un bando rigorosissimo dell'arme."

Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 270, Biblioteca Vatican Library.]

Cf. the AVVISO of 17 August, in BERTOLOTTI, 9.

8. Avviso di Roma of 17 August, 1566.

The *doganieri* of Rome complained to the Pope of the loss occasioned by the "dogane per la partenza delle meretrici et delli hebrei. Il Papa gli ha detto di volerli osservar li loro capitoli, nelli quali crede non esser mentione di queste cose, et che però anco farà in modo, che essi non ne patirano in alcun modo ne vuol comportare, che li sia fatto torto nè dalla Camera nè da altro. Tuttavia le meretrici sono stemate assai, et quelle che tante restano, sono come sbigotite et disperse, et ne sono state amazzate alcune, che si dice per esser avenuto per opera di quelli che tengono le loro robbe in salvo, nondimeno non è certo, altri credono che venga da loro parenti; alla fine la loro remotione et gli tanti romori di mandarle in Trastevere, N. S. doppo la informatione si è risoluto di lasciare, che il popolo con gli conservatori le accomoda in luoco, che stia bene, et come saranno comodate tutte nella parte di Campo Marzo dall'Arco di Portugallo in qui verso il Populo, però fuori delle strade grande come nelle traverse verso la Trinità, si come già è dato principio."

[Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 275[b]. Biblioteca Vatican Library.]

9. Avviso di Roma of 7 September, 1566.

"Bando del card. Savelli" published "giovedi" (Urb. 1040, p. 282[b], in Vatican Library; edited BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni 10). This "Bando contro le meretrici" was printed in Rome in 1566 by Ant. Blado. Very rare as is also the "Bando sopra le meretrici," published in "Bologna l'ult. di gennaro et reiterato il 1° di febraio 1568," Bologna, Benaci, 1568.

10. Avvisi di Roma of the 2 and 7 November, 1566.

Printed by BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.* 10-11. *Cf.* POLANCI *Epist.* in *Anal. Bolland.* VII., 69.

26. BERNARDINO PIA TO CAMILLO LUZZARA.[1]

Rome 22 January, 1567.

Dominica qui si diede licenza al popolo di mascherarsi, pero huomini et non donne ne religiosi et furon prohibite le caccie de tori et simile spettacoli et ordinati che i palii, che si solevano correre per Banchi et per Borgo si corrano dalla vigna di Julio

[1] See *supra*, p. 88 n. 5.

fin a S. Marco non essendo fatione conveniente da farsi sotto le stanze de S. Stà.[1]

(Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. Pope Pius V. to the Governor of the Campagna and Marittima.[2]

With a view to taking steps to provide for the safety from robbers of those who come to the city, and since the "Algidi" forest is, on account of its marshy character and size, very convenient for robbers, we command you to open out the road on both sides by cutting down the trees, and "graviter ferimus" that through neglect this has not been done. "Quia vero latrociniis in ea silva committ solitis occurri omnino volumis," we ordered you to have the trees cut down by the population in such a way that the road shall be safe, and where it is necessary, to protect it, and to burn the trees, taking care that they shall not spring up again; it is our will that the ancient road, which was once paved with stones, shall be repaired and restored to its former width.

[Arm. 44 t. 13, p. 105, Papal Secret Archives.]

28–34. Avvisi concerning the Purification of Morals in Rome in 1567.[3]

March 15: This morning "3 meretrici Venetiane frustate"; a sheet of paper fastened to their breast showed the reason. Orig. Urb. 1040, p. 370b, Vatican Library.[4]

April 3: "3 meretrici frustate," because they had "uscite dai luoghi deputati," *ibid.* 376.

[1] Note. With the Avvisi di Roma of January 18, February 8, and 14, 1567 (see Clementi, 216 *seq.*), *cf.* the *report of Arco of February 9, 1566 (Non ha voluto S.Stà dar licenza di far maschere se non con condizione che le donne [i.e. the prostitutes] non possino andarvi), the *report of Cusano of March 2, 1566 (prohibition of bull-fights), and *that of Strozzi of January 18, 1567 (prohibition of the carnival in the Borgo, "where the priests live"), State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *report of Arco of February 21, 1568, concerning the strict enforcement of these orders. *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of January 29, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 11, Vatican Library.

[2] See *supra*, p. 102 n. 3.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 92 n. 1.

[4] See Firmanus, *Diarium: "Die sabbati XV. dicti mensis [martii 1567] ante ecclesiam Sti Ambrosii et per stratas omnes circumcirca fuerunt a carnifice fustigatae tres meretrices quoniam non paruerant ordinibus et edictis vicarii Smi Domini Nostri, inter quas fuit quaedam Armeria Veneta, pulcherrima iuvenis et absque dubio puchrior omnibus aliis meretricibus Urbis: fuit etiam quaedam Nina de Prato, et alia dicta Isabella; et prosit." (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* also the *report of Arco of March 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

April 14: "3 meretrici" placed in the "Convertite," *ibid.* 382.

May 17: "Si fa hora una generale rassegna delle publice meretrici per darli occasione o di conversione o di sgombrare il paese," *ibid.* 396b.

July 19: Banishment of "60 meretrici" (see BERT LOTTI, Repressioni, 11); the Romans are discontented, "il gonimedi desperati et sarano il resto come li Hebrei," *ibid.* 421a

August 2: Pius V. ordered six noble ladies of ma.ture age to go to the prostitutes and exhort them with many promises to give up their sinful life, *ibid.* 426.

August 30: The "meretrice Buggiardina" condemned to perpetual imprisonment (murata). *Ibid.* 434b.

35–47. EXTRACTS FROM THE "DIARIUM" OF CORNELIUS FIRMANUS CONCERNING THE ACTIVITY OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION, 1566-1568.[1]

[1566] Die dominica 23 dicti mensis [iunii] fuerunt 24 cardinales in ecclesia beatae Mariae supra Minervam, ubi fuerunt reconciliati et absoluti quidam haeretici et falsi testes; et quoad penas corporales diversimode condemnati, et fere maior pars ad triremas, et eorum unus nobilis propter reincidentiam fuit traditus curiae saeculari tamquam incorrigibilis, et alius ultra multas opiniones haereticas fassus fuerat quod in civitate Ferrariensi fecit se circumcidi more iudaeorum, ut haberet in uxorem quandam Sarram iudaeam, licet in Hispania aliam teneret uxorem. Septem testes falsi fuerunt condemnati ad fustigationem et ad triremes, diversimode quoad tempus, et ad reficiendas expensas calumniatis: et fuit late sententia contra quendam fratrem ordinis minorum Conventualium absentem et eius figmentum tentum super sugesto cum cappa sui ordinis, cum descriptione nominis. Et inquisitores erant rev^{mi} Tranensis, Pisarum, Paceccus et Gambara. Alii viginti cardinales fuere: ego casu interfui et Deus voluit, nam erat magnum impicciatorium bancorum et nil erat ad propositum aptatum.

[1566] Illa die [25 iunii] vidi septem falsos testes, per deputatos inquisitionis (ut dixi supra) condemnatos, qui fustigabantur per Urbem, et ducti fuerunt ad Capitolium

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 292 n. 3, 301 n. 1, 302 n. 1, 305 n. 1.

cum quatuor haereticis sequentibus eos cum crucibus rubeis in parvo zagulo ; qui omnes deinde missi fuerunt ad triremes.

[1566] Die iovis quarta dicti mensis [iulii] quidam don Pompeius de Monte fuit decapitatus, deinde conbustus in Ponte, quoniam fuerat haereticus et pluries relapsus. Homo erat aetatis 50 annorum incirca, magnus et pulcherrimi aspectus. Ivit ad mortem satis contritus et ego vidi.

[1566] Die sabati 6ª eiusdem mensis [iulii] fuerunt suspensi quatuor in Ponte, de quibus unus fuit combustus propter sodomiam.

[1567] Dicta die [lunae 24 februarii] hora 20ª, fuerunt ducti ad ecclesiam B^tae^ Mariae supra Minervam decem haeratici, qui eorum pravas opiniones abiurarunt et diversimode fuerunt condemnati. Fuit inter alios quidam dominus Basilius de Cremona canonicus regularis, qui de anno praeterito publice praedicaverat in ecclesia S^ti^ Ioannis Baptistae Florentinorum cum maximo populi concursu et alias etiam in diversis ecclesiis Urbis praedicaverat habitusque erat excellens in arte praedicandi. Iste illa die confessus fuit multas pravitates haereticas, et fuit condemnatus ad perpetuos carceres. Duo equites custodiae Suae S^t s^, quoniam dederant litteras et receperant a quibusdam in officio s^mae^ inquisitionis carceratis, fuerunt condemnati ad triremes, unus quia fuit confessus errorem suum, pro quinque annis alter, qui fuerat per testes convictus, ad vitam. Interfuere 25 cardinales cum eorum cappis violaceis, sed quoniam maxima venerat hominum multitudo ad videndum praedictum dominum Basilium, vix cardinales potuerunt sedere in locis suis ; et ego passus fui magnum laborem ut ipsos accommodarem.

[1567) Die dominica 22 dicti mensis [iunii] in ecclesia beatae Mariae supra Minervam fuerunt iuxta morem factae abiurationes per decem inquisitos propter enormissimum crimen haeresis, quorum unus fuit quidam Marius Paleottus baro Neapolitanus, quidam ex ipsis, quia alias abiuraverat ef fuerat relapsus, traditus fuerat curiae saeculari et die lunae sequenti suspensus in Ponte et eius corpus combustum, qui multa in furcis dixit de fide catholica. Fuit lectus processus eodem die cuiusdam Simonis absentis, cuius effigies delata fuit in suggesto. Interfuere 22 cardinales et populus infinitus. Plures fuerunt condemnati ad varias et diversas penas triremium et carcerationum et similium et bene merito.

[1567] Die dominica 21 septembris. Fuerunt ducti ad ecclesiam B^tae^ Mariae supra Minervam 17 haeretici, inter quos fuit quidam dominusi Petrus Carnesicca Florentinus, qui alias fuit secretarius intimus fe. re. Clementis septimi, prothonotarius apostolicus ex privilegio, et erat abbas habebatque de redditibus ecclesiae quatuor millia ducatos, ut dicebatur. Infelix iste pluries et per multos annos tenuerat infinitas haereticas opiniones maximi momenti, et pluries fuerat misericordiam consequutus et sententias habuerat absolutorias, et tamen quotidie peior effectus fuerat, et sic per rev^mos^ deputatos s^mi^ officii inquisitionis fuit sententiatum quod effectualiter degradaretur, et curiae saeculari eum tradiderunt tanquam relapsum et impenitentem; et cum primum fuit sibi impositum vestitellum cum flammis depictis et satellites duxerunt eum ad carceres rev^mi^ gubernatoris. Poterat praedictus dominus Petrus esse aetatis sexaginta annorum; pulcherrimus erat aspectu et magnum nobilitatis signum ostendebat.

Fuit etiam frater ordinis fratrum minorum conventualium S^ti^ Francisci, praedicator, pulcherrimi aspectus et senex, qui fuit similiter traditus curiae saeculari, et mandatum per rev^mos^ deputatos quod degradaretur. Fuerunt quatuor bononienses ex quibus duo fratres germani erant nobiles de familia de Luparis, et alter similiter nobilis de familia de Ludovicis, alius bononiensis de Fioravantibus non tamen nobilis, alius doctor legum dictus Philippus Caputdurus; quidam magister scholae Mutinensis et alius librarius Ferrariensis habitator in civitate Bononiae. Fuerunt tres Faventini, unus presbiter, alius diaconus et alter hortulanus; et quidam alii. In totum fuere 17 haeretica pravitate deturpati, qui, exceptis duobus primis supradictis, fuerunt diversimode variis penis condennati: aliqui enim quod murarentur in perpetuum, alii ad perpetuos carceres et alii ad triremes ad tempus.[1] Interfuere dictae abiurationi 23 cardinales, quorum seniores steterunt ante sugestum haereticorum versus columnam, ut melius possent videre ac intelligere, et sic iuniores steterunt versus altare maius; et idem fecerunt officiales et iudices in alio sugesto, nam steterunt digniores versus columnam prope pulpitum, in quo erat dominus Matthias cantor capellae, qui legebat processus. Gubernator Urbis non interfuit, sed bene auditor camerae, qui sedit supra senatorem Urbis iuxta

Exact list of the 17, with the penalties is in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri 41.

facultates sibi traditas in emptione sui offici per quas debet semper esse post gubernatorem.

[1567] Die mercurii prima octobris summo mane decapitati fuerunt dominus Petrus Carnesicca haereticus impenitens et quidam frater ordinis minorum conventualium S^{ti} Francisci relapsus, qui in ecclesia B^{tae} Mariae supra Minervam fuerant traditi curiae saeculari, et deinde fuerunt combusta eorum corpora. Isti die praeterita acceperant s^{mum} sacramentum eucharistiae. Praedictus dominus Petrus non fuisset decapitatus, si confiteri voluisset suos errores, nam regina Franciae, dux Florentiae et infiniti alii nobiles supplicabant pro vita ipsius ; sed quia (ut dixi), licet ivisset convictus, noluit unquam confiteri et ostendere signum penitentiae fuit punitus : et antequam absciderentur sibi caput, nihil dixit, et quia ferrum mannare non abscidit collum nisi usque ad medium, carnifex cum gladio abscidit reliquum. Frater autem fecit sermonem antea devotissime de fide Christi, dixit Credo et multa alia et postquam caput fuit abscissum, semper per dictum unius Paternoster aperuit os, prope quod frater capuccinus, dictus il Pistoia vulgariter, tenuit tabellam cum figura Christi : et crediterunt omnes optime de ipso.

[1568] Die dominica quarta dicti mensis [ianuarii] abiurationem fecerunt in ecclesia beatae Mariae supra Minervam 22 homines diversarum conditionum, qui in variis penis fuerunt condemnati. Interfuerunt 22 cardinales.

[1568] Dicta die [dominica 9^{a} maii] hora 18^{a} fuerunt ducti ad ecclesiam B^{tae} Mariae supra Minervam 25 haeretici, inter quos ivere novem de terra S^{ti} Genesii provintiae Marchiae Anconitanae. Quinque ex dictis 25 haereticis traditi fuerunt curiae saeculari, quorum duo erant impenitentes et tres relapsi ; alii omnes diversis penis condemnati fuerunt. Interfuere illa die 16 cardinales.

[1568] Die lunae 10 dicti mensis [maii] tres haeretici relapsi ut supra fuerunt suspensi in Ponte, deinde combusti, quorum unus senex LXX. annorum fecit sermonem christianissimum antequam se deiiceret a furca, et omnes audientes commovit. Duo autem impenitentes, negantes ultra alia auctoritatem pontificis, post infinitas exhortationes, absque cruce et cum mitris zagulis, in quibus erant depicti diaboli eorum domini et protectores, ducti fuere prope praedictos et vivi in falsis opinionibus persistentes combusti fuerunt.

[1568] Die ultima novembris, in festo S^{ti} Andreae hora 19^{a}

fuit incepta abiuratio haereticorum in ecclesia B^ae Mariae supra Minervam, pro qua S^mus D^mus N^r concesserat interessentibus septem annos indulgentiarum. Fuerunt haeretici impenitentes et relapsi tres, qui fuerunt dati curiae saeculari et consignati gubernatori Urbis praesenti; sexdecim penitentes fecerunt abiurationem; qui diversimode fuerunt condemnati et ut plurimum ad triremes vel in perpetuum vel ad tempus. Quorum unus, cum aduisset se esse condemnatum per decennium ad triremes, cepit alta voce flere et acclamare quod erat infirmus et nolebat ire ad triremes, sed potius mori vel comburi; et ideo rev^mi domini cardinales inquisitores, videlicet Pisarum, Pacechus, Gambara et Ab Ecclesia, mandarunt quod duceretur ad carceres ita ut neminem alloqui posset; et sic factum fuit. Fuerunt etiam quatuor regnicoli, qui deposuerant falsum contra quosdam inquisitos, qui similiter ad triremes ad tempus fuerunt condemnati.

[1568] Die lunae 6 decembris, in festo S^ti Nicolai fuerunt suspensi in Ponte tres haeretici relapsi; qui fuerunt traditi curiae saeculari, et supra dixi in abiuratione facta in festa S^ti Andreae, et fuerunt combusti. Ostenderunt (ut mihi relatum fuit) maximam contritionem.

(Copy, Papal Secret Archives, XII., 31.]

48. Pope Pius V. to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1568, April 21, Rome.

Dilecti fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Le nostre occupationi ordinarie et i giorni santi che sopravenero sono stati causa che non havemo potuto rispondere fin qui alla lettera di V. Ecc^a de V de questo, la quale ci ha veramente data consolation grande per l' aviso che conteneva dell' abiuration successa quietamente, ancorche per lettere di mons^r Borromeo et del r. Inquisitore l'havessimo inteso più distintamente. Di che ne ringratiamo il Sr Dio, et ne laudamo insieme il zelo et la prudenza di lei, la quale può esser sicura con questi mezzi d'indurre i popoli suoi a vivere come si conviene nel timore di S. D. M^tá, mossi necessariamente dall' esempio di V. Ecc^a, onde noi l'esortiamo a perseverare in questo suo fermo proposito per honore et gloria del S. Dio et per stabilimento insieme dello stato suo, si come havemo detto più a longo ancora a mons^re Capilupo al quale ci rimet-

[1] See *supra*, p. 324 n. 4.

tiamo, et per fine di questo le mandiamo la beneditione nostra ch'il S^re^ Dio gliela conceda sempre.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

49. Avviso di Roma of May 29, 1568.[1]

Cardinal Bonelli wishes "ridurre alla moderna" the Palace of the Knights of Malta in the Borgo. "Li preti del Jesù di Roma hanno cominciato a dar principio alla chiesa che vogliono fare, ma per quanto s'intende la faranno la maggior parte alle spese del card. Farnese etc."

An *Avviso di Roma of June 3, informs us, in completion of this, that Cardinal Farnese had placed several hundred bronze medals with the effigy of Pius V. in the foundations of the Gesù, to the "fabbrica" of which he gave annually 5000 scudi, up to the sum of 20,000.[2]

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna: Romana.]

50. Bernardino Pia to Camillo Luzzara.[3]

1568, July 10, Rome.

Prohibi ad ogni sorte di persone anco card^li^ il far portar o buttar mondicie in fiume, ma che si portino a luoghi deputati, et questo per proveder all' aria et al acqua del fiume che si beve. Impose una gabella di tre giulii al mese a tutti i cocchi di Roma et di ogni sorte di persone per poter soccorrere al matonare o selcaire la città con manco dispendio de possessori et padroni delle case che spendevano et spendono grossamente.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

51. Death of Cardinal Vinc. Vitelli (19 November, 1568).[4]

Dicta die [veneris 19^a^ novembris] Card. Vitelli died. Iste cardinalis potest dici vere quod omnia scivit et nihil ignoravit; nam fuit semper studiosissimus et perscrutator rerum antiquarum, et habebat infinitos libros manuscriptos, non solum in Urbe sed etiam in civitate Avinionensi et aliis multis in locis magno labore et expensis perquisitos et transcriptos; et inter alias suas virtutes voluit etiam scire cerimoniarum pro-

[1] See *supra*, p. 123 n. 3.
[2] See Ronchini in *Atti Mod.* II, 372 *seq.*, VII., 19 *seq.* Kraus-Sauer, III., 657, 667; Angeli in *Arte decorat.* XV., 3 *seq.* Milan, 1906; Mem. intorno a J. Barozzi, Vignola, 1908, 67, 155; Giovannoni in *Arte*, 1912 *seq.*
[3] See *supra*, p. 108 n. 5.
[4] See *supra*, p. 160 n. 3. For Card. Vitelli and his collection of codices, Ranke, Fursten und Völker, I. (1827), x. *seq.* and Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 201 n. 4.

fessionem et tantum in ea profecit quod magister merito dici poterat.[1]

[Diarium of C. Firmanus XII. 31, p. 265[b]. Papal Secret Archives.]

52. NICCOLÒ CUSANO TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN II.[2]

1568, December 18, Rome.

Pius V. is irritated with Card. d'Este on account of his quarrel with the people of Tivoli,[3] "ove ha fabricato un palazzo regio pieno d' infinite dilitie et di rarissime fontane che li costa più di cento milia ducati et certo io vedo non ne sia un altro in tutta la cristianità."[4]

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, Romana.]

53–57. AVVISI CONCERNING THE PURIFICATION OF MORALS IN ROME IN 1568.[5]

June 5: Beginning of the reform of the "camere locande" in Rome, so that they shall not be let to prostitutes. Urb. 1040, p. 524b, Vatican Library.[6]

August 21: On Wednesday a young man was burned on account of "brutezze": in consequence the order was given for the closure at night of many "porte false." The "donne pubbliche" are to be watched over like the Jews. "Si vererano altre riforme più strette e più rigorose." *Ibid.* 567.

September 4: "Questi di frustata una bellissima cortegiana," who was imprisoned: she tried to commit suicide. *Ibid.* 573.

September 25: Noble Roman ladies condemned to imprisonment for life for adultery. *Ibid.* 585.

October 20: "Ogni giorno si frusta qualche meretrice uscendo del seraglio et si fanno altre giustitie rigorose per ogni piccolo delitto et tutti vivono con timore." *Ibid.* 589.

[1] In the margin is the following remark: "Fuit legatus Campaniae: fecerat scribi in diversis professionibus libros 280 pulcherrimos, quos voluit Papa habere, eo mortuo, in sua guardaroba."

[2] See *supra*, p. 115 n.

[3] After his disagreement with the Pope, Card. d'Este withdrew to Tivoli; see WINNEFELD, Die Villa Hadrians bei Tivoli, Berlin, 1895, 5.

[4] See *report of B. Pia, from Rome, 10 June, 1570 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] See *supra*, p. 92 n. 1.

[6] Also in the Carte Farnes. of the State Archives, Naples.

58. Niccolò Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

Rome, 26 March, 1569.

"Dicono che il Papa è entrato in humor di far rovinar il theatro che fece Pio quarto in Belveder, cosa rara et bellissima come cosa ch'habbi della gintilitia et che non sic onvenghi nel luogo, ove residero i pontefici et vicarii di N. Sr Jesu Christo." Cardinal Ricci is concerning himself greatly on behalf of the building, but neither his proposal to erect a winter garden there, nor his warning that its removal would shake the foundations of the palace, can divert the Pope from his purpose; he only gets more excited. It is feared that he will begin this very day. "Intendo ha in oltre gran' caprizzo, di far guastar l'Anfiteatro, chiamato volgarmente il Colisseo et alcuni archi trionfali, che sono le più belle et rare antichità di Roma sotto pretesto che sono cose gintili et per levarne a fatto la memoria et l'occasione siano viste da quelli che vengono a Roma più per vedere le dette cose che per visitar limina Petri et andar alle sette chiese et a vedere le reliquie de' martiri et santi di Dio, il che si legge fu già fatto da papa Gregorio XI., il quale diede principio a far rovinar il detto Colisseo et ancora fece romper di molte statove di marmo et ne fece far salcina per murrar et riparar le chiese rovinate di questa città."

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna.]

59. Avviso di Roma of 2 April, 1569.[2]

Si ragiona chel Papa voglia guastar il theatro di Belvedere come cosa di gentilità et fatto a posta per farvi spettacoli publici cosa poco conveniente a pontefici, et anco che vuol ridure tutte le altre antiquità in servitio di religione et culto divino, acciò quelli verrano a Roma, habbino d'andare a veder le 7 chiese e non l'antiquità profana.

[Orig. Urb. 1041, p. 51. Biblioteca Vaticana.]

60–65. Avvisi concerning the Purification of Morals in Rome in 1569.[3]

April 30: To-day a prostitute was whipped because she conducted a gambling hell. Urb. 1041, p. 74, Vatican Library.

June 14: Great excitement was caused, and it is not to be put into force by the "bando," that all married women who had been prostitutes were to leave Rome within two months. *Ibid.* 90.

[1] See *supra*, p. 113 n. 3. Similar report in Avviso of 2 April, 1569.
[2] See *supra*, p. 113 n. 3. [3] See *supra*, p. 92 nn. 1, 2.

August 13: "Non si lascia di proveder contra le donne maritate che fanno cativa vita et ultimamente ne sono state carcerate sette." *Ibid.* 131.

August 17: A "cortegiana" died, who had been married, and left 4000 ducats to the Compagnia dei SS. Apostoli. *Ibid.* 133.

October 5: "Si levano due strade principali alle meretrici et si restringono in vicoli strettissimi, sopra che mons. Ormanetto col governatore et molti altri deputati sono stati in fatto a consegnarli il luogo chiamato delli otto cantoni." *Ibid.* 158b.

October 17: Commencement of the "fondamenti all' Hortacci" (on the Ripetta near the Mausoleum of Augustus) "per restringer le cortegiane." *Ibid.* 180.

For the progress of this work from October to November, see LANCIANI, IV. 21; *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 231b, Vatican Library.

66. FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER'S UNDER PIUS V.[1]

I. Avvisi di Roma on St. Peter's.

1568.

May 22: "Quella bella Madonna di marmo fatta di mano di Michel Angelo si messe in S. Pietro nella capella di Sisto."[2] Urb. 1040, p. 520. Vatican Library.

1570.

March 4: A bull that all ecclesiastical goods, "male alienati" are to come to the "fabbrica di S. Pietro. Urb. 1041, p. 239. Vatican Library.

August 16: On Sunday Cardinal Morone and the deputies of the fabbrica of St. Peter's were for two hours with the Pope for the adjustment of the ecclesiastical goods which were alienated by the Apostolic Commission which had been given full judicial powers in this matter against the bishops. The "fabbrica" obtained from the Pope many favours, including that of "componere super bonis alienatis et fructibus indebite perceptis." *Ibid.* 327.

September 27: The commissaries "super bonis male

[1] See *supra*, p. 122 n. 3.
[2] For this under Gregory XIII., see ORBAAN in *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIX., (1919), part 79.

alienatis" are so strict that many are complaining of them. The Pope has ordered a mitigation. *Ibid.* 343.

October 18: The bull concerning the "fabrica di S. Pietro" has greatly restricted the powers of the commissaries. *Ibid.* 357.

1571.

January 6: On Wednesday lightning struck the campanile of St. Peter's and did a great deal of damage. Urb. 1042, p. 2.

II. Discoveries during the building of St. Peter's.

Cf. as to these ARMELLINI, 281 and LANCIANI, IV., 7. As to the tiles of the church of St. Peter's bearing the arms and name of Pius V., see *Mél. d'archéol.*, VIII., 454.

67. CARDINAL SANTORI AND HIS AUDIENCES WITH PIUS V.[1]

There are few Cardinals of the XVIth century concerning whose lives we have such detailed information as of Giulio Antonio Santori, who was born at Caserta in 1532, and was for the most part known as the Cardinal of Santa Severina (also as Sanseverino) from his archiepiscopal see in Calabria.[2] Held in high esteem by all his contemporaries on account of his holy life, his zeal for the cause of the Church, and his widespread activities, Santori has nevertheless so far found no biographer. This eminent Prince of the Church, who was buried in the Lateran basilica, is in every way deserving of a special monograph: if his early life is of interest, this is still more the case with his cardinalate of 32 years (1570 to 1602), during which he took part in six conclaves, and on two occasions came near to attaining to the supreme dignity.

Santori, who was the friend and counsellor of seven Popes, has himself described in great detail a great part of his life. His autobiography is marked by its great detail and its love of the truth. He does not conceal the defects of his own period of crisis, and he describes with touching simplicity his permanent return to a genuinely Christian life. Some passages will remain indelibly fixed in the mind of every reader, e.g. his description of his first departure from Rome,[3] and the expression of his sentiments when he had to give up

[1] See *supra*, p. 107 n. 3.
[2] SICKEL (Berichte, I., 12) treats of Santori and Sanseverino as two distinct persons.
[3] Autobiografia, XII., 232 *seq.*

hopes of the tiara, to which he had been so near.[1] From some of the passages which RANKE (Päpste, I., 302; III., 86* *seqq.*) and GNOLI (Vittoria Accoramboni, 245) have quoted from the autobiography of Santori, it is possible to form an estimate of his importance. Very valuable therefore was the publication of the complete work by CUGNONI in the *Archivio della Societa Romana*, XII. and XIII., based upon two copies in the Corsini Library, Rome. In these the biography only goes as far as 1592. Whether the codex of the Albani Library which was used by RANKE contained more cannot be gathered from the data given by the Berlin historian, nor can the question now be decided, since the Albani Library perished in a storm, together with the vessel which was conveying it to Prussia. Another copy of the autobiography, to which my attention was called by my deceased friend, Prof. A. PIEPER, is to be found in the Altieri Library, Rome, Cod. 22–C–13. but this copy too ends with 1592. Fortunately we have at our disposal various other sources for the ten missing years; of some of these we shall treat in the next volume. Here we can only take into consideration those which belong to the time of Pius V. These are in the first place detailed and valuable notes on the consistories in which Santori took part. This "Diario consistoriale" of Santori was edited by TACCHI VENTURI in Studi e documenti XXIII.–XXV., and is characterized by so great accuracy that it is sufficient here to refer to the notes of that distinguished historian. It has escaped the notice of TACCHI VENTURI that there is also a copy of the "Acta Concistoriali descripta ab em. Santorio Sanseverino," given by Cardinal Siciliano di Rende, Archbishop of Benevento. Cf. CARINI, Atti Concistoriali dal 20 maggio 1570 al 18 dicembre, 1604, Rome, 1893. A passage which is there included on p. 9, on the consistory of March 17, 1572, is missing in TACCHI VENTURI.

In his autobiography (XIII., 153) Santori also mentions his "Libri delle mie private udienze." I have found this hitherto unknown source in the Papal Secret Archives, where it is to be seen in Arm. 52, t. 17 *seqq.* I give here the more important passages concerning the audiences of Santori with Pius V.

1566.

February 5: The Pope informed me that he had appointed

[1] See *ibid.* XIII., 202 *seqq.*

me to the Inquisition . . . Gli parlai di collocar il corpo di S. Giov. Chrisostomo in loco honorifico. Gli parlai anco di vescòvi non residenti, disse che ne desse nota. Gli parlai delle donne dishoneste travestite da homini et a cavallo, che non le comportasse nel suo ponteficato ne dandosi licentia di mascare, disse che l'ordinarà.

April 3 : Ho parlato a N.S. . . . dei capi della riforma dei regolari, quali l'hebbe S.S. . . .. capi della riforma del clero Romano. . . .

April 30 : Dei balli dell'hosterie di meretrici nelle feste : volse sapere i particolari.

May 5 : Del card. di Napoli e della giustificatione da farsi : che desse memoriale a S. S. nella S. Congr. giovedì.

May (no day) : De erroribus Graecorum : Addidit de secta alia mortuos viventes putantium nisi eorum cadavera decoxerint vel confosserint.

May (no day) : Degli maleficii di Roma e del stato ecc^co . . .

May (no day) : De gratiarum actione pro sepultura card. Neapolitani: Ingemuit.

May 27 (or 28) : Di schiavi battezzati di Napoli e lunga servitu per evitar i scandali : quod non possunt, cum baptismus non liberet a servitute.

August 14 (ante consist.) : Locuti sumus de visitatoribus . . ., de desiderio bene regendae ecclesiae aut ex hac vita discedendi . . ., de reformatione fratrum c nvent. ex fr. Ambrosio Salvio.

September 14 : Ho parlato a N. S. de predicando infidelibus et de eorum speciebus, de Chiis factis captivis, de episc. Naxiensi, etc.

September 30 : Instruttioni per il governo, ch'io le facci e dia per gli avisi del governo.

December 13 : Del monasterio di S. Pietro a Maiella di Nap. e della religione di Celestini : Che tutta la religione è corrotta, e che non si può, ma bisogna mandare a visitar tutta la religione per huomini versati.

December 28 : De panibus tactis in mensa Domini : quod ignorabat prohibitionem nec sibi videtur superstitio.

1567.

January 12 : Quoad sacerdotes pauperes exercentes rustica opera : illorum pauperati compatiendum esse, sed potius in ignorantiam omnia convertendum esse quam in hoc. Ego

dixi de iure illis licere rusticari . . . De tradendis curiae saeculari processibus vel revelandis: Minime; quod ego ex specul. affirmavi (appellando a Borromeo di Milano).

March 25: Sulla festa di S. Vincenzo. "Hic plura de S. Vincentii laudibus utrinque dictum est, et doctrina et sanctitate. Dixit quod pars estiva habet doctiores sermones, in quibus gravia exponit et multa explicat ex S. Thoma satis condite, sed quod in hyemali parte loquitur simplicius, attendens fructui spirituali et simplicitati."

1568.

March 28: Del successo dele cose di Napoli circa la Capece monica: iratus est in facinus et in vicarium illum.

May 20; Delle suppressioni di monasterii di Celestini del regno: quod non supprimentur, sed unientur ad reparationem religionis.

November 1: Qui disse del card. Carrafa parole molto efficaci.

1571.

December 4: Di molte cose, della guerra contra Turchi. Della vittoria[1] seguita, e prevista da molti servi di Dio: e S. S. anco disse dell'altre cose e dei putti d'Otranto, che gridavano vittoria quel dì, che passò la galea, che partava la nova, sul monte, per lettere d'un Cappucino.

December 10: Della riforma del vicario del Papa e del dubbio che io sentivo contra la cognitione della giurisditione contra laici nelle cause profane: S. S. venne nel medemo parere, sebene causava confusione o maggior occupatione nelle cose secolari.

1572.

January 27: Dei schiavi christiani e di quei Turchi, che se vogliono battezzare: disse che facessero instruire etc. e parlò di quello, che diceva: felice cattività, per la quale io mi salvo l'anima, e che la cosa di Mammetto sempre l'haveva tenuta per una pazzaria.

February 5: S. S. mostrò una moneta d'oro di Giustiniano imperatore, che era di thesori che si trovavano, ch'egli ne vorrebbe, che si trovasse tanto, che per 10 anni potesse per mare e per terra fare essercito contra il Turco. . . . Dar a

[1] See Vol. XVIII. of this work.

S. S. quelli avvertimenti per togliere i disordini e vitii dalle galee dell'Armata christiana : Se diede e li lesse quasi tutti, ma per la carestia del tempo dissi più volte, che S. S. i leggesse e considerasse poi maturamente.

[Orig. Arm. 50 t. 17 (Audienziae annorum 1566 1579) Papal Secret Archives.]

68. The Briefs of Pius V. and the Archives of Briefs.

The briefs of Pius V. in the Papal Secret Archives (Arm 39, t. 64 and 65, Arm. 42, t. 25–27 ; Arm. 44, t. 12–20, 26, 31 ; Arm. 45, t. 41, and in a special Armarium the Epistolae or Brevia ad principes) are substantially completed by the collection in the Archives of Briefs. The latter, however, was for a long time almost inaccessible, and that as a result of the fate that befel them. During the time of the Papal dominion they were in the Palazzo della Consulta. After the end of the temporal power in 1870 they were placed for safety at the Anima. They were then taken to the Palazzo Altemps because the Secretariate of Briefs had its private chancery there ; later on they were transferred to the ground floor of the magnificent Palazzo della Cancelleria, where I was able to avail myself of them during a long period of time. When, as a result of the constitution *Sapienti consilio*, of June 29, 1908, the Secretariate of Secret Briefs became part of the Secretariate of State, Pius X. ordered the incorporation of the archives at the Cancelleria into the Papal Secret Archives. The acta were transferred during the summer of 1908, finding their final home in the premises near the Specola of Gregory XIII., which had at one time served as the pontifical armoury. Very opportunely, the Consistorial Archives, which had hitherto been housed in altogether inadequate premises on the ground floor of the Cortile di S. Damaso[1] were also placed close to them in a room near the Cortile di Belvedere. It was only when they were united to the Papal Secret Archives that these two archives became conveniently accessible to historical research. Thus, as he had done in other ways in carrying on the traditions of Leo XIII. in promoting archival research, Pius X. conferred a lasting benefit upon historical science.

[1] See Vol. II. of this work, p. 203.

With the exception of certain fragments belonging to an earlier time, the archives of the Secretariate of Secret Briefs contain nothing but acta from the time of Pius V. down to that of Pius IX., 1566–1846. They are divided into six series, comprising about 7,000 volumes. The first and principal series contains, together with the secret briefs, consistorial documents and marriage dispensations, amounting in all to 5,074 volumes. The other series contain briefs concerning indulgences, honours granted to corporations, to ecclesiastics and laymen, dispensations from canonical prescriptions, grants of privileged altars, etc.[1] A catalogue has been begun,[2] but it has not yet been completed. Many will be glad to have a short account of the first series in so far as it relates to Pius V. For this purpose I have made use of the notes of Prof. Dr. HANS HIRSCH, who, as a member of the Austrian Historical Institute in 1903, made a detailed study of the collection, principally for the purpose of his edition of the Nuntiaturberichte. The codices have a twofold signature; one is written upon the volumes in ink, and is given below in Column I., and alongside it a second numeration in pencil, which is later than the first since it gives the same numeration to the volumes of minutes and to the copies, adding in the latter case an "a." This second enumeration is given below in Column II. Finally, the codices which are bound in red leather have a title in gold lettering, and on the back of the volumes in white vellum a sign is written in ink. The note "fait" which is borne by many of the volumes, means that those volumes were taken to Paris in the time of Napoleon. The volumes are not all of the same character; with some of the volumes of minutes there are also volumes of later copies, as well as volumes of registers of briefs, similar to the collection of the Papal Secret Archives. If WIRZ (Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch. XXI., xxvii.) only found two volumes to his purpose in the Archives of Briefs, this must not lead us to the conclusion that those archives are wanting in importance; on the contrary, they contain much valuable material, especially as regards the internal affars of the Church.[3]

[1] See *Corriere d' Italia*, 27 August, 1908.
[2] See MERGENTHEIM, Die quinquennalfakultäten pro foro externo, I., 88, Stuttgart, 1908.
[3] See Catalogue of the available Archives.

I.	II.	
1.	1.	"1554 [sic] Bullarium. Pius V.," bound in red leather.
2.	2.	"1561/67 Pii IV. et V. cedol.," bound in red leather.
3.	3.	"1566 Pii V. Brevia lib. I.," bound in red leather, "fait."
4.	4.	"Pius V. Originalia usque ad Junium 1567," parchment binding.
5.	4a.	"1567 Pius V. lib. I.," bound in red leather.
6.	5.	"Pius V. 1567 Originalia usque ad decemb. 1567," parchment binding.
7.	5a.	"1567 Pius V. lib. II.," bound in red leather, "fait."
8.	6.	"1567 Pius V. lib. III.," bound in red leather; "fait."
9.	7.	"1568 Pius V. lib. I."
10.	8.	"1568 Pius V. Brevia lib. II.," bound in red leather; "fait." (Original minutes from January to June, 1568.)
11.	9.	"1568 Pius V. lib. III.," bound in red leather; "fait." (Original minutes from July to December 1568.)
12.	10.	"1569 Pius V," bound in red leather. (Original minutes for the whole year 1569.)
13.	11.	"1570 Pius V. lib. I.," bound in red leather. (Copies.)
14.	12.	"Pius V. 1570 Originalia," parchment binding. (Original minutes for the year 1570.)
15.	12a.	"1570 Pius V. lib. II.," bound in red leather. (Copy of the above.)
16.	13.	"Pius V. 1571," parchment binding.
17.	13a.	"1571 Pius V. lib. I." (I. to III. corrected), bound in red leather.
18.	14.	"Pius V. 1566–1572 Originalia diversorum lib. I.," parchment binding.
19.	15.	"1577 [Corr. in 1567] Pius V.," bound in red leather; "fait." (Original minutes for the years 1567 and 1568 to September.)
20.	16.	"1571 Pius V. lib. II.," bound in red leather. (Copies, 1571 and 1572 to March.)
22.	18.	"Pius V. 1569" (1569 erased and then marked in pencil: 1566–72), parchment bound. (Copies, Matrimonial Briefs for the years 1568–1569, other fragments for 1569–1572.)
23.	18a.	"1566 Pius V., lib. II." (lib. II. erased), bound in red leather; "fait." (Copy of above.)

24. 19. "1566, 1567. Matrimonialia Pius V.," bound in red leather. (Concept.)
25. 20. "Pius V. Matrimonialia lib. II.," parchment binding. (Concept.)
26. 20a. "1568 lib II. Pius V. Matrimonialia," bound in red leather. (Copy of above.)
26. 17. "1571 Pius V. lib. I.," (I. with ink erased, and in III. altered), bound in red leather. (Original concept of September, 1571, to March 1572.)

The original minutes of the briefs of Pius V. are also in the collection of the Papal Secret Archives.[1] Two volumes of the original minutes have been taken away from Rome; one is to be found in the British Museum, London, the other in a private Italian library. Since these codices have hitherto been entirely overlooked, it will not be out of place to give a short account of them here.

(1). British Museum, London. Additional 26,865[2] (Presented by G. J. Payne, Esq., 29 July, 1865), 597 sheets, original minutes of the briefs of Pius V. from January 8, 1566 to January 30, 1567, commencing with the brief of Pius V. to the Emperor Maximilian II., printed by Schwarz 1 *seq.* from the original in Vienna. As is often the case, the date here is different: the original has January 9, the minute January 8.

p. 51: Minute of the brief for "Io. Bapt. archiepisc. Rossanen. [Castagna], nostro et apost, sedis nuncio in Hispaniarum regnis: te nostrum et apost, sedi nuntium in Hispaniarum regnis confirmamus et si opus sit de integro constituimus et deputamus eodem modo, quo istuc a proedecessore nostro . . . missus fuisti. 24 January, 1566."

p. 65: Minute of the confirmation of "Iulius Rogerius, apost. sedis notarius," sent by Pius IV. as nuncio to Poland. 2 March, 1566.

p. 118: Minute of the brief for "Iulius archiepisc. Surrentinus: Cum te nuper ad chariss. in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum Roman. Imperatorem electum nostrum et apost. sedis nuncium certis facultatibus concessis et cum potestate legati de latere deputaverimus, cumque gravissimis postea animum nostrum moventibus te prius in Burgundiam, Flandriam et Brabantiam mittendum duxerimus," he sends him thither "eadem potestate." 21 March, 1566.

[1] SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel Maximilians II. mit Papst Pius V., S. vii. *seq.*
[2] In Addit. 27870, "Epilogus brevium beati Pii V."

p. 141 : Minute of the brief to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1] "Venerabilem fratrem Iulium archiepiscopum Surrentinum istuc misimus, ut cum peractis comitiis Augustanis dilectus filius noster cardinal s Commendonus, sedis apost. de latere legatus istuc discesserit maneat ipse apud Maiestatem Tuam et nostri atque eiusdem sedis nuncii munere fungatur." 1 March, 1566.

p. 173 : Minutes of the brief to Charles IX. of France : "Cum ad te mittere statuissemus praelatum nostri et sedis apostolicae nuncii apud Maiestatem Tuam officio functurum, qui et nobis putatissimus esset et tibi futurus esset merito acceptus, delegimus ad hoc munus venerabilem fratrem Michaelem episcopum Cenatensem. Etenim cum eodem officio apud clarae memoriae Henricum patrem tuum ita functum fuisse sciamus etc." 25 March, 1566. (There follows many credential briefs for the nuncio.)

On p. 469 is to be found the original minute of the brief to Castagna, on July 30, 1566, which was drawn up secretly and mentioned in Vol. XVIII. of this work, Chap. I., concerning Carranza with the following autograph postscript "Pius p.p. V. ita mandavit expediri. Ant. Florebellus Lavellinus."

On p. 496 : to the Archduke Ernest : minute of the credentials brief for "Alexander Casalis, cubiculi nostri magist.," of September 12, 1566.

On p. 506 : to Philip II. : minute of the credentials brief for Camaiani who was to treat of matters which had already for some time past been treated of by means of letters and the ordinary nuncio. September 27, 1566.

(2). The "Catalogue des livres, manuscrits, etc., composant la Bibliothèque de Horace de Landau, I., Florence, 1895, has a list of the autograph letters of Pius V. This library is now in the possession of Madame Finaly at the Villa alla Pietra near Florence. At the request of His Excellency Prince Franz von Liechtenstein and the librarian Ulrich Schmid in 1909, the use of the codex in question was, as a great exception, made over into the hands of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome. The codex in question bears the mark 1176–1401, and on the back in leather bears the title "Schediasmata autographa epistolarum divi Pii V." A subsequent preliminary notice (p. 46) informs us of the origin of the codex as follows : "Il volume originale sudetto fu casualmente trovato

[1] Erroneously in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel.

dal Dr. Lodovico Coltellini infrascripto la sera del dì 7 novembre 1771 in una bottega di un droghiere in Cortona, dal qual droghiere era stato comprato per cartaccia a peso e si era già cominciato a stracciarlo per involtarvi il pepe e lo zucchero." The volume of 225 pages is a miscellany put together later on, containing almost entirely rough copies, minutes for briefs of Pius V. in the hand of Ant. Florebellus Lavellinus, from March, 1566, to September, 1568; only from p. 24–36b, 85–94, and here and there haphazard, are the sheets registers of briefs; at the end (p. 248 *seqq.*) there are various matters of another kind.

The Landau codex contains no brief which is to be found in the series of the true and proper archives of briefs, and that because it, as well as that in the British Museum, formed part of the aforesaid archives. A careful examination made by Prof. Pogatscher, to whom I here take the opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the help he has given me, showed that only a part of the minutes contained in this volume found their way into the registers of briefs in the Papal Secret Archives. It was upon these latter registers of briefs that the secretary of the Spanish Embassy, Fr. Goubau, drew up his well known collection of the Epistolae Pii V. in 1640. As is the case with the other volumes of minutes, so a comparison of the passages printed in Goubau with the minutes in the Landau Codex reveals a number of variations, which are of interest as showing the orgin of each document. Very often these corrections are only a question of style, but sometimes are worthy of attention by reason of their matter.

For example, in the brief to the Bavarian Chancellor, Simon Thaddeus Eck, of Feb. 14, 1567, printed in Goubau 24–26, after "segregare" in the Codex Landau, p. 133, we read the following words: "Vere ostendis to esse fratrem Ioannis illius Echi qui nascenti haeresum pesti tanta pietate sese primus opposuit et catholicam veritatem tam acriter constanterque defendit."

In the brief to the Emperor Maximilian II. of May 15, 1568, in Goubau 81–83, after the words "ab eo talia tentari," in the Codex Landau p. 208, we read: "Qui enim talia agunt et spretis censuris ecclesiasticis ecclesiarum bonis manus admovere non dubitant, ii nimis famae suae prodigi sunt et salutis.[1] Si tamen in bonis eius ecclesiae temporalibus ius

[1] Originally: "ii nimis officii et salutis suae immemores sunt."

se aliquod habere existimat, polliciti fuimus aliquem idoneum iudicem ipsi dare, qui eam rem cognoscat et servata aequitate iudicet aut per compositionem transigat. Quod si eum iudicem a M^te^ tua dari maluerit, eo quoque contenti erimus, sicut ei scripsimus. Quocirca M^tem^ tuam, etc." Whereas in the brief to Eck the addition is not cancelled, here the whole of the phrase down to "ei scripsimus" is cancelled, and instead there is placed in the margin that which is printed in GOUBAU. Further, after "Quocirca Maiestatem tuam" there followed: "cuius officium est ut ecclesias et ecclesiarum iura tueatur, defendat et protegat" which was afterwards cancelled. That the text in GOUBAU is not always correct is shown by another variation: on p. 82, l. 6 from the top, instead of "iure peti" should be read "vi peti" thus runs not only the minute in the Codex Landau, but also the volume of the register of briefs in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 13.

The words after "debet" in GOUBAU 82, l. 5-7 from the bottom, in the Codex Landau read: "ne bona temporalia illius ecclesiae contra ius et de facto, ut dicitur, occupentur."

Of general interest is an addition in the brief to the Bishop of Passau, of May 26, 1568, concerning the prohibition of communion under both kinds (GOUBAU 83–85; *cf. supra* p. 205, n 5). Here too it would seem that GOUBAU has not followed exactly the volumes of registers of briefs, since in Arm. 44, t. 13, as well as in the Codex Landau, p. 210 *seq.*, in this place after "habendos" (GOUBAU 84, 1.1 from the bottom), there is a long passage, which has not been cancelled, and which runs as follows: "Sed ne praedecessoris quidem nostri concessione quisquam moveri debet. Primum enim is tanta in re minus quam decuit et oportuit diligentem et maturam deliberationem habuit. Non enim ad sacrum collegium cardinalium, ut debuit et ut mos est, de tanta re rettulit, quod si fecisset et nos qui tum de eorum numero eramus et multo maior ac sanior ut presumitur . . . [illegible word] cardinalium pars nihil temere[1] innovandum esscensuissemus. Consuluit ille duos aut tres solum de tanto collegio et eos potissimum quos sibi facile assensuros esse putavit. Ea tamen in re Spiritus Sancti gratia illi manifesto affuit, quod ab iis, qui communicare sub utraque specie

[1] In the register-volume of Briefs in the Papal Secret Archives is the anomalous reading: "et nos et maior cardinalium pars nihil temere."

cuperent, talem fidei confessionem exegit, quam si vere et ex animo facturi essent, fortasse ne nos quidem tantopere eam concessionem improbaremum. Quamobrem, etc."

69. The Biographers of Pius V.

The earliest "Vita di Pio V.," preserved in Varia polit. XVII. of the Papal Secret Archives, and composed immediately after the death of the Pope by Tommaso Porcacchi, remained for a very long time unpublished, and it was only in 1914 that Van Ortroy published it in *Anal. Bolland.* XXXIII., 207-217. This life is a very reliable work; it also provides fresh particulars, and has only the one defect of being too short.

The first full biography of Pius V. which was printed was that published in Rome in the summer of 1586[1] by Girolamo Catena.[2] Catena, who came from Norcia, had known Pius V. personally. He had been in the first place in the household of Cardinal Dolera who died at the beginning of 1568, then from 1568 to 1571 he was secretary to Cardinal Girolamo da Correggio,[3] and later on held the same post with Cardinal Bonelli.[4] Catena enjoyed a great reputation in the Curia; Sixtus V. was especially well disposed towards him, and called him his "Consulta." It was to this Pope who had a great admiration for Pius V., that Catena dedicated his work.[5] Sixtus V. acknowledged the tribute, ordered that it should be

[1] See the *report of the Venetian ambassador of June 7, 1586 State Archives, Venice.

[2] Reprinted in Rome, 1587, 1647, and 1712 (*cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIII., 291). According to an *Avviso di Roma, of August 5, 1584, the life by Catena was already prepared at that time, and was to be printed in a Spanish translation. Urb. 1052, p. 339b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Bigi, Vita del card. G. da Correggio, Milan, 1864.

[4] The *Lettere di G. Catena, scritte in nome del card. di Correggio 1568–1569 in the Cod. Barb., LXII., 57; Item 1569–1571, *ibid.*, LXII., 25; Item scritte in nome del card. Alessandrino 1571–1572, *ibid.* LXII., 26, e scritte in nome del card. Alessandrino 1575–1577, *ibid.*, LXII., 56. From his printed correspondence it appears that at the end of 1572 Catena became secretary to Bonelli: Delle lettere di G. Catena, Primo volume, Roma, 1589, 312. The second volume of this collection does not follow. In 1577 there appeared at Pavia H. Catenae Academici Affidati Latina Monumenta, containing letters and minor writings. The *Genealogia della famiglia Bonelli Ghisliera by Catena is in Cod. Barber., LXII., 27, Vatican Library. Catena also wrote: Della beretta rossa da darsi a cardinali, Discorso, Roma, 1592, and De magno obelisco Circensi circoque maximo. Epist. et Carmen, Romae, 1587. Still unpublished is the *Risposta alle ragioni allegate da gli aversarii contra la potestà et diretto dominio temporale universale del Papa a favore dell'Imperatore et altri principi temporali, fatta dal Signor G. Catena, in Cod. D. 29, p. 287–369, of the Library at Carlsruhe. Catena also tried his hand at poetry, though not very successfully; see Ciaconius, III., 1000, 1002; *cf.* Carmina illustr. poet., III., 316 *seq.*

[5] See the dedication by Catena prefixed to the life. For the decision of the municipal authorities in Rome concerning the printing of Catena's life of Pius V. see Rodocanachi, Capitole, 122.

printed,[1] and later on rewarded Catena with a gift of 100 scudi.[2]

Catena began to collect his materials immediately after the death of Pius V. In his dedication to Sixtus V., he himself says as to this: "Tutto quello, che in questa carte scrivo, parte ho preso da gli originali delle lettere, da Nuncii, et da Principi stessi scritte, et dalle instruttioni, et scritture del medesimo papa, le quali son venute in poter mio, parte dalla relatione in iscritto di coloro che trattato hanno in negocii, altre ho vedute io stesso, et intese dalla bocca del Pontefice." It can be established from many passages in his work that Catena made good use of his material. His statements are almost always reliable, and it is only in the dates that some inaccuracies are to be found.[3] On the other hand real penetration is wanting, as well as the working out of the materials which he had collected, and a clear arrangement. Catena s biography is rather a collection of facts, which, however, is of considerable value to-day on account of its full character. This explains why it has served as the basis for all the later biographies of the Pope.[4]

The necessary critical sense, however, has not been used in making use of it, and this is all the more obvious when compared with the work of Catena himself, since in the circumstances under which he wrote, it was almost inevitable that he should have fallen into the error of over-estimating the achievements of his hero. In this respect he has sinned less by making statements directly false, than by his tendency to exaggerate the successes of Pius V. and to keep silent about his failures. If we read the account which Catena gives of the relations between the Pope and Spain, France and Germany, we must come to the conclusion that with regard to those countries Pius V. *completely* carried out his plans and

[1] CATENA states this expressly in his Lettere 60.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of July 16, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 287, Vatican Library.

[3] The letter to the Archbishop of Seville (Catena, 21), corresponds with the original in Cod. Barber., 3618. Of the "Informatione" on Pius V. good use is made on p. 28 (*cf.* p. 34), on p. 58 *seq.* of the instructions for Torre, on p. 77 *seq.* of those for Commendone on p. 93 *seq.* of the "Provedimenti" for the West Indies, etc. The letter of Philip II. about Don Carlos is well translated on p. 84 *seq.*, and only the date is changed from 20 to 22. In the appendix of letters on p. 225, March 5 is substituted for 8 (according to GOUBAU, 302 *seq.*). *Cf.* also MENDHAM, 46, n.

[4] RANKE (Papste, I.) as well relies principally on Catena, but he also makes use of at least some manuscript sources. The figure of Pius V. as represented so brilliantly in the Venetian reports interested him very much: "I have reports of him which describe him to the life. A pious man: simple as a child, yet the most rigid inquisitor and persecutor of the Protestants." E. GUGLIA, L. v. Ranke, Leipzig, 1893, 62.

met with nothing but success. To some extent Catena is not responsible for these defects, because, immediately after the appearance of his "Vita di Pio V." Philip II. managed to get the author to change, in a new edition, some of those passages which seemed to him harmful to himself and other princes. Thus we can hardly be surprised if, in dealing with the relations between Philip II. and Pius V., it is not made sufficiently clear (p. 85 *seq.*) that the Spanish king adhered inflexibly to his cesaropapalism.[1] In the same way the relations of the Pope with Venice are dealt with too favourably (p. 112 *seq.*). The success of Commendone with the Emperor Maximilian in 1568 is set forth as a reality (p. 99) while nothing whatever is said of the deceit which the Emperor practised at the expense of the Holy See in this matter. Nor is the conferring of the title of Grand Duke upon Cosimo I. well treated of (p. 119). Very characteristic of the way in which Catena exaggerated the good in Pius V. is his statement that in order to promote the cloth industry the Pope expended 100,000 scudi, whereas in reality it was only 10,000.[2]

As to the directly false statements into which Catena, in his wish to exalt the fame of his hero, allowed himself to be drawn,[3] the most surprising are those concerning France. After speaking of the very proper deposition of the heretical French bishops, Catena says: "Pio fece publicare in Francia la detta sentenza si che i vescovi furono levati et posti in lor vece i cattolici" (p. 60), which is in direct contradiction of the truth. And Catena says nothing of the protection which Châtillon, who had been deposed from the cardinalitial dignity, received from the French government. With regard to the breaking of the concordat he maintains (p. 61) that on account of the remonstrances of Pius V. the French sovereigns withdrew from their position.

TÜRKE (p. 27 *seq.*) has also shown how incredible is the

[1] Catena may also be excused by the difficulties with which historians at that time had to contend, and which affected these very matters: indeed, his life of Pius V. was absolutely prohibited in the Spanish dominions. With FUMI, L'Inquisizione, 271, *cf.* the *Report of M. Brumani from Rome, September 10, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and HUBNER, Sixte-Quint, Paris, 1870, II., 30. See also CATENA, Lettere, 19 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, and *Bibliofilo*, X. (1889), 2 *seq.*

[2] See *supra*, p. 108. Catena (p. 71) adds another 600 men to the auxiliary Papal troops sent to France in 1569.

[3] Such as the statement that during the mortal illness of the Pope in Rome "il tutto passato con ordine et quiete" (p. 112) from which the conclusion is drawn that this was a proof of the "ottimo governo" of Pius V. That, on the contrary, the traditional disturbances were not altogether wanting is expressly stated in the Vita di Pio V. in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 202.

account given by Catena (p. 171) of the promises which Charles IX. made in 1571 to Cardinal Bonelli, informing the Pope that he was arranging the marriage of his sister with Navarre with the sole purpose of being able the more easily to destroy the leaders of the Huguenots, and further making the advice of the Pope responsible for this plan.

In a much more cautious and reserved way are these matters dealt with by the second biographer of Pius V., GIOV. ANTONIO GABUZIO, rector of the Barnabite College in Rome, in his work, "De vita et rebus gestis Pii V.," which was first published in Rome in 1605, and dedicated to Paul V. Here there is no mention at all of the statements of Catena concerning the assurance given by Charles IX. that the marriage of his sister to Navarre had the sole purpose of giving the Huguenots in Paris a sense of security, and that he decided on taking action against the "traitors" principally from love of the Pope. On the other hand, Gabuzio expressly states that the king had declared that he could no longer conceal his intentions, and that Bonelli had gone away without having obtained anything.

If Gabuzio is in this matter the more reliable informant, this is explained by the fact that he was helped by Cardinal Bonelli in the composition of his work much more than Catena. As Gabuzio relates in the dedication of his work to Paul V., it was that Cardinal who persuaded him to compose it, and furnished him with the materials. The difference here mentioned is all the more important in that in other matters Gabuzio follows Catena closely, and further, as TÜRKE rightly points out (p. 29), shows a tendency to embellish and exaggerate his accounts. It is only in details that Gabuzio gives any new information; it is not easy to distinguish them because Gabuzio treads so closely in the footsteps of Catena,[1] whom, strangely enough, he does not name, that his text in many places reads like a translation.[2]

If Gabuzio met with a much wider success than Catena, so much so that THEINER (Annal. eccles., 1572, n. 12) wrongly

[1] Thus for example concerning the success of the action taken by Pius V. against the French heretical bishops, he says: "Eam damnationem in Galliam promulgandam iisque de sede deiectis alios catholicos subrogandos Pius curavit." (II. c. 3).

[2] In the preface he merely says that his work was "cum ex aliis multis ac probatis auctoribus, tum ex variis ac certis, quae idem cardinalis [M. Bonelli] ceterique multi locupletes et oculati testes mihi suppeditarunt, monumentis ac testimoniis bona fide collectum." The severe blame of MENDHAM (p. x.–xi.), for his not having made mention of Catena, is fully deserved.

speaks of him as the principal writer on Pius V. and recently PREMOLI (Barnabiti, I., 332) describes his life as the best, this is due to his better and more skilful arrangement of his matter and to his good latinity. It added a great deal to the popularity of Gabuzio's biography that the Bollandists included only his account in the Acta Sanctorum, since it was suited to that purpose as having more definitely the character of a saint's life than that of Catena.[1]

All the later biographies of Pius V. have tended in that direction. Without any pretence to absolute completeness, we here given in chronological order the best known of these works:

1. ARCHANGELUS CARACCIA DE RIPALTA O. Pr., Brevis enarratio gestorum S. P. Pii P. V ex processibus et probatis authoribus digesta, Romae 1629. Substantially this is only a reproduction of the "Epistolæ" mentioned on p. 62, n. 1, from the edition of Cologne, 1567. Equally insignificant is the Vita Pii V. by CARACCIA publ. in 1615.

2. L. JACOBILLI, Vite del SS. Pio V. etc., Todi, 1661.

3. P. FATICA, Vita del glor. P. Pio V, Reggio, 1664.

4. AGAZIO DI SOMMA.[2] Vita del S. P. S. Pio V, dedicated to Pope Alexander VII. Original in the Chigi Library, Rome, I–III–69; many copies, e.g. Rome, nell' Archivio Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. Arm. XI, 60; Barberini Library, 3 copies in Cod. LIV, 23, 24 e 37; Corsini Library, Cod. 39-C-8; National Library, Paris, 5571. A second copy at Paris cited by MARSAND, II., 179, who greatly over estimates its worth, does not substantially contain anything new. The original Italian was not printed, it is found in a French version in the work of FÉLIBIEN, Vie de Pie V. par A. DI SOMMA, Paris, 1672; *cf.* ECHARD, Script. O. II., 220.

5. A. BZOVIUS, Pius V. Romanus Pontifex sive annalium eccles. tomus ultimus 1566-1572, Romae, 1672.

6. AMBROS. RAMDING, Beatus Pius V P. M. delineatus, Aug. Vindel., 1672.

7. A. M. MONTI, Ristretto d. vita e miracoli del b. Pio V, Bologna, 1672.

[1] Even before Gabutius a work was issued, which he has quoted in one place, by A. FUENMAYOR, Vida y hechos de Pio V., Madrid, 1595, which, however, is almost entirely based upon Catena; see MENDHAM, viii.; *cf.* 93.

[2] There also exists by the same author a "discorso della prefettura di Roma, in Cod. X. V. 30, p. 247 *seq.* of the Casanatense Library, Rome, and in the Barberini Library, LVI., 108. For Agazio di Somma *cf.* also BELLONI, Seicento, 89, 149.

8. *Kurtzer Entwurff und Inhalt dess wunderthätigen Lebens Pii dess V.*, Würtzburg, 1673. The first biography in German ; *see* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V. 108, n. 7.

9. P. A. MAFFEI, Vita di S. Pio V S. P., Roma, 1712.[1]

10. SAMAYO, Compendio de vida del glor. P. S. Pio V, Roma, 1728.

11. J. LADERCHI, Annales, ecclesiastici, 3 voll. Romae, 1728-1737.

12. GIAC. ANT. TAGLIAPIEDRA, *Mem. stor. di 50 cardinali dell'ordine de' predic., Cod. Ital. 89 of the Court Library, Monaco (compiled in 1774) : II, 259-401 su Pio V.

13. P. M. GHISLIERI [O. Pr.], Elogio storico di S. Pio V, Assisi, 1797, dedicated to Pius VI.

14. J. MENDHAM, The life and pontificate of Saint Pius the Fifth, London, 1832.

15. FALLOUX, Histoire de St. Pie V, 2 voll., Paris, 1846 ; reprinted Liège, 1852 ; 3. éd. 1858 ; in German, Regensburg, 1873. See *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV., 504 ss. ; *Literar. Handweiser*, 1873, 102 s.

16. T. M. GRANELLO, Fra Michele Gislieri, I e II, Bologna, 1877-1878.

17. V. DE BROGNOLI, Studi storici sul règno di S. Pio V, 2 voll., Roma, 1883.

18. CH. A. JOYAU, Saint Pie V, pape du rosaire, Poitiers [1892].

19. FR. FABERI, S. Pio V. Studio storico [Siena, 1893]. See *Literar. Rundschau*, 1893, 331.

20. P. FARACHON, Lépante. St. Pie V, Paris, 1894.

21. C. DELL' ACQUA, Di S. Pio V., Milano, 1904.

22. COSMOS ILLUSTRATO, Roma, 1904, January–February (illustrated).

23. P. SPEIZI, Pio V, Roma, 1905. *Cf.* H. Bihlmeyer in *Hagiograph. Jahresbericht*, 1904 6, Kempten, 1908, 257.

24. P. DESLANDRES, St. Pie V, Paris, 1911. *Cf. Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXII., 398.

25. C. M. ANTONY, St. Pius V, Pope of the holy Rosary, London, 1911.

26. G. GRENTE, St. Pie V. (Les Saints), Paris, 1914.

True biographies, however, are not wanting, but all these works are based upon Catena and Gabuzio, and are not strictly scientific works which attempt to separate legend from

[1] *Cf.* MENDHAM, xv.

history. Besides LADERCHI,[1] only BROGNOLI has made much use of original unpublished sources. It is true that GRENTE claims to have made wide archival researches, but the unpublished sources which he quotes are so scanty as hardly to deserve consideration.[2] There thus remains still a rich harvest in the archives,[3] from which to build up from the original sources a strictly critical and historical account, in which the figure of Pius V. will stand out more true to nature and far more effectively than is the case with the usual panegyrics.[4]

[1] A part of the original letters collected by LADERCHI in the Barberini Library, Rome; see Corresp. dipl., I., xxix.

[2] *Cf.* my list in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XXIX. (1919), 801 *seq.*

[3] SERRANO has recently in Corresp. dipl., I., xv., shown how little the pontificate of Pius V. has as yet been studied in the original sources. BALZANI (Sisto V., Genoa, 1913, 13) points out that so far no historian has done justice to Pius V.

[4] With regard to this I must record that three years ago I wrote: "It is time that the pedantic period of the lives of the saints came to an end. They do not stand in need of pious inventions; they can bear the full light of historical criticism, and moreover, cannot fail to draw advantage from it," (*Zeitschrift fur kathol. Theol.*, 1898, 147.)

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XVII.

Adrian VI., Pope, 113, 116, 236.
Agreda, Petrus de (Bishop of Venezuela), 210.
Alba, Duke of, 344, 379.
Albani, Giov. Girol., Cardinal, 167.
Albano, Jo. Bapt. (poet), 129,
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria). 116 n. 1.
Albert the Great (O.P.), 119.
Alcalà, Duke of (Viceroy of Naples), 219.
Alcantara, *see* Peter of Alcantara.
Alciati, Cardinal, 7, 39, 71, 81, 110, 181, 184 n. 4, 199, 280 *seq.*
Alçolaras, Joannes de (Bishop of San Domingo), 210 n. 3.
Aldegati, Ambrogio (Bishop of Casale, inquisitor at Mantua), 322, 325.
Aldobrandini, Giovanni (Bishop of Imola, grand-penitentiary), Cardinal, 156 n. 1, 168, 204, 349, 364.
Aldobrandini, Tommaso (secretary of briefs), 74 n. 2.
Aldrovandi, Cico, 67 n. 1.
Alessandrino, Cardinal, *see* Bonelli, Michele.
Alessi, Galeazzo (architect), 125 n.
Alexander VI., Pope, 171 n. 5, 176, 276.
Altemps, *see* Hohenems.
Altovito, Antonio (Archbishop of Florence), 262 n.
Amadori, Giovanni, 22.
Amalterio, Cornelio (poet), 128 n. 3.
Amalterio, Girolamo (poet), 128 n. 3.
Angelico, Fra (painter), 116.
Anjou, *see* Henry of Anjou.
Anna, Giov. Domenico de (Bishop of Bovino), 221 n. 1.
Anspach, Joh. (Bavarian humanist), 128 n. 2.
Antoniano, Silvio (latinist, professor at the Roman university), 134.
Aquaviva, Giulio, Cardinal, 168.
Aquaviva, Orazio (O. Cist., Bishop), 168.
Aquaviva, Ottavio, Cardinal, 168 *seq.*
Aquaviva, Ridolfo (S.J., martyr), 168.
Araceli, Cardinal, *see* Dolera.
Aragon, Cardinal of, *see* Avalos.
Arco (Imperial envoy in Rome), 3, 10 *seq.*, 55 n. 2, 162, 173 n. 3, 292, 315, 331, 342 *seq.*
Arias Montanus, 199.
Arias, Sebastian, 285.
Ariguccio, Paolo (Provincial of the Observants), 261 n.
Arimini, Thomas of (O.P., Inquisitor), 315 n. 1.
Athanasius, St., 196.
Attaide, Georg. de (Bishop of Viseu), 212 n. 1.
Augustine, St., 362, 368 *seq.*
Avalos, Iñigo de (of Aragon), Cardinal (administrator of the bishopric of Mileto), 7, 261 n.
Avellaneda, Lope de (jailor of Carranza), 345.
Avellino, Andrew (Theatine), 165.
Avila, *see* John of Avila.
Avila, Pedro de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 17, 206 n.

Azpilcueta (theologian), 347.

Baius, Michael (professor at Louvain), 367–380.
Balduini, Martin (Bishop of Ypres), 232 n. 5, 376.
Bandini, Franc. (Archbishop of Siena), 197 n. 5.
Bartoccio, Bartolomeo (heretic), 306 *seq.*, 318.
Bartolomeo (provost of the Humiliati), 247.
Bascapê (biographer of Charles Borromeo), 43, 237 n.
Basil, St., 196.
Basilio (heretical preacher), 300 n. 3, 401.
Basilio d'Urbino (Carthusian), 259 n. 4.
Bastone, Albert (friend of the Ghislieri family), 46, 71, 392 n. 2.
Bastone, Francesco, 46, 392.
Beatrizet (engraver), 52 n. 1.
Bellarmine, R. (S.J.), 378.
Belo, Lorenzo, 131.
Beltran, *see* Bertrand.
Bencio, Trifone (Papal secretary), 74 n. 2.
Benedetto, P. (preacher), 60 n. 2.
Benedict XV., Pope, 200 n.
Benvoglienti (heretic), 329 n. 2.
Bernarcedo (heretic), 305 n. 1.
Bernardi, Giov. B. (Bishop of Ajaccio), 223 n. 5.
Bernardine, St., 47.
Bernieri, Paolo Emilio (Ferrarese envoy), 9.
Bertrand [Beltran], Louis (O.P.), St., 237 n.
Bertucci, Giov. Batt. (painter, heretic), 314.
Bianchi, Arcangelo (O.P., commissary-general of the Inquisition, Bishop of Teano), Cardinal, 165, 292 n. 3, 319.
Binarini, Alfonso (Bishop of Camerino), 148 n. 1, 183 n. 3, 184, 189 n. 2.
Birago, Luigi (governor of Saluzzo), 327 n. 3.
Blosius (Louis of Blois), 274.
Bobadilla (S.J.), 274 n. 6.
Bobba, Cardinal, 7, 149 n. 1, 258, 261 n., 328 n.
Boccacio, 204 n
Boccapaduli, family of the, 135.
Bojero (Franciscan), 326 n. 1.
Boldrino, Gregorio (Bishop of Mantua), 235 n. 3, 262 n.
Bonaventure, St., 129.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 11, 21, 23 *seq.*, 27, 35, 51 n. 2, 199, 250.
Bonelli, Family of the, 76 n. 3.
Bonelli, Domenica (niece to Pius V., mother of Cardinal Bonelli), 76, 84.
Bonelli, Gardina (sister to Pius V.), 76.
Bonelli, Michele (O.P., nephew to Pius V.), Cardinal [Alessandrino], 51 n. 2, 63 n. 1, 74 n. 3, 77–84, 110, 117, 146, 150, 155, 157, 195 n. 2, 197 n. 3, 207 nn., 328 n., 335.
Bonhomini [Bonomi], Giov. Franc. (abbot of Nonantola), 170, 182, 218 n. 1.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 152.
Borgia, Francis (S.J.), St., 19 n. 4, 83, 207, 237 n., 280.
Borromeo, Camillo, 138 n. 2, 140 n. 5.
Borromeo, Cesare, 138 n. 2, 140 n. 5.
Borromeo, Charles, Cardinal, 1, 3 n. 5, 4 *seq.*, 17–31, 33–39, 42 *seq.*, 58 n. 7, 71, 89, 137 n. 2, 138 *seqq.*, 142 n. 2, 144 *seq.*, 150, 152, 158 *seq.*, 165, 170, 176, 181 *seq.*, 184 n. 4, 191, 198, 213 n., 216, 218, 236, 238, 245–248, 257, 261 n., 266 *seqq.*, 274, 292 n. 3, 320, 324 *seq.*, 336 n. 3, 337 n. 3, 372.
Boucherat, Nicolas (procurator-general of the Cistercians), 241.
Broccardo, Count, 2.
Brocchi, Fr., 132 n. 3.
Brus von Müglitz, Anton (Archbishop of Prague), 209, 211 n. 2, 214.

Buccia, Doctor (court-jester of Pius IV), 70.
Burali, Paolo (Theatine, Bishop of Piacenza), Cardinal, 156 n. 1, 161, 165 *seq.*, 204, 239 n. 1.
Bussoti, Bartolomeo (treasurer to Pius V.), 104 n. 7.
Buzi, Gianantonio (sculptor), 124.

Cajazzo, Count of, 291.
Caligari, Andrea (auditor to Commendone), 3 *seq.*, 29 n., 44, 86, 182 n. 2, 291.
Callixtus III., Pope, 171.
Camaiani, Nosti (Florentine agent in Rome), 4, 10.
Camaiani, Pietro (Bishop of Fiesole, then of Ascoli, Spanish nuncio), 207 n. 7.
Campeggio, Camillo (inquisitor at Mantua), 322, 327 n. 2.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 129, 156 n. 1, 161 n. 1, 193, 236, 367.
Cano, Melchior (O.P.), 355.
Capitone, Feliciano (Archbishop of Avignon), 220 n. 3, 339.
Capizuchi, Cardinal, 7, 41 n. 2, 73, 81, 131 n. 3.
Capua, Pietro Antonio di (Archbishop of Otranto), 303 n. 1.
Carafa, family of the, 99.
Carafa, Alfonso, Cardinal, 123.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 156, 159, 166, 198 *seq.*
Carafa, Gian Pietro (Paul IV.), 48.
Carafa, Mario (Archbishop of Naples), 219, 229, 261 n.
Cardano, G., 132 n. 1.
Carlos, Don. (son of Philip II.), 208.
Carnesecchi, Pietro (heretic), 302 *seqq.*, 307, 402.
Carniglia, Bernardino, 141 n. 2, 189 *seq.*
Carnevale, Domenico (painter), 117.
Caro, Annibale (poet), 128 n. 6.
Carpano, Leone (Papal commissary), 266 n. 7.
Carpi, Pio Rodolfo, Cardinal, 12, 14, 17, 123, 257.
Carranza, Bartolomé (Archbishop of Toledo), 164, 193 n. 9, 343–364.
Casale, Alessandro (Papal envoy), 123 n. 2, 137.
Casanova, Pietro Angelo (inquisitor), 296 n. 5.
Castagna, Giov. Batt. (Archbishop of Rossano, Nuncio), 193 n. 9, 195 n. 2, 197 n. 3, 207 nn., 253, 362.
Castellet, Pedro de (Bishop of Urgel), 252 n. 2.
Castellini (Bavarian agent in Rome), 116 n. 1.
Castellio, Seb. (heretic), 380 n. 3.
Castelvetro (heretic), 328 n. 1.
Castiglione, Cardinal, 7.
Castro, Nicol. de (Bishop of Middelburg), 232 n. 5.
Cataneo, Federigo (Mantuan envoy), 2 n. 3, 20 n. 1.
Catena, Girolamo (biographer of Pius V.), 127, 128 n 3, 129 n. 1, 420 *seqq.*
Catherine de' Medici (Queen-regent of France), 12, 22, 298 n. 1, 302, 366.
Cavani, Ludovico (poet), 125 n. 2, 128 n. 3, 129 n. 1.
Cecone da S. Lupidio (chief of banditti), 102 n. 1.
Cellaria (heretic), 307 n. 1.
Cervantes, Gaspar (Archbishop of Salerno, then of Tarragona), Cardinal, 164, 169, 214, 226 n. 2.
Cesarini, Cardinal, 38 n. 2.
Cesi, Pietro Donato (Bishop of Narni), Cardinal, 110 n. 4, 156 n. 1, 161 n. 1, 168, 382 n. 1.
Charles (archduke of Austria), 227, 262 n.
Charles V., the Emperor, 338.
Charles IX. (King of France), 158, 163 *seq.*, 298 n. 1, 366 n., 382 n. 1.
Chiesa, Giov. Paolo della, Cardinal, 81, 110, 156, 159, 213 n., 289, 292 n. 3, 347.
Chigi, Family of the, 121 n. 1.
Chirinotto (abbreviator), 340 n. 5.

Chisholm, William (Bishop of Dumblane), 188 n. 1.
Chrysostom, John, St., 196.
Cicada, Cardinal, 4, 7, 11, 14 *seq.*, 29 n., 30, 160, 178 n. 5, 292, 298 n. 1, 318.
Ciregiola, 182, 333 n. 1.
Cirillo, Bernardo (master of the household to Pius V.), 55, 137 n. 2, 141.
Clement VII., Pope, 302, 309.
Clement VIII., Pope, 159, 197 n. 4, 201 n. 1, 234.
Clovio, Giulio (artist), 116.
Colonna, Cardinal, 7, 113 n. 1, 129, 198 *seq.*, 300.
Colonna, Marcantonio, 32, 33 n. 1, 69.
Commendone, Cardinal, 4, 21, 24, 81, *seq.* 86, 149 n. 3, 220, 291, 371 *seq.*
Conca, 290 n. 2.
Concini, Bartolomeo (Florentine agent in Rome), 10.
Conosciuti, Lionardo, 4 n. 5, 21 n. 3.
Contarini, 367.
Conti, Torquato, 103 n. 1, 127.
Corgna, Cardinal, 4, 7, 14, 30, 187, 230.
Cornaro, Federigo (Bishop of Bergamo), 261 n., 262 n.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 7.
Correa, Tommaso (poet), 128 n. 3, 129 n. 1.
Correggio, Cardinal, 7, 15, 17, 137 n. 2, 324.
Cortesi, Giacomo (Bishop of Vaison), 188.
Cosimo I. (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 3, 9 *seq.*, 16, 20, 22, 24, 29, 45 n. 1, 151, 174, 204 n., 297 n. 1, 299 n. 2, 302 *seq.*, 329.
Covarrubias, Didac. de (Bishop of Segovia, canonist), 254 n. 3.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 114 n. 4.
Crispi, Cardinal, 7, 29 n., 40.
Crivelli, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 7 n. 5, 24, 35.
Cromer, Martin (administrator of bishopric of Ermland), 202.
Curione, 381.
Curti, Girolamo (commis. gen. of the Franciscans), 257.
Cusano, Galeazzo (Imperial agent in Rome), 33, 51 n. 2, 62, 80, 111 n. 1, 113, 140 n. 3, 141, 148 n. 2, 198 n. 4, 336 n. 5, 365.

Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal, 7, 10, 24, 29 n., 149 n. 3.
Diaceto, Angelo (O.P., Bishop of Fiesole), 262 n.
Dolera, Cardinal [Araceli], 3, 7, 11, 13 *seqq.*, 17, 20 *seq.*, 24, 30, 33 *seq.*, 39, 81, 149 n. 1, 160, 230.
Doria, Gian Andrea (admiral), 107 n. 3.
Drascovich, Georg. (Bishop of Agram), 365 n. 2.

Eder, Georg (Imperial councillor), 130, 202.
Eichhorn, Joachim (abbot of Einsiedeln), 274.
Eisengrein, Martin, 130 n. 6.
Eisengrein, William, 129 n. 5, 132 n. 5.
Elias (chief of synagogue), 341.
Elizabeth (Queen of Spain), 12.
Eltz, Jakob von (Archbishop of Trêves), 229.
Emmanuele Filiberto (Duke of Savoy), 4 n. 3, 11, 35, 248 n. 1, 328 *seq.*
Ercolano, Vincenzo (Bishop of Sarno), 190.
Ercole, Lord of Sassuolo, 328.
Ernest of Bavaria (administrator of bishopric of Freising), 174.
Esparcho, Ant. (Greek humanist), 131.
Espinosa, Diego de, Cardinal (Spanish grand-Inquisitor), 156 *seqq.*, 193, 342, 349, 354 n. 1.
Este, Family of the, 34.
Este, Alfonso d' (Duke of Ferrara and Modena), 9, 228 n. 8, 261, 327 n. 2, 329.

Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, 21–25, 27 *seq.*, 30, 40, 43, 79 n. 1, 154, 291.
Este, Luigi, Cardinal, 7, 9, 12, 28, 40.

Fabii, Baldo (agent of Lelio Orsini), 327 n. 3.
Facchinetti, Giov. Ant. (nuncio to Venice, later Pope Innocent IX.), 316.
Farnese, Alessandro (Cardinal), 7, 11, 13, 15 *seq.*, 18 21 23, 27 *seq.*, 30–39, 43, 73, 75, 78, 80, 82, 103 n. 2, 111 n. 1, 123, 137, 149 n. 3, 180 *seq.*, 184 n. 1, 216 n.
Ferdinand, The Catholic, 338.
Ferdinand II. (Archduke of the Tyrol), 127 n. 4.
Ferrari, Ambrogio (abbot of S. Benigno in Genoa), 199.
Ferreri, Guido, Cardinal, 4, 7, 28, 40, 262 n.
Ferreri [the elder], Pier Francesco, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 7, 11, 23 *seqq.*, 34 *seqq.*, 40, 199.
Figliucci, Alessio (O.P.), 192.
Filippini (historian), 238.
Floribello, Antonio (secretary of briefs), 74 n. 2, 137 n. 2.
Firmanus, Cornelius, 27, 38, 304 n. 4.
Folieta (historian), 131 n. 4.
Fonzio, Bartolomeo (protestant preacher), 300 n. 1.
Franco, Niccoló (poet), 311 n. 1.
Francis II. (King of France), 128 n. 4.
Francis of Assisi, St., 275.
Francis Xavier (S.J.), St., 236 n. 3.
Funtidueña (Spanish theologian), 193.

Gabrielli, Giulio, 96 n. 4.
Gaddi, Taddeo, Cardinal, 241 n. 2.
Gaetani, Cardinal, 7.
Galateo, Fra (protestant preacher), 300 n. 1.
Galeota, Mario (heretic), 301, 302 n.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal, 6 n, 7, 74.
Gallina, Bartolomeo (2nd husband of Gardina Ghislieri), 76 n. 3.
Gallio, Giov., 201 n. 1.
Gambara, Cesare (Bishop of Tortona), 137 n. 2, 261 n.
Gambara, Giov. Francesco, Cardinal, 7, 73, 81 n. 3, 137 n. 2, 146, 289, 292, 299 n. 2, 346 n. 4.
Gasparo (Bishop of Leiria), 212 n. 1, 256 n. 1.
Gazini, Angelo (commissary-general of the Inquisition at Faenza, Bishop of Polignano), 313 *seqq.*
Gerberon (O.S.B., Jansenist), 368 n.
Geri, Filippo (Bishop of Assisi), 261 n.
Gesualdo, Cardinal, 7.
Ghislieri, Family of the, 46, 84 n. 3.
Ghislieri, Domenica Augeria (mother of Pius V.), 46.
Ghislieri, Francesco (governor of Ascoli), 101 n. 4.
Ghislieri, Gardina (sister of Pius V.), 76.
Ghislieri, Girolamo (nephew of Pius V., governor of the Borgo), 50 n. 2, 84 n. 3.
Ghislieri, Paolo (father of Pius V.), 46.
Ghislieri, Paolo (nephew of Pius V., commander of the Papal guard), 84 *seq.*, 345.
Giberti, Matteo, 139.
Ginnasi, Francesco, 134.
Giustiniani, Angelo (Bishop of Geneva), 218 n
Giustiniani, Vincenzo. (General of the Dominicans), Cardinal, 129, 156 n. 1, 165.
Gloriero, Cesare (secretary of briefs), 74 n. 2.
Godfredus of Liège (Franciscan), 378.
Gonzaga, Family of the, 24, 34.
Gonzaga, Cesare (brother-in-law to Card. C. Borromeo), 22.

Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal, 372.
Gonzaga, Ferrante (governor of Milan), 48.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal, 7, 11 n. 2, 23 *seq.*, 34.
Gonzaga, Gianvincenzo (Prior of Barletta), 162 *seq.*
Gonzaga, Giulia, 303 n. 1.
Gonzaga, William (Duke of Mantua), 11 n. 2, 23, 235, 321 *seqq.*
Gordillo (provincial of Spanish Franciscans), 254.
Gorrevod, Ant. de (Bishop of Lausanne), 221 n. 2.
Granvelle, Cardinal (viceroy of Naples), 15 *seq.*, 36, 45 n. 1, 62 n. 4, 81 *seq.*, 137, 232 n. 5, 352, 370–375.
Grassi (cleric in the Apostolic Camera), 229.
Grassis, Carlo de (Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto, governor of Rome), Cardinal, 168.
Grasso, Francesco, Cardinal, 3, 7, 11.
Gregory of Nazianzen, St., 196.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 51 n. 2, 177 n. 3, 208, 234, 256 n. 2, 280, 314.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 239.
Grimaldi, Carlo (Bishop of Ventimiglia), 326 n. 1, 327 n. 3.
Grimaldi, Louis (Bishop of Vence), 218 n.
Gropper, 367.
Gualtiero, Sebastian (Bishop of Viterbo, nuncio in France), 4.
Guarini, Francesco (Bishop of Imola, governor of Rome), 2.
Guasco, Cesare (architect), 126.
Guidiccioni, Alessandro (Archbishop of Lucca), 208.
Guido da Fano, *see* Zanetti.
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 4, 158, 235 n. 5, 236, 261 n.
Guise, Mary of (Queen of Scotland), 164.

Hamericourt, Gérard de (Bishop of Saint-Omer), 212 n. 3, 232 n. 5, 273.
Havet, Ant. (Bishop of Namur), 232 n. 5.
Henry (Infante of Portugal), Cardinal, 212 n. 3, 220 n. 5, 256.
Henry II. (King of France), 158, 164.
Hessels (Louvain theologian), 369–372.
Hofläus, Paul (S.J.), 192 *seq.*
Hohenems, Hannibal von, Count, 1, 6, 67, 228.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von [Card. Altemps], 4, 16 *seq.*, 20, 22 n. 4, 23, 30, 33, 41, 99 n. 1.
Honoratus II. (Count of Tenda), 325, 327 n. 3.
Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal, 114 n. 4, 129, 158, 193, 203.
Hülsen, F. Van (engraver), 52 n. 1.

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 236 n. 3, 237, 278 *seq.*, 281.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 70.
Innocent IX., Pope, 234.

Janssen [Jansenius], Cornelius (the elder, Bishop of Ghent), 375.
John of Austria, Don, 85 n. 5.
John of Avila, 237.
John of God, St., 236 n. 3, 285.
John of The Cross, St., 237 n., 277, 285.
Julius II., Pope, 171.
Julius III., Pope, 7, 49, 99 *seq.*, 113, 134, 150, 274 n. 6, 276, 279.

Kastelberg, Christian von (abbot of Disentis), 275.
Khuen-Belasy, Joh. Jakob von (Archbishop of Salzburg), 156 n. 1, 161 n. 1.
Kunz, Othmar (abbot of St. Gall), 274.

Labacco, Ant. (artist), 1 n. 2.

La Baume, Claude de (Archbp. of Besançon) 221 n. 1.
Laceronis, Dionys. de (Cistercian), 241.
Ladrone, Ferrata di, Count, 174 n.
Lando, Pietro (Archbishop of Candia), 217.
Lanfranc, Mark Ant., 131 n. 2.
Lanzoni (heretic), 327 n. 3.
Lasso, Diego, 69.
Ledesma (S.J.), 310.
Lentailleur, John (abbot of Anchin), 273 n. 3.
Leo X., Pope, 7, 134, 171.
Leonio, Girolamo (Bishop of Sagona), 239 n. 1.
Logau, Kaspar von (Bishop of Breslau), 212 n. 1, 214.
Lombardo, Gianfrancesco, 97 n., 198 n. 4.
Lomellini, Benedetto, Cardinal, 7.
Lomellini, Jacopo (Archbishop of Palermo), 263 n.
Longus, Andreas (Bishop of Honduras), 210.
Lorraine, Cardinal of, *see* Guise, Charles de.
Louis of Blois, *see* Blosius.
Louis of Granada, 237 n. 1.
Lugo, Alvaro de, 364 n. 5.
Lunel, Pietro de (Bishop of Gaeta), 190, 217 n. 4, 220 n. 1, 262 n.
Lupetino, Ubaldo (protestant preacher), 300 n. 1.
Luzzara, Camillo (Mantuan Ambassador in Rome), 8 n. 4, 18, 140 n. 5, 143, 172, n. 6, 235, 303.

Madruzzo, Cristoforo, Cardinal [of Trent], 3, 7, 11, 14 *seq.*, 30, 35 n. 6, 162, 198.
Madruzzo, Luigi, Cardinal, 7, 204.
Maffei, Marcantonio (Archbishop of Chieti), Cardinal, 73, 82, 129, 137 n. 2, 161 n. 1, 168, 172, 220 n. 7.
Maggi, Ottaviano (Venetian poet), 129 n. 1.
Magnus, Olaus (Archbishop of Upsala), 114 n. 4.
Maldonatus, J., 205 n. 1.
Manlio, Marcantonio (first husband of Gardina Ghislieri), 76 n. 3.
Manriquez, Tommaso (O.P.), 130, 203, 336 n. 1, 345, 355.
Manutius, Paulus (printer), 67, 69, 131, 132 n. 1, 192 *seq.*, 197, 198 n. 4.
Marcellus II., Pope, 49, 176.
Margaret of Parma, 372.
Margarita da Allamana (a witch), 333 n. 6.
Mariano of Rieti, 198 n. 4.
Marini, Giov. Onorato (heretic), 329 n. 5.
Marini, Lionardo (O.P., Bishop of Alba, Archbishop of Lanciano), 198 n. 1, 219.
Martial, 203 n. 3.
Martyribus, Bartol. de (Archbishop of Braga), 256.
Matuliani, Vincenzo, 65 n.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 6 n., 9 *seqq.*, 25, 45 n. 1, 68, 112, 163, 217, 289 n. 3, 333 n. 1.
Mazzoni, Giulio (painter), 119.
Medici, *see* Catherine; Cosimo.
Medici, Ferdinando de' (son of Cosimo I.), Cardinal, 7, 10, 37, 146 n. 3, 333 n. 1.
Medici, Francesco de' (son of Cosimo I.), 113.
Medina, Michael de (Franciscan), 203 n. 1.
Melchiori (Bishop of Macerata), 156 n. 1, 161 n. 1.
Mercati, Michele (physician to Pius V., director of the botanical garden at the Vatican), 114.
Mercurian, Girolamo (doctor), 107 n. 1.
Messanella, Niccolò Francesco di (Bishop of Policastro), 302 n.
Miani, Girolamo (Founder of the Somaschi), 284.
Michelangelo, 123, 382.
Miliavacca (heretic), 330.
Minale (Papal treasurer), 101 n.

Molina, Stefano (Observant), 262 n.
Moncornet (engraver), 52 n. 1.
Montalto, Felice Peretti da, Cardinal (later Pope Sixtus V.), 110 n. 4, 129, 156 n. 1, 165, 346, 349, 364.
Monte, Innocenzo del, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 70, 150 *seq.*
Montepulciano, Cardinal, *see* Ricci.
Monti, Pompeo de' (heretic), 300 *seq.*, 401.
Montufar, Afons. de (O.P., Bishop of Mexico), 210.
Morillon, Maximilian (Vicar-general to Card. Granvelle), 374–379.
Morone, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 5 n., 7, 10–13, 15 *seq.*, 20, 23–29, 35 *seq.*, 40, 42, 81 *seq.*, 147, 181, 187, 198, 216 n., 230, 261 n., 328 n. 1, 361, 408.
Mucanzio (master of ceremonies), 160.
Mula, Cardinal, 3, 7, 11, 15, 21, 24, 26 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*, 149 n. 1, 156, 160, 333 n. 4.
Muratori, Dom. (painter), 53 n.
Muret, Marc Antoine (latinist), 128 n. 4, 134.
Muzio, Girolamo, 132 n. 2, 202.

Nacchianti, Jacopo (O.P., Biblical critic), 130.
Navagero (Bishop of Verona), 139.
Nelli, Niccolò (engraver), 52 n. 1.
Neri, Philip, St., 60, 165, 228, 236, 268.
Niccolini, Cardinal, 7, 10 *seq.*, 24. 73 137 n. 2.
Nicholas V. Pope, 120.
Niëulant, Nic. (Bishop of Haarlem), 232 n. 5.
Noronha, Andrea de (Bishop of Portalegre), 212 n. 1.
Novella da Evoli, Roberto (preacher), 325 n. 3.
Novellara, Francesco di (delegate of the Duke of Mantua), 322.

Ochino, 380 n. 3.
Odescalchi, Bernardo, 48
Ognies, Gilbert d' (Bishop of Tournai), 232 n. 5, 261 n.
Olaus, Nic. (Archbp. of Gran), 211 n. 2.
Oliva, Giovanni (Archbishop of Chieti), 82, 182, 183 n. 1, 261 n., 266 n. 7.
Oltramari, Girolamo (Modenese envoy), 1 n. 5.
Orfino, Tommaso (Prior of Foligno, Bishop of Strongoli), 182, 183 n. 1, 219, 262 n.
Ormaneto, Niccolò, 82, 139, 141–144, 148 n. 1, 176, 181–184, 189 n. 2, 225, 226 n. 3, 229, 245, 254, 262 n., 266, 284.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 7, 28, 34.
Orsini, Fulvio (humanist), 115 n.
Orsini, Giulio, 94 n. 6.
Orsini, Lelio (Lord of Ceri), 327 n. 3.
Orsini, Niccolò (Count of Pitigliano), 305 n. 1.

Pacheco, Francisco, Cardinal, 2 n. 4, 5, 7 *seq*, 12 n. 5, 16–21, 30 *seq.*, 41, 146, 197 n. 3, 289, 292, 303 n. 3, 346, 352.
Paciotti (architect), 127.
Padniewski, Phil. (Bishop of Cracow), 214 n. 5.
Paleario, Aonio [Antonio della Paglia] (heretic), 307–311.
Paleologo, Flaminio (heretic), 325.
Paleotto, Gabriel, Cardinal, 4, 7, 34, 110, 181, 213 n.
Paleotto, Mario (heretic), 401.
Palestrina, Pier Luigi da, 208 n. 4.
Pallantieri, Alessandro (governor of Rome and of the March of Ancona), 2, 100, 103 n. 1, 290 n. 2, 336.
Paltoni, Altinio (heretic), 311 n. 1.

Panvinio, Onofrio, 52 n. 1, 131, 202.
Parisani, Giulio (Bishop of Rimini), 221 n. 1.
Pariseti, Girolamo (jurist), 134.
Paschal Baylon, St., 237 n.
Paul III., Pope, 5, 7, 39, 131, 279, 290, 309, 337, 340.
Paul IV., Pope, 1, 7, 14 *seq.*, 22, 24, 28, 40, 49 *seq.*, 63, 66 *seq.*, 100, 123, 131, 143, 154, 159, 164, 206, 230 *seq.*, 234, 265, 279, 288, 290, 293 *seqq.*, 336 *seq.*
Paul of Arezzo, *see* Burali
Pavesi, Stefano (O.P., Archbishop of Sorrento), 156 n. 1.
Pellevé, Nicolas de (Bishop of Amiens), Cardinal, 156 n. 1, 161 n. 1, 164.
Peretti, *see* Montalto.
Perini (heretic), 302 n.
Petri, Cunerus (theologian), 378.
Peter of Alcantara, St., 237 n., 275, 277.
Peter Damian, St., 244.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 2 n. 4, 9, 12 *seq.*, 15 *seqq.*, 21 *seq.*, 31, 36 *seq.*, 42, 79, 157, 159, 161, 207, 226, 227 n. 3, 249–255, 286, 325, 344 *seqq.*, 350 *seqq.*, 355–362, 370, 373.
Pia, Bernardino, 342, 365.
Pianer, Gabriel (dean of the Papal chaplains), 334 n. 1.
Pico, Lodovico (Count of Mirandola), 327 n. 3.
Pietro da Quintiano, Fra (Inquisitor at Pavia), 330.
Pinelli, Dom., 123 n. 2.
Pinheiro, Rodrigo (Bishop of Oporto), 212 n. 1, 256.
Pino (architect), 289 n.
Pisani, Francesco, Cardinal, 3, 5 n., 7, 11, 14, 30, 40, 137 n. 2.
Pisani, Luigi, Cardinal, 7.
Pistoja, Girolamo da (Capuchin), 304, 366.
Pistone, Giov. Batt. (fiscale), 137 n. 2.
Pius III., Pope, 176.
Pius IV., Pope, 2–9, 11 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.*, 19 *seqq.*, 23 *seq.*, 26, 33, 39, 42, 50 *seq.*, 66 *seqq.*, 70, 72 *seqq.*, 99, 101, 103, 110 *seqq.*, 120, 131, 133, 143, 150, 154, 159, 176, 178, 184, 192, 199 n. 3, 206, 210 n. 1, 216, 234 *seq.*, 245, 249, 265, 267, 272, 290, 292, 302, 316, 331, 336 *seq.*, 344, 370.
Pius V., Pope, Vol. XVII.
Pius X., Pope, 200 n., 239.
Platina (historian), 131.
Plauto, Camillo (jurist), 134.
Poggiano, Giulio (humanist), 74 n. 2, 128 n. 4, 182, 204 n. 3, 341 n. 3.
Polanco (S.J.), 205 n. 5.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 139, 367.
Ponce de Léon, Pedro (Bishop of Plasencia), 199 n. 3.
Ponte, Niccolò da (heretic), 317 n. 1.
Pontius, Petrus, 131 n. 1.
Porroni (prisoner of the Inquisition), 311 n. 1, 312 n. 3.
Porta, Beatus a (Bishop of Coire), 221 n. 3.
Porta, Guglielmo della (painter), 113 n. 1, 118.
Portico, Vincenzo de (nuncio to Poland), 230, 261 n.
Porzia, Bartolomeo (apostolic visitor), 220.
Posio, Antonio (secretary to Congregation of the Index), 203 n. 3.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 236, 321 n. 1.
Propertius, 203 n. 3.
Protaszeiwiez, Valerian (Bishop of Wilna), 222 n. 1.
Pseaume, Nicolas (Bishop of Verdun), 221.
Pucci, Alessandro, 174.
Pucci, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 288, 290 n. 2.
Pulzone, Scipione (painter), 53 n., 77 n. 3.
Puteo, Cardinal, 12.

QUINOÑES, Cardinal, 196 n. 4.
Quirós de Sosa, Juan, 207 n. 7.

RAMBOUILLET, Charles d'Angennes de (Bishop of Le Mans), Cardinal, 163, 291
Rangone (heretic), 329 n. 1.
Ravestein [Tiletanus], Josse de (Louvain professor), 373, 376.
Rebiba Cardinal, 7, 14, 73, 80 *seq.*, 172, 187, 289, 292, 327 n. 3.
Reinoso, Franc. de (major-domo to Pius V.), 82 n. 4.
Requesens, Luis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 8 n. 4, 11–18, 29, 31 *seqq.*, 36 *seq.*, 40, 62, 65, 69, 77, 116, 137, 250, 343, 344 n. 2, 345 *seq.*
Reumano, Cardinal, 3, 7, 12, 73, 75, 78, 80, 137 n. 2, 160, 172, 178 n. 5.
Riario, Alessandro (auditor of the Apostolic Chamber), 123 n. 2, 187.
Ribera, Juan de (Bishop of Badajoz, Archbishop of Valencia, patriarch of Antioch), 221 n. 2, 222, 239 n. 1, 254 n. 3.
Ribera, Pedro Afan de (viceroy of Naples), 222 n. 2.
Ricasoli, Giov. Batt. (Bishop of Pistoja), 174.
Ricci, Cardinal [of Montepulciano], 3, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20 *seqq.*, 24, 30, 33 *seqq.*, 37, 39, 41, 114 n. 5, 116, 125 n. 1, 147, 206 n., 258.
Richardot, Franc. (Bishop of Arras), 232 n. 5.
Rodriguez (S.J.), 150 n. 5.
Román, Alonso (S.J.), 164.
Rosetti (Modenese envoy in Rome), 263 n. 1.
Rossi, Giov. Ant. (artist), 127 n. 4.
Rovere, Dom. de (O.P.), 261 n.
Rovere, Giulio della, Cardinal [of Urbino], 7, 28, 70, 162, 212 n. 3, 218 n. 1, 244, 261 n.
Rovere, Guidobaldo della (Duke of Urbino), 11, 117, 131.
Rovere, Paolo Maria della (Bishop of Cagli), 190.
Roxas y Sandoval, Chr. (Bishop of Cordova), 209.
Rubeis, Joh. Bapt. de (general-prior of the Carmelites), 263 n.
Rucellai, Annibale (Spanish envoy in Rome), 156.
Ruffino (archpriest at Verona), 262 n.
Rusticucci, Girolamo (private secretary to Pius V.), Cardinal, 74, 82, 156 n. 1, 167, 193 n. 9.

SADOLET, Giov. (Cardinal), 308, 335 n. 3.
Sadolet, Paul (Bishop of Carpentras), 339.
Sallustio (architect), 289 n.
Salviano, Ippolito (physician), 134.
Salviati, Bernardo, Cardinal, 3, 7, 122 n. 2.
Sampieri (Corsican rebel), 238.
Sandizell, Moritz von (Bishop of Freising), 174.
Sanseverino, Cardinal, *see* Santori.
Sansovino, Pandolfo, 131.
Santa Croce, Cardinal, 6 n. 2, 149 n. 1, 152 n. 4.
Santa Fiora, *see* Sforza.
Sante of Padua (O.P., Inquisitor), 47.
Santori, Giulio Antonio, Cardinal [of Sanseverino], 149 n. 3, 161, 166 *seq.*, 204, 220n. 7, 292 n. 3, 345.
Saraceni, Cardinal, 3, 7, 29, n., 30, 335 n. 2.
Saracinello, Cipriano, 117 n. 1.
Sarzana, Lionardo da (sculptor), 53 n.
Sauli, Alessandro, St. (Barnabite, Bishop of Aleria and Pavia), 237 *seqq.*
Savelli, Cardinal (Vicar-general of Rome), 7, 71, 137 n. 2, 181, 182, 184 n. 4, 185 n. 7, 186, 195 n. 1, 224, 261 n.

Scappi, Bartolomeo (cook to Pius V.), 58 n. 1.
Schaumburg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 210 n. 1, 214.
Schenk, Fred. V. (Archbp. of Utrecht), 232 n. 5.
Schüssler, Jodocus (Provincial of the German Franciscans), 257.
Scotti (Bishop of Trani and Piacenza), Cardinal, 3, 24, 35, 39, 73, 75 n. 2, 81, 137 n. 2, 160, 166, 172, 292.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 256, 272.
Selvago, G., 132 n. 3.
Serbelloni, Gabrio (captain of the Papal guards), 6.
Serbelloni, Gian Antonio, Cardinal, 7, 16.
Sergiusti, Niccolò, 131 n. 3.
Seripando, Girolamo, Cardinal, 195 n. 5.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 28 *seq.*
Serristori (Florentine ambassador in Rome), 10, 36 n. 1, 57, 65 n. 1, 144 n. 2, 266, 303.
Sforza, Alessandro, Cardinal, 7, 11, 22, 28, 37, 199, 216 n.
Sighicelli, Giov. Batt. (Bishop of Faenza), 313 n. 1.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 128 n. 4, 299.
Siguenza, Rodrigo de, 285.
Simancas, Didaco de (Bishop of Badajoz), 345 n. 2, 352, 354.
Simoncelli, Cardinal ,7, 178 n. 5.
Simonetta, Cardinal, 4, 7, 24, 29 n , 81, 368, 377, 379.
Sirleto, Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 7, 27, 37 *seq.*, 43 n., 71, 81, 129, 132, 159, 184 n. 4, 192, 195 n. 1, 196 n. 2, 198 *seq.*, 291, 335 n. 2.
Sixtus of Siena (Biblical critic), 130.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 171.
Sixtus V., Pope, 159, 234, 257 n. 4, 258.
Socinus, Fausto, 380.
Socinus, Lelio, 380.
Soius [Soye], Philip (engraver), 52 n. 1.
Soriano, Michele (Venetian envoy), 64.
Sormani, Giov. Franc. (Bishop of Montefeltro), 190, 217 n. 4, 261 n.
Soto, Dom. de (O.P.), 355.
Souchier, Jerôme (Abbot-general of the Cistercians), Cardinal, 156, 158 *seq.*, 198.
Spinola, Publio Franc. (heretic), 317 n.
Sprenger, Bartholomew (painter), 127.
Stephanis, Bonif. de (Bishop of Stagno), 262 n.
Stronconio, Angelus de (Observant), 257 n. 5.
Strozzi (Imperial agent), 87 nn., 146, 169, 289 n. 3.
Stuerdo, Carlo (envoy from Parma), 87 n. 4.
Sudi, Marco (hat-maker), 223.
Surius (hagiographer), 203.

Tapper, Ruard (chancellor of Louvain university), 370.
Taxis, Giov. Ant. de, 304 n. 4.
Temudo, George (Archbp. of Goa), 210.
Teresa, St., 237 n., 275 *seqq.*
Terranuova, Duke of, 159.
Thomas Aquinas, St. ,119, 129, 165, 200 *seq.*, 242, 278.
Thomas of Villanova, 207, 236 n. 3.
Tiepolo, Paolo (Venetian envoy), 41 n. 5, 52 n. 1, 96 nn., 101, 169, 291, 313, 315.
Tiletanus, *see* Ravestein.
Toledo (S.J.), 348.
Torre, Michele della (Bishop of Ceneda, nuncio), 161 n. 1.
Torrentius, Lavinius (poet), 130 n. 7.
Tosabezzo, Franc. (Mantuan ambassador in Rome), 2 n. 5.
Trani, Cardinal, *see* Scotti.
Trennbach, Urban von (Bishop of Passau), 205.

Trinità, Della, Count, 48.
Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 162, 193, 214, 341 n. 3.

UCHANZKI, Jac. (Archbp. of Gnesen), 214 n. 4.
Urban VIII., Pope, 234.
Urbino, Cardinal, *see* Rovere, Giulio della.
Urfinus, *see* Orfino.

VALIERO, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), 217, 218 n. 1, 248 n. 2.
Valtodano, Christophorus, F. de (Bishop of Palencia), 211 n. 1.
Vargas (Spanish ambassador), 18.
Vasari, Giorgio (painter, art-historian), 118 *seq.*, 122, 127.
Vecchi (banker at Rome and Siena), 94.
Velde, Franc. van den (Bishop of Bois-le-Duc), 232 n. 5.
Veles, Marquis de, 174 n.
Verallo, Archbishop, 221 n. 1.
Vettori, P., 132 n. 3.
Vignola, Giacinto (painter), 123.
Vignola, Giac. Barozzi da (artist), 1 n. 2.
Vignola, Jacopo (architect), 123, 125 n.
Villalpanda, Bern. de (Bishop of Guatemala), 210.
Villavincentio, Lorenzo de (Augustinian hermit), 373.
Vincent of Beauvais, 119.
Vitelli, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 7, 15, 22, 30, 32, 35, 73, 75, 78 *seqq.*, 83, 133, 137 n. 2, 153, 178 n. 5.
Volpi, Giov. Ant. (Bishop of Como), 212 n. 3.
Volterra, Daniele da (painter), 120.
Volterra, Ulisse da, 127 n. 4.

WALHAIN, Max de (Archbp. of Cambrai), 209 n. 5, 232 n. 5, 273.
Weydecker (protestant in Padua), 331.
Wied, Frederick von (Archbp. of Cologne), 210 n. 1, 229.
Wirsberg, Friedrich von (Bishop of Würzburg), 211 n. 2, 214 n.

ZAMBECCARI, Pompeius (Bishop of Sulmona), 261 n.
Zanetti, Guido, da Fano (heretic), 307 n. 1, 317.
Zoppio, Hieron. (poet), 129 n. 1.
Zuccaro, Taddeo (painter), 127 n. 4.
Zucchi (pupil of Vasari), 118 n. 1.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 161 n. 1, 162 *seq.*, 168 *seq.*, 255, 347 n. 2, 348 n. 3, 350, 352–356, 361 *seqq.*
Zuñiga Avellaneda, Gaspar de, Cardinal, 161 n. 1, 164.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVIII.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii-xviii
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xix
Pius V. and Philip II.	1–26
The Pope's struggle against Spanish cesaropapalism	27–71
The beginning of the rebellion in the Low Countries	72–104
Pius V. and the civil and religious wars in France—The beginnings of the Catholic reaction in France	105–155
The state of Religion in Scotland—Mary Stuart and Elizabeth	156–194
Pius V. and Elizabeth—The Bull of Excommunication—Ireland	195–243
Pius V. and Maximilian II.—Catholic reform in Germany—The work of Canisius	244–299
Religious conditions in Poland and Switzerland—Foreign Missions	300–352
Pius V. and the League against the Turks	353–399
The Victory of Lepanto and afterwards — Death of Pius V.	400–460
Appendix of unpublished documents	461–474
Index of Names	475–486

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XVII

70941

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XVIII.

CHAPTER I.

PIUS V. AND PHILIP II.

A.D.		PAGE
	Cesaropapistical aims of Spain	1
	Determination of Pius V. to ensure the complete independence of the Church	1
1565	The nuncio in Spain, Giovanni Castagna	2
1566	The questions at issue: the *recurso*	3
	Difficult position of Castagna; his tact and ability	4
	The case of the Archbishop of Toledo, Carranza	5
	The Pope demands his transference to Rome	5
	Interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Spain and Naples	6
	The *Sussidio* and *Cruzada*	7
	The *Sussidio* granted for five years, but the *Cruzada* refused	8
	The Pope continues to insist on the transference of Carranza to Rome	9
	Iconoclastic atrocities in the Netherlands	10
	The Pope urges Philip II. to go in person to the Low Countries	10
	The mission of Camaiani to Spain	10
	Irritation of Philip II.	11
	The *Monarchia Sicula*	13
	Proposed league against the Turks	13
1567	Philip II. promises to go to the Netherlands	14
	But continues to delay; further causes of dispute	15
	The royal *placet*	16
	Controversy between Borromeo and the senate of Milan	17
	Severe action by the archbishop	19
	Indignation of the senate; the archbishop's officer arrested	20
	The archbishop excommunicates the offenders	20
	Pius V. summons the case to Rome; intervention of Philip II.	21
1568	Edict of the governor of Milan	23
	The chapter of S. Maria della Scala resists the archbishop's visitation	23
	They are supported by the senate	24
	Borromeo refused admission by the chapter	24
	Pius V. supports the archbishop	25
	Victory of Borromeo	26

CHAPTER II.

THE POPE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST SPANISH CESAROPAPALISM

A.D.		PAGE
	Cardinal Granvelle Philip II.'s chief confidant in Rome	27
1568	The new Spanish ambassador, Juan de Zuñiga	28
	Attempts to obtain the *Cruzada* from the Pope	29
	This meets with no success	30
	Memorial from Castagna to Philip II., detailing the questions at issue	32
	The reply of Philip II.	33
	The Papal prohibition of bull-fights not published by the Spanish bishops	35
	The bull *In Coena Domini* issued with important additions	35
	The Spanish bishops refuse to publish it without the royal *placet*	36
	The *exaequatur* in Naples	39
	Imminent danger of a breach between Rome and Spain	41
	The mission of Requesens to Rome	41
	The imprisonment of Don Carlos	42
	Distress of the Pope	43
	Letter of Philip II. to the Pope on the subject	43
	The death of Don Carlos; solemn funeral offices in Rome	45
	Requesens in Rome; renewed disputes	46
	Philip II. adheres to his claims; abuses in Naples	48
	A congregation appointed to examine the questions at issue	49
	Detailed letter from the Pope to the king	49
	He sets forth the abuses and usurpations on the part of Spain	50
	The Pope's remonstrances without effect	53
	Obstinacy of the Viceroy of Naples	54
	Evasive replies of Philip II.	55
1569	Second memorial of Castagna, setting forth the abuses in Naples	56
	Heated discussions between Castagna and Philip II.	58
	The king refuses to give way	59
	Giustiniani sent to Spain	60
	But he is able to accomplish very little	63
	The Turkish question leads to a rapprochement between Rome and Spain	63
1571	Pius V. grants the *Cruzada* for two years	64
	Cardinal Bonelli in Spain	66
	Philip II. still clings to all his claims	68
	The great services of Castagna, who had steadily shielded the king from personal blame	69
	Pius V.'s personal esteem for Philip II., and realization of the importance of the friendship of Spain	70

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REBELLION IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

A.D.		PAGE
	Philip II. had not the same personal ties with the Netherlands as his father, Charles V.	72
	Incapacity of Margaret of Parma, the Governess-General	73
	Unrest and discontent in the Low Countries	73
	Religion in the Low Countries; the influence of Erasmus	74
	William of Orange	75
	His religion entirely dictated by political considerations	76
	He becomes the centre of the disaffection	77
	The question of the Netherland bishoprics	77
	Fear of the Spanish Inquisition; hatred of Granvelle	79
1564	Philip II. dismisses Granvelle; a state of anarchy	81
1565	Conspiracy of the nobles under Orange	82
	They meet with general support	83
	Weakness of the regent; increased boldness of the Calvinists	84
1566	Outbreak of rebellion	85
	Iconoclasm and destruction	86
	Need for the personal presence of Philip II. in the Low Countries	87
	Pius V. urges the king to set out for the Netherlands	89
	Philip II. declares his readiness to undertake the journey	90
	But resolves to send Alba first	91
	The Pope insists that religious considerations must come first; the king political ones	92
1567	Philip II. finally abandons his journey	93
	The Pope declares that the king has deceived him	94
1568	Alba arrives with troops in the Low Countries; the programme sketched for him by Philip II.	95
	Wholesale confiscations and executions drive the people to desperation	96
	Alba's troops victorious, but he continues his campaign of terror and bloodshed	97
	Queen Elizabeth congratulates the king on his victory over the rebels	97
	Pius V. deceived by reports from Spanish sources into thinking that Alba was guided by zeal for religion	99
	Prayers and pilgrimages in Rome	100
	Pius V. urges an amnesty	101
	The question of the bishoprics	101
	The despotic government of Alba harmful to the cause of religion	103

CHAPTER IV.

PIUS V. AND THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE—THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC REACTION IN FRANCE.

A.D.		PAGE
1562	Continued atrocities on the part of the *gueux*	104
	The policy of Pius V. in France	105
	The nuncio, della Torre	105
	Instructions for the nuncio; the enforcement of the decrees of Trent insisted upon	107
	Pius V.'s doubts of Catherine de' Medici	108
1566	Sentence pronounced upon the heretical bishops	108
	Aims of the Huguenots	109
1567	Outbreak of the second religious war	110
	The Pope sends financial help	112
	A general Jubilee proclaimed	114
	The Pope's mistrust of Catherine de' Medici	115
1568	His fears justified by the Peace of Longjumeau	116
	Hostilities recommenced	117
	The third religious war; cruelty and violence on both sides	118
1569	The Pope sends auxiliary troops	119
	The victory of Jarnac	119
	Captured Huguenot standards sent to Rome	120
	Congratulations of the Pope	121
	The decisive victory of Moncontour	123
	Thanksgiving in Rome	124
	The Pope warns Charles IX. against misplaced leniency	125
	Little use made of the victories	126
	Rumours of peace; the Pope's renewed warning	128
1570	All these warnings in vain; the Peace of St. Germain	130
	The Pope's indignation at "the shameful peace"	131
	Bramante sent to France to get the peace annulled	131
	But all remonstrances remain without effect	133
	Catherine's matrimonial plans for her children bring the danger visibly nearer	135
1571	Coligny returns to court	136
	His far-reaching plans; proposed marriage of the Princess Margaret to Henry of Navarre	137
	The mission of Salviati to France	138
1572	He is followed by Cardinal Bonelli	139
	Attempts to induce France to join the league against the Turks	140
	The marriage contract signed between Margaret and Henry of Navarre	143
	France enters into an alliance with England against Spain	143
	Beginnings of a Catholic revival	144
	Ecclesiastical abuses in France	145
	The injury inflicted on the Church in France by the attitude of the government	146
	The Huguenot persecution had led to a Catholic reaction	147

A.D. PAGE

Renewed veneration for the Holy See and the person of the Pope 149
Work of the Jesuits: Auger, Possevino and Manaraeus 150
The lectures of Maldonatus 151
Frangipani's encouraging report concerning the development of Catholic life 153
Pius V. wishes strong action to be taken against the heretics, but not by wrongful means . . 154

CHAPTER V.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND—MARY STUART AND ELIZABETH.

1566 Religion in Scotland at the accession of Pius V. . . 156
Mary attempts to place Catholicism on equal terms with Protestantism 157
The conspiracy of Darnley 157
The murder of Rizzio 158
Bishop Chisholm sent to Rome; the Pope's sympathy for Mary 159
Proposal to send a nuncio to Scotland . . . 161
Vincenzo Laureo chosen; he arrives in Paris . 162
Laureo demands the punishment of the rebels . 163
Serious illness of Mary 164
Laureo's doubts of Mary's zeal for religion . . 164
Mary's strange leniency towards her enemies . . 165
She rejects the advice of the nuncio . . . 166
Disgraceful conduct of Darnley 167
Bothwell's influence with Mary 168
The plot against Darnley 169
1567 The murder of Darnley 170
Bothwell accused of the crime 171
The inquiry into the crime a farce . . . 172
Bothwell exonerated by the nobles . . . 173
Mary is married to Bothwell 174
Difficult to account for this fatal step . . . 175
The calumnies of Mary's enemies 176
The Casket Letters 177
Mary had no complicity in the murder . . . 178
End of Laureo's mission; he returns to Italy . 179
Mary's marriage to Bothwell had cost her the confidence of the Catholics 180
And shaken the Pope's trust in her . . . 181
Mary falls into the hands of her enemies and is imprisoned at Lochleven 182
1568 She escapes and gathers together an army . . 183
She is defeated at Langside and takes refuge in England 183
End of Catholic worship in Scotland . . . 183
Mary imprisoned at Bolton Castle 184
The Conference of Westminster 185

A.D. PAGE
Elizabeth's determination to blacken Mary's good name 186
Mary's representatives duped by Elizabeth . . 187
Mary denies her complicity in the murder and accuses her enemies 188
Vain attempt to induce Mary to resign her crown. 189
Even as a prisoner, Mary is still a danger to Elizabeth 191
She has many supporters in England . . . 192
Proposal that Mary should marry the Duke of Norfolk 193
Norfolk thrown into the Tower 194

CHAPTER VI.

PIUS V. AND ELIZABETH—THE BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION—IRELAND.

1568 The English Catholics fix their hopes upon Mary Stuart 195
Pius V. at first entertains hopes of Elizabeth's conversion 196
But soon comes to look upon her as a heretic and usurper 196
Renewed confidence of the Pope in Mary Stuart . 197
Pius V. seeks to obtain help for her from Spain . 199
Catholic reaction in England 200
Renewed persecution of the Catholics . . . 201
The English Catholics look for action on the part of the Holy See 202
Plans for a Catholic rising 203
Threatened war between England and Spain lends force to these plans 204
1569 But the hopes of Spanish help prove vain . 205
The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland take up arms on behalf of Mary 206
Ill-success of the insurgents 207
Failure of the Northern Rising 208
Terrible reprisals of Elizabeth 208
The Catholics ask for definite guidance from Rome . 210
The Pope and the two Earls 211
Pius V. opens an inquiry in Rome as to the state of affairs in England 212
1570 The Bull of Excommunication of Elizabeth . . 214
The bull not published in the customary form but copies make their way to England . . . 215
The bull affixed to the doors of the Bishop of London's palace by John Felton 217
No idea at first of enforcing the bull by force of arms 217
Philip II. objects to the bull; remonstrances of Alba 218
Effects of the bull in England 220
Elizabeth and the bull of excommunication . . . 221
A series of new laws against the Catholics . . 222
A new period of the persecution in England begun 223
Mary Stuart derives no advantage from the bull . 224

A.D. PAGE
The Treaty of Chatsworth; its terms not observed . 225
The schemes of Ridolfi; Mary appeals to the Catholic powers 226
1571 Plans for an invasion of England 227
Alba treats the proposals coldly; Ridolfi in Rome. 229
Ridolfi sent by the Pope to Spain 231
He is supported by Castagna but not by Philip II. and Alba 232
Philip II. insists that the enterprise shall be carried out in the name of the Pope 233
Alba continues to object to the plan 234
The English government discover the conspiracy; the treachery of Hawkins 236
End of the conspiracy; execution of Norfolk . 238
Cecil uses the opportunity against the Pope . . 238
The position of Mary Stuart made worse . . 239
The triumph of Elizabeth 240
Violent English rule in Ireland 241
Philip II. supports the Irish rebels 242
Thomas Stukely 242

CHAPTER VII.

PIUS V. AND MAXIMILIAN II.—CATHOLIC REFORM IN GERMANY—THE WORK OF CANISIUS.

1566 Ambiguous religious attitude of Maximilian II. . 244
Cardinal Commendone appointed legate to the Diet of Augsburg 246
Formation of the German Congregation 247
Commendone at Augsburg 248
The nuncio Melchior Biglia 249
Instructions to Commendone 249
The question of the religious peace of Augsburg . 252
Success of Commendone; the Diet accepts the decrees of Trent 254
The Emperor and the expedition against the Turks 255
The siege and fall of Sziget; peace concluded with the Turks at Adrianople 256
1567 Maximilian begins to cultivate more friendly relations with the Holy See 257
1568 Financial concessions made by Pius V. 258
Maximilian suddenly makes concessions to the Protestants 259
The Pope's surprise and distress; he condemns the concessions 260
And sends Commendone to the Emperor . . 261
Obstinacy of Maximilian II. 261
Commendone at Vienna 262
He is supported by Albert V. and Philip II. . 263
Maximilian apparently gives way 264
But succeeds in deceiving the legate 265
1569 Commendone sets out for Rome 267

A.D. PAGE

The relations of the Pope and the Emperor again disturbed by the question of Cosimo I. . . . 268
The ambitions of Cosimo I. 269
The Duke had loyally supported Pius V. in all things . 270
The Pope bestows upon him the title of Grand Duke 271
1570 Protest of the Emperor 272
The coronation of Cosimo I. in Rome . . . 273
The motives which had led the Pope to the elevation of Cosimo 274
The attitude of Philip II. 275
The Cardinals discuss the reply to the Emperor's protest 276
The question raised at the Diet of Spires . . 277
The Pope's reply to the Emperor 278
1571 Death of Melchior Biglia 279
The new nuncio Giovanni Delfino . . . 280
His instructions 281
The Emperor and the new Protestant "liturgy" . 282
The Archduke Charles of Styria 283
Illness of Maximilian II. 285
Complete failure of Maximilian's religious policy . 286
The German bishops and the Tridentine profession of faith 287
Half-hearted Catholics in Germany . . . 288
The report of Peter Canisius on affairs in Germany . 290
The memorial of Feliciano Ninguarda . . . 291
Diocesan synods held by Cardinals Truchsess and Mark Sittich 292
Synods and visitations in Germany . . . 293
The Bishops of Cologne, Trêves, Mayence and Prague 294
The visitations reveal a deplorable state of affairs . 295
Catholic restoration in Bavaria; the activity of Albert V. 296
Reforms in the Tyrol, Lower Austria and other parts of the Empire 297
The work of the Jesuits, especially of Canisius . 298

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN POLAND AND SWITZERLAND—FOREIGN MISSIONS

1566 The state of religion in Poland at the accession of Pius V. 300
The nuncio, Giulio Ruggieri; his instructions . 301
The stormy Diet of Lublin; Cardinal Hosius appointed legate 302
1568 Ruggieri's report on the state of Poland . . 303
Influence of the Jesuits 306
Vincenzo de Portico succeeds Ruggieri as nuncio . 307
1569 Cardinal Hosius at the Diet of Lublin . . . 308
He returns to Rome; his continued interest in the affairs of Poland 309

A.D. PAGE
The question of the divorce of King Sigismund Augustus 310
Weakness of Portico 311
1571 Commendone sent as legate 312
1572 Commendone and the king's divorce . . . 312
The question of the league against the Turks . . 313
The state of religion in Switzerland; account of Borromeo 314
Catholic leaders in Switzerland; Pfyffer and Lussy . 315
The Catholic and Protestant cantons . . . 316
Cardinal Borromeo Protector of the Catholic Cantons 318
Visitation by Borromeo of the Swiss valleys . . 319
And of German Switzerland 320
His suggestions for reform 321
The question of Geneva 323
Visitation of the Grisons; the Catholic and Protestant leagues 324
The mission in Brazil 326
The work of Azevedo; he collects missionaries in Europe 327
Tragic fate of the expedition 328
Protestant opposition to the missions . . . 330
Pius V. and the missions; his instructions to the nuncio in Madrid 331
He issues a whole series of briefs on the subject . 332
Far-reaching powers of the civil authorities over the missions 333
These rested upon concessions made by the Holy See 335
Upon the whole this was favourable to the Church . 336
The mission in Peru 337
Cruelty of the conquerors 338
The viceroy, Toledo, attempts to remedy the abuses 340
On the whole the Spanish government administered the colonies well 342
The influence of the Popes in this matter . . 343
Pius V. and the Indian missions 344
Louis Bertrand 345
The mission to Abyssinia 346
The East Indies 347
Pius V. far in advance of his predecessors in regard to the missions 349
His insistence on adequate instruction . . . 350
The instructions of Francis Borgia to his subjects as to this 351
Pius V. and the Greek churches 352

CHAPTER IX.

PIUS V. AND THE LEAGUE AGAINST THE TURKS.

1566 The Pope's attention directed from the first to the Turkish peril 353
He gives help to the Knights of Malta . . . 354

A.D.		PAGE
	Successes of the Turkish fleets in the Mediterranean	355
	A jubilee proclaimed	356
	Venice averse to any breach with the Turks	356
	Philip II. and Maximilian II. also hold back	357
	The Pope's renewed efforts to form a league	357
1567	Steps for the defence of the Papal States and Rome	359
	The new Sultan, Selim II.	361
1569	Turkish designs on Cyprus and the possessions of Venice	362
	Venice, taken by surprise, forced to look for help outside	363
	Her strained relations with the Pope and Philip II.	364
	She is forced to agree to the league	365
	The Porte sends an ultimatum to Venice; its rejection	366
	Spanish mistrust of Venice	367
1570	Luis de Torres sent to Spain	369
	His instructions	370
	Torres in Spain	372
	Philip II. appoints representatives for the negotiations	373
	Torres and the King of Portugal	374
	Attempt to draw France into the league; Charles IX. definitely refuses his participation	375
	The Emperor also holds back	376
	Attempts to interest Poland and Russia in the league	376
	Pius V. and the Russian Czar	377
	Failure of these attempts	378
	Everything depends upon Venice and Spain	378
	Mutual distrust of the two powers; selfish attitude of the Republic	379
	Marcantonio Colonna appointed to command the Papal fleet	380
	Displeasure of Spain at this appointment	381
	Eagerness of the Roman nobles to take part in the enterprise	382
	The negotiations between Spain and Venice begun in Rome	382
	The treaty of alliances drafted	383
	Self-interested behaviour of both powers	384
	Heated discussions; the objective of the alliance	385
	The financial question	385
	The contributions of the contracting powers	386
	The question of the supreme command	387
	General agreement to the appointment of Don John of Austria	388
	Further differences of opinion	389
	The status of Ragusa	389
	A combined fleet puts to sea	390
	Complete failure of the expedition; disgraceful conduct of Andrea Doria	391
	The fall of Nicosia	391
	Pius V. complains of Doria to Philip II.	392
	The negotiations resumed	393

A.D. PAGE
Fresh controversies 394
It is found impossible to arrive at an agreement. . 395
The division of conquered territory; the question of censures 396
The lieutenancy of the supreme command . . 397
Self-seeking of Venice and Spain 398
General indignation at the conduct of Spain . . 399

CHAPTER X.

THE VICTORY OF LEPANTO AND AFTERWARDS—DEATH OF PIUS V.

The Pope alone disinterested 400
Fears of the withdrawal of Venice 401
The two parties in Venice 402
1571 Colonna sent to Venice 403
The treaty of alliance at last signed 404
The terms of the alliance 405
Joy of Pius V.; public processions; he urges speed . 406
Venice still delays in publishing the league . . 407
Commendone sent as legate to the Emperor and Poland; Bonelli to Spain and Portugal . . 408
The legation of Bonelli 409
Preparations in Rome 411
The Papal fleet leaves Civitavecchia for Messina. . 412
Arrival of the Venetians; the Spaniards still delay . 413
Don John reaches Genoa 414
Don John at Naples; the sacred standard of the league 415
Philip II.'s jealousy of his brother 416
The fleet sails from Messina 417
The fall of Famagosta; Turkish atrocities . . 417
The Turkish fleet sighted near Lepanto . . . 418
The opposing forces 419
Disposition of the Christian fleet 419
The battle begun 420
Complete victory of the Christian fleet (October 7) . 421
Prisoners and booty 421
The fallen; the Roman nobility 422
Anxiety of Pius V.; his prayers and penances; the Rosary 423
Suspense in Rome. 424
Pius V. receives the news; jubilation in Rome . 425
Letters announcing the victory sent to all the powers 426
The Pope's far-reaching hopes 427
The victory not followed up 427
Disagreements among the victors 428
The return of Colonna; preparations for his reception 429
Triumphal entry of Colonna into Rome . . . 431
He is received by the Pope and Cardinals . . 433
Complete absence of paganism in the celebrations . 433
Discussion of plans for the carrying on of the campaign 435

A.D.		PAGE
	Divergent aims of Spain and Venice	436
	Disinterested aims of the Pope	437
	No help to be looked for from France and the Emperor	438
	Disgraceful quarrels of the representatives of Spain and Venice	439
	The Pope decides on continued action in the Levant	439
1572	Preparations for the resumption of the campaign	440
	Privileges granted to all who take part in the Crusade	441
	Practical value of the victory of Lepanto	442
	The Feast of the Rosary	444
	Commemorative orations and poems	444
	The victory of Lepanto in art	446
	The Pope's vision at the moment of victory	449
	State of the Pope's health	450
	His great vigour	451
	But his health begins to fail	452
	He is worn out by his anxieties	453
	His last pilgrimage to the Seven Churches	454
	Sudden collapse of Pius V.	454
	The dying Pope; his last thought the league against the Turks	455
	The death of Pius V. (May 1)	456
	The great work that he had accomplished	457
	Provisional burial of the Pope	458
1588	Translation of the body to St. Mary Major's	459
1712	Canonization of Pius V.	459
	His shrine	460

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Pius V. to King Charles IX. of France . .	463
II.–III.	The Bull "In Coena Domini" of 10 April, 1568	463
IV.–V.	Negotiations of A. Rucellai concerning the assistance to be given to France by Pius V., 1568	466
VI.	Pope Pius V. to Charles IX., King of France .	466
VII.	Nicolas Sanders to M. A. Graziani . .	468
VIII.–IX.	Avvertimenti sopra li maneggi di Francia del Bramante [Autumn, 1570]. . . .	470
X.	Bramante to Cardinal Rusticucci . . .	472
XI.	Report in cipher of Bramante to Cardinal Rusticucci	473
XII.	The captain of the guard, Jost Segesser, to the Council of Lucerne	473

CHAPTER I.

Pius V. and Philip II.

Even in the time of Pius IV. the cesaropapistical aims which had become so prominent in Spain ever since the end of the Middle Ages, had reached such a height that Figueroa, the President of the Royal Council, had gone so far as to assert, at a public session, that there was no Pope in Spain.[1] It was inevitable that the relations between the Holy See and the Catholic King should become more and more strained. Philip II., and still more his advisers, looked upon their claims, founded as they were upon privileges and customs, to be supreme even in ecclesiastical matters, as the inalienable right of the crown, and as a thing to be yet further increased, while the Apostolic See saw in that same claim a grievous injury to the most sacred rights of the Church. The state of affairs was bound to be embittered when, with Pius V., a Pope ascended the throne of Peter who looked into and decided the questions which arose in this connexion much more conscientiously than many of his predecessors and "with marvellous effect."[2]

The strong determination of Pius V. of ensuring the complete independence of the Church everywhere, and above all of setting free her jurisdiction and liberties from any interference on the part of the civil power, led him into serious disputes with the Spanish government. If these disputes never reached the extreme point of a complete breach this was the result, on the one hand, of the political situation, which now more than ever threw the Pope and the Catholic King into each other's arms, and on the other, of the personality of the man

[1] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., I., 23 n. and 444.

[2] Herre, Europ. Politik, I., 58.

who, during the whole of the reign of Pius V., filled the difficult and responsible post of nuncio in Spain; this was the Archbishop of Rossano, Giovanni Battista Castagna, who by his disinterested zeal, his prudence, and his eminent diplomatic ability, was able to satisfy the demands of the Pope's zeal for the defence of the interests of the Church against the steps taken by Philip II., and yet at the same time remain in favour with the king, in spite of his frequent and heated disputes, both with him and with his ministers.[1]

Castagna had reached Madrid on November 13th, 1565, with the Cardinal legate, Boncompagni, and at Perpignan, the first place they came to in Spain, he had been a witness of the honourable welcome accorded to the representative of the Pope, with whom he made his solemn entry into the Spanish capital.[2] Cardinal Crivelli, his predecessor in the nunciature, left on November 17th. Boncompagni's labours had scarcely begun when they were interrupted by the news of the illness and death of Pius IV., in consequence of which the Cardinal legate returned to Rome on December 29th.[3] The news of

[1] From SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., I., xxii, xxvi *seq.*, who in a very praiseworthy way published in their original text the letters of the years 1565-1568, we now have a clear account of the story of the reports of Castagna, which were first made use of by LÄMMER (Zur Kirchengeschichte, 161 *seq.*), and then by GACHARD (Bibl. Corsini, 43 *seq.*, and Bibl. de Madrid, vii *seq.*; 85 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*), and lastly by HINOJOSA (p. 173).

[2] See Corresp. dipl., I., 23, 25 *seq.*, 44 *seq.* Interesting particulars of Boncompagni's stay in Spain are given by his companion, Venanzio da Camerino, in his *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome D. 5; *cf. ibid.* D. 7 the *notes of Musotti.

[3] On February 2, 1566, Cusano *reports that the Pope was annoyed with Boncompagni, first, because he had left Spain without orders from the Holy See (*cf.* as to this Bull. Hispanique, VII., 247, and Corresp. dipl., I., liv, 116); secondly, because he had accepted from Philip II. a gift of 5,000 ducats "e più per una lettera haveva ottenuta da S.M.C.ea ai cardli Farnese et Borromeo, ove lo nominava per speciale subietto suo e li pregava lo facessero Papa"; lastly, because he was unwilling to return to Spain on the business for which he had been appointed legate. Bon-

the election of Pius V. reached Madrid on January 25th, 1566. In his letter of congratulation to the new Pope Castagna did not fail to speak in high terms of praise of the Catholic zeal of the king, and again, in his letter of thanks for being confirmed in his nunciature, addressed to Cardinal Reumano, he remarks that Philip II. had spoken highly in praise of the new Pope.[1]

At the beginning of April Castagna asked for further instructions as to the tasks which Pius IV. had given him to perform in Spain. These specially concerned the unjust violation of Canon Law by means of the so-called *recurso de fuerza*, a custom corresponding to the French *appel comme d'abus*, by means of which, in conjunction with the exercise of the *placet*, the Spanish government exercised a control over all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the holding back (*retención*) of Papal bulls. As a result of this, anybody could, by means of the *recurso de fuerza*, obtain redress from the royal council for any sentence of an ecclesiastical judge, whether bishop or nuncio, which he imagined to be unjust ; the only exception was the tribunal of the Inquisition. If the council accepted the *recurso* all proceedings to the contrary by the ecclesiastical judge were suspended, and any action which he might still take was declared null. Anyone who suffered, or feared to suffer an injury to his rights (*fuerza*) from a Papal bull could ask that it should be held back. Frequent use was made of the *recurso ;* not only clerics and laymen had

compagni, however, was so well able to answer these accusations that, as Cusano *states on February 23, he was received by Pius V. in a very cordial way (State Archives, Vienna). In his *notes, Venanzio da Camerino says that the order given by Pius V. for his return was impracticable because it only arrived when the legate had already sent off all his belongings and his retinue. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] Philip II. had said " di tale pontefice haviamo bisogno adesso" (letter of Castagna of February 20, 1566, in Corresp. dipl., I., 124). Castagna's confirmation had already been made on January 24, 1566 ; see App. n. 68 in Vol. XVII. of this work, Archives of Briefs, Rome, and British Museum, London.

recourse to it, but even the bishops, against the ordinances of Papal bulls and Apostolic commissions, which were not to their liking.[1] Besides this many other violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction occurred in the fact that the secular authorities laid hands upon clerics, and arrested them, even in the churches. Pius IV. had already made complaints about this.

These violations of the authority of the Holy See and of the liberties of the Church on the part of the Spanish government did not escape the notice of Castagna, who also clearly saw that it would only be with great difficulty that a complete remedy could be found ; they had to deal with long-established customs, to which the king and his ministers clung with great tenacity. On the other hand he built great hopes on the truly Catholic sentiments of the king, whom he tried as far as possible to excuse personally, laying the chief blame on his ministers.[2]

In spite of this Castagna very soon realized how thorny was the position of the Pope's representative at the court of Philip II. The difficulty of the questions themselves, which were often very complicated, was great enough, but that was not all. The nuncio, for example,[3] repeatedly complains of the slowness of the procedure, of the impenetrable secrecy in which everything was hidden, and of the custom of dealing fully with everything in writing as well as by word of mouth. The great evil at the Spanish court, a conclusion which Cardinal Bonelli came to later on, was that everything was reduced to memorials, to which the ministers made what

[1] *Cf.* PHILLIPS, II., 569 *seq.;* FRIEDBERG, 546 *seq.;* PHILIPPSON, Philip II., 273 *seq.;* HINSCHIUS, VI., 1, 216 *seq.;* ISTURIZ in *Annuaire de l'université de Louvain*, 1907, 384 *seq.*, where further bibliography is given. In his "Practicarum quaestionum liber," written in 1558, and several times printed (e.g. at Antwerp, 1627) the Spanish canonist Diego de Covarruvias strongly defends the "recursus ad principem"; see EICHMANN, Der Recursus ab abusu, Berlin, 1903, 121 *seq.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., I., 179 *seq.*, 181, 363.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., I., 289 *seq.*, 372.

answer they pleased, but without giving their reasons, and without troubling about motives, so that it was never possible to grasp the difficulties and bring them out into the open.[1] To this was added the proverbial indecision of the king, who was a past master at dragging on every question interminably.

Yet there were many important questions which called for immediate settlement. In the first place there was the affair of the unfortunate Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza, who had been kept a prisoner by the Spanish Inquisition for seven years, while Philip II. enjoyed the rich revenues of the archdiocese. With regard to this question it was Castagna's first duty to press the demand of the Holy See that the prisoner should be transferred to Rome, so that his case might be finally decided there, with complete impartiality and with all due solemnity, far away from the influence of his enemies in Spain. To this demand Philip II. offered an obstinate resistance, while Pius V., like his predecessor, persisted in his contention that the trial of Carranza belonged to his own tribunal.

It called for labour and skill on the part of Castagna to find an amicable solution of this problem. He saw very clearly where the root of the opposition of the Spanish government lay ; it was feared in Madrid that the authority of the Spanish Inquisition, by means of which the Catholic King kept his realm in subjection, would be weakened.[2] The nuncio sought to convince Philip II. that this would not be the case, in a personal interview on June 24th at which he presented to the king an autograph letter from Pius V. In eloquent words he explained that the Pope stood above the Spanish Inquisition, and that the latter tribunal drew its jurisdiction from the Pope, so much so that in many briefs the final decision was expressly reserved to Rome, and that respect for the

[1] See SENTIS, 121.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., I., liv *seq.*, 174, 223 *seq.*, 227 *seq.*, 243 *seq.* II., vii *seq.*, ix *seq.* *Cf.* also the *report of Cusano of January 26, 1566, which states that the affair of Carranza was the original cause of the distrust, which continued to increase between Pius V. and Philip II. (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* p. 344, Vol. XVII, of this work.

Papal rights was to the interest of the Spanish Inquisition itself. The king listened courteously and attentively to Castagna, but was of opinion that he could not come to any hasty decision in a matter of such great importance, and that he would have to discuss the reasons adduced with the Pope himself. Castagna replied that such a course was both useless and unnecessary; he again repeated that the Pope could not allow any further vacancy of the archbishopric of Toledo, and that he would have to declare before all the world that he was not responsible for the dragging on of the affair. The king contented himself with replying that he too was without blame on that score, and adhered to his contention that so important an affair could not be settled hastily.[1]

The Pope was much displeased, not only by the attitude of Philip II. in the affair of Carranza, but also by the news which had in the meantime been received from Spain that the bishops there had refused to publish the bull *In coena Domini* without the permission of the royal council.[2] But above all the Pope was annoyed at the violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Spain and its dependent kingdoms, especially in Naples, by means of the *exequatur*. At the beginning of July he expressed himself very strongly to Requesens on the subject, and on August 13th Castagna received instructions to complain to the king of the infringements of the rights of the Church which were constantly occurring on account of the sovereign privileges of the *Monarchia Sicula*, and to tell him that it seemed strange to the Pope that in the dominions of so pious a Catholic sovereign the salutary orders of the head of the Church were not carried out, and were even absolutely flouted by the royal authority.[3] At a consistory held about the same time Pius V. made a pointed allusion to those Catholic princes who arrogated to

[1] See the report of Castagna of June 30, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 270 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Arco of July 13, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See Corresp. dip., I., 285 *seq.*; 318 *seq.*, *cf* 335 *seq.* See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 341.

themselves the authority of the Holy See, a remark which was understood by all as referring to Spain.[1]

While these troublesome controversies were going on, Spain had sent to Rome extensive requests, by the granting of which the Pope was asked to come to the financial aid of Philip II. Above all he was asked to renew for another five years the tax levied upon the Spanish clergy known as the *Sussidio*.[2] At the same time the Spanish envoy, the Marquis d'Aguilar, who had been sent to offer the king's congratulations to Pius V., after he had paid homage on May 16th,[3] sought to obtain as well the concession of the *Bula de la Cruzada* The ordinary Spanish ambassador, Luis de Requesens, rightly looked upon such a proceeding as inopportune, thinking, in the light of his own political experience, that the first thing to do was to satisfy the Pope's just complaints as to the, infringement of ecclesiastical rights by Spain; Requesens strongly warned his colleague against conducting his business with such "a holy Pope" as had been done with his predecessor, and still less as had been done in the time of the Popes of the Renaissance.[4]

Requesens preached to deaf ears. His warnings as to the strong ecclesiastical views of Pius V. were not listened to, nor was any attempt made to arrive at a speedy settlement of the

[1] See the *report of Cusano from Rome, August 17, 1566 State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *reports of Arco from Rome, January 12 and March 23, 1566, *ibid.*

[3] See ZUÑIGA, in *Colecc. de docum inéd.*, XCVIII., 369; Vida de L. Requesens in *Bullet. Hispanique*, VII., 246 *seq.;* Corresp. dipl., I., 127, 153, 166 *seq.;* 173, 175, 192 *seq.*, 214, 247 *seq.* For the making of the "obedientia" *cf.* CIBRARIO, Lettere ined., Turin, 1861, 345, as well as the *report of Arco of May 18, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See the interesting letter from Requesens to Juan de Zuñiga in *Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, XCVII., 371 *seq.* The letter bears no date, but belongs to July, 1566, because the departure of Aguilar had taken place on the "18th of last month" i.e. in June (see Corresp. dipl., I., 265, n. 1). *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., I., 253, n. 2.

case of Carranza. Even a modest wish expressed by the Pope in favour of his native place, Bosco, which, as Requesens pointed out, would have cost the Spanish government nothing to grant, was refused.[1] Requesens, however, was quite wrong in thinking that the Pope would have granted the *Cruzada* if Spain had met his wishes in this matter. Pius V. was not the man to let such considerations influence his decisions. His refusal to grant the *Cruzada* was founded solely upon the numerous abuses connected with it.[2] What he could he granted. Thus on March 16th, 1566, he allowed for another five years the levy of the *sussidio* on the clergy, which brought in to the Spanish government 400,000 gold scudi.[3] The Pope did this against the advice of the Cardinals, and without asking for any corresponding gift to the Papal treasury in return for this important concession.[4] In face of this how miserably mean it was to see Philip II., just at that moment, supporting the Spanish Carthusians in their refusal to make a contribution to the building of the church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, when they were ordered to do so by Pius V.[5] Philip II. also showed himself very unbending with regard

[1] See the above mentioned letter of Requesens. As to this affair see Corresp. dipl., I., 109, 148, 219. *Cf. ibid.*, IV., 41 *seq.*, for the behaviour of Philip II. to the Pope's majordomo, Fr. de Reinoso.

[2] See the *report of Arco of May 22, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. See also the memorial of 1565 in Corresp. dipl., I., 443 *seq.*

[3] See * "Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado" in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. Text of the *bull for the "Prorogatio subsidii," dated March 16, 1566, in Fondo Borghese, I., 145-147, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., I., 90, 114, 131, 149, 152, 193 *seq.*

[4] SERRANO (I., xlvii) rightly puts this forward as a proof of how from the first Pius V. made every effort to maintain good relations with Philip II.

[5] See the reports of Castagna of May 12 and August 11, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 235, 302. *Cf.* also Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 443, and Vol. XVII., p. 121.

to those sums which the Fabbrica of St. Peter's was still waiting to recover from the *Cruzada* of the previous year.[1] In the meantime the handing over of Carranza was put off from month to month.

All that Pius V. could do was to insist more and more strongly upon his right of conducting the trial of Carranza in Rome. On July 30th, 1566, he addressed a brief to Castagna to the following effect: If Carranza has been kept a prisoner for seven years, the Pope cannot see how he can be blamed for that; but he also sees that he is laid open to more serious accusations than that, and he is now driven to lay a command upon the members of the Spanish Inquisition, under pain of excommunication and suspension, to allow Carranza to start at once for Rome, and to send the acta of his trial.[2] Before this brief reached Spain, Philip II., as Castagna announces on August 23rd, 1566, had made up his mind to comply with the just demand of Pius V., and to send Carranza to Rome.[3]

For the rest, however, Castagna had nothing but bad news to give from Spain, especially concerning many of the bishops, who, for their own ends, made use of the royal powers against the lower clergy. He had had to take action against Diego de Simancas, Bishop of Badajoz, because he had thrown into prison the bearer of a Papal bull concerning some just pecuniary demand. On August 11th the nuncio wrote: Here I find the authority of the Holy See impugned on every point; all are opposed to it except the cathedral chapters, and even they are only actuated by self-interest[4]

The dissensions between Rome and Madrid were further

[1] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., I., 180, 195, 233, 276, 352.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 484; Corresp. dipl., I., 292 *seq.* The brief was prepared with such great secrecy that not even Cardinal Bonelli knew of it; see App. n. 68, Vol. XVII. of this work, and the autograph letter from the Pope to Castagna of August 3 (printed in Corresp. dipl., I., 298 *seq.*), in which he insists that the liberation of Carranza and the journey of Philip II. to the Low Countries must be energetically pushed forward.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., I., 330.

[4] *Ibid.* 303.

intensified in connexion with the dangerous disturbances which broke out in the Low Countries. Like all well-informed people Pius V. saw in the personal presence of Philip II. in the threatened provinces "a last resource against a conflagration which was gaining ground every day." But the King of Spain, who always found it so hard to make up his mind, could not decide upon this course. When, in September 1566, the news reached Rome of the horrors perpetrated by the Netherland iconoclasts, the Pope was so overcome that, even at the risk of seriously irritating Philip, he hastily determined on a startling step. On account of the sacrileges committed by the insurgents he thought it his sacred duty to lay before the king by means of an envoy-extraordinary the necessity of his going to the Low Countries. Pietro Camaiani, Bishop of Fiesole, who had been nuncio to Charles V. in the time of Julius III.,[1] was entrusted with this task.[2] In his instructions[3] we read that he was to adjure the king by the Blood of Christ not to put off his journey any longer; if he delayed any further the Netherlands would be lost to the Church, as well as to the king, and that would entail the most serious consequences for the Catholic religion in England and

[1] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 135. For Camaiani, who during the time of his legation became Bishop of Ascoli (October 9, 1566, see GULIK-EUBEL, 133), see *Nuntiaturberichte*, XII., xxvi *seq*, Saggio di cose Ascolane, Teramo, 1766, App. cccxcvi; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, III., 413 *seq.*; CAPPONI, Mem. d. chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli-Piceno, 1898. By many, and recently by RACHFAHL (Oranien, II., 2, 839) the mission of Camaiani has been confused with that of Alessandro Casale. The latter, according to a *brief of September 12, 1566, to the Archduke Charles of Austria, was sent to their Spanish majesties to convey congratulations "de partu ipsius reginae": see Addit., 26, 865, p. 496, British Museum, London.

[2] See the *brief to Philip II. of September 27, 1566, accrediting Camaiani. Original minute in the British Museum, London (*cf.* App. 68, Vol. XVII. of this work).

[3] See Corresp. dipl., I., 356 *seq.* The editor has missed the printed version of the instructions in Compte rendu de la Commiss. d' hist. à Bruxelles, III., 9, 276 *seq.*

France. His Majesty must not let himself be deterred by consideration for Spain, for even if Philip were to send a large army to the Low Countries it would be of no avail without his personal presence.

Camaiani was also to ask for the actual transfer to Rome of Carranza, and the Pope was prepared to allow that several members of the Spanish Inquisition should accompany him in order to give information to the Curia. Camaiani was further to bring up the question of the offences against ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Naples, where the Bishop of Gravina and even the Archbishop of Naples had been interfered with in the exercise of their office by the Spanish authorities. Finally he was to call attention to the fact that the sovereign privileges, known as the *Monarchia Sicula,* had been made use of, as had never been the case in Sicily, " to make the Catholic King a Pope " and that this had entailed so much confusion in ecclesiastical affairs that the Pope, unless a remedy was found, would find himself obliged to withdraw all concessions and indults.

The mission of Camaiani, which caused a great sensation everywhere, and still more the tasks which had been assigned to him, were extremely distasteful to Philip II. When at the end of the last week in November, 1566, he appeared before the king, the unwelcome visitor met with a very cold reception. Philip made a grievance of the fact that doubts were felt in the Curia about the reality of his intention of undertaking the journey which was so necessary, and which he had so often promised to make. His anger at the tasks which had been entrusted to the envoy was increased when Camaiani laid his demands before him in ill-chosen terms, and in general adopted a brusque tone.[1] The irritation of the king found full expression in the instructions which he sent to his ambassador in Rome. He must give the Pope clearly to understand that his insistence, and his interference in the affairs of His Majesty,

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., xlv. Pius V. disapproved (*ibid.* I., 430 *seq.*) of the over brusque attitude adopted by Camaiani, who was subsequently recalled. *Cf.* the letter of Bonelli of February 12, 1567, *ibid.* II., 37 *seq.*

whom God was making use of as His instrument, were ill-timed and ill-judged; even if he had not made up his mind, as he actually had done, to go to the Low Countries and to send Carranza to Rome, the Holy Father had chosen but a sorry way of inducing him to do these things![1]

The hostility of Philip II. did not have the effect of daunting the courage of the Pope's representative in continuing to press the demands entrusted to him. Before long it was categorically reported that Philip would shortly set out upon his journey to the Low Countries.[2]

On December 17th, 1566,[3] Pius V. addressed a letter to the king in his own hand, in which, by way of excuse, he pointed out that Camaiani had been sent, not because he, the Pope, had any doubts that Carranza would be released, but only in order that this affair, which had already been postponed on account of the press of business at the Spanish court, might not be allowed to drag on any longer, and that if Camaiani had been given the further task of insisting on the importance of the king's journey, this was not because the Pope thought that this duty was not already clear to His Majesty, but merely because he feared lest, as was the case with all good undertakings, the devil should put obstacles in the way of this one. In this letter Pius V. also touched upon the offences committed against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Spanish authorities, adding the warning that such a course of action was the first step towards estrangement from the Church,[4] and a request that the king would give orders that the bishops were not in future to be interfered with in the carrying out

[1] See the report of Castagna, translated in GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid, 92 *seq.*, and the letter of Philip II. to Requesens of November 26, 1566, in GACHARD, Don Carlos, II., 373 *seq.* *Cf.* BÜDINGER, 73 *seq.* KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 225 *seq.* and Corresp, dipl., I., 383 *seqq.*, 399 *seq.* where the reports of Castagna and Requesens are printed in full.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., I., 405, 413; *cf.* 362, 376 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 422 *seq.*

[4] "E questo è il primo passo et il primo scalino o sii grado d'alienarsi dalla s. chiesa cattolica."

of their duty against simonists, concubinists and other offenders.

Before this, on December 9th, 1566, Camaiani and Castagna had made representations against the interference of the Spanish authorities in ecclesiastical matters in the Kingdom of Naples, and the abuses in connexion with the *Monarchia Sicula*. Philip II. asked for a more detailed memorial as to these matters. At the same audience Camaiani delivered a Papal brief on the obstacles which the senate of Milan were putting in the way of the reforms of the archbishop, Borromeo. The king promised to inquire into this carefully.[1]

At the end of 1566 and at the beginning of the new year, besides these ecclesiastical matters, the nuncios conferred with Alba and Philip II. concerning the formation of a league of Christian princes against the Turks, a matter which the Pope looked upon as supremely important. The Spanish government showed itself quite averse to this plan, principally because the German and French Protestants would look upon such a league as directed against themselves, and thus the situation in the Low Countries would be made more difficult.[2] Concerning the decision which was now made to send Alba, who was to be vested with unlimited powers, and who was to oppose the Netherland rebels with all rigour and without restraint, there now sprang up a difference of opinion, similar to that which had occurred between Paul III. and Charles V., at the time of the Schmalkaldic War.[3] While at Madrid they wished it to appear to the rest of the world that the intervention in the Low Countries was directed solely against political

[1] See the report of Castagna of December 9, 1566, in Corresp. dipl., I., 414 *seq.* *Ibid.* 415 *seq.* the memorial. In an autograph letter to Philip II., dated Rome, January 8, 1567, Pius V. expresses the hope that the king has examined into the obstacles placed in the way of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the kingdom of Naples. In this letter he further remarks that, as he already sent him word by Castagna, Philip II. had no reasonable cause for displeasure at the mission of Camaiani. Corresp. dipl., II., 7 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HERRE, Europ. Polltik, I., 36, 41 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 303.

rebels, in Rome they wished, as the facts indeed warranted, that the religious aspect of the affair should be made clear.[1] In February, 1567, Castagna delivered to the king a letter from the Pope which continued to harp upon the necessity of his majesty's personal appearance in the Low Countries, and again alluded to the difficulties placed by the Spanish government in the way of the visitation in Naples. In the negotiations that followed, Philip admitted that his anger at the mission of Camaiani had been caused by the connecting of affairs in the Netherlands with the case of Carranza. He would certainly undertake the journey to the Low Countries, but it was necessary in the first place to hasten the mission of Alba. As to Naples he promised to give the necessary orders to satisfy the Pope's demands.[2]

In March, 1567, the departure of the king was announced in various proclamations,[3] and Camaiani thought that he could return to Rome with an easy conscience.[4] The embarkation of Carranza was at hand;[5] Philip intended to enter into and to take steps to satisfy the complaints of the Pope as to the obstacles put in the way of the Neapolitan bishops in the exercise of the duties of their office, and especially their visitations,[6] but he remained obdurate on the subject of the *placet*, the *exequatur*, the *recurso de fuerza*, the *Monarchia Sicula*, and other royal prerogatives.[7] At the beginning of

[1] See the extracts from the reports of Castagna in GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid, 93 *seqq.* *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., xlvi *seq.*, 25 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

[2] See the report of Castagna from Madrid, February 8, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 33 *seq.*

[3] See RANKE, Hist.-biogr. Studien, Leipzig, 1877, 521 *seq.*

[4] He was recalled by a letter from Bonelli of February 12, 1567: he set out on March 22 and reached Rome on April 13. See Corresp. dipl., II., 83, 88.

[5] It finally took place on April 27, 1567. See LAUGWITZ, 91; Corresp. dipl., II., 97; *cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, 344.

[6] *Cf.* the letters of Bonelli to Castagna from Rome, January 8 and March 6, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 10 *seq.*, 63.

[7] See the report of Castagna of March 22, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 84; III., xlvi *seq.* *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1567 n. 66; HINOJOSA, 185.

May he tried once more to pacify Castagna about the affair in the Netherlands ; the interests of religion—so he maintained —would suffer no hurt if it were declared to the world that they were only taking action against political rebels, though he well knew that heresy was the origin and breeding ground of the revolt.[1]

The attitude of Philip II., which led the Pope to grant him the *excusado*, but who in the end abandoned his journey to the Low Countries, which he had represented as being quite decided upon, caused fresh dissatisfaction in Rome, which, however, began to disappear when news came of the stern measures being adopted by Alba. The Pope now thought that he could be at rest about the cause of religion in the Netherlands, and, as Arco reports, he was so pleased that he almost entirely forgot his displeasure with the king.[2] But it was not long before fresh disagreements over ecclesiastical affairs sprang up, so that, instead of improving, relations between Rome and Madrid became more strained than ever. The responsibility for this did not rest with the Pope, who was always much more accommodating than Philip II.[3] While the latter continued to press for the concession of the *Cruzada*, and sought to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope by means of opinions from the Spanish prelates,[4] the Spanish government persisted with the utmost tenacity in the cesaropapistical claims which Pius V. considered it his sacred duty to resist.[5] It is beyond all question that very often these claims

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 99.

[2] See the *letter of Arco of September 27, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See HERRE, Papsttum, 154.

[4] For the resistance of Pius V. see the report of Granvelle of March 14, 1567, Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 519, and the letter of Requesens of September 16, 1567, in Corresp. dipl., II., 200. As to the opinions see Corresp, dipl., II., 137 ; some are to be found in the Simancas Archives, Pat. Real. leg. 20.

[5] Requesens himself recognized the purity of Pius V.'s intentions. On December 25, 1566, he wrote to Philip II. : " Your Majesty may rest assured that what he has done was not due to

were quite unjustifiable. Even Requesens, Philip II.'s representative in Rome, did not, in his private correspondence, conceal his opinion that the Pope was fully justified in his complaints of the encroachment upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If, he said, an appeal had been made to Pius V. concerning the abuses in the Roman Curia of which Spain complained, the Pope would certainly have removed them, but in their case one-sided measures had been taken, and in so doing Spain had gone too far, so much so that it might be said that the Germans had thrown off their allegiance to the Holy See in word and deed, and the Spaniards had done so in deed.[1]

Castagna had again and again to make complaints of the way in which the Papal decrees, even in purely spiritual matters, were made subject to the *placet* (*pase*) of a civil authority, such as the royal council of Castille, and were even rejected when they were thought to run counter to the privileges and laws of the kingdom. In the Kingdom of Naples, the outcome of these claims, the so-called *exequatur*, had led to so grave a dispute that Pius V. threatened to excommunicate the Viceroy.[2] Moved by the purest intentions, the Pope wished, by means of a visitation, to raise the Neapolitan clergy to a better moral state, a thing much to be desired in the interests of the kingdom itself, but he found himself hampered on all sides by the royal authority, while in Spain, laymen, on the pretext of the privileges of the *Monarchia Sicula*, allowed themselves to interfere in the most dangerous way in the internal affairs of the Church.[3]

Things came to an even graver crisis between the spiritual

any ill-will, nor to any private intentions, but to holy zeal, though without any understanding of the proper way to apply it, especially in the case of princes so powerful as Your Majesty." See Herre, Papsttum, 154, now published in Corresp. dipl., II., 432.

[1] Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 379-380.

[2] With Corresp. dipl., II., 27 *cf.* the *report of Strozzi of January 25 and *that of Arco of February 22, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* Laderchi, 1566, n. 184 *seq.*; 1567, n. 63 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., II., 251 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*

and the temporal powers in the Duchy of Milan.[1] The first temporary disagreement with the governor, the Duke of Albuquerque, who was a man of good-will, was of but small importance. The latter claimed certain prerogatives of precedence at ecclesiastical functions, which, in the opinion of Cardinal Borromeo, might be taken as symbolical of the predominance of the civil over the spiritual power. This matter was settled by Philip II. giving his governor orders to stay away from the religious functions in question.[2] Soon after, however, a long controversy arose with the senate of Milan, which had the widest powers in the government of the duchy, and guarded them most jealously. Borromeo very soon saw that he would never put an end to certain disorders merely by sermons and exhortations. He therefore had recourse to the civil courts, which hitherto had quite failed to punish such offences, or had only punished them lightly, and obtained from them the promise that they would visit them with imprisonment and even graver penalties. In a special brief[3] the Pope quieted his scruples lest such an interference with the sentences of the civil courts might in some circumstances involve ecclesiastical irregularity. The archbishop

[1] *Cf.* BASCAPÉ, l. 2, c. 1 *seq.*, 7 *seqq.*, p. 24 *seqq.*, 38 *seqq.;* MUTINELLI, Storia d'Italia, I., 275 *seqq.;* M. FORMENTINI, La dominazione spagnuola in Lombardia, Milan, 1881 ; BERTANI, La bolla "Coenae," la giurisdizione ecclesiastica in Lombardia, Milan, 1888 ; A. GALANTE, Il diritto di placitazione e l'economato dei benefici vacanti in Lombardia, Milan, 1884 ; HINOJOSA, 194 *seq.;* LAEMMER, Meletemata, 222 *seq.*, 226 ; GINDELY, Rudolf II., I., 16 ; SERRANO in Corresp. dipl., III., v-xl.

[2] Corresp. dipl., I., 208, 262, 267, 289 (letters of April-June, 1566) III., x. Borromeo expressed himself in favourable terms of Albuquerque (SYLVAIN, I., 384).

[3] Of May 22, 1566, in SALA, I., 178. According to SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., x, Pius V. gave faculties to the Cardinal "para proceder contra los delinquentes é imponerles *por si ó* con ayudo del brazo secular ó *de sus tribunales*, toda clase de penas, incluso la capital" (the italics are mine). But in the brief there is no mention of the *episcopal* tribunal, and no authority is given for the death sentence.

further took proceedings on his own account against these deep-rooted abuses. According to a long established custom it had been the right of the episcopal courts to punish certain offences, as for example those against the sanctity of the sacrament of matrimony, blasphemy, the breaking of the precepts of fasting and Sunday observance, the usury that was contrary to the Church's laws, etc.[1] Borromeo, in accordance with the ancient custom of the Archbishops of Milan, now set up a force of a small number of armed police for the arrest of offenders, and the carrying out of the sentences of his court.

The senate of Milan raised a strong protest against this step. The Cardinal, they maintained, could not use his armed force against the laity, since that would be an infringement of the king's prerogative ; the police, too, were bound by the ordinance which forbade the use of certain arms. They also adduced other points of disagreement. When Borromeo wished to print the acta of his provincial council, the senate thought fit once more to uphold the rights of the king, claiming a right to alter the decrees of the council where they affected the laity. Even Papal decrees could only be acted upon in Milan with the consent of the senate.[2]

The question of the *placet* for the synod and for Papal briefs was soon adjusted by the conciliatory attitude of the governor, and the senate had to withdraw its claims. The question of the archbishop's armed police, however, was not settled during the life-time of Borromeo. As a matter of fact the rights of the matter were not altogether clear. Borromeo supported his action by the example of his predecessors in the archi-

[1] *Cf.* the enumeration in the letter of Borromeo of October 19, 1569, in SALA, III., 416.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 1, p. 24 *seqq.* SYLVAIN, I., 376 *seqq.* SERRANO in Corresp. dipl., III., xi. Difficulties in the way of printing the provincial synod were also experienced at Genoa (SALA, II., 261, n. 135, 262, n. 137) as well as at Venice (*ibid.* 274, n. 14 *seqq.*) ; for which reason Pius V. sent briefs to Genoa (*ibid.*) and to Milan (Corresp. dipl., I., 414). *Cf. ibid.* I., 187, the decree of the Doge, Priuli, for the protection of the synod, dated October 3, 1567.

episcopal dignity. The senate, on the other hand, declared that such rights were obsolete for the reason that, owing to the continued absence of the archbishops of Milan from their see, they had not been exercised for the past ten years. Moreover, Milan had in the meantime come under the Spanish crown and the laws of Spain afforded no scope for such action on the part of the archbishop.[1] The senate certainly had a legal foundation for its action, but it availed itself of this with a zeal which, even in the opinion of Philip II., went too far.[2] The stern action taken by Borromeo against abuses and immorality had made him enemies, especially among the nobility and men of influence, who gladly seized this opportunity of putting an obstacle in the way of the unwelcome reformer.[3]

Philip II., to whom the senate submitted its grievances against the archbishop, referred the matter to the Pope for decision. Borromeo had already submitted the question of his rights to the Holy See, while the senate was represented in Rome by one of its members, the future Cardinal Chiesa. The latter returned to Milan before the summer of 1567; in the brief[4] which he brought with him the Pope promised to hasten the settlement of this difficult legal question as much as possible. While the negotiations in Rome dragged on, Borromeo continued as before to make use of his police, which

[1] Serrano, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Il Re catholico cognosce l' errore del Senato et similmente tutti gli consiglieri che sono quì." (Castagna to Bonelli, September 8, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 189; *cf.* 215). Espinosa told the nuncio: "che il Re ha pavuto per male assai del Senato che habbia fatto quello che fece, maxime senza darne parte prima al Governatore; et gli ha scritto che adverta che non gli occorra mai più simil cosa." Castagna to Bonelli, February 14, 1568, *ibid.* 305.

[3] "Alcuni del Senato ancora, quali essendo infetti di qualche vicio notabile, fanno più remori de li altri acciò che [non] siano per aventura castigati de i loro peccati." Bonelli to Castagna, July 25, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 172; Bascapè, l. 2, c. 1, p. 24 *seqq.*

[4] Printed in Bascapè, l. 2, c. 2, p. 29; an Italian version in Giussano, 117.

according to all legal principles, he had the full right to do. It occasioned great excitement and indignation when he took action against the immoral conduct of a noble Milanese who "had sold the honour of his house for money." The Cardinal had him arrested and thrown into prison.[1]

At this the indignation of the senate burst out. Under the pretext that the archbishop's officer was carrying forbidden arms, the senate, breaking through ecclesiastical immunities, had him arrested at the doors of the cathedral of Milan, publicly tortured in the presence of a great number of people at the usual gibbet, and then banished from Milan under threat of the galleys.[2] The Cardinal demanded satisfaction, which the senate refused; Borromeo then excommunicated the authors of the outrage, but the senate had the sentence torn down from the doors of the church, and in offensive terms lodged an accusation against the archbishop in Rome.[3] Thus the breach was complete; the attempts at conciliation on the part of the governor, without whose knowledge the senate had acted, were in vain, and the only hope of a solution

[1] Bonelli to Castagna, August 2 1567, in SYLVAIN, I., 380.

[2] Bonelli to Castagna, July 25, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 169 *eqq.* Brief of February 17, 1569, in SALA, I., 222 *seq.* Letter of the Senate, dated July 13, 1567, in SALA, III., 388. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., xiii. According to Serrano (*ibid.* xiv) the officer had only suffered "un simulacro de vapulación." Bonelli (loc. cit. 170) speaks, it is true of "tre tratti di corda," but this does not mean three blows with a rope, but that he was three times racked and three times released; *cf.* the brief already cited: "publice tribus ictibus eculei acriter plecti et affici, cum maxima ignominia . . . et cum gravi eius corporis tormento." Thus too the letter of the Senate, *loc. cit.:* "poena trium funis quassuum affectus." *Cf.* BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 2, p. 30: "Acerrime si quis unquam alius torquetur."

[3] "Tanta fuit semper archiepiscopi duritia'; ,cum virum hunc [Borromeo] videremus nullis omnino rationibus moveri'; ,adeo impotenti ira exarsit; ,ne cum homine hoc, qui a sua voluntate nunquam decedit, in certamen descendamus etc." Letter of July 13, 1567, *loc. cit.*

of the complicated problem lay in the negotiations between Rome and Madrid.

Pius V. did not deign any reply to the letter of the senate. He had recourse to the governor, speaking to him of what had occurred in words of bitter reproach ; what had been done against the Cardinal must be annulled, and everything restored to the position in which it had been before the occurrence ; the question of further action against the offenders was reserved for further consideration.[1] At the end of August the president and two other members of the senate, together with several others involved in the affair, were summoned to Rome to give a personal account of their action.[2] All the remonstrances of the governor and the Spanish ambassador in Rome were unable to make the Pope go back upon this demand ;[3] the utmost that could be wrung from him was the extension of the time originally fixed from thirty to forty-five days.[4]

Philip II. disapproved of the ill-advised action of the senate ;[5] on the other hand he deemed it his duty to intervene once more on behalf of the authority of his government,[6] and he was displeased that the Pope should have taken action without first consulting him.[7]

Philip sought before everything else to find a solution of the controversy by winning over Borromeo,[8] because once that was done he hoped the Pope would not raise any further

[1] Brief of July 28, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 171 n.

[2] Bonelli to Castagna, August 22, 1567, *ibid.* 181 and 182 n. 1. The Papal summons is of August 19 ; *ibid.* 196, n. 1.

[3] Bonelli to Castagna, September 24, 1567, *ibid.* 211.

[4] Brief to Albuquerque of September 6, 1567, printed *ibid.* 197.

[5] See *supra*, p. 19, n. 2.

[6] " siendo este de tanta consideracion por lo que toca a la reputacion de la justicia en cuya estimacion consiste la principal fuerça de los estados y señorias temporales." Philip II. to Requesens, September 14, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 196.

[7] Castagna to Bonelli, September 28, 1567, *ibid.* 215.

[8] Letter of Philip II. to Borromeo of September 1, 1567, *ibid.* III., xvi n. (there is a printer's error here of 1568).

difficulties. But the governor's attempts in this direction were without result. Philip therefore, in October, 1567, sent to Rome to carry on the negotiations the Marquis de Cerralbo,[1] who was first to go to the Cardinal at Milan to try to come to an arrangement with him, which the Pope could then approve; if, however, Borromeo would not agree to this, Cerralbo was not to be afraid of threatening him, and to hold out to the archbishop the prospect of the king's publicly representing him as the disturber of the peace of the state.

Cerralbo only reached Milan in the middle of January, 1568, and there put forward his proposals, which were fundamentally little more than a renewal of the claims of the senate.[2] Before he succeeded in obtaining any satisfaction from Borromeo, the news arrived that the Papal decision of the case was imminent, so that Cerralbo set off hurriedly on his way to Rome, where with considerable difficulty he succeeded in inducing the Pope to defer his decision until he had first gone into the explanations brought by Cerralbo.[3] The efforts of Cardinals Pacheco and Granvelle with the Pope, however, met with a certain amount of success; Pius withdrew the summons to the senate on condition that they should make satisfaction to the Archbishop of Milan, and beg for absolution from the ecclesiastical censures.[4] The expected Papal decision as to the rights of the Archbishop of Milan did not appear, while Cerralbo rejected a compromise suggested by Pius V.[5]

Hitherto the governor of Milan, the Duke of Albuquerque, had shown himself the friend of the archbishop, but he gradually became estranged from him and began to treat him as an adversary, at any rate in his public acts. On the eve of

[1] The credentials dated October 12, 1567, *ibid.* II., 220; summary of the instructions for Cerralbo, *ibid.* n.

[2] Corresp. dipl., III., xvii *seq.*

[3] Zuñiga to Albuquerque, February 14, 1568, *ibid.* II., 303, n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* xix *seq.* Avviso di Roma of March 20, 1568, *ibid.* xx.

[5] Nor could the General of the Dominicans, Vincenzo Giustiniani, who went to Spain in the following year as Papal envoy, bring about an agreement on the subject. See Corresp. dipl., III., xxii, and *infra*, p. 60 *seq.*

Corpus Christi in 1568, he informed the vicar-general of the archbishop, who was away, that he could not take part in the procession on the following day if the armed guards of the archbishop had any part in it.[1] On August 25th he issued a strict edict against all who, directly or indirectly, violated the royal jurisdiction. This edict in all probability referred to the controversy with the archbishop, and was certainly understood in that sense in the archiepiscopal curia;[2] all Borromeo's officers of justice took to flight, and thus the archbishop's court was suddenly paralysed.[3]

Albuquerque's edict made its appearance just at the moment when the struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in Milan had become more bitter than ever. The chapter of S. Maria della Scala, which was much in need of reform, resisted the archbishop's visitation on the gound that the church was under royal patronage and was independent of the archbishop. It was true that Clement VII. had granted rights of exemption to the Scala, but only on the condition that the Archbishop of Milan confirmed them, and the canons were unable to produce proof of such confirmation. Under these circumstances Borromeo asked in Rome what he was to do, and received the reply that he could make the visitation. The Cardinal, however, waited for another two months before acting.

It then happened that a cleric belonging to the Scala was imprisoned for some offence by the archiepiscopal courts, and this let loose the hatred that had so long been accumulating. Relying on their privileges the canons declared that two officers of the court were excommunicated, and demanded an explanation from the archbishop himself. The senate openly took the part of the chapter, whose claims the governor also supported, and it was just at that moment that he issued the

[1] Corresp. dipl., III., xxi.

[2] "Questo bando non si può dir che sia stà fatto per altro, che per la total ruina della giurisdittione et libertà ecclesiastica." Thus the *Considerationi* on the bando in SALA, II., 13.

[3] *Cf.* the documents in SALA, II., 13 *seqq.*

edict threatening the severest penalties for every infringement of the royal jurisdiction.

Borromeo quickly made up his mind. He arranged for the visitation of the Scala to take place in a few days time, nor would he agree to the governor's request that he would, on account of the general uneasiness, wait for another three days. On August 31st, 1569, a priest notified the canons in the archbishop's name, of his immediate arrival, but he was driven out with violence by the chapter, who had taken refuge in the cemetery behind the church. Soon afterwards the Cardinal arrived in solemn procession, and this proved the signal for wild scenes. The leaders of the calvacade had hardly arrived, one carrying the Cardinal's insignia, and another the archiepiscopal cross, when their horses were seized by the bridles and the procession forced to halt. Borromeo got down from his mule, took his cross, which in accordance with the ritual he had to hold in his hand when pronouncing the excommunication of the canons, and took several steps towards the gate of the cemetery. The canons drove him back ; some armed men whom they had hired came in brandishing their swords,[1] and crying : Spain ! Spain ! and the gates were then closed in the archbishop's face. He then pronounced the excommunication of the chapter, and his vicar-general affixed to the walls a document to that effect, which, however, was at once torn down. Borromeo then returned to the cathedral, without having accomplished his purpose, and there again repeated the excommunication of the offenders. The canons, for their part, proclaimed to the sound of bells that the archbishop had incurred ecclesiastical

[1] According to a memorial defending the point of view of the Senate, which is also followed by SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., xxv *seq.*, one of the armed servants of the archbishop was the first to draw his sword. In a letter to Castagna (summary in BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 9, p. 44) Borromeo declares this accusation of his enemies to be ridiculous, as he had not gone with armed attendants : " eosdem crimini sibi dedisse . . . rem indignissimam, sed tamen etiam *ridiculam*, gladios a Caroli parte, *prorsus semper inermi*, prius deductos."

penalties by what he had done against the Scala, and had a proclamation to that effect set up in large letters in various places.

The archbishop now found himself in an extremely difficult position. His own tribunal was paralysed; the senate and the governor did not raise a finger against the men who had drawn their swords on their archbishop. Albuquerque even wrote to the Pope that there would be no peace in Milan until the archbishop was removed.[1] For a moment even Pius V. seemed to be influenced by the unfavourable reports of Borromeo, to whom he wrote that if it were true that he had refused to postpone the visitation for three days, he could not approve of his action.[2] The Pope nevertheless vigorously undertook the defence of the archbishop, and warned the governor in strong terms of the consequences that must be entailed by acts of violence against the Cardinal.[3]

In spite of the apparently hopeless position Borromeo did not lose courage. He defended his cause, which he was convinced was the cause of the Church, in letters to Rome, to the Papal nuncio in Madrid, and to Philip II., and obtained what had seemed impossible, namely that the victory rested with him. A few days after the Cardinal had issued a detailed protest against the governor's edict on jurisdiction,[4] the attempt of the Humiliati on his life took place, when he escaped unharmed in so marvellous a way.[5] There then arose a fear of continuing to fight against a man in whose favour God had, in the opinion of everyone, worked a miracle,[6] and neither the governor nor Philip II. could allow it to be said that their behaviour towards the representative of the eccle-

[1] Corresp. dipl., III., xxx. SYLVAIN, II., 9, 11.

[2] Brief of September 16, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 6.

[3] Briefs of September 10 and October 8, 1569, *ibid.* n. 6 and 7. The formula of salutation in the last brief runs: "Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem et salubriora in Domino consilia."

[4] October 19, 1569, in SALA, II., 20 *seqq.*; III., 415 *seqq.*

[5] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 246.

[6] "Hizo Dios milagro que no le hiziessen otro daño, etc." Albuquerque to Zuñiga, October 26, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., xxxv.

siastical power had encouraged the daring of the murderer.[1] On December 22nd, 1569, Borromeo received from the governor a letter from the king, in which Philip II. expressed his disapproval of the action of the Scala, and insisted on their submission to the archbishop.[2] A further declaration by the king put an end to the scruples of the senate, who were seeking to avoid a public act of submission to the archbishop by appealing to their status as representing the royal authority.[3] On the vigil of Christmas, 1569, the procurator and the notary of the senate publicly and solemnly asked at the doors of the cathedral of Milan for absolution from their excommunication.[4] The canons of the Scala did the same on February 5th, 1570.[5] On December 12th, 1569, the governor had mitigated his edict on jurisdiction by a further declaration. When neither the Pope nor the archbishop was satisfied with this, on December 29th he agreed that the archbishop should use the officers of his tribunal as had been done in former years.[6]

It was true that this did not provide a solution of the greatest of the issues then at stake, but nobody except Borromeo himself could ever have thought that even so much could have been accomplished.

[1] On November 2, 1569, Bonelli gave Giustiniani instructions to tell the king: "che questi sono i frutti che finalmente sono nati dalla poca intelligenza, anzi più tosto, dalla quasi manifesta inimicitia et dai continui disfavori che gli hanno usati et mostrati i ministri di S.M." etc. Corresp. dipl., III., 184.

[2] SYLVAIN, II., 30. Castagna to Bonelli, November 26, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 192. BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 11, p. 48 *seq.*

[3] BASCAPÈ, *ibid.* p. 49.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* SYLVAIN, II., 38.

[6] Corresp. dipl., III., xxxv *seq.* Briefs to Albuquerque of December 21, 1569 and January 15, 1570, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 18; 1570, n. 153. A brief of August 11, 1570, to the Senate of Milan (*ibid.* 1570, n. 154) admits that the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary ought not to hold good in the case of great crimes, and that Borromeo ought to hand over an adulterer and an assassin to the civil courts.

CHAPTER II.

The Pope's struggle against Spanish Cesaropapalism.

At the end of 1567 Requesens retired from his position as ambassador of Philip II. in Rome.[1] The Pope regretted his departure,[2] and entrusted to him a memorial embodying his wishes concerning the disputes at Milan and Naples, and the *Monarchia Sicula*.[3] Cardinals Pacheco and Granvelle had worked with Requesens in the interests of Spain. Granvelle, who had been in the Curia since 1566, was looked upon as Philip's most trusted confidant, and he exercised a great influence over Requesens.[4] He was a true product of the

[1] *Arco announces on December 27, 1567, that Requesens, who was surrounded by Cardinals seeking pensions, intended to start in two days. But according to the *report of Strozzi of January 4, 1568 (State Archives, Vienna), he was still in Rome on that date; his farewell audience had already taken place. See the brief of December 28, 1567, in which Pius V. praises him on the occasion of his departure, in Corresp. dipl., II., 281 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 281.

[3] " *Memoria al sig. commend. maggiore di Castiglia di quanto N.S^re^ desidera che si tratti con S.M.C^ca^ in suo nome," in Varia Polit., 81 (now 82), p. 426 *seq.*, without date, and p. 488-491, minute; on p. 489b, is to be seen the remark: " Aggiunta al Memoria . . . a 29 di decembre 1567," and on p. 491b: " Memoriale di N.S^re^ dato al sig. comm. magg. di Castiglia in qual partì di Roma a 30 di decembre 1567. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 386. On November 15, 1566, Strozzi announced to Maximilian II.: *" Alcuni dicono haver scoperto ch' el card^le^. Granvella è quello che ha la mente del re Filippo e che tratti qui tutti i negocii d'importanza per esso in compagnia del commendator." (State Archives, Vienna). Granvelle had been received in consistory on February 1, 1566: see Corresp. dipl., I., 121 n. 3.

Renaissance, with much practical experience of the world but, like Pacheco, he had no influence with the Pope, who knew his complete dependence upon Spain.[1] One day Pius V. openly told him that he was more Spaniard than Cardinal. How true this estimate was is clear from the relations between Granvelle and his sovereign, whose conception of ecclesiastical policy coincided with his own. The Cardinal could not but recognize the holy life and pure intentions of Pius V., but the cold-blooded politician showed how little he understood the position of the Pope and his great delicacy of conscience. He only saw in him a profound ignorance of politics, and an inability to deal with princes. Since Pius V., so Granvelle once wrote to Philip II., wishes nothing for his relatives, he imagines that he can push forward boldly, but he soon draws back if you show your teeth.[2] Even Philip II., in face of the difficulties which Pius V. put in the way of his use of the Inquisition for political purposes, was of opinion that the Pope was injuring the cause of religion by his scruples of conscience![3]

So long as there was such a want of grasp of the facts on the part of the counsellors of Philip II., there were bound to be conflicting views. Pius V., who clearly realized the importance of the Spanish king for the protection of Catholic interests in England and France, welcomed with all possible cordiality Juan de Zuñiga when he arrived in Rome on January 18th, 1568, as the successor of Requesens, and when France made objections he remarked that the King of

[1] See Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 599; *cf.* HERRE, Papsttum, 145. An excellent character sketch of Granvelle in RACHFAHL, Oranien, II., 1, 137 *seq.* It would appear that his by no means blameless behaviour remained unknown to Pius V. (see Renom de France, éd. PIOT, I., 26, n. 1.

[2] Letter of December 23, 1566; see Corresp. de Philippe II., II., xlvii. As complete a failure to understand the character of Pius V. is to be found in the *report of Cusano of February 2, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See Colecc. de docum. inéd., 341; FORNERON, I., 189 *seq.*

Spain was the only Catholic sovereign who protected the Church.[1]

The first relations of Zuñiga with the Pope were mutually satisfactory, but it was not long before difficulties arose. Zuñiga had been instructed to obtain the definite concession of the *Cruzada*, but he did not shut his eyes to the difficulty he would have in overcoming the scruples of Pius V. on the subject, and was careful to avoid bringing the matter forward before the settlement of the dispute about Milan[2] which Cerralbo, who had been sent to Rome by Philip II., was engaged in arranging.[3] At the beginning of March 1568 it seemed as though a happy issue to this dispute was probable.[4] The canonist, Gianpaolo della Chiesa, who was highly esteemed by Philip II., and had been sent to Rome by the senate, had rendered such good service in the matter that Pius V. conferred the red hat on him at the creation of Cardinals of March 24th, 1568; while France was only taken into consideration on this occasion by the nomination of Jerôme Souchier, Pius V. also conferred the purple on the President of the Spanish Council of State, Espinosa, and on Antonio Carafa, who was the devoted adherent of Philip II.[5] The Spaniards therefore had every cause for satisfaction. In fact Zuñiga reported on March 29th: We have a holy Pope, and if he will give us the *Cruzada*, we shall have nothing left to desire; he would like

[1] See the report of Zuñiga in Corresp. dipl., II., 294 *seq.*, 296 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *report of Arco of January 24, 1568 (in Latin and Italian), State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the reports of Zuñiga in Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 391 *seq.*, 396.

[3] See *ibid.*, 395.

[4] See the *report of Arco of March 13, 1568, State Archives Vienna.

[5] *Cf.* Ciaconius, III., 1031 *seq.*; Cardella, V., 114 *seq.*; Herre, Papsttum, 156 *seq.* In his *letter to Castagna of March 24, 1568 (Nunziat. de Spagna, VI., Papal Secret Archives) Bonelli brings out the consideration shown by Pius V. for Philip II. in the promotion. For the gratitude of Philip II. see Corresp. de Philippe II., II., 375.

to reform Christendom at a single blow, but that is not possible.[1] The repeated complaints made by Zuñiga that Pius V. was so cautious in the matter of dispensations and favours, and remained fixed in his ideas without letting himself be influenced by political considerations,[2] show that he too was lacking in a full appreciation of the personality of this supremely conscientious head of the Church.

In spite of all his difference of opinion with him about ecclesiastical politics, Pius V. had a great personal regard for the king. Several times Zuñiga was able to report the Pope's great solicitude for Philip's health,[3] and the French ambassador, on the occasion of the creation of Cardinals on March 24th, openly accused him of partiality for the Spanish king.[4] Pius, however, could not see his way to grant all that monarch's wishes. When, at the beginning of April, he asked for the concession of the *Cruzada*, Zuñiga met with no success, and the Pope gave him clearly to understand how much he was disgusted that he should try and make him look with favour upon a request which he could not grant.[5] In spite of this Zuñiga still held out hopes to the king of being able to obtain this important concession.[6] In a confidential letter of April 26th to Cristobal de Moro, Zuñiga makes much of the holy zeal of Pius V. and of his personal liking for Philip II.: The king is in very good odour with the Pope; if everything does not go in accordance with his wishes, the blame rests with those to whom the Holy Father has entrusted his affairs. On account of the disputes about jurisdiction, Zuñiga continues, we have a thousand difficulties every day,

[1] Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 413.

[2] See *ibid.* 405, 415, 417, 427, 439, 459.

[2] See *ibid.* 400, 401.

[4] See the *report of Arco of March 27, 1568, according to which among the Cardinals Mula had made opposition to the nomination, and received a sharp reply from the Pope. State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the report of Zuñiga of April 7, 1568, Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 420, 422 *seq.*

[6] See Corresp. dipl., II., 341.

and these continue to increase in connexion with those things which the Pope wishes to reform. We have not yet settled the affair at Milan, and its decision is likely to be deferred for some time. As to the *Cruzada*, I am very doubtful, as I was when I came, but I have not told this to the king.[1] According to a report from Arco to Maximilian II. on May 1st, 1568, Pius V. declared to Cardinals Granvelle and Pacheco that he insisted on the point that Borromeo should be allowed to take proceedings with his "armed force" even against laymen, in matrimonial cases and the like, but that the Spaniards saw in this an infringement of the sovereign rights of their king.[2] The final settlement of the Milanese dispute also occupied the attention of the nuncio Castagna longer than he had expected from the tranquillizing assurances given by the government at the beginning of 1568.[3] Castagna was afraid of a counter-stroke in Spain in the form of a prohibition to the bishops to inflict pecuniary or other penalties on the laity.[4] He therefore felt it his duty all the more strongly to insist that in the Milanese controversy the obedience due to the Pope and the rights of the Church should be made quite clear.[5]

Castagna had also to fight again and again in connexion

[1] Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 451.

[2] *"A quelli del Ré cattolico pare questa cosa troppo dura perchè in questo modo l' arcivescovo sarebbe più padrone di quella città che l' istesso Rè." Arco, May 1, 1568, State Archives Vienna. *Cf.* the letter of Zuñiga of May 1, 1568, Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 464 *seq.*

[3] See the reports of Castagna of January 16 and February 14, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 286, 305 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 322.

[5] *Cf. ibid.* 276 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*, 286. On March 30, 1568, Castagna wrote to Bonelli, "*Delle cose di Milano si aspetta, come altre volte ho scritto, quello che avvisara il marchese di Ceralvo. In questo mezzo ho detto al Rè et ad altri che Sua Santità procederà con li debiti termini inanzi al giudicio, perche la cosa è in tal termine che non può fermarsi così in modo nissuno, ma è necessario che si renda a Sua Santità la debita ubbedienza et alla chiesa la dovuta giustitia." Borghese I., 606, p. 356b-357, Papal Secret Archives.

with the position of the nuncio at Naples,[1] against the constant infringement of ecclesiastical rights which took place in that kingdom, and against the obstacles which were placed in the way of the bishops in the carrying out of their duties. Since the liberty of the Church was attacked in various ways, both there and in Spain, he drew up his complaints in the form of a memorial which he sent at the beginning of March to the king, who was accustomed himself to read all such documents, no matter how long. It is dated March 2nd, 1568, and in it Castagna tries with much skill to induce the king to change his ways, touching, above all, a chord which could not fail to appeal to Philip II. In a long historical exposition, he shows how heresies, beginning with that of Hus, and going on to the present time, all aimed at destroying the authority and power of the Pope. This had been the case in Bohemia, Germany, France and England. Happily Spain was less infected by heresy than those countries, and it was hoped that it would remain so, not only by reason of the vigilance of the Inquisition, but because the country had a king who was as Catholic-minded as could be desired, a king who stood out above all his fellows as a shining example of unflinching hostility to all religious innovations. Yet even in Spain there was danger, because of the usurpation of the rights of the Church by the civil power. It was evident that such usurpations meant grave injury both to the state and to religion. The authority which has been withdrawn from the Church, the memorial goes on to state, has not been won by the king for himself, but he is destroying it altogether, and not only gains nothing for himself, but offends God without gaining any advantage, and acts in such a way as to injure his own good name, and even against his own interests. For this reason it is those princes who have conferred favours on the Church, and not those who have taken them away, those who have increased them and not those who have restricted them, who have enjoyed the greatest power and authority, and whose

[1] See the report of Castagna of March 2, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 314; *cf.* III., liv. See as to this MEISTER, Die Nuntiatur in Neapel, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XIV., 81.

praises are sung in history. Castagna then goes on to depict in vivid colours the oppression of the Church's liberties in Spain, the strict supervision of Apostolic bulls which is perpetually being exercised by the royal council and chancery, the obstacles which in so many ways are placed in the way of the enactments and sentences of the Roman court, the various forms of interference, under the pretext of justice, in ecclesiastical trials, the orders which are issued to the prelates, judges and other ecclesiastics to excommunicate or absolve according to the wishes of the royal council or the chancery. By means of these widespread usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, under various pretexts and with great cleverness, a kind of ecclesiastical power is given to the king and his ministers, and thus the two distinct jurisdictions are confused, to the disturbance of the order established by God, and with great danger of separation from the Holy See. Such violations of ecclesiastical liberty have always marked the first beginnings of heresy, as had been seen in the case of France.[1]

Philip II. replied to these complaints[2] by saying that he must, before everything else, obtain more exact information before arriving at any decision. On May 1st, 1568, Castagna reported that the government had asked for information as to the use made of the *Monarchia Sicula*, so that it might decide whether any reform was called for in that connexion.[3]

To the perplexities which all these things occasioned for Castagna, fresh ones were soon added. By an edict of November 1st, 1567,[4] Pius V. had issued a general prohibition of

[1] The memorial was first made known by Lämmer (Zur Kirchengesch., 134 and Melet. 220 *seqq.*) from the Cod. 33–E–3 of the Corsini Library, Rome. Lämmer wrongly attributes it to Acquaviva, which is impossible on the score of chronology alone. That it was presented by Castagna is clear from the latter's report of March 2, 1568; it is also to be found among his papers. See Hinojosa, 186; Corresp. dipl., II., 315.

[2] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 350.

[3] *Ibid.* 357 (with wrong date March 1).

[4] See Bull. Rom., VII., 630 *seq.* *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 247. See also Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 207.

bull-fights, which had already been forbidden[1] in the Papal States; those who took part in them were excommunicated, and no one who lost his life in them might receive Christian burial. As the forbidden sport had also spread to Portugal, the nuncio was called upon to publish the prohibition there as well,[2] but, however justifiable it was, the ordinance met with the greatest opposition. The Spanish grandees, as soon as they heard of it, at once lodged a protest, and even the king undertook the defence of the threatened national sport. In this case once more, as was his custom, he sought for complaisant theologians, who did not fail to provide proofs that bull-fights were not sinful.[3] On account of their dependence on the government, the Spanish bishops did not dare to publish the Papal prohibition, so that Castagna had to publish the bull himself.[4] Unfortunately, the evil custom still found defenders, among them even a Franciscan, against whose written defence Pius V. took stern measures.[5] The nuncio also met with opposition when he tried, in accordance with a request made by Pius V. in a letter of January 25th, 1568, to abolish the quite unchristian custom that existed in Spain of refusing viaticum to those condemned to death.[6] Lastly, Castagna, acting on the express orders of the Pope,[7]

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 30, and the collection of the Editti, I., 191 in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., II., 272.

[3] See the reports of Castagna of January 27, and March 8, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 299, 322 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Zuñiga of April 21, 1568, Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 439. In letters of January 24 and April 21, 1568, Cardinal Bonelli insists on Castagna having the bull put into force. Corresp. dipl., II., 322, n.; 350.

[4] See the reports of Castagna of April 13 and May 14, 1568. Corresp. dipl., II., 349, 366.

[5] See *ibid.* IV., lx. Castagna hoped (*report of June 17, 1568, Papal Secret Archives) to be able gradually to stamp out the bull-fights.

[6] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 200; Corresp. dipl., II., 321, 349. *Cf.* GAMS, III., 2, 197 *seq.*

[7] *Da parte di N.S^re^ con mons. l' arcivescovo di Rossano nuntio in Ispagna, in Varia Polit., 82, 431-434, Papal Secret Archives.

again and again called attention to the abuses which existed in the West Indian Colonies, not only by insisting on the respect due to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but also on a more humane treatment of the natives, and their conversion to Christianity. Philip II. promised to issue the necessary orders to his officials, but neither he nor Cardinal Espinosa would hear of the appointment of a nuncio for the Colonies.[1]

In the meantime Pius V. had taken an important step towards the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical liberties, jurisdiction and immunities which were in various ways infringed or resisted, both in and out of Spain. Hitherto the validity of the censures inflicted on certain determinate and grave crimes, which were reserved to the Pope, and were enumerated in the bull *In coena Domini*, had been dependent on the condition that the bull should be solemnly promulgated each year on Maundy Thursday. The form of the bull which was read on Maundy Thursday, 1568, April 15th, contained for the first time the clause that it was to remain in force until the promulgation of a new bull. Moreover, on this occasion the bull contained a number of additional clauses directly aimed against the abuses and usurpations of the civil authorities in ecclesiastical matters which were at that time to be found in many different countries.[2] For

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 350, 382, 390, 471 *seq.*

[2] For the additions of 1568 see App. nn. 2 and 3. The violent polemics of the Old Catholics raised by Döllinger on the occasion of the Vatican Council, against the bull *In coena Domini*, which is quite erroneously put forward as an *ex cathedra* decision, were tilting at a wind-mill, since the *In coena*, like the other disciplinary bulls of earlier times, entirely lost its binding force in virtue of the constitution *Apostolicae Sedis moderationi* issued by Pius IX. on October 12, 1869. In his edition of "Janus," Friedrich carried on the dispute unshaken. Concerning the effect of the bull, and the history of the cases reserved therein, an excellent account is given (p. 102 *seqq*), in the work of HAUSMANN which was crowned in 1861 by the theological faculty of Munich, of which Döllinger was also a member. *Cf.* also PHILLIPS, Vermischte Schriften, II., 377 *seq.*

example, excommunication was now inflicted upon all those who, whatever their position, appealed from the Pope to an ecumenical council. The clause directed against those who ill-used ecclesiastical dignitaries also covered the banishment of Cardinals, bishops, legates and nuncios. The most important addition concerned laymen of all classes who took criminal proceedings against ecclesiastics, it being made clear that all contrary Papal privileges, even if granted to kings, princes or other authorities, were henceforth annulled and revoked. Lastly, the bull laid it down that every priest having the care of souls must have a copy and study it diligently, so that in the confessional he might well know what cases were reserved to the Pope for absolution.

On April 20th, 1568, the bull began to be sent out to all the bishops, with orders to make it known solemnly, because many people did not know that they were excommunicated by acting against the prohibitions contained in the bull.[1]

It was evident that the bull, which rested entirely upon the medieval conception of canon law, was a condemnation of the cesaropapalism which had grown up, especially in Spain and Venice.[2] As early as 1566 it was made evident to what a pitch things had come in Spain when the bishops there refused to publish the bull *In coena Domini*, when it was issued in that year, without the permission of the royal council, although the Pope had definitely directed them to do so in a brief of April 20th.[3] A quarrel was avoided on that

[1] See Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 66 : "Compluribus episcopis," of April 20, 1568, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* LAZZARESCHI, 13 ; Corresp. dipl., II., 409, n. 1 ; the brief of Pius V. to Charles Borromeo in BERTANI, 84 *seq.* bears the date April 28.

[2] For the state absolutism of the Venetians see Vol. IV. of this work, pp, 95 *seqq.* On April 24, 1568, Cusano *reports that Pius V. was specially complaining of Venice, which was not observing the bull and had imprisoned the abbot Lipomano. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The brief of April 20, 1566, is printed in Corresp. dipl., I., 196 *seq.* The Imperial ambassador Arco also deals repeatedly with the bull in his *reports, but he was insufficiently informed

occasion because Philip II. realized that the bull was not substantially different from those which had gone before, and did not invalidate those "customs of Spain" which had hitherto been recognized by the Popes.[1] This time, however, principally because, in his kingdom of Naples, by appealing[2] to the bull *In coena Domini*, there had been several refusals to pay taxes, Philip adopted another attitude, although the Pope repeatedly pointed out to him and his government that he excluded any intention of limiting the royal authority and jurisdiction, or of revoking former privileges by the bull; all that he must avoid were unjust extensions and abuses of these privileges, and thus ensure the good of souls and the welfare of the people. Pius V. added a warning against putting his trust in those persons who sought to persuade the princes that he had any designs against the state in publishing the bull.[3]

In Rome the principal exponent of such ideas was the

on the subject. On May 11, 1566, he announces that it is said that the Pope had sent the bull *In coena* to all the nuncios in order that they might communicate it to the princes "ma fino a hora clla dispiace a tutti;" opposition was to be feared from the princes, especially where it was taken literally. On June 8 Arco maintains that the Pope was putting off the publication of the bull out of consideration for the princes "perche senza il consenso loro i vescovi non ardirebbono publicarla ne in Spagna ne in Francia, il medesimo converrebbe che facessino gli vescovi di Germania essendo cosa di tanta consideratione." On June 22 Arco wrote that the bull had been "secretly" sent to the bishops in Spain and Portugal. Finally on July 6 he reports that it is not yet known whether the bull has been published in Spain or even in one single city in Italy. "Molti nondimeno dubitano che non venga un giorno fantasia al Papa di farla publicare." In 1567 Arco had to announce on March 29 that the Pope had published the bull as usual and ordered that all the archbishops, bishops and parish priests should have a copy. State Archives, Vienna.

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., 191.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* III., lvii *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* II., 373, 444, 451, 503.

Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo. He had promptly made a report to the Signoria making out that by his action the Pope intended to assume the decision, not only of spiritual and semi-spiritual matters, but also of those that were purely civil. Tiepolo entirely misunderstood the situation, for he even thought that the Pope's action was due to ill-disposed and unconscientious advisers who, in looking about for the necessary means to re-establish the authority of the Church, wished to embroil him in disputes with the civil authorities.[1] At first Zuñiga, the representative of Spain in Rome, adopted a more cautious attitude. It is true that he too held the erroneous view that the entourage of Pius V. were trying to distract the Pope's attention from reforms in Rome by involving him in quarrels with the princes ;[2] he wished, however, that Tiepolo should be the first to take steps in the matter. Zuñiga formed a truer estimate of Pius V. in another respect. He realized that it was no use to deal with him by the methods hitherto adopted, and he therefore advised the concession of the privileges for Bosco, and the pension for Ghislieri in such a way that the Pope should not see in them an attempt to win him over by such acts of concession, for in that case everything would be hopelessly ruined.[3] The Spaniard chiefly had the *Cruzada* in view, though it did not escape him that under the existing circumstances it was becoming more and more difficult to obtain it, because to the angry disputes about the state of affairs at Milan, fresh quarrels had been added on the subject of the wide privileges granted to the Order of St. Lazarus.[4] All this increased Zuñiga's great anxiety (*infinito cuidado*) about the bull *In coena Domini*, and at last he came to the conclusion that the discussion of this thorny question had better be put off until the winter.[5]

Other views prevailed in Madrid. On July 11th, 1568,

[1] P. Tiepolo, Relazioni di 1569, p. 179 *seq.*

[2] Zuñiga to Alba from Rome, May 8, 1568, Colecc. de docum, inéd., XCVII., 467, 469.

[3] Zuñiga to Requesens from Rome, May 8, 1568, *loc. cit.* 469.

[4] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 138 *seqq.*, 198 *seqq.* ; III., 41 *seq.*

[5] Zuñiga to Requesens from Rome, May 19, 1568, *loc. cit.* 477.

Castagna was able to report that the Spanish government was putting every possible obstacle in the way of the publication of the new bull. The nuncio had received it on May 26th,[1] and had sent it to the Spanish bishops with the Papal brief and a covering letter, asking them to publish it and to give the necessary instructions to confessors. But not one of the Spanish bishops had so far dared solemnly to promulgate the bull, from fear of the government. Castagna consequently found himself obliged to arrange himself for the publication of the bull, by communicating its contents to the religious Orders and to confessors. He received information of the king's attitude from Cardinal Espinosa, according to whom Philip was afraid that the Pope wished to deprive him of rights to which he had a good title, a thing which annoyed him all the more because he had expressly promised to remove the abuses in the Kingdom of Naples. Espinosa said that though he was being at that time pressed on every side, His Majesty would not recognize such " novelties " as he intended to stand up for his sovereign rights and not be a " dummy king."[2] Nor did the Spanish ministers make any secret of the fact that the government would not tolerate the publication of the bull in the Kingdom of Naples without its *exequatur*, because it never had been published there, but only in Rome, and the additions made by Pius V. were directed, not only against the *exequatur*, but were directly aimed at the *Monarchia Sicula*, against which the appointment of the nuncio Odescalchi to the Two Sicilies was also directed. The ministers also made complaint of a number of other claims which the Pope made, both in Spain and Naples, and especially of the brief directed against all those persons in Naples who had stolen or otherwise wrongfully alienated ecclesiastical property; they also complained of the publication of the bull relating to physicians without its having received the *exequatur*,

[1] The original *letter from Bonelli to Castagna, dated Rome, April 28, 1568, has the note " Ric. 26 maggio 1568 " Nunziat di Spagna, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the report of Castagna of July 11. 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 408 *seq.*

because this affected laymen, who were the subjects of His Majesty; another complaint was made of the summons issued against Marcello Caracciolo concerning a castle which his family had held for 120 years as a fief of Naples, and not of Benevento; lastly they complained of the bull dealing with the Knights of St. Lazarus. On all these matters, reports Castagna, there are heated discussions, and Requesens will certainly be sent to Rome to lodge a complaint.[1]

Under these circumstances the nuncio thought it best to seek an audience of the king in person, and he frankly and strongly urged him not to let himself be led by his ministers to take any rash and dangerous action. He must not suppose that by giving his support to the infringements of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he was in any way acting for the advantage of his kingdom, as at first sight he might appear to be doing; such action on the contrary would be the ruin of his kingdom. It was for that very reason that the Pope was trying to keep the king from doing any such thing, because he loved and valued him as being almost the only one among the sovereigns who still defended the Catholic religion. Before allowing himself to be angry with the Pope, His Majesty ought to assure himself of the latter's real intentions, a subject on which his ministers imagined all manner of things, which had never even entered the mind of His Holiness.[2]

Philip excused himself from entering into the details of Castagna's explanation, but gave him clearly to understand that he did not think much of it. Never before, Castagna reported to Rome, had the king complained with such bitterness as on this occasion, especially concerning affairs at Naples. "He had tears in his eyes—whether from anger or grief I do not know—when he said that even if the Pope had not interfered, he would on his own account have defended and maintained the rights, privileges and customs handed down to him by his ancestors."[3]

[1] See the *report of Castagna of July 28, 1568, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., II., 424 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 425.

Castagna could only account for the excitement of the king by the intrigues of his ministers, who had persuaded him that the bull *In coena Domini* would cause a revolution in the Spanish dominions. It was with terror and anguish that he saw the imminent danger of a breach between the Pope and the king, a breach which could not fail to have disastrous consequences for the Church. My hopes at present, he wrote on July 28th, are centred in the Pope, rather than in the king, who relies too much upon his ministers.[1]

How earnestly Pius V. tried to remove the distrust of Philip II., and aimed at an understanding is seen from the instructions which he sent to Castagna on August 17th, 1568. In these instructions it is stated that the Pope did not in the least intend any innovation by the bull, nor at doing away with the *exequatur*, nor at limiting the jurisdiction of the king, but only at safeguarding the authority of the Holy See in the interests of the Church. Although it was only right that a prince should have knowledge of the things being done in his territories, the Pope nevertheless could not approve of the high-handed way in which the royal authorities acted in this respect, not only preventing the execution of salutary Apostolic bulls, but not even vouchsafing to give their reasons. Pius V. further asked that Philip II. would send a special envoy empowered to discuss the *Monarchia Sicula*, because in that matter the abuses had reached such a pitch that something must certainly be done about it.[2]

When these lines were written, Philip II. had already decided to send Requesens to Rome; he was a *persona grata* with Pius V., and he was instructed to lay the point of view of the Spanish government on the matters at issue before the Pope.[3] Castagna, it is true, would rather have seen Cardinal Espinosa entrusted with this mission, as he was well versed in canon law, but he was not able to obtain this.[4] How little fruit had been borne by his own explanation of the aims of

[1] See *ibid.* 425-426.

[2] *Ibid.* 445.

[3] See *ibid.* 428 *seq.*

[4] See the report of Castagna of October 1, 1568, *ibid.* 470.

the Pope in publishing his new version of the bull *In coena Domini* was shown by the prohibition to promulgate the bull, which was sent by Philip II. on July 16th, 1568, to the Spanish provincials of the religious Orders.[1]

While the politico-ecclesiastical situation was thus in a state of obscurity, a tragedy occurred in the royal family of Spain which in spite of all research is not yet entirely cleared up.[2] On January 18th, 1568, Philip II. had given orders for the arrest of his son, Don Carlos. The unhappy young man was kept in strict imprisonment, and died on the morning of July 24th.

Philip II. preserved so mysterious a silence about the arrest and its reason that the most conflicting rumours sprang up concerning it. Don Carlos, it was said, had plotted to kill his father and had been in league with the rebels in the Netherlands. The idea also got about that the son of the Catholic King had embraced Protestant beliefs.[3] When the nuncio in Madrid, Castagna, applied for information to the Grand Inquisitor, Espinosa, the latter answered him in the king's name that he had been forced to order the arrest solely and entirely "for the service of God, and for the safeguarding of religion, his realm, and his subjects." If he had not acted as he had done, and sacrificed his only son, he would have been unfaithful to God. When the nuncio alluded to the rumour that the Infante had even conspired against his father, he received the mysterious reply that "If that had been the only danger, it would have been easy to avoid it, but there had been an even worse reason than that, if such were possible." For two years past the king had made every effort to win Don Carlos from his "evil courses."[4] Castagna, who reported these statements to Rome on January 24th, adds in a letter of February 4th that the Infante had

[1] See *ibid.* 451, n. 1.

[2] Not even the latest monograph by V. Bibl, Der Tod des Don Carlos (Vienna, 1918) in spite of all the research employed therein, has arrived at any definite conclusion.

[3] Bibl, *loc. cit.* 265 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*

[4] See Gachard, Don Carlos, 663 *seq.*

not received Communion at Christmas because the friars of the Hieronymite convent had refused to give him an unconsecrated host, and Castagna adds that he looked upon it as certain that the Infante would be excluded from the succession to the throne, and would never again be set at liberty[1].

The news of the Protestant leanings of Don Carlos, which had only been hinted at by the nuncio, reached Rome in a more definite form from other countries.[2] According to the report of Cardinal Delfino to Maximilian II. on March 6th, the Pope, when he received the news, lifted his arms to heaven, exclaiming, "My God! My God! There is but too good reason to believe it, for We knew that this prince had no love for priests or monks, and had shown no respect for any ecclesiastical dignity."[3] The Mantuan envoy also tells us that the Pope was terribly distressed by what had happened at Madrid, and adds that a special messenger had been sent to Spain.[4]

In vain did Zuñiga, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, seek to satisfy Pius V. by describing the rumours as to the Protestant leanings of Don Carlos as an invention of the Huguenots, but as not even the ambassador could furnish more exact particulars, the Pope in his anxiety demanded to know the truth from the king himself.[5] Philip II. could not refuse to comply with this demand, and did so in a letter of May 9th. "Often," this letter states, "I have looked upon

[1] See *ibid.* 665 *seq.*

[2] See Bibl, *loc. cit.* 273 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 274.

[4] B. Pia to C. Luzzara from Rome, March 6, 1568: "*Questo gran moto delle cose di Spagna et prigionia del prencipe hanno infinitamente travagliata S.S^{tà}, la quale questi dì è stata intenta a spedire corriere in Spagna. Fra l' altre cose questa occasions par che habbi sopito ogni pensiero di promotione, parendo necessario che s' habbi da star a vedere a che parerà così gran moto, et che fine havranno molte consequenze che s' attendono di tante rivolutioni." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See Gachard, *loc. cit.* 551; Bibl, *loc. cit.* 274 *seq.*

the burden which God has laid upon my shoulders in the states and kingdoms, of which He has called upon me to undertake the government, as being laid upon me in order that I might keep safe therein the true faith and subjection to the Holy See, that I might maintain peace and justice there, and after the few years that I still have to pass in this world, might leave these states in good order, and in that security which would guarantee their continuance. All depends in the first place on the personality of my successor. But now, in punishment for my sins, God has been pleased to inflict the prince with so many and such grave defects, both of prudence and of character, as to render him unfit for the government, and to give reason to fear in the future the gravest dangers to the stability of the kingdom should he succeed to the throne." After watching him for a long time, experience had convinced the king that all remedies were useless, and that very little or no improvement was to be looked for in Don Carlos, nor was there much reason to hope that time would remove the evils he had every reason to fear, so that the imprisonment of the prince had seemed necessary in order that he, the king, might have time carefully to consider the situation, and obtain his purpose without exposing himself to any kind of blame. The Pope must preserve a complete silence as to these confidences of the king, no matter what rumours might get about concerning the imprisonment of the prince. Don Carlos was not guilty either of revolt or heresy, and the truth would be made clear in course of time. Every provision had been made for the temporal welfare of the prince; he had every comfort and amusement suitable to his state, and he was abundantly supplied with all that he required. At the same time nothing was left undone for the welfare of his soul, and his confessor would give him every spiritual assistance.[1]

If we may believe Zuñiga's report of June 25th, this reply

[1] See GACHARD, *loc. cit.* 650; BIBL, *loc. cit.* 275 *seq.* On p. 285 *seq.* Bibl alludes to the singular circumstance that nothing is here said of his Easter communion, which the prince should have received a short time before.

eased the mind of Pius V. The Pope, the ambassador reported, has deeply sympathized with the difficult position in which the king finds himself, but admires his determination for the reason that the safety of Christendom makes it desirable that Philip's reign should be as long as possible, and that he should have a successor who will follow in his footsteps.[1]

After the death of Don Carlos the nuncio at Madrid reported that the dead prince had himself asked for a confessor before his death, and had passed to the next life a Christian and a Catholic.[2] For this reason the Pope had no hesitation in giving orders for a solemn funeral service, which took place on September 5th. It is mentioned as a great innovation that he assisted in person at this function, since hitherto this had only been customary at the obsequies of princes who were kings.[3] It would appear that at first the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, did not intend to assist at the function, and that he only decided to do so when he heard that the Pope would be present. From the reports of Niccolò Cusano, the secret agent of Maximilian II. in Rome, it would seem that the most sensational rumours were current concerning the tragedy at Madrid, among others one that the Spaniards had "brought about the death" of the Infante because he was in league with the insurgents in France and Flanders.[4] It may be considered as an established fact that Giulio Aquaviva, who was sent to convey the Pope's condolences to Spain, was instructed to make further inquiries concerning the tragic event.[5]

[1] See GACHARD, *loc. cit.* 536.

[2] See Gachard, *loc. cit.* 695.

[3] See the *reports of Arco of September 4 and 11, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* BÜDINGER, 109 *seq.* See Corresp. dipl., II., 354, n. 1.

[4] See BIBL, *loc. cit.* 349, 353.

[5] See the *letter of Bonelli to Castagna from Rome, September 18, 1568, Nunz. di Spagna, VI., Papal Secret Archives. So far the reports of Acquaviva have not been found. The *Lettere alla corte di Roma* contained under his name in the Cod. 33–E–3 of the Corsini Library, Rome, are only a poor copy of the register of Castagna. See GACHARD, Bibl. Corsini, 46; HINOJOSA, 186.

Aquaviva left Rome on September 19th, 1568, and reached Madrid on October 13th.[1] As Philip II. had also lost his wife on October 3rd, he was able to offer the Pope's condolences to the king for this second loss.[2] On December 10th the Archduke Charles, brother of Maximilian II., arrived in Madrid, and Aquaviva accordingly put off his departure until December 30th, because there was reason to fear that the Archduke wished to persuade the king to come to terms with the insurgents in the Netherlands.[3] During his stay in Madrid Aquaviva displayed great prudence and tact, so that Castagna was able to send a very laudatory report of him to Rome.

In the meantime Requesens had presented to the Curia a note which gave rise to great anxiety there.[4] In this note Philip II. complains especially of the innovations, according to which the bull *In coena Domini* had been published in his dominions, and especially in Naples, without the *exequatur* being asked for, the more so as the Pope had warned confessors not to give absolution for violations of its enactments. The bull, it was pointed out, contained many additions which were not to be found in the previous issues, either of Julius III., Paul IV. and Pius IV., and which were very burdensome and would cause confusion among the people, on account of the summary condemnations which they contained, and the very general terms in which they were expressed. Philip was very angry at the prohibition, which however had been included in previous issues of the bull, of the introduction of new taxes and imposts, a thing which he said was bound to disturb the public peace, because several cities would be

[1] See the *report of Castagna of October 13, 1568, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Castagna in GACHARD, Bibliothèque de Madrid, 114 *seqq.*; Corresp. dipl., II., 473 *seq.* The funeral service for the Spanish queen took place in Rome on November 15, 1568; see Firmanus, *Diarium in Miscell. Arm., XII., 31, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid, 116 *seq.*; HINOJOSA, 187.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., III., 2, n. *Cf.* CATENA, 87 *seq.* and LOPEZ, Hist. de la bula In coena Domini, Madrid, 1768, 94.

certain to refuse to pay such taxes. As to the question of jurisdiction, the king appealed to ancient Apostolic privileges, and to immemorial custom, and in the case of Sicily to the *Monarchia Sicula*. In connexion with the latter he renewed the complaint that when, in February, 1568, the Pope appointed Paolo Odescalchi in the place of the nuncio at Naples, Pallavicini, who had been sent to the Viceroy, he had appointed him for the Two Sicilies. Other complaints concerned the acts of Odescalchi in affairs relating to ecclesiastical property at Naples, the privileges of the Order of St. Lazarus, and the Milanese controversy.

Philip's words left no room for doubt that he, in common with the other Catholic governments, especially that of Venice,[1] intended to hold firmly to all his claims over ecclesiastical political affairs, without paying any attention to the bull *In coena Domini*. The things which the Spanish king called customs were, as Cardinal Bonelli shrewdly pointed out, nothing but abuses whereby the bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities were treated in a worse manner in the Spanish dominions than even in Germany.[2]

With regard to the Order of St. Lazarus, Bonelli had pointed out on August 17th, 1568, that its privileges had not been added to by Pius V., as the king supposed, but rather curtailed and reformed, and that there was good reason for the existence of a Papal military order in Spain, as well as the four royal ones; as to the settlement, so long deferred, of the affair at Milan, he had threatened to take action independently of the Pope.[3] In a letter of September 1st, 1568, Bonelli brings out the fact that it was entirely alien to the Pope's intention to attack the king's authority and jurisdiction by the bull, and that all he aimed at was the removal of abuses. Alluding to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the king's ministers at Naples,

[1] For the opposition of Venice and the negotiations with Pius V., see CECCHETTI, I., 448 *seq.* *Cf.* also MUTINELLI, I., 81 *seq.* and REUSCH, I., 79.

[2] Letter of December 20, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 523.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., II., 445.

and to the Milanese dispute, he remarks that the Pope's patience is nearly exhausted. The nuncio must implore the king in the name of His Holiness definitely to provide the necessary redress, for otherwise he would be obliged to make use of those means which the Church is wont to employ against her recalcitrant sons.[1]

From a report of the nuncio, dated August 21st, 1568, according to which the Viceroy claimed that the permission of the government must be obtained, even for the printing of Papal briefs dealing with purely ecclesiastical matters, as for example, processions, it is clear how far-reaching the interference had become, especially in Naples.[2] Philip II. clung to the *exequatur* all the more tenaciously because he saw in it the best way of keeping in check the national aspirations of the clergy in Naples.[3] On August 30th, 1568, a royal pragmatic forbade, under grave penalties, the publication of any Papal rescript, brief, or other ordinance without the customary royal *exequatur*.[4] At the beginning of October Philip declared that he would rather renounce his crown than suffer himself to be stripped of anything which had been possessed by his predecessors.[5] With regard to the abuses he did not cease to give assurances that he would give every consideration to the Pope's grievances as soon as he had sufficient information, but that the grievances were based upon the reports of the very people who were guilty of them![6] The king would have been delighted if the discussion of the disputes concerning ecclesiastical political affairs could have been entirely dropped, because he felt on the one hand the justice of the Pope's complaints, and on the other the harm which these controversies were doing to his purpose of providing for his financial difficulties by means of the much-desired concession of the *Cruzada* and

[1] Corresp. dipl., II., 451 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 452, n. 1.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* III., xlii.

[4] *Lett. di principi, XLII., 167, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Corresp. dipl., II., 470.

[6] See *ibid.*

other ecclesiastical levies. Since Pius V. had not had time to consider the reply he should make to the petition presented to him by Requesens, Philip had high hopes of obtaining the desired concessions. His representative was instructed to be very careful to avoid touching upon the question of jurisdiction.[1] The Pope was strongly urged in many quarters, especially by the Spanish Cardinals and the Florentine ambassador, to treat the champion of the Catholic religion against the heretics with all possible consideration.[2]

On account of the important effect of the attitude of Spain upon the sorely pressed Catholics in France, England and Germany, Pius V. lent an ear to these exhortations. In order to show his good-will, at the beginning of November, 1568, he appointed a special congregation of Cardinals to examine the objections which had been raised to the bull.[3] The outcome of this was a detailed note, which deals with all the claims of Philip II.[4] In its introduction the Pope states that he has thought it his duty to reply, not because he considers himself bound to give reasons to the princes for what he does, but in order to show the king that he has been deceived in the reports of his informants, whose only object was to justify their own abuses. The things objected to are then dealt with one by one, and answered as follows: Even though the bull, which it had been customary, according to

[1] See *ibid.* 523.

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 456 *seq.* The matter is also looked upon as certain in the letter of Cardinal Correggio to Pius V., without date and printed in the 1712 edition of CATENA, p. 339, but is attributed to too late a date. The letter is in any case anterior to the mission of Giustiniani.

[3] See the letter of Bonelli to Castagna from Rome, November 7, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 502. In his *report from Madrid, December 29, 1568, Castagna praises this decision of the Pope. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Resposta alla instruttione data al signor commendatore maggiore ambasciatore al Re Cattolico (no date) in Varia Polit. 101 (now 102) p. 395-402, Papal Secret Archives, now printed from another copy in the same place, in Corresp. dipl., III., 1 *seqq.*

very ancient practice, to publish on Maundy Thursdy, had been in the past issued only in Rome by several Popes, it had nevertheless, like all other universal constitutions, been binding upon the whole of Christendom. This is clear from its general tenor, and from its solemn publication on one of the most important festivals in the Church's year. Therefore, all conscientious Christians, great and small, who had acted in defiance of the prescriptions of the bull, had sought absolution from the Pope. In all the indulgences, jubilees, letters of confession, including the *Cruzada*, which had been at one time granted to the King of Spain, the bull had been spoken of as of obligation, not sometimes but always, and the bishops had received orders to publish it. Having learned that this had not been done in certain kingdoms, and that men had incurred the penalties laid down by the bull by acting in defiance of it, the Pope had considered it his duty, as a watchful shepherd, to insist on its publication, not only in Spain, but in every country, even Germany, and to insist that the clergy who had the care of souls should be made aware of it, in order that confessors should know how to act.

Additions to the bull had been made by Martin V., Clement VII., and Paul III., when such had been found to be necessary. Secular princes were accustomed to make new laws from time to time. If appeal is made to some royal privilege of assent to its publication, it can be replied that the same argument could be applied to the preaching of the Word of God, and that spiritual enactments cannot be hampered by any permission on the part of the temporal authority, and that to ask for such is as undignified as it is unlawful. The usual promulgation on Maundy Thursday could not be put off until the answer to the Pope's demands, sent to Madrid by Requesens, had arrived ; four months had already elapsed without any reply having been received from the Spanish government.

The bull contained ordinances dealing with taxes and customs duties, because these had been contravened ; they had been imposed by persons who had no right to do so, or had been demanded from those who were legally exempt, as for example

from ecclesiastics and persons in whose case there was no legal claim. This by no means prevented lawfully constituted princes from levying just and reasonable taxes from their subjects. If the bull contained a general prohibition of the raising of new taxes, the reason was that there was no need for further levies ; as a matter of fact, in the case of customs duties there was no call for any such levies, as the matter had long since been regulated by ecclesiastical law. There was no reason therefore to fear popular disturbances or revolt as the result of the constitution ; these were much more likely to be caused by excessive taxation on the part of the rulers. The Pope's intention was rather to point out the way in which the people could be kept in a state of tranquillity and subjection to their prince. If he should hear of any prelate misinterpreting or acting contrary to his intentions, the Pope would at once take steps to prevent it.

The warning given to confessors that they had no power to absolve from transgressions of the bull was but the duty of a true and lawful pastor, who was bound to see that they knew how to distinguish sin from sin, and to form a just judgment upon sins reserved to the Pope. The accusation that the Pope was abusing the sacrament of penance is answered in these severe words : Such language befits the new heretics. Let the king with his sound Catholic sense, beware of counsellors who put such ideas and such poisonous expressions into his mind.[1]

[1] In spite of the opposition of Spain and Venice Pius V. did not change the form of the bull, which was published in exactly the same terms in 1569 and 1570 (see App. nn. 2 & 3). At Naples, where Philip II. forcibly prevented any further publication of the bull, the Pope caused it to be conveyed to regular confessors by means of their Generals ; in 1569 he allowed at Milan that Borromeo should only publish the bull in the presence of parish priests and confessors, for the reason that in the preceding year its publication had given occasion to all kinds of interpretations (see BERTANI, 88 *seq.*, and REUSCH, I., 78 *seq.*, where further information is given as to the fate of the bull in Catholic countries). It is clear from RAPICIO-SCARLICHIO, Documenti in onore di Enea Silvio

As to the controversy about jurisdiction, Pius V. asked to be shown the privileges to which Philip II. appealed. The abuses and scandals in this matter are so obvious that the Pope feels himself bound in conscience to provide against them. To issue spiritual ordinances is what is to be looked for from the Pope, as Vicar of Christ, and not from princes and their ministers, because it was not to them that the words "Feed my sheep" were addressed; nay, they too are sheep, and subject to the pastoral office of St. Peter, by whom they must be guided in all spiritual matters if they do not wish to be cut off from the flock, and to destroy the whole hierarchical organization of the Church under the pretext of privileges. This is all the more necessary since no authentic or definite privilege can be adduced by Spain. The Pope hopes of so Catholic a king as Philip II. that he will be the first to recognize this, especially in the case of the so-called *Monarchia Sicula*. Even granting the existence of this, such a privilege abounds in abuses. For the rest, no Pope could grant a privilege which would deprive future Popes of the power given them by God. That the legatine power of the Kings of Sicily does not exist is shown by the repeated mission of Apostolic legates to that country. Even granting that the *Monarchia Sicula* exists in the sense which Philip supposes, the Pope can always withdraw such a privilege, since it is only a case of a favour, which in practice has led to many abuses. The lawfulness of the appointment of Odescalchi as nuncio to the Two Sicilies was beyond dispute, for nuncios and collectors had been sent to the island several times in the days of Charles V.; if this had not been done since then, the Pope nevertheless has the right to do so when the exigencies of the care of souls make it necessary.

With regard to the Knights of St. Lazarus, who had been

Piccolomini, Trieste, 1862, that in 1568 even the Archduke Charles, in other respects a good Catholic, wished for the suspension of the publication of the bull. Braunsberger has been the first (Pius V., 46 *seq.*) to throw light on the notable concession made by Pius V. for Germany in connexion with the bull *In coena Domini*.

granted privileges by Pius IV., Pius V. appealed, not only to the rights of the Holy See, but also to the need of providing. by means of that Order, the protection for the coasts of the Papal States which Philip II., in spite of his obligations, had so far failed to give. In the Milanese controversy the Pope took his stand purely on his rights.

At the end of this note Pius V. again repeats that he had had no end in view except the reform of the Church, and the removal of evident abuses, and he concludes by clearly emphasizing the distinction between the temporal and the spiritual powers : " Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The Pope's remonstrances were without effect, principally because the Viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Alcalà, used all his influence to strengthen Philip II. in his opposition to the publication of the bull *In coena Domini*.[1] The Viceroy, like his advisers, Villani and Revertera, knew well that their tyranny in ecclesiastical matters would be broken if the bull should take effect in the Kingdom of Naples. All their efforts, therefore, were directed to the prevention of this. The bishops thus found their position very difficult in Naples.[2] Similar disputes were avoided in Spain because the canonists there were able by means of ingenious legal quibbles to reconcile the prohibition of the *placet* contained in the bull with its continued use in that country.[3] Philip II. would gladly have seen the dispute at Naples brought to an end, and at the beginning of December, 1568, an agreement seemed probable,[4] but the attitude taken up by the Duke of Alcalà very soon destroyed all prospect of it. In the middle of January, 1569, things had come to such a pitch that in Rome it was thought

[1] See GIANNONE, IV., 146 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* The " Relazione di pregiudizi che ha potuto recare il concilio di Trento alla giurisdizione temporale di S. M. Cattolica nel regno di Napoli per cui non fu dato il regio Exequatur," by Villani, in Cod. A. 6 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* FRIEDBERG, 545, n. 2.

[4] See the *reports of Cusano of December 2 and 6, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

that the Pope would excommunicate the Viceroy,[1] but the latter did not let himself be dismayed by any such threat, and he continued to fight against the bull by every means in his power. He had all the copies of it which were in the bookshops suppressed, and confiscated the temporalities of those bishops who published it, punishing with the greatest severity all attempts to put its prescriptions into practice.[2]

The Viceroy also laboured unceasingly to prevent Philip II. from paying any attention to the Pope's complaints about the *exequatur* and the controversy about jurisdiction.[3] Thus Castagna's fourth year as nuncio became extremely difficult. He never ceased, however, to defend the cause of ecclesiastical liberty, both in word and writing. At the beginning of February, 1569, he summarized in a memorial intended for the king the principal abuses which were going on in Naples,[4] dwelling especially on the extension of the *exequatur*. This custom, which had originally been granted by the Popes in order to prevent unworthy persons from obtaining bishoprics and benefices at a time when the kingdom was split up by factions, had not only been continued after the coming of more settled times, though the reason for it had disappeared, but had even been extended, so as to apply to the visitation of convents, and to indulgences, and had become an intolerable burden, as the officials demanded large payments for granting it. The memorial also made complaint of other usurpations on the part of the civil power in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The bishops there were summoned before lay judges for the smallest reason, and they were forbidden to oblige the people to the observance of Sunday, or to punish open concubinists. The nuncio was forbidden to take proceedings

[1] See the *report of Cusano of January 15, 1569, *ibid.*

[2] See GIANNONE, IV., 149 *seq.*; AMABILE, I., 293 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 166.

[4] See the *Memoriale in Fondo Borghese I., 607, pp. 14-19, Papal Secret Archives, attached to the report of Februrary 9, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 40 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* 64 *seq.* another memorial "sobre abusos contra la jurisdiccion ecles," composed by Odescalchi.

against traffickers in indulgences who were using forged Papal bulls. A new law had been issued ordering the bishops to submit their spiritual ordinances to the civil power for examination before they printed them, thus preventing them from exercising the power entrusted to them by God, and from holding provincial synods and punishing offenders. The more urgently the Pope pressed for the removal of the impediments placed in the way of spiritual jurisdiction in Naples, the more were they added to by the royal officials. At length Castagna declared that no notice had been taken of all his remonstrances, and that not even his proposal that an official commission should be sent to Rome to effect a settlement had been considered.

Even now Philip II. only made evasive replies, intended to put off a decision. It was still insisted that His Majesty must first receive detailed reports from the Viceroy, and that if there really should prove to be abuses, a remedy would be provided. But the Viceroy's reports denied the existence of any abuses. If the king at any moment showed himself disposed to meet the Pope's wishes, it was the Viceroy himself who dissuaded him. The Duke of Alcalà knew very well how to make official play with the *exequatur*, making his master believe that it was the very foundation of his royal jurisdiction, and the most important privilege which he possessed in the kingdom, and one which he must not give up on any account.[1] Philip II. believed in the fancied danger to the inalienable rights of the crown, the more so as there were not wanting servile canonists in Spain who made it appear that these controverted matters were quite lawful claims on his part.

In Rome the situation was perfectly clearly understood. In February, 1569, the nuncio Odescalchi was recalled, but even this act of condescension on the part of Pius V. did not bring about any improvement. Odescalchi's successor, Cesare Brumano, had to fight against the same difficulties.[2] On May

[1] *Cf.* GIANNONE, IV., 166.

[2] See CAPECE GALEOTA, Nunzii apost. di Napoli, 36. *Cf.* GIANNONE, IV., 172 *seq.*

28th, 1569, acting on special instructions from the Pope, Bonelli wrote to Castagna that the daily increasing abuses at Naples came rather from the local officials than from any ill-will on the part of the king; that the infringements of spiritual jurisdiction in that kingdom had reached such a pitch that one day the Pope would be obliged to take strong measures; violent hands were even laid upon the bishops, and their property had been confiscated merely because they carried out the Pope's orders, and had published the bull *In coena Domini* without an *exequatur*. Some officials had even gone so far as to destroy the copies of the bull which had been posted in the churches. The nuncio was urged to make strong remonstrances to Philip II., because in the end the Pope would have to place the Kingdom of Naples under an interdict.[1]

So as not to leave anything untried, Castagna sent a second memorial to Philip II. on June 20th, concerning the way in which the affairs of the Church were being treated in Naples,[2] dwelling especially on three matters, for which he demanded immediate redress. The first was the unworthy treatment accorded to the prelates and even the bishops, whom the Viceroy received in bed, or with his head covered, or whom he placed after all the civil officials, and made to wait in the outer ante-camera among the common people. The second was the obstacles placed in the way of the bishops' jurisdiction. If a bishop wished to inflict a fine upon a layman for usury, concubinage and the like, he was forbidden to do so; no course remained open to him but the refusal of Christian burial and excommunication, but the latter penalty, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, was only to be inflicted in extreme cases. Moreover, even the infliction of this form of punishment was made impossible for the bishops because any excommunicated layman could have recourse to the civil power, which, without going into the case, would order the cancellation of the penalty, and take the decision of the matter into its own hands. Bishops who refused to

[1] Corresp. dipl., III., 85 *seq.*

[2] In *Fondo Borghese, I., 607, p. 71-75b, Papal Secret Archives.

accept this were forced to do so by the confiscation of their property, and by other acts of violence. Castagna's third point dealt with the *exequatur*. This had formerly been exercised by the presentation of the Papal edicts to a competent official, the *cappellano maggiore*, who, having satisfied himself that the document contained nothing contrary to the royal prerogative, gave it his approval. But now the Pope's ordinances had to pass through the hands of a number of officials, a thing which not only added considerably to the cost, but often prevented the carrying out of the decree, by giving the guilty party time to escape. Formerly the *exequatur* had only applied to enactments which might be prejudicial to the royal prerogatives, or other rights of the government, but now it was made applicable to the smallest and most trivial orders of the Pope, and even to matters which were purely spiritual, such as indulgences. Even in the case of the nuncio himself, they were no longer satisfied with the mere presentation of his credentials, but he was prevented from exercising his office until the *exequatur* had been given.

When Philip II. returned to Madrid at the beginning of July, 1569, Castagna sought an audience. This time he only brought up the affairs of Naples, namely, the three matters spoken of above, adding a fourth complaint concerning the imprisonment of the vicar-general of a bishop, which had been ordered by the Viceroy because he had published the bull *In coena Domini*. With all frankness Castagna declared that if things went as far as that, His Holiness would be forced to place the whole of the Kingdom of Naples under an interdict, a thing which would have been done already if the Pope had not been convinced that these acts of violence did not come from His Majesty, but from his representatives. At this Philip broke out into lamentations that by means of these controversies about jurisdiction, and on other pretexts, the devil was sowing dissension between himself and His Holiness. But even now, as was his wont, he did not give a definite reply,[1] which was only sent to the nuncio on July 17th

[1] See the report of Castagna of July 13, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 110 *seq.*

by Cardinal Espinosa. This reply stated that the king had written to his Viceroy, telling him to satisfy the Pope's demands.

Castagna could not feel satisfied with so vague an answer to complaints which had been categorically stated, and he therefore tried to get from Espinosa a more definite statement. Espinosa assured him that as far as the position of the bishops was concerned the Pope's demands would be completely satisfied, and also that the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction would be in some way guaranteed, but that it was quite useless to think of the *exequatur* being done away with ; the most that could be done would be to remove the abuses connected with it. Full particulars would be sent to the Pope himself. The threat of an interdict had not alarmed the king. As far as Castagna could learn, Philip had declared that if the Pope took that extreme step, he, in defence of his ancient privileges, would do that which it was the right of Catholic princes to do, by which he undoubtedly meant an appeal to a general council. The nuncio was less anxious on the score of the imprisonment of the bishop's vicar-general, for he thought that, if it had not already been done, he would soon be set at liberty. As to the other matters he reported to Rome that Philip was obsessed by the fear that in consequence of the bull *In coena Domini* his subjects would resist the payment of taxes, and might even rise in rebellion. And since he was determined to resist any encroachment upon the privileges granted to his predecessors, Philip would never allow the formal promulgation of the bull.[1]

Further heated discussions took place between Castagna and Philip II. at the beginning of August, 1569. News of the protest made by the Pope when he received the feudal homage of Naples on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul,[2]

[1] See the report of Castagna from Madrid, July 17, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 114 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* 115, n. 1, the instructions of Philip II., of July 17, to the Viceroy of Naples on the treatment of the bishops and the use of the *exequatur*, with which he hoped to satisfy the Pope.

[2] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 97 *seq.*, 102.

had thrown the king into an easily understood state of excitement. Castagna tried in vain to justify the head of the Church by suggesting the following ideas : The king must not let himself be led to think that the Holy Father had any temporal ends in view, or that bad counsellors were inciting him to these disputes with the princes ; he was acting solely in accordance with his duty as chief pastor. The reason for the dispute was the order which had been sent from Madrid to Naples to offer a strenuous resistance to all the ordinances of the Holy See which were directed against the Spanish "privileges and customs." This had inflamed passions at Naples, so that the abuses increased from day to day. The plain fact was that no longer was obedience paid to the Pope in Naples, while the whole discipline of the Church was set aside ; if the manifest abuses were continued, the difficulties could not fail to increase and become more serious. Lastly, Castagna once more strongly insisted that the Pope was not pursuing any temporal ends, but was aiming solely at maintaining the jurisdiction conferred by God upon His Church, and without which it was impossible that souls could be properly cared for.

The nuncio could say what he liked, but the king, who was in a very excited state, remained fixed in his contention that the Pope was to blame for the whole business, and that his exaggerated insistence on ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the cause of all these controversies. Castagna replied that the fault lay with whoever had allowed these usurpations, and not with him who was demanding what was his right. In the course of the conversation, which became more and more heated, Philip said that if the Pope persisted in his "extreme" views, he would know how to defend his own jurisdiction by the means which were at the disposal of Catholic princes. It was in vain for Castagna to remind him that they were not discussing temporal jurisdiction, but that which was spiritual. Philip, who could not deny this, broke off the audience saying that he had expressed his own point of view, and that was sufficient.[1]

[1] See the report of Castagna of August 12, 1569, *ibid.* 132 *seq.*

In October the king gave way, at any rate on the question of the status of the nuncio at Naples, and ordered that he was to be treated like the nuncios in all his other dominions, namely, given the first place, but with the express proviso that this was not to involve any prejudice to his own jurisdiction.[1] In all the questions of principle, Philip, acting on the advice of his ambassadors and ministers,[2] continued to hold tenaciously to his cesaropapistical claims.

The questions at issue between Madrid and Rome, as well as the Milanese question, which was still unsettled, led Pius V., in October, 1569, to send to Spain the General of the Dominicans, Vincenzo Giustiniani.[3] Before the latter could begin his negotiations, Philip II., in a royal pragmatic of November 30th, 1569, had declared in favour of retaining the *placet*.[4] Cardinal Bonelli had charged Giustiniani to point out, in the case of the Milanese controversy, that civil jurisdiction would be destroyed together with the spiritual. The ultimate object of the Milanese, so he wrote to him from Rome, is undoubtedly to make themselves masters of all ecclesiastical affairs.[5] In a memorial on the subject of the

[1] See MEISTER in *Histor. Jahrb.*, XIV., 82. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 143.

[2] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 182 *seq.*

[3] The credential brief of October 11. 1569 in TEDESCHIS 264; eight other *briefs of October 11, relating to the mission of Giustiniani in Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 250b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 162 *seq.* So far the reports of Giustiniani have not been found. The documents in the Papal Secret Archives contain their equivalent, Borghese I., 632 (instructions from Bonelli to Giustiniani) and Spagna II. (see HINOJOSA, 193); in the former codex the letters of Castagna. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., xxxvii *seq*, lxi, and MORTIER, Hist. des Maîtres généraux de l'ordre de St. Dominique, V., 490 *seq.*

[4] See Tomo primero de las leyes de recapilación, Madrid, 1772, 1. 1, tit. 10, ley 12.

[5] Bonelli to Giustiniani from Rome, November 2, 1569, in Borghese, I., 632, p. 66b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 195.

Milanese question,[1] Giustiniani demanded the formal withdrawal of the scandalous edict[2] of the governor of that city. He also presented memorials on the *Monarchia Sicula* and the abuses and acts of violence of the royal officials in the Two Sicilies.[3]

The memorial on the *Monarchia Sicula*[4] showed that, in spite of careful inquiries, it had not been possible to produce a single lawful concession nor a single legal custom which could satisfy the conscience of the king and his ministers. The only thing that could be brought forward as an argument in its favour reduced itself to four words in a diploma attributed to Urban II., which was justly suspected of being a forgery, and which could more easily be shown to be an interpolation The king, therefore, cannot rely upon that document, all the less so because no established custom can be proved which could run counter to the supreme pontifical power. The Holy Father too, now that he has been informed of the facts, thinks that he cannot with a clear conscience sacrifice ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the civil power, especially as it can be proved that the predecessors of the king themselves had scruples about putting forward any such claims. If he now brought forward the matter so strongly, the reason was that of late the abuses which had occurred on the score of the *Monarchia Sicula* had been incredibly numerous and intolerable in their scope, and had grown from day to day. In proof of this last assertion a list of the abuses and acts of violence was attached to the memorial.

Giustiniani, who arrived in Madrid in the last week of November, 1569, was not wanting in zeal,[5] but he very soon discovered that the Spanish government had no real intention

[1] *Borghese I., 607, p. 148 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Bonelli to Giustiniani from Rome, January 10, 1570, *ibid.* p. 102 *seq.*

[3] See Hinojosa, 193, 196.

[4] Printed in Tedeschis, 246 *seq.* *Cf.* Sentis, 119 *seq.*

[5] See the report of Castagna from Madrid, November 26, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 191 *seq.*, which corrects Hinojosa, 193-196.

of settling the disputes. His complaints about the *Monarchia Sicula* were submitted to the council of state for Italian affairs with a request for the reports of the governors. In the meantime he discovered that the government was secretly and assiduously engaged in examining all the ancient briefs and bulls, in the hope of finding support for its pretensions.[1] In the affair of Milan the declarations of Philip II. were such that the Pope's representatives believed, at the end of 1569, that it would be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution.[2] When, in January, 1570, the king went to Cordova, Giustiniani followed him first, and then Castagna.[3] Both of them remained in Andalusia until the summer, when they returned to Madrid.[4] As they continued to work loyally to discharge the duties entrusted to them, they were met with the greatest difficulties. The king's journeys and the war against the Moors,[5] which were occupying the attention of

[1] See the report of Castagna of January 8, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 215 *seq.* The king had already caused a search to be made in the archives in this connexion ; see *Memoria para la busca y remision de todas la bulas y breves concedidos a Su M. en punto de patronato de materias consistoriales, el origen de estos y otros puntos, dated Madrid, December 3, 1567, in Cod. 1. 9, of the Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., III., 210 *seq.*

[3] On January 14, 1570, Castagna wrote from Madrid that Giustiniani had set out for Cordova and that he would follow him shortly (Corresp. dipl., III., 218). From February 5 onwards his reports are dated from Cordova. On March 2 he *announces that the negotiations about the affair of Milan are going well and that he hopes for a satisfactory result. The war against the Moors is going badly, and there is a great lack of funds. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] On June 14, 1570, Castagna *announces that he is starting "to-day" on his return to Madrid ; on July 6 he *writes that Giustiniani too had arrived there several days before. Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 2, 159 *seq.* ; LEA, The Moriscos of Spain, London, 1901 ; BORONAT Y BARRACHINA, Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión, 2 vols. Valencia, 1901.

Philip in an increasing degree, were already the cause of anxiety to them, and still more the way in which the government managed to drag on the negotiations without giving any definite reply. It became more and more evident that no settlement was intended. When he left the Spanish capital on October 5th, Giustiniani, who had been made a Cardinal on May 17th, 1570, was bound to admit to himself that he had accomplished very little during his six months' legation.[1] In the affair of Milan he had only succeeded in getting the king to send a feeble request to the Duke of Albuquerque to arrange the matter amicably.[2] In the Neapolitan and Sicilian disputes Philip remained firm in his contention that he must first receive fuller information from his officials, to whom in the meantime he gave the advice, as he had done before, not to overstep the limits of their authority, recommending them to remove abuses in certain cases, which, however, only meant that his representatives in Italy, knowing that these general directions were only intended to free the king from the difficulties of the moment, continued their former mode of acting.[3]

At this critical moment, the attention of the Pope, who had been somewhat reassured by Giustiniani,[4] was distracted from these political-ecclesiastical controversies by the need of doing all he could to meet the dangers which were threatening Christianity from the east at the hands of the Turks. As early as March, 1570, on learning of the great preparations being made by the Turks, he had attempted to arrange an alliance between Venice and Spain, and had sent Luis de Torres to the latter country for that purpose.[5] The Turkish question led to a political rapprochement between Madrid

[1] See the *reports of Castagna of October 4, 1570, to Cardinal Borromeo and Cardinal Rusticucci, used by HINOJOSA, 197. The **Cifra* which is missing in Hinojosa shows that Castagna could not hide his disappointment. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the letter of September 28, 1570, in HINOJOSA, 197, n. 2.

[3] See SENTIS, 120. *Cf.* GIANNONE, IV., 183.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 20, n. 1.

[5] *Cf. infra*, Chapter IX.

and Rome, and this in its turn exercised a favourable influence upon the settlement of the ecclesiastical differences. But however much he was occupied with the Crusade, Pius V. by no means lost sight of these important questions. On February 9th, 1571, Castagna delivered to the king a memorial [1] which was chiefly directed against the *exequatur* at Naples which had now been extended to the smallest Papal ordinances so much so that even the most needy beneficiary was not able to obtain his benefice without first paying the fees for the royal *placet*. At the end of June 1571 Cardinal Michele Bonelli was sent as legate to Spain. Besides the question of the Crusade, the marriage of the King of Portugal to Margaret of Valois and the question of the title of Cosimo de' Medici he was instructed to renew the negotiations about the *Monarchia Sicula* and the controversy about jurisdiction at Naples.[2]

Pius V. might have expected to meet at length with some satisfaction on these questions since, on May 21st, 1571, on account of the alliance which had lately been made with Venice and Spain against the Turks, he had not only extended for another five years the *sussidio* levied upon the *Spanish* clergy, but had also granted the *Cruzada* for two years, and the so-called *excusado* for five.[3] This extraordinary generosity on the part of the Pope, who had hitherto been so reluctant, was brought about by the fact that Philip II., who was already engaged in fighting the Calvinists in the Low Countries, and the Moriscos in Spain, could only be

[1] See *Cod. 33-E-12 of the Corsini Library, Rome, whence is taken a passage in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 134 *seq.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 355 *seq.*; *cf.* Carte Strozz., I., 1, 224 *seq.*

[3] All these concessions were made on May 21, 1571: see *Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Crusada, Subsidio y Escusado, Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome. *Cf.* *Borghese I., 145-147, p. 35 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. See also Corresp. dipl., IV., 295-296. For the *excusado* (LADERCHI, 1571, n. 31, with a wrong date) see *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1909, 388 *seq.*

drawn into the Turkish war by opening out to him fresh and considerable sources of money. All the doubts which Pius V. had entertained, especially about the *Cruzada*, were silenced by the need of saving Christendom. How little the Pope's magnanimity was appreciated at the Spanish court was shown by a disrespectful remark of the king's confessor, the Bishop of Cuença, to Castagna,[1] and still more by the conduct of the king himself. As soon as the bulls concerning these great financial concessions had been happily secured, the representative of Spain at the Curia changed his tone. In the first week of June he appeared before the Pope, and stated that he had received orders to protest in the name of his king against the conferring of the title on Cosimo I.! Pius V. was all the more amazed because hitherto Philip II. had adopted a waiting attitude in that matter. He taxed the ambassador with the deceitfulness with which Spain, on the strength of the league, had wrung great concessions from him, yet now was putting him into a great dilemma about the Duke's title. This protest, which had been in readiness for a long time in Madrid, was made on June 9th, but only in the presence of four Cardinals.[2] It was quite in keeping with this proceeding that Philip continued to pay no attention to all the complaints of the Holy See about Spanish cesaropapalism. Cardinal Bonelli gave expression to these complaints at his second audience on October 11th.[3] They were not a few : In the first place there was the *Monarchia*

[1] According to L. Donato (ALBÈRI, I., 6, 380) the words of the bishop which directly referred to Pius V. were : " que los estiticos mueren de cameras ! "

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 87, 131, 223 *seq.*, 328 *seq.* and BIBL, Erhebung, 118 *seq.* The text of the protest in PALANDRI, 240 *seq.* On June 16, 1571, Arco *reports on the strict secrecy about the protest ordered by the Pope. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* the letter of Bonelli to Rusticucci of October 12, 1571 (in TEDESCHIS, 267 *seq.*, CARUSO, 88 *seq.*, and also in Corresp. dipl., IV., 480 *seq.*) and the summary report of November 17, 1571, used by SENTIS, 121 *seq.*, almost contemporaneously published by GACHARD, Bibl. Corsini, 152-161.

Sicula, then the *exequatur* in the Kingdom of Naples and all the abuses which had crept in there, then the dispute at Milan, which had not yet been decided as a matter of principle, and lastly the confiscation of the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo. Castagna, who was present at the audience, bears witness that Bonelli set forth his case in the ablest way, and that he exposed, in a detailed and intensely illuminating memorial, the cesaropapistical Spanish rule as shown in the incurable abuses which were occurring in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. With regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* he specially made it clear that, even granting the genuineness of the diploma of Urban II., the legation, according to the very terms of the privilege, could not extend further than the sons of Count Roger, as even the royal officials had admitted in 1512 and 1533. The memorial also complained that the Council of Trent had not been respected, and that the carrying out of the Pope's edicts had been prevented in every possible way, while in the *exequatur* there existed an abuse which the king was bound to remove in virtue of the oath which he had taken at the time of his investiture. The Pope had been waiting for an answer to the memorial delivered by Giustiniani for more than a year; the improvements which had in the meantime been made, but which were very small, did not touch the kernel of the question of jurisdiction, namely, the non-observance of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent. Lastly he reminded the king that it was a matter for his conscience to provide a remedy, and that to do so would also be to his own interest, since wherever ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the authority of the Pope were set at naught, and they were almost destroyed in Sicily and interfered with in various ways in Naples, heresies were sure to spring up sooner or later.[1]

[1] The memorial, which was known to CATENA (p. 171) and of which TEDESCHIS (p. 264) gives a passage, was published in its entirety by LÄMMER, Melet. 226 *seqq.* from the Cod. 505 of the Corsini Library, Rome, though with the wrong date October 21; the "giovedi" in 1571 fell on October 11. It also escaped the notice of Lämmer that the document had already been published by Caruso (p. 86 *seq.*), though with the wrong date, October 12.

The king's reply was as before quite vague, and the decision now lay with the ministers. Bonelli therefore sought to bring pressure to bear on them through his friends, especially Francis Borgia. At first he hoped to be able to carry on the negotiations with Cardinal Espinosa and Ruy Gomez alone, but he very soon was forced to realize that the whole of the so-called Council of Italy, which looked upon it as its special duty to defend anything that affected the jurisdiction of the state, was involved.[1] The reply which he received on November 3rd still further damped Bonelli's hopes. This definitely rejected the contention that the *Monarchia Sicula* no longer existed as a matter of right, by an appeal, not only to the bull of Urban II., but also to immemorial possession. With regard to the various matters complained of, the reply was partly a denial, partly an evasion, and partly an admission, in so far that the removal of unfitting practices was at least promised.[2] That Philip himself looked upon the privileges of the *Monarchia Sicula* as excessive, and that he was troubled with scruples of conscience on the subject, was shown by the strange demand which was laid before Bonelli by Cardinal Espinosa: with regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *exequatur* at Naples the Pope was asked to agree to them in such a way that his scruples of conscience might be entirely removed; in other words the Pope was asked to confirm the Spanish cesaropapalism![3]

Under these circumstances Bonelli realized that further negotiations gave no grounds for hope, and that his further stay in Madrid was impossible without loss of his authority.

[1] See the report of Bonelli of November 17, 1571, in GACHARD, Bibl. Corsini, 155. *Cf.* SENTIS, 121, and Corresp. dipl., IV., 522 *seq.*

[2] See *Cod. N. 2, p. 6a of the Vallicella Library, Rome. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 261 *seq.*, and SENTIS, 121. See also HINOJOSA, 203, where the date of the document in Nunziat. di Spagna, II., 150, is wanting; it belongs to October 30, 1571. *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., IV., 522, n. 1.

[3] See the report of Bonelli of November 17, 1571, in GACHARD, *loc. cit.* 156. *Cf.* SENTIS, 29.

He held a consultation with Castagna, and then drew up a new memorial on the *Monarchia Sicula,* which he sent to the king on November 10th, 1571. In this memorial he very ably refuted the pretended existence of any legal title, by showing that not even the longest immemorial possession could give grounds for such a right, because, failing an express concession on the part of the Pope, the princes as laymen were incapable of possessing or exercising spiritual authority ; the lack of this absolutely essential concession could not be supplied by any actual exercise of the right, no matter how long this might have been done, nor could any *right* to its exercise be grounded upon it. The privileges claimed by the king were such as to do away with the primatial power of the Popes, and it was therefore impossible that the Popes should ever have granted them.[1]

Any lingering hopes which might have been based upon certain expressions used by Espinosa vanished with the final answer received by Bonelli on the morning of November 12th. On the following day he had his farewell audience, and in the course of it obtained something which neither Castagna nor Giustiniani had succeeded in getting, namely the promise of the king that he would at least resume the negotiations in Rome, especially with regard to the *Monarchia Sicula.*[2]

On November 18th Bonelli went to Portugal in connexion with the matrimonial question already mentioned, and he returned to Madrid on December 28th. On that day Philip II. issued rescripts to the authorities at Naples, with reference to certain special questions, in which he forbade them to mix themselves up in ecclesiastical matters. These orders, however, did not bring about any practical change, because the

[1] See the text of the *Replica in Cod. 505, p. 24 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome, used by SENTIS, 121 *seq.*

[2] See the report of Bonelli of November 17, 1571, *loc. cit.* 156. P. Giannone (Il tribunale della Monarchia di Sicilia, ed. A. PIERANTONI, Rome, 1892, 124) is also obliged to recognize the importance of the promise.

authorities knew how to evade them,[1] while Philip himself clung firmly to his claims in all essentials, especially the royal *exequatur*, the *Monarchia Sicula*, and his opposition to the bull *In coena Domini*.[2] In January, 1572, the legate continued his journey to France. On the occasion of the birth of Prince Ferdinand, which took place on December 4th, 1571, he had conveyed the Pope's congratulations to Philip II., while Pius V. also sent a special envoy in the person of his chamberlain Casale, to present the Golden Rose to the queen. Casale was also charged to seek for a remedy for the disputes at Milan, where the president of the senate was trying to "befool the archbishop."[3] He arrived in Madrid at the beginning of June, where news of the death of Pius V. had preceded him. Castagna was still occupying his difficult position, and he looked upon it as a release when, in the late autumn, Gregory XIII. at last yielded to his requests and recalled him. A great deal of the credit for the fact that a complete breach between Madrid and Rome had been avoided was due to this distinguished man. He clearly saw how necessary this was in the interests of the whole Church, and, with great ability, shielding as much as possible the king himself, had been able to throw most of the blame for the disputes[4] of an ecclesiastical-political nature which were continually arising on the royal authorities.[5]

This idea, which was certainly not entirely justified, but which rested upon the undoubtedly sincere attachment of

[1] See TEDESCHIS, 269 *seq.*; CARUSO, 283 *seq.*; SENTIS, 122. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 204. Sentis rightly remarks (*loc. cit.*) that those authors who speak of a "concordat" are altogether in error. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 279 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GIANNONE, IV., 185.

[3] See HINOJOSA, 205 *seq.*

[4] This was certainly the case in many ways, but to absolve the king from all complicity, as Laderchi does (1566, n. 495) is not possible.

[5] Besides the more important differences mentioned there were several minor disputes. Giannone (IV., 175 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*) speaks of these in a very partisan spirit, as he does in other matters.

Philip II. to the Catholic faith, and his declared hostility to all religious innovators,[1] was also shared by Pius V. Both as a religious and as a Cardinal, Pius had taken up a favourable attitude towards the Spaniards. Consequently, in his sketch of the Sacred College in 1565, Requesens had described him as a desirable candidate for the tiara.[2] As an Italian Ghislieri would certainly rather have seen his country governed by Italians, but he preferred the Spanish rule to that of any other foreigners. No less a person than Philip's representative in Rome, Juan de Zuñiga, testifies that at the beginning of his pontificate Pius was firmly resolved to maintain the good relations which he had hitherto had with Spain. Zuñiga explained to the king the attitude adopted by the Pope, in an extremely important letter of February 23rd, 1571.[3] At the beginning of his pontificate Pius V. had been entirely well-disposed towards Spain, though he had at once shown his strength of character, and had given proofs of his intention of maintaining his own authority. Zuñiga then describes the first disagreements, which had been specially occasioned by the conduct of Philip in the affair of Carranza, and he bears witness in favour of the Pope, that he had entered into the jurisdictional controversies with a holy and a good intention, and had always shown a great personal affection for the king himself,[4] being convinced that it was his officials who were responsible for the controversies. His entourage had confirmed him in this view, and had painted the conduct of the Spanish officials in matters concerned with ecclesiastical jurisdiction in such dark colours that he had put forward very drastic demands. The reason why the negotiations had become so acrimonious was not only the strong character of Pius V., but also the fact that His Holiness was convinced that the ambassadors, in order to prove their zeal, had insisted

[1] How fully Pius V. appreciated this attitude of Philip is attested by Granvelle; see Corresp. de Granvelle, II., 169.

[2] See Döllinger, Beiträge, I., 579. *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 13.

[3] Published in Docum. d. Arch. Alba, 261-263.

[4] This is also attested by P. Tiepolo, Relazione, 188.

upon some of the matters at issue more strongly than they had been instructed to do. At the end of his account Zuñiga expresses his conviction that the Pope, who had always led an exemplary life, was actuated by the holiest intentions, and was so determined to uphold his principles, and to discharge his duty, that he would not have allowed any offence to be committed against God, even though the whole world were to fall in ruins. Perhaps, so Zuñiga thought, this led to even worse disturbances than those caused by other Popes, who pursued more worldly ends.

Although the grasp of the controversies concerning ecclesiastical politics which is revealed in these words may fall short of the truth, yet Zuñiga's statements are a splendid testimony to the purity of the zeal with which Pius V. was animated.

CHAPTER III.

The Beginning of the Rebellion in the Low Countries.

The powerful movement which cut off from Spain the northern part of the Low Countries, and set up there the rule of Protestantism, bore at first a political and national character rather than a religious one. If at first Philip II. followed in the footsteps of his father in the Low Countries, and made no change in the ancient privileges of the 17 provinces, his accession to the throne nevertheless brought about a complete change in the situation. While Charles V. had been looked upon as half a Netherlander, Philip II. was purely a Spaniard, and showed as little liking for his subjects in the Netherlands as they did for him. Their ruler was no longer the diplomatic Emperor, who had conversed in a friendly way with the Netherlanders in their own language, had favoured them, and treated them with great discretion, but the stern, laconic and inaccessible King of Spain, whose personality as well as his method of government was of quite another kind. Philip II. looked upon the Low Countries, not as a separate state, but merely as one of his "possessions" which, like Milan and Naples in the south, were to minister to the Spanish rule as a starting point and base of operations in the north; his rigid absolutism was bound to be opposed to any aspirations on the part of the Netherland provinces to political individuality and national independence.[1] This critical state of affairs was made worse by Philip's habit of reflecting and taking counsel instead of acting at moments of crisis. Thomas Perrenot stigmatizes this habit of indecision in bitter words in a letter to Granvelle: "the only decision the king comes to is to be for ever undecided."[2] Aggravating circumstances were the

[1] See Pirenne, III., 455 *seqq.*; Block, II., 395 *seq.*

[2] See Weiss, Papiers d'état du card. Granvelle, IX., 568.

incapacity of Margaret of Parma, who had been appointed Governess-General by Philip II., and the wretched state of the finances. The Low Countries, into which, on account of their trade and their industries, wealth flowed from all parts of the world, had been made, more than any other country, to bear the expense of Charles V.'s wars in France, Italy and Germany; in like manner Philip II. waged his war against France in a special way with Netherland money. The consequences of this were shown in a complete financial exhaustion in that country which the Venetian Soriano had described as the Indies of Spain.[1] The material condition of this territory held by Spain on the North Sea was also far worse in other ways than is commonly recognized; the frontier provinces especially had suffered from the devastating effects of the war with France. But the gravest source of danger was the change that had taken place in social conditions. A new class of great industrial magnates and capitalists had come into being, side by side with a large body of workers, whose condition grew steadily worse on account of the continual rise of prices.[2]

This state of affairs, added to the feeling that they were being drained in favour of a policy which was foreign to their own interests, gave rise to a deep-seated unrest among all classes of the liberty loving population of the Netherlands.[3] Philip II. was well aware of the danger of the situation when, on August 25th, 1559, he set out for Spain after a long stay in the Low Countries. He realized that he could not count with any certainty on the Governess and the all-powerful councillor, Granvelle. It was with great disquietude that he saw the revolutionary tendencies, which had begun to show themselves even in the time of Charles V., and he was made specially anxious by the efforts that were being made to secure a joint agreement of the members of the States

[1] *Cf.* GACHARD, Relations des ambass. Vénitiens, 102 *seq.*; MARX, Studien, 60 *seqq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, III., 345 *seqq.*

[3] See MARX, *loc. cit.* 83 *seqq.*

General, and above all by the Protestant propaganda, to which the country was peculiarly exposed on account of its position and its commercial relations. He made what arrangements he could to meet the danger: above all, before he left, he urged the governess, the governors, the courts and the bishops to be very much on their guard. In taking his solemn farewell of the representatives of the provinces assembled at Ghent, he urged the strict enforcement of the severe edicts issued by the Emperor against the sectarians, since past experience had shown that no religious change could take place without a corresponding political revolution.[1]

Philip's anxiety concerning the state of religion in the Low Countries was fully justified. Even though, as far as the great majority was concerned, in the very mixed population of those provinces, mixed both in nationality and customs, remaining firmly attached to the ancient religion, there was an undeniable weakening of religious feeling.[2] The lower classes were still filled with genuine piety, and continued to frequent the churches as before,[3] but the fatal influence of the writings of Erasmus was making rapid strides both among the educated people and the clergy. Like Erasmus himself, those who had come under his influence sought indeed to avoid any external separation from the Church, but as far as their private opinions were concerned they had departed from her principles in more than one respect.[4] Such a state of indecision, which left them free to enjoy life happily and without restraint, suited the easy-going character of the people of the Netherlands, although it was evident that it was

[1] See MARX, *loc. cit.* 41 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 19 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, III., 414.

[3] What A. de Beatis had written on this subject in 1517 (see PASTOR, Reise des Kard. d'Aragona, 73) was again stated by Badoero in 1557; see ALBÈRI, I., 3, 291.

[4] See the excellent considerations put forward by RACHFAHL, I., 448 *seq.*, 464. The ideas of Erasmus had been popularized by G. Cassander, who was much esteemed in the Low Countries. For the latter *cf.* PASTOR, in Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, II.[2] 2017 *seq.*

not calculated to their moral advantage, and a survey of the moral state of the country reveals a gloomy picture indeed. Unrestrained lust, drunkenness, and immorality were common, and not least among the numerous and powerful nobles. Unsettled and feeble in their religion, a large part of the aristocracy of the Netherlands led a luxurious and immoral life, and squandered their property in splendid banquets, extravagant gambling and wild orgies.[1]

The first place among the nobility of the Netherlands in every sense was held by William, Prince of Orange. Gifted with great qualities of intellect, strong in will and firm of purpose, a master of the art of summing up men and winning their hearts, and full of ambition, this coldly calculating man had a keen eye for anything that could advance or interfere with his aims. Morally, Orange was a man of licentious life and made no secret of it; at the Diet of the princes at Frankfort in 1558 he openly declared that adultery was no sin.[2] He was so addicted to the national vice of drunkenness as even to endanger his vigorous constitution.[3] Being filled with purely worldly ideas, he entirely ignored the supernatural; it is certain that very little remained in his mind of the Lutheran training which he received until his eleventh year. When, at that age, he had to become a Catholic in order to receive the rich inheritance of his cousin Réné, he was given an education in accordance with the views of Erasmus. It is no wonder then that he fell into the state of indifference that was prevalent among the aristocracy of the Netherlands.[4] How much he looked upon religion as a mere

[1] *Cf.* MARX, Studien, 112 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, I., 273 *seq.* See also PIRENNE, III., 498 *seq.*

[2] See RITTER in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, LVIII., 410, n. 2.

[3] See MARX, *loc. cit.* 116.

[4] See RACHFAHL, I., 153 *seq.* PIRENNE (III., 495) well says that at that time Orange was "as much a Catholic as later he was a Lutheran, and later still a Calvinist, that is to say without any enthusiasm or deep convictions. . . . His attitude towards religion was nothing but the expression of the political position which he held for the moment."

political consideration was shown by the negotiations which took place in 1561 before his marriage to Anne, the daughter of the Protestant Elector Maurice of Saxony. While he was assuring Philip II. that he had made it a condition that his wife should profess the Catholic faith, and intended that she should live a good Catholic, he informed the Elector Augustus of Saxony of his own secret but strong leaning towards Protestantism, which, however, he was unable for the time being to profess publicly; his wife, however, should be free to live in her Lutheran faith, and his children should be brought up in that religion.[1] A letter from Orange to Pius IV. belongs to the same year, 1561; in this he assures the Pope that he desires the extirpation of the "pest of heresy" in his principality of Orange, and that he had given orders to that effect to his officials.[2] William retained this mask of Catholicism for five years longer, because it was useful to his purpose. Proof of this is to be found in the two letters which he addressed to Pius V. in 1566. In the first, dated May 13th, he declared: "It is my desire and intention to be all my life the very humble and obedient son of the Church and of the Holy See, and to persevere, as my ancestors did, in that intention, devotion, and obedience." In the second letter, dated June 8th, he promised that he would take every pains, as was his duty, for the preservation of the ancient Catholic religion in his principality of Orange, as in the past.[3] All

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. [15-16], 267. See also KOLLIGS, W. v. Oranien, Bonn, 1884, 8-20; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 91 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*

[2] See GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, Archives de la maison Orange-Nassau, I., 72. *Cf.* KOCH, Unstersuchungen über die Empörung und den Abfall der Niederlande, Leipsic, 1860, 9 *seq.* Pius IV. was much comforted by the behaviour of Orange in his principality; see A. CAUCHIE and L. VAN DER ESSEN, Invent. des archives Farnésiennes, Brussels, 1911, xxi., and BROM, Archivalia, I., 191 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* ALLARD, Des zwijgers godsdiensten in *Studien op Godsdienstig*, Wettenschappelijk en Letterkundig Gebied, ann 13., Utrecht, 1880, II., 65-90, where the original text of the letter preserved in the Barberini Library is given for the first time.

through the following summer he behaved as a Catholic, but in November, 1566, in a confidential letter to the Lutheran William of Hesse, he wrote that at heart he had "always held and professed" the Confession of Augsburg.[1]

Such was the man who, though he was the vassal and councillor of state of Philip II., used all his abilities to thwart the policy, both at home and abroad, of his king. All the malcontents of the Spanish government gathered round him, while those who had Protestant leanings were in close league with him.[2] Philip II. himself assisted his plans by continuing to postpone the removal of the three thousand hated Spanish soldiers, as he had unwillingly promised to do before he left the Low Countries. When their withdrawal had at last been obtained fresh subject for discontent was at once found in the new delimitation and increased number of the Netherland bishoprics, which Paul IV., in accordance with the wishes of Philip II., had arranged shortly before his death.[3]

This arrangement, which had been called for by a very proper recognition of the insufficiency of mere measures of repression for the stamping out of religious innovations, in view of the manifest unsuitability of the old conditions, was altogether necessary and at the same time of great assistance to the spiritual needs of the population; it also had, however, a political bearing. The Pope was obliged to grant the Catholic King the right of nomination in the case of the fourteen new bishoprics, as with Utrecht, Tournai and Arras. Not satisfied with this increase in the power of the king, the commission which had been appointed by Philip II. in 1559 to put into effect the bull relating to the new bishoprics, in order to solve the difficult question of the endowment of the new dioceses,

[1] See GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, *loc. cit.* II., 997. *Cf.* also BLOK, Willelm de eerste (Amsterdam, 1919), who believes (p. 62) that Orange only really became a Calvlnist after 1572.

[2] *Cf.* RITTER, I., 335 *seq.*

[3] For this, besides what has been said in Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 321, see also MARX, Studien, 51 *seq.*, 194 *seq.*, and RACHFAHL, II., 1, 20 *seq.* See also CLAESSENS, Sur l'établissement des évêchés dans les Pays-Bas in *Rev. cathol.*, 1859.

proposed to unite the abbeys situated in the neighbourhood to the new sees. By this expedient the government obtained possession of further docile votes, because in most of the provinces the clergy formed an important part of the assembly of the states.[1] Philip II. accordingly declared himself well satisfied with the proposal,[2] which, under the influence and advice of Granvelle, was decided upon.[3] Since, however, this involved a departure from the original scope of the bull of Paul IV., it was necessary to ask for the consent of his successor, but for some reason or other the preparation of the bulls of erection of the new sees met with many difficulties. The blame for the sudden delay lay not only with the wretched question of money, the payment of the customary fees, and the cautious procedure of the Curia, but also in the strained relations between Pius IV. and the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, and the opposition of those prelates from whose dioceses important territories would be cut off. The Curia was literally flooded with protests. Like the Bishops of Cambrai, Liège, Tournai, and the chapter of Utrecht, so too the Archbishop of Cologne and Cardinal Guise as Archbishop of Rheims protested against the bull which defined the new boundaries of the dioceses in the Netherlands, on the ground that it injured their material and jurisdictional interests.[4] In spite of the insistence of Philip II., the supreme authority of the Church could not refuse to make an investigation of these complaints. The king had every reason to be satisfied with the final decision; Pius IV. upheld the proposed arrangement, as being fully in accordance with the interests of religion. In a bull of March 7th, 1561, he approved the new scheme for the endowments, confirmed the bishops nominated by

[1] See MARX, Studien, 203; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 131 *seq.*

[2] See WEISS, Papiers d'état du card. Granvelle, VI., 58 *seq.*

[3] See RACHFAHL in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XXIX., 369.

[4] *Cf.* DE RAM in *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1851, 302 *seq.*; *Archief van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XII., 434 *seq.*; BROM, Archivalia, I., 792; STEINHERZ, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 320 *seq.*; HOLZWARTH, I., 77 *seq.*; Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. PIOT, IV., 3 n.; MARX, Studien, 196 *seqq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 132 *seq.*

Philip, and further took steps to see that those bishops who had suffered any loss were indemnified.[1]

While the foreign prelates were thus forced to give up their opposition, this broke out with all the greater violence in the Low Countries themselves, starting principally with the nobility. To the long-standing secret dislike of the Netherland aristocracy for the whole scheme, and the arbitrary proceedings of Philip II., there was added a deep discontent with the solution of the problem of the endowments, which strengthened the royal power, and made it difficult for the sons of the nobility to obtain bishoprics and canonries.[2] Completely disregarding the true interests of the Church, and short-sightedly thinking only of their own advantage, even the abbeys, where they were affected by the bull, allowed themselves to be drawn into the opposition raised by the nobility.[3] By stating, which was altogether untrue, that it was intended by means of the erection of the new bishoprics to introduce the Spanish Inquisition, which was mortally hated by the Netherlanders, they succeeded at length in drawing the masses of the population into the movement. Not only those elements which were already inclined to the new religion, and which had every reason to fear an increased vigilance on the part of the bishops, but also those who were faithful to the Church were rendered anxious at the supposed attempt to subject them to a Spanish institution at the expense of their own local rights.[4] The states of Brabant especially made violent resistance, declaring that the incorporation of the abbeys was aimed at their principal privilege, the *joyeuse entrée*.[5] The devils of Brabant, as Philip II. called them, soon found imitators in the other provinces, and in many

[1] See RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 69; *Archief cit.*, IX., 314 *seq.*; XII., 444; STEINHERZ, *loc. cit.* I. 321; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 135; BROM, *loc. cit.* 718 *seq.*

[2] See MARX, Studien, 207 *seqq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 147 *seq.*

[3] Granvelle said that Douai like Brussels had as it were fallen into a trap. See HOLZWARTH, I., 80 *seq.*

[4] See MARX, Studien, 218 *seqq.*

[5] See RACHFAHL, II., 1, 151 *seq.*, 155.

places they went to extremes. Granvelle himself had to behave with great circumspection before he could make his solemn entry into Malines as archbishop. Several of the new bishops were unable to take possession of their sees at all, while others could only do so after more or less prolonged disputes.[1]

Granvelle, who had been made a Cardinal on February 25th, 1561, took a decisive part in the unfortunate solution of the question of the bishoprics.[2] This earned for him the hatred of the opposition party of the nobles headed by Orange, all the more so because the latter saw in him, quite rightly, the most sagacious representative of the monarchical tendencies, and Philip's principal supporter. The fall of Granvelle then became his chief aim, and the "lords" found in him a powerful ally in the Calvinistic movement which was spreading from France into the Low Countries. The people were stirred up in every possible way; works in French and Flemish mocked at the Cardinal as "the red devil" who wanted to destroy the liberty of the country by means of the Inquisition and the new bishoprics, and hand it over to the "Spanish swine." Orange and his supporters among the nobles kept up the war against the hated Cardinal by every means in their power, but only attained their object when even the regent deserted Granvelle.[3]

Philip II. had once said that he would rather risk his possessions in the Netherlands than sacrifice the Cardinal.[4] There was only *one* way to save Granvelle, namely the personal appearance of the king in the Low Countries;[5]

[1] In more than one place their lives were hardly safe, says HAVENSIUS, Comment. de erectione novorum in Belgio episcopatuum, Cologne, 1609, 26 *seq.* *Cf.* HOLZWARTH, I., 85 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 235 *seq.*

[2] See RACHFAHL in *Westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, XXII., 87 *seqq.*; XXIX., 368 *seq.*

[3] See PIRENNE, III., 506 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 248 *seq.*, 252 *seqq.*, 288 *seqq.*

[6] See WEISS, Papiers d'état du card. Granvelle, VII., 102.

[5] See Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I., lxvii.

indeed, the journey to Flanders was seriously urged upon him by all far-seeing men, but the irresolute monarch could not bring himself to the point, and instead, on January 22nd, 1564, gave his congé to his faithful servant, Granvelle. The regent then fell entirely into the hands of the opposition nobles, who made use of their triumph in the most disastrous way, so much so that a state of anarchy prevailed.[1]

The struggle about the bishoprics grew even more furious when there was added to it the opposition to the acceptance of the Council of Trent, and the situation grew worse than ever.[2] While Philip II. showed a certain amount of conciliatoriness in these two matters, he remained all the more fixed in his resistance to two further demands of the opposition, namely, the assembly of the States General, and the alteration of the edicts in force against the religious innovators. It was the common opinion in the Low Countries that these edicts would be modified, and even the Bishops of Ypres, Namur, Ghent and St. Omer gave expression to this view in June, 1565,[3] but Philip would not hear of it. Royal ordinances, issued at the park of Segovia in the second half of October, 1565, definitely rejected the demands of the opposition ; the edicts were to be enforced even more rigorously, the Inquisition was to remain unchanged, and the States General were not to be summoned. At first the regent did not dare to publish this decision, and submitted the matter to the council of state, at which Orange obtained the publication of the royal decrees. He himself, on January 8th, 1566, issued a severe edict in favour of the

[1] See PIRENNE, III., 511 ; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 421 *seq.* ; II., 2, 517.

[2] *Cf.* RACHFAHL, II., 1, 446 *seqq.*, 451 *seq.* See also HOLZWARTH, I., 215 *seq.* and DE RAM, De promulgatione concilii Tridentini in Belgio. In the Franche Comté the Archbishop of Besançon who had not yet received investiture, put off the publication of the decrees until 1571, for which reason Pius V. took proceedings against him : see *Revue Hist.*, CIII., 227 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*

[3] See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 264.

Inquisition to the provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia which were subject to him.[1] Sure of his success he declared: "Now we shall see the beginning of a tremendous tragedy." And indeed he very soon saw what he had hoped for come to pass, the outburst of a storm of revolution, which was to clear the way for his own schemes.

As early as the summer of 1565, Count Louis of Nassau, the brother of Orange, who did not disapprove of his Protestant leanings, had started secret negotiations for the formation of a league of the nobles. At the beginning of December, 1565, there was drawn up in complete secrecy at Brussels the so-called compromise of twenty nobles, which was directed against the continuance of the edicts, and the introduction, which was stated to be intended, of the Spanish Inquisition. The draft of this compromise carefully avoided the use of any expression offensive to Catholics, and this explains the fact that, among the large number who joined the league, there were many Catholics, who had no idea of separating themselves from the ancient Church, and only wished to resist the system of government pursued by the crown.[2] The authors of the compromise, however, had from the first much more far-reaching aims; they had conceived the idea of a revolt against the sovereign.[3] Some of the conspirators wished to make their attack at once, but their leader, Orange, did not think that the fitting moment had yet arrived. In order to bring strong pressure to bear, he first drew up a mass petition; on April 5th, 1566, under the leadership of his brother, Louis of Nassau, and Brederode, 400 nobles appeared at the castle of Brussels and presented to the regent a "petition" which, in order to prevent a revolution, demanded the suspension of the edicts and the Inquisition, until the States General, which the king must assemble, should make other arrangements.[4] The governess gave way before

[1] Published in ALLARD, Een Plakkaat des Zwijgers ten gunste der Inquisitie, Utrecht, 1886, 5 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, III., 557; RACHFAHL, II., 2, 547 *seqq.*, 560 *seq.*, 565.

[3] See RITTER in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, LVIII., 426.

[4] See BLOK, III., 341 *seq.*

this demonstration, and promised the modification of the edicts, a contributory cause of her decision being the fact that the demands of the nobles, or *gueux*, as they were called, were almost universally approved of. That almost the whole country took the part of the nobles was to a great extent the result of an agitation which was as skilful as it was unscrupulous, which by means of pamphlets and broad-sheets enormously exaggerated[1] the number of the victims of the Inquisition and, concealing the true facts, represented as certain—a thing which threatened the well-being and liberty of the country—the immediate forcible introduction of the Spanish Inquisition.[2] In order to understand the general state of excitement which this produced we must remember that even those who were loyal to the ancient Church, with very few exceptions, were altogether opposed to any violent punishment of the religious innovators, some because they were indifferent on religious questions, some because they had adopted the ideas of Erasmus and Cassander, some because they feared the injury that would be done to the commerce of the Netherlands, and all because in the Inquisition, in the form given to it by Charles V., and as it existed in Spain, they saw a grave threat to the liberties and local privileges which they clung to so jealousy. In this

[1] On the basis of the data given by William of Orange in his apologia, and a sentence used by Hugo Grotius the number of those executed by the Inquisition in the Low Countries was estimated at 50,000 or even 100,000. Modern researches have rectified this to the effect that at the highest estimate not more than 2,000 persons were put to death for obstinacy in heresy. See W. Wilde, Merkwaardige cijfers betreffende de Geloofsvervolgingen in Nederland tijdens de 16e eeuw, Utrecht, 1893, 37 *seq.*; Claessens, L'inquisition dans les Pays-Bas, Turnhout, 1886, 259 *seq.*; v. d. Haeghen, Du nombre des protestants exécutés dans les Pays-Bas, 1889; Rutgers, Calvyns invloed op de Reformatie in de Nederlanden, 141 *seq.*; Hoog, Onze Martelaars in *Nederl. Arch. voon boekgesch.*, I., Leyden, 1889, 82 *seqq.*

[2] See Rachfahl, II., 2, 554 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.* 560 concerning the statement that Philip II. did not wish to introduce anything new but only to enforce rigorously the existing edicts.

sense even the Catholics of the Netherlands were *gueux*, and these at that time formed the great majority of the population, but only political *gueux*, with political ends in view, as distinguished from the religious *gueux* or Calvinists, who aimed at absolute freedom in the practice of religion in itself, but at the same time at the complete suppression and extirpation of the Catholic religion, for which they felt a mortal hatred as being "Roman idolatry." If the regent had adopted a course of vigorous resistance, the leaders of this minority, the Calvinist preachers, would have been completely scattered,[1] but Margaret was so panic-stricken that she did not dare to offer any sort of resistance; she remained entirely passive before the movement, which every day became more dangerous.

The weak behaviour of the regent, who tried to win over the religious *gueux* by modifying the edicts, only spurred on the Calvinist preachers to bolder action. As the result of an assembly held at Antwerp a vigorous propaganda in favour of Protestantism was set on foot throughout the country. A favourable field for this had long been ready in those districts where the great merchants and traders were in the ascendant, namely Antwerp and other ports, and the industrial districts of west Flanders, where there was to be found a large body of workmen, who, together with a number of unemployed, vagabonds and idlers, partly from a love of opposition, and partly to obtain alms, joined the new movement.[2] At the same time the doctrines of Calvin had their supporters among the upper classes, especially among the rich merchants, lawyers, magistrates and nobles, who made up by their fanaticism and daring for what the movement lacked in numbers. What very shallow roots the new religion had was shown by the fact that in 1563 the mere arrival of troops was enough to restore the

[1] See BLOK, III., 46 *seq.*; PIRENNE, III., 542 *seq.*, 551, 558, 565. In the opinion of an Italian Catholic, the architect Marchi, there were not 20 persons in the whole country who really wished for the continuance of the Inquisition; see CAUCHIE in Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique, XXIII. (1892), 26.

[2] See PIRENNE, III., 530 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 2, 525 *seq.*, 530 *seq.*

old order of things at Valenciennes, Tournai, and on the sea-coast of Flanders.[1] Those who were most deeply involved had then gone into exile, but now they returned in shoals, while many preachers came from Geneva, France, Germany and England in order systematically to win over the masses of the people. After the end of May, 1566, "savage sermons" against the "Roman idolatry" were preached in the open air in the presence of thousands of people, who were for the most part armed. At the same time endless pamphlets, libels and calumnies were distributed in the cities and villages against the Church and even against the king. The foreign preachers were joined by native ones, who were sometimes apostate Catholic priests, but also shoemakers and tailors, all banded together to stir up the people against the "imposture" of the ancient Church. The frightened authorities allowed this to go on, and even in Brussels Calvinist sermons were allowed in two places. Even the provinces of the north succumbed to the movement, the principal centres being Antwerp and the whole of Flanders. At Tournai the innovators tried to force the Catholics by threats to listen to their insulting sermons. Every means was made use of; in the villages of south Flanders demagogues displayed letters bearing the forged seal of the king, inciting people to sack the churches, and secret lists were drawn up containing the names of those who were ready to join in an open warfare on behalf of the new doctrines.[2]

In August, 1566, the inflammable matter that was everywhere to be found, burst into open flame. On August 10th, at the instigation and under the leadership of the preachers, all the horrors of iconoclasm broke loose in the industrial districts of west Flanders, where Calvinism had long had many supporters. Both in cities and villages infuriated bands broke into the churches in order to destroy the "idolatry" against which the preachers had so heatedly inveighed. The horror-stricken Catholics saw their churches sacked, and even

[1] See PIRENNE, III., 538.

[2] See PIRENNE, III., 559-570, and especially RACHFAHL, II., 2, 636 *seq.*, 643 *seq.*, 646 *seq.*, 673 *seq.*, 703 *seq.*

the Most Holy Sacrament trampled under foot. Thus was revealed for the first time in the district between Dunkirk, Ypres and Armentières, the true spirit in which the masses of the people had been led. The movement spread like an all-devouring conflagration through Flanders; only Bruges, Cambrai and Douai were spared in the destruction, and that because the Catholics had recourse to armed resistance. From Flanders the hurricane spread even as far as Zeeland, Holland and Frisia, everywhere with the same terrible scenes of destruction. Artistic treasures which could never be replaced fell victim to the storm; with cries of "Long live the gueux" the iconoclasts, among whom were to be seen educated persons, convinced that they were doing a work that was pleasing to God in destroying the "Roman idols," passed from church to church and from convent to convent. With mad fury they maltreated priests, monks and nuns, destroyed statues, pictures, stained glass, chalices, monstrances, and sacred vestments, burned books and manuscripts, and even profaned graves. Only a few among the confederated nobles, such as the journalist, Philippe de Marnix, approved of this work of destruction. Count Culemburg took part in it, and with his band of followers sat down to table in a church which had been "purified" at his orders, and to amuse them fed a parrot with consecrated hosts. Orange, who kept away with some anxiety from this mad exhibition of democratic Calvinism, with which he could not be in sympathy, but who secretly favoured the Lutherans, even though he still took part in Catholic worship, prudently kept in the background. Antwerp therefore remained quiet so long as he remained there; it was only when he went to Brussels on August 19th for a meeting of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, that the same horrors took place in Antwerp as had occurred elsewhere.[1]

[1] J. Kaufmann (Über die Anfange des Bundes der Aderligen und des Bildersturmes, Bonn, 1889, 36 *seq.*) tries to prove that an assembly held at Antwerp in July, 1566, had decided upon the war against images, but that its execution was left to the people. Rachfahl (II., 2, 713; cf. App. n. 74) rejects this view as not in accordance with the sources, but at the same time he quite

In all the large cities not a church, or chapel, or convent or hospital remained unharmed. The damage done to the cathedral, the most beautiful and sumptuous church in the country, was estimated at 400,000 gold florins. By August 27th the number of churches and convents devastated in Flanders alone was 400. In the greater part of the country Catholic worship had completely come to an end, the only provinces that were spared being Namur, Artois, Hainault and Luxemburg.[1]

The news of these atrocities and sacrileges reached Rome long before the court of Spain. It confirmed Pius V. in his absolutely correct idea, shared by all who knew the true facts of the case, that the only efficacious remedy for the conflagration that had broken out in the Low Countries was the personal appearance of the Spanish king in the disturbed provinces.

He had scarcely been elected when he expressed this view

definitely makes it appear that "they were the fruits of the preaching against idolatry, which at that time was reaching its height, and thus the war against images was the result of Calvinism, and of the spiiit which the teaching of the Geneva reformer planted with irresistible force in the hearts of his followers. It was not the result of a decision which had long been taken and was of universal application, but the idea was, as it were, in the air. The idea had been played with for a long time, but it was only at the meeting at St. Trond that it had been again discussed. Then it began to be put into practice seriously."

[1] See PIRENNE, III., 570 *seqq.*; BLOK, III., 58 *seq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 2, 709; KRONEN, Maria's Heerlijkheid in Nederland, VII., Amsterdam 1911, 78 *seq.* See also the full bibliography collected by PIOT in the notes to Renom de France, I., 131 *seq.* The sacrilege of the Count of Culemburg is attested by several witnesses (see Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 471, 480); it is not therefore just to say with RACHFAHL (II., 2, 716) that the co-operation of individual members of the league of the nobles is not proved. A list of the churches and the incalculable treasures of art destroyed in RATHBERGER, Annalen der niederlandischen Malerei, Gotha, 1844, 196 *seqq.* In *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1900, Beil. n. 161 Weizsäcker brings out the loss inflicted on our knowledge of the beginnings of the art of Jan van Eyck.

to Philip II. in a letter of February 21st, 1566, and he repeated the same thing even more strongly to Requesens in March.[1] In April, 1566, the distinguished Archbishop of Sorrento, Stefano Pavesi, a Dominican, was sent to the Low Countries, in order to obtain definite tidings of the state of religious affairs there.[2] In accordance with his habitual temporizing and hesitation, Philip II. at first tried to prevent this mission, but gave way when it was decided in Rome to make it as unobtrusive as possible. Pavesi's prudence and caution satisfied the king. The archbishop gathered exact details of the religious state of affairs not only from the regent and her adviser, Viglius, but also from Morillon, the vicar-general of Granvelle, the theologians of Louvain, the bishops, and other leading ecclesiastics. He even had a conversation with Orange, which appeared to be quite satisfactory, because at that time that political trickster was still wearing his mask of Catholicism. While Pavesi was at Brussels (May 21st to June 16th) the followers of the new doctrines kept very quiet. The regent tried to prove to the envoy that under the circumstances she had done all that was possible for the cause of religion.[3] Pavesi, however, was under no illusions as to the gravity of the situation, and from May onwards Pius V.,

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., 131, 157.

[2] The credentials of Pavesi to the regent, of Mar. 18, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 465. Similar briefs to Charles of Lorraine and many bishops, in the original minutes, in the British Museum Addit. 26865. At first Pavesi was to have gone to Maximilian II.; see App. n. 68, Vol. XVII. the *briefs of March 1 and 21, 1566. The nuncio did not start till April. For his mission *cf.* Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 422 n.; Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I., 245 n.; HOLZWARTH, I., 328 *seq.*, 459; CAUCHIE, Sources manuscrites de l'hist. belge à Rome, Brussels, 1892, 43 *seq.*; BROM, Archivalia, I., 197, 827; RACHFAHL, II., 2, 630 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., I., 149, 156, 189, 194, 229, 246, 263 *seq.*, 280, 290, 302, 369; DENGEL, V., 94. For Pavesi see CAPECE, 30 *seq.* and MALDACCA, Storia di Sorrento, II., 188. In a *letter from Delfino to Maximilian II., Pavesi is praised as "huomo molto dotto e di buona vita." State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., 6.

[3] See RACHFAHL, II., 2, 630 *seq.*

through the nuncio in Spain, urged Philip to undertake the journey to the Netherlands,[1] and in every audience impressed upon Granvelle the necessity of that step.[2] Fired by the report from Pavesi, and the news he had received from other sources,[3] in a conversation with Requesens in July, he declared in the strongest words and with all possible emphasis that the situation was far more dangerous than they imagined in Madrid, and that the delay in the king's departure would have the worst possible consequences for religion.[4] On July 12th Pius V. wrote a strong letter to the king himself,[5] and on August 3rd he wrote to the nuncio in Spain that Philip II. would one day have to render an account for the loss of so many souls, since nothing but his personal presence would be of any avail.[6]

By way of reply to this, Requesens was ordered on August 12th, 1566, to explain to the Pope that his master felt himself quite free from blame, that as far as the journey was concerned His Majesty's intentions coincided with the wishes of the Pope, but that if a real success was to be obtained, the king must go there with an army, not only for the protection of his person, but also in order that he might show a strong front before the Netherland insurgents, and their friends in France, Germany and England. Such an armed expedition required time, but above all there was the lack of the necessary funds, which the Pope could supply by granting ecclesiastical subsidies. As soon as all the necessary preparations had been made—so Philip told Requesens to assure the Pope most definitely—His Majesty would start for the Low Countries

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., 233.

[1] See Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, I., 318.

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 470.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., I., 279 *seq.*

[5] In LADERCHI, 1566, n. 471. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., I., 279 n. for the date. From a comparison with the *briefs of Pius V. in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 96, it appears that in Laderchi after "illic" the words "in extremo discrimine versatur. Sed si religio catholica, etc.," have been omitted. Further instead of "perpessa" we find "oppressa."

[6] Corresp. dipl., I., 299. *Cf.* also BROM, Archivalia, I., 197.

without any thought of the dangers which might threaten him. The Spanish king expressed himself in the same sense to Castagna, who for his part urged him on in every way and reminded him of the proverb: "While they were taking counsel in Rome, Saguntum fell," but he could learn nothing as to the date of the king's departure.[1]

There can be no possible doubt that Philip II. fell into a fatal error with regard to the Netherlands in not looking upon his personal presence there with the same urgency as did the Pope, who would have had him give this matter precedence over all others. After the news came of the iconoclastic horrors that had taken place, Pius V. could consider himself justified in declaring that he had sent his exhortations and his timely warning to no purpose.[2] While he was still feeling the effects of the terrible news he made up his mind to the mission of Pietro Camaiani to Spain, which occasioned such a stir.

Camaiani was instructed once more to urge the king to make the journey, and to say that the sending of an army, no matter how large, would be of no avail without the personal presence of the king. In the instructions for the nuncio it is stated that Philip II. was responsible for all the evil consequences that would result from any further delay, since not only would the Low Countries be lost to the Church and to Spain, but there would be even worse effects upon the state of religion in France and England.[3]

The quarrel which ensued between Philip II. and Pius V. was not caused only by the brusque behaviour of Camaiani, but, altogether apart from other disagreements between Rome and Spain, by the fact that the king was deeply hurt by the doubts expressed by the Pope as to the insincerity of his intentions to undertake the journey.[4] This is proved from the emphatic way in which the king assured the Pope of his readiness to go in person to the Low Countries. The truth

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., 301, 318 *seq.*

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 474.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., I., 357 *seq.*

[4] See RACHFAHL, II., 2, 839.

was that he had no more idea of setting out than he had of paying any attention to the Pope's exhortations that he should once more try the effect of gentle methods with the Netherlanders before he had recourse to armed force. In December, 1566, a year full of great events, Philip came to the determination that Alba must wipe out the crimes of high treason against God and the king in the Netherlands with blood and iron, though he still kept up the pretence that he intended to go there himself and show mercy, and that Alba was merely being sent beforehand to prepare for the coming of the king.[1] On January 11th, 1567, Requesens received instructions to communicate the king's intentions in this sense officially to the Pope.[2]

In the meantime a fear had grown up in Rome that the Spanish council only intended to subdue the Low Countries politically, and that for the time being the religious changes would be tolerated. Pius V. made a strong protest against any such mode of procedure,[3] pointing out the consequences which had followed upon similar action by Charles V. in Germany. The Pope who, from the first, had only had the religious aspect of the disturbances in the Netherlands in view, was of the opinion that this should take precedence of every other consideration, that the strongest measures must be taken, and that this must be done by the king in person. Nobody else could take his place since in such undertakings it often happened that the most important decisions had to be made at a moment's notice, and since the sovereign himself would have to be on the spot, in order to grant pardon or inflict punishment, there was nothing to be gained by sending a representative beforehand, because in that case people would no longer believe that the king was coming, and the boldness of the insurgents would be only increased.

The Pope clearly saw what an important effect a victory of the religious innovators would have upon the course of affairs in France, England and Germany. For this reason he never

[1] *Cf. ibid.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., II., 16.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 25 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*

tired of urging Philip to go in person and at once to the threatened provinces, and above all, in order that he might crush the heretical movement, and restore Catholic worship everywhere. By so doing he would best serve the political interests of the Spanish rule in the Low Countries, since it was the religious changes which fed the flames of the rebellion.[1]

Philip replied that this was his view as well. He entirely rejected all thought of tolerating Calvinism, but at the same time he did not wish the religious question to be set in the first place in the same way as did the Pope. He also remained firm in his intention to sending Alba before him. He therefore announced that his own journey to the Low Countries was decided upon, though he still evaded any definite naming of a date.[2] Thus the whole of May, 1567, passed by, and June found the king still in Spain, in spite of further pressure from the Pope in a brief of May 17th, 1567. The preparations for his journey were still going on. On June 23rd Philip II. wrote to Granvelle in Rome that people there who did not believe in his journey would soon see that they were wrong, in spite of the reports which had so maliciously been spread about. In July a courier left Madrid for Rome to announce the immediate departure of the king. When the nuncio asked whether he should remain at Madrid or accompany the king to the Low Countries, Philip replied that he would be very pleased to have him in his company.[3] On July 15th the king renewed the orders to hasten the preparations for his departure, and six days later, in publishing the decrees of the Cortes, he declared that the conduct of the Netherlanders obliged him to go to that country.[4]

Nevertheless those people were right who from the first had

[1] See *ibid.* 47.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 14.

[3] *Cf.* GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., I., cliv, 550, 564, and Bibl. de Madrid, 100 *seq.*; HOLZWARTH, II., 1, 31 *seq.* In Holzwarth there is also an explanation of the reasons why Philip II. did not wish to go to the Low Countries. *Cf.* on this subject Corresp. dipl., II., lv. *seq.*

[4] See RANKE, Hist.-biogr. Studien, 522.

doubted whether Philip would really go in person to the Low Countries. Even Castagna had to report on August 11th, 1567, that no one in Madrid now counted any longer on the king's journey, for which nevertheless all the preparations had been made down to the smallest detail. At the beginning of September the nuncio expressed to the king, though with all due respect, his great disappointment at this change of intention, and spoke of the sorrow felt by the Pope, and the unfavourable impression which would be made upon the world. On September 20th there came an official notification that the journey had been put off until the following spring, and instructions were sent by courier to Requesens to explain to the Pope the reasons which had led to this decision. Assurances were given in Madrid that the king adhered to his purpose of undertaking the journey, and Cardinal Espinosa told the nuncio that in the following March nothing but his death or the end of the world would prevent His Majesty from going.[1]

The Pope who, even in August, 1567, had prayed daily at mass for the successful journey of the king, and had ordered the whole clergy of Rome to pray for the same purpose,[2] was cut to the heart by the abandonment of the expedition, in which he saw the only chance of saving the Low Countries, as well as the hope of an improvement in the position of the Catholic cause in France and England. He said quite openly to Requesens that the king, who had written to him with his own hand, had deceived him ; face to face with the threat to religion the king ought to have put every other consideration on one side, because in the end it is God who guides all things. Requesens and Granvelle excused the king as best they could,

[1] See the reports of Castagna in GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid 100-105 and Corresp. dipl., II., 177 *seq.*, 184 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Arco of August 23, 1567, State Archives, Vienna. On August 2, Bonelli had written in cypher to Castagna that it was the wish of Pius V. that Philip should start as soon as possible, and he once again set forth the reasons. Corresp. dipl., II., 175 *seq.*

but the Pope remained very angry.[1] On July 15th, on the strength of the king's promised action[2] in the Low Countries, he had granted him the so-called *excusado*.[3] Was he not therefore justified in thinking that Philip's promises had only been made in order to wring this important concession from him ?[4] The friends of Spain in the Curia might say what they liked, but Pius V. continued to believe that he had been cheated by Philip. Nothing but Alba's strong action in the Low Countries was able to pacify him, and gave him cause to hope that Catholic interests had not been ruined by the putting off of the king's journey.[5]

Pius V. clearly recognized what a mistake Philip had made, first in postponing, and then in definitely giving up his personal appearance in the Low Countries, which was so dreaded by the adherents of the new religion,[6] but he quite failed to see that the mission of Alba was a far worse one. The Duke, who was heart and soul a Spaniard, and had not the least understanding of foreign susceptibilities, was especially hated in the Low Countries, so much so that Philip II. himself at one time thought of revoking his appointment. If in the end he did not do so, this was to a great extent due to the party at court

[1] See the *reports of Arco of Sept. 6, 13, and 20, 1567, State Archives, Vienna, and the letter of Granvelle of Sept. 16, 1567, Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 577. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 198.

[2] The bull in Corresp. dipl., II., 524 *seq.* PHILIPPSON, 310, must therefore be amended, as must GAMS, III., 2, 519.

[3] The "excusado" was an impost, by which in every parish the king received from every third house the tithe which otherwise those houses would have paid to the Church, and from which payment to the Church they were then held exempt (*excusado*). *Cf.* DESDEVISES DU DEZERT, L'Espagne de l'ancien régime : Les institutions, Paris, 1899, 370.

[4] In 1566 Requesens was of opinion that the "excusado valdria un Peru" (Colecc. de decum. inéd., XCVII., 376). *Cf.* the report of Dietrichstein in KOCH, *Quellen zur Gesch. Maximilians II.*, Leipsic, 1857, 200.

[5] See Corresp. dipl., II., lix *seq.*, 191, 198, 200 *seq.*, 204 *seq.*, 212, 216 *seq.*, 253. *Cf.* Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 580 *seq.*

[6] See Corresp. dipl., II., xlviii.

that was opposed to Alba, and wanted to have him as far away as possible. At that time Ruy Gomez exercised a great influence over Philip II., a thing that made itself felt in Rome as well as in the attitude taken up by Cardinal Pacheco.[1]

While the army of Alba was assembling in upper Italy, Pius V. expressed a wish that on their march towards the Low Countries they should make an attack on Geneva, the head-quarters of Calvinism, but Philip II. refused to make this side attack;[2] nor would he hear of a second proposal made by the Pope. Pius wished to send with Alba a plenipotentiary to look after ecclesiastical matters,[3] or else to send a nuncio to the Netherlands.[4] Neither one plan nor the other was approved by the king, who did not wish for any interference from Rome in his own plans, which were aimed not only at the punishment of the heretics but also at the destruction of the tiresome privileges of the Low Countries, and at making that country into a Spanish dependency. The abolition of privileges, the substitution of royal officials for the civic authorities, the building of fortresses at Antwerp, Valenciennes, Flushing, Amsterdam and Maestricht, the confiscation of property, the imposition of taxes without the consent of the states, such was the programme which Philip, as far back as May 31st, 1567, had sketched out for the regent.[5] Alba was the very man to carry it into effect.

In August, 1567, Alba appeared with the picked troops of his army in the Low Countries, where, after the attack on the images, the Catholic nobles, realizing their mistake, had withdrawn from the compromise, and where, in many of the cities,

[1] See *ibid.* xlvii. *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* CRAMER, I., 165 *seq.*; II., 208 *seq.* Later exhortations to an attack on Geneva on the part of Pius V. were equally unsuccessful. See *ibid.* II., 219 *seq.*, 223.

[3] See the *report of Arco of July 19, 1567, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See *ibid.* the *report of Arco of August 23, 1567: the nuncio, with the powers of a legate, must discharge all his business gratuitously.

[5] GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., I., 542.

a reaction against the religious innovators had set in.[1] It is true that even after the suppression of the Calvinist revolt which had broken out at the beginning of 1567, the peace of the country left a good deal to be desired, but a wise policy would have been content with the punishment of the ring-leaders, the granting of pardon to those who had been led astray, and an attempt to rally the elements that were loyal to the king. That was why Pius V. so insistently urged Philip to go there in person, and, before he had recourse to armed force, to make one more attempt to win back the offenders by kindness to a better frame of mind. Alba, on the contrary, was sent with the object, not only of suppressing the religious innovations, but also of introducing a system of government which would destroy political liberty, and was bound to make everybody, even the Catholics who remained loyal to the king, enemies of Spain. Alba's soldiers, who behaved as if in a conquered country, completed the work of driving the people to desperation, and filling them with hatred of Spain. At first, it is true, every other consideration gave way to terror of the captain-general of the Spanish king, and the regent took her departure at the end of 1567. But the Duke surpassed the worst expectations; on the imprisonment of Egmont and Hoorn there followed the setting up of an extraordinary tribunal, the "council of blood," and the opening of legal proceedings against Orange and his confederates who had fled to Germany and openly professed Lutheranism; in February, 1568, there were wholesale executions and confiscations; thousands of people took to flight.[2] Orange and his brother took up arms in defence of their cause, relying upon the help of the Lutheran princes of Germany, the leaders of the French Huguenots, and the Queen of England, with whom they had been in communication for a long time past. Alba retaliated on June 5th, 1568, by the execution of Counts Egmont and Hoorn. He then took the field against the rebels. He defeated Louis of Nassau on July 21st at Jemgum

[1] See RACHFAHL, II., 2, 769 *seq.*, 801 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 10 *seq.*

on the lower Ems, and then turned against William of Orange, who in September, as the champion of "the liberty of his country" made an attempt to force his way with an army from Trêves along the Meuse into the Low Countries, but Alba manœuvred so skilfully that the enemy was forced to retreat in wild disorder.[1] Orange fled to Dillenburg, and only the *gueux* of the sea-coasts remained under arms. Alba's triumph seemed to be complete; even Elizabeth of England congratulated Philip II. on his victory over the rebels.[2] Alba reported to Madrid that peace reigned everywhere, but he nevertheless continued his campaign of terror and bloodshed, as though it were his purpose to infuriate even the loyal supporters of the king and the old religion. He set himself definitely "à tout réduire au pied d'Espagne."[3] By imposing taxes that were both exorbitant and unjust in form and kind,[4] he made even the Catholics his enemies, who were forced to realize by the confiscations of their property that "care for souls did not come into the matter at all."[5] When some of the Jesuits protested against the imposition of the tithe as a manifest injustice, Alba wanted to banish them all from the Low Countries.[6] He treated the bishops arrogantly when they took up the cause of the poor people.[7] His whole system of government, a military dictatorship, weighed equally heavily upon all; so far from pacifying the country, he only exasperated it more and more.

It was of great importance to the Spanish government that the Roman court should see in the disturbances in the Nether-

[1] *Cf.* Bor, Lodewijk v. Nassau, 160 *seq.*; Franz, Ostfriesland und die Niederlande, Emden, 1875, 24 *seq.*; Teubner, Der Feldzug Wilhelms von Oranien gegen Alba im Herbst 1568, Halle, 1892.

[2] See Blok, III., 96.

[3] Morillon to Granvelle, April 28, 1572, Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. Piot, IV., 207.

[4] See Pirenne, IV., 28 *seq.*; Blok, III., 101 *seq.*

[5] Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. Piot, IV., 292.

[6] See *ibid.* 155, 157.

[7] See Pirenne, IV., 9.

lands nothing but a demonstration on the part of the Calvinists. It was easy for it to promote this idea in Rome as it was extremely difficult to form a just appreciation abroad of the complicated state of affairs in the Netherlands, or to realize the political and national elements which from the first had exercised a decisive influence upon the whole movement. Even Alba's actions in the Low Countries were set forth by the Spanish ambassador in Rome in such a way as to make it appear that religious considerations were of greater weight than political ones. In this way the Spaniards hoped that the Pope would give his approval to yet further ecclesiastical imposts, a thing that they had sought in vain so far, for so praiseworthy a purpose as the destruction of the Calvinists.[1]

Since Philip II. had refused the appointment of a nuncio for the Low Countries, Pius V., except for private information, could only rely upon the reports of the Spanish government; Requesens, as well as Zuñiga after him, kept him well supplied in this respect. Events in the Low Countries were treated by the Spaniards with so much secrecy that the wildest rumours were current.[2] The words of the official representatives of Philip II. were therefore listened to all the more eagerly in Rome, and their descriptions were so convincing that, in forming his judgment upon affairs in the Netherlands, Pius V. found himself entirely under the influence of Spanish ideas, and looked upon the expedition of Alba as a kind of crusade against the heretics, which would have the effect of keeping their co-religionists in France and Germany in check.[3] More-

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 437.

[2] Thus a rumour was spread of a decree of Philip II., drawn up on the authority of the Spanish Inquisition, and condemning to death the greater part of the Netherlanders. PRESCOTT, Philipp II., II. (1867), 105 had already expressed doubts as to this statement, which was taken without scruple from de Thou and Meier. More recently BLOK, in *Bijdragen van vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, 4th series, VI., 3, has justly pronounced against the genuineness of this decree.

[3] *Cf.* especially the report of Zuñiga to Philip II. from Rome on July 21, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 414.

over, from the reports of Johann Straetmann, a Dominican who was living in Brussels, and, who, on February 22nd, 1568, sent horrible particulars of the murder of twenty-five Catholic priests which had been committed by the Calvinists near Ypres, Pius V. was driven to the conclusion that it was a case of existence or non-existence for the Catholics in the Low Countries.[1]

Alba's report to the Pope of the execution of Egmont and Hoorn was explained by Zuñiga and Pacheco in such a way that Pius V. could not but give it his entire approval.[2] He had no suspicions of the injustice of the punishment of Egmont; in fact the sentence of death on the two counts, as reported to him by Alba, made it appear that they had been convicted of rebellion and high treason, in having supported the heretics and joined in the conspiracy of Orange. The Pope was further confirmed in this view, that they had justly paid the penalty of their crimes, by the fact that a sovereign who was so much under suspicion in religious matters as Maximilian II. disapproved of Alba's action.[3] When, after this, Louis of Nassau, in alliance with the sea *gueux*, and William of Orange, who had now openly left the Church, took the field with his army of German Lutherans, French Huguenots, and Netherland Calvinists, Pius feared, in the event of Alba's forces being defeated, a butchery of the Catholics in the Low Countries. At their first appearance, indeed, the savage followers of Louis of Nassau had begun to sack the churches and kill the priests. News of these events, and of the composition of the army of Orange were bound to confirm the conviction of Pius V. that Alba was above all fighting against the enemies of God and the Church, and only secondarily against the rebels against his king, and that he was therefore fighting the

[1] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 173. For the correspondence of Straetmann with Cardinal Bonelli see *Anal. p. s. a l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XXV. (1895), 55 *seq.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., II., 402, 403 *seq.*; Legaz. di Serristori, 452.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., II., 414 *seq.*; 498; Legaz. di Serristori, 452.

battles of Our Lord for the restoration of the Catholic religion.[1]

The Pope followed the course of events with an anxiety that can easily be understood. In the evening of August 4th, 1568, Alba announced his victory over Louis of Nassau. The Pope ordered fire-works and processions,[2] to thank God and to implore His continued help, since the Church was still threatened with grave danger from Orange, whose troops were everywhere sacking churches and convents. On August 29th Pius made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches in supplication for the protection of religion in the Low Countries.[3] His anxiety was increased when news came that the German and French Protestants were helping Orange.[4] On October 29th he repeated this pilgrimage to the Seven Churches, and prayed for Alba's success.[5] On November 18th the faithful were summoned, by the publication of a jubilee, to pray for the destruction of the enemies of the Church in France and Flanders.[6] At length December 7th set the Pope free from his great anxieties; Alba had put Orange to flight; the joy in Rome was all the greater as earlier rumours of the victory

[1] In the briefs to Alba (LADERCHI, 1568, n. 179; BROGNOLI, I., 266) the matter is stated very clearly.

[2] See, besides Firmanus, Diarium in BONANNI, I., 301, the *report of Arco of August 7, 1568, State Archives, Vienna, the letter of Zuñiga of August 13, 1568, in Corresp. dipl., II., 437, and the *report of B. Pia from Rome on August 14, 1568 (prayers ordered everywhere in thanksgiving for "buoni successi di Fiandra contra Ugonotti) Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The report of Alba to Pius V. on July 25, and the briefs of congratulation from the Pope, dated August 7 and 26, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 178-179.

[3] *Report of B. Pia of August 30, 1568. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Corresp. dipl. II., 457.

[5] See FIRMANUS, *Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 31, Papal Secret Archives. For the great anxiety of Pius V. as to the course of events in the Low Countries, see *report of B. Pia of November 6, 1568, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See FIRMANUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*

had not been confirmed.[1] In the following year the Duke was honoured with the bestowal of the blessed hat and sword, while his wife received the Golden Rose.[2]

After Alba's victory, Pius V. as well as many other persons had urged the granting of a general amnesty. He himself gave the necessary faculties to cut short all the formalities which might have delayed the re-admission to the Church of the Protestants who had repented.[3] Philip II. also recognized the need for an amnesty, but with his customary dilatoriness it was only on November 16th, 1569, that he signed the document, which even then included several limitations. Alba still withheld the publication of this decree and of the Papal bull until July, 1570![4] He was not the man to show mercy.[5]

The assistance which the Duke afforded in carrying into effect the complete organization of the new dioceses helped to maintain the good opinion of Alba which was held in Rome. In this matter the Pope's wishes were in full accordance with those of the Spanish governor. In July, 1564, Philip II. had yielded to the opposition so far as to give up the erection of a bishopric at Antwerp, and the incorporation of the abbeys of

[1] See *ibid.* the *report of B. Pia of December 8, 1568, according to which Alba announced his victory in a letter of November 25, 1568. Pia says : " The Pope is full of joy, and does nothing but pray and make others pray to God " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the brief to Alba of December 12, 1568, in *Documentos del Archivo Alba*, Madrid, 1891, 183 *seq.*

[2] With LADERCHI, 1569, n. 204, and BROGNOLI, I., 271, *cf.* also FIRMANUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.* p. 78b, Papal Secret Archives, the *Avviso di Roma of March 21, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 38, Vatican Library, and an *Avviso di Roma of March 26, 1569, in the State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of February 19, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., II., 68, 680 ; HOLZWARTH, II., 1, 398 *seq.* ; Renom de France, I., 392 *seq.* *Cf.* ALBERDINGK THIJM, in *Histor. Jahrb.*, VII., 284 *seq.* and GOSSART, L'établissement du régime espagnol dans les Pays-Bas, Brussels, 1905, 293.

[5] *Cf.* his letter to Pius V. in Corresp. dipl., III., 73 n.1.

Brabant, in consideration of the payment of a fixed and permanent revenue. The Holy See had never given its consent to this forced agreement, but the matter had been put on one side in consequence of the disturbances which had afterwards broken out. After the "restoration of order" this matter had to be definitely settled with Alba's help. Acting in agreement with Philip II. the Duke decided outwardly to support in Rome the petitions of the states of Brabant for the confirmation of the former agreement, but in secret he advised the Pope to the opposite effect.[1] Alba's secretary, Hernando Delgadillo, was entrusted with this task in October, 1568, and he met with all the less difficulty from Pius V. because the Pope, when he was a Cardinal, had belonged to the commission for the formation of the new dioceses, and was persuaded that it was necessary to carry into effect completely the arrangements which had then been made. Further delay occurred, however, when Alba, in consequence of the excitement caused by the taxes which he wished to levy, withheld for a time the bulls concerning the bishoprics. It was only after he had obtained the consent of the provincial states to the tenth and the twentieth, that he gave his *placet* to the bulls. The difficulties which still arose were of a secondary importance, and were overcome. At last, in December, 1570, the following arrangement was arrived at: the incorporation of the abbeys and the installation of the bishops was carried out in those cities where this had not hitherto been done.[2]

Great care had been taken in the choice of the new bishops. Their orthodoxy and manner of life left nothing to be desired, and all of them were ready to carry out the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. But most of them were men of learning rather than of action. Intimidated by the difficult situation in which they found themselves they did not dare to proceed

[1] See MARX, Studien, 405.

[2] See GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., II., 40 *seq.*, 50, 65, 73, 79, 84, 105 *seq.*, 122, 133, 150, 163, *seq.*; BROM, Archivalia, I., 721 *seq.*

with all the resoluteness that was called for,[1] so that on July 2nd, 1571, Pius V. addressed to them a letter of warning.[2] The only exception was Lindanus, who had been labouring with great zeal as Bishop of Ruremonde since 1569,[3] but he was not in a position to fill the gap left by the departure of Granvelle, the natural leader of the Netherland episcopate. The despotic government of Alba, too, was harmful to the religious activity and reforming zeal of the bishops; the hatred felt for the Spanish government was also aimed at them, for men saw in them the instruments of Philip II. and the Duke.[4] Yet it was the bishops especially who courageously urged Alba to proceed with greater leniency. The iron Duke paid no attention to their words, and said that the bishops understood nothing about the matter.

In ecclesiastical matters as well as political Alba was the uncompromising supporter of the system of Philip II., which made ecclesiastics the employés of the state rather than the servants of the Church. He made ruthless use of the *placet* for Papal bulls without paying any attention to the fact that he was thus putting obstacles in the way of the salutary efforts of Pius V. to reform the clergy of the Netherlands.[5] A characteristic instance of Alba's cesaropapistical ideas was the demand which he made in 1570 that a member of the grand council should assist as royal commissary at the discussions of the first provincial synod held at Malines.[6] Alba's open

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 483; HOLZWARTH (II., I., 536 *seqq.*) gives minute particulars of each of the bishops and their reforming activity.

[2] See LADERCHI. 1571, n. 34. An earlier letter, of July 5, 1568, calling for reform, in GOUBAU 91 *seq.*

[3] See A. HAVENSIUS, Vita Lindani, Cologne, 1609; FOPPENS, Bibl. Belgica, I., 410 *seq.*; *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1871; *Katholik*, 1871, I., 702 *seq.*; II., 89 *seqq.*, 442 *seqq.*, 659 *seqq.*

[4] See PIRENNE, IV., 33, 484.

[5] See HOLZWARTH, II., 1, 368.

[6] *Cf.* DE RAM, Synodicon Belg., I., Malines, 1828; HOLZWARTH, II., 1, 368 *seqq.* When the Archibishop of Trêves wished to make a visitation of the archidiaconal district of Longuyon in 1570,

hostility for the Jesuits came from the same cesaropapistical system,[1] as did a decree of Philip II. in 1571, which inflicted the penalty of banishment for the publication of Papal bulls without the permission of the governor.[2]

Alba and his master were blind, not only to the injuries which their cesaropapalism was inflicting on the Catholic cause, but also to the fact that their system of government by violence was the best weapon they could put into the hands of Orange and all rebels. On April 1st, 1572, the sea *gueux*, who were in close touch with Orange, succeeded in obtaining an important base of operations, by the capture of the strong city of Briel in south Holland. In accordance with true Calvinist principles, the churches of Brielle were sacked, and the priests murdered. The sea *gueux* committed similar crimes wherever they could.[3]

Nothing but Alba's armed forces afforded any protection against such atrocities. Without heeding the usurpations which he and his master allowed themselves in ecclesiastical matters, Pius V. found himself forced by stern necessity to rely upon Spanish arms. The ecclesiastical levy granted to Philip II. in May, 1571, was expressly given on account of the king's expenses for the maintenance of the Catholic religion in the Low Countries and "in other places"[4] an expression which referred to France and England.

a representative of Alba intervened at a meeting of the visitation commission; see HEYDINGER, Archidiaconatus tit. S. Agathes in Longuiono descriptio, Trêves, 1884.

[1] See Imag. primi saec. Soc. Iesu, Antwerp, 1640, 745; PIRENNE, IV., 496. *Cf.* CAPPELLETTI, I Gesuiti e Venezia, Venice, 1873, 40. Alba was confirmed in this dislike by his confessor; see Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. PIOT, IV., 604.

[2] See VAN ESPEN, Opera Omnia Canonica, VI., 86.

[3] See ALTMEYER, Les Gueux de mer et la prise de la Brielle, Brussels, 1863; HOLZWARTH, II., 1, 497, 505 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV., 15-16, 337; GAUDENTIUS, 152; Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. PIOT, IV., 603.

[4] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 31 (in place of May 11 read May 21).

CHAPTER IV.

Pius V. and the Civil and Religious Wars in France.—The Beginnings of the Catholic Reaction in France.

Pius V. saw the salvation of France in opposing heresy with the extremity of rigour, in the removal of the soil which nourished it by the reform of ecclesiastical abuses, and in giving renewed vigour to the Catholics. The objects of Catherine de' Medici were exactly the reverse. Indifferent herself to the religion which she professed, she endeavoured, according to her wont, to play off, one against the other, the interests of the bitterly opposed parties, and to use them both in turn in order to secure her own rule and that of her son, Charles IX.[1]

Such a policy was bound to be most displeasing to a Pope like Pius V. who was all on fire with zeal for the preservation of the Catholic religion. His point of view appears clearly and concisely in the instructions which he drew up for the new nuncio to France, Count Michele della Torre, Bishop of Ceneda, on April 6th, 1566. In these he gives expression in heartfelt words to his anxiety concerning the turn of events in France. The nuncio must strongly urge the king and his mother to put aside all human considerations in order to safeguard the purity of their subjects' faith. He was especially charged to urge the publication and enforcement of the decrees of Trent, and to press for the removal of the scandal being given by Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, who had been deposed on account of heresy, but who, although he was married, still wore the purple. In doing this the Pope told him to intimate that he would not confer the dignity of Cardinal on any French prelate until this demand was satisfied. Della Torre was

[1] See Baumgarten, Bartholomäusnacht, 25, and v. Bezold in *Histor.-Zeitschrift*, XLVII., 561 *seq. Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 203.

further instructed to remind the king that before he could exercise his right of patronage in Provence and Brittany he must ask for a fresh privilege from the Holy See, and give up the abuses in the granting of offices and ecclesiastical benefices.[1] Special instructions contained injunctions with regard to Avignon, where the legate, Cardinal Bourbon, left a good deal to be desired in the matter of zeal in preventing the introduction of heresy ; if things were not improved there, the nuncio must give the king to understand that the Pope would have to deprive the Cardinal of his legation.[2]

There is no doubt that the appointment of della Torre as nuncio in France was principally determined by the fact that he had already occupied that position under Paul III. and at the beginning of the reign of Julius III.,[3] and was

[1] *Instruttione per il nuntio di Francia (the Bishop of Ceneda) in Varia Polit., 81 (now 82), 319 *seq.*, p. 322, and again p. 510-513, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* CATENA, 58 *seq.* and BROGNOLI, II., 27 *seq.* The controversy about the right of nomination in Brittany was not yet settled in 1571 ; see the *report of A. Zibramonti from Rome, September 29, 1571. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Arco announces the appointment of a new nuncio in France as early as his *report of January 19, 1566. State Archives, Vienna ; this took place on March 25, 1566 ; see BIAUDET, 119.

[2] See in Varia Polit., 81 (now 82) in the Papal Secret Archives, p. 322b-327 and again p. 514-518 ; *Instruttione per il medesimo nuntio intorno alle cose d'Avignone. The danger was stated to be especially due to the "principato d'Orangeo" which was surrounded by the Papal territory. Moreover, the attention of Cardinals Bourbon and Armagnac was to be called to the fact that "alcuni ministri loro" favoured the heretics, special cases being mentioned. From his report of July 24, 1566, in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXII., 116 *seq.*, it appears that Cardinal Armagnac, as co-legate with Bourbon, tried to meet the Pope's complaints. For Armagnac *cf. Revue des quest. hist.*, XVI., 566 *seq.* His letters in *Revue hist.*, II., 529 *seqq.*

[3] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 85. *Cf.* the *brief to Charles IX. of March 25, 1566, in App. n. 68, Vol. XVII, Archives of Briefs, Rome.

therefore familiar with the state of affairs in that country. A further reason lay in his friendly relations with Catherine de' Medici.

The new nuncio was preceded by urgent letters of exhortation from the Pope ; others, addressed to Charles IX., Catherine, and the bishops, followed him. In these Pius V. above all pressed for the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the Council, especially the observance of the duty of residence, the erection of seminaries by the bishops, and the removal of the great abuses in the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices, which, owing to the unscrupulous behaviour of the government, had frequently fallen into the hands of women and Protestants. These exhortations were not without effect, and many of the bishops tried to put into force the reform decrees of the Council. The government, however, refused to accept the decrees officially, though it encouraged the publication of the Roman Catechism, which was translated into French, and also issued a circular on the observance of episcopal residence.[1] On the other hand further exhortations were necessary in order to remove the scandal given by Châtillon.[2]

Many other reasons for complaint were given to the Pope, especially by Catherine de' Medici. In a letter to the nuncio on August 17th, 1566, Pius complains that Catherine had surrounded herself almost entirely by heretics, that she even conferred ecclesiastical benefices upon them, and helped them in many other ways. In a brief which he addressed to her, he begged her no longer to justify herself by words alone, but by her Catholic behaviour.[3] In spite of these disagreements, externally, at any rate, friendly relations were still maintained with the French court ; Cardinal Tournon, who was sent to Rome in the autumn to pacify the Pope and make the

[1] See CATENA, 59 *seq.* Spain too urged the acceptance of the decrees of the Council ; see Corresp. dipl., I., 150, 181.

[2] See the *report of Arco from Rome, August 17, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* PHILLIPPSON, Die römische Kurie, 111.

obedientia, was received very courteously,[1] and at the end of November the Pope sent presents to the French royal family,[2] though his private conversations showed how greatly he doubted the orthodoxy of the queen-mother, whose council was three-quarter Huguenot. In the spring of 1567 great fear was felt in Rome lest the feeble Charles IX. should embrace Protestantism and marry a German Lutheran princess.[3]

Pius V. especially grieved at the attitude adopted by the French government in support of the bishops who had been proved guilty of heresy, against whom Pius IV. had already taken proceedings.[4] Without paying any attention to the fact that in this matter the French court was aiming at upholding Gallican liberties, Pius V., at a consistory held on December 11th, 1566, pronounced the definite sentence which deprived of all their dignities as proved heretics six of the accused bishops: Jean de Chaumont of Aix, Jean de Montluc of Valence, Louis d'Albret of Lescar, Charles Guillart of Chartres, Jean de St-Gelais of Uzès, and Claude Regin of

[1] With the Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, II., 388, 392, *cf.* the *report of Fr. Strozzi to Maximilian II. from Rome, September 28, 1566, State Archives, Vienna. The *reply to the speech of Tournon for the "obedientia," composed by A. Fiordibello, dated October 10, 1566, in Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 118; *ibid.* n. 119, a *brief to Charles IX. of October 17, 1566, concerning the "obedientia." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The presents consisted of splendid rosaries in lapis lazuli see the *report of Strozzi, November 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 431; HERRE, Papsttum 148; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* Cardinal Santa Croce, who returned to Rome on August 28, 1566, made a detailed report on the state of affairs in France (see *letter of C. Luzzara from Rome, August 28, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). How displeased the Pope was from the first at the attitude of the French government towards religious matters, is clear from the reports of Requesens in Corresp. dipl., I., 325, 370; II., 191.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 189 *seqq.*

Oloron.[1] Only the Bishop of Aix resigned his office; in the case of the others the sentence remained without effect because the French government, and of course the Queen of Navarre, treated it as non-existent, so that there was no question of its being carried out. The deposed bishops showed by their subsequent conduct how fully justified the sentence of Pius V. had been.[2]

The great indulgence shown by the French government to the Huguenots was far from satisfying them. They complained of the non-observance of the edict of Amboise, which they did not themselves respect, and perfected their strong political-military organization.[3] Their ultimate purpose aimed at something much more than toleration or equality. They intended that the royal power should become subject to them, and that thus their own supremacy should be definitely established. A favourable opportunity seemed to offer itself when the French government lent its assistance to the Huguenots in their precautionary measures on the occasion of the march of Alba towards the Low Countries. The Huguenots hoped that this time the supreme command of the army would fall into their hands, so that they could then declare

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 425; Corresp. dipl., I., 435 *seq.*; DEGERT, 99 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of Strozzi of November 30, 1566, State Archives, Vienna, and *that of Luzzara of December 11, 1566. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A draft of a brief bearing on this question, "*Capitulis quibusdam Franciae: Deposito propter nefandum haereticae pravitatis crimen eo, qui vester quidem episcopus dicebatur, sed commissi sibi gregis erat desertor et proditor" we exhort you to devote yourselves at once to the administration of the diocese. Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 97, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See DEGERT, 101 *seq.*, where there are fuller details of each of the deposed. Degert has failed to notice two briefs on this subject. The *first, to the Archbishop of Sens, July 30, 1567, asks him to take proceedings against the heretical Bishop of Chartres (Archives of Briefs, Rome,) the *second, of November 19, 1569, see in App. n. 6, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* CORRERO, 183 *seq.*

war upon the King of Spain, even though Philip II. should not allow himself to be drawn into any act of hostility or interference with the domestic affairs of France.[1] But Catherine de' Medici, who did not intend to be dominated by anyone, thwarted their plans. Thereupon, seeing their hopes disappointed, and fearing an alliance between the government and Spain, the Huguenots tried to attain their end in another way, by joining with Orange and England. At the end of September, 1567, they formed the plan of taking the court by surprise at its place of residence at Monceaux near Meaux by means of a *coup de main*, such as had been attempted many years before against Francis II., of getting possession of the persons of the queen and the king, and of making their enemies, especially Cardinal Guise, powerless. The whole plan was carefully thought out, and was kept absolutely secret.[2] No one at the royal court had any suspicion that a rising of the Huguenots all over the country was imminent, least of all Catherine, who had spurned all warnings to that effect; she was completely taken by surprise. Not even the chancellor, L'Hôpital, would believe in a rising of the Huguenots. It was therefore almost a miracle that, at the last moment, the royal family succeeded in escaping to Meaux and, guarded by six thousand Swiss who had been summoned to their aid, in reaching Paris on September 29th, 1567.[3]

It was now that the religious and civil war in France broke out for the second time. The king was shut up in his capital, and the Huguenots rose in revolt throughout the provinces. The fate that awaited the Catholics was shown in the horrible occurrence at Nîmes, known as the *michelade*, when the Huguenots, on St. Michael's Day (September 29th, 1567)

[1] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer I., 420. *Cf.* MARCKS, Bayonne, 290.

[2] *Cf.* CORRERO, 183.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* 182 *seq.*; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, III., ix. *seq.*, 61 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, I., 421 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*, 447 *seq.*, 472 *seq.*; SOLDAN, II., 257 *seq.* *Cf.* MARCKS, Bayonne, 291 *seq.*, 294; GEUER, M. de L'Hôpital, 49 *seq.*; H. DE LA FERRIÈRE, La seconde guerre civile, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXVII., 125 *seq.*; THOMPSON, 319 *seq.*

killed out of hand eighty of the most prominent Catholics there, and threw their bodies down a well.[1]

Both parties sought allies and friends outside France. In its straits the court sent Annibale Rucellai to Rome to ask for immediate help. The tidings brought by Rucellai were received with horror by the Curia,[2] and in view of the grave danger of the French Catholics, Pius V., as can easily be understood, promptly offered his assistance, though he could not refrain from making strong remonstrances through the nuncio. He reminded him that he had foretold this action on the part of the rebels, and had pointed out that they must be met with unflinching courage. If now they were again to put any trust in men who had betrayed their God, they would soon witness the passing of the royal house and the ruin of the kingdom. In a letter to the queen he declared that the time was now come to remove from the court all the Huguenots, who were nothing but spies and rebels. She must not trust either the chancellor, L'Hôpital, nor the two Montmorency, and he said that those who had advised her to send away Cardinal Guise had advised her badly.[3]

But however frankly he condemned the policy hitherto followed by the French government, Pius V., now that open war had broken out, was very ready to give ample help himself, and obtain it from others. In his letters to the queen he

[1] A terrible model for the assassinations of September, 1792, says SOLDAN, (II., 275). *Cf.* POLENZ, III., 705 *seq.*; MESNARD, Hist. de Nîmes, vol. V.; ROUQUETTE, Les Saint Barthélemy calvinistes, Paris [1906]. See also GRATIANI Epist., 309.

[2] According to Firmanus (*Diarium p. 197, Papal Secret Archives) Rucellai reached Rome "die sabbati 11 dicti mensis" (October, not September, as states LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 141) and made a report of the conspiracy of Amboise. "Ex isto malo novo maximus terror fuit incussus omnibus in curia." Prayers were at once ordered. According to GRATIANI Epist., 312, Rucellai only arrived on the 13th; the remarks of BONELLI, *infra* p. 112, n. 2, agree with this, as does Corresp. dipl., II., 226 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Die römische Kurie, 111, *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., II., 225; CATENA, 65 *seq*

promised to place at once at her disposal 3,000 infantry, and on October 16th, 1567, he wrote to the nuncio that he was endeavouring to double that number.[1]

The French government needed above all things financial help. Rucellai asked for no less than 300,000 scudi. The Pope was ready to give all possible help, but only on the condition that they should not at once come to terms with the insurgent heretics.[2] It was very difficult for him to get together the money, as his treasury was already greatly drained by the preparations for the Turkish war,[3] and he was

[1] See the *letter quoted in following note, translated in PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 112.

[2] In an *instruction from Bonelli to M. della Torre on October 16, 1567 ("per corriere espresso") we read: in letters which came from Lyons on the 11th, the Pope received news of the general plot against the Catholics and the king; he had been in a state of the greatest anxiety until the arrival of Rucellai on the 13th "con lettere di loro Maestà," announcing the safety of Charles IX. "A richiesta di esso A. Rucellai havemo concesso che si possino essigere la metà de frutti di tutti i benefici etiandio di cardinali; ne adimandava anchora di potere alienare parte de beni mobili delle chiese, ma ricordandosi che per l' altra risolutione furono alienati in notabile somma è parso di non concederlo se prima non vediamo che S. M. Christ^{ma} facci da dovero perchè in tale caso venderessimo anco la propria persona." Papal Secret Archives, *Nunciat, di Francia*, 282, p. 4 *seq.*; *ibid.* *letter of October 18, 1567, with which was sent the "bolla della metà de frutti di tutti i benefici ecc^{ci}, and with an addition made by the Pope himself: "*V. S. sia ben' avvertita d' intendere se vi fusse speranza d' accordo dico di S. M^{tà} con i ribelli et in tale caso ne espidirete un corriero a posta ne gli darete essa bolla; ma quando siate chiaro, che si facci da dovero non solo li darete la bolla, ma riscuoterete 25^{m} scudi." *Cf.* further Corresp. dipl., II., 229 *seq.* Rucellai started back on October 19. He vainly sought for help from Venice (see Corresp. dipl., II., 239 *seq.*). On October 25, 1567, Arco reported that the Pope had given Rucellai a letter of exchange for 50,000 scudi "per quanto s'intende."

[3] *Cf.* the brief to L. Gonzaga of October 16, 1567, in GOUBAU, 54, and LADERCHI, 1567, n. 139.

most reluctant to impose taxes upon his subjects. He was, however, resolved to get together the necessary sum, and to do everything in his power to help. During October and November he sought to raise money by means of a special tax in the Papal States, and by contributions from the religious houses in Italy,[1] while at the same time he tried to get help elsewhere. He addressed pressing letters to Philip II., the Duke of Nevers, to Ludovico Gonzaga, who was in Piedmont, and to Duke Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy.[2] Piersanti was sent as special envoy to Lorraine to ask that the frontier should be closed against the troops of the Calvinist Elector Palatine, John Casimir, who was coming to the assistance of the Huguenots.[3] Pietro Donato Cesi, Bishop of Narni, went by the Pope's orders to the governments of the Italian states to urge them strongly to give immediate and effective assistance. His instructions described the rebellion of the Huguenots, their sacrileges and ill-treatment of the Catholics, the dangerous position of Charles IX., and the peril which would be the consequence of a Calvinist victory in the kingdom of France. The very geographical position of France, surrounded by Spain, England, the Low Countries, Germany and Italy, showed that it was there that the fate of Europe would be decided, not only from the religious point of view, but also politically. Should the Calvinists with their revolutionary aims attain to the supreme power, then political

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of October 19 and 25, Nov. 1 and 8, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 452, 454, 458b. Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Serristori of October 17, 1567, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3287.

[2] See GOUBAU, 50 *seq.* *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 243, 252.

[3] *Cf.* the *Instructio data d. Petrosancto iur. utr. dr. a S.D.N. ad ill. princip. Carolum ducem Lotharingiae destinato, dated Rome, November 8, 1567, in Varia Polit., 81 (now 82), p. 398-401, and again p. 564-567. Papal Secret Archives. On the back of p. 567 we read : *Instruttione consignata a m. Piersanti . . . a 10 di Novembre, 1567 ; on p. 568 an *Aggiunto : if the Cardinal of Lorraine is in the neighbourhood, he is to visit him and communicate the instructions to him. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1567, n. 156.

subversion of the neighbouring states would follow. Even Italy was threatened, and therefore the Italian states were bound to lend their assistance in a matter of such great importance.[1]

It was entirely characteristic of Pius V. that he sought refuge in prayer, and on October 16th, 1567, he ordered a universal jubilee,[2] which opened in Rome in the last week of October with three great processions in which he himself took part on foot. These processions started from St. Peter's, going on the first day to S. Maria sopra Minerva, on the second to S. Girolamo degli Spagnuoli, and on the third to S. Luigi de' Francesi.[3] But that, side by side with this spiritual help, the Pope did not omit the temporal, is clear from the steps which he took at the same time. Thus, at a congregation of Cardinals he decided upon a general impost upon the Papal States.[4] At the beginning of December the annual payment of 2,000 scudi which had hitherto been made to the poorer Cardinals was suspended, with the exception of five Cardinals who were absolutely poor.[5] Of the money which was hastily collected 25,000 scudi were assigned to Ludovico Gonzaga

[1] See CATENA, 68 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1567, n. 144; BROGNOLI, II., 39 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 54 *seq.* The Venetian Correro (p. 193 *seq.*) and A. Contarini (p. 252) formed an exactly similar opinion of the dangers involved by the Calvinist victory in France. For Cesi see GARAMPI, 298.

[2] See the bull "In eminenti" in *Editti, Casanatense Library, Rome. p. 222. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 301.

[3] See the *reports of B. Pia from Rome, October 19 and 25, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In his *report of November 1 (*loc. cit.*) Pia speaks of the great concourse of people at these pious exercises. *Cf.* GRATIANI Epist., 313.

[4] With the *report of B. Pia of November 1 (*loc. cit.*) see the *Avviso di Roma of the same date, Urb. 1040, p. 456b, Vatican Library, and the brief of October 28, 1567, to Barthol. Barrottus Thesaur., in *Editti, Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also GRATIANI Epist., 322 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1567, n. 141.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of December 6, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 457b, Vatican Library.

and 10,000 to the Duke of Savoy.[1] From the first the nuncio della Torre was ordered to pay over the subsidies to the French government only when he was sure that there was no underhand attempt being made to come to an arrangement with the Huguenots.[2] This anxiety, which haunted the Pope as early as October, increased to such an extent that on December 25th Pius wrote to the nuncio to be on his guard against any conciliatory move on the part of the French government, because Catherine never acted loyally to God and the Catholic religion, and put her trust rather in her own cleverness than in the divine help.[3] The same view of the situation was also held in Madrid, as Castagna reported on December 21st.[4]

It was soon made clear how much justification there was for Pius V.'s hesitation[5] about paying a subsidy to the French government, and his distrust of its policy.[6] On March 23rd,

[1] See CATENA, 65 ; GOUBAU, 56.

[2] See *supra*, p. 111.

[3] See the *instructions of Bonelli to M. della Torre of December 22, 1567, as well as those of October 18, 1567, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 282, p. 9. Papal Secret Archives. The instruction of December 25, 1567, is translated in PHILIPPSON, Die römische Kurie, 113.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., II., 279.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Arco from Rome, January 3, 1568, State Archives, Vienna, and Corresp. dipl., II., 304. On November 10, 1567, Charles IX. had written from Paris to Cardinal Ricci : *" Vi prego di fare le più vive istanze presso il S. Padre afin che il soccorso promesso non sia solo in parole, ma in effetto." Catherine de' Medici also wrote on November 10, 1567, in similar terms to Cardinal Ricci ; both letters in Ricci Archives, Rome.

[6] " *El Papa ha così poca buona opinione del governo delle cose di Francia ch' essendo entrato l' ambasciatore nelle due ultime audienze che ha havute in voler giustificare le actioni et il procedere del Re et della Regina con lunghe et spetiose parole S. Stà non gli ha dato mai altra risposta se non che ha sorriso sempre." The Pope refused a small favour to the king's sister. " L'ambasciatore sta mezzo disperato " (report of Cipriano Saracinello to Cardinal Farnese, Rome, March 6, 1567, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 763). *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 309, 326.

1568, at Longjumeau, after a war that had been carried on very half-heartedly, for the second time a peace was concluded which sacrificed a situation which, from the military point of view, was far from unsatisfactory.[1] The truth was that Catherine did not wish for a decided victory of the Guise and the Catholic party. Short-sightedly seeking her own interests, she aimed at a balance of power between the parties. By the peace of Longjumeau, which she concluded in spite of the opposition of the nuncio and the Spanish ambassador, the Huguenots obtained the renewal of the edict of Amboise, which was so much in their favour, binding themselves in return to restore to the king the cities which they held, a condition which in the end was never complied with. The Huguenots had just as little intention of giving up their understanding with England and the rebels in the Low Countries. On the other side too the government infringed the treaty in various ways, and were able to do so because they were supported by popular opinion. The Huguenots indeed, by their rebellion and their continued acts of violence had so roused the masses of the people against themselves that at last the supporters of Protestantism became visibly less, while the Catholics roused themselves to a vigorous resistance. As had already happened in 1562-1563, and again in 1567, so now new confederations were formed by the nobles and the clergy for the preservation of the Catholic religion.[2]

[1] The *official* news of the peace, which was not yet to hand on April 11 (see GRATIANI Epist., 382), arrived on the following night see FIRMANUS, *Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., on April 12, 1567, Papal Secret Archives. For the sorrow and anxiety of the Pope at the possibility of a Huguenot invasion of Italy see Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCVII., 426; Corresp. dipl., II., 337 *seq.*, 351.

[2] See "Serment des associés de la ligue chrestienne et royale de la Champagne" of January 25, 1568, in Journal de Henry III., III. (1744), 31. *Cf.* CAPEFIGUE, Ligue, II., 374 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON in *Weltegschichte* of Flathe, VII., 372; RANKE, Französ. Geschichte, I., 276 *seq.*; LAVISSE-MARIÉJOL, VI., 1, 101 *seq.*; THOMPSON, 354 *seq.* (*cf.* 212 *seq.* and 352 *seq.* on earlier agreements of this kind, which were forerunners of the league).

A decisive factor was that both Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX., who had not forgotten the attempted surprise of 1567, henceforward showed themselves openly hostile to the Huguenots. Cardinal Guise regained his influence, while on the other hand the chancellor, L'Hôpital, who had always been the champion of compromise, was dismissed.[1] His fall was connected with the conditions which Pius V. had attached to the granting of permission for the sale of ecclesiastical property which the French government had obtained by means of Annibale Rucellai and Charles d' Angennes, Bishop of Le Mans, who had succeeded Tournon as French ambassador. When the Pope, by a bull of August 1st, 1568, gave his consent to such sales, to the annual amount of 150,000 francs, he laid it down that this money should only be used for the defence of the king and the Catholic religion, and until it was effectively applied to that purpose should remain in the hands of some trustworthy person.[2]

The recommencement of hostilities took place in August with the attempted capture of Condé and Coligny at Noyers, where they were trying to set up a headquarters of Protestantism in order to help Orange. They both fled to the safety of La Rochelle, where they gathered together a strong force; the Huguenots soon rose in their support in many parts of the country. The court retaliated with the edict of September, which enacted that since the Huguenots had not availed themselves of the favours granted to them, henceforth all worship except the Catholic was forbidden, under pain of death and confiscation; the Protestant preachers were given fourteen days in which to leave France.[3]

[1] *Cf.* ANQUETIL, 183 *seq.*; D'AUMALE, Hist. des princes de Condé, II., Pièces et docum., 349 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, I., 499 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 451 *seq.* and CHARRIÈRE, III., 34. The bull of August 1, 1568, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 165. An *Avviso di Roma of July 17, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 459, Vatican Library, announces the departure of Rucellai from Rome. For his negotiations see the *documents in the Papal Secret Archives, in App. nn. 4 and 5.

[3] See SERRANUS, IX., 222; THUANUS, 1, 44; THOMPSON, 366.

The joy of Pius V. at this definite stand was all the greater since the weakness displayed by the French government at the Peace of Longjumeau had left little hopes of any such development.[1] The Bishop of Cajazzo, Fabio Mirto Frangipani, who was to succeed della Torre as nuncio, was entrusted with the delivery of the bull of August 1st, 1568.[2]

The third civil and religious war,[3] which was carried on by *both* sides with the greatest cruelty and violence,[4] was waged at first without any important engagement, because the opposing forces were of approximately equal strength, and each of them only wished to give battle in circumstances favourable to themselves. The position of the Huguenots was soon improved in consequence of the help that was sent to them. Elizabeth of England sent large sums of money as well as ships of war, while on the Rhine Duke Wolfgang of Deux-Ponts got together a strong auxiliary force. Under these circumstances it was highly characteristic of the French government and of its constant fear of the influence of Philip II., that, in spite of the difficulties in which it found itself, it was only willing to accept Spanish help in a very limited degree, and instead, besides the 10,000 Swiss who were in its pay, obtained the help of 5,000 German cavalry.[5]

After a short interval occasioned by the extraordinary cold of that winter, the war was recommenced at the end of January, 1569, by Henry of Anjou and the Marshal de Tavannes. Probably no one realized how much depended upon the result of the war as Pius V., but after his experiences

[1] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 448 *seq.* ; TIEPOLO, 188.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 166. *Brief recommending Frangipani to Cosimo I., whom he was to visit, dated August 2, 1568, in State Archives, Florence. The *brief recalling della Torre, August 12, 1568, in Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 247b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the detailed account in GIGON, La troisième guerre de religion, Paris, 1911. *Cf.* also *Mél. d'Archéol.*, XXXIII., 245 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* ANQUETIL, 223 *seq.*

[5] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, I., 529 *seq.*, 548 *seq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. 15-16, 292 *seq.*

with the French government, he was very cautious about giving his assistance. The money, which he had the greatest difficulty in collecting,[1] was to be actually used for the war,[2] and not, as had been the case before, devoted to other purposes. A body of auxiliary troops was also raised for service in France,[3] and the Pope would not let himself be distracted from this task even when a courier brought news of the victory which had been won by the Catholics at Jarnac on March 13th.[4] In his opinion these auxiliary troops should now be used against the Duke of Deux-Ponts.[5] The young Count Sforza

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of Sept. 4, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 574, Vatican Library.

[2] See Legaz. di Serristori, 454, and CORRERO 208. An *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1568, announces the sending of 100,000 scudi to France (Urb. 1040, p. 597b, Vatican Library). Another 50,000 were taken from the treasury in the Castle of St. Angelo at the end of Feb., 1569, of the pay for the auxiliary troops (*ibid.*). *Cf.* the facsimile of the Pope's order in LICHATSCHEV, Una lettera di papa Pio V. allo Zar Iwan il terribile, St. Petersburg, 1906 (in Russian), tav. 5. For the continued distrust of Pius V. see CHARRIÈRE, III., 35, n.

[3] Besides the *report of Cusano of January 22, 1569 (State Archives Vienna) see the *Avvisi di Roma of January 1 and 29, February 5 and 26, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 1b, 11, 18b, 22, Vatican Library. See also the letter of Pius V. of January 30, 1569, in LICHATSCHEV, *loc. cit.* tav. 12.

[4] The news arrived in Rome on March 27, "hora 17"; see FIRMANUS, *Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 32, p. 79b; *ibid.* p. 81, the "Orationes dictae pro gratiarum actione pro victoria regis Franciae" (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1569, n. 102; CHARRIÈRE, III., 43. See also the *report of B. Pia from Rome, Apr. 1, 1569 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the battle of Jarnac see WHITEHEAD, G. de Coligny, 204 *seq.* and the monograph by GIGON in *Bullet. de la Soc. hist. de la Charente,* 1896.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 49b, Vatican Library, and Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, III., 232. See also the letter of M. Soriano of April 2, 1569, which mentions the rumour that Pius V. was meditating an expedition against Geneva (CRAMER, II., 223). In April, 1569, Anjou was sent a blessed hat by the Pope; see Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, X., 254.

di Santa Fiora was placed in command of them; there were 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry.[1] In the middle of April, after the Duke of Savoy had given permission for them to pass through his territory, Pius V. gave orders for their immediate departure;[2] they were to be joined in Tuscany by another 1,000 infantry and 100 cavalry, furnished by Cosimo I. at the request of the Pope.[3]

In the meantime, on April 23rd, there arrived in Rome twelve Huguenot standards which had been captured at Jarnac, and among them the two white ones of Condé and Navarre. Pius V., surrounded by the whole College of Cardinals, received these trophies of victory in the Hall of Constantine, and weeping with joy declared that the gift of the Most Christian King was the most precious that he could have made to religion, the Holy See, and to himself; he prayed to God that in a short time the remaining standards might be sent as well, and that all the enemies of His Majesty might be

[1] See Corresp. dipl., III., 38 (where 1568 should be 1569) and *Avviso di Roma of February 26, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 22, Vatican Library. From a *letter "ex Urbe 5 martii" we learn the reason for the delay in sending the troops: "Expectatur adhuc responsio ducis Mantuae et gubernatoris Mediolanensis status circa concessionem loci in quo milites mittendi in Galliam congregari debeant, qua habita mox sonabunt timpanae." Archives at Wittingau, Hist. 4751.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of April 16, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 54, Vatican Library. A brief of March 6, 1569, announced to Charles IX. the dispatch of an auxiliary force, and at the same time exhorting him to punish the Huguenots most severely (see Goubau, 148 *seq.*). On receipt of the news of the victory, further briefs to the same effect were sent on March 28 to Charles IX. and Catherine (in Goubau, 151 *seq.*) as well as *briefs "duci Andegav." and "duci Nivern." (Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 48b-49, Papal Secret Archives), followed on April 13 by briefs to Catherine, Henry of Anjou, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles IX. (in Goubau, 156 *seq.*) and various nobles who had taken part in the victory. These latter briefs, which are still unpublished, are in Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 60 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Adriani, XX., 4; Palandri, 120.

brought back to their obedience and to the Catholic faith. The standards were then taken to St. Peter's, where the Patriarch of Jerusalem, after a service of thanksgiving, placed them in the chapel of the Kings of France.[1]

Pius V. had already, on receiving the first news of the victory near Jarnac, sent his congratulations to the French king, urging him to seize the fortified places in the Kingdom of Navarre, and to carry on the war until the Huguenots were destroyed. It was his duty, so this letter stated, to destroy the roots, and even the offshoots of the roots of evil. Similar exhortations to fight boldly and freely against the enemy until he was destroyed were addressed to Catherine de' Medici, the two Guises, the Duke of Montpensier, and the Duke of Nevers.[2] When the nuncio had sent him further particulars of the victory,[3] fresh letters were sent on April 13th to Charles IX., Catherine de' Medici, Henry of Anjou, the two Guises, and the Duke of Montpensier.[4] They contained exhortations to execute strict justice on the rebels and heretics in prison, and to carry on the work until they were completely destroyed. Again and again these letters contain the warning that they must not follow the example of Saul who, despite the command of God, spared the Amalakites, and therefore was deprived by Samuel of his kingdom, and at last lost his life.[5]

It is clear with what bitterness the war was carried on;

[1] Besides Firmanus in BONANNI, I., 302, and in LAMMER, Zur Kirchengesch, 142, see the reports of the French ambassador in CHARRIÈRE, III., 44 *seq.*, ZUÑIGA in Corresp. dipl., III., 61 *seq.*, the two *Avvisi of April 23, 1569 (Urb. 1041, p. 60b, 66b, Vatican Library, where there is a list of the "insegne" captured), and the *letter of Cusano, April 23, 1569, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See GOUBAU, 151 *seq.*, 154; LADERCHI, 1569, n. 103 *seq.* *Cf.* as to this the description of TÜRKE, 17.

[3] See the report of the nuncio in BROGNOLI, II., 60 *seq.*, where, however, the date is wrong.

[4] See GOUBAU, 156 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1569, n. 110 *seq.*

[5] See the passeges in GOUBAU, 152 *seqq.*, 157 *seqq.*, 168.

on neither side was there any question of mercy.[1] In Rome it was seriously feared many times that the Huguenots would turn upon Italy,[2] and to this fear was added indignation at the sacrileges and atrocities which the followers of Calvin were guilty of everywhere, for wherever they could they destroyed the images, crucifixes, altars, churches and convents, they even dug up the bodies from the graves, and killed with all the refine-

[1] See CATENA, 75. *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, II.[3], 43.

[2] The fear of a Huguenot invasion of Italy was specially great in the spring of 1568. On March 13 Arco reported: *since, in consequence of the recent peace with the Huguenots, the latter are in a position to turn against Rome, they are proposing to complete the fortifications of the Castle of St. Angelo and the Borgo (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* the report of Arco of March 20, 1568, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 105, the letter of Zuñiga of April 7, 1568, in Corresp. dipl., II., 337, and the report of B. Concini from Rome, April 11, 1568, in PALANDRI, 117 *seqq.* Rome had been in a state of anxiety at an earlier date, in consequence of other designs on the part of the Huguenots. An *Avviso di Roma of January 10, 1566, speaks of the imprisonment of two Huguenots who had confessed under torture that they had intended to kill the Pope (Urb. 1040, p. 167, Vatican Library). In March 1568, Pius V. was again on his guard against a plot of the Huguenots (see Corresp. dipl., II., 316). An *Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1569, announces that at the Casaletto, the villa of Pius V., a "fuoruscito" had been arrested with two "archibugi"; it was thought that this was connected with a Huguenot plot (Urb. 1041, p. 1, Vatican Library). It was also thought that the baker's boy, who had tried to make profit by declaring himself to be the son of Pius V., had been urged to this course by the Huguenots. The youth was convicted of calumny and condemned to the galleys for life (see CATENA, 139 *seqq.*, and the Ricordi di Filippo Edoardo Fugger, extract from *Archivio stor. Ital.*, 5 ser., XLII., 10). For the fears felt in Rome of Huguenot plots during the summer of 1568 see Corresp. dipl., II., 367 *seq.*, 369, 374, 376, 379, 392, 411. Correro expressly states (p. 194) that the Huguenots themselves boasted of their friends in Italy. A. Zibramonti *reports on January 10, 1571, that the "ribelli di Montorio" were in league with the Huguenots. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ments of cruelty, the priests, monks and even defenceless nuns.[1]

The Papal auxiliary forces had, on May 14th, 1569, joined the Florentine troops in the neighbourhood of Massa, and marched by way of Turin to the Gulf of Lyons, which was reached on June 2nd. They pushed on on the 4th, but the troops made but slow progress owing to the scarcity of provisions in that war-stricken country; soon sickness relaxed their discipline, while no sight of the enemy was obtained.[2] After the auxiliary force had joined up with the royal army near Tours, it took part with success in the defence of Poitiers, and on October 3rd in the decisive battle near Moncontour. This great battle, in which the Papal-Florentine troops especially distinguished themselves, ended in the complete rout of the Huguenots, who left about 10,000 dead upon the field.[3]

Pius V., who had watched the course of the war in France with all the more anxiety[4] because Avignon was threatened by

[1] In the briefs to Henry of Anjou, Cardinal Bourbon, and Charles IX. (Goubau, 160, 163, 166) Pius V. expressly mentions these atrocities, as to which *cf.* Gratiani Epist., 314, 332, 357; Picot, I., 15 *seqq.*; Gaudentius, 108 *seqq.*, 119 *seqq.*

[2] The information contained in the letters from the Jesuits who accompanied the troops as military chaplains, in Fouqueray, I., 625 *seq.*, is substantially completed by the *Narratione della guerra di Francia 1569, in the Cod. Barber. 5040, p. 77 *seq.*, which has not hitherto been made use of; in this the march of the auxiliary troops is described in diary form. This codex contains, at p. 1. *seq.* and 15 *seq.*, two *Vite di Sforza conte di S. Fiora. Vatican Library,

[3] See Davila, 1, 5. Thuanus, 1, 45; Segesser, Pfyffer, I., 580 *seq.*; 585 *seq.*; Thompson, 388 *seq.*; for the behaviour of the Italians, *see*, besides Adriani, XX., 4, Petrucci in Desjardins, III., 603, and Amodei in Fouqueray, I., 627; see also Sereno, 45. Guzzo di Guzzi of Faenza distinguished himself; see Bernardino Azzurini, *Libro de fatti moderni occorsi nella città di Faenza dal 1546. Library at Faenza.

[4] *Cf.* Charrière, III., 48 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., III., 139.

the Huguenots,[1] and because he feared a fresh *volte face* on the part of the French court,[2] breathe more freely when the first news of this splendid victory reached Rome. At first he refused to believe the news, until it was confirmed by further reports, but on October 17th, 1569, a secretary of the nuncio arrived with circumstantial reports. The Pope went at once with the Cardinals to St. Peter's to give thanks to God. For three days he caused all the bells of Rome to be rung, the cannon resounded from the Castle of St. Angelo, and bonfires were lit everywhere. On October 22nd a great procession passed from S. Maria sopra Minerva to S. Maria Maggiore, on the 23rd from the Aracoeli to St. John Lateran, and on the 24th from St. Peter's to S. Luigi de' Francesi.[3] As visible proofs of the effects of the Pope's

[1] The fears for Avignon, which had already caused the Pope great anxiety in the preceding year (see LADERCHI, 1568, n. 171), increased in 1569 (see *ibid.* 1569, n. 176 *seq.*). In his *instructions of March 9, 1569, Santa Fiora received the special charge to protect Avignon. A *brief "communitatibus comit. Venaissini" of May 2, 1569, exhorts them to persevere in the Catholic faith; their loyalty is being tested like gold in the furnace, but the dangers are great; let them take heed lest heresy enter. We think always of the salvation of your souls. and pray for you. Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 88, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the report of A. Medici from Rome, August 3, 1569, in PALANDRI, 121. This explains the briefs of August 1, in LADERCHI 1569, n. 145 *seq.* refusing further aid.

[3] See the *letter of A. Medici from Rome, October 18, 1569, State Archives, Florence, and the *reports of B. Pia from Rome, October 17, 18, 22 and 29, 1569, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In the report of October 18 we read: *"L'allegrezza in che S.S.tà si trova è tale che confessa di non haverla mai più havuta simile et tutta questa corte giubila." *Cf.* also Firmanus in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 166; BONANNI, I., 302; Corresp. dipl., III., 175 *seq.* and the *Avvisi di Roma of October 19 and 22, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 167 and 179, Vatican Library. The defeat of the Huguenots was also celebrated elsewhere, e.g. at Venice; see the letter in the congratulatory publication of the people of Breslau to the University of Basle (1860), p. 11.

prayers[1] and of the bravery of his soldiers there were 37 standards captured from the Huguenots; these were sent to the Lateran and placed on the walls under a marble tablet with a commemorative inscription.[2]

In the letter of congratulation which he sent to Charles IX. on October 20th, 1569, Pius V. warned him that he must not again find place for misplaced compassion, or waver between the two sides, for nothing was more cruel than compassion for the wicked and for those who had deserved death. On November 5th the Pope sent congratulations to the king and sent him the necessary dispensation for his marriage with the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II.[3] He thought the occasion an opportune one for warning Charles IX. that he must no longer interest himself on behalf of the heretical bishops of Chartres, Valence and Lescar, but rather nominate to their sees men who were sound Catholics; this exhortation, however, had no result.[4]

It had already been evident after the battle of Jarnac how

[1] The Pope, reports an *Avviso di Roma of July 23, 1569, has for some days past, recited special prayers for France after Mass. Urb. 1041, p. 118, Vatican Library.

[2] See Avviso di Roma of January 7, 1570, in LANCIANI, IV., 28. *Cf.* Firmanus in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 165 *seq.* and BONANNI, I., 302; CATENA, 74 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VIII., 37. The inscription, which is still preserved, in SPEZI, 78. One of the standards is still to be seen in the transept of the Lateran. *Cf.* C. MAES, Le bandiere degli ugonotti a S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, 1885.

[3] See the text in GOUBAU, 240 *seqq.*, 247 *seq.* A *brief of November 7 to the Duke of Anjou is the reply to the congratulations which he had sent on the victory. A *brief of November 9 praises the Duke of Guise for his bravery against the Huguenots besieging Poitiers, and exhorting him to continue. A similar *exhortation was sent on the same day to the Archbishop of Sens, Nicolas de Pellevé, whose zeal and prudence in advising the king during the war are praised. Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 283b-285, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *brief of November 19, 1569, in App. n. 6, Papal Secret Archives.

little intention the French government had of making real use of the victories which it had gained, and now it allowed the great day of Moncontour to pass without making real use of it. When they made urgent representations to the queen-mother that she should profit by the favourable circumstances, the representatives of Pius V. received the reply that her son was old enough not to need the advice of foreign princes.[1]

So what did Charles IX. do when some of his own advisers urged him after the victory of Moncontour to carry on the war vigorously? Jealous of his brother Anjou, who had held the chief command at Moncontour, instead of destroying the remains of Coligny's army, he decided on a policy of blockade, and on December 3rd he surrendered St.-Jean-d'Angely to him, and dispersed his own forces.[2] The Italian troops, which had had much to endure from the jealousy of the French from the first,[3] and had been greatly reduced in numbers both in battle and from sickness, had been ordered to return at the end of October by Pius V., but they started back home before that date.[4] Charles IX. could look for no further help.

[1] "Quando dopo la battaglia ultima di Moncontor essendo il tempo apparito proprio del venire a dar castigo a chi lo meritava, come ricordavano li ministri di N. S^re^ per parte sua che era tempo di fare et ne mostravano il modo, fu risposto loro dalla Reina propria con parole assai espresse, come il Re si ritrovava in età d' autorità et con forze et prudentia di sapere governare lo stato suo da se senza havere a pigliare consiglio ne legge da principi esterni, onde meritamente da quel tempo in qua è parso a S. S^tà^ di volere andare un poco più consideratamente non giudicando che se li convenisse di doversi ingerire in cosa di altri più oltre di quel che fosse grato alli padroni." Thus Frangipani in the memorial quoted *infra*, p. 135, n. 1.

[2] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, I., 607.

[3] See the report of Petrucci in DESJARDINS, III., 601.

[4] The Count di Santa Fiora had sent a message to Charles IX. on October 6, asking to be allowed to let the troops go, now that the victory was won. The king wished still to retain them, but Santa Fiora personally pointed out to him that the auxiliary force was obliged to return by reason of its losses and disease. On this occasion Charles IX. expressed his hope of receiving

In his memorial the nuncio Frangipani states that after Catherine's reply the Pope could only adopt an attitude of

further help from the Pope, at the same time acknowledging that the auxiliary force had been of great assistance to him. Santa Fiora, who was himself suffering from fever, then took his leave "Malissimo sodisfatto della natura de' Francesi, onde dipoi diceva spesso che mai più tornarebbe in Francia con gente, perche il proceder de' Francesi è stravagante tanto in le osservationi militari, che conosceva che l' huomo che li serve corre del continuo grosso pericolo in la dignità et in l' honore, perche, se le cose succedono bene, vogliono esser stati loro li essecutori, et se male, ogni cosa buttano volentiere adosso al compagno, et in somma guerreggiano di maniera, almeno di presente, che del continuo si sta più per perdere che guadagnare ; et se l' ammiraglio fosse stato soldato di altra natione che francese, Dio sa come le cose fossero passate. . . . Quando il sig^{r} conte si cognobbe in stato col male che non posseva caminar con la gente, ordinò al vescovo di Fermo comissario generale che, condotta la gente a Lione, la pagasse del mese di novembre, et in tanto desse aviso al Papa per corrier proprio in diligenza [di] quanto che passava, et chiedesse ordine a Sua S^{tà} di quel che s' havesse per l' inanzi da far con la gente, la qual si condurebbe per il Delfinato alle spese del re. Ma inteso poi il sig^{r} conte dal detto suo segretario come il Papa intendeva pagar la gente sino fosse condotta in Italia, scrisse al vescovo non ispedisse più al Papa, et che lo attendesse in Lione et sollecitasse il far pagar la gente di già condutta in Lione, dove ne moriva assai et di dove ne partiva assai per la strada diritta della Savoia, non curando d' aspettar paga alcuna ; talmente a molti fra venuto a noia il tardar più in quelle bande, dove non si vedeva che mallatia e morte." On account of his illness Santa Fiora was not able to carry out the command to protect Avignon. On the last day of February, 1570, he informed Pius V. by word of mouth of all that he had witnessed. I gather all these particulars, hitherto unknown, from the *Narratione della guerra di Francia, in Cod. Barb., 5040, p. 167 *seqq.* Vatican Library. From the account in FOUQUERAY, I., 627 *seq.* it appears that the Pope looked after the troops on their return, and the Jesuits of the sick who remained at Lyons. According to ADRIANI, XX., 4, only a third part of the auxiliary force returned home.

great caution, and that many people had long since told him that the help which he had bestowed on France in money and troops had been thrown away.[1] While Guise and Tavannes retired from the court and the army, the influence fell back into the hands of the "cautious and cold politicians, who, devoid of either principle or conviction, lived only for the exigencies of the moment."[2] Thanks to them, proposals for peace were already being made at La Rochelle by the end of 1569. The Catholics once more found themselves in danger of seeing their interests sacrificed to the advantages of the moment, without any guarantee as to the future. In theory the court seemed to have the conditions of peace in its own hands because the battle of Moncontour had made a lasting impression, and at that time the Huguenots had not much hope of help from abroad. This was especially the case from Germany, where only the reformers were in favour of armed intervention, while the Lutherans held back. In more than one place, as for example Ernestine Saxony, the people were told from Lutheran pulpits that the Huguenots, like the *gueux*, were rebels, sacramentarians and iconoclasts, who deserved to be extirpated.[3]

When the rumours that a peace was at hand grew more and more insistent, the Pope had recourse to the king himself in a letter of January 29th, 1570, in which he says: Our duty and our paternal solicitude do not allow us to fail to give warning to Your Majesty; give heed to it then and think well concerning that which is about to be done. Whereas we see well that between Your Majesty and your enemies there can never be a peace which will be favourable to the cause of the Catholic religion, or which, however it be expressed, will secure tranquillity to your country which is so exhausted by long wars, we, for our part, shall certainly not forget the office which we hold, nor shall we be so blind to our duty as to fail to use

[1] *Cf.* the memorial already quoted.

[2] Opinion of BAUMGARTEN, Bartholomäusnacht, 26.

[3] So reported William of Orange to Louis of Nassau on December 29, 1569. GROEN v. PRINSTERER, III., 334; SOLDAN, I., 380.

all our zeal and all our authority to bring it about that peace shall be concluded as soon as possible. But since we are well aware, and Your Majesty has experienced the same a thousand times, that there can be no harmony between light and darkness, and that in matters of this sort there can be no agreement but such as is illusory and full of dangers, we must of necessity tremble for your own person as well as for the general good of Christian society, and the preservation of the Catholic faith. Similar letters were sent to Catherine de' Medici and Henry of Anjou.[1]

So as to leave no means untried, Pius V., in April, 1570, sent to Henry of Anjou, the favourite son of the French queen, the blessed sword and hat on *Laetare* Sunday, by the hands of Count Jerome de Rozdrazow.[2] Rozdrazow was instructed to express, either by himself or together with the nuncio, the Pope's sorrow at the continued negotiations for peace with persons who were in open rebellion against God and the French crown. If the king were to be willing to share his kingdom with rebels he would expose himself to ruin and personal contempt. Lastly Rozdrazow was ordered to dissuade the king from any sort of agreement with the Turks, and to remind him of his duty in the matter of filling the vacant bishoprics.[3]

When it was reported at the end of April that peace had been concluded with the Huguenots, Pius V. addressed a

[1] See GOUBAU, 266 *seqq.*, 269 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1570, n. 168 *seq.* *Cf.* in Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, III., 306 *seq.* how Catherine sought to ease the Pope's mind.

[2] See the *brief to Henry of Anjou of March 30, 1570, Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 50, Papal Secret Archives; *ibid.* p. 48b-49b *briefs on this subject of the same date to Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici. *Cf.* GRATIANI Epist., 459. For G. Rozdrazow (the same as the Rasdrakhoff in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 77) see JUNGNITZ, M. Gerstmann, Berlin, 1898, 41 *seqq.*, 60 *seq.*, 65; CANISII Epist., IV., 367.

[3] *Instruttione per Francia al conte Hieronimo Rosreshof [sic] a 27 di Marzo, 1570, in Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 463 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

severe letter to the king, putting him on his guard against evil counsellors.[1] Catherine de' Medici and Cardinals Guise and Bourbon also received briefs to the same effect.[2]

All these efforts were as ineffectual as those made by Philip II. for the same purpose. The French court persevered in the way upon which it had embarked, not only because financial straits and a military situation which had now become unfavourable pointed to peace, even on unworthy terms, but also because such an agreement was the only one suited to the policy of compromise which Catherine de' Medici continued to pursue, while an additional reason was her old fear of the King of Spain, who was interesting himself so much on behalf of the French Catholics, and to whom the continuation of the war would have been advantageous. If the actual conclusion of the peace was still delayed for some time, the reason was that the more impatient the court became, the more obstinately the Huguenots held out.[3]

On August 8th, 1570, Charles IX. laid down his arms before his enemies at St. Germain. The conditions of peace were more favourable than ever for the Huguenots, who obtained full amnesty and liberty of conscience, the free exercise of their religion in the territories of the nobles and a number of cities, with the exception of Paris and wherever the court happened to be from time to time; they further obtained the right to fill *all* the offices of state, as well as the right to object to six judges in each parliament; finally, they were given four places of safety for two years, La Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban and Cognac. In this way a veritable state within a state was formed.[4] In a secret article Charles IX. promised compensation for the two million livres expended by

[1] Brief of April 23, 1570, in GOUBAU, 274 *seq*, and LADERCHI, 1570, n. 177.

[2] All dated April 23. Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 94b, 96b, 98, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See BAUMGARTEN, Bartholomäusnacht, 16.

[4] See SOLDAN, I., 396 *seqq*.

the Huguenots and Germany in the hire of their mercenaries![1]

Pius V. was convinced that this "shameful peace which had been dictated to the French king by the conquered enemies of God" would bring about in France even worse disturbances than those which had gone before.[2] His grief was all the greater because he at that time looked upon Avignon as being threatened.[3] The nuncio was instructed to make strong remonstrances.[4] Moreover, Pius V. resolved to send at once to France a special envoy in the person of the Papal notary, Francesco Bramante, to make an attempt to get the recent events annulled.[5] The instructions for Bramante were dictated by the Pope himself on August 14th, while he was still under the impression created by the news of the peace; they were afterwards recast on September 19th, and were only handed to the nuncio on the 25th. By these instructions Bramante was, with all proper moderation and prudence, to remind the king of the glorious age of his ancestors, who enjoyed the obedience of their subjects, the tranquillity of their country, and the glory and power of their realm so long as

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 209. A. Contarini well brings out the disgraceful side of the peace (p. 249 *seqq.*). *Cf.* the views of the French and German nuncios in Corresp. dipl., IV., 4, n. 1.

[2] Besides the *instructions for Bramante (*infra* p. 132, n. 1) and Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, III., 330 n., *cf.* the briefs of complaint to Cardinals Guise and Bourbon of August 17 and September 23, 1570, in GOUBAU, 276 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.* See also the *brief to Cardinal Guise of September 11, 1570, Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 212b, Papal Secret Archives; *ibid.* similar *briefs of September 23, 1570, to Cardinals Strozzi, Pellevé and Armagnac. Cusano *reports on November 8, 1570, how the Pope deplored the peace as "damnosa et vituperosa" for Charles IX. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 41.

[4] *Cf.* the *notice in Cod. Barber. 4698, p. 205, Vatican Library.

[5] The mission of Bramante has remained unknown to all historians until now. The *briefs accrediting him to Charles IX. and other personages in France in Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 230b, 237-251, Papal Secret Archives.

religious unity was unbroken. The arrangement arrived at at St. Germain, which bore the beautiful name of peace, had destroyed that unity, and would therefore soon bring about the ruin of France, because the treaty had no regard for religion, weakened the power of the king, and increased the boldness of his enemies, who, before long, would only return with greater zeal than ever to their former schemes. It was inconceivable that people who wished to deprive their king of his life and authority could ever be his friends, or that men who had hitherto always broken faith could keep it in the future. The Pope who on account of his youth did not wish to blame the king for what had happened, was still of opinion that he had only agreed to the peace in order to disarm the rebels, and in order that later on he might proceed against them at his discretion. If this should turn out to be Charles IX.'s plan Bramante was to encourage him in it, reminding him of the example of his father and his predecessors in their treatment of heretics who were a danger to the state, and assuring him of the help of the Pope. Everyone knew, so the instructions went on, that the Huguenots, who pretended to be the reformers of religion, had in view the ruin, not only of religion but of the state as well. At the present moment they were despoiling the churches of France in order to enrich their adherents. Since their object was the destruction of religion and the monarchy, they must be opposed in every way, in order that the king might still be king.[1]

A special duty that was laid upon Bramante concerned the troops who had been sent in the previous spring under the

[1] The *Instruttione prima a Mon^r Bramanti a 14 d'Agosto 1570 dettata da N. S^re, consegnata a 25 di Settembre 1570 in den Varia polit. 81 (now 82) p. 264 to 269. And p. 266 : *Instruttione seconda a Mons. Bramanti dettata da N. S^re, consignata a 25 di Settembre, and p. 267–268 *changes and additions to this ordinance ; p. 269 : *Instruttione terza a Mons. Bramanti a di 19 di Settembre, rescritta et consignata a 25 Settembre 1570 ; p. 269^b : *Aggiunta alla terza Instruttione. Papal Secret Archives.

command of Torquato Conti for the defence of Avignon.[1] He was to explain that, as the danger had been so pressing, it had not been possible to give the king warning of this, and that therefore the latter's desire that the troops, who had only been sent for purposes of defence, should now be withdrawn, was as impracticable as was the toleration of the religious innovations at Avignon. Lastly, the envoy was to express the hope that France would join the projected league against the Turks.[2]

The remonstrances of the Pope, his nuncio,[3] and Bramante[4] were absolutely without effect, principally because after the Peace of St. Germain the anti-Spanish attitude of the French court developed more and more. As early as July this frame of mind, which rested upon various causes, had almost led to an open breach, and Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici had made the most violent attacks upon Philip II. The reasons for this attitude were dynastic ambition, hurt feelings and French hopes of splendid conquests.[5] Estrangement from Spain inevitably led to a rapprochement with the leaders of the Huguenots, the rebels in the Netherlands, and Elizabeth

[1] *Cf.* as to this *Avviso di Roma of April 8, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 257b, Vatican Library; LADERCHI, 1570, n. 195 *seq.*; CATENA, 64. See also *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXI., 481; MAROCCO, XI., 35. For the Pope's anxiety see CHARRIÈRE, III., 54 *seq.* The *Instruttione al S. Torquato Conti, Aprile, 1570, in Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 270 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 419 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *Ultimi ragionamenti (undated) havuti con le MM^tà Crist^me in Cod. Barber., 4698, p. 205-212 (*cf.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 113) and the **Cifra di Francia di 30 Agosto 1570, in *Nunziat. di Francia*, IV., 33, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* in DESJARDINS, III., 637, how Catherine deluded the nuncio into thinking that the Catholic religion could not fail to gain by the peace. See also the Venetian reports in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, L., 386 *seq.*

[4] For the negotiations of Bramante see the *notices from the Papal Secret Archives in App. nn. 8 and 9.

[5] See BAUMGARTEN, Bartholamäusnacht, 27 *seqq.*

of England. Scruples on this subject had no place in the mind of Catherine de' Medici, who even allowed herself to make disparaging remarks to the Papal nuncio. "What would you say," she said to the Pope's representative in October, "if you were soon to see Cardinal Châtillon here in his Cardinal's dress?" Such talk about an apostate, who had been deprived of his dignity by the Pope on account of his open apostasy, was bound to destroy all hopes of Catherine in the mind of the nuncio. This queen, he said, does not believe in God, nor do any of those who are her friends or those of the king.[1] It was about this time that Frangipani drew up a memorial on the state of affairs in France, which is noteworthy in several respects. He was of opinion that some attempt must be made to open at least the eyes of the king; the Huguenots would always be his enemies, because the offender never pardons. They were only trying to hoodwink the king, and at the first favourable opportunity would try to stir up a conspiracy or a revolt. There was still time to anticipate their action; the forces of the Catholics were larger than those of the Huguenots; the king could get as much military help as he liked from Switzerland and Italy. The first thing to be done, however, was to remove from his entourage the traitors who wished to involve him in a war with Catholic Spain. Should this take place the Pope would have to do his duty and form a league against Huguenot France. It was quite obvious that no confidence could be placed in Catherine de' Medici, who was a foreigner and a woman. Should the king prove a broken reed

[1] Report of the Spanish ambassador Alava of October 11, 1570, in BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 33 *seq.* *Cf.* the Cifra di Francia of September 30, 1570, which states: "Per mio giuditio excettuato solamente il re, che io lo ho per un buon giovane, se bene hoggi non ha ne discorso ne valore ne cuore di re, tutti li altri sono a un modo pieni di ogni sorte di passione et interesse del mondo et vacui di ogni religione, della quale io per me credo, che cosi li heretici, come quelli che si dicono cattolici, dico de nobili, se ne servano solamente per pretesto, ma che in verità non hanno religione." *Nunziat. d' Francia*, IV., 52, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

they would have to fall back on the Catholic nobles, who were in a position to force the king to see the error of his ways. The Catholic nobles could, just as the Huguenots had done, form a league among themselves, and alliances between the governors of the provinces, who would be controlled by some trustworthy leader, dependent upon the Pope. If this were not done, the Huguenots would certainly attract the whole kingdom of France to themselves.[1]

The danger grew visibly nearer with the matrimonial projects which Catherine was forming at that time for her children. Her favourite son, Henry of Anjou, was to marry Elizabeth of England; her daughter Margaret, contrary to the Pope's wishes, was to marry, not the King of Portugal, but the Huguenot prince, Henry of Navarre.[2] The Protestants attached great importance to the marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou. The English minister, Cecil, already foresaw the fall of the Papacy, and the English ambassador in Paris was counting on the conversion of Charles IX. to Protestantism.[3] In any case,

[1] The memorial, at the end of which Frangipani suggests the sending of confidential agents to Charles IX. and to Philip II., bears the title "Discorso sopra gli humori di Francia di Monsignor Nazaret." RANKE (Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 301 *seq.*) only extracted one passage from this dealing with the Catholic associations. He made use of a codex in the Barberini Library, and rightly gives 1570 as the date of its composition. The copy, however, must be later, since Frangipani only received the bishopric of Nazareth on November 5th, 1572. Ranke does not give, as is often the case, the designation of the codex; I at last found it after long research in Cod. Barber. 5269, p. 63 *seq.*, Vatican Library. There is another *copy in the Library at Karlsruhe, Cod. Durl. 44, p. 173 *seq.* I am aware that later on Thompson published the memorial in Appendix p. 548 *seq.* according to the Barberini codex, but without establishing its authorship more exactly; moreover, in his text he only makes use of the passage in Ranke already mentioned.

[2] *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 408 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 41 *seqq.*, 60 *seqq.*; TANZIN, Le mariage de Marguerite de Valois in *Rev. des quest. histor.*, LXXX., 446 *seq.*

[3] See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 270.

if this marriage should take place, Mary Stuart and the English Catholics would be at the mercy of their mortal enemies.

No less serious injury to Catholic interests was threatened by the mixed marriage with the son of the Queen of Navarre, who had distinguished herself by her violent persecution of the Catholics.[1] To all this was added the fact that on September 12th, 1571, Coligny, who a year before had been banished as guilty of high treason, and had been hanged upon the gallows in effigy,[2] made his appearance at the residence of the royal court at Blois, and very soon regained a greater influence than ever.[3]

It is no wonder that these events gave rise to the gravest anxiety. The Pope declared that so long as Henry of Navarre was a Huguenot he would under no circumstances grant him a dispensation from consanguinity for his marriage with the Princess Margaret. It now seemed that the fears he had long entertained, lest the young king, surrounded as he was by Huguenots, should be wavering in his faith, had become a certainty.[4] It had been reported to the Pope that the man to whom Catherine wished to give her daughter had threatened with death all opposition to Protestant preaching,[5] and had profaned the Most Holy Sacrament and the crucifix in the most opprobrious way.[6] Of Coligny it was said that he had

[1] *Cf.* the remarks in DUBARAT, Le protestantisme en Béarn, Pau, 1893.

[2] See SOLDAN, I., 365. The strongly worded briefs of Pius V. of October 12, 1569, in GOUBAU, 231 *seqq.* refer to this.

[3] *Cf.* SOLDAN, I., 420 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 87 *seqq.*; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 331 *seq.*

[4] See TIEPOLO, 188; CATENA, 176; PALANDRI, 153 *seq.*; *cf. Arch. d. miss. scientif.*, 2 series, II., 444 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. Intermédiaire des chercheurs*, December 15, 1901; MERKI, Coilgny, 390, n. 1.

[6] *" E bene stato affermato per vero a S.S^tà chel figlio della regina di Navarra ha fatto gettare per terra il santo sacramento dell'Eucharistia e ha fatto strascinare per terra un crocifisso con la corda all collo." *Report of Arco from Rome, May 1, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

quite recently at Angoulême gone to the horrible lengths of copying the living torches of Nero.[1] Yet this man was loaded by the king with gifts, and even with ecclesiastical benefices, and taken back into the royal council. He had a great influence over the young king, who eagerly listened to his grandiose plans. These aims were an alliance with England and war with Spain. For this purpose he had emissaries in England, in Protestant Switzerland, and in Germany, as well as at Constantinople and among the leaders of the Moors in Spain. He not only planned to give help to the enemies of Philip II. in the Low Countries, but also to tap the sources of Spanish wealth in the West Indies. Charles IX. was already dreaming of great conquests ; it is no wonder then that under these circumstances the news of the great victory of Lepanto was but coldly received at the French court.[2]

For Pius V. his great success against the Turks was a fresh incentive to leave no stone unturned to save the Catholic cause in France from further loss. He redoubled the efforts which he had hitherto made to prevent the marriage with Navarre. For her part Catherine used every artifice to obtain the Papal dispensation for the marriage, but Pius V. remained firm even when he was threatened with the total apostasy of France from the Church. He would, he said, in some sense cease to be Pope if he were to show favour to an obstinate heretic. He would not grant the dispensation even though a French army were in Rome, and if in spite of everything the marriage took place, he would pronounce the children of it illegitimate. In spite of this, Catherine still flattered herself with the hope of being able to induce the Pope to change his mind by holding out the prospect of the accession of France to the league against the Turks if the Pope would grant the dispensation.[3] In doing this she knew well how much at heart the noble Pope had the defence of Christendom.

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 372.

[2] See SOLDAN, I., 423 ; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 326, 331 *seq.* ; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 96 *seqq.* ; BLOK, III., 116 *seq.* ; JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. [15-16], 331 *seqq.*

[3] See the reports of Petrucci in DESJARDINS, III., 695, 702 *seqq.*,

In the middle of December, 1571, Pius V. had sent to France as nuncio extraordinary[1] Antonio Maria Salviati, who was related to the French royal house on the side of Medici, and had already stayed at the French court in the spring of 1571 in connexion with the imprisonment of Giovan Galeazzo Sanseverino, who had been accused before the Inquisition.[2] Salviati was instructed in the first place to induce Charles IX. to join the league against the Turks.[3] At the same time he was to express the great displeasure of the Pope at the fact that the king had just at that moment sent the Bishop of Aix, who had been disposed for heresy, to Constantinople, to the enemy of the Christian name, a thing which destroyed the hopes of the poor Christians in the Turkish Empire of being delivered from its insupportable tyranny as a consequence of the victory at Lepanto. The nuncio was also to make complaint of the continued attempts to marry Henry of Navarre to Margaret, on the plea that he might be brought back to the Church, which was certainly an empty hope. Lastly he

714 *seqq.*, 719 *seqq.*, 723 *seqq.*, 730, 735 *seqq.*, 740; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 113 *seqq.*; PALANDRI, 162 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *Histor. Zeitschrift*, L., 389 *seq.* After the night of St. Bartholomew, Catherine joked about their having believed in Rome in her accession to the league against the Turks. See THEINER, Annales, eccl., I., 332.

[1] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 135; GARAMPI, Osservaz., 315.

[2] See the *Instruttione per Mons. Salviati, dated Rome, February 5, 1571, in Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 117 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.* 277 *seq.*, 638 *seq.*, 640 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. For the successful efforts of Charles IX. and Cardinal Rambouillet (then Bishop of Le Mans and ambassador in Rome) to set free Count G. G. Sanseverino, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition while in the service of France, see the *report of Arco, February 17, 1571, State Archives, Vienna. Jean de Vivonne, who was sent at that time to Rome, played an essential part in this success; *cf.* GUY DE BREMOND, J. de Vivonne, Paris, 1884, 27 a*seq.*; lso AMABILE, I., 303 *seq.*

[3] F. Bramante had already negotiated about this; see his *Cifra of November 8, 1570, *Nunziat. de Francia*, IV., 73, Papal Secret Archives.

was to say that the Pope was very much surprised that Coligny had been again given so much power, and that Charles IX. had allowed the Huguenots to propagate their errors in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, since this was contrary to the Peace of St. Germain.[1]

On his way to France Salviati visited Florence, Lucca, Genoa, and the Duke of Savoy, in which places, by the Pope's orders, he treated of the holy league.[2] In January, 1572, he reached the French court, which was then at Blois; he was assisted in his mission by briefs of exhortation to Charles IX., which, in spite of all that had happened, were expressed in terms of paternal kindness.[3] A little later, on February 7th,[4] he was followed by the Cardinal legate, Bonelli, who in December had obtained in Lisbon promises from King Sebastian with regard to his entry into the league and his marriage to Margaret of Valois.[5]

[1] See the *instructions for Salviati, dated Rome, December 15, 1571, in Varia polit., 33 (now 34), p. 49 *seq.* See *ibid.* 81 (now 82), p. 283 *seq.* the first draft *cf. ibid.* 116 (now 117), p. 49 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. See also the letter from Pius V. to Catherine of December 15, 1571, in CATENA, 301 *seq.* and Corresp. dipl., IV., 549 *seq.*, 551 *seq.* In his *report of November 3, 1571 (State Archives, Vienna) Arco mentions an earlier letter: *" Il Papa si duole grandemente della regina madre del rè come quella che principalmente favorisse l'ammiraglio et ha l'animo volto del continuo a diverse novità et perciò Sua Sanità gl'ha scritto un breve in colera."

[2] See the letter of the Doge of Genoa to Pius V. in GOUBAU, 436 *seqq.* *Cf.* the important remarks of LADERCHI, 1571, n. 135, as against GRAZIANI (Epist., 465).

[3] Brief of January 25, 1572, in GOUBAU, 439 *seq.* (*cf.* as to this TURKE, 22) and of February 6, 1572, in CATENA, 298 *seq.*

[4] See the *letter of Bonelli to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated Blois, February 9, 1572, Cod. 33-G-24, p. 576, Corsini Library, Rome.

[5] Cardinal Bonelli, who made his entry into Lisbon on December 3, 1571, reported thence on December 5 and 13, 1571, concerning the general promises made by the king as to the league (see the *letter of Bonelli in Cod. 33-G-24, p. 34 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome). In the *letter of December 13 he speaks of

The Cardinal, who, as he travelled across France, had everywhere seen the ruins of the churches which had been destroyed by the Huguenots, had no illusions as to the difficulties which lay in the way of his being able to arrange those matters with which he was charged to deal at the French court ; these were, to ask for the marriage of Margaret to the King of Portugal, the entry of France into the league against the Turks, and the prevention of the defensive alliance which Elizabeth of England had recently proposed to the French government. On February 9th there also arrived at Blois the General of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, who, armed with special instructions from Philip II., was to support the legate. Neither the one nor the other left any room for doubt that the Pope would never grant the dispensation for the marriage with Navarre. They fought against that match just as strongly as they urged the Portuguese marriage, but all their efforts remained without any measure of success. With regard to the league against the Turks all that Bonelli could obtain was a promise that France would not hinder the crusade. With regard to the alliance with England he received the assurance that this was only aimed at the maintenance of friendly relations with that kingdom, and that there was no idea of any hostile action against Spain.[1]

the " buona dispositione " of the king concerning the marriage with Margaret of Valois which Pius V. so much desired : " mi disse voler per dote dal Re di Francia ch'entri ancor esso in lega ! Bonelli, who presented a memorial to the king on December 11 (in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 135), left for Madrid on the 14th, and thence for France. At Miranda he received a letter from the Portuguese king for Pius V., dated December 20, 1571, containing the purely general promise that the king intended to fight against the Turks, Saracens and Lutherans (Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 427).

[1] See the *letters of Bonelli addressed to Cardinal Rusticucci from Blois on February 9, 19 and 22, 1572, followed by one from Rome to Philip II., March 30, 1572, in Cod. 33-G-24, p. 57b, Corsini Library, Rome ; extracts given in GACHARD, Bibl. Corsini, 52 *seqq.* *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Bartholomäusnacht, 118

seqq., 126, and PHILIPPSON, Röm. Kurie, 116 *seq.*, where use is also made of the statements of the Spanish, Florentine, and Venetian ambassadors, and of Francis Borgia. A long controversy arose out of a passage in the letter of Bonelli to Cardinal Rusticucci from Lyons on March 6, 1572, where he says that he has not been able to meet with any success with regard to the league or the marriage with Navarre, but "con alcuni particolari ch'io porto, dei quali ragguaglierò Nostro Signore a bocca, posso dire di non partirmi affatto mal expedito."

RANKE, who was the first to bring this passage to light, in his *Histor.-polit. Zeitschrift*, II., 598, very precipitately concludes from this that "even if it was not absolutely told him, at least hints were given" to the legate "of a secret scheme in favour of the Catholics." SOLDAN (*Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1854, 219) says on the other hand: "All that can be admitted is that this does not refer, as Ranke supposes, to the night of St. Bartholomew. What could be more natural than that as Gabutius states, the legate should have been led on by hopes of the conversion of the bridegroom? The Pope himself had already spoken in this sense." In spite of this Ranke maintained his view (Französ. Geschichte, I.[2] [1856] 320). On the Catholic side in 1856 GANDY in the *Revue des questions histor.* and again in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (6 series, vols. 8-11) made a definite protest against the assertion that the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's eve had been a long predetermined act, and that Pius V. had been informed of it in advance. Instead of refuting these solid and learned researches, an intimate friend of Döllinger, Lord Acton, when the controversy concerning the definition of Papal infallibility had become acute, revived the accusation which, a year earlier Michelet (Hist. de la revolut. franc. I. 36) had represented as being proved, and tried to bolster it up with full authorities (*North British Review*, October, 1869, n. 101, trans. by GAR, La Strage di S. Bartolomeo, Venice, 1870). In his vehement excitement Acton swept aside all the arguments on the other side. Another friend of Döllinger, Giov. Huber, did the same. HERGENRÖTHER (Kirche und Staat, 656) protested against both. Nor were contradictions on the part of learned Catholics wanting (see FUNK in *Literar. Rundschau*, 1880, 169) when WUTTKE (Vorgeschichte der Bartholomäusnacht [1879], 177) tried to represent as "incontestable" the complicity of Pius V. in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Two years later a strongly Pro-

testant scholar, BAUMGARTEN (Bartholamäusnacht 130 *seqq.*; *cf.* the supplement in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, L., 396 *seq.*), in a calm and objective account of the affair, showed the untenability of the case established by Acton and Wuttke; he was supported by v. BEZOLD (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLVII., 563), SCHOTT (*Allgem. Zeitung*, 1882, Beil. n. 67), PHILIPPSON (Röm. Kurie, 116 *seqq.*), and ALFRED STERN (Der Ursprung der Bartholomäusnacht in *Monatshefte of Westermann*, 5 series, vol. 4).

But Baumgarten, as well as Philippson and Stern, have completely overlooked the fact that at the end of 1880 another Protestant scholar, Karl Türke, in a dissertation published at Chemnitz, had gone into the questions under discussion in a way that was as thorough as it was accurate. The conclusion arrived at by Türke is that Pius V. "must in any case be acquitted of any direct participation in any treacherous plan for a massacre of the Huguenots, even supposing that any such thing had been planned in a definite form." (p. 15). The remarks of Türke, with which Schott in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, V., 114 *seq.*, agrees, retain their authority even by the side of those of Baumgarten, as for example the following conclusion: "even though the hatred which Pius V. felt for the heretics left nothing to be desired" his very character excludes "participation in intrigues which were entirely idealistic and pertaining to the realm of fiction." Equally pertinent is the remark that the strained relations between Pius V. and the French court, especially in the time that followed, are quite incompatible with so important a secret agreement between them (p. 15-22). As to the "alcuni particolari" of which Bonelli, according to his letter of March 6, 1572, intended to give fuller details by word of mouth, Türke thinks that these refer to the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees and similar matters; that they certainly do not refer to important secrets, and that the exceedingly leisurely return journey of the legate is quite inconsistent with any such theory (p. 23-25). Other considerations put forward by Türke (p. 26 *seq.*) concerning the mission of Bonelli, the letter from Cardinal d' Ossat of September 22, 1599, the codex 164 of the Marchese Capponi, used without any attempt at criticism by Acton, all complete and confirm the conclusions of Baumgarten against the supporters of the theory of premeditation. Concerning the things stated in the Capponi codex Alfred Maury remarked as early as 1871 (*Journal des Savants*, 422) that, even if they were the work of the man who

All this, however, was nothing but empty words, as were the assurances of devotion to thePope contained in the letters sent to Pius V. by the king and the queen on February 22nd, 1572.[1] By April 19th the alliance between England and Charles IX. had been concluded; a little earlier the marriage contract between Margaret and Henry of Navarre had been signed without taking into consideration whether the Pope gave the dispensation or not. At the same time there were rumours of secret preparations which pointed to an enterprise against Philip II.[2] While he was trying to deceive the Spanish king by assurances of friendship, and to pacify the Papal nuncio when he showed signs of distrust, Charles IX. was writing on May 11th to his representative at the Porte: "All my thoughts are turned to resisting the might of Spain . . . I have fitted out in my ports a good number of ships with a force of from 12,000 to 15,000 men, which by the end of this month will be ready to take the offensive, nominally to protect my coasts against the pirates, but in reality to harass the Catholic King and to encourage the *gueux* in the Low Countries to advance, as indeed they have already done, and have seized the whole of Zeeland, and greatly shaken Holland. I have concluded an alliance with the Queen of England, and have sent thither

later on became Clement VIII., who accompanied Bonelli on his journey, it must be remembered that the French court was aiming by its promises and mysterious hints at winning over the Pope to the dispensation (*cf.* what we have said *supra* p. 136). In other ways too there are no safe grounds for the assertion put forward by Acton and his disciples. *Cf.* TÜRKE, 34 *seq.*, where the accounts of Catena and Gabutius are critically examined. It must be added that in 1884 KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE (Huguenots, II., 43) brought to light a dispatch from the Spanish ambassador in Rome, of May 19, 1568 (*cf. infra*, p. 154, n. 4), which shows how wrong was the estimate formed by Acton, and how true that of Türke, of the Pope's character, and his attitude towards such projects as the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

[1] Printed in the second edition of CATENA, 1587, p. 343 *seq.*

[2] See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 364, 366 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 144 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*

my cousin the Duke of Montmorency, a thing which has filled the Spandiards with wonder and jealousy, as have my friendly relations with the princes of Germany."[1]

The tendency of French policy towards the Huguenots and their allies involved serious danger to the Catholics of France. At the same time they had no cause for despair, since during the desperate struggle which they had had to carry on for their very existence, the foundations of their spiritual renewal had been laid.

Pius V. had intervened in this matter as well with apostolic zeal. Not only was he unceasingly careful for the maintenance of purity of faith in France,[2] but also for the renewal of Catholic life, and the removal of ecclesiastical abuses. From the beginning of his pontificate he had urged the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees, and the conscientious use of the right of nomination to episcopal sees granted to the French government by the concordat. At Avignon he himself gave an example of the way in which the reforms of the Council of Trent should be enforced.[3] In common with all well-informed persons he recognized that in the end violence and bloodshed would be useless without the removal of the hopeless conditions which were above all the result of the abuse of the

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 354 *seq.* DE NOAILLES, Henri de Valois, I., Paris, 1867, 9.

[2] With regard to the action taken against the heretical bishops, of which we have spoken on p. 108, besides the briefs given by LADERCHI (see especially 1567, n. 160, 169), there must be taken into the consideration the *following unpublished briefs: Card[i] Crequy of July 17, 1566 (Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 96), Honorato de Sabaudia, comiti Tendae of August 7, 1566: against heresy in French Savoy (*ibid.* n. 99), Card. de Armeniaco of February 10, 1568 (*ibid.* t. 13, p. 147), Communit. comit. Venaissini of May 2, 1569, Episc. Vertudonesi of May 7, 1569 (*ibid.* t. 14, p. 107), Comiti Tendae of December 30, 1569 (*ibid.* p. 320), Papal Secret Archives. In February, 1572, A. Contarini gives the following summary of the spread of heresy in France (p. 242): "the most infected districts are Guienne, Gascony and Poitou, the least are Champagne and Ile de France."

[3] See CIACONIUS, III., 1020.

powers granted by the concordat.[1] In order to extirpate heresy, the Pope wrote to Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici on March 8th, 1566, it is above all necessary that the episcopal sees should be wisely filled, and that their holders as well as all others having the care of souls should observe the duty of residence in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Trent.[2] It seemed for the moment that Charles IX. had taken to heart the words of the Pope, but it soon became evident that, in spite of further exhortations, he was short-sightedly persevering in the old way which was so convenient and offered so many material advantages. In his report for June, 1569, the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Correro, described with biting sarcasm how the offices and property of the Church were left at the disposal of the king's cupidity. It is very pleasant to His Majesty, he says, to be able to dispose of 106 bishoprics, 17 archbishoprics, from 600 to 700 abbeys and as many priories, and in this way, without opening his purse, to pay his debts, reward his grandees and dower his daughters. The abuse has become such and has reached such a pitch that at the French court they deal in bishoprics and abbeys as they do elsewhere in pepper and cinnamon. The evil is so obvious that everyone is writing about it and owns that here is the root of all the trouble. All the promises made by the queen to do away with the abuse are shown to be mere empty words.[3]

Similar promises were again made in 1572 to Cardinal Bonelli, but no change was effected. As he was bound by the concordat, and as the situation could hardly grow worse, the

[1] *Cf.* especially the views of G. Correro (p. 189 *seqq.*, 192), who makes it clear that in this respect things were as bad as ever (see Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 168). Correro rightly remarks that if they did not see to having good bishops, who would teach reform by word and example, everything would be useless, even though they were to proceed with fire and sword. See also A. CONTARINI, 243.

[2] See the *brief from the Papal Secret Archives in App. n. 1.

[3] See CORRERO, 192 *seq.*

Pope could do nothing but wait.[1] When, however, he could make a protest with any prospect of success, he refused to confirm some nominee of the king.[2]

That no help was to be expected from the French court for the interior renewal of the Church of France, was shown even more clearly by the protection it afforded to the bishops who had been disposed for heresy, as well as the former Cardinal Châtillon, who had openly joined the Calvinists and taken a wife on December 1st, 1564.[3] The Pope's action against these prelates who were so forgetful of their duty was so fully justified from the Catholic point of view that he had every right to expect the assistance of the eldest son of the Church.[4] But to the king the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church and his own political aims were of far greater importance, and he ignored all the Pope's remonstrances. Pius V., however, did not relax his efforts. Again in a brief of October 14th, 1570, he deplored the "opprobrium" that Jean de Montluc, who had been deposed in 1566, should still be holding his bishopric of Valence.[5] The nuncio Frangipani plainly told Charles IX., in reference to the part he played in favour of Châtillon, that he was running the risk of being known as the schismatic king.[6]

To the terrible injury inflicted on the Catholic Church in France by this attitude of the government were to be added the enormous material losses which it had incurred in the religious wars. In the opinion of an ambassador, it would not be possible to restore in ten years the great number of churches

[1] *Cf.* A. Contarini, 251, 267; Türke, 24.

[2] An example in Laderchi, 1569, n. 149.

[3] *Cf.* Merki, Coligny, 342.

[4] Opinion of Polenz (II., 301).

[5] This **brief, which is in the Papal Secret Archives, escaped the notice of Degert (p. 105).

[6] *"In quel di Ciattiglione mi sono aperto a dirne amorevolmente al Re insino al pericolo che incorre di acquistarsi nome di Re scismatico in vece di quel che ha di Christianissimo." Letter from Paris, September 30, 1570, *Nunziat. di Francia*, IV., 48. Papal Secret Archives.

that had been destroyed, and which still excited wonder in their ruins. According to Correro the clergy were ruined, because, apart from the ecclesiastical property which had been sold by the order of the Pope, since 1561 they had had to pay more than twelve million scudi, and that this was nothing compared to the losses which had been inflicted on them by the soldiery, whether friends or enemies.[1]

Nevertheless these terrible experiences had had their advantage for the French Catholics. Even during the first religious war the acts of violence and misdeeds of the Huguenots had brought about a change; the sight of the ruined churches and the dismantled altars, the spoliations and murders, carried out in the name of the new religion, of helpless priests, monks, and nuns, had driven many into resistance who had allowed themselves to be blinded by the appearance of greater strictness and piety in Calvinism, and had opened out to them the way of return to the Catholic Church. The second religious war had had the consequence that, in spite of the conventions of the Peace of Longjumeau, the more important cities would no longer tolerate the Calvinist preachers. The Catholics were beginning to take up their own defence vigorously.[2] Before this, says Correro, they had been full of fears, not

[1] See CORRERO, 186. *Cf.* H. FURGEOT, L'aliénation des biens du clergé sous Charles IX. in *Revue des quest. histor.*, XXIX., 448 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the memorial of Frangipani mentioned on p. 135, n. 1; A. CONTARINI, 244; BAUER, Th. Beza, II., Leipsic, 1851, 611; PICOT, I., 15 *seq.* 19. To this day traces may still be seen of the devastation, to which innumerable works of art fell victim. Among the libraries that were destroyed, the most valuable was undoubtedly that of Cluny. For the changed mood of the people *cf.* Chanson populaire contre les Huguenots (1566) in *Bullet. de la soc. d'hist. de France*, I., 2 (1834), 165 *seqq.* Of the Franciscan Order alone about 200 martyrs are mentioned by name in France for the years 1560 to 1580 (see GAUDENTIUS, 110). In reality the number was far greater, since whole convents were frequently destroyed—there were about 100—and their inmates put to death without their names being recorded (see HOLZAPFEL, 480).

because they were fewer in number, since of the common people only a thirtieth part at the outside were Huguenots, and a third part of the nobility, but because the Huguenots were splendidly organized and united, while the Catholics were divided and carelessly left everything to the government. Now that they had been disillusioned by the deplorable attitude of the court, they had begun, like men roused from sleep, to unite and show a bold front to the enemy. The conduct of the war itself had deprived the Huguenots of their moral preponderance, apart from their loss of Condé, Andelot, Wolfgang of Deux-Ponts, and other leaders.[1] The Huguenots, too, who even in civil matters were cut off from the national life, stood instinctively opposed to that tendency to unity which is so deeply rooted in the French character.[2] The change in public opinion, too, was profoundly affected by the fact that Pierre de Ronsard, the founder of French classicism, definitely took the part of the ancient Church, and in his writings openly opposed the Huguenots as the destroyers of Christianity and the enemies of the state.[3]

The shrewd Correro also made another observation with regard to the changed attitude of the French Catholics towards

[1] CORRERO, 186 *seq.* The numerical data of Correro naturally have only a relative importance. However, Frangipani also states (memorial quoted *supra* p. 135, n. 1) : " Per due Ugonotti che siano nel regno si ode calcolare che si ha da contraporre più di otto cattolici."

[2] *Cf.* ELKAN Die Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht, Heidelberg, 1905, 141 *seq.*, and PLATZHOFF in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, CL., 54 *seq.*

[3] See specially his Rémonstrance au peuple de France, 1563. BAUMGARTNER, Gesch. der Weltliteratur, V. 265, ; PERDRIZET, R. et la réforme, Paris, 1903. There is a celebrated passage in which Ronsard makes Beza responsible for the terrible devastation asking him how he dares to preach :

Un Christ tout noircy de fumée
Portant un morion en teste et dans la main
Un large coutelas rouge de sang humain.

See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 79.

the Pope, who, he said, had gained more than he had lost during the recent disturbances, because, before the schism in religion, attachment to Rome was but weak among the French people, who looked upon the Pope rather as a great Italian prince than as the head of the Church and the universal pastor, but no sooner had the Huguenots come to the fore than the Catholics began again to venerate him and recognize him as the true Vicar of Christ, and this feeling had become stronger and stronger the more violently they were harassed and attacked by the Calvinists. Even that vast number who did not give much thought to religion, but only wished to be counted loyal servants of the king, now honoured the Pope much more than of old, in order to show their hostility to the Huguenots. The life and conduct of the reigning Pope, too, had contributed in an extraordinary way to the increased authority of the Holy See. The reforms which had been introduced in Rome gave more than ordinary satisfaction ; Pius V.'s reserve towards his relations was admired as something unheard of for many years, and men were delighted when he would not make them counts, or marquises or dukes, but left them in their lowly state. This alone was enough to make him appear to the people as a saint, who was not aiming at his private ends, but only at the common good, and whose thoughts were fixed exclusively on the extirpation of heresy, the removal of abuses from the Church, and at bringing back priests to a simple and praiseworthy manner of life. Even the Huguenots could find nothing to condemn in such a Pope, and were wont to say that His Holiness had a good conscience. The impression made by his purity of life was so great that he won the praises even of his enemies.[1]

This revival of Papal authority, as well as the slow renewal of life in the Catholic Church in France, was closely linked with the quiet but efficacious labours of the new Orders.[2]

[1] CORRERO, 207.

[2] RANKE (Päpste II.[8], 95 *seq.*) and POLENZ (II., 287 *seq.*) have already called attention to this. *Cf.* also BAUDRILLART in La France chrét., Paris, 1895, 363. Of the older Orders Pius

Together with the Capuchins, who were trying to get a footing in France in 1568,[1] this was true above all of the Jesuits, who had the great advantage of possessing in Edmond Auger, Antonio Possevino and Olivier Manaraeus men who devoted themselves with extraordinary success to missionary work. The accounts of their labours show that even many of those who had most strongly fallen under the influence of the religious innovations, flocked to their sermons and were easily led to place themselves under instruction. Auger was invited by the authorities to Toulouse in 1566; the most distinguished men of that city and about 1,000 students of the university, who all leaned in various degrees towards Calvinism, followed his conferences with rapt attention; the university wished to make him a doctor, and the civic authorities invited him to return for the following Lent.[2] He met with a similar success in Paris; the churches were crowded at his sermons; he was invited to preach before the court, and the most exalted personages in the country accepted the dedication of his works.[3] By the help of English influence Protestantism had obtained the complete mastery of Dieppe. All the churches there had been ruined with the exception of one, in which the altars, crucifixes and images of the saints had been broken in pieces. In spite of this, as the result of the sermons of Possevino in 1570, 2,500 Huguenots within a few days pressed to be received into the ancient Church, while Possevino's successor, Manaraeus, was able to receive 4,000

V. specially sought to reform and renew the Dominicans; see his *brief to Charles IX., in which he begs him to give his assistance to the General of the Dominicans in his activities in France. Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 183, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Documents pour servir à l'hist. de l'établissement des Capucins en France, 1568-1858, Paris, 1894, 1 *seqq.* The Titre de fondation du couvent des Capucins de la rue St. Honoré de Paris, dated September 4, 1568, in *Bullet. de la Soc. d'hist. de Paris*, November-December, 1889.

[2] Fouqueray, I., 533 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 535.

Calvinists; within a few months these two preachers had entirely changed the religious aspect of the city.[1]

A thing which contributed a great deal to this success was the fact that Possevino and Auger not only possessed a profound theological training and a knowledge of the classical languages, which was so much appreciated at that time, but also that their whole conduct and their zeal for religion gave great edification, and especially that their care for the poor and sick and desolate showed that they were filled with the true spirit of Christianity. At Paris Auger preached for choice in the prisons and hospitals.[2] At Lyons, where he converted about 2,000 Huguenots, he founded a body of two hundred ladies who went twice a week to the hospitals to serve the poor.[3] A little later he undertook the office of military chaplain with the troops of the Duke of Anjou.[4] Possevino, who preached in the Cathedral at Marseilles in 1568, at the same time visited the orphanages and instructed the children in the elements of religion. It also gave special edification when he there took charge of those condemned to the galleys, who were entirely neglected.[5] Auger rendered a lasting service to Catholic France by his two catechisms, which attained in his own country an importance similar to that of Canisius in Germany.[6]

The learned Maldonatus also left his chair in the Jesuit college in Paris in order to preach and catechize with five companions in Poitou, one of the principal centres of the Huguenots. We have special accounts of his labours,[7] which

[1] *Ibid.* 545 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 535.

[3] *Ibid.* 536.

[4] *Ibid.* 537.

[5] *Ibid.* 543 *seq.*

[6] See F. J. Brand, P. Edm. Augerius, Cleves, 1903; *Idem*, Die Katechismen des Edm. Augerius, S. J. Freiburg, 1917.

[7] Maldonatus to Borgia, March 29, 1570, in Prat, Maldonat, 577; to the college of Clermont, April 1, 1570, *ibid.* (582 *seqq.*; to the Cardinal of Lorraine, April 18, 1570, *ibid.* 585 *seqq.*; to Possevino (?), May 10, 1570, *ibid.* 588 *seqq.*

give a surprising insight into the spiritual state of the great Protestant organizations. In the opinion of Maldonatus Calvinism was so wide-spread in the capital of Poitou, simply because, owing to the neglect of the clergy, religious instruction was almost wanting; the people were Huguenots because they knew nothing about either religion.[1] It was looked upon as a proof of Catholicism to be present at mass, but while they were there they said the prayers which were taught them by a Calvinist preacher in the dress of a Catholic priest. The religious conferences which two of the Jesuits gave every morning and evening at Poitiers, as well as the two daily lectures of Maldonatus for the more learned and for the students, attracted great crowds, and produced an "incredible effect" on the opinion of the whole city. Often the preachers heard it said that the churches had not been so full for ten years past. In Holy Week so many people crowded to confession that the Jesuits could not have dealt with them even if there had been fifty of them. Many returned to the ancient Church, several of them with such good will that it was quite clear that they had only been heretics for lack of instruction.[2] The commandant at Poitiers helped the general good will by certain ordinances in favour of the ancient religion, but, in the opinion of Maldonatus, many of the Huguenots were so weary after the wars that, especially among the common people, many of them were only waiting to be forcibly commanded to become Catholics.[3]

Of even greater importance than the labours of the Jesuits to the revival of Catholic life in France would have been the carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent, but it was out of the question to think of this on account of the attitude of the

[1] "Son hugonotes porque no entienden la una religion, ni lo otra." To Borgia, *loc. cit.* 578.

[2] "que se vee claramente que eran herejes por falta de aver quien les enseñase." *Ibid.*

[3] "ut omnes hæretici, praesertim populares, nihil aliud optare videantur, quam ut compellantur intrare," to the Card. of Lorraine, 18 April, 1870, *ibid.* 586.

government. Where Pius V. had only to issue his orders, as at Avignon and in the Venaissin, he set to work with all zeal to introduce the Tridentine decrees. By his wish the archbishop, Feliciano Capitone, held provincial councils at Avignon in 1567 and 1569,[1] and made a visitation of the whole district.[2] In order to reform ecclesiastical abuses the Pope even threw himself into the midst of the disturbances of war.[3] The war had hardly ended in 1570 when the Papal nuncio demanded the summoning of provincial councils in accordance with the Council of Trent, pointing to the example of Italy and Spain.[4] By the autumn of 1570 Frangipani could send encouraging reports to Rome from Paris concerning the development of Catholic life, and the much greater zeal of preachers and theologians for the defence of the Catholic religion and the repression of heresy;[5] the people too attended the churches in much greater numbers, as had been clearly seen on the feast of St. Denis.[6] When the jubilee was celebrated at Paris at the beginning of November, the churches had never been so full. The number of those who received the sacraments of penance and of the altar was so large as to make it seem like Easter. Parish priests declared that the people

[1] Copy of the *Atti in the municipal Library, Avignon.

[2] *Cf.* the *brief to the Archbishop of Avignon of July 17, 1569, Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 150, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* the briefs in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 161 *seq.*; 1569, n. 192.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Frangipani to Cardinal Rusticucci from Paris, August 16, 1570, *Nunziat. di Francia*, IV., 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] "*Si vedde hoggidi nei nostri padri et predicatori et theologi tutti un zelo et un animo grande nella difesa della religione catholica et in detestatione di heretici, non solo della dottrina, ma della pace et commertio con essi, tanto che per esperienze, che n'ho fatto in alcuni contrarii, che vi son occorsi, che per gratia di Dio sin qui si son superati tutti, io vi ho trovato tanta constanza, che dico certo, che se il re istesso, volesse, non bastarebbe superarla che veramente si vede esser opra di Dio." Letter from Paris, October 3, 1570, *loc. cit.* 54.

[6] See the *letter of Frangipani of October 8, 1570, *loc. cit.*

had never shown so great piety in the memory of man.[1] The same was seen in other places as well, as for example at Soissons. On a journey which he made in November from Paris to Mézières, Francesco Bramante observed everywhere the reduction in the number of the Huguenots; for every thousand Catholics there were at that time, he thought, only four heretics.[2] Bramante's hopes increased when Cardinal Pellevé told him in secret that Charles IX. was thinking of putting to death Coligny and certain other Huguenot leaders, and that the consequence of this would be the disappearance of all their followers within three days! This remark, he wrote on November 28th, pleases me much, but I shall not rest until the shameful Peace of St. Germain is revoked, and the heretics have been burned as was done in the days of the ancient kings of France.[3]

Pius V. too wished that the strongest action should be taken against the heretics, but he did not desire the removal of their leaders by wrongful means. The Spanish ambassador Zuñiga reported in May, 1568, that he had heard from the Pope that the rulers of France were proposing the perfidious assassination of Condé and Coligny, and that the Pope had made no secret of the fact that he could neither approve nor advise this, nor find it in his conscience to do so.[4]

[1] " *Et per fare un poco di più dolce fine, non voglio di mancare di dire a N.S. per sua consolatione che nell' altra settimana, che si è fatto qui il giubileo, si è visto una devotione et una frequenza di popolo cosi grande in tutte le chiese in processione et oratione et confessarsi et communicarsi che è parso veramente la settimana santa e il dì di Pasqua, et i preti parochiali mi han detto di non haver di cento anni memoria di una frequenza et divotione cosi grande di popolo." Letter from Paris, November 6, 1570, *loc. cit.* 72.

[2] See in App. n. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report in cypher in App. n. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] " Una cosa que él no podia aprovar ni aconsejar, ni aun le parecia que en consciencia se podia hacer." Report of Zuñiga from Rome, May 19, 1568. Corresp. dipl., II., 372 (in Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 43, and in Lettres de Cath. de Médicis,

IV., xxvi., wrongly assigned to 1567). Without paying any attention to the evidence of Zuñiga printed in 1884, and completely ignoring the bibliography given *supra* p. 140, n. 1, the ex-Jesuit HOENSBROECH in his book Das Papsttum (I., Leipsic, 1901, 204), writes: "Pius V., who had included assassination among the proper instruments of the Papacy, had already taken a great part in the preparations for the Paris massacre [St. Bartholomew]." By way of proof Hoensbroech refers to the letters which we have mentioned in describing the third religious war, from Pius V. to Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici, on March 6, April 3, and October 20, 1569, concerning the destruction of the French heretics. But to these letters there also belongs one to Catherine of March 28, 1569, in which Pius V. exhorts her to an open and free opposition to the Huguenots ("apertei et libere"; GOUBAU, 155), so that all idea of a plot is excluded. The Protestant Türke had already called attention to this in his dissertation which was naturally quite ignored by Hoensbroech, saying very rightly: "finesse and diplomatic subterfuges were evidently not his [Pius V.'s] bent; he was wont to attain his ends by direct means." (p. 17). It is a consolation to know that Hoensbroech met with no support among *serious* Protestant scholars. G. Krüger, for example, speaking of the dissertation by VACANDARD, Les papes et la Saint-Barthélemy (printed in *Etudes de critique et d'hist. relig.*, Paris, 1905, 217-292) in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* of Harnack, 1906, 382) writes: "I do not know if it is necessary once more to refute the accusation that the Popes had anything to do with the preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Vacandard himself adduces the view of Soldan, that the sources show that the events of August 24 took place quite independently of the influence of the Curia, and it will be difficult for him to ignore an historian who must be reckoned with so seriously, and who is in a position to contradict him."

CHAPTER V.

The State of Religion in Scotland. Mary Stuart and Elizabeth.

A vivid light is thrown upon the state of oppression under which the Catholics of Scotland were living by an event that occurred at the last Easter before Pius V. ascended the throne. A priest was seized at Edinburgh while he was saying mass; dressed in the sacred vestments, and with the chalice in his hands, he was fastened to the cross in the public market place, and pelted by the people with mud and other "Easter eggs." It was not until the following day that he was interrogated and sentenced. The prisoner was then made to stand again at the market cross for four hours; again he "was given ten thousand eggs" and when at last he was taken to prison, a band of three or four hundred men would have killed him with cudgels had not the provost interfered by force. The infuriated populace were filled with indignation when Mary ordered that the two Catholics who had assisted at the mass should be pardoned, and they were in consequence condemned to the forfeiture of their property.[1]

After her victory over the insurgents Mary had resolved to put an end to this state of things, and to restore to the old religion its former position, at anyrate to the extent of giving it equal rights with Protestantism. When Pius V. ascended the throne he thought that she had already restored the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom, and in the letter in which he announced his election to the Scottish royal couple,

[1] Alexander Clerk to Randolph, April 22, and Bedford to Cecil, April 28, 1565, in Stevenson, VII., n. 1111, 1; n. 1123, 2; Fleming, 350 *seq.* "There is now greater rage amongst the faithful than ever the writer has seen since her Grace came into Scotland." Clerk, *loc. cit.* p. 341. *Cf.* Bain, n. 169, 171.

he exhorted them to carry on the work they had begun.[1] Before this letter reached Mary's hands, an envoy from the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived on January 27th, 1566, who advised her to confiscate the property of the rebels and once more to have recourse to the Pope with a request for financial help.[2] The queen then charged her former envoy, Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, to go to the Eternal City. In the credentials which were given to Chisholm[3] it was stated that the conditions in Scotland were not desperate, but very dangerous, and that the queen's enemies were in exile or in her power, though anger and poverty were driving them to extremes.

Chisholm had gone but a little way upon his journey when news reached him of further terrible events in Scotland. On March 7th, Mary had opened the Parliament, and had laid before it two proposals; the one to permit the bishops and parish priests the full exercise of the old religion, and the other demanding the punishment of the rebels.[4] The rebel lords sought to prevent the threatened loss of their possessions by a fresh conspiracy to overthrow the queen, and they found a ready tool among those nearest to Mary. The youthful, incapable and quite inexperienced Darnley had been severely touched in his pride because Mary had not bestowed upon him the so-called matrimonial crown, which would have made him the equal of his wife in the exercise of the royal power.[5] This headstrong youth allowed himself to be induced by a promise of the conspirators to make him their hereditary king, to ally himself with the very men who had recently taken up

[1] Letter of January 10, 1566, in PHILIPPSON, Règne de Marie Stuart, III., 483; *cf.* POLLEN, 232 *seq.*

[2] POLLEN, ci.

[3] Of January 30, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 366; LABANOFF, VII., 8.

[4] "One allowing the bishops and rectors of churches the full exercise of their ancient religion, and the other punishing the leaders of conspiracy." Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 108.

[5] For the importance of the matrimonial crown see BROSCH, VI., 508.

arms against him. The first step in the crime they had planned was the murder of the queen's secretary, David Rizzio, to whom they attributed the queen's friendly attitude towards the Catholics.[1] Without thought for his wife or the son whom she had borne in her womb for six months, the unnatural father and husband on the evening of March 9th, 1566, introduced the conspirators into the queen's chamber, where she was sitting at table with Rizzio and several friends. There the conspirators seized the secretary, who had taken refuge behind his sovereign, and struck at him with their swords over Mary's shoulder, while one of the ruffians levelled his pistol at the breast of the queen herself. Rizzio was carried outside and killed, and Mary was made a prisoner in her own apartments. The exiled lords returned to court.

As was her custom in moments of danger, the queen now displayed great courage and sagacity. Immediately after this bloody crime Darnley found himself in danger from his savage accomplices, and returned to the queen whom he had betrayed, and she, with his help, succeeded in evading the guards and escaping. Once free her cause was saved, and the conspirators again took to flight.

What had really happened was sufficiently terrible, but it was inevitable that the rumours which got abroad should be far worse. It was said that Darnley had killed the queen

[1] It has not been proved and it is very improbable that Rizzio was an "agent of the Pope" (BEKKER, Maria, 12); the Vatican Archives contain no letter from him or to him (POLLEN, ciii). Certainly "it is unquestionable that . . . the Protestant lords longed for Rizzio's murder as Mary's zealous adviser in her efforts to restore the old religion" (BAIN, II., xv.). Among the accomplices in the murder there appear Knox and the preacher Craig (BAIN, *loc. cit.* and n. 363, p. 270). One cannot speak of "the fine singer Rizzio." According to all the accounts he was ugly, and according to almost all—the single exception, LABANOFF, VII., 86, may be attributed to a copyist's error—was already well advanced in years. Particulars of the conspiracy in CARDAUNS, 5-19.

and had become a Protestant.[1] Therefore Bishop Chisholm stopped for some days on his way to Rome at Lyons, until he received authentic news of the safety of the queen. He reached Rome at the end of April, and in a long interview informed Pius V. of the dangers in which his sovereign was placed, begging him to send her substantial help.[2]

In Rome Chisholm found the ground prepared for his mission by the recent events.[3] Pius V. shed tears when he heard of the queen's pitiful position, which he himself had not the means to relieve.[4] Yet he did all he could; he cut down the expenses of his own household, and even his table, in order that he might have the consolation of helping Mary by his personal sacrifice.[5] On May 2nd and 5th he wrote to the kings of Spain and France to obtain assistance for Mary.[6]

[1] Alava to Philip II., dated from Moulins, March 26, 1566, in POLLEN 473. Requesens to Philip II., April 18, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 188. C. Luzzara also reports from Rome to Mantua concerning the apostasy of Darnley, April 17, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] POLLEN, civ. The speech in BELLESHEIM, II., 448 *seqq.* (with wrong date April 11). *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., I., 253 and the *report of Arco (with Avviso attached) dated Rome, April 27, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] According to a *report of Arco of May 18, 1566, his efforts were supported by the Cardinal of Lorraine. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] "... dicen que suspiraba y le salian las lagrimas de los ojos, y diciendole alguno que Su Santidad no se fatigase tanto, respondiole, como quereis que no me fatigue viendo en tal estado aquel reyno y no teniendo la manera que querria para poderle ayudar." Polanco from Rome, April 30, 1566, in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII. (1888), 55; *cf.* Requesens to Philip II., May 31 and July 4, 1566, Corresp. dipl., I., 254, 281.

[5] Polanco, June 17, 1566, in *Anal. Bolland*, VII., 59.

[6] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 369. The letter to Philip II. has the wrong date in the reprint of Laderchi (POLLEN, 236). On April 18, 1566, Pius V. had caused the Spanish ambassador Requesens to write to Philip II. in the same sense. The brief of May 2 was sent to the nuncio Castagna at Madrid with a covering letter from Bonelli (*ibid.* 228). It arrived there on May 24

If they had complied with his wishes the two great Catholic powers would have joined together against Elizabeth, or at least have forbidden their subjects to trade with England, and thus struck at the life of the northern kingdom.[1] In a brief of May 12th, 1566, he told Mary of what he had done with regard to Charles IX. and Philip II., adding that he would shortly follow this up with financial assistance, which, however, could not be so large as he would like because, since the Turks were about to attack the Emperor by land, and Malta by sea during the coming summer, he had been obliged to utilize his financial resources to meet these dangers.[2]

(*ibid.* 258) and as he announces on that day (*ibid.* 261) was delivered by Castagna on June 7. Philip promised to do all that he could (*ibid.*).

[1] Tiepolo to the Doge, May 4, 1566, in POLLEN, 236. Already for a long time past there had been spread "by general report in all Europe" rumours of the existence of a league of the Catholic powers against Protestantism (ŠUSTA, I., 255). The only truth in this was that both Pius IV. and Pius V. had wished for such a league. Under Pius IV. it fell to the French nuncio Gualterio to propose on September 8, 1561, a league for the defence of the Catholic religion in France (*ibid.* 252, 255 *seq.*). Pius IV. also at one time spoke of holding out the hope of the crowns of both kingdoms to the Spanish king in the event of the excommunication and deposition of the sovereigns of France and England becoming necessary (*ibid.* 280). For the attempt of Pius V. to unite the Catholic princes against the French Protestants, *cf.* CATENA, 68 *seq.* Anything more than such desires and suggestions, however, is not to be found in the political correspondence of that time, and since this correspondence is now published so extensively it may be looked upon as certain that at that time they never arrived at any definite conclusion of a Catholic league, and that the acceptance of any such thing on the part of several recent historians is based upon an error. *Cf.* POLLEN, xxxviii.-xliii., and *The Month*, XCVII. (1898), 258 *seqq.*; RACHFAHL, II., 1, 190. There is no trace existing of the accession of Mary to any such league. HOSACK, I., 124-129; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, III., 117; *cf.* FLEMING, 124, 379.

[2] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 370.

It was soon seen, however, that the danger from the Turks was not so great as had been thought, whereupon Pius V. at once promised to send to Mary the whole sum that had been destined for Maximilian II. and the Knights of St. John.[1]

At the end of May Chisholm returned to Paris.[2] In the expectation that a great dignitary of the Church would be more likely to receive considerable sums of money, he had suggested the sending of a nuncio to Scotland, and Pius V. had held out hopes of this to the queen in his letter of May 12th.[3] In her reply[4] Mary expressed her joy at the Pope's decision, but it is permissible to doubt whether, in view of the disturbed condition of Scotland, a Papal envoy would have been quite pleasing to her. Even Manaraeus, the provincial of the Jesuits, whose subjects, Edmund Hay and Thomas Darbishire, were destined to accompany the nuncio, ventured to send his doubts to Rome.[5] In his opinion Mary had great need of wise and deeply religious men as her advisers, but they must be men of Scottish birth and not foreigners, and least of all men sent from the Holy See, which was hated like the devil in Scotland. He thought that it would be well to send back to Scotland Mary's ambassador in Paris, Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who would be able

[1] The Emperor complained of this: *cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 275 *seqq.*; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 23, 30. The reply of the Pope, July 12, 1566, *ibid.* 33.

[2] POLLEN, 239.

[3] LADERCHI, 1566, n. 370. Arco *wrote to Vienna on June 15, 1566, that Laureo would start for Scotland on the 17th "più per mostrare chel Papa tien conto di quella Regina, che per aiutarla con effetti contra gli ribelli." Another reason for his mission was the news that the queen had pardoned a great number of the rebels. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] From Edinburgh, July 17, 1566, in LABANOFF, I., 356. On July 21, 1566, Darnley and Mary wrote together to the Pope to propose Alexander Campbell for the bishopric of Brechin. BAIN, II., n. 414. POLLEN, 262.

[5] MANARAEUS to Francis Borgia from Paris, June 26, 1566, in POLLEN, 497 *seq.*

to exhort the bishops and Catholic nobles to loyalty to God, the Church and the queen; some Jesuits could be sent with him as companions and counsellors until the time came for wider activities. About the same time[1] Hay too expressed his fear that the Papal intervention would cause but little satisfaction in Scotland on account of the discouragement and weakness of the Catholic party; it was to be feared that the money would fall into wrong hands and that the nuncio would be kept in France or would return to Rome without having accomplished anything.

The promised nuncio, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovì, arrived in Paris on August 10th, 1566, where a letter from the Queen of Scotland was awaiting him. In this letter Mary expressed her desire that the nuncio should not come until after the baptism of her son, who had been born on June 19th. It was her intention that the sacrament should be administered to the future successor to the throne solemnly and with the full Catholic ritual, and if the nobles and people agreed to this, then the coming of the nuncio could hardly meet with further opposition. At the same time the queen urgently asked that either the whole or part of the Pope's subsidy should be sent: Beaton and Chisholm proposed that part of the sum should be paid, but Laureo replied that according to the instructions which he had received, he could only hand over the whole sum in a case of necessity, but that otherwise the payment was to be made in five monthly sums. The necessity was already in existence, he was told, but Laureo thought it best first to ask the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine before he gave a definite promise.[2]

In a note attached to the account which he gave the Secretary of State of his conference with Beaton and Chisholm, Laureo describes the difficult position of the queen.[3] Elizabeth of England, he says, is more suspicious of her than ever since the birth of an heir to the throne, and will in future give her

[1] Hay to Borgia from Paris, July 2, 1566, in POLLEN, 499.
[2] Laureo to Cardinal Bonelli, August 21, 1566, in POLLEN, 269.
[3] *Ibid.* 270 *seq.*

assistance to the Scottish rebels more willingly than ever ; the queen is at variance with Darnley, who is aiming at the independent possession of the crown, and this forces her to seek for support from the Protestants. An improvement in the situation might be brought about if Philip II. were to go to Flanders with a large military force, and if Mary were to proceed with stern justice against the leaders of the insurgents ; if six of these were to be condemned to the death which they had deserved, the Catholic religion would very soon and without difficulty be re-established. It would seem that Laureo had been led to this view by the Scottish exiles in Paris, who were not sufficiently acquainted with the true state of affairs in their native land.[1] The six whose punishment Laureo demanded were Murray, Argyll, Morton, Lethington and the influential government officials, Bellenden and MacGill ; not one of the preachers is included, not even Knox.

Since the Cardinal of Lorraine favoured the payment of part of the money which the Pope had sent to the assistance of Scotland, Laureo gave the Scottish ambassador 4000 ducats, with which his brother left Paris on September 9th, reaching Stirling on the 21st.[2] The departure of the nuncio himself for Scotland, however, was continually delayed. The baptism of the young prince, for the added solemnity of which it was thought desirable to await the arrival of the foreign ambassadors, had not yet taken place. On October 6th the Privy Council of Scotland voted the necessary sum for its being celebrated with all possible solemnity ; the the same time the nobles declared their willingness that the nuncio should come,[3] and shortly after this the queen ordered Stephen

[1] *Cf. ibid.* cx.

[2] Laureo to Cardinal Bonelli from Paris, September 9, 1566, in POLLEN, 279. On the same date *the Pope recommended his nuncio to Charles IX. " Vincentium Montisregalis episcopum negotiis reginae Scotiae deputatum, quem et secum de eiusdem reginae angustiis fortiter sublevandis oretenus acturum fore indicat et orat sub faveat," British Museum, Additional 26865, p. 421.

[3] Instructions for Wilson n. 2, in POLLEN, 327 ; *cf. ibid.* 324.

Wilson, who had accompanied Chisholm on his journey to Rome, to go to Paris and Rome, to invite the nuncio to Scotland, to thank the Pope, and to make apologies to him for the delay in announcing the birth of the heir to the throne,[1] but Wilson's departure was delayed, and towards the end of the month the queen fell seriously ill at Jedburgh, which made everything once more uncertain.[2]

Faced with death, Mary received the sacraments of the Catholic Church, expressed her inviolable attachment to the faith of her youth, and her regret that she had not done more for the service of God and religion. Laureo's belief in Mary's good intentions then revived, whereas before this, on account of the long delays in his journey, it had been not a little shaken. The nuncio too had entertained the suspicion that the advice to invite him to Scotland had been given to the queen with the purpose of supplying the great penury in the royal treasury.[3] In order to obtain further light upon the true state of affairs, as soon as news had arrived of Mary's recovery, Bishop Chisholm and the Jesuit Hay were sent to her, the latter being instructed to return as soon as possible and make a report as to the real sentiments of the queen.[4]

The idea had also gained ground in Rome that Mary's religious zeal had been rated too high. On September 16th, 1566, Pius V. had had a letter written to the nuncio to say that if his departure was delayed any longer, he was not to go on paying the subsidy, and if, on his arrival in Scotland he should learn that the money that had already been sent had not been employed for the service of religion, Laureo was to stop the payments altogether.[5] Later, on September 30th, he wrote to him that if his departure was put off indefinitely he was to return in the meantime to his diocese of Mondovì.[6]

[1] *Ibid.* A letter from Mary to Morone of October 9, 1566, *ibid.* 324 *seq.*

[2] POLLEN, 328. FLEMING, 539.

[3] Laureo, November 12, 1566, in POLLEN, 311.

[4] *Ibid.* 313.

[5] *Ibid.* 284

[6] *Ibid.* 286.

Before these last instructions reached the nuncio, Laureo had an interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine.[1] He submitted that the favourable moment had now come to undertake something on a large scale for the betterment of religion in Scotland, and that Pius V. could do a great deal with Philip II., while the help which the Pope had given of itself afforded in the opinion of Beaton and Chisholm, sufficient grounds for taking more decisive action. The Cardinal at length agreed with Laureo, and the two decided that a noble, chosen from among those who were most in the Cardinal's confidence, should be sent to the Queen of Scotland to try and persuade her to re-establish the Catholic Church.[2] In the opinion of the Cardinal himself, of Bishop Chisholm and of Edmund Hay, the best course to pursue would be to take rigorous steps against the leaders of the rebels, as the nuncio had already advised. The noble who was to be sent, would arrive in Scotland before Wilson started; if then the queen summoned the nuncio to Scotland for other motives than real for religion, there would still be reason to hope that his arrival and the recollection of the illness from which she had just recovered, would make her more ready to listen to the salutary and prudent advice of the Cardinal.

There was indeed something strange in Mary's leniency, which gave so much scandal to Laureo and the Scots who were living in Paris. While she was still in the hands of the murderers of Rizzio, Mary skilfully evaded the demand for an immediate pardon of the guilty parties.[3] On March 19th, 1566, Morton, Ruth of Lindsay, and 67 others were summoned to appear within six days before the king and queen, to answer for the murder of Rizzio and the imprisonment of the queen.[4] But one by one all the guilty parties received a pardon. By the end of April Murray and Argyll were already back at court, while decrees in the case of other rebels were issued on May 11th

[1] Laureo, November 12, 1566, in POLLEN, 312.

[2] Nothing further is known about this mission.

[3] NAU, 25 *seqq.* FLEMING, 392 *seqq.*, 403 *seq.*

[4] FLEMING, 131.

and June 8th. During June, July, September and October further pardons were granted,[1] followed on Christmas Eve, 1566, by a general pardon for Morton and 75 others.[2] By the end of the year half the queen's Privy Council was composed of pardoned conspirators, and it was easy to foresee that at the first opportunity these people would use the power she had given them against herself. However strange this may seem, the position is to some extent explained by the insistence of Elizabeth on the pardon of those who were guilty of high treason,[3] by Mary's purpose of working for peace and conciliation above all things, and of putting an end to the disturbances which were so sorely wounding the country.[4] Moreover, Mary had no one among those about her who combined political experience with loyalty to the sovereign. She therefore was obliged as best she could to manage the conspirators so that they might not turn their schemes against their sovereign.

It was therefore natural that Mary should have rejected the advice of the nuncio, which was also impracticable for other reasons;[5] she declared that she would not stain her hands with the blood of her subjects.[6] The nuncio for his part remained all the more firmly fixed in his ideas because it seemed to him that the terrible events of the last few months lent weight to his contention. As a result of her too great goodness and kindness, he wrote, the queen is in the greatest danger of becoming the slave and prey of the heretics, and of losing her life.[7]

[1] Pollen in the *Month*, XCVI. (1900), 243. FLEMING, 406, n. 19.

[2] Printed in FLEMING, 502-504.

[3] FLEMING, 131, 403.

[4] "I hear she seeks now all means to quiet her country and will 'imbrace' such as are fitted for her council. It is thought she will not deal so hardly 'with these noblemen' as she was minded." Randolph, April 2, 1566, in BAIN, II., n. 368. Thus she reconciled Murray with Bothwell, Murray with Huntly, Atholl with Argyll. HOSACK, I., 147.

[5] Laureo, December 3, 1566, in POLLEN, 321.

[6] G. Thomson, in POLLEN, 406.

[7] Laureo, March 12, 1567, in POLLEN, 363.

The men in power, whose punishment Laureo was demanding, were not only at heart filled with hostility towards the queen, but they were also highly incensed against her husband, the discredited Darnley, to whom they attributed the fact that after the murder of Rizzio the attempt on Mary had failed. It had been he who after that bloody deed had prevented the pardon of the assassins which Mary had at once suggested, and he had continued to oppose it. He had again incurred the hatred of the murderers in exile when with inconceivable short-sightedness he had taken the mad risk of solemnly disclaiming before the Privy Council any responsibility for the murder of Rizzio, a statement which was publicly promulgated at the market-cross of Edinburgh on March 21st, 1566. In view of the savage and unrestrained habits of the Scottish nobles it was only to be expected that the allied lords would take a bloody vengeance upon him at the first opportunity. In the meantime they replied to Darnley's declaration of his innocence by sending the queen the document in which her husband had allied himself with the conspirators, and which he had signed with his own hand. Mary was quick to realize the vile treachery of the man to whom she had so short a time before given her love.[1]

Even at the time of their escape from the murderers of Rizzio Darnley had behaved most disgracefully and unchivalrously towards the queen,[2] and the information now furnished by the conspirators was not calculated to dispel her distrust of him.[3] It was true that she had forgiven him, and reconciliations between the two had been of frequent occurrence,[4] but Darnley had never given up his hopes of possessing the crown independently of her, and when this ambition had not been satisfied the discontent of the foolish young man had shown itself in a way that recalls the sulks of a spoilt boy. He did not attend the opening of Parlia-

[1] HOSACK, I., 145. FLEMING, 128.

[2] NAU, 29.

[3] Examples of her distrust in FLEMING, 132.

[4] *Ibid.* 132, 134, 135, 137.

ment in 1566, he even kept away from the baptism of his son, and at last he declared that he would leave Scotland altogether. Mary then, on September 30th, 1566, in the presence of the French ambassador, Ducroc, and her Privy Council, asked Darnley to give an account of his conduct. Ducroc describes what happened: she took him by the hand and implored him in God's name to say whether she had given him any cause for acting as he proposed to do; let him speak openly and not spare her feelings. Darnley replied that she had given him no cause whatever, but nevertheless took his leave with the following words: "Farewell, Madam, you shall not see my face again for a long time to come." He did not, however, for all that, leave Scotland.[1]

Darnley's confession that he had no fault to find with the conduct of his wife throws some light upon Mary's relations at that time with a man[2] who had already attained to great influence at the royal court, and was soon to take a most unhappy part in the destinies of the queen. James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, had left Scotland in 1562 under an accusation of the attempted assassination of Murray,[3] but after the rebellion of the nobles in 1565 he had obtained permission to return,[4] and had taken a leading part in the suppression of the revolt.[5] Since he was the only Scottish noble who, in spite of his profession of Protestantism, had always been loyal to the king, it is easy to understand Mary's partiality for a

[1] HOSACK, I., 153. FLEMING, 138. On the same day, September 30, the lords of the Privy Council exhorted Darnley to thank God for having given him so wise and virtuous a wife (FLEMING, 137 *seq.*). On October 15, 1566, Ducroc wrote that he had never seen Mary so much loved, valued and honoured as now, and that thanks to her wise attitude there was complete harmony among her subjects. HOSACK, I., 157.

[2] Fleming too (*loc. cit.*) recognizes that the Lords of the Privy Council at that time knew and believed nothing of certain scandalous stories of the Book of Articles.

[3] HOSACK, I., 82.

[4] *Ibid.* 104, 120, 143.

[5] LABANOFF, II., 35. FLEMING, 115, 118, 369.

man, who, however rough, headstrong, violent and immoral, was at anyrate not a hypocrite or a traitor.[1] In a short time Bothwell's influence had become so great that he was the most hated man in Scotland, and a conspiracy had been formed for his destruction.[2]

The plot was not carried out at that time; on the contrary a fresh conspiracy was formed, this time, to all appearances, in Bothwell's favour. By the invitation of Huntly, Argyll and Lethington, hitherto his enemies, Bothwell allied himself with them for the destruction of "that young coxcomb and haughty tyrant" Darnley, who was to be removed at all costs.[3] Bothwell had allowed himself to be drawn into this alliance with his enemies by the promise that he himself should take the place of Darnley and become the husband of the queen.[4] It would seem that Bothwell did not perceive the trap that was being laid for him, since, as the murderer of the king, he could not hope long to retain his place on the throne he had usurped. It was easy to foresee that he must involve the queen in his own ruin, and that thus the attempt already twice made to dethrone Mary would at last be crowned with success.

While the net was thus being spread for Darnley, that "young coxcomb and haughty tyrant" under the influence of his ambitious and imprudent father, Lennox, was forming

[1] Hosack, I., 152.

[2] Bedford, August 12, 1566, *ibid.*

[3] This conspiracy was only known from the memorial of the queen of June, 1568 (Labanoff, VII., 315 *seqq.*) and by the confession made by Lord Ormiston on December 13, 1573, before he was executed; he had been invited to take part in it. Hosack, 162 *seq.*; Fleming, 423, n. 90.

[4] They (the repatriated exiles) retained the strongest resentment against Darnley for having betrayed their plans to the Queen, and they anxiously sought an opportunity of vengeance. In a short time they disclosed their design to Bothwell, urging him to murder the King, and promising that if he consented they would persuade or compel the Queen to give her hand to him. Leslie to Forbes-Leith 117. *Cf.* Bekker, 28, 99 *seq.*

fresh plans for obtaining that matrimonial crown which he had so long aspired to.[1] At the end of December he left his wife, and soon afterwards news reached Edinburgh that he was lying sick of small-pox at Glasgow. At the end of January, 1567, Mary visited him, and persuaded her sick husband to return with her to Edinburgh, where he was removed from the influence of the Earl of Lennox. Contrary to the original plan of the queen he took up his abode in a private house, situated in a healthy district outside the city, but adjoining the southern part of the city walls.[2]

It was not long before the nuncio received terrible news from Scotland. The French ambassador in Edinburgh, Ducroc, had arrived in the capital of France on February 19th, 1567; before he embarked at Dover a courier from the French ambassador in London sent him the terrible news that on the morning of Quinquagesima Sunday Darnley and his father Lennox had been found dead and stripped in the public street.[3] This first communication was soon amended and amplified by further news. Messages from the Scottish queen reached Beaton and the French court, and lastly one for Laureo himself. According to the later reports the queen had visited her husband incognito in the evening of Quinquagesima Sunday, and had bidden him farewell a little before midnight in order to attend the wedding of one of her courtiers. Two hours later the sound of an explosion had brought the citizens of Edinburgh who lived near the city walls from their beds. Darnley's house had been blown up; the body of the king was found in a garden near the house; one of his ribs was broken and his body torn and crushed by the violence of the fall. At the same time an unsuccessful attempt was made on Darnley's father at Glasgow.[4]

[1] RIESS in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, 3rd series, XIV. (1913), 272 *seq.*

[2] Description of the house in BEKKER, 377-380.

[3] Letter of February 22, 1567, in POLLEN, 348 *seq.*

[4] Letters of Laureo of Feb. 23 and 27, Mar. 8, 12 and 27, 1567, in POLLEN, 352-371. These reports of the nuncio are among the earliest notices of the murder. Some of the particulars given in the text are to be found only in Laureo. *Cf.* POLLEN, cxx. *seqq.*

Scotland was accustomed to regicide ; of 105 Scottish kings, according to a contemporary estimate,[1] 56 had been killed. But this last crime, carried out as it had been in so horrible and disgraceful a way, and which became the universal subject of talk throughout Europe,[2] was looked upon as an outrage by the whole country. At the same time the authors and instruments of the terrible deed were hidden in absolute darkness. It was little guessed that all the most powerful officers of state, the chief justice Argyll, the secretary of state, Lethington, and the chancellor of the kingdom, Huntly, were all concerned in it. It was therefore natural that suspicion, especially abroad, should fall upon the ill-fated queen,[3] and that she should bear the blame if the inquiry into and the discussion of the affair became the merest farce.

On February 12th, 1567, the Privy Council announced that the queen had offered a reward of two thousand pounds sterling and other great inducements to anyone who would reveal the name of the author of the crime.[4] In spite of this no public denunciation was made, but on the 16th papers were found affixed to the principal buildings of Edinburgh naming Bothwell and three others as the murderers and accusing the queen of connivance in the crime ; during the night angry cries resounded through the streets accusing Bothwell. Pictures of Bothwell were circulated bearing the inscription : This is the murderer of the king.[5] Darnley's father, Lennox, took up the matter, and in a letter of March 17th, he declared that Bothwell and three others were the authors of the crime.[6]

The case could hardly have been placed in less suitable hands. On March 28th, after Lennox's accusation, April 12th was fixed by the Privy Council for the inquiry into Bothwell's guilt, but instead of any inquiry being held into the crime

[1] Diary of Birrel, in HOSACK, I., 280 n.

[2] Beaton to Mary, March 11, 1567, in HOSACK, I., 280 *seq.* ; FLEMING, 151.

[3] Beaton, *loc. cit.*

[4] FLEMING, 439.

[5] FLEMING, 153.

[6] HOSACK, I., 283.

at the place where it had been committed, Lennox gathered together 3000 armed men in lieu of proof, and set out with them towards Edinburgh. At Stirling, however, his courage failed him, and on April 11th he wrote to the queen that he was ill, and requested that the guilty men should be imprisoned until his arrival, and that he should be given a free hand to arrest suspects. At the request of Lennox Elizabeth supported these strange demands, which, however, were not granted.[1]

On the following day the comedy of the inquiry was begun. The foreman of the jury was a close relation of the accused, and the president of the court was Argyll, Bothwell's fellow conspirator; accompanied by another accomplice, the secretary of state, Lethington, and many of his adherents, the accused man repaired in great pomp to the place of the inquiry, which, however, in spite of everything, he faced with considerable qualms. As not even one witness was produced by the unskilful prosecutor, it seemed clear that the inquiry must end in his acquittal. The suggestion put forward by the other side that the inquiry should be put off was negatived, on the ground that Lennox himself had wished that the trial should be made as short as possible.[2] Four days later Parliament was opened; "on account of his great and various services" the representatives of the country confirmed Bothwell in his office of commandant of the castle of Dunbar, thus indirectly acknowledging his innocence.[3] Moreover, the same Parliament took active steps to secure to the members of the great nobility, such as Huntly, Morton and Murray, their possession of the rich properties which the queen had already bestowed upon them. It must be remembered that in the coming December Mary was to complete her twenty-fifth year, and that before she reached that age she had the power to revoke such gifts, unless a parliamentary decree had confirmed them. The lengthy documents in which this

[1] *Ibid.* 283, 285, 288.
[2] *Ibid.* 291 *seq.*
[3] FLEMING, 155.

confirmation was given throw much light upon the motives for the murder of the king, since Darnley, if he had still been alive, would certainly not have given his consent to the granting of such rich possessions to those nobles, who were his mortal enemies.[1] The same Parliament also abolished all those legal disabilities which were still in existence against the Protestants, and secured to every Scotsman the freedom to live according to his own religion.[2] In order that the Catholics might not draw any profit from this "liberty," all the royal permits in favour of any particular form of religion were annulled on May 23rd, when Bothwell was already married to the queen.[3]

The evening after the closing of the Parliament, April 19th, 1567, Bothwell gave a banquet to the great nobles at the inn of Ainslie, and there induced nine earls and twelve barons to sign a document in which these nobles declared that they considered Bothwell innocent of the murder of the king, and their readiness to defend him against all such calumnies. If Mary, it went on to state, should choose him for her husband, they were resolved to defend him against anyone who sought to prevent or impede his marriage.[4] On the very next day Bothwell made the queen an offer of marriage, which, however, was definitely rejected.[5]

Then the events which were to drag down Mary to her ruin followed fast upon each other. On April 21st the queen went to Stirling to visit her son; on her return, on April 24th, she was carried off by Bothwell and pressed by him until she consented to marry him, although he was already married. Thereupon the first marriage of the future king had to be hurriedly dissolved. His first wife, who was a Catholic, pressed her case before the Protestant assembly, while the Protestant Bothwell did the same with the Catholic archbishop. The marriage was dissolved by the Protestant

[1] HOSACK, I., 294 *seq.*
[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 73.
[3] *Ibid.* 83. *Pollen* 395 n.
[4] BAIN, II., n. 492. *Cf.* FLEMING, 155; BEKKER, 97 *seq.*
[5] LABANOFF, II., 37. NAU, 45 *seq.* BEKKER, 101.

consistory on the ground of the adultery of Bothwell, while it was declared invalid by the archbishop's court on the ground of the close relationship of the parties, although the archbishop himself had granted the dispensation from any such impediment.[1] On May 15th, three months after the assassination of Darnley, Mary gave her hand to her violent suitor in that unhappy union, which was contracted before the apostate bishop of the Orkneys.[2] The better part of the

[1] The document of the dispensation of February 17, 1566, was discovered by John Stuart (A lost chapter in the history of Mary Queen of Scots recovered, Edinburgh, 1874). The question may be raised whether at the process of the divorce it was presented or suppressed, and if the suppression took place with the knowledge of the archbishop, whether the dispensation was valid, if Mary knew of its existence. In the brief by which Pius V. ordered a fresh trial of the case (July 15, 1571), it is stated that the dispensation was suppressed; that Bothwell dared "violenter aggredi" his sovereign "eamque rapere *invitam et nihil minus cogitantem et captivam* . . . in arcem de Dumbar *in carcerem* detrudere, eamque ibi ac deinde in arce Edimburgensi per aliquod temporis spatium *invitam* similiter ac *reluctantem* retinere, donec processum quendam praetensi divortii inter ipsum comitem Iacobum eiusque uxorem praedictam instituit, ac *subtracta furtive dispensatione* apostolica supra narrata iniquissimam desuper sentemtiam dicti matrimonii rescissoriam omni iuris ordine ac dictamine postposito praecipitanter fulminare curavit . . . et in continenti omni mora postposita praedictam Mariam reginam *lugentem ac renitentem* ad comparendum coram schismatico, ut dicitur, episcopo Orchadensi et apostata ad consensum praetenso matrimonio cum eo tunc de facto contrahendo praestandum per vim et metum iniuriose compulit." (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI. [1885], 157). The statements in the brief are naturally founded upon the account sent by Mary. But if the brief is valid, the substantial account of the facts must be based upon the truth. The distinguished canonist Bellesheim in his history of the Catholic Church in Scotland, II. (1883), 127 *seq.*, speaks in favour of, and in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXII. (1893), 579, against the validity of the marriage of Bothwell with Jane Gordon.

[2] Bellesheim, II., 80.

kingdom, that is to say, all the great nobles, approved the marriage, either by acclamation, or at least by silence.[1]

How Mary was led to take this fatal step will perhaps always remain an unsolved mystery for history. According to the declaration of her enemies, Mary had had adulterous relations with Bothwell, while her second husband was still living, and it was she who was principally responsible for the death of Darnley. However, not only was Mary's youth stainless, but from the very first years of her sojourn in Scotland not even the hate-sharpened eyes of Knox and his followers had been able to find any fault with her on the score of morals. Moreover, she was of high and noble character; this was shown by her courage in danger, her fortitude in sorrow, and the loyalty with which she clung to her religion, even when to do so was opposed to all her own interests. It seems quite impossible to explain the psychology of her sudden fall to the very depths of moral turpitude. The Dominican, Roch Mamerot, her confessor, assured the Spanish ambassador in London in July, 1567, that, until the events which led to her marriage with Bothwell, he had never seen a lady of greater virtue, courage and honour, and that he was prepared to affirm this on his solemn oath.[2]

On the other hand it cannot be denied that at anyrate appearances were against Mary. Her quarrel with Darnley was known to all, as well as the favour enjoyed by Bothwell, and in marrying him she seemed to give grounds for the gravest suspicions. Still, not even this justified the gravest of those suspicions. Her quarrel with Darnley had been very far removed from mortal hatred, she always remembered that she was his wife, and continually held out the hand of reconciliation to him, while there is no certain proof that she had any erotic passion for Bothwell. Her marriage with the latter was certainly a tremendous mistake, but her act, even though it cannot be justified, can nevertheless to some

[1] Words of the preacher Craig, who openly disapproved of the marriage. *Ibid.* 81.

[2] Guzmán de Silva to Philip II., July 26, 1567, Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 518; *cf.* POLLEN, 520.

extent be understood in a woman who found herself completely in the hands of a violent man, and who saw no chance of help anywhere, to say nothing of the fact that she was broken in body and spirit by her troubles.[1]

A judgment is made all the more difficult by the campaign of calumny which was ruthlessly carried on against Mary by her enemies; it is beyond dispute that they fought against her, so to speak systematically, with lies and falsehoods.[2]

[1] HOSACK, I., 275 *seq.* On March 15, 1567, Alava, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, wrote to Philip II. that Mary was thinking of leaving Scotland and taking up her residence in France. *Ibid.* 276. POLLEN, 477.

[2] The accusatory document brought forward against Mary at the Conference of Westminster in 1568, the *Book of Articles* (in HOSACK, I., 522-548) is full of the grossest calumnies (*ibid.* 426 *seqq.*; *cf.* also FLEMING, 137), to which the *Detectio* of Buchanan gave the widest publicity. At Westminster there were also brought forward the depositions of Nelson, the only one of Darnley's servants who saved his life in the explosion, and that of Crawford. Nelson tried to create the impression that in his last illness Darnley was badly looked after, but he is confuted by the inventory of his house which is still preserved (HOSACK, I., 253 *seq.*; an insufficient observation to the contrary in Fleming 434) and Darnley himself attests the good treatment he received from his wife (in RIESS in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, 3rd series, XIV., [1913] 283). The deposition of Crawford on the interview between Darnley and Mary at Glasgow is in such close agreement with one of the Casket Letters, that one of the two documents must have been copied from the other (BEKKER, 360 *seq.*). Some, who look upon the Casket Letter as the original, *cf.* as to this B. SEPP, Tagebuch der unglücklichen Schottenkönigin Maria Stuart, II., Munich, 1883, 19 *seqq.*; RIESS, *loc. cit.* 258 *seq.*—think to excuse Crawford by saying that he saw the letter "in order to refresh his memory" (RIESS, *loc. cit.* 256). But any such "refreshment" would obviously be a dishonest act, and Crawford did not refresh his memory but copied. Among the depositions made in the years 1568 and 1569 at the inquiry into the death of Darnley, the evidence of Hay, Hepburn and Paris is falsified at anyrate in the matter that they are made to agree in saying that the powder, by which the king was to be blown

This fact gives ground for thinking that they were unable to do her much harm by telling the simple truth, so that it is necessary to accept with a great deal of caution all that her enemies adduced in the way of proof or of documentary evidence. This applies to the so-called casket letters, or letters without address or signature which Mary is supposed to have sent to Bothwell from Glasgow before the murder of Darnley, and from Stirling before she was carried off. If they are genuine these letters would put Mary's guilt beyond doubt, but there are such good reasons for doubting their genuineness and authenticity, and the people who adduced them are proved so guilty of falsehood, that the conscientious historian cannot take them by themselves as proof of her guilt,[1] in spite

into the air, was stored immediately under his room, in the queen's room, whereas none was found except in the cellar. This falsification was necessary in the first place in order to blacken Mary's name, and also in order to put the responsibility for the explosion and the murder of Darnley upon Bothwell, by making it out that Bothwell directed the explosion *inside* the wall of the city by a door leading through the wall in the cellar, but the body of Darnley was found *outside* the city (BEKKER, 54 *seqq.*). For the deposition of Paris, which was not used even by Buchanan, *cf.* HOSACK, I., 246 *seqq.*; II., 82.—Forgeries too are the two contracts (HOSACK, I., 555 *seqq.*) in which Mary, a few weeks after the death of Darnley, promised Bothwell marriage (*ibid.* 278).—The conspirators had already transferred the assault on Rizzio to Mary's room in order to spread the lie that Darnley had surprised Rizzio in adultery and had therefore killed him (memorial to Cosimo de' Medici, in LABANOFF, VII., 72). After the fact Cecil spread the calumny in the foreign courts (letter of the French ambassador Paul de Foix to Cecil, of March 23, 1565, in HOSACK, II., 79), although he very well knew the true motives (*ibid.* Preface p. ix. *seqq.*). For the evidence offered by Murray *cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 108.

[1] Fleming too, who is a declared enemy of the Scottish queen, and of the "Mariolater," in his book which we have frequently cited, completely leaves on one side the Casket Letters. A second volume on Mary Stuart which is promised by him, and in which he may have made up his mind as to those letters,

of all the attempts made to show the genuineness of the casket letters.[1]

Probably the question of her guilt may be answered by saying that Mary can be acquitted of all connivance in the murder of Darnley, but that the marriage with Bothwell must be looked upon not only as a blunder, but as a false and blameworthy step. Apart from her deadly enemies, the party of the nobles, this was the opinion of Catholics of the time, who certainly were well acquainted with the facts. Her confessor, Mamerot, who explicitly acquitted her of any share in the murder of Darnley, left her, after having vainly protested against the marriage with Bothwell.[2] Similar unfavourable judgments of her third marriage came from Moretta, the ambassador of Savoy, from Ducroc, the French ambassador, and from others.[3] It must, however, in fairness be remembered that the marriage which was condemned by Mary's confessor, was approved by three bishops.[4] At Pentecost, May 18th, a few days after the marriage, the queen, in order to remove the scandal which had been given by her Protestant marriage, publicly received the sacraments according to the Catholic rites.[5] If she had looked upon her marriage with Bothwell as invalid, such an act would have been an open outrage to all Catholic ideas.

Knowledge of all the terrible events in Scotland was not

has not yet appeared. Morton's declaration on December 9, 1568, on the discovery of the Casket Letters (published by Henderson in 1889, and reproduced in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XX. [1891] 778 *seqq.*) does not decide the question and is also itself liable to suspicion of being a forgery. *Cf.* B. Sepp, Die Lösung der Kassettenbrieffrage (against Riess), Ratisbon, 1914, 8 *seq.*—Reprint of the Casket Letters in Bain, App. II., p. 722 *seqq.*, and of Morton's declaration, *ibid.* p. 730 *seqq.*

[1] The last attempt to prove the complete genuineness of the Casket Letters was made by Riess, *loc. cit.* 237 *seqq.*

[2] Pollen 519, 521.

[3] *Ibid.* cxxix. *seqq.*

[4] Bellesheim, II., 81.

[5] Leslie in Forbes-Leith, 123.

needed in order to settle the fate of Laureo's nunciature. At the first news of Darnley's death, the nuncio had still thought it possible that Mary would at least now follow his advice, and hand over the leaders of the Protestant party to justice.[1] But it was soon evident that it was not even worth his while to await the return of the envoys he had sent to Scotland, Bishop Chisholm and the Jesuit Hay. Four days after Easter he thought it best in any case to obey the Pope's orders to return home.[2] A little while after he had announced this intention to Rome, however, Hay returned to Paris with the Savoyard ambassador, Moretta, bearing conflicting tidings. Both were of opinion that, in view of the power exercised by the Protestants, and the terrible state of excitement in Scotland, the nuncio could do no good there. The queen, however, had the idea of sending the Catholic Lord Seton with three ships to fetch the nuncio, and had promised the bishops that she would be guided by the advice of Laureo ; the bishops were ready to bear the expense of the voyage and the reception of the nuncio, but for all that the journey was by no means advisable.[3]

In Rome the nuncio's mission was looked upon as doomed after the death of Darnley.[4] In deference to Beaton's insistence that he should at least await the return of Chisholm, Laureo again postponed his departure, but the reports of fresh arrivals from Scotland dissipated his last hopes. In the middle of April he set out for Italy, but not before he had once more, before he started, put in a word with the Pope in favour of Mary, saying that she was a woman and had allowed herself to be guided by political considerations, but that she was a Catholic and wished to be considered as such, and that perhaps at some future time she might be able to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland.[5]

[1] Laureo, March 8, 1567, in POLLEN, 360.

[2] Laureo, March 12, 1567, *ibid.* 362. Laureo received the Pope's orders of February 17 on March 10 ; *ibid.* 348.

[3] Laureo, March 16, 1567, *ibid.* 367 *seq.*

[4] Letter of Bonelli to Laureo of March 17, 1567, which reached Paris on April 7, *ibid.* 372.

[5] Laureo, April 8, 1567, in POLLEN, 378.

In her difficulties after the death of Darnley Mary showed much greater anxiety to have Laureo by her side, than ever she had done in the days of her greatest power. Upon her plan of summoning the nuncio to Scotland, there followed, after he had gone, a request, sent by the hands of Ducroc, that Laureo would send her someone who was in his confidence, who could advise her.[1] After her unhappy marriage with Bothwell she complained to the Cardinal of Lorraine that the nuncio had gone back to Italy too soon ; if only he had come to Scotland she would have been saved from many disasters.[2]

It was natural, seeing how slowly news travelled in those days, that the marriage with Bothwell should only have been known in Italy long after the event. Hay received the sad tidings in Paris on June 5th, and at once sent it on to Laureo at Mondovì,[3] and the latter in his turn immediately reported to Rome on July 1st that the queen in the end had not been able to refrain from showing her undue affection for Bothwell, and that thus things had come to this pass, which was so contrary to God's honour and her own.[4] On June 18th, when Laureo thought it well to satisfy Mary's request for an adviser, he had no less characteristically written to her that though he was sending Edmund Hay, if the queen found herself spurned by the Pope, she should bear in mind that she had married Bothwell, a thing which it seemed implied apostasy from the Catholic faith, since Bothwell was a married man.[5]

[1] Laureo, June 18, 1567, *ibid.* 387.

[2] Instructions of Chisholm for his mission to Lorraine, *ibid.* 399.

[3] *Ibid.* 394.

[4] " La Regina finalmente non s' è potuta contenere di mostrare la troppa affettione che porta al conte di Boduel con questo ultimo atto contrario al honor di Dio et di Sua Maiestà." Laureo, July 1, 1567, *ibid.* 392.

[5] " S'aggionge a questo ch' ella per molti respetti potria dubitare di non essere in buona opinione di Nostro Signore, talche entrando forse in sospetto d'essere disprezzata et abbandonata da Sua Santità pigliasse qualche strana delibberatione, verbi gratia, in

Although Laureo sent at the same time an autograph letter from the queen, which ended with the assurance that she wished to die in the Catholic faith, and for the good of the Church, the Pope's reply to Laureo was extremely short. So far, he caused the Secretary of State to write, His Holiness has not shut his eyes to the truth, and thinks it well at present not to mix himself up in so important a religious question. As far as the Queen of Scotland herself is concerned, his wish is to have no relations with her at all, unless in the future she gives more satisfactory evidence than she has done in the past of her conduct and religion.[1] Thus all relations between Rome and Scotland were broken off. Even after Mary's fall, Pius V. did not wish to charge his nuncio at Madrid with taking any steps on her behalf, as he was not clear in his mind which of the two queens was the better, Mary or Elizabeth.[2] Some time elapsed before Mary recovered the confidence of Catholics. On January 21st, 1569, Edmund Hay wrote to Francis Borgia to order prayers for Mary, in order that the circumstances of that sinful woman might change for the better, so that she might in the end accomplish a good work, even though she had not so far listened to good advisers.[3]

maritarsi con il Conte di Boduel; et massime che questo stimolo può troppo nelle donne giovani et libere, il qual matrimonio non si potria eseguire senza dispreggio et forse abbandono (quod absit) della Santa Religione Cattolica etc." POLLEN, 387.

[1] Bonelli to Laureo, July 2, 1567, in POLLEN, 396. "Toda la buena voluntad que el Papa tenia à la Reyna de Scocia se le ha pasado, y está della muy mal satisfecho, pareciendole que despues de la muerte de su marido ha contemporizado mucho con los herejes." Requesens to Philip II., May 31, 1567. Corresp. dipl., II., 122; *cf.* 192; "La tiene agora aborresçida." *Cf.* also Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 188.

[2] Bonelli to Castagna, August 17, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 444. Moreover, Pius at that time hoped for the conversion of Elizabeth. POLLEN, English Catholics, 125.

[3] "Fieri enim protest, ut illi peccatrici omnia in bonum aliquando cooperentur, et fiat postea magnorum operum effectrix, quae olim noluit sanis consillis acquiescere." In POLLEN 507.

Though she had erred, Mary Stuart was soon given the opportunity for a bitter atonement. The least part of this was that from the very day of her marriage,[1] and during the whole time that that marriage endured, she was profoundly unhappy.[2] The nobles who had so long plotted her ruin, now thought that their time was come. Under the pretext of rescuing their queen from the hands of Bothwell, they got together an army and met the troops of Bothwell and Mary near Carberry Hill. No battle was fought. Probably because she considered her own army too weak, and wished to avoid bloodshed, Mary decided to disband her troops on condition of their being allowed to withdraw unmolested, and to come to terms with the rebels.[3] Bothwell was allowed to escape unharmed; the leaders of the nobles, Hume and Morton, were in fact his accomplices, and their pretended motive for the campaign, the punishment of the murderer of the king, was nothing but a pretence.

Once in the hands of her enemies, the queen was nothing but a prisoner, and cut off from all help. On her arrival, she was met with the cry, as though from a single voice, of the angry army: "Burn the adulteress!"[4] She was then taken to Edinburgh; on a banner, carried before her, was shown her murdered husband, and with him her son, with the prayer on his lips: "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!"[5] In her capital Mary was again met by the crowds with savage cries, demanding her death at the stake or by drowning.[6] During the night between June 16th and 17th, 1567, she was transferred to the castle of Lochleven, strongly built in the middle of a lake, and on July 24th she was made to resign

[1] This is attested by Ducroc, to whom she said on that day that she only wished to die (in HOSACK, I., 322), and by the memoirs of Melvil (*ibid.*) and Leslie, who on the day of the marriage found her weeping bitterly (FORBES-LEITH, 123).

[2] FLEMING, 463, n. 21.

[3] HOSACK, I., 331.

[4] "Burn the whore!" FLEMING, 164.

[5] *Ibid.* BAIN, II., n. 519.

[6] FLEMING, 466, n. 37.

her throne in favour of her thirteen months old son, who was crowned on the 29th. In the sermon which he preached on this occasion Knox demanded Mary's execution for adultery and the murder of her husband.[1]

The enemies of the unhappy queen had won a sweeping victory. During the minority of James V. and his daughter Mary the nobles had been able greatly to increase their power, and now the reign of an infant opened before them the alluring prospect of two decades of undisturbed development of that power.

In spite of the strict watch kept over her at Lochleven, Mary, with the help of good friends, was successful in escaping on May 2nd, 1568, and in getting together an army. But on May 16th, the fortune of war was against her at Langside. While Mary was in prison, Elizabeth of England had wholeheartedly and with surprising decision embraced her cause.[2] Trusting in the help of her "good sister" Mary crossed the Solway Firth on May 16th, and set foot on English soil; she thus entered upon a new phase of her life of sorrow.

With the imprisonment of Mary at Lochleven, Catholic worship in Scotland lost the last place where it could be publicly carried on. Accompanied by armed retainers Lord Glencairn burst into the chapel of Holyrood Castle and broke to pieces everything he found; not even the furniture, dresses and jewellery of the queen were spared.[3] Murray had not been regent for three weeks before he began to persecute the Catholics. On September 8th, 1567, Chisholm, the Bishop of Dunblane, was put on trial for having administered the

[1] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Ser., 1566-1568, p. 291, 293.

[2] Brosch, VI., 516-522. Lethington understood this zeal so little as to give expression to the suspicion that by her exhortations and threats Elizabeth was aiming at nothing else than to irritate the Scottish nobles to such a degree that they would relieve her of all further trouble by killing Mary (*ibid.* 521). But perhaps Elizabeth's aversion for all rebellious behaviour is sufficient to explain her conduct.

[3] Bellesheim, II., 86, Hosack, I., 348,

sacraments and for his relations with the Pope, and on November 22nd he was deposed and his revenues were forfeited.[1] Moreover the Privy Council summoned before itself all the leading Catholic ecclesiastics on the charge of having celebrated mass or assisted thereat; those who could not purchase their liberty or find a place of refuge, had to leave the country.[2] In 1569 four priests who had said mass were condemned to death; the regent commuted the death sentence to exile, but all four had to stand at the market-cross in their vestments and with the chalice in their hands, where they were pelted with filth by the people for an hour. Similar scenes were enacted in other cities of Scotland.[3]

At first Elizabeth made a pretence of intending to intervene on behalf of the fugitive queen,[4] but about a month after Mary's arrival in England a decision was arrived at by the Privy Council,[5] according to which the Scottish queen was to be removed from Carlisle, which had so far been her place of residence, to Bolton Castle, that is to say, much further into England: Elizabeth was to go more fully into the matters at issue between the Scots and their queen. Until her cause had been thoroughly gone into there must be no question of assistance, restoration, personal interview with the English queen, or of departure from England. Mary for her part must submit to a kind of judicial inquiry, and it was but an apparent withdrawal of this strange demand when at length the object of the proposed inquiry was stated to be, not that the Queen of Scotland, but that her enemies should justify their proceedings, since even in that case, the regicide and the complicity therein of Mary were bound to be the principal points at issue.[6]

[1] Bellesheim, II., 92, 94.

[2] *Ibid.* 92 *seq*

[3] *Ibid.* 121 *seq.* Hosack, I., 477.

[4] Hosack (I. 383 *seq.*) believes in the loyalty of Elizabeth, but *cf.* Bekker, Maria, 194.

[5] Of June 20, 1568; see Hosack, I., 384; Lingard, VIII., 20; *cf.* Bain, II., 708, 709.

[6] Lingard, VIII., 21.

After her removal to Bolton Mary could no longer flatter herself with any illusions as to the hostile intentions of Elizabeth.[1] In spite of this, however, she yielded to the force of circumstances and agreed to the proposed conferences, which were begun at York on October 8th, 1568, and transferred to Westminster at the end of November.[2]

From the purely legal point of view Mary's position before her accusers was a favourable one. The matter adduced as proof by her enemies, such as the two pretended matrimonial pacts with Bothwell, the so-called book of the articles, and the casket letters, to a great extent, at anyrate, rested upon false statements, or lay under the grave suspicion of being forgeries.[3] She could, moreover, turn the charge of regicide against her accusers, who beyond all doubt had been deeply involved in the murder of Darnley. Although Murray was himself present in York, he was in no hurry to present his proofs. Before the discussion began, he sent a copy of the casket letters to the English government, and asked in confidence whether they were of any value as a proof of Mary's guilt.[4] When, at the beginning of October, the conference at York was opened with the charge brought by Mary against her half-brother and his party of having imprisoned their sovereign and usurped the government, Murray replied evasively, defending his conduct, not upon Mary's share in the murder, but upon her obstinate attachment to Bothwell, and

[1] BEKKER, 211. Already in a letter which she sent to the Spanish ambassador in London on June 4, 1568, she says: "No dubdo que si ellos me meten adentro en este reyno contra mi voluntad, me podran quidar la vita." In KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 725.

[2] In the interval between the two conferences an attempt was made to induce Mary to renounce her throne voluntarily. BEKKER, 246.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 177. Two other documents were presented at York only, but afterwards they disappeared altogether. HOSACK, I., 401 *seq.*, 413.

[4] June 22, 1568; see BAIN, II., n. 711; HOSACK, I., 389; BEKKER, 205, 244.

endeavouring surreptitiously to learn the opinion of the judges as to the probable value of the casket letters.[1] Since Mary's guilt would have been proved beyond doubt if these letters had really been written by her and addressed to Bothwell, by this secret inquiry he was admitting that the genuineness of the letters was not above suspicion. As for her attachment to Bothwell, the queen could easily justify herself, since it was her accusers themselves who had urged the marriage upon her.

If Murray at that time was not averse to coming to a friendly arrangement with his royal half-sister, Elizabeth held quite other views. The representatives of the captive queen might it is true have got the impression that in this conference she had nothing in view but Mary's restoration,[2] but in reality the inquiry was intended to blacken the good name of Mary, and to furnish the Queen of England with a weapon against her hated rival.[3] For a time Mary behaved towards Elizabeth as though she was unaware of her ill-will, but at the same time she was secretly exposing the manœuvres of Murray to the foreign princes,[4] and trying to secure their intervention on her own behalf.[5] It was only when, after the conference had been transferred to Westminster,[6] Murray was publicly received by Elizabeth, while the Scottish queen was not allowed to come near the capital, that she changed her attitude. She at once wrote to her representatives that she wished to have

[1] HOSACK, I., 394 *seqq.* Later on Murray himself admitted that his reply had not been serious (LINGARD, VIII., 23 n.). For the conference of York *cf.* BAIN, II., n. 839 *seqq.*

[2] Instructions to the ambassadors of Elizabeth, in HOSACK, I., 404.

[3] "Pensaba [Elizabeth] en lo de la justificación hacer de manera que aquello quedase en dubio." De Silva, August 9, 1568, in BEKKER, 207.

[4] Memorial to all the Christian princes, in LABANOFF, VII., 315-328.

[5] Mary to Charles IX., July 27, to Elizabeth of Spain, September 24, 1568, in LABANOFF, II., 138, BEKKER, 212 *seq.*

[6] BAIN, II., n. 895 *seqq.*

the opportunity of justifying herself in public in the presence of the queen, the whole of the nobility, and the foreign ambassadors. If Elizabeth would not accede to this request, it was her intention that all negotiations should be at once broken off.[1]

But at this point Mary's representatives, Bishop Leslie and Lord Herries, made a grave mistake. Instead of insisting upon an immediate and clear reply from the English government, and, in the event of a refusal, of at once and with all possible publicity declaring the conference at an end, they allowed themselves to be kept in suspense by the equivocal statements of Elizabeth,[2] and discussed with Cecil and Leicester proposals for settling the matter amicably,[3] although, only a short time before, on November 26th, Murray had finally and explicitly accused his sister of the assassination of her husband, as well as of the attempted murder of her only son.[4] On December 6th they made a protest against the discussions, but Cecil rejected this on the ground of some pretended error in its form,[5] and when, on December 9th, Leslie and Herries returned with the protest in an amended form, the crafty secretary of state had had time to persuade Murray to present his proofs, namely, the book of the articles, the deposition of Mary by the Scottish Parliament, the casket letters, and the various depositions of the witnesses.[6] Then Mary's representatives withdrew from the discussions, which, however, were continued in their absence, just as though nothing had happened.

The final sentence was reserved to a meeting of six of the greatest nobles at Hampton Court.[7] The proofs were again

[1] Letter of November 22, 1568, to Leslie, Boyd, Herries and the Abbot of Killwinning, in LABANOFF, II., 232-237; HOSACK, I., 415; BEKKER, 239.

[2] HOSACK, I., 416 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 419. BEKKER, 242.

[4] BAIN, II., n. 913. HOSACK, I., 418.

[5] HOSACK, I., 420 *seq.*

[6] HOSACK, I., 422-443.

[7] *Ibid.* 447 *seqq.* BAIN, II., n. 921.

subjected to examination for two days, but on this occasion not in that careful manner which is absolutely necessary in order to detect skilful forgeries.[1] The final sentence of the judges did not concern itself with Mary's guilt or innocence, but merely stated that as things stood at present it could not be considered fitting that Elizabeth should allow the Queen of Scots to appear in her presence.[2] It would seem that the judges were not aware that Mary had claimed to present herself solemnly before the queen, the nobles and the ambassadors.

Although, at Bolton Castle, she was far away from the place of the conference, and cut off from all her friends, Mary was nevertheless able to hit upon the proper reply to the behaviour of her enemies. From the defensive she took the offensive. A reply to the accusations of Murray and his associates which Mary sent to her representatives on December 19th,[3] not only denies in the clearest terms all knowledge of the murder of Darnley or any complicity therein, but makes the same terrible charge against her accusers.[4] In consequence of this Murray and Morton were publicly accused of regicide before the queen's council on December 24th, 1568. In a further letter[5] Mary approved this step on the part of her defenders, whom she charged to obtain copies of the documents adduced against their sovereign, so as to be able to refute them in detail. Elizabeth declared that she thought this request

[1] Description of the examination held by Cecil, in HOSACK, I., 448; BEKKER, 253 *seqq.*

[2] BAIN, II., n. 921, p. 581 *seq.*

[3] LABANOFF, II., 257-261.

[4] "They have falselie, traitourouslie, and meschantlie lyed; imputing unto us maliciouslie the cryme quhairof thameselfis ar authouris, inventeris, doaris, and sum of thame proper executeris" (LABANOFF II., 258; HOSACK, I., 928). To the charge that she had intended her son to follow his father Mary replied that such an accusation was sufficient in itself to pass judgment on all the other accusations made against her, since the natural love of a mother for her son refuted it (*ibid.*).

[5] LABANOFF II., 262-264.

"very reasonable" and expressed her joy that her "dear sister" was willing to defend herself, but at the same time she took very good care not to accede to this very reasonable request.

Mary's case, however, had to be settled in some way, and Elizabeth tried to do this by means of a compromise.[1] Sir Francis Knollys, to whom the custody of the royal prisoner had been entrusted, had, together with Lord Scrope, won her confidence. A plan was formed according to which Knollys, as a friend who wished her well, was to induce her to recognize Murray as regent, whereupon all the accusations which had been brought against her were to be buried in perpetual oblivion. Should she ask for further advice Lord Scrope was to speak in the same sense, and in the third place Bishop Leslie, who had allowed himself to be won over, was to throw all the weight of his authority into the balance in favour of the proposal,[2] which was then to be further recommended in an autograph letter from Elizabeth. But Mary's clear judgment saw through the wicked subterfuge which was intended to inveigle her, oppressed and deserted by all her friends as she was, into the sacrifice of her good name. The last words she would ever speak in this life, she wrote after two days' reflection, would be as Queen of Scotland,[3] and a renewed attempt to induce her to resign the crown was definitely rejected by Leslie, since Mary had spoken her last word on the subject.[4]

The embarrassment of the English politicians thus became very considerable, as Mary still had many friends even in England, who were very resentful of the violence which had been offered to her. Thus the conferences came to a quite unexpected end. On January 10th, 1569, Murray was

[1] HOSACK, I., 454 *seqq.* BEKKER, 260 *seqq.*

[2] It had already been said to Leslie that Mary would be found guilty, whether she were or not (BEKKER, 244). This perhaps explains why he allowed himself to be won over.

[3] "La dernière parole que je ferai en ma vie sera d'un Royne d'Ecosse." January 9, 1569, HOSACK, I., 460; BAIN, II., n. 946.

[4] HOSACK, I., 463.

summoned to Hampton Court, and was there told that no charge had been proved against him which was prejudicial to his honour, but that on the other hand there was no charge against Mary which could lead Elizabeth to form an unfavourable opinion of her good sister ; Murray therefore could retire in peace to Scotland.[1] On the following day Mary's representatives were also summoned, and asked whether they wished to accuse the opposing party of the murder of Darnley. They replied in the affirmative, because they had an express command to that effect from their sovereign, and they further declared that they were charged to reply to the calumnies of Murray ; this reply was hardly likely to lead to their being given copies of his documentary evidence.[2]

On January 12th, 1569, Murray received formal permission to depart ; 5,000 pounds sterling were assigned to him as a reward.[3] Mary's representatives, for their part, made various other attempts to obtain a sight of the casket letters and the other documentary proofs. They worked for this end until January 7th,[4] and renewed their demand on the 11th of the same month, the day after Murray's departure, com-

[1] "On the other part, there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown by them against the queen their sovereign, whereby the queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen her good sister for anything yet seen." HOSACK, I., 465.

[2] *Ibid.* 467 *seq.*—Already in the instructions of September 29, 1568, which Mary gave to her representatives who went to York, it is stated (n. VII) : "If they maintain that they have writings of mine, which contain things harmful to me, you must ask to have the original produced, and that I myself may see them, and be able to justify myself. You must therefore in my name give the assurance that I have never written anything to anyone on this subject ; and that if there be any such writings they are false and forged, contrived and invented by themselves in order to disgrace and calumniate me. There are many persons in Scotland, men and women, who can imitate my hand." LABANOFF, II., 202 *seq.*

[3] HOSACK, I., 467, 468.

[4] *Ibid.* 462.

plaining at the same time that the Scottish regent had been allowed to go at the very moment when he was accused of regicide.[1] Cecil replied with evasions, whereupon Mary, on January 20th, made a fresh and final attempt with Elizabeth herself, through the French ambassador, de la Mothe Fénélon. In reply to the latter's remonstrances Elizabeth actually promised that she would send the wished for papers on the following day, but when on the 30th of the month Fénélon reminded her of her promise, Elizabeth replied by expressing her anger at the fact that Mary, in a letter written to Scotland, had accused the English queen of partisanship.[2] The English government itself, however, had justified for all time the suspicions entertained of the genuineness of these documents.

After the conferences at York and Westminster, Cecil and his sovereign could feel a sense of triumph in the consciousness of having carried out a masterly move. Elizabeth's rival, whom she feared so much, and had so long fought against, was a prisoner in an English fortress, and in the conferences which had just come to an end she had ready to her hand plentiful materials for destroying everywhere and for ever Mary's authority and influence. But it soon became clear that even as a prisoner Mary was a very dangerous enemy. In Scotland there was a powerful party devoted to her cause,[3] and this party gained strength more and more[4] in proportion as the government of the regent Murray made itself hated.[5] As for England, Mary's presence was a constantly recurring danger. Among the great masses of the people there was still too strong a sense of justice to make it possible for them to put up with the ill-treatment of an anointed and crowned queen without a feeling of irritation. The nobles were still in varying degrees animated by the chivalrous feelings of the Middle Ages, to which it was natural to hazard both life and property on behalf of a queen and a defenceless woman.

[1] *Ibid.* 468.
[2] *Ibid.* 469 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* 382 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* 479 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.* 379 *seq.*

Moreover, besides the fact that, in the opinion of many people, Mary should have been wearing the crown instead of Elizabeth, in any case she was, after Elizabeth, the lawful heir to the English throne, and far-seeing patriots looked to her for the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, a thing long seen to be necessary and ardently desired, while the many who were discontented on the score of religion looked to her for the restoration of the old religion. Mary's hereditary rights, as well as her attachment to the ancient faith were the very reasons why her return to Scotland was being prevented by force,[1] but this tyranny proved itself to be by its consequences a grave political error. For nineteen years conspiracy after conspiracy, and revolt after revolt on behalf of Mary followed in quick succession, for nineteen years the original act of injustice against a helpless princess constrained the authorities to further acts of violence, until at last no other way out of an intolerable state of affairs could be found than the murder of the defenceless prisoner.

It was especially in the northern counties of England, which were still for the most part Catholic, that Mary could count upon many supporters. There her escape from Lochleven was celebrated with bon-fires ; after she had set foot on English soil the nobles flocked to Carlisle to offer her their homage.[2] After the conference at Westminster, Mary's chief enemy, Murray, judged it to be dangerous to his life to dare to pass through northern England on his way back to Scotland.[3] He knew, however, where to look for help. Towards the end of the conferences at York, Lethington had put forward a proposal for the marriage of the Queen of Scotland to the greatest of the English nobles, the Duke of Norfolk.[4] The Duke, who was one of Elizabeth's representatives at the York conferences, eagerly welcomed the proposal, and through him Murray obtained a letter from Mary warning her friends

[1] POLLEN, English Catholics, 120 *seq.*
[2] BEKKER, 195. BAIN, II., n. 668, 670.
[3] HOSACK, I., 473.
[4] *Ibid.* 410.

in the north of England to allow Murray to pass unmolested.[1] Murray had hardly reached the border when he informed Cecil that his sister was in no sense his friend, and that it was never so necessary as now to take care that she was kept safely in prison.[2]

But if Murray did not seriously entertain thoughts of the fresh marriage of his sister, the project was all the more ardently put forward by the other side.[3] Cecil's behaviour towards the Queen of Scotland, which was so little in keeping with all ideas of honour, had caused much scandal among many of the greater nobles, by whom the Secretary of State was regarded with much dislike as an upstart. Now the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester joined together to withstand him and to arrive at a final settlement of the burning question of the succession to the English throne; they aimed at seeing Queen Mary restored to her own throne, and at having her hereditary right of succession to that of England assured to her; since, however, the marriage of the exiled queen to a foreign prince would have meant danger to England, she was to be betrothed to Norfolk. The preparations for this marriage were already well advanced. A decision of the Privy Council had urged the marriage of the Queen of Scotland "with an English noble," the Earls of Bedford and Shrewsbury, as well as the two Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had agreed to the plan, and not even Cecil dared openly to oppose it. For her part, Mary had replied in a dignified but satisfactory sense to the proposal; the breaking off of her ties to Bothwell did not appear to offer any serious difficulties, and only awaited the assent of the Scottish Parliament and the approval of the English queen; it was hoped that this would be obtained by the influence of the crafty Lethington,

[1] So Murray himself relates. HOSACK, I., 473 *seq.*; *cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 35.

[2] Leslie in HOSACK, I., 475.

[3] *Cf.* for what follows HOSACK, I., 479 *seqq.*; LINGARD, VIII., 35 *seqq.*; POLLEN in *The Month*, IC (1902), 135 *seqq.*

who had already begun to identify himself with the party of Queen Mary.

But the plan met with a skilful adversary in Murray. By his influence the Scottish Parliament rejected the English proposals, and the very men who, a short time, before, had taken up arms to separate Mary from Bothwell, now would not hear of the breaking off of the marriage with Bothwell when Mary asked the opinion of the Parliament on the subject. The regent prevented his enemy Lethington from taking action on behalf of Mary by accusing him of the murder of Darnley, and Lethington was obliged to withdraw for the time being; the commandant of Edinburgh Castle, the Laird of Grange, who had also joined Mary's party, saved him by force from imprisonment.

In the meantime the whole plan had been made known to Elizabeth. Norfolk had to submit to a sharp reprimand from the English queen, and when, a little time afterwards, his conduct appeared to be suspicious, and Murray who, a short time before, had offered his assistance to the duke in favour of the marriage, furnished the English government with materials for a charge against him, Norfolk was thrown into the Tower on October 9th, and his three friends, among them the Earl of Leicester, were forbidden to appear at court, while the Bishop of Ross was thrown into prison. The inquiry into the case, however, showed no grounds for accusing Norfolk of high treason.

Even before the imprisonment of Norfolk a further movement on behalf of the captive queen had been set on foot, which was fraught with all the more danger because it rested to a great extent upon the religious discontent which was so widely spread in England.

CHAPTER VI.

Pius V. and Elizabeth.—The Bull of Excommunication.—Ireland.

It was perfectly natural that the oppressed English Catholics should turn their eyes with hope to Mary, as their fellow-Catholic and the lawful heir of Elizabeth. It was true that it was not very likely that the rights of a Catholic to the throne would meet with much consideration,[1] but in March, 1563, de la Quadra was of opinion that the Catholic party, which wished for Mary's succession, was stronger than the Protestant party opposed to it; her marriage to Darnley, who had so direct an hereditary right to the English throne, could not but increase the probability of her accession. The enthusiasm for the Scottish queen was, it is true, damped after the murder of Darnley and her marriage to Bothwell, but it revived again when, in spite of several apparent defections, Mary did not change her religious convictions,[2] and when in the opinion of her friends, the conferences at York and Westminster had ended in her acquittal.

Before long the attitude of Pius V. towards the English question threw new weight into the scales in Mary's favour.

[1] When in October, 1562, it was feared that Elizabeth would die, the name of Mary was not mentioned among the heirs to the throne who were seriously considered (Kervyn de Lettenhove, Relations, III., xxiv.; *cf.* Quadra to Margaret of Parma, October 17, 1562, *ibid.* 167). For the attitude of the English Catholics towards Mary up to the time of her flight to England, *cf.* Pollen in *The Month* IC. (1902), 54-57; English Catholics, 111 *seqq.*

[2] Bekker, 212, 215. *Cf.* the letters of Mary to Queen Elizabeth of Spain, of September 24, 1568 (Labanoff, II., 185) and to Philip II., of November 30, 1568 (*ibid.* 239 *seq.*).

Like his predecessor,[1] it would seem that at first Pius V. had cherished some hopes of Elizabeth's conversion ; he gave his full encouragement to the plans and proposals made to him for that end,[2] but it was not long before he found himself unable to pursue any longer this hopeless quest. Moreover, as a consequence of her continued attacks upon the liberty of conscience of her subjects, and upon the peace of other countries, Elizabeth had become in his eyes nothing better than a crowned criminal, who had usurped the throne. On May 2nd, 1566, he spoke of her in a public brief as one "who pretended to be Queen of England,"[3] and a little later he described her in the plainest terms as the author of the wicked conspiracies against the life and throne of the Queen of Scotland.[4] Moreover, it was notorious that the English queen could no longer be looked upon as a member of the Catholic Church ; according to the medieval idea none but a member of the Church of Christ could rule over a Christian people, and in those days of transition medieval ideas still swayed many people even in England. Under these circumstances Pius V. was more and more inclined to follow that course which had long been feared in London, and long expected by the Catholics, and to declare by a public bull that Elizabeth had incurred excommunication and had forfeited the throne.[5] Alba, whose genius as a soldier was held in great admiration by the Pope, seemed to be the very man to carry out the Papal sentence.

But the condemnation of Elizabeth was very far from implying in the eyes of Pius V. that the cause of her rival of Scotland was worthy of his support, especially after the marriage with

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 218.

[2] POLLEN, English Catholics, 143 *seq.*

[3] "quae se pro regina Angliae gerit." Letter to Philip II., in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 369.

[4] To Mary Stuart, May 12, 1566, *ibid.* n. 370.

[5] What sort of things the Pope looked for from Elizabeth is shown by the fact that he imprisoned the colonel, Megliorino Ubaldini, on the ground that the queen had sent him to oppose the Catholic religion. *Avviso di Roma of October 2, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 590, Vatican Library.

Bothwell, and even after Mary had set foot as a fugitive on English soil, the Pope, in spite of her influential advocates,[1] maintained at first a very cold and reserved attitude in her regard.[2] Her firm adherence to the Catholic faith, however, gradually won back for her her former good repute, even in Rome. In December, 1568, Pius V. still expressed himself rather doubtfully about her; Mary's ambassador in Paris was urged to strengthen his sovereign in the faith, as the Pope was at times haunted by the idea that under the pressure of acts of violence she might become weakened in her former attachment to the Apostolic See.[3] But on May 9th, 1569, a letter was sent from Rome to Archbishop Beaton saying that Mary was in as high favour with the Pope as she herself could have wished.[4] Her good relations with Rome were completely restored when, in a brief of January 9th, 1570, the Pope replied to a letter from the Scottish queen, dated October 15th, 1569, holding out hopes of his being able to work on her behalf with the kings of Spain and France, and of affording her help in other ways as well. He stated that he was convinced that her misfortunes had come upon the queen simply because she maintained and protected the Catholic faith; let her then take comfort, because Christ says that they are blessed who suffer persecution for justice sake.[5]

[1] Queen Elizabeth of Spain, Mary's playfellow in her childhood, when she heard of the latter's escape from Lochleven, assured the nuncio in Madrid that Mary "aveva riconosciuto il suo erroce ed era diventata pia e cattolica" (Castagna to Bonelli, June 5, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 383). Already, on February 6, 1568, Archbishop Beaton had written to Lorraine that (at Lochleven) Mary had begun to serve God better, with more devotion and greater diligence than she had been wont to do for some time previously, which is a great joy to me." In POLLEN, Negotiations cxxxiii. and *The Month*, XCI. (1898), 588 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 181.

[3] Bonelli to Beaton, December 4 (?) 1568, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 284. The letter certainly belongs to 1568.

[4] POLLEN, Negotiations ,cxxxiii. *seq.*

[5] GOUBAU, 263 *seq.*

In the meantime Mary had again written to the Pope on November 30th, 1569, professing herself once more to be the devoted and obedient daughter of the Catholic Church, and again asking for his intervention with the Christian princes, so that by their means the Queen of England might be induced to restore to her her liberty, and allow the free exercise of the Catholic religion. There was no truth, Mary remarks, in the report that had been written to Philip II. that she was wavering in the Catholic religion.[1] It was true, since she was not allowed to attend Catholic worship, that she had, thinking it no wrong, listened to the prayers said by a Protestant preacher; if she had sinned in so doing, she was ready to receive the penance assigned to her by the Pope.[2] Even though, immediately after the marriage with Bothwell, such protestations no longer met with full credence in Rome, now every reason for distrust had disappeared. On July 13th, 1570, Pius V. wrote to Mary that he was certain that no threats or inducements would be able to detach her from the communion and obedience of the Catholic Church.[3] In his last letter to her, dated May 8th, 1571, he expressed himself in the same sense.[4]

Now that the Pope's confidence in Mary's Catholic sentiments was restored, his plans for bringing back England into the bosom of the Church could take a tangible form. When, on March 21st, 1569, he sent Alba the blessed hat, together with a brief, he at the same time consulted him as to whether, with the help of an alliance between France and Spain, it would not be possible to effect an invasion of England. Alba replied that it was no use to hope for the co-operation of France, and that the only way would be for Philip II. either to conquer

[1] Knollys, for example, had on July 28 and September 21, 1568, expressed to Cecil the hope that Mary had changed her faith. BAIN, II., n. 743, p. 466; n. 821, p. 510. *Cf.* POLLEN, English Catholics, 122 *seq.*

[2] LABANOFF, VII., 16 *seq.*

[3] GOUBAU, 366. Here Pius V. was replying to a letter from Mary of April 30, 1570.

[4] POLLEN in *The Month* XCI. (1898), 576.

England for himself, or else to confer that kingdom upon a Catholic noble, who should marry Mary Stuart.[1] Pius V. expressed to the Spanish ambassador the opinion that the campaign could be carried out in the name of the Pope, who had ancient feudal rights over England.[2]

Pius V.'s enthusiasm received a fresh incentive when, at the beginning of November, vague rumours reached the Eternal City concerning the attempts of the Duke of Norfolk to secure for the captive Queen of Scotland the succcssion to the English throne. This movement was taken as meaning a revival of activity on the part of the Catholic party, and on the strength of Venetian reports it was supposed that the whole of England would rise against Elizabeth.[3] Thereupon Pius V. at once wrote to Alba (November 3rd) that he ought to protect the Catholic religion in England with all his might, and if possible help the captive Queen of Scotland to recover her throne; the Duke could do nothing more pleasing to God than to free Mary from the hands of the heretics.[4] On the same date the nuncio in Madrid received instructions to obtain from Philip II. assistance for England,[5] and the Spanish ambassador in Rome was also ordered to have recourse to his royal master in the same sense. It was incumbent on them, the Pope pointed out, to help with both money and troops a noble English Catholic who might perhaps marry Mary Stuart, and then receive England as a fief from the hands of the Pope.[6]

Philip, who at first was angry that Pius should have written to Alba without mention of the king, was appeased by the diplomatic skill of the nuncio,[7] and replied in a friendly way,

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., June 13, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 91.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* November 4, 1569, III., 188.

[4] In LADERCHI, 1569, n. 285; Colecc. de docum. inéd., IV., 514; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots, II., 386.

[5] Bonelli to Castagna, November 3, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 186.

[6] Zuñiga to Philip II., November 4, 1569, *ibid.* 188.

[7] Castagna to Bonelli, January 14, 1570, *ibid.* 218. Bonelli (to Castagna, March 8 1570 *ibid.* 258 *seq.*) justifies the brief to Alba.

but his letter contained nothing more than a decision to leave the whole affair to the judgment of Alba.[1] The latter had already in a letter sent to Rome excused himself on the ground of the alleged want of money, and his consideration for France.[2] Pius V. comforted himself for this reply by saying that in such matters he must trust to the judgment of Alba, and that he had confidence in the Christian feeling and prudence of the Duke that he would not let this opportunity slip of winning back England.[3]

It is difficult to attribute much importance to the activities of Norfolk's party in estimating the efforts of the English Catholics; already for some time past a really Catholic movement, which had taken its origin in nothing but religious motives had been in preparation. The adherents of the ancient faith in England were beginning, not without the help of the Pope, to rouse themselves from the inactivity which they had hitherto preserved. While he was still Inquisitor General, Pius V. had in the time of his predecessor armed four priests, among them Sanders and Harding, with faculties to readmit the English schismatics to the Church,[4] and thereafter the care of souls among the Catholics of England had been carried on with greater effect and care. Before this, no other condition had been demanded for the admission of laymen to the sacraments of the Church than that they should abstain

[1] Philip II. to the Pope, January 20, 1570, *ibid.* 226. *Cf.* Philip II. to Zuñiga December 18, 1569, and Castagna to Bonelli, December 22, 1569, *ibid.* 205, 208.

[2] Alba to Zuñiga, December 5, 1569, in MIGNET, II., 508 *seq.*

[3] Zuñiga to Alba, January 7, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 214.

[4] Harding and Sanders to Morone, June 11, 1567, in MEYER, 412 *seqq.* Similar faculties were granted by a *brief of May, 18, 1570, to William Allen, John Marshall and Nicholas Sanders for England and Scotland (Archives of Briefs, Rome). On June 9, 1568, Bonelli wrote to Castagna that except for the faculties to absolve granted at the request of certain Jesuits and the alms which were sent each year to Louvain for the English Catholics, there were no relations between the Pope and the English. Corresp. dipl., II., 387.

from the Protestant Eucharist; now it was further required of them that they should not attend heretical worship at all. The effects of this greater strictness were very good. On June 11th, 1567, Harding and Sanders wrote from Louvain to Morone[1] that the confusion and wavering had been put a stop to, that men refused to attend the Anglican services more than before, that the faith was openly professed even before the judges, and that men endured imprisonment and chains with joy. It was true that certain Catholics still maintained that so long as the aforesaid four priests appealed to faculties which had only been orally given, they were not obliged to believe them on that point, and might therefore continue with the usage which they had formerly adopted,[2] but Harding and Sanders obtained a Papal brief of August 14th, 1567, which put an end to all such doubts.[3]

Disquieting news soon reached the Protestant commissioners for the visitation of churches. Many members of the lesser nobility, so men wrote from Chester in Dec., 1567, have bound themselves by oath not to receive the Protestant communion any more so long as Elizabeth reigns.[4] In January, 1568, a number of letters drew the attention of the Protestant commissioners for the visitation of churches to attempts to alienate the people "from loyalty to the queen and from unity of worship"; a month later an order was issued for the imprisonment of certain deprived priests who still carried on their ministrations in private house, among them being Vaux and Allen.[5] At the end of 1567 private houses were searched and those who dwelt there were called upon to give an account of their religion and of their participation in Anglican worship, while those who had heard mass at the Spanish embassy were

[1] In Meyer, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Frere, 140. At that time Laurence Vaux was especially active in England itself in the interests of the Pope; Dictionary of National Biography, LVIII., 191.

[4] Frere, 141.

[5] *Ibid.* 142.

forced to take the oath of supremacy.[1] From that time the number of those imprisoned for hearing mass continued to increase; in February, 1569, the prisons were filled with Catholics,[2] and at the end of May the persecution was more violent than ever.[3]

If under these circumstances the Catholics of the older generation could flatter themselves that as far as they themselves were concerned they would always remain true to the faith of their fathers, no one could fail to see that, granted the suppression of regular Catholic instruction, their children must little by little fall under the influence of the heretical teaching. Moreover, after May, 1568, they could not fail to see how unjustly the lawful heir to the throne was being treated, and that a principal motive for this was her firm attachment to the Catholic faith. They did not dare to rebel openly, after the example of the French and Scottish insurgents, but little by little the grievous evils under which they lay brought them face to face with the question whether in conscience and before God they were bound to remain silent spectators of such acts of oppression, which called to heaven for vengeance, and whether further passive inaction was altogether compatible with their ideas of honour and chivalry. "We can bear witness," later on wrote Nicholas Sanders from Louvain,[4] "how eagerly the English nobles turned to us to know whether the Apostolic See had not yet issued

[1] Thus wrote de Silva to Philip II., Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 564; MEYER, 104.

[2] "Sicel . . . afflige bravamente á los católicos, encarcelando á muchos, y casi tiene todas les cárceles llenas." Guerau de Spes to Alba, February 29, 1569 (according to KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 301, February 20), Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 191; *cf.* 232.

[3] Spes to Philip II., May 23, 1569, *ibid.* 239. The increased severity of the persecution was anterior to the rising of 1569, and cannot be looked upon as its consequence, as it is by MEYER (105).

[4] *A. M. A. Graziani, 15 Cal. martii 1570, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Instrutt. ,I., 26.

some decree against the queen, and further whether, even in the absence of any such decree, they might not with a clear conscience dare to take steps to free themselves from such tyranny. To the first question we made answer that, as far as we here were aware, nothing of the kind had been made public, while as to the other question the best theologians were not of one mind. Some had no doubt whatever that, even without any authority from the Roman See, it was lawful to defend the Catholic religion in those doctrines which are the common Christian inheritance, while others thought it necessary, or at any rate safer, to wait for a Papal decision."

Recent times had shown plenty of instances of religious risings in France and Scotland which had been crowned with success. The English Catholics certainly did not lack the necessary number of malcontents for success, even though they had not the unscrupulous determination of their Scottish neighbours. The carrying into effect of a rising was much discussed, but they could not arrive at any working plan. In the course of 1568 Ridolfi, a Florentine banker resident in London, conferred with the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Spes, on the subject of obtaining help from Philip II. The ambassador was favourably disposed towards the Florentine's request, but Alba did not agree with him and the negotiations came to nothing.[1] In the spring of 1569, Nicholas Morton, a former prebendary of York, and at that time penitentiary of St. Peter's in Rome, who had been sent by the Pope, arrived in England ;[2] he was charged to find out what sort of reception the excommunication of Elizabeth would be likely to meet with in England. From him the malcontents learned Pius V.'s views of the queen, but he was not able to inform them of any Papal decision which would have removed the objections to an armed rising, though his report of the state of feeling

[1] LEE in Dictionary of National Biography, XLVIII., 290. LADERCHI, 1569, n. 270.

[2] The brief recommending him to Alba, February 13, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 270.

in England on his return confirmed Pius V. in his determination to take proceedings against Elizabeth.[1]

There can be no doubt that at the beginning of 1569 the circumstances were very favourable for a rising, in that since December, 1568, Elizabeth had been involved in a serious quarrel with Spain. Spanish ships, carrying a rich cargo of gold for Alba's troops in the Low Countries, had taken refuge in the harbour of Southampton, in order to escape from pirates, and the English vice-admiral, Arthur Champernowne, had at once informed the secretary of state that the treasure amounted to no less than 400,000 pounds sterling, and was therefore "very convenient for His Majesty."[2] It meant nothing to the queen that she was in the eyes of the world incurring the stigma of theft: anything that could be stolen from the cursed Spaniards was to the advantage of England.[3] It seemed therefore that war with Philip II. was imminent, and in the opinion of the Spanish ambassador in London its result could hardly be doubted. Now, he thought, Elizabeth could be driven from her throne by making use of the adherents of Mary Stuart,[4] and the favourable moment had come for restoring the Catholic religion in England, and thus bringing about peace in Flanders.[5] Many anonymous letters expressed

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 44. Pollen in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 140, and English Catholics, 143 *seqq.* Sanders in SPILLMANN, II., 94. For the relations of Morton with Northumberland *cf.* the interrogatory of the latter in GREEN, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 408, and F. Norton to Leicester and Burghley, April 2, 1572, *ibid.* 390.

[2] "therefore most fytt for Her Majestie" (letter of December 19, 1568; *cf.* KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 197). The amount of the money is variously estimated. BROSCH, VI., 535.

[3] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., x. The vice-admiral wrote on January 1, 1569, to the Privy Council that the money had been sent by the Pope for the war against the Protestants; *ibid.* 205.

[4] To Alba, December 30, 1568; *ibid.*

[5] "Agora ay muy buen forma de reduzir este reyno a la fee católica." To Alba, January 9, 1569, KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 228.

the conviction that as soon as the standard of Spain was raised all the Catholics would rise in rebellion.[1]

Mary Stuart herself at the end of 1568 thought she could safely say that if Philip II. would lend his aid, she could at the end of three months be Queen of England;[2] in July, 1569, the enthusiasm for her as the lawful heir to the throne had grown to such an extent that Elizabeth jealously complained that it reminded her of the revolt of Absalom against David.[3] In the north of England some parts of the community had already begun to drive out the Protestant preachers.[4]

Very soon, however, all these high hopes were shattered. The forces of Spain were entirely occupied with the revolts of the Moors and of the Low Countries, and although English privateers, with the secret approval of Elizabeth, were harrassing the Spanish trading vessels, and the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador was confiscated and his house in London kept under surveillance,[5] Spain did not dare to draw the sword against England. In the Low Countries Alba, to whom Philip II. had left the decision, was definitely opposed to a war with England, and refused to hear of any encouragement being given to Elizabeth's Catholic subjects.[6] Guerau de Spes, moreover, had counted too highly on the feelings of the English Catholics; many of them openly said that they had no intention of taking up arms in order to conquer England for the King of Spain, nor, speaking generally, did they wish to have anything to do with that country.[7]

[1] To Alba, April 2, 1569, *ibid.* 536. *Cf.* Spes to Philip II., April 2, 1569, *ibid.* 358: "Muchos católicos me escriven cartas secretamente, que, en viendo banderas de V. M. en este reyno, se lebantaran todos."

[2] Spes to Philip II., January 8, 1569, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 171; *cf.* 280.

[3] Spes to Philip II., July 25, 1569, *ibid.* 266.

[4] Spes to Philip II., July 14, 1569, *ibid.* 259.

[5] Spes to Alba, January 9, 1569, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 227 *seq.*

[6] *Cf. ibid.* xv. *seq.*

[7] "Car ne veulent, à ce qu'ils disent, combattre pour conquérir ce royaulme au roy d'Espagne, ny rien avoir à faire avec ceste nation la." De la Mothe Fénélon, August 17, 1569, *ibid.* xxi.

In spite of this, however, during the summer of 1569 Mary Stuart received many offers from the English nobles who were ready to sacrifice their property and their lives to regain for her her freedom. By the advice of Norfolk she refused these offers, but when the Duke had been thrown into the Tower, and she herself feared for her life, Mary secretly sent word to the Earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was Norfolk's sister, and the Earl of Northumberland, and through these two to all those who had already placed themselves at her disposal.[1]

If, instead of submitting to the queen, Norfolk had called them to arms, the nobles would certainly have obeyed his summons, and thus strengthened the band of his adherents. But the summons did not come, and very soon, before the preparations for a rising had been made, the leading Catholic nobles, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, found themselves suddenly faced with the necessity of coming to a definite decision.[2] The Earl of Sussex was actually ordered by the government to summon them to York, to imprison them and to send them to the court. Thus Northumberland and Westmoreland had to decide whether they intended to share the fate of Norfolk or to take up arms. On November 7th they turned to the Pope for assistance, and on the 14th they once more unfurled the ancient standard bearing the cross and five wounds which had already been displayed in 1536 under Henry VIII. in the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace, and on the following day an appeal to the people was issued. Northumberland, who was highly respected and a man of deep religious feeling, a typical noble of the olden times and ideas, who had hitherto spent his life far from the court among his vassals and tenants, and who was not in the least fitted to be an agitator or political intriguer,[3] had from the first discouraged the idea of open hostilities.

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 43 *seq.*

[2] For the Northern Rising see CUTHBERT SHARPE, Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, London, 1840; GREEN, Addenda 1566-1579, passim; LINGARD, VIII., 44 *seqq.*; POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 136 *seqq.*, and English Catholics, 118-141.

[3] For a character sketch of him see HOSACK, II., 124 *seq.*

The real leader of the rising was Richard Norton, named by the people the father of the revolt. It would seem that it was to a great extent due to a woman and a Protestant, the Countess of Westmorland, that the inflammable material of discontent which had been so long smouldering at last broke into flame.[1]

On November 15th the Earls issued an appeal to the people, in which they began by asserting their loyalty to Elizabeth, and declaring that they had taken up arms for the honour and safety of the queen, the nobles and the kingdom, and that their undertaking was aimed only against the queen's counsellors, who were plotting the destruction of the ancient nobility, were urging the queen to a false policy, and had introduced a new made religion which was contrary to the word of God.[2] This appeal, however, produced the desired effect as little as did several others which followed it, and many of the Catholic nobles even joined the royal army under the command of the Earl of Sussex.[3] In other ways too the insurgents were dogged by ill-success. It would have been a great advantage to them if they could have set Mary Stuart free and taken her to their head-quarters; her liberation was the principal object of the rising, yet the Earls could not make mention of this in their appeal, nor refer to it without endangering Mary's life. When, on their march southwards, they sent eight hundred horsemen to Tutbury, where Mary was at that time imprisoned, they learned on the way that the Queen of Scots had been removed to Coventry.

Everything pointed to the necessity of the quick delivery of a master stroke, the success of which would have brought many supporters to the standard of the insurgents; it was probably for that reason that Sussex avoided a pitched battle. When, however, the rising had failed to spread during the first

[1] Pollen in *The Month*, IC., 136 *seq.*

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 45 *seq.* GREEN, III. *Cf.* the proclamation of November 19, 1569, to the same effect, in SPILLMANN, II., 97 *seq.*; GONZALEZ, 343.

[3] Sadler, November 26, 1569, in GREEN, 123; LINGARD, VIII., 47.

eight days, and the hope of receiving the expected assistance from Alba had almost disappeared, while the Earl of Warwick was advancing from the south with an army, Northumberland and Westmoreland fell back to their fortresses and territory in the north. In the new appeals which they then issued they no longer spoke of restoring the old religion, but dwelt only on the need of settling the succession to the throne; they declared that the efforts of the old nobility were directed to this end, and that their efforts were being opposed by certain upstarts in the queen's Council; therefore they were obliged to take forcible measures.[1] The studied inaction of the Earl of Sussex made it possible for the two Earls to win some small successes. But when Warwick and his army were not more than a day's march away, Sussex also pushed forward, whereupon the insurgents began to disperse. Disagreement between the two leaders completed the breaking up of the whole force, and Northumberland and Westmoreland sought safety over the Scottish border. Sussex had reinforced his army in the Catholic north, so that the Catholics were scattered by their own co-religionists. Cecil could boast that the queen had found supporters among all classes of her subjects, without any distinction of religion.[2]

The suppression of the rising had cost no bloodshed, but all the greater was the toll of human life taken by Elizabeth in revenge after her victory. In order to strike terror into the people the queen proceeded with the extremity of rigour. All those of the insurgents who were possessers of property were brought to judgment, while the poorer folk were hanged wholesale. About 900 persons were thus put to death during the course of the judicial proceedings; in the county of Durham alone Sussex condemned three hundred and fourteen persons to the gallows. Elizabeth wished to employ the ordinary tribunals against others who had shared in the rising, but she gave way before the objection raised by the crown lawyers that if she did so there were some places which would be depleted of the whole of their population. Those who were

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 48.

[2] HOSACK, I., 494.

spared, however, were forced to take, not only the oath of loyalty, but also that of supremacy.[1] In spite of this terrorism, however, the rising still had an after effect. In February, 1570, Leonard Dacre, a scion of a noble family, called to arms the wild inhabitants of the Border, but his three thousanp followers were defeated in a bloody battle; Dacre fled to Scotland, and afterwards to Flanders.[2]

Dacre's attempt was on the point of being crushed, the rising of 1569 had long been suppressed, and yet it would seem that the news of events of the last few months had not even reached Flanders, so that on February 14th, 1570, Nicholas Sanders had recourse to Rome from Louvain for help for the insurgents.[3] Two Catholic Earls, he wrote,[4] together with a number of the nobility, have taken up arms in the Catholic cause, in the expectation that Rome will not abandon them. The help

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 51. SPILLMANN, II., 99 *seqq*. On February 9, 1570, Spes wrote to Philip II. that the number of those who had been hanged was certainly more than 700; on the 25th of the same month he reported that the executions were still going on (Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 333, 337). On December 28, 1569, the Earl of Sussex wrote to Cecil: "I guess the numbcr will be 600 or 700 that shall be executed of the common sort, besidcs the prisoners taken in the field. I trust to use such discretion as that no sort shall escape from example, and that the example shall be very great." (GREEN, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 169). BROSCH, (VI., 554) gives the following opinion: this "act of repression, carried out by the express orders of the queen" must "be considered as the darkest stain upon her character, and the most shameful of all her acts." On March 31, 1570, in pardoning some of the more prominent insurgents, Elizabeth wrote that she was only sparing four of them because their lives might be useful to her. GREEN, 266; *cf*. 183, 188.

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 52 *seq*.

[3] At that time "the English ports were so strictly watched that the English Catholics in the Low Countries for a time were quite out of touch with their country." MEYER, 105.

[4] *A. M. A. Graziani, Lovanii 15 Cal. mart. 1570, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Istrutt. I. 26. See the text in App. n. 7.

that they look for to Rome consists only in this, that they may be released from their obedience to the queen, and may thus be able to convince everyone that they have taken up arms, not as rebels, but as loyal sons of the Church. No reply had come from Rome as to this, and in consequence many questions had reached Louvain as to the lawfulness of armed resistance.[1] In this state of doubt 4,000 had gone to Scotland, and were there awaiting the Pope's decision; for three months they had been waiting there for the Pope to take action against Elizabeth. Many of the English were prepared to follow their example. If the Pope would allow them to retain possession of the Church property which they had obtained unlawfully, then the whole of the nobility, with very few exceptions, would take up the Catholic cause, because nothing was holding them back but the fear that the restoration of the Papal authority would involve the loss of their possessions; otherwise they were almost all Catholics. Six or seven of the great earls and barons could be safely counted upon, and more than a thousand of the gentry. Heresy had only infected five or six of the earls, and for the rest, the heretical party was made up of a few effeminate courtiers and of artisans; the peasants, by far the greater part of the populations, were all Catholics. Two things then had to be done in Rome; the Pope must openly take part against Elizabeth, and encourage the English nobility to stand up for the faith, promising them that they would not have to restore the Church property. Then, in the opinion of the far-seeing, not only all the Catholics to a man, but also all those who were wavering, and even some of the schismatics themselves, would take up arms. The Pope had made a good beginning by sending Nicholas Morton to England, but he must not desert the Catholics now. A letter had arrived from Spain, from the Duchess of Feria, stating that Philip II. intended to help the English Catholics.

Sanders' letter reached Rome on March 21st; Graziani's reply, dated March 29th,[2] shows that there too they were not fully informed as to recent events in England. As a

[1] See *supra* p. 203.

[2] In Mai, Spicel. Rom., VIII., 456 *seq.*

matter of fact, the appeal for help sent to Rome on November 7th, 1569, by Northumberland and Westmoreland, a week before the rising, only arrived there on February 16th, 1570, and had not been answered until February 22nd.[1] In his letter the Pope exhorted the two earls to be constant and loyal, because it might be that God had chosen them to restore unity between England and the Apostolic See. If they were called upon to shed their blood for the defence of the faith and the authority of the Pope, it would be better for them to pass to eternal life by means of a glorious death, than to continue to serve in a shameful life the caprices of a woman who was the slave of her passions, and forfeit the salvation of their souls.[2] Pius V. had already made an attempt to support the English rising. On February 3rd, 1570, he had recommended to the Duke of Alba those English nobles who, for the restoration of the Catholic religion, had taken up arms in a war which was as religious as it was just, and were prepared to sacrifice both property and life for the cause of God.[3] He had recourse to Philip II, in the same sense before he issued the bull of excommunication.[4] He further gave orders to Ridolfi to assist the earls with money.[5]

[1] LADERCHI, 1570, n. 384. GOUBAU, 590 (with date February 20). News reached Rome in the middle of January of a rising of the Catholics, and fervent prayers were made to God for the success of the insurgents: *" Per l'aviso della solevatione delli catholici in Inghilterra so fanno qui di continuo orationi acciò Iddio augmenti le forze a quelli buoni spiriti." Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 217b, Vatican Library.

[2] LADERCHI, 1570, n. 384.

[3] LADERCHI, 1570, n. 383. GOUBAU, 373 *seq.* (with date February 4).

[4] February 21, 1570, LADERCHI, 1570, n. 316.

[5] Letter to the two earls of February 20, 1570, in GOUBAU, 293. Pius V. had promised the English Catholics a sum of 100,000 ducats (Zuñiga to Philip II., March 7, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 249): he sent them 12,000 scudi as an instalment by Ridolfi (Zuñiga to Philip II., February 28, 1570, *ibid.* 246). On May 13, 1570, Ridolfi inquired of Spes how he could send the Pope's money to the two earls (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations,

As had been the case with Sanders, the Pope also received advice as to the best way to bring back England to the Church from other English exiles,[1] some of whom, like Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Richard Shelley, Prior of the Knights of St. John, were resident in the Eternal City, and were asked for their advice on English affairs.[2] But all these had been out of touch with their country for over ten years, and Pius V. would not let himself be decided by their advice alone to take steps against Elizabeth. When, however, Morton, whom he had himself sent to England, declared on his return that the moment for action had come, and when letters received from England stated that the Catholics there were only refraining from taking up arms against Elizabeth because she had not as yet been declared a heretic and deposed by the sentence of the Apostolic See,[3] Pius no longer delayed in opening the proceedings in due form against the "pretended" Queen of England (February 5th, 1570).[4] Twelve refugees who were

V., 653 *seq.*; *cf.* Spes to Philip II., on the same date, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 352). Alba replied to the question of Spes (Kervyn de Lettenhove, *loc. cit.*, 655), that he was writing on the subject to Philip II. and that in the meantime the ambassador must not mix himself up in the affair (*ibid.* 657).

[1] Thus *Caligari wrote to Commendone from Pieve on December 6, 1567, that a young Englishman had sent him a document in which he had explained what the Pope could do for England. Someone must be sent quite secretly to England (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* *Discorso fatto a Pio V. dal priore d'Inghilterra Cav. Hierosolymitano [Shelley] sopra la riduttione di quel regno in Cod. Ottob., 2432, p. 160-178, Vatican Library, Shelley's discourse is also in Cod. 6820, p. 199 *seq.*, Court Library, Vienna.

[2] Graziani to Sanders, March 29, 1569, in Mai, Spicil., VIII., 457 *seq.* A Scottish noble who had been exiled on account of the faith was also in Rome in 1569, and received 300 scudi from the Pope as well as recommendations. *Avviso di Roma of June 29, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 102, Vatican Library.

[3] On several occasions Pius V. stated that he had been led to issue his bull of excommunication by the insistence of the English Catholics. *Cf.* *infra* p. 214.

[4] In Laderchi, 1570, n. 332-345.

living in Rome were summoned and questioned as to whether they could testify that Elizabeth had assumed the position of head of the Church of England,[1] that she had deposed and imprisoned Catholic bishops and given their office to schismatics and laymen, exercised the right of making the visitation of churches, and introduced an oath and laws directed against the Apostolic See ; further, whether by her authority heresy was preached, and she herself lived as a heretic, and had it in her power to suppress heresy. These questions related to things which were known to all, but the obtaining of proofs

[1] "Utrum regina Angliae usurpaverit auctoritatem capitis ecclesiae Anglicanae" In the acta of the inquiry it is maintained that Elizabeth had taken upon herself the *title* of "head of the church." In the deposition of Shelley it is stated that the oath of supremacy insisted on the recognition of Elizabeth as "principem et gubernatricem rerum tam ecclesiasticarum quam profanarum" (LADERCHI, 1570, n. 329). Bishop Goldwell was only asked whether Elizabeth had assumed the "authority" of head of the church and he testified that the Catholic bishops would not agree to her being called "gubernatricem summam ecclesiae particularis" and that they had accordingly been deposed (*ibid.* n. 332). In the Pope's final sentence it was stated that the oath of supremacy insisted that no one should be accepted except the queen as "supremam gubernatricem tam in spiritualibus et ecclesiasticis quam in temporalibus," and this is the exact expression of the title claimed by Elizabeth (*cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 407). It cannot therefore be said (with MEYER, 68) that they did not know in Rome what ecclesiastical title was borne by the Queen of England, and Protestant polemics go too far (MEYER, 69) when they take as a usurpation of the *title* of "head of the church" the passage in the bull of excommunication : "supremi Ecclesiae capitis *locum* in omni Anglia eiusque praecipuam *auctoritatem* atque *iurisdictionem* monstruose sibi usurpans." They had the formula of the oath of supremacy in Rome (LADERCHI, 1570, n. 325). Elsewhere, in a letter to Philip II. of March 8, 1570 (in GOUBAU, 305) it is stated of Elizabeth : "Ipsa se . . . Anglicanae ecclesiae *caput* appellavit." It was maintained at that time (June, 1571) even by the Protestant party, that Elizabeth had the same power as the Pope ; see GREEN, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 353.

was carried out in full accordance with the requirements of the law. On February 12th the inquiry came to an end, and on the 25th a bull solemnly pronounced sentence on Elizabeth. In this bull, on the ground of his duty of preserving from corruption all those who belonged to the one true Church and of punishing apostates, and in virtue of the supreme powers conferred upon him, the Pope declared Elizabeth to be guilty of heresy, and of encouraging heresy, to have incurred excommunication, and therefore to have forfeited her "pretended right" to the English crown; her subjects were no longer bound by any oath of loyalty to her, and under pain of excommunication could no longer yield her obedience.[1]

Pius V. frequently assured the Spanish ambassador that he had issued the bull of excommunication in response to the requests of the English Catholics, who had scrupled about taking up arms against Elizabeth so long as she was not declared to be a heretic and deposed by the Pope; that his intention had been to encourage them, and that since the English Catholics had asked for sentence against Elizabeth, he could not in conscience refuse it.[2]

[1] Bull. Rom., VII., 810 *seq.* A photograph of the bull in POLLEN, English Catholics, p. 150.

[2] Thus in many letters from Zuñiga to Philip II.: "Dixome que ellos mismos se lo pedian porque estavan en escrupulo de no tomar las armas contra ella hasta que S.S. la huviesse declarado y privado de su reyno." (April 10, 1570, Corresp. dipl. III., 291). "Està confiado de que los catholicos de Inglaterra han de hazer grande levantarmiento este verano; y para darles animo ha ya declarado a la Reyna de Inglaterra y pribadola del reyno, aunque no lo ha publicado aqui. . . . No le pareçió que podria dexar de hazer [the declarations against Elizabeth] por la instancia que los catholicos de aquel reyno le hazian, afirmandole que havia muchos que tenian escrupulo de levantarse contra la reyna no estando declarada por S.S." (April 28, 1570, *ibid* 307 *seq.*). "Asseguróme mucho . . . que solamente se havia movido por *una carta firmada de muchos catholicos de Inglaterra,* los quales le prometian, etc." (June 10, 1570, *ibid.* 397). . . . . "que havia hecho esta declaraçion a instançia de muchos catholicos de Inglaterra . . . y que no le pareçia que con su consçiençia

This makes it easy to understand why the Pope did not publish the bull in the customary form, but only took steps to have it made known in England. By a brief of March 30th, 1570, copies of the bull were sent to Alba, in order that he might have it displayed in Flanders, especially in the sea-ports ;[1] on account of the great trade carried on by English merchants in the Flemish ports the news of the Papal sentence would be bound very soon to make its way across the channel. For the same reason the bull was also sent to France ;[2] other reasons led to the fact that the nuncio in Poland also received orders to publish it on April 29th.[3] In order to make the bull known in England the banker Ridolfi was used as an intermediary, and about eighty copies of the bull were sent to him to distribute.[4] In Rome itself, on the other hand, the bull

podia dexar de hacer justicia pidiendosela los catholicos . . ." (August 11, 1570, *ibid.* 499). *Cf.* Arco to Maximilian II., May 6, 1570, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 160.

[1] LADERCHI, 1570, n. 377. BROM (Archiv., I., 207) dated the brief March 3.

[2] Zuñiga to Philip II., June 10, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 396. From Ridolfi Spes received a copy sent by the French nuncio (Spes to Alba, May 10, 1570, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 652). Alba gave Spes instructions to deny, if necessary, all knowledge of the bull (May 25, 1570, *ibid.* 657).

[3] *Nunziatura di Polonia, I., 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] " *Affine che li catholici con maggior fervor dessino aiuto all' impresa di detto duca [Norfolk] e Regina di Scotia ; e a questo effetto spedì corriero a me Ridolfi con forse ottanta di dette bolle parte in stampa e parte in penna, con ordine espresso che per quanto desiderano il servitio suo e della Sede Apostolica e di tutta la cristianità facessi opera che subito le dette bolle si spargessino e publicassino in Inghilterra senza haver rispetto a qualsi fussi mio interesse, perchè mi prometteva che la Sede Apostolica mi ricompensarebbe, e che del continuo tutta la cristianità, come diceva, faceva orazione per me, accioche conducessi a perfettione cotanta impresa ; il che da me [sic !] con quel zelo maggiore che fusse possibile, fu esegiuto, havendone di notte appicata una alla porta del vescovo di Londra et altra lassata a casa di un gentilhomo Inglese, quali la mattina riempiernono

of excommunication was kept almost entirely secret. As late as April the Pope spoke of proceedings against Elizabeth as being only imminent,[1] and on April 15th the Imperial ambassador, Arco, reported it as being a matter of hearsay.[2] It was only in May that the bull appeared in Rome in printed form, but was at once withdrawn from sale.[3] The usual formalities which in other cases were looked upon as essential for the promulgation of pontifical enactments, were never complied with in the case of the bull of excommunication.[4]

la detta città et tutta la corte con le copie che ne furono fatte di tanto spavento e romore, che con le altre appresso che havevo che furono lassate cadere in diversi luoghi del Regno, che poco mancò che non seguisse de fatto una gran sollevazione. Il che intesosi per detto duca di Northfolch e Regina di Scotia sollecitorno per mezzo mio la conclusione de le pratiche, e cosi in pochi giorni convennono e del parentado infra di loro e de la lega, della quale desiderandone per li aiuti che si promettevano la confermatione, e dal Papa e dal Re catholico, parve a detta Regina di Scotia e al duca di spedire me medesimo a S. S^{tà} e Maestà cattolica." Ridolfi to the Pope (Gregory XIII.) s.d. Chigi Library, Rome, Miscell., t. 48, p. 39 *seqq.*

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., April 10, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 291.

[2] *State Archives, Vienna.

[3] SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 160.

[4] A document containing questions and answers concerning doubts of conscience felt by English Catholics, drawn up in Rome in the time of Gregory XIII., mentions in the first place that several maintained, against the validity of the bull, the difficulty: "quod non fuerit hic [in Rome] more aliarum in Campo Florae et alibi promulgata." (*English Historical Review*, VII., 1892, 84). Objections to the legal validity of the bull were raised by Protestants like Camden, and by de Thou (see LADERCHI, 1570, n. 366 *seqq.*), by Gallicans, like Noel Alexander, and recently by Meyer (p. 66 *seqq.*). But there is no force in the objection that according to canon law a prince can only be excummunicated after previous warning, and that between the excommunication and the deposition a year must elapse, and that consequently the bull against Elizabeth was contrary to law, since in no case would the omission of such formalities render the excommunication *invalid*. According to Catholic principles the Pope can

The means chosen by Pius V. for the promulgation of the bull did not serve their intended purpose. Through the Spanish ambassador in Rome Alba protested strongly against its publication,[1] and the King of France as well could not be induced to publish it.[2] In spite of this, however, the bull found its way to England.[3] On the morning of May 25th, 1570, it was found affixed to the doors of the Bishop of London's palace. Suspicion for this bold act fell upon John Felton, a respected and wealthy gentleman of Southwark, who at once confessed to it, and until his terrible death at the hands of the hangman he continued to recognize the validity of the Papal sentence.[4]

That the bull was intended merely to enlighten the English Catholics, and that there was at first no thought of enforcing it by the arms of a foreign power is especially proved by the fact that the King of Spain, to whom the execution of the sentence would obviously fall, was not informed of the Papal sentence. It is true that Arco wrote on April 15th, 1570, to Vienna that, according to the common report, the Pope had sent the bull only to Spain,[5] but even on July 17th the

either completely annul and change the law prescribing or recommending such formalities, or dispense them in any particular case. Moreover, any such law refers to an excommunication which is to be inflicted in the future, whereas Elizabeth had for a long time past, and quite manifestly, incurred excommunication. How, for that matter, could a warning be given to her if a Papal nuncio was not to be received in England ? *Cf.* against N. Alexander Dom. Bernino, Historia di tutte l'heresie, VII., Venice, 1724, 524 *seq.*

[1] Alba to Zuñiga, May 18, 1570, in Gonzalez, 415-419; *cf.* Mignet, II., 509 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., III., 396.

[2] Rusticucci to Castagna, August 11, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 509.

[3] An Irish bishop and abbot who came to Rome had copies (Spes to Philip II., May 13, 1570, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 352). A month after the issue of the bull Mary Stuart had a printed copy. Labanoff, IV., 52; *cf.* Spillmann, II., 109.

[4] Spillmann, II., 109 *seqq.*

[5] *State Archives, Vienna.

nuncio at Madrid only knew by hearsay that a decree against Elizabeth was in existence, and that a copy had reached Spain from England.[1] The Spanish ambassador, whom the Pope informed of his plans against Elizabeth in April, at once raised serious difficulties: they must not dare to attempt any such thing until everything was in readiness for the carrying into effect of the Papal sentence, since otherwise all that they would obtain would be the stirring up of the queen to the destruction of her Catholic subjects. He repeated the same thing on a subsequent occasion.[2] Philip himself was very angry that he, who knew more about English affairs than anyone else, had not first been asked for his advice, and he remarked: It would seem that the Pope thinks that his own zeal is a guarantee of success, but it is to be feared that this hasty step will make the position of the Catholics in England very much worse.[3] On July 15th Zuñiga was told to protest to the Pope; the fact that no mention was made in the bull of Philip's name would be taken as a sign of favouritism for France, but the King of Spain would never allow France to set foot in England.[4] Philip wrote to Elizabeth that no act of the Pope had caused him so much displeasure as the bull of excommunication;[5] and he did not even recall his ambassador from London, though the latter was soon afterwards forcibly driven out by Elizabeth.

[1] Castagna to Bonelli, July 17, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 465. MEYER, 415.

[2] Zuñiga to Philip II., Apr. 10 and 24, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 291, 308.

[3] Philip II. to Spes, June 30, 1570, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 367. The copies sent to him by Spes of the bull and of the brief to Northumberland and Westmoreland, are, as he states, the first which he has seen "porque, en efecto, Su Santitad ha tomado esta deliberacion sin decirme ni comunicarme cosa alguna." Philip attributed the bull to the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine. KRETZSCHMAR, Invasionsprojekte, 27.

[4] Zuñiga to Philip II., August 11, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 499; *cf. ibid.* 493, the report of Castagna to Bonelli of August 4, 1570, concerning his audience with Philip II.

[5] MEYER, 64.

In June, 1570, Zuñiga began to try and get the Pope to mitigate or withdraw the bull of excommunication. Pius V. went so far as to approve of Alba's withholding its publication and in view of the reluctance shown by Alba and France, he seemed to be not altogether sorry if the Papal sentence did not come to the knowledge of Elizabeth. The Pope, however, would not agree to Zuñiga's other proposals, the suspension of the bull, and merely releasing Elizabeth's subjects from their oath of allegiance to her by means of a brief, saying that at the utmost they might omit the words in the bull which inflicted excommunication upon those who obeyed the English queen. [1]

Alba's remonstrances in August, 1570, were just as ineffectual. Experience had shown, so the Duke wrote, that the excommunication of the queen had not had the desired result, but had even brought grave injuries upon the Catholics. A solid reason had been given for the persecution, and since loyalty to Elizabeth was threatened with excommunication the Catholics had no other course open to them than to abandon their country, which of itself implied the end of the Catholic religion in England. It seemed to the Pope, however, that not even these reasons justified him in withdrawing the bull once it had been issued. Nor could he approve of Alba's other proposal of at least suspending the penalties inflicted on the Catholics by means of a brief, it being sufficient, in his opinion, that Alba should make it known to the English Catholics that if they remained in their own country they would not be held to be excommunicated by the Pope. Alba retorted that he did not consider this expedient satisfactory, since he could not get into touch with the whole of the English Catholics and that no one in England would be bound to believe his statement.[2]

About this time a proposal was put forward by an Italian merchant as to how the bull of excommunication could be put

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., June 10, 1570, Corresp. dipl., III., 396 *seq.*

[2] Zuñiga to Philip II., August 11, 1570, *ibid.* 500.

into force without having recourse to arms. Let it be published in Spain, Flanders and France, and then, on the strength of the Papal sentence, let the kings of France and Spain be forbidden all trade with England; this maritime blockade would force Elizabeth to give way. It would seem that this suggestion recommended itself to Pius V., and he ordered the Spanish ambassador to write to Philip II. Zuñiga considered the plan quite impracticable,[1] and Philip II., to whom it was submitted by Castagna, was of the same opinion.[2]

The bull was not without its dangers for the English government. Even though, politically speaking, it had hardly any effect, yet, after the rising of the previous year, there was still much unrest among the people. It is true that externally but little resistance was offered to an order issued to the magistrates obliging them to the rigorous enforcement of the law compelling attendance at worship, but the Protestant Bishop of Durham, after his visitation of the summer of 1570, had to report that the greater part of the people was secretly and eagerly seeking an opportunity for fresh disturbances.[3] Grindal of York made the same complaint: in his opinion the greater part of the nobility did not entertain friendly feelings towards the true (Protestant) religion.[4] In Lancashire the people were very hostile towards Protestantism, and as a result of the bull, the leading men of the county had abandoned the Anglican divine worship and had openly welcomed priests from Louvain.[5] Henceforward the bull awakened among the

[1] *Ibid.* 500 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of July 1, 1570, Varia polit., 100, p. 175-177, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Meyer, 72, 417.

[3] Frere, 151.

[4] "The greatest part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly religion." (Frere, 151). *Cf.* the opinion of Sadler of December 6, 1569 (in Green, 139; Lingard, VIII., 46): in northern England there are not ten nobles "that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceeding in the cause of religion."

[5] "All things in Lancashire savoured of open rebellion . . . in most places the people fell from their obedience and utterly refused to attend divine service in the English tongue. . . . Since

Catholics the consciousness that they could not be excused for attendance at Protestant worship on the plea of obedience to the queen.

Although she pretended to despise the Papal sentence, Elizabeth nevertheless brought pressure to bear on the Pope through the Emperor Maximilian II. for the withdrawal of the bull.[1] But not even now would Pius V. agree to this. If, he replied, the queen attributes any importance to the bull, why does she not return to the Church? If she attaches no importance to it, why does she make an uproar about it? Elizabeth's threats could do him no harm: if he could extinguish her hatred by shedding his own blood, he would find greater joy in so doing than he found in the possession of the Papal dignity.[2] Elizabeth therefore was forced to reply in some other way to the Papal sentence. Above all, she tried to win over public opinion; pamphlets, to a great extent "in the coarsest and most vulgar tone," did their best to drag the Pope and his sentence through the mire of ridicule.[3] Next there came from the Parliament, which had

Felton set up the bull, etc., the greatest there never came to any service, nor suffered any to be said in their houses, but openly entertained Louvanists massers with their bulls." (Bishop Barnes of Carlisle to the Earl of Sussex, October 16, 1570, in GREEN, 321; *cf.* FRERE, 152). *Cf.* the letter of the Countess of Northumberland to Alba (end of October, 1570 ?), in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 8; especially in Lancashire some "après qu'ils ont eu congnoissance de l'excommunication faicte contre la personne de la Royne d'Angleterre" have restored the Catholic worship in their houses and parishes.

[1] Maximilian II. to Pius V., September 28, 1570, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 159 *seq.*

[2] January 5, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 381; SPILLMANN, II., 132-134.

[3] MEYER, 69 *seqq.* On June 12, 1570, Spes wrote to Philip II. that the Protestants were providing themselves with arms against their enemies and with books against the bull. (Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 353). Bullinger's confutation. A Confutation of the Pope's Bull, London, 1572, which Burghley, Parker, Grindal and Cox caused to be printed, deals in part with the

assembled on April 2nd, 1571, a series of laws, which were partly aimed against the risings of recent years, but partly also against Catholics as such.[1] Henceforward he must be held guilty of high treason who, while the queen lived, claimed any right to the crown, or who asserted that the crown belonged to anyone but the queen, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant or infidel, or that she had usurped the throne ; the same thing applied to those who denied that the succession to the throne was settled by the decision of Parliament. One year's imprisonment was to be the punishment for the first offence, and the penalties of the statute of *praemunire* for the second, for anyone who in writing or in print spoke of any definite person as the heir to the throne, even though he should be the natural successor of the queen. The penalties of high treason applied to anyone who obtained or made use of a Papal bull or the like, or who on the strength of such documents gave or asked for absolution, with the penalties of *praemunire* for his accomplices and for anyone who introduced into the country or received objects blessed by the Pope. A further projected law, making it obligatory to receive the Protestant communion, was allowed to drop.

Seventy years later, when the Spaniards demanded of Urban VIII. that he should inflict excommunication on Riche-

question whether the deposed Catholic bishops were treated kindly or cruelly by Elizabeth (*cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 235 *seq.*). On p. 60 of Bullinger we actually read : " Moreover it is impudently and untruthfully asserted that the Catholic bishops were worn out by their sufferings in prison and ended their days in misery. . . . On the contrary the papist bishops were treated kindly and far better than they deserved." On p. 47 on the other hand it is admitted that the bishops " ended their days miserably in prison," though this was entirely owing to their perversity. In the first-named passage (p. 60) the printed version is due to the fact that Bullinger's manuscript was altered in England, whereas they forgot or omitted to alter the second passage on p. 47 in the same sense. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM in *Histor polit. Blätter*, CXXXVI., (1905), 894.

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 69 *seq.*

lieu and Louis XIII. on account of their alliance with the Protestants, the Pope rejected the demand by pointing to the uselessness of such proceedings in the case of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.[1] Since then the Holy See has never again pronounced a sentence of deposition against a reigning prince.

While Catholic writers defended the bull as being in accordance with ancient law,[2] Protestants waged a violent war against it. These polemical writers did much to sharpen and embitter for many centuries to come the religious differences between the members of the same nation ; it was only too easy to represent as a claim, the renewal of which even under the totally different conditions of later times was a thing to be feared, and as importing a continued menace to the safety of princes, a right which the Pope possessed in the Middle Ages with the full consent of the nations, and which he thought it his duty to exercise once more in the transition period of the XVIth century. For more than a century the struggle against the bull of excommunication formed a stock part of Protestant polemics, and an excuse by which to justify any violation of justice at the expense of Catholic subjects and fellow-countrymen.[3]

As far as the English Catholics were concerned, the bull, with its prohibition of obedience to the queen, led to doubts and scruples, and consequently to various interpretations of the Papal prescriptions, as well as to divisions and disagreements.[4] Even worse was the fact that with the bull of excommunication and the laws which followed it there opened a new period in the story of the persecution of the English Catholics. Felton and Storey, who was especially hated by

[1] PIEPER in *Histor. polit. Blätter*, XCIV. (1884), 481. CAUCHIE ET MAERE, 237.

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 679.

[3] *Cf.* MEYER, 70 *seq.*

[4] *Cf. English Historical Review*, VII. (1892), 84 *seqq.*, for the questions and answers published by "Petriburg." (i.e. Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough).

Cecil, had already become its victims.[1] Several left their country and thus forfeited all their property, which was either given or sold for a large sum to the queen's adherents. Of those who stayed, the so-called "recusants," that is to say those who refused to take part in Protestant worship, were in daily and hourly expectation of the moment when the denunciation of some ill-wisher would drag them before the courts, with the inevitable consequence of large fines and imprisonment, or, in the case of converts, with the loss of their property and imprisonment for life. During the reign of Elizabeth, both secret and public ordinances, often repeated, and urging their strict enforcement, ensured that the laws should not fall into abeyance.[2] A proclamation of July 1st, 1570, had made the profession of priest-hunter and spy a profitable undertaking.[3] In England as elsewhere the XVIth century stands out as a time of the worst possible religious tyranny. The watchful care of the Pope and the fear of his punishments were things of the past, while on the other hand the excessive tyranny had not yet taught the oppressed to unite together to defend themselves by legal methods, and thus bring pressure to bear on the caprice of the oppressor. Looked at from this point of view the bull of excommunication of Pius V. throws a strong light upon the religious conditions of the XVIth century.

Mary Stuart, for whose sake the nobles had risen, and on whose behalf to some extent the Pope had issued the bull, did not derive the smallest advantage from it. John Knox, who as early as August, 1569, had accused "mad Scotland" of not

[1] SPILLMANN, II., 109. On July 31, 1570, Antonio de Guaras wrote from London that many persons were persecuted on account of the excommunication (Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 381). On August 12 he describes the zeal with which those who had received notice of the excommunication were being proceeded against as marvellous: many were in prison and some in danger of sharing the fate of Felton (*ibid.* 393).

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 138 *seq.*

[3] MEYER, 74 *seq.*

obeying the "mouth of God," and of having failed to punish as she deserved the "wicked adulteress and cruel murderess of her husband,"[1] after the victory over the two Catholic earls exhorted the secretary of state to strike a blow "at the roots," for otherwise "the branches" would very soon and very vigorously begin to shoot again.[2] On the same day Murray also wrote to the English secretary of state concerning "the dangerous branches of the rebellion": since Elizabeth had the origin of all the disturbances in her power, it would be her own fault if she now failed to deal with the evil.[3] As a matter of fact negotiations for the handing over of Mary to her half-brother in Scotland were already being carried on,[4] when Murray himself fell a victim to the private revenge of a noble whom he had offended.[5]

After the death of the regent Mary's party in Scotland was once more in the ascendant. Elizabeth therefore sent troops across the Border on the pretext of punishing the wild inhabitants of that district for their crimes, but in reality to hamper and paralyse Mary's supporters; once again fire and sword were let loose over the unhappy country; 500 villages were burned in the valley of the Teviot and the countryside was laid waste. Further military expeditions against Scotland followed, until at length the strong protests made by Mary in France and Spain caused Elizabeth to abandon the enterprise.[6] Moreover, when the negotiations for the marriage of the English queen to the Duke of Anjou were in progress in 1570, Cecil, at a personal interview with Mary, concluded with her on October 16th, 1570, the Treaty of Chatsworth, by the terms of which the Queen of Scotland was to be restored to her throne. Naturally, hard terms were imposed: among others she had to agree that her son should be educated in England

[1] HOSACK, I., 503.
[2] Knox to Cecil, January 2, 1570, *ibid.* 500.
[3] Murray to Cecil, January 2, 1570, *ibid.* 501.
[4] *Ibid.* 502.
[5] January 23, 1570. *Cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 53.
[6] HOSACK, II., 3 *seqq.* LINGARD, VIII., 54.

until his fifteenth year.[1] In a letter to Pius V.[2] Mary excused herself by saying that owing to the pressure of necessity she could not act otherwise, and that in spite of everything James would receive a Catholic education.

The agreement with Mary Stuart was not kept; even before all hopes of its being observed had vanished Mary informed Elizabeth through Leslie that she intended to ask for the help of the foreign princes to effect her restoration.[3]

Probably at this time Mary had already lent an ear to the proposals of the Florentine banker, Ridolfo Ridolfi, who even before this time, when the Catholic rising was in preparation, had taken a hand in the affair[4] and who, in the autumn of 1569, had fallen under suspicion of having assisted the rising, but had been taken back into the favour of Cecil and Walsingham after a short term of imprisonment. When the negotiations about the Treaty of Chatsworth had disappeared in smoke, he persuaded Mary no longer to put any confidence in Elizabeth, and to turn for help to the Catholic princes.[5] By the advice of her trusted minister, Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Spes, Mary accepted this suggestion and tried to win over to its support Norfolk, who had been released from the Tower in the previous autumn. The duke had then been made to promise that he would no longer think of a marriage with Mary without the consent of Elizabeth, but in spite of this he eventually consented to a secret meeting with Ridolfi. The Florentine told him that Spanish troops

[1] Hosack, II., 17 *seqq.*

[2] Of October 31, 1570, in Laderchi, 1570, n. 403; *cf.* Labanoff, VII., 19-23.

[3] "Quherfor our said good sister must aperdone ws, if we se na furtheraunce to be had at her hand, nether for our restitution nor for the relief of our saidis good subjects, that we solicit and ayde thame to procure thair support at other princes our frendis allyes" (Mary to Leslie, February 6, 1571, in Labanoff, III., 175). Mary was already thinking of sending Leslie to the Pope in 1570; her instructions in Labanoff, III., 57 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, pp. 203, 215.

[5] Hosack, II., 34.

under the command of Federigo di Toledo, Alba's son, were to be landed in England, and that with their help Mary was to be set at liberty. Norfolk did not give a formal consent to the plan, but Ridolfi left him with the impression that the duke intended to put himself at the head of the troops in order to set Mary free.

It was probably Leslie and the Spanish ambassador who gave currency to a detailed document,[1] in which Norfolk charged the Florentine to get into touch with Philip II., the Pope and Alba. They were to send from six to ten thousand men to England, whereupon Norfolk would furnish 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. If Mary were still kept in captivity, the duke would offer battle, and make an attempt to liberate Mary by force, and at the same time get possession of the person of the English queen, so as to have in her a hostage for the Queen of Scotland.[2] In this document the duke avowed himself a secret Catholic who had been obliged to conceal his real convictions solely in order that he might the better serve his country and the whole of Christendom. He declared that his principal object was not so much his marriage to the captive queen as the union of the whole island under one ruler, and the restoration of the old religion; for the rest, he had always been the defender of the Catholics, and his servants and the tutors of his children were Catholics.[3] A list of the English nobles was

[1] March, 1571, in LABANOFF, III., 234-239; a short epitome in GONZALES, 463.

[2] "Sono risoluto di voler tentare la fortuna di una battaglia, et far forza di cavarla di qua per forza, et insignorirmi a un tempo della propria persona della Regina d'Inghilterra per assicurarmi di quella della Regina di Scotia." LABANOFF, III., 245.

[3] "E. dove N.S^re^ et il Re Catholico fino a hora havessino havuto alcun dubbio di me per non mi essere dichiarato, anzi più presto mostromi protestante, gli significehrete, che non è stato per mala voluntà che io habbia havuto verso quella S.Sede, ma per potere quando il tempo et la occasione si appresentassi . . . fare quel relevato servitio a tutta questa isola et generalmente a tutta la christianità che lo effetto stesso dimostrerà." *Ibid.* 238.

attached, with a description of each one's opinions ;[1] according to this list forty of the nobles were ready to unsheathe their swords with Norfolk. Mary Stuart also gave the Florentine special instructions for his visit to the foreign courts.[2] In these Mary explains the difficult postition of the English Catholics, whose only hope lay in her ascending the throne, and she goes on to describe her own situation, which compelled her to appeal for help to the foreign princes, especially the Pope and Philip II. No fears need be entertained about Norfolk on account of the attitude which he had hitherto adopted with regard to religion ; this had been inevitable in the face of his wicked adversaries ; when the Protestants had advised her to change her religion he had urged her to stand firm ; Norfolk enjoyed the confidence of the Catholics, but in the meantime he could not disclose his real sentiments. Finally she begged the Pope to examine and to annul her marriage with Bothwell.[3]

Armed with these instructions, Ridolfi, in the spring of 1571, first repaired to Brussels to the Duke of Alba.

Mary had for a long time past been in treaty with Alba in order to obtain his help against her enemies in Scotland.[4] On November 3rd, 1569, when the *gueux* in Flanders seemed to be permanently broken up, when the Huguenots in France had been defeated, and after the seizure of the Spanish treasure[5] had afforded just cause for a war with England, a call to intervene in English affairs had also reached him from the Pope.[6] But Alba remained inactive. He sent the Scottish queen some subsidies in money, but for the rest his reply to Mary's entreaties took the form of a warning not to trust too

[1] *Ibid.* 251-253.

[2] *Ibid.* 222-233 ; GONZALES, 463-467 (Spanish translation).

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 173 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* her letters to Alba of April 23 and 30, May 16 and July 8, 1569, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, V., 371, 377, 385, 426.

[5] See *supra*, p. 204.

[6] See *supra* pp. 211, 219.

much in her advisers.[1] Mary replied that she hoped soon to be able to submit to Alba definite proposals, the carrying out of which would involve in everlasting gratitude to the King of Spain and the duke, not only herself, but the whole island, and that she was making these proposals not in her own name alone.[2] Thus was heralded the mission of Ridolfi, whom Norfolk as well provided with a letter for the King of Spain of the same date.[3]

A short time afterwards the Italian presented himself in person to the duke at Brussels; Alba received him and his proposals somewhat coldly. The Florentine banker, with his lack of experience of military matters seemed to the expert soldier "a great babbler"[4] and his plan for conquering England a castle in the air.

From Brussels Ridolfi went to Rome. His name was not unknown in the Curia; he had already laid the designs of Norfolk before the Holy See,[5] and had rendered important

[1] Letter of February 11, 1571, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *loc. cit.*, VI., 55. *Cf.* Alba to Spes, July 14, 1569, *ibid.* V., 429: "De Francia me han hoy avisado que se destruye enteramente la Reina de Escocia con las platicas que sus criados tienen con Vuestra Merced, los quales jamas entran en su posada que no sea espiandolos, y podriale costar a la Reina la vida. . . ."

[2] Mary to Alba, March 20, 1571, *ibid.* 90; LABANOFF, III., 216.

[3] Letter of Norfolk in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *loc. cit.*, 90 *seq.* Kervyn doubts its authenticity (*ibid.* p. iv.) and looks upon Ridolfi in general as a charlatan (Huguenots, II., 387, n. 5). LINGARD (VIII., 81) has the same opinion of him. POLLEN (*The Month*, IC., 1902, 147 n.) looks upon this view as exaggerated, and thinks that Ridolfi was *substantially honest*, and his papers *reliable on the whole.*

[4] "un gran parlanchin (GONZALEZ, 359); un hombre muy vacio" who did not know how to keep a secret, is what Alba calls him, September 5, 1571 (GACHARD, Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 198).

[5] Three letters from Ridolfi (of April 18, 1569, July 1, and September 1, 1570) are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives; their contents are in POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 144. A memorial of Ridolfi, of February 6, 1571, concerning the Pope's inclination to help Mary, in HOSACK, II., 502 *seq.*

services to the Pope. A letter from Alba to Zuñiga, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, had put the latter very much on his guard against the Florentine, and had also wrung from the Pope the declaration that nothing could be done in the matter against the opinion of Alba, but Zuñiga rightly thought that the letters from Mary and Norfolk might win the Pope over to their point of view.[1]

Pius V., who flattered himself that he might now see the bull of deposition carried into effect, gave the intermediary a letter of recommendation to Philip II.; in this letter it was stated that Ridolfi wished to lay before the king certain matters which were closely connected with the honour of God and the good of the Church: he urgently begged the king to trust him, and to lend him his assistance for the carrying out of his plans in every possible way.[2] As he wrote on the same day to Mary, the Pope had received Ridolfi with joy, and his mission with even greater joy; he must, however, leave the rest to the prudent judgment of the Spanish king and his greater experience of such matters. For his part he would support the plan with all his power. He exhorted the queen to patience

[1] Zuñiga to Philip II., April 30, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 258 *seq.* The letter of Alba was of April 8 (*ibid.* 259 n.). In a conversation with Zuñiga on April 30 Ridolfi represented the enterprise as being easy "como suelen hazer los que vienen con semejantes invenciones" (*ibid.* 258).

[2] Letter of May 5, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 6; *cf.* Bonelli to the nuncio in Madrid, Castagna, May 11, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 274 *seq.* "Il Sommo Pontifice ha gradito ed accettato tutto ciò che è stato concluso tra V.M. e l'Illustrissimo signor Duca di Norfolk ed altri nobili del regno, ha lodato le istruzioni che gli ho mostrate, e comprovato il loro disegno; e siccome sa che ogni grazia e bene procede da Dio, non si può dire con quanta calde orazioni questo Santo Pastore favorisce i loro desideri ed il buon fine dell'impresa, ed è meraviglia con quanta inclinazione e veramente paterno animo, abbraccia e desidera il bene e il comando di V. M. e dei suoi amici confederati." Ridolfi to Mary, in FRANCESCO FABERI, S. Pio V. Studio storico, Siena, 1893, 107.

if during the summer it should still be necessary to wait before any steps were taken.[1]

At the end of June Ridolfi reached Madrid, and on the 28th he presented to the king the Pope's brief, together with the latters of receommendation from Mary, Norfolk, and the Spanish ambassador in London.[2]

Ridolfi found a zealous supporter of his plans in the Spanish nuncio, Castagna, who had already sought Philip's intervention in English affairs. In Castagna's opinion, Ridolfi had come at exactly the right moment; he at once spoke to the king on the subject, and through his influence the Florentine was able to lay his proposals before the sovereign on July 3rd, 1571, and to all appearances met with a favourable reception.[3] It seemed indeed that at that moment Philip was willing to strike a blow at England. He spoke at greater length on the subject with the nuncio, and with more warmth than was usual with him, declaring that it seemed to him that the moment had come to bring back England to the true faith for the second time, that the Pope had promised all possible help, and that the hesitation of France would be removed once the enterprise was embarked upon in the Pope's name, and on the ground of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. Ridolfi assured him that the Pope would agree to this, and accordingly Philip even took the preliminary steps. On July 12th a courier set out to Alba and to the Spanish ambassador in London, to convey the news to Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, while the king repeatedly sent for Ridolfi in order to learn fuller details.[4] On August 23rd

[1] LADERCHI, 1571, n. 9. Ridolfi also presented a letter from Norfolk; *ibid.*

[2] Philip II. to Spes, July 13, 1571, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 477. The recommendations from Spes for Ridolfi to Philip II. and Zayas, of March 25, 1571, *ibid.* 444 *seq.* Ridolfi left Rome on May 20. Corresp. dipl., IV., 338 n.

[3] Castagna to Ruscticucci, July 3, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 380.

[4] Castagna to Rusticucci, July 9, 1571, *ibid.* 381 *seq.* Zayas to Zuñiga, July 17, 1571, *ibid.* 389.

Castagna wrote: all are in favour of the English enterprise, with one exception[1]—but this one exception has much of importance to say. The nuncio had already hinted at this when he wrote that the affair would certainly have been carried out if Alba had not held the king back.[2]

Long before Ridolfi's arrival in Madrid a detailed statement of his plan had been received from Alba.[3] The experienced commander looked upon the proposals of the amateur soldier as impracticable in their present form. Spain could not land troops in England without bringing both France and Germany into the field against herself. The Florentine's plans were only practicable supposing *one* condition were fulfilled. At that time Elizabeth was suffering from an ulcer in the leg, which was thought to be cancer.[4] Alba wrote that if the Queen of England were to die "by a natural death or in some other way," or if she were to fall into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk,[5] the jealousy of the other nations would not be aroused if Mary Stuart's claims to the English throne were supported by armed force.

At the bottom of his heart Philip II. himself did not attach great weight to Ridolfi's original proposals, and on July 7th a conference was held on the suggestions of Alba, and especially on the question whether an attempt ought to be made "to kill" the queen, "or to capture her."[6] The outcome of this

[1] To Rusticucci, *ibid.* 413.

[2] Corresp. dipl., IV., 390 n.: "Se de la parte del Duca d'Alba non viene raffredato, io tengo per certo che la impresa serà posta in opera."

[3] Of May 7, 1571 (reached Madrid May 22), in A. Teulet, Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse, V., Paris, 1862, 74-87; Mignet, II., 510-518.

[4] Pollen in *The Month*, XCIX. (1902), 145.

[5] "Pero en caso que la reina de Inglaterra huviesse muerta o de muerte natural o de otra, o que ellos se apoderassen de su persona, sin que V. M^d^ se huviesse entremetido en esto, entonces no hallaria yo difficultad." In Mignet, II., 516.

[6] We only have meagre accounts of this consultation, in Mignet, II., 518-521, which for the most part are so difficult to understand

discussion is furnished in a memorial drawn up by Ridolfi: the whole enterprise is left in the hands of the Duke of Alba; he will decide the favourable moment for putting it into execution, and he will come to an arrangement with Norfolk and Spes for simultaneously obtaining possession of the queen, the Tower of London and the English fleet at Rochester.[1]

The condition which the king asked for, and which Ridolfi had declared to be satisfactory to the Pope, namely that the campaign against England should be carried on in the name of the Pope, and on the ground of the bull of excommunication, had in the meantime spontaneously been suggested to the king by Pius V. The entire direction of the enterprise, however, was to remain in the hands of the king, but if it were thought to be desirable the Pope was ready to confer upon the com-

that, e.g., the purpose of Velasco is understood by MIGNET (II., 162) and KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE (Relations, VI., 5) in quite a contrary sense. The accounts begin with the proposition: "Que convenia comenzar por ellos y matar ó prender la reina. Que de otra manera luego se casaria y mataria á la de Escocia." GONZALEZ (p. 361) understands "matar ó prender" as capture *and* kill. Several later historians followed him. But according to the sources published so far, more cannot be stated as to the Spanish plan than is stated by HERGENRÖTHER (Kirche und Staat, 680): "there was an intention of obtaining possession, in any case, of her person, and only in the case of extreme emergency of killing her." *Cf.* POLLEN, English Catholics, 176. If it was intended to capture Elizabeth by a *coup de main* the possibility of her losing her life must have been taken into consideration.

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., v. On June 12, 1571, Spes had written to Philip II.: "if on the landing of 12,000 to 15,000 soldiers, with a corresponding force of cavalry, the English should obtain possession of the queen, the enterprise would have half succeeded. It would also be well at once to capture Cecil, Leicester and Bedford, as well as the fleet at Rochester." This bold but visionary undertaking seemed to the ambassador quite easy: "todo lo qual es harto fácil." Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 354.

mander appointed by Philip the title of pontifical general.[1] At the same time Pius V. regretted the fact that the actual help which the Pope could give would be but small; the undertaking was of the greatest importance for the service of God and the welfare of the Church; in spite of his poverty he would do all that he could, and if necessary would not grudge even the chalices from the altars and the pontifical vestments.[2] The Pope would allow him to employ against England a part of the ecclesiastical revenues which had been set aside for the enterprise against the Turks.[3]

The royal council, however, rejected the proposal to undertake the expedition in the name of the Pope, from a reluctance to acquiesce in the slightest degree in the claims of the Apostolic See over the crowns of England and Ireland.[4]

The Duke of Alba showed himself but little pleased with the fresh task laid upon him by his sovereign, and made serious objections.[5] In the event of ill-success, he remarked, Philip's intervention would make enemies of England, France and Germany, would perhaps lead to a war with France, and inflict serious injury in the Low Countries on the very religion he was trying to protect in England; the Venetians too might lose confidence in the king and withdraw from the league against the Turks.[6] The undertaking, moreover, was in very untrustworthy hands. Norfolk had neither resolution nor courage,[7] Guerau de Spes was blinded by his enmity for

[1] Rusticucci to Castagna, August 12, 1571, *ibid.* 409. Philip II. to Alba, July 14, 1571, in Gachard, Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 187.

[2] *Ibid.* 185.

[3] Rusticucci to Castagna, September 24, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 441.

[4] Philip II. to Alba, July 14, 1571, in GACHARD, *loc. cit.*, 187. The Grand Inquisitor spoke at the council on July 7, in favour of the Pope's proposal, and Feria against it. MIGNET, II., 162.

[5] KRETZSCHMAR, Invasionsprojekte, 37 *seqq.*

[6] August 3, 1571, in GACHARD, *loc. cit.* 188.

[7] "Tengole por flaco y de poco animo"; *ibid.* 189.

Elizabeth,[1] Ridolfi was a frivolous man, who knew so little how to keep a secret that the merchants at Antwerp were openly discussing his plans,[2] and lastly, the national pride of the English would not easily put up with succour which came from abroad.[3] Alba scoffed at Ridolfi's idea that it would be possible to launch an expedition to capture Elizabeth, and another at the same time to seize the Tower and burn the English ships in the Thames; even if Elizabeth herself were in alliance with Philip all this could not be carried out as Ridolfi suggested.[4] For these reasons Alba was of the opinion that help could only be given to the conspirators after they had secured possession of the person of the queen.[5] The king, for his part, adhered to his view that Alba should declare himself for the conspirators, and go to their assistance as soon as the force which he was to raise should be sufficiently large.[6] He took the view that for higher motives, especially those of religion, it was possible to make light of these difficulties,[7] and he remained of the same opinion even when he learned that Elizabeth had received information of Ridolfi's plans,[8] and news had come of Norfolk's imprisonment.[9] In his letter of September 14th, however, he at last left the decision of the whole question to the judgment of Alba. The Spanish ambassador in London had received, on August 4th, and again on the 30th, instructions to act in the matter only in accordance with the orders of Alba.[10]

At length orders did come from Alba, but they were to the effect that the Spanish ambassador was not to let the world

[1] August 27, 1571; *ibid.* 193.

[2] September 5, 1571; *ibid.* 198.

[3] August 27, 1571; *ibid.* 193.

[4] *Ibid.* 194.

[5] August 3, 1571, *ibid.* 188; August 27, *ibid.* 194.

[6] To Alba, August 4, and 30, and September 14, 1571, *ibid.* 191, 196, 200.

[7] To Alba, September 14, 1571, *ibid.* 198 *seqq.*

[8] To Alba, August 4, 1571, *ibid.* 191.

[9] To Alba, October 17, 1571, *ibid.* 205.

[10] Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 482, 494.

know in any way, either directly or indirectly, that he was in possession of letters to Mary, Norfolk and Leslie.[1] A few weeks later Alba urgently recommended him to burn everything he possessed bearing on Ridolfi's mission.[2] Towards the end of the year he wrote that he must leave the English Catholics and their sufferings to God.[3]

While Alba was hesitating, the English government had gathered all the threads of the conspiracy into its hands. The story of its discovery[4] affords a characteristic picture in miniature of the low morality of political life at that time. First of all there fell into the hands of the government a packet of letters from Ridolfi to Leslie with the address in cypher, but by means of his agents Leslie was able to substitute innocent letters for the incriminating ones. Torture, however, wrung from the bearer the confession that a landing in England was intended, and that Alba had approved of the plan. Soon afterwards Philip II., who was generally so cautious, betrayed himself. One of the founders of England's maritime power, the buccaneer John Hawkins, who has won for himself an ill name as being the first Englishman who, with the connivance and help of Elizabeth, carried on the slave-trade,[5] had lost some of his men as prisoners of war to the Spaniards. In order to liberate them from their prison in Seville, he hit upon a cunning scheme. With Cecil's approval, he went to the Spanish ambassador in London, declaring himself to be a Catholic[6] and a partisan of Mary Stuart, and that he was ready

[1] Alba to Spes, July 30, 1571, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 157.

[2] August 19, 1571, *ibid.* 163.

[3] Alba to Spes, November 12 and 15, 1571, *ibid.* 216, 218. In the meantime Ridolfi had by Alba's wish started for Flanders on September 9 (Castagna to Rusticucci, September 9, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 435). On November 19 he reappeared in Rome (Zuñiga to Philip II., November 27, 1571, *ibid.* 542).

[4] HOSACK, II., 55-56; BROSCH, VI., 565-568; LINGARD, VIII., 78 *seq.*

[5] LINGARD, VIII., 259.

[6] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *loc. cit.*, 434.

to hand over the ships he commanded to the Spaniards. In return for this he demanded a sum of money and the liberation of his imprisoned comrades. The Spanish ambassador referred Hawkins to Alba, but when the latter refused to have aynthing to do with the matter, Hawkins sent one of his officers, Fitzwilliams, direct to the King of Spain, with a letter from the Spanish ambassador. Philip received the envoy kindly, but before he would enter into any negotiations he wished for a letter of recommendation from Mary Stuart. Thereupon Fitzwilliams obtained from the Duke of Feria, whose wife was an Englishwoman, a letter to Mary, and on the strength of Feria's letter the queen, who suspected no treachery, was induced to write to the King of Spain begging him to release the English prisoners. Philip's doubts were thus dispelled and he informed Fitzwilliams that it was intended to effect a landing in England in the autumn, and that Hawkins would assist in this enterprise with his ships. An agreement to this effect was signed on August 10th by Feria and Fitzwilliams as the representatives of Philip and Hawkins. Fitzwilliams returned to England bearing the title of Grandee of Spain for Hawkins and 50,000 pounds sterling.

The Spanish plan was thus for the most part disclosed to the English government, and the only thing that was still uncertain was the identity of the Englishmen who were prepared to assist the Spaniards in their undertaking; and as to this an imprudent act served to put the secretary of state on their track. Mary Stuart wished to assign part of her allowance as a widow of France to the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, which had always remained loyal to her, and she sent the sum by the hands of a retainer of Norfolk named Higford to Bannister, who was in touch with Norfolk as his administrator. The messenger, who had been told that he was carrying silver, surprised at the weight of his package, opened it, found gold and a letter in cypher, and at once reported the matter to Burghley. Higford was made to interpret the cypher, and Bannister and Barker, Norfolk's secretary, were arrested and confessed all they knew; Barker knew a great

deal, because it was he who had been the intermediary between Leslie, Ridolfi and Norfolk.

Thus the conspiracy was brought to an end; Ridolfi took good care not to set foot again in England; Norfolk was again thrown into the Tower on September 7th, 1571, and ended his days on the scaffold on June 2nd in the following year. In vain did Leslie appeal to the privileges of an ambassador in order to escape imprisonment, and he only escaped torture by making a full confession. The Spanish ambassador was driven out of the country, and Burghley in mockery caused him, while still quite unsuspicious, to be escorted to Calais by Hawkins.[1] During the whole journey the crafty buccaneer took a cruel pleasure in amusing himself at the expense of the victim of his schemes by assuring him of his boundless devotion to the Spanish king.[2]

It was natural that the man who directed English political affairs should not let slip the opportunity of dragging the good name of the Pope in the dust. Cecil, on whom at the beginning of the year the title of Lord Burghley had been conferred, saw to it that the news of what had happened should be spread as widely as possible, with all the needful embellishments. On October 13th the news was communicated to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, who then assembled the masters of the city corporations, and they in their turn spread the news among the citizens. In order to excite the populace still more the whole affair was published in printed sheets, so that the streets rang[3] with the story of the schemes of Alba and the Pope against the city of London and the queen.

[1] Documents relating to this in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 226 *seqq.*, 242, 258, 260, 275, 283, 288, 294, 298, 337.

[2] HOSACK, II., 88.

[3] "de sorte que les rues ne résonnent ici autre matière" (M. de Sweveghem to Alba, October 16, 1571, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, VI., 187). It has recently been maintained that Pius V. also knew of "the proposals to murder Queen Elizabeth" and the conspiracy of Ridolfi (DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Die Selbstbiographie des Kardinals Bellarmin, Bonn, 1887, 307; *cf. ibid.* in the summary on p. vi.: "The plan to murder Elizabeth of Eng-

It was probably Mary Stuart who suffered most bitterly from the consequences of the failure of the conspiracy.[1] Her very life was in extreme danger. All her servants, at first with the exception of sixteen, and then of ten, had to leave her service, and the princess, who had been accustomed to ride abroad freely and continually, found herself confined to her own apartment, and when she was ill was not even allowed to see a doctor. She herself looked upon this treatment as foreshadowing her execution and asked for a priest, which request, however, was refused.

For the moment, however, Burghley was content with dis-

land, approved by Pius V." LORD ACTON, letter to the *Times*, November 24, 1874, in GLADSTONE, The Vatican Decrees, 1875). But there is no proof that Ridolfi spoke to the Pope about any plan to kill Elizabeth. The instructions for Ridolfi (*supra* p. 227 *seq.*) contain no mention of this. To Norfolk and Mary Ridolfi proposed that Elizabeth be left on the throne (HOSACK, II., 53 *seq.*). See *supra* p. 154, how Pius V. rejected political assassination as unlawful. MEYER (p. 228) says: "there is nothing to show that he [Pius V.] approved of or even spoke of the assassination [of Elizabeth] as a praiseworthy act." The passage in GACHARD, Corresp. de Philippe II., II., 185 (from the letter of Philip to Alba of July 14, 1571): "the progress of Elizabeth to her cities in August and September *serait une occasion de se saisir de sa personne* ET *de la tuer*" (DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, p. 310) proves no more against Philip than the passage quoted *supra* p. 232, n. 6, because the progress actually offered an *occasion* for either. *Cf.* in the same letter (*loc. cit.* 186): "*de tuer OU de prendre.*" An ambiguous passage in the life of Pius V. by GABUTIUS (Acta Sanct., Maii I., 661), to which Acton appeals, is taken from Catena, and is in his opinion quite harmless (POLLEN, English Catholics, 125). The French ambassador at Brussels, Mondoucet, reports on December 26, 1571, that two Italians had been sent to poison Elizabeth or otherwise take per life (*Bulletin de la Commission d'hist.*, 3rd ser., XIV., 341). Kervyn de Lettenhove, who seems to attach importance to this in Les Huguenots, II., 388, speaks quite otherwise in Relations, VI., vi.

[1] HOSACK, II., 66 *seqq.*

gracing his enemy in the eyes of the world. At the end of 1571 Mary received, as a birthday gift, a little book, the book which later on became celebrated under the title of the *Detectio*, by the humanist Buchanan, who had once been in Mary's service, and had sung her virtues.[1] In this book there appeared, clothed in classical Latin, the calumnies contained in the Book of the Articles, which had been presented at Westminster. Burghley saw to it that the book was translated and spread abroad. For centuries to come, and down to our own days, Buchanan's calumnies have coloured men's judgment of the unhappy Queen of Scots.[2]

Just a year before Elizabeth too had received a precious gift from her favourite, Leicester. This was a small picture showing Elizabeth seated in sadness upon a lofty throne, with Mary Stuart in chains before her, and begging for pardon, while the neighbouring kingdoms of Spain and France were covered by the waves of the sea, and Neptune and other gods paid homage to the Queen of England.[3] It was true that so far Elizabeth had defeated her rival both in power and in cunning; the future was to decide with which of them the moral victory would lie.

Although, in spite of the bull of excommunication of 1570, no military expedition was launched against the Queen of

[1] *Ibid.* 80 *seq.* Six months before Leslie had published a defence of Mary in which, as HOSACK (II., 82) remarks, two statements are specially worthy of attention: in the first place that the casket letters are false, and in the second place that Paris, who had conveyed the letters to Bothwell and is the only witness who directly accuses Mary of the murder of her husband, declared to the people immediately before his execution that he had never carried any such letters and that Mary was innocent: "that he never carried such letters, nor that the queen was participant." Buchanan made no reply to these two statements.

[2] BEKKER, 276 *seqq.*

[3] Spes to Zayas, January 9, 1571, Corresp. de Felipe II., III., 428. Spes did not fail to add that it was thus they flattered a princess "que fuera dello vive en harta mos soltura que las Jonás de Napoles, ni otras tales."

England, either from Rome or Madrid, attempts to withdraw the neighbouring island of Ireland from Elizabeth's yoke were not laid aside during the pontificate of Pius V.[1]

The violence of the English rule in Ireland had gradually brought about there an intolerable state of affairs. In 1569 the southern Irish had sent to Philip II. the Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice O'Gibbon, with a memorial signed by four archbishops, eight bishops, and twenty-five Irish nobles, in the name of the bishops, gentry and cities, showing how for more than a thousand years the Irish had been devotedly loyal to the Apostolic See, and filled with the deepest hatred of their English rulers, who, ever since the time of Henry VIII., had sacked the churches and convents, banished the bishops and religious, and thrown everything into confusion. They begged the King of Spain to send them a sovereign of his own house.[2] On March 1st, 1570, O'Gibbon also wrote to the Pope, who did not show himself averse to the plan, but at once insisted on the view, which became a fundamental part of the Papal policy with regard to Irish affairs, that Ireland was a Papal fief, and that the Irish could only therefore obtain a new feudal lord with the previous consent of the Holy See.[3]

So far Philip's policy had been friendly towards Elizabeth and rather the reverse towards her rival, Mary Stuart, because the accession of the francophile Queen of Scots seemed to him to mean an increase in the power of France, and consequently

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1905), 69-85. BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 161 *seqq.*, 697 *seqq.* KRETZSCHMAR, Invasionsprojekte, 52 *seq.*; report of Sega *ibid.* 194-212.

[2] MORAN, Spicil., I., 59 *seq.* BELLESHEIM, II., 158.

[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 160. Both Philip II. and Mary had recognized the rights of the Holy See over Ireland, since they had accepted the bull of Paul IV. of June 7, 1555, in which the Pope says of Ireland: "... illius dominium per Sedem praedictam [the Apostolic See] adepti sunt reges Angliae" and then raises Ireland to be a kingdom "sine praeiudicio iurium ipsius Romana ecclesiae." Bull. Rom., VI., 489 *seq.*

a danger to Spain.[1] But now France was weakened by internal wars; England had roused Philip to fury with her buccaneers and her seizure of Spanish gold,[2] and his policy was gradually taking another direction. He did not fall in with the proposals of O'Gibbon, although the archbishop on July 26th, 1570, urged him to haste, pointing out to the king that later on he would not be able to accomplish with 100,000 men what he could now easily do with 10,000,[3] but at the same time a sign of his changed attitude was to be seen in the favour shown by Philip to an adventurer at the Spanish court, with whom O'Gibbon as well had relations, but whose fantastic schemes proved fatal, not indeed in the time of Pius V., but later on, to Ireland, and indirectly to the Catholics in England.

Thomas Stukely, the son of a Devonshire knight, a man without morals or religious principles, had up to this time wandered about the world, travelling and seeking adventures; he had placed his services at the disposal of almost all the Christian princes, he had accommodated himself to all the changes of religion in England, and had always been able in the cleverest way to obtain money for his extravagances and excesses, for Stukely was a man who had the gift of winning people over at sight. For a time he carried on the profitable business of a pirate on the coasts of America; he was captured, but escaped the hanging he had deserved by the intercession of Shane O'Neill, and, backed by recommendations from Cecil, Leicester and Pembroke, resumed his former manner of life in Ireland. At first Elizabeth showed him favour, but when she ceased to patronize him, Stukely at once made up his mind to set sail for Spain in order to devote his sword to the liberation of Catholic Ireland in the service of Philip.

Philip had no idea of conquering Ireland, but Elizabeth's continued outrages were like so many pin-pricks to him, and he was therefore much inclined by way of retaliation to kindle a small or a great conflagration in Ireland. He therefore

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 223.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 204.

[3] Bellesheim, II., 159.

summoned Stukely to Madrid and loaded him with money and favours. It was not long before they began to feel the effects of this in London, so much so that Philip thought it well to pacify the queen by a letter from his secretary Zayas, and to send Stukely with Don Juan against the Turks. There the hot-headed adventurer was in his element; he distinguished himself at the battle of Lepanto, and thus won himself a good name in ecclesiastical circles. Thereupon Rome seemed to him to be a place where he could turn his talents to advantage; he there made a pilgrimage bare-footed to all the principal sanctuaries, and whereas before he had vainly attempted to obtain from Pius V. absolution from the excommunication which he had richly deserved for his earlier life, he now soon found himself in as high favour as he had previously been with Elizabeth and Philip. On December 1st, 1571, the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote to Bonelli at Madrid that the Pope had looked with favour upon Stukely's schemes, but that the responsibility for the undertaking must be left entirely to the King of Spain; that the Pope would raise no objections if anyone should undertake it in his name, if the king did not wish to be called its author.[1] Philip rejected the proposal. As previously, in the reassuring letter from Zayas to Elizabeth, he had questioned the capacity and the knowledge of the adventurer for the Irish undertaking,[2] so he now described the schemes of Stukely as impracticable.[3] For the rest of the life of Pius V. the Irish undertaking lay dormant, only to be renewed seven years later in a most unfortunate way.

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 74, and English Catholics, 192 *seqq.*

[2] POLLEN in *The Month*, 1905, 72 *seq.*

[3] Castagna, January 11, 1572, *ibid.* 74.

CHAPTER VII.

Pius V. and Maximilian II.—Catholic Reform in Germany.—The Work of Canisius.

Pius V.'s attitude towards religion, as well as his whole character, were radically opposed to those of the Emperor, Maximilian II. A man of clear and definite views, the sworn enemy of all pretence and disloyalty, and profoundly convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, the Pope looked for salvation solely from that faith, and he therefore watched with unbending sternness over the preservation in all its purity of that supreme good. A convinced Catholic, any kind of compromise in matters of dogma was impossible in his eyes. The Emperor on the other hand, a skilled politician and experienced in all the arts of a shifty diplomcy, had very confused ideas on religious matters, and was vacillating and undecided.[1] In his anxiety for the pacification of his dominions he completely lost sight of the fact that a man who rejects even *one* single doctrine of the Church ceases to be a Catholic. It was true that Maximilian assisted at mass, and for a time retained the good Catholic Martin Eisengrein as the court preacher, but when the latter ended a sermon with an invocation of the Mother of God and the Saints the Emperor rebuked him, saying that such things were not in keeping with the spirit of the times.[2] It is certain that Maximilian had as little respect for the binding force of the dogmas defined at Trent as he had for the consequences of the oath which he had taken at his coronation. He entirely departed from the Catholic stand-point when he dreamed of being able to reconcile

[1] *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, IV. [15-16], 210 *seq.*, where the recent bibliography concerning the religious attitude of Maximilian II. is collected and criticized.

[2] See Pfleger, Eisenfrein, 63.

opposing doctrines, in the vain hope of wearing down and at last putting an end to religious strife by such expedients. If in political questions affecting the Empire he made more than one concession to the Catholic states, this was merely a matter of policy. This monarch, who was not greatly gifted intellectually,[1] had no grasp of dogmatic truth; to him all religious questions seemed to be useless. Strict Catholics were as unwelcome to him as the most rigid Calvinists. His ideal continued to be a "religion" built up of Lutheran and Catholic principles, the acceptance of which would put an end to the disputes which were so harmful to the welfare of the various states. But the times in which he lived were particularly unsuited for any such schemes of reunion after the promulgation of the decrees of Trent, while equally hopeless was the Emperor's other plan of satisfying the Protestants in his dominions without openly offending the Catholics by granting them under certain conditions the freedom to profess the Confession of Augsburg of 1530. According to his own statements, in so doing he was only aiming at reunion in the same way as Charles V. had done a generation earlier. But what had been in some ways comprehensible then, was now doomed from the first to be ineffectual, when the Council had definitely stamped as Catholic the controverted doctrines, and the schism had taken permanent root among the Protestants.

It was evident that a man like the new Pope could never be won over to the confused and fantastic schemes of the Emperor, for Pius V. had ever fought in the most uncompromising way for the purity and inviolability of the Catholic faith.[2] Maximilian, therefore, was far from pleased at the

[1] See Götz in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, LXXVII., 198, who very rightly rejects the name of "Catholicism by compromise," and passes as severe a judgment as Janssen on the hypocrisy of Maximilian.

[2] How different Pius V.'s point of view was from that of Maximilian appears clearly among other things from the discussions in the consistory of June 81, 1571, concerning Madruzzo's proposal to invite the Protestants to join the league against the

election of Pius,[1] but realizing how important the Pope's good-will was for obtaining help against the Turks, he sought to keep on good terms with him. In his first letter to Pius V., dated January 24th, 1566, and sent to Rome by a special messenger, Maximilian makes the following protestation: "There shall never be wanting on our part filial obedience towards Your Holiness, nor those services which are to be looked for from the protector and defender of the Church; we shall omit none of those things which are due from us in virtue of our imperial office, or which can be done for the advantage and welfare of Christendom."[2]

Such words could only be of practical value when backed up by corresponding acts. There was already good ground for suspicion in the fact that Maximilian up to the last moment tried to prevent the mission of Cardinal Commendone, who had already been appointed legate for the Diet of Augsburg in 1566.[3]

Commendone was a distinguished personality in every respect. All contemporaries agree in praising his great qualities of intellect and character. He had a full knowledge, from his own personal experience, of the ecclesiastical and political conditions of Germany, he was a personal friend of the house of Hapsburg, and he was deeply convinced of the

Turks, a thing against which Pius V. definitely declared: "et quantum ad eos qui sunt Confessionis Augustanae, Sanctitas Sua credit cum b. Augustino esse magis vitandos et periculosos, qui in aliquibus nobiscum conveniunt, ut in fide Trinitatis et similibus, et in ceteris dissentiunt, quam qui in omnibus dissentiunt veluti infideles seu haeretici perditissimi, ut est Palatinus, sacramentarii, impii trinitarii et anabaptistae. Nam isti non tantum nocere possunt, cum ab omnibus vitentur veluti qui impii et manifeste infideles existimantur; sed illi, qui in aliquibus sunt haeretici, plus nocere possunt, ex eo quod nobiscum in pluribus ritibus conveniant." Studi e docum. XXIII., 339.

[1] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 2-3; HILLIGER, 151; BIBL, Erhebung, 21; DENGEL, V., 33, 34, 35.

[2] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 41.

[3] See *ibid.* vii.; HOPFEN, 131, 232 *seq.*; DENGEL, V., 413.

necessity of the maintenance of good relations between the Emperor and the Pope; at the same time he was a man of strict ecclesiastical views, and moreover was not one of those ambitious men who might set their own ends before those of the Church.[1]

From the very beginning of his pontificate Pius V. had turned his attention to German affairs, and on January 12th, 1566, had charged Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Borromeo and Delfino to examine them. On the 19th he decided to form a special congregation, composed of these Cardinals, together with Galli, Mark Sittich, Madruzzo and Reumano, as well as Truchsess, who had arrived in Rome on the 16th. This congregation decided upon the renewed appointment of Commendone as legate for the Diet of Augsburg, and Pius confirmed this at the consistory of January 23rd.[2] A brief to Maximilian two days later pointed out as Commendone's special duty that of seeing that in the Diet nothing should be done concerning matters the decision of which belonged to the Apostolic See alone, and that moreover no steps should be taken with regard to the decrees of the Council of Trent, which were binding upon all Catholics. On the other hand he was to negotiate concerning a league against the Turks, which the Pope promised to promote and help in every possible way.[3]

On January 25th Pius V. sent urgent letters to the Archbishops of Mayence and Trêves, inviting them to go in person to the Diet, and to prevent ecclesiastical matters being dis-

[1] A biography of Commendone would be a very valuable work. Plentiful materials for this are to be found in the Papal Secret Archives, and especially in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello. It is upon the material there that is based the Vita Commendoni of A. M. GRATIANI, Paris, 1569 (translated into French by FLÉCHIER, Paris, 1694, and Lyons, 1702), which, though a noteworthy publication for the time, is not sufficient for modern requirements. A *version of the Vita Commendoni of Gratianus, which is different from the printed edition, is in the Graziani Archives.

[2] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 4; DENGEL, V., 40 *seq.*

[3] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 6 *seqq.*; DENGEL, V., 36 *seq.*

cussed there, or any other attack being made upon the rights of the Pope or the bishops. Similar letters were sent to the whole of the German episcopate.[1]

Though he had but little liking for the difficult and responsible mission assigned to him, Commendone at once obeyed the Pope's command, which was awaiting him on his return from his legation in Poland. On February 17th, 1566, he reached Augsburg, where the Emperor had been since January 20th, and was awaiting the arrival of the States of the Empire, who only arrived by slow degrees.[2] On February 20th he had an audience with Maximilian II., and the latter gave him satisfactory assurances as to the religious questions. It was very useful to the legate that the Emperor desired as much help as possible for the Turkish war, a matter of which Johann Khevenhüller, who had been sent to Rome to convey the Emperor's congratulations, was to treat.[3] Commendone at once realized how useful this question of assistance against the Turks would be for gaining influence over the Emperor in religious matters.[4] Even more than the exhortations of the legate, and the indifference of the Protestant princes, did this consideration cause Maximilian to abstain from any discussion of a religious compromise when this was put forward as a subject for consideration at the assembly of the Diet. The tenor of the proposals laid before the Diet on March 23rd shows that Maximilian had let this matter drop; nothing further was asked for than the discussion of the detestable

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 222 and 223.

[2] *Cf.* RÜBSAM, N. Mameranus über den Reichstag von 1566 in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, X., 356. The *original register of the reports of Commendone of his legation of 1566 was found in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello by Professor Dengel, who has begun its publication with a full commentary in the Vth vol. of the *Nuntiaturberichte* of Pius V. To Dengel belongs the credit of having opened to historical examination the hitherto inaccessible Graziani Archives.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, p. xii., 14, 20; DENGEL, V., 53 *seq.*

[4] See DENGEL, V., 74.

sects which were opposed both to the Catholic and the Lutheran religion, which everybody understood to refer to Calvinism, which the Emperor hated.

In the meantime Commendone had received detailed instructions as to his mission on March 13th, 1566. The bearer of these was Scipione Lancellotti, who was to assist him as his canonist. Count Melchior Biglia, whom Pius IV. had appointed nuncio to the Imperial court on August 31st, 1565, and whom Pius V. had confirmed in that office,[1] also now appeared at Augsburg. The Pope had also seen to it that the legate should have experienced theologians to help him as his advisers in ecclesiastical questions, such as the Jesuits Nadal, Ledesma, and Peter Canisius, and the Englishman Sanders.[2]

The instructions for Commendone, which had been decided upon in the cardinalitial congregation appointed by Pius V., had been drawn up by the man in Rome who was best acquainted with German conditions, Cardinal Morone, who had availed himself of an opinion drawn up by Truchsess.[3] These instructions laid down as his principal duties the exclusion of all religious discussion at the Diet, the publication and carrying out of the decrees of Trent, a radical reform of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany, and finally the promotion of a league against the Turks.

As to the first point the Pope's instructions were very clear. Commendone was fearlessly to oppose any attempt at the Diet to treat of religious questions, either directly or indirectly; it was not the province of the laity to do so, and experience had shown that such discussions did not lead to unity, and thus things were made worse than before. The legate was to be equally zealous in obtaining the assistance of the Emperor for the publication and observance of the Tridentine decrees. If he should not be able to secure this for the

[1] See *ibid.* 1 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*

[2] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 6.

[3] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 6. The instructions, dated February 27, 1566, in DENGEL, V., 56 *seq.* For the faculties of Commendone see *ibid.* 42 *seq.* *Cf.* CANISII Epist., V., 576.

whole of the Empire, Commendone was to insist that the decrees should at any rate be published in the dioceses of Salzburg, Constance, Eichstätt, Augsburg, Freising, Passau, Brixen and Trent, and to induce all the ecclesiastical princes to observe them.

Further instructions were added to the effect that he must obtain from Frederick von Wied, the archbishop-elect of Cologne, the oath and profession of faith prescribed at Trent. Commendone was further charged to see that if, as was expected, a vacancy occurred in the episcopal sees of Magdeburg and Strasbourg, these should not fall into the hands of the Lutherans.

The remainder of the instructions show what far-reaching plans Pius V. had in mind for the renewal of ecclesiastical life in Germany. All the bishops were to be urged to the reform of the clergy, both secular and regular; those who were not yet consecrated must repair this defect. The bishops were to be asked to make a personal visitation at least once a year of their dioceses, to prevent the introduction of heretical books, to promote in every way the spread of Catholic literature, and to establish seminaries for the clergy.

In order to carry out these tasks, which formed, as it were, the Pope's programme for dealing with the ecclesiastical situation in Germany, the legate was advised to win over the Emperor's advisers, and to enter into close relations with the Catholic Duke of Bavaria and the Spanish ambassador.

Commendone accordingly treated the Catholic princes and the bishops with the greatest courtesy; this he did especially in the case of Albert V. of Bavaria, who was a fervent Catholic.[1] In other ways, too, the legate let no opportunity slip of carrying out the Pope's commands. It was natural that his principal care should, before everything else, be devoted to the discussions at the Diet.

In consequence of the latest form of the proposals laid before the Diet useless discussions of the Catholic faith and a mixture of religions had been, it is true, excluded, but even

[1] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 8.

so the danger had not been entirely removed. It did not escape Commendone that this time too the Protestants were seeking to obtain concessions in religious matters on the strength of the help which they were asked to give against the Turks. Vigilance and circumspection, qualities in which the legate was not lacking, were called for, and he entered into close relations with the Catholics, especially the Archbishop of Trêves and the Duke of Bavaria.[1]

In spite of the great differences which existed between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, in the memorial, at once a petition and a complaint, which was presented by the Protestants to the Emperor, they made a pretence of being united in faith; in their territories those sects which the Emperor wished to see abolished had no weight; all such sects were the work of the devil and the Papists. In order to do away with the "abominations and idolatries of the Papacy" they demanded the convocation of a national council under the presidency of the Emperor; until such a council was held Maximilian should grant to those subjects of Catholic states who were willing to accept the Confession of Augsburg the free exercise of their religion and the abolition of the ecclesiastical *reservatum*.[2] If this latter, by which an ecclesiastical prince who should pass from the Catholic religion to Lutheranism forfeited his office and his revenues, were to be removed, the followers of the new doctrines might reasonably hope to be able to take further steps for the complete extermination of the "abominations and idolatries of the Papacy" in the Empire.[3]

[1] Commendone showed prudent foresight in abstaining from delivering the brief of February 13, 1566, addressed to the Emperor and all the states of the Empire, including the Protestant ones, which exhorted them to unity of faith on the basis of the Tridentine decrees (see SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 7-9; HOPFEN, 241). The legate was also successful in averting the danger of the affair of the oath of the Archbishop of Cologne being brought before the Diet. *Cf.* POGIANI Epist., IV., 301.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV., 15-16, 224 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* KLUCKHORN, Briefs, I., 520, 529 *seq.*

In the meantime such disquieting news of the Emperor's religious attitude had reached Rome that it was feared there that he would adopt the Confession of Augsburg. For this reason on April 6th orders were sent to Commendone that, should this occur, he was to leave the Diet after making a protest. Commendone did not share these fears of Maximilian's apostasy, but he had from the first clearly foreseen the likelihood of a general confirmation of the so-called religious peace of Augsburg of 1555 which, being rejected by the Calvinist states, was for that reason all the more ardently supported by the Emperor, as well as by the ecclesiastical princes, who feared fresh spoliations if the agreement were broken.[1] Commendone's position was thus extremely difficult, and he asked for further instructions as to the course which he should follow. When these instructions arrived at the end of April he found himself in a position of even greater embarrassment, for the Pope ordered him to lodge a protest and leave the city if in the Diet any decision of any kind were arrived at which was contrary to the dogmatic decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

Pius V. condemned the religious peace of Augsburg as decisively as Paul IV., his predecessor, and a man of close spiritual affinity with himself,[3] but under the existing circumstances it was inevitable that that peace should be confirmed, since even the Catholics at Augsburg supported it in order to save themselves from fresh dangers. A protest on the part of the legate would have led, to the great joy of his enemies, not only to a quarrel with the Emperor, but also with the Catholic states.

In this difficult situation Commendone had recourse to his ecclesiastical advisers, especially Canisius. To the principal question which he addressed to them, whether the peace of 1555 and its confirmation was in contradiction to the dogmatic

[1] See the *report of Commendone of April 22, 1566, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[2] *Cf.* NADAL, III., 99; CANISII Epist., V., 252; BROGNOLI, II., 190.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 343.

decrees of the Council of Trent, the Jesuits answered that it was not, as it was a peace that was concerned with political affairs and not with dogma; it had been nothing but an expedient and a provisional armistice. The Holy See it was true could not openly approve it, but it could tolerate it until better times should come. The legate therefore was not obliged to lodge a protest. Since, however desirable it might be, it was not to be expected that at the present Diet the Catholic states would make a profession of the Council and its decrees, the said states should at least, in some way or other, declare their acceptance of the Tridentine decrees.[1] Sanders agreed with the views expressed by the Jesuits. Lancellotti on the other hand declared that the religious peace of Augsburg and its renewed confirmation were irreconcilable with the Council, and insisted on a protest being made by the legate.[2] Cardinal Truchsess and the Spanish ambassador, as well as Biglia, feared that in that case the Diet would be dissolved and a war begun, which would destroy all that still remained of Catholicism in Germany.[3]

Under these circumstances Commendone, who realized Pius V.'s strictness in all that concerned the faith, resolved to do nothing without making further inquiries in Rome,[4] and he sent thither his auditor, Caligari, to make a verbal report and obtain further instructions.[5] If in the end these took the

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 233-235; NADAL, III., 88-104; CANISII Epist., V., 229 and 253; DUHR. I., 828, n. 1.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 232, 233; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 10.

[3] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 230. Truchsess had gone, with financial help from Pius V. from Rome to Augsburg on February 23, 1566; see *Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 188, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *letter of Commendone to Pius V. of May 1, 1566, and the report of Biglia of May 3, 1566, which are to be printed by Dengel in his Vth volume. A letter addressed by H. Corboli to Sirleto, dated Augsburg, April 27, 1566, describes the dangerous state of affairs on all sides; see LAEMMER, Analecta, 57, 125 *seq.*

[5] See BROGNOLI, II., 191 *seq.*

form of the Pope's leaving everything to the judgment of the legate, who was thus able to avoid making a protest, much of the credit for this belongs to the General of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, whom the Jesuits at Augsburg had begged to intervene.[1]

In the meantime at Augsburg the Catholic states had calmly but definitely rejected the memorial presented by the Protestants, declaring with regard to the demand for the abolition of the *reservatum*, and for freedom in religious matters, that they intended to adhere literally to the terms of the religious peace of 1555.[2]

Commendone then proceeded to devote his attention to the other two tasks laid upon him by Pius V., the one that the Catholic states should bind themselves expressly and openly to the decrees of Trent, and the other the removal of ecclesiastical abuses. On May 23rd he held a conference at his lodgings, at which there assisted Cardinals Truchsess and Mark Sittich, the three ecclesiastical Electors, the Dukes of Bavaria, Cleves and Brunswick, and the representatives of the Catholic states. In accordance with the instructions which he had received, Commendone urged in eloquent terms the publication of the decrees of the Council and the carrying out of the necessary reforms. The answer made in the name of those present by Daniel von Brendel, Archbishop of Mayence and arch-chancellor of the Empire, was to the following effect: the Catholic states accept the decrees of the Council of Trent in all that concerns dogma and divine worship; as to disciplinary matters they would like certain facilities suited to their peculiar circumstances, especially with regard to provincial synods.[3]

Commendone had every reason to be pleased with his success. Even if this declaration did not comply with all he had asked for, both with regard to its limitation and its form,

[1] *Cf.* NADAL, III., 96 *seqq.*, 130 *seqq.*; BROGNOLI, II., 197 *seqq.*; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 10 *seq.*

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. 11-56, 228 *seqq*

[3] See GRATIANUS, III., 2. *Cf.* NADAL, III., 147, 152. See also SCHWARZ, Visitation, p. xxxiii.

it was nevertheless a distinct advance upon the state of affairs in the time of Pius IV., who had never been able to obtain a satisfactory answer from the ecclesiastical princes in this matter.[1] It was a further triumph that at the dissolution of the Diet on May 30th no mention was made of further conferences, of a national council, or of religious freedom. Thus for the first time for many years a Diet came to an end without any loss to the Catholics, who on this occasion left Augsburg with renewed courage and hopes. The Pope was especially gratified at the acceptance of the Council on the part of the Catholic states of Germany, and declared that his expectations had been surpassed.[2]

By the advice of Commendone, who did not trust the Emperor, the subsidy granted by the Pope against the Turks in April, to the amount of 50,000 scudi, was not paid until after the close of the Diet, whereupon, on July 10th, 1566, the legate started back for Rome.[3]

The Diet had granted to the Emperor 24 Roman "mesi," that is about 1,700,000 florins, and eight "mesi" for each of the following three years. Philip II. contributed 200,000 crowns.[4] Under these circumstances Pius V., whose finances were already deeply involved in other directions, did not comply with the request made to him by the Emperor for further sums.[5] As a matter of fact Maximilian had a sufficient sum in hand to enrol 14,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry in Germany. Help also reached him from other sources, especially from the Italian princes; moreover, he had 12,000 men from Lower Austria and Croatia, 6,000 from Hungary, 5,000 from the commander-in-chief Schwendi, so that altogether there were more than 60,000 men under arms. It was only after all these troops had been gathered together that Maximilian joined the expedition in the middle of August.[6] In September there

[1] *Cf.* RITTER, I., 289.

[2] *Cf.* NADAL, III., 159; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 11.

[3] See GRATIANUS, III., 3; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 20, 23 *seqq.*

[4] HUBER, IV., 256.

[5] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 23 *seqq.*, 30, 33 *seqq.*

[6] See HUBER, IV., 256 *seqq.*; TURBA, III., 334 *seq.*

also arrived at the head-quarters of the Emperor the nuncio, Biglia, who, during the Diet at Augsburg, had been quite thrust into the background by the personality of Commendone, who overshadowed everybody else.[1]

The aged Sultan Suleiman who, accompanied by the prayers of his court poets, assuring him that "cypress-branches would wave him on to victory,"[2] had in the meantime advanced as far as Sziget, which was bravely defended by Nicholas Zriny. In spite of this the fortress, which was indeed little more than a mass of smoking ruins, fell into the hands of the Turks on September 7th, Zriny himself meeting with an heroic death.[3]

During the siege of Sziget the Imperial army had remained completely inactive. Like his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, Maximilian was no soldier; he was full of good intentions, but committed fatal blunders. The fear felt for the Turks was so great that any serious engagement was avoided. While the army was maintaining a mere policy of observation, Hungarian marsh fever broke out among the troops to which thousands succumbed. Bad food, want of money, and desertions completed the work, and when the Turks retired the Imperial army also broke up at the end of October.[4] Fortunately the spirit of the Turks was completely paralysed by the death of the Sultan, which occurred on September 4th, and the beginning of winter interrupted the war, which was continued in the following year with varied success. As early as the end of June, 1567, the Emperor had begun negotiations for peace, which, however, did not reach a formal conclusion until February 17th, 1568. On that date a peace of eight years was concluded at Adrianople, on the basis of the *status quo* and the continuation of a payment of a "present of honour" by the Emperor to the amount of 30,000 ducats.[5]

[1] Reports of Biglia in THEINER, Monum. Slavor. merid., vol. II.

[2] See HAMMER, III., 751.

[3] See *ibid.* 447; HUBER, IV., 260 *seqq.*; TURBA, III., 350 *seq.*

[4] See WERTHEIMER in *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LIII., 84 *seqq.*; HIRN, II., 291 *seqq.*

[5] See HUBER, IV., 263 *seq*.

After the Diet of Augsburg, in addition to the Turkish war, the Emperor keenly interested himself in religious questions, both in the Empire and in his hereditary territories. The Pope's representative, Melchior Biglia, did not cease to address exhortations to him, so that he might, in his conduct, take into consideration the wishes of the Catholics,[1] and it was of great advantage to the nuncio that political considerations, especially the hope of obtaining great help from the Pope in securing his country against the Turks, showed the Emperor the desirability of cultivating friendly relations with the Holy See. Consequently the nuncio was able to report not only fair words on the part of the Emperor, but also reassuring acts: for example, in March and July, 1567, action was taken against the heretical preachers, and in September there was an edict against the Calvinists in Hungary. Biglia was also quite satisfied with the behaviour of Maximilian in the affair of Cologne. He was also rejoiced at the efforts made by the Emperor to prevent the rebels in the Netherlands from receiving help from German troops. The hopeful reports which Biglia sent to Rome, where Morone and Commendone were endeavouring to cultivate friendly relations between the Emperor and the Pope, aroused the highest hopes there, which were shared by Pius V.,[2] who could not fail to be filled with joy at the fact that, on December 5th, 1567, Maximilian warmly

[1] In the Papal Secret Archives there is preserved only a small part of the *reports of Biglia (Nunziat. di Germania, 66 and 67). For the full reports of the nuncio search must therefore be be made elsewhere. In 1847 SCARABELLI showed in *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. IV., n. 17, p. 61 *seq.*, that the Alfieri Archives at Asti contained reports of the nunciature of Biglia for the years 1568 and 1569. Mgr. Ratti [now Pope Pius XI.] and Prof. Dengel found those of 1565 and 1567 in the Trotti Archives, Milan (now in the Ambrosiana), so that the greater part are in readiness for Dengel's edition.

[2] See the *instructions of the secretariate of State for Biglia, dated Rome, February 8, March 1, 8, and 22, April 5, June 14, July 19, 26, September 6, 12, December 6, Nunziat. di Germania 67, Papal Secret Archives.

supported a request made by the Jesuits in Vienna.[1] For the Emperor's sake he forgave Cardinal Delfino, who had been deprived of his right to vote on account of grave disobedience,[2] and he overlooked the arbitrary action taken by the Emperor in the reform of the monasteries and chapters of Austria which had fallen into a very bad state.[3]

The Pope, however, was not disposed to satisfy all Maximilian's demands, because, in his eyes, ecclesiastical principles always came before all political considerations.[4] But in that matter which was Maximilian's chief preoccupation, namely, help against the Turks, he showed himself willing to do all that lay in his power. He did not adhere to the arrangement originally made of setting aside for this purpose large sums of money only in the case of actual war; in April, 1568, in spite of his many other expenses, he promised a contribution for the fortification of the border territory, though he insisted that the money should be used for that purpose alone. In July he allowed the Emperor to levy a subsidy of 45,000 florins from the abbots and priors of Lower Austria, and in August he gave his consent to the payment in Venice during the following month of 20,000 scudi for the fortification of the border territories which were threatened by the Turks. In September he increased this sum to 30,000 scudi and promised to do even more in the future.[5] He also complied with the Emperor's request that he would help his brother, the

[1] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 205; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 77 *seq.*; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 37.

[2] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 45, 56. *Cf. ibid.* 176 for the subsequent quarrel of Delfino with Pius V.

[3] *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 187-202; SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 96-99.

[4] *Cf.* SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 63-73, 88; BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 42 *seq.*

[5] See SCARABELLI, *loc. cit.* 65; SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 101, 104, 107 *seq.*; TURBA, III., 403, 458, n.; HOPFEN, 266 *seq.* In Arm. 64, t. 6, p. 84 *seq.*, the Papal Secret Archives contain a memorial of 1568 with the title *Nonnulla media quibus Germania hoc tempore invari possit, with proposals for the protection of Hungary against the Turks.

Archduke Charles, in assuring the safety of the boundary of Styria. The Archduke received permission to levy for five years a half of all the ecclesiastical revenues of his territory, with the promise that this permission would later on be extended for another five years.[1]

After all this condescension on the part of the Pope, and the news received in Rome in July, 1568, of the steps which had been taken by Maximilian against the heretics in his dominions,[2] an absolutely paralysing effect was produced by the receipt from the Imperial ambassador Arco on September 13th of a letter dated September 3rd from Maximilian to Pius V., authorizing the ambassador to disclose the great concession of August 18th which allowed the Protestant nobles and gentry of Lower Austria the free exercise of their religious beliefs in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg of 1530.[3] The validity of this religious concession was, it is true, limited by certain conditions: in the first place the Catholics were no longer to be attacked or interfered with, and in the second place a commission which was to be appointed, half by the Emperor and half by the States of the Empire, was to draw up for the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg fixed rules concerning divine worship, ecclesiastical organization and teaching.[4]

This surprising step on the part of Maximilian came entirely from his own initiative immediately after the opening of the Diet at Vienna, which was asked to deal in a favourable way with the Emperor's heavy debts. Besides Maximilian's own confused ideas on religion, a decisive contributory cause was his consideration for and his fear of Protestant opposition. To the nuncio Biglia, who made a strong protest, Maximilian appealed expressly to his own constrained position, saying

[1] SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 113-115.

[2] See the letter of Cardinal Mula of July 24, 1568, in HOPFEN, 267.

[3] SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 116 *seqq.* *Cf.* SUDENDORF, Registrum, III., 297.

[4] *Cf.* HOPFEN, 144; OTTO, 23 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*; BIBL, Organisation, 123 *seqq.*, 125 *seqq.*

that in his dominions there were so many sects that the only remedy was to tolerate the Confession of Augsburg; that if a revolution should break out, as had been the case in the Low Countries, he would find himself without any means of defence against the States; that he had six sons, and how were they to live if the hereditary provinces were ruined?[1]

When, on September 13th, 1568, the information was received from the Imperial ambassador that Maximilian was on the point of giving way to his Protestant nobles, and of granting them a territorial church system within their own provinces, Pius V. was deeply stirred. His grief was so great that he could not restrain his tears. In his complaints to the ambassador he said that he saw clearly that God intended to punish Christendom, and that religion was falling into ruin because the Emperor was so light-heartedly giving way before the claims of the Protestants, and setting the worst possible example to France and the Low Countries; he did not know how, under these circumstances, he could maintain his friendly relations with the Emperor. At a second audience on September 15th Arco tried to persuade him to give a less uncompromising reply, but, as was only to be expected, the Pope persisted in his condemnation of the concession that had been made. In a brief which was drawn up on the same day he adjured Maximilian to give up his purpose, which was the cause of so great scandal. Cardinals Morone, Truchsess and Colonna, who were all adherents of the Emperor, and the Spanish ambassador, expressed themselves in similar terms. It was thought in the Curia that Biglia would be recalled, because he had not been able to prevent this step on the part of Maximilian.[2]

When the Imperial courier who had brought Maximilian's

[1] Venez, Depeschen, III., 459 *seq.* Bibl (p. 141) is wrong in saying that the Emperor laid his ideas before Commendone.

[2] See the report of Arco of September 17, 1568, in HOPFEN 276 *seqq.* *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., II., 462 *seq.* The brief of September 15, 1568, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 119 *seqq.* *Cf.* also SCHWARZ in *Festschrift zum Jubiläum des Camposanto* of Ehses, Freiburg, 1897, 238 *seqq.*

letter of September 3rd left on the 17th, he took with him the Pope's reply and a detailed report from Arco on the situation. The courier had hardly started when the Pope took definite action. In a suddenly assembled consistory on September 17th he appointed Commendone, who, with Morone, was the best acquainted with German affairs, as legate extraordinary to Maximilian, with instructions to induce him to turn back from the extremely dangerous course upon which he had embarked.[1]

The mission of the very man who had proved his power at the Diet of Augsburg was extremely unwelcome to the Emperor. If a Cardinal was to be sent, a thing which he would most gladly have avoided, he would have been far better pleased with an ambitious and accommodating man like Delfino.[2] His indignation was so great that he spoke of this sudden and determined action on the part of the Pope as "mad monkish zeal"; he was resolved, he told the Venetian ambassador, that as far as he was concerned, he would make no change; he then broke out into those expressions which have ever been used by those who have known themselves to be unmasked by Rome: the Pope is ill-informed; he would inform him better and show him that what had been done had been done with the intention of bringing back the Protestants to the Church.[3]

The Emperor was gravely deluding himself in thinking that they were not well informed in Rome and perfectly aware of the gravity of the situation; what had been granted to the nobility of Lower Austria could not be for long refused to the cities and marts; in a word, the final result must be the destruction of the Catholic religion. All efforts therefore to prevent the mission of Commendone were in vain.[4]

[1] See the report of Arco of September 18, 1568, in HOPFEN, 282 *seq.* and Corresp. dipl., II., 463.

[2] See the report of Eisengrein of October 9, 1568, in HOPFEN, 291,

[3] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 461, n. 1.

[4] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 123. Corresp. dipl., II., 464. 482.

When Commendone received the Pope's commands he was at his abbey of S. Zeno at Verona. Accompanied by his secretary, Anton Maria Graziani, and by Giovanni Delfino, Bishop of Torcello, he at once set out for the north. On the Brenner pass, the legate, who was not properly equipped, was overtaken by a snowstorm which lasted three days; in spite of this, Innsbruck was reached as early as October 13th. There Commendone met Albert V. of Bavaria, who was staying with the Archduke Ferdinand, and went carefully into the situation with him.[1] The remainder of the journey, which was carried out on the river Inn, could not be undertaken until the 16th, through want of boats, and took him by Passau and Linz to Vienna, which the legate reached in the evening of October 28th. The nuncio Biglia, who had been made ill by the excitement of the discussions, had not been able to carry out his plan of going as far as Passau to meet the Cardinal.[2]

Commendone had a first audience with the Emperor on October 31st and a second on November 3rd.[3] Maximilian sought to justify as far as possible the concession made to the nobles of the free exercise of their religion in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg, by pleading his good intention of preventing on the one hand the spread of the Protestant sects, and on the other of bringing back the Lutherans to the Church, as Charles V. and Ferdinand I. had already aimed at doing, adding that it seemed to him that the Confession of Augsburg, which was in many points in accordance with Catholic doctrine, was the best means to this end.

Commendone replied that the Emperor's intentions were

[1] *Cf.* GRATIANI Epist., 390 *seqq.*; CANISII Epist., VI., 223 *seq.*, 588 *seq.* Schwarz has published in the Festschrift mentioned on p. 260 the advice of the Bavarian chancellor, S. Eck, against the official toleration of Protestantism in Austria, which took its origin in the conferences held at Innsbruck.

[2] *Cf.* GRATIANI, Epist., 390 *seqq.*, Colecc. de docum. inéd., CIII., 23, and the letters of Biglia in the account given by MAYR, p. 391, quoted *infra*. p. 268, n. 1.

[3] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 461. *Cf.* GRATIANUS, III., 4.

no doubt very praiseworthy, but that it was certain that he would not gain his end because the means he was using were unlawful and harmful. The profession of the Catholic faith must be maintained in all its purity and integrity; the experiments of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. with the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg had shown how vain were all hopes of reconciling them with the Church. Moreover, they had been dealing with powerful princes, whereas now the Emperor proposed to allow his subjects to impose upon him shameful conditions. Further, it was never lawful to do evil that good might come. The followers of the new doctrines would never be led back to the Church by the way of concessions, but only confirmed in their opinions. Commendone frankly pointed out how dangerous to the good name of the Emperor was the statement which the Lutherans were making that they had bought religious liberty for money, but worst of all was the fact that in making a concession in a matter of religion the Emperor was taking upon himself a power which belonged to the Pope alone; such audacity was bound to draw down upon him the punishments of God.[1]

The lengthy and weighty remarks of Commendone were backed up by a strong letter from Albert V. to Maximilian, which the legate had brought with him from Innsbruck. A decisive factor was the intervention, brought about by Pius V., of the Spanish king, who, in an autograph letter of October 17th, and again later on, adjured the Emperor to give up the course he had entered upon in defiance of God and religion. The remonstrances of Philip II. made all the greater impression upon Maximilian because he was proposing to marry his eldest daughter to the King of Spain. Philip insisted, as a preliminary step towards such an arrangement that there should be a cessation of all signs of favour towards the Netherland insurgents and the Austrian Protestants.

[1] See GRATIANI Epist., 390 *seqq*. The *reports of Commendone on his legation of 1568-1569 are in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. Dengel is to publish these in his edition of the Nuntiaturberichte.

Commendone at once realized the importance of this dynastic question. By his advice the Spanish ambassador warned the Emperor that a Papal dispensation in the matter of relationship would be necessary for the proposed marriage, and that Pius V. certainly would not grant this so long as Maximilian remained at the beck and call of the Austrian Protestants.[1]

The Emperor could not resist the united attack of the Pope, Spain, and Bavaria, the more so as he, in whose eyes Protestants and Catholics were of equal importance,[2] had no idea of exposing the interests of his house to serious dangers for the sake of religion. He very quickly gave way, and in a most undignified manner, in reality as far as the Netherland rebels were concerned, but only in appearance in the case of the Austrian Protestants.[3]

After the long and heated discussions which had taken place[4] Commendone was as surprised as he was rejoiced when, at an audience lasting two hours on November 18th he received from the Emperor a completely satisfactory declaration, which he at once reported to Rome and Munich. My intention, so Maximilian declared, has always been to further the Catholic religion, and especially after the urgent and paternal exhortations of the Pope have I prayed God to enlighten me, and the day before yesterday I decided to give up all further meetings of the religious commission, and not allow any religious discussion at the Diet at Linz. In support of this declaration he informed the legate that he had communicated this decision to the members of the commission, that he had dismissed them, and had sent word to those who had been summoned from other places not to come, because there would be no further negotiations. He then said that he wished Commendone to be made aware of all this in order that he might send the news to Rome, and bear witness there

[1] See Ritter, I., 402 *seq.*; Hopfen, 289; Venez. Depeschen, III., 464, n. 1. Colecc. de docum. inéd., CIII., 28 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., II., 464 *seq.*, 492.

[2] The opinion of Huber (IV., 229).

[3] See Ritter, I., 403.

[4] *Cf.* Gratiani Epist., 396.

that as a loyal son he wished to comply absolutely with the wishes of so good a Pope, whom he sincerely loved. When Commendone asked whether it would now be necessary for him to go to Linz, Maximilian replied that it was not necessary, since there would certainly be no discussion of religious matters there; he could assure the Pope that the Emperor was resolved to serve God and the Catholic religion wholeheartedly.[1]

One who was well acquainted with the court of Vienna, Martin Eisengrein, had, a short time after the arrival of Commendone, expressed the fear that an attempt would be made to deceive the eminent diplomatist "with fair words, until they succeeded in sending him away."[2] Eisengrein's view was fully justified; the Emperor had no real intention of meeting the wishes of the Pope, and adhered firmly to his resolve to abide by the promise which he had made on August 18th to the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg, though he did not intend to make any concessions beyond that. He deceived the legate in that he concealed from him the fact that before he dissolved the Diet he had promised the nobles that until the conclusion of the religious discussions they should not be disturbed in their profession of the Confession of Augsburg within their dominions. The Diet of Upper Austria next received from the Emperor on December 7th information that they as well were entitled to the religious liberty allowed in Lower Austria, and that in the meantime they were not to be disturbed so long as they did not go beyond the limits of the Confession of Augsburg. The meetings of the commission for drawing up a new ecclesiastical liturgy and constitution were not entirely suspended, as the Emperor

[1] So much does Commendone announce in a *letter of November 18, 1568, to Cardinal Bonelli (Graziani Archives). *Cf.* further the *report of Biglia of November 18, 1568 (Alfieri Library, Asti, now in the State Archives, Turin). Prof. Dengel will publish both accounts. The letter to Albert V. of November 20, 1568, in HOPFEN, 300 *seq.* See also that to Hosius in CYPRIANUS, 485 *seq.* *Cf.* also Venez. Depeschen, III., 461 *seq.*

[2] Letter of November 5, 1568, in HOPFEN, 296.

led the legate to suppose, for Maximilian had merely dismissed Camerarius, who was not to the liking of the States, and had summoned in his place from Mecklenburg the Lutheran theologian David Chytreus. When the latter arrived in January, 1569, Maximilian was careful to keep his presence hidden from the legate, and in the retirement of the little city of Spitz on the Danube Chytreus was able to devote himself quietly to the drawing up of the new ecclesiastical programme and constitution.[1]

In a brief to the Emperor on December 1st, 1568, Pius V. had expressed his joy at the fact that Maximilian, according to the statements of Arco and Commendone's reports, was willing to make no further concessions as far as the Confession of Augsburg was concerned, and had forbidden the religious discussions which had been begun, to which steps he was indeed bound in virtue of his Imperial office and the oath which he had taken.[2] On January 20th, 1569, at the very moment when he was keeping the Protestant theologian Cytreus concealed at Spitz, Maximilian replied to this brief in an obsequious letter saying how glad he was that the Pope had so cordially welcomed the prohibition of the religious discussions arranged for St. Martin's Day, upon which the whole of his policy of agreement with the nobility had rested; he said that he had never wanted to offend the paternal heart of the Pope, that he felt the greatest filial affection for him, and that in conformity with his duty as Emperor he would leave nothing undone "for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and the defence of the dignity of the Church."[3]

The presence of Commendone was very inconvenient for the dishonest double game which the shifty Emperor was

[1] See RITTER, I., 404; OTTO, 22 *seq.*; WIEDEMANN, I., 361. *Cf.* Colecc. de docum. inéd., CIII., 33, 64; Venez. Depeschen, III., 465.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 86. For the discussion on the oath of Maximilian *cf.* the report of Arco of October 2, 1568, in HOPFEN, 290.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 130 *seq.*

playing at that time;[1] he breathed more freely when, at the end of January, 1569, the legate started on his journey for Rome.[2] As the Venetian ambassador bore witness, Commendone left a splendid reputation behind him in Vienna, and had left nothing undone which could contribute to the edification of the people.[3] His departure had been delayed because he had received from the Pope the further charge of taking advantage of his presence to make a visitation of the churches and convents of Austria. When the necessary faculties for this had arrived at the beginning of January, and the Emperor had given his consent, the legate began his visitation with the city and dioceses of Vienna. On his return journey he continued his work in spite of the inclement weather. In addition to the churches and convents on the great military road, he also visited others lying at a consider-

[1] It would appear from his *report to the Pope of November 24, 1568, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Prof. Dengel, that Commendone was not quite free from anxiety as to the carrying out of the Emperor's decisions. He mentions that while the Catholics at Augsburg were rejoicing over the part played by the Emperor, the Protestants looked upon it as a mere postponement, and remained fixed in their hopes of attaining their end in time. Before he set out for Linz the Emperor had definitely promised that the religious question should not be treated of there. Under the actual circumstances they must be content with what had been accomplished. His mission had been to prevent the actual concessions of religious freedom, or the discussion of the question by the commission. This much had been granted. If for greater security a written promise, signed by the Emperor, should be desired in Rome, namely that he would not in future grant any similar demands by his subjects, they must wait for a suitable moment, namely, when the dispensation for the marriage of the Emperor's daughter to Philip II. was asked for. Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[2] See GRATIANI Epist., 434 *seq.*; Venez. Depeschen, III., 465. *Cf.* HOPFEN, 146 *seq.* for an opinion as to the double game being played by Maximilian. Ritter too (I., 406) says that Maximilian was "playing with" the Catholic powers.

[3] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 465.

able distance, such as Gaming and Kremsmünster. Commendone devoted particular care to the visitation of Upper Austria. In the last week of February he was at Passau, and then visited several convents in the district of Salzburg. Everywhere he laboured to enforce and inculcate the decrees of the Council of Trent. If he did not obtain more lasting results, this was principally because of the short time at his disposal. It could only have been by long and continued labours that the abuses which had crept in in the course of centuries could have been removed.[1]

With the departure of Commendone, the relations with the Holy See were once more in the hands of the ordinary nuncio, Biglia. The efforts of this diplomatist to maintain reasonably good relations between the Emperor and the Pope were rendered all the more difficult because the attitude of Maximilian towards the States of Lower Austria was in direct contradiction to the declarations made on November 18th, 1568, to Commendone. Pius V.'s annoyance at this was so great that he regretted the help he had given Maximilian against the Turks.[2]

The relations between the Emperor and the Pope were again seriously disturbed when, in August, 1569, Pius V. suffered himself to be persuaded to make Cosimo I. Grand Duke of Tuscany. At first the Medici prince, with the help of Pius IV., who was under great obligations to him, had tried in 1560 to obtain the title of king, but, as at that time Philip II.

[1] For the visitation of the monasteries and churches made by Commendone in Lower Austria see STARZER in *Blätter des Verein für Landeskunde für Niederösterreich*, XXVI. (1892), 156 *seqq.*; for the visitation in the dioceses of Passau and Salzburg see MAYR in *Studien und Mitteil. aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienser-orden*, 1893, 385 *seqq.* *Cf.* also HOPFEN, 312 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* TIEPOLO, 187. From his report of July 2, 1569, in HOPFEN, 323 *seq.*, it may be seen how Arco sought to pacify the Curia. *Cf. ibid.* 152, 154 *seq.* for the deceit practised by the Emperor on the Catholic princes and the Pope. From the report of Zuniga of July 28, 1569, Corresp. dipl., III., 118, it is clear what judgment Pius V. had formed of Maximilian.

had resolutely opposed this, the plan had been abandoned.[1] A second attempt to obtain the title of Archduke or Grand Duke had been made five years later, and this time the circumstances had seemed to be more favourable. The negotiations, which had been carried on with the greatest secrecy on account of Spain, had already made great progress when the death of Pius IV. had brought the whole affair to a standstill.[2]

This second shipwreck of his plans did not discourage Cosimo from further attempts, to which he was urged, not only by ambition, but also by the wish to end in his own favour the controversy about precedence which had long been pending between himself and the Duke of Ferrara.[3] When at length, after many difficult negotiations, the Medici prince realized that he could look for no favourable decision of this controversy from the Emperor, he transferred the negotiations to Rome in June, 1569. The task of carrying out this task in favour of Cosimo was entrusted to the lawyer, Domenico Bonsi, who at once got into touch with Onofrio Camaiani, Cosimo's trusted agent. There did not seem to be any likelihood of a decision in Cosimo's favour because in the College of Cardinals Ferrara had as strong a following as Florence.[4]

As far as the Pope was concerned, however, things were very different. Ferrara's relations with Pius V. were very strained, both on account of quarrels of a temporal nature, such as the importation of salt, and on account of Ferrara's attitude towards religious questions. In this respect it would seem that Alfonso had inherited some of the opinions of his mother, Rénée, the friend of Calvin ; he had absolutely refused to admit the Inquisition in his territories, or to comply with

[1] See MAFFEI, 11 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 100.

[2] *Cf.* MAFFEI, 29 *seq.* ; BIBL, Erhebung Cosimos, 11 *seq.*

[3] BIBL, *loc. cit.*, 15, rightly brings this out. For the controversy about precedence *cf. Arch. stor, Ital.*, 2nd ser., VII., 2, 93 *seq.* ; *Atti d. deput. Ferrarese di storia patria*, IX., Ferrara, 1897 ; MONDANI, La questione di precedenza fra il d. Cosimo I. e Alfonso, II., Florence, 1898 ; GRIBANDI in *Riv. di scienze stor.*, 1904-1905 ; PALANDRI, 122 *seq.*

[4] See BIBL, *loc. cit.* 43 *seq.*

the Pope's request that he should help the French Catholics. The Duke's uncle, moreover, Cardinal Este, was especially in bad odour with Pius V. on account of his schemes to obtain the tiara. In the spring of 1569 the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, considered the relations between the House of Este and the Vatican as being so strained, that he feared a complete breach.[1]

Cosimo I., on the other hand, had in every possible way shown his loyalty to the Pope during the whole period of the latter's reign. He had carried into effect all the promises he had made at the beginning of the pontificate concerning the support of the Inquisition and ecclesiastical reform.[2] The handing over of Carnesecchi to the Roman Inquisition, the assistance he had given the Emperor in the Turkish War of 1566 and the great help he had recently given to the French Catholics in the third Huguenot War, were all things calculated to win for the Medici prince in a high degree the confidence and love of Pius V.[3] Camaiani and Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici, who was working with him, therefore met with no great difficulties when they proposed that, as a reward, the question of precedence, which had now been pending for a generation, should be settled in favour of Cosimo by his elevation to the rank of Grand Duke, as had already been the intention of Pius IV. Such a proposal was all the more pleasing to Pius V. since, saturated as he was with medieval ideas, he could thus argue with himself: if a Pope could confer on Charlemagne the title of Emperor, all the more fittingly can

[1] Tiepolo, 189. *Cf.* E. Manolesso in Albèri, II., 2, 415; Bibl, *loc. cit.* 26.

[2] *Cf.* Legaz. di Serristori, 419.

[3] See Tiepolo, 189; Galluzzi, 66 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*; Maffei, 60 *seq.*; Herre, Papstwahlen 159, *seq.*; Palandri, 124 *seq.* In 1568 Pius V. had undertaken the office of god-father at the birth of the daughter of Cosimo; *cf.* the *brief to "Johanna principessa Florentiae" of Jan. 28, 1568 (mission of Cardinal Ricci), State Archives, Florence. A little later the wife of Cosimo was honoured with the Golden Rose; see Laderchi, 1568, n. 59.

I bestow the title of Grand Duke on a prince who has deserved so well of the Church.[1]

On August 27th, 1569 a bull was drawn up in the following terms:[2] the Pope, who has been placed by God over the nations of the kingdoms, and invested with the supreme power in the Church militant, is in duty bound to turn his eyes upon those who, more than others, have rendered faithful service to the Holy See and the Catholic faith. In this respect the sovereign prince of Tuscany has especially distinguished himself. But recently he has magnanimously assisted the Catholics of France and has founded the Order of the Knights of St. Stephen for the honour of God and the propagation of the true religion. Since these services call for some recognition the Pope, in virtue of his Apostolic power, declares him hereditary Grand Duke of Tuscany in so far as that country is subject to him as sovereign, without thereby infringing the rights of the Emperor or other kings. As a precedent for this grant of a title the bull appeals to similar acts by Popes Alexander III., Innocent III. and Paul IV., in the case of the rulers of Portugal, Bulgaria and Walachia, as well as of Ireland..[3] As an external mark of the title now conferred upon him Cosimo was given the right to bear the royal crown heraldically described in the bull. Thus was his right of precedence over Este assured to him. The arrival of the news of the victory over the French Huguenots to which Cosimo had so materially contributed,[4] seemed to Pius V. to afford a favourable opportunity for promulgating the bull which had hitherto been kept secret. On December 7th, 1569, he sent his nephew Michele Bonelli to Florence, where

[1] See GALLUZZI, 89 *seq.*; BIBL, *loc. cit.* 45 *seq.* For the work by Laurentius Belus, *De summa pontificia potestate creandi et destruendi saeculares potestates, etc., see Vol. XVII., p. 131, n. 1.

[2] Bull. Rom., VII., 763 *seq.*

[3] In his negotiations with Maximilian II. Commendone also adduced other examples drawn from the medieval ideas, but which to some extent will not stand the light of historical criticism; see GRATIANUS, Vita Commendoni.

[4] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 228, n. 1.

five days later the delivery and reading of the bull took place with great solemnity in the Palazzo Vecchio.[1]

While Florence was keeping high festival, Cosimo set all the devices of his diplomatic skill to work, gradually to reconcile the powers, and especially the Emperor, to this occurrence, and prevent them from taking any steps to oppose it. In flagrant contradiction to the truth he assured them that he had never taken any steps to obtain the dignity which the Pope had conferred upon him of his own initiative, and added that he intended to go to Rome at the beginning of the following year in order to express his gratitude in person. He carefully concealed from the Emperor that the real object of this journey was that he might be crowned by the Pope. When, however, as the result of rumours which reached him, Maximilian learned the truth, he abandoned the attitude of reserve which he had hitherto maintained, and demanded to be informed in the first place of the terms of the bull.[2]

On February 13th, 1570, Arco received by special courier from the Emperor orders to make in the first place private remonstrances to the Pope against the proposed solemn coronation of Cosimo, and if this was not sufficient, to make formal protest against such a step, as being injurious to the rights of the Emperor. Arco had an audience on February 14th. When, in the course of the discussion, Pius V. remarked that the Duke of Florence was free and acknowledged no overlord, and that moreover on many occasions the Popes had appointed men as kings, as for example the Kings of Portugal and Navarre, Arco replied that those cases had not affected the Empire. This touched the real point at issue: the Emperor looked upon Florence as a fief of the Empire, and even though this might be open to question, it was certain that Siena had been received as a fief from the Spanish king, and was indirectly a fief of the Empire. It would seem that the Pope already realized that Cosimo had put him in a false

[1] See GALLUZZI, 103 *seq.*; LAPINI, Diario Florentino, ed. Corazzini, Florence, 1900.

[2] See BIBL, *loc. cit.* 47 *seq.*

position. In spite of this, he did not consider himself justified, for the sake of his own authority, in withdrawing the distinction as Arco demanded,[1] and as a matter of fact the question had already gone too far.[2] On February 15th, 1570, Cosimo arrived at the gates of Rome with a splendid retinue, and dismounted at the villa of Julius III. On the 18th he made his entry with great pomp and was received in the consistory. Even Arco was present at this ceremony, which took place in the Sala Regia. When the consistorial advocate proclaimed the new title of Cosimo, Arco declared to the Pope that he protested against this infringement of the rights of the Emperor, and that he reserved a more formal protest. Then, when Cosimo was introduced with great pomp, he left the Sala in an ostentatious way. All the attempts of both the Pope and Cosimo to induce the Imperial ambassador to change his attitude failed.[3]

On March 5th, Laetare Sunday, Arco renewed his solemn protest in the Pope's private apartments, in the presence of Cardinals Morone, Chiesa and Bonelli. While he was leaving the Vatican Pius V. repaired to the Sistine Chapel for the coronation mass. Cosimo took his place between the two junior Cardinal-Priests. He was attired in a long robe embroidered with gold, and over it a red mantle, trimmed with ermine, and he wore the ducal cap. After the epistle he took

[1] See *ibid.* 53 *seqq.*

[2] For the preparations in Rome for the arrival of Cosimo, see *Avvisi di Roma of January 25, February 8 and 11, 1570; mention is there made of a present from Cosimo to Pius V., "un calamaro d'argento dorato con un horiolo dentro" of the value of 250 scudi. Urb. 1041, p. 223, 223b, 224b, Vatican Library.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 156; BIBL, *loc. cit.* 55 *seq.* *Cf.* also MUTINELLI, I., 88 *seq.*; DE MAGISTRIS, 13 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., III., 234 *seqq.* Interesting particulars on the arrival and entry of the new Grand Duke in the *Avvisi di Roma of February 15 and 18, 1570 (Cosimo was lodged in the apartments of Cardinal Bonelli "parate di velluto cremesino con broccato d'oro"), Urb. 1041, p. 226b, 229b, Vatican Library.

the oath of fealty, and then the Pope placed on his head the precious gold crown which had been made in Florence, and handed him the silver sceptre. At the conclusion of the ceremony the new Grand Duke offered as gifts a golden chalice, and rich vessels and liturgical vestments; when the Pope returned to his apartment he carried his train. Lastly, Cosimo was honoured with the golden rose which had been blessed on that day.[1]

It is quite certain that it was very far from the wishes of Pius V. to do anything prejudicial to the rights of any prince by the extraordinary honour which he had conferred on Cosimo; his declaration that it was merely his intention to reward the great services of the Medici prince to the Holy See may be taken quite literally.[2] All the more painful then was his surprise when he saw what wrong motives were attributed to him and what strong opposition his action had aroused among almost all the powers.[3] The only exception was the French government, which hailed Cosimo's elevation with joy, knowing well that the Hapsburgs had done all they

[1] There are various accounts of the events of March 5, that of Arco, with his protest, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 156 *seq.*, BIBL, 60 *seq.* the report of the Venetian ambassador in MUTINELLI, I., 89 *seq.*, that of the French ambassador in DE MAGISTRIS, 15 *seq.*, that of the ambassador of Savoy in SAGGIATORE, IV. (1845), 33 *seq.* Firmanus gives a very detailed account of the ceremony of the coronation, in MORENI, Della solenne incoronazione del duca Cosimo Medici in granduca, Florence, 1819. *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of March 5, 1570, where, among the presents, special mention is made of a gold "bacile" weighing 9 pounds, with 7 figures "con miracolosa arte; fede, speranza e carità" supporting the vase at the foot of which are the four Evangelists with the arms of Pius V. and Cosimo. Urb. 1041, p. 242b, Vatican Library.

[2] HERRE (I., 59) rightly brings this out.

[3] Besides Ferrara, Savoy, Mantua and Venice, among the Italian states, refused to recognize the title. See BIBL, 70, *Cf. Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. III., 158 *seq.*; Venez. Depeschen, III., 498 n.

could to prevent it taking place.[1] It was indeed true that they had been continually urged to do so by the Duke of Ferrara.[2]

From the first Philip II. of Spain had maintained an attitude of reserve. From the point of view of principle his view was the same as that of the Emperor; he saw in this act of the Pope an extremely serious and dangerous interference in temporal affairs, and he looked upon it as an insult that he, Cosimo's feudal lord as far as Siena was concerned, had not been informed of it beforehand. An additional motive for indignation lay in the fact that the King of Spain could not willingly allow the Duke of Florence to become more powerful than he already was. At the same time, for various reasons Philip was not at first inclined to adopt so brusque an attitude towards the Pope as was done by Maximilian, who, under the influence of Arco, had become the close friend of the Este.[3]

On March 29th, 1570, the Emperor once again solemnly repeated his protest, and sent for this purpose his three councillors, Gabriel Strein, Baron von Schwarzenau and Dr. Andreas Gail, who arrived in Rome on April 10th, and had a private audience on the 16th, followed by a public one on the 24th. On the latter occasion the protest was read, and a copy of it delivered. The Pope promised to give his reply after he had maturely considered the matter.[4]

[1] See De Magistris, 11 *seq.*; Herre, I., 60. *Cf.* Palandri, 126.

[2] *Cf.* Bibl, 79 *seq.*, 89 *seqq.*

[3] See Herre, I., 60, 77; Maffei, 81 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*; Bibl, 70, 78, 87 *seq.* Philip II. only made his protest against Cosimo's new title after the conclusion of the league against the Turks, which brought Spain the *Cruzada* (see *infra*, Cap. IX., and *supra* p. 64). In consequence of the Spanish protest the Pope gave way so far as to give Cosimo secret powers to enter upon negotiations for a compromise upon the basis proposed by the Emperor, which the Medici prince at once did. Bibl, 119.

[4] See the *report of B. Pia of April 25, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Avvisi di Roma of April 19 and 26, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 265b, 267, Vatican Library; Laderchi, 1570, n. 115; Corresp.

That in the face of this unexpected opposition, and in view of the doubly unfortunate consequences to the much desired league against the Turks of the conferring of the title, Pius V. to some extent repented of having satisfied the desires of the crafty Cosimo, and that he would like to have acted otherwise, is shown by the fact that at the great creation of Cardinals on May 17th, 1570, he passed over Camaiani, though he was warmly recommended by Florence. Such an attitude was also urged upon him by the fact that Cosimo did not hesitate to throw the responsibility for the whole affair upon the Pope.[1]

In Rome a special congregation of Cardinals discussed from the end of April the reply that should be made to the Emperor's protest. Opinions were very divided. Some thought that a reply of any kind was undesirable, because an exchange of letters would only add fuel to the flames. On the other hand it was rightly urged that to refuse to reply at all would be taken as an insult by the Emperor.[2] A decision was made all the more difficult by the fact that there was reason to look forward with some anxiety to the Diet which had been summoned to Spires for May 22nd.[3] It seemed certain that the question would be raised there,[4] since, in spite of the attempts

dipl., III., 311 *seq.*; GRATIANI Epist., 466 *seq.* *Cf.* Venez. Depeschen, III., 497; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 157; BIBL, 63 *seq.*; DE MAGISTRIS, 17 *seq.*, 20 *seq.* *Cf.* also CARCERERI, Cosimo dei Medici e il titolo di Granduca di Toscana, Venice, 1906, 12 *seq.* The *Oratio habita in consistorio Sanct^mi^ coram 19 cardinalibus ab oratore Caesaris et copia instrumenti protestatinis S. Caes. M^tis^, in Varia polit., 85 (now 86), 99 *seq.*; *ibid.* 112 *seq.*; *Responsio S. D. N. ad oratores Caesaris, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See BIBL, 76 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 85.

[3] The *Imperial convocation, dated Prague, February 1, 1570 (not at the beginning of the year, as in HABERLIN, VII., 145), in Reichstagshandlung de anno 1570, II., 181 *seq.*, City Archives, Frankfort a/M.

[4] For this reason Biglia had advised the sending of a legate even before the opening of the Diet (see BIBL, 80). It was

of the nuncio to dissuade him, Maximilian had submitted all the business of the grand-ducal title to the Electors, and had asked an opinion from them for the safe-guarding of the sovereignty of the Empire.[1] In view of the opinions of the greater part of the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, it was beyond doubt that they would support the Emperor in his quarrel with the Pope, and that they would be ready "to give the *coup de grace* to Antichrist" even in open war.[2] Under these circumstances a middle course was adopted in Rome, by withholding the reply at least until the proposal had been laid before the Diet. Pius V.'s reply, which was dated July 24th, reached Spires in the middle of August, and aimed at keeping the question open and gaining time so that Cosimo might in the meantime come to an understanding with the Emperor.[3]

The state of affairs at Spires remained for a long time very threatening. A breach with Rome on the part of the Emperor seemed to be imminent, and many of the Protestants would have joyfully joined in this. The Pope therefore in August sent the knight, Jost Segesser, the captain of his Swiss guard, to the Catholic cantons, in order to obtain from them the promise of the assistance of four or five thousand men in the event of attack being made upon the Holy See.[4] On September 17th, 1570, the English ambassador reported from Spires that Maximilian had spoken to him of the rash interference

already being said in Rome that either Commendone or Orsini had been chosen for this purpose (see the *report of B. Pia from Rome, April 5, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On June 24, 1570, B. Pia says: *"Madruzzo partì due dì sono per la dieta di Spira, qualche effetto potrà fare nelle cose che bollono essendo prudentissimo et destrissimo." The Emperor was opposed to the sending of a legate, because it would give rise to too much talk in Germany; see Venez. Depeschen, III., 496 n. 1.

[1] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 498, n. 1.; Bibl, 80.

[2] See Jannsen-Pastor, IV. 15-16, 316 *seq.*; Bibl., 98 *seq.*

[3] See Bibl, 84 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*

[4] See *Schweizer Abschiede*, IV., 2, n. 364, p. 454; Lütolf, Schweizergarde, 76. For the fear in Rome, *cf.* Sereno, 52 *seq.*

of the Bishop of Rome, and had also said that things would never be any better with the clergy until they made up their minds to live as the Apostles had done; that if he decided to march against Rome he knew of many who would go with him, and that the German princes had told him that Rome was the lawful and original capital of the Emperor, and that they wished to take him there.[1] Under these circumstances it was very difficult for the nuncio Biglia to discharge his office, but fortunately he had the Spanish ambassador to stand by him in his efforts to moderate the Emperor's conduct, and to prevent the Electors from interfering in the controversy. In Florence they were of opinion that Biglia did not take a strong enough line of action, and that he was better fitted to inspire love than respect.[2]

At length in the middle of December Biglia was set free from his perplexities; he was able to report to Rome that the matter would remain in the hands of the Electors, and that the Emperor would make known his claims to the Pope.[3] In the Curia they were congratulating themselves that the worst had been averted when the Emperor, after the close of the Diet, resumed his attack. On December 26th he forbade the Cardinals and German princes, as well as those Italian states which were subject to the Empire to give Cosimo I. his new title. At the same time he sent his reply to the Pope's last communication, and in a letter to Pius V. demanded a settlement of the controversy which would satisfy his own rights and those of the Empire. Arco made it quite plain that what his master demanded was the withdrawal of the title.[4] On February 24th, 1571, Pius V. made his reply; this was very restrained in its form, while in its matter it was in no way derogatory to his dignity; he said that his conscience told him that he had in no way intentionally in-

[1] See Calendar of State Papers. Foreign. Elizabeth. 1569-1571, ed. by A. J. Crosby, London, 1874, n. 1267.

[2] See Bibl, 88 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 96.

[4] See Schwarz, Briefwechsel, 163 *seq.*; Bibl, 100 *seq.*

fringed upon the rights of the Empire and the Emperor in conferring this title upon Cosimo, but that he intended to submit the question to a thorough and impartial examination in the light of Maximilian's remarks, and to settle the dispute in a way that would be acceptable to the Emperor. In order to lead Maximilian to a conciliatory frame of mind he pointed out to him that the attack of the Turks which was at that moment threatening Venice might become dangerous to him as well; all disunion and discord was therefore to be avoided. Biglia was warned to speak in the same sense,[1] but the action taken by the nuncio satisfied neither party. In Rome they found fault with him because he had made too favourable a report in December, while in Florence they thought he had not been sufficiently resolute, and, since in the matter of the Turkish war as well, with regard to which the Pope had held out hopes to the Emperor of a monthly subsidy of 40,000 ducats so long as Italy itself was left undisturbed, he was unable to obtain any success, his position was looked upon as being considerably undermined.[2] It was generally thought that his recall had been decided upon when, at the end of April, 1571, he succumbed to a malignant disease, the spotted fever which was at that time raging at Prague.[3]

In Florence they would have been glad to have seen Archbishop Verallo appointed as his successor, whereas the Emperor's chief care was that no partisan of Cosimo's should be

[1] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 169 *seq.*; BIBL 105 *seq.* How deeply anxious the Curia was about the controversy is shown among other things by the letters and views sent to the Pope on the conferring of the title in Varia polit. 79 (now 80), p. 7 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives. Very full is the manuscript entitled: *Discorso sopra l'autorità del Papa fatto in tempo che P. Pio insignì col titolo de Granduca di Toscana Cosimo de Medici, in Cod. Urb., 852, p. 219 of the Vatican Library, and Inf. polit., XII., p. 244 *seq.* of the Berlin Library. In Carte Strozz., I., 1, 250 *seq.* there is a list of the writings on the subject in the State Archives, Florence.

[2] See BIBL, 106 *seq.*

[3] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 171.

sent.[1] The Pope's choice fell upon the Bishop of Torcello, Giovanni Delfino, who had accompanied Cardinal Commendone upon his legation to the Emperor in 1568, and who was now recommended by that Cardinal. Before Delfino started for his new duties, Pius wished to see him personally in order to explain to him by word of mouth the task that lay before him.[2] The written instructions, which are dated June 5th, 1571, command Delfino above all to persuade the Emperor of the importance and value of his coming to a decision to favour the Catholic religion frankly and openly, and to protect the churches and convents, with special reference to the question at issue between the Archduke Ferdinand and the chapter of Trent concerning temporalities.[3] With regard to

[1] See BIBL, 114, n. 5; SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 177.

[2] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 177; *ibid.* the credential briefs to Maximilian II., the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, and Duke Albert of Bavaria, dated May 24, 1571. The *credentials to Johann Jakob Khuen, Archbishop of Salzburg, Rome, June 1, 1571, recommend Delfino as "virum ab egregiam suam probitatem doctrinamque suam valde nobis probatum." Original in the Consistorial Archives, Salzburg.

[3] *Cf.* the detailed account of HIRN: Der Temporalienstreit des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol mit dem Stift Trient, Vienna, 1882, and Erzherzog Ferdinand, I., 292 *seq.* On account of his encroachments in ecclesiastical matters, Pius V., on December 31, 1568, threatened the Archduke with excommunication (LADERCHI, 1568, n. 77), which caused a great stir; see CANISII Epist., VI., 245. The only reason why they remained calm in the Curia was that a settlement was shortly expected through the mediation of the Emperor (*cf.* the brief in GOUBAU, 122 *seq.*); see HIRN, 124. A counterpart to this was the dispute about temporalities with the monastery of Neustift; see HIRN, I., 316 *seq.* In a *brief of May 11, 1570, to the "Praeposit. S. Mariae de Novacella O.S.A." Pius V. praises the resistance and the defence of their rights and ecclesiastical liberties offered by the monastery to the officers of the Archduke Ferdinand, and exhorts them to persevere (Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 107, Papal Secret Archives). In this controversy the civil power was victorious, but in the end had to give way over its plans for secularization as far as Trent was concerned.

the two burning questions of the moment, Cosimo's title and the league against the Turks, the instructions gave detailed directions. With regard to the Florentine question Delfino was to act in agreement with the Tuscan ambassador, Lodovico Antinori, Bishop of Volterra, and to urge a policy of conciliation by calling attention to Cosimo's services to religion, and to his relationship with and loyalty to the Emperor. If the absence of any reply to the Emperor's demands was raised, the nuncio was to say that after carefully examining the statements drawn up by the theologians and lawyers the Pope had refrained from making any written reply because this could not have been satisfactory to Maximilian, and would only have led to a further exchange of correspondence, and that this would only have afforded pleasure to those who would be glad to see discord between the two heads of Christendom. The Pope hoped that a settlement of the dispute would result from the sending of a legate, which was intended as soon as possible. With regard to the league against the Turks the nuncio was instructed formally to invite the Emperor to join the league which had been formed with Spain and Venice.[1]

Delfino, who had started from his episcopal see for Rome on May 17th, 1571, left the Eternal City on June 5th, travelling slowly and stopping at Florence, and for a few days with Commendone at Verona in order to get further particulars concerning the mission with which he had been entrusted; he did not reach Vienna until July 22nd.[2] His first audience with the Emperor passed in an exchange of compliments. At the second, on July 30th, the nuncio brought forward a definite request, by granting which the Emperor would be

[1] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 177 *seq*; *Ibid.* 180 *seq.* the letter of Pius V. to Maximilian of June 17, 1571, saying that Delfino would communicate to the Emperor the reply to his complaints about the Papal brief to the Duke of Ferrara of April 9 (maintaining that he, as a feudatory of the Holy See could never call upon the Emperor to settle the dispute about precedence; LADERCHI, 1571, n. 64) as well as the reply to the proposal of Arco.

[2] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 179.

bound to show that he took his office of protector of the Church seriously; Delfino asked him to prohibit a certain Protestant liturgy, in the German language, which was being sold to the nobility in Vienna, on the understanding that Maximilian had approved of it. Since it was also being maintained that the Emperor had granted the nobles the use of the Confession of Augsburg, Delfino was of opinion that His Majesty could not better prove his real sentiments than by a prohibition of the said liturgy.[1]

The Emperor, who had listened very calmly to the nuncio, first praised in the highest terms the Holy Father's zeal for religion, and then went on to deplore the sad religious state of Germany, assuring him that in the future, as in the past, he would leave nothing undone to remedy this state of affairs. The evil, however, was so deeply rooted that it was necessary to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to implore the assistance of God. As to the liturgy in question Maximilian declared that he had already prohibited it, and that it would no longer be sold; for the rest it was out of the question in that country to have recourse to punishment so easily as was desirable, but that he would nevertheless take other steps to prevent the sale of prohibited books in Vienna.[2]

At first Delfino had no suspicion that that very programme had been approved by the Emperor after long negotiations which had carefully been kept secret, and had been printed with his permission;[3] nor had he had the least idea that on January 14th, 1571, Maximilian had given the nobles and knights of Lower Austria a *written* "assurance" concerning the religious freedom promised to them in 1568.[4] Delfino

[1] See the *report of Delfino from Vienna, July 30, 1571, Nunziat. di Germania, 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] "*Circa al libro dell' Agenda mi ha detto havendo prohibito et che più non si venderà, ma che in questi luochi non si poteva procedere cosi facilmente al castigo, come sarebbe conveniente, et di più promise di far provisione, che in Vienna non si venderanno libri prohibiti." Nunziat. di Germania 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Bibl, Organisation, 143 *seqq.*, 149 *seqq.*, 180.

[4] See *ibid.* 161 *seqq.*

must also have been confirmed in his belief in the Emperor's good faith by the fact that he found confirmation of another assurance which he had given at the beginning of August;[1] at the Diet of Bohemia, Maximilian, appealing to his coronation oath, had rejected the demand of the Protestant states for the free use of the Confession of Augsburg, to which the archbishop, the cathedral chapter, and the Utraquist consistory were opposed.[2]

When, at the end of August, 1571, Delfino learned the true state of affairs with regard to the liturgy, he tried to bring pressure to bear on the Emperor by means of the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V., who had come to Vienna for the marriage of his daughter Mary to the Archduke Charles, at the same time taking the opportunity of begging Albert to make sure that his son-in-law should remain true to the Catholic party.[3] To the Archduke Charles himself Delfino delivered two briefs from the Pope, and in giving them to him set him on his guard against allowing to the Protestants those concessions which the Emperor had made in the case of the archduchy of Austria. The Archduke gave him the fullest assurances,[4] but Delfino did not conceal from himself the fact that the

[1] " *Circa le cose di Boemia S. M^tà mi discorse lungamente della petitione che le fu fatta della confessione Augustana et della negativa data con parole molto vehementi et piene di religione, dicendo che non era per conceder mai cosa alcuna con gl'Hussiti, ma bene per i capitoli giurati, quando fu eletto re di Boemia, era astretto a lasciarli vivere nella sua vecchia heresia. Ho parlato poi con molti di questa corte et Giesuiti et altri, quali tutti m'hanno affermato, che in Praga S. M^tá nelle cose della religione s'ha portato tanto bene, quanto si può desiderare." Report from Vienna, August 6, 1571, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* HUBER, IV., 240.

[3] See the *report of Delfino from Vienna, September 3, 1571, in Nunziat. di Germania, 64, Papal Secret Archives. For the marriage of the Archduke Charles see HURTER, I., 174 *seqq.*

[4] See the *reports of Delfino of September 3 and 7, 1571, *loc. cit.* For the briefs to the Archduke Charles see LADERCHI, 1571, n. 55-57.

danger was not thereby entirely removed.[1] It was true that the Archduke Charles loyally entertained true Catholic opinions,[2] as had been shown among other things by his behaviour when, in 1568, Pius V. had withdrawn the concession of the chalice to the laity, because it had entirely failed to have the desired effect,[3] while in other ways as well Charles had supported the Pope's efforts for reform,[4] but on account of his financial straits he was bound to take the states into consideration, and these, in Styria, as well as in Carniola and Carinthia, were for the most part inclined to Protestantism. When he was faced, therefore, with their request for the free exercise of their religion, the Archduke found himself in a difficult position. It did not satisfy the Protestant majority in the Styrian states that he was prepared not to interfere with the nobles in questions of religion, and in November, 1571, they asked the Archduke to allow the preachers of the new doctrine into the cities and marts, for the abolition of "idolatry," for otherwise he would have done nothing for them. In the end the Protestants had to remain content with the vague assurance of the Archduke that he would

[1] On November 1, 1571, Delfino reported from Vienna: *"In Gratz ho dato ordine alle Giesuiti at alli padri di S. Domenico che intendendo essi alcuna novità nella religione me ne debbano dare immediate avviso anco per huomo a posta." Nunziat. di Germania, 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the report of Girol. Lippomano of 1567 (Relaz. al Senato Veneto, published by V. Joppi, Udine, 1882, *Nozze* publication), *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* of Zahn, III. (1882), 194.

[3] See the brief to the Patriarch of Aquileia in Rubeis, Monum. eccl. Aquil., 1091. *Cf.* Hurter, I., 66 *seqq.* The expressions he used to the Venetian ambassador (in Turba, III., 443 *seq.*) show Maximilian's annoyance at this withdrawal.

[4] On August 9, 1568, Pius V. thanked the Archduke Charles for his readiness to help in the reform of the clergy in his part of the diocese of Aquileia, and recommended to him Bartolomeo a Porzia, who had been appointed visitor; see *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* of Zahn, I. (1880), 69 *seq.* *Cf.* Laderchi, 1568, n. 82 *seq.*; 1569, n. 222.

leave religious matters as they were and promote Christian mildness and gentleness.[1]

In the meantime, on September 16th, 1571, Commendone had come to Vienna on the business of the league against the Turks. He was also charged to come to some arrangement concerning the title conferred on Cosimo I.[2] During his stay of two months at the Imperial court Commendone showed no want of zeal, but he was not destined to meet with success in either matter. He did not however give up all hopes of accomplishing something on his return from Poland, for which country he set out on November 22nd.[3]

Soon after the departure of Commendone the Emperor was seized with a grave attack of his former illness, gout and heart-disease. In a report of December 12th, 1571, Delfino expressed the view that God had sent this illness to Maximilian in order to lead him to live, as far as his religion was concerned, in a manner befitting a Christian Emperor ;[4] he also expressed the hope that this would be the case, though the future had quite another tale to tell ; the Emperor continued to the end very vacillating in religious matters, so that no one really knew for certain whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant.[5]

In the meantime the state of the Catholic Church in Austria,

[1] See HURTER, I., 127 *seqq.* ; LOSERTH, Reformation, 158 *seq.* The *briefs of Pius V. to the Bishop of Gurk, and the Archbishop of Salzburg of September 15, 1571, are directed against the demands of the Styrian states. Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] The instructions for Commendone, of June 15, 1571, in SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 184.

[3] See BIBL, Erhebung Cosimos, 123 *seqq.*, 126. *Cf.* TÖRNE, Gallio, 102.

[4] See *Cifra del Nuntio di Germania di 12 di Dicembre, 1571, in Nunziat. di Germania, 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. $^{15\text{-}16}$, 496. The discussion of the Grand Duke's title continued. Again on March 15, 1572, Maximilian charged his ambassador in Rome to demand satisfaction in the matter in accordance with the rights of the Emperor and Empire. SUDENDORF, Registrum, III., 351.

which Delfino endeavoured to help to the best of his ability by promoting reform in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent,[1] was going from bad to worse, because the Protestant nobles, without the least restraint, went far beyond the limits fixed for them by the Emperor's "assurance." Not content with the free exercise of their religion granted to them and their subjects, they also tried in every way, even by violence, to extirpate "papistical idolatry" and did not shrink from revolting acts of cruelty. The Catholics were so intimidated that many of them no longer dared to express their opinions.[2] How far the truculence of the Protestants at the expense of the Catholic minority went may still be gathered to-day from the caricatures which they caused to be executed in 1571 in the palace of the States of Lower Austria, where there may still be seen a hog with a rosary in its mouth![3]

Not even the Protestants, however, were quite satisfied with the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy. Many preachers drew up memorials and polemical writings against the new ritual, and every preacher exercised his talents in this way. Maximilian's religious policy was therefore a complete failure; all that he had obtained was the incurable disturbance of his dominions.[4]

While, in the Emperor's hereditary possessions, to use his own expression, everything threatened to go to rack and ruin, in the Empire the efforts on behalf of reform and a Catholic restoration were making slow but steady progress. These efforts were inspired and supported in every way by Pius V.

A short time after he had assumed the reins of government, the Pope had exhorted the German bishops to carry out the reform decrees of Trent, and above all to see to the establish-

[1] Information on this subject is given in the *reports of Delfino in the Papal Secret Archives, which will be published in the Nuntiaturberichte of Prof. Dengel.

[2] See HUBER, IV., 238.

[3] MAYER, Niederösterr. Ständehaus, 38.

[4] See HUBER, IV., 240; JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV. 15-16, 452 *seqq.*

ment of seminaries,[1] urging them in June, 1566, to undertake a far-reaching reform of morals among the clergy by means of visitations of their dioceses.[2] Cardinal Commendone had also received special instructions to this effect. It was this distinguished representative of the Holy See who, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1566, had organized the Catholic party for the purpose of the acceptance of the decrees of the Council by the Catholic states of the Empire,[3] and had thus laid the solid foundations of the reform of Germany in the Catholic sense, though it was soon seen how far removed the acceptance of the decrees in principle was from their being carried into effect.

One of the first difficulties was connected with the making of the Tridentine profession of faith, which the Pope demanded of the new bishops. On account of the unhappy financial straits in which they found themselves Pius V. at once made concessions in the matter of the annates; subordinating all temporal considerations to the spiritual, he contented himself in the case of Trêves with a fifth, while it would seem that he was willing to condone them entirely in the case of the church of Cologne. But it was Frederick von Wied, the archbishop-elect of Cologne, who refused to take the oath, even after the Archbishop of Trêves, Jakob von Eltz, and Frederick's suffragans, Johann von Hoya, Bishop of Osnabrück and Münster, and Gerard Groesbeck of Liège, had taken

[1] See LADERCHI 1566, n. 222. In Laderchi the brief to the Bishop of Würzburg is dated January 23, 1566, but in Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 14 of the Papal Secret Archives, it is dated January 22, and this fits in with the fact that the original of the corresponding brief to the Bishop of Bamberg is also dated January 22. On February 11, 1566, a similar brief was also sent to the primate of Hungary; see GOUBAU, 6 *seq.*

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 252; REMLING, Urkunden der Speirer Bischöfe, Mayence, 1853, 615 *seq.*; KELLER, 359 *seq.*; SCHWARZ, Visitation, p. xxix. The *original of the letter to the Bishop of Strasbourg is in the Departmental archives at Strasbourg, G. 149.

[3] See *supra* p. 254.

it. In the end Frederick preferred to resign his see.[1] At the election of his successor, Count Salentin of Isenburg, the cathedral chapter of Cologne included in the election capitulation a resolution that the archibshop must make the profession of faith of the Council of Trent if the Pope required it. When, in spite of this, Salentin refused to comply, the Holy See withheld its confirmation.[2]

Pius V. was equally determined in insisting that, in conformity with the decree of his predecessor, the Tridentine profession of faith should also be made by Catholic professors.[3] The severity with which the Pope acted in this matter shows how well he understood German conditions. There the Church was threatened with the gravest danger on the part of those waverers who, although they retained a certain attachment for old Catholic practices, were nevertheless alienated from the true spirit of the Church and from many of her doctrines. It was from these feeble half-Catholics that arose those complaints of the imprudence and excessive zeal of the Pope, of which Maximilian II. made himself the spokesman, when he said that this Pope was starting something fresh every day, and turning everything upside down.[4] Catholics of this kind were specially numerous at Cleves, at the court of Duke William. They watched Pius V. in a spirit of criticism and ill-will, saying that his reforms were not suited to Germany. With the good intention of saving the Church in Germany, they went to extremes in yielding Catholic principles and institutions to the innovators. "If these men had succeeded in getting the direction of affairs into their own hands, German Catholics would have remained for a long time what they had already been for ten years as far as the majority of them was concerned: united by the slenderest of ties to the centre of Catholic unity, and therefore weak and without energy."[5]

[1] See *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XIII., 358 *seq.*; LOSSEN, 4 *seq.*

[2] See LOSSEN, 27 *seq.*; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 143 *seq.*

[3] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 13 *seq.*

[4] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 443.

[5] See BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 105 *seq.*

How wide-spread discouragement was among the German bishops, and what difficulties were met with in the attempt to enforce the Tridentine reforms, has been related in a striking way by Peter Canisius. In a letter of July 23rd, 1567, the second apostle of Germany describes the state of affairs in that country to the General of his Order. This letter was occasioned by a visit paid by him to Erasmus von Limburg, Bishop of Strasbourg, an infirm prelate, very anxious about his own health, who indeed recognized the necessity of at once nominating a capable co-adjutor, but was unable to make up his mind to act. It was in vain that Canisius told him of many of the canons of Strasbourg who were inclined to the new doctrines, and who could not be entrusted with so important an affair, and promised him help from Rome. It was in vain that he reminded him of the fate of the bishoprics in Saxony, and called his attention to his avaricious neighbours who were only waiting for his death in order to take possession of the diocese.

As the same conditions prevailed in other cathedral chapters besides Strasbourg, Canisius drafted a number of reform proposals. He was quite right in seeing the principal reason for the great increase in the number of heretical and suspected canons in the education of the German nobles, who formed the greater part of the chapters, which was adapted for the profession of arms rather than for ecclesiastical office, while what this man who was so filled with the zeal for the faith has to say in his letter on the subject of the monasteries and the secular clergy is equally distressing. At the end of the letter he deals with the reasons on the strength of which the German bishops excused themselves for their failure to carry out the decrees of Trent. It is fear, he says, which they display: "our pastors lack confidence and firmness because they consider the fate of the Catholic Church in Germany to be hopeless, and they can see hardly any, or perhaps no single prince upon whom they can rely." He concludes his gloomy account with these words: "we are in a state of sore distress, and we cannot bear our sorrows any longer; yet we shrink from the remedy."[1]

[1] See CANISII Epist., V., 515 *seq.*

It is clear that such a state of affairs could not be remedied in the course of a single pontificate, but it is beyond question that Pius V. did all that he could to evoke and further among the Catholics a movement of reform and self-defence, so as to remove the worst evils, and above all to set up a barrier against the further intrusion of the followers of the new religion into the great offices of the Church. It was he who charged the Jesuits Hoffaeus and Canisius to translate the Roman catechism into German, and who urged Canisius to combat the centuriators of Magdeburg.[1] In 1568, being seriously anxious to work for the welfare of Germany, he ordered the formation of a special congregation of Cardinals to deal with German affairs; this was bound to put an end to such mistaken ideas as had been current at the beginning of the pontificate with regard to the religious attitude of Duke William of Cleves.[2]

The most recent research has shown how baseless is the accusation that Pius V. interfered in German affairs with excessive severity. It is true that in certain matters, as for example, the celibacy of the clergy and the chalice for the laity,[3] he was quite inflexible, and rightly so, but with regard to several other ecclesiastical duties he showed a wise moderation. Even with regard to the bull *In coena Domini* he made a great concession orally, which seemed to be called for by the

[1] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 20 *seq.*, 57, 62 *seq.* On August 24, 1570, the nuncio Biglia received *orders to see that the cathedral chapters were purged of evil members: see Nunziat. di Germania, 67, p. 148, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, p. xii.; *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVIII., 404 *seq.* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 27 *seq.*; CANISII Epist., VI., 582.

[3] *Cf.* the letter of Pius V. to the Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, May 26, 1568; in no case were those who asked for the chalice for the laity given what they wanted (see GOUBAU, 83 *seq.*; *cf.* App. Vol. XVII., n. 68). *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 316 *seq.* and WIDMANN, Gesch. Salzburgs, III., 97, for the consequences of this controversy. The experience of the granting of the chalice to the laity so far was all in favour of the decision of Pius V, See also BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 53 *seq.*

desperate position of the Catholics in Germany.[1] Moreover, taking into consideration the special conditions of that country, he in some cases departed from the strict letter of the Tridentine decrees. The Council had forbidden the accumulation of benefices, but now, in order to prevent the spread of Protestantism among the chapters of northern Germany, Pius V. allowed the holding of several capitular benefices.[2] In consideration of the assistance which Albert V. of Bavaria had given to the Church he allowed the appointment of his not yet twelve year old son Ernest as administrator of Freising; he would not, however, entertain the proposal that Ernest should be appointed co-adjutor of Hildesheim in order to make that chapter safe against the Protestants.[3]

But, gloomy though the general religious situation in Germany was, there were not wanting gleams of light nor the seeds of better things in the future. As early as 1567 Pius V. had the satisfaction of seeing two provincial synods held in Germany as the result of his efforts. His attention had especially been called to the need of these by the Dominican, Feliciano Ninguarda, who, having been summoned to Rome by the Pope, had passed the winter between 1566 and 1567 there, and had drawn up a memorial upon the conditions of the Church in Germany, and the steps that must be taken to improve them. In this memorial, besides the importance of provincial synods, he had pointed out that capable theologians and commissaries should be attached to the weak bishops in order to enforce the Tridentine decrees as soon as possible.[4] In 1567 Ninguarda was sent by the Pope to act as commissary at Salzburg in order that the decrees of Trent might be accepted in that important ecclesiastical centre by means of a pro-

[1] See Braunsberger, *loc. cit.*, 41 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 53 *seq.* *Cf.* Kratz in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIV., 360.

[2] See Braunsberger, *loc. cit.*, 45 *seq.*

[3] See Lossen, 69 *seq.*, 124, 130 *seq.*; Goetz, Beiträge zur Gesch. Albrechts V., 621, n. 1. Tiepolo (p. 187) brings out the importance of the concession made as to Freising.

[4] See *Istruzione per la Germania, in Miscell., Arm. I., t. 2, p. 60-74, with supplement p. 55-58, Papal Secret Archives.

vincial synod. In the meantime two German bishops who were Cardinals had already in that same year held diocesan synods, at which it was decided to adopt the decrees of the Council, both as to dogma and reform; these were Otto von Truchsess at Dillingen,[1] and Mark Sittich von Hohenems at Constance.[2]

But what was this when compared with the many other bishops and archbishops, who continued to delay? Canisius, who deplored the fact in a report to his General on April 5th, 1568, further states that those bishops who were filled with good intentions, such as those of Augsburg and Eichstätt, met with difficulties instead of help, from the chapters when they tried to set their hands to the much needed establishment of seminaries.[3] A typical example of the canons who were thus animated by worldly ideas was Gebhard, the nephew of Otto Truchsess, the zealous reforming Cardinal, who, in spite of all exhortations, attended neither church nor chapter, and gave serious scandal by his drunkenness and immorality.[4]

The metropolitan of the great ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, Johann Jakob von Khuen-Belasy, had in 1566 suggested to Commendone the idea of promulgating the decrees of Trent in a provincial synod, and the suggestion had been approved by the Pope.[5] It was not however until

[1] See Decreta synodalia dioecesis Augustanae Dilingae mense Iunii A° 1567 promulgata, Dillingen, s.a. *Cf.* Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg I.[2], 1653 *seq.*; CANISII, Epist., V., 635 *seq.*; SPECHT, 63 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HARTZHEIM, Conc. Germ., VII., 419 *seq.*; *Freib. Diözesan-Archiv*, XXI. (1890), 49 *seqq.*; *Zeitschrift für Gesch des Oberrheins*, N.S. XXIV., 553 *seq.*; WYMANN, 74 *seq.*

[3] See CANISII Epist., VI., 181.

[4] See *ibid.* 365 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*

[5] In the *brief of May 24, 1560, we read: "Quamvis autem non admodum necessarium existimemus sponte currentem incitare, nostri tamen officii partes esse duximus, te ita egregie animatum ad ipsum adeo eximium omnipotentique Deo acceptabile opus primo quoque tempore aggrediendum atque percifiendum accendere, prout te omni nostri animi affectu ut id quamprimum

March 1569 that a synod was held at Salzburg, which afforded a solid basis for ecclesiastical reform in accordance with the decrees of Trent.[1] Pius V. gave high praise to the Archbishop of Salzburg, and also addressed himself to his suffragan bishops, of Brixen, Chiemsee, Freising, Gurk, Lavant, Passau, Ratisbon and Seckau, and to many of the chapters urging them all to the carrying into effect of the salutary decrees. At the same time he implored the secular princes in whose territories these bishoprics were situated, to afford all the help they could to this work, which was as necessary as it was useful.[2] At the beginning of 1572 he exhorted Daniel Brendel, Archbishop of Mayence, to hold a synod of his huge ecclesiastical province.[3]

Besides this revival of synodal activity, the carrying out of visitations in the parishes was also due to the exhortations of Pius V., who, in his ardent zeal for reform, left no means untried in order to remove the great evils that existed by bringing strong pressure to bear upon the prelates who were responsible.[4] In June 1568 the Archbishop of Salzburg and all his suffragans were asked to make a visitation of their dioceses, and in July the Archbishop of Prague was urged to give effect to the decrees of Trent by means of a provincial synod and visitations.[5] When, in the autumn of the same

divino fretus auxilio efficias, etiam atque etiam suademus ac studiose adhortamur." Original in the Consistorial Archives, Salzburg, where there is also much correspondence on the subject of the synod of 1569. The brief exhorting to a reform of morals, dated June 17, 1566, which was read at the synod, is in Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 76, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See HARTZHEIM, Conc. Germ., VII., 290 *seq.* *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 258 *seq.* SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 169; HÜBNER in *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter*, XII., 112 *seq.* For the examination and confirmation of the decrees on the part of the Holy See see SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, sect. 3, Vol. III., xv.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 66 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, Annales eccl., I., 1572, n. 6.

[4] See SCHWARZ, Akten der Visitation, xxxiii.

[5] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 92, 95.

year, he asked for the help of the Spanish king to hold Maximilian II. back from capitulating to the Protestant nobles, the Pope also had recourse to the three ecclesiastical Electors. In briefs addressed to them he not only urged the erection of seminaries according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, but also the carrying out of a visitation of the parishes.[1] In the visitations which he had himself made in Austria, Passau and Salzburg,[2] Commendone had shown the procedure to be adopted in such matters. The first of the bishops of western Germany to reply to the Pope's request was the Elector of Cologne in 1569;[3] he probably wished in so doing to placate the Pope, who was thinking of taking stern measures because Salentin was refusing to make the Tridentine profession of faith or to receive priest's orders.[4] At the same time Jakob von Eltz, Archbishop of Trêves, held a visitation of all the parishes in his principality;[5] like the Archbishops of Mayence and Prague,[6] he earned high praise both from the Pope and the nuncio Biglia on account of his strictly ecclesiastical

[1] See SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xxxiv.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 268.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Die Kirchliche Visitation des Westes Recklinghausen in *Westfäl. Zeitschrift*, XX., Münster, 1911.

[4] See LOSSEN, 53 *seq.*; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 166 *seq.*

[5] See HÜLLEN, Erste tridentin. Visitation im Erzstift Trier in *Trierer Archiv* 9 and 10. The protocols of the visitation in the archdeaconry of Longuyon (1570) in HEYDINGER, Archidiaconatus tit. S. Agathes in Longuiono, Trêves, 1884. Briefs of praise and encouragement to Eltz, September 23, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 226.

[6] See the *letter from the Secretary of State to Biglia of August 16, 1570, Nunziat. di Germania, 67, p. 129, Papal Secret Archives; the Pope's joy at the action taken by the Archbishops of Trêves and Mayence; *ibid.* *report of Biglia from Spires on August 17, 1570, concerning the intention of the Archbishop of Prague to reform the convents. In a *brief of June 24, 1570, Pius V. praised the pastoral zeal of the Archbishop of Prague and exhorted him to persevere (Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 157b, Papal Secret Archives). The Pope had urged action in Prague as early as 1568; see LADERCHI, 1568, n. 95.

conduct in the matter of the Tridentine reforms.[1] His example soon found imitators in the north-west of Germany; on July 1st, 1571, Johann von Hoya, Prince-Bishop of Münster, who was loyally attached to the Church, arranged for the visitation of all the clergy in his diocese.[2] It was about the same time that the visitation of the diocese of Constance which had been ordered by Cardinal Mark Sittich was begun.[3]

All this was undoubtedly a beginning of great promise, but how much hard work still remained to be done is best shown by the deplorable state of affairs which these visitations revealed. A whole ten years was to elapse, and a new generation had to spring up before the ideals which Pius V. had before his eyes could be realized. Knowing well that everything depended upon the formation of a good clergy, the Pope never ceased to urge the establishment of seminaries, a necessity which was particularly well understood by Otto Truchsess and William Russinowsky, Bishop of Olmütz; Russinowsky placed the seminaries which he set up in Olmütz and Brünn under the cares of the Jesuits.[4] In some places the colleges of that Order served as preparatory schools, and in others, under certain conditions, were equivalent to seminaries.

The Jesuits were supported and recommended by the Pope in every possible way.[5] On many occasions he praised the

[1] See *Nunziat di Germania, 67, p. 129, 179, 233, Papal Secret Archives. For the reforming activity of the archbishop and his action against Protestantism in his archdiocese see MARX, Gesch. des Erzstift Trier, I., Trêves, 1858, 388 *seq.*

[2] See SCHWARZ, p. xxxvi. *seq.* of the introduction to his excellent edition of the *acta* of the visitation of the diocese of Münster in 1571-1573. For Hoya see SCHWARZ in *Westfäl. Zeitschrift*, LXIX., 16 *seq.*

[3] See *Zeitschrift für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.S. XXV., 129 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 146.

[5] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 35 *seq.*, 82 *seq.* For the spread and activity of the Order of the Jesuits in Germany see JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 414 *seq.* and DUHR, I. When we treat of Gregory XIII. we shall return to the revival of Catholic life in

services which they were rendering to the Church in those stormy times, not only by their educational work, but also by their piety, their charity and their blameless lives.[1]

The Society of Jesus found its greatest development in Bavaria, upon the Duke of which country the Pope had every reason to look with special love.[2] Even in the time of Pius IV. Albert V. of Bavaria had slowly entered upon the ways of Catholic reform, and he proceeded more and more definitely along the same way during the pontificate of Pius V., and in so doing he found great help in the concessions which had been made by the Holy See to the Bavarian government in the XVth century, by means of which the civil power was able to exercise great influence even in ecclesiastical matters, especially in the matter of particular visitations. Such visitations, as well as special missions and mandates were now employed in order to purge the duchy of all religious suspects. Anyone who proved obstinate was forced to go into banishment; this was actually in conformity with the religious peace of Augsburg, from which hitherto hardly any but the Protestant princes had profited. The penalty of banishment also fell upon ecclesiastical concubinists, a thing which the Catholic reforming activity of Albert V. made to serve a double purpose; not only was Protestantism to be stamped out in Bavaria, but at the same time abuses within the Church were to be removed, and new life infused into the almost exhausted Catholic spirit. Since experience had shown that the concession of the chalice to the laity had brought various difficulties in its train, it was abolished in 1571. The efforts of the government to bring back unity of faith and to reform the clergy were crowned by a rigorous censorship of books

south Germany, a subject as to which plentiful material is to be found in the correspondence of Peter Canisius, so splendidly edited by Braunsberger.

[1] See LADERCHI, 1568 n. 106.

[2] Pius V. praised Albert V. as early as 1566; see PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 50. The powerful chancellor of the Duke received a brief of praise in 1567; see GOUBAU, 24 *seq.*

and zealous care for ensuring sound Catholic instruction. At the head of this great system of Catholic restoration there was placed a special vigilance committee, a commission of ecclesiastics, to which many theological advisers were attached.[1] The victory of Catholic restoration in Bavaria was practically ensured even in the life time of Pius V.

The Archduke Ferdinand II. in the Tyrol[2] and Lower Austria[3] acted in a similar way to Albert V., as did several bishops of south Germany such as Otto Truchsess of Augsburg,[4] Urban of Passau,[5] Martin of Eichstätt,[6] and Frederick of Würzburg.[7] At the beginning of the seventh decade of the century a change in favour of Catholicism was also to be seen at the court of Cleves.[8] It was of great importance when, stirred by the example of Albert V., the Prince-Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar von Dernbach, immediately after his election on January 25th, 1570, resolutely proclaimed himself a champion of Catholic reform.[9] About the same time, with the

[1] See RITTER, I., 300 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 544 *seq.*; JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 464 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HIRN. Erzherzog Ferdinand I., 159 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, 262 *seq.* Additions in Vol. VI. of Canisii Epist. In 1568 Pius V. honoured Ferdinand by sending him the blessed hat still preserved in the Court Museum, Vienna; see BÖHEIM, Album der Waffensammlung des Kaiserhauses, Vienna, 1894, 7, tav. 27, 1.

[3] *Cf.* GFRÖRER, Die kathol. Kirche im österreich. Elsass unter Erzeherzog Ferdinand II., in *Zeitschrift für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.S. X., 481 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* BRAUN, Gesch. der Bischöfe von Augsburg, III., 469 *seq.*; SPECHT, 63 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*; Allgem. deutsche Biographie, XXIV., 634 *seq.* By a *bull of July 9, 1560, Otto was appointed "legatus in ecclesia et dioec. August.": Cod. Vatic. 7160, p. 230 *seq.*; Vatican Library.

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, 191 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 263 *seq.*

[7] See BRAUN, Gesch. der Heranbildung des Klerus in Würzburg I., Mayence, 1897, 124 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*

[8] See KELLER, 36 *seq.*

[9] For B. von Dernbach see a future volume of this work.

direct co-operation of the Duke of Bavaria,[1] the restoration of the Catholic Church in the margravate of Baden was also brought about.[2]

As had been the case in Bavaria, so in Fulda and Baden as well, an essential part in the work of carrying out Catholic reform fell to the Society of Jesus, the members of which displayed a truly Catholic activity in every way, especially in the pastoral office and in giving instruction.[3] They had a great share in restoring the authority of the Papacy which had been so seriously shaken in Germany; as the archduchesses Magdalen, Margaret and Helena reported to Pius V. from Innsbrück, the Jesuits were entirely devoted to the Holy See.[4] In this respect no one did more than the humble religious, Canisius, who had firmly established the Society of Jesus at Prague and Ingolstadt in 1556, at Munich in 1559, at Innsbruck in 1562, at Würzburg in 1567, at Halle in 1569, and had also arranged in 1563 that the university at Dillingen should be entrusted to it. His catechism was in itself a bulwark against all the enemies of the Papacy. The letters, discourses and sermons of this holy priest, who, fully conscious of the gravity of the situation, devoted all his strength to unwearied apostolic labours, all breathe the deepest love and reverence for the Holy See. "That power," Canisius wrote, "which, Christ in unmistakable words conferred on the Apostle Peter is the greatest that can be given to anyone on earth. It is our intention to recognize this, and to hold this power in great honour. He who does not take his stand upon this rock, may be a reed, but he is not a true Christian."[5]

[1] See the *brief of Pius V. to the Bishop of Spires, dated February 2, 1572, Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* SCHÖPFLIN, Hist. Zahringo-Badensis, III., 53 *seq.*; THEINER, Annales eccles., I., 1572, n. 5; VIERORDT, Gesch. der evangel. Kirche in Baden, II. (1856), 45 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 402 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* especially DUHR, I. See also RIEZLER, IV., 561 *seq.*; VI., 254, 285 *seq.*

[4] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 317.

[5] See CANISII Epist., III., 331. For the sermons of Canisius about the Pope see BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 54 *seq.*

In 1568 Pius V. had the intention of rewarding the loyalty and self-denial with which Canisius had worked for so many years, by conferring upon him the purple, but he abandoned the idea at the request of the humble religious. From a record found later on it is clear that if he had been granted longer life the Pope would certainly have obliged "the apostle of Germany" to accept the high dignity.[1] In many documents Pius V. gave recognition to the services which the Society of Jesus had rendered by its unwearied zeal to the salvation of souls. In a brief of May 21st, 1568 he declares that in those stormy times he looked upon the Order as a work of the special providence of God.[2]

[1] See BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.* 100 *seq.* *Cf.* CANISII Epist., VI., 731 *seq.*

[2] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 74. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 843 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Religious Conditions in Poland and Switzerland.—Foreign Missions.

However much the state of religion in Germany and France occupied the attention of Pius V., he did not, in his pastoral care, lose sight of the dangers threatening the Church in the eastern part of Europe.

In the great kingdom of Poland separation from the Church and the establishment of a national Polish church had been averted by the acceptance by the king of the decrees of the Council and the temporary prevention of the divorce of Sigismund Augustus, but the religious crisis had by no means been averted. While the followers of the new beliefs were stirring up a strong agitation, many of the bishops and priests continued in their policy of inaction, and many of them were leading lives that were not only unspiritual, but also unecclesiastical. In many places there was a scarcity of priests. The possibility of the king's divorce still hung like a threatening cloud over the Polish Catholics, who, owing to the weakness of the government, found themselves as much exposed as ever to every kind of insult and attack.[1] Thus the task

[1] *Cf.* Eichhorn, II., 237 *seqq.*, 337 *seqq.*; Berga, Skarga, 141. For M. Cromer *cf.* Eichhorn in *Zeitschrift für Gesch. Ermlands*, IV. (1868), 1 *seqq.* and Thiel in *Kirchenlex. of Freiburg*, III., 1195 *seqq.* The Polish envoy for the *obedientia* (*cf.* Gratiani Epist., 254, 259) did not dare to bring forward the question of the divorce. Pius V. mentioned this circumstance to Arco, saying that otherwise he would have given him an answer "che mai più il Re havrebbe avuto ardire di muoverne parola." (*letter of Arco of February 22, 1567, State Archives, Vienna). M. A. Mureti Oratio ad Pium V. nomine Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae regis, made on January 15, 1567, was printed in Rome in 1567.

which fell to the lot of the distinguished Giulio Ruggieri,[1] who had been appointed nuncio in Poland by Pius IV., and immediately confirmed by Pius V., was no light one. Ruggieri had first to go to Augsburg to consult with the Cardinal legate, Commendone, who was so well informed in Polish affairs, concerning the questions at issue, especially the king's divorce.[2]

The instructions given to Ruggieri in March, 1566, warned him to bear in mind always how many enemies the Pope had in Poland; his representative must therefore be very careful to behave very prudently himself, and to see to the exemplary conduct of his suite. The principal duties entrusted to the nuncio by Pius V. were: to remind the king of the promise he had made to Commendone to take action against the heretics at the end of the war, and to revoke the decree of 1563 restricting the liberties of the Church; to see to the carrying out of the decrees of Trent, and lastly to undertake a reform of the monasteries. In everything Ruggieri was to take counsel, not only with Commendone, but also with Cardinal Hosius and the learned Martin Cromer. Pius V.'s zeal for ecclesiastical reform runs through the whole of the instructions. The nuncio was ordered very particularly to urge the bishops to adopt the reform decrees of Trent, and to induce them personally to visit their dioceses, and to take action against heretical books; with regard to the duty of residence they must not overstep the two years' limit which had been allowed by Pius IV. Ruggieri must always bear in mind that, sent as he was to help the Catholic religion, he was bound to see that the decrees of Trent were carried out, and not to allow the introduction of the least change in religion, or in ritual and ceremonial. Pius V. expressly declared that he would never allow communion under both kinds or the marriage of

[1] Cardinal Madruzzo praises him as "virtuoso et buono" in a letter to Commendone of March 25, 1566, Lett. di princ., XXV. 67, Papal Secret Archives. Confirmation of his appointment followed on March 2, 1568; see Vol. XVII. App., n. 68.

[2] *Cf.* EICHHORN, II., 247; BIAUDET, 112.

priests. The nuncio was further exhorted to get into touch with all personages of distinction and with learned Catholics, whom the Pope would gladly recompense.[1]

Ruggieri, who reached Poland in the middle of June, 1566, was a witness of the deplorable want of unity among the Polish episcopate at the stormy Diet of Lublin. It was not to be wondered at that no advantage was taken of the divisions among the Protestants, and that the Diet came to an end without any gain to the Catholic cause.[2] In consequence of this Ruggieri and Hosius first devoted themselves to healing the acrimonious dispute between Archbishop Uchanski of Gnesen and Bishop Wolski of Cujavia, as well as to the holding of a provincial synod for the carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent.

Both these questions were matters of great concern to Pius V. Since, in view of the shifty character of Uchanski, there was reason to fear that the provincial synod might develop into a national council, the Pope, in December, 1566, appointed Hosius his *legatus de latere* for that assembly and for the whole kingdom of Poland.[3] The dispute between the two prelates was eventually settled, but the holding of the synod had to be postponed.[4]

In the summer of 1567 an event occurred which caused much harm to the Catholic cause in Poland. The Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Andreas Dudith, who had been appointed Imperial ambassador at the court of Sigismund Augustus, and had already drawn attention to himself at the Council of Trent

[1] The terms of the *instructions in the Papal Secret Archives, Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 295-301, and in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello.

[2] See EICHHORN, II., 241 *seqq.*, 247, 249, 251. The briefs of Pius V. to the Polish bishops in relation to the Diet in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 723 *seq.*

[3] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 342; EHRENBERG, 231 *seq.*; EICHHORN, II., 279 *seq.*; *cf.* 289 *seq.* for the plenary powers of Hosius, and the difficulties he met with.

[4] *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 342; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 726 *seq.*; EICHHORN, II., 251, 254.

by his great eloquence, and his unecclesiastical views, broke his vows, married one of the court ladies of the Queen of Poland, and embraced Protestantism. Pius V. did not delay in taking action: he issued a monitorium, pronounced excommunication on the apostate, and demanded his recall from Poland.[1]

The nuncio Ruggieri, whose duty it was to present and press this just demand of the Pope, found himself involved thereby in many difficulties and anxieties. When he was recalled at the beginning of 1568, he drew up for the Pope's information a full report, which, after the manner of the Venetian reports, contains a detailed description of the kingdom of Poland, and an interesting account of its political, economic and religious condition.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the *instructions for Ruggieri of August 23 and 30, 1567, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, I., 31, 34 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives; POGIANI, Epist., IV., 199 *seqq.*, 249 *seqq.*; EICHHORN, II., 255 *seqq.* See also STIEFF, Versuch einer Geschichte vom Leben und den Glaubensmeinungen A. Dudiths, Breslau, 1756.

[2] *Relatione data al S.S.N.P. Pio V. da Mons. Giulio Ruggieri prot. apost. etc. 1568, Corsini Library, Rome, 35 B. 9, p. 165b-225 (*cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 145); the manuscript is also to be found fairly frequently elsewhere, as in the Vatican Library, Vatic. 5914, p. 275 *seq.*, Ottob. 2433, p. 178 *seq.*, and 3184, p. 40 *seq.*, Urb. 823, p. 247 *seq.* and 855, p. 326 *seq.*; Casanatense Library, Rome (see FABISZA, 161); National Library, Florence, Bibl. Magliabecchiana (see CIAMPI, II., 37); Ambrosiana Library, Milan, Q. 120, p. 1 *seq.*; National Library, Naples, X.G. 15, p. 1 *seq.*; Court Library, Vienna, 6519, p. 110 *seq.* (extract); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see MARSAND, I., 664 *seq.*); *ibid.* (St. Germain, 280) a *Discorso di Msgr. G. Ruggieri intorno agli aiuti di Polonia a favore della s. lega contro il Turco, addressed to Pius V. The Polish translation of Ruggieri's report in *Relacye*, I., 165 *seq.* is incomplete: the clause is missing in which Ruggieri says that he will report other matters to Pius V. orally, which shows that Pierling's statement (Rome et Moscou, 64), that the report was written in Rome after his return, is erroneous. There is also an extract from the report in JORGA, Actes relat. à l'hist. des Roumains, I., Bucarest, 1895, 14. *Cf.* also GRATIANUS, De scriptis invita Minerva, II., 172.

Ruggieri's opinion of the king's attitude towards religion is anything but favourable. It was true that Sigismund Augustus had not departed in any single point from the Church, but at the same time he left a good deal to be desired in the matter of his reception of the sacraments, and his attendance at sermons and mass; a greater zeal on his part for the honour of God and the salvation of his subjects would have been well in his case.

In his minute account of the religious conditions in the Polish kingdom Ruggieri shows that only one province, that of Masowien, had been kept free from heresy, and was indeed as Catholic as Italy. In all the other provinces the new religion had made headway, although, especially in the case of the common people, the number of the Catholics was greater than that of the Protestants. Nor were there wanting among the Catholics many who remained firmly attached to the old faith with the loyalty for which at one time Poland had been distinguished. Ruggieri compared the varied conglomeration of sects in Poland to the confusion of tongues in Babel. Every error in the world was being preached there, the fugitives from Italy, Germany and Geneva all found refuge there. Lutheranism was specially rife in Greater Poland and Prussia, but was now beginning to wane; Calvinism had always been most widely spread in Little Poland and Lithuania, although both Lutherans and Calvinists were being driven out by other sects, especially the Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists.

In accounting for the reasons for the religious changes Ruggieri puts in the first place those which had also opened the way to Protestantism in other countries. Besides the greed of the laity for Church property, he names above all the negligence and bad example of the higher clergy, and the decline of monastic discipline. Ruggieri refuses to accept the excuse offered by the king that he had not sufficient authority to deal with the powerful nobles, because, in Lithuania, where this was certainly not the case, things were even worse than in Poland. The nuncio rightly attaches the greatest importance to the habitual inobservance throughout the kingdom of the existing laws, so much so that there was a proverb to the effect

that they only lasted for three days. To this were to be added the continual wars with Russia, which completely absorbed the king's energies, his political consideration for the nobles who had adopted the new religion, and his natural disinclination for any kind of severity.

Ruggieri's suggestions as to the means to be adopted to restore the Catholic Church in Poland are very interesting. In the first place he shows how necessary it was that there should always be at the court a representative of the Pope, who should exhort the king to do his duty for his own advantage. It was because this had not been the case that the religious innovations had made such rapid strides. When Paul IV. had remedied this by sending Lippomano, the movement towards apostasy had gradually come to a standstill. It was therefore very necessary that there should always be a nuncio in Poland, and to fill that office only the best men should be chosen, men who, themselves completely disinterested and upright, could stand forth as solid walls of the house of God, reminding the king and the prelates of their duty, and promoting the Catholic religion in every way. With regard to benefices, Ruggieri warns the Pope to be very careful only to give them in future to worthy and deserving men: this applied especially to the canonries of Cracow, since the greater number of the bishops were drawn from that chapter. In this connection Ruggieri urged that the greater number of the sons of the nobles should be taken to Rome to be educated, so that they might afterwards become a leaven in their own country.

Ruggieri did not fail to realize how much the restoration of the Catholic Church depended upon the king. It was therefore necessary, he thought, to insist that Sigismund Augustus should nominate as candidates for the episcopal sees men who were not only Catholics, but also zealous Catholics, and in every way suitable for the office, and that he should bestow all the great offices of the kingdom on men of proved Catholic views, and at the same time remove from among his entourage all the adherents of the reformed religion. The bishops, moreover, must in quite a special degree be a light to their flocks

by their good example; it was in their power to exercise an infinitely great influence by the formation of a new generation of young and worthy ecclesiastics,[1] and by giving their help to zealous pastors, preachers, teachers and writers.

Ruggieri was convinced that in this way a complete revival of the Catholic Church was possible, and that this would lead to the complete suppression of heresy, since the movement towards apostasy had passed its zenith, even though it had not as yet come to an end. During the period of his nunciature, which had only lasted a year and six months, at least ten thousand persons had returned to the Catholic faith,[2] while the breaking up of the Protestants into sects, all quarrelling with each other, was increasing from day to day. It was with satisfaction that Ruggieri could point to the restoration of the Catholic religion at Elbing and Dantzig which had been effected during his nunciature with the king's help. The sermons of the Dominicans were in great request at Dantzig, while the Jesuits were very active at Elbing. In other places as well the Jesuits were exercising a useful influence, as for example at Braunsberg, where the first Jesuit college in the kingdom of Poland had been established in 1565, which had been followed, besides that at Elbing, by those at Pultusk (1566), Jaroslaw (1568) and Wilna (1570).[3] The activities of so extraordinarily vigorous an Order filled the nuncio with joyful expectations. He mentioned the fact, which is also confirmed from other sources, that even Protestant parents entrusted their sons to the educational establishments of the Jesuits, and he very rightly built great hopes for the future on the youth who were there being educated in a strictly

[1] Hosius had already established a seminary at Braunsberg in 1567; see EICHHORN, II., 297.

[2] Among those who were rescued for the Church were the four sons of Nicholas Radziwill, in which conversion the famous preacher Peter Skarga had a great part; the latter entered the Jesuit Order in 1568. See *Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg*, XI.², 388, and *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXV., 57* *seq.*; *cf.* BERGA, Skarga, 163 *seq.*

[3] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 150 *seq.*, 169 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*

Catholic spirit. Negotiations were even going on, he adds, for the establishment of another college at Posen, and it was to be hoped that other cities would follow this example, to the salvation of the kingdom and the Catholic faith, which would certainly have a brighter future, if only the necessary steps were taken.[1]

Ruggieri's suggestions entirely coincided with the ideas of Pius V., who never wearied of encouraging the Polish bishops to the observance of the decrees of Trent, and especially to the reform of the clergy, the holding of provincial synods, and the establishment of ecclesiastical seminaries.[2]

Vincenzo de Portico was appointed nuncio to Poland in succession to Ruggieri.[3] This diplomatist, who reached Cracow at the beginning of July, 1568, had been specially instructed to press for the assembly of a provincial synod in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent; he soon, however, found himself obliged to desist from his efforts owing to the shifty behaviour of Uchanski.[4] As representative of the Pope,

[1] *Relatione etc., see *supra* p. 303, n. 2. For the activity of the Jesuits see SACCHINI, P. III., 1, 1, n. 106 *seqq.*, 1. 4, in 176 *seq.*, 1, 6, n. 101 *seqq.*; DUHR, I., 179 *seqq.*, 434 *seqq.*; ZIVIER, I., 770 *seq.*; ZALESKI, I., 1, 375 *seq.*

[2] See the briefs in GOUBAU, 123 *seq.*, 214 *seq.* and THEINER, Mon. Pol. II., 725, 726, 730, 735. The letter of Stanislaus Carncovius, Bishop of Cujavia, to Pius V. concerning the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees by his clergy, and the erection of a diocesan seminary, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 19. On June 12, 1570 *instructions were sent to the nuncio in Poland to take care that the bishops of the kingdom observed the decrees of the Council of Trent; see *Nunziat. di Polonia*, I., 72, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1568, n. 148; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 728 *seq.*; EICHHORN, II., 343. Ruggieri had already asked for his recall in April 1567; see *Relacye*, I., 216 *seq.* Reports of Portico in THEINER *loc. cit.* 770 *seqq.* He too drew up a report of his nunciature; see PIERLING, Rome et Moscou, 64. *Ibid.* his instructions. A letter from Pius V. to Hosius, of February 18, 1568, says that he had told Portico to trust the advice of Hosius; see EHRENBERG, Ostpreussen, 39 *seq.*

[4] See LADERCHI, 1568, n. 148.

Portico was present at the Diet of Lublin, which was opened in December, 1568, and at which, by the request of the Pope,[1] Hosius also was present in February, 1569. The Pope had spared no efforts in seriously exhorting the king and the bishops not to make any concessions to the Protestants, and to defend the cause of the Church.[2] Cardinal Hosius took a leading part in the discussions of the Diet, and as long as he was present the Protestants did not dare to make any move. It was only after his departure that they put forward their demands, but even then they did not meet with any success.[3] On August 18th, 1569, Portico was able to report to Morone the results of the Diet, at which the union of Lithuania to the crown of Poland had been brought about.[4] Nothing had been said about ecclesiastical matters at the Diet, so that no decision had been come to, either by way of concession to the innovators, or with regard to the holding of a national council.[5]

Cardinal Hosius left the Diet before its close, in order to go once more to Rome. After placing the administration of his diocese in the hands of his learned and energetic friend Cromer, in August, 1569, he began his journey to the Eternal City, where he arrived on November 8th.[6] The Cardinal was

[1] THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 735.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1569, n. 235 *seq.*, 245 *seq.*; THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 732, 735 *seq.*

[3] See EICHHORN, II., 343 *seq.*, 347.

[4] Pius V.'s congratulatory letter on this event, of July 22, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 264; *ibid.* 266 *seq.* briefs concerning the conversion of two eminent Poles. The protest made by the nuncio by command of Pius V. against the investiture of Prussia which had been conferred on the son of Albert of Brandenburg, in THEINER, *loc. cit.* 470; *cf.* CATENA, 110.

[5] *Relayce*, I., 218-219.

[6] See EICHHORN, II., 360 *seq.*, 366. On November 15, 1569, Hosius was received in the consistory; *cf.* KORZENIOWSKI, 115. The unaccustomed climate of Rome did not suit the Cardinal; in the summer of 1570 he suffered much from fever. *Cf.* the *letters from Hosius to Commendone, dated Rome, July 12, August 12 and 24, and September 23, 1570. Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

not destined to see his diocese again, but even at a distance he had every care for its welfare. The principal object of his journey to Rome had been to arrange, at the request of King Sigismund Augustus, the disputes of the latter with Philip II. concerning the rich inheritance in south Italy of his mother, Bona Sforza, a matter which had already engaged the attention of Pius V.[1] Hosius was no diplomatist, and so it is not surprising that he did not meet with much success in that difficult business.[2]

His letters show what a lively interest Hosius took in the religious condition of the Polish kingdom while he was in Rome. As the Lutherans, Calvinists and Bohemian Brothers had joined together in a federal union at Sandomir in April, 1570, the Catholic party were awaiting with the greatest anxiety the coming Diet at Warsaw, and indeed that assembly resulted in stormy discussions.[3] The Protestants claimed religious liberty for all, but were met by the strong opposition of the senate, which was for the most part Catholic. No decision was therefore arrived at.[4] The danger, however, was not removed, since the dissolution of the Diet, after arriving at an ambiguous resolution, left the way open for further demands. Hosius bitterly condemned this ambiguity in a letter to Uchanski. Why not openly declare, he said, that they intended to remain true to the faith of their fathers, and that they were ready to sacrifice their blood and their lives, rather than deviate by a finger's breadth from it? Such language on the part of the king and the Catholic senators would stifle all disturbances in a moment. Instead of that they preferred to talk about religious concord, as though it were possible to come to an agreement with men who were quarrelling among themselves like the heroes of Homer. Uchanski should therefore advise the king openly to profess

[1] See Corresp. dipl., II., 30, 146 *seq.*, 466. For the Sforza inheritance *cf.* Biaudet, Le Saint-Siège et la Suède, I., Paris, 1907, 511 *seq.*; Eichhorn, I., 315.

[2] *Cf.* Eichhorn, II., 369 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*

[3] See Zivier, I., 766 *seq.*; Berga, Skarga, 175.

[4] Zivier, I., 767 *seq.*

the faith of his fathers, and give his representatives at the Diet instructions to allow no discussion of religious questions, since the decision of such matters belonged to the Pope alone.[1]

Hosius also had recourse on this subject to the magnates of the Kingdom of Poland and to the king himself, adjuring them to defend the Catholic religion. His letter to Sigismund Augustus is certainly not wanting in courage. In it he comments on the king's inclination to hold a national council, and tries to dissuade him from this by pointing to events in France. Then he goes on to urge the king again and again to entrust the great offices of state to none but tried Catholics. On September 9th, 1571, in grave words, he calls the king's attention to the harm which a policy of concession to the religious innovators had done in France, and points out how signs of a similar revolt against the royal authority had already made their appearance in Poland.[2]

The anxiety and fears for the future of the kingdom which comes out in these letters were more than justified in the event. Affairs in Poland were visibly taking a more and more dangerous direction. From the spring of 1571 onwards increasingly definite rumours were spread in Italy to the effect that King Sigismund Augustus had again taken up his former design of breaking off his marriage with Queen Catherine, who was said to be suffering from epilepsy. Later it was stated that the king intended to have his marriage declared null by the coming Diet, and then, in order to give his declaration the appearance of legality, to change his religion. According to other accounts the King of Poland flattered himself with the vain hope that the Pope would dissolve his marriage. Whereas hitherto the Catholic Poles had maintained an attitude of hostility towards the project of a divorce, they now dared make no opposition. The nobility, however, who were adherents of the new religion, in the hope of obtaining religious liberty, promised the king not only their own support but also that of the Protestant princes of Germany. It was

[1] See EICHHORN, II., 411 *seq.*, 414.
[2] *Ibid.* 418 *seq.*

uncertain how far the king had already compromised in this matter. In any case there was the greatest possible danger that, thanks to the divorce, he would rush headlong into Protestantism.[1]

The state of affairs was made even worse by the conduct of Portico, who was by no means fit for his difficult office, and sought to cover up his own weakness by sending optimistic reports. By his easy-going courtiership he had succeeded in winning the favour of the king to such an extent that the latter on several occasions endeavoured to obtain the purple for his favourite. The same thing was aimed at in Portico's accounts of the improved state of affairs in Poland, accounts which were by no means in accordance with the truth. The king's interposition was of no use to Portico; their information was good in Rome and they were well aware how dangerous the state of the kingdom was, and that the king was leading an immoral life, and was pressing forward his divorce plans more than ever.[2]

Under these circumstances it was fortunate that the Pope should have been able to entrust the care of matters in Poland to a man of such experience and with such a knowledge of

[1] Nicholas Cromer had already pointed out grave causes for anxiety on April 20 and May 27 in letters to Martin Cromer (EICHHORN, II., 420). These were confirmed in a *letter from M. A. Graziani to Commendone, dated Padua, May 21, 1571, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. Other and more definite information in the *Venez. Depeschen*, III., 519 *seq.*, where there are also particulars of the mission of the Jesuit L. Maggio, who prudently kept back the brief published in CATENA, 309 *seq.* See further the *reports of Commendone to the Bishop of Torcello and to Cardinal Rusticucci, both dated November 27, 1571, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[2] *Cf.* EICHHORN, II., 421 *seq.* Portico had on his own initiative entered into negotiations with Sweden, where Queen Catherine was a Catholic. A Jesuit was to have been sent there; *cf.* LADERCHI, 1570, n. 273 *seq.* But Pius V., knowing that the queen communicated "sub utraque," ordered Portico to break off all relations; see BIAUDET, 27.

conditions in that country as Commendone.[1] On November 27th, 1571, the legate crossed the Polish frontier. Travelling through districts that were plague stricken, and by frozen roads, he hastened at once to Warsaw, which he reached on January 7th, 1572.[2] The king, who was suffering from gout, received him honourably and graciously. The legate at once brought forward the question, not only of the league against the Turks, but also of the rumours that were current about the divorce. In eloquent words he set before Sigismund Augustus the sanctity of the marriage bond, and told him how impossible it was that the Pope should agree to the divorce. The author of the whole business, as Commendone quickly realized, was the faithless Archbishop of Gnesen, Uchanski, who had not changed his character.[3]

At Commendone's request Portico, who had great influence with the king, endeavoured to move the sovereign from his fatal purpose, but in vain. On March 3rd, 1572, Commendone reported to Rome that, although he had several times spoken with all possible frankness to the king about the divorce, the latter adhered to his plan, and that as the time of the Diet was now at hand, when the matter would in all probability be discussed, he had renewed his remonstrances and had endeavoured especially to deprive the king of any excuse for saying that he did not know that the Pope could not grant the divorce. In clear words he told the king to his face that his marriage was a true sacrament and was quite indissoluble, and that neither the Pope nor anyone else could alter that fact. He must give up the idea of the divorce as something unattainable, and must not plunge his kingdom into incalculable difficulties. In his interview Commendone reminded the king of the case of Henry VIII. of England, who after his divorce had never had an hour's peace, nor children in

[1] *Cf.* Berga, Skarga, 177.

[2] See *Venez. Depeschen*, III., 501, n. 2; Gratianus, III., 9.

[3] See the *reports of Commendone to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated Warsaw, January 16 and 24, 1572 (the latter in cypher). Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. For the conduct of Uchanski *cf.* also Zivier, I., 781 *seq.*

spite of all his wives. Sigismund Augustus replied that he did not wish to become a Henry VIII., and still less a heretic, and that in all probability the matter would not be brought up for discussion at the Diet ; to this Commendone objected that it was not in His Majesty's power to prevent it.[1] The nuncio united his remonstrances to those of the legate. Suddenly and unexpectedly the whole state of affairs was changed by the news that Queen Catherine had died at Linz on February 29th, 1572.[2] Even more surprising than the grief shown by Sigismund Augustus at this news was the fact that henceforward he said no more about his second marriage, which had now become possible. It still remains uncertain whether this change of view was due to his own inconstancy, or to his attachment for a young lady of the court.[3]

The negotiations concerning the league against the Turks, which at first Commendone pressed forward with the greatest zeal, were referred by the king to the Diet, where opinion was most unfavourable to it. Commendone, however, still hoped for success. He employed all his eloquence in personal interviews with the members of the senate, but received the reply that so long as neither the Emperor nor the Empire were disturbed, Poland could not declare herself against the Turks without exposing herself to the greatest possible danger.[4] During the discussions at the Diet, anti-Catholic views came to the front again, and if things did not come to a crisis, this was principally due to the prudent conduct of Commendone.[5]

In the meantime the condition of the king, who was suffering from a wasting fever and arthritis, became steadily worse. Ths unhappy man was himself shortening his life by riotous living. All true patriots, and Commendone with them, looked

[1] See the cypher *report of Cardinal Commendone to Rusticucci of March 3, 1572, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[2] See Colecc. de docum, inéd., CX., 418 *seq.*.

[3] See *Venez. Depeschen,* III., 520, n. ; GRATIANUS, III., 9.

[4] See *Venez. Depeschen,* III., 501, n. 2 ; GRATIANUS, III., 10 ; *cf.* THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 763 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the draft referring to May, 1572, *Negotii di Polonia, Miscell., Arm. II., 117, p. 384, Papal Secret Archives.

with anxiety to the future, for since Sigismund Augustus was the last of the Jagellon stock, it was to be feared that the various parties which had already for many years past threatened the peace of the kingdom, would come to open hostilities over the election of the new king.[1]

Just as in Poland, in spite of all the defects of the clergy, the great mass of the population remained firmly attached to the Catholic faith, so also was this the case, according to the testimony of Borromeo,[2] in those parts of Switzerland which had remained Catholic. It is true that the Cardinal has many faults to find with the laity; that they are obstinate in their feuds, that the administration of justice is venal, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction is almost ignored, that usury is common, that the frequentation of the sacraments is neglected, that people eat all day and drink at all hours, but that nevertheless the majority of the people are good and worthy. The Swiss are honest in business and moral in conduct, and are loyal and easy to lead if they are treated in a friendly spirit. It is safe to pass through the streets without danger of being robbed; blasphemy is visited with severe punishments; the people do not give themselves up to gaming, but on festival days amuse themselves with shooting matches. The feasts of the Church are carefully observed; no matter how much money is offered no one will be found on those days to carry a traveller's baggage; great importance is attached to divine worship; if anyone has missed mass once, he is looked upon as lost and no longer a Christian. The people assist at the sacred offices with great devotion, the men separate from the women, while their devotion to the dead is unparalleled; sacred images may be seen everywhere about the streets; they are so much attached to the Catholic religion that they would gladly embark upon a new war against the Protestant Cantons in order to purge them of heresy. No one who has failed to receive the sacraments at Easter, or is living in open concubin-

[1] See EICHHORN, II., 425. For the king's concubinage see ZIVIER, I., 781 *seq.*

[2] Report of September 30, 1570, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Nuntiatur von Bonhomini, Dokumente, I., 6-17.

age, is tolerated among them, while the modesty and decorum of the dress of the women is specially worthy of praise.[1]

It was also a great advantage to the Catholics of Switzerland in their resistance to the Protestant party that many men of tried capacity both in political and military matters, men, too, who were endowed with wealth and were of weight both at home and abroad, had devoted themselves to the Catholic cause with a devotion and zeal that seemed miraculous when compared with bye-gone times.[2] At their head was a man who must be considered the organizer of Catholic Switzerland, Ludwig Pfyffer, the syndic and chief magistrate of Lucerne, who in 1567 had had the good fortune to rescue the French king when he was on the point of being taken prisoner, and had taken him to Paris through the midst of the Huguenot forces, and who, in several of the battles of the religious wars that followed, had greatly distinguished himself, and had even dealt the decisive blow. From 1569 he had devoted the whole weight of " his great energies to the cause of his country, and to the Catholic party in the Swiss Confederation."[3] Another who also contributed in a marked degree to the revival of Catholic Switzerland, was Melchior Lussy of Unterwalden,[4]

[1] *Cf.* Borromeo to Ormaneto, November 5, 1567 ; " Non voglio lasciar di dire, d'haver ricevuto grandissima consolatione in trovar li popolo tanto catholici divoti et semplici, che se in proportione fussero tali li sacerdoti, ce ne potremmo contentare." In WYMANN 161, n. 3.

[2] Opinion of DÄNDLIKER (II.[3] 647). " It was the obvious and great advantage of this party, that they had at their disposal men who, while they in every way made the Catholic reaction a powerful factor, had military experience, personal influence, and experience in dealing with worldly matters." DIERAUER, III., 330.

[3] DIERAUER, III., 330. *Cf.* HÜRBIN, II., 225, 261 ; DÄNDLIKER, II.[3], 649, and especially SEGESSER, Ludwig Pfyffer, two vols, 1880-1883. See also MEYER VON KRONAU in *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXV., 727 *seqq.*

[4] DIERAUER, III., 330. G. v. WYSS in *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XIX., 637 *seqq.* *Cf.* RICHARD FELLER, Ritter Melchior von Lussy von Unterwalden. Seine Beziehungen zu Italien un sein Anteil an der Gegenreformation, two vols. Stans, 1906 and 1909.

who, as his country's representative at the Council of Trent,[1] as her ambassador in Rome, Venice, Milan, Turin and Madrid, and as provincial landammann of his own canton, devoted his energies for forty-eight years to the affairs of state, and stood out as the confidant of the Holy See. Love for the Church and deep piety were the principal motives of all his thoughts and actions.[2] Other men of a similar stamp were the prudent Walter Roll of Uri, who had relations with almost all the courts of Italy,[3] Hans Zumbrunnen of Altdorf, a man "of strong character and the most noble sentiments"[4] Christopher Schorno of Schwyz, and others.

In virtue of the permanent constitution of December 17th, 1533, the Catholic cantons were closely bound to each other, to the Bishop of Sion, and to the Confederation of the Valais, while there was no such bond of union among the Protestants.[5] Moreover, the Swiss Catholics commanded a majority of the votes in the Confederation, since, when Soleure had joined them, there were seven Catholic cantons against the two mixed ones and the four entirely Protestant ones. On the other hand, however, the reformed cantons had a larger population; Berne alone was able to place 32,000 armed men in the field, or more than the Four Cantons together.[6]

The Bernese made use of their preponderant strength in order to spread the new beliefs, and the success of the religious changes in western Switzerland was due to them. Without the support of the Bernese, William Farel would never have been able to introduce the new religion into the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel.[7] It was the intervention of Berne in the struggle between Savoy and Geneva which made possible the establishment of Calvinism, and those far-reaching consequences for the whole of Europe which followed upon the

[1] See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 271; XVI., p. 206.
[2] *Cf.* DÄNDLIKER, II.[3], 648.
[3] WYMANN, Borromeo, 174.
[4] DIERAUER, III., 333.
[5] *Ibid.*, 205 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 278.
[7] *Ibid.*, 219, 220 *seq.*

rise of Calvin.[1] In the territory of the upper Saane, which Freiburg and Berne had bought from the creditors of the Count of Greyerz, who was overwhelmed with debt, the Protestant republic had at once obliged the reluctant population to embrace the new religion.[2] The same thing occurred in the Canton of Vaud; in 1536 the republic on the Aar had made an attack on Vaud and annexed it; at the treaty of Lausanne in 1564, Savoy had been obliged to accept an arrangement, in spite of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, abandoning the territory to the Bernese, and therefore to the new doctrines.[3]

Although the Catholic cantons were very far from acting with the same decision as the followers of the new religion, they were nevertheless able, on account of their close unity, to exercise a great influence upon the new religious movement in Switzerland. After the success of the Catholic arms at the battle of Kappel in 1532 a restoration of the old religion took place at Bremgarten and Mellingen in Aargau, in certain districts on the Linth, and in the prefecture of Sargans,[4] while in the lordship of Rheintal in Thurgau, at St. Gall and Toggenburg the Protestants only partly returned to the old Church.[5] The Protestant community at Locarno, alone of the Ticino, was broken up by the pressure of the Catholic cantons in 1555, and the 116 who remained obdurate departed for Zurich.[6] The rights of the old religion were also safeguarded at Glarus by a treaty which was confirmed in 1564.[7] The independent

[1] *Ibid.*, 228 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 296 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 236 *seqq.*, 315 *seqq.*, 322.

[4] *Ibid.*, 189 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 193 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 298 *seqq.* *Cf.* FERD. MEYER, Die evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, Zurich, 1836.

[7] DIERAUER, III., 309. MAYER, Konzil, I., 6, 126. If things did not come to armed intervention on the part of the Catholic cantons over the affair of Glarus, this was due to the Pope, who was ready to help them if they acted in self-defence, but not if they were attacking. FELLER, I., 42.

magistracy in the canton of Aargau was forced by a treaty in 1568 to obey the five cantons and never again to abandon the faith.[1] The resolute attitude of the historian Gilg Tschudi had especially contributed to the success won at Sargans, Locarno and Glarus:[2] "if we only had in the confederation another two or three Tschudis" wrote his master Glareanus, "its cancer, heresy, would be healed."[3]

After the affair at Glarus Tschudi retired from political life in order to give himself up entirely to study. A greater man than he then took upon himself the office of adviser and promoter of the Catholic confederation, Cardinal Borromeo, though the activities of this champion were not directed so much to politics as to the real religious revival of Catholic Switzerland.[4] By his appointment to the archbishopric of Milan Borromeo had become not only the near neighbour of Switzerland, but bishop of three of the Swiss valleys, Livina, Riviera and Blenio. Moreover the Catholic cantons had, in their first embassy to the newly-elected Pius IV., asked for the new secretary of state and powerful nephew of the Pope as their Cardinal Protector.[5] It fell to Melchior Lussy, as the representative of his country, to make this request, and he might well feel sure of its being accepted, for the Swiss, in spite of the smallness of their country, were looked upon as people of importance as the guardian of the Alpine passes, and on account of their acknowledged skill in war.[8] Moreover, the

[1] DIERAUER, III., 313. What is said, *ibid.*, 312, concerning the Valais, is incorrect; *cf.* MAYER, I., 105-117.

[2] DIERAUER, III., 193, 301, 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, 301.

[4] *Cf.* DIERAUER, III., 332 *seq.*; ED. WYMANN, Kardinal Karl Borromeo in seinen Beziehungen zur alten Eidgenossenschaft, Stans, 1910; PAOLO D'ALESSANDRI, Atti di S. Carlo riguardanti la Svizzera e suoi territorii, Locarno, 1909; ROSETTI in *Bollett, stor. della Svizzera ital.*, 1882 (acta of the Swiss visitation by Borromeo in 1567-1571); *cf. ibid.*, 1895 (acta of 1571-1580); SALA, Docum. II., 306 *seqq.*

[6] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Einleitung xxvii.; WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 77 *seqq.*

[8] WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 81.

friendship of the new Pope for the Swiss was so well known that even some of the Protestant cantons joined in the letter of congratulation on his election.[1]

On the occasion of his first pastoral visitation of the three valleys Borromeo found things in a very bad state, especially among the clergy.[2] There was no educational establishment for the young clerics, and therefore the priests combined a great lack of learning with considerable moral laxity.[3] The benefices in the mountain districts were very poor, while in addition in many cases half the first year's revenues had to be paid over to the civil governor, and the whole of it at Locarno. The result of this state of affairs was that ecclesiastics gladly accepted invitations to banquets, joined in the hunt, and tried to make money by means of trading or by acting as innkeepers.[4] The conferring of ecclesiastical offices belonged, in accordance with an old custom, not directly to the archbishop, but to four canons of Milan; as time went on ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been reduced to a mere shadow, and had been almost entirely usurped by the civil authorities.[5]

In view of the great importance of the civil power, the Cardinal had asked for its co-operation in his pastoral visitation. Uri accordingly sent its treasurer, Hans Zumbrunnen, Nidwalden, Melchior Lussy, and Schwyz a certain Johann Gasser.[6] Accompanied by these men, Borromeo travelled through the three valleys during the month of October making inquiries, issuing exhortations and inflicting punishments. After the visitation was finished, he called the whole of the clergy together at Cresciano and strongly reminded them of their duties; then Hans Zumbrunnen also made a powerful speech, and assured him that no one would get any support from the civil power against the ordinances of the archbishop. Then there followed the acceptance of the decrees of Trent

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, Einleitung xxvii.

[2] Wymann, *loc. cit.*, 155-173. Bascapé, 1. 2, c. 3, 32-34.

[3] Wymann, *loc. cit.*, 166.

[4] *Ibid.*, 162 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 155 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 170.

and of the profession of faith laid down by the Council.[1] So as clearly to separate the ecclesiastical and civil powers, Borromeo later on sent a scheme for an agreement, which was discussed at Brunnen on December 29th, 1567. The Cardinal, however, did not accomplish very much by this scheme; on account of his holy life, and his paternal regard for them, they were prepared to agree to his demands so long as he lived, but the Cardinal was not satisfied with this.[2] He had more reason to be satisfied with his success in another matter. As early as September 8th, 1568, Bartholomew Bedra, the bishop's vicar-general at Chiggiogna, was able to boast that the people of the Livina were at one in saying that for two hundred years past they had never had so excellent a body of clergy as they now had.[3]

Borromeo visited the Ticino at least ten times altogether.[4] He combined his second visit, in August, 1570, with a visitation of German Switzerland.[5] His protectorate extended to the whole of the Swiss nation, and he thought that he might be able to arrange a solution of the question of jurisdiction in the three valleys by means of personal interviews with those who were responsible for the government of the Catholic cantons. In order that his journey might attract less attention, he combined it with a visit to his sister Hortensia at the castle of Hohenems in the Vorarlberg. On August 21st, 1570, Borromeo stopped at the home of Walter Roll at Altdorf, and on the following day with Melchior Lussy at Stans; the room which he occupied is still shown in the so-called house of Winkelreid. After a visit to the tomb of the venerated hermit, Nicholas of Flüe, he visited Lucerne, Zug, Einsiedeln and St.

[1] *Ibid.*, 190. BASCAPÉ, I. 2, c. 3, p. 33.

[2] WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 171; *cf.* 185.

[3] WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 170. "Omnino spatio mensis adeo profecit, ut eius ecclesiae tota pene facies immutaretur." (BASCAPÉ, I, 2, c. 3, p. 33). Another favourable account in WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 170, n.

[4] *Ibid.*, 169.

[5] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Einl. cccx *seqq.*; WYMANN, *loc. cit.* 174-243.

Gall, where he delivered a discourse to the abbot, Othmar Kunz, and his monks. On his way back from Hohenems he visited Schwyz, and at the invitation of Egidius Tschudi, went to Altdorf. On September 6th the Cardinal returned to Milan.

Borromeo sent a detailed report to Rome, by Cardinal Burali, of his journey,[1] which can best be described as a reconnaissance of the country,[2] in which he gives an account of the conditions in Switzerland, and of the best means of remedying the evils in the Church there. In the first place, he says, the Pope should send a nuncio to Switzerland, who should not occupy himself with political matters, but devote himself entirely to spiritual affairs. He ought skilfully to remind the Swiss nobility that, in spite of their reiterated expressions of respect for the Council they were not observing its decrees as far as benefices were concerned; perhaps he might be able to bring it about that they should content themselves with the right of nomination to benefices and recognize that the right of conferring them belonged to the ecclesiastical authorities. As far as the clergy was concerned it was only from the younger ecclesiastics that any radical change could be looked for though it should be easy to put an end to such disorders as were externally manifest.[3] A uniform method of procedure in all parts of Switzerland was absolutely essential, since, so long as a reform was only introduced in individual districts, incorrigibles could always escape it by taking refuge in some other part of the country. It was, however, necessary to take strong action, even at the risk of some going over in desperation to the heretics, because it was best in the end for the sake of the common good to be quit of such people. Another means of paving the way for a better state of affairs

[1] Of September 30, 1570, in Reinhardt-Steffens, Dokumente, 6-17; *cf.* Einl. cccxxiii. *seqq.*

[2] Hürbin, II., 228.

[3] A year before Borromeo's visitation the council of Lucerne had sent to the Franciscans of that place a *reproof for their scandalous life; see *Ratsprotokolle*, xxvii., 493b, State Archives, Lucerne.

would be the establishment of a seminary for Switzerland which could easily be maintained by the rich abbeys, and should be entrusted to the Jesuits: the best place for this would be Lucerne. Lastly, a college under the direction of the Jesuits should be set up at Constance.

These proposals were proved in the future to be of the greatest importance, but for the time being there were insuperable difficulties in the way of their being carried into effect.[1] In the first place the Pope could not find anyone suited for the post of nuncio in Switzerland. In April, 1571, Lussy proposed to Cardinal Borromeo that Pius V. should address a brief to the seven Catholic cantons on the subject of the sending of a nuncio, in order to learn their views. The brief was sent,[2] but the seven Catholic cantons made no reply, though in November, 1571, they sent an envoy to Rome, in consequence of whose statements Pius V. gave up the idea of sending a nuncio.[3] In the same way the negotiations for the establishment of an institute for German Switzerland were very protracted.[4] The Pope had to be satisfied for the moment in having a certain number of young Swiss educated in Italian seminaries at the request of the Catholic cantons.[5]

Bishop Laureo of Mondovì was interesting himself at the same time as Borromeo in the question of a nuncio for Switzer-

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, Einl. cccxxx. *seqq.*

[2] Of June 9, 1571, *ibid.*, Dokum. 49.

[3] Alciati to Borromeo, February 9, 1572, in Reinhardt-Steffens, *ibid.*, 53; "S.S^tá essendosi avveduto molto bene della loro intrinseca voluntà et del fine, al quale tendono, m'ha detto essersi risoluta di non mandarli per hora Nuntio alcuno" because if there were a nuncio in Switzerland, it would no longer be possible to pass over the usurpations of the Swiss.

[4] Reinhardt-Steffens, Einl. cccxxxvii.

[5] *Cf.* the briefs to Borromeo of May 9, 1566, to the five cantons of July 12, to the Swiss bishops of June 12, to Cardinal Mark Sittich of May 18, 1566, in Laderchi, 1566, n. 204-208; brief of August 23, 1566, in Wirz, 386, of May 17 and June 12, 1566, to Borromeo, in Sala, Docum. I., 175, 180; *Abschiede*, IV., 2, 348, 350; Reinhardt-Steffens, Einl. clxxix.

land, whose mission, however, on this occasion, was to be primarily for political purposes ; above all, he was to prevent the admission of the Genevese into the confederation. Geneva, after it had shaken off the authority of its bishop and of the Duke of Savoy, was inevitably bound to seek union with the Swiss cantons for purposes of defence against Savoy. But since the city of Calvin had become more and more the centre of a wide-spread religious movement, the Popes had been driven to support the cause of Savoy with all their power, and to seek to alienate Switzerland from Geneva. Paul IV. promised his assistance to Duke Emanuele Filiberto, the victor of St. Quentin, when the latter, in accordance with the terms of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, sought to get back the territory occupied by the French and Bernese, and at the same time his rights over Geneva.[1] Pius IV. made every effort to induce the Kings of France and Spain to support the Duke.[2] There was nothing more to be hoped for from France after the outbreak of the Huguenot wars, but the Pope repeatedly urged Philip II. to order Alba, after he had subdued the Low Countries, to march against Geneva, the place of refuge of all the rebels in the dominions of the Catholic King, as well as from France, Savoy, and Germany.[3] Savoy obtained from Pius V. money concessions levied upon ecclesiastical property,[4] while the nuncio in Savoy worked for the

[1] DIERAUER, III., 317.

[2] Briefs of June 14, 1560 (to Francis II.) in Raynaldus, 1560, n. 29, WIRZ, 376 (with date June 11) and of June 13, 1561 (to Philip II.) in WIRZ, 377. Brief to the Swiss nuncio of June 14, 1560, in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 29, WIRZ, 379 (with date July 13). In the brief of June 14, Geneva is held responsible for the conspiracy of Amboise : " id est fons, unde perditissima haud dubie consilia *superioribus diebus* manarunt, ad tumultus et seditiones in regno tuo excitandas."

[3] Bonelli to Castagna, April 29, 1567, Corresp. dipl., II., 95 *seq.*, *cf.* 132 n., 133, 166 ; Zuñiga to Philip II., August 17, 1568, *ibid.*, 444.

[4] The ambassador of Savoy in Rome, Vincenzo Parpaglia, to the Duke, June 17, 1569, in CRAMER, 229.

formation of a league between the Duke and the Swiss Catholics.[1] The Pope could not expressly declare himself against an agreement with Geneva on the part of the Swiss who remained firm in the ancient faith, because this was rejected by the Catholic cantons, but in 1571 the news of a *rapprochement* between Geneva and Savoy was received with much anxiety in Rome.[2]

The friendly offices of Borromeo proved far more effective than these fruitless negotiations, even in the case of those parts of Switzerland which he did not visit in person. This was the case in the Grisons. On his journey to Hohenems, as well as on his way back, Borromeo had an interview with the most zealous champion of the old religion in the Grisons, Christian von Castelberg, the abbot of Disentis.[3] Castelberg had brought back new life to his monastery, when it had fallen into complete decay, by admitting young and worthy monks, and had also restored it from an economic point of view, by his energetic administration. Castelberg also worked with great zeal for the consolidation of the old religion : " with unwearied zeal, he preached missions in the various villages of the region, passing from one mountain district to another, celebrating mass and exhorting the people to persevere in the faith of their fathers."[4]

The religious state of the Catholics in the Grisons was lamentable. Even before the appearance of the reform there had been difficulties with the Bishop of Chur, whose civil rights they wished to restrict. For this reason the Grisons had proved a favourable soil for the new doctrines ; this was especially the case in the episcopal city, which aimed at becoming the bishop's heir. On the other hand, in spite of having been stripped of its exterior splendour, the episcopal residence

[1] Laureo to Rome on April 21, 1571, *ibid.*, 264.

[2] Rusticucci to Laureo, July 16, 1571, *ibid.*, 269. For the proposals made by Geneva *cf.* the discussions of March 25, June 24, and September 30, 1571, in *Abschiede*, IV., 2, 467, 476, 483.

[3] *Cf.* Ioh. Cahannes in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner-und Zisterzienserorden*, XX. (1899), 89-101 ; 212-234.

[4] Reinhardt-Steffens, Einl. p. cccix.

of Chur remained a desirable possession for the ambitions of the nobles of the district, many of whom for this reason wished for the preservation of the bishopric. At the moment of the election of Pius V. the party of the arch-priest of Sondrio, Bartholomeo Salis, was engaged in a struggle with the canonically-elected bishop, Beato a Porta, and after he had been obliged to evacuate the episcopal residence by the intervention of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Catholic cantons, he harassed his bishop by putting every possible obstacle in his way, so that at length the latter might resign.[1] On the other hand the exceedingly democratic constitution of the Grisons had a favourable side for the Catholics. Whereas at Zurich and Berne all subjects were forced, whether they liked it or no, to adopt the religion prescribed by the government, in the Grisons the decision was left to each community. It thus came about that there belief varied from one district to another, and that of the three leagues of the territory, the principal league, or Grey League, was still to a great extent Catholic, while the League of God's House and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions followed the new doctrines.[2]

Bishop Beato a Porta and the judge of the Grey League also took part in the second meeting between Borromeo and Christian von Castelberg. The Cardinal found in Bishop Beato plenty of good-will, but even more of fear and hesitation. He endeavoured to encourage him to make a tour of visitations, and to reform the clergy, all the more so as the judge of the province promised him the help of the secular power; he did not, however, succeed in accomplishing very much, or in dispelling the bishop's fear of a popular rising, and the loss of his revenues and his episcopal see.[3]

How easily the Protestants in the Grisons were stirred up against the Catholics was shown in these very times by the

[1] Detailed account, *ibid.*, lxxxvii-xcviii, cclxxvii-cccix. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 261 *seq.*

[2] For the constitution of the Grisons and its influence upon religious conditions *cf.* SCHIESS, xlii *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the information sent by Borromeo on September 30, 1570, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Dokumente 15 *seq.*

sad fate of the most powerful of the lay representatives of the ancient Church, Giovanni Planta. In two briefs of September 9th and 15th, 1570, Pius V. had authorized him to recover for the Church two provostships in the Valtellina belonging to the suppressed Order of the Humiliati : a bull of February 28th, 1571, extended this faculty to all the unlawfully alienated benefices in the dioceses of Chur and Como. In one solitary instance Planta made use of this authorization in favour of one of his sons. But the preachers at once stirred up the people to such an extent that Planta was dragged before the courts and executed in 1572.[1]

A mortal hatred for the ancient Church, and above all for those who tried to defend and propagate its doctrines was the special mark of Calvinism in the days of Pius V. Even in the case of the missionaries, who left the comforts of their native land in order to carry the first rudiments of Christianity to degraded savages in the countries beyond the seas, their undertaking was looked upon as a crime deserving of death.

A promising field of labour for the missions lay among the Indians of the forests of Brazil, who were, it is true, a degraded race, but docile and receptive of instruction ; this field had been cultivated with much success by the Jesuits since 1549.[2] When in 1566 the General of the Order, Francis Borgia, appointed visitors for the various provinces of his Order,[3] he sent to South America the zealous Portuguese, Ignazio di Azevedo, who was definitely to introduce among the missionaries the constitutions and laws of the Order, hitherto unknown out there, and to report to Rome concerning the progress of their labours.

In his reports to Borgia[4] Azevedo points out in the first place

[1] M. Valaer, Johann von Planta, Zurich, 1888 ; Schiess, xcviii-cxii. Excuses for the preachers and for the capital sentence, *ibid.*, cx *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 184.

[3] Sacchini P. III., 1. 2, n. 18. *Cf.* G. Cordara, Istoria della vita e della Gloriosa morte del b. Ignazio de Azevedo, Rome, 1854.

[4] Of November 9, 1566, and March 2, 1569, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 341 *seqq.* ; V., 27 *seqq.*

that the principal need of the mission, which was very flourishing and promising, was that they should have greater working power, and that the small number of the Jesuits in Brazil, and their isolated and scattered condition, involved danger to the missionaries themselves. It was, however, impossible to supply this need from the Indians and Mestizos, for it was a proved fact that the latter were not suited to the ecclesiastical and religious state. In the same way little could be hoped for from the Portuguese immigrants, whose thoughts were entirely occupied with their plantations and commercial interests. Several of the missionaries, moreover, who had been sent from Portugal had not fulfilled expectations. There was, therefore, only one remedy: to enlist young men in Europe and train them in Brazil itself in knowledge of the Indian tongue and the work of the missionary. Artisans, too, such as sculptors and carpenters, would be very welcome in a country which was extremely lacking in workers of that kind.

At the same time Azevedo had confidence in the enthusiasm of the Portuguese youth for the missions, nor was he disappointed. At the beginning of 1569 he returned to Europe and went to Rome, where Pius V. at once issued briefs in favour of the Brazilian mission to the Bishop of Bahia, and to the viceroy-elect, Fernan de Vasconcellos.[1] When, after that, Azevedo, armed with a letter of recommendation from Borgia,[2] visited the Jesuit colleges in the Iberian peninsula, his burning words stirred up a storm of enthusiasm.[3] From the number who placed themselves at his disposal for the Brazilian mission he was able to recommend about thirty

[1] Both of July 6, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 340 *seq.* The bishop was "revocare (the Indians) a ferino victu atque cultu ad mitiores mores civilemque vitae rationem." They must specially be urged to dress decently, and for this purpose the bishop must get into touch with the civil authorities.

[2] To the Spanish provincials, July 4, 1569, S. FRANCISCUS BORGIA, V., 115.

[3] SACCHINI P. III., 1. 6, n. 295 *seq.*

for reception into the Jesuit Order; thirteen Jesuits from the Spanish colleges, and twenty-seven from the Portuguese province obtained permission to join him, while many artisans offered to accompany him, from whom Azevedo chose sixteen.[1] Embarking in three ships, they weighed anchor on June 7th together with the small fleet which was taking to his destination the new governor of Brazil, Fernan de Vasconcellos.[2]

Until now the Jesuit Order had never sent out so imposing a body of missionaries.[3] But of the sixty or so Jesuits only one reached Brazil, and he merely because he fell sick on the way and was forced to remain behind for the time being.[4] Near Madeira the fleet was forced to make a long stay in order to wait for favourable winds. The ship in which Azevedo and about forty of his companions were, made a detour for trading purposes to one of the Canary Islands, and there fell into the hands of the Huguenot vice-admiral, Jean Sore.[5] The crew of the captured vessel, even those who had just been fighting against the enemy, were spared by Sore, but he condemned the Jesuits to death as heralds of Papist superstitions. After being ill-treated in various ways they were thrown into the sea alive or dead. Only one was spared, and he it would seem, had volunteered to act as cook; the son of the Portuguese captain voluntarily took his place, put on the habit of

[1] Azevedo to Borgia, March 16, 1570, S. Franciscus, Borgia V., 319; *cf.* 155, 188, 191, 236.

[2] Sacchini P. III., 1. 6, n. 220. Azevedo to Borgia, Belem, June 2, 1570, S. Franciscus Borgia, V., 410.

[3] Sacchini P. III., 1. 6, n. 219.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1. 7, n. 201.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1. 6, n. 222 *seqq.* Iac. Aug. Thuani Historiarum sui temporis, 1. 47, Leyden, 1626, II., 659. Sacchini calls the Huguenot "Iacobus Soria, perduellium ex factione Admiralii [Coligny] vicarius;" in de Thou he is called "Ioannes Sora, praefecti maris legatus," which in the register (Nominum propriorum . . . index, Coloniae Allobrogum, 1634, s.v.) is reproduced as "Sore, Viceamiral." In de Thou Coligny is "praefectus maris."

one of the murdered Jesuits, and joyfully underwent death for the Catholic faith with the rest.[1]

The remaining ships failed to reach Brazil owing to contrary winds. After an Odyssey of fifteen months the fleet was so reduced by death or desertion, that one ship was sufficient for their return to Europe ; of the thirty companions of Azevedo still remaining, half were released to return home. Near Terceira, one of the Azores, this last ship was captured on September 12th, 1571, by the Huguenot, Cadaville. Vasconcellos fell in the battle, while of the fifteen Jesuits three were killed immediately, and the eleven others thrown into the sea. Owing to a lack of provisions the corsairs also threw into the sea some of the captured crew, and among them the last of the Jesuits, who had taken off his habit in order to escape notice.[2]

Not all of the Huguenots approved of the conduct of Sore and Cadaville in the case of the unfortunate priests and youths, many of whom were not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age, and some only fourteen or fifteen. On the arrival of Sore at La Rochelle, the Queen of Navarre caused the crew of the captured Portuguese ship to be set at liberty, including the one Jesuit still surviving, though without giving them any money for their journey.[3] Of the victims of Cadaville, two of the Jesuits, thanks to a calm that befell, were able to make their way by swimming to the ships of their enemies, and under cover of the darkness were even at length taken on

[1] SACCHINI P. III., 1. 6, n. 235 *seqq.* DESJARDINS, III., 605. Two of the Jesuits who had remained at Madeira wrote a report of the occurrence from information they had received : Pedro Diaz on August 18, and Miguel Aragones on August 19, 1570 ; *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque de la Comp. de Jésus, I., 495 ; III., 40. AUG. CARAYON gives a list of the other writings about Azevedo, Bibliographie historique de la Comp. de Jésus, Paris, 1864, 212, n. 1492-1500.

[2] SACCHINI P. III., 1. 7, n. 187 *seqq.* The earliest report of these events is that of Fr. Henriquez, of December 5, 1571 ; see SOMMERVOGEL, IV., 273.

[3] SACCHINI P. III., 1. 6, n. 263.

board and concealed by compassionate foes.[1] Such events as the death of Azevedo bring out in the clearest way how, after the rise of Luther and Calvin, there were to be found in Europe, two fundamentally different and bitterly opposed ideas of Christianity, and that not only from the doctrinal point of view. That it was the duty of Christianity to take the gospel to the pagan world was for the time being an idea completely foreign to the scheme of the followers of the new religion, and the attempt to do so in Brazil could not be taken seriously by them. In the old Church, on the other hand, this idea still lived on, and spurred men again and again to new and greater sacrifices. In all his efforts and schemes for obtaining new missionaries for Brazil, the fear that none would offer themselves for a purpose involving such great sacrifices, was the least of Azevedo's anxieties. Many, he wrote to Borgia,[2] would gladly get together, by their own efforts, the cost of the long sea voyage, so long as they had the prospect of admission to the Order beyond the seas. In the then growing city of Rio de Janeiro Azevedo was able in 1567 to lay the foundations of a great Jesuit college at the expense of King Sebastian,[3] since the rulers of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions watched over the missions with zealous care, and looked upon the spread of the gospel in the pagan world as the duty of a king, and one to which they were constantly being urged by the Popes.

In this connexion Pius V., not long after his elevation to the throne, had sent to his nuncio in Madrid instructions concerning the treatment of the Indians of America.[4] In these

[1] *Ibid.*, I. 7, n. 200.

[2] On October 19, 1566, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 342.

[3] Sacchini, P. III., I. 3, n. 263. *Cf.* Azevedo to Borgia, February 20, 1567, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 411.

[4] Corresp. dipl., I., 437 *seqq.*; *cf.* Catena, 93. Serrano places these instructions in 1566, but they contain mention and praise of the missionary work in Florida, concerning which nothing could have been known in Rome in 1566. Most probably the document is identical with the instructions, concerning which Castagna wrote to Mula on November 20, 1568: "Ha dado la

he says that the Spanish kings had been granted the right to conquer the lands beyond the seas, on the condition of their planting the Christian faith there. It was therefore the duty of the king to see that there were good preachers and priests in those countries, and that the civil authorities supported them by means of taxes. Baptism must only be conferred on the natives after they had received sufficient instruction in the Christian religion. For those who had already been baptized, and especially the children, teachers must be provided, who should form them into good Christians and citizens, and not undo by their example what they were teaching them in word. The centres of instruction must be spread about in such a way as to be convenient for the Indians. Where the natives lived scattered about in the mountains, they should be united in villages for that purpose. In this way, moreover, justice would be more easily administered, and crimes could be punished with that gentleness which the weakness of the new converts demanded.

In cases where Christians and pagans dwelt together, the pagan sanctuaries should be destroyed on account of the danger to the former, and so as not to allow anything which should be a hindrance to Christian worship. The older Christians should be exhorted to give a good example to the neophytes and live in peace with them, and for the sake of peace all feastings where the drinking of wine was concerned should be prudently done away with. Even the pagan Indians should at least be taught to reverence the sanctity of marriage so far as to give up polyandry. The Indians were not slaves, and must not be oppressed by excessive taxation; even the officials and gentry must show respect to the priests and missionaries; the Spaniards in the New World must set a good example, and visitors should be sent from time to time to inspect the judges and officials. Wars against the pagans

instruccion sobre Indias al Rey" (Corresp. dipl., II., 472 n.). A review of the decrees of Pius V. concerning the missions (according to CYRIACUS MOREL S.J., Fasti novi orbis Venice, 1776) in STREIT, 505, n. 113-136.

must not be lightly undertaken, and must never be carried on in a cruel way. The way in which an attempt was being made to introduce the gospel into Florida, might be taken as an example by other countries.

All that was thus detailed in these instructions Pius V. also repeated from time to time in letters to the Spanish and Portuguese governments. When in 1567 and 1568 Kings Sebastian and Philip II. sent out new officials to the colonies, a whole series of briefs was issued in this sense, in order to remind the kings and their officials of their duty.[1] King Sebastian, so the Pope wrote to Cardinal Henry of Portugal,[2] should instruct the viceroy and the council of the Indies to protect the neophytes from the tyranny of the soldiers, and to remove scandals which might stand in the way of their conversion. The honour of Portugal and the consolidation of their dominion in the Indies was involved, he told the council of the Indies.[3] He therefore exhorted the Portuguese viceroy to protect the missionaries, to deal in a friendly spirit with the new converts, and to admit them to public office and status.[4] The letters to the King of Spain and his officials are to the same effect. The Pope desires the avoidance of all violence; with a good government, and good example on the part of the priests, the yoke of Christ can be rendered light to those Indians who have already been converted, while the tribes that are still pagan can be attracted to the faith in a loving and skilful way.[5] The exhortation to admit

[1] To Cardinal Henry of Portugal, October 9, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 252; to the Council of the Indies, October 11, 1567, *ibid.*, n. 253; to the Portuguese viceroy, December 25, 1567, *ibid.*, n. 254; to the viceroy of Mexico, Marchese de Falces, October 8, 1567, to Philip II., August 17, 1568, *ibid.*, 1568, n. 206; three briefs to Cardinal Espinosa, the viceroy of Peru, Francisco di Toledo, and the Spanish council of the Indies, all of August 18, 1568, *ibid.*, n. 206. *Cf.* MARGRAF, Kirche und Sklaverei, Tübingen, 1865, 146 *seq.*

[2] LADERCHI, 1567, n. 252.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 253.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 254.

[5] To Philip II., *ibid.*, 1568, n. 206.

the natives into public employment occurs again in 1571 in a brief to the King of Portugal, in which the Pope, far in advance of his times, recommends the taking of steps for the formation of a native priesthood, since Europe could not for long provide the necessary supply for the missions.[1]

It is not surprising that the Papal letters on behalf of the missionary territories were specially directed to the civil authorities. The Church of the Indies had been placed entirely in their hands by the bull of Julius II. of July 28th, 1508.[2] "It is difficult to imagine," says of Mexico one who is well acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of that country,[3] "a system of control more absolute than

[1] "*. . . non enim fieri potest, ut aliunde semper illuc mittantur, qui populis illis spiritualia ministrent; sed sicut nascentis ecclesiae temporibus apostoli ex eorum numero, qui fidem christianam receperant, aptiores et magis idoneos ministros eligebant, sic etiam nunc dare operam oportet, ut fides ipsa christiana apud eas nationes sic radices agat ac propagetur, ut recedentibus vel decedentibus eius auctoribus non continuo exarescat, sed habeat illic nativos cultores, quorum piis laboribus atque industria niti atque augescere possit. Non enim tantum est in hominibus ad Christum convertendis lucri, quantum in eisdem, postquam christiani facti sunt, negligendis detrimenti." To King Sebastian, January 4, 1571, Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 280b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Printed from Colecc. de docum. inéd. de Indias, XXXV., 25, in G. Berchet, Fonti italiane per la storia della scoperta del nuovo mondo, I., Rome, 1892, 24 *seq.* For the pontifical documents concerning the two Indies *cf.* J. Pereira de Solorzano, De Indiarum iure, Madrid, 1629 (Streit, n. 443). *Cf.* also Vol. VI. of this work, p. 441.

[3] C. Crivelli in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, X., New York, s.a. (1911), 260 *seq.* *Cf.* A. Freytag in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, III. (1913), 11 *seqq.* "Probably in no European state was the *Placetum regium* used so widely, or so strictly and for so long a time, as in Portugal and its colonies. . . . Without the *exequatur* of the cabinet, neither ordinance of bishop nor decree of Pope, whether dogmatic or disciplinary, had any validity in law which was recognized by the state within the Portuguese dominions. The publication of any act which was not pleasing

that which the kings of Spain, either in person, or through the council of the Indies, and the viceroy or governor, exercised in all ecclesiastical matters," and what is true of Mexico applied even more fully to the Indies. No church could be built, no religious Order could be set up, no religious foundation take place, without the consent of the king. He had the right of nomination to all the bishoprics. Ten days after the king's wishes had been made known to the bishops, they were bound to see to the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices: if they refused without some lawful reason, some other bishop, chosen by the candidate, was to see to the benefice being conferred. The right of presentation to all abbacies and regular prelacies as well as to every ecclesiastical benefice belonged to the king.[1] He fixed the boundaries of all the new bishoprics, sent the religious where he liked, and decided when they were to be transferred from one province to another. Religious establishments were under the superintendence of the Council of the Indies, and in order that this superintendence might be properly carried out, the office of commissary-general was established. The religious provincials were nominated by the General of the Order, but they had then to inform the commissary-general of his choice, and until the council of the Indies had given its approval, the appointment remained in suspense. All decrees by which religious provinces were abolished, or new ones founded, as well as the sending of visitors, etc., had to be submitted to the council of the Indies. All Papal bulls and briefs, and all instructions from Generals of Orders or other superiors, passed through the hands of the council of the Indies, without whose seal they could not be put into force; the same thing applied to the decrees of provincial councils in the colonies, and the decrees of the chapters of religious orders. If there were a question of the foundation of new missions, or of religious

to the authorities became physically impossible." A. JANN, Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, Cina und Japan, Paderborn, 1915, 112 *seq.*

[1] Julius II. had already granted all this. BERCHET, *loc. cit.*, I., 24.

provinces or seminaries, a commissary had first of all to be appointed, who had to submit the matter to the viceroy or governor, to the *audiencia* of the district, and to the bishop. Armed with their opinions the commissary then set out for Spain and laid his petition before the commissary-general of the Indies. The latter then took the matter, together with all the opinions, before the council of the Indies, whereupon the council or the commissary-general decided upon the provinces from which the necessary religious were to be drawn. Accompanied by these he could then return to the Indies where, after further reports to the officials who had sent him, the matter was at length brought to a conclusion. If he wished to leave the Indies again, a regular could not, according to a royal decree of July 29th, 1564, even appeal to permission from the Pope; he must obtain permission from the council of the Indies, though, in certain definite cases, the approval of the bishop was enough.

The Spanish government had assumed some of these rights on its own authority, but most of them rested upon concessions granted by the Holy See. The kings had endowed almost all the churches of the New World with revenues: they bore the travelling expenses of the missionaries and bishops, and they provided the churches with wax, oil, and all the things necessary for divine worship. The building of new churches and the foundation of new missions depended to a great extent upon the support of the king; if repairs were necessary in any church, they had to be made at the charge of the royal taxes. Alexander VI. had granted the king the right of receiving tithes in the Indies on condition of his equipping the churches and bearing the expenses of divine worship.[1] The kings, however, but rarely made use of this right, but made over the tithes to the bishops, the clergy, the churches or the hospitals. For the most part the bishops

[1] By a bull of September 25, 1493, printed from SOLORZANO, I., 613, in BERCHET, I., 15 *seq.* *Cf.* the brief of Julius II. of April 8, 1510 (published by F. FITA in the *Boletin de la R. Academia de la historia*, 1892, 261 *seqq.*) *ibid.* 230 *seq.*

nominated by the king, such as Giuliano Garcés of Tlaxcala, Zumárraga of Mexico, or Vasco de Quirás of Michoacán, were learned and capable men. In spite of the endless delays in setting up monasteries, there was a large number of them, while the hospitals and the churches could hardly be counted. On the whole, therefore, owing to the deep religious feeling of the Spanish people, the royal right of superintendence was favourable to the Church.

In the time of Pius V., however, it once happened that in the Mexican diocese of Oaxaca the seminary, which had already been established, had to be closed, because the revenues had been withheld from the bishop; the Pope made complaint of this to the King of Spain.[1] For the rest, however, even at that time the colonies and missions were liberally assisted by the Spanish government. An example of this occurred during the reign of Pius V. in the foundation of the religious province of the Jesuits in Peru. Philip II. had himself in 1567 asked for missionaries for the Indians of that country, and Francis Borgia had allowed him two from each of the four Spanish provinces of the Order, who were so abundantly provided by the king with all that was necessary that they were able to refuse many generous offers made to them privately.[2] The royal instructions concerning the provision made for the Jesuits who were sent to Mexico to found a province of the Order in 1571 are still preserved,[3] and give details of what was to be given to each one.

King Sebastian of Portugal did not fall behind the Spanish sovereign in this respect. In accordance with his proposal for establishing several seminaries for the training of missionaries, Pius V. allowed him to make over monasteries which had fallen into a state of decay to the mendicant Orders, as for

[1] Three letters, to Castagna, Philip II., and the Bishop of Oaxaca (Antequera), all of April 2, 1570, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 424, 426, 427.

[2] ASTRAIN, II., 307. SACCHINI P. III., 1. 3, n. 280. For the call of the Jesuits to Peru *cf.* S. FRANCISCUS BORGIA, IV., 619, 631, 641, 658, 678 *seqq.*; ASTRAIN, II., 304 *seqq.*

[3] Of August 6, 1571, in ASTRAIN, II., 300 *seq.*

example the Dominicans and the Jesuits, on the condition that they should every year send some missionaries to the Indies.[1] The king further wished that houses should be established in the Indies for the catechumens, where those pagans who wished to embrace Christianity could be instructed for a time before their baptism.[2] Pius V. gave his support to this plan by granting indulgences to those who contributed to such foundations, and those who gave themselves to the service of the catechumens in these houses.[3]

The Pope's exhortations to the King of Spain had immediate results in the Spanish part of South America, the viceroyalty of Peru. When in 1568 Philip II. sent Francisco Toledo there as his new viceroy, he specially recommended him to look after the spiritual well-being of the Indians,[4] and the matters in which Toledo brought about an improvement were almost identical with those which Pius V. had insisted upon in his instructions to Castagna.

At the time of the conquest of Peru the country had been divided up into a number of small districts, and in each district the duty of seeing to the conversion of the Indians had been entrusted to a Spaniard, together with that of the civil administration. It was the function of this so-called commendatory to appoint a parish priest from among the secular or regular clergy, whose maintenance was provided for by an annual payment in money from the commendatory, together

[1] Brief of October 27, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 248.

[2] Brief of October 4, 1567, *ibid.* n. 251.

[3] *Cf.* a report from Toledo immediately after his arrival in Peru, from which a *Relación sumaria* is printed in Colecc. de docum. inéd. para la historia de Espana, XCIV., 255-298 and the *Memorial* which he drew up thirteen years later on his return to Europe, *ibid.*, XXVI., 122-161. A short review of the state of affairs in SACCHINI P. III., 1. 8, n. 315 *seqq.*

[4] "Una de las casas que principalmente por V.M. me fué manda y dada instruxion para ello cuando V.M. me mandó que fuese al gobierno de aquella tierra, fué la doctrina y conversion de los naturales della y su gobierno y sustentacion." Toledo in the *Memorial, loc. cit.*, 134.

with gifts in kind and service from the natives. If on the one hand the commendatory was often unwilling to pay the parish priest his stipend, on the other it was not infrequently the case that the Indians could only be induced by force to make their contributions. Relations were rendered more strained owing to the fact that the parish priest also had judicial authority over the Indians even in civil matters, with the result that he himself, as well as the commendatory and Christianity itself became objects of hatred.[1]

The cruelty with which the conquerors repressed all revolts on the part of the Indians, and the harshness with which they employed their power, were by no means calculated to induce the natives to accept the situation. The Dominican, Gil González, himself an eye-witness, in a memorial drawn up in defence of the Indies, expressed the view that they were treated far worse than slaves, because, loaded as they were with regulations and other burdens, they had to make a road of twenty or thirty leagues in length before they arrived at the place where they were to work: from their youth they were burdened with toil, so that from the time of their birth to that of their death they never knew a happy hour.[2] Another monk, Rodrigo de Loaisa, who had been a witness of the state of affairs in Peru for thirty years, wrote in 1586 that many of the Indians took their own lives in order to escape their troubles, and that if the priests told them that suicide was a sin that would take them to hell, they replied that they did not wish to go to heaven if there were any Spaniards there, because even there they would torment them worse than the devils in hell.[3] There was but one feeble excuse for the op-

[1] Sacchini, P. III., 1. 8, n. 315.

[2] "Relación de los agravios que los Indios de las provincias de Chile padecen," in Colecc. de docum. inéd,. XCIV., 77.

[3] "Memorial de las cosas del Pirú tocantes á los Indios" c. 48, in Colecc. de docum. inéd., XCIV., 589. It would seem that the author was an Augustinian, since, according to p. 571 *seq.* the Order to which he belonged was "la más moderna en aquellas partes" and of the four earliest Orders in Peru, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Mercedarii, and Augustinians (*Memorial,* c. 21

pressors, that the Indians were possibly even worse treated by their own caciques than by the foreigners.[1]

The instructions in Christianity which the Peruvians received were in many ways quite insufficient. There was a great scarcity of priests, and where they had any they had no knowledge of the language of the Indians, or looked upon their office principally as a means of enriching themselves. Of the stations which the viceroy, Toledo, visited in his first tour of inspection, seventeen were without a priest at all;[2] in the diocese of Quito, in a district forty-two miles in length, there was only one priest.[3] In the archdiocese of Lima forty Indian parishes were vacant.[4] Several Indians complained with tears to the viceroy that they could not understand their masters, and were not understood by them;[5] they knew the Christian prayers, but only so as to say them like parrots without understanding them;[6] the interpreters of whom the parish priests of the Indians made use, were very inaccurate.[7] The reasons why the Pope had insisted so strongly with the Spanish government upon the necessity of instructing the Indians were only too clearly illustrated by statements such as these; the Indians in Peru were Christians in name, but not at heart; often it happened that even those who had been baptized fell back into the secret practice of their former worship of idols.[8]

To the honour of the Spanish government in the colonies it must be said that it set itself seriously to remove or reduce the abuses. Toledo ordered that from that time forward no

p. 569) the three former had already sent missionaries to Peru with the first conquerors. *Cf.* the *Relación* of Pedro Ruiz Naharro in the Colecc. de docum. inéd., XXVI., 248, 255.

[1] Loaisa, Memorial, c. 47, *loc. cit.*, 587.

[2] Toledo, Relación sumaria, n. 9, p. 256.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 10, p. 256.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 30, p. 263.

[5] Toledo, Memorial, n. 3, *loc. cit.*, XXVI., 126.

[6] Toledo, Relación n. 15, p. 258.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.* and Memorial, n. 4, p. 127.

monk or priest should be appointed to an Indian parish unless he knew the language of his future flock; those priests who were already in office were not to receive their full stipend until they had given proofs of their knowledge in this respect. A special chair was set up in the University of Lima for the study of the language most widely used in the Indies, and those who sought appointments to Indian parishes had to pass an examination before this faculty.[1] Toledo could also boast that during the time of his government the number of those in charge of souls among the Indians had been increased by more than four hundred, whose maintenance was provided from the taxes.[2] Toledo saw in a measure which had already been recommended by Pius V. the principal means of providing organized spiritual care of the Indians: this was to gather together into settlements those natives who were scattered far and wide in the mountain districts, and who were often quite inaccessible, and to assign a priest to each group of four or five hundred natives. These settlements were to be placed in the best situations in the territory, and provided with public buildings, such as hospitals, prisons and municipal offices; the Indians themselves were to have a seat on the council of each colony, and to have a voice in the decision of their own affairs.[3] Before the Peruvians who were not yet baptized were made Christians, care must be taken that they should first become men of good behaviour, and for this purpose he began at Cuzco and Lima the erection of two colleges, where the sons of the caciques and curaques could be instructed and educated, with the idea that the other Indians would be guided in all things by the example of their chiefs.[4] Toledo took special credit to himself for his reorganization of justice among the natives;[5] he boasted that now every Indian had the courage to ask for justice against the Spaniards, against the priests

[1] Toledo, Memorial, n. 3, p. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, n. 18, p. 142.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 18-19, p. 141 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, n. 4, p. 127.
[5] *Ibid.*, n. 8 and 20, p. 129 and 143 *seqq.*

and the commendatories, and even against their own caciques.[1] He also boasted that by his orders the Indians had been repaid a million and a half of goods of which they had been defrauded,[2] that hospitals had been erected and endowed for them at Guamanga, Cuzco, La Paz, Chuquisaca, Potosi and Arequipa,[3] and steps taken to protect them from the pillaging and ravaging of their territories.[4]

Fray Loaisa says in forcible terms that the viceroy and the great officials of Peru had done all they could to heal the many evils, but that the same thing had happened in their case as in that of the tinker who, in stopping up one hole had made four new ones.[5] Loaisa also passes an unfavourable judgment in many ways upon the steps which had been taken by Toledo. Thus, it was quite proper that on account of the abuses involved, the parish priests among the Indians should no longer have the right of inflicting whippings and similar punishments, but in several places the *corregidor* did not perhaps put in an appearance for more than two days in a whole year, so that if the priest was unable to take any action against drunkenness or concubinage, these offences could prevail unpunished and unrestrained.[6] Many evil results also flowed from the fact that the priests in charge of the natives could no longer obtain their maintenance, as far as contributions in kind were concerned.[7] Above all, the taxes which Toledo imposed upon the Indians were too heavy: they had to work all through the year, or go to Potosi to work in the mines in order to earn no more than the money which they had to pay in taxes.[8]

In spite of all his complaints Loaisa had to admit that some of the priests among the Indians were capable and conscien-

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 8, p. 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, n. 17, p. 140.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 14, p. 138.
[4] *Ibid.*, n. 21-22, p. 146 *seqq.*
[5] Memorial, c. 27, p. 573 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, c. 20, p. 658.
[7] *Ibid.*, c. 13, p. 564 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, c. 49 *seqq.*, p. 590 *seqq.*

tious men, who did not impose arbitrary taxes upon their subjects, and did much good.[1] At Quito the Franciscans distinguished themselves by their missionary labours, and among their number the founder of that mission, Josse Ricke of Marselaer died in 1570 in the odour of sanctity.[2] In spite of this, however, there was a danger of the Indian settlements being taken away from the Franciscans ;[3] in other districts the regulars themselves were anxious, an account of the many inconveniences involved, to be allowed to hand over their work to secular priests ;[4] the Jesuits, who arrived in Peru in 1568 and 1569, hesitated for a long time before they would undertake parishes among the Indians, and their refusal at first was a constant source of trouble to them.[5]

Although the Spanish conquerors and their immediate successors cannot escape the blame of harshness and cruelty towards the natives, it would nevertheless be unjust to make the Spanish government responsible for their excesses, or to speak of the abuses of those early days as typical of the whole Spanish administration of the colonies. On the contrary, no European nation has shown on the whole greater care and anxiety for the welfare of the native populations than the Spaniards. Whereas under English rule the Indians of North America were left in their savagery, and attempts were even made to drive them out and destroy them, in the Spanish possessions in America the principle had been accepted, even in the time of Isabella of Castille, of treating the Indians as

[1] "Otros hay de gran virtud y verdad entre los Indios que tienen gran cuenta con sus conciencias y con no agraviar á estos miserables" (Memorial c. 13, p. 565). "Es verdad que hay grandes siervos entre ellos [among the curates who came from the monastic orders], y hacen gran provecho entre aquellos (*ibid.*, c. 24, p. 571).

[2] Marcellino da Civezza, Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane,, VII., 2 Prato, 1891, 87 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 89.

[4] E.g. the Augustinians and the Franciscans. Loaisa, Memorial, c. 24, p. 571 *seq.*

[5] Astrain, II., 313 *seqq.*

free subjects, enjoying the same rights as Europeans.[1] "A system of legislation for the Indians was in force, the profound humanity and penetrating foresight of which far surpassed the treatment accorded to the Indians by France, to say nothing of that of England; and it was a significant fact that, at the end of the eighteenth century the Creoles complained that the government did everything for the Indians, but very little for them."[2] Moreover, there were Las Casas and the religious already mentioned to make grave remonstrances in the case of various abuses, and the very fact that they were able to speak in words of such bitter blame is a striking proof of the goodwill of the government, and of the state of public opinion in Spain. What the viceroy Toledo did for the Indians of Peru was certainly deserving of all praise, but he was by no means alone in his efforts, and it may be said that the whole of the Spanish legislation for the colonies was animated by the same spirit.

That matters did not turn out differently was due in large measure to the Papacy. The Popes had consented to the subjection of the Indians on the condition that they should be brought to a knowledge of Christianity, and again and again they reminded the rulers of Spain of the obligation which they had undertaken in conquering the New World. But the conversion of the nomadic Indians was impossible unless they were gathered together in permanent settlements, and raised to a higher degree of civilization. The exhorta-

[1] DAENELL, 73.

[2] DAENELL, 75. "If the colonial administration of Spain is looked at from the point of view of its laws, these display in every sense an extraordinary degree of prudence and care. Some of them, such as the special legislation for the Indians, have never so far been equalled by any other nation which possesses colonies. Everywhere we find deep moral motives, which have given rise to the laws." (*ibid.*, 78). "The singular fact of the rapid expansion and the secure government shown in the case of the Spanish colonial empire, proves in a high degree the capacity of the Spanish race, and the sagacity and humanity of the Spanish rule." (*ibid.*, 81).

tions of Pius V. to Philip II. are an example of the way in which the efforts of the Popes for the civilization of America were not without success, and if, even after several centuries, all that was to be desired had not yet been attained, the difficulties of the undertaking must not be lost sight of.[1]

The Pope himself was certainly not satisfied with the progress made with the work which he had encouraged in Peru, but consoling reports reached him from several other missions. On March 21st, 1569, the Bishop of Michoacán in Mexico wrote that the Indians there had embraced the faith, and that moreover some of them were preaching to their fellow-countrymen in their native tongue ;[2] about the same time the archbishop of the capital[3] announced that he had baptized five thousand pagans with his own hands. Pius V. replied to the archbishop expressing his joy and urging him to instruct the Indians well in the faith before baptizing them.[4] The necessary precautions with regard to this matter were taken in the provincial council of Mexico in 1570.[5] Pius V. had previously recommended to the Archbishop of Mexico the protection of the Indians against the violence of the soldiers.[6]

The territory adjoining Mexico, Florida, at that time pos-

[1] "If the progress which they [the Indians] made under Spanish influence in a work of civilization extending over three centuries, seems to be but small in the end, we must not forget that it was a case of lifting up hundreds of thousands from the deepest paganism, the most primitive organization, from sloth and the civilization of the stone age to Christianity, autonomy, thrift and individualism based upon a pecuniary economic system. The task was in itself an enormous one, and the spiritual and bodily feebleness of the race helped to make the task more difficult." DAENELL, 78.

[2] *Cf.* the brief to the bishop, April 2, 1570, in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 428.

[3] March 30, 1569 ; *cf.* the brief to the archbishop, April 2, 1570 ; *ibid.*, n. 416.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 420.

[6] Brief of October 7, 1567, in LADERCHI, 1567, n. 262.

sessed in Menéndez de Avilés a governor after Pius V.'s own heart. Menéndez looked upon his office, not as an opportunity for enriching himself, but as a definite call to look after the well-being of the Indians, by making them good Christians. In March, 1565, he applied to Francis Borgia for missionaries.[1] The labours of the Jesuits among the rude Indians, however, were almost fruitless. Believing that the harshness and bad example of the Spaniards were the causes of their ill-success, eight missionaries tried to found a settlement in the midst of the savages and far away from all Europeans, but they were all killed in February, 1571, and in consequence gave up their fruitless work in Florida.[2] The Jesuits founded instead a province of the Order in Mexico in 1571.[3]

In New Granada the Dominican Louis Bertrand (Beltran) preached the gospel to the Indians with extraordinary success from 1562 to 1569.[4] He, too, was much hampered in his good work by the bad example of the whites, and their cruelty to the natives. He was able, however, to win a great name for himself, above all by his almost incredible austerity of life.

[1] S. Franciscus Borgia, III., 762 *seq.* The letter also shows how very imperfect the geographical ideas of America still were, almost half a century after the discovery of the Pacific Ocean. Avilés thought that Florida was joined on to China, or was only separated from it by an arm of the sea. A letter of Avilés of August 6, 1568, *loc. cit.*, IV., 697 ; a letter to him of March 7, 1568, *ibid.*, 577. For Menéndez *cf.* Daenell, 47 *seq.*

[2] Astrain, II., 284-298.

[3] *Ibid.*, 298-303.

[4] The Dominican, Vincenzo Giustiniani, Antist., described the life of Bertrand, partly from personal knowledge, in 1581, and the Dominican, Bartolomeo Aviñones, in 1623, on the basis of the acta of his canonization ; both are printed in Acta Sanct., October 5, 292 *seqq.*, 366 *seqq.* Bertrand Wilberforce wrote a new life, London, 1882, which was translated into German by M. v. Widek, Graz, 1888. Bertrand (died 1581) was canonized on April 12, 1671. For the missionary labours of the Franciscans in New Granada at that time, *cf.* Marcellino da Civezza, *loc. cit.* 27. The Franciscans made an attempt to establish themselves permanently in the island of Trinidad in 1571 ; *ibid.*, 36.

Armed with nothing but the Holy Scriptures and his breviary, bare-footed and without provisions, sometimes even without guides, who would not stay with him, he made his long missionary journeys through impassable forests or under a burning sun, adding to the scarcely bearable hardships of this life voluntary fasts and hard penances. It was the belief of all that he had the gift of miracles; he must have won for the Church more than twenty thousand Indians, all well instructed in Christianity.

A more detailed description of the labours and successes of this great missionary is rendered impossible by that same difficulty which so often confronts the historian of the propagation of the faith. While Ignatius of Loyola laid upon his subjects the duty of making regular reports of their labours, because he saw in this a means of exciting fervour and advancing the work,[1] the opposite was the case with the other Orders. The earliest biographer of Louis Bertrand[2] relates that he highly praised the zeal of the Jesuits in this respect and blamed the neglect of his own brethren, but that he was nevertheless unwilling to follow the example of the Jesuits, and made evasive replies when he was asked about his own work. The result is that we have not even one letter belonging to the time of his missionary labours.

In Africa all the hopes of the mission to Abyssinia which had been undertaken with such high expectations seemed to have vanished in the time of Pius V. The patriarch,

[1] Constitutiones, P. VIII., c. 1, n. 9 (Inst. S. J., II., Florence, 1893, 115, 117).

[2] "Utque laudabat ille plurimum diligentiam patrum Iesuitarum, qui memoriae prodiderunt labores, quos sui subierunt in Japonia, China, aliisque oris, in quibus Evangelium praedicarunt, ita improbabat negligentiam nostrorum, qui cum sui in Indiis occidentalibus et orientalibus, Taprobana multisque aliis in regnis tantopere laboraverint hactenus a Pontificatu Alexandri VI., ac in multis oris Guineae iam inde a tempore Innocentii VII . . ., vix ullus repertus fuerit, qui curaverit litteris consignare afflictiones ac martyrium nostrorum patrum." ANTIST, Vita n. 81: Acta Sanct. V., 324; *cf.* n. 62, p. 320.

Nuñez Barreto, had died at Goa in 1562 without having ever set foot in his diocese Pius V. hoped to make better use in Japan of Oviedo, who had been hitherto his coadjutor, and of whose presence in Abyssinia Pius IV. had made use in 1561 to invite the Negus Minas to the Council of Trent.[1] Oviedo, however, begged to be allowed to remain with the few Catholics of Abyssinia.[2] Pius V. also gave orders to the second coadjutor of the patriarch Barreto to go to Japan and China,[3] but he never reached those countries and died at Macao in 1595.[4] Other attempts by the Jesuits to penetrate into Africa in 1560 also remained without result, both on the west coast in Angola, and on the east coast among the negroes south of the Zambesi.[5] No renewal of these attempts took place in the time of Pius V. In order to protect the Abyssinian mission the Pope tried to obtain the armed intervention of Portugal against the Turks, whose fleet in the Red Sea was devastating that country.[6]

The Pope received more consoling news from the East Indies. From King Sebastian he received tidings that the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits were preaching the gospel to the Indians, both courageously and successfully.[7]

[1] Brief of August 20, 1561, in BECCARI, X., 125; covering letter of August 23, *ibid.*, 130.

[2] Brief to Oviedo, February 2, 1566 (Portuguese translation), *ibid.*, V., 424; Oviedo's reply, June 15, 1567, *ibid.*, X., 215.

[3] Brief to Melchoir Carneiro, February 3, 1566, *ibid.*, 187.

[4] *Ibid.*, 331, n. 1.

[5] L. KILGER, Die erste Mission unter den Bantustämmen Ostafrikas, Münster, 1917. For Angola (1560) *cf.* SACCHINI, P. II., 1. 4, n. 203; for the expedition on the Zambesi, *ibid.*, 210 *seqq.*, 1. 5, n. 219 *seqq.*, 1. 6, n. 158. What Sacchini reports concerning the principal rivers of Africa (1. 4, n. 224) is not without interest. He knew that the White Nile flowed out of a lake and that the Congo (Zaires) flowed first to the north, and then turned to the west.

[6] Briefs to King Sebastian and Cardinal Henry, both of December 17, 1569, in LADERCHI, 1569, n. 337 *seq.*

[7] Brief to the Archbishop of Goa, January 1, 1570, *ibid.*, 1570, n. 429.

All the neighbourhood of Goa had gradually become Christian, and in 1560 the Jesuits alone counted 12,967 baptisms.[1] Among the bishops, the Dominican, Enrico Tavera of Cochin, distinguished himself especially by his zeal in instructing and converting the natives ; Pius V. praised him in a special brief.[2] The native priest too, Andrea Vaz, who was the son of a Brahmin, worked with great success among his fellow-country-men.[3] The viceroys, Constantino di Braganza and Antonio di Noronha, supported the missionaries with all their power.[4] The council which met at Goa in 1567 in order to promulgate the decrees of Trent, also made regulations concerning the Indian missions.[5] On October 7th, 1567, the Pope addressed to the Archbishop of Goa, Gaspare de Leão Pereira, who had held this council, a brief of encouragement, in which he dissuaded him from his plan of laying down the burden of the episcopate, and gave him faculties to dispense from matrimonial impediments of a merely ecclesiastical nature in the case of the neophytes. Leão nevertheless resigned after the council.[6] In those districts where access to a bishop was difficult, the Jesuits were given in December, 1567, the same faculties to dispense, and at the same time received a splendid tribute to their missionary activity.[7]

[1] Müllbauer, 82. Sacchini, P., II., 1. 4, n. 255.

[2] Of January 7, 1570, in Laderchi, 1570, n. 430.

[3] Müllbauer, 81.

[4] *Ibid.*, 79, 86.

[5] *Cf.* Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae in ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae curante Levi Maria Jordão de Pavia Manso, Lisbon, 1868 *seqq.*, App. I. ; Sacchini, P., III., 1. 3, n. 225.

[6] Laderchi, 1567, n. 247.

[7] " Cum gratiarum omnium largitor Altissimus vestris cordibus tantum honoris sui amorem tantumque salutis animarum studii impresserit, ut ex Societate vestra plurimi propagandae religionis christianae et homines gentiles idolorumque cultores ad sui Creatoris ac Salvatoris cognitionem adducendi cupiditate flagrantes, non itinerum, non navigationum laboribus aut periculis territi ex his Europae partibus in Aethiopiam, Persidem, Indiam, usque ad Moluccas et Japoniam ac alias Orientis insulas et regiones

Christianity also made satisfactory progress in Japan, as was shown in the pontificates of the successors of Pius V.[1]

As may be seen from the facts here mentioned, Pius V. devoted incomparably greater activity to the missions than his immediate predecessors. Whereas, for example, Paul IV. or Pius IV. had occasionally addressed a brief of exhortation or instruction to the heralds of the faith or sent briefs in their favour to the kings and bishops, their successor hardly ever let an opportunity pass of doing so. Pius V., moreover, aimed at bringing the missions into more immediate relations with the Holy See, and at making them more independent of the influence of the secular princes. At first he thought of sending to the Indies some suitable person, who should be dependent upon the Holy See alone, and could intervene with all the authority of a nuncio.[2] This plan, however, was allowed to lapse, because Philip II. did not wish for a nuncio overseas.[3] On the other hand, a second plan was carried into effect, with happy results: at the end of July, 1568, the Pope set up two congregations of Cardinals in order to promote and propagate the faith; one was to take for its sphere of activity the countries inhabited by heretics, the other the countries overseas and the missions;[4] the first beginnings of

alias a nobis remotissimas et in extremo orbe terrarum positas adire non debitent, etc." (Litterae apost., quibus institutio, confirmatio et varia privilegia continentur Societatis Iesu, Romae, 1606, 13).

[1] A more detailed account in volume xix. of this work.

[2] Bonelli to Castagna, April 21, 1568, Corresp. dipl., II., 350 *seqq.*

[3] Castagna to Bonelli, June 11, 1568, *ibid.*, 390; *cf.* 392. On October 1, 1568, Castagna reported to Bonelli, that the king had caused a discussion to be held as to the best way to prevent cruelty to the Indians and as to whether a hereditary viceroy should be appointed and a patriarch (once more) nominated for the Indies. This latter question was decided in the negative as the patriarch might be tempted to rebel against the king and the Roman Church. *Ibid.*, 472.

[4] Canisii Epist., VI., 581 *seqq.* Borgia to Nadal, August 2, 1568, Nadal, III., 625. Sacchini, P., III., 1. 4, n. 129, whence is drawn Laderchi, 1568, n. 206.

the Congregation of Propaganda, which afterwards developed activities of such extraordinary usefulness, may thus be traced back to Pius V. It was Francis Borgia who, at an audience of May 20th, 1568, suggested the congregation for the conversion of the infidels.[1] The Pope appointed as its first members the four Cardinals, Mula, Crivelli, Sirleto and Carafa; several of the papal briefs mentioned above were the result of their zeal.

It is very significant that in all these briefs it is insisted again and again that the missionaries must labour to give as full an instruction as possible to the converts. Hitherto it had been thought sufficient to have only wandering missionaries. The few heralds of the faith who, for example, found themselves faced in South America by a population like the sands of the sea, directed their efforts to bringing no more than the most essential Christian ideas to the knowledge of the greatest possible number of persons; thus we often hear of thousands and tens of thousands of baptisms, but, except in certain exceptional cases, such as Mexico, there is no mention of real Christian communities under the care of permanent pastors of souls. Moreover, in their great zeal, several of the missionaries looked upon their office too much from the point of view of their own sanctification. According to the maxims of the gospel there could be no greater work of charity towards our fellow men and God than to care for the spiritual salvation of one's neighbour, especially if this was accomplished at the cost of heroic personal sacrifice. But for souls of a generous nature there was a danger of the missions being looked upon principally as an opportunity for self-sacrifice, and for extraordinary sufferings and even martyrdom, as the supreme proof of the love of God; the self-sacrificing activity of the wandering missionary was more attractive to such souls than the quiet work of a permanent priest in a small community of converts. These facts must be kept in mind if we would form a true judgment of the insistence of Pius V. upon making the work as solid as possible.

[1] Testimony of Polanco, who was present at the audience. NADAL, III., 626 n.; *cf.* SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*

It was of great importance for the future that one of the recently established Orders which had from the first included the propagation of the faith in the pagan world among its objects, put the maxims of Pius V. into practice in every respect. The instructions of Francis Borgia to his subjects are drawn up entirely in this sense. Wherever our members go, he wrote in March, 1567,[1] their first care must be for the Christians who have already been converted, and they must use every means to preserve them in the faith, and to further the salvation of their souls. Only when that is done should they turn their attention to the conversation of others who are not yet baptized, but even then let them proceed prudently and not take upon themselves more than they can accomplish. They must not think it a gain to wander about here and there in order to convert pagans whom they cannot afterwards watch over; let them rather proceed by degrees, and consolidating their gains, since it is the wish of His Holiness, as he has told our people, that more should not be baptized than can be maintained in the faith.[2] They should not expose themselves to great risk of life among peoples not yet won over, since, although it may be for themselves an advantage to give up their lives in the service of God, this is not serving the common good, when we have so few labourers in the vineyard, and the Company can with difficulty send others to take their place. The same exhortation to maintain in the first place what had already been won, and only then to proceed further, is again repeated to the visitor of the Indies, with a further appeal to the wishes of Pius V. "This is the will of the Pope: it does not seem to him to be any good to make Christians who cannot be preserved in the faith; in his opinion what has been gained must be consolidated, and only then a further advance made."[3]

[1] To P. Ruiz del Portillo and his companions, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 420.

[2] "La intención de S. S., como á nosotros lo ha dicho, es que no se bapticen más de los que se puedan sostener en la fe." *Ibid.*

[3] "Y. esta es la mente del Papa, al qual no pareçe se hagan xpianos los que no se pueden conservar, y aconseja fortificar lo

The same breadth of view which is expressed in these instructions for the welfare of the pagan world, was shown by the great Pope no less in his relations with the eastern peoples nearer home. He knew what deep roots had been taken there by attachment to those forms of worship which had been retained from time immemorial as a sacred heritage from antiquity, and that nothing would prevent reunion with Rome so much as the suspicion that the Popes were endeavouring to abolish those rites. Pius V. therefore expressly forbade what in certain cases some of his predecessors, Papal legates, or Grand Penitentiaries had allowed: namely that Greek priests should celebrate according to the Latin rite, or Latin priests in the Greek rite,[1] since this was contrary to the ancient constitutions of the Church and the decrees of the Fathers.[2] Proof of his love for the Slav peoples was given by his order that twelve youths of Illyrian stock should be sent to Rome, to be educated there for the priesthood.[3]

ganado, y despues pasar adelante." Indiarum inspectori, on January 10, 1567, S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 386.

[1] "ne deinceps presbyteri graeci, praecipue uxorati, latino more, vel latini graeco ritu . . . missas et alia divina officia celebrare vel celebrari facere praesumant." Brief of August 20, 1566, Bull. Rom. VII 473, Collectio Lacensis, II 450.

[2] "hoc ab antiquo catholicae Ecclesiae instituto et SS. Patrum decretis deviare considerantes" (Coll. Lac., *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Gregory the Great to Augustine (Ep. 64, n. 3, MIGNE, Patr. Lat., LXXVII., 1187-can. 10 dist. 12); Leo IX. to the patriarch Michael (Ep. 100, n. 29, *ibid.*, CXLIII., 764).

[3] *Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 406, Vatican Library.

CHAPTER IX.

Pius V. and the League against the Turks.

Pius V. shrank from nothing so much as taking up arms, yet strangely enough, it fell to his lot to be frequently engaged in wars. This was forced upon him in the first place by the unsettled conditions of the Papal States, secondly by the oppression of the French Catholics by the Huguenots, and lastly by the pressing danger from the Turks. To meet this danger became for Pius V. a principal object of his anxieties and efforts during the whole of his pontificate, and in this question he was from the first guided by the true principle that a decisive success was to be obtained, not by means of attacks delivered by individual powers, but only at their being united together in a common league.

At the very beginning of his reign Pius V. wrote to Philip II. to this effect, while to the Imperial ambassador he spoke of his intention of forming a league of the Christian princes against the Turks.[1] His idea that the Ottoman power could only be broken by means of a common crusade was shared by the Grand-Master of the Knights of St. John, La Valette, who had so heroically defended Malta in the time of Pius IV.[2] Pius V. at once took in hand the safe-guarding of this advance-post of the Christian world in the Mediterranean, which was of the utmost strategic importance.[3] In February and March, 1566, he exhorted the King of Spain and the governess of the Low Countries to assist in the rebuilding of the fortifications which had been destroyed during the siege of 1565, and to

[1] See Herre, Europ. Politik, I., 36; Schwarz, Briefwechsel, 38.

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 367. *Cf.* Jurien de la Gravière, La guerre de Chypre et la bataille de Lépante, Paris, 1888, 4.

[3] *Cf.* Serrano, Liga, I., 29 *seq.*

help the Knights with money and troops.[1] A bull describing in clear terms the Turkish peril, which had become doubly dangerous in view of the religious dissensions of Christendom, is dated March 9th, 1566. It was only, he said, by the faithful doing penance that the anger of God could be appeased, and His strong help looked for. For this end the Pope had published a jubilee indulgence, for the gaining of which, in addition to prayer and fasting, the reception of the sacraments was enjoined and the giving of alms for the purposes of the war against the Turks.[2]

The Pope was not a little dismayed by the news that the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, on account of the imminent danger of an attack by the Turks, intended to take refuge in Sicily and to leave Malta, which did not seem to him sufficiently secure. In a letter of March 22nd, 1566, he adjured La Valette to give up this idea. Pointing out the danger of southern Italy being laid open to the depradations of the enemy, and of his own Order being destroyed if he were to carry out his design, he exhorted him to go on courageously, and promised him his own support.[3] In accordance with this promise he sent 15,000 ducats to Malta, as well as some troops to assist the Knights, and begged Philip II. and the viceroy of Sicily to give them help.[4] At a consistory on April 2nd,

[1] The *brief to the "gubernatrix Flandriae" of February 11, 1566, in Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 27, Papal Secret Archives; *ibid.*, n. 44 the brief to Philip II. of March 22, 1566, printed in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 176, and n. 58 the *brief to the same of March 27, 1566; this last concerns the plan of employing floating capital for Malta from the Papal monopoly on lights, for which purpose Ces. Fontana was sent to the Low Countries.

[2] The bull "Cum gravissima" in Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 33, Papal Secret Archives, printed in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 171 (with the wrong date, March 8), and in Bull. Rom., 431 *seq.*

[3] See GOUBAU, 8 *seq.*

[4] See CATENA, 44. Mention is made by C. Luzzara of the 3,000 men whom Pius V. wished to enlist for Malta, in his *report of March 30, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *letter of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma from Rome, April 20,

1566, he spoke strongly of his desire to employ all his powers for the protection of Christendom.[1] How much this thought filled his mind is also shown by the fact that it is mentioned even in briefs dealing with the reform of morals among the clergy. "I am taking up arms against the Turks," he says, "but the only thing that can help me in that is the prayers of priests of pure life."[2]

The failure of the attack by the Turks on Malta in 1565, led the Sultan to attempt in the following year to conquer the Greek archipelago. Since not only Venice, which was directly threatened, but Spain as well,[3] had made evasive replies to the Pope's exhortations, the enemy found this an easy task. On April 15th, 1566, the Turkish admiral, Piali, captured the island of Chios, bringing the rule of the Giustiniani to a bloody end. In the same year the duchies of Naxos, Andros and Ceos also fell into the hands of the insatiable enemy.[4] In May, 1566, Turkish ships made their appearance in the Adriatic, and threatened Ancona, to which place Pius V. at once sent troops and artillery.[5] Later on he not only undertook the strengthening of the fortifications there, but in the short space of twenty days formed a mobile force of four thousand men for the defence of the coast.[6]

Besides such temporal measures Pius V. never ceased to implore the aid of heaven for the protection of Christendom.

1566, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 763, and the *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 217b, Vatican Library. See also POLANCI Epist. in *Anal. Bolland.*, VII., 49, 54.

[1] See the *report of C. Luzzara from Rome, April 3, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 251.

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 34.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 159 *seq.*; HOPF in *Enzyklopädie* of Ersch, I.[3], sect. 86, p. 171 *seq.* JORGA, III., 109; *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, VIII., 365 *seq.*

[5] See *Avvisi di Roma of May 11 and 18, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 225, 229, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *report of Firmanus (under August 3, 1566), Papal Secret Archives, Miscell., Arm. XII., 31; CATENA, 46.

On July 21st, 1566, the jubilee for the success of the war against the Turks was published.[1] Eight days later, on July 28th, the Pope was seen taking part in person in the first procession which was made in Rome to avert the Turkish peril. He had tears in his eyes as he walked along, praying fervently all the while. A second procession was made on July 31st, and a third on August 2nd, in which four thousand people took part.[2] Pius V. was successful in dissuading La Valette from his purpose of abandoning Malta, and in obtaining abundant means for the Knights for the fortifications of the island.[3] On the other hand insurmountable difficulties stood in the way of his plans for the formation of an anti-Turkish league. Venice, which was so strong at sea, had adhered strictly to a policy of armed neutrality after the unfortunate peace of 1540,[4] On account of her commerce in the Levant and her distrust of the Hapsburgs, the Signoria had held firmly to this policy, which was so costly and so embarrassing, even at the time of the threat to Malta in 1565. Even now she nervously avoided any disturbance of her relations with the Turks. When their fleet appeared near Ragusa during the summer of 1566, she withdrew her ships in all haste.[5] Nor did the King of Spain at that time show himself at all inclined to the league suggested by the Pope.

[1] *Bando of July 21, 1566, Bandi, V., 1, p. 159, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See FIRMANUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*, p. 107b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1566, n. 291 (with wrong date, July 14).

[3] The King of Portugal sent a fairly large sum of money (satis magnam pecuniam), as Pius V. mentions with words of praise in a *brief sent to him on August 17, 1566, pointing out that with the erection of the new fort on the heights of S. Elmo there would be "Oportunuissimum adversus Turcos et predones Afros totius Christiani populi propugnaculum;" Arm. 42, t. 12, n. 98, Papal Secret Archives. There also is a brief of August 19 to La Valette, which allows work for that purpose on Sundays and festival days (printed in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 178).

[4] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 296.

[5] See HERRE, Europ. Politik, I., 37.

In this Philip II. was guided by consideration for the Low Countries and his fear of the German Protestants.[1] In Germany the religious disputes in the Empire stood in the way of the plan for a great international league, towards which Maximilian II. seemed to be seriously inclined in the spring of 1566.[2] The Papal legate, Commendone, was forced to realize at the Diet of Augsburg that Maximilian thought before all else of obtaining assistance for the protection of Hungary, for which purpose the Diet voted a large sum of money, while the Pope gave 50,000 scudi and obtained military help for the Emperor from the small Italian states.[3]

At the end of autumn, 1566, the Pope, who had been seriously perturbed by the fall of Sziget,[4] made fresh efforts to form a great anti-Turkish league. In order to bring this about he appointed a commission, of which Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Granvelle, Commendone and Mula were members. On November 4th he recommended the matter in a pressing letter to the Emperor, the Spanish sovereigns, Charles IX. and the regent of France.[5] But the state of political affairs was then even less favourable than at the time of the first attempt. Very little was to be hoped for from the Emperor, or from the intriguing woman who was controlling the destinies of France. The renewed outbreak of religious wars in France then completely paralysed the resources of that kingdom. At the same time Philip II. saw all his strength absorbed by the disturbances in the Low Countries and by his war against the

[1] See *ibid.*, 37 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 36 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BIBL, Korrespondenz Maximilians II., I., 448 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* pp. 247, 255.

[4] " *Il Papa ha sentito tanto dispiacere della perdita di Seghetto che subito havuto la nuova si retirò in Araceli et per tutto quel giorno non attese ad altro che a deplorare la mala fortuna de' christiani alla quale se potesse col sangue suo remediar la faria volentieri," thus reports an Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1566, Urb. 1040, p. 291, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Strozzi of September 29, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 37 *seq.*; HERRE, *loc. cit.*, I., 38 *seq.* The briefs in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 309 *seq.*

Moors, and it was not without some bitterness that the King of Spain pointed out at what an inopportune moment the Pope's suggestion had come. It was quite true that Philip II. could not think of any foreign expedition while there was an understanding between the rebels in the Low Countries and the Huguenots, and his finances were completely exhausted.[1]

Although the plans for the league had to remain in almost complete abeyance for two years,[2] the Pope nevertheless did all that he could to support the Emperor while the war in Hungary lasted,[3] to help the Knights of Malta,[4] and to protect the coasts of the States of the Church from attacks by the Turks and by pirates.

[1] See HERRE, *loc. cit.*, 40 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SERRANO, *loc. cit.*, 38 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 255.

[4] On October 12, 1566, *Strozzi reports that the Cardinals had been summoned to take counsel to obtain help for Malta (State Archives, Vienna). In February, 1567, Pius V. enlisted 3,000 men who were intended for Malta under the command of Pompeo Colonna and Ascanio della Corgna (*report of B. Pia, dated Rome, February 15, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). At the end of 1567 the island was again threatened by the Turks. La Valette then sought help from the Duke of Anjou (see his letter of November 3, 1567, in FILLON, n. 2499); France did nothing, but Pius V. ordered a jubilee on October 28, 1567 (Bandi, V., 1, p. 160, Papal Secret Archives), and even before the messenger from the Knights reached Rome on December 19 (*report of B. Pia of December 20, 1567, *loc. cit.*) provided for their help in various ways (see the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, November 29, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *bull of December 18, 1567, Arm. 44, t. 13, p. 111b, *cf.* p. 113 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives; also the briefs to Philip II., Charles IX. and the Doge of Venice, of December 8, 12, and 19, 1567, in GOUBAU, 59 *seq.*, 61 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*). An *Avviso di Roma of February 28, 1568, announces that the Pope has authorized the enrolment of 1,500 men in the States of the Church, and is providing part of their pay (Urb. 1040, p. 483b, Vatican Library). For the new fortification of S. Elmo in Malta Pius V. gave 3,000 scudi in the following year (*Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1569, Urb. 1041, p. 125b, *loc. cit.*).

Special provisions in the latter respect were all the more necessary since the Papal fleet had been destroyed in the time of Pius IV. at the battle of Jerbeh. As early as August, 1566, steps had been taken for the protection of the coasts of the Marches and Paolo Giordano Orsini had been placed in command of four thousand men.[1] The then imminent danger from the Turkish fleet once again decreased, but Pius V. did not discontinue his precautions. In June, 1567, he acquired three galleys from Andrea Doria, as the one that remained was obviously not enough to defend the coast.[2] Besides this the Pope planned to strengthen the fortresses of Ancona[3] and Civitavecchia,[4] and to hurry forward the construction of watch towers along the coast,[5] which had already been begun under

[1] See Corresp. dipl., I., 321, and GNOLI, Vitt. Accoramboni, 54.

[2] See the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, June 4, 1567, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *" Si da ordine di fortificare Ancona e Civitavecchia " (Avviso di Roma of April 3, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 499, Vatican Library). M. A. Colonna inspected the fortifications of Ancona and gave a good report of them (*Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1568, *ibid.*, 511). *Assignation of 50,000 scudi for the fortification of Ancona (*ibid.*, 526b). *Cf.* also MAROCCO, XII., 77; LEONI, Ancona ill., 296 *seq.* Payments to Giacomo della Porta for fortification works at Ancona and Camerino in *Deposit., a. 1570, State Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* ANNOVAZZI, 280 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*; CALISSE, Storia di Civitavecchia, Florence, 1898, 422 *seq.* The arms of Pius V. are still to be seen on the gate.

[5] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 433, 441 *seq.*, 472 *seq.*; SCHRADER, Campagna, Leipzig, 1910, 148 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., Rome, 1910, 181 *seq.*; the same, Le torri della spiaggia romana nel a 1567, in *Scritti di storia, di fil. e d'arte*, Naples, 1908. The plan for building the tower at Porto is mentioned in the *Avviso di Roma of October 11, 1567, Urb. 1040, p. 448b; *ibid.*, 1041, p. 66, an *Avviso of April 23, 1569: " La torre che S.S^tá fa fabbricare alla foce del Tevere sopra le ruine della Mole Traiana è reduta a buon termine per diffender la spiaggia da Corsari dove presto se manderà artiglieria." In Vatic. 6533, p. 145 *seq.*: *Offerta a Pio V. per la fabrica della torre a Ostia. Vatican Library.

Pius IV. These served to watch for the Turks and pirates and to give the alarm to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of a threatened attack. The largest of these buildings, the tower of S. Michele at the mouth of the Tiber at Ostia, the design for which had been sketched by Michelangelo, still bears the inscription of Pius V.[1] The part which the Pope took in all these works may be seen from the fact that he visited them in person.[2]

The building of these towers, which to-day form so picturesque a feature of the shores of the Roman coast, involved considerable expense, and the provision of the necessary funds led to no small difficulties. How dangerous the situation was was shown by an attack by pirates on Nettuno, which took place in May, 1568.[3] On several occasions it was feared that the enemy would appear before Rome itself, where, especially in the Borgo, Pius V. undertook considerable fortification works. Here too the Pope assured himself of the progress of the works by making personal inspections.[4]

The Ottoman Empire had reached the height of its splendour and power under Suleiman the Magnificent ; the death of the sultan, which occurred in September, 1566, during the siege of Sziget, was the beginning of it decline. Christendom and its supreme head breathed again.[5] As is often the case in history, so now it was seen how limits are set to the triumphs of every conquering state by the fact that great capacity for rule is

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 153 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of C. Luzzara of November 19, 1566, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *that of Strozzi of November 23, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] As to this *cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of May 22, 1568, in the "Romana" of the State Archives, Vienna. An *Avviso of July 6, 1569, reports the capture by corsairs of several vessels on their way to Rome. Urb. 1041, p. 105b, Vatican Library.

[4] The inspection of the works in the Borgo and at the Castle of St. Angelo (*cf. supra* Vol. XVII., p. 126) is announced in an *Avviso di Roma of May 8, 1568, Urb. 1040, p. 514b, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *report of Strozzi of October 26, 1566, State Archives, Vienna.

not always hereditary. The decline of the Turkish power would have been even more evident if the capable grand vizier, Mohammed Sokolli, had not acted as a counter-poise to the unworthy and foolish sovereign who now ascended the throne.

Contemporaries draw a repulsive picture of the coarse, undersized and corpulent Sultan, Selim II., whose red face betrayed the drunkard.[1] Long before his accession to the throne a Jew named José Miquez, who had come from Portugal, and had become very wealthy by means of financial speculations, had succeeded in getting great influence over Selim by encouraging the debauchery of the prince in every way, and his fondness for choice wines and food. Immediately after his succession to the throne the Sultan conferred on his favourite the duchy of Naxos, in return for a small tribute.[2] Hoping to get Cyprus into his hands in the same way, the avaricious Jew urged the Sultan to make an expedition against that island, which, on account of its natural riches and its important stragetic position, was one of the most treasured possessions of the Republic of St. Mark.[3] After the conclusion of peace with the Emperor and the conquest of Arabia nothing stood in the way of this plan except the grand vizier Sokolli, who was opposed to any breaking off of relations with Venice, and who would have preferred to give support to his co-religionists in Spain, the Moorish rebels.[4] José Miquez, or, as the Turks called him, Josef Nassi, found powerful support for his designs in the admiral, Piali-Pasha, and the vizier

[1] See A. Badoero in Albèri, I., 360 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, III., 55 *seq.*; Jorga, III., 163.

[2] *Cf.* Badoero, *loc. cit.*; Charrière, III., 86, 88 n., 646 n.; Romanin, VI., 270 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, III., 56 *seq.*, 373 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 530; Herre, Europ. Politik, I., 12 *seq.*; *Rev. hist.*, LXXVII., 310 *seq.*; see also Levy, Don Josef Nasi, Herzog von Naxos, Breslau, 1859.

[3] See the report of Bernardo Sagredo in Mas Latrie, III., 540 *seq.*, 555 *seq.* *Cf.* Hammer, II., 405; Herre, I., 10.

[4] *Cf.* Brosch, Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire, Gotha, 1889, 7 *seq.*; Herre, I., 14 *seq.*

Lala Mustafà, Selim's tutor. The Mufti associated himself with them, and told the Sultan that he would be able to recover from the Venetians the money required for the great mosque at Adrianople, which was being built, and that Selim, as the heir of the rulers of Egypt, had a right to the possession of Cyprus. Venice, so he said in the hearing of the Sultan, had been guilty of a breach of faith by favouring the piracies of the brigands of Uscocchi, on the borders of Dalmatia, and by offering shelter to the Maltese corsairs in the harbours of Cyprus.[1]

The party which had raised the standard of war against Venice had everything its own way when news reached Constantinople that the arsenal of Venice had been destroyed by fire on September 13th, 1569,[2] and that Italy was threatened with famine in consequence of a bad harvest. Rumour exaggerated the damage done to the Republic, and Selim II., thinking that Venice had lost her fleet,[3] resolved to break the peace which had been concluded with the Republic in 1540. Knowing full well that the great Christian powers were hampered by internal difficulties and were in a state of discord among themselves, he only waited for the most favourable moment to launch his attack and rob the Venetians of their "jewel, Cyprus, the last bulwark of Christendom in the Levant."[4] On February 1st, 1570, a Turkish plenipotentiary, named Cubat, was sent from Constantinople to Venice, to deliver the ultimatum to the Signoria: the surrender of Cyprus or war. The Porte had already on January 13th, on

[1] See HAMMER, II., 401 *seq.*; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*; HERRE, I., 12 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* ROMANIN, VI., 267 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 531; HERRE, I., 15 *seq.*; TOSI, Dell'incendio dell'arsenale di Venezia, Florence, 1906.

[3] In a *Lettera di Roma of December 23, 1569, it is stated: it is reported from Venice that the Turk, who is harassed by the "Tartari" and the "Sofi," cannot send any fleet against us. Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome.

[4] HERRE, Mittlemeerpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, IX. (1906), 358. For the importance of Cyprus to Venice see also SERRANO, Liga, I., 42 *seq.*

flimsy pretexts, confiscated all Venetian property, together with the merchant vessels of the Republic which were in the harbour of Constantinople.[1]

The Republic of St. Mark, which for a generation had maintained friendly relations with the Porte with the greatest self-restraint and caution, and even at the expense of its political good name,[2] and which had schooled itself, for the sake of its commercial interests, to cling to the hem of the Sultan's garment,[3] restricting itself to a defensive attitude, was not a little taken by surprise by the attack which was now suddenly threatened. Trusting to the benevolent attitude of the grand vizier, it had too long brushed aside the warnings of its ambassadors.[4] Since they were all aware in Venice of the strength of their enemy and his almost inexhaustible resources, they were under no illusion as to the gravity of the danger, and took precautions on a grand scale. It was but natural that they should turn their thoughts towards help from outside. As France and Germany were completely occupied with internal disturbances, they could for the moment only turn to Spain and the Pope; with these two powers, however, Venice was not on very good terms. Spain, the greatest power in Europe, had such great influence in Italy that the States of the Church and the Republic of Venice could only with difficulty maintain their independence. Spanish viceroys ruled at Naples, in Sicily, in Sardinia, at Milan and in Lombardy. Savoy, Genoa and Tuscany were dependent upon Madrid. It had been made evident in many ways that in Spain they looked with a jealous eye on the freedom and power of the Republic of St. Mark, as well as upon that of the Holy See. The arbitrary way in which Venice had been accustomed to act in ecclesiastical questions, and the scant courtesy she had shown in matters of ecclesiastical politics in connexion with the Roman Inquisition, a thing which was very near to the heart of Pius V.,

[1] *Cf.* Brosch, *loc. cit.*, 14; Charrière, III., 102.

[2] The Venetian diplomatists themselves recognized this; see Albèri, III., 1, 83, 160.

[3] See Albèri, XIII., 95; *cf.* Jorga, III., 248.

[4] See Herre, I., 19.

had led to various misunderstandings,[1] but the common danger which threatened Christendom caused the noble-hearted Pope to put all such considerations into the background, since from the moment of his election he had never lost sight of the dangers hanging over Christendom on the part of Islam.

Far more difficult was it for Venice to find common ground with Spain, whose interest in the Turkish question centred rather in the north of Africa than in the east. How great was the jealousy between Venice and Spain was made clear when the Papal nuncio in Venice, Antonio Facchinetti, who, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope, had always pressed for a Christian coalition against the Turks, urged the Signoria to form an alliance with Philip II. On February 22nd, 1570, Facchinetti had to report to Rome that he plainly saw that the Signoria still shrank from the idea of the league, because they did not wish to bind themselves to protect the property of Spain when the Turkish fleet was attacking, not the possessions of Venice, but those of Philip II.[2] The Venetians there-

[1] With regard to the Inquisition see Vol. XVII., p. 316, and GRATIANUS, De bello Cyprio, 51 *seq.*, and especially TIEPOLO, 191 *seq.*, and GOTHEIN, 526 *seq.* See also Corresp. dipl., I., 128. For the opposition of Venice to the bull "In coena Domini" see CECCHETTI, I., 448; *cf.* GOTHEIN, 538 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., III., 242. The disgraceful disputes occasioned by the brief of June 27, 1566, on the union of the parish of Desenzano with the monastery of S. Salvatore at Brescia, to which Venice refused its 'exequatur," are described in detail, but in a partisan spirit, by U. PAPA (Un dissidio tra Venezia e Pio V., Venice, 1895). *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., II., 161. For the mistrust felt by Venice for Pius V. see ALBÈRI, II., 4, 239. For Pius V.'s opinion of the Venetians and their pride see the note of the Papal Secretary of State in 1572, in Varia polit., 117, p. 385 *seq.*; **Negotii di Venezia, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Facchinetti's letter is published in VALENSISE, 40-41. This edition, made in 1898, of the important and interesting reports from the nuncio at Venice concerning the league escaped the notice of HERRE (Europ. politik im Cyprischen Krieg, I., 1902), who in other respects had made very complete use of the vast amount of literature on the subject.

fore sought to obtain from the Pope, not a league, but money, provisions and troops, because they still deluded themselves with the hope that the news of their extensive military preparations would at the last moment prevent the Turks from attacking their possessions in the Levant.[1] The Signoria was quite prepared, indeed, that the Pope should give military assistance to Venice with the help of the other Catholic powers, and especially of Spain, but it would very much rather have had that help without being bound by any strict alliance with its rival, Spain, and thus finding itself committed to undertakings which could not serve any directly useful purpose for itself.[2]

Pius V. was very ready to give direct help to the Republic, but at the same time he insisted that the Signoria must ally itself with Philip II. and the small Italian states against the Turks. Thus, after her first hesitation, Venice found herself at length obliged to agree to the league urged by the Pope and his nuncio, since she could not in other ways count upon the help of the other Christian states.[3]

On March 8th, 1570, the nuncio Facchinetti sent to Rome the following significant report: in view of the apparent inevitability of war the Venetians are now desirous of joining the league, but if the Turks should leave them in peace they would not be displeased; His Holiness, therefore, must try and bind them as closely as possible to the league. He, the nuncio, would work for the same end, in such a way that the Signoria would find itself so tied that it would be unable to withdraw without incurring the deepest disgrace.[4]

In the meantime Cubat, the bearer of the ultimatum, was nearing the city of the lagoons, where lively discussions were

[1] See the report of Facchinetti, dated Venice, February 25, 1570, in VALENSISE, 43 *seq.*

[2] See the excellent account by HERRE, I., 49 *seq.* *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, I., 48 *seq.*

[3] See HERRE, I., 50. As early as March 13, 1568, Facchinetti, in a letter to the Secretary of State of Pius V. had expressed the hope that Venice would in the end seek safety in the league. VALENSISE, 38.

[4] See VALENSISE, 46.

being held as to the attitude they should take up. At the council of the Pregadi three views had been put forward: the first, that Cubat should be received in secret, was negatived; the second, that he should not be allowed to enter Venice at all, but should be at once sent back, also failed to secure a majority; it was resolved in the end to accord the envoy a public reception, but to refuse his ultimatum unconditionally.[1] In conformity with this decision, instructions were also drawn up and sent to Ragusa, to the Venetian representative, Aloisio Bonrizzo, who was accompanying Cubat.[2]

When the Turkish ambassador arrived in the harbour of Venice on March 27th, 1570, he was forbidden to land in the city. Guards accompanied him on the following morning to a full assembly of the Signoria, which was held with closed doors, and lasted only a quarter of an hour. Cubat there delivered his ultimatum; the reply which had been already prepared was a definite rejection "in cold and dignified terms." It pointed out that without any reasonable excuse the Porte wished to break the peace which had been ratified by oath only a short time before. The Republic would defend itself against the attack which was now to be expected, trusting in the justice of God, and would defend Cyprus, its lawful possession, by force of arms.[3]

Although at that moment Venice seemed to be firmly resolved to engage in a struggle with the Turks, trusting in

[1] See the report of Facchinetti of March 17, 1570, in VALENSISE, 48.

[2] See YRIARTE, La vie d'un patricien de Venise au 16e siècle, Paris, 1874, 171.

[3] The above is in accordance with the report of Facchinetti of March 29, 1570, in VALENSISE, 50 *seq.* The later historians, PARUTA (Hist-Venet., II.; Guerra di Cipro, I., 50 *seq.*), FOLIETA (De sacro foedere, I., 1), and GRATIANUS (De bello Cyprio, 40 *seq.*) have described in detail the events of those days, but as HERRE, I., 22, n. 1, points out, in some cases embellishing their accounts with legendary matter. For the reply that was prepared see LONGO, Guerra, 13 *seq.*, 14, and YRIARTE, 152.

its sea power, nevertheless doubts were freely entertained as to the sincerity of the Signoria, and it was thought that the skilful diplomatists of the Republic were only trying to frighten the enemy, and to come to an understanding with the Porte favourable to themselves, by which the allied Christian powers would be left empty handed. It is easy to understand this mistrust in the light of previous events; above all, the representatives of Philip II. in the Curia, Zuñiga and Granvelle, were led by it to hold back, as well as by political considerations. In order to enhance as much as possible the value of the accession of the power of Spain, these diplomatists made it appear that the king had no idea of joining the league.[1] That the Spaniards were dealing in subterfuges had already been made clear when the Pope in his enthusiasm for the protection of Christendom spoke of the Turkish peril at a consistory of February 27th, 1570, and in burning words urged Venice to rise in all her might. Among the Cardinals there was but one opinion as to the reality and imminence of the danger, and no one was blind to the fact that Cyprus must fall into the hands of the Sultan before the princes of Europe could respond to the Pope's appeal for help. The best way to prevent such a disaster seemed to be the immediate intervention of Philip II.

It was true that the King of Spain was in a position at once to send from his Sicilan harbours sufficient help to hold back the first attack of the Turks, but Cardinal Granvelle declared himself so strongly against any such course that he adjured the Pope and the College of Cardinals not to precipitate his king and the Church into so dangerous and hazardous an undertaking. Granvelle did not hesitate to declare openly that the faithless Republic of St. Mark was not deserving of immediate help, that for the time being it could be left to its fate, and that it would be time enough to come to its assistance when disaster had forced it to realize that it could

[1] See the fully justified remarks of HERRE, I., 67 *seq.*, who was the first to make use of the reports of Granvelle and Zuñiga in the Archives at Simancas.

not do without its neighbours ; he, the Cardinal, believed that God had exposed that proud state to the attack of the infidels for the purpose of punishing its selfishness, and forcing it to realize that even the Signoria might find itself in the position of having to beg for protection and help.

Cardinal Commendone, who was held in great esteem by Pius V., vigorously opposed this declaration of Granvelle.[1] He recalled the services of Venice to Christendom and the Holy See, and sought to defend the Signoria from the charges of faithlessness and selfishness as far as he could. With bitter reference to the Spaniards he remarked that he marvelled at mention being made of the late war, and the peace that had then been concluded with the Turks, since the Venetians had then been treated by their allies in such a way that they preferred not to speak of it. Commendone called attention to the proposal which the Pope had had in his mind from the first, namely that they should send help as quickly as possible, since it was not only Venice, but the whole of Italy that was involved, as well as the good name and well-being of Christendom. The majority of the Cardinals then decided in the sense suggested.[2]

While the Pope, after this consistory, made provision for a large subsidy in money by granting a tenth upon the Venetian clergy up to 100,000 gold scudi, which was intended to be used only for the defence of Cyprus,[3] he at the same time took

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 81.

[2] For the consistory of February 27, 1570, which strangely enough is not mentioned in the *Acta concistorialia in the Consistorial Archives at the Vatican (now included in the Papal Secret Archives), see the report of Facchinetti of March 1, 1570 (VALENSISE, 44) the letters of Granvelle and Zuñiga to Philip II. of February 28, 1570 (State Archives, Simancas), used by HERRE, I., 48, as well as FOLIETA, I., 996 *seq.*, and GRATIANUS, De bello Cyprio, 52 *seq.*, which, for purposes of criticism, should be compared with LADERCHI, 1570, n. 11.

[3] The money was therefore "venire in mano dei ministri di S.S^{tá};" see VALENSISE, 44. *Cf.* for the concession the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, March, 4, 1570, Gonzaga Archives Mantua.

definite steps to induce Philip II. to come to the assistance of Venice, and to enter into an alliance with the Republic.

When the Venetian government placed in his hands the carrying out of the negotiations,[1] Pius V. entrusted the conduct of this most difficult business to one of his most skilful and capable officials in political affairs, and one who by his Spanish descent was bound to be in sympathy with Philip II.; this was Luis de Torres, a cleric of the Apostolic Camera.[2]

The *bull concerning the Venetian tithe (the effective value of the 100,000 gold scudi was 180,000; see CECCHETTI, II., 74), dated Rome, April 10, 1570, is in Archives of Briefs, Rome. On the same date Pius V. published a "iubilaeum ad divinum auxilium implorandum contra infideles"; BANDI, V., 1, p. 162, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *"A 27 di Febraro del 1570 rendendo conto alla S^tà^ di Pio V. il cl. Michele Suriano, ambasciatore de Venetiani appresso S.S^tà^ degli apparati di guerra che faveva il Turco" the Pope begged the ambassador to write home to stipulate for a league with Philip II. Soriano sent a messenger to Venice the same day. The reply of the Signoria to this placed the matter in the hands of the Pope, "accio che con l'autorità sua si trattasse et concludesse et data questa risposta sabbato 4 di Marzo lunedì a sei mandò a chiamare me D. Luis de Torres, chierico di sua Camera Apostolica et mi disse di volermi mandar in Spagna per tal effetto raggionandomi nella forma seguente: Monsignore, vi havemo mandato a chiamare per dirvi che siamo risoluti mandarvi in Ispagna et la causa vi diremo:" league between Venice and Spain, refer to instructions. There is further another business to be treated of, which the nuncio had already opened with Philip II., "che abbracci le cose d'Inghilterra aiutando li sollevati" (*cf. supra*, p. 209 *seq.*). Torres declared his readiness to accept the mission. Thus the *Giornale de' trattati segreti et pubblici di diversi ministri con il S. P. Papa Pio V. (ex bibl. card. Ios. Renati card^lis^, Imperialis), Add. Ms. 20052, p. 2, British Museum, London. *Cf.* also the accounts drawn from the Spanish reports in HERRE, I., 70.

[2] For L. de Torres, who was Archbishop of Monreale from 1573, and died December 31, 1584, see LELLO, Hist. d. chiesa di Monreale, Rome, 1596, 122 *seq.*; SERENO, 383 *seq.*; GARAMPI, Osservaz., 304; FORCELLA, IV., 335. The Archives of the Marchese de Torres (Dragonetti) at Aquila contain important documents

The two duties imposed upon him are clearly and definitely expressed both in his instructions and in the brief accrediting him to Philip II., dated March 8th, 1570. After a vivid description of the danger to Christendom, and the expression of his own sorrow, the Pope said that he was convinced that no monarch in Christendom could by his own power resist that of the Turks, but that the Christian princes united together could do so. It was however absolutely necessary that they should ally themselves together in order to fight the common enemy, and the first place in this glorious undertaking belonged to the King of Spain, both on account of his great piety, and of the might of his empire. The Pope would joyfully support his efforts and was prepared to drain the resources of his own dominions. At the same time the letter pointed out the necessity for immediate military help. The King of Spain was adjured in the name of God's mercy at once to send a strong fleet to Sicily in order to protect Malta, should the Turks launch an attack there, as well as to keep the seas free for the Christian troops which were to be sent to the assistance of Cyprus. In this way the plans of the Turks would be completely foiled.[1]

In the three instructions which were given to Torres his duties were detailed and explained even more fully.[2] The alliance between Venice and Spain must be both defensive and offensive, and should be concluded either permanently or for a definite period as should appear most advisable

from those left by Torres. I went to Aquila in October, 1903, to see them, but could not do so owing to the absence of the proprietor.

[1] See GOUBAU, 202 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1570, n. 21.

[2] The three instructions taken from the Archives of the Marchese de Torres (Dragonetti) at Aquila by SERENO, 427-431, have the dates March 12, 5, 12, 1570, while the copies in the Papal Secret Archives and in the Chigi Library, Rome (see HINOJOSA, 188; HERRE, I., 89) as well as Cod. 6334, p. 342 *seq.* of the Court Library, Vienna, have March 15 instead of 5. In the codex in the British Museum, London, cited on p. 369 n. 1, the instructions are dated (p. 5b, 7 and 10) as in Sereno,

Above all, the king should be induced, as Venice already had done, to entrust the negotiation of the question to the Pope, and at once to send full powers for this purpose to Rome, where everything would be done with the fullest justice, and in such a way that no one could feel injured. Torres was specially instructed to point out that Venice was quite unable by herself to withstand an attack by the Turks,[1] while the two powers together would be quite strong enough at sea both for the defensive and the offensive. Torres was moreover to explain more fully the manifest advantages of the alliance, and to insist that it should be both definite and firm. The King of Spain must therefore entertain no suspicions of Venice, nor Venice of the king. All the suspicions which had hitherto existed must disappear before the common danger. It was obvious that neither power without the help of the other could withstand the Turks, and therefore in their own interests they must not break the alliance. Granted good-will, it ought not to be difficult to arrange the terms of the league, especially as the Pope was an impartial mediator and arbitrator. But before there could be any question of the division of the funds contributed and the territory conquered, or of the admission of other powers, it was the duty of the King of Spain, in view of the pressing nature of the danger, to send help at once by immediately ordering his fleet to Sicily to help the Venetians, as the Pope requested.

After Torres had also been given letters of recommendation

[1] The correspondence of Torres has not been lost, as Herre supposed (I., 93, n. 7), but is preserved in *Add. Ms. 20052, p. 20b, of the British Museum, London; the first letter to Cardinal Bonelli is dated from Siena, March 18, 1570, the second from Barcelona, April 8. There also are to be found the replies of Cardinal Bonelli, the letter of Torres to the "segretario" of Pius V., Girol. Rusticucci, and his replies, as well as the correspondence of Torres with other Cardinals, and finally his reports from Portugal. The study of these documents must be kept for a special publication. SERRANO (Corresp. dipl., I., xxv.) does not know of them, but quotes instead the *copy of the letters of Torres in Cod. Urb. 841 of the Vatican Library.

to Cardinal Espinosa, the chief minister of Spain, to Ruy Gomez and other Spanish grandees and nobles, as well as to Don John of Austria,[1] further instructions were given to him orally by the Pope at a farewell audience on March 15th, 1570. He set out on the following day.[2] With the means of transport then available a whole month elapsed before he reached the Spanish court at Cordova. His reception by Philip II. left nothing to be desired as far as marks of honour were concerned, but on account of the strained relations between Madrid and Rome the negotiations were carried on with difficulty. Torres understood very well how to justify the attitude of the Pope towards Philip II. ; as he was a Spaniard by birth, certain outspoken expressions were accepted from him, which the haughty grandees would never have taken from a foreigner. Any definite reply on the subject of the league was at first, in keeping with the Spanish habit of mind, postponed. On the other hand, the king promised, when Torres pressed him, to order Doria to sail at once for Sicily, and there await further orders ; in the meantime the Spanish authorities in Naples were to assist the Venetians with provisions and munitions. Torres next followed the court to Seville, but there too, at an audience on May 4th, the only reply that he could get concerning the league was framed in the vaguest possible terms.[3]

[1] The brief to Cardinal Espinosa in LADERCHI, 1570, n. 24 the date March 2, in Laderchi is wrong ; it should be 12 ; see *Brevia Pii V. in Arm 44, t. 15, p. 36b, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, p. 37b *seqq.*, similar *letters to " Gomez princ. Ebuli," to " Johanna principessa Portugaliae " (see LADERCHI, 1570, n. 25), to the " dux Feriae," to the " episc. Conchensis, Ant. de Toledo." According to *Varia Polit., 100, p. 8 *seq.*, these letters were sent on March 8 ; Don John is also named in them. According to the above mentioned (p. 369, n. 1) *codex in the British Museum the briefs were dated March 12.

[2] See *Giornale de' trattati segreti, *loc. cit.*, British Museum. *Cf.* Facchinetti in VALENSISE, 57.

[3] See the report of Torres to Cardinal Bonelli, dated from Seville, May 16, 1570, Lettere dei princ., III., 260-264 (on p. 260, 4 lines from the bottom read 26 instead of 16 ; on p. 264, 10 lines

Nevertheless the Spanish council of state weighed the pros and cons of the matter in no less than eleven meetings.

What greatly influenced Philip II. and his advisers in deciding to enter into the negotiations for a league, in spite of their deep distrust of Venice, and to appoint Granvelle, Pacheco and Zuñiga as their representatives, was the hope of at last obtaining what Spanish diplomacy had hitherto vainly tried to extort from the strict Pope: the concession of the *cruzada* and *excusado*, and the continuance of the *sussidio*.[1] Besides appointing his representatives for the negotiations concerning the league in Rome, Philip II. renewed the promise which he had made at Cordova, to assist Venice with provisions and munitions, so that if the league were decided upon, the fleet could immediately set sail.[2] On May 16th, 1570, the full powers for Granvelle, Pacheco and Zuñiga were drawn up.[3]

With this a notable step forward had been taken. Luis de Torres was able to leave the Spanish court and proceed to Portugal, where he was to urge King Sebastian to a marriage with Margaret of Valois, and to work for the accession to the league of that kingdom, which was small indeed, but of great importance on account of its colonial empire. A Papal letter

from the bottom read 1570 instead of 1571). *Cf.* HERRE, I., 101. See also Corresp. dipl., III., 295 *seqq.*, where, on p. 297 *seq.* two reports from Torres to Rome, of April 24, 1570, are published, and on p. 324 *seq.* his memorial addressed to Philip II. about the league against the Turks, of May 4, 1570.

[1] See the letters of Philip II. to Zuñiga and his plenipotentiaries, May 16, 1570, Corresp. dipl., II., 335 *seq.*, 350 *seq.* *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, I., 58 *seq.*

[2] See the report of Torres of May 16, 1570, *loc. cit.*, 263 *seq.* *Cf.* HERRE, I., 105 *seq.* See also HÄBLER in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, XCII., 496. For the efforts of Spain to obtain the concession of the "Cruzada" see *supra*, pp. 8, 29. FOLIETA also states that this question was at that time very acute (I., 967).

[3] Philip II. announced this to the Pope on the same day; see GOUBAU, 312 *seq.* The Spanish original of the authority in Corresp. dipl., III., 330 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 339, 346 *seq.*, the secret instructions of the king concerning the negotiations of the league.

of March 13th, which had been entrusted to Torres, urgently begged the King of Portugal to attach his ten galleys to the Spanish fleet. The king declared that any immediate assistance was out of the question, but promised it for the following year.[1] Torres was even less successful in the matter of the king's marriage, which was all the more painful to Pius V. because he was growing more and more anxious about the danger of the marriage of Margaret with the Protestant Henry of Navarre.[2] How much he had this danger in his mind was shown by the fact that on August 6th he again had recourse to the Portuguese king, and sent back Torres once more to Portugal after he had returned to Madrid; but on this occasion the Pope's representative was even less successful than before. The king not only absolutely declined, though in the most courteous terms, to marry Margaret, but also declared that it was impossible for him just then to give any assistance at sea against the Turks, as he had to protect the coasts of his own kingdom against the Huguenot corsairs, and defend himself from the threatened attack of the King of Morocco; in the following year, however, he would attack the Turkish empire from India.[3]

Pius V. was anxious to draw, not only Spain and Portugal, but also France, into the war against the Turks, concerning which matter he held discussions lasting many hours with the Capuchin, Girolamo da Pistoia, whom he held in the highest esteem.[4] In view of the state of affairs in the kingdom of France, and the long standing friendly relations between that country and the Porte, there was, it is true, very little likeli-

[1] See Goubau, 337 *seq.*, 339 *seq.*; Laderchi, 1570, n. 45 *seq.*; Corho dipl. Portug., X., 364 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*; Herre, I., 132 *seq.* Pius V. had already in 1567 sent the King of Portugal the blessed hat and sword; see MacSwiney, Le Portugal et le St. Siège, I., Paris, 1898, 46 *seq.*

[2] See *supra*, p. 135.

[3] See Goubau, 342 *seq.*; Laderchi, 1570, n. 50 *seq.*; Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 391 *seq.*; Herre, I., 134 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the report of Tiepolo in Mutinelli, I., 92 *seq.* For G. da Pistoia see Rocco da Cesinale, I., 76 *seq.*

hood of success. Nevertheless Pius V. made an attempt to enter upon the subject personally with the young king, Charles IX., employing all authority, and sending him on March 13th, 1570, a letter expressed in burning words. In this letter he deplored in touching terms the sorrows of Christendom which were now coming to a climax with the danger from the Turks. The king was therefore implored to join the league against the common enmey. To the cold and terse refusal of Charles IX. the Pope replied on June 18th by another and very serious letter. If the king, this letter says, will not give up his old friendly relations with the Porte, in order that he may be able to render services to Constantinople in other ways, he will find himself upon an entirely false road, as it is not lawful to do evil that good may come. Besides this, the king is deceiving himself if he thinks that he will be able alone to maintain his friendship with the enemy of all Christian princes, whom he ought rather to avoid like the plague. But lately, Venice has experienced the true value of the Sultan's friendship. The letter ended with an exhortation to follow the example which France had given in the former days of her glory and greatness.[1] But the words of Pius V. fell on deaf ears. French diplomacy did not even shrink from directly opposing the league by attempting to bring about an agreement between Venice and the Porte.[2]

Truly those days were far distant, when zeal for the Crusades filled the whole of Christendom! This was also shown in the fact that Pius V., though he was urged to do so from many quarters, did not dare to have recourse by letter to the man, to whom at one time the eyes of the Popes had turned first of all in similar circumstances; this was the Emperor. The latter had no idea of withdrawing from the peace which his ambassadors had purchased for him in 1568 for a period of eight years.[3]

[1] GOUBAU, 295 *seq.*, 298 *seq.* LADERCHI, 1570, n. 61-62. The date "Mar. 14" in Laderchi is wrong; see *Brevia Pii V. in Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 44b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See HERRE, I., 161.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 256.

Besides this, the relations of the Pope with the holder of the supreme secular dignity in Christendom had been seriously impaired, not only by the attitude of Maximilian II. towards religious questions, but also by the elevation of Cosimo to the grand dukedom of Tuscany.[1] At the same time the relations between Philip II. and the Emperor were very strained.[2] To the Venetian ambassador, when news first arrived of the threat to Cyprus by the Turks, Maximilian had, it is true, declared that a league could easily be formed, not only between himself, the German Empire, the King of Spain and Venice, but also with the Muscovites and the Persians, but it very soon became known that the grandiloquent monarch had made up his mind to go on paying his tribute to the Sultan, and all the efforts of the Venetian ambassador to prevent the sending of his "gift of honour" were in vain.[3]

The same fate befell the attempts of the Pope and Venice to interest Poland and Russia in the common struggle against the Turks. The rivalry existing between these two powers of itself stood in the way of any such plan, and this became apparent at the first attempt of the Venetians to win them over to the league.[4] Pius V., however, did not give up all hopes of attaining his end. The optimism which he felt with regard to Russia is explained on the one hand by the ignorance which prevailed throughout the whole of the west of conditions in that immense empire, which was still sunk in the deepest barbarism, and of its cruel and despotic ruler, and on the other by the hope which still lingered on the Curia, that the Muscovite empire would accept the Catholic faith, and join with the other nations in the common struggle against the Turks. Pius V. was still so strongly under the impression made by the negotiations which had been carried on in the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 271 *seq.* *B. Pia reported from Rome on August 5, 1570, that the Emperor would only be drawn into the league after the disputes about the question of Tuscany had been settled. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Herre, I., 141, 149 *seq.*

[3] See Turba, III., 490, n. 2. *Cf. supra p.* 256.

[4] See Herre, I., 155 *seq.*

time of Julius III., and by the hopes held out by Ruggieri, at that time nuncio in Poland, that Ivan IV., as the enemy of the Lutherans, would not be averse to reunion with Rome, that the participation of the Muscovite empire in the war against the Turks seemed to him to be quite practicable.[1] He was also encouraged in his hopes of being able to draw the powers of eastern Europe into the struggle against the infidels by the nuncio in Venice.[2]

In August, 1570, Portico, the nuncio in Poland, received orders to go to Moscow to make an attempt to bring this about. The instructions which he received are characteristic of the Pope's idealism and energy. Pius V. refers to the negotiations which Ivan IV. had entered into with Julius III. in order to obtain the title of king, in return for the promise to submit to Rome as far as the Church was concerned. The nuncio was instructed to find out how far these negotiations, which had then been interrupted, had been meant seriously. If a favourable disposition still prevailed, the Pope was ready to send priests and bishops to Moscow. Portico was advised only to enter into religious controversy if Ivan himself touched upon the subject. He was to point out in the first place the danger from the Turks, and to urge the Czar to oppose them together with the Emperor and the King of Poland, and by this attack by land to support that of the Christian fleet in the Mediterranean. In an appendix in cypher, the title of king, which Ivan so much desired, is expressly dealt with.[3] A letter from the Pope to Ivan which was sent to the nuncio,

[1] See CATENA, 183 *seq.* and PIERLING, Russie, I., 383 *seq.* For the negotiations in the time of Julius III. see Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 236, n. 1.

[2] See VALENSISE, 71 *seq.* In an *Avviso di Roma of June 2, 1571, it is said that the Jesuits stated that the Muscovites had asked for some "patres" from them (Urb. 1042, p. 71, Vatican Library). An *Avviso of June 8, 1571, in the State Archives, Vienna, makes the same announcement, but with the addition "which, if it is true, is of great importance."

[3] See the text of the instructions of September, 1570, in PIERLING, Rome et Moscou, 140 *seq.*

and dated from Rome, August 9th, 1570, contained, in addition to a vivid description of the danger from the Turks which threatened all the princes, a fervent appeal to join in the war against the infidels. If the Czar, he says at the end, will put into practice his ideas of reunion, the Pope will prove his gratitude in every possible way.[1]

Ivan was not blind to the dangers which threatened the Russian empire from the Turks, but he hoped to avert them, not by any warlike enterprise, but rather by peaceful means; but Portico never obtained an inkling of this. It was taken for granted from the fact of his mission that the King of Poland had already given his consent, whereas the latter had made conditions which ill concealed his dislike for the Pope's proposals.[2]

The more hopeless the efforts of the Pope to organize a grand crusade became, the more warmly did he insist upon an alliance between Venice and Spain. But even in this he was met by almost insuperable difficulties. As had often been the case before, so now it seemed that it was only the Holy See which fully realized the danger which threatened Christendom and the whole civilization of the west, and was really pursuing a disinterested policy in promoting the league with all its power, whereas those in whose interests it was being formed, allowed themselves to be guided by nothing but their own individual interests, and haggled over the conditions of their common undertaking like traders bargaining about their merchandize.[3]

To the selfishness which was paramount on both sides was

[1] See Goubau, 360 *seq.*; Laderchi, 1570, n. 64; Theiner, Mon. Pol., II., 748 *seq.* A reprint of the Papal letter from the original in N. Lichatschev, Una lettera di Papa Pio V. allo zar Iwan il terribile: Studio sulla diplomazia pontificia. Petersburg, 1906 (in Russian), p. 2-5 and Tav. I.; *cf.* as to this R. G. Salomon in *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte*, XXXII. (1907), 461 *seq.*

[2] See Pierling, Russie, I., 389 *seq.*

[3] See the opinion of Cardinal Rambouillet in his letter of November 5, 1570, in Charrière, III., 126; *cf.* Herre, I., 69, 71.

added a mutual distrust. It was above all Philip II. who feared that Venice had a secret understanding with the Porte, and that Spain would be left alone to face a Turkish attack. He was strengthened in his mistrust, which at times attacked even the Pope, by the obstinacy with which Venice tried to draw advantages for itself from the situation. Not satisfied with Pius V. having granted the Republic a tithe, and other help in money, troops and provisions,[1] she wanted the Pope further to take part in the naval expedition by placing a certain number of galleys at her disposal. The Spanish ambassador not unreasonably concluded from this that they wished to prevent the supreme command of the fleet from being given to a Spanish admiral.[2] So as not to offend the Spaniards, Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Orsini and Madruzzo, when they were consulted by the Pope, advised the formation of an independent Papal fleet, and recommended further money subsidies. Since Venice in the meantime had declared that she would only agree to a common expedition if it contained Papal ships and a Papal admiral, the Pope had to agree to this, although it was very difficult for him to raise the money and the troops for the promised fleet of twenty-four galleys.[3] Encouraged by this success the Signoria then sought to have the supreme command entrusted to a man who was wholly

[1] See the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, April 5, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of April 5, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 255b, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of Zuñiga of April 10, 1570, in HERRE, I., 75. According to Granvelle (*ibid.* 78, n. 2) Venice had at first asked for 30 galleys; they then contented themselves with sending 24 empty ones to Ancona, where the Pope was to arm and equip them; see the *report of B. Pia of April 25, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso di Roma of May 3, 1570. Urb. 1041, p. 269, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., III., 288 *seq.*, 376, n. 2.

[3] See FOLIETA, I., 969 *seq.*; HERRE, I., 78; *cf.* also POMETTI, 67 *seq.* BIBL, Erhebung, 69 *seq.*, 72 *seq.* shows how Cosimo I. made use of the prosecution of the Turkish war to further his schemes for obtaining a higher dignity.

devoted to their interests, Cardinal Cornaro. Pius V. skilfully evaded this proposal on the ground that an ecclestiastic was not suited to such a position.[1] If attention were only paid to the number of ships the supreme command would fall to the Venetians, but it was certain that the powerful master of Spain would never place himself under their orders. As the Papal ships formed a link between the two rivals, Pius V. thought of solving the problem of the supreme command by appointing for them an admiral who would be above all suspicion.[2] With great cleverness he chose for this office a man whose capacity for war was beyond question and who would be acceptable, not only to Venice but also to the Spanish king; this was Marcantonio Colonna. He was the most prominent among the Roman barons, and though barely thirty-five years of age, had already fought with three galleys of his own on the coasts of Africa, and had helped in the capture of Peñón de Velez.[3]

At the end of May, 1570, a courier sent by Torres arrived in Rome with the news that Philip II. was prepared to go at once to the assistance of Venice, as well as to begin negotiations for an alliance. The Pope was filled with delight.[4] On June 3rd he made public the appointment of Colonna as generalissimo of the Papal auxiliary fleet.[5] On Sunday, June 11th, Marcantonio Colonna, clad in splendid armour, and surrounded by Roman nobles, went on horseback to the Vatican, where he took his oath in the Papal chapel after a Mass of the Holy

[1] See VALENSISE, 59. It is clear from the *Avviso di Roma of April 29, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 269b, Vatican Library, that Commendone was suggested as well as Cornaro.

[2] See the important report of Fachinetti of March 29, 1570, in VALENSISE, 51 *seq.*

[3] See GUGLIELMOTTI, M. A. Colonna, 11 *seq.* Additions to the biography by Guglielmotti are given in L. VICCHI, M. A. Colonna: Appunti biografici con doc. rari. Faenza, 1890, and TOMASSETTI, Su M. A. Colonna il Grande, Rome, 1909.

[4] See the report of F. Gondola in VOINOVICH, 560.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of June 3, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 283, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 376.

Ghost. Conducted by Paolo Giordano Orsini and Michele Bonelli, he then approached the steps of the Pope's throne in order to receive from the hands of Pius V. the bâton of command and the standard of red silk, on which was to be seen the Crucified between the Princes of the Apostles, the arms of Pius V., and the motto: *In hoc signo vinces.*[1]

In Rome as well as in Venice there was general satisfaction at the appointment of Colonna. Only the Spaniards were displeased, although they had every reason for satisfaction, since Colonna had always been loyally devoted to the cause of Spain. He had proved this by his conduct in the time of Paul IV. The noble-hearted Pius V. had completely passed over the part played at that time by Colonna in the war of Spain against the Holy See. How deeply hurt he must then have been to learn that such a man did not seem to be acceptable to the representatives of Philip II. in the Curia! Zuñiga told Colonna to his face that he need not suppose himself to be generalissimo, and that there was no such thing as a league. Granvelle openly blamed him for having accepted the command of the Papal galleys without having first consulted Philip II.[2]

That Pius V. had chosen the right man in Marcantonio Colonna was shown by the energy with which he took in hand the preparation of the galleys, the number of which, owing to the impossibility of providing any more, had been reduced

[1] See Firmanus in GENNARI 61 *seq.*; *Avvisi di Roma of June 14 and 17, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 290b, 293b, Vatican Library. The date (May 11) in SERENO, 46 and CATENA, 153, is wrong. The brief to Colonna, of June 11, 1570, in GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 8 *seq.* The standard given by Pius V. to M. A. Colonna was made over by him to the cathedral of Gaeta; there it serves as the picture of the High Altar, and is still well preserved; see P. FEDELE, Lo stendardo di M. A. Colonna a Lepanto (*Nozze* Hermanin-Haussmann), Perugia, 1903; S. FERRARO, Mem. religiose e civili di Gaeta, Naples, 1903, 193, and the pictures in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 80.

[2] See the reports of Zuñiga and Granvelle in HERRE, I., 82.

to twelve. Colonna found among the Roman nobles the greatest eagerness to take part in the glorious enterprise. The first under whose command galleys were fitted out were Fabio Santacroce and Domenico de' Massimi; he appointed Pompeo Colonna, the Duke of Zagarolo, as his lieutenant. Paolo Francesco Baglioni was named commissary general, while the artillery was placed under the care of the architect, Jacopo Fontana.[1] Special chaplains were also appointed to look after the soldiers.[2] The camerlengo at once paid over to Colonna 10,000 scudi, and he was to receive 12,000 more from Venice, for which place he set out on June 16th.[3] At Loreto Colonna recommended himself and his fleet to the protection of the Madonna, and then went on to Ancona and Venice for the fitting out of the twelve Papal galleys, a task in which he had to overcome serious obstacles.[4]

In the meantime the negotiations for the alliance between Spain and Venice had been begun in Rome, after a courier sent on June 14th had brought to the representative of the Republic in Rome, Michele Soriano, the authority from the Signoria.[5] After several preliminary conferences[6] the real negotiations were begun on July 1st, 1570, by an allocution

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 13 *seq.*, 16 *seq.* In a *brief of August 3, 1570, Pius V. recommended Pompeo Colonna to the "Generali classis Venetae," Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 184b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Venice had proposed for this purpose from 8 to 10 Jesuits: the Pope wished that there should be an ecclesiastic in every galley (see VALENSISE, 52, 57); at length he chose the Capuchins; see *Avvisi di Roma of June 17 and 24, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 293b, 298b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ROCCO DA CESENALE, I., 77 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of June 17, 1570, *loc. cit.* The *brief to the Doge, accrediting M. A. Colonna, is dated June 8, 1570; Arm. 44, t. 15, p. 136b, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 22.

[5] See HERRE, I., 164; *cf.* VALENSISE, 61.

[6] See Corresp. dipl., III., 404 *seq.*

from the Pope, which was full of burning zeal for the crusade.[1] Among the replies made by the ambassadors that of Soriano was noteworthy, as dwelling upon the necessity of at once taking the offensive against the Turks. When the ambassadors left the Vatican Soriano proposed that they should act as had been done in 1538, and immediately, at the first meeting, declare the league formed and begin to put it into force, afterwards proceeding to discuss the various points. Granvelle on the other hand declared that he wished first to hear the various proposals.[2]

On July 2nd the representatives of Spain and Venice received from the Pope the draft of a treaty of alliance, modelled upon that of the league of 1538,[3] so that they might discuss it with Cardinals Bonelli, Morone, Cesi, Grassi and Aldobrandini, who had been appointed for that purpose. On July 4th the representatives met for the first conference at the Papal secretariate of State. The discussions, which after

[1] See CATENA, 155 *seq.*; FOLIETA, II., 1000; PARUTA, 122 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1570, n. 90 *seq.*, where, however, the date is wrong.

[2] *Cf.* the protocol of the negotiations drafted by M. Soriano, first in *Tesoro Politico*, I., Milan, 1600, 510 *seq.*, and then in an "old copy" in DU MONT, V., 1, 184 *seq.*, and in LÜNIG, Cod. Ital. dipl., VI., 262 *seqq.* and incompletely in the appendix to SERENO, 393 *seq.* The dates and figures are very faulty in these editions, therefore two copies in the Papal Secret Archives have been consulted, Leghe contro il Turco and Varia polit. 115, n. 16 (*cf.* POMETTI, 70, n. 1). Copies of this protocol are also frequently to be found elsewhere, as in the Court and State Library, Munich, Ital. 6, p. 24 *seq.*; in the Library at Berlin, Inf. polit. 17, p. 1. *seq.*; in the Vatican, cod. 7484, p. 132 *seq.*, and Barb. lat. 5367, n. 15; in the Classense Library, Ravenna; in the Library at Siena; and in the Addit. Ms. 18173, British Museum, London. The reports of the representatives of Philip II., which complete Soriano's work, are in Corresp. dipl., III., 404 *seq.*, 417 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 466 *seq.*, 474 *seq.*, 486 *seq.*, 495 *seq.*; *ibid.* 501 *seq.* the comprehensive report of Rusticucci to Castagna of August 11, 1570.

[3] See Corresp. dipl., III., 414 *seq.*

that were held almost every day, and at which Cardinal Rusticucci represented Bonelli, who was ill, were by the Pope's command, kept absolutely secret.[1] As a matter of fact the negotiations were from the first rendered very difficult by the mutual mistrust and the divergent interests of the Spaniards and Venetians.[2] That they did not altogether fail was due to Pius V., who never wearied of calming their passions and smoothing over their differences, and curbing with much strength of will his own ardent disposition.[3]

Both the Spaniards and the Venetians were determined to look after their own interests and to gain as much advantage for themselves from the alliance as possible. The greatest determination in this respect was shown by the representatives of Spain, and especially by Granvelle, who, paying no attention to the reduced resources of Venice, insisted upon demands which a great and powerful empire like that of Spain could easily have foregone.[4] It was therefore supposed in Venice that Philip II. did not so much wish to deal a decisive blow at the Turks, as to obtain a lasting defensive alliance in order to find support in the good opinion of his allies, to bind the

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of July 8 and 15, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 307, 309, Vatican Library, and *ibid.* 294 and 296 the *Avvisi of June 17 and 28, 1570. For the Cardinals chosen and the removal of Santa Croce from the commission by the influence of the Spaniards, see Corresp. dipl., III., 401 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, July 1, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Morone took the place of Santa Croce (Corresp. dipl., III., 404 *seq.*), and Rusticucci acted as substitute for Bonelli (*cf.* CHARRIÈRE, III., 115). After della Chiesa's death his place was taken by Grassi (see FOLIETA, II., 1001). For the secrecy *cf.* Gondola in VOINOVICH, 569 and CHARRIÈRE, III., 116.

[2] As early as July 15, 1570, an *Avviso di Roma announces that a happy issue of the negotiations is earnestly hoped for; another of July 26 says that the "lega" must come to "buonissimo termine" (Urb. 1041, p. 309, 312, Vatican Library). B. Pia *announced from Rome on August 5, 1570: "La lega s'ha per conclusa." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] This is rightly brought out by HAVEMANN (p. 123).

[4] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 93.

Republic of St. Mark to himself, and make it dependent upon him, and lastly to tap a permanent source of revenue from the Pope by means of the *cruzada* and tithes.[1] In Madrid, however, they feared that the peace party in the city of the lagoons would be ultimately victorious and would enter into an agreement with the Porte. Such mutual mistrust was bound to render the negotiations in Rome for a league against the Turks very difficult.

At the very first meeting on July 4th Cardinal Granvelle raised a number of objections to the proposals for an alliance put forward by the Pope. At the discussion of the objective, towards which the alliance was to be directed, he maintained the view of Philip II., that the league should not be aimed at the Turks alone, but at all infidels. Soriano replied: "We have been summoned hither and authorized to treat of nothing but a league against the Turks; anyone who wishes to include other infidels is departing from our main purpose; instead of quarrelling with them, we should rather seek to attach them to ourselves in our struggle with the Turks." Morone agreed with him, mentioning in particular Persia. Granville, however, held firmly to his opinion, maintaining that the Persians and the Moors were but tools in the hands of the Turks. The league must also be directed against the Moorish rebels in Spain, and the occupation of Tunis, and not made to serve only the interests of Venice. The discussion became very heated and protracted, as Soriano defended his opinion with much energy. Morone then proposed, by way of compromise, that neither the Persians nor the Moors should be mentioned, nor Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, so as to avoid the appearance of Venice being unwilling to help Spain. But Soriano would not agree to this, so that the decision of this question had to be postponed.

The meeting on July 5th was devoted to the division of the expenses; Granvelle regretted the financial exhaustion of his king, but said that Philip II. was nevertheless willing to bear half the cost; Soriano spoke to the same effect; his declara-

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, 126 *seq.*; LE BRET, Geschichte Venedigs, III., 1380 *seq.*

tion that the Signoria could only bear a fourth part of the cost caused general dismay. Morone refused to accept this statement of the financial exhaustion of the Republic, saying that financially speaking it was in a better condition than the other states. The outcome of the long discussion that followed was that Soriano declared that Venice would bear a third part of the cost. Further difficulties arose with regard to the share to be taken by the Holy See, which in 1538 had undertaken a sixth part of the expenditure, which, however, was now out of the question since the revenues of the Church were now less by 400,000 scudi. Cardinal Aldobrandini estimated that, of the 600,000 monthly cost of the war the Pope could only make himself responsible for 30,000 or 35,000 at the utmost, and that the rest would have to be shared by Spain and Venice. Soriano refused to accept this, while Granvelle made his consent dependent on the condition that the Pope should grant to Spain the *cruzada* and other taxes upon the clergy, without which his king would be unable to make any contribution towards the league.

Soriano was not present at the meeting on July 7th, as he had a private audience with the Pope in order to justify the attitude which he had so far taken up, and was successful in so doing. In the meantime the Pope's representatives treated with the Spaniards concerning the *cruzada* and the other demands of Philip II. Pius V. still resisted the concession of the *cruzada*, but was inclined to grant the *excusado* and the continuance of the *sussidio*. The Venetians accordingly put forward further demands concerning the taxation of their own clergy. They would have liked to have made this a permanent arrangement, but the nuncio in Venice would not hear of this, maintaining that the concession should only be made for a year, so that its removal might be made dependent upon the energy with which they carried on the war.[1]

The rivalry between Spain and Venice came to a head at the meeting on July 8th, when the question of how many ships Venice and Philip II. should respectively contribute to the enterprise was discussed. As no agreement could be reached,

[1] See VALENSISE, 62, 68.

the decision of this matter had to be postponed. The same fate befell the discussion on July 10th. The Spaniards proposed that the league should at any rate be directed against Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli; Soriano, however, was of opinion that it should be merely stated to be against the Turks and their tributary states, as otherwise it would be necessary to draw up a list of all the Turkish possessions. The Spaniards on the other hand pointed out that by their instructions they had been expressly told to insist that their king should be helped by the league in his undertakings against Algiers and other places in Barbary. If this was not agreed to Spain could not take part in the league.

At the meeting on July 11th, the difficult question was raised of the supreme command, which Spain claimed for herself. Soriano argued against this that in eastern waters the Venetian fleet would have a greater influence, especially in inducing the Christians in those parts to revolt against the Turks. It was decided to refer the matter to the Pope, and in the meantime to postpone any decision. Morone remarked on this occasion to Soriano that Don John of Austria, the half brother of Philip II.,[1] who had made a name for himself in the war against the Moors, was likely to be appointed generalissimo. It was also unanimously decided at this meeting that the Pope should invite the other princes to join the league, especially the Emperor, and that none of the allies should make peace or come to any arrangement with the Turks without the consent of the others, and lastly that the Pope, as supreme arbiter, should decide all questions connected with the league.

On July 13th it was first discussed what share should be taken by Spain and Venice of the contribution which had been asked for from the Pope. Opinions were so violently opposed as to this that the negotiations almost came to an end. Gran-

[1] *Cf.* for him, besides the monographs by HAVEMANN (1865) and STIRLING-MAXWELL (2 vols., London, 1883) the older work, only recently edited by PORREÑO: Hist. del ser. S. Don Juan d'Austria, Madrid, 1899.

velle permitted himself to speak in such a way as to provoke even so moderate a man as Morone to a bitter retort. Then a fresh dispute arose, as to whether the conquest of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli was to be counted as one of the objects of the league. Soriano insisted that the proposed league was not only for the advantage of Venice, but for the protection of the whole Christian world. The Spaniards on the contrary contended that what they were doing was principally for the advantage of the Republic, and demanded something by way of compensation. At length Soriano declared his readiness to make greater concessions than were authorized by his instructions. All seemed to agree to the appointment of Don John of Austria as generalissimo, though they insisted that he should act in connection with the commanders of the Venetian and Papal forces.

On July 17th the Pope's representatives laid before them a detailed draft of the terms of the alliance, with regard to which Morone pointed out that these were definitely what the Pope desired. The Spaniards wished first to send the scheme to their king in order to receive his instructions, and when Soriano objected that in view of the Turkish preparations any further delay was dangerous, and that the whole world was expecting from them a definite decision, they replied to him that they had only been meeting for fourteen days, whereas the negotiations concerning the league in the time of Paul III. had lasted from October, 1537, to February, 1538.

During the course of the negotiations Soriano had several times insisted on the junction of the Spanish fleet with those of the Pope and Venice. The Spaniards replied that as to that they must await the orders of Philip II., which, however, would have arrived before the feast of St. James. The negotiations were therefore postponed until that date. On July 22nd it was learned that the Venetians had consented to the appointment of Don John of Austria as generalissimo of the armada,[1] and on the 26th they were able to lay before the

[1] See the *report of Arco of July 22, 1570, State Archives, Vienna,

Pope his scheme for the league modified in several respects. Pius V. had not given up hopes of a successful issue, although even now a number of difficulties still remained unsolved. For example the Spaniards insisted that in the following years they should meet in the autumn and decide whether the war was to be continued in the coming spring, and what forces were to be employed. The Republic opposed this because it was suspected that in this Philip II. was aiming at keeping an eye upon Venetian policy. Moreover an agreement had not been reached as to the sum to be contributed by the Pope, nor as to how much of this sum was to be taken by Venice and Spain respectively. Another question which still remained undecided was whether the league was to be merely an offensive one, or whether the allies were to count in general upon the help of the others in each one's undertakings. The Spaniards too were still awaiting definite orders from their king as to who was to represent the generalissimo at sea in his absence. For the land forces Soriano had suggested Sforza Pallavicini as commander in chief, but the Spaniards were also waiting for definite instructions as to this. They also asked for time to consider how conquered territory should be divided. Lastly, there was a difference of opinion as to whether ecclesiastical censures were to be incurred by those who betrayed the league. Soriano wished first to discuss this matter with the Pope, remarking that the man who had no sense of honour and deserted the league would certainly not be afraid of censures. By his opposition in this matter he encouraged the distrust felt by the Spaniards. The nuncio was of opinion that in the end the Signoria would give way on the question of censures ; at the same time he reported how firmly it was believed at Venice that Philip II. was opposed to any attack upon the Turks.[1]

The status of Ragusa caused special difficulties with regard to the league. This little republic, which was much in favour with Pius V. on account of its strong Catholicism, had suffered a great deal in the war of the league in the days of Paul III., because the allies had not bound themselves to guarantee the

[1] See VALENSISE, 71.

neutrality of Ragusa by the terms of the treaty. The republic therefore now wished for a guarantee of its neutrality and the integrity of its territory. Venice, which was jealous of the commerce of Ragusa, sought to avoid this ; the republic, she said, must be forced to join the league so that it could be occupied by troops on the pretext of protecting it against the Turks. In the diplomatic contest as to this matter which ensued between Venice and Ragusa, not only the Pope, but the representative of Spain as well, were on the side of the little republic.[1]

On July 27th a Spanish courier at last arrived with the decision of Philip II. that Doria's fleet should be united to that of Vencie and placed under the command of Colonna.[2] Great was the joy of the Pope, who at once held out definite hopes of the concession of the *cruzada*, the *excusado*, and the continuance of the *sussidio*,[3] since he could now hope that his unceasing prayers for the success of the expedition would be realized.[4]

But what a bitter disillusionment the Pope was now to experience! The Venetian fleet under the command of Girolamo Zane numbered 137 galleys, to which were added the 49 of Gian Andrea Doria and the 12 of the Pope under Marcantonio Colonna. The artillery amounted to 1,300

[1] *Cf.* VOINOVICH, 504 *seq.*, 514 *seq.*, 535 *seq.* The "Confirmatio litt. praedecess. vigore quarum Ragusei possint libere et licite mercari cum infidelibus," issued on December 17, 1566, by Pius V., in MAKUSCEV, Mon. Slav. merid., I., Warsaw, 1874, 501 *seq.*

[2] See Šoriano in DU MONT, V., 1, 192 ; *cf.* CHARRIÈRE, 118 ; VALENSISE, 69 *seq.*

[3] See Corresp. dipl., III., 479.

[4] See CATENA, 154. The jubilee bull, dated April 6 (in LADERCH, 1570, n. 15) did not at first seem to the Pope to have been expressed in sufficiently clear terms : it was corrected ; see *Avvisi di Roma of April 15 and 22, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 263b, 267b, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 273b *Avviso of May 13 on the extraordinary part taken by the people in the jubilee. *Cf.* also Firmanus, *Diarium in Miscell. Arm., XII., 32, p. 124 *seq.*

cannon, and the soldiers were as many as 16,000. This large military force, however, succeeded in accomplishing nothing. The reason for the complete failure of this first attempt at concerted action by Venice, Spain and the Holy See, must undoubtedly be found, in addition to a lack of preparation, in the inexcusable behaviour of Andrea Doria, who had been appointed by Philip II. to the command of his forces. Displeased from the first at the appointment of Colonna and the formation of a separate Papal fleet, and anxious to spare his own ships, Doria could not be induced to take any decisive action. His procrastination was doubly disastrous: not only was no advantage taken of a favourable position of affairs, but the capital of Cyprus, which had been besieged by the Turks since July 22nd, was not relieved. Doria would not hear of making any attack.[1]

While Doria was holding back the Venetians and Colonna on various pretexts, the heroic defenders of Nicosia had been obliged to capitulate on September 9th. The Turks broke the terms of the capitulation and twenty thousand men fell victims to their lust for blood.[2] The defenders of Famagosta may well have been dismayed at this orgy of bloodshed. The place was commanded by the noble Marcantonio Bragadino, who was determined to defend it to the last. There were none found to come to his assistance, as the Venetians, at first hindered by Doria, and then disgracefully deserted by him,

[1] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 68-84. *Cf.* MANFRONI, Marina, 462 *seq.*; POMETTI, 71.

[2] See *Nestore Martinengo, Relazione della perdita di Nicosia, 1570, Capilupi Library, Mantua. *Cf.* *Particolare ragguaglio della perdita di Nicosia, in Varia polit., 62 (now 63), p. 199 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Cod. F. 18 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and the *reports in the State Archives, Florence, which FULIN quotes (Una visita all'Archivio di Stato in Firenze, Venice, 1865, 10). Of recent authors see HAMMER, II., 412 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 926, 929; BIANCONI, Piccolo Archivio storico-artistico Umbro, a. 1866-1867, Perugia, 1867. See also G. CASTELLANI, Una lettera di Franc. Palazzo, colonello dei Veneziani a Nicosia, Venice, 1916 (*nozze* publication).

did not dare to launch an attack. Marcantonio Colonna also retired with them to Corfù. Storms destroyed some of the ships and Colonna reached Ancona with but four galleys.[1] He sent Pompeo Colonna to Rome to break the news to the Pope.

The sorrow and anger of Pius V. at the ineffectual return of so great a fleet were beyond words.[2] Cyprus was abandoned to its own resources until the spring of 1571, and it was very doubtful whether Famagosta could hold out till then.[3]

Although the Spaniards did all they could to justify the action of Doria,[4] the true state of affairs was soon realized in Rome. While Pompeo Colonna received an honourable welcome, Marcello Doria, who had been sent to justify Andrea Doria, did not succeed in obtaining an audience.[5] The facts of the case were too obvious. Even the moderate Cardinal Morone publicly complained, saying that it would have been better if Doria had never joined the Venetians, since he had hindered them far more than he had helped them.[6] At the end of October the Pope sent Pompeo Colonna to Madrid to make complaint to Philip II., and at the same time to urge him to conclude the alliance.[7] Pius V. had laboured for four hours, together with Cardinal Rusticucci, on the letter which Colonna took with him.[8]

It was inevitable that the behaviour of Doria should

[1] See Guglielmotti, 101 *seq.*, 104 *seq.* *Cf.* Balan, VI., 540.

[2] *Cf.* Gondola in Voinovich, 583; Valensise, 86 *seq.*

[3] See the report of the French ambassador of November 5, 1570, in Charrière, III., 124 *seq.*

[4] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 63 *seq.*

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of November 4 and 11, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 365b, 368b, Vatican Library. In the latter Avviso it is stated that the audience was refused "per il sdegno che ha S.S.tà che una tanta armata sia ritornata senza haver fatto alcun profitto." *Cf.* Gondola, *loc. cit.*

[6] Fr. Longo, Guerra, 20.

[7] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 66 *seq.*; *cf.* Gondola, *loc. cit.* 584.

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of October 28, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 363b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of November 4, 1570, State Archives, Vienna.

have the worst possible effect on the negotiations about the league in Rome.[1] These were resumed on July 26th, but were suspended on August 4th, it having been decided to wait for further instructions from Venice and Madrid.[2]

While Pius V. was redoubling his prayers and on several occasions making processions in Rome,[3] his nuncio in Venice was making every effort to break down the opposition being made by the Signoria to the imposition of ecclesiastical censures on those who should violate the alliance, but all the remonstrances of Facchinetti were in vain.[4] The Signoria refused even to hear such a thing spoken of. As the attitude of Soriano in this and other questions did not seem to them to be sufficiently firm, his recall was discussed. Facchinetti strongly defended Soriano, but was unable to prevent Giovanni Soranzo being associated with him as second ambassador, and orders being given that neither could decide anything without the other. Fearing lest the Signoria should withdraw entirely from the negotiations, Pius V. promised the Venetians to use his influence with Philip II. to persuade him not to insist any longer on the infliction of censures.[5]

[1] See the report in CHARRIÈRE, III., 125 *seq.*

[2] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 93; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., III., 474 *seq.*, 486 *seq.*, 495.

[3] Firmanus gives an account of the processions on August 15 and September 13-16 (*Diarium in Miscell., Arm. XII., 32, p. 125b, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* the *report of Arco of September 16, 1570 (State Archives, Vienna) and the *Avviso di Roma of the same date for the great concourse of people at the processions: "orando S.S^{tà} quando disse quelle parole: Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes Tibi, venne in tanta devotione et compuntione di cuore che due volte coram populo lacrimava" (Urb. 1041, p. 346b, Vatican Library). According to an *Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1570, Michele Bonelli started on the Wednesday to inspect all the fortifications near Rome (*ibid.* 333b).

[4] See his reports in VALENSISE, 73 *seq.*

[5] See VALENSISE, 80 *seq.* The mandate for Soriano and Soranzo, of September 8, 1570, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 230. The charge laid on Soranzo in *Arch. Veneto*, 1901, 376.

Soranzo had arrived in Rome on September 20th. Nothing was now wanting but the arrival of the Spanish courier, who brought the instructions of Philip II. to his representatives on October 17th,[1] in order to resume the discussions, which was done on October 20th, though without Soriano, who was absent through ill-health. Both parties protested their willingness to conclude the alliance, but this was not borne out by the opening scenes of the conference. Soranzo begged the Spaniards to inform them of the king's decision in his own words, but Granvelle replied that it was rather the duty of the Venetians to put forward their difficulties and doubts. To this Soranzo made answer that as they had awaited for three months the king's reply, they had the right to know the terms of that document now that it had arrived. Granvelle then rebuked the Venetians for having in the meantime treated directly with Philip II. and complained of some of the terms arranged. After a stormy discussion the Spaniards read the memorandum which the Republic had sent to its ambassador at the court of Philip.[2] In this memorandum complaint was made of the proposal that the campaign for the following spring should only be decided upon every autumn, of the article dealing with the help to be given to a Spanish expedition to north Africa, of the ecclesiastical censures, of the status of Ragusa, and of the contribution of the Pope towards the expenditure. Further the Republic expressed a wish to appoint the generalissimo for the land forces. Granvelle then declared that the Spanish representatives had sufficient authority to settle all these matters; let the Venetians then obtain similar powers.

Then there came, on November 2nd, the news of the fall of Nicosia and of the strange behaviour of Doria. The blow at

[1] According to the *report of B. Pia from Rome, October 21, 1570 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) the Spanish messenger had arrived four days earlier, i.e. on the 17. The date in the report of Soriano in Du Mont, V., 1, 194 (October 28), must therefore be altered. The instructions of Philip II. of September 24, 1570, in Corresp. dipl., IV., 21 *seq.*

[2] Now published in Corresp. dipl., IV., 22 *seq.*

once had its effect upon the attitude of the Venetian envoys. Soranzo reminded the meeting of the disloyal conduct of Spain in the year 1538.[1] Fortunately there came on November 4th the instructions from the Signoria to press forward the negotiations, which had at last been obtained owing to the remonstrances of Facchinetti,[2] and were dated October 28th. Without any further difficulties an agreement was arrived at concerning the military force that was to be prepared. It was definitely decided that by March they were to have ready 200 galleys, 100 transports, 50,000 infantry, and 4,500 cavalry, together with artillery and munitions. A long discussion followed on the article providing that every autumn the campaign for the following spring was to be decided upon in Rome in the presence of the Pope. The discussion of this matter was continued on the following day, Granvelle declaring that he had express orders from the king to uphold this proposal. The Venetians asked for another ten days to make up their minds, and in the meantime to go on to the other articles. Their offer to fit out 24 galleys, of which the Pope was to bear the expense of eight, and Spain of sixteen, was accepted, as was the decision that each of the allies who should do something over and above what he was bound to do should receive compensation in some form from the other side. Such violent altercations arose over the question of the supply of grain from Naples for Sicily and Venice that it was feared that the negotiations would have to be broken off. The Spaniards at first demanded a sum considerably greater than was usual in years of an average harvest, but at last agreed to accept a lower price ; as, however, no agreement could be come to it was decided to abandon it.

At the meeting on November 8th the Pope's representatives made large concessions in order to obtain Sicilian grain. The Spaniards asked for twice or three times the Papal price, and once again the discussions were without result. At length the Spaniards said that they would ask for further information from the viceroy of Naples as to this. In the meantime they

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 295.

[2] See VALENSISE, 88 *seq.*

discussed a future expedition against Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, for which the Spaniards demanded fifty Venetian galleys to assist them. Soriano and Soranzo demanded similar help for their own future enterprises. After a long discussion this was agreed to, with the condition that the Venetians should first help the king, and then Philip the the Venetians. The proposal to appoint Don John of Austria as generalissimo met with general approval. But there was a difference of opinion as to the proposal that the Papal commander was to take his place in his absence. The Venetians made no objections to this, but the Spaniards thought that Don John ought to appoint his own lieutenant. Sforza Pallavicini was again proposed by the Venetians as commander of the land forces. Entry into the league was always to be open to the Emperor and the other princes ; it was to be the Pope's duty to urge them to do so. With regard to conquered territory an agreement was arrived at : Spain was to have Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, as well as anything that had previously belonged to her ; Venice in the same way was to have her own former possessions, as well as Castelnuovo, Valona and Durazzo. Captured artillery and munitions were to be divided among the three allies in proportion to their contribution to the expenditure. With regard to the decision to prohibit under pain of censure all negotiations for peace or any agreement with the Turks without the knowledge and consent of the other allies, the Pope's representatives declared that they would agree to whatever should be decided by the others. The Spaniards still insisted upon their demand for the censures, while the Venetians wished this to be entirely omitted. From what was said by Soriano, however, it was still thought possible to induce the Spaniards not to persist in their demand. And this was actually the case ; at the request of the Venetian ambassador in Madrid Philip II. consented to withdraw the demand for censures.[1]

When the expected reply from Naples had arrived on November 20th Morone was able to arrange an agreement concerning the supply of grain by means of mutual conces-

[1] *Cf.* the letter of Morone in Corresp. dipl., IV., 314.

sions. On the following day the price to be paid for the grain from Naples was definitely fixed.[1] In Rome it was now hoped that an end of the negotiations for the league would soon be reached,[2] and the Pope pushed them forward energetically.[3] The Venetians had, at the Pope's request, given way to the Spaniards on so many points, that the Pope felt sure of a happy issue to the negotiations. But the question of who was to supply the place of the generalissimo in his absence led, on account of the attitude of the Spaniards, to so many complications and differences of opinion that the attainment of the wished for end was once more postponed.[4]

The Venetians, on account of the great position of Philip II. and the great reputation of the Emperor's son, Don John, had agreed that the latter should have the supreme command of the forces of the league ; but with regard to the question who was to take his place, it did not seem right to them that in the absence of Don John, the Venetian and Papal leaders should be placed under the orders of the Spaniards. At last they decided that in such a case the Papal commander, Marcantonio Colonna, should assume the supreme command. Pius V. had with difficulty induced the Venetians to agree to this

[1] Here the notes of Soriano come to an end. We have in their place for the negotiations that followed not only the reports of the Spanish representatives (Corresp. dipl., IV., 76 *seqq.*, 83 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*), but also the very important letter of Morone to Ruy Gomez of December 15, 1570 (*ibid.* 134 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of B. Pia of November 18 and 22, 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Avvisi di Roma of November 11 and 25, 1570, Urb. 1041, pp. 368b, 369b, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1570, *ibid.* 374.

[4] *Cf.* the letter of Morone cited above, n. 1. An *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 377, Vatican Library, states that the negotiations were being kept strictly secret. On December 6, 1570, B. Pia *reports that "La lega è sul fine." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso of December 9, 1570, announces that on the day before there had been a great dispute on the question whether Colonna or Doria should be Don John's lieutenant. (Urb. 1041, p. 380, *loc. cit.*).

proposal when suddenly, just when it was thought that the negotiations were completed, the Spaniards entered a protest.[1] At Venice they now thought that the faithless Doria might be appointed as lieutenant, but the Pope took up the cause of the Venetians, and many distinguished Cardinals declared that Marcantonio Colonna was the man best suited for the office.[2]

The disputes on this matter became more and more embittered, and many harsh things were said. Cardinals Granvelle and Pacheco thought that the Venetians were behaving as though it was the Spaniards who were being besieged at Famagosta. The French ambassador, on the other hand, declared openly that the representatives of Philip II. were trying to make as much profit as possible out of the difficulties of the Republic of St. Mark, and were therefore keeping everything in suspense.[3] Pius V., who followed the negotiations with infinite patience, and had frequently intervened with success, was deeply grieved. On December 9th he addressed an autograph letter to Philip II.[4] In this he made bitter complaints: scarcely had the more serious difficulties with the Venetians been overcome, when lo! the Spanish representatives declared that they could not come to any decision until they received instructions as to the lieutenancy of the supreme command. The Pope characterized such procedure as both strange and suspicious. Threatening to break off the negotiations he asked for an immediate decision from the king, leaving no room for doubt as to his own firm

[1] Besides the reports of Facchinetti of November 27 and December 6, 1570, in VALENSISE, 95 *seq.*, see the letter of Morone of December 15, 1570, cited *supra* 397, n. 1. Cosimo I. would have been very glad to have obtained the command for his son, and had recourse for that purpose to Cardinals Morone and Pacheco; see *Medic. 616, fasc. 33, State Archives, Florence.

[2] See Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, IV., 51; *Avviso di Roma of December 20, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 385, Vatican Library. *Cf.* FOLIETA, II., 1001 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., IV., 127.

[3] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 128.

[4] See the letter of Bonelli to Facchinetti on December 9, 1570, in VALENSISE, 97 *seq.* *Cf.* Gondola in VOINOVICH, 587 *seq.*

determination to help Venice against the Turks with all his power.[1]

The nuncio in Madrid, who was to deliver this letter, received instructions to make the following declaration in the event of Philip still hesitating: the king, in consequence of the concession of the *sussidio*, was bound to place sixteen galleys at the Pope's disposal, and any attempt to evade this obligation would constrain the Pope to withdraw the concession.[2] It was in vain that Zuñiga tried to pacify the Pope, who complained bitterly of the conduct of the Spanish representatives, and who was specially indignant with Granvelle.[3]

Indignation at the behaviour of the representatives of Philip II. was very great in other quarters as well. Facchinetti feared that the negotiations about the league would break down altogether, and that the Venetians would come to terms with the Turks.[4] Fears of the same sort also took possession of Pius V., and even when the Spanish representatives showed themselves more accommodating, he no longer trusted them. The general view of Philip II. was that he really cared for nothing but to obtain the *cruzada*.[5]

While the negotiations were thus suspended, they were anxiously awaiting in Rome the reply of the King of Spain,[6] and thus the year came to an end with but gloomy prospects. after the negotiations had been going on for six whole months.

[1] Corresp. dipl., IV., 118 *seq.* *Cf.* VALENSISE, 97 *seq.*; Gondola, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 119 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 138 *seq.* *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, I., 94.

[4] *Cf.* his reports in VALENSISE, 99 *seq.*

[5] See the report of the Spanish representatives of December 29, 1570, Corresp. dipl., IV., 153. *Arco also gives similar information on the same date. (State Archives, Vienna).

[6] The decision of Philip II., which was expected on December 20 (*Avviso di Roma of December 20, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 385, Vatican Library), had not arrived even on December 30; see the *report of B. Pia of December 30 1570, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *Cf.* Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. POULLET, IV., 59.

CHAPTER X.

The Victory of Lepanto and afterwards.—Death of Pius V.

It was Pius V. who had begun the negotiations for a league; he alone had pushed them forward in a disinterested spirit,[1] and he had carried them on in spite of all the difficulties arising from the selfishness and distrust of the Spaniards and Venetians. Keeping his eyes steadily fixed upon the great end he had in view, he had displayed the most admirable patience.

While the Pope was awaiting month after month the decision of Philip II.,[2] the Turks were besieging Famagosta, and threatening Corfù and Ragusa.[3] If the alliance is not soon concluded, the Papal nuncio Facchinetti reported from Venice on February 21st, 1571, there is a danger of the Signoria making peace with the Porte, even at the cost of losing Cyprus.[4]

In the meantime Philip II.'s reply, which they had been waiting for ever since the December of the previous year, had at last arrived in Rome on March 2nd, 1571,[5] where the whole extent of the danger threatening the whole of Europe from Islam was alone fully understood.[6] It seemed likely to

[1] *Cf.* the opinion of Gondola in Voinovich, 527. See also Adriani, XXI., 2, 3.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 172 *seq.*, 194. *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of February 23, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the reports in Voinovich, 589.

[4] See Valensise, 107. The troubles of Facchinetti coincided with the mission of Giacomo Ragazzoni, for whose work *cf.* Dalla Santa in *Archivio Veneto*, 1901, 376.

[5] Corresp. dipl., IV., 213.

[6] *" Ingens enim ingruit bellum atque is hostis quocum nobis non de dignitate contentio, sed pro communi salute, pro libertate,

facilitate the successful conclusion of the negotiations. On March 7th Cardinal Bonelli wrote to the nuncio at Venice that the discussions which had been held on that day, the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, after a High Mass in the Church of the Minerva, in the monastery adjoining, and under the presidency of the Pope, had gone so smoothly that there was reason to believe that in three or four days it would be possible to conclude the business and proceed to the solemn promulgation of the league.[1] On March 16th Cardinal Bonelli ordered the nuncio at Madrid to ask the king to make ready his galleys and troops, as the Pope looked upon the league as settled, and was only waiting for the decision of Venice. This arrived two days later. What its tenor was could plainly be seen from the sad and indignant look of the Pope when he appeared at the consistory on March 19th.[2]

The fact was that such serious disagreements had arisen between Venice and Spain concerning the help they were to give each other as to cause Facchinetti to fear that the Republic of St. Mark would agree to a peace with the enemy of Christendom. The Pope's representative employed all the resources of his eloquence to prevent that. From the vague and involved reply which was handed to him on March 15th he felt that he could only conclude that Venice had already made up her mind to come to terms with the Porte, and that she wished to force Philip to concur in this. Venice could not, so the Signoria declared, put any trust in the promises of Spain for an offensive and defensive war, nor, since Crete was being threatened by the Turks, could she furnish the ships asked for by Philip.[3]

At a meeting held in the presence of the Pope on March 20th an attempt was made to find a way out of the difficulty.[4]

pro religione, pro incolumitate omnium dimicatio est" wrote M. A. Graziani to Nic. Tomicio, dated Romae 1571, xiii. Cal. febr. Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[1] See Corresp. dipl. IV. 219, n. 1.

[2] See *ibid.* 224.

[2] See VALENSISE, 117 *seq.*

[4] See the letter of Bonelli to Facchinetti of March 20, 1571, in VALENSISE, 120 *seq.* *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, III., 145.

Facchinetti at once and with great urgency laid before the Signoria the suggestions made at this meeting, which he had received on March 23rd. The attitude of the Venetian government on this occasion showed only too clearly how they wished to put off coming to a decision. Every day there were fresh difficulties and fresh excuses. One day there would be a festival which prevented any meeting being held, on the next day perhaps the doge would be ill. There could be no doubt about it that there was a strong party, guided principally by commercial considerations, which was working with all its might against the league, and urging the government to accept the proposals for peace which had been put forward by a French agent in the sultan's name.[1] The same party also made quite baseless complaints against the Pope. Under these circumstances, thought Facchinetti on March 28th, he could do nothing but to continue to insist, exhort and accuse. He advised that the Republic should be won over by means of further concessions. When on March 30th he asked the doge firmly for a definite reply, the latter answered that since the Spaniards had discussed the matter at such length, it was only right that Venice too should maturely consider so important a question. In the course of the conversation Facchinetti frankly remarked that the behaviour of Venice was bound to give rise to the suspicion that they were trying to profit by the negotiations in order to bring pressure to bear on the Turks to obtain more favourable terms.[2]

There were two parties in Venice; one aimed at an agreement with the Porte, the other at the conclusion of the alliance, but without the conditions demanded by Spain. Facchinetti reported to Rome on April 4th, 1571, that if Spain would not give way there was reason to fear that the Signoria would come to terms with the Turks, to the great harm of Christendom, as well as to that of the Republic itself.[3]

[1] *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, I., 95.

[2] See the reports of Facchinetti of March 24 and 28, 1571, in VALENSISE, 122 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 134; Corresp. dipl., IV., 244.

Great despondency took possession of the Pope at this state of affairs.[1] But he did not lose heart, nor did Morone, who now became the guiding spirit of the negotiations.[2] In order to back up the remonstrances of Facchinetti, on April 6th, by the advice of Commendone, he sent a special envoy to the city of the lagoons in the person of Marcantonio Colonna, who was much loved in Venice.[3] Colonna reached Venice on April 11th,[4] and set to work with all his energy, but he met with the same difficulties as the nuncio.[5] Both were unwearied in their efforts, while the Pope in Rome was exercising all his authority, and threatened the Republic with the recall of Colonna if the Signoria did not make up its mind before May 8th.[6]

An attempt on the part of the French ambassador in Venice to bring about a further delay was frustrated.[7] On the other hand, the remonstrances of Colonna and Facchinetti, supported by Paolo Tiepolo, at length proved effectual. Their efforts were successful in removing the principal difficulties, and Venice was to receive guarantees of the indemnification of her expenses.[8] On May 11th Colonna returned to Rome,

[1] See the *report of A. Zibramonti, dated Rome, April 14, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 147; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 256.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of April 7, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 46, Vatican Library. *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 118; PARUTA, 147 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1571, n. 221; CHARRIÈRE, III., 147; Corresp. dipl., IV., 240, 244. For the reputation of Colonna see the report in VOINOVICH, 589.

[4] See the report of Facchinetti in VALENSISE, 141.

[5] See the reports of Facchinetti, *ibid.* 141 *seqq.*, and Corresp. dipl., IV., 250. *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 118 *seq.*; SERENO, 93 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 134 *seq.*

[6] Thus *reports Arco from Rome, May 5, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] See VALENSISE, 147 *seq.*

[8] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 144 *seq.* *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 123 *seq.*; BROSCH, Gesch. aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire (1899), 15.

where he was at once received by the Pope.[1] The subsequent negotiations[2] were, like those that had gone before, kept absolutely secret, but in spite of that the rumour spread through the city that the 19th of May had been decided upon for the definite conclusion of the alliance; particulars were even known as to the names of those who were to command the Papal galleys.[3]

This rumour had a basis of truth. The evening of the day mentioned actually witnessed the coming into existence of the triple alliance, after, even to the last moment, the whole thing had been in danger of shipwreck because the Venetians, to the great anger of Pius V., insisted upon the quite secondary condition of the league being obliged to pay the increased garrisons in Venetian territory, a thing which the Spaniards refused to accept, though an agreement was eventually come to, that this and all other questions which might unexpectedly arise, should be referred to the decision of the Pope. After that, on the following morning, the ambassadors of Spain and Venice signed the treaty.[4] The price which Pius V. had to pay took the form of large financial concessions to Philip II.; on May 21st, 1571, Spain obtained the continuance of the *sussidio* levied on the clergy for another five

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of May 12, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 61b, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the reports of the Spanish representatives of May 17 and 21, 1571, Corresp. dipl., IV., 277 *seq.*, 285 *seq.*

[3] *"Dicono che sabbato fu conclusa la pratica della lega, la quale conclusione non è successa senza voler divino et molta consolazione di S.S. et di tutta la corte." The terms nevertheless are kept secret. Then are enumerated the "ministri dell'armati ecclesiastici" (Avviso di Roma of May 23, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 64b-65 Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of A. Zibramonti of May 19, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 232 *seq.*; GENNARI, 65; BROSCH, *loc. cit.* 16; VOINOVICH, 531, 591; CHARRIÈRE, III., 149 *seq.*; VALENSISE, 150, 152; POMETTI, 69 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., IV., 283 *seq.* Severe expressions used by Pius V. about Venice, May 18, 1571, in *Carte Stroz.*, I., 1, 159.

years, the so-called *excusado* for a like period, and lastly, the long desired *cruzada* for six years.[1]

At a consistory on May 25th the articles of the treaty were read, approved by all the Cardinals, and then sworn to by the Pope and the ambassadors of Spain and Venice.[2] On Sunday, May 27th, the solemn announcement of the happy event was made in St. Peter's.[3] After a High Mass celebrated by Cardinal Truchsess, Monsignor Aragonia preached a sermon and published the details of the league.[4] This, which had been formed between the Pope, the King of Spain and the Republic of Venice, was to be lasting, was to be both offensive and defensive, and was to be directed, not only against the sultan, but also against the states of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, his vassals. The triple alliance was to furnish 200 galleys, 100 transports, 50,000 Spanish, Italian and German infantry, and 4,500 cavalry, as well as the necessary number of cannon. The fighting forces were to be ready each year at the latest in March and April. Every year an agreement was to be come to in Rome as to the campaign for the following year. If nothing were then decided each power was to be free to act as it chose, but in that case Venice must help the King of Spain with 50 galleys against Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli, unless they were prevented from doing so by a strong Turkish fleet; Philip II. was bound to give similar help in the event of Venice being attacked in the Adriatic. The

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 64. From the Corresp. de Granvelle, éd. Piot, IV., 40, it is clear how much the Spaniards made their entry into the league dependent upon financial concessions.

[2] See Firmanus and Acta consist. card, S. Severinae in Laderchi, 1571, n. 225-226 (see also *Studi e docum.*, XXIII., 334 *seq.*). *Cf.* Gennari, 65 *seq.*; Sereno, 417 *seq.*, and the *report of Arco of May 26, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 68b, Vatican Library, *Cf.* Laderchi, 1571, n. 236, and the *report of A. Zibramonti of June 28, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Laderchi, 1571, n. 227 *seq.* *Cf.* Du Mont, V., 1, 203 *seq.*; Lünig, Cod. dipl., IV., 305 *seq.*; Pometti, 69 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., IV., 299 *seq.*

Pope made himself responsible for a sixth, Spain for three sixths, and Venice for two sixths, of the cost of the war. If the Pope should find himself unable to fulfil in their entirety the obligations which he had taken upon himself, Spain and Venice were to make up that which was wanting. Venice was to supply the 12 galleys which the Pope was to fit out with their equipment and provisions. If the Turks attacked one of the allies, the others were bound to come to his assistance. The generalissimo Don John was to take counsel with the captains of the Venetian and Papal ships, and the majority of their votes was to be decisive. Don John's lieutenant was to be Marcantonio Colonna. Entry into the league was open to the Emperor and the other Christian princes, and the Pope was to invite them to do so. The division of conquered territory, with the exception of the African possessions of Philip II., was to proportionate to the expenses borne by each of the allies, and the Pope was to adjust their differences; none of them might of himself conclude a peace or armistice with the Turks. In a special article the allies guaranteed the neutrality and integrity of the republic of Ragusa.[1]

The joy of Pius V. at the final realization of the triple alliance was very great. He caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the important event,[2] and published a universal jubilee in order to draw down the blessing of the God of battles on the Christian armies.[3] He took part in person in the processions, the first of which was made in Rome on May 28th, the second on May 30th, and the third on June 1st.[4]

On May 23rd and 24th Pius V. had expressed to the King of Spain and Don John his satisfaction at the conclusion of

[1] Its neutrality was afterwards placed under the control of the Holy See; *cf.* VOINOVICH, 497 *seq.*

[2] See BONANNI, I., 295; VENUTI, 124 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 237; *Avviso di Roma of May 23, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 64b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of May 30 and June 2, 1571, *ibid.* 68, 70b, and the *report of A. Zibramonti, June 2, 1571, Gonzaga Archives,

the alliance, exhorting them to carry it into effect as soon as possible. Three days later they both received from the Pope further letters begging them to send the auxiliary Spanish fleet with all possible speed.[1]

Since it was impossible to make the preparations to the extent agreed upon in the treaty during the current year, it had been arranged on May 20th that Spain should furnish only 80 galleys and 20 other troop ships, and that the Venetians should be indemnified by Philip II. for the additional expense which they would incur; at the same time a definite arrangement had been come to as to the powers to be exercised by Marcantonio Colonna as Don John's lieutenant, powers which he was only to have as the Pope's commander. These decisions were ratified in the room of Pius V., on June 11th, whereupon the Pope urged them to carry their decisions into effect quickly.[2]

Yet once more Venice put the patience of Pius V. to a hard test by needlessly postponing the solemn publication of the league. The nuncio Facchinetti insisted in every possible way, but they put him off week after week. He very soon saw that the Signoria did not trust Spain and wished to make use of the favourable opportunity in order to extort further financial concessions. It was only after the Pope had granted the Republic an annual contribution of 100,000 gold scudi from the revenues of the clergy for five years and the duration of the war, that the solemn publication of the league took place in Venice on July 2nd.[3]

[1] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 297 *seq.*; LADERCHI, 1571, n. 240.

[2] Corresp. dipl., IV., 281 *seq.*, 312, 343. *Cf.* POMETTI, 70 n. 1.; *Libri commemoriali*, VI., 325; JORGA, III., 150.

[3] *Cf.* VALENSISE, 153 *seq.*, 155, 157, 159, 160, 162, 163; LONGO, Guerra, 24. The brief concerning the financial concessions to Venice is dated June 7, 1571; see Miscell. di Clemente XI., t. 213, p. 227, Papal Secret Archives; *Libri commem.*, VI., 324. In consequence of the delay of Venice the instrument of the league was only sent at this time by the ambassadors; see the *letter of A. Zibramonti from Rome, July 7, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On June 9, 1571, Cusano *reports concerning

Very characteristic of Pius V.'s zeal for the crusade were his efforts for the extension and strengthening of the barely concluded league between Spain and Venice by obtaining the accession thereto of other great powers. For this end the Pope had recourse on May 31st by means of special letters, to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Poland.[1] At a secret consistory on June 18th he appointed Cardinal Commendone as legate to the Emperor, the Catholic princes of Germany and the King of Poland, with the object of winning them over to the league; at the same time Cardinal Bonelli was sent as legate to Spain and Portugal.[2] As far as Philip II. was concerned, Bonelli, in addition to the settlement of political and ecclesiastical controversies, was to press for the opening of the league's campaign for the following year, and to seek the assistance of Spanish diplomacy to induce the Emperor and the King of France to join the league. His mission to Portugal had as its object, besides the question of the league, the marriage of King Sebastian to Margaret of Valois.[3]

a disgraceful incident with Cardinal Cornaro. There had come into the hands of the Pope a letter from this Cardinal, in which Cornaro urged the Venetians to make peace with the Turks and abandon the league. Pius V. was very indignant "et gli ha detto che non è degno di esser cardinale" (State Archives, Vienna). The ratification of the league, which was completed by Philip II. on August 25, 1571, did not take place at Venice until October 15, and the exchange of ratifications at Rome on November 19; see Corresp. dipl., IV., 309, 311, 313; *Libri commem.*, VI., 327.

[1] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 245 *seq.*; SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 179 *seq.*; the legations had been decided on May 25, 1571; see Corresp. dipl., IV., 315.

[2] See Acta consist. card. S. Severinae in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 251, and better in *Studi e docum.*, XXIII., 338 *seq.*, with characteristic expressions used by Pius V. concerning negotiations with the German Protestant princes. *Cf.* also SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 183 *seq.* For the consistory see also the *report of A. Zibramonti of June 23, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The instructions for Bonelli, of June 25, in Corresp. dipl., IV., 355 *seqq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 64 for the duties entrusted to Bonelli.

The two Cardinal legates set out at the end of June; Commendone from Verona,[1] and Bonelli from Rome.[2] As the nephew of the Pope and until now head of the secretariate of state, Bonelli had a suite in keeping with his dignity, to which, however, Pius V. attached strict religious and ecclesiastics drawn from the entourage of Borromeo.[3] The in-

The credential briefs of June 20 and 21, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 254, and TEDESCHIS, 263 *seq.* *Cf.* also HINOJOSA, 198 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., IV., 357 n.

[1] In a *letter dated Verona, June 27, 1571, Commendone announces his legation to the Doge, saying that he is ready to go much further and to sacrifice his life for the Church and for his country (Letter de' card. n. 5, State Archives, Venice). For the proposal that Gropper should accompany the legate see SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 183. According to an *Avviso di Roma of July 7, 1571, it was said that P. Toledo was also to accompany the legate (State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnes, 763).

[2] See the *letter of A. Zibramonti from Rome, June 30, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 30, 1571, Urb. 10, 1042, p. 82, Vatican Library, and Firmanus, *Diarium in Miscell. Arm. XII., 32, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of June 22, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 77, Vatican Library, and Corresp. dipl., IV., 373 *seq.* For the part taken by Francis Borgia in the embassy see S. FRANCISCUS BORGIA, V., 581 *seqq.*, 665 *seqq.*, 684 *seq.*, 691. Cardinal Rusticucci was charged with the direction of the secretariate of state; besides TÖRNE, 50 *seq.* see the *Avvisi di Roma of July 20 ("Nel card. Rusticucci si riposa hora summa rerum del Pontificato nel quale con maniera incredibile satisfa al universale et monstra di non far cosa alcuna facendo il tutto"), August 8 (Rusticucci is very slow to make any change in the arrangements of Bonelli), and October 6, 1571 (the Pope had ordered Rusticucci to assist at all the audiences of the ambassadors; Urb. 1042, p. 87b, 96b, 129, *loc. cit.*) a thing which displeased them (see Corresp. dipl., IV., 465 *seq.*). Rusticucci had previously taken Bonelli's place during the latter's absence in June, and also during the illness of the nephew from August to December, 1570; see *Avvisi di Roma of June 21, July 12, August 16, September 6, and December 9 and 20, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 292b, 304, 327, 337, 380, 385b, *loc. cit.* Cusano, who reports all the gossip of

structions given to Bonelli with regard to his behaviour on the journey and at foreign courts are very characteristic of the ideas of Pius V. Neither the Cardinal himself nor the members of his suite were to accept any presents; they were to limit their visits to what was strictly necessary, they were to have no part in banquets, hunting parties or plays, they were to dress simply and eat simply, they were to ask for nothing for themselves, and were to grant freely the favours that were granted freely in Rome. So as to edify men by his example, the Cardinal was to say mass every day, and his suite were to communicate.[1]

Bonelli left Rome on the last day of June; after passing through Savoy he went by Barcelona and Valencia to Madrid, where his solemn entry took place on September 30th, and the negotiations concerning the war against the Turks were at once begun.[2]

Rome, repeatedly (July 7 and 15, 1570, June 23, 1571) reports that Bonelli was leading an immoral life. It is extremely doubtful whether there is any justification for this, as in the first place Bonelli was much hated by the Imperialists on account of his partisanship for Cosimo I; (see the *report of Arco of June 2, 1571, State Archives, Vienna) and in the second place Bonelli left behind him in Spain, where he had been removed from the strict supervision of Pius V., a very good name on account of his "sainte vie" (see Douais, Dépêches de M. de Fourquevaux, II., 413).

[1] See the text of the "Ricordo" for Bonelli in Corresp. dipl., IV., 357 *seq.*; *cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of June 20 and 30, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 73, 82. Vatican Library.

[2] *Lettere et negotiati del sig. card. Alessandrino, legato in Spagna, in Portogallo et in Francia scritte al card. Rusticucci et ad altri negli anni 1571 et 1572, in Cod. 33—G—24 of the Corsini Library, Rome, used by Lämmer, Zur Kirchengesch., 164 *seq.* in Gachard, Bibl. Corsini, 46 *seq.*, 152 *seq.*, and Hinojosa, 199 *seq.* The *Viaggio del card. Alessandrino in Spagna, mentioned by the latter, in Cod. 33—B—16 of the Corsini Library, is, as Gachard (*loc. cit.* 55 *seq.*) shows, a later compilation. Hinojosa has completely overlooked the *contemporary description, which is of great interest for the history of culture, of the

Even before the departure of the legate the Pope had done all he could to hasten his own preparations for the coming war at sea, in which task he was effectually assisted by Cosimo I.[1] Although he met with the greatest difficulties when the time came to get together the necessary money and to find and fit out the galleys, his energy enabled him to overcome them. A special congregation dealt with the provisions that were necessary.[2] A report from Rome on May 30th, 1571, tells us that the Pope had taken 40,000 scudi from the treasury of the Castle of St. Angelo for the war, and that in the city there was nothing to be seen but soldiers.[3] Other sums were raised by taxing the benefices of the Cardinals and by the formation of the *Mons religionis* on June 12th.[4] Cosimo de'

journey of Cardinal Bonelli, composed by his secretary G. B. Venturino of Fabriano, in Cod. F. 128, p. 299 *seq.*, of the Library at Dresden, of which use has been made in Corpus Inscr. lat., II., Suppl. lxxxi. *seq.*, in NUNZIANTE, Spigolature sopra una relazione inedita di G. B. V. da Fabriano, Florence, 1884, and in Vol. V. of the Panorama Portuguez (see *Rev. Hisp.*, III. [1896], 31). This *Narrazione del viaggio fatto dal card. Alessandrino is also in Cod. Urb. 1697 of the Vatican Library. *Cf.* also, FARINELLI in *Rivista critica de historia y literatura españolas*, III., Madrid, 1898, 174; D. SANTAMBROGIO, Di un'epigrafe poco nota della Certosa di Pavia, in *Boll. d. Soc. Pavese*, I., 2 (1901); SERRANO, Liga, I., 165. For the departure of Bonelli from Rome and his arrival at Madrid see also Corresp. dipl., IV., 372 *seq.*, 447 *seq.*

[1] See MANFRONI, Marina, 471 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of June 16, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 75, 76b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, in Studi e docum. XXIII. 323, 324, 330.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1571, *loc. cit.* 69.

[4] For the imposition of taxes on the Cardinals see the article by HEWEL in the *English Hist. Review*, 1915, July. The decree on the "Mons religionis" (see Vol. XVII., p. 106) was printed by A. Bladus in 1571. An *Avviso di Roma of July 7, 1571, announces that every day meetings were held at the house of Cardinal Ricci for the purpose of raising more money: as it is difficult to obtain this without laying a heavy burden on the people, it

Medici and Marcantonio Colonna gave effectual assistance in the equipment of the twelve galleys.[1] On June 13th Colonna went to Civitavecchia to make the final preparations, and on June 21st the Papal fleet was able to weigh anchor.[2] It sailed first to Naples, where it was to await the arrival of the Spanish ships under Don John. As early as May 27th, 1571, Pius V. had, in a letter written in his own hand, impressed upon Philip II. the necessity of Don John's coming as soon as possible, as otherwise a favourable opportunity would be lost, and there would inevitably be complaints from the Venetians.[3] The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Zuñiga, sent similar advice.[4] It was all the more unfortunate, therefore, that Don John's arrival was long deferred, and Pius V. ordered Colonna to sail alone to Messina, which was the appointed place of assembly for the whole of the fighting forces of the league.[5] He arrived there on July 20th.[6]

The Papal fleet was thus the first to arrive at the rendezvous : it had reached Naples on June 23rd, and had proceeded

is possible that the Pope might "ad tempus" set his hand to "regressi" (Urb. 1042, p. 85, Vatican Library). See also the *Avviso di Roma of July 7, 1571, in Carte Farnes., 763 of the State Archives, Naples. The *Avviso di Roma of August 8, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 96, *loc. cit.*, mentions further consultations for the purpose of raising money. *Cf.* also ADRIANI, XXI., 4.

[1] *Cf.* LE BRET, VIII., 237 ; GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 148 *seq.*, 151 *seq.* The *pact with Cosimo I. concerning galleys for the Turkish war, of March, 1571, in Varia polit., 81 (now 82), p. 642 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of June 16 and 22, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 75, 77b, Vatican Library, *Cf.* CARINCI, 17 *seq.*

[3] Corresp. dipl., IV., 320.

[4] *Ibid.* 315 *seq.*, 317.

[5] See *ibid.* 349. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, who had already, in a *brief of March 16, 1571, been urged to lend his galleys, received, in a *brief of May 24, 1571, orders to take them to Messina by June 20. Arm. 44, t. 16, pp. 36b, 104, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] SERENO, 117. The date in MOLMENTI, Veniero, 81 (July 30) is wrong.

thence to Messina. On July 23rd the Venetian fleet arrived under the command of the aged Sebastiano Venier. But the Spaniards were still being waited for, when there was no time to be lost in attacking the Turks, who were besieging Famagosta, and menacing Crete, Cythera, Zante and Cephalonia.[1]

Pius V., greatly alarmed at the news of efforts being made by the Turks,[2] and suspicious of the delay on the part of the Spaniards, did all he could to induce Don John to sail at once for Messina. After having, on June 29th, 1571, even before he had received a reply to his letter of May 27th,[3] sent a pressing summons by means of a special envoy,[4] he sent another messenger to the same effect on July 7th.[5] A consistory on July 20th was occupied solely with the question of what was to be done[6] in view of the delay of the Spaniards, which was universally deplored.[7] On July 26th a pressing brief was sent to Don John,[8] and this was followed on August 4th by a courier bearing yet another brief.[9]

[1] See SERENO, 122 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 163; BALAN, VI., 551; MANFRONI, Marina, 472.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of A. Zibramonti from Rome, July 7, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] In his reply of June 18, 1571, Don John tried to excuse his delay; see Corresp. dipl., IV., 345 *seq.*

[4] See LADERCHI, 1571, n. 358.

[5] *" La S^tà di N S^re hoggi ha spedito un corriere a Genova, credesi per sollecitare il passaggio di D. Giovanni ch'aspetta d'hora in hora a Genova acciò che con l'armata sua vadi a trovare la Venetiana." The Papal fleet was waiting at Naples (letter of Stuerdo to G. B. Pia from Rome, July 7, 1571, Carte Farnes. 763, State Archives, Naples). *Cf.* also the brief to Don John in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 363. See also Corresp. dipl., IV., 384 *seq.*

[6] See Corresp. dipl. IV., 395.

[7] *" Luni nel concistoro non si fece altro che parlare della Tardanza del Sor Don Giovanni." Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1571, Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome.

[8] *Brief to " Joh. ab Austria," Rome, July 26, 1571, Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[9] See *Avviso di Roma of August 4, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 93b, Vatican Library. The *brief for Don John of August 1, 1571,

Don John had left Madrid for Barcelona on June 6th, arriving there on the 16th. As had been the case with the nobles of Rome, so the greatest enthusiasm for the crusade prevailed among the grandees of Spain, and many of the Spanish nobles had taken ship at the beginning of June.[1] Don John was detained for a longer period by the preparations which he had to make; in consequence of the war against the Moors, added to the proverbial dilatoriness of the Spaniards, he had great difficulty in getting together the required squadron.[2] It was only on July 16th that he set sail with 46 galleys for Genoa, where he stayed at the palace of Gian Andrea Doria, and received a visit from Cosimo I., who thus assured himself of the baselessness of the report spread abroad by the French that the Spanish force was really directed against Tuscany.[3]

From Genoa Don John sent Moncada to Venice and Hernando de Carillo to Rome; the former was to assure the Venetians that he would very soon be at Messina, while Carillo was to convey to the Pope his thanks for his appointment, and his excuses for the delay in his coming.[4] When, on August 7th, Carillo took his leave of the Pope, the latter charged him to tell Don John that he was setting out upon a war for the Catholic faith, and that God would give him victory. At the same time Pius V. gave to the envoy the sacred standard of the league.[5]

in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. *Ibid.* *briefs for Granvelle, the Viceroy of Sicily, Marcantonio Colonna, and others, all of August 1 "ut curent omnia parata ad instruendam classem."

[1] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 158, n.

[2] SERENO, 131. Corresp. dipl., IV., 384 *seq.* *Cf.* ADRIANI, XXI., 4. In the Library at Basle, Cod. AA. VI., 30, there is a *Relatione fatta alla M^tà^ Catt^ca^ in Madrid alli 15 di luglio, 1571, di tutta la spesa ordinaria che occorria per la lega. For this detailed reckoning, which is also preserved in vol. 62, p. 9, of the Collect. Faure in the Library at Geneva, *cf.* POMETTI, 72, n. 7.

[3] See ADRIANI, XXI., 5.

[4] See HAVEMANN, Don. Juan, 129; GUGLIELMOTTI, 171.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of August 7, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 96, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of A. Zibramonti from Rome,

Don John, who remained at Genoa until the end of July,[1] reached Naples on August 8th, where the viceroy, Cardinal Granvelle, gave him a solemn reception on the following day.[2] On August 14th there took place in the church of S. Chiara the delivery to Don John of his commander's bâton and the sacred standard. The latter was of blue silk damask, having embroidered at the top in the centre a large representation of the crucified Saviour, at whose feet were the arms of Pius V., with those of Spain and Venice on the right and left. These shields were linked by gold chains, from which hung the arms of Don John. In the presence of a large number of nobles, and the princes of Parma and Urbino, Granvelle delivered it to Don John before the high altar. The people, who were deeply moved, answered : Amen, Amen.[3]

While Don John was thus tarrying at Naples, the impatience of the Pope, who was deeply troubled by the news of the advance of the Turkish fleet, became greater and greater. On August 17th he sent Paolo Odescalchi to Don John with

August 11, 1571, which describes the banner minutely (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also Corresp. dipl., IV., 402, n. 2.

[1] From thence he again wrote on July 30, and on August 1 from Portofino ; see Lettere di D. Juan d'Austria a Giovan A. Doria, Rome, 1896, 18 *seq.*

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 159 ; HAVEMANN, Don Juan, 130.

[3] See Colecc. de docum. inéd., XXXIII., 237 ; CARACCIOLO, I comment. d. guerre fatte co' Turchi da D. Giovanni d'Austria, Florence, 1581, 11. The Latin *report of Granvelle to Pius V., dated Naples August 14, 1571, which Guglielmotti (p. 173 *seq.*) saw in the Gaetani Archives, Rome, and published in an Italian translation, must have been removed from thence, because in 1900 the firm of dealers in antiquities, Gilhofer-Ranschburg of Vienna, put just such a document on the market. The great standard of the league, which is often confused with the banner of Colonna (see *supra*, p. 381), which is equally important in itself and because of its historical interest, is now in the cathedral of Toledo ; see F. DURO, L'étendard de la Sainte-Ligue à la bataille de Lépante, in *Revue de l'art chrét.*, 1889, 411 *seq.* (with picture) and FEDELE in *Arch. stor. Napolit.*, XXXIV., 547 *seq.* The standard was evidently copied from an ancient model,

a letter in his own hand, in which he again implored him to set out at once,[1] which he at length did on August 23rd. On the following day he arrived in the straits of Messina, where he had been so long eagerly expected by the admirals of the Pope and Venice, Colonna and Venier. Messina gave a splendid welcome to the son of the Emperor, who was then scarcely 24 years of age. A type of manly beauty, Don John, with his blue eyes and fair hair, won the hearts of the excitable Sicilians.[2]

At the first council Don John excused his delay, which had been caused by the necessary preparations, at the same time giving proofs of his warlike spirit and his confidence of success. Philip II., in his caution and jealousy, had from the first viewed with ill-will the youthful ardour of his young and ambitious brother, and had therefore sent with him in Requesens a man who was instructed to curb his zeal as much as possible, and in the event Requesens proved himself a master at raising captious difficulties with the object of preventing a bold attack.[3] To the opposing interests and the old mistrust between the Spaniards and Venetians, were now added the inadequate equipment of the Venetians,[4] the very varied composition of the forces, and the deeply

[1] See *Lettera di Roma of August 17, 1571, in the Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also LADERCHI, 1571, n. 370, and Corresp. dipl., IV., 410, 420. The *instructions for Odescalchi in Miscell. Clemente XI., t. 211, p. 15, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* POMETTI, 71. The characteristic head of Odescalchi on his tomb in S. Girolamo della Carità is reproduced in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 87. The "istruzione data dal card. Farnese ad un suo mandato a Civita Vecchia a visitare il sig. D. Giov. d'Austria quando passò con l'armata" was printed in Rome in 1888 *per nozze* Ferrata-Faiella.

[2] See CARINCI, 43 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, 130 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 174 *seq.*

[3] See BALAN, VI., 556 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, 133; GUGLIELMOTTI, 176 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Colecc. de docum. inéd., III., 15 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., IV., 420, n. SERRANO, Liga, I., 113.

rooted fear of the invincible Turkish navy. All this for a long time quite paralysed any decisive action. Even when, on September 2nd, the fleet was reinforced by 60 Venetian ships and the twelve galleys of Doria,[1] the disputes still continued. At a review of the three fleets which was held on September 8th, it was clearly seen that the Venetian ships were not sufficiently equipped with sailors and rowers. This defect had to be made good from the Spanish fleet; Venier objected to this, but Colonna was successful in making him give way.[2]

After the discussions had been carried on for more than three weeks, the departure of the fleet from Messina at last took place on September 16th. Divergent opinions and quarrels still made themselves felt among the commanders, but all felt that a decisive battle was at hand, and the fleet prepared itself by receiving the sacraments from the Capuchins and Jesuits who were attached to the expedition.[3]

Divided into four squadrons, the fleet sailed towards Corfù, and then reassembled in the harbour of Gomenitsa on the coast of Albania. There, as the result of the arbitrary action taken by Venier against one of the Spaniards, a quarrel broke out with Don John, which, but for the wise intervention of Colonna might have had the most serious consequences. It was settled that Agostino Barbarigo should take the place of Venier. In the meantime scouts had brought information that the Turkish fleet was in the harbour of Lepanto, the ancient Naupacto, and the following days were spent in watchfulness. Then there came the news of the fall of Famagosta, which had taken place on August 1st, of the shameful breach of their promises by the Turks, and their cruel murder of the heroic Bragadino. The Turks had flayed the unfortunate man alive, stuffed his skin, and dressing it in the

[1] Doria had left Civitavecchia on August 24; see the *letter of A. Zibramonti from Rome, August 25, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Guglielmotti, 179 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 557 *seq.*; Molmenti, Veniero, 150 *seq.*

[3] See Sereno, 191; Havemann, 134; Gugliemotti, 190.

Venetian uniform of his office, dragged it through the city![1] The news of these atrocities spread quickly, and the whole fleet thirsted for revenge.

Having made all ready for battle, the fleet set sail in the night of October 6th, in spite of an unfavourable wind, and hugging the rocky shores of the islands of the Curzolari, known to the ancients as the Echinades, made towards the open gulf of Patras. When, on the following morning, it had entered the gulf by way of the narrow straits between the island of Oxia and Cape Scrofa, Don John, after a hurried consultation with Venier,[2] gave the signal to prepare to attack by firing a cannon, at the same time hoisting to the masthead of his own ship the standard of the Holy League.[3] The

[1] *Cf.* SERENO, 250 *seq.*; HAMMER, II., 414 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 555 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 195 *seq.*; A. PODOCATARO, Relazione de' successi di Famagosta p.p. A. Tessier, Venice, 1876; AGOSTINO, La perdita di Famagosta, Venice, 1891; CATIZZANI, Narrazione del terribile assedio e della resa di Famagosta da un ms. del capitano Angelo Gatto da Orvieto, Florence, 1887. See also the monograph on the life of Bragadino by RIO translated by K. Zell, 2nd ed. Freiburg, 1874. His country erected a monument in its Pantheon of great men, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, to the hero, who had borne his martyrdom with Christian fortitude. For the siege money coined by Bragadino to pay the defenders of Famagosta see LAZARI, Monete de' possedimenti Veneziani di oltramare e di terrafirma, Venice, 1851.

[2] *Cf.* MOLMENTI, Veniero, 311.

[3] There is for the battle of Lepanto plentiful material in original documents, pamphlets and various narratives; *cf.* the bibliography in CICOGNA, Bibl. Venez., Venice, 1847, 118 *seqq.*; SORANZO, Bibl. Venez., *ibid.* 1885 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Marina, 438 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, Veniero, 163 *seq.*; D'AYALA, Bibl. milit., 312; DURO, Tradiciones infundadas, Madrid, 1888, 633 *seq.*; STIRLING-MAXWELL, Don Juan II., App. n. 6, sec. 3a, completed in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, IV. (1900-1901), 191 *seqq.* Concerning a hitherto unknown pamphlet on Lepanto see Katalog 500, 2nd and 3rd part, Frankfurt, 1907-08, by J. BÄR. The richest collection of contemporary writings on Lepanto is to be found in the Library of the Museo Correr at Venice; *cf.*

priests attached to the fleet gave the general absolution; there followed a short and fervent prayer, and then the cry was heard from thousands of voices: *Vittoria! Vittoria! Viva Christo!*[1]

The opposing forces were very considerable, and approximately equal. The Turks had 222 galleys, 60 other vessels, 750 cannon, 34,000 soldiers, 13,000 sailors, and 41,000 slaves as rowers; the Christians had 207 galleys (105 Venetian, 81 Spanish, 12 Papal, and 3 each from Malta, Genoa and Savoy), 30 other vessels, 6 great galleys or galleons which "seemed like castles," 1,800 cannon, 30,000 soldiers, 12,900 sailors and 43,000 rowers.[2]

In accordance with the tactics of the time Don John had divided his fleet into four squadrons, approximately equal, and distinguished by the colour of their standards. The six Venetian galleons, which were commanded by Francesco

Serapeum., 1858, 275. Among recent works the following are outstanding: HAMMER, II., 420 *seq.*; ROSELL, Hist. del combate naval de Lepanto, Madrid, 1853; GUGLIELMOTTI, 213 *seq.*; JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, La guerre de Chypre et la bataille de Lépante, II., Paris, 1888 (*cf.* GOTTLOB in *Liter. Rundschau*, 1889, 49 *seq.*); MANFRONI, Marina (1897), 487 *seq.* (*cf. Riv. stor.*, 1898, 346 *seq.*); DURO, Armada española desde la union de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón, II., Madrid, 1898; MOLMENTI, Veniero, and in *Riv. Marittima*, 1898 and 1899; JÄHNS, Handb. der Gesch. des Kriegswesen, Leipsic, 1880, 1281 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 133 *seq.* *Cf.* also GAVOTTI, La tattica nelle grandi battaglie navali, I., Rome, 1898, 182 *seq.*, and NORMANN-FRIEDENFELS in *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiet bes Seewesens*, XXX., Pola, 1902, 1 *seqq.* Among the curiosities in the State Archives at Simancas is a chart with a plan of the battle from the hand of Don John.

[1] See SERENO, 191; *Lettera mandata dall'armata christ. sotto di 8 di ottobre 1571, Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome; CARINCI, 52.

[2] Just as the estimates of contemporaries were very various, so are the statements of later writers; see GUGLIEMOTTI, Colonna, 211 *seqq.*; MANFRONI, Marina, 478 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 119 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*

Duodo, formed the advance guard, and were intended, with their superior artillery to frighten the Turks and throw them into disorder.[1] Behind them in line abreast came the three first squadrons, the left wing under the command of the Venetian admiral Agostino Barbarigo, the right under the Spanish admiral Doria, and the centre under Don John. On either side of his flagship came Colonna and Venier. The fourth squadron, under Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz,[2] formed the rear-guard.

The left wing of the Turkish fleet was under the command of the Calabrian renegade Uluds Ali (Occhiali),[3] Pasha of Algiers, the right wing was commanded by Mohammed Saulak, governor of Alexandria, and the centre by the commander-in-chief, the Grand Admiral, Muesinsade Ali.

About noon the wind, which had been favourable to the Turks, dropped. While the sun shone out of a cloudless sky, the two fleets met, the one under the standard of the Crucified, the other under the purple standard of the sultan, with the name of Allah embroidered in letters of gold. The Turks endeavoured to outflank the enemy at both ends of the line. In order to prevent this, Doria extended his line in such a way as to leave a gap between the right wing and the centre, through which the enemy could easily pass. While at this point the battle took a dangerous turn, and Doria, by the skilful seamanship of the Turks, was driven with 50 galleys towards the open sea, on the left wing it was developing more successfully, There the Venetians were fighting against a superior force with equal bravery and success, although their leader, Barbarigo, was struck in the eye by an arrow, and fell mortally wounded.

In the centre the fight was more evenly contested. There Don John, who had on board his ship 300 veteran Spanish

[1] Each galleon had 36 large cannon and 64 smaller pieces to throw balls of stone ; see G. Molli, Le navi di Lepanto, in *Cosmos illust.* 1904, 179.

[2] For de Bazan *cf.* Martin Fernandez de Navarette in *Revista general de la Marina*, special number, Madrid, 1888.

[3] For Occhiali *cf.* Jorga, III., 226, and Pometti, 19, n. 1.

soldiers,[1] made straight for the flagship of Ali, which carried 400 janissaries. Close to him the galleys of Colonna, Requesens, Venier, and the Princes of Parma and Urbino, took a vigorous part in the bloody struggle, which for a long time hung in the balance. The death of the Turkish Grand Admiral Ali, whose rich galley was carried by storm by the soldiers of Don John and Colonna, decided the battle at about four in the afternoon. When the Turks realized that their centre was broken, their left wing also gave way, and in consequence Uluds had to break off his struggle with Doria, and think of his own safety, managing to retire, though with heavy losses, towards Santa Maura and Lepanto with 40 galleys.[2]

Although the exhaustion of the rowers, and the springing up of a violent storm, prevented a protracted pursuit of the enemy, the victory of the Christians was nevertheless complete. Debris of ships and dead bodies covered the sea far and wide. About 8,000 Turks were killed and 10,000 taken prisoners ; 117 of their galleys fell into the hands of the Christians, and 50 were sunk or burned. The victors lost 12 galleys and had 7,500 killed, and as many more wounded. Numerous trophies, such as purple standards with inscriptions in gold and silver, and stars and the moon, and a great

[1] For the galley of Don John at Lepanto see BEER in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistor. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XV., 1 *seqq.*

[2] In the Christian fleet the right wing had suffered the most, a thing which the Venetians attributed to the leadership of Doria, nor would they accept his justification of himself, seeing in him a traitor, Among modern writers GUGLIELMOTTI (p. 228 *seq.*) and BALAN (VI., 561 *seq.*) pass judgment on Doria with great, and excessive, harshness. Nevertheless, the apologia for Doria made by B. VEROGGIO (Gianandrea Doria alla battaglia di Lepanto, Genoa, 1886) is not convincing (*cf.* NERI in *Arch. stor. Ital.* 5th Series, I., 273 seq. ; see also MANFRONI, Lega, 355 *seq.* and Marina, 494 *seq.*) ; the same holds good of the defence (see MANFRONI in *Rassegna naz.*, CXX. [1901], July 1) attempted by GAVOTTI (Le battaglie navali della republ. di Genova, Rome, 1900). Even though Doria's conduct was not actually traitorous, it nevertheless did great harm to the Christian armada.

part of the enemy's artillery, fell into the hands of the Christians: 42 of the prisoners belonged to the most distinguished Turkish families, among them the governor of Negropont and two sons of the Grand Admiral Ali. The most valuable prize was 12,000 Christian slaves who had been forced to serve in the galleys, among the number 2,000 Spaniards, who owed their freedom to the victory.[1]

Much noble blood had been spilt. While the Spaniards had to grieve the loss of Juan de Córdova, Alfonso de Cárdena, and Juan Ponce de León, the Venetians had lost twenty members of the first families of the Republic. Fabiano Graziani, the brother of the historian of the war, had fallen by Colonna's side on one of the Papal galleys. Among the wounded were Venier, and a genius as yet unknown to the world, the poet, Cervantes.[2]

As was the case with Spain and Venice, the nobles of Naples, Calabria, Sicily, and above all, the Papal States, had covered themselves with glory. Together with Alessandro Farnese, Prince of Parma, and Francesco Maria della Rovere, Prince of Urbino, there were among the combatants Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, Ascanio della Corgna, Paolo Giordano Orsini of Bracciano, Virginio Orsini of Vicovaro, Orazio Orsini of Bomarzo, Pompeo Colonna, Gabrio Serbelloni, Troilo Savelli, Onorato Caetani, Lelio de' Massimi, Michele Bonelli, and the Frangipani, Santa Croce, Capizuchi, Ruspoli, Gabrielli, Malvezzi, Oddi, and Berardi.[3] It is with justifiable pride that Italian history recalls the glorious part taken by repre-

[1] When certain avaricious men wished to treat these Christian prisoners as slaves, Pius V. forbade it under pain of excommunication; see BERTOLOTTI, La schiavitù in Roma, 42 *seq.*; *cf.* MARGRAF, 209.

[2] See HAVEMANN, 139; GUGLIELMOTTI, 253, 255; MANFRONI, Marina, 498 *seq.* The names of the more distinguished prisoners in THEINER, Annal. eccl., I., 462. *Cf.* ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 141 *seq.*

[3] The account of Guglielmotti (*loc. cit.*) has been completed in various respects by recent researches: see MONTECHIARO, La Sicilia nella battaglia di Lepanto, Pisa, 1886; MULAS, I Sardi

sentatives of every part of the Appenine peninsula in that naval battle which was the greatest in the memory of man.[1]

Pius V. had kept his eyes fixed on the east with indescribable anxiety. His thoughts were ever with the Christian fleet, while his hopes far outstripped it. Day and night he recommended it to the protection of the Almighty in fervent prayer. As soon as he had received news of the arrival of Don John at Messina, the Pope redoubled his penances and alms. He had a firm belief in the power of prayer, and especially of the Rosary.[2] At a consistory on August 27th the Pope asked the Cardinals to fast one day in the week, and to give extraordinary alms, as it was only by penance that they could hope to obtain the mercy of God in such a time of anxiety.[3] His Holiness, so the Spanish

a Lepanto, Cagliari, 1887; FOSSATI, La Riviera e la battaglia di Lepanto, Salò, 1890; CONFORTI, I Napolitani a Lepanto, Naples, 1880; ARENAPRIMO, La Sicilia nella battaglia di Lepanto, Messina, 1892 (*cf. Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XVIII., 157 *seq.*); DE LORENZO, Monografie Reggione e Calabresi, Siena, 1896; TOMASSETTI, I Romani a Lepanto, in *Cosmos illustr.*, II., Bergamo, 1908, 78 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, I Veneziani a Lepanto, *ibid.* 93 *seq.*; CONFORTI, I Napolitani a Lepanto, *ibid.* 109 *seq.*; POMETTI, I Calabresi a Lepanto, *ibid.* 133 *seq.*; for the part taken by Lucca see LAZZARESCHI, 14 *seq.*; for that of A. Farnese see TOSI in *Arte e Storia*, XXIX., Florence, 1910, and CAPELLI in *Arch. Parm.*, II., 1-2; *cf. Quellen und Forsch.*, XVI., 182. For O. Caetani, besides CARINCI, Lettere, *cf.* GIANNELLI in *Rassegna naz.*, 1913, June. A new weapon, a kind of Greek fire invented by Gabrio Serbelloni, did good service in the battle; see the *report of C. Capilupi concerning the fleet of the league, which he sent to his brother Alessandro on October 3, 1571, in Cod. 105 of the Capilupi Library, Mantua.

[1] See Adriani XXI., 5.

[2] *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 230; CATENA, 34; Corresp. dipl., IV., 415; FALLOUX, Pie V., chapt. 22.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae* in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 379, and in *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 87 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of A. Zibramonti from Rome, September 1, 1571, according to which the Pope desired the Cardinals to say at least two masses a week for victory. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ambassador reported on September 26th, 1571, fasts three days a week, and spends many hours every day in prayer; he has also ordered prayers in all the churches.[1] In order to make Rome safe from an unexpected attack by Turkish corsairs, the Pope had ordered, at the beginning of September, that the fortifications of the Borgo should be completed.[2]

It was but rarely that any news was received of the Christian armada, and the Curia all the time remained in painful suspense. It came, therefore, as a relief when they heard at last at the beginning of October of the arrival of the fleet of the league at Corfù.[3] When the news came, on October 13th, that the Turkish fleet was at Lepanto, and that that of the league had sailed on September 30th,[4] there could be no doubt that the encounter was at hand. The Pope, although he had the strongest confidence in the victory of the Christian arms,[5] ordered that extraordinary prayer should be made day and night in all the monasteries of Rome, and himself set the example to all by doing so himself.[6] His prayer was at last to be heard. In the night between October 21st and 22nd, there arrived a courier who had been sent by the nuncio in Venice, Facchinetti, who brought to Cardinal Rusticucci, who was in charge of the secretariate of state, a letter from the nuncio containing the news brought to Venice on October 19th by Gioffrè Giustiniani of the great victory that had been

[1] Corresp. dipl., IV., 442.

[2] *" S.S^tà ha dato ordine che sia finita la fortificazione di Borgo." Report of A. Zibramonti from Rome, September 5, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Vol. XVII., p. 126.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of October 6, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 128b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 450.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of October 13, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 132b, Vatican Library.

[5] See the report of Gondola in VOINOVICH, 598.

[6] See I. A. GUARNERIUS, De bello Cyprio, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 420; WERRO in *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1907, 219.

won at Lepanto under the skilful command of Don John.[1] The Cardinal had the Pope woken at once, who broke out into tears of joy, saying the words of the aged Simeon : *Nunc dimittis servum tuum in pace.* He at once got up to thank God on his knees, and then returned to bed, but could not sleep from excitement and joy.[2] On the following morning he went to St. Peter's for renewed prayers of gratitude, and then received the ambassadors and Cardinals, to whom he said that they must now strain every nerve during the coming year to carry on the war against the Turks.[3] On this occasion, in allusion to the name of Don John, he cited the words of Holy Scripture : *Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Ioannes.*

All Rome shared the jubilation of Pius V. The holy Pope was in a state of exaltation.[4] The Romans were not slow to celebrate the victory with salvos of artillery and fire-works, even though Pius V. thought that the expenditure might have been better employed in having masses said for the souls of the fallen ; instead he granted a special indulgence. On October 23rd a courier from the Venetian government brought detailed reports of the great battle.[5] "The Turks" Cardinal Mula wrote in jubilation, "will not get

[1] See the *report of Vinc. Matuliani of October 24, 1571, State Archives, Bologna, the *report of Arco of October 27, 1571, State Archives, Vienna, the letter of Facchinetti in VALENSISE, 171, and that of Zuñiga in Corresp. dipl., IV., 488.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of October 24 and 27, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 137, 137b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 98 *seq.*

[3] Corresp. dipl., IV., 489.

[4] See GRATIANUS, 230.

[5] See *Avvisi di Roma of October 24 and 27, 1571, *loc. cit.* *"To-morrow morning the Pope will celebrate a mass of thanksgiving," A. Zibramonti announces on October 27, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso dated Venice, October 22, 1571, which deals solely with Lepanto, is in the Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome, together with a full collection of Avvisi dealing with the Turkish war, 1560-1571 (Cod. 76, 21).

over this blow, and the Christian fleet is mistress of the seas."[1] On October 28th Pius V. celebrated a solemn High Mass of thanksgiving in St. Peter's. He had intended also to pontificate at a requiem for the fallen on the following day, but was so exhaustied that he had to leave it to Cardinal Otto Truchsess.[2]

On October 22nd the Papal chancery had begun to send news to all parts of the world of the great event. The three admirals of the Christian fleet received enthusiastic letters of congratulation, while, by the express command of Pius V.,[3] the Catholic powers were urgently implored to profit in every way from "the greatest victory ever won against the infidels"; all must have a share in it. Letters in this sense were sent to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France, and Poland, to the Italian states, and to the ecclesiastical and secular princes of the German Empire.[4] The Emperor received

[1] *"Si può dire che il Turco non restaurerà mai più armata marittima et ha perduti li migliori soldati . . . L'armata christiana è padrona di tutto il mare." Mula to Maximilian II., from Rome, October 27, 1571, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., fasc. 7.

[2] See the *letter of a Jesuit in Rome to one of his colleagues in Germany, December 11, 1571, in Cod. 1237, p. 105, of the Municipal Library, Trêves, which says: "Sequenti vero die illustrissimus cardinalis Augustanus cecinit missam pro defunctis classis christianae cum magna solemnitate, eamque cantaturus fuisset Pontifex, sed forte senio et fatigatione praepeditus facere non potuit, ut et alias Pontifex, quandocunque impeditur, sacri cantandi munus illustrissimo cardinali Augustano committere solet, indicium certe amoris ac benevolentiae singulari illustr. cardinalis pietati ac religioni debitae."

[3] See Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 100.

[4] The *briefs to Philip II. and Charles IX. in vol. 26 of the Archives of Briefs, Rome, are dated October 22, 1571, and those to the Italian states October 23; *ibid.* the *brief to Venice of October 24. The original of the brief to Philip II. in the Archives at Simancas bears the date October 25; see Corresp. dipl., IV., 492; *ibid.* 493 *seq.* another, autograph, brief to Philip II., in Italian, dated October 28. The brief to the King of Portugal,

three; the first dated October 24th, and the second and third November 1st and 10th. In these letters Maximilian was directly invited to join the league, a matter which Fernando Mendoza was sent to discuss with him in a special mission.[1] What far-reaching plans filled the mind of Pius V. may be seen from the fact that on November 17th he sent to the King of Portugal letters to be forwarded to the Shah of Persia, the King of Ethiopia, and the sheik Mutahat, prince of Arabia Felix.[2] If he could but succeed in winning over these rivals of the Ottoman Empire, there seemed to be a possibility, not only of entirely driving the hereditary enemy of Christendom out of Europe, but even of winning back the Holy Sepulchre.

A necessary preliminary to such action on the part of the eastern nations, however, was the complete unity of the Christian west, and especially of the nations which had entered the league. After all that had gone before, it was easy to foresee serious difficulties in this respect.

While fresh particulars of the battle continued to arrive,[3] the Pope was waiting, with an impatience that can well be understood, for exact details of the fruits of the victory won by the fleets of the league on October 7th. At first it was reported that the fleet would go on to the Morea, where it was said that the Christian population was ripe for rebellion. Others thought that an attack would be made on the fortresses near Lepanto, or on the important island of Negroponte, which was not well defended. On November 5th, it was learned that none of these things had been done. Letters

of October 26, 1571, in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 459. According to t. 26 of the Archives of Briefs, Rome, on the same date *letters were sent to Don John, Venier, M. A. Colonna, and Genoa, and on the 27 to the German princes. For the brief to Albert V. of Bavaria see JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 327.

[1] See SCHWARZ, Briefwechsel, 187 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*

[2] See GOUBAU, 414-426; LADERCHI, 1571, n. 462 *seq.*; Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 424.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of A. Zibramonti of November 3, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

dated October 27th from Corfù announced that the fleet of the league was on the point of dispersing ; Don John was going to Sicily, the Venetians, partly home and partly to Crete, and Colonna to Rome, where the allies intended to make their plans for the campaign of the following year. This, it was said, was due to the fact that it had been found impossible to come to an agreement about the division of the future spoils of war, and especially of the Morea. The French ambassador in Rome spoke scoffingly of the division of the bear's skin which had not yet been won.[1]

Soon afterwards it was learned in Rome that Don John and the Venetians had not been able to come to terms even about the Turkish nobles captured at Lepanto, a question which involved the payment of large ransoms, and that they had decided to refer the matter to the Pope for arbitration ; Marcantonio Colonna would shortly arrive in the Eternal City.[2]

The arrival of the Papal admiral was still delayed for a time. He had first sent to the Pope, in order to give him a full report, Pompeo Colonna and the knight, Romegasso, who were received at a long audience on November 1st.[3] On the 14th there arrived Alessandro Farnese and Santa Fiora, and on the following day many others who had taken part in the battle ; Michele Bonelli arrived on the 20th.[4]

[1] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 191 *seq.*, 193. Later on Marcantonio Colonna described to the Venetian ambassador in Rome the disgraceful quarrels after the victory ; see the latter's report of November 26, 1571, in MUTINELLI, I., 103. *Cf.* BROSCH, Drei Grosswesire, 22 *seq.* ; SERRANO, Liga, I., 139 *seq.*

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 194. The more distinguished Turkish prisoners came to Rome on March 8, 1572 ; see ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 141 *seq.* ; XXIV., 7. For the plans made by Venice to kill the prisoners and the Sultan see LAMANSKY, Secrets d'état de Venise, Petersburg, 1884, 83 *seq.*, 90. *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 226.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of November 7, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 146b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of November 14, 17 and 24, 1571, *ibid.* 143b, 149, 154b. Michele Bonelli had been appointed "capitaneus generalis omnium legionar. status eccles." by a *brief of September 15, 1570 (Editti in the Casanatense Library, Rome).

The coming of Colonna, which was definitely expected on the 17th was put off, principally because, in spite of his refusal,[1] the Romans insisted upon according him a solemn triumph, to prepare for which time was required.[2] This desire of the Romans was very understandable, for the noblest youth of the city had taken a glorious part in the battle, and a scion of one of its most famous families had commanded the Papal fleet at Lepanto, and had contributed materially to the victory ;[3] such things brought strongly to their minds the glories of ancient Rome. It was suggested that Colonna should make his entry in the guise of an Emperor of ancient times, in a gilt chariot, and crowned with laurel, but this roused the jealousy of certain persons who pointed out that such an honour could only belong to the commander-in-chief, Don John. At the same time it did not commend itself to a Pope like Pius V. and to others of similar views that there should be this revival of an ancient triumph, and this led to the alteration of the original programme,[4] which nevertheless remained a very splendid affair, as Pius V. hoped that the honour paid to Colonna would incite his other feudatories to equally loyal and chivalrous service of the Church.[5]

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of November 21, 1571, *loc. cit.* 145, and the *report of Arco of November 24, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] For the consultations and deliberations see the *acta* in the Historical Archives of the Capitol, used by GNOLI in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 147 *seq.* See also RODOCANACHI, Capitole 115.

[3] In a *letter to Pius V. of November 3, 1571, Don John praised the bravery of Colonna. Varia polit., 89 (now 90), p. 107, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* GRATIANUS, 231 ; SERENO, 229 *seq.* ; CHARRIÈRE, III., 195 ; LADERCHI, 1571, n. 449 ; GNOLI, *loc. cit.* See also the *Avvisi di Roma of November 22 and 24, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 155b *seq.*, 160, Vatican Library, the *Avviso of November 30, 1571, in the Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome, and the *reports of Arco of November 24 and December 1, 1571, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1571, *loc. cit.*

Since, on account of the necessary preparations, Colonna's entry had been postponed until December 4th, on November 22nd the Pope caused his commander to come from Marino to Rome, where he took up his abode in the Vatican until the next day.[1] There was much excitement and stir in the Eternal City at that time ; every day more of those who had fought in the battle of Lepanto were arriving with prisoners and booty, especially Turkish standards, pieces of which were exposed as relics.[2]

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of November 24, 1571, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of Arco of the same date, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of November 3 and 22, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 146, 159b, Vatican Library. In several places in Rome there are still preserved Turkish standards captured at the battle of Lepanto, e.g. in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore, the choir of S. M. Araceli, and near the High Altar of S. M. della Vittoria (the latter has since the restorations of 1888 been enclosed with five Christian standards in a case) ; *cf. Mem. stor. d. mirac. imag. d. Mad. d. Vittoria*, Rome, 1881. One of the captured standards was sent by Pius V. to Sutri to the church of S. Tolomeo (at one time the church of the Dominicans, but now that of the seminary). Standards captured by the Venetians adorn the " Sala delle armi " at the Arsenal in Venice (*cf.* G. DE LUCIA, La sala d'armi nel Museo dell' arsenale di Venezia, in *Riv. Maritt.*, 1908). The banner of the contingent of the Duke of Savoy at Lepanto is to be found in the church of the convent of S. Domenico at Turin (see *dell' Acqua*, 82), that of the " archibugieri " of Sardinia at Cagliari (see *Arch. stor. Napolit.*, XXXIV., 544.) For the standard of M.A. Colonna at Gaeta see *supra*, p. 381. According to GREGOROVIUS (Wanderjahre, IV., 362) M. A. Colonna placed trophies of the Turkish war in the castle of the Orsini at Avezzano. The beautiful cross given by Pius V. to Don John when he set out for the war is now in the sacristy of S. Severino at Naples. The church of S. Pietro a Maiella at Naples has the picture " S. Maria succurre miseris " to which Don John had recourse during the battle. This picture is to be seen in the sky in the interesting representation of the battle which is there, and shows the moment when Don John sank the ship of Ali Pasha (see the illustrations in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 125-130). The Knights of St. Stephen (whose archives are now in the State Archives, Pisa) adorned with

All Rome was in a stir when the bright and sunny day of December 4th dawned.[1] Thousands of people had gathered

Turkish trophies and a painting of the battle of Lepanto, the roof of their church of S. Stefano ai Cavalieri, which was built at Pisa, 1565-1596. The battle of Lepanto in the convent of the Dominicans at Mondovì is reproduced in LAZZARESCHI, 17. In the Court Museum, Vienna, may be seen the state sword of Don John and the cuirass of A. Barbarigo, and in the naval arsenal at Pola several Turkish banners captured at Lepanto. The best relics of the great naval battle are to be found in Spain; *cf.* ROSELL, Combate (*passim*) and DURO, Tradiciones infundadas, Madrid, 1888. The standard of the league at Toledo has been described on p. 415; until 1616 it was at the Escorial, where in the church is still shown the private door, by means of which according to tradition a messenger announced the victory to Philip II. while he was assisting at vespers. Among the relics of Don John preserved in the palace of the Escorial, some representations of the battle which are important both from the point of view of naval matters and of costume, are specially noteworthy. Of the same kind is the picture which came from the Dominican convent at Malaga, and is now in the Sala de la marina histórica of the Museo Naval at Madrid. Other relics are preserved in the Santa Cruz palace at Madrid. In the principal hall of the armoury at Madrid may be seen several Spanish standards from the battle of Lepanto, together with the arms and garments of the Turkish Grand Admiral, Ali Pasha, with a Turkish banner and other trophies. A Turkish banner captured at Lepanto is still in the church of the monastery at Montserrat. An ancient fresco representing the battle is on the great staircase of the archbishop's palace at Alcalà (now the archivium). Six standards from the galleys of Don John came to the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow, from the possessions of the Duke of Osuna. For the Turkish banners at Lucerne see App. n. 12 (January 10, 1572).

[1] For the triumphal entry of Colonna *cf.* FRANC. ALBERTONIO, L'entrata che fece l'ecc. sig. M. A. Colonna in Roma, Viterbo, s.a. [1571], with variants and an addition in CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 112 *seq.* See also Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 104, and the full *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 157b-158, Vatican Library, with the remark, which can be accounted for by the curtailment of the original programme: "Questo spetta-

along the Via Appia, where, near the basilica of St. Sebastian, Girolamo Bonelli and the Swiss Guard, the Senator and the Conservatori, awaited the arrival of Colonna, who was to come from Marino. Unarmed, and with no decoration but the Golden Fleece, Marcantonio rode upon a white horse given him by the Pope; a black silk mantle lined with fur covered his tunic of cloth of gold, and on his head he wore a black velvet cap, with a white plume fastened with a pearl clasp.

Amid scenes of extraordinary rejoicing, the clash of trumpets, and the firing of guns, the cortége was formed, in which were to be seen the gaily coloured banners of all the city corporations, and the 13 Rioni of Rome. As can easily be understood, the chief interest was excited by the 170 Turkish prisoners, dressed in red and yellow, in chains, and guarded by halbardiers. In front of them rode a Roman in Turkish dress dragging the standard of the sultan in the dust. At the side of the prisoners walked a hermit, who had taken part in the battle, and whom the people, by whom he was greatly loved, called *Fate bene per voi*, from the words which he was always saying.[1] The standard of the Church was borne by Romegasso, and that of the city of Rome by Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, with whom rode Pompeo Colonna and Onorato Caetani, and the two nephews of the Pope, Michele and Girolamo Bonelli; then came Marcantonio Colonna, who was rapturously acclaimed by all, and was followed by the Senator of Rome and the Conservatori, and a large number of his friends and comrades. The Papal light cavalry brought the procession to an end.

As Charles V. had done 35 years before, so Marcantonio Colonna, entering the city by the Porta S. Sebastiano, and

colo era più in opinione che non è riuscito infatti." *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, La schiavitù, 7. Among recent writers see GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 265 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 115 *seq.*

[1] An *Avviso di Roma of December 1, 1571, *loc. cit.*, p. 154, informs us that on the previous day "il fate bene per voi" with a turban on his head, had taken to the Pope some "pezzi delli stendardi" taken at Lepanto.

passing the Baths of Caracalla, and under the triumphal arches of Constantine and Titus, climbed the hill of the Capitol, and came to S. Marco, passing thence along the Via Papale to the Bridge of St. Angelo. On the way he came to the statue of Pasquino, which was gaily decorated; in the left hand was the head of a Turk, with blood pouring from the mouth, and in the right a drawn sword.[1]

After praying in St. Peter's at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, and offering, in allusion to his own name, a column of silver, Colonna proceeded to the Vatican, where the Pope received him, accompanied by 25 Cardinals, with the greatest honour. He exhorted the victor of Lepanto to give the glory to God, Who, despite our sins, had been so kind and merciful.[2]

When in the evening Colonna returned to his palace near SS. Apostoli, the streets of the city, which were illuminated as for a festa, were thronged with exultant crowds. During the day the Romans had read with pride and hope the highly significant inscriptions which had been placed on the Arches of Constantine and Titus, those ancient memorials of the subjection of the east by the west. The inscription on the Arch of Titus, the monument of the subjection of Palestine, called Jerusalem to rejoice because a Roman Pope had freed the city which a Roman Emperor had placed in fetters. Of the three inscriptions at the Arch of Constantine, that on the right recorded the victory at Ponte Milvio, that on the left the victory won at Lepanto by the Pope in conjunction with Philip II. and Venice, while that in the centre expressed the hope that now the way lay open to the conquest of Constantinople.

On this occasion there was a complete absence of all traces of pagan antiquity, such as had been used on similar occasions in Rome throughout the period of the Renaissance down to the time of Julius III. How different was the spirit which now prevailed in the Eternal City was also shown on the

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1571, *loc. cit.*, pp. 157b-158, Vatican Library.

[2] See *ibid.*

occasion of the reception which was given to the victor of Lepanto by the senate at the Capitol nine days later. This was entirely confined to the church of S. Maria Araceli, on the great door of which, all decorated with Turkish standards, could be seen the following inscription, composed entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic restoration: "The thanksgiving for their successes which of old the pagan sages offered in their madness on the Capitol to the idols, the Christian hero who to-day comes to the Araceli, now gives with pious devotion in return for his splendid victory, to the true God, to Christ the Redeemer, and to His most glorious Mother."[1] The one trace of Renaissance days were the magnificent tapestries of Cardinal Este in the church, representing the victory of Scipio over Hannibal. At the mass of thanksgiving Colonna offered as an ex voto *Christo victori* a silver rostral column about four feet in height. At the close of the celebrations dowries were given to 75 poor girls. This had been asked for by Colonna in accordance with the wishes of the Pope. The money which would have been expended on the customary banquet was to be devoted to works of Christian charity.[2]

The celebrated latinist Marc Antoine Muret, in the sermon which he preached in S. Maria Araceli on December 13th, described the victory of Lepanto as the result of the tears and prayers of the Pope, adding that while the Holy Father like Moses had been imploring the assistance of heaven, another Josue had overcome the Amalakites. Muret called

[1] "Quas olim gentiles doctores idolis pro re bene gesta in Capitolio stulte agebant, eas nunc ad Coeli aram Christianus victor ascendens vero Deo Christo Redemptori eiusque gloriosissimae matri pro gloriosa religiose et pie agit haberque gratias."

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of December 12 and 15, 1571, Urb. 1042, pp. 162, 162b, 436, Vatican Library. A picture of the rostral column in Casimiro, Aracoeli, 329, and Maes, Il primo trofeo della croce eretto da Costantino nel Foro Romano, Rome, 1901, 58. *Cf.* L. Centurioni, Columna rostrata seu plausus triumphales M. A. Columnae, Rome, 1633. For the Este tapestries see *Kunsthistor. Jahrbuch des österreich Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 195.

upon Colonna to liberate Greece, Constantinople and Jerusalem from the yoke of the Turks, so that Rome, the centre of the empire of the world and of the faith, might under the pontificate of Pius V., and by the help of a Roman hero, add new laurels to its standards.[1]

Both Colonna and the Pope were well aware how far off they were as yet from the attainment of their grand purpose of the destruction of the Ottoman power, and both of them were so closely in agreement as to the steps to be undertaken, that Pius V. associated his experienced admiral with the Cardinals who had been appointed to deal with the question of the league, who, from December 10th onwards almost every day held two meetings[2] with the representatives of Spain, Requesens and Pacheco, and the envoys of Venice, often lasting five hours.[3] Under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope everything was kept absolutely secret, as the sultan had sent Italian speaking spies to Rome.[4]

In the course of the consultations held by the Pope's orders during the months of October and November, the problem of providing the necessary funds had been all-important;[5]

[1] The discourse was often reprinted; e.g. it is in MAFFEI, Vita di Pio V., Rome, 1712, 360 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of December 12, 15, 22 and 29, 1571 (*loc. cit.* p. 162, 162b, 164b, 169, 462b), which bring out the secrecy of the discussions. See also POMETTI, 73.

[3] See *Avvisi di Roma of December 17, 1571, and January 30, 1572, Urb. 1042, p. 437b; 1043, p. 17, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *report of A. Zibramonti from Rome, January 27, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of January 30, 1572, *loc. cit.*

[5] These conferences as well were kept as secret as possible; sometimes the Pope presided at them; they were held very frequently, for the most part at the house of Morone. *Cf.* *Avvisi di Roma of October 20, November 10, December 1 and 8, 1571, Urb. 1042, pp. 135b, 140, 151, 153b, *loc. cit.*; *report of Arco of December 1, 1571, State Archives Vienna. The outcome of the conferences was the bull of December 3 1571 (in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 469), and the mission of Odescalchi to the Italian princes (see CATENA, 210), who, in *briefs dated December 27, 1571,

but now they were concerned principally with the extent of the campaign to be undertaken in the following spring; and with regard to this the representatives, both of Spain and Venice, made little attempt to conceal the jealousy and dislike which they entertained for each other. The private interests of the two allies came out so strongly that almost any concerted action became problematical. The Venetians wished to make use of the league, not only to recover Cyprus, but also to make fresh conquests in the Levant. Philip II., on the other hand, who was averse to any strengthening of the Republic of St. Mark, ordered Requesens to declare that the first duty of the league was to take action against the Berber states of Africa, in order that these might come into the possession of Spain. The Venetians saw in this proposal a trap to prevent them from recovering Cyprus, as well as to expose them to the risk of losing Corfù as well, while their fleet was engaged in fighting against the Berber states on behalf of the King of Spain.[1] At Venice it was looked upon as certain that Philip II. intended to get as much use as possible out of the league for his own ends. It cannot be decided with any certainty how far the complaints which they made to this effect were justified. In order to pass a just judgment on the King of Spain we must not lose sight of the attitude of France, whose government had been shameless enough, immediately after the battle of Lepanto, to propose to the sultan a direct alliance against Spain. Philip II. was well informed of the negotiations which France was carrying on, not only with the sultan, but also with the

were invited to give their assistance against the Turks; see Arm. 49, t. 19, p. 583 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. A *Brief to Lucca, of December 3, 1571, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome; another, of December 16, 1571, is mentioned by LAZZARESCHI, 19.

[1] See GRATIANUS, 243 *seq.*, who is very well informed on this point. *Cf.* Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 234; GUGLIELMOTTI, 297 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Lega, 356 *seq.* The "Commissione data dal doge A. Mocenigo a P. Tiepolo, ambasc. straord. a Roma li 15 November, 1571, in proposito della lega" was published by Cicogna at Venice in 1845.

Huguenots, the leaders of the revolt in the Netherlands, and Elizabeth of England. He had therefore to take into account the possibility of a simultaneous attack on the part of a French, Netherland, English and Turkish alliance. It certainly was not only jealousy of Venice which influenced the Catholic King.[1] At the same time Don John admitted that it was contrary to the terms of the league that they should give up the war against the sultan in favour of an expedition in Africa.[2]

In contrast to the opposing interests of the Spaniards and Venetians, Pius V. continued to keep before himself a grand and absolutely disinterested plan; he dreamed of the liberation of Jerusalem, which was to be preceded by the capture of Constantinople.[3] But, as Zuñiga wrote to Alba on November 10th, 1571, an effective blow at the heart of the Ottoman power would only be possible by the delivery

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 328; MANFRONI, Marina, 507; ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 146, n. 2. GOTTLOB (in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 394) is of opinion that the least straightforward policy in connexion with the Turkish question is to be found on the part of Philip II., but refers by way of proof to the *apologia against the attacks of the Venetians issued in 1573 after the Venetian treaty, from a pen in the close confidence of the King of Spain; the two documents, the attack and the defence, are in Cod. Vatic. lat. 5299, p. 1 *seqq.*, 45 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. The documents which have recently been brought to light by the learned Spanish Benedictine Serrano in Corresp. dipl., IV., 554 *seq.*, 562 *seq.*, 593 *seq.*, 606 *seq.*, 615 *seq.*, 626 *seq.*, 636 *seq.*, 644 *seq.*, 647 *seq.*, tell in various ways in favour of Philip II., whose conduct Serrano has also endeavoured to justify in many respects in his work, La liga di Lepanto, I., Madrid, 1918. Moreover, in February, 1571, Pius V. assured the Spanish king of his support in the event of a French attack on North Italy.

[2] See GUGLIELMOTTI, 299, n. 8.

[3] On December 22 1571, *Arco reports that on the previous Saturday the Pope had written to Philip II. to dissuade him from the enterprise against Algiers, and that Pius V. wished Don John to move as soon as possible with all his forces against the Dardanelles. State Archives, Vienna.

of a simultaneous and unexpected attack by land and sea.[1] Hence came the continued efforts of Pius V. to arrange a European coalition against the Turks. Although nothing was to be hoped for from France,[2] which had sent an ambassador to Turkey in July,[3] he nevertheless still hoped to win over to his purpose certain other powers, first the Emperor, and then Poland and Portugal. In spite of all the disappointments he had met with hitherto, he continued to try and effect his purpose by means of his legates and nuncios.[4] Pius V. tried to turn even the smallest sign of good will to advantage in this matter. Thus, he took the opportunity of some general expressions made use of by Maximilian II. in assuring the Pope of his readiness to assist the Christian cause, to hold out to him hopes of the allies being ready to help him with 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. On January 15th, 1572, the Emperor thanked him for his offer, but regretted that he could not at once make up his mind on so important a matter.[5] The Duke of Urbino made it clear

[1] See Rosell, Combate, 220; Havemann, 148. In December, 1571, Marcantonio Colonna advised Don John first to capture Rhodes and Negroponte and then advance on Constantinople; see Molmenti, in *Rassegna naz.*, 184 (1912), 289 *seq.*

[2] The imploring requests of Pius V. to Charles IX., Catherine de' Medici, and the nobles of France to join the league against the Turks are dated December 12, 1571; see Goubau, 401 *seq.*; Laderchi, 1571, n. 466 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 138 *seq.*, the efforts made by Salviati and Bonelli. On January 26, 1572, Pius V. wrote to Charles IX. that it would earn him eternal infamy if he remained out of the league; see Goubau, 439 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Rev. d'hist. diplom.*, XVI., 620 *seq.*

[4] For the work done by the envoys of Pius V. in Poland see *supra*, p. 312 *seq.*

[5] See Schwarz, Briefwechsel 192 *seq.*, 196. An *Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1571, says that the rumour was current that Marcantonio Colonna would be sent to the Emperor on the business of the league, and an *Avviso of December 15 announces that this mission would be entrusted to P. Odescalchi (Urb. 1042, pp. 162, 163, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *report of Arco of December 8, 1571, for his own conversations with Pius V. with regard to the entry of the Emperor into the league (State Archives, Vienna).

in Rome that very little was to be expected from Maximilian, and nothing at all from the German princes, especially from the Protestants. In a memorial submitted to the Pope in January, 1572, he maintained with good reason the view that the war would have to be carried on where the army and the fleet could work in conjunction, and where "we are masters of the situation," that is to say principally by means of the fleet in the Levant. If the Turks could be attacked in Europe by the Emperor and Poland, so much the better, but the great thing was to attack at once, because simply to stand on the defensive was not to fight, and he who wished to make conquests must push forward resolutely. The fleet should therefore be sent against Gallipoli, and thus force the Dardanelles.[1]

But for any such undertaking as this an understanding between Spain and Venice was absolutely essential, whereas their representatives had been quarrelling in Rome for months in the most disgraceful manner. When at last the Venetians made the proposal that, in conformity with the terms of the treaty of the league in May, 1571, the Pope should decide the points at issue, even Spain did not dare to object. Pius V. accordingly decided that the war of the league must be carried on in the Levant, that in March the Papal fleet was to join the Spanish fleet at Messina, and rendezvous with the Venetians at Corfù, whence the three were to proceed together under the orders of their admirals; the allies were to increase

[1] *Discorso del duca di Urbino 1572 gennaio in Cod. Otto., 2510, p. 205 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16], 327. *Cf.* also in this connexion the *Letter of Camillo Capilupi from Rome, September 28, 1571, "al sig. duca d'Urbino sopra il modo del continuare la s. lega l'a°. 1571," in Cod. K. 19, p. 56 *seq.* in the Library at Siena (which is also frequently to be found elsewhere, e.g. in Cod. Barb. lat. 5367, n. 16, and Perugia Library, A. 42). Other *memorials on the subject in the Papal Secret Archives and the Corsini Library, Rome, are pointed out by POMETTI (p. 73) and SERRANO (Liga, I., 178 *seq.*). A *"Discorso per l'acquisto di Costantinopoli dalli collegati" in Cod. 675, Corsini Library, Rome.

the number of their galleys, when they could, to 250, and provide, in the proportion laid down in the treaty, 32,000 soldiers and 500 cavalry, besides the necessary artillery and munitions, and at the end of June there were to be 11,000 soldiers assembled at Otranto (1,000 Papal troops, 6,000 Spanish and 4,000 Venetian). Each of the allies was to provide provisions for seven months.[1] These agreements were signed on February 10th, 1572.[2] On the 16th Pius V. warned the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John to have his galleys ready at Messina.[3] The preparations in the Papal States, the money for which was obtained principally by means of the *Monte della Lega*,[4] were hurried forward so fast that on the same date it was possible to send 1,800 men to Otranto.[5] Three galleys were in readiness at Civitavecchia and others were expected there from Leghorn.[6]

[1] Besides *Corresp. dipl.*, IV., 656 *seq.* see GRATIANUS, 249; Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 234; SERENO, 266; ROSELL, Combate, 241; GUGLIELMOTTI, 300 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Lega, I., 151 *seq.* Pius V. asked even more eagerly than the Spaniards for the removal of Venier, who was at length replaced by Iacopo Foscarini; see ROSELL, *loc. cit.*, 215; Corresp. dipl., IV., 586, 631 *seq.* Since he wished for the continuation of the war, Pius V. deplored the fact that the allies freed and sold their prisoners and made possible for them their return to their own country, as they would thus reinforce the ranks of the enemy with their experience and tried courage; see GUGLIELMOTTI, 263, and *A ch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 146. *Cf.* BRANDI, Il Papato e la schiavitù, Rome, 1903, 32 *seq.* Pius V. absolutely disapproved of the killing of the prisoners which was suggested by the Venetians (*cf. supra*, p. 428, n. 2); see Corresp. dipl., IV., 571.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 659 *seq.*, 667 *seq.*, 670.

[3] See Arm. 44, t. 16, p. 215b, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1572, Urb. 1043, p. 24, Vatican Library, and the *letter of A. Zibramonti of February 2, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1572, *loc. cit.*, p. 39. At the end of 1571 the enrolment of 5,000 men had been ordered; see *Avviso of December 29, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 170b, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avvisi di Roma of January 5 and 12, and March 5, 1572, Urb. 1043, pp. 2b, 8, 48, *ibid.*; MANFRONI, Marina, 132 *seq.*

The Pope's mind was full of the thought of the crusade; he lived and moved in the plan, of which he alone had from the first been the moving spirit. For ten years, so he said to Cardinal Santori, it would be necessary to make war on the Turks by land and sea.[1] The bull of jubilee, dated March 12th, 1572, granted to all those who themselves took up arms, or fitted out another to do so, or provided the funds for that purpose, the same indulgences as had been granted to the Crusaders of old; the property of those who were taking part in the war was to be under the protection of the Church, and was not to be injured by anyone; all their lawsuits were to be held over until their return, or until their death had been ascertained, and they were to be exempt from every kind of taxation.[2] From a report of March 15th, 1572, it is clear how much the matter occupied the Pope's attention; in that week no less than three meetings were held concerning it at the Vatican.[3] In order to rouse the enthusiasm of Don John, the sword and hat blessed at Christmas were sent to him at the end of March, with special marks of honour.[4]

Pius V. looked to the future with renewed hopes; fortunately for his peace of mind he was spared the realization that the glorious victory of Lepanto had been deprived of any immediate strategic or political results by the jealousy and selfishness of the Spaniards and Venetians, who, ever since February, 1572, had been quarrelling about the cost of the

[1] See Vol. XVII, App. 67, the *"Audientiae" of Cardinal Santori, under February 5, 1572, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Bandi V., 1, p. 165, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 113.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1572, Urb. 1043, p. 54, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 29, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 168b, *ibid.*, and THEINER, Annal. eccles., 1572, n. 2. The sword, with the inscription: "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat" (*cf.* LACROIX, Vie milit. et relig. au moyen-âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance, Paris, 1873, 294), is now in the Museo Naval at Madrid; see *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1895, 403.

expedition of the previous year.[5] All the greater, however, were the indirect effects of the victory. How greatly shaken the power of the Sultan had been may be seen from the unrest among his Christian subjects. The hopes of a rebellion, of which the back-bone would have been the Christian population of Constantinople and Pera, amounting to 40,000 men, were not altogether without foundation.[2] To this had to be added the actual loss of the great fleet, which at a single blow had been destroyed, together with all the artillery and equipment which would be very difficult to replace. Even though, as the result of the elaborate organization of the empire, and the extraordinary energy of Occhiali, another equally large fleet was actually formed, the future was to prove that from the battle of Lepanto must be dated the slow but total decline of the naval power of Turkey; a barrier had been set up against its further advance, and the nightmare of its invincibility had been for the first time destroyed.[3] The Christian world instinctively realized this and breathed more freely, and to this may be traced the boundless joy which ran through every nation.[4] "It was like a dream to us all," wrote Luis de Alzamara from Madrid to Don John on November 11th, 1571, "and we seemed to see in it the direct interposition of God."[5]

[5] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 678 *seq.*, 684 *seq.*, 687 *seq.*, 691 *seq.*, 720.

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 211 *seqq.*; JORGA, III., 271, *cf.* 278. See also LONGO, Guerra, 27 *seq.*

[3] See LONGO, Guerra, 29; RANKE, Osmanen², 53 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, III., 288, 322; PHILIPPSON, Philip II., 165; JORGA, III., 154, 225 *seq.* *Histor.-pol. Blätter*, XCI., 719; CIPOLLA in *Riv. stor. Ital.*, XXIV., 184; NORMANN-FRIEDENFELS in *Seetechn. Mitteilungen*, XXX., 77.

[4] For the joy of the Venetians at the victory see the report in YRIARTE, Vie d'un patricien de Venise, Paris, 1874, 208 *seq.* For the celebrations at Madrid see Corresp. dipl., IV., 509 *seq.*, and for those at Innsbruck-Wilten CANISII Epist., VI., 629 *seq.*, 637 *seq.*

[5] See ROSELL, Combate 207. Marcantonio Colonna expresses the same idea in his *letter to Philip II. of October 28, 1571; see Inf. polit. XIX., 259, Library, Berlin.

The churches of every Catholic country resounded with the *Te Deum*, the hymn of thanksgiving.[1] Above all others did Pius V. raise his mind to heaven ; on the commemorative medals which he had struck, he placed the words of the Psalmist : " The right hand of the Lord hath wrought strength; this is the Lord's doing."[2] Since the battle had been won on the first Sunday in October, the day on which in Rome the Rosary confraternities held their processions, Pius V. saw the source of the victory in the mighty advocate, the merciful mother of Christendom, and ordered that every year on the anniversary of the battle a feast should be kept in thanksgiving, " as a commemoration of Our Lady of Victory."[3] On April 1st, 1573, his successor, Gregory XIII., ordered that in future the feast should be kept as the Feast of the Rosary on the first Sunday of October.[4]

In Spain and Italy, the countries most threatened by the Turks, there soon arose churches and chapels dedicated to " Our Lady of Victory."[5] The Venetian senate placed under

[1] *Cf.* VERANCII Epist., 315 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*

[2] " Dextera Domini fecit virtutem " (Ps. 117, 16) ; " A Domino factum est istud " (*ibid.*, 23). BONANNI, I., 297 ; VENUTI, 125.

[3] The consistorial decision of March 17, 1572, in CARINCI, Att. concist. dal 20 maggio 1570 al 18 dicembre 1604, Rome, 1893, 9. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 447 ; LAZZARESCHI, 16. The statement in the Roman Breviary (on May 24) that Pius V. added the title " Auxilium Christianorum," to the Litany of Loreto cannot be maintained ; *cf.* A. DE SANTI, Les Litanies de la S. Vierge, Paris, 1900, 224. In all probability the addition was due to the soldiers returning from the victorious war against the Turks, many of whom on their way home passed through Loreto. The invocation was therefore a " vox populi," an expression of gratitude for the assistance of Mary in the struggle ; see KATHOLIK, 1898, I., 370.

[4] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 44 *seq.*

[5] See HAVEMANN, 146 ; *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 131. The last of these churches is that of the Madonna recently erected at Patras. In various places foundations for masses were also made, *e.g.* in the cathedral at Toledo ; see CARINI, Spagna, I., 205.

the representation of the battle in the Palace of the Doges the words: "Not our power and arms, nor our leaders, but the Madonna of the Rosary helped us to victory."[1] Many cities, as for example Genoa,[2] painted the Madonna of the Rosary over their gates, while others introduced the image of Mary standing on the crescent moon into their coats of arms.

The great impression made upon contemporaries by "the greatest victory ever won by Christian arms"[3] is also shown by the fact that very few victories have been so widely extolled and described as that of October 7th, 1571. Pamphlets in every tongue spread through every country the news of the great event.[4] Historians and orators, poets, musicians[5] and artists, vied with each other in celebrating the day, which Cervantes called the most beautiful of the century. Among the descriptions by Italian historians[6] the most notable are

For an inscription upon a cross in the cathedral at Tarento see G. BLANDAMURA, Un cimelio del sec. vii esist. nel duomo di Taranto, Lecce, 1917, 46.

[1] See *dell' Acqua*, 80.

[2] See *ibid.*, 82.

[3] Thus does G. B. Campeggi, "episc. Maioricensis," style the day of Lepanto, in his *letter of congratulation to Pius V., dated Bologna, "sexto cal. nov." in Cod. L. III., 66, Chigi Library, Rome. Alba expressed himself in similar terms; see GACHARD, Bibl. de Madrid, 126.

[4] For the German pamphlets see the article spoken of *supra*, p. 418, n. 3, in the *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde and Nagl-Zeidler, Deutsch-österr. Literaturgeschichte*, Vienna, 1899, 548 n. Many of these pamphlets, especially the Italian ones (*cf.* catalogue 87 of ROSENTHAL, n. 360-372) give pictures of the arrangement of the fleet and of the battle, others give allegorical pictures. One of the latter is a beautiful engraving of 1572 by Niccolò Nelli: in a galley are seen the Pope with the Doge of Venice, Don John, St. Mark, St. Peter and St. John, who are dragging the whole Turkish fleet behind them in a great net. *Cf.* NORMANN-FRIEDENFELS in *Seetechn. Mitteilungen*, XXX., 36, 48, 52, 63.

[5] *Cf.* AMBROS, III., 533; URSPRUNG, Jacobus de Kerle, Munich, 1913, 80.

[6] *Cf.* MOLMENTI in *Riv. Maritt.*, XXX. (1898), 233 *seq.*

those of Folieta and Paruta.[1] Among the commemorative orations, side by side with that of Muret must be placed that delivered by Silvio Antoniano in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals.[2] At the thanksgiving service held by the Archduke Ferdinand at Innsbruck, the sermon was preached by Canisius, who in noble words reminded his hearers that the victor of Lepanto was a Hapsburg, who, cross in hand, had spurred on his heroic followers in the battle.[3] The sermon preached by the Tyrolese Franciscan, Johann Nas, was also a splendid discourse of its kind.[4]

The number of the poems which the day of Lepanto called forth was very great. In this respect the Spaniards surpassed the Italians. We looked in vain among Italian poems for a hymn of victory as enthusiastic as that composed by Fernando de Herrera, or so classic a description as that written by Alonso de Ercilla in his "Araucana."[5] Among the many long and short poems by Italian authors which Pietro Gherardi published at Venice in 1572, in a volume of 500 pages,[6] there

[1] *Cf.* FOLIETA, III., 1060 *seq.*; PARUTA, 244 *seq.*

[2] Printed in "Silvii Antoniani card. vita a Josepho Castalione eiusdemque Silvii Orationes XIII.," Rome, 1610, 119 *seq.* To their number also belong IOH. VOLLARI, Oratio Romae pro insigni victoria c. Turcas obtenta, Naples, 1571; SEB. QUIRINUS, Oratio pro felic. victoria navali, Cesena, 1572; LUIGI GROTO, Orazione per l'allegrezza d. vittoria, etc., Venice, 1571. For the discourses of Giambattista Rosario and Paolo Paruta at the requiems in Venice see *Arch. stor. Ital.*, 5 Ser., XXIII., 424, and LISIO, Orazioni scelte del sec. xvi., Florence, 1897, 285 *seq.*

[3] See BRAUNSBERGER, Pius V., 112 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 442, n. 4.

[4] *Cf.* HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., I., 254 n. Attention should also be given in this connexion to AUG. NESER, Eine newe Catholische Predig auf der Türken Niderlag, Munich, 1572.

[5] See TICKNOR, Gesch. der schönen Literatur in Spanien, translated into German by N. H. Julius, new ed. Leipsic, 1867. II., 104 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*; F. DE HERRERA, L'hymne sur Lépante, publ. et commenté par A. Morel Fatio, Bordeaux, 1894.

[6] The collection dedicated to Cardinal Sirleto bears the title: "In foedus et victoriam contra Turcas iuxta sinum Corinthiacum nonis octobris partam poemata varia," Venice, 1572. Before

is not one that is worthy of the event; in the Latin ones one is wearied by the strange mixture of Christian and pagan ideas, while all of them display an empty rhetoric and a bad taste which foreshadows the seicento. The prolixity of some of these poets, one of whom, Giambattista Arcuzio, produced 20,000 lines, is intolerable. The best are the poems in dialect.[1]

Italian art was far more successful than poetry in celebrating the great event.[2] In this respect Venice takes the lead. The Republic adorned the entrance to the arsenal, from which had sailed the fleet which had defeated the Turks on the feast of St. Justina, with a statue of that saint, executed by Girolamo Campagna. Domenico da Salò modelled a

this there had been published at Venice the "Raccolta di parii poemi latini e volgari fatti da diversi bellissimi ingegni nella felice vittoria riportata da Christiani contra Turchi. In Venezia appresso Giorgio Angelieri, 1571." A similar collection, preceded by a description of the battle, bears the title: "Trofeo della vittoria sacra ottenuta contra Turchi nell'a. 1571 rizzato da i più dotti spiriti de nostri tempi . . . raccolte da Luigi Groto, In Venezia, 1572."

[1] See MASI, I cento poeti della battaglia di Lepanto in *Nuovi studi e ritratti*, Bologna, 1894, I., 494 *seq.*; MAZZONI, La battaglia di Lepanto e la poesia politica nel sec. xvi, in *La vita ital. del Seicento*, II., Milan, 1895, 191-207; D. CIAMPOLI, I poeti della vittroia in *Cosmos. illustr.*, 1904, 157-174. *Cf.* also GENNARI, 76 *seq.* *Giorn. stor. d. lett. Ital.*, XIX., 450; XXXIV., 434 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Ital.*, 5 Ser., XXIII., 425 *seq.*; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 444 *seq.*; BELLONI, Seicento, 137 *seq.*, 483; INTRA, Capilupi, Milan, 1893, 12; REINHARDSTÖTTNER in *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, XI., 3; SOLERTI, Vita di T. Tasso, I., Turin, 1895, 156 *seq.*; MANGO, Una miscell. sconosciuta del sec. xvi., Palermo, 1894; A. TENNERANI, Canzone di G. A. dell' Anguillara, Rome, 1894; VACCALLUZZO in *Arch. stor. per la Sicilia orient.*, VI., 2-3; PETRIS, Di un cantore della battaglia di Lepanto in Pagine Istriane, VI., 11-12; SECEGNI, Le lettere a Vicenza a tempo della reazione catt., Vicenza, 1903, 51 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* G. SECRETANT, L'anniversario della battaglia di Lepanto, in *Emporium*, 1913, n° 214, with numerous illustrations.

beautiful relief of the Holy Family for the church of St. Joseph. The Confraternity of the Rosary built a special commemorative chapel at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which was adorned with many works of art, among others two statues of St. Justina and St. Dominic by Vittoria. When this chapel was destroyed by fire in 1867, the picture of the battle painted by Iacopo Tintoretto and his son Domenico also perished. The same fate also befell another picture of the battle painted by Iacopo Tintoretto in the palace of the Doges, and was replaced by the great painting by Andrea Vicentino. Paolo Veronese also devoted two paintings, magnificent in their colouring, to the battle of Lepanto: one, representing Venier received into heaven as the reward for his victory, is now to be found in the Accademia at Venice; the other, which is in the palace of the Doges, is a votive picture: above is Christ in glory, and at His feet are Venier, Barbarigo, St. Mark and St. Justina, with allegorical figures representing Faith and Venice.[1] The greatest of the Venetian painters, the ninety-five year old Titian, executed for Philip II. a splendidly-coloured allegorical painting, which now adorns the Gallery at Madrid.[2] The city of Messina honoured Don John by a statue, which was recently much damaged in the great earthquake.[3] The autho-

[1] *Cf.* SORAVIA, Le chiese di Venezia, Venice, 1822, 111 *seq.*; F. LANOTTO, Il palazzo ducale di Venezia, III., Venice, 1860, tav. 175; HAMMER, II., 424; MOLMENTI, Veniero, 135 *seq.*; *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 100 *seq.*; BETTIOLO, Un altare votivo della chiesa di S. Giuseppe di Castello a Venezia, in *Arte crist.*, I., Milan. 1913, 10.

[2] See CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, Tizian, II., Leipsic, 1877, 677 *seq.* A votive picture relating to Lepanto which is in the Museum at Osnabrück, and comes from the neighbouring house of the Knights of St. John, has not yet been reproduced. In this may be seen Religion dressed in red, with an azure corslet and a helmet on her head. In her right hand she holds a rosary, she is scattering golden coins, and in her left hand she holds a red banner with a white cross and a streamer bearing the motto: "Pro fide." At her feet are Turkish prisoners, and in the background galleys at sea.

[3] *Cf.* the article by ARENAPRIMO in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XXVIII., 1-2 (1903). CRINO treats in *Arch. stor. Messinese*, VI., 1-2 (1905)

rities in Rome added to the consular *fasti* in the Capitol an inscription in perpetual memorial of the triumph of Colonna on December 4th, 1571. They also placed in the church of S. Maria Araceli a wooden coffered ceiling, decorated with trophies and adornments, with suitable inscriptions: the gold employed in this work came from the booty captured in the war. In 1590 the city also placed in the church, over the main door, a large inscription in marble, and five years later erected a marble statue of Colonna in the Palazzo de' Conservatori.[1] The huge pine-tree which tradition says stood for three centuries in the Colonna Gardens, on the Quirinal, in memory of Lepanto, has disappeared. The throne room in the adjoining palace contains a naval chart belonging to Marcantonio Colonna, and the diploma of honour conferred upon him by the Senate. In the great gallery of the palace the paintings on the ceiling by Coli and Gherardi represent Lepanto. Far more valuable than the last-named are the contemporary paintings at Paliano, the castle belonging to the Colonna. There on the ceiling may be seen two paintings of the battle and of the consistories held by Pius V. about the league. The frieze shows the triumph of Colonna on December 4th, 1571, and the wall the visit which he made to St. Peter's on that day, with an interesting view of the old church and the Vatican.[2] An interesting counterpart to

of the "Mappe geograf. della battaglia di Lepanto a Messina nei prospetti del basamento della statua di Don Giovan d'Austria." In the Pope's native place, Bosco, the church of the convent of S. Croce has a picture of the battle of Lepanto by G. Cossal; see *Il Rosario, Mem. Domenicane*, XXII., 433 *seq.*

[1] See Gnoli in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 149, 150 *seq.*; *cf.* the illustrations 84 and 85.

[2] The well preserved frescoes are mentioned by Marocco (IX., 151 *seq.*), and Tomassetti (Campagna, III., 556); they are not easy of access as the castle is now a penitentiary; they are in every way worthy of being reproduced. In the collegiate church at Paliano is the simple tomb of M. A. Colonna. The fountain erected at Marino in 1642, with four chained Moors, records the part taken by M. A. Colonna in the victory of Lepanto.

these is afforded by the precious tapestries, also contemporary, in the Doria Palace, which represent the different stages of the battle more systematically.[1] The great deeds of the Holy League and the famous victory are also immortalized in great frescoes in the Sala Regia of the Vatican;[2] Pius V. entrusted these to Giorgio Vasari in February, 1572.[3]

The earliest biographers of the Pope, Catena and Gabuzzi, relate that at the moment when the decisive battle between the Cross and the Crescent off the Greek coast ended, Pius V., who was engaged in transacting important business with his treasurer-general, Bartolomeo Busotti, suddenly rose to his feet, opened the window, and for a short time stood looking up to heaven, rapt in deep contemplation, and then turned round saying: "This is not the moment for business; make haste to thank God, because our fleet this moment has won a victory over the Turks."[4] The Imperial ambassador Arco, in his report on October 6th, 1571, speaks of a vision which a Roman Franciscan had had concerning a victory on September 29th, but he does not say anything of the same thing having occurred in the case of Pius V.[5] On the other hand

[1] Published for the first time in *Cosmos illustr.*, 1904, 107, 123, 146, 155.

[2] Vasari himself described them in his letter of February 23, 1572, in GAYE, III., 307. The inscriptions in CHATTARD, 23 *seq.* *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 36; PLATTNER, II., 241 *seq.* A small representation of the battle is also to be seen in the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican.

[3] *" S.S^{tà} ha ordinato che sia finita la pittura della Sala dei Re et che nell' altra sala [sic] sia dipinta la vittoria del anno passato." Letter of A. Zibramonti from Rome, February 16, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *report of Arco of February 16, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] CATENA, 195. Gabutius, 179. *Cf.* Lord Bacon of Verulam, *Opera*, Hafniae, 1694, 962.

[5] See the *letter of Arco from Rome, October 6, 1571, State Archives, Vienna. Pius V. also spoke of this vision on December 4, 1571, to Cardinal Santori (see Vol. XVII., App. 67). If he said nothing about his own vision, this may have been due only to his own modesty.

the Imperial envoy, Cusano, on May 6th, 1570, that is to say about a year and a half before the battle, reports a conversation between Cardinal Cornaro and the Pope, and says that Pius V. had told the Cardinal of the inspiration he had had about a victory of the Venetians over the Turks, remarking at the same time that he had frequently had such experiences when he was praying to God about some very important matter.[1] According to this report there can be no doubt that Pius V. had long foreseen the victory of Lepanto. Once it had been accomplished, he had not long to live ; his mission was completed.

Although he never took any care of himself, Pius V. enjoyed to the end of his life great vigour both of mind and body. When at the beginning of 1569 men spoke despondently of his state of health, he laughed at them and said he never felt better.[2] A year afterwards it was learned that his health had not been so good as it had been since, by the advice of the doctors, and because of his chronic tendency to stone, he had altered the arrangement of his meals which he had hitherto adopted,[3] but that directly he reverted to his former

[1] *" . . . ch' è solito suo quando prega Dio con tutta quella sincerità suol' far' quando gli occorrono cose importantissime " (letter of Cusano from Rome, May 6, 1570, State Archives, Vienna, Fabrizio de' Massimi, a disciple of Philip Neri, attested on oath that Pius V. foresaw the victory, not on the day of the battle, but long before ; see the Processus canoniz. Pii V. in LADERCHI, 1571, n. 419. What great prudence must be employed in using the *argumentum ex silentio* is shown by HERRE (I., 190), who considers the prediction of the victory a legend " perchè le corrispondenze diplomatiche tacciono completamente in proposito."

[2] According to the *report of Arco, of January 22, 1569 (State Archives, Vienna) the expression made use of to the Cardinals was " che quei tali sono pazzi et che sta meglio che sia stato ancora."

[3] " *S. S. per quanto s' intende non gode la buona sanità di prima che solea godere, et con questa mutatione de usanza de vivere, mangiando hora la mattina, alle 12 hore et la sera a 1 hora et meza di notte, non avanza ne megliora della infermità sua di non ritenere l' urina, la qual è molta consideratione, ancora che S. S. s' affatica al solito." Avviso di Roma of January 21, 1570, Urb. 1041, p. 221, Vatican Library.

custom in the spring of 1570, he felt as lively as ever, and said that he did not intend to seek the advice of doctors any more.[1]

The great historical events, the war and the victory over the Turks, which had been accomplished, thanks to his vigorous action, then contributed not a little to bring about an almost youthful revival of his bodily strength.[2] All the reports concur in saying how active and vigorous the Pope was in the years 1570 and 1571, which were so full of anxieties and disturbances.[3] Even in the spring of 1571 he was able to continue to devote himself to business without making any change in spite of the cure of asses' milk which he was undergoing.[4] In July, without heeding the great heat, he went to his little villa. In the September Zuñiga reports the good state of the Pope's health.[5] On Sunday, October 28th, the Pope celebrated the mass of thanksgiving in St. Peter's for the victory of Lepanto, on the Monday he was present at the requiem for the fallen, and on the Wednesday made the pilgrimage to the seven basilicas of Rome.[6]

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of April 1 and 8, 1570, *ibid.*, 251, 258.

[2] HERRE rightly brings this out (Papstwahlen, 150, 187). *Cf.* the *reports of A. Zibramonti of January 13 and February 10, 1571, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. His tendency to stone, however, continued to make itself felt: see the *report of Ces. Speciano to Charles Borromeo of January 27, 1571, Ambrosian Library, Milan, F. 44 Inf.

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma, one of which for July 22, 1570 (Urb. 1041, p. 316, Vatican Library) brings out how well the Pope was. On April 27, 1571, Zuñiga wrote to Philip II.: "S.S. ha estado todo este invierno con tanta salud che me parescia que era demasciado de temprano hablar en sede vacante": for two days only the reappearance of the stone caused the Cardinals a little anxiety; Corresp. dipl., IV., 253.

[4] See *Avvisi di Roma of May 11 and 19, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 56b, 62b, Vatican Library. By the advice of the physicians Pius V. did not say mass on *Corpus Domini* in 1571, because he would be very tired carrying the Blessed Sacrament on foot; see *ibid.*, p. 75.

[5] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 431.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of July 18 and October 31, 1571, Urb. 1042, pp. 90, 141, *loc. cit.*

The winter between 1571 and 1572 also passed at first in a satisfactory manner. At Christmas Pius V. assisted at the midnight mass, said two low masses, gave Holy Communion to his household, and finally pontificated in St. Peter's.[1] On January 8th, 1572, there was a recurrence of his former malady, the stone,[2] but the danger passed. In the middle of March it suddenly returned very violently.[3] The Pope sought relief in a treatment of asses' milk, and this remedy, which had often helped him in the past, brought about a slight improvement, but so injured his stomach that he was not able thenceforward to digest any food. It must be added that the Pope fasted too strictly in view of his age and wore himself out too much in the discharge of the duties of his office.[4] This naturally resulted in great weakness. At the end of March most of the physicians were of opinion that the Pope could at the outside only live for a few months.[5] Only his most intimate friends, especially Rusticucci and Bonelli, who had returned from his legation on April 4th, now had access to the sick

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of December 29, 1571, Urb. 1042, p. 168b, *ibid.*

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 609.

[3] In my account of his illness and death I have left out of account all subsequent embellishments and have confined myself to the reports of contemporaries, and especially of the ambassadors. From one of these is drawn the *Relatione* written on May 3, immediately after his death, "sull' infermità et morte di Pio V.," published by VAN ORTROY in Anal. Bolland., XXXIII., 200 *seq.*, from the Varia polit. of the Papal Secret Archives. Other copies of this "Relatione," *ibid.* in Cod. Bolognetti, 107, and in Cod. Vat. lat. 7484, p. 142 *seq.*, Vatican Library, in the Library, Berlin, Inf. polit. 26, in Cod. ital. 203 of the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, in Cod. 507, p. 2 *seq.* of the Library, Toulouse, and in Cod. 6325 of the Court Library, Vienna. The many *reports of the Bolognese envoy, Vincenzo Matuliani, in the State Archives, Bologna, are very full.

[4] See the *report of V. Matuliani of March 26, 1572, State Archives, Bologna.

[5] See the reports of Zuñiga of March 29 and 30, 1572, Corresp. dipl., IV., 711, 718.

man,[1] who was quite unable to assist at the Pontifical mass at Easter (April 6th). He wished, however, though he was in great pain, to give the solemn blessing to the Roman people. On hearing this an innumerable crowd assembled in the piazza of St. Peter's, wishing once more to see the face of the holy pontiff, and great was the wonder of all when he pronounced the words of the blessing in tones that were clear and audible by everyone. Many wept with joy, and began to hope that his precious life would be spared.[2] After this the Pope felt better for several days.[3]

But it was impossible to say that there was any real improvement in his state of health.[4] His stomach absolutely failed him, and at the same time there was a steady increase in the pain of his malady, which the Pope bore with the greatest patience. An operation which was suggested by the physicians was refused by the Pope, probably from motives of modesty.[5]

To his bodily pains were added those of the mind. Above all the conduct of the great Catholic powers weighed heavily upon him. Philip II. bore him malice on account of his attitude in the affair of Archbishop Carranza, and the am-

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Arco of April 5, 1572 (State Archives, Vienna), who tells of all the lotions with which they sought to relieve the sick man. See also the *letter of Zibramonti of March 29, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the anxiety at the court of Florence see PALANDRI, 165 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of A. Zibramonti of April 12, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *report of V. Matuliani of April 5, 1572, State Archives, Bologna, and the brief to William of Bavaria of April 8, 1572, in THEINER, Annal, eccles., I., 5.

[4] See the report of Zuñiga of April 10, 1572, Corresp. dipl., IV., 723.

[5] See the *report of Arco of April 12, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the *letter of Zibramonti of April 30, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Corresp. dipl., IV., 731, n. 1. His physician relates that on one occasion he had let himself be examined while he was a Cardinal, but that he would not allow this when he was Pope; see MARINI, II., 321.

bassador of the Catholic King was also threatening a breach of diplomatic relations should the Pope grant the marriage dispensation for Henry of Navarre, which the French ambassador was trying to obtain by threats of the withdrawal of the obedience of France. To all this had to be added the quarrel with the Emperor on account of the elevation of Cosimo de' Medici to the grand duchy of Tuscany.[1] It was the ardent wish of the Pope to be able to make once more the pilgrimage to the seven basilicas of Rome which was so dear to him; vainly did the physicians and his most intimate friends try to dissuade him from it, but on April 21st, although a strong wind was blowing off the sea, he undertook the long pilgrimage, during the course of which he went more than an Italian mile on foot. On the way to St. Paul's he met a shepherd, who gave him a lamb, while another person offered him some quails. At the Scala Santa he met some English exiles, whose names he caused to be taken, in order that he might send them some help, and looking up to heaven cried out: "My God! Thou knowest that I am ready to shed my blood to save that nation." He gave his blessing kindly to the crowd which thronged about him in thousands, and they were filled with renewed hopes at seeing how vigorously the sick man moved about.[2]

This was the last time that the Pope's strong will was able to make his feeble body obey him. During the days that followed he was no longer able to deal with current business.[3] On the evening of April 26th he was seized by a sudden collapse, from which, however, he quickly recovered, and was able on the following morning to give an audience to the Prince of Urbino; in the evening there was a second, but less serious

[1] See the *report of Cusano of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Vol. XVII., 365, and *infra*, p. 456, n. 4.

[2] See the *report of A. Zibramonti of April 26, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *letter of Arco of April 26, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. The episode of the English in CATENA, 215.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga of April 24, 1572, Corresp. dipl., IV., 729.

collapse. On the following morning Pius V. attempted to say mass, but his weakness prevented him from having this consolation, though he managed to assist at mass and to receive communion. Towards mid-day he had a further collapse which was so serious that his attendants thought him dead. All the gates in the Vatican were closed, all precautions were taken and the Cardinals were summoned, though soon this order was countermanded, as the Pope had rallied, though his condition was now hopeless.[1]

Pius looked forward to his dissolution with joy. While his attendants were sobbing and weeping, he was quite calm, and even tried to comfort them, saying that if it were necessary the Lord God could raise up from the stones the man of whom the Church had need in those difficult times. Of the prayers which he had read uninterruptedly even during the night, Pius loved best the seven penitential psalms and the history of Our Lord's Passion. Every time the name of Jesus occurred, he reverently uncovered his head, or at least made the attempt when his hands no longer permitted him to do so.[2] The defence of Christendom against Islam occupied his mind to the end; he repeatedly urged those about him to carry on the crusade against the Turks. His last act of government was to make over to his treasurer a casket containing 13,000 scudi, from which he had been accustomed to take what he needed for his private alms, saying that it had done good service for the league.[3]

On April 30th the Pope felt that his end was near. So that

[1] With the *Relatione* 201 quoted on p. 452, n. 3, see also the *report of Cusano of April 28, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also the *letter of A. Zibramonti of April 30, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *reports of V. Matuliani of April 27 and 30, and May 1, 1572, State Archives, Bologna.

[2] See CATENA, 216. *Cf.* also the report of A. Zibramonti of May 1, 1572, in Anal. Bolland., XXXIII., 202, n. 4.

[3] See the *Relatione, ibid.*, 203. One of the last *briefs relates to the Turkish war; it is dated April 27, 1572, and decrees the appointment of Michele Bonelli as "capit. generalis classis S.S^{tis}," Archives of Briefs, Rome.

he might die a simple religious he had himself clothed in the habit of St. Dominic. In the evening the sacristan administered Extreme Unction. As he was suffering from a violent cough, he had to forego the consolation of receiving Viaticum.[1] "The Pope," Aurelio Zibramonti, reported on April 30th, "lies motionless with his hands joined; none but a few penitentiaries are kneeling by him, and he is continually racked by violent pain."[2] When he came to himself for a moment, he was heard to say in a low voice: "Lord, increase my pains, but increase my patience too."[3] It was amid such heroic acts that Pius V. gave up his holy soul to God in the evening of May 1st, 1572.[4] He had reached the age of sixty-eight years, and had occupied the chair of Peter for six years, seven months, and twenty-three days.

From the first day of his reign to the last every effort of Puis V. had been devoted to the protection of the Church against the enemies of the Catholic faith, to her purification from every abuse, to her spread in the lands beyond the seas,

[1] See Anal. Bolland., XXXIII., 201 *seq.*

[2] *Letter in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Arco as well, in his *report of April 19, 1572 (State Archives, Vienna) speaks of the great pain which the Pope was constantly enduring.

[3] This expression, which is recorded by CATENA (p. 212) is also attested in the letter of A. Zibramonti of May 1, 1572 (Anal. Bolland., XXXIII., 202, n. 4) and by other reports (see Corresp dipl., IV., 731, n. 1).

[4] See FIRMANUS in Anal. Bolland., *loc. cit.*, n. 2; *cf. ibid.*, n. 4, the letter of A. Zibramonti, as well as the two *reports of Arco and Cusano of May 1, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. See also the letter of Gerini in GROTANELLI, Fra Geremia da Udine, Florence 1893, 25 *seq.* At the autopsy the physicians found three black stones; see the report of Giov. Franc. Marenco d'Alba in MARINI, II., 321; *cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 731. It is beyond question that Pius V. succumbed to stone. In his *report of May 24, 1572 (State Archives, Vienna; *cf. supra*, p. 454, n. 1) Cusano compares the three stones found in his bladder to the "tre ultre pietre" which had troubled him more than these, namely, his dislike for the affair of Carranza, the marriage dispensation of Navarre, and the disputes over the nomination of Cosimo as Grand Duke.

and to the defence of European Christendom against the attacks of Islam. It was only because of the shortness of his pontificate that he had been unable to attain full success in all these things, but nevertheless the holy Pope had accomplished wonders. His successors reaped, in many ways, what he had sown. During the period which immediately followed men realized more and more clearly the importance of his unwearied and far-reaching activity, not only in the cause of Catholic reform, but also of Catholic restoration. His contemporaries were quick to realize the grave loss that had come to the Church with his death, and it was the common opinion that a saint had left this world. In Rome above all was it seen what a great impression the life of the Pope had made. The inhabitants of the Eternal City, where perfect peace prevailed,[1] flocked in thousands round his body when it lay in state in St. Peter's. Everyone wished to possess as a precious relic something that had belonged to the dead Pope, so that at last the guards had to check the exaggerated eagerness of his devotees. Those who could not obtain a relic at least tried to touch the bier with their rosaries and other objects of piety.[2]

[1] See the *reports of V. Matuliani of May 1 and 3, 1572, State Archives, Bologna.

[2] See the *Relatione* in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 204. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 194; LANCIANI, IV., 45; *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1907, 220. Payments for the catafalque of Pius V., in *Mandata, 1572, p. 22b, State Archives, Rome. A detailed description of the relics of Pius V. at St. Mary Major's (among others the red "camauro," the breviary, etc.), is given by G. B. NASALLI ROCCA, S. Pio V. e le sue reliquie nella Basilica Liberiana[2], Rome, 1904. The original wooden coffin is preserved in the underground chapel of the "praesepium," the silk mozetta of Pius V. at S. Maria in Vallicella, and other relics in the Saint's cell at S. Sabina. The "sedia gestatoria" used by him is now in the so-called *octagon* of St. Gregory in St. Peter's. For the relics of Pius V. in the chapel of the Collegio Ghislieri at Pavia see DELL' ACQUA, 101. An Agnus Dei blessed by the holy Pope (very large, with the Saviour and the instruments of the Passion on the reverse) is in the Schnütgen Museum at Cologne.

One who was intimately acquainted with the Curia was of opinion that with the death of Pius V. the Church had lost a shepherd who was indeed pious and holy, a strong defender of religion, a stern punisher of vice, and a priest who was unsurpassed in his vigilance and unwearied in his labours, and who had devoted all his powers to the glory of God and the exaltation of the holy faith.[1] What so ascetic and strict a man as Charles Borromeo had said in 1568, namely that for a long time past the Church had had no better head,[2] had indeed been verified.[3]

The provisional burial of the mortal remains of Pius V. took place in the chapel of St. Andrew in St. Peter's,[4] whence

[1] See the *Relatione* in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 202. In a contemporary note at the head of the *litterae sede vacante post obitum Pii V. (Papal Secret Archives) the Pope is extolled as "vir singulari vitae sanctitate, vitiorum omnium, sed preacipue haereticae pravitatis vindex acerrimus, ecclesiasticae disciplinae restituendae audiosissimus." Poems in praise of the Pope, among them one by Sirleto, in CATENA, 219 *seq.* One by Commendone in MAI, Spicil., VIII., 487. It can be no matter for surprise that the strictness of Pius V. should also have given occasion for pasquinades which are full of venom; see MASIUS, Briefe, 483 *seq.*

[2] The undated *letter addressed to Lod. Antinori, Ambrosian Library, Milan, F. 40 Inf. p. 27.

[3] "He was the holiest of the Popes," says Camaiani in his *letter from Rome, May 1, 1572, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 656, p. 501. See also the opinions of Folieta and Mureto in CIACONIUS, III., 1000, 1009 *seq.*; WERRO in *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1907, 219, and the opinion of the physician of Pius V. in MARINI, II., 321-323. *Cf.* also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 352, and the Vita di Pio V. in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII., 215., Moreover, Lord Bacon of Verulam in his Dialogus de bello sacro, after speaking of the victory of Lepanto, "quae hamum inseruit naribus Ottomanni usque ad diem hodiernum," makes one of the characters say: "Quod opus praecique instructum et animatum fuit ab eximio illo Principe Papa Pio V., quem miror successores inter sanctos non retulisse." (*Opera*, Hafniae, 1694, 1299).

[4] The original inscription in *Mandata, 1572, p. 219, State Archives, Rome.

they were to be removed to Bosco, his humble birthplace, to the church of the Dominicans, which he had built there; such in his humility, had been the wish of the dead Pope.[1] But Sixtus V. wished to retain in the Eternal City the earthly remains of the man whom he had so much venerated, and he erected for the purpose a magnificent monument of the chapel of the Presepio, which he had built in St. Mary Major's.[2] The translation of the body from the chapel of St. Andrew to the Liberian basilica took place on January 9th, 1588, with great solemnity, and in the presence of great crowds; and as Marc Antoine Muret had done on the occasion of his funeral, so this time did Antonio Boccapaduli deliver a discourse which won universal admiration.[3]

It was also Sixtus V. who introduced the process for the canonization of Pius V. On account of the great care and caution with which Rome is wont to proceed in such matters, it was not brought to a conclusion until the latter part of the seventeenth century; on May 10th, 1672, Clement X. pronounced the beatification of Pius V., and on May 22nd, 1712, he was placed among the number of the saints by

[1] See the *Relatione*, 204, cited *supra*, p. 457, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* CATENA, Lettere, Rome, 1589, 8 *seq.*; DE ANGELIS, Basilica S. Mariae Mai., Rome, 1621, 173; KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 622; ESCHER, Barock und Klassizismus, Leipsic, 1910, 106 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Sixtine, Rome, 47.

[3] See the report of P. Galesino in THEINER, Annales eccles., I., 7 *seq.*, Acta Sanct. Maii 1, 697 *seq.*, and GATTICUS, 480. In 1904 the 400th anniversary of the birth of Pius V. was specially celebrated in Rome and Pavia. On March 10 in that year, in the presence of Cardinal V. Vannutelli, Archpriest of the basilica, and of the chapter, the sarcophagus of Pius V. was opened. The skeleton, which was in a perfect state of preservation (reproduction in the work of Nasalli Rocca mentioned on p. 457, n. 2), was then clothed in new vestments and the head enclosed with a silver mask made from the original cast preserved in the Manzia family, a change that can hardly be considered an improvement by anyone who knew it in its former state.

Clement XI., who also assigned his feast to May 5th.[4]

Every year on that day an altar is erected before the tomb of Pius V., the last of the Popes to be canonized so far, at which priests offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Then the tablet of gilt bronze, which encloses the front of the sarcophagus, is removed, and behind the glass may be seen the body of the fifth Pius in his Pope's robes; lit up by the rays of many lamps, and surrounded by the many-coloured glory of May flowers, and amid clouds of fragrant incense, there is nothing about it of the terrors of death. All day long Romans and foreigners, priests and laymen, rich and poor, gather there to venerate in fervent prayer the man to whom the Church owes so much.

[4] See THEINER, *loc. cit.* 9; Acta Sanct. Maii 1, 621, 715 *seq.* The beautiful "Officium Pii V." in JOYAU, Pie V., 371 *seq.* *Cf.* Acta canoniz. Pii V., etc., Rome, 1720.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

1. Pius V. to King Charles IX. of France.[1]

[Roma]. 8 March, 1566.

"Optaremus tranquilliorem esse regni tui statum," ma per le turbolenze hai occasione di conquistarti meriti per la religione. Hai represso nel tuo regno l'eresia. "Ad eam plane tollendam et Francorum inclytae nationi pristinam ex religionis orthodoxae cultu gloriam restituendam incumbe, quaesumus, toto pectore, ut facis." È inoltre specialmente necessario "ut ecclesiarum regimen, quas vacare contigerit, viris lectissimis semper et vitae honestate ac divini honoris zelo praestantibus committatur, et ut episcopi et alii, qui curae animarum praesunt, in suis ecclesiis, sicut Sacrum Concilium statuit, residentes ovibus suis pastoralem vigilantiam ac solicitudinem praestent regio tuo favore praesidioque muniti."

[Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 31. Papal Secret Archives.]

2–3. The Bull "In Coena Domini" of 10 April, 1568.[2]

In order to understand the lively controversies which arose on the subject of this document, it is necessary to point out the additions made by Pius V. in 1568. In his work "Pragmatische Geschichte der so berufenen Bulle In Coena Domini und ihrer fürchterlichen Folgen für den Staat und die Kirche" (Ulm, 1769; 2nd. ed. Frankfurt, 1772), which serves polemical party purposes, and not historical truth, Le Bret has not considered it necessary to read the original form. Moreover the Old Catholic writers, Huber and Döllinger, who in "Janus"[3] made use of the bull for an impassioned attack on the Papacy, which was soon afterwards learnedly refuted by Hergenröther, paid no attention to the exact sense which Pius V. gave to the bull in 1568. It is even more surprising that a scholar who had had such detailed experience of bibliography and original sources as

[1] See *supra*, p. 145, n. 2.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 35, n. 2; 51, n. 1.
[3] Der Papst und der Konzil, Leipsic, 1869, 408 *seq.*

REUSCH, who devoted a special chapter to the bull, should not have known of the text of 1568. M. HAUSMANN in his work, which is in other respects so careful, "Geschichte der päpstlichen Reservatfälle" (Ratisbon, 1868), merely remarks (p. 101) that by the clause "Volentes praesentes nostros processus ac omnia quaecunque his litteris contenta, quousque alii huiusmodi processus a nobis aut Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente fiant aut publicentur, durare suosque effectus omnino sortiri," Pius V. raised the bull to be a general ecclesiastical law, which was to be binding and which was to last until future Popes should issue further instructions. Further (on p. 373) he remarks concerning the additions made with regard to the decrees of the Council, that difficulties were to be found in the clause, but he does not pay any attention to the additions which provoked the opposition of Spain and Venice. It is evident that he, like HINSCHIUS (V., 648), had not before him the text of the bull of 1568. Yet it was to be found in many places, e.g. in the State Archives, Modena.

The first to call attention to the original copies of the bull *In Coena Domini* of the time of Pius V., which are to be found in the Papal Secret Archives, was GÖLLER, in his fundamental work on the Penitentiaria (II., 204); he, however, refrains from speaking about it "thinking that its contents and its history will have been dealt with by others." To the references pointed out by GÖLLER: Instrum. Miscell. for the year 1566; Arm. 8, caps. 1 for the years 1566, 1571, 1572; Arm. 9, caps. 1, n. 58, for each year with the exception of "a.V." (1570), must be added: Miscell. Arm. 4, t. 24, where there are copies of the bull of 1566, 1568, and 1569. The report of 1570, which GÖLLER says is missing, is published in MUTINELLI, I., 223 *seq.*, according to the edition of A. Bladus, which was attached to the dispatch of the Venetian ambassador in Rome, of April 8, 1570, in the State Archives, Venice.

Professor POGATSCHER had the kindness to compare the bulls of 1566 and 1568 with the copies in Miscell. Arm. 4, bringing out the following points of difference (he has paid no attention to minor variants or to the inversion of the order of some of the paragraphs):

Paragraph 1, "In haereticos" in 1568, is followed by: ac eos, qui in animarum suarum periculum se a nostra et Rom. Pont. pro tempore existentis obedientia pertinaciter subtrahere seu

quomodolibet recedere praesumunt. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus et interdicimus omnes et singulas personas cuiuscumque status, gradus seu conditionis fuerint universitatesque, collegia et capitula quocumque nomine nuncupentur, ab ordinationibus, sententiis seu mandatis nostris ac Rom. Pont. pro tempore existentium ad universale futurum Concilium appellantes vel ad id consilium, auxilium vel favorem dantes.—In the paragraph, In eos, qui manus iniciunt in patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos has in 1568 become: S. R. E. cardinales, extendentes C. *Foelicis*[1] cum omnibus poenis in eo contentis ac patriarchas, archiepiscopos et episcopos Sedisque Apostolicae nuncios vel legatos aut praefatos nuncios et legatos e suis terris seu dominiis eiicientes.—All new in 1568 in the paragraph, In laicos se intromittentes in causis capitalibus seu criminalibus contra personas ecclesiasticas, this is followed by: Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes et quoscumque magistratus, senatores, praesidentes, auditores et omnes alios quoscumque iudices quocumque nomine vocentur at cancellarios, vicecancellarios, notarios, scribas at quoscumque executores et subexecutores, omnesque alios quoquo modo se intromittentes in causis capitalibus seu criminalibus contra personas ecclesiasticas, illas capiendo, processando seu sententias contra illas proferendo vel exequendo, etiam praetextu quorumcumque privilegiorum a Sede Apostolica concessorum quibuscumque regibus, ducibus, principibus, rebuspublicis, monarchis, civitatibus et aliis quibuscumque potentatibus quocumque nomine censeantur, quae nolumus illis in aliquo suffragari, revocantes ex nunc, quatenus opus sit, praedicta privilegia per quoscumque Rom. Pont. praedecessores nostros et Sedem Apostolicam sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis ac quovis praetextu vel causa concessa, illaque irrita et nulla ac nullius roboris, vel momenti fore et esse decernentes.—New also in 1568 is the paragraph: Praecipimus autem et mandamus in virtute sanctae obedientiae at sub poena indignationis omnipotentis Dei at beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et nostrae universis, et singulis patriarchis, archiepiscopis et episcopis caeterisque locorum ordinariis necnon quibusvis aliis curam animarum exercentibus et aliis presbyteris saecularibus seu quorumvis ordinum regularibus ad audiendam confessionem quavis auctoritate expositis sive deputatis, nede huiusmo di

[1] C. 5, l. 5, tit. 9 in VI.°

reservatione praetendere valeant ignorantiam, ut transumptum harum litterarum apostolicarum penes se habere easque legere diligenter et attente studeant.

The Bulls of the following years agree with that of 1568.

4-5. Negotiations of A. Rucellai concerning the assistance to be given to France by Pius V., 1568.[1]

In Varia polit. 81 (now 82) of the Papal Secret Archives the following original documents on this subject are preserved :

I. A minute of the *instructions " data al Sor Rucellai, di Roma a 9 aprile 1568 " ; pp. 424-425 ; if the king wishes to purge his kingdom of heretics, the Pope is ready to give him every assistance. The king asks for 300,000 scudi. After the conclusion of the peace with the Huguenots the Pope cannot give money in such a way as to pay heretics.—A document to the same effect refers to this matter, p. 628 *seq.* at the head of which is written : " 13 d'aprile in Francia 1568." It is evident that the things written on pp. 630-632 are connected with the above : " *Favori che si fanno a Hugonotti in pregiuditio de catholici e della religione," and on p. 633 : " *Capi del editto non osservati in pregiuditio de catholici."[2]

II. " *Instruttione per il Sor Hannibale Rucellai, gentilhuomo ordinario de la camera del Re nel viaggio che fa a Roma per servitio di S.M^tà^," June 13, 1568, p. 636 *seq.* ; Rucellai is to report as to the conditions in France after the peace, and is to ask for assistance since in consequence of the war the king has not the means to maintain his state and the Catholic faith. Proposals as to the means by which it will be possible, with the Pope's permission, to get together the needful financial help for the king.[3]

6. Pope Pius V. to Charles IX., King of France.[4]

1569, November 19, Rome.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Francorum Regi Christianissimo.

Pius Papa Quintus.

Charissime in Christo fili noster salutem et apostolicam

[1] See *supra*, p. 117, n. 2. The letters of Catherine to the Pope relating to the mission of Rucellai, dated March 1, 1568, in Lettres de Catherine de' Médicis, III., 129.

[2] For the Mission of Rucellai, *see also*, Corresp. dipl., II., 343.

[3] For the arrival of Rucellai in Rome and his negotiations *see*, Corresp. dipl. II., 405, 411.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 109, n. 2 ; 125, n. 4.

benedictionem. Lectis litteris Maiestatis Tuae, quibus Carolum Guillart Carnutensem quondam episcopum, propter nefandum haeresis crimen ab episcopatu depositum nobis accuratissime commendat, praeterire non potuimus quin pro nostra paterna erga te benevolentia, nostrum ex tali commendatione susceptum animo dolorem Maiestati Tuae libere significaremus. Nos enim, si ulli ex christianis catholicisque regibus, quos aeque omnes, ut debemus, tanquam charissimos in Christo filios nostros diligimus, satisfactum cupimus, tibi certe, quantum cum Domino possumus, morem gerere commendationibusque tuis satisfacere maxime cupimus : veruntamen publicos haereticos a sancto inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis officio et a foelicis recordationis praedecessore nostro in sacro consistorio damnatos ac depositos nobis a te commendari, praeterquamquod commendanti tibi haud satis decorum est, nos id praeterea sine magna animi perturbatione pati non possumus. Ac Maiestatem Tuam nos quidem scimus tales nobis homines commendaturam non fuisse, nisi de illis bene existimaret bonosque et catholicos esse putaret : sed hoc tamen dolemus in ea re, quae officii cognitionisque nostrae propria est, te aliorum potius opinionibus moveri quam nostro praedecessorumque nostrorum iuditio acquiescere. Multos in isto regno Maiestas Tua Ugonotos reperiet, qui et missarum solemnibus intersint et multis aliis eiusmodi inditiis catholicorum speciem prae se ferant, quos tamen illis, qui haec ipsa palam aversantur, multo peiores nequioresque esse pro certo habemus. Illi enim suam qualencunque persuasionem, quamvis falsam, pertinaciter tenent ; hi vero, quia neque Deum esse neque aeternam vitam credunt, omnia sibi licere arbitrantur, insipientes, corrupti, abominabiles, qui, dummodo commoditatibus suis obsequantur et quicquid volunt obtineant, nihil pensi habent utrum catholicorum an haereticorum instituta moresque sectentur. Quorum fictam pietatem ob eam quoque causam cavere studiosius debes, quod qui Deum non timent, eos ne homines quidem ac propterea nec Maiestatem Tuam revertituros esse verisimile est. Quam quidem nos rogamus, ne, recentissimum proxime sibi ab omnipotenti Deo concessae victoriae beneficium oblita, tales posthac homines nobis commendare velit, sed potius in eius, quem nobis commendat, ob nefandum, ut diximus, haeresis crimen depositi, locum virum pium, catholicum apostolicaque confirmatione dignum

quamprimum nominet. Quod idem etiam de aliis duabus ecclesiis, Valentina et Uceticensi, Maiestatem Tuam monemus, quarum quondam episcopis Ioanne Monlutio et Ludovico de Albret, ob eandem causam ab episcopatu depositis, in eorum locum viros catholicos et tanto muneri fungendo idoneos nominari decet. Est enim valde indignum et in tanta haereticae pravitatis peste periculosum, tales tres ecclesias, propriorum pastorum solatio destitutas, tandiu vacare ; quibus nos, pro nostro iure, quos vellemus episcopos praeficere potuissemus, nisi Maiestatem Tuam, cuius est nominatio, officio suo et saluti illarum animarum aliquando consulturam esse speravissemus. Quod ut quamprimum faciat utque in ea re et omnipotenti Deo, cui multa debet, inserviat et nobis, qui eam paterne diligimus, obsequatur vehementer in Domino rogamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die decima nona novembris MDLXIX, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

[Arm. 44, t. 14, p. 292b–294. Papal Secret Archives.]

As late as 1571 Pius V. complained that Catholics had dealings with the deposed bishop of Valence ; see LADERCHI, 1571, n. 127 *seqq.*

7. NICOLAS SANDERS TO M. A. GRAZIANI.[1]

Louvain, 14 February, 1570.

"De rebus Angliae quod querar habeo, quod cum gaudio scribam non habeo. Duo catholici comites et alii nobiles non pauci arma pro causa fidei catholicae sumpserunt hac spe, ut saltem S. Stem illis affuturam non dubitarent. Nec aliud fere praesidium ab ea postulabant quam ut ab obedientia reginae palam absoluti primum eo modo et suis domi et aliis qui foris sunt persuadere possent se non tanquam perduelles, verum tanquam ecclesiae filios arma sumpsisse." Nothing is done in Rome. "Interim tamen nos testes sumus, quanta cum diligentia nobiles ex Anglia ad nos miserint, ut scirent tum an Sedes Apostolica quicquam adhuc promulgasset contra reginam, tum an sine illius auctoritate quicquam possent salva conscientia conari ut se ab ista tyrannide liberarent. Quoad primum respondimus nihil esse hic publicatum quod nos sciremus, quoad secundum theologi gravissimi dissen-

[1] See *supra*, p. 209, n. 4.

serunt, aliis non dubitantibus, quin absque authoritate apostolica posset defendi catholica religio in iis articulis, qui sunt alioquin notissimi, aliis autem esserentibus, vel necessarium vel tutius esse, ut expectaretur S. Pontificie sententia." In this uncertain state of affairs 4,000 went to Scotland to await there the Pope's decision. They have been there for three months and are waiting for the Pope to take action against the queen. Many Englishmen will follow them.

"Ergo si S. S^{tas} tantum inciperet palam agredi hanc causam, optimi quique catholici, qui proculdubio multi sunt et satis potentes, pro fide arma sumerent. Verum si et hoc S. S^{tas} attendendum iudicaret, ut quicunque pro catholica fide arma sumerent, ii fundos et agros ecclesiasticos inique acquisitos post poenitentiam legitime actam retinere salva conscientia possent et a restitutione liberari, fallimur, si nota nobilitas (exceptis paucissimis) fidem catholicam non propugnarent. Nihil enim eos perinde retardat ab ea re quam quod timent, ne si obedientia Sedi Apostolicae restituta fuerit, a suis praediis excidere cogantur. Alioquin enim sunt catholici pene omnes, quamquam ad rem suam nimium affecti. Sed quibus merito queas confidere, sunt ex comitibus et baronibus fere 6 aut 7, ex equitibus et aliis nobilibus inferiorum ordinum supra mille. Haeresi autem non nisi 5 aut 6 comites infecti sunt, reliqua haereticorum multitudo tota constat ex paucis delicatis aulicis et sedentariis opificibus; nam rusticana turba, quae et longe maxima est et sola in telure praeclarissimam opem navat, tota catholica est.

Duo igitur sunt apud vos procuranda. Unum ut Sua S^{tas} in reginam Elisabetham aliquid publice moliatur, alterum ut excitet nobiles ad fidem catholicam defendendam ea conditione, ut si eam propugnaverint, poenitentiamque de fundis iniuste partis agant, a restitutione liberentur. Quae duo si fierent, viri prudentissimi iudicarent, non modo catholicose ad unum omnes, sed praeterea omnes neutros et quosdam etiam ex schismaticis pro catholica fide arma sumpturos."

Gratianus communicated the state of affairs to Hosius and Commendone. The Pope should proceed against Elizabeth especially as Philip II. had broken off relations and France is only waiting for the Pope to act. Let the Pope launch the excommunication at once.

"Faxit Deus ne amicos Romae inveniat haeresis, quos non

invenit fides catholica. Quis det cardinalibus nostris spiritum intelligentiae, consilii et fortitudinis," in order that they should not allow the Pope to delay any longer.

"Inceperat [the Pope] bene, quum poenitentiarium summum in Angliam misit, et nunc re semel inchoata non est committendum, ut deserantur catholici ab ipso Papa, pro quo pugnant." The Pope must assert his personal authority.

[Autograph P.S.] "Iam nunc litterae ex Hispania perscriptae sunt a ducissa de Feria, in quibus significat," that Philip II. will help the English Catholics. "Ergo favebunt alieni, non favebit iisdem catholicis apostolica sedes? Obstupescent coeli super hoc." The force of the excommunication will be great.

[Copy. Graziani Archives Città di Castello, Istruz. I., 26.]

8–9. Avvertimenti sopra li maneggi di Francia del Bramante [Autumn, 1570.][1]

Under this title there are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives, Varia polit. 82, pp. 287-294, minute accounts of the negotiations of Bramante with Catherine de' Medici, which took place in the presence of Charles IX. and Anjou. To the complaints made by the nuncio that the queen retained suspected persons among her confidants, that she treated the Catholics badly and favoured the Huguenots, and that she was in close relations with the heretics, Catherine declared that all these things were "gross lies." She expressed her sorrow that the world should have so bad an opinion of her religious convictions, and gave her assurance that she wished to be the most obedient daughter of the Holy See. When Bramante deplored the agreement come to with Coligny, even though the latter was at the end of his resources and had no hope of help from Germany, the king, who would not allow Catherine to speak, remarked that the Pope was wrongly informed. There then arose a long discussion as to the motive why the French government, after the victory of Moncontour, had not taken vigorous action against the Huguenots. Here again the answer was made that the Pope had been given false information by other persons. The king further complained of the imprisonment of Galeazzo San Severino, which gave Bramante the opportunity of making a long reply:

[1] See *supra*, p. 133, n. 4.

"Poi mi soggionsero [le M^{tà} loro] con un mestissimo et addolorato animo le tante persecutioni loro et maledicenze et malignità di ametterli in disperatione et darsi in preda alli nemici di Dio, li quali li fanno mille offerte; il che mai loro faranno, havendo speranza in Dio che li aiutarà.

Mi soggionse anco che Sua S^{tà} per amor di Dio non l'abandoni, che li sono buoni et obedienti figli, et che non creda a tante malignità che si dicano di loro, che della lega dava la sua parola a Sua S^{tà} secondo io le scrissi.

Quanto alli synodi et residentia de' vescovi, che giudicavano essere necessaria, et Sua S^{tà} havesse scritto un breve al rè acciò havesse prestato il suo braccio seculare per la essecutione di quanto sopra ciò havesse ordinato et specialmente in privar quelli che non ressedano, eccettuando quelli che non stanno al servito di quella corona, che saranno due ò tre: et così che li vescovi debbiano dare tutte le loro ressolutioni, che faranno nelli sinodi, al rè, per mandarle a Sua S^{tà}, circa che potrà considerar bene Sua S^{tà} quello che li torni più a proposito, che non si habbig a far qualche preiuditio alla Sede apostolica.

Monsr di Angiù mi disse che facessi fede a Sua S^{tà} come la regina sua madre et lui erano catolici et devoti di questa S^{tà} Sede et di Sua S^{tà}, et che per la defension di essa era per mettere la vita, come ha fatto sin' hora, et che era mentita quanto li era stato detto in contrario et pregava Sua S^{tà} a marchiar quelli tali.

Il rè et la regina mi dissero il medemo et pregavano Sua S^{tà} che per l'avenire, se nessuno le veniva a dire simili cose, che lo sequestrasse, et poi se ne informasse et, se si trovava esser vero, che loro Maestà si sottomettevano ad ogni censura di N^{ro} Sig^{re}; quando fusse stato altrimente, che havesse castigato quei tali.

Di più mi dissero che assicurassi Sua S^{tà} che hoggidì non si vedono più heretici a canto et che tutti li caccia via nè fa loro buona cera.

Delle cose d'Avignone mostrorno gran desiderio di dar ogni aiuto, acciò quel luogo fosse spurgato da heretici, et che aspettava Danvilla per pigliar provisione, acciò si levasse da Oranges quel trattato.

Del gran duca di Toscana mi dissero che si erano mostrati obedienti a Sua S^{tà} in dargli il titolo di gran duca; il che hanno recusato fare duchi d'Italia, vassalli di Sua S^{tà}; et

che per degni rispetti hoggi non sarebbe fatta altra resolutione circa alla precedentia del duca di Ferrara, con tutta la grande instantia che le ne facci l'imperatore, il quale non è per obedirlo etiam che desse sententia contro il gran duca.

Che loro sicome per il passato hanno messa la vita et per il regno et per la religion cattolica et per il mantenimento della Santa Chiesa ; che così faranno per l'avenire et che, sapendo questo Sua Stà, la prega voglia esser contenta amar quella corona et non patir che sia così distratiata et disperata da metterla in disperatione con pericolo di perderla.

Pregava Sua Stà che, quando le manda nuntii, sia contenta mandarle persone non appassionate, amorevoli et ben viste da lor MMtà, et non persone appassionate et rotte, come era il già vescovo di Viterbo.

Che Sua Stà sia certa che nel regno sono più interessi et inimicitie che heretici.

Che tuttavia questi capi di heretici vanno mancando da sè, et spera in Dio che le cose si reduranno nel stato pristino avanti queste calamità causate per essere il rè putto et da l'interessi et inimicitie de' principi di quel regno et da l'ambitio loro di regnare."

10. Bramante to Cardinal Rusticucci.[1]

Mézières, 28 November, 1570.

In questo viagio da Parigi a Misers[2] per tutto dove allogiavamo si è fatta diligentia de intendere la quantità de Ugonoti che vi si ritrovavano, et in San Martino, loco de Memoransi, dove allogiassimo la prima sera intendessimo, che in quattromilia anime che ivi erano non vi si trovavano quattro Ugunoti li quali stavano quieti et attendevano a fare il fatto loro. Ms. Nuntio adimando si Memoransi nella rocca vi teneva alcuno Ugunoto, et le fu resposto di non, ma che bene al tempo della guerra ivi si erano ritirati certi per salvarsi. In villa Cutre,[3] loco della regina madre, dove allogiassimo la 2da sera intendessimo il medemo. In la città de Sueson,[4] dove fumo la 3a sera, si intese che vi erano da quaranta case de Ugunoti tra mille case che erano in quel loco, ne questo era maraviglia per esser questa città stata in poter de Ugunoti

[1] See *supra*, p. 154, n. 2.
[2] Mézières.
[3] Villers-Cotterets.
[4] Soissons.

nove mesi. Si intese ch' el vescovo hora attendeva al debito suo et che nel continuo le chiese erano piene de cattolici si alle messe come a le prediche. Non per questo il vescovo è degno di scusa, che dovea dal principio non lassar inverminir questa piaga. Il quarto giorno fussimo a Lan,[1] città de grande importantia et ivi intendessimo che solo vi erano quattro case de Ugunoti. Il quinto giorno fussimo Moncorneto,[2] villagio del principato de Conde et ivi intendessimo che non vi era nessuno Ugunoto, il simile intendessimo in Ubigni, villagio de li canonici di Renzo et altre tanto si è inteso qui in Misiers ; a tale che si fa giuditio che per mille catholici non vi sono quattro Ugunoti et non si ha da desperare che dandosi hora ch' l male è fresco quella medicina che si spera da la misericordia de Dio che questa regno si potrebbe vedere purgato de questi inimici de Dio.

[Orig. Nunziat. di Francia, IV., 94[b]. Papal Secret Archives.]

11. Report in cipher of Bramante to Cardinal Rusticucci.[3]

1570, November 28.

Il rev[mo] Pelue mi ha detto che il Re ha humore con far carezze a qualch' uno di questi Ugonotti confidenti dello admiraglio et alli altri per captivarseli et per denari et altre gratie fargli ammazzare lo admiraglio et altri capi et così fargli estinguere da loro medesimi ; chè, come siano levati questi capi, li altri si estingueranno in tre giorni. Il discorso mi piace, quando segua lo effetto ; bisogna raccommandarsi a Dio quia res sua agitur. Ma io mai me ne quietarei, fin che fussero revocati et annichilati li capituli di questa obprobriosa pace et che li heretici si abbrusciassero, come al tempo delli rè passati, et come si deve fare con arbori senza frutto et pecore contaminate.

[Orig. Nunziat. di Francia IV., 77. Papal Secret Archives.]

12. The Captain of the Guard, Jost Segesser, to the Council of Lucerne.[4]

January 10, 1572.

A detailed report on the fate of his 25 guards who took part in the battle of Lepanto as halberdiers of Marcantonio

[1] Laon.
[2] Moncornet.
[3] See *supra*, p. 154, n. 3.
[4] See *supra*, p. 431.

Colonna. "Es hat ouch der unseren einer von Kriens, genampt Hans Nölle zwei zeichen oder fendli wie man gewonet in galeen zu gebruchen erobert und si mir geschenckt so ins türcken obersten galeen gsin. Selbige ich üch bi zeiger diss, Misser Bernarden von Castanova zuschicken, die wolle uwer streng ersam wysheit gnedigklichen von ime und mir empfachen."[1]

[Letters of the Guard. State Archives, Lucerne.]

[1] The two triangular banners of the same size, in red cloth, with white cloth bands sewn upon them, on which there is painted in black a sentence of the Koran, are now preserved in the historical museum at Lucerne (n. 627-28). Information kindly supplied by Dr. Robert Durrer of Stans.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XVIII.

AGUILAR, Marquis (Spanish obedientia envoy), 7.
Alava (Spanish ambassador to France), 134 n. 1, 176 n. 1.
Alba, Duke of, 13 *seqq.*, 91 *seq.*, 94 *seqq.*, 97-104, 198 *seqq.*, 204 *seq.*, 208, 211, 215, 217, 219, 227-237, 323.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 250 *seq.*, 254, 262 *seq.*, 280 n. 2, 283, 291, 296 *seqq.*
Albret, Jeanne d' (Queen of Navarre), 109, 136, 329.
Albret, Louis d' (Bishop of Lescar), 108, 125, 468.
Albuquerque (Governor of Milan), 17, 21 *seqq.*, 26 n. 6, 63.
Albuquerque, Bernard (Bishop of Oaxaca), 336 n. 1.
Alcalá, Duke of (Viceroy of Naples), 53-57.
Aldobrandini, Giovanni (Bishop of Imola, grand-penitentiary), Cardinal, 383, 386.
Alessandrino, Cardinal, *see* Bonelli, Michele.
Alexander VI., Pope, 335.
Allen, William (afterwards Cardinal), 201.
Altemps, Cardinal, see Hohenems.
Alzamara, Luis, 442.
Andelot (Huguenot), 148.
Angennes, Charles d' (Bishop of Le Mans, French envoy in Rome), 117.
Anjou, *see* Henry of Anjou.
Anne (daughter of William of Orange), 76.
Antinori, Lodovico (Bishop of Volterra, Tuscan envoy in Rome), 281, 458 n. 2.
Antoniano, Silvio (latinist, professor at the Roman university), 445.
Aquaviva, Giulio, Cardinal, 33 n. 1, 45 *seq.*
Aragones, Miguel (S.J.), 329 n. 1.
Aragonia, Mgr., 405.
Arco (Imperial envoy in Rome), 15, 31, 36 n. 3, 106 n. 1, 122 n. 2, 139 n. 1, 216, 260 *seq.*, 266, 272 *seq.*, 275, 300 n. 1, 449.
Arcuzio, Giambattista (poet), 446.
Argyll, Earl of, 163, 165, 166 n. 4, 169, 171 *seq.*
Armagnac, Cardinal, 106 n. 2, 131 n. 2, 144 n. 2.
Arundel, Earl of, 193.
Atholl, Earl of, 166 n. 4.
Auger, Edmond (S.J.), 150 *seq.*
Augustus of Saxony, 76.
Avilés, Menéndez de (Governor of Florida), 345.
Azevedo, Ignatius (S.J.), 326–330.

BACON OF VERULAM, Lord, 458 n. 3.
Baglioni, Paolo Francesco (Papal commissary-general) 382.
Bannister (retainer of duke of Norfolk), 237.
Barbarigo, Agostino (Venetian admiral), 417, 420, 447.
Barker (Duke of Norfolk's secretary), 237 *seq.*
Barreto, Nuñez (Patriarch of Abyssinia), 347.

Baume, Claude de la (Archbishop of Besançon), 81 n. 2.
Bazan, Alvaro de, Marquis of Santa Cruz (Spanish admiral), 420.
Beaton (Archbishop of Glasgow), 162, 165, 170, 179, 197.
Bedford, Earl of, 193, 233 n. 1.
Bedra, Bartolomeo (episcopal vicar in Chiggiogna), 320.
Bellenden, 163.
Beltran, *see* Bertrand.
Berardi, Family of the, 422.
Bergis, Max. de (Bishop of Cambrai), 78.
Bertrand [Beltran], Louis (O.P.) St., 345 *seq.*
Beza, Theodore, 148 n. 3.
Biglia, Melchior, Count (nuncio), 249, 253, 257, 262, 268, 276 n. 4, 278, 290 n. 1, 294.
Boccapaduli, Antonio (latinist), 459.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 2.
Bonelli, Girolamo (nephew of Pius V.), 432.
Bonelli, Michele (O.P., nephew to Pius V.), Cardinal [Alessandrino], 4, 9 n. 2, 19, 20 n. 2, 26 n. 1, 29 n. 5, 34 n. 3, 47, 56, 64–68, 93 n. 2, 139 *seqq.*, 145, 162, 181, 200 n. 4, 243, 273, 349, 371 n. 1, 383 *seq.*, 401, 408 *seqq.*, 452.
Bonelli, Michele (envoy to Florence), 271, 381, 422, 428, 432, 455 n. 3.
Bonrizzo, Aloisio (Venetian secretary), 366.
Bonsi, Domenico (envoy of Cosimo I. in Rome), 269.
Borgia, Francis (S.J.), St., 67, 140, 181, 254, 326 *seq.*, 330, 345, 350 *seq.*
Borromeo, Charles, Cardinal, 2 n. 3, 13, 17–26, 31, 51 n. 1, 63 n. 1, 69, 247, 314, 315 n. 1, 318–322, 325, 409, 458.
Bothwell, James Hepburn, Earl of, 166 n. 4, 168 *seq.*, 171–178, 180 *seqq.*, 185 *seq.*, 186, 193 *seq.*, 195, 197 *seq.*, 240 n. 3.
Bourbon, Cardinal (Papal legate), 106, 130.
Bragadino, Marcantonio (defender of Famagosta), 391, 417, 418 n. 1.
Braganza, Constantino di (Viceroy of the Indies), 348.
Bramante, Francesco (Papal notary, envoy to France), 131 *seqq.*, 138 n. 3, 154, 470, 472 *seq.*
Brederode, 82.
Brendel, Daniel (Archbishop of Mayence), 247, 254, 293.
Brumano, Cesare (Neapolitan nuncio), 55.
Brus von Müglitz, Ant. (Archbishop of Prague), 293 *seq.*
Buchanan, 176 n. 2, 240.
Burali, Paolo (Theatine, Bishop of Piacenza), Cardinal, 321.
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 135, 187, 191, 193, 209 n. 1, 224 *seqq.*, 233 n. 1, 236 *seqq.*, 240, 242.
Bussoti, Bartolomeo (papal treasurer), 449.

Cadaville (Huguenot naval captain), 329.
Caetani, Onorato, 422, 432.
Caligari (auditor to Commendone), 212 n. 1, 253.
Camaiani, Onofrio (agent of Cosimo I.), 269, 270, 276, 458 n. 3.
Camaiani, Pietro (Bishop of Fiesole, then of Ascoli, Spanish nuncio), 10–14, 90.
Camerarius (Imperial councillor), 266.
Campagna, Girolamo (sculptor), 446.
Campbell, Alexander, 161 n. 4.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 151, 249, 252, 289 *seq.*, 292, 298 *seq.*, 445.
Capitone, Feliciano (Archbishop of Avignon), 153.
Capizuchi, Family of the, 422,

Caracciolo, Marcello, 40.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 29, 350.
Carafa, Mario (Archbishop of Naples), 11.
Cardena, Alfonso de (killed at Lepanto), 422.
Carillo, Hernando de (envoy of Don John in Rome), 414.
Carlos, Don (son of Philip II.) 42-54.
Carncovius, Stanislaus (Bishop of Leslau [Cujavia]), 307 n. 2.
Carnesecchi, Pietro (heretic), 270.
Carranza, Bartolomé (Archbishop of Toledo), 5 *seq.*, 8 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*, 14, 70, 453.
Casale, Alessandro (Papal envoy), 10 n. 1, 69.
Cassander, 83.
Castagna, Giov. Batt. (Archbishop of Rossano, nuncio in Madrid), 2-6, 9, 12 n. 1, 13-16, 24 n. 1, 25, 31-34, 39-43, 45 *seq.*, 49 n. 3, 54-59, 62-66, 68 *seq.*, 90, 93, 115, 159 n. 6, 199, 231 *seq.*, 330 n. 4, 337, 349.
Castanova, Bernard, 474.
Castelberg, Christian von (abbot of Disentis), 324 *seq.*
Catena (biographer of Pius V.), 449.
Catherine (queen of Sweden), 311 n. 2.
Catherine (wife of King Sigismund Augustus of Poland), 310, 311 n. 2, 313.
Catherine de' Medici (queen-regent of France), 105, 107 *seq.*, 110, 115 *seqq.*, 121, 129 *seqq.*, 133, 137, 145, 438 n. 2, 470.
Cecil, *see* Burghley.
Cerralbo, Marquis of (Spanish envoy in Rome), 22, 29, 31 n. 5.
Cervantes (poet), 422.
Cesarini, Giovan Giorgio, 432.
Cesi, Pier Donato (Bishop of Narni), Cardinal, 113, 383.
Champernowne, Arthur (English admiral), 204.
Charles (Archduke of Austria), 10 n. 1, 46, 52 n., 259, 280 n. 2, 283 *seq.*
Charles V. the Emperor, 10, 13, 52, 72 *seq.*, 83, 91, 245, 262 *seq.*
Charles IX. (King of France), 105, 107 *seq.*, 112 n. 2, 113, 115 n. 5, 117, 120 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*, 128-135, 137 *seqq.*, 143, 145 *seq.*, 154, 159, 163 n. 2, 217, 357, 375, 408, 438 n. 2, 463, 466, 470.
Châtillon, Odet de, Cardinal, 105, 134, 146.
Chaumont, Jean de (Bishop of Aix), 108 *seq.*, 138.
Chiesa, Giov. Paolo della, Cardinal, 19, 29, 273, 384 n. 1.
Chisholm, William (Bishop of Dunblane), 157, 159, 162, 164 *seq.*, 179, 183.
Chytreus, Joh. (lutheran theologian), 266.
Clement VII., Pope, 23, 50, 143 n.
Clement X., Pope, 459.
Clement XI., Pope, 460.
Coli (painter), 448.
Coligny, Admiral, 117, 126, 136, 154, 328 n. 5.
Colonna, Cardinal, 260.
Colonna, Marcantonio, 359 n. 3, 380 *seqq.*, 390 *seqq.*, 397 *seq.*, 403, 406 *seq.*, 412, 414 n., 416 *seq.*, 420 *seqq.*, 428-435, 438 n. 1, 448.
Colonna, Pompeo (Duke of Zagarolo), 358 n. 4, 382, 392, 422, 428, 432.
Commendone, Cardinal, 246-256, 257, 261-268, 280 *seq.*, 285, 287, 294, 301, 312 *seq.*, 357, 368, 403, 408 *seq.*, 458 n. 1.
Condé, Prince of Bourbon, 117, 120, 148, 154.
Contarini, A., 114 n. 1, 144 n. 2.
Conti, Torquato, 133.
Córdova, Juan de (killed at Lepanto), 422.

Corgna, Ascanio della (Papal commander), 358 n. 4, 422.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 380, 408 n., 450.
Correggio, Cardinal, 49 n. 2.
Correro, Giovanni (Venetian envoy in Rome), 114 n. 1, 145, 147 *seq.*
Cosimo I. (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 64 *seq.*, 120, 268-279, 281, 285, 376, 379 n. 3, 398 n. 1, 410 n., 411, 414, 454, 471.
Covarruvias, Did. de (Spanish canonist), 4 n. 1.
Cox, 221 n. 3.
Craig (Scotch preacher), 158 n. 1
Crawford (servant to Darnley), 176 n. 2.
Créquy, Cardinal, 144 n. 2.
Crivelli, Cardinal, 2, 350.
Cromer, Martin (administrator of bishopric of Ermland), 311 n. 1.
Cromer, Nicholas, 301, 308, 311 n. 1.
Croy, Charles de (Bishop of Tournai), 78.
Cubat (Turkish envoy to Venice), 362, 365 *seq.*
Culemburg, Count, 86, 87 n. 1.
Cusano, Galeazzo (Imperial agent in Rome), 450.
Cusano, Niccolò (Imperial secret-agent in Rome), 2 n. 3, 45.

Dacre, Leonard, 209.
Darbishire, Thomas (S.J.), 161.
Darnley, Earl of Lennox (father of Henry Darnley), 169-172.
Darnley, Henry (husband of Mary Stuart), 157 *seq.*, 159 n. 1, 161 n. 4, 163, 167-171, 173-180, 185, 188, 190, 194, 195.
Delfino, Giovanni (Bishop of Torcello, nuncio), 262, 280-286.
Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal, 43, 247, 258, 261.
Delgadillo, Hernando (secretary to duke of Alba), 102.
Dernbach, Balthasar von (prince-abbot of Fulda), 297.
Diaz, Pedro (S.J.), 329 n. 1.
Döllinger, I. I. von, 35 n. 2.
Doria, Gian Andrea (Spanish admiral), 359, 372, 390 *seqq.*, 394, 398, 414, 417, 420 *seq.*
Doria, Marcello, 392.
Ducroc (French envoy in Scotland), 168, 170, 178, 180, 182 n. 1.
Dudith, Andreas (Bishop of Fünfkirchen), 302.
Duodo, Francesco (Venetian admiral), 420.

Eck, Simon (Bavarian chancellor), 262 n. 1.
Egmont, Count, 96, 99.
Eisengrein, Martin, 244, 265.
Elizabeth (queen of England), 96 *seq.*, 118, 133, 135, 140, 143, 160, 162, 166, 172, 181, 183-194, 195-200, 203 *seqq.*, 207 *seq.*, 210, 212 *seqq.*, 218-223, 225 *seq.*, 231 *seq.*, 240-243, 437, 469.
Elizabeth (queen of Spain), 197 n. 1.
Eltz, Jakob von (Archbishop of Trêves), 103 n. 6, 247, 251, 287, 294.
Emanuele Filiberto (Duke of Savoy), 113, 115, 120, 139, 323.
Erasmus, 74 *seq.*, 83.
Ercilla, Alonso de (poet), 445.
Ernest of Bavaria (administrator of bishopric of Freising), 291, 293.
Espinosa, Diego de, Cardinal, 19 n. 2, 29, 35, 39, 41 *seq.*, 58, 67 *seq.*, 93, 332 n. 1, 372.
Este, Family of the, 275.
Este, Alfonso d' (Duke of Ferrara), 269, 275, 281 n. 1, 472.
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 270.
Eyck, Jan van (painter), 87 n. 1.

FACCHINETTI, Giov. Ant. (nuncio to Venice, later Pope Innocent IX.), 364 *seq.*, 393, 395, 399, 400, 402 *seq.*, 407, 424.
Farel, William (Swiss reformer), 316.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 2 n. 3, 247, 357, 379.
Farnese, Alessandro (Prince of Parma), 415, 421, 422, 428.
"*Fate ben per voi*," the Hermit, 432.
Felton, John, 217, 223.
Fénélon, De la Mothe (French envoy to England), 191, 205 n. 7.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 262 *seq.*
Ferdinand II. (Arch-duke of the Tyrol), 256, 262, 280, 297, 445.
Ferdinand (son of Philip II.), 69.
Feria, the Duke of, 234 n. 4, 237.
Feria, the Duchess of [Jane Dormer], 210.
Figueroa (president of the Spanish state-council), 1.
Fitzwilliams (an officer of Hawkins), 237.
Folieta (historian), 445, 258 n. 3.
Fontana, Ces. (Papal envoy to the Netherlands), 354 n. 1.
Fontana, Jacopo (architect), 382.
Foscarini, Jacopo (Venetian admiral), 440 n. 1.
Francis II. (King of France), 110, 323.
Frangipani, Family of the, 422.
Frangipani, Fabio Mirto (Bishop of Cajazzo, Nuncio to France), 118, 127, 134, 135 n. 1, 146, 148 n. 1, 153.
Friedrich [*Janus*], 35 n. 2.

GABRIELLI, Family of the, 422.
Gabuzzi, Giov. Ant. (biographer of Pius V.), 141, 449.
Gail, Andreas (Imperial councillor), 275.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal, 247.
Garcés, Julian (Bishop of Tlaxcala), 336.
Gasser, Johann, 319.
George of Austria (Bishop of Liège), 78.
Gherardi (painter), 448.
Gherardi, Pietro, 445.
Ghislieri, Paolo, 38.
Girolamo da Pistoia (Capuchin), 374.
Giustiniani, Family of the, 355.
Giustiniani, Gioffré, 424.
Giustiniani, Vincenzo (General of the Dominicans), Cardinal, 22 n. 5, 26 n. 1, 49 n. 2, 60-63, 66.
Glareanus, 318.
Glencairn, Lord, 183.
Goldwell (Bishop of St. Asaph), 212, 213 n. 1.
Gomez, Ruy, 67, 95, 372.
Gonzaga, Lodovico (Duke of Nevers), 113, 114, 120 n. 1, 121.
González, Gil (Dominican missionary), 338.
Gordon, George (Earl of Huntly), 166 n. 4, 169, 171 *seq.*
Gordon, Jane (wife of Bothwell), 174 n. 1.
Grange, the Laird of, 194.
Granvelle, Cardinal (Viceroy of Naples), 15 n. 4, 22, 27 *seq.*, 31, 48, 70 n. 1, 72 *seq.*, 78, 79 n. 3, 80 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*, 357, 367 *seq.*, 373, 379 n. 2, 381, 385, 394 *seq.*, 398, 414 n., 415.
Grassis, Carlo de (Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto, governor of Rome), Cardinal, 383.
Graziani, Ant. Maria (secretary to Commendone), 210, 262, 468.
Graziani, Fabiano (killed at Lepanto), 422.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 69, 216 n. 4, 443.
Greyerz, Count of, 317.
Grindal (protestant bishop), 220, 221 n. 3.

Groesbeek, Gerhard (Bishop of Liège), 287.
Gropper, 409 n. 1.
Grotius, Hugo, 83 n. 1.
Gualterio, Sebastian (Bishop of Viterbo, nuncio to France), 160 n. 1.
Guaras, Antonio de, 224 n. 1.
Guillart, Charles (Bishop of Chartres), 108, 109 n. 2, 125, 467.
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 78, 88 n. 2, 110 *seq.*, 113 n. 3, 116 *seq.*, 121, 130, 157, 159 n. 3, 162 *seq.*, 165, 180.
Guise, Henri de, Duke, 121, 125 n. 3, 128.
Guzzo di Guzzi (of Faenza), 123 n. 3.

HAMERICOURT, Gerard (Bishop of St. Omer), 81.
Harding, 200 *seq.*
Hawkins, John (English pirate), 236 *seqq.*
Hay, Edmund (S.J.), 161 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*, 179 *seqq.*
Henry VIII. (King of England), 223, 241, 312.
Henry of Anjou, 118, 119 n. 5, 121, 125 n. 3, 126, 129, 135, 151, 225, 358 n. 4, 470.
Henry, Duke of Brunswick, 254.
Henry of Navarre, 120, 135 *seq.*, 138, 143, 374, 454.
Henry of Portugal, Cardinal, 332.
Herrera, Fernando de (poet), 445.
Herries, Lord, 187.
Higford (tenant of the Duke of Norfolk), 237.
Hoffaeus (Jesuit), 290.
Hohenems, Hortensia von (sister to Card. C. Borromeo), 320.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von, Cardinal [Altemps], 247, 254, 292, 294.
Honorat II. (Count of Tenda), 144 n. 2.
Hoorn, Count, 96, 99.
Hosius, Stanislas, Cardinal, 301 *seq.*, 308 *seqq.*
Hoya, Johann von (Bishop of Osnabrück and Münster), 287, 294.
Hume, Lord, 182.
Huntly, *see* Gordon, George.
Hus, John, 32.

IGNATIUS of Loyola, St., 346.
Isabella of Castille, 342.
Ivan IV. (Czar of Russia), 119 n. 2, 377 *seq.*

JAMES V. (King of Scotland), 183.
Jansen, Cornelius (Bishop of Ghent), 81.
John Casimir (elector palatine), 113.
John of Austria, Don, 243, 372, 387 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 412-421, 423, 425, 428 *seq.*, 437, 438 n. 1, 441 *seq.*, 447.
Julius II., Pope, 333.
Julius III., Pope, 10, 46, 106, 273, 377, 433.

KHEVENHÜLLER, Johann (Imperial envoy in Rome), 248.
Khuen-Belasy, Joh. Jakob von (Archbishop of Salzburg), 280 n. 2, 292 *seq.*
Knollys, Sir Francis, 189.
Knox, John, 158 n. 1, 163, 175, 183, 224.
Koelderer, David (Bishop of Ratisbon), 293.
Kunz, Othmar (abbot of St. Gall), 321.

LALA Mustafa (tutor to Selim II.), 362.
Lancellotti, Scipione (canonist), 249, 253.

Las Casas, 343.
Laureo, Vincenzo (Bishop of Mondovì, nuncio in Scotland), 161 n. 3, 162-167, 170, 179 *seqq.*, 322.
Leão Pereira, Gaspar de (Archbishop of Goa), 348.
Ledesma (Jesuit), 249.
Leicester, Earl of, 187, 193 *seq.*, 233 n. 1, 240, 242.
Leitão, Pedro (Bishop of Bahia), 327 .
Lennox, *see* Darnley.
Leslie (Bishop of Ross), 182 n. 1, 187, 189, 194, 226 *seq.*, 236, 238.
Lethington, Earl of, 163, 169, 171 *seq.*, 183 n. 2, 192 *seqq.*
Leyen, Johann von der (Archbishop of Trêves), 247, 251.
L'Hôpital (French chancellor), 110 *seq.*, 117.
Limburg, Erasmus von (Bishop of Strasburg), 289.
Lindanus (Bishop of Roermond), 103.
Lindsay, Lord, 165.
Lipomano (abbot), 36 n. 2.
Lippomano (nuncio to Poland under Paul IV.), 305.
Loaisa, Rodrigo de (missionary in Peru), 338, 341.
Lorraine, Cardinal of, *see* Guise, Charles.
Lorraine, Charles, Duke of, 113 n. 3.
Louis XIII. (King of France), 223.
Louis of Nassau, Count, 82, 96, 99 *seq.*, 128 n. 3.
Lussy, Melchior (of Unterwalden), 315, 318 *seqq.*

MacGill, 163.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 245 n. 2, 247, 293, 301 n. 1, 379.
Magdalen of Austria (archduchess), 298.
Maggio, L. (S.J.), 311 n. 1.
Maldonatus (S.J.), 151 *seq.*
Malvezzi, Family of the, 422.
Mamerot, Roch (O.P., confessor to Mary Stuart), 175, 178.
Manaraeus, Oliver (S.J.), 150, 161.
Marchi (architect), 84 n. 1.
Margaret of Austria (archduchess), 298.
Margaret of Parma (governess of the Netherlands), 73 *seq.*, 84, 95, 195 n. 1.
Margaret of Valois, 64, 135 *seq.*, 138 *seqq.*, 143, 373 *seq.*, 408.
Marnix, Philippe de, 86.
Marshall, John, 200 n. 4.
Martin V., Pope, 50.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 136, 156-194, 195-199, 204-207, 215 n. 4, 224-232, 239 *seqq.*
Mary of Bavaria, 283.
Marselaer, Josse Ricke von (Franciscan missionary), 342.
Martin V., Pope, 50.
Massimi, Domenico de', 382.
Massimi, Fabrizio de', 450 n. 1.
Massimi, Lelio de', 422.
Matuliani, Vincenzo (Bolognese envoy in Rome), 452 n. 3.
Maurice of Saxony, 76.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 31, 43, 45 *seq.*, 88 n. 2, 99, 125, 161, 221, 244-252, 255-269, 275-283, 285 *seq.*, 288, 357 *seq.*, 375 *seqq.*, 387, 396, 427, 438 *seq.*
Medici, *see* Catherine ; Cosimo.
Medici, Ferdinand de' (son of Cosimo I.), Cardinal, 270.
Melvil, 182 n. 1.
Mendoza, Fernando, 427.
Michelangelo, 360.
Minas (Negus of Abyssinia), 347.
Miguez, José [Josef Nassi], 361.
Moncada (envoy of Don John of Austria to Venice), 414.
Mondoucet (French ambassador in Brussels), 239 n.
Montepulciano, Cardinal, *see* Ricci.
Montluc, Jean de (Bishop of Valence), 108, 125, 146, 468.
Montmorency, Duke of, 111, 144.

Montpensier, Duke of, 121.
Montusar, Alfonso de (Archbishop of Mexico), 344.
Morales, Ant. de (Bishop of Michoacán), 344.
Moretta (envoy from Savoy to Scotland), 178 *seq.*
Morillon, Maximilian (vicar-general of Card. Granvelle), 88.
Moro, Cristobal de, 30.
Morone, Cardinal, 201, 247, 249, 257, 260 *seq.*, 273, 308, 357, 379, 383, 384 n. 1, 385-388, 396, 398 n. 1, 403, 435 n. 5.
Morton, Earl of, 163, 166, 172. 178 n., 182, 188.
Morton, Nicolas (penitentiary at St. Peter's), 203, 204 n. 1, 210, 212.
Muesinsade Ali (Turkish commander at Lepanto), 420.
Mula, Cardinal, 30 n. 4, 259 n. 2, 350, 357, 425.
Muret, Marc Antoine (latinist), 300 n. 1, 434, 445, 458 n. 3, 459.
Murray, *see* Stuart, James.
Mutahat, Scherif (Arabian chief), 427.

Nadal, Jerome (S.J.), 249.
Nas, Johann (Tyrolese Franciscan), 445.
Nassi, *see* Miquez.
Navarre, *see* Albret, Jeanne d' and Henry of Navarre.
Navet, Ant. (Bishop of Namur), 81.
Nelli, Niccolò (engraver), 444 n. 4.
Nelson (Darnley's servant), 176 n. 2.
Neri, Philip, 450 n. 1.
Nicholas of Flüe, 320.
Ninguarda, Feliciano (O.P.), 291.
Nölle, Hans, 474.
Norfolk, Duke of, 192 *seq.*, 194, 199 *seq.*, 206, 215 n. 4, 226-239.
Noronha, Antonio di (Indian viceroy), 348.
Northumberland, Earl of, 193, 204 n. 1, 206, 208, 211.
Norton, Richard, 207.

Occhiali, *see* Uluds Ali.
Oddi, Family of the, 422.
Odescalchi, Paolo (nuncio), 39, 47, 55 n. 4, 55, 415, 416 n. 1, 435 n. 5.
O'Gibbon, Maurice (Archbishop of Cashel), 241 *seq.*
O'Neill, Shane (Irish chieftain), 242.
Orange, William, Prince of, 75 *seq.*, 80-83, 88, 96 *seq.*, 104, 110, 117, 128 n. 3.
Ormiston, Lord, 169 n. 3.
Orsini, Fulvio, Cardinal, 379.
Orsini, Orazio (of Bomarzo), 422.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano (of Bracciano), 359, 381, 422.
Orsini, Virginio (of Vicovaro), 422.
Ossat, d', Cardinal, 142.
Oviedo (coadjutor of the Patriarch of Abyssinia), 347.

Pacheco, Francisco, Cardinal, 22, 27 *seq.*, 31, 373, 398, 435.
Pallavicini (nuncio in Naples), 47.
Paris, 176 n. 2, 240 n. 1.
Parker, M. (protestant archbishop of Canterbury), 212 n. 5, 221 n. 3.
Parpaglia, Vincenzo, 323 n. 4.
Paruta, Paolo (historian), 445.
Paul III., Pope, 13, 50, 106, 388 *seq.*
Paul IV., Pope, 46, 77 *seq.*, 241 n. 3, 252, 305, 349, 381.
Pavesi, Stefano (O.P., Archbishop of Sorrento), 88 *seq.*
Pellevé, Nicolas de (Bishop of Amiens, Archbishop of Sens), Cardinal, 125 n. 3, 131 n. 2.
Pembroke, Earl of, 193, 242.

Peregrini, Giov. Angelo (Bishop of Gravina), 11.
Perrenot, Thomas, 72.
Persico, Peter (Bishop of Seckau), 293.
Petrus Sanctus, *see* Piersanti.
Pfyffer, Ludwig (syndic of Lucerne), 315.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 1-15, 17, 19, 21 *seq.*, 25-33, 35, 37, 39-40, 51 n. 1, 52-70, 72 *seqq.*, 77-81, 83 n. 2, 88-98, 101-104, 110, 113, 118, 130, 133, 137, 140, 143, 159, 163, 165, 198 *seq.*, 203 *seqq.*, 210 *seq.*, 217 *seqq.*, 227-237, 241 *seqq.*, 255, 263, 268, 275, 309, 323, 332, 336 *seq.*, 344, 349, 353 *seq.*, 356 *seqq.*, 364 *seq.*, 367, 369-373, 376, 379 *seqq.*, 384 *seq.*, 386-399, 400 *seq.*, 404-408, 412, 416, 433, 436, 447, 453, 469.
Pia, Bernardino (Mantuan envoy in Rome), 43, 101 n. 1, 114 n. 3.
Piali-Pasha (Turkish admiral), 355, 361.
Piersanti (Papal envoy in Lorraine), 113.
Pilkington (protestant bishop of Durham), 220.
Pius IV., Pope, 1-4, 46, 53, 78, 108, 160 n. 1, 255, 268 *seq.*, 296, 301, 318, 323, 349, 359.
Pius V., Pope, vol. XVIII., caps. i to end.
Planta, Johannes (Landamann of the Grisons), 326.
Ponce de León, Juan (killed at Lepanto), 422.
Porta, Beato a (Bishop of Chur), 324 *seq.*
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 359 n. 3.
Portico, Vincenzo de (Polish nuncio), 307 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*
Porzia, Bartolomeo, 284 n. 4.
Possevino, Ant. (S.J.), 150 *seq.*
Priuli (Doge of Genoa), 18 n. 2.
Quadra, de la (Spanish ambassador in England), 195.
Quirás, Vasco de (Bishop of Michoacán), 336.
Quioroga, Gaspar de (Bishop of Cuenca), 65.

Radziwill, Nicholas, 306 n. 2.
Ragazzoni, Giacomo, 400 n. 4.
Rambouillet, Charles d' Angennes de (Bishop of Le Mans), Cardinal, 138 n. 2.
Randolph, 166 n. 4.
Regin, Claude (Bishop of Oloron), 108.
Rénée (mother of Alfonso d' Este), 269.
Reinoso, Franc. de (majordomo to Pius V.), 8 n. 1.
Requesens, Luis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 6 *seqq.*, 12 n. 1, 15 n. 5, 16, 21, 27 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*, 46, 49 *seq.*, 70, 88 *seq.*, 91, 93, 94 n. 4, 98, 159 n. 6, 421, 435 *seq.*
Reumano, Cardinal, 3, 247.
Revertera (advisor of the viceroy of Naples), 53.
Ricci, Cardinal [of Montepulciano], 115 n. 5, 411 n. 4.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 222.
Ridolfi, Ridolfo (Florentine banker in London), 203, 211 n. 5, 215, 226-239.
Rithovius, Martin (Bishop of Ypres), 81.
Rizzio, David (private secretary to Mary Stuart), 158, 165, 167, 177 n.
Roger, Count, of Sicily, 66.
Roll, Walter (Swiss catholic), 316, 320.
Romegasso, 428, 432.
Ronsard, Pierre de (French humanist), 148.
Rosario, Giambattista, 445 n. 2.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Prince of Urbino), 415, 421 *seq.*
Rovere, Guidobaldo della (Duke of Urbino), 438.
Rozdrazow, Hieron. de (Count), 129.

Rucellai, Annibale (French envoy in Rome), 111 *seq.*, 117, 466.
Ruggieri, Giulio (Polish nuncio), 301-307, 377.
Ruspoli, Family of the, 422.
Russinowsky, W. (Bishop of Olmütz), 295.
Rusticucci, Girolamo (private secretary to Pius V.), Cardinal, 63 n. 1, 141, 371 n. 1, 383 n. 2, 384, 392, 409 n. 3, 424, 452, 472 *seq.*

SAINT-GELAIS, Jean de (Bishop of Uzès), 108.
Salentin of Isenburg (Archbishop of Cologne), 288, 294.
Salis, Bartolomeo (arch-priest of Sondrio), 325.
Salò, Domenico da (artist), 446.
Salviati, Ant. Maria (nuncio to France), 138 *seq.*
Sanders, Nicolas, 200 *seqq.* 209 *seq.*, 253, 468.
Sanseverino, Giovan Galeazzo (Count), 138, 470.
Santa Croce, Family of the, 422.
Santa Croce, Cardinal, 384 n. 1.
Santa Croce, Fabio (Papal commander), 382.
Santa Fiora, *see* Sforza.
Santori, Cardinal, 441, 449 n. 5.
Saracinello, Cipriano, 115 n. 6.
Saulak, Mohammed (Governor of Alexandria, Turkish admiral), 420.
Savelli, Troilo, 422.
Schaumburg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 297.
Schlattl, Christoph. (Bishop of Chiemsee), 293.
Schorno, Christoph (Swiss catholic), 316.
Schwarzenau, Baron von (Imperial councillor), 275.
Schwendi (German general), 255.
Scrope, Lord, 189.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 64, 135, 139 *seq.*, 330, 332 *seq.*, 336, 347, 356 n. 3, 373 *seq.*, 408, 427.
Segesser, Jost (commander of the Papal Swiss guard), 277, 473.
Selim II., Sultan, 361 *seq.*
Serbelloni, Gabrio (captain of the Papal guards), 422, 423 n.
Serristori (Florentine ambassador in Rome), 49.
Seton, Lord, 179.
Sforza, Bona (mother of the King of Poland), 309.
Sforza di Santa Fiora (Count), 119, 126 n. 4, 422, 428.
Sforza, Pallavicini (General), 389, 396.
Shelley, Richard (Prior of Knights of St. John), 212, 213 n. 1.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 193.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 300, 302, 304 *seq.*, 309-314, 377, 408.
Simancas, Diego de (Bishop of Badajoz), 9.
Sirleto, Cardinal, 350, 458 n. 1.
Sixtus V., Pope, 459.
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 306 n. 2.
Sokolli, Mohammed (grand-vizier), 361.
Soranzo, Giovanni (Venetian envoy in Rome), 393-396.
Sore, Jean (Huguenot admiral), 328 *seq.*
Soriano, Michele (Venetian envoy in Rome), 73, 369 n. 1, 382 *seq.*, 385-389, 393, 396, 397 n. 1.
Souchier, Jérôme, Cardinal, 29
Spes, Guerau de (Spanish envoy in London), 202 *seq.*, 205, 209 n. 1, 215 n. 2, 226, 234, 240 n. 3.
Storey, 223.
Straetmann, Johann (O.P.), 99.
Strein, Gabriel (Imperial Councillor), 275.
Strozzi, Cardinal, 131 n. 2.
Stuart, James (Earl of Murray, half-brother to Mary

Stuart), 163, 165, 168, 172, 183, 185 *seq.*, 188-194, 225.
Stukely, Thomas (adventurer), 242 *seq.*
Suleiman II., the Sultan, 256, 355, 360.
Sussex, Earl of, 206 *seqq.*, 209 n. 1.

TAVANNES (French Marshal), 118, 128.
Tavera, Enrico (O.P., Bishop of Cochin), 348.
Tiepolo, Paolo (Venetian envoy in Rome), 38, 270, 403.
Tintoretto, Domenico (painter), 447.
Tintoretto, Jacopo (painter), 447.
Titian (painter), 447.
Toledo, Francisco (Viceroy of Peru), 332 n. 1, 337, 339 *seqq.*
Toledo, Federigo da (son of Duke of Alba), 227.
Toledo, P., 409 n. 1.
Torre, Michele della (Bishop of Ceneda, nuncio to France), 105 *seqq.*, 116, 118.
Torres, Luis de (Clerk of the Apostolic Camera, envoy to Spain), 63, 369-374, 380.
Tournon, Cardinal, 107, 117.
Trennbach, Urban von (Bishop of Passau), 290 n. 3, 293, 297.
Truchsess, Gebhard (nephew of the Cardinal), 292.
Truchsess, Otto, Cardinal, 249, 253 *seq.*, 260, 292, 295, 297, 405.
Tschudi, Gilg (historian), 318, 321.

UBALDINE, Megliorino (colonel), 196 n. 5.
Uchanski (Archbishop of Gnesen), 302, 307, 309, 312.
Uluds, Ali [Occhiali], Pasha of Algiers, Turkish admiral, 420 *seq.*
Urban II., Pope, 61, 66 *seq.*
Urban VIII., Pope, 222.
Urban of Austria (Bishop of Gurk), 293.

VALETTE, La (Grand-master of the Knights of Malta), 353 *seq.*, 356, 358 n. 4, 412 n. 5, 440.
Vargas (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 78.
Vasari, Giorgio (art-historian), 449.
Vasconcellos, Fernan de (Viceroy of Brazil), 327 *seqq.*
Vaux, Laurence, 201.
Vaz, Andreas (missionary), 348.
Venanzio da Camerino, 2 n. 2.
Venier, Sebastian (Venetian admiral), 413, 416 *seqq.*, 420 *seq.*, 422, 440 n. 1, 447.
Venturino da Fabriano (secretary to Card. Bonelli), 411 n.
Verallo (archbishop), 279.
Veronese, Paolo (painter), 447.
Vicentino, Andrea (painter), 447.
Viglius (councillor of Margaret of Parma), 88.
Villani (advisor of the Viceroy of Naples), 53.
Vivonne, Jean de (French envoy in Rome), 138 n. 2.

WALSINGHAM (English secretary of State), 226.
Warwick, Earl of, 208.
Westmoreland, Earl of, 193, 206, 208.
Westmoreland, Countess of, 206, 207, 211.
Wied, Friedrich von (Archbishop of Cologne), 78, 250, 287 *seq.*
William, Duke of Cleves, 254, 288, 290.

William of Hesse, 77.
Wilson, Stephen (Scottish envoy to Paris and Rome), 164 *seq.*
Wirsberg, Friedrich von (Bishop of Würzburg), 297.
Wolfgang, Duke of Deux-Ponts (Count-palatine), 118 *seq.*, 148.
Wolski (Bishop of Leslau) [Cujavia], 302.

Zane, Girolamo (Venetian admiral), 390.
Zayas (Spanish secretary), 243.
Zibramonti, Aurelio (Mantuan envoy in Rome), 456.
Zriny, Nicolas, 256.
Zumârraga (Bishop of Mexico), 336.
Zumbrunnen, Hans (Swiss catholic), 316, 319.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 7 n. 4, 28 *seqq.*, 38, 43 *seqq.*, 70 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 154, 199, 214, 218 *seq.*, 230, 268 n. 2, 367, 373, 379, 381, 399, 412, 437, 451.

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VOL. XIX.

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EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

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HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.,
WITH PROFOUND VENERATION
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Catholicus non est, qui a Romanâ Ecclesia
in fidei doctrina discordat.
(Inscription on tomb of Cardinal Hosius in
S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.)

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIX.

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XIX. and XX.	vii
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XIX. and XX.	ix
Table of Contents	xxvii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix.	xlvii
Introduction	1
The Election of Gregory XIII.—His Character and Government	11
Reforming activity in the Church.—Charles Borromeo	66
Progress of the Religious Orders.—Reform of the Carmelites by Teresa of Jesus	109
Philip Neri and the Foundation of the Oratory.	161
The Jubilee of 1575.—The College of Cardinals.	197
Gregory XIII. and the Society of Jesus.—The Colleges in Rome	234
Patronage of learning.—The Catacombs.—New editions of Canon Law and the Martyrology	259
Reform of the Calendar.—The Roman Inquisition.—The Index	283
Gregory XIII. and the League against the Turks	323
State of Religion in England.—Edmund Campion	376
Gregory XIII. and Scotland.	404
Persecution in England and Scotland.—Rise of the Puritans	439
The Massacre of St. Bartholomew	482
Civil and Religious wars in France.—Henry III. and the League.—Beginnings of Catholic Reform in France	519
Appendix of unpublished Documents	562
Index of Names	629

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CITTÀ DI CASTELLO, Graziani Archives.

EXAETEN—Library of the Soc. of Jesus.

FAENZA—Episcopal Archives.
——— Library.
FLORENCE, State Archives.
——— National Library.
——— Riccardiana Library.
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——— Seminary Library.
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FREIBURG (Switzerland)—University Library.
FULDA—Seminary Library.

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LEYDEN—Library.
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——— State Library.
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NAPLES—State Archives.
——— National Library.
——— Library of the Certosa di S. Martino.

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OXFORD—Bodleian Library.

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PRAGUE—Nostitzsche Library.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIX.

INTRODUCTION.

A.D.		PAGE
	Importance of the pontificate of Pius V.	1
	Whose footsteps are followed by Gregory XIII. under the influence of Charles Borromeo	1
	Increasing vigour of Catholic restoration, the real importance of the pontificate	2
	Foundation of true reform laid by the Council of Trent	3
	Qualities of Gregory XIII.	3
	His constant use of the Society of Jesus	4
	And of the Capuchins	5
	Development of diplomatic representation	5
	Efforts to restore the religious unity of Christian nations	5
	Work of Gregory XIII. in Germany.	6
	Reform of the Carmelites.—St. Philip Neri	8
	Establishment of ecclesiastical colleges	8
	Foreign missions	9

CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF GREGORY XIII.—HIS CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT.

1572	The Conclave opened on May 12th	11
	The candidates.—A long Conclave expected	12
	Rivalry of Farnese and Medici	12
	Influence of Philip II.—Granvelle at the Conclave	13
	Borromeo suggests Sirleto and Ugo Boncompagni	14
	The latter elected at 6 p.m. on May 13th	15
	And takes the name of Gregory XIII.	15
	Popularity in Rome of the election	16
	Origin of the new Pope ; his family	17
	His distinction in the study of law	17
	Employed as legate by Paul III. ; Julius III. shows him disfavour	18
	But under Paul IV. comes into favour again and is employed in diplomacy	19
	His friendship with the Carafa	20
	Pius IV. sends him to Trent—his manner of life there	21
	Created Cardinal on March 12th, 1565—is much esteemed by Borromeo	22
	His devotion to his duty—refuses a pension offered by Philip II.	23

A.D. PAGE
1572 The good name he enjoys in Rome: "he has no enemies" 24
Some men anticipate a weak government . . 25
But it is soon shewn they are wrong . . . 26
At his first Consistory (May 30th) he determines to carry on the work of Pius V. 26
His intimate relations with Charles Borromeo . . 28
By whose advice he appoints Tolomeo Galli as secretary of state 29
At the request of many Cardinals Gregory XIII. bestows the purple on his nephew, Filippo Boncompagni 30
Who was only concerned with the ceremonial representation of the Holy See 31
1574 Filippo Guastavillani, his sister's son, created Cardinal 32
Giacomo Boncompagni (son of Gregory XIII. when a lay-man) held in great affection by the Pope . 33
Who refuses to satisfy his ambition . . . 34
And keeps him within strict bounds. . . . 35
Never allowing him to interfere in affairs of state . 36
Simple manner of life of Gregory XIII. . . . 37
How he regulated it 38
His daily routine 41
Visits to Mondragone—his great accessibility . . 43
Stays with Cardinals Farnese and Este . . . 44
Makes the pilgrimage of the seven churches.—Montaigne's description of the Pope . . . 46
His care of the poor and sick 47
And devotes large sums to charitable purposes . . 49
Essential kindliness of his nature 51
His care in granting requests—does not allow himself to be influenced excepting by Galli . . . 52
Relations between the Pope and Cardinal Galli . . 53
And with those persons who are in his confidence . 54
But "the Pope governs" 55
And in spite of his confidence in Galli keeps supreme control in his own hands 57
The consistories become too unwieldly for the ordinary administration 58
Hence development of the "Congregations" . . 59
And importance of the nunciatures 61
The Pope's choice of nuncios 65

CHAPTER II.

REFORMING ACTIVITY IN THE CHURCH.—CHARLES BORROMEO.

1572 First measures of Gregory XIII. regarding observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent. . . . 66
The duty of residence enforced 67
Borromeo returns to Milan 68
1575–82 Orders to nuncios to insist upon the duty of residence—this is strictly enforced 69

A.D.		PAGE
1575	The Pope's care in the choice of good bishops	70
	And in the appointment to benefices	71
	Insists upon the proper discharge of their pastoral offices by the bishops; especially canonical visitations	72
1573	Seven bishops as apostolic visitors in the States of the Church—minute instructions given to them	73
	These Visitations extended to the whole of Italy	74
1575	At the request of Borromeo visitors appointed for the whole province of Milan	75
1575–81	Detailed records of many visitations	76
	Difficulties with Venice	77
	But in spite of the Doge, the Pope remains inflexible	78
	Good results of the visitation by Valiero	79
	Visitations outside Italy	79
	Great fruit of the Apostolic Visitations—zeal of many of the bishops	80
	Activity of Charles Borromeo	82
1575–84	His provincial and diocesan Synods—his ordinances	83
1582	He publishes the "Acts of the Church of Milan"	84
	Wide-spread influence of these "Acts"	85
	Extreme importance of Borromeo's example	86
	State of the province of Milan—but the confidence of St. Charles is unshaken	87
	And his labours blessed with splendid results	88
	His establishment of seminaries	89
	And care for religious instruction of the people	90
	Foundation of colleges and of the Oblates of St. Ambrose	91
	His correspondence with all classes and ranks	92
	And increasing austerity of life	93
	Is called the "model of Catholic bishops"	94
	Disputes of Borromeo with the Spanish governors of Milan	95
	He is made the object of incessant accusations	97
	And is criticized in a sermon by a Jesuit	98
	Public opinion in Rome against him	99
1579	But Borromeo comes to Rome and is received in triumph	100
	And secures Papal approbation—is received with joy on his return to Milan	101
1580	Ayamonte dies in April and the new governors maintain full agreement with the ecclesiastical powers	102
	Danger to Italy from Protestantism in the Alpine districts.—An Apostolic visitor appointed for the Grisons	103
1584	Last days of St. Charles—his death on 3rd Nov.	104
	Life-work of St. Charles Borromeo	107
	Is a "milestone in the history of the Church",	108

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—REFORM OF THE CARMELITES BY TERESA OF JÉSUS.

Gregory XIII. and restoration of discipline among the Religious Orders 109
His severity towards the spirit of ambition and disobedience 110
1572–79 Decrees for freedom of election of superiors and enforcement of the strict enclosure 111
These ordinances a development of the Tridentine decrees 112
Reform of the Franciscans and Cistercians . . 113
1573 Visitation of the Cistercians in Germany on the whole satisfactory 114
Encroachments by lay patrons—Cistercian monasteries in Lombardy and Tuscany—evil of commendams . 115
Decadence of the Benedictines in Portugal . . 115
1576 Reform of the Knights of Malta 116
The Pope favours the Benedictine congregation of Monte Cassino 117
And encourages reforms of the older Orders . . 118
The new Congregations: the Barnabites . . 119
Brothers of St. John of God; the Ursulines . . 120
The Theatines 121
The Fate-Benefratelli; Oblates of St. Ambrose; Alcantarines 122
Special love of the Pope for the Capuchins . . 123
1574 Permits their extension outside Italy . . . 124
1583 Their stirring work in Switzerland.—The Basilians . 125
Restoration of the Orders in Germany, Poland and Dalmatia 126
1575–78 Obstacles to the renewal of monasteries in Spain.—The Jesuits arouse violent resentment . . 127
Reform of the Spanish Premonstratensians . . 128
The Carmelites in Spain.—Teresa of Jesus (1515–1582) 129
Her writings and extraordinary gifts of mind . . 130
The nobility of her character 132
Early life at home in Avila 133
Convent of the Incarnation at Avila (1535–1562) . 134
Her visions, and interior life 136
The value of her writings 137
Their special importance 138
Methods of the new Orders 139
Teresa's nature free from exaggerations . . . 141
Attaches no particular importance to mystical experiences 142
These are a source of trouble to Teresa . . . 143
Early reform movements among the Carmelites . . 145
Teresa experiences great opposition.—The first Convent (of St. Joseph at Avila) opened, 25 August, 1562 146

A.D. PAGE
1575-78 Approbation of Rossi, general of the Order . 148
Teresa and John of The Cross 149
Her fame spreads throughout Spain . . . 150
She is supported by the nuncio Ormaneto . . 151
Jerome Gracian appointed visitor 152
1575 The general chapter at Piacenza, its decrees . . 152
Teresa's work as foundress stopped, 1576 to 1580 . 153
Opposition to Gracian 154
Influence and activity of Teresa 155
John of The Cross imprisoned—attacks on Teresa . 156
But a hint from Philip II. causes Sega (the new nuncio) to issue an edict in favour of the reform . . 157
1580 The question carried to Rome—brief of Gregory XIII. which fulfilled the desire of Teresa . . . 158
Her work now done 158
The "hall-mark" of the Reform—great works of the Carmelites 159
Foundations in Italy—"The work of a simple nun" 160

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP NERI AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORATORY.

1515 Birth of Philip Neri 161
His early years in Florence—influenced by the Dominicans of S. Marco 162
1533 Goes to live with his cousin at San Germano—but soon renounces his worldly prospects and sets out for Rome 163
And for 16 years leads a life of prayer and severe penance 164
His visits to the Catacomb of St. Sebastian . . 164
And receives there his consecration as Apostle of the love of God 165
This urges him to the service of his neighbour . . 165
Resumes his studies—visits the hospitals—his example influences others 166
1548 Begins the Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity . 166
For poor pilgrims and the convalescent sick . . 167
Extraordinary development of this during the years of Jubilee 167
1551 Receives the sacred Orders and goes to S. Girolamo della Carità 167
His work as a priest for 40 years 169
"His room"—visitors of all classes 169
His first disciples—Tarugi—Baronius . . . 169
Description of the meetings at the Oratory . . 172
Importance for the moral regeneration of Rome . 173
The hymns of the Oratory 174
The visits to the seven churches—result of these . 177
Extraordinary qualities of Philip—his special power with the young 178

A.D. PAGE
1858–74 S. Girolamo and S. Giovanni dei Florentini . . 179
1575 S. Maria in Vallicella [the Chiesa Nuova] given by the Pope to St. Philip 180
The new Congregation ; what it is . . . 181
Its spread in Italy 182
St. Philip and Baronius 183
Origin of the Annals 183
Oratorians and the Catacombs 185
St. Philip and music—Animuccia—Palestrina . 186
Oratorios—the Laudi 188
Veneration of Philip, by Popes, Cardinals and the Roman nobility 190
Philip and the English Martyrs 191
His apostolate extends from the Pope to the smallest urchin in the street—His direction of souls . . 192
" His way "—enemy of human respect . . . 193
A very antithesis to the " reformers of the north "—His character " a bright ray of sunshine ". . 194
His influence includes Rome and at last the whole Church 195
Iconography of St. Philip 195

CHAPTER V.

THE JUBILEE OF 1575.—THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

Favour shown to lay confraternities. . . . 197
1574 Consistory (January 8th) to explain the Jubilee . . 198
It is promulgated on May 20th and December 19th . 199
The Pope attaches importance to the presence of Borromeo 200
Opening of the Holy Door on the vigil of Christmas. 201
1575 Charles Frederick of Cleves in Rome . . . 202
Piety of the Pope during the Jubilee . . . 203
Great crowds of the faithful 204
Order of their entry into the city and of the processions 205
Many gifts to the churches in thanksgiving . . 205
The penitential processions and allegorical tableaux 206
The plan of Ant. Lafreri.—Wonder of the foreign pilgrims 208
Impressive spectacle of the lay confraternities. . 209
Generosity of Gregory XIII. 209
The impulse to sacred oratory—notable preachers . 210
Results of the Jubilee and of the work of Philip Neri 211
The Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini . . . 212
Charity of the great Roman families . . . 213
The " memorial " book of the Jubilee . . . 213
Rome is untouched by the pestilence of 1575 . . 214
Opinion of Martino Azpilcueta as to the moral revival 214
Relations of Gregory XIII. with the college of Cardinals 215

A.D. PAGE
1575 He constantly reminds them of their duties . . 216
The many apostles of true reform among the Cardinals 216
And changed manner of life of others . . . 216
The wealthy Cardinals. Farnese, Medici, Este, Gambara 217
Great generosity of Farnese—the Gesù . . . 218
Palace and villa of Ferd. de' Medici . . . 219
His great collection of antiquities 220
The college of Cardinals—outstanding position of Borromeo and Mark Sittich [Altemps] . . 221
Strict views of Gregory XIII. as to appointment of new Cardinals 222
Is disinclined to a numerous Sacred College . . 223
1572–77 In these years only four Cardinals created. . 223
1578 The first important creation of nine . . . 225
Consideration of these appointments . . . 226
Several years elapse without further promotions . 227
Deaths of many Cardinals 228
By October, 1582, 30 had died and only 13 created. 229
1583 Grave words of the Pope at the Consistory of December 12th at which he creates 19 Cardinals . . 230
Surprise of the Cardinals—protest by Farnese . . 231
Considerations on the choice of the new Cardinals . 232
1583–84 Death of 5 of the best known members of the Sacred College 233
1584 Gregory XIII. deeply affected at the death of Charles Borromeo on November 3rd 233

CHAPTER VI.

GREGORY XIII. AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—THE COLLEGES IN ROME

Gregory XIII. realizes the valuable services of the Jesuits 234
1573 Revokes the changes introduced by Pius V. . . 234
Death of Francis Borgia (October 10th) and election of Everard Mercurian, at whose death in 1580 . 235
1580 Claudio Aquaviva becomes the new General . . 235
1584 Bull of confirmation of the Order (May 25th) . . 235
Assistance given by the Pope to the Jesuits in all the countries of Europe and the mission fields. . 236
And especially to the German College in Rome. . 237
Extreme importance of this institution . . . 238
Its direction entirely given to the Jesuits . . 239
Large endowments of the college 239
Gregory XIII. the "second founder" of the Germanicum 240
Its rapid progress.—The college for Hungary united to it 241
1584 Instructions as to the selection, studies, etc., of the students—the oath to be demanded of them . 242

A.D. PAGE

State of Catholics in England—William Allen and the Douai Seminary (1568) 243
1579 Bull of April 23rd establishing the English College in Rome 243
M. Clenock the first rector—difficulties arise—the Jesuit Agazzari appointed—great things accomplished by the college—the martyrs . . . 244
In Germany many local seminaries and schools erected 254
Gregory XIII. also subsidizes the erection of seminaries in Italy 246
1577 A Greek college in Rome founded by a bull of January 13th 247
It is often visited by the Pope 249
Who also founds a college for the Maronites and one for converts from Judaism and Islam . . 249
Contarelli's dialogue with the Pope on his colleges . 250
The Roman College [the Gregorian University] under direction of the Jesuits 251
Its library, museum and observatory . . . 252
Rapid growth of the Gregorianum—eminence of its professors 253
Many Popes, Cardinals, dignitaries and saints received their training there 253
Great love of Gregory for his colleges . . . 254
1579 He visits all those in Rome personally . . . 254
And towards the end of his life plans the establishment of more colleges, e.g. Ireland and Poland . 255
1584 Defence of the Pope against his labours on their behalf 256
Practical results of the colleges 257
Reasons for their foundation *in* Rome . . . 258

CHAPTER VII.

PATRONAGE OF LEARNING.—THE CATACOMBS.—NEW EDITIONS OF CANON LAW AND THE MARTYROLOGY.

The Pope himself devoted to study.—Generously supports all the great scholars of the day, Italian, 259
and French, Spaniards, English, Germans and others 260
1578 Sigonio summoned to Rome and bidden to write a history of the Church 261
And Baronius uses the manuscript treasures of Rome 262
1578 Epoch making discovery (June) of the Catacomb near the Porta Salara 262
Before this only the sepulchral chambers attached to a few churches were accessible . . . 263
Philip Neri draws attention towards the catacombs. 264
Historical attack on the Church by the Centuriators 264
Various learned Catholics write in refutation . . . 264

A.D. PAGE
1577 But it is Baronius, who at the choice of Philip Neri undertakes the revision of Ecclesiastical History 265
1579 The first volume of the "Annals" completed (April 25th) 265
Renewed study of hagiography and Christian archeology by Canisius, Lippomano, Surius and Panvinio 266
Extraordinary sensation made by the discoveries in the catacombs 267
Description by Baronius in his Annals . . . 268
Explorations of Ciaconius, de Winghe and Macarius . 269
Bosio, the "Columbus of the Catacombs" . . 269
Favour shewn by the Pope to the universities . . 270
And encouragement of illustrious professors . . 271
His interest in the publication of ecclesiastical works in Latin and catechisms in Eastern languages . 272
1584 Foundation of an Oriental printing press . . . 272
1577 Palestrina and Zoilo charged to revise the books of, liturgical chants 273
The Academy of St. Cecilia 273
1575 The rite of the church of Milan confirmed (January 25th) 274
The pontifical Acta from Avignon and Anagni restored 274
The Vatican library: description by Montaigne . 275
Large number of learned works dedicated to Gregory XIII. 276
The Antwerp polyglot.—New edition of the Septuagint 279
1580 Publication of a new edition of the *Corpus juris canonici* 279
Commission for arrangement of all the pontifical constitutions 280
1583 The new Roman Martyrology—Baronius charged to emend it 281
1585 And was still working on it when the Pope died . . 282

CHAPTER VIII.

REFORM OF THE CALENDAR.—THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—THE INDEX.

Necessity of correcting the Julian calendar . . 283
Shipwreck of all previous attempts to do this . . 283
The Council of Trent leaves it to the Holy See . . 284
Gregory XIII. takes up the question . . . 284
1577 A commission appointed for the task . . . 285
1578 Inquiries addressed to scholars and the universities and letters sent to the Catholic princes . . 285
Suggestions arrive in great numbers. . . . 285
Varied opinions of the universities 286
1580 So the commission proceeds independently.—Completion of the final report for the Pope (September 14th) 287

A.D.		PAGE
1582	The bull for the reform signed on February 24th	288
	And acceptance of the new Calendar ordered	288
	It is carried into effect at once in Italy, by Philip II. and Poland	289
	Violent opposition from the schismatic Greeks	290
	Accepted at once in Bavaria and in 1583 by the Emperor	291
	Strongly opposed in Protestant Germany	292
1584	Where it meets with violent abuse	293
	Clavio replies in his *Explicatio* and Kepler defends the new calendar as also does Tycho Brahe	294
	Its subsequent adoption by the Protestant states	295
	The service rendered by Gregory XIII. now fully recognized	296
	Gregory XIII. and the Holy Office	297
	Enactments of the Inquisition confirmed by him	298
1572	Mitigations.—The Pope personally visits the prisons of the Inquisition	299
	Venice favours the Inquisition	300
	Trials and condemnations under Gregory XIII.	301
1583	The case of Giacomo Massilara [Paleologus]	303
	Philip Neri and Paleologus	304
	The Pope not inclined to public abjurations	305
1581-82	Outrages by heretics in St. Peter's and S. Maria del Popolo punished	306
	Jewish renegades from Spain and Portugal	308
	Special cases in which Jews were subjected to the Inquisition	309
	Bull regulating these relations	310
1577	Treatment of Jews milder than under Pius V.	311
1577	The Pope determines to terminate the affair of Carranza	311
1576	And pronounces sentence on April 14th—this clears the archbishop of heresy—his penance	312
	Death of Carranza on May 2nd—the Pope sends to comfort him on April 30th	313
	Michael Baius of Louvain	314
1572	He subscribes the condemnation of the propositions	315
1575	But gives reason to doubt his sincerity	315
	Baius and Marnix of St. Aldegonde	316
1580	Gregory XIII. renews the bull of Pius V.	317
	The Jesuit Toledo and Baius	317
	Toledo reports of him in most honourable terms	318
1584	But the Louvain errors not entirely overcome	319
	The need for the Index of prohibited books	319
	Wide faculties given to the Congregation of the Index	320
	Desire to moderate the existing prohibitions	321
	Writing and promulgation of false news prohibited	322

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER IX.

GREGORY XIII. AND THE LEAGUE AGAINST THE TURKS.

1572 From the beginning (May 13th) of his pontificate, the Pope determines to carry on the undertaking of Pius V. 323
Hopes to win over Philip II. to his wishes. . . 324
Don John and M. A. Colonna meet at Messina, when the former postpones departure of the fleet. . 325
Jealousy of Philip II. against Venice . . . 325
Indignation of the Pope with the King who plans an expedition against Algiers 326
Suspicion of France in Spain 327
Danger of Venice treating with the Turks . . 327
At last the united fleet sail on September 7th, but nothing accomplished 328
Grief of Gregory XIII.—Salviati sent to France . 329
He is followed by Orsini but without result . . 330
Unsuccessful efforts to induce Maximilian II. to join the league 330
Final result of the Pope's activity is negative . . 331
1573 Double-dealing of Venice 331
Decisions of the conference (February 27th) . . 332
Secret peace agreed upon between Venice and the Porte (March 7th) 332
The Pope informed of this (April 6th), his indignation 333
The congregation of the league disband all the troops and annul all the concessions to Venice . . 334
Speech of the Pope at the Consistory of April 8th . 335
Resentment against Venice in Italy and Vienna . 336
Dangerous position of Venice.—The Turks no longer fear 337
Grievous injury done to the Holy See by Venice . 338
Efforts to appease the Pope's anger . . . 339
Prudence and skill of Paolo and Antonio Tiepolo . 340
The Venetians treated with great consideration . 341
Tenacity of the Pope's policy—he endeavours to form a new alliance 342
Assists Don John in the capture of Tunis (October) 342
1574 The Turks recover it.—The Pope fears an attack on Italy and Hungary 343
1575 Disputes in Genoa; the Pope sends Morone as legate for peace (March 18th) 344
1576 Difficulties of the Genoese settled (March) . . 345
Hopes of the Pope from the Emperor Maximilian . 346
Strained relations between the Pope and Philip II. . 347
Behaviour of Granvelle in Naples 348
1573 The disputes in Milan—Grassi sent as nuncio to Madrid 349
1574 Envoys of Philip II. to Rome for dealing with the disputes of Naples and Milan only . . . 349
Philip II.—as customary—avoids a decision . . 350

A.D. PAGE
1574 He expresses filial attachment but gives vague replies 351
1577 Death of Ormaneto who is succeeded as nuncio to Madrid by Sega—his instructions . . . 352
1578 Negotiations with Spain 353
The *Monarchia Sicula*, the *exequatur* and the *placet* . 354
1579 Armistice between Philip II. and the Turks . . 354
Efforts of Gregory XIII. to dissuade the King from negotiating with the Turks 355
1580 But in vain—Spain comes to an agreement with the Porte (March 21st) 356
1581 And renews the armistice 356
Philip II. aims at the conquest of Portugal . . 357
The Portuguese succession—difficult position of the Pope 358
1580 Philip acts swiftly and concentrates troops on the frontier 359
Gregory XIII. urged to intervene, but maintains neutrality 359
Riario sent as legate to Portugal—is opposed by Philip II. 360
By the end of the year the submission of Portugal completed 361
Further negotiations about the *Monarchia Sicula* . 362
1581 Difficult position of the nuncio, Sega—Philip II. has no idea of giving way 363
New subjects of disagreement—the "Toledo council" 364
Nevertheless some points are agreed upon . . 364
1582 Hopes from the new nuncio Taverna (January) . 365
The "Memorial" of Sega 366
Grave difficulties of Taverna 367
Gradually a change comes—Olivares arrives in Rome as ambassador from Spain (June 12th) . . 368
Taverna recommends caution and generosity . . 369
1583 The Pope hopes for a decisive war against the Turk. 370
Olivares brings forward the subject of a league (June) 371
The Pope hopes to win over the King of Spain, the Emperor and the King of Poland . . . 371
The reply of the Venetians a cold one . . . 371
Sega arrives in Madrid, his disappointment . . 372
The Pope still insists upon his plan of a league. . 373
1584 And sends ambassadors to Persia and Ethiopia. . 373
The Spanish government's deception . . . 374
Gregory hopes to win over Philip II. to an undertaking against the queen of England 375

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.—EDMUND CAMPION.

Apparent fate of the Catholic Church in England . 376
1532-62 The future Cardinal William Allen—his early years 376

A.D.		PAGE
1532	He takes refuge in Flanders—his acquaintance with Vendeville and journey to Rome	377
1568	Beginnings of the seminary at Douai	378
1578	It is removed to Rheims (it remains there 15 years)	378
	The Douai translation of the Bible	397
	The Pope, Philip II., and many besides contribute to the college	380
	First steps towards the founding the English College in Rome	381
	Come from Owen Lewis who is supported by Bishop Goldwell	381
	The Pope assents to the proposal of Lewis	381
1576	Allen sends some students—Clenock the first head	382
	The English students ask for Jesuit superiors	382
1579	The Jesuits at first decline, but eventually at the order of the Pope undertake the direction of the college	383
	"The College Oath"	384
	Great fruit of the English College in Rome	384
	The new seminaries based upon the spirit of sacrifice	385
	Allen's narrative about the seminarists, their life	386
	And their labours and trials in England	387
	Improvement in the state of affairs	388
1579	Allen suggests that the Jesuits should be sent to England	388
	The general, Mercurian, consents and assigns Persons and Campion for the mission	388
	Mercurian's instructions as to behaviour in England	389
1580	Declaration of the Pope about the bull of excommunication	390
	Persons and Campion land in England	391
	And begin a series of dangerous journeys in search of Catholics	392
	Results obtained by them	393
	The extraordinary reputation of the two	394
	Early career of Edmund Campion (b.	395
	Joins the Society of Jesus in 1573	396
	His desire to be employed in preaching and in [illegible]tions	396
	Observations of Pound to the two Jesuits	397
	Campion's letter to the Queen's Privy Council	397
	Impression made by it increased by the Protestant replies	398
1581	Campion's "Ten Reasons"	399
	He goes to Lancashire, but is arrested and brought in chains to London (July 22nd)	400
	His trial, sentence and execution on December 1st	401
	The effect of his martyrdom	402

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER XI.

GREGORY XIII. AND SCOTLAND.

1572 The Pope's defence of Mary Stuart 404
The plan of Archbishop Beaton—Caution of Philip II. 405
The Pope hopes to effect an agreement between France and Spain 406
1573 Philip II. makes a treaty with Elizabeth . . . 406
The English exiles in the Low Countries . . . 407
1575 Philip II. seems more favourable 407
Discussions about Spanish intervention in England . 408
The expedition against Ireland—Fitzmaurice and Stukeley 409
Cardinal Galli urges the expedition—Untrustworthiness of Stukeley 410
1577 Adventure of Fitzmaurice 411
1580 Is joined by Sanders—Action of Philip II. . . 412
Disastrous end of the expedition 413
Elizabeth vents her anger upon her own Catholic subjects 414
Anxiety for the Jesuits and priests from the seminaries who had no hand in the expedition . . . 415
1581 Recrudescence of laws against Catholics . . . 416
What line of conduct are the Catholics to take ? . 417
The principle of non-intervention not as yet recognized 418
Still, it was unfortunate to have asked help from Spain 419
1573 Desperate position of Catholics in Scotland . . 420
Opinion of the Jesuit John Hay 421
Report to Walsingham on the state of Catholics in Scotland 422
Attempts to establish Scottish seminaries . . 422
The adherents of Mary do not give up all for lost . 423
The Pope can only send encouraging letters—Hesitation of Philip II. 423
1578 Overthrow of Morton—Hopes from the Earl of Atholl 424
Gregory sends Bishop Lesley of Ross as ambassador to James VI. 424
Rise of the Catholic Lord of Aubigny, Esmé Stuart . 425
James creates him Duke of Lennox and seems to favour the Catholic religion 426
1581 Robert Persons turns to politics—his remarkable qualities 426
Mission of the secular priest William Watts to Scotland 427
The rise of Aubigny leads to fresh projects abroad . 428
Is it possible to convey James overseas to a Catholic country ? 429
1582 Mission of the Jesuit, William Crichton . . . 429
Plans of the Duke of Lennox—Guise promises assistance 430
Gregory XIII. also welcomes the project . . . 430
Unwillingness of Philip II., who delays his reception of Persons 431

A.D. PAGE
1582 For the time all plans against England come to an end 432
Lennox outwardly professes himself a Protestant . 432
James captured by the Earl of Gowrie . . . 432
1582. Mary's letter of complaint to Elizabeth (November 8th) 433
Mary sends to France and Rome, to Spain and to the Guise 433
Henry III. of France sends ambassadors to Scotland. 434
Meyneville finds James fairly well disposed . . 434
1583 A plan for a landing in England by Spain and the Guise comes to nothing 435
James escapes from his captivity (June) . . . 435
Anxiety in London at changed attitude of the Scottish court 436
1584 The impostor John Stuart 437
James writes to the Pope and Guise (February 19th) 437
And Mary Stuart to Allen (March 22nd). . . 437
But Mary is betrayed and deserted by her son. . 438

CHAPTER XII.

PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—RISE OF THE PURITANS.

1589 Failure of attempts to bring about an armed intervention on behalf of the Catholics and Mary Stuart 439
The Pope their only friend 439
This leads some of the English Catholics to take a desperate step 440
Is it lawful "to take up arms"—Replies of Sega and Galli 441
And of Gregory XIII. 442
Who deems Elizabeth to be incorrigible . . . 443
Proposal for her assassination!—Owen Lewis will have nothing to do with it 444
Views of Guise—and of the Pope, who says that such means are not right. 445
Plans of the impostor Gilbert and the madman Somerville 446
1583 Francis Throckmorton accused of conspiracy—his execution 447
Burghley's "imaginary conspiracies" 448
Fictitious nature of these pretended plots and falsity of the indictments against Campion and others 449
The spy of the English government, William Parry 451
1584 His career—he goes to Rome—his "undertaking" 451
In spite of the warnings of Raggazoni; but Galli falls into the trap and procures a letter from the Pope 452
Inexcusable carelessness of Galli 452
Protestant associations for the defence of Elizabeth 453

A.D.		PAGE
1585	Unfortunate capture of the Jesuit Crichton	453
	Severe enactments against Catholics (November)	454
1585	And against Jesuits or other priests (January)	454
	Supreme injustice of these new laws	455
	Death of Parry.—The government becomes more strict	456
	The martyrs—campaign against priests	457
	Philip Howard—Thomas Pound	458
	Terrible use of torture	459
	Topcliffe, the Earl of Huntingdon, and Vane an agent of Walsingham	460
	The cruelties in Ireland worse than in England	461
	Spies in the seminaries.—The persecution by Elizabeth is on account of religion not of politics	462
	Mendacious pamphlets	463
	The motive "the destruction of the Catholic religion"	464
	Allen's constant care to keep his students from all meddling with politics	465
	Loyalty of Catholics to the Queen	466
	"The bloody question"—Allen's reply to Burghley	467
	The mitigation of the bull of Pius V.	468
	Gregory XIII. and cultus of the English martyrs	469
1571	Rise of the Puritans—attitude of the government	470
1572	Movement against "the relics of papistry"	472
	Opposition of the Puritans to the state-church	473
	Attacks of Cartwright and others	473
	"An admonition to Parliament" against bishops	474
	Treatment of the Puritans by the government	475
1574	The "Book of Discipline"	476
1582	Puritans resist the Book of Common Prayer	476
1584	They attempt to gain the approval of Parliament—Elizabeth declares "the reform of the clergy is *her* affair"	477
	The ambition of Elizabeth—sagacity of Burghley	478
	But Puritanism waxes strong	479
	What the English martyrs gave their lives for	479
	The moral grandeur of their testimony	481

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

1572	The Huguenots and the anti-Spanish party in France	482
	Circumspection of Catherine de'Medici	482
	Coligny works upon the weak King Charles IX.	483
	But Catherine fears a war with Spain	483
	Marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret (August 18th)	484
	Catherine's hatred of Coligny—she comes to an understanding with the Guise	485
	Attempt to kill Coligny; he is only wounded and becomes more dangerous than before	485

A.D. PAGE

1572 Threatened rebellion of the Huguenots, who utter the foulest insults against Catherine 486
On August 23rd the King consents to the "massacre" 487
The horrors when the masses of the populace were let loose 487
Charles IX. accuses Coligny and his party of treason 488
Passions of the populace in the provinces . . 488
But the number of the victims is greatly exaggerated 489
Consternation in the Protestant world 489
Personal and political motives for the deed, not religious ones 490
Catherine recovers her complete ascendancy over Charles IX. 490
She tries to obviate the anticipated indignation of the Protestant powers 491
But speaks in quite another sense to the Pope and Philip II. 491
Gregory XIII. had no part in planning or carrying out the massacre 492
He was engaged entirely with the war against the Turks 493
Strained relations between France and Spain . . 494
Salviati sent to France (June 11th), his chief mission is the maintenance of peace 494
Report (July 21st) from Salviati about the Huguenots 495
And his opinion as to the only concerns of Catherine 496
Who is asked to do all in her power to prevent war with Spain 497
Brief to Alba (August 23rd) congratulating him on his victories in the Netherlands, but warning him against giving the French a pretext for war 497
Galli remonstrates with Salviati for not sending news of the plan for the massacre 498
The news arrives in Rome on September 2nd. . 499
Misleading way in which the Cardinal of Lorraine announces it to the Pope 499
Joy of the Pope, who is urged by Férals to wait for the official reports 500
These arrive on September 5th 501
Discussion on these reports 502
The treasonable plots of the Huguenots. . . . 503
The massacre is described to the Pope as the outcome of a dispute between the Guise and the Huguenots 504
On the strength of the reports the Pope orders the customary celebrations 505
A bull of September 11th orders a general Jubilee . 506
No references to the atrocities but only to the consequences it was thought would follow 507
The Pope weeps for the conduct of the King and is struck with horror, reports Zuñiga (September 22nd) 508
The danger to all Catholics from the Huguenots must be borne in mind 509

A.D. PAGE
1572 Horrible atrocities practised for years by the Protestants in France and the Low Countries 509
What would have happened had Coligny triumphed ! 510
Violent anti-Papal expressions of the Protestants . 512
The hope that now Charles IX. will join the league against the Turks 512
And the highest hopes entertained in Rome of peace in France 512
But the French government has no intention of restoring religious unity 513
Discourses of Rambouillet and Muret at the French *obedientia* reception (December 23rd), and the reply of the Papal secretary 514
Cardinal Orsini sent to France as legate—his instructions 515
The French government decline at first to receive him 516
Unsatisfactory nature of his audience with Charles IX. (December 2nd) 516
1573 The legate returns to Rome (January) on the failure of his mission 517
Charles IX. and Catherine wish to maintain an alliance with England 518

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE.—HENRY III. AND THE LEAGUE.—BEGINNINGS OF CATHOLIC REFORM IN FRANCE.

The French government face to face with a new Huguenot rising 519
1573 Treaty of July 6th ensuring liberty of conscience . 520
1574 The French Catholics divided—Alençon negotiates with Navarre and Condé—Death of Charles IX. (May 30th) 520
Henry III. hurries back from Poland . . . 521
And passes through Italy 522
But shrinks from a meeting with the Pope . . 523
His behaviour on arriving in France (September) causes general disappointment . . . 523
1575 Henry's position worse—Alençon places himself at the head of the French Huguenots and malcontent Catholics 524
1576 Flight of Henry of Navarre from the French court . 525
Catherine resolved upon peace at all costs—The treaty of Beaulieu (May 6th)—gains of the Huguenots 525
Indignation of the Pope at this treaty . . . 526
Endeavour of Gondi to calm the Pope's displeasure—The requests of Gondi 527
These are not granted in their entirety . . . 528
Opposition of the French Catholics aroused . . 528
The plan of David to unite the Catholics in a League under the headship of the Guise 529

A.D. PAGE
1576 The oath of the League 530
Efficacy of this organization shown at the States General at Blois (December) 530
1577 The war begun by the Huguenots.—Successes of the Catholics 531
Henry III. weary of the war, and a peace made at Bergerac (September) 532
1578 Salviati recalled from France; Dandino succeeds him; his instructions 533
Efforts to withdraw Alençon from his alliance with Orange 534
1579 French affairs go from bad to worse—Catherine still negotiates with the Huguenots 535
Treaty between France and Berne and Soleure signed (August) 536
Also conclusion of an alliance between France and England 536
1580 The Peace of Le Fleix (November 26th) confirms the treaties of Bergerac and Nérac 537
Reproof of the French Government by the nuncios. 538
Continued efforts of the Pope to prevent war between Spain and France 539
Renewed organization of the League—Loyalty of Guise to the Catholic Church 540
Philip II., the Guise and the French Catholics . . 541
1584 Conditional approval of the League by the Pope (November 16th) 542
1585 The confederacy of Joinville (January)—its object. 543
Hesitation of Henry III.—France once more plunged into civil war. 544
Gregory XIII. maintains his attitude of reserve towards the League 545
His view that force alone will not put an end to heresy 546
But sees in the work of the Capuchins and Jesuits the best means of preparing Catholic reform . 546
The Capuchins in France—their labours and rapid spread 547
They are intent above all things on the welfare of religion 548
Their works of charity and preaching—conversions 548
They are emulated by the Jesuits 549
Maldonatus and Edmond Auger 550
Henry III. and Cardinal de Guise support the Jesuits 551
The Carthusians, Cistercians and Benedictines. . 552
Many bishops labour to rouse the secular clergy . 552
1582 Religious conditions in France—Encouraging report of Lorenzo Priuli 553
The clergy demand the acceptance of the decrees of Trent 554
Three bishops have recourse to the King—his reply 555
Conflict with Henry III. and the Parliament about the bull *In coena Domini* 556

A.D. PAGE
1582 The mission of Castelli (1581–1583) 557
Provincial councils in France (1581–1585) . . 557
The ruling powers in France care little for the Pope's authority 558
The outlook in France still dark; but the way of revival prepared by Gregory XIII. . . . 559

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX

		PAGE
1	Pius IV. nominates Ugo Boncompagni Cardinal.	563
2	Pope Gregory XIII. to King Philip of Spain	564
3	Cardinal Galli to the French nuncio, A. M. Salviati	565
4	Consistory of 5th September, 1572.	565
5	Giov. Ant. Facchinetti to Cardinal Galli	566
6	Galeazzo Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.	568
7	Cardinal Zaccaria Delfino to the Emperor Maximilian II.	568
8	Expenditure of Cardinal Ricci on the villa Medici in Rome until its completion, 1572	569
9	Report on Pope Gregory XIII., his court, and the college of Cardinals	569
10	Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.	583
11	Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua	583
12	Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua	583
13	Memorial for Gregory XIII. on the first Oratorians	584
14	Orazio Scozia to the Duke of Mantua	586
15	Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua	588
16	Extracts from the "Diarium" of Franciscus Mucantius	588
17	Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua	591
18	Avviso di Roma of 16 May, 1582	591
19	Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua	591
20	Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua	592
21	Avviso di Roma of 14 December, 1583	592
22	Avviso di Roma of 17 December, 1583	593
23	Avviso di Roma of 24 December, 1583	594
24	Avviso di Roma of 14 November, 1584	594
25	Incomplete and unpublished biographies of Gregory XIII.	595
26	The Annals of Gregory XIII. written by Maffei.	597
27	The family archives of the Boncompagni in Rome, and their importance for the pontificate of Gregory XIII.	599
28	Memorie et osservationi sulla vita di Gregorio XIII. del S. Cardinale di Como [Galli]	605
29	The notes of Alessandro Musotti on Gregory XIII.	609
30	Considerationi sopra la vita di Gregorio XIII. del vescovo di Cremona [Cesare Speciani]	615
31	The French nuncio A. M. Salviati on St. Bartholomew's night	617

32 Charles Borromeo and the plague at Milan in 1576 . 620
33 Unpublished writings on the war against the Turks . 620
34 Reports of the Pontifical visitors of the dioceses of Italy 622
35 Activity in visitation by the Italian bishops . . 623
36 Francisco Mendoça to the Emperor Maximilian II. 625
37 Memorial to Gregory XIII. on the Congregations . 625
38 List of Cardinals of the Inquisition, 1566–1621 . . 626

INTRODUCTION

THE outstanding importance of the pontificate of Pius V. was due to the fact that it had been entirely dominated by the Council of Trent, which had recently been brought to a close. When the saintly Pope made the Apostolic See the centre and keystone of Catholic reform, he had given this latter the stability that it required, but in order that it should produce its full effects throughout the whole Church, there was need of a long pontificate such as that of his successor.

Under the influence of Charles Borromeo, and in all important matters following in the footsteps of Pius V., Gregory XIII., a man who was both tenacious and far-seeing, stands out from the first days of his pontificate to his death as unceasingly occupied in the task of renewing the world by means of the strict enforcement of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. He applied himself to this task with system and method, and with the broadest outlook, both by means of his letters to the bishops and Catholic princes, and by the agency of his nuncios. The Papal diplomatists, trained for the most part in the school of Borromeo and Pius V., devoted themselves with extraordinary self-sacrifice to their difficult task. Very admirable was the way in which these Italians were able to accommodate themselves to the characters of the various nations, whose climate was inclement to them and whose ways were strange ; worthy too of all admiration was the way in which they took their part in all that was happening, with the result that very often their reports are of value as sources of national history in the case of the various countries to which they were accredited.

Whereas hitherto the religious revival had been substantially limited to Italy and Spain, it now entered upon its triumphant progress among the other nations of Christendom. Nor was this the only thing which made the pontificate of Gregory

XIII. so rich in results of outstanding importance ; a further reason must be added. There now came the development, in an ever increasing degree, of that other aspect of the great change which had come over the whole spiritual tendency of the times, and which men have sought to describe by the equally ugly and inappropriate name of "counter-reformation" ; side by side with Catholic reform, Catholic restoration was making its way with ever increasing vigour.

The enemies of Catholicism had attained the successes which they had won for no other reason than the irresolution, indifference and disunion of the Catholics. Now, however, a sense of unity, of confidence in their own power, and of foresight, was once again making itself felt among them. A purely Catholic feeling, the work especially of the friends of Charles Borromeo and of the new religious Orders, and most of all of the Jesuits, was spreading from day to day. Not content with the spiritual renewal of its own adherents, it devoted itself methodically and with concerted action to the work of defence against the attacks of the enemy, while often it happened in the course of this life and death struggle that it was even able to advance to the attack and to recover positions that had been lost.

The real importance of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. lay in the fact that, together with the steady progress of Catholic reform, he assisted this work of Catholic restoration, this new offensive against heresy, in its victorious advance. Without the preparatory work done by Pius V., however, this would not have been possible, since it was only by the restoration of the Papacy to its special mission, and the energetic uprooting of wide-spread and deep-seated abuses, that the Church had been rendered capable of facing the religious innovations, not merely as a force that must be held in check, but as something to be destroyed.

There can be no doubt that in this respect it was of great advantage to the Catholic cause that just at that time Lutheranism, from the point of view of dogma, was breaking up into a number of different sects. This, however, was not in itself the decisive factor, since the advantage gained from the

internal dissensions of the Protestant hydra did not apply to the danger from the new enemy, Calvinism. The great revival was rather the natural consequence of the unexpected renewal of religious life by means of Catholic reform. This grew up quite independently, and from its own roots. Springing up first on Roman soil, it overleapt the barriers of nationality with far greater agility than Calvinism, and set itself to the conquest of the whole of Europe.

After the Council of Trent, by fixing Catholic dogma and discipline, had drawn a clear line between the old and the new beliefs, and had laid the foundations of a true reform, from the head to the members, the spiritual power and unitiy of the Church, together with her amazing recuperative forces, once more prepared the way for decisive co-operation on the part of the Popes and the new Orders. To the wonder of the whole world it was seen how a mysterious life had lain dormant in her for half a century, in spite of outrage and injury, when the great revival began, and Catholic reform was completed by Catholic restoration. It was the fact that it promoted this development which raised the pontificate of Gregory XIII. above those of his predecessors ; in him the personality best suited to launch the decisive attack of the great battle took the reins of government into his hands.

Gregory XIII. was possessed of all the qualities necessary for such a task ; an insatiable love of work, marked aptitude for government, breadth of view, keen insight, firmness, an extraordinary power of organization, and a clear grasp of the real forces of life. In his power of coping with these, as well as by his wise and prudent attitude towards the princes, he surpassed his predecessors, just as Pius IV. had in this respect surpassed the Carafa Pope. This was a matter of all the greater importance as the pressure brought to bear by the world-wide empire of Spain, both upon the Holy See and Italy, made itself more and more sensibly felt. However much Philip II. stood out as the champion of the interests of religion he nevertheless always sought in the first place his own advantage. While with one hand he defended the Church, with the other he placed upon her neck an intolerable yoke.

There was need of great skill to defend on the one hand the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the cesaropapalism of the Catholic King, and yet on the other to secure his co-operation, which was so necessary against the common enemy, the Protestant religious innovators.

With great wisdom Gregory XIII. realised that for the purposes of the Catholic reform and restoration he might make great use of the Jesuit Order, which by reason of its universal and international character, seemed to be pre-eminently suited to this work.

Hardly a generation had passed away since the former captain in the army of Charles V. had placed at the disposal of the head of the Church the first little band of his troops (the Society of Jesus), yet already this Order was developing its activities, not only in Italy, Spain and Portugal, but also in Germany, France, the Low Countries, Brazil, the Indies and Japan, in such a way as to strengthen and extend more and more widely in the days to come its unwearied activities.

With Gregory XIII. the most brilliant period of the Society of Jesus began. The Jesuits were to be seen in his service amid almost all the nations of Europe. At Stockholm Possevino was striving to win back the King of Sweden to the Church ; as the Pope's representative he negotiated the peace between Poland and Russia, and courageously expounded the principles of the Catholic faith before Ivan the Terrible in the Kremlin at Moscow. It was above all the Jesuits who, in every kind of disguise, and at the risk of their lives, sought to bring aid to the persecuted Catholics in the Protestant kingdoms, especially in England, and who endeavoured to bring back divided Germany to religious unity. It was above all the Jesuits who carried the blessing of the Gospel to pagan lands outside Europe. Even Protestant historians have bestowed great praise upon the generous spirit of self-sacrifice of which the disciples of Loyola gave proof. "They gained neophytes," says Macaulay, "in places where none of their compatriots, whether from motives of cupidity or the desire of knowledge, had dared to set foot ; they preached

and spoke in tongues of which no man born in the west understood a single word."[1]

Together with the Jesuits Gregory XIII. valued the Capuchins above all others. He opened out to them a vast field of activity by revoking the decree of Paul III. which forbade them to go beyond the borders of Italy. During his pontificate the Capuchins went to France and Switzerland, whence, later on, they made their way into the German Empire.

Of not less importance than the favour shown to the Jesuits and Capuchins was the labour which Gregory XIII. bestowed upon the development of the diplomatic representation of the Holy See. The increase in the number of the nunciatures opened out to the supreme head of the Church the means of providing himself with accurate information as to the condition of the states of Europe which had been so disturbed by the religious changes, and of intervening more directly and more effectively than in the past in their religious development. The pontificate of this Pope too was of exceptional importance on account of the formation of the cardinalitial congregations, which were systematically organized by his successor. To all this must be added the fact that the pontificate of Gregory XIII. lasted long enough to enable him to consolidate what he had begun.

The full re-establishment of the former religious unity of the Christian nations of Europe, which Gregory XIII. and his fellow-workers aimed at, could not, however, be attained in spite of their most devoted efforts. The zealous attempts of the Pope once more to reunite Sweden and Russia to the Church failed, as did his plans for the overthrow of Elizabeth of England. In France the struggle between the Calvinists and the Catholics remained undecided throughout his pontificate. The French government frustrated all the hopes that had been built upon it for the protection of the Catholics, while in the matter of Catholic reform it took the part of the enemies of the Holy See. Nevertheless, Gregory XIII. and his

[1] See MACAULAY, Essay on the Papacy.

nuncios, by standing firm, and, in spite of the disastrous turn of events, never giving up hope, were preparing the way for the future triumph of the Church in France.

The history of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., however, can also show its immediate results and successes. In the Low Countries, so important on account of their position, he had the happiness of seeing a definite change in favour of the Catholic cause. In the same way he had his share in the important revival which took place in the great kingdom of Poland. It is certain that with the extinction of the Jagellons, the triumph of Protestantism had become far from improbable, and, since Poland was of the same importance in the east as the Low Countries in the west, if the religious innovations had triumphed there a mortal blow would have been struck against the Church beyond the Alps. The contrary, however, of what so many hoped for, and so many others feared, took place. By the time that the pontificate of Gregory XIII. was drawing to its end the failure of Protestantism in Poland and the triumphant restoration of the Catholic Church was an established fact. In this change, which was of importance to the history of the whole world, an essential part was played by the King of Poland, Stephen Bâthory. During his reign, and with his help, the Catholic Church in Poland was restored, Protestantism was eradicated, and at the same time the seeds of Catholicism were firmly planted in the Greek Orthodox territories of the kingdom. The co-operation of the Pope and the Jesuits was of decisive importance in all this. In giving his support to that Order, not only in Poland proper and Lithuania, but in opening out to it Livonia to the north and Transylvania to the south, Bâthory substantially helped forward Catholic propaganda in the north and west of Europe.

The work of Gregory in Germany, in which country he took a quite special interest, was of exceptional value. The hopes which the strict ecclesiastical party had built upon him in this respect were fully justified. Gregory worked uninterruptedly for the salvation of the Catholic Church in Germany throughout his pontificate, as well as in the task of resisting

the Turks, but whereas his efforts against the hereditary foe of Christendom were shipwrecked by the selfishness and dissensions of the European powers, he attained to unhoped for success in Germany. With great prudence, here as elsewhere, he sought before everything else to safeguard what still remained to the Catholic Church, to reinvigorate it by the introduction of the Tridentine reform decrees, to put a stop to further apostasy from the ancient faith, and then to recover the ground that had been lost. It is beyond dispute that his work was of decisive importance for the future of that nation from which the religious changes had first come.[1]

It must not be forgotten, however, that such a result was only possible because the renewal of ecclesiastical life had already begun in Germany. In this matter too the preparatory work of Pius V. had been as important as the labours of the Jesuits, and of some of the secular and ecclesiastical princes. Among the princes the first place belongs to Albert V. and William V. of Wittelsbach. By their courageous attitude, as the champions and restorers of the ancient Church, they gave to their little principality the importance of a great power. The Dukes of Bavaria gave in their territory the first example of a Catholic restoration, resting upon the two-edged sword of the so-called rights of reform, set up by the religious peace of Augsburg. After these champions there followed first among the German prelates the Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar von Dernbach, and the Bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn, and later on the Hapsburgs. It was an event of no less importance when William V., rightly called the Pious, intervened effectually in the struggle between the old and new faiths in the Empire, and struck a mortal blow against the advance of Protestantism in the north-west of Germany. But the salvation of the Catholic Church in the Lower Rhine Provinces and Westphalia was not due to the Duke of Bavaria alone; without the energetic support of

[1] See the opinion of HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland I., XXIV. *seq.*, and VON SCHELLHASS in Quellen u. Forsch. des Preuss. Instit. I. 39.

Gregory XIII. he would not have been able to attain his end.

While Gregory XIII. was occupying himself with the renewal and restoration of the Church beyond the Alps, he did not lose sight of the religious conditions of the Latin nations.

The reform of the Carmelites of Spain, at the hands of Teresa of Jesus, and energetically supported by the Pope, proved more effectual for the consolidation of the Church in the kingdom of Philip II. than the Spanish Inquisition, which had been so often misused for political ends. The institution of the Congregation called the Oratory, by Philip Neri, the most lovable and characteristic of the saints of the cinquecento, was also an important act of reform. While the founder of this body of ecclesiastics became the Apostle of Rome, his disciples spread slowly throughout Italy, and later on made their way among the other Catholic nations. The principal work of the Oratorians was the care of souls, while the importance of the new Congregation in the world of learning is shown by the mention of the father of Church history, Baronius.

Gregory was also directly a patron of learning, no less than of the arts, though in both respects the interests of the Church were always paramount with him. It was principally buildings of utility that sprang up in Rome in his time, churches for the people, and numerous colleges for the education of the priests of the various nations. In the world of letters the things nearest to the heart of the Pope were the provision of a new edition of the canon law and the Roman Martyrology, as well as a reform of the calendar which, in spite of the opposition of the Protestants, was destined gradually to make its way throughout the civilized world.

The extraordinary impulse which he gave to the work of teaching by the establishment of ecclesiastical colleges both in and out of Rome, was to the advantage, not only of the progress of Catholic reform and restoration, but also of the foreign missions. In no matter was it so evident as in this with what a breadth of vision the man who occupied the

Apostolic See regarded his mission, and maintained for the Church her note of catholicity. Pius V. had already proved himself open-handed in his support of the missions, but now his generosity was even surpassed. The immense results which were attained by Christianity among the pagan peoples of America, as well as in the far east, afforded a fresh proof of the living and efficacious presence of Christ, Who abides and works in His Church, united by the Faith, until the end of time.

CHAPTER I.

The Election of Gregory XIII.—His Character and Government.

Rarely has any vacancy in the Holy See passed over so quietly as that which followed the death of Pius V.[1] At once on the following day the College of Cardinals swore to the observance of the bulls issued by Julius II., and Pius IV. concerning the election of the Pope, and entrusted the duty of guarding the conclave to Girolamo Bonelli. Donato Stampa, Bishop of Nepi and Sutri, was appointed Governor of the Borgo, while Monte de Valentibus remained Governor of the city itself. Of the other provisions, the most important concerned the carrying on of the war and the league against the Turks.[2]

As soon as the obsequies of the dead Pope were completed, Cardinal Farnese celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost on May 12th, 1572, after which fifty-one Cardinals, one Pole, two Spaniards, four Germans, and the remainder Italians, went into conclave at the Vatican.[3] Antonio Boccapaduli exhorted the electors in his discourse to choose a Pope like Pius V., since he had possessed all the qualities necessary to

[1] See the *note at the beginning of the volume containing the original minutes of the letters written during the vacancy. Papal Secret Archives (without signature).

[2] See Theiner, Annales, I., 443 *seq.*, 457 *seq.* *Cf.* Serrano, Liga, I., 188.

[3] The names in Petramellarius, 182 *seq.*; Ciaconius, IV., 1 *seq.*; Albèri, II., 4, 205 *seq.* Santori was lying ill in Rome; absentees were the Portuguese Infante Henry, the Spaniards Espinosa and Cervantes, the Frenchmen Armagnac, Charles de Guise, Bourbon, Créquy, Pellevé and Louis de Guise, and the Italians Delfino, Commendone and del Monte.

guide the barque of Peter.[1] Before the closing of the conclave, in the evening, Cardinal Granvelle, who had come from Naples, arrived; he had been anxiously awaited by the ambassador of Spain, Zuñiga, for Philip II., as long ago as September, 1571, had named him as the leader of the Spanish Cardinals in the conclave.[2] On the following day, to the surprise of the whole world, the new Pope was elected.[3] This surprise was all the greater, as there were not wanting rival candidates of the greatest eminence, and many had prophesied a fairly long conclave.[4] Among these candidates none had worked so assiduously or so shrewdly as the powerful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the most brilliant member of the Sacred College. The bitter opposition to his ambitions, which he had met with from the Medici and their adherents,[5] on this

[1] See A. Buccapadulii De summo pontefice creando oratio habita in basilica S. Petri, May 12, 1572, Dillingen, 1572.

[2] See the letter of Philip II. to Zuñiga of September 8, 1571. Corresp. dipl., IV., 431 *seq.*

[3] *" Il conclave fu chiuso alle otto hore di notte il di 12 maggio et usci Pontefice alle 22 hore il giorno seguente." (Notes of A. Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *cf.* App. 29). See also the report of Gondola in *Archiv für österr. Geschichte* XCVIII., 617. For the election of Gregory XIII. *cf.* (see Ranke, Päpste, III., 84*) the report in "Conclavi dei Pontefici Romani" p.1, (1668), 264 *seq.*, which, though not based upon personal observation, is nevertheless the result of reliable information; the extracts from the reports of the ambassadors in Petrucelli, 225 *seq.*, Wahrmund, 93 *seq.* (with the remarks of Arco, 268 *seq.*) and especially the long account by Herre, 192-241, based upon unpublished letters, especially in the Florentine Archives (*cf.* also Palandri, 166). See also the *reports of A. Zibramonte dated Rome, May 10 and 13, 1572 (in the first the ambassador discusses in detail the intentions of each of the candidates) and the *letter of B. Pia of May 16, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Masius, Letters, 484. For the candidates for the tiara *cf.* report of Zuñiga in Corresp. dipl., IV., 711 *seq.*

[5] Among these was also the Duke of Savoy, whose two envoys were working against Farnese; see Lettere e monete inedite del sec. XVI. ill. p. G. B. Adriani, Turin, 1851, and also Wüstenfeld in *Götting. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1858, I., 686 *seq.*

occasion stood still more in the way of his doing his utmost to attain the goal which he so ardently desired. As a matter of fact, however, Cosimo I., in spite of all the arts which he had brought to bear, as well as his son, Cardinal Ferdinand, and his secretary, Concini, who had been sent for the special purpose of preventing the election of Farnese, could hardly have been successful unless they had found a powerful ally in the King of Spain.

How great was the influence of Philip II. in the College of Cardinals was shown in a truly astonishing way. The king had ordered Granvelle to set out at once for Rome, and to check Farnese in his ambitions. Immediately after his entry into the conclave Granvelle repaired to Farnese's cell, and clearly told him that His Catholic Majesty asked of him, in the interests of the maintenance of the peace of Italy, to give up any further steps to obtain the tiara. Farnese was entirely taken by surprise by this communication,[1] but fully realizing the uselessness of any resistance, he declared himself ready to fall in with Philip's wishes. He wished, however, to be able to use his influence effectively in the choice of the new Pope. To this end he went to Bonelli, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius V., and proposed four candidates to him: Ricci, Savelli, Correggio and Boncompagni. Bonelli would only accept Boncompagni, who was generally recognized as being worthy, and who was looked upon as being good-natured and a lover of peace;[2] for his part he then proceeded to

[1] *Cf.* Corresp. dipl., IV., 728. That Farnese was at first attonito e confuso" but soon recovered his self-command, is stated in the anonymous *report of the conclave of Gregory XIII., dated Rome, May 23, 1572, in Miscell. Arm. 2, t. 15, p. 185 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives, which is based on information given by those who were present at the conclave, both conclavists and Cardinals. The author is of the opinion that if the conclave had been a long one, Correggio would have become Pope.

[2] It weighed against Ricci that he had an illegitimate son. A *report on the conclave of Gregory XIII., in the Ricci Library, Rome, states that after the election Charles Borromeo was asked why he had not also declared himself against Boncompagni,

nominate Rebiba, Sirleto, Albani and Paolo Burali, but these, with the exception of the last named, were rejected by Farnese. At last they both agreed upon Burali and Boncompagni. On the following morning Granvelle had a conversation with Farnese, and agreed with him to support the election of Boncompagni, whose candidature had been from the first proposed by Cosimo I.[1]

In the meantime the Cardinals of Pius IV. had taken counsel together. Among them, Charles Borromeo had from the first strongly declared himself in favour of Burali, but he found very little inclination among his own party, especially Mark Sittich von Hohenems and Orsini, to give their votes to this Cardinal, who had been a Theatine, and was known to be a man of the greatest austerity,[2] and who, like a hermit, lived only for his exercises of asceticism.[3] Borromeo then suggested Sirleto and Boncompagni. Sirleto was a man of like views with Borromeo himself;[4] he was valued as a man of great learning but was considered to be inexperienced in public affairs.[5] Although Borromeo exerted himself a great deal in his favour,[6] his candidature had to be given up like that of Burali, with the result that among this group of the electors as well, Boncompagni remained the only candidate. The

in whose case the same impediment applied. To the reply made by Borromeo that he had not known of it, the Cardinal asking the question retorted that the Holy Ghost had known of it, and yet had not prevented the election.

[1] See HERRE, 198 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the *reports of Arco and Cusano, May 17, 1572 (State Archives, Vienna), the reliability of which is brought out by HERRE (233 n.1.), PETRUCELLI, 228 and the *letter of Zibramonti of May 13, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] A description of him by a well-informed contemporary in the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome), App. n. 9. HERRE (222) wrongly describes Burali as a Jesuit.

[4] See the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, which says of Sirleto: "é anco della scuola Chietinesca."

[5] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome).

[6] See the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

difficulty of his repeated disagreements with Pius V., which Bonelli in particular brought forward against the election of Boncompagni, was smoothed over by the efforts of Cardinals Cesi, Mark Sittich, Sermoneta and Galli.[1] Half an hour afterwards, at six o'clock in the evening, the election of Boncompagni had taken place.[2] When the latter gave his vote at the scrutiny to Cardinal Granvelle, he made it clear, with equal tact and understanding, to whom he principally owed his election.[3] In memory of the fact that once upon a time the purple had been conferred upon him on the feast of St. Gregory the Great, Boncompagni took the name of Gregory XIII. For his motto he chose the words: "Confirm, O God, what thou hast wrought in us." (Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis).

The Romans welcomed the elevation of Cardinal Boncompagni, principally because neither a religious nor an austere "Theatine" had been elected, as most people had feared.[4] The good nature of the new Pope confirmed the court in the opinion that he would prove himself, as it was put in an expressive saying of the time, a "buon compagno."[5] The ambassadors built happy auguries on the fact that Gregory XIII. had lived so long in the curia as to have passed through all the ranks of office, and had thus acquired a deep knowledge of jurisprudence.[6]

[1] See HERRE, 235 *seq.* For the share taken by Sermoneta see CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, Rome, 1870, 149 *seq.*

[2] See the *Memorie del card. di Como, Cod. D. 5, p. 68, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* App. n. 28.

[3] See Corresp. de Granvelle, IV., 224.

[4] " *Questo popolo di Roma sta molto allegro poichè non hanno fatto papa ne frate ne chietino come si dubitava." Report of Cusano, Rome, May 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *report of B.Pia, Rome, May 16, 1572, which states: " S.Stà fa gratia ad ognuno et non nega cosa alcuna " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the play on the words see App. No. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Arco of May 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and the *letter of B. Pia to Camillo Luzzara, Rome, May 14, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the coronation

It was a fact that the whole of the past life of the new Pope had been devoted to the study of law and to the work of administration. He sprang from a Bolognese family, which, according to tradition, had come from Umbria,[1] and which belonged to the "mezzo ceto."[2] His father, Cristoforo, who was born in 1470, and died in 1546, had been a merchant, and by his skill had raised his family to a certain measure of affluence; nevertheless, the beautiful palace which he raised near the Duomo was finer than his means warranted.[3] He

and "possesso" of Gregory XIII., *cf.* GATTICUS, 393 *seq.* Among the "obedientia" envoys there was a celebrated poet: see E. ARMIGERO GAZZARA, Storia di un'ambasciata e di una orazione di Battista Guarini (1572), Modena, 1919.

[1] *Cf.* LITTA, fasc. 53. At Visso, near Norcia, may still be seen the genealogical tree of the family.

[2] The story of the Boncompagni, like that of other Roman and Bolognese families, was irremediably falsified by the Roman physician Alfonso Ceccarelli. When this man had also falsified a deed of trust, a suit was commenced against him which ended in 1583 in his condemnation. See RIEGL in *Mitteilungen des österr. Inst.*, XV., 193 *seq.* *Cf.* idem. XXIII., 275 *seq.*, *Archiv für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, N.F. XX., 253 *seq.*; KEHR in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXIV., 257; FUMI, L'opera di falsificazione di A. Ceccarelli, Perugia, 1902; A. MERCATI, Per la storia lett. di Reggio Emilia, Milano, 1919, 37. The work of Ceccarelli on the origin and history of the Boncompagni, which L. Allatius had not seen, and Riegl (*loc. cit.* 216) could not find, is preserved in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. 45, *Genealogia et insignia Boncompagni familiae auctore Alphonso Ciccarello. The work of Ceccarelli, *De familiis Italiae in Cod. XI. 13 of the Rossiana Library of the Jesuit College at Lainz, near Vienna. For the coat of arms of Boncompagni see PASINI-FRASSONI, Armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906. 39.

[3] The construction of this grandiose palace, which Ugo Boncompagni enlarged as Cardinal and as Pope, gave occasion for many witty sayings; see, besides P. TIEPOLO, 210 *seq.* especially the *report of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A. Tiepolo also says that the family possessions were only "modesto" (p. 258).

was distinguished for his piety and his generosity towards the poor.[1] By his marriage with Angela Marescalchi, Cristoforo Boncompagni took his place among the aristocracy of Bologna. Of his four sons, Ugo, who was born on January 1st, 1502,[2] devoted himself with distinction to the study of law in the university of his native place. He took the various academic degrees there, and, amid general applause was lecturer in law at the university between the years 1531-1537, and 1538-1539.[3] Among his pupils he numbered, together with Ippolito Riminaldi, who became celebrated in the study of law, five other students who later on attained to the purple, and rendered great services to the Catholic Church : Otto Truchsess, Reginald Pole, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Francesco Alciati and Alessandro Farnese.

As Boncompagni had not a strong voice,[4] he resigned his chair in 1539, and went to Rome, where he entered the service of his friend, Cardinal Parisio.[5] Paul III. soon realized his great abilities ; Boncompagni owed to him his first promotion as one of the judges whom that Pope had placed at the dis-

[1] During a time of scarcity in Bologna he distributed a great deal of grain ; see *Memorie del Fazolio, D. 5, n. 18, Boncompagni Archives, as well as the detailed *report of Musotti. (*Cf.* App. n. 29). At S. Martino, the church of the Carmelites, Cristoforo founded a chapel.

[2] The baptism of Ugo took place, according to the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by P. Bombinus (see App. n. 24), on January 17, 1502, Vatican Library.

[3] Exact details as to this are given by C. Malagola, Documenti inediti sulla laurea e sull'insegnamento di Gregorio XIII. (U. Boncompagni) nell'antico studio di Bologna, Roma, 1878. The Boncompagni Archives has in Cod. D. 2 part of the lectures of Boncompagni : *In titulum de donatione praelectiones expositae anno 1532. The description of the coronation of Charles V. at Bologna, which Boncompagni sent to Ingolstadt to his friend Fabio Arca on March 18, 1530, was published by G. Giordani (Lettera inedita del Bolognese U. Boncompagni, Bologna, 1841).

[4] See A. Tiepolo, 258.

[5] See the *Note of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 163.

posal of the senator (collaterale di Campidoglio) as well as his appointment as "abbreviatore di Parco Maggiore," and finally as "referendarius utriusque signaturae."[1] Ugo, who had acquired a fine residence in the Rione di Parione,[2] made many acquaintances in the Palazzo Parisio, who were very useful to him in his career; in 1545 he lost this patron, whose last will he drew up.[3] In 1546 Boncompagni obtained a far more important office by his appointment as "Abbreviatore" of the Council of Trent.[4] In February, 1548, he was one of the deputies whom the legates sent to Rome to inform the Pope of the transference of the Council to Bologna.[5]

It seemed as though Boncompagni could count upon further promotion when Cardinal del Monte, whom he had faithfully served at the Council, was elected Pope. The contrary, however, was the case. Julius III. removed him from the roll of the referendaries,[6] and moreover showed his disfavour so clearly that Boncompagni wished to leave Rome, from which

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 1 the *bull of Pius IV. of March 12, 1565 (Papal Secret Archives) and Corresp. dipl., I., xxxix. There also belong to this time the notes in Cod. D. 2 of the Boncompagni Archives, *Forensia et praesertim notabilia in materia expedit. liter. apost.; ibid. D. 3, *Mss. dogmatico-canonica of Gregory XIII. Other *manuscripts of the same kind which certainly belong to the time of the cardinalate and pontificate of Boncompagni, are mentioned by Fantuzzi, IV., 287, as being in the Archives of the Castle of St. Angelo.

[2] Via del Governo Vecchio n. 118, where recently over the entrance door was found the inscription: "Boncompagni"; see Tomassetti, La casa di U. Boncompagni, per le nozze Boncompagni-Ludovisi-Malvezzi-Campeggi, Rome, 1897.

[3] See the Vita Gregorii XIII. by P. Bombinus (*cf.* App. n. 24), Vatican Library.

[4] See Ehses, Concilii Trident. Actorum pars prima, Freiburg, 1904, 544.

[5] See Merkle, Concil. Trident. Diariorum pars prima, Freiburg, 1901, XLIII.

[6] This fact, of which the biographies by Ciappi (2) and Maffei (I. 6) say nothing, is attested by the Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, D. 5, n. 17, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

step, however, he was dissuaded by Cardinal Crescenzi.[1] The reasons for this disfavour are not known: Boncompagni then retired altogether from the curia and devoted himself entirely to his studies.[2] At the end of the pontificate of Julius III., Cardinal Giambattista Cicada, legate of the Campagna, appointed him his vice-legate, in recognition of his administrative talents, and he held this office for eight months.[3]

During the pontificate of Paul IV. Boncompagni once more came into favour, although the character of the new Pope was very different from his own. In January, 1556, when the Commission of Reform was established, the Pope would not forego the services of this experienced jurist.[4] After this Ugo Boncompagni entered the diplomatic service; he twice accompanied Cardinal Carlo Carafa on important legations. The first time was in May, 1556, when the Cardinal's nephew went to France, and the other in the autumn of the following year, on his journey to Brussels, to the court of Philip II.[5] In May, 1558, Boncompagni, who had in the meantime been appointed by Paul IV. a member of the Segnatura di Grazia, was placed upon the commission which had to pronounce sentence in the dispute with Ferdinand I. In July the Pope proposed to send him to that monarch,[6] and at once conferred upon him the bishopric of Viesti in lower Italy.[7] By permission of Paul IV. Boncompagni still remained in Rome, where, at the end of 1558, he was given the office of vice-regent to Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who had recently been appointed regent of the Camera. This office he held gratuitously and to the satisfaction of

[1] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163.

[2] *"Si retirè poiche non volse più lassarsi vedere ne dal papa ne da veruno cardinale" says Venanzio da Camerino, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *ibid.*

[4] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 191.

[5] See *ibid.* pp. 124, 211. *Cf.* ANCEL, La question de Sienne, Bruges, 1905, 16, and Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[6] See Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 353, 355.

[7] See MERKLE, II., 324 n.

everybody.[1] In January, 1559, he was called to take part in the new Council of State, which had just been instituted.[2] When the obligation of residence was enforced in 1559, Boncompagni was one of the few prelates who were allowed to remain in Rome, because they had need there of his services.[3] The purple seemed assured to him when Paul IV. died.[4]

The tragedy of the Carafa, with whom Boncompagni had been closely associated,[5] might have proved fatal to him. He nevertheless remained untouched, although he had himself, from his modest resources, helped Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, who had been condemned to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi.[6] In what a high degree he possessed the confidence of Pius IV., as well as that of Cardinal Borromeo, is shown by his appointment to the Consulta. His close contact with the Cardinal nephew, who lived like a saint, had a decisive effect upon both the interior and exterior life of Boncompagni. Since his education had been to all intents and purposes of a worldly character, he had not, though he was in himself of a religious turn of mind,[7] altogether escaped the profane influence of the dying Renaissance. It was therefore of decisive importance for him that he should have completed his period of development and maturity in close contact with Charles Borromeo,

[1] See *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino and the *Notes of Musotti in Boncompagni Archives, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* ANCEL, Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[2] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 229.

[3] See ANCEL, Nonciat., II., 471 n.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma in Urb. 1039, p. 62, Vatican Library.

[5] It is significant that these were not mentioned in the account of his career contained in the bull of his nomination as cardinal; see the *document in App. n.1., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749 (Vatican Library), which must be compared with App. n. 24.

[7] Already when "collaterale di Campidoglio" he visited every day the church of Aracoeli. This is stated by Guido Ferrari upon oral evidence in his *Vita Gregorii XIII. Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* App. n. 24.

at the time when full experience of life and the serious purposes of middle age had come upon him.[1]

Borromeo, like Pius IV., learned to appreciate still more the learned prelate by reason of his unflagging labours during the third period of the Council. Boncompagni, who had gone to Trent on December 9th, 1561, as the companion of the Cardinal legate, Simonetta,[2] lived there at first at his own expense, as his bishopric, which had been devastated by the Turks, brought in no revenues whatever.[3] As the close associate of the legate, he placed all his knowledge of canon law and his exceptional powers at the service of the great cause. His advice, and his share in the drafting of the decrees, won for him the special praises of Seripando, Borromeo and Pius IV. The activity which he displayed during the discussion of the difficult question of the obligation of residence won him special praise.[4]

During his stay at Trent Boncompagni lived in a villa at Civezzano, from whence he generally travelled on foot along the precipitous road leading to Trent. Venanzio da Camerino, who had been for many years in his service, has described Boncompagni's manner of life at that time. He got up at sunrise to recite his breviary in the open air, and to hear the first mass. He then set out for his work; for the most part during his long walks he meditated upon the business of the Council, only to discuss it anew in the evening with certain bishops who lodged at the same villa.[5]

[1] This is very rightly pointed out by Reinhardt-Steffens, p. xxiii. How seriously Boncompagni took his position as prelate as early as 1547, *cf.* Tacchi-Venturi, I., 169 *seq.*

[2] See Šusta, I., 114 *seq.*

[3] See *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Later on he received a subsidy from the Pope; see Šusta, IV., 30.

[4] *Cf.* Merkle, II., 826; Šusta, II., 45, 47, 86, 126, 146, 170, 193, 218; III., 19, 168, 178, 180 *seq.*, 185, 254, 272, 274; IV., 51, 105, 367. See also the *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, and Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 73.

[5] See as to this the valuable information in the *Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives.

His temperance at that time is worthy of notice; even though the sittings of the Council had been very protracted, he never took any time for refreshment.

It is also reported of him that when the news came of the illness of Pius IV., he was one of the few who remained prefectly calm.[1] When, at the conclusion of the Council, Boncompagni passed through Bologna on his way back to Rome, it was obvious from his pallor how great had been the strain which he had undergone during his two years' stay in Trent.[2] He had indeed earned the purple which was bestowed upon him in 1565, on March 12th, the feast day of Gregory the Great.[3] On the occasion of his nomination Pius IV. remarked, in obvious allusion to his relations with the Carafa: "this man has always been without guile."[4]

It was said later on in Rome that Boncompagni's habit of silence had won for him in the curia the reputation of being a prudent and capable man, and that this had weighed heavily in the balance in favour of his elevation to the cardinalate.[5] Other reasons, however, contributed to his promotion. Even though Boncompagni, in the opinion of Prospero Santa Croce, who was made a Cardinal at the same time, was poor and a man of few words, so as to appear to be of an austere turn of mind, he had also won golden opinions by his manner of life and his great prudence.[6] It is certain that the high opinion which Borromeo had of him told especially in his favour.[7] He saw with approval how Boncompagni kept all aloof from Court intrigues, and devoted himself to his juridical studies and public

[1] See *ibid.* [2] See *ibid.*

[3] See the *bull of Pius IV. in App. n.1., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 393.

[4] See Maffei, I., 10.

[5] See the *Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per un signore che praticò la corte di Roma. Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. F. 1.

[6] See *Prosper card. S. Crucis de Cardinalibus sui temporis, in Cod. Ottob. 7248, p. 151, Vatican Library.

[7] See the *Considerationi sopra la vita di Gregorio XIII. dal vescovo di Cremona (Ces. Speciani) D. 5, n. 6, Boncompagni Archives.

duties. The ambassadors, especially the Spanish ambassador, appreciated his peace-loving character, and his naturally conciliatory disposition, while his great disinterestedness was generally recognized.[1] Thus it was looked upon as an inspired choice when Pius IV., in the autumn of 1565, in connexion with the trial by the Inquisition of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, sent to Spain the Cardinal of S. Sisto, as Boncompagno was called from his titular church. But the death of Pius IV. determined the legate to return to Rome as early as December 29th.[2] His companion on his journey relates how Philip II., at his farewell audience, wished to alter the faculties of the legate and said to him: "If the Pope were to command it you would certainly listen to him." Boncompagni frankly replied: "If the Pope were to order me to do anything against my conscience, or to the injury of the Holy See, I should certainly not listen to him."[3] Pius V. gave to Boncompagni, after the death of Cardinal Reumano, the Segnatura of Briefs.[4] The Cardinal, on this occasion as well, devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office. He was never to be seen at public festivals, and the only recreation which he allowed himself was an occasional visit to the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich at Frascati.[5] He never wished for riches, and thus still remained in a state of voluntary poverty. He would not accept a pension of 1,000 scudi offered to him by Philip II., without the permission of the Pope. Without any thought of self-interest he always defended his opinions quite openly,[6]

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 372. *The Acta concerning this legation are in Cod. 4, Boncompagni Archives.

[3] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino in the Boncompagni Archives. *Cf.* also the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749, Vatican Library.

[4] *"Carico di tanta importanza che si dà a Cardinali confidentissimi," says Musotti, in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives.

[5] See the *Considerationi of Speciani, *ibid.*

[6] See *ibid.* (*f.* also Corresp. dipl., III., 101, the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, and the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9.

and as a conscientious jurist sometimes resisted the acts of harshness into which Pius V. was led by his ardent zeal.[1]

The good name which the Cardinal of S. Sisto enjoyed in Rome was beyond dispute. A man of such weight, and so experienced in every kind of office seemed to have been almost created for the supreme dignity. He had already been numbered among the "papabili" at the conclave of 1565.[2] When, in the summer of 1566, Boncompagni fell sick with a fever, it was said in Rome that he would not die except as Pope.[3] The Spanish ambassador, in a report of October 12th, 1568, to Philip II. recommended him as the best fitted of all the Cardinals to govern the Church.[4] In like manner the ambassador of Venice in 1569 sketched an extremely laudatory portrait of him: Boncompagni has a very deep knowledge of canon law; although he is a man of few words, he is nevertheless extremely affable; all men are of opinion that in the event of a vacancy in the Papal throne he would have every hope of the tiara, since he has no enemies. The Spanish ambassador, however, does not attempt to conceal the shadow that lay upon Boncompagni in that, before he was a priest, he had a son; the whole subsequent life of Boncompagni, however, was always exemplary. "I believe," the ambassador concludes, "that he would be a very good Pope, and that your

[1] See the report of Cusano in HERRE, 235; *cf.* also the *letter of Arco, of February 4, 1570, State Archives, Vienna, the *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1569, and the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library) in App. n. 9.

[2] See the *Florentine reports, of December 18 and 19, 1565, State Archives, Florence, Med. 3285. At his departure for Spain *"tutti dicevano se ne va a farsi Papa." Notes of Venanzio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives.

[3] *"Non può morire se non Papa" (Memorie di Mgr. Venantio da Camerino *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of July 27, 1566, Lett. di Princ., 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Corresp. dipl., II., 486 *seq.* *Cf.* also the cypher *report of Cusano on Boncompagni as "papabile," December 26, 1568, State Archives, Vienna.

Majesty might support him."[1] A few years later, on March 21st, 1572, Zuñiga sent the King of Spain a highly favourable account of the good qualities of Boncompagni; he was one of the best members of the Sacred College, and had always borne himself well in the affairs of Philip II.[2]

On account of the special characteristics of Boncompagni there was a danger lest, as the result of his disposition,[3] which was essentially kind and benevolent, he might as Pope lean towards a relaxation of the strict severity of his predecessors. Although it was known that he, who had grown up in a period of somewhat worldly tendencies, had only recently been won over to the austere ecclesiastical ideas of the circle of Borromeo, it was thought that he could not altogether forget his own youth. It was soon said in the curia that Gregory XIII. would increase his court and spend more than Pius V.,[4] and that Bernardino Carniglia, who was the soul of the reform commission, would be dismissed.[5] Views of this kind filled men of worldly sentiments with sweet anticipations of a weak government.[6] In such circles men deluded themselves with

[1] See Corresp. dipl., III., 149 *seq.*; *cf.* Colecc. de docum. inéd., XXIX., 473; P. Tiepolo in Albéri, II., 4, 185.

[2] See Corresp. dipl., IV., 713.

[3] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 212. See also the *report of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *"La famiglia del Papa sarà più numerosa che non era quella de l'altro et le spese ancora in tutte le altre cose saranno più larghe." Arco, May 24, 1572. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also the letter of Zuñiga of May 17, 1572, in Herre, 243.

[5] See the characteristic *letter of B. Pia of May 16, 1572, on the "riformatori" as being "turba hippocritissima et malvaggia," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Cusano of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. For Carniglia see Giussano-Oltrocchi, l.2, c.40, n.; Santori, Diario Consist., XXIV., 112, and Autobiografia, XII., 362 (on the death of Carniglia, 1576). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 150, Vatican Library.

[6] See the Florentine report in Törne, 109, n. 2; *cf.* also the letter of Zuñiga of May 30, 1572, in Serrano, Liga, I., 191.

the hope that the new pontificate would be more like that of Paul III. than that of the saintly Pius.[1]

But it was very soon made clear that Gregory XIII. was resolved in all essentials to continue the severe methods of Pius V. From the very first this was shown by the appointment to the Dataria of Matteo Contarelli, whose adherence to the reform party was acknowledged by everyone. This was immediately followed on May 14th by the appointment of Ludovico Bianchetti as maestro di camera.[2] The dreaded Bernardino Carniglia too was not sent off to Milan as many had expected,[3] but was confirmed in his office.[4] On May 30th, at his first consistory, the Pope made public his resolute determination to carry on the reform work of his predecessor. In proof of the seriousness of his purpose he had read and then confirmed the bull of Pius V. concerning the alienation of ecclesiastical property, which was directed against nepotism, and he expressly declared that he did not intend to show favour to any of his family to the injury of the Holy See.[5]

[1] See the *report of Cusano of June 10, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, Annales, I., 14. Of Contarelli Musotti says in his *notes : " Persona di molta integrità e di molta pratica nella professione delle espedizioni et del datariato, massimamente nelle materie gratiose; fu suo [Boncompagni] sustituto, mentre era abbreviatore pure de' maiori e di poi lui stesso fu per molti anni abbreviatore pure de maiori, essercitò questo officio tutto il pontificato con molta diligenza et assiduità et meritò di esser promosso al cardinalato dal detto Pontefice nell' ultima promotione." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See also in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. The epitaph of Bianchetti (died 1587) in FORCELLA, V., 69.

[3] See the *letter of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. Carniglia died in 1576; see FORCELLA, XIII., 355. For Carniglia see: BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist., 41.

[5] See the *report of Babbi to Cosimo I. of May 30, 1572, State Archives, Florence. Med. 3598, and that of Alessandro de' Medici of the same date in TÖRNE, 136, n.1. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 19 *seq.*

At the same time Gregory XIII. announced that he had revoked certain existing concessions, that he had made the enclosure of the convents of nuns more strict, and that he had entrusted the reorganization of the Penitentiaria to four Cardinals who were known to be the most austere: Borromeo, Burali, Aldobrandini and Paleotto. Cusano, the agent of Maximilian II., reported to Vienna in this connexion that the new Pope had taken Pius V. as his model.[1] Paolo Tiepolo, the ambassador of Venice, in his report made in 1576, was uncertain whether the strong tendency of Gregory XIII. towards the policy of his predecessor was the result of his own wishes or the result of the pressure brought to bear by the reform party, among whom he makes special mention of the name of the Jesuit and court preacher, Francisco de Toledo.[2] An anonymous report written two years earlier also mentions Toledo, whose outspoken language was supported by Monsignori

[1] *Report of May 31, 1572. The appointment of the four Cardinals, writes Cusano, *"fa star tutta Roma in spavento perchè li sopra nominati cardinali sono li più rigorosi et sofistici nelle riforme che siano nel collegio." State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the letter of Masius 485.

[2] P. TIEPOLO, 213. For Toledo see HURTER, I., 90 *seq.* The sermons of Toledo, which are also praised in his epitaph (FORCELLA, XI., 55) attained a high repute (see MONTAIGNE, II., 31) and are widely circulated in manuscript: *Prediche di Toledo nel Palazzo Apostolico (beginning with Advent Sunday 1573, down to 1584). Varia polit., 32, p. 105 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. Toledo used to preach in the Hall of Constantine; see *Tesor. Secret. of January 31, 1580, *ibid.* Urb. 559-562; *Fr. Toleti Contiones (Latin and Italian), 1573-1574; Vat. 7420: *Fr. Toledo, Prediche recitate nella sala di Costatino 1573-1580, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* Barb. L. 109, LVIII., 7 and 56. Members of other Orders also preached before the Pope. According to the *information of Odescalchi of December 10, 1580, the procurator of the Franciscan friars at that time preached a sermon that was not acceptable, on which account he lost his office. The Master of the Sacred Palace thenceforward had to revise the sermons that were to be delivered in the Vatican. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Carniglia and Frumento, and the Datary, Contarelli.[1] The influence of these men, who rightly clung to the traditions of Pius V., was beyond doubt, but the man whose influence at the commencement of the pontificate rendered impossible any change of method was Charles Borromeo; to him must be given the credit for the fact that Gregory XIII. made up his mind to follow in the way traced out by Pius V.[2]

The relations between Boncompagni and Charles Borromeo were very intimate; it was principally to the Archbishop of Milan that the other owed his conversion. As Secretary of State of Pius IV. Borromeo had in every way supported the learned and disinterested Bolognese prelate, and had finally secured his elevation to the cardinalate.[3] It is no wonder then that his words weighed heavily in the balance[4]; even though he sometimes made himself troublesome to the Pope by his incessant importunities, which were always concerned with problems of the greatest complexity, yet the pontiff always retained the most sincere gratitude and veneration for this man who surpassed all others in his sanctity. Cesare Speciani expressly states that he did many things at the suggestion of Borromeo, for whom he felt an almost incredible esteem, not to say reverence, and whom he allowed to say what he liked, with regard to both public and private matters.[5] It can be shown that the frequent consultations

[1] See this *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9 RANKE (Päpste, I.[8], 278 *seq.*), who wrongly writes Cornilia, follows this exactly; TÖRNE (p. 122 *seq.*) rightly expresses himself more cautiously.

[2] *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 213.

[3] See the *Considerationi of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See, as well as the letter of Capilupi in INTRA, 34 *seq.*, the *report of Cusano of October 4, 1572, according to which Borromeo reproved the Pope for his expeditions into the country (State Archives, Vienna), which the saint had the more right to do, as he had himself given up all such innocent recreations; see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 121.

[5] See the *passage in App. n. 30 Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

on the subject of the reform of the court, which were held at the house of Cardinal Santori,[1] as well as the confirmation of Carniglia in his office,[2] and the appointment of Tolomeo Galli as Secretary of State, were done by the advice of Borromeo.[3]

Tolomeo Galli, who was a man of lowly origin, had been born at Cernobbio near Como in 1526.[4] He had faithfully served Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici as his secretary, and after the latter's elevation to the Papal throne, had been rapidly promoted. His labours at the secretariate of state were rewarded with the purple in March 1565. When, in the autumn of that year, Borromeo returned to his archdiocese of Milan, the business of the secretariate was left for the most part in the hands of Galli.[5] After his involuntary retirement during the reign of Pius V. he now came back to the direction of the secretariate of state which was entrusted to him by the new Pope. "The times of Pius IV. have come back," he wrote to Cosimo I., "but this time with the hope of their lasting longer, since Gregory XIII., notwithstanding his seventy years, is in very good health."[6]

Cardinal Galli had all the more reason to rejoice at his new appointment, in that now he no longer had, as had been the case in the days of Pius IV., a Cardinal nephew over him, and

[1] Of this reform of the court it was said in an *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1572: "S'aspetta habbia d'essere strettissima tutto per opera dell' ill. Borromeo il quale si va dicendo non sia per ritornare a Milano per esser molto grato et accetto a S.B^ne et in conseguenza poco amato dal popolo di quella città." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *Avviso di Roma of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and the notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives.

[3] Besides Borromeo, according to *Musotti (*loc. cit.*) Mark Sittich also worked that Galli might receive "il carico delli negotii di stato con li principi."

[4] *Cf.* LITTA, fasc. 3; TÖRNE, Gallio, 55 *seq.*, and REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxlvi. *seq.*, where further literature is given. The last will of Galli in 1596 in the *Periodico d. soc. di sort. patr. di Como*, XVII. (1906), 41 *seq.*

[5] See Vols. XV. 110, and XVI. 395, of this work.

[6] TÖRNE, 116.

also because his lucrative financial position,[1] as far as anyone could foretell, was not likely to be disputed by anyone.

Although the ambassadors, during the first weeks of the new pontificate, hoped that the gratitude of Gregory XIII. would mean great influence for Cardinal Mark Sittich, on account of the important services which he had rendered in the conclave, the latter, by his own fault, at once forfeited all hopes of obtaining a position of authority.[2]

How, it may be asked, was it faring with the Pope's nephews? On June 2nd, 1572, Gregory XIII., in accordance with the urgent request of many Cardinals, conferred the purple on his brother's son, Filippo Boncompagni, who was thirty-three years of age, and then entrusted to him the administration of the States of the Church, with the exception of military and financial matters.[3]

But Galli had nothing to fear from the Cardinal of S. Sisto, as Filippo Boncompagni was called from his titular church. The good-natured Cardinal nephew, who was both insignificant and inexperienced, was all the more bound to remain a mere

[1] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 218. The Cardinal made the most generous use of his wealth, particularly in the case of his native city, which in 1861 erected a monument to him in the cathedral. Galli had two magnificent palaces on the lake of Como, a palace with four towers near Gravedona, and in 1568 he built the Villa d'Este near Cernobbio. He also built a large villa at Frascati; see Törne, 229.

[2] See the Florentine reports in Törne, 117; *cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] See the *report of Zibramonti of June 2, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Ciaconius, IV., 45; Maffei, I., 23; Törne, 113 *seq.* Musotti relates in his *recollections that the pressure of the Cardinals had become so great that Gregory XIII. remarked: "Cogitis nos, cogitis nos et loro tutti: libenter cogimur, libenter cogimur." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Fabio Albergati's *Discorso al card. S. Sisto del modo col quale si possa governare lodevole e con honore come cardinale e nipote del Papa" was copied many times; copies in the Barberiniana, LI., 78, and LVI., 11, as well as in the Urbinate, 1230, Vatican Library.

shadow because the Pope had associated with him in the management of the affairs of the Papal States a prelate as colleague (Consulta), who was to report directly to the Holy Father. Instructions were given to this man, not by the Cardinal nephew, but by the Pope himself; Galli directed the correspondence with the authorities in the Papal States.[1]

For his maintenance Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni at first received only what was absolutely necessary;[2] in 1574 he was still looked upon as the poorest Cardinal in the Sacred College.[3] It was only later on that he found himself in better circumstances.[4] His brother Cristoforo, who was at first entirely ignored, was only appointed Archbishop of Ravenna in October, 1578, and in March, 1579, had to go thither to comply with his duty of residence.[5] The concession of the Penitentiaria to Filippo Boncompagni, which was asked for from Gregory XIII., was refused by the Pope, because he had chosen for that important office an older man, namely Aldobrandini.[6]

The principal duty of the Cardinal nephew was concerned with the ceremonial representation of the Holy See, which, in the views then prevailing, could only be entrusted to a near relative of the Pope.[7] How much tradition demanded repre-

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini, Library, Rome. Zuñiga in *N. Colecc. de docum. ined.*, III., 303, and Törne, 122. According to *Musotti (*loc. cit.*) Guastavillani also belonged to the Consulta (*cf.* P. Tiepolo, 216). Facchinetti too was a member. The conduct of F. Boncompagni was not irreproachable; see *Avviso di Roma of June 11, 1586. Urb. 1054, p. 213, Vatican Library.

[2] See in App. n. 7 the *letter of Delfino of December 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See Tiepolo, 219; Ciaconius, IV., 45.

[5] See the *report of Odescalchi of March 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* Törne, 120.

sentation of this kind was seen in 1574, on the occasion of the journey of King Henry III. from Poland to France. On the same day, July 5th, on which the Cardinal of S. Sisto was sent to Venice as legate to show honour to that monarch, Gregory XIII. quite unexpectedly conferred the purple on his sister's son, Filippo Guastavillani, who was thirty-four years old, so that he might not be, as he said, without a Cardinal nephew.[1] The Pope had not informed anyone of his intention,[2] not even Galli; the influence of the Cardinal Secretary of State, however, was in no way affected by this appointment of Guastavillani. This is clear from the fact that the correspondence with the Cardinal legate, Filippo Boncompagni, was left in the hands of Cardinal Galli.[3] Guastavillani was much loved in the curia on account of his pleasant and distinguished manner, but his abilities seemed to Paolo Tiepolo to be very limited.[4]

[1] Acta consist. in TÖRNE, 121, n.1. *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 243. CIACONIUS (IV., 46), wrongly puts June 5. See also the *report of Cusano of July 10, 1575, who adds: "Il detto card. Guastavillano è in aspettatione di esser di maggior valor del card. Boncompagni et se bene per adesso farà le faccende che l'altro faceva che sono per la sopraintendenza delle cose di governi del stato eccles^co^." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See in App. n. 10 the *report of Odescalchi of July 9, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] TÖRNE, 121.

[4] See P. TIEPOLO, 219; who reports that in 1578 Guastavillani had only 5,000 scudi as revenue; when Cardinal Cornaro died (1584), Guastavillani was given the office of Camerlengo, and administered it well; see CIACONIUS, IV., 46. A letter of Gabriele Salvago of July 10, 1574 (*Atti d. soc. Lig.*, XIII., 879) and also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, App. n. 9) pass a very favourable judgment upon Guastavillani; the latter, however, had not at that time had any opportunity of showing his talents. The eulogy of Guastavillani in the "Oratio in funere Phil. Guastavillani card^lio^ Cam. habita in templo S. Apost. vii. Cal. Sept. 1587" (Cod. D. 8, Boncompagni Archives, Rome) is certainly exaggerated.

The Venetian ambassador had a much higher opinion of Giacomo Boncompagni. Gregory XIII. could not conceal[1] his love for this son of his, who had been born in 1548, ten years before he had entered the priesthood,[2] but he never forgot in his regard the exigencies of his own great position.[3] In May 1572 Giacomo Boncompagni was castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo,[4] and in April 1573 commandant of the Papal troops, in the place of Marcantonio Colonna.[5] The ambition of Giacomo was in no way satisfied with this. He aimed at obtaining a principality or the purple, as had been the case with Farnese.[6] The difficulty was that Gregory XIII. was not a Paul III. Even though he allowed the city of Rome to make Giacomo an honorary citizen,[7] and the Republic of Venice in 1574 to enrol him among its nobility,[8] he definitely

[1] See besides the Florentine reports in Törne, 118, n.1., the *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573 ("Castellano suo occhio drito"), State Archives, Vienna, and the Relazione di N. Da Ponte, 13.

[2] According to Ciappi (3) Ugo Boncompagni became a priest in 1558; *cf.* Fantuzzi, IV., 282. The year of Giacomo's birth was 1548; see P. Tiepolo, 219.

[3] See in App. 14 n. the *report of Scozia of January 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the opinion of Zuñiga in the *Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, CII., 348, and Montaigne, I., 226.

[4] See Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 175.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] As early as August 16, 1572, Cusano states: *"Il castellano tiene molto solicitato il Papa che li compra un stato per il dubbio ch'ha non viva molto" and on September 27, 1572: *"Ho inteso ch'el castellano s'è messo al forte col Papa et che vuol essere per ogni modo cardinale." To obtain this he wished to prove by means of a legal process that he was not the son, but the lawful nephew of Gregory XIII. State Archives, Vienna.

[7] *Cf.* besides Rodocanachi, Capitole, 115, the *Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 309, Vatican Library, and that of November 3, 1573, State Archives, Vienna. The diploma, which was lavishly drawn up with a gold seal, is in the private library of the Prince of Piombino in Rome.

[8] See the report of Tiepolo of March 3, 1574, in Ranke, Päpste, I.[8], 274, n. 2.

refused to lend himself to his two great ambitions.

On the contrary, it seemed to him that he had gone too far in the favours that he had already bestowed upon this natural son of his ; to this view were added the remonstrances of the strict reform party. Giacomo had to leave Rome, and it was only during the year of jubilee that, under the pretext of superintending the fortifications of Ancona, he was sent thither. He vainly hoped to have permanent provision made for his future. In order to touch the heart of his father, he withdrew entirely from the world for a time, and spread the news in Rome that he was afflicted by a dangerous disease.[1] In spite of this Gregory let the year of jubilee pass by before he decided to make any permanent provision for Giacomo. In February 1576, he gave him for a wife the wealthy Costanza Sforza di Santa Fiora, at the suggestion of Cardinal Medici ; the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and many favours were bestowed upon the young husband.[2] When in August of the same year Giacomo liberated a servant of his from prison on his own authority, Gregory rebuked him very severely ; he wished to deprive him of all his offices, and only

[1] See P. TIEPOLO, 219 *seq.*

[2] For the marriage of and the gifts made to Giacomo, who was first legitimatized (*" l'altra mattina il Papa legittimò il s. Giacomo Boncompagni e le fece donatione di tutto il patrimonio che ha S.S^{tà} in Bologna." Pompeo Strozzi, Rome, February 17, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) ; see the *Avvisi di Roma of February 1, 4 and 25, and March 10, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 32, 33, 40, 58, 69, Vatican Library ; P. TIEPOLO, 220 *seq.* ; MUTINELLI, I., 112 *seq.* ; *reports of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, February 4 and 11, 1576, State Archives, Munich, and in App. n. 12 the *reports of Strozzi of March 3 and 4, 1576. The bridal couple held further splendid festivities at Bologna. We are informed of the scandal given by this in a document by Hans Jacob Schwartz, a servant in the Swiss Guard at Bologna, which states : " A Pope ought not to have sons, and this man is therefore a bastard." *Diary of Werner Schodoler the younger, who became communal secretary at Bremgarten (died 1587), State Archives, Bremgarten (Aargau).

the intercession of Cardinals Sforza, Medici, Granvelle and Orsini, as well as the Spanish ambassador, were able to deter him from his intention. Instead, Giacomo was banished to the fortress of Perugia.[1] If later on he was able to return to Rome, the Pope kept him within strict bounds, even in the matter of the payment of his revenues.

The ambassador of Venice in 1578 could not sufficiently express his wonder that Giacomo Boncompagni should receive so little in comparison with the relatives of other Popes. He gives as the reason that Gregory XIII. wished at all costs to avoid giving the impression that he thought more of his own family than of the splendour of the Church. Giovanni Corraro, too, estimated the revenues of Giacomo in 1581 as being so small that he often complained that the Pope had taken no steps to see that after his death he could maintain himself in accordance with his rank. According to the same ambassador, Giacomo received from his offices as "homme d'armes" to Philip II., general of the Church, castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, and commandant of the Papal troops, 14,000 scudi annually, of which he would lose 8000 at the death of the Pope.

Apart from this, in 1578 he had only a revenue of 7000 scudi, and 9000 in 1581.[2] This came to him from the marquisate of Vignola which Gregory XIII. had bought for him in 1577 for 70,000 scudi.[3] When Giacomo fell seriously ill in the spring of 1578, his paternal love for him was shown very

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 139, Vatican Library, the letter of Tiepolo mentioned by RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 274, and especially the *reports of Pompeo Strozzi, dated Rome, August 9, 1576, ("il Papa duro nel perdonar al s. Giacomo"), August 25 (his banishment to the citadel of Perugia), and September 10 (lawsuit against Giacomo), Gonzaga Archives Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, August 11 and 18, 1576, State Archives, Munich; MAFFEI, I., 223.

[2] See A. TIEPOLO, 266, and CORRARO, 280.

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of June 3, 12 and 19, 1577, Urb. 1045, pp. 504, 509b, 526, Vatican Library.

strongly ;[1] the Pope allowed him to acquire larger possessions, though these, like Vignola, were not within the Papal States ; they were the duchy of Sora and the countship of Arpino.[2] When Giacomo at length found himself in an assured position, Palestrina became his musical director.[3] Later on he took great interest in scientific and literary matters. Not only did the historian Sigonio have relations with him, but also Torquato Tasso, who was presented by him to the Pope. Gregory XIII. gave his approval to expenditure of this kind, but in spite of his generosity,[4] he never allowed Giacomo to interfere in any way in affairs of state.[5] Thus the dangerous seeds of nepotism, when once again it sought to raise its head, were crushed. The same thing was also shown by the attitude of Gregory XIII. when his brother, who was two years younger than himself, and lived at Bologna, tried in 1577, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Loreto, and through the intercession of his son, Cardinal Filippo, to obtain permission to come to Rome. With the assurance that his request would be acceded to, he had got as far as Civitacastellana, when a messenger from the Pope appeared, who ordered him to go back home. Filled with a strong desire to see his brother once

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of April 16, 19, 26 and 30, and May 10' 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 115-116b, 120, 130, 134, 148, Vatican Library'

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of March 19 and April 4, 1580' March 2, 1582, and February 4, 1584. Urb. 1048, p. 60, 73 ; 1050, p. 73; 1052, p. 42b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. Civilta Cattolica*, 1918, II., 516.

[4] See the Relazione di N. Da Ponte, 14. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of September 8, 1584. The Pope paid Giacomo's debts, besides the 30,000 scudi which he had lent him for the acquisition of Sora, Urb. 1052, p. 60, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* A. Tiepolo, 259 *seq.* Corraro, 279 *seq.* ; Zuñiga in the *N. Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, II., 186, 238 ; Venetian reports in Ranke, Päpste, I.[8], 274, n. 3 ; *report of Serguidi for 1581, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3605. Giacomo was also involved in the lawsuits by which the two Cardinal nephews successively prejudiced their reputation ; see App. n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome, and Grottanelli, Fra Geremia da Udine, Florence, 1893, p. 66 *seq.*

more before he died, the old man renewed his request through Giacomo Boncompagni, but without success.[1] The payment of 100 scudi a month which he received from his brother was so small, and the gift so miserably scanty, that he complained that the pontificate of Gregory had done him more harm than good, since it obliged him to a greater expenditure than was covered by the money which he received from the Pope.[2] On the occasion of the unexpected death of the only son of Giacomo, which took place in September 1582, and by which the continued existence of the family was endangered, Gregory displayed a complete calm and self-possession. This was all the more remarkable as his grandson was specially dear to him.[3]

Besides his keeping his nephews from any undue influence,[4] the simple manner of life of Gregory XIII., his strict moderation and severity, his faithful fulfilment of his duties, his insatiable love of work, his sincere piety, his very active charity for his neighbour, show that it was not only in words, but also in acts, that he set himself seriously to the imitation of his predecessor. Minute details of the manner of life of the Pope are to be had from the pens of his majordomo, Alessandro Musotti, and of Cardinal Galli, his Secretary of

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of October 2, 19, and 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 618, 634, 635, Vatican Library, and the *notes of Musotti (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), who criticizes this "troppa austerità," and adds: "Il medesimo avenne al Sig. Girolamo suo figliuolo fratello dell'ill. Card. S. Sisto." The reserve shown by Gregory towards his brother is so surprising that attempts have been made to explain it by supposing earlier quarrels between them (P. TIEPOLO, 221); to refute this idea Musotti says that Gregory wished in 1582 to visit his brother at Bologna, and only gave up the idea on account of the expense of such a journey. But there was also a political side to this decision; *cf.* Chapter VII., *infra*. See also MAFFEI, I., 314 *seq.*

[2] P. TIEPOLO, 221.

[3] See the *Considerationi of Ces. Speciani and the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* the judgment of MONTAIGNE, I., 226.

State,[1] which are further confirmed and amplified by other reports.[2]

Gregory XIII. was one of those men whose chief happiness was to be found in ceaseless work. He appreciated very fully the value of time; man, he was wont to say, possesses nothing more valuable, and every one ought to act the more conscientiously in its use the higher his position.[3]

It was in accordance with this principle that the Pope regulated his life. His time for rest was limited to seven hours. As had been his previous custom, he rose before dawn both in summer and winter. His first act was the recitation of the canonical hours. He then heard a mass or else he said mass, which was the case several times in the week,[4] as for example on all Sundays and feast days, and during seasons of fasting. He never said mass without first going to confession.

The rest of the morning was given up entirely to audiences, which Gregory XIII. granted so freely that as early as 1573 they had to be limited.[5] Even then, however, they were given very readily.[6] If sometimes they were very numerous the hour of dinner was put off. Before this the Pope said none

[1] See in App. n. 28, 29 the context of this source of information hitherto entirely unknown, found by me in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 212 *seq.*; Ciappi, 68 *seq.*; Montaigne, I., 226 *seq.*, and the *notes of Venantius da Camerino, Taverna and Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See in App. n. 29 the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] According to the "Epistola ex Romana Urbe in Germaniam missa" (Ingolstadt, 1577) at least four times a week.

[5] How generous Gregory XIII. was in giving audience is repeatedly brought out by the ambassadors; see the *letter of Aless. de' Medici of May 24, 1572, and of Francesco Gerini of May 30 and June 18, 1572, State Archives, Florence. *A. Zibramonti informs us on January 3, 1573, of the limitation of private audiences, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; this limitation, however, continued to be interpreted very generously; see the "Epistola" of 1577 cited in previous note.

[6] *Cf.* Montaigne, I., 226.

and vespers; dinner lasted at the utmost for half an hour;[1] it was begun in silence, while one of the chaplains read a spiritual book. In fine weather the Pope, who took great pleasure in fresh air, took his meal in an open loggia.

The strict temperance observed by Gregory XIII. at table, even before he was Pope, was remarked by his contemporaries; even in the hottest weather he only drank three small glasses of wine and water at dinner and two in the evening. He was also contented with a very ordinary quality.[2] No one could ever see that he had any preference for any particular dish; he ate anything that was put before him, and apparently attached no importance to any; anything satisfied him, but he insisted that not more than two scudi should be spent each day for the two meals.[3]

It was no wonder that the Pope, after so frugal a meal, was able to return at once to business, and that even in the greatest heat, he was able to do without a short period of rest.[4] After dinner Gregory first had read to him the petitions that had been presented. Every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon he received the secretary of briefs, while the secretary of the Dataria had to present himself every day. Then the Cardinal nephew appeared, who detailed the arrangements made by the "Consulta" for the Papal States. After him

[1] *Cf.* in App. 28 n. the *Memorie of card. Galli and Ciappi, 71. Musotti and Speciani allow only a quarter of an hour.

[2] For the temperance of Gregory XIII., as well as the evidence in App. nn. 28, 29, *cf.* especially the *notes of his intimate friend Venanzio da Camerino, who tells us of the moderation in drinking of the Pope even in the hottest seasons, and says: "et inacquava li raspati piccolissimi et diceva a noi che bevessimo il greco di Somma et gli lassassimo stare il suo raspato, di che era benessimo obedito da noi." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *"Fu sempre parco et sobrio nel vivere im maniera che cardinale et pontefice visse sempre come prima, contentandosi d'una vivanda o due, nè si spendeva mai per la sua tavola più di due scudi d'oro al giorno." Notes of Taverna in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See the bills of fare in Ciappi, 70 seq.

[4] See besides *Musotti in App. n. 30 the notes of Speciani p. 38. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State for more important matters, would be announced. The governor and the treasurer were also received almost every day. After these ordinary audiences those of the Cardinals followed, and those of the ambassadors and other members of the court. Then the Pope would withdraw in order to recite compline, matins and the rosary in his chapel, after which at the hour of supper he examined other important papers.

Such was the custom of Gregory XIII. during the winter. During the summer he employed the hours before supper in walking in the loggia or in the garden. Supper was even more simple than dinner. It consisted of a salad, roast bird and a baked pear. After this there might be an audience, but only in exceptional cases, as the Pope employed the later part of the evening in going over papers, especially petitions, on which he at once noted the replies. If these contained any complaints of his officials, they were at once referred for the necessary information. At first Alessandro Musotti was charged with dealing with the petitions, and afterwards the maestro di camera, Ludovico Bianchetti.[1] Both of these were Bolognese.[2] Gregory limited his personal servants to what was strictly necessary, as he was the sworn enemy of all pomp.[3] Naturally he had no use for court buffoons, such as even Julius III. had employed.[4]

[1] For Musotti see App. n. 29; for Bianchetti, *ibid.* n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 222.

[2] Gregory called many other Bolognese to Rome; see a later *note on the Roman court in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Even in 1621 the Romans were complaining of the pride and ambition of the Bolognese summoned thither by Gregory XIII.; see *Discorso dei cardinali papali nella sedevacante di Paolo V. in Cod. C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Gregory XIII. was very pleased to speak in the Bolognese dialect; see the *report of B. Pia of May 17, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also Montaigne, I., 224.

[3] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in App. n. 28; *cf. ibid.* n. 16 the praises of Mucantius in 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Notes of Speciani (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

Gregory adhered strictly to his daily routine; a change was only made on the days when the Pope went out, or had to fulfil some special duty of his office, as when he had to be present at the functions prescribed by the ceremonial, at consistories, at the sessions of the Segnatura di Grazia, the Inquisition, or other congregations. He also applied himself with unfailing zeal to the fulfilment of this part of his office, and with the greatest conscientiousness. Galli bears witness that the Pope, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, was only once absent from the religious functions.[1] He also attended with great regularity at the sermons of the Jesuit Francisco di Toledo, whom he had appointed court preacher.[2] Public business was not given up even if the Pope was not well, a thing, however, which he always tried to conceal as much as possible.[3]

Such heavy work could not long have been possible even to a man of stronger constitution. For this reason Gregory always tried to renew his strength by keeping on the move. During his hours of work he preferred to stand rather than sit.[4] Above all he took care to move about in the fresh air either in Rome itself, or in its glorious surroundings.[5]

[1] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in App. n. 28; *cf. ibid. n.* 16, the information given in Mucantius, *Diarium, 1580-1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] So we are informed by Guido Ferreri in his *Vita di Gregorio XIII., Papal Secret Archives. App. n. 25.

[3] Gregory XIII. did not rely much upon doctors, but trusted a great deal in his strong constitution and his regular manner of life; *cf.* *Musotti in App. n. 29, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* besides *Musotti, *loc. cit.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli Boncompagni Archives, Rome; CORRARO, 274 *seq.*; the *Avvis, di Roma (Vatican Library), and in many instances the reports of the Florentine ambassador (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3291); also the *Diarium of Alaleone (Papal Secret Archives) passim. *"Non haveva altra ricreatione ch'el studiare et vedere l'aria aperta, della quale si compiaceva assai perciò passeggiava spesso in Belvedere et andava diverse volte all' anno alla villa Tusculana." says Tavera. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

As soon as the spring was at hand, and the amusements of the carnival were beginning in Rome,[1] and again in the autumn, Gregory XIII., generally accompanied by his Secretary of State, Galli, by Cardinal Boncompagni and Giacomo Boncompagni, set out for the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich in the neighbourhood of Frascati, near which during the years 1573-1575 he caused to be built by Martino Lunghi the celebrated villa of Mondragone.[2] Even on the occasion of the visit he paid there in September 1572, the Pope fell in love with this place; the charming view over Rome and the Campagna as far as the sea, and the splendid air, filled him with enthusiasm. From 1576 to the end of his pontificate Gregory XIII. at first in the autumn and then also in the spring and summer, as often as public affairs permitted it, went to stay in this

[1] Gregory XIII. would have liked to suppress these amusements (see the *report of Mendoza of January 20, 1574, State Archives, Vienna), a statement borne out by his strict views. The Popes of the Renaissance had had their share in the carnival amusements. See Vols. IV., V., and VIII. of this work.

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi dated Rome, May 2, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Sometimes Sforza and Guastavillani also accompanied the Pope; other Cardinals, like Farnese and Savelli, were also summoned to Mondragone; see *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 443, Vatican Library. In 1578 Morone was in the company of the Pope (*Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 176, Vatican Library). An *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573 ("S.B^ne ha dato principio a far fare una bella villa là a Frascati non molto lontano dalla villa del Card. d'Altemps, la quale chiama Mondragone et si dice che sarà bellissima et sontuosissima." State Archives, Vienna), attributes the building to Gregory XIII., which, however, according to the well documented researches of Grossi-Gondi (Le ville Tusculane: la villa dei Quintili e la villa di Mondragone, Rome, 1901, 17 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*) is wrong. An *Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1574, states that on Monday the Pope rode to Frascati with Cardinal Galli, where he owns the superb building of Cardinal Mark Sittich, "che scoprirà tutta Roma, si chiamerà Mondragone." He came back on Tuesday. Urb. 1044, p. 300. Vatican Library.

charming villa surrounded by oaks, cypresses and olives, generally for eight or ten days, and sometimes for a fortnight.[1] Every morning, either on foot, or in a litter, and often on horseback, for he was a good horseman, he visited the churches in the neighbourhood, and there heard a mass. The rest of the day was given up entirely, as in Rome, to audiences and other business.[2] Many went thither to seek audience, even in holiday time, since the Pope was then more easily accessible. On two occasions Gregory XIII. transacted important business with Charles Borromeo at Mondragone. It was there that Possevino made his report to the head of the Church on his mission to Moscow.[3] It was also at Mondragone that on March 18th, 1581, the Swiss, Sebastian Werro, conferred with Gregory XIII. concerning the expulsion of the Bishop of Lausanne and the reform of the calendar. Werro met the Pope very early in the morning as he was going to the church of the Capuchins. "The Pope was dressed," he relates, "in a long white cloth mantle, with the rochet or cotta, and above this a red pontifical mantellina down to his waist; he had white shoes, a large hat, and in his hand, so that he might walk into the church, a stick with a small head carved in bone on the top."[4] The bull on the reform of the calendar is dated from Mondragone. It was in this much loved villa that the Pope, in April 1584, received the joyful tidings of the victory of Bavaria over Gebhard Truchsess.[5]

As Frascati could not provide accommodation in its inns for such numerous visitors, the Pope arranged for lodging and board to be provided for all in his own house, according to their rank.[6] His stays at the villa, which was called

[1] See GROSSI-GONDI, *loc. cit.* 54.

[2] See the *Memorie of Card. Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See GROSSI-GONDI, 58 *seq.*

[4] See the German *itinerary of S. Werro in Cod. E. 139, of the Oekonomischen Gesellschaft zu Freiburg (Switzerland). *Cf.* WYMANN in *Zeitschrift für Schweizer Kirchengeschichte*, 1916, p. 122.

[5] See GROSSI-GONDI, *loc. cit.* 57 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*

[6] See in App. n. 29, the *Notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Mondragone from the Pope's armorial bearings (Mons Draconis), as well as his frequent walks in the invigorating air of the plateau, and in the beautiful neighbourhood (for very often the Pope went for three or four miles on foot), had such a beneficial effect upon his health, that Gregory, even after quite a short stay, always returned to Rome quite rejuvenated.[1]

The hot months from July to October were passed by the Pope, during the first three years of his pontificate, in the palace of S. Marco. It was not for the sake of his own convenience, he told the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, but for the sake of the members of his court, who could not bear the unhealthy air of the Vatican, that he availed himself of the hospitality of the Republic of Venice. When the Pope was in residence in the large palace of Paul II., he rode every morning to some church, and he received the ambassadors and held consistories as in the Vatican.[2] In the autumn of 1578 he stayed for sixteen days at Caprarola, Bagnaia and Capodimonte, near the lake of Bolsena, where Cardinal Farnese entertained him in regal splendour.[3] Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the nephew and heir of Cardinal Ippolito, had

[1] See CORRARO, 274, and the *Notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Arco of June 7, 1572, State Archives, Vienna; *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 259, Vatican Library; the *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives; Diario Concist. di G. Santori, XXIV., 138 *seq.*; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 107; in 1574 Gregory XIII. stayed for a whole month in the palace of Paul II. near the Aracoeli; see *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 226, Vatican Library.

[3] See besides the reports in MUTINELLI, I., 121 *seq.* and T. FRANGIPANE, Memorie del card. A. Farnese, Rome, 1876, 119 *seq.*, the *Avvisi di Roma of September 20 and 27, 1578, and FAB. ARDITO, Viaggio di P. Gregorio XIII. alla Madonna della Quercia, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 365 *seqq.* In the summer of 1579 the Pope went again to Bagnaia, which belonged to Cardinal Gambara; see the *report of Odescalchi of June 27, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

prepared no less splendid a welcome for the Pope five years before at the Villa d'Este near Tivoli. On that occasion two tricks of acoustics which were very much admired had been put into operation; while the "fontana della girandola" at regular intervals produced loud reports like those of a gun, sweet melodies were to be heard from the water organ of Apollo and Orpheus, which was driven by hydraulic power.[1] In August 1579 Gregory XIII. stayed for three days at the Villa Medici on the Pincio.[2] In the latter years of his pontificate, during the summer, he stayed more and more often at the villa of Cardinal d'Este on the Quirinal;[3] consistories were held there as well. He finally decided to build a palace for himself there, but as its completion was long delayed he once more went to S. Marco for the summer months between 1582 and 1584.[4]

During the winter Gregory but rarely went about.[5] He generally visited Civitavecchia once, in order to assure himself personally of the condition of the prisoners. Following[6]

[1] See SENNI, La villa d'Este in Tivoli, Rome, 1902, 70 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 297, Vatican Library.

[3] He had passed a few days there for the first time at the end of 1573. *Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 344, Vatican Library.

[4] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 108. An *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1578, states that to Giacomo Boncompagni, who "per salute sua et comodità dei negotiati lo aveva pregato di portarsi a S. Marco," the Pope replied that it was still too soon for that; he wished to pass June at Mondragone, July and August at the Vatican, September and October at the Quirinal. Urb. 1046, p. 178, Vatican Library.

[5] In December, 1576, he visited the Magliana, which at that time belonged to Cardinal Medici, and there saw "pesci e salir falconi." (See the *report of P. Strozzi of December 1, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); he had prohibited any sort of public welcome. See *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 179, Vatican Library.

[6] See in App. n. 28 the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

the example of Pius V. every three months he undertook the pilgrimage to the seven churches of Rome, displaying the greatest piety.[1] As he also often visited the churches of the city on horseback, strangers could easily have a sight of him. Michel de Montaigne, who was in Rome at the end of 1580, often saw the Pope in the streets of the city. He describes him as a fine old man of middle height, upright in his bearing and with a sad countenance, and with a long white beard, and he marvelled that this old man of seventy-eight should be able to mount a white charger, caparisoned with a large red cloth, without any help from a groom.[2]

[1] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.*; Mucantius, *Diarium, passim (the piety shown by Gregory XIII. is specially mentioned on October 19, 1576), Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *letter of Odescalchi of April 6, 1574: "il Papa hiera andò alle 7 chiese con molta devotione (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Avvisi di Roma (Vatican Library) passim. See also MONTAIGNE, II., 26 *seq.* For the strict fasts of Gregory XIII. *cf.* the *Notes of Venanzio da Camerino and Cardinal Medici, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See MONTAIGNE, I., 224-230. Cardinal Galli describes his appearance thus: "Fu di complessione temperantissima non peccante in alcun humore, grande honestamente et di buona quadratura di corpo, di faccia venerabile et piena di maestà, naso grande, occhi cerulei et sanissimo per ordinario." (Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome). *Cf.* the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13 and [Paolo Emilio Santori], *Annales ("statura sublimis, albens facies, mediocres oculi, non exiguus nasus, barba promissa, corpus musculosum atque robustum, augustus venerandusque aspectus") Cod. K. 6 of the Vallicella Library, Rome. Baglione mentions (pp. 31, 50, 53) portraits of Gregory XIII. by Francesco Trabaldese, Scipione Gaetano and Antonio de' Monti. The Prince of Piombino has in his palace in Rome, besides other interesting relics of Gregory XIII., several perfect portraits in oil, of the time of the Pope (one with a facsimile of the signature of Gregory is reproduced in FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi in Roma, Rome, 1904); there is also a portrait of the Pope's brother in a white fur coat, and another of Giacomo Boncompagni and the

In Rome as well as during his times of holiday Gregory was unwearied in his care of the poor and the sick; he had a

wives of both. The original portrait of the mother of Gregory XIII. is in the possession of the Prince of Fiano. There is also a good early portrait of Gregory XIII. in the College of St. Michael at Freiburg in Switzerland. In the Palazzo Pubblico at Bologna there is a large bronze statue of Gregory by Alessandro Menganti (born in 1531; see CORRADO RICCI in *Bollet. d'Arte*, 1919, 107 *seq.*) cast in 1579 and placed there in 1580. The inscription belonging to this, printed in FANTUZZI, IV., 286, was unfortunately at the time of the annexation of Bologna removed from its former position, and placed in the interior of the palace, where it certainly does not belong. The bronze statue erected to him by the city of Ascoli in 1576, the work of the brothers Girolamo and Lodovico Lombardi, was destroyed in 1798; see G. C. CANTALAMESSA, Notizie storiche sopra di una statua in bronzo erettasi dalla città di Ascoli al S. P. Gregorio XIII., Rome, 1845, and P. CAPPONI, Memorie storiche d. Chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli-Piceno, 1898, 147. A bronze bust of Gregory XIII., also by A. Menganti, is in the Museo Civico at Bologna; this is certainly a study for the bronze statue (see SOBOTKA in *Jahrbuch der press. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258 *seq.*). For the very beautiful bronze bust of Gregory XIII. acquired from the Corsi collection in Florence for the Berlin Museum, and the work of Bastiano Torrigiani, named "il Bologna" (who worked in Rome in the years 1573-1596), see BODE, Ital. Plastik, Berlin, 1902, 181; the same, Kgl. Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christl. Epochen II; Die italienischen Bronzen, by F. GOLDSCHMIDT, I., Berlin, 1914, p. 2 and plate 5; SOBOTKA, *loc. cit.* where there is a special notice of the unsuccessful statue of Gregory XIII., by Pietro Paolo Olivieri, now in S. Maria in Aracoeli. The bronze bust of Gregory XIII., preserved at the Propaganda in Rome, is reproduced in BAUMGARTEN, Kathol. Kirche, III., 65. A large marble statue of Gregory is in the principal hall of the Cancelleria in Rome; it bears the following inscription: "Gregorius XIII. P.M. novam sacros fastos inveniendi rationem induxit 1582." A reproduction of the medal by the Milanese G. A. Rossi, with a characteristic portrait of Gregory XIII. in MUNTZ, III., 342. Among the numerous wood engravings of the Pope, special mention may be made of one bearing the signature "Vitus fec. 1576"; a copy is in the collection of prints in the old picture gallery at Munich,

hospital built for the latter at Frascati.[1] Very sparing in his own case,[2] he gave open-handedly to others.[3] He often gave alms in secret, and always very readily.[4] This generosity he had inherited from his father. While he was still a bishop, during his stay at Trent, he had displayed great charitable activity.[5] After his elevation to the chair of St. Peter his generosity knew no bounds. The beautiful words on one of his coins, "God is love,"[6] were always before his eyes. Cesare Speciani was of opinion that since Gregory the Great no Pope had done so much for the poor and needy of every kind.[7] Great and small, widows and orphans, and above all marriageable girls, as well as ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, scholars, converted Jews, pious institutions, especially educational establishments and monti di pietà, were lavishly

n. 126,757; idem n. 43,776 a wood engraving of Gregory XIII. by an unknown Italian with the inscription "Boncompagnio Greg. XIII. P.O.M." A facsimile of the engraving by Pieter de Jode (*cf.* HOOGEWERFF, Nederl. schilders 218) in DROYSEN, Gegenreformation, 253. The best portrait, engraved on copper, of Gregory XIII., was made by Cherubino Alberti, see THIEME, I., 192; the best copy is in the "Ritratti a stampa" in the Corsini Palace, Rome. Of the engravings in the Imperial Fideicommissbibliothek. at Vienna, depicting Gregory XIII., mention may be made of n. 61 among the busts, by F. Hulsius (van Hülsen) and the n. 66 by Marius Kartarus.

[1] See the *Notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in App. n. 16 the *Avviso di Roma of September 21, 1580, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report in BELTRAMI, Roma, 28.

[3] See besides Cocquelines in MAFFEI, II., 438 *seq.*, the *notes of Musotti (cf. App. n. 29) and *that of Cardinal Medici, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, as well as (in App. n. 14) the *report of Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 73.

[4] See the *Vita Gregori XIII. by Guido Ferreri, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* App. n. 24.

[5] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] See SERAFINI, Monete, II. (1912), 30.

[7] See his *notes in Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 32 *seq.*, 36 *seq.*, and MONTAIGNE, I., 224-5.

helped by him.[1] He personally satisfied himself as to the condition of the sick poor in the first year of his reign by visiting the principal hospitals of Rome, and afterwards caused them to be regularly visited by others.[2] When in 1580 the plague broke out at Avignon, the Pope sent every kind of help there.[3] To new bishops, when they went to pay him homage, he recommended nothing so insistently as the exercise of works of fraternal charity, which God rewards in this world as well as in the life to come.[4] Like his predecessor he devoted large sums to the relief of Christians who had been taken prisoners.[5] He took a quite special interest in the orientals, especially the persecuted Cypriots, and in the Catholics who had been exiled for their faith from England,

[1] In the *account books of the private treasury, formerly in the State Archives, Rome, and now in the Papal Secret Archives, there is frequent mention of expenses for charitable purposes; especially frequent is the mention of "neofiti, poveri vergognose," and of poor marriageable girls in need of dowries. *Cf.* the *notes of Speciani and of P. Giovan. Bruno: *"Alcune cose degne d'essere notate della f.m. di Gregorio XIII.," Boncompagni Archives, Rome. TAMILIA (Il S. Monte di Pietà in Roma, 1900, 75) speaks of Gregory XIII. as the greatest benefactor of the Monte di Pietà. For the hospice for the poor see Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See the *notes of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* FORNERY, Hist. du comté Venaissin et d'Avignon, II., 228.

[4] See the *notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] This happened especially in 1575; see *notes of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.* In the *account books (formerly in the State Archives, Rome, now in the Papal Secret Archives) 100 scudi may often be seen for a prisoner. According to the *Avviso di Roma of January 23, 1585, the Pope gave to the archconfraternity "del Gonfalone" 3,000 scudi for the liberation of Christian slaves, and promised for the same purpose to allow 6,000 scudi from the annual revenues (Urb. 1053, p. 41, Vatican Library). How much Gregory XIII. interested himself at Venice for the liberation of Christians who had fallen into the hands of the Turks, *cf.* *Nunziatura di Venezia, XIII., XIV., *passim*, Papal Secret Archives. See also BOTERO, Relazione, III., 156.

Scotland and Ireland.[1] "The precept of love which our Saviour has so strongly urged upon us," thus begins a letter from Gregory XIII. to the Doge, recommending an unhappy man who had been rescued from captivity among the Turks and had returned to Venice, "implies that we must share in the fortunes of every Catholic, whom we know to be weighed down by misfortune."[2] The treasurer of the Apostolic Camera states that Gregory, up to 1581, had expended more than a million and a half scudi on charity.[3] It was no ex-

[1] See the *notes of Taverna, and *those of the Bishop of Bergamo, Cornaro, and *those of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 473. On October 22, 1573, Gregory XIII. sent Morone *" 500 scudi d'oro per sustentimento d'alcuni catholici Inglesi." Vatic. 6697; *ibid.* March 18, 1574, an account for *" 100 scudi d'oro al arcivescovo Armachano," Vatican Library.

[2] *" Lex caritatis quam nobis Dominus tantopere commendavit, facit ut catholicorum omnium vicem doleamus, quos in aliqua calamitate versari intelligimus." Brief to the Doge for the year 1578. Original in State Archives, Venice.

[3] *" Et diede tanto che disse Bernardo Olgiato, depositore della Camera Apost. tre anni prima che il Papa morisse che sin'a quell'hora haveva S.S^tà speso per elemosine in collegi [*cf. infra* Chapter V.], et maritar zitelle et sovenir poveri massimamente forastieri cacciati dalle case loro da Turchi overo da heretici più d'un millione et 500,000 scudi [in this matter A. Tiepolo must be corrected (265), although he refers to Olgiati; a further proof that the Venetians are not always to be relied upon in the matter of figures] altre alle pene delli tribunali che solito applicava a diversi usi pii de' quali il depositario non teneva conto alcuno" (*Notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome). Cardinal Galli says in his *notes that often 100,000 scudi were given "per elemosine" in a single year (PRIULI, p. 306, therefore exaggerates when he puts more than 200,000 scudi. RANKE, Päpste, I., 278, must also be corrected). The same information is given by an *Avviso di Roma of April 1, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 150; *ibid.* 365, an *Avviso of September 30, 1581; from the beginning of his illness Gregory XIII. gave 40,000 scudi for "luoghi pii," and 2,000 for S. Sisto, Vatican Library.

aggeration when Orazio Scozia at the beginning of 1579 expressed the opinion that Gregory possessed all the qualities of a good Pope, and that all his attention was devoted to the duties of his high office ; with unwearied labour, sustained by the natural calm and moderation of his character, by his knowledge of canon law, and his intimate acquaintance with the business of the curia, he was able to decide and regulate all questions easily, well and quickly. Scozia brings out how the Pope's character, which was essentially kindly enabled him to sum up both persons and events very easily, and that this was all the more easy for him as he was personally acquainted with all the members of the curia.[1] Even his rebukes were couched in guarded terms.[2] If, nevertheless, he was generally looked upon as a severe man, this was the result both of his naturally serious disposition, which was far removed from anything in the nature of levity, his great habit of silence,[3] his strict impartiality even towards his friends, when the latter did anything to deserve reproof,[4] and his

[1] See in App. n. 14 the *report of 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For his knowledge of Canon Law, with which Gregroy XIII. often surprised the Cardinals, see the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cardinal Medici remarks in his *recollections upon the calm of Gregory XIII. : "Non si vedeva in lui mai alteratione alcuna, tanto nelle cose prospere come nelle avverse" ; he never got angry with his servants : "li teneva in tenore senza male parole." *Speciani too says that he was never angry, and even his annoyance lasted a very short time (*loc. cit.*). The same may be seen from the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13.

[2] See the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This trait, which he displayed even as Cardinal, was described as specially characteristic of him. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 214 ; A. Tiepolo, 259 ; Priuli, 303 ; Serrano, Liga, II., 364 ; *report of Aless. de' Medici of July 4, 1572, State Archives, Florence, and the instructive *notes of Speciani in App. n. 30, where are also given certain characteristic expressions made use of by Gregory XIII. on the subject of silence. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See the *notes of Speciani, *loc. cit.*

reluctance to grant favours when he was not altogether persuaded of the justice of any request.[1] To this must be added his dry manner, which betrayed the lawyer. At his audiences he always adhered strictly to the facts, because he thought that a Pope ought before everything else to learn to hold his peace; he brushed aside impossible requests very abruptly, and granted favours, when they seemed to be called for, with a similar abruptness.[2] The Pope's replies, says Michel de Montaigne, are short and decisive, it is quite useless to argue with him.[3] It would, however, be quite wrong to describe Gregory XIII. as a stubborn man or one who was attached to his own opinions. That was very far from being the case; on the contrary, as is the case with all men of a versatile disposition, just as he was easily influenced by first impressions, he was equally easily appeased, and once he had thought a matter over carefully, gave his definite decision.[4]

Corraro, the Venetian ambassador, in his report of 1581, remarks very aptly that Gregory often seemed to be more severe than he really was, because he did not allow himself to be influenced by anyone, whether the Cardinals or his nephews; the only exception was Galli, whose knowledge and eloquence was all-powerful with the Pope.[5] Paolo Tiepolo had passed a similar judgment in 1576.[6]

On the other hand, Antonio Tiepolo in 1578 was of the opinion that neither Galli nor Morone, who was almost equally influential, dared to oppose the Pope or to urge a change of policy upon a man who adhered with iron inflexibility to what he considered to be right.[7] There can be no doubt that

[1] See CORRARO, 279.

[2] *Cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 260, 268, and the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives Rome. See SERRANO, Liga II., 171.

[3] See MONTAIGNE, I., 226.

[4] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 171.

[5] See CORRARO, 280.

[6] See P. TIEPOLO, 216-7.

[7] See A. TIEPOLO, 268. TÖRNE (p. 131) has missed the contradiction, which is very properly brought out by FREIDENSBURG *Hist. Zeitschrift,* CII., 129).

Antonio Tiepolo understood better than his colleagues, who judged rather by external appearances, the relations between the Pope and his Secretary of State.

At first sight the Cardinal of Como, as Galli was generally called, might have seemed to be all-powerful. He was in charge of all important affairs relating to foreign policy, and at the same time discharged the duties of confidential secretary to His Holiness;[1] he therefore enjoyed a quite exceptional position, so that he may be described as the first Cardinal Secretary of State in the modern sense of the word.[2] He devoted himself to business with great assiduity and much tenacity and prudence.[3] In order to strengthen his own position he removed the secretaries who had served Gregory XIII. during his cardinalate, and replaced them by his own adherents.[4] So as to become the principal adviser of the

[1] In defence of the union of these two offices, held to be "incompatible," Giov. Carga (1574) wrote his "Informatione del segretario et segretaria di N.S., in LAEMMER, Monum. Vatic., Freiburgi Brisg, 1861, 457-468.

[2] See RICHARD, La secrétairerie d'Etat apostolique: *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 257.

[3] See P. TIEPOLO, 216. To the description of Hübner (SIXTE V., vol. I., 135 *seq.*), who passes a judgment both partial and false upon both Galli and Gregory XIII., HANSEN has rightly taken exception in *Nuntiaturberichten*, I., xxix *seq.* *Cf.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxliv *seq.* Possevino, in his *Sommario (see App. n. 27), makes it a matter of special praise of Gregory XIII. that he made use of the services of Galli during the whole of his 13 years "non dando a carne et sangue questo offitio," and he continues: "Et qui potranno dirsi altre cose del valore et pratica et giuditio del card. di Como già provato nel pontificato di Pio IV. in cose importantissime e nel concilio di Trento, di guerre"; Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome, in App. n. 9).

[4] As the "ruoli" of Gregory XIII. are missing, the organization of the secretarate of State can only be partially reconstructed. The names of the first six secretaries, from Barb. 5714, in TÖRNE, 125. Cesare Glorierio (segret. d. brevi apost.) mentioned here, lost his office in 1584. For this severe act on the part of Gregory

Pope, he had associated himself closely at the commencement of the pontificate with those persons to whom at that time Gregory had specially given his confidence. These were not, as has already been said, the Pope's nephews, but, in addition to Carniglia, the court preacher, Francisco di Toledo, the celebrated Spanish canonist, Martino Azpilcueta, the trusted maestro di camera, Bianchetti, and the favourite disciple of Philip Neri, Francesco Maria Tarugi, certain powerful Cardinals like Farnese, Pacheco, Sirleto, Sforza, and above all the taciturn Morone, who was looked upon as the most brilliant and distinguished diplomatist in the curia.[1]

see in App. n. 24, the *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1584, Vatican Library, and BELTRAMI, Roma, 48. *Cf.* BONAMICUS, De claris pontif. epist. script., Rome, 1753, 255, 313. For Ant. Boccapaduli (segret. dei Brevi famigliari) see RENAZZI, II., 232 *seq.* Boccapaduli was the last prefect of the Papal Capella who was not a musician; see HABERL, Musikkatalog der papst. Kapellenarchivs, Leipzig, 1888, 8, 12, 25. G. B. Canobio and Aurelio Savignano came from Bologna. See Barb. 5741, Vatican Library; *ibid.* *Barb. 5742, for the division of the work among the secretaries. For Galli's secretary, Petrus Angelus Joanninus, see FORCELLA, VIII., 223; *ibid.* 359, the epitaph of Canobio. The secretary of cyphers under Gregory XIII. was Cristoforo Toretino; see MEISTER, Geheimschrift, 51. For the briefs of Gregory XIII. *cf.* WIRZ in *Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, vol. XXI., xxvi; for his Registers see *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden*, I., 200.

[1] See A. TIEPOLO, 268 *seq.*; see the report of Zuñiga in the N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., II., 119, 238; TÖRNE, 123, n. 1, 126, 250, the *report of 1574 (Corsini-Library) in App. n. 24. With regard to Azpilcueta see I. Nicii Erytraei Pinacotheca, I., 1 *seq.* The influence of Tarugi is brought out by Aless. de' Medici in his report of October 16, 1573, State Archives, Florence. For the opinion of Morone *cf.* also the *report of C. Capilupi of January 30, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Zuñiga in the Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 124. For the opinion of Sirleto see the *letter of Odescalchi of April 24, 1574. For that of Sforza the *letter of P. Strozzi of April 7, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. N. Da Ponte' (Relazione, 16) also names as having great influence with Gregory XIII. Cardinals M. A. Colonna and Lorraine.

Gregory XIII., who at first had not had sufficient experience of affairs of state, was wise to take the advice of experienced men; even so, however, it was not very easy for them to influence him, as Gregory set much store upon his own independence,[1] and was extraordinarily suspicious.[2] Before he was Pope he had never formed any particular ties of friendship with anyone, and now that he had been raised to the throne of St. Peter, his attitude of reserve towards others was increased. A man who has to govern, he loved to say, must be careful not to be close friends with anyone, so that it may not be thought that he is ruled by anyone.[3] He informed nobody of his plans, and adhered firmly to the decisions which he had arrived at after mature reflection. His curt and decided manner made it very difficult to contradict him. Galli took all this into account and accommodated himself to the wishes of his master, who, as time went on, took part in all diplomatic business as much as possible.[4] In spite of the intrigues of those who were jealous of him,[5] Galli managed to retain the favour of his master during the whole thirteen years of his pontificate. In this he was especially helped by two qualities of the Pope: Gregory was of a very grateful disposition, and did not forget for a moment the services which Galli had rendered him; on the other hand he shrank from

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome). On account of the absolutism of Gregory XIII. not a few of the Cardinals were in disagreement with him, as appears from the *report of Serguidi in 1581 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3605, p. 108).

[2] *Cf.* in App. n. 30 the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also GROTTANELLI, A. Piccolomini, 59.

[3] See the *notes of Speciani, *loc. cit.*

[4] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* also TÖRNE, 128 *seq.* The testimony of Galli contradicts the assertion of P. TIEPOLO (p. 215) that the Pope occupied himself as little as possible with affairs of state. Fr. Gerini *reports on June 27, 1572, that the Pope was principally occupied with affairs of state. State Archives, Florence.

[5] *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 218; see also Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 124.

any change in the personnel of his government, for fear of being thought to be vacillating.[1] Thus he remained firmly attached till his death to his two principal assistants, whom he had appointed immediately after his election, the Secretary of State, Galli, and the Datary, Contarelli. They were held in high esteem by him, and were rewarded by him in a corresponding degree;[2] but those who, like Paolo Tiepolo and Corraro, attributed to them an absolute authority, were very much mistaken.

The great independence with which Gregory XIII. loved to rule was shown above all in his choice of Cardinals. He was accustomed to prepare his list without consulting anyone.[3] He acted upon this principle throughout his reign. In the case of his last nomination, which he brought forward in December 1583, it is said that it was made entirely unexpectedly; nobody had had any previous information, neither Galli, nor Farnese, nor the nephews; contrary to custom, the opinions of the Cardinals who were sick was never asked for.[4] That Galli was by no means all-powerful is shown in other ways as well. When, in the spring of 1580, the Pope proposed to send a peace legate to Portugal, Galli tried to arrange that this should not be done absolutely, out of consideration for Spain. Gregory XIII. replied that it would be shameful to do nothing, and thus give rise to the suspicion that he did not concern himself in the question of the Portuguese succession. The Pope paid so little attention to the

[1] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] See the *Memorie of Galli, p. 70; *cf.* also in App. n. 30 the *notes of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, May 16, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* more fully, *infra*, Chapter V.

[4] *" La promotione è stata talmente repentina che si dice per cosa ferma che ne il S. Giacomo ne il card. di Como ne gli altri doi nipoti l'hanno saputa et non si è mandato a casa dei cardinali infermi che erano Savello, Altemps et Este a pigliare prout erat de more antiquamente et modernamente et Farnese non ha anco saputo prima cosa alcuna." Letter of Odescalchi of December 12, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

views of Galli as to hurry forward the mission of the legate with all his power.[1]

In spite of the great confidence which Gregory XIII. had in his Secretary of State and his Datary in dealing with ordinary business, he nevertheless went into every detail himself. He himself read all the reports of the nuncios, and on their return they were personally interviewed by him and made to give an account of what they had done. Cardinal Galli himself bears witness to this.[2] If the Pope kept the supreme control in his own hands this was partly due to the fact that the Secretary of State, for all his diligence, did not always prove himself equal to his task. Galli's grasp of a situation was not always as complete, nor his insight as keen, as those of his master,[3] who familiarized himself so quickly with the details of public business that the ambassador of Venice, as early as 1573, spoke in terms of the highest admiration of him in this respect.[4] At times Galli also showed himself to be lacking in the necessary foresight.

Gregory XIII. was distinguished for his remarkable practical common sense, and for his exceptional genius for organization in ecclesiastical affairs no less than for his breadth of view. This was especially apparent in his establishment of the congregations and nunciatures.

[1] See PHILPPSON, Granvella, 165.

[2] See the *memorie of Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This was clearly shown in the negotiations over the affairs of Switzerland (see REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxlvii), and even more clearly in his memorial on Germany. In his *notes Speciani rightly brings out the clear insight of Gregory XIII. (Boncompagni Archives, Rome). That Galli's letter to Philip II., given by TÖRNE (p. 134) with its expressions of veneration, does not prove "que le cardinal s'est livré à Espagne" is rightly insisted upon by FRIEDENBURG in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CII., 129. An *Avviso di Roma of July 23, 1575, informs us that Galli, weighed down by the pressure of business, wished to retire; and that Guastavillani will be appointed his successor. Urb. 1044, p. 497, Vatican Library.

[4] See the Relazione di N. da Ponte, 13.

From very early times the consistory, or meeting of the Cardinals who were in Rome, under the presidency of the Pope, had served, not only for the carrying out of particular and solemn acts, but also for the full discussion of and carrying into effect of the various important matters of every kind with which the head of the Church was called upon to deal.[1] The consistorial records bear witness to the zeal with which Gregory XIII. devoted himself to this task, and it is clear from these records that during his pontificate consistories were held much more frequently than under Pius V.[2] At the same time, in view of the new and difficult questions which the period of reform and Catholic restoration brought with it, the consistory was shown to be too large and too unwieldly a machinery for the ordinary administration of the Church.

The world had become larger by reason of the Portuguese and Spanish voyages of discovery, while the general development of a postal system had reduced distances and brought the nations closer together. Communication between the dioceses and their centre in Rome became easier and more frequent. The questions addressed to the curia became more and more numerous, and the pressure of business grew more and more heavy. The struggle for existence against the attacks of the religious innovators to which the Church was exposed in the various countries called for the greatest vigilance on the part of the Holy See. All this necessitated a development of the machinery of government. An attempt was made to cope with the multiplicity and complexity of the work by the formation of special congregations of Cardinals, evolved out of the consistory, at which difficult and special questions could be discussed by Cardinals and prelates who were experienced in such matters, and then decided with the co-operation and final judgment of the Pope. At first these

[1] *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, 262, and the literature there cited.

[2] With the exception of the summer months there was a consistory every week. *Cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. See also KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 68, and the Diario of Santori in *Studi e doc.*, XXIII.-XXIV.

congregations, which were formed as the various question arose, lacked stability and definite form. With Paul III., however, whose reign inaugurated a new epoch, there came the beginning of cardinalitial congregations on a permanent and well-organized basis. The first was the Congregation of the Inquisition, established by him in 1542.[1] This was followed by the formation of the Congregation of the Council under Pius IV., and of the Congregation of the Index, as well as that which was to deal with the business of the bishops under Pius V. In addition to these special provisional congregations were established by Pius V. as often as any important question called for special consideration, such as the reconciliation of heretics, the conversion of the infidels, the case of the Archbishop of Toledo, and the war against the Turks.[2]

The greater number of these congregations were continued under Gregory XIII., and were considerably increased, as had already been intended in the time of Pius V.[3] A report of January, 1573, tells of the many congregations in which the Cardinals were busily employed,[4] and a report of February, 1574, enumerates fifteen such congregations in all. Besides the permanent Congregations of the Inquisition, the Council and the Index, mention is made of special congregations, provisionally established, for the case of the Archbishop of Toledo, the league against the Turks, the management of German affairs, reform in general, the reform of Canon Law, the reform of ceremonial, political business, the jubilee, the new edition of the Holy Scriptures, finance, the streets, and the water supply of Rome, and finally, one for the affairs of the States of the Church.[5]

This report makes no mention of the Congregation of Bishops, nor of the so-called "Greek" congregation, established by

[1] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 504.

[2] See Vols. XVI., p. 11; XVII., cap. v. and vii.; XVIII., cap. ix., of this work.

[3] See in App. n. 37 the *memorial addressed to Gregory XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Report of Gerini of January 9, 1573, State Archives, Florence.

[5] See in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. For the Congregation of Ceremonial see MAFFEI, I., 44 *seq.*

Gregory XIII. in 1573, which was first engaged upon the reform of the Basilian monasteries in Italy, and afterwards with the propagation of the faith in the East.[1]

A Venetian report of 1578 also makes mention of a special congregation for France.[2] We also hear of other congregations, showing how Gregory XIII. relied upon this manner of dealing with new problems as they arose. We hear of congregations for the settlement of disputes about jurisdiction, for the politico-religious controversies with Philip II., for the disorders of Malta, the reform of Church music, and for the affairs of Portugal and Poland.[3] There is also mention of a congregation to deal with the inundations of the Tiber.[4]

The greater number of these congregations met once a week, and if necessary in the presence of the Pope. Their duty was to examine, as minutely as possible, the question submitted to them, and to prepare the whole matter for decision. This latter duty was in every case reserved to the Pope, in such a way that the supreme right of inquiry and decision was completely in his hands. In this way the discharge of business was greatly facilitated and simplified. Moreover, this way of dealing with business guaranteed a more careful examination of every aspect of a question than would have been possible in the consistory. The due attendance of the Cardinals, too,

[1] This congregation owed its beginnings to the initiative of Cardinal Santori, who speaks of it in his *Autobiografia*, XII., 135, and in his *Diario concist.*, XXIV., 135. According to the former document, besides Santori, Savelli, Sirleto, A. Carafa, and Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni belonged to it. Coquelines mentions other names in MAFFEI, I., v., who sees in it the beginnings of the Congreg. de propaganda fide.

[2] See A. TIEPOLO, 248.

[3] See infra Chapter VI. The congregation for Poland is mentioned in MAFFEI, I., 230. A *judgment of this congregation in the year 1581 in BORGHESE, III., 67, Papal Secret Archives, For the congregation on jurisdiction *cf.* Lettres de Paul de Foix. 551 *seq.* For Malta see MAFFEI, II., 263. *Cf. Mél. d'archéol*, XXXI., 92. For the reform of church music see MOLITOR, I., 56.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260 (April 27, 1575).

was better assured, and at the same time the members of the supreme senate of the Church, while they were still inexperienced, had a splendid opportunity of being initiated into the management of public affairs.[1] In conjunction with this new system a plan was also formed for the regulation of audiences, definite days being assigned for the reception of the court officials, the ambassadors, the prelates and the Cardinals.[2] It would appear that this setting aside of a fixed day in the week was first done in the case of the ambassadors and envoys.

The organizing power of Gregory XIII. was shown in a specially brilliant way by his development of the diplomatic representation of the Holy See, a matter in which an improvement had long been needed and expected.[3] Gregory dealt with this question with marvellous skill. He had always realized the great importance of the nunciatures for obtaining detailed information of the conditions existing among the various nations, as well as for opening the way to prompt intervention in the development of the course of affairs.

At the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory there were nine permanent nunciatures: four in Italy: (Venice, Turin, Florence and Naples), and one each at the Imperial court, and the courts of the Kings of Spain, Portugal, France and Poland. During the first years of the pontificate this arrangement remained practically unchanged, even with regard to its personnel. The first important change was made in 1573, although the appointments made by Pius V. were not greatly affected by this. Vincenzo Laureo went from Turin to Poland

[1] See in App. n. 37 the *memorial addressed to Gregory XIII.. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of the nuncio in Venice, the Archbishop of Rossano, of July 11, 1575: "Nel tempo della f.m. di Pio V. si usava che tutte le cose rognose et dispiacevoli alli principi si rapportassero dalli ministri di N.S., tutte le cose dolci et piacevoli erano concesse alli ambasciatori in Roma et li ministri di S.S^{tà} erano li ultimi a saperli." A change is very desirable. Nunziat, di Venezia, XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

and Giovanni Battista Castagna from Madrid to Venice.[1] A great change in the diplomatic personnel, however, was made for the first time in the years, 1577-1578, and again in 1580-1581, and finally in 1583, in which year the system borrowed from Venice became usual, namely, that of limiting the appointment of the nuncios at the various courts to a fixed number of years, and even so, not for long.[2]

It was of exceptional importance that the character of the nunciatures should have been thus modified at the moment of the spread of the movement towards reform and Catholic restoration. The nuncios hitherto had been for the most part envoys charged with business of an international character, but now their principal activities were directed to spiritual matters. The defence of Christendom against the Turks, the Papal revenue and the position of the States of the Church were no longer the first consideration, but rather the interests of religion, the reform of the clergy, the carrying out of the decrees of the Council, and the defence of the Church against the attacks of the Protestants. This change comes out clearly in the case of Germany.

Now, as before, the representatives of the Holy See in the Empire were called upon to act as intermediaries between the Pope, the Emperor and the other Catholic princes, but now their duty of seeing to the carrying out of the decrees of the Council obliged them to take a personal part in ecclesiastical life, much more than had been the case before, by visiting the dioceses, by consecrations, absolutions, matrimonial dispensations, and the exercise of judicial powers.[3] To enable them to do this their faculties were greatly extended,[4] and at the same time their number was increased, since the nuncio at the Imperial court, who had never had a fixed residence at the centre of the Empire, could no longer by himself superintend that vast territory.

[1] See BIAUDET, Nontiatures, 27 *seq.*, 58.

[2] See *ibid.*, 60 ; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 194.

[3] *Hist. Polit. Blatter*, CXIX., 526 *seq.*

[4] See the detailed description by MERGENTHEIM, I., 250 *seq.* See also Chapters on Germany in Vol. XX. of this work.

As early as 1573 the mission of three representatives of the Holy See to Germany took place, for the Pope had begun to devote special attention to the religious condition of that country. While Feliciano Ninguarda was sent as Papal commissary to support the reforming activity of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Gaspar Gropper, who had gone in July to Cologne on private business, received diplomatic powers, which were afterwards added to, so that at length he found himself accredited to the dioceses of Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, Bamberg, Würzburg, Spires, Worms, Münster, Minden, the whole of Westphalia, and the territories of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves.[1] His district in some places touched the new nunciature of South Germany, established in 1573 in the interests of Catholic reform, and which was destined to become permanent. The first to hold this nunciature was Count Bartolomeo Portia, who had been sent as ordinary nuncio for the territories of the Archduke Ferdinand in the Tyrol, Charles of Styria, Duke Albert of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Salzburg. From March 1577 to March 1578 he was nuncio extraordinary at Cologne, and later on received the nunciature at the Imperial court. His successor in the nunciature of South Germany was Feliciano Ninguarda, who had in the meantime been appointed Bishop of Scala, and who did excellent work, especially in Bavaria. His office, however, when he returned to Italy in 1583, was not again filled.[2] In the meantime a special permanent nunciature for the territories of the Archduke Charles of Styria had been formed in 1580; this was the first held by Germanico Malaspina, and afterwards by Giovanni Caligari.[3]

The mission of Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini as apostolic visitor in Switzerland led in 1579 to the establishment of a permanent nunciature there as well.[4] The Low Countries

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 724.

[2] See ibid., 723 *seq.*, 728 *seq.*; SCHELLHASS, III., xxxvii *seq.*

[3] See HANSEN, I., 730.

[4] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, p. cccxciv, *seq.*

temporarily had a special nuncio when, in 1577, Sega was sent to the viceroy, Don John of Austria.[1]

This increase of the nunciatures was of the greatest importance for the progress of the Catholic restoration, since the Holy See was enabled by their means not only to bring direct influence to bear upon the various governments, but also upon the bishops and lower clergy.[2] On the other hand the Pope provided himself, in the nuncios, with trustworthy informants concerning the various nations, a matter in which Gregory XIII. was quite indefatigable; he often asked religious to give him information as to the needs of the Church.[3]

It was also the interests of the Catholic restoration which led him in 1584 to establish a permanent nunciature at Cologne. In all this the nuncio at the Imperial court remained as before the special representative of the Pope for the whole German Empire; the new nuncios, however, were not his subordinates, but only his colleagues.[4]

The pontificate of Gregory XIII. was no less important for the external development of the nunciatures than for their internal organization. During this pontificate the titles which had hitherto been used in an arbitrary way began to have a special character of their own. The title of legate had hitherto been given to an envoy extraordinary of the Holy See who was a Cardinal; the nuncios were the other envoys who were not members of the Sacred College; these formed the true diplomatic body. In the time of Gregory it was ordered that the nuncios should be bishops or archbishops, and that they should receive a regular and fixed salary.[5] Another happy innovation of the Boncompagni Pope was the alteration of the hitherto existing system whereby the diplomatists repre-

[1] See HANSEN, II., xxxvii *seq.*; MAERE in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 570 *seq.*; *cf.* ibid. XII., 558-9.

[2] See HANSEN, I., xxix.

[3] See the *notes of Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See HANSEN, I., 721 *seq.*

[5] See BIAUDET, 33 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*: KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 76-77.

senting the Holy See lived in hired lodgings. The nuncio at Cologne, Portico, was the first to build a proper residence for himself and his suite.[1]

In the time of Gregory XIII., who in his choice of nuncios had frequently shown a preference for jurists, we get the beginnings of a regular diplomatic service, which, as far as its general features was concerned, continued for centuries. The lowest or preparatory grade was to be found in the office of abbreviator or secretary, either at the Curia or with one of the nuncios themselves. The next grade was found in appointment as referendary, first secretary or auditor, and the third as protonotary apostolic, referendary of the two "segnature," or as member of the Rota. Those who held this rank might be given the smaller nunciatures of Florence, Naples, Turin, Graz or Lucerne, which formed stepping stones to the greater ones, and the good administration of which gave a right to high office at the Curia, and sometimes to the purple itself.[2] Two of the nuncios of Gregory XIII., Castagna and Facchinetti, attained to the Papal throne as Urban VII. and Innocent IX.

There was indeed need of cultured and capable representatives, as well as of many congregations, if the important programme of government which the Pope announced at his first consistory, on May 30th, 1572, was to be properly carried into effect. This programme dealt with five principal points; the strengthening and consolidation of the league against the Turks, the fight against heresy by means of the Inquisition, the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the continuation of the internal reform of the Church begun by Pius V., the opening of friendly relations with the Catholic princes, and finally a strict supervision of the States of the Church, involving the appointment of capable and disinterested officials, the cutting down of useless expenditure with its consequent increased taxation, the improvement in the administration of justice, and the promotion of peace and economic prosperity.[3]

[1] See BIAUDET, 89. [2] Ibid. 49 *seq.* [3] MAFFEI, I., 20 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

Reforming Activity in the Church.—Charles Borromeo.

The first measures which Gregory XIII. had taken by the advice of Borromeo, his rejection of any exaggerated nepotism, his simple manner of life and his sincere piety, had already shown that it was his fixed intention to continue in the path of reform traced out by his great predecessor, whom he had sincerely admired.[1] Before everything else he saw to it that the prescriptions of Pius V. with regard to the observance of the decrees of the Council were strictly carried out.[2] For this purpose there was a special commission, composed of the strictest representatives of the reform, Cardinals Charles Borromeo, Gabriele Paleotto, Giovanni Aldobrandini and Paolo Burali.[3] It was only in exceptional cases and by silence

[1] See the *Considerationi of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Musotti also *reports (*ibid.*) the great veneration for Pius V. on the part of Gregory XIII.

[2] *" V. Sig^ria sa quanto preme a la S^tà di N.S^re l'osservanza del concilio di Trento," wrote Galli on November 1, 1572, to the Bishop of Nicastro, the nuncio at Venice, in ordering him to take proceedings in the city and diocese of Padua against those who held " benefici incompatibili." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* a *letter from Galli to the Patriarch of Venice, May 26, 1572, on the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees with regard to chapels in private houses.

[3] See Maffei, I., 21. For those who subsequently took part in this see in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. Later on the commission met at the house of Cardinal Savelli: *" Il luogo di mons. Carniglia, dico di riformatore, sarà soppresso volendo il papa che il tutto si passi nella congregatione ordinaria che si fa in casa di Savello " (Avviso di Roma of October 8, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 675b, Vatican Library). It was for this reform commission that were drawn up the reform

that the Pope tolerated any departure from the reform decrees of Trent, but he never did so expressly.[1] The Dataria was specially ordered to observe the decrees strictly,[2] while their observance was repeatedly enjoined upon the nuncios.[3] A special ordinance of November 5th, 1574, was directed against all those who promised or accepted any gift in order to obtain concessions from the Holy See.[4]

Among the first cares of the Pope at the beginning of his pontificate[5] was the enforcement of the duty of residence, especially in the case of the bishops. Not even the Cardinals who possessed sees, so Gregory ordered at the consistory of September 19th, 1572, were to be excepted from this;[6] the decree giving effect to this order was read at the consistory of October 17th; on that occasion the Pope remarked that the College of Cardinals might take an example from its dean, Morone, who had already gone to his see of Velletri.[7] Although

proposals which DÖLLINGER (Beit., III., 237 *seq.*) published from the Ambrosian Library, Milan (cod. G.22). They are not dated but they do not belong as DRUSSEL thinks (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1884, II., 604 s.), to the year 1574, but to a later date, since at the earliest the treatise of Navarro cited by DÖLLINGER, p. 242, was published according to N. ANTONIUS in 1576 (Bibl. Hisp. nova, II., 97) and moreover Cardinal Borromeo is mentioned on p. 239 as being still alive; hence the treatise was written between 1576 and 1584.

[1] L. Taverna brings this out in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See *ibid.* the *Considerationi of Speciani.

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Odescalchi often complains in his *reports how difficult the Dataria showed itself; see especially his *letter of November 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 470.

[4] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 105.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Gerini of June 18, 1572, and *that of Aless. de' Medici of July 4, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[6] See Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[7] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 115; *cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium Papal Secret Archives. See also the *audiences of Santori for October 15, 1572, *ibid.* arm. 52, t.17.

this new order caused regret and dismay among some of the Cardinals, Gregory nevertheless firmly insisted upon its being carried out. Anyone who could not or would not personally fulfil his duty of residence must resign his see; exceptions would only be allowed in important cases.[1]

The man who most rejoiced in this new order was Charles Borromeo, who resigned his offices of Grand Penitentiary and Archpriest of St. Mary Major's in order once again to devote himself entirely to his archbishopric of Milan, but the Pope still kept him for another three months in Rome, in order to profit by his advice in his measures of reform.[2]

When Borromeo returned to Milan, and on November 12th, 1572, again offered his resignation, Gregory XIII. gave his consent.[3] Borromeo's successor as Grand Penitentiary was the celebrated Cardinal Hosius.[4] Borromeo, however, by means of Bernardino Carniglia and Cesare Speciani, with whom he remained in constant correspondence, was still able from Milan to give expression in Rome to his wishes and counsels for the welfare of the whole Church.[5]

If Gregory XIII. gradually deprived of their sees those Cardinals who did not go into residence, this was quite in keeping with his determination that the many bishops in the

[1] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 119, 125. MAFFEI, I., 22, 142. Cardinal Truchsess *wrote on January 3, 1573, to the Imperial chancellor Wöber: "in the meantime the Holy Father is very glad to see me hasten to go into residence, make my visitation, and carry out the work of reform and the synods." State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp, 7.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of September 20, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* the brief in SALA, I., 258; BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 1, p. 57; SYLVAIN, II., 61 *seq.* For the generosity of Borromeo see Cusano, *report from Rome of October 6, 1572, *loc. cit.*

[3] See SYLVAIN, II., 63 *seq.*

[4] See EICHHORN, II., 466 *seq.* After the death of Hosius Cardinal F. Boncompagni received the office of Grand Penitentiary "che per dignità è, si puo dire, il supremo della corte et rende 5,000 scudi l'anno," says the *Avviso di Roma of August 8, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 263, Vatican Library.

[5] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 1, p. 57.

Curia should be obliged to return to their own dioceses.[1] Gregory also viewed with dislike the endless delay of those bishops who wished to be consecrated in Rome.[2] In the year of jubilee, 1575, measures were taken to facilitate the speedy return of the bishops to their own dioceses.[3] All the nuncios received orders to insist upon the obligation of residence.[4] How strictly this duty was enforced may be seen from the fact that the Bishop of Castellammare, although that city is quite close to Naples, was given the choice between residing there, or resigning his office of grand chaplain at Naples.[5] In the same way Gregory was by no means satisfied that the Patriarch of Aquileia and his co-adjutor, Giustiniani, should have their residence in Venice.[6] The Pope, wrote Cardinal Galli on January 4th, 1578, wishes that all bishops, canons and parish priests should observe their duty of residence.[7] Just a year earlier Gregory XIII. had ordered all Spanish priests living in Rome who had the cure of souls in their own country, to go

[1] *" Questi prelati partono verso le loro chiese et hieri parti Mons. di Pavia et Mons. di Martorano, benchè questi non ha vescovato," says Capilupi on February 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Pope desires, *reports Odescalchi on December 12, 1573, " che tutti vescovi facciano la residenza " ; idem. *cf.* SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 213, 228 *seq.*, see also Mucantius *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives) for the consistory of February 26, 1574.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 345, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] In the *Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., there is a letter from Ragazzoni to the Bishop of Famagosta, dated October 17, 1577 ; in this he exhorts him to the observance of residence, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* the *letter to the nuncio at Venice for 1575-1576.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 87. *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 112.

[6] See MAFFEI, I., 254. *Cf.* Nunziat di Venezia, XIII. (for the year 1576), Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *" Card. di Como a Mons. di Capua, nuntio di S.S,tà" January 4, 1578, State Archives, Venice.

home at once.[1] When, in the second half of Gregory's pontificate, many bishops were still to be found in Rome, the Pope did not fail warmly to urge the duty of residence. This occurred at the beginning of 1579,[2] in the autumn of 1580,[3] at the beginning and end of 1581,[4] and once again in August, 1582.[5] In like manner the nuncios were warned to give close attention to this matter, which was so important for the life of the Church.[6]

Following the example of Pius V., Gregory XIII. set great store on the choice of good bishops. At the very beginning of his pontificate he reminded the Emperor and the King of France to use their right of nomination only to present suitable candidates, to urge those who had not yet been recognized by the Holy See to seek for the Papal approbation, or else to remove them, and to require all of them to make the Tridentine profession of faith.[7] In order to obtain exact information before making appointments to ecclesiastical offices the Pope caused the bishops of Spain and Germany to send him a list of the most deserving and distinguished priests, so that he

[1] See *Avviso di Roma, June 12, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 508, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma, April 4, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 122, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, September 16, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See *Acta consist. January 24, and December 4, 1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma, August 4, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 278, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *instructions for the Archbishop of Cosenza, the envoy to Naples, dated January 6, 1580, *to the Bishop of Mondovi, nuncio in Savoy, dated September 24, 1580, *to the Archbishop of Rossano, who went to Naples on February 27, 1582, and to Mgr. de la Corbara, the nuncio in Tuscany, dated February 2, 1582, Barb. 5744, p. 73 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*, 225 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Concerning the nuncio in Venice see *Nunziat di Venezia, XIII. (1575), and XXII., 425, 446 (November 25 and December 16, 1581), Papal Secret Archives.

[7] See MAFFEI, I., 23.

might be able to reward the worthy and remove the unworthy. The Datary, Contarelli, marvelled, when any suggestion was made, at the knowledge which the Pope displayed of everyone's merits. If it were a case of appointment, in virtue of a royal prerogative of nomination, to a bishopric or abbacy, Gregory at once took steps with all prudence to obtain full particulars through his nuncios. In the case of benefices, appointment to which belonged to the Holy See, he first took into consideration those who had rendered loyal service to the Church.[1] One of his maxims was that benefices should as far as possible be conferred on the needy.[2]

What care was exercised in conferring benefices is clear from the many entries in the consistorial records.[3] In the discussion of such matters the Pope wished and ordered that the Cardinals should openly express their views without respect of persons.[4] Scrupulous care was shown to reward none but men beyond reproach. A theologian who was in other respects one of the most distinguished, but who had fallen under suspicion because he had written something erroneous concerning the veneration of the saints, was made to renew his profession of faith according to the Council of Trent, before he was allowed to take possession of his abbey.[5]

In the case of bishops he insisted in the most searching way upon the proper discharge of their duties. For this purpose a list of fifty-two questions was drawn up, by answering which they had to give an account of the way in which they had complied with the reform decrees of the Council of Trent.[6]

[1] See in MAFFEI, II., 453 *seq.*, the assertion of Coquelines, based upon contemporary notes.

[2] *Cf.* HIRN, II., 389.

[3] See the opinion of Tacchi Venturi, editor of the Diario consist. of Santori, which runs from 1573 to 1576, I., 175. *Cf.* also *Mél. d'archéol.*, 1913, 249 and *Acta consist., July 11, 1580, Barb. 2883, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 237.

[5] See *Acta consist., July 11, 1580, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *"Capita rerum quarum rationem S. D. N. Gregorius Papa XIII. nunc ab episcopis petit." At the end is added;

Especially did Gregory XIII. insist upon the proper discharge of their pastoral duties by means of capable vicars, confessors and preachers. The bishops must have with them a visitor general, who was both conscientious and zealous for reform. The bishops were strongly urged to pay attention to the proper education of the clergy, and to set up a Tridentine seminary, where one did not already exist. They were also ordered to devote much care to the giving of religious instruction in every parish, and if possible to erect a confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in each. No less care was to be exercised in seeing that lay masters as well as physicians conformed to the decrees of the Church. The bishops must everywhere keep on good terms with the civil authorities. As for visitations a mixture of prudence, love and patience was suggested.[1] Gregory rightly attached great importance to canonical visitations; one of the principal causes of the decadence of the Church during the Renaissance period had been the fact that the regular visitation of the dioceses by their pastors had fallen into disuse. The Council of Trent had, therefore, in the strongest terms, urged the bishops every year to make a visitation of the whole of their dioceses, or the greater part of them, either in person, or if they were prevented from doing that, by means of their representatives. Such visitations, which were of the greatest importance for the maintenance of the purity of the faith, as well as for the growth of moral and religious life, and which, following the example of Giberti, had been carried out ever since the time of Clement VII. by a number of excellent bishops,[2] had not become altogether

"Pro episcopis Germaniae addenda erunt aliqua praecipue de ratione custodiendi gregem suum ab infectione morbidi gregi et de ratione curandi morbidum." Arm. 18, n. 3050, Papal Secret. Archives.

[1] To supplement the very short account of Maffei, I., 23, use may be made of the "Avvertimenti per li rev. Vescovi" in Inf. polit., XXIV., 347 *seq.*, Library, Berlin. The renewal of the constitution of Pius V. concerning physicians (see Vol. XX. of this work, Cap. II. *seq.*) in Bull. Rom., VIII., 371.

[2] *Cf.* previous volumes of the present work.

general even after the Council of Trent. Pius V. had himself made a visitation in Rome, and by sending apostolic visitors had made a beginning in the States of the Church as well.[1] In this matter also Gregory XIII. followed in the footsteps of his saintly predecessor. In Rome the monasteries and churches were repeatedly visited,[2] and a congregation of Cardinals was also set up to decide upon difficult questions arising out of canonical visitations.[3]

At the beginning of 1573 seven distinguished bishops were appointed as apostolic visitors for the dioceses in the States of the Church.[4] They were given minute instructions to guide them in bringing about an organized renewal of religious life.[5] They were expressly ordered to bring it home to the peoples visited that they had the best intentions in their regard, and that they would be treated with charity and gentleness. The visitors were placed under the special obligation of first obtaining full information; without paying too much attention to trifles, they were to devote themselves above all

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 179 *seqq.*

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the visitation of the Anima, see SCHMIDLIN, 308.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in the N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., I., 147. MAFFEI, I., 61, *cf.* II., 471. Speciani remarks in his *Considerationi concerning the "Congregazione di Visita apostolica": *"Il Papa vi so mostrò tanto zelante che poche volte volse permettere che si alterasse quello che li visitatori havevano prudentemente fatto," Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *"Questi visitatori [*cf.* MAFFEI, I., 88] che vanno visitare le chiese dello satato eccles^co partono tuttavia et il Marchesini viene verso Bologna" reports C. Capilupi from Rome on April 18, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The acta of the visitation, for the most part still unpublished (*cf.* App. n. 35) often contain interesting artistic and historical descriptions, *e.g.*, concerning S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi; see SACCONI. Relaz. d. Ufficio regionale d. Marche e Umbria, Perugia, 1903, 199.

[5] See the *Avvertimenti in Inf. polit., XII., 376-390, Library, Berlin. *Cf.* EHSES in Nuntiaturberichte, I., xliii.; *"Praecipua capita ex formula visitandi pro visitatoribus apost." Barb. LXII., 4, p. 261 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

to important and essential matters, and above all to enhance the authority of the bishop and the good repute of the clergy, to employ fines in money for none but religious objects, and prudently to defend ecclesiastical liberties against the secular power. Minute and detailed prescriptions were drawn up for the visitation of bishops, cathedral chapters, parishes, convents of women, and confraternities. The visitors were also ordered to address severe admonitions to the laity. It was insisted that in the whole process the apostolic visitor was to obtain a clear idea whether the reform decrees of the Council of Trent were being carried out, and where this was not the case, prudently but vigorously to make whatever changes were necessary.

How carefully the visitors carried out their task is clear from the fact that Ascanio Marchesini, who was appointed to visit the diocese of Bologna,[1] limited himself to the city itself, while for the rest he appointed two delegates, one for the plains, and one for the mountainous part of the territory.[2]

Subsequently these apostolic visitations were extended to the rest of Italy.[3] The Papal Secret Archives contain a long series of volumes which, in a remarkable way attest the unwearied zeal of Gregory XIII. in promoting the reforms of Trent by means of apostolic visitations. The reports of these visitors are of the greatest interest, because they deal in great detail with the economic and moral state of the dioceses, and give us a vivid picture of religious conditions, and of the zeal and methods by which it was sought to carry out the work of reform in accordance with the spirit of the Council. For 1573, in addition to the diocese of Bologna, we have records of Faenza, Ravenna, Ragusa, Farfa, Camerino, Jesi, Orvieto, Bagnorea, Assisi, Bertinoro, Ronciglione, Capranica and

[1] The *brief for Marchesini appointing him as "Apost. Sedis delegatus" to carry on the "visitatio status ecclesiastici" interrupted by the death of Pius V., is dated April 2, 1573, Episcopal Archives, Faenza.

[2] *Cf.* App. n. 34.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., I., 147 *seq.*

Sutri. For 1574 we have records of the work of the apostolic visitors in Bracciano, Toscanella, Gubbio, Todi, Imola, Pesaro, Montefeltro, Castro and Canino, Bondeno and Carpi, Tivoli and Cagli.[1]

Borromeo, who at the end of 1574 had been called to Rome to give advice concerning the festivities of the year of jubilee, had, in the course of his interviews with the Pope, warmly recommended the sending of apostolic visitors.[2] A strange bishop, he insisted, would more easily detect errors in the administration of a diocese; in his character of Papal representative he could interfere in matters which would not come under the ordinary authority of the bishop, or which could not be carried through without involving odium of the pastors who lived there permanently.[3] A beginning of such visitations, so Borromeo desired, could be made at Milan; for the dioceses dependent on Milan he offered his own services. Gregory XIII. accepted this offer. In a brief of April, 1575, besides Borromeo, the following bishops were appointed as visitors: Nicolò Sfrondato of Cremona, Gian-Battista Castelli of Rimini, Francesco Bossi of Perugia, Alfonso Binarini of Camerino, Girolamo Ragazzoni of Famagosta and Cyprus, and Antimo Marchesani of Città di Castello.[4]

Briefs were at once sent to the viceroy of Milan, the Doge of Venice, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Republic of Lucca, with the request to give all possible support to the visitors.[5]

Having been presented by Borromeo, Ragazzoni began his work in Milan in May, 1575.[6] In the meantime Borromeo

[1] *Cf.* App. n. 34. For the visitation of Faenza see the excellent monograph by LANZONI in *Bollett. Dioces. di Faenza*, V., 1918, n. 1. *Cf.* also LANZONI, S. Pier Damiano a Faenza, Faenza, 1898.

[2] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70a.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 75 *seq.*

[4] Archives of Briefs, Rome; *ibid.* special *authority for the visitation of religious given to Borromeo in June, and to Ragazzoni in July, 1575.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70b. *Cf.* the *acta of the visitation in the Papal Secret Archives, App. n. 34.

devoted himself to the dioceses of Cremona and Brescia, where a minute inquiry into every kind of question occupied him until the beginning of December.[1] During the year of the plague, 1576, there was naturally no question of going on with the visitation, but it was recommenced later on. During 1580 and 1581 Borromeo went everywhere making inquiries and correcting faults, through the whole great district of Brescia, where, owing to the penetration of Protestantism, very difficult conditions prevailed; his unwearied zeal, however, had its effect.[2] During this visitation, at Castiglione delle Stiviere, he gave his first communion to the youthful Luigi Gonzaga.

At the same time as Borromeo a number of other apostolic visitors were doing their work. For 1575 we have detailed records for Pescia, Modena and Reggio, Mantua and the monasteries in the city of Florence and the island of Malta. For 1576 we have them for Grosseto, Siena, Massa, Pienza, Montalcino, Milan, Tortona, Volterra and Pavia; for 1578 for Ferentino, Crema, Piacenza, Dalmatia and Istria; for 1580 for Benevento, Borgo S. Donnino and Chioggia; for 1581 for Bagnara, Alatri, Anagni, and the monastery of St. Francesco della Vigna at Venice; for 1582 for Mondovì and Brugnato; for 1583 for Viterbo, Montepulciano, Borgo S. Sepolcro and Cortona; for 1584 for Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Todi, Casale and Sarzana; for 1585 for Noli, in the territory of Genoa.[3]

[1] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 4, p. 70 *seq.* SALA, Docum, II., 195, n. 92 *seqq.* Borromeo to Castelli, June 30, 1575, *ibid.* 408, n. 13, *cf.* 405, n.1. For the plan of publishing the acta of the visitation of Bergamo, *cf. Riv. stor.*, 1909, 232.

[2] P. GUERRINI in *S. Carlo Borromeo*, 348 *seqq.* In the periodical *Brixia Sacra*, I. (1910), 1-3, A. Besutti treats of the visitation at Asola, *ibid.* 4-6, Guerrini of the visitation at Brescia. Further, *ibid.* 4-5, special accounts of the visitations at Chiari (L. Rivetti) Salò (L. Bettoni), Orzinuovi (P. Perini), Val Camonica (A. Sina), Valle Trompia (O. Piotti). See also BASCAPÈ l. 6, c. 1, p. 142, *cf.* 130; SYLVAIN, II., 312; GRADONICUS, 374.

[3] As well as the very general remarks in MAFFEI, II., 141, 349 *seq.* 391, 470 *seq.*, see the *acta of the visitation in the Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* App. n. 34) and the detailed *evidence

The visitation met with great difficulties in the city of the lagoons. Borromeo had for a long time past warned the Pope of the necessity of introducing reforms there.[1] Gregory XIII., who realized the jealousy of the Venetians towards any foreigner,[2] decided to associate with the nuncio Bolognetti two Venetian bishops, Agostino Valiero of Verona and Federico Cornaro of Padua, who were in other respects acceptable to the Signoria. At once, however, there arose in Venice a violent agitation against the claims of the Pope, which were declared

in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. Further appointments were made in *April, 1578: Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini of Vercelli for the dioceses of Como and Novara; *October, 1578, Castelli of Rimini for Parma, Piacenza and Borgo S. Donnino; *February, 1580, Pietro de Lunel of Gaeta for Benevento; *May, 1581, Francesco Bossi of Novara for Bobbio (a *brief giving him authority as early as February and June, 1580); *September, 1582, Leandro Rotelli of Sarsina for Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, Montepulciano and S. Sepolcro; *April, 1583, Vincenzo de Cultellis of Catania for Viterbo and Toscanella; *August, 1583, Bossi of Novara for Lodi; *April, 1584, Rotelli of Sarsina for Saluzzo; *July, 1584, Cesare de Nores of Parenzo for Montefeltro (Belluno, Concordia and Treviso; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 391). For the visitation by Bossi at Genoa, 1582, *cf.* M. ROSI, La riforma in *Atti della Soc. Ligure di Storia patr.*, XXIV. (1894), 19 *seqq.*, 21; for the same Bossi, MAZUCHELLI, II. (1851), 3. For the visitation at Arezzo, 1583, see MAZZATINTI, VI., 187. The districts on the border of Savoy were visited by Bishop de Croce of Martorano, nuncio in Savoy, in 1575; see MAFFEI, I., 182. The "Acta Visitationis ecclesiarum Pedemontii auctoritate Gregorii XIII. factae 1584" in Ms. Colbert, 2470, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. At the visitation of Vercelli in 1585, on the testimony of the vicar-general of that place, the Barnabites rendered great service. See his letter to the General of the Barnabites, in the Barnabite Archives, Rome, M. b. 66.

[1] See SYLVAIN, II., 253 *seq.*

[2] The ambassador of Venice, had worked as early as 1575, but naturally to no purpose, against the visitation of Borromeo in north Italy. See the report of Luigi Rogna, Rome, May 7, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to be something quite new and unheard of. None but the Patriarch of Venice, who was quite capable of carrying out whatever the Pope had the right to demand, must set foot in the monasteries of the Republic. The real reason for the opposition of the Venetians was that same cesaro-papistical spirit which had also made the visitation so difficult in Tuscany.[1] The civil authorities insisted upon their right of superintendence over the property of the monasteries, the hospitals and other pious institutions, and they absolutely refused to give the visitors any information as to the revenues of these establishments.

Although the Doge made use of very violent expressions, and even openly threatened to pass over to the Greek rite,[2] the Pope remained inflexible. The nuncio Bolognetti, who had made several weak concessions over the question of the visitation of the monasteries,[3] was replaced in the spring of 1581 by Lorenzo Campeggio. The question of the visitations, it was insisted in his instructions, was nearer to the heart of the Pope than any other interest. Campeggio at once sought to get upon friendly terms with the Bishop of Verona, Agostino Valiero, and determined at first only to submit to the visitation the priests and religious, leaving on one side for the moment the convents of enclosed nuns, and as far as possible to proceed at first with great circumspection.[4] As the result of the

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 349; THEINER, Annales, II., 148 *seq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 305. How tenaciously the Pope held to the visitations from the first is described by Aless. de' Medici in his *report of October 19, 1573, State Archives, Florence. The *instructions for Mons. Capranica, destined as nuncio to Florence, November 5, 1579, insist upon the fact that the churches must be safeguarded against all interference on the part of the government. Barb. 5744, p. 64 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Bolognetti of February 20, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXII. (and in XXI. several scattered references to the same), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Avvisi Caetani, 113.

[4] See the *instructions for Campeggio, April 17, 1581, Barb. 5744, p 144 *seq.* Vatican Library.

efforts of Campeggio, it was at last found possible to hit upon a middle course which satisfied both the Pope and the Republic; Agostino Valiero was appointed visitor; he was not to interfere, either with lay confraternities or with the internal affairs of convents of women. After this the visitation proceeded without further hindrance, and produced such good results that in the end the very men who had at first opposed it, could not but give it their approval.[1]

Outside Italy the Pope sought to bring the advantage of a visitation first of all to the Catholics of Germany.[2] His attempt to have this done in the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which were in the occupation of France, were frustrated by political considerations.[3] On the other hand, the distinguished Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, the disciple and intimate friend of Borromeo, who in 1578 had been appointed to visit the diocese of Como, was, on the occasion of his appointment as nuncio in Switzerland, also given the office of visitor for that district.[4] Very important too was the work done by the Papal nuncios in the visitation of Poland and Spain.[5] The distinguished Filiciano

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 174 *seq.*; *"Tractatus visitationum sive declarationes R. D. Annibalis Rochi I. U. D. Veron. ad breve Gregorii XIII. (dated April 25, 1583) ad ill. et rev. August. Valerium episc. Veron. super visitandis civitatibus et dioeces. Patavina et Vicentina, Verona, 1590, LE BRET, Venedig, III., 1, 435 *seq.*; ROMANIN, VI., 360 *seq.*; for the visitation of the patriarchate of Aquileia by the Bishop of Parenzo, we have the *information given by Sporeno, July 14, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. Battistella treats fully of the visitation of Aquileia in *Mem. stor. Forogiuliesi*, III. and IV. (1907-1908).

[2] See Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] See the notes of the Bishop of Bergamo, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 392. The *briefs of February 1582, for the nuncio Castelli with reference to Verdun, and of March, 1582, for Nicolò Mascadi, with reference to Metz, Toul and Verdun, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[4] See Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 181 *seq.*, II., 350, 471 *seq.* For Spain see CARINI, Ormaneto, 10; for Poland, see Vol. XX. of this work.

Ninguarda, on the strength of the experience which he had acquired during his long years of work in Germany, wrote a manual on the manner of obtaining exact information as to the state of the various dioceses.[1]

The apostolic visitations ordered by Gregory XIII. bore plentiful fruits, while once again there gradually pervaded the clergy a sincerely ecclesiastical spirit which manifested itself in their piety, their devotion to their duties, and their self-sacrifice in the care of souls.[2] It is to the credit of the Pope that so many of the bishops threw themselves ardently into his plans. Thus it is related of Gian Battista Sighicelli, Bishop of Faenza, that he died in 1575, because he had worn himself out in his visitations.[3] At Taranto the archbishop himself, Lelio Brancacci, carried out the visitation in 1576, and the co-adjutor bishop Pietro Orsini at Spoleto in 1580.[4] At Bologna too Cardinal Paleotto gave a shining example of pastoral zeal, and himself visited the mountainous and most remote parts of his diocese.[5]

In like manner Mario Carafa[6] and Cardinal Paolo Burali devoted themselves to reform in Naples;[7] Cornelio Mussi at

[1] "Manuale visitatorum omnibus qui in eo munere funguntur commodum," Rome, 1589. See ECHARD, 314. To the same subject belongs the anonymous *"Tractatus de visitatione" in Barb. 864, p. 421 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *notes of G. Raggazoni, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see also *ibid.* the *Considerationi of Speciani.

[3] See also the *letter from the chapter of Faenza to Gregory XIII., dated "Faventiae, 1575, III., Id. Iul.", Cod. L–III.–66, Chigi Library, Rome.

[4] See the information taken from the Papal Secret Archives in App. n. 34.

[5] See the *letter from Paleotto to Morone, Bologna 178, p. 95, Papal Secret Archives. For the reforming activity of Paleotto at Bologna see also the statements of his biographers, A. Bruni and A. Ledesma (*cf.* MERKLE in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XI., 336), and the *Atti di Romagna*, 3 ser. III., 531, and BATISTELLA, S. Officio, 13, 165.

[6] *Cf.* UGHELLI, I., 158.

[7] *Cf.* his biographers G. A. Cagiani (Rome, 1649), G. B. Bagatta (Venice, 1698), and G. Bonaglia (Rome, 1742).

Bitonto ;[1] Gian Battista Soriano at Bisceglia ;[2] the Theatines Marcello Majorano and Salvatore Caracciolo at Cotrone, Acerra and Conza ;[3] Alessandro Sauli at Aleria in Corsica; [4] Gaspare Silingardi at Ripatransone ;[5] Pietro Camaiani at Ascoli ;[6] Antonio Altoviti at Florence ;[7] Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini at Como and Vercelli ;[8] Eustochio Locatelli at Reggio ;[9] Romolo Archinti at Novara ;[10] Domenico Bolani at Brescia ;[11] Mariano Savelli at Gubbio ;[12] Agostino Valiero

[1] *Cf.* UGHELLI, VII., 689 *seq.* : *" Cornelii Mussi ecclesiastica disciplina cleri et populi Botuntini," in Cod. Gentilotti, n. 95, of the Communal Library, Trent. *Acta of the visitation of 1572 in the capitular archives at Bitonto.

[2] *Cf.* UGHELLI, VII., 948.

[3] The biography of these two Theatines in the Theatine Archives, Rome. " Storia di dieci vescovi Teatini " Mss. by Luigi Parini.

[4] *Cf.* the biographies by Gabutius (Milan, 1748), Bianchi (Bologna, 1878), Dubois (Paris, 1904), Moltedo (Naples, 1904), as well as the articles by Ciceri, Maiocchi and Premoli in the *Riv. di scienze storiche*, I.-II., 1905. *Cf.* also S. Alessandro Sauli, Note e documente, Milan, 1905.

[5] RICCI, Le ambasciate Estensi di G. Silingardi, I., Pavia, 1907, 6 *seq.*, 8 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* UGHELLI, I., 472 ; P. CAPPONI, Mem. stor. d. chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli-Piceno, 1898, 144 *seq.*, 147.

[7] *Cf.* UGHELLI, III., 188.

[8] *Cf.* COLOMBO, 23 *seq.*, 42 *seq.* " F. Bonhomini Decreta generalia in vistatione Comensi " printed in 1579 at Vercelli. Bonhomini desired in this visitation that the statue of Pliny should be removed from the cathedral at Como as being a pagan adornment not suitable for a church ; this suggestion, however, met with vigorous opposition in Rome, and was criticized as being unjustified ; this opposition was successful ; see MEYER, Oberital. Frührenaissance, II., Berlin, 1900, 194. For the way in which P. Giovio defended the statue *cf. Period. per la Soc. stor. d. dioc. di Como*, VIII., 194, IX., 64.

[9] *Cf.* G. SACCANI, I vescovi di Reggio Emilia, R.-E., 1902, 124 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* UGHELLI, IV., 724 *seq.*

[11] *Ibid.*, 562.

[12] U. PESCI, I vescovi di Gubbio, Perugia, 1919, p. 119.

at Verona.[1] The Bishop of Verona and many other bishops also distinguished themselves as fathers of the poor. At Bergamo Girolamo Ragazzoni stripped himself of all his property, even of the furniture of his palace, when he had nothing else to give.[2] Carlo Antonio Pocci, Archbishop of Pisa, founded a special institution which was particularly devoted to bashful poor persons who were sick, for whose benefit he left a sum in order that they might gratuitously have physicians, surgeons and medicine.[3] The many provincial and diocesan synods which were held at that time served to consolidate and deepen the effect of what had been attained by the visitations.[4] The Archbishops of Ravenna, Giulio della Rovere and Cristoforo Boncompagni,[5] and the glorious chief pastor of Milan, Charles Borromeo, displayed special zeal in this matter.

The activities of this truly great man increased during the last ten years of his life in such a way as to include more and more the whole of the Catholic Church. His labours, so to speak, developed into an essential supplement and expansion of the Council of Trent, which was always to Borromeo the centre of all his efforts; thanks to him it became doubly fruitful. This applies above all to his legislative activity.

In the very nature of things, in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline the Council had only been able to lay down the

[1] *Cf.* HURTER, Nomencl., I., 239 *seq.* The *Acta of the "Visitatio dicc. sub. Aug. Valerio episc. 1565-73" in the Episcopal Archives, Verona, Visit., III. How much Valiero favoured the priests "della scola" of Giberti is shown by his *letter to Sirleto, dated Verona, 1571, March 18, Ry 387, p. 305, Vatican Library.

[2] See UGHELLI, IV., 507. [3] *Ibid.* 490.

[4] A table of the diocesan synods held under Gregory XIII., in MARCELLO, Memorial. cronol., Nalpes, 1713. *Cf.* also SCADUTO, 250 *seq.*, and MAZZATINTI, XVI., 55. The "Constitutiones Synodales A[i] 1579" published by Marcantonio Colonna as Archbishop of Salerno, in Cod. A, 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. An *"Oratio ed Laudibus et utilitate conciliorum" by Franc. Ubaldi in Barb. XXIX., 254, Vatican Library.

[5] For his reforming activity see App. n. 35.

principles and the fundamental lines for the complete renewal of the Church. Borromeo set himself to give effect to this by means of his provincial and diocesan synods. No bishop of modern times has held so many synods as he. The ordinance of the Council of Trent that every three years the archbishop should call together his suffragan bishops to a provincial synod naturally could not be literally observed even by him; the first assembly of the Milanese bishops in 1565 was followed by a second in 1569, and a third in 1573. Thenceforward, however, for the last three synods the prescribed interval of three years was observed. The annual diocesan synods demanded by the Council of Trent conformed to this rule for the years 1578-1584, during which years seven such assemblies were actually held, the remaining four diocesan synods occurring in the years 1564, 1568, 1572 and 1574.[1]

As a result of the legislative work of these synods the Cardinal of Milan became, to use the expression of Bishop Valiero of Verona, "the teacher of bishops."[2] What had been indicated on broad lines in the Tridentine laws was developed down to the smallest detail in the ordinances of Borromeo, but with so great a grasp of what was necessary and practicable as to arouse general admiration. Copies of the first of these provincial synods were asked for by bishops from all parts; in a short time it had been spread throughout Christendom.[3]

[1] SALA, Biografia, 28 *seq.*, FRANZ SPROTTE, di synodale Tatigkeit des heil. Karl. Borromäus (Programm), Oppeln, 1885.

[2] LOSSEN in *Hist. Taschenbuch* 5, Folge IV. (1874), 256.

[3] Harum volumina undique postulata et toto pene christiano orbe brevi tempore disseminata magno ubique usui fuerunt ad concilia per ecclesias celebranda, optimasque leges, clericis populisque eorum imitatione scribendas, quibas christiani mores religiosaque vita restitueretur. Omnes enim, quicunque ecclesiasticae disciplinae studiosi erant, eas cupide legebant, et ex eo quasi fonte Episcopi suarum constitutionum scriptionem gubernationisque rationem deducebant (BASCAPÈ, l. 2, c. 1, p. 25 *seq.*, l. 7, c. 42, p. 227). Concerning the decrees of the IVth provincial council BASCAPÈ (l. 3, c. 5, p. 75b) is of the opinion that the "bonorum episcoporum studia in perpetuum iuvabunt." *Cf.* Acta eccl. Mediol., 1599, dedication.

Borromeo himself sent copies to his friends ;[1] the Bishop of Alba at once asked for twenty-five copies for himself ;[2] and when in 1582 Borromeo published a collection of his enactments under the title "Acts of the Church of Milan" a hundred copies were immediately ordered in Lyons, and the Cardinal of Toledo obtained ten, one of which found a place in the library of the King of Spain.[3] Amplified by further enactments and by the successive pastoral letters of Borromeo, these "Acts of the church of Milan" went through many editions ;[4] they contain ordinances for the sanctification of festivals and the

[1] Borromeo to Cardinal Santori on September 10, 1566, in SALA, Docum., II., 221 *seq.* Borromeo wrote on September 20, 1580, to Bascapè, who was going to Spain as his representative : "Delle Concilii provinciali ed istruzioni, ve ne manderò colla prima occasione quindeci o venti di tutti, perchè potiate distribuirli in cotesti parti." (SALA, Biografia, Dissert., VIII., c. 2, par. 3, p. 261). A "lettera bellissima" of the Archbishop of Urbino to Borromeo (1580), containing the praises of the provincial synod, which had been sent to him, and which he compared to a strong fortress, is mentioned in SALA, Docum., II., 203, n. 235.

[2] Borromeo to the Bishop of Alba on May 29, 1567, *ibid.* 258, n. 116.

[3] Letter of Galesini to Borromeo on December 2, 1582, *ibid.* 211, n. 339, *cf.* 525.

[4] Editions : 1, Milan, 1582, by Charles Borromeo himself, edited by Pietro Galesini (SALA, Docum., II.; 525), after the giving up of the idea of a Roman edition which was to have been edited by C. Bascapè (*Scuola Catt.*, 1910, I., 850) ; 2. Milan, 1599, at the instance of Federico Borromeo, and edited by the Oblate, Giampaolo Clerici (*ibid.* 851) ; 3. Brescia, 1603 (together with this were published certain kindred matters) ; 4. Paris, 1643 (incomplete, and edited by Olier, the founder of the Sulpicians ; *cf.* A. DEGERT in *Bulletin de littérature ecclés.* 4th ser. IV., Toulouse, 1912, 193 *seq.*) ; 5. Lyons, 1683 (at the hands of the Oratorian, Poisson, *ibid.* 207) ; 6. Bergamo, 1738 ; 7. Padua, 1754 ; 8. Milan, 1843 *seqq.* ; 9. "Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem opera et studio A. RATTI [now Pope Pius XI.], vol. II. *seq.*, Milan, 1890 *seqq.* *Cf.* SALA, Biografia Dissert. not. XII., p. 449 *seq.* ; HURTER, Nomencl. III., 3rd ed., 358.

observance of fasts, on indulgences and pious foundations, on the manner of preaching and administering the sacraments; on the revenues and endowment of churches; on the ecclesiastical tribunals, the episcopal chancery and ecclesiastical statistics, in a word, on everything that appertains to the regulation of ecclesiastical life.[1] Francis of Sales wrote in 1603 that these Acts of the Church of Milan are indispensable to a bishop.[2] Pope Paul V. said in the bull of canonization of Borromeo that they are in constant use among pastors of souls, and that they afford full and copious instruction for the government of the Church.[3] At the preparation of the Council of the Vatican in 1870 a consultor was charged with nothing but the study of the decrees of Borromeo.[4] The enactments of provincial and diocesan synods of later times are very often a repetition of the Milan decrees.[5] With the exception of the time immediately following the Council of Trent, on the whole very few diocesan synods were held; a substitute for them and an excuse for their not being held may be found in the fact that in every case the ordinances of Borromeo already contained the fullest instructions for all matters pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline. A successor of the great archbishop of Milan, Federico Visconti, in 1689,

[1] *Cf.* a general review of the contents in SALA, *loc. cit.* 450 *seq.* For the reforms of Charles Borromeo in pulpit oratory see BARBIERI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, ann. 38, vol. 15 (1911), 231 *seq.* On this occasion attention was also drawn by GRAUS (Kirchenschmuck, 1897, 141 *seqq.*) to the injunctions of the Archbishop of Milan for the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament.

[2] "Le *Decreta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* vous est necessaire," to de Revol, Bishop of Dol, Oeuvres de St. François de Sales, XII., Annecy, 1902, 191.

[3] "quae sacerdotum manibus teruntur et regendi ecclesias doctrinam abunde suppeditant"; see Bull. Rom., XII., 643 *seqq.*

[4] EUG. CECCONI, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Kirchenversammlung im Vatikan, edited by MOLITOR, I., 1, Ratisbon, 1873, 298.

[5] This use began in France even during the lifetime of Borromeo in 1579. DEGERT, *loc. cit.* 148; *ibid.* 149 *seqq.* a demonstration of the use of the Milanese constitutions by successive councils.

expressed himself to that effect.[1] In the case of his own archbishopric of Milan the outcome of a synod always meant, in the mind of Borromeo, spiritual renewal for both clergy and people. There the priest must kindle within himself the fire of the love of God and carry it forth to kindle the same fire among his subjects both in the cities and the countryside. For three weeks before the provincial synod, prayer and the approach to the sacraments was urged upon the people; as long as it lasted public prayer was made in the dioceses, sermons and instructions were given to the people, and spiritual exercises to the clergy.[2]

It was not, however, only by his decrees that Borromeo exercised an incalculable influence upon the future, but he was also that wonderful model of a bishop, side by side with whom, as though to complete the picture, must be placed the gentle figure of Francis of Sales.[3] The Council of Trent had laid upon the bishop and placed in his hands the whole work of restoring the Church. It was therefore of an importance that can never be over-rated that in the Cardinal of Milan a man was given to the Church who showed by his own example how the decrees of the Council ought to be carried out in practice, and how much could be accomplished by their full application. That which at first sight appears to be a dead letter in its prescriptions, becomes a living reality in the work of Borromeo He is the model of a Tridentine bishop, in whom the Council becomes a thing of flesh and blood.

The attempt to bring about a radical moral reform was destined to meet with serious difficulties in Borromeo's own

[1] "Porro septem iis in Conventibus (the seventh provincial synod was held by Federico Borromeo in 1609) ad moderandos mores, corrigendos excessus et controversias componendas Deique cultum amplificandum ita affluenter decreta sancita fuere non solum pro eorum temporum conditione, sed provisu in futurum, ut *operae pretium non censuerim*, provinciae coepiscopos ex suis sedibus convocare, maxime vigentibus bellorum suspicionibus." SALA, Docum., I., 563.

[2] SPROTTE, *loc. cit.* 15, 17.

[3] *Cf.* CELIER, St. Charles Borromée, Paris, 1912.

diocese. The archdiocese of Milan was one of the largest in Italy; besides the Duchy of Milan it included part of the territory of Venice, of Monferrato and of the Swiss Alps. It contained 2220 churches, 800 of which had parochial rights, 3200 clergy, 100 monasteries of men and 90 of women, of which latter Borromeo suppressed 20. The population of the whole diocese was estimated at from 800,000 to 900,000 souls. In addition to the archdiocese of Milan Borromeo also had charge of the ecclesiastical province of Milan, which was formed of fifteen large dioceses, and extended over the whole of Monferrato as far as the republic of Venice, and from Piedmont to the republic of Genoa.[1] Ignorance and immorality were prevalent throughout the whole of this vast territory; some priests did not know the formula of absolution, while some of the laity did not even know the Pater Noster; in the churches men talked aloud, danced and stored grain, and dances were held in the convents of nuns; the judicial powers of the Church were almost forgotten, especially in the Swiss part of the archdiocese.[2]

In spite of all this Borromeo did not lose heart for a moment. He held it as an indisputable *a priori* fact that the Catholic Church, as being the work of Christ, must contain in herself the supernatural forces for a complete renewal; therefore unshaken confidence in the efficacy of prayer, of labour and sacrifice for the love of God, formed the foundation of all his efforts for the reformation of his vast archdiocese. Hence too came his constant efforts for his own sanctification; hence the austerity of his life, and his scrupulous care in the choice of the persons who surrounded him.[3] Moreover from the first it was one of his maxims, in strict observance of his

[1] GIUSSANO, l. 2, c. 1, p. 48 *seq.* PIETRO VERRI, Storia di Milano, IV., Milan, 1841, 18. The difficulties which Borromeo met with have recently been well described by ORSENIGO in his Vita di S. Carlo, Milan, 1911.

[2] GIUSSANO, l. 2, c. 1, p. 49 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* c. 2 and 3, pp. 51 *seqq.*, 54 *seqq.* For Giov. Botero, Borromeo's secretary after 1576, *cf.* the monograph by CARLO GIODA. La vita e le opere di Giovanni Botero, 3 vols., Milan, 1895.

obligation of residence, to devote all his powers to his own diocese alone, and, in so far as his duties as archbishop required, to the dioceses dependent on Milan; all other offices he resigned. Thus he resigned, as soon as Gregory XIII. would allow it, the dignities of Grand Penitentiary, of Archpriest of St. Mary Major's, of Protector of the Franciscans, of the Carmelites, of the Roman monastery of S. Marta, of Flanders and of Portugal.[1] When it was intended to appoint him visitor for Savoy, he declined.[2] If he showed so great a zeal for Switzerland, this was owing to his concern for his own diocese, as he feared lest Protestantism should make its way from Switzerland into Milan.

His unwearied labours were blessed with splendid results. To hundreds of priests, in whose case ignorance and the want of a sacerdotal training was the cause of all their defects, a knowledge of their vocation was for the first time brought home by the words and example of their pastor. The bishop took care that their good will should not again fail, and that the incentive and call to a good life should be constantly renewed. He divided his own city as well as the rest of the diocese into six districts, in each of which the parish priests were gathered together into small groups. He appointed the best priests as his representatives at the head of these sections and groups; these he had already found in the archdiocese, or had summoned from elsewhere, with the result that the movements which originated with the bishop were transmitted to the least village parish priest.[3] At periodical meetings the heads of the six districts of the city were made to exchange their experiences in the presence of the archbishop, and suggest plans for a further improvement of the state of affairs. The same thing was done in the case of the Cardinal's representatives in the six divisions of the rest of the diocese. Parish priests were ordered to meet periodically in order to discuss difficult cases of conscience, and thus acquire knowledge.[4]

[1] Bascapè, l. 3, c. 1, p. 58 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* l. 7, c. 23, p. 203b.

[3] Sala, Biografia, 22 *seq.* Giussano, l. 2, c. 4, p. 64.

[4] Acta Eccl. Mediolan., 22 *seq.*, 643 *seqq.*

Borromeo took special pains to secure for his diocese a new generation of trained young priests. Even in the time of Pius IV., although he was kept far from his church by his office of Secretary of State, he had provided by means of Ormaneto for the establishment of a seminary at Milan, according to the intentions of the Council of Trent. When he had founded and endowed this,[1] he was not yet satisfied, and proceeded to establish a whole series of similar institutions;[2] thus there was a seminary to provide him with parish priests for the country population,[3] and another in which persons already advanced in years could by means of a shortened course of studies of two or three years obtain the necessary education, or complete it, if it had been insufficient.[4] There were also two others in which nothing was taught but an elementary course of grammar,[5] and another for boys from the surrounding mountains,[6] who, having been reared in hard circumstances, and forced to pass their lives amid the hardships of their native place, could not be educated amid the refinements of the seminary. A seminary was established at Arona to meet the requirements of the environs of Lake Maggiore and the Swiss borders. After many labours Borromeo succeeded in bringing into existence at Milan a Swiss college, in which youths from both Italian and German Switzerland were trained as good priests.[7] The attempt to

[1] For the revenues of the seminary *cf.* the briefs in SALA, Docum., I., 182 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*

[2] An extract in SALA, Biografia, 25, and in the report of the Archbishop of Milan, Federico Visconti, 1689, in SALA, Docum., I., 551 *seqq.*

[3] "Alla canonica" in Milan; *cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 428.

[4] At S. Giovanni alle Case Rotte.

[5] S. Maria di Celana at Brivio (*cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 412, 443, 473), and S. Maria della Noce.

[6] At Somasca in the Bergamasco; *cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 188, 559, 560.

[7] *Ibid.* 393, 410, *cf.* 175, 180, 219. See also SYLVAIN, III., 14 *seq* Schweiz. Geschichtsfreund, LIV., 118, *Kathol. Schweizerblätter*, 1896. "The love which Charles had for this undertaking

establish a college at Locarno for the Grisons came to nothing; on the other hand one was set up at Ascona, which Gregory XIII. put under the care of the Archbishop of Milan, although it was situated in the diocese of Como.[1]

Just as Borromeo, in his efforts to reform his clergy did not attach the principal importance to disciplinary acts but to instruction and education, so also did he act with regard to the great masses of the population. When he first took possession of his see he found there an undertaking that was of great importance in this respect; in 1536 a zealous priest, Castellino da Castello, had founded there the "schools of Christian doctrine" in which on Sundays and other feast days children and unlettered persons were instructed in the most elementary doctrines of Christianity.[2] Side by side with their religious instruction the pupils in these schools were initiated into the elements of secular knowledge,[3] since the catechisms of that time generally contained on their first pages the letters of the alphabet, so that with their catechism

may be described as enthusiastic, and the time and labour which he devoted to this foundation fills us with wonder. While the Swiss themselves remained inert, and contented themselves with repeating at their meetings what a fine thing it would be if they could set up a Swiss college somewhere, without expense, Charles was working zealously and indefatigably for the foundation and consolidation of the *Helveticum*, just as though he had nothing else to do, and as if he were working for the establishment of a seminary in his own diocese. Except for a donation from the Bishop of Constance, the Swiss did not contribute a farthing towards this work, while St. Charles, on the contrary, begged on all sides for its support." E. WYMANN, Der hl. Karl Borromeo, Stans, 1903, 34.

[1] *Cf.* SALA, Docum., I., 248, 453.

[2] *San Carlo Borromeo*, 148 *seq.*

[3] Castellino is commemorated in this connexion by a marble tablet placed at the corner of the Via Alessandro Manzoni and the Vicolo San Giacomo: "Il sacerdote Castellino da Castello di Menaggio qui fondava nel 1536 la prima scuola elementare festiva pei fanciulli poveri." *Ibid.*

children learned to read.[1] Borromeo supported and encouraged these schools in every way; in the city of Milan in 1595 they contained no less than 20,504 regular pupils,[2] and in 1571 he wrote that the institute was so useful that in his opinion nothing had brought so many blessings to his diocese as this.[3]

In enumerating all these seminaries and schools we have by no means spoken of all the services of Borromeo to the education and training of youth; we have already spoken of his unwearied labours in works of charity. For the benefit of studious youths he founded in the university of Pavia the Collegio Borromeo, at Milan the Collegio de' Nobili, after the model of the German college in Rome at that time,[4] the college of the Jesuits of the Brera with lectures on humanistic subjects, philosophy and theology, and a college of Theatines. He built a professed house for the Jesuits at Milan, a noviciate in his native place, Arona, a splendid residence for his cathedral chapter, and a convent for the Capuchins in Milan. There was also a hosiptal for mendicants, a house of refuge for penitent women, and another for girls in danger.[5] He provided a house at Milan for the society of secular priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, which Borromeo had founded as an association on the lines of a religious order. He also took a decisive part in the reorganization of the internal affairs of the Barnabites

[1] *Ibid.* 196.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Et è di tanta utilità quest' opera delle Scuole Cristiane il giorno di festa, che per me non so vedere qual altra cosa abbia fatto tanto frutto in questa mia Diocesi, quanto questa." To the nuncio in Spain (Castagna), November 2, 1571, *ibid.* 145.

[4] "Si è instituito un collegio ad imitatione del Germanico di Roma per aiuto de' figliuoli nobili." Borromeo to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, March 24, 1574, in SALA, Docum., III., 13. The Swiss college too was established on the model of the Germanicum (MAYER, II., 60 *seq.*); in some letters to Borromeo it is described as: "Collegio Germanico nuovamente instituito in Milano." WYMANN, Der heil. Karl Borromeo, 110, *cf.* 156.

[5] *Cf. San Carlo Borromeo,* 199, where there is a picture of Borromeo surrounded by engravings of 26 of his institutions.

and Ursulines, in the introduction of the Capuchins into Switzerland,[1] as well as in establishing a number of colleges of Jesuits in Italy.[2]

The boundless energy and love of work of Borromeo were not exhausted even by all these foundations, and indeed it may be said of him that his episcopal activities were as wide as the Catholic Church herself; this is proved by the enormous correspondence which he carried on, and which is still preserved in the Ambrosian Library in three hundred folio volumes.[3] All classes, all ranks, from the Emperor down to the least correspondent in the Swiss country-side, from the Pope to the poor seminarist, may be found among the writers of these letters and documents; in the archbishopric of Milan, in the Ticino and the Valtellina, there were but few places from which letters did not come; while there are others from Madrid and Lisbon, from Paris and London, from Amsterdam and Cologne, from Vienna and Prague, from Cracow and Vilna, from Malta and Cairo.[4] These letters were systematically dealt with by the archbishop in person, and the replies dispatched in accordance with his instructions.[5]

All who give a little time to the examination of this mass of letters, written from a soul and heart all on fire and consumed by zeal, must be struck with wonder,[6] and their amazement

[1] WYMANN, *loc. cit.* 25-33, 78, 148 *seqq.* MAYER, II., 216 *seqq.*

[2] SALA, Biografia, 24.

[3] WYMANN, *loc. cit.*, 7-15.

[4] *Ibid.* 12 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 8.

[6] "The correspondence on the whole gives an exceedingly favourable impression, and brings out the zeal and labours of St. Charles in a brilliant light" (WYMANN, 9). "The correspondence preserved at the Ambrosiana is the most striking and eloquent testimony to the complete sacrifice of Charles of himself to the Roman Church, a service which absorbed all his powers, and unfortunately wore him out all too soon" (*Ibid.* 10). "These papers speak too plainly for any denial to be possible to-day of the fact that Charles had acquired a world-wide position" (*Ibid.* 12). "Mille argomenti unici nel genere vi si veggono sviluppati

will be all the greater when they bear in mind that all this correspondence must have been personally supervised at the very time when Borromeo was deeply occupied with interviews and visits, with his many sermons and instructions, with the preparation of his seventeen councils, with the visitation of his own and other dioceses, and above all, with the current busines of his episcopal administration. To have accomplished such an enormous amount of work would be quite incomprehensible, if we did not know that Borromeo, during the latter years of his life, only devoted a few hours to sleep,[1] and that for him the days were doubled in length, so many were the hours that he devoted to work in comparison to others. By means of the increasing austerity of his life, which he continued to add to until the end, it[2] seemed to those who knew him that he had attained so marvellous a dominion over sensible things, as to have an almost unlimited power over himself.[3]

The results of his unwearied labours in Milan were wonderfully great, though he too was greatly assisted by the conditions of the times. The Council of Trent, the provincial

nella specie in svariati modi, con diversi indirizzi con una moltiplicità di artificio da fare sbalordire. Vi si ammira concentrata un'attività biologica prodigiosa, un fuoco intenso di affretata combustione, un delirio di operosità, di versitilità d'ingegno e di volere, ri da far ripetere quella gran domanda che faceva Don Abbondio: 'Chi era costui?'" ZERBI in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1891, 81. According to Zerbi the correspondence in the Ambrosiana includes 268 volumes; BASCAPÈ (l. 7, c. 25, p. 208a) says: "Pii et religioso viti ex omni parte ad eum potissimum, quaecunque acciderent, tamquam ad rerum divinarum salutariumque vigilantissimum custodem procuratoremque diligentissimum omnia deferebant." For Botero, one of Borromeo's many secretaries, and a celebrated scholar of his time, *cf.* C. GIODA, La vita e le opere di Giovanni Botero, 3 vols. Milan, 1895; also *Anal. Boll.*, XIV (1895), 348.

[1] BASCAPÈ l. 7, c. 2, p. 172b.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 171b.

[3] An example of what he was able to accomplish, *ibid.* l. 6, c. 6, p. 159b.

council of 1565, the pontificate of a saintly Pope like Pius V., all these things helped to raise up so extraordinary a man as Borromeo, as well as to give rise in Milan to the conviction that a new era had begun, and that everyone was bound to prove himself worthy definitely to break with the mistakes of the past.[1] Even during his lifetime Borromeo had the reputation of being a saint. During his stay in Rome for the jubilee of 1575, many knelt before him in the public streets as he passed by,[2] and on his later visits to Rome the people ran down the streets to see him.[3] In a letter sent to Germany from the Eternal City in 1577 he is described as a second St. Ambrose.[4] Posterity has bestowed upon him the noble title of "model of Catholic bishops."[5]

[1] Thus Borromeo himself wrote on April 17, 1566, to Bonhomini: "Mi reca consolazione indicibile il rilevare la docilità e la deferenza de' miei Milanesi nel ricevere qualunque mia osservazione ed in ispecie la loro buona volontà ed il loro rispetto a mio riguardo. Sopratutto mi conforta il vederli persuasi, come essi sono, che in seguito al Concilio di Trento ed al Provinciale, mentre governa la Chiesa un Pontefice si santo ed io pure mi adopero al uopo con tutte le forze, da tutti ormai si debba abbracciare una vita nuova." *San Carlo Borromeo*, 134.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 3, p. 68a.

[3] *Ibid.* l. 5, c. 7, p. 124b, 125a. Odescalchi remarks in his *letter of September 12, 1579, that Borromeo had declined the invitation of the Pope to take up his residence in his palace: "Si è ritirato ad habitare al suo titolo S. Prassede assai bassamente; in fatti si vede che questo signor non est de hoc mundo." On September 19, 1579, Odescalchi writes of Borromeo: "E stato visitato da tutta questa corte come se fosse un santo et è andato alle 7 chiese dicendo sempre orationi, salmi e corone." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the notes in the *Diarium of Mucantius, on December 24, 1579, Papal Secret Archives; also the *Avvisi di Roma of September 16, 19, and 30, and October 7, 1579, and of January 23, 1580, Urb. 1047 and 1048, Vatican Library.

[4] Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadt, 1577.

[5] "Forma pastorum." Paul V. in the bull of canonization.

In some of the principal difficulties which bishops of post-Tridentine times met with in the fulfilment of their office, they leant to a great extent upon his example. After the XVIth century there came the beginnings of the rise of the modern state, which little by little absorbed into its own hands a number of rights which hitherto had been considered the indisputable heritage of the family or of the Church; the desire to live in peace with the secular authorities duly appointed by God, and the wish not to antagonize the powers by useless disputes, and thus make the position of the Church worse, became henceforward an increasingly grave source of anxiety to conscientious bishops. The Archbishop of Milan, with matchless courage, fought these battles and carried off the palm of victory under circumstances in which even his friends had thought the day was lost.

An example of what was happening was to be found in the case of the disputes with the well-intentioned governor, Albuquerque (died 1571).[1] Luigi de Requesens (1572-1573) as governor carried the matter so far that Borromeo publicly excommunicated him because he had haughtily claimed possession of the town of Arona, the family seat of the Borromei, to surround the archbishop's palace with troops, and to intercept and open Borromeo's correspondence. The excommunication made the greatest impression in Milan; the nobles refused to accompany the governor, the working classes no longer doffed their hats to him, and the foreign ambassadors broke off their relations with the excommunicated man.[2] Fortunately Requesens' appointment as viceroy of the Low Countries, and his departure from Milan extricated him from his difficult position.

During the time of Requesens the strained relations had gone so far as to amount to real hatred of the Cardinal, but

[1] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 22 *seq.*

[2] See the documents relating to the dispute in SALA, Docum., II., 23-69, and the report of Borromeo sent to Rome to Speciani, Castelli, and Galli, *ibid.* III., 448-536, to Philip II., *ibid.* 479 *seq.*, 490 *seq.*, to Gregory XIII. *ibid.* 499, 527. *Cf.* SYLVAIN, II., 65 *seqq.*

under his successor, the truculent Marquis Ayamonte, they went beyond all bounds. The latter set to work to destroy the good name of the archbishop at Madrid, in Rome, and among his own subjects, and to get him removed from his office. Even on the occasion of his first visit, he received the Cardinal in the antecamera without ceremony, and openly, before all who were present, told him his views on the subject of the disputes which were still unsettled.[1] After this he worked openly to counteract the reforms of the bishop.[2] When, for example, Borromeo wished to remove the abuse by which Lent began on the Monday instead of the Sunday, as laid down by the Ambrosian rite, the viceroy at once proclaimed a tournament for that Sunday, on that occasion within his rights, and when the bishop forebade attendance at this function under paid of excommunication, Ayamonte organized on successive festival days entertainments which were deemed incompatible with the spirit of Lent.[3] Workmen were summoned to Milan from the smaller cities, in order to browbeat them by threats into declaring themselves against the government of Borromeo.[4] They were ever on the watch to find an opportunity of sending unfavourable reports to Madrid and Rome.[5] The governor formally compelled the senators of Milan in 1579 to send an embassy to Rome to complain of

[1] Borromeo to Castelli, October 17, 1573, in SALA, Docum. III., 528. The point of view of Ayamonte: Ha mostrato di non haver a pensare nè all' officio mio, nè ad altro, se non a quello che gli parerà servitio del suo Re, dicendo in spetie che a questi tempi non s'ha tanto da guardare a quel che voglione i Canoni, et che se gli altri vescovi non si curano di servar questi Canoni non me ne devo curar ne anch' io. *Ibid.* 529.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 109 *seqq.* SYLVAIN, II., 202 *seqq.* The account of the Milanese controversies in ROTA (La reazione cattolica a Milano, in *Bollett. stor. Pavese*, VI. [1906], 46 *seq.*), apart from the completely biassed views, contains nothing new that calls for remark.

[3] SYLVAIN, II., 215 *seqq.*

[4] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 110.

[5] *Ibid.*

Borromeo.[1] Naturally most of the heads of the accusation were of no great importance. Borromeo, for example, was accused because he had claimed that in the country places on festival days there should not take place those dances, which distracted people from the sacred functions and led to many murders ;[2] he was accused of having prevented tournaments and such things during the time of the functions ; of having closed the side doors of the cathedral at Milan because the church was being used as a thoroughfare. The complaints of the senators were supported by the Spanish ambassador in Rome.[3]

As time went on it became more and more apparent that the archbishop was to be made the object of incessant accusations. Philip II., in a moment of ill-temper, said that he would unite with the Pope in removing this disturbing element from his office.[4] To the accusations brought forward by the Spanish ambassador Borromeo caused reply to be made in Rome that he did not make his ordinances after the fashion of Spain and Venice, where men had no idea of the liberties of the Church, but in accordance with the ancient canons and councils.[5] Nevertheless, even among the friends of reform, a doubt sprang up whether Borromeo was not going too far in his attempt to revive in the XVIth century the ecclesiastical customs of the ancient canons and councils, and whether, for example, it was wise under the existing conditions to run the risk of antagonizing the King of Spain by excommunicating his officials. To some it seemed that Borromeo intended with exaggerated severity to lay upon the masses of the people as a matter of obligation what was only intended as a counsel of

[1] The instructions for the envoys in FORMENTINI, La dominazione Spagnuola in Lombardia, 486 *seq.* ; *ibid.* 491 *seq.*, also the reports of the envoys.

[2] SALA, Docum., II., 77.

[3] SYLVAIN, II., 212. Writings in defence of Borromeo, *ibid.* 221 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 207.

[5] *Ibid.* 212.

perfection.[1] When a Jesuit, Giulio Mazzarini, went so far as to criticize publicly from the pulpit, in Milan itself, whether directly or indirectly, some of the ordinances of the archbishop[2] it is easy to understand that such views were held by many others as well. Even in Rome the continued accusations and threats gradually made a similar impression.

During this controversy Borromeo continued to send detailed reports on the subject to his representative in Rome, and protested that he was ready to submit unconditionally to the decision of the Pope, even if it meant his giving up the episcopal privileges which he had hitherto held.[3] Gregory XIII. had from the first charged Borromeo to defend the rights of his own church by all ordinary means.[4] But he gradually became more reserved in what he said, and the esteem in which Borromeo was held grew less and less in Rome.[5] His fourth provincial council, which he had sent

[1] *Cf.* the letter from the confessor of Philip II., the Dominican Diego Chaves, to Borromeo, August 31, 1580, in SALA, Docum., II., 87 *seqq.* See also the report of the Milanese envoys from Rome, January 23, 1580, in FORMENTINI, *loc. cit.* 493.

[2] "Religiosioris item ordinis nonnulli aliqua ex parte consenserunt, Caroli studiis atque operibus non obscure detrahentes et causam adversariorum probantes, etc." BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 1, p. 111a; *cf.* SALA, Docum., II., 73; SYLVAIN, II., 226.

[3] Io per la parte mia conforme a quello che dissi già a Vostra Santità a Roma, . . . quando ella . . . mi diede per resolutione ch'io diffendessi con le vie legitime le sue raggioni e possessioni: così li dico di nuovo che s' ella giudica honor di Dio ch' io ceda, perda, rimetta o patisca ogni cosa in questa giurisdittione faro sempre l' obbedienza. Thus he wrote to Gregory XIII. as early as September 15, 1573, SALA, Docum., III., 500; *cf.* Bascapè to Philip II., 1580, *ibid.* II., 70.

[4] See preceding note.

[5] Interea contentiones adversus Carolum susceptae totoque hoc temporis spatio continuatae res eius tantum in discrimen et invidiam adduxerant, ut nihil fere amplius actorum eius Romae defendi posse quibusdam videretur. . . . Aures vix demum Ecclesiae principes multi sine fastidio Caroli procuratoribus dabant. Eius existimatio, quod ad iudicium prudentiamque

to Rome for confirmation, failed, even after a long delay, to secure the approval asked for.[1] No one, however, ever doubted his zeal or his prudence. It was rumoured that the Cardinal was hated by the people of Milan, that the king was working for his removal, that he would soon be leaving for Rome and would not return. It was widely held to be impossible that he could continue his work of reform in Milan in the way he had so far adopted. Public opinion in Rome was so much against him that the ordinances issued by the "zealot" in Milan found hardly anyone to defend them, and his representatives met with hardly any support. Borromeo himself brought to the Pope's ears the complaint that sometimes he had to defend his enactments like an accused man before a judge.[2] In his own archdiocese, the continued hostility of the civil authorities had the effect of arousing a spirit of opposition and insubordination which seemed likely to imperil all that Borromeo, in the work of years, had done for the moral improvement of his diocese.[3] The report that Gregory XIII. did not approve of the conduct of the archbishop told in the same direction. Together with the appeal to the Pope there came a revival of the dances which Borromeo had almost entirely banned, with the consequence that there

pertineret, suspensa neque mediocriter apud multos erat extenuata. . . . Omnino ita inclinatum videbatur totum de disciplina restituenda negotium, ut ad felices exitus posthac erigi unquam posse plerique desperarent. BASCAPÈ l. 5, c. 7, p. 123. GIUSSANO, l. 6, c. 1, p. 369 f.

[1] SYLVAIN, I., 443 *seqq.* It was Cardinal Montalto who examined it. SALA, Docum., II., 200, n. 182.

[2] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 123b. GIUSSANO, *loc. cit.*, p. 370. *Cf.* the very respectful and candid letter of Borromeo to the Pope on July 7, 1579, in LUCA BELTRAMI, La Roma di Gregorio XIII. negli Avvisi alla Corte Sabauda (Nozze Boncompagni-Borromeo), Milan, 1917, xv *seq.*

[3] Si era eccitato un tale spirito di contraddittione et disobedienza, che infino da' particolari non solo laici, ma ecclesiastici ancora et monache si contradiceva ad ogni ordinatione, che facesse il Cardinale contra suo gusto et mandavano a Roma. Bascapè to Philip II., in SALA, Docum., II., 72.

were fifty murders[1] within a period of three or four months; every insubordinate nun thought to excuse her disobedience to the bishop by the opinions of the Pope.[2] Speciani saw that Borromeo's only course was to present himself in Rome, and deal with the matter in person.[4]

Borromeo came to Rome, and contrary to all expectations, his coming turned into a complete triumph for him. At his approach, and while he was still a mile from the Bridge of St. Angelo, the streets were thronged with people. Prelates and nobles who a little time before had held themselves coldly aloof from him, vied with each other in saluting him and seeking an audience; the Pope himself invited him to the apostolic palace.[4] It was not long before he was able, through his vicar general, Nicolò Galerio, to renew all his ordinances, which had been so bitterly attacked, concerning plays and dances, festivities and feast days, and the closing of the side doors of the cathedral.[5] Borromeo triumphantly defended his fourth provincial synod, which the Pope himself examined, against the objections that had been raised, and was able to secure it

[1] *Ibid.* 77. BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7, p. 123a. SYLVAIN, II., 224. Gregory XIII. had actually pronounced with greater leniency than the Cardinal on the subject of dances. SALA, Docum., II., 194, n. 71. Other various opinions, *ibid.* n. 74.

[2] See *supra* 99, n. 3

[3] BASCAPÈ, p. 123b. GIUSSANO, p. 370.

[4] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7 *seq.*, p. 125a, 126a. "Nell' arrivar qui volse allogiare a S. Prassede suo titula senza nessuna sorte d'addobamenti, ma il Pontefice il giorno seguente, che fu all' audientia lo ritenne in Palazzo, per maggior commodità, disse, di quei che l'haverebbero visitato, et egli se ne contentò; ma il quarto giorno fornite che furono le visite, volse ritornarsene al primo alloggiamente. . . . Avanti hieri ci ando [to the Papal villa] anco il cardinal Borromeo, chiamato da Sua Beatitudine, con la quale sta spesso in longhissimi ragionamenti." Thus the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Corraro, in SALA, Docum., II., 470. A contemporary account of the stay of Borromeo at Loreto during his journey to Rome, 1579, in *San Carlo Borromeo*, 458.

[5] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 8, p. 126b.

against all further attacks by means of the Papal approbation.[1]

No one could have expected such a result. Even during the journey of Charles to Rome, when he had stayed for a few days at Camaldoli, it was rumoured that he had lost confidence in his cause and was about to become a Camaldolese,[2] and it was often predicted that he would never return to Milan.[3] In spite of this, Ayamonte thought it necessary to send a fresh embassy to Rome to renew the old accusations. But as soon as it arrived it was struck dumb by the news that Borromeo was on the point of returning to his see, and that all further discussion was quite useless.[4] The joy with which he was received in Milan[5] on his return gave the lie to all the stories that had so persistently been spread about, that he was hated by his own people, while the good-will with which Milan, a few days later, observed the first Sunday of Lent in the way desired by Borromeo, was a splendid refutation of the accusation that he was aiming at things far beyond anything that ordinary Christians could or would do. It is a case, the archbishop had written to Madrid,[6] of things that gave occasion

[1] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7, p. 126a. SALA, Docum., II., 208, n. 314.

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7, p. 124b. "With them [the Camaldolese] he remained in private for six days, apart from his retinue." CORRARO, *loc. cit.*

[3] "che senza fallo anderebbe a Roma, ne gli saria concesso più di ritornar a Milano." GIUSSANO, 370.

[4] BASCAPÈ, l. 5, c. 7, p. 126 *seq.*

[5] Incredibile est, quantum gaudii et iucunditatis invisus ille dictus et intolerabilis adventu suo excitaverit in universa civitate, etc. *Ibid.* c. 8, p. 128.

[6] *Ibid.* c. 11, p. 137a.—Pare ad alcuni, ch'io costringa questi popoli a cose de perfettione, non permettendo balli, etc. . . . Ma quando anco queste fossero opere di perfettione, se per via di diligenza et sollicitudine le potessi introdurre nel popolo, non però dovrei lasciar di farlo, nè potrei senza gravissimo peccato; imperocchè se Iddio mi ha fatto gratia di un popolo buono, facile et ben disposto al bene più di quanti io habbia mai conosciuto, io son tenuto a secondare la sua buona opinione. Borromeo to the confessor of Philip II., in SALA, Docum. II., 91.

to many interminable disputes, to sins of the flesh, to hated, feuds and murder: but on the other hand he knew the good people of Milan, and what he could ask of them. That it was a fact that the people were filled with good will was now made clear to the eyes of all. On the other hand the behaviour of Ayamonte is quite incomprehensible, for he, on the very third Sunday of Lent, which had been so hotly disputed, once again organized his tournament, so that the sounds of the trumpets penetrated into the cathedral, not, it is true, with the result of attracting many spectators, but so as to disturb the sermon of the archbishop.[1] Not long afterwards Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to the people of Milan, in which the conduct of the archbishop was completely justified.[2] In taking his leave Borromeo had been told by the Pope to defend the rights of his church without waiting to consult Rome.[3] At the end of April, 1580, the viceroy died,[4] but Borromeo did not allow this occurrence to move him from his intention, made long before, of explaining to the King of Spain, by means of a secret envoy, all that had happened at Milan, and the story of his controversies with the viceroy. His choice for this difficult task fell upon the Barnabite, Carlo Bascapè, who was successful in obtaining the most favourable results from Philip II.[5] The new governors, Guevara y Padilla (1580-1583) and Carlos di Aragona, Duke of Terranueva, maintained in Milan full agreement between the civil and ecclesiastical powers.[6]

It was during the disputes with Ayamonte that there occurred that event which brought out in the most splendid light the generosity of Borromeo, and which probably has, more than anything else, made his name so famous; this was

[1] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 9, p. 129b.

[2] Giussano, l. 6, c. 4, p. 390 *seq.*

[3] Sylvain, II., 248.

[4] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 9, p. 130 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* c. 11, pp. 132-40. Giussano, l. 6, c. 9, p. 408 *seqq.* *Cf.* the documents concerning this mission in Sala, Docum., II., 70-94.

[6] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 1, p. 141 *seq.*

the great plague at Milan.[1] It is characteristic of Ayamonte that not once did the heroic self-sacrifice of the archbishop succeed in making him speak kindly of him ; on the contrary, some of the things which Borromeo did at that time, with the best intention, were taken by him as being usurpations of the civil power.

The renewal of friendly relations with the new governor, Terranueva, made it possible for the unwearied champion of the Church to turn his attention to the Alpine districts in the north of Italy.[2] Ignorance of religion, errors in matters of faith and immorality, were flagrantly rife there, as well as witchcraft ; those districts were a safe place of refuge for the Italian speaking heretics ; Italy was threatened by a constant danger lest Protestantism should make its way thence throughout the whole peninsula. On the occasion of his last journey to Rome, in 1582, Borromeo brought this state of affairs under discussion, and he was accordingly appointed apostolic visitor, especially for the Misox valley, and was given for that place a kind of personal mission in which he was to be assisted by certain Jesuits.[3] Death prevented him from erecting in the Grisons the great barrier against the advance of the heretics, which he had hoped to produce there.

In spite of the austerity of his life, Borromeo had attained to the years of his father, and had survived his elder brother, and his sister who was much younger than he.[4] Presentiment warned him that for him too would soon strike the hour of his departure; there will be nothing to be surprised at, he said, if my life should come to an end. Man of zeal as he was, he continued to devote himself to the duties of his office, but his

[1] *Cf.* the *description in App. n. 32.

[2] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 4 *seq.*, pp. 149-156.

[3] *Ibid.* Sprotte, 12. For the witches who were handed over to the secular arm and burned on the occasion of the visitation, *cf.* Cantù, Eretici, II., 387. For a magician who tried to discover witches by magic arts, *cf.* the letter of Borromeo in Sala, Docum., II., 420, n. 47.

[4] Bascapè, l. 6, c. 6, p. 159a.

thoughts were turned, more than ever and in a higher degree, to eternity, and to union with God in prayer.[1]

The thought of the Passion of Christ and of His death and burial, became the favourite subjects of his meditations, and in order to give himself up entirely to these, he retired in the middle of October, 1584, to the so-called Monte Santo near Varallo, which, by means of allegorical representations of the scenes of the Passion, set up in a number of chapels, had been transformed by the devotion of a Franciscan into a memorial of Calvary and a much frequented sanctuary.[2] There he daily devoted six hours to meditation ;[3] on one occasion, during the night, he passed eight hours in unbroken prayer, and the time passed so quickly for him that he thought they had put the clocks forward in order to deceive him.[4] On October 28th he left Varallo, in order to open the college at Ascona, and on November 1st he intended to keep the feast of All Saints in his own city. But a violent fever, which had already attacked him several times at Varallo, returned, so that by October 31st he had only reached Arona. There on the feast of All Saints, at the Jesuit noviciate, he said mass for the last time, and on November 2nd he arrived in Milan.[5] Immediately his illness increased so much that the doctors gave up hopes of his recovery, and in the evening of November 3rd a peaceful death took him to eternal rest.[6] "A light has been extinguished

[1] "Libenter alioqui per id tempus frequentiam fugiebat et in remotiora loca discedebat, negotiorum se molestiis subtrahens, ut sacris studiis divinisque contemplationibus vacaret." *Ibid.* p. 160a.

[2] *Ibid.* c. 7, p. 161a, GIUSSANO, l. 7, c. 11, p. 480 *seqq.* *San Carlo Borromeo*, 448 *seqq.*, 454 *seqq.* KNELLER, Geschichte der Kreuzwegandacht, Freiburg, 1908, 22 *seqq.*

[3] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 161b.

[4] *Ibid.* 162a.

[5] *Cf.* SPROTTE, 14 ; SYLVAIN, III., 358 *seqq.*

[6] BASCAPÈ, *loc. cit.*, p. 163 *seqq.* Contemporary accounts of his death and the impression it made, in *San Carlo Borromeo*, 517 *seq.*, 525 *seq.* ; *Arch. stor. Ital.*, XXV., 126 ; CRIT. SCOTTO, Epicedium, Milan, 1584 ; new edition, *ibid.* 1823. "L'ultima

in Israel,"[1] exclaimed Gregory XIII. at the unexpected news of the death of this man who had been so venerated both by him and his contemporaries.[2]

lettera di S. Carlo Borromeo" in *Bollett.* della *Svizzera Ital.*, XXVI. (1904), 56 *seq.* The tomb of the holy bishop in the underground chapel in front of the High Altar in Milan Cathedral is thus described by KLIMCH (Italiens berühmte Städte, I., 183 *seq.*) : "The body of the saint is entirely preserved, as was proved at the examination carried out at Corpus Domini in 1910. The flesh and skin are dried up as in a mummy. To this day the posture is wonderfully beautiful, as though the dead man were rapt in prayer. Dressed in splendid pontifical vestments, there lie the mortal remains of the great archbishop, in a precious casket of silver designed by Cerrano and the gift of King Philip IV. of Spain. On his breast are two precious pectoral crosses. The older of these, the chain of which is formed of links of gold with many precious stones, bears on the cross-bar the name of Jesus, and on the other the name of Mary, each composed of 33 diamonds. The latter cross is the gift of the Cardinal of Milan, Cardinal Ferrari. Above the mitre, which is loaded with precious stones, there is suspended from the top of the casket a gold crown adorned with pearls, a gift from his treasury by the Prince-Elector, Charles Theodore of Bavaria. It is said to be the work of Cellini, and according to the inscription (A.Q.D. B.M.V. or "Albertus Quintus Dux Bavariae Mariae Virgini") was a votive offering to the Madonna from Albert V. Duke of Bavaria. The right hand still bears the ring with which the saint was buried, while on the left may be seen two gold rings with cameos (graceful works of art, one of which represents Pius VI.). About eighty large and small lamps of engraved rock crystal throw so good a light upon the saint in his rich vestments that it is quite easy to see." *Cf.* also FELL, Mailänder Dom, Ratisbon, 1910.

[1] BASCAPÈ, l. 6, c. 9, p. 169 a.

[2] GIUSSANO, l. 7, c. 16-18, p. 504 *seqq.* WYMANN, San Carlo Borromeo, 284 *seqq.* The Swiss parish-priest Seb. Werro (of Freiburg) wrote of him in 1581 : "Cardinalis ipse, etsi multa de illo vulgo ferantur, longe tamen sanctius vivit, ut fama minimam adhuc partem de illo referat. . . . Secretiora neque cubicularii deprehendere possunt, ut existiment, maiora esse et diviniora, quae arcana ipse in abscondito cum Deo agit."

It is a fact that Borromeo is still to this day a light in the Church, on account of his ordinances in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline as well as of his splendid example. Among his contemporaries his name was identified with reform;[1] if anyone wished to draw a picture of a reformer of the Church, it would surely take the form of Borromeo. By the magnitude of the plans which he set before himself, by the burning zeal with which he carried them out, by his courage and constancy, by his readiness to spend himself in his labours, he stands second to none as a reformer of the Church; what stands out above all in him is his complete disinterestedness in the fulfilment of his duties and his absolute sacrifice of his own personality, and of his own wishes and inclinations before the magnitude of his task. His own interests were ignored as soon as his duty was clearly presented to him, or at the utmost only lightly manifested themselves. This was to be seen even when he was a young student at Pavia, amid the enjoyments and allurements of the frivolous university city. It was to be seen even more when he was a young Cardinal; all the enjoyments of the capital of the world lay open to him, and he had but to stretch out his hand to take them; but on the contrary, he laboured from morning to night like the least artisan who has to earn his daily bread, and even in his work he did not follow out his own wishes and ideas, but the orders and desires of his uncle. As a bishop he had no other aim than to die entirely to himself in order to live for nothing but his great duties. His only recreation was prayer, to which he devoted himself for long hours whenever he could find the time, but even in this he showed himself always ready, at the first summons of his episcopal duties, to sacrifice this one happiness.

WYMANN in *Zeitscrift für schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, II. (1908), 133 *seq.* Jakob Burckhardt clearly expressed in his historical teaching, his admiration for Borromeo, as one of his pupils told me: "Charles might have been Pope; he preferred to become a saint, and did so."

[1] "Qui [in Rome] è da molti ammirato più tosto che veduto volontieri, mettendo spavento, con la sua presenza, di qualche riforma." Corraro, in SALA, Docum., II., 470.

The austerity of his life, on the other hand, his vigils and fasts, gradually increased to such an extent that a hermit of the desert could hardly have surpassed him, and few surpassed him very much.[1] Too strongly perhaps, but with perfect truth, the Franciscan Panigarola said in Borromeo's funeral oration that Charles had enjoyed no more of his own wealth than a dog enjoys of the riches of his master, namely a little water, bread and straw.[2] It may be added that this austerity was of great value to Borromeo as a reformer, in the difficulties of his position; it proved to all who had eyes to see that the archbishop neither sought for nor desired anything on earth for himself, and that, for example, in his disputes with the governor, his motive was not, as was thought, any ambition to increase his own power, but only a consciousness of his duty.[3]

Like his intentions, so too the measures taken by Borromeo in his work of reform always bore the imprint of disinterestedness. Although he was everywhere recognized as a master and teacher in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and his advice was sought by the Pope himself, he never made any display, or sought to enforce his own ideas and wishes. In his work as a reformer he was guided and inspired by the decrees of the Council of Trent; he submitted himself to these absolutely; and whenever he found himself obliged to go further than what had been laid down in the decrees of the Council, he was careful to support his point of view by the witness of the Fathers of the Church and the ancient councils. It cannot be wondered at, then, that his reverence

[1] Some little known traits in WYMANN, San Carlo Borromeo, 108 *seqq.*

[2] BASCAPÈ, l. 7, c. 3, p. 173b.

[3] Bascapè emphasized this point of view before the King of Spain: "che faccia le sue cose con intentione diritta et indirizzata a Dio solo, et che non si mova per passione, nè per qual si voglia riguardo humano, credo che si possa hormai tener per certo, se si può fare argumento dalla vita et dalle attioni sue, et dall'haver fatto la rinuntia, che ha fatta al mondo et a tutti i suoi beni et commodità." SALA, Docum., II., 74.

for the traditions of the past gave their characteristic power to his labours. It was inevitable in the XVIth century that new methods should have been adopted at times, even in ecclesiastical affairs ; but Borromeo never was in any danger of being misinterpreted or misunderstood.[1] The decrees of his provincial councils could never have attained their lasting importance if they had not sprung from the age-long experience of the Church, and carried it to its logical conclusion.

Thus the Cardinal of Milan, by the inflexible consistency of his character, stands before his contemporaries and posterity[2] as one of those great men who sacrifice all in order to gain all, who renounce the world and by their very renunciation obtain unlimited influence over the world. With the exception of the founder of the Jesuits no other personality has had so deep and lasting an influence upon Catholic regeneration as Charles Borromeo. Just as his gigantic statue near Arona, like an apostle bestowing his blessing, looks out over the expanse of one of the finest views in Italy, so from his yet greater grandeur of spirit there still flows to-day a wave of benediction. Among the heroic figures of the Church of the XVIth century, he is one of the greatest ; for long he will be its legislator, and he will be her example for ever ; he stands as a milestone in the history of the Church, at the boundary line between two epochs, the dying Renaissance and the triumphant Catholic reform.

[1] The Jansenists appeal to him in support of their rigorism, but quite wrongly, as Pope Innocent XI. wrote. DEGERT in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Toulouse, 1912, 211 *seq.*

[2] A special admirer of Charles Borromeo was Francis of Sales, who is associated with him by Celier at the end of his beautiful work, St. Charles Borromée (Paris, 1912).

CHAPTER III

Progress of the Religious Orders.—Reform of the Carmelites by Teresa of Jesus.

In an ordinance which he gave to the Camaldolese[1] Gregory XIII. gave a proof of the way in which from the very beginning of his pontificate he turned his attention to the restoration of discipline among the religious Orders. The efforts of Pius V. to formulate and further the legislation of the Council of Trent in this respect were continued with all zeal by his successor. The intentions of Pius V. concerning the difficult question as to how the rights of the mendicant orders and the secular clergy were to be mutually accommodated, had been, according to his own confession in his edicts, misunderstood.[2] Gregory XIII. now set himself to settle this question in accordance with the ideas of his predecessor, and in the meantime declared that none but the ordinances of the Council of Trent had any authority, and revoked all concessions which went beyond those ordinances.[3]

Gregory was filled with the very proper conviction that nothing was of greater importance to the religious Orders than to consolidate in every possible way their fundamental principle of obedience.[4] He therefore took special pains to

[1] Of April 8, 1573, Bull. Rom., VIII., 256.

[2] "ut qui interdum conqueretur, multa aliter alioque sensu a se prolata fuisse, quam litteris expressa essent." Bull. Rom., VIII., 40.

[3] March 1, 1573, *ibid.* 39 *seqq.* For the question of precedence among the mendicant Orders see the Brief of July 25, 1583, *ibid.* 429.

[4] "Nihil in unaquaque religiosa familia . . . aeque arbitramur esse utile, quam supremam in eisdem auctoritatem gerentibus, omni contentione exclusa, ea quae decet reverentia universos parere." *Ibid.* 66.

see that the government of the Orders should be in good hands. In this matter he did not allow himself to be deterred even by the fiercest attacks. The Camaldolese had become so reduced in numbers that they could not adequately fill all the principal offices in the Order, and they had to submit to a Papal ordinance which at one stroke removed the new superiors, and united the houses over which they had hitherto presided to other houses.[1] He did the same thing in the case of the Hermits of St. Jerome, a congregation of only 160 monks, among whom, as a result of the short term of office of the superiors, there had entered a strong spirit of ambition for office and dignities. Gregory removed all the superiors of the congregation and gave them new ones.[2] Disobedient monks who dared, against the commands of their superiors, to obtain the opinion of canonists,[3] or to appeal to secular judges,[4] experienced the severity of the Pope, as was shown in the case of those who had obtained office in the Order through the influence of secular or ecclesiastical princes. "Nothing does greater harm to the discipline of the Orders," he wrote to the Dominicans,[5] "than seeking the protection of externs; superiors of Orders ought not to allow themselves to be influenced in any way by such recommendations, even when they come from Cardinals or from the Emperor; anyone who has obtained office in this way ought to be deprived of it, and rendered incapable of receiving it in the future." In the case of the Olivetans such striving to obtain recommendations from externs was prohibited under pain of excommunication.[6] A whole series

[1] Of April 8, 1579, *ibid.* 256.

[2] May 26, 1574, *ibid.* 69 *seq.* *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi of March 6, April 26, June 12, July 17, and September 28, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Edict of April 17, 1574, to the Cassinese Congregation, Bull. Rom., VIII., 66.

[4] Edict of April 8, 1575, to the Order of Franciscan Observants, *ibid.* 108.

[5] June 1, 1580, *ibid.* 335 *seq.*

[6] On April 4, 1579, *ibid.* 254.

of the decrees of Gregory XIII. have for their object above all the due arrangement and freedom of election of the superiors of Orders; ordinances to this effect were issued to the Cassinese Congregation of the Benedictines,[1] the Franciscan Observants,[2] the Hermits of St. Jerome,[3] and the Portuguese Hieronymites;[4] Gregory also issued ordinances concerning the election of abbesses by the nuns of the Cassinese Congregation,[5] especially in Italy.[6]

In the case of the Orders of women he also paid special attention to the enclosure. Pius V. had already taken steps to enforce the strict enclosure ordered for nuns by the Council of Trent.[7] There could be no question as to the necessity for this ordinance, and it was only the wretched state of some of the convents which made it difficult to enforce. Thus in Florence there were no less than twenty-eight convents of women in which 2500 nuns lived on alms in great poverty, and to a great extent did not observe the enclosure.[8] In such cases Gregory tried to assist them by means of large subsidies,[9] but he strictly enforced the enclosure in the case of the convents both of men and women.[10] A constitution of June 13th, 1575, revoked all permissions to enter convents even though these had been granted by the Holy See or by its legates, even in the case of persons of high rank; anyone who, in spite of this, violated the enclosure incurred the greater excommunication reserved to the Pope; the same

[1] On February 12, 1577, *ibid.* 165.

[2] September 8, 1573, and April 29, 1579, *ibid.* 58 *seqq.* For the Chapter General of the Observants at Paris, and the disturbances about the election of the General, Cristoforo Capodifonte, afterwards removed, *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 46 *seqq.*

[3] May 25, 1584, Bull. Rom., VIII., 473 *seqq.*

[4] June 14, 1578, *ibid.* 233.

[5] April 16, 1574, *ibid.* 64 *seq.*

[6] December 30, 1572, *ibid.* 28.

[7] See the account in Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 266.

[8] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 307.

[9] *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 87 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* the edict of December 30, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 28.

thing applied to superiors who allowed it to be done.[1]

The greater part of the reform ordinances issued by Gregory XIII. in the case of the religious Orders, were either suggested by the Council of Trent, or were further developments of the Tridentine decrees, of which the new Pope, like his predecessor, always proved himself the champion and supporter. Naturally it had not been possible even for the zealous Pius V. to bring new life into existence everywhere, and his successor found himself obliged to address severe reproofs where the ordinances for the reform of religious issued by the Apostolic See had not been carried into effect.[2] In the case of some religious bodies, however, the Pope was able to express his deep gratitude, as for example to the Servites "who every day do a great work in the vineyard of the Lord by word and example, and by their fasts and prayers. . . ."[3] The same was the case with the Benedictines of Perugia,[4] and the Hermits of the woody solitudes of Camaldoli, whose austerity and zeal had made a great impression upon the Pope himself on the occasion of a visit which he had paid to them.[5] Gregory XIII. also addressed praises to the Augustinians on account of their zeal in preaching and their works of charity;[6]

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 113 *seq.* Bull. casin.; Venice, 1650, 232. Papal permission was also required to go out in the case of the secular clergy in convents; see Reumont, Beiträge, IV., 258. For the reform of the convents of enclosed nuns at Naples by the Pope we have *information from P. Strozzi, May 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gregory XIII. forbade all figured music in the convents of nuns; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, II., 518.

[2] To the Canons Regular of SS. Salvatore, March 23, 1574, December 16, 1579, and November 18, 1580. Bull. Rom., VIII., 62, 313, 359.

[3] April 20, 1578, *ibid.* 205.

[4] July 8, 1579, *ibid.* 287.

[5] "Quae omnia non solum ab aliis saepe audivimus, sed etiam nostris oculis aliquando vidimus." Brief of January 4, 1585, *ibid.* 505.

[6] On September 5, 1572, *ibid.* 13; on September 5, 1579, Theiner 1579, n. 34, (III. 42).

he only asked them to try and give up the exaggerated and not quite disinterested eagerness with which too many of their number sought to attain theological degrees ; soon they would have more masters than pupils, and except for distinguished doctors of theology there would be no one available for the ordinary offices of the Order.[1]

The reforming zeal of the Apostolic See often found an echo in the Orders themselves. The reform of the Franciscans was undertaken with great zeal by the General of the Order, Francesco Gonzaga, who died Bishop of Mantua in 1620, and in whose election to the supreme dignity in his Order, the French nuncio as well as the Pope himself, had taken an important part. Almost immediately after his election in 1579 he issued a severe circular in which he declared that the superiors were responsible for the decline in the discipline of the Order, and urged them to show favour to the brethren who were desirous of reform, and to pay attention to community life, prayer and study. A second circular specially inculcated poverty. Gonzaga made a personal visitation of the convents of north and central Italy, of the Iberian peninsula, and even some of the convents of France.[2]

The Abbot-General of the Cistercians, Nicholas Boucherat (1571-1584) devoted himself with conspicuous zeal to the reform of his Order. On July 20th, 1572, he was able to write to Cardinal Morone, Protector of the Order,[3] that during the last two months and a half he had in his visitation inspected the state of twenty-six monasteries in Switzerland, Swabia and the neighbouring districts, and that he intended to go

[1] Brief of June 5, 1583, Bull. Rom., VIII., 422.

[2] The life of Gonzaga was written in 1625 by his intimate friend of many years, Hipp. Donesmundi. On this work was based the Vita del Ven. Fr. Gonzaga, Min. generale dei Frati Minori, Vescovo di Mantua, Rome, 1906. See HOLZAPFEL, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* " Una lettera a una Relazione autografe del ven. Fr. Gonzaga Min. generale del Min. Oss. intorno alla riforma del gran Convento di Parigi, 1582," in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, II. (1909), 668 *seq.*

[3] In A. POSTINA in *Zisterzienzer-Chronik*, XIII. (1901), 228.

for the same purpose to western France, Bavaria and Bohemia. During the two following years he continued his visitation in Switzerland, Lower Germany and the dioceses of Constance, Augsburg, Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Ratisbon, Salzburg, Brixen, Passau and Strasbourg; in 1573 he personally visited 18 monasteries of men and 28 of women in north Germany containing 887 persons; in the territory of the three ecclesiastical Electors, and in the dioceses of Paderborn, Münster and Liège, he visited 15 Cistercian monasteries of men and 43 of women, containing 1307 persons.[1]

The state of these religious houses was on the whole satisfactory. The monastic buildings, according to the reports of the visitation, were for the most part in a good state, sometimes even beautiful, and the revenues sufficient.[2] From the point of view of religion many of the houses visited were accorded the praise that the reform had been set on foot, and not rarely that it had burned away every evil.[3] Some convents naturally were the objects of sharp criticism;[4] it is said of Hardehausen in Westphalia that the monks were barbarous and uncouth, yet, in spite of that, good.[5] Some-

[1] Reports of the visitation of 1573 (Lower Germany) *ibid.* 230 *seqq.*, 1574 (Upper Germany), *ibid.* 257 *seqq.* For the visitation decree for Marienstatt *ibid.* XXIX. (1917), 97 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* XIII., 227 *seqq.*

[3] Thus the monastery at Donauwörth, which numbered 38 monks "bene reformatos," *ibid.* 232; at Niederschönenfeld the abbess and the nuns are "religiosissimae et observantissimae," *ibid.* 234; Oberschönenfeld is "bene institutum," *ibid.* 235; of Lichtental in Baden it is said: "abbatissa est doctissima et vitae sanctimonia praeclara," *ibid.* 237; Königsbruck is "reformatissimum, neque ullum reperi [monasterium], in quo tanta est vitae monasticae austeritas," *ibid.* 237; Himmenrode is "bene reformatum et abbas bonus vir," *ibid.* 257, etc.

[4] At Himmelspforten "reformatio hucusque nullum sortita est effectum," *ibid.* 233; at Zarn in the Duchy of Berg, among the nuns there are 4 Lutherans, *ibid.* 262; Langheim has a good abbot, "sed monachos non adeo bene reformatos, ut desiderabat," *ibid.* 233, *cf.* 234, 260, 261.

[5] *Ibid.* 262 *seq.* SCHWARZ, Visitationsakten, p. CXXX., *seq.*

times encroachments on the part of lay patrons are complained of; thus the nuns of Heiligkreuztal, near Riedlingen, were obliged by their "protector and defender," Count Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, to look after his hunting dogs and their keepers; sometimes he himself arrived with 30 or 40 horsemen, who all had to be entertained in princely style at the expense of the convent.[1] Boucherat also complained of the arbitrary behaviour of some of the bishops.[2]

Less satisfactory was the state of the Cistercian monasteries in Lombardy and Tuscany. Commendams had caused widespread ruin,[3] the revenues were wasted upon all manner of external purposes, the monasteries were deeply in debt, the monks were in want of necessaries, the superiors were elected in defiance of the Papal prescriptions, and therefore invalidly.[4] An improvement of this state of affairs was inaugurated by the enactments of the visitors, and in place of these superiors other men of promise and experience were installed. Gregory XIII. supported the reform of the Cistercian Order with all his power.[5]

The Benedictine monasteries of Portugal were in a state of serious decadence. At the request of King Sebastian, Pius V. had already begun to restore them by uniting them into one congregation, and Gregory XIII. continued the work of unification. It was from this Portuguese congregation that the first Benedictine foundation in Brazil sprang in

[1] *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIII., 229.

[2] *Ibid.* 233, 235.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work p. 243.

[4] Report of the visitor to Morone for the year 1579, in *Zistersienser-Chronik*, XIII., 204.

[5] Decree of June 12, 1574, and May 23, 1578, Bull. Rom., VIII. 73, 228. For the reform of the Order in Poland *cf.* the letter of recommendation from Gregory XIII. for Caligari to the Cistercian abbots, April 9, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 39 (II., 394), and the letter of the visitor, Edmond de la Croix, to the nuncio in Poland, June 25, 1580, and to Morone, October 6, 1580, *ibid.* 1580, n. 49 (III., 173).

1581.[1] In 1575 the Pope approved the congregation of the Exempts in the Low Countries, which had already been founded six years earlier.[2]

In 1576 the Pope had sent a nuncio to the Knights of Malta to reform them;[3] four years later the unsatisfactory state of affairs called for decisive intervention. The Grand Master, Jean Levesque de la Cassière, who was eighty years of age, had carried out his work of reform with great want of tact, and a party of malcontents had replaced him by a vicar, and in July 1581 had thrown him into prison.[4] Both parties appealed to Rome, where the French ambassador, Paul de Foix, warmly supported the Grand Master.[5] Gregory XIII. expressed his dissatisfaction with what had been done,[6] sent a nuncio,[7] and invited both the Grand Master and the vicar to Rome, where they both died.[8] Gregory then gave the Knights the free right to elect a new Grand Master.[9]

[1] Brief of May 25, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 3. SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner-und Zisrezienserorden*, XII., 1871, 73.

[2] See BERLIÈRE *ibid.* X., 541 *seq.*

[3] MAFFEI, I., 252.

[4] CIACONIUS, IV., 9.

[5] See *Lettres de Paul de Foix*, 85 *seq.*

[6] Brief of August 8, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 62 (III., 304 *seq.*).

[7] Gaspare Visconti. Brief giving him full powers, August 8, 1581, *ibid.* n. 63 (305 *seq.*).

[8] First the vicar-general on November 3-4, 1581, then the Grand Master on December 21. *Cf.* the *Relatione del Viaggio del gran maestro di Malta in Cod. 6619, p. 178 *seq.* Imperial Library, Vienna.

[9] Brief of December 26, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 65 (III., 308). Visconti returned in April, 1582. The end of the affair was a bull of September, 1582, which declared the innocence of the Grand Master and annulled all that had been done against him. *Cf.* for the whole affair the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; MAFFEI, II., 168 *seq.*, 260 *seq.* *Mélanges d'archéologie*, XXXI., 75-141, where the great services rendered by Gregory XIII. on the occasion of these disputes

In spite of all his severity, Gregory XIII. was a kind father to all the Orders, and always showed himself ready to grant favours and privileges if these were for the good of the Church.[1] He conferred special marks of his favour upon the celebrated Benedictine congregation of Monte Cassino,[2] of the internal constitution of which he always spoke in terms of the highest praise.[3] The congregation corresponded to the Pope's efforts to raise it to a high level[4] by submitting its rules and constitutions to a strict examination.[5] In the same way among the Servites, by command of the general chapter of 1578, the rule of the Order was brought into conformity with the requirements of Pius V.[6] Special enactments are frequent

during which the Turks fortunately remained quiet, is brought out. See also the *Memorie of Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cod. D. 5, *cf. ibid.* D. 6. Later on Gregory had again to intervene in a dispute between the Knights of Malta and Venice; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 352; BALAN, VI., 615 *seq.*

[1] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Gregory XIII. reunited the Orders of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice, canonized Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians (1582), and confirmed the new constitutions of the Augustinian Hermits (1580); see HEIMBUCHER, I., 149, 227, 421, 449; for the confirmation of the privileges of the Cistercians see the *Handschriften der Zisterzienser-Stifter*, II., Vienna, 1891, 79. The same was done for the Camaldolese in a very gracious form, see Bull. Rom., VIII., 25, 409 *seq.*, 438 *seq.*, 505 *seq.*, Gregory XIII. gave the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order a general confirmation of all their old privileges; see PETTENEGG, Urkundenbuch des Deutschen Ritterordens, 653.

[2] At the Chapter General of the Basilians for the appointment of an Abbot General, a Cassinese presided. Bull. Rom., VIII., 308 § 2, 309 § 11.

[3] "Ab eius primaeva erectione optimis ac salubribus institutis et constitutionibus usque ad haec tempora recta et gubernata fuit." *Ibid.* 260.

[4] See *supra*, p. 111.

[5] Confirmed on April 13, 1579, Bull. Rom., VIII., 259 *seq.*

[6] Confirmed on September 6, 1579, *ibid.* 290 *seq.* A brief of September, 1575, to the Servite Bened. de Burgo for the reform

whereby Gregory XIII. introduced or encouraged reforms among the old religious Orders.[1]

of his Order in Lombardy is in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. For the reform of the Servites see also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367. In 1579 Gregory XIII. united the congregation of the Observants among the Servites with the rest of the Order. See MORINI-SOULIER, Monum. Ord. Serv. B. Mariae, I., Brussels, 1897.

[1] The Archives of Briefs contain a whole series of *briefs for the reform of the Orders; thus for Italy, one of May, 1573, to Arsenio, President-General of Vallombrosa, on the reform of his congregation in February and September, 1574, to the Archbishop of Salerno; February, 1574, to Pisa; April, 1575, to the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Bishop of Parenzo; in June, 1575, to the Bishop of Squillace for the reform of the monastery of S. Sofia, and an authorization to Cardinal Borromeo to visit the churches and sacristies of the regulars and the exempts; July, 1575, to Venice; February, 1577, to Serafino Cavalli at Brescia; December, 1577, authorization to the Bishop of Bergamo to visit the churches of the regulars in the dioceses of Savona and Ventimiglia; January, 1578, to Cristoforo da Foligno, and February, 1578, to Rodrigo de Avalos for the reform of the Minorites at Milan and Terra di Lavoro; February, 1578, to Domenico Petrucci for the reform of religious houses in the diocese of Ferentino; December, 1578, to the Bishop of Suessa; August, 1581, to the Bishop of Parenzo; May, 1581, on the reform of the monasteries at Zara; 1583 to Borromeo at Milan; September, 1584, for the nuns at Volterra; December, 1584, for the monasteries of Perugia; January, 1585, for those at Ragusa. For Spain and Portugal briefs were sent in July, 1572, to Cardinal Henry for the reform of the Congregation of the Holy Cross at Coimbra; in November, 1576, to the General of the Trinitarians for the reform of his Order in both countries; in May, 1581, for the visitation of the Dominicans in Spain. *Cf.* further pp. 125 *seq. infra.* Special briefs were issued concerning the reform of convents of enclosed nuns in Spain and Portugal; thus in May, 1573, to the Cardinal of Portugal; November, 1572, on the reform of nuns of the Third Order in the diocese of Cartagena; December, 1572, for the convent of Cistercian nuns of Las Huelgas in the diocese of Burgos; December, 1572, for the nuns in the diocese of Valencia; 1574 for those of Granada; December, 1574, to Tarragona concerning the enclosure of nuns in the diocese of Gerona. In France the

Just as was the case with the old Orders, so for some of the ecclesiastical congregations which had sprung up in the XVIth century the pontificate and legislation of Gregory XIII. were of the greatest importance. Some of these bodies were at that time slowly approaching their final form and constitution. The Barnabites, who were at first limited to a single house in Milan, but who had subsequently spread more and more, and had even established a house in Rome, received from Gregory the approval of their new constitutions, together with important regulations concerning the general congregation,[1] and the limitation of freedom to leave the Order.[2] The new constitutions[3] were discussed under the

Pope turned in April, 1573, to the Cardinal of Lorraine for the reform of the nuns of Metz, Toul and Verdun ; in July, 1574, to Vienne for the religious there ; in May, 1579, to the Archbishop of Lyons concerning monastic reform. For Germany see Vol. XX. of this work. With regard to the reform of the Carmelites see also the Bull. Carmelit., II., 183, 188, 208, 213, 215, and also Barb. XXXII., 58, Vatican Library, " De solemni visitatione Congreg. Mantuanae facta a priore ac magistro generali totius ordinis Carmelit." 1575. Dr. Jacobus Rabus (concionator et consiliarius ducis Bavarici et prot. apost.) wrote in Rome in 1576 a little book addressed to Bishop Ernest of Freising " super instituenda monasteriorum ipsius diocesi subiectorum visitatione consultatio.", Cod. XI., 140, of the monastery of S. Florian. The Dominican Pietro Paolo Filippi composed in 1585 a monograph *De reformatione religiosorum, which he dedicated to the Bishop of Piacenza, Filippo Sega. A copy in the Corvisieri Library, Rome (1900 sold). The Benedictine, Petrus de Walloncapelle (*cf.* BERLIÈRE, Monast. Belge, I., Bruges, 1890, 37), published " Institutionum monasticarum secundum s. Concilii Trident. decreta libris tres " Cologne, 1584, one of the first books in which were given the decrees of the Council on the observances of religious.

[1] Decree of October 1, 1578, and April 25, 1579, Bull. Rom,. VIII., 245, 262. *Cf.* PREMOLI, 255 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*

[2] Decree of September 13, 1577, Bull. Rom., VIII., 191.

[3] Approved by a letter of Gregory XIII., of November 7, 1579, in Litt. et constit. Summorum Pontif. pro congreg. Cleric. regul. S. Pauli Ap., Rome, 1853, 46 *seq.*

presidency of Cardinal Borromeo, and had won his approval.[1] For this reason the Barnabites venerated Borromeo as their second founder, and their first church in Rome was built in honour of that saint.[2]

Some of the religious congregations of the XVIth century had originally been conceived, not as Orders, but as free associations, and it was only under Gregory XIII. that they attained a stable form. This was the case with the Fratelli della Misericordia of St. John of God, who now, in addition to the house of their founder, the great hospital at Granada, possessed other similar establishments at Seville, Cordova, Madrid, Lucena, and in the Indies. The ties between these houses became much closer when a Papal concession extended to them all the privileges of the hospital at Granada.[3] The first women who formed the Order of the Ursulines had likewise at first not been bound by vows ; they lived scattered throughout the city with their relatives, nor were they as yet entirely occupied with the instruction of the young, but also with the care of the sick and in other works of charity.[4] Their later development is associated with the name of Cardinal Borromeo. In 1568 he summoned the infant society to Milan ;[5] he declared himself very pleased with their work,[6]

[1] Bascapè, l. 5, c. 5, p. 120, who recognizes it as a special grace "quod tanti viri benigno adiumento atque auctoritate iacta sint nostrae amplificationis fundamenta." *Cf.* Sala, Biografia Diss., 268-273. In the case too of the female branch of the Barnabites, the so-called Angeliche, according to Bascapè, the constitutions were drafted at the request of Borromeo. Sala, 255.

[2] See Sylvain, III., 36.

[3] On April 28, Bull. Rom., VIII., 537 *seq.*

[4] Postel, I., 118 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 342.

[6] *Ibid.* 332. *Cf.* the IVth Provincial Council of Milan, in which it is stated concerning the association of St. Ursula for girls and that of St. Anne for widows : "Uberrimos auditrice Dei gratia fructus et populis et familiis attulerunt, non modo ad retinendum, sed ad excitandum vehementius in femineo sexu innocentis vitae, omnis christianae pietatis et caritatis stadium." All the bishops might therefore for that reason introduce it into

but suggested to them the three solemn vows, together with the vow to lead a perpetual life in common. The Ursulines accepted this change in their original form of life, and Gregory XIII. confirmed it in 1572.[1] In 1579 the Cardinal of Milan was appointed apostolic visitor of the young congregation,[2] whose rule he examined on the occasion of a visitation at Brescia, and altered in one important respect: he placed the sisters immediately under the bishop of the diocese, by which act the office of superioress-general of the whole congregation was suppressed,[3] and the congregation itself placed upon a new canonical basis. At his fourth provincial synod, held in 1576, Borromeo recommended his suffragan bishops to introduce the Ursulines as a highly efficacious means for the improvement of their dioceses. After that the congregation spread to Verona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna and Venice.[4]

How greatly Gregory XIII. favoured the Order of the Theatines is shown by the briefs and favours granted by him to the houses at Rimini, Milan, Cremona, Padua, Genoa, Naples and Capua.[5] The Theatines in Rome received from him a present of 2000 gold ducats to complete their church

their dioceses. Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis, I., Bergamo, 1738, 198. *Cf.* the Regola della Compagnia di Sant'Orsola, *ibid.* II., 912, 917. Brief of December 24, 1582, which laid it down, with regard to the dowry, that entrance into the confraternity of the sisters of St. Ursula was equivalent to entry into a convent. Gregory XIII. says of this association in a brief: "quam auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium approbamus et confirmamus et quatenus opus sit, de novo instituimus." SALA, Docum., I., 454.

[1] POSTEL, I., 343.

[2] *Ibid.* 344.

[3] *Ibid.* 330.

[4] *Cf.* SALVATORI, Vita d'Angela Merici, Rome, 1807, 60 *seq.* HEIMBUCHER, I., 515.

[5] The documents relating to this are found in the General Archives of the Theatines in Rome, CASSETTA, 43-45. For the fruitful labours of the Theatines, especially at Naples, see the notes in Cod. L. 23, Vallicella Library.

of S. Silvestro al Quirinale.[1] A short time before his death Gregory also witnessed the foundation of a house of Theatines at Mantua.[2] To the Fratelli della Misericordia, known as the Fate-Benefratelli, the Pope in 1582 assigned the ancient church on the island in the Tiber, which bears the name of the Greek St. John Calibita ;[3] its adjoining hospital, which had a great repute, received from him a gift of 3000 scudi.[4]

The congregation of secular priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, who bound themselves to their bishop for all spiritual labours, was founded by Charles Borromeo at Milan in 1578. Gregory XIII. confirmed[5] the congregation of Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, founded for the same purpose at Lucca, by Giovanni Leonardi.[6]

Guided as he was by a strong sense of justice, Gregory XIII. often found his intervention necessary in the case of innovations which had made their way into the ancient Orders, just as he had to regulate the affairs of the congregations which had only recently come into existence. In the Franciscan Order there had been formed the Alcantarines, who led a much more strict life than the other Observants, but who were all under the same General as the others. In these circumstances a certain tension between the two schools and endless disputes

[1] See in App. n. 20, the *report of Odescalchi of September 9, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. REUMONT, III., 1, 492.

[2] *Cf.* in this connexion the *report of Capilupi, dated Rome, Jan. 16, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The year 1572, which is commonly given, is wrong. See the *report of Odescalchi of October 23, 1582. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of June 2, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 184, Vatican Library.

[5] See Acta Eccl. Mediol., 826 *seq.* ; B. ROSSI, De origine et progressu cong. oblat. S. Ambrosii et Caroli, Mediol., 1739 ; SYLVAIN, III., 39 *seq.* The Spanish hermits of S. John the Baptist also received their approbation from Gregory XIII. ; see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 1449.

[6] See the Vita del b. Giovanni Leonardi, Rome, 1861 ; *cf.* BALAN, VI., 1302.

were inevitable. Gregory XIII. ordered a report from both parties to be laid before the cardinalitial congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and then decided the questions at issue, giving his approval in terms of the highest praise to the stricter school, and forbidding their being opposed, or that its members should be transferred to houses of the milder observance. The Alcantarines, however, like a particular province of the Order, must remain under the obedience of the common General.[1] In the same way the provisions of Clement VII. concerning the position of the reformed houses of the Franciscan Order were completed by Gregory XIII.[2]

The Pope felt a special love for the Order of the Capuchins, who at that time were spreading rapidly in Italy and numbered many excellent religious,[3] The many pontifical documents referring to favours and privileges[4] granted to this religious family are a proof of the high esteem in which Gregory held their labours, especially in the matter of popular missions. Nothing could turn the Pope away from his predilection for this branch of the Franciscan Order, of which Cardinal Santori was named Protector in 1578.[5] When, on one occasion, some of the Cardinals alluded to many defects which existed in the Order of the Capuchins the Pope replied: the more exalted an Order is, the more liable it is to great dangers; even the sea rejects everything that is not in conformity with itself.[6]

[1] Brief of November 12, 1578, Bull. Rom., VIII., 247 *seqq.*

[2] On June 3, 1579, *ibid.* 274 *seqq.* *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 340.

[3] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, I. and II. *passim*, and SISTO DA PISA, Storia dei Cappucc. Toscani, I. (1906), 143.

[4] *Cf.* Bull. Cappucc., II., 112, 122, 255 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*; III., 107, 205 *seq.*, 237 *seq.* A subsidy for the "fabrica dei *Cappuccini*" at Anagni, February 16, 1576, in Cod. Vat. 6697, Vatican Library.

[5] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 363. A list, which, however, is not altogether reliable, of the vicars-provincial in Rome until 1588, in GIUSEPPE MARIA DA M. ROTONDO, Gl'inizi dell'ordine Cappuccino e della provincia Romana, Rome, 1910, 285 *seq.*

[6] See BOVERIUS, II., 2 *seq.*

Of quite unusual importance was an order of Gregory XIII. of May 6th, 1574,[1] by which he revoked the ordinance of Paul III. of January 3rd, 1537, limiting the Order to Italy. This order confirmed and safeguarded the establishment of the Capuchins at Meudon and Paris, which had already been attempted in 1568, and in which, besides the Cardinal of Lorraine, Catherine de' Medici and the nuncio Salviati had interested themselves.[2] Cardinal Borromeo supported the introduction of the Capuchins both into France and Savoy, by letters to the sovereigns of those countries, and to the nuncios at their courts.[3] In 1578, by the foundation of a convent at Barcelona, they also found their way to Spain, and in 1581, at the express wish of Gregory XIII., they went to Switzerland.

As had been the case with their many foundations in Italy,[4]

[1] See Bull. Capuc., I., 35, and V., 1 (in both cases with the year of the pontificate wrong).

[2] See the valuable work of P. Alençon: Documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'établissement des Capucins en France, Paris, 1894, 6 *seq.*

[3] See Sala, Docum., II., 423 *seq.*

[4] Besides Boverius, *loc. cit. cf.* the recent monographs of Bonaventura da Sorrento (I. Cappuccini della prov. monast. di Napoli e Terra di Lavoro, S. Agnello di Sorrento, 1879), Filippo da Tussio (I frati Capuccini degli Abruzzi, *ibid.* 1880), Valdemir, da Bergamo (I conventi ed i Cappuccini Bergamasche, Milan, 1883), Fort. Securi (Memorie storiche sulla prov. dei Cappuccini di Reggio di Calabria, Reggio, 1885), Appollinare a Valentia (Bibl. fratr. min. Capuc. prov. Neapolit., Rome, 1886), Bonaventura da Sorrento (I conventi dei Cappuccini d. città di Napoli, Naples, 1889; *cf.* also *Arch. stor. Napolit.*, VI., 198 *seqq.*). Valdemiro Bonari (I conventi ed i Cappuccini Bresciani, Milan, 1891; I conventi ed i Cappuccini dell'antico ducato di Milano, Crema, 1893. I Cappuccini d. prov. Milanese dalla sua fundazione [1535] fino a noi, 2 vols., Crema, 1868-99), Franc. Saverio Molfino (Codice dipl. dei Cappuccini Liguri, 1530-1590. Genoa, 1904), Sisto da Pisa (Storia dei Cappuccini Toscani, I, [1532-1591], Florence, 1906), P. Bernardino Latiano (Mem. stor. del Cappuccini della monastica di S. Angelo, Benevento,

so did these "men of the people" in the true sense of the words, whose constitutions were finally settled and printed in 1575,[1] in course of time and with great self-sacrifice, spread even in the remote and mountainous valleys of Switzerland, their disinterested and often stirring work as pastors of souls, as well as that of consolers and helpers of the poor and sick. Their first foundation at Altdorf was soon followed by others at Lucerne (1583), Stans (1583), Schwyz (1583), Appenzell and Soleure (1587), Baden (1591), and Frauenfeld and Zug (1595).[2]

Fresh shoots were also put out in the XVIth century by the Order of the Basilians, which represented the common form of monastic life of the Oriental monks in union with Rome.[3] Whereas in the east, in the difficult circumstances, several monasteries perished, the monastery of S. Maria di Oviedo, which had sprung up in the diocese of Jaén in the time of Paul IV.,[4] had adopted the rule of St. Basil, and with the consent of Pius IV., on January 1st, 1561, had been united to the Basilians of Italy.[5] When Pius V. prescribed

1907), G. Mussini (Mem. stor. su i Cappuccini Emiliani, I. [1525-1629], Parma, 1908; on p. 65 *seq.* special information on the services rendered by Gregory XIII.), Ferdinando da Montignoso (L'ordine dei min. Cappuccini in Lucca [dal. 1571], Lucca, 1910), C. da Bagno and Mussini (Mem. stor. sui Cappuccini Emiliani, 2 vols., Parma, 1912), Franc. Saverio (I Cappuccini Genovesi, I., Genoa, 1912), Ant. da Castellamare (Storia d. prov. di Palermo, I. [1533-1574], Rome, 1914).

[1] See *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VII.², 125.

[2] See Chronica provinciae Helveticae ord. S. P. N. Francisci Capucinorum ex annalibus eiusdem manuscriptis excerpta, Soleure, 1884, with special authorities.

[3] J. Pargoire in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, II., 1, Paris, 1910, 507 *seq.*, shows how only these can be described as Basilians, and not the schismatic monks.

[4] "Giennensis diocesis," Bull. Rom., VIII., 182, § 8. *Ibid.* 308, § 2, it is called "Genuensis dioecesis," but wrongly.

[5] See the excellent history of all the religious and military Orders by Ippolito Helyot, I., Leipzig, 1753, 270

for all monks the adoption of a definite monastic rule, two other monasteries of hermits in Spain, that of Tardon in the diocese of Cordova, and that of Val di Galleguillos in the diocese of Seville, decided upon that of the Basilians.[1] Gregory XIII. united these three monasteries into a Spanish province, which was, however, to be subject to the Abbot-General of the Basilians in Italy, who was still to be elected.[2] The election of the new Abbot-General took place for the first time at Pentecost in 1578, and received the Papal confirmation on November 1st, 1579, the constitutions of the Basilians being at the same time reorganized.[3] For the Greek monks this union of several monasteries into a single congregation was something new, since hardly anything of the sort existed in their own countries.

Outside Italy the Pope took part in the restoration of the religious Orders by means of his nuncios; as for example in Germany by Ninguarda[4] and in Poland by Caligari.[5] In the case of the monasteries of Bohemia, which had fallen into a bad state, an Imperial ordinance[6] arranged for a visitation by the nuncio Malaspina. In Dalmatia, in 1582, an eremitical Order of St. Paul, the first hermit, became the object of a zealous reform at the hands of the nuncio Bonhomini.[7]

[1] *Ibid.* 274 *seq.*

[2] Rescript of May 25, 1577, Bull. Rom., VIII., 181. *Ibid.* 309 § 5, there is a rescript of May 1, 1574, mentioned on the same occasion. A *brief on the reform of the Basilians of March, 1580, in the Archives of Briefs, Rome; another for the reform of the Basilians of Milan, October 12, 1580, in SALA, Docum., I., 414 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1573, seems to suggest that the Pope had undertaken the plan of reforming the monks of St. Basil because they were leading too relaxed a life. Vatican Library.

[3] Bull. Rom., VIII., 307 *seqq.*

[4] See further, Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] THEINER, 1579, n. 53 (III., 63); *cf.* 1584, n. 59 (III., 555 *seq.*).

[6] On March 31, 1585, *ibid.* 1585, n. 4 (III., 622 *seq.*).

[7] MAFFEI, II., 250; *cf.* brief of July 25, 1583, Bull. Rom., VIII., 431 *seq.*, 563.

Pius V. had especially laboured, in conjunction with Philip II., for the renewal of the monasteries in Spain ;[1] under Gregory XIII. the nuncio Nicolò Ormaneto again took up this difficult task.[2] Endless complaints of the nuncio and his activities consequently reached Rome ; in 1575 twelve Franciscans came to Rome to complain. The Pope did not allow himself to be at all shaken in his confidence in the experienced Ormaneto by this, but he warned him to be more careful, so as not to irritate the religious any more.[3]

The nuncio met with a great obstacle in the fact that it was extremely difficult for him to obtain trustworthy reports of the true state of the monasteries. In order to obtain better information as to this he had recourse to an otherwise unfortunate step,[4] he suggested to the king that he should surreptitiously obtain through the Jesuits the necessary information for the reform of the other Orders. Philip actually chose the rector of the Jesuit College at Madrid, Gonzalo Melendez, to visit Andalusia for this purpose. Melendez, together with his provincial, Cordeses, made counter-suggestions in order to escape so unpleasant a task ; the king, however, adhered to his decision, and Ormaneto imposed obedience under the threat of ecclesiastical censures. Other similar missions on the part of the Jesuits were also in contemplation.

Then the Jesuit superiors of the Spanish provinces had recourse to their General, Everard Mercurian, who on July 8th, 1575, replied that they must allow none of their subjects

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 249 *seqq.*

[2] A *brief addressed to him in 1575 on the reform of the Carthusians and another of June, 1575, on the visitation of their monasteries in the Archives of Briefs, Rome. To Sega, Ormaneto's successor, a *brief was addressed in 1580 on the reform of the convents of nuns, *ibid.* A *brief of November, 1576, to the General of the Trinitarians on the reform of that Order in Spain and Portugal, *ibid.* A *brief of May, 1581, on the visitation of the Dominicans, *ibid.*

[3] CARINI, 103 *seq.*

[4] ASTRAIN, III., 54-58.

to undertake such missions; in case of necessity, those who were chosen for the purpose might set out upon their journey, but they must not put a finger to their task pending a Papal decision. Gregory XIII. settled the question in accordance with the wishes of the General of the Order, but in the meantime Melendez had completed his tour in Andalusia, the religious who were threatened had been informed of the purpose of his visit, and the result was a violent attack upon the Jesuits. It is related that 300 monks held a meeting to consult about reprisals, and the Generals of the Orders and the Cardinal Protectors were overwhelmed with complaints and importunities. Melendez had to leave Spain and died at Naples in 1578. Ormaneto excused himself for his unfortunate step by appealing to the wishes of the king and the need of obtaining reliable information about the state of the monasteries.[1] A violent resentment sprang up against the Jesuits, who were, so to speak, but of yesterday, but who apparently had dared to try and teach and reform the most ancient and celebrated Orders. Some of the events of the times that immediately followed become easier to understand if we bear in mind these feelings of resentment.[2]

Ormaneto's efforts for the reform of the Premonstratensians in Spain were happier. At the chapter of the Order at Segovia on September 29th, 1573, and again at the next chapter in 1576, he intervened in person. Houses which numbered less than thirteen religious were suppressed, the Order was set free from the pastoral care of nuns, the abbatial office was placed in experienced hands, and special novitiates were formed. After this both the Pope and the king declared themselves satisfied with the state of the Order.[3]

Of even greater importance to the Church was the co-operation of Ormaneto in other great movements of reform

[1] CARINI, 104 *seq.*

[2] For the difficulties experienced in Andalusia by Diego di Bonaventura, Ormaneto's commissary for the reform of the Franciscans (1576-77) see the document in Cod. 68 of the Collection Ed. Favre in the Library at Geneva.

[3] CARINI, 105.

of Spanish monastic life, which he did not, indeed, originate, but supported and defended, namely, the renewal of the Carmelites in Spain, and the foundation of a new and flourishing branch of that Order, already so ancient, at the hands of the great Teresa di Ahumada, or, as she was called from her name in religion, Teresa of Jesus, who was born in 1515 at Avila in old Castille, and who died at Alba de Tormes on the very day when the Gregorian calendar came into force, October 4th, 1582. As far as the religious Orders were concerned these were the two great works of Gregory XIII.; to have given the Papal approval, and therefore the right to exist, to this reform, and to the foundation of the new congregation formed by Philip Neri.

Teresa of Jesus,[1] by the richness of her mind, and the

[1] Escritos de santa Teresa, añadidos é ilustrados por VICENTE DE LA FUENTE (Biblioteca de Autores españoles, vol.53- 55), Madrid, 1861-1879; Oeuvres complètes, par les Carmélites du premier monastère de Paris, 6 vols. Paris, 1907 to 1910; Oeuvres, traduites par MARCEL BOUIX, 5th ed., vols. 1-3, Paris, 1880, revised edition by I. PEYRÉ, Paris, 1903 *seq.*; Lettres. Traduction par GRÉGOIRE DE SAINT-JOSEPH, 3 vols., Paris, 1906 (*cf.* CHÉROT in *Etudes* LXXXVII. [1901], 823 *seqq.*) The Letters of St. Theresa. A complete edition, translated from the Spanish and annotated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, with introduction by CARDINAL GASQUET, vol. 1, London, 1919 (*cf.* the review by MOREL-FATIO in *Revue hist.*, CXXXIV., 245 *seq.*). For the 2nd vol. of the Letters (London, 1921), *cf. Rev. hist.*, CXXXVIII., 274 *seq.*, Sämtliche Schriften der hl. Theresia von Jesu; a new German edition from the autographs and other Spanish originals edited and annotated by FR. PETRUS DE ALCANTARA A S. MARIA and FR. ALOISIUS AB IMMAC. CONCEPT. O.C.D., 5 vols., in 8 parts, Ratisbon, 1907-19; (*cf.* W. SCHLEUSSNER in *Lit. Handweiser*, 1919, n. 9). Of very great value are the articles published by JOSÉ GOMEZ: Relaciones biográficas de S. Teresa por el P. Julian de Avila en 1587, 1596 and 1604, in *Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Historia*, December, 1915; *cf. ibid.* February-March, 1916; Relaciones biográficas de S. Teresa hechas bajo juramento en 1587 por sus hermanos, primas hermanas y sobrinos carnales. FRANCISCO DE RIBERA (Vida de S. Teresa de Jesús [first ed. 1590]

versatility of her quite special gifts, is one of the most brilliant and most lovable figures in the whole history of the Church. Her writings: a typical autobiography, the history of her monastic foundations, letters, poems, and treatises on mysticism; her letters she put on to paper with flying pen,[1] in the midst of the pressure of business, on the spur of the moment, for the most part without even reading them over,[2] yet thanks to them, on account of the purity, beauty and grace of style,[3] and of her "genial strength of expression,"[4] she holds an honoured place among the classical writers of the Spanish language;[5] in mystical theology she is an authority of the

nueva edición por el P. Jaime Pons, Barcelona, 1908), gives on pp. xxvi-xxxii a bibliography of the biographical works; *cf.* HENRI DE CURZON, Bibliographie Thérésienne, Paris, 1902, ed. HERGENRÖTHER, III[15], 644 *seq.* Among the biographies, the following stand out: Diego de Yepes (1599), Juan de Jesus Maria (1605), Eusebio Nieremberg (1630, new edition, Barcelona, 1887), Acta Sanct., October, VII., 1, 109-790, W. PINGSMANN, Santa Teresa de Jesus, Cologne, 1886, SALAVERRIA, S. Teresa de Jesús, Madrid, 1922.

[1] *Cf.* for her biography (twice written): "casi hurtando el tiempo, y con pena [I write], porque me estorbo de hilar, por estar en casa pobre y con hartas ocupaciones," LA FUENTE, Bibliot., LIII., 43a; *cf.* c. 14, *ibid.* 52a. She wrote the book of the Foundations "á causa de los muchos negocios, ansi de cartas, como de otras ocupaciones forzosas" (Introduction, *ibid.* 179b); also Las Moradas: "Los negocios y salud me hace dejarlo [to write it] al mejor tiempo . . . irá todo desconcertado, por no poder tornarlo à leer" (IV., c. 2, *ibid.* 448a).

[2] To her brother Lorenzo, January 17, 1577, LA FUENTE, LV., 126b: "Ni vuestra merced tome esto trebajo en tornar à leer las que me escribe. Yo jamás lo hago."

[3] G. TICKNOR, Geschicte der spanischen Literatur. German edition by N. H. Julius, II., Leipzig, 1852, 269.

[4] ZOCKLER in Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie, XIX., 524.

[5] CAPMANY (Teatro histórico crítico de la eloquentia espanola, III., Paris, 1841) says that it was the letters alone which placed Teresa among the first Spanish prose-writers. Ochoa considers Guevara, Cervantes, Louis of Granada, Mariana, and Teresa to be

first rank in the Catholic Church; no one before her had described the various mystical states so profoundly, or so clearly and distinctly, and no one since her time has substantially added anything new to the descriptions which she gave;[1] at the utmost, her disciple and friend, John of the Cross, may be placed in this respect side by side with his teacher. By her reform of the Carmelite Order, to which she imparted a new power of propagating itself, and to which to some extent she gave a new form, and opened out to it new fields, she takes her place on equal terms with the great founders of Orders of the XVIth century.

This extraordinary versatility in itself proves that which the writings of Teresa constantly confirm, namely that in her penetrating intellect there were united in a wonderful way clearness of judgment, an amazing calmness, and keen introspection with the grasp of a lawgiver, a knowledge of human nature, and an understanding of everyday needs, and of the little things of daily life. These extraordinary gifts of mind went hand in hand with the yet greater gifts of her character. The whole of her life, and yet again her writings, show this. Pure and noble to the depths of her soul, easily fired by sublime moral and religious thoughts, and determined, in the fight to attain to the highest good, to make any sacrifice with joy,

the five greatest Spanish writers of prose. *Cf.* PINGSMANN, 101-4; WILKENS in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, V. (1862), 118 *seq.*, and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 575. Dupanloup wrote: "Teresa may be placed among the greatest writers of Spain; it may even be questioned whether she does not surpass them all." (See *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXIV., 411). SCHACK, Erinnerungen, II., Stuttgart, 1887, 258) praises the writings of Teresa as being full of noble poetry and surpassing energy. "Her poetry and letters stand in the front rank of the religious poetry of all times and all religions," says MAURENBRECHER (Studien u. Skizzen zur Gesch. der Reformationszeit, Leipzig, 1874, 27).

[1] AUG. POULAIN, Des grâces d'oraison. Traité de Théologie mystique, Paris, 1901, 391. *Cf.* LUIS MARTIN, Santa Teresa de Jesus doctora mística, in Ribera-Pons, *loc. cit.* 1-59; Acta Sanct. *loc. cit.* 468.

courageous at the coming of difficulties, and patient in sorrows, she displayed all the strength and decision of a strong man, and at the same time all the sweetness and lovableness of the noble soul of a woman. And at the same time, as though all these qualiites were not enough, she had a delicacy of mind and character which any woman in the world might have envied her.

We cannot relate in a brief account of her, for one must read the story for oneself, how, for example, she dissuaded from her purpose a great benefactress who wished to impose an unsuitable novice upon her,[1] how, in the disputes between the reformed and unreformed Carmelites, in her letters to their common General. she was always able to take the right line between frank criticism and respectful obedience.[2] She never failed in finding, even in the most difficult circumstances, the right thing to say. A celebrated instance of this was her first address as the recently appointed superioress of the Convent of the Incarnation at Avila. She had left that convent in order to begin her work of reform, and now she had come back to it, to the great disgust of many of the inmates, appointed as prioress and reformer by the decree of the apostolic visitor, to the exclusion of the right of election by the nuns, but in spite of everything she succeeded as soon as she arrived, in winning all hearts by her exquisite tact.[3]

Teresa's nobility of character showed itself even in her childhood which was passed in the pure air of Avila, among the mountains. Like a sacred spell, to this day the name of this wonderful woman hovers over the granite buildings of the mountain city, surrounded by walls and picturesque towers, which preserves so many memories of its great daughter.[4] On

[1] To Maria de Mendoza, March 7, 1572. La Fuente, LV., 23 *seq.*

[2] Letters of June 18, 1575, and the beginning of 1576; *ibid.* 49 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

[3] See La Fuente, LIII., 522 *seq.*; Bouix, Lettres, I., 145.

[4] In the earliest biographies local colour is lacking, notwithstanding the varied memorials of Teresa which are to be met with in Avila and the other cities of Spain. *Cf.* V. de la Fuente,

the site of her father's house is built the baroque church of St. Teresa; the room where she was born has been transformed into a gorgeously ornate chapel. Her tiny garden is still preserved; it was there that, when seven years old, she read with her elder brother the legends of the saints, and the sufferings and triumphs of the martyrs; it was there that the idea took possession of them that all those heroes of Christianity had thus won a happiness that would never end: "For ever, for ever!" the two children cried, and straightway Teresa's decision was taken; in her childish simplicity she set out with her brother for the territory of the Moors, in order to win for themselves by martyrdom a happiness that would never end.[1] Brought back by an uncle, she built for herself and her brother little cells, where she said the rosary with him. After the premature death of her mother other influences came into her life. Secret reading of the romances of chivalry and the companionship of worldly relations formed in her a feminine desire to please, and an inclination towards a worldly life; her deep sense of honour and her natural nobility of soul preserved her from serious fall. This state only lasted for a few months, and in the convent of the Augustinians at Avila, where her father now sent the fourteen year old girl to be educated, the impressions of her pious childhood soon revived,[2] though it was only after painful interior struggles that she made up her mind to embrace the religious state,

El tercer centenario de S. T. Manual del peregrino para visitar la patria, sepulcro y parajes, donde fundá la Santa o existen recuerdos suyos en Espana, Madrid, 1882 (second edition under the title, Casas y recuerdos de S. Teresa en España, Madrid, 1882). Hye Hoys (L'Espagne Thérésienne, 1894) gives in 30 plates a rich pictorial record of the saint, together with an account of the convents inhabited or founded by her, and of her relics, etc. A good account of the surroundings in which Teresa was placed is given by Gabriela Cunningham in her book, St. Theresa, 2 vols., London, 1894, which is justly severely criticized by Wilkens (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 575 *seq*).

[1] Vida, c. 1, La Fuente, LIII., 24a.

[2] Vida, c. 2 *seq.*, *ibid.* 25 *seqq.*

and even then chose a convent of very mild observance, that of the Carmelites at Avila. It was the Letters of St. Jerome which determined her to make known her decision to her father, and by so doing the die was cast for her; honour would never have suffered her to go back upon her word once given, for anything in the world.[1]

From 1535 to 1562 Teresa belonged to the convent of the Incarnation at Avila.[2] Once she had heroically overcome her separation from her relatives, a sorrow that was in her case a very agony, she experienced a constant joy in the exercises of the life of the cloister,[3] and there began for her a period of serious seeking after perfection, but also one of great sorrow and struggle. In a serious illness the violent methods adopted by a quack-doctor, went so far that she fell into a state of coma for four days, and her tomb was prepared for her. After this she still remained for a long time with her body contracted, her tongue gripped between her teeth from pain, unable to move her limbs an inch without help, and her whole body so sensitive that the lightest touch was unbearable.[4]

When, after many years, she was again restored to health, Teresa once more experienced a long series of interior struggles.[5] The convent at Avila was without any real enclosure, and as the revenues were hardly sufficient for the large number of quite 150 nuns, communication with externs was encouraged.[6]

[1] Vida, c. 3, *ibid.* 27a: "Me determiné á decirlo á mi padre, que casi era como tomar el hábito; porque era tan honrosa, que ma parece no tor ara atrás de ninguna manera habiéndole dicho una vez."

[2] For the year of her entry into the convent *cf.* The life of St. Theresa, London, 1904, xi.

[3] "Cuando sali de en casa de mi padre no creo será más el sentimiento cuando me muera, porque me parece cada hueso se me apartaba por si . . . A la hora [the clothing] me dió [God] un tan gran contento de tener aquel estado, que nunca me faltó hasta hoy." Vida, c. 4, La Fuente, LIII., 30 *seq.*, 27b.

[4] Vida, c. 5, 6, La Fuente, LIII., 30 *seq.*, 32.

[5] Vida, c. 7, 8, *ibid.* 34 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 34b; *cf. Vida*, c. 32, *ibid.* 98 *seq.*

Above all others was the cheerful Teresa often called to the parlours, and she found pleasure in worldly conversation. An interior life of deep recollection could not flourish amid such constant distractions, and the young nun therefore found herself torn in two directions; she felt herself drawn more and more to give herself up to God and spiritual things, but on the other hand she still found pleasure in the things of the world.[1] Frightened by the death of her father, she again began to devote herself to that contemplative prayer which she had given up, but she could only force herself to it by exercising extraordinary violence upon herself.[2] Later on she found her state clearly described in that passage of the Confessions of St. Augustine in which he tells of his hesitation between God and the world. As long before St. Jerome, and later on during her illness St. Gregory the Great had influenced her, so now it was another of the great doctors of the Church, St. Augustine, with his celebrated description of his conversion, who by his example urged Teresa to her final decision.

Before this, a statue of the "Ecce Homo" had made a great impression on her, and had done much to take her heart away from the love of the things of this world.[3] With this decision a new period in the life of Teresa began, the period of her interior mystical experiences. All of a sudden she felt herself entirely filled with the presence of God; "it was absolutely impossible for me to doubt," she wrote, "that He was dwelling in me and that I was entirely immersed in Him"; at that moment she felt her soul so raised up that she seemed to be altogether beside herself;[4] then followed the apparitions, in which she was brought into relations with Christ and heaven, and was given enlightenment; it was for her as though she

[1] "Por una parte me llamaba Dios, por otra yo siguia á el mundo, etc." Vida, c. 7, *ibid.* 37a.

[2] "En la oracion pasaba gran trabajo, porque no andaba el espíritu señor, sino esclavo, etc.," *ibid.* 37a. She called (Vida c. 11, *ibid.* 45a) these pains in prayer "grandisimos, y me parece es menester mas ánimo, que para otros muchos trabajos del mundo."

[3] Vida c. 9 *ibid.*, 40 f.

[4] Vida, c. 10, *ibid.* 41 f.

had been unexpectedly endowed with new interior senses, comparable to the senses of the body.[1] These visions were for the most part immediately directed to the intellect, and later on also to the imagination, but never during the whole period of her visions did she see anything with her bodily eyes.[2] In all this she was filled with an unspeakable joy; by one hour of this supernatural enlightenment she felt herself abundantly rewarded for all the labours and weariness of years, when she had, in spite of every difficulty, forced herself to perseverance in prayer.[3]

This interior life of Teresa, owing to her writings, which found an immense circulation in the languages of all Catholic peoples, attained to an importance which reached far beyond the narrow circle of the great exponents of mysticism. It is obvious that mystical experiences have always occurred in the Church, for the first martyr, Stephen, saw the heavens opened, and the apostle Paul was rapt in ecstasy to the third heaven; the writings of the first Fathers of the Church, such as Cyprian and Origen, not infrequently speak of it, and even though illusions and deceits have made their way into the obscure subject even since the Montanist movement, yet the Church has always admitted their possibility, and in by no means rare cases their reality. Christianity itself, both in its doctrines and its worship, is full of mysteries, and rests en-

[1] "Un recogimiento interior, que se siente en el alma, que parece ella tiene allá otros sentidos, como acá los esteriores." Report to Rodriguez Alvarez (1576), *ibid.* 164; Bouix, Lettres I. 342.

[2] "La vista interior, que es la que ve todo esto; que cuando es con la vista exterior, no sabré decir de ello ninguna cosa: porque esta persona que he dicho, de quien tan particularmente yo puedo hablar, no habia pasado por ello." Moradas VI., c. 9, La Fuente LV. 476.

[3] "Es ansí cierto, que con una hora de las que el Señor me ha dado de gusto de sí, despues acá, me parece quedan pagadas todas las congojas, que en sustentarme en la oracion mucho tiempo pasé." Vida c. 11, La Fuente LV. 45a. "Basta un momento para quedar pagados todos los trabajos que en ella [vida] ellapuede haber." Vida c. 18, *ibid.* 60b.

tirely upon the mystery of mysteries, the dogma of the Most Holy Trinity, which works, by the mission of the second and third divine Persons, for the sanctification and redemption of mankind, and for the purpose of dwelling in individual souls; yet none may assert that the work of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men can never go further than the ordinary operations of grace. Thus, the great founders of Orders and saints of the XVIth century all without exception had mystical gifts, but in the history of the Popes it is obviously unnecessary to touch upon the matter at all fully.

But with Teresa the case is essentially different. It might be possible perhaps to mention all the mystical apparitions which had been accorded to those who preceded her, but until her time the whole field of mysticism in all its degrees had never been so profoundly dealt with, or described so clearly in all its details. Teresa is in this respect a discoverer who boldly sets out upon an as yet unknown sea, and wins for the Church a new spiritual kingdom. Since her writings have been examined by the Church before her canonization, and found to be free from error, she has, under the protection of the Popes themselves, attained to so great a position that she, a woman, and alone of her sex, may be compared with the great doctors of the Church.[1] In spite therefore of the exceptional circumstances, the historian of the Popes cannot pass over in silence the mysticism of Teresa.

The value of her writings, as well as of the whole school of thought to which Teresa opened the way, must be understood and estimated especially in their relationship to the spiritual tendencies of modern times. The undeniable progress of the XVIth century led to exaggerations and aberrations; more and more did that tendency make itself felt which counted the whole value of human life in terms of riches and

[1] Thus wrote Pius X. on March 7, 1914: "Tanta tamque utilis ad salutarem christianorum eruditionem fuit haec femina, ut magnis iis ecclesiae Patribus et Doctoribus, quos memoravimus [Gregory the Great, Anselm, Chrysostom] aut non multum, aut nihil omnino cedere videatur."

pleasure, in development of commerce and industry, and of power and comfort; in the world of science there is a reluctance to accept anything that is not tangible or demonstrable by experiment; in the world of politics, not only in practice, but more or less in principle, Christianity and justice are set aside in favour of the right of might. With all the greater force, therefore, have the supernatural and the spiritual been insisted upon by the Church, and it is clear that in this respect much importance must attach to mysticism, since it is that which defends, deepens and strengthens faith in the supernatural character of Christianity; the worldly tendency of those times was extending its influence to an extraordinary degree over the things of this world, so, by way of counterpoise, within the Church, we have the development of the knowledge of the supernatural. As has always been the case, any exaggeration leads by reaction to its opposite, and thus during the centuries that followed, as the tendency towards worldly things grew stronger and stronger, there also grew up a false and exaggerated form of mysticism. Teresa had then an important work to do; in the Quietist controversies, for example, Bossuet was able to appeal to her writings against Fénelon, as an example of the true religious mysticism.[1]

A special importance also attaches to the writings of Teresa in connexion with the development of the new religious Orders. The religious bodies of the Middle Ages sought to maintain the spirit of the Orders above all by the exclusion

[1] Even among Protestants such as J. Arndt, G. Arnold, Tersteegen, the mysticism of St. Teresa exercised an important influence (ZÖCKLER, in *Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, XV., 323). She also exercised an influence over certain philosophers such as Malebranche and Leibnitz, who wondered with respectful admiration at the mystical experiences of St. Teresa, "which," says C. A. Wilkens, "rise above the experiences of every believing Christian like the flight of a flock of birds above a nest placed in a flower-decked meadow, or in the summit of an oak, or of a flight 20,000 feet up, or like a fugue of Bach over a popular air." (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 576). *Cf.* HENRI JOLY, Ste. Thérèse, Paris, 1908, 239; Acta Sanct., n. 1581, p. 462.

of external influences, by bodily austerities and by vocal prayer. The new Orders, as a necessary consequence of the conditions of the times, were above all intended for the care of souls, and to exert an influence upon the world ; the older methods could no longer be employed to the same extent, and they were obliged to seek to make up for them by an increase in the life of interior prayer ; in the place of vocal prayer in choir more attention was devoted to interior prayer and contemplation. The first to do this was Ignatius of Loyola by means of the Exercises, but it is also obvious that the development of mysticism and its great teacher, Teresa, did much to promote the prayer of the interior life. The various Orders have laboured for the glorification of Teresa, and the spread of her writings,[1] nor was his veneration for her the only reason why Alphonso Maria de' Liguori, one of the greatest founders of modern times, never wrote a letter without placing her name at the head of it.[2] Moreover, the writings of Teresa are full of lessons for the common life of Christians.[3]

It is no part of the historian's duty to attempt an explanation of the mystical states,[4] but Teresa is a mystic of such

[1] Acta Sanct., October VII., 764.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This point of view was brought out, e.g. by Pius X. (*loc. cit.*) : "[Teresa] tutam demonstrat viam inde a ruidmentis vitae christianae ad absolutionem perfectionemque virtutis proficiendi." In like manner Leo XIII., March 7, 1888 : "Inest in ipsis [the writings of Teresa] vis quaedam . . . mirifica emandatrix vitae, ut omnino cum fractu legantur . . . plane ab unoquoque homine, qui de officiis, de virtue christiana, h. e. de salute sua cogitet paulo diligentius."

[4] Just as at one time the attempt was made to explain the mystical state by animal magnetism, so is the attempt made today to do so by hysteria. But a scientific research on the basis of the authorities which gives us a satisfactory picture of Teresa the mystic, and shows her state to have been the result of hysteria, is yet to be found. One thing, however, is certain : all that concerns the spiritual life of Teresa form the very antithesis of sufferers from hysteria. These sufferers may indeed be full of vigour and

importance, and stands so much alone, that he may not shrink from the task of describing her in detail in this aspect, even at the risk of making her nature appear more mysterious than it really was.

Teresa was not one of those people who give rein at once to their vivid imagination without thought or resistance. She was on her guard against treating the first illusion of phantasy as visions, and adds that she cannot understand how anyone can persuade himself that he sees things that he actually does not see.[1] Above all she is clear that excessive fasts

intelligence, but as the result of their physical condition they have none of that command of themselves, which was so remarkable in Teresa, or of her power of judgment, and strength of will. A great impression was made, some ten years ago, by a work of the Belgian Jesuit, G. HAHN, Les phénomènes hystériques et les révélations de Sainte Thérèse, Louvain, 1883. This work, a reply to a *concursus*, is conceived as a defence of the authenticity of the visions and revelations of Teresa against rationalist attacks. (*Cf.* CH. DE SMEDT in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXV., 1884, 533-550). The author arrived at the conclusion that Teresa suffered indeed physically from hysteria, but that in her high spiritual life she was the very opposite of an hysterical person ; that those visions which she attributes to the devil might be considered the result of hysteria, but that this is quite out of the question with regard to those visions, etc., which she attributes to a divine origin. That it is impossible to accept this dualism was shown by a colleague of the author at the Jesuit College in Louvain : Étude pathologique théologique sur sainte Thérèse. Réponse au mémoire du P. G. Hahn par LOUIS DE SAN, Louvain-Paris, 1886. WILKENS (*Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 576) points it out as praiseworthy that Gabriela Cunningham (St. Theresa, 2 vols., London, 1894), although a follower of Renan, indignantly rejects hysteria as the solution to be adopted in dealing with mysteries of faith. Against PAVALES Y GUTIERREZ, El supernaturalismo de S. T. y la filosofia médica, Madrid, 1894, see GRÈGOIRE DE SAINT-JOSEPH, La prétendue hystérie de ste. Thérèse, Lyons, 1895.

[1] "Tengase aviso, que la flaqueza natural es muy flaca, en especial en las mujeres . . . ; es menester que á cada cosita que se nos

and nights without sleep may induce a state which the inexperienced might look upon as an ecstasy ; in such cases she recommended her subjects to cure themselves by taking more nourishment and sleeping longer at night.[1] Above all Teresa's nature was quite free from exaggerations. The Poor Clares of Madrid, with whom she stayed for fifteen days, were delighted to find in her a saint who could be imitated, for she ate, slept, and spoke like everybody else.[2] One can read dozens of her letters to members of her family and to her sisters in religion without finding a trace of the mystical state of the writer ; she does not walk among the clouds, but always shows herself reasonable, of sound judgment, compassionate, interested in the small things that concern her relatives and subjects,[3] so that she does not disdain to give advice about toothache and the like, or to recommend the trial of some celebrated cooking oven.[4]

At the same time nobody who knows her writings can doubt

antoje, no pensemos luego es cosa de vision. . . . Adonde hay algo de melancolía es menester mucho mas aviso, porque cosas han venido á mi de estos antojos, que me han espantado, como es posible que tan verdaderamente les parezca, que ven lo que no ven." Fundaciones c. 8, La Fuente LIII. 195a.

[1] "A una persona le acaecia estar ocho horas, que ni están sin sentido, ni sienten cosas de Dios : con dormir y comer y no hacer tanta penitencia, se le quitó a esta persona." Moradas IV., c. 3, *ibid.* LV. 181b.

[2] Acta Sanct. n. 457, p. 221.

[3] This is also the opinion of S. M. Deutsch in *Herzogs Real Enzyklopädie*, XIX., 642 : "Teresa is above all one of the most extraordinary figures in the whole field of mysticism, in whom were combined a vast number of ecstasies and visions with the most unreserved submissiveness to the Church, while at the same time she displays a remarkable sanity of judgment of the practical Christian life."

[4] Such things, of no interest to the reader, were omitted in the earliest editions of the letters. *Cf.* the collection of these omissions by Joly, in *Le Correspondent*, CCI. (Nouv. Série, CLXV.), 1900, 555-577 ; L. Valentin in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclés.*, Paris, 1901, 285-310.

that Teresa speaks with perfect sincerity and truth about her interior experiences. She describes things that she has actually lived through, and in no way invented, and this is the impression which is irresistibly forced upon the reader; she not only expects of others the most exact love of the truth,[1] but makes the same demand upon herself, and therefore takes obvious pains to express herself clearly, and with all possible adherence to the truth. She often tries to explain the nature of her mystical experiences by examples, but does not fail to point out the things in which the example does not hold good; when she is not sure of any fact, no matter how trifling, as for example a date, if the matter is uncertain in her mind she does not fail to note the uncertainty.

Moreover, Teresa attaches no particular importance to her mystical experiences. The love of God, she often says, does not consist in tears and sweetness, but in serving God with uprightness, and with great resoluteness and humility.[2] She therefore prayed God in her first mystical experiences that He would be pleased to lead her by another way;[3] and even later on she tried to resist the ecstasies when they came to her, though naturally in vain, because it was as though an eagle had seized her and flown away with her.[4] Such

[1] "Quiérole contar una tentacion, que me dió ayer y aun me dura, con Eliseo [=Gracian]. pareciéndome se si descuida alguna vez en no decir toda verdad en todo; bien que veo serán cosas de poca importancia, mas querria anduviese con mucho cuidado en esto. Por caridad vuestra paternidad se lo ruegue mucho de mi parte, porque no entiendo habrá entera perfecion, á donde hay este cuidado." To Gracian on 18 July, 1579, La Fuente, LV. 221a. She says of herself: "En cosa muy poco importante yo no trataria mentira por ningun de la tierra." Fundaciones, Einl. *ibid.* 179a. "Y ahora y entonces puedo errar en todo, mas no mentir; que por la misericordia de Dios antes pasaria mil muertes; digo lo que entiendo." Moradas IV. c. 2, *ibid.* 449a.

[2] Vida, c.11; Moradas IV. c.1, La Fuente, LIII., 45b, LV., 447a.

[3] Vida, c. 27, *ibid.* LIII., 81b.

[4] "Viene un impetu ten acelerado y fuerte, que veis y sentis levantarse esta nube, ó esta aguila caudalosa y cogeros con sus alas." Vida c. 20, *ibid.* 64a.

things did not move her to any self-complacency; in her opinion, the reason why she, in preference to others, was led by so extraordinary a way, was to be found in her weakness, which needed such special support.[1]

Her mystical experiences were to Teresa a source of great trouble. At first those about her looked upon it all as a deceit of the devil, and the anxiety she herself felt lest perchance she was being made sport of by the evil spirit caused her terrible interior trials.[2] The first who gave her reassurance were certain Jesuits, under whose direction she had placed herself during the first difficult years of her new life;[3] later on she said that she had been educated in the Society of Jesus, and had received her life from them.[4] Still greater comfort was given her by Peter of Alcantara,[5] but even then from time to time all recollection of her mystical joys was as it were wiped out of her memory, and she found herself tormented both in body and soul in an extraordinary way.[6] When her full states of ecstasy came upon her, her ordinary condition during and after these graces was one of great grief of soul,

[1] "Que mi flaqueza ha menester esto." Vida c. 19, *ibid.* 62a. "Ansí creo que de flaca y ruin me ha llevado Dios por esto camino." Relation of 1560, *ibid.* 147a.

[2] "Que á no me favorecer tanto el Señor, no sé que fuera de mí. Bastantes cosas habia para quitarme el juicio, y algunas veces me via en términos que no sabia que hacer." Vida c. 28, *ibid.* 87b.

[3] Vida c. 23, *ibid.* 75a.

[4] "Pues en la Compañia me han, como dicen, criado y dado el sér." To Pablo Hernandez, S.J., October 4, 1578, *ibid.* LV., 194a. That the reform of Teresa was connected with the reforming Orders of the XVIth century, she herself states, e.g. to Juan Suarez, of the Society of Jesus, February 10, 1578 (*ibid.* 163 *seq.*): "Jamás creeré que . . . permita su Majestad [God], que su Compañia [the Society of Jesus] vaya contra la Orden de su Madre, pues la tomó por medio para repararla y renovarla."

[5] Vida, c. 30, La Fuente, LIII., 90 *seq.*

[6] "Todas las mercedes, que me habia hecho el Senor, se me olvidaban: solo quedaba una memoria, como cosa que se ha sonado, para dar pena." *Ibid.* 91a.

which was like a death-agony.[1] Contemplative souls, so she specially points out, are led by God along hard ways, and are harshly treated, and mystical joys must be considered as a counterpoise to pains which would otherwise be unbearable.[2]

In spite of all her initial doubts Teresa later on was quite at rest as to the reality of her mystical visions. So long as they lasted it was quite clear, she said, that they could not be due to any natural cause ;[3] and the great change for the better which took place in her with these mystical graces, showed the hand of God. During these visions Our Lord enriched her with treasures of grace in the shortest space of time, such as with all her austerities she had not been able to attain to in twenty years[4] and she found herself filled with contempt for everything of earth, and with an invincible courage to undertake great things for the honour of God.[5]

Indeed it called for a courage out of the common to undertake the task to which Teresa now set herself, and successfully accomplished, namely the reform of the whole Order to which she belonged.

The attempt to bring back the Carmelite Order once more to its original high ideals had already begun in the XVth century ; John Soreth (1451–1471) established convents in many of the provinces into which the more zealous monks

[1] Vida, c. 20, *ibid.* 65a.

[2] " Son intolerables los trabajos, que Dios da á los contemplativos, e son de tal arte, que si no les diese aquel manjar de gusto, no se podrian sufrir." Camino de perfeción, c. 27 (18 or 19), La Fuente, LIII., 339b.

[3] Vida, c. 15, 18, 25, *ibid.* 53b, 61a, 78a. " Y viene á veces con tan grande majestad, que no hay quien pueda dudar, so no que es el mesmo señor " (c. 28, *ibid.* 86a). " Ser imaginacion esto, es imposible de toda imposibilidad " (c. 28, *ibid.* 86b) ; " porque cuando yo le via presente, si me hicieran pedazos, no pudiera yo creer que era demonio " (c. 29, *ibid.* 88b).

[4] " Lo que la pobre del alma con trabajo, por ventura de veinte años de cansar el entendimiento, no ha podido acaudalar, hácelo esto hortolano celestial en un punto." Vida c. 17, *ibid.* 57b.

[5] Vida c. 20, *ibid.* 67a.

could be gathered, but more commonly special reformed congregations were established for the same purpose, such as the Congregation of Mantua (1413), Albi (1499), and one at Monte Oliveto near Genoa (1514). But the effect of such attempts was limited to a single time or place, and the reformed congregations were something of an embarrassment, for they broke up the Order into sections. Above all others the special Congregation of Albi led to serious differences; its author, Luigi de Lyra, was placed under excommunication by the general chapter in 1503, but in spite of this his followers continued their efforts. The affair went to lamentable lengths, and at length Gregory XIII. suppressed the congregation in 1584. These dissensions had the effect of leading various men who were well-disposed towards the formation of new associations throughout the Order, either to refuse to have anything to do with them or to regard them with suspicion.[1] Under these circumstances Teresa had to encounter hard trials, but she never relaxed her zeal for a renewal of the religious spirit. At the same time as Teresa, a pious widow, Mary of Jesus, who had just entered the Carmelite Order at Granada, felt herself called by God to establish a reformed convent. Having gone on pilgrimage on foot to Rome, she obtained the necessary Papal approval and carried out her design in 1563.[2] A reformed convent of the men of the Order sprang up in Aragon owing to the efforts of James Montaner, who in 1565 obtained the approval of the General of the Order, Rossi.[3]

The immediate occasion of these reform designs of Teresa must also be sought in mysticism. One day she felt herself carried body and soul to hell, and saw the place to which a life devoid of definite religious zeal would have brought her in the end. She looked upon the terrible impression which this vision made upon her as one of the greatest graces of her life;

[1] Benedict Zimmermann, O. C. D. in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 360.

[2] Teresa, Vida, c. 35, La Fuente, LIII., 106b.

[3] Zimmermann, *loc. cit.* 361.

after this all the sorrows of this world seemed to her to be quite inconsiderable, and she was entirely possessed by gratitude to God, and readiness to do and suffer great things for Him, and by compassion for the many souls who by their sins were preparing for themselves so terrible a future, and by a determination to win from God by her austere life pardon for sinners, and especially for the heretics of France.[1] The first thing she resolved upon was an exact observance of the rule of the Order. Further visions, and the help of friends who put their means at her disposal, though these were not sufficient, directed Teresa's thoughts to the foundation of a special convent of strict observance. Her provincial gave her the necessary permission, and Peter of Alcantara and the great Dominican, Louis Bertrand, encouraged her.[2]

But it was just at that moment that a terrible storm broke out against her ; she was looked upon as a fool. The foundation of a convent for which she had not the necessary means seemed to everybody the veriest madness. Teresa herself was unable to give any reasons to her enemies. The provincial recalled his permission, and Teresa's confessor, the Jesuit Alvarez, forbade her to take any further steps in the matter.[3] Pending the recall of this prohibition Teresa found herself condemned to inaction for six months. That the reform was not thus smothered at the beginning was due to the intervention of Pope Pius IV. Teresa's adviser, the Dominican Ibañez, obtained for her a decree from the Grand Penitentiary, Ranuccio Farnese, which gave full authority for the desired foundation.[4] In the meantime Teresa caused a small house to be bought in secret through her sister and quite unexpectedly a large sum of money reached her from Peru, from her brother, and on August 25th, 1562, the little convent of St. Joseph at Avila was opened, the first stone of a very important reform of the Order.[5] A fierce storm at once

[1] Vida c. 32, La Fuente, LIII., 98b.

[2] *Ibid.* 99b. Acta Sanct., n. 283, p. 183.

[3] Vida, c. 33, La Fuente LIII. 100b.

[4] Of February 7, 1562, in Acta Sanct., n. 334, p. 194.

[5] Vida, c. 36, La Fuente, LIII., 108 *seq.*

broke out ; Teresa was recalled by her prioress to the convent of the Incarnation, and the city council of Avila decreed the suppression of any new foundation. Special difficulty had been occasioned by the fact that Teresa, after meeting the above-mentioned Mary of Jesus had refused to give any fixed revenue to her convent.[1] She nevertheless obtained the approval of her Order through the Penitentiaria.[2] Supported by these two Papal decrees, which were confirmed by a bull of Pius IV.,[3] she was able to withstand all attacks. Her defender, the celebrated Dominican theologian, Domenico Ibañez, successfully defended her action before the city council of Avila.

In her new convent, which Teresa had placed under the care of the Bishop of Avila, and not of the General of the Order, she passed, until 1567, the five most peaceful years of her life. The Carmelite rule in all its primitive strictness was observed there without the mitigations granted by the Popes, and was even rendered more severe by Teresa in a constitution. All this austerity, however, was penetrated by that apostolic spirit which meant so much to Teresa, and which she sought to instil into her subjects ; all their prayers and sacrifices were to be offered to Our Lord to help priests in the conversion of heretics and infidels.[4] Teresa's wish to be able to do something of this kind for the honour of God, was especially enkindled in her by a visit from a Franciscan missionary to the Indies, Francisco Maldonado, who told her of the sad state of the pagans in the Indies.[5]

Soon afterwards the General of the Carmelites, Giovanni Battista Rossi, came to Avila. Philip II., in order to further his work of reform, had interested himself in obtaining the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Decree of December 5, 1562, in Acta Sanct., n. 361, p. 201.

[3] July 17, 1565, *ibid.* n. 370 *seqq.*, p. 202 *seq.*

[4] Fundaciones c.1., La Fuente, LIII., 182a. "El deseo con que se comenzaron estos monasterios, que fué para pedir á Dios, que á los que tornan por su honra y servicio ayude." Teresa to Gracian, middle of December, 1576, La Fuente, LV., 108a.

[5] Fundaciones, *loc. cit.*

personal presence of Rossi in Spain, and Pius V. had given his consent by a brief of February 24th, 1566. On September 20th, 1566, Rossi held a chapter of the Order in Andalusia, appointed a new provincial, and issued ordinances of reform. In the following year he did the same in Castille.[1] At the invitation of Teresa he also visited the reformed convent of Avila.[2] He rejoiced exceedingly in seeing there once more the Carmelite Order in all its ancient purity. Rossi opened a wide field to Teresa's zeal and desire for work by giving her full authority to found more reformed convents ;[3] later on he wrote to her that she might found as many as there were hairs on her head.[4] With her usual courage Teresa set herself to this fresh task, and even went beyond it, for the General had scarcely left Avila when the idea came to her that it was necessary for the well-being of the convents of nuns that there should also be formed to assist them reformed houses of the men of the Order, so she determined to set her hand to the reform of the friars as well as of the nuns.[5] Rossi acceded to this desire of hers, but under limitations ; he gave her full authority for the foundation of two houses of friars, but only in Castille, not in Andalusia ;[6] a remembrance of the sad consequences of the establishment of former congregations within the Order made such a limitation to a great extent necessary.

Teresa no longer lacked authority, though she was still in want of the necessary funds. She therefore sought advice. At Medina del Campo she found her former confessor, Balthasar Alvarez, the rector of the Jesuit college, and with his

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 393, p. 207.

[2] Fundaciones c. 2, La Fuente, LIII., 182 *seq.*

[3] Two patents of April 27 and May 16, 1567, published in La Fuente, LIII., 552 *seq.*

[4] Teresa to Pablo Fernandez, October 4, 1578, La Fuente, LV., 194a ; Fundaciones c. 27, *ibid.* LIII., 230a.

[5] Fundaciones c. 2, *ibid.* LIII., 183a.

[6] Letter of August 14, 1567, from Valencia, in Acta Sanct., n. 403 *seq.*, p. 209 *seq.* *Cf.* Zimmermann in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 361.

help she overcame the opposition of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. A young lady who had been unable to obtain admission to the convent of St. Joseph through want of room, gave the money, and Teresa ventured upon what the Bishop of Avila and some of her friends deemed an act of madness, namely the beginning of a house at Medina, though of course at first upon an extraordinarily small scale.[1]

This first successful attempt had an even greater result for the foundress. The prior of the Carmelites at Medina, Antonio de Herida, who had helped her to acquire the new convent, declared himself ready to accept the reform, and, what was more important, brought her into relations with another yet greater man, the still youthful Juan de Yepes, or, as he was called later on, John of the Cross.[2] Born in 1542, the youngest son of a poor cloth-weaver of Fontiberos, John, especially after the premature death of his father, had many opportunities, in his struggles for his daily bread, of experiencing privation and trouble, and of becoming accustomed to a life of hardships. To his privations were also added humiliations, for he found himself employed as a labourer, being quite without any sort of training. The director of a hospital at Medina took him into his house, and John passed seven years there, rendering the most menial service, and in the meantime attending the neighbouring Jesuit school, where he made good progress. In 1563 he entered the house of the Carmelites at Medina, taking the name of John of St. Matthias. After he had made his vows he received permission to observe the primitive rule without any mitigation. Not content with this, however, in his desire for a life of extraordinary austerity he thought of leaving the Carmelite Order and joining the Carthusians.[3] Teresa, however, persuaded him, when she met him at Avila, that it would be more pleasing to God if he were to lead a life of perfection in the Order of his choice. She thus gained the principal instrument for the reform of the

[1] Fundaciones c. 3, *loc. cit.* 183 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 158b.

[3] Vita di Giovanni della Croce by JERONIMO DE S. JOSE, Madrid, 1641. ZIMMERMANN, *loc. cit.*, VIII., 480 *seq.*

male branch of her Order. In a little hamlet of but twenty families, named Durvello, a gentleman placed at their disposal a house of extraordinary poverty, and there, on November 28th, 1568, Antonio de Herida and John of the Cross began to lead the conventual life of the discalced Carmelites.[1]

In the meantime Teresa had established, during 1568, two convents of nuns at Malagon and Valladolid. It was just at this time that Teresa entered upon an entirely new period of her life. The mystical visions still continued, and she ascended to greater and greater heights, but now it is above all Teresa the Foundress, and the reformer of her Order, who demands our attention. Her fame spread throughout Spain; sometimes it is a member of the great aristocracy, sometimes a pious merchant, who stretches out a hand to help her. In a covered carriage which was to serve her as a cloister she travelled from one place to another; sometimes she was in the heart of Spain, at Toledo or Segovia, sometimes in the north, at Burgos or Valencia; sometimes in the extreme south, at Seville or Granada. For the most part after long negotiations, and with many difficulties, she was successful in founding a new convent in these places, at first very poverty stricken, but which quickly took root and developed.[2] Besides the reformed convent at Avila, in the course of a few years, between 1567 and 1582, she founded no less than sixteen other convents of nuns, and that though her work as foundress was twice interrupted during that period for several years.

The first interruption, from 1572 to 1574, was connected with the work of Gregory XIII. for the reform of the discalced Carmelites. The attempt made by the General of the Order, Rossi, in Spain, had not had the desired effect, and at the instance of Philip II., the Pope then entrusted two Dominicans with a further visitation. Pedro Hernandez was to reform the Carmelites of Castile, and Francesco de Vargas those of Andalusia. Hernandez began his labours at Pastrana; what

[1] Fundaciones c. 13-14, *loc. cit.* 201 *seqq.*

[2] She has herself described the foundations she made in her Libro de las Fundaciones, La Fuente, LIII., 179-250.

he there learned of Teresa filled him with admiration, and this led to the probably distasteful result, as far as the foundress was concerned, of her being appointed prioress of her former convent of the Incarnation at Avila. On the other hand this marked an important step forward for her, as Hernandez sang her praises in Madrid before the king and the nuncio, Ormaneto.[1]

Ormaneto's favour was of special value for Teresa's reform, in connexion with the development of the male branch of the Order. To the first house at Durvello, which was soon transferred to Mancera, a second was added at Pastrana in 1569, again owing to the personal efforts of Teresa. By the orders of the General, Rossi, her work as foundress was not to exceed the number of two houses for men; it would however have been very desirable for the reformed Carmelites to have possessed a college in the university city of Alcalá, for the training of the young members of the Order. This was actually brought about by the plenary powers of the visitor, Hernandez, in 1570, and during the two following years the reformed Carmelites erected with the consent of the apostolic visitor, Vargas, but without the participation of Teresa, four other houses of men in Andalusia.[2] The permission of the General of the Carmelites, who was at that time occupied with the houses of Castile, had thus been again exceeded; moreover Vargas had committed the imprudence of taking away a convent from the Carmelites of the mitigated observance and handing it over to the reform.

The Carmelites of the mitigation had watched with increasing anxiety the growth of the reform, which took away from them their best members. At length the General of the Order, Rossi, obtained a Papal brief of August 13th, 1574, which deprived the two Dominicans of their plenary powers as visitors; he postponed the publication of the edict until the general chapter of the following year.[3]

The reform, however, found a defender in the nuncio at

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 497, p. 228 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* n. 564 *seqq.*, p. 242 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* n. 616, p. 253 *seq.*

Madrid. On hearing of the Papal edict Ormaneto restored to the Dominican Vargas his office of visitor ;[1] a letter from the Secretary of State, Galli, seemed to recognize his right to do this, for he confirmed Ormaneto's request[2] that the plenary powers of the nuncio should not be prejudiced by the brief. Ormaneto further associated the reformed Carmelite, Jerome Gracian, with Vargas as his colleague in that office. Gracian was a capable and zealous man of whom Teresa spoke with genuine enthusiasm, after she had had an interview with him at Veas.[3] He was, however, only twenty-eight years old, and had only been a few years in the Order, and there was something repugnant in the idea of a representative of a recently begun reform acting as a censor of the ancient government of the Order. Soon afterwards Ormaneto added to the powers of Gracian by making him also visitor of the discalced Carmelites of Castile,[4] whereas, as the colleague of Vargas, he had only had authority in Andalusia.

At the approach of the chapter of the Order at Piacenza, the General obtained a Papal brief of April 15th, 1575, which, though it urged the maintenance in all its purity and the universal introduction of the true observance of the Order, gave him full powers to take action against superiors and convents which were established or begun against his orders.[5] The general chapter of Piacenza clearly showed the purpose of this ordinance ; on the Feast of Pentecost, 1575, it decreed the suppression of the houses which the reformed Carmelites had established outside Castile, and ordered the religious in them

[1] On September 22, 1574, *ibid.* n. 617.

[2] On December 27, 1574, *ibid.*

[3] Fundaciones c. 23, La Fuente, LIII., 220 *seq.* ; letter of May 12, 1575, *ibid.* LV., 47 *seqq.* For Gracian (1545-1615) *cf.* his life by A. Marmol, Valladolid, 1619 ; Bouix, Lettres, I., Paris, 1882, 246-285. Gracian gives us a kind of autobiography in the Peregrinación de Anastasio, new edition, Barcelona, 1905 ; *cf.* La Fuente, LV., 452-85 ; Grégoire de St. Joseph, Le P. Gratien et ses juges, Rome, 1904.

[4] Acta Sanct., n. 618.

[5] *Ibid.* n. 635 *seq.*, p. 259 *seq.*

to return to their former houses within three days.[1] The Portuguese Tostado was sent to Spain as visitor to enforce this decree, and he went there with the intention of, before all things, destroying the reform.[2] The acts of the chapter make no mention of the convents of nuns.[3] At the end of 1575 Teresa received instructions to choose one house of her Order as her permanent abode, and neither she nor any other Carmelite nun of the reform was to leave their convent any more. Teresa chose Toledo, and from 1575 to 1580 her work as foundress was stopped for a second time.[4]

Otherwise, however, the decrees of Piacenza did not have any very marked effect.. The previously appointed visitors of the Order continued to exercise their authority in virtue of their plenary Papal powers, and Tostado was unable to have his way altogether against them.[5] Ormaneto supported Teresa and her friends, and as long as he lived there was not much to fear from Tostado; on the contrary the reform was able to establish itself more firmly. For a long time past Teresa had looked upon it as a great drawback that the reformed branch of the Carmelites should be dependent upon the mitigation.[6] In a letter of July 19th, 1575, she had re-

[1] *Ibid.* n. 637.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 638.

[3] ZIMMERMANN in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III., 361.

[4] Acta Sanct., n. 663 *seqq.*, p. 265 *seqq.* In July, 1577, she again moved from Toledo to Avila; see *ibid.* n. 769, p. 287. Teresa wrote on January 16, 1578, that the chapter and the General had ordered "que ninguna Descalza pudiese salir de su casa, en especial yo: que escogiese la que quisiese, so pena de descomunion. Vese claro, que es proque no se hagan mas fundaciones de monjas." LA FUENTE, LV., 162a.

[5] "Dice que si no tray, el Tostado poder sobre los visitadores, que valdrian las atas; mas que si le tray, no hay que hablar, sino obedecer." Teresa to Mariano, February 26, 1577, LA FUENTE, LV., 345b, *cf.* 133b.

[6] Fundaciones c. 23, LA FUENTE, LIII., 221b; "Las [casas] de los frailes no iban mal, mas llevaban principio de caer muy presto, porque, como no tenian provincia por si, eran gobernados por los calzados."

course directly to the king; it was absolutely necessary, she concluded by saying, that the reform should have its own provincial, and Gracian was the man for that office.[1] Ormaneto not only supported her wishes in this, but he also at the same time, in defiance of the decrees of Piacenza, appointed Gracian as visitor and reformer in Andalusia as well, for the branch of the Order that was not yet reformed.[2] This was a rash and imprudent step. When the new visitor presented himself at the unreformed convent of Seville he met with so much resistance that Ormaneto had to intervene with a sentence of excommunication. During the course of the reform those who were threatened by it sent two envoys to Rome with a request for the recall of the full powers of Gracian;[3] according to the constitutions, they pointed out, ten years membership of the Order is required for the office of visitor, and Gracian has only three.[4] A chapter was held in Castille under the provincial of that region, Salazar, the decrees of which were aimed at the destruction of the reform. According to these the two parties must no longer be distinguished by their dress, and their members must live together in the same houses, each according to their own rule.[5] Obviously if these decrees came into force, after a time the reform party would be absorbed into the rest of the Order.

By the wish of Ormaneto, the reformed Carmelites had

[1] La Fuente, LV., 52a.

[2] On August 3, 1575, Acta Sanct., n. 657, p. 264. Ormaneto wrote on September 4, 1575 (Carini, 139): "S'hò deputato qualche visitatore come hora hò fatto nell'Orden del Carmen nell'Andalusia per dar qualche ordine a disordini, che troppo vanno attorno et per far eseguir le riforme fatte. . . . Et hò deputatò persona santa et essemplar de questi Discalzi del medesimo ordine che ha credito con S. M^tà^ et se ne và a piedi et senza dar una minima spesa ad alcuno convento et che farà tutto con gran charità et circonspettione come già hò visto in alcuni conventi, dove fin hora è stato."

[3] Acta Sanct. n. 662.

[4] Carini, 107.

[5] Acta Sanct. n. 708 *seqq.*, p. 274.

sent some representatives to the meeting to protest against these decrees. They availed themselves of their rights as an independent province, and in their turn assembled in chapter at Almodovar,[1] and there, as the principal business, the new constitutions for the discalced Carmelites were introduced, in order to remove the differences between the various houses.[2]

This new legislation was drafted by Gracian, but altogether in accordance with the spirit of Teresa and by her advice.[3] The influence of Teresa had by no means come to an end with her seclusion at Toledo. Her advice was sought from all quarters, and she sent her letters everywhere; to the king, to the General of the Order, to the chief supporters of the reform, to the convents of nuns which she had founded, everywhere encouraging them to perseverance, or moderating excessive zeal. She herself said that she was over-fatigued with writing letters, and was often kept until late in the night pen in hand.[4] Above all she realized that, following the example of their adversaries, they too must send representatives to Rome, because otherwise the unreformed party, by their prejudiced account of what had happened, would obtain all the possible briefs,[5] whereas on the other hand their own envoys, whether to the General or to the Pope, might succeed in obtaining their separation from the mitigation and the formation of a separate province. She urged haste. Methusalem—a nick-name for Ormaneto—was for separation;[6]

[1] Begun on September 8, 1576, *ibid.* n. 711.

[2] *Ibid.* n. 714.

[3] JOLY, Ste. Thérèse, 117 *seq.*

[4] "Aquel dia fueron tantas las cartas y negocios, que estuve escribiendo endo hasta los dos, y hizome daño á la cabeza; . . . me ha mandado el dotor, que no escriba jamás, sino hasta las doze, y algunas veces no de mi letra. Y cierto ha sido el trabajo ecesivo." Letter of February 10, 1576, LA FUENTE, LV., 129b.

[5] To Gracian, September 5, 1576, *ibid.* 75a.

[6] "Santelmo [or Don Pedro Gonzales; see BOUIX, Lettres, II., 41] me ha escrto hoy . . . que no tenemos qué temer, que cierto está Matusalem muy determinado de cumplir nuestro deseo de apartar las águilas [namely the unreformed].' To Gracian, September 6, 1576, LA FUENTE, LV., 15b.

she did not understand why there was this delay; they were letting the favourable opportunity escape them.[1]

In spite of Teresa's insistence they still delayed in sending the mission to Rome, and the favourable opportunity was allowed to pass. On June 18th, 1577, the nuncio Ormaneto, the great friend of the reform, died, and in his place came Filippo Sega, who looked upon Teresa as a restless adventuress,[2] and treated her conventual foundations as canonically invalid.[3] He favoured Tostado, removed Gracian from his office,[4] and entrusted the visitation of the reformed houses to Carmelites of the mitigation, with an injunction to prevent any further foundations according to the ideas of Teresa.[5] The nuns of the convent of the Incarnation at Avila were treated as excommunicated because they had chosen Teresa for their prioress,[6] and John of the Cross was kept in close imprisonment.[7] Tostado, however, had to leave Spain in May 1578 because he fell out of favour with Philip II.[8]

To attacks from without were added difficulties from within. It was by no means clear whether the nuncio had the right to deprive Gracian of his powers. Canonists from whom Teresa sought advice replied that he had not.[9] The king in his edict to the magistrates, probably after he had first made

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 713.

[2] "una vagamunda y inquieta." Teresa on October 4, 1578, La Fuente, LV., 193b.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] On July 22, 1578, Acta Sanct., n. 795.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] October, 1577, *ibid.* n. 772.

[7] From the beginning of December, 1577, *ibid.* n. 775.

[8] Acta Sanct., n. 795. See the letter of Teresa of July 2, 1577 (La Fuente, LV., 144b): "Sepa que murió el nuncio, y el Tostado está en Madrid. . . . Aunque hasta ahora no ha querido el rey, que visite, no sabemos en qué parará. La comision de nuestro padre [Gracian] no acabó, aunque murió el nuncio." Nevertheless, the persecutions of the Carmelites of Avila and the imprisonment of John of the Cross were ordered from Toledo. Teresa on January 16 (or 19), 1578, Lf Fuente, LV., 161b.

[9] Acta Sanct., n. 796.

inquiries in Rome, declared that the enactments of Sega with regard to the Order were invalid.[1] The confusion reached its height when Gracian, to the great sorrow of Teresa, allowed himself to be persuaded, on October 9th, 1578, to convoke a second new provincial chapter at Almodovar, and there, on the strength of the presumed Papal authority, to proclaim the separation of the reformed Carmelites from the rest of the Order, to give them a province of their own, and lastly to send to Rome the mission that had long before been decided upon.[2] This chapter naturally had no other result than to irritate the nuncio still more. Moreover the embassy to Rome proved quite useless because of the imprudence of the envoys.[3]

The fortunes of the reform seemed to be in a desperate position when suddenly, as the result of a hint from the king and the remonstrances of the friends of Teresa, Sega changed his views at the beginning of 1579.[4] Referring to something Sega had said, Philip II. gave him four assistants, one of whom was the Dominican, Pedro Hernandez, to advise him on the question of the Carmelites.[5] On April 1st, 1579, there appeared an edict from the nuncio in favour of the Carmelites; by this Sega withdrew them from the authority of the mitigation, and gave them as their vicar the prior of Valladolid, Angelo de Salazar, who, though he did not belong to the reform, was nevertheless well disposed towards it.[6] A decision of July 15th, 1579,[7] signed by the nuncio and his assistants, recommended to the king that which had been Teresa's most ardent desire, the separation of the two parts of the Order into two distinct provinces.

In May, as the result of the insistence of Teresa, two Carmelites had been sent to Rome to obtain the formation of a

[1] On August 9, 1578, *ibid.* n. 798.
[2] *Ibid.* n. 611 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.* n. 834 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* n. 825 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* n. 832.
[6] The decree in La Fuente, LV., 358 *seq.*
[7] Published *ibid.* 360 *seqq.*

separate province.[1] As Tostado was there and the chapter for the election of a new General was at hand, the envoys travelled in absolute incognito, in civilian dress and wearing swords, and at first they went about their business in Rome in secret and only with known friends.[2] At last the question was brought before the cardinalitial congregation of Bishops and Regulars, at which Cardinal Montalto, the future Sixtus V., especially took the part of Teresa. Nevertheless certain final difficulties were raised by the new General, Caffardo, who proposed that the provinces should not be separated, but that the provincials should be chosen alternately from the reformed and the unreformed parties. The Pope was not averse to this suggestion, and the envoys were about to return home without having accomplished their purpose when, during the course of a farewell visit they were advised to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope through Cardinal Alessandro Sforza. Gregory XIII. allowed himself to be persuaded,[3] and on June 22nd, 1580, there followed the brief which fulfilled the desire of Teresa.[4] On March 3rd, 1581, there was opened at Alcala the chapter which was to decree the separation of the provinces, which appointed Gracian as provincial of the reformed Carmelites, and which settled the constitutions of the Order.[5] The adherents of the primitive Carmelite rule now numbered 300 friars, 200 nuns, and 22 houses of men and women.[6]

Teresa's life's work was now done; between 1580 and 1582 she continued to found, with the usual difficulties, five more convents of women; with her return from Avila on October 4th, 1582, to Alba de Tomes, came the day she had so long desired which was to end her "exile" in this world.[7]

[1] Acta Sanct., n. 833, 836.

[2] *Ibid.* 836, 876.

[3] *Ibid.* 877.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 350 *seq.*; *cf.* 247.

[5] Acta Sanct., n. 879, 909 *seqq.*, 916 *seqq.*

[6] Bull. Rom., VIII., 351, § 3.

[7] For the tomb of St. Teresa *cf.* the article by W. Frank in the *Köln. Volkzeitung*, 1909, n. 876.

Not long before she had warned her former confessor and director that her work, "The Citadel of the Soul" was finished, and had told him that she had attained to the degree of mystical union there described,[1] in which the soul is entirely absorbed, but nevertheless is not hampered in its exterior work, but is even helped in it, and is enabled to combine in the most perfect way, for the honour of God, the life of Mary and Martha.[2]

This union of the highest degree of contemplation with the greatest possible activity in the world is in itself of great significance. Teresa desired that the same spirit should animate her Order; she rejoiced if her Carmelites devoted themselves to apostolic works in preaching and in teaching Christians, or attempted missionary work among the pagans in the Congo. The convents of women, too, in her reform, must dedicate all their prayers and exercises of penance to the salvation of souls. That still remains the hall-mark of the reform which she inaugurated. The Carmelites who bear Teresa's name have done great work in the missions to the infidel; in the foundation of Propaganda, as well as of the seminary of the missions in Paris, the most influential missionary body of modern times has been conspicuously that of the Carmelites.[3] In theological science they have greatly distinguished themselves by the colleges at Alcalá and Salamanca, and by the great treatises published there dealing with the whole of theology and philosophy.[4]

One more violent struggle took place even after the death of Teresa, before her ideas really penetrated the whole of the Order.[5] The Carmelites were in their origin a society of hermits; after they had been transferred to Europe they still might expect to exercise an influence over their contemporaries, but for a long time there was a divergence of opinion

[1] Letter of November 8, 1581, La Fuente, LV., 305b.

[2] Moradas VII. c. 1, La Fuente, LIII., 482b.

[3] R. Streit in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, VII. (1907), 12, 14.

[4] Zimmermann in the *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, III., 1785.

[5] Zimmermann in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III., 362.

among them as to how fully they could combine the care of souls with their original purpose of a life of contemplation. The first provincial of the reformed Carmelites, Gracian, always exercised his office in accordance with the spirit of Teresa, but his successor had quite different ideas; this was Nicolò Doria, a Genoese who had come to Spain as the representative of a bank, but who, after renouncing great wealth, had entered the Carmelite Order in 1577. He recalled the missionaries from the Congo, limited the care of souls as far as possible, resisted any further extension of the Order outside Spain, and increased its austerity both as to its external manner of life and its government. Gracian was expelled from the Order and John of the Cross banished to a distant convent. Thenceforward the reformed Carmelites of Spain were almost entirely a contemplative Order. The aims of Teresa were thus entirely frustrated in her own country, in one of the most important points. But a marvellous dispensation of Providence brought it about that Doria himself founded at Genoa in 1584, outside Spain, a convent of reformed Carmelites, which was soon followed by others at Rome and Naples. On Italian soil the Carmelite Order developed entirely on the lines laid down by Teresa, and thenceforward took on a new character, and attained to new and greater importance. That which the most distinguished men among the Carmelites from the beginning of the XVth century had sought to do, by introducing their own ideas on the basis of the powers which the Canon Law had placed in their hands, but which they had never succeeded in doing, had at length been happily carried into effect by a simple nun in the cell of her convent, supported only by contemplation and confidence in God, in the midst of a thousand difficulties and even against the wishes of her own superiors.

CHAPTER IV.

Philip Neri and the Foundation of the Oratory.

Born in the same year as Teresa, 1515, and like to her on account of his great natural gifts, the heights of mysticism to which he attained, the loveableness of his character which drew all souls to him, and above all that cheerful humour which runs through all his life like a bright ray of sunshine, Philip Neri is another of the great reformers of the XVIth century.[1]

[1] Life by Ant. Gallonio (Rome, 1600), Pietro Giacomo Bacci (*ibid.* 1622, 1625, 1859, English translation by F. W. Faber, 1845, 2. vols. New ed. with notes by F. J. Antrobus, 2 vols., 1902), Girolamo Barnabeo (ed. in Acta Sanct. Maii VI.; reissued Paris, 519-642, where (pp. 459-519) the life by Gallonio is given), Domenico Maria Manni (Intorno all'emendare alcuni punti delle Vite scritte di S. Filippo Neri, Florence, 1785), Alfonso Capecelatro (La vita di S. Filippo Neri, 3 books, Naples, 1879, 3rd, in his Opere vols. IX. and X., Rome-Tournay, 1889; German translation by Lager, Freiburg, 1886, English translation by Thomas Alder Pope, in 2 vols., London, 1882, new edition, in 1 vol., London, 1926.) *Cf.* Jos. Hilgers in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLVIII. (1895), 349 *seqq.*, 485 *seqq.*; Jörgensen, Römische Heiligenbilder, Einsiedeln, 1906, and E. Göller in Merkle-Bess, Religiöse Erzieher der kathol. Kirche, Leipzig, 1921; *ibid.* also an article by J. Mumbauer on Teresa of Jesus. A study of the process of canonization of Philip Neri and of his correspondence with the house at Naples, preserved by the Oratorians there, would give further information. Similar documents might be sought in the State Archives, Rome. The Rev. Louis Ponelle, to whom I suggested these sources for his new life of St. Philip, unfortunately fell in the war of 1914. [Our references are to Bacci in the last English edition of 1902, and to Capecelatro in the English edition of 1926. The researches made by Abbé Ponnelle, which include the Process of Canonization, the Archives of the Oratory in Rome and Naples, and other

Just as in the case of Teresa the field of her direct labours did not extend beyond the borders of her own country, so was Philip's sphere even more limited, namely to the circuit of the Eternal City; as the "Apostle of Rome" he devoted to her more than fifty years of labour, and to him more than to anyone else was it due that as early as 1576 the Venetian ambassador Paolo Tiepolo, was able to write that the whole city had abandoned its former frivolity, that its customs and manner of life were without any question moral and Christian, so that it might be said that from the point of view of religion Rome was in a good state, and perhaps not far removed from that perfection, of which human imperfection is generally speaking capable.[1]

Philip, who was a lively and cheerful boy, passed his first years in his native city, Florence.[2] He soon showed his capacity for study; he distinguished himself in profane learning, as later on he did in philosophy and theology; he also had a natural gift for poetry and a keen appreciation of music. Above all, even as a boy, he displayed a keen sense of everything that is noble and beautiful in the sphere of morals. The Dominicans of S. Marco had a great influence upon him, and in his later years he confessed himself indebted to them for the whole of his spiritual training.[3] From them, too, he learned a love for Savonarola, whose writings were among his favourite books.[4]

archives, were continued after his death by the Abbé Bordet, and have recently been published: PONNELLE ET BORDET, Saint Philippe Néri et la Société Romaine de son temps (1515-1595), Paris, 1928. Ed. note.]

[1] "forse non molto lontano da quella perfezione che può ricever l'imperfezione humana." P. TIEPOLO, 213 *seq.*

[2] CAPECELATRO, 7 *seqq.* Particulars from the baptismal registers at S. Giovanni, *ibid.* 6 note 2. For the family of Philip *cf. Riv. del collegio araldico*, X. (1912); for his renunciation of his property in favour of his sisters Caterina and Elisabetta 1560; Notarius de Comitibus prot. 622, in LANCIANI, IV., 71.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.* 157 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account in Vol. VI. of this work, p. 52.

At the age of eighteen Philip went to live with his cousin, a rich merchant of the little city of San Germano, in order to be trained by him in commercial matters, so that he might become his heir after the death of his cousin, who had no children. The thoughts of the youth, however, were turned to other things than the seeking for money and property. At San Germano, too, he gave himself up to exercises of piety.[1] and soon felt himself drawn to take a step as heroic as those once taken by Benedict of Nursia and Francis of Assisi, when they turned their backs upon the world and its brilliant allurements ; Philip made up his mind to leave his cousin and to renounce his inheritance of 22,000 scudi and to begin a life of the greatest poverty and abstemiousness, so as not to be hampered in his relations with God and his thoughts of the things of heaven. Without money or recommendations he set out for the Eternal City, without any idea how he was to find lodging or the necessary means of livelihood.[2] This love of poverty remained with him all through his life ; as he used to say, he prayed that the day might come when he was in need of a single "grosso," and knew not where to turn to beg for it.[3]

It so happened that Philip's noble bearing made at their first meeting a favourable impression upon a Florentine gentleman, Galeotto Caccia. Out of charity he gave him a poor little room in his house adjoining S. Eustachio,[4] and a

[1] The house in which Philip lived is still preserved ; a photograph in KERR, Pippo Buono, 2nd ed. London, 1927, p. 31.

[2] CAPECELATRO, 25. It is not true to say that Philip was disinherited by his father ; it is more correct to say that he passed on his inheritance to his sisters. *Ibid.* 17 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 27.

[4] For the position of the house of Caccia *cf.* CAPECELATRO, p. 34 ; Andrea Belli in the Diario di Roma 1843, n. 43. The year of Philip's coming to Rome is not certain ; Capecelatro (p. 16) supposes him to have gone to San Germano at the beginning of 1533, and at the end of 1534 or (p. 32) of 1535 to Rome. In the Cart. Strozze I., 1, 393 (reports from Rome in the time of Clement VIII.) it is stated : "He came from Florence to Rome in the year 1536."

yearly allowance of corn; in return for this Philip was to undertake the care of the two boys of his host.

For sixteen years the ascetic youth led in Caccia's house a life of prayer and severe penance.[1] What were his favourite thoughts, and what the ideas that had attracted him to Rome may be gathered from those exercises of piety to which he specially devoted himself. He very often visited the Seven Churches of Rome with all their memories of the apostles and martyrs,[2] and passed whole nights in prayer and meditation in the only catacomb that was accessible at that time, that of St. Sebastian.[3] It was thus the primitive Church, with its heroic spirit of faith and love of Christ, which spread itself as a picture before the eyes of his soul, and inflamed his heart with an insatiable thirst for a like heroic courage. He was able, without ever wearying, to pass ten years immersed in such thoughts in the catacomb of St. Sebastian, and it seemed to him as though during this prayer a burning fire was kindled in his breast, so that he was obliged to tear open his clothing in order in some wise to cool this interior fire.[4] This mystical state, which remained with him all his life, reached its climax at the Pentecost of 1544 in an occurrence which may be compared to the stigmata of St. Francis, the explanation of which the historian, less than anyone else, is called upon to give.[5] In an altogether extraordinary manner, while he was praying in a chapel in the catacomb of St. Sebastian,[6] he felt himself filled with the love of God, and at the same time, as though it was necessary to give more room for the violent beating of his heart, he discovered, after the occurrence was over, that over his heart there was a swelling larger than a man's fist; medical examination after his death showed that two of the false ribs had been forced outwards, and the connexion between the bone and the cartilage of the ribs

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 55 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 66.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 70.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 75.
[6] Photograph in KERR, Pippo Buono, p. 54.

broken, without, however causing him any pain.[1] This may be described as his consecration as the apostle of the love of God, for a divine love, which attracted his heart and his whole person with wonderful force to compassion and deep humility, together with an unchanging joyfulness and gaiety, and a great love for all men—he was commonly known as "Pippo Buono"—is the outstanding characteristic of Philip's nature. If anyone really loves God, so he thought, he will no longer attach any importance to the life of this world,[2] for to do so hinders the vision of God.

Soon he could no longer endure the solitude of the house of Caccia; the love of God urged him to the service of his neighbour, and his enthusiasm for the Rome of the apostles and martyrs filled him with the desire to be able to labour against the moral decadence of the capital of the world,

[1] Angelo Vettori (Victorius) who made the examination, published a work on the subject, Historia palpitationis cordis ruptarumque costarum Philippi Nerii, Rome, 1613 (GURLT-HIRSCH, Lexikon der hervorragendsten Ärtze aller Zeiten VI., Vienna-Leipsig, 1888, 102). The celebrated physician and botanist Andrea Cesalpino says in his Katoptron sive Speculum artis medicae hippocraticum, l. 6, c. 20 (Frankfort, 1605, 476): "Repertum est Romae nuper in b. Philippo Nerio sacerdote, qui saepius in palpitationem cordis incidebat ex vehementi extasi, cor valde amplum et arteria, quae ducit in pulmonem, duplo latior naturali. Eidem duae costae mendosae in latere sinistro abruptae a suis cartilaginibus follis instar elevabantur et deprimebantur, dum palpitationem pateretur, quo remedio divinitus servatus est, ne extingueretur usque ad annum octogesimum." Other physicians also wrote in confirmation of the occurrence (BENEDICT XIV., De Canonizat. IV., P., 1 c., 19 n., 25 *seq.*: Opera Omnia, Bassani, 1767). Information given by Philip himself to Cardinal Federico Borromeo concerning the beating of his heart in GALLONIO c. 2, n. 13. Acta Sanct., Mai VI., 463, *cf.* 523. *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI. (1917), 497 *seqq.* As well as Cesalpino, there was to be found among the admirers of Philip the botanist Mercati (for him see vol. XVII. of this work, p. 114, and *infra*, p. 260).

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 54.

and the profanation of its holy places. In his humility he had as yet no thought of the priesthood. He nevertheless resumed with brilliant success his study of philosophy at the Sapienza, and of theology under the Augustinians,[1] but he once more abandoned his studies and chose for his field of reforming zeal that which would be looked upon as the simplest and the least noticeable. He went to the hospitals, and there tended the sick, and by his readiness and love in serving them he won their hearts and spoke to them of God and their conversion. His zeal was rewarded with abundant fruit.[2]

A reformer could not well have begun his work in a more humble way, yet it was from the labours of Philip by the bedside of the sick that was developed the most characteristic part of the apostolate of Rome. The extraordinary results that he obtained with the sick drew men's attention to him, led others to imitate him, and attracted to him priests and laymen, nobles and common folk, as his pupils and disciples.[3] He went to the public squares, to the warehouses and the shops, and there he spoke, as he spoke to his sick, not in the pompous style of the humanist, but after the manner of intimate conversation. Gradually abundant means for the exercise of his works of charity were placed in his hands;[4] he made use of them to save poor girls from dishonour, and to assist promising youths in their studies; to many he showed the way to the cloister.

In 1548 Philip laid the foundations of the first of his great institutions.[5] Together with his confessor, Persiano Rosa,[6] just as once Gaetano di Tiene had done, he united together fifteen simple men in the confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity. The object of this association was the care of the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 38 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 47. *Cf.* PERICOLI, L'ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione, Imola, 1879, 126.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 78.

[6] A contemporary portrait of P. Rosa in the periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894, n. 11-12.

poor pilgrims to Rome, and of the convalescent sick who were still in need of care. The brothers assembled regularly in the little church of S. Salvatore in Campo,[1] in the Rione della Regola, in order to receive the sacraments together, and for their mutual edification by means of simple discourses. Under Philip's guidance the confraternity quickly developed, especially after the pilgrims of the year of jubilee in 1550 had everywhere sung its praises. At the next jubilee (1575) more than 200,000 strangers came under their pious care, and fifty years later about 600,000. In 1614, in the place of the old church of S. Benedetto in Arenula which had been assigned to it by Pius IV., the confraternity was able to build a new and splendid church, the SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini.[2] The rich indulgences which had been granted to it by Pius IV., were lost in the legislation of Pius V., but Gregory XIII. again restored them.[3]

In 1551 a new period in Philip's life began. He had already laboured for twelve years like the most zealous priest, without however being in orders. Now, however, at length, yielding to the pressure of his confessor, he received the sacred orders in the church of S. Tommaso in Parione,[4] and joined himself

[1] *Cf.* as to this M. ARMELLINI, 594 (2nd. ed., p. 407). Picture of the church as reconstructed in KERR, *loc. cit.* 59.

[2] ARMELLINI, 152 *seq.* MORICHINI, Istituti di carita, I., Rome, 1870, 7. *Cf.* HILGERS, 352; HERBERT THURSTON, The Holy Year of Jubilee, London, 1900, 262-9. For the Jubilee of 1775 the registers of the Confraternity give 271,970 pilgrims, and for 1825 the number is 273,299 (*Hist. Polit. Blätter*, XI., 1843, 737 *seq.*). For the confraternity in the XIXth century, *ibid.* 737-41.

[3] Bull of Pius IV., April 29, 1560, Bull. Rom., VII., 23 *seqq.* Revocation of all the indulgences attached to the giving of alms, *ibid.* 535 *seqq.*, a fresh confirmation of the confraternity by Gregory XIII., March 27, 1576, *ibid.* VIII., 530 *seqq.* Pius V. also granted it privileges on March 21, 1571, *ibid.* VII., 901 *seqq.* Its protector was at that time the Cardinal of Augsburg, *ibid.* *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 173.

[4] *Cf.* in FORCELLA, VII., 542, the commemorative inscription which is still preserved; *cf.* L. DOREZ, Rabelaesiana, Paris, 1905, 37 *seqq.*

to certain excellent priests who managed the confraternity della Carità, founded by Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII., in 1519,[1] and who led a common life at S. Girolamo della Carità in the Via Monserrato.[2]

Henceforward Philip was in a position to do a much greater work for the moral regeneration of Rome. To this end he laboured as a confessor in a way beyond all description.[3] From early morning he was occupied in hearing confessions; it was only towards mid-day that he made a break in order to celebrate holy mass with touching devotion and with many tears, almost as though in ecstasy;[4] in the evening he was

[1] *Cf.* our account in Vol. X. of this work, p. 393; TACCHI-VENTURI, I., 358. For the church of S. Girolamo della Carità, restored in 1600, *cf.* ARMELLINI, 282 *seq.*, and CAPOGROSSI GUARNA in *Il Buonarroti*, 3rd ser., Vol. I. (June, 1884). Photograph in KERR, Pippo Buono, p. 83. *Ibid.* p. 65 the approach to his room now changed into a chapel, and p. 70 the Oratory itself where Philip lived for a generation. For the relics of the saint preserved there see DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, 174.

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 102 *seqq.* In the archives of the arch-confraternity of S. Girolamo, Philip is named for the first time on July 12, 1552. In the ordinary congregation of the confraternity leave of absence having been granted for Christmas to the priest Francesco Marsuppini of Arezzo, Philip was appointed his deputy "cum eisdem honoribus et oneribus, et col patto, che al ritorno del suddetto p. Francesco gli debba restituere il suo luogo." On June 13, 1553, Philip addressed a petition to the Confraternity: "Deinde D. Philippus Florentinus renuntiavit salarium pro servitio futurum, offerens servire velle suo arbitro." In the year 1558 he is among the deputies and taking part at the meetings of the Congregation. (PASQUETTI, 56). According to MERKLE (Conc. Trid., II., 170, on the strength of the Diarium of Massarelli, VI., April 26, 1550) he had been in the preceding year one of the representatives of Duke Cosimo for the obedientia to Julius III. It was not, however, Philip Neri but Filippo dei Nerli, the historian, who was at the head of that embassy. *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XLI. (1917), 472 *seq.*

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 108.

again to be found in the confessional until late at night. During those forty years of his priesthood countless thousands opened their consciences to him, and he had the gift of sending them away new men. Moreover he knew at the same time how to multiply himself, by inspiring others with his own zeal and preparing them to be his fellow workers in yet wider fields.[1] He did not preach in the churches, but gathered together a few friends in his own room, generally in the afternoon, and spoke to them of spiritual things, of the goodness of God, of the transitory nature of the things of this world, in the same simple way that he had been accustomed to do when he was a layman. His own personal emotion made a deep impression. Soon Philip's room was too small for the crowd of visitors; he gathered round himself a growing body of disciples and followers, among whom were men of the greatest eminence for their noble birth or their learning, such as Giovanni Battista Salviati and many who belonged to the most distinguished cardinalitial families; besides the learned physician Modio,[2] there were the Florentine ambassador, Alessandro de' Medici, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne as Leo XI., Francesco Maria Tarugi, the near relative of Julius III. and Marcellus II.,[3] as well as Baronius, afterwards Cardinal.[4]

These two favourite disciples, Tarugi and Baronius, are eloquent proof of the wonderful influence exercised by the personality of Philip even at that time. Tarugi had no other thought than to secure his career at the Papal court, but when the twenty-nine year old courtier met Philip in 1556, it needed but a few words of conversation with him for the ambitious young man to be entirely changed. Tarugi

[1] *Ibid.* p. 114 *seq.*

[2] Editor of the poems of Jacopone da Todi (Rome, 1558, Naples, 1615); see Böhmer in *Romanischen Studien*, I. (1871), 140.

[3] Capecelatro, p. 132 *seq.* "Pronepos fuit cardinalis Antonii de Monte, nepos autem Iohannis magni magistri Ierosolymitanae militiae, qui Iulium III., SS. Pontificem habuit patruum." Gallia Christiana, I., 835.

[4] Capecelatro, p. 181 *seqq.*

gave up his worldly life, and devoted himself to prayer, the study of the Holy Scriptures, and to works of charity.[1] Baronius, who came to Rome on October 22nd, 1557, at the age of nineteen,[2] chose Philip for his confessor ;[3] by December 8th in the same year he already looked back upon his past life with sorrow,[4] and very soon entered the circle of the intimate friends of that perfect reader of hearts. Everything, he wrote to his father in 1562, would turn out for his advantage if he followed the guidance of his master, but if he departed from his advice even in the smallest things he would be sure to repent of it, while he feared the most serious consequences if he were to withdraw himself from his obedience.[5] It was

[1] *Ibid* p 135

[2] On October 23, 1557, he wrote to his father : *" Siamo arrivati venerdi a sera qui in Roma." Vallicella Library, Rome, Cod. Q. 46. For Baronius *cf.* HIERON. BARNABEO, Vita Caesaris Baronii, Rome, 1651 ; C. Baronii Epistulae et opuscula pleraque nunc primum ex archetypis in lucem eruta, ed. RAYM. ALBERICUS (incomplete), 3 vols. Rome, 1759 ; LAEMMER, Analecta 65-74 ; the same, De Caesaris Baronii litterarum commercio diatriba, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903 ; GENEROSO CALENZIO, La vita e gli scritti del cardinal C. Baronio, Rome, 1907 ; Per Cesare Baronio. Scritti vari nel terzo centenario della sua morte, Rome, 1911 ; SAVIO in *Civilta catt.*, 1907, III., 3-20, 159-75.

[3] See the deposition of Baronius at the process of canonization of St. Philip, published in CALENZIO, 948.

[4] See the letter of Baronius of that date, CALENZIO, 13 *seq.*

[5] *State con l'animo quieto che ho tal maestro e guida, che spero, se da me non resterà, che opera in me che voi ne habbiate ad essere molto contento e Dio ne sarà molto servito. . . . Pregate dunque Iddio che mi faccia obediente a lui, che certo sempre che io ho voluto far la sua obedienza, ogni cosa m'è riuscita in bene et l'havermi Iddio liberato alli mesi passati dall'insidie di quelli ladri quali robborno gl'altri : sappiate ciò essere stato per suo merito et santa obedienza. E di questo ve ne potria racontare cose miraculose et di grande importanza, come all'incontro, se in alcuna cosa ancora minima ho voluto preterire la sua obedienza, sempre me ne son trovato male. E credo certo, che s'io tornassi a voi senza sua santa voluntà, che tutto l'inferno si scatenarebbe contro di me et in poco tempo arebbe in grave scandalo a tutti

a virile spirit that Philip's direction planted in him; Baronius wrote to his mother that she must pray to God for him in order that he might become another Stephen or Lawrence, or one of the great martyrs: "This is my desire: may the love that unites you to me be such that you may be able to act like those Christian women of the first ages who, with eager desire and joy, led their own sons to martyrdom; she indeed thought herself happy who was worthy to have a martyr son."[1] In these two men, so highly endowed intellectually, their veneration for Philip remained until extreme old age, even after his death. Later on Tarugi, when he was a Cardinal and Archbishop of Avignon, made it his boast that he had been for fifty years with Philip as a novice in the Congregation; Baronius, after the death of his master, in words of the deepest emotion, in his great historical work of the Annals, declared himself before all the world, and in every way, the disciple of Philip; he attributes to him the credit for his learned works, and thanks him for the fact that when he was a young man and found himself alone amid the dangers of the Rome of that time, he did not suffer moral shipwreck.[2]

et ogni piccola tentatione mi aterrarebbe. Onde hora essendo aiutato dalli suoi santi meriti et orationi sono come pulcino sotto l'ali della bioccha: ne temo se ben tutto l'inferno s'armasse contra di me; e mentre sono in sua protettione, mi trovo allegro e contento e tutto satisfatto. Aiutatemi a ringratiare Iddio di tanto beneficio d'avermi dato un si perfetto Padre spirituale; e pregate Dio, ch'io ne facci frutto. Baronius to his father, March 22, 1562, Vallicella Library, Rome, Q. 46, f. 33; 56, f. 3, used by BARNABEO, Vita Baronii 21.

[1] Letter of December 3, 1563, in LAEMMER, Diatriba, 38.

[2] "Imprimis apostolico spiritu nos saepe parturiit, et ab ipsa adulescentia eiusdem spiritus freno coercuit, cohibuitque a lubrico iuvenilis aetatis procurentis ad malum." (Annales, VIII., Philippo gratiarum actio; also in BARNABEO, *loc. cit.*). Baronius also took the opportunity in his Martyrologium Romanum, on August 23, when speaking of the Florentine St. Philip Benizi, to speak of the other Florentine St. Philip Neri: "sanctitate et puritate vitae atque eximia in Deum et proximum caritate clarissimo, quem sanctorum consortio perfrui in coelis miracula crebra testantur."

By the years 1557-1558 it would seem that the number of Philip's disciples had risen to several hundred;[1] a special chapel was erected for their meetings over one of the aisles of S. Girolamo della Carità, to which Philip gave the name of the Oratory. The way in which these meetings were held has been described to us by Baronius.[2] First they knelt together in silent prayer, and then followed some pious reading upon which Philip commented, or made explanatory remarks. Sometimes he also asked those present to give their opinions, and thus the meeting was continued for about an hour in the form of conversation. There then followed three discourses of half an hour, the subjects of which were taken from the lives of the saints, the Holy Scriptures, and from the Fathers of the Church or ecclesiastical history; some singing and a short prayer brought the meeting to an end. And "when this arrangement had been established and approved by the Pope," Baronius continues, "it seemed as though the beautiful days of the first Christians, with their apostolic assemblies, had been revived and adapted to the conditions of the times." That these meetings at the Oratory made an extraordinary impression is also borne witness to from other sources; a pilgrim of 1568 assures us that these gatherings had given him greater pleasure and comfort than all the other beauties of the Eternal City.[3]

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 146.

[2] Annales, a. 57, n. 164. Baronius attributes a special share in the foundation and maintenance of the Oratory to Tarugi, who was held in high esteem by Gregory XIII. (see *supra* p. 54), and who was its "dux verbi" (App. n. 14). The description by Tarugi of the meetings at S. Maria in Vallicella (see *infra*, p. 180) taken from the archives of the Oratorians in Rome has been recently published by CALENZIO (Vita, 132 *seq.*). The *Memorial to Gregory XIII. of January, 1578, concerning the method and manner in which the meetings at the Oratory had been held for 20 years, in App. n. 13

[3] See CAPECELATRO, p. 144; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 260. *Cf.* the letter of Giovenale Ancina of May 28, 1576, in BARNABEO, c. 7, n. 91; Acta Sanct., n. 535; SONZONIO, l. 1, c. 14, n. 8, p. 61.

The importance of the Oratory for the moral regeneration of Rome lay especially in the fact that a chosen number of pious and eminently intellectual laymen[1] were thus instructed in the interior life and given a deep understanding of Christianity, and that they afterwards, each in his own surroundings, spread the lessons they had learned from Philip and gave them effect. It was a lay apostolate that St. Philip instituted, and the Oratory was to serve as the instrument for carrying his ideas to every class of the people.

On feast days the circle of his hearers was enlarged beyond those who took part in the ordinary assemblies. In the afternoon there was only one discourse at the Oratory, and then they went out, either to the beautiful site on the heights of S. Onofrio, which was also so dear to Torquato Tasso, whence a splendid panorama of Rome and the surrounding mountains rejoiced the eye,[2] or to the Villa Mattei, whence could be enjoyed a no less beautiful view over the Campagna.[3] When the great heat began Philip chose some church for these meetings; all could take part, and Philip made every effort to attract many people. Generally a short discourse was delivered by a boy, which not infrequently made a deeper impression than the words of the most experienced preacher. The intervals between the discourses were filled with music. These feast day assemblies, which in winter were carried on until the evening and joined to the ordinary exercises, made a very great impression and attracted crowds of people.[4]

Of the discourses delivered at the Oratory naturally none have come down to us, but for that very reason the hymns

[1] "Qui ardentiori studio christianam vitam excolerent" (Baronius, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 263. Philip imposed grave obligations on the habitual frequenters of the Oratory; *cf.* GALLONIO, n. 32; Acta Sanct., n. 467.

[2] An amphitheatre with steps for seats at S. Onofrio is still pointed out to-day as the place where Philip gathered his disciples.

[3] An inscription upon a bench at the south corner of the villa shows the place "where Philip discoursed with his disciples of heavenly things." Picture in KERR, Pippo Buono, p. 78.

[4] BARNABEO, c. 7, n. 88, p. 535.

which remain, and which were there performed are all the more important.[1] Some of these were expressly composed or at any rate adapted for the Oratory, for Philip numbered among his disciples a graceful poet in Agostino Manni (died 1618), and a distinguished composer in Francesco Soto (died 1619). His keen insight, which was able to draw all that was beautiful and noble even from natural means for the purposes of his Oratory, made use of their talents in order to deepen the impression produced by the discourses. Thus the hymns of the Oratory, like the reflection of a mirror, give us back its spirit and its aims, and make it possible for us in later times to give new life to the thoughts with which the preacher then laid before his hearers the vanity of the things of earth, which endure for but a moment, the eternal value of supernatural things, the hatefulness of sin, the horrors of death and of eternal punishment. If this world, it is said for example in a hymn on the beauty of heaven, if this vale of tears, this stormy sea, this battle-field so filled with endless wars, seems to us so beautiful, what one day will heaven be, the dwelling place of peace, the safe haven, the place where the victor will be crowned? Let us then leave this gloomy valley, Christ shows us the way when he tells us to carry the Cross.[2] As this hymn clearly shows, Philip not only

[1] *Cf.* for what follows KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI., (1917), 260 *seqq.*

[2] Se questa valle de miserie piena
Par cosi amena e vaga, hor che fia quella
Beata e bella region di pace
Patria verace?

Se questo tempestoso mar di pianto
È dolce tanto a chi con fragil barca
Errando il varca, qual gioia e conforto
Serà nel porto?

Se grato è il campo ove il crudel nemico
Per odio antico guerra ogn'hor ci move,
Che fia là dove al vincitor si dona
L'alta corona?

sought to fill men with fear of sin, but he had it very much in mind to inflame his disciples to follow Christ in their daily lives, to seek bravely after virtue, to zeal in the service of God, and to this end to kindle in them that courage and resolution which become the soldier of Christ. He that would undertake the fight for heaven is also the subject of these hymns, bidding him take courage and become the true knight of Christ. If he has no courage he turns back at once, or takes to flight at the first alarm. "Thou, O Lord, hast suffered everything for me, and hast died upon the field of battle, but I, on the contrary, can endure neither fire nor scourge for Thee, but tremble at a jest from the lips of a child. Therefore I must again take up, and for ever, my discarded shield."[1]

Deh lasciam dunque questa oscura valle,
Il dritto calle della via smarrita
Christo ne addita, e dice : O pellegrino
Ecco il camino ;

Prendi la croce, e drieto a me t'invia :
Io son la via, io sono il vero duce,
Che ti conduce alla città superna
Di gloria eterna.

[1] Chi vuol seguir la guerra,
Per far del ciel acquisto,
Su, levisi da terra,
Et venga a farsi cavallier di Christo.

Chi non ha cuor, non vada,
Chi teme d'arco o fiomba
Ritornisi per strada,
Che poi non fugga al primo suon di tromba.

Tu dolce mio Signore,
Perch'io non fussi vincto,
Soffristi ogni dolore
E'n campo aperto rimanesti estinto.

Et io per te nè foco
Sopporto, nè flagello :
Ma temo un picciol gioco
De fanciulli, che dican : vello, vello.

Naturally at Christmas and Easter, and on the feasts of the Madonna, the poet would strike another note in order to express the feeling of the solemnity. In a poem intended for the Visitation of Our Lady the poet describes, for example, a chaste and comely virgin climbing the steep mountain paths; he does not dare to praise her because she is more beautiful than the sun and the moon; the flowers and plants smile upon her, the trees bend down their green branches, the wild beasts forget their ferocity; the ripples of the stream in the shady valley murmur, while the birds sweetly sing, "Ave Maria."[1]

All these hymns were composed under Philip's eye, and it is not impossible that some of them were composed by him.

In contrast to the ancient popular hymns which are composed in verse of fixed and regular form,[2] those of the Oratory employ all the various poetical methods of that time, and thus afford a great wealth of different poetical forms. From the

O che grave cordoglio!
Lo scudo che gittai
Hoggi ripigliar voglio,
Ripigliar voglio, e non lasciarlo mai!

[1] Per aspri monti vidi girne lieta
Vergine saggia e bella,
La qual lodar non oso con parole,
Chè di splendor avanza luna e sole.

Ridean intorno a lei l'herbette e i fiori,
Gli alberi d'ogni banda
Chinavan le frondose cime altiere,
Lasciavan l'orgoglio ancor le fiere.

Sentiasi il mormorar delle chiar'onde
Per quelle ombrose valli,
I vaghi augei con dolce melodia
Cantando parean dir: Ave Maria.

[2] Philip knew these poems. An English Catholic, whose acquaintance I made here in Rome in 1901, Mr. Grissell, of Oxford, possessed a copy of the Laude di Frate Jacopone da Todi, in which Philip had written his name with his own hand.

point of view of music they are deserving of the closest attention of the historian. Philip's last years coincide with that period in the history of music which saw the completion of the transition from counterpoint and polyphony to melody, and from the old ecclesiastical chant to the new scale in the major and minor tones. The music of the Oratory was directed entirely along the new paths.

If the gatherings at S. Onofrio on festival days attracted great numbers, the same was true in an even greater degree of another device which Philip had thought of in the religious interests of his beloved Romans. Mindful of the deep impression that he had himself received in his youth by his visits to the seven principal churches of Rome, St. Peter's, the Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Paul's, St. Lawrence, Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and St. Sebastian, he arranged a public visit to these sanctuaries during one of the days of Carnival, or at Easter-tide. The result showed that this great man had thereby accurately gauged the taste of the Romans. At first only some twenty or thirty companions accompanied him on this pilgrimage, but before long the number of the pilgrims grew to several thousands, and great prelates and even Popes joined the procession.[1] For centuries this public pilgrimage became a favourite devotion of the citizens as well as of strangers who came on pilgrimage to Rome, for it was an exercise in which the most sacred memories of the Redeemer, the apostles and the martyrs, the poetry of a walk in spring time, and a severe spirit of penance were united to innocent recreation, and the devotion of each, shared as it was with so many others, was increased and rekindled again and again. The citizens of Rome especially had once more brought home to them in a sensible way the treasure they possessed in her, when the great procession left the enclosure of the old grey walls in order to go through silent roads, mid gardens and

[1] CAPECELATRO, pp. 146, 287. In the entrance hall of the chapel of St. Isidore on the road to the Seven Churches, the learned Oratorian, Generoso Calenzio, had the following words of Philip Neri engraved : " Sarai sarai e poi ? e poi tutto passa. Paradiso, paradiso."

vineyards, to the basilicas outside the city.[1] That Christian Rome which during the Renaissance had to some extent been thrown into the shade by pagan Rome, now once more came back to the possession of its full rights.

This happy inspiration and these institutions raised Philip to the position of being the apostle of all Rome. He was, moreover, endowed with extraordinary qualities. He knew how to deal with all classes of the population, and in each case to hit upon the subject that would arouse a response, with Cardinals of great lineage, with the nobility, with the sick in the hospitals and with the beggar in the street. The effects he produced, the conviction that he worked miracles,[2] and that he not infrequently read the secrets of men's hearts,[3] gave him an immense reputation. His conspicuous charity, quite disinterested and ready to make every sacrifice for men, as well as the tact with which he could adapt his demands to each one's strength, won for him the confidence of all. His loving and serene nature, far removed from any sort of reserve, and his sound common sense entirely removed any feeling of fear, and made him the favourite of the Romans. Philip had a special power of attracting the young,[4] and he made a quite special use of this in order to build up by their means a new Christian Rome. For them he was ready to make every sacrifice of his time and convenience; he took them out for walks in the country, he took part in their games, and allowed them to play at ball outside his room; "so long as they do not sin," he said, "they may chop wood upon my back."[5]

[1] *Cf.* Barbier de Montault, Oeuvres, VI., 31; Armellini, La visita delle sette chiese e san Filippo Neri, Rome, 1894; Laemmer, Diatriba, 35. F. Hettinger, Aus Welt und Kirche, I., Freiburg, 1897, 60 *seqq.* M. Meschler in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVIII. (1900), 19 *seqq.*, 153 *seqq.* The periodical *S. Filippo Neri*, A. II. (1922), Nr. 5.

[2] Capecelatro, 222, 398.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 442 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 196 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 201.

In some matters, especially in the struggle against the sensuality of southern countries, he gave them strict rules of conduct, but for the rest he principally wished to see young folk cheerful, and did not desire for them any excessive exercises of piety, but rather fidelity to those which they had undertaken.[1]

If Philip Neri's work was to survive its author, it was necessary that he should establish an association of priests who could carry it on. Philip's humility long resisted any such step, until at length circumstances made him, as it were, against his will, the founder of an Order. As early as 1558[2] a number of priests at S. Girolamo looked upon him as their actual superior. Their number increased when in 1562 ten priests who were living in community, and were serving the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, asked for him as their head, and the orders of Pius IV. compelled him to accept this title. Philip sent some of his priests to S. Giovanni, among them Baronius, who in 1562 had just received sacerdotal orders; for ten years these came three times a day to St. Philip and to the exercises of the Oratory at S. Girolamo, until in 1574 the Florentines built them an oratory of their own in their church.[3] At S. Giovanni Philip's disciples served in turn in the kitchen, each one for a week; it was at that time that Baronius, in the joyful alacrity of his humility, perpetuated his name with the inscription written upon the fire-place in the kitchen: "Caesar Baronius coquus perpetuus" (cook for ever).[4]

[1] *Cf.* his "Documenti spirituali diretti specialmente alla gioventù," in BACCI.

[2] The inscription in the house of S. Girolamo della Carità, where Philip lived, mentions this year; see CALENZIO, 32.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 221 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 191. CALENZIO, 86. In the refectory at San Giovanni there are still the tables along the benches fastened to the walls, at which Philip ate with his disciples. The pulpit, too, from which he preached to the people has been taken there from the church. *Cf.* DE WAAL, Roma Sacra, 465. A picture in the very rare periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894, 15-16.

In the meantime the number of priests among Philip's disciples had sensibly increased.[1] Their master still had no idea of gathering them together in the form of a congregation, when an unpleasant incident convinced him of the necessity of such a step.[2] A priest had been received into the house at S. Giovanni, but on account of his unsuitableness had been dismissed; in revenge he spread such calumnies against Philip and his followers that the Florentines in Rome were on the point of driving him out of S. Giovanni. From this it was easy to see on what insecure foundations he was building so long as he had not a house and church which he could call his own. Yielding to the insistence of his disciples Philip decided to accept one of two churches which were offered to him. Gregory XIII. himself decided the choice in favour of S. Maria in Vallicella.[3] The brief of July 27th, 1575, which granted this church with all its rights and revenues to Philip and his disciples is the foundation document of the Congregation of the Oratory.[4] Instead of restoring the small and ruined church Philip had it pulled down and erected in its place a larger and more beautiful one which has been called, down to our own times, the Chiesa Nuova.[5] In January 1578 the Congregation numbered, with priests and lay-brothers, thirty-eight persons in all.[6] Baronius moved to the Vallicella with Francesco Maria Tarugi and Giovanni Antonio Lucci as early as August 1st, 1578,[7] but Philip only took up his abode in the new house

[1] According to CAPECELATRO (p. 263) as many as 100.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 264.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 277.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 541 *seqq.* A *brief of July, 1577, "pro Congregatione presbyterorum S. Mariae in Vallicella de Urbe (donatio vineae cum domo et canneto)" in the Archives of Briefs, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* also more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[6] CAPECELATRO (p. 263) gives 130; on the other hand, a manuscript *Elenco dei membri della Congregazione of January, 1578, only gives 38 (Papal Secret Archives; see App. n. 13).

[7] He says so in a letter to his father of August 14, 1578, in CALENZIO, 148.

on November 22nd, 1583, by the advice of Gregory XIII. He chose for himself the worst rooms.[1]

The new congregation, by Philip's wish, was not to be a religious Order, nor was it ever to become one. Its members —The Fathers of S. Maria della Vallicella—as they were called,[2] were bound by no vow; they remained secular priests, and retained their own property, from which, following the example of the first Christians, each was to contribute to the common life; as soon as anyone wished to do so he could leave. Charity was to be the sole bond that united the Congregation; it alone compelled the members to obey, just as though they had been united under a vow of obedience, and to live as though they were the members of a regular Order. The Oratorians had no superior-general; an exception

[1] "Piglio le manco bene et manco commode stantie che fossero in casa per poter star piu retirato che potea, ne ci seria venuto senza li fosse stato ordinato da P. Gregorio XIII," says P. Pateri in the *Memorie (Papal Secret Archives) mentioned *supra* p. 182, n. 3. The room in which Philip lived until his death was most lamentably destroyed in a fire. His bed and confessional were saved, and are now to be found in the cloister attached to S. Maria in Vallicella, in a room on the upper floor, the ceiling of which is decorated by a painting by Pietro da Cortona. In its original state has come down to us the small adjoining room which served the saint as a chapel, and with it the altar. On the wall hangs the Byzantine triptych (Mary in the centre, and angels at the sides) which Philip took with him when he visited the sick; there is also preserved the little bell which was rung at his mass there. Many relics of the saint are to be seen in the sacristy of S. Maria in Vallicella, kept in five cupboards. There, besides some clothes (among them the cloak in which he went to see the Pope, and the jacket given him by Pius V.) are his watch, spectacles, wooden spoon, discipline, chalice, bed-crucifix, and, lastly, his death-mask. *Cf.* the pictures in the special number of the *Voce della verità*, 1905, n. 122. Other pictures in the periodical *San Filippo Neri*, Rome, 1894.

[2] *"I padri di S. Maria della Vallicella sono di un vita molto esemplare," wrote Odescalchi on July 1, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

was made in the case of Philip himself when in 1587 he was declared the common father of the whole congregation. Each Oratory is independent of the others and chooses its own superior. The few general principles which regulated the common life of the Oratory were not written down in the lifetime of Philip; that was only done later on, in 1612.[1]

The spreading of his Congregation after the manner of the great Orders had no place in Philip's intentions, yet it took root in several cities of Italy and in one case also in France. In 1575 a first attempt to transplant the Oratory to Milan failed; Cardinal Borromeo had asked for some Oratorians for his diocese. Philip consented, but he soon recalled them when the Cardinal made use of them contrary to Philip's wishes, for visitations and for the examination of his priests.[2] It was only in 1586 that Oratories were established at Naples,[3] at S. Severino, and at Fermo; others followed in 1591 at Camerino, in 1592 at Cotignac in France, and in 1593 at Palermo.[4]

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 362. A. THEINER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 512 *seq.*

[2] CAPECELATRO, p. 291 *seqq.* Borromeo, in a letter addressed to Rome on September 8, 1577, clearly explains the fundamental reason for his divergence of view from Philip. The Oratorians, he wrote, wish their congregation to depend only upon themselves, whereas he, on the other hand, wished everything to be in his own hands ("io desidero che tutto stia nella mia volontà"; CAPACELATRO, p. 295); with this wish of the great Cardinal no General of any Order could be in agreement; this makes us understand how it was that Borromeo at times found himself at issue with other Orders that were by no means in a state of decadence.

[3] *Cf.* the *Memorie lasciate dal P. Pateri, Carpegna, p. 56 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] The Oratorians came to the Low Countries in 1620 (Montaigu) and in 1626 (Douai), to Spain in 1645, to the East Indies in 1650, to Poland in 1665, to Portugal in 1668, to Mexico in 1669, to Brazil in 1671, to Peru in 1686. See the list of Oratories in CAPECELATRO, Vol. II. (Ed. 1882), p. 534; MARCIANO, Memorie historiche della Congreg. dell'Oratorio, Naples, 1693. The Congregation was introduced into Germany by I. G. Seidenbusch,

In spite of a great natural talent for learning as well as for literature, Philip had, for the love of God, in his youth renounced learning and all seeking for the beautiful. He nevertheless, as a grown man, exercised a profound influence in both these respects, and it was his Oratory that afforded him the opportunity. The discourses at the evening meetings were partly undertaken by laymen, who had not sufficient training for the scientific treatment of matters of faith, so it naturally followed that they should have by preference found their subjects in the lives of the saints and the history of the Church. It was his favourite disciple, Cesare Baronius, still a layman and about twenty years old, that Philip ordered every evening to deliver a discourse upon the history of the Church, and he kept him strictly to this subject, even though Baronius himself would have preferred to devote himself to purely religious subjects;[1] during the course of thirty years Baronius had occasion to go through seven times in all its entirety, that subject in which he was one day to become so learned.[2] In 1568, after ten years of preparation, Philip ordered him to write a history of the Church in answer to the

who had become an Oratorian in Rome in 1675, and then founded Oratories at Aufhausen in Bavaria (confirmed by the Pope in 1695), at Vienna (1702), and at Munich (1707). *Cf.* EBNER, Propst. Joh. Georg Seidenbusch und die Einfuhrung der Kongregation des hl. Philipp Neri in Bayern und Oesterreich, Cologne, 1891. In Ceylon Giuseppe Vaz, who was of Indian birth (died 1711) distinguished himself in difficult times as the missionary of the Oratorians. (Vita by DO REGO, Venice, 1753; ZALESKI, Calcutta, 1896; *cf.* A. HUONDER, Bannertrager des Kreuzes II., Freiburg, 1915, 180 *seqq.*). In the XIXth century, Newman, afterwards Cardinal, introduced the Oratory in Birmingham and London (1847).

[1] *Cf.* his deposition at the process of canonization of Philip, in CALENZIO, 948.

[2] BARNABEO, Vita Baronii, 40; Baronius himself in his thanksgiving to Philip at the beginning of the 8th volume of his Annals, printed in BARNABEO, 54. For the discourses of Baronius at the Oratory see LAEMMER, Analecta, 76.

Centuries of Magdeburg, and inexorably kept the disciple to his subject, although, almost in despair at the imposition of this gigantic task, he resisted it in every way. After Philip's death, Baronius, at the beginning of the eighth volume of his Annals openly declared before all the world that the whole credit for the work of the disciple belonged to his father and master; with his greater insight, Philip had realized the danger which threatened the Church from the Centuries, and had in consequence formulated the idea of a counter attack, and had chosen the hand that was to deliver it, and had combined and incorporated it with the exercises of the Oratory, so that it should never flag.[1] Baronius desired that this confession should be hung as a votive tablet at Philip's shrine, and that by means of the Annals it should find its way throughout the world, so that all readers might recognize and give praise to their "author and architect."[5] This votive tablet of the great scholar may actually be seen to this day on the right hand side of Philip's shrine: above it is shown, in a beautiful miniature, Baronius, who wrote the Annals; underneath there is the long act of thanksgiving taken from the eighth volume of the great history.

Even though Philip may not have had the spirit of prophecy which Baronius attributes to him, he in any case displayed a surprising foresight when he realized the importance of the Centuries, and set himself to their refutation, not as others had done, by polemical writings great and small, but by a work on a grand scale. He well understood the spirit of the

[1] "Eiusdem namque Patris nostri iteratis saepius iussionibus, sumus nos tantum opus aggressi, inviti licet ac renitentes propriisque diffisi viribus; suscepimus tamen tanquam divino parentes imperio, quo quidem ipse adeo opus urgebat, ut siquando nos tantae molis pondere superati, desisteremus a coeptis, stimulis acerrimae reprehensionis impelleret, etc." In BARNABEO, Vita, 55, and in "Caesaris Baronii pro Annalibus ecclesiasticis beato Patri Philippo Nerio gratiarum actio." Annales, VIII., published in BARNABEO, 54.

[2] "amplis notis ipsum praedicet Annalium primum auctorem et architectum." BARNABEO, 57.

times. The Centuries marked a turning point in Protestant theology and polemics; they were beginning to despair of being able to attain success against the ancient Church in the field of dogma, and instead of this were making every effort to make use of history against her, and to show forth its development in the light of a constant departure from the spirit of Christ. Thus, in the second half of the XVIth century, a new tendency came to the fore, especially in spiritual matters. The current of humanism, with its exclusive search for beautiful forms, had gradually lost its force, and a period of philology and archeology, which drew the attention of men towards history and research into antiquity, had begun. It was of great importance that this new tendency should not develop, as humanism had done, along lines that were more or less hostile to the Church. Philip recognized the danger in time. Enthusiasm for the history of the Church was natural to him who, when he had hardly left his childhood's days, had sought a new country in holy Rome with her grand memories, and a further incentive in her catacombs. Thus he was just the man to understand this new tendency, and at the very moment of its birth to press it into the service of the Church.

Just as the gigantic work of Baronius and its vast influence upon the world of history sprang from the spirit of Philip, so in like manner in the world of archeology did the "Columbus of the catacombs," Antonio Bosio (died 1629), owe it to two disciples of Philip[1] that even after his premature death his researches were published and preserved to us. "Among the first," wrote Giovanni Battista de Rossi,[2] "who shed light upon the darkness of the catacombs, special mention must be made of the fathers of the Oratory, who, under the guidance of their holy founder, Philip Neri, showed a love and a special veneration for the Acts of the Martyrs, for the sacred monuments of Rome, and for everything that bore

[1] Severani and Aringhi. A bibliography of the immediate disciples of Philip in CAPECELATRO (ed. of 1882), vol. II., 529 *seqq.*

[2] Roma Sotterranea, I., 12; *cf.* HILGERS, 490.

upon ecclesiastical history." Philip himself was also the founder of the library at the Vallicella, one of the first that was thrown open to public use.

Just as Philip's activities had a great influence upon learning, so was it in the case of one of the fine arts, music. After his death music at once began to embark upon new ways. The polyphonic contrapuntal style, in which all the voices sing together equally, lost ground, and there began the era of the monophonic style, in which one voice alone executes a particular melody while the others only keep up an accompaniment. At the same time a new form of musical art developed, the Cantata, Opera and Oratorio.

Philip looked upon music as a means of raising the heart to God, and therefore very gladly caused songs for various voices to be performed at the meetings of the Oratory. He obtained the services, as director of his music, of a distinguished composer, his fellow-countryman Giovanni Animuccia (died 1569), meastro di capello at St. Peter's, and Palestrina's predecessor in that office. Animuccia composed collections of spiritual laudi on purpose for the Oratory, which were followed by others composed by the Oratorian, Francesco Soto.[1] As Animuccia himself says, in these compositions he sought for a certain simplicity, and it was only after the Oratory of S. Girolamo "by the grace of God and the assistance of distinguished prelates and nobles, had met with an extraordinary development" that he permitted himself a moderate use of the common devices of music.[2] It is a fact that in the later collections there are to be found compositions for six and eight voices, which shows that by that time Philip had at his disposal a full choir.[3] At the meetings at S. Girolamo, which had become so popular, it was inevitable that the kind of singing in use there should have inclined to a simpler style of music, so as to meet the taste of a wide circle of hearers.

[1] *Cf.* KNELLER in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* XLI. (1917), 249.

[2] HABERL in *Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch*, XVI. (1901), 47. CAPECELATRO,

[3] P. WAGNER in *Kirchenmusikalischen Jarhbuch*, X. (1895), 93.

The marvellous Mass of Pope Marcellus of Palestrina, with its well-known clearness and lucidity, finds its precursor in the works of Animuccia.[1]

Without intending it, Philip also contributed in the matter of music to the formation of a new form of art, the musical Oratorio, which later on, at the hands of Handel, Haydn, Mendelssohn, and more recently of Liszt, Tinel, and Perosi, has been brought to such great perfection. Hitherto the art of music, as far as secular music was concerned, had contented itself with one form alone, the so-called madrigal, choral singing of a purely lyrical character. At the end of the XVIth century the eternal madrigal had become wearisome, and composers had begun to unite several lyrical numbers into one greater work, and thus Opera and Oratorio had come into being. Opera may be defined as the combination of lyrics with drama; a story is acted by the performers who at suitable points give expression to their sentiments in song, whereas on the other hand the musical Oratorio is a combination of lyrics with something of the nature of an epic; a story taken from the Holy Scriptures or legend is told, but then the sentiments of the persons who are telling it are expressed in solos or in chorus, or else the connexion between the events is obtained even without any express narration, and of itself, by means of successive numbers.

At first Philip caused to be performed at the evening meetings of the Oratory sacred hymns, and songs of a purely lyrical character. His disciple, Giovenale Ancina, afterwards Bishop of Saluzzo and the friend of St. Francis de Sales, composed the texts for these laudi in strict accordance with

[1] HABERL, *loc. cit.* 48. That after the death of Animuccia the direction of the music at the Oratory was undertaken by Palestrina is the opinion of Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, 1703, Leonardo Cecconi 1756, Pietro Antonio Petrini, 1795 (in CAPECELATRO, p. 373 *seqq.*). Haberl, however, remarks that he has so far sought in vain for "authentic proofs of this story; at any rate, the name of Palestrina is altogether wanting in the Laude spirituali" (*loc. cit.* 41; *cf.* WAGNER, *ibid.* X. [1895], 51, 95). See KNELLER, *loc. cit.* 477 *seq.*

the narrative of the Holy Scriptures.[1] From this it was but a single step to the performance of these narratives and stories after the manner of the later musical Oratorios. This step was taken in 1619 by the celebrated composer, Giovanni Francesco Anerio,[2] who at the request of the Papal singer Orazio Griffi, set to music the texts which treated of the "gospels and stories from the Holy Scriptures, and the praises of all the saints."[3] In a very significant way Griffi, in his preface to the "Teatro armonico spirituale" of Anerio, apostrophises St. Jerome and Philip Neri, who had now been canonized, in dedicating the book to him: "To thee, St. Jerome, does the honour first belong, since it was in thy house that for thirty-three years the Blessed Philip attained to the greatest heights of sanctity. Thou, too, O Blessed Philip, hast accomplished such heroic labours that the reform of the morals of so many of the faithful was to a great extent begun by thee."[4] Griffi then describes in terms of the highest praise the exercises of the Oratory at San Girolamo and S. Maria in Vallicella, at which he himself had assisted for forty-five years.[5] The new form of musical performances received the

[1] Guido Pasquetti, L'Oratorio musicale in Italia, Florence, 1906. The life of Ancina was written by Bacci, 1671, A. Ferrante, 1856, A. Richard (German translation, Mayence, 1891), C. Bowden (English translation, London, 1891). He was beatified on February 9, 1890.

[2] In his "Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali a 5, 6, 7 and 8 voci. Concertati con il Basso per l'Organo, Rome, 1619.

[3] Haberl, *loc. cit.* I. (1886), 56.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The point which has been overlooked by the biographers of Philip, but which is of great importance, runs as follows: "There could not have been an easier or more efficacious means of exciting souls to a perfect love and fear of God than these daily familiar considerations of the hatefulness of sin, of the punishments of hell, of the beauty of holy souls, of eternal happiness; in this way hearts were disposed to penance, urged to the frequent reception of holy communion, and to the performance of works of charity. And this was your work, Blessed Philip, which you carried out

name of Oratorio between the years 1635 and 1640, from the place where it first had been performed.[1] During the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries the musical Oratorio was much in favour with the sons of Philip.[2]

The Congregation of the Oratory was the last of the great institutions which owed their existence to Philip; there then began for him the beautiful sunset of a life that was full of

on behalf of the divine majesty; it was in this way that you founded your Oratory. . . . In order to attain to your zealous ends and to attract sinners by means of sweet recreation to the holy exercises of the Oratory, you made use of music and caused sacred songs to be performed in common; in this way the people were allured by the singing and the sermons to the good of their souls. Some came to the Oratory only for the music, but then became more adaptable and sensible of the spiritual exhortations, and were converted to God with great fervour. As I myself was for 45 years a witness in the two Oratories of Rome of the great effects produced by music, so did I place myself in contact with the celebrated composers I have mentioned so as to make the present collection accessible also for other places where such institutions exist." Griffi became a priest on September 24th, 1594. HABERL, *loc. cit.* (1891), 86.

[1] PASQUETTI, L'Oratorio musicale in Italia, Florence, 1906, Some modern writers contest this application of the name Oratorio. because Philip's places of meeting (Oratories) were quite unsuited for dramatic representations (HERMANN KRETZSCHMAR, Führer durch den Konzertsaal II., 2, Leipzig, 1899, 3). It is, however, admitted by all that Cavalieri composed the Representazione di anima et corpo, written, according to Pasquetti (p. 123), by the Oratorian Agostino Manni, and first produced in the Oratory at the Vallicella in 1600 (KRETZSCHMAR, *loc. cit.*, AMBROS, Gesch. der Musik, IV. [1881], 275-80). Thus it was quite possible that an Oratorio should have been sung at the Vallicella, as an Oratorio has no need of any dramatic setting.

[2] *Cf.* the statistics in *Kirchenmusikal Jahrbuch*, XVI. (1901), 50 *seqq.* The Hamburg Library possesses 22 books of the texts of Oratorios collected by Chrysander, who bears witness to the great activity of the Oratorians during the last thirty years of the XVIIth century. A. SCHERING in *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, for 1903, 10th year (1904), 35.

merit to the highest possible degree. Difficulties, both from within and without, opposition and enemies had not been wanting. He remained for a long time in painful uncertainty whether he would not do better to leave Rome for the Indies, and, following the example of Francis Xavier, devote himself to the missions to the heathen.[1] He had scarcely gone to S. Girolamo when his enemies tried to drive him out, and in the meantime tried to make his life unbearable to him.[2] Under Paul IV., to whom every novelty almost without exception was an object of suspicion, the Cardinal Vicar treated him as an ambitious agitator; for a short time he was forbidden to hear confessions, or to organize his public pilgrimages.[3] This period of painful struggle, of sowing and ploughing was now a thing of the past, and Philip had but to gather in the harvest which he had sown during his years of labour and sorrow. Pius V. had a high opinion of him.[4] Gregory XIII. kissed his hand,[5] as did Charles Borromeo;[6] Gregory XIV. received him with an embrace when he went to pay his respects to the new Pope.[7] Clement VIII., who had been Philip's penitent since his thirtieth year, desired as Pope to see him as often as possible,[8] and at his intercession, and it was by no means the least of the motives which decided him, was persuaded to reconcile Henry IV. to the Church.[9] Leo XI. as Cardinal often visited him, and remained in conversation with him for four or five hours, declaring that his room was to him a Paradise.[10] Among Philip's penitents there were some ten Cardinals,[11] among them Frederic Borro-

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 138 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 117 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 151 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 213.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 276.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 186.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 496.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 511.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 547 *seqq.*
[10] *Ibid.* p. 451.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 465 *seq.*: *cf.* SONZONIO l. 1, c. 21, p. 101 *seqq.*

meo and Cusano, and of the Roman nobility members of the families of the Massimi, Gaetani, Pamphili, Sforza, Crescenzi, Orsini, Odescalchi, Colonna, Frangipani, Vitelleschi and Salviati.[1] How great was his influence among the nobles is shown by the case of Anna Borromeo, sister of the Cardinal and daughter-in-law of the Viceroy of Naples, Marcantonio Colonna. When certain difficulties arose in connexion with the Chiesa Nuova because Cardinal Farnese claimed certain rights over the church, Philip told her that he would not write to her any more nor hear her confessions any longer if she did not take up the matter more warmly than she had hitherto done. Anna showed herself ready to do anything; after her father and mother, she wrote to Cardinal Farnese, she had never experienced any love more deep and sincere than that of Philip; everything of virtue that she possessed she owed to him, and to forfeit his direction would be harder for her than death itself.[2] Among those who were afterwards canonized or beatified, the two founders of Orders, Camillus of Lellis and Giovanni Leonardi of Lucca, were under Philip's direction;[3] Giovenale Ancina was his companion in the Congregation of the Oratory;[4] with Charles Borromeo,[5] the Capuchin, Felix of Cantalice,[6] and the Dominicaness, Catherine de' Ricci,[7] he was united by the closest friendship; the English martyrs were often saluted by Philip, when he met them in the streets, with the words: "Salvete flores martyrum," and sought his blessing before they set out for the bloody scenes of their

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 466 *seq.* SONZONIO, l. 1, c. 22, p. 115 *seqq.*

[2] *Arch. della Soc. Rom. di storia patria*, XXVII. (1904), 488.

[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 406 *seqq.*

[4] See *supra*, p.

[5] CAPECELATRO, p. 185 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* p. 402 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.* p. 181. Her life was written by RAZZI, Lucca, 1894; *cf.* Le lettere di s. Caterina de' Ricci alla famiglia, con la giunta di alcune altre, raccolte da Cesare Guasti, e pubblicate per cura di Al. Gherardi, Florence, 1890; SISTO DA PISA, Lettere inedite di s. Caterina de' Ricci, Florence, 1912. See also REUMONT, Briefe heiliger Italiener, Freiburg, 1877, 251 *seqq.*

labours and trials. Cardinal Cusano declared that he had never known a man who enjoyed such great veneration from both great and small.[1] Until his eightieth year, until his death on May 26th, 1595, he lived, to make use of a beautiful expression of Baronius,[2] not for himself but only for the good of others, for the good of his Romans, and Rome repaid him by giving him her unlimited confidence. As an old man he still remained the apostle of the Eternal City, and his apostolate extended from the Pope down to the smallest urchin in the streets.[3]

No less wonderful than this veneration itself was the fact that, even in the case of those who remained in the closest relationship with Philip for the last ten years, it did not diminish but rather increased until the time of his death. The most surprising examples of this are Baronius and Tarugi: the same was the case with the future Popes, Clement VIII. and Leo XI. His direction of souls, inspired with all the charity and loveableness of his character, had nothing in the least effeminate about it. In the case of those who had but just been converted,[4] he naturally only demanded what was strictly necessary; but if anyone entrusted his direction to him, and had become confirmed in well-doing, he imposed heavy burdens upon him. The brothers of his Oratory disciplined themselves three times a week.[5] When Rome was threatened by Alba in 1556, Francesco Vai, out of fear, did not hesitate to fly from the Eternal City; Philip addressed the severest reproaches to him, in that he who aimed at being a spiritual man, yet feared death instead of seizing upon the

[1] CAPECELATRO, p. 456.

[2] 'qui octogenarius nunquam sibi vixit, sed omnium semper utilitati, noctu dieque usaque ad extremum horam." Letter of August 5, 1595, to Giovenale Ancina, in LAEMMER, Diatriba, 82.

[3] Benedict XIII. in 1726 made the feast of St. Philip (May 26) a feast of precept for Rome and its neighbourhood. *Cf.* LADERCHI, 1571, n. 173.

[4] CAPECELATRO, p. 107 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 145.

opportunity of dying as a martyr.[1] He spoke in like manner to others.[2] He did not attach great importance to external mortifications;[3] he would have absolutely nothing to do with low spirits,[4] but insisted upon the interior mortification of obstinacy and self-will.[5] This was the explanation of the strange extravagances which he practised himself, and laid upon his disciples, as for example when he went about in the streets of Rome with half his beard shaved off, or smelling a great bunch of broom;[6] when Anna Borromeo knelt down before him in the public street to ask his blessing, he placed his hand upon her head in blessing, but at the same time loosened all her hair,[7] and he ordered Consolini, who had to undergo an examination in order to receive a benefice, to tell the Pope that an examination was not necessary in the case of a man of his education and learning.[8] Similar things in Philip's life are not the expression of eccentricity or of his sense of humour; he wished by these means to destroy in himself and others every trace of human respect and ambition. In this sense he often said: "Anyone who cannot endure the loss of earthly honour for the love of Christ, will never make any progress in the spiritual life."[9]

Baronius, Philip's confessor, bears witness that the saint on his death-bed only regretted that men had esteemed him more than he deserved, for he looked upon himself as a great sinner. When Cardinal Frederic Borromeo brought him viaticum Philip exclaimed aloud: "Lord, I confess that I have never done any good" and for the same reason he pronounced with deep emotion the words: "I am not worthy."[10]

[1] Letter of November 6, 1556, in CAPECELATRO, p. 180 *seq.*
[2] Letter to the nun Maria Tregui, August 30, 1585, *ibid.* p. 557.
[3] CAPECELATRO, p. 234 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 247 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 239.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 215.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 503.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 237.
[10] See CALENZIO, 950-1.

In a century so rich in reformers of the Church of every kind and description, Philip holds a place that almost of itself demands that he should be placed in the first rank. Just as, chronologically speaking, he found himself at the end of a long line of reformers in the XVIth century, so, from the spiritual point of view, he forms the very antithesis of that tendency which reached its climax with John Knox; in his own way he stands alone, as did his Scottish contemporary. He set himself against the "reformers of the north" with a lively realization of the harm that was coming to the Church from that quarter, but at the same time he had the deepest veneration for those primitive Christian times, which they too held up as the prototype of their reform. But with what a differance! Philip Neri never dreamed of undermining the doctrines and institutions of the Church on the pretext of scientific research into Christian antiquity, a thing which at that time was only in its first stages. What he attached importance to was to cultivate in himself and others the spirit of the infant Church, and this spirit, in his opinion, consisted above all in the love of God, which springs from humility and the love of sacrifice, and therefore is capable of being raised to sublime heights. He therefore would have nothing to do with a reform that makes its way like a hurricane, or a storm that launches thunderbolts and blasts the oak trees. He hurled no fiery darts at churches and convents, he poured out no vessels of wrath and indignation upon priests and monks; the sins of priests did not lead him to despise their office or their state; on the contrary he thought himself unworthy of the priesthood. When, in the time of Paul IV., public injustice was done him in the Pope's name, it never entered his mind that he might be a prophet sent by God, or that like another Elias he was to go on with his work; instead of inciting men to rebellion he submitted himself with simple obedience, as docile as a little child. His character and his labours, which, like a bright ray of sunshine, rejoices and warms, were made up of gentleness, goodness, cheerfulness and love which won the hearts of men. He always took humility for his guide, and when his love of God forced him

to take the first steps out of his solitude into the great world, his humility led him in safety through every danger. His public work was begun among the most needy and neglected, and by means which nobody could have called in question. But quite unexpectedly, and almost of itself, the sphere of his activities and his influence continued to grow, until in the time of Gregory XIII. it included the whole of Rome, and at last the whole Church; until Cardinals and Popes, science and art paid him homage,[1] and what is more, thousands venerated

[1] Marble busts of St. Philip Neri are to be seen in Rome, in the atrium of the Hospital of the SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, at S. Girolamo della Carità (by Legros), in the Vallicella Library and at the Villa Albani. The museum at Berlin has a beautiful bust of the saint (n. 277), the work of an unknown sculptor of the XVIth century. Cardinal Bartolini had a bronze bust attributed to Algardi; G. Calenzio afterwards received this from him. For the portrait of Philip, the work of Vecchietto, see Acta Sanct., mai VII., App. 864, n. 38. A painting by Baroccio in the Doria Gallery, Rome, shows Philip Neri as a boy of six (a beautiful reproduction of this in KERR, Pippo Buono). After the death of the saint there was a rivalry among the faithful of all classes to decorate the church where his body rests with paintings and sculptures in marble. In the left-hand aisle the chapel containing the tomb of the "third apostle of Rome" was erected by a noble Florentine, Nero del Nero, in honour of his holy fellow-countryman. The picture over the altar is a mosaic copied from the original painting by Guido Reni preserved in the adjoining house, which was suppressed in 1871; the saint is on his knees before the Madonna. Over the altar in the sacristy was placed the colossal group by Algardi, showing St. Philip with an angel. The pictures on the ceiling, angels with the instruments of the Passion, were executed by Pietro da Cortona. He also painted the beautiful ceiling on the upper floor of the house, St. Philip at the altar. In the inner chapel "altare elegans in elegantiori tabula repraesentat s. Philippum, qui dum ab orationis exercitio oculos retro flectit, Angelum necopinato conspicit in aere, Crucem sibi ostendentem et in Cruce instantes praemonstrantem calamitates. Opus est egregii pictoris, ob oculorum vitio Guercini vulgo appellati." (Acta Sanct., mai VII., App. 864, n. 37).

him as the author of their happiness in time and in eternity. By sacrificing all things, and giving up every thing for the love of God, he reaped his reward a hundredfold. In the eyes of his friends and contemporaries, and in the estimation of posterity he remains an ideal figure, in whom no defect can be discovered.

In the chapel, which once was the room where St. Philip used to say mass "prope aram appensa cernitur alia imago s. Philippi, donum quondam P. Pauli Frigerii, dicere soliti, pictam fuisse a 'Vechietto' (ita vulgus audit), poenitente olim s. Patris, pictam vero ad vivum e vicino conspectu lineamentorum s. Philippi, ad id patiendum inducti precibus pictoris" (*ibid.* n. 38).

CHAPTER V.

The Jubilee of 1575. The College of Cardinals.

As had been the case with the religious Orders, so too were the lay confraternities favoured by Gregory XIII., who fully realized their beneficial influence.[1] The importance of these bodies, and especially the revival of religious life, were shown in a very impressive way, when the year of Jubilee was celebrated in 1575.

Gregory had been occupied with preparations for the Holy

[1] See in App. n. 30 the *account of Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The Bull. Rom., VIII., on p. 50 *seq.* contains the indulgences for the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament; 145 *seq.* for the ancient Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Rome; 177 *seq.* permission for the erection of a confraternity of the B. Sacrament in France; 264 *seq.* the raising of the confraternity at the Campo Santo in Rome to an archconfraternity (*cf.* de Waal, Der Campo Santo der Deutschen in Rom, Freiburg, 1896, 107 *seq.*); 284 *seq.* erection of the archconfraternity for visiting the imprisoned in Rome; privileges for confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the Trastevere; 328 *seq.* erection of the confraternity of St. Catherine of Siena; 365 *seq.* that of the confraternity of St. Joseph at the Pantheon; 369 *seq.* (*cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 21, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 86, Vatican Library) erection of the confraternity of the SS. Annunziata in the church of the Minerva; 530 *seq.* confirmation of the privileges of the archconfraternity of the SS. Trinità, and 534 *seq.* confirmation of the confraternity of the Bolognese in Rome. For the petition of the confraternity of the Anima see Schmidlin, 402. The confirmation of the "Societas S. Sacramenti in Basilica Vaticana" made by Gregory XIII. in Bull. Vat., III., 117. For the churches of the Roman confraternities at that time see Le cose meravigliose di Roma, Venice, 1575; *cf.* also Forcella, VIII., 217; Lanciani, IV., 62, 66, and Simonetti, Le vie di Roma, Rome, 1898.

Year since 1573, both for Rome and the Papal States, and had restored streets and bridges and accumulated provisions. The price of these was fixed, and any increase of rents was forbidden in Rome.[1] At the same time the authorities were ordered to keep a strict watch over the moral condition of the city.[2] The greater part of these enactments were issued by a special commission of Cardinals appointed in January, 1574.[3] At the consistory of January 8th, 1574, the Pope ordered the priests of Rome and of all Italy to explain the meaning of the year of Jubilee. In what manner this was to be done in the case of the nations outside Italy, and especially in those countries where the schism had taken root, was to be decided by the Cardinals.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of August 28, September 5 and 11, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 240, 252, 257, Vatican Library; MAFFEI, I., 106; MANNI, 128 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Discorso di Fabio Cancellieri sopra il macinato del a° 1575 se corrisponda alla moltitudine che pare si e convenuta detto anno al Giubileo. Vatic., 9729, p. 110 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* RIERA, 1 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Giov. Batt. Bernerio of January 23, 1574, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXV., 217. See the "Trattato delle indulgenze e del giubileo" written by Cosimo Filiarco in Cod. G. 3, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. P. F. LINO, L'anno santo 1575 nel pontif. di N. S. Gregorio XIII. Avvertimenti per ricevere con frutto il Giubileo, Venice, 1574. Numerous guides to Rome were prepared for the use of the pilgrims: L. CONTARINO, Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, Venice, 1575; the same, L'antichità di Roma, *ibid.* 1575; A. PALLADIO, L'antichità di Roma, *ibid.*, 1575; O. PANVINIO, Le sette chiese principali di Roma, trad. da M. Marco Ant. Lanfranchi, Venice, 1575; M. A. SERRANO, De septem urbis ecclesiis, Rome, 1575; TH. TERTERUS, Roma sancta, Rome, 1575. MANNI (149 *seq.*) enumerates other works of a like nature. Cod. Barb. XXIX. 47 contains: *"De iubilaei institutione eiusque caeremoniis ad Poloniam universam libellus Iulii Roscii Hortini, 1575, Vatican Library." *Ibid.* Vat. 7424, ANGELO CARDUCCI, *La pianta della meta del s. Giubileo et Anno santo 1575 detta di salute

The edict proclaiming the year of Jubilee, which was to begin at Christmas, 1574, is dated May 10th of that year.[1] A plenary indulgence, that is to say remission before God and the Church of the temporal punishment remaining after the pardon of sin and eternal punishment, was promised to all who within a specified time (30 days for the Romans, and 15 for foreigners) visited the four principal churches of Rome, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Mary Major's and the Lateran, and who confessed their sins with true repentance. The promulgation took place on May 20th, the feast of the Ascension, and again on December 19th, 1574, the fourth Sunday of Advent.[2] This promulgation of the Jubilee, which was introduced by Gregory XIII., and has always been observed since then, has a deep symbolical significance. The day that commemorates the Ascension of Our Lord is intended to remind us that by means of the great Jubilee indulgence the gates of Paradise are opened to repentant sinners; the last Sunday of Advent shows that the Church has taken the place of the Synagogue, and the new year of Jubilee that of the old year.[3] A bull published in November declared that during the Holy Year, with a few exceptions, all other indulgences were suspended.[4] Briefs for the promulgation of the Jubilee were sent to all the bishops of Christendom, and the Catholic princes each re-

eterna, dedicated to Gregory XIII. Cod. F. 32 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains: "LAZARUS ABRAE VITERBIENSIS (phisicus hebraeus), *Tractatus de anno iubilaei oblatus Gregorio XIII.

[1] See Arm. 13, caps. 10, n. 1 of the Papal Secret Archives. A printed work of A. Bladus in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See the *report of Luigi Rogna, dated Rome, May 21, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* ALFANI, 328 *seq.*; MANNI, 130, and the monograph of MACSWINEY mentioned *infra*, p. 202, n. 1

[3] See NÖTHEN, Gesch. aller Jubeljahre, Ratisbon, 1875, 107 *seq.*

[4] See ALFANI, 331 *seq.*; MANNI, 131 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, ed. by SCHELLASS, IV., 304, n. 3.

ceived a special letter inviting him to participate in it.[1] The amusements of the Carnival were prohibited during the Holy Year,[2] and the Pope expressed the wish that the money which would have been spent upon these by the Conservatori should be devoted to pious purposes.[3] During the year of Jubilee Rome must prove herself indeed the holy city, and to this end the Cardinals were earnestly exhorted to set a worthy example.[4] It was said in September, 1574, that the foreign Cardinals would be summoned to Rome in order to take counsel for far-reaching measures of reform.[5] Gregory attached great importance to the presence of Charles Borromeo, who, to quiet his scruples of conscience, received special permission to absent himself from his diocese. Before he set out he issued for the instruction of his flock a beautiful pastoral upon the Jubilee indulgence, in which, with quotations from St. John Chrysostom, he extols the tomb of St. Peter. Borromeo left Milan on December 8th, travelling as a simple pilgrim and penitent. In spite of the inconveniences of the journey and the severe weather, he omitted neither his fasts nor his meditations. Even though he had travelled all through the night he offered the sacrifice of the holy mass in the morning. In Rome, which he reached on December 21st, 1574, he lodged with the Carthusians at S. Maria degli Angeli.[6] In addition to his fervent visits to the sanctuaries, he made use of his stay in

[1] See THEINER, I., 269; *Nuntiaturberichte*, ed. by SCHELLASS, IV., 59, n. 3, *cf.* p. cviii.

[2] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report of Cusano of February 5, 1575. State Archives Vienna.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 249. At the same time the prohibition to the Cardinals to use carriages was renewed. They were to appear on horseback only in a "cavalcata solenne" (see the picture in THURSTON, 89).

[5] Burali, Borromeo and Paleotto were thinking of the most serious reforms, says an *Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 243, Vatican Library.

[6] See SALA, Docum. I., 294 *seq.*, III., 560 *seq.*; SYLVAIN, II., 112 *seq.*

Rome to obtain approval for various important measures of reform.[1]

On the vigil of Christmas, Gregory XIII., with the customary great solemnities, performed the ceremony of the opening of the Holy Door at St. Peter's. A treatise by Gianbattista Cavalieri has preserved for us a picture of the imposing ceremony.[2] Cardinals Morone, Colonna and Sforza carried out the same ceremony at St. Paul's, the Lateran and St. Mary Major's.[3] At the function at St. Peter's, in the midst of so great a concourse of people that six persons were crushed to death, there were present two young German princes: the young Duke Ernest of Bavaria, who had been staying for a long time in Rome,[4] and the hereditary prince of Cleves, Charles Frederick, who had arrived there on December 16th. During the first days of the new year he received the blessed sword and hat from the Pope, a gift of honour which was ordinarily only

[1] See BASCAPÈ, l. 3, c. 3, p. 67b, l. 4, p. 70a.

[2] Good examples in the Casanatense Library, Rome and in the collection of wood engravings at the Corsini Palace, reproductions in HERMANIN, Die Stadt Rom., 1911, tav. 44. For the coins and medals of the Jubilee see BONANNI, I., 331 *seq.*, and SERAFINI, II., 5, 27.

[3] See Mucantius in ALFANI, 333 *seq.*; RIERA, 4b *seq.*, THURSTON, 88 *seq.* A *letter of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William, dated Rome, December 24, 1574, State Archives, Munich; *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna, and the description of the journey to Rome by J. Rabus in Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 49, of the Royal Library, Munich. *Cf.* PRINCIVALLI, Gli anni santi, Rome, 1889, 65 *seq.*, and also the remarks of MACSWINEY (21 *seq.*) in the monograph quoted *infra*, p. 202, n. 1; also the *Predica inanzi Gregorio XIII. per l'apertura della porta santa, by TOLEDO, in Cod. 5628, p. 314 *seq.* of the Court Library, Vienna.

[4] For Ernest's journey to Rome, whose flight caused the Curia much anxiety, see MUTINELLI, I., 110 *seq.*; LOSSEN, I., 334 *seq.* *Cf.* *Nuntiaturberichte* ed. by Schellass, III., LXXII. *seq.*, and the same in *Quellen und Forschungen des Preussischen Instituts*, X., 325 *seq.*

bestowed upon kings and emperors.[1] It was thought that Gregory bestowed these and other honours in order to bring influence to bear, through Charles Frederick, upon the conversion of the Protestant princes.[2] Great results in the interests of the Catholics in Germany were looked for from the piety shown by the hereditary prince of Cleves. The Pope was therefore all the more grieved when this young man, who gave such promise, fell sick of smallpox, and died on February 9th, 1575. Gregory XIII. ordered that he should be buried with every mark of honour, and with the greatest pomp. He expended 3000 ducats for this purpose. Charles Frederick was buried in the German national church of the Anima.[5] In the choir, before the mausoleum of Adrian VI., a richly sculptured monument was erected to him, the work of Gilles van den Vliete and Nicola Pippa, the relief on which represents the Last Judgment with the prince on his knees ; a second relief, originally connected with the former, and representing the conferring of the blessed sword, has recently been placed at the entrance to the sacristy.[4]

[1] See the detailed and beautiful monograph by MacSwiney of Mashanaglass, L'Epée et le Chapeau ducal donnés par Grégoire XIII. en 1575 a Charles Frédéric, Prince de Cléves et Juliers, Rome, 1900.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of January 8, 1575, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Avviso di Roma quoted by Schmidlin, 335. For similar hopes see Vol. XX. chapters on Germany.

[3] See Schmidlin, 335 *seq.* To the authorities quoted there in great detail may be added the *report of Cusano of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna ; the *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1575, in the reports of A. de' Medici in the State Archives, Florence. Med. 3292 ; *cf.* also the *letter of Hortensi Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, February 12, 1575, State Archives, Munich ; J. Rabus, *Romreise 1575, in Cod. 1280, p. 213 *seq.* Court Library, Munich, and the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, February 12, 1575, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. Ferd. 83.

[4] See Bergner, 86 ; Schmidlin, 340 ; Lohninger, S. Mari dell'Anima, 88 ; Forcella, III., 466 ; Grävenitz, 124 ; Noack, Deutsches Rom. (1912), 24.

From the beginning of the Jubilee Gregory XIII. set a shining example by his sincere piety. He made the prescribed pilgrimages to the four basilicas first on January 3rd, again during the Carnival on February 14th, during Holy Week on March 28th, and finally on December 7th, 22nd, and 23rd. It made a deep impression when, in spite of his advanced age, he went up the Scala Santa on his knees, and went on foot from the Porta S. Paolo to the Ostian basilica.[1] Throughout the year he was unwearied in taking part in all the religious solemnities,[2] and especially in giving audiences, to which he often devoted four hours a day. On May 21st he received 600 Augustinians who had come for their general chapter, on September 23rd 300 Capuchins, and on the previous day 800 Franciscan Observants, who had also come to Rome for their general chapter.[3] The Cardinals followed the pious example of the Pope, and among them Montalto and Borromeo especially edified the Romans by their devotion.[4]

All the accounts agree in saying that the number of pilgrims who visited the tombs of the apostles during the Holy Year was extraordinarily great. It was calculated that there were

[1] See the *report of Cusano of January 8, 1575, State Archives, Vienna. *Bull. de l'Instit. Belge a Rome*, Rome, 1919, 299 *seq.* Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives; *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 332, Vatican Library; MANNI, 135 *seq.*

[2] The effect of the exertion of the procession of Corpus Domini upon him is related by Odescalchi in his *report of June 4, 1575. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How Gregory XIII. visited St. Peter's on every Friday in March is described by *Rabus, *loc. cit.* p. 215 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 7, and 11, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 428-436, Vatican Library: Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives; RIERA, 66; *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 109; MANNI, 145. According to the *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, the Pope himself heard confessions for the absolution of reserved cases. Urb. 1044, p. 428, Vatican Library.

[4] See MANNI, 136 *seq.*; NÖTHEN, Jubeljahre, 108 *seq.*; SYLVAIN II., 120.

altogether more than 400,000.[1] In order to provide for the maintenance of this great number of people, the time for the sojourn of the pilgrims was reduced from thirty days to five.[2] The faithful came, not only from all Italy but also from the other countries of Europe, men and women, rich and poor, while some even came from the East.[3] Especially great were the crowds that came from the diocese of Milan and from the States of the Church, and often the entire population of certain places with their bishop and clergy at their head set out in pilgrimage for the Eternal City.[4] With a long staff in their hand, a broad brimmed hat, and their pilgrim

[1] See the *report in THEINER, II., 449. 150,000 persons, or according to others, 200,000, were present at the closure. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 300; SANTORI, Diario concist. XXV., 94-95. In 1575 in St. Peter's alone 354,400 communions were given and 47,000 masses said; see CERRATI, T. Alpharani de Basil. Vat. liber. p. 164.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Cusano of January 1, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *"Non paucos Germania et Polonia, multos Gallia, plurimos Hispania misit, nonnullos Graecia, Armenia utraque India," says G. FERRERI in his Vita Gregorii XIII. c. 5, Papal Secret Archives *cf.* App. n. 25.

[4] See the *letter of Hortensii Tyriacensis to Duke William V., dated Rome, December 25, 1574, State Archives, Munich, the *reports of Odescalchi of April 2, 9, 23, 30, and May 14 and 21, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; P. TIEPOLO, 214, and MUTINELLI, I., 109; THEINER, II., 449; RIERA, 18b *seq.*, 70 *seq.*; PIENTINI, 64 *seq.* and the *Avvisi di Roma of March 26, April 2, 23 and 30, May 11, 14 and 28, October 15 and December 24, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 378, 390, 410b, 415, 441b, 452-3, 583b, 653, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 331, where an account is given of the German pilgrims to Rome; THEINER, II., 2 *seq.* For the pilgrims from Bologna *cf.* CANCELLIERI, Notizie d. chiesa S. Maria in Julia, Rome, 1823, 5 *seq.* A German description of the sanctuaries in Rome in the year 1575, by Dr. Jakob Rabus in the account of his *Romreise in Cod. Germ. 1280, of the Court Library, Munich, and Cod. XI., 562, of the monastery of St. Florian. For the pilgrims from Faenza *cf.* Marcello Valgimigli, Notiz. stor., Faenza Library.

shell on their shoulder, those who took part in the Jubilee went along their way in their varied dress, singing and praying, with crosses, banners great and small, and sacred images. Side by side with the Lombards were to be seen the Tuscans, Neapolitans, Romagnoli, Umbrians, and the natives of the Sabine hills and from the Abruzzi. The order observed was always as follows: first came the confraternities, in their penitential dress of sackcloth, with cloaks of white, black, red or blue, with their banners, then the rest of the men according to their parishes, then the clergy, the civic authorities, the leading citizens, and lastly the women. The procession was brought to an end with the carriages and carts, the beasts of burden and the baggage. At the gates of the city the pilgrims were received with music by their friends and acquaintances, and by the Roman confraternities, whom Gregory XIII. had attached to the service of strangers.[1] They were taken first to St. Peter's, and then to their lodgings, where the various confraternities saw to their maintenance. In front of the Roman confraternities there were to be seen for the most part bands of children dressed as angels with olive branches in their hands.[2] In thanksgiving these strangers left to the various churches gifts of chalices, candles, and vestments, and very often banners and standards. The greater number of gifts of this kind were made to the Confraternity of the SS. Trinità. There were to be seen banners from Mantua, Ferrara, Casalmaggiore, Codogno, Sulmona, S. Germano, Pontecorvo, Matelica and Castel Gandolfo.[3]

[1] See the *Avviso di Roma of March 26, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 378, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIENTINI, 114 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.* 318 *seq.* a list of the foreign confraternities which joined those of Rome during the Holy Year. F. CROSTAROSA, I pellegrini in Rome nei passati giubilei,[2] Rome, 1900, follows Pientini in everything, without giving any new information.

[2] See RIERA, 15b *seq.*, 44b *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

[3] See PIENTINI, 311 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* *Cf.* the *Relazione del recivimento et alloggio fatto dalla ven. archiconfrat. delle s. stimate di S. Francesco di Roma alle compagnie forestiere aggregate alla med^ma^ l'a^o^ del s. giubileo 1575, descrit tada Fr. Ant. Maria Lanciani, Cod. Barb. L. 97, Vatican Library.

A contemporary states that during the month of May every morning there passed through the Strada dei Banchi on their way to St. Peter's from eight to ten thousand members of Italian confraternities, to whom were joined many other pilgrims and strangers.[1] Some of these processions, such as the procession of penance from S. Pietro di Galatina, near Otranto,[2] and that from S. Genesio in the Marches, attracted general attention.[3]

The procession of the pilgrims from S. Genesio, which was met by the celebrated and ancient Confraternity of the Gonfalone, is thus described:[4] the head of the procession was formed by a body of penitents following a large crucifix, and disciplining themselves. To these were attached members of the confraternities of the Blessed Virgin, the SS. Trinità, and the Most Holy Sacrament; all were bare-footed and with ashes sprinkled upon their heads, and wore their white, black and blue habits. Then followed allegorical tableaux of the old and new Testaments, and of the Church. In appropriate costume, and bearing their symbols, were to be seen the archangel Michael in splendid armour, and with the sword and scales in his hands, Adam and Eve with the apple, Noe with the Ark, Isaac with the wood for the sacrifice, Abraham with the knife of sacrifice, Melchisedech in the dress of the high priest, Jacob dressed as an oriental prince with a ladder, Job covered with wounds, Moses dressed in gold with the tables of the law, Aaron dressed as a priest with a thurible, Josue in armour with a representation of the sun, Gedeon in a cuirass with a trumpet, Samson with the bronze gates of the city, David with the head of Goliath, Raphael leading Tobias, Esdras with a white infula and a silver cup in his hand, Isaias dressed all in red, Amos dressed as a shepherd, Judith with

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of May 14, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 441b, Vatican Library.

[2] See ALFANI, 352.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of September 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 519b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIENTINI, 88 *seq.*

[4] See RIERA, 97 *seq.* *Cf.* SALVI, Una processione allegorica di Sangenesini nel 1575, in *Le Marche*, VII., 5-6.

the head of Holofernes, Jeremias in a long red robe, Macchabeus with the head and arm of Nicanor. Ten little children represented the infants slain by Herod, and John the Baptist carried a cross of reed with the inscription: "Behold the Lamb of God." With him were the four Evangelists with books in their hands, accompanied by the Doctors of the Church: Gregory in white pontifical vestments, Jerome in the red robes of a Cardinal, Ambrose and Augustine dressed as bishops. The procession was brought to an end with a car representing the triumph of the Church, which apparently moved by itself. It consisted of the Ark of Noe adorned with allegorical figures and other symbols intended to represent the universal Church. On the summit of the car was to be seen Gregory XIII,. with an orb in his left hand, and the right hand raised in blessing, and at his feet the figure of Prudence, with Justice on one side with the scales in her hand, and Charity on the other with three little children. The pictures on the Ark of Noe represented, on the right Gregory VII. receiving the penitent Henry IV., and on the left Gregory IV. as the restorer of peace. Two angels carried the following inscription from the inhabitants of S. Genesio: "The Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, ruled for many centuries by the holy fathers, enlightened and spread by the doctrine and wonderful virtue of twelve Popes who bore the name of Gregory, and now, under the thirteenth of that name, full of righteousness and blessedness, happy and triumphant." In the children's processions, too, organized by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in Rome, were to be seen allegorical representations from the New and the Old Testaments.[1] The procession from Faenza attracted much notice, and gave an opportunity to those who took part in it to remove the bad impression given in the days of Pius V.,[2] by the spread there of Protestant principles.[3] In other processions, as for example

[1] See RIERA, 81b. For the allegorical representations by the pilgrims of Terni see *ibid.* 76 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 313.

[3] *Cf.* LANZONI in *Bollett. dioces. di Faenza*, IV. (1917), p. 10, p. 151 *seq.*

those from Perugia, Brescia and Lucca, the great number of the nobility who took part excited general wonder ;[1] all gave much edification by their sincere piety. Great compassion was aroused by the procession of the poor, the beggars, the blind and the cripples of Rome, whose pilgrimage the Pope had reduced to a single day.[2] Among the foreigners the Countess of Arenberg excited admiration by her deep piety.[3] The father of Guido Reni and two celebrated poets, Battista Guarini and Torquato Tasso, also visited the sanctuaries of Rome during 1575.[4]

Several of the pilgrims took back to their own countries as a precious memorial the plan drawn by Antonio Lafreri, which had served as their guide in their visits to the principal churches. In this the sanctuaries were shown in the prescribed order, as they had been visited by the Pope, followed by the citizens, ecclesiastics, members of the court, and armed men. Without the recent additions, there are representations of St. Paul's outside the Walls, St. Peter's, St. Mary Major's, St. John Lateran, St. Sebastian on the Appian Way, Santa Croce and St. Lawrence outside the Walls. In front of each of these basilicas there is a gigantic image of the titular saint whom the pilgrims are venerating on their knees.[5]

The foreign pilgrims wondered, not only at the riches of the Eternal City, in her churches and relics, but also at the great number of the religious and of the pious confraternities. At the solemn processions and at the customary functions they were given an opportunity of realizing how fully the life of the religious Orders and the other ecclesiastical bodies had been

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of May 28, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 453b, Vatican Library ; P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 110 ; RIERA, 114.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 410b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* RIERA, 85.

[4] See MANNI, 140 ; PRINZIVALLI, T. Tasso a Roma, Rome, 1895, 20 *seq.*

[5] See HERMANN, Die Stadt Rom im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1911.

developed in the capital of Christendom. Besides the Benedictines, Augustinians, Carmelites and Trinitarians, there were to be seen Dominicans, Franciscans, Minims, Servites, Hieronimites, and the new Orders, Theatines, Barnabites, Capuchins and Jesuits. An even more impressive spectacle was afforded by the lay confraternities which later on so much astonished Montaigne.[1] They were distinguished by the colour of their sack-like habits. Black was worn by the company della Morte and by that of the SS. Crocifisso, yellow by the Bergamaschi and the brothers of S. Maria del Pianto, red by the confraternity of the SS. Trinità for convalescents, blue by those of S. Giuliano, S. Maria dell' Orto and St. Joseph, white by those of St. Catherine of Siena, S. Maria di Loreto, the confraternity of the Genoese and the Neapolitans of S. Spirito, as well as the confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament of S. Lorenzo in Damaso and S. Giacomo in Borgo, and green by those of St. Rocco. The five noble confraternities of S. Maria della Consolazione, S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, S. Angelo in Borgo, S. Maria Annunziata and the Gonfalone had no special dress.[2] Three thousand members of the confraternity of the SS. Trinità were to be seen in the procession on Maundy Thursday.[3]

The generosity of Gregory XIII. as well as his piety was shown in a striking manner during the year of Jubilee. The pilgrims were assisted in every possible way, and the steps that had been taken for the maintenance of many thousands proved so effectual that, in spite of the vast concourse, there was no scarcity.[4] Plentiful provision was also made for the spiritual needs of the pilgrims. In all the churches, especially the parish churches, the Pope had appointed a sufficient

[1] See MONTAIGNE, II., 37 *seq.*, *cf.* 5.

[2] See Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, II., 16. *Cf.* also RIERA, 102 *seq.*, and PIENTINI, 230 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi of April 2, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *report of Odescalchi of March 26, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; MANNI, 144.

number of learned and exemplary confessors.[1] Celebrated preachers everywhere proclaimed the word of God, while with burning words they made the city resound with their discourses on virtue and vice, on penance and punishment. The pilgrims also preached, as was the case with the Bishop of Aleria, Alessandro Sauli,[2] who was so highly esteemed by Philip Neri, and who by his self-sacrificing labours had won for himself the name of the Apostle of Corsica.[3]

The efforts of Gregory XIII, which were also continued in the years that followed, to secure the complete submission of the Romans to the truths of the faith, had the result that, under the influence of the Catholic restoration, sacred oratory received a new impulse.[4] The most celebrated preachers were the Jesuit, Francesco de Toledo, the Capuchin, Alfonso Lupo, and the Minorite, Porro Francesco Panigarola; the two first named were Spaniards, while Panigarola was a native of Milan.[5]

[1] At last it was ordered, in order to provide opportunity for confessions, that the churches should be kept open until midnight. See *Avvisi di Roma of December 21, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 648, Vatican Library.

[2] See MANNI, 147 *seq.*; the Franciscan Cornelio Mussi, who had already made his name as a preacher at the Council of Trent, had died in 1574; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 358. *Report of Odescalchi of January 12, 1574. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; HURTER, I., 31.

[3] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 237.

[4] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 251 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*

[5] *"Continuano li 3 predicatori con la solita dottrina et facondia onde è nato il motto bellessimo da S.S.: Toletus docet, Panicarola delectat et Lupus movet." *Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 256, Vatican Library. An *Avviso di Roma of February 15, 1578, also makes mention of Giovanni di Napoli (S. Spirito) and Marcellino (S. Lorenzo in Damaso) *ibid.* 1046, p. 35, where further details were given of a procession of penance led by A. Lupo. An *Avviso di Roma of December 2, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 436, Vatican Library, tells of the extraordinary crowds at the Advent sermons of Panigarola at the Araceli. For Panigarola himself *cf.* I. NICII ERYTHRAEI Pinacotheca, I., 81 *seq.*;

The zeal of the clergy and the Pope produced abundant fruits, which was to be seen in the clearest way in the careful and frequent attendance of the pilgrims at the sacraments of penance and of the altar.[1] Sixteen confessors were occupied every day at the Araceli ; the Jesuits had to remain in the confessional until night-fall.[2] Contemporaries tell us of the restitution of ill-gotten goods, of the giving up of concubines, of surprising cases of the conversion of heretics and of foreign schismatics,[3] and above all of generous works of charity.

In spite of the arrangements made by the Pope, the extraordinarily large number of the pilgrims afforded a wide field for the generosity of the Romans, and Rome justified her ancient name for hospitality and kindness in a striking way. The work which Philip Neri had prepared with unwearied labour during many years now produced fruit a hundred-fold. Nobles and citizens vied with each other in works of Christian charity. Carlo Muti gratuitously maintained nine hundred peasants from his estates for three days, and he himself accompanied them on their pilgrimage.[4] We are told of a noble Roman lady that every day throughout the Holy Year she lodged ninety women pilgrims, and herself washed their feet.

Freib. Kirchenlex., IX., 1329 *seq.* ; KEPPLER in the *Tüb. Quartalschrift*, 1892, 91, as well as his praises in the *Avviso di Roma of February 15, 1584. Urb. 1052, p. 57, *loc. cit.* The sermons on the indulgence delivered by Dr. J. Rabus on Palm Sunday, 1575, at the German Campo Santo in Rome, was included by him in the *Reisebeschreibung of Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 235 *seq.*, Court Library, Munich. MONTAIGNE too (II., 31) makes mention of the best preachers in Rome, and especially the Jesuits.

[1] See also the testimony of Gregory XIII. in SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 74.

[2] See RIERA, 66 *seq.*

[3] *" Per l'esempio di tante opere sante che si fanno in Roma sono tornati spontaneamente alla fede christiana alcuni Trasmontani ch' erano da quella per loro errori molto lontani," says the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 411b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the account in THEINER, II., 451, and RIERA, 25, 59. MANNI gives a list of names, 142 *seq.*

[4] See RIERA, 26.

Other Roman ladies pledged their jewels in order to be able to assist the pilgrims.[1] While the national hospices undertook the care of their countrymen, and the confraternities of the similar associations from outside which were affiliated to them, the confraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini founded by St. Philip received without distinction all who came on pilgrimage to Rome; sometimes it was called upon in a single day to provide for from seven to eight thousand pilgrims,[2] yet there was always perfect order and no scarcity. This was owing above all to the Pope who had told the heads of the confraternity that if they were in need of anything they were to go to him.[3] But the Romans as well, and above all Marcantonio Colonna, Paolo Giordano Orsini and other nobles subsidized the confraternity so generously that the contributions which arrived were always in excess of the demand. In this way the institution, during the year of Jubilee, was enabled to house and maintain in all 144,913 pilgrims, each for three days. To these must be added 21,000 poor convalescents for whom the confraternity also provided.[4]

[1] See ALFANI, 353 *seq.*

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 46, whose account is based upon the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome). The *Avviso di Roma of May 28, 1575, which certainly exaggerates, gives 12,000 for the previous Saturday. Urb. 1044, p. 450, Vatican Library. *Cf. supra* p. 167.

[3] *" Il Papa ha fatto intendere a ministri dell' hospitale della Trinità che mancandogli cosa alcuna per sostentamento de' peregrini mandana a pigliar a Palazzo." Urb. 1044, p. 450, Vatican Library.

[4] See the account in THEINER, II., 449, by which the exaggerated estimate of Manni is amended. *Cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium, March 9, 1575, Papal Secret Archives; see the *Avvisi di Roma of March 26, April 2 and 23, May 11 (between Saturday and to-day, Wednesday, 17,076 persons were fed at the Trinità), May 28, 1575 (since Christmas, 120,000 persons have been entertained at the Trinità, each for three days, the list of whom has been presented to the Pope by the Cardinal Protector Medici, and 40,000 scudi have been expended, not including alms; on Saturday there were consumed 10,446 pounds of bread, 14 casks

A splendid example was given to the members by Cardinal Medici, the Protector, by Duke Alessandro Farnese, Paolo Giordano Orsini and other nobles and prelates, who served the pilgrims in person. A similar service of charity was also rendered by the ladies of the great Roman families, in the case of the women pilgrims who were received in a separate building.[1] "It is a most beautiful and touching spectacle," wrote the representative of the Duke of Mantua from Rome on May 21st, 1575, "to see the leading Romans persevering in this service, feeling that they are serving Christ in the person of these pilgrims, as the Gospel says: I was a stranger, etc."[2]

A book with wood engravings which the pilgrims took back to their own countries, represents the works of faith inspired by charity which were to be seen during the Holy Year in Rome, penetrated as it was by the spirit of St. Philip. In the corner are to be seen the four principal basilicas, with bands of pilgrims gathered from all parts, and in the centre an allegorical figure of "Roma Santa," the chalice with the scared host in her right hand, while under her feet she tramples the symbols of conquered paganism. Twelve vignettes surround this figure; each depicts some special work of charity, temporal or spiritual. Thus there are depicted with an explanatory inscription: preaching, prayer, penance, fasting, alms-giving, the comfort of the afflicted, the washing of feet, Christian instruction, the liberation of prisoners, the visiting of the sick, the assistance of pilgrims and the feeding

of wine and one cask of vinegar), Urb. 1044, p. 378, 390, 410b, 453, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also TIEPOLO, 214 (the unfortunate printer's error "Trinità dei Monti" has been followed by HÜBNER, I., 74, and by THURSTON, 93) and the *report of Odescalchi of April 23 (so far 80,000 pilgrims have been received at the hospice of the SS. Trinità), May 14 (often there are 4, 5, 6 and 7 thousand persons at the SS. Trinità); also in App. n. 11 the *report of April 2, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 390, Vatican Library, and RIERA, 28 *seq.*

[2] *Letter of Odescalchi of May 21, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the poor. The frame-work that encloses these pictures is a river of seven branches which flows from the Holy Spirit, above Whom is seen the Eternal Father. As an inscription upon the river are the words of the Bible: "The stream of the river rejoices the city of God; the Most High hath sanctified his dwelling-place."[1]

The living Christianity which the city of the Popes thus proclaimed during the Holy Year,[2] was rewarded by the fact that Rome remained untouched by the pestilence which in 1575 visited the greater part of Italy.[3] During this terrible tribulation, which was renewed in the following year, the champions of Catholic reform everywhere set the highest example. The bishops, such as Agostino Valiero of Verona, Nicolò Sfondrato of Cremona, Ippolito Rossi of Pavia, were rivalled by the religious Orders, both new and old, in their works of Christian charity, while here too Charles Borromeo above all stands out as the hero of Christian charity.[4]

A year after the Jubilee the great Spanish canonist, Martino Azpilcueta,[5] gave it as his opinion that of all the cities which he had visited in Spain, France and Italy, Rome more than any other gave the impression of a moral revival. "Our Holy

[1] Ps, 45, 5. A very greatly reduced reproduction of the folio, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, London, in THURSTON, 261. In contrast to this may be placed the vulgar caricature by a Protestant "artist," for greater details of which see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VI.[15-16], 43-44.

[2] On the occasion of the extension of the Jubilee in the following year, it was shown, especially at Cremona, what a great change for the better had been brought about by the work of Catholic reform; see *Historia anni iubilaei Cremonae celebr. 1576, Archives of St. Angelo, Arm. 5, caps. 3, n. 16, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See MANNI, 140. PILOT in *Ateneo Veneto*, XXIII., 1 (1903), contributes some verses on the plague of 1575.

[4] See App. n. 32.

[5] Comment. de datis et promissis, summ. 3: Opera II., Cologne, 1616, 191. Azpilcueta died on June 21, 1586; his tomb with a half bust in S. Antonio de' Portoghesi in Rome; see ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, London, 1910, 200.

Father," he says, "has laboured zealously to keep all evil elements far from his city. He has been greatly helped in this by his Cardinals. For many centuries past no Sacred College has been so eminently distinguished for its blamelessness, piety, prudence, righteousness and continence, as well as for every kind of learning." Gregory XIII. had taken an essential part in bringing this about. The strict principles which he had set for his own guidance were shown in all his relations with the College of Cardinals. He showed himself extraordinarily generous towards the members of the supreme senate of the Church, and honoured them in accordance with their dignity,[1] he settled their revenues with great justice,[2] and was most courteous in his dealings with them,[3] yet always safeguarded his own position as their superior, as well as his own independence.[4] He expressed himself with great frankness at the consistories, yet he never took it amiss when they replied with equal outspokenness.[5]

The great spirit of independence shown by Gregory XIII. was, as can easily be understood, ill received by some of the

[1] Cardinal Galli brings this out in his *Memorie, as does C. Speciani in his *Considerationi (both in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome). Galli remarks that Gregory XIII. always gave immediate audience to the Cardinals, and never kept any member of the Sacred College waiting. Cusano *states on May 24, 1572: "S.Sta del continuo non cessa d'accarezzar li cardinali con farli tutte le gratie sono domandate cosa non faceva Pio V." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *"Distribueva loro le entrate eccles. con molta giustitia et circumspettione, ne diede mai cosa di momento a li dui nepoti suoi cardinali sin tanto che li pareva honestamente accommodato gli altri cardinali poveri." Galli in his *Memorie, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Non è mai mattina che non habbi a mangiar con esso cardinale si che participera dicono in questa parte di Papa Iulio III. che era buono compagno, il quale si recreava a tavola con li cardinali," says Cusano on May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., Arm. 11, t. 42, p. 304, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Santori, Autobiografia XIII., 153.

Cardinals, especially by those who for some special reason had built hopes upon their influence.[1] The long duration of the pontificate increased their discontent, the more so as Gregory had a high opinion of the cardinalitial dignity, and consequently never tired of strongly reminding the Cardinals, over and over again in the consistories, of the duties which their high rank imposed upon them.[2]

These warnings were not needed in the case of the Cardinals of the stricter school. Men of this type, and veritable apostles of a true reform in the Church. were Borromeo, Hosius, Sirleto, Morone, Truchsess, Rebiba, Chiesa, Burali, Aldobrandini, Aquaviva, Alciati, Commendone, Santori, Crivelli, Paleotto and Carafa.[3] The changed tendencies of the times and the influence of the example set by the Pope were also shown in the altered manner of life and behaviour of the rest of the Cardinals. The spiritual exercises which were introduced by such a man as Santori, soon found imitators among his colleagues.[4] It is even reported of Mark Sittich in 1582, who for a long time had abandoned himself to worldliness, that he was now leading a much more pious life, and daily devoted two or three hours to prayer.[5]

The changed tendency of the times was also shown in the manner of life of the two Cardinals who had sprung from princely families, Alessandro Farnese and Ferdinando de' Medici.[6] These, together with Tasso's friend, Ippolito

[1] This view was harshly expressed in the account in the *relatione of Serguidi in 1581, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 119, 124, 131, 140, 212, 215 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 227, 249, 254, XXV. 94, 103, 129, 133.

[3] *Cf.* in App. n. 9, the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 153.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 287, Vatican Library.

[6] *" Il card. Farnese tutto dedito alle opere pie si è sgravato per questo anno della spesa de suoi cani per impiegarla a beneficio de' poveri cresciuti a migliaia " Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 151, Vatican Library. Further accounts in CIACONIUS, III., 560 *seq.*

d'Este, who died on December 1st, 1572, the builder of the celebrated[1] villa at Tivoli,[2] with its cascades, staircases, and grottos so often extolled by poets and painters, and Cardinal Gambara, the owner of the sumptuous Villa Lante near Viterbo,[3] were the most wealthy members of the Sacred College, as well as the most interested in art. Farnese's court was composed of 277 persons.[4] It was no insensate luxurious-

[1] *Cf.* the account of Cusano in Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 406.

[2] For the Villa d'Este, which was completed by Ippolito, the son of Luigi, see GNAUTH-PAULUS in the *Allg. Bauzeitung*, 1867; O. BRIOSCHI, Villa d'Este in Tivoli (with some words of introduction by Hülsen), Rome, 1889; SENI, La villa d'Este, Mem. stor. tratte da documenti, Rome, 1902; GOTHEIN, I., 268 *seq.*; PATZAK in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.* N. F. XVII. (1906), 51 *seq.*, 117 *seq.* ASHBY in the London periodical *Archæologia*, LXI. (1906), 1, 219 *seq.* A description of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli in Ottob. 1888, p. 35 *seq.* Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Descrittione di Tivoli et del giardino del card. di Ferrara in Cod. 6750, p. 429-61, Court Library, Vienna. With regard to Este as the rival of Farnese see the report in *Atti della Soc. Ligure*, XIII., 863. At the funeral of Este the following verses were composed:

Roma tibi debet multum, Ferraria multum;
Sed plus Tiburte debet amata domus.

*Report of Francisco de Mendoza on December 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna; V. PACIFICI in *Atti e Mem. d. Soc. Tiburtina di Storia ed Arte*, I. (1921), 58 *seq.*; Annali e Mem. di Tivoli by Giov. Batt. Zappi edited by V. PACIFICI, Tivoli, (1920), 55 *seq.*; For Cardinal Ipp. d'Este as the Macaenas of scholars see CIAN in *Giornale d. Lett. Ital.*, LXXVIII., 165 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PERCIER-FONTAINE, Maisons ed plaisance (1809), 55; DURM in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XI. (1876), 292 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, I., 284 *seq.*; STRYGOWSKI in *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig, 1900.

[4] See the *Rotolo della famiglia del card. Farnese, Barb. 5366, p. 258 *seq.* Vatican Library. These documents enable us to understand the building at Caprarola with its *"Piano dei prelati, nobili, dei cavalieri, de' staffieri." For A. Farnese as a lover of the arts and his collection of antiquities *cf.* NAVENNE Palais Farnèse, Paris, 1912, 615 *seqq.*, 645 *seqq.*

ness which was displayed by the "great Cardinal" as men called him, who was Dean of the Sacred College from 1578, for he gathered round himself many learned and cultured men, among them the celebrated Fulvio Orsini. One does not know whether to admire more the unlimited generosity of Farnese or his cultured taste in art and letters. To this day he is celebrated by the great church of the Gesû in Rome,[1] and the Farnese Palace which was completed in 1579,[2] besides which the Cardinal in the same year acquired the Farnesina,[3] and the incomparable, imposing and pleasant castle of Caprarola near Viterbo,[4] built by Vignola, the frescoes in which, commemorating the owner of the castle and Paul III., were exe-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See in App. n. 16 the passage in Mucantius, *Diarium (April 10, 1579), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 476.

[4] *Cf.* L. SEBASTIANI, Descriz. di Caprarola, Rome, 1791; TR. FRANGIPANI, Descriz. del palazzo di Caprarola, Rome, 1869; *Atti Moden.*, III., 362, V., 1 *seq.*; GURLITT, Barockstil, 45 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, I., 290 *seq.*; WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 109; RIEGL, Barockkunst 74 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, II., 174, 374 *seq.*; GERSTFELDT-STEINMANN, Pilgerfahrten in Italien, Leipzig, 1910; F. GAI, Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, Rome, 1895; *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1895, Beil. n. 96; *Kunsthist. Jahrbuch des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXIII., 33 *seq.*; G. BALDUCCI, Il palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, illustr. nella storia e nell'arte, Rome, 1910; SANTE-BARGELLINI, I montidel Cimino, Bergamo, 1914, 78 *seq.*; A. BOSELLI, Il carteggio del card. A. Farnese, Parma, 1921, 66 *seq.* A very beautiful supplement is afforded by the unfortunately little known monograph by the Swedish ambassador in Rome, CARLO, BARONE VON BILDT, who is well versed in the arts, "Caprarola," published in the Swedish review *Ord och Bild*, 1903. The baron possesses a manuscript *La Caprarola d'Ameto Orti, which in 240 latin verses describes the beauties of the Farnese castle. CUGNONI published from Cod. I., V., 191 of the Chigi Library in the *Bollett. d. Soc. filol. Rom.*, X., "191 epigrammi lat. d'autore ignoto che illustrano le opere d'arte del. pal. Farnese in Caprarola." *Cf.* also the poem of LORENZO GAMBARA, Caprarola, Rome, 1581.

cuted by Taddeo Zuccaro according to the designs of Annibale Caro.[1]

Farnese, whom the Pope treated with great consideration,[2] was even surpassed by Ferdinando de' Medici as a lover of the arts. In the city the son of Cosimo lived in the Campo Marzio, in the Palazzo di Firenze, which his father had acquired from the family of Julius III. Ferdinando caused it to be decorated by Giacomo Zucchi with splendid paintings on the ceilings.[3] The Cardinal also set up in the neighbourhood, in compliance with the earnest request of Gregory XIII., the celebrated oriental printing-press.[4] His villa on the Pincio, the garden covered hill of the ancients, where Lucullus had admired the Roman sunsets, was converted by Ferdinando into a museum; he acquired the property in 1576 from Cardinal Ricci,[5] for whom Annibale Lippi had built this exquisite flower of the Roman villas,[6] and had embellished and enlarged it to a considerable extent. The villa and garden which are still to-day the object of our admiration as a splendid ensemble, may therefore be described as the work of Medici, whose name

[1] See VASARI, VIII., 115 *seq.*; *cf.* CUGNONI, A. Caro, 162 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*

[2] See the *report in 1581 of Serguidi in the State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* TESORINI, Il Palazzo di Firenze, Rome, 1889, 67, and H. Voss in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIV. (1913), 151 *seq.* Zucchi placed the portrait of the Cardinal in his altar-piece the "Mass of St. Gregory" which is still preserved in the Oratory at the SS. Trinità del Pellegrini.

[4] *Cf. infra*, p. 272.

[5] *Cf.* the *information drawn from the Ricci Archives in App. n. 8, which at any rate to some extent clears up the obscurity concerning the history of the construction of the Villa Medici so regretted by Friedlander (Kasino Pius IV., p. 30). For the villa erected on the Coelian by Ciriaco Mattei in 1582 see, beside, GOTHEIN, I., 324 *seq.*, LANCIANI, III., 83 *seq.*, and PERREYVES Souvenir de la villa Mattei à Rome, Paris, 1900. The villa of Cardinal Montalto will be spoken of in the volume dealing with Sixtus V.

[6] BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, Leipzig, 1914, 34 *seq.*

has rightly remained attached to it. The façade of the villa towards the garden, an incomparable example of the serene grandeur of the Renaissance, is entirely covered with classical sculptures; in front on the terrace were placed between the columns the two antique lions which may to-day be seen in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence.[1] Like the building, so too the garden, which command the most beautiful view over the Eternal City, was destined to receive those statues which the inexhaustible soil of Rome was at that moment producing in such abundance.[2] In the year 1583 Ferdinando de' Medici, who had already bought the Capranica collection for 4000 scudi, acquired the group of the Niobi, which had been discovered on the Esquiline in a vigna belonging to the Villa Altieri.[3] He had it placed in a semi-circular building in the neighbourhood of the existing passeggiata of the Pincio in a small loggia supported by four pilasters, round the horse which had been discovered at the same time. A number of other valuable works of antiquity were placed in the niches of the high wall which supports the terrace towards the south. A graceful loggia built upon the ancient walls of the city was adorned with the sleeping Ariadne.[4] A year after the acquisition of the group of the Niobi the Cardinal further enriched his collection, by buying for the small sum of 4000 ducats the antiquities in the Valle and Capranica palaces, among which was the famous Medici Venus.[5] These priceless works of art

[1] For what follows *cf.* especially GOTHEIN, I., 315 *seq.* See also BALTARD, Villa Medici a Roma, (1847); H. HÜFFER in the "Italia" of Hildebrand (1877); JUSTI, Wincklemann, II., 18.

[2] Besides the work of LANCIANI, IV., *passim*, see also the *Avviso di Roma of May 16, 1582, in App. n. 18, and the *report of Fr. de Mendoza of January 16, 1574 (State Archives, Vienna), App. n. 39. For the taking of antiques out of Rome see the monograph of BERTOLOTTI, Esportazione di oggetti de Belle arti, taken from the *Rivista Europ*, s.a.

[3] *Cf.* STARK, Niobe und Niobiden, Leipzig, 1863.

[4] See GOTHEIN, I., 316.

[5] See MICHAELIS in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäol. Instituts*, VI., 224. On October 27, 1584, an *Avviso di Roma states that

and the splendour of the garden with its fruit trees and flowers explain why the Mantuan ambassador describes the Villa Medici as the most beautiful in all the city of the seven hills.[1]

The exceptional positions held by Cardinals Farnese and Medici in Rome was not only due to their love for art. They were the heads of the two groups of the Sacred College by which the division of the Cardinals in accordance with their relations to the secular princes caused the existence of Spanish and French parties.[2] As the third great Cardinal who was followed by the French there was Luigi d'Este, the successor of his uncle Ippolito. These three Cardinals, who were as rich as they were prodigal, and all lovers of art and letters, were by no means in agreement with each other.[3]

The College of Cardinals was also divided according to the Popes to whom they owed their promotion. The Cardinals of Paul III. looked upon Farnese as their leader; those of Julius III., Fulvio della Corgna; those of Pius V., Bonelli. Among the creations of Pius IV., the outstanding Cardinals were Borromeo and Mark Sittich. The latter held a position of considerable importance because he exerted himself in every way to obtain influence, whereas Borromeo was entirely devoted to religious interests, and thus could hardly be looked upon as a party leader.[4]

the antiques acquired recently had all been taken to the Villa Medici, and are: "di quantità et di bellezza al marcato molto superiore." Urb. 1052, p. 430, Vatican Library.

[1] See in App. n. 17 the *report of Odescalchi of January 7, 1581. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See P. Tiepolo. Relazione of 1578, 223 *seq.*, and in App. n. 14, the *report of O. Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *report of Zibramonte of October 24, 1572. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *"Non e dubbio" says an Avviso di Roma of December 12, 1584, "che tre sono, i quali dant lumen in curia: Farnese, Este et Medici, ma perche hi tres unum non sunt, i soggetti portati separamente da ciascuno di loro vanno a gambe levate." Urb. 1052, p. 488, Vatican Library.

[4] See in App. n. 14 the *report of O. Scozia, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *Discorso written in 1580 concerning the election of the Pope, in Cod. 6333, p. 302 *seq.* Court Library, Vienna.

Gregory XIII. behaved with strict impartiality towards all the Cardinals,[1] though he naturally had his confidants, and some personalities were less sympathetic to him than others.[2] The influence exercised by each Cardinal was subject to that constant change which was so characteristic of the curia.[3]

Gregory XIII. held strict views as to the appointment of new members of the Sacred College, as Pius V., had done before him. Like him he was deeply convinced of the responsibility which the renewal of the supreme senate of the Church laid upon the shoulders of the head of Christendom. The men who received the purple must also be the salt of the earth. Like the torch which is placed in a candle-stick, so he said, these men, who were to be the strong pillars of Christendom, must be endowed with extraordinary virtue in order that they may usefully and honourably fill their office, all the more so as the Pope himself is chosen from among their number. A Cardinal who had recently been appointed had with the best intentions shown signs of wishing to express this gratitude to the Pope's nephew and to the family of His Holiness, but Gregory said to him with marks of disapproval: "Be grateful to God and the Holy See." The Pope repeatedly asserted that the dignity of the cardinalate must not be conferred in order to honour a person, but only in order to provide useful

[1] For the confidants of the Pope see *supra*, p. 54. The Cardinals who were not in favour are enumerated in the *report of Scozia (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See App. n. 14. *Cf.* also the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome) in App. n. 9. The reasons for the disfavour of Commendone are unknown; see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 312. For Montalto see further in Vol. XXI.

[2] See the *Considerationi of C. Speciani. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] Since the departure of Este, says *Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, it would seem that Medici has great influence with the Pope, "ancorche le cose qui siano in continuo moto ne si possi fare una ferma conclusione di chi puo più e di chi meno." *Report of July 16, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. For the changes in the curia see Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 58 *seqq.*

labourers for the Church.[1] He once remarked that the purple must also be conferred with great care for this reason, that he himself had known what it meant to be a poor Cardinal.[2] For this reason, like Pius V., he saw to it that all the Cardinals had revenues suitable to their state.[3] Another reason why Gregory was disinclined to a numerous Sacred College lay in the fact that he had learned by experience that a large number of Cardinals opens the way to intrigues. It followed from the realization of his responsibilities that the Pope was determined not to allow himself to be influenced by external forces in making new appointments, and to confer the dignity under strict limitations and with every care, not because of wealth or worldly advantages, but only in accordance with the needs of the Church.[4]

During the first six years of his pontificate Gregory XIII. only created four Cardinals: in 1572 and 1574 he appointed one of his nephews;[5] on November 19th, 1576, Andrew of Austria, the son of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who had done so much good work for the Catholic restoration in his territory;[6] at the beginning of March, 1577, Albert of

[1] See the contemporary communication from Cocquelines in the Appendix to MAFFEI, II., 452 *seq.*

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, reports that Farnese had told the Pope that he ought to satisfy the court by a creation of Cardinals Gregory XIII. replied: "Mons. ill^mo voi non havete provato a esser cardinale povero et sappiate ch'haveremo tempo a fare ogni cosa." Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

[3] See P. TIEPOLO, 222.

[4] *Cf.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 30.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 48 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 553 *seq.*, 558, 582; BAUDRILART, Dictionn. d'hist., II., 1634 *seq.*; HIRN, II., 84, 370, 377 *seq.* SCHMIDLIN, 445 *seq.*, where there are further particulars of the journey of Andrew to Rome in 1576, of his stay there for two years and his death in 1600. After the death of Morone Andrew received the protectorate of Austria (see HIRN, II., 402). As viceroy of the Tyrol and Lower Austria

Austria at the recommendation of Philip II.[1] Contemporaries repeatedly inform us how bitterly the expectations of the nomination of new Cardinals were disappointed.[2] When in January, 1576, the Pope had before him a list of candidates, he remarked with a smile that he only intended to nominate a few, because only perfect men were worthy of the purple.[3]

he had favoured the Catholic restoration like his father. From 1591 to 1600 Andrew was prince-bishop of Brixen. His taste for art was shown in the chapel of the castle at Feldthurns (see *Mitteilungen der K.K. Österr. Zentralkommission*, 1885, 39). The *Constitutiones Academiae Austriacae D. Augustini Romae institutae [in the time of Gregory XIII.] sub auspiciis Andreae card. de Austria, in Vat. 6284, p. 129 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[1] See GULIK-EUBEL, 50; CIACONIUS, IV., 50 *seq.*; BELTRAMI, Roma, 15. Of the "instanza del re cattolico" for Albert, who was appointed "improviso" we are told by P. Strozzi in his *letter dated Rome, March 4, 1577. According to the *report of Odescalchi of March 9, 1577, the "vota" of 5 "cardinali infirmi" were not taken, so that the French ambassador had no previous information. Both letters in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, states: On Monday Farnese asked the Pope if he would appoint Cardinals. Gregory XIII. replied: "che non solo adesso, ma ne tampoco per un pezzo era per risolversi à questo." Urb. 1044, p. 319. *Ibid.* 352 and 397b. *Avvisi di Roma of February 18 and April 23, 1575, concerning the wagers about the promotion of Cardinals; p. 396 an *Avviso of December 14, 1575: "E piena hoggi la corte di Roma." that the Pope on Friday will create 13 Cardinals, among them the "Prior di Barletta" for the Emperor, a nephew of the Cardinal of Lorraine for France, the President of Segovia for Spain, one for Portugal, one for Venice, "Mons. de Nazaret," a nephew of Sermoneta, a cousin of Cardinal Aquaviva, "Mons. Facchinetto, Thes^re Generale." Vatican Library.

[3] *"Dicesi, che il Papa havendo veduta la lista che correa per la corte delli suggetti cardinabundi, se ne sia riso dicendo, che farà conoscere, quanto si debba essere parco in questa attione, poiche la grandezza di questa dignità e solo per grandi et eccellenti soggetti." Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 14, Vatican Library.

The number of Cardinals, which in the time of Pius IV. had risen to 76, was in 1576 only 54.[1] In 1572 there died Diego Espinosa, Girolamo da Correggio and Ippolito d'Este; in 1573 Otto Truchsess and Giovanni Aldobrandini, both men of great distinction; in 1574 Giovanni Ricci, Antoine de Créquy, Giulio Aquaviva, Alessandro Crivelli and Charles de Guise; in 1575 Gian Paolo Chiesa and Marcantonio Bobba; in 1576 Gaspare Cervantes; in 1577 Scipione Rebiba and Innocenzo del Monte.[2] In order to fill these gaps Gregory XIII. on February 21st, 1578, held his first important creation on the fifth anniversary of his election.[3] It was quite unexpected,[4] because Gregory wished to be completely free in his choice.[5] Of the nine who were invested with the purple seven were foreigners and only two Italians, a clear proof of the determination of the Pope to observe with absolute strictness the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, which had

[1] See P. Tiepolo, 222.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 109 *seq.* (with some important mistakes); Albèri, II., 4, 208. For the death of Espinosa see Serrano, Liga, II., 205. The necrology of Mucantius on Aquaviva, Rebiba and Monte, see in App. n. 16. For the death of Rebiba and his great qualities see *infra* p. 297, n. 3. For Monte and Gregory XIII. see Lanciani, III., 32 *seq.* A "Lamento di Roma per la morte del card. di Monte" in Salza Abdel Kader, "I lamenti di Pasquino" in the "Scritti in onore di R. Renier, Turin, 1912. Of G. Aldobrandini Cusano says in a *report of December 13, 1572: "È molto esemplare cardinale et di benissima fama," State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of December 6, 1572, on the rich legacies left by Este.

[3] See Ciaconius, IV., 50 *seq.*; Gulik-Eubel, 50; Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 363.

[4] "fuori d'ogni opinione" says the *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 54, Vatican Library.

[5] On May 16, 1576, Giulio Maretti *reports that the Pope had said to Madruzzo "che era hora mai tempo di venire a quel atto et che ella vi veniria con prestezza et secretezza per fuggire l'importunità di mille che dimandavano il capello." State Archives, Modena.

expressly recommended a just consideration of the nations which were not Italian.[1]

A consideration of those who were appointed on February 21st, 1578, shows that Gregory had chosen them with a deep sense of his responsibility, and with careful thought for the needs of the Church. If France had four new representatives in the Sacred College, Gregory had it in mind by this to promote the Catholic restoration in that kingdom.[2] Fully realizing how much depended upon the attitude of Henry III., no only was Louis de Lorraine, the king's cousin, invested with the purple, but the appointment of Réné Birago, who was very influential at the court of France, and whose promotion had been promised a year and a half before, was carried out, in spite of the objections raised at the last moment by Granvelle.[3] The latter Cardinal also vainly opposed the promotion of Louis de Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, and Claude de la Baume, Archbishop of Besançon, who had published the decrees of the Council of Trent in his diocese, and had laboured there to prevent the introduction of the new doctrines.[4] Philip II. was pleased by the promotion of his trusted friend, Pedro Deza, of the distinguished Bishop of Liège, Gerard Groesbeek, and of Ferrante di Toledo. The latter, a holy man, refused the purple, however, and Gregory accordingly gave the red hat in his stead, on December 15th, 1578, to the new Archbishop of Toledo, Gaspare de Quiroga.[5] Of the two

[1] See HERRE, 260.

[2] HERRE brings this out very well, p. 261.

[3] See A. TIEPOLO, 261; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 363. The wishes of France were especially upheld by Cardinal L. d'Este (*cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VI., 1); see *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 54, Vatican Library. For Birago who has been estimated so variously, and who is deserving of a special monograph, see ALBÈRI, I., 4, 369 *seq.*, 440, App. 65. POLENZ, IV., 16 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 363 *seq.*

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 55 *seq.* The remarks of Granvelle were obviously biassed. (Corresp. ed. PIOT, VII., 70, 133).

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 67 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, 51; *Consistorial acta, July 4, 1578, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 374 *seq.*; *Arch. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVII., 7 *seq.* For

Italians who were promoted, one, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prior of Barletta, filled the place of his dead brother Francesco, and the other, Alessandro Riario, Patriarch of Alexandria, was one of that body of men who had been most closely connected with Pius V., and whose tireless labours and self-sacrifice had produced great fruits on behalf of the Catholic restoration.[1]

After the creation of February 1578, several years again elapsed without any further promotions to the cardinalate. In the meantime death continued to make gaps in the ranks of the Sacred College. In 1578 there died Louis de Guise, Paolo Burali, Cristoforo Madruzzo, and Giulio della Rovere; in 1579 Benedetto Lomellini, the learned defender of the ancient faith against the religious innovators, Stanislaus Hosius,[2] Francesco Pacheco and Gerard Groesbeek; in 1580 Arcangelo Bianchi, Henry of Portugal, Francesco Alciati and Girolamo Morone; the last named was undoubtedly the most influential, the cleverest and the most prudent diplomatist

Groesbeek see PIRENNE, IV., 403 *seq.*. BROM, Nederl. Cardinalen, in *De Katholiek*, CXI., 235 *seq.* PASTURE, Invent. du fonds Borghèse, Brussels, 1910, 102. For Quiroga *cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 49 *seq.*, and for his nomination see the *report of Odescalchi, of December 20, and especially *that of Pompeo Strozzi of December 15, 1578, according to which the Pope at first resisted the insistences of the Spanish ambassador; but his nomination soon followed "non aspettando il detto ambasciatore." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] The opinion of HERRE, p. 261. For V. Gonzaga *cf.* *Jahrbuch des Kunstsamml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, XVII., 204 *seq.*; BOGLINO, La Sicilia, 51 *seq.* Speaking of the way the Emperor had interested himself on behalf of V. Gonzaga in 1573, Cardinal Truchsess in his *letter of February 28, 1573, gives an account of the Cardinals who had previously been promoted at the request of the princes. State Archives, Vienna. Court correspondence 7.

[2] *Cf.* the funeral inscription in FORCELLA, II., 347. Galli in his *letter of September 12 to the nuncio at Venice describes Hosius as "persona di quella dottrina et vita esemplare che ognuno sa." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

that the curia had at its disposal. In 1581 there died Alessandro Sforza di Santa Fiora and Flavio Orsini; in 1582 Vincenzo Giustiniani.[1] In February 1580 an increase in the

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 110, where by a strange mistake 1578 is given as the year of the death of Hosius. For his pious death, which took place on August 5, 1579, besides the accounts given by EICHHORN, II., 538, see also Acta consist. in LAEMMER, Analecta, 150 *seq.*; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 366; *Avviso di Roma of August 8, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 263, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 301; *report of Odescalchi of August 7, 1579 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 15. The nephew of Hosius and his secretary, St. Rescius, later on the editor of his works, erected to him in S. Maria in Trastevere a simple monument, the only ornament of which consists of a splendid bust of the Cardinal; the beautiful portrait of Hosius to be seen at the Camaldolese convent at Bielany near Cracow is reproduced in Straganz, Gesch der neueren Zeit, Vienna, 1910, 186. To the literature on Hosius' may be added B. ELSNER, St. Hosius als Polemiker, Königsberg, 1911, a work which, however, is not altogether just to the Cardinal. Morone's contemporaries are almost at one in praising him; see, besides the *obituary notice by Mucantius in App. n. 16 (Papal Secret Archives), the *Acta consist. of December 5, 1580 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); the *report of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand dated Rome, December 3, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck; *Avviso di Roma of December 3, 1580. Morone is dead "con dispiacere di tutta questa corte havendo chiuso et sigillato il suo corso con attioni veramente christiane et degne della sua prudenza"; he had forbidden all pomp at his funeral. Urb. 1048, p. 400b, Vatican Library. Commendone wrote on January 21, 1581, to the Bishop of Modena: *"Il dolore che V. S. sente per la morte di mons. ill. Morone è veramente giustissimo et grandissima la perdita che s'è fatta de un signore di tanta virtù in tempi di tanto bisogno." Graziani Archives, Citta di Castello. For the tomb of Morone in the church of the Minerva see FORCELLA, I., 471; BERTHIER, 250 *seq.* A monograph on Morone fulfilling modern requirements would be an extremely valuable work. There is plenty of material for one. Here I will only mention the collection of letters addressed to Morone preserved in Vat. 6406-6410, Vatican Library. C. Madruzzo, who had in 1567 resigned the diocese of Trent, where a remembrance of him is to be

numbers of the Sacred College was vainly expected.[1] Although many persons, especially the French, urged him to appoint more Cardinals, the Pope did not show any inclination to do so.[2] Even the fact that, in the event of his death, his nephews would be left without any support, did not give him any anxiety.[3] It was calculated in the curia at the end of October 1582 that since the election of Gregory XIII. the Sacred College had lost thirty of its members, and had only been given thirteen new ones.[4] Even though by the death of Fulvio della Corgna on March 2nd, 1583, a fresh vacancy had occurred, it still seemed that the Pope had no intention of filling it. In June 1583 he asked one of the members of the Sacred College when there had been fewest Cardinals. He was told that under Alexander VI. and Julius II. the number had been reduced to twenty-four. "So many as that?" replied the Pope. From this it was inferred that he intended to cut down the number of the Cardinals to that enjoined by

seen in S. Maria Maggiore and the castle, a work of the Renaissance, died on July 5, 1578, at Tivoli, the guest of Cardinal d'Este, who was his close friend; *cf.* his Vita in Cod. Mazz. 60 of the Communal Library, Trent, which says: "Il corpo fu sepolto nella chiesa di S. Onofrio in una cappella da lui principiata coll'assistenza del nepote Ludovico cardinale et Giovanni Federico Madruzzo all'hora ambasciatore ordinario per l'imperatore Rudolfo II. appresso il Papa" For the chapel of Madruzzo *cf.* G. Caterbi, La chiesa di S. Onofrio, Rome, 1858, 80 *seq.*, and *Arch. per l'Alto Adige*, IX., 52 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* the Avvisi di Roma of February 24 and 27, 1580, in Beltrami, Roma, 20-21.

[2] See the *report of Sporeno of February 18 and September 23, 1581, to the Archduke Ferdinand, State Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See the *Discorso on the election of the Pope written in 1580, in Cod. 6333, p. 338, Court Library, Vienna.

[4] See the *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 402b, Vatican Library. According to an *Avviso of December 31, 1580 (*ibid.* p. 426) the various claims put forward by the princes retarded a creation. For the reduced total of the Sacred College see the *report of Sporeno of June 2, 1582, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck.

the Council of Constance.[1] After the death of Marcantonio Maffei on August 22nd, 1583, and of Réné Birago on November 25th, when the curia had given up all hopes of an increase of the Sacred College, a great creation quite unexpectedly took place.

On December 12th 1583 a consistory was held.[2] After the current business had been dispatched, and the Cardinals were rising to go away, the Pope addressed them in grave words: although by the grace of God his health left nothing to be desired, and he might confidently look forward to several years of life, it had nevertheless been brought to his notice that certain ambitious men in the Sacred College were carrying on the customary intrigues concerning the election of the next Pope.[3] The guilty parties had thereby incurred the ecclesiastical penalties laid down by Pius IV., yet he was willing once more generously to forgive them. In order, however, to provide against such a thing in the future, he had determined upon a new creation, and at once, so that the newly appointed Cardinals might make their public appearance at the coming Christmas festivities. Thereupon, without more ado, Gregory produced a list and read out the following nineteen names: Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gian Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, Alessandro de' Medici, Archbishop of Florence, Rodrigo de

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of June 1, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 237b, Vatican Library.

[2] See as to this SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 153 (for 13 read 12 December). Mucantius in THEINER, III., 483 *seq.*; *Avvisi di Roma of December 14 and 17, 1583 (Vatican Library), in App. n. 21, 22; *report of Odescalchi of December 12, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 364 *seq.*; CIACONIUS IV., 69 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, 51.

[3] As Santori (Autobiografia, XIII., 156 *seq.*) reports, it was thought that the Pope was alluding to the efforts of Medici on behalf of M. A. Maffei. According to an *Avviso di Roma of December 31, 1583, it was said that the Pope knew of certain measures taken by Delfino for a Papal election, and that Delfino had died of sorrow when he found himself discovered. Urb. 1051, p. 529, Vatican Library.

Castro, Archbishop of Seville, François Joyeuse, Archbishop of Narbonne, Michele, Count della Torre, Bishop of Ceneda, Giulio Canani, Bishop of Adria, Nicolò Sfondrato, Bishop of Cremona, Antonio Maria Salviati, Agostino Valiero, Bishop of Verona, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovì, Filippo Spinola, Bishop of Nola, Alberto Bolognetti, Bishop of Massa, George Radziwill, Bishop of Vilna, Matteo Contarelli, pro-Datary, Simone Tagliavia d'Aragona, the son of the Duke of Terranueva, Scipione Lancellotti, Auditor of the Rota, Charles de Bourbon-Vendôme and the Marquis Francesco Sforza di Santa Fiora.[1]

Gregory's action had irritated and surprised the Cardinals greatly. The first to protest was Farnese. Speaking as Dean of the Sacred College, he said that although he certainly approved of the existing vacancies being filled, a thing which he himself had frequently urged, nevertheless, out of respect for the supreme senate of the Church, and in conformity with the action of previous Popes, they should have received notice of this intention, so that each one might have an opportunity of expressing his views. Gregory replied that he had not done so in order to avoid long and wearisome discussions. Farnese recognized the right of the Pope to do as he liked, but adhered to what he had said as to the customary observance. Gregory made the concession that the supplementary votes of Cardinals Savelli, Este, Rambouillet, Mark Sittich, Commendone and Simoncelli, who had been prevented by illness from being present at the consistory, might be taken. He adhered, however, to his nominations, even when Cardinals Santori and Gambara, who were members of the Inquisition, pointed out that two of the nominees, Radziwill and Bourbon, were the sons of heretics. "I was well aware of that," replied the Pope, "but both of them are men of distinction in every sense." The desire which was expressed by others on behalf of Fabio

[1] For S. Tagliavia see BOGLINO, 52 *seq.*, for Ch. Bourbon see SAULNIER, 87 *seq.* (with wrong date December 4, 1583). Many congratulatory *letters to M. della Torre in Cod. 1184, I, of the Riccardi Library, Florence, Paolo Alaleone says in his *Diarium concerning the unexpected creation: "Papa peperit cum nesciretur eum gravidum esse." Papal Secret Archives, XII., 41.

Mirto Frangipani, Archbishop of Nazareth and Governor of Bologna, had no other effect than that the Pope promised to keep him in mind for the future. After the meeting had lasted for an hour the Pope brought to an end, with very satisfactory general agreement,[1] this memorable consistory,[2] in which the conditions of the Sacred College had been radically altered.

Considerations of many different kinds had entered into the choice of the new Cardinals, which, as may easily be understood, was severely criticized in the curia.[3] Of the six foreigners, the two Spaniards, Castro and Tagliavia d'Aragona, owed their nomination to the wishes of Philip II. Joyeuse was appointed at the request of Henry III., who would, however, have preferred someone else instead of Bourbon.[4] Contarelli, too, was a Frenchman by birth; his nomination, however, was principally a reward for the services which he had rendered as Datary. The Emperor Rudolph II. had interested himself on behalf of Spinola. The elevation of Radziwill seemed to be fully justified by the wishes of King Báthory, who had worked so hard for the Catholic restoration, as well as by his own merits.[5] In his choice of the thirteen Italians Gregory had been careful not to pass over any part of the peninsula. He had also kept clear of the mistake made by several of his predecessors, of including too many of his own fellow-countrymen.[6] Four of those who received the purple on December 12th, 1583, were afterwards Popes: Facchinetti (Innocent IX.), Castagna (Urban VII.), Medici (Leo XI.), and Sfondrato (Gregory XIV.). With the exception of Sforza, who was obviously promoted on account of his

[1] See in App. n. 23 the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1583, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, Amsterdam, 1648, 73.

[3] See in App. n. 21 the *Avviso di Roma of December 14, 1583, Vatican Library.

[4] See in App. n. 23 the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1583, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, 73 *seq.*, MAFFEI, II., 367 *seq.*

[6] Besides Facchinetti and Bolognetti, Alessandro Riario was also a Bolognese.

relationship to the Boncompagni,[1] all the remainder were men of great merit. The praise which Galli bestows upon the appointments of Cardinals by Gregory XIII. is therefore fully justified.[2]

After the creation of December 1583, which was followed on July 4th by the promotion of Andrew Báthory,[3] the Sacred College lost five of its best known members: on December 19th, 1583, there died Zaccaria Delfino,[4] on May 10th, 1584, his fellow countryman Luigi Cornaro; on June 14th, 1584, Claude de la Baume; on November 3rd, Charles Borromeo, and on December 26th, Giovanni Commendone. The death of Borromeo when only forty-six years of age was an irreparable loss to Milan, the Pope, and the whole Church. Gregory XIII. was deeply affected; he ordered that full particulars should be sent to him of all the works of reform and charity of the dead man, for he wished to carry them on according to his holy desires.[5]

[1] See the opinion of Bentivogli concerning him, Memorie, 83-84.

[2] See the *Memorie of Galli in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 105 *seq.* GULIK-EUBEL, 53. *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work. The appointment of Báthory took place, according to the *report of Sporeno of July 14, 1584 (Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck) "omnibus cardinalibus ignorantibus"; it was connected with the question of the league against the Turks; see BORATYNSKI, St. Bátory i plan Ligi, 334.

[4] "Et è mancato" says an *Avviso di Roma of December 21, 1583, on the death of Delfino: "un cardinal col roverscio et contrapeso di molte sue virtù et belle qualità che a punto adempie il numero di 34 cardinali morti in questo pontificato di Gregorio, il quale tira su la carta per far un resto prima che si levi dal gioco." Urb. 1051, p. 518, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* in App. n. 24 the *Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1584, Vatican Library; the *report of F. Sporeno, dated Rome, November 10, 1584, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck, and *that of Odescalchi of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. With regard to the beneficent labours of Charles Borromeo at Milan, even in temporal affairs, as well as the favour he showed to scholars, *cf.* the article in the *Riv. Europea*, 1877, II., 455 *seq.*, in which the Archbishop of Milan is justly described as a man "superiore al suo tempo."

CHAPTER VI.

Gregory XIII. and the Society of Jesus.—The Colleges in Rome.

The work of reform and Catholic restoration to which Gregory XIII. devoted all his energies could only be brought about when he had succeeded in educating a blameless clergy and, by means of solid instruction, securing the rising generation of the Church. To this task the Society of Jesus, which, in accordance with the traditions so clearly and firmly laid down for it by its highly gifted founder, had devoted its particular attention to the work of instruction and education under the predecessors of Gregory, seemed to be especially called. Gregory XIII. realized the valuable services which the disciples of Loyola had rendered in this way, as well as in pastoral and missionary work; and that to a great extent the continued renewal of the Church was due to them. He therefore accorded to them his protection and generosity so fully that Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State, could truly say that of all the Orders, the Society of Jesus was the one best loved by the Pope.[1]

Gregory bestowed a great favour upon them as early as February 28th, 1573, when he revoked the changes introduced by Pius V. On the strength of the representations made to him by P. Nadal,[2] Gregory had appointed a congregation under the presidency of Charles Borromeo, which decided that the Jesuits might recite the canonical hours out of choir, and might receive sacred orders after they had taken the three simple vows, even before their profession. In giving his

[1] "La Compagnia di Gesù fu sua diletta." *Memorie in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See Nadal, Epist., IV., 165 *seq.*

approval to this Gregory once more confirmed the Society and renewed all its privileges.[1] On October 10th, 1573, the General, Francis Borgia, died. The general congregation which assembled after his death asked the Pope that, since the first three Generals had been Spaniards, this time they might turn their attention to another nation. Accordingly, the Netherlander, Everard Mercurian, was elected,[2] under whose generalate the Jesuits were in every way favoured and supported by the Pope.[3] When, on August 1st, 1580, Mercurian in his turn died, the Society consisted of 21 provinces, with 110 houses and more than 5000 members. Under the new General too, Claudio Aquaviva, the author of the celebrated *ratio studiorum* for the Society of Jesus,[4] the Pope continued to show the Order his special favour and protection. Proofs of his affection followed one upon another.[5] Of decisive importance for the constitutions, as well as for the further development of the Order itself, was the fresh confirmation of the Society of Jesus dated May 25th, 1584. In this bull it is stated that the scholastics and coadjutors of the Order, in spite of their simple vows, are true religious, from which it follows that solemn vows are not of the essence of the Order.[6]

In addition to his edicts Gregory XIII. saw to it that at each step forward made by any Jesuit house large sums of money and other subsidies were assigned to them, in spite

[1] Institutum S. J., I., 54 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SACCHINI, IV., 2 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 479 *seq.*

[3] See *Synopsis*, 59 *seq.* *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 7 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*; BUSS, 856 *seq.*

[4] See ASTRAIN, IV., 2 *seq.* *Cf.* III., 211 *seq.* for the earlier life of Aquaviva. *Ibid.* IV., 133 *seq.* a perfect, precise and well weighed description of that great man.

[5] See *Synopsis* 116 *seq.*; *cf.* BUSS 1037; see also Bull. Rom., VIII., 390, 391 *seq.*, 397 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*, 499 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 457 *seq.* Fazolio brings out the importance of the constitution of May 25, 1584, in his *notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the "Compendium privilegiorum et gratiarum Soc. Jesu," edited by Aquaviva in 1584, *cf.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Morallsreitigkeiten, I., 511 *seq.*

of the fact that for this reason the antipathy felt by the Protestants for the Order of Loyola, also began to make itself felt among the Catholics.[1] Many communications addressed to the nuncios, and letters to bishops, princes, and cathedral chapters, show how much he had taken the Order under his wing. And this he did all the more willingly since the Jesuit colleges were equivalent to seminaries according to the ideas of the Council of Trent.[2] If the Society of Jesus was enabled to obtain a firm footing in various parts of Germany, as at Spires, Fulda, Würzburg, Coblence, Trêves, Graz and Prague, it was no less indebted to the Pope for its houses at Lucerne and at Freiburg in Switzerland.[3]

This concern of Gregory was by no means restricted to Germany and Switzerland, where, owing to the lack of priests, the assistance of the new Order was specially required. Everywhere, in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the Low Countries, Poland and Transylvania, no less than in the mission fields outside Europe as far as distant Japan, the great labours of the Jesuits were in every way favoured and assisted.[4] At

[1] *Cf.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiatur Portias, IV., cxi.

[2] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 90.

[3] See DUHR, I., 1, 119, 131, 212, 226, 382, 383, 385, 388. *Cf.* also SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, III., lxxviii; IV., cxi; V., cvii.

[4] See *Synopsis* 59-140, where there is a register of no less than 289 acts of Gregory XIII. in favour of the Jesuits among the different Christian nations. Several details in SACCHINI V. See also the *Memorie in Cod. 290, Fondo Gesuitico, p. 25 of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, which are partly based upon documents in the Papal Secret Archives. With regard to the college of the Jesuits at Padua see SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Instituts*, VII., 97 *seq.* For the building of the Jesuit college at Bologna see I. RABUS, *Reise nach Rom, 1575, in Cod. germ. 1280, Royal Library, Munich. By a letter of May 22, 1574, the "Provveditori" of Venice were recommended to support the mission of the Jesuits Tommaso Raggio and Salvatore Siciliano. Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* a *letter of 1575 concerning the progress of the Jesuit mission at Parenzo.

Wilna the Pope attached an academy to their college,[1] and did the same in the case of their university at Pont-à-Mousson, which was established by a bull of December 5th, 1572.[2]

Gregory XIII. displayed his affectionate care and his great generosity in a special way in the case of the Jesuits in Rome.[3] A consideration of the history of the Germanicum in Rome shows better than anything else how true this was.

The idea of that institution, the object of which was the training of good and learned priests for the preservation of the faith, and for the spread and consolidation of Catholic life in Germany, had sprung from the enterprising and vigorous mind of Ignatius of Loyola, who had carried it into effect with great determination, and in spite of the greatest difficulties.[4] His successor, Lainez, had tried to preserve the existence of the institution by receiving many inmates of every nation, even those who did not wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state.[5] Although the college in this new form displayed a very valuable activity, and was one of the leading educational establishments for the Catholic aristocracy, it had nevertheless departed from its special purpose. A further difficulty was the lack of an assured endowment. The question had already been raised whether it would not be advisable that the college, in so far as it was intended for German students, should be given up. Fortunately this proposal came to nothing. The most influential fathers of the Order, including the General, Francis Borgia, inclined rather to the restoration of the original character of the institution.[6] It was of decisive importance

[1] *Cf.* more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] *Cf.* for this institution, founded by Cardinal Charles de Guise, HYVER, Maldonat et les origines de l'Université a Pont-à-Mousson, Nancy, 1873; LAGER, Abtei Gorze, 89 *seq.* and especially E. MARTIN L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson, 1572-1768, Nancy, 1891.

[3] The account books of Gregory XIII. bear witness to his numerous gifts to the Society of Jesus during the first year of his pontificate. Deposit. generale d. Rev. Camera Apost. 1572 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 229 *seq.*, XIV., p. 249.

[5] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 99.

[6] See STEINHUBER, I.[2], 65 *seq.*

when Cardinal Otto Truchsess won over Gregory XIII. to this view. The Cardinal was able to lay before the Pope with such eloquence the importance of this institution of Loyola's for the preservation and restoration of the Catholic religion in Germany, that Gregory resolved not only to restore the college, but also to add to it on a grand scale. Peter Canisius, and all others who understood the state of affairs in Germany, confirmed the Pope in his design, in the preparations for which he caused the German congregation to participate.

At the beginning of August, 1573, the nuncios were instructed to seek in Germany for students suitable for the German college, as the Pope wished to increase the number of students there from 25 to 100.[1] After the Cardinals had been informed of this on August 26th, 1573,[2] and their help had been asked for, in the autumn of the same year, in a bull dated August 6th,[3] the re-establishment of the Germanicum took place,

[1] See SCHWARZ, Gutachten, XLVI., *seq.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 73 *seq.* *Cf.* the beautiful and exhaustive account of STEINHUBER, I.[2], 90 *seqq.* Many original acta of the time of Gregory XIII. dealing with the history of the Germanicum in Miscell. Arm. 11, t. 94, De Collegiis Urbis, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 205.

[3] STEINHUBER (I.[2], 97) had remarked that the bull was first dated and only published later, and that Galli wrote on September 12, 1572, to Portia that the bullt would be published shortly. This is fully in accordance with the statement in an *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1573: "Si ha da ereggere un collegio nuovo per la nobilità di Germania, al quale N. S. assignara 10,000 scudi d'entrata et si pigliarà il palazzo del Card. di Lorena a pigione." Urb. 1043, p. 298, Vatican Library. That the removal of the externs was begun is stated in an *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1573: "Gia cominciano a sfrattare questi del Collegio Germanico non senza molta loro confusione per erigere l'altro nella casa del card. Alessandrino a S. Appollinare volendo S.Sta questo luogo sia assignato solamente per quelli dell'istessa natione et che non ci possono entrare putti." Until the allotment of the fixed annual income of 10,000 scudi, the Cardinals gave 100 scudi a month. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. ibid.* the *Avviso di Roma of October 17, 1573.

and it was endowed with an annual revenue of 10,000 gold scudi. The direction of the institution was left in the experienced hands of the Jesuits, who took the lay scholars into the Roman College. At the Germanicum instruction was henceforth to be given in the ancient languages, in philosophy, theology and canon law, to no less than 100 youths drawn from the whole of Germany and the neighbouring northern countries. The establishment was to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the senator and rector of the Roman University, free from taxes, subject to the immediate protection of the Holy See, and was to participate in all the privileges and rights of the Roman University, especially in that of conferring academic degrees. Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mark Sittich, Galli and Truchsess were appointed its protectors.[1]

The Palazzo della Valle was taken on lease for the college, and the expenses of the foundation, which amounted to 20,000 ducats, were borne by the Pope, who personally visited the establishment on October 28th. He had appointed as rector the distinguished Father Michele Lauretano: it was the latter who drew up the new statutes, a wonderful testimony to his prudence, his deep wisdom and his enlightened piety.[2]

By 1574 94 students from almost every diocese in Germany had come to the Germanicum. After the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine the Pope gave to the college the large cardinalitial palace of S. Apollinare, close to the adjoining church. He was almost insatiable in conferring favours; above all, he set himself to assure the solid foundation of the institution by giving it great possessions. The grant of the abbey of S. Saba, on the southern slope of the Aventine, was followed by the gift of the vigna of Pariola, the incorporation of the abbey of S. Croce di Fonte Avellana in Umbria, and of Lodivecchio and S. Cristina in the territory of Milan. From these the college received an assured income of more than 11,000

[1] Bull. Rom. VIII., 52 *seq.*; *cf.* 56 *seq.*, 84 *seq*

[2] See STEINHUBER, I.², 102 *seq.*, 106.

scudi, which was more than had been declared to be required for the maintenance of 100 students.[1]

Gregory XIII. is therefore rightly looked upon as the second founder of the Germanicum.[2] Without having obtained from the princes of Germany anything more than promises for the future, he had by himself undertaken this work which was so quick to succeed. In the second year from the re-establishment of the German college it numbered 130 students. Under the direction of its distinguished rector, Michele Lauretano, it also prospered within to such a degree that it was very soon looked upon by all as the model of all seminaries. The maintenance of the discipline, the scientific instruction with its periodical disputations, as well as the religious education and the exercises of piety, were all beyond compare. The religious chant, too, was zealously cultivated there. The first musical director was Luigi da Vittoria, Palestrina's closest friend, and he was succeeded by Annibale Stabile. The functions at S. Apollinare were noted for their solemnity and decorum, and the music was considered as the best in the whole city.[3]

The efforts made by Gregory XIII. on behalf of the German College, to which he continued to show special

[1] See *ibid.* 108 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 120 *seq.* For the palace and church of S. Apollinare see LANCIANI, IV., 77 *seq.* The inscription about Gregory XIII.: "Collegii Germanici fundator et parens optimus" in S. Croce de Fonte Avellana, in *Nuovo giornale Arcadico*, 3rd ser., II., Milan, 1890, 48.

[2] I. Rabus praises him greatly for this in his *Rom Reise 1575 Cod. Germ. 1280, p. 218 *seq.* Royal Library, Munich. In our own day the colossal bust of the Pope, who issued no fewer than 17 bulls in favour of the Germanicum, has been exposed in the vestibule of its new home in the Via S. Nicolò da Tolentino; it is the work of the Berlin sculptor, Joseph Limburg.

[3] See STEINHUBER, I.², 125 *seq.*, 128 *seq.* Musotti says in his *notes (see App. n. 29) that the German College was *"un splendore in Roma di religione e santi costumi." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

kindness,[1] produced abundant fruits. Its share in the Catholic restoration in the countries of the German Empire were very clearly shown even before the end of the century. Its influence, which spread like the ripples on water, was of so great importance that we shall have to speak of it in greater detail when we come to treat of affairs in Germany.[2]

The rapid progress made by the German College[3] decided Gregory to adopt the suggestion made by the Jesuit Stefano Sázntó and by Cardinal Santori in 1578 to erect a college in Rome for Hungary as well. Pius V. had already had this project in mind.[4] Gregory XIII. granted to the new college the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian and the church dedicated to St. Stephen the king near St. Peter's, together with the hospice for Hungarian pilgrims attached to it, but which was no longer in use.[5] Since it was impossible to find means for the maintenance of this establishment,[6] Gregory decided to give it solidity and the opportunity of development by uniting it to the German College, which was already well endowed and firmly established. This was done

[1] *Cf.* for the years 1575 and 1576 the Nuntiaturberichte edited by SCHELLHASS, V., cviii. *seq.* *Ibid*, for the necessity of the preference given to the nobility in accepting students, due to the conditions in Germany.

[2] See more fully, Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] "Germanorum adolescentium collegium ita auxit et amplificavit [Gregory XIII.], ut hodie sit numerosissimum magno quidem sumptu, sed maiore profectu" says Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., c. 4, Papal Secret Archives. See App. n. 25

[4] See FRAKNOI in *Katholikus Szemle*, VII., 181 *seq.*

[5] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 250 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I.², 137 *seq.* SZÁNTÓ, Historia Seminarii Hungarici written in 1579, in Vat. 6205, Vatican Library. *Cf.* FRAKNOI, Ungarns Bezeihungen zum Heiligen Stuhl, III., Budapest, 1903. For the part taken by Santori see his Autobiografia, XII., 364.

[6] Gregory XIII. referred to this subject several times with Cardinal Santori; see his *Audienze of November 20 and December 30, 1578, Papal Secret Archives.

by a bull dated April 13th, 1580,[1] and in the future the two seminaries remained permanently united.[2] On March 29th, 1584, a second bull gave the "Collegium Germanicum et Ungaricum" the rules and laws which are still in force. These, which are based upon the primitive statute drafted by Ignatius of Loyola, and incorporate the experience which had since been acquired, contain precise instructions as to the selection and character of the students, the discipline, the studies, the spiritual exercises, the duties of the rector, and the administration of the property.[3]

The number of the students was fixed at 100; with the exception of Switzerland and Bohemia, they were to be drawn from Upper Germany, the territories of Westphalia, Saxony and the Rhineland, the dioceses of Kulm, Ermland and Kalisch, and from the kingdom of Hungary, according to the requirements of the various dioceses. The students were to attend the lectures at the Roman College. Three years were appointed for the study of philosophy, and four for scholastic theology. A year before they left the college the students, without obtaining dimissorial letters from their own bishops, without title, and without observing the prescriptions of canon law, received priest's orders, and the more brilliant ones the academic degrees as well. This bull leaves them entirely free to enter the religious Orders. A special feature of the German College was the fact that an oath was demanded of the students that they would receive sacred orders in due course, that they would at once return to Germany at the

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 250 *seq.* The union was asked for in an anonymous **Memoriale presented to Pope Gregory concerning the Hungarian College, dated August 15, 1579, Barb. LVI.-129, p. 187-191, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Fontes rer. Hungaricarum, II., 2. Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum 1; Matricula ed. A. VERESS, Budapest, 1917, viii. *seq.*

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 447 *seq.*; *cf.* STEINHUBER, I.², 155 *seq.*; the ordinance of 1573 which only remained in force for a short time, and was published for the first time by SCHELLHASS (Nuntiaturberichte III., 415 *seq.*).

command of their superiors, that they would not devote themselves explicitly to the study of civil law and medicine, which were not compatible with the ecclesiastical state, and that they would not accept any office at the court.[1] In order to reform the aristocratic cathedral chapters of Germany, Gregory laid it down that only those were to be received into the Germanicum who were distinguished either by nobility of birth or by some special intellectual qualification.

Even more than in Germany England was threatened with the dying out of the clergy. The terrible state into which the Catholics had fallen on account of the bloody persecution of Queen Elizabeth, had moved William Allen, who had taken refuge on the continent from that reign of terror, to found in 1568 at Douai a seminary for English missionary priests.[2] In 1575 Gregory XIII. granted to this establishment, which had done so much good, an annual subsidy of 12,000 gold scudi.[3] Not satisfied with this, he decided to found a similar college in the Eternal City. As, after 1578, some students from Allen's seminary had been transferred to Rome to the ancient hospice of the English pilgrims at S. Tommaso in the Via Monserrato, the Pope, by a bull of April 23rd, 1579, appointed that hospice as the place of residence of the new college, and assigned to it an annual revenue of 3600 gold scudi, also granting to it the abbey of S. Sabina near Piacenza, which carried with it another 3000 ducats annually. He also ordained, together with giving it exemption from all taxes, that the college should be placed under the immediate care of the Holy See. Cardinal Morone was chosen as Protector.[4] On July 22nd, 1579, the Pope visited

[1] STEINHUBER, I², 165 *seq*

[2] See more fully, *infra*, 377 *seqq*.

[3] See DODD-TIERNEY, Church History, II., App. n. 411; the original of the *brief of April 15, 1575, in the State Archives, Rome.

[4] The date of the bull of foundation, 1578, in the Turin edition of the Bull. Rom., VIII., 208 *seq*. is wrong; the right date is in the earlier editions, e.g. that of CHERUBINI, II., 422 *seq*. The history of the foundation was written by Robert Persons, afterwards rector, see POLLEN in *Cathol. Record Society Miscell.*,

the establishment, where he was received with a Latin oration and a graceful poem.[1]

The first rector of the English College, the students of which rose in the time of Gregory XIII. from 40 to 70, was Maurice Clenock, who had hitherto been the warden of the ancient hospice; two Jesuits were charged with the internal direction of the establishment. Soon, however, difficulties arose between the Welshmen, who were favoured by Clenock, and the students of English birth, which very nearly led to the complete destruction of the college. The result of this was the removal of Clenock and the appointment of the Jesuit Agazzari as his successor. Later on, fresh disputes in the college led to the intervention of the Pope. It was claimed that the reason for these was the exaggeration of the educational system of the Jesuits,[2] whereas in reality it was only a case of mistakes which had been made by certain fathers. Even the enemies of the Jesuit system admit that the students of the English College accomplished great things, and that their preparation for the martyrdom which awaited them in their own country, was carried out by the Jesuits in a brilliant way; they deserve the greatest credit for the English heroes educated in Rome, "who kissed their instruments of torture, blessed the executioner and embraced the ladder which was to take them to the gibbet."[3]

II. (1906, 83 *seq.*), and F. Sega in his reports of the visitation in FOLEY, VI., 5 *seqq.*; MEYER, I., 428 *seq.*; KNOX, Douai Diaries, LVII., *seq.*; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 110 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 75 *seq.*; GASQUET, History of the English College of Rome, London, 1920, 68 *seqq.*, 69 *seqq.*; P. GUILDAY, The English Catholic refugees on the Continent, 1538 to 1795, I., London, 1914; POLLEN, The English Catholics, 271 *seq.*

[1] See *report of Odescalchi of July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] MEYER, I., 87 *seq.*, who if he had known of the account by Bellesheim (ALLEN, 114 *seq.*) which escaped his notice, would certainly have altered his opinion. *Cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*

[3] MEYER, I., 92. Gregory XIII. issued on January 21, 1582, an exhortation to make donations to the seminary at Douai,

In England the establishment of local seminaries was altogether out of the question on account of the bloody laws of Queen Elizabeth. The contrary was the case in Germany, where Catholic districts were still numerous. Those who were acquainted with conditions in that country had planned, on the occasion of the foundation of the Germanicum, to employ the means appointed for the growth of that institution by educating youths in the various Jesuit establishments in Germany.[1] Without in any way limiting the German College, Gregory gave his consent to the carrying out of this plan. There thus arose during his pontificate pontifical schools directed by the Jesuits; for Austria at Vienna, Prague and Gratz; for the north and east at Olmütz and Braunsberg; at Fulda for western Germany and at Dillingen for Upper Germany.[2] The bull of erection of the pontifical seminary at Dillingen was signed by the trembling hand of Gregory on April 9th, 1585, on the eve of his death. The object of the institution was, here as elsewhere, the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith.[3] For this purpose no sacrifice was too great for the large-hearted Pope. His own experience had confirmed him in his opinion that to

which had been transferred to Rheims on account of the disturbances in the Netherlands (Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.*). He also subsidized the Scottish college at Pont-à-Mousson; see MAFFEI, II., 228; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, X., 1928.

[1] See STEINHUBER, I.², 94. As early as December 24, 1573. an *Avviso di Roma speaks of the intention of Gregory to erect at the expense of the Holy See a college for students in Germany. Urb. 1043, p. 348, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 301 *seq.* Donations for the seminary at Prague during the years 1575-81 are mentioned in the *Nunziatura di Germania, 93, p. 7, Papal Secret Archives. See also MAFFEI, I., 137, 157, 282; II., 380. DU CHESNE, Hist. des Papes, Paris, 1653, 439 *seq.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 525 *seq.*, 538 *seq.*, A *Catalogus alumnorum collegii Olmucensis (from Gregory XIII. down to 1624) in *Visite*, 1, p. 17 *seq.*, Propaganda Archives, Rome. For Olmütz and Braunsberg see more fully *infra*, Chapter

[3] See SPECHT, Geschichte der Universität Dillingen, 426 *seq.*

compensate for the losses of the Church there was no more efficacious means than those establishments which aimed at the training of a pious, moral and learned clergy. To Possevino, who was charged with the foundation of the seminary at Olmütz he said: "At the request of the princes we have sent large sums of money to every kind of place, and what have we obtained in return? Very little. But what we have expended on the seminaries no one can take away from us. The return for what we have expended for the salvation of immortal souls is indeed, fully assured to us."[1]

Filled with this idea Gregory also subsidized the erection of seminaries in Italy, among which those at Naples and Venice especially owe much to him,[2] as well as that for Dalmatia and Illyria which was established at Loreto.[3] In the capital of Lombardy he founded in 1579, at the request of Borromeo, the Swiss College, which gave excellent priests to Catholic Switzerland, in so far as it formed part of the diocese of Milan, and thus opposed a safe barrier against the penetration of the religious innovations.[4]

The paternal care of Gregory XIII. for Catholic education was not limited to the west alone. His vigilant pastoral eye

[1] See STEINHUBER, I.², 137.

[2] See THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 127, 149; PIERLING, St. Siège, II., 33 *seq.* A *brief of Gregory XIII. to the nuncio at Venice, dated Rome, April 23, 1579, instructs him to see to the endowment of the "in domo SS. Philippi et Jacobi [existing] Seminarium puerorum Venetorum collegium Gregorianum nuncupandum." Original in the State Archives, Venice. For the seminary at Naples, where the archbishop also called upon the bishops of his province to found seminaries, see SPARANO, Mem. d. Napolit. chiesa, I., Naples, 1768, 248 *seq.*

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 18; MORONI, XXXIX., 243; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VIII., 151. At first this college as well was to have been erected in Rome; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 364. *Audienze, December 30, 1578, July 30 and November 5, 1579, Arm. 52, t. 17, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Bull. Rom., VIII., 269 *seq.* *Cf. supra* p. 89; SALA, Docum, I., 219, 317, 374.

included the whole world, and even in Japan he founded several Jesuit houses.[1] In 1575 the Jesuits had planned the foundation of a Greek College in Rome in the interests of the Greek Catholic inhabitants of eastern Mediterranean countries.[2] At first difficulties stood in the way of the realization of this project, which was especially supported by Cardinal Santori,[3] but when a congregation of Cardinals which had been set up by the Pope,[4] as well as Gaspare Viviani, Bishop of Sithia, warmly supported the establishment of such an institution, it was decided upon in a bull of January 13th, 1577.[5] In this college there were to be educated not only able ecclesiastics belonging to the Greek Catholic rite, but also laymen, by whose means it was hoped to bring influence to bear for the reunion of the Greek schismatics. Generous as ever, Gregory assigned to the college an annual revenue of 1200 gold scudi and for 15 years the revenues of the vacant bishopric of Chissano in Crete. Later on he added other endowments, especially the full possession of the Benedictine abbey of the

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 20; MAFFEI, II., 351 *seq.*

[2] This hitherto unknown fact I found in an *Avviso di Roma of December 10, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 634, Vatican Library.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 119.

[4] *Cf.* HETEREN, in *Bessarione*, VII., 3 (1902), 174 *seq.*

[5] Bull. Rom., VIII., 159 *seq.* G. Viviani received the diocese of Anagni. An *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1579, praises him as "huomo singolare nella latina e greca lingua." Urb. 1047, p. 257, Vatican Library. Pietro Arcudio wrote about the beginnings of the Greek College: see LEGRAND, Bibliographie Hellénique, Paris, 1895, 492 *seq.*; *cf.* also RODOTA, Dell'origine ecc. del rito greco in Italia, III., 153 *seq.*; BATIFFOL in *Revue des quest. histor.*, XLV., 179 *seq.* *Cf.* 187 for G. Viviani; the *Historia collegii Graecorum de Urbe*, which was at one time to be found in the archives of the Greek College, is unfortunately no longer there. P. de Meester makes use of many other documents in the archives: Le college pontifical grec de Rome, Rome, 1910. *Cf.* also NETZHAMMER, Das griechische Kolleg in Rom, Salzburg, 1905, and *Revue des quest. histor.*, XLV., 1889, 179 *seq.*

SS. Trinità di Mileto, in Calabria.[1] Cardinals Savelli, Sirleto, Santori and Carafa were appointed Protectors. The college, which was at first placed in a house in the Via Ripetta which was taken on lease, later on received through the munificence of Gregory XIII. a large residence in the Via del Babuino, together with a church of its own, dedicated to St. Athanasius,[2] where divine worship was carried on in accordance with the Uniat Greek rite. The rules of the institution, of which a Greek was appointed rector, were drafted by Cardinal Santori, who, together with Sirleto, took a special interest in it.[3] The greater number of the students came from the Venetian possessions in the Levant. They wore a Greek caftan and the Venetian biretta.

Gregory XIII. interested himself greatly in the Greek College, and often proved his interest by paying it visits;[4] he hoped in this way to be able to assist in the maintenance of the Christians belonging to the Catholic Church who were scattered throughout the East, but who were in communion with Rome, and also to bring back once more to the Church the schismatic Greeks of the East,[5] as well as those in Poland

[1] The documents of this abbey came into the archives of the Greek College in Rome. See the index in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II., 217 *seq.* A summary drawn from these archives on the generosity of Gregory XIII. in *Revue des. quest. histor.*, XLV., 181.

[2] For these buildings see further Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] See De Meester, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 3, 1578, and May 5, 1582, Urb. 1046, p. 303b; 1050 p. 145, Vatican Library. The *notes of Santori upon his audiences bear special witness to the great interest taken by the Pope. Arm. 52, t. 17 and 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See also A. Tiepolo, 265 (*cf.* Ranke, Päpste., I., 276 note) and the letter of Cardinal Galli of May 25, 1577, in Schmurlew, Russland und Italien, I., Petersburg, 1908, 188 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of April 8, 1581, states that Gregory XIII. caused youths to come to the Greek College with the consent of their parents, by means of the bishops. Urb. 1049, p. 152b, Vatican Library.

and Russia. In order to promote these efforts the Pope caused 12,000 copies of the catechism to be printed in Greek.[1]

In Rome Gregory also founded in the Rione of Trevi a college for the Maronites of Mount Lebanon,[2] and another for the Armenians.[3] A college for the youths who had entered the Church from Judaism or Islam was established in Rome by the Pope at the advice of Philip Neri on September 1st, 1577, in the house where St. Catherine of Siena had died.[4]

Gregory XIII. gladly spoke of the establishments for education and instruction which he had founded both in and out of Rome. When he had, on one occasion, been speaking, in the presence of the Datary, Cardinal Matteo Contarelli, of the great development of religion which he looked for from these establishments, he received the reply: "Indeed, Holy Father, you have set up a splendid statue, but it is like

[1] So reports the "Epistola ex romana urbe in Germaniam missa," Ingolstadt, 1577. Matteo de Bari was entrusted with the translation of the catechism; see *Miscell., XI., t. 93, p. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 475 *seq.*; *cf.* 438 *seq.* concerning the erection of a hospice in Rome for the Maronites, which had already been decided upon. See, besides PICHLER, II., 548, CIACONIUS, IV., 18; LANCIANI, IV., 76 *seq.* and especially ANAISSI, Bull. Maronit., 81 *seq.*, 84 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 98 *seq.* The *Constitutiones collegii Maronitarum with the Acta of Propaganda of 1634 in Vat. 7262, p. 21 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 492 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 162; CIACONIUS, IV., 17; PICHLER, I., 511; II., 462, and the *report of Odescalchi of August 25, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The building was not brought to completion, see LANCIANI, IV., 76.

[4] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 188 *seq.*; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 250; LANCIANI, IV., 73. Musotti states in his notes on the college of the Neophytes: *"Era tanto il concorso d'Ebrei et Turchi fatti christiani che il luogo non era bastante essendosene convertiti nel suo pontificato più che non ha fatto in molti pontificati insieme." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A list of the neophytes who had been baptized on April 18, 1579, in Cod. Ottob. 2452, Vatican Library.

that which Nabuchadonosor saw in his dream." "What do you mean by that?" asked the Pope in surprise. "Behold," replied the Cardinal, "of the colleges established by your Holiness, the Germanicum, which is so richly endowed, may be compared to the head of gold; the English College, which has not been provided for with the same generosity, is the breast of silver; the Maronite College is the legs of iron; but they all rest upon feet of clay, on a fragile foundation which, if it be not supported, will fall to the ground." "And these feet?" Gregory interrupted. "The feet," said the Cardinal, "I see in the Roman College, which, being the establishment for training and instruction common to all, surpasses them all. But at present it is in a dwelling place so confined and ruinous, and is moreover so insufficiently endowed and so deeply in debt, that it cannot last for long." The Pope, who had already assisted the Roman College, recognized the justice of Contarelli's complaint, and resolved to come to its assistance with the needful help.[1] The plan formed by Ignatius of Loyola now was realized in the fullest way: a central college, not only for Rome, but for the whole world, in the centre of unity of the Church. The debts of the Roman College were condoned, it was given an assured endowment, so that Gregory also became the second founder of this most important institution.

"The college, which hitherto had lived on air," said Cardinal Galli, "now possessed the means for the maintenance of 200 students."[2] But not content with this the Pope caused to be built for the institution, on a truly gigantic scale, a new building, the work of Bartolomeo Ammanati. On October 28th, 1584, he himself performed the ceremony of blessing it.[3]

[1] See SACCHINI, V., 1, 50-51. RINALDI, 87 *seq.*; *cf.* 82 *seq* for earlier subsidies.

[2] *"Et quel che più importa l'istesso collegio de Giesuiti qual prima era fondato in aria senza certo sostenimento S.S^{tà} l'ha in maniera dotato che per ora pasce et mantiene 200 bocchi." *Memorie in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* SACCHINI, V., 10; MAFFEI, II., 228; MORONI, XIV., 187 *seq.* *Cf.* *"Gratiarum actio ad Gregorium XIII. P.M. pro

In a suggestive way the huge building was everywhere adorned with poems in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean, and with coats-of-arms of every kind. The learned Jesuit, Stefano Tucci, the celebrated author of many scholastic Latin dramas, saluted Gregory in a Latin discourse. He thanked him for the honour he had paid them by his personal presence, and extolled the great services which His Holiness had rendered for the spread of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, to which the Pope modestly replied: "To God alone does the honour and glory belong"; he then inspected the new building in detail.[1] Above all the orator had expressed his gratitude for the fact that Gregory had entrusted to his Order the scientific instruction and education of youth of all nations. On the occasion of the laying of the first stone twenty-five theses had been composed in as many languages in token of the world-wide destinies of the Roman College, which, under the direction of the Jesuits, was to become an establishment for the teaching of philosophy and theology for all the nations of the world. Like the inscription on the first stone, so too the coins that were struck as a memorial of the new building expressed the idea that it, as the universal college of the Society of Jesus, was to become a seminary for all nations, a world-wide institution of the Catholic Church.[2]

collegii Rom. amplificatione initio huius anni a Franc. Bentio rhetoricae doctore auditoribus suis tradita A° 1581," Fondo Gesuitico 26, n. 1, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of October 31, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 432, Vatican Library; *Litt. ann. 1584, p. 13, and the *report of Odescalchi of November 3, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Rinaldi, 104; *"Laudationes habitae in adventum Gregorii XIII. ad colleg. Romanum" in Cod. D. 46, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *"Collegii Romani carmina Gregorio XIII. fundatori," Vatic. 8923, Vatican Library. For S. Tucci see Sommervogel, VIII., 263, Tacchi Venturi, I., 65, 488 *seq.* For the dramas of Tucci see Soldati, Il Collegio Mamertino [at Messina] e le origini del Teatro Gesuitico, Turin, 1908.

[2] See Venuti, 147 *seq.*; Bonanni, I., 353; Memorie intorno al Collegio Romano, Rome, 1870, 6 *seq.*; Scorraille, I., 170; Rinaldi, 101 *seq.* *Cf.* also *infra*, p. 256, n. 1, the memorial there mentioned from the Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

On the outer wall of the building which in 1870 was forcibly diverted from its purpose, may still be read the simple inscription: "Pope Gregory XIII. for religion and learning"; (Religioni ac bonis artibus).[1]

In the entrance hall there was erected in a niche a large marble statue of the Pope who had founded it, raising his right hand in the act of blessing. The inscription extolls him as the founder and father of the Roman College. The interest he took in the institution is shown by the fact that he assisted in person at the first lectures of the young Francesco Suarez.[2] A choice library, and afterwards a valuable museum and a celebrated observatory,[3] completed the foundation of the "Universitas Gregoriana," which received the right to grant academic degrees in philosophy and theology. On December 5th, 1584, the Congregation of Mary of the students of the Roman College, which has become the prototype and model for the foundation of similar unions outside Rome, was raised by the Pope to the rank of an arch-congregation under the title of the Annunciation of Mary, and was placed

[1] Further details of the building *infra*, Vol. XX. of this work.

[2] See SCORRAILLE, I., 171 *seq.*

[3] The library, museum and observatory as well as the college were seized in 1870, in spite of the law of guarantees which, in par 13, ensured the preservation of Catholic institutions. The college could not be regarded as the property of the annexed Papal States or of the city of Rome. It belonged like, for example, "Propaganda Fide" to the universal Church (*cf.* the Memorie cited p. 256, n. 1). The precious library (see as to this LAZZERI, Miscell. Bibl. coll. Rom., Rome, 1754) at that moment much diminished by unknown persons was transferred to the new Vittorio Emanuele Library. The Kircherian Museum (see MORONI, XIV., 200), although it deserved to remain as a whole on account of its special character, was dispersed in 1913. The "Universitas Gregoriana," driven forcibly from its ancient seat, took refuge in 1870 in the buildings of the "Germanicum" where both institutions dwelt together for about 20 years. On account of the increase in the students, the "Germanicum" left its old home in order to take up suitable quarters in the old Hotel Costanzi.

permanently under the direction of the General of the Jesuits; to this was added the privilege of erecting scholastic congregations in all the colleges and churches of the Order, of affiliating them to the original congregation in Rome, of revising their statutes and inspecting them.[1]

The number of those attending the Gregorian University grew rapidly. Besides the students belonging to the Jesuit Order, who came from many different nations, instruction was also given there to the students of the German-Hungarian College and the English College, as well as those from the Roman seminary. Among the professors there were already such men as Toledo, Bellarmine, Ledesma, Pereira, Clavius, Orlandini and Suarez, who in days to come were succeeded by Cornelius a Lapide, de Lugo, Pallavicini, Segneri, Zaccaria, Taparelli, Patrizi, Tarquini, Ballerini, Franzelin, Kleutgen and Palmieri. In order to form an idea how solid was the instruction at the Roman College, one example is enough: from the lectures which Bellarmine delivered there after 1576, before huge crowds, there sprang his celebrated masterpiece, the Disputations upon controverted points of the Catholic faith against the religious innovators of our times.[2] No less than ten Popes have received instruction at the Roman College: Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XII., Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Clement XII., and Leo XIII. Far greater is the number of Cardinals, bishops and other dignitaries of the Church who have there received their scientific training. Countless preachers of the Gospel have gone courageously thence to all parts of the world to face martyrdom.[3] Of

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 499 *seq.* *Cf.* for the Marian Congregation THEINER, III., 8 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 137; DUHR, I., 357 *seq.*, 365 *seq.*, 478; II., 2, 81; MORONI, XIV., 189 *seq.*; BERINGER, De congregat. Marianis. Docum. et leges, Graccii, 1909; ELDER MULLAN, La congregazione Mariana studiata nei documenti, Rome, 1911.

[2] See more fully as to this later, under Clement VIII.

[3] Cardinal Galli especially brings out this activity in his *Memorie Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

the spirit of the institution no less eloquent testimony is borne by the names of the saints and blessed who have been its students: Aloysius Gonzaga, John Berchmans, Camillus of Lellis, Leonard of Port Maurice, John Baptist de Rossi, Antony Baldinucci and Rodolfo Aquaviva.[1]

The truly regal generosity with which the Pope interested himself in the Gregorian University as in other establishments of learning,[2] was celebrated by contemporaries in prose and verse.[3] His educational establishments, wrote Cesare Speciani, extend to the extreme north of Europe and the east of Asia.[4] Musotti was fully justified in saying that Gregory XIII. had devoted all his energies towards promoting everywhere, by means of the colleges, the restoration, spread and consolidation of the Catholic faith.[5]

Gregory, who loved his colleges as the apple of his eye,[6] and during the summer of 1579 personally visited all those in Rome,[7] had consolidated them by endowing them, and by

[1] See GRISAR in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 610 *seqq.*

[2] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 125, where, however, the sum of two millions is based upon an exaggeration.

[3] See the inscriptions and the poems in CIACONIUS, IV., 17 *seq.*, 41 *seq.* *Cf.* also A. QUERENGUS, De novo Soc. Iesu Collegii quod Gregorii XIII. P.M. liberalitate extrui coeptum est Romae anno 1582 carmen, Rome, 1582; the *report of Odescalchi of July 25, 1579, and July 28, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Notes of C. Speciani, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the colleges in Japan see further Vol. XX. of this work.

[5] *Notes in Boncompagni Archives, Rome; *cf.* App. n. 29.

[6] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of November 6, 1582, concerning a brief to Borromeo: "che tutti quelli che farano buona riuscita nelli suoi seminarii non possino andare nelli Teatini o Gesuiti." Urb. 1050, p. 409, Vatican Library. This brief of Gregory XIII. is unknown to me; on the other hand, Borromeo received another in the sense already expressed by Pius V.; see SYLVAIN, III., 67.

[7] See Mucantius, *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 16. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of July 18, 1579: "Il papa e stato a visitare il Seminario Romano nel palazzo di Siena et tratta di comprarlo per 24,000 scudi a persuasione del card. Savelli,

assigning to them for that purpose the revenues of abbeys that had fallen into decay or died out.[1] It is not surprising that this use of ecclesiastical benefices was displeasing to some in the curia. Therefore attacks were not wanting. The Pope, however, did not let himself be diverted from his purpose and to the end of his pontificate continued to make further plans for establishments of ecclesiastical education. Thus, during the last years of his life he planned the foundation of a Jesuit house with a seminary at Luxembourg,[2] the establishment of a college for the reception of German students in canon and civil law at Bologna,[3] the foundation of an Irish college in Rome,[4] and the establishment of a similar institution at Lecce or Bari for the use of the natives of Albania and the Serbs.[5] The Pope also projected the foundation of a seminary for Poland on the model of the Germanicum.[6]

che n'è protettore, per commodo de' studenti, et mercordi visito il Collegio Germanico et farà il medesimo di tutti gli altri delle nationi." Urb. 1047, p. 235, Vatican Library. See also Maffei II., 75 *seq.*

[1] Bernerio *reports on May 20, 1581, that it is thought that a great part of the benefices of Cardinal Sforza will after his death be assigned to the Greek, English and Swiss Colleges, " accio habbino da sustentarsi in tutti i tempi senza haver bisogno d'esser sumministrati de danari della Camera come al presente convien fare." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of the ambassador of the Netherlands, Lauro Dubliul, dated Rome, March 26, 1584. Negeciat. de Rome, I., State Archives, Brussels.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, April 22, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and SCHMIDLIN 537 *seq.*

[4] See *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III., 635. For the Irish College founded in Paris in 1577 see *American Cath. Quarterly Review*, XXIII. (1898), 273 *seq.*

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161. The subsidy for a seminary of the Franciscans for the Dalmatians, etc., is recorded in the Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadt, 1577.

[6] See the *Memorie in the Fondo Gesuitico 290, p. 25 *seq.* Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

The defence of the Pope against the attacks which were repeatedly made in the curia upon his labours on behalf of the colleges, was undertaken by a friend of the Catholic revival in a special memorial addressed to the College of Cardinals.[1] The writer, who held a post in one of the colleges, and who had also visited Germany, was in a position to form a judgment with full knowledge of the case. The hostility to the work which the Pope had done for the colleges, which sprang to a great extent from ignorance and selfishness, he refuted with great detail; on the contrary, he assigns to the colleges the first place among the pious institutions of Rome. That which the charitable institutions, which were so generally admired, were doing in temporal matters, was being done by the colleges in spiritual matters; to be zealous on their behalf was a duty that lay upon the Pope, and their great number was the glory of Gregory XIII.; they were in complete accordance with his duty and with the spirit of the Catholic Church; above all does he insist upon the justice of employing ecclesiastical benefices for these institutions, since their object is the preservation of the faith by means of exemplary pastors, a matter which the great Popes of antiquity had always had very much at heart.[2]

From the remarks made by this writer one learns with surprise how great was the prejudice which the establishment of the colleges had to encounter in Rome. To the accusation

[1] *" Raggioni dati a diversi sig^ri cardinali in favore de' collegi e seminarii instituiti dalla S^tà di Gregorio XIII." t. 362 of the Propaganda Archives, Rome. This writing belongs to the last years of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.; the apostasy of Gebhard Truchsess is mentioned in it.

[2] The incontestible canonical principle that the Pope as the administrator of all the goods of the Church can transfer the possession of one Order to another, and that when a convent has for a long time had no inmates or has entirely fallen into ruin, he can assign it to other religious who have no connexion with the said possessions, was unjustly called in question or openly denied by certain fanatical members of the older religious Orders. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 372 *seq.*, II., 157.

that these institutions were only intended for the poor, the author replies by calling attention to the German College, where, as a result of a careful estimate of conditions in Germany a preference was given to members of the aristocracy. That these institutions should have been entrusted for the most part to the Society of Jesus, is, it is maintained, absolutely justified. For more than twenty years, the author says, I have known the Jesuits as learned and holy men. The work that they have accomplished throughout Europe and in the countries beyond the seas, has had the result that the heretics fear them as much as all good Catholics esteem them. No weight must be attached to the gossip of those who envy them, for their activity is large-hearted, and their self-sacrifice wonderful. Attention is drawn in specially forcible terms to the practical results of the colleges ; in them men who have dedicated themselves to the service of the Church are educated in the true faith and the Christian life ; from them have come forth learned and virtuous pastors for the defence of religion in lands overrun by error, and for the reawakening of Catholics who are in such danger in those lands. If the Lord had not sent the Society of Jesus, and its colleges, in many countries there would now remain no trace of the Catholic faith. The heretics realize fully that in these two things their principal adversaries are to be found ; in many districts the students from the colleges are the only representatives and defenders of the ancient religion, while in others they have brought back many wanderers to the Church. With justifiable satisfaction the author points to the results obtained in the conversion of the heathen. Face to face with such facts, there are no reasonable grounds for the accusations of those who describe the buildings of some of the colleges, and especially the Roman College, as too splendid for religious. If the Pope had built a palace for his nephews there might indeed be reason for remark, but not because he has built in the Roman College an establishment for the general good.

The objections that were raised against the fact that these colleges had been established in Rome itself are also fully refuted. Among other things, it is pointed out in this

connexion that persons educated in the capital of Christendom are enabled from their own experience to show, among the nations under the domination of heresy, how much good is to be found in Rome. It is with great satisfaction that the author, at the end of his monograph, states that the Pope, in his labours on behalf of the colleges, had met with the full consent and the strong support of the College of Cardinals. "Let us therefore give thanks to God," he writes, "that in these days and by means of these institutions, from east to west, and from north to south, so many have returned to the faith and to their obedience to the vicar of Christ, and that in this respect we may look for even greater things in the future."[1]

A few years later Giovanni Botero expressed the view that the truly apostolic labours of Gregory XIII. for the establishment of these colleges could never be sufficiently praised.[2]

[1] The hope expressed in the memorial, that the example set by Gregory in the foundation of the colleges and seminaries would fire others to follow it, was by no means a vain one; especially among the Italian bishops there arose quite a rivalry in establishing such institutions. Details here and there in UGHELLI. In the case of some of the seminaries there are special works, e.g. LANZONI, La fundazione del seminario di Faenza, Faenza, 1896; A. LAURICELLA, Notizie stor. d. seminario di Girgenti [at the end of 1577], Girgenti, 1897; *Ordini che si devono servare nel seminario di Piacenza fatti dall'ill. Msgr. Paolo d'Arezzo, vesc. di Piacenza, in Cod. 16 of the Library of the Certosa di S. Martino at Naples; *Decreti per il seminario di Piacenza fatti da Filippo Sega 1585, in Ottob. 2473, p. 233 of the Vatican Library. What difficulties were often met with in connexion with the establishment of the seminaries through the want of means are shown by the history of the seminary of Reggio Emilia which had been projected in the time of Pius V., and described by COTTAFAVI (Il seminario di Reggio nell'Emilia, Reggio Emilia, 1907, 1 *seq.*). For Spain, where Gregory XIII. himself intervened (MAFFEI, I., 365) see THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 154 *seq.*

[2] BOTERO, Relationi, III., 28.

CHAPTER VII.

Patronage of Learning.—The Catacombs.—New Editions of Canon Law and the Martyrology.

Gregory XIII., who was himself a scholar of distinction, and even in his old age devoted to study, in spite of the burdens of the pontificate,[1] saw a powerful means of restoring to the Church her ancient splendour in the promotion and revival of learning. He supported the great scholars of the day in the most generous manner, by conferring ecclesiastical dignities upon them or gifts of money. Although he was by preference a jurist, he took under his protection the representatives of every branch of learning, and for this purpose almost always sought the advice of Cardinals Sirleto, Antonio Carafa and Contarelli. The number of scholars and writers of Italian birth who shared in the munificence of the Pope was extraordinarily large. Maffei, the biographer of Gregory XIII., names the following: Vincenzo Laureo, Cesare Baronius, Ignazio Danti, Antonio Agelli, Fulvio Orsini, Antonio Boccapaduli, Silvio Antoniano, Ascanio Valentino, Gian Battista and Attilio Amalteo, Alessandro Petronio, Paulus Manutius, Carlo Sigonio, Flaminio de Nobili, Fabio Benvoglienti, Giacomo Mazzoni, Girolamo Mercuriale, Pietro Magno d'Arpino, Uberto Folieta, Lorenzo Frizolio, Lorenzo Gambara, Antonio Querengo, and Giovanni Carga.[2]

[1] The *Inventarium librorum et scripturarum in scrinio et studio Gregorii XIII. a C. Vastavillano S.R.E. camerario repertorum" in Cod. 671, p. 171 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome. The inventory would be even more interesting if the description had not been for the most part restricted only to generalities.

[2] Maffei, II., 459 *seq.* For the decisive influence of Sirleto with Gregory XIII. in scientific matters see the expressions used by Bellarmine in his *letter of July 19, 1584, in Lett. et miscell. Cod. 71, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 41.

This list is by no means complete ; for example, two famous names, Ulisse Aldrovandi and Andrea Mercati, are missing.[1] Mercati, a friend of Philip Neri, was numbered among the Pope's intimates, and was ordered to found a museum of the natural sciences at the Vatican ; he has described the collection in his "Metalloteca."[2]

But Gregory XIII., always having before his eyes the whole Catholic world, equally helped foreign scholars, among them men of such great name as the Frenchmen, Marc Antoine Muret and Pierre Morin; the Spaniards Francisco de Torres, Pedro Maldonado, Francisco Peña, Alfonso and Pedro Chacon ; the Portuguese Jeronymo Osorio and Achille Stazio. Of the German scholars upon whom he bestowed his favour, the best known are Peter Canisius, Christopher Clavius and Georg Eder. Among the English Allen and Nicholas Sanders stand out, among the Scots Ninian Winzet, and among the Netherlanders Wilhelm Lindanus and Gerhard Voss.[3] Gregory XIII. especially took under his protection the celebrated exegetist, Juan Maldonado [Maldonatus], threatening with

[1] U. Aldrovandi had founded in 1567 the botonical garden in his own country, Bologna, the third after Paris and Pisa to be established in Europe. On the occasion of the third centenary of his death MATTIROLO published a series of valuable works : L'opera botanica di U.A., Bologna, 1897 ; Erbario di U.A., Genoa, 1899. *Cf.* L. FRATI, Catalogo dei Mss. di U.A., Bologna, 1907 ; Intorno alla vita ed alle opere di U.A., Bologna, 1907 ; DE TONI, Spigolature Aldrovandine in *Atti Mod.*, 1920.

[2] Published for the first time by the advice of Clement XI. in 1717 ; see RENAZZI, II., 210.

[3] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 460, who here follows a manuscript of G. Voss (see App. n. 26). For the scholars of Spain see NIC. ANTONIUS, Bibl. Hisp. nova, Madrid, 1783, I., 459 *seq.*, 487 *seq.*, II., 179 ; HURTER, I., 27, 104, 105, 188, 200 ; TRIPEPI, Papato, II., 49 *seq.*, III., 56 *seq.* For Eder see PAULUS in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CXV., 13 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*, and CARD SCHRAUF, Der Reichshofrat Dr. Georg Eder, I. : 1573-78, Vienna, 1904 ; for Allen, Sanders, and Lindanus see further *infra* Chapter X. ; for N. WINZET see *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CVII., 704 *seq.* ; for G. Voss see FOPPENS, Bibl. Belgica, I., Brussels, 1739, 362 *seq.*

severe excommunications the adversaries who were persecuting him, and summoning the deserving scholar to Rome to take part in the work upon the new edition of the Septuagint.[1] The learned canonist, Martin Azpilcueta,[2] and Pedro de Fonseca, who bore the name of the "Portuguese Aristotle,"[3] were also highly esteemed by the Pope. The equally learned and pious exegetist, Angelo del Pas, of the Order of Minors, also enjoyed the special favour of the Pope.[4]

In the autumn of 1578 Gregory summoned to Rome the celebrated humanist, archeologist and historian, Carlo Sigonio; there he was assigned a residence in the palace of Giacomo Boncompagni, who took a lively interest in the learned writer of Italian medieval history.[5] Sigonio, who had already given proof of his severely objective treatment of history, was, in accordance to the wishes of the Pope, to write a history of the Church, in strict conformity with the truth, a task connected with the work of refuting the Centuries of Magdeburg,

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Maldonat et l'université de Paris au XVI.me siècle, Paris, 1856, and RAICH in the introduction to the Commentarii in 4 evangelia of Maldonado, Mayence, 1874.

[2] See *supra* p. 54. The tomb of M. Azpilcueta with the splendid bust which shows in a wonderful way the characteristic head of the scholar in S. Antonio dei Portoghesi. The epitaph in FORCELLA, III., 538.

[3] For Fonseca *cf. Katholik*, 1864, I., 602.

[4] See NIC. ANTONIUS, *loc. cit.* I., 91 *seq.*

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of September 20, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 340b, Vatican Library. For Sigonio *cf.* his life in MURATORI, Sigonii Opera omnia, I., Milan, 1732; TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod;, V.; WACHLER, I., 100 *seq.*; FUETER, 131 *seq.*; KREBS, C. Sigonius, einer der grössten Humanisten der 16 Jahrhunderts, Frankfort, 1840; FRANZIOSI, Della vita di C.S., Modena, 1872; P. Vettori et Sigonio, Corresp. avec F. Orsini, publ. par P. DE NOLHAC, Rome, 1890; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 100; PATETTA, *Atti e Mem. Mod.*, 5 ser., VI. (1912); HESSEL, De regno Italiae libri viginti by C. Sigonio. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung. Berlin, 1900. For the difficulties of Sigonio concerning the censorship see REUSCH, Index, II., 1223.

for which Philip Neri found the one capable man in Baronius.[1]

While Baronius was making use of the manuscript treasures of the Eternal City for his great work, a discovery was made in Rome, which was to be of epoch-making importance for the primitive history of the Church and for Christian archeology. In June, 1578,[2] some labourers who were quarrying pozzolana two miles outside the gate near the Via Salaria Nova, in the vigna of the Spaniard Bartolomeo Sanchez, came upon important traces of subterranean Rome, which, with its extensive and intricate net-work of the tombs of the early Christians, forms, in a manner all its own, a special archivium of that wonderful city round which for more than two thousand years the history of the world turns as its axis.

The Roman catacombs, which until the IXth century had been the object of veneration to pilgrims, had after that time fallen almost entirely into oblivion, and had become to a great extent filled up with earth and debris. Until the XVth

[1] For the advice given by Lindanus to the Pope in February, 1585, to establish a Catholic international college for defence against the attacks of the Protestants see BROM, Archivalia, I., 306.

[2] BOSIO (Roma sotterranea, Rome, 1632, 511) places the discovery on May 31, 1578. He refers to the accounts of Alfonso Chacon, but says frankly that he was only three years old at the time. Therefore De Rossi (I., 12) and all subsequent writers have placed the discovery on that date. But this is wrong, because the *Avvisi di Roma, which are in every way reliable and exact, say on June 28, 1578: "A Porta Salara si e scoperto il cimiterio di S. Priscilla, matrona Romana, dove, mentre visse, raggiuno molti corpi santi, fra quali Leonida, padre d'Origine et uno degli apostoli di Cristo, et per ricognoscere il luogo il Papa n'ha mandato il card. Savello, il generale de Giesuiti et Mons. Marc'Antonio Mureto" Urb. 1046, p. 232, Vatican Library. This is the earliest notice so far discovered. Hitherto the notice published by SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartelschrift*, II., 210, which is dated "the dog-days" had been looked upon as the earliest. DE ROSSI, *loc. cit.* 216 has already drawn attention to the fact that the notice, though very valuable, is not contemporary with the discovery.

century almost all that was known of this buried world were the narrow sepulchral chambers under some of the ancient basilicas, such as St. Sebastian and S. Pancrazio. With the return to a normal state of affairs the flocking of pilgrims to Rome again began; besides the above named cemeteries they sometimes also visited the catacombs of S. Callisto. The earliest inscription found there dates from the year 1432. From that time the number of visitors increased; the greater number of them were the pious Friars Minor of Rome, and with them also some foreigners. All these visited these sacred tombs from motives of piety.[1] On the other hand it was zeal for pagan antiquities as well as curiosity, which in the time of Paul II. led the humanists and the members of the Accademia Romana of Pomponio Leto to the catacombs of S. Callisto, S. Pretextato, S. Priscilla and SS. Pietro e Marcellino. With the exception of a dry notice of Platina, none of these scholars thought it worth while to speak of places of such importance, or to pay any attention to the Christian inscriptions which were to be found there. It is characteristic of the outlook of "these modern pagans" that they even attached frivolous inscriptions to their own names in these venerable underground places where the very stones preach the Gospel.[2]

While during the Renaissance period excavations were eagerly carried out everywhere in the search for pagan antiquities, the catacombs remained entirely untouched; only those attached to the basilica of St. Sebastian, S. Pancrazio and S. Agnese, which had always remained accessible, were visited at that time by pilgrims and foreigners,[3] but the writings of the humanists are silent in their regard. Among the numerous collections of inscriptions in Rome, and among the many drawings of its monuments, one looks in vain for a single trace of the ancient Christian monuments.[4] After

[1] See De Rossi, I., 2 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work. p. 63.

[3] *Cf.* Vols. VIII., 137, and XIII., 414, of this work, which corrects De Rossi, (I., 9), who only mentions S. Pancrazio.

[4] *Cf.* de Rossi, I., 7 *seq.*, and *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 129 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

the indifference with which the Renaissance period, which cared only for antiquity, had treated the subject, the epoch of Catholic restoration was destined to bring about an important change. The day of resurrection was at hand for the cemeteries of the early Christians, hitherto unexplored and almost forgotten, because now the spirit of the times was ripe for such a thing. After the Apostle of Rome, Philip Neri, had, for purely religious purposes, directed the attention of a wide circle towards the catacombs,[1] their scientific exploration soon followed. The attacks of the religious innovators forced men to the study of the history of the primitive Church. Face to face with the great work of Flacius Illyricus, which between the years 1559 and 1574, unfolded in the so-called Centuries of Magdeburg, published in thirteen volumes, "the origins, progress and evil machinations of Antichrist, or of the Popes,"[2] learned Catholics of the various nations of Christendom had immediately come forward with refutations. Thus, among the Germans, there was first Conrad Braun, and Wilhelm Eisengrein, and then Canisius and Surius; with them were the Englishman, Nicholas Harpsfield and the Italian, Onofrio Panvinio, who, however, never published his work.[3] Besides him other distinguished Italian scholars devoted themselves to research among Christian antiquities, like Antonio Agostino and Ottavio Pantagato.[4] Aldus Manutius, in his collection of classical inscriptions, also takes Christian ones into account; namely those upon the pavements of the basilicas. Like Antonio Agostino he too once made his way into an underground cemetery, in order to copy certain inscriptions there.[5] Cardinals Vitelli, Mula, Santori and Sirleto applied their talents as well as their interest to the study of ecclesiastical history.

[1] See *supra* p. 185.

[2] In greater detail in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 346 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.* VII. 15-16, 316, where there is also given special literature. For Panvinio see PERINI, 126 *seq.*

[4] DE ROSSI (I., 11) A. Agostino and his epistolary, published by Andres (Parma, 1804) and Pantagato (*cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 244) was the first to draw special attention to them.

[5] *Cf.* DE ROSSI, Inscript christ., I., xvi* and Roma sott. I., 11 *seq.*

Like Pius V.,[1] Gregory XIII. took an active part in the efforts being made to refute the historical falsehoods perpetrated by the Centuriators of Magdeburg; together with the Cardinals of the German Congregation he wished for a refutation on similar lines, especially with reference to the affairs of Germany.[2] Many in Rome were of the opinion that such a work was beyond the powers of a single man.[3]

While the discussions were still going on the inspired zeal of Philip Neri had chosen the man who by himself was to carry out the great work: Cesare Baronius. On May 16th, 1577, the latter wrote to Sirleto that with the help of God and the favour of the Pope he hoped to be able once more to revise his ecclesiastical history from the beginning and to give it the finishing touches. In 1578 Baronius wrote to his father of the important help being given him by Sirleto in obtaining the necessary materials from the treasures of the Vatican Library.[4] On April 25th, 1579, he was able to announce that he had completed the first volume of his great Annals, which, however, he wished to correct and polish.[5] This work, together with the other tasks entrusted to him, delayed the publication so long that Gregory XIII. did not live to see the appearance of that monumental work, the "Annals of the Church."

Besides the refutation of the "fables against the Papacy"[6] spread by the religious innovators, it seemed to be specially necessary to answer the inventions of the Protestants against the veneration and invocation of the saints, and the cultus of their relics and images. In 1575 Martin Eisengrein devoted a "polemic discourse" to the defence of the veneration of

[1] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 129.

[2] See THEINER, Annales, I., 201, 318, 410; Nuntiaturberichte edit. by SCHELLHASS, III., 258 n.; SCHMID in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVII., 84 *seq.*; *ibid.* XXXI., 89, and *supra* p. 261 for Sigonio.

[3] See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*

[4] See LAEMMER in *Analecta iuris pontif.*, 1860, 273. *Cf.* MERCATI Bibl. Vatic., Baronio bibliotecario, 88.

[5] See LAEMMER, Melet., 353 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 349 *seqq.*

the Madonna, and in 1577 Canisius devoted the second part of his great work of positive dogmatics on the falsification of the inspired word to the same subject.[1] The question of the veneration of the saints led to the study of hagiography and Christian archeology. Two men were deserving of special merit in this regard: the Italian, Luigi Lippomano, the successor of Ghiberti in the see of Verona, and the German Carthusian, Laurentius Surius. The works of Lippomano marked a great advance in historical criticism. The scientific and versatile labours of the Augustinian, Onofrio Panvinio, were of great value both to the Roman churches and Christian archeology.[2] In 1568 this indefatigable man published a special work upon the manner of burial in use among the early Christians and their cemeteries. He gives the names of forty-three of these, but says that only three, namely, those of St. Sebastian, St. Lawrence and St. Valentine, were still in existence.[3]

In addition to this revival of Christian literature, it was of decisive importance for the appreciation of the monuments of Christian antiquity that there should also have been a spiritual change which brought about a reawakening of religious life in every class of society. Above all Philip Neri, the saintly founder of the Oratorians, saw the necessity of instilling into his disciples a burning love for the Acts of the Martyrs and the holy places.[4] All these circumstances

[1] *Cf.* WERNER, IV., 526 n.; RIESS, Canisius, 420 *seq.*; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 109 *seq.*; Surius dedicated to Gregory XIII. the IVth volume of his lives of the saints; *cf.* THEINER, I., 96 *seq.*; SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIV., 292 *seq.*, 308.

[2] *Cf.* PERINI, 120 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*

[3] PERINI (Panvinio 168 *seq.*) tries to show against De Rossi that Panvinio knew of other catacombs besides the three named, but leaves the final judgment to archeologists.

[4] That this circumstance must be taken into account has already been brought out by de Rossi (I. 12), and then one need no longer wonder at the impression made by the discovery of 1578, as does Nik. Müller in his otherwise excellent article on the cemeteries in HERZOGS *Real-Enzyklopädie*, X., 796.

explain the extraordinary sensation made by the ancient Christian cemetery which was discovered in the Via Salaria Nuova, near the pozzolana quarries. The marvellous arrangement of that system of corridors crossing each other, and divided into several levels, the tombs in the form of niches, the little chambers and chapels, the fragments of the sarcophagi and the touching simplicity of the inscriptions excited as great interest as the rich fresco decorations. Men saw with devout wonder the pictures of the Good Shepherd, of Daniel in the lions' den, at first thought to be St. Ignatius of Antioch, Moses making the water flow from the rock with his rod, the three children in the fiery furnace and many pictures of the saints, all bearing eloquent witness to the antiquity of the doctrines of the Church, which the religious nnovators were calling in question.

Gregory XIII. at once realized the importance of the new discovery which was at first thought to be the catacomb of S. Priscilla. He sent the Cardinal Vicar, Savelli, the General of the Jesuits, and the learned Muret to make an exact survey.[1] The news of the wonderful discovery was soon spread throughout Rome, where the population was in a state of enthusiasm similar to that roused on April 15th, 1485, by the discovery of the body of a girl on the Via Appia.[2] In spite of the oppressive heat of the summer, the Romans flocked in great numbers to the Via Salaria Nova and broke down the barricade which the Cardinal Vicar had had erected round the excavations.[3] Among the visitors were to be seen representatives of every class, and Cardinals and prelates mingled with the scholars. "The place," so states an account of August, 1578, "is so venerable by reason of its antiquity,

[1] This hitherto unknown fact is made known to us by the earliest notice of the excavations referred to on p. 262, n. 2.

[2] See Vol. V. of this work, p. 331.

[3] *" Vicino al cimitero di S. Priscilla trovato di passato si sono scoperte sotto terra alquante cappellette et oratorii di stucco ornati con vaghissimi lavori, dove concerre tutta Roma rompendo li steccati fatti li attorno per ordine del card. Savello." *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1578, p. 272, Vatican Library.

its religion and sanctity, as to excite emotion, even to tears, in all who go there and contemplate it on the spot. There men can picture to themselves the persecutions, the sufferings and the piety of the saintly members of the primitive church, and it is obviously a further confirmation of our Catholic religion. One can now see with one's own eyes, how, in the days of the pagan idolators, those holy and pious friends of Our Lord, when they were forbidden public assemblies, painted and worshipped their sacred images in these caves and subterranean places; those images which blinded Christians to-day seek; with sacrilegious zeal, to remove from the churches.'[1]

Amid the general enthusiasm aroused in Rome by the discovery of the catacombs of the Giordani, for that is the true name of the cemetery which had been found,[2] the only man to dissociate himself was an Englishman, a secret agent of Queen Elizabeth of England. His wrath at the important apologetic authority for the Catholics which had been discovered found expression in the bitter terms in which he mocked at the pious joy and credulity of the Romans, who, as he said, thought that they had found the relics of a martyr in every tomb.[3]

Among the scholars who were filled with enthusiasm by the new discovery, an outstanding figure was Baronius. The way in which he speaks of it in various places in his Annals shows that he fully realized its value, and what capital could be made out of it for the history of the primitive church. He describes the prevalent idea of that time in glowing words: "It is with wonder that we have seen and several times visited the cemetery of Priscilla, as soon as it was discovered and excavated. We can find no better words to describe its extent and its many corridors than to call it a subterranean city. All Rome was filled with wonder, for it had had no idea

[1] See SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartalschrift.*, II., 211 *seq.*

[2] See DE ROSSI, *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1873, 6 *seq.*

[3] See A. MUNDAY, English Roman Life, London, 1581, new edition in *Harleian Miscellanies*, II., 194. *Cf. Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 130, n. 2.

that in its neighbourhood there was a hidden city, filled with tombs of the days of the persecutions of the Christians. That which we knew before from written accounts and from a few cemeteries which were only partially opened out, we can now realize fully, and, filled with wonder, see with our own eyes the confirmation of the accounts of St. Jerome and Prudentius."[1]

Baronius, occupied as he was with so many other tasks, had to leave to others the detailed examination of the new discovery. Such were the three foreigners: the Spaniard Alfonso Chacon [Ciaconius] and the Netherlanders Philip de Winghe and Jean l'Heureux (Macarius), who were the first to trace out the passage ways of the catacombs. They explored, not only the cemetery of the Giordàni, but very soon others as well, and first of all the catacombs of S. Priscilla, which were discovered at ten minutes' distance from the Ponte Salaria, and made drawings of the pictures there. De Winghe was not satisfied with this, for he also prepared a detailed explanation of the pictures in the catacombs. In the midst of his work, however, he was overtaken by death at Florence in 1592, whither he had gone for further studies. His loss was a severe blow to the infant science, which was just taking its first steps.[2] In the meantime, a year later, Bosio, the "Columbus of the Catacombs," began his researches, for which these men had prepared the way by their labours, however imperfect. The catacombs of the Giordani had already disappeared; they had been closed again, no doubt in order to prevent abuses in visiting them. But the Cardinal Vicar had taken efficacious steps to save the inscriptions and relics.[3]

[1] BARONIUS, Annales ad a. 130, n. 2; *cf.* ad a. 57, n. 112, a. 226, n. 8, 12.

[2] See besides DE ROSSI, I., 14 *seq.*, the beautiful work of WILPERT, Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Kopien, Freiburg, 1891, 1 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*

[3] See the account published by SAUERLAND in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II., 212. The inscription of Felix II. "discovered" in 1582 (*cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 151; MAFFEI, II., 275

Gregory XIII. gladly recalled the years he had passed as a professor at Bologna, and as Pope he devoted his special attention to that university. The institution owed to him the appointment of many learned men, among others the jurist Giacomo Menocchio, the philosopher Federico Pendasio and the Dominican Ignazio Danti. By means of a particular privilege the Pope made an effort to recall to Bologna the German students who had ceased to attend there, and the foundation of the Gregorian College was a subject for gratitude to the Pope.[1] The attention which the Pope devoted to the university at Perugia was also of great value to the progress of learning.[2] It was the defence of the faith which specially prompted him to show favour to the universities of Louvain, Bescançon and Würzburg.[3]

In Rome Gregory furthered the building of the Sapienza[4] and increased the number of the professors,[5] among whom the jurist Camillo Planzio owed his appointment to him.[6]

seq.), and hailed by Boisius (Roman sotterr., II., 13) as a marvel was a false one; see CARD. THOMASIUS, Opera, IV., Rome, 1749, 104. At the end of 1921 the catacombs of the Giordani were again opened out.

[1] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 202; CAVAZZA, Le scuole dell'antico studio di Bologna, Milan, 1896, 279 *seq.*; Acta nationis Germanicae universit. Bonon., Berlin, 1887, 28; La fondazione del Collegio Gregoriano, in *Studi e Mem. p. la storia dell'univ. di Bologna*, III., Bologna, 1912.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 62; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 112.

[3] *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 505 *seq.*; CRAMER, Gesch. der Erziehung und des Unterrichts in den Niederlanden, Stralsund, 1843, 329; THEINER, III., 365; WEGELE, Universität Würzburg, 52, 523 *seq.* DE RAM, Considerat. sur L'hist. de l'université de Louvain, Brussels, 1854, 92.

[4] Giampaolo Maggi was "architetto dello studio" under Gregory XIV.; see *Borghese, II., 27-28, p. 44, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] The number of professors was increased in 1576 to 35; in 1582 to 39; see Carlo Cartari, *report to Alexander VIII. on February 1, 1658, in Cod. H., III., 62, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* also RENAZZI, II., 149 *seq.*

[6] See RENAZZI, II., 185.

Cardinal Santori recommended the Greek scholar, Federico Metio,[1] and the celebrated jurist Gian Angelo Papio was summoned from Bologna to Rome, where he was given an appointment at the Consulta and the Segnatura.[2] The Pope also tried to obtain for the university the eminent physician Girolamo Mercuriale.[3]

The most illustrious of all the professors of the Sapienza was the Frenchman Marc Antoine Muret.[4] This celebrated master of latinity taught at the Roman University from 1563, where he first lectured in philosophy, then in civil law, and lastly in rhetoric. When, in 1576, Stephen Báthory tried to obtain the services of the illustrious professor, the Pope and the senate succeeded in keeping him in Rome. When Muret resigned his chair, Gregory XIII. gave him an annual pension. Muret, who died on June 4th, 1585, had received sacred orders nine years before. During the last years of his life he devoted himself exclusively to ecclesiastical studies and to works of charity, and when he was buried, in the church of the SS. Trinità al Pincio, his pupil, the Jesuit Benzi, delivered the funeral oration. The funeral was made the occasion of an impressive demonstration by the scholars of Rome.[5]

Gregory XIII. formed the idea of establishing in Rome a

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 157.

[2] This is reported by Odescalchi in a *letter of June 28, 1583. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 139.

[3] See THEINER, I., 317, for the invitation to Costanzo Barolo (died 1575) as professor of medicine, see *Bibliografia Romana*, I. (1880), 239 *seqq.*

[4] " eximium nostri temporis decus " he is called by Mucantius, *Diarium, June 19, 1576, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] With regard to Muret see the beautiful monograph by DEJOB, Paris, 1881 ; DE NOLHAC in *Mél. dediés a la mém. de Ch. Graux*, Paris, 1883, BERTOLOTTI, Lettres inéd. de M. A. M., Limoges, 1888. *Cf.* also MARÉES, De M. A. Mureti in rem scholasticam meritis, Berlin, 1849 ; DE NOLHAC in *Mél. d'archéol.*, III., 202 *seq.* ; DELAGE in *Bull. de la Soc. hist. du Limousin*, LV.-LVI. (1906-07). The *Motuproprio on the pension of Muret in RENAZZI, II., 274 *seq.*

university for all classes, which was to be staffed by professors from the various Catholic nations;[1] his death, however, prevented him from carrying out this design. On the other hand, he devoted himself successfully to the publication of ecclesiastical works in the Latin tongue, as well as of other works, especially catechisms, in the various Eastern languages. The notes of Cardinal Santori upon his audiences bear witness to the great interest which he took in this undertaking, which was of such great importance for the missions.[2] Gregory had in view nothing less than the establishment of a universal printing press, an undertaking for which he set aside 100,000 ducats.[3] These efforts obtained a solid foundation as well as a special direction in 1584 with the Oriental press which was set up by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici under the direction of Gian Battista Raimondi, and enriched with wide privileges by Gregory XIII.; its first production was an

[1] See the *report of Odescalchi, dated Rome, April 21, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] To complete the dry work of MAFFEI, II., 477 *seq.*, see the *Avviso di Roma of May 17, 1578 ("Nella nuova stampa, che elfa in casa di mons. Cotta, vescovo di Novara, sarano sei deputati della Sede Apost. per stampare libri pertinenti alla S. Scrittura et gli ufficii si venderano al più offerente"), Urb. 1046, p. 156, Vatican Library. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 366; *Audienze del card. Santori, 1578, novembre 13: "Della stampa arabica, ch'e in poter de' Gesuiti"; 1578, novembre 20: "Della stampa arabica, havuto e quella ch'è in Venezia che si consegni a Domenico Rosa stampatore, subito che potra servire": 1579, maggio 14: "Della stampa armenica che li piace"; 1580, novembre 9: a "Della stampa arabica nuova finita e che si è gettata per 100,000 lettere, sopra la quale S. S^tà presto 200 sc. d'oro"; (b) "Della stampa illyrica"; (c) "Del catechismo e dottrina christiana in lingua schiavonica." LII. 17 and 18, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The publication "Concilio Florentino per uso del collegio" is mentioned by the *Avviso di Roma of January 28, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 25, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* R. MOLITOR, Die Nachtridentinische Choralreform, I., 37, 41 *seq.*

Arabic translation of the Gospels printed in an edition of 4,000 copies.[1]

With the setting up of a pontifical printing press in Rome there coincided the first plans for the reform of the books used in choir, or a new edition of the melodies of the liturgical chant. The first step was taken in a brief of October 25th, 1577, which charged Pierluigi da Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo to revise the books of liturgical chant, taking into account the changes in the Missal and Breviary which had been introduced by the Council of Trent, and to remove the musical errors which had crept into them. The two artists set themselves first to the reform of the Gradual, Palestrina the Proprium de Tempore, and Zoilo the rest. In the short space of a year, at the end of 1578, the manuscript was ready for the press, and the publication might have been proceeded with. This, however, was not done. The two musicians, instead of adhering exactly to their instructions, had produced an entire rearrangement of the Gradual, which was not so much a reform as a revolution, and to such a work, which was by no means in accordance with his intentions, Gregory refused his approval and protection. The Pope, who showed his favour to the Academy of St. Cecilia, did not wish for any innovations in liturgy.[2] A proof of his severely conservative

[1] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 160; SALTINI in *Giornale degli Archivi Toscani*, IV., 259 *seqq.*; MOLITOR, I., 43 *seq.*; *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma, Florence, 1878. The Jesuit P. Eliano took to Venice in 1578 " polsoni e madri di caratteri de la stampa arabica, che è de la Camera Apostolica, per farli nettare e rinfrascare. Galli in his *letter of December 6 to the nuncio in Venice presses for their return. A *letter of Galli of April 19 ,1578, had authorized the nuncio to pay as much as 150 ducats for the " stampa arabica." *Nunziatur. di Venezia*, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] According to the profound researches of MOLITOR, I., 47 *seqq.*, 236 *seqq.*, 250 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, already mentioned. An *Avviso di Roma of May 17, 1578, states, after mentioning the " nuova stampa " of the Pope, that the latter had given Palestrina the charge " di riformare il canto fermo et levare via la longhezza et parti estreme di quello." Urb. 1046, p. 157b, Vatican Library.

intentions is afforded by the brief of January 25th, 1575, which confirmed "for ever" the rite of the Church of Milan.[1]

It is with special joy that the historian remembers the efforts of Gregory XIII. for the restoration of the pontifical Acta from Avignon and Anagni,[2] and his attempts to recover the correspondence of Adrian VI.[3] The losses in the matter of archives, against which preceding Popes had already struggled, are described to us by Giovanni Carga in a memorial of 1574. The changes which he suggested naturally remained without result,[4] but nevertheless so great attention was directed to the preservation of contemporary Acta that the registers of the secretariate of State of the time of Gregory XIII. are preserved far more perfectly than had ever been the case in any earlier epoch.[5]

Gregory gave to the Vatican Library not only his own collection of precious books,[6] but he also sought to enrich it in many other ways.[7] The administration of this institution, under the learned and distinguished Cardinal Sirleto, left nothing to be desired.[8] With him was associated his faithful secretary, Federigo Ranaldi, who had been custos of the

The often repeated statement (*cf.* WICHMANN, Gesch. Aufsätze, II., Leipzig, 1887, 2 *seq.*) that Gregory XIII. was the founder of the Congregation of St. Cecilia is wrong; see A. DE SANTI in *Civ. catt.*, 1919, I., 111 *seq.*

[1] See MAGISTRETTI, Cenni sul rito Ambros., Milan, 1895, 55; MOLITOR, I., 57 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Studi e documenti*, VIII., 12 *seq.*; *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, XIV. (1889), 350.

[3] See Vol. IX. of this work, p. 226.

[4] See SICKEL in *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad.*, CXXXIII., 14 *seq.*

[5] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., v.; *cf. Rev. d'hist. eccles.*, X., 527. See also KARTUNNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 78.

[6] See *Archiv. für ältere deutsche Gesch.*, XII., 213 *seq.*; CARINI, Bibl. Vaticana, Rome, 1873, 63.

[7] See CIAPPI (ed. 1596), 44. For the manuscripts which were brought from Anagni to Rome see BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., XXXI.

[8] See PANSA, 29; *Rev. d. Bibl.*, XXIII. (1913), 369 *seq.*

Vatican Library since 1559.[1] One of the most learned book-lovers of his time, Fulvio Orsini, was appointed as corrector for Greek in 1581.[2] Giuseppe Capobianco worked for a long time in the library on the restoration of ancient manuscripts.[3] The Vatican Library was easily accessible; printed books were lent and the use of the catalogue of manuscripts allowed to scholars.[4] Montaigne says that the library was at that time open almost every day; he describes the rarities of the collection, divided into five halls, the codex of Virgil of the fifth century, the manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles given to Innocent VIII. by the Queen of Cyprus, the scarcely legible notes of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the work of Henry VIII. on the holy sacraments against Luther.[5]

The great reputation enjoyed by Gregory XIII. among scholars and men of letters appears in the very large number of works dedicated to him. The greater number of these are works of theology.[6] Besides these there are many books

[1] See MERCATI in the commemorative publication *Per Baronio*, 159 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Steph. Arator to F. Ranaldi of September 21, 1581, which VERESS has published in *Fontes Rerum Transilv.*, I., 199.

[2] See *Studi e documenti*, V., 260 n.; *cf.* DE NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 113.

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Galli to the nuncio at Venice, May 4, 1582, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See MERCATI, *loc. cit.* 135, 139, 145.

[5] MONTAIGNE, II., 9 *seq.*; *cf.* MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatican, Paris, 1886, 131 *seq.*

[6] See the list in Ciaconius (IV., 34), which however is not complete; thus there are missing the editions by Sirleto of the ten homilies of Chrysostom (Rome, 1581, *cf.* PASCHINI, Gugl. Sirleto, Naples, 1918, 62) and the Vita S. Gregorii Nazianzeni by C. Baronius, original manuscript in Cod. B, 3 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. In the Vatican Library I have noted: (1) Vat. 5470: *" Allegationes iuris pro ecclesia Lateran. per Ioh. Bapt. Pontanum eius advocat. in s. Rotae auditorio"; (2) Vat. 5497: *" Hieronymi Manfredi [see HURTER, I., 122] De maiestate Rom. Ecclesiae et victoriis contra omnes mundi haereses"; (3) Vat. 5672: *" Nic. Ammiani (Ord. erem. S. Aug.) Expositio

on other sciences,[1] and some which owe their origin to special

in psalmum LXXV." ; (4) Vat. 5009-11 : *" Christoph. Cabrerae Evangelicae Bibliothecae seu meditat. evangelicae " ; (5) Vat. 6121-27 : *" G. Eisengrein, Harmonia Ecclesiae historica adversus centurias Magdeburg. et omnes et singulos S. R. Eccl. apostatas " (since the work, from Spires in 1576, was dedicated to Gregory XIII. and was continued until 1572, the author cannot have been dead in 1570, as is generally asserted [see PFLEGER in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXV., 791], indeed his epitaph, which has not been noticed, but which still exists, assigns 1584 as the year of his death, see FORCELLA, III., 386) ; (6) Vat. 6432 : Gerardi Vossii [see HURTER I., 203] *Epistola ad Gregorium XIII. cui offert comment. in evang. s. Ioan. Chrysostomi ab ipso latinate donari coeptum iussu card. Sirleti ; (7) Vat. 6280, p. 44 f : *Ioannis Dei Epistola ad Gregorium XIII., about a second " Auctarium " written by him for the Index librorum prohib. ; (8) Vat. 6217 : *Andr. Fabritii Leodica [see HURTER I. 64] Epistola ad Greg. XIII. in libros de Eucharistiae participatione ; (9) Ottob. 582 : *Assertiones catholicae contra praecipuos aliquot haereticorum errores a fratre Didaco Valades, written at the suggestion of Sirleto ; (10) Barb. XXII., 38 : *De Graecorum recentiorum haeresibus ad Greg. XIII. Ant. Cauci patritii Veneti et archiepisc. Corcyrae liber.—The Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele in Rome contains in Cod. 75 : Flaminius nobilis Lucensis, *De peccato originali liber ad Gregorium XIII. Bonif. Stephanus Ragusinus, Ord. Mn., episc. Stagni, dedicated to the Pope his Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae ac de fructuosa peregrinatione, Venetiis, 1573 (*cf* Marcellino da Civezza, Bibliografia 483). —Lor. Belo *Enchiridion sacri Conc. Trid. ex his quae ad curam animarum et morum reformationem atque ad potest. et officia praelatorum pertinent dedicated to the Pope on 10 September, 1574), which Marini (Lettera al M. Muti Papazurri, Roma, 1797) quotes from the Albani Library in Rome (p. 55) has perished with that library. The work of Antonio Transcosa on the Mass among the Chaldeans, dedicated to Gregory XIII. in Cod. S. h. 107, of the Alessandrina Library, Rome ; Alpharanus *de Basilic. Vatic. liber. p. 1 *seqq*. dedication of this work to Gregory XIII. In BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 463, the dedication to Gregory of the *" Censura ecclesiae orientalis " by Sokolowski " (Cracow, 1582).

[1] Thus it can be understood how some jurists such as Franc. Ioannettus, *Consilia legalia germanica, Cod. H. 12 Boncompagni

questions of the moment, such as the war against the Turks, the Jubilee of 1575, and the reform of the Calendar;[1] lastly, there are a number of poetical works.[2] Many of these writings

Archives Rome; Vat. 5678: *Agapeti Diaconi Praecepta ad Iustinianum imp. graece reddita per Christ. Laurenbergum Germanum ad Greg. XIII.; Vat. 5471: *Ioh. Bapt. Pontani De elections summi pontif. libri 3; Vat. 5675: *Aug. Fivizani (Ord. erem. S. Aug.) De consuetudine s. Corpus Christi deferendo ante Rom. Pontif. iter agentem; Ottob. 387: *Iosephi Stevani Valentini De adoratione pedum Rom. Pontif.; Barb. XX., 16: *Franc. Mucantii De s. apost. Petri et Pauli imaginibus (Vatic Bibliotheq); Cod. A. 9 Boncompagni Archives, Rome: *Flaminii Nobilii Liber de christiana republica. Urb. 836, p. 381 *seq.* contains: *Io Bapt. Leoni, Relazione di Malta a Gregorio XIII., 1582; the "Transilvania" of Possevino ed. 1584, was dedicated to the Pope (ed. VERESS, Budapesth, 1913). Also the "Moscovia" of Possevino was dedicated to Gregory XIII. (see CIAMPI, II., 291); the learned Jesuit was on this account called the discoverer of Russia (see BRÜCKNER, I., 404). Some printed copies bound in red and given to Gregory XIII. are still preserved in the Vatican Library; I would call attention to the Hist. de' principi d'Este, Florence, 1570, by G. B. Pigna, since in this copy the quotations from the authorities were added in manuscript by the author.

[1] With regard to the works on the Jubilee see *supra* p. 198, n. 4, for the war against the Turks, App. n. 33. The works on the reform of the Calendar are dealt with more fully in the two works already cited by Kaltenbrunner and Schmid. Mention may also be made here of: *"Tractatus de peste seu febri pestilenti ad Gregorium XIII.," by Pietro Simone, Cod. I., 53, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; Vat. 6198, p. 33 *seq.*; *"Marci Antonii Georgii Bonon. Epist. duae ad Greg. XIII. de statua d. Pauli ad Petri dexteram posita non removenda"; Vat. 6280, p. 84 *seq.*; *"Fratris Io Bapt. Braveschi (Ord. Pr.), Symbola quaedam de dracone selecta ad nomen et insignia Gregorii XIII.," Vatican Library.

[2] G. GAUGETII, Ad Greg. XIII. P.M. panegyricus, Bologna, 1572. CES. SACCHETTI, Per la nuova creat. del P. Gregorio XIII., Bologna, 1572. HIPP. CAPILUPI, Ad Greg. XIII. versus, Rome, 1574. Vat. 6212, p. 58: *"Epigramma ad Greg. XIII. de S.

remained unpublished; the important work of Tiberio Alfarano on the church of St. Peter has been published recently.[1] The authors belong to many different nations and conditions of life. Even the College of Cardinals is represented by Hosius who dedicated to the Pope the collection of his works,[2] and Montalto, his edition of St. Ambrose.[3] The new edition of the Collations of John Cassian, prepared by the Spaniard, Pedro Chacon, was due to the initiative of Gregory XIII.[4] Gregory also interested himself in an edition of the Greek[5] and Latin Fathers and a new edition of the Roman Ritual.[6] The noble enterprise of Philip II., which had given rise to the

Greg. Nazianz."; p. 114 *seq.*; "Fabiani (linguae hebr. praeceptor) *Versus hebraici in laudem Greg. XIII. collegii Neophit. fundatoris"; Vat. 5682: *"Marci Titi Vespani poetae laur., Carmen panegyricum ad Greg. XIII."; Barb. XXIX., 202: *"Italian poems, by Giacomo Fabri, on the election of Gregory XIII. (Vatican Library). See also the 3rd vol. of the Carmina ill. poet. Italor., Florence, 1726, and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, Hist. des Souverains Pontifes, IV., Paris, 1847.

[1] T. Alpharani, De basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura liber, ed. M. CERRATI, Rome, 1915.

[2] See EICHHORN, II., 461.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 76. For the correspondence of Montalto with Charles Borromeo with reference to the edition of St. Ambrose see the periodical: XV Centenario della morte id sant' Ambrogio, p. 2 (1895-7) n. 4 and 6.

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 159. *Cf.* I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 191. The epitaph of Chacon (died 1581) in FORCELLA, III., 238; *cf.* also MERCATI in *Studii Rom.* vol. II. The *Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580, mentions in connexion with the edition of St. Ambrose by Montalto a work of Cassian published at the suggestion of Cardinal Carafa. Urb. 1048, p. 22, Vatican Library.

[5] See THEINER, II., 342; MAFFEI, II., 76 *seq.*; SERASSI, J. Mazzoni, 49 *seq.*

[6] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 154 *seq.*, 157; *cf.* the *Audienze of Santori, November 13, 1578, Papal Secret Archives, LII-17. The work by Santori, printed in 1584, but not published (see ZACCARIA, Bibl. Ritualis, I., Rome, 1776, 145; MOLITOR, I., 45) was taken into consideration in the time of Paul V.

polyglot of Antwerp, was praised in a special brief.[1] The Pope also was responsible for the continuation of the work on a new edition of the Septuagint, the commission for which included, among others, Antonio Carafa, Franceso de Torres, Pedro Chacon, Fulvio Orsini, Bellarmine, Toledo and J. Maldonatus.[2]

In the time of Pius V., as a Cardinal, Gregory XIII. had worked upon a critical revision of the Decretals of Gratian.[3] As Pope, he did all he could to bring this work to a speedy conclusion. Bishops and scholars, not only in Italy, but also in France, Spain, Holland and Germany were asked to give their assistance in promoting the edition of a good text of this important collection of documents bearing upon the Canon Law.[4] A brief of July 1st, 1580, announced the publiation of a new edition of the whole *Corpus iuris canonici*, forbade any change in text now prepared, and granted to the printing press of the Popolo Romano, where the work was to be published, editorial privileges for ten years. Two years later the promised work appeared, but without the general title, and only with the particular titles of the various parts of the canonical text and the glossary. Besides the above mentioned brief, a second one was printed on June 2nd, 1582,

[1] In THEINER (I., 80) is to be found the brief of thanks to Philip II., October 25, 1572, for having sent the polyglot of Antwerp, which was brought by the director of the institute himself, the celebrated Benedict Arias Montanus. Still unpublished is the brief of thanks of August 23, 1572, which refers to the Polyglot, Papal Secret Archives; see the text in App. n. 2. *Cf.* HOPST, Beiträge, 102 *seqq.*, 309 *seqq.*

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 373; HURTER, I., 200. Maldonatus, who died in January, 1583, enjoyed a great reputation in Rome; see *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 11, Vatican Library.

[3] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 199.

[4] See the letter in THEINER, I., 81 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*, which de Nolhac has omitted in Mél. d'archéol., V., 285 *seq.*, and THEINER, Disquisit. criticae in praecip. canon. et decret. collectiones, Rome, 1836, App. I., p. 11 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 33 *seq.* For the share taken by L. Latini see RENAZZI, II., 220.

which, however, only referred to the Decretals of Gratian, in the case of which the prohibition of any change was renewed. Although this Roman edition gives a text that is emended in many important respects, it nevertheless, in spite of all the diligence applied to its preparation, has several defects which naturally enough were inevitable in the state of learning which had then been attained.[1]

The lack of subsidies for scientific purposes also rendered difficult another no less opportune design of Gregory's, the systematic collection and arrangement of all the pontifical constitutions which, since the appearance of the Clementine collection of 1317, now numbered several thousand,[2] as well as an improved edition of the Roman Martyrology. Cardinal Sirleto was entrusted with the last named task. He appointed a commission of ten distinguished authorities, Silvio Antoniano, Cesare Baronius, Luigi Giglio, Curzio Franco, Antonio Agelli, Ludovico de Torres, Pedro Chacon, Gerhard Vossius, Latino Latini and Antonio Geronio; the Spanish Minorite Giovanni Salon was also employed by Sirleto.[3]

[1] See PHILLIPS, IV., 202 *seq.*, 206, 344, 373; SCHERER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.* III.², 1121; Corpus iuris canonici, ed. Lips. secunda, Leipzig, 1879, I., xc, II., xlii. The brief of June 2, 1582, also in THEINER, III., 380.

[2] He charged with this Cardinals Alciati, Orsini and A. Carafa, who, however, did not complete their task during the lifetime of Gregory XIII., in spite of the fact that the Pope personally shared in the work; see SENTIS, Clementis P. VIII. Decretales., Freiburg, 1870, Proleg. viii. and LAEMMER, Kodification, 8; *cf.* the *report of Odescalchi of July 28, 1582, in App. n. 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Avvisi di Roma of July 13 and September 24, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 297, 418, Vatican Library.

[3] See the exhaustive study by LAEMMER, De Martyrologio Romano, Ratisbon, 1878, 10 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*; LAEMMER, Diatriba, 55 *seq.*, and BÄUMER, Gesch. des Breviers, 475 *seq.*; *cf.* also MERCATI, Giambatt. Bandini e le correzioni del Martirologio Rom. sotto Gregorio XIII. in *Rassegna Gregor.*, IV., 256 *seq.*; Idem, Un voto di A. Agellio per la correzione del Martirologio Rom., *ibid.* 1914, n. 1. See also LE BACHELET, Auctuar. Bellarm.,

In its labours the commission relied especially upon the highly esteemed Martyrology of the Benedictine Usuard, the Martyrology of S. Ciriaco alle Terme in Rome, and the works of Bede, Florus and Ado. It also made use of the Greek and Latin Menologies translated by Sirleto, the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, the Italian calendars, and various manuscript authorities.[1] In 1582 the work seemed to be so far advanced that it was thought that it might be handed over to the printers. However, both the editions of 1583 contained so many errors that it had to be withdrawn.[2] In January 1584 a better edition appeared with a brief of Gregory XIII., which ordered that this edition alone should be employed.[3] Persuaded that this task had been undertaken with insufficient data, during the summer of 1583 Sirleto charged the learned Baronius to emend it with explanatory notes and corrections. Gregory XIII. wished to give Baronius pecuniary help, but the latter refused it on the ground of a vow of poverty; then the Pope assigned him at his own

544 *seq.* The work of Ioh. Salon, *Martyrologium Rom., iussu Gregorii XIII. collectum, locuplet. ac castigatum per fr. Ioh. Salon, Rome, 1578, with a preface by Gregory XIII., in Regin. 373, p. 28 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Dejob, 384.

[1] See Laemmer, De Martyrol. Rom., 18 *seq.*

[2] See I. Veith, Die Kirchlichen Martyrologien in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII., 471 *seq.* *Cf.* Laemmer, *loc. cit.*, 24 *seq.*

[3] See Theiner, III., 618. The copy of the Martyrology offered to the Pope bound in red velvet, is to be found in the possession of the princely family of the Boncompagni. Baumer (*loc. cit.* 468 *seqq.*) rightly calls attention to the fact that the work of the commission must be judged in accordance with the state of learning at that time. See as to that also Matagne in De Smedt, Introd. ad hist. eccles., Ghent, 1876, 142. This history of heortology tells of the arrangements made by Gregory XIII. concerning the Feast of the Rosary (see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 423, 444) and the bull of May 1, 1584 (Bull. Rom., VIII., 454 *seq.*) which orders the annual celebration on July of the Feast of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin; *cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 458; *Avviso di Roma of May 19, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 196, Vatican Library.

expense a secretary;[1] the tireless scholar was still at work upon his task when Gregory XIII. died.[2]

[1] See P. Pateri in CALENZIO, 175.

[2] See LAEMMER, *loc. cit.* 25 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, by whose profound researches into manuscripts the opinion of Döllinger (Janus, 412 *seq.*) is corrected.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reform of the Calendar.—The Roman Inquisition.—The Index.

In conjunction with the work on the Martyrology there was another undertaking, the result of which has rendered the name of Gregory XIII. immortal. For a long time past theologians and mathematicians had realised how necessary it was to improve the Julian calendar, according to which the solar year was reckoned at 11 minutes and 14 seconds too long. The surplus thus obtained amounted to a complete day in every 128 years, and owing to the continued mounting up of this surplus the calendar of the feasts of the Church had been thrown into disorder. Easter, which by the decrees of the Council of Nicea, was to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the full moon of spring,[1] had in course of time got further and further away from the true spring full moon.

Extrinsic circumstances as well as internal difficulties had combined to shipwreck all attempts to correct the calendar.[2] In the XIIIth century Joannes Campanus and the Franciscan, Roger Bacon, had laid their suggestions for a reform before the Holy See. In 1344 Clement VI. had the question examined by a body of scientists. Pierre d'Ailly and Nicholas of Cusa brought it before the Councils of Constance and Basle, but the matter did not then seem to be ripe

[1] Namely the full moon occurring on March 21 or immediately after.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows Kaltenbrunner, Die Vorgeschichte der Gregorianischen Kalenderreform in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. K 1, LXXXII., 289 *seq.*, and Schmid, Gregorianische Kalenderreform, V., 52 *seq.* See also Marzi in *Atti d. congresso internaz. di scienze stor.*, III., Rome, 1906, 645 *seq.*

for decision. The plans of Sixtus IV., who summoned to Rome the celebrated Johann Müller (Regiomontanus) for the reform of the calendar, unfortunately came to nothing owing to the premature death of that scholar (1476).[1] Again in the time of Leo X., who energetically reopened the question, no decision was arrived at.[2] The fathers of the Council of Trent, who had to deal with more important questions, left the matter to the Holy See at their last session. Neither Pius IV., in spite of requests which came from many quarters,[3] nor Pius V., arrived at any solution of this difficult question.

With all the greater energy, therefore, did Gregory XIII. take up the matter of a reform which was daily becoming more necessary. He first charged the mathematician Carlo Ottaviano Lauro, to lay before him his ideas as to the reform of the calendar; it is not altogether clear why his work, which was completed in 1575, met with no consideration.[4] The matter was only carried forward when Antonio Giglio presented to the Pope the corrected calendar, drawn up by his brother Luigi, who had died in 1576.[5] Gregory XIII. consigned this work for examination to a commission at the head of which he placed his fellow-countryman Tommaso

[1] See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 441. For Clement VI. see also *Mél. d'archéol.*, IX., 135 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 399

[3] See KALTENBRUNNER, *loc. cit.* 403 *seq.*, and SCHMID, *loc. cit.* 55 *seq.*

[4] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 13 *seq.* An *order for payment to "Carlo Lauro per le fatiche circa la reforma del Calendario" of July 3, 1575, in Cod. Vat. 6697, Vatican Library. The epitaph of Lauro in FORCELLA, XIII., 429.

[5] *Cf.* for what follows, besides KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 13 *seq.*, the important supplements and corrections of SCHMID, III., 390 *seq.*, V., 57 *seq.* See also FERRARI, Il Calendario Gregoriano, Rome, 1882; BOCCARDINI, L. Giglio e la riforma del Calendario, in *Riv. stor. Calabrese*, 1893; I. G. HAGEN, Die Gregorianische Kalenderreform in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LXXXVII. (1914), 47 *seq.* With regard to L. Giglio *cf.* ANT. MARIA DI LORENZO, I Calabresi e la correzione del Calendario, Rome, 1879.

Giglio, Bishop of Sara. But the latter was not a man who was competent for so difficult a task; therefore, in 1577, at the request of the commission, he was replaced by Cardinal Sirleto. Sirleto was assisted, as his legal adviser, by the Frenchman, Seraphinus Olivarius, Auditor of the Rota; his theological adviser was Vicenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovi. On the commission there were, besides Antonio Giglio and Giovanni Battista Gabio, the celebrated mathematician, Ignazio Danti, of the Dominican Order, the German Jesuit, Christopher Clavio, the Spaniard, Pedro Chacon, and Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch.[1]

If this commission, thus constituted, had an international character, corresponding to that of the Church, no less did it avail itself of inquiries addressed to scholars and the universities. To these, as well as to the Catholic princes, letters were sent on January 5th, 1578, in which their support for the proposed reform was asked for.[2] As a basis for the opinions of mathematicians and astronomers there were sent a summary of the plan of Giglio, written by Chacon, as to which the commission had arrived at an agreement. In order to correct the Julian leap-year, this suggested a cycle of four hundred years, leaving open, however, the question of the date of the equinoxes. Suggestions from scholars arrived in great numbers from France, Hungary, Spain and Portugal, and above all from Italy. The most important came from the pen of the auxiliary bishop of Siena, Alessandro Piccolomini, who had published in 1578 a special work upon the reform of the

[1] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 435 *seq.*; KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 12 *seq.*; SCHMID, *loc. cit.* III., 391 *seq.*, V., 58 *seq.*; ANT. MARIA DI LORENZO, *loc. cit.* For the tomb of Chacon (now in S. Maria di Monserrato) see FORCELLA, III., 238. According to SERASSI (Mazzoni, 50) Giacomo Mazzoni also took part in the work.

[2] The brief to the Emperor in THEINER, III., 444, and in *Arch. für Oesterr. Gesch.*, XV., 210 (for the autograph minutes of Sirleto see SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, III., 593, n. 2) is in exact agreement with the letter to the Doge of Venice. Original in State Archives, Venice. The brief to the University of Cologne in BIANCO, Die Alte Universität Köln, I., 699.

calendar. In many points Piccolomini adopted different views from those of Giglio, and insisted upon the utter impossibility of adapting any ecclesiastical calendar to celestial phenomena. After about two thousand years, he thought, men would once again have to turn their attention to the reform of the calendar. Opinions of every kind were revealed in the proposals which were sent by the universities of Paris, Vienna, Padua, Louvain, Cologne, Alcalà and Salamanca. Every kind of correction of the calendar which could be imagined found its place among these replies, the examination of which became a very wearisome task for the commission; the only thing that was not touched by any one was the retention of the week of seven days.[1] It even happened that the scholars of the same university could not agree, as occurred in the case of Louvain. Only the opinion of the university of Alcalà was entirely favourable, while that of the Sorbonne was completely adverse. The Paris theologians imagined that the Church, by a reform of the calendar, would become subject to and the slave of the will of astronomers; if she intended to carry out this suggestion it would have to be admitted that the ancient Church had been mistaken on the subject of Easter, and the consequences which that would involve were painted in the most gloomy colours. These groundless fears were not shared in Rome, and it is to the credit of Gregory XIII. and his collaborators that they did not allow themselves to be frightened by these narrow-minded remarks, and calmly carried their useful work to a successful issue.[2]

[1] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 22 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 396 *seq.*, V., 60 *seq.*; HAGEN, Kalenderreform, *loc. cit.* 48 *seq.* In many cases the replies were sent very late; a *letter from Galli of October 21, 1578, begs them for the last time to send a reply (Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives).

[2] The opinion of KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 40. The Sienese Teofilo, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, also reproved the commission for a love of novelties, and a want of reverence for the Council of Nicea.

The various opinions and contradictory views which were expressed in the observations sent to them, left the commission no other choice than to proceed independently. It was encouraged in this course by the replies of the Catholic princes, who hailed with pleasure the carrying out of the reform.[1] The final draft was apparently the work of the Jesuit Clavio, who afterwards defended it in detail in several works.[2] The commission, which had decided an all important point on March 17th, by fixing the spring equinox for March 21st, completed its final report for the Pope on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14th, 1580.[3] Gregory was in favour of proceeding immediately, and the commission shared his view.[4] Various circumstances, among others a long illness of Cardinal Sirleto, led to an unfortunate delay. The original plan of introducing the reform of the calendar in 1581, had, therefore, to be abandoned, and it seemed, moreover, that the wish to treat first with the Patriarch of Constantinople on the subject of the acceptance of the calendar, would lead to yet further delay; fortunately, the commission would not agree to this.[5]

[1] See SCHMID, III., 394, V., 67.

[2] With regard to Clavius, *cf.* DE BACKER, I., 1291 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, VII., 13-14 329; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IV., 298 *seq.*; CANTOR, Geschichte der Mathematik, II., Leipzig, 1892, 512 *seq.*; VALENSISE, Nella terza ricorrenza (see *infra* p. 296, n. 2), 20 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 611. Clement VIII. in his bull of March 17, 1603 (HAGEN, *loc. cit.*, 50) describes Clavio as the principal author of the reform. For the Padua professor, Moleto, who was an adversary of the reform represented by Giglio and Clavio, see DUCHESSE, Un document rélatif à la reforme du calendrier, Paris, 1911.

[3] Published in KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 48-54.

[4] See *Audienze of Cardinal Santori, April 28, 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See KALTENBRUNNER, Beiträge, 21; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 407, V., 71. *Cf.* also P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 133 *seq.* On October 10, 1580, Odescalchi *reported from Rome the acceptance on the part of the princes of the "nuovo lunario con la riforma dell' anno"; the accceptance had again been postponed

In February 1582, Antonio Giglio, by the command of Sirleto, went to the Pope, who was staying at Mondragone,[1] and the latter, on the 24th of the same month, signed the bull concerning the reform of the calendar.[2] In this document,[3] which was drawn up by Sirleto,[4] and published on March 3rd,[5] Gregory gave a survey of the development of the question up to that time, and together with the suppression of the old calendar, ordered the general acceptance of a new and corrected one, which, by omitting ten days in October, 1582—the 5th was to become the 15th—restored the agreement between the civil and ecclesiastical chronology and the real date; by a new rule for leap-years fresh errors in the future were provided against, and a more exact lunar equation (the cycle of the Epacts) was introduced.[6] Consequently Easter could never come before the spring full moon, nor upon it.

because the replies of *all* the princes was desired, and it was hoped that even the "infedeli" would accept it; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. By the word "infedeli" the Japanese are certainly meant. Seb. Werro warned the Pope in May, 1581, of the necessity of an early correction of the calendar; *cf. supra*, p. 43.

[1] See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, III., 407.

[2] The signing was known on the same day in Rome; an *Avviso di Roma of February 24, 1582, states: "Presto vi vedrà in luce una bolla risolutione per la riforma et brevità del anno" Urb. 1050, p. 65, Vatican Library.

[3] Published in CLAVIUS, Calend. Gregor., Rome, 1603, 15 *seq.*, and in Bull. Rom., VIII., 386 *seq.*, but with an error in the date (see NISIUS in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.*, 1901, 14 *seq.*). In Bull. Rom., III., 390 *seq.* See also dated November 7, 1582: "Declaratio super observatione calend. nuper editi pro illis qui de mense octobris 1582 illud servare non coeperunt." *Cf.* ARETIN, Max, I., 310 *seqq.*

[4] The minute in *Cod. Vat. 7093, p. 432, Vatican Library.

[5] The remarks concerning publication which are wanting in Bull. Taurin. are to be found in Bull. Rom. (Lyons, 1692, II., 455). The sending of the first printed copies of the new calendar to the nuncios and governments began at the end of May; see the *letter of Galli to the nuncio in Venice, dated May 26 and June 6, 1582, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See GROTEFEND, Handbuch der historischen Chronologie,

The improvement which the Pope, with great caution and conscientiousness, had introduced after mature examination by a commission composed of the representatives of the various nations, is so important and advantageous that the defects which still remain have entirely fallen into the background.[1] The Pope had every reason to expect that this work, which had been waited for for centuries, which was of such general and great utility, and had now happily been brought into existence, would meet with acceptance without any particular opposition. The privilege of publishing the new calendar was given to Antonio Giglio, in recognition of the services which had been afforded to the commission by the work of his brother Luigi. As seven months had to elapse before the bull came into force, it might be hoped that that would allow ample time for the preparation of a sufficient number of copies of the new calendar. Its immediate carrying into effect in the States of the Church goes without saying.[2] The greater number of the Italian states also accepted it at once,[3] as did Philip II. for his dominions, and Báthory for Poland. Difficulties and delays only occurred in those nations

Hanover, 1872, 48 *seq.*; F. K. GINZEL, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, III., Leipzig, 1914, 257 *seqq.* For the cycle of the epacts discovered by Giglio and corrected by the commission; *cf.* also KALTENBRUNNER in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. K. 1, LXXXVII., 500 *seq.*, and RÜHL, Chronologie, Berlin, 1897, 225 *seq.*

[1] The precision is so great that an error of one day would only occur after 3333 1/3 years. For the defects of the Gregorian calendar see L'art de verifier les dates, I., 85 *seq.*; RÜHL, Chronologie, 234 *seq.*; LERSCH, Einleitung in die Chronologie, Freiburg, 1899, 158 *seq.*; GINZEL, Handbuch, 217 *seqq.*

[2] For its introduction in Rome see Mucantius in THEINER, II., 379.

[3] For Venice see the information from the archives in G. dalla Santa in the periodical *La Scintilla*, 1898, n. 11 and 15. With regard to Florence see SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 415, n. 1. For a pictorial representation of the reform of the calendar see PAOLI, Le tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella nell' Archivio di Stato di Siena, Siena, 1891.

in so far as owing to the negligence of the Roman printer and slowness in the means of communication, copies of the new calendar were lacking at the appointed time. Philip II. met this inconvenience by means of manuscript copies, and the Primate of Poland by copies published by himself. Some editions were produced in France, where, however, the royal decree of introduction was partly not made known at all, and partly came too late, which led to a certain amount of confusion. Giglio's privilege was at length withdrawn on account of his delays, and it was enacted that anyone might reprint the new calendar so long as he did so correctly.[1]

Violent opposition to the new calendar was raised by the schismatic Greeks. The reasons adduced by the schismatic Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Armenia, as to the errors of the Gregorian computation, were unfortunate in the extreme. "It is enough only to read their observations in order to understand and realize the ignorance

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 271 *seq.*, who follows the *notes of Cardinal Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), part of which were printed in the *Voce della Verità*, 1883, n. 129. *Cf.* SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 412 *seq.*, V., 82. With regard to Spain and France see the information from the State Archives, Venice, published by G. DELLA SANTA, *loc. cit.* n. 14. See also SERRANO, Archivio de la Embajada de España cerca la S. Sede, I., Rome, 1915, 52. As to Poland see SPANNOCCHI, 283; *Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst.*, VI., 626 *seq.*; SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 560 *seq.*; RÜHL, 263, n. 2. For the opposition by the schismatics in Poland see THEINER, III., 737. For the disturbances at Riga on account of the calendar (1585-90) *cf.* the monographs by BERGMANN (Leipzig, 1806) and DFIRNE (Riga, 1867), as well as REICHENBERGER, I., 350. For the introduction of the Gregorian calendar at Dorpat in 1617, and its fresh rejection by Gustavus Adolphus in 1625, *cf.* FEUEREISEN in *Sitzungsberichte der Gel. Estnischen Gesellschaft*, of March 13, 1902, 69 *seq.* With regard to France see the Lettres de P. de Foix, 623 *seq.* The decree of acceptance by Henry III., which assigned the beginning of the new style to December 9, 1582, as well as the calendar for October-December, 1582, in the rare work: Calendrier perpetuel de N.S. Père le Pape Grégoire XIII. traduit de latin en françois, Lyons, 1583.

of these supreme heads of the Eastern Church, and the low level to which culture in the East had sunk. But for this very reason all the more eagerly did they hurl their anathemas at Rome."[1]

In the German Empire Duke William of Bavaria and many of the ecclesiastical princes introduced the corrected calendar without delay.[2] The Emperor Rudolph II., although the Pope, by means of the Cardinal Legate, Madruzzo, had repeatedly pressed him, at first maintained an attitude of hesitation, before he at length decided (on September 4th, 1583) upon the publication of the reform. One by one the other Catholic states followed his example.[3]

Out of consideration for the Protestants, Rudolph II., on the 4th (September 14th, 1583), had published his ordinance on the strength of the Imperial authority, without making any mention of the Pope, and avoiding anything at which the innovators could in any way take scandal.[4] Since Luther had in his day expressly asserted that the question of the reform of the calendar was not a religious question, but pertained solely to the civil authority, there was every reason to expect

[1] The opinion of W. MILKOWICZ in the *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1896, Beil. n. 67.

[2] See RIEZLER, VI., 279; WIEDEMANN, I., 430 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLII., 135 *seq.* For Salzburg see *Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Inst.*, 1899, 107 *seq.*; for the diocese of Münster see the *Festgabe für H. Finke*, 371 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 377 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 422, 457, 465, 504, 507, 517 *seq.*, 532, 548, 550, 553, 562 *seq.*, 566 *seq.*, 570, 571; KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 504 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLII., 128 *seq.*; STIEVE, Der Kalenderstreit, in the dissertations of the Academy of Munich, Hist. K 1, XV., 3, 21 *seq.*; HIRN, I., 459 *seq.*; G. DALLA SANTA in the periodical *La Scintilla*, 1898, n. 15. That the new calendar was introduced in the marquisate of Baden on November 17 (old style), 1583, and not on October 16, is shown by KRIEGER in the *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXIV. (1909), 365 *seq.* In Hungary the introduction only took place in 1587; see MITTEILUNGEN DES OESTERR. INST., III., 628 *seq.*

[4] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 505.

that the Protestants would adapt themselves to this so necessary change, thus promulgated by the head of the Empire, and which fully satisfied all the most obvious requirements, and marked an important step forward. Some Protestant voices, indeed, as for example the theologian Martin Chemnitz, and the Patrician of Gorlitz, Bartholomaeus Scultetus, were raised in favour of the acceptance of the new calendar, but they were entirely drowned by a fierce agitation which, altogether brushing aside the matter itself, was directed solely against its author, the Pope, who was overwhelmed with vulgar insults as the incarnate Antichrist.[1] The Protestant theologians of southern Germany especially distinguished themselves. The object of the calendar, so declared Lucas Osiander, the court preacher of the Duke of Wurtemberg, is the destruction of religious peace. From the Pope's coat of arms, the dragon, this doctor of Holy Scripture deduced that Gregory wished to prepare for Germany a bath of blood. Jakob Heerbrand, a professor of theology at Tübingen, declared that Satan was lurking behind the calendar; Antichrist had constructed it in order to promote idolatry, and therefore no attention must be paid to the civil authority when it enjoined its observance. Other preachers opposed it on the ground that the date of the end of the world was clearly at hand.[2] A dialogue in

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, besides KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 514 *seq.*, 518 *seq.*, 523 *seq.*, and STIEVE, KALENDERSTREIT, *loc. cit.* n. 24 *seq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. 15-16, 138 *seq.* and SCHUSTER, Kepler, 41 *seq.* For the question of the responsibility for the struggles about the calendar, STIEVE, *loc. cit.* in his zeal as an old Catholic, has allowed himself to be led into making assertions which are quite untenable. To their complete refutation by SCHMID, Kalenderreform, V., 83 *seq.*, Stieve has not dared to reply. For the way in which in Transylvania the Calvinists fought against the Gregorian calendar, and tried to prove that the Pope was Antichrist, *cf.* the account in VERESS, Epistolae et Acta Iesuitarum Transilvaniae, II., Budapesth, 1913, 92.

[2] This argument had already been made use of by Mark Volmar, a former preacher, in his remonstrance to the deputies of Lower Austria, Niklas von Puchheim, Wolf von Liechtenstein, Achaz von Mämming and Franz von Gera, dated Vienna, December 16,

verse against the Gregorian calendar, probably written at Augsburg, and printed in 1584, explains the reform of Gregory XIII. as a rebellion against the divine arrangement of the universe.[1] The Protestant theologians, by means of this agitation, induced their princes to follow their lead, and thus new disputes broke out in Germany, in addition to those already existing. Not satisfied with rejecting the corrected calendar for their own fellow religionists, in some places the Protestant magistrates forcibly prevented the Catholic clergy from adopting the new computation.[2] More and more did the opinion gain ground that the Pope "with the mind of a serpent and the cunning of a wolf" was stealthily seeking once again to introduce his ascendency by means of the calendar. Even astronomers and learned bodies, such as the University of Tübingen, expressed themselves against it in the most violent terms, saying that by accepting the Papal calendar men would be reconciling themselves with Antichrist. The popular excitement, which was fanned, not only from the pulpits, but also by means of pamphlets, soon bore fruit, and in many places the Protestant population fell into grave excesses and serious disturbances.[3]

Some people expected that a defence of the new calendar

1583. Manuscript in the possession of the antiquarian Gilhofer and Ranschburg in Vienna (Auktionskatalog, XV., 1904). Another similar remonstrance of 1585 by seven Protestant preachers, written in Lower Austria, in WIEDEMANN, I., 438 *seq.*

[1] See the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, XXIII. (1913), 81 *seq.*

[2] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 536 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR V. [15-16], 390 *seq.* To the literature there cited must be added: *Archiv für Oberfraken*, XV., 2, 17; *Zeitschrift für Schwaben und Neuburg*, VII. (1889), 157 *seq.* On the opinion of the university of Tübingen sent to Duke Louis of Wurtemburg against the introduction of the calendar of Gregory XIII., BREITSCHWERT (Keplerbiographie, Stuttgart, 1831, 27) whom nobody could suspect of any Catholic prejudices, remarks: "how cunningly this academic senate knew how to frighten the pious Duke Louis with the devil who ruled over the Catholic Church, so as to be able to rule over the Duke by means of the devil!"

would be issued by Rome, but at first this was not the case. All the attacks and insults were ignored with noble serenity, and it was only when real opposition broke out that this reserve was cast aside.[1] Christopher Clavio, who, as the leading spirit of the whole reform, and the author of the new calendar, was undoubtedly the best fitted to do so, answered all the accusations exhaustively. After various apologies, this he did in his *Explicatio* or "declaration concerning the Gregorian calendar," which was published by command of Clement VIII., and in which he, like the Pope in his brief of March 7th, 1603, expressly admits that the new work contains several defects, the inevitable result of the calculation of the cycle.[2] Two great Protestant astronomers, the Dane, Tycho Brahe, and the German, Johann Kepler,[3] declared their concurrence with the reasons set forth by Clavius and the other Catholic champions of the Gregorian calendar. Above all, Kepler, in word and writing, took up the cause of the reform, by means of which Gregory had only met a pressing need. The new calendar, he said, is by no means altogether free from errors, but is nevertheless far more accurate than an old Julian calendar and the errors which it still contains are insignificant, and purposely retained from motives of utility, and therefore even strict science may rest content with it. The religious motives which have been adduced against it are without foundation, both in their nature and in their practical effects; political motives are not only not opposed to it, but favourable to the introduction of the new calendar. The greater number of the nations have already accepted it, and it is a disgrace to the Germans that they, who produced the scientific skill for the correction of the calendar, should still be opposed to the reform.[4]

[1] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 530 *seq.*; *cf.* also SCHMID, Kalenderreform, V., 74.

[2] For the writings of Clavio, and especially his Explicatio Romani calendari a Gregorio XIII. P.M. restituti, Rome, 1603, *cf.* KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 568 *seq.*, and SCHUSTER, Kepler, 51 *seq.*

[3] See KALTENBRUNNER, Polemik, 573 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHUSTER, Kepler, 55 *seq.*

The words of Kepler at first led to no result, and it was only in 1700 that the Protestant states of the German Empire and Denmark, with the greater part of Protestant Switzerland and Holland, abandoned their opposition to the advance represented in the new style. A discrepancy which still remained in the reckoning of festivals was removed in 1775 at the instance of Frederick II. of Prussia by means of the *Corpus evangelicorum*. In England the new calendar was adopted in 1752, and in Sweden in 1753.[1] Thenceforward all Christian peoples have adhered to the Gregorian calendar, with the exception of those states which belong to the Greek schism, especially Russia, for which reason they have been, since March 1st, 1900, thirteen days behind the true chronology.[2] During the world war, Bulgaria, first among the

[1] *Cf.* IDELER, Handbuch der Chronologie, II., 321 *seq.*; RÜHL, Chronologie, 236 *seq.*; GROTEFEND, Chronologie, 50, and MEISTER, Grundriss, I., 307 *seq.*; MENZEL, Neuere Gesch, der Deutschen, IX., 260 *seq.* The prince elector of Brandenburg in 1611, in order to obtain the investiture and duchy of Prussia from Poland, had had to promise to introduce the Gregorian calendar, which he did in 1612. This was done in the Palatinate in 1615 (see MENZEL, VI., 68, 115). In Switzerland the Catholic cantons accepted it in 1584, the other subject territories accepted it in 1585-6, while the remaining Protestant districts only did so in 1700. A few small valleys in the Grisons only gave up their opposition to the new "Zyt" at the beginning of the XIXth century. *Cf.* BOTT, Die Einführung des neuen Kalenders in Graubünden, Leipzig, 1863; MOOR, Gesch. von Graubünden, II., 233 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 355; THOMMEN in the *Festschrift zur* 49. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen*, Basle, 1907, 279. In the Low Countries some provinces had already adopted the new calendar in 1582, subject to the superior ecclesiastical authority of the Pope (see STIEVE, 64). *Cf.* also GOLDSCHEIDER, Ueber die Einführung des neuen Kalenders in Danemark und Schweden (Progr.), Berlin, 1898.

[2] For the fruitless negotiations with the Eastern Church concerning the acceptance of the reform, see SCHMID, III., 545 *seq.*; V., 76 *seq.*; PIERLING, Le St. Siège, II., 224 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, VII., 196.

Orthodox Greek peoples, introduced the Gregorian calendar, and the Greek-Catholic dioceses of Galicia and part of Turkey have followed her example.

A recognition of the service rendered by Gregory XIII. by his reform of the calendar[1] is to-day no longer withheld by any civilized person. This achievement is generally extolled as an historical and educational fact of the greatest importance.[2] Even the bitterest enemies of the Papacy admit that the correction of European chronology introduced by Gregory is one of his most glorious titles to fame.[3]

Although under his predecessors, Paul IV. and Pius IV., Gregory XIII. had been a Consultor of the Inquisition,[4] he did not attach such great importance as Pius V. had done to the influence of that body for the renewal of ecclesiastical

[1] Two contemporary inscriptions in praise of the calendar in CIACONIUS, IV., 22. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 368 *seq.* for the commemorative medals. How modestly Gregory XIII. disclaimed the praises he had deserved is seen in his brief to Piero Vettori contained in the Epist. ad P. Victorium, ed. A. M. Bandinius, Florence, 1758, lxxix. *seq.*

[2] See SCHMID, Kalenderreform, III., 388. *Cf.* CARD. ALIMONDA, L'aureola della scienza nella riforma del Calendario, Rome, 1883; VALENSISE, Nella terza ricorrenza della riforma del calendario, Reggio-Emilia, 1883. See also *Etudes religieuses*, XLVIII. (1889), 480 *seq.*

[3] See BROSCH, I., 265 *seqq.*, who says: "The Gregorian reform of the calendar may be overrated as to its value, but nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the subject itself, and in spite of the opposition which it encountered from a narrow-minded Protestantism, blinded to its true mission of progress, it has been to the common advantage of all civilized peoples. To have given it to humanity is a service which must not be denied to this Pope [Gregory XIII.]

[4] See the *Vita di Gregorio XIII. in Barb. 4749, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163. The *"inventarium librorum et scripturarum in scrinio et studio Gregorii XIII. a C. Vastavillani S.R.E. camerario repertarum." (Cod. 671, p. 171 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome) contains many notices of the Holy Office.

discipline. Of the edicts of the Holy Office, the composition of which remained unchanged,[1] few appeared in his name, and it may be looked upon as characteristic that of these ordinances the most important concerned the economic administration of the Inquisition, and was obviously aimed at bringing out the disinterestedness of the officials of the Holy Office, and safeguarding them from suspicion.[2] Certain other enactments of the Cardinals of the Inquisition are framed on the same lines.[3] On the other hand Gregory took care that the In-

[1] See the *report of Fr. Gerini of May 30, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[2] The money belonging to the Holy Office was to be in the hands of trustworthy bankers, but was to be administered according to the wishes of the Inquisitors. Edicts of January 7, 1574, March 10, 1575, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 32 *seq.*

[3] Decrees of May 28, 1578, February 15, 1581, January 4 and December 19, 1584, *ibid.* 34, 37 *seq.*, 39. See also the *Memoriale fiscalis S. Officii ad Greg. XIII. super locatione tenementi Conchae 1576" with two briefs from the Pope in Arm. 3, caps. 2, n. 59, of the Papal Secret Archives. At the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Inquisitors General were Cardinals Rebiba, Pacheco and Gambara; *cf.* Synopsis, 60. Rebiba died on July 23, 1577 "con estremo dolore della corte" says the *Avviso di Roma of July 24, 1577 (Urb. 1045, p. 440). Mucantius also says of Rebiba: "vir doctrina et experimento rerum celebris et vitae integritate universae curiae gratus" (Vatican Library). *Cf.* also SANTORI, Autobiografia, I., 329 *seq.* Cardinal G. Savelli then took the place of Rebiba; see AMABILE, I., 329. According to the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome, see App. n. 9). Chiesa and Madruzzo also belonged to the Inquisition at that time; *cf.* in App. n. 38, the *list of the Cardinal Inquisitors in 1566. Montalto and Santori were also added on account of the affair of Carranza. At the death of Gregory XIII., according to the bull of Sixtus V. of January 22, 1588, the Cardinals of the Inquisition were Madruzzo, Santori, Deza, Facchinetti, Castagna, Bernieri and Sarnano. We are told by Serguidi in 1581 of the high esteem in which Santori was held: *'S. Severino è tenuto il primo cardinale del collegio e di vita esemplare." State Archives, Florence. Med. 3605, p. 112. "Commissarii S. Ufficii" under Gregory XIII. were the Dominicans Antonio Balducci

quisition of Portugal should be endowed with sufficient revenues,[1] and that proper respect for the representatives of the most important ecclesiastical tribunal should be maintained;[2] against usurpations on the part of the other tribunals,[3] as well as of the civil authorities,[4] the Holy Office was able to protect its own rights, and only the strained relations with the Inquisition of Spain seemed to call for any intervention in the name of the Pope.[5] Two other ordinances of the Cardinal Inquisitors received the special approval and confirmation of the Pope; one of these forbade or restricted correspondence between those imprisoned by the tribunal of the faith,[6] the other ordered the consignment to the flames of the great accumulation of books of necromancy, which, as the result of so many trials, choked the archives of the Holy Office.[7] Moreover, the course of time brought

(1572-6), Tommaso Zobbio (1576-82), and after 1582 Lattanzio Ransoldi; see FONTANA, S. Theatrum Dominican., Rome, 1667, 542 *seq.*; TAURISANO, Hierarchia ord. Praedic., Rome, 1916, 71 *seq.* According to his biographer SERASSI (53 *seq.*) Giacomo Mazzoni was also employed in various ways by the Inquisition.

[1] Brief of June 28, 1583, Bull., VIII., 426 *seq.*

[2] Decrees of February 18 and 26, 1579, and January 12, 1581, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 35, 36 *seq.*

[3] Decrees of April 4, 1582, and October 24, 1584, *ibid.* 37 *seq.*, 39. *Cf.* decree of October 5, 1583, *ibid.* 38.

[4] Decree of January 28, 1579, for Piacenza, *ibid.* 34 *seq.*

[5] Decree of June 19, 1578, *ibid.* 34. For a dispute between the Roman Inquisition and that of Spain (a Spaniard who had been tried in Rome, was arrested while on a journey to Naples, and handed over to the Spanish Inquisition) see the brief of June 25, 1582, in THEINER, Annales, 1582, n. 51 (III., 361). Of special importance for Spain was a *"Breve declarationis, quod in vim privilegiorum Cruciatae sanctae concessorum nemo poterit a crimine haeresis absolvi." Barb. 1502, p. 223 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[6] Decree of October 3, 1573, and November 5, 1573, in PASTOR, 32.

[7] Decree of February 11, 1573, and on November 25, 1574, *ibid.* 32, 33.

it about in the Inquisition as elsewhere that greater attention was paid to the rearrangement of its archives, to a great extent owing to the labours of Borromeo.[1]

On the other hand, a concession to the spirit of the times was seen in the fact that torture still retained its place, and that considerable liberty was allowed to the inferior officials in its use.[2] As against this it was considered a mitigation when, at anyrate at the public promulgation of sentence, the condemned were no longer obliged to wear the customary dress, which, as a mark of disgrace, or to suggest violent death, was painted with flames and the like.[3] As far as the Pope himself was concerned, it showed a sincere good will when, in the first year of his pontificate, he personally visited the prisons of the Inquisition and inquired of each prisoner concerning the duration and reason of his detention.[4]

On the whole Gregory XIII. left a free hand to the tribunal of the faith, and he fully appreciated its necessity for the

[1] Decrees of May 1 and November 22, 1573, December 22, 1578, September 18, 1581, January 4, 1584, *ibid.* 33 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*

[2] Decree of September 4, 1577, *ibid.* 33.

[3] Decree of February 15, 1583, *ibid.* 38. The penalty inflicted on September 20, 1572, by the Inquisitor of Milan, Angelo da Forlì, at the trial of the monk, Ambrogio da Lodi, was mitigated in Rome after the acta of the trial had been sent thither, " attenta eius gravi aetate et longa carcerum maceratione " (A. BATTISTELLA in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XXIX. [1902], 134 *seq*). The self-accusation of Torquato Tasso, already deranged in mind, made before the Inquisition, and which had no consequences for him, see in A. BAUMGARTNER, Gesch. der Weltliteratur, VI. (1911), 337, 379. A great impression was made by the trial of Paul de Foix, who came to Rome as a candidate for one of the French dioceses, was there accused of heresy, but acquitted. *Avvisi di Roma of May 15, 1574, April 23, 1575, March 26 and April 2, 1580, Urb. 1043, p. 105; 1044, pp. 397, 411; 1048, pp. 65, 67, Vatican Library; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VII., 257; THEINER, Annales, I., 116; RICHARD in Annales de St. Louis, II. (1898), 422, n. 2.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of November 15, 1572, sent to Vienna by Cusano, State Archives, Vienna.

destruction of heresy and the maintenance of the purity of the faith,[1] and in some cases encouraged its intervention. Like his predecessor, he was especially vigilant that Lutheran doctrines should not make their way into Italy by way of Venice and Padua.[2] The report which was made to him at the beginning of his pontificate by the nuncio in Venice, Facchinetti, as to the views held by the most influential persons in the city of the lagoons, was certainly satisfactory; the government of Venice, this report states, favours the Inquisition just as the other princes of Italy do; with some of them their motive is zeal for the faith, and with others the interests of the state, for they clearly recognize that nothing is so dangerous as innovations in matters of faith.[3] Gregory

[1] See the *letter to the nuncio at Venice of February 11, 1576, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *Instruttione al vescovo di Mondovì, nuncio in Savoy, Barb. 3744, p. 91. See also AMABILE, I., 317 *seq.* and *ibid.* 321 *seq.* the furtherance of the Inquisition in Malta.

[2] In the instructions for the nuncio at Venice, Campeggio, dated April 12, 1581, it is stated: *"Vi e bisogno di buona vigilanza per esser la città di Venezia tanto grande et aperta et dove si da così facil receto a futte le nationi particolarmente di Germania." It is further stated that in Padua too is "più pericolosa ad infettarsi per la vicinanza di paesi heretici et per il concorso de le nationi allo studio." Barb. 5744, p. 144 *seq.* Vatican Library. The nuncio Bolognetti had reported concerning the Protestant students at Venice on March 12, 1580; see *Nunziat. di Venezia* XXI., 65, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Et quanto al favorire le cose del S^to^ Offitio, trovai quelli Sig^ri^ cosi saldi et confermati che S.S^tà^ si può promettere che le favoriranno al pari di qualsivoglia prencipe d'Italia. Molti si muoveno per la pietà et debito, altri per interesse di stato, che veggiono chiaramente che nessuna peste è tanto contagiosa et pericolosa come è questa della heresia. Report of Facchinetti to Galli, dated Venice, July 5, 1572, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, XII., 25, Papal Secret Archives. In 1578 Gregory XIII. demanded the handing over of the heretic Cornelio Socino, who was imprisoned at Venice. See the *letters of Galli of November 15 and December 20, 1578, *ibid.* in the year 1578.

wished that the "Sacramentarians" should be condemned to the galleys.[1] Magicians who sought for treasure by means of enchantments, or made use of them for other purposes, were, as long as the Pope should live, to feel the whole weight of his anger.[2] He succeeded in obtaining from Philip II., in October, 1584, that the Prince of Scalea at Naples, who was suspected of heresy, should be thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition.[3]

Although not so frequently as in the time of his predecessor, trials before the Inquisition, and condemnations of heretics and magicians, repeatedly took place under Gregory XIII. Such was the case on May 24th, 1573; eleven men and two women had to make their abjuration; one of these was condemned to death, four to imprisonment, and the others to the galleys.[4] Two monks and several magicians, nine in all, had to appear on October 29th in the following year before the tribunal of the Inquisition at St. Peter's; one of them was condemned to the stake, but on the following day he was converted at the sight of the gibbet and begged for a delay, and a mitigation of his sentence; he was hanged and his body was burned.[5] In the November of the following year, however, an obstinate heretic actually ended his days at the stake.[6] On Sunday, November 17th, 1577, there was another

[1] *Letter of Camillo Capilupi of February 10, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For the case of Tiberio Crispi, who had to make his abjuration at the Holy Office on August 13 (Avvisi Caetani, 106), and who was condemned to 10 years in the galleys, see *Avvisi di Roma of January 15, April 3, August 14 and 21, 1574, Urb. 1044, pp. 2, 69b, 203-25, Vatican Library; BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 63. *Cf.* also *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XLIII., 201.

[3] CARD. D'OSSAT, Lettres, I., 11 (November 5, 1584); see PASTOR, Dekrete 39.

[4] Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1573, in BERTOLOTTI, 62.

[5] *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 285, 287b, Vatican Library.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of November 20, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 296, Vatican Library; *cf.* ORANO 54.

abjuration by ten heretics at St. Peter's; a canon of the Pace aged sixty-five years was condemned to imprisonment, while a sorcerer of Genoa, who had in writing sold his soul to the devil, and had erected an altar to him, was only sentenced to be whipped through the city.[1] Eight Lutherans had to make their abjuration on June 8th, 1579; two of them, a Sienese and a Bolognese, had relapsed, but as they showed themselves repentant, only their dead bodies were consigned to the flames on June 13th.[2]

A greater stir was caused by an autodafè of February 13th, 1583, at the church of the Minerva, when sixteen accused men received their sentence,[3] among them two Portuguese, who

[1] *Avviso di Roma of November 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 638b, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 10 and 13, 1579, Urb. 1047, pp. 188, 193, Vatican Library; *cf.* ORANO, 63 *seq.* Of the many names which Orano mentions at the same time, we are only taking into consideration those few who were really concerned with heresy. According to MAFFEI (II., 11), about twenty were handed over to the secular arm in 1579.

[3] *On Sunday 17 heretics were brought to trial at the Minerva, among them two guards of the Palace: Il Paleologo Sciotto, che prese l'habito di S. Domenico in Genova insieme col card. Justiniano dato al Papa dall'Imperatore, et che da Massimiliano (del quale era consiglhero) non volse essere dato a Pio V. mai per molte instanze, che ne facesse, hebbe il voto, che vivus comburatur per ostinato Trinitario et per pertinace di infinite falsissime sue opinioni et ladrone del cognome de Paleologhi, essendo egli della famiglia Masselara detto Jacomo; 2 Portughesi Marani, che iudaizzavano in Ferrara et circoncidevano de gli altri battezzati con un frate Siciliano dell' ordine Carmelitano, saranno abbrugiati morti; Bartol. signore de Castelli macchiato di heresie con 2 Hebrei Spagnuoli et un frate Senese, il quale essercitava l' episcopale autorità havuta dal Patriarca de Greci, et secondo lui uguale à quella del Papa, sono condennati à carc. perp. The others, searchers for hidden treasure and sorcerers, were condemned to the galleys, or to a whipping or to banishment (Avviso di Roma of February 16, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 52, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Alaleone, February 13, 1583 (Barb. 2814, *ibid.*): "Multi haeretici abiurarunt in Ecclesia S.V. s. Minerva, quorum quatuor relapsi,

had had themselves circumcised and had propagated Judaism at Ferrara, a Sicilian Carmelite, Bartolomeo Lord of Castelli, two Spanish Jews, and a Sienese monk who had exercised the functions of a bishop, because he had been recognized as such by the Greek Patriarch, who claimed to be equal to the Pope. More important than any of these was the Dominican, Giacomo Massilara, known as Paleologus, a native of Chios, who, after being several times condemned as a heretic, had saved himself by taking to flight;[1] he then wandered through Germany and France, and had preached as an anti-Trinitarian in Poland and Transylvania, but had at length been sent back to Rome in 1582 by Rupolph II.[2] On February 19th, Paleologus, who had himself adopted this distinctive name, was taken, together with the two Portuguese

fuerunt consignati curiae saeculari et statim ducti ad carceres Turris Nonae." See also the reports of Odescalchi of February 11 and 19, 1583, in BERTOLOTTI, 69 *seqq.*; ORANO, 68; MUTINELLI, I., 139. The sentence on Castelli in BERTOLOTTI, 72-6. It is signed by Cardinals Savelli, Gambara, Lodovico Madruzzo and Santori as "inquisitori generali." Savelli was head of the Inquisition from 1577 (*Odescalchi, July 27, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Lettres de Paul de Foix, 20 aout 1582); Madruzzo had been called to the Inquisition at the beginning of 1573 (*Aurelio Zibramonti, January 13, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[1] He was one of those who was released from the prisons of the Inquisition after the death of Paul IV. See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 319.

[2] With regard to Paleologus *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 251 *seq.*; QUÉTIF-ÉCHARD, II., 340; REUSCH, I., 437; GILLET, Crato von Krafftheim, II., 238 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 452; II., 411, 414, 419, 422, 426, 448; MUTINELLI, 77; the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see BEZOLD in *Abhandl. der Münchener Akad. Hist.*, Kl. XVII., 2, 351; Freib. Kirchenlex., IX², 1274 *seq.*; *Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Instituts*, 1918, 181. Some details are also given by the *"Relazione d'alcuni strani avvenimenti occorsi in persona di Pietro della Massiliara alias Paleologo" in Cod. 38, Arm. 30, p. 29, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and Cod. Bolognetti 243, Papal Secret Archives.

and the Carmelite, to the Campo de' Fiori, to be burned alive. In the case of one of the Portuguese Marani who proved obdurate, the penalty was carried out; the other repented at the sight of the scaffold, and only his body was consigned to the flames.[1] Paleologus too, as he was being led to execution, declared himself ready to abjure at the instance of Philip Neri, and was allowed with the Pope's permission to return to his prison.[2] He gave, however, further occasion to doubt the sincerity of his conversion, and was beheaded

[1] *Avviso di Roma of February 19, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 87, Vatican Library. Odescalchi in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 70. BLUSTEIN, Storia degli Ebrei di Roma, Rome, 1921, 138.

[2] Odescalchi in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 70 *seq.*; CAPECELATRO, II., 156 *seqq.* See *Avviso di Roma of February 19, 1583. To-day Paleologus with three others was taken to the Campo di Fiori; a Portuguese abjured with many tears, while his companion was burned with others; "il suo compagno con altri fu abbruciato; il Paleologo combattuto di continuo dal teologo del S. card. d'Este, adimandò finalmente perdono a Dio mentre era al palco, et al Papa suo vero vicario in terra con l'assolutione de suoi gravi errori, et fu ritirato in una case vicina, mentre dal Papa veniva altr'ordine, il quale è stato, che istessa piazza sopra un palco abiuri alta voce, et che per mano di notaro si scriva tal atto, et che ciò di sua mano facci, sapere in Alemagna à tutti della sua setta, et che si riconduca in prigione." Now the "mastro di camera" the "scalco" of the Pope and others are disputing with him, "mantenendo con sue false ragioni la opinione delle sue eresie con eloquenza incredibile." Urb. 1051, p. 87, Vatican Library. *Avviso di Roma of February 26, 1583, *ibid.* p. 95. Although Paleologus had been so long a heretic, the Pope nevertheless wished for mature reflection with the help of a special congregation, as Paleologus, if he should persevere in recognizing his errors, might be very useful to those whom he had seduced by his writings. *Ibid.* p. 96: On Wednesday there was a great difference of opinion at the Inquisition on the subject of Paleologus; some of the Cardinals were for his death, and some were opposed to this; finally the view of the Pope prevailed, that the execution should be deferred, so that Paleologus might write to his followers, which he has begun to do. *Cf.* also the Avviso di Roma of February 19 1583, in BELTRAMI, Roma, 42.

two years later, but he died as a Catholic and was assisted at the end by Baronius.[1]

The abjuration of February 13th, 1583, was made into a solemn act to which the whole College of Cardinals was invited,[2] but as was always the case, Gregory XIII. was not much inclined to such demonstrations. The Pope feared that a public confession of error, especially in the case of persons of high rank, might seem too difficult, and might drive the unfortunate victims to despair; moreover, he feared least the people should be scandalized, since in these scenes the spread of heresy even among distinguished priests, was made manifest.[3] Several times during the pontificate there were rumours of secret abjurations, and of the carrying out in secret, in the prisons or in the monasteries, of the sentences imposed.[4]

In spite of this, however, there were several trials which caused a greater stir than that of Paleologus; this was due to

[1] On March 22, 1585; see ORANO, 73 *seq.*; *Avviso di Roma of March 23, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 127b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* CALENZIO, 219 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 69 Vatican Library.

[3] A canon of the Lateran was burned in effigy on July 26, 1581 BERTOLOTTI, 64); the same was done in the case of another, canon (*ibid*).

[4] *" Questo Papa ha interlasciato quel tanto rigor di Pio Quinto nel far abiurar quelli capitano al S. Officio dell'Inquisitione et lo fa far secretamente si come si fece giovedì in San Pietro d' alcuni huomini di qualche conto confinandoli poi in prigione o in monasteri de' frati a far le penitentie li sono imposti, per non disperar la povera gente ne dar scandalo al mondo." Cusano, October 29, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. " Nella congregatione della quale [Inquisizione] fatta la settimana passata in case del cardinale di Gambara abiurò secretamente un gentilhuomo Genovese ricco di 150 mille scudi et gli fu dato per penitenza che debba dare 6 mille scudi d' elemosina a luoghi pii in Genova," Odescalchi, February 12, 1583, in BERTOLOTTI, 69 *seq.* The former Bishop of Vence, Luigi Grimaldi, also made his abjuration in secret; see as to him, DOUBLET in the *Annales du Midi*, XVI. (1904), 63. How carefully the Inquisition at Bologna preserved the secrecy of its acts, see BATTISTELLA, 70 *seq.*

the fanaticism of certain Protestant sectaries. On Sunday, July 23rd, 1581, while a priest was saying mass at St. Peter's, and was elevating the sacred host, a Protestant who had come from England threw himself upon him in order to snatch the host from him, and failing in this, upset the chalice. The faithful who were present dragged the madman to the Inquisition, where he boasted that he had conspired with twenty-eight others to do the same thing.[1] It appeared that they were dealing with an anabaptist who looked upon himself as a prophet, and wished to die as a martyr; he always carried a Bible with him, but was an entirely uneducated man; by profession he was a nail-smith.[2] On August 2nd the unhappy man was taken on a donkey to the piazza of St. Peter's, which was driven along by burning torches. Before he mounted the scaffold his right hand was cut off. All Rome assembled for the spectacle, and even the boys strove to assist in burning him.[3]

The inquiry brought out the fact that the supposed conspiracy to outrage the mass had no existence,[4] yet in the sequel similar acts were repeated. In the November of the same year, another Englishman, this time at S. Maria del Popolo, made an attempt to strangle the priest, so as to

[1] *Avviso di Roma of July 26, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 281, Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1581, *loc. cit.* *"Costui era homo idiota portava sempre in seno la bibia, intendeva qualche cosa et era della setta anabattista." Odescalchi to Mantua, August 5, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1581, *loc. cit.* *"Fu condotto alle 12 hore sopra un asino su la piazza di s. Pietro, stimulato con torce accese, et condotto quivi gli fu mozzato la destra et poi abruciato vivo et la cennere fu lasciato a vento." (ORANO, 67, who has included this Richard Atkins among his Liberi Pensatori !). *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 131.

[4] Paul de Foix on March 16, 1582, tells of English heretics who were in prison: "On n'a peu tirer des Anglois qui ont este mis prisonniers aux prisons de l'Inquisition, sinon qu'ils sont heretiques." Lettres, 353.

snatch the chalice from him.[1] Some months later, a Castillian, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as he said, dashed forward in St. Peter's to snatch the chalice from the hands of the priest; it was currently reported that this man had died a cruel death, but that the execution had taken place in secret, in order to avoid scandal;[2] perhaps the contagion which might follow upon such crimes was feared. A similar case actually occurred once more in November, 1582; a Frenchman from the Dauphiné threw himself upon a friar at S. Maria del Popolo, after he had begun his mass, and tried to knock him down. This time it was a case of a real madman, who had shown himself the day before at S. Maria del Popolo with a paper mitre on his head, painted all over with pictures of animals; he cried out that he was the Pope.[3]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of November 15, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 429 Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1582, Urb. 1050, Vatican Library.

[3] *Domenica mattina nella chiesa del Popolo intervenne un strano caso, et fu in questa maniera, che mentre uno frate sta all' altare dicendo l'introito et la confessione per seguire la messa ecco che un Francese del Delfinato lo piglia di dietro all'improviso pel collo et lo scote tre o quattro volte per gettarlo a terra, ma il frate che era gagliardo et ben disposto della vita si tenne sempre in piedi, il che vedendo li circostanti che stavano ad udire la messa s'avventarono adosso al detto Francese et lo presero et lo condussero prigione in una stantia dentro del convento, di dove è stato poi condotto prigione al Santo Ufficio dell'Inquisitione. Questo heretico pazzo era pur stato la mattina inanzi in detta chiesa del Popolo con una mitra di carta in testa piena de varie sorte de pittura d' animali, gridando che anch'esso era Papa, a quale si crede interverrà come intervenne a quello Inglese che volse gettare in terra il santissimo sacramento nella chiesa di S. Pietro che fu condotto per tutta Roma sopra un somaro et poi abbrusciato nella piazza. Dicono siano stati presi cert'altri dell' humore di costui che se saranno in dolo gli faranno compagnia. Odescalchi on November 18, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the action of the Inquisition at Bologna against the suspected preachers see BATTISTELLA, 133; *ibid.* 52 for the questions at issue there between the Inquisitors and the archbishop. Executions at Bologna in 1579, 1581 and 1583, *ibid.* 105 *seq.*

In the time of Gregory XIII. the Inquisition was often engaged with relapses into Judaism;[1] these renegades, who had accepted Christianity in Spain and Portugal, and had then secretly returned to their former religion, frequently took refuge from the power of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, and overran the whole of the north and centre of Italy. Gregory XIII. addressed letters on the subject to the nuncio at Venice,[2] and to many of the Italian princes. He warned, for example, the republic of Genoa against receiving refugees of this kind, without finding out definitely who they were, whether they could produce certificates of good conduct, and where they intended to stay; once they had been admitted they were not to be sent away, so that they might not take refuge among the unbelievers.[3] From an inquiry held in Rome in 1578 it appeared that the Marani from Portugal were more numerous there than had been thought, and on August 13th in that year no less than seven were put to death at the Porta Latina.[4] Probably it was to a great extent such occurrences as these which determined the Pope to regulate exactly the relations between the Inquisition and Judaism.[5]

[1] See *supra* p. 304; RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 175.

[2] See *Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., in 1574, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Brief of May 27, 1581, in THEINER, Annales, III., 308 *seq.* *"Accepimus multos a Iudaica perfidia ad Christi fidem recenter conversos rursumque Christo repudiato ut canes ad vomitum suum ad Iudaismum reversos quotidie ex multis regionibus praesertim vero ex Hispania et Lusitania in Italiam confluere, etc." To Venice, May 27, 1581, State Archives, Venice. A similar brief to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, May 27, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 245.

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of August 9 and 13, 1578. Urb. 1046, pp. 289, 296, Vatican Library. The names of the seven, one of whom must have been an Albanian, in ORANO, 55-61. The Avvisi only state that they were burned, and that this does not generally mean burned "alive" is clear from Orano. From the information which he has published concerning the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, in this case as well as in that mentioned on p. 302, it does not appear for what reason they were condemned.

[5] By a bull of June 1, 1581, Bull. Rom., VIII., 378.

According to the words of the Apostle[1] the Church naturally did not claim the same judicial authority over unbaptized persons as over those who by means of baptism had been admitted into the family of Christ, yet she deemed that she had been given a certain authority by Christ, as the head of the human race, even over the infidels.[2] Gregory XIII. now decided the special cases in which the Jews were to be subject to the tribunal of the faith. According to this ordinance the Inquisition might take proceedings against them if they denied the truths of faith which Christians and Jews held in common, for example the unity and omnipotence of God, and also if they worshipped the devil or led Christians to do so, if they pronounced blasphemies against God or the Blessed Virgin, if they led Christians into apostasy, or prevented their conversion, if they gave refuge or other assistance to the heretics, if they possessed or propagated prohibited books, if they insulted the Christian religion, or if, contrary to the ancient prohibition of Canon Law, they employed Christian women as nurses. From the reports of the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara it is clear how strongly Gregory XIII. insisted that the Portuguese Marani who were affected by this bull should not be tried in Ferrara but in Rome.[3] In a special brief[4] the Pope once more insisted upon the prohibition of summoning or admitting Jewish doctors to attend Christian invalids. In opposition to the heretics Gregory renewed the right to the free preaching of the Gospel, by ordering all the bishops and

[1] "For what have I to do to judge them that are without?"; (I. Cor., 5, 12).

[2] *Cf.* PHILLIPS, II., 392 *seqq.*; HINSCHIUS, VI., 35 *seqq.*

[3] See the *reports of Giulio Maretti and G. B. Laderchi, dated April 19, 22, and July 29, 1581, State Archives, Modena.

[4] Dated February 28, 1581, in THEINER, Annales, 1581, n. 67 (III., 309), *cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 371 (dated May 30, 1581); see *Bandi V., 10, p. 40 (dated March 30, 1581); also the *Avviso di Roma of April 15, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 160, Vatican Library. The Duke of Mantua was not allowed, in spite of the request of Farnese, to suffer any Jews to practise medicine. *Letter of Bernerio to Vienna, June 24, 1581, State Archives, Vienna.

prelates to institute weekly sermons for the Jews.[1] In Rome these conferences, which were already held regularly, resulted in numerous conversions of Jews; the baptism of a rich Roman Jew named Samuel made a very great impression.[2]

In the introduction to the bull regulating the relations of the Inquisition with the Jews, the Pope reminded them that nowhere in the world had they enjoyed such kindly treatment as among the Christian nations, and especially in the States of the Church.[3] Gregory himself acted in the same sense; in spite of the protests of Cardinal Galli he allowed them to return to the Venaissin.[4] A decision on the question whether the

[1] On September 1, 1584, Bull. Rom., VIII., 487 *seq.* In the *Diario of Santori concerning his audiences with the Pope on January 19, 1581, he remarks: "Del predicare per gli Hebrei; che non si lasci e se facci seguitare da qualche frate. Di far vedere a S.S. alcune bolle sopra la predica, da farsi agli Giudei per tutto e farsi una bolla che dovunque sono si predichi; si consenta." On June 1, 1581, Santori again urged sermons for the Jews (*ibid.*). Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] According to RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 172 *seq.* The baptism of the wealthy Samuel is placed in the year 1582 by the Avvisi (*Avviso di Roma of April 21, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 119, 121, Vatican Library). A converted Jew, Guglielmo Sirlet, is mentioned in the *briefs to the Doge of Venice on July 11, 1579 and December 6, 1582. State Archives, Venice. The Bishop of Ferrara wrote to Cardinal Sirleto concerning the Jews on May 18, 1582: "Ben spesso habiamo . . . di quei che vengono al santo battesimo, cosi huomini come donne. E se la casa de cathetumeni havesse un poco di sostanza, . . . son sicuro che ne havessimo molti più." Vat. 6182, p. 654, Vatican Library. A work based upon an examination of the many manuscript sources on the missions to the Jews in Rome is being prepared by P. Hofmann of the Pious Society of Missions.

[3] "In omnes dispersi orbis terrarum regiones servitutique perpetuae mancipati, non maiorem in cuiusquam ditione clementiam, quam in christianorum provinciis, maxime vero in apostolicae pietatis gremio invenerunt." Bull. Rom., VIII., 378.

[4] THEINER, Annales, I., App. 351. At Naples the Jews were not tolerated by the Spanish government (see HÜBNER, I., 108). For the great interest that they were able to exact, see *Bandi,

Pope ought to tolerate the Jews advised him to do so; in the time of Pius V. severity had been employed, but now on the contrary a renewal of mild treatment was advisable.[1] When in 1573 some riotous soldiers had made a raid upon the Ghetto in Rome, they were obliged to leave the city.[2] When they were travelling or taking part in the annual fairs the Jews were allowed to lay aside their distinctive marks if they were not going to remain in a place longer than one day.[3] The Jews in Rome were confirmed in the management of their own community by a brief of January 10th, 1577.[4]

Even greater excitement than that aroused by the measures taken against the Jews, and the execution of the fanatical Englishmen and the Portuguese Marani, was caused in Rome by the final conclusion of a trial which had been carried on for years at the secret sessions of the Inquisition, in such a way that nothing but uncertain rumours had reached the public during its course:[5] this was the trial of the unfortunate Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza. The business had already dragged on for more than ten years.[6] In the middle of 1575 it was loudly proclaimed in Rome that the Pope was absolutely determined that the affair should now be brought to an end, and was personally devoting his attention to it for three hours every day.[7] Twice a

V., 10, p. 110: "Tolerantia Bancheriorum Hebraeorum Urbis ad quatr. 6 pro scuto sing. mense a 3. VIII. 1575 observanda." Decree of February 1, 1577, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* ERLER in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LIII., 57.

[1] *Cod. D. 5, 20, Varia n. 10. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 170.

[3] Decree of the Apostolic Camera of April 21, 1581, Bull. Rom., VIII., 788, n. 9.

[4] RIEGER-VOLGENSTEIN, II., 172. For the relations of Gregory with the Jews, *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 252; II., 66, 221; RODOCANACHI, Le St. Siège et les Juifs, Paris, 1891, 51, 69, 214, 230 *seq.*, 274 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 328, ; Vol. XVII., p. 344.

[6] A *letter to the nuncio at Venice of September 12, 1573, refers to the writings on Carranza among the papers of the dead Cardinal Aldobrandini. Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 423, Vatican Library.

week[1], or as was stated later, three times, and on each occasion for four or five hours,[2] the congregation concerning Carranza was held in the presence of the Pope, and it was wagered at the end of January, 1576, that the matter would very soon be concluded.[3]

This time rumour spoke truly. On April 14th, 1576, the last solemn session of the congregation was held, at which, the Pope himself pronounced the sentence.[4] Carranza was not condemned as a heretic; the inquiry into his writings had given no sufficient grounds for such a course. On the other hand there still remained against him the suspicion that he had adopted certain non-catholic views. In such cases Canon Law demanded that the accused should clear himself of those suspicions by an abjuration of the propositions in question. Carranza accordingly had to comply with this requirement. As a Spaniard, who had worked in some measure to preserve the purity of the faith, and as a Dominican and archbishop, who had inscribed its defence upon his banner, the humiliation involved in such a confession must have been felt two-fold and three-fold, and it was with bitter tears that he did what was required of him. The Pope then imposed upon him by way of penance that he should make the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches of Rome, and be banished for five years to the Dominican convent at Orvieto, during which time he was forbidden to exercise his archiepiscopal functions. Then

[1] *Avvisi di Roma of April 30 and July 23, 1575, *ibid.* pp. 427, 497.

[2] *Avvisi di Roma of February 1 and 4, 1576, Urb. 1045, pp. 32, 41, Vatican Library.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 28, 1576, *ibid.* p. 30b. *Avviso of December 17, 1575, *ibid.* p. 642b, predicts that Carranza will be set at liberty by Christmas. Pompeo Strozzi *wrote on January 28, 1576, to Mantua that Carranza would be set at liberty. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Similar rumours, however, had been common since 1573; see the *letters to Vienna of November 21, 1573 (from Mendoza), February 26 and March 6, 1574 (from Cusano), State Archives, Vienna.

[4] LAUGWITZ, 99 *seq.* A detailed account of the abjuration in the *Diario of Mucantius, April 14, 1576, Papal Secret Archives.

the Pope embraced him, and for safety's sake, in case he should have incurred any ecclesiastical censure, gave him absolution.[1]

Carranza was spared the banishment to Orvieto; during the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches, which, against his will, he had to perform without any exterior marks of distinction, he was seized with a fatal illness, to which he succumbed on May 2nd, 1576.[2] Before he received the Holy Eucharist at Viaticum he made oath that from the time of his entry into his Order, and during the whole period of his labours as a professor, writer and preacher in Spain, Germany and England, he had had no greater aim than to exalt the faith, and to fight the heretics according to his abilities. The doubt that had been cast upon his good faith rested entirely upon false information, but he accepted the Pope's sentence as a just one, and pardoned all his enemies.[3]

On April 30th, when he heard of Carranza's condition, Gregory XIII. sent his own confessor to him to dispense the sick man from the penances which had been imposed on him, and to comfort him.[4] This man, who had been so sorely tried, was buried without pomp in the church of the Minerva.[5]

As far as it is possible to form a judgment, the errors of Carranza were only the corollary of his virtues; in his efforts to reconcile the heretics to the Church, and to smooth away the obstacles which they met with in Catholic doctrines, he went too far to meet them, at anyrate in the form of the

[1] LAUGWITZ, 101.

[2] "Se mori quest'anno tutto afflitto d'animo e consumato." SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 362. Numerous *acta from the papers left by Santori concerning the "causa Toletana" under Gregory XIII. in Miscell. Arm. 10, t. 4, of the Papal Secret Archives.

[3] LAUGWITZ, 103. THEINER, Annales, II., 243.

[4] LAUGWITZ, 102. *Cf.* as to Carranza M. MENENDEZ PELAYO, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, II., 359-415.

[5] *"quia adhuc in eodem conventu detinebatur carceratus," says Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* BERTHIER, Minerve, 247 *seq.*

expressions he used, and therefore, without intending to do so, imperilled the purity of the doctrines of the Church. The danger of this tendency was fully realized in Rome. To a Pius V. the trial of the archbishop was from the first supremely painful; it was said, in allusion to the disease from which the Pope was suffering, that Carranza was one of the stones which would cause his death,[1] but in spite of that he never for a moment thought of allowing the trial to drop. The severity with which he behaved towards the unhappy archbishop, or rather against the way he was tending, was quickly justified by the events. The trial of Carranza was still pending when, in the north, there sprang from that very tendency a heresy which, in the centuries that followed, was to do indescribable harm to the Church. It was from his desire to meet the innovators as far as possible that the true father of Jansenism, Michael Baius of Louvain, had been led into his views that were opposed to the teaching of the Church. What difficulties might arise when a scholar, at first full of the best intentions, and under the appearance of well-doing, allowed himself to be led further and further along such a course, had already been shown in the person of the Louvain theologian in the time of Pius V., and was to be shown even more clearly in that of Gregory XIII.

At the time of the death of the Dominican Pope the controversy raised by Baius might be said to have been brought to an end. The behaviour of the celebrated scholar, which was at first by no means blameless, had led to strong action being taken against him; at length it seemed that the whole affair was ended, since Baius had submitted to all that was required of him.[2] Again during the first months of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., on July 4th, 1572, the theological faculty of Louvain held a meeting at which the propositions of Baius which had been condemned by Pius V. were also

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 364. On May 24, 1572, *Arco states that Gregory XIII. regretted that Pius V. had left him the affair of Carranza to deal with. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 375.

prohibited by the university; this was soon followed by an order that this condemnation must be subscribed by everyone who received the doctorate in theology.[1] Baius, in common with all the other professors, signed this decision. As the celebrated scholar had thus, and under such solemn circumstances, fulfilled his duty as a Catholic, this redounded to his honour, and his reputation at the university was enhanced. In 1575 he was even appointed chancellor, and in 1578 conservator; from 1575 he was also dean of the collegiate church of St. Peter.

In spite of all this, however, Baius gave fresh reason to doubt the sincerity of his submission. In 1575 he maintained in a public discourse that opinion as to the origin of the episcopal power which had led to so much excitement at the Council of Trent,[2] but which had not hitherto been supported by the university of Louvain; in a word, he held the view that jurisdiction came to the bishops, not from the Pope, but immediately from God, and that apart from the diocese of Rome, the Pope had no other episcopal jurisdiction.[3] At the same time he caused scandal by his thesis that from the words of Jesus Christ to Peter: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Luke xxii., 32), Papal infallibility cannot be proved with certainty.[4] By such a setting forth of his principles, the impression was bound to be given that Baius wished to minimize the authority of the Pope, and to deprive of their force the Papal decisions against his cherished opinions.

[1] C. Fleury, Hist. eccl. Continuatio, XLIX., August. Vindel., 1572, 126; Le Bachelet in the *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.* of Vacant and Mangenot, II., Paris, 1905, 54 *seqq.* In what follows we are in complete accordance, unless otherwise stated, with Le Bachelet. *Cf.* also Scheeben in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I², 1852 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 334.

[3] Bonhomini to Cardinal Rusticucci, November 9, 1585, in Ehses-Meister, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., 184.

[4] He wrote a small book concerning this passage. Le Bachelet, 54; Fleury, Contin., XLIX., 493.

Baius also showed his true colours in a controversy with the champion of Calvinism in Holland, Philip Marnix, Lord of S. Aldegonde.[1] For reasons that are not known, perhaps in order to embarrass the Catholics by means of Baius, Marnix addressed to the rector of the university of Louvain a series of questions as to the authority of the Church in matters of faith, and on the Holy Eucharist. Baius replied, and ably defended against Protestantism the doctrines of the Church. But the principles on which he based his arguments gave reason for anxiety among the Catholics. The Franciscan, Orantes y Villena (Horantius), afterwards Bishop of Oviedo, wrote against him; at the suggestion of the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, Gaspare di Quiroga, Cardinal of Toledo, the universities of Alcalà and Salamanca censured some of his propositions.[2] Among other things Baius was found fault with because, in spite of the Papal condemnation, he still adhered in his lectures and disputations to the propositions forbidden by Pius V. This was quite true in so far that Baius, at the public disputations, by preference raised objections to those dogmatic propositions which were opposed to his own errors. It also seems to be the truth that, after the death of Pius V., he entertained the hope that the new Pope would be more favourably disposed towards him, and addressed to Gregory XIII. a defence in elucidation of the doctrines condemned by Pius V. His followers spread the rumour that the bull against him had been fictitious, and that no one had seen an authentic copy of it, while others foretold the revocation of his condemnation at the hands of the new Pope.

It seemed as though a renewal of the old controversy was at hand; in order to prevent this, Philip II., through his ambassador in Rome, and the theological faculty at Louvain, through the Jesuit Toledo, had recourse to Gregory XIII., and asked for a confirmation and renewal of the bull of Pius V. against the Louvain professor. Gregory acceded to this

[1] FLEURY, Contin., XLIX., 493 *seq.*, 589 *seqq.* LE BACHELET, 53.

[2] The censure is printed in FLEURY, Contin., L., 86 *seqq.*

request and on January 29th, 1580, issued the bull asked for.[1] The introduction to this states: it is the right of the Pope to place in the hands of the faithful the decisions of his predecessors, as often as this may be necessary; in this decree of his, therefore, he was following the bull of Pius V., as it appeared in the registers.

The above mentioned Jesuit, Francisco Toledo, was charged with the difficult task of publishing the bull in Louvain, and inducing Baius to submit to it,[2] for in Rome Toledo was looked upon as a prodigy of learning.[3] In March, 1580, Toledo reached Louvain; first he went to Baius himself, and in a friendly discussion, actually succeeded in satisfying and winning over the chancellor. He then summoned a meeting of the faculty, and explained why the Pope had decided to confirm and publish the bull of Pius V. At a subsequent meeting the bull of Gregory XIII. was read, after which Toledo addressed to Baius the question whether several of the rejected propositions were not actually to be found in his printed books, and there defended in the sense in which they had been

[1] Bull. Rom., VIII., 314 *seqq.* dated "anno Incarnationis Dominicae, 1579, 4. cal. febr. pontificatus nostri anno VIII." The eighth year of the pontificate extended from May 26, 1579, to May 25, 1580. The 29th of January in that year therefore fell in 1580. In Bull. Rom., *loc. cit.* the bull is correctly inserted between December 16, 1579, and March 23, 1580. But the "datum" on p. 320, as is not uncommonly the case, is taken incorrectly.

[2] The briefs with which he was furnished (to Baius and to the university of Louvain, of January 19, 1580, the authority to absolve him, February 2, 1580) in THEINER, Annales, 1580, n. 79 (III., 206 *seqq*). The *Instructions for Toledo, dated January 20, 1580, in Cod. R. 3. 6, p. 51 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome.

[3] A brief of Gregory XIII. of November 22, 1575, recommends to the Duke of Bavaria: "ne mendaciis credat contra Franciscum Toletum Iesuitam, hominum omnium qui nunc sunt sine ulla controversia doctissimum . . . cuius consilium in rebus gravissimis S. Poenitentiariae omnibusque fere, quae ad animarum salutem pertinent, adhibet [SS. Pontifex] . . . Synopsis actorum S. Sedis 77."

condemned in the bull. Naturally, this last remark was aimed at the discussion on the so-called "comma pianum." Baius replied in the affirmative. Toledo then asked whether he rejected these and the other propositions condemned by the Pope. "I reject them," replied Baius, "in the sense of the bull and in the way and manner in which the bull condemns them."[1] The same question was then addressed to the others present, and all replied in the same way as Baius. In subsequent discussions with the professor, Toledo obtained from him a written declaration of March 24th, 1580, signed by him. In this Baius states that the remarks of Toledo had made a great impression upon him; he was persuaded that the condemnation was just and equitable, and the result of mature reflection and examination. He confesses that in some of his earlier writings many of these propositions were to be found, and that they are there defended in the sense in which the bull condemns them; finally he declares that he renounces these opinions and submits himself to the condemnation of the Pope.[2] Toledo then replied that nowhere had he found such wisdom, and nowhere such humility, as in Baius; in Rome he spoke of him to the Pope in the most honourable terms,[3] so that Gregory XIII. gave the chancellor a testimonial in a most benevolent brief of June 15th, 1580.[4] Toledo also obtained for the university an original manuscript of the bull; differing from the printed copy which he had taken to Louvain in the previous year, but, in accordance with the usage of the pontifical chancery, in this there were no punctuation marks, a circumstance which, in the later history of Baianism, in the years of 1618 and 1643, figured largely in the controversy about the "comma pianum."

[1] Le Bachelet, 55; *cf.* Astrain, IV., 47.

[2] Published in Theiner, Annales, 1580, n. 80 (III., 208); a version in Le Bachelet, 57.

[3] The return of Toledo to Rome is announced by Bishop *Odescalchi on May 14, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Theiner, Annales, 1580, n. 79 (III., 208). The letters of thanks to the university, the syndic, the assessors and the council of Louvain, August 6, 1580, *ibid.* 209.

In spite of all these declarations and subscriptions the errors of Louvain were not entirely overcome. Once more disquieting news reached Rome. When in 1584 Gregory sent the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, as his nuncio to Germany, he instructed him to devote his attention to this question. Bonhomini's reports from Holland only came to Gregory's successor.

The experiences they had had of Baius and the influence of his writings and doctrines only made it more evident in Rome that the Church in drawing up her legislation must exercise all possible vigilance in order to exclude anti-Catholic doctrines. How convinced Gregory was for this reason of the need for the Index of prohibited books is shown by several of his briefs. Bad books, he wrote to the Archduke Charles at Graz,[1] are a pestilence which at a single blow may infect whole cities and provinces; Councils and Emperors had realized that nothing was better or more salutary for the whole Church than to employ the fire against this cancer. Maximilian II. earned the praise of the Pope for what he had done in proceeding with all severity against the books of the innovators.[2] Rudolph II.,[3] and before him, the Archduke Ferdinand,[4] were begged by Gregory to do the same.

At the same time, side by side with zeal in restricting the dissemination of heretical doctrines, it was necessary to steer clear of the danger lest by excessive severity in prohibiting books, men's consciences might be disturbed, and the very observance of the Index itself made too difficult. In his efforts to reconcile these two extremes, zeal for the faith and proper prudence, in the best possible way, Gregory XIII. applied himself to the difficult task of giving the Index a form which would be satisfactory from both points of view.[5] For

[1] On December 5, 1580, in THEINER, Annales, III., 135.

[2] On May 15, 1574, *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XV., 209.

[3] On March 15, 1581, in THEINER, Annales, III., 271.

[4] On August 11, 1576, *ibid.*, II., 187.

[5] "Ut pestiferarum opinionum diseminandarum omnis tollatur occasio, et conscientiarum tranquillitati, quantum in nobis est, consulatur, vehementer cupimus indicem librorum prohibitorum

this purpose the seven Cardinals of the Congregation of the Index[1] were given very wide faculties; they were to be allowed in cases of uncertainty or special difficulty to explain and settle the meaning of the Index and its rules, to erase from heretical or suspect books the erroneous or scandalous matter, to permit or prohibit books, to put them on the Index or remove them from it; to grant or refuse permission to sell productions of the press. So as to ensure uniformity of action all other similar faculties were revoked; moreover all bishops, professors, teachers, booksellers, and the like were bound to obedience to the cardinalitial congregation of the Index.[2]

Indeed, under Gregory XIII. the work of preparing a new edition of the Index was begun. An attempt was made upon the difficult task of expurgating erroneous matter from the works of Boccacio, Macchiavelli,[3] and the Jewsih

in eam formam primo quoque tempore redigi, etc." Bull of September 13, 1572, in *Analecta iuris pontif.* 1st. Ser., Rome, 1855, 2256. *Cf.* HILGERS, 514 *seq.*

[1] Sirleto, Paleotto, Bonelli, Pellevé, Bianchi, Montalto, Giustiniani (introduction to the same bull, *Analecta, loc. cit.*). For the Congregation of the Index *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 23. For its secretaries in the time of Gregory XIII., Giov. Batt. Lanci (1580-3) and Vincenzo Bonardi, see TAURISANO, Hierarchia ord. Praedic., Rome., 1916, 115.

[2] Bull of September 13, 1572, *loc. cit.*

[3] SALV. BONGI, Annali di Gabr. Gioliti de' Ferrari, II., Rome, 1897, 414 *seqq.* REUSCH, Index, I., 387, 390. Two letters from Vettori to Sirleto in DEJOB, 393, 396. *Epistola ad Gregorium XIII. super corrrectione novellarum Boccaccii imperfecta," in Vat. 6176, p. 282, Vatican Library. A *letter of June 20, 1573, orders the nuncio at Venice to prevent "la vendita dei 100 novelle di Bocaccio non corrette." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. For the expurgated edition of the "Cortegiano" of Castiglione (1584) *cf.* VITTORIO CIAN, Un episodio della storia della censura in Italia nel sec. XVI., Milan, 1887. The French translation of the Bible by Réné Benoist was condemned in a brief of October 3, 1575; see REUSCH, I., 449 *seq.*; *cf. Studi e docum. di storia e di diritto*, XXIV., Rome, 1903, 259.

books,[1] and an examination of the glossary of Canon Law was made,[2] as well as of the writings of Erasmus.[3] But for the moment all these preparatory labours were of no use for the proposed new edition of the Index.[4]

But if the above mentioned attempts prove an anxiety to moderate the existing prohibitions of books,[5] there was never-

[1] REUSCH, I., 50. At his audience of June 1, 1581, Santori spoke to the Pope *" dei Talmud stampati in Basilea venuti; che 'l Talmud sia impedito per tutto " (Notes by Santori on his audiences, Arm. 52, t. 17, Papal Secret Archives). Santori again spoke to the Pope on July 27, 1581, *" del tempo della Congregatione de libri hebrei e spese fatteci e fatighe tenute; N.S. ordinò che con li primi riveditori de' libri hebrei vi intervenisse alcun Giudeo, e quel che poi sarà notato, si riferisca in Congregatione " (*ibid.*). The Duke of Mantua was *warned not to allow any Jewish book to be printed, without its being first revised (Zibramonte, January 11, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The nuncio in Germany received on February 28, 1579, *orders to come to an understanding with the Swiss government, " acciò operino con li loro confederati di Basilea che si impedisca la stampa del Thalmud intentendosi essere molto sollicitata." Barb. LXII., 1, carte 42, Vatican Library. *Cf.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 269 *seq.*, 347, 629 *seq.* BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 321.

[2] REUSCH, I., 440.

[3] *Ibid.* 354.

[4] An *Avviso di Roma of August 14, 1577, expects the printing of the new Index, and knows of a motuproprio obtained at the request of the Theatines, " che si levano tutte le rime lascive et comedie obscene, le lettere amorose et le satire, che si suspendano saranno snervati e smembrati." Urb. 1045, p. 473, Vatican Library. In an *Avviso di Roma of February 4, 1581, it is stated: " Si dice, che si prohibiranno l'historie di Guicciardino ponendosi nell'Indice delli libri proibiti, per quel che troppo apertamente tocca il Papa Alessandro Sesto." *Ibid.* 1049, p. 53b.

[5] An*Avviso di Roma of May 15, speaks of a congregation held on May 14, 1574, at the house of Sirleto to mitigate the Index. Urb. 1044, p. 105b, Vatican Library. For the leniency of the Congregation of the Index see MONTAIGNE, I., 27 *seq.*, 59 *seq.* Following the example of G. Voigt (Hist. Zeitschrift XX., 23-53)

theless one bull belonging to the beignning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. in which the latter, in a way but little less severe than that of Pius V., intervened against one form of publication which had recently been introduced. This was the degeneracy of the press, at that time in its infancy. Besides the conscientious writers of the *Avvisi*, there were also, to use the expression of Gregory, men who with curiosity and effrontery speculated concerning everything that they could find out bearing on private or state affairs, or could freely invent out of their own heads, compiling their information without any regard to its truth or falsity, so as to spread them everywhere for the sake of a few miserable pence, and to publish as news, statements which were spread about outside Rome as Roman events ; these men committed themselves at will to comments on the past and conjectures as to the future. How much harm this evil practice brought with it, when lies were spread abroad as truth, and many were attacked in their good name, could easily be foreseen, and experience had already proved. For this reason Gregory forebade the writing of such news, or its being received, copied or promulgated, and that under the penalties of disgrace and the galleys.[1] Pius V. had spoken even more severely of the abuse of secret information bureaux,[2] which constituted a serious danger, since crypto-Calvinists, such as Wolfgang Zündelin, made use of them to spread abroad the most disgraceful charges against the Holy See.[3]

some historians of literature have made the Inquisition and the Index responsible for the misfortunes of Tasso (see *supra*, p. 299, n. 3) and have put him forward as a victim of the counter-reformation. This cannot be held in any sense ; see BAUMGARTNER, VI., 379 *seq.*, who justly remarks that Tasso found his most loyal, disinterested and generous friends among the secular and regular clergy, and among the prelates and Cardinals, namely among the circles of the "counter-reformation."

[1] Bull of September 1, 1572, Bull. Rom., VIII., 12. *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 99.

[3] *Cf.* BEZOLD in *Sitzungberichten der Münchener Akad.*, 1882, 150 *seq.*

CHAPTER IX.

Gregory XIII. and the League against the Turks.

Just as in the internal affairs of the Church, Gregory had followed the traditions of Pius V., so he did in political matters, when, with all possible zeal, he sought to carry on his predecessor's warlike undertakings against the Crescent. On the very evening of May 13th, 1572, in spite of the excitement of the election, and his great weariness after the long ceremony of paying homage in St. Peter's, he summoned the ambassadors of Spain and Venice to his presence. "Write to your king," he said to the former, "that he has every reason to rejoice at our election, because we are determined to support him in all his glorious undertakings, especially the league against the Turks, and not only will we maintain the alliance concluded with our predecessor, but we will double our contribution and armaments." Gregory expressed himself in similar terms to the ambassador of Venice.[1]

In announcing his programme of government at the consistory of May 30th, he mentioned in the first place the maintenance and strengthening of the league against the enemy of Christendom, who was now again taking up arms.[2] If he promised, on that solemn occasion, that he would devote all his efforts and all his thoughts to that difficult task,[3] he

[1] See the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* App. n. 29.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 65.

[3] *The Pope had said: Pium suum praedecessorem ex tribus lapillis interemptum sibi tres alios reliquisse qui se statumque suum in periculo ponerent. Horum autem lapillorum primum dicebat esse difficultatem conservandi federis initi inter Pontificem Romanum, Regem Catholicum et Venetos pro Republica christana contra Turcas. Alter, titulum Magni Ducis cum corona

faithfully kept his word; the thought of the league runs like a scarlet thread throughout the pontificate of Gregory XIII., and to a great extent determined his attitude towards the Christian powers.[1]

In view of the zeal with which the Pope was animated, it was specially painful to him that at the very beginning of his reign all idea of an energetic following up of the glorious victory of Lepanto for the benefit of the whole of Christendom, threatened to disappear in smoke. It was no matter for surprise that grave difficulties should make themselves felt on the part of the King of Spain, for already, in the time of Pius V., he had wished to direct the war against the north of Africa, rather than against the east. Yet Gregory had reason to hope that he might win Madrid over to his wishes, as, during his legation in 1565, he had won the esteem of Philip II., and his court in the highest degree.[2] The decisive part played by Granvelle in his election, and the deference which the Pope at once showed towards the King of Spain,[3] also justified the hope that the difficulties which had hitherto paralysed the league might be removed.[4]

Gregory displayed the greatest zeal. By means of letters, as well as through his nuncios, and by conferences with the

Cosmo Medices concessa, quod principes christianos in dissidio ponere facile posset. Tertium archiepiscopi Toletani causam, quae inextricabilis nec sine laesione auctoritatis et existimationis Sedis Apostolicae expediri posse videretur. Var. polit. 98 (later 97), p. 205, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See KARTTUNEN, Gregoire XIII., p. 1.

[2] See the *notes of Venanzio da Camerino and *those of C. Speciani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] How greatly the Pope esteemed Spain was shown by his attitude in 1572, on the occasion of a dispute about precedence between the ambassadors of Spain and France; see MAFFEI, I., 43 *seq.*; HERRE, 248.

[4] Cardinals Galli and Mark Sittich were appointed to the Congregazione della Lega" in the place of Bonelli and Rusticucci; see the *report of Arco of May 24, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

ambassadors in Rome, he endeavoured to rouse Spain and Venice to concerted action against the common enemy, while at the same time he devoted his attention to pushing forward to completion, and without delay, that part of the armament which was expected from himself. As early as May 16th, 1572, he addressed to Don John of Austria, who was at Messina, a fiery exhortation to open the campaign. He at once sent Marcantonio Colonna, the victor of Lepanto, to that port, confirming him in his former office of commander of the Papal auxiliary fleet.[1] The reports of this Roman prince show that now, as heretofore, only the Holy See was pursuing a really disinterested policy in regard to European affairs.[2]

At the beginning of June, 1572, Marcantonio Colonna, with the thirteen Papal galleys, met Don John, who was assembling his fleet at Messina. The greater part of the forces of Venice, which, by the wish of Spain, were under the command of Giacomo Foscarini instead of Venier, was at Corfù; twenty-five galleys under the "provveditore," Giacomo Soranzo, had already reached Messina. The opening of the campaign seemed to be imminent when, on June 14th, Don John quite unexpectedly postponed the departure of the fleet; when Colonna and Soranzo asked for an explanation of his conduct, he was at length forced to admit that he was acting under the express orders of Philip II.[3]

The indignation in Rome at this proceeding was very great. No one at the Curia felt any doubt that the jealousy of Philip II. for Venice had played a great part in it. Gregory, who, on June 21st, 1572, had personally taken part in a procession of penance to obtain protection from the Turks,[4] and had

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 314.

[2] See GOTTLOB in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 394.

[3] See SERENO, 271 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Colonna, 318 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 570 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 379 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 207 *seq.* Serrano must be given the credit of having been the first to discover the text of Philip II.'s order (I., 298 *seqq.*).

[4] See the *report of B. Pia, June 21, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

exhorted Don John to weigh anchor at once,[1] learned with the greatest grief that, at the very beginning of his pontificate, the treaty of the league had thus been seriously endangered by Spain.[2] In an autograph letter which he addressed to Philip II. on June 30th, 1572, he, in his curt and concise style, made serious remonstrances, pointing out that not only religious motives, but even more political ones, called for the cancelling of this disastrous command. At the same time he announced the sending of a special envoy, Niccolò Ormaneto, Bishop of Padua, to explain his views more fully.[3]

The Pope's indignation was further increased when he learned of a plan on the part of Spain to undertake a special expedition for the conquest of Algiers. On every side men declared that the behaviour of the King of Spain involved the revocation of those monetary concessions which had been made to him by Pius V. A hostile attitude visibly gained ground in Rome; complaints were publicly made that the King of Spain had ruined the league, and violated the engagements which he had taken upon himself by oath. The representative of Philip II. in Rome, Juan de Zuñiga, found himself in a very difficult position at that time. Against the attacks being made on the policy of his sovereign, he set forth, above everything else, one consideration: the threatening attitude of France, and the support being given by the Huguenots to the insurgents in the Netherlands. With regard to the expedition against Algiers, he maintained that if Spain did not deliver an attack there, France would establish herself there with the help of the Turks. But in spite of all his effort Zuñiga was not successful in bringing about any change in public opinion in favour of the policy of his government.[4]

[1] * Brief of June 21, 1572, Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 97, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See GRATIANUS, De bello, 261.

[3] We owe our knowledge of this letter to SERRANO (Liga, I., 361 *seqq.*). The latter remarks (p. 254) that the letter was written "en términos tan graves y enérgicos, que quizás no ofrezca otra semejante el epistolario particular de Gregorio XIII."

[4] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 242 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 334 *seq.*,

The Pope's representative in Madrid, in his first remonstrances against the orders issued by Philip II., had remarked that it was very strange that so powerful a sovereign had, merely on the strength of a suspicion, arrived at so important a decision without consulting his allies; if it were true that France aimed at the destruction of the league which had been formed against the Turks, she had attained her end with very little trouble, since the orders sent to Don John in themselves involved the breaking up of the league. The legate was told in reply that the suspicions against France were only too well founded, and that Philip II. had had to act at once so as not to be taken by surprise.[1]

Gregory XIII. and Cardinals Morone, Galli, Cesi and Aldobrandini, whom he had called into consultation, had proposed at the end of June that at any rate a part of the Spanish fleet should be placed at the disposal of the allies against the bold Uludsch Ali, who was commanding the Turkish fleet, because otherwise there was reason to fear that Venice would conclude a separate treaty with Turkey.[2] Don John also realized this danger. His position was as delicate as it could be. He was eager for glory, he realized the justice of the demands of the Pope and the Venetians for the observance of the treaty of the league, yet in spite of this his hands were absolutely tied by the orders of Philip II. and the counsellors whom the king had associated with him. "The Pope," he wrote to the Duke of Terranueva, "is breathing fire and flames, and Venice is making lamentations enough to melt a stone."[3]

On July 7th, 1572, Colonna had left Messina with the allied fleet consisting of 56 galleys, thirteen of which belonged to the

374 *seq.* Serrano strongly defends, against the view hitherto held, the conduct of Philip II., whom he excuses on the ground of his fears of France and the Protestants (*cf. Rev. hist.*, CXXXVI. [1921], 100); he strongly supports, here as well as in the introduction to his "Correspondencia," the Spanish point of view.

[1] See SERRANO, Liga, I., 378 *seq.*

[2] See MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 390 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, I., 345 *seq.*

[3] See ROSELL, 230; HAVEMANN, Don Juan, 153.

Pope, while on the same day Don John had gone off in anger with the Spanish fleet towards Algiers. Colonna thought that, with the 70 galleys of Foscarini, which had reached Corfù in the middle of July, he could successfully attack the Turkish forces, though they were superior in numbers, deeming that his own ships were superior in quality and armament.[1] In the meantime, on July 4th, 1572, Philip II. revoked his original orders, and allowed Don John to rejoin the allied fleet.[2] Colonna, as well as Foscarini, did not allow themselves to be kept back by this from their advance against the enemy. Uludsch Ali avoided a decisive engagement. When Colonna returned to Corfù on September 1st, 1572, he found Don John there with 53 galleys and 13,000 men. Don John, who had reached Corfù on August 10th, took offence as generalissimo at the arbitrary action of the allies, so that there was a heated dispute between him and Colonna. The old rivalry between Spain and Venice then broke out again with renewed bitterness. At length the united fleet set sail on September 7th, but without accomplishing anything of importance.[3] When the advancing season of the year made any further operations impossible, they separated with mutual recriminations. Don John got back once more to Messina on October 25th, 1572, while a short time afterwards Colonna brought back the Papal forces to Civitavecchia.[4]

[1] See MANFRONI, Marina, 512; SERRANO, Liga, II., 18.

[2] This hitherto unknown letter of Philip II. has also been discovered by SERRANO (Liga, I., 363).

[3] MANFRONI, Lega, XVI., 427 *seq.*, XVII., 23 *seq.*, and MARINA, 513 *seq.* *Cf.* aso MANFRONI, Don Giovanni d'Austria e Giacomo Contarini, Città di Castello, 1903, in which he withdraws his previous opinion. The events of that time, says a critic (*Riv. Stor.*, 1905, 227) are not yet quite clear. Recently SERRANO (Liga, vol. II.) has given a full account, in which he brings out some hitherto unnoticed points, which tell in favour of his fellow-countrymen.

[4] The earlier accounts of Manfroni and Guglielmotti, upon which BALAN (VI., 578 *seq.*) relies, are substantially added to by the learned account of Serrano, who eloquently and heatedly puts forward the Spanish point of view (Liga, vol. II.).

The grief of Gregory XIII. at the unhappy issue of the expedition[1] was all the greater in that for his part he had done all that was in his power to counteract the sterility of the league. To this end he had above all made every effort to put an end to the jealousy between Madrid and Venice, and to prevent any attack on Spain on the part of France. This was one of the principal tasks entrusted by him to Antonio Maria Salviati, who had been appointed nuncio in Paris on June 11th, 1572. Like Ormaneto, who had been appointed nuncio in Madrid in the place of Castagna, on July 1st, 1572, and Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, the representative of Gregory XIII. at Venice, Salviati had been in the service of Pius V. By the employment of these men the new Pope showed how much he had at heart the welfare of Christendom.[2]

Salviati's instructions spoke of the adherence to the league on the part of France which Pius V. had already tried to secure. If this attempt had been successful, not only would there have been an important strengthening of the league, but Turkey would have been deprived of a strong moral support.[3] However, it was obvious that such an adherence could not be brought about. In the existing state of affairs, Gregory XIII. would have to be satisfied if the French government could be held back from supporting the insurrection in the Netherlands, for otherwise war between France and Spain, and therefore a complete abandonment of the league on the part of Philip II., would have been inevitable. In the opinion of Salviati[4] such an intervention by France, to which Charles IX. was strongly inclined, would have actually occurred, if at the last moment an unexpected event had not taken place; this was the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At the same time a fresh attempt to win over France to the league was made by

[1] See the brief to Don John, October 27, 1572, in THEINER, I., 77 *seq.*

[2] See in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 276.

[4] See in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

means of the mission of Cardinal Orsini. The same end was also aimed at in the project put forward by the nuncio in Turin for a matrimonial alliance between the courts of France and Spain, which, however, fell through owing to the opposition of Philip II. The mission of Orsini was entirely without result.[1] At the same time the Pope's plan of directing the united forces of France and Spain against Queen Elizabeth of England was frustrated.[2]

Equally unsuccessful were the efforts made by the Pope to induce the Emperor Maximilian II. to join the league.[3] The Archbishop of Lanciano, Niccolò Marini, who was sent to Spain at the end of November, 1572, to assist Ormaneto, and who was followed almost at once by Marcantonio Colonna,[4] was instructed to secure an auxiliary Portuguese fleet which had been promised in the preceding year, but it was brought home to him at Evora that this was not possible, as Portugal had need of her ships for her own defence against the corsairs from the west of Africa, and for the protection of her overseas possessions.[5]

Thus the final result of all the Pope's diplomatic activity, great though it was, was negative. In the end, as before, Gregory XIII. saw no other hopes except Venice and Spain. The declarations of Philip II. seemed to justify the highest hopes; the king was willing to increase the number of his ships, and to give up every private enterprise, such as that against Algiers. All the more disgraceful then seemed the attitude of Venice, whose representatives were opposed to any increase of the ships to be contributed by the republic.[6] Even more serious was the ever-growing rumour that Venice was

[1] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 277 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Arco, Rome, November 1, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See SCHWARZ, Gutachten, VII. *seq.*; TÖRNE, 140 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, II., 282 *seq.*

[4] For both missions see HINOJOSA, 259 *seq.*; SERRANO, Liga, II., 253 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*

[5] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 259 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 209 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*

negotiating a separate peace with Turkey through the mediation of France.[1] Gregory found it difficult to believe in such an act of treachery, and, as was announced in Rome in November, 1572, had granted to the republic for the duration of the war the right to sell ecclesiastical property to the amount of 100,000 scudi.[2] The Venetian ambassador, as well as the Doge himself, absolutely denied the negotiations with the Turks to the nuncio, who was growing more anxious every day.[3] Since the rumour persisted, Gregory XIII. thought it opportune, through the nuncio Salviati, to call the attention of the French government to the shameful effects of their mediation between the Porte and Venice.[4] The bull *In coena Domini*, which was published on March 19th, 1573, contained a special decree against all those who busied themselves with undermining the league against the Turks.[5]

Grave suspicions as to the intentions of Venice had emerged during the conferences which were held in Rome at the beginning of 1573 to discuss the campaign which was to be launched against the Turks. At these Spain was represented by Cardinal Pacheco and Zuñiga, and Venice by Paolo Tiepolo. By the command of the Pope, Cardinals Morone, Galli, Mark Sittich, Chiesa, Cesi, Aldobrandini and Guastavillani also took part. During the negotiations the intention of Venice to avoid a decision as far as possible was obvious, yet in order to arrive at a conclusion it was very necessary to take into account the demands of the representative of the Republic of St. Mark.[6]

[1] *Ibid.* 219 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Arco, November 1, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and Libri commem. di Venezia, VI., Venice, 1903, 330 *seq.*

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 236, 305 *seq.* The report of the nuncio cited in the first place has the date: Venice, January 17, 1573, which is lacking in SERRANO. Nunziat. di Venezia, XII., 217, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* in App. n. 31 the *notes of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives Rome.

[5] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 249.

[6] See *ibid.*

The principal decisions of the conference, which was finally brought to an end on February 27th, 1573, arranged that the Papal and Spanish fleets should assemble at Messina before the end of March, and should then join the Venetian fleet at Corfù, after which they were to attempt to strike a blow against the Turks in the east. The total number of the galleys was to be if possible as many as 300; at the lowest, Spain and Venice were to contribute 130 each, and the Pope eighteen.[1]

The preparations for carrying out this undertaking were begun at once.[2] Don John was on the point of setting out for Corfù; the suspicions against Venice seemed to be contradicted by the fact that the Republic of St. Mark was preparing in Sicily the munitions for a campaign of seven months,[3] when all of a sudden terrible tidings were spread through the country which destroyed all hopes of common action against the enemy of Christendom.

Quite secretly, on March 7th, 1573, the Venetian Bailo, Marcantonio Barbaro, and the grand vizier, agreed at Constantinople upon a separate peace between the Republic of St. Mark and the Porte. Almost at the same moment the Venetian ambassador in Rome had pressed, at a meeting of the Cardinals, for definite action against the Turks in the Levant![4] In order to stir up the Spaniards Gregory XIII. had sent urgent briefs on March 27th, 1573, to Don John and Gian Andrea Doria.[5] It was in the midst of all these preparations

[1] *Ibid.* 407 *seq.*, where the full text of the agreement is to be found.

[2] In Rome even before the agreement was signed; see the *report of C. Capilupi, February 7 and 22, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the letter of Cardinal Truchsess of February 21, in Steichele, Zur Geschichte des Bistums Augsburg, II. (1852), 96.

[3] See Serrano, Liga, II., 285.

[4] See Yriarte, Vie d'un patricien, 211, 213, 215; Törne 143; Jorga, III., 156. The nuncio in Venice was only informed of the conclusion of the peace on April 4; see Guglielmotti, Colonna, 428 *seq.*; Theiner, I., 405 *seq.*; Valensise, 177 *seq.*

[5] See Theiner, I., 197 *seq.*; *cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 21, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

for the great undertaking[1] that there came the news of the pact which put an end to it. And how pitiful were the conditions of that pact! By it the Republic of St. Mark sacrificed its conquests on the coasts of Albania, bound itself to pay within three years 300,000 ducats as a war indemnity, and abandoned the island of Cyprus. It was just as though "the Turk had won the battle of Lepanto!"[2]

It was upon the shoulders of Paolo Tiepolo that the burden fell of informing the Pope of the conclusion of the peace which broke up the league. In the afternoon of April 6th, 1573, Tiepolo repaired to Frascati, where the Pope was staying for a few days at the villa of Cardinal Mark Sittich. The ambassador was admitted immediately. He had hardly begun to speak when the Pope realized the purpose of his visit. Apparently sunk in deep thought, he listened to the ambassador, and then interrupted him so frequently, that he had great difficulty in coming to an end. When he said that the peace had been concluded by the Bailo, the Pope bade him go. Tiepolo made one more attempt to justify the action of his government, but the Pope got up from his seat and went to the window, turning his back on the ambassador. When the latter again begged him to listen to him, the Pope turned and once more bade him go; he would hear the rest in Rome, but the ambassador must remember that Venice had fallen under excommunication.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Capilupi of March 7 and April 4, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the letter of Galli to the nuncio in Spain, April 7, 1573, in SERRANO, Liga, II., 413.

[2] See CHARRIÈRE, III., 361 n.

[3] See the report of Tiepolo in TÖRNE, 253 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter of C. Capilupi, April 7, 1573, and the *report of Odescalchi of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which refutes the imaginary embellishments of the scene in HÜBNER, I., 141, rightly disputed by C. ROBINSON (Nicolò Ormaneto, London, 1920, 75 n. 1). Gondola too, in his report of April 8, 1573 (*Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCVIII., 636 *seq.*) says nothing about the Pope having followed the flying ambassador through the apartments. This detail probably came from a misinterpretation of a passage in GRATIANUS, De bello, 326.

Tiepolo had hardly gone when the Pope ordered an immediate start for Rome; he made the journey in silence. On his arrival at the Vatican, he asked first to see Marcantonio Colonna, but the latter was at Paliano. When he arrived on the following day, the Pope immediately summoned the Congregation of the League.[1] This resolved upon the disbanding of all the troops gathered for the war against the Turks, with the exception of the garrisons of the strategic points in the States of the Church, the disbanding of the galleys placed at their disposal by Cosmo I., and the annulment of *all* the concessions which had been made to Venice in support of the expenses of the undertaking of the league.[2] In the evening couriers were sent in all haste to Spain, France and the Emperor.[3] The nuncios were sent a letter declaring that the Pope's sorrow on account of the defection of Venice from the league was greater than if he had lost the whole of the States of the Church.[4]

On April 8th all the Cardinals were summoned to a consistory, an altogether extraordinary proceeding; the decree of excommunication against Venice was expected.[5] It could be seen from the Pope's look what serious thoughts filled his mind. On this occasion, as was his wont, he adhered to his custom of receiving each Cardinal in audience before the consistory; Cardinal Cornaro, who took the opportunity of trying to excuse his country, was clearly given to understand how offended and disappointed he had been with Venice.[6]

[1] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 7, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Cusano of April 11, 1573, who says that the Venetians had drawn three to four millions from the Papal concessions. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. Bessarione*, A. III. vol. 5 (1898-9), 252.

[3] See the *letter of Odescalchi, April 7, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the letter of Galli to Fachinetti, April 7, 1573, in Törne, 256; the reply of the nuncio in Theiner, I., 406 *seq*; Valensise, 181 *seq*.

[5] See P. Tiepolo, 236.

[6] See the *report of C. Capilupi, April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

In the Pope's speech to the Cardinals he expressed his sorrow at the desertion of the league on the part of Venice, which had occurred quite unexpectedly during the gathering of the armaments for a fresh campaign against the Turks, and which destroyed all hopes of being saved from them. "You have learned," he began, "what, to our greatest sorrow, the Venetians have done; how they have acted against the decisions of the holy alliance; against their promises and against their oath they have concluded a shameful peace with the tyrants of Turkey, to the harm of the Holy See, of Spain, of themselves and the whole of Christendom. Since we were afraid of this, we have often warned their ambassador, who, however, repeatedly assured us that the Venetians would hold firmly to the league." Gregory then went on to point out the fact that the desertion of Venice had taken place at the very moment when the Christians were making every possible preparation for the campaign, and when the enemy was not yet completely prepared, and was, moreover, threatened by Persia. Lastly the Pope lamented the conditions of the peace, which could not have been less favourable had the Republic of Venice been defeated and abandoned by all. They had reason to fear the punishments of God, and lest the Turks also should punish the treachery of Venice to her allies, and seek the utter destruction of the republic. Overcome by grief, the Pope ended with the words: "Let us pray the Lord to turn away His anger from us, and to have mercy upon His Church."[1]

All Rome shared the just indignation of the Pope. Venice has become hateful, even to the children, says the Mantuan ambassador.[2] The indignation was so great that Paolo Tiepolo

[1] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 126 *seq.*, and the *report of C. Capilupi, April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *letter of Cusano, April 11, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi, April 15, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Odescalchi wrote on April 7: *"Non posteria credere V.E. quanto questo negotio della pace de Venetiani habia dato alteratione alla corte di Roma et quanto odio et murmurationi habbia concitato contro detti Venetiani." *Ibid.*

did not dare to leave the palace of S. Marco for several days, and at first all the Cardinals, with the exception of Cornaro, avoided him like one who was excommunicated.[1]

The Republic of St. Mark also found public opinion against her in other parts of Italy. The higher had been the hopes which had everywhere been built upon the victory of Lepanto, the more bitter was the disappointment. This state of mind explains the book by the Genoese Folieta "Of the greatness of the Turks" which recommends an agreement with the Ottoman power, since any alliance among the Christians to combat it had been shown to be impossible.[2] Outside Italy, the conduct of Venice was judged with the greatest severity, and employed against her.[3] News from Vienna declared that the resentment felt there was in no way less than that in Rome.[4] It was realized in Venice that something would have to be done to defend herself, and to back up the excuses of the Venetian diplomatists various works appeared with this object in view.[5] One of these apologists, Francesco Longo, brazenly

[1] P. Tiepolo, 226, 237. *Report of C. Capilupi of April 15, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Gratianus, De bello, 327; Serrano, Liga, II., 291.

[2] *Cf.* Herre in the *Deutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1906, 359.

[3] See the report of Zuñiga in Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 79 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*

[4] See Venez. Depeschen, III., 523 *seq.* *Cf.* the reports of the nunciature in Serrano, Liga II., 314, n. 2, and 325 *seq.*

[5] For the apology of A. Valiero see Foscarini, Lett. Venez., 293. The work of Longo was published in *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. IV., n. 17. For the *letter of justification addressed to the Holy See in Vat. 5299, p. 1 *seq.*, and the *reply on the part of Spain, in the same, Gottlob had called attention in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 396. Molmenti treats of the "Difesa" of Cesare Simonetti: Un giudizio intorno a Venezia, Venice, 1898. See also Barb. LVI., 24, *Difesa dei veneziani biasimati dalla maggior parte delle genti d'Italia per aver fatto pace col turco nel 1573, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Cod. Ital. 6, pp. 160 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, 265 *seq*, State Library, Munich. Cod. 5627, p. 1 *seq.*, 6003, p. 72 *seq.*, 6335, p. 406 *seq.*, 6750, p. 431 *seq.* of the Palatine

maintained that the carrying on of the war would have been an evil, and that the conclusion of the peace ought not to be blamed but praised.[1]

How little justification there was for such a view was proved by the dangerous position in which Venice found herself after the conclusion of the peace. The treaty had hardly been signed when the Signoria, to its great dismay, was flooded with tidings of the vast preparations being made by the Turks for the coming spring.[2]

The Republic of St. Mark had not only destroyed her reputation as a great maritime power in the eyes of the Turks, but also in those of the whole of Christendom. The secretary of the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, Costantino Garzoni, says openly in one of his reports in 1573[3] that it was now abundantly manifest to the Porte that there was no longer any reason to fear united action on the part of the discordant Christian powers, and that the Turks considered themselves strong enough to resist in every way any of the powers, and hoped to be successful in so doing. Even though the Venetians might in the future succeed in obtaining from Turkey an advantageous and long enduring peace for their

Library, Vienna, and Cod. 940, n. 3, 1100, n. 13, of the State Archives, Vienna. Hortensi Tyriacensis had one of these treatises copied for Duke William V. of Bavaria; see his *report, dated Rome, January 15, 1575, State Archives, Munich. Lately SERRANO has published (Liga, II., 422 *seq.*) from Cod. 1020, Urb., p. 115 *seq.*, the "Discorso a favore della Republica Veneta sopra la pace fatta col turco nel 1573," which he goes on to submit to a severe criticism (Liga, II., 319 *seq.*). The "discorso" in Cod. H. 331, Celsius, of the Upsala Library is dated: Venetia, 1573, ottobre 4.

[1] LONGO, 55 *seq.*, 58. SERRANO (II., 318, n. 1) speaks severely of Longo and the Italian historians who followed him. Serrano sums up his own opinion as follows: "La sagrada Liga se deshizo en virtud del agotamiento de Venecia, por incompatibilidad de intereses entre los coligados, per egoismo de los Venecianos, por falta de delicada solicitud y empeño en los españoles." (II., 344).

[2] See ZINKEISEN, III., 435 *seq.*

[3] See ALBÈRI, III., 1, 436.

commerce, their political importance at Constantinople had fallen so low that the little respect which was still shown to them was almost an insult.[1]

In playing the traitor to the league founded by Pius V., and breaking up the alliance, Venice had also inflicted grievous injury on the Holy See. The Pope, said Garzoni in 1573, is no longer held in the least consideration among the Turks; before the beginning of the last war even in Constantinople the opinion was prevalent that the Holy See would be successful in forming an alliance of the Christian princes against the Porte, but nobody now believes in this, since the contrary has been shown to be the case, both as regards the league, and by the recent peace.[2]

The indignation against Venice publicly expressed by Gregory XIII. was altogether justifiable.[3] The Pope felt himself all the more seriously injured in that he had now reason to fear for his own territories, and had to take immediate steps for the safeguarding of the coasts of the States of the Church.[5] It was in vain that Tiepolo tried to justify his government to the Curia; he was at first refused an audience

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 413.

[2] See ALBÈRI, III., 1, 436. Also *ibid.* 332, M. Ant. Barbaro. Giacomo Soranzo said (III., 2, 202) in 1576: "I turchi non temono il papa, la cui potenza terrena apparisce debole, egli puo al massimo incitare a parole ad una lega, da l'esito ha dimostrato che tali alleanze non possono venir attuate coll'esortazione di altri, ma solo per la forza di interessi di Stato."

[3] *Cf.* besides the *instructions to the nuncio in Venice of April 7 and 8, 1573 (Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Aless. de' Medici of April 10, 1573, State Archives, Florence, the briefs of April 12 and 13, 1573, in THEINER, I., 198 *seq.*, and Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 472. *Cf.* CATENA, Lettere, 313, and the *report of Zuñiga of April 12, 1573, in Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 91 *seq.*

[4] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 11, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How necessary such steps were was shown by what happened in February, 1573, near Noto. *Cf.* SALOMONE MARINO, Una scena di pirateria in Sicilia, in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XXII. (1897).

with the Pope.[1] In Venice they were afraid of the extreme step being taken by the infliction of the censure of the Church, a thing that can easily be understood. That Gregory did not allow himself to be driven to such an act is a proof of his statesmanlike qualities. However bitterly he had felt the blow,[2] which destroyed all his hopes and efforts, he knew how to master his just indignation. Cardinal Galli made great efforts to appease the Pope's anger,[3] and as time went on he became more calm. Tiepolo did all that was in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Pope and the Signoria, and visited all the Cardinals; Morone, who at first had been highly indignant, allowed himself to be appeased; later on he threw all the weight of his influence into the cause of reconciliation.[4]

At the end of April, 1573, it was said that Venice was about to send a special and solemn embassy to Rome, headed by Niccolò da Ponte. As the latter was looked upon as the principal author of the peace, the Imperial agent, Cusano, was of opinion that the Pope "ad eterno ricordo" would make him a sharp reply.[5] This opinion, however, was in its turn, to prove false. Zuñiga, who feared an alliance between Venice and Turkey, thought of a middle course which, without humiliating Venice too much, would satisfy the Pope: a *private* audience was granted to Tiepolo and da Ponte, at which they explained and excused the conduct of their government; the Pope asked for a written copy of these explanations, so that they might be examined by a commission to be appointed by him; the envoys then had to listen to a severe reprimand, but were then dismissed kindly.[6] The skill and

[1] *Cf.* SERRANO, Liga, II., 327.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi of April 18, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Venez. Depeschen, III., 524.

[3] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 416.

[4] See P. TIEPOLO, 226. GRATIANUS, De bello, 328 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, III., 435. *Cf.* the *report of C. Capilupi of April 24, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the *report of Cusano of April 25, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See SERRANO, Liga, II., 331.

eloquence of da Ponte, however, though he was venerable by reason of his 82 years, were not successful in obtaining a fresh concession of the ecclesiastical tithes, of which the Republic of St. Mark had been deprived,[1] though he was able to lay the foundations for a better understanding between Rome and Venice.[2] The prudent and skilful Tiepolo was able to build upon these foundations. Naturally the Pope could not altogether forget the disappointment and the injury which he had undergone, yet Paolo Tiepolo was able once more to recover the Pope's favour,[3] and in course of time, in some instances, to attain his end.[4]

One of the means which Tiepolo used with advantage was to call attention to the community of interests between Rome and Venice. His successor, Antonio Tiepolo, worked upon the same lines even more strongly. He was for ever harping upon the former agreement between the Holy See and the republic of the lagoons. He described this as the most secure defence which the Church had in earthly affairs ; if the present Pope often showed himself difficult in dealing with political questions, this was the result of his personal character.[5]

[1] " Ieri " wrote Galli on June 13, 1573, to the nuncio in Venice : " è partito Ponte mal contento per non haver ottenuto da S.B. la restitutione del sussidio de le decime." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* P. Tiepolo 237 ; Gratianus, De bello, 329 *seq.* ; Colecc. de docum. inéd., CII., 136.

[3] See the *report of 1574 (Corsini Library, Rome), in App. n. 9.

[4] P. Tiepolo (237 *seq.*) enumerates in this connexion in 1576 ; (1) the appointment of a coadjutor for Aquileia ; (2) the exchange of prisoners with the Turks (*cf.* as to this matter, in which Gregory XIII., who was guided solely by humanitarian motives, met with the opposition of Spain, the article by Rosi in *Arch. della Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 155 *seq.*) ; (3) the approval of the subsidy from the Venetian clergy, which came annually to 70,000 gold scudi. Tiepolo (238 *seq.*) speaks of the discontent caused by " la cosa della cappella." For the good relations in 1576 *cf.* also Maffei, I., 255 *seq.*

[5] See A. Tiepolo, 263 *seq.*

Since even in Rome the Venetians were treated with great consideration,[1] mutual relations remained fairly satisfactory,[2] and there would have been a wonderful change for the better if Venice had listened to the renewed pressure of the Pope to bring about a fresh declaration of war against Turkey.

All Gregory XIII.'s thoughts, now as before, were directed

[1] *Cf.* the instructions of Galli in GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 539 *seq.* *Cf.* also the remarks of the nuncio in Venice (November 1578) in State Papers, Venice, VII., London, 1890, 589.

[2] In the year 1583 Venice was again given a Venetian Cardinal —after 19 years! There were undoubtedly disputes, which explain certain erroneous opinions in the Venetian reports. Specially acute was the question of Aquileia, which was concerned with the fief of Tageto in the territory of S. Vito. Gregory XIII. strongly upheld the claims of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Giovanni Grimani, but was nevertheless not successful, although he repeatedly threatened excommunication. We have information as to this dispute in which Gregory, as a strict jurist, took the greatest interest (see *Avviso di Roma of September 5, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 374 Vatican Library) in LE BRET, Geschichte von Venedig, III., 1437 *seq.*, IV., 26 *seqq.*, though this is in no way objective. *Cf.* also as to this matter the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI.-XXIII., Papal Secret Archives; L. PRIULI, Relazione, in Albèri, II., 4, 297 *seqq.*; Lettres de P. de Foix, 72 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 549, 569 *seq.*, 592 *seq.*; MUTINELLI, I., 150 *seq.*, II., 139 *seq.*; Lettres du card. d'Ossat, I., 2, 6, 10, 14 *seq.*, 18, 21; the *reports of Serguidi of September 14, 16 and 22, 1581, State Archives, Florence. See also the *brief of May 27, 1581, State Archives, Venice; the *report of Sporeno of October 14, 1581, Vice-regal Archives, Innsbruck; the *reports of Cesare Strozzi from Rome, January 13 and 27, February 3, 10 and 17, March 3 and 24, May 19, June 16, July 14, August 11 and 27, 1582; the *reports of Odescalchi of September 8 and 22, 1584, and of *Capilupi of January 19, February 16 and 23, April 6, 1585, all in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gregory was also called upon to defend the liberties of the Church against Duke Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy: see THEINER, I., 354 *seq.*, *cf.* the *istruzioni per il vescovo di Mondovì, nunzio per Savoia, dated Rome, September 24, 1580, Barb. 5744, p. 91 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

to that end. Nothing shows better the tenacity of his policy, than his having remained faithful to the idea of an alliance of the Christian princes against their hereditary enemy, in spite of the terrible disappointment which he had experienced in the defection of Venice from the league. At once he formed the idea of a new alliance between the Holy See, Spain and the Emperor, which was to be sincere and lasting, while any understanding between one of these powers and the enemy of the faith was unthinkable. The Pope was willing to supply 30 galleys if Spain would engage to provide 170 of her own.[1] As early as April 12th, 1573, a new plan for such a league was ready; the army of the Emperor, reinforced by the troops of Spain and the Pope, was to deliver a first attack on the Turks from Hungary, while the galleys of Phillip II. and Gregory XIII. were to remain on the defensive. It did not prove possible, however, to win over to this project either the Emperor or Philip II., who was fully occupied with events in the Netherlands. Nevertheless Ormaneto, the nuncio in Madrid, was warned not to let the plan be entirely lost sight of.[2]

In the meantime Gregory, by providing galleys and troops, assisted in the capture of Tunis, of which Don John took possession on October 1573.[3] The establishment of a Christian kingdom in the north of Africa seemed to be at hand, the crown of which was to be conferred on Don John. Gregory XIII. was very favourably disposed towards this plan, but Philip II. rejected it; his attention was rather directed to the safeguarding of his Italian possessions, which were threatened by the disputes which had broken out in Genoa between the new and the old aristocracies. Gregory left no stone unturned

[1] See Rosell, 249.

[2] See Törne, 149 *seq.*; Serrano, Liga, II., 329 *seq.*

[3] See Theiner, I., 199 *seq.* Sereno, 334 *seq.*, 339 *seq.* Albèri, I., 6, 471 *seq.*, Hammer, II., 427. Charrière, III., 440 *seqq.* The arrival of Don John at Civitavecchia is announced in an *Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 270, Vatican Library. The news of the capture of Tunis was communicated by Gregory XIII. to the Cardinals on October 26, 1573. Santori, Diario concist., XXIV., 212.

as far as he was concerned to restore the Genoese to harmony.[1]

When, in the summer of 1574, the Turks set themselves to the recovery of Tunis, Gregory XIII. experienced no little anxiety. He published a special indulgence, and ordered prayers and processions in Rome.[2] Through his nuncio and in an autograph letter he urged Philip to resist the Turkish attack.[3] Great therefore was his sorrow when Spain abandoned Tunis to its fate.[4] Once the Turks had captured the fortress of Goletta, which protected the harbour of Tunis, the Pope feared an attack on Italy and Hungary. He sought to avert this danger with all his might; exhorting Philip II., the Emperor, and the Christian princes to resist the common enemy, though he was very careful not to speak of a league, as this word had become discredited.[5] The religious divisions in Germany and the rising in the Netherlands, however, made the undertaking of any sort of crusade impossible for the time being. Equally fruitless were the attempts of the Pope to induce the Republic of St. Mark again to oppose the Turks. He had already in 1574 laid his plan before that government,[6]

[1] See THEINER; I., 189 *seq.*

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 235, 245, 246, and Giornale di casa Gaetani in SAGGIATORE, III., 195.

[3] See ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 151.

[4] See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 476 *seq.*; SERENO, 348 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 587 *seq.*; JORGA, III., 158 *seq.*; A. RIPA DI MEANA, Gli Italiani in Africa ossia gli assedi della Goletta e del forte di Tunisi nel 1574, Turin, 1865. *Cf.* also the *Memorie in Cod. F. 40 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and *ibid.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, who tells how much Gregory XIII. had at heart the liberation of the Christians who had been taken prisoners by the Turks. *Cf.* as to this, ROSI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 152.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 318, Vatican Library. For Philip II. and the mission of Pacheco see HINOJOSA, 269 *seq.*; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 135. THEINER, I., 300 *seq.* For Germany *cf.* SCHELLHASS, Nuntiaturberichte, IV., xciv. *seq.*, 277 *seq.* See also Venez. Depeschen, III., 547, n. 1.

[6] See the letter of Galli to Facchinetti in ROSI, *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXI., 152, n. 4; *cf.* ZINKEISEN, III., 445. Portugal too was asked to make war against the Turks in October, 1574; see THEINER, I., 314 *seq.*

and had done so again in the following year without any better result; Venice had become definitely fixed in her policy of peace, by which means she thought she could best protect her interests in the east.[1] Under these circumstances Gregory had to content himself with making provision for the defence of the coasts of the States of the Church, and especially with repairing the fortifications of Ancona.[2]

The anxieties of Gregory were increased by the dispute which had broken out between the new and the old aristocracy at Genoa, as a result of which the danger from the Turks had become doubly pressing.[3] At first the Pope thought of going in person to Genoa as a peacemaker;[4] in the end, however, on March 18th, 1575, he resolved to send thither as a legate for peace, Cardinal Morone, the most skilful and experienced diplomatist in the Sacred College.[5] The trouble was increased by the intervention of Philip II., and when he sent his half-brother, Don John, to Lombardy, there was reason to fear lest Genoa should come under the power of Spain. Gregory, who was only too much alive to the pressure that was already

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 446. The renewal of peace between Venice and the Porte took place on August 20, 1575; see DUMONT, I., 219 *seq.* For the anxious labours of Gregory XIII. on behalf of the league see the *report of Cusano, February 19, 1575, State Archives, Vienna; *cf. ibid.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 5, 1575.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of December 18, 1574, March 5 and July 3, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 318, 364, 466, Vatican Library. THEINER, II., 148 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 18 *seq.*

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 182; *cf.* VARESE, Storia di Genova, VI., 107 *seq.*; SCLOPIS, Le card. J. Morone, Paris, 1869, 67 *seq.*; *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akad.* Hist. Kl., XXII., 350 *seq.*

[4] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 256 *seq.* *Report of Aless. de' Medici, March 18, 1575, State Archives, Florence. MAFFEI, I., 183; THEINER, II., 136 *seq.* In his *Memorie Galli describes Morone as "huomo che per prudentia et per l'età maturissima et per l'esperienza di sei altre legationi fatte in diversi tempi e sotto diversi pontefici per la S. Sede fu giudicato esser più a proposito d'ogni altro." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

being brought to bear upon the whole of Italy by Spain, and upon his own political influence, opposed such a thing with all his might.[1] He openly told the Spanish ambassador that his king must not extend his possessions in Italy,[2] but the matter continued to occupy the serious attention of the Pope for a long time to come. He breathed again when, in March, 1576, through his mediation, and that of the Emperor and Spain, an agreement was arrived at which settled the difficulties of the Genoese[3] in such a way as to satisfy Philip II. as well.[4] Gregory was entitled to take the principal credit for this himself.[5]

Morone returned to Rome on April 14th, 1576,[6] and before

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 194 *seq.* To this belongs the *"Dialogo tra il Re di Spagna e il duca d'Alba se sia bene et riuscibile al detto Re d'impadronirsi della città di Genova o almeno farvi una fortezza," Cod. 706 of the Library, Münster i. W. This dialogue Hortensius Tyriacensis sent with the *letter of June 18, 1575, to Duke William V. of Bavaria. State Archives, Munich.

[2] *Report of Hortensius Tyriacensis to Duke William V. of Bavaria, Rome, July 9, 1575, State Archives, Munich. *Cf.* also the *letter of Fr. Gerini of July 8, 1575, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; GRAEVIUS, Thesaurus, I., 2, 1472 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 593 *seq.*; CARINI, 75 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 200 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 153.

[4] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 32; *cf.* 42.

[5] See TIEPOLO, 231. G. Bruno (*Alcune cose degne d'esser notate della f.m. di Gregorio XIII.), rightly brings out, in praising him, the disinterestedness of Gregory XIII. in his attitude towards the events in Genoa, which again occupied his attention in 1577 (see MAFFEI, I., 301 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 340 *seq.*), Boncompagni Archives, Rome. How much Gregory also laboured for the peace of Italy in other ways was shown by his efforts to settle the differences between Tuscany and Lucca (see the *instruttione al vescovo de la Cava per Toscana, dated April 25, 1579, Barb. 5744, p. 49 *seq.*, Vatican Library) and those between Mantua and Venice (see *Instruttione a Camillo Capilupi per Mantova, dated May 14, 1580, *ibid.* 79 *seq.*

[6] SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 103. For the help given by a Jesuit in Genoa see SACCHINI, IV., 78 *seq.* For the mission of Morone see also BELTRAMI, 10, 11.

the end of the month he had already set out upon another legation to the Diet of Ratisbon, where he was also to negotiate for the accession of the Emperor to a league against the Turks.[1] In spite of all his disappointments, the Pope still held firmly to this purpose. He formed renewed hopes when at Ratisbon Maximilian asked the states for help against the Turks to a quite unprecedented degree, while at the same time an embassy from Russia appeared for the purpose of forming a league, to which the Holy See was to belong. Philip II., who had hitherto always given evasive replies, now seemed inclined to change his tone. The opportunity was a good one, because, as a result of the new succession to the throne of Persia, there was reason to expect the outbreak of war between Turkey and that kingdom. The Pope was prepared to give a large subsidy; nothing but the unfavourable attitude of the Czar and the German states, together with the death of the Emperor (October 12th, 1576) and the course of events in the Netherlands, again drove the plan of a league into the background.[2] Gregory spoke of it again when, at the beginning of 1577, news came of extensive preparations on the part of the Turks.[3] It was said at that time that Morone and Sforza would be sent to Spain as envoys to arrange a league against the Turks.[4] This mission, however, fell through, for news had already reached Rome of secret negotiations

[1] Morone set out on April 27; the *letter of Galli to the nuncio in Venice, April 28, 1576, Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 25 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 16.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 229 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 259 *seq.*; RITTER, I., 501 *seq.*; SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 273 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 80 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*, 143 *seq.*, 151, 158. KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., pp. 18, 21. On September 8, 1576, P. Strozzi *reported from Rome that Marcantonio Colonna had gone to Spain "per trattar la lega," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *reports of Odescalchi from Rome, January 26, February 2 and 19, 1577. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *letter of P. Strozzi, Rome, January 26, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

between the Catholic King and the Sultan! The Pope refused to believe this, for on February 18th, 1576, he had once again renewed the profitable *Cruzada* for Philip II.[1] Yet the news became more and more definite.[2]

The relations between the Pope and Philip II. had become strained for other reasons besides this, and the disagreements over questions of ecclesiastical politics which arose here and there in the different parts of the vast Spanish dominions had greatly contributed to bring this about.

At the very beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. there had been a serious conflict of this kind. It is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise; Philip II. clung with extraordinary tenacity to his cesaropapistical system of ruling the Church,[3] although this was quite opposed to that of the Catholic Church. Gregory XIII.[4] defended her principles as strongly as Pius V. had done. Although, as a trained jurist,[5] he grasped very clearly the questions involved in this matter,

[1] See *"Indice de las concessiones que had hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Sussidio y Excusado." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. After this agreement the continuation of the *Excusado* on May 13, 1575, was extended to five years.

[2] See the reports in KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 25 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Corresp. de Granvelle, ed. PIOT, IV., vi.

[4] Galli thus describes the relations with Naples at the death of Pius V. in his *Informatione: Il maggior negotio che si tratti in Napoli et che habbia maggiori difficoltà, è la essecutione delle bolle et degli ordini di Nostro Signore, et di più la conservatione delli confini di Benevento et del territorio suo: di che con tutti li vicerè si è disputato per il passato et tuttavia si disputava di presente col cardinale Granvela, et di questi particulari simili venne una lettera delle corte di Spagna, ottenuta già dal padre generale di San Domenico, hora cardinale Justiniano, et rinovata poi hora per opera del cardinale Alessandrino legato, la qual provede a qualche cosa, ma per la maggior parte domanda informatione; onde si aspettava haverla così da Napoli come da Sicilia. Vi è ancora il negotio delle spoglie, il quale si esseguisce, ancorche con qualche difficoltà, e ne dà poi conto di mano in mano al thesoriere generale. Varia polit. 117, pp. 385b-6,

[5] *Cf.* CORRARO, 279; see also PRIULI in Albèri, II., 4, 304.

he nevertheless always caused them to be examined by a special congregation of Cardinals.[1] This first occurred in the case of the dispute about jurisdiction at Naples in 1573. If there was at that time a feeling in the Sacred College itself that Gregory XIII. had not acted with enough vigour in this matter,[2] such critics were soon to be undeceived. The things that had occurred at Naples were quite intolerable, and the archbishop found himself obliged to pronounce excommunication against the Spanish authorities. Granvelle, who had always looked upon himself as a Spanish official rather than a Cardinal, had tried to force the archbishop to give way by a decree confiscating temporalities, the banishment of the vicar-general, and the arrest of the ecclesiastical judge. For this Gregory XIII. threatened him with the severest penalties. At the same time Ormaneto made strong remonstrances at Madrid. Although after this an agreement was arrived at, the real problem still remained unsolved.[3]

In the autumn of 1573 there arose a similar dispute at Milan, where Charles Borromeo, as archbishop, had to offer strong resistance to the interference of the governor, Luis Requesens, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Requesens retaliated for the excommunication inflicted on him by acts of violence.[4]

[1] The congregation was composed of Cardinals Albani, Pacheco, Sforza and Alciati; see *Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 259, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of C. Capilupi, Rome, March 17, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.*, besides the *reports of Zuñiga, which are naturally biased, in Colecc. di docum. inéd., CII., MAFFEI, I., 93 *seq.*; THEINER, I., 355 *seq.*; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 124, Autobiografia, XII., 354 *seq.*; CARINI, 53 *seq.*; SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., lxiv. *seq.*; *notes of Taverna in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Avviso di Roma of March 14, 1573, and the *report of Cusano of April 18, 1573, both in State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* an *Avviso of March 21, 1573, sent by Bernerio. *Cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 6. See also with regard to the nunciature at Naples, MEISTER in *Hist. Jarhrbuch*, XIV., 78 *seq.*, and N. CAPECE GALEOTA, Nunzii di Napoli, 37 *seq.*

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 95.

Gregory XIII.'s annoyance at all this can easily be understood.[1] He spoke of the occurrence at the consistory of September 7th, 1573, and entrusted the consideration of it to the congregation which had been established to deal with the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was composed of Cardinals Santa Croce, Maffei and Albani, to which Cardinals Bobba, Orsini and Giustiniani were now added.[2] As the strong protests addressed by Ormaneto to Philip had been of little avail, the Pope sent a nuncio extraordinary to Madrid in the person of Annibale Grassi. The latter was instructed to congratulate the king on the birth of an heir to the throne, but at the same time to bring the troubles at Milan to an end. Grassi, who reached Madrid on November 14th, 1573, arranged that, in accordance with a concession already made by Philip to Pius V., two experienced Spanish jurists should be sent to Rome to work there, in association with the theologians of the curia, to bring about a final and radical settlement of the disputes between the ecclesiastical and civil powers in the Italian possessions of the Spanish crown. At Milan the quarrel had become even more bitter under the overbearing Marchese Ayamonte, who had succeeded Requesens.[3]

On June 4th, 1574, Philip II. sent to Rome Pedro de Avila, Marchese de las Navas, and the jurist, Francisco de Vera.[4] When these envoys at length arrived on October 6th, 1574, it was discovered that they were only empowered to deal with the disputes of Naples and Milan, and not with those of Spain, and not even with the problem of the *Monarchia*

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi, Rome, August 22, September 12 and 19, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 208 *seq.*; *cf.* the *report of Zuñiga in Colecc. di docum. inéd., CII., 242 *seq.*, and the *Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 306, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 96.

[4] See Corresp. de Granvelle éd. PIOT, V., 104 *seq.*, where the characteristic instructions of Philip II. to his ambassadors are printed; they were also told to complain of the severe briefs addressed to Granvelle!

Sicula.[1] Gregory XIII. had frequently made complaint of the abuses arising out of the *Monarchia.*[2] Even the ambassador, Zuñiga, was of opinion that this question could not be ignored. He did not conceal from his sovereign that even the disputes at Naples and Milan could not be settled if Philip II. obstinately adhered to the limited and insufficient instructions which he had given to Navas and Vera; the king as well as the Pope must show a conciliatory spirit in this matter, for otherwise the differences would never be settled.[3]

Navas had hardly arrived when he fell sick of fever, and died soon after. Although Ormaneto pressed strongly for the appointment of a successor, the king did not in any way hurry himself, even though the continued outbreak of quarrels made the matter one of pressing importance.[4] In the meantime Philip II. pursued his customary tactics of avoiding any kind of decision. He knew how much the Pope counted upon him in the fight for Catholic interests, and he made the most of this circumstance, so that while, externally, he insisted upon his great attachment to the Church, and gave way on certain points, he obstinately adhered to his policy of keeping control of everything that happened. Relying upon the Spanish influence in the curia and the Sacred College,[5] he steadily worked to increase his revenues by means of ecclesiastical dues, although these already amounted to a million and a half ducats. Zuñiga, his ambassador in Rome, was always asking for further concessions, but the hope of being able to win the Pope over to this, as well as in the matter of the disputes about ecclesiastical policy with the help of the nephews, proved vain. It was fortunate that Zuñiga, unlike

[1] See the reports of Zuñiga in Colecc. di docum. inéd., V., 354 *seq.*, 357 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 212 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* October 6, 1574; *ibid.* 354 *seq.*

[4] See P. Tiepolo, 230; Carini, 71; for the dispute with Pacheco in the consistory on June 4, 1574, see Santori, Diario concist., XXIV., 241 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* in App. n. 9 the *report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

his impetuous French colleague, was a man of quiet, thoughtful and calm disposition, and was able, in spite of all the disputes with his sovereign, to retain the personal favour of the Pope.[1] He exercised a great influence in preventing a breach between Rome and Madrid, though in other ways both Gregory and Philip II. were anxious to avoid any such extremity.[2] Whenever the nuncio was received in audience, the Catholic King never failed to give expression to his filial attachment for the Holy Father, whose feet he kissed, but as soon as the Pope's representative went on to speak of business he could obtain nothing but vague replies. Moreover, for the most part His Majesty did not give audience, so that communication between them was carried on in writing.[3]

The king continued to act in this way, in spite of the fact that ecclesiastical problems in 1576-7, both in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, as well as at Milan, grew worse rather than better.[4] Four whole years elapsed before a successor

[1] *Cf. ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* P. Tiepolo, 223, 230 *seq.*; *cf.* L. Priuli in Albèri, I., 5, 240 *seq.*, *" non dubiti V.S. che il Papa sia per rompersi mai col Re cattolico," wrote P. Strozzi on September 29, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the communication of L. Donato in Albèri, I., 6, 463 *seq.*

[4] Besides the usual quarrels (*cf.* Philippson, Granvella, 103) after the death of Carranza, which occurred on May 2, 1576, there arose a dispute about the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo; see the *report of P. Strozzi, September 29, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1577 there occurred for the first time the claim of Philip II. to the right of nomination to the bishoprics in the Kingdom of Naples, which led to serious disputes; see the *reports of P. Strozzi of January 16 and May 18, 1577, the *letters of Odescalchi of January 19 and June 1, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Maffei, I., 286 *seq.* Out of consideration for the good of souls, the nomination to Catania and Palermo was for this occasion allowed to Philip (*Acta consist. September 11, 1577, Papal Secret Archives), in return for which the king gave way on other questions (see Maffei, I., 288). Affairs at Naples were the worst of all. If the Viceroy at Naples, *Odescalchi gives warning on March 25, 1577, does not give to the new nuncio

was appointed in the place of Navas! In the meantime, on June 17th, 1577, the nuncio at Madrid, Ormaneto, who had so capably filled that difficult office since 1572, died.[1] As his successor Gregory XIII. appointed Filippo Sega, Bishop of Ripatransone, who was in Flanders with Don John. It is clear from the instructions given to Sega that there were at that time pending between Rome and Madrid four grave questions: the first concerned the attempt of Philip II. to limit the powers of the new nuncio at Naples, Lorenzo Campegio; the second, the right of patronage which Philip claimed over the bishoprics of Sicily and Sardinia; the third, the arbitrary seizure of the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, rendered vacant by the death of Carranza, by an auditor nominated by the royal council; the fourth, the use of the great revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo, which, during Carranza's imprisonment, had been administered by the civil authority. Sega was further to carry on negotiations for an expedition against England, and to dissuade the king from concluding an armistice with the Turks.[2]

The new nuncio, who reached Madrid on August 29th, 1577, and was received for the first time in audience at the Escorial on September 5th, met with the greatest difficulties with

Lorenzo Campegio, the "exequatur contra laicos in materia spoliorum" he will be excommunicated and Naples placed under an interdict. See also the *reports of Odescalchi of June 1, 10 and 22, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 289 *seq.*, where there is fuller information as to the disputes begun in 1577 over the case of Calahorra.

[1] See CARINI, 121.

[2] The *instructions dated July 8, 1577, in Cod. J. III., 67, p. 331 *seq.*, and N. II., 42, of the Chigi Library, Rome, and Concilio, 58, p. 88 *seq.*, of the Papal Secret Archives. *Report of Sega, *ibid.* Nunziat. di Spagna, 11, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29. The *instructions for the nuncio in Cod. ottob. 3207-9, Vatican Library. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 223 *seq.* The *report of Sega on his nunciature (Berlin Library, Infor. polit. 28, State Library, Munich, Ital. 133, p. 19 *seq.*) was published by GACHARD in *Compte rendu de la Commission d'hist. de Belgique*, III., 6 (1864), 157-84. *Cf.* KRETZSCHMAR, 194 *seq.*

regard to all these questions; he was successful, however, in securing the appointment, on May 3rd, 1578, of a new plenipotentiary in the place of Navas, who had died in 1574, in the person of Don Alvaro de Borgia, Marchese di Alcañiz; but six more months elapsed before he arrived in Rome![1] It was said that Borgia had the widest powers, but as a matter of fact he had been emphatically warned in his secret instructions not to yield any important right of Spain, and to declare, before beginning any negotiations, that no concession made during their course should be valid until all the contested points had reached a solution. At these negotiations, which were begun in November, 1578, there also took part, on behalf of Spain, Zuñiga, and Doctor Giacomo Riccardi in the place of Francisco de Vera, and on behalf of the Pope, Cardinals Santa Croce, Sforza, Orsini and Maffei, and the prelates, Alessandro Frumento and Pirro Taro; later on, Giannantonio Facchinetti took the place of Frumento.[2]

[1] See SENTIS, 125; *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 362. *Cf.* also G. SAVAGNONE, Contributo alla storia dell'Apost. Legazia in Sicilia, Palermo, 1919, 21. For the right of patronage at Trani see PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 202. HINOJOSA (p. 202) makes Borgia come to Rome in 1580; he was led to this mistake by PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 348. That Borgia was already in Rome in 1578 is expressly stated by Galli in his *Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The exact date of his arrival may be gathered from a *report of Odescalchi of October 25, 1578: "Mercori venne il marchese d'Alcanzes di casa Borgia," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 363 *seq.*, who gives a very good account of the negotiations. *Cf.* also CARUSO, 295 *seq.*; SENTIS, 125 *seq.*; the *reports of Odescalchi from Rome, October 25, November 8, 15, 22, 1578; January 17 and 31, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; the *Avvisi di Roma of November 15, 1578, January 3, 4 and 25, 1579, Urb. 1046, p. 397; 1047, pp. 1, 12, 25, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Acta consist. November 5, 1578: "Deputatio super iurisdic. Hispaniae." Cod. Barb. XXXVI, 5, Vatican Library. The briefs of Gregory XIII. from August to September, 1578, concerning the infringements of jurisdiction in Spanish Burgundy, in THEINER, II., 389 *seq.* Things were no better in this respect later on, see *ibid.* III., 366, 473.

A beginning was made with the disputes about jurisdiction at Milan; they then passed on those at Naples, and then dealt with the most difficult part of all, the sovereign privileges of the *Monarchia Sicula*, and the right of appointment to the Neapolitan bishoprics. The Pope took a very active part in the discussions. Fortunately, all were in agreement concerning the cases in which the bishop could take action against laymen, as well as in allowing the archbishops to have six armed guards. With regard to the *exequatur* at Naples, the *placet* at Milan, and the *Monarchia Sicula*, in virtue of which Philip claimed almost the rights of a head of the Church in Sicily,[1] Cardinals Santa Croce, Orsini and Maffei were in favour of making as great allowances as possible, whereas the Pope would not hear of this increase of the rights of cesaropapalism, because it was directed against ecclesiastical liberty, and against the bull *In coena Domini*.[2]

While these discussions were still being carried on, in the middle of February, 1579, there came news of the conclusion of an armistice between Philip II. and the Turks. Even in 1578 Gregory XIII. had not yet abandoned his plan of a league;[3] and he hoped all the more for success when, at the beginning of 1579, news was received of a victory of the Persians over the Turks.[4] Yet it was just at that moment that the Catholic King consented to an agreement with the

[1] *Cf.* the excellent account of P. DE FOIX, Lettres, 35 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi, February 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the additions made by Gregory XIII. to the bull *In coena Domini* see HINSCHIUS, V., 647.

[3] See A. TIEPOLO 267 *seq*; MAFFEI I., 370 *seq.* Gregory XIII. expended the sum of 40,000 ducats during the year 1577 on the costly defence of the Austrian frontiers against the Turks (see HÜBER, IV., 368); see the *report of Odescalchi of June 22, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of Odescalchi, Rome, January 16 and 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. As to this see ZINKEISEN, III., 571; MAFFEI, II., 43 *seq.* For the negotiations of 1579 which were held with the Polish king, Báthory, on the subject of a war with the Turks see BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 228 *seq.*

hereditary enemy of Christendom! The name of the Pope himself was even said to be mentioned in the deed of agreement.[1] The news turned out to be premature, but it was a fact that Giovanni Marigliano, the agent of Philip II., had again gone to Constantinople on January 13th, 1579. While the negotiations there dragged on for a long time owing to the resistance of the Turkish war party, and the intrigues of France, Gregory XIII. made every possible effort to dissuade Philip II. from his design, which would be so harmful to Christendom. Alessandro Frumento, who was sent to Madrid at the beginning of January, 1579, was instructed to make strong protests; if Philip displayed his weakness in this way there was bound to be a serious reaction among the insurgents in the Netherlands: the Pope, who had entered into relations with the Persians who were fighting the Turks, expected rather that the King of Spain would seize upon the present opportunity of avenging the loss of Tunis. Any agreement with the hereditary enemy of Christendom, so Gregory XIII. wrote in an autograph letter to Philip on February 3rd, 1579, must redound to the loss and shame, not only of the Catholic world, but also of His Majesty himself. At the same time the Pope made it perfectly clear that if the Spanish sovereign abandoned the war against the Turks, there would be no renewal of the subsidy from the ecclesiastical body in Spain, which had been granted for that purpose, and which fell due in 1579.[2]

[1] How great was the indignation of Gregory XIII. is plain from a *report of Odescalchi of February 15, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 274 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 53 *seq.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 100. On March 15, 1579, Odescalchi *reported from Rome that news had come that the Turks were doing badly in the war against the Persians; on March 25 there was news "di una gran rotta del Turco in Armenia" (*cf.* also ZINKEISEN, III., 572 *seq.*), but also of the preparations of Philip II. against Portugal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to an *Avviso di Roma of June 13, 1579, an envoy from Persia to the Pope was at that time expected in Rome. (Urb. 1047, p. 192,

All was in vain. The whole attention of Philip II. was at that moment directed to the conquest of Portugal, where the extinction of the male branch of the ancient royal line was imminent. His purpose of reuniting under his sceptre the whole of the Iberian peninsula, which had been divided for eight centuries, had the effect of causing everything else to fall into the background as far as Philip was concerned, not only the war against the insurgents in the Low Countries and Queen Elizabeth of England, but even resistance to the Turks.

On March 21st, 1580, the Spanish representatives at Constantinople came to an agreement with the Porte for an armistice which was to last until the January in the following year. In the meantime Marigliano was authorized to seek from Spain the necessary powers to enter into further negotiations. At the beginning of 1581 the armistice was renewed for another year.[1] On his way home Marigliano passed through Rome, where Gregory XIII. demanded of him an account of the whole affair, and informed him that he might tell the King of Spain that he left him the tax upon the clergy and ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, which had hitherto been granted on account of the war against the Turks, only upon the condition that the king would pledge himself to direct the whole of his armed forces against the heretical Queen of England.[2]

This abandonment by the Catholic King of the Turkish

Vatican Library). In May, 1579, there was the *" Discorso del S. Giuseppe de Bestiani Malatesta " upon the easiness of striking a blow at the Turks on the occasion of the Persian war ; all the Christian princes ought to avail themselves of this opportunity, was the opinion of the author (Barb. LVI., 129, p. 138 *seq.*, Vatican Library). For the steps taken by the Pope to defend the coasts of Rome (in October, 1579, Turkish corsairs attacked Porto), see the *Avvisi di Roma of August 5, October 7 and 24, November 5, 1579 ; Urb. 1047, pp. 262, 337, 354, 380, Vatican Library.

[1] See ZINKEISEN, III., 500 *seq.*, 507 *seq.*, 510 ; JORGA, III., 160. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 347.

[2] See P. DE FOIX, Lettres, 63, 81. ZINKEISEN, III., 510. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 357.

wars, only nine years after the glorious victory of Lepanto, was a further step along the way of pursuit of private ends, without regard for the general interest.[1] France had led the way with her "insane" alliance with Turkey, and now the separate peace made by Venice 1573 was followed by the armistice made by Spain.

The conquest of Portugal aimed at by Philip II., which was the explanation of this far reaching change of policy on the part of Spain with regard to the east, was a source of anxiety to the Pope, not only because of the general interests of Christianity in the east, but also because of the future of Portugal itself. Sebastian, the sovereign of that kingdom, which was small indeed, but important because of its vast colonial possessions, had, in August, 1574, undertaken an expedition against the Moors of Morocco. Gregory XIII. rewarded King Sebastian, who had always been distinguished for his Catholic principles,[2] with a letter of praise,[3] and with the blessed sword and hat.[4] A second expedition to Africa, undertaken four years later with an immense army, and which Gregory XIII. had subsidized,[5] ended in complete disaster. On August 4th, 1578, the young king, with almost all his army, fell in the bloody battle near Alkassar, in the neighbourhood of Tangiers.[6] He was succeeded by his uncle, the third son

[1] *Cf.* HERRE, Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer, Leipzig, 1910, 92.

[2] See P. TIEPOLO, 231.

[3] See Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 495 *seq.*

[4] G. A. Caligari was charged with conveying this on October 16, 1574; see MACSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS, Le Portugal et le St. Siège, Paris, 1898, 54 *seq.* For the expedition of 1574 see SCHÄFER, III., 380 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 305.

[6] See THEINER, II., 420. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, Hist de la Comp. de Jésus, II., 96 *seq.* SCHÄFER, III., 388 *seq.*; ANTAS, Les faux Don Sebastian, Paris, 1866, 25 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*; see also the *report in the Marciana Library, Venice, VII., Cod. 934. For the funeral ceremonies for Sebastian in Rome see Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives, and the *Avviso di Roma of December 13, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 423, Vatican Library. Galli relates in his

of King Emanuel the Great, Henry, Cardinal Archbishop of Braga, a sick man, and aged 67; with him the male branch of the royal house would come to an end. Among the claimants, the first place was held by Philip II. The Portuguese, who hated the Castilians, refused to hear of a union with Spain, and they planned to get Cardinal Henry married, for which it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the Pope.

Gregory's position in face of the Portuguese crisis was extremely difficult. If he were to give his consent to the pressure of the Portuguese to grant the matrimonial dispensation he would have to reckon on the indignation of many of the faithful, the mockery of the heretics, and the hostility of Philip II. The latter refused to hear of Papal arbitration in connexion with the Portuguese succession and still more of a dispensation. In face of the threatening attitude taken up by the representative of Spain in Rome, Gregory endeavoured to preserve an absolute neutrality and to gain time. If, in August, 1579, he ended by refusing the dispensation, the decisive factor was his love of peace, which led him to do everything in his power to prevent any sort of war in the Iberian peninsula, and the probable outbreak of a European war.[1] He therefore showed his disapproval of the warlike preparations of Philip, whom he exhorted to seek the realization of his desires, not by the violent and always dangerous way of arms, but by an impartial judgment. Although Philip too would very gladly have attained his end by peaceful means, he was absolutely opposed to Papal arbitration.

*Memorie that the sorrow of the Pope for the death of Sebastian was "infinito"; the Pope also busied himself concerning the liberation of the Portuguese prisoners. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See SCHÄFER, III., 490; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 98 *seq.*, 106. For the attitude of Gregory XIII. and his nuncios, Aless. Frumento and Ant. Sauli, *cf.* MAFFEI, I., 366 *seq.*, II., 24 *seq.* Henry had vigorously opposed the mission of Frumento, which greatly displeased the Pope; see the *Avvisi di Roma of October 24 and December 17, 1578, Urb. 1046, pp. 366, 429, Vatican Library.

Gregory, who certainly did not desire any further aggrandizement of Spain, was more disturbed than he could say; if Spain was bent on making war, at least she must not do so with the help of the money of the Church. He therefore definitely refused the King of Spain any further levying of ecclesiastical taxes. Philip II. did not allow himself to be deterred, either by the attitude of the Pope, or by the threatened intervention of France and England. Military complications seemed to be imminent when, on January 31st, 1580, the death of King Henry took place.[1] The King of Spain, contrary to his usual method of procedure, acted swiftly and decisively by the advice of Granvelle, who had been summoned to Madrid at the beginning of 1579, and had there attained very great influence; he at once concentrated his troops on the frontier of Portugal, and summoned the authorities to recognize him as their sovereign.

Gregory was urged from several parts of Portugal to intervene. The governors and the Duchess of Braganza begged him to call upon Philip II. to lay aside his arms; at the same time the Duchess explained to the Pope the futility of the claims of Antonio, Prior of Crato. This claimant also sought the support of the Pope, whom he looked upon as his ally, though otherwise he thought of having recourse to France.[2] As things stood, Gregory was obliged to content himself with striving to maintain his neutrality, and preventing military complications by means of a peace legate. He showed himself quite determined as to this course. Although the greatest efforts had been made by Spain to prevent it, and although the Secretary of State, Galli, raised many objections,[3] on March 23rd, 1580, he sent the impartial and experienced jurist,

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII, 366; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 107, 112 *seq.*, 120. *Cf.* TÖRNE 169 *seqq.*, where there are further details of the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards the claimant to the throne, Antonio, Prior of Crato, who is described as "si non très prudente, du moins logique et indépendante."

[2] See THEINER, III., 201 *seq.*, 696, 697.

[3] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 165.

Cardinal Alessandro Riario, to Portugal as legate.[1] So many unforeseen obstacles were placed in the way of this envoy during the course of his journey, that he was only able to reach Barcelona on June 13th, where he was detained by an attack of gout for another eight days.[2] Philip ordered that great festivities should be held for the reception of Riario in all the cities through which he passed, so that the remainder of the journey was even more delayed. When the legate was received in audience by Philip at Badajoz, he realized that his mission was destined to be fruitless. The King of Spain unconditionally rejected the Pope's arbitration, and hastened to point to the accomplished facts. He was able to oppose so many obstacles to Riario's purpose of going on to Portugal. as to make it necessary for him to abandon all idea of such a journey until the capture of Lisbon.[3] The Spaniards in Rome, exultant in the achievements of their king, adopted a somewhat provocative attitude.[4]

Cardinal Riario had in the meantime received instructions

[1] See *Acta consist., Vatican Library. *Cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 25. At a consistory on March 9, 1580, the Pope had informed the Cardinals of the death of Henry, and had asked them to pray for the peace of Portugal. The discussion as to whether a legate should be sent to Portugal was not, according to the *report of Alessandro de' Medici of March 12, 1580, yet concluded on that date; the same states in his *report of March 24 that the appointment of Riario was quite unexpected, State Archives, Florence. For the instructions for Riario and his legation see HINOJOSA, 279 *seq.*; *cf.* the brief of April 15, 1580, in Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 575.

[2] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 86 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 180; BELTRAMI, 27, 29, 30. According to the *Acta consist. (Vatican Library) Riario received the legatine cross on April 11, 1580. When, on April 27, Gregory ordered a jubilee for the peace of Portugal, he was already on his way; he had started the day before; see *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 97, Vatican Library.

[3] See G. FR. MOROSINI in Albèri, I., 5, 305 *seq.*; HINOJOSA, 287 *seq.*, 294 *seq.* *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 190 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 181 *seq.*

from the curia to keep a watchful eye upon the changed conditions. Apart from doing all he could to put obstacles in the way of Philip's accomplishment of the conquest of Portugal, Gregory still hoped, by showing him favour in various ways,[1] to win the king over in other matters. Riario accordingly discussed with him the quarrels over jurisdiction, the armistice with the Turks and the enterprise against England. Philip made conciliatory replies to all these demands, but did nothing.[2]

By the end of 1580 the submission of Portugal to the Spanish rule was completed.[3] Gregory XIII. had no other course open to him than officially to recognize Philip II. as King of Portugal, and on March 18th, 1581, Gomez da Silva, who had hitherto been Portuguese ambassador in Rome, did homage, with full Spanish pomp, in the name of his new sovereign.[4] It was quickly shown that the great political triumph which Philip had won in Portugal had made him more unbending than ever in questions of ecclesiastical politics.

The negotiations which had been begun in Rome at the end of 1578 had already shown how little good will there was on

[1] For the complete change of policy of Gregory XIII. see especially Törne, 181 *seq.*

[2] It is thus that Maffei (II., 94) describes the result of the negotiations, with the details of which may be compared Philippson, Granvella, 191 *seq.*, 201, and especially Hinojosa, 301 *seq.*, who (304 *seq.*) also speaks of the results obtained by Riario, namely, an agreement on the question of the *spoglie*.

[3] Rebello da Silva, L'invasion et occupation du roy. de Portugal en 1580, Paris, 1864. See also the Diario of E. Lassota von Steblau published by Schottin, Halle, 1868. J. Suarez-Inclan, Guerra de anexión en Portugal durante el reinado de D. Felipe II., 2 vols., Madrid, 1898; Fr. Giovanni Todini, *Relazione dell'impressa di Portogallo nel 1580 (dedicated to Giacomo Boncompagni), Ital. 234, State Library, Munich.

[4] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *report of Odescalchi, March 18, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Montaigne, II., 24 *seq.* The credentials for G. da Silva in Theiner, III., 714 *seq.*, *ibid.* the short brief of congratulation of April 3, 1581, from Gregory XIII. to Philip II.

the part of the king to arrive at a sincere agreement. The Pope's plans for settling the question of jurisdiction in Sicily on the basis of Canon Law, were opposed by the Spaniards with all their might. When, on July 13th, 1579, Philip II. despotically appointed his chaplain, Nicola Stizzia as permanent judge of the *Monarchia Sicula*, he was also making that tribunal a permanency, so that Gregory XIII. made a solemn protest.[1] This act on the part of the King of Spain was all the more irritating to the Pope, because at that very time (July 18th, 1579) he had granted him important ecclesiastical revenues.[2]

Not only had the negotiations concerning the *Monarchia Sicula* thus taken a turn for the worse, but the same thing occurred in November, 1580, in the case of the *exequatur*, so much so that there was reason to fear the complete breakdown of all conciliatory negotiations.[3] The tension between Rome and Madrid[4] became even more acute when Gregory XIII. refused the King of Spain the renewal of the ecclesiastical subsidies which, after the agreement between Philip and Turkey had no longer any raison d'être. The tranquillizing assurances which Spain had given in the matter of her relations with the Porte were contradicted by the news which reached Rome in April 1581 of the extension of the armistice with the Turks.[5] To this was added the outbreak of fresh

[1] See SENTIS, 128 *seq.* *Cf.* SAVAGNONE, *loc. cit.* 21.

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 21.

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi, November 5, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The letter of Philip II. to the Marchese di Alcañiz of April 19, 1580, in which the king exactly explains his attitude, in SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., III., lxv. *seq.*

[4] For a time the post of Spanish ambassador in Rome remained vacant. Abbot Brisegna was in charge of the business; see the *reports of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, July 30 and September 24, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. In a *report of October 7, 1581, *ibid.* Sporeno connects the vacancy in the ambassadorship with the question of Milan. As late as December 16, Brisegna was still looking after affairs by himself.

[5] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 356 *seq.*

and serious political and ecclesiastical questions in Spain, where the royal council had indulged in acts of violence. The nuncio Sega had already found himself in a very difficult position; he had constantly to resist the acts of injustice in ecclesiastical matters on the part of the royal council and the other authorities,[1] but now his position became almost unbearable. Gregory came to his assistance by addressing an outspoken letter to Philip himself on June 26th, 1581. In this he complained that the royal council had resisted the decision of the Rota in the quarrel between the chapter of Calahorra and their bishop, had treated the canons as though they had been guilty of a political offence, and had supported the bishop after he had been suspended and summoned to appear in Rome. The Pope adjured the king to abstain from such unheard-of interference in the administration of ecclesiastical justice.[2]

Philip II. had no idea of giving way. He had already arranged for the breaking off of the negotiations of Borgia, and the latter took his leave of the Pope on July 9th, 1581.[3] As usual all the proper external formalities were duly observed by Spain on this occasion, but this did not alter the fact that an ever increasing tension had arisen between Rome and Madrid. Gregory said at that time that the councillors of Philip had incurred excommunication, and that he wished to see whether, as was the case in all the rest of the world, there was a Pope in Sicily, which, moreover, belonged to the Holy See as a fief.[4]

The Spaniards for their part complained bitterly that

[1] *Cf.* the complaints of Sega in his "Relatione," *supra*, p. 352 *seq.*

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 359 *seq.*, 366.

[3] The departure of Borgia is vaguely dated by SENTIS (p. 129) as: "before the end of 1581." PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 368, rightly places his farewell audience on July 9; but owing to a printer's error, the date of his departure is wrongly given by him as June 17, 1581. See the *reports of Odescalchi of July 15 and 22, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* also the Lettres de P. de Foix, 76, 80 (departure on July 17).

[4] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 367.

Gregory refused to grant a renewal of the taxes derived from the so-called "sussidio" on the clergy of Spain, which were now due, and amounted to 600,000 ducats, that he hesitated to declare the rebels in the Netherlands the enemies of the Church, and that he treated no other power so badly as he did the realm of the Catholic King. Philip II. allowed himself to say to Granvelle: it is only because the Low Countries belong to me that he allows religion there to fall into ruin, in order that I may lose those provinces![1]

In the meantime to the old subjects of disagreement there were added new ones, which also originated in cesaropapalism. Thus, for example, in the summer of 1581, Philip sent a royal commissary to the national council convoked at Toledo by Cardinal Quiroga, although Pius IV. and Pius V. had expressly forbidden it. The royal council at once arrested a notary who had presented a Papal concession of a benefice. Incidents of this kind exhausted the patience even of a man who loved peace as much as Sega. The collector, Mario, however, allowed himself to be led into taking extreme steps, so that Rome had to advise him to act with more circumspection.[2]

Gregory XIII., who still aimed at arriving at an agreement with Philip II. about the affairs of England, instructed Sega in October, 1581, to try and come to an understanding with him. Since this was also the wish of the king, especially on account of the subsidy, an agreement was come to on several points. On November 6th, 1581, the Pope for his part granted a renewal of the *Excusado* for another five years, as well as of a part of the ecclesiastical tithes and of the *Cruzada*.[3]

[1] See the letter of Philip II. in *Docum. del Archivo de Alba*, Madrid, 1891, 284-6.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 371 *seq.*; *cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 161.

[3] See the *"Indice" cited *supra*, p. 347, n. 1, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; *cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 380. Lelio Maretti (*Conclave di Gregorio XIV.) relates as follows how on this occasion there was a quarrel between Galli and Tuscany: Il Granduca allora card. de Medici desiderando sopramodo di haver parte in questo maneggio et parte tale che il Re

Thus there was reason to hope that the new nuncio, Lodovico Taverna, Bishop of Lodi, who reached Madrid in January, 1582, would meet with a cordial welcome.[1]

For the information of Taverna Sega wrote a detailed memorial.[2] In this he first of all describes Philip II.'s method

fosse per conoscer quasi tutta la gratia di mano sua trattò efficacemente con Como pregandolo d' aiuto in questo particolare et sopratutto che si contentasse d' avvisarlo subito ch' li conoscesse Gregorio rivolto a compiacere il Re. Desiderava Medici d' esser il primo a dargliene conto per acquistar appresso a quella Maestà opinione di prudenza, di poter nella corte di Roma con il Papa et d' esser tutto rivolto agli interessi di quella corona. Como largamente promise l'avviso et l'aiuto de'Medici in questo assegnamento, avvisava in Spagna scrivendo in maniera che riuscendo la prattica a voto del Re l'havesse a riconoscere in gran parte dalla diligenza et opera sua ; ma compresa che hebbe Como l'inclinatione del Papa et la risolutione di gratificare il Re senza darne conto al card. de Medici persuase il s. Giacomo Buoncompagno a farsi bello con il Re di questa gratia, il che fece tosto spedendo un corriere in grandissima diligenza a quella M^{tà} della gratia ottenuta da S.S^{tà} et prima hebbe avviso Medici di Spagna del negotio risoluto a gusto del Re che da Como n'havesse havuto alcuna notitia et se bene Como si scusava che come ministro del Papa non poteva palesare ad altri ancorche havesse promesso quello che la S. Sua gli haveva commando che tenesse segreto, non era accettata la scusa sapendosi che il Re non riconobbe da altri che da lui il favor ricevuto da Gregorio come ne fece fede il premio grande et ch' gli ne ricevette di maniera che l'interesse suo et non il commandamento del Papa fu la vera cagione della sua taciturnità con Medici. Cod. I., b. 55, p. 25 *seq.*, Library of the Servites at Innsbruck.

[1] *Cf.* for L. Taverna, ZACCARIA, Laudensium episcoporum series, Milan, 1763, 322 *seq.*, and GARAMPI, Sul valore, 315.

[2] *" Instruttione a Msgr. vesc. di Lodi intorno al carico del Nuntiato di Spagna," dated from Madrid, July 13, 1581, frequently copied in manuscript ; *e.g.* Vatican Library, Barb. LVI., 32 ; Chigi Library, Rome, G. I., 11 ; Corsini Library, 33—E—13, p. 525 (with a false title, by which LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 121, was led astray) ; Library of the Monastery of the SS. Quaranta in Rome ; Cod. Miscell. 8, p. 351 *seq.* GACHARD

of treating public business; his few audiences and the indescribable delay in coming to a decision. While fully recognizing the king's honestly Catholic sentiments, he speaks strongly of his many usurpations in ecclesiastical matters. In contradiction to the common opinion Sega maintains that these abuses were not due to the advisers of Philip but to the king himself. All hesitation at once disappears as soon as the interests of the crown are at stake. Thus the Papal bull about the *Cruzada* was published with great pomp, while the *In coena Domini* could only be published in secret. In addition to all this the civil authorities are supported by the bishops, who are more anxious about possessing the king's favour than paying attention to the Pope.

Sega also speaks about the divergence of views as to foreign policy. The king is now convinced of Gregory's impartiality as to the Portuguese question, and generally sees in his attitude that of a good and disinterested Pope. In the meantime the Spaniards are complaining that the Holy See refuses to recognize the rebels in the Low Countries as the enemies of religion, and also refuses a continuation of the subsidy. Philip's advisers are opposed to any action being taken against England. Sega speaks in terms of just condemnation of those Spaniards who, after having obtained every kind of favour in Rome, become, when in Spain, the bitterest enemies of the Holy See. It is persons of this kind who above all keep alive the flames of discord between the king and the Pope.

If the disputes in politico-ecclesiastical matters did not attain to the pitch they had reached in the time of the Hohenstaufen, this was due, not only to the fact that Philip II. as a sincere Catholic stopped short of extreme measures, but also to the fact that the king as well as the Pope were fully convinced that they had a common enemy in Protestantism. Sega had no doubts on this point. Gregory and Philip, he said, are like two merchants who, in spite of all their

(Bibl. Corsini, 43 *seq.*) wrongly places this deed in 1579. The date is July 31, 1581, and there is no doubt that Sega was the author: see HINOJOSA, 242 n. 1, and TÖRNE, 190, n. 2.

juridical disagreements, will never break off their mutual relations.[1]

Sega did not conceal from his successor how difficult his position was in consequence of the constant violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the Spanish government, nor how heavy the burden of the nunciature was. Taverna soon had an occasion of realizing this for himself. Since he had not brought with him the wished-for authority for the Spanish government to pronounce judgment summarily and finally upon the rebellious Portuguese ecclesiastics, Philip II., on the plea of his immediate return to Madrid, refused him the permission he asked to go to Lisbon, and kept on referring him to Granvelle. The latter showed himself extremely cold in discussing the expedition against Queen Elizabeth of England, or else made use of it to extort from him an approval of the subsidy.[2]

In the same way, in connexion with the disputes about ecclesiastico-political affairs, the settlement of which had been specially laid upon Taverna,[3] he met with the gravest difficulties, since Granvelle on principle always took the part of the royal council. He, as well as the Cardinal of Toledo and the new president of the council, Count Barajas, received, it is true, the complaints of the nuncio very courteously, and sometimes were of the opinion that they were well founded, but always went on to protest that they were powerless to act against the majority of the council.[4]

Thus the beginning of Taverna's nunciature was no less stormy than that of his predecessor, in spite of the fact that Gregory XIII. had made a great concession to the Spanish

[1] Morosini expressed himself in 1581 in the same way as Sega; see ALBÈRI, I., 5, 329. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 168.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 289, 320, 381.

[3] See the *Instruttione al Mons. vescovo di Lodi, Nuntio in Spagna, dated April 30, 1581. Cod. T. 3, 13, p. 22 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome; (*cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 69 *seq.*, and TÖRNE, 188 *seq.*), also in Ottob. 2415, P. 2, p. 266 *seq*, Vatican Library.

[4] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 380, 382.

government when, on March 22nd, 1582, he had granted for another five years the subsidy which had so long been refused.[1]

Gradually, however, there came a change.[2] This coincided with the appointment of Count Olivares as Spanish ambassador in Rome.[3] This extraordinarily able and astute diplomatist, who entered upon his new office in 1582, immediately took a distinguished position. The very pomp with which he made his entry into the Eternal City on June 12th was not without its effect. The generosity of the count won him many friends, and above all he was able to gain great influence with the Pope with whom he once again entered upon better relations.[4] Whereas hitherto the Spaniards had jeered at the plague of bandits in the States of the Church, he at once offered the Pope the use of troops from Naples against them.[5] In the dispute concerning Calahorra Philip yielded to the renewed

[1] See the *"Indice" mentioned *supra*, p. 347, n. 1, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. For the influence exerted by Giacomo Boncompagni and Cardinal Medici in winning the consent of Gregory XIII. see HERRE, 270.

[2] TÖRNE (p. 193) admits that this was the work of Galli, whose Spanish sympathies were notorious. The letter of Galli to Philip II. on January 8, 1582, which he here quotes as proof, is not really sufficient evidence, as, like the other letter of July 4, 1572, it merely contains a few remarks of respect, which prove nothing, as FRIEDENSBURG justly remarks in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CII., 129. He undoubtedly brought his influence to bear in making the Viceroy of Naples adopt a more conciliatory attitude with regard to questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction than his predecessor, as is seen from the *instructions for the Archbishop of Rossano, who was sent to Naples (February 27, 1582, Barb. 5744, p. 221 *seq.*, Vatican Library).

[3] The arrival of Olivares in Rome took place on June 6, 1582; see the *report of Cesare Strozzi, Rome, June 9, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Lettres de P. de Foix, 195 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 290 *seq.* *Cf.* also for Olivares, HERRE, 277 *seq.*; for his entry see also the *Avviso di Roma of June 16, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 207, Vatican Library.

[5] See TÖRNE, 193.

pressure of the Pope, and the bishop who, supported by the Spanish government, had refused to appear in Rome, was obliged to do so by Philip. At first Gregory wished to have him taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, but at the request of Olivares he allowed him to take up his residence in the monastery of S. Pietro in Vincoli. After the collector Mario died in November 1582, an arrangement was made at the end of August by which the collectorship was united to the nunciature. This arrangement was in accordance with a long-standing wish of the Spanish government, but was also in the interest of the Holy See itself. No agreement, however, was come to in many other questions of ecclesiastical politics; Taverna recommended the greatest caution and generosity.[1] This seemed to be especially called for with regard to any action against England.

Yet another reason played its part in this. The old and favourite design of Gregory,[2] which he had never quite given

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 381 *seq.* An end was at last made to the difficulties raised by the Spanish government at Milan against the acts of Charles Borromeo when, in 1582, the Duke of Terranueva became governor in the place of Requesens. The dispute about the right of nomination in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which had been granted to Charles V. by Clement VII. only *ad vitam*, brought it about that in 1582, 1583 and 1584, no nominations took place, see the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. In the quarrel about the *Monarchia Sicula*, Bellarmine intervened in 1583, and pointed out to the Viceroy, Marcantonio Colonna, the reasons why he could not, without injury to his conscience, assume those privileges which his predecessors had taken upon themselves under that name; see BACHELET, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, 131 *seq.*

[2] Very characteristic of this is the *letter from Galli to the nuncio in Venice, December 20, 1578, Nunziat. di Venezia, Papal Secret Archives. Even in 1581, when European conditions were quite unfavourable for a league, Gregory XIII. said to the ambassador of Venice, that he would employ for that purpose all the revenues of the Church; see CORRARO, 281. On March 15, 1582, Cardinal L. Madruzzo was charged to lay before the Diet

up, that of forming a league against the Turks, had again come to the fore. As the armistice with the Porte came to an end in 1583, the possibility of once more winning Philip over to the undertaking of a crusade had presented itself. In the meantime, in October, 1582, Olivares had been instructed to obtain from Gregory the formation of a defensive alliance among the Italian states. Since Crete, which concerned Venice, was to be included in this alliance, it followed that the latter must be aimed at the Turks,[1] The Pope's hope of a decisive war against the Crescent was raised by the news which came in January, 1583, of a great victory over the Turks by the Persians.[2] Under these circumstances Gregory had no hesitation, in spite of the opposition of the Sacred College, in yielding to the desire of Philip, and in granting, on January 24th, 1583, the legation of Portugal to the Cardinal Archduke Albert. The King of Spain showed his gratitude in May, 1583, by clearing the coasts of the States of the Church of pirates by means of his galleys.[3]

at Augsburg the readiness of the Pope for a league against the Turks; see HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 396 *seq.*; *cf.* 447; see BEZOLD in *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., XVII., 351, 378 *seq.* On August 31, 1582, Gregory said to L. Donato that it was not enough merely to defend themselves against the Turks, but that they must be attacked; see PIERLING, Bathry et Possevino, 211-14.

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 298 *seq.* When it was learned that the Italian league was only to be a weapon in the hands of the Spanish monarchy against France, Gregory abandoned it. "Alliances he said, must be formed against the infidels in general, and not against one particular nation, so as under this pretext to keep the French out of Italy. It was the duty of the Holy Father to care for the maintenance of peace, not only in Italy, but throughout Christendom, and for that reason he must remain neutral." See M. ZANE in Albèri, I., 5, 368. *Cf.* BEZOLD, *loc. cit.* 364.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 43; *Cf.* idem, Gregorius XIII. ren Persian politiikasta, in *Helsinki Hist. Aikakanskija*, 1908, 22-27.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 307 *seq.*, 355 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 470 *seq.*;

In June, 1583, Olivares himself brought forward the subject of a league against the Crescent.[1] Gregory had followed with close attention the war between Turkey and Persia which was still going on, and still saw, as he had always done, a natural ally in the Shah of Persia. During the summer of 1583 news reached Venice that the Turks were threatening the Venetian rule in Crete. In order to safeguard this important possession the Signoria resolved to take into its service Latino Orsini. During the course of his conferences with the Pope, the old plan of a great anti-Turkish league again came to the fore. Orsini was instructed to work for this end in Venice; it was the Pope's idea to win over first of all Philip II., then the Emperor Rudolph, who had already been granted 100,000 florins against the Turks,[2] and lastly the warlike King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. In order to preserve the absolutely necessary secrecy Gregory was prepared to go to Bologna in September, where the final arrangements could be made. The Pope's plan at first met with a favourable reception in Venice; but the French ambassador very soon succeeded in reviving the distrust felt by the Signoria of the intentions of Spain. Consequently the reply of the Venetians was a cold one, and the journey to Bologna had to be postponed. The Pope, however, did not abandon his design; above all, he hoped to win over Poland and Spain. On August 17th the nuncio in Poland, Bolognetti, received orders to begin negotiations with Báthory on a wide basis.[3] In Spain, in spite of the

PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 386 *seq.*, 489. How the corsairs continued as before to infest the coasts (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 72) is clear from the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, May 2, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 242 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BEZOLD, *loc. cit.* 362, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* SMOLKA, Project d'une ligue contre les Turcs en 1583, in *Anzeiger der Krakauer Akad.*, 1890, 50 *seqq.*, and BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 288 *seqq.* As to the journey to Bologna, it was said in Rome in October that the Pope wished to go there to settle the question of the water-supply with Ferrara; see *Avviso di Roma of October 22, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 444, Vatican

fact that Taverna had made the most generous offers,[1] nothing had been accomplished, so that at the end of September the previous nuncio Sega was sent as envoy extraordinary to promote the war with Turkey as well as the expedition against England.

Sega, who was instructed at the same time to obtain the efficacious concurrence of Philip in subduing the apostate Gebhard Truchsess, Archbishop of Cologne, set out upon his journey at once, and reached Madrid on October 11th. A great disappointment awaited him. With regard to the affair of Cologne he received a promise that Alessandro Farnese would render assistance there, as far as the state of affairs

Library; *cf.* the *reports of Fr. Sporeno of October 28 and November 5, 1583, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. An *Avviso of October 29 informs us that 120,000 scudi were not sufficient for that journey An *Avviso states on November 2 that Gregory had ordered the streets to be repaired throughout Bologna; all Rome disapproved of the Pope's leaving the city (Urb. 1051, p. 448, 458, Vatican Library). On November 9 the journey seemed to have been given up (*ibid.* p. 468). But on November 23 Gregory XIII. again said that at the beginning of 1584 he would undertake the journey, and that by May 20 at latest he intended to be in his own native place. At the same time it was loudly proclaimed that a defensive alliance with Venice would be concluded there (*ibid.* p. 490). An *Avviso of December 3, 1583, states: "Il Papa non disse altro alli Conservatori di Roma che lo supplicarono à non voler partire di questa città per parte di tutto il suo popolo, solo che era sforzato doppo tant'anni del suo pontificato à visitar' il stato di s. Chiesa promettendo lora il presto suo ritorno, et che intanto de gli ordini et governi, che lasciarà à Romani, staranno molto allegri et sodisfatti" (*ibid.* 503). As the *Avvisi of 1584 state, the Curia was still kept for a long time in anxiety as to the projected journey (Urb. 1052). *Cf.* also Bezold, *loc. cit.* 365, and the *reports of Sporeno of January 8 and 14, February 18, March 3, 10 and 24, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. On September 26, 1584, an *Avviso di Roma announced that the Pope did not wish anyone to speak to him any more about the journey. Urb. 1052, p. 380, Vatican Library.

[1] See Kretzschmar, 98 *seq.*

in the Low Countries permitted. With regard to the alliance wfth Venice against the Turks, nothing but promises for the iuture were held out to him. Philip would not listen to the proposal that he should send a special envoy armed with full powers; with regard to the question of taking action against England, the reply was a decided negative.[1]

In spite of this disastrous turn of affairs, Gregory, in the following year, in his conversations with the ambassadors in Rome, and by means of his nuncios in Madrid and Venice, still insisted upon his plan of a league against the Turks, all the more so as the King of Poland seemed to be in agreement with his design.[2] In February, 1584, ambassadors were sent by the Pope to Persia and Ethiopia.[3] But Venice, whose chief anxiety was the preponderance of Spain,[4] did not show the slightest inclination to renew the league of 1570. It was thought in the city of the lagoons that the sole object of the whole plan was the formation of a defensive league of all the Italian states for the protection of the Spanish possessions in Italy. The Signoria therefore was not willing to give up its existing relations with the Porte. Spain on her part

[1] See the *relazione delli negotii trattati in Spagna da mons. di Piacenza quando fu rimandato al Re da Gregorio XIII. l'a. 1583, often found in manuscript, *e.g.* at Berlin, Royal Library, Mss. Ital. 29, p. 370 *seq.*; Munich, State Library, Ital. 133, p. 96 *seq.*; Rome, Papal Secret Archives, Borghese III., 129 D. *Cf.* the extracts given by GACHARD in the *Compte rendu de la Commiss. Royale d'hist.*, III., 4 (1864); KRETZSCHMAR, 101 *seq.*; 212 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 42; HINOJOSA, 306 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 488, 494, where use has been made of the separate reports of Sega and Taverna. See also the *report of Fr. Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, dated Rome, September 24, 1582, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See SMOLKA, *loc. cit.* 53 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 618; MAFFEI, II., 389. For the report of Giambattista Vecchietti, who was sent to Persia, see *English Hist. Review*, 1892, n. 26, p. 314 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* as to this "Ricordi del doge Niccolò da Ponte" written in 1583, in *Raccolta Veneta, Collez. di Docum.*, I. *ser.*, vol. 1, Venice 1866-67; *cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXV., 211 *seq.*

stirred up Gregory's indignation at this resistance of the Venetian republic. As they were well informed in Madrid as to the mind of the Venetians, Granvelle was able quite safely to declare that his king was ready to enter into any sort of alliance against the infidels, since it would rest with him to appoint the commander-in-chief, and the Venetians would have to give security that they would not again unexpectedly abandon their allies as they had done in 1573. At the beginning of 1584 Olivares even received powers to conclude an alliance, for which reason the Pope granted an extension of the faculties of Cardinal Albert for an indefinite period.[1] How disgracefully the Spanish government had deceived the Pope, is clear from the fact that at the very moment when it was discussing an alliance against the Porte, its agent Marigliano was arranging a further extension of the armistice at Constantinople. Granvelle naturally disapproved of this, but this did not lead to any change of policy.[2]

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella 407 *seqq.* Here too are the complaints of Gregory XIII. to Priuli about Venice. As to this note how Priuli in his report (ALBÈRI II. 4, 304) puts the matter in a quite contrary sense.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 409. The question of jurisdiction in the meantime became more acute. On July 28, 1584, *Odescalchi reports the irritation of Gregory XIII. at the usurpations of the Viceroy of Naples in ecclesiastical liberties. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also THEINER, III., 614. In November, 1584, Granvelle, for political reasons (the attitude of the Pope with regard to the intentions of Philip II. towards France) advised an accommodation; see PHILIPPSON, 412. On October 20, 1584, Gregory XIII. granted to Philip II. rather wider powers for the adjustment of the differences between bishops, chapters and other ecclesiastical bodies, which, however, Spain at once amplified at will; See HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 30; *cf. ibid.* 29, the opposition of Gregory XIII. to the intervention of a royal envoy at the council of Toledo (see also THEINER, III., 632). The reasons for Philip's dissatisfaction sprang partly from these questions, partly from the fact that he had not been successful in obtaining from the Holy See a slavish submission to his political designs, and lastly from

Even though Gregory XIII., who already thought that he had won over Spain to the league against the Turks,[1] was very soon obliged definitely to abandon this hope,[2] he still hoped to win over the King of Spain to an undertaking against the Queen of England. In this matter, where the interests of both of them were identical, though in other things they were so divergent, it seemed to him that he really would at last attain a definite result.

the efforts of the Pope to limit more and more the influence of the Spanish Inquisition rather than increase it; see M. ZANE in Albèri, I., 5, 367 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 6, 370 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 360. How Philip II. always preferred the supposed interests of the state to the true ones of the Church, is clear from his efforts after the death of Cardinal Borromeo to raise as weak a man as possible to the see of Milan, as to which more exact details are given in the *Avvisi di Roma of November 10 and 24, 1584 (Urb. 1052, p. 442, 463, Vatican Library). For the usurpations of the rights of the Church which were practised at Besançon by the Spanish officials, *cf.* *Nuntiaturberichte* ed. by SCHELLHASS, V., lxxxiv., 358, 435. The question of the "ius nominandi et le provisioni per le chiese et monasterii di Sicilia da Clemente VII. ad vitam tantum concesso" went to such lengths that in 1582, 1583 and 1584 the vacancies were not filled: see *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Finally an agreement was reached by Gregory XIII. declaring that he would grant the right *hac vice tantum*; see *report of Capilupi of February 11, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Political sagacity and jealousy of Venice played their part in leading Philip II. to take the part of Gregory XIII. in the dispute about Aquileia (see *supra* p. 341, n. 2); see PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 412.

[1] See BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, 312; *ibid.* 317 *seq.* for the abortive negotiations with the King of Poland.

[2] That Gregory XIII. wished for war against the Turks, later as well as before, is shown by Fr. Sporeno in his *report of June 30, 1584, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck. A. Komulowič addressed to Gregory XIII. in December, 1584, on the strength of what he had observed, an invitation to a war against the Turks, published in FERMENDŽIN, 337 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

State of Religion in England.—Edmund Campion.

At the time when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, it seemed as though the fate of the Catholic Church in England were sealed. Priests could no longer be ordained, and those who still remained must soon die out. The Catholics, and especially the rising generation, cut off from their teachers and compelled by law to attend the Protestant services, were falling more and more under the influence of the new religious doctrines; Burghley and Elizabeth might well believe that the moment was at hand when, with the last of the Catholics, the waning faith of ancient England would be finally extinguished.

It was principally due to the foresight and the spirit of self-sacrifice of a remarkable and great man, the future Cardinal William Allen,[1] that this disastrous fate was averted. Born in 1532 in the county of Lancaster, Allen, at the time when Elizabeth ascended the throne, had attained to high honours and dignities in the University of Oxford; in 1561 he fled to the Netherlands on account of the intolerable religious persecution of the new queen. When he came back to his own country in the following year, for reasons of health, in spite of the fact that he was not yet a priest, he became the guide and counsellor of many of his weaker and hesitating fellow-countrymen; at the same time he had an opportunity of realizing from his own experience the ignorance and divisions that existed among the English Catholics of that time. Thereupon, from a hiding place in the house of the Duke of Norfolk,

[1] Th. Franc. Knox, Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen, London, 1882; Vita, by Nic. Fitzherbert (Rome, 1608), Bellesheim (Mayence, 1885); B. Camm, William Cardinal Allen, Founder of the Seminaries, London, 1909; M. Haile, An Elizabethan Cardinal, William Allen, London, 1914.

Allen devoted himself above all to the composition of polemical writings, until, three years later, the fateful moment arrived when he was forced once more to seek refuge in Flanders. In an edict issued by Elizabeth in 1567 his name appears in the first place among the priests whose arrest was demanded of the sheriff of Lancashire.[1]

It was of the greatest importance for Allen that at that time he made the acquaintance of Jean Vendeville, the future Bishop of Tournai, who was then professor of Canon Law at the University of Douai.[2] Filled with burning zeal for the maintenance of the Catholic Church and full of plans for that object, in 1567 Vendeville, accompanied by Allen, went to Rome to win over the Pope to his views, though without meeting with much encouragement from Pius V. Allen then suggested to his friend the establishment at Douai of a college for the benefit of the English Catholics. The original purpose of this establishment was to afford an asylum, and the opportunity of study at the university to Catholics who had escaped from England, but very soon a second purpose became even more important, namely, the training of young priests for England. At first Allen had thought less of the work of the mission than was the case later on. Like many of his fellow-countrymen, he clung rather to the hope that with a change of the crown the whole of England might once more be recovered for the Church! In that case it would be necessary that as large a number of priests as possible should be ready to take possession of the parishes.[3]

On September 29th, 1568, in a hired house, were made the first beginnings of the college, which was afterwards to exercise so great an influence.[4] The Benedictine abbots of Anchin, Marchiennes and Arras contributed largely to its maintenance. Allen, who had been given a professorship

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 201.

[2] Alexis Possoz, Msgr. Jean Vendeville, Évêque de Tournay 1587-92, Lille, 1862. Bellesheim, Allen, 22 *seq.*

[3] Bellesheim, 25 *seq.*; Pollen, English Catholics, 244 *seqq.*, 256 *seqq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 243.

[4] Bellesheim, 33.

at Douai in 1571, devoted the whole of his salary to the institute, and a legacy made it possible for him to obtain for it a house of its own.[1] As early as 1568 Pius V. gave his approval to the college and in the same year he appointed Allen as superior of the English mission; Gregory XIII. confirmed both these acts, and further increased Allen's powers.[2]

Among the English Catholics the establishment of Allen's seminary met with warm approval. A number of young men belonging to the best families asked to be received there; older men, too, and even some ministers who wished to be reconciled to the Church joined their number. Allen bears emphatic witness to their zeal for their studies and their faithful observance of Catholic morals and discipline.[3] In 1574 the seminary was able to send its first priests to England.[4] By 1579 at many as 100 had gone to labour in their country,[5] and by 1610 135 of the students of the institute had sealed their mission with their blood.[6]

In 1578 political considerations had necessitated the removal of the seminary to Rheims.[7] but in 1593 it returned to Douai, and continued to supply England with excellent priests until the time of its destruction during the French Revolution.

While it was at Rheims the seminary undertook, in 1582, the publication of an important literary work: a translation into English of the New Testament, to which in 1610 was added

[1] *Ibid.* 33, 36, 37.

[2] *Ibid.* 36, 38. Bull of January 21, 1582, Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.*; *cf.* the brief of August 30, 1575, in KNOX, Letters, etc., 27.

[3] Allen to Cardinal Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 114 (II., 134 *seq.*).

[4] BELLESHEIM, 40.

[5] *Ibid.* 43.

[6] Note *ibid.* 284-288.

[7] *Ibid.* 55 *seqq.*; LECHAT, 135 *seqq.* *Seminarii Pontificii Anglorum apud Remenses gesta a festo SS. Trinitatis a 1579 usque ad festum S. Mariae Magdalenae 1580 iul. 22, Ambrosian Library, Milan, D. 181.

that of the Old Testament. This work was intended principally to serve the purposes of religious controversy; in view of the Protestant translations, which were permeated by the spirit of the new religion, there was need of a Bible of whose dogmatic soundness the Catholics could feel assured: above all, the New Testament was required for the pious use of Catholics.[1]

That great champion of the seminaries, Gregory XIII., had extended to Allen and his institute his favour and support. At a time when the college at Douai had for a long time been maintained with extraordinary difficulty amid the hardships and pressure of the times, the Pope came to its assistance with a monthly contribution of 100 gold crowns.[2] which was soon

[1] See BELLESHEIM, 87 *seqq.*; *cf.* 49; B. WARD in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, V., 140; WISEMAN in the *Abhandlungen uber verschiedene Gegenstande*, I., Ratisbon, 1584, 61 *seqq.*; NEWMAN, Tracts theological and ecclesiastical, London, 1874, 359. The fidelity of the translation and its influence on the Authorized Version of James I. in 1611 is also recognised by the Protestants; *cf.* JAMES G. CARLETON, The part of Rheims in the making of the English Bible, Oxford, 1902. At first the translation was tolerated by the English government, but later on because of the notes, and because it contained an appended writing of Martin and disclosed "haereticorum versionum foedissimas ipsisque adversariis pudendas corruptelas" even Protestants were thrown into prison if the Rheims version was found in their possession (Allen to Aggazari, March 16, 1583). The Catholic version brought about the conversion of some Protestants (Persons to Agazzari, August 24, 1583, in Theiner, 1583, n. 85, III., 475). For the literary activity of the English exiles see POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 106 *seqq.* According to Sanders (died 1581) 20,000 Catholic books were secretly sold in England. "Books opened the way," said Allen, *ibid.* 111.

[2] On April 15, 1575, in BELLESHEIM, 41. Letter of thanks from Allen and the students of the college to Cardinal Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, n. 114 (II., 134 *seq.*). The subsidy was granted especially at the recommendation of the General of the Jesuits, Mercurian (SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 7, n. 13). For the support given by the Jesuits to the work of Allen *cf.* the report of Cardinal Sega of the visitation of the English College in Rome in 1596, in FOLEY, VI., 5.

raised to 150.[1] The Pope helped its transference to Rheims by a gift of 500 gold crowns, at the same time recommending the college to the archbishop and chapter of Rheims, and to his nuncio in Paris.[2] He further ordered a collection to be made throughout the Christian world,[3] which was made in Rome by members of the aristocracy, and found contributors in Naples, France, Poland and Germany, especially the Duke of Bavaria, William V.[4] Allen hailed the Pope as the founder of the English College at Douai.[5] Philip II. too promised the seminary an annual subsidy of 2,000 ducats.[6] Of no less importance than the financial aid given to Allen's institute was the fact that the Pope interested himself in the college by means of his nuncio, as the English government tried in every way to raise suspicion at the French court against this establishment which it hated so much, and to bring about the expulsion of the English students.[7]

[1] BELLESHEIM, 93.

[2] BELLESHEIM, 63 *seq.* Gregory to the archbishop of Rheims, May 18, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 85 (II., 434 *seq.*). Galli to Allen, May 19, 1578, *ibid.* 435.

[3] January 21, 1582, Bull. Rom., VIII., 383.

[4] BELLESHEIM, 93.

[5] Quod [seminarium] factum est ab hominibus pauperibus, qui nullas habebant opes, stetitque totum biennium sine ullo certo subsidio . . . donec SS. D. N. . . . pensione centum aureorum, additis postea quinquaginta menstruis, nos benignissime donavit, ut proinde merito non modo collegii fundator, sed tanti boni, quod ex eo secutum est, author sit et nuncupetur. Allen to Galli, January 16, 1585, in Theiner, 1585, n. 19 (III., 633 *seq.*).

[6] Allen to Galli, March 9, 1583, *ibid.* 1583 n. 86 (III. 477).

[7] *[Allen] che per le guerre fu constretto transferirsi a Rens dove dalla regina d'Inghilterra fu cercato e procurato per ogni via di persuadere al Re di Francia che non lo ricevesse et non ve lo comportasse dando taccia a quei poveri religiosi di seduttori et mettendo in consideratione a S. M^{tà} Christ^{a}, che per ragione di stato doveva scacciarli potendo cosi facilmente sovvertire et sollevare contra di lei quelli populi soto titulo et colore di religione et di studenti ; ma furono difesi dall' autorità di S. S^{tà}

Even greater are the services of Gregory to the English College in Rome. The first move towards its establishment came from the Welshman, Owen Lewis,[1] whose influence had not been without its importance in the foundation of the college at Douai.[2] Lewis, who was archdeacon of Cambrai, had been sent by his archbishop to the Curia in connexion with a lawsuit. Supported by the recommendation of Bishop Goldwell of St. Asaph, who was living in Rome as an exile, and by his relations with the adventurer Stukely, whose scheme for the liberation of Ireland had not yet been shown to be a chimera, Lewis found high favour with the Pope; he became apostolic referendary, and all English matters passed through his hands.[3] Through the Datary, Contarelli, he suggested to the Pope to receive in Rome, among the chaplains of the ancient English hospice for pilgrims, certain young men who were to devote themselves to study, and afterwards be employed on the English mission. Gregory XIII. gladly fell in with this proposal. Allen, who was in Rome in 1576, was equally anxious to lighten the burden of the college at Douai, which was already overcrowded, by the foundation

con li continui officii che vivamente faceva il suddetto suo nuntio in maniera che et S.M^{tà} rest^{ò} chiara che era mera persecutione di quella donna et essi assicurati che non riceverebbono dispiacere. Memorie di Dandino, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] *" Brevis narratio de origine et progressu collegii Anglicani " Vat. 3494, p. 4 *seqq.* Vatican Library, used by SACCHINI (P. IV., l. 7, n. 20 *seqq.*), BELLESHEIM (109 *seqq.*), *Meyer* (82 *seqq.*). *Cf.* the report of Cardinal Sega of his visitation of the English College in 1585, in MEYER, 428-454; Statutes of the College, *ibid.* 418 *seqq.*, 444 *seqq.* For recent literature see *supra*, p. 243, n. 4).

[2] " In hoc seminario (that of Douai) inchoando summus et suasor et adiutor existit." Allen to Galli, June 13, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 114 (II., 135).

[3] *" Cui cum Gregorius praebere aures inciperet, ille autem Archdiaconum in intimam sibi amicitiam accepisset, factum est, ut hac occasione singula fere deinde, quae ad Angliam aut Hiberniam pertinerent, ad Archidiaconum pro illo tempore Pontifici referrentur." *Brevis narratio, loc. cit.*

of an institute of the kind, and on his return, in the same year 1576, he sent some of his students there. Lewis, in agreement with the superior of the English hospice for pilgrims, his fellow-countryman Maurice Clenock, arranged that the chaplains of the hospice should be gradually suppressed, and their places filled by the students. The administration and direction was settled with the help of two Jesuits.[1] Very soon the new seminary received about 40 students, of whom eight were Welshmen.

The ancient rivalry between Englishmen of Celtic and Saxon stock soon led, even in Rome, to such great dissensions that nothing but the personal intervention of Gregory was able to restore peace in the seminary. The Welshman Lewis had entrusted the direction of the college to his fellow-countryman Clenock, but very soon complaint after complaint was made of the predominance of the Celts. Against Lewis was urged his friendship with the profligate Stukely, and his partiality for his own compatriots;[2] the aged Clenock, who was quite inexperienced in the direction of seminaries, was also attacked on the ground that he favoured the few Celts among his students, and ignored the rest. Things went so far that 33 English students had recourse to the Cardinal Protector, Morone, with a formal complaint, and through the maestro di camera Bianchetti to the Pope himself declaring that they would rather leave the seminary in a body than remain any longer subject to Clenock, and that the direction of the college should be entrusted to the Jesuits. Attempts

[1] SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 7, n. 16. Allen would have liked the Jesuits to have taken over the college altogether; *cf.* his letter of October 26, 1578, *ibid.* n. 18 *seq.*

[2] "quod homini tam dissolutis moribus ac perditae vitae quam erat Stukleus ipse sacerdos tam intimus esset." (*Brevis narratio, loc. cit.*). Cardinal Sega in his report of the visitation of the English College in 1596, in FOLEY, VI., 6 *seq.*, passes a very unfavourable judgment on the influence of Lewis. According to Sega, Lewis was to blame for all the disorders of the college. Gregory XIII. ordered him on this account to leave Rome, *ibid.* 8.

at meditation, especially on the part of Speciani, the secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, proved unavailing; the students remained firm in their demands. On the other hand, the Jesuits refused the charge offered to them, and in the second General Congregation of 1565, they had decided against the acceptance of clerical seminaries.[1] Cardinal Morone advised the Pope to give the students the plain choice between submission and expulsion. The result was that on March 1st, 1579, 33 Englishmen left the college in a body and took refuge in the private house of one of their fellow-countrymen, with a view to returning to their own country.

Such a state of affairs in the case of young men who were otherwise all that was good, and who wished to serve the Church at the risk of their lives, aroused general sympathy in Rome for the sufferers. Almost all the Lenten preachers recommended the English seminarists to the generosity of their hearers. Gregory took upon himself the personal task of finding a remedy. He summoned the malcontents to his presence, listened kindly to their complaints and wishes, and promised to help them. They were ordered to return publicly to the college, preceded by the Papal maestro di camera, and the Jesuits received orders to undertake the direction of the college. On April 23rd, 1579, Gregory issued a bull in which the college was confirmed and endowed with rich revenues.[2] A visit which the Pope paid to the institute on July 22nd, 1579, was a further proof of his good-will.[3]

[1] December 18 (Institutum S.J. II., Florence, 1893, 193).

[2] Bull. Rom., VIII., 208 *seq.*

[3] *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 243, Vatican Library. *Il giorno di S. M. Maddalena visitò [Gregory XIII.] il collegio Inglese et fu recitata una oratione a S. S^{tà} latina et molto dotta con alcuni versi latini bellissimi, al qual collegio s' è mostrato molto liberale havendoli sin ad hora fatto conferire 300 ducati il mese, et veramente S.S^{tà} merita in questa grandissima laude come in molte altre parti rare, che ha eretti dieci collegi in varie parti del mondo, cioè: uno in Fiandra, uno in Boemia, uno in Prussia, uno in Vienna et uno in Olmutz, et dieci qua in Roma, nelli quali spende ogni anno più di 40 mille ducati d'oro. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua, July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

At the request of the students themselves an oath was imposed upon the seminarists by which they bound themselves to enter the ecclesiastical state, to receive sacred orders, and on the completion of their studies, to work for the care of souls.[1] All the students of English birth joyfully took this oath. On the other hand the Welshmen, who followed Lewis, for the most part refused, and accordingly left the establishment.

Even so, however, the difficulties had not yet reached their end. Opposition was also raised against the Jesuits in their turn by the seminarists, so that on two occasions Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. were obliged to order an apostolic visitation.

In spite of these passing trials, the English College in Rome also produced great fruit. Down to the time of the French Revolution it trained 1,341 priests for its own country, 42 of whom met with a violent death in the exercise of their ministry, or suffered imprisonment and exile.[2] Both the seminaries, that at Douai and that at Rome, must be an object of admiration to the impartial historian. Speaking generally, at the end of the middle ages the clergy had fallen into a degraded state ; to the religious innovators they seemed to be fit for nothing but a shameful disappearance, and even

[1] *Commissarios quosdam designavit [Gregorius XIII.] qui prima collegii initia formarent, quique examinato cuiusque scholaris proposito unicuique iuramentum proponerent (hoc enim Angli acerrime postulaverant), quo quisque se accingeret ad vitam ecclesiasticam agendam et post absoluta literarum studia ordinesque sacros susceptos, ad redeundum in patriam ad fidem catholicam proseminandam, quocunque vitae vel necis periculo posthabito (*Brevis narratio*, Vat. 3494, Vatican Library, According to the report of the visitation of Sega in 1596, Cardinal Morone, under the influence of Lewis, had allowed the students to remain at the college as long as they liked. Lewis had worked to obtain this in favour of his own fellow-countrymen, some of whom desired nothing less than to face the dangers of the English mission. But this very permission so irritated the English students that they left the college. FOLEY, VI. 6-7. The formula of the oath, *ibid.* 127.

[2] List *ibid.* 125 *seq.* ; BELLESHEIM, 124.

many Catholics despaired of their ever being restored to the perfection of earlier days. But now, all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly, there sprang up so many new Orders, and so many seminaries after the mind of the Council of Trent, and a new generation of priests who proved themselves fit for the most exalted tasks, and displayed such a moral grandeur, and such a spirit of self-sacrifice, that the Protestant body, even though the other was but in its first stage of development, was unable, even distantly, to compare any of their own ministers with them.[1] Even the most hardened pessimist could not fail to be convinced that in the hated priesthood of the Catholic Church, there lay hidden forces, like sparks among the ashes, which only needed to be revived in order to spring up immediately into new and splendid fire.

The new seminaries were entirely based upon the spirit of sacrifice, both among the founders and the students. "Had we been obliged," wrote Allen, "to measure our undertaking by the means at our disposal, our seminary could never have come into existence. Its founders were poor men without

[1] In 1591 Persons wrote: "Has history, since the memory of man, anything more wonderful to tell than of youths nobly born and wealthy for the most part, who could live quietly and comfortably at home, and who solely from zeal for the faith have left parents and friends, and all that is dear to them in this life in order to go into voluntary exile, with such greatness of soul and steadfastness that they fear neither spies nor prisons, neither executioner nor instruments of torture for the sake of religion and the salvation of souls. They could have gained honour and consideration in the anglican church; in the career they have chosen, none of these things fall to their lot. . . . They are not descended from the dregs of mankind like your ministers of the Word, but frequently from noble families and wealthy parents, and I venture to say that in the three English seminaries of Rome, Rheims and Valladolid, there are more flowers of nobility than among all your clergy at home." In MEYER, 352 *seq.* (Engl. transl.). [For the original Latin of this passage, see the work by Persons (under the pseud. *Philopater*): Elizabethæ Angliæ Reg. haeresim Calvin. propugnantis . . . edictum . . . promulgatum, 29 November, 1591. Editor's note.]

means, and for two years the institute dragged on its existence without any support."[1] Even later on the pecuniary help given by Gregory XIII. was only sufficient for 40 students, whereas in 1582 the seminary at Rheims alone numbered 120. "Thirty of our number," Allen wrote, "live on one crown a month, and a few contributions from our table, but we refuse to give up the struggle."[2] In spite of this, young men, often of the best families, continued to come in such numbers that the accommodation of the college was insufficient; and the arrivals continued, in spite of the fact that life under the strict discipline of the seminary meant for the independent spirit of Englishmen, and for men of strong and determined character, such as was called for by the vocation of the missionary priest, a hard sacrifice, and that they all knew well the kind of life that awaited them in England. "I could describe to you," wrote Allen to a friend, "the sufferings that they have to undergo during their night journeys, and the perils that threaten them from robbers and false brethren; their hiding in tiny rooms or rather cells, where they must remain without light or fire, lest they should be betrayed to the enemy. In the middle of the night they are often roused and forced to fly because the spies are coming to arrest them."[3] Many were pronouncing their own death sentence when they entered one of the seminaries, and bound themselves expressly by oath to the English mission. But for all their labours and sufferings, martyrdom was the reward they sought, and that, despite a long life of sacrifice and pain, could never be bought at too great a price, while the harvest they reaped made up for all their privations. "Day by day," wrote Allen again, "many return to the faith, and give up their attendance at Protestant worship."[4] Even their arrest

[1] BELLESHEIM 95.

[2] *Ibid.* 94 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid* 52.

[4] *Ibid.* 54. The reports of the English bishops in the summer of 1577 report generally that the "Papists do marvellously increase in number and obstinacy." FRERE, 213. Frere himself writes: "There can be little doubt that the boast of the Romanists

did not put an end to the labours of the missionaries; in one prison in London alone we are informed by Allen,[1] there were 24 priests; "they receive visits from Catholics who wish to speak to them or to go to confession. A great deal of work is done there, sometimes as much as if the priests had been at liberty.[2] Thus those persons who think that we ought to keep our men for better times are confounded. If nothing else happened this would at any rate have the effect of countless souls being lost every day, and of all hope for the future being extinguished. We must not merely look forward to better times, we must bring them about." From the two colleges, he goes on to say, 230 priests have so far been sent out, of whom 12 had died as martyrs during the last year, and three during the last few months. There are 40 of them in prison, who are still able, however, to labour for the Church. It is very encouraging that of this great number, in spite of

that their cause was reviving was a true one." *Ibid.* 215. Cardinal Galli wrote to the nuncio in Spain, Taverna, on April 29 (May 9), 1583: "Per il solo mezo di questo collegio (of Rheims) si puo dire che se siano conservate sin hora le reliquie de la religione cattolica in Inghilterra" (in KRETZSCHMAR, 88, n. 3, who for that reason is of opinion (*ibid.*) that the seminary was "the most dangerous enemy of England!"). That "daily" in spite of all the persecutions the number of the Catholics increased owing to the labours of the seminary priests, is attested also by Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, on December 28, 1579, and June 26, 1580. Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. IV., 447, 493. The first passage also in SPILLMANN, II., 198.

[1] *Letter of March 16, 1583, to the rector of the English College in Rome. Reg. 2023, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, 81 *seqq.*

[2] Persons also wrote from Paris to Agazzari in Rome, August 24, 1583, that there were 30 priests in prison at Hull, and 26 in the Marshalsea in London. Almost all of them could say mass every day, and in other ways were more useful in prison than at liberty, "ad hos enim, cum certi constantesque in eodem loco sint, multi possunt accedere, qui alios sacerdotes reperire non possunt." THEINER, 1582, n. 85 (III., 475).

the threats and promises of their enemies, not one has so far proved himself a weakling; only two have behaved in a blameworthy manner, and they have repented after their liberation. Thus so far no member of the two colleges has given scandal, although there is no one to watch over them, and each one must be guided by his own conscience alone. Their work was made easier by the fact that the great mass of the English people was still deeply religious. If a mass does not last at least an hour, it is stated in a letter of the time,[1] there is much discontent, and if seven or eight masses should be celebrated one after the other, the same people remain to hear them all. When a bishop, who has been consecrated in Rome for Ireland, stayed on his way in England, Catholics came from all parts with great devotion to ask for the sacrament of confirmation, "which among us has always been held in greater veneration than anywhere else in the world," or even for the sake of receiving his blessing, or to see once more a bishop of the true Church.[2]

No one saw with greater satisfaction than Allen this improvement in the state of affairs in England. But not yet satisfied with all that he had accomplished, this indefatigable man planned to add yet another to the services which he had rendered to his country, when in 1579, on the occasion of a visit paid by him to Gregory XIII. in Rome, he suggested that the Jesuits should be sent to England. The General of the Jesuits, Mercurian, was in a position to fall in with this suggestion, as he had since 1575 received a certain number of Englishmen into the Order. He accordingly assigned two Jesuits for the English mission, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, to whom he attached a lay-brother.[3] Ten secular priests and students were joined to their company.[4] Even the aged Bishop of St. Asaph, Goldwell, again thought of exchanging

[1] Persons to Agazzari, November 17, 1580, in FOLEY, III., 666.

[2] *Allen to Agazzari, March 16, 1583, Reg. 2022, Vatican Library.

[3] SACCHINUS, P. IV. l. 8, n. 83 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 248 *seq.*

his long exile in Rome for the dangers of his own country;[1] Mercurian gave detailed instructions to his subjects as to their behaviour in England, and recommended to them, in addition to a life of virtue and piety, above all caution and prudence, as they would have to live among crafty enemies, who were experienced in all worldly matters and were quite without conscience, and he forbade them to take any part in political questions. With regard to the queen, they were not to commit themselves to any views, except in the presence of sincere and tried Catholics. When the instructions were renewed in 1581 even this exception was no longer allowed, and all adverse criticism of the queen was absolutely forbidden.[2]

Special difficulties were brought upon the missionaries by the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, because this not only inflicted excommunication upon the queen, but forbade the English Catholics to obey her.[3] It was clear, however, from the bull itself that this prohibition was only to take effect under certain circumstances which no longer existed.

[1] Campion in FOLEY, III., 21.

[2] Non se immisceant negotiis statuum neque huc scribant res novas ad status pertinentes, atque illic [in England] etiam neque ipsi sermonem iniiciant aut ab aliis iniectum admittant contra reginam, nisi forte apud eos quos insigniter fideles et longo tempore probatos habuerint, ac quidem tunc etiam non sine magna causa. MEYER, 119. POLLEN *The Month*, IC. (1902), 293. *Cf.* SIMPSON, 99 *seq.* SPILLMANN, II., 203.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 214 *seqq.* The scruples of the English Catholics about the bull of excommunication were reflected in the questions addressed (in the first days of Gregory XIII.) to a theologian and the answers made to them (published by CREIGHTON in the *English Historical Review*, VII. [1892], 84 *seq.*, *cf.* MEYER, 114 n.). This theologian asked for a Papal declaration concerning the bull, though even without this he decided that the bull of Pius V. laid no burden upon Catholics. It would seem that Gregory XIII. a short time before was of a different opinion. According to an *Avviso di Roma of February 20, 1580 (Urb. 1048, p. 24, Vatican Library), Bonelli had more than 500 copies of the excommunication of the queen printed for distribution at the Papal court, and among the ambassadors of the princes.

To allay the anxiety of conscience of scrupulous Catholics Campion and Persons begged the Pope expressly to declare that the bull bound Elizabeth and her adherents, but that so long as the present state of affairs existed it had no binding force upon Catholics, until the bull could be publicly put into force. On April 14th, 1580, Gregory XIII. acceded to this request, and his declaration was included in the list of faculties[1] which the Pope granted to the two Jesuits on that date.

A few days later the missionaries set out from Rome.[2] While they were still on their way they learned that their coming was known in England and that the ports were being strictly watched.[3] For this reason Persons went on ahead, and reached London disguised as an officer. Campion, on the other hand, who was travelling in the guise of a jeweller, was very nearly arrested as he set foot on English soil.[4] The octogenarian Bishop Goldwell, like his fellow-countryman Morton, were persuaded at Rheims that their country was no longer their proper sphere;[5] Goldwell died in Rome in 1585, the last surviving member of the ancient hierarchy.[3]

[1] Published in MEYER, 422. In the list of the faculties it is stated: "Petatur a S.D.N. explicatio [sententiae] declaratoriae per Pium V. contra Elizabetham et ei adhaerentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo: ut obliget semper illam et haereticos, catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum, quando publica eiusdem bullae executio fieri poterit." (Meyer 424). Par. 15: "Has praedictas gratias concessit SS. Pontifex patribus Roberto Personio et Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis die 14 Aprili, 1580, presente patre Oliverio Manareo Assistente." (*Ibid.* 425). *Cf.* POLLEN, English Catholics, 290 *seqq.*

[2] For the journey see POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 243-264.

[3] The English ambassador in Paris sent news of this. Priuli on February 23, 1580, in BROWN, VII., n. 794.

[4] *Cf.* his letter to the General of the Order (about November) in 1580, in FOLEY, VI., 671.

[5] Goldwell to Gregory XIII., Rheims, July 13, 1580, in THEINER, III., 700.

[6] BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-Polit. Blätter*, LXXX. (1877, 962-971).

The remaining missionaries crossed the Channel in small parties from the northern ports of France, but by the beginning of the winter of 1580 they were all, with five of the students of the Roman seminary, in prison.[1] Of the three priests who had joined them, two had been recognized as they were landing.[2]

On account of the great number of spies the missionaries would not have been able to attempt any spiritual work if loyal friends had not helped them. Even before 1580 there were in England a number of noble-hearted laymen who devoted their persons and their property entirely to the Catholic cause, reducing their own requirements to bare necessities.[3] In London, Persons at once repaired to the Marshalsea prison to Thomas Pound, a gentleman who was in prison for the Catholic cause. Pound told him of one of this body of laymen, George Gilbert, who was ready to face any sacrifice, and who furnished Persons with clothing, a horse and ample funds, and accompanied him upon all his journeys in England, introducing him to the Catholics, sometimes in the garb of a gentleman, and sometimes in the livery of a serving man. Campion was also provided for by Gilbert in the same way, and he was accompanied by another layman.[4]

[1] SPILLMANN, II., 267.

[2] *Ibid.* 229.

[3] Cum in Anglia quidam, tam sacerdotes quam alii vitam apostolicam imitantes, statuerint apud se soli animarum saluti incumbere et reductioni haereticorum, et ut hoc melius faciant, decreverint, victu et vestitu aliisque rebus necessariis ad statum suum contenti esse, et quod supererit de bonis suis in commune subsidium conferre, eleemosinasque ad hoc commune subsidium non solum per se, verum etiam per alios procurare aliisque modis reductionem Angliae promovere, dignetur V. Sanctitas horum hominum pium approbare. . . . Petition of Persons and Campion to Gregory XIII., n. 12, in MEYER, 424. Simpson has taken it for granted without proof that these priests and laymen were formally organized as a "sodality"; see POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 592-599.

[4] For Gilbert see FOLEY, VI., 658-704. All his property was confiscated by the government; he escaped to Rome, where he died in 1583 as a Jesuit.

Under the guidance of these companions the two Jesuits, often dressed as gentlemen, began a series of dangerous journeys in search of Catholics. "Almost every day," wrote Campion,[1] "I pass through some part of the country, and with indescribably great results. As I ride I think over my discourse, to which I give the finishing touches after I have entered a house. Then I talk with those who come to me, or hear confessions. In the morning after mass I deliver my discourse; I am listened to with the greatest attention, and large numbers receive the sacraments, in the administration of which we are assisted by the priests whom we meet with everywhere. . . . We cannot for long escape from the hands of the heretics, since our enemies have too many spies and too many traps. I have to make use of the most extravagant disguises, which I change as often as I do my name. I receive letters to read which open with the words: Campion has been arrested. This song has been so often repeated, and is repeated wherever I go, that through constant fear I have forgotten to be afraid." The danger to priests as well as to all Catholics steadily increased. The report of an unknown priest, in July, 1581,[2] describes the secret meetings of the Catholics; how they sat together joyfully at table and conversed of the faith and pious subjects, and how suddenly a knocking would be heard at the door, as though a persecutor stood without. All spring to their feet and stand listening "like a wild beast that scents the hunter; no one makes the slightest sound until the servants report what is the matter, and then, for the most part, the tension ends in laughter." Priests therefore, could not stay for long in any one house.[3] They were received first of all as unknown strangers, and were then taken to a room in the interior of the house where all fell on their knees and asked for the priest's blessing. In the evening of the same day all prepared for confession, and early in the morning there was mass and communion; after a

[1] To Mercurian, probably on November 17, 1580, in SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 8, n. 128; FOLEY, III., 671 *seq.*

[2] In FOLEY, III., 666.

[3] *Ibid.* 665.

sermon the priest gave his blessing a second time and generally took his departure as soon as possible, because to stop long anywhere was dangerous. In this way Persons in the course of a long tour from west to east passed through the counties of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, while Campion started from Oxford, and went in the opposite direction.[1]

What so often happens at the commencement of a new Order, when it is in the vigour of its youth, though the historian cannot fully explain it, took place now in the case of the first steps taken by the Society of Jesus on English soil. The two Jesuits and their companions succeeded in accomplishing in a short time what many others had not been able to do in the course of long years, and they infused into the English Catholics such steadfastness as to inaugurate a new period in their fortunes, which was of the greatest importance for the preservation of the Catholic faith in England. Of course, the activity and zeal of the seminary priests had prepared the way for this.[2]

The visible results obtained by the two missionaries were certainly wonderful. According to their instructions they were not to approach professed Protestants ;[3] but the number of waverers and doubters who became fervent Catholics in the course of one year must have been 10,000 or even 20,000,[4] while the following years brought an ever increasing harvest.[5]

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 50.

[2] POLLEN (*ibid.* IC. [1902], 292) wrote as follows concerning the two Jesuits and their companions : " They inspired the whole body of Catholics with a fervour and courage which no subsequent persecution was able to quench. The counter-Reformation had gained one of the most brilliant of its successes." According to MEYER too (109) the beginning of the Jesuit missions was the most important epoch in the history of English Catholicism.

[3] SIMPSON, 99 *seq.* ; SPILLMANN, II., 203.

[4] MEYER, 49.

[5] Numerus credentium mirifice augetur et ex infensissimis hostibus fleximus multos, convertimus nonnullos. Persons to Gregory XIII. on June 24, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 58 (III., 367). Vix est credibile, quod narrant modo de augmento Catholic-

This result may partly be explained by the extraordinary reputation which preceded the two Jesuits. The English seminaries on the continent were looked upon as the outcome of the spirit of the Society of Jesus; Allen himself expressed this view and celebrated in the most laudatory way the services of the Jesuits to the institution which he had established.[1] The two priests, Thomas Wodehouse (died 1573) and John Nelson (died 1578), who were put to death for their faith, begged in prison as a great favour to be admitted to the Society of Jesus.[2] The same was true of Thomas Pound,[3] a former courtier of the queen, who had to pay for his profession of the Catholic religion by thirty years of imprisonment. So many members of the English college in Rome asked for admission to the Order that the English seminarists were seriously disturbed.[4]

orum hoc ultimo anno, posteaque libros quosdam legerint de rebus spiritualibus scriptos sacrasque catholice in nostrum idioma conversas et interpretatas. Audivi viros prudentes vehementer affirmasse, existimare se, Catholicos esse modo duplo plures in Anglia, quam ante unum annum fuerint. . . . Ex duobus sacerdotibus recenter huc ex Anglia negotiorum causa missis, alter eorum testatus nobis est, se quatuor sacerdotes cognoscere, qui in una sola provincia, quae Hamptonia dicitur, plus quam quadringentos homines reduxerint ad Ecclesiae gremium post ultimum festum paschatis. Persons to Agazzari on August 24, 1583, in THEINER, 1583, n. 85 (III., 475).

[1] Equidem . . . dedi operam semper, ut nostri non aliis quam vestris studiis, institutis, moribus, quibus nihil est hodie vel ad doctrinam expeditius, vel ad pietatem sincerius, vel ad zelum lucrandarum animarum accommodatius, praecipue imbuerentur. To Mercurian on 26 October, 1578, in SACCHINUS, P. IV., l. 7, n. 19.

[2] FOLEY, VII., 1257-1260. SPILLMANN, II., 140, 190. For the martyrdom of Wodehouse a report of June 19, 1573, the very day of his death, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, VI., 762, *cf.* 639, 654; *cf.* KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XLII. (1918), 846 *seqq.*

[3] FOLEY, III., 584.

[4] BELLESHEIM, 114.

To this must be added the fact that the two missionaries were not ordinary men. Edmund Campion,[1] who was at first the most prominent, had been born in 1540, and had the most brilliant future before him at the University of Oxford, as a young scholar; as a classic and humanist, and as an orator, there was no one there to equal him.[2] When in 1566 Queen Elizabeth honoured the university with a visit, Campion was chosen as a matter of course to welcome her. Cheyney, the Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, had asked for him as his successor, and persuaded him to receive the Anglican diaconate. But this step caused Campion the greatest remorse, and he began definitely to separate himself from the official English Church. His remaining at Oxford was therefore no longer possible; even in Dublin, where James Stanihurst tried to interest him in a proposed Irish university, he had to take to flight in order to escape arrest.[3] Campion still continued to devote himself to literary work, and during his exile he

[1] His life was written by Persons (unpublished; *cf. The Month*, CVI. [1905], 594), ALLEN (1582; new edition by POLLEN, London, 1908; *cf. Hist. Pol. Blätter*, CXLII. [1908], 140 *seqq.*), BOMBINO (Antwerp, 1618), SIMPSON (Edinburgh, 1867). *Cf.* B. Edmundi Campiani Opuscula, Barcelona, 1888. For some particulars of the life of Campion *cf.* the articles of POLLEN in *The Month*, Vols. XC., CV., CVI., CXV.

[2] "Primus erat princepsque gregis; cessere priores Partes, et palmam cetera turba tibi," a colleague wrote in verse of him after the death of Campion. (BRIDGEWATER), Concertatio, 66. SPILLMANN, II., 207. "All writers whether protestant or popish, say that he was a man of admirable parts, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher and disputant, and an exact preacher, whether in English or Latin tongue, of a sweet disposition, and a well polished man." WOOD, Athenae Oxonienses, *ed.* BLISS, I., 475, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII., 402.

[3] For Cheyney (a conciliatory theologian), Stanihurst (not a Catholic!) and his plans, as well as for the chronology, *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CVI. (1905), 563, 566 *seq.*, 568; for Stanihurst see also BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 131. For the date of the departure of Campion for Ireland (August 1, 1570) *cf.* KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, XLI. (1917), 175 *seqq.*

wrote a history of Ireland in English which ran through several editions.[1] In 1571 he went to Douai to devote himself to theological studies; in 1573 he was received into the Society of Jesus in Rome, made his noviciate at Prague and Brünn, and at Prague devoted himself to preaching and pastoral work, and was everywhere held in the greatest esteem and admiration, even among the highest classes, on account of his brilliant qualities.[2]

When he was summoned to Rome and given his mission in England, Campion's only anxiety and desire was to be employed in nothing but prayer, preaching and instruction; as Persons attests,[3] he was for this reason appointed as leader of the English mission. It was Campion's conviction from the first that he would meet with a violent death in England. He refused to be fitted out with new clothing in Rome, saying wittily that any clothes were good enough for one who was going to the scaffold.[4] In London he never passed the gallows at Tyburn without raising his hat.[5]

Campion's happiness would have been to work in silence for the welfare of his fellow-countrymen, but it was to the great advantage of the Catholic cause that his name was at once brought to the notice of all classes of the population, and became the object of denunciation in the sermons preached in the city.[6] Before Persons and Campion set out upon

[1] First in the chronicle of Holinshed, 1577 and 1586, then by Ware, 1633; a new edition Dublin, 1909. Shakespeare, who relies so much on Holinshed, also made use of the work of Campion in his Henry VIII. *Cf.* on the work, POLLEN in The Month, CVI. (1905), 561-576, CVII. (1906), 156-159. There is as yet no trace of any definite Catholic sentiment; *cf.* CVII., 163. It is not known when Campion was formally converted; *ibid.* CVI., 566 *seq.*

[2] For his stay at Brünn and Prague *cf.* SCHMIDL, Historiae Societatis Iesu provinciae Bohemiae, Pars I., Prague, 1747, 336 *seqq.*, 361, 389, 418, 420.

[3] In POLLEN in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 247.

[4] *Ibid.* 249.

[5] Persons in POLLEN, *ibid.* CV. (1905), 25.

[6] *Cf.* for what follows POLLEN, *ibid.* CXV. (1910), 50-65.

their apostolic journeys, Thomas Pound, who had bought a few hours of liberty from the chief warder by a gift of money, went to see them. He spoke to the two Jesuits of the great dangers into which they would probably soon fall at the hands of their enemies. They would be buried in a prison, their replies to their questioners would be falsified and changed, and they would be made to appear in the public eye as traitors and rebels against the queen. They could guard against this if they would now set down in writing the object of their coming, and the end they had in view by their work in England. This writing they should leave in the hands of a trustworthy friend, so that he might publish it when they fell into the hands of their enemies.

Persons at once wrote a short declaration which might be described as an opening of their campaign.[2] Campion went further. While his companion was waiting for him to start, he wrote in the space of half an hour a letter to the queen's Privy Council, in which he professed himself a priest and a Jesuit.[1] The object of his coming was nothing but his priestly work, and a fight against sin and ignorance ; he had no concern with politics, a thing which was forbidden to him. Going far beyond the suggestions of Pound, he went on to ask to be allowed to hold a public disputation on religion, and to speak and make answer as to the Catholic faith, in the presence of the royal Privy Council, the two English universities and the lawyers of the kingdom ; if the queen herself would honour the disputation with her presence, this would be very pleasing to him. It was no empty boasting that led him to make this proposal, but confidence in his own cause, and his conviction that no Protestant, nor all Protestants together, could maintain their doctrines by good and sufficient arguments. The members of the Privy Council, he hoped, would, after his exposition of the true Catholic doctrine, do honour to the truth, and listen to those who were willing to shed even their life's blood for its eternal triumph. "Every day so many

[1] Still unpublished ; *ibid.* 64.

[2] The best text *ibid.* 60-62.

innocent hands are raised to heaven for you by those English students, whose boldness never grows less, and who beyond the sea are acquiring virtue and knowledge for their state of life, firmly resolved never to give you up as lost, but either to win you for heaven or to die at the point of your lances. And as far as our Society is concerned, know that we have entered into a firm compact—we Jesuits throughout the world, whose numbers and increase will survive all the machinations of England—to bear the cross that you lay upon us, and never to despair of your conversion, so long as there is one of us left to taste the sweetness of your Tyburn, to bear the pains of your tortures, or to end our lives in your prisons. It was thus that the faith was planted; it is thus that it must be restored." If his proposals should not be accepted, and he himself should be treated with harshness, he hopes at least for reconciliation and friendship in heaven, where all injuries are forgotten.

If Campion's letter were to be published after his imprisonment it was bound to serve its purpose marvellously well; it would be impossible then to dare to spread at will false statements as to its author, since should the government fail to grant to him the publicity he so insistently demanded, that very fact would refute the accusations made against him. But, contrary to Campion's wishes, his letter was very soon generally known. Pound was very pleased with the document; he communicated it to his friends, and it was secretly spread far and wide. When Persons returned to London at the end of September, 1580, he found there "a number of copies";[1] and towards the end of 1581 two Protestant replies[2] were published, which very much increased the impression it had made.

By this premature publication the document assumed an entirely new significance; whereas before its purpose had been principally self-defence, now, as was shown by the title

[1] Persons in POLLEN, *ibid.* 57.

[2] By Charke and Hanmer, *ibid.* 59; *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 588 *seq.*

attached to it by a strange hand,[1] it became a "challenge." Nevertheless, the effect of this premature publication was altogether good. The missionaries had been defamed as preachers of rebellion, but no conspirator had ever spoken so loyally, so nobly, and with such respect and fidelity towards his sovereign as Campion had done in this document. The Protestant ministers had maintained that Catholic doctrine could not stand against the proofs of Holy Scripture; now they were given the opportunity of putting their opinions to the test, if they had any confidence in their own cause. Moreover, the document had another significance which was of greater importance than any other. The Catholic religion, which had hitherto been relegated to obscurity, now stood out in the full light of day; the intimidated Catholics felt themselves filled with renewed vigour, and with lofty ideas of their spiritual superiority to the State Church.

If, however, the effects were to be lasting, Campion could not rest satisfied with a mere short pamphlet. Several suggestions were made to him for further works; he rejected them all, and to the general surprise declared that he would write, keeping to the general sense of his "challenge," concerning the desperate position of the heretics; that is to say, since heresy could only defend itself by acts of violence, this only proved that it was unable to adduce any reasonable motives. The result was the appearance of a work which Muret declared to have been written by the finger of God, which was reprinted more than fifty times, and which called forth many refutations.[2] The purpose of the work is clear from the title: "to our scholars; ten reasons why Campion has offered to his adversaries a religious disputation."[3] The first of these reasons is the Holy Scripture, which the heretics have had to mutilate in order to prove their opinions; the second is the sense of the Holy Scriptures, which they have been forced to distort

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 57.

[2] List of the editions and confutations in SOMMERVOGEL, Bibliothèque, II., 589-594, VIII., 1970.

[3] A facsimile of the title page of the first edition in POLLEN *The Month*, CXV., 21.

in clear contradiction of its context; and in like manner Campion proceeds to develop his original idea of the desperate position of the heresy, treating of the nature of the Church, of the Councils, of the Fathers of the Church, etc. Although this work was composed while Campion was travelling about England, and with no other help than the notes and summaries he carried in his wallet, it is full of quotations from the Fathers, from Luther, etc., which the careful Persons had verified by a friend of his before its publication. The student of former days turns to the Universities, both because he had declared his readiness to treat of these matters before them, and because Oxford and Cambridge had been made Protestant by force, but many there were still loyal to the Catholic religion.[1] Naturally the little book could only be published secretly and at great risk, but Persons had been able to secure a printing press, from which had already appeared a book against the attendance of Catholics at Protestant worship, and a reply to the attacks on Campion's "challenge."

After the publication of the "challenge" Persons had thought it wiser to advise Campion to withdraw from the neighbourhood of London into Lancashire. It was, however, there that a traitor was able to hand over the hunted man to his enemies.[2] On July 22nd, 1581, a market day, Campion was brought in chains to London, and thrown into the most terrible dungeon in the Tower. On July 25th he was taken

[1] *"Magnae sunt apud consiliarios reginae de Oxoniensi universitatae querelae, quod multi passim collegia sua relinquunt et ad nos advolare putentur. . . . Multi hoc vere adornarunt fugam ex illis academiis ad nos, sicut ex reliquis gymnasiis Anglicanis" wrote Allen to Aggazari on March 16, 1583, Reg. 2023, Vatican Library. *Cf.* for Oxford, ATHAN. ZIMMERMANN, Die Universitäten Englands im 16 Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1889, 31 *seqq.*, 100 *seq*; B. CAMM, O.S.B. in *The Month*, CX. (1907), 15 *seqq.*, 161 *seqq*, Allen and many of his fellow labourers had been educated at Oxford; *ibid.* 166 *seq.*; the same was true of many of the English martyrs; *ibid.* 172 *seqq.*

[2] In greater detail in SIMPSON, 224 *seqq.*; SPILLMANN, II., 290 *seqq.*

up the Thames to the house of Leicester, as the queen was anxious to see this celebrated man.[1] This was followed by large promises, if he would consent to become an Anglican, and he was also repeatedly put to the torture. The victim was then allowed the religious disputation which he had asked for in his "challenge"; although his memory was weakened, and his former vigour was gone, yet his intellect and his keen wit were still apparent, and in the opinion of most people the victory lay with him.[2] On November 20th sentence was pronounced on Campion and his fellow captives.[3] The indictment spoke of high treason in that he had organised a conspiracy against the queen at Rome and Rheims. There were no proofs of any such guilt,[4] and Campion had no difficulty in disproving it point by point; nevertheless, a unanimous verdict declared the accused guilty of conspiracy. On December 1st, 1581, Campion was hanged and quartered at Tyburn; with him a student from the English College in Rome and another from Rheims, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant, suffered the same fate.

The effect of this public execution was very different from what the government had expected. The martyrdom aroused extraordinary excitement; the Spanish ambassador wrote that 3,000 horsemen and a huge crowd of the populace had assembled, that the Catholics had been greatly encouraged

[1] Campion mentions his meeting with her in his interrogatory. SPILLMANN, II., 338.

[2] Even FRERE (219 *seq.*) admits that at the disputation and in his interrogatories Campion excited general admiration ("Personally attracted all men's admiration"). After three disputations "it was found by the government that all hopes of a victory were gone" and that the prisoner, instead of losing, was gaining in men's respect and compassion.

[3] Translation of the protocol of the debate at the second trial according to the *State Trials*, I., 1049 *seqq.* in SPILLMANN, II., 319-355.

[4] Thus MEYER, 127: "The attempt to prove the conspiracy failed entirely, and was bound to fail because the conspiracy had no existence."

and that the heretics had gone away in shame ; men exposed themselves to the greatest risks in order to obtain some of the blood that had been shed or other relics of the martyr.[1] Allen was of the opinion that Campion had helped the Catholic cause more by his death than if he had continued his work for many years.[2] Walpole, who was later on a Jesuit, an eye-witness whom Campion converted to Catholicism by his death, estimated that roughly a thousand Protestant spectators of the martyrdom had received the same impression as himself.[3] Campion's own personality contributed no less to this impression. In spite of his natural quick temper he had borne with serene tranquillity his imprisonment,[4] the insults of the mob at his arrival in London,[5] and the unjust accusations of the judge. He thanked God in a loud voice for his condemnation, but his desire for a martyr's death had nothing about it of the boastful and proud spirit of the fanatic. He received the traitor who had handed him over to his death, with all gentleness, when the latter, under a sudden impulse of remorse, went to visit him.[6] His last prayer was for the queen, and his death moved many to tears.[7]

[1] Mendoza on December 4, 1581. Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 200 *seq.*

[2] In SACCHINUS, P.V., l. 1, n. 280 ; Litterae annuae S.J., 1581. Rome, 1583, 210. "The execution," says FRERE (P. 220) "caused a veritable storm of protest. This was partly due to the reputation of Campion, and partly to the well-known partiality of the inquiry, and partly to the fact that the question whether these men were dying for religion or for treason was very real. The question was disputed throughout Europe, and prominent men like Allen on one side and Burghley on the other intervened in the discussion." FRERE (p. 221) replies to the question : "Taking Campion as example, it seems easy to argue that it was for religion, and hard to deny it."

[3] SPILLMANN, II., 372, 376, III., 376.

[4] *Ibid.* II., 295.

[5] *Ibid.* 296, *cf.* 307, 311.

[6] *Ibid.* 364.

[7] *Ibid.* 371 *seq.* "When Campion . . . returned to England . . . he was already well disciplined in the virtues of fortitude

The excitement against Campion and his companions among the members of the English government was increased by the fact that their mission coincided in time with the Irish disturbances of 1579, in which a Papal agent stirred up rebellion against Elizabeth.

and purity, and had attained to a gentleness of disposition which nothing could embitter, and to a greatness of mind which rose above all pettiness—qualities which gave a winning majesty to his personality and place him on a level with the martyrs of Christian antiquity. No other of the missionaries working in England had the power of calling forth enthusiastic admiration and commanding unselfish devotion to the same extent as this protomartyr of the English Jesuits." In MEYER, 193 (Engl. transl.).

CHAPTER XI.

GREGORY XIII. AND SCOTLAND.

HOWEVER unfortunate in their results and lamentably misinformed were the efforts of Gregory XIII. on behalf of the oppressed Catholics in the three northern kingdoms, it must nevertheless always remain a glorious page in the history of the Papacy that even during the desperate times of the religious revolution, it remained true to its ancient name for never allowing itself to be surpassed by anyone in the world for compassion and readiness to assist those in trouble.[1] The new Pope had taken his name out of veneration for Gregory the Great, the Apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, and he welcomed the idea of being able to restore in England that which his great predecessor had planted there.[2] From the very first he raised his voice in defence of Mary Stuart, so that for the honour of Europe there was at least one of its rulers who was not an inactive spectator of the violent trampling on rights which had taken place in the case of an unhappy queen. In the first weeks after the election of Gregory XIII., Mary received a letter of encouragement from him.[3] Marini, the Archbishop of Lanciano, whom he sent to Philip II. at the end of 1572, was instructed among other things to plead the cause of the imprisoned Queen of Scotland.[4] Mary's

[1] "Ab exordio consuevit thronus apostolicus iniqua perferentes defensare . . . et humi iacentes erigere secundum possibilitatem quam habetis: compassionem enim supra universos homines possidetis." Eusebius of Doryläum to Leo the Great, in AMELLI in the *Specilegium Casinense*, I., 135. *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XI. (1886), 362.

[2] Beaton on February 22, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 (I. 186).

[3] Of June 30, 1572, *ibid.* 1572, n. 72 (I. 63).

[4] CARINI, 29, 82.

ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who, by means of an agent, had laid before the Pope a plan for carrying off the young son of Mary to Spain by his relatives, the Guise, in order that he might be there educated as a Catholic, met with the kindest reception from Gregory, though the carrying out of the plan was rendered impossible by the death of Charles IX. and the Cardinal of Lorraine.[1]

The cautious Philip II. displayed less zeal. He had nothing but fair words for the demands of Marini and the nuncio, Ormaneto, but called attention strongly to the obstacles placed in his way by the rebellion in the Netherlands; he especially insisted that the enterprise against England ought to be carried out in common by the two Catholic powers of

[1] MAFFEI, I., 83 *seq.* Beaton's credentials, of February 22, 1573, and the letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine of August 8, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 *seq.* (I., 186 *seq.*). *"Mentre era in vita Carlo card. di Lorena, fu da lui rappresentato a N. S. il pericolo grande in che si trovava il principe figliolo di Maria regina di Scotiā, di essere allevato et nutrito nelle heresie dalle persone che gli manteneva appresso per educarlo la regina d'Inghilterra, se non era levato di Scotia et ridotto in parte dove fusse educato da persone catoliche proponendo insieme il modo et la via di lavarlo secretamente et ridurlo appresso il duca di Lorena suo parente, non ricercando altro di S. S. che l'autorità et il nome con dire che non mancava alla famiglia di Lorena il modo et le forze. Et S. B. ascoltò cosi volontieri questa proposta et cosi prontamente l'abbracciò, che con tutto che fusse mancato il suddetto card. di Lorena commandò al nuntio Dandino di trattarne con chi bisognava in nome suo et in particolare con Luigi card. di Guisa et con l'arcivescovo di Glasco ambasciatore di Scotia a chi era restato questo pensiero. Li quali ricercando da S. S. che oltre il nome facesse anco la spesa che si andasse, ella si contentò di pagare per questo conto sino alla somma di XV.^{m} scudi . . . Portorno di poi molte risolutioni del regno di Scotia che non fusse ne sicoro ne a proposito levarne quel principe, ma non restò per N. S. di applicarvi il pensiero. . . . Diede ordine che si mantenesse vivo il disegno et se ne tratasse et venisse alla risolutione." *Memorie di Dandino, *Cod.* D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

France and Spain.[1] The Pope therefore made every effort to arrange an agreement between the two governments, urging a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and a daughter of Philip. This plan came to nothing because France demanded Naples or Milan as a dowry for the Spanish princess.[2] Moreover, Philip had no other purpose in view, in this undertaking, at least so the nuncio thought,[3] than the deposition of Elizabeth and making Mary queen; he considered any conquest of England out of the question, because the English Catholics would never give their support to a foreign conqueror.[4] There was a feeling of irritation too in Spain because the French wished, after the fall of Elizabeth, to marry the Duke of Anjou to Mary Stuart and make him King of England. This explains the jealousy between the two powers and the impossibility of coming to an understanding. In April, 1572, an alliance was formed between France and England.[5]

In 1573, to the dismay of many Catholics, a treaty was made between Spain and her great enemy, Elizabeth. To the remonstrances of the nuncio Philip replied that it was only a case of a commercial treaty for two years. But even a commercial treaty definitely made any hostile attack upon England impossible, though even now Gregory XIII. and Ormaneto did not lose sight of the interests of that country. They brought pressure to bear upon Philip to make use of his friendly relations with the English queen to try and bring about her conversion. The mystification in which Elizabeth knew so well how to keep the world as to her private religious

[1] CARINI, 83.

[2] *Ibid.* 84.

[3] Ormaneto on February 19, 1573, *ibid.* 84 *seq.*

[4] Non penso che egli habbia spirito di occupar quel regno et farsene padrone, come non lo potrebbe fare ancora perchè gli Inglesi cattolici, senza li quali è quasi impossibile di far l'impresa, non vogliono aiuto esterno dal quale possino essere soggiogati, ma tanto che basti con loro a levar la pretensa Regina, et crear quella di Scotia. *Ibid.*

[5] KRETZSCHMAR, 45.

convictions made this attempt impossible, though Ormaneto felt fairly certain of its uselessness.[1]

In the meantime the English exiles in the Low Countries had watched with increasing bitterness the unending hesitation of Spain. They now had recourse to the Pope in order to obtain a letter of recommendation for one of their number, the theologian Nicholas Sanders,[2] and sent him to Philip II. armed with the Papal brief[3] and letters from several English nobles, to act as their permanent representative. The remonstrances of Sanders were not without their effect upon the Spanish king, though the latter dwelt upon the risk of the enterprise, in case it should fail, involving the English Catholics in terrible reprisals, as well as the many difficulties in which he was already involved without this, and lastly, when in spite of everything the nuncio continued to press for haste, his pecuniary straits. Ormaneto therefore begged the Pope, for the sake of the salvation of so many souls, to renew the subsidy granted by Pius V.[4] But even so nothing was done.

At length, after two years, about September, 1575, better news reached Rome. Philip at last seemed to be prepared to deliver a decisive blow, in order to turn the course of events in the north in his own favour. His half-brother, the ambitious Don John, who might be looked upon as a Netherlander on account of his mother, was to go as governor to the Netherlands, in order to crush the disturbances there, and then transfer his attention to England.[5] Don John threw himself into this scheme with all his heart; just as at Lepanto he

[1] MAFFEI, I., 85. CARINI, 87 *seq.*

[2] From Northumberland, Leonard Dacre, Christopher Nevill, Francis Englefield to Galli on June 29, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 105 (I. 87).

[3] On September 4, 1573, *ibid.* n. 106 (I. 188). Ormaneto speaks of his duty of assisting Sanders and of his arrival on November 15. CARINI, 88. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 697 *seq.*

[4] CARINI, 88 *seq.*

[5] TÖRNE, 157 *seq.*

had delivered Christendom from its hereditary enemy, so he now dreamed, with no less glory to himself, of liberating the English Catholics and the whole Church from the tyranny under which they lay. He had even carried his schemes further still; he aimed at marrying Mary Stuart, and placing the triple crown of England, Scotland and Ireland on his own head.[1]

In order not prematurely to arouse Elizabeth against Spain, Philip wished for the time being to remain in the background. As Gregory himself had already suggested in March, 1575,[2] the enterprise was to have its origin with the Pope and the States of the Church alone; in the meantime Spain was to assist it with a money subsidy; only after the landing had been effected was Don John to intervene, and under the pretext of sending troops by sea to Spain, to land suddenly in England. Gregory XIII. agreed to this, but wished first to discuss the scheme with some men of English birth. By his invitation William Allen and Francis Englefield went to Rome, and there, in February, 1576, discussed Philip's plan with Galli and the Spanish ambassador. Both the Englishmen declared that the expedition against Elizabeth was both urgent and practicable, but they asked for the greatest haste in the matter,[3] and that it should be put into effect immediately, which, however, Philip declared to be impossible.

Soon afterwards it was learned with great joy in Rome that Don John had actually gone to the Low Countries; Gregory sent him 50,000 scudi and sent Sega to Flanders as nuncio, who was to assist the general as his adviser.[4] Nevertheless, in Rome the preparations were carried on without much energy. Philip had only paid half the 100,000 scudi he had promised, and the Pope was waiting for the

[1] That Philip really also sent Don John against England (contrary opinion in PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 244 *seq.*) may be gathered from the correspondence of Zuñiga; *cf.* TÖRNE, 157 n.

[2] *Ibid.* 158.

[3] According to the dispatch of Zuñiga of February 29, 1576, in TÖRNE, 159 *seq.*

[4] KRETZSCHMAR, 50.

other half before he took the matter seriously. From the autumn of 1576 the expedition against England was postponed to the spring of 1577, and even then it was not ready. Don John found himself obliged to agree to an armistice, by which, certainly at the request of Elizabeth, he bound himself to send his troops home by land. With this all possibility of a landing in England was taken away from Don John.[1] Sega, who after the death of Ormaneto, had been transferred to Madrid, received in October of the same year instructions to refrain from any further negotiations for the English expedition, and merely to ask for help for Ireland.[2]

A most unfortunate expedition against Ireland actually took place.[3] The most celebrated military leader of Ireland, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, a scion of the celebrated family of the Earls of Desmond, had left his country in 1575 in order to ask for the help of the foreign princes against Elizabeth, on behalf of his afflicted country. In Paris and Madrid he met with nothing but fair words, but from the Pope he received real help; a letter from the Secretary of State on June 14th, 1575, assigned to him a sum of 1,000 gold florins. When, later on, Fitzmaurice appeared in person in Rome, Gregory XIII. promised him several ships equipped with munitions and provisions.

Unfortunately, the adventurer Stukely at that time enjoyed no less esteem in Rome than he had had in the time of Pius V.[4] Galli, the Secretary of State, believed firmly in him. Maurice Clenock, the superior of the English hospice, spoke of him as "sent from heaven" for the expedition against England; the influential Owen Lewis was his confidant and supporter.[5] When, in 1577, Don John was to attempt a

[1] TÖRNE, 160 *seq.*

[2] Report of Sega in KRETZSCHMAR, 198 *seq.*

[3] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 169 *seq.*; KRETZSCHMAR, 53 *seqq.* Report of Sega, *ibid.* 194 *seqq.*; MAFFEI, I., 355-360. POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 69-85. J. MARTIN in the *Revue d'hist. dipl.*, XXIII. (1909), 161-182.

[4] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 242, and J. MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 164 *seq.*

[5] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 75. See *supra* p. 382.

landing in England from Flanders, Stukely was sent with a Papal brief to the Low Countries. Don John had no need of him, for the English expedition had already proved impossible, but Stukely returned to Rome with letters of recommendation to Philip and the Secretary of State.[1]

The failure of the English scheme only had the effect of urging Cardinal Galli to take up the matter of Ireland more zealously. It would not appear that the Secretary of State aimed at a real conquest; he only wished to assist the troublesome and impatient Stukely, and to annoy Elizabeth, by fastening "a thorn" as he expressed it, in the queen's side, just as Orange is in ours." For this purpose Stukely seemed to him to be the very man.[2]

On October 27th, 1577, Cardinal Galli wrote that the Pope was thinking of employing Stukely and Fitzmaurice against Elizabeth. Stukely sailed from Ostia in January 1578, but he did not go to Ireland. While he was at Lisbon he allowed himself to be won over by King Sebastian for his expedition against Africa, and Cardinal Galli, against his will, gave some sort of approval of this. At the battle of Alcàzar Stukely fell, a cannon ball carrying off both his legs.[3] Even at the time of Stukely's departure Bishop Odescalchi had written: "God

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 77.

[2] *Ibid* 78. *Di questo infelice successo et di quanto passava giornalmente li avvisi, che n'hebbe N.S. et Msgr. di Piacenza nunzio appresso il Re cattolico, che teneva cura di quel negotio, al quale S.Stà haveva volentieri dato orecchio più per desiderio di far qualche profitto in quelle parti che non speranza di conseguirlo, furno loro dati dalla corte di Francia dal medesimo nunzio per il continuo commercio che teneva con chi haveva buoni avvisi d'Inghilterra. *Memorie of Dandino, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 172 *seq.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 79. *Il Stucleo o non volendo disgustare il Re, o per la speranza d' accrescere le sue forze o pure, come lui proprio scrisse, che gli fusse fatta un po di forza con non lassargli pigliar in Lisbona quelle commodità che gli bisognavano per la lunga navigatione, si risolse di compiacer lo Re. Memorandum of Cardinal Galli, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

grant that this handful of soldiers may not give the Queen of England a pretext for sending all the Catholics in England to their death" ; and he added that it had caused general surprise that the Pope had placed any confidence in that refugee.[1] Events justified this surprise. A little time before his death Stukely had openly expressed his true sentiments towards the Pope. Irritated by the fact that Fitzmaurice had been associated with him in the allocation of the Pope's subsidy, he said that he would make them repent of this, that he would sell the equipment of his ships, turn pirate, and lay waste the States of the Church themselves ; thus he had never had any intention of going to Ireland.[2]

The brave Fitzmaurice underwent many adventures. In December 1577, he set sail with one ship, and captured another, but as his provisions were exhausted, he was forced in 1578 to return to Spain. There he met in Madrid the man who was representing the English Catholics, the distinguished

[1] *" Quelli mille fanti che l'altro giorno scrissi a V. A. che si facevano per mandare in Avignone, si è scoperto poi che veramente vanno in Inghilterra guidati da un Signore Inglese che si trovava qua, il quale ha dato ad intendere al Papa che arrivandovi con detti fanti rivolterà tutto quel Regno, nel quale vi sono ancora più Catolici che Luterani. Così detti fanti s'imbarcheranno a Cività vecchia sopra un orca di Fiandra comparsa pochi giorni sono in queste bande. Et piaccia Dio che questi pochi fanti non siano causa di fare che quella Regina non faccia tagliar il capo a tutti li catholici che sono rimasti in quella insula. . . . In somma sono molti che si meravigliano di S. Stà che si habbia lasciato persuadere da questo Signore Inglese fuoruscito. Vogliono molti che il Re di Spagna tenga la mano in questo negotio per divertire quella Regina a soccorrere i ribelli di Fiandra." Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, January 4, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Odescalchi wrote to the duke concerning the expedition of King Sebastian on July 29, 1578 (*ibid.*) : *" Tengono che l'impresa del detto Re sia d'andare in Inghilterra," as English ships, in contravention of treaties, have attacked his fleet on its way back from the East Indies.

[2] Statement of Captain Cleyborn, in BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 172, 703.

English theologian, Nicholas Sanders.[1] The latter joined Fitzmaurice and accompanied him, not so much as a legate or nuncio as an accredited Papal agent.[2]

In the middle of July Fitzmaurice and Sanders reached Ireland with a few ships; they established themselves principally at Smerwick and urged the people to rise against Elizabeth. The Queen of England showed no little fear. She was afraid that Spain, which she had so long provoked and irritated would at last force her to a decisive battle. She had no small opinion of the military power of Philip; her ambassador in Spain, who had been a witness of the preparations against Portugal, had assured her on his return that the army of the Catholic King was greater than the united strength of France and England.[3] Philip actually allowed himself to be persuaded by the nuncio Sega to take some definite action. On September 13th, 1580, under the command of Bastiano San Joseppi, as "captain and general of His Holiness" a squadron of six ships set sail with 1000 sailors, 550 regular soldiers and 800 volunteers for Smerwick, and at once erected a fortress as a base for further operations.[4] Philip had great schemes in mind for further action against Elizabeth;[5] in the meantime he struck a severe blow at English commerce when, in December, 1580, he forebade all foreign ships to sail from the ports of Spain.[6]

Nevertheless the whole Irish expedition met with a

[1] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 167 *seq.*, 697 *seq.* With regard to Sanders, whom KRETZSCHMAR (p. 54) and BROSCH (VI., 576) wrongly describe as a Jesuit, *cf.* POLLEN in the *English Historical Review*, VI., (1891), 36 *seqq.*

[2] No brief containing his plenitentiary powers is known. In his correspondence he only appears as "Dr. Sander." POLLEN in *The Month*, CI., 80.

[3] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 140, 195 *seq.* The viceroy of Ireland was given authority to treat with the rebels, and if necessary to promise them religious liberty. *English Hist. Review*, VI., 38.

[4] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 197 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 198 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* 200.

disastrous end. In response to the call of Sanders and Fitzmaurice, the powerful Earls of Desmond and the whole province of Munster rose in arms; a guerilla war of skirmishes and small engagements was carried on until the end of 1581 and even longer, and covered southern Ireland with dead bodies and ruins,[1] without however securing any decisive result against the foreign domination. The auxiliary expedition under the command of San Joseppi had suffered in its preparations from the delays of the Spanish officials, whose inefficiency had once wrung from the lips of the nuncio, who was urging them to greater efforts, the saying "these people would make one wonder whether there is a sun in the heavens."[2]

As a matter of fact San Joseppi arrived too late; the garrison of the fortress at Smerwick surrendered after three days seige, and was cruelly butchered by the English with the exception of six of the leaders.[3] Of the commanders of the

[1] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 180. For the devastation caused by the war see Spenser in BROSCH, VI., 668.

[2] Letter of May 25, 1580, in POLLEN, in *The Month*, CI., 81.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 179. Mendoza on December 11, 1580, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 524. Among the prisoners was a priest, Lawrence Moore, a certain Oliver Plunket and William Walsh, the servant of Sanders. When these three refused the oath of fealty and supremacy, they were taken to a blacksmith and their arms and legs broken in three places, and left in this condition during the night; on the following day they underwent a traitor's death. (Sanders to Galli, January 19, 1581, *Eng. Hist. Review*, VI., 39). Many looked upon San Joseppi as a traitor: *Ma molti hebbero opinione che se egli voleva, poteva tenersi sicurissimo in quel forte et aspettare il soccorso degli Hiberni cattolici, il quale senza dubio gli saría venuto et cosi haveria potuto metter in gran travaglio la Regina Inglese. Ma egli si rese con gran biasimo de la fede et del valor suo et fu condotto in un castello presso a Londra dove fu tenuto alquanti mesi con trattamento non da prigione, ma da hospite amicissimo et honoratissimo. Il che accrebbe tanto maggiormente il sospetto che si havea di lui et massimamente che mentre stette in quel castello, mandò a Roma due volte a procurare del pontefice, lo facesse liberar con pagar 12^{m} scudi . . ., ma il pontefice andò

expedition Fitzmaurice fell as early as August 18th, 1579; Sanders died at the beginning of 1581 as the result of his hardships, in a wood near Limerick, and his body, to save it from the hatred of the English, was buried in an unknown grave, and none were found to betray it to the enemy.[1] Three of the Earls of Desmond met with death as the result of the insurrection.[2]

Apart from the great harm done to Ireland and the exhaustion of the Papal treasury,[3] Fitzmaurice's enterprise had no results beyond having irritated Elizabeth to an extraordinary degree, without having inflicted any notable damage upon her, or preventing her from interfering in the events in France and Flanders. The anger of the queen vented itself especially on persons who were altogether innocent, namely, her own Catholic subjects. It is easy to understand how men like Walsingham and Burghley did not let the opportunity slip for taking even more severe action against the Catholics under a legal pretext.[4] On August 21st, 1580, the Spanish ambassador Mendoza wrote that the queen had ordered the arrest of four earls, five barons and 300 gentlemen from fear lest the Catholics should rise in England as they had

tanto procrastinando questa resolutione per il sospetto che havea di lui, ch' egli si risolse di partirsi d' Inghilterra con pretesto d'esser fugito et andò in Fiandra, et conoscendo esser scoperto de le attioni sue, non hebbe più ardire di tornare a Roma ne in Italia, ma dopo alcuni messi s'infermò et morse in Fiandra. Memorandum of Cardinal Galli, Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 179.

[2] *Ibid.* 180 *seqq.*

[3] Gregory XIII. had spent more than 200,000 scudi on the expedition to Ireland. Giov. Corraro, Relatione of 1581, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 282.

[4] Elizabeth herself attributed the Irish expedition rather to the influence of Philip than of the Pope. The French ambassador wrote on November 6, 1580, that the queen had spoken "honorablement "of Gregory, and did not wish any harm to this "pauvre bon homme, qui estoit si liberal de donner des royaumes qui n'estoient pas en sa puissance." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 408.

done in Ireland ;[1] on October 10th in the same year he reported[2] that they were proceeding apace with the imprisonment of the Catholics in order to prevent an English rising ; the victims bore themselves with great patience in their trials and did not ask for their liberty in return for the payment of fines ; they freely admitted that without the strong support of foreign troops they were quite incapable of doing any such thing. Sweeping measures against the confessors of the Catholic faith could not fail to follow, with popular opinion excited as it was to the highest pitch.

The Irish expedition was especially disastrous to the coming to England of the Jesuits and the priests from the seminaries. When Campion and his companions set out from Rome they knew nothing of Sanders' undertaking ; it was with alarm that they heard of it at Rheims, because it was obvious that henceforward they too would be looked upon as political agents like Sanders by the English government. Among the English priests their coming gave rise to the same anxiety ; the two Jesuits declared that the Catholics might be satisfied by their sworn assurance that they had nothing whatever to do with politics, and that before the courts they would demand that their accusers should give proofs of their political machinations, which certainly could not be adduced, because they did not exist.[3] It was quite true that Campion's defence before his judges and the whole behaviour of the martyrs made it clear that they had had nothing to do in any way with the rebels.[4]

[1] Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 511. *Cf.* Dandino to Galli, September 26, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 217).

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CI., 82. *Cf.* Mendoza, October 23, 1580, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 518 : "Aqui de mes y medio á esta parte, han encarcelado â titulo de ser católicos más de 500 gentiles-hombres ingleses, temiéndose . . ., no se levantasen con los rumores de Irlanda."

[3] Persons in POLLEN, *loc. cit.* IC., 294 *seq.*

[4] One of the first accusers, the apostate Nichols, admitted publicly that he made his statement only out of fear of torture. LINGARD, VIII., 149 n.

Even before the capture of the missionaries the effects of what had happened in Ireland were shown in the recrudescence of laws against the Catholics. On July 15th, 1580, an order was issued that all Englishmen must within the space of four months recall their sons from educational establishments beyond the seas.[1] This law, which was directed against the seminary priests, was followed by another in January, 1581, which, by amplifying the statute of 1571, was intended to hamper their activities in England:[2] those who assumed the power to absolve, or exercised that power, and those who attempted to win over anyone from the state religion, or who abandoned it, were to incur, together with their accomplices, the penalties of high treason. The fine for saying mass was fixed at 200 marks, and 100 for hearing mass, and in both cases imprisonment for one year. Failure to attend the Protestant services was punished by a fine of twenty pounds sterling for each lunar month, which meant thirteen times a year; anyone who did not present himself for a whole year at his parish church must find two guarantors of his good conduct, each of 200 pounds sterling. In order that priests might not be lodged in a family under some other title, no one must employ a tutor without the permission of the bishop of the diocese; if this rule were infringed, the tutor was to be punished by one year's imprisonment, while the man who had employed him had to pay ten pounds sterling a month.

About 1581 the state of affairs concerning religion had thus been made quite clear. On the one hand national opinion towards the old religion was generally favourable; the mission of the Jesuits in particular had made this clear. It was equally clear, however, on the other hand, that by means of preaching and the care of souls alone, the old Church would never be able to secure the victory, since the government was quite determined to put an end entirely to all Catholic preaching, nor could there be any doubt that it had the power to enforce its will.

What was to be done under these circumstances became an

[1] *Ibid.* 142.

[2] *Ibid.* 143.

anxious question for zealous Catholics. The times were not yet ripe for the modern methods of a loyal opposition, the use of the press, the rights of assembly, etc.; on the other hand the time had gone by for a protest made sword in hand, as had been attempted in medieval style in 1569 by Northumberland, who was otherwise perfectly loyal to the king. Was it therefore necessary to adhere firmly to the principle laid down by Archbishop Heath when Elizabeth had inaugurated the first acts of violence against the Church of their fathers, who, when he was asked what they were to do, had replied: there is nothing to be done, but to suffer what God may will?[1] This view had actually been followed by the English Catholics during the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign;[2] politically, they had remained entirely passive, a party without a leader or a programme. If the queen was praised because at last under her rule England once more enjoyed the blessings of internal and undisturbed peace, this was due to her Catholic subjects, in that they had not imitated the example of their Protestant fellow-countrymen in the time of Queen Mary.[3] After the interlude of the ill-judged rebellion of 1569, the great mass of the Catholics adhered to this policy, and the conspiracies of Ridolfi and others had no roots whatever among the Catholic population. Were the Catholics then in future to look on with folded arms while their most sacred heritage, their religion, was persecuted? It seemed to them that a very easy means of defence was ready to their hands; if only Spain and France would take up arms seriously in order to put an end to the acts of violence against the sufferers, it seemed to them that Elizabeth had not the necessary strength to make an effective resistance. Quite apart from this, those two nations had just reasons for declaring war against Elizabeth.

Certain Catholics accordingly took measures which must not be judged by modern principles. According to the

[1] "Agere nihil, inquit, pati autem quaecunque Deus volet." *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 504.

[2] POLLEN, *ibid.*, IC. (1902), 43-60.

[3] See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 401 *seqq.*

doctrines then in force, which were purely Christian in origin, and which had hitherto prevailed, the laws concerning the love of one's neighbour applied not only to private individuals, but to nations as such ;[1] if a nation was oppressed by foreigners or by those of its own race, then the others were bound to come to its assistance. The principle of non-intervention was not yet recognized. Thus even the most esteemed Catholics of recent times, such as Bishop Fisher of Rochester,[2] or Cardinal Pole,[3] had had no hesitation in appealing for the

[1] *Cf.* O. KLOPP, Das Jahr 1683 und der folgende grosse Türkenkrieg Gratz, [1883], 1-11.

[2] . . . nor do I see any appearance of their obeying the censure of the Pope unless they be accompanied with the remedies of which I have before written. And as the good bishop of Rochester says, who sent to me to notify it, the arms of the Pope against these men, who are so obstinate, are more frail than lead, and that your Majesty must set your hand to it, in which you will do a work as agreeable to God as going against the Turk. Chapuys to Charles V. on 27 September, 1533, in J. GAIRDNER, Letters and Papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII., vol. VI., London, 1882, n. 1164, p. 486. The good and holy bishop [of Rochester] would like you to take active measures immediately, as I wrote in my last ; which advice he has sent to me again lately to repeat. The most part of the English, as far as I can learn, are of his opinion, and only fear that your Majesty will not listen to it. Chapuys to Charles V. on October 10, 1533, *ibid.* 1249, p. 511.

[3] A long rhetorical discourse to this effect is to be found in Pole's letter " Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione," l. 3, c. 7. (ROCCABERTI, Bibliotheca Maxima pontificia, XVIII., Rome, 1698, 288 *seq.*). There *e.g.* it is stated (p. 288) : " Si amor reipublicae christianae te movet, ut regem Turcarum . . . bello aggrediaris, an non unde maius periculum reipublicae nostrae imminet, et ubi praesens iam malum, et novus hostis urget multo quam Turca infestior, eo potius cursum convertere te oportet ? " The English had not yet risen against Henry, only because they wished to wait for the intervention of the Emperor (p. 289). *Cf.* ATH. ZIMMERMANN, Kardinal Pole, Ratisbon, 1893, 102 *seq.* Sanders and Stapleton, Owen Lewis, Ely and Allen shared the opinion of Fisher and Pole in this matter. POLLEN in *The Month*, XCVII. (1901), 508.

assistance of the Emperor against the oppressive conduct of Henry VIII.; Fisher and Pole were thus of opinion that such an undertaking would be as pleasing to God as an expedition against the Turks, and the Imperial ambassador Chapuys wrote that England was for the most part in agreement with Fisher. The Protestants themselves were no exception in this; the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Huguenots of France and the Gueux of Flanders relied upon foreign assistance in their struggle against their lawful sovereigns, and Elizabeth herself had given them her help.[1]

It was nevertheless an unfortunate step to have asked for help from Spain for the Catholic cause. Since the time of Bishop Fisher the medieval idea of the state had lost much ground; almost every Englishman would only have accepted a Spanish conqueror unwillingly, and the interference of a foreigner would only have caused odium against the Catholic Church. Most unfortunately, there was added the fact that it was especially the Jesuits, priests and religious, who, with greater or less success, mixed themselves up in matters which were indeed at that time closely allied to religion, but nevertheless far removed from their real mission.[2] That their conduct on the whole was judged to have been mistaken even by the Jesuit Order, was soon made manifest at the next General Chapter of 1593. In one of the decisions arrived at on that occasion all interference in political questions was strictly forbidden to all members of the Society of Jesus.[3]

[1] *Cf.* W. Allen in LINGARD, VIII., 428.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Persons, dated Seville, May 10, 1596, in KNOX, II., 283, BELLESHEIM, Allen, 133, n. 1.: *Cf.* Persons' letter dated Seville, 10 May, 1596, in KNOX, II., 283. BELLESHEIM, Allen, 133, n. 1: Verissimum sane est, vehementer me cupere, ut haec ipsa de terrenis regnis nihil quidquam ad nos pertinerent; sed cum nostra peccata id effecerint, ut prostrata republica nostra res politicae atque religionis adeo sint immixtae atque perplexae, ut de unis restituendis sine aliis tractari non possit, . . . non possumus de secundo quoque non esse solliciti.

[3] Cong. V., decr. 47: Institutum Soc. Iesu, II., Florence, 1893, 275; *cf.* decr. 79, *ibid.*, 288.

A few years later this was followed by a Papal confirmation of this decision, so that no superior of the Order could any longer dispense in this matter in particular cases.[1]

The Catholics of the three kingdoms of Great Britain thought that there was a faint hope of help to be looked for in Scotland. It was therefore in that kingdom that the attempts to bring back better times for the old religion by means of political intrigues were renewed.

It was true that so far the position of the Catholics in Scotland as well as that of its Catholic queen had been well-nigh desperate. With the surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh on May 29th, 1573, Mary Stuart had lost her last fortress, the government was in the hands of her bitter enemy Morton, her only son was in his keeping, and was being brought up in Protestantism and hatred of his mother.[2] At first Morton did not show himself hostile to the Catholics in Scotland,[3] but even under his rule, between 1573 and 1575, several Catholic priests were put to death as such, while others were for the same reason banished from the kingdom, while others again were declared to be traitors to their country, and to have incurred the penalties of high treason.[4] The general assembly of the Scottish national church pronounced excommunication upon all Catholics who refused within eight days to accept the state religion ;[5] decrees were issued against pilgrimages, festival days, and sacred images or organs in the churches.[6]

If these prohibitions of Catholic usages were necessary, it is clear that Protestantism could not yet have taken deep root in the hearts of the people. Indeed, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII., the state of Catholicism in Scotland was not altogether hopeless. The Scottish Jesuit, John Hay,

[1] Edict of September 4, 1606, *ibid.* I. (1892), 133.

[2] *Cf.* *" Relatio de statu Mariae Scotiae Reginae," Cod. Barb., XXXIII.-110, Vatican Library.

[3] Bellesheim, Schottland, II., 131.

[4] *Ibid.* 136, *cf.* 140.

[5] *Ibid.* 138.

[6] *Ibid.* 139.

who visited his country in 1579, was of opinion[1] that a few men of influence, if they would only accept the old religion boldly, could quickly restore it. The general distress impressed the people as a scourge from heaven on account of the religious changes; the bad faith of the ministers who promised to abolish the tithes, and yet after the lapse of three years still insisted on their payment, their sumptuous banquets in the face of their railing at the comfortable life led by Catholic priests, their covetousness of honours, as well as their marrying with women whose lawful husbands were still alive, had made the preachers of the new religion unspeakably hateful to the people. Theirs was the responsibility for the increasing decline of morality, the result of their doctrine that good works were devoid of merit;[2] it was complained that the revenues of monasteries which formerly had sufficed for 200 persons were now no longer sufficient for one.[3]

The results of the Jesuit missions in Scotland after 1584[4]

[1] Letter to Everard Mercurian, November 9, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 160.

[2] *Ibid.* 158.

[3] *Ibid.* 162. Mendoza also wrote on the strength of the reports of the Jesuit Holt, who had come back from Scotland: in the country districts, especially in the north of Scotland, there is sympathy with the Catholic religion: men are angry with the pastors because they are married and give no alms. The cities are to a great extent Protestant. Yet one of the old priests, Holt states, distributed communion to more than 100 Catholics in Edinburgh last Christmas (*cf.* THEINER, III., 371). Of these old priests there are not more than half a dozen in the country: it is considered lawful to take part at the same time in sercet at Catholic worship and publicly at the Protestant (Mendoza, February 9, 1582, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 276). Mendoza is also of opinion on May 4, 1582 (Ibid. 369) concerning the Scottish people "que tiene aborrecimiento de los ministros y gente eclesiástica que la man por su ruin vida, y tanto que de Escocia dice por ellos, que la palabra que predican era buena, pero su vida muy mala." *Cf.* the memorial of 1580 on the conditions in Scotland in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I., 72-80.

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 152 *seq.*; FORBES-LEITH, 207 *seq.*

prove that this description of the state of affairs was substantially true. That the ancient religion could still count upon a strong following in the nation was admitted, two years after the death of Gregory XIII., in a secret report to Walsingham. The Protestants, this report states, consist of a few members of the higher nobility, the lairds, or the lesser nobles, whose sons and younger brothers are for the most part occupied in commerce by land and sea, and most of the merchants in the towns. Of those who were indifferent about religion many, who formerly had been adherents of Mary Stuart, would join the Catholics, and thus the latter could count upon the greater part of the nobility, and as far as power was concerned, were superior to their adversaries.[1] The following are named as friendly to the Catholic Church in a memorial of a Scottish priest who was sent to Allen in Rome in 1582: the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly and Eglington, and Lords Hume and Seton.[2] Catholic priests still lived in secret with the Catholic families; these were to a great extent English fugitives, who as foreigners were allowed greater freedom of movement than the natives.[3] An attempt was made to provide against the extinction of the priesthood by the establishment of Scottish seminaries. One such was commenced in 1576 at Douai, but was afterwards transferred to Pont-à-Mousson. Mary Stuart as well as Gregory XIII. contributed to this establishment.[4] At the request of the Scottish queen Bishop Lesley was instructed to attempt to recover the Scottish monasteries in Germany for their own nation. The Emperor Rudolph II. supported these attempts

[1] Archibald Douglas on November 17, 1587, Calendar of Hatfield Papers, III., 295; *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 406 *seq.*

[2] Attached to the letter of Allen of February 18, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 62 (III., 371).

[3] *Ibid.* 371. *Cf.* Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 274 *seq.*

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 221 *seq.* MEYER, 96 *seqq.* Mary's letter of July 31, 1581, in THEINER, 1581, n. 57 (III., 300). For the Scottish priests in Paris see BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 153, n. 1.

by a letter of recommendation to the princes and cities of Germany, dated October 8th, 1578.[1]

Although the state of affairs at home was not entirely unsatisfactory, the Catholic party could not hope to rescue their country from the oppression of England without foreign assistance. In this respect, too, the adherents of Mary Stuart had by no means yet given up all for lost. Even though the princes remained more or less indifferent in the queen's regard, there still remained as a last resource the Pope with his authority and influence. It was to him that Mary's envoys in Paris, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, and Bishop Lesley of Ross, had recourse, in order to win the Catholic powers over to their sovereign's cause by his mediation.[2]

At first Gregory XIII. naturally could not do more than send encouraging letters to the captive queen.[3] When, in 1575, Philip II. showed himself prepared for an undertaking against England, provided that the Pope would give his adherence to the plan,[4] Gregory XIII. concurred, but the plan came to nothing owing to the delays and hesitation of Philip, as was again the case in 1577, when Don John was to attempt a landing in England from the Low Countries, with a view to supporting Mary Stuart; Gregory XIII. had

[1] BELLESHEIM in *Hist-polit. Blättern*, CIII. (1889), 35, CVII. (1891), 706. *Cf.* Lesley to Castagna, nuncio at Cologne, June 23 and July 23, 1579, in BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 720 (*cf.* 219), and THEINER, 1579, n. 102 (III., 106).

[2] Beaton, February 22, 1573, in THEINER, 1573, n. 104 (I., 186); Lesley, February 24, 1574, *ibid.* 1574, n. 94 (I., 307). *As early as November 1, 1572, Arco, the Imperial ambassador in Rome, had heard some hints of a plan for an alliance between the Pope, Spain and France "con tanto utile della religione." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Briefs of June 30, 1572, and August 18, 1577, in THEINER, 1572, n. 72; 1577, n. 82 (I., 63, II., 337).

[4] The dealings of Philip II. with his ambassador in Rome (March-September, 1575) in W. STIRLING MAXWELL, Don John of Austria, II., London, 1883, 105-112. POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 76.

placed 50,000 scudi at his disposal for his expedition.[1] With like want of success in 1579 and 1580 did Mary Stuart and the nuncio in Madrid, Sega, attempt to urge Philip II. to undertake the conquest of England.[2] Mary especially brought pressure to bear to get her son withdrawn from the influence of the Protestants and educated in the Catholic religion under the care of the Guise or Philip II.[3]

In addition to all these hopes and frustrated attempts, in the meantime a lucky star had risen for the Catholic party. Morton was overthrown in 1578 by the two Earls of Argyll and Atholl, and James VI., though still but a minor of twelve years of age, was declared independent.[4] Atholl was a zealous Catholic and exercised a great influence over the young king.[5] Gregory XIII. thought that the time had come to open new relations with the northern kingdom; he sent the Bishop of Ross as his ambassador with letters to James VI., the Scottish people, Mary Stuart, Henry III. and the leading Catholics of France.[6] But the step was premature; Atholl was suddenly carried off by death;[7] and Morton again came

[1] *Ibid.* 77. KRETZSCHMAR, 47 *seqq.* RITTER, I., 524. The instructions of Philip II., November 11, 1576, to Don John concerning the invasion of England, in KERVYN DE LETTERHOVE' Relations, IX., 15-21.

[2] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 101, 137 *seqq.* Report of Sega in KRETZSCHMAR, 194 *seqq.*

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 193. *Cf.* Beaton to Galli, November 13, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 82 (II., 439).

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 154; FORBES-LEITH, 134 *seq.*

[5] "Tanta erat apud adolescentem principem auctoritate, ut loco parentis coleretur." Lesley to Cardinal Galli, June 20, 1578, in THEINER, 1579, n. 104 (III., 108). "Is vere catholicus princeps . . . id unum expetebat . . . ut avtia Christianorum eligio Scotiae restitueretur" (*ivid.* 107).

[6] All of July 5, 1578, published in THEINER, 1578, N. 89-90 (II., 437).

[7] *Cf.* the letters of Lesley to Galli, May 15, June 20, July 19, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 134 *seqq.*, 137 *seqq.*; THEINER, 1579, n. 104 (III., 108 *seq.*, 110).

into power ;[1] Lesley had to content himself with trying to influence his country by letter.[2] It soon became clear, however, that a successor for Atholl had been found.

In 1579, at the desire of King James,[3] his young cousin Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, and a cousin of Darnley, came to the Scottish court, and rose in the king's favour from day to day. Aubigny had been brought up as a Catholic in France, and before his departure from Paris had presented himself before the Papal nuncio, promising to work on behalf of Catholicism with James VI.[4] He sought not only to withdraw his royal patron from English influence, and bring him into closer touch with his mother, but also gradually to win him over to the Catholic cause. Mary Stuart worked in the same sense ; when in 1580 James put forward a suggestion that he should be recognized by her as sharing the throne, Mary agreed, provided James would embrace the Catholic faith.[5] On the other hand, Aubigny favoured Mary's plan for sending her son abroad into Catholic surroundings. At the beginning of April, 1580, it would seem that this plan was on the point of being carried into effect with the consent of James.[6]

Naturally Elizabeth, through Morton, tried to oppose

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 154 *seq.*

[2] Lesley to Gregory XIII., July 9, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 91 (III., 219).

[3] Lesley to Galli, May 15, 1579, in FORBES-LEITH, 136.

[4] Lesley to Galli, July 8, 1579, in THEINER, 1579, n. 105 (III., 110). The Pope approved the decision of Aubigny to go to Scotland (Letter of Galli, June 15, 1579, mentioned *ibid.*). Lesley also rested his hopes for the recovery of Scotland to the Church in the head of the Hamilton family, the next successor to the throne after the Stuarts (*ibid.*, 111).

[5] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 309.

[6] "Scribit insuper D. d'Aubignius, nimium [minimum ?] abfuisse, quia 6 die Aprilis Principem nostrum de ipsius consensu, ex adversae factionis potestate ereptum, in castrum Dumbartonium perduxisset, unde in Galliam brevissimus est traiectus." Lesley to Galli, July 9, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 91 (III., 220).

the French newcomer.[1] But these attempts only made it clear how deeply rooted Aubigny's influence was, and they led to the fall, not of the latter, but of Morton. On December 31st, 1580, the regent, who hitherto had been all-powerful in the Council of State, was arrested as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and after he had confessed his knowledge of the conspiracy, was executed on July 2nd, 1581. On August 8th, 1581, the king created his favourite Duke of Lennox.[2]

James VI. thus seemed to have embraced the cause of the Catholic religion and a Catholic policy, and the most joyful hopes sprang up among the Catholics. Elizabeth might continue to issue persecuting laws as before, but what was the use of all her blows if her lawful heir, the future successor to the threefold crown, inclined in the opposite direction?[3] If ever there was a time when the friends of the Catholic religion must not remain passive, it was now. If the present favourable opportunity were allowed to pass, without being turned to advantage, it would probably never return.

It was above all Campion's companion, Robert Persons, who insisted upon this, and he gradually gave up his pastoral labours for politics. Persons thought he had the gift of exercising great influence by his words and writings; this belief was pardonable, for all are in agreement as to the remarkable qualities of this man. He had not yet attained to the height of his wide-spread activity when William Allen described as incredible the readiness, the prudence, the zeal, the political skill and literary ability of this friend of his.[4] Moreover, he was one of the most talented writers of his

[1] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 147.

[2] *Ibid.* 146.

[3] The Spanish ambassador on the other hand thought that the fall of Protestantism in England would mean its fall everywhere; "Segun todo juicio humano medio para poderse extirpar la muchedumbre de herejes de Europa." Mendoza, November 11, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe, II., vol. V., 181.

[4] SACCHINUS, P. V., l. 1, n. 288.

age, whose English style was extolled by Swift as a model of simplicity and clearness ; above all, he was without a rival as a polemical writer.[1] The first thing which led him on to this new line of action naturally had nothing in itself to do with politics. When he heard of the course of events in Scotland, he begged the well-informed secular priest, William Watts, to come to him in London, and induced him to go north in order to win over the young king to the cause of the Church.[2] Soon afterwards, at the beginning of August, 1581, Persons left England, where, after Campion's arrest, which had taken place on July 17th, he might indeed die for the Church, but could no longer work for it.[3]

About ten days later Watts set out for Scotland. Besides Persons, others as well had given him tasks to perform ; six English nobles through him invited the Duke of Lennox to interest himself in obtaining the liberation of Mary Stuart, and to overthrow, if not Elizabeth herself, at any rate the

[1] Character sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII., 416. Taunton himself, his most determined adversary, says of him : "Look at him from almost any point you will, he was great." (ETHELRED L. TAUNTON, The History of the Jesuits in England, London, 1901, 395). D'Israeli says of his writings (Amenities of Literature, London, 1867, 438) : "Parsons may be ranked among the earliest writers of our vernacular diction in its purity and pristine vigour, without ornament and polish. . . . His English writings have not a sentence which, to this day, is either obsolete or obscure." In TAUNTON, *loc. cit.*, 475. *Cf.* MEYER, 169.

[2] Persons to Aquaviva, September 26, 1581, in H. MORUS, Historia Missionis Anglicanae, St. Omer, 1660, 116 ; FORBES-LEITH, 166-174.

[3] He puts forward as the motive for his flight that he had been sought for in England so eagerly that, besides the constant annoyance to the Catholics, many priests had fallen into the hands of the spies who were seeking him (Persons to Aggazari, August 24, 1583, in THEINER, 1583, n. 85, III., 475). Mendoza also says, December 11, 1581, that Persons could not return to England without being immediately taken by his enemies. Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 206.

statesmen who were governing England. If the King of Scotland were to declare himself a Catholic, many of the English nobles and the greater part of the people would side with him; the help of the Pope, Spain and France ought to be equally forthcoming. As soon as the king crossed the English border with an army, the six nobles would stir up rebellion in the north of England, acclaim him as heir to the throne and liberate his mother, while Spain would give assistance. If Elizabeth would not accept the restoration of the Catholic religion she should be deposed.[1] Lennox did not show himself averse to this plan, but even before his answer reached Watts the renewed persecution of the Catholics had placed the greater number of the six nobles in question in prison, so that the scheme came to nothing.[2]

As had been the case in England, so did the rise of Aubigny lead to fresh projects abroad.[3] Philip II., in contrast to his previous attitude, now seemed to be willing to assume the position of a leader. He not only placed at the disposal of his ambassador in London 2,000 ducats for the purpose of sending preachers to Scotland,[4] but through Prospero Colonna he promised the Pope to make an attack upon England, if Gregory, by forming a defensive alliance among the Italian states would prevent a counter-attack on the part of France. But in all probability, as far as the King of Spain was concerned, all he really cared about was an Italian alliance and a declaration by the Pope against France.[5] Gregory XIII., therefore, revoked even the concessions of May, 1581, into which he had allowed himself to be led,[6] and Philip, as far as England was concerned, reverted to his policy of waiting and fair words. It was in vain that a cousin of Mary, one of the Hamiltons, asked for help for the Queen of Scots and her son;[7] it was equally in vain that Aubigny, after fruitlessly

[1] Mendoza, September 7, 1581, *ibid.* 107 *seq.*

[2] Mendoza, October 20, 1581, *ibid.* 147.

[3] PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 309-320. KRETZSCHMAR, 58 *seqq.*

[4] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 310.

[5] *Ibid.* 311.

[6] *Ibid.* 312.

[7] *Ibid.* 313.

approaching Henry of France, joined with Mary Stuart in approaching the Pope, the Guise and Spain. Philip, on whom everything depended, asked Mary to send a representative for the negotiations to Lisbon, and promised a subsidy in money for the Scottish Catholics, but otherwise maintained his attitude of reserve.[1] When, too, the nuncio Taverna, at the beginning of 1582, took steps on behalf of Ireland, Philip only spoke of his war in Flanders, which he said tied his hands. The proposals of the Catholic nobles in Scotland only met with evasive replies from Granvelle.

If then the Pope wished to profit by the favourable opportunity he would have to intervene himself, and this he did. At the end of 1581 the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio Castelli in Paris that he might discuss with Archbishop Beaton, Mary's envoy, how it would be possible to withdraw King James from the influence of the heretics. To convey him overseas to a Catholic country, as Mary Stuart had often suggested, would have been impossible, and might well cost the young prince his throne; on the other hand, it might be possible to attempt, through Aubigny and the King of France, to surround him with loyal Catholics.[2] At the beginning of 1582 the Jesuit William Crichton was sent to Paris by the Pope to confer with Castelli and Beaton about the state of affairs in Scotland; at Rouen he went to see Persons, and at Eu the Duke of Guise. When he continued his journey to Scotland, Crichton met by chance at Dalkeith the Jesuit, William Holt, who had been sent to the north by Persons for missionary work, in the disguise of a teacher of Italian; he had stayed a long time at the court of James, and was now returning from a visit to London with a letter from the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, promising the Duke of Lennox the support of Spain.[3]

Thus Lennox at the same time received favourable news from two quarters, from the Pope by the hands of Crichton

[1] *Ibid.* 315-320.

[2] Galli to Castelli, December 11, 1581, in KRETZSCHMAR, 121.

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 321 *seq.*

and from Spain by those of Holt; Crichton, who had understood as definite promises the general expressions made use of by the Pope, and by the nuncio in Paris, thought he could promise an auxiliary force of 15,000 men. Full of joy, the Duke at once put forward a plan for the liberation of the whole of Great Britain from the yoke of Elizabeth and from heresy.[1] An army of 20,000 men was to set out from Scotland under the command of King James and Lennox, and march against England; at the same time the Irish and the English Catholics were to rise in rebellion. Crichton took the plan to France, where Guise reduced the 20,000 men suggested to 16,000, but otherwise promised to assist the undertaking with an expeditionary force.[2] After several conferences, in which the Papal nuncio, Castelli, Beaton, Allen, Persons, and above all Guise, took part, it was decided to agree to the Duke of Lennox's proposal, and to send Crichton to Rome and Persons to Lisbon to further its execution with the Pope and Philip II. At the end of May both of them set out upon their journey.[3] The noble-hearted Guise, for whom the plan meant the liberation of a persecuted queen, and his own relative, looked forward enthusiastically to the expedition against England. "In a month or two," he exclaimed, "we shall be either conquerors or dead."[4] Castelli wrote to Rome[5] that a more glorious or advantageous undertaking, as far as he could judge, was difficult to imagine, much less to carry out.

As Galli told Castelli,[6] Gregory XIII. too welcomed the project with as great joy as if it had been a question of setting free the Holy Land. Galli added, however, that long years of experience had taught him that things are often set forth in fair words which cannot afterwards be put into practice;

[1] Given from Dalkeith, March 7, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 124-128.

[2] *Ibid.* 64, 128 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 65 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 65.

[5] On May 22, 1582, *ibid.* 135.

[6] On May 28, 1582, *ibid.* 146 *seq.*

the Pope, therefore, wished to see the undertaking begun before he promised his support. Gregory adhered firmly to this principle even when a memorial was sent to him by Persons through Castelli,[1] and Crichton had arrived in Rome.[2] In an autograph letter, however, he tried to win over the King of Spain to an expedition against England.[3]

In his financial difficulties,[4] and in the midst of his many other undertakings, Philip felt himself unable to embark upon a war against England, which would only have strengthened French influence there. He charged his ambassador in France, Tassis, but of course too late, to hold Persons back from his journey to Lisbon,[5] so that when the unwelcome envoy reached the court of Spain, for a long time he was not received ;[6] it was only through third parties and in vague terms that the king assured him of his good will.[7] At last, when Gregory XIII., who for many months had received no reply to his autograph letter, complained bitterly to Crighton of the delays of Spain, Philip summoned the English Jesuit to his presence, but only in his turn to throw all the blamc on the Pope.[8]

However unimportant all these occurrences may have been, they are nevertheless characteristic of the sentiments that prevailed at the Papal and Spanish courts. The Spanish Council of State was annoyed, after the receipt of the Pope's letter, that in a matter which principally concerned religion the Pope should show so little zeal, and should wish to lay the whole burden on the shoulders of Spain.[9] In Rome it was thought that the obstinate silence of the king could only be excused if Philip had it in his mind to embark upon the

[1] Of May 22, 1582, published *ibid.* 135-146.

[2] Galli to Castelli, June 11 and 25, 1582, *ibid.* 147, 148.

[3] Galli to Taverna, June 25, 1582, *ibid.* 148 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 76.

[5] *Ibid.* 71.

[6] Taverna to Galli, August 6, 1582, *ibid.* 151.

[7] Report of Persons on his stay at Lisbon, *ibid.* 157.

[8] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 334.

[9] Taverna to Galli, Madrid, August 6, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 151.

undertaking without the previous knowledge of the Pope ; it was indeed felt that it would have been better for the clergy to have appeased God by their prayers, and leave other matters to laymen.[1] At length, on September 4th, Philip resolved, not indeed upon any promise, but to send a reply to Gregory XIII. His participation in the English expedition, so he said, depended upon two things: one, the amount of the subsidy which the Pope was willing to grant, the other, the success of the Spanish arms in the war with Don Antonio about the Azores.[2]

In the meantime a fresh success on the part of the English Protestant party in Scotland, had for the time being put an end to all plans against England. Although Lennox outwardly professed himself a Protestant and had subscribed to a formula of faith by which he accepted the doctrines of the Scottish church, and rejected the Papacy,[3] nevertheless the Protestant ministers had not abandoned their attempt to withdraw the king from his influence. Lennox had become particularly hateful to them on account of the favour which he had shown to the episcopal system, which Morton, with the consent of Knox, had already tried to introduce in 1572.[4] When, at the end of August, 1582, James went hunting near Perth, Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, enticed him to his castle, and carried him off to Stirling, where he was kept in a mild form of imprisonment, though his life was by no means safe

[1] Galli to Taverna, September 3, 1582, *ibid.* 152.

[2] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 334 *seq.*

[3] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 146. It is interesting that in spite of this Lennox did not consider that his hypocrisy was justified by the worthiness of his purpose. As he himself says, he knew well enough that his denial of the faith could not be justified before God: "quoy considerant [the weakness of the Scottish Catholics] je m'estois delibere de ne plus dissimuler pour sauver la vie temporele du roy, combien que je luy sois proche parent, *et perdre mon ame et la vie eternelle*, ains me retirer en France et le laisser en proye a ses ennemys." Lennox to Gregory XIII., March 7, 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 123.

[4] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 130, 135, 142 *seq.*

from the designs of Elizabeth.[1] Lennox withdrew to the fortress of Dumbarton; his part was played.

The person who was most deeply cut to the heart by the news of James' imprisonment was his unhappy mother, who now saw her own misfortunes hanging over the head of her only son. When at length she received the news of this occurrence, so terrible for her, she wrote to Elizabeth the celebrated letter,[2] in which she enumerated all the plots and treacherous schemes whereby the Queen of England had brought her Scottish rival to an ever increasing unhappiness, so that now she found herself broken down even in body, and, as she affirmed on her honour, looked for no other kingdom than that of heaven, which she saw awaiting her as the blessed end of all her tribulations and adversities. She only asked now for a Catholic priest, which had hitherto been denied her, and for two waiting maids to assist her in her illness and weakness.

But although, physically speaking, Mary's course was run, her spirit was still unbroken; she no longer desired any earthly kingdom for herself, but she did not sit with folded hands when the liberty and life of her only son were at stake. She sent ambassadors to France and Rome, she wrote to Beaton and to Madrid, she implored the King of Spain at least to give help in money, and urged the Guise to come to the assistance of James even in default of Spain.[3]

The energy of Guise was indeed increased, rather than

[1] *Ibid.*, 150 *seq.*

[2] Of November 8, 1582, in LABANOFF, V., 338 *seqq.*; OPITZ, II., 208-218.

[3] PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 339. KRETZSCHMAR, 81 *seq.* Her ambassador to the Pope (BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 151, n. 1) was the Jesuit Henry Samerie, who was with Mary as a doctor under the name of de la Rue. For him see POLLEN in *The Month*, CVXII. (1911), 11 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.* His letters of credence to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, 1582, n. 65 (III., 373). Allen also wrote to the Pope on September 12, 1582, after he had received the news of the capture of James; in THEINER, 1582 n. 64 (III., 372 *seq.*).

cooled, by the persecution of his cousin James VI. Like Mary, he thought of taking action, even without the help of Spain; he wrote in this sense to Gregory XIII.,[1] who was also assured by Beaton that the prospects were now better rather than worse.[2] The Pope, however, now had serious doubts as to whether it would be possible to accomplish anything without the help of Spain,[3] and he tried once more to win the consent of Philip to the undertaking, and promised to contribute a quarter of the expenses.[4] He informed Guise that even if Spain would not or could not co-operate, the Holy See would do all that lay in its power.[5]

As the result of the pressure brought to bear by Mary Stuart, this much at least was accomplished, that Henry III. of France sent as his ambassadors to Scotland to assist Lennox, first Fénelon, and then Meyneville. But it was no longer possible to help Lennox. At the end of 1582, by an order extorted from the king, he was banished to Dumbarton, and at the end of May, 1583, he died in France.[6]

Meyneville found James VI. fairly well disposed towards the Catholic religion. The king, wrote the ambassador, will have nothing to do with all these arrogant preachers, and has detected many errors in their version of the Bible. When Meyneville convinced him that his only hope lay in the intervention of the Catholic powers, he promised not to persecute the Catholics. The divisions among the Protestant nobles gave rise in the king's mind to the hope that he might soon be able to free himself from their dominion.[7] Meyneville's return

[1] Galli to Castelli, October 15 (25), 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 155.

[2] September 9, 1582, in THEINER, 1582, n. 64 (III., 372).

[3] Galli, *loc. cit.*

[4] "E poi per levar affatto a S. Maestà ogni pretesto . . .S.S^tà si è resoluta di far qualche cosa di più de le forze sue etc." Galli to Taverna, October 24 (November 3), 1582, in KRETZSCHMAR, 158.

[5] Galli to Castelli, October 29 (November 8), 1582, *ibid.* 159.

[6] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 157 *seqq.* PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 341 *seq.*, 475.

[7] Castelli to Galli, May 20 (30), 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 165. When the king gave a banquet to the French ambassador, who

to France in May, 1583, thus gave a fresh impetus to the expedition against England; a further conference was held at the house of the nuncio to France,[1] and a plan was drawn up for a landing in England.[2] According to this plan, Spain was to deliver an attack in the north, and the Guise in the south. But the strained relations between Spain and France, and between the French government and the Guise, the friends of Spain, had increased after the expedition of Alençon to the Low Countries.[3] The carrying out of the enterprise had therefore of necessity to be postponed, nor was it of any avail when Gregory increased his subsidy of 4000 ducats by another 3000.[4]

After all these disappointments hope was again renewed, when in June 1583 James succeeded in escaping from his captivity. In the following August further discussions were held in Paris, the results of which were conveyed by Persons to the Pope and by Crichton to the King of Spain.[5] Gregory welcomed the plan with enthusiasm. He even thought of renewing the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and pronouncing her deposition, a step which had not been contemplated during the discussions of the two preceding

had asked for the right of Catholic worship for himself, the Church of Scotland ordered a fast, and excommunicated all who took part in the banquet. It seemed to give pleasure to the king to irritate the pastors. BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 156 *seq.*

[1] Castelli to Galli, June 1 (11), 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 166.

[2] By Castelli, who was sent to Rome on June 10 (20), 1583, *ibid.*, 168-171. The memorial concerning the easiness of an invasion of England, placed by Theiner (1583, n. 9, III., 480 *seq.*) in the year 1583, obviously belongs to the first year of Sixtus V.; *cf.* e.g. 481, col. 1, under 2: the insurrection of 1569 was "ante sedecim annos"; 483, col. 1: The Papal States are at peace "per felicissima *novi* pontificis *auspicia*"; Belgium has returned almost entirely to its obedience, etc.

[3] KRETZSCHMAR, 94 *seqq.*

[4] Galli to Castelli, *ibid.*, 171 *seq.*

[5] POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 395. Instructions for Richard Melino (i.e. Persons), August 12 (22), 1583, in TEULET, Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse, V., Paris, 1862, 307.

years.[1] Allen was to be appointed Bishop of Durham, and was to accompany the expedition as Papal legate.[2] The attitude of Philip, however, naturally made the publication of the two documents, which had already been drafted, impossible, though Gregory did not yet give up hope of being at last able to win over the king to his views. He was prepared to grant as a subsidy a tax upon the Spanish clergy up to 400,000 scudi.[3] He replaced the nuncio Taverna, who was not very acceptable to Philip, by his friend Sega.[4] But all was in vain. On June 24th, 1584, the French nuncio wrote that the English and the Scots who had knowledge of the matter had lost all hope; on August 6th of the same year Tassis reported that Philip estimated the cost of the expedition at two million crowns, and that it would therefore be necessary to wait for some future date.[5]

In London, in spite of everything, the changed attitude of the Scottish court had at first given rise to considerable anxiety. In order to obtain definite information concerning the vague rumours of negotiations between the King of Scotland and Rome, they did not scruple to have recourse to the most undignified measures. A supposed autograph letter from James VI. was prepared, in which the King most respectfully turned to the Pope, and recommended as his ambassador a pretended young relative, John Stuart, by whose means James had found the way to the light in the midst of the darkness.[6] A spy, who

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, MEYER, 243 *seq.* Persons moreover in his memorial sent to Rome on May 22, 1582, had urged the excommunication (KRETZSCHMAR, 144 *seq.*). The minute of the bull of excummunication bears the date September 24, 1583. MEYER, 244.

[2] *Ibid.* Persons had also suggested the appointment of a bishop of Durham. KRETZSCHMAR, 143 *seq.*

[3] On August 15, 1583, in KRETZSCHMAR, 98 *seq.*

[4] Sega arrived in Madrid on October 1 (11), 1583; *ibid.* 99 *seq.*, *cf.* 212 *seqq.*

[5] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 395.

[6] The letter of March 10, 1584, in THEINER, 1584, n. 113 (III., 602).

acted the part of this zealous Catholic relative, was sent to sound the views of the Scottish party in Paris and at the Roman Curia, and to ask the Pope himself in James's name what was the best way to bring Scotland back to the faith.[1] In Paris the supposed John Stuart found favour with Guise, Seton and Beaton,[2] but in Rome he was unmasked as an impostor and his letter of recommendation discovered to be a forgery.[3]

By the time this unmasking had taken place Elizabeth had but little to fear from the Catholic leanings of James, but at the beginning of 1584 the hopes of the friends of Allen and Persons still ran high. James sent Lords Gray and Fentray from Scotland to the Duke of Guise to urge him to negotiate.[4] The most ardent Catholic among the Scottish nobles, Lord Seton, again received his office of ambassador at the court of France after the escape of the king from his imprisonment.[5] On February 19th, 1584, the King of Scotland personally had recourse by letter to Guise, as well as to the Pope.[6] On March 22nd Mary Stuart wrote to Allen full of hopes,[7] and at the end of October she again urged forward the negotiations,[8] as after the coming spring it would be too late. The personal effect upon herself, the Queen of Scotland,

[1] The diplomatic instructions of James on the subject, *ibid.*

[2] THEINER, 1584, n. 114 (III., 603); *cf.* the letter of Beaton to the Pope on April 16, *ibid.*; that of the French nuncio Ragazzoni on April 2, *ibid.* 805 *seq.*, and that of Guise of April 15, 1584, *ibid.* 807, 808.

[3] The letter of Galli to Ragazzoni on June 18, 1584, mentioned in that of Ragazzoni of July 9, 1584, *ibid.* 808; Ragazzoni to Galli, July 23, 1584, on the reasons for the spuriousness of the letters of credence, *ibid.* 809.

[4] His credentials, January 22, 1584, in THEINER, III., app. 801.

[5] The son of Seton, on April 17, 1584, *ibid.* 806. Lord Seton was charged to treat with the King of France, but only after he had an interview with Beaton. Beaton to Galli, March 19, 1584, *ibid.* n. 109 (III., 596).

[6] Both letters in THEINER, III., App. 802, 806.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1584, n. 110 (III., 599 *seq.*).

[8] Letter to Allen, October 28, 1584, *ibid.* (III., 600).

of an armed landing must not be taken into consideration, for she was firmly convinced that she could not lay down her life in a better cause ;[1] she looked upon as assured the loyalty of her son to the common cause and his filial love for herself.

The unhappy queen was not aware that by that time she had been betrayed and deserted even by her only son. As early as February 19th, James had written to Guise that the power of his enemies and the rebels was increasing from day to day owing to the help given them by Elizabeth in order to stir up the nation to revolt and deprive him of his life. He could not resist any longer ; Guise must therefore bring pressure to bear upon the princes and the Pope to give prompt and powerful help, because otherwise he would in a short time be forced either to destruction or to yield himself into their hands and submit to their detestable wishes and designs ; he made a similar declaration to the Pope. The prompt and powerful help that he asked for was not forthcoming, and accordingly the young prince, who was precocious indeed, but weak in will, did what he had threatened to do, and threw himself entirely into the arms of Elizabeth.[2] The English queen had already received detailed information concerning the secret negotiations in Paris from James's ambassador himself, for Lord Gray, on his return from Paris to Edinburgh had betrayed his sovereign by communicating his secrets to Elizabeth.[3]

[1] "Iam enim statui nunquam mihi vitam felicius, quam in hoc tempore et causa finire posse, quod pro mea hac in re resolutione semel tandem tibi dictum velim." THEINER, III., 600.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Scottland, II., 164.

[3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XII.

Persecution in England and Scotland.—Rise of the Puritans.

By the middle of 1584 it was certain that the attempt to bring about any intervention by force of arms on behalf of Catholicism and Mary Stuart had completely failed. Henry III. of France at the end of May informed the Scottish queen in clear and definite terms, through his ambassador in England, that he could do nothing for her; that he would even willingly see the crown of Scotland upon the head of Elizabeth rather than make common cause with the hated Guise and with Spain, even on behalf of his own cousin.[1] In the following month the Duke of Alençon died, the last of the Valois, except the king, who had no children; thus France found herself faced with a civil war, and could no longer think of any foreign undertaking. On the other hand Spain's relations with England had become so much worse that, in spite of all negotiations, open war was inevitable. Among the partisans of Spain amongst the English Catholics there was a feeling of disappointment. At the beginning of 1584 they had realized that the Pope was not only their principal friend, but the only one who was prepared to make any sacrifice. The constant failures of the political intrigues had led Allen and Persons to the conclusion "to give up all thought of such things, and to concentrate upon the way they had previously followed, namely that of spiritual means, and thus, even though it should only be after a long

[1] Mauvissière, May 22, 1584, in Mémoires de Mons. de Castelnau, Seigneur de Mauvissière, I., Brussels, 1731, 595. Theiner, III., 599.

time, bring matters to a decision."[1] A letter from Allen in 1584 informed the Catholics of this decision and of recent events and advised patience.[2]

The knowledge that they had been abandoned by the Catholic powers, and that they had been thrown helplessly into the hands of those who would tyrannize over their consciences, led some of the English Catholics to a desperate step. In 1580, Humphrey Ely, a doctor of canon law and theology, was sent by some of the English nobles and by the Jesuits to Madrid, to the Papal nuncio Sega, and proposed to him a question of conscience. These nobles, Ely declared, had made up their minds to attempt to kill Elizabeth if the Pope would assure them that by so doing they would not commit a sin. They wished for this assurance because it was a case of an undertaking in which they might very easily be killed, and would thus have to appear before the judgment seat of God without any opportunity for repentance or expiation.[3]

The meaning of this singular question was explained in the

[1] "Dr. Allen and I . . . had resolved, to leave cogitation of such matters and to follow only our spiritual course, whereupon all dependeth though in longer time." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC., 399.

[2] *Ibid.* 397 *seq.*

[3] Tra le altre cose che mi dice questo dottore Umfrido Elei, una me ne ha detto con molto secreto in nome di alcuni nobili de la isola [e] de li medesimi padri Gesuiti, et è che li sodetti nobili si risolveriano di tentare di ammazzare la regina di mano propria, ogni volta che si assicurassero, almeno con la parola . . . :, che S.S^tà gli assicurasse che per questo non caderiano in peccato, per il pericolo che gli instaria de la morte lor propria in tentar cosa tanto grave et pericolosa. Sega to Galli, November 14, 1580, in MEYER, 426. The Jesuits mentioned were Persons and Campion. That they approved of the nobles' project is not likely; in other ways the English Jesuits, as far as is known, always pronounced against such schemes (see further, infra, p. 450, and SPILLMANN, III., 388, IV., 57). In the present case they referred the petitioners to the declaration of a higher authority, and in the same sense, Ely, in their name, addressed the request to the nuncio.

nuncio's reply. Sega answered[1] that these nobles should, or so it seemed to him, let their consciences be quieted by the words of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, as this gave to all her subjects the right to take up arms against the queen. In reply to a question addressed to Rome, the Secretary of State confirmed the view of the nuncio, and described the project of the questioners as meritorious.[2] In order to understand this reply and the question which elicited it, the following must be taken into consideration. Its foundation was to be found in the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, which had only been revoked by Gregory XIII. as far as its effects upon the Catholics were concerned. Since the queen was deposed, and therefore unjustly retained the sovereignty of England, it seemed a legitimate conclusion, both to the questioners and to the nuncio that it "was lawful to take up arms against her" or that it was permissible to raise an armed rebellion on a larger or smaller scale against the government, after the manner of that of Northumberland in 1569. On that point the nobles in question had no hesitation; their doubt only referred to the question whether, in the event of a similar rising, it would be lawful to lay hands upon the queen herself, or whether the sacred person of the sovereign must in any case be respected. In the view of the nuncio, as well as of the Secretary of State, the permission to "take up arms" against the pretended sovereignty of the queen also included the other right of using them if necessary against the person of the unlawful sovereign. If the nuncio and the Secretary of State

[1] Io gli ho risposto che per le parole de la sentenza di Pio V. di sa. me. pare que questi si potriano assicurare, poichè particoi larmente dà lizenza a tutti li vassalli di poter pigliar le armcontra la regina impune. In MEYER, 427.

[2] "Non è da dubitare che tenendo quella rea femina d'Inghilterra occupati a la christianità dui regni si nobili, et essendoi causa di tanto danno a la fede cattolica et de la perdita di tanti milioni d'anime, ciascuno che la levasse dal mondo col fine debito del servitio di Dio, non solo non peccaria, ma anco meritaria, massime stante la sententia contra di lei di Pio V. sta. me." Galli to Sega, 12 December, 1580, edited for the first time by MEYER, 428.

approved of the killing of Elizabeth this was in conformity with the principles of law then in force. Gregory too, with whom the Secretary of State undoubtedly consulted before he sent his letter to the nuncio, concurred in this view.[1] That Gregory did not approve of political murder as such, a thing that at that time was spreading like a contagious disease, is shown by the fact that later on he expressly condemned as unlawful an attempt upon the life of Henry III.[2] If he did not give a like reply to the Englishmen when they asked their question, it was because the case of Elizabeth was substantially different. She had been expressly excommunicated and deposed; for that reason, according to the laws of that time, she was a usurper, and a rising of her subjects against her *with all its consequences* was looked upon as lawful.[3] Gregory XIII.,

[1] "Quanto poi a V. S. in caso che lei fosse incorsa in alcuna irregularità, N. S. le dà la sua santa benedizione." Galli to Sega, 12 December, 1580, in MEYER, 428. *Cf.* Sega to Allen, 12 March, 1581, BELLESHEIM, Allen, 277.

[2] "Au reste, le Pape ne trouve pas bon, qu'on attente sur la vie du roi, car cela ne se peut faire en bonne conscience; mais si on pouvait se saisir de sa personne et ôter d'auprès de lui ce qui sont cause de la ruine de ce royaume . . . on trouverait bon cela." P. Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers de Pont-à-Mousson, 11 February, 1585, in *Les Mémoires de Mons. le duc de Nevers, I.*, Paris, 1665, 657.

[3] MEYER [Engl. transl.] (p. 267) says: "Gregory XIII. adopted without hesitation all the political methods of his time. He alone among the Popes of the counter-reformation regarded assassination, when employed in the church's service, as a work well-pleasing to God." Meyer continues (p. 271) with reference to the letter from Galli to Sega (quoted *infra*, p. 441, n. 2). "These words go far beyond what canon law permits to be done to excommunicate persons. Excommunication in canon law corresponds to outlawry in civil, to kill an excommunicate person is not regarded as murder by canon law, but rather as a deed which calls for penance, 'lest the discipline of the church suffer harm,' and because impure motives can easily prompt the deed. Inasmuch as Gregory represents the assassination of Elizabeth as 'meritorious' and as 'a good work,' he, who previously was

as a logical canonist, found all the less reason for departing from the principles then in force, in that he deemed Elizabeth to be incorrigible and the cause of the loss of millions of souls.[1] The nuncio urged Ely to hurry on the execution of the plan

such a stickler for legal exactitude, abandons the standpoint of the canonists and takes his stand among the advocates of the doctrine of political murder." To this account, which is free from all animosity, as was only to be expected from so serious a scholar as Meyer, the following objections may be made: Urban II., c. 47, C. 23, q. 5 indeed says that he (in the case presented to him) does not consider a man a murderer who, in an access of zeal for his mother, the Church, has assaulted an excommunicate person. But this is not a pronouncement of the general principle that the killing of one who is excommunicated—which is described by Urban II. himself, *loc. cit.* as a "flagitium"—is not murder and may be freely allowed. Phinees and Mathathias (Numb. 25, 7, and I. Macc. 2, 26) were manifestly not looked upon as murderers, but that is very far from putting forward their actions as lawful or normal. Their zeal for the honour of God, indeed, led them to overlook the fact that they were not appointed to punish the guilty; in their case, the *author* is praiseworthy, but not the *action* in itself (*cf.* E. MICHAEL, Ignaz v. Döllinger, 1894, 548 *seq.*). As for Gregory XIII. it is clear that his starting point was the bull of Pius V.; according to that, Elizabeth was not a lawful sovereign, but a usurper, and the attempt to get rid of a usurper by means of a rebellion was in his opinion lawful. Therefore it is going too far to say that Gregory XIII. indiscriminately welcomed all the measures adopted by lay policy, or looked upon the assassination as justified by its good end. He did not succumb to the contagion of a disease then prevalent, but was guided by canonical principles. In the translation of the reply of Galli in Meyer, the point "since that guilty woman of England rules over two such noble kingdoms" is not well put. The word "occupati" here bears as is shown by the allusion to the bull of excommunication by Pius V., which immediately follows, the sense of "usurpati."

[1] His successor formed a different judgment of Elizabeth, for he hoped for her return to Catholicism. He therefore definitely rejected any proposal to kill Elizabeth. Further particulars in Vol. XXII. of this work.

as quickly as possible.[1] But the latter only got as far as Rheims on his return journey to the English nobles, and no more was heard of the projected insurrection.[2]

Elizabeth remained upon her throne for more than twenty years without having to fear any act of violence against her person on the part of the oppressed Catholics, for the rising of 1569 was expressly directed against the queen's ministers, and not against the queen herself.[3] For the first time during the years 1580-1587, and again between 1593 and 1594, was there much talk of any such plan. In some cases something of the sort was actually suggested by certain persons, but for the most part it was a case of groundless rumours, or of plans that were not taken seriously, and were put forward by charlatans, who wished in this way to raise money.

Even before the above mentioned mission to the nuncio in Spain, an English noble had gone from Flanders to Owen Lewis in Rome, and had offered in return for a reward of 10,000 gold crowns to bring about the assassination of Elizabeth. It makes very little difference, he wrote, whether the queen is removed by means of an armed expedition or secretly by means of a well planned attack. "But I am by no means inclined to any such schemes," wrote Owen Lewis two years later to the Secretary of State; "it does not at all beseem me as a priest to have anything to do with deeds of blood, so I gave him no reply."[4] We hear nothing more of this affair; there is reason to suppose that it was only the work of an impostor, who wished to act the spy and traitor against Rome.

Three years later a similar scheme was laid before the Duke of Guise. A similar refugee from England represented himself as being a secret Catholic at the court of Elizabeth, who was angry with the queen because she had caused some of his Catholic relatives to be put to death; in return for a reward

[1] Letter to Galli, November 14, in MEYER, 427.

[2] Ely became a priest and a professor at Rheims; see POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 605 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 207.

[4] From the letter of Lewis, March 1, 1582, in POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 604.

of 100,000 francs he declared his readiness to carry out a bloody revenge. At first Guise allowed himself to be tempted by the plan, though after a few weeks this courtier of Elizabeth had taken his departure, probably because he had been detected as a rogue.[1] Guise, who had again been strengthened in his determination to undertake an expedition against England by this proposal, and who needed a money subsidy for that purpose, informed the Spanish ambassador and the French nuncio of this offer. He expressly told the nuncio, however, that he was not asking for any subsidy from Gregory for the murder of Elizabeth,[2] and the nuncio replied that it was not fitting even to write to the Pope about such things. He was of opinion that Gregory would be very well satisfied with whatever way in which God might punish his enemy, but that it was not right that the representative of God should bring about that punishment by any such means.[3] On the other hand it would seem that the nuncio did nothing to dissuade the duke from his purpose, and remarked very emphatically for a man in his position upon the coldness with which he spoke of such matters. Gregory XIII., whom the Secretary

[1] Castelli, the nuncio in Paris, to Galli, April 22 (May 2), 1583, and Galli to Castelli, May 13 (23), 1583, in KNOX, Letters, 412 *seqq.*, published again in KRETZSCHMAR, 161 *seqq.*; *cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 607. According to BROSCH (VI., 579) Persons too was involved in the plan. But at the beginning of May, 1583, Persons was still in Spain, and only left Madrid on April 30 (*cf.* KRETZSCHMAR, 163). When he reached Paris at the end of May (*ibid.*), the plan had already been abandoned (*cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 613). KRETZSCHMAR too (p. 103, 112) attributes to the Jesuits plans for assassination, but without giving proofs.

[2] Ne per questo fatto esso duca dimanda alcuno aiuto a Nostro Signore. KRETZSCHMAR, 162.

[3] Io quanto a far morire questa mala donna, le ho detto che non ne voglio scriver a N. S., come faccio, ne dico a V. S. Illma che gli lo dica; peroche se bene io credo che a N. S. fussi di contento che Dio per qual si voglia modo castigasse questa sua nemica, tuttavia non converrebbe far si che il suo vicario lo procurasse per questi mezi, et esso si quietò. KRETZSCHMAR, *loc. cit.*

of State nevertheless informed of such a project, expressed himself upon the subject exactly as the nuncio in France had foretold.[1]

In 1585, at the request of Morgan and Paget, two of Mary Stuart's agents in Paris, a certain George Gilbert again went to the Duke of Guise and submitted to him a fresh plan for the murder of Elizabeth. Gilbert, however, was soon discovered to be an impostor.[2]

The conspiracies which have been spoken of so far, principally on account of any seriousness that may have been attached to them, had not placed the queen in any great danger. Far less had she any need in 1583 to be on her guard against a wretched man named John Sommerville, who was subject to periodical attacks of madness, and in one had publicly cried out that the queen was a serpent and that he intended to kill her with his dagger. In our days the unhappy man would have been placed in an asylum, but in the time of Elizabeth men did not judge so kindly of such things. Sommerville himself, his father-in-law, Edward Arden, the high sheriff of Warwickshire, three of his relatives and their chaplain, were all arrested and condemned to death in October, 1583, on a charge of high treason. The sentence was carried out in the case of Edward Arden, while Somerville hanged himself in prison. Contemporaries attributed the barbarous severity of this sentence to the influence of Leicester, who was an enemy of Arden and covetous of his possessions.[3]

[1] "et perche la S.S. non puo se non sentir bene, che in qual si sia modo venghi levato d'oppressione quel regno et restituito a Dio et a la religion mostra santa." Galli to Castelli in KRETZSCHMAR, 163. If a criminal should lose his life by a crime, it is possible to rejoice that he can do no more harm, without thereby excusing or justifying the crime. It is right therefore to interpret the phrase "in qual si sia modo" of Gregory XIII. in this sense for otherwise he would be made out as approving *any sort of crime* against Elizabeth, which would certainly be going too far.

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 610 *seqq.*

[3] See POLLEN in *The Month*, IC., 616; LINGARD, VIII., 167 *seq.*; Rishton, Diarium, October 30 to December 23, 1583, in SANDERS, App.

A few days after Sommerville, Francis Throckmorton, the son of a former chief-justice of Chester, was thrown into the Tower.[1] An unfortunate suspicion had attached to him because some confiscated letters seemed to show that he had been in correspondence with Paget and Morgan, Mary Stuart's agents in Paris. Other arrests followed. The indictment against Francis Throckmorton accused him of conspiracy against the life and sovereignty of the queen, and of treasonable negotiations with Francis Englefield, with whom he was supposed to have conspired for an invasion of England by foreign powers; he was also accused of having drawn up for treasonable purposes a list of the English ports suitable for a landing, and also of having, for the same purpose, been in correspondence with Thomas Throckmorton.[2] On the fourth occasion on which he was put to the torture, Throckmorton admitted that he had written this list, as well as another containing the names of the leading English Catholics, and that these lists had been made for the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, for the purpose of promoting an expedition by Guise against England. This confession was later on retracted by Throckmorton, then once more admitted, and on the gibbet, immediately before his execution, again retracted. The extent of his guilt cannot therefore be precisely estimated; at any rate, there is no proof of his participation in any conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. The Spanish ambassador had to leave London in consequence of the confession of Throckmorton.

There is no reason to feel surprise at the fact that after 1580 the English Catholics several times spoke of acts of violence against Elizabeth. At that time, such ideas were, so to speak, in the air, so that, on the other hand, it would have been wonderful if at any rate individual Catholics had not fallen victims to them. Mary Stuart went in constant dread of being secretly poisoned; in 1574 she was openly warned of her danger by the Earl of Shrewsbury. In the same year Burghley

[1] RISHTON, *loc. cit.*; POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 616-618; LINGARD, VIII., 168-170; KRETZSCHMAR, 104 *seq.*

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 616 *seq.*

took into his service an assassin, and caused him to put his powers into force against the Earl of Westmoreland; in 1581 Elizabeth and Walsingham took steps to have Philip II. and Gregory XIII. murdered;[1] in 1578 Burghley wrote, in a dispatch describing the danger of Don John's bringing about the complete triumph of the Spanish cause in the Low Countries, that the queen, as a sovereign, might lawfully do anything for the preservation of herself and her people,[2] and the murder of Don John was actually planned at the house of Leicester, with the consent of Elizabeth.[3]

If Burghley allowed himself to be guided by such principles, there can be nothing surprising in the fact that from 1581 onwards a whole series of purely imaginary conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth was attributed to Catholic priests before the courts, and that not a few were put to death on

[1] PLATZHOFF, 81-84.

[2] "The queen's majesty, being a sovereign, may lawfully do anything for preservation of herself and her people." PLATZHOFF, 82.

[3] "Aqui se trata en casa del Conde de Lecester de matar á su Alteza." Mendoza, May 8, 1578, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 227. "Aqui há muchos dias que se platica, en casa de Lecester el matar á S.A." the assassin sent was Edmund Ratcliffe (Mendoza, May 16, 1578, *loc. cit.* 231). "El de Parma ha mandato hacer justicia de los ingleses, que escrebi á V.M. á los 16. de Mayo, que habian partido de aqui con órden de matar al Sr. Don Juan." When the queen received news of the execution of Ratcliffe, she said to Walsingham that this was the result of the advice which he and others had given, and these were the difficulties in which she found herself in consequence. Walsingham was so much affected by this remark that he fell into a fever (Mendoza, January 15, 1579, *loc. cit.* 308). *Cf.* the note to Don John concerning Ratcliffe, about August 12, 1578, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, X., 714. Ratcliffe had obtained a recommendation to Don John from Beaton (*ibid.* 689). The murder of the Duke of Guise was spoken of in England before it took place "porque sabiam que se habia de hacer." Guaras to Zayas, November 7, 1574, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 70.

the strength of these accusations. Burghley was well aware of how much help he could get in his struggle against the Catholics by exciting public opinion against them. At the trial of Campion and his companions the accusation was made against them that they had plotted at Rheims, Rome, and elsewhere for the deposition and murder of the queen. As the exact dates, months and years of these pretended plots were given, and as, on the other hand, we can tell where these priests were at those times from the diaries of the English colleges at Douai, Rheims and Rome, their fictitious nature is clearly proved; the dates given in the indictments are, without a single exception, false. It was nevertheless on the strength of such an indictment that Campion and his two companions were executed on December 1st, 1581; and seven other priests on May 28th and 30th, 1582.[1] On April 2nd, 1582, the priest Payne suffered a similar fate, because one witness, who was absolutely untrustworthy, swore to a story of his having participated in such an attempt.[2] On March 4th fourteen other priests were brought before the courts on a similar accusation; five of them were condemned to death.[3] Very similar was the case of the printer, William Carter, who was hanged in 1584 on the charge that in 1580, in a book which he had recently published, he had instigated the murder of Elizabeth by alluding to the story of Judith. As a matter of fact, nothing but blind prejudice could have put any such interpretation upon the passage.[4]

Of far greater importance for the purpose of passing more severe laws against the Catholics, and exciting popular opinion, than all these pretended plots, were the machinations of a government spy: William Parry had been successful in obtaining a letter from the Papal Secretary of State, which might

[1] The contents of the accusation in POLLEN in *The Month*, IC (1902) 614 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 606. SPILLMANN, II., 347, 396.

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.* 615.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 429 *seq.*, note J, where the text in question is printed with the reply of Carter.

be interpreted as giving approval to an attempt upon the life of Elizabeth.[1]

Ever since 1570 Parry had given his services to the Lord Treasurer, as an informer in various countries. When he came back to England in 1577, he dissipated the fortune of his wealthy wife, and attempted to murder his principal creditor, but escaped the hangman, probably through the influence of his powerful patron. He then went to France to play the spy for Burghley among the exiled English Catholics. At Lyons Parry was received into the Church by the Jesuit, Crichton, and then informed him that he was aiming at liberating the Catholics of England by killing Elizabeth. Crichton strongly dissuaded him from this course, and told him that such an act was quite unlawful.[2] Parry then went to Venice, to the Jesuit Palmio, and secretly hinted to him that he had a plan for a great deed for the welfare of England, but wished

[1] For Parry see LINGARD, VIII., 176 *seqq.*; DAN. BARTOLI, Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Gesù: L'Inghilterra, l. 4, c. 10, Turin, 1825, 102-113; POLLEN, *loc. cit.* C. (1902), 72-77.

[2] After Crichton had replied twice over "quod omnio non liceret," Parry once more entered upon a discussion with him that is not without interest. Crichton adduced the words of Holy Scripture (Rom. 3, 8): that we may not do wrong that good may come, and therefore may not procure even the greatest good by means of the smallest culpable act. It is not enough that an action should have a good end, it must also be done in a good and right manner, which was not the case with Parry. ("Dixi, Deum magis amare adverbia quam nomina, quia in actionibus magis ei placet *bene* et *legitime* quam bonum; ita ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene et legitime fieri possit, quod in hoc casu fieri non potest"). If others decide otherwise, they may perhaps be understood in the sense that they adopt a permissive attitude, and wish to leave each one to his own conscience, or perhaps that in their writings they allow themselves to be guided by their compassion for the English Catholics, rather than by a decisive judgment; it is, however, certain, that a private individual may not do such things without a special revelation from God. Crichton from the Tower to Walsingham, February 20, 1585, in BARTOLI, *loc. cit.*, 111.

first to obtain the opinion of some learned theologians. Palmio refused to mix himself up in the matter, and referred him to the nuncio, Campegio. Through the latter Parry asked for a passport so that he might be able to go to the Eternal City, without fear of the Inquisition. His request was granted, but Parry did not go to Rome, but instead tried to extract by deceit from the English priests in France an approval of his pretended attempt ; but all his efforts were in vain.[1] On the other hand, he found a hearing from Morgan, Mary Stuart's lay agent in Paris. Having been introduced by him to the nuncio, Ragazzoni, he entrusted to the latter a letter for Rome, which in substance contained no more than a request for a plenary indulgence, and a certificate that he had always lived as a good Catholic in spite of certain adventures in political matters.[2] Ragazzoni sent the letter on December 18th, 1583, but added that he was keeping a watch upon Parry ; on December 25th he repeated that the Pope must not trust those who were working on behalf of the English exiles, as several of them were spies.[3]

On January 1st, 1584, Parry renewed his offer, which this time he amplified by a fuller explanation. By the grace of God he was thinking of at once carrying out an undertaking by which he aimed at the general good, the peace of the whole of Christendom, the bringing back of England to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and the liberation of Mary Stuart. If he should succeed, he made one request of the Pope ; as he was embarking upon so dangerous an undertaking without any ulterior motives, and without asking for any promises or rewards, he only begged the Pope to grant him a plenary indulgence, and to regard him as a faithful son of the holy Catholic and apostolic Roman Church. Ragazzoni sent on this request on January 8th, 1584, but for the third time added

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 178.

[2] A survey of the whole correspondence on the question in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 74-76.

[3] Crichton had already put him on his guard from Lyons on July 17, 1583, THEINER, III., App. 754.

the warning "Parry is too well known, and his reputation here is bad."

Although it might have been thought that the warnings were sufficient, nevertheless the Secretary of State fell into the trap with, so to speak, open eyes. He did not look for any action on the part of Parry, but to have granted him a simple plenary indulgence ought to have seemed to him a dangerous step to take. He therefore wrote to Ragazzoni, with incredible imprudence, that the matter referred to in Parry's two letters was of such a nature, that so long as he did not ask anything further, nothing would be lost by believing him.[1] At the same time he sent the letter which Parry had asked for. The Pope, this letter states, had seen Parry's petition of January 1st; he rejoiced at the good intentions of the petitioner, and at his resolve; he exhorted him to carry out his design, and sent him his blessing and the desired indulgence; he would reward in every way he could the services rendered, all the more so that Parry, in his modesty, asked for nothing.[2] No sooner had Parry received from the Pope a reply to his request than he returned to England, and in the presence of Burghley and Walsingham described to the queen what he had done, and maintained that the Pope had urged him to kill Elizabeth. A few weeks later he handed over as proof of the truth of what he said, the letter from Galli containing the concession of the indulgence which was now generally known.

It is easier to excuse the Pope in this matter than Galli; as the Secretary of State had presented Parry's request to him as a matter of small importance, he had neglected to examine the letter carefully. But wherever the blame may lay, the unfortunate granting of the indulgence was a terrible blow for the English Catholics. For many years

[1] "Le due lettere del Parri sono in materia che non si perde niente dandogli credito, sinche non passa in altro." Galli, January 30, 1584, in POLLEN in *The Month*, C., 75.

[2] Galli to Parry, January 30, 1584, *ibid.* 75 *seq.* This reply was undoubtedly drafted by a secretary of Galli at the request of Parry.

Catholic priests had been suspect, as conspirators and regicides, and as such had been condemned by the courts, but now, although these calumnies were, as before, quite without foundation and quite unjust, their constant reiteration could not fail to make an impression upon the masses of the people. When the edict of Philip II. against Orange in 1582 gave rise to an attempt upon the prince, it increased in the queen of England and her ministers the fear of similar results from the bull of excommunication of Pius V., while the actual murder of Orange on July 10th, 1584, fanned the feeling of irritation in England to fever heat.[1] Associations were formed everywhere the members of which bound themselves by oath to hound to their death anyone who made an attempt upon the life of the queen, as well as all those to whom such an attempt should be advantageous. This association was obviously directed against Mary Stuart; when, however, the form of oath of the associates was read to the captive queen, she at once offered to sign it, but this was refused.[2] But the Catholics were unable to take part in this because the oath was taken in the Protestant church. The association thus became an exclusively Protestant organization, and became a means for the spread of Protestantism.[3]

The autumn of 1584 brought fresh disaster to the Catholics. The Jesuit Crichton, on his way to Scotland, was captured by a Dutch pirate. and contrary to the law of nations was handed over to England. Unfortunately, Crichton was still carrying a copy of the plan of attack upon England of 1583, although the undertaking had become impossible owing to the attitude taken up by Philip II., and thus the dangerous document had lost all value. Crichton's confessions completed the disaster; the secret treaties between Spain and Rome were now common property.[4] Burghley knew very well how to turn this fresh occurrence to the disadvantage of the

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 71.

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 172. She wrote a similar statement on January 5, 1585, which she then signed. *Ibid.*, 183.

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 70.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 172.

English Catholics, and when all these misfortunes had, one after another, stirred the resentment against the Catholics beyond all bounds, there now came the letter of the Secretary of State to Parry, in which the Pope seemed to give his approval to the most desperate measures which the most perverted will had, contrary to all truth, imputed to the English Catholics.

The ground was therefore ready for the most harsh and severe enactments. At the end of November, 1584, a legislative scheme was laid before Parliament, embodying especially the objects of the above-mentioned association for the personal safety of the queen. In the case of any attack upon England or upon the queen's person, all who should take part in such an undertaking, or for whose advantage it should be made, were to forfeit all right to the English throne, and to be put to death ;[1] in other words, summary justice was to be executed upon the Catholics, and Mary Stuart was to be punished, even for enterprises for which she was not responsible. Elizabeth was a sufficiently shrewd judge of public opinion to reject such unheard of proposals. Persecution to the point of death, she laid down, must only be employed in the case of those who had been declared to be traitors by a commission of 24 members ; Mary and her descendants were only to be excluded from the throne in the event of the murder of the Queen of England.[2] In January, 1585, there followed a fresh severe enactment against the Catholics, the putting into force of which deprived them of all spiritual ministry. According to this, every Jesuit or other priest who should be found in the kingdom after 40 days was to be considered as *ipso facto* guilty of high treason ; anyone who gave shelter to or assisted a priest was guilty of felony, as sharing in an act of high treason. Severe penalties were also inflicted upon all those who knew where a priest was lodging and failed to notify the authorities within twelve days ; in like manner, the students of any foreign seminary who did not return within six months, the parents who sent their sons to such

[1] *Ibid.* 174 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 175.

establishments, and lastly, all who gave assistance to the seminarists, were equally to be held guilty.[1]

The supreme injustice of this new law drove the victims to take the risk of addressing a petition to the queen. All Catholics, both priests and laymen, this petition stated, looked upon Elizabeth as their legitimate and true queen; they looked upon it as absolutely unlawful to lay hands upon her person; neither priests nor the Pope himself could give permission for such an act, and if any of their number held the opposite opinion, they declared his view to be infernal and abominable, heretical and contrary to the Catholic faith. If Catholics withheld themselves from Anglican worship, this implied no reflection upon their loyalty as subjects. They begged the queen to refuse her approval to any law which deprived them of all their priests. A courageous Catholic was found, who, in the middle of March, took it upon himself to present this petition; he was in consequence thrown into prison, and only death set him free a few years later.[2]

In Parliament only one member dared to raise his voice against the anti-Catholic law,[3] and this exception came from a quarter whence it was least to be looked for, namely, from Parry, who had been rewarded for his services by a seat in Parliament, though he had by no means been adequately rewarded in his own estimation. Parry's boldness led to his immediate imprisonment, though he was set free on the following day by the queen. After a few weeks, however, he again found himself in prison, this time in the Tower. He had once more taken to his old trade of spying, and probably in order to involve a fellow spy, Neville, and ruin him, had tried to urge him to murder Elizabeth. Neville apparently agreed, but then proceeded to denounce Parry as guilty of high treason. The unhappy man perished on the scaffold. In the Tower he drew up a confession in writing in which he once again maintained that Cardinal Galli had approved of the murder

[1] *Ibid.* 176. SPILLMANN, III., 39 *seq.*

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 182, *seq.*

[3] On December 17, 1584, *ibid.* 176.

of Elizabeth. This confession was read before the court, but when the judge prepared to pronounce sentence Parry denied the whole thing; neither had he thought of regicide, nor had the Cardinal urged him to it. Even on the scaffold he maintained his innocence, and when Topcliffe produced Cardinal Galli's letter, he once more declared that there was nothing of the kind in that letter.[1] Any attempt to discover the true meaning and motives of the unhappy man's conduct must always remain vain; perhaps the easiest explanation is that at the end he was mad.

Parry died on March 2nd, 1585.[2] On the 29th of the same month Elizabeth gave her approval to the law against the Catholics. During the same year she caused to be conveyed to France and set at liberty 70 imprisoned priests released from English prisons.[3] But this act of comparative leniency must not deceive us as to the gravity of the situation; with the law of 1585 the persecution of the Catholics reached its highest point.

During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign the laws against the old religion had been enforced with some degree of moderation. It had been deemed sufficient to exclude Catholics from public office and from places of influence, and with making the coming of fresh priests impossible. Gradually the government became more strict; this was the case after the rising of the Catholics in 1569, after the conspiracy of Ridolfi,[4] and after the massacre of St. Bartholomew,[5] which gave an opportunity to the Protestant bishops and some of the preachers to demand of the queen the blood of the Catholic bishops and prisoners.[6] On all these occasions the persecution

[1] *Ibid.* 179 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 181.

[3] SANDERS, 332 *seqq.* Allen on February 28, 1585, in THEINER, 1585, n. 19 (III., 634 *seq.*).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 226 *seqq.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 508.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 513.

[6] Despues que se supo aqui el destroco de Paris, se fueron los obispos a la Reyna, diziendole quanto le ymportava, porque no

became severe enough; a Catholic document of 1572 complains that all the prisons were choked with the members of the greater and lesser aristocracy, that even ladies and widows were punished for having secretly heard mass, that hardly anyone could pass from one town to another without being questioned, that hardly a letter arrived that had not been opened, and that no conversation could be held by the best of friends without being overheard.[1]

A specially bloody campaign against priests and Catholics followed the events of 1569, at first only in exceptional cases.[2] It was different when, in 1575, the first seminary priests arrived, and when, after a few years, the fruits of their labours were manifest. Now the government could no longer count on the dying out of the priests, and therefore began to interfere with greater severity, especially when, by the coming of Campion, the Catholics were filled with fresh courage, and many who had wavered openly declared themselves for the Church.[3] In 1577 the first seminary priest, Cuthbert Maine, died as a martyr.[4] Until the time of Elizabeth's death about 124 priests and 61 laymen followed him.[5] They generally

uviesse alborotes y tumultos en el reyno, que mandasse luego hacer execucion en los obispos, con los otros mas religiosos y seglares que estan presos por la religion chatolica, a lo qual la Reyna no quiso consentir (KERVYN DE LETTERHOVE seq. 513). Burghley sought to pacify London, porque con la nueva de lo de Paris los de aquella seta, qu'esta mayor parte, han hecho consultos y mostrado de querer hazer movimientos contra los Chatolicos, como en Paris se hizo contra los hugonotes, y ha passado tan adelante esto que no ha faltado algunos destos predicadores que lo dixessen publicamente en los pulpitos, procurando conmover la gente e ello. Antonio Fogaca to Alba on 8 September, 1572 (*ibid.* 514).

[1] "A treatise of treason" in POLLEN in *The Month*, CIV., 509.

[2] SPILLMANN, II., 109 *seqq.*

[3] Burghley and Walsingham had already decided upon a renewal of the persecution even before the coming of the Jesuits. POLLEN, in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 54 *seq.*

[4] CHALLONER, I., 28 *seqq.* SPILLMANN, II., 150.

[5] According to the list in CHALLONER, I., 11 *seqq.*

suffered the death appointed for traitors, that is they were hanged, disembowelled while still alive, their heart and bowels torn out, and their dead bodies quartered.[1]

Others were called upon to suffer for years, in such a way that, by comparison, death at the hands of the executioner seemed almost desirable. The son of the Duke of Norfolk who had been executed in 1572, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was thrown into prison at the age of 28, and there awaited his death for ten years.[2] Thomas Pound lay for 30 years in various prisons, and was for a time in an underground dungeon, deprived of all light.[3] Many less distinguished or less wealthy had their lives cut short by their privations in the filthy dungeons of the prisons.[4] At the beginning of July, 1580, the ordinary prisons were so filled with Catholics that old castles were demanded of the bishops or suspect nobles, in order that the prisoners might be taken there.[5] A few months later Persons[6] wrote that the gentry and the common folk, men and women, were everywhere thrown into prison, and that even boys were loaded with iron chains. Execution was generally preceded by cruel torture. The prisoners were laid upon the bed of torture and racked, or suspended by their

[1] The text of these sentences translated in SPILLMANN, I., 110 *seq.*, *cf.* III., 10 *seq.* Of the few women condemned, Margaret Clitheroe was pressed to death in 1586 under a door loaded with stones, because she had concealed a priest (LINGARD, VIII., 452); two other women were condemned to the stake, but afterwards pardoned. CHALLONER, I., 315.

[2] Biography by A. F. RIO, translated by K. ZELL, Freiburg, 1874; *cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 185, 291 *seq.*

[3] FOLEY, III., 567 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* the list in CHALLONER, I., 17 *seq.*

[5] Allen to Cardinal Galli, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 215). POLLEN in *The Month*, CXV. (1910), 55.

[6] To Galli on September 17, 1580, in THEINER, 1580, n. 88 (III., 216). Owen Lewis also wrote from Milan on October 13, 1580: "Numquam ita saevitum fuit in catholicos in Anglia atque nunc, quae res eos facile moveret ad arma contra Reginam, si caput et auxilium haberent, vel certe sperarent." Fasc. 62 of the Favre Mss. in the Library at Geneva.

thumbs until they swooned, or their maimed bodies were compressed in iron bands in the so-called "scavenger's daughter";[1] in some cases recourse was had to that torture which in Spanish popular opinion is reserved for Antichrist,[2] namely when wedges were thrust under the finger nails.[3] Besides these there were the money fines for non-attendance at divine worship, the amount of which, for those times, can only be described as unheard of,[4] the search for hidden priests, for Catholic books and objects of devotion, in the course of which helpless women and children were threatened with drawn swords without any regard for their state.[5]

It was inevitable that under the protection of the laws the lowest dregs of the population should seek to take advantage of this state of affairs. There was every opportunity for them to enrich themselves from the property of the Catholics, and every use was made of it.[6] An army of paid spies and

[1] *Cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 423 *seq.*; Diarium in App. in SANDERS, 350.

[2] "Entre otros usan uno que en España se imagina la gente, que como el mayor de todos ha de obrar el Anticristo, que es meter hierros entre las uñas y la carne." Mendoza, August 12, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 83.

[3] *e.g.* in the case of Campion and Bryant. SPILLMANN, II. 274, 300.

[4] More fully in LINGARD, VIII., 448, n.R., and especially in F. A. GASQUET, Hampshire recusants, a story of their troubles in the time of queen Elizabeth, London, 1895. George Cotton paid, for 20 years, 260 pounds sterling a year (*ibid.* 31); a certain Neve a tailor, and his wife were each condemned to pay 140 pounds sterling, for having refused to attend the church during the last six months (*ibid.*). A third of the fine went to the queen, a third to the poor, and the remaining third to the informant. During the last 20 years of the XVIth century, the government treasury received 6,000 pounds sterling a year for the fines of these who disobeyed, and in 1601 the sum reached 9,226 pounds 19 shillings and four pence (the whole of the queen's revenues were 400,000 pounds sterling in 1601).

[5] LINGARD, VIII., 422, n.F. and POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CV. (1905), 283 *seq.*

[6] Jessopp in SPILLMANN, III., 54.

informers was spread everywhere by Walsingham, even in the seminaries on the continent, and poisoned the closest ties of friendship and blood.[1] Bloodthirsty natures such as those of the infamous Topcliffe,[2] and Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North from 1572 to 1595,[3] saw the opportunity for satisfying their cruelty and employed it in every possible way. An agent of Walsingham, a certain Vane, who had managed to get himself received into the seminary at Rheims, seriously contemplated removing at one blow by poison Allen and all the students in the establishment.[4] Even the English in Flanders, who by leaving their country had escaped from dangers to their conscience, were made to feel the heavy hand of Elizabeth. On the strength of a treaty of 1495 she demanded their extradition, and the Spanish regent, Requesens, granted the demand in 1575, so as not to injure the commerce with England.[5] Gregory XIII. assisted these unfortunates as far as he could.[6]

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 166. MEYER, 144 *seqq.* For the principal spies in the English seminary in Rome *cf.* the report of the visitation of Sega in 1596, in FOLEY, VI., 13-19; *ibid.* p. xix., extracts from the letters of the spies. Naturally every attempt was made to discover the spies in the seminaries,which may explain certain complaints of eavesdropping, etc. (MEYER, 87 *seq.*).

[2] "Anything of inhumanity that the wildest phantasy can imagine was incarnate in this example of unspeakable vulgarity," says Meyer very rightly (p. 54); *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 277 *seqq.* He had full authority to torture priests in his own house at will, without witnesses. MEYER, *loc. cit.*

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 273 *seqq.* After the death of Huntingdon, the number of Catholic recusants in the archdeaconry of Richmond increased in two years to 20,000 (*ibid.*); *cf.* for him Jessopp in SPILLMANN, III., 53.

[4] Sega, *loc. cit.* 7, 61.

[5] LECHAT, 98 *seqq.*, 115 *seqq.*; MEYER, 210 *seqq.* Among the exiles were also to be found some who had taken no part in the rising of 1569, e.g. Englefield. LECHAT, 115.

[6] To the Archbishop of Cambrai, April 15, 1575, in THEINER, 1575, n. 112 (II., 133), to the Bishop of Liège, August 17, 1777, n. 82 (II., 337); brief in favour of Norton, May 1, 1577, *ibid.*

Even worse cruelties than in England were employed against unhappy Ireland.[1] In order to extort a certain confession from him, in 1584 the feet of Archbishop O'Hurley of Cashel were enclosed in metal boots which were filled with oil, and then left to become red-hot in the fire, until whole pieces of the flesh fell away.[2] It is also related of Bishop MacBrien that in 1584 leaden boots were made for him to force him to deny the faith.[3] Twenty-two wretched old men, some of whom were blind and crippled, whom the Catholic army had not been able to take with it in their retreat from Mohomack in 1580, were questioned about their faith, and when they declared that the Pope was the supreme head of the Church, were shut up in a church, which was then set on fire.[4] The Irish Franciscans had many martyrs,[5] and their self-sacrificing labours in Ireland compelled the admiration of their very enemies.[6]

[1] The *"Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda diretto a Gregorio XIII." deals with the oppression of Ireland by the English: Urb. 854, p. 408 *seq.* Vatican Library. This brings out the unhappy state of that nation.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 200, 202. Nugent and Georhagan to Galli, June 4, 1584, in THEINER, III., 818.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 203.

[4] Duodeviginti senes catholici, impotentes, caeci et claudi, viri simplices et idiotae in oppido quod dicitur Mohomack ab exercitu catholico relicti, ne militibus impedimento fuissent, ab haereticis inventi sunt; et de sua fide examinati fuerunt, qui omnes uno ore profitebantur fidem catholicam. Interrogati utrum Papam an reginam pro capite ecclesiae haberent, Papam aiunt. Tunc absque mora in templum dicti oppidi divo Nicolao dedicatum palea coopertum omnes coniecti sunt portisque clausis vivi cremati fuerunt. A° 1580 Iunii 26. MORAN, Spicilegium, I., 104.

[5] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 189.

[6] "There also arose," says BROSCH (VI., 545), "a dangerous enemy to English Protestantism in the army of the Mendicants, who did not reach the heights of the Jesuits in discipline, but were unrivalled in their spirit of sacrifice. Who could cope with men who went on foot from place to place, who were content

Especially evident in the behaviour of the government was their contempt for everything which an upright mind looks upon as the greatest possessions of humanity; truth, morals and religion. It was clear that the Catholics who suffered themselves to be drawn to the Anglican churches were acting against their conscience, but in spite of all the professions of Protestant liberty of conscience violence continued to be employed. The spies in the English seminaries had at their reception to take the same oath as the other students. They made this promise without any intention of keeping it; for many years they professed Catholic belief and piety, they frequented the sacraments, and were ordained priests; in other words they sacrificed honour, character, morals and religion to the interests of the state, and the government encouraged such things, which were even worse than the cruelties they practised against the priests, since they ruined not the bodies of men, but their souls.

The question may be asked whether the attitude of Elizabeth may be described as religious or political persecution. This question is easy to answer. Elizabeth wished at all costs to destroy the Catholic religion in England, and the attempt to destroy a religion can only mean, so long as words retain their meaning, a persecution of that religion. Of course the motives for which the queen wished to get rid of Catholicism were to be sought, as far as she was concerned, in political considerations. Elizabeth had, from the very first, been quick to see what misfortunes religious differences implied in those days in the life of a nation. The whole of her foreign policy was based upon the religious differences of her neighbours, and by forming alliances with the Presbyterians across the Tweed, with the *gueux*, and the Huguenots, she held Scotland, Spain and France

with a dunghill or a heap of straw for bed, who shared their last morsel or begged bread with the Celtic inhabitants, and were their only solace in their sorrows?" Brosch adds, however, that "in them there was to be found a faint reflection of the pure Christian spirit." The lives of the Protestant pastors was in strong contrast to this self-denial. *Cf.* the testimony of the poet Spenser, *ibid.* 548, and BELLESHEIM; *loc. cit.*, 675.

in check, and completely paralysed those powerful adversaries. Hence came her suspicion that the Catholics of England would in like manner avail themselves of the help of some foreign power against their own sovereign. Hence too came her efforts to bring about religious unity in the kingdom by the destruction and persecution of the Catholic religion. It is possible too that in the case of Elizabeth hatred of the ancient Church had its part; generally speaking, however, she was very little influenced by religious considerations.[1]

The enemies of the Catholics knew very well how to let loose men's passions against them by every kind of fable and invention. Thus, in a pamphlet of 1572 the story was spread that at the Council of Trent, the Pope, together with the Emperor and the Kings of Spain and France, had entered into a conspiracy to kill the Protestants in Scotland and France.[2] In 1575 there appeared, with the tacit consent of the

[1] "Just as it suited her, she behaved as an unrepentent Protestant, or as a half-hearted and secret Catholic," says BROSCH (VI., 588). Guaras, who expressed the hope to Burghley that little by little England might be brought back to the obedience of the Pope, received the reply (in accordance with the views of Elizabeth) that in matters of religion the queen did not think like the Genevans or the Huguenots; she was of opinion that in the Church there must be a single head; if the College of Cardinals would change its ways, the queen would accept their doctrines (Guaras to Alba, October 12, 1572, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 550; Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. IV., 40). On the other hand, in the credential letters of November 5, 1582, for William Harebone, her envoy to the Sultan, Elizabeth styled herself: "The immoveable and most powerful upholder of the true faith against the idolaters who falsely confess the name of Christ." (JOS. v. HAMMER, Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches, II., Pesth, 1834, 513). Later on she represented the Catholics to the Sultan as idolaters, and the Presbyterians and Huguenots as a kind of Mahometans (*ibid.* 576). *Cf.* AL. PICHLER, Geschichte der kirchl. Trennung zwischen Orient und Okzident, I. (1864), 507.

[2] Guaras to Alba, November 18, 1572, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. IV., 59.

government a publication full of the "most incredible falsehoods and lies" concerning the Spanish Inquisition;[1] in 1580 we hear of a broadsheet with pictures representing the "three tyrants of the world," namely the Pope, Nero and the Turks;[2] in the following year Leicester spread the report that a plot was in preparation for the slaughter of all the Protestants, beginning with the queen.[3]

The queen had seen for herself in the reign of her elder sister how odious were executions for purely religious motives. Although Elizabeth's motive was simply the destruction of the Catholic religion, she nevertheless always made it appear that the victims of her religious persecution were merely political offenders, who, by their violation of the laws, or as conspirators and regicides, had incurred a well-deserved fate. If the Catholics were dragged by force to the Anglican services, it was stated that the queen did not wish to do violence to their consciences, since each could believe and think what he liked interiorly.[4] Maine, the proto-martyr of the seminary of Douai, was not condemned as a priest, but on the pretext that a Papal bull had been found in his baggage,[5] which was absolutely illegal, since the possession of a Papal document did not come under the law. Later on the charge of high treason was brought against priests,[6] and by means of stories of conspiracies, for the most part quite fictitious, the attempt was made to get even the Catholics to believe it.[7]

Falsehood was an outstanding feature of Elizabeth's political

[1] Guaras to Zayas, July 4, 1575, *ibid.* 84.

[2] Mendoza, March 23, 1580, *ibid.* 472.

[3] Mendoza, January 9, 1581, *ibid.* 538.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 134. *The Month*, CIV. (1904), 509.

[5] Not the bull against Elizabeth, as was thought by RANKE (I., 389), FROUDE (XI., 54) and MEYER (p. 126), but a copy of the Jubilee bull of 1575, which had nothing but an historical interest. *Cf.* MORRIS-HOFFMANN, I., 124; where the bull found on Maine is printed. In the English edition of his work (London 1916, 150), Meyer has corrected the mistake.

[6] *Cf.* more fully *supra*, p. 458.

[7] *Cf.* more fully *supra*, p. 440 *seq.*

methods, but it may be said that this miserable trifling with truth never showed itself in such an outrageous way as in the trials of priests, wherein the honour and lives of men were being dealt with who, from the moral point of view, were the flower and glory of their country. All the while these priests were busy with the care of souls in England they always scrupulously avoided all meddling with politics. William Allen—although political aims were by no means foreign to his own labours—carefully kept his students away from such matters; at the seminary at Douai, for example, the questions whether the Pope had the power to excommunicate or depose sovereigns were never to be touched upon.[1] Even the English government knew very well that the priests were no conspirators; the interrogatories of Campion and his companions, for example, afford such incontrovertible proof of this, that no historian could ask for more, and the same thing applied in the case of the great majority of the English Catholics. In September, 1582, at the very moment when men were so eagerly discussing the invasion of England on the continent, one of Walsingham's spies wrote to his master that, in spite of the most painstaking search, he had not been able to discover any plans for an insurrection on the part of the English Catholics. Leicester, at the same time, complained, as also did Walsingham, that Elizabeth would not believe that the great increase of the "papists" involved any danger to her kingdom; "may the Lord in His mercy, open her eyes," he adds.[2] Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador between the years 1583-1585, was unable to discover any wish to rebel among the English Catholics. He also speaks of their steadfastness in their faith, and wonders that not a few of the Protestants were returning to Catholicism. On the other hand he describes the Catholics as paralysed by fear; there is in existence no sort of union among the landed gentry of the nation to throw

[1] BELLESHEIM, Allen, 132. FRERE (p. 212) also says: "Allen, while he played his own part in political machinations abroad, kept his college free from all that side of the question."

[2] Cal. of State Papers. Domestic, 69, quoted by POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1902), 408.

off the Protestant yoke, and no one dares to express any opinion on such subjects. As far as he is aware, no Catholic is in touch with Guise.[1] The French ambassador, Castelnau de Mauvissière, wrote of the English Catholics that they continued to console themselves with the hope that their queen had more sympathy with them in her heart than she showed in her laws and her policy. Even the Protestants always had the fear lest she should show favour to the Catholics in the event of her marrying a Catholic prince. Elizabeth herself recognized that the Catholics were her best subjects.[2] Loyalty to the queen often manifested itself in a very touching way in the case of the martyrs. Generally their last prayer upon the scaffold was for the queen herself. Felton, who had fastened to the gates of the archiepiscopal palace the bull of excommunication of Elizabeth, immediately before his excution drew a precious diamond ring from his finger and sent it to her.[3]

In order to fasten the crime of high treason upon the priests, in spite of the absence of visible proof, Burghley had recourse to a desperate expedient. Relying upon the bull of excommunication of Pius V., he presented to the accused the so-

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 409. "Con ésto envio á V. M. copia de una carta de la de Escocia, respondole acerca de los católicos que de ningun manera no sólo conviene declararles nada, mas aun tentallos, por estar demasiadamente amilanados, como lo he escripto a V. M. por diversas veces." Mendoza on 28 March, 1583, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 488. "Yo no sé verdaderamente que haya aquí algunos católicos principales que traten con el de Guisa." Mendoza on 16 July, 1583, *ibid.* 516. On November 30, 1583 (LECHAT, 142) Aless. Farnese remarks that according to the opinion of the English refugees in Flanders, the Catholics of England would not take up arms before a landing was effected on their shores. They wished this landing to be made in the name of the Pope, for otherwise both Catholics and heretics would combine to resist the foreigner.

[2] Castelnau, May 27, 1579, August 30, 1580, April 9, 1581, in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 408.

[3] SPILLMANN, II., 116.

called "bloody question":[1] What would you do if the Pope or the King of Spain were to send an army to England to restore the Catholic religion? It was not sufficient for the accused to say that in the existing circumstances they recognized Elizabeth as their lawful sovereign; it was insisted that they should give an express assurance that they did not recognize any circumstances in which—according to the international law of the middle ages—an armed attack by a foreign power would be lawful, or in which the Pope could proceed to the deposition of the queen. To answer this question without reservation in the sense demanded by the government was impossible; any evasive or conditional reply was at once taken as proof of treasonable opinions. On the strength of this "bloody question" the government was thus naturally able to punish any Catholic as a traitor. But at the same time they placed in the hands of their adversaries the proof that those who were condemned in this way died for their religion, and when the government set itself in these trials to search into men's thoughts, it was made manifest that they had no tangible proofs against the accused priests in order to prove, either their treason, or as far as facts went, their treasonable opinions. Burghley himself thought it necessary in 1583 to take his pen in hand in defence of his procedure. William Allen answered him, and among other things pointed out that even the Protestant reformers held that in certain circumstances resistance to a government by violence was justified,[2] that the Protestants of France, Scotland and

[1] *Cf.* for this POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, CIV. (1904), 513 *seq.*

[2] See CALVIN (Praelectiones in Daniel, c. 6, v. 22): "Abdicant enim se potestate terreni principes, dum insurgunt contra Deum imo indigni sunt, qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potius ergo conspuere oportet in ipsorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi ita proterviunt, ut velint etiam spoliare Deum iure suo et quasi occupare solium eius, ac si possent eum e coelo detrahere" (Corp. reform. vol. LXIX: Calvini opera, XLI., 25 *seq.* A detailed work, of about 1575, in Flanders concerning the right of the people to depose princes; see KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VIII., 51-58; *cf.* MARNIX, *ibid.*, 113.

Flanders had acted on this supposition, and that Elizabeth herself had approved of this principle when she gave assistance to the insurgents of those nations.[1]

A short time after the death of Campion there fell into the hands of the government the document in which Gregory XIII. granted that mitigation of the bull of excommunication of Pius V. which had been asked for by Persons and Campion.[2] Burghley published this Papal declaration in his apologetic work of 1583 as a proof that Campion, in spite of all his declarations to the contrary had, together with Persons, come to England to put the bull into execution![3]

As a matter of fact, nothing more could be gathered from the concession of Gregory XIII. than the fact that he wished to tranquillize the consciences of the English Catholics, and to moderate the bull of his predecessor; but this mitigation is an outpouring of the burning sympathy shown by the Pope on so many occasions for the English Church. Gregory had taken his name in memory of the great Pope who first sent the missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, and it is quite certain that the mind of Gregory XIII. often adverted to the fact that his name ought to be an incentive to him to become in his turn the apostle of England.[4] The support which he gave both the English seminaries sprang from the same idea; he did everything in his power for the English exiles who had been driven from their country for their faith;[5] lastly

[1] ALLEN, a true, sincere and modeste defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abrode against a false, seditious and slanderous libel intitled: The Execution of Justice in England, Ingolstadt 1584., *cf.* BELLESHEIM, Allen, 105 *seq.*; LINGARD, VIII., 428, n.H.

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 390.

[3] MEYER, 120 *seq.* Gregory XIII. also gave another decision concerning the duties of the English Catholics; this stated that in all matters concerning the state they were to recognize Elizabeth as true queen: "externo honore et verbis observarent." POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 96.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 404; MEYER, 242.

[5] *Distributio 500 sc. a gloriosissimae memoriae S. S^tis^ decessore indulta et a S. D. N. Gregorio XIII. continuata et Religiosis

it was Gregory who conferred on the victims of the judicial murders in England the supreme honour with which the Catholic Church is wont to crown moral grandeur; he allowed their bodies to be treated as relics, and opened the way to their veneration and cultus in the Church, when he caused the church of the English College in Rome to be adorned by the painter Circiniani with the representation of their martyrdoms.[1]

Besides the Catholics, there was another very powerful party in England which also refused to have anything to do with the state church, and which hated and resisted its worship as well as its bishops. This was the growing party of the Puritans.

et Pauperibus Anglis in Belgio exulantibus in eleemosynam collata nec sine novo S. S^tis^ annuatim consensu ratificata (Conventui monialium S. Brigittae sc. 200; Conventui Carthusianorum sc. 50; sacerdotibus Anglis, qui in Belgio praedicant sc. 50; D. Thomae Fremano sc. 20 etc.), Encyclical of January 21, 1582, to the whole of Christendom on behalf of the English refugees. Bull. Rom., VIII., 383 *seq.*; *to Philip II., recommending to him two nobles, Brevia XXI., n. 283, p. 218, Papal Secret Archives; to Don John, Jan. 26, 1578, in THEINER, 1578, n. 96, III., 435 (to recommend Norton and the English Carthusians, who had been exiled from Bruges to St. Quentin, and the Brigittines at Malines); to Philip II., April 9, 1578, *ibid.* n. 87, p. 436 (to recommend the Prior of England [Richard Shelley]; to the King of France (for Lesley), March 27, 1574, *ibid.* 1574, n. 94, I., 307 *seq.* (*cf.* II., 133); to Philip II., for Westmoreland and Dacre, September 5, 1580, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 273; *cf.* THEINER III., 701. *Cf. supra*, p. 460; A. BERTOLOTTI, Relazioni di Inglesi col governo pontificio nei secoli XVI.-XVII. e XVIII. The documents collected in the Roman archives, in *Giornale araldico-genealogico-diplomatico*, XV., anno 1887-1888, Pisa, 1888. 112 *seqq.* For the Brigittines and Carthusians *cf.* LECHAT, 25, 132 *seqq.*

[1] The decree of the Congregation of Rites, confirmed by Leo XIII. on December 9, 1886, on the beatification of 54 English martyrs, in *Katholik*, 1887, I., 549 *seqq.* KNOX, Letters of card. Allen, 186. MEYER, 91. Ecclesiae anglicanae trophaea sive sanctorum martyrum, qui pro Christo catholicaeque fidei veritate

It is a strange thing that the fiercest enemies of the Catholics, Leicester, Burghley, Walsingham, and the terrible persecutor, Huntingdon, were either open Puritans, or at any rate inclined much more to Puritan ideas than to the state church.[1] The persecution which was being carried on on behalf of religious unity and the official church against the old religion thus came from men who substantially had no love for the state church. The Catholics themselves attributed their sufferings much more to the Puritans than to the queen.[2] This fact throws a new light upon the motives of the persecution; since, as far as the Puritans were concerned, it was not politics but religious hatred which incited them to the struggle, and the same thing is true of the ministers who so often spurred men on to hostility and to the destruction of the Catholics.[3]

The attitude of the government towards the Puritans also throws a light upon its behaviour towards the Catholics. As the future was to show, Puritanism was far more dangerous to the state and church of Elizabeth than the recognition of the Pope, but the political sagacity of Burghley and Walsingham, who feared everything from Rome, was blind

asserenda antiquo recentiorique persecutionum tempore mortem in Anglia subierunt passiones, Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictae, nuper autem per Io. Bapt. de Cavalleriis aeneis typis repraesentatae, Romae, 1584 (36 copper plates representing the English martyrs of ancient and modern times). *Cf.* Gasquet, English College, 118 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* for Leicester, Frere, 115 *seq.*, 185, 226; for Burghley, *ibid.* 229; for Walsingham, Mendoza, April 22, 1578, Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 221; Camden calls Walsingham "a strong and resolute maintainer of the purer religion" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, LIX., 127); of Huntingdon he says: "He was of a mild disposition, but being a zealous puritan, much wasted his estate by a lavish support of those hotheaded preachers" (*ibid.*, XXV., 127). According to Mendoza on February 27, 1581 (Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V. 550), Huntingdon was "Gran puritano y enemiguisimo de la Reina de Escocia" *Cf.* Pollen in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 273.

[2] Pollen, *loc. cit.*, IC. (1902), 407.

[3] *Cf.* e.g. *supra*, p. 456.

to the danger which threatened them from the Puritans.[1] Anyone who wishes to form a true judgment of the persecution of the Catholics must keep both these things before him,

[1] See more fully *infra*, p. 474 *seq.* On Nov. 15, 1573, Antonio de Guaras wrote to Alba (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VI., 844) : " Esta semana, por comission de la Reyna, se ha dado orden para que, en este pueblo y en todo el reyno, se tome nota de los que son conocidos por Catolicos y Puritanos. . . . *La persecucion solamente es contra los Catolicos*, porque todo es disimulacion contra los Puritanos por ser los mas finos y apasionados hereges de la opinion dellos, y ay muchos que estan en gran autoridad, que son los principales dellos, y tanta discordia por ello que se teme de alteracion." Persons also writes from Paris on 24 August, 1583, to the rector of the English College, Rome : " Catholici . . . dimicant fortiter pro sua fide. Queruntur enim cum libris, tam etiam scriptis et sermone, se solos plecti et vexari, cum boni et fideles subditi sint ; Puritanos vero, qui manifestos se produnt Reginae inimicos, liberos esse ab omni vexatione. Hoc regni consiliarii audiunt, sed dissimulant tamen, quia maxima ex parte et ipsi Puritani sunt (THEINER, 1583, n. 85, III., 476). Mendoza also wrote on July 16, 1583 (Corresp. de Felipe II., vol. V., 513) : The sect of the Puritans increases greatly " siéndolo muchos principales del Reino." Six nobles of their number had taken counsel with the French Huguenots as to whether they ought not to take up arms against the queen, to depose or kill her, because she would not enter into their ideas of reform, and would not kill all the Catholics " pidiéndoles parescer si podian tomar las armas contra la Reina para deponella de la corona, poniendo otro en su lugar ó matalla, por concertarse su religion y evangelio." The letter was intercepted, and the six nobles summoned before the Council, but were not punished " que es bueno para la sevicia que usan con los católicos." A book was published by the Puritans in Zeeland and Middelburg, which taught among other things that superiors are no longer superiors if they do not regulate their conduct in accordance with the Gospel, and that in that case anyone may depose or kill them " en cual como falten, ipso facto tiene poder cualquiera para descomponellos ó matallos." The Council wished to interfere, but as Leicester, Walsingham and Redefort adhered to Puritanism, this was not done.

and for the same reason the history of the Popes must not fail to deal briefly with a party which in the future exercised so important an influence upon the fortunes of England.

The Puritan tendency of English Protestantism had its beginning at the time when some of the ministers in the reign of Queen Mary fled to Geneva, and there absorbed the doctrines of Calvin; on their return to England they naturally could not accept certain half-Catholic institutions of the national church. At first the fight was confined to apparent trifles; of the sacerdotal vestments of Catholic times, the simplest of all, the so-called rochet or surplice, a linen garment worn over the ordinary dress, was still in use for Anglican worship. A campaign against this "anti-scriptural relic of papistry" as well as against other things of a like nature, was begun with a great display of zeal.[1] Archbishop Parker resisted the innovators, whereupon the struggle became much more far-reaching; the new party declared the office of bishop to be unscriptural, and aimed at a presbyterian constitution by which the community was to be ruled by a body of elders.[2] Some of the supporters of the new views then began to form a separate community, against which the government then proceeded to take action.[3]

But the new movement would not allow itself to be restrained. The infant state church by the grace of Elizabeth had as yet no roots in the hearts of the people; in comparison with it the Puritans had at any rate the merit of being logical; to this must be added the fact that the state bishops were often quite unworthy men.[4] Elizabeth looked upon the ap-

[1] FRERE, 54 *seq.*, 111-128. One of the "gross points of popery" was the fur collar which the higher ecclesiastics were careful to wear. This was given up in 1571, as being tainted with superstition, a concession which naturally encouraged the Puritans to make further demands.

[2] FRERE, 126.

[3] *Ibid.* 126 *seq.*

[4] "There were many upon the bench of bishops who were unworthy of their place there, and the proportion of these did not diminish as Elizabeth's reign went on." (FRERE, 156 *seq.*).

pointments to bishoprics, as well as the vacant sees, as sources of revenue, and once the new bishops had taken possession of their sees they tried to recoup themselves for their expenses by doing to their subordinates what the queen had done to them.[1] Thus the Church "was daily sinking deeper into a sea of corruption."[2] Puritanism made capital of this state of affairs, and its opposition to the national church became daily more bitter, its progress more daring, and its supporters more numerous. Its leaders up to this time, Sampson and Humphrey, had only become familiar with Calvinism at a mature age, and had always preserved many memories of the state of affairs of their youth; Thomas Cartwright, however, a Cambridge professor, who took the leadership of the party in 1570, had grown up among the ideas of Geneva. He had the boldness to direct open attacks from the pulpit at the episcopal constitution of the church, and though in Cambridge he found an adversary in Whitgift, the greater part of the university was on his side.[3] Whitgift himself later on, as the second successor of Parker in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, proved himself the most bitter enemy of the Puritans;[4] but though he opposed their destructive efforts in the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, he nevertheless sympathized strongly with their views as far as doctrine was concerned,[5]

Elizabeth's bishops, says Frere (p. 303), for the most part, were little else but sponges; the queen first squeezed them herself and then left them to extract what they could from the benefices assigned to them. "In the early part of Elizabeth's reign," it is stated, *ibid.* 304, "the clergy were both unlearned and ill bred. . . . The married clergy suffered from the dubious position of their wives, for clerical marriage was not yet authorised by statute."

[1] FRERE, 191.

[2] "a Church which was daily sinking deeper into a sea of corruption." *ibid.* 191. Under Elizabeth there were benefices in the hands of boys of fourteen. *Ibid.* 162.

[3] FRERE, 155 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 223-236.

[5] "He was decidedly in sympathy with the Calvinists in his doctrinal standpoint, and in this respect he joined hands with the puritan party." *Ibid.* 224.

while his predecessor, Grindal, had entirely adopted Puritan ideas.[1] Even among the masses there were to be found many zealots, and a general consensus of opinion against the "abuses." When in 1572 there appeared a pamphlet with the title "An Admonition to Parliament,"[2] which expressed itself strongly against the bishops, against the Book of Common Prayer, and against the abuses in the church,[3] its two authors, Field and Wilcox, who were quickly discovered, were indeed imprisoned, but the people flocked to their prison as to a shrine:[4] the order that all the copies of this book should be handed over to the bishops was paid so little attention to that not even one copy was delivered to the Bishop of London.[5] The Parliament to which the admonition had been addressed counted many Puritans among its members; many times proposals of a Puritan tendency were laid before it, and if none of these became law, this was due solely to the intervention of the queen.[6] Elizabeth kept a jealous watch over Parliament, especially with regard to her supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. In 1572 she forbade the House of Commons to pass bills on religious questions, which had not first been submitted to the clergy,[7] and in 1576 she again declared that she did not wish Parliament to interfere with such matters.[8] The primate of the English Church found his hands almost entirely tied. Grindal, Parker's successor, had experience of this when the queen demanded of him the suppression among the Puritans of the so-called "prophesyings"; or the suppression of those private gatherings at which each person present

[1] *Ibid.* 110, 191.

[2] *Ibid.* 178 *seqq.*

[3] This work called the archiepiscopal court "the putrid slough and the poisonous well of all the pestilences which infect the kingdom." The Book of Common Prayer is called "a faulty book, taken and dug out of the Papal dunghill of the breviary and the missal." FRERE, 179.

[4] *Ibid.* 182.

[5] *Ibid.* 185.

[6] *Ibid.* 161, 177, 198 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.* 177.

[8] *Ibid.* 199.

was allowed to speak according to his own ideas concerning some scriptural text proposed to him. Grindal refused, appealing to his conscience, and at the end of his letter insisted that the queen should leave religious matters to the bishops and theologians. Elizabeth retorted by suspending Grindal from the exercise of his episcopal office for six months, and, passing over the head of the archbishop, sent her orders directly to his suffragans.[1] The "prophesyings" nevertheless went on, in spite of the royal orders, though under another name.[2] For the most part the government behaved with extraordinary leniency and consideration towards the Puritans. Some of the preachers were, it is true, deprived when they had made themselves too noticeable, and here and there one or two were sent to prison,[3] but harsh treatment was only really meted out to the extreme left of the party, the adherents of Robert Browne, who had formerly separated himself from the national church in order to form a community composed solely of the "more worthy," and denied not only the validity of the Anglican consecration, but also the spiritual supremacy of the queen. In spite of this, Browne, who was a relative of Burghley, was for a long time treated with great consideration, until in 1581 he thought it wise to fly to Middelburg in Holland with his friends.[4] This sect gave the Puritans their first two martyrs; two of Browne's disciples, who obstinately denied the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth had, in 1583, to expiate their unpardonable crime on the scaffold.[5] Thus it was no longer only the Catholics who were threatened with a violent death for their faith. But it was at once shown at the execution of these first two Puritans that the two religious confessions approached such an eventuality with an entirely different religious outlook. Whereas the Catholics could be

[1] *Ibid.* 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 194 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 172 *seqq.* Puritan writers estimate that 100 pastors were removed from their posts, "but truthfulness was never the Puritans' strong point," remarks Frere (p. 174).

[4] *Ibid.* 202 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 204.

dragged to their death without any fear of their being forcibly set free by their friends, in the case of the Puritans there was at once rebellion. It was found necessary to postpone judicial action in the case of one of the accused, in order to calm the populace, while the other was for the same reason taken to the scaffold immediately after his condemnation.[1]

In the same year 1583, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, Cartwright's former adversary at Cambridge, deemed it necessary to start a bitter campaign against the Puritans. During the last ten years that sect had made great advances; the "Admonition to Parliament" of 1572 had been followed in 1574 by the "Book of Discipline," to which all the adherents of the Geneva opinions bound themselves by subscription.[2] During the years preceding the appointment of Whitgift, meetings had been held, especially in London, against the Book of Common Prayer and the episcopal office; sixty ministers from the west of England came on May 16th 1582 to Cockfield to promote resistance to the Book of Common Prayer; a further meeting gave the demands of the sect a definite form by means of series of decrees.[3] A few weeks later, Whitgift, who had now taken possession of his office, addressed a letter to the ministers, which they were all required to sign under the penalty of being removed from their posts.[4] This demand raised a storm of opposition, both from the ministers and from the laity;[5] when the commission appointed by Whitgift demanded under oath from the suspect ministers a profession of faith on certain points,[6] Burghley who, in spite of his secret leaning towards the Puritans, officially supported the national bishops, showed his displeasure. The

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* 195 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 225,

[4] *Ibid.* 224.

[5] *Ibid.* 227 *seq.*

[6] This was the celebrated *ex-officio* oath, which was afterwards eagerly disputed. It was called *ex-officio*, because the sole juridical title on which it was demanded, was the office of judge (*officium*) of the one who exacted the oath,

procedure of the commission," he wrote, "is conceived after the Roman fashion" and "smacks too much of the Roman Inquisition" in saying which the ingenuous statesman naturally and very properly condemned the "bloody question" of the Catholic trials which he had himself devised. Whitgift defended himself, and Burghley thought it wise to let him have his own way. The resistance offered by the ministers to the archbishop was of no great importance; out of 800 fifty refused to sign[1] and only a few turbulent ones were sent to prison.[2]

Once more in 1584 the Puritans attempted to induce Parliament to approve their designs, but once more all their attempts were defeated by the opposition of the queen. After many discussions the two Houses at length agreed upon a decree for the strict observance of the "Sabbath," but the queen refused her assent, and the matter was heard no more of. A further plan for reform did not even reach the House of Commons for discussion, while another reached the House of Lords, but out of consideration for Elizabeth, the peers prudently rejected it. The complaints of the people against the bishops were brought before Burghley and Whitgift, who answered the complainants with scorn, so that the latter did not dare to make any reply. Moreover, the queen then informed the members of the House of Commons that they were not to interfere in matters which did not concern them; in the speech from the throne at the dissolution of Parliament Elizabeth declared that the reform of the clergy was her affair. In the full persuasion of her authority over the Church itself she at the same time sent the bishops a public warning that she would remove them if they did not busy themselves in bettering the state of affairs.[3] No Pope and no prince of the XVIth century had ever dared to treat their bishops in such a way.

It seemed to Elizabeth that she had attained to the height of her power. She was mistress of the seas, and within the boundaries of England she was more king than a Charles V.,

[1] FRERE, 229 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 234.

[3] *Ibid.* 230-233.

and more Pope than a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III. The state bishops could not move a finger without her permission; the proud nobles humbly bowed their heads before her, and she cut off the heads of the Catholics who would not bend to her will; as for the stiff-necked Puritans, she thought, it would seem, that she could pulverise them by her enactments, and perhaps ignore them as insignificant and inconsiderable persons. Her great ambition of raising herself up to unlimited sovereignty in matters temporal and spiritual seemed to have been attained.

Elizabeth had set herself a gigantic task when, on her accession to the throne she had aimed at reconstituting on a Protestant basis the religious unity of England, which was still to a great extent Catholic. From the moral point of view one must naturally condemn a policy which could only be carried into effect by violating the consciences of thousands, by depriving thousands of their possessions, their worldly position, and of all happiness in life, and by inhumanly sacrificing to a vile tyranny hundreds of noble lives. Undoubtedly all this showed the great administrative genius of Elizabeth and Burghley. It needed courage even to form the idea of so gigantic an undertaking, and a profound understanding of English conditions to look upon it as practicable. The sagacity of Burghley, the real "king of England,"[1] who was able, by a well-weighed policy, to combine an iron severity towards the recalcitrant with consideration towards the obedient, his skill in stirring up public opinion in England against the Catholics, and his logically persistent government through many years, actually succeeded in reducing the religion of ancient England, once supreme from sea to sea, to a handful of despised helots. But in spite of everything what short-sightedness was displayed in the political outlook of Burghley and his sovereign! It might be supposed that both of them

[1] "Antonio de Guaras mesmes me dict qu'en effet c'est le roy d'Angleterre." Champagney to Requesens, January 28, 1576, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, VIII., 137." [Burle] es el todo deste Reino y la ánima de la Reina." Guaras to Alba, October 12, 1572. Corresp. de Felipei II., vol. IV., 39.

knew no more than the upper classes of English society, who for that matter had often shown themselves ready to embrace even Islam at the royal command,[1] and that they had not even a notion of what religion really means, or of what deep roots it takes in the hearts of a sane people. Thus the king-made state church which was to unite the nation was a failure; a fierce vendetta followed upon the criminal attempt to enforce it, and this, wonderful to say, did not come from the persecuted Catholics, but from the kindly treated Puritans. In contrast to the national church of Elizabeth Puritanism waxed strong, and it was due to it that, in less than half a century after the death of the queen, the political life of England passed through its time of greatest peril, and her second successor was brought to the scaffold.[2]

Without intending it Elizabeth afforded to the Holy See the most wonderful recognition that it has ever received. The view has certainly been expressed that the English martyrs were not so much martyrs for Catholicism, as for the idea of the supremacy of the Papacy over all sovereigns,[3] that they died for the power of the Pope to depose secular rulers,[4] and thus for a political ideal and not for a principle of faith. But they were above all things persecuted and gave their lives because they would have no part in the separation of England from the universal Church, and thus for the principles of the Catholic faith concerning the unity of the Church and the authority of the Holy See; even if they did assent to the principle which gives rise to this objection, it would be more true to say that they died for the claim, which the Pope put

[1] See Vol. XIV: of this work, p. 408.

[2] Mary Stuart had warned Elizabeth in 1584: "Pour Dieu, prenez garde," she wrote to her, "que pied à pied vous ne laissiez tant croistre ceote faction puritaine que, si vous n'y pourvoyez en temps, ils vous donneront la roy à vous-mesme, m'asseurant que diverses choses s'exercent en ce royaume pour l'advancement de leurs dessins." LABANOFF, VI., 155; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Marie Stuart, I., Paris, 1889, 71.

[3] RANKE, Engl. Gesch., I., 390.

[4] FRERE, 221.

forward as to his right of deposition, and because they would not disobey the Holy See even in matters which were not defined dogmas. Moreover, the bull of excommunication was only a pretext for the persecution; it would soon have passed into oblivion and been hardly known if the government had not again and again called attention to it.[1] It was to the English government, then, and its repeated insistence upon the bull, that the Roman See owed the fact that its loyal sons equally insistently affirmed the duty of obedience to the vicar of Christ, and that so many of them sealed their loyalty to him with their blood.

In how many ways, during this century of religious upheaval, men had tried to drag the successor of St. Peter and his claims in the mud, by means of songs and pictures, in sermons and lectures, in broad-sheets and folio volumes; in how many ways had they tried to take from him the last remains of reverence in the hearts of the people, by scorn and derision, and with all the artifices of eloquence and learning, sometimes with coarse abuse, sometimes in polished periods! But now it had been shown that not only people of the common folk, but often men who belonged to the greatest and most wealthy families, who were possessed of all the culture of their age, were more ready to renounce their riches and their rank,

[1] So said the martyrs themselves, and so said W. Allen (LINGARD, VIII., 426). FRERE (p. 176) says: "The princes of Europe either did not take the bull into consideration at all, or like France, paid little attention to it, while it is probable that England generally had hardly heard of it, or heard of it only by the answers put forth to it." Moreover, to speak precisely, it is not true to say that Pius V. by his bull concerning Elizabeth, inflicted deposition on her. In the opinion of the Pope, the English queen had forfeited her crown by her heresy long before the issuing of the bull; he himself affirmed and declared that this was the case. *Cf.* Paul III. on Henry VIII.: "Se ipse illo regno et regia dignitate privavit, ita ut sola declaratio privationis adversus eum supersit." (RAYNALDUS, 1535, n. 11). It is impossible to appeal to Pius V. to prove that the Popes claimed the right to depose princes.

their liberty and their country, and even their honour and their life, than their loyalty to the man whom they venerated as the vicar of Christ. The Papacy could have had no more glowing testimony, since they who gave it, by their very testimony proved that they were capable of the greatest sacrifice and the most sublime moral grandeur, and were worthy to be looked upon, from this point of view, as the flower of their age.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The peace of St. Germain, which was so favourable to the Huguenots, was to be sealed by the marriage of Margaret, the daughter of Catherine, to the Calvinist Henry of Navarre. For the validity of this marriage, however, the Papal dispensation was required, and this Pius V. had refused to grant so long as Henry remained a Huguenot. Without letting this fact stand in the way, the marriage contract between Margaret and Henry of Navarre was signed in April, 1572, and soon afterwards an alliance was formed between France and England.[1] This was an important victory for the anti-Spanish party, while at the same time the preparation of an armada placed Philip II., in difficulties that were all the greater because, after the capture of Brielle, the insurrection in the Low Countries had become more violent. Would France seize upon this opportunity of giving assistance to the insurgents? The French Huguenots, and above all Coligny, employed every means to bring this about. Charles IX., an immature youth, passionate and easily led, agreed to their plans; only Catherine de' Medici shrank from a breach with the power of Spain. She had indeed good reasons for acting with circumspection; Queen Elizabeth had proved herself a very doubtful ally, who would not allow France to obtain possession of the coasts of Flanders. The interests of her co-religionists in the Netherlands were, as far as the Queen of England was concerned, an entirely secondary consideration in comparison to the pressing political question of the domination of the Channel. All Coligny's attempts to win over England to intervene in the Low Countries were in vain. The news that was received of the undecided attitude of the Protestant princes in Germany

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 143.

was very discouraging, and still less could France count upon the much desired help of the Turks.[1]

While the balance was thus wavering between the two parties a crisis occurred in consequence of the defeat inflicted upon the volunteer Huguenot levies under the command of Genlis on July 17th, 1572, near Mons. Coligny was deeply affected by this, and strove more than ever for a rupture with Spain, for which purpose the Queen-Mother must be forced to yield to the opposition, and the Huguenots obtain the upper hand in France.[2] It was also very opportune for Coligny that Catherine and her younger son, Henry of Anjou, were at that time visiting the sick Duchess of Lorraine; thus Coligny's influence was able to work upon the weak king, and the Venetian ambassador reported that the war was decided upon.

The return of the Queen-mother to Paris (July 30th, 1572) once more made everything uncertain. It was not only the fear of a war against the great power of Spain which filled her with dismay; she, whose predominant passion was the desire to rule,[3] feared no less the loss of that authority over her son which Coligny threatened to usurp. At two plenary meetings of the council on August 6th and 9th, Catherine caused the question of the war to be gone into thoroughly once more. The reasons urged by Morvilliers, the want of money and the uncertainty of foreign help, did not fail to make an impression; the decision was adverse to Coligny, and it was resolved to maintain the peace. But the king continued to support Coligny as much as possible.[4] The latter was by no means disposed to abandon his plans against Spain: "Madame," he said to Catherine, "the king is avoiding a war which promises to bring him great advantages; God grant that he may not run into another which he cannot avoid." These words might have referred to the war in the Low Countries,

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, Bartholomäusnacht, 153 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 147.

[3] "Affetto di signoreggiare," says the Venetian, Sig. Cavalli, (ALBÈRI, I. 4, 321) was the prevailing passion of Catherine.

[4] See BAUMGARTEN, 211 *seq.*, 220 *seq.*

but Catherine saw in them a threat, as though the admiral had it in mind to stir up another civil war.[1] There could be no doubt that Coligny had the power to do so; throughout France the Huguenots, who were wonderfully organized both for military purposes and in their finances, looked upon him as their leader.[2] The Queen-mother realized this very clearly, as well as the fact that she could only secure a complete triumph by succeeding in freeing her son once and for all from the influence of the dangerous and powerful leader of the Huguenots.

In the meantime the day on which the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret was to take place in Paris was at hand. This celebration had been postponed on account of the death of the Queen of Navarre and the illness of the Duchess of Lorraine, and also because it was still hoped that the granting of the dispensation, which was necessary on account of the Calvinism of the bridegroom, but which had been steadily refused by Pius V., might be obtained from the new Pope, Gregory XIII. As all efforts to obtain this were seen to be vain, Cardinal Charles de Bourbon was tricked by a forged letter from the French ambassador in Rome, which stated that the Pope had granted the dispensation at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine. In consequence of this Cardinal de Bourbon blessed the marriage on August 18th, without the bridegroom being present at the mass.[3] The Huguenot nobles

[1] See SOLDAN, II., 433 n. 17; RANKE, Französ. Gesch., I.², 315. *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxvii.

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 139 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., liv. *seq.*, lxvii. *seq.*; RAUMER, Briefe, I., 292 *seq.*; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXX. (1906), 489 *seq*,; PALANDRI, 168 *seq.* SAULNIER (Bibl. de l'Ecole d. Chartes, LXXI. [1910], 305 *seq.*) thinks that the rumour of the granting of the dispensation may be referred to the brief of July 7, 1572; however, in this the Pope only exhorts Cardinal Bourbon to work for the conversion of his nephew. The command of Charles IX. not to allow any courier to go to Italy, was intended to prevent the discovery of the fraud to which it was intended to have recourse in the matter of the dispensation (See BEZOLD in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLVII., 564).

had flocked to Paris in great numbers with 4000 armed men to take part at the marriage of Navarre. The Guise too were there with a splendid following. There was a succession of riotous festivities and unbridled merry-making. While the heedless young king gave himself up to empty amusements, his mother was deep in her nefarious plans.

Catherine de' Medici hated Coligny with all the ardour of an Italian, because he threatened to shake her authority over the king and to upset her policy. She had often entertained the idea of removing this dangerous man by an attack upon his person.[1] Now, however, she made up her mind to do so, both so as to avoid all risk of France becoming embroiled in a war with Spain, and to recover her former ascendancy over the helpless king.

For the carrying out of this attack it was to her advantage to make use of the as yet unsatisfied blood-feud of the Guise. For that reason Catherine came to an understanding, not only with Henry of Anjou, but also with the young Duke of Guise and his mother, the Duchess of Nemours, who could not forget how Coligny had hailed the murder of her first husband as the most happy event for France and the Calvinist religion.[2] The king was not admitted to the plot by his mother, and only Catherine's confidants knew of it. It would seem that the latter cherished more far-reaching designs, whereas Catherine only aimed at the removal of Coligny.[3] But the shot that was fired by Maurevel on August 22nd did not kill the admiral, but only wounded him. Still in possession of the king's confidence, and protected by the Huguenots, who demanded with threats the punishment of the criminal, Coligny was now much more dangerous than before. If Catherine already had reason to fear a Huguenot rising if the war policy were to be abandoned, what sort of retaliation had she not cause to expect if it were discovered

[1] *Cf.* PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 52 *seqq.*

[2] See *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXII., 42 *seqq.*

[3] PHILIPPSON infers this from the report of Salviati of August 24, 1572 (Römische Kurie, 183). *Cf.* also MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 105 *seq.*

that, not the Guise and Alba, but the Queen-mother herself, had guided the blow of Maurevel? All her spies brought news of the threatened rebellion of the Huguenots. They are so angry, says Cavriana, that they have declared that if the king will not give them justice, they will take it with their own hands. According to the Venetian, Michele, the Huguenots had threatened that the arm of the admiral would cost another 40,000 arms. Téligny, Coligny's son-in-law, and Rochefoucauld, were, as the nuncio Salviati learned, uttering the foulest insults against Catherine.[1] Coligny had been wounded without his life being imperilled; one word from him would set his party, which was splendidly organized from the military point of view, in motion.[2] Under these circumstances, it seemed that nothing but another and greater crime could bring safety, namely the death of Coligny and those of his followers who were in Paris. This was the course resolved upon by Catherine, to whom might be applied the poet's words: "This is the curse of an evil act, that it must needs go on producing evil."[3]

[1] See the reports in DESJARDINS, III., 813; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots, II., 551 *seq.*; H. DE LA FERRIÈRE, Le XVI.e siècle et les Valois, 320 *seq.*; THEINER, I., 328 *seq.*, 335. *Cf.* DUHR in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 129 *seq.* RANKE (Französ. Gesch., I.², 324) is of the opinion that the state of affairs was such that Catherine feared, not only for her position, but even for her life.

[2] *Cf.* SEGESSER, II., 154 *seq.*

[3] The true view of the genesis of the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the result, not of a long premeditated plan, but of a sudden decision, is already to be found in the memoirs of Tavannes and in the "Discours du roy Henry III.," published for the first time in 1623. Even though modern research has shown that the latter is not the work of Henry III. (see BAUMGARTEN, 257 *seqq.*; SEGESSER, II., 159; MONOD in *Rev. Hist.*, CI., 316 *seq.*), it has nevertheless, on the strength of the diplomatic reports, come to a decision in the negative on the much discussed question as to whether there was premeditation or not (see as to this the conspectus of K. HAID in *Sammler*, Innsbruck, 1906, n. 5, and PLATZHOFF in the periodical *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912).

On the afternoon of August 23rd the king was told the truth about the attempt which had been made against Coligny, and in spite of the resistance which he first offered, a consent was extorted from him for the order which led to the massacre of the following night.[1] Coligny was killed first, and then the other principal leaders and Huguenot nobles who were there. The horrors of the Paris Matins, as the massacre was called in memory of the Sicilian Vespers, reached their height when the masses of the populace were let loose. Many, when they learned of the king's commands, supposed that a Huguenot conspiracy had been discovered, others wished to be avenged for the cruelties which the Calvinists had hitherto employed against the Catholics. In many cases it was personal enmity, rapine and murder which inspired them. Some Catholics

In this matter importance attaches to the critical historical study by Baumgarten of the years immediately preceding the bloody event, which *definitely* discards the view that all that was done by the French monarchy after August, 1570, was nothing but a preparation for August 24, 1572. Quite independently of Baumgarten and almost at the same time, Segesser had come to substantially the same conclusion. The gap in the reports of Salviati which Baumgarten laments has in the meantime been bridged by Philippson. From the report of the nuncio of August 11, 1572: of which he hopes "to be able soon to publish something more satisfactory" Philippson believes (Kurie, 132, 137) that the conclusion may be drawn that Catherine formed the plan of killing Coligny at the latest on that date.

[1] Although the events in Paris between August 22 and 24, 1572, have been treated of so often, a strictly critical account which satisfies all requirements is still wanting. The same defect also marks the recent accounts by HECTOR DE LA FERRIÈRE (La Saint-Barthélemy: La veille—le jour—le lendemain, Paris, 1892; *cf.* MARCKS in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXII., 341), Thompson and Merki. Both the characteristic reports of Joachim Opfer on the "horrenda tragoedia," dated Paris, August 24 and 26, 1572, which were published with errors in the dissertations in the *St. Gallisch-Appenzellischen Gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft*, 1858, 109 *seq.*, may now be seen in a more correct edition in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, XII. (1918), 53 *seqq.*

also fell victims; for example, the learned Pierre Ramus was killed, the victim of a rival philosopher, whose scientific shortcomings he had exposed. Other Catholics were saved from death, not without risk, by the Jesuits.[1]

Royal letters to the prefects of the provinces, dated August 24th, had sought to represent the massacre as a private feud of the Guise and Châtillon, but two days later Charles IX. found himself obliged to take the responsibility upon his own shoulders. He did this by accusing Coligny and his adherents of high treason.

In view of the predominant position held by Paris, one cannot be surprised that, at the news of what had happened there, the passions of the populace broke out in the provinces as well. In several cities, especially where the Catholics had suffered harsh treatment during the frequent occupation by Calvinist troops, the people now rose up against their enemies. In this way, at Orléans, Bourges and Lyons, and later on at Rouen and Toulouse, there was more or less a repetition of what had occurred in the capital. The disturbances in Provence, the Dauphiné, Languedoc, Auvergne and Burgundy were but small, while Champagne, Picardy and Brittany remained quite peaceful. The fate of the Huguenots in the provinces, and whether they were killed or spared, depended for the most part upon the attitude of the governors. Moreover, it was not all Catholics who took a bloody revenge. At Nîmes, where the rivers had run with the blood of murdered Catholics, the inhabitants had so great magnanimity as not to touch a hair of the heads of their mortal enemies. At Vienne the archbishop, Gribaldi, saved the threatened heretics from death, nor in other places were there wanting cases where the Catholics afforded shelter to the persecuted Calvinists. At Lisieux, where the Bishop,

[1] See SOLDAN, II., 457 *seq.*, 461 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, I., 629 *seq.* *Cf.* also DUHR, Iesuitenfabeln, 197 *seq.* The Protestant L. Geizkofler relates in his Selbstbiographie (ed. A. WOLF, Vienna, 1873, 49 *seq.*) how he and his companions were saved on August 24, 1572, by a Catholic priest.

Jean Le Hennuyer, protected the Huguenots, they almost all returned to the Church.[1]

The number of the victims cannot be decided with certainty. That it has been very greatly exaggerated, as is wont to be the case in almost all terrible occurrences, is beyond all doubt, and it is significant that the numbers become greater the further the writers are removed from the date of the event. According to the lowest estimate 2,000 men died in Paris, and 3,000 in the provinces.[2]

The Protestant world was filled with consternation and horror at what had happened in France. The rumours that had long been current at a conspiracy between the Catholic powers and the Pope for the violent destruction of Protestantism now seemed to have been fully confirmed. According to some, the plan had already been formed in 1565 at Bayonne, at the meeting between their French Majesties and Queen Elizabeth of Spain, who was accompanied by the Duke of Alba; according to others the marriage of Henry of Navarre had been arranged only for the purpose of luring the Huguenots to their ruin. A decisive influence was given to this view by the circumstance that the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, in order to prevent once and for all any return on the part of the French crown to a conciliatory attitude towards the Huguenots,[3] had caused Camillo Capilupi to celebrate, in a long work, at first in manuscript and afterwards printed, the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the concluding act of a policy which had been systematically followed for years past. This version soon passed into literature, especially among the Huguenots, and only recent critical historical research has placed any such supposition in the domain of legend.

It is now beyond dispute that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not the final act of a long prepared plan, cautiously

[1] BORDEAUX, Hennuyer et la St. Barthélemy à Lisieux, 1844.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDT, Gesch. von Frankreich, III., 146 n.; FUNK in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, II., 940 *seq.*; DUHR in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 135 *seq.* See also CHALEMBERT, lx.: THOMPSON, 450; MERKI, 466.

[3] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, 251.

formed and kept absolutely secret, and no one any longer doubts that it sprang entirely from personal and political motives, and in no way from religious ones.[1] These latter had no existence for Catherine except when they seemed necessary for her private ends. At heart indifferent to all religion, and devoid of all moral scruples, she planned the attack on Coligny for the sole purpose of keeping the government of the kingdom in her own hands. The attack was not directed against the Huguenots, but against the leader of a powerful and well-organized party, who wished to impose his will on the king in the matter of foreign policy, and was making ready to assume the power into his own hands.[2] When the attack failed, Catherine acted merely on the spur of the moment, and anticipated what she feared from Coligny and his followers. With the Guise, too, what came first was not Catholic interests, but their own, since everyone in France at that time, according to the shrewd opinion of Salviati, was guided by that alone.[3] But once the carrying out of the bloody act of vengeance had been entrusted to the Guise, it was quite inevitable that the passions of the French people, inflamed by the long civil and religious wars, should break loose, for the people longed to be avenged upon the cruelties of the Huguenots, and, inspired by the desire for national unity, would no longer tolerate in their midst the alien Calvinist body.[4]

The complete destruction of the Huguenots was by no means the intention of Catherine and of her temporizing policy, and she accordingly spared the two other leaders, Condé and Navarre. Content with having recovered her complete ascendancy over the king, she had no intention whatever of letting herself be dragged at the heels of the Guise and Spain, and there can be no sort of doubt that she intended to pursue

[1] *Cf.* PLATZHOFF, Die Bartholomäusnacht: *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, CL. (1912), 54.

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 162.

[3] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 129.

[4] See ELKAN, Die Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht, Heidelberg, 1905, 16.

her former policy.[1] After the massacre, one of the first acts of Charles IX., who was now completely under her dominion, was to give the assurance of French protection to Geneva, the head-quarters of Calvinism, which fancied itself threatened by Spain and Savoy. Catherine also sought, after the tragedy of August 24th, to resume her former relations with Orange, Elizabeth of England, and the Protestant princes of Germany; of any sort of rapprochement with the Pope and Spain there was no trace whatever.[2]

Catherine tried in every way to obviate the anticipated indignation of the Protestant powers by carefully contrived statements as to the real genesis of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, so as not to allow any idea of vengeance to arise. She assured them that it was not from any hatred of the Huguenots, nor because of any principles she entertained, and still less because of any agreement with any other power, but only as an act of necessary self-defence, and to render void and punish the treasonable conspiracy of the admiral and his associates, that the king had adopted a course which was certainly exceptional, but which was necessary in this case. In these declarations there was developed a formal theory of the rights of life and death possessed by sovereigns, and to the question as to why the crime of Coligny had not been punished by the ordinary legal methods the reply was made that to do so would have provoked a civil war.[3]

It was quite characteristic of Catherine that she spoke in quite another sense to the Catholic states of Italy, the Pope and Philip II. To them too she spoke of the conspiracy of Coligny and the Huguenots, but at the same time she tried to suggest the belief that in her zeal as a Catholic she had long planned some such act of vengeance upon the heretics and rebels. As this suggestion of a religious motive very soon took its place in contemporary literature, it is scarcely to be wondered at that Protestant polemics laid the responsibility

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, 250; PLATZHOFF, Frankreich und die deutschen Protestanten, 58 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, II., 167, *cf.* III. n. 2.

[3] See PLATZHOFF, Morbefugnis, 59 *seq.*

for the massacre principally upon the shoulders of the Pope. To-day it is well known that no sort of blame attached to Gregory XIII., and that he had no part either in the planning or the carrying out of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.[1] Any

[1] *Cf.*, to mention only the more recent non-Catholic authors, PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 120 *seqq.*, 132, and PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 55. With them is included TÖRNE (Gregor XIII. und die Bartholomäusnacht. Supplementary article in *Oefversikt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, LI. [1908-09], Afd. B. n. 1); Törne remarks: Philippson "has shown, with a demonstrative power that is convincing, that the celebrated Paris night of St. Bartholomew can in no way have been pre-arranged between the Pope and the King of France, and that in any case the two Popes, Pius V. and Gregory XIII., had no previous warning of it" (p. 1). The question still remains undecided, and with the material in our possession so far cannot be definitely settled, as to what value must be attached to the assertion of the Cardinal of Lorraine, when he afterwards expressly boasted that he had had previous knowledge of the plot against the Huguenots. According to a conference by L. Romier, addressed to the Institut de France on October 24, 1913, and published in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I. (1913), 529 *seq.*, the said Cardinal, the Duc d'Aumâle and Henry of Guise, had already formed the plan as early as April 15, 1572, of killing the leader of the Protestants on the occasion of the marriage of Navarre. Doubt, however, has in the meantime been thrown upon this view by Valois and Picot (see *Acad. d. Inscript. et Belles Lettres.* Compte-rendu, 1913, 512 *seq.*); MARIÉJOL (Catherine de Médicis, Paris, 1920, 194) describes it as a mere hypothesis. Romier is further of the opinion that the Cardinal had informed the Pope of his design. In any case, it can only have been a question of purely general considerations of the favourable opportunity for a blow against the Huguenots afforded by the marriage of Navarre, which, as is clear from the report of Castagna of August 5, 1572 (see THEINER, I., 327; *cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxxviii.) was still as it were in the air. That Gregory XIII. "ne prit aucun part à la préparation et à l'execution du massacre", is looked upon as certain even by Romier. A further contribution to the controversy in question is afforded by a *report of Arco of July 31, 1572, which I discovered in the State Archives,

such participation was definitely excluded by the extremely strained relations between the Holy See and the French court, and also by the fact that the Papal nuncio, Salviati, no longer enjoyed the full confidence of the Pope.[1] At that time they were engaged upon very different subjects in Rome.

During the summer of 1572 Gregory was above all occupied with his plan for a prosecution of the war against the Turks begun by his predecessor. All his thoughts and actions were directed to getting the fleets of the league to put to sea as soon as possible, and to winning a decisive victory over the Crescent.[2] But the realization of this hope was seriously threatened by

Vienna. This is manifestly the report to which later on Maximilian II. referred when speaking to the French ambassador, when he said that they had written to him from Rome before August 24 concerning the marriage of Navarre: that at that time "all the birds would be in a cage, so that they could all be captured together" (Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., cxvii.). In connexion with the use made of this report, which he has reproduced with some slight alteration, by GROEN VAN PRINSTERER (IV., 13*), as a polemic against the Holy See, H. CARDAUNS (Köln. Volkszeitung, 1872, n. 239), has already shown that the version of the French ambassador is adduced there for a contentious purpose, namely to represent the motives of the French court as being purely political, and on the other hand to throw the blame for the religious fanaticism upon Rome. The complicity of the Pope cannot be proved on the strength of Arco's report. The words of a writer so hostile to Rome as Acton may be quoted here; on p. 55 he remarks "that the marriage was celebrated in manifest opposition to the Pope, who remained steadfast in his refusal of the dispensation, and was thus acting in a way that could only serve to upset the plot." MARTIN (Gallicanisme, 107 *seq.*), who accepts as certain the preparations for a blow against the Huguenots before August 22, of which the French in Rome were also aware, remarks that Salviati did not approve of this plan; of the attitude of the Holy See he says: "La cour de Rome ignora tout du project jusqu'à sa réalisation" (p. 107).

[1] Romier has again called attention to this in the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I. (1913), 560.

[2] See *supra* p. 325.

the relations between Spain and France, which had become more and more strained from the spring onwards. The outbreak of war between the two kingdoms must render any action on the part of the allied fleet impossible, and it was therefore one of Gregory's principal anxieties to maintain a tolerable understanding between Spain and France. For the accomplishment of this task in France, it seemed at first that no one was better fitted than Antonio Maria Salviati, who, on account of his earlier sojourn in that country was acquainted with the state of affairs there, and who had influence there on account of his relationship to Catherine. When Salviati was sent to France on June 11th, 1572,[1] the principal duty laid upon him was the maintenance of peace.[2] When, on account of the threatening attitude adopted by France, the remaining of Spain in the league seemed doubtful, the mission of Ormaneto to Madrid as nuncio extraordinary was projected. He too, with the same end in view was instructed to try to prevent war between Spain and France. By the time Ormaneto, who was then in Padua, reached Rome on June 27th, more reassuring news had arrived from France. The Pope nevertheless sent him on his journey, so as not to give occasion fo the idea that he was more afraid of France, whither Salviati had been sent, than he was of Spain.[3]

Salviati's position in France was one of much difficulty,

[1] See the *brief of that date in the Papal Secret Archives, XLIV., 21. *Cf.* the account of PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 121 and the Comment. de Rebus Gregorii, XIII. in RANKE, Päpste, III., 56 *seq.* For Salviati see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 138; *cf.* also GARAMPI, 315. In the Colonna-Lante Archives, now in the possession of Prince Barberini, there should be, according to Mgr. Mercati, further papers concerning the mission of Salviati to France.

[2] See in App. n. 31 the *report of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *letter of Galli to Salviati, dated June 30, 1572, Nunziat. di Francia, CCLXXXIII., 9, Papal Secret Archives. The *instructions for Ormaneto, dated July 4, 1572, in Cod. 467, p. 126 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

because he was suspected of entertaining Spanish sympathies.[1] The reports which he and the nuncio Frangipani, who was still in Paris, sent to Rome in July, 1572, were once again very disquieting. They both clearly realized what great influence the Huguenots had over the weak king, to make him decide upon a war with Spain. The principal means which they employed for this purpose, according to a letter from Salviati on July 6th, was to persuade Charles IX. that the refusal of the dispensation for the marriage of Navarre was entirely the result of the intrigues of Spain, which was aiming at stirring up discontent and civil war in France.[2] Two days later Salviati reported that the king was sparing the Huguenots so as to make use of them in case of an attack on the part of Alba.[3] Salviati wrote on July 21st that the Huguenot volunteer levies, which, under the command of Genlis, Coligny's trusted friend, had crossed the frontier of the Low Countries, were clearly acting with the consent of Charles IX., who was holding frequent secret conferences with Coligny, and that the eagerness of the Huguenots to involve the King in a war with Spain was greater than ever. With the idea of definitely bringing about a breach between the two powers, they were everywhere spreading the news that the war was decided upon. One day recently, when the king had retired to bed to sleep, he had nevertheless sent for the admiral, and conversed with him for a long time.[4]

The chief hope of being able to prevent a breach between the two great Catholic powers was Catherine herself, who, in an autograph letter to the Pope had assured him of her pacific intentions. Salviati was therefore warned on July 26th to counteract the intrigues of the other party as much as possible, but the Pope's representative realized better every day how difficult a task this was. Even when Catherine had been successful on her return to the court in holding back the king

[1] See ROMIER, *loc. cit.* 559.

[2] See the *cypher report of Salviati of July 6, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 124, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.* 124.

[4] *Ibid.* 126.

from a declaration of war against Spain,[1] Salviati was under no illusions as to the motives which had guided the Queen-mother. He expressly states that Catherine's only concerns were, first to avoid a war which she thought would be disastrous at that moment, and secondly, not to allow the admiral complete dominion over her son, the king. "But for another reason" the nuncio says, "it appears to me that this lady has very different ideas from those of Our Lord (the Pope), because, finding herself firmly established in power, and dealing with the affairs of the kingdom as though they were her own concern, she rejoices at the troubles of others on account of the power which they bring to her, looking upon it as a good thing that the disturbances in Flanders should continue, and that country be laid waste so that it may not be as rich as that of France, so that God knows when it will ever be settled again, with great expense and labour on the part of the Catholic King. To this end she allows Frenchmen to go to Flanders under the guise of Huguenots, and alarms the Spaniards with talk of armed forces and other similar things. At the same time she keeps a watchful eye upon the actions of the admiral, who on account of the reputation which he has acquired by what he has accomplished is building his hopes too high, and then (when things take a turn) will get him into her clutches; yet she carries on all these intrigues so cleverly, trusting so much in her skill and the power of the kingdom, and directing all things to the end she has in view, that it is amazing how little attention she pays to anything but what will serve her own interests."[2]

In the middle of August news reached Rome which caused the Pope and his advisers to fear that all the efforts of the nuncios and the legates would not be able to avert the terrible

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 483.

[2] Report in cypher of Salviati, Francia V., 102 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. See PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 129-130, who remarks that this report gives a high idea of the great statesmanlike qualities of Salviati, and describes beforehand the whole policy which Catherine continued to follow with regard to the Low Countries, notwithstanding the episode of the St. Bartholomew.

catastrophe of a war between the two great Catholic powers. In his irritation Gregory XIII. ordered his nuncio in Venice to call the attention of the Senate to the danger of a war which was daily becoming greater, and to work for intervention on the part of Venice and the Emperor Maximilian, who were to demand from the kings of France and Spain a promise that the peace should not be broken, and to threaten with a joint attack the one who broke this promise. On August 25th Cardinal Galli sent word to Salviati to demand of Catherine de' Medici that she should do all in her power to prevent the outbreak of war with Spain.

If the Holy See, immediately before and after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had so little idea of a blow against the Huguenots on the part of the French government, as to look upon the war between France and Spain, and therefore the triumph of the Huguenots, as being imminent, it is impossible to speak of any previous understanding between the Pope and the intriguing Catherine de' Medici on the subject of the massacre.[1] A further proof of this is afforded by a brief from Gregory XIII. to Alba, and a letter from Cardinal Galli to Salviati in the last week of August. The brief to Alba is dated August 23rd, 1572. In it the Pope congratulates the duke on his victory over the heretics and rebels in the Netherlands, but at the same time warns him to do nothing that would rouse the suspicions of the King of France, or give him a pretext for war, because that must lead to the breaking up of the league against the Turks, and that would involve grave danger to Christendom.[2] These then were the things that were preoccupying the Pope on the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. No less important is the letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State on August 27th. This states that on account of the approaching autumn the plans for the war against the Turks must be settled for the following year, that Commendone was going to the Imperial court for that purpose in the autumn, and that on August 25th the Pope

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 131-132 ; *cf.* TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 3.

[2] *Cf.* the text of the letter in THEINER, I., 61.

had appointed Cardinal Orsini as legate to France, whither he was to go in eight days, to win over Charles IX. to the undertaking of a crusade.[1]

Lastly, it is clear that Gregory knew nothing of the murder of the Huguenots which had been planned by Catherine from a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Galli, to Salviati on September 8th, 1572. The latter had been informed by Catherine of her plan, but on condition that he would keep secret from everyone, even the Pope, what he had been told. He had kept this promise, and had contented himself with reporting on August 11th that he hoped "in a few days to be able to announce tidings which would certainly give His Holiness joy and tranquillity."[2] Now Galli addresses the strongest remonstrances to the nuncio, because he had known of the plan before it was carried into execution, and had not sent news of it; it was precisely for cases of this sort that the diplomatists had codes.[3]

As Salviati only sent the news when the keeping of the secret was no longer necessary, the Curia was quite thunderstruck at the news of Catherine's action, which reached it from other quarters.[4] A gentleman who was in the service of the

[1] This *letter, which is preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (Nunziat. di Francia, CCLXXXIII., 64) has not been used by Philippson, *loc. cit.* (see the text in App. n. 3). For the appointment of Orsini see *Acta consist. Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *report of A. de' Medici of August 28, 1572, according to which Orsini was intended, in addition to preventing a war between France and Spain, and winning over Charles IX. to the league against the Turks, to discuss a compromise in the "materia del Navarra." State Archives, Florence.

[2] PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 132.

[3] See PHILIPPSON, 132-133, and MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 166. Salviati persisted in maintaining, as is shown by his *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, that his quite vague hints should have sufficiently enlightened the Pope as to what was about to happen!

[4] This surprise is clearly expressed both at the beginning of Galli's letter of September 8, which is omitted by PHILIPPSON,

governor of Lyons, whom his master had informed of what had happened, formed the idea of earning a large sum of money by sending early information to Rome. He therefore sent a courier in all haste. The latter, who was in Rome by September 2nd, was the first to bring the news.[1] The Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, so Musotti relates, at once went, accompanied by three colleagues, the two Cardinals Este and Pellevé, to Gregory, with whom was the French ambassador, Férals. After saluting the Pope the Cardinal of Lorraine addressed to him the question: "What news would Your Holiness desire to receive above all others?" Gregory replied: "For the exaltation of the Catholic faith, we desire nothing else than the extermination of the Huguenots." "That extermination," replied the Cardinal, "we can now announce to Your Holiness, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church."[2]

p. 134, and in that of September 12, 1572, addressed to Ormaneto; see the quotations in Törne, *loc. cit.* 5-6, which show that Romier is quite unfair in denying this surprise.

[1] See the Avviso di Roma of September 3, and the letter of Fr. Gerini of September 4, 1572, in Törne, *loc. cit.* 4-5, and the report of V. Parpaglia of September 5, 1572, in the *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. III., 169. Since both Parpaglia and Gerini expressly say Tuesday, the date September 3, given by Capilupi (Intra, Capilupi, 13) is wrong. Mucantius, too (*Diarium, Papal Secret Archives) says that the news arrived on September 2. The nuncio in Florence *reported on September 3, 1572, the news which had come from France, which stated: "che tutto è stato seguito per ordine del Re et che a questo è stato consentiente il principe di Navarra, quale va alle messe insieme col Re et parla et scerza con lui!" Nunziat. di Firenze, I., 118. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *"Quando l'ill. sig^{ri} cardinalli di Loreno, Ferrara, Est et Sans li portorono la nova entrati in camera fatta la debita riverenza, disse il card. di Loreno: quale nova desiderarebbe la S^{tà} Vestra più d'ogn'altra. Rispose il pontefice: l'esterminio delli Ugonotti per esaltatione della fede cattolica Romano. Et lo esterminio loro portiamo alla S^{tà} Vestra a gloria del Sig. Dio et grandezza della sua s. chiesa." *Notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Gregory XIII., who was very susceptible to first impressions,[1] wished at once to order great manifestations of joy, but the French ambassador dissuaded him, pointing out that it was right to wait for the official news from his king and the nuncio.[2] The attitude adopted by Férals was connected with his strained relations with the Cardinal of Lorraine, whom he blamed for not having helped him sufficiently in the matter of the dispensation. The Cardinal was of opinion that he was not deserving of such blame. After the king had warned Férals to do nothing without the advice of the Cardinal, the latter had done his utmost in the matter of the dispensation, as he reported to Paris on July 28th, but as the question depended upon religious considerations, he saw that he would not be able to accomplish anything. The real reason for Férals' hostility lay in his jealous fear lest the Cardinal should get into his own hands the entire management of the interests of France.[3] This fear was not quite groundless, since Lorraine found much to help him, both in his position as a member of the Sacred College, and in the fact that since the time of the Council of Trent he had been very friendly with the Pope. He certainly was not wanting in ambition; this was clearly shown by his efforts to ensure for his own house the glory of having destroyed the Huguenots.

The intervention of Férals, by preventing any sort of celebration, at first caused many to doubt the truth of the news of the destruction of the Huguenots.[4] Two days passed in this

[1] This characteristic, which Serrano very rightly brings out (Liga, II., 171), Romier passes over (*loc. cit.*), when he concludes from the Pope's attitude that he had known that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was imminent.

[2] See the report of Férals of September 11, 1572, in ACTON, 56, and Lettres de Cath. de Medicis, IV., 139, n.

[3] For the strained relations between Férals and Card. Charles de Guise see the report of Cardinal Delfino in ACTON, 54, which has not been made use of by H. DE LA FERRIÈRE (Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., lxviii.), nor by ROMIER (*loc. cit.* 531).

[4] See the report of Capilupi of September 5, 1572, in INTRA, 13.

way in anxious suspense.[1] At length on September 5th definite tidings came. On the morning of that day,[2] there arrived the reports of Salviati of August 24th and 27th,[3] and, as the envoy of Charles IX., Beauville, the nephew of the French ambassador. The Cardinal Secretary of State, who, as well as the Pope, was spending that summer at the palace of S. Marco, at once went with Salviati's reports to his master. The latter caused them to be read at the consistory which was held a few hours later.

In his first letter, dated August 24th, Salviati announced the massacre which had taken place by the king's orders, and that Navarre and Condé had been spared, and also told of the threats of the followers of Coligny against Catherine after the first attempt on the life of the admiral. If this latter attempt had been successful, Salviati thought, all these terrible things would not have happened. The whole city, he says, is under arms, and the houses of the Huguenots are being sacked, though a royal edict is restoring quiet. Lastly the nuncio says: "When I first announced in code that Coligny's daring was going too far, and that he would soon be put in his place, it was because I foresaw that he would not be tolerated much longer. I was even more convinced of this when I wrote that I hoped soon to be able to give His Holiness good news. At the same time I could never have believed in the tenth part of what I see at this moment with my own eyes."

In his second report of August 27th, Salviati begins by saying that he would have sent his letter of the 24th by a special courier, but that by the desire of the king he was now sending it together with that of the latter, as His Majesty insisted that the envoy of France must be the first to convey the news to the Pope. Charles IX., as well as Catherine de' Medici, had charged him to say that everything had been done in the

[1] A private letter to Cardinal L. Este, which arrived on September 3, announces the imprisonment of the King of Navarre; see ROMIER in *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, I., 551.

[2] The courier had arrived during the night; see the report of Fr. Gerini and Aless. de' Medici in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 5.

[3] See THEINER, I., 328 *seqq.*; *cf.* MARTIN, Gallicansme, 105.

interests of religion, and that many other things would follow in due course for the same end, since, as time went on, the queen intended, not only to revoke the edict of St. Germain, but to restore the ancient observance of the Catholic faith by force of law.[1]

During the discussion of the reports of Salviati, in which there was no mention of any particular conspiracy of the Huguenots against the life of the king, the Cardinal of Lorraine once again spoke very emphatically. Using all his powers of eloquence he described to the members of the consistory the wickedness of Coligny and his followers, as well as the damage and devastation which they had inflicted upon France; he also revealed their plans and set forth in a clear light the labours and deliberations to which men of good will in France had been forced to have recourse in order to destroy

[1] SOLDAN in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1854, p. 194 and 235 *seqq.*, has very properly explained the sense of the subsequent remarks on the conference at Blois, which Albèri has employed in order to set aside a dangerous piece of evidence against his fellow-countrywoman, Catherine. We also owe to Soldan a true estimate of the remark in the report of Michele (ALBÈRI, I., 4, 295), according to which later on Catherine reminded Salviati that she had at one time hoped to make known through him to the dead Pope (Pius V.) that he "would soon be the witness of her revenge and that of the king upon the Huguenots," a thing which Salviati had afterwards confirmed by her express desire. In reply to the way in which RANKE (Päpste, II., 44 *seqq.*) made use of this point, SOLDAN (*loc. cit.* 196) remarks that it "does not alter the facts. That Catherine should have hinted to the Pope of the coming vengeance on the Protestants, counts for nothing so long as he did not know *when, how certainly, or to what extent* this was to take place. The remark in question was made, for example, during the last days of the war, and no one could doubt, even without it, concerning the hostile feelings of Catherine towards the Huguenots; but what does it prove concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew? Naturally it was not the business of the nuncio, when called as a witness, to deny in the face of the queen, the application of the general expression to the particular fact." *Cf.* further Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 140, n. 1.

these men at one blow. The Cardinal could hardly find words strong enough to extol the Catholic sentiments of Catherine and the king. Other French Cardinals spoke in the same sense, and Pellevé compared Catherine to Judith and Coligny to Holofernes.[1]

The fact that the reports of Salviati differed from the account of the Cardinal of Lorraine did not escape Gregory XIII. He, as well as Cardinal Galli, did not conceal from the nuncio that they had expected more detailed news from him.[2] There was not, however, any real contradiction between the letter of Salviati and the versions of the French Cardinals. If the many treasonable plots which the Huguenots had to their charge for many years past were taken into account, the statement that they had had something of the sort in preparation during the days preceding August 24th, 1572, might will be considered as credible. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the others who were well acquainted with the state of affairs in France looked upon it as certain that the Pope would believe that the French government had really anticipated a Huguenot rising, and had therefore made use of a quite legitimate

[1] These important details are found in a letter of Capilupi of September 7, 1572, in INTRA, 15. For the consistory *cf.* also the *report of A. de' Medici of September 5, 1572, State Archives, Florence, the report of Galli to Salviati on September 8, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 134-135, and *Acta consist. in App. n 4. Here, in accordance with the reports of both Galli and Capilupi, the consistory is placed on September 5, whereas the report in ACTON (57, n. 2) places it on the 6th. Quite erroneous is the statement in THEINER, I., 46, that the consistory was held on III. Non. Sept. (September 3). The credential brief for Orsini, in which there is no mention at all of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, because at that date there was no confirmation of the news, is dated on that day. An allusion to the defeat of the heresy, though quite a general one, is to be found in the brief to Charles IX. of September 5, 1572; this points to the league against the Turks as the purpose of the mission of Orsini (see the text in FILLON, Inventaire des autographes, Paris, 1882, 10).

[2] See the letter of Galli of September 8, 1572, in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 135 n.

stratagem. As Salviati too expressly alluded to the change in favour of the Catholics which was to be looked for in France, the Pope, at the end of the consistory repaired to the basilica of S. Marco adjoining the palace, where the *Te Deum* was sung,[1] to thank God, as the Imperial agent Cusano wrote to Vienna, that at a single blow, not only had the King of France, but his whole kingdom and the Holy See as well, been set free from the danger which had threatened them, if Coligny had succeeded in his plan, which involved the murder of the king, his own usurpation of the crown, the support of the rebels in the Low Countries, and lastly marching upon Italy and destroying the Papal States and Rome.[2]

In the afternoon of September 5th the official representatives of Charles IX., Férals and Beauville, presented themselves before the Pope, not only to make their report of what had happened in Paris, but also to ask for the dispensation to ratify the marriage of Navarre.[3] The information which the Pope received from Férals and Beauville about the massacre of St. Bartholomew is clear from the documents which they presented on that occasion ; the first was a letter from Charles IX. to Férals describing the massacre of St. Bartholomew as the outcome of a dispute between the Guise and the Huguenots; the second was a letter from Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, to the Pope. In this letter the Duke describes how Coligny and the Huguenots, in spite of the gentleness and kindness of Charles IX., had conspired for the murder of the king and Catherine, and of the leading Catholics, as well as for the destruction of the Catholic religion in France. The king had anticipated this by punishing Coligny and his adherents ; it was now the intention of His Majesty to destroy

[1] See besides the letter of Galli mentioned in the preceding note, the report of Capilupi of September 8 in INTRA, 15-16, and the Avviso di Roma in BELTRAMI, Roma, 3. According to the *notes of Musotti, the Pope also caused alms to be distributed to the poor. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Cusano (State Archives, Vienna) in App. n.

[3] See the report of Férals in Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., 139 n.

that rabble and to restore the Catholic Church in France to its former splendour.[1]

On the strength of these reports Gregory XIII. ordered the celebrations which were customary in those days on such occasions as the crushing of political rebellion or a victory over heresy, both of them things which threatened the destruction of the Church and the Papacy.[2] Quite in keeping with the same ideas was the thanksgiving celebration which the Cardinal of Lorraine caused to be held on September 8th in the national church of S. Luigi de' Francesi.[3] The

[1] See THEINER I., 336.

[2] The opinion once held by the greater number of Catholic writers, that the Pope's expressions of joy had reference *only* to the breaking up of the conspiracy of the Huguenots against the king, was refuted by FUNK (*Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II., 942), but has once again been put forward by VACANDARD in his monograph Les Papes et la Saint-Barthélemy (Études de critiques et d'hist. religieuse, Paris, 1905, 217-292) though by no means proved.

[3] That the celebrations at S. Luigi were carried out by the orders of Cardinal de Guise, is expressly stated by THUANUS (Hist. sui temporis, pars II., Frankfort, 1614, 1080): "Eiusdem cardinalis instigatu biduo post supplicationes . . . celebrantur." The festivities are described in detail in the *Diarium of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives. See also the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 8, 1572, State Archives, Florence, the *Avviso di Roma of September 13, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, the *report of B. Pia, dated Rome, September 13, 1572, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the printed report of the celebration: "Ordine et solennissima processione fatta dal S. Pontefice nell'alma città di Roma per la felice nova della destruttione della setta Ugonotana con la inscrittione posta la porta della chiesa S. Luigi in un panno di seta pavonazza e lettere d'oro maiuscule." Roma, heredi A. Blado, 1572. *Cf.* BRUNET, Manuel, VI., n. 23525. A copy of this work is in the National Library, Munich, and in the Bodleian at Oxford (from this a photo-lithograph by Nicholson, London, 1891. *Cf.* FERRIÈRE, La St. Barthélemy, 143 *seq.*; also the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII. [1892] 341 *seq.*). In this report there is also the full text of the inscription, which is only incompletely given by SOLDAN, II., 480, for the explanation of which *cf.* GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 377 *seq.*, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, VI., 11 (1867), 25 *seq.*

Pope, accompanied by thirty-three Cardinals went to that church in solemn procession, where he was received at the doors by Charles de Guise and the French ambassador. After the mass, which was celebrated by Cardinal Pellevé, the choir sang the XXth psalm, after which the Pope recited the same prayers as had been used in the time of Pius V. at processions of thanksgiving.[1] In the inscription in gold characters surrounded by garlands which adorned the main door, the Cardinal of Lorraine declared that his king had at a single blow destroyed almost all the heretics and traitors in his kingdom, so that at the beginning of the new pontificate, not only was there reason to hope for the carrying on of the war against the Turks, but also that the prosperity of the Church would be restored, and languishing religion brought to a vigorous new life.

Filled with the same ideas a bull of September 11th, 1572, ordered a general jubilee, at which the faithful were to thank God for the destruction of the Huguenots, and to pray Him to be pleased to purge of all error Catholic France, once so pious, and to restore Catholicism there to its former purity. In this bull, which at the same time urged prayers for the Low Countries, for victory over the Turks, and for a happy election in Poland, mention is made not only of the vengeance taken by Charles IX. on the Huguenots on account of their iniquities against God and the Church, but also of the fact that the king had punished the principal leaders of the rebels, who during recent years, with much cruelty and no respect for persons, by murders and thefts, with sacrilege and pillage, had laid waste his prosperous kingdom[2]

[1] For earlier similar celebrations during the Huguenot war see Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 124.

[2] Just as at the end of the Middle Ages the great indulgence bulls were brought to the knowledge of all by means of summaries, so was it the case now. One of these simple pages, published at Paris, and reprinted in STRYPE, The Life of M. Parker, London, 1711, App. n. lxviii., p. 108-110, reproduces the contents of the bull in the manner above described. It is entirely false that, as VACANDARD, *loc. cit.* 276, states, without giving his authorities :

It is evident that the festivities of September 8th and the bull of jubilee were in exact accordance with those celebrations which had been ordered in Rome on the occasion of the previous victories of the French government in its war against the Huguenots. Since now, in this life and death struggle, it seemed that a great and, as it was thought, a definite victory had been won, it can be no matter for surprise that the Pope should have caused a commemorative medal to be struck,[1] or given Vasari orders to perpetuate by a fresco in the Sala Regia[2] an event to which, as the diplomatic representatives reported, the Curia attached as much importance as though a great kingdom had been recovered for the Holy See, *at a moment when it was the last thing that was expected.*[3]

That the festivities had no reference to the atrocities which had been committed on August 24th, as such, but only to the consequences that flowed from them, namely, as it was thought, the definite liberation of the French Catholics from their mortal enemies, who had for years persecuted them with fire

"Un jubilé fut annoncé aux fideles et fixé pour chaque année au jour de la St. Barthélemy." There is not a single word as to this in the ordinance. *Cf.* also Mucantius, *Diarium: "Die mercurii 17 Septemb. [1572], S.D. ivit ad septem ecclesias ad orandum Deum pro conversione haereticorum, victoria contra Turcos et pro bona electione regis Poloniae, pro quibus concessit amplissimum iubilaeum." Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See VENUTI, 135; BONANNI, I., 336 *seq.*; GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 382; U. BENIGNI in *Miscell. di stor. eccles.*, II. (1903), 344 *seq.*

[2] See GAYE, III., 343; *cf.* Vol. XX. of this work.

[3] Tutta questa corte è in tanta allegria come si fosse racquistato un regno ben grande alla obedienza di questa s. Sede. Capilupi in INTRA 17. B. Pia *report of September, 1572: Questa corte ha rinovato per quel fatione Francese l'allegrezza rotta de l'armata Turchesca dell'anno passato stimando ella altretanto la strage fatta dei ribaldissimi Ugonotti et da così alto principio la s. chiesa cattolica puo sperare quando manco si credeva di esser reintegrata et esaltata a gloria di Dio benedetto. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

and sword,[1] is also clear from other sources of information. In the letter of the ambassador of Savoy on September 5th, it is expressly stated: the event "has been extolled in so far as it affects the good of the king and of his kingdom and of religion; but it would have far more highly extolled if His Majesty had been able to act with clean hands, as the Duke of Alba has done in Flanders, and with the observance of the forms of law."[2]

As far as the joy of Gregory himself was concerned, though it was undoubtedly very great, it was by no means complete. Brantôme relates that he had heard from a gentleman who was very well-informed, and who was in Rome at that time, that the Pope shed tears when he received the news, and that when one of the Cardinals asked him why he was so troubled at the defeat of the enemies of God and the Holy See, he replied: "I am weeping for the conduct of the king, which is unlawful and forbidden by God."[3] This reply, which is quite in keeping with the Pope's character, is confirmed by the report of the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, on September 22nd, 1572, which states that Gregory, on receiving the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was struck with horror.[4] An

[1] DUHR in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX., 271, very rightly specially brings out this point, although he only partially had at his disposal the material which we have used above. Moreover, POLENZ, the Protestant historian of French Calvinism, had already stated (II., 544) that "The exaltation of the nuptials of blood on its part [that of Rome] did not refer to the fact or its author or its details, but to the event in its general importance." Even more clearly before this ASCHSBACH (*Kirchenlex.*, I., 486) had remarked: "In like manner does the Church sing a *Te Deum* when a bloody battle has been won; are its hymns of praise then to be taken as an expression of jubilation over the fallen?" *Cf.* also BENIGNI, *loc. cit.*, 345 *seq.*

[2] *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. III., 169.

[3] See BRANTÔME (died 1614), Mémoires, III., Leyde, 1722, 171; *cf.* also POLENZ, II., 544, n. DUHR (*loc. cit.*) ought not to have made use of the narrative given by G. Leti, as this author is not worthy of belief.

[4] "se espantavo"; see KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Relations, III., 14, n. 4.

intimate, who was habitually in close contact with the Pope, Alessandro Musotti, definitely states that the joy of Gregory, the manifestation of which he kept within strict bounds, had reference only to the good of Christendom.[1] In agreement with this is a report of Capilupi of September 5th, that great importance was attached in Rome to the massacre of St. Bartholomew for the maintenance of the peace of Christendom, and for the prosecution of the league against the Turks, for it was thought that nothing more favourable could have occurred, and that now it might be hoped that the tension between France and Spain concerning the Low Countries would be at an end.[2] This tension was one of the principal obstacles to the maintenance of the league, which was extraordinarily dear to the Pope's heart, and for the promotion of which he had it in mind at that very moment to send Cardinal Orsini to France. Under these circumstances we can understand why the representation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was placed among the frescoes in the Sala Regia, which had reference to the battle of Lepanto. We must further bear in mind what danger threatened all Catholics, from the humblest monk to the Pope himself, from the Huguenots, since, after the Turks, the Catholic Church had no enemies who were more bitter and bloodthirsty than the Calvinists.

Everyone in Rome knew of the cruelties which they had practised for years past in France and the Low Countries, when, as soon as they had got into power, they had systematically robbed the wealthy Catholics, sacked or destroyed the glorious cathedrals, profaned the graves, trampled under foot the consecrated host, or thrown it to their horses as fodder, violated helpless nuns, and murdered many priests and religious. Outrages which only a bestial cruelty could imagine had been committed against the Catholics, merely because they wished to remain true to their faith: they had been

[1] *" Gustò anco *temperantemente* la morte et esterminio dell' Amiraglio et altri Ugonotti di Franza pure per il benefizio della christianità." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See INTRA, 12.

buried alive, plunged into boiling oil, their tongues torn out, disembowelled alive, and had suffered even more horrible things. Trustworthy reports had also reached Rome of the way in which Catholic priests had been hunted like wild beasts, as for example in Béarn, and of the precipice near Saint-Séver, over which the Calvinists had thrown 200 Catholic priests.[1]

The end of this furious storm could not be foreseen. In August itself news had reached Rome of the lingering tortures of the martyrs of Gorcum. If Coligny and his followers had triumphed there would have been an end of the Catholic faith in France and the Low Countries, and a thousand priests would have been threatened with certain death. A Protestant France, of this men felt certain, would proceed to attack Italy, and especially the Papal States, and the person of the Pope himself would not be spared. In 1545, Luther, in his work "against the Papacy set up in Rome by the devil," had

[1] *Cf.* POYEDAVANT, Hist. d. troubles de Béarn, I., Pau, 1820, 381; PICOT, I., 16 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*; Mem. de Claude Haton p.p. BOURQUELOT, II., Paris, 1875, 659 *seq.*; R. DE BOYSSON, L'invasion calviniste en Bas-Limousin, etc., Paris, 1920; HANOTAUX, Hist. de la nation française, VI; (GOYAU, Hist. Religieuse), Paris, 1922, 356 *seqq.* A Protestant account of the bloody acts of the Calvinists at Nîmes in 1567 in HELLO, La St. Barthélemy, Paris, 1901, 21 *seq.*; ROUQUETTE, Les St. Barthélemy calvinistes, Paris, 1906; AUBIN, L'échec de la Reforme en France au 16e siècle, Paris, 1918, 31 *seq.* The examples cited here show that the terrors inflicted by the Calvinists were no less than those of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. All this of course does not excuse the cruelties of August 24th, 1572, but at least makes them intelligible. In a Latin *report on the massacre of St. Bartholomew (dated III. Non. October, 1572, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello) it is particularly stated that the anger of the people had become so great, because the Huguenots had so greatly harmed the nation, and had been guilty of so many monstrosities. The archivist, L. le Grand, has in preparation an edition of the documents: Les epreuves de l'Eglise de France pendant les guerres de religion. Recueil des documents tirés des Archives du clergé de France.

urged his followers to attack with all their might the Pope, the Cardinals, and the entire "canker of the Roman Sodom," and to wash their hands in their blood.[1] The Jena theologian, Matthaeus Judex, had in 1561, in allusion to this, urged an expedition against Rome to extirpate the Papacy. No one had any doubt that the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries were prepared to take part in such an undertaking. "We are all of us," declared Orange in 1569, "fighting against the devil, namely the Antichrist of Rome."[2] Like Pius V.[3] Gregory XIII. too feared a hostile invasion of Italy by the Protestants, in order to destroy the Papal power.[4] The Pope, the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, reports, knows well that his mortal enemies are the Turks and the heretics, and that if the latter can force their way into Italy, they will turn first of all against the Papal States and his own person, in order completely to annihilate the Roman See.[5]

With the blow that had been struck against the French Calvinists by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, all these dangers seemed to have been averted, and the whole state of affairs changed to the advantage of the Catholics.

How genuinely men believed in Rome in a radical change in the policy of the French government is shown by a letter from Cardinal Galli to Ormaneto, the nuncio in Spain, which discusses the effect upon the whole policy of the Pope towards western Europe of the unexpected events in Paris. The hope is expressed in this letter that if France is completely freed from the scourge of the Huguenots, the corresponding effects in the Low Countries will not be wanting. The letter goes

[1] *Cf.* PAULUS, Protestantismus und Toleranz, 20 *seq.*

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16] 316 *seq*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work. p. 114.

[4] See in App. n. 6 the *report of Cusano of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] P. TIEPOLO, 227. On May 8, 1574, *Galli warned the nuncio at Venice of the danger from the "redutto di Hugonotti nelle vallate al Piemonte." Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. For the fear which was still felt in 1576 of an invasion of Lombardy by the Huguenots see *Arch. Lomb.*, II., 76.

even further: Charles IX., so Galli hopes, now that his Huguenot counsellors have been removed, cannot hesitate to join the league against the Turks, and this cannot fail to bring about the adherence of the Emperor as well to the alliance against the Crescent.[1]

If all these circumstances are taken into account, as well as the prevalent opinion of those times as to the necessity and lawfulness of the destruction by violence of the heretics, then the rejoicings of the Pope and the Curia on account of the unexpected turn of affairs in their favour, which disturb us so much in these days, become very easy to explain. Moreover, the Catholics of the time formed their opinion of what had happened in France on similar lines.[2] On September 16th, 1572, the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote from Rome to a friend that on the strength of the news from France there was every reason to entertain the highest hopes for the peace and tranquillity of that nation, as well as for the good of the Catholic Church, now that the enemies of the altar and the throne, who had entered into a conspiracy for the usurpation of the crown,

[1] See the context of this important letter of September 12, 1572, in TÖRNE, *loc. cit.* 6-8, which further states: "Such misapprehensions were possible in the Curia, in that very little was known there of the true nature of the inexplicable deed of blood." The reaction in the Low Countries is mentioned by Facchinetti in his *letter of September 6, 1572, published in App. n. 5, Papal Secret Archives. The hope that France would enter the league against the Turks is expressed by Cosimo I. in his *letter to Gregory XIII., September 14, 1572, wherein he expresses his joy at the blow dealt to the Huguenots by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Nunziat. di Firenze. I., 141, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See DUHR, *loc. cit.* 272-277, and the remarks in FOUQUERAY, I., 631. Against the attempt that was at one time made, but recently only by pamphleteers like HOENSBROECH (Papsttum, I., 204 *seq.*) to try and make capital out of the demonstrations of joy in Rome for the purposes of religious controversy, FUNK (*Lit. Rundschau*, 1880, 172 *seq.*) has already remarked: When have the Protestants ever grieved, if they have won a victory over the Catholics?

had been destroyed by the king.[1] By the command of Charles IX. a medal was struck, showing on one side the king, with the inscription : " Virtus in rebelles " (Strength against rebels), and on the other the lilies with the words : " Pietas excitavit iustitiam " (Zeal for religion has stirred up justice).[2]

The actual conduct of the French government, however, by no means corresponded to these official manifestations. As is clear from a noteworthy report of Alessandro de' Medici, of September 12th, 1572, doubts had already begun to make themselves felt in Rome, as to whether any real change of policy towards the Huguenots had taken place, as the Cardinal of Lorraine in particular was never tired of asserting.[3] Two months later it was learned for certain in Rome that the French government had no intention of restoring religious unity in France. It was in vain that in October the nuncio begged Catherine de' Medici to prohibit Protestant worship ; the reply of the queen was definitely to the effect that the French people must be governed by herself and her son, and not by anyone else.[4]

It would appear that the vindictive Queen-mother repented of this revelation of her real intentions, which had escaped her

[1] See GANDY in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, I., 379. Cardinal Pellevé, too, in a letter dated Rome, September 16, 1572, only mentions the conspiracy of the Huguenots ; see MERKI, 470 n.

[2] See CAPEFIGUE, III., 225 ; PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, II., 270. The opinion of FORNERON (Les ducs de Guise, II., Paris, 1893, 148) that this medal came from Gregory XIII., is wrong.

[3] Alessandro de' Medici *reported that the Pope and everybody else at first rejoiced at the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the hope of " qualche profitto rilevante " to religious conditions there, but that this " fervore " was " rintiepidito per non si veder che gli effetti corrispondino all'opinione che se n'era conceputa intendendosi massime che la religione ha fatto piccolo acquisto non si essendo rinovati ordini buoni per la purgatione di quella infettiva, onde si conosce che il card. di Lorena s'è vanteggiato molto clo promettervi delle cose di là." We shall see what will happen. State Archives, Florence.

[4] See the report of the nuncio in Madrid of October 10, 1572, in SERRANO, Liga II., 163, n.1.

in her anger, because soon afterwards she caused quite another impression to be given in Rome. Rambouillet, who had been sent in December as envoy-extraordinary of France, in order to offer, in the name of Charles IX., the customary good wishes to the Pope, and make the usual *obedientia*, brought with him a letter from Catherine, of November 19th, 1572, in which the Queen-mother solemnly asserted that all that had recently happened in France had been done purely in the interests of religion.[1] At the *obedientia*, which took place on December 23rd, the discourse was delivered by Muret: "The Huguenots," he said, "were not ashamed to conspire against the life of the king, from whom, after so many and terrible misdeeds, they had received, not only pardon, but even a kindly and loving welcome. Since this conspiracy was discovered and made known by the providence of God at the very moment appointed for the carrying out of the crime, what they had plotted against the king and almost all his house and dynasty had recoiled upon the heads of those criminals and traitors. O memorable night which, by the death of a few rebels, has set free the king from the peril of being murdered, and his kingdom from the constant fear of civil war![2]

The discourse in which the Papal secretary, Boccapaduli, replied to Muret's address, showed that Gregory, no doubt as the result of Salviati's later reports,[3] was by that time beginning to doubt the sincerity of the statements of the French court concerning the conspiracy of the Huguenots. Although in his reply he tried to repeat briefly the words of the previous speaker, Boccapaduli did not touch upon the question of the

[1] See the text of the letter in THEINER, I., 337. The instructions for Rambouillet are dated December 16, 1572, see Bullet. de la Soc. de l'hist. des portest. français, 1882.

[2] See MURETI Orationes I., Roboreti, 1737, 156. For the arrival of Rambouillet on December 21 (see THEINER, I., 46) and the consistory on December 23, which was to result in the sending of a blessed sword to Charles IX. "ut eo contra haereticos Ugonottos catholicae fidei hostes uteretur," see Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 107, 113.

supposed plot arranged by the Huguenots, but contented himself with thanking the King of France for his sentiments against the heretics.[1] Salviati had been warned on several occasions to stiffen the often hesitating government on this point.[2] The Cardinal legate Orsini, who had left Rome on September 6th, was also to work for the same purpose.[3]

Orsini was instructed besides securing the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, to bring about the participation of France in the league against the Turks, and above all to prevent the outbreak of war between France and Spain. To this end he was to make generous proposals. The Pope was prepared to support the aspirations of Anjou to the crown of Poland, to give him the supreme command in the war against the Turks, and to reward France with the conquests that should be made in the east.[4] But it was now shown quite clearly that Catherine had not in any sense brought about the massacre of St. Bartholomew from religious motives, and that the last thing they wished to hear of in Paris was a policy in favour of Catholic interests. The impressive mission of a Cardinal legate endangered the relations of Catherine with England,[5] and with the Protestant princes of Germany. Such a thing must therefore be prevented. When Orsini, who had always united himself to the French party in Rome,[6] reached Chambéry, he was met by a courier from the French king, who begged him not to continue his journey, because the king could not receive him.[7] Soon afterwards Orsini also received a letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State with the news that Charles IX. had expressly requested the Pope not to send

[1] See ACTON, 59.

[2] See the instructions of Galli in PHILIPPSON, Kurie, 135 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 19, 30.

[4] *Cf.* P. DE CENIVAL, 147. See also MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 110 *seq.*

[5] How the legation was regarded there is shown by the report from London in *State Papers*, Spanish II., London, 1894, 431.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Fr. Gerini of September 6, 1572, State Archives, Florence.

[7] See THEINER, I., 361.

a legate, as such a course, on account of the events of August 24th, might cause suspicion among the Protestants of Germany and England. Under these circumstances Orsini, with the permission of the Secretary of State, Galli, repaired to Avignon[1] and contented himself with sending his secretary, Onofrio Vigili, to Paris, where he arrived on October 4th. At length Vigili was successful in obtaining permission for the Cardinal legate to go to the French capital, which he reached on November 20th.

The welcome which awaited Orsini was so extraordinarily cold that it was clear that there were no hopes of his succeeding in his mission. Not until December 2nd was he received in audience by the king. Cardinals Bourbon and Guise, as well as the nuncio Salviati, were also present, and before them Orsini set forth the commissions which had been entrusted to him.[2] These related first to the participation of France in the league against the Turks, and secondly, the betrothal of Anjou to a daughter of Philip II. Charles IX. refused to join the league on the pretext of the Huguenot rising in Languedoc and La Rochelle. With regard to the marriage he remarked that he might be disposed to consider it if the bride were to receive Milan and Naples as her dowry. Then Orsini turned the conversation to the complete destruction of the Huguenots, reminding the king of the words which he caused to be written to the Pope by the nuncio, to the effect that within a few days there would not be a single Huguenot left in the kingdom. The king's reply, both as concerned his attitude towards the Huguenots, and his further support of ecclesiastical reform, was evasive. Before the legate was successful in obtaining a further audience, the French government had sent him, in courteous form through the nuncio, a request to leave the country as soon as possible. The interests of France, so they stated, did not allow of his further stay at the court.

[1] *Cf.* his instructions, September 22, 1572, Nunziat. di Francia, 283, p. 101, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *instructions for Orsini, of November 2 and 4, 1572, *ibid.* p. 107 *seq.*

Under these painful circumstances Orsini had recourse to Rome, by means of a courier, for further instructions. After he had received permission on January 7th to return home, he took his leave as soon as possible.[1] To the suggestion which he put forward at his farewell audience, that Charles IX. should support the expedition of the Duke of Savoy against Geneva, the king turned a deaf ear. The legate, so the King of France wrote to one of his ambassadors, has gone away without having obtained anything.[2] It was indeed the case that Orsini's legation, from which so much had been hoped in Rome, was a complete failure.[3] Some time still elapsed

[1] Based on the *reports of Salviati and Orsini, in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Francia, t. 5, n. 6; *cf. ibid.* 283 the *instructions of Galli. Other *Atti in the Orsini Archives, Rome. Copies of the letters of Cardinal Orsini concerning his negotiations in France are common: e.g. in Rome, Ottob. 2705 and 3184, p. 165-209, Ferraioli Library; Cod. 297, Casanatense Library X., V., 31, p. 113 *seq.*; Papal Secret Archives, Pio 231 (*cf. Bessarione*, A. III., vol. 5 [1898-99], 495 *seq.*); Berlin, Royal Library, Inf. Polit. XVIII., Florence, State Archives, Cod. Capponi, 80, p. 214 *seq.* See also Cod. D. 6, and F. 27, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The letters of the French government to Orsini in THEINER, I., 361 *seq.* *Cf.* Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, IV., cxli. See also TÖRNE, 140 *seq.* ALBÈRI, Vita di Caterina di Medici, 159, 407 *seq.* P. de Ceneval is preparing a special work on the legation of Orsini.

[2] See Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., cxlvii.; *cf.* CRAMER, I., 201 *seq.* Gregory XIII. looked upon an expedition against Geneva as premature at that time. When, in the summer of 1581, the energetic Charles Emanuel of Savoy planned an attack on Geneva, Gregory XIII. again was very cold about it. See RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele, I., 75 *seq.*

[3] The sending of the blessed sword to Charles IX. (*cf. supra* p. 514, n. 2) with which, by a brief of January 15, 1573 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 322) Silvio Sabelli was entrusted, had, in view of the development of events, proved quite in vain. The disappointment of the Curia at the result of Orsini's legation comes out clearly in the *Memorie of Galli. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

before they gave up all the expectations which they had formed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, because Catherine knew very well how to keep on raising fresh hopes,[1] but the truith was that Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici wished to ma n-tain the alliance with England, and once again to reconcile her with the German Protestants.

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 115.

CHAPTER XIV.

Civil and Religious Wars in France.—Henry III. and the League.—Beginnings of Catholic Reform in France.

While in its foreign policy the French government continued to pursue its former ends, even after the massacre of August 24th, 1572, at home it found itself called upon to face a fresh Huguenot rising. The power of the Huguenots had been weakened by the events of St. Bartholomew, but not destroyed, but in spite of all their bravery, the fourth Huguenot war would have ended, as was hoped in Rome,[1] in the complete triumph of the government if, at the moment he was laying siege to La Rochelle, the Duke of Anjou had not been elected King of Poland. Consideration for the Polish Protestants helped to bring it about that the Huguenots received more favourable terms of peace than they could have expected. The treaty of July 6th, 1573, ensured liberty of conscience to all the adherents of the new doctrines, while the nobles enjoying independent jurisdiction and the cities of La Rochelle, Nîmes and Montauban were given the free exercise of their religion.[2] This weakness encouraged the followers of Calvin in the south of France to make demands upon even half of which, as Catherine de' Medici remarked, they could not have insisted if Condé had found himself in the heart of the kingdom with 70,000 men.[3]

It was very much to the advantage of the Huguenots that they were able to count upon political divisions among the Catholics, and the presence of many malcontents, who, displeased at the privileges accorded to the Guise and the Italians,

[1] See the *report of Capilupi, Rome, January 30, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* Theiner, I., 173 *seq.*; Thaunus, I., 56.

[3] See Soldan, II., 547.

had banded themselves together to support Duke Francis of Alençon.[1] Hitherto the Catholics had been united against their common mortal enemy, but now they were divided. A middle and opportunist party had been formed, which looked upon the carrying on of the struggle against the Huguenots as impossible, considered that it could only lead to the greater ruin of the kingdom, and therefore spoke of a policy of conciliation. If the Huguenots, so they thought, were given toleration, they would respect the king, would do no further violence to the Catholics, and abroad would no longer enter into traitorous alliances against their own country. The supporters of this view naturally did not conceal from themselves the fact that several different religions could only exist in mutual peace within the nation if the king could rule with a strong hand.[2] But that was the very thing which France at that time lacked, and therefore all attempts of the kind were at the outset doomed to failure.

Of what kind the Catholicism of these politicians was, was shown by their union with the Huguenots. Alençon, who was both proud and unscrupulous, entered into negotiations with Navarre and Condé to bring about an armed insurrection. On the Tuesday of Carnival, 1574, there was to be a general rising to upset the government of Catherine de' Medici. This plot, however, failed, and inquiries led to the arrest of Alençon and Navarre. In the meantime, Huguenot rebellions, the fifth religious war, broke out in several places. In the midst of these disturbances the weak and sickly Charles IX. was carried off by consumption on May 30th, 1574, having shortly before appointed his mother as temporary regent. Henry of Anjou, now Henry III., had no sooner heard of the death of his brother than, being long since weary of the sovereignty of

[1] See *ibid.* 549 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *"Discorso di M. de Bellegarde dello stato di Francia," a manuscript in the possession of a private individual at Borgo in the South Tyrol, kindly placed at my disposal at Trent by the courtesy of the late mgr. Cl. Benetti. Another copy in Cod. CXV., n. 2 of the Capilupi Library, Mantua.

Poland, he abandoned his kingdom with all the haste of a fugitive, in order to assume the government of his own country. At Vienna he resolved to make his journey into France through northern Italy.

As soon as the news of the death of Charles IX. reached Rome on June 10th, 1574,[1] Gregory XIII. summoned a special meeting of the Cardinals. Morone advised the sending of nuncios to Poland and France. It was decided to send Fabio Mirto Frangipani, who was to convey the Pope's condolences to Catherine de' Medici, and above all to intervene on behalf of Catholic interests against the Huguenots.[2] At the same time Gian Maria Graziani was sent to Poland to Henry III. In consequence of the hurried return of the king to his own country, this last mission was at once rendered useless.[3] On July 5th the Pope informed the Cardinals in consistory of the way in which he intended to welcome the new King of France on Italian soil; Gregory thought of making use of this opportunity for a personal meeting with Henry III., and was ready,

[1] *"Hoc mane," says Mucantius on June 10, 1574, "antequam Papa descenderet ad capellam (it was Corpus Christi), ill. orator Franciae attulit nuntium S^ti^ Suae de obitu Caroli IX." The Pope was grieved at the news and thought that the king had been poisoned by his enemies. On June 22 Mucantius *reports concerning the obsequies, which took place in the Cappella Palatina, at which Muret delivered the funeral oration (Oraison funebre p. Muret, trad. du latin, Lyons, 1574). Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. The briefs of condolence, June 12, 1574, in THEINER, I., 284 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi of June 12, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *letter of Giulio Masetti of June 12, 1574, State Archives, Modena, and *that of Bernerio of June 19, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. In a *note in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. D. 5, Varia, n. 1, it is stated concerning the mission of Frangipani that its principal object was "esortare la Regina et il Re Henrico tornato che fosse di Polonia, a procedere gagliardamente contro gli heretici." For Frangipani see ZUÑIGA in N. Colecc. de docum. inéd., III., 15; Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, ed. by the GÖRRES-GESELLSCH. I., 2, xiii. *seq.*

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 117 *seq.*

if Rome should seem to be too distant, to go to Bologna. Filippo Boncompagni was to convey to Venice the invitation to this meeting. Moreover Giacomo Boncompagni, who was at Ancona, was charged to go and welcome the King of France in the Pope's name.[1]

When Henry III. arrived in Venice on July 18th, in the newly decorated Bucentaur, accompanied by a great number of ships and gondolas, and welcomed with cannon, cheers and festive music, the Papal legate sat on his right hand under a baldachino erected on the poop, and the Doge on his left. In the midst of these grand festivities, in which the wealth, and the imaginative and artistic taste of the Venetians was brilliantly displayed,[2] it fell to Filippo Boncompagni to discharge the commissions entrusted to him by the Pope. He at once

[1] See, besides Santori, Diario consist. XXIV. 243, and Mucantius, *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Luigi Rogna of July 5, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *that of Cusano of July 10, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. The brief concerning the mission of Boncompagni to Henry III., July 5, 1574, in THEINER, I., 285. A special *brief was also sent to Venice on July 5, 1574, concerning the mission of Boncompagni, the orignal in the State Archives, Venice.

[2] See P. DE NOLHAC and A. SOLERTI, Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III. Re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino, Turin, 1890, 94 *seq.*, 101 *seq.* Cod. D. 6 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains, p. 59-71. *Raguaglio del viaggio dell'ill. s. card. S. Sisto quando andò in Venetia legato al Re christ. nel passaggio suo di Polonia per Italia e del modo col quale S. M^{tà} ricevuta da quella ser. republica, 1574. The King is there described as follows: Sua M^{tà} è di vita asciutta et assai piu alta d'huomo ordinario, di cabezza piu tosto spagnuola che francese et d'un colore mezamente pallido. Parla con gran flemma et porge le maniere sue con molta gravidad. . . . Veste tutto di pavonazzo fino la berretta et le scarpe et porta un par di pianelle da questo tempo alte ben due dita. Beve acqua et non mangia in fretta come sogliono fare i principi. Giovedì si farà una festa et un banchetto al quale interveniranno piu di 300 gentildonne Venetiane con balli et comedie stupende et fino de Milano hanno fatto venire certi comici ch'erano là.

realized that Henry III. shrank from a meeting with the Pope, on account of the stir which it would inevitably cause in the Protestant world. The remaining commissions of the legate, to urge him to return to France and punish the rebels, were listened to by the French king with deference indeed, but were not carried into effect. In the intoxication of the festivities with which the courts of Ferrara, Mantua and Turin entertained the French sovereign, it seemed as though the latter had completely lost sight of his sorely tried kingdom.[1] For this reason Cardinal Boncompagni took his leave of the king at Ferrara, although his original orders had been to accompany Henry to the frontier of Italy.[2]

The subsequent behaviour of Henry III., who only arrived on French soil in September, 1574, caused general disappointment. Instead of proving the genuineness of his declaration that he would know how to break down the pride of the rebels, he delayed for two months at Lyons, where he devoted himself to festivities, and the preparation of a new court etiquette, in imitation of the Spanish ceremonial. Fabio Mirto Frangipani wrote to Rome from Lyons on September 20th, 1574: "The true salvation of France would be a king who knew how to be a king indeed. We can look for nothing from this young man. His tastes are all for ease and amusement, his body is weak and sickly, so that only a short life can be predicted for him."[3]

Even before this severe judgment reached Rome, Gregory XIII., in view of the struggle against the Huguenots, had sent large subsidies in money to the new French king, who, as the

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 124 *seq.* NOLHAC-SOLERTI, *loc. cit.* 155 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, 213; *cf.* 259 concerning the visit of Giacomo Boncompagni in Ferrara. See also GABOTTO, Entrata di un Re di Francia in Torino nel 1574, Turin, 1890.

[2] Cardinal Galli, in his *Memorie, speaks of the "poca voglia di Enrico di assestare le cose della religione." Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cusano in his *report of August 7, 1574, remarks that "Boncompagni si era licentiato con poca sodiesfattione per non esser stato troppo accarezato da S.M^tà." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See THEINER, I., 427.

result of his successes in war in his early youth, the victories of Jarnac and Moncontour, was held in high esteem at the Curia,[1] and had caused his zeal for the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent to be made known in Rome. At first he sent him 200,000 scudi, and then permission to draw two million from the ecclesiastical revenues.[2] In the following year he granted the levy of a half annate, and 100,000 scudi in ready money.[3] Gregory was also prepared to send troops,[4] but Henry III. wished for money rather than anything else. His position became even worse when, in the autumn of 1575, Alençon, who had been detained at the court in a semi-imprisonment, succeeded in making his escape. Alençon issued at Dreux a manifesto demanding the convocation of the States General and a national council. While he was placing himself at the head of the Huguenots and the malcontent Catholics, he was secretly sending an embassy to Rome to the effect that he was not in earnest in countenancing the Huguenots, but only wished to restore peace and tranquillity in France![5]

Catherine had attempted to separate the party of the malcontent Catholics from the Huguenots by means of an armistice, but her adversaries did not trust her; they placed their hopes in the troops of Condé and the Prince-Elector, John Casimir,

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 126.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 286 *seq.*, 289 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, IV., 51; MAFFEI, I., 129 *seq.*

[3] MAFFEI, I., 178; *cf.* THEINER, II., 121, 496 *seq.*, 502 *seq.*; 100,000 scudi were levied from the Roman merchants; see *Avviso di Roma of May 11, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 436, Vatican Library.

[4] 4,000 men were to be sent to France; see the *report of Cusano of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Like Alençon, Henry III. also had recourse to the Pope, who tried to reconcile the contestants; see as to this and the mission of Fabio Mirto Frangipani in November, 1575, THEINER, II., 113 *seq.*, 483; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 90; MAFFEI, I., 179 *seq.* The *apology of Alençon to Gregory XIII. in Cod. d. 6, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

which entered France from Lorraine on January 11th, 1576, and proceeded to lay waste the country.[1] The position of the government grew more precarious when, on February 3rd, 1576, Henry of Navarre fled from the court, where he had hitherto been detained by his love affairs. He went to Guienne, and there joined Alençon. Navarre, who had embraced Catholicism after the massacre of St. Bartholomew,[2] remained undecided in his religious convictions at first. His true opinions were shown when, a few months later, he returned to Calvinism, and declared that it had only been under compulsion, and without conviction, that he had adopted the Catholic doctrines four years earlier.[3]

Henry was by no means the right man to resist the united forces of Alençon, Navarre and Condé, and Catherine de' Medici at once resolved to make peace at all costs. This was done on May 6th, 1576, at Beaulieu. According to the terms there decided upon Alençon was to retain the government of Anjou, Touraine and Berry; Navarre was to hold Guienne, and Condé Picardy. The Huguenots were given more than they had ever had before; the free and public exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the sole exception of the environs of Paris; they were to be admitted to all offices and dignities; a court of appeal in the Parliament was formed of both religions; the marriage of the priests and religious who had apostatized from the Catholic Church was allowed, and they were given eight cities as a surety.[4]

[1] Cardinal Rambouillet described the ruin of France to the Pope; see the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, January 28, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Notwithstanding the humble letters to the Pope (see *Lettres missives de Henri IV., I., 38) and the sending of an *obedientia* embassy to Rome, no conversion was seriously contemplated (see THEINER, I., 164 *seq.*; *cf.* Claudii Arnolphi Paris. theol. pro Henrico rege Navarrae oratio ad Gregorium XIII., Lyons, 1573).

[3] *Cf.* SEGESSER, II., 286 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*; POLENZ., IV., 49 *seq.*

[4] See THUANUS, I., 62; POLENZ, IV., 56 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 308 *seq.*; Hist. de la Ligue, I., 15, n. 4.

It can be no matter for surprise that this treaty, which was so damaging to the Catholic cause, filled the Pope with indignation and grief.[1] Gregory, by his letters to the king, through his nuncio, Salviati, as well as by his pecuniary help of 100,000 scudi, which he had sent at the beginning of the year, had done his best to bring about the continuation of the struggle against the Huguenots.[2] When the news from France became more and more alarming, he ordered special prayers in April for that nation.[3] With tears in his eyes he lamented that during his pontificate the Church in France should have had to suffer such grievous losses. Even so, however, Gregory did not give up hopes of a change for the better.[4] He was encouraged in this by the statements of Louis Châteigner de la Rocheposay, who was sent to represent the French government in Rome. On June 18th, 1576, the new French ambassador made his solemn entry into Rome,[5] and on the following day was received at a public consistory. The discourse was delivered by Muret. This celebrated latinist who, a few years before, had in the same place eulogized the massacre of St.

[1] See the *report of P. Strozzi, Rome, May 19 and June 2, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 236, an *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1576, speaks by exaggeration of 400,000 scudi. Urb. 1044, p. 13, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RICHARD, Epinac, 135 n.; TÖRNE, 154. The great concession which was made by Gregory XIII. in March, 1576, when he conferred the diocese of Verdun upon the minor, Charles of Lorraine (see THEINER, II., 226), was in connexion with his efforts to keep the king staunch to the war against the Huguenots.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of April 7, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 65b, Vatican Library.

[4] See MAFFEI, I., 237. The disadvantages and shameful conclusion of peace in France, formed, according to an *Avvsio di Roma of May 16, 1576, the common topic of conversation in Rome. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 6.

[5] See Mucantius, *Diarium. The previous ambassador, François de Rosier, had died suddenly on March 6, 1575; see *ibid.* for a detailed description of his funeral which took place on March 9. Papal Secret Archives.

Bartholomew, on this occasion vainly employed all his oratorical powers to excuse the shameful peace of Beaulieu. He was answered in the Pope's name by his secretary Antonio Boccapaduli, who made no attempt to hide how much the Pope disapproved of a treaty which was so harmful to the Catholic religion.[1]

The Bishop of Paris, too, Pierre Gondi, who had come to Rome in July, 1576, attempted in every way to calm the Pope's displeasure.[2] He admitted that the terms accepted by Henry were disadvantageous to the Catholic cause, but called attention to the fact that the king had rejected terms that were even worse. To the objection that such great concessions had never been made in the time of Charles IX., Gondi pointed out that in those days neither a brother of the king, nor for the most part any Catholics, had taken the part of the Huguenots. Under these circumstances, in order to prevent the utter ruin of France, it had been impossible to avoid making peace, even under the hardest conditions. For the rest Henry III. would as far as possible care for Catholic interests. By these declarations Gondi paved the way to a request that the Pope would grant to the King of France, who was in the direst financial straits, permission to effect a further alienation of Church property.[3]

However unwillingly the Pope might consent to the laying

[1] See SANTORI, Diario consist., XXV., 108; Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives, and the *reports of P. Strozzi of June 9 and 16, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* P. DE CHASTEIGNER DE LA ROCHEPOZAY, L'ambassade de M. de la Rochepozay à Rome (1576-81), Vannes, 1899 (Extract from the *Revue des quest. hérald*, etc.).

[2] The *Avviso di Roma of July 21, 1576, announces that Gondi had arrived on the Friday, and had several times had audience of the Pope with the French ambassador. Urb. 1044, p. 130, Vatican Library.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist. XXV., 110. According to the *report of P. Strozzi of July 28, 1576, Gondi also asked for the nomination of two French Cardinals, as an important thing for the "reduttione di Francia." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of a further burden on the clergy of France, he nevertheless felt that he must give way in view of the danger of arbitrary action on the part of the French government, especially as Henry promised in the future to take up the defence of the Catholic cause, and to make use of his right of nomination only to the advantage of the Church. Naturally the demands of Gondi were not accepted in their entirety, but it was nevertheless estimated that Henry III. would receive more than four million francs on the strength of the Papal concession.[1] In making the concession, Gregory, in his letter of July 24th, 1576, expressly made it clear to Henry III, and to Cardinals Bourbon, Guise and Este, that the advantageous terms granted to the Huguenots had been displeasing, not only to himself, but to all zealous Catholics; nothing but the direst necessity, which knows no law, could excuse them; he therefore hoped all the more that in the future the king would defend the Catholic cause, and fulfil his promises with regard to the appointment of good bishops and abbots, and would promote the observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

The peace of Beaulieu, which was so favourable to the Huguenots, first of all aroused the opposition of the French Catholics, because it had been imposed by a minority. The Huguenots had attained this success, not only by their clever use of favourable circumstances, for it was in obvious contradiction to the real distribution of power, but even more by their solid unity.[3] It was only by becoming closely united in like manner, and organizing themselves as perfectly as their adversaries, that the Catholics could hope to effect a change in their own favour.

Associations in defence of Catholic interests against the weakness of Charles IX. and the temporizing policy of Catherine de' Medici, had already come into existence during

[1] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 112; THEINER, II., 222 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 237 *seq. cf.* FORGEOT in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, 1881, Avril.

[2] See the letter in THEINER, II., 224 *seq.*

[3] Cardinal S. Croce said to the Pope when he was lamenting the death of Charles IX., etc.: "che d'ogni Ugonotto ch'era in quel regno v'erano venti cattolici." *Report of Bernerio of June 19, 1574, State Archives, Vienna.

the earlier wars of religion. The first of these associations had been formed at Toulouse in March, 1563. This had been followed by others on similar lines in other parts of the kingdom. In this way ecclesiastics, the aristocracy and the citizens had united for the defence of the altar and the throne at Angers in 1565, at Dijon in 1567, and at Bourges and Troyes in 1568.[1]

As the alliance between the Huguenots and the "politicians" at Nîmes in February, 1575,[2] had resulted in the setting up of a completely independent republic in the state, a plan had taken shape in the mind of a Paris lawyer, named David, which was essentially different from the form of resistance hitherto adopted by the Catholics. Whereas the latter had hitherto inscribed on their banners, side by side with the defence of the ancient religion, that of the ruling house, David now threw over that degenerate royal line, under whose rule the government of the kingdom threatened to become the prey of heresy. The Guise as the true descendants of Charlemagne, so thought David, must place themselves at the head of a Catholic league, destroy the Huguenots and their allies, and, once they had secured the victory, shut up the weak king in a monastery, as Pepin had done to Childeric.[3] The majority of the Catholics, however, would not for the time being hear of any such radical plans.[4] Even after the crown had given its approval to the humiliating peace of Beaulieu, the Catholic associations which sprang up in various places remained true to the old programme, of supporting alike their religion and the dynasty.

[1] *Cf.* MOURIN, La ligue en Anjou, Paris, 1856, 76; THAUMASSIÈRE, Hist. du Berry, 189; DE MEAUX, 176 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 2.

[2] See L. ANQUEZ, Hist. des Assemblées polit. des Réformés, Paris, 1854, 16-21.

[3] Mémoires de la Ligue, I., Amsterdam, 1758, 1-7; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 38 *seq.*; GUY DE BRÉMOND D'ARS, Jean de Vivonne, 75; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots et Gueux, III., 92; DE MEAUX, 179 *seq.*

[4] That Gregory XIII., too, held entirely aloof from any such plans, *cf.* THEINER, II., 233.

This is clearly shown by the text of the oath, almost everywhere the same, by which those who joined the league bound themselves in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, in addition to prayer and the contribution of money for the gathering of troops, to devote all their powers to the preservation of obedience to the Holy, Apostolic and Roman Church, and the legitimate king, Henry III. Naturally, this implied the supposition that the king, in accordance with his coronation oath, would preserve inviolate the rights of the Church, and the ancient liberties of the nation. Henry declared himself the head of these associations, both because he did not wish that they should become more independent, and in order that the Guise should not take over their direction. By himself doing all he could to bring about their spread throughout the kingdom, he hoped to be able to keep them under his own control.[1]

The efficacy of this organization of the Catholics was shown when on December 6th, 1576, the States General were opened at Blois; it was unanimously demanded that the king should not in future tolerate the practice of any other religion than the Catholic. An essential part was taken in bringing about this decision, which received the approval of the king, by the Catholic Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Épinac, who, however, was not able to obtain the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees.[2] Although it was obvious that the Huguenots would oppose by force of arms this abrogation of the peace of Beaulieu, the States could not agree as to the steps which would have to be taken in its defence. Gregory XIII., however, was again ready to come to their assistance;[3] the decision of the

[1] *Cf.* LOUTSCHITZKY, Docum. inédits p. servir à l'hist. de la Réforme et de la Ligue, Paris, 1875, 50 *seq.*, 39; HAAG, La France protest. Pièces justific., 141; L'ÉPINOIS, 3, *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, II., 130.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, II., 318 *seq.*; PICOT, États généraux, II., 305 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 180 *seq.*, 187 *seq.*

[3] The request for help from Henry III., dated Blois, January 15, 1577, in THEINER, II., 581. *Cf.* *Acta consist. February 4, 1577, Papal Secret Archives; *report of Odescalchi of February 19, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

king once again to restore religious unity had filled him with the greatest joy.[1]

In the meantime the war had been begun by the Huguenots. The Pope had already, in June, 1577, sent to the French king a subsidy of 50,000 gold scudi,[2] and later on munitions. Moreover, at Avignon, which was seriously threatened by the Huguenots, troops were in readiness, which were at the same time to assist those of the king. Gregory also had a share in bringing about the submission of Marshal Damville to the king, whose troops he reinforced.[3]

The weakness of the Huguenots was clearly shown during the course of this, the sixth war of religion. In the north of France they were almost entirely exterminated, and only continued to offer armed resistance in Guienne, Gascony, Poitou and Languedoc, and the greatest want of discipline prevailed in their ranks.[4] It is not surprising that the Catholics won important successes. Henry III., who was constantly encouraged by the Pope, by letters and by the nuncio Salviati, to take strong action, seemed to be on the way to a decisive victory.[5] Catherine de' Medici then set herself against any such thing, fearing to lose her authority and influence over her son, and being unwilling that the Guise should obtain too much power. Her request, addressed to Gregory XIII., that he would give his support to a compromise with the Huguenots, on the ground that this would be for the advantage of the Catholic religion, naturally met with a refusal.[6]

[1] See *report of Odescalchi, January 12, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *report of Odescalchi, June 10, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 292 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 326 *seq.*; *ibid.* 328 seq. the mission of Antonio Martinengo to Avignon. For the great anxiety of the Pope at that time about the affairs of Avignon, *cf.* the *report of Odescalchi of March 23, April 13 and 20, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* POLENZ, IV., 120.

[5] See G. LIPPOMANO in ALBÈRI, App. 35

[6] See MAFFEI I., 295 *seq*

Catherine de' Medici nevertheless attained her end without the Pope, because Henry III. was weary of the war, and hated Henry of Guise as a rival and a claimant to the throne. In the middle of September, 1577, peace was concluded at Bergerac. This, it is true, limited in some degree the concessions made at Beaulieu concerning the exercise of the Calvinist religion, but contained many things that were favourable to the Huguenots, to whom, by secret articles, was assured the right of inheriting for apostate priests and religious.[1] It was characteristic of Henry III. that he did not at first dare to inform the Pope of the terms of the agreement.[2] Gregory XIII., who learned the exact terms from Salviati, found at anyrate one advantage in the peace, in that his own territory in the south of France was included in it. This seemed of all the more importance as the Pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had been called upon to make great sacrifices for the defence of Avignon against the attacks of the Huguenots.[3] Further considerable expenditure[4] had especially been involved in the territory of Avignon by the very difficult sieges of the castles of Entrechaux and Ménerbe, where the Papal forces had been reinforced by Henry III.

[1] See THUANUS, I., 64; RANKE, Französ. Geschichte, I.², 255 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 340 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 195 *seq.*

[2] At the consistory on October 9, 1577, the Pope said that he did not yet altogether know the terms; on the 12th he did not yet know them; the full truth was only made known to him at the end of the month; see the *reports of Odescalchi of October 13 and 30, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the peace see the opinion of Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 36.

[3] See MAFFEI, I., 296; *cf. ibid.* 98 *seq.*, 138 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*, and THEINER, I., 176 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*, for the efforts made by Gregory XIII. for the defence of Avignon. According to the *report of P. Strozzi of December 29, 1576, Gregory was at that time spending 12,000 scudi a month on the troops at Avignon. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also Giov. Batt. Fusconi *"Ragguaglio delle turbulenze di Francia dell'anno 1575 per conto dello stato di Avignone." in Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* CASTRUCCI, Istoria d'Avignone, I., Venice, 1678, 419 *seq.*

After the capture of Entrechaux, Ménerbe, which was situated on a precipitous rock, offered the most stubborn resistance. Even though, in consequence of the peace of Bergerac, the assistance of the King of France was withdrawn and the skilled tactician Matteucci retired at the beginning of the winter, nevertheless Domenico Grimaldi, the loyal governor of the Venaissin, continued his efforts to reduce this strong place. He feared lest Ménerbe, like another Geneva, should become a safe place of refuge for the Huguenots of southern France. The Pope did all in his power to support him; at the last extremity, he said, he would sell his last mitre in order to obtain the necessary funds.[1] But the heroic resistance of the defenders of Ménerbe rendered vain all the attempts that were made during 1578 to capture the fortress.

In March, 1578, as the result of the changes made among the nuncios, Francesco Maria Salviati was recalled. He was succeeded by the protonotary, Anselmo Dandino.[2] The latter received in his instructions, which also insisted on the acceptance of the reform decrees of Trent, orders to keep constantly before his eyes, in the course of his negotiations, how much, on account of the weakness and unpopularity of the king, everything depended upon his mother, Catherine de' Medici.[3] The further instructions which were given to Dandino, to devote his attention to cultivating friendly relations between France and Spain, were all the more difficult to carry out, because just at that time the ambitious Francis of Alençon-Anjou, the worthy son of the intriguing Catherine de' Medici,

[1] See the *notes of D. Grimaldi in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 416 *seq.*, and MAFFEI, I., 297 *seq.*

[2] See the brief to Henry III. of March 8, 1578, in THEINER, II., 415; *cf.* GARAMPI, Sul valore, 317. Dandino undertook the business of the nunciature on April 28, 1578; see his *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. According to the *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1578, Salviati returned to Rome, where he gave the Pope his information at a long audience. Urb. 1046, p. 233, Vatican Library. With regard to Dandino see the remarks of RICHARD in the *Annales de St. Louis*, II., (1898), 409, n. 2.

[3] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

had set himself up as the "defender of the liberties of the Netherland rebels against the tyranny of Spain." This made a breach between Henry III. and Philip II. all the more imminent. Papal diplomacy did all in its power to avert it; in the middle of June, 1578, Gregory XIII. sent to Dandino's assistance in France Fabio Mirto Frangipani Archbishop of Nazareth, who was on friendly terms with Anjou.[1] The Pope also arranged with Venice to send a special envoy to France on June 28th, 1578,[2] in the person of Giovanni Michele, to back up the efforts of the nuncio. By arrangement with the French government, Frangipani and Michele, accompanied by the ambassador of Savoy, went to visit Alençon, who had been at Mons since July 13th, 1578. Alençon, however, was by this time so closely allied with the political ends of Orange that the eloquent expostulations of Frangipani and his colleagues were without effect.[3]

As against this failure, the Pope had the consolation of learning that Ménerbe had at last surrendered, on December 10th, 1578, after a siege of sixteen months.[4] Soon afterwards

[1] The *"Istruzione al archivescovo di Nazaret," dated June 14, 1578, in Barb. LXII., 4, p. 1 *seq.* (also Ottob. 2415, P. 1, 1 *seq.*), Vatican Library. The minute in Var. Polit. CXXIX., p. 75 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives) has also an appendix. On June 13, 1578, Gregory XIII. had informed the Cardinals of the appointment; see *Acta Consist. Cod. Barb. Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of G. Michele in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 379 *seq.*

[3] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and G. Michele in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 382 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 347 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xlii., 213, 223. Odescalchi *reports on November 22, 1578, the return of Frangipani from France, and that he regretted his recall, but Odescalchi adds: "S.S^{tà} sa molto ben che fa," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the agreement between Anjou and the States General, August 13, 1578, see MULLER-DIEGERICK,, Documents concernant les relations entre le duc d'Anjou et les Pays-Bas, I., Amsterdam 1899, 408.

[4] See the *notes of D. Grimaldi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 418; MAFFEI, I., 353; Lettres de Cath. de

another envoy extraordinary was sent to France. The occasion of this was the Papal approval which Henry III. had asked for, for the establishment of a military Order of the Holy Spirit. This Order was to be founded by further tax upon the French clergy. The Papal envoy, Archbishop Giustiniani of Genoa, declared that the Holy See, after mature deliberation, could not give its consent to any further burdening of the French clergy.[1]

Although Gregory XIII., at the beginning of 1579, might feel at ease as to the position of his territories in the south of France,[2] but little good news came from the unhappy kingdom of Henry III.[3] Things there continued to go from bad to worse. Not only the Papal nuncio, but the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lippomano, draw an almost despairing picture of the state of affairs in France.[4] Catherine de' Medici was negotiating with the Huguenots as much as ever; in February, 1579, by the secret treaty of Nérac, she granted favourable

Médicis, VI., 216. According to the *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, the attack on Ménerbe had cost "un millione d'oro." Urb. 1046, p. 304, Vatican Library. Galli in his *Memorie estimates the whole expenditure of Gregory XIII. on Avignon at two millions. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See the *instructions for Giustiniani of September 22, 1578, in BORGHESE, II., 462, p. 818, original minute in Var. Polit., CXXIX., p. 138 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 415 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 350 *seq.* TÖRNE, 205 *seq.*; see also the *notes of Dandino in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 53, and the report of L. Priuli, *ibid.* I., 4, 414 *seq.*; DUPLEIX, Hist. de Henri III., Paris, 1650, 73 *seq.*; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 120 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Odescalchi, Rome, January 17, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Later on the events at Avignon caused further anxieties; see THEINER, III., 197 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Odescalchi of January 31, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the complaints of the Pope at the consistory on February 27, 1579. *Acta Consist. Cod. Barb. Vatican Library.

[4] See G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 45, 53.

terms to Henry of Navarre, which the weak king approved on March 19th.[1]

At the beginning of March an extremely pessimistic estimate of the state of affairs in France was prevalent in Rome.[2] How fully justified this was shown by the treaty of May 8th, 1579, between the French government and Berne and Soleure in defence of Geneva.[3] This was a countermove to the defensive alliance which had been formed on May 8th, 1577, between the six Catholic cantons and the Duke of Savoy.[4] Henry III. knew very well what scandal would be occasioned in Rome if France intervened in Switzerland on behalf of the Protestant party; he therefore hesitated for a long time as to whether he should approve the treaty, but at length, in August, 1579, he decided to sign it.[5] The feeling of irritation increased in Rome when news came in October of the conclusion of an alliance between France and England.[6] This news, however, was not confirmed, but the French court openly showed its displeasure at the fact that Gregory XIII., who well realized the mad dissipation that prevailed there, refused to make any further financial concessions at the expense of the ecclesiastical revenues. For a time it even seemed as though diplomatic relations between Rome and Paris would be broken off. It was a matter of real gratification to the Pope when the office of French ambassador was again conferred on Paul de

[1] See POLENZ, IV., 220; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXI. (1897), 352 *seq.*

[2] See *report of Odescalchi, March 7, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Schweiz. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1556 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 417 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 348.

[4] See *Schweiz. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1541 *seq.*; SEGESSER, II., 405 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 346 *seq.*

[5] See THUANUS, I., 68; SEGESSER, II., 414 n. On August 1, 1579, Odescalchi *reports the displeasure of Gregory XIII. at the attitude of Henry III. on this matter. Gonzaga Archives Mantua.

[6] See the *report of Odescalchi of October 6, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Foix, who arrived in Rome at the end of November, 1579.[1]

At the same time the Huguenot war once more broke out, and again it seemed that the superior forces of the Catholics must be victorious over the scattered forces of the Calvinists. But Henry III. was too much afraid of the party of the Guise to be able really to desire the complete defeat of Henry of Navarre; accordingly, on November 26th, 1580, the peace of Le Fleix, which confirmed the treaties of Bergerac and Nérac, was signed.[2]

The man responsible for this peace had been Francis of Anjou, who now renewed the unfortunate undertaking which had been abandoned in 1578, and, at the beginning of 1581, made ready to go the assistance of the insurgents in the Netherlands at the head of an army. As Henry III. secretly supported this undertaking, as well as the resistance offered by the Portuguese to Philip II., it seemed that there must be an open rupture between France and Spain. Gregory XIII., in the greatest anxiety,[3] charged Giovan Battista Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, who was appointed nuncio in France on April 1st, 1581, to avert this danger.[4] This man, who was

[1] CORRARO, 286-287. The arrival of P. de Foix is announced in an *Avviso di Roma of November 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 382, Vatican Library. For Foix *cf. supra*, p. 299, n. 3.

[2] See POLENZ, IV., 247 *seq.* During the war, in consequence of the interference of Henry III. with the publication of the bull *In coena Domini*, to which other princes also made opposition (*cf.* HAUSMANN, Reservatfälle, 379), serious disagreements had arisen between Rome and Paris, which were only smoothed over with great difficulty; see the *notes of Dandino in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; DESJARDINS, IV., 336 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*, 343; MAFFEI, II., 117 *seq.*, 204; FOUQUERAY, II., 72. What an unfavourable impression had been made in Rome by the behaviour of Henry III., even before the peace, is clear from the *reports of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand of September 3 and October 1, 1580, Viceregal Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See the *letter of Cusano of March 6, 1581, Nunziat. di Francia, XVI., 27, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* TÖRNE, 207.

[4] See the brief in GARAMPI, Sul valore, 317. There were great changes in the nunciatures at that time; see the *report of Odescalchi of April 1, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

strictly attached to the Church, and belonged to the school of Borromeo,[1] reached the royal court at Blois on May 24th.[2]

Castelli also had to work against the proposed marriage of Anjou with Elizabeth of England. He was further charged to take steps for the publication of the bull *In coena Domini*, and the introduction of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. The peremptory language which he was instructed to employ[3] showed that the patience which Gregory XIII. had so long shown towards the King of France, was nearly at an end.

Although Castelli showed no lack of zeal, he was able to accomplish nothing either in political or religious questions.[4] At the end of October Orazio Malaspina was sent to assist him as nuncio-extraordinary. The latter, in accordance with his instructions,[5] acted even more strongly than Castelli, and reproved the French government for a long list of misdeeds, especially for its anti-Spanish policy, which was so threatening to the cause of peace. In spite of this, his mission too was devoid of result. The haughty tone employed by Henry III. was even surpassed by the expressions which Catherine de' Medici allowed to escape her.[6] At the end of 1581 Cardinal Galli wrote to Castelli that the whole behaviour of the French court was so bad that they must be satisfied if it did not become worse.[7]

Philip II. sought to turn the strained relations between France and the Holy See to his own advantage. The Spanish

[1] *Cf.* Letters de P. de Foix, 43. Gregory XIII. gave an account in terms of high praise concerning the earlier life of Castelli at the consistory of March 29, 1574; see SANTORI, Diario consist., XXIV., 236.

[2] See the *notes of Dandino, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] The *instructions for G. B. Castelli, dated April 1, 1581, in Barb. 5744, p. 119 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Some extracts in TÖRNE, 208 *seq.* *Cf.* also MAFFEI, II., 195 *seq.*; RICHARD, Épinac, 175, 207; PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 259.

[4] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 161.

[5] Dated October 29, 1581, published in TÖRNE, 269 *seq.*

[6] See MAFFEI, II., 201 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 213.

[7] See TÖRNE, 213 n. 2.

party in Rome joined forces with their diplomatists to induce Gregory XIII. to enter into a general defensive alliance of the whole of Italy, which was to be apparently directed against a possible attack on the part of the Huguenots, but was in reality to become a weapon in the hands of the King of Spain against France. He was not successful, however, in inducing the Pope to change his attitude. The efforts of Gregory XIII., who was quite falsely looked upon by the French court as a willing tool of Philip II., were principally directed, both now and later on, to preventing the outbreak of war between Spain and France.[1] Girolamo Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo, who received the nunciature of France on September 28th, 1583, after the death of Castelli, was instructed to work for the same end. The new nuncio, like his predecessor, was a high-principled man, and he too belonged to the school of Borromeo.[2]

Ragazzoni arrived at a critical moment in the affairs of France, which had fallen into hopeless confusion owing to the misgovernment of Henry III., and when the Duke of Anjou, weighed down with debts and shame, had succumbed to his excesses at Chateau-Thierry on June 10th, 1584.

The premature death of the only surviving brother of the king, who had no issue, brought the prospect of the succession to the throne of Henry of Navarre, the head of the line of Bourbon, and the leader of the Huguenots, within the realm of immediate politics. It is easy to understand that an indescribable anxiety took possession of all Catholics at the idea of a relapsed heretic obtaining possession of the crown once borne by Clovis and St. Louis. So far the Huguenots, whenever they were in power, had raged with rapine, fire and murder against the Catholics, and had done all they could to destroy every trace of the old religion. Even though in many parts

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 298 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 215 *seq.*

[2] See the *notes of Ragazzoni in the Boncompagni Archives Rome; MAFFEI, II., 337; TÖRNE, 216; the brief to Henry III. on the appointment of Ragazzoni in THEINER, III., 455. The *"Instruttione per il vesc. di Bergamo" in Ottob. 2415, P. II., p. 287 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

of France they had not been successful in this, yet the bloody persecution of the Catholics in Zeeland, Holland and England clearly showed the French Catholics the fate that was awaiting them should a Huguenot obtain possession of the throne. Broadsheets and pictures brought home to them the bloody cruelties to which their co-religionists were being subjected in those countries, and that cruelties of the same sort would be their own lot if Navarre became King of France.[1] Under these circumstances, the idea of a strong political organization of the Catholics, which had been lost sight of after the prohibition of every "league, association or brotherhood" issued both for them and the Protestants in September 1577, was bound once more to be put forward. The Catholics now felt more than ever the need of union for the safeguarding of themselves and their faith. The most energetic promoter of this attempt was Duke Henry of Guise, whose ambition and spirit of enterprise did not hesitate even at the most extreme measures.

The loyalty of Guise to the Catholic Church was beyond question, but he was too much involved in worldly and political interests ever to become its saviour. From the first he stands out as the self-interested champion of the Catholics;[2] at the same time he was too shrewd to aim at obtaining the throne at once for himself. A temporary candidate seemed to be necessary, in whose name he could rule, and after whose death he could assume the crown for himself. He therefore thought of Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, Navarre's uncle, as the heir to the throne after the death of Henry III., which might be considered imminent. The Cardinal was more than sixty years of age, and had a blameless reputation; sincerely pious and attached to the Church, he did not fathom the ambitious aims

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 509. See also the account in PICOT, Essai hist. sur l'influence de la religion en France, I., Louvain, 1824, 22 *seq.* and PRUNEL, La Renaissance cathol. en France au 17e siècle, Paris, 1921, 4 *seqq.*, 6 *seqq.*

[2] See BAUDRILLART, La France chrétienne, 359; SAULNIER, 92 *seq.*

of Guise.[1] His elevation had already been decided upon at a meeting of the Catholic leaders at Nancy in March, 1584, in the probable event of the death of the Duke of Anjou without issue.[2]

An anxiety which was certainly no less great than that of the French Catholics had been caused to Philip II. by the thought of a Huguenot ascending the throne of France. He had too often had experience of the way in which, every time the Huguenots got the upper hand in France, French policy took an anti-Spanish turn. What then was to be looked for if a Huguenot became master of the French kingdom! An extraordinary increase in the power of Protestantism in France might be expected, the consequences of which would have an incalculable effect in the Low Countries. In that case the whole position of the Spanish power in western Europe would be imperilled.[3]

Thus Philip II. on one side, and the Guise and the French Catholics on the other, found themselves driven to look for help to each other, but, the King of Spain, no less than the Guise, intervened as the self-seeking protectors of the Catholics of France. If, especially in Rome, Philip apparently put religious interests in the first place, politics were nevertheless the primary consideration with him; France must not only remain Catholic, but must also be kept weak, reduced to the status of a second-rate power, and always kept under the domination of Spain.[4] The danger of the French Catholics became greater when Henry III. openly showed himself disposed to recognize Navarre as his successor, in the hope that he would return to the Church.[5] Under these circumstances the new organization of the Catholics, which was formed in September, 1584, took

[1] *Cf.* G. Lippomano in ALBÈRI, App. 63; SAULNIER, 90 *seq.*; 107 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*

[2] See CHALEMBERT, 10 *seq.*

[3] See RANKE, Französ. Gesch., I.², 398.

[4] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 421 *seq.*

[5] Ragazzoni announces this to Cardinal Galli in a cypher report of May 29, 1584, therefore even before Anjou was dead; see FOUQUERAY, II., 131.

an entirely different form from the previous one. The "Holy League" which was now established, so long as Henry III. insisted on recognizing the heretical Navarre as his successor, saw no other means of averting this grave danger than to offer armed resistance to the king. Naturally the head of the league was Henry of Guise, but he feared lest he should be looked upon as a rebel, a thing which he did not conceal from the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Giovanni Battista di Tassis.[1]

Naturally the idea occurred to him of shielding himself from such a charge by obtaining the approval of the Pope. After Cardinal Pellevé, who was so loyal to the Guise, had prepared the ground in Rome, the Jesuit, Claude Matthieu, who was in close relations with the Guise and Cardinal Bourbon,[2] took upon himself the difficult task of asking Gregory XIII. for a definite declaration. The Pope's reply, which was given on November 16th, 1584, after long consultation with experienced theologians, stated that if the first and principal end of the members of the league was the taking up of arms against the heretics, and they thought that they were strong enough to be victorious, in that case he could not but approve of that undertaking; the nation too would certainly give its approval to such a project. Even if this were not the case it was not necessary that the members of the league should abandon their main purpose.[3]

[1] See I. B. DE TASSIS, Commentarii in HOYNCK v. PAPENDRECHT, *Anal. Belgica*, II., 1, 443.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, II., 131.

[3] See the original text of the Papal declaration in the letter of Matthieu to the Duke of Nevers, February 11, 1585, in Memoires du duc de Nevers, I., Paris, 1665, 655 *seq.* RANKE (Päpste, II[6]., 99) quotes the Papal declaration according to CAPEFIGUE, IV., 173, where it is quite erroneously stated: "persuadé que le roy aura cela pour bien faict." In the original statement it is said: "instando ch'el regno havevo anco esso per ben fatto." In his Französ. Gesch. (I.[2], 402) Ranke only quotes MAFFEI, II., 379, who, however, only speaks in general terms. Galli speaks expressly of the previous consultations with theologians in his *Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see App. n. 28.

The disturbed conditions in which the Catholics of France found themselves as the result of the attitude of Henry III. were made worse when Henry of Navarre resolved to adopt extreme measures. Even while Anjou was still alive he had been preparing for war, and had sought for help abroad, with the result that the Catholics found themselves obliged to have recourse to similar measures.[1]

In January 1585 the plenipotentiaries of Philip II. on the one hand, and the Duke of Guise with his two brothers and cousins, as well as Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, on the other, entered into the confederacy of Joinville. Their object was the destruction of Protestantism in France and the Low Countries, and the exclusion of Navarre from the succession to the throne ; Cardinal de Bourbon was proclaimed in his stead as the next heir to the kingdom.[2] With regard to the political advantages which were guaranteed to Spain by this treaty, among others the possession of Cambrai and French Navarre, the Guise were able to point to the fact that the Huguenots had once granted to the English the far more important position of Le Havre. Nevertheless the treaty of Joinville was unfortunate in more than one respect. All the malcontents in France immediately joined Guise and the league, and their number was very great, as Henry III. had earned the hatred and contempt of the whole nation.[3] He gave himself up alternately to dissipation and exercises of penance, and to satisfy his favourites allowed them to do what they liked, while he squandered the revenues of the kingdom upon them. The mad luxury of the court was in manifest contrast to the general poverty and distress. The people of Paris, from whose treasury he had in 1582 forcibly taken 200,000 livres, were especially angry with the king, and it was in Paris that the league found the greater number of its adherents.[4]

[1] See DE MEAUX, 203 *seq. Cf.* PRUNEL, Renaissance Cathol, 5-6.

[2] See DUMONT, V., 441 ; L'ÉPINOIS, 8 ; SAULNIER, 115.

[3] See Hist. de la Ligue, I., 66 *seq.* ; *cf.* 54 n. 2.

[4] See CHALEMBERT, 11 *seq.* ; ROBIQUET, 1203 *seq.* ; LAVISSE, Hist de France, VI., 1, 241 *seq.*

While the weak Henry was hesitating between one side and the other, he received from Elizabeth the Order of the Garter, and encouragement to declare war against Spain, and although, in view of the preparations being made by the league, he publicly declared that he wished to live at peace with Philip II., the adherents of the league nevertheless published on March 31st, 1585, the manifesto of Péronne. Thanks to unworthy favourites, this manifesto states, all men have become negligent, and both religion and the constitution are going to ruin; there is also reason to fear that a heretic may ascend the throne after the death of the reigning king. Therefore a holy alliance has been formed for the preservation of the Catholic religion, the rights of the nobles and the liberties of the people, the extirpation of heresy and the removal of evil counsellors. Parliaments must once again be given their due rights, the new taxes must be abolished, and every man be protected in his own rights.[1]

In order to attain these ends, recourse was to be had to arms on April 6th.[2] While France was thus once more plunging into war, Gregory XIII. died. His share in the league had been limited to the verbal declaration of November 16th, 1584, which favoured a middle course. The Guise, as the Duke of Nevers told the historian de Thou, were by no means satisfied with this.[3]

Gregory XIII., who was so well versed in law, was careful to avoid taking any momentous step. All the pressure that was brought to bear by the Spanish party in Rome, under the leadership of Olivares, to force him to issue a bull giving the Papal approbation to all that was done by the league, was to not purpose.[4] It is beyond doubt that it was fully realized in Rome that among the members of the league

[1] See L'Épinois, 9 *seq.*; Philippson, Granvella, 420 *seq.*; Saulnier, 122 *seq.*

[2] See L'Épinois, 10.

[3] See Thuanus, I., 81.

[4] *Cf.* L'Épinois, 13 *seq.*; Törne, 219 *seq.*; Valois in his edition of the Hist. de la Ligue, I., 75, n. 1.

some were more interested in wresting the sceptre from Henry III. than in defending the Catholic religion.[1]

Even though the leaders of the league spread the report that the Holy See had unconditionally approved their levying of money, they were unable to produce any Papal document to that effect.[2] On the other hand the Papal nuncio was able to give proofs to Henry III. that the league had gone beyond the facts in their statements.[3] The Guise and their adherents had obtained nothing more from Rome than words of encouragement for energetic measures against the innovators. That Gregory XIII. steadily maintained his attitude of cautious reserve up to the time of his death, is attested not only by the historian Davila,[4] but also by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Tolomeo Galli,[5] and by Sixtus V., whose evidence,

[1] See the *report of Ragazzoni of May 23, 1585, Papal Secret Archives (used by L'ÉPINOIS, 11, n. 2; see also DESJARDINS, IV., 571) the text of which will be given in a future volume of this work.

[2] Nor could PHILIPPSON (Granvella, 425) do this, where, moreover, the important information given by L'Épinois is entirely passed over. On what weak grounds the arguments of Philippson are based may also be seen from the fact that he thought he had discovered that the Archbishop of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro, had received in 1585 "solo ed in una forma eccezionale il cappello cardinalizio." In reality the appointment of Castro had taken place in 1583 together with that of 18 other prelates; see *supra* p. 231.

[3] See the *reports of Ragazzoni of April 9 and 29, 1585, in L'ÉPINOIS, 14.

[4] DAVILA, II. (1757), 123.

[5] See the *Memorie of Galli (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), App. n. 28. *Cf.* also RAULICH, Storia di Carlo Emanuele I. di Savoia, Turin. 1898, 236. The opinion put forward by RANKE (Päpste, I.[6], 278) that "The French league, which was so dangerous to Henry III. and Henry IV., had its origin in the relations between this Pope and Guise" has become untenable after Ranke's own account in his Französ. Gesch., I.[2], 402; but in spite of this it is still to be found in all subsequent editions of his History of the Popes!

as the severe critic of his predecessor, is especially worthy of notice.[1]

Although the Holy See showed great caution with regard to the political aims of the French Catholics, it unreservedly supported, and with all the greater zeal, those purely religious endeavours which were aimed at reviving and strengthening the Catholic Church in the kingdom of Henry III.

It was entirely in accordance with the views of Gregory XIII. when immediately after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, an intimate friend of Pius V., Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, expressed the opinion that force alone would not serve to put an end to heresy in France. Above all what was required were good bishops, who would fulfil their duty of residence, and convert the still numerous Huguenots by their instructions and example. If the King of France would make up his mind to make good use of the rights given him by the Concordat, and the episcopal and abbatial sees were once again filled by men who were conscientious and loyal to the Church, then the state of affairs in France would very soon and very easily change for the better. I speak at present, Facchinetti adds, only of the bishoprics and abbacies, because it is useless to speak as yet of other reforms, and many of the Catholics themselves would be opposed to them.[2] A clear hint is here given that there was still much work to be done before the work of Catholic reform could be fully carried out.

As was the case with the other Catholic nations, so in that of France as well, Gregory XIII. saw in the new Orders of the Jesuits and Capuchins the instruments which were best suited to prepare the way for Catholic reform. It was of great advantage to him that not only the Guise, but Charles IX., Henry III., and Catherine de' Medici were quite in agreement with him in this respect. The first attempt of the Capuchins

[1] See DESJARDINS, V., 118.

[2] See in App. n. 5 the *report of Facchinetti of September 6, 1572. He again expresses himself to the same effect in his *report of September 13, 1572, Nunziat. di Venezia XII. 86, Papal Secret Archives.

to get a footing in Paris took place as early as 1568.[1] In 1573 the General Chapter sent some religious across the Alps into France, who showed themselves in public for the first time at the obsequies of Charles IX. Being themselves of Italian birth at first they lived with their own fellow-countrymen in France. In 1573 the Cardinal of Lorraine gave them a house at Meudon. They also found favour with Catherine de' Medici, who as early as 1568 had given a convent to the new religious at St. Honoré, a suburb of Paris; she now bought for them a site at Lyons, where they erected a convent in 1574.[2] In this year the Capuchins received a legal status, by Gregory XIII.'s abrogation of the enactment of Paul III., by which the Order was restricted to Italy.[3] He did this very gladly because he built great hopes upon the labours of the Capuchins, on behalf of the Church in France.[4] No less important was the fact that Catherine de' Medici obtained official permission from Henry III. for the Capuchins to work in France. Convents were established at Caen, Roanne, Orléans and Avignon.[5] The Bishop of Paris, Gondi, who at first had been opposed to the Capuchins, was soon convinced of the value of their labours, and the spread of the Order was marvellously rapid; in 1579 Catherine de' Medici laid the first stone of the Capuchin convent at Marseilles, for which she had herself given the site.[6]

The self-sacrifice displayed by the Capuchins in caring for the plague-stricken in 1576[7] and 1580,[8] won for them the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 150.

[2] See ALENÇON, Documents p. s. à l'hist. de l'établissements des Capucins en France, Paris, 1894, 14, 24, 36.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 124.

[4] *Cf.* in App. n. 31 the *report of Salviati, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* FORNERY, Hist. du comté Venaissin et d'Avignon, II., 106 *seq.*

[6] See *" Livre des Annales des Religieux Capucins de la province de Provençe " in Cod, 636. p. 650 *seq.* of the Library at Aix (Provence). *Cf* BOVERIUS, I., II., and ALENÇON, Documents, Paris, 1894.

[7] *Cf.* SACCHINI, IV., 147.

[8] See the *Livres des Annales, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the letter of the nuncio Dandino in ALENÇON, Documents, 61, n. 4.

affectionate gratitude of the populace. In 1581 Toulouse, the first city of Languedoc, and the second in the kingdom, asked for a convent of Capuchins, who were welcomed there in triumph in the following year.[1] Although the first Capuchins were for the most part Italians, they very quickly found a firm footing in France. Their strict poverty and the solemn manner in which they sang the office helped greatly to win for them the love of the people. Their simple churches were distinguished by their cleanliness and their decorations of fresh flowers, an innovation, as we are told by the chronicle of Toulouse.[2] Intent above all things on the welfare of religion, the Capuchins in France adhered to the league, but at the same time they found supporters even among the friends of Henry of Navarre.[3]

Besides their works of charity the Capuchins also distinguished themselves above all things as untiring preachers. The results that they obtained opened the way to them in not a few cities. The preaching of Father Angelo Bresson in 1585 was followed by the establishment of a convent at Béziers in the same year; the same thing happened in 1590 at Narbonne.[4] In 1582 the Capuchins were already established at Rouen,[5] and in 1585 at Verdun.[6] The conversions among the

[1] See GABRIEL DE ST. NAZAIRE, *Recueil chronolog. des choses qui concernent la fondation et le progrès des Capucins d'Aquitaine ou de Toulouse, in *Archives de la Haute Garonne*, F. H., Fr. Capuc. n. 7, made use of by DOUAIS in his apposite article in *La Controverse*, XIII. (1888), 59 *seq.* Catherine de' Medici also showed favour to the Capuchin nuns; see ALBÈRI, I., 4, 61.

[2] See *Toulouse chrétienne.* Histoire des Capucins par le P. APOLLINAIRE DE VALENCE, I., Toulouse, 1897, 7.

[3] See DOUAIS, *loc. cit.* 51.

[4] See *ibid.* 54.

[5] *Cf.* Documents (Paris, 1894), 82 *seq.*

[6] After 1582 the Capuchins also developed their work in the Franche-Comté, at that time Spanish, and founded 19 convents up to 1612; see MOREY, Les Capucins en Franche-Comté, Paris, 1882. From Paris the Capuchins went into the Low Countries; see APPOLLINAIRE DE VALENCE, Hist. des Capucins de Flandre, I., Paris, 1878, 513.

Huguenots which they succeeded in making were very numerous, and an extraordinary impression was created when, in 1587, the brother of Cardinal Joyeuse, one of the most important men in the kingdom, entered the Capuchin Order a few days after the death of his wife; the king was speechless when for the first time he saw his old friend bare-footed and in his rough habit.[1]

With the Capuchins, and emulating them in works of charity and pastoral labours, came the Jesuits, whose sphere of action was even wider, for they also devoted themselves in a special manner to the education of the young. In the teeth of violent opposition, which came in a special degree from the University of Paris, the sons of St. Ignatius had won for themselves civil rights in France, and during the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. had founded many colleges.[2] Very often, however, these were insufficiently endowed, and in many places the help given them by the civil authorities and private benefactors had failed them, so that the superiors of the colleges had to contend with poverty and need. But all this was not allowed to paralyse the activity of the religious, and the difficulties they met with urged them on to greater sacrifices. No matter how great their privations were, they continued to devote all their energies, as teachers of youth and as popular missionaries, to the preservation, spread and increase of the Catholic faith. Extraordinary results rewarded their efforts.[3]

So much the less did their old adversaries relax their efforts. On the occasion of the accusation of heresy which was brought by certain members of the Sorbonne against the celebrated exegetist, Maldonatus, which was quite unfounded, Claude Matthieu, the rector of the Jesuit college in Paris, wrote on August 19th, 1575, to Gregory XIII.: "Since our Society set foot in this kingdom, it has always met with two kinds of

[1] *Cf.* Brousse, Vie du P. Ange de Joyeuse, Paris, 1621; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, VI.², 1904 *seq.*; Brémond, II., 145 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 210; Vol. XVIII., p. 150.

[3] For details *cf.* the account of Fouqueray (Hist., I. and II.), which is in many places based upon unpublished documents.

powerful adversaries: the heretics, and those doctors of the Sorbonne who, from their age and reputation, had the greatest influence. Although these two kinds of enemies have occasioned us the same dangers and have placed the same obstacles in our way, our way of combatting them has always been quite different. In the case of the heretics we were not fighting against our own adversaries, but against the enemies of God and the Holy Catholic Church. We have therefore waged open war against them. But patience and silence have been the only weapons we thought it right to use against the doctors of the university, whose hostility was directed against ourselves, for we recognized them as our brethren. We believed that the opposition they offered us, and through us to God and the Church, sprang not so much from any corruption of heart as from an error of judgment. As far as the heretics were concerned, we have challenged them, and if they ran away from us we have pursued them, but when we have been challenged by the attacks of the university we have made no reply, fearing lest a just defence might place in their hands an unjust motive for thinking themselves attacked. Nevertheless the doctors have placed far greater obstacles in the way of our plans than the heretics have done, and that all the more easily in that we for our part had no wish to harm them."

Gregory XIII. took up the cause of Maldonatus, but the latter, in his dislike of any kind of quarrel, resigned his chair and retired to Bourges, where he set himself to writing his celebrated commentary on the four Gospels.[1] Another shining light of the Jesuit Order in France was Edmond Auger,[2] whom Henry III. chose in 1575 as his confessor. His burning zeal and eloquence, which won for him the name of the Chrysostom of France, brought back several thousand Calvinists

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Maldonat et l'université de Paris, Paris, 1856.

[2] *Cf.* besides the early works of Bailly (Paris, 1652), Dorigny (Lyons), 1716) and Péricaud (Paris, 1828), the works of FR. J. BRAND: P. E. Augerius, Frankreichs Canisius, Cleves, 1903, and Die Katechismen des Edm. Augerius S.J., Freiburg, 1917. See also PAULUS in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIX., 802.

to the Church. His labours had the same, if not as great importance, for France as that of his fellow-Jesuit Canisius in Germany. Even more than by his words, Auger contributed by his writings to the preservation and consolidation of Catholicism among his countrymen. Besides his ascetical works he composed polemical ones on the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and on the sacraments of the Church, as well as a catechism, of which 38,000 copies were issued in Paris alone during the course of eight years.

Besides Henry III., Cardinal Charles of Guise was especially a zealous supporter of the Jesuits, for whom he founded in 1572 an academy at Pont-à-Mousson.[1] Here a number of exceptional young men, such as Peter Fourier, Servais de Lairuels and Didier de la Cour, received in about 1580 the inspiration for their subsequent labours which were to be so useful to Catholic reform.[2] By the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Society of Jesus had reached so flourishing a state that to the two provinces of which it consisted, that of Aquitaine and the French province, a third was added, that of Lyons. Besides Lyons itself, the latter comprised the colleges at Dijon, Avignon, Tournon, Billom and Chambéry. The province of Aquitaine had the great colleges of Bordeaux and Toulouse, besides those of Rodez and Mauriac. The French province included, besides the professed house and college of Paris, those of Berry, Nevers, Eu, Pont-à-Mousson and Verdun.[3] "As the harvest is great" the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote to Sirleto on July 2nd, 1578, "we need above all good labourers."[4] These the Society of Jesus provided in great numbers; its colleges furnished capable instructors for the young, eloquent preachers, wise directors for the religious and benevolent associations, and skilled pàstors of souls. It was especially due to the labours of the Jesuits that in many places

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 237.

[2] See Brémond, II., 2.

[3] See Sacchini, V., 30.

[4] *Letter dated "ex novo castro in Lotharingia," July 2, 1578, Vat. 6180, p. 11, Vatican Library.

the numbers of the Huguenots visibly decreased, and the common folk became more and more Catholic. All this inevitably had a beneficial effect upon the ancient religious Orders too, of whom only the Carthusians had maintained their former strictness,[1] Gregory XIII. had already brought about a reform of the Cistercians in 1574.[2] He received special support in this from Abbot Jean de la Barrière, who in 1580 introduced into his monastery a reform according to the primitive rule, with certain additional austerities.[3] In 1580 the exempt Benedictines of France resolved, in accordance with the injunctions of the Council of Trent, to hold a Congregation every three years.[4]

Besides the Jesuits, several distinguished bishops, such as those of Rheims, Rouen, Bourges, Lyons, Tours, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Valence, Paris and Embrun, laboured to rouse the secular clergy to a new religious strictness.[5] But these were an exception, for as late as 1576 Gregory XIII. had to remind the French bishops in severe words of their duty of residence.[6] The reason for these scandals lay in the unscrupulous use made by Henry and his predecessors of the rights given them by the Concordat.[7] To the repeated warning addressed to him by the Pope, Henry gave the most satisfactory assurances, but in his weakness he adhered to the system hitherto adopted, which was so advantageous to the crown, of making use of the lucrative dignities of the Church to provide for his favourites. The Venetian ambassadors, Girolamo Lippomano and Lorenzo Priuli, give an appalling picture of this abuse. In spite of all the promises made to the Pope, the

[1] See BRÉMOND, II., 2.

[2] Bull. Rom., VIII., 73 *seq.*; see *supra*, p. 113.

[3] *Cf.* BAZY, Vie du ven. Jean de la Barrière, Toulouse, 1885.

[4] Substantially they adhered to this decision; BERLIÈRE in the *Revue Bénédict.* XIV. (1897), 398 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* THEINER, Bildungsanstalten, 152 *seq.* and Annales, I., 170 *seq.* II., 228 *seq.* RICHARD, P. d'Epinac, 80 *seq.*

[6] See THEINER, II., 227 *seq.*

[7] With regard to Charles IX., *cf.* in App. n. 5 what Facchinetti says in his *letter of September 6, 1572, Papal Secret Archives.

practice became worse and worse. Bishoprics and abbacies, according to the testimony of impartial observers, were given by the king to completely unsuitable persons, to laymen, and even to women and children, and sometimes even to Huguenots. These enjoyed the revenues, and left the ecclesiastical duties to the care of poor priests who for the most part were very ill provided for, so much so that often they trafficked in the sacraments.[1]

That, in spite of this, religious conditions did not become even worse, and France did not fall a victim to Calvinism, was due to the concurrence of several circumstances. In the first place ecclesiastical property was to a great extent in the hands of the nobles and the crown ; it was therefore very much to the interest of both that the Church should not be altogether ruined. Henry III. would never personally have consented to any such thing, and the greater number of the French people realized that now as before the glorious records of their past were intimately bound up with the Catholic faith.[2] Lastly, an important reason was to be found in the labours of the religious Orders,[3] whose members took to their hearts the neglected faithful, and in many places inspired the Catholic population with renewed zeal. It was especially among the lower classes that this religious revival at first took place. In this respect Lorenzo Priuli found many encouraging things to report in 1582, especially with regard to Paris. The churches there were filled from morning to night on festival days, and Priuli estimated that the Huguenots had lost 70 per cent. of their numbers.[4] A religious revival among the upper classes was hindered by their great corruption, which found

[1] See besides G. Lippomano (1579) in ALBÈRI, App. 45, 53, especially the report of L. Priuli (1582), *ibid.*, 4, 413 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *notes of Ragazzoni in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Priuli, *loc. cit.* 420.

[3] The Minorite, Christoforo de Capite Fontium, worked especially on behalf of the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, and, assisted by Gregory XIII., introduced the confraternities of the B. Sacrament into France ; see Bull. Rom., 177 *seq.*

[4] See Priuli, *loc. cit.* 413.

expression even in the literature. It was above all fatal that the court of the last of the Valois gave the worst possible moral example. The ambassador turned with a shudder from the mixture of dissoluteness and exercises of piety, between which the unhappy Henry III. spent his time.

The abuse of the right of nomination on the part of the king led in 1579, at a meeting of the French clergy at Melun, to a demand for the restoration of freedom of election to bishoprics and abbacies. At the same meeting another important question was raised, which was of decisive importance for a radical improvement of religious conditions in France; this was the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, which was now demanded by the clergy themselves.[1]

Gregory XIII. had already in 1572, by means of the Cardinal legate Orsini, and in 1574 by means of the nuncio Salviati, made every advance that lay in his power, in order to obtain a definite result in this matter, which was so near to his heart;[2] but the resistance he met with proved insuperable. The king and his ministers, as well as the Parliament and the Sorbonne, again on this occasion raised every kind of objection. Above all, the old objection was made that the decrees of Trent militated against the rights of the crown and the liberties of the Gallican church;[3] it was also suggested that their intro-

[1] See for what follows the important report of Dandino of July 19, 1579, in THEINER, III., 665 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 52 *seq.*; MIGNOT, II., 1 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, and above all MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 143 *seq.* *Cf.* also Catal. codic. manuscr. Bibl. Monac. VII., 189. MAFFEI (Hist., 7) speaks of the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees as "unicum malis remedium."

[2] *Cf. supra.* p. 515; MIGNOT, I., 353 *seq.*; MARTIN, 110 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, for the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent at Carpentras, see *Arch. stor. Italiano.* 5th. Ser., XXXVI., 413.

[3] MARTIN (p. 149) very rightly remarks: "Tout le secret de l'opposition parlamentaire au concile de Trente est là: dans l'idée fausse, caressée par les Politiques, de l'independance possible, en matières religieuses, d'une Eglise nationale; dans le sentiment exagéré de leur juridiction laique, qu'ils entendaient substituer a l'autorité du pouvoir spirituel. Cette disposition d'esprit se

duction would disturb the peace with the Huguenots; they even did not hesitate to question whether the introduction of the reform decrees was necessary, and to appeal to the susceptibilities of the French, who themselves possessed men who were the equals of Borromeo and Paleotto. It was to no purpose that three bishops had recourse to the king in Paris. Their spokesman, the Bishop of Bazas, Arnauld de Pontac, spoke with great frankness of the consequences which flowed from the abuse of the royal right of nomination. He pointed out that, in addition to innumerable abbacies, priories and parishes, no less than twenty-eight bishoprics were without a lawful pastor, which had led to such great scandals that there was reason to fear lest the anger of God should result in the ruin of France. In eloquent words he pointed out that the one means of salvation lay in the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees and the restoration of freedom of election.[1]

The reply of Henry was almost sarcastic. He said that he too had always aimed at a reform of the clergy, and that if this had not been accomplished the fault was not his, but that of the clergy who refused to be reformed, who refused to devote to the poor the third part of their revenues, as was once the custom, and, not satisfied with one benefice only, were always aiming at getting something more. As far as the freedom of election was concerned, Henry referred them to the hereditary rights of his predecessors, which he too had hitherto exercised with the consent of the Pope, and which he intended to maintain like the Kings of Spain and Poland. With regard to the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, Henry again referred to the other Christian princes, who were still hesitating on that matter, as well as to the dangers to his own authority and the liberty of the Gallican church, and finally to the fact that there were already plenty of decrees of councils, which were suitable to serve as a basis for reform. As in all subsequent

manifeste dans toutes les Conferences qu'eurent les delegués de L'Assemblée de Melum avec les gens du roi."

[1] The statements of Pontac were completely confirmed by the reports of the nuncios; see MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 152.

negotiations he adhered firmly to this point of view,[1] some of the bishops who were of strict ecclesiastical views resolved to bring about in France the indirect introduction of the spirit of the reform decrees of Trent. The critical moment arrived when at Melun the French Clergy openly declared themselves in favour of the principles of Catholic reform.[2] The state of affairs, however, soon took a turn for the worse, as the attitude of Henry III. on this matter was opposed to Canon Law, and brought him into conflict with Gregory XIII.[3] When the Pope in 1580, in issuing the bull *In coena Domini*, sought to act in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform, he had all the less reason to doubt of his success as in the case of several states which were very jealous of their rights, such as Venice, the publication of the bull had been accomplished without any difficulties.[4] The nuncio in Paris, Anselmo Dandino, supported by a Jesuit, attempted to carry out the Pope's commands, but forthwith met with the opposition of the king, who, irritated by the reluctant attitude of Gregory XIII. towards his constant demands for money, was now making common cause with the Gallicans. Henry III. had the printer of the bull arrested, and caused the Parliament to issue a severe decree. This body, which was assembled on October 4th, 1580, declared the promulgation of the bull, since it had not received the royal *placet*, to be an act of high treason and ordered the confiscation of their property in the case of those bishops and ecclesiastics who acted in accordance with the terms of the bull. For a time it seemed as though there must be a rupture between Rome and Paris, but after deeper reflection both parties abstained from such a step. The Pope allowed the French ambassador once more to present himself at court, and the imprisoned printer in Paris was released. All Dandino's efforts, however, to obtain a repeal of the decree of

[1] *Cf.* the final report of Épinac, dated Cal. Mart. 1580, in THEINER, III., 195.

[2] See MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 165.

[3] *Ibid.* 171 *seq.*

[4] *"La cosa sin qui è passata quietissimamente." Bolognetti report from Venice, June 18, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI., 321, Papal Secret Archives.

Parliament, were in vain.[1] The result was a change in the nunciature.

The Bishop of Rimini, Giovanni Battista Castelli, was appointed as Dandino's successor on April 1st, 1581. This distinguished man, though he was hampered by his advanced age, and very often by ill-health, devoted himself to his task with both zeal and prudence. At the beginning of 1582, Castelli obtained the repeal of the decree of Parliament, and permission for the publication in France of the bull *In coena Domini*.[2] After this success it was hoped in Rome that Castelli would also be able to bring to a successful issue the second and more important part of his mission, by opening the way to the publication of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent by means of the removal of the ordinances of Blois which were opposed to the Canon Law. But this proved to be impossible in face of the Gallican tendencies which were so closely bound up with the national prejudices and interests. The King of Navarre found allies even among the Catholics in his protest against the decrees of the Council. Irreconcilable Gallicans, proud ecclesiastics, and servile courtiers took up their stand like one man against the Pope's representative. The death which, on August 27th, 1583, set Castelli free from his bodily and spiritual pains, was a real release for that ailing man, who had for a long time past been asking for his recall. He was buried in the choir of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.[3]

After the failure of Castelli's negotiations the only hope for an improvement of religious conditions in France lay in the assembling of provincial councils. Such assemblies, by means of which the reform decrees of Trent could to some extent be made effective, were held between the years 1581 and 1585

[1] See the valuable monograph of RICHARD: Gallicains et Ultramontains. Une épisode de la politique pontificale en France après le concile de Trente 1580 à 1583, in the *Annales de St. Louis, II.* (1898), 409 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*, 417 *seq.*

[2] See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *ibid.* 431, 437 *seq.*, 461 *seq.*, 469 *seq.*, 479 *seq.*, 481 *seq.* *Cf.* also the excellent work by MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 171 *seq.*, 209.

at Rouen, Bordeaux, Rheims, Tours, Poitiers, Embrun, Angers, Bourges and Aix.[1] That the principal cause of the opposition to the decrees of Trent lay in widespread Gallican tendencies, is clear from the report of the Venetian, Lorenzo Priuli, in 1582.[2] In common with other correspondents he shows how little the ruling powers in France cared about the Papal authority,[3] and that even among the Catholics there were not wanting men who would have liked to remove the French Church entirely from the influence of the Holy See, limited though that already was. Priuli relates that in the course of his embassy, which included the years from 1579 to 1582, it was twice suggested to the king that he should cause the French clergy to elect a patriarch for the kingdom, who should have the power of granting bulls concerning benefices. But Henry III. was not prepared to go as far as that, and nothing but his personal resistance, so Priuli thought, prevented a complete separation between France and Rome, a

[1] *Cf.* LABBÉ-COSSART, Concil. collectio, XV., 820 *seq.*, 884 *seq.*, 944 *seq.*, 1002 *seq.*, 1067 *seq.*, 1119 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, III., 357 *seq.*, 455 *seq.*; MIGNOT, II., 85 *seq.*; Gallia christ., II. and III.; PICOT, Essai historique sur l'influence de la religion en France, I., Louvain, 1824, 26 *seq.*; CLAUDE DE SAINTES, Le concile prov. tenu a Rouen, Paris, 1853; SAULNIER, 98 *seq.* The *Acta concilii Burdegal. 1582, in Cod. Borgia lat. 349, Vatican Library. The provincial councils busied themselves in detail with the establishment of seminaries recommended by the Council of Trent, just as in 1567 Cardinal Guise had planned such a one at Rheims (see DEGERT, Hist. des Séminaires Francais, I., Paris, 1892, 42 *seqq.*). The foundations begun by the latter at Rouen, Bordeaux, Aix and Toulouse had failed. See DEGERT, *loc. cit.* 52; LETOURNEAU, La mission de Jean-Jacques Olier, Paris, 1906, 21 *seqq.* *Cf.* BERTRAND, Hist. des Séminaires de Bordeaux, I., Bordeaux, 1894; BONENFANT, Les Séminaires Normands au 16e et 17e siècle, Paris, 1905.

[2] See ALBÈRI, I., 4, 441.

[3] *Cf.* the opinion of Serafino Cavalli in his report of 1574, in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 337. The pessimistic view of the state of affairs in France held by Gregory XIII., is brought out by P. TIEPOLO (p. 229).

thing which found many supporters in the Parliament of Paris at that time.[1]

Thus, at the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., the religious future of France was no less dark than the political outlook. The hope of better times, as Charles Borromeo rightly pointed out to a French diplomatist, rested now as before on the work of Catholic reform obtaining a stronger hold.[2] Gregory XIII. worked with all his might to that end, in spite of the unfavourable conditions; his merit consisted in having prepared the way for the great revival of the Church in France which took place later on.[3]

[1] See Priuli in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 441-2. Grave dangers were also threatened by the constant efforts of Henry III. to obtain from the Pope permission to sell Church property. A cypher *report from Rome on October 8, 1580, states as to this: "Il clero di Francia sta disperato perchè conosce che il Re attende a destruger l'entrate sue senza far acquisto alcuno per la sua corona, onde il card. Ramboglieto ha detto al papa liberamente che se S.Stà non trova modo di consolar quel clero se non diventerà ugonotto si dichiarerà scismatico." *Mss.* Edmond Favre, LXII., 111., University Library, Geneva.

[2] See FRÉMY, 329 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RICHARD, *loc. cit.* 485.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic.*" Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . . .).

1. Pius IV. nominates Ugo Boncompagni Cardinal.[1]

1565, March 12, Rome.

Pius etc. Dilecto filio Ugoni S. Romanae Ecclesiae presbytero cardinali Boncompagno nuncupato salutem etc.

Romana Ecclesia omnium ecclesiarum mater . . . Tu siquidem cum Bononiae patriae tuae iura publice doceres, multis iam annis laudabiliter in ea exercitatione consumptis, in collegium duodecim abbreviatorum litterarum apostolicarum maioris praesidentiae aggregatus, nec multo post a felicis

[1] See *supra*, p. 13, 20.

recordationis Paulo papa tertio praedecessore nostro in numerum referendariorum utriusque Signaturae suae cooptatus, inde ad multa publica officia arduaque negotia domi forisque, prout res tulit, delegatus, ex omnibus rebus tractandis iudicandisque ingenitam semper severitatem pari aequitate coniunctam retinens, insigne virtutis decus maximamque tibi apud omnes gloriam comparasti. Subsignandis libellis supplicibus gratiae a piae memoriae Paulo papa quarto etiam praedecessore nostro praepositus, hoc munere hucusque diligenter perfunctus fuisti, hisque tanti ponderis negotiis sine intermissione impeditus, Vestanam ecclesiam, cui dictus Paulus IV. praedecessor te pastorem praefecerat, solo Vestani episcopi nomine contentus, in manibus nostris libere dimisisti. Bis denique ad Concilium Tridentinum profectus, cum in dicendis illic sententiis, tum in tuendis Romanae Ecclesiae et nostra hucusque Sanctae Sedis auctoritate, dignitate et libertate, qua praestares doctrina, fide et constantia palam omnibus ostendisti . . .

Anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo, quingentesimo, sexagesimo quarto, quarto idus martii, Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

[Reg. 2002, p. 209–209b, Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Pope Gregory XIII. to King Philip of Spain.[1]

1572, August 23, Rome.

He praises the king's resolve to have the Bible corrected at his own expense, and to publish it in four languages ; this is a royal work which is of great value to Christendom, since in it are contained the whole of Dogmatic Theology and Moral, the two parts of our salvation " ut nihil possit esse horum librorum lectione dignius, nihil fructuosius, nihil omni hominum generi accommodatius, nihil maiori doctrina et sapientia refertius." Philip has deserved well of all Christendom, in that he has not allowed himself to be frightened by the difficulties, nor by so wide an interval of space. May every reader be brought by means of this work to Our Lord !

(Brevia Gregorii XIII., 1572, n. 197, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 279.

3. Cardinal Galli to the French Nuncio A. M. Salviati.[1]

1572, August 27, Rome.

Non ha havuto N. S. dopoi che è asonto al pontificato maggior pensiero nel animo ne che più li prema che di accrescere le forze de la s. lega operando che li principi christiani vi entrino perchè conosce molto bene che contra cosi potente nimico come è il Turco bisogna molta forza ad assaltarlo et opprimerlo, ne quelle de principi collegati al presente bastano a far questo cosi compitamente come conviene, et vedendo S. B^ne^ che già siamo per entrare nel autunno, nel qual tempo si suole trattar qui del imprese del anno futuro, non ha voluto tardare a cercar di tirar in lega la M^tà^ del Rè Christ^mo^, nel quale S. S^tà^ ha posta gran parte de la sua speranza per la prosperità di cosi santa impresa, la quale è per liberare da misera captività et servitù de Turchi infinito numero di populo christiano et per scaricare molti mali humori che sono et possono accrescersi ne principi et popoli christiani, et considerando S. B. chè per simile negocio tiene legato al Imperatore il card. Commendone, il quale sebene li giorni passati andò in Polonia et vi doveva stare fin che fusse eletto il nuovo rè, pure si tiene per fermo che per tutto Settembre haveva veduto il fine de questi negotii di Polonia et sarà in corte di S. M^tà^ Ces., ha voluto S. S^tà^ havere anco appresso la M^tà^ Christ. un suo legato per questo medesimo effetto de la lega, la quale oltre l'esser di tanta importanza per il servitio di Dio et de la fede christiana, verrà ancora a stabilire una ferma et sincera pace et unione tra S. M^tà^ Christ. et il Rè catolico et darà commodità di liberar cotesto regno di molti inquieti et mali humori et sarà causa ancora che l' Imperatore più prontamente si resolverà ad entrarvi.

Pero S. B. l'altr' hieri in concistoro creò legato suo in Francia l' ill. card. Orsino . . .

[Concept. Nunziat. di Francia, 283 p. 64. Papal Secret Archives.]

4. Consistory of 5 September, 1572.[2]

Romae apud S^tum^ Marcum die Veneris 5 septembris 1572 fuit Consistorium in quo S^mus^ Dominus noster gratulatus est

[1] See *supra*, p. 498.
[2] See *supra*, p. 503.

rev^{mis} dominis de occisione Gasparis Colingii admirantis Galliae et aliorum Hugonottorum et mandavit per rev^{mum} Comensem legi literas nuntii Sanctitatis Suae, in quibus continebatur qualiter ipse Gaspar cum suis sequacibus fuerat occisus, et proposuit Sanctitas Sua agendas esse gratias Deo et missam celebrandam in ecclesia B^{tae} Mariae de Aracoeli et quod indicatur lubilaeum et quod post Consistorium cantetur canticum Te Deum laudamus etc. in ecclesia S^{ti} Marci.

[Arch. Conc. Acta consist. Miscell. 24 p. 83. Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Giov. Ant. Facchinetti to Cardinal Galli.[1]

1572, September 6, Venice

. . . Hora habbiamo a sperare certo che le cose di Fiandra debbano passar bene, perchè oltra gli altri rispetti si può mostrare al Rè Christianissimo che S. M^{tà} per interesse proprio è costretta di desiderare et procurare di reprimere i progressi de gli Ugonotti di Fiandra et del prencipe d'Oranges loro capo, sendo veri-simile che buona parte de gli heretici di Francia habbia in questa proscrizione a fuggire all' essercito di Oranges in Fiandra, ove s' egli restasse superiore, la M^{ta} Christ^{mà} havria di certo d' aspettare la guerra nel regno suo . . .

Il mandar l' ill^{mo} sig^{re} card. Orsino legato in Francia è stato grandemente lodato da questi signori. Piaccia a Dio che la M^{tà} Christ^{ma} sappia conoscer bene questa occasione. L'armi et la forza le sono state necessarie, ma non le basteranno, se non si risolve di nominare a i vescovadi persone che possino con la residenza, con la dottrina, con l'essempio della vita et buona distributione dell'entrate, ridurre gli Ugonotti, che restano et i quali sono moltissimi, al gremio di santa chiesa. Sua Maestà Christ^{ma} ha sempre mostrato in questo buona inclinatione, ma nelle vacanze, importunata poi da favoriti, non tiene memoria di quei soggetti che sariano opportuni per servigio di Dio et del suo regno. Onde saria necessario che di tre o quattro, che furono proposti da i capitoli de le chiese, Sua M^{tà} si contentasse di nominarne uno, si come si fa in qualche altro regno, o pur eleggere un collegio di X o XII huomini timorati di Dio et nominar solamente quei che fossero approbati da loro, o trovare qualche altro modo co' l quale S. M^{tà} si potesse sempre iscusare dalla importunità degli ambitiosi et favoriti e

[1] See *supra*, p. 512, 546, 552.

sodisfare al servigio di Dio et alla necessità del suo regno. Quando anco S. M^{tà} si risolverà di nominare alle badie persone religiose et procurar che ritornino a darsi in titolo, farà cosa utilissima per se, perchè nella Francia s'usa quasi per tutto la primagenitura et i Francesi sono di natura inquieti ; onde, se non è tenuto modo da trattenere i secondogeniti, che sono pur gentil'huomini et allevati da grandi, è necessario che sempre siano amici et cupidi di novità. E chi osserverà bene l' historie di Francia, troverà che il più efficace modo era di trattenerli nella religione con queste badie, percio che, oltra il titolo principale, v'erano nei monasterii molti uffici et benefici regolari dependenti da collatione de gli abbati, con che si dava da vivere a infinita quantità di gentil' huomini, onde moltissimi s' indrizzavano alla vita monastica, nella quale instituiti alla quiete erano alieni dalle seditioni et tumulti.

Io so che alcuni ministri del Rè soleano, per loro passioni particolari, dire che S. M^{tà} si farebbe gran danno, se ristringesse l'uso delle sue nominationi, perchè non potria così liberamente ricompensare, co'l dar vescovadi et monasterii, molti servigi fattole, mà non s'aveggiono che, per opinione di tutti etiandio de gentili, che scrivono del governo di stato, republica o regno non può mantenersi lungamente dove i sacerdoti mancano dell'offitio loro, e dovriano pur conoscere che, mentre le chiese non hanno servito a questa ricompensa, il regno nel sangue che è per 600 anni è ito prosperando ; et che per contrario, da poi che il rè Francesco primo cominciò a disporre de' vescovadi et delle badie et delle decime de i beneficii come di cose profane, nel regno cominciarono gli humori dell' heresia et sono iti crescendo tanto che hanno quasi causato la rovina della Francia. Il commodo che contra l'instituto de suoi maggiori s'è preso delle decime et del nominare a i vescovadi et monasterii per compiacenza propria, non è stato tanto che non sia stato poi molto maggiore il pericolo et la spesa, che di necessità si è fatta nel reprimere con l'armi quei scelerati heretici, gli autori de quali non hanno mezo alcuno più potente che il fomentarsi con mostrare la mala elettione et il male essempio di questo et quel prelato. Onde se il Rè vorrà che si rimedii a questo abuso, le cose di Francia si ridurranno con facilità et in breve tempo a buon termine. Parlo di questo capo solo, si perchè l'entrare in altre riforme, l'infermità degli huomini è si grande che s'offenderiano in quel regno gli animi

di molti catolici, il che adesso non torna forse a proposito ; si perchè, sempre che fusse provisto di buoni vescovi, et che i monasterii si ritornassero a dare in titolo a i religiosi, la riforma senza strepito alcuno verrebbe a introdursi et ad haver luogo da se stessa . . .

[Orig. Nuziat. di Venezia, XII., 80-83. Papal Secret Archives.]

6. Galeazzo Cusano to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

1572, September 6, Rome.

" Hieri consistorio : " the cross to Cardinal Orsini, " et lo licentiò per l' inaspettata nuova " to France . . . " ma volse il Papa finito il concistorio andare in processione pontificalmente accompagnato dalli cardinali fin alla chiesa di San Marco cantando il Tedeum ringratiando N. Sr Dio c' havesse a un tempo liberato il Rè Chr^mo con li suoi cattolici, ma tutto l'regno di Francia et anco la Sede Apostolica dal gran pericolo li soprastava, se l'armiraglio con li suoi complici mandavano ad effetto il trattato havevano, ch'era d' amazzare il Rè con tutta la casa sua regia et farsi rè, per poter tanto meglio aiutar li ribelli di Fiandra et venire in Italia alla distruttione del stato ecclesiastico et di Roma."

The death of the admiral would be very disagreeable to the Florentine, " perchè si tiene per certo fusse consapevole d' ogni trattamento facevano contra di S.M.Chr^ma.—Tutta Roma stà in allegria di tal fatto. . . ."

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*.]

7. Cardinal Zaccaria Delfino to the Emperor Maximilian II.[2]

1572, December 13, Rome.

" Admirantur hic omnes homines rectos et insignes hos actus S. S^tis maxime quod nepotem habet ill. card. S. Sixti cui ad hanc usque diem neque quadrantem in proventus dedit," neither a pension from the archbishop of Narbonne, nor the office of Grand Penitentiary (quae a multis annis semper fuit collata nepotibus summorum pontificum)[3], nor the post of arch-priest of S. Maria Maggiore.

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 504, 511.
[2] See *supra*, p. 31.
[3] Cardinal S. Sisto [F. Boncompagni] only received the Penitentiaria at the third vacancy ; it was first held by Cardinal Aldobrandini, and then by Hosius. See the *notes of Musotti in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

8. Expenditure of Cardinal Ricci on the Villa Medici in Rome until its completion, 1572.[1]

Vigne e terreno acquistato	scudi	3792.30
Spianatura del medesimo	,,	1459.94
Calce	,,	4748.40
Pozzolana	,,	1301.61
Pietra	,,	981.28½
Mattoni	,,	1261.10
Acqua	,,	514.68
Robe prese a minuto	,,	679.50
Opere spicciolate	,,	1924.24½
Lavori di scarpello	,,	3368.65
Manifattura di muraglie	,,	5569.86½
Ferramenti	,,	1102.44½
Legnami e fattura	,,	1357.96½
Arbori e piante	,,	168.67½
Bestie e loro arnesi	,,	1324.00
Bassi relievi e colonne	,,	646.50
Condottura di acqua e condotti	,,	665.32½
Mobili	,,	950.00
Total	scudi	31816.48½

[Copy Ricci Archives, Rome, IX.]

9. Report on Pope Gregory XIII., his court, and the College of Cardinals.[2]

Codex 39 B.13 (formerly Nr. 714) of the Corsini Library, Rome, contains, running from p. 402 to p. 446, a "Relatione della corte di Roma fatta in tempo di Gregorio XIII." This work, which is dated Rome, February 20, 1574, is from the pen of an unknown diplomatist who wished to warn his successor. Ranke (Päpste III., note n. 44) praises this "very instructive report" as bearing "every mark of truthfulness" but only quotes one point from it. Its abundant matter justifies its publication in the fullest possible form.

I. The author begins with the general expression "La più difficile et più fallace cosa che sia al mondo è il voler far vero giuditio degli animi degli huomini et voler far professione di

[1] See *supra*, p. 219.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 30, 31, 32, 36, 40, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 66 172, 216, 222 297, 340, 350.

conoscerli nell intrinseco" ; it is even more difficult to pass a judgment upon princes, since they have "altretanto rispetti quanto interessi nelle loro operationi." He therefore wishes to comply with the command of his master and sketch a "ritratto vero delle cose: dirò come si giudica nella corte et come la intendo."

Dico adunque che N. S^re^ nacque in Bologna d' antica famiglia, studio in leggi civili et canoniche, si adottorò, lesse publicamente nella città, poi venne in questa corte, nella quale è vivuto molt' anni, salendo per tutti li gradi dagli infimi al maggiore, et è vivuto sempre con buon nome di huomo da bene et giusto, seguendo propriamente il cognome di Buon Compagno; non è stato scropuloso ne dissoluto mai et li sono dispiacciute le cose mal fatte et le ha abhorrite biasmandole publicamente et ancora non ha laudato negli altri tempi gli estremi rigori. Fu fatto cardinale da Pio IV passato et favorito dal cardinale Altemps in concorrenza d' altro che favoriva Borromeo, et havendo havuto la signatura de brevi nel pontificato di Pio V parlava molto liberamente in favore della corte et alle volte con puoco piacere del Papa, il quale essendo morto dal medesimo Altemps quale prima unitosi con Medici et poi con Alessandrino il fecero Papa in 1½ hore, cosa insolita a farsi et che non si aspettava cosi presto. Di poi assonto che è stato al pontificato in età di 71 anni ha parso ch' habbi voluto mutar natura et il rigore che era solito biasimar in altri, massime nel particolare del vivere con qualche licenza con donne n' è stato più rigoroso dell' antecessore et fattone maggior esecutioni et parimente nella materia del giuoco si è mostrato rigorosissimo, perchè havendo certi ill^mi^ principiato a trattenersi nel principio del pontificato con giuocar qualche scudo, li riprese acremente, ancora che alcuni dubitorono che sotto il pretesto del giuoco si facesse nuove pratiche di pontificato per un poco di male ch' hebbe S. S^tà^ in quel principio, et da questo cominciò a calare quella riputatione o opinione che si voleva far credere dall' ill^mo^ de Medici d' haver lui fatto il Papa et doverlo governare, la qual cosa fece chiaro il mondo, quanto S. S^tà^ abhorrisse che alcuno si vogli arrogar di governarlo o ch' habbi bisogno d' esser governato, perchè non vuol essere in questa opinione di lasciarsi governare a persona. Perchè in effetto nelle cose della giustitia n' è capacissimo et la intende et non bisogna

pensar di darli parole. Ne maneggi di stati S. S^{tà} ne potria saper più, perchè non vi ha fatto molto studio et sta sopra di se allevolte irresoluto, ma considerato che v' habbi sopra n' è benissimo capace et nell' udire le opinioni discerne benissimo il meglio. È patientissimo et laboriosissimo et non sta mai in otio et piglia ancora poca ricreatione, dà continuamente audienza et vede scritture ; dorme poco, si leva per tempo et fa volentieri esercitio et li piace l' aria, quale non teme per cattiva che sia, mangia sobriamente et beve pochissimo et è sano senza sorta alcuna di schinelle. È grato in dimostrationi esteriori a chi gli ha fatto piacere non è prodigo, ne quasi si può dire liberale secondo l' opinione del volgo, il quale non considera o discerne la differenza che sia da un prencipe che si astenghi dall' estorsioni et rapacità a quello che conserva quello che ha con tenacità. Questo non brama la roba d' altri ne gli insidia per haverla, non è crudele ne sanguinolente, ma temendo di continuo delle guerre si del Turco come degli heretici li piace di haver somma di denari nell' erario et conservarla senza dispensarli fuor di proposito et n' ha intorno ad un milione e mezzo d' oro. È però magnifico et li piaciono le grandezze et sopra tutto è desideroso di gloria, il qual desiderio il fa forse trascorrere in quello che non piace alla corte, perchè questi r^{di} padri Chiettini che l' hanno conosciuto se li sono fatti a cavaliero sopra con dimostrarli che li credito et autorità, che haveva Pio V, non era se non per la riputatione della bontà et con questo il tengono quasi che in filo et il necessitano a far cose contro la sua natura et la sua volontà, perchè S. S^{tà} è sempre stato di natura piacevole et dolce et le ristringono a una vita non consueta et è opinione che per far questo si siano valsi di far venire lettere da loro padri medesimi di Spagna et d' altri luoghi, dove sempre fanno mentione quanto sia comendata la vita santa del Papa passato, quale ha acquistato tanta gloria con la reputatione della bontà et delle reforme, et con questo modo perseverano loro in dominar et havere autorità con S. B^{ne}, et dicesi che sono aiutati ancora dal vescovo di Padova[1] nuntio in Spagna, creatura di Pio V et di loro. Brama tanto la gloria, che si ritiene et sforza la natura di fare di quelle dimostrationi ancor verso la persona del figliuolo, quali sariano riputate ragionevoli et honeste da ogn' uno per li scrupoli che li propongono

[1] Niccolò Ormaneto.

costoro, et in tanta felicità che ha havuto S. S^{tà} di essere asceso a questa dignità di basso stato, è contrapesato da questo oggetto et dall' havere parenti quali non li sodisfanno, et che a S. S^{tà} non pare che siano atti o capaci de' negotii importanti et da commetterli le facende di stato, perchè il fratello, quale da solo, lo lascia a Bologna ne si è curato che venghi in corte sin' hora, ne manco gli altri dui figli di detto fratello, che il primo ha pero mandato al governo d'Ancona; solo ha ritenuto quà il terzo figlio ch' è secondo genito, qual fece cardinale ne' primi dì havendolo tenuto prima qui con lui, qual è buon gentilhuomo, ma come giovane che ha atteso alli studii delle leggi, non ha molta conoscenza delle cose del mondo, et sebene N. S^{re} l' ha proposto alla soprintendenza delle cose del stato ecclesiastico, vi ha pero posto appresso diversi signori et fatto una consulta, dove si leggono li memoriali, le lettere et si risolvono le facende, et del restante S. S. Illma non si travaglia, anzi N. S. vuol ogni dì intender da lui tutto quello si tratta nella consulta, et li dà di sua bocca le determinationi. Non li dà S. S^{tà} molta autorità, sebene non li dispiace che gli adimandi delle gratie et si procuri degli amici et servitori, sebene è S. B^{ne} stretta a concederle. Il sig^{r} Giacomo che è il figliuolo et amato da lui, qual fece castellano ne primi dì et poi li diede la carica dell' armi, ha cervello et capacità et forse ha mira et desiderio di cose grandi et patisce infinitamente stando in otio. Questo solo gli è grato et quelli piaceri e gratie che vuole le ottiene quando vi si mette, perchè parla vivamente col Papa che l' ascolta et si replica, cosa che fanno pochi.

Il Papa si promette cosi lunga vita che crede haver tempo di provedere al figliuolo et agli altri et spera che habbino da venir dell' occasioni che senza porre in compromesso la riputatione li potrà accomodar tutti.

Di natura si crede che S. S^{tà} sia d' animo francese, et che se la M^{tà} del Rè Christ^{mo} havesse pensieri et aspirasse alle cose d' Italia, che saria sempre congionto con lui si per la inclinatione propria come per gli accidenti che tutto dì occorrono et per il puoco conto, che tiene il Catolico et quel suo consiglio di S. S^{tà} et di questa corte, conoscendo loro di non havere chi li facci contrapeso, non aspirando li sig^{ri} Francesi ne altri catolici alle cose d' Italia di presente, strapazzano ogn' uno et per questo sempre vi sono occasioni di dispareri

per la giurisdittione ecclesiastica si nel regno di Napoli feudo della chiesa come nel stato di Milano, ne pare che nelli particolari succeduti nel tempo della lega et nella causa dell' arcivescovo di Toledo si possa chiamar sodisfatto S. B^ne^ di quel Rè et li Venetiani hanno dimostrato che le pace che furono necessitati di fare, causò tutta dal Rè et dal conseglio per la longhezza et lentezza de suoi apparati.

Desidera infinitamente S. S^tà^ la gloria et conseguentemente vorria una nuova lega contra il Turco overo un grande apparecchio contra heretici, premendo a S. S^tà^ di ridurre gli heretici alla fede cattolica, et per una di queste occasioni faria tutto il possibile parendogli che una sola di queste operationi il potesse far passar di credito il suo antecessore et vincerlo di gloria et vi attende con fatica et spesa, et di già ha introdotto un collegio di Germani, quali si nutriscono qui ad imparar lettere et il rito catolico, con molta spesa et diligenza.

Assonto che fu al pontificato chiamò al suo servito il card. di Como, quale fu secretario di Pio IV et creato cardinale da lui, il quale si va conservando nell' uffitio et nell' autorità, con tutto che li signori nipoti et il figliuolo havessero desiderato haver quel luogo, che si suol dare a nepoti et a più prossimi. Ma il Papa ha questa natura oltra la gratitudine, che teme esser tenuto inconstante, et li pare d' haver obligo al card. di Como, il quale ha forse fatto degli uffitii per lui nel tempo dell' elettione o prima, et perciò mai rimove quelli a chi propone a un servitio se non per un demerito, et ha molto rispetto ad ogni qualità di persone, benchè chiaritosi della malignità, tristitia et mancamento d' un suo ministro o servitore lo lascia ne più può pensare colui di riconciliarselo, perchè vi è risoluto dentro, et si è veduto nel Scadinari, quale era prima suo servitore et per certa occasione lo licentiò ; in Massimo Cratta, quale haveva domandato al servitio della Camera creato che fu Papa et lui abusò della gratia di S. S^tà^ et fu forzato cacciarlo ; in Giov. Druetto, che deputò vicedatario che per haver pigliato certi presenti, lo levò dall' officio et dalla gratia sua ; nelli Musotti, quali erano in cosi ferma opinione che aspiravano al cardinalato, che havendo scoperto la loro malignità et interesse, furono esclusi di modo che non hanno più a dito a parlargli. Detto card. di Como usa un' arte grande in conservarsi et sa secondare alle voglie del Papa, quale havendolo trovato poco instrutto delle cose di stato, si è andato

avanzando per quello che negotiò lui al tempo di Pio IV, con tutto che si creda che li ministri de principi negotiano mal volentieri con lui et desiderassero piutosto trattare con uno de' nepoti, non ardiscono venir a quest' atto di declarasi o dirlo al Papa, dubitando se non ottenessero l' intento loro di nemicarsi quel ministro, quale è havuto per astuto et cupo, che potria nuocere a loro negotii.

Ha S. Stà un altro nepote, figlio di sorella, qual è il s. Filippo Guastavillani, quale ha cervello et intelettè et è amato dal Papa et si trattiene col s. Giacomo, et si crede che lo farà cardinale con la prima occasione et saria atto ad esser proposto a tutte le facende et negotii importanti. Ma come è detto il Papa è tale che senza causa non rimove uno da quell' uffitio a che l' ha domandato.

Desider[a] S. Stà la pace et quiete d' Italia et per molta occasione che potesse havere non s' intricava in guerre et non ha voluto ingerirsi per questo nelli tumulti d'Urbino, ne manco appropriarsi le passioni d' altri, perchè li signori Fiorentini, quali si promettevano molt[o] di S. Stà, havendo tenuto per prima una lunga amicitia et fatto professione di haverlo voluto Papa et aiutatolo in effetto, non hanno potuto ottenere la confirmatione del titolo ne altre cose che hanno ricerche in pregiuditio d' altri, anzi S. Stà si declarò non voler dispiacere all' Imperatore, ne manco al duca di Ferrara, con tutto ch' havesse qualche occasione con S. Eccellenza per li confini con li Bolognesi et per conto dell' acque, come per la differenza de sali et del transito del Po, anzi va tolerando et ascoltando continuamente pratiche d'accordo et sopporta ogni cosa per non venire alla rottura, havendo questa mira di non lasciar odio ne brighe al figliuolo o parenti, ne manco ha dimostrato animo di volerli alzar troppo, ne di volerli appogiare a principi o dargli stati, havendo fatto li parentadi in Bologna ben con delle prime famiglie di quella città et ricusato partiti de principi. Non solo non è crudele, ma usa molta clemenza nel punire li delitti, gratifica molti della patria massime con uffitii pertinenti a dottori, quali ama et ne tien conto. È parso alle volte che habbi lasciato, anzi fuggito le occasioni che se gli sono presentate, come quella d' Urbino, et che gli hanno dato li ministri del Cattolico et altri et tutto per non romperla, il che può esser vero, si per quello che si è detto, come per non veder le cose de Francesi in tal termine che si

possi promettere un gagliardo aiuto come bisognaria o d' altro potentato cattolico, dubitando sempre di questa maleditione di heretici, a quali non si aprisse una strada a farli discendere in gratia, et ancora perchè non potesse parere che non il zelo della fede cattolica o riputatione di santa chiesa, ma qualche particolar interesse et passione l' havessero indotto et per questo è stato creduto timido et di puoco ardire.

Dà molta soddisfatione a cardinali, gli honora et li fa delle gratie, dove non vadi l' interesse de' denari, et tutti ascolta. Differisce assai alla prudenza di Morone et nelle cose ardue chiama lui, Farnese et S^{tà} Croce. Usa assai di commetter a congregationi di cardinali le cose che gli occorrono, deputandone sei o otto per congregazione di diverse qualità secondo le materie che si tratta, et ode volontieri il parer di tutti. Ama Sermonetta et li presta fede et diede la guardia al s. Honorato suo nepote, assonto che fu al pontificato, per l' amicitia che haveva havuta col s. Bonifacio suo padre et per il ben servitio che ha fatto detto Sermonetta. Nelle materie di religione et del concilio crede a Varmiense, a Pellevè et ad Alciati. Cerca di star bene et trattenersi con tutti li principi, ne vuol briga con alcuno di loro a patto che sia.

Gli servitori intimi, quali possono parlargli et hanno autorità, sono il sig Lodovico Bianchetti[1], maestro di Camera, gli dà da bere, legge tutti li memoriali et dice l' offitio con S. S^{tà}, et di poi il sig^{r} Paolo Ghiselli scalco secreto, quali sono servitori vecchi di molt' anni et hanno cura della sua persona, et gli dormono in camera et sono amati da S. S^{tà} come quelli che in certo modo egli stesso ha allevati, et sono tutti due Bolognesi ; gli crede S. S^{tà} et li domanda ancor quello che si dice fuori via. Vi è ancora messer Pietro, quale prima era maestro di casa et hora è guardaroba, che può assai et è servitore vecchio et li parla con molta libertà et semplicità, che piace al Papa. Vi sono altri camerieri nobili che S. S^{tà} rispetta, et possono fare certi uffitii che sempre torna bene che siano fatte buone relationi, perchè il Papa qualche volta ha piacere che li dicano come l' intendano, tra quali vi è il sig^{r} Claudio Gonzaga che vale e del quale il Papa si è servito di mandar in volta et a commetterli negotii ; degli altri camerieri non vi è chi ardisca dirgli cosa alcuna o replicargli. Monsr Fantino, quale è maestro di casa, ha havuto più ardire et

[1] See MORONI, XLI., 133.

autorità di quello ha di presente, che corse un po di burrasca per conto di donne, pur si conserva et il Papa l' ama, restando la memoria de' piaceri havuti quando era in minor fortuna, et è buon gentilhomo. Monsr Contarello, qual' è datario et di natione Francese, è di molta riputatione et si è andato avanzando sempre nella gratia di N. S., quale li presta gran fede et ha opinione che sia sincero et libero huomo et intenda benissimo il suo ufficio, et quando lui vuole ottiene et facilita ogni negotio, sicome li distrugge ancora se li oppone. Con S. Sig^ia si sono uniti parte di questi reformatori, come mons. Carniglia, mons. Furmento et il Toledo prete Giesuita, et l' uno porta l' altro et fanno venir a notitia di S. S^tà sotto pretesto di carità et di zelo dell' honor et gloria sua tutto quello che gli piace, facendo uffitii che alle volte hanno rovinato le genti, la qual cosa ha fatto alcuna volta mormorare la corte, si intorno alla bontà loro, come alla troppa credenza che li dà S. B^ne vedendo che sono stati atti a farli mutar natura et complessione ; et mons^r datario è tanto innanzi che si crede che l' habbia a far cardinale, con tutto che sia cosi riservato a farne, non ne havendo fatto in 22 mesi che è Papa, se non il nepote solo. Il vescovo di Sora[1], quale è tesauriere generale, ha autorità di parlargli et ricordargli ciò che vuole, et per la bontà sua et haver mantenuto un' amicitia di 60 anni, che sono quasi coetanei ; il Papa lo rispetta et se lui fosse di maggior spirito, saria grande appresso a S. S^tà da davero et con tutto ciò sarà cardinale per la comune opinione nella prima promotione.

Parmi haver detto [abbastanza] de' signori parenti et de servitori intimi et poi ancora degli altri ufficiali intrinsechi et si può concludere che de parenti il sig^r Giacomo sia il diletto, et dopo lui il sig^r Guastavillani et de' servitori intimi il signore maestro di Camera et poi il scalco. Degli uffici mons. datario antepongo a tutti et poi il tesauriero, et chi avrà il favor di quelli potrà sperare di ottenere da S. S^tà ogni onesto favore et gratia et essere ben veduto et ascoltato volentieri. Chi serve alla Secretaria non vi è persona d' autorità, perchù il cardinale di Como li tiene lontani ne vuole che si faccino innanzi, temendo sempre di restar lui indietro et escluso.

Deputò come dissi diversi prelati alla Consulta del stato ecclesiastico in compagnia dell' ill^mo S. Sisto, quasi non si

[1] Tommaso Gigli ; see MORONI. LXXIV., 291.

travagliano fuori di essa in cose di negotii ne di stato, se non quello che contiene il stato ecclesiastico, ne pare che siano in gran stima appresso di Nostro Signore di spingerli innanti per il presente, ma vivendo S. St^tà^ come si crede et si desidera non è dubbio che li esaltarà tutti o la maggior parte, et questi sono mons^r^ Brumano chierico di Camera, mons^r^ Pietro Giacomo de' sig. del Monte santa Maria, mons^r^ Visconti, il sig^r^ Marco, che era auditore del Papa, al quale ha dato la chiesa di Volterra, et dovendo lui andar alla residenza, ha posto in luogo suo un mons^r^ Dal Bone Bolognese, che è parente di S. St^tà^ Tutti questi sono dottori di legge et valent' huomini in quell' esercitio, poichè S. St^tà^ se ne serve et li differisce assai nelle cose della giustitia, et tutti sono di Signatura giustitia. Al governo di Roma ha proposto mons^r^ Taverna Milanese aiutato et favorito dal cardinal di Como per l' instanza di Morone, qual governo si fa da se con la sola riputatione et è alquanto adolcito et temperato da quell' aspro rigore che era, et si vive quietamente, ne si corre dietro alle persone ne si estorce denari per compositione, e ne manco si castiga con l' ultimo supplico. Si espediscono li carcerati et si nettano le prigioni. È S. St^tà^ assai indulgente et etiam che si merita la morte, per poco di favore che l' habbi permuta alla galera.

Desidera molto che quest' anno santo vengano gente assai a Roma, et perciò fa usar diligenze che siano accomodate molte cose, et ha proposto persone a resarcire a fabriche et ad accomodar le chiese et le strade, et in somma sin qui habbiamo un buon Papa pieno d' una ottima intentione et bontà, et non solo questo popolo, ma tutti li sudditi della chiesa sene laudano et contentano. Disegna S. St^tà^ voler allegerire li popoli da molte gravezze et ha dato principio a redimer molte entrate che erano state alienate da suoi antecessori, et spera quando tutte l' altre strade li manchino, con questa sola di farsi glorioso in eterno, passando la memoria di tutti li suoi antecessori, quali sempre hanno alienato li beni della chiesa et posto gravezze incomportabili a popoli, quali S. St^tà^ vuol levare in quanto potrà.

Secondo si è detto di sopra Nostro Signore si per alleggerirsi da qualche fatica, sebben non la sente o teme, come per non fare da se deliberatione a caso et di sua testa, come haveva nome di far molte volte l' antecessore, et ancor per tener in esercitio honorevole il collegio et darli reputatione a tutte le

cose che sopravengono, deputa congregatione de' cardinali et ne sono molte ordinarie quali sono :

II. [Congregations.] Congregatione del S. Uffitio dell' Inquisitione, quella dell' arcivescovo di Toledo, quella del Concilio, v' era quella della Lega, una delle cose di Germania, una delle petitioni de principi che è quasi la medesima che de negotii de stati, una della reforma del Decretale, un' altra del Ceremoniale, una pecuniaria, una sopra le strade et l' acque o fontane, una della Reforma, una sopra le Bolla del giubileo, una sopra la Bibia et una dell' Indice de libri ; un' altra ancor sopra le cose importanti del stato ecclesaistico che va unita con la Consulta.

Alla prima intravengono gli ill^{mi} Pisa, qual è maggior Inquisitor, Pacecco, Gambara, Chiesa et Madrucci, et in questa non si tratta se non delle cose pertinenti a detto officio, ey oltre a sudetti cardinali v' intravengono molti teologi et dottori.

Alla causa di Toledo vi entrano oltre li detti di sopra Montalto et Santa Severina et si ragiunano due volte la settimana, una in casa di Pisa tra loro ill^{mi} et l' altra alla presentia del Papa, dove si risolvono le materie, et un' altra volta per il manco si fa innanzi a S. S^{tà} per la causa sola di Toledo.

In quella del Concilio intravengono molti cardinali, quali sono gli ill^{mi} Morone, Savello, Colonna, Alciati, Paleotto, Sforza, Ursino, Alessandrino, Commendone, Caraffa, Santa Croce, Varmiense, Montalto, Acquaviva, S. Sisto, Borromeo, Madrucci, Gesualdi, Pellevè, Lomellino. . . .

La congregatione del Concilio fu introdotta per li dispareri et interpretationi stravaganti che davano al concilio li Spagnuoli et li ministri del Catolico per raffrenar la loro insolenza et per risolvere le cose con più maturità et autorità, et si riduce in casa di Morone una volta la settimana et un altra in casa di Sta Croce. . . .

A quella di Germania [v' intravengono] gli ill^{mi} Morone, Trento, Farnese, Altemps, Sta Croce, Varmiense, Como, Delfino, Commendone et Madrucci, et in questa si tratta del modo di ridurre quella provincia alla solita obedienza, et si radunano spesso tra loro in casa di Morone et alle volte alla presentia del Papa ; et quella delle petitioni dei principi sono Morone, Pisa, S. Croce, Como, Chiesa, Savello, Albano et Monte; a quella di stati Morone. Farnese, S. Croce, Como, Delfino, Commendone.

Alla reforma del Decreto : Colonna, Sforza, Sirleto, Alciati, Vercelli, Caraffa, Pellevè et S. Sisto con molti prelati. A quella del Ceremoniale : Morone, Farnese, Lorena, Varmiense, Savello, Sermonetta, Madrucci, Este, Pacecco, Gambara, Como, Sforza, Ursino, Caraffa, Perosa et Monte, et questa per ridurre le ceremonie all' uso antico et levar gli abusi trascorsi si nella venuta de principi come de loro ambasciatori et di molt' altre cose.

Alla Pecuniaria : Morone, Montepulciano, Cornaro che è camerlengo, Maffeo, Chiesa, Cesi, Sforza, Albano et S. Sisto, con dui chierici di Camera, il tesauriero generale et il commissario della Camera, et questa può dire tutti quelli che propongono modi et vie di far venir danari in mane alla Camera. Quella sopra le strade et le fontane : Montepulciano, il camerlengo, Ursino, Maffeo et Medici, con li ministri di strada et certi ingegneri deputati.

Alla Reforma : Savello, Sta Severina, Pellevè, l' auditore della Camera, Formento, Carniglia et molti di questi reformatori, quali vi sono diligenti et soleciti.

A quella sopra la Bolla del giubileo : Morone, Farnese, Savello, Ursino, Varmiense, Pacecco, Madrucci et Pellevè, et questi hanno cura di formar la bolla del giubileo per l' anno che viene.

Sopra la Bibia : Sirleto, Colonna, Varmiense, Madrucci, Alessandrino, Pellevè et Caraffa. A quella dell' Indice de libri : Sirleto, Teano, Montalto, Iustiniano, Alessandrino et Pellevè. A quella del stato ecclesiastico : Ursino, Cesis, Sta Severina et S. Sisto, et tutte queste congregationi si radunano almeno una volta la settimana, et quando occorre sono dinanzi al Papa, et cosi S. S^{tà} viene a fare più effetti, manca lui di tanti fastidii et loro consultano et digeriscono le facende, quali poi S. S^{tà} le rissolve, et tiene in essercitio li cardinali et li dà autorità, et tutti participano delle fatiche et degli honori et hanno campo di far conoscere ciascuno quello che vale. S. S^{tà} poi fa per l' ordinario concistoro una volta settimana, dove dà audienza a tutti li cardinali per ordine, et vi si propongono le materie concistoriali, che è di gran sfogamento alle facende. Fa parimente ogni settimana una volta per il meno signatura di gratia, nella quale intravengono con S. S^{tà} gli ill^{mi} Bobba, Ursino, Maffeo, Cesi, Chiesa, Caraffa et Acquaviva. Io ho posto tutti li cardinali

deputati alle loro congregationi et ancora alla signatura sebene sono absenti, perchè si sappi che venendo alla corte intervengono. . . .

III. [Characteristics of the Cardinals.][1] Cominciarò dunque secondo l' ordine della carta all' ill. Morone quale è il decano quale è tenuto universalmente per valent' huomo, intendentè et molto prattico della attioni di stato et di commune consentimento havuto per de primi del collegio, et tutte le cose difficili et faticose che occorreno segli adossano a lui. Ha havuto mala fortuna, che essendo stato reputato degno del pontificato, et essendo in mano dell' ill^mo Borromeo di farlo, non lo seppe esseguire, et molti se li scopersero nemici palesi et l' impedirono. È tenuto astuto artificioso et cupo. Ha ancor havuto un' altra mala fortuna che essendo buono puochi lo credono, et fu opinione che Paolo IV il volesse ruinar per sempre, sicome altri hanno ancor tenuto il medesimo stile opponendoli di religione, seben restò giustificato; et essendo cardinale vecchio, adoperato et stimato è povero, non havendo mai importunato li pontefici a dargli, ma solo atteso con ogni industria a superare le invidie et le malevolentie. Il card. di Gambara è il principal nemico che habbi. . . .

Como ha le facende del Papa in mano, et perciò è d' autorità et stimato. È in opinione di sapersi benissimo accommodare al tempo, et è tenuto cupo che non si lasci intendere. Gli è portato molta invidia, et signori parenti del Papa non lo vedono volentieri in quell' ufficio, che li pare che l' occupi a loro. È creduto tutto di Morone et è mantenuto da Altemps. Si è havuto opinione che accetti volentieri presenti et vi habbi l'occhio spendendo mal volentieri. . . .

Commendone ha quello che suolè esser in puochi, perchè ha la virtù, la bontà, l' esperienza et la sufficienza con infinito giuditio, et non vi è signore nel colegio c' habbi parlato a più diversi signori et principi et nationi di quello ha fatto lui. È grave et severo accompagnato con dolcezza et affabilità.

Il card. di Pisa, qual' è inquisitore generale, è puoco amato o sia per rispetto dell' ufficio o per natura che sia puoco servitiale. . . .

Altemps è ritirato e solitario si per natura, ma molto più per causa del male [del otio], et è tanto puoco conversabile

[1] For reasons of space this paragraph is shortened.

che non si può fare determinatione del fatto suo. . . . È di autorità col Papa, ma saria ancora molto più si per la natura grata del Papa come per gli amici che tiene, se lui fosse o di più spirito et valore o non fosse offuscato il suo valore dal male del otio e dalla ritiratezza in che vive. . . .

Montalto quale fu frate di San Francesco et generale de frati minori, è al contrario di Tiano, perchè lui sa, che accorto et con giuditio operò et acquistò l' animo di Pio V, che pur lo fece cardinale, con tutto che havesse chi segli opponeva et diceva esservi processi contro di lui di molte querele d'ogni qualità, et offitii venduti mentre era generale, et per questo è opinione che ne ritenga particolar memoria et odio contra Crivello, quale essendo viceprotettore della religione, in loco di Borromeo portò il processo a Pio V, quale non lo volse vedere et disse che erano malignità et persecutioni de frati. È dotto in theologia et astuto. È amico di Farnese et si trattiene unito con Alessandrino. Non è ricco come cardinale, ma come frate, et alla vita che tiene con l' entrate che ha avanza più tosto che altrimente et si accommoda. Con il Papa ha autorità nelle materie teologice et per la causa di Toledo. S. Stà l' ascolta. È opinione che saria facile a guadagnarlo, havendo molto desiderio d' havere, come hanno molti, et essendo facile il poterli persuadere di volerlo aiutare a maggior dignità, alla quale dicono che aspira et vi attende come il più de cardinali. È reputato maligno et che per portarsi inanzi habbi dato contra la sua religione.

Piacenza, qual era di preti reformati Thiettini di San Silvestro che hebero origine da Paolo IV, fu pur creatura di Pio V. È tenuto buono et sant' huomo. Il collegio de cardinali restò mal sodisfatto da lui, quale fu uno delli quattro a confinarlo alla residenza. Ha ancor dimostrato una certa singolarità, la quale non piace, perchè questo tempo che è stato in Roma, ha vivuto molto retirato senza visitar nessuno o puochi, non voler razzi nelle stantie ne padiglione sopra il letto, mangiar sempre in pietra et tanto privatamente et abbietamente che si conveniva più tosto a romitto che a cardinale, le quali cose sebene faceva per bontà et simplicità pare che ancor la dignità comporti di viver secondo quella et non secondo il romittorio. Però sebene non ha particolar nemicità ne offeso alcuno in particolare, tutti in generale sono poco sodisfatti. Seguita Alessandrino. È della scuola di Borromeo et è tutto di Farnese, sebene seguita quella scuola.

Per l' opinione della bontà et santa vita è reputato et stimato dal Papa et da molti altri. È ricco et spende puoco, dispensa in elemosine et in buone opere le sue entrate. Ha lettere et prattica delle cose del mondo havendoli già atteso, hora è tutto volto alla contemplazione. . . .

The French have little influence in the Sacred College, the Spaniards a great deal. La maggior parte del collegio è al contro da loro, essendo che una parte o sono sudditi del Rè Cattolico essendone molti di Milanesi e Napolitani et li altri la maggior parte sono gratificati, premiati, et obligati a S. M^{tà} con pensioni et altri honori et utili. On the French side only Este and Santa Croce. Quelli che non sono di animo Spagnuolo et obligati a quel Rè, fanno professione di ecclesiastici et di neutrali et di attendere al servito di questa corte.

IV. [The envoys.] The Emperor has none since the death of Arcos. The French representative, Fèrals, è riguardato da N. Sig^{re} più che amato, havendo in certe parti non solo vivezza, ma del terribile et troppo ardente. Quello di Spagna qual è D. Giovan di Zuniga fratello del Comendator maggiore di Castilia, è tutto al contrario di quello di Francia, destro et quieto, et quanto alla sua persona amato dal Papa, ma quanto agli accidenti, che occorreno a tutte l' hore, rispetto alle cose che avengono, ha cause difficili,quali le va trapassando et scaramuzzando, et cerca facilitarle et dove può mostra buona volontà di contender con piacere et sodisfar al Papa, et perciò ha credito et autorità con et S. S^{tà} et con molti signori del collegio rispetto agli interessi et disegni che tutti hanno col suo Rè.

Quello di Venetia è il clarissimo messer Paolo Tiepolo, quale c' è stato altra volta, stimato et reputato da tutta la corte per una buona testa et valent 'huomo. È in buona gratia del Papa, con tutto che la pace fatta da suoi signori col Turco il facesse star un puoco retirato in quel principio, ma con la sua destrezza ha superato ogni difficoltà et ha fatto conoscer la necessità che li causò da Spagnuoli il farla. È modesto, et contra la natura de Venetiani è cortegiano et liberale, et riesce eccellentemente et sodisfà molto, et mostra prudenza grande in questi travagli et frangenti a sapersi reger et conservarsi la gratia del Papa et della corte. The envoy from Savoy deserves praise, that from the Grand Duke of Tuscany is a favourite of the Pope.

Di Roma li 20 di febraio 1574.

10. GIOVANNI ANTONIO ODESCALCHI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[1]

1574, July 9, Rome.

. . . Lunedì mattina in concistoro S. S^{tà} senza saputa d'alcuno et senza haver comunicata la sua voluntà con persona di questo mondo et n'anco col cardinale di Como suo secretario, come sa Vostra Eccellenza, ne con ambasciatori de principi, per non essere importunata, all'improviso creò cardinale il s^{r} Guastavillano suo nipote di sorella, il quale non sapendo di dovere essere fatto cardinale, quella mattina venne in concistorio con la cappa et beretta la laico, il che vedendo il s^{r} card. Morone come desideroso che Vostra Eccellenza restasse consolata nella persona del s^{r} Priore di Barletta,[2] supplicò molto instantemente S. Sta che restasse servita accompagnare tale creatione con qualche signore nobile et con qualche persona benemerita, volendo poi inferire al detto s^{r} Priore, quando S S^{tà} se ne fosse contentata. Ma S. S^{tà} stette salda con dire che hora non era tempo di pensare a maggiore creatione . . . (the whole in cypher.)

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

11. GIOVANNI ANTONIO ODESCALCHI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[3]

1575, April 2, Rome.

. . . Li pellegrini sono tutti spesati et albergati d'elemosine dal-l'hospitale della S^{ma} Trinità con così bell'ordine et con tanta carità che rende maraviglia a ciascuno, con vedersi li signori principali di Roma servirli et lavarli li piedi, et dicono che sono maggiori l'elemosine che la spesa.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. POMPEO STROZZI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[4]

1576, March 3, 4, Rome.

March 3: Entry of the bride of Giacomo Boncompagni in rainy weather. Cardinal Sforza gave a fine banquet for her. On the following morning the bride went to the Pope. The Pope and Cardinals made her costly gifts.

March 4: The bride went this evening to her husband in as splendid a coach as can be imagined, dressed so richly and

[1] See *supra*, p. 32, and the *relazione di Odescalchi del 13 febbraio 1573, Gonzaga Archives Mantua and HERRE, Papstwahlen, 261.
[2] Vincenzo Gonzaga
[3] See *supra*, p. 213.
[4] See *supra*, p. 34.

with so many jewels as to excite the envy of all of her rank. Our Lord the Pope went at the same time to the Seven Churches.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. MEMORIAL FOR GREGORY XIII. ON THE FIRST ORATORIANS.[1]
1578, January.

[Nomina priorum sacerdotum Congregationis Oratorii sub invocatione S. Philippi Nerei.][2]

1. Sacerdoti della Congregatione dell'Oratorio da V. Stà eretta.

Il Padre Ms. Filippo Neri Fiorentino, preposto.

Mons. Alfonso Visconti.

Ms. Gio. Francesco Bordini, dottore, confessa e predica.

Ms. Biagio Messia Spagnuolo, theologo, confessa e predica.

Ms. Alessandro Fideli, dottore, confessa.

Ms. Cesare Barone, dottore, confessa e predica.

Ms. Angelo Velli, confessa et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Antonio Talpa, dottore, confessa et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Germanico Fideli, litterato, ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Nicolò Giglio, Franzese, molto dotto, confessa il monasterio di Torre di Specchi.

Ms. Camillo Severino, dottore, predica.

Ms. Thommaso Bozzio, dottore, ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Julio Savioli, nobile Padovano, litterato, confessore et ragiona all'Oratorio.

Ms. Pietro Baffoli, dottore.

Ms. Pompeo Pateri.

Don Alvero di Lugo, Spagnuolo all'heremitorio, confessa, assente.

Ms. Pietro Parracchione, confessore.

Ms. Francesco Soto Spagnuolo, cantore di cappella, legge e governa l'Oratorio.

Francesco Maria Tarugi, ragiona all' Oratorio.

Ms. Carlo Novarese, nobile et homo di lettere et [di] molta edificatione.

Assente Ms. Giovanni Antonio Lucci, dottore, confessa.

Assente Ms. Luigi Ponte, nobile Padoano, confessa.

Ms. Leonardo Pagoli theologo, confessa.

In minor' gradi.

[1] See *supra*, p. 172, 180.
[2] This heading is in a later hand (circa 1622).

Il sig^{r} Fabbritio Mezzabarba, diacono.

Il sig^{r} Paulo Camillo Sfondrato, convittore.

Ms. Tiberio Ricciardelli, giovine nobile, studia.

Ms. Antonio Gallonio Romano, giovine litterato, legge filosofia.

Ms. Gio. Battista Novarese, clerico, fa il corso della filosofia.

Ms. Gaudentio Novarese, diacono.

Ms. Gio. Maria da Camerino, clerico, studente.

Ms. Francesco Spuntone Bolognese, clerico, fa il corso de la filosofia.

Ms. Antonio Sala Bolognese, ha il governo di tutta la casa.

Francesco et Piero Bozzi d' Agubbio, giovinetti studenti.

Paulo cherico, Lionardo cherico, Francesco servitore, Pietro speditore, Pietro cuoco.

2. Esercitii che fa la Congregatione per utilità del prossimo.

È XX anni che ogni giorno doppo desinare due hore si ragiona all'Oratorio et a questi tempi incomincia a XIX hore et mezza et dura fin alle XXI½. Ragionano quattro persone mezz' hora per uno et si finisce con cantare un mottetto o laude devota et si conclude con far dir sempre tre Pater nostri et tre Ave Marie, pregando [per] V. S^{tà} et pel profitto spirituale et per altri casi occorrenti.

Ogni sera tutto l'anno si fa all' Ave Maria un hora d' oratione, la metà mentale, l' altra metà vocale, dicendo le letanie et facendo altre orationi per V. S^{tà} et per i prelati di s^{ta} chiesa et per la conversione de peccatori ; et tre volte la settimana si fa la disciplina.

Sono in casa adesso dieci confessori, due altri sono assenti. Questi lavorano ne la vigna, ogniuno secondo il suo talento.

Tutti i sacerdoti di casa dicono quotidianamente messa, quandro son sani. Vengono di fuori tant' altri sacerdoti che il giorno de le feste son meglio di XXX messe.

Si predica il giorno delle feste doppo il vespro.

Et doppo la predica vanno i padri di casa in strada Giulia ad una chiesa dello Spirito Santo de la Compagnia de' Napolitani, ove si raccolgono meglio di tre mila persone et ivi, per esser luogo commodo, s' alletta il populo con musiche devote et con fare recitare a'fanciulli alcune cose d' edificatione, composte da i padri di casa. Et poi si conclude con fare due ragionamenti di cose compuntive et affettive. Ove, per gratia di Dio,

s' è fatto et fa notabil, frutto. Et vi vengono ad odire quelli del Collegio Germanico con molta lor' edificatione.

Ogni giorno di festa si va a servire alli spedali con notabil' numero di persone et molti vanno ogni giorno.

S' ha cura di visitar' infermi, aiutare chi muore a ben morire.

Molti insegnano in varie chiese la dottrina christiana, et altri aiutano la Compagnia di Santo Apostolo in soccorrere i pover vergognosi et in altre opere pie, ciascuno secondo il talento et vocation sua.

[Orig. Arm. 17, caps. 4, n. 6. Papal Secret Archives.]

14. ORAZIO SCOZIA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[1]

1579, January 17, Rome.

. . . Gode hoggi la corte di Roma la superiorità d'un principe nel quale concorrono tutte le parti che si possono desiderare in un ottimo Papa, attendendo egli con ogni pensiero a quelle cose che convengono al suo carico con animo quieto et moderato indefessamente et perpetuamente et con la suprema intelligenza legale et longa pratica di essa corte, moderando, provedendo et risolvendo tutte sorte de negotii con tanta facilità che ciascuna che ne ha bisogno riceve in essi comoda et pronta ispeditione, vigilando principalmente per la giustitia, con usar però molta equità et humanità, secondo i casi et le persone et in particolare verso i corteggiani di Roma, i quali per lo più conosce partitamente et nominatamente, amando et facendo grandissima stima dei prencipi et portando molto rispetto al collegio dei cardinali et a ciascun cardinale separatamente, gratificando anco et soccorrendo secondo l'occorrenze molti di loro, altri per merito de medesimi et benignità de lui, altri per la dignità del grado, per necessità et importunità loro più che per altro, servando sempre un medesmo tenore di vita esemplare, così per quello che tocca all'una come all'altra sorte di vita sua, largo et patiente nelle audienze et benigno nelle risposte, benchè non facile a conceder le gratie che gli sono domandate, et più tosto parco che altrimente in ogni sorte di spesa fuor che nelle elemosine et soventioni de luoghi pii et maritar vergini, tanto nobili quanto povere, in che a proportione è larghissimo. Secreto tanto che pochissimi sono quelli che partecipano de pensieri et secreti suoi et levatone Morone, Altemps et Como et sig^r Giacomo et in alcune cose Madruzzo,

[1] See *supra*, p. 33, 48, 51, 221, 222.

non si può dire che conferisca et se allarghi con altri, se non in quanto habbi a trattar con loro secondo i carichi che hanno ha però in molto rispetto Farnese et Savello et fa molto conto di Sermoneta, Sforza, Este, Orsino et Urbino, ama teneramente il sig^{r} Giacomo, ma con misura tale che l'amore cede al debito, all'honore, alla gloria et buona fama d'un Papa, a quale pare che egli indirizzi tutte le sue attioni, saldo tanto nelle risolutioni che si ha come per impossibile rimoverlo o spuntarlo a conceder gratia negata. Sano et di robusta complessione, et che può, come egli stesso spera, passarsene molti giorni inanzi, et sibene in cardinalato et d'altro tempo fu tenuto ch' egli havesse più del Francese che d' altro et che l' animo suo inclinasse molto a quella natione, nondimeno riposando hoggi la summa delle cose della christianità principalmente su la grandezza, forza et bontà del Rè cattolico, si vede che è rivolto coi pensieri a Spagna più che altrove, conservando però il suo luogo all' Imperatore, a Francia et a tutti gli altri prencipi, i quali come ho detto stima grandemente et agratia volentieri in tutto quello che può. Che egli sia Bolognese et di honesta famiglia et di età di 77 anni et venuto al pontificato quasi per tutti i gradi della corte, ognuno lo sa, et del molto che ci fosse da dirne di più da chi non havesse ad uscir di un sommario breve come sarà questo, tanto basterà haver detto. Dei due nepoti cardinali S. Sisto et Guastavillano, il primo è offitioso et ardente capo della Consulta sopra i negotii dello stato temporale ecclesiastico, il secondo della medesma Consulta assai più rimesso et quieto, et levatone il loro carico et l' haver una volta al giorno sopra esso a trattare con S. S^{tà}, non si ingeriscono in molto altro, non gli dando ne anco S. B^{ne} autorità più che tanto et passando tra loro stessi, et tra loro et il sig^{r} Giacomo, il quale è di molto spirito, poco buona intelligenza, si vuole che questa discordanza habbi in più attioni tenuto alle volte sospeso il Papa et in particolare in quella della promotione non concordando nei sogetti, et volendo l' uno quello che non voglia l' altro, oltre che sia persuaso il sig^{r} Giacomo che a lui non metta a conto col seguito di creature promosse far grandi S. Sisto et Guastavillano, poichè i cardinali creati hanno più occasione di gratificare et servire a cardinali nepoti de Papi che a qual si voglia parente laico che resti per stretto che sia ; con Guastavillano discorda però manco che con S. Sisto, con tutto ciò nella promotion passata tra il sig^{r} Giacomo portati Riario

et Besanzone, et in sua gratia si può dire che gli habbi promossi S. Stà. Ma venendo hora al collegio de cardinali dirò che essi sono in numero 63.[1] . . . Le fationi generali et principali sono la Francese et la Spagnuola, le particolari sono Farnesiana, Borromea, Estense, Medicea et Alessandrina, benchè in quella di Borromeo si è pari autorità a lui Altemps, per haver più adherenze et attendervi, et perchè Borromeo non è per far calo sopra soggetti più d' una che d' una altra fatione che siano proposti, pure che a lui paia che meritano per bontà di vita, a che egli haverà mira sempre più che ad altro. Prima che parlar delle fationi più inanzi, dirò che i papabili di questo tempo sono molti, perchè infiniti pretendono, et sono ; Morone, Trento, Farnese, Savello, Perugia, S. Giorgio, Varmiense, Sirleto, Cornaro, Napoli, S. Croce, Tiano, Lomellino, Giustiniano, Albano, Montalto[2] . . . Montalto pretende haver Alessandrino col seguito, contrarii Francesi et l' esser frate come è detto di sopra . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

15. Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1579, August 7, Rome.

" . . . N. S. ha data la Penitentiaria, che il detto cardinale Varmiense teneva, al cardinale S. Sisto et S. Sigria che è devotissima sara quella che durerà le fatiche per incamminar bene. Il detto cardinale è morto veramente un devoto et sant' huomo et letteratissimo, il quale ha scritto tanto bene contra gli heretici moderni, ond'egli è stato di molto utile et beneficio alle cose della fede Catholica, si come consta ad ogn' uno per l' acquisto delle tante anime ch' egli ha fatto nel regno di Polonia, onde si bene era vecchissimo è stata nondimeno per li sudetti rispetti la perdita molto grande . . ."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Extracts from the "Diarium" of "Franciscus Mucantius."[4]

1574.

July 21 : " Ill. card. Acquaviva, cum dies circiter 20 graviter

[1] Here follow names of the Cardinals according to date of creation.
[2] Here follows an estimate of the parties in the Sacred College and their prospects in a conclave.
[3] See *supra*, p. 228.
[4] See *supra*, p. 40, 41, 48, 218, 225, 228.

aegrotasset, reddidit spiritum Altissimo adhuc iuvenis aetati fere 30; fuit sepultus absque pompa in ecclesia Lateranensi nocte adventanti. Vix credi potest, quanto cum moerore totius urbis et universorum ordinum decesserit, tantam sibi benevolentiam et gratiam ab omnibus comparaverat, morum suavitate ac vitae innocentia." More follows in his praise.

1577.

July 23: Death of Cardinal "Pisa, maior inquisitor, vir doctrina et experimento rerum celebris et vitae integritate universae curiae gratus."

November 3: Death of Cardinal "Innocenzo del Monte: vir habitus fuit in tota eius vita modici iudicii et prudentiae et plus aequo voluptatibus deditus."

1579.

April 10: Entry of Paul Uchanski, ambassador of King Stephen Báthory of Poland. He repaired with his suite to the "palatium Farnesianum, rari ac sumptuosissimi artificii opus, cui aequale aut simile in urbe aut orbe haud facile reperiri posse crediderim, licet adhue imperfectum sit, sed brevi, ut creditur, impenso et liberalitate rev. dom. Alex. card. Farnesii perficiendum."

Summer: "Hac aestate diversis diebus S. D. N. visitavit singula collegia a se instituta, nempe Germanorum, Graecorum, Neophitorum et Anglicorum ac collegium Romanum Soc. Iseu, quem eorundem collegiorum alumni pulcherrimis et eruditis orationibus collaudarunt, demonstrantes utilitatem et fructum qui ex tam piis operibus et institutis sperari poterit, eique gratias immortales egerunt."

1580.

May: Transactis iam octo integris annis quibus ecclesiae catholicae praefuit S. D. N. Gregorius Papa XIII. eiusque gubernacula summa vigilantia et prudentia felicissime rexit, sacrarum celebritatum caeterarumque publicarum actionum usque adeo religiosus observator fuit, ut vix semel aut iterum per hosce octo annos missam aut vesperas vel matutinas horas solemnes, quibus quotannis statis temporibus summi pontifices interesse vel sacra operari solent, quas vulgo capellas vocant, praetermiserit, consistoria, signaturas, s. inquisitionis

consultationes singulis hebdomadis, nonnumquam pluries in hebdomada habuerit, visitationes ecclesiarum et piorum locorum saepius per annum aliaque complura caritatis opera continuo exercuerit, quae enumerari vix possent, ultra perpetuam in dies singulos innumerabilium supplicationum, querelarum seu petitionum in scriptis oblatarum revisionem et expeditionem, ut latius superiori volumine explicavimus, ad quae omnia peragenda quamvis fuerit plenus annorum nempe qui hodie annum agat 79, tamen optimam eius mentem D. O. M. adiuvit, ei[1] vires opportunas ac corporis robur et firmitatem subministrando, quod paucis vel fortasse nullis ante pontificibus contigisse memoratur.

December 1: Ante lucem migravit ex hac vita Ioannes cardinalis episcopus Ostiensis, s. collegii decanus Moronus plurimis gravissimisque legationibus functus, praecipue in Tridentino concilio, de republica christiana optime meritus, vir summi iudicii et prudentiae, a summis pontificibus, regibus et principibus in summa existimatione et veneratione habitus, cunctis gratus et amabilis, integerrimae vitae, in arduis magni consilii, in pauperes ac pia loca beneficentissimus, nullo suae vitae tempore otiosus, quamquam non satis firma valetudine; biduo antequam decederet, petiit Christum Deum piissimis verbis allocutus, cuius crucifixi imaginem manibus gerebat, eidem ecclesiam catholicam, summum pontificem, omnes ecclesiae ordines et christifideles et fidei unitatemcommendavit, protestatus se in eadem unitate catholica semper vixisse ac mori velle, quod si umquam secus opinati essent, eisdem parcebat ipsumque Deum rogabat, ut illis ignosceret.[2]

1581

Hoc anno permisit S^mus^ ad exhilarundum populum paucis quibusdam diebus, hoc est a secunda feria post sexagesimam, personatos per urbem incedere et bravia consueta velocius currentibus elargiri, excerptis tamen diebus dominicus et festivis ac sexta feria et sabbato prout a tempore Papae Pii V nimiam priorem libertatem restringendo introductum fuit; [an autem] huiusmodi ludi et bacchanalia permitti debeant in civitatibus ac praesertim in urbe Romana cum aliqua moderatione, alias fortasse occasio disserendi dabitur.

[1] *MS.*, et.
[2] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 168.

February 13: "Fuit etiam his diebus decretum de mandato S^mi^, quod mendicantes omnes reducantur ad monasterium s. Sixti, ubi paulo ante fuerant moniales, et cura huiusmodi data fuit confratribus et praepositis hospitalis s. Trinitatis convalescentium, quod fuit necessarium et optimum decretum saepe alias propositum et tentatum sed numquam ad executionem demandatum, ex quo malitiae et ignaviae multorum occurreret et vere indigentibus plenius et opportunius provideret pro cuisque necessitate, et auferretur importuna corum postulatio per ecclesias cum divinorum officiorum et populi devotionis turbatione."[1]

[Cod. 12547, XII., 35-36, Papal Secret Archives; Nat. Libr., Paris, XII., 35-36.]

17. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1581, January 7, Rome.

"N. S^re^ sta assai bene et marti di mattina fu banchettato dal s. card. de Medici nella vigna che S. S. Illma comprò de Montepulciano, che hoggi dì è la più bella et ha il più ricco et commodo palazzo, che si trovi in Roma."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua].

18. Avviso di roma of 16 May, 1582.[3]

Le statue ritrovate presso Suburra nella vigna di quel servitore del s. Giov. Giorgio Cesarini, sono 31 antichissime et di gran valuta, smisurata bellezza, tra quali 2 di parragone che superano tutte le altre.

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 159 -160. Vatican Library.]

19. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[4]

1582, July 28, Rome.

. . . È uscito fuori appresso al calendario novo il decreto racconciato, che è una bella cosa, et S. S^tà^ sta presta de far un libro delle nove constituzioni de Pontefici da Bonifacio VIII in qua et chiamarlo il Settimo, come quello si chiamò

[1] The ordinance was postponed until February 28, 1581.
[2] See *supra*, p. 221.
[3] See *supra*, p. 220.
[4] See *supra*, p. 280.

il VI, che sarà molto necessario, et si tagliaranno molti stravaganti superflui o che non sono in uso. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Giovanni Antonio Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1582, September 9, Rome.

. . . Oltre il sudetto donativo fatto in questa settimana alli padri del Giesù che importa 116^{m} ducati, S. B^{ne} ha donato 2^{m} ducati in oro alli padri Theatini de S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo per finir la loro fabrica, che fu giovedì che S. S^{tà} andò a messa in detto luogo, et vedendo la soddetta fabrica imperfetta dimandò, perchè non seguitavano a finirla. Quei padri risposero che non havevano il modo, et informatosi S. S^{tà} dalli capimaestri che vi andaria per finirla detta fabrica 2^{m} ducati, S. B^{ne} sul partire gli comandò che dopo pranso l'andassero a ritrovare alla vigna di Ferrara, dove S. S^{tà} sta XVI giorni sono, si come fecero, onde subito dal sig^{r} maestro di Camera gli furono dati duoi sacchetti con duoi milla scudi d'oro.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. Avviso di Roma of 14 December, 1583.[2]

On Monday sudden promotion of 19 Cardinals, when the Cardinals had already risen to depart, mentre in Banchi si facevano scomesse in diversi modi et si davano denari a furia, che non solo prima di Natale non si sariano fatti cardinali, ma ne ancho per tutto l' anno 84, et che in Palazzo si teneva per hora la promotione smarrita, oltre che i cardinali grandi erano dell' istessa opinione et più degl' altri increduli i nepoti del Papa. Follows the list, with names, recommendations, etc. Bolognetto con qualche maraviglia di quelli, che sanno i disgusti, ch' egli ha dato al Papa nel suo primo carico, ma non già di quelli che sanno, che gli ù Bolognese. Et di questi soggetti fu che dir' assai di Vandommo et di Vilna, per esser stati figlii di perfidissimi et sceleratissimi padri, et il simile di Lancelotto per esser nato di circoncisa et Israelitica razza. Il card. Farnese procurava, che il Papa (per servar' almeno in questa parte l' ordine consueto se non in altro) aspettasse

[1] See *supra*, p. 122.
[2] See *supra*, p. 230, 232.

i voti degl' altri cardinali ch' erano in Curia et non in concistoro, come quello d' Este, di Savello, d' Altemps et d' altri, ma non fu essaudito, et è da credere, che molti di quelli ill^mi^ che s' accostaro alla sedia di S. B., facessero ogni sforzo, per compiacere se medesimi, ma non si sanno le loro pratiche. È ben rimasto stupefatto ogni' uno, che in una promotione cosi numerosa et presta mons. di Nazaret, governatore di Bologna et signore di tanta prudenza, meriti et integrità, non habbia havuto luogo fra questi, et cosi mons. S. Giorgio creatura del Papa tanto da lei stimata et per le cause che si sanno, se però è vero, che i disordini passati et le bravate occulte d' alcuni habbiano spinto il Papa a darla fuori con tante lancie rosse per opporsi come si dice a gl' arditi et temerità loro verso il loro generale, et parimente si è miravigliato ogn' uno di mons. Sega insieme con tanti invecchiati in questa militia faticosa della corte con prove inreprensibili et del Bianchetti maestro di Camera cosi assiduo assistente servitore di S. B., che siano rimasti nella penna, ma cosi piacque a chi regge il tutto. . . . Et a questo modo i momi et i contemplativi, che con l' occhio mortale vogliono trapassare nel secreto della mente d' altrui, sono stati chiariti da questo soldato vecchio del Pontifice generoso et accorto. The Datary, Facchinetti, Castagna and Lancellotti receive the 1000 scudi of the "cardinali poveri."

[Orig. Urb. 1051 p. 510–511. Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1583.[1]

The Pope answered Farnese "che Papa Leone X. intrò in concistoro con pensiero di voler creare 20 solo cardianli, ma che poi perchè vi pose intervallo per havere i voti delli cardinali absenti, fu sforzato farne 31 a loro contemplatione." When Farnese recommended Mons. di Nazaret to him, he said that he had need of him in Bologna, and that he knew very well that there were still many other deserving "soggetti" at the court. When Gambara reminded him of the merits of Bianchetti he said: "che questo pensiero et raccordo s'aspettava a lei et non ad altri."

[Orig. Urb. 1051, p. 512, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 230.

23. Avviso di Roma of 24 December, 1583.[1]

"S'intende, chel Papa disse dopo il giorno della promotione, che all'hora fosse laudato Dio, poichè haveva d'intorno creature da potersene fidare, parole di molta consideratione et da far' credere, che possa esser' vero quello, che con le precedenti avisai, cioè che erunt novissimi primi et primi novissimi."

"I Francesi dicono, che il re non ha voluto Vendôme a causa dell'attrito con la sua famiglia e che se questo cardinale vorrà essere da bene, potrà, mirabilmente giovar a cattolici, ma se anche sarà cattivo, guai a noi in quel regno di Francia. I Francesi avrebbero voluto volentieri Foix e Lenoncourt."

"Mercoldi il card. Este fu per oltre due ore presso del papa, deciso, di lamentarsi su la forma della promozione, se il Papa avesse cominciato; ma egli non lo fece."

[Orig. Urb. 1051, p. 523. Vatican Library.]

24. Avviso di Roma of 14 November, 1584.[2]

Farnese asked the Pope that the 40,000 scudi which were left to him by Pius IV. might be given to the Marchese di Marignano. The Pope said to him that he must send him the book from the chancery, according to which Pius IV. only gave it to him *mortis causa*, a thing which his successor could revoke; he had the brief brought by Ces. Gloriero, "chierico di camera," according to which this was given also *inter vivos*. Gloriero begged for pardon, and alleged that the Cardinal had caused him to do this, to which the Pope very angrily replied: "Voi servivate il Papa et non i cardinali. Hor poichè v'è bastato l'animo d'alterar tanto la mente d'un simil testatore, con pregiuditio cosi notabile di questa Sede, il medesimo faresti, a noi ancora, et per non vogliamo più servirci dell' opera vostra." His patrons vainly intervened on his behalf.

"Parlando S. B. col card. di Como sopra la morte di detto Borromeo, mostrò quanto amava con supreme laudi quel signore, et quanto a lei sia pesata questa migratione, et fece chiamare a se mons. Spetiano, et a lui comandò, che s'informasse et poi referisse alla S. S. di tutte quell' opere buone, che haveva principiate ad honor di Dio, beneficio del prossimo

[1] See *supra*, p. 232.
[2] See *supra*, p. 17, 18, 20, 48, 54, 233.

et ad utile della chiesa in Milano, perchè vuole S. S. adempire a sue spese i santi pensieri di quell' huomo."

[Orig. Urb. 1052 p. 452–453. Vatican Library.]

25. Incomplete and Unpublished Biographies of Gregory XIII.

I. Fantuzzi (Scritt. Bolognesi IV. 283) makes mention of a Biography of Gregory XIII., written by Cardinal Guido Ferreri, in the Papal Secret Archives, but gives no exact details as to where it is preserved. Without paying any attention to this notice, Ranke (III., 50*) gives an extract from the second book of Cardinal Ferreri, "Commentaria de rebus Gregorii XIII.", the first and second books of which he found in the Albani Library. Unfortunately that library was destroyed in 1857. I succeeded, however, in finding the first book of the work of Ferreri in Arm. XI., t. 42, p. 299–320, of the Vatican Secret Archives. The introduction, which I here give, explains the origin and purpose of the work:

Guido Ferrerius cardinalis Vercellensis
Lectori salutem.

Bonifacius cardinalis Eporediensis, patruus magnus meus, dum Bononiae legatum gereret, Christophorum Boncompagnium Ugonis, quem hodie sub Gregorii XIII nomine colimus, patrem familiarissime adhibere solitus fuit: quod singularem illius bonitatem, moderationem, placidissimos mores mirifice probaret. Petro Francisco autem cardinali patruo meo magna cum Ugone ipso necessitudo intercessit, ex quo una in comitatu fuerunt Caroli Caraffae cardinalis ad Gallorum et Hispanorum reges legati: quod quidem mei erga Ugonem amoris atque observantiae initium fuit. Evenit deinde, summo Dei erga me beneficio, ut ipsius collega essem in referendi ad utramque Signaturam munere, in Concilio Tridentino nonnullorum laborum particeps, in examinandis supplicibus libellis, qui cardinali Borromeo porrigebantur, socius, episcopatum utrique gereremus, ac postremo eadem nominatione, quod maximum et sanctissimum vinculum est, a Pio IV in sacrum senatum legeremur. Quamobrem cum hominis interius inspiicendi multas ac praeclaras haberem occasiones, singularem ipsius virtutem ac sapientiam ita semper amavi, suspexi, colui, ut eius pontificatu nihil aut mihi aut reipublicae optabilius

contingere posse existimarim. Quo quidem perpetuo meo de summa illius virtute iudicio multisque praeterea erga me beneficiis adductus faciendum putavi, ut eius pontificatum memoriae posterorum prodendum susciperem. Nam et amori, qui foras se promere gestiebat, mos gerendus erat, et ita mecum cogitabam habitura insequentia tempora optimi Pontificis imaginem, quam intueri magna cum ultilitate nec sine voluptate possent. Scripsi igitur amans: sed nihil in rebus gestis narrandis amori datum facile ex rebus ipsis intelliges, meque, ut spero et opto, de hoc meo labore amabis. Vale.

Then comes the following table of contents:

Capita libri [primi].

Brevis descriptio vitae	Cap. I.
De pietate	Cap. II.
Quomodo se erga cardinales gerat	Cap. III.
De studio conservandae propagandaeque religionis	Cap. IV.
De anno Iubilaei	Cap. V.
De sacro foedere	Cap. VI.
De sancto Inquisitionis officio	Cap. VII.
De morum disciplina	Cap. VIII.
De studio pacis	Cap. IX.
Honores et praemia ab ipso donata	Cap. X.
Conservatio et amplificatio patrimonii ecclesiastici	Cap. XI.
Sumptus inutiles sublati, magnificentia et liberalitas	Cap. XII.
Gravitas, facilitas, humanitas, sermo et studia	Cap. XIII.
Officium in hospites	Cap. XIV.
Dilectio omnium ad eum	Cap. XV.
Statura et valetudo	Cap. XVI.

The work of Cardinal Ferreri was never published, because it was only fragmentary, as may be seen from a passage on the building of St. Peter's. Although Ferreri was an avowed admirer of Gregory XIII., he does not in any way exaggerate. Thus he describes the concourse of people who flocked to the Jubilee of 1575 as splendid, but whereas other chroniclers can never make the number of the pilgrims too great, the 170,000 given by Ferreri is quite a fair estimate. The efforts of the Pope on behalf of the league against the Turks are described in detail, and Ferreri grieves exceedingly over its failure, but

is of opinion (p. 315) that even Pius V. would not have been able to hold the alliance together.

II. A life of Gregory XIII. in Cod. Barb. 4749 (Vatican Library) only goes as far as the year 1574. The manuscript is the original one of an unknown author, who has inserted many corrections. This "Vita" gives careful details of his life before he became Pope. The chapter on the pontificate is quite unimportant, and concludes with the breaking up of the league against the Turks, and the appointment of a new Cardinal Penitentiary in the person of Aldobrandini. The origin of Giacomo Boncompagni is evaded by the remark: "suo strettissimo di sangue."

III. The Vatican Library contains, in Cod. Barb. 2675, p. lxv *seq.* yet a third "Vita Gregorii XIII." written by Paulus Bombinus. But this work, which is written in Latin, suddenly comes to an end at p. lxxxv. It only goes as far as Boncompagni's legation to Spain. The author, who was a relative of Cardinal Parisi, the patron of Boncompagni, is well informed, and gives some valuable information as to his life before he became Pope, with exact details, e.g. the names of all the teachers of Gregory XIII. His information as to the professorial work of Boncompagni seems to be far from trustworthy. It is characteristic that nothing is said of his loss of favour under Julius III. Bombinus also omits the circumstance that Boncompagni gave up teaching on account of his want of voice, though he gives other general reasons. For Bombinus *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 3, 1511 *seq.*

26. THE ANNALS OF GREGORY XIII. WRITTEN BY MAFFEI.

Among the biographers of Gregory XIII.,[1] undoubtedly the most important, and the one most made use of by posterity, is the Jesuit, Giampietro Maffei. Maffei[2] was born in 1535 at Bergamo, and in 1565 he gave up the splendid career which lay before him as secretary of the Republic of Genoa

[1] Among these the only work of importance is by CIAPPI, which did not appear until 1591 (new edition, Bologna, 1592, and one in Rome, 1596, with pictures of the buildings of Gregory XIII.). In addition, the Vita Gregorii XIII. by A. Cicarella (printed in Platina's work) must be mentioned. The works of M. TABERNA, Draco Gregorianus, Romae, 1643, and BOMPLANI, Hist. P. Greg. XIII., Dillingae, 1685, are worthless. The Vita di Gregorio XIII., which Catena intended to write (see, his letters, 289) seems never to have been done.

[2] See SERASSI, Opera omnia I.P.M., Bergami, 1747; I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, II., 49 *seq.*; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 2, 367: RENAZZI, II., 227 *seq.*; Sommervogel, V., 293 *seqq.*

in order to enter the Society of Jesus. As professor of eloquence at the Roman College he devoted his attention a great deal to the history of the Jesuit missions in eastern Asia. Cardinal Henry of Portugal even obtained his transfer to Lisbon, in order that he might write, with the help of better materials, a history of the Portuguese conquests and also of the missions so closely connected with them. From 1572 to 1581 Maffei worked in Portugal upon his "Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI (Rome 1588)," which, together with his life of St. Ignatius, published for the first time in 1585, met with a wide circulation.[1] Having returned in 1581 to Italy, and later on being summoned to Rome by Clement VIII, Maffei devoted himself to the history of the Popes, writing a life of Gregory XIII. in Italian, intending afterwards to deal with his two successors. Only three books of this series, which was written in Latin, were finished when Maffei died at Tivoli on October 20th, 1603. Even the Annals of Gregory XIII. were not yet ready for the press. The manuscript, which had been substantially altered and corrected,[2] was in the hands of the learned secretary of Giacomo Boncompagni, Paolo Teggia (died 1620),[3] who, in spite of many requests, did not publish it. This was done for the first time in 1742, and was dedicated to the learned Benedict XIV. The editor, Charles Cocquelines, gives in the preface an account of the changes that had been made in the work, as well as of the different manuscripts, of which he takes that in the Barberini Library as the basis of his edition. A short Appendix (II. 431–480) together with a passage taken from the "Compendio delle attioni e vita di Gregorio XIII." by Ciappi, published in Rome in 1591, gives us certain information drawn from the Boncompagni Archives.[4] This, however, as well as the remarks in the Introduction (I. p. xxii), only give a very insufficient idea of the material in the Boncompagni Archives,

[1] For the life of Ignatius, see Vol. XII. of this work, p. 1, n. 1. For Maffei, as stylist and historian, see BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, Amsterdam, 1648, 154 *seq.*, 174 *seq.* (this should be compared with Strada), and FEUTER, Gesch. der neuere Historiographie, Munich, 1911, 284.

[2] This is clear from the different copies in the Boncompagni archives, from the handwriting of which it is possible to follow out the development of the annals.

[3] *Cf.* I. NICH ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 156 *seq.*

[4] To Maffei's sources also belong the Commentaria de rebus Gregorii XIII. (*cf. supra*, n. 25) written by Cardinal Guido Ferreri. A Ms. by G. Vossius, made use of by Maffei. *Opera quae sub auspiciis Gregorii XIII. Romae vel alibi prodierunt, is in the Pietro Pieri collection in Rome, which was sold in 1908.

of which Maffei made use for his Annals. Cocquelines and Maffei himself, however, have not for the most part, made sufficient use of these authorities of the first importance, and even where they do make use of them, the historian who has them at his disposal, will rely in the first instance on these original sources and not upon those who have made use of them.[1]

Although Maffei's work has, with the opening of the Boncompagni Archives, and the publication of the reports of the German nunciatures, become one of the secondary authorities, he must nevertheless be given the great merit of having been the first to compile a full biography of Gregory XIII., which, even though it is not altogether impartial, is nevertheless balanced, correct in substance, always reliable and written in good style.[2] This, following the lead of Ranke (III., 57*) is also recognized by Kartunnen (p. 11), who also strongly brings out that Maffei has given but an unsatisfactory account of the domestic and foreign policy of the Pope.[3] Maffei's disciple, Bentivogli, had already expressed the wish for a better political outlook in the work of his master.[4] The chronological method adopted by Maffei is unfortunate, as it often necessarily breaks the continuity, and does not permit the formation of a connected estimate.

27. The family archives of the Boncompagni in Rome, and their importance for the Pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Of the many archives and private libraries in Rome,[5] the collection of manuscripts of the Boncompagni-Piombino is

[1] Sometimes Maffei makes use of the *acta* in the Boncompagni archives verbally, e.g. I., 82, the remark of Salviati concerning the Capuchins, which however he does not quote.

[2] Casual mistakes are to be found I, 3, concerning the family; I, 5, concerning their coming to Rome in 1538 instead of 1539; I, 374, a mistake concerning the deaths of four Cardinals; II, 82 *seq.*, wrong date (see Theiner, III, 696). I, 24, gives the full truth as to the birth of Giacomo Boncompagni, which others avoid doing.

[3] Karttunen, *loc. cit.* says: "L'ocuvre n'en constitue pas moins la source principale et indispensable pour quiconque veut étudier le pontificat de Grégoire XIII. J'ajouterai qu'au cours de mes études sur ce pontificat j'ai été à meme de constater que cet ouvrage souvent assez sévèrement critiqué au point de vue de l'exactitude des renseignments (see Stieve, IV, 86, n. 1), est infiniment plus digne de foi qu'on ne le croit généralement (*ibid.*). Karttunen also calls attention to the chronological notes of Maffei, which are very exact, and the original of which is to be found in Cod. Borghese, III, 129 G., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Bentivogli, Memorie, 155.

[5] *Cf.* L. Pastor, Le Bibliotheche private e specialmente quelle delle famiglie principesche di Roma, Roma, 1906.

certainly the least known. No doubt this has been partly caused by the erroneous idea, shared by a scholar of the calibre of Kehr,[1] that these archives were sold. But that was not the case. The Boncompagni archives are carefully preserved in the family palace in the Via della Scrofa,[2] and have a detailed index: "Bibliothecae Boncompagno-Ludovisae manuscriptorum codicum Elenchus Anno 1757," compiled by Carolus Sommascha. It is clear from the introduction to this index that the entire collection was already made in the time of Gregory XIII., and was added to by Sigonius. Dominicus Jordanus and Justus Fontaninus occupied themselves with cataloguing the printed works. C. Sommascha was the first to arrange the manuscripts, which to some extent he had rebound. He also collected the manuscripts of the secret archives of the family, together with 200 already existing codices, the number of which he brought up to 448. Besides the valuable autograph letters,[3] the importance of the archives consists above all in the manuscripts concerning the pontificate of Gregory XIII., which, however, after the time of Maffei, were not made use of by anyone for the history of that Pope.[4] For that reason I am under the deepest obligation of gratitude to the Prince of Piombino, who has died in the meantime, who in 1902 with the greatest generosity placed at my disposal all the treasures of his archives.

The collection of archives of the Boncompagni family forms, now that the Borghese, Barberini and Chigi collections have come into the possession of the Vatican, and that of the Corsini into that of the Italian government, the most important collection of the kind still in private hands. For Gregory XIII. they contain essential additional matter to the plentiful material in the Papal Secret Archives. Besides numerous collections of letters and monographs, of special importance is a collection of materials for the history of Gregory XIII. added in the time of Sixtus V. by the Duke of Sora, Giacomo

[1] See *Allg. Zeitung*, 1901, n. 185.

[2] Cod. B. 1, E. 107, F. 12 and 27 are shown as missing in the catalogue.

[3] E.g. of Bembo, Sigonio, Card. A. Valiero, M. A. Muretus, Hieron. Cardanus, Gaspar Scioppius, Franc. Mucantius, C. Baronius, Fab. Albergatus, Matth. Senarego, Card. Toletus, and many members of the Boncampagni family. No manuscript is earlier than the XIIIth century.

[4] For other purposes there have been working in the Archives since 1887 my friend A. Pieper, who died prematurely, P. Tacchi-Venturi, P. Pierling, F. Güterbock (see *N. Archiv f. ältere deutsche Gesch.*, XXV., 1899, 39 *seq.*), A. Heidenhain, some scholars from Poland, Brom for the Low Countries (see *Archivalia*, III, 265 *seq.*) and lastly the young prince Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi on the Japanese mission to Gregory XIII.

Boncompagni, who died in 1612, and which Maffei used as the basis of his biography.[1] This was formed by asking the principal fellow-workers of the dead Pope for notes as to their recollections. In order to facilitate their work definite questions were put before them. Thus in Cod. D. 7 there is preserved a letter from Giacomo Boncompagni to A. Musotti, dated Milan, January 1590, in which it is stated that the writer for a long time (buon pezzo) has wished to have written a biography of Gregory XIII.; that he has now found an eminently qualified person for that purpose, for whose benefit he is trying to collect information from all quarters, and especially from those persons who were the ministers and most intimate friends of that Pope. For this purpose he sends Musotti 51 questions.[2] Musotti's reply is to be found in the same manuscript; it is so detailed and valuable as to call for separate treatment (see *infra* App. no. 29).

Further material of the same kind is to be found in a series of other manuscripts in the Boncompagni archives, especially in Cod. D. 5, 6 and 8. Cod. D. 8 is directly described as "Memorie diverse raccolte per la compilazione degli annali ms. intrapresi dal sig, Giacomo seniore Boncompagni, duca di Sora." This manuscript contains a report of the conclave, a "Compendio della vita di Gregorio XIII. con molte postille orig. fra quali varie del sig. Fabio Albergati," and other documents, especially poems and orations, as for example "Oratione prima di Ferrante Caraffa marchese di Santo Lucido alla S^tà di P. Gregorio XIII. dopo i successi della vittoria per conservatione et accrescimento della s. lega e per l'espeditione della s. crociata (scritta al l° di November 1573)." The funeral oration by Cardinal Guastavillani is also to be found here (see *supra* p. 22, n. 7). Materials of a similar kind are to be found in Cod. D. 6; e.g. many opinions on the disturbances in Malta (see *supra* p. 116), the report of the journey of the Cardinal of S. Sisto, F. Boncompagni (see *supra* p. 522, n. 2), the "Abiuratio archi-episcopi Toletani" of April 14, 1576, a series of documents concerning France, as well as the letter of justification from Alençon to Gregory XIII., dated Blois, 5 November, 1575 (see *supra* p. 524), and especially the report

[1] Cod. D.28 contains "Lettere spettanti alla compilazione degli Annali di Gregorio XIII," A letter that belongs here, in MAFFEI, 1, xvi.

[2] In this he also asks concerning the mistakes of Gregory XIII. From the order in which these questions are placed we get the explanation of the order in which Galli, Musotti, etc. wrote their notes.

of Cardinal Orsini (pp. 131-319) on his mission in France (see *supra* p. 517, n. 1). Cod. D. 29 contains "Istanze e suppliche da diversi sovrani d'Europa per la reintegrazione dell ordine degli Umiliati 1572–73." Cod. D. 9 contains documents concerning the Pope's anxiety about damage by floods in the Papal States, and among the latter many monographs of Scipione di Castro.[1] The letter of Gregory XIII. concerning the granting of property at Bologna to Giacomo Boncompagni and his heirs is to be found in Cod. D. 1. The same applies to the letter on the coronation of Charles V. (see *supra* p. 17, n. 3). Cod. D. 4. contains the letters of the legation to Spain of Ugo Boncompagni (see *supra* p. 23) and letters of the years 1566–71.

Besides these the most important materials are contained in Cod. D. 5: "Memorie della vita di Gregorio XIII. raccolte da diversi e originali relazioni di cardinali, nunzii e altri intesi del di lui pontificato." The most important documents are:

1. Notes of Cardinal Galli (see infra App. no. 28).

2. Memorie e osservazioni sulla vita di Gregorio XIII. dal card. di Fiorenza (poi Leone XI). Medici, who knew Gregory XIII. as a Cardinal, gives a report of what he learned during the pontificate. As to the Pope's character, he begins by saying: "Io posso con verità affirmare di non haver mai trattato con huomo alcuno più accorto, più cauto è più temperato, perciochè nei negotii ch'io passai con S.B^ne^ non si alteri mai ne mai offese con parole alcun principe . . ., conservo sempre una somma gravità accompagnata da una mansuetudine incredibile . . . Spediva con celerità incredibile andando sempre al punto del negotio che si trattava." The great love of the Pope for peace, his "costanza" and his "temperanza" are also shown by means of examples. Medici here confirms the account of Musotti (see *infra* App. No. 29) and remarks: "Come inimico dell'otio et de' piaceri non lasciò mai ne intermesse la speditione de negotii, sebene tal volta indisposto occultando quanto più poteva l' indispositione come indefesso ch' era nelle fatighe." Medici cites numerous

[1] Cod. D. 9 also contains from the same author a "Compendio degli stati e governi di Fiandro" and "Mem. orig. dei Cantoni Svizzeri." Many writings of S. de Castro are also to be found in the Boncompagni Archives, e.g. in Cod F. 32 and 33: "De vita et rebus gestis Andreae Doriae"; in Cod. D. 10: "(1) Trattato politico-morale del Principe; (2) Informatione del generalato d'armi dello stato di Milano a Giacomo Boncompagni; (3) Avvertimenti dati a Marc' Ant. Colonna quando andò vicerè in Sicilia."

circumstances in defence and explanation of the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards the bandits. The following remark is especially important: "Io posso referire in sua difesa quello che a S. Stà udi ragionare, et questo è che li papi, che sono vecchi, malagevolmente conducono l'imprese loro a buon fine dove si ha da fare con l'arme, perchè poco sono serviti et di male gambe si dalli lor proprii ministri, si ancora dalli principi et signori."

3. The notes of Salviati refer exclusively to the time of his nunciature in France. They have been used *supra* in chapters IX., XIII. For the reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew see App. n. 31.

4. The notes of Cardinal A. Valiero principally refer to his visitation journeys (see *supra*, 82, n. 1).

5. The "Memorie del card. Mattei" refer to the disagreement between Gregory XIII. and Cardinal Este. Maffei (II., 463 *seq.*) relies upon this in his account; this is the only instance where he expressly quotes a document in Cod. D. 5.

6. The "Considerationi di Ces. Speciani" are so full as to demand special treatment (see *infra*, App. No. 30).

7. The "Memorie del vesc. di Lodi [L. Taverna"] contain especially notes on the character of the Pope, which frequently confirm and amplify Musotti (*cf. supra*, Chap. I.).

8. The "Memorie del vesc. di Bergamo [G. Ragazzoni] nuncio in Francia" contain little of importance; the only point of interest are his remarks on the zeal of Gregory for the visitation of dioceses.

9. The "Memorie di Mons. Dandino" are only of importance for events in France (see *supra* 533).

10. The Notes of A. Musotti (see *infra*, App. No. 29).

11. The "Memorie di Mons. Domenico Grimaldi, arcivescovo di Avignone." The author (*cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 382, 431 *seq.*) principally gives information as to his own work in connexion with the war against the Turks and the defence of Avignon (see *supra* 533).

12. "Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. di s.m. al P. Possevino per conto di pace fra principi et propagatione della fede cattolica in varii regni et provincie." After the many publications of Pierling this only gives anything that is new in certain points (*cf.* Vol. XX. of this work).

As an appendix Possevino gives a collection of dates and of qualifications of Gregory XIII., which are specially noteworthy (see *supra*, p. 53, n. 3, note on Galli) and the memorial to Gregory XIII. which is now published in *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 1 *seqq.*

13. The report of P. Giov. Bruno is of importance for the history of the missions (see Vol. XX. of this work).

14. "Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche" (see Vol. XX. of this work, App. No. 11).

15. Notes of P. Leonardo di Santangelo, rettore di Loreto (see Vol. XX. of this work).

16. "Memorie di Mons. Venantio da Camerino" are of the greatest interest for the earlier life of the Pope, and worthy of all reliance; these have been used fully in Chapter I.

17. "Memorie di Fazolio" with notes as to where further material is to be found; there are also some noteworthy remarks.

18. At the same time there are by way of Appendix the "Varia." Here too original opinions are to be found: e.g. a plan presented to the Pope by Bernardo Bizzardo for a "nuovo ordine di cavalieri." An anonymous plan is addressed to Giacomo Boncompagni for fighting the bandits, and a report of Onorato Gaetani on the "fortezza di Ancona." (Plans for its strengthening and the repairing of the harbour.) The anonymous "Avvertimenti per la fortificatione di Civitavecchia et dell' inconvenienti seguiti" contain schemes for the fortification together with an indication of the errors which are thereby avoided. There follow opinions on the war against the Turks (see *infra*, App. Nos. 31-33), on the question of the Jews (see *supra* pp. 308 *seq.*), a "Discorso sopra le cose di Fiandra," another "sul fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 34 *seq.*, 98) and on the disturbances at Genoa.

The manuscripts collected by the Duke of Sora, bear witness, not only to his devotion to Gregory XIII., but are a further proof that he was a very cultivated man of great ability.[1]

[1] Torne (p. 119) forms quite a false judgment of the duke. The latter showed favour to scholars (*cf.* LITTA, p. 53) many of whom dedicated their works to him, e.g. C. SIGONIO his masterpiece De regno Italiae (Venice, 1591), and Fabio Albergati his *Trattato di politica, Cod. K. 15, and the *Discorso sul moda di cognoscere la verità e far buona scelta di ministri, Cod. K. 11 Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Also the celebrated collection of engravings of ETIENNE DU PERAC, I vestigi dell' antichità di Roma, (Rome, 1577), is dedicated to the duke.

28. Memorie et osservationi sulla vita di Gregorio XIII. del s. cardinale di Como [Galli].

The notes of a Papal Secretary of State concerning the period of his own term of office are very rare. Among such may be placed the "Memorie" of Cardinal Galli preserved in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives. Galli certainly had before him a draft of a biography of Gregory XIII., upon which he made his own observations, since he arranged these according to the chapters of his copy. Of great interest is the judgment formed as early as Chapter III. Galli there remarks as follows on the personality of Gregory XIII.: "Fu huomo di sodo e prudente giudicio et d'una constante et perpetua bontà in tutte le sue attioni et abborrente da certi artificii che procedono de la sagacità et astutia ordinaria degli huomini." Concerning Gregory's manner of life, Galli remarks: "Non si sa che havesse altro diletto maggiore che d'attendere a negotii. Dispensava il suo tempo benissimo stando in perpetua attione. La mattina ricitato l'officio divino in camera usciva a la messa, la quale celebrava per se stesso almeno 2 o 3 volte la settimana. Di poi secondo le giornate attendeva alle capelle, consistorii et signature senza lasciarne mai altro che una capella sola in 13 anni. Il resto tempo consumava in audienze dandole gratissimamente, perchè non interrompeva mai quel che parlava, et ne dava molte, perchè con le sue brevi risposte consumava poco tempo con ciascuno." He spent only half an hour over his dinner, and a quarter over his supper "essendo parcissimo del mangiare et bere, senza voler trattenimento di musica ne di buffoni et ciarlatori."

Galli speaks in a specially detailed way of the ecclesiastico-political work of Gregory XIII. The form of his account of the struggles with Philip II. on p. 18 *seq.*, shows how wrong is the view that Galli was the obsequious servant of the Spanish king. In this matter Galli is absolutely on the side of the Pope, as he is in dealing with the controversy with Venice about Aquileia, as to which he remarks that in this matter no agreement was arrived at: "Fu lasso indeciso, ma pero con un perpetuo timore de la Republica, che il Pontefice dovesse procedere ad ultiora contra la Republica, se ben S. S^{tà} per non sturbar la quiete publica d'Italia s'astenne sempre di farlo."

Drawing upon his recollections, Galli says: "Molte volte avenne che i cardinali de li congregationi; quando in concistoro referivano alcuni loro decreti et risolutioni fondate ne le legge et autorità de dottori, esso [il Papa] a l' improviso ricordava loro altre più a proposito et di maggior peso, di che essi rimanevano stupiti non meno che de la memorie che del giudicio."

Galli treats more especially of the great work done by Gregory XIII. in the foundation of colleges (see *supra* 237 *seq*), of his care for the pilgrims during the year of Jubilee, of his relations with the Cardinals, his predilection for the Jesuits (see *supra* 234), and his piety and generosity (see *supra* 48). As far as the matter of money subsidies to the princes is concerned, Galli's information differs from that of Musotti. According to Galli Maximilian II. and Henry III. each received 100,000 scudi, the Archduke Charles 40,000, and Ernest of Bavari more than 120,000 against Gebhard Truchsess. Musotti, on the other hand, allows "al Rè di Francia più di 300,000 scudi all'Imperatore 100,000 all'arciduca Carlo 100,000, all'impresa di Colonia più di 200,000, al sig. D. Giovanni d'Austria 50,000." The latter figures are to be preferred to those of Galli.

Speaking of buildings, Galli describes the Capella Gregoriana as follows: "Questa capella per la quantità, varietà et finezza di diversi marmi et colonne pretiose et per li lavori sottilissimi di mosaico è stimata cosa a nostri tempi molto singolare et che forsi superi di bellezza ogni altro edificio anco degli antichi." He continues: "Ampliò et ornò grandemente il palazzo di S. Pietro in Vaticano et tra le altre cose si fece quell'appartamento che attacca con la loggia di Leone X., con la loggia chiamata Bologna in cima, che da se solo è un grandissimo palazzo, et fini del tutto la Sala regia col suo stupendo pavimento et incrostatura di varii et finissimi marmi et medesimamente la capella Paulina. Ma quel che supera ogni meraviglia è l'haver finito il corridore che da la banda de le stanze papali passa in Belvedere, che fu opera di grandissima et incomparabil spesa, massime per la galaria [*sic*] che vi si è fatta ornata tutta di stucchi et oro et di varie pitture de la topografia di tutta Italia, tutti distinta in quadri di provincia in provincia con le misure molto giuste, che è forse la più bella cosa che hoggidi si veda in questo genere."

Galli is upon his own ground when he speaks of the diplomatic missions, but it could be desired that he had been more explicit in this matter ; he points to the mission of Possevino as the most important, even though its purpose was very incompletely fulfilled. In Sweden, Galli says, Possevino at least saved the king's son to the Church. With regard to Ivan IV. he says : " Ma come l' intentione del Mosco non era in altro che di liberarsi de le guerre, non si puote fare profitto alcuno circa la religione." The unfortunate outcome of the mission of the Cardinal-nephew to Henry III. is not passed over. Galli strongly rebuts the view that Gregory XIII. had concluded a secret alliance with the Guise : " E molto lontano dal vero quel che si presuppone che il Pontefice facesse mai lega secreta che li s^ri^ Ghisardi ne con altri in Francia, et la verità è questa che li s^ri^ Ghisardi mandorno a Roma secretamente il P. Claudio Matthei Iesuita a far intendere a S. S^tà^ la risolutione che essi havevano fatta di pigliar le armi etiam invito rege, per cacciar di Francia tutti gli heretici et rimettere in pie' la purità de la fede cattolica, et che prima che cominciar l'impresa dimandavano l'apostolica benedettione. Il Papa fece consultare da molti theologi quel che in tal caso poteva et doveva fare, et col parere di loro rispose a bocca che se li principi de la lega si movevano principalmente per la religione, S. S^tà^ approbava l'intention loro et li benediva, ne altro fu fatto ne detto in questa materia ne posto cosa alcuna in scritto, et fù nei giorni estremi de la vita del Pontefice."

There only follow some remarks upon the conclave (see *supra* 15) and the statement that the Pope always kept Galli with him, whom he had summoned to assist him, and Contarelli, whereas he changed his other " ministri."

A useful supplement to Musotti is afforded by a detailed description of the manner of life and character of the Pope, which has been made use of *supra*, chapter I.

A special chapter serves as a relation on the conditions in the States of the Church : " Di alcuni difetti come credulità, troppa misericordia et qualche prodigalità et gladiorum impunitas massime dopo la morte del S. Raimondo Orsino." In this Galli says : " E venuto [il Papa] in opinione di molti per troppo credulo et facile, et mite. Ma la verità è che egli era prudentissimo et sagacissimo, et per la gran prudenza sua mostrava molte volte di credere quel che conosceva essere

in contrario, perchè così espediva di fare secondo la qualità de le persone et de li negotii che correvano, et soleva dire che dove non si poteva provedere, bisognava dissimulare per non far peggio, et quelli che l' accusano di troppo facile et mite, dovrebbono considerare che in un principe ecclesiastico et vicario di Christo, non propriamente signore, ma padre spirituale di tutto il genere humano, è più laudabile inclinar a questa parte che a la sua contraria, oltre che per otto anni continui del suo pontificato nissuno gli attribui mai questo difetto, perchè non ci erano fuorusciti ne altri malfattori ne lo stato ecclesiastico, ma di poi per la mala qualità de tempi et per la pessima natura d'alcuni si fecero nascere li fuorusciti et li travagli che si videro, et se ben il Pontefice fece ogni sforzo suo et non perdonò a spesa ne a fastidio per estinguerli, non puote pero conseguirlo mai, et cosi per minor male l'andò tolerando con tanto maggior charità verso la quiete publica quanto che sapeva benissimo l'origine et il fomento di tutto il male."

Two other chapters deal with "De la distruttione di Monte Marciano" and on the position in connexion with the disturbances in Portugal; in the latter case, however, Galli says nothing of his opposition at that time to Gregory XIII. (see *supra* 359). With regard to the league against the Turks, Galli remarks that the Pope, in spite of all disappointments "mai perse la speranza." Galli's remarks on the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards Stephen Báthory are worthy of being quoted in their entirety. He writes: "Dipoi nel secondo interegno non hebbe parte alcuna ne la creatione del Rè Stefano, anzi gli fu contrario, perchè non haveva sicurezza alcuna ch' egli fusse cattolico, et dubitava de la dipendenza per la Transilvania dal Turco, onde commandò al nuntio suo in Polonia, che era il vesc. di Mondovi, hora cardinale, che favorisse più presto Massimiliano imperatore, si come fece, et per cio fu eletto il detto Massimiliano da tutto l' ordine ecclesiastico, del vesc. di Cuiavia in poi et da tutti gli ordini secolari catolici, et se Massimiliano era presto a entrar in Polonia, conseguiva il regno senza alcuna difficultà, ma il suo procrastinare fu causa che Stefano anticipasse et si fermasse nel possesso, con tutto che fusse stato detto da la minore et peggior parte, ma assai importò che egli havesse per fautore il cancelliere persona di grande autorità et la principessa Anna

sorella di Sigismondo Rè di Polonia morto, la quale favori Stefano con animo di maritarsi poi seco, come fece. E ben vero che mostrandosi poi il Rè Stefano nel principio del suo regno inclinato a cattolici et divoto del Pontefice et de la s. Sede, et sforzandosi ne le occorrenze publiche di dar quanto poteva buon saggio di se a li ministri apostolici, et nel resto governandosi con molta prudenza, et scoprendosi in lui molto valore et esperienza, acquistò interamente la gratia del Pontefice, il quale non restò poi di abbracciarlo et haverlo caro et far qualche disegno sopra di lui per qualche segnalato beneficio del christianesimo contra il Turco."

The end of the "Memorie" consists of his account of the death of Gregory XIII., his proceedings against Gebhard Truchsess, and as an appendix, a chapter "Delle cose d'Avignone" and some other addenda.

29. The Notes of Alessandro Musotti on Gregory XIII.

The Bolognese, Alessandro Musotti, who was interrogated by the Duke of Sora, was assuredly better fitted than any to give special information as to the life of Gregory XIII., since, even before his election, he had been in such confidential relations with Gregory XIII. that he could describe himself as "servitore confidentissimo." This close relationship, which found expression immediately after the elevation of Gregory XIII. in the appointment of Musotti as "tesoriere segreto" became embittered in 1573 (see *Avviso di Roma of September 12, 1573, Urb. 1043 p. 303, Vatican Library; *cf.* the *Relatione in the Corsini Library, *supra* p. 9). The reasons for the disgrace of that time are not well known. Later on Musotti once again recovered his former favour; he was quite unexpectedly given the important office of a Major-domo (Maestro di casa) and on December 9th, 1579, became Bishop of Imola. It was thought that he would also receive the purple. In the meantime, however, Gregory XIII. died, so that Musotti retired to his diocese where he laboured until his death (in 1605) in the spirit of the Catholic reform.[1]

The Notes of Musotti which are preserved in Cod. D. 7 of the Boncompagni Archives, are as full as they are important. At the beginning he says: "Questo che segue è quello che io

[1] See Moroni, XXXIV, 103, XLI, 261. Musotti's brother, too, Filippo, was in close relations with the Pope. *Cf.* Torne, 250; Montaigne, II, 48.

posso dire per verità della vita della santa memoria di Papa Gregorio et per propria scienza et per vera relatione havuta da altri."

Musotti first treats in great detail of the life of Gregory XIII. before the time of his papacy, and of the beginning of the pontificate, he then describes exactly his manner of life, the foundation of the various colleges, his wide charitable activity, the buildings, the administration of the States of the Church, the finances (abbondanza) and the precautions against the plague, and then turns to the peace-making work of the Pope. In this connexion he describes in special detail, his intervention in the disturbances at Malta (*supra* p. 116). The relations of Gregory with Poland and Portugal are treated more briefly. Musotti attributes the continuance of brigandage to the attitude of the Grand Duke of Tuscany: "Conoscendo il Pontefice, che erano fomentati da qualche prencipe che haveva caro di travagliarlo, era il granduca di Toscana Francesco, et volendoli levare, bisognava dare principio a una guerra, cosa da lui (come si è detto) abboritissima; si voltò al rimedio delle orationi et elemosine per placare in questa maniera l'ira giusta del Signore Dio per li peccati de' popoli." When he deals with the attitude of Gregory XIII. towards Piccolomini, Musotti again alludes to the behaviour of the Medici and brings out the Pope's love of peace. He then touches briefly upon the end of the trial of Carranza, the activity of Gregory as the champion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberties, the mission of Toledo to Louvain, and the reform of the calendar. Musotti also describes the attitude of Gregory towards the Cardinals, and the appointment of the Cardinals whom he preferred. In this connexion he rightly brings out the inspired happiness of his choice, and the absence of all nepotism. The following is of importance: "Non li piaceva nel sacro collegio della cardinali numero di frati e diceva ridendo, che per questo rispetto ancora la Sede Apostolica non li dispensava a mutare habiti, perchè fossero conosciuti fra li altri, et li pontefici non ne facessero molti. Non volse mai in cardinalato protettione di religione di frati, perchè diceva, che bisognava lasciare il governo delli frati alli suoi frati et fra frati, et pero levarne anco pochi dalli claustri per darli altri governi, etc." A number of important episodes are adduced to show the piety of Gregory XIII.

His remarks on his behaviour after the massacre of St. Bartholomew have been quoted (*supra* p. 509). Particulars are then given of the visit of the hereditary prince of Cleves, the reception of the envoys of Russia, the behaviour of Gregory at the death of his nephew (*supra* p. 37) and a detailed description of the Japanese embassy. The death and funeral of the Pope, and some remarks upon the part played by the number 13 in his life, bring the notes to an end.[1]

The Notes of Musotti, who does not conceal his sincere veneration for Gregory XIII., bear the impress of absolute credibility. They contain a large number of characteristic details and expressions of the Pope. Considerations of space only enable me to give here his section on the building works of Gregory XIII.:

"Et per più imitare li santi pontefici, si diede a fabricare altre chiese et cappelle et a resarcire di quelle, che per l'antichità ne havevano bisogno. Fece fare la honorata cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in S. Giovan Laterno, dotandola d'alcuni capellani, che hanno la cura di quel santo servitio. Fece resarcire tutto il Battesimo di Constantino, et coprirlo di piombo, che ruinava a fatto; fece accommodare il portico di S. Maria Maggiore, che stava a malissime termine; fece in gran parte la chiesa di S. Gregorio nella chiesa di S. Maria in Navicella, dove stano li preti riformati, et fu poi chiamata S. Maria in Gregorio, ampliata dal cardinale Gio. Donato de Cesis; fece la chiesa de Capucini di Roma con la piazza inanzi, et li aiutò molto a fare ancora la loro chiesa et monasterio, che hanno a Frascati, perchè amava molto questa religione, et ne haveva paterna cura. Mentre stava alla villa, se li faceva le spese di tutto punto, et quando si partiva, se li lasciava, provisione grossissima per molti giorni; per quelli di Roma haveva commandato, che per sempre li fosse dato quanto pane et vino volessero dell'istesso, che lui magnava et beveva, se bene loro modestissimi non ne pigliavano se non per li infermi. Fabricò a Monteporcio, luogo dell'ill^mo card. Altemps, una chiesa sotto il titolo di S. Gregorio et li diede entrata honesta, per mantenere un rettore per beneficio di quelle anime; che per la distanza et incomodità del luogo molte volte, anco le feste, stavano senza la messa et

[1] Hitherto all that has been published has been the point concerning the Japanese envoys, in Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi, app. 10-11.

molti morivano senza li santissimi sacramenti. Fece in S. Cosma et Damiano una cappella, facendo accommodare tutta la chiesa, dove furono trovati li corpi di Papa Felice Secondo, et di S. Marco et Marcelliano fratelli, et di Tranquilio loro padre, et di S. Abbondio et Abbondantio martiri, i quali dui furono con licenza del Pontefice trasportati con incredibile solennità, pompa et decoro alla chiesa del Iesu fabricata dall'ill^mo^ Alessandro card. Farnese tanto nobilmente, come si vede in piazza Altieri, et ivi furono riposti et da quelli padri tenuti con grande honore, veneratione et devotione. Diede non poco aiuto alla fabrica della chiesa della Madonna de' Monti, che nel suo tempo cominciò a fare tante gratie et miracoli in quel luoco, della quale ne era molto devoto, et la visitava spesso, come fu sempre tutto il tempo di vita sua devotissimo della beata Vergine, et tutte le sue prosperità le riconosceva in gran parte dalla intercessione di questa santissima vergine e madre. Fece anco fare la chiesa delle monache Capuccine a Monte Cavallo, et mentre stava là, se li faceva la spesa, et di poi sempre continuava elemosina. Diede molto aiuto alla fabrica delle convertite nella strada del Corso et erano soccorse di ordinaria et straordinaria elemosina. Aiutò anche notabilmente la fabrica delli padri Theatini di S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, a' quali haveva sempre portata particolare affettione, et quando era privato prelato, li dava ordinaria elemosina di un scudo ogni venerdi, quale volse si continuasse di dare anco in pontificato per sua particolare devotione, se bene li accrebbe altra provisione maggiore. Fece soffittare il portico di S. Pietro, che era tutto ruinato. Fabricò la cappella, anzi gran chiesa Gregoriana in S. Pietro di spesa più di centomilla scudi, dotandola di certo numero di capellani, che ogni giorno sono obligati celebrare in detta cappella, dedicandola in honore di quella sempre gloriosa imagine la santissima Madonna del Soccorso, della quale per essere tanto celebre non si dirà altro, perchè quanto si dicesse, si direbbe molto poco in lode di non mai abbastanza laudata vergine e madre, come non si dirà del maraviglioso edificio della detta cappella ornata non di pietre et colonne, ma di gioie et colossi con stucchi et mosaici et organo richissimi et nobilissimi a tale, che lingua non basta per laudare tanta opera. Non tacendo però, che per maggior dote della detta cappella vi fece transportare un'altra pretiosissima gioia il corpò di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno. . . .

Aiutò largamente diversi altri monasterii, chiese et monache et in Roma et fuori di Roma et in particolare le monache del Corpo di Christo di Bologna celebre per tutto il mondo, quello di S. Matteo et altri pure in Bologna, soccorrendo anco di bona somma la fabrica della catedrale di S. Pietro di Bologna, donandoli paramenti, croci et candelieri d'argento ornatissimi; mandò alla santissima casa di Loreto paramenti et donativi, comprò alli padri della Trinità del Monte il terreno per fabricar la scala, et se fosse vissuto l'haverebbe fatta.

Fabricò la Sapienza a' PP. Iesuiti, fabrica veramente stupenda et per la grandezza et magnificenza sua, ma molto più per la infinita utilità che porta a tutto il mondo, perchè vi si leggono tutte le scienze da quei padri, con tanto concorso da tutte le parti del mondo continuato et augmentato maggiormente doppo la morte del Pontefice, segno manifesto, che il sig^re^ Dio ha particolare cura di queste sante opere per beneficio della christianitade. . . .

Non lasciò cosa a fare questo S. Pontefice a beneficio del stato ecclesiastico, non perdonando ne a spesa, ne a fatica; ridusse la fortezza di Ancona forte principalissimo del stato ecclesiastico in così bella et inespugnabile forma, provedendola di molti pezzi artiglieria et altre monitioni con notabile spesa.

Fece spianare tutte le strade della Marca sino alla s. Casa di Loreto, facendo farvi diversi ponti, acciò vi potessero andare le carozze, come fanno, opera utile et necessaria et d'infinita commodità.

Fece ancora fare il ponte sopra la Paglia, dove spese più di 20 mila scudi, opera veramente necessariissima, d'infinita commodità et sicurezza per li passeggeri, che erano trattenuti dalle pioggie, et molti ogn'anno ne pericolavano con perdita della vita e forse dell'anima.

Et fece anco fare il ponte Santa Maria a Roma di tanto ornamento et commodità alla città, opera degna di tanto prencipe, come non è meno degna, commoda et utile la fabrica fatta delli granari alle Termi, dove si conservano li grani dell'abbondanza a beneficio grandissimo del popolo.

Diede anco principio alla bonificatione della valle di Ravenna, riducendola a tale stato, che facilmente si conduceva al fine, et vi spese più di 40 mila scudi, opera che sarebbe molto salubre alla città per il miglioramento dell'aere et utile a tutta la provincia per la gran quantità de grani che vi si

coglierebbono, oltre il bran beneficio delle tratte alla rev. Camera Apostolica.

Vedendo anco, che molti vasselli, che conducevano vittovaglia da Napoli a Roma, per la difficultà di aboccare nel Fiumicino si somergevano et molti erano presi da Turchi, fece fabricáre una torre, dalla quale si scuoprono li vasselli che vengono, et se li porgono aiuti et li salvano, facendo inoltre con parere di valenti ingegnieri fare una palafittata in mare per fare un porto sicuro per detti vasselli, et vi spese più di 40 mila scudi, et se bene prevenuto dalla morte non puote finire si utile et necessaria spesa, era però in tale termine, che per tanto notabile beneficio a poveri marinari et commodo alla città di Roma, la quale era da lui peculiarmente amata, et sempre faceva qualche cosa per maggior ornato et commodità di quella, come si vede anco per le nobili fontane fatte in Piazza Navona, della Rotonda, del Popolo, la nobile strada da S. Maria Maggiore a S. Giov. Laterano; fece scollare l'acque de monti sotto la Madonna de monti, che prima causavano di gran ruine, et riducendo quelli luoghi habitabili, che prima erano inhabitabili e palludosi. Che dirò delle tante et così nobili fabriche fatte nel palazzo di S. Pietro al Vaticano, di tanti nobili appartamenti aggiuntivi, della vaga et ricca loggia, della Bologna, di quella de Venti, della superba et richissima Galeria: non è lingua bastante per esprimere queste magnificenze e grandezze bisogna che l'occhio le veda per maggiormente stupire. Fece l'honorato pavimento et incrostatura della Cappella Paolina et sala del Rè facendo finire di dipengere l'una et l'altra da valent'huomini et primi pittori di quel tempo, Giorgio Vasaro Aretino, Federico Zuchero Urbinate, Lorenzo Sabadini Bolognese, et ne quattro angoli del pavimento della detta Sala Regia vi sono quattro imprese veramente convenienti a un tanto prencipe, l'una del drago rinvolto con le estremità della coda in bocca, il moto a quo et ad quem, l'altra un tempio con un drago in cima, il moto vigilare, la terza è un drago intiero, il moto che dice foelix praesagium, la quarta ù un drago sopra un piè di stallo, il moto che dice non commovebitur. Potrà ciascuno dalla vita di questo Pontefice cavare la interpretatione di questi moti et imprese et come sono verificate compitamente con le sue attioni virtuose et degne.

Ridusse nella honorata maniera che si trova la sala di Constantino per mano di Tomaso Laureti Ciciliano valente pittore ; insomma, se si volessero raccontare tutte le honorate fabriche, bisognarebbe scrivere un volume da se ; voglio finirla con l'ultima fabrica fatta a Monte Cavallo al giardino del card^le^ d'Este, dove fabricò un superbissimo palazzo per commodità delli pontefici suoi successori ne tempi estivi, et bene sapeva che lui per la sua decrepita non haveva da goderlo, fu come lui disse prima, che lo principiasse.

Ma diceva ancora, che bisognava operare sempre et vivere, come se ogni hora si havesse da morire, et come se si fosse per vivere sempre, et che il temere la morte era una perpetua morte, la quale non si doveva temere se non per bene vivere."

30. Considerationi sopra la vita di Gregorio XIII. del vescovo di Cremona [Cesare Speciani].[1]

The " Considerationi " of Speciani is one of the most important documents in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, and together with the notes of Musotti is one of the best sources from which may be gathered direct impressions as to the character and personality of the great Pope, such as could be formed only by one who was close by his side. Speciani limits his notes to those matters concerning which he speaks from his personal knowledge ; for everything else he refers to various other authorities. He several times expressly says that he had questioned others who had themselves taken part in the matter referred to.

After Speciani has brought out the great prudence of Gregory XIII. (" in Spagna appresso gl'huomini più grandi et insigni di prudenza egli è chiamato il savio governatore per eccellenza ") he goes on to speak of his natural character :

Egli era huomo di pochissime parole et talmente parco et circospetto nel parlare che non diceva mai se non quello che era necessario et con parole più brevi et significanti che poteva in maniera che delle risposte sue da chi non era più che avertito

[1] For C. Speciani, the former worthy agent of Charles Borromeo in Rome, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, and afterwards Bishop of Novara and Cremona, where he ruled in accordance with the ideas of the Catholic reform, see, besides Moroni, VII, 147 ; XVIII, 182 ; XLVIII, 135 ; and Steffens-Reinhardt, Nuniaturberichte aus der Schweiz. Introd. to Vols. I and II (*passim*), the Vita di Msg. Ces. Speciani, Bergamo 1786, which is based upon good authorities but has become very scarce. Speciani is spoken of as nuncio in Spain 1586-1589, and in Germany 1592-1597 ; he did not attain to the purple (see Bentivogli, Memorie 131 *seq.*). He died at Spoleto in 1607,

non era inteso qualche volte la mente sua. The treatment of his Cardinals. Era oltretanto acuto nell' intendere come tardo nel parlare, perchè uno non haveva cosi presto cominciato ad aprir la bocca, ch' esso intendeva il fine dove caminava, et gli faceva tali interrogatorii ch' el esponente, se non era più che acuto et prattico, restava confuso, et di qui era che li referendarii in segnatura et l' istessi cardinali non l' arrischiavono di proporre alcune cause delle quali et d' ogni circonstanza essi non fossero bene informati per poter rispondere resolutamente alli quesiti che il Papa soleva fare per il fine che si pretendeva. . . .

Se S. Stà fu in alcuna cosa un poco rimesso nel governo del suo dominio temporale, veramente questo procedeva, perchè tutto era rivolto con li pensieri et con le forze sue nelle cose esterne che concernevano il bene commune delle provincie et massime di quelle che erano infestate d' heresie ovvero di guerre, alli quali è noto a tutti i soccorsi ch' egli diede. . . .

Estimò in tutto il pontificato assai per la sua integrità il card. Contarello, huomo anche di gran valore et fedele. Si volse del Carniglia in molte cose di riforma et d' altri sacerdoti, con li quali conferiva cose che non soleva dire ad altri, et si domesticò assai col card. Borromeo, ad istanza del quale faceva molte cose et gli credeva portandogli anche un rispetto incredibile per non dire riverenza, et soffriva che il cardinale gli dicesse tutto quello che voleva sopra le cose publiche et private di S. Stà medesima.

But Speciani is not silent as to the mistakes of Gregory XIII., on that subject he says :

Essendosi detto molto delle virtù di questo buon pontefice, sarà conveniente cosa dire dei suoi defetti, sebene non erano molti, perchè ove è gran virtù, difficilmente ponno stare difetti d' importanza.

Egli fu un poco rustico nel trattare, di che alcuni principi si lamentavano non complendo esso con certa creanza, che si suole usare tra principi grandi, et so io che bisognò fare qualche scusa, la quale era facilmente accettata, sapendosi nel resto la bontà et buona intentione del Papa. Era parimente sospettoso alle volte, dubitandosi d' esser ingannato da quelli che trattavano seco, etiam che fossero persona da bene, et questo avveniva per esser' egli stato lungamente giudice et provato la malitia dei procuratori et altri negotianti, che ingannavano

il più delle volte per ottenere quello che desideravano dalli giudici, se non lo ponno havere per via retta.

Se gl' oppone ancora la troppa facilità di perdonare ai tristi, il che credo che non si doveria attribuire a male parte, perchè le viscere del principe et massime ecclesiastico devono essere tenerissime, et per questo li s. canoni così severamente prohibiscono che li chierici non s'intromettino in modo alcuno in queste materie come cose che repugnano alla mitezza che conviene che sia nelle persone ecclesiastiche. È ben vero che queste materie non si doveriano referire al Papa, ma ad altri deputati da lui sopra la giustitia, la quale è necessaria che si faccia, chi vuole tener la republica quieta, altrimente nascono di quei disordini et tumulti che si viddero al tempo di questo pontefice in Roma, ove conviene che la giustitia sia essecutiva et più diligente che altrove per reprimere li malfattori, li quali hanno sempre grandissima et prossima speranza del perdono, se non dal presente pontefice almeno dal futuro per le spesse mutationi che si veggono, et da qua vennero le disgratie grandi che furono in tutto lo stato ecclesiastico de latrocinii et fuorusciti, sebene alle volte questi casi pare che venghino più dalla mala dispositione de tempi o delle persone che da negligenza de superiori, poichè si vede, che anche ove la giustizia è rigorosa, a certi tempi compaiono incursioni di banditi che fanno mali incredibili, li quali forse anche permette il Signore pe giusta punitione de popoli, li quali per il più sono poco amici della giustitia et di quelli che hanno cura di farla, cercando mezzi con diligenze iniqui di ricoprire li malfattori et impedire che la giustitia non possa fare espeditamente ciò che conviene."

At the end of his account Speciani collects certain sayings of Gregory XIII. I give two of these: "Che a quelli che parlavano molto non si dovevano fidare negotii grandi, perchè per il più vagliono poco"—"Che il principe deve esser secreto nelle cose sue et haver ministri simili a lui in questo."

31. The French Nuncio A. M. Salviati on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.[1]

Quando Gregorio venne al pontificato, essendo in essere la lega del Papa, del Rè di Spagna e de Venetiani contra il

[1] See *supra*, p. 329, 331, 494 ,547,

Turco, applicò intieramente il pensiero a procurare tutte quelle cose che potessero essere opportune, acciochè detta lega durasse et prosperasse, et sebene la quantità del denaro, ch'egli poteva spendere, non era a tanto negotio di più consideratione che tanto, nondimeno con tanta generosita d'animo si risolse di non perdonare ad alcuna sorte di spesa, et essendo detta lega principalmente fondata nelle forze del Rè catholico et de Venetiani et anco nelle resolutioni che potevano nascere dalla corte di Francia con tutti gli ambasciatori di detti principi, fece ogni offitio possible perchè il negotio passasse intieramente bene.

Et perchè a Venetia era nuntio Msgr. Giov. Ant. Facchinetti, vesc. di Nicastro, il quale sin da principio haveva trattato questo negotio, non gli pareva espediente di mandare nuovi ministri, ma indrizzare a lui tutti gli ordini opportuni a detto fatto. Ma in Spagna mandò Nicolo Ormanetto, vescovo di Padua, persona molto reputata per essere sempre vissa con molto esempio et attesta alla riforma della chiesa et anco versata ne negotii, acciochè egli con la sua prudenza mantenesse il zelo, col quale il Rè di Spagna attendeva a detto negotio, et facesse che più speditamente fossero dati et eseguiti gli ordini che da quella M^tà^ havevano a dependere ; et in Francia destinò Ant. Maria Salviati vescovo che fu di S. Papulo, il quale pareva molto a proposito per negotiare in quella corte, essendovi conosciuto per due viaggi che vi haveva fatto di commissione di Pio V s. m. in quei medesimi giorni ; ne par da tacere che ancorchè questi tre nuntii fussero stati adoperati et intrinseci dell' antecessore, non gli hebbe per diffidenti, come molte volte avviene, anzi gli accarezzò et si servi d'essi, non havendo altro pensiero che del ben publico della christianità et esaltatione di s. chiesa. Et se bene communemente si diceva che 'l Papa ricercava il Rè di Francia d' entrare in detta lega et l' instruttioni n' erano piene, nondimeno egli conosceva benissimo, quanto il negotio fosse difficile per non dire impossibile, et che le conditioni ch' havrebbono volute i Francesi, non potevano essere accordate dal Cattolico, i quali nello stringere il negotio havrebbono domandato lo stato di Milano per il secondogenito di Francia et cose simili, et pero il pontefice, ch' era savio, pensava di conseguire che almeno i Francesi con qualche diversione non impedissero il Cattolico necessitandolo ad impiegar le sue sforze in difendere

i stati proprii et consequentemente a sminuirle della lega, poichè all' hora si trattava che le sforze Francesi andassero a dar soccorso a ribelli del Cattolico nella Fiandra, i quali havevano ridotti quei paesi in gravissimi pericoli, et se bene si trattava il negotio sotto nome degli Ugunotti et che l' Amiraglio et altri capi d' Ugunotti vi calassino, nondimeno si vedeva che quella non era impresa correspondente alle forze loro, et che si mirava che le forze del Rè di Francia vi si havessino ad inviare. Et questo negotio a benefitio della lega ancorchè si trattasse vivamente dal pontefice, et chel nuntio Salviati non lasciasse che fare per obedire al suo principe et impedire che i Francesi cio non facessino, nondimeno se Dio con la sua bontà non provedeva con nuovo accidente, le cose erano a mal termine, perchè sebene i pareri de grandi di Francia et de consiglieri. del Rè di Francia erano diversi, et che mossi da diversi interessi alcuni persuadessero et altri dissuadessero l' impresa di Fiandra, nondimeno è cosa certa che il Rè Carlo gustava sommamente il raggionamente di tal negotio, et che a quello era grandemente inclinato. Ma Dio provedde che quando s' era su la conclusione essendo l' Amiraglio capo de Ugunotti in Parigi et uscendo una mattina dal palazzo regio per tornare a desinare, gli fu da una fenestra tirata un' archibugiata che gli portò via alcuni diti della man destra et passò il braccio sinistro, et qesto fu a XXII d' Agosto 1572, la quale ferita ancorchè fosse mortale, nondimeno havendo di più il detto Amiraglio usato parole molto insolenti et il medesimo fatto i suoi seguaci, fu persuaso il Rè d' assicurarsi da casi suoi con farli morire, di che havutone consigli con alcuni pochi la sera del 23 dopo cena la matina de 24 di buon hora comandò le guardie et fu ammazzato l' Amiraglio con molti capi principali di quella setta, il che roppe il negotio di Fiandra, et se bene molti hanno voluto et forse scritto che tale uccisione succedesse per negotio havuto di lunga mano, nondimeno il pontefice et prima et dopo il fatto seppe chiaramente che la deliberatione nacque all' hora, anzi che l' archibugiata fu tirata all' Amiraglio senza saputa del Rè et per opera di quelli ch' erano di maggior autorità nella corte, i quali vedendo quanto detto Amiraglio con i ragionamenti delle cose di Fiandre et di altre simili imprese andasse pigliando l' animo del Rè, dubitorno che egli non fusse per potere acquistare tanto di credito et di autorità presso di lui, che

fosse per essere il primo della corte con pregiuditio della loro grandezza, et pero se ne vollono assicurare, come fecero.

[Copy Cod. D.5. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.[1]]

32. Charles Borromeo and the plague at Milan in 1576.

The courage and the heroic sacrifice on behalf of the Milanese shown by Charles Borromeo during the terrible plague of 1576 are described in detail by his biographers, Bascapè (lib. 4, p. 80–180), Giussano (lib. 4, p. 248–316) and Sylvain (II. 130–175). *Cf.* also Lossen in Hist. Tascenbuch 5, Folge IV (1874) 247–270, and Corradi in Rendiconti del R. Inst. Lombardo di scienze e lettere, 2e Serie XV (1888). See also Gemelli, A proposito di alcune accuse contro S. Carlo Borromeo. Ricerche epidemiologiche, in La Scuola Catt., 4e Serie XVIII (1910) 165–224. Further literature ibid. 170 seq. in Arch. stor. Lomb. IV (1887) 124 seq., and in Sticker, Abhandl. aus der Seuchengeschichte und Seuchenlehre, I, 1: Die Pest, Giessen 1908, 108 *seqq.*, 423 *seq.*

33. Unpublished writings on the war against the Turks.

Of the many documents which have reference to Gregory XIII. in connexion with the Turkish question, few have been published:[2] most of them are still preserved in manuscript.

Several works bearing on this question are preserved in the Boncompagni Archives in Rome, in Cod. D. 5, n. 20. I may make mention of: 1. The original report of Onorato Gaetani and Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora (undated) on the "fortezza di Ancona" and its restoration, which was thought to be necessary on account of the danger from the Turks. There then follows, together with the work of "Scipione di Castro," plans for the formation of the harbour. 2. "Avvertimenti per la fortificatione di Civitavecchia delli inconvenienti

[1] From the notes of Salviati we also get the following point: "Per conservatione della Sede Ap. et estirpatione dell' heresie del regno dl Franois hebbe Gregorio per bene che i Cappucini vi s'introducessero, acciochè essendo essi Italiani et venendosl puo dlr da Roma et edlficando con l'esempio della vita, si togliesse gran commodità agli heretici di subornare i populi, i quali sotto pretesto di zelo dell'honor di Dlo et con anteporre alcuni mancamenti degli ecclesiastici seminano dogmi falsi et sovertino quelli che non sanno pu' che tanto." (*Cf. supra*, p. 548).

[2] Very rare is the monograph of Domenlco Mora: "Parere del capitano Domenlco Mora di Bologna sopra l'ordine di guerreggiare la potenza del Turco et quello che in cio egli giudica necessario di fare per superarlo. Al illustmo et eccelmo Sig. Castellano dl S. Angiolo il S. Giacomo Boncompagni." In Bologna per Alessandro Benacci, 1572. For the work of Fr. Gondola, see the account of the publisher, Voinovich in Archiv f. osterr. Gesch. II C. 638 *seq.* *Cf.* Pometti, Per la storia d. Marina Ital. Rome 1898, 75 A. 8.

seguiti, o. D. (technical plans, how Civitavecchia may be well fortified, and how certain mistakes therein should be avoided); 3. An anonymous opinion on the war against the Turks, o. D.; 4. "Discorso come si potrebbe combatte l'armata nemica nel porto di Modone (with drawings), o.J. Cod. F. 39 of the Boncompagni Archives further contains a "Discorso a Gregorio XIII. perchè i Veneziani col Rè cattolico si opponghino alla potenza Ottomana."

The Papal Secret Archives contain, in Arm. 18, caps. 6, n. 3, the memorial addressed to the Pope by a "cav. Marco Samuel d'Antivari" on the war against the Turks, o.D.; further, in Arm. 11, t. 91, p. 96 *seq.*, a "Discorso sopra la guerra difensiva d'Italia per mare et terra, da Pietro Rossi, 1575," dedicated to Gregory XIII.

Undated, but written previously to this "discorso" is the "Orazione di Ferrante Caraffa a Gregorio XIII per l'espeditione della Crociata" in Cod. XIII. F. 54 of the National Library, Naples, and in Cod. D. 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. It is a plan for the following up of the victory near Lepanto which was presented to the Pope almost immediately after his election.[1]

In the Royal Library, Stockholm, I found: "*Relatione d'un ambasciatore di S. S^tà^ intorno alle cose Turchesche," Rome 1574, December 1. The author, who was living at Ragusa by the Pope's command, relates what he had learned there, so that they might take precautions in Rome in time. There is a description of the military power of the Sultan. "Padre santo, è necessario che si la Italia non vuol perir et succombere alla possanza di tanto inimico, non aspetti ch'il Turcho come un fulgore le venghi sopra, perchè la rovina sarà irreparabile, ma è bene che i suoi principi le prevedevano senza ingannarsi." The example of the Greeks ought to strike fear. A league which would command more than 300 ships could do a great deal against the Turks; the Pope, Venice and Spain should take part in it. The want of good faith of the Turks, who constantly violate treaties of peace, and Venice with her conclusion of peace will gradually fall into ruin. But even if Venice should be unwilling, the hope of a league need not be abandoned. Italy can supply 100

[1] A *poem to Gregory XIII. on the war against the Turks, 7192, p. 246, Vatican Library.

galleys and Spain 200. The whole world, and especially the Italians, fix their hopes upon the Pope.

34. Reports of the Pontifical visitors of the dioceses of Italy.[1]

The Papal Secret Archives contain in the section "S. Congregazione del Concilio" a number of reports, hitherto unnoticed by anyone, from the pontifical visitors of the dioceses of Italy, which contain very valuable matter for the ecclesiastical history of Italy. The full use of this material must be left to local research. The following list which has been drawn up with the courteous assistance of A. Mercati must serve as sufficient proof of the zeal and care and persistence with which Gregory XIII. sought to enforce the reform decrees of Trent by means of the visitation of dioceses:

1573: Bologna (A. Marchesini visited the city and delegated Giulio de Canis for the mountain districts, and Annibale Malvezzi for the plains), 3 vols.; Faenza (Marchesini); Ravenna (G. Raggazoni, Bishop of Famagosta); Ragusa (Sormani, Bishop of Montefeltro); Farfa (G. B. Maremonti); Camerino (Salvatore Pacini, Maremonti); Jesi (S. Pacini, Bishop of Chiusi); Orvieto (Alf. Binarini, Bishop of Rieti);[2] Bagnorea (Alf. Binarini, by means of Lor. de Grassis, O. Pr.); Assisi (P. Camaiani, Bishop of Ascoli);[3] Bertinoro (G. Ragazzoni, who also visited Ravenna and Cervia).

1574: Ronciglione, Capranica and Sutri (Binarini); Bracciano (Binarini, by means of Luca Ant. Pucci); Toscanella (Binarini); Gubbio (Ragazzoni, who also visited Urbino); Castro and Canino (Binarini); Bondeno and Carpi (Maremonti); Tivoli (Binarini), who was also to visit Aquila;[4] Cagli (Ragazzoni).

1575: Pescia (G. B. Castelli, Bishop of Rimini), 2 vols.; Malta (Pietro Dusina); Modena (A. Marchesani, Bishop of Città di Castello, who was also to visit Reggio); Mantua (A. Peruzzi, Bishop of Cesarea and his delegate[5]), 2 vols.;

[1] See *supra*, pp. 74, 75, 76, 80.
[2] Other *acta in the episcopal archives, Orvieto.
[3] For the visitation of P. Camaiani at Foligno, *cf.* also Jacobilli, *Cronichè di Foligno, ms. in the possession of Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.
[4] For the visitation of Binarini at Ferrara, see the *report of Giulio Masetti of June 16, July 3, August 11, December 8 and 22, 1574, State Archives, Modena.
[5] *Cf.* the *Brief to the Duke of Mantua of September 20, 1575. Orig. in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the monasteries in Florence (Alf. Binarini, Bishop of Camerino).

1576: Grosseto (Bossi, Bishop of Perugia, who also visited Siena and Massa); Pienza (Bossi); Montalcino (Bossi); Siena (Castelli); Milan (Ragazzoni, Bishop of Famagosta); Tortona (Ragazzoni, as Bishop of Bergamo); Volterra (Castelli), 2 vols.; Pavia (Peruzzi and his delegate), 3 vols.

1578: Ferentino (Domenico Petrucci).

1579: Istria (Ag. Valiero, Bishop of Verona); Dalmatia (Ag. Valiero); Budua (Ag. Valiero); Piacenza (Castelli, who was also visitor for Parma, 3 vols.; Crema (Castelli).

1580: Benevento (de Lunel, 2 vols.; Carlo Trecarlini and Lucio Corvi, delegate of Lunel); Brescia (Carlo Borromeo); Choggia (Valiero); Borgo S. Donnino (Bossi, as Bishop of Novara).

1581: Bagnara (Ott. Pasqua, Bishop of Gerace); S. Francesco delle Vigne at Venice (Alb. Bolognetti, Bishop of Massa); Alatri, Ferentino and Anagni (Ann. de Grassis, Bishop of Faenza).

1582: Mondovì (Scarampi, Bishop of Campagna and Satriano); Brugnato (Bossi); Crema (Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo).

1583: Viterbo (Vinc. Cultelli, Bishop of Catania); Montepulciano (Ag. Peruzzi, Bishop of Sarsina); Borgo S. Sepolcro (Ag. Peruzzi); Cortona (Ag. Peruzzi).

1584: Treviso and Feltre (de Nores, Bishop of Parenzo); Belluno (de Nores); Lodi (Bossi); Casale (C. de Montilio, Bishop of Viterbo); Sarzana (Giov. de Angelis as delegate).

1585: Noli (N. Mascardi, Bishop of Mariana).[1]

35. Activity in visitation by the Italian Bishops.

Side by side with the apostolic visitors, many of the bishops of Italy sought to introduce into their dioceses the advantages of the Tridentine reform by means of visitations and synods. The archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, at the Vatican, only contain some of these acta, e.g. the visitation of Archbishop Lelio Brancacci of Taranto, which was made in 1576. The greater part of acta of the visitations are contained in the episcopal archives.[2] I have in particular seen those

[1] Also decrees, s.a. of the visitor Mascardi for Savona and Albenga.
[2] Such as for 1578 in the Archiepiscopal Archives at Urbino.

which are to be found in the episcopal archives of Ravenna; these are contained in two volumes.

The first volume contains [in addition to the acta of the visitations of 1545 (visitation of the city and diocese made by the vicar-general); 1550 (also by the vicar-general); 1557–59 (visitation of the city by the vicar-general); 1566 (visitation of the city by Archbishop Giulio Feltre della Rovere); 1567 (the diocese); 1571 (visitation of the city and diocese, first by Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, and then by his suffragans)] for the time of Gregory XIII., first the acta of the visitation of the city and diocese made after April, 1573, by "Hieronymus Ragazzonus, episc. Famagustanus, in quibusdam prov. Romandiolae civitatibus, episc. Famagustanus ,in quibusdam prov. Romaniolae civitatibus visitator apost., reformator et corrector" (*cf. supra* Ap. 34). Ragazzoni depended for this upon a brief of Gregory XIII. of April 2, 1573. He especially watched over the observance of the duty of residence, and of the duties of individual priests in their offices.

The second volume of the acta of the visitation concerns the visitations made "dal. ill. Cristoforo Boncompagni." Boncompagni began his work on May 20, 1579, with his own cathedral. The questions put by him go into great detail. The visitation, in which were also included the religious orders, lasted through the whole summer until October 9th, 1579. On April 8th, 1580, there begin the protocols of the visitation by the vicar-general. He too took his duties very seriously. In the case of priests, their conduct and their duty of residence were inquired into with equal care, as well as their administration of the sacraments and their giving of religious instruction; in the case of the laity, the number who fulfilled the Paschal precept, communions, and above all, public sinners. For 1582 there exist the acta of the "Visitatio facta ab archiepiscopo Boncompagni" which extended to the territories of Ravenna and Ferrara, and for the year 1583 the acta of the "Visitatio cathedralis et aliarum ecclesiarum civitatis Ravennae" by the vicar-general.

At Ravenna there was also a great synodal activity. Archbishop Giulio Feltre della Rovere held a diocesan synod in 1567 and 1571, in 1569 a provincial synod, while Cristoforo Boncompagni held a diocesan synod in 1580, 1583, 1593 and

1599, and a provincial synod in 1582 (see Synodus dioc. Ravennat. A. 1790, Romae 1791, xxvi). The acta of the second diocesan synod of 1583 are preserved in the episcopal archives; they include a multitude of excellent decrees on reform.

36. Francisco Mendoza to the Emperor Maximilian II.[1]

1574, January 16, Rome.

"Cavando los atros dias en una vigna suya el cavalier Sorrentino a descubierto no se que cantidad de statuas entre las quales ay dos faunos con dos satiros a los pies de la statura de un hombre que dizen todos que es la mas linda cosa de Roma, y un Apollo aunque la cabeça comida un poco, pero alcuerpo lindissimo. . . ."

[Orig. *Romana,* State Archives, Vienna.]

37. Memorial to Gregory XIII. on the Congregations.

"Modo da sostenere il peso della gravezza de negozii del pontificato facilmente, gia proposto a Pio V sa. mem. et esseguito in gran parte da S. Santità con molta laude sua e satisfattion del Collegio."

(Mutai la forma in maggior brevità non scemando la materia).

"Perchè si trattano diversi negotii in Camera di V. S^{tà} et le sogliono impedire le audientie de molti signori et prelati et persone private, si era pensato, per allegerire questa gran somma di facende e di audientie, di proporre che Ella potrebbe restar servita, se in tutti i negotii della corte deputasse tante congregationi de cardinali, quante fossero le qualità de negotii et l'importanza loro, et fra essi vi fosse il capo principale, il quale havesse poi cura di riferire alla S^{tà} Vostra nel giorno che gli fosse assignato per l'audientia sua; e questo medesimo ordine si potrebbe osservare anche nelle altre congregationi speciali et distinguendo le qualità de negotii."

1. Dico che all'offitio della Sta Inquisitione si potrebbero deputare 4 o 6 cardinali, con ordine che havesse poi a rifferire alla S^{tà} Vostra l'Inquisitor Maggiore il tal dì.

2. Alla Signatura di gratia altrettanti o quanti paresser a lei.

[1] See *supra,* p. 220.

3. Alla Signatura di giustizia quattro almeno.
4. Alla Signatura secreta.
5. Alli negotii de principi ossia alla Lega quel numero che le paresse.
6. Alle cose pecuniarie.
7. Alle cose dell'annona.
8. Alli negotii di reforma, tra quali vi fossero ancora quelle delle visite de vescovi.
9. Al Concilio.
10. All'occorrenze de frati, monache et vescovi absenti.
11. Per le cose dello stato ecclesiastico e per le querele de tribunali di Roma deputare una consulta.
12. Alla Dateria ancora si era pensato di deputare qualche congregazione per maggior scarico suo.

Et in queste X congregationi facilmente s'impiegarebbono tutti i cardinali, a' quali si darebbe satisfattione et i meno esperti verrebbero a guadagnare con la compagnia de più pratici. Alle quali congregationi ancora si potrebbero commettere altri negotii occorrenti, secondo la qualità loro alla giornata, ad referendum.

E per ordinare ancora tutte le audienzie, potrebbe deputare i giorni per gli offitiali della corte et per gli ambasciatori, per prelati et cardinali, i quali però si haverebbero a contentare di ragione della audienzie de concistorii, overo due volte il mese di havere audienzie private."

[Copy: Var. polit., 82, p. 446. Papal Secret Archives.]

38. List of Cardinals of the Inquisition, 1566–1621.[1]

Nel principio del pontificato del b. Pio V erano otto li sig^{ri} cardinali della congregatione del S. Officio, cioè l'ill^{mi} e rev^{m} signori:

Giovan Michele card. Saraceno [† 1568].
Giovanni Battista Cicada card. S. Clemente [† 1570.]
[Giovan Suavio] card. Reomano [† 1566].
F. Clemente [D]Olera Minore Oss^{te} card. Araceli [† 1568.]
Carlo card. di S. Martino ai Monti Borromeo [† 1584.]
Ludovico Simonetta vesc^{o} di Pesaro card. del titolo di S. Ciriaco [† 1568].
Vitellozzo card. de SS. Sergio e Bacco Vitelli [† 1568].

[1] See *supra*, p. 297.

Francesco card. di S. Luca Alciato [† 1580].

Dal Pontificato poi del b. Pio V fino a tutto il ponteficato di Paolo V sono li seguenti:

Bernardino Scoto card. arcivescovo di Trani [† 1568].

Angelo Nicolino card. arcivescovo di Pisa [† 1567].[1]

Francesco card. Paceco [† 1579].

Giovan Francesco card. Gambara [† 1587].

[Gianpaolo] card. ab Ecclesia [† 1575.]

Lodovico vescovo di Trento card. Madruccio [† 1600].

Giulio Antonio Santorio arc^vo card. di S. Severina [† 1602].

Giacopo vescovo di Sabina card. Savelli [† 1587].

Giovan Antonio Facchinetti card. de SS. Quattro Coronati [later Pòpe Innocent IX., † 1591].

Giovan Batt. Castagna card. di S. Marcello [later, Pope Urban VII., † 1590].

Pietro del titolo di S. Prisca card. Deza [† 1600].

F. Girolamo del titolo di S. Tomaso in Parione card. d' Ascoli [Bernerio, † 1611].

F. Costanzo del tit^o di S. Pietro al Monte d' Oro card. Sarnano [Boccofuoci, † 1595].

Domenico del tit^o di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna card. Pinello [† 1611].

Paolo Camillo del tit^o di S. Cecilia card. Sfondrato [† 1618].

Francesco del tit^o di S. Maria Traspontina card. Toledo [† 1596].

Camillo del tit^o di S. Eusebio card. Borghese [later, Pope Paul V., † 1621].

Pompeo del tito di S. Maria in Aquiro card. Arigone [† 1616].

Lucio del tit^o di S. Quirico e Julita card. Sasso [† 1604].

Francesco del tit^o di S. Croce in Gerusalemme card. de Avila [Guzman, † 1606].

P. Roberto del tit^o di S. Maria in Via card. Bellarmino [† 1621].

F. Anna Decars del tit^o di S. Susanna card. de Giury [† 1612].

Ferdinando del tit^o di S. Eusebio card. Taverna [1619].

F. Anselmo Marzato del tit^o di S. Pietro in Monte aureo card. de Monopoli [† 1607].

Innocentio vescovo di Camerino card. del Bufalo [† 1610].

[1] Omission of Scipione Rebiba; see vol. XVII. of this work, p. 292, 327.

Lorenzo del tit° di S. Lorenzo in Paneperna card. Bianchetti [† 1612].

Pietro del titolo di S. Nicolò in Carcere card. Aldobrandino [† 1621].

Antonio arciv° di Burgos card. Zappata [† 1635].

[Giovanni Garzia del tit° de S.S Quattro Coronati card. Mellino [† 1629].

Fabritio del tit° di S. Agostino card. Verallo [† 1624].

Francesco del tit° di S. Calisto card. Roccafocaù [† 1645].

F. Agostino del tit° S. Maria d' Araceli card. Galamino [† 1639].

F. Felice del tit° di S. Girolamo de Schiavoni card. Centini [† 1641].

Giovanni del tit° di S. Clemente card. Bonsi [† 1621].

Gasparo del tit° di S. Croce in Gerusalemme card. Borgia [† 1645].

Pietro del tit° di S. Tomaso in Parione card. Campori [† 1643].

Scipione del tit° di S. Susanna card. Cobellutio [† 1627].

F. Desiderio del tit° di S. Clemente card. Scaglia [† 1639].

[On the verso in another hand :] Cardinali del S. Offitio da Pio V a Paolo V inclusive.

[Copy, Ottob. 2498 p. 262. Vatican Library.]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOLUME XIX.

Acquaviva, Giulio, Cardinal, 225.
Ado, 281.
Adrian VI., Pope, 202, 274.
Agazzari (S.J.), 244, 387 n. 2.
Agelli, Antonio (scholar), 259, 280.
Agostino, Antonio (scholar), 264.
Ailly, Pierre d' (theologian), 283.
Alaleone, Paolo, 231 n. 1.
Alba, Duke of, 345 n. 1, 486, 489, 497, 508.
Albani, Cardinal, 14, 348 n. 1, 349.
Albergati, Fabio, 30 n. 3.
Albert of Austria, Cardinal, 223, 370, 374.
Alberti, Cherubino (painter), 48.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 7, 63, 105 n.
Albuquerque (Spanish governor of Milan), 95.
Alcantara, *see* Peter.
Alciati, Francesco, Cardinal, 17, 216, 227, 280 n. 2, 348 n. 1.
Aldobrandini, Giovanni, Cardinal, 27, 66, 216, 225, 311 n. 6, 327, 331.
Aldrovandi, Ulysses (naturalist), 260.
Alençon, Francis, Duke of, and Anjou, 406, 435, 439, 520, 525, 533 *seq.*, 537, 539, 541, 543.
Alexander VI., Pope, 229.
Algardi (sculptor), 195 n. 1.
Allen, William, 243, 260, 376-382, 385-388, 394, 400 n. 1, 402 n. 2, 408, 422, 426, 430, 436 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*, 460, 465, 467, 468 n. 1, 480 n. 1.
Aloysius of Gonzaga, St., *see* Gonzaga, Luigi.
Alpharanus, Tiberius, 276 n., 278 n. 1.
Altemps, Cardinal (Mark Sittich von Hohenems), 14 *seq.*, 23, 29 n. 3, 30, 42, 56 n. 4, 216, 221, 231, 239, 324 n. 4, 331, 333.
Altoviti, Antonio (Archbishop of Florence), 81.
Alvarez, Baltasar (S.J.), 146, 148.
Alvarez, Rodriguez, 136 n. 1.
Amalteo, Attilio, 259.
Amalteo, Gian Battista, 259.
Ammanati, Bartolomeo (architect), 250.
Ammianus, Nic. (Augustinian), 275 n. 6.
Ancina, Giovenale (Oratorian), 172 n. 3, 187, 191.
Andrew of Austria, Cardinal, 223.
Anerio, Giov. Franc. (musician), 188.
Animuccia, Giovanni (musician) 186 *seq.*
Anjou, *see* Alençon and Henry III.
Antoniano, Silvio, 259, 280.
Antonio (Prior of Crato), Portuguese pretender, 359, 432.
Aquaviva, Claudio (General of the Jesuits), 216, 235, 262 n. 2, 267.
Aquaviva, Rodolfo (S.J., missionary), 254.
Aragon, Carlos de (Duke of Terranueva, governor of Milan), 102 *seq.*, 231, 327, 369 n. 1.
Aragona, Simone Tagliavia d', Cardinal, 231, 232.
Arator, *see* Szántó.
Arca, Fabio, 17 n. 3.
Archinti, Romolo (Bishop of Novara), 81.

Arco (Imperial envoy in Rome), 423 n. 2, 493 n.
Arcudio, Pietro, 247 n. 5.
Arden, Edward (High sheriff of Warwick), 446.
Arenberg, Countess of, 208.
Argyll, Earl of, 422, 424.
Arias Montanus, Benedict, 279 n. 1.
Aringhi, 185 n. 1.
Armagnac, Cardinal, 11 n. 3.
Arndt, J. (mystic), 138 n. 1.
Arnold, G. (mystic), 138 n. 1.
Arpino, Pietro Magno d', 259.
Arsenio (Pres.-Gen. of Vallombrosa), 118 n. 1.
Atholl, Earl of, 424.
Atkins, Richard (heretic), 306.
Aubigny, *see* Stuart, Esmé.
Auger, Edmond (S.J.), 550.
Augustine, St., 135.
Aumale, Claude, Duke d', 492 n. 1.
Avalos, Rodrigo de (visitor of Religious Orders), 118 n. 1.
Avençon de St. Marcel, Guillaume d' (Archbp. of Embrun), 552.
Avila, Pedro de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 349 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*
Ayamonte (Spanish governor of Milan), 96, 101 *seqq.*, 349.
Azpilcueta, Martino (canonist), 54, 214, 261.

Bacon, Roger (O.F.M.), 283.
Baius, Michael (theologian), 314-319.
Baldinucci, Antonio (S.J.), 254.
Balducci, Antonio (O.P., commissary of the Inquisition), 297 n. 3.
Ballerini (S.J.), 253.
Bañez, Dominic (O.P.), *see* Ibañez.
Barajás, Count, 367.
Barbaro, Marcantonio (Venetian Bailo), 332 *seq.*, 338 n. 2.
Bari, Matteo de, 249 n. 1.
Baroccio, F. (painter), 195 n. 1.
Baronius, Cesare (Oratorian), 8, 169 *seqq.*, 179 *seq.*, 183 *seqq.*, 192 *seq.*, 259, 262, 265, 269, 275 n. 6, 280 *seq.*, 305.
Barrière, Jean de la (Cistercian abbot), 552.
Bartolini, Cardinal, 195 n. 1.
Bascapè, Carlo (General of the Barnabites), 102, 107 n. 3.
Báthory, Andrew, Cardinal, 233.
Báthory, Stephen (King of Poland), 6, 232, 271, 354 n. 4, 371.
Baume, Claude de la (Archbp. of Besançon), Cardinal, 226 233.
Beaton (Archbp. of Glasgow), 405, 423, 429 *seq.*, 433, 448 n. 3.
Beauville (envoy of Charles IX. in Rome), 501, 504.
Bede, The Ven., 281.
Bellarmine, Robert (S.J.), 253, 259 n. 2, 279, 369 n. 1.
Bellegarde, M. de, 520 n. 2.
Belo, Lorenzo, 276 n.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 192 n. 3.
Benizi, Philip, St., 171 n. 2.
Benoist, Réné, 320 n. 3.
Benvoglienti, Fabio, 259.
Benzi, Fr. (S.J.), 251 n., 271.
Berchmans, John (S.J.), 254.
Bernieri, Cardinal, 297 n. 3.
Bertrand, Louis (O.P.), 146.
Bestiani Malatesta, Guiseppe de
Bestiani Malatesta, Guiseppe de, 356.
Bianchetti, Ludovico (maestro di camera), 26, 40, 54.
Bianchi, Arcangelo, Cardinal, 227, 320 n. 1.
Binarini, Alfonso Maria (Bishop of Camerino), 75.
Birago, Renato, Cardinal, 226, 230.
Bladus, Ant., 199 n. 1.
Bobba, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 225, 349.
Boccaccio, 320.
Boccapaduli, Antonio, 11, 54 n., 259, 514, 527.
Bolani, Domenico (Bishop of Brescia), 81.

Bolognetti, Alberto (Bishop of Massa), Cardinal, 77 *seq.*, 231, 300 n. 2, 371.
Bonardi, Vincenzo (secretary of the Index), 320 n. 1.
Bonaventura, Diego de (commissary of Ormaneto), 128 n. 2.
Boncompagni, Family of the, 16, 233.
Boncompagni, Cristoforo (father of Gregory XIII.), 16 *seq.*
Boncompagni, Cristoforo (nephew to Gregory XIII., Archbishop of Ravenna), 31, 82.
Boncompagni, Filippo (nephew to Gregory XIII.), Cardinal (of S. Sisto), 30 *seqq.*, 36, 42, 60 n. 1, 68 n. 4, 522 *seq.*
Boncompagni, Giacomo (natural son of Gregory XIII., Duke of Sora), 33-37, 42, 45 n. 4, 56 n. 4, 261, 365, 368 n. 1, 522, 523 n. 1.
Boncompagni, Girolamo (brother to Gregory XIII.), 30, 36, 37 n. 1, 46 n. 2.
Bonelli, Girolamo, 11.
Bonelli, Michele, Cardinal, 13, 15, 221, 238 n. 3, 320 n. 1, 324 n. 4, 347 n. 4.
Bonhomini [Bonomi], Giov. Franc. (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 63, 77 n., 79, 81, 126, 315 n. 3, 319.
Borgia, Francis (general of the Jesuits), 235, 237.
Borja, Alvaro de (Marquis of Alcañiz, Spanish envoy in Rome), 353.
Borromeo, Anna, 191, 193.
Borromeo, Charles (Archbp. of Milan), Cardinal, 1, 13 n. 2, 14, 20 *seqq.*, 27 *seqq.*, 43, 66 *seqq.*, 75 *seqq.*, 79, 82-108, 118 n. 1, 120 *seq.*, 124, 182, 190 *seq.*, 200, 203, 214, 216, 221, 233, 234, 254 n. 6, 278 n. 3, 299, 348, 369 n. 1, 375, 538, 555, 559.
Borromeo, Federico, Cardinal, 86 n. 1, 165 n. 1, 190, 193.
Bosio, Antonio (archeologist), 185, 262 n. 2, 269.
Bossi, Francesco (Bishop of Perugia and Novara), 75, 77 n.
Botero, Giovanni (secretary to C. Borromeo), 87 n. 3, 93 n., 258.
Boucherat, Nicolas (abbot-general of the Cistercians), 113, 115.
Bourbon, Charles I. de (Archbp. of Rouen), Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 484, 516, 528, 540, 542 *seq.*
Bourbon [Vendôme], Charles II de (Archbp. of Rouen) Cardinal, 231, 552.
Bourbon, Louis de (Duke of Montpensier), 504.
Brancacci, Lelio (Archbp. of Tarento), 80.
Brantôme, 508.
Braun, Conrad, 264.
Braveschi, Joh. Bapt., (O.P.), 277 n. 1.
Bresson, Ange (Capuchin), 548
Briant, Alexander (Engl. martyr), 401.
Brisegna, Abbot, 362 n. 4.
Browne, Robert (Puritan), 475.
Bruno, Giovanni (S.J.), 49 n. 1.
Burali, Paolo, Cardinal (of Piacenza), 14, 27, 66, 80, 200 n. 5, 216, 227.
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 376, 414, 447-450, 452, 457 n., 463 n. 1, 466, 468 470, 475, 477.
Burgo, Bened. de (Servite), 117 n. 6.

Cabrera, Cristoforo, 276 n.
Caccia, Galeotto, 163 *seqq.*
Caffardo (General of the Carmelites), 158.
Calenzio, Generoso (Oratorian) 177 n. 1, 195 n. 1.
Calibita, Giovanni, 122.
Caligari, Giovanni Andrea (nuncio), 63, 115 n., 5, 126.
Calvin, 467 n. 2, 472.
Camaiani, Pietro (Bishop of Ascoli), 81.

Camden (historian), 470 n. 1.
Camerino, Venanzio da, 21, 24 n., 39 n. 2, 324 n. 2.
Camillus of Lellis, St., 191, 254.
Campanus, Joannes, 283.
Campegio, Lorenzo (nuncio), 78 *seq.*, 300, 352, 451.
Campion, Edmund (S.J.), 388, 390-403, 415, 426 *seq.*, 449, 457, 465, 468.
Canani, Giulio (Bishop of Adria), Cardinal, 231.
Cancellieri, Fabio, 198 n. 1.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 238, 260, 264, 266, 551.
Canobio, G. B. (papal secretary), 54 n.
Capilupi, Camillo, 301 n. 1, 489, 503 n. 1, 509.
Capilupi, Ippolito, 277 n. 2.
Capite Fontium, Christoforo de (Minorite), 553 n. 3.
Capobianco, Giuseppe, 275.
Capodifonte, Cristoforo (General of the Observants), 111 n. 2.
Capranica (nuncio), 78 n. 1.
Caracciolo, Salvatore (Theatine) 81.
Carafa, Alfonso, Cardinal, 19 *seq.*
Carafa, Mario (Archbp. of Naples), 80.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 60 n. 1, 216, 248, 259, 278 n. 4, 279, 280 n. 2.
Carafa, Carlo, Cardinal, 19.
Carducci, Angelo, 198 n. 4.
Carga, Giovanni, 53 n. 1, 259, 274.
Carniglia, Bernardino, 25 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*, 54, 66 n. 3, 68.
Caro, Annibale, 219.
Carranza, Bartolomé, (Archbp. of Toledo), 23, 59, 297 n. 3, 311-14, 351 n. 4, 352.
Carter, William (bookseller), 449.
Cartwright, Thomas (puritan), 473, 476.
Cassian, John, 278.
Cassière, Jean Levesque de la (Grand Master of the Knights of Malta), 116.
Castagna, Giambattista (Archp. of Rossano), Cardinal, 61 n. 3, 62, 65, 230, 232, 297 n. 3, 329, 492 n. 1.
Castelli, Bartol. di (heretic), 302 n. 3, 303.
Castelli, Giov. Batt. (Bishop of Rimini, nuncio), 75, 77 n., 79 n. 3, 429 *seqq.*, 435 n. 2, 537 *seq.*, 557.
Castello, Castellino da, 90.
Castiglione (author), 320 n. 3.
Castro, Rodrigo de (Archbp. of Seville), Cardinal, 230, 232, 545.
Catherine de' Medici (Queen-Regent of France), 124, 482-86, 490 *seq.*, 494 *seq.*, 497, 501, 504, 513 *seqq.*, 518-21, 524 *seq.*, 528, 531 *seqq.*, 535, 538, 546 *seq.*
Cavalieri (composer), 189 n. 1.
Cavalieri, Gianbattista de' (engraver), 201, 470 n.
Cavalli, Serafino, 118 n. 1, 483 n. 3, 558 n. 3.
Cavriana, 486.
Ceccarelli, Alfonso (physician), 16 n. 2.
Cecconi, Leonardo, 187 n. 1.
Cellini (artist), 105 n.
Cerrano (artist), 105 n.
Cervantes, Gaspar, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 225.
Cesalpino, Andrea (physician and botanist), 165 n. 1.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 15, 327, 331.
Chacon, Alfonso, 260, 262 n. 2, 269, 275 n. 6.
Chacon, Pedro, 260, 278, 279 *seq.*, 285.
Chapuys (Spanish ambassador in England), 419.
Charles, Archduke of Styria, 63, 319.
Charles, Count of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, 115.
Charles V., Emperor, 4, 369 n. 1, 419, 477.
Charles IX. (King of France), 329, 405, 482, 484 n. 3, 488, 491, 492 n. 1, 494, 497 *seq.*, 501, 503 n. 1, 504, 506, 512-18, 520 *seq.*, 527 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*

Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, 517, 536.
Charles Frederick, of Juliers-Cleve, 63, 201 *seq.*
Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, 105 n.
Chaves, Diego (confessor to Philip II., O.P.), 98 n. 1, 101 n. 4.
Chemnitz, Martin (theologian), 292.
Cheyney (Bishop of Gloucester) 395.
Chiesa, Gian Paolo della, Cardinal, 216, 225, 297 n. 3, 331.
Chrysander, 189 n. 2.
Ciaconius, *see* Chacon.
Ciappi (biographer of Gregory XIII.), 18 n. 6.
Cicada, Giambattista, Cardinal, 19.
Circignani, Niccoló (painter), 469.
Claude II., Duke of Aumale, 492 n. 1.
Clavius, Christopher (S.J., mathematician), 253, 260, 285, 287, 294.
Clement VI., Pope, 283.
Clement VII., Pope, 72, 123, 168, 369 n. 1.
Clement VIII., Pope, 192, 287 n. 2, 294, 384.
Clement IX., Pope, 253.
Clement X., Pope, 253.
Clement XI., Pope, 253.
Clement XII., Pope, 253.
Clenock, Maurice (rector of English College, Rome), 244, 382, 409.
Clerici, Giampaolo (Oblate), 84 n. 4.
Cleyborn (captain), 411 n. 2.
Clitheroe, Margaret (Engl. martyr), 458 n. 1.
Coligny, Admiral, 482-87, 490 *seq.*, 494, 501 *seq.*, 504, 509 n. 1, 510.
Colonna, Family of the, 191.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Archbp. of Salerno), 82 n. 4, 118 n. 1.
Colonna, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 54 n. 1, 201.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Viceroy of Naples), Admiral, 33, 191, 212, 325, 327 *seq.*, 330, 334, 346 n. 2, 369 n. 1, 374 n. 2.
Colonna, Prospero, 428.
Commendone, Giov. Franc., Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 216, 231, 233, 497.
Concini (secretary to Cosimo I.), 13.
Condé, 490, 501, 519 *seq.*, 524 *seq.*
Consolini (Oratorian), 193.
Contarelli, Matteo, Cardinal, 26, 28, 56, 71, 231, 249 *seq.*, 259, 381.
Contarino, L., 198 n. 4.
Corbara (nuncio), 70 n. 6.
Cordeses (Spanish Jesuit provincial), 127.
Corgna, Fulvio della, Cardinal, 221, 229.
Cornaro, Caterina (Queen of Cyprus), 275.
Cornaro, Federigo (Bishop of Padua), 77.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 32 n. 4, 233, 334, 336.
Corraro, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 52, 56, 100 n. 4.
Correggio, Girolamo da, Cardinal, 13, 225.
Cortona, Pietro da (painter), 181 n. 1, 195 n. 1.
Cosimo, *see* Medici.
Cotta, Pomponio (Bishop of Novara), 272 n. 2.
Cotton, George, 459 n. 4.
Cour, Didier de la (O.S.B.), 551.
Créquy, Antoine de, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 225.
Crescenzi, Family of the, 191.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 19.
Crichton, William (S.J.), 429 *seqq.*, 435, 450, 453.
Crispi, Tiberio (heretic), 301 n. 2.
Cristoforo da Foligno (O.F.M.), 118 n. 1.
Crivelli, Alessandro, Cardinal, 216, 225.
Croce, Grég. de (Bishop of Martorano), 69 n. 1, 77 n.

Croix, Edmond de la (Apostolic visitor), 115 n. 5.
Cultellis, Vincenzo de (Apostolic visitor), 77 n.
Cusa, Nicholas of, 283.
Cusano, Cardinal, 191, 192.
Cusano, Galeazzo (Imperial agent in Rome), 15 n. 4, 27 n. 1, 32 n. 1, 33 n. 6, 215 n. 3, 339, 504.

DACRE, Leonard, 407 n. 2.
Damville, Marshal, 531.
Dandino, Anselmo (Protonotary, nuncio), 405 n. 1, 533 *seq.*, 556 *seq.*
Danti, Ignazio (O.P., mathematician, bishop of Alatri), 259, 270, 285.
Darnley, Henry, 425.
David (Parisian advocate), 529.
Davila (historian), 545.
Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 233, 500 n. 3.
Dernbach, Balthasar von (prince-abbot of Fulda), 7.
De San, Louis (Jesuit), 140 n.
Desmond, Earls of, 413, 414.
Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 226, 297 n. 3.
Donato, L., 370 n.
Donesmundi, Hipp., 113 n. 2.
Doria, Gian Andrea (Admiral), 332.
Doria, Nicolò (Carmelite), 160.
Dubliul, Laurus (envoy in Rome from the Netherlands), 255 n. 2.

ECHTER, Julius, of Mespelbrunn (Prince-bishop of Würzburg), 7.
Eder, Georg, 260.
Eglington, Earl, 422.
Eisengrein, Martin, 265.
Eisengrein, Wilhelm, 264, 276 n.
Eliano, Giambattista (S.J.), 273 n. 1.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 5, 245, 268, 330, 356, 367, 375, 376 *seq.*, 389 *seq.*, 395, 406, 408-12, 417, 425-8, 430, 433, 437 *seq.*, 439-50, 452, 454-57, 460, 462-8, 470, 472, 474 *seq.*, 478 *seq.*, 482, 491, 544.
Elizabeth (Queen of Spain), 489.
Ely, Humphrey, 418 n. 3, 440.
Emanuel, King of Portugal, 358.
Emanuele Filiberto (duke of Savoy), 12 n. 5, 341 n. 2.
Englefield, Francis, 408, 447.
Espinac, Pierre d' (Archbp. of Lyons), 119 n., 530.
Erasmus, 321.
Ernest, Duke of Bavaria (Bishop of Freising, Hildesheim, Liège, Cologne and Münster), 119 n., 201.
Espinosa, Diego, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 225.
Este, Ippolito d', Cardinal, 44, 217, 221, 225, 499, 528.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 44, 56 n. 4, 221, 231, 304 n. 2, 499, 501 n. 1.
Eusebius of Doryläum, 404 n. 1.

FABIANI (hebraist), 278 n.
Fabri, Giacomo (poet), 278 n.
Facchinetti, Giov. Ant., Cardinal (later Pope Innocent IX.), 31 n. 1, 65, 66 n. 2, 224 n. 2, 230, 232, 297 n. 3, 300, 329, 353, 512 n. 1, 546.
Farnese, Alessandro, Duke (Governor of the Netherlands), 213, 466 n. 1.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 11 *seqq.*, 17, 33, 42 n. 2, 44, 54, 56, 191, 216 *seqq.*, 221, 223 n. 2, 231, 239, 309 n. 4, 372.
Farnese, Ranuccio, 146.
Fazolio, 235 n. 6.
Felix of Cantalice, 191.
Felton, John (English martyr), 466.
Fénelon (French envoy to Scotland), 434.
Fentray, Lord, 437.
Férals (French envoy in Rome), 499, 500, 504.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 19.

Ferdinand II. (Archduke of Tyrol), 63, 222 n. 3, 223, 319, 537 n. 2.
Fernandez, Pablo, 148 n. 4.
Ferrari (Archbp. of Milan), Cardinal, 105 n.
Ferreri, Guido, Cardinal, 20 n. 7, 41 n. 2.
Field, (puritan), 474.
Filiarco, Cosimo, 198 n. 4.
Filippi, Pietro Paolo (O.P.), 119 n.
Fisher, John (Bishop of Rochester), Cardinal, 418 *seq.*
Fitzgerald, James Fitzmaurice, 409-14.
Fivizani, Aug. (Augustinian-hermit), 277 n.
Flacius Illyricus, 264.
Flaminius Lucensis, 276 n.
Florus, 281.
Folieta, Uberto, 259, 336.
Foix, Paul de (French ambassador in Rome), 116, 299 n. 3, 306 n. 4.
Fonseca, Pedro de, 261.
Forli, Angelo da (inquisitor), 299 n. 3.
Foscarini, Giacomo (commander of Venetian fleet), 325, 328.
Fourier, Peter, 551.
Francis of Sales, St., 85 *seq.*, 108 n. 2, 187.
Franco, Curzio, 280.
Frangipani, Family of the, 191.
Frangipani, Fabio Mirto (Archbp. of Nazareth, governor of Bologna, nuncio), 232, 495, 521, 523, 534.
Franzelin, (Jesuit), 253.
Freeman, Thomas (Engl. exile), 469 n.
Frederick II (King of Prussia), 295.
Frigerio, Paolo, 196 n.
Frizolio, Lorenzo, 259.
Frumento, Alessandro (Papal envoy), 28, 353, 355.
Fusconi, Giov. Batt., 532 n. 3.

Gabio, Giov. Battista, 285.
Gaetani, Family of the, 191
Gaetano, Scipione (painter), 46 n 2
Gaetano di Tiene, 166
Galerio, Niccolò (vicar-general to Charles Borromeo), 100.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal (of Como, secretary of state), 15, 29, 31 *seq.*, 37, 40 *seqq.*, 46 n. 2, 52 *seq.*, 55 *seqq.*, 69, 152, 215 n. 1, 233, 234, 238 n. 3, 239, 250, 253 n. 3, 310, 324 n. 4, 327, 331, 339, 359, 368 n. 2, 379 n. 2, 387 n., 408 *seqq.*, 430, 441, 444 *seq.*, 452, 455 *seq.*, 497 *seq.*, 501, 503, 511 *seq.*, 515 *seq.*, 538, 545.
Gambara, Giov. Fr., Cardinal, 44 n. 3, 217, 231, 297 n. 3, 303 n., 305 n. 4.
Gambara, Lorenzo, 259.
Garzoni, Costantino, 337 *seq.*
Geizkofler, L., 488 n. 1.
Genlis (Huguenot), 483, 495.
Georgius, Marcus Ant., 277 n. 1.
Gera, Franz von, 292 n. 2.
Gerini, 499 n. 1.
Geronio, Ant., 280.
Gianotti, Antonio (Archbp. of Urbino), 84 n. 1.
Giberti, 72, 82 n. 1, 266.
Giglio, Antonio, 284 *seqq.*, 288 *seqq.*
Giglio, Luigi, 280, 284, 289.
Giglio, Tommaso (Bishop of Sora), 285.
Gilbert, George, 391, 446.
Giovanni di Napoli (preacher), 210 n. 5.
Giovio, P. (historian), 81 n. 8.
Giustiniani (Archbp. of Genoa, envoy to France), 535.
Giustiniani (coadjutor to Patriarch of Aquileia), 69.
Giustiniani, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 228, 302 n. 3, 320 n. 1, 349.
Glorierio, Cesare (secretary of briefs), 53 n. 4.
Goldwell (Bishop of St. Asaph), 381, 388, 390.
Gondi, Pierre (Bishop of Paris), 527 *seq.*, 547.

Gonzaga, Francesco (General of Franciscans, bishop of Mantua), 113.
Gonzaga, Luigi (St. Aloysius), 96, 254.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo (Prior of Barletta), Cardinal, 227.
Gonzales, Pedro, 155 n. 6.
Gracian, Jeronimo (Carmelite), 142 n. 1, 152, 154 *seqq.*, 160.
Granvelle, Cardinal, 12-15, 35, 226, 324, 347 n. 4, 348 *seq.*, 359, 367, 374, 429.
Grassi, Annibale (nuncio in Madrid), 349.
Gratian, 279.
Gray, Lord, 437 *seq.*
Graziani, Gian Maria (Papal envoy), 521.
Gregory the Great, St., Pope, 22, 135, 281.
Gregory IV., Pope, 207.
Gregory VII., St., Pope, 207, 478.
Gregory XIII., Pope, vol. xix.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 190.
Gregory XV., Pope, 253.
Griffi, Orazio (Papal chorister), 188 *seq.*
Gribaldi, Vespasiano (Archbp. of Vienne), 488.
Grimaldi, Domenico (Archbp. of Avignon), 533.
Grimaldi, Luigi (Bishop of Vence), 305 n. 4.
Grimani, Giovanni (Patriarch of Aquileia), 69, 118 n. 1, 341 n. 2.
Grindal (Archbp. of Canterbury), 474 *seq.*
Groesbeck, Gerhard (Bishop of Liège), Cardinal, 226, 227.
Gropper, Gaspar (nuncio), 63.
Guaras, Antonio de, 463 n. 1, 471 n. 1, 478 n. 1.
Guarini, Battista (poet), 208.
Guastavillani, Filippo (nephew of Gregory XIII.), Cardinal, 31 n. 1, 32, 42 n. 2, 57 n. 3, 331.
Guevara y Padilla (Spanish governor of Milan), 102.
Guicciardini (historian), 321 n. 4
Guise, Charles de, Cardinal of Lorraine, 11 n. 3, 54 n. 1, 119 n., 124, 225, 237 n. 3, 405, 484, 489, 492 n. 1, 499 *seq.*, 502 *seq.*, 505 *seq.*, 512 *seq.*, 516, 528 *seq.*, 547, 551.
Guise, Henry de (Duke), 405, 424, 429 *seq.*, 433 *seqq.*, 437 *seq.*, 439, 445, 447, 448 n. 3, 466, 485, *seq.*, 488 *seqq.*, 490, 492 n. 1, 532, 540, 542 *seqq.*, 543, 546.
Guise, Louis I. de, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 226, 227.
Guise, Louis II. de (Archbp. of Rheims), Cardinal, 224 n. 2, 552.
Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 4, 290 n. 1.

Hahn, G. (S.J.), 140 n.
Hamilton, Family of, 425 n. 4, 428.
Hanmer, 398 n. 2.
Harebone, William (English envoy in Constantinople), 463 n. 1.
Harpsfield, Nicholas, 264.
Hastings, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, 460, 470 n. 1.
Hay, John (S.J.), 420.
Heath (Archbp. of York), 417.
Heerbrand, Jakob (theologian), 292.
Hennuyer, Jean le (Bishop of Lisieux), 489.
Henry, Cardinal of Portugal, 11 n. 3, 118 n. 1, 227, 358 *seq.*
Henry of Navarre, 190, 482, 484 *seq.*, 489 *seq.*, 492 n. 1, 494, 501, 520, 525, 536, *seq.*, 539-43, 548, 557.
Henry III. (Duke of Anjou, King of France), 32, 70, 226, 232, 290 n. 1, 424, 429, 434, 439, 442, 483, 485, 515, 519-24, 527 *seq.*, 530-47, 550 *seq.*, 553-6.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 275, 419.

Herida, Antonio de (Carmelite), 149 *seq.*
Hernandez, Pablo (S.J.), 143 n. 4.
Hernandez, Pedro (O.P.), 150 *seq.*, 157.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von, *see* Altemps.
Holt, William (S.J.), 421 n. 3, 429 *seq.*
Horantius, *see* Orantes.
Hortensi Tyriacensis, 337.
Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal, 68, 216, 227, 228 n. 1, 278.
Howard, Philip (Earl of Arundel and Surrey), 458.
Hülsen, F. van (engraver), 48 n.
Hume, Lord, 422.
Humphrey (Puritan), 473.
Huntingdon, *see* Hastings.
Huntly, Earl of, 422.

Ibanez, Domenico (O.P.), 146 *seq.*
Ignatius (Patriarch of Antioch), 285.
Ignatius of Loyola, St., 139, 234, 237, 242, 250, 549.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 275.
Innocent X., Pope, 253.
Innocent XI., Pope, 108 n. 1.
Innocent XII., Pope, 253.
Innocent XIII., Pope, 253.
Ivan IV. "The Terrible" (Czar of Russia), 4, 346.

Jacopone da Todi (poet), 176 n. 2.
Jagellons, The, 6.
James VI. (King of Scotland), 424 *seqq.*, 429 *seq.*, 433-8.
Jeanne (Queen of Navarre), 484.
Joanninus, Petrus Angelus, 54 n.
Jode, Pieter de (engraver), 88 n.
John Casimir (Elector Palatine), 524.
John Sigismund (Elector of Brandenburg), 295 n. 1.
John of Austria, Don, 64, 325-8, 332, 342, 344, 352, 407-10, 423, 448.
John of God, St., 120, 276 n.
John of the Cross, 131, 149 *seq.*, 156, 160.
Joyeuse Ange de (Capuchin), 549.
Joyeuse, François (Archbp. of Narbonne), Cardinal, 231, 232, 549.
Judex, Matthaeus (theologian), 511.
Julius II., Pope, 11, 229.
Julius III., Pope, 18 *seq.*, 40, 169, 219, 221.

Karnkowski, Stanislaus (Primate of Poland), 290.
Kartarus, Marius (engraver), 48 n.
Kepler, John (astronomer), 294 *seq.*
Kleutgen, (Jesuit), 253.
Knox, John, 194, 432.
Komulowic, Alessandro (canon of Zara), 375 n. 2.
Kuen, Johann J. a (Archbp. of Salzburg), 63.

Lafreri, Antonio (engraver), 208.
Lainez (General of the Jesuits), 237.
Lairuels, Servais de, 551.
Lancellotti, Scipione, Cardinal, 231.
Lanci, Giov. Batt. (secretary of the Index), 320 n. 1.
Lapide, Cornelius a (S.J.), 253.
Latini, Latino, 280.
Laurenberg, Christ., 277 n.
Laureo, Vincenzo (Bishop of Mondovi), Cardinal, 61, 231, 259, 285.
Lauretano, Michele (S.J.), 240.
Lauro, Antonio (Bishop of Castellamare), 69, 284.
Lauro, Carlo. Octav. (mathematician), 284.
Ledesma (Jesuit), 253.
Legros (sculptor), 195 n. 1.
Leibnitz, 138 n. 1.
Leicester, Dudley, Earl of, 401, 446, 464 *seq.*, 470.

Lennox, Duke of, 422.
Lennox, Duke of (Aubigny), *see* Stuart, Esmé.
Leo X., Pope, 284.
Leo XI., Pope, 169, 190, 192.
Leo XIII., Pope, 253, 469 n. 1.
Leonardi, Giovanni (Clerk Regular), 122, 191.
Leonard of Port Maurice, St., 254.
Leoni, Joh. Bapt., 277 n.
Leoni, Paolo (Bishop of Ferrara), 310 n. 2.
Lesley (Bishop of Ross), 422 *seqq.*, 425, 469 n.
Leti, G., 508 n. 3.
Leto, Pomponio, 263.
Lewis, Owen, 381 *seq.*, 384, 409, 444, 458 n. 6.
L'Heureux, Jean (archeologist), 269.
Liechtenstein, Wolf von, 292 n. 2.
Liguori, Alphonsus, St., 139.
Limburg, Joseph (sculptor), 240 n. 2.
Lindanus, Wilhelm (Bishop of Ghent), 260, 262 n. 1.
Lippi, Annibale (architect), 219.
Lippomano, Girolamo (Venetian envoy), 535, 552.
Lippomano, Luigi (Bishop of Verona), 266.
Locatelli, Eustachio (Bishop of Reggio), 81.
Lodi, Ambrogio da, 299 n. 3.
Lombardi, Girolamo, 47 n.
Lombardi, Lodovico, 47 n.
Lomellini, Benedetto, Cardinal, 227.
Longo, Francesco (apologist), 336, 337 n. 1.
Louis, Duke of Würtemberg, 293 n. 3.
Lucci, Giov. Ant. (Oratorian), 180.
Lugo, de (Jesuit), 253.
Lunel, Pietro de (Bishop of Gaeta), 77 n.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 42.
Lupo, Alfonso (Capuchin), 210.
Luther, Martin, 275, 291, 510.
Lyra, Luigi de (Carmelite), 145.
MacBrien (Bishop), 461.
Macchiavelli, 320.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 17, 225 n. 5, 227, 228 n. 1, 291, 297 n. 3.
Madruzzo, Giov. Federigo (envoy), 229 n.
Madruzzo, Lodovico (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 229 n., 303 n., 369 n. 2.
Maffei, Giampietro (S.J.), 259.
Maffei, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 230, 349, 353 *seq.*
Maggi, Giampaolo, 270 n. 4.
Maillé-Brezé, Simon de (Archbp. of Tours), 552.
Maine, Cuthbert (English martyr), 457, 464.
Majorana, Marcello (Theatine), 81.
Malaspina, Germanico (nuncio), 63.
Malaspina, Orazio (nuncio), 126, 538.
Maldonado, Francisco (Franciscan missionary), 147.
Maldonado, Pedro, 260.
Maldonatus, J. (S.J.), 260, 279, 549 *seq.*
Malebranche (philosopher), 138 n. 1.
Mämming, Achaz von, 292 n. 2.
Manaraeus, Oliver (S.J.), 390 n. 1.
Manfredus, Hieronymus, 275 n. 6.
Manni, Agostino (Oratorian), 174, 189 n. 1, 212 n. 4.
Manutius, Aldus, 264.
Manutius, Paulus, 259.
Marcellino (preacher), 210 n. 5, 276 n.
Marcellus II., Pope, 169.
Marchesani, Antonio (Bishop of Città di Castello), 75.
Marchesini, Ascanio (Apostolic visitor), 74.
Marescalchi, Angela (mother of Gregory XIII.), 17.
Maretti, Giulio (envoy from Ferrara), 225 n. 5, 309.
Margaret of Valois, 482, 484.

Marigliano, Giovanni (agent of Philip II.), 355 *seq.*, 374.
Marini, Niccolò (Archbp. of Lanciano), 276 n., 330, 404 *seq.*
Mario, 364, 369.
Marnix, Philip (Calvinist), 316.
Marsuppini, Francesco, 168 n. 2.
Martin, Gregory (a translator of the Rheims Bible), 379 n. 1.
Martinengo, Antonio (Papal envoy), 531 n. 3.
Mary Tudor (Queen of England), 417, 472.
Mary of Jesus (Carmelite), 145, 147.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 404 *seqq.*, 408, 420, 422-5, 428 *seqq.*, 433 *seq.*, 438, 439, 446 *seq.*, 451, 453 *seq.*, 479 n. 2.
Mascadi, Niccolò (Apostolic visitor), 79 n. 2.
Massilara, *see* Paleologo.
Massimi, Family of the, 191.
Mattei, Ciriaco (architect), 219 n. 5.
Matteucci, 533.
Matthieu, Claude (S.J.), 442 n. 2, 542, 549.
Maurevel, 485 *seq.*
Mauvissière, Castelnau de (French envoy), 439 n. 1, 466.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 302 n. 3, 319, 330, 342, 346, 493 n., 497.
Mazzarini, Giulio (S.J.) 98.
Mazzoni Giacomo, 259, 285 n. 1, 298 n.
Medici, Alessandro de' (Archbp. of Florence), Cardinal, 12, 78 n. 1, 169, 212 n. 4, 213, 230, 232, 364 n. 3, 368 n. 1, 513.
Medici, Cosimo I. de (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 13 *seq.*, 29, 75, 168 n. 2, 219, 324, 334, 512 n. 1.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal 13, 34 *seq.*, 51 n. 1, 216, 219-21, 272.
Medici, Francesco de' (Grand-Duke of Tuscany), 75.
Melendez, Gonzalo (S.J.), 127 *seq.*
Mendoza, Alvaro de (Bishop of Avila), 147, 149.
Mendoza, Bernardino de (Spanish envoy in London), 42 n. 1, 387 n., 402, 414, 421 n. 3, 426 n. 3, 429, 447, 465, 470 n. 1.
Menganti, Alessandro (sculptor), 47 n.
Menocchio, Giacomo (jurist), 270.
Mercati, Andrea (botanist), 165 n. 1, 260.
Mercuriale, Girolamo, 259, 271.
Mercurian, Everard (General of the Jesuits), 127, 235, 379 n. 2, 388 *seq.*
Metio, Federico, 271.
Meyneville (French envoy to Scotland), 434.
Michele, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 486, 534.
Modio (physician), 169.
Moleto (professor at Padua), 287 n. 2.
Montaigne, Michel de (philosopher), 46, 52, 209, 275.
Montalto, Cardinal, 99 n. 1, 158, 203, 219 n. 5, 278, 297 n. 3, 320 n. 1.
Montaner, James (Carmelite), 145.
Monte, Innocenzo del, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 225.
Monte de Valentibus (governor of Rome), 11.
Monti, Antonio de' (painter), 46 n. 2.
Montluc, Jean de (Bishop of Valence), 552.
Moore, Laurence, 413 n. 3.
Morgan (agent of Mary Stuart in Paris), 446 *seq.*, 451.
Morin, Pierre, 260.
Morone, Girolamo, Cardinal, 52, 54, 67, 113, 201, 216, 223 n. 6, 227, 228 n. 1, 239, 243, 327, 331, 339, 344, 346, 382 *seq.*, 384 n. 1.
Morton (Regent of Scotland), 420, 424 *seqq.*, 432.
Morton, Robert (English martyr), 390.

Morvilliers, 483.
Mucantius, Franc. (Papal master of ceremonies), 277 n., 297 n. 3.
Mula, Cardinal, 264.
Müller, Johann [Regiomontanus], 284.
Muret, Marc Ant., 260, 262 n. 2, 271, 399, 514, 521 n. 1, 526.
Musotti, Alessandro (Bishop of Imola), 26 n. 2, 30 n. 3, 37, 40, 240 n. 3, 249 n. 4, 499, 509.
Mussi, Cornelio (Bishop of Bitonto), 80, 210 n. 2.
Muti, Carlo, 211.

NADAL (Jesuit), 234.
Navas, P. de Avila, Marchese de las, *see* Avila, Pedro de
Nelson, John (Engl. martyr), 394.
Neri, Caterina, 162 n. 2.
Neri, Elisabetta, 162 n. 2.
Neri, Philip, St., 8, 54, 129, 161-196, 210, 211 *seq.*, 249 260, 262, 264 *seqq.*, 304.
Nerli, Filippo dei (historian), 168 n. 2.
Nero, Nero del (Florentine noble), 195 n. 1.
Neve (tailor), 459 n. 4.
Nevers, Duke of, 542 n. 3, 544.
Neville (English Spy), 455.
Nevill, Christopher, 407 n. 2.
Newman, Cardinal, 183 n.
Nichols, (apostate), 415 n. 4.
Ninguarda, Feliciano (O.P., nuncio), 63, 80, 126.
Nobili, Flaminio, de', 259, 277 n.
Norbert, St., 117 n. 1.
Nores, Cesare de (Bishop of Parenzo), 77 n., 118 n. 1.
Norfolk, Duke of, 376, 458.
Northumberland, Earl of, 407 n. 2, 417, 441.
Norton (English refugee), 469 n.

ODESCALCHI, Family of the, 191.
Odescalchi, Giov. Ant., 67 n. 2, 94 n. 3, 181 n. 2, 203 n. 2, 213 n., 221, 287 n. 5, 318 n. 3, 335 n. 2, 351 n. 4, 410, 534 n. 3.
O'Hurley (Archbp. of Cashel), 461.
Olgiatto, Bernardo (treasurer), 50 n. 3.
Olier, M. (Sulpician), 84 n. 4.
Olivares, Count (Spanish envoy), 368-71, 374, 544.
Olivarius, Seraphinus (auditor of the Rota), 285.
Olivieri, Pierpaolo (sculptor), 47 n.
Opfer, Joachim (Abbot of St. Gall), 487 n. 1.
Orange, William, Prince of, 453, 491, 511, 534.
Orantes y Villena [Horantius], Bishop of Oviedo, 316.
Orlandini (Jesuit), 253.
Ormaneto, Niccolò (Bishop of Padua), 127 *seq.*, 151-6, 326, 329 *seq.*, 342, 348 *seq.*, 350, 352, 405, 407, 409, 494, 499 n., 511.
Orsini, Family of the, 191.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 14, 35, 228, 280 n. 2, 330, 349, 353 *seq.*, 498, 503 n. 1, 509, 515 *seqq.*, 554.
Orsini, Fulvio, 218, 259, 275, 279.
Orsini, Latino, 371.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano (Duke of Bracciano), 212 *seq.*
Orsini, Pietro (coadjutor to Bishop of Spoleto), 80.
Osiander, Lucas, 292.
Osorio, Jeronymo, 260.

PACHECO, Francisco, Cardinal, 54, 227, 297 n. 3, 331, 348 n. 1, 350 n. 4.
Padilla, *see* Guevara y Padilla.
Paget (agent for Mary Stuart in Paris), 446 *seq.*
Paleologus [Jacopo Massilara], 302 n. 3, 303 *seqq.*
Paleotto, Gabriel (Archbp. of Bologna), Cardinal, 27, 66, 80, 200 n. 5, 216. 320 n. 1, 555.

Palestrina, Giov. Pierluigi, 36, 186 *seq.*, 240, 273.
Palladio, A., 198 n. 4.
Pallavicini, Sforza (S.J.), 253.
Palmieri (Jesuit), 253.
Palmio (Jesuit), 450 *seq.*
Pamphili, Family of the, 191.
Panigarola, Francesco (Franciscan), 107, 210.
Pantagato, Ottavio (archeologist), 264.
Panvinio, Onofrio, 198 n. 4, 264, 266.
Papio, Gian Angelo, 271.
Parisio, Cardinal, 17.
Parker, M. (Archbp. of Canterbury), 472 *seq.*
Parpaglia, 499 n. 1.
Parry, William (English spy), 449-52, 455 *seq.*
Pas, Angelo del, 261.
Pateri, Pompeo (Oratorian), 181 n. 1.
Patrizi, (Jesuit), 253.
Paul II., Pope, 263.
Paul III., Pope, 5, 17, 26, 33, 59, 124, 218, 221, 547.
Paul IV., Pope, 3, 19 *seq.*, 125, 190, 194, 296, 303 n. 1.
Paul V., Pope, 85, 94 n. 5, 278 n. 6.
Payne (Engl. martyr), 449.
Pellevé, Cardinal, 11 n. 3, 320 n. 1, 499, 503, 506, 513 n. 1, 542.
Peña, Francisco, 260.
Pendasio, Federio (philosopher), 270.
Pereira (Jesuit), 253.
Persons, Robert (S.J.), 243 n., 4, 358 n. 1, 387 n. 2, 388, 390-4, 396, 398, 400, 426 *seq.*, 429 *seqq.*, 435 *seqq.*, 439, 445 n. 1, 458, 468, 471 n. 1.
Petrignano (Archbp. of Cosenza), 70 n. 6.
Petrini, Pietro Ant., 187 n. 1.
Petronio, Alessandro (scholar), 259.
Petrucci, Dominic (Apostolic visitor), 118 n. 1.
Peter of Alcantara, St., 143, 146.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 3, 8, 12 *seq.*, 19, 23 *seqq.*, 35, 60, 97, 107 n. 3, 127 *seq.*, 147, 150, 156 *seq.*, 224, 226, 232, 278, 289 *seq.*, 301, 316, 324-30, 342-75, 404-08, 410, 423, 428-36, 448, 453, 467, 482, 491, 496 *seq.*, 516, 534, 537 *seqq.*, 541, 544.
Philip IV. (King of Spain), 105 n.
Piazza, Carlo Bartolomeo, 187 n. 1.
Piccolomini, Alessandro (Suffragan bishop of Siena), 285 *seq.*
Picot (historian), 492 n. 1.
Pigna, G. B., 277 n.
Pippa, Nicolas (sculptor), 202.
Pius IV., Pope, 3, 11, 14, 21, *seqq.*, 29, 59, 89, 125, 146 *seq.*, 167, 179, 221, 230, 284, 296, 364, 549.
Pius V., Pope, 1 *seq.*, 7, 9, 11, 13, 24-29, 46, 58 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*, 70, 73, 94, 109, 111 *seq.*, 115, 117, 127, 148, 167, 190, 207, 222, 234, 258 n. 1, 265, 279, 284, 296, 302 n. 3. 311, 314, 316 *seq.*, 322, 324, 326, 329, 338, 347, 349, 364, 377 *seq.*, 389, 407, 441, 443, 453, 466, 468, 480 n. 1, 482, 484, 492 n. 1, 502 n. 1, 506, 511, 546, 549.
Pius VI., Pope, 105 n.
Pius X., Pope, 137 n. 1, 139 n. 3.
Planzio, Camillo (jurist), 270.
Platina (historian), 263.
Plunket, Oliver, 413 n. 3.
Pocci, Carlo Ant. (Archbp. of Pisa), 82.
Poisson (Oratorian), 84 n. 4.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 17, 418 *seq.*
Pontac, Arnaud de (Bishop of Bazas), 555.
Pontanus, Joh. Bapt. (auditor), 275 n. 6, 277 n.
Ponte, Niccolò da (Venetian envoy), 339 *seq.*

Portia, Bartolomeo (nuncio), 63, 65, 238 n. 3.
Portico, Vincenzo (nuncio, governor of Rome), 65.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 4, 43, 53 n. 3, 277 n.
Pound, Thomas, 391, 394, 397 *seq.*, 458.
Priuli, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 374 n. 1, 552 *seq.*, 558.
Pucheim, Niklas von, 292 n. 2.

Querengo, Antonio, 259.
Quiroga, Gaspar de (Archbp. of Toledo), Cardinal, 226, 316, 364, 367.

Rabus, Jacobus (Bavarian councillor), 119 n., 201 n., 3, 204 n. 4, 211 n., 240 n. 2.
Radziwill, George (Bishop of Wilna), Cardinal, 231, 232.
Ragazzoni, Girolamo (Bishop of Famagosta and Bergamo), 69 n. 4, 75, 81, 118 n. 1, 437 n. 3, 451 *seq.*, 539, 541 n. 5.
Raggio, Tommaso (S.J.), 236 n. 4.
Raimondi, Gian Battista, 272.
Rambouillet, Cardinal, 231, 514, 525 n. 1.
Ramus, Pierre, 488.
Ranaldi, Federigo (custodian of the Vatican), 274.
Ransoldi, Lactantius (O.P., Inquisitor), 298 n.
Ratcliffe, Edmund, 448 n. 3.
Rebiba, Scipione, Cardinal (of Pisa), 14, 216, 225, 297 n. 3.
Redefort, 471 n. 1.
Regiomontanus, *see* Müller.
Reni, Guido (painter), 208.
Requesens, Luis de (viceroy of Milan), 75, 95, 348 *seq.*, 369 n. 1, 460.
Rescius, Steph. (nephew and secretary of Cardinal Hosius), 228 n. 1.
Reumano, Cardinal, 23.
Riario, Alessandro, Cardinal, 227, 360 *seq.*
Riccardi, Giacomo (Spanish envoy), 353.
Ricci, Catherine of, St., 191.
Ricci, Giovanni, Cardinal, 13, 219, 225.
Ridolfi (banker), 417, 456.
Riminaldi, Ippolito (jurist), 17.
Rochefoucauld, 486.
Rocheposay, Louis Châteigner de la (French envoy), 526, 527 n. 1.
Rochi, Annibale, 79 n. 1.
Rosa, Domenico (printer), 272 n. 2.
Rosa, Persiano, 166.
Rosario, Cardinal Vicar, 190.
Rosier, François de (French envoy), 526 n. 5.
Rossi, G. A. (medallist), 47 n.
Rossi, Giov. Batt. (archeologist), 185, 262 n. 2, 266 n. 4.
Rossi, Giov. Batt. (General of the Carmelites), 145, 147 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*
Rossi, Ippolito (Bishop of Pavia), 69 n. 1, 214.
Rossi, John Baptist, Bl., 254.
Rotelli, Leandro (Bishop of Sarsina), 77 n.
Rovere, Giulio della (Archbp. of Ravenna), Cardinal, 82, 227.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 70, 227 n. 1, 232, 291, 303, 319, 371, 422.
Rue de la, *see* Samerie.
Rusticucci, Cardinal, 324 n. 4.
Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, 432.

Sabellio, Silvio, 517 n. 3.
Sacchetti, Ces. (poet), 277 n. 2.
Salazar, Angelo de (Carmelite-provincial), 154, 157.
Salazar, Juan Ochoa de (Bishop of Calahorra), 363, 368.
Salon, Giovanni (Minorite), 280.
Salviati, Family of the, 191.
Salviati, Aut. M. Card. 231, 329
Salviati, Giovanni Battista (nuncio), 124, 169, 331, 487 n., 490, 493 n., 494-8, 501-4, 514 *seqq.*, 531, 533, 554.

Samerie, Henry [de la Rue], 433.
Sampson (puritan), 473.
Samuel (a convert Jew), 310.
San, *see* De San.
Sanchez, Bartolomeo, 262.
Sanders, Nicholas, 260, 379 n. 1, 407, 412-15.
San Joseppi, Bastian (commander of Papal fleet), 412 *seq.*
Sansac, Prévost de (Bishop of Bordeaux), 552.
Santacroce, Prospero, Cardinal, 22, 349, 353 *seq.*
Santori, Cardinal (S. Severino), 11 n. 3, 29, 60 n. 1, 123, 216, 231, 241, 247 *seq.*, 264, 271 *seq.*, 278 n. 6, 297 n. 3, 303 n., 310 n. 1, 313 n. 2, 321 n. 1.
Santori, Paolo Emilio, 230 n. 3.
Sarnano, Cardinal, 297 n. 3.
Sauli, Alessandro (Bishop of Aleria), 81, 210.
Sauli, Antonio (nuncio), 358 n. 1.
Savelli, Giacomo, Cardinal, 13, 42 n. 2, 56 n. 4, 60 n. 1, 66 n. 3, 231, 248, 262 n. 2, 267, 297 n. 3, 303 n.
Savelli, Mariano (Bishop of Gubbio), 81.
Savignano, Aurelio (Papal secretary), 54 n.
Savonarola, 162.
Sáznto, Stefano (Jesuit), 241.
Scalea, Prince of, 301.
Schodoler, Werner, 34 n. 2.
Schwartz, Hans Jakob, 34 n. 2.
Scozia, Orazio, 51, 221 n. 2.
Scultetus, Barthol., 292.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 115, 357, 410, 411 n. 2.
Sega, Filippo (Bishop of Piacenza, nuncio), 64, 127 n. 2, 156 *seq.*, 258 n. 1, 352, 363-7, 372, 379 n. 2, 382 n. 2, 408 *seq.*, 412, 424, 436, 440 *seq.*
Segneri (Jesuit), 253.
Seidenbusch, J. G. (Oratorian), 182 n. 4.
Seripando, Cardinal, 21.
Sermoneta, Cardinal, 15, 224, n. 2.
Serrano, M. A., 198 n. 4, 325 n. 3, 337 n. 1, 500 n 1.
Seton, Lord, 422, 437.
Severani (disciple of St. Philip Neri), 185 n. 1.
Sfondrato, Niccolò (Bishop of Cremona), Cardinal, 75, 214, 231 *seq.*
Sforza, Family of the, 191.
Sforza, Costanza (Countess of Santa Fiora, wife of Giac. Boncompagni), 34.
Sforza di Santa Fiora, Alessandro, Cardinal, 35, 42 n. 2, 158, 228.
Sforza di Santa Fiora, Francesco, Cardinal, 54, 201, 231 *seq.*, 255 n. 1, 346, 353.
Shakespeare, William, 396 n. 1.
Shelley, Richard, 469 n.
Sherwin, Ralph (Engl. martyr), 401.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 447.
Siciliano, Salvatore (S. J.), 236 n. 4.
Sighicelli, Giovan Battista (Bishop of Faenza), 80.
Sigonio, Carlo (historian), 36, 259, 261.
Silingardi, Gaspare (Bishop of Ripatransone), 81.
Silva, Gomez da (Portuguese envoy), 361.
Simoncelli, Cardinal, 231.
Simone, Pietro, 277 n. 1.
Simonetta, Cardinal, 21.
Simonetti, Cesare, 336 n. 5.
Sirlet, Gulielmus (convert Jew), 310 n. 2.
Sirleto, Cardinal, 14, 54, 60 n. 1, 216, 248, 259, 264 *seq.*, 274, 280 *seq.*, 285, 287 *seq.*, 310 n. 2, 320 n. 1.
Sirleto, Marcello (Bishop of Squillace), 118 n. 1.
Sittich, Mark (von Hohenems), *see* Altemps.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 284.
Sixtus V., Pope, 158, 297 n. 3, 384, 545.
Soccino, Cornelio (heretic), 300 n. 3.

Sommerville, John, 446 *seq.*
Soranzo, Giacomo (purveyor), 325, 338 n. 2.
Soreth, John (General of the Carmelites), 144.
Soriano, Giovan Battista (Bishop of Bisceglia), 81.
Soto, Francesco (Oratorian, musician), 174, 186.
Speciani, Cesare (Bishop of Novara and Cremona), 28, 48, 68, 100, 254, 324 n. 2.
Spenser, (poet), 462 n.
Spinola, Filippo (Bishop of Nola), Cardinal, 231, 232.
Sporeno, Francesco (Franciscan), 222 n., 3, 362 n. 4, 375 n. 2.
Stabile, Annibale (musician), 240.
Stampa, Donato (Bishop of Nepi and Sutri, governor of the Borgo), 11.
Stanihurst, James, 395.
Stapleton, 418 n. 3.
Stazio [Statius], Achilles, 260.
Stefani, Bonifazio de' (Bishop of Stagno), 276 n.
Stizzia, Nicola (chaplain to Philip II.), 362.
St. Nazaire, Gabriel de (chronicler), 548 n. 1.
Strozzi, Pompeo, 227 n., 312 n. 3, 351 n. 4, 527 n. 3.
Stuart, Esmé (Lord of Aubigny, Duke of Lennox), 425-30, 432 *seqq.*
Stuart, John, 436 *seq.*
Stuart, Mary, *see* Mary.
Stukeley (adventurer), 382, 409 *seqq.*
Suarez, Franc. (S.J.), 253.
Suarez, Juan (S.J.), 143 n. 4.
Surius, L. (hagiographer), 264, 266.
Szántó, Stephen [Orator], S.J., 275 n. 1.

Taparelli (Jesuit), 253.
Taro, Pirro (prelate), 353.
Tarquini (Jesuit), 253.
Tarugi, Franc. Maria (Oratorian), 54, 169, 171, 180, 192.
Tassis (Spanish ambassador in France), 431, 542.
Tasso, Torquato (poet), 136, 173, 208, 216, 299 n. 3, 322 n.
Taverna, Lodovico (Bishop of Lodi, nuncio), 67 n. 1, 348 n. 3, 365, 367, 372, 429, 436.
Téligny (son-in-law of Coligny), 486.
Teofilo (O.S.B.), 286 n. 2.
Teresa, St., 8, 129-60, 161 *seq.*
Terranueva, *see* Aragona, Carlos di.
Tersteegen (mystic), 138 n. 1.
Terterus, Th., 198 n. 4.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 275.
Thou, de (historian), 544.
Throckmorton, Francis, 447.
Throckmorton, Thomas, 447.
Tiepolo, Antonio (Venetian envoy in Rome), 16 n. 3, 50 n. 3, 52 *seq.* 340.
Tiepolo, Paolo (Venetian envoy in Rome), 27, 32 *seq.*, 44, 52, 56, 162, 331 *seqq.*, 338 *seqq.*, 511.
Toledo, Ferrante di, Cardinal, 226.
Toledo, Francisco de (S.J.), 27, 41, 54, 210, 253, 279, 316 *seqq.*
Topcliffe (executioner), 456, 460.
Toretino, Cristoforo (secretary), 54 n.
Torre, Michele della (Bishop of Ceneda), Cardinal, 231.
Torres, Francesco de, 260, 279.
Torres, Ludovico de, 280.
Torrigiani, Bastiano (sculptor), 47 n.
Tostado (visitor of the Carmelites), 153, 156, 158.
Trabaldese, Francesco (painter), 46 n. 2.
Trivisano, Giov. (patriarch of Venice), 66 n. 2, 78.
Truchsess, Gebhard (Archbp. of Cologne), 33, 256 n. 1, 372.

Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 17, 68 n. 1, 167 n. 3, 216, 225, 227 n. 1, 238 *seq.*, 332 n. 2.
Tucci, Stefano (S.J.), 251.
Tycho Brahe (astronomer), 294.

UBALDI, Francesco, 82 n. 4.
Uludsch Ali (Turkish admiral), 327 *seq.*
Urban II., Pope, 443.
Urban VIII., Pope, 253.
Usuard, 281.

VAI, Francesco, 192.
Valades, Didacus (theologian), 276 n.
Valentini, Guiseppe, Stef., 277 n.
Valentino, Ascanio, 259.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 77 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.*, 214, 231, 336 n. 5.
Valois (historian), 492 n. 1.
Vane (English spy), 460.
Vargas, Francisco de (O.P.), 150 *seqq.*
Vasari, Giorgio (painter), 507.
Vatandono, *see* Wada.
Vaz, Joseph (Oratorian), 183 n.
Vecchietti, Giambattista (envoy to Persia), 373 n. 3.
Vecchietto (painter), 195 n. 1.
Vendeville, Jean (Bishop of Tournai), 377.
Vendôme, *see* Bourbon, Charles II.
Venier (Venetian admiral), 325.
Vera, Francisco de (jurist, Spanish envoy in Rome), 349 *seq.*, 353.
Vespanus, Marcus Titus (poet), 278 n.
Vettori, Angelo (physician), 165 n. 1.
Vettori, Piero, 296 n. 1.
Vialart, Ant. (Bishop of Bourges), 552.
Vigili, Onofrio (secr. to Card. Orsini), 516.
Vignola, Giacomo (architect), 218.
Visconti, Federico (Archbp. of Milan), 85, 89 n. 2.
Visconti, Gaspare (nuncio), 116 n. 7.
Vitelleschi, Family of the, 191.
Vitelli, Cardinal, 264.
Vittoria, Luigi da (musician), 240.
Viviani, Gaspare (Bishop of Sithia and Anagni), 247.
Vliete, Gilles van den (sculptor), 202.
Volmar, Mark (Protestant preacher), 292 n. 2.
Vossius Gerhard (scholar), 260, 276 n., 280.

WALLONCAPELLE, Petrus de (O.S.B.), 119 n.
Walpole (Jesuit), 402.
Walsh, William, 413 n. 3.
Walsingham, 414, 422, 448, 450 n. 2, 452, 457 n. 3, 460, 465, 470.
Watts, William, 427.
Werro, Sebastian, 43, 105 n. 2, 288 n.
Westmoreland Earl of, 448.
Whitgift, John (Archbp. of Canterbury), 473, 476 *seq.*
Wilcox (puritan), 474.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 7, 291, 317 n. 3, 337, 380.
Winghe, Philip de (archeologist), 269.
Winzet, Ninian, 260.
Wöber (Imperial chancellor), 68 n. 1.
Woodhouse, Thomas (Engl. martyr), 394.

ZACCARIA (Jesuit), 253.
Zobbio, Tommaso (O.P.), 298 n.
Zoilo, Annibale (musician), 273.
Zuccaro, Taddeo (painter), 219.
Zucchi, Jacopo (painter), 219.
Zündelin, Wolfgang (Calvinist), 322.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 12, 23 *seqq.*, 35, 97, 326, 331, 339, 350, 353, 408, 508.

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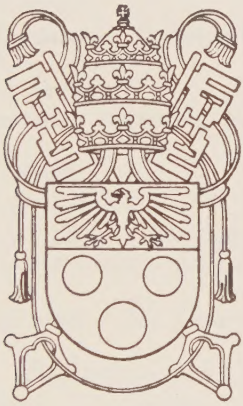

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XX,[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	ix
List of unpublished documents in Appendix . .	xxiii
The Revolt in the Low Countries. Decisive change in the situation in the Netherlands . . .	1–24
The Catholic Revival in Germany. The German Congregation. Bavaria. The Tyrol. Salzburg .	25–65
The Nunciatures of Portia, Gropper and Ninguarda in South Germany, Austria and Bavaria . .	66–126
Nunciatures in South-West Germany. State of Religion in Switzerland	127–186
The Catholic Revival in Germany	187–242
The "Declaration" of Ferdinand. Rudolph II and the Catholic Revival	243–283
State of Religion in North Germany	284–353
The situation in the Rhineland. Trêves, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne	354–384
The Catholic Revival in Poland	385–416
The Missions to Sweden and Russia	417–447
Foreign Missions. Japan. China. The Indies . .	448–480
Foreign Missions. The Turkish Empire. Africa. Spanish America	481–512
The Papal States. Brigandage. The Pope's care for Rome	513–556
Gregory XIII. and Art. New Churches and Buildings	560–606
Decorations at the Vatican. The Quirinal. Death of the Pope. Importance of his Pontificate . .	607–643
Appendix of unpublished documents . . .	644–653
Index of Names	655

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XIX.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XX.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLT IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—DECISIVE CHANGE IN THE SITUATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

A.D.		PAGE
	William of Orange the soul of the opposition to Spain	1
	Principal object of the Calvinists—brutal ferocity of their persecution of Catholics	1
1573	Orange formally becomes a Calvinist—but is denounced by the pastors as an atheist and that "he worshipped his own advantage as his God"	2
	Utter failure of Alba's regime, and he leaves the Low Countries (December 18th)	3
	The Pope wishes for a peaceful settlement with the rebels	3
	Requesens succeeds Alba—Orange does his best to make the task of Requesens difficult	4
	Increase of discontent even in the loyal Provinces	4
1576	Death of Requesens (March)	4
	The States General convoked—their demands	5
	The "Pacification of Ghent"	5
	John of Austria appointed Governor; he has authority to make great concessions, but does not win sympathy	6
1577	The "Perpetual Edict" (February 12th) confirms the "Pacification" and is approved by Philip II.	7
	The Pope sends Sega to the Low Countries to support the peace proposals and promote the Catholic restoration	7
	Orange takes the citadel of Namur (July 24th)	8
	The new Governor the Archduke Matthias of Austria is won over by Orange	8
	Renewed outrages upon Catholics—a storm of iconoclasm begun in churches and convents	9
	Ever growing anxiety in Rome	10
1578	The Pope once more attempts a peaceful intervention	11
	The charge of this given to Castagna	12
	The wild excesses of the Calvinists are distasteful to Orange	12
1578	The Walloons act with energy and form a Catholic League	13
1579	The Catholic "Union of Arras" (January 6th)	13
	The Calvinist "Union of Utrecht" (January 23rd)	13

A.D. PAGE

Alessandro Farnese sent as Governor 14
He concludes the "Peace of Arras" (May 17th), which makes a decisive and important change . . 15
Attitude of the Walloon States praised by the Pope . 16
1581 The States General of Holland renounce allegiance to Spain 17
Edict by Orange of December 20th—his hopes of assistance from France 18
Anarchy in Flanders and Brabant 18
1584 Victory of Farnese, who promises an amnesty . . 19
Murder of William of Orange (July 10th) . . . 19
Fall of Antwerp—restoration of churches . . . 20
The Catholics of the southern provinces: their mentality 21
Quick recovery of the Church—The Jesuits . . 22
Result of the victories of Farnese 23
1585 The Capuchins—Triumph of the Catholic revival . 24

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN GERMANY.—THE GERMAN CONGREGATION.—BAVARIA.—THE TYROL.—SALZBURG.

Interest of Gregory XIII. in Germany 25
1573 He gives new life to the German Congregation . . 26
And seeks information as to the state of affairs in Germany 27
Reports from Cardinal Truchsess, Delfino and Canisius 28
Present a gloomy picture—the bishops—the clergy . 29
Lack of learned, capable, hard-working men . . 30
Deplorable condition of the Chapters 31
Election capitulations by the Canons 31
Tie the hands of the bishops, who suffer the continuance of scandals 32
Hostile suspicion of Rome becomes gradually less . 33
And some of the reports are hopeful—Protestant theologians becoming held in contempt . . 33
Divisions and discord among the Protestants . . 34
A great desire for religious revival—calls to the Pope for help 35
Need for permanent nuncios 36
And for the establishment of seminaries . . . 37
Care in appointing to canonries—less delay in replying from Rome to requests—wider faculties should be granted 38
Suggestions from Truchsess and Portia . . . 39
The German nunciatures—The German College in Rome 40
1579 Gregory XIII. is its second founder 41
Albert V. of Bavaria the pivot of Catholic hopes . . 42
Attitude of the Bavarian dukes 43

A.D. PAGE
Albert V. becomes a stronger champion of the Church . 44
Takes energetic steps for religious instruction . . 45
His firmness 46
Promotes the Catholic restoration everywhere . . 47
Wins back Baden to the Church 48
1573 State of religion in Baden-Baden 49
The Pope's reliance upon Albert V. 50
1576 Especially in the struggle for the bishoprics of Northern Germany 51
Sincere piety of William V., son and successor of Albert 52
He refuses all concessions to the Protestants . . 53
And does his utmost to give new life to religion . 55
His influence in the election of bishops . . . 55
Strong support of the Church in the Tyrol by the Archduke Ferdinand 56
Bad state of religion in the Tyrol 57
Energetic measures by Ferdinand 57
The Francescan Johann Nas—his influence and work . 58
The Pope and the Imperial territories . . . 61
A beginning to be made at Salzburg—The mission of Ninguarda (1554-1573) 62
Advice given by him 65

CHAPTER III.

THE NUNCIATURES OF PORTIA, GROPPER AND NINGUARDA IN SOUTH GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.

1573 The appointment of Portia and Gaspar Gropper as nuncios (May 5th). 66
Good reputation of Portia 67
Instructions laid down for him. 68
Portia and the Archbishop of Salzburg . . . 72
From whom he obtains far-reaching promises . . 73
But does not trust him over-much 74
Ninguarda's opinion of the Archbishop . . . 75
Who hesitates in the matter of a synod . . . 76
Which however is at last held from August 26th to September 3rd 77
Principal points of reform 78
Efforts for establishment of seminaries . . . 79
Portia at Innsbruck 80
Difficulty with the claims of the princes . . . 81
The episcopal election at Würzburg 82
And Gurk 83
Efforts of Portia in Wurtemberg 84
Ninguarda in Salzburg 86
1572–1574 His visitations in the diocese 87
1574 Ninguarda and Duke Albert in Munich . . . 88
Condition of affairs in Freising and Ratisbon . . 89
Question of the reform of religious Orders . . . 91

A.D.		PAGE
	Description by Portia and Ninguarda of the monasteries and convents	93
	Ninguarda and the monasteries in Ratisbon	95
	State of religious houses in Austria	96
	Ninguarda in Vienna	97
	Is given full powers for his visitation	99
	And also the Imperial authority for exercise of them	100
1574–1576	Strenuous work of this visitation	101
1576	Ninguarda returns to Salzburg (March 20th)—The Synod	109
	Efforts to establish a seminary at Salzburg	111
1577	Ninguarda returns to Italy	112
	Memorials for reform from the Archduke Charles and some of the Bishops	113
	Special memorial by Ninguarda	116
	Instructions to Portia relating to seminaries and colleges	121
1573	Difficulties at Augsburg	123
	Death of Cardinal Truchsess (April 2nd) and election of the new Bishop	125
1575	Recall of Portia from Augsburg (May)	126

CHAPTER IV.

NUNCIATURES IN SOUTH WEST GERMANY.—STATE OF RELIGION IN SWITZERLAND.

1575	Nunciatures of Portia and Sporeno	127
	Sporeno in the Tyrol—Portia describes his new duties as impracticable	128
	Unsatisfactory state of the dioceses of the Upper Rhine—Portia and Sporeno arrive at Freiburg in Breisgau (October 4th)	129
	Visits to Sion, St. Gall, Strasbourg and Constance	130
1576	Sporeno remains with the Archduke Ferdinand (January)	131
	Journeys of Portia	131
	The University and Seminary at Freiburg	132
1575	Death of the Bishop of Basle and election of Blarer	137
	Which is confirmed in Rome	138
1575	Negotiations between Bishop Blarer and Portia	139
	Great work of Blarer in the diocese of Basle	141
	Lamentable conditions in Strasbourg	143
	Good will of the Bishop	144
	Insistence of the nuncio, Portia	145
	Whose efforts are seconded by the Bishop	147
	Influence for good of the parish-priest Rasser	148
1576	Work of Portia in the diocese of Spires	149
	State of the diocese—Diocese of Constance	153
1578	Death of Portia; he is succeeded by Ninguarda	154
	Labours of Ninguarda 1578–1583	155
	His action in Bavaria and his complaints	159

A.D. PAGE
1583 Assembly of the Bavarian Bishops 160
The Concordat of Bavaria 161
Ninguarda's nunciature in Switzerland 162
Work of the Jesuits in Lucerne. 164
The Swiss dioceses. 165
Conditions in the Catholic Cantons 166
1578 Bonhomini in the Valtellina 168
1579 He is appointed nuncio in Switzerland 169
The Helvetian College in Milan. 170
The Swiss visitation by Bonhomini 172
Accusations against him. 175
His attitude towards these makes a great impression . 177
His energy and courage disarm opposition. . . . 179
The difficulties about the diocese of Chur 180
Jesuit College established at Freiburg—Journeys of Bonhomini 181
1581 End of his nunciature in Switzerland. 183
Importance of his work—The Jesuits are his auxiliaries 184
He establishes the Capuchins, whose convents are a starting point for religious revival 185
Charles Borromeo and Switzerland 186

CHAPTER V.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN GERMANY.

1573 Missions of Gaspar Gropper 187
1574 Alexander Trivius and Nicholas Elgard 188
Travels of Elgard 189
Decadent state of the diocese of Bamberg 190
Quite different is the condition of Eichstätt . . . 192
1573-1617 Bishop Julius Echter of Würzburg; his energy. 193
And great work of restoration 194
The seminary and university of Würzburg. . . . 199
And important charitable foundations 201
The monastery and territory of Fulda 204
Work of the Abbot Balthasar von Dernbach . . . 205
Fulda becomes "a Catholic fortress"—Protestant attack upon the Abbot 209
His great difficulties—Action of the Pope. . . . 211
And of the adversaries of the Abbot. 213
Who continues his work of reform 215
Elgard at Fulda—his suggestions 216
1576 Steps taken by Balthasar. 218
The Bishop of Würzburg and the Abbot 220
Violence to Balthasar at Hammelburg 221
Demands of Gregory XIII. 223
But Balthasar has to wait twenty-six years for reinstatement. 225
His exile 227

A.D. PAGE

Continued support of the Abbot by the Pope . . 229
The Jesuits at Fulda—In the end Fulda is once more substantially Catholic 231
Conditions in the diocese of Mayence. . . . 232
Elgard's experiences in the diocese 237
Resistance to the Catholic reforms comes from the nobles and inhabitants of the cities. . . 238

CHAPTER VI.

THE "DECLARATION" OF FERDINAND.—RUDOLPH II. AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

The so-called "Declaration of Ferdinand": variety of opinion as to its legal value. . . . 243
The Elector Augustus of Saxony and the Declaration 245
Protestant hope of its confirmation at the Diet of Ratisbon 248
1575 Which opens in October—its work 250
1576 The Pope sends Cardinal Morone to the Diet (April) . 254
Work of Morone—the advantage of his presence in Germany 256
Salentin of Isenburg, Archbishop of Cologne . . 259
The Duke of Bavaria and the Emperor . . . 260
Anxiety of Morone. 261
Split in the Protestant party 263
Death of Maximilian II. (October 12th)—Result of the Diet 264
The new Emperor, Rudolph II., a contrast to his father 265
His action—Joy of the Catholics 266
1579 Melchior Klesl of Vienna and Catholic restoration . 267
1581 Bonhomini nuncio to the Emperor—his activities . 268
1582 The Diet of Augsburg—Cardinal Madruzzo as legate . 269
His memorial and plans 270
His arrival at Augsburg and reception (June) . . 273
Negotiations at the Diet. 274
Close of the Diet (September 20th); its results . . 281

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN NORTH GERMANY

Difficult task of Gropper in the north of Germany . 284
Prospects for Catholic revival there 285
Help hoped for from Bavaria 286
Conditions in the diocese of Hildesheim . . . 287
Question of the succession to the bishopric. . . 289
1573 At the death of Bishop Burchard (February 23rd) many claimants for the diocese arise . . 291
Ernest of Bavaria is elected 291

A.D. PAGE
1574-1575 He makes a long stay in Rome 293
Trivius makes a visitation of Hildesheim . . . 293
Case of the diocese of Halberstadt 295
It ceases to be a Catholic diocese 301
Duke Julius of Brunswick becomes bishop. . . 301
Members of the House of Brunswick. . . . 303
Johann von Hoya, Bishop of Münster . . . 304
Visitation of the diocese. 305
The Dukes of Jülich-Cleves and Münster . . . 306
1573-1574 The nuncio Gropper at Münster. . . . 309
His embarrassing position 311
1574 His instructions from Rome 313
John William of Cleves, Bishop of Münster. . . 315
1575 He resigns on the death of his eldest brother . . 315
Candidates for the succession to Münster . . . 316
1585 After a long struggle Duke Ernest of Bavaria becomes Bishop of Münster 346
Condition of the diocese of Paderborn . . . 347
Instructions to Elgard who visits Halberstadt and Magdeburg—His report. 348
1575 Trivius sent to Northern Germany 350
His visit to Minden. 351
Bremen, Lübeck, Verden, and Hamburg . . . 352
Religious conditions in these places. . . . 353

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SITUATION IN THE RHINELAND.—TRÊVES. AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. COLOGNE.

1567-1581 Jakob von Eltz, Archbishop of Trêves . . 354
His visitations and ordinances. 355
Religious state of the electorate 357
1574-1614 The struggle at Aix-la-Chapelle. . . . 359
Importance to the faith of the electorate of Cologne . 359
The Archbishop Salentin of Isenburg. . . . 361
1577 His resignation—election of Gebhard Truchsess. . 362
Character and conduct of Gebhard 364
1582 His apostasy 365
The Pope takes action and sends Minucci on a mission to Cologne 368
Candidates for the Archiepiscopate 370
1583 Gebhard marries Agnes von Mansfeld (February 2nd) . 371
His deposition by the Pope (April 1st) . . . 373
Ernest of Bavaria nominated archbishop (June 2nd) . 374
The war of Cologne. 375
Victory of the Catholic cause—its importance . . 379
Necessity for a permanent nuncio in Lower Germany . 380
1585 Bonhomini appointed to this post (January 19th) . 382
Importance of this nunciature. 383

CHAPTER IX

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN POLAND.

A.D.		PAGE
1572	Death of Sigismund Augustus, the last Jagellon.	385
	Candidates for the crown—Commendone succeeds in averting the selection of a Protestant . .	386
1573	Henry of Anjou elected King (May 16th) . . .	387
	Confederation of Protestants at Warsaw . . .	387
1574	Henry returns to France on the death of Charles IX. .	388
1575	The candidates—Stephen Báthory elected (December 14th)	389
1576	Who is crowned and announces his election to the Pope	390
	Gregory XIII. recognizes him as King and sends Laureo as nuncio (November 6th) . . .	391
	Great confusion of faith in Poland—The sects . .	391
	Báthory keeps his promise to the Confederation, but does his best to restore the Catholic Church .	393
	Is helped in this by Hosius, the Jesuits and the nuncios	393
1578	Sends to make his *obedientia* and appoints a permanent ambassador in Rome	395
	Báthory gives every possible support to Catholic restoration.	395
	And effectual help to the Jesuits	395
	Important works of the Jesuits in Poland . . .	396
	Peter Skarga the "Canisius" of Poland . . .	401
	Energy of the Bishops of Ermland, Kulm, Wilna, Lemberg and Chelm	405
	Zeal of the nuncio Caligari, who sometimes lacks prudence	406
1581	He is recalled and replaced by Bolognetti . . .	407
	The vigorous and exemplary nunciature of Bolognetti.	408
1583-1584	Two Polish Cardinals created	411
	State of religion in Transylvania—labours of the Jesuits	412
	Pontifical seminaries established in Poland. . .	415

CHAPTER X.

THE MISSIONS TO SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.

	Hopes from the training of missionaries for Sweden .	417
	The Catholic wife of John III.—Antagonism of Eric XIV.	417
	John III. not so anti-Catholic as his predecessors. .	418
	His candidature for the throne of Poland . . .	418
1572	Negotiations opened with the Holy See . . .	419
	Gregory XIII. replies with courtesy but with firmness.	420
	The first missionaries to Sweden	421
1576	The King decides to send an embassy to Rome .	422
1577	The Swedish envoy La Gardie in Rome . .	423
	Possevino called upon to accept the mission to Sweden.	424
	Is La Gardie sincere?	425
	Possevino reaches Stockholm on December 19th. .	426

A.D. PAGE
1578 John III. accepts the Tridentine profession of faith and is absolved by Possevino who leaves Sweden on May 20th 427
Plan for setting up a seminary for the northern countries 428
Discussion on the conditions asked for by John III . 429
1579 Possevino a second time in Sweden 430
His experience of the hesitation of the King . . 431
Who is influenced by political motives chiefly . . 432
1583 On the death of the Queen and marriage (1585) of the King to a Protestant there is a great change for the worse 433
Gregory XIII. and the Czar Ivan IV. 434
1581 Three envoys from Russia arrive in Rome . . . 435
Cunning of Ivan IV. who asks for a Papal envoy to Moscow 436
Possevino is given this task 437
His journey and arrival in August 439
Diplomatic skill of the Russians 440
Russia and Poland 441
1582 The discussion in the Kremlin on reunion . . . 442
Possevino and Ivan 443
A second Russian mission to Rome 445
Possevino's mission a failure—his memorials to the Pope 446

CHAPTER XI

FOREIGN MISSIONS.—JAPAN.—CHINA.—THE INDIES.

Activity of Gregory XIII. in the matter of foreign missions 448
The Japanese mission—zeal of the converts . . 449
Perils and perseverance of the missionaries . . . 451
The Jesuits in Japan 452
Interesting conversions—The new King favours the Jesuits 455
Apostolate of Francis Cabral 456
And of Alessandro Valignani—his great work . . 457
1582 The Japanese envoys to Rome start—their journey . 460
1585 And arrival in Rome (March 23rd) 461
The discourse of Consalvi to the Pope on Japan . . 462
And the reply of Boccapaduli 463
Edification given by the envoys 465
Hopes for the faith in China 466
1574 Valignani starts for China 467
His plans for organization of the mission . . . 468
1582 Matteo Ricci in China 469
His extraordinary work there 470
The missions in Portuguese India 472
The Jesuit province of the East Indies 473
The Great Mogul Akbar and the Jesuits . . . 475
The Augustinians and Franciscans in the Philippines . 478

CHAPTER XII.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.—THE TURKISH EMPIRE.—AFRICA.—SPANISH AMERICA.

A.D.		PAGE
1580	The Jesuit mission in Abyssinia	481
	Missions on the west coast of Africa—Dominicans in Mozambique and on the Zambesi	482
1569-1580	Condition of Catholics in European Turkey—Work of the Franciscans	483
1580	Visitation of the Balkan peninsula by Boniface de' Stefani	484
1584	And by Komulowic and the Jesuit Raggio produce good results	485
1573	Catholics in Constantinople—Efforts of Gregory XIII. for the union of Greek schismatics	486
1580	Mission of Cedulini to Constantinople—its difficulties—ill-will of the Venetians	487
	Cedulini's account of the Latin Church in Turkey	488
1583	Result of the reports of Cedulini to the Pope	490
1578	The Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites send envoys to Rome	490
	Jesuit missionaries sent to the Maronites	492
	Satisfaction of the Pope with result of this mission—He establishes the Maronite College in Rome	494
1583	Bishop Abel sent on a mission to the eastern patriarchs	495
	Negotiations with them	496
	Christianity in Spanish possessions in America	498
	The Catholic hierarchy there	499
	Franciscans and Dominicans in America	502
	Turibio, "the Apostle of Peru"	503
	Jesuit missions in Mexico	504
	And in Peru	505
	Importance of the work of José de Acosta	507
	Difficulties in Brazil—Dread of Portuguese colonists	509
	José de Anchieta, "the Apostle of Brazil"	510
1585	Missions in Japan restricted to the Jesuits	511
	Active part taken by the Pope in all that concerns the missions	512

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PAPAL STATES.—BRIGANDAGE.—THE POPE'S CARE FOR ROME.

	Heavy financial burdens on the Holy See	513
	Heavy revenue insufficient for extraordinary expenses	514
	Strong fiscal measures—examination of all title deeds	515
	This affects the great Roman families	515
1581	Many confiscations of fiefs	516
	The greater number submit, but there is some resistance	517
	Difficulty in the Romagna—Report of the president Ghislieri	158

A.D. PAGE

Rich natural resources of the Romagna—its government 520
Witness of Ghislieri to the devotedness of the Romagnoli 521
Political party feuds are very general. 522
Brigandage, a national scourge. 523
Bandits are protected by the land-owners . . . 524
The Pope relaxes severity and affairs become worse . 525
The brigand chiefs. 526
Bandits even in Rome itself 527
1580 The Pope complains of some of the Cardinals . . 528
Severe enactments against all who aid or abet bandits. 529
Punitive expedition of Cardinal Sforza . . . 531
1581 Death of Sforza—the bandits raise their heads . . 532
Outrages by Piccolomini. 533
Malatesta, Valenti and the "Priest of Guercino" . 534
Murder of Francesco Peretti 536
1583 Serious disturbances in Rome—the Orsini—danger threatened by the bandits 537
"No one dares go outside the gates" . . . 538
1585 Failure of every attempt to suppress brigandage. . 539
All Italy suffers—Avogadro, the Venetian bandit . 540
Increase in the population of Rome 541
The Pope imposes no fresh taxes—his assiduity for the provisioning of Rome 542
His efforts to preserve Rome from the plague . . 543
1580 His care for the sick in an outbreak of influenza. . 544
Mendicants and vagabonds—Public morals . . 545
Strictness of Gregory XIII. as to the Carnival . . 546
Restrictions in theatrical performances . . . 548
Efforts to improve the ports of the Papal States. . 549
Works at Ancona and Civitavecchia. . . . 550
Terracina and Loreto 551
1580-1581 Description of Rome by Montaigne . . . 552
Plans of Rome by Du Pérac-Lafréry. . . . 554
"Rome the most cosmopolitan city in the world" (Montaigne). 559

CHAPTER XIV.

GREGORY XIII. AND ART.—NEW CHURCHES AND BUILDINGS.

The *mandati*, *registri*, etc. of Gregory XIII.. . . 560
Chief architects employed by the Pope: Vignola, della Porta and Lunghi. 561
And the painters: Vasari, Zuccaro and Muziano. . 562
With them many others associated 563
The artistic programme of Gregory XIII. . . . 564
One of his chief cares the completion of St. Peter's . 565
Unfortunate destruction of older remains . . . 566
The Gregorian Chapel 567

A.D. PAGE
1580 Translation to St. Peter's of relics of St. Gregory Nazianzen 570
1581 Montaigne's account of the Gregorian Chapel . . 573
Much restoration in the churches 574
The Lateran, St. Mary Major and Aracoeli . . 575
New Church of the Gesù 576
And of the Oratorians: Sta Maria in Vallicella . . 580
Many other convents and churches assisted . . 582
The Greek Church and College of St. Atanasio . . 584
The English College and that for Maronites . . 585
The Roman College of the Jesuits 586
Reconstruction of the Roman University . . . 589
Establishment of hospitals 590
Erection of fountains 592
Improvement of the streets and roads in view of the Jubilee of 1575 594
New appoach to the Capitol—The Borgo Pio . . 595
Restoration of the bridges 596
But the removal of materials from ancient buildings continues 597
Works at the Cancellaria and the Capitol . . . 598
1574 The Pope issues a Constitution concerning building . 600
Previous enactments of earlier Popes 603
What the Constitution aimed at and its provisions . 604

CHAPTER XV.

DECORATIONS AT THE VATICAN.—THE QUIRINAL.—DEATH OF THE POPE.—IMPORTANCE OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

1576 Gratitude of the Romans to Gregory XIII. . . . 607
Statue and inscription in his honour 608
Extensive works at the Vatican 609
Frescoes by Vasari 609
Also by Sabbatini, Sammachini and others . . . 610
Work in the Pauline Chapel and the halls . . . 613
And in the Loggie 614
The Galleria Geografica 616
The maps by Ignazio Danti 617
The so-called "Tower of the Winds" . . . 621
Visits of the Pope to the villa of Cardinal Este on the Quirinal 622
1583 He decides upon the erection of a Papal residence there 622
1584 The works in the Quirinal 624
Frequent visits of the Pope to Frascati . . . 625
Works at Fiumicino, Civitavecchia and Ancona . . 626
Improvement of roads and bridges 627
Benefactions to Loreto 628
Number of schools and seminaries erected at the Pope's expense 629
Vigour and strength of the Pope 630

A.D. PAGE
1581 His recovery from an illness 633
1585 His activity in all affairs 635
Holds a consistory on April 8th, is taken ill and dies on the 10th 636
Burial in the Gregorian Chapel—the monument to him 637
Estimate and importance of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. 638
"His memory must always remain in benediction" . 643

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua . .	644
II.	Cleansing of morals in Rome, 1573-1582 . . .	644
III.	Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua . . .	647
IV.	Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua . . .	647
V.	Avviso di Roma of October 30th, 1577 . . .	647
VI.	Giov. Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua . .	648
VII.	Avvisi di Roma of August 6th and 10th, 1580 . .	648
VIII.	Audiences of Cardinal Santori with Gregory XIII. concerning the Greek Church of S. Atanasio .	649
IX.	Avviso di Roma of May 30th, 1584	649
X.	Avviso di Roma of June 6th, 1584	650
XI.	Notes on the pictures and buildings of Gregory XIII.	650

CHAPTER I.

The Revolt in the Low Countries. Decisive change in the situation in the Netherlands.

The politico-religious struggles in the Low Countries, which were closely connected with the disturbances in France, had occupied the attention of Gregory XIII. and his advisers since the beginning of the pontificate. The development of affairs there had been followed in Rome with the greatest interest because a triumph of Calvinism in the Low Countries would be of decisive importance to the future of the Church, not only in France, but also in England and Germany.

William of Orange, who was the soul of the opposition to Spain in Holland, was obviously principally influenced by political considerations. His sense of statesmanship clearly recognized the impossibility of drawing the whole of the seventeen provinces into united action against Philip II., which would have given a completely free hand to the Calvinists, whose principal object was the total destruction of the Catholic Church, whereas the majority of the people of the Netherlands still belonged to the latter. Not content with prohibiting Catholic worship, and the spoliation of churches and monasteries, the Calvinists practised the most brutal ferocity against the Catholic priests. They initiated a methodical persecution of them and the unfortunate men who fell into their power were put to death with every refinement of torture. "Never," wrote a contemporary on May 30th, 1572, "has the holy Church been so persecuted either by Goths or Turks."[1] A leading part in this was taken by the head of the Gueux, Count William von der Mark, Lord

[1] *Cf.* Blok, Verslag van onderzoekingen naar Archivalia in Italië, 's Gravenhage, 1901, 34 *seq.*; Holzwarth, II., 1, 496 *seq.*, II., 2, 63, 85 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 133 *seq.*, 512; Pirenne, IV., 40 *seq.*

of Lumey, who on July 9th, 1572, at Briel, sent to the gallows, after many tortures, seventeen religious, for the most part Franciscans, and two lay-brothers, who had almost all fallen into the hands of the Gueux at Gorcum.[1] Such persecution of the Catholics involved Orange in the danger of losing, in his struggle with Spain, the southern provinces, which were almost entirely Catholic. He therefore wished, together with Calvinism, to tolerate the practice of Catholic worship as well, a plan the realization of which met with the greatest opposition on the part of Calvinist fanaticism. Since the Calvinists were Orange's strongest supporters, he formally joined their church in October, 1573, but, for political reasons, he was still unwilling to consent to the immediate suppression of Catholic worship, and at first would only countenance a division of the churches and of ecclesiastical property between the Protestants and Catholics. This brought down upon him the wrath of the Calvinist pastors, who denounced him as an atheist, and declared that the prince changed his religion as he would his coat, that all he cared about was considerations of state, and that he worshipped his own advantage as his God.[2]

A politician who was able so cleverly to draw advantage out of every circumstance was bound to prove an extremely dangerous enemy to Philip II. That all Alba's efforts had turned to the advantage of Orange alone was obvious to anyone who studied the situation at the moment when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne. The iron military dictatorship of the duke, and his system of taxation which threatened to bring

[1] See G. Estius, Hist. Martyrum Gorc., Douai, 1603; Acta Sanct. Iulii II., 754 *seq.*; Holzwarth, II., 2, 25 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1867, II., 253 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 579 *seqq.*; Fruin in *Verspreide Geschriften*, II., 277 *seq.*; Meuffels, Les martyrs de Gorcum, Paris, 1908. G. Hesse, De Martelaren van Roermond, Sittard, 1911; *cf. Anal. Bolland.*, XXXVIII. (1920), 447 *seq.*

[2] See Pirenne, IV., 49 *seq.*, 143, 185. Even as late as 1578 Mass was being said in Orange territory, at Breda, to the great indignation of the Calvinists; see Bezold, Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Joh. Casimir I., Munich, 1882, 326.

ruin upon a people that was so rich in commerce and industry, had led at the beginning of 1572 to the insurrection of Holland and Zeeland. Although Alba remained for the moment master in the field, he was unable to subdue the cities of Holland. This unfortunate state of affairs, and the complaints which reached him from all parts, shook the confidence of Philip II., who, alarmed at the extraordinary cost of the war, at length resolved to change the governor. When, on December 18th, 1573, the duke left the Low Countries, the entire responsibility for the catastrophes which had occurred during his period of government was laid upon his shoulders. The hatred which his oppressive rule had aroused not only weakened the authority of the King of Spain, but also that of the Catholic Church. Later on the Bishop of Namur was of the opinion that Alba, in seven or eight years, had done more harm to the cause of religion than had been done by Luther, Calvin, and all their supporters together.[1] This was of course a great exaggeration, which nevertheless contained an element of truth.

It was also realized in Rome that the pacification of the Low Countries could never be brought about by the violent methods of Alba. Gregory XIII. wished for a peaceful settlement of the controversies between Philip II. and his subjects in the Low Countries, all the more so as the continuance of the rising made the necessary league against the Turks impossible, as well as the struggle against Queen Elizabeth of England.[2] The Pope therefore was disposed towards a peaceful settlement with the rebels, and said that they must not be afraid of treating with Orange himself.[3]

After the departure of Alba, Philip II. unfortunately refused to go in person to the Low Countries, as Pius V. had already several times advised him to do.[4] It was in vain that the theological faculty at Louvain appealed to his

[1] See GACHARD, Actes des États-Généraux, I., Brussels, 1861, 256.

[2] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xxxvi. *seq.*

[3] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 68.

[4] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, pp. 10, 93.

feelings as a man and a Catholic, and adjured him to come to their country. Once again the government passed into the hands of an official who was always a Spaniard and looked down upon the Netherlanders: this was Luis Requesens, hitherto viceroy at Milan. The choice of this man, apart from anything else, cannot be described as a happy one: Requesens was indeed worthy of all respect and was a man of strong Catholic sentiments, but he was in bad health, hot-tempered and nervous, and proved himself by no means suited to his difficult task.[1]

Orange did his best to make the task of Requesens more difficult and to spread mistrust of him everywhere, because it was only by maintaining a state of unrest that he could attain his ends. He had the satisfaction of knowing that by the autumn of 1574 the new governor was already more hated than Alba.[2] The death of Requesens at the beginning of March, 1576, was for him a happy release. In consequence of his unexpected demise the government passed into the hands of the Council of State, whose position immediately became extremely difficult.

Even in the time of Requesens the discontent in the provinces which still remained loyal to the king and the Church had become so great, that they would have joined the insurgents of the north, if they had not feared the suppression of their religion on the part of the Calvinists. The general indignation was increased by the mutiny which broke out among the Spanish troops who were in need of money and the necessaries of life. This was turned to good effect by Orange, who was able so cunningly to conceal his real purposes that even many Catholic priests believed that he was still a Catholic at heart! With insidious devices the prince was put forward as the defender of the liberties of his country and the common saviour from the tyrannical government of the Spaniard.[3]

When the ground had been sufficiently prepared by means of an unscrupulous propaganda, Orange, who was the guiding

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 65 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 164 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 68.

[3] See *ibid.* 100.

spirit of the whole movement,[1] thought that the time had come to venture upon an act of violence. In the autumn of 1576 the members of the Council of State were arrested, and by means of the States of Brabant, Flanders and Hainault, the States General were convoked. Further revolutionary steps followed. Thereafter things moved swiftly along their beaten path. Simultaneously with the demand for the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the assembly of the States General formed a national army which at once marched against the royal troops. The latter withdrew to the fortress of Antwerp. Incited by the delay in the discharge of their pay, they there began to sack and massacre, and as a consequence hastened on the conclusion of a treaty of alliance between the States General and Holland and Zeeland. The principal obstacle to this had lain in the religious question. The provinces of the north, where the Calvinists had obtained the upper hand, remained firm in their suppression of Catholic worship within their territories. Influenced by the cruelties practised at Antwerp and the threatening attitude of the masses of the people,[2] even the representatives of the Catholics of the south gave their consent. Thus the Pacification of Ghent was concluded on November 8th, 1576. The States of Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Artois, Valenciennes, Lille, Douai, Orchies, Namur, Tournai, Utrecht, and Malines on the one hand, and those of Holland and Zeeland under Orange on the other, promised mutual assistance against their enemies, especially in driving out the Spanish soldiers. Later on the States General were to be summoned from *all* the provinces of the Low Countries in order to regularize what had been done. In the meantime all the edicts and enactments of Alba against the heretics were suspended, and the absolute authority of Calvinism in Holland and Zeeland was guaranteed, though these two provinces were not to undertake any

[1] See RITTER, in *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswissenschaft*, III. (1890), 28 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 20 *seq.*

[2] Catholics who resisted the complete confiscation of their churches were threatened with massacre; see Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, IV., 769 *seq.*

proceedings against the Catholic Church outside their own territories.[1]

A little while before the signing of the Pacification of Ghent the new governor at length arrived. This was the half-brother of Philip II., Don John of Austria. The victor of Lepanto came full of far-reaching plans. Armed with authority to make great political concessions, he hoped that he would very soon be able to smooth over the disturbances in the Low Countries, and then lead his forces in a bold *coup de main* across the Channel, liberate Mary Stuart, depose Elizabeth, and himself ascend the English throne with the Queen of Scots.[2] His passionate character made him totally unfit for his position, nor was he destined to succeed in winning any sympathies in the Low Countries. Orange made every effort from the first to oppose the Hapsburg prince, who had before anything else to engage in a struggle to obtain recognition as governor. In spite of this, after months of negotiation there was concluded on February 12th, 1577, the so-called Perpetual Edict. This confirmed the Pacification of Ghent, and approved the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, while on the other hand the States General bound themselves to recognize the royal authority and to maintain the Catholic religion everywhere, even in Holland and Zeeland.[3] This treaty, which was at once approved by Philip II., and was in striking contrast to the Pacification of Ghent, was a severe blow to Orange and the Calvinists. The news of its conclusion, which reached Rome in the middle of March, caused the greatest joy there.[4]

A month earlier the Pope had sent to the Low Countries

[1] RITTER, I., 496. HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 323 *seq.* PIRENNE, IV., 109 *seq.* BLOK, III., 208 *seq.*; HUBERT, 35 *seq.*

[2] See HAVEMANN, Don Juan, 186 *seq.*, 194 *seq.*; KRETSCHMAR, 47 *seq.*; *cf.* HUYBERS, Don Juan van Oostenrijk, landvoogt der Nederlanden, 2 Vols, Amsterdam, 1915.

[3] See HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 362 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 218 *seq.*, 224; PIRENNE, IV., 126; HUBERT, 36.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report, dated March 16, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. *Cf.* also the Briefs in THEINER, II., 334 *seq.*

a special nuncio in the person of Filippo Sega, with instructions to support the peace proposals of Don John, to defend Catholic interests in the settlement of the various questions, and finally to further the expenditure against England, for which purpose he had been given a letter of credit for 50,000 gold ducats.[1] When Sega reached the Low Countries he found that one part of his mission, namely that which was concerned with Catholic interests, had already been fulfilled by the Perpetual Edict, but he could not fail to see how difficult was the position of Don John, since Orange was doing all in his power to reopen the quarrel, which had just been healed. Sega supported Don John both with his advice and by his actions. In view of the want of money felt by the new governor, he did not feel any hesitation in handing over to him the draft for 50,000 gold ducats, which had been intended solely for the war against Elizabeth of England. It was entirely in keeping with the intentions of the Pope when Sega also energetically promoted the cause of Catholic restoration by recommending to the bishops of the Low Countries their duty of residence.[2] In purely political matters the nuncio brought his influence to bear for the complete reconciliation of the provinces with Spain, though in this question, in accordance with the instructions which he had received, he maintained a wise reserve. In July came his transference to the nunciature at Madrid, rendered vacant by the death of Ormaneto.[3]

By this time it could already be foreseen that the

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 261 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 309; KTREZSCHMAR, 50 *seq.* The brief to Don John, dated February 11, 1577, regarding Sega's mission, in THEINER, II., 333. Sega's credentials also dated February 11, 1577, in PIOT, Corresp. de Granvelle, VI., 205 note. On the same day Grgeory XIII informed the Cardinals of Sega's appointment; see *Acta consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Sega was even expected to treat with Orange; see THEINER, II., 335.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 262 *seq.*, 266; *cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 265.

[3] See *"Relatione compendiosa della negotiatione di Mgr. Sega" in the Inf. polit., 28, p. 309 *seq.* in the State Library at Berlin. See Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 352, n. 2.

restoration of peace was not to be expected from the Perpetual Edict. The Calvinists of Holland and Zeeland refused to accept the settlement unconditionally, because they were not willing to abandon their persecution of the Catholics. The agents of Orange were active in their efforts to stir up the southern provinces against the governor of Philip II., and in this they were successful beyond all expectations. Don John very soon realized that the ground was tottering under his feet. Having learned that Orange was preparing a blow in order to obtain possession of his person, he left Brussels. A bold stroke on July 24th, 1577, placed him in possession of the citadel of Namur. The cry of the perfidy of the Spaniards echoed throughout the country. The hour had come for Orange to reap the harvest of his anti-monarchical propaganda. Antwerp and Brussels hailed him joyfully as the "restorer of freedom and fatherland," and the States of Brabant chose him as the regent of their territory. Nor was his advantageous position in the least degree shaken by the choice as governor of the Archduke Matthias, the younger brother of the Emperor Rudolph II., which had been brought about by the jealous aristocracy. Orange was able with extraordinary cleverness to win over the young and inexperienced Hapsburg prince to his policy, and thus reduce him to a mere figurehead. The military and political direction of the insurrection remained in his own hands. Even in religious matters he gained an important victory by the union at Brussels of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which took place on December 10th, 1577. Whereas the Perpetual Edict had obliged the States General to "support in every way and everywhere the Catholic religion," in this new agreement, the Calvinists and Catholics, in the interests of their struggle with the common enemy, guaranteed each other mutual toleration.[1] What this meant to the adherents of the Catholic Church was soon to be seen.

Deaf to the warnings of the Pope,[2] the majority of the

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 127 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*

[2] See the memorandum to the Netherlands episcopate of November 16, 1577, in THEINER, II., 336 *seq*

Catholics, out of hatred for Spain, had made common cause with the Calvinists, who, however, were not on that account at all disposed to abandon the destruction "of the papistical idolatry." After they had, even in 1577, taken every advantage of the political position in order to carry on an agitation in their own favour, and to perpetrate acts of violence, such as the arrest of the Bishops of Bruges and Ypres, at the beginning of the following year there broke out in several places a storm against the Catholic Church, which rivalled that of 1566.

The Calvinist preachers, and with them a horde from the Palatinate, and Netherlander priests who had fled to the Palatinate, with the violent Peter Dathenus at their head, made their way into Flanders and Brabant, and cleverly profiting by the political conditions, launched a campaign to the death against the ancient Church.[1] An oath was imposed upon Catholic priests to treat Don John as an enemy and not to preach against apostasy from the faith. Anyone that refused was subjected to every kind of persecution. In May the Jesuits and Franciscans at Antwerp were driven out, and their churches profaned. As early as January the Jesuits had had to fly from Utrecht, and the same thing happened to the Franciscans in April. At Amsterdam at the end of May the Calvinists made their way into the Rathaus, drove out the Minorites and pillaged the churches, in which Calvinist sermons were at once begun. Similar scenes took place at Haarlem. The fanatical mob carried out a terrible work of destruction at Ghent; as a result of the Calvinist preaching Catholic priests were not able by March to walk through the streets in their habits. In May a storm of iconoclasm was begun in the churches and convents. Aftei the walls of the Catholic churches had been carefully washed and covered with whitewash, they were used for Calvinist worship. On June 28th six religious were burned alive on false charges. In a like manner in many other places in

[1] For what follows *cf.* HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 419 *seq*; RITTER, I., 536 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 256.

Flanders the Catholic priests were ill-treated and persecuted, their churches profaned, and church property put up for auction.[1] At the end of August Dathenus wrote that of the twenty-eight cities of Flanders twenty-four had received the "Gospel." He said nothing about the fact that his followers there "had sacked and devastated churches, convents, abbeys and hospitals with worse cruelties than Moors and barbarians." At Antwerp by the end of October six churches had been taken from the Catholics and handed over to the Calvinists.[2]

In Rome the course of events in the Low Countries was being followed with ever growing anxiety.[3] Now as before the Pope favoured a peaceful settlement of the disturbances that were taking place.[4] In view of the contradictory accounts that arrived of the complicated events, it was extremely difficult to decide whether it would be opportune to send a Papal legate for the restoration of peace. A special commission composed of Cardinals Morone, Galli, Granvelle, Sforza, Orsini, Madruzzo and Guastavillani was formed to treat of this matter.[5] Although the greater number of the Pope's advisers thought that "the appearance of the apostolic cross" in the rebellious provinces was premature,[6] nevertheless the nuncio in Germany, Bartolomeo Portia, received that charge at the end of 1577, with directions himself to obtain further information from the Low Countries. Prevented by the disturbances caused by the war from making his own observations on the spot, Portia was enabled, from the news which he received, to come to the conclusion that nothing

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 174 *seq.*; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 425 *seq.*

[2] See v. BEZOLD, Briefe, I., No. 115 note; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 455; RITTER, I., 537.

[3] See *Odescalchi's reports dated Rome, July 24, August 14, October 12, December 4, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 173, n. 3, II., xxxviii.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 267.

[6] Odescalchi reports this in his memorandum dated Rome, November 27, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

but armed force would be able to restore order in the Low Countries.[1] On the other hand the Pope was informed that the inhabitants of that unhappy country had become so alienated from Spain, that nothing but the mediation of a third power could restore peace; Gregory XIII., therefore brought his influence to bear upon Philip II. to accept the mediation of the Emperor.[2]

Statements of a similar nature confirmed Gregory XIII. in his desire to attempt once more a peaceful intervention in the disturbances in the Netherlands instead of the drastic procedure against the States General which was desired by Spain.[3] News of the negotiations of the Duke of Anjou with the insurgents decided the Pope in June, 1578, to take definite steps. First there came the mission of Frangipani to Henry III. to prevent the alliance between Anjou and the Netherlanders.[4] Then at the end of June Cardinal Madruzzo was charged to enter into negotiations with the Emperor Rudolph II. for the cessation of the disturbances in the Low Countries. The Pope's plan was built upon the fact that he believed, as did Philip II., that it was first of all necessary to remove the Archduke Matthias. The Emperor Rudolph must further forbid any assistance begin given to the insurgents within the Empire. But Gregory XIII. intended to carry out his real peace negotiations himself, by means of his legates.[5]

At the beginning of July 1578 Madruzzo set out; in order to obtain a happy issue to his mission the Pope ordered special prayers and processions by means of the promulgation of a

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 205, 214, 255, II., xxxviii *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 430 *seq.* and HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, II., xxxix.

[3] The opposition in Rome asserted that the "stati uniti" did wish to remain Catholic; see *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, April 5, 1578, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] See the *Relatione di Mgr. Sega in the Inf. polit., 28, p. 331, in the State Library at Berlin.

[5] See HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, II., XL *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*

general jubilee.[1] Since neither the Emperor nor Philip II. raised any objection to the sending of a Papal representative to the discussions of the Assembly for the pacification of the Low Countries, at the end of August 1578 this charge was laid upon Gian Battista Castagna, a man who was in great favour at the court of Spain.[2] A long time nevertheless had to elapse before the negotiations between the representatives of the States General and those of Philip II. were opened at Cologne under the mediation of the Emperor.

In the meantime a change of great importance had begun to take place in the Low Countries. Since Orange wished to unite the whole nation against Spain the wild excesses of the Calvinists were bound to be very distasteful to him. But at the same time he had no means of restraining them, for the very reason that he would thus have lost his strongest support against Spain. The less successful were his attempts to curb the terrorism of the Calvinists, the less satisfied were the Catholics with his government, and they little by little became accustomed to the idea of a reconciliation with the Spanish power, which at any rate gave them assurance of personal safety and the defence of their faith.[3]

The Catholic Walloons in Hainault and Artois acted with the greatest determination. There for the first time a definite stand was made against revolutionary excesses. The leadership in this movement was taken by the Catholic Bishop of

[1] After the Pope had come to an agreement with the Cardinals and had obtained their consent in a consistory held on July 23, 1578 (see *Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) a Bull was prepared on July 30 (reprinted by THEINER, II., 431 *seq.*, and also to be found in *Compte rendu de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, V., 2 (1892), 465 *seq.*). *Cf.* also *Odescalchi's report of July 26, 1578, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, and the Avviso di Roma of August 9, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 289, Vatican Library.

[2] See THEINER, II., 433 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 218 *seq.* (reprint of the Instruction dated August 29, 1578); BROM, Archivalia, I., 223 *seq.*

[3] See BLOK, III., 256 *seq.*

Arras, Matthieu Moullart, Jean Sarrazin, the Abbot of Saint-Vaast, and the Catholic nobles.[1] They clearly realized the consequences that threatened them if the revolutionary movement should penetrate into their Catholic district, as it had especially succeeded in doing at Ghent.[2] As soon as this danger seemed to be imminent, they energetically took up an attitude of defence. In October, 1578, the States of Hainault and Artois planned the formation of a Catholic league, which had for its object the strict carrying out of the terms of the Pacification of Ghent, defence against "the barbarous and worse than Spanish arrogance of the secretaries and their accomplices" and the maintenance of the Catholic faith. The authors of this plan had taken their stand upon an absolutely legal basis, and no fault could be found with them if they were determined to defend themselves against the violation of solemn pledges given by the Calvinists.[3]

The Walloon provinces were successful in warding off a tyrannical Protestant government; first of all at Arras, and afterwards at Lille and Douai, their adversaries were defeated. Here, as in the whole of the remainder of the Walloon territory, an end was put, together with Calvinism, to the rule of the democratic masses, in favour of the aristocracy and the upper classes of the people. On January 6th, 1579, Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douai and Orchies formed the Union of Arras, the object of which was the defence of the Catholic religion and reconciliation with Philip II.[4]

The answer to this was the Union of Utrecht, which was formed on January 23rd, 1579, between the five northern

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 192 *seq.*, which shows that Ranke's statements (Päpste, II. [8], 63 *seq.*) need correction. For particulars of Moullart *cf.* Gallia christ., III.; for particulars of Sarrazin see HIRSCHAUER, Corresp. de J. Sarrazin, Arras, 1912.

[2] See Michele's report in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 400.

[3] According to PIRENNE, IV., 202.

[4] See HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 460 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 204 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 268; HUBERT, 39 *seq.*; BUSSEMAKER, De afscheiding der Waalsche Gewesten van der Generale Unie, II., Haarlem, 1896, 124 *seqq.*

provinces which had not surrendered, and from which was to emerge the republic of the Netherlands. Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, Groningen and Ommelande, to which there were soon joined Friesland and Overyssel, as well as Calvinist Ghent, Ypres, Antwerp, Bruges and Brussels, formed a union similar to the Swiss Confederation, for the defence of the national rights and the Pacification of Ghent. The decisions of the league on religious questions were naturally an obstacle to this alliance. Holland and Zeeland were to go on as they thought best, and the other provinces received a like liberty. The religious settlement which had been come to in July by Orange and the States General was urged upon them, according to which the right to practise any religion and the distribution of the churches between the Calvinists and the Catholics was made dependent upon the existence of a sufficient number of the adherents of the respective religions.[1]

After this events moved quickly. It was in vain that Orange attempted to prevent the reconciliation of the Walloon provinces with Spain. He met his match in Alessandro Farnese, in whom Philip II. had at length set a capable man at the head of affairs, after Don John, who was a soldier, but no diplomatist or politician,[2] had died on October 1st, 1578.[3] The high hopes with which Gregory XIII. hailed this appointment[4] were fully justified. Equally distinguished as a general and as a diplomatist, the son of Margaret, the former regent of the Low Countries, and of Ottavio Farnese, possessed all the qualities for resuming the struggle with Orange.[5]

[1] See HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 440 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 276 *seq.*; RITTER, I., 545.

[2] See FEBVRE's opinion, in Philippe II. et la Franche-Comté, Paris, 1914, 699.

[3] According to *Odescalchi's memorandum of October 18, 1578, "domenica sera" came to Rome by the "dolorosa nova" and caused much grief to the Pope. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] Brief of December 3, 1578; see BROM, Archivalia, I., 225.

[5] See FEA, A. Farnese, Torino, 1886; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 446 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 243 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 282 *seq.*

Without paying any attention to the peace congress at Cologne, from whose deliberations,[1] which had been begun on May 7th, 1579, Farnese looked for no results, he brought to a conclusion the separate negotiations with the Walloon provinces. On May 17th a treaty was concluded at Arras between himself and the Walloon territories of Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douai and Orchies, by which those territories dissociated themselves from the insurgents, and submitted themselves to the crown of Spain. They naturally insisted upon a great measure of autonomy and freedom. Philip II. had to promise to protect the privileges of the States, to remove the foreign troops, and always to appoint as governor-general a member of his own family. In return an oath of obedience and of the preservation of the Catholic faith was taken.[2]

The decisive and highly important change which thus took place in the affairs of the Low Countries by means of the Peace of Arras, was principally owing to the Walloon clergy. They alone, from the commencement and throughout the course of the negotiations, which took place in the celebrated Abbey of Saint-Vaast, showed a complete understanding of the position, while the aristocracy and the States still hesitated for a long time in consequence of the deep-rooted antipathy for Spain. On April 27th, 1579, the ecclesiastical States had informed the Pope of their intention. In this document they pointed, as the reason for the attitude taken up by the Walloon States, to the misdeeds of the Calvinists, the destruction of the churches, and the banishment of the clergy in almost every part of Flanders. Whereas they had actually

[1] For particulars of the nugatory proceedings of the Cologne Peace Congress, and the attitude of Castagna see GACHARD, Corresp. de Guillaume le Taciturne IV., Introduction 98 *seq.*; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots, V., 395 *seq.*; LOSSEN in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, V., 6, 277 *seq.*; HANSEN in the *Westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, XIII., 223 *seq.* and in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., lix. *seq.*

[2] See DUMONT, V., 350. Philip II. ratified the peace as early as June 29, 1579; see GACHARD, Actes des États Généraux, II., No. 1845.

carried out these cruelties there, in violation of the Pacification of Ghent, the Calvinists intended to do the same in Artois and especially at Arras, but had been prevented from doing so by the fact that the Catholics had plucked up courage, and had successfully adopted an attitude of self-defence. In order to prevent a recurrence of such acts of violence, and for the defence of the Catholic faith, the Walloon States had met, and were prepared to be reconciled to Philip II., if he, for his part, would guarantee liberal peace terms. To this end they asked for the help of the Pope.[1]

When, on May 18th, 1579, Gregory XIII., together with praise for the attitude taken up by the States, promised his assistance,[2] the peace, as the result of the prudent and restrained attitude of Farnese had already been settled, and in consequence, not only had an end been put to the tyranny and despotism which had prevailed hitherto, but the maintenance of the ancient Church in the aforesaid provinces had been assured. Even before the news reached Rome, the Pope had caused prayers to be said in all the monasteries and religious houses for a happy issue.[3] The peace, and the capture of Maestricht, which soon followed, filled Gregory with the greatest joy.[4] On August 1st the Walloon States were honoured with a special brief, and Alessandro Farnese was sent the blessed hat and sword.[5] After this the Pope felt that he could be at peace, which was very welcome to him;[6] thenceforward he could watch the development of

[1] See THEINER, III., 93 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Letter of John Metellus Sequanus to Cardinal Sirleto dated Cologne, April 24, 1579, in which the Cardinal is asked to use his good offices with the Pope in favour of peace. Vat. 6190, 2, p. 411 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See THEINER, III., 94 *seq.*; *cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 329, 337.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of June 7, 1597, Urb. 1047, p. 186, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, *ibid.* 242.

[5] THEINER, III., 95 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 24.

[6] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives at Rome.

events in the Low Countries with renewed hope; Bois-le-duc and other cities which were tired of the yoke of the Gueux, voluntarily returned to their obedience to Philip II.[1]

The sentence pronounced on Orange by the King of Spain was answered by the prince in his *Apologia*. On July 26th, 1581, the States General of Holland, Zeeland, Flanders, Guelders, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel and Malines solemnly renounced at the Hague their allegiance to the King of Spain.[2]

Now that the authority of the lawful king, which was set aside in accordance with the political principles of the Huguenots,[3] had actually passed into the hands of Orange, it became more and more clear that what was aimed at was the total destruction of the Catholic Church. Orange himself, for political reasons, was naturally opposed to a persecution of the Catholics, for, with the exception of Zeeland, Calvinism had not been successful in obtaining absolute dominion in any of the northern provinces.[4] In all that part of the country, especially in Utrecht and the west, the Catholics still formed the majority;[5] in consequence, however, of the influence of the spirit of Erasmus, they, like that scholar, were confused, uncertain and weak; moreover they had no one to lead them, since their bishops had been taken away from them, and the spirit of Catholic reform had not as yet penetrated among them.[6] Thus it is not surprising that but few of them

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 224 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 279.

[2] DUMONT, V., 413.

[3] See RILLER, I., 489, 547 *seq.*

[4] See BLOK, III., 321.

[5] See *ibid.* 380. The opinion held by RANKE (Päpste, II.[8] 68) and others that the northern provinces were "completely protestant" is untenable.

[6] The great deterioration of the clergy in many places, notably in Utrecht, Maastricht and Roermond can be seen from BLOK, III., 378 (*cf. Katholik*, 1871, I., 708 *seq.*) and FRUIN, Verspreide Geschriften, III., 's Gravenhage, 1901, 254 *seqq.* where emphasis is also laid on the change for the better which took place towards the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., when the energetic S. Vosmeer infused a new spirit into the clergy of northern Holland (see *ibid.* 286 *seq.*).

showed any readiness to undergo danger and sacrifice for the Catholic faith. Frightened and intimidated, they remained partly crushed, partly indifferent, while a noisy minority tried to trample upon their religion. And this state of affairs gradually grew worse. Thus in 1573 Catholic worship in private was still permitted, and Catholics were only forbidden the public exercise of their religion. But after the renunciation of allegiance to Philip II., the more zealous Calvinists brought fresh pressure to bear, and Orange gave way to them completely. An edict published by him on December 20th, 1581, prohibited in the strictest way, both in the cities and in the country districts, any meeting whatever in the churches or private houses in Holland for the purpose of "papistical usages," such as masses, sermons, etc.; nor was it any longer lawful to wear sacerdotal vestments.[1]

In his war against Spain Orange placed his chief hopes in the assistance of France, but from the Duke of Anjou he met with nothing but disappointment. In the meantime the fortune of war was favourable to Farnese. On November 30th, 1581, he captured Tournai, and on July 5th, 1582, Oudenarde. The terms which he granted to both these cities excited general surprise by their moderation. Farnese wished to win over his opponents by his leniency.[2]

The question of the possession of Flanders and Brabant, which were situated between the Catholic confederation of the south and the Calvinist rule in the north, was still in doubt. The political anarchy which prevailed in those provinces had been made use of in the cities by the Calvinist minority for the suppression of Catholic worship. At Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent the adherents of the ancient faith were ill-treated in defiance of all law and right, and driven into exile. The Catholic priests who had the courage to remain were obliged

[1] See H. J. Allard, Een Encycliek van Willem den Zwijger, Utrecht, 1884. *Cf.* also Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 64; Knuttel, De Toestand der Nederlandsche Katolieken ten tijde der Republiek, I., 's Gravenhage, 1892, 2 *seq.*; Hubert, 61; Fruin, *loc. cit.*, 271 *seq.*

[2] See Pirenne, IV., 251 *seq.*

to say mass with closed doors, as was the case later on in France, at the time of the great revolution. In 1584 even this was forbidden at Brussels.[1] At last the persecution ceased with the victory of Farnese. After Ypres and Bruges had fallen at the beginning of 1584, Ghent too was forced to surrender in September. When this news reached Rome a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated in S. Giuliano, the national church of the Flemings.[2]

Already the question was being discussed in Rome of the mission of a distinguished prelate to support the work of Catholic restoration in the Low Countries, but it was decided that the propitious moment had not yet come.[3] With far-seeing policy Farnese promised a general amnesty; even the Calvinists of Ghent, who had committed so many crimes against the Catholics, were granted a period of two years to decide whether they would in future live as Catholics. In the meantime the insurgents had lost their leader by the murder of Orange (July 10th, 1584).[4] Brussels capitulated

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 222 *seq.*

[2] See *Odescalchi's report of October 20, 1584, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[3] *Agebatur nec non de mittendo aliquo authoritatis praelato in Flandriam qui conversos confirmaret et quos posset ad meliorem reduceret mentem, sed rebus adhuc fluctuantibus expedire non est visum quod, ut credo, fiet postea. Report of F. Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand dated Rome, September 22, 1584, Government Archives at Innsbruck.

[4] For particulars of the murderer Balthasar Gérard and of his execution, see GACHARD. Corresp. de Guillaume le Taciturne, VI., and *Bullet. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique*, XXIII.; also FREDERIKS, Oorspronkelijke Verhalen en gelijktijdige Berichten van den moord gepleegd aan Prins W. v. Oranje, 's Gravenhage, 1884. For particulars of earlier murder plots of Philip II., the best authority is PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 67 *seq.* RANKE (Päpste, II.[8] 71) still maintains that "a Jesuit of Trêves supported" B. Gérard in his murderous designs. This assertion was proved to be a calumny as long ago as 1764 by REIFFENBERG (Hist. prov. ad Rhen. inf., 296 *seqq*; a work which Ranke himself quotes a few pages further on!); and later on, MARX (Geschichte des

on March 10th, 1585. The siege of Antwerp, the second capital of Brabant, proved extraordinarily difficult,[1] but it fell at last on August 17th. The time granted to the Protestants there for their acceptance of the Catholic faith was extended to four years, on account of their great number.[2]

Then there began everywhere the restoration of the Catholic churches, many of which had been converted by the Calvinists into warehouses, and even into stables.[3] Filled with renewed courage the champions of the Catholic restoration returned to their task, which had been interrupted by the revolution.[4]

Erzstiftes Trier, II., 2 [1862], 513 *seq.*) draws particular attention to this fact. But all this did not prevent WENZELBURGER (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, LIII., 63 *seq.*) from referring to Orange's murderer as: "armed with the blessing of a Jesuit confessor." Droysen speaks in the same strain. For the opposite point of view *cf.* DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 724. The *Relatione del successo della morte di Guilelmo de Nassau (Inf. polit., XII., 280-287, State Library at Berlin) has been over-rated by Ranke. As GACHARD points out (*Compte rendu de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, IV., 1 [1873], 61 *seq.*), it contains nothing new about the deed. FORNERON (*Rév. de France*, May 15, 1881) calls B. Gérard "un fou." The news of Orange's death reached Rome in the beginning of August; see F. Sporeno's report dated August 2, 1584. On October 6 *Sporeno reports that he handed to the Pope a picture of B. Gérard's execution. Government Archives at Innsbruck. For particulars of a letter of Baronius about B. Gérard see FRUIN in *Verslagen en mededel. der K. Akad. van Wetenschapen*, XI., Amsterdam, 1882.

[1] *Cf.* MOLTKE's opinion on the subject in *Ges. Schriften*, II., 21.

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 267 (*cf.* 259); HUBERT, 41.

[3] See *ibid.* 485.

[4] What great obstacles eminent bishops like Francis Sonnius and William Lindanus had to contend with in their efforts for reform, *cf.* HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 265 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1871, II., 103 *seq.*, 442 *seq.*; HABETS, Gesch. van het Bisdom Roermond, II., Roermond, 1892. Two memoranda of Lindanus, written in the year 1578, and preserved in the Secret Papal Archives (Nunziat. di Germania, 91, p. 88 *seq.*) have been published by BROM in the *Publicat. de la Société hist. dans le duché de Limbourg*, 1892. They give us a picture—often a sad one—of ecclesiastical conditions in the Netherlands.

This was, especially at first, extremely difficult, because the Catholics of the southern provinces, who were still under the influence of the ideas of Erasmus, displayed such indifference and weakness as to afford a striking contrast to the zeal and activity of the Calvinists in the north. In the case of the majority of the inhabitants of the southern provinces the Catholic faith was rather a matter of habit than a real conviction. Men followed their religion merely externally "as a usage which was deeply rooted by long custom."[1] In view of such tepidity and indifference about religion, it is hardly surprising that when political disturbances broke out men should have turned their backs upon the ancient Church merely in order to combat the Spanish dominion. Strenuous labours were needed in order to win back such apostates, and restore a true religious life to the tepid.[2]

After their separation from the north had removed the danger of Calvinist rule from the Walloon provinces, it was soon seen that the material losses were greater than the moral. The majority of the people, especially in the country districts, were still, as before, attached to the ancient Church.[3] Therefore Gregory XIII., who even in the time of the war in the Low Countries had devoted special attention to the work of Catholic restoration,[4] was able to hope for the best results,

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 171.

[2] A memorandum *Remedia pro instauranda in Belgio religione catholica, dated Louvain, September 8, 1574, suggests: "Accuratior populi in fide per concionatores doctrina cum visitatione ac reformatione cleri ac potissimum cathedralium ecclesiarum secundum canones." State Archives at Naples.

[3] See PIRENNE, IV., 172 *seq.*, 486.

[4] See *supra*, p. 7 in the matter of the commissions entrusted to Sega. See also HOLZWARTH (*Katholik*, 1871, II., 665 *seq.*) where he deals with the unfulfilled project of founding a seminary which should serve as a training school for good clergy for the northern provinces. The University of Louvain, in 1580, sent Gregory XIII. a present of 2,000 gold ducats; see de RAM, Considérations sur l'hist. de l'université de Louvain, Brussels, 1854, 92.

all the more so as he was zealously supported by the government. It was obviously a disadvantageous circumstance that many of the bishops were not suited to their office. Requesens had repeatedly complained of the supineness and lack of courage of some of the bishops,[1] in whose case the wise decrees which had been approved by the synods of 1570 and 1574, on the basis of the decrees of the Council of Trent, had remained to a great extent a dead letter.[2] If, in spite of this, the Catholic Church quickly recovered from its state of decadence, and began to flourish more than ever,[3] this was in no small degree to be attributed to the activity of the Jesuits.

At first the Jesuits in the Low Countries belonged to the Rhenish province of the congregation, until the General, Francis Borgia, formed a special Belgian or Flemish province on September 24th, 1564. Its development was hindered, not only by the insurrection in Holland, but also by the fact that Alba, who was a strong supporter of cesaropapalism, showed an obvious antipathy for the Society of Jesus.[4] In spite of this the Society found many protectors. Better times came with Requesens, who fully realized the services which the Jesuits could render to the country, and therefore extended to them his full sympathy.[5] After his death a further period of difficulty for the members of the Society of Jesus ensued, with the so-called Pacification of Ghent. The steadfastness with which they refused in 1578 to take an oath which was incompatible with the rights of the lawful sovereign and the interests of the Church led to their expulsion.[6] The Calvinists

[1] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 306, 350.

[2] See *ibid.* 307; PIRENNE, IV., 484.

[3] According to PIRENNE, IV., 486.

[4] See Vol. XVIII., page 104 of this work.

[5] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 21; FRUIN in *Verslagen en mededel. der K. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, XI., 322; PIRENNE, IV., 498.

[6] See A. PONCELET, La Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique, Anvers, 1907, 2. Interesting particulars in the *Litt. ann.*, especially 1582, p. 206 *seq.*, 1584, p. 237 *seq.*

instinctively recognized in them their most dangerous enemies, and wherever they obtained the upper hand the fathers had to go away.[1] They repaired to Louvain, where Bellarmine taught theology between 1570 and 1576.[2] As Louvain at that time was ravaged by a terrible plague the Jesuits undertook the care of the sick ; four of the fathers succumbed there in the performance of this work of charity, and seven others died in other places as victims to their love for their neighbour.

The victories of Alessandro Farnese, which were so decisive for the restoration of the ancient Church, were all the more gratifying to the Jesuits because friendship for the Order of Loyola was a family tradition with the Farnese. Under the protection of the victorious general the Jesuits returned immediately. They, and in this Philip II., who in other respects had shown but little favour towards the Jesuits, was in complete agreement with Alessandro Farnese, were to secure the spiritual results of the victory. Courtrai had scarcely been occupied when the Jesuits appeared there ; they also quickly made their way to Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels.[3] In 1583 Farnese busied himself with the establishment of a Jesuit college at Mons, and the Order owed to his intervention with Philip II. the fact that in 1584 its right was recognized to acquire and hold property under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as that of making free use of the privileges granted to it by the Apostolic See.[4]

A special protector of the Jesuits was the Bishop of Liège, Gerhard von Groesbeek, who also supported in every possible way the needs of the work of Catholic restoration. He nevertheless in this met with so much opposition on the part of the clergy of Liège, that he was only able to obtain small results.[5] His successor, Ernest of Bavaria, who was appointed

[1] *Cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 499 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* COUDERC, Card. Bellarmin, I., Paris, 1893, 92 *seq.* ; FRENTZ, Kard. Bellarmin, Freiburg, 1921, 35 *seq.*

[3] See SACCHINI, V., 189.

[4] See SACCHINI, V., 189 ; *Bullet. de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, V., 2 (1892), 160-1.

[5] See PIRENNE, IV., 410 *seq.*

in 1581, was more fortunate. It is worthy of note that it was especially under this worldly bishop that the Catholic reform made great strides.[1] The principal credit for this belongs to the Jesuits, who had great influence with him.

In the autumn of 1585 the first Capuchins joined the Jesuits in that part of the Netherlands which was subject to Spain.[2] They too co-operated vitally in recovering for the Catholic Church the nation that during the rebellion had become a playground for the heretics, supported by France, Germany and England.[3] If the Capuchins have been called "the Jesuits of the Poverello," this is especially true in the case of the Spanish Netherlands.[4] Of great importance, too, for the ecclesiastical life of that people was the apostolic nunciature established at Cologne by Gregory XIII., which, in October, 1584, was filled by the capable Bonhomini.[5] Thus the Pope, at the close of his pontificate, in the midst of the anxieties occasioned by the state of France, could at least look with joyful anticipations to the neighbouring territories held by Philip II. in the Netherlands. The restoration of political order by Farnese could not fail to assist in the triumph there of the religious revival.

[1] See *ibid.* 428 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, II., 165 *seq.*; ROCCA DA CESINALE, I., 367 *seq.*; ALENÇON, Documents (Paris, 1894), 89 *seq.*

[3] See Sega's opinion in his report of August 2, 1578, in HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 212 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 515.

[5] See MAERE, Origines de la nonciature de Flandre in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 577. *Cf. infra* p. 382 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

The Catholic Revival in Germany.—The German Congregation.—Bavaria.—The Tyrol.—Salzburg.

The second year of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. had hardly begun when news reached Cologne from Rome that the new Pope had especially taken the interests of Germany to heart, that he was thinking of enlarging the German College at Rome, and that a special congregation of ten Cardinals had been appointed to discuss the question of the best way of assisting Germany.[1]

This was that German Congregation which, projected under Pius IV.,[2] had been formed in 1568 by Pius V., but which,

[1] Document dated June 30, 1573, in Hansen, Rheinische Akten, 648.

[2] Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten xi. A *Consilium pro restituenda Germania (Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, Instruz., I., 224) also gives, first and foremost, the following advice: "Congregatio instituatur, per quam S. D. N. iuvet Germanium in spiritu apostolicae mansuetudinis ac veritatis orthodoxae in Christo Iesu ad maiorem Omnipotentis gloriam. Necessitatem congregationis metiri possumus ex interitu aeterno tot animarum, ex calamitate nationis christianae, ex S. D. N. obligatione. Tempus opportunum ex electione tam pii, tam sapientis, tam mansueti pontificie, ex sectis et pugnis mutuis haereticorum, unde pax ecclesiastica consequatur, ex pace christianorum principum, ex spe concepta a piis omnibus. Ad congregationem cardinales eligantur, qui pietate, sapientia, dignitate sint excellentes, quibus congregatio adiungatur ex selectis iureconsultis et theologis, qui congregationi sint a consiliis. Iurisdictio nulla sit congregationi ordinaria, sed summa auctoritas et gratia apud S. D. N. et omnes statue ecclesiae, quod efflagitat negotii magnitudo et difficultas. Misisteria congregationis: Primum ut curet concilium oecumenicum celebrari. Reformationem item universalem expediri efficaciter. . . ." The approximate date of this document can be

on account of the unfavourable circumstances, had held its meetings "with but little result."[1] At the beginning of 1573 Gregory XIII. gave it new life; for its members he chose by preference the German Cardinals, Truchsess, Mark Sittich von Hohenems, Hosius, Cristoforo and Lodovico Madruzzo; of the Cardinals on the congregation who were not of German origin, Morone, Zaccaria Delfino, Farnese and Santa Croce had known Germany as nuncios, while Tolomeo Galli, as secretary under Pius IV., had had to make himself acquainted with conditions there.[2] Truchsess died in this same year, and Commendone took his place.[3]

When the hope of being able to strike a powerful blow at the Turks had been proved to be impossible of fulfilment,

fixed from the remark about the council and also from the sentence: "In editione librorum observetur cathalogus editus Romae sub Paulo IV. cum emendatione S. D. N. (Pius IV.)"; *cf.* the above sentence about the "electio tam *pii* pontificis" which had only just recently taken place.

[1] Cardinal Truchsess in the *Nuntiaturberichten*, III., xviii.; *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 247 of this work.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xv *seq.* SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, xvii *seqq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xv *seq.*; Bernerio on March 6, 1574, *ibid.*, 366. The session of January 7, 1573, of which both Truchsess and Cusano give a report (SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xvii) is also mentioned by *Aurelio Zibramonte who says that the following cardinals were present: Morone, Truchsess, Farnese, Delfino, Galli, Madruzzo, Hosius and F. Boncompagni (letter of January 16, 1573, addressed to the Duke of Mantua: Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The protocols of the meetings of the German Congregation from May 18, 1573, to February 28, 1578, from a manuscript in the Borghese Library, are reproduced by SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 73-131. These reports are supplemented by some loose sheets, originally prepared for the state secretariate and bound up with the volumes of the *Nunziat. di Germania.* Such reports of single sessions are to be found in Vols. XCI. and CII. They begin just where the Borghese manuscript stops, i.e. with the session of April 17, 1578 (Vol. XCI., 18), and continue up to the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Gregory XIII. felt doubly inclined to pay all possible attention to events in Germany. It was the Cardinal of Augsburg who tried to turn to the advantage of his own country the plans that had proved vain as far as the east was concerned.[1] In every way Otto Truchsess intervened on behalf of his own country; when, in July, 1572, the immediate return of Commendone from Poland was erroneously expected, Cardinal Otto proposed that Commendone should be employed at Vienna for the religious revival in Germany.[2] Cardinal Hosius of Ermland, too, intervened with the Pope on behalf of Germany; he specially urged that steps should be taken to bring about the return of Saxony to the Church.[3] It was also possible to obtain information as to the state of affairs in Germany from the Dominican, Feliciano Ninguarda, who was in Rome until September 1572, as the representative of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.[4] Peter Canisius was expected in April, 1573, to take part in the election of the new General of the Jesuits; in the meantime he was charged to obtain information from the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the princes of the Tyrol and Bavaria, as to what would be in their opinion the best way to further the interests of religion.[5] The Secretary of State, Galli, soon found himself called upon to make a definite statement that it was intended to make use of none but peaceful means; at the news of the meeting

[1] Seb. Beretarius in M. RADERUS, De vita Petri Canisii (1614), 139.

[2] SCHWARZ in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, IV. (1890), 40-3. The ideas developed in this article will be met with again in Otto's later memorandum (see *infra* p. 28).

[3] SCHWARZ. Zehn Gutachten, xvi.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xiv.

[5] *Ibid.* xxi *seqq.* *Brief to the Archbishop of Salzburg, dated January 24, 1573: "Volumus dil. fil. Petrum Canisium tecum agere nonnullis de rebus ad hanc quam diximus curam pertinentibus; cuius verbis fidem adhibebis et quid tibi spiritus s. in animum immittat expones, cupimus enim tuam sententiam cognoscere, quam propter prudentiam et pietatem tuam plurimi facimus." Consistorial Archives, Salzburg.

of the German Congregation the rumour had been spread, especially in Vienna, that Rome was planning a massacre of St. Bartholomew against the religious innovators in Germany. Galli replied to the request for enlightenment from the nuncio in Vienna that there was not the least idea of armed intervention nor of violent measures "which are no longer suited to these times, and in no way represent the intentions or ideas of the Pope."[1] Cardinal Otto, too, wrote at the beginning of 1573 to Duke Albert V.:[2] Gregory XIII. intends to devote his attention to Germany "in all kindness and gentleness," "zealously and in all seriousness"; if only he knew what to do, how hard he would work!

What serious efforts were being made at that time in Rome to obtain detailed information as to the state of affairs in Germany, is clear from a whole number of written opinions intended for the use of the German Congregation, and which go in great detail into the means to be adopted in coming to the assistance of Germany.[3] The Cardinal of Augsburg had already expressed his views on this question to Pius V. in 1568. He now, at an audience, in January, 1573, laid his opinions before the new Pope with certain unessential alterations.[4] Zaccaria Delfino, who was at that time nuncio in Vienna, made a speech before the German Congregation on the same subject before January 7th, 1573,[5] while Peter Canisius made a report concerning the information which, in accordance with the instructions he had received, he had obtained from the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Duke of Bavaria as to the best procedure of reform.[6] Canisius had handed on the task of consulting the Archbishop of Salzburg on the subject to Ninguarda,[7] whose report, however,[8]

[1] Galli on March 7, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xxi.

[2] On January 31, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xxiv.

[3] Printed *ibid.* 1 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 1-19. For the date of this and the following memorandum, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xviii.

[5] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 19-28.

[6] *Ibid.*, 29-33. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xxi *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.* xxv *seq.*

[8] Of February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 106-9.

represents his own ideas rather than those of the archbishop. Lastly there are a number of reports from unknown writers.[1]

The accounts of the state of Germany which are given in these reports present a gloomy picture. Any improvement in the state of affairs must start with the bishops, in so far as they are still men of good will. But, as Cardinal Otto Truchsess points out, the clergy resist the smallest attempt at reform, and reject the decrees of Trent, relying on pretended privileges. The bishops do not dare to interfere by means of synods, visitations or strong measures. If an immoral priest is removed by his bishop, he goes to a neighbouring diocese and there meets with a ready welcome on account of the scarcity of priests, or, as happens every day, he goes to the Protestants, from whom he is certain to receive some prominent and well-paid office. It is impossible to fill the place of such fugitives except by men who have given public scandal, or at any rate, have fallen under manifest and grave censures. A bishop finds himself in the difficult position of having to tolerate against his will parish priests and others who are simoniacal, unsuitable, scandalous, excommunicated, and the like; he must keep his parishes filled in some way, for otherwise the danger will arise of the parishioners turning to the Protestants in order to have a preacher.[2]

Moreover there are a great number of Protestants even in the territories of the ecclesiastical princes.[3] Even among the counsellors of the bishops there are some who, either openly or in secret, favour the new doctrines.[4] The blame for this rests with the Protestant universities, whence, according to the view of an experienced witness, almost all the errors as

[1] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 33-70. No. VII: "Abusus Germaniae" (*ibid.*, 50-2) is by the nuncio B. Portia (*cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 473-5); No. VIII. is given in a German translation in *Katholik*, 1900, II., 440 *seqq.* A memorandum of May 1, 1573, by Rhetius for the German Congregation in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 644-7.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34.

[4] Mainzer Gutachten, *ibid.*, 37.

to faith have come.[1] Catholic high schools in Germany are very few in number, and these few are in a deplorable state.[2] Academic degrees, to which great importance is attached in Germany, are conferred there as elsewhere indiscriminately, upon learned and unlearned, good and bad, Catholics and Protestants.[3] The bishops are very badly provided with trustworthy assistants, both for the government of their temporal territories and for their ecclesiastical administration; there are in fact hardly any men in Germany who are learned, honourable, capable, hard-working or God-fearing.[4]

It is a perpetual menace to the German church that in filling canonries preference is given to men of noble birth.[5] Since the young nobles are aware that their birth opens to them the way to canonries, prelacies, and the episcopal and archi-episcopal dignity, they care nothing about study or piety, but pass their time in drinking, hunting, and with women. Even the deans, provosts and archdeacons give for the most part the worst possible example. The prelates are rarely to be seen in the churches, and the canons hardly ever. If in the course of the year there should be some special or rich distribution of gifts, they walk about chattering outside the choir while their representatives perfunctorily go through the office.[6] At the office itself they think it beneath their dignity to sing even one antiphon or one verse of a psalm; in their opinion it is far more fitting for a noble to make a great show in the streets with military trappings and arms, very often

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, 4.

[5] *Cf.* ALOIS SCHULTE, Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter (*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, edited by U. STUTZ, 63-4), Stuttgart, 1910; A. L. VEIT in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIII. (1912), 323-58, where, on page 325 *seq.*, further literature on the subject is given. Examples of the absence of the burgesses from the chapters, in LOSSEN. Kölner Krieg, I., 19; FIEDLER, Relationen, 69; SUGENHEIM, Bayrische Kirchenzustände, 96.

[6] SCHWARTZ, *loc. cit.*, 65.

with gold chains round their necks, and amuse themselves with dogs and horses. The revenues of the richest churches, so they say, are intended by the will of the founders only for the maintenance of the nobles, and the divine office for the lower classes; whence has come the proverb: "the vicars go to church for the canons, and the canons go to hell for the vicars."[1] Deans, archdeacons and others must, it is true, when they take possession of their benefice, take an oath to receive sacred orders within a given period, but they evade this oath in various ways. Thus it comes about that in the greater churches it is rare to find a priest among the canons, and this example is only too often followed in the smaller churches.[2] For the rest, most of the burgesses can obtain admission to the chapters if they have the doctorate, but every effort is made to exclude them altogether, which has already been the case in some churches. Cologne provides an exception; there the cathedral chapter still contains eight doctors, all men of distinction; these have the same right of voting in the chapter as the nobles, but they cannot obtain prelacies.[3] Besides their own canonries the noble canons obtain possession of all the rich benefices of the whole diocese, so that there is no prospect of advancement for other priests, no matter how pious or learned they may be.[4]

Before the election of the bishop the canons draw up an election capitulation by means of which they strive to protect themselves as far as possible against the authority of the future bishop and to minimize their own obligations. They do not intend, as they say, like common priests, to have launched against them visitations, improvement of morals or reforms, nor to be hampered by canons and regulations like monks, nor to become Jesuits. Each one must take an oath that in the event of his being elected bishop he will observe this election capitulation, that he will not ask to be dispensed

[1] *Ibid.*, 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, 66 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

from his oath, and that he will not give information as to this arrangement to anyone, not even the Pope.[1]

The bishops who are chosen from among such people, naturally, after the life they have led, know nothing about the administration of their office, nor do they take any interest in it, nor do they dare, on account of the election capitulation, to touch the plague-spot of their canons, and suffer shocking scandals to go on. They hand over the care of the diocese to a representative, who, however, has not the necessary authority to obtain obedience to his orders; while they, for their part, strive to raise and enrich their own families, amuse themselves with a display of luxury and worldly pomp, and strive to be looked upon as princes rather than bishops.[2] The outcome of all this in many dioceses has been either that the bishop himself has apostatized from the Church, or that the chapter has elected a Protestant as bishop, unless they have preferred to make no election at all, and to place the civil administration of their hitherto ecclesiastical territory in the hands of a Protestant prince.[3]

The salvation of the German Catholics could not, under these difficult circumstances, come from the bishops, but only from the centre of the universal Church, and nothing short of this extraordinary means of salvation seemed to hold out any real prospect of success. The evil, so states a report of about 1576, seems to be almost incurable, for the very reason that ecclesiastics and prelates are no longer willing to listen to the mother and mistress of all the churches, the Roman Church.[4] Among many German Catholics, Rome has a bad name, says a priest who was probably educated in Rome; the reply is made, if they speak of reform in Germany, that they might well make a beginning with Rome itself; if the suggestions for reform, be they mild or be they strong, bear the stamp of Rome, they are condemned as harsh and unsuitable, and it is only under the pressure of necessity that the appearance of

[1] *Ibid.*, 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, 67.
[3] *Ibid.*, 68.
[4] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 57.

union with the Roman See is still maintained.[1] The Protestants, for their part, among whom the very name of Rome is as much hated as that of the Turks,[2] speak in quite another way: the conviction of the infamies of the Roman See is with them the foundation and pivot of all their doctrines, and anyone who could remove this conviction would have healed Germany of all her ills.[3]

It is only by taking into consideration such expressions of opinion that the importance of the reforms that were carried out at the Roman court by Pius V. can be estimated.[4] In spite of the hostile suspicion with which the news of this initial reform was at first received, it gradually acquired greater force.[5] The hope that some day God would raise up a Pope who would take Germany to his heart, had been awakened among the better disposed.[6]

On the other hand some of the reports are full of expressions of hope. A report on the condition of Protestant Saxony deems that the princes are wearied of the quibbles of their theologians, that the nobility are deriding their shallowness, the townsfolk holding them in contempt, and the countryfolk extolling the bygone days on account of their purity of morals and their piety. If to-day the prince-elector of Saxony or of Brandenburg were to join the Catholic Church, the nobles, townsfolk and countryfolk would flock into it on the same day.[7] The Cardinal of Augsburg, who saw a special miracle of Providence in the fact that Germany had not fallen into complete ruin, was also of opinion that if the necessary zeal

[1] *Ibid.*, 38, *cf.*, 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54.

[4] "Boni vero gaudent maxime Deo gratias agentes, de bona fama iam de V. S. (Pius V.) sparsa et de studio V. S. reformandi et emendatione Romanae curiae." Otto Truchsess to Pius V., 1568, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

[5] "Ut vel invitis Germanorum auribus religiosa Romanorum fama influeret," *ibid.*, 40.

[6] Otto Truchsess, *ibid.*, 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, 56.

and earnestness were employed, the salvation and improvement of the majority might without doubt be looked for very quickly.[1] We still have Catholic princes. It is true that the bishops hesitate at the magnitude of the work of reform, but they hope for assistance on the part of the Pope and the Emperor; some provinces and cities have remained true to the Catholic faith, as have innumerable prelates, counts, barons and nobles who rule over huge territories. Many who are doubtful and undecided would very easily be won over with gentle correction. Division and discord have made their way into the ranks of the Protestants, and they are fighting fiercely among themselves.[2] Their strength is very much weakened; their dealings with foreign powers are no longer very active, and there is much mutual mistrust. Their adherents are weary of the everlasting divisions and changes of religion, and every year more of them are inclined to turn to the ancient Church. If they could but see the Catholics free from at anyrate public scandals, and if they had hard-working priests, there is no doubt that every day a large number would be won back.[3]

According to the author of a memorial from Mayence the Catholics in the Empire were stronger than the Protestants, if not perhaps in numbers,[4] at any rate in power; but they were naturally over timid, because no one encouraged or revived their still actual living faith.[5] A sign that was full

[1] *Ibid.*, 4.

[2] The religious disruption had come to such a pass, that, in 1574 the Venetian ambassador in Vienna, Giovanni Corraro, was of opinion that chaos itself (l'istessa confusione) could be more easily described than the number of religions in Germany, most of which no longer knew what they ought to believe. *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, XXX., 331.

[3] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 4-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 35. If one counts as Protestants all those who made use of the so-called evangelical freedom in the ordering of their lives, then, without doubt, this kind of Protestant was certainly more numerous than the number of those who kept to the laws of the Church.

[5] *Ibid.*, 34.

of promise was the fact that the Protestants were asking to hear the word of God. The errors that were holding them back from the word of God, could not last for long, if the Church could only provide learned ministers, who were skilled in word and deed. Even in the Protestant districts there were still a number of Catholics who, by their words and writings, and by their good lives and example, were encouraging the doubtful, reclaiming those who had been led away, or at anyrate causing them to question their false beliefs. Lastly there was among all Catholics, from the Pope downwards, a great desire for the religious revival of Germany. Whence could this come, except from the fact that God wishes a renewal of the struggle against error ?[1] "Now is the time to awake from sleep," Truchsess cries to the Pope. "The cause of Christ is astir in us, of whom your Holiness is the representative on earth. Your Holiness must trust in God, and gather together men of action and experience, as well as the necessary means, nor feel any doubt that God is still strong enough to produce saving grace and the most abundant fruits in the vineyard of Germany, which implores so insistently the help of its pastor Gregory."[2]

In spite of all the discontent occasioned by the behaviour of the prelates and the authorities in Rome the conviction of the divine institution of the Papacy was still alive among the Catholics, for whom even in Germany Rome still possessed a power that could in no way be passed over. All the reports sent to the German Congregation look for salvation in the religious affairs of Germany from the intervention of the Holy See.

The necessity of having more representatives of the Pope in Germany, besides the nuncio at Vienna, is again and again brought out in the reports from all parts. On account of the long interruption in their relations with it, the Cardinal of Augsburg was of opinion that the German princes, both Catholic and Protestant, had become distrustful of the Apostolic See; they thought that Rome no longer cared

[1] *Ibid.*, 34-5.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17.

about them, and the Protestants let no opportunity slip of widening the breach by their invectives, calumnies and falsehoods. Therefore there was need of more representatives of the Pope in the various districts, to whom they could make known the needs of the country, and from whom they could seek advice and help, or at anyrate consolation.[1] Before we can think of converting the heretics, says Delfino, we must before everything else be sure of our own prelates. And how can this be possible if we are not definitely and thoroughly informed as to the means available, and the method of government, the zeal and the negligence of each prelate? "It is certainly a great evil that we know so little as to the state of affairs in Germany. It is the result of this ignorance if in the years that have elapsed so many ecclesiastical offices have been so ill provided for."[2] The greater number of the metropolitan and cathedral chapters in Germany have for years past been filled with Protestants, not only through the neglect of the bishops, but also because the officials of the Dataria in Rome have not paid sufficient attention to the matter. Every bishop ought therefore to be obliged to send a list of the persons who are suited to fill such offices.[3] As things are to-day, it is stated in another report,[4] the Romans and Germans take no trouble to know anything about each other; the German prelates only go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of their appointment, and then hardly give another thought to the Apostolic See; their confirmation itself is only looked upon as a matter of payment.

Another report, on the then burning question of seminaries, aims at showing what great difficulties could be obviated by the presence of permanent nuncios.[5] All reasonable men in Germany see in these institutions the most efficacious means of reform, and anyone that refuses to come to the assistance of Germany in that matter, was refusing to help her altogether.

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 1 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, 36, 42.
[5] *Ibid.*, 43-4.

The bishops and princes, who had not moved a finger in that direction, would be more likely to be aroused by the spoken word than by any number of letters. Many of them, moreover, are men of good will, but now some of them write to Rome in one sense on the subject of the seminaries, and others in another, and thus the question becomes more and more involved, and drags on interminably; in the end nothing is accomplished, or else the Protestants get to know of the plans of the Catholics and circumvent them. For example, if the question were to be raised whether the seminaries were to be established by means of the contributions of the clergy, then immediately all would cry out that on account of the bad times they had not enough to live upon, although in many cases it was manifest that the opposite was the case. But if it was suggested that the abandoned monasteries and their revenues, which were, moreover, being turned to very bad use, should be made over to the seminaries, then there would be another outcry, some saying that the monasteries were being destroyed, while others would think that it was intended to seize the property of the monasteries, not for the seminaries, but for some private purpose. It was therefore very difficult for Rome to decide who was to be believed. The supporters of the project grew weary or else died, while the heretics robbed the monasteries and educated their children with the money of the Catholics. If there were nuncios at hand, they would at once be able to come to a decision in accordance with the information they had themselves obtained. "In a word" so the writer concludes, "it is necessary to establish more seminaries, and more quickly, and better ones than at present, for otherwise all negotiations for reform will be vain and useless.[1]

It is further recommended in these plans of reform that care should be taken for the instruction of the faithful by means of suitable books, and that Rome should therefore encourage capable writers,[2] at the same time subjecting the

[1] *Ibid.*, 44, *cf.* 13-4, 31, 37, 57, 63-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 39, 60. "Capable writers should be assembled together in one spot where they could devote themselves to the composition

printing and spread of heretical works to severe penalties with the help of the Catholic princes.[1] The penetration of Protestants and doubtful Catholics into the cathedral chapters might be prevented if in future no canonry were to be conferred upon anyone who had not sworn to the Tridentine profession of faith.[2] To put a stop to the loss of the bishoprics, an attempt should be made to bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor never to grant to bishops-elect the investiture of their civil rights, unless they were prepared to accept the Papal confirmation, make the profession of faith, and receive sacerdotal orders.[3]

Rome should show itself ready to favour the Germans and show itself friendly towards them, and therefore be quick to give effect to the requests which came from Germany. Only a short time before a German abbot had had to wait for three years, and at great expense to himself, for his confirmation. In consequence of this delay and this dragging on of affairs, prelates had themselves installed in their benefices by lay authority, without seeking the confirmation of Rome, and having thus become disobedient in one point to the Apostolic See, they soon became so in others, and in the end even became filled with hatred of Rome.[4]

Lastly, very wide faculties must be granted for Germany in certain cases so as to mitigate the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, and for the remission of sins and ecclesiastical penalties, the absolution of which is in itself reserved to the Apostolic See. The bishops, says the Cardinal of Augsburg, must have in greater measure than they have at present the right to

and spread of literature" (*ibid.*, 49). On September 1, 1574, Canisius made a similar suggestion to the General of his Order. NADAL, Epistolae, III., 821.

[1] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 38, *cf.* 35 *seq.* See also P. M. BAUMGARTEN in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXI. (1910), 88 *seq.* For particulars of similar suggestions made in the year 1566, see O. BRAUNSBERGER, *ibid.*, XXX. (1909), 62-72.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 12, 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, 46.

appoint learned priests who, in cases of heresy and other sins which are to-day very common in Germany, have full authority and power to absolve. Daily experience shows that neither the clergy nor the people can be induced to have direct recourse to either the bishop or the Apostolic See for absolution.[1] The bishops themselves are not uncommonly as much involved in ecclesiastical censures as they are,[2] and must find in the nuncio someone to admonish them. "In this way many grave evils which at present seem incurable might be removed."[3] It seemed better to others, however, that such powers should be given only to the nuncios, because the German bishops had not the necessary knowledge of canon law.[4] Cardinal Truchsess, too, in the end limited his suggestions, to the extent of desiring that only bishops who had proved themselves fit should be given these extraordinary powers.[5]

The wishes and suggestions of the Cardinal of Augsburg (who died on April 2nd, 1573), which were also expressed in similar terms by the nuncio Bartolomeo Portia,[6] made a great impression in Rome; in the course of the year 1574 briefs were sent to Cardinal Otto's successor at Augsburg, as well as to the Bishops of Würzburg and Ratisbon, in which his suggestions were to some extent accepted.[7]

The desire of the German Catholics to have in their midst, in addition to the nuncio at the Imperial court, a larger number of representatives of the Holy See, was also acted upon by Gregory. As early as 1573 he sent one such to Upper Germany, and another to Central Germany, and especially for the North.[8] Both these nuncios, contrary to the custom of the time, were not accredited to any definite court, but were sent to all the

[1] *Ibid.*, 12, *cf.* 18, 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, 12 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 60.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18. *Cf.* MERGENTHEIM, I., 134-45.
[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 315-7.
[7] MERGENTHEIM, I., 91 *seqq.*, 145.
[8] See *infra*. p. 66.

princes in their district. The nunciature of Upper Germany was discontinued after ten years and that of Lower Germany after five. But the latter had a successor after 1584 in that of Cologne, which lasted for two centuries. Already (in 1580) a permanent representative of the Holy See had been sent to Graz. The above-mentioned nunciatures were distinguished from those of former times, most of which had been embassies intended for the transaction of political business, by their religious purpose; in their case politics became a purely subordinate consideration.

In the reform plans laid before the German Congregation it had been strongly insisted upon that the German College in Rome must be enlarged and that it must revert entirely to its original purpose. It has happened, says one of the reports,[1] that excellent young men, who wish to devote themselves to the priesthood, but met with opposition from their parents, have fled to Rome, but, on account of the poverty of the German College, have not been able to obtain admission there, and have been obliged, with many difficulties, to return to toil and drudge in their own country. In the end the college had come to be German in little more than name. If every year ten or twelve good priests could be sent to Germany it would produce very great results. Since they had been educated in Rome these priests, in whatever part of Germany they were, would look to the Roman Church as their mother, and could, in the capacity of eye-witnesses, refute the constant calumnies against the Pope, the Cardinals, and the state of Rome. Even though there were seminaries in Germany, they should cause some of their students to be educated in Rome; in that case they would be removed as far as possible from the danger of infection, and they would learn the truth far better in Rome by what they saw, than they would in Germany from books, to which must be added the enthusiasm which would be enkindled in an unspoiled German youth by receiving his education in a place where everything would speak to him of the foundations of the true faith. The German

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 41.

College, says another report, ought to be increased to at least 100 students ;[1] if, against this[2] the objection were raised of the cost of living in Rome, and the unfavourable climate for Germans, in favour of seminaries on German soil, the practical Cardinal Truchsess refused to accept these objections,[3] and said that experience had shown that it was impossible at the moment to carry into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent in all the dioceses ; they must therefore turn their attention to a general seminary, and for this purpose it was impossible to think of Germany, but rather, and above all, of Rome. The more students were received there, the better it would be ; in course of time the good repute of such a universal German college in Rome would induce many even of the nobles to send their sons there to be educated.

Otto Truchsess, as well as Cardinal Hosius, Canisius and Albert V., had many times during his life vainly given expression to such desires, but now, when he expressed them for the last time, only a short time before his death, he met with a response far greater than he could ever have hoped for. A pamphlet of 1579 speaks of Gregory XIII. as the second founder of the German College, a Pope who was truly "German," who from the first had with the greatest kindness devoted special attention to "our" Germans ; in the German College he was maintaining 130 youths ; in Austria and Bohemia he had established two colleges, and had raised two Austrians to the cardinalate.[4] Another contemporary thinks that it may be said that Gregory has "a German heart," and that there is no nation to which he devotes so much attention as Germany ; in every mass, the same writer says, he recommends to God the German Church.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 49 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 57 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 13 *seq.*, *cf.* 17.

[4] "Est enim hic Gregorius vere Germanicus Pontifex, qui inde ab initio Germanos nostros summa est humanitate complexus magnamque illorum rationem semper habuit, ut de illis possit bene mereri." MORITZ, 8, n. 1.

[5] Perneder from Rome, January 2, 1586, JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16] 193.

Among the secular princes of Germany whose assistance for the German College had been especially sought by Peter Canisius, only one gave any proof of acquiescence and favourable dispositions,[1] the man who, in the opinion of Paolo Tiepolo,[2] was the only one of the princes of Germany whom Gregory XIII. could trust at the beginning of his pontificate; this was the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V. Bavaria was indeed at that time the pivot of Catholic hopes. It is true that Canisius also speaks of the Archduke of the Tyrol, Ferdinand, as being, in 1567, a pioneer of Catholicism together with Albert,[3] but he too gives the first place to the Duke of Bavaria, as being a man who had no equal in Germany in his zeal for religion.[4] His view of the importance of Bavaria was justified by the event. The example of Albert V. and his son inspired courage in the ecclesiastical princes who were his neighbours; by means of the daughter of Albert V., Mary, the wife of the Archduke Charles of Styria, the princes of Austria were stirred up to zeal for the Catholic faith; the intervention of Bavaria in the war of Cologne saved the bishoprics in the north of Germany, and assured the continuance of the Catholic Empire.

Already in the time of Luther, William IV., the father of Albert V., had resisted all temptations to apostatize from the Catholic faith. The Lutheran princes naturally did all they could to induce the powerful prince of Bavaria to follow their example.[5] At the same time even at Munich men saw

[1] STEINHUBER, I., 49. CANISII Epist., VI., 290. GOETZ, Beiträge, V., n. 469. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*

[2] ALBÈRI, II., 4, 228.

[3] "duos et praecipuos illos Catholicorum heroes (to Hosius on September 7, 1567, CANISII Epist., VI., 37). It is these same two that Commendone also calls "le principali colonne de la fede cattolica in Germania" (to Canisius on October 6, 1568; *ibid.*, 225).

[4] To Francis Borgia on August 27, 1567; CANISII Epist., IV., 25. Under Ferdinand I. he called Bavaria and Austria Catholic countries (to Otto Truchsess on January 17, 1556; *ibid.*, I., 596).

[5] REIZLER, IV., 309.

with feelings of envy how many nobles and princes, by their acceptance of the new doctrines, had got into their own hands so many bishoprics and abbacies.[1] Even though the attitude of William IV. towards the great political changes had not always been without blame from the Catholic point of view,[2] and his zeal for religion had to some extent been held in suspicion even by a Papal nuncio,[3] none of these things alters the fact that it was that prince who might, more easily than the others, have enriched himself by the confiscation of seventy Bavarian monasteries,[4] who resisted that temptation from conscientious motives.[5]

In spite of everything, however, even in Bavarian territory the tendency towards the new doctrines made some progress at first. The nobility were for the most part inclined towards them,[6] and the abuses among the Catholics paved the way for them.[7] In the first years of his reign, Albert V., the son and successor of William IV., was wanting in resolution as to matters of religion ;[8] he sought to find salvation in concessions, especially in granting the chalice to the laity, and allowing

[1] *Ibid.*, 308 ; *cf.* 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, 76, 240, 251.

[3] *Ibid.*, 307.

[4] *Ibid.*, 96, 307.

[5] "That the dukes had been led into the Roman camp by motives of self-interest is one of those historical fairy-tales which it seems impossible to eradicate. . . . If pure selfishness, without any religious motive, had decided the ecclesiastical policy of the Bavarian princes, then the dice would have fallen quite differently. For as things soon shaped themselves, desertion to the Protestant camp promised incomparably greater advantages to the Bavarians than did supporting the old Church." Thus REIZLER, IV., 93 *seq.* Concerning Christopher von Schwarzenberg, *cf. ibid.*, 75 *seq.* and N. PAULUS in the *Hist. polit. Blättern*, CXI. (1893), 10-32 ; CXII., 144-54.

[6] RIEZLER, IV., 348, 501, 524.

[7] DOEBERL, I., 385-90.

[8] JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.$^{15-16}$ 112 *seq.* *Cf.* Eisengrein to Cromer on February 29, 1568, in PFLEGER, 150 ; DOEBERL, I., 438 *seq.*

the marriage of priests.[1] Already, far-seeing Catholics felt the most serious apprehension ; Austria they said has already failed us, if Bavaria too should apostatize, the ancient religion in Germany is finished.[2]

By the time that these apprehensions had found expression, an important change had already taken place in the views of the duke. As early as 1557 Albert declared that he would rather come, with his wife and children, to a state of misery than make any further concessions in the matter of religion.[3] After 1563 he steadily became a stronger and stronger champion of the ancient Church. His chancellor, Simon Thaddeus Eck, who was a convinced Catholic, the half-brother and disciple of the theologian, Johann Eck, but above all the influence of the Jesuits and the impression made by the Council of Trent, which had at length been brought to an end, may explain this change.[4] Certain experiences which he had had on the occasion of the so-called conspiracy of the nobles at Ortenburg in 1564, and above all the correspondence that was confiscated at the trial, convinced him that all his leniency had not prevented the Protestant nobles from describing their duke as Pharoah, and his efforts for the chalice and the marriage of priests as the work of a madman and inspired by the devil.[5] Further, the trial broke the resistance of the

[1] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 115 ; SCHWARZ in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XIII. (1892), 144 *seq.* For Ormaneto's mission to Bavaria, *cf.* the official documents in ARETIN : Bayerns auswaertig Verhaeltnisse, Records, 6-16.

[2] Canisius to Lainez on October 14, 1569, CANISII Epist., VI., 533 ; *cf.* RIEZLER, IV., 499 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 507.

[4] *Ibid.*, 497. The words of the Roman Breviary : the Apostles ' Peter and Paul, O Lord, have taught us Thy law " were applied by Albert V. to himself with reference to Peter Canisius and Paul Hoffaeus. A. BRUNNER, Excubiae tutelares, Munich, 1637, 551.

[5] RIEZLER, IV., 528, *cf.* 525. There was no real conspiracy although there was a well-founded suspicion of such. See DOEBERL, I., 442 *seq.*

nobles, and left the duke a free hand in the matter of religion.[1]

Whereas in 1563 Albert V. was of the opinion that the people would "in no way" suffer themselves to be deprived of the use of the chalice, and that nothing ,"neither mildness, nor harshness, nor scourging, nor punishment, nor torture" would be of any use, but that they would have to be banished from the duchy,[2] in the very next year the duke's council came to the conclusion that the desire for communion under both kinds was by no means general.[3] A visitation of the fiscal district of Burghausen, where the request for the chalice was especially strong, seemed to confirm this view.[4] At the beginning of 1571, a few years after Bavaria had received the concession of the chalice granted by Pius IV., it had already fallen into disuse, and the chalice was forbidden to the laity.[5]

From 1564 onwards energetic steps had been taken for the religious instruction of the people by means of missions; those who would not suffer themselves to be won over, were to be banished.[6] A new and important religious ordinance of September 30th, 1569,[7] sought to put a stop to the two principal causes of the religious dissensions in Bavaria, by a careful surveillance over the primary schools and the press, A visitation of the whole duchy was proclaimed, and officials. markets, cities, and indeed all subjects, were threatened with severe penalties if they failed to conform to the orders. On January 5th, 1570, an "ecclesiastical council" was set up, which was composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, and was to

[1] RIEZLER, IV., 532.

[2] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 108 *seq.*

[3] KNÖPFLER, 154 *seq.* RIEZLER, IV., 518 *seq.*

[4] In ARETIN, *loc. cit.* 156 *seq.* *Cf.* KNÖPFLER, 215 *seq.*

[5] RIEZLER, IV., 550. KNÖPFLER, 213. Description of the dogmatic confusion which was aggravated by the concessions, *ibid.* *Cf.* the Visitation Records of the years 1558 and 1559 given by HOLLWECK in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CXIV. (1894), 728 *seq.*, 737.

[6] RIEZLER, IV., 542 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 546.

serve as a permanent vigilance committee to watch over the carrying out of the laws concerning religion.[1]

By 1571 the triumph of the old doctrines might be said to have been assured.[2] Of the Protestant nobles, the duke wrote at that time, nothing but the fear of the opinion of the world holds some of them back from an open profession of Catholicism.[3] Among the learned and wealthy, and in the larger cities, some looked upon it as a point of honour not to allow themselves to be won over too easily, a thing that is not difficult to understand. On December 14th, 1570, the Council of Munich pointed out to the duke that during recent years the departure of rich people had occasioned a reduction in the ordinary taxes of 100,000 florins, and that there was reason to fear yet more departures.[4] But Albert V. refused to allow himself to be influenced by this; the losses of the moment, he thought, would be compensated in course of time; a people "whose God is their belly and their purse, and whose religion is based upon the unbalanced calculation of their mind" could never bring the blessing of God upon their country.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 559. ARETIN, Maximilian I., 162 *seq.* As early as April 29, 1559, Canisius had recommended the duke to set up a mixed council of that kind; but he warned him, at the same time, not to overstep the boundaries between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. CANISII Epist., II., 268 *seqq.*

[2] RIEZLER, IV., 552. According to the "Priester Verzeichnis" 20,000 priests renounced the chalice (ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 160). In Wasserburg, in 1569, 250 priests still wanted the chalice; in 1571 the number was much smaller (*ibid.*). In Landshut it was given up without any difficulty (KNÖPFLER, 216). Traunstein gives an isolated instance of "obstinacy, temerity and uncouthness" where the citizens could not be induced to receive either under one kind or under two kinds. (ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 160). For the forbearing treatment of Apian *cf. ibid.*, 163 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 551.

[3] GOETZ, Beiträge, V., n. 598.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 550. KNÖPFLER, 218. Similar complaints of the harm done to the country by the forced emigration were heard in the Landtag of 1568. RIEZLER, IV., 544.

[5] KNÖPFLER, 219.

Relying upon such principles as these the duke did all in his power to promote the Catholic restoration everywhere. In the small countship of Haag, which was entirely surrounded by Bavarian territory, the count, Ladislaus von Frauenberg,[1] had in 1557 introduced Lutheranism.[2] After the death of the count, without heirs, the countship passed to the Duke of Bavaria, who at once sent Martin Eisengrein to Haag to restore the Catholic religion. Eisengrein won back to the old faith the court preacher of the dead count, Gaspar Franck; the latter, having been ordained priest, returned in 1568 to the scene of his former activities, and by his prudence succeeded within a few months in winning back all the inhabitants to the Catholic Church.[3]

For a time at anyrate Duke Albert V. reintroduced the Catholic faith at Ortenburg. Count Joachim had summoned Lutheran preachers into his little state, but the Duke of Bavaria contested his right to do so, as Ortenburg was not politically independent, and occupied the countship in force and drove out the preachers. The Imperial Chamber, however,

[1] For details about him: W. Goetz in the *Oberbayrischen Archiv*, XLVI. (1889-90), 108-65; W. Geyer in the *Beitr. zur bayrischen Kirchengeschichte*, I., Erlangen, 1895, 207 *seqq.*; Riezler, IV., 316 *seq.*, 473, 538.

[2] Goetz (*loc. cit.*, 148) thinks that: "There seems to be no doubt that the chief reason was the hope that, by changing sides, he would more easily obtain a divorce from his wife."

[3] Paulus in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CXXIV. (1899), 547, 550, 557. L. Pfleger, Eisengrein, 28 *seq.*, 150 *seq.* Moreover, as early as 1564, while Count Ladislaus was still alive, complaints were heard from Haag about the introduction of the new doctrine. The people said that it had brought nothing but bad luck, war, dissension, famine, hunger and trouble into the world; "Die Herrschaft beim Evangelio sei geschwinder, beschwere die Untertanen heftiger" (Paulus, *loc. cit.*, 549). For details about Gaspar Franck, *cf. ibid.*, 545-57, 617-27; Raess, Konvertiten, II., Freiburg, 1866, 15-84; Hungeri Orationes, I., Ingolstadt, 1601, 531; Aretin, *loc. cit.* 191; Panegyric in Rob. Turner, Panegyrici . . . Orationes, Ingolstadii, 203 *seqq.*

decided the controversy in favour of Ortenburg in 1573, which again threw open its territory to Lutheranism.[1]

Even in the time of Duke William IV. the political independence of the lordship of Hohenwaldeck had been a matter of controversy. Albert V. put an end to the dispute by renouncing his rights, but under the condition that there should be no changes in religion in Waldeck.[2] In this way a strong check was put upon the efforts of the zealous Protestant Lord of Waldeck.[3]

Another territory which did not belong to Bavaria was also won back to the Church by the influence of Albert V.; this was the small margravate of Baden-Baden. The Margrave Philibert had allowed the parishes there to be occupied by Lutherans. When, in 1569, he fell in battle at Moncontour against the Huguenots, through the influence of his aunt, the Duchess Jacobea, the mother of Albert V., the guardianship of Philibert's eleven year old son passed to the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Albert caused his ward to be educated as a Catholic by Eisengrein and the Jesuits at Ingolstadt[4] and sent as governor to Baden-Baden the zealous Catholic Count Otto Henry von Schwarzenberg.[5] At first the preachers thundered violently from the pulpit against the new "atheist authority" and the governor was jeered at. But the labours of the energetic and untiring Jesuit Georg Scherich soon brought about a change. Priests were summoned from abroad and the Catholic worship was

[1] RIEZLER, IV., 527, 537.

[2] *Ibid.*, 559.

[3] *Ibid.*, 540 *seq.* Cf. W. KNAPPE, Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain and the Reformation in der Herrschaft Hohenwaldeck, Leipzig, 1820.

[4] PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 106 *seq.* and in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, LVII. (N. F. XVIII.), 1903, 690-704.

[5] RIEZLER, IV., 604 *seq.* KARL REINFRIED in the *Freib. Diözesanarchiv*, XXXIX. (N. F. XII.), 1911, 90-110; *cf.* XLVII. (1919), 1-45. William IV., as the mouthpiece of Philibert, had also expelled the Protestant preachers from Baden-Baden. RIEZLER, IV., 591.

again solemnly introduced. The number of those who attended Schorich's sermons had by 1571 grown from fifteen to four hundred. A Catholic school met with such success that people sent their sons from abroad to Baden-Baden, there to receive a Catholic education. On April 15th, 1573, Schorich was able to write that thirty-eight churches had been won back together with almost the whole of the margravate, and that twenty-four Lutheran pastors had been driven out.[1] "As far as I know," wrote the Jesuit Hoffäus on August 15th, 1573,[2] "Baden is the first case of the recovery of an entire Protestant province."

After the premature death of Schorich the progress of the Catholic religion fell off considerably, yet in 1576 the nuncio Portia found two zealous secular priests labouring in Baden, though they were justly dissatisfied with the government, which interfered in everything. There were, they complained, hardly two parish priests in the state who had received their investiture from the bishop.[3]

But these and similar interferences in ecclesiastical matters do not alter the fact that the ancient faith, when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, found in Albert V. a strong supporter and protector. Wherever an opportunity offered the Duke urged, even with other princes, manifest decision and firmness in religious matters; this he did especially in the case of the ever-hesitating Emperor Maximilian at the Diet of Augsburg, of 1566, and of his son and successor Rudolph II. at the Diet of Ratisbon.[4] Albert V. was therefore much trusted by the

[1] DUHR, I., 402 *seqq.* In the year 1574 seventeen localities, which had hitherto been Protestant, were again provided with Catholic priests. BIERORDT, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Baden, II., 52.

[2] DUHR, I., 406. Recognition of the Duke's services: Morone to Albert V. on September 17, 1576, in ARETIN, Maximilian, I., Records, I., 33 *seq.*

[3] Portia to Galli on April 4, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 405 *seqq.* For the young Margrave's visit to Rome see *Capilupi's Memorandum dated February 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] RIEZLER, IV., 585 *seq.*, 608.

Pope. Tears came to the eyes of Pius V. when he learned of the efforts which the Duke of Bavaria had made with Maximilian II. for the recall of the religious concessions in Austria in 1568; he could not sufficiently thank Our Lord, he told the Cardinal of Augsburg, that in those critical times there was still in Germany a Catholic prince who was so steadfast, noble and judicious.[1] Delfino, the nuncio of Gregory XIII. assured the duke during the election at Ratisbon in 1575, that the Pope placed the greatest "confidence and hope" in him among all the princes of Germany,[2] that he as well as all good men spoke of him as a "pillar of the true faith";[3] according to Cardinal Hoisus, he was, among the princes of Germany, a "lily among thorns."[4] The Pope had recourse to Albert every time there was reason to hope that a word of weight from the prince would turn the balance in favour of the Catholics. When in Rome anxiety was felt concerning the election of a worthy successor to the dead Cardinal of Augsburg, Albert was asked to bring his influence to bear upon the cathedral chapter, as well as to do the same in the cases of those of Eichstätt and Freising.[5]

If the needful resoluteness against the Protestants was wanting in the Archduke Charles of Central Austria, or anxiety was felt as to the firmness of the newly elected Emperor, by the Pope's wish it was the Duke of Bavaria who was chosen to address to them his exhortations.[6] He even, by the Pope's

[1] *Ibid.*, 588.

[2] ARETIN, Bayerns auswärtige Verhältnisse, Records, I., 31.

[3] MORITZ, 259, n. 1. Pius V. also regarded him as "columen in Germania religionis catholicae" (Letter of the Nuncio at Vienna of July 14, 1566, in ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 153). Canisius writes of him: "Tanto catholicae pietatis tuendae studio flagras, ut Iosiam aliquem aut Theodosium nobis referre videaris" (De Maria Virgine, Ingolstadii., 1577; Epist. nuncup., fol. 5).

[4] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 165.

[5] Brief of April 6, 1573, in THEINER, I., 101, n. 10. Albert V. to Gregory XIII. on May 28, 1573, *ibid.*

[6] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 237. Brief of April 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 8, n. 16.

desire, addressed a letter to far-off Sweden in 1578, to encourage King John III., who wished to return to the Catholic Church, in his purpose.[1] Above all, as was natural, the Curia encouraged him to prevent further losses to the Catholics in Germany itself, and to prepare the way for and promote the conversion of the Protestant princes and provinces.[2] In the fierce struggle for the bishoprics of northern Germany, Münster, Halberstadt and Hildesheim, the hopes of the Catholics were above all fixed upon the protection of the Duke of Bavaria. It was to him that Cardinal Morone had recourse[3] when, in 1576, there was a danger of the young Duke of Cleves falling into the hands of Protestant tutors. Special briefs urged the Bavarian duke to interest himself in the conversion of the Prince Elector of Saxony, and of Duke Adolphus of Holstein.[4]

If, by the confession of Albert V.[5] it was Peter Canisius and his companions to whom he owed his own changed opinions in religious matters, it is easy to understand why later Catholics, in their gratitude, have honoured Canisius with the title of Apostle of Germany. In winning over Bavaria,

[1] Riezler, IV., 602.

[2] Schellhass (*Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., cxii) thinks that: "It may be confidently asserted that, in the matter of German Reform, the Curia relied entirely on the Prince [Albert V.]."

[3] On September 17, 1576, in Aretin, Bayerns auswärtige Verhältnisse, Records, I., 34 *seq.*

[4] September 4, 1574, in Theiner, I., 225, n. 7. The hope of seeing the Saxons return to the old Church occupies a prominent place in the correspondence of the Papal Nuncios (*Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxxv, IV., lxxxvii, V., xcvii, cii *seqq.*). This hope grew specially strong in 1574 when the dishonesty of the Saxon Court theologians was revealed. They professed to be opposing Calvinism but were really supporting it. The Elector Augustus expressed himself in bitter terms against this continued deception, and the Duke of Bavaria had to put a check to the aspirations of Rome. It seemed to him that the matter was being delayed chiefly by human respect (*ibid.*, IV., lxxxix, V., ciii).

[5] On April 27, 1574, in Theiner, I., 225, n. 7.

he was able, by means of this state, to bring an influence to bear which extended far beyond its borders; his spiritual influence long survived in Bavaria after the death of Albert V. on October 24th, 1579.

The son of Albert V. and his successor, William V., proved himself, by his personal and deep piety, even more than his father, the supporter and protector of the Catholic religious revival.[1] Even before he ascended the throne, it caused general surprise and made a deep impression when, in 1576, the young prince, together with his wife, Renée of Lorraine, who shared his ideas, in order to gain the Papal indulgence of the Jubilee, visited four churches every day for fifteen days, and for several weeks, on appointed days, fed a number of poor men, served them with their own hands, and sent rich presents to Loreto and the sanctuaries of Rome.[2] In 1569 at Landshut he attended every day the Lenten sermons of the Jesuit Schorich, together with his court, and would not allow the poor people in the church to give up their places on his account, because they were as much creatures of God as he was. Moreover, he already at that time took part in the public religious exercises, and visited the sick in the hospitals. The whole city was edified by this "because hitherto no Duke of Bavaria had ever been seen to do such things."[3] Pilgrimages, as well as frequent communion, which was looked upon almost as a superstition, once again became common as the result of the example of William and Renée, and religious life flourished to such an extent that Munich was called the Rome of Germany.[4] William too conferred great and almost prodigal benefits on the Jesuits. He built their great church

[1] For his character *cf.* the notices in STIEVE, Politik, I., 407-38; RIEZLER, IV., 626-32; for the religious side especially BRUNNER, Excubiae tutelares, 561-604; F. X. KROPF, Historia provincia S. J. Germaniae superioris, P. 4, dec. IX., nn. 377-403.

[2] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 565. DUHR, I., 170.

[3] Schorich in DUHR, I., 710.

[4] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 563 *seq.* For the religious celebrations at William's accession to the throne *ibid.*, 566.

of St. Michael at Munich, as well as their beautiful college ;[1] others of his works are their houses at Ratisbon and Altötting ;[2] he also caused the abbeys of Biburg and Ebersberg to be handed over to the Jesuits,[3] and as " the father of poor young students " came to the assistance of their impoverished houses at Munich and Ingolstadt.[4] His private life was entirely under the direction of the Jesuits, who, however, had no influence over his political life.[5] At the age of thirty-nine, in 1597, he resigned the throne, in order to be able to devote himself more zealously to the salvation of his own soul, and what we are told of the remaining twenty-nine years of his life, his zeal for prayer, and the severity of his penances, read like a page from the life of a saint.[6] It was said of him,[7] as it was of his wife, Renée,[8] that he never committed a mortal sin. In spite of this, William, at the end of his life thought that he had never done anything to merit paradise.[9] The motto of his arms : *Agnosce, dole, emenda,* bears witness to his constant striving after perfection.[10]

That no religious concessions to the Protestants were to be looked for from William V. was evident in the first days of his reign. A request that reached him secretly from south Bavaria for communion under both kinds, he indignantly tore in pieces saying that he would never consent to it.[11]

[1] DUHR, I., 185 *seq.*, 625 *seq.* *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter,* XVIII. (1846), 440-3 ; for the costs *ibid.* XI. (1843), 682-7 ; JOSEPH BRAUN, Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten, II., Freiburg, 1910, 49-95.

[2] DUHR, I., 206 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 376, 400.

[4] *Ibid.*, 297, 316 *seq.*

[5] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 417 : " It is certain that the Jesuits were consulted only to determine whether a proposed action were sinful.

[6] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.* ; KROPF, *loc. cit.*, especially nn. 396, 403.

[7] *Ibid.*, n. 395.

[8] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 595.

[9] KROPF, *loc. cit.*, n. 405.

[10] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 561. RIEZLER, IV., 629.

[11] Ninguarda to Galli on December 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 654.

Certain measures in favour of the new doctrines were feared from his first national Diet, but William declared that in anything that was essential he "would break its head . . . you can then attack me as much as you like."[1] When, at the close of the Diet, two Protestants were chosen among the deputies of the Diet, he could not rest until they were replaced by two Catholics. "Would to God," Ferdinand of the Tyrol wrote at that time to William V., "that the Emperor and the Archduke Charles had long ago acted in the same way, for then things would never have gone so far as they have."[2] The ordinances of Albert V. against attendance at Protestant worship in places outside his jurisdiction, and for the banishment of the innovators, were renewed.[3]

When Protestantism tried to make its way from Waldeck into the Bavarian territory at Aibling, the holder of that lordship, Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain, was informed of the treaty of 1582, by which Bavaria had renounced her claims upon Waldeck, but it was enacted that any change of religion in the territory was prohibited. A little time before this the duke had caused to be arrested in the neighbourhood of Waldeck certain parish priests who were suspect, and the leader of the Protestant movement in those parts was ordered in 1581 either to embrace the old religion or go into banishment. The more obstinate followed the latter course. In 1583, by the desire of William V. the Bishop of Freising pronounced excommunication upon the Protestants of Waldeck, whereupon the duke with his troops cut off the little state from all communication with the outside world. As there were very scanty crops in Waldeck the inhabitants were soon obliged to give in. In May there was already talk of an exodus of 330 of the inhabitants of Waldeck to Tuntenhausen. Even the family of von Maxlrain returned to the Church.[4] William V. acted with special severity, and quite in accordance with the laws of those days, against

[1] Aretin, Maximilian, I., 235.

[2] *Ibid.*, 236.

[3] Riezler, IV., 634.

[4] Riezler, IV., 634-6.

the Anabaptists, whose principles were incompatible with the ordinary life of the state. Envoys had come from Moravia who sought to induce them to join their sect and remove themselves to Moravia. In 1586 they induced 600 persons to emigrate, but no further result of this mission occurred during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. The year 1587 witnessed the execution of an Anabaptist, which was later followed by others in the territory of the Abbey of Kempten.[1]

William V. did all that he could to give new life to religion in his own state by his example, by his care for the splendour of divine worship,[2] and by special enactments. As soon as he had assumed the reins of government, he expressed a wish to reform his court;[3] he took care that the members fulfilled their religious duties, so that the court of Munich was jokingly spoken of as a monastery.[4] He sought to raise the clergy, especially by the establishment and support of institutions aimed at the training of good priests.[5]

At the same time the zeal of William V. was even less restricted to the limits of Bavaria than was that of his father. Minucci, the secretary for German affairs in Rome, wrote in 1593 that it was the general opinion that anything that concerned the Catholic religion for that very reason became a matter of concern to William.[6] At the Diets, with the Archduke of Central Austria, with the Bishop of Würzburg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Prince-Elector of Saxony, he put in his word to revive their zeal for the Church or to recall them to Catholicism; at the election of the Bishops of Eichstätt, Augsburg and Cologne, he brought his influence to bear. Blame has inevitably fallen upon him for having too often placed his sons or brothers in episcopal sees, but the fact cannot be gainsaid that, against the loss of so many

[1] *Ibid.*, 636 *seq.*

[2] STIEVE, Politik, I., 415.

[3] Ninguarda to Galli on December 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 653.

[4] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 416.

[5] See *supra*, p. 53.

[6] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 404.

bishoprics, which had passed over to Protestantism, no better protection could have been found than to fill them with members of the powerful princely house of Bavaria.

As she had done in Bavaria, so did the ancient Church find strong support in the Tyrol. The Archduke Ferdinand II. made the following declaration in 1580 in the presence of an envoy from Brixen : " You must know that I am a Catholic prince, and with the help of God intend to remain so ; Our Lord could not punish me more severely than by allowing me to apostatize from the Catholic faith. You may therefore tell the Lord of Brixen that I will not spare myself if he needs my help for the preservation of the Catholic religion, and that it is my intention, as far as I can, to defend the Church, even though it costs me my life's blood."[1]

When the Archduke took over the government of the Tyrol, religion was in a very bad state, in spite of all the religious ordinances of his father, the Emperor Ferdinand I. Scarcely one in a hundred, say the contemporary reports of the government of the Emperor and his son, goes to church on Sunday, and many do not even know the Pater Noster ; swearing and blasphemy are prevalent, nor are murders and robberies uncommon. A great quantity of Protestant books have made their way into the country ; Tyrolese who have served as soldiers abroad have brought back the new doctrines to their own land ;[2] more especially the miners, on account of their dependence upon the Protestant mine-owners abroad, have been led into heresy in great numbers.[3] There was, moreover, a lack of Catholic priests, and the few there were were insufficiently educated, and had many vices, things which, as elsewhere, made any useful activity impossible for them.[4] Things were very bad in the diocese of Brixen in 1566 ; the bishop was continually absent, his vicar had not received priest's orders, and the auxiliary bishop had no

[1] HIRN, I., 162.
[2] *Ibid.*, 74 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 142 *seq.*, 197 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

knowledge of German.[1] Of the eighteen canons of Trent in 1565, half did not say mass, and on the occasion of the visitation of 1577 not one of the five canons who were present had received sacred orders.[2] Nevertheless, the higher clergy, and for the most part the aristocracy, remained faithful to the Church.[3] The Archduke Ferdinand strove to put an end to this state of affairs.[4] In the first years of his rule many ordinances insisted on the observance of such precepts of the Church as fasting,[5] hearing mass,[6] and the sanctification of Sundays and festivals.[7] The government especially brought pressure to bear to ensure that the sacraments of penance and communion should be received at least once a year, for to abstain from those sacraments was the surest sign of Protestant leanings. If instruction and warnings did not produce the desired effect in this respect, there followed, both in the case of the townsfolk and the countryfolk, the threat of banishment.[8] Besides this, Protestant books were confiscated[9] and a strict watch kept over the press.[10] Officials had to swear allegiance to the Church, and expressly to the Roman Church.[11] Attendance at foreign high-schools, especially Protestant ones, are forbidden.[12]

The carrying into effect of these ordinances cannot for the most part be described as harsh. In the case of the Protestant miners, who showed themselves very ready to propagate their ideas, and who argued about them, even coming to blows about it, in the taverns, the government

[1] *Ibid.*, 79.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 134, 138.
[4] Decree of September 16, 1566, *ibid.*, 167.
[5] *Ibid.*, 169.
[6] *Ibid.*, 173.
[7] *Ibid.*, 175.
[8] Hirn., I., 176 *seqq.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 182.
[10] *Ibid.*, 192.
[11] *Ibid.*, 194.
[12] *Ibid.*, 203.

intervened for the most part by ordering the mine-owners to dismiss them, a thing, however, which was hardly ever carried into effect.[1] Above all, recourse was never had to wholesale banishment, but the cases in which obstinate heretics were obliged to leave the country amounted to several hundred.[2] Gregory XIII. praised the religious zeal of the Archduke of the Tyrol on July 26th, 1572,[3] and when he created his son Andrew a Cardinal in 1577, he said that the promotion was a reward for the services of his father, "for he is a strong arm of our faith."[4]

The Catholic Tyrol at that time possessed an extraordinary man in the Franciscan, Johann Nas,[5] who had been born in Franconia, at Eltman on the Maine. Nas was a convert; from being a tailor's apprentice and a lay-brother in his Order, he was raised to the priesthood, and in that capacity, after some earlier labours in Bavaria, devoted his great talents after 1571 to the Tyrol, as a preacher in the cathedral of Brixen,[6] as commissary-general of the Franciscan convents,[7] and lastly as auxiliary bishop of Brixen.

Nas was an orator, and highly esteemed as a popular preacher; he was feared by the Protestants on account of his polemical writings, which were several times reprinted, and widely read, and which bear witness to the power of his words, though they were inevitably couched in the bitter,

[1] *Ibid.*, 197.

[2] *Ibid.*, 199 *seqq.*

[3] THEINER, I., 35.

[4] HIRN, II., 378.

[5] Autograph notes by Nas on the principal dates in his life up to 1580, published by ZINGERLE in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XVIII. (1886), 488-90. JOH. BAPT. SCHÖPF, Johannes Nasus, Franziskaner und Weihbischof von Brixen, 1534-90 (Programm des k. k. Gymnasiums zu Bozen), Bozen, 1860. HIRN, I., 250-62, 264. G. SCHNEIDER in *Archiv für Unterfranken*, XVI., 1 (1836), 179 *seqq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. (15-16), 401.

[6] See SINNACHER, 581 *seq.*, *cf.* 585 *seq.*

[7] Brief of appointment of July 4, 1578, given by M. STRAGANZ in the *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols*, V. (1908), 307; SCHÖPF, 45.

biting, and sometimes vulgar, language which had been introduced by the preachers of the new doctrines.[1] In 1563 his eloquence led to the closing of the Frauenhaus at Ingolstadt, and in 1566 he brought about the return of the city of Straubing to Catholicism.[2]

The former tailor's apprentice preached the Lenten sermons at Munich in 1568, in the presence of Albert V.; in 1573 he pleased the Archduke at Innsbruck so much that he had again in the following year to preach in the presence of the court; in 1576 he was sent to Pustertal to suppress the tendency to Protestantism, as, in the opinion of the government, he had "a special gift for dealing with people of that sort," and in 1585 the Archduke assured him that he had confirmed in the faith not a few people who were hesitating;[3] in 1577 and 1578 he preached the Lent at Augsburg, in the presence of from 4000 to 5000 people.[4] "As everyone admits," wrote the nuncio Portia,[5] "he is most eloquent in the German tongue, displays great zeal, and works incredibly hard in his constant sermons and his writings against the heretics . . . He is much loved by the Duke of Bavaria, who is displeased that he has been got hold of by the Archduke, with whom he is also in great favour." "He leads a good life," the nuncio goes on to say,[6] and has a love for learning, though he is lacking in real culture. He works hard, is loved by the princes, and labours with no small results. Moreover, he does not aim at honours or riches, he loves solitude and retirement, so that it may well be believed that he is working only for the love and honour of God."

There is no need to conceal the fact that Nas also suffered greatly from the defects of his good qualities. He was a man with a gift of expression, but he was also harsh and

[1] He himself apologizes for the "abuse and coarse buffoonery" of these writings. SCHÖPF, *loc. cit.*, 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, 11, 15.

[3] HIRN, I., 256, 262 n. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, 256, n. 3. SCHÖPF, 44.

[5] On July 28, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 50.

obstinate; he was frank and out-spoken, but regardless of what he said; he was firm and resolute, but narrow and precipitate in his judgments. Portia speaks of him as an uncouth and violent nature,[1] when he was instructed to adjust his quarrels with the Jesuits; to the scandal of the people Nas had attacked them in his public sermons at Innsbruck, making accusations that were manifestly unjust, and in any case not suited to the pulpit.[2] Portia attributed it to the moderation shown by the Jesuits that the quarrel did not assume more serious proportions,[3] but all remonstrances to Nas were in vain, so that the nuncio told the Archduke that he would have to address himself to the Pope in order that he might be forbidden to preach. But Nas went on in his sermons to even more dangerous ground; he spoke against those who paid too much attention to good works, and maintained, without any due limitations, that it was better to hear sermons than mass. Many were of opinion that the superiors of his Order ought to send him elsewhere, but that this should be done under some pretext, so as not to annoy the prince, who loved him greatly.[4] It may be attributed to the attacks made upon them by Nas that for a time the Archduke withdrew his favour from the Jesuits.[5] However,

[1] "La natura dell' huomo et rozza et rotta" (to Galli on July 28, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47). "Huomo di natura molto rozza et spirito indomito" (to Galli on February 24, 1574, *ibid.*, 358).

[2] *Cf.* Nas' Apologia to a cleric of Brixen (Melchior von Fabri), dated January 30, 1573, in JULIUS JUNG, Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Tirol, Innsbruck, 1874, 11-24. Original letter in the possession of the Franciscans at Halle. In the beginning of 1574, he even reproached the Jesuits with their name of Society of Jesus. *Initium et progressus Collegii Societatis Iesu Oenipontani, p. 11, Archives of the Jesuit College at Innsbruck.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 358 *seq.*

[5] HIRN, I., 243. "Tantam concepit offensionem, ut multa eius aperta iudicia non verbis modo, verum reipsa ostenderit" (*Initium et progressus, 12 *seqq.*). When, in 1575, Ferdinand wished to nominate Count Schweikart von Helfenstein as governor,

Nas soon fell out of favour with Ferdinand II.,[1] and after 1576 the Jesuits once more were restored to favour.[2]

Later on the momentary mistakes of this fiery zealot were again smoothed over, for, in a kind of testament in 1583, he asks pardon and prayers for all "who are otherwise of the Catholic faith," and promises his own prayers and forgiveness.[3] Only heretics and abandoned sinners are excluded; in their case he has nothing to retract of what he has spoken and written against them.

These last words of his are characteristic of this unwearied champion of the Church. Worn out by his labours he died at Innsbruck in 1590, when not yet 57 years of age. The Archduke Ferdinand II. erected a monument to him in the ducal church; he must always hold an important place in the history of Catholic reform in the Tyrol.

In view of the friendly attitude adopted by the princes in Bavaria and the Tyrol, it was natural that Gregory XIII. should first attempt the religious revival of Germany in that ecclesiastical province which embraced, in addition to the Imperial territories, those of the Archduke Charles, and the bishoprics of Passau, Ratisbon, Brixen, and Freising, as well as Bavaria and the Tyrol; this was the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg. Pius V. had already had the same idea; from the beginning of his pontificate, he had deeply pondered and discussed the best way to bring back Germany to Catholicism, and it seemed to him that the best thing for this purpose was the convocation of provincial synods throughout Germany. "By reason of the personal qualities of the Archbishop of

"inter ceteras conditiones hanc addi voluit, ne deinceps Iesuitis tam familiariter uteretur." Helfenstein refused, fell into disfavour and left the Tyrol (*ibid.*, 15 *seq.*). Helfenstein had been a convert since 1565 (*ibid.*); HIRN is mistaken, I., 240, n. 1.

[1] Portia to Galli on May 8, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 47.

[2] List of benefactions 1576-83 in *Initium et progressus, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36. A certain amount of mistrust remained. HIRN, I., 245 *seq.*

[3] SCHÖPF, 48.

Salzburg—this was Johann Jakob Khuen von Belasy—and by reason of the importance of his ecclesiastical province, which touched upon so many neighbouring states, and which on the whole was still Catholic," a beginning ought to be made at Salzburg; the other German bishops would then follow the example of the Archbishop of Salzburg.[1]

The instrument chosen by Pius V. to carry out this plan was the Dominican, Feliciano Ninguarda, who came from Morbegno in the Valtellina, and had been since 1554 in Germany as vicar-general of his Order and professor of theology at Vienna, and who since 1559 had devoted his services to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg,[2] and was one of the most zealous and determined supporters of the ecclesiastical reform; in this respect his influence over the archbishop cannot be too highly estimated.[3] Even before the decree of Trent about seminaries he had pressed for the establishment of such institutions at Salzburg and Passau; he and the Bishop of Lavant were the representatives of the archbishop at the Council of Trent,[4] and had received the praises of the presidents at the Council.[5]

In 1566 Pius V. summoned this zealous Dominican reformer to Rome; he listened to his advice and then sent him back to Salzburg armed with the necessary Papal briefs, to urge in the Pope's name, and with all his power, the convocation

[1] Ninguarda to Galli on February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 107.

[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 40; III., 40.

[3] The opinion of SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, I., 42.

[4] On May 20, 1562, they were admitted as representatives. THEINER, Conc. Trid., I., 720. RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 47. LE PLAT, V., 171-4. Ninguarda on the difficulties of withdrawing the chance in Salzburg, September 9, 1562, *ibid.*, 480 *seq.* *Cf.* Fickler's letter of June 4, 1563, *ibid.*, VI., 96. About the presidency of Salzburg, *ibid.*, 3 *seq.*, 87, 92.

[5] *Cf.* the imprimatur of the four presidents of the Council of Trent on Ninguarda's book, "Assertio fidei" (Venice, 1563). According to the preface, dated February 19, 1561, he wrote the "Assertio" at the urgent request of Michael Khuen, Archbishop of Salzburg (d. 1560).

of a provincial synod,[1] which was actually held in 1569.[2] It was Ninguarda who in the end brought this about; he drafted the decrees of the synod, and induced the assembled bishops to ask for the Papal approval of their decrees,[3] and then himself went to Rome to obtain the confirmation of Pius V. An illness, followed by the outbreak of the plague at Salzburg prevented his return for a long time;[4] then the Pope died, and the long delay that ensued led some to think that the synod of Salzburg had been buried with Pius V.[5] In spite of this Gregory XIII. gave its decrees his approval as his predecessor had done; at the same time he approved of a scheme which, by the desire of the bishops, Ninguarda had drafted for the province of Salzburg.[6] Fourteen briefs which Ninguarda took back with him to Germany were intended to enable him to inaugurate the carrying into effect of the decrees of the synod of 1569; they were addressed to the five bishops and the five chapters of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, as well as to the four secular princes over whose territories it extended.[7]

[1] THEINER, I., 107. A *letter of Commendone to Ninguarda, in Salzburg, dated September 26, 1568, in the British Museum, London, Cod. Egerton, 1078, p. 150 (according to kind information received from Professor Dengel).

[2] Reprinted in DALHAM, 348-556. Ninguarda's speech at the opening of the synod, *ibid.*, 349-54; the request for Papal confirmation, *ibid.*, 547; list of members, *ibid.*, 548; WIEDEMANN, I., 258 *seqq.* A *report of Ninguarda to Commendone about the synod, dated July 31, 1569, in A. 42, t. 11, n. 129, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 43.

[4] *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.*

[5] So thought Ferdinand of Tyrol; see *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 43.

[6] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 45. The synod was subject to the criticism of the Cardinals Commendone, Alciati and Morone (THEINER, I., 107). For the alterations they made in the texts of the decrees, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 130 *seq.*, 422 *seqq.*; WIEDEMANN, I., 261.

[7] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.* The brief for the Archbishop of Salzburg of June 28, 1572, in DALHAM, 557.

At the beginning of December, 1572, Ninguarda reached Brixen, going thence to Innsbruck to visit the Archduke, and thence to Salzburg. He everywhere urged the carrying out of the decrees of the provincial synod; the best means, in his opinion, would be to hold a diocesan synod at Brixen, and another provincial synod at Salzburg. At the court of the Archduke he asked for the assistance of the secular arm. All welcomed these proposals and declared themselves entirely prepared to carry them out. Ninguarda's demands for a seminary met with greater difficulties. The canons of Brixen declared that they were too burdened with taxes by the Archduke, so that nothing could be expected from Ferdinand II. but an evasive reply.[1]

At that time Ninguarda did not go beyond Salzburg in his projected tour. The archbishop retained him, because he had need of his help for the new provincial synod, and Cardinal Galli approved this step of the archbishop.[2] In the meantime in Rome it became more and more clear, in the course of the discussion of German affairs, that it was necessary to consult at first hand with men who were well acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany. Ninguarda accordingly received orders on February 7th, 1573, to return to Rome.[3] On receipt of this summons, which was so great an honour, he pointed out that he was being withdrawn from a work which he had just begun, to its great injury. As information was specially desired in Rome as to the best means to bring back Saxony to Catholicism, Ninguarda took the opportunity of expressing his views in a long memorandum[4] as to the best way of carrying out the work of reform in Germany.

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 48-53, and letter to Gregory XIII. of February 18, 1573, in THEINER, I., 105 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHELLHASS, Akten ueber die Reformtätigkeit Fel. Ninguardas in Bayern und Oesetrreich, 1572-7, in the *Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, XXXVII.; B. ALBERS in the *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner und Zisterzienserorden*, XXIII. (1902), 126-54.

[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, III., 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xxvi.

[4] Dated February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 106-8.

According to the advice given by Ninguarda it was still too soon to think of Saxony or other places which were already Protestant. They must first devote their attention to states that were nearer and already Catholic ; in these the Catholics should be encouraged in every possible way to persevere in the ancient faith and in a Christian life, and those who had apostatized brought back. For this purpose it would be well to take steps to ensure that the clergy were first instructed and trained, so as to afford a model of the Christian life. It would be well to devote their attention to more distant countries later on, for otherwise they would be leaving what was certain for what was uncertain ; by means of the peoples thus renewed the faith would be automatically carried to the furthest parts of the country. This had always been the intention of Pius V., to whom was due the plan of holding everywhere in Germany, in accordance with the instructions of the Council of Trent, provincial councils, beginning with Salzburg. Ninguarda therefore urged that they should continue in the course thus marked out. He himself had no idea at the moment beyond securing the promulgation and the observance of the synod by means of a new provincial council. If this were successful, in a few years time there would be a whole province that was solid in faith and completely united to the Apostolic See. The Pope would then have to take care that the other archbishops followed the example of Salzburg ; in this way ecclesiastical life would first be restored in the Catholic territories, and gradually spread to Saxony and the other territories which had recently apostatized.

CHAPTER III.

The Nunciatures of Portia, Gropper and Ninguarda in South Germany, Austria and Bavaria.

While Ninguarda was waiting at Salzburg for the new provincial council, which for various reasons was put off again and again, the discussions in Rome had led to important results. On May 5th, 1573, the German Congregation resolved to send Bartolomeo Portia, at that time abbot of Moggio, as "apostolic nuncio" to Upper Germany;[1] his actions were to extend to the states of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, Charles of Styria, Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg.[2] At the same meeting of the congregation, Gaspar Gropper, Auditor of the Rota, who had been born at Soest in Lower Germany, was selected for the difficult task of inducing the cathedral chapter ofAugsburg to approve the foundation of a Jesuit college, and of negotiating at Cleves concerning the election of the young duke, John William, as coadjutor of the Bishop of Münster.[3] Gropper too was expressly given the powers of a nuncio, and received the full faculties of a legate *a latere* for the cities and dioceses of Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, Spires, Worms, Münster and Minden, the whole of Westphalia, and the duchies of Cleves, Julich and Berg.[4] Thus, as had been asked for in a report to the German Congregation, there were now three nuncios

[1] Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 74.

[2] Draft of Portia's Instruction, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 17-34.

[3] Schwarz, *loc. cit.*

[4] Schwarz, Gropper, 41. The document here reproduced settles the dispute as to whether Gropper was really a nuncio (*Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 724 *seqq.*, III., xxxvii). *Cf.* Goetting, *Gel. Anz.*, 1897, I., 311, n. 1.

on German soil, at Vienna, in North Germany and in south Germany.[1] As far as possible, another desire expressed in the same report, had been complied with, namely that nunicos should be appointed who spoke German, since Latin was not familiar to the princes of Germany and the bishops.[2]

The choice of Portia for the difficult nunciature of south Germany was looked upon as a good one.[3] Portia belonged to the school of Charles Borromeo; he had been ordained priest by him in 1566, and had received from him the abbey of Moggio. In 1570 he had, by the Pope's orders, undertaken the visitation of the dioceses of Aquileia, with such good results that as early as 1571 there had been thought of sending him as nuncio to the Imperial court. So shrewd a judge as Morone thus describes Portia in 1576: "he is versatile, experienced, capable, and has so good a reputation and is held in such high esteem by the princes that great results may be looked for from his labours."[4] The poet Torquato Tasso has sung his praises in enthusiastic terms.[5] The reports sent by Portia to Rome show him as "a diplomatist of the first rank";[6] on all sides we have evidence of his independent judgment, the clearness of his ideas, and the shrewdness of his observations. He was not very proficient in German, and therefore had generally to carry on his negotiations in Latin,[7] but was able to make up for this defect by his versatility. He was also well fitted for the office of nuncio in south Germany by the fact that his family, old-established gentry from Friuli, had always been attached to the service of the sovereigns of Austria, and Bartolomeo Portia himself, after the visitation of Aquileia, had gone to Graz, and had

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 61.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For particulars about him, *cf.* HANSEN, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I, 5-10; SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, III., xx, IV., cix-cxi.

[4] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, 10.

[6] Schellhass' opinion, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxxxviii.

[7] *Ibid.*, 169.

there won the favour of the Archduke Charles.[1] Above all, he knew how to adapt himself to his hearers in conversation, and always to adopt the right tone.[2] The effect of these distinguished talents was still more enhanced by a great modesty, which led him never to speak of himself without necessity, and never to ignore the merits of others. Portia's reports to Rome were entirely confined to the matter in hand, so much so that when he had escaped from some deadly peril in Styria, he only mentioned it much later, when the occasion seemed to call for it.[3]

Detailed instructions[4] laid down for the nuncio his line of action.

According to this document, the object of his mission was to bring pressure to bear on the bishops in favour of ecclesiastical reform, and to remove the difficulties in its way with the help of the Pope and the princes.[5] He was to keep in close touch with the nuncio and the Imperial court, and was to visit the bishops regularly in turn.[6] Since, contrary to the regulations of the Council of Trent, the German bishops for the most part had not got the doctor's degree, he was to press them to have theologians and canonists with them. Every three years at least the bishops must go to Rome.[7] It was the duty of the secular princes to further the work of reform initiated by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities, and subjects must be made to understand that they have to deal with Catholic princes, who are prepared to uphold the faith. They must be given to understand that they are offending against their own ruler if they send their sons to foreign universities.[8]

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxxxix.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 17-34. Although it is only a draft, it was probably repeated verbatim in the actual Instruction. SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, 16, n. 1.

[5] Instruction, Nos. 2-5.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 53-4.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 57-8.

[8] *Ibid.*, Nos., 48-50.

The princes make complaints of the prelates and the Roman authorities, so Portia must have at hand the mandates and warnings addressed to the bishops, as well as the decisions of Rome, and give assurances that only in the most pressing cases would recourse to the Curia be refused.[1]

As a guide for the details of the reform the nuncio must make use of the decrees of the synod of Salzburg, and the decisions of the German Congregation in Rome.[2] It was therefore natural that the projects aimed at in those decisions should be repeated in the instructions for the information of the nuncio. Thus Portia must insist that none but Catholics are appointed to offices of importance, that heretical books are replaced by Catholic ones, that three or four Catholic printing presses are established, that Catholic scholars and preachers are assisted, students sent to the German College in Rome, and that new breviaries and other works which are lacking are printed.[3] The nuncio must inform the Pope of learned Catholics so that they may be recommended to the princes as their advisers;[4] he must especially protect the Jesuits, and insist that the bishops also have a care for the advancement of the other Orders.[5]

Besides these general regulations, Portia's instructions also contained detailed hints as to his relations with each of the bishops and princes, and especially as to his manner of appealing to the conscience of the Archbishop of Salzburg. He that desires the end, Portia must say to him, must also desire the means, and since Salzburg can only become more Catholic by the co-operation and assistance of many persons, the archbishop must employ his wealth to procure such assistance, and especially to attract more theologians to his service. If the archbishop should raised objection, Portia must reply: the Pope is well aware that if the reform is introduced in those places where the bishops are also princes,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 52.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 45-7, 55, 56, 59.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 51.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 15.

in that case the rest of the diocese, as well as the neighbouring territory, will also be put into good order. Lastly, it will be well to lay down this general principle: the Council of Trent has now been ended for ten years, but it is not clear that any steps have been taken for putting it into force. Above all, concubinage must be rooted out, and seminaries must be established; the archbishop must once for all set himself to the establishment of a seminary at Salzburg, and send some youths to the German College. In a word, as the archbishop is so wealthy, he may well spend a part of his wealth for the honour of God![1] The archbishop promises a great deal and does very little; let the nuncio therefore at least insist that the work of reform is begun.[2]

In the case of the Archduke Ferdinand II. of the Tyrol, who had the reputation of interfering with the rights of the Church, Portia must ask for his co-operation in the further reform of his states, and point out to him that he cannot accomplish anything in this direction without the bishops. He must be praised for having forbidden his subjects to attend foreign universities, but he must also prevent his subjects from contracting marriage with Protestants from Styria and Carinthia, because it has been by mixed marriages that the states of the Emperor and the Archduke Charles have been ruined. Portia must try and put an end to the misunderstandings between the auxiliary bishop, Nas, and the Jesuits at Innsbruck. Lastly the Archduke must restore the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Trent.[3]

The position in the states of the Archduke Charles in Central Austria was more serious than in the Tyrol. The nuncio, the instructions say, may follow one of two courses: he may either induce the Archduke to revoke the concession made in the last two Diets, or merely content himself with regularizing the position of the Catholics. In the latter case Portia must in the first place have recourse to the bishops and warn them to provide their parishes with good priests who will

[1] Instruction, Nos. 7-10.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16-24.

preach pure Christian doctrine to the people. This will apply to the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Patriarch of Aquileia and their suffragans, especially, in Carniola, the Bishop of Laibach, whose diocese was in so bad a state. Special attention must be paid to the decadent state of the monasteries.

The nuncio must praise the Duke of Bavaria for his zeal, and promise the paternal benevolence of the Pope towards the candidature of his son Ernest for the dioceses of Hildesheim and Cologne. On account of the proximity of Bavaria to the city of Ratisbon, which was almost entirely Lutheran, Portia must take an opportunity of getting information concerning the intolerable position of the ecclesiastics there, and the best way of remedying it.[1] Duke Albert must also urge his son-in-law, the Archduke Charles of Styria, to show greater firmness.[2] At Munich the nuncio will also be able to find out who, generally speaking, among the German princes are disposed to return to the Catholic Church, whether it be the young Duke of Wurtemberg, or one of the sons of the Duke of Zweibrücken, or a member of the house of Brunswick.[3] Information concerning Weilderstadt in Wurtemberg, which was still to a great extent Catholic, might be obtained from the councillor, Fickler, at Salzburg.[4]

The warnings which were given to the nuncio concerning Salzburg undoubtedly betray considerable mistrust of the archbishop. It was felt in Rome that Johann Jakob did not take the carrying out of the Council of Trent at all seriously, and that he had kept on putting off the promised synod in order to gain time.[5] This mistrust was one of the reasons why it was resolved to complete the work of Ninguarda at Salzburg by sending a special nuncio, who was ordered in his instructions to deal directly with the archbishop and bring pressure to bear on him.[6] When Portia, who had come from

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 35-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 40.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 42.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 11-12.
[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 15.
[6] *Ibid.*, 17.

Venice and Trent, reached Brixen on July 18th, 1573, he there learned that Archbishop Johann Jakob had in the meantime summoned the new provincial synod for August 24th, 1573. It seemed, therefore, that nothing further was required than that Portia should busy himself with the early realization of the desired meeting of the bishops. He therefore departed from his instructions and his original plan, and did not go on to Salzburg, but went first to Munich, and then, not finding Duke Albert V. there, to Innsbruck to the Archduke Ferdinand; to know more exactly the intentions of those princes concerning reform could not fail to be useful to him at the synod. He reached Salzburg on August 12th.[1] The archbishop expressed his goodwill towards the work of reform,[2] but went on to point out the great difficulties which he met with outside the limits of his civil principality.

Canonical visitations, he complained, could only be made with the help of a civil official, and the latter often interfered on behalf of the authority of his sovereign, and caused a disturbance, or he made known the programme of the visitation to persons who, for the sake of peace, were opposed to any improvement, or else he secretly made known the articles of the visitation in order to expose them to derision and give warning to the guilty. If a man were prevented from obtaining a parish on account of his ignorance, he would bribe the court officials, who put him in possession of the parish. To cover up such things, appeal was made to the Papal approbation, which, however, no one had seen.[3] If Rome, the archbishop added, would first ask the bishops concerning concessions made to the princes, the condition of the clergy would be improved.[4] It was only because of pressing business, and because he wished to act in common with the other bishops,

[1] *Ibid.*, xlvi *seq.*, 74.

[2] Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.* 79.

[3] *Ibid.* These complaints refer to the territory of the Archduke Charles. *Ibid.* 87.

[4] *Ibid.*, 79 *seq.* Ninguarda also impressed this point on Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V.; see REICHENBERGER in the *Röm, Quartalschrift*, XIV. (1900), 375 *seq.*

that he had not yet laid these grievances before the Pope. At the same time a general meeting of the bishops was difficult ; Freising, Brixen, Gurk and Lavant would stand out.[1]

Portia replied that the archbishop could, before he did anything else, begin the reform in the territories of his civil principality ; the example of Salzburg and the intervention of the Pope would show the way to success in the other parts of his ecclesiastical province. But above all, the provincial synod must not be deferred any longer ; the perpetual delays only made the state of affairs more serious.[2] The archbishop appeared to agree to this, but he soon said to Portia that he was made very anxious by a fear that the nuncio had come to assume the presidency of the synod, and to play a part in it that was incompatible with the dignity of the archbishop ; Portia's modesty at once brushed aside this difficulty, and he made it clear that it was indifferent to the Pope whether the nuncio or the archbishop laid before the synod the Pope's desires and demands. After this Johann Jakob appeared to be very much relieved, and he visibly became more enthusiastic about the synod.[3] The nuncio then went on to fan the archbishop's enthusiasm still further, and he obtained the most far-reaching promises. For the seminary, which was also to serve for the suffragan sees of Chiemsee, Gurk, Seckau, and Lavant, two houses had been bought only two days previously.[4] Ratisbon and Passau were to have a common seminary in the last-named city ; Freising, on the other hand, was to have its own.[5] Concubinage would be removed from the city of Salzburg within 14 days, as only one of the canons there had fallen into this sin, but for the other parts of the ecclesiastical province the archbishop could only venture to make conditional promises.[6] Apart from that, in the principality of Salzburg no one dared to appear publicly as

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 80.
[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 80 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 81.
[4] *Ibid.*, 83.
[5] *Ibid.*, 83 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 84.

a heretic, and if anyone belonging to it had become guilty of suspicious acts outside his own country, on his return he was thrown into prison and was made to give an explanation of his sentiments.[1] The refusal of the chalice had at first given rise to seditious talk, which had given the archbishop a great deal of anxiety,[2] but now men's minds were once more at rest. Only the mountain districts,[3] and the territories bordering on Styria and Carinthia were still unresigned, though a preacher who had been sent to the Carinthian district had accomplished a great deal, contrary to all expectation, so that the archbishop thought of going there himself at the beginning of October. He thought of appointing a limit of two months, within which they must either give way or be banished.[4]

Portia did not trust overmuch in the promises of the archbishop. He thought that the power of Johann Jakob did not extend so far: moreover he was proceeding with more regard to human respect than was necessary; he spoke a good deal of the rising which had broken out in his state at the beginning of the Lutheran innovations,[5] and feared the renewal of such occurrences, because the neighbouring princes were not friendly to him. Albert V., he said, was usurping the rights of the Church: ecclesiastics were obliged to keep dogs for hunting at great expense, devote themselves to music, and lend him money, which was not repaid. The duke would not allow the bishops to contribute to the seminaries, and would not establish one himself; he oppressed the monasteries with expenses without the permission of the Pope. The Archduke Charles prevented ecclesiastical visitations. On the other hand the Archduke Ferdinand showed great zeal against the heretics and allowed but little encroachments on spiritualities.[6] In contradiction to the mistrust of Portia

[1] *Ibid.*, 85.

[2] *Cf.* Ninguarda at the Council of Trent, 1562, in Le Plat, V., 173.

[3] Ninguarda calls them "genus hominum ferox, inquietum et indomitum." *Ibid.*, 172.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 85 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 85.

[6] *Ibid.*, 87.

Ninguarda was of opinion that the archbishop would now certainly keep his word; the archbishop's councillor, Fickler, on the other hand, told the nuncio that he must not cease to insist until he saw things accomplished, and Portia added that henceforward he would apply himself to this with all zeal. On the other hand he bestows praise on the archbishop; he assists every day at a sung mass and vespers, and on Sundays at matins, though he is too much inclined to princely pageantry. If he is spoken to about economy, so that he may be able to surround himself with men of piety and learning, he excuses himself on the score of the great Imperial taxes, or of the damage caused by inundations, or the large necessary expenses. Very little improvement is to be looked for in this respect, unless the archbishop should change his views, or great pressure bring about what requests have not been able to do.[1]

The nuncio was shown to be no pessimist when, in spite of all promises of the immediate opening of the provincial synod, it did not even yet appear to be certain. The nuncio had hardly handed over his first report to Rome to the courier, when the archbishop, in a long speech, protested that he would willingly carry out the injunctions of the Pope, but that the difficulty of getting all the bishops together was so great that he was inclined to a further postponement of the synod; it was necessary to trust to time for the carrying out of the decrees of the synod, and to proceed with great prudence and gentleness.[2] Portia replied that he was very much taken aback by such a statement; after such great preparations and proclamations he could not in honour draw back. If nothing was done, it would have been better if the provincial synod of 1569 had never been held. This continual delay was making him a laughing-stock, and, in a word, it would be all over with the good name of the archbishop both as a churchman and a prince.[3] These considerations made a visible impression on Johann Jakob; he declared that he

[1] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

[2] Portia to Galli on August 25, 1573, *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

would sooner abdicate than bring his authority into disrepute, but that if he tried to call together the members of the council, Ernest of Freising would excuse himself as being only a civil administrator; the coadjutor of Brixen, though he was a good man and prepared to face every obstacle, would certainly not come; the Bishops of Gurk and Lavant would be detained as the councillors of the Archduke; each of the provosts and archdeacons would have some excuse to make, even perhaps that they must be at the disposal of the Duke of Bavaria for hunting.[1] Behind such subterfuges it was highly probable that the real motive would be that the princes feared lest the synod should bring to light their usurpations and interference in ecclesiastical matters.[2] Portia replied that in any case those who were summoned would send their representatives, and reports concerning these abuses.[3] If the bishops did not come, then the glory of the archbishop would be all the greater, if he, in spite of all the difficulties, alone stood firm, and brought the synod to an end. He must therefore definitely perform what was the most important duty before God and man which had occurred for many years.[4]

Johann Jakob then seemed to give way, but only to adduce a personal difficulty. It was not fitting, he thought, that the nuncio should exercise any authority at the synod, or that he should even assist at it; this the dignity of the church of Salzburg demanded, as well as the state of the times, and the dignity of the persons taking part in it. In 1569 Commendone had gone away on the very day that the provincial synod was opened. It would be best for the nuncio to go away at once, otherwise the meeting of the bishops would certainly either not take place, or would be unsuccessful. Portia did not fail to defend the rights of the Apostolic See, but in the end showed himself ready to leave Salzburg before the synod commenced; before his departure, however, he wished to speak to the bishops and prelates who had arrived.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 95.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 96.
[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 96 *seq.*

Johann Jakob thereupon began to suspect that he wished to obtain information about himself, but when Portia had satisfied him as to this, it seemed that the difficulties had at last been overcome.

But all this was merely apparent. That same evening letters of refusal arrived from the Bishops of Lavant and Passau, and some of the archdeacons of Styria, who all said that it was impossible for them to come. Once more the archbishop was undecided, and once more Portia had to lay before him the considerations which had made so great an impression before. With the help of Ninguarda and the provost of the chapter, who was an aged and much revered man, he succeeded in keeping the archbishop firm in his previous decision. The Bishop of Passau, who was not far away, was ordered by means of a courier, to attend, and arrived on the evening before August 25th, and thus the synod was assured. Portia had thus with much labour at last obtained a first result.[1]

The synod was then held from August 26th to September 3rd.[2] On this occasion Johann Jakob presided in person and himself put forward all the proposals;[3] of the other bishops, only those of Passau and Chiemsee were present; the Bishops of Seckau-Lavant and Gurk did not even send a representative.[4] The opening discourse, as well as that at the end, was delivered by Ninguarda,[5] who spoke of his efforts in Rome to obtain the approbation of the earlier synod,[6] and of his other services. The discussions were in great

[1] *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*

[2] Records in THEINER, I., 489-509. For the transactions, *cf.* the Protocol, *ibid.*, 504, and Portia's report to Galli of September 18, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 124 to 138.

[3] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 125. He had not done so in the year 1569.

[4] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 124 *seq.* List of members in THEINER, I., 508 *seq.*

[5] DALHAM, 564 *seq.*

[6] THEINER, I., 489 *seqq.* A second part dealing with the corrections made in Rome in the Acta of the Synod of 1569 in the *Nunitaturberichte*, III., 422-9.

measure based upon a document divided into forty points, which he had drawn up and sent to each of the bishops.[1] Before his departure Portia had summarized the principal points of reform; these concerned concubinage, seminaries, episcopal visitations, the need of theologians and canonists at the episcopal courts, the triennial visits of the bishops to Rome, the setting up of printing-presses, and the sending of students to the Germanicum in Rome.[2] All these points were agreed to, except that they were unwilling to set up printing-presses in addition to those in Bavaria, in order, as Portia thought, to save expense.[3] As to the interference of the civil authorities in ecclesiastical matters, many complaints were raised.[4] As to the changes in the decrees of 1569 which had been made during their revision in Rome, the request was made that in three cases they might be allowed to adhere to the original decrees.[5] The profession of faith of the Council of Trent was then solemnly made by all taking part in the council.[6]

During the synod Portia went to visit the Archduke Charles at Graz. On his return, he found the archbishop filled with joy at the success of what had been accomplished, and much more zealous and resolute than before. At the beginning of October Johann Jakob proposed personally to carry out an episcopal visitation in the threatened districts on the borders of his diocese, to administer the sacrament of confirmation from place to place, where it had been almost forgotten, to remove communion under both kinds, to reintroduce Extreme Unction, which had almost fallen into disuse, and to combat the marriage and concubinage of priests. Two preachers were to instruct the ignorant people during the visitation.[7] The synod had shown great zeal concerning the seminaries,

[1] Reprinted with the synod's answers in THEINER, I., 492 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 503 *seqq.*
[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 139 *seq.*, but *cf.* 128.
[4] *Ibid.*, 129.
[5] *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 134.
[7] *Ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

as well as visitations. Seminaries were to be begun at the latest within six months, and the visitations were to be commenced immediately after the closure of the synod. Naturally, as regards the seminaries, the bleeding of the clergy by the civil princes had been taken into consideration, and much stress had again been laid upon the difficulties which the princes and their rebellious subjects might put in the way of the episcopal visitors.[1] In spite of all the fair promises Portia remained doubtful and anxious.[2] In the course of a journey to Munich and Freising in October, 1573, he found, not only that the cathedral chapter of Freising was opposed to a seminary, but he also learned of a secret arrangement that had been come to at the synod of Salzburg. None of the bishops, it had been decided, was to establish a seminary within six months, but it was to be considered enough if two more professors were added to the already existing schools.[3]

The difficulties that lay in the way of the seminaries were actually very real. The Archbishop of Salzburg made serious efforts to transform the buildings which he had acquired into a seminary.[4] His greatest difficulty lay in finding a suitable director for the establishment.[5] So long as Portia was at Salzburg he did not let a day go by without reminding the archbishop of the seminary,[6] but it was not until 1582 that it was actually established.[7] Greater zeal was shown by the Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, who had already opened his seminary at the beginning of April, 1573.[8] The visitations too were delayed; it was necessary, it was said, that the decrees of Salzburg, which were to form the basis of the canonical visitation, should first be published.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, 135, 136.
[3] *Ibid.*, 190.
[4] *Ibid.*, 216.
[5] *Ibid.*, 343.
[6] *Ibid.*, 148.
[7] SCHMIDLIN, Kirchliche Zustände, I., 82. *Cf.* WIDMAN, 97 *seqq.*
[8] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 404.
[9] *Ibid.*, 269, 297 n.

After his return from Bavaria, Portia took up his residence at Innsbruck. The city, he pointed out in his justification of this choice to the Secretary of State in Rome, was almost the central point of the territory included in his nunciature. He had already obtained all that could be obtained for the moment from the Archduke Charles, namely his verbal and written promise to support the decrees of the synod of Salzburg. The constant presence of a mentor with the zealous Duke of Bavaria was useless, while it would be even harmful with the dilatory Archbishop of Salzburg. Moreover he had his informants in the most distant parts of his district, for example, the experienced Ninguarda at Salzburg, the chancellor Hans von Kobenzl at Graz, and at Freising the administrator himself, Duke Ernest.[1] They were satisfied with these reasons in Rome, though they would have preferred that the nuncio should keep a watch over his territory by means of constant journeys.[2]

During the few months that Portia remained at Innsbruck he found many opportunities of displaying his zeal. Numerous though the tasks assigned to him in his instructions were,[3] he soon found himself obliged to devote his whole attention to them all. He laboured at restoring peace between Johann Nas and the Jesuits,[4] at settling the controversies between the Archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal Bishop of Trent, Lodovico Madruzzo, and between the Archduke Charles and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Francesco Barbaro. By reason of a dispute which he was carrying on with Ferdinand concerning his civil rights, Madruzzo was keeping away from his diocese, nor was Portia able to effect any improvement in their relations.[5] As far as Aquileia was concerned, he was of opinion that the patriarch would have to be satisfied with

[1] Portia to Galli on December 9, 1573, *ibid.*, 273 *seq.*

[2] Galli to Portia on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 243.

[3] See *supra*, p. 68.

[4] Portia to Galli on July 28, 1573, *loc. cit.*, 47 *seqq.*

[5] JOSEPH HIRN, Der Temporalienstreit des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol mit dem Stifte Trient (1567-78), Vienna, 1882. SCHELLHASS, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxviii *seqq.*

the restoration of his spiritual rights, and abandon his civil ones.[1]

The constant complaints made by the prelates of the princes and their ecclesiastical rights, real or presumed, were one of the most difficult questions with which the nuncio had to deal. The Duke of Bavaria had on his own account sent his vice-chancellor, Eisengrein of Ingolstadt, to the synod of Salzburg, who was to inform him if, in the proposed reform "there were anything which might be harmful to us as sovereigns." With regard to their demands, the bishops must come to an agreement with him as their sovereign, but nothing was to be included in them which "was opposed either to our sovereignty as prince or to ancient established customs, or to their common duties and obligations to our state."[2] These claims met with much disapproval in Rome,[3] but Portia saw no way of obviating them. The evil is a great one, he wrote; the establishment of seminaries as well as episcopal visitations is rendered almost impossible;[4] whatever is left over, after the modest requirements of a few monks have been satisfied, in seventy-two monasteries which are supposed to be for the most part wealthy, goes to the duke; the election of superiors is not free, and the representatives of the prince who attend them strive to secure the appointment of good administrators, without taking into consideration their scholastic attainments. The Jesuits themselves, although they are in other respects highly esteemed by the duke, are very discontented because his hunting parties impose a great burden on their houses; they say that they have pondered deeply how they can in conscience accommodate themselves in this matter to a prince who has in other respects deserved so well of them. But every day they become more hopeless. At Salzburg the prelates say that the whole world would not be able to modify the duke's encroachments in a single point.[5]

[1] To Galli on January 6 and March 31, 1574, *ibid.*, 302, 397.

[2] Eisengrein's Instructions, *ibid.*, 133 n.

[3] Galli to Portia on October 10, 1573, *ibid.*, 158.

[4] See *supra*, p. 72 *seq.*

[5] Portia to Galli on October 30, 1573, *loc. cit.*, 198 *seq.*

Portia proposed getting the Pope to intervene with the duke and the other secular princes, but it was thought that he would obtain more by a direct appeal to the secular rulers.[1] On the strength of the reports received from the nuncio it was decided in Rome to address a brief to Albert V. on behalf of the monasteries.[2] But Portia did not dare to irritate the duke and his advisers, and kept back the brief on his own responsibility, in spite of the prudent terms in which it was expressed, seeming, indeed, to acquit the prince of all blame.[3]

How carefully, after the accession to the throne of Gregory XIII., they followed the course of events in Germany in other matters as well was seen when, on October 20th, 1573, Portia sent word of the grave illness of the Bishop of Würzburg, Frederick von Wirsberg, suggesting that steps should be taken by means of the nuncio Gropper and the Bishop of Eichstadt to see that so important a diocese did not fall into the hands of the Protestants.[4] Briefs were at once sent to Gropper and the chapter of Würzburg,[5] and after the death of the bishop further instructions were sent to Portia to send to Würzburg his companion Schenking, in the place of Gropper who was too far away ; an order was also sent to the nuncio at Vienna, Giovanni Delfino, to urge the Emperor to appoint a Catholic, a brief to the Bishop of Augsburg, who held a canonry at Würzburg, another to the chapter as a body, and separate ones to each of the eight canons.[6] Such precautions were unnecessary ; even before Portia received the copies of the briefs, the great reforming bishop, Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn, had been elected at Würzburg.[7]

[1] Portia on October 10, 1573, *ibid.*, 153.

[2] Galli on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 241. Copy of the Brief in THEINER, I., 117. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 248, n. 2.

[3] To Galli on December 16, 1573, *ibid.*, 281 *seq.*

[4] To Galli on October 12, 1573, *ibid.*, 160 *seq.*

[5] Galli to Portia on November 15, 1573. *ibid.*, 225. Copy of the Briefs in THEINER, I., 103 *seq.*

[6] Galli to Portia on December 12, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 276 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, lxxix.

A short time before the diocese of Würzburg fell vacant, Bishop Urban of Gurk had also died; to the nuncio there then fell the thorny task of procuring for that very neglected diocese a bishop who would be zealous for reform. At Rome they would have liked the councillor at the Imperial court, Eder, a layman who had been twice a widower, but who, according to the nuncio at Vienna was looked upon as "a Catholic of the purest faith and the greatest zeal in this country,"[1] and, according to the Cardinal Secretary of State, was "very learned and Catholic."[2] But just at that moment Eder had published at Dillingen a book under the title "An evangelical inquisition on true and false religion" which found favour in Rome and with Duke Albert V., but excited the anger of the Emperor in the highest degree.[3] The Archbishop of Salzburg, who had the right of nomination to Gurk alternately with the Duke of Carinthia, and whose turn it was on this occasion, would only decide upon Eder if he were to be asked in writing by the Emperor, and if the Dukes of Bavaria and the Tyrol would recommend the councillor of the Imperial court. It was to no purpose that the nuncios, Delfino and Portia, brought pressure to bear upon the archbishop, or that his own tried adviser, Ninguarda, who was also wished for as Bishop of Gurk, but who shrank from such an honour on account of the responsibility,[4] strongly urged the cause of Eder, or that the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles were in favour of him, or that the Emperor, at any

[1] *Ibid.*, 229, n. 4.

[2] Galli on November 15, 1573, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* For information about this book *cf.* STIEVE, Politik, I., 145; also in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts fur österr. Geschichtsforschung*, VI., 440, n. 1; Galli to Gropper on October 23, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 200, *cf.* 236; *Galli to the Venetian nuncio on March 13, 1574 (Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., 280, Papal Secret Archives): "Eder has written a very good book; the Pope has had it translated into latin. It would be better not to publish it in Rome but in Venice." The nuncio is to pilot it through the press.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 286, n. 2.

rate verbally, withdrew his opposition. The matter was ended when Eder, on account of his precarious financial state, entered into a third marriage with a rich widow. The dean of Brixen, Christopher Andreas von Spaur, became Bishop of Gurk.[1]

Portia had been given a special charge on behalf of the little Wurtemberg city of Weilderstadt, which belonged to the diocese of Spires. So far some remains of the old religion had been preserved in Wurtemberg. When, in 1581, the envoys of the Duke of Bavaria went to Liège, where Duke Ernest was to be solemnly installed as bishop, the inhabitants of the territory of Ulm crowded round them, showing them their rosaries and strings of paternosters, and bewailing with tears that they had been forcibly forbidden the exercise of the old religion, and telling joyfully of the masses and Catholic sermons which they had had during the stay of Duke Albert at the baths of Ueberkingen.[2] At Geislingen, where the influence of the good parish priest, Georg Oswald, who had been banished in 1531, had for a long time continued to produce great effects, the Protestant pastors, as late as 1597, had to seek the intervention of the council of Ulm against "papistical superstitions," and especially against the attendance at mass at Ueberkingen and Eybach, and against the pilgrimages to Dozburg and Hohenrechberg ;[3]; the acta of the visitation in 1569 inveigh against the "idolatry" of placing wooden crosses on graves, and in 1575 against masses for the dead and vigils, which the superstitious people still clung to ; in 1584 severe penalties were enacted against those who still followed the customs of the papistical church.[4] Weilderstadt especially had, "by a miracle of God," remained entirely Catholic,[5] and the little city was specially recommended by Rome to

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxix-lxxxv.

[2] "Roberti Turneri sermo panegyricus, quo Bavariae dux Ernestus . . . fuit inauguratus episcopus Leodius," in his Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadt, 1583, 97 *seq.*

[3] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LI. (1863), 266.

[4] *Ibid.*, 264 *seq.*

[5] Portia's Instructions, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 21, *cf.* 19. Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 89.

the care of the nuncio Portia. From Weil came one of the most capable advisers of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Johann Fickler, and from him Portia was able to obtain accurate information as to what he ought to do, to find out whether it would not be possible to win over a councillor of the Duke of Wurtemberg, or some distinguished local magnate, how many people in the neighbourhood of Weil attended mass on festival days, and how it would be possible to introduce a good preacher into the city.[1] Fickler told him that not many people went to mass at Weil from outside, but that a preacher of repute was very much wanted and could easily attract large crowds, because a great number of the inhabitants of the duchy who were directly the subjects of the Empire had not yet been infected by error, and were determined to remain firm in the Catholic religion.[2] Moreover, the almost extinct monastery of the Augustinians at Weil, could, with the help of their religious superiors, be filled with good religious, or be changed into a college.[3] Fickler revived this latter project again in 1576 at the Diet of Ratisbon.[4] A preacher had in the meantime become doubly necessary at Weil, because the parish priest there, who had hitherto been a Catholic, had married and was preaching the new doctrines; his place was first filled by a man who was quite unsuitable, and then by a disciple of Dillinger, who also failed to fulfil what was expected of him.[5] Nevertheless, all Portia's efforts to find an efficient substitute for him failed; not even Peter Canisius could help him.[6]

[1] Instruction to Portia, *ibid.*, 21.

[2] Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 89 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 91.

[4] *Ibid.*, V., 483 *seqq.*

[5] Portia to Galli on September 29, 1573, and February 17, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 142, 344.

[6] Portia to Galli on December 23, 1573, *ibid.*, 299. Two briefs of Gregory XIII., dated November 15, 1574, to the town of Weil, and to the Bishop of Spires concerning the mission of Johann (Fickler) to Weil, in THEINER, I., 124 *seq.* A brief of August 24, 1577, to Rudolph II. in favour of the Catholics of Ulm, *ibid.*, II., 264.

Besides Weilderstadt, Schwäbisch-Gmünd had also remained entirely loyal to the old faith.[1] When the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino, invited the council and municipality to the Council of Trent in 1561, he highly praised their steadfastness in the Catholic religion.[2] Gregory XIII., too, addressed to the city a letter of thanks, which was taken there by the student of the German College, Vitus Miletus.[3] After 1574 the Council took determined steps against the few innovators at Gmünd; their banishment had already been decided upon, but could not be carried into effect because of the threats of the Protestant states of the Empire.[4]

For the most important of the questions affecting it, the carrying out of the reform decrees of 1569, the vast archdiocese of Salzburg, now as before, had to depend upon the energy of Ninguarda alone. The first step was to secure the publication of the decrees, to serve as a guide for future episcopal visitations.[5] It was Ninguarda who took this wearisome task upon himself;[6] even by the end of 1575 he had still to discuss with Rome the last sheets that remained to be published.[7]

In the meantime Rome brought pressure to bear upon this busy man to undertake, for the purpose of carrying out the synod of 1569, his journey to the various bishops and princes,

[1] Fickler's Memorandum of 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 485.

[2] "Pietas vestra nobis satis perspecta est probeque novi vos hactenus per varios insultus adversarii fidem catholicam in omni patientia, dilectione et perseverantia conservasse." Vienna, September 24, 1561: E. WAGNER in the *Württembergische Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgeschichte*, N.F., I. (1892), 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, N.F., II. (1893), 314. The letter of May 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 287.

[4] WAGNER, *loc. cit.*, II., 282-325. MORITZ, 152.

[5] Ninguarda to Galli on December 10, 1573, in THEINER, I., 512; to Portia on December 18, 1573, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 297, n. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, lxvii., 137, 216, 235, 270. SCHELLHASS, Akten II., 226, 273, 279.

[7] *Ibid.*, III., 59, 67.

which he had already begun in 1572.[1] Ninguarda himself, when he sent the acta of the synod of 1573 to Rome,[2] asked for a renewal of the now obsolete commendatory briefs to the princes whom he had not yet visited: the Emperor, the Archduke Charles, and the Duke of Bavaria, and caused a fourth to be included to the excellent Catholic Landgrave, Georg Ludwig von Leuchtenberg of the Upper Palatinate.[3] But the interests of the publication of the synod of 1569, as well as the desire of the Archbishop of Salzburg to keep his experienced adviser by his side, kept Ninguarda at Salzburg until January, 1574.[4] In the meantime the skilful and hard-working Dominican had received yet a third and a fourth task. In February 1573 his religious superiors had appointed him to act as provincial and visitor of the Dominicans of Bohemia and Austria,[5] while in November there came from the Pope the yet heavier task of visiting all the houses of the Mendicant Orders in the dioceses of Salzburg and Freising, and in the states of the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand.[6] In Rome, Portia had urged a visitation of the monasteries;[7] the German Congregation had advised this on November 19th, 1573,[8] and on December 5th the three nuncios, Delfino, Gropper and Portia, had been given orders to send a report of the monasteries in the territories included in their nunciatures.[9] Delfino replied by advising delay.[10] Portia excused

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 59.

[2] Complete list of documents sent in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III. 183, n. 5. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 510.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lii, 132. SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, 55. Portia to Galli on November 29, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 142, 233.

[6] Galli to Portia on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 240, *cf.* lxiii *seqq.* The Duke of Bavaria is not mentioned, probably so as not to give him any further opportunity of interfering with the religious houses.

[7] *Ibid.*, 240, n. 4.

[8] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 80.

[9] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxiv, 259 *seq.*, 260, n. 3. SCHWARZ, Gropper, 74 *seq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 227 *seqq.*, 232 *seq.*, 245.

[10] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 295, n. 1.

himself on the ground that sufficient knowledge of the state of the monasteries could only be obtained by going to them all.[1] This task was entrusted to Ninguarda, who during the years that followed especially directed his energies to the reform of the Orders.

At the end of January, 1574, Ninguarda went to Munich, whence he went up the Iser to Freising and Landshut, and thence to Ratisbon and Pfreimd in the Upper Palatinate, travelling thence down the Danube to Straubing and Passau, whence he was summoned to Austria.[2] At Munich he met Duke Albert V., and at Pfreimd the zealous Catholic mother and guardian of the eleven year old Count of Leuchtenberg; at Freising, Ratisbon and Passau he visited the cathedral chapters, and in the last-named two cities the bishops as well; at Freising he saw the administrator, Duke Ernest. Everywhere he sought, with all the authority of a Papal nuncio, to work on behalf of the synod of Salzburg. He urged the ecclesiastical authorities to take seriously the reform ordinances of that synod, and the representatives of the civil authorities to back up the reforming efforts of the bishops. Ninguarda met everywhere with a cordial reception, and, at anyrate in appearance, with good-will. The Duke of Bavaria, whom he informed of the grievances of the clergy against the civil officials, promised to inquire into the matter.[3] The Countess of Leuchtenberg received the Dominican with every mark of honour; for a century, she said, no envoy of the Apostolic See had been seen in the state, and she only knew of one bishop within living memory who had administered the sacrament of confirmation there. She was glad to show favour to the bishops and clergy.[4]

[1] To Galli on December 23, 1573, *ibid.*, 294.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 61-77.

[3] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 61. Ninguarda's speech before Albert V. and the latter's reply, *ibid.*, 241 *seqq.*, 246 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 73. Morone's extract from Ninguarda's report of his visit on February 19, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 56. As the Countess' dowry had been seized in the Netherlands, she asked for Papal mediation with Philip II., which was granted to her. *Ibid.*, 52, 231, 262, 264; III., 190.

During the previous year Portia had received a bad account of the cathedral chapter of Freising. The administrator reported that it was opposed to any sort of reform. At one time it would maintain that the administrator's only business was to look after the temporal affairs, and at another reminded him of the oath which he had had to take at his election to leave everything as it was. Thus he had wished to carry out at once the decrees of the synod of Salzburg about seminaries, and had set aside a house for that purpose, but the chapter "which is opposed to such institutions as to everything else," had again raised the objection of his oath.[1] In the presence of Ninguarda the chapter now promised in writing to obey in all things, and apologized for its previous negligence.[2] Ninguarda was supported by a representative of the duke, Andreas Fabricius, Duke Ernest's majordomo, whom Ninguarda had asked for from Albert V., on account of the ill repute of the chapter.[3]

Ratisbon had an even worse name than Freising; Portia wrote[4] that the clergy there were perhaps the most corrupt in all Germany.

It is a fact that Ninguarda, immediately after his arrival in the city, was presented with long memorials detailing the shortcomings of the chapter and its dean, as well as of the custodian and former scholastic of the cathedral,[5] for which misdeeds the dean and chapter, after Ninguarda's return from Pfreimd, attempted to excuse themselves in writing.[6] At Ratisbon, too, there were not wanting complaints of the arbitrary action of the Bavarian court in conferring benefices.[7] The bishop, David Kölderer, who

[1] Portia to Galli on October 21, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III. 188.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, 244, 245, 247. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 363, n. 2.

[4] On August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 83. *Cf.* Portia's instructions from Rome, No. 3, *ibid.*, 30.

[5] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 43-51.

[6] *Ibid.*, 63-71.

[7] *Ibid.*, 52 *seqq.*

received the Pope's representative courteously, expressed in writing his readiness for reform, but said that he was powerless before the vagaries of the chapter, as the latter was exempt, and he himself was bound by the election capitulation.[1] Ninguarda nevertheless succeeded in arranging a settlement between the bishop and the chapter on the question of the seminary,[2] while the chapter itself promised to do away with the abuses.[3]

The old religion was not yet extinct among the population of the city. The magistracy, Ninguarda reported,[4] was indeed Protestant, and there were very few Catholics among the burgesses proper, and even these, for the most part, did not openly profess themselves as such, out of fear of the magistracy. But among the working classes the adherents of the old religion were still numerous, while even among the burghers some were returning to it. There were also many Catholics among those who came from outside, some of whom belonged to the aristocracy, as well as the large entourage of the bishop, and of the greater and lesser prelates, as well as of the monasteries.[5] On the other side of the Danube, opposite Ratisbon, was Stadtamhof, which was subject to the Duke of Bavaria, and was, with its 200 communicants, entirely Catholic. Of the six parish churches in Ratisbon, St. Ulrich, in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, was always filled with the faithful on festival days. Since 1570 the bishop had caused the divine service there to be carried on according to the full Catholic ritual; the church, which had been in a ruinous state, had been rebuilt by the pious contributions of the faithful, and sumptuously decorated, and this had brought back many Protestants to the faith. Whereas before

[1] *Ibid.*, 42 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 74-7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 71-4.

[4] *Ibid.*, 57-63.

[5] A companion of Morone in 1576 estimated the number of Catholics who could lead unmolested lives as low as 800. The real number was certainly higher than that. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 57, n. 4.

there had only been 600 communicants, now there were more than 1500, and nothing but the attitude of the magistracy prevented the return of many others. Of the large number of chapels, the majority were either in the hands of Protestants or were used for profane purposes. The territory of the free city of Ratisbon hardly extended more than a mile outside the walls of the city.

At Passau Ninguarda also worked for the carrying out of the decrees of Salzburg, both with the chapter and with the bishop, whose acquaintance he had made at Salzburg.[1]

Whenever, in the course of his travels, he found monasteries in the cities which he visited, the zealous Dominican also devoted himself to the other part of his instructions, the reform of the religious Orders.

Portia set forth his views as to the general state of the monasteries in a report of a rather later date,[2] which was principally concerned with the state of affairs at Augsburg, but which may be unconditionally extended to all.[3]

The question of the religious Orders, he thought, was much more complicated and difficult than was supposed. He sums up under three heads the disorders which had "grown beyond all bounds, together with the complete decline of monastic discipline." The primary cause of the decadent state of the monasteries was that men of education and good family no longer entered them, first, because they would infallibly lose their good name and would manifestly endanger the salvation of their souls in those undisciplined monasteries, and secondly because the Protestants had brought the religious Orders into disrepute, for which the religious themselves had given occasion. It thus happened that for the most part only those entered who had no other means of livelihood, of were of no use for anything. There was no proper noviciate, and the novices were only distinguished from laymen

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 75.

[2] To Galli on October 2, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 225 *seq.*

[3] He is corroborated, with regard to the Mendicant Orders of Bamberg, by N. Elgard to Galli on October 4, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 321 *seq.*

and from the professed monks by their dress. In the general disappearance of religious discipline things could not well be otherwise, when there were no capable masters of novices.

It was from this ill-trained and ill-instructed body that in the end the superiors were chosen, who proceeded to show by their conduct and government the way they had themselves been trained. A thing that especially ruined the rich monasteries was the fact that whether they liked it or not they had to afford hospitality on their journeys to the princes and their suites. They found themselves all the more obliged to put up with this inconvenience because the princes had the appointment to the offices of the monastery in their hands, and could vent their displeasure on those who opposed them. Hence came the perpetual taxes and money contributions of the monasteries, and hence the election of abbots, who were well qualified indeed to maintain and increase the revenues, but who had no zeal whatever for religious discipline. These abuses were especially to be regretted because, with the exception of the Mendicant Orders, each monastery was independent, and self contained, so that the lack of discipline in one could not be improved by sending a capable man from another monastery. When monks had entered an Order, they lived on and remained there until their death, and rendered no account to anyone, neither as to their rule, of which there was generally no copy in existence, whether they called themselves Benedictines or Augustinians, nor as to their state or their government. The abbots lived apart from the rest, like secular nobles, and had their own servants to wait upon them, and their own horses and hounds. The rest were provided with abundant maintenance and had whatever freedom they desired.

Portia frankly confessed that he could not see how this state of affairs was to be remedied. Cures for "such mortal diseases" could indeed be suggested, but how were they to be applied? To force such persons, who were supported by such powerful protectors, to the observance of a rule that was not in being, would be impossible, and would only open the way to complete apostasy, which, in view of the general

absence of discipline, was near enough as it was. And even supposing the impossible took place, namely that the civil officials no longer battened upon the monasteries, a thing which would never be realized so long as the world remained what it was, but even if it should happen that the officials no longer placed obstacles in the way of the rights of the Church, who was there to enforce the ordinances made during the course of the visitation? all the more so as neither the existing state of affairs, nor the good-will of the religious themselves, nor the dispositions of the princes was suitable for a visitation of the monasteries, nor what it would have to be if religious discipline was to be restored.

This gloomy picture drawn by the nuncio did not directly concern the Mendicant Orders, who were the only ones contemplated by Ninguarda's visitation. As a matter of fact Portia's description was only partly true of the monasteries of Bavaria.

At Munich the Poor Clares generally enjoyed a good name, so much so that the visitor did not think it necessary to hold a visitation of their convent.[1] In the same way two houses of Franciscan nuns of the Third Order there were highly praised by the duchesses, Anna and Jacobea.[2] Ninguarda found "almost everything in a good state" among the Observant Friars Minor at Munich.[3] The Franciscans at Landshut received even higher praise;[4] their superior was a very good preacher and did much good in the city.[5] The Franciscans at Munich and Landshut only complained of the arbitrary action of the commissary-general Nas.[6]

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 63.

[2] Supplica addressed to Rome on June 15, 1574, in THEINER, II., 81.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 61.

[4] "Hoc monasterium est huic civitati laudi et commodo maximo." *Ibid.*, 260.

[5] *Ibid.*, 257, 258, *cf.* 64. When he visited Landshut in 1576, Morone was delighted to find Catholic life in a flourishing condition. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 45.

[6] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 248, 257. For Nas and the German Franciscans, *cf.* SCHWARZ, Gropper, 320 *seq.*

In other cases the abuses were not very great, and were rather the result of the difficulties of the times than of bad will. The Conventual Augustinians at Munich carried out the offices of the Church carefully, but there was no superior in the monastery because they did not know how to provide a successor for the prior, who had recently died; there was no teacher of grammar and no real novice master for the young religious. Contrary to the enactments of Pius V., in cases of illness women relatives were admitted to the monastery, the novices did not go to confession often enough, and the monastery was burdened with debts. Ninguarda thought of seeking from the General of the Augustinians the necessary authority to send two of the younger monks to Italy for the renewal of the religious life, and of asking the help of the duke for the payment of the debts.[1] The convent of the Dominicans at Landshut suffered principally from its poverty, the greater number of the friars were often out of the enclosure in order to obtain means of subsistence, for the same reason the novices were unable to devote themselves entirely to their studies and the spiritual life, or the master of novices to his duties; the church and convent were threatened with ruin.[2] Ninguarda tried to help them by asking the duke to give the Dominicans part of the revenues of the deserted Benedictine monastery of Biburg, or some other monastery.[3] The prior, who had committed many faults through ignorance, escaped with a severe warning.[4] On the whole Albert V. could boast that the worst evils had been removed from the monasteries of Bavaria, and that speaking generally the conditions were not so bad.[5]

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 62, 249 *seq.*, 251 *seqq.*, 253 *seqq.*, II., 88, 248.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 255.

[3] *Ibid.*, 260.

[4] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 64.

[5] "Effectum quoque est Suae Celsitudinis pietate, ut quae graviora atque enormiora iis in locis conspicerentur, statim sint correcta et sublata, ita ut Bavarica monasteria, quantum quidem per temporum horum impedimenta omnino potuit, non ita turpia aut scandalosa hucusque apparuerint." Albert V. on December 24, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 388 *seq.*

On the other hand Ninguarda found a lamentable state of affairs in Ratisbon.[1] There were only one or two monks left in the monasteries of the Scots, the Franciscan Conventuals and the Dominicans, the roof and walls of the house of the Augustinians had fallen, the church was more like a stable than the house of God, and two Italian lay-brothers who lived among the ruins in secular dress, and gained their livelihood by trade, had a very bad reputation. The three noble monasteries, in which only the abbess took vows, were a scandal to the whole city, especially two of them which, being directly subject to the Empire, paid no attention to any bishop. However, even in Ratisbon the state of the monasteries was not altogether bad. The eleven Poor Clares kept their enclosure irreproachably, as well as the rest of their religious discipline;[2] the same was the case with the eighteen Dominican nuns. The abbot and the sixteen Benedictines at St. Emmeran did credit to the Catholics by assiduity at the office and their good conduct.[3] Outside the city, in the diocese of Ratisbon, there were many monasteries which refused to have anything to do with the bishop, looked upon the Duke of Bavaria as their only superior, and lived without any sort of discipline.[4]

Straubing and Passau did not fall within the limits covered by Ninguarda's visitation faculties. In spite of this in the first named city he visited the Carmelites and admonished them in a friendly way to wear the religious habit and to live in accordance with their state. At Passau, at the request of the bishop, he visited the Canons Regular and the Benedictine nuns. Among the Canons he found everything in order;[5] he urged the nuns to observe the enclosure and to

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 69-73; II., 62 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 71.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 62. In his "informatio" (*ibid.*, I., 69), Ninguarda makes no mention of this monastery because it did not come under his jurisdiction.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 72; II., 99 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 76.

obey the bishop; they promised to obey and thanked him for his warning.[1]

At Passau Ninguarda received from Rome, from the superiors of his own Order, as well as from the nuncio at Vienna and the Dominican prior there, a pressing invitation to go as soon as possible to Vienna and restore order among the monasteries there. This referred especially to Italian religious.

One result of the legatine instructions sent to Portia was that the Dominicans and Franciscan Conventuals had begun to send unworthy members of their Italian houses beyond the Alps. Consequently many religious houses with good revenues in Styria, Carniola and Carinthia had passed into the hands of the Italians, who were a sore trial to the patience of the Archduke.[2]

The Emperor in his capital was no less dissatisfied with the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians who came from Italy, because, as he said, they did not understand the German language, and gave scandal by their dissolute lives.[3] At the request of the States of Austria he was on the point of driving them all out. Delfino informed Rome of this, and the procurators-general of the three Orders were ordered to find good German monks there for the monasteries of Vienna.

Only Flemings, however, and Italians living in Austrian territory could be found, and when the Emperor remarked that he could have found real Germans, Delfino begged him to seek for them himself, while he in the meantime would

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Portia's Instructions, No. 31. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 26 *seq.* SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 107, n. 3. WIEDEMANN, II., 187.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 80 *seq.* Maximilian further particularizes his complaints in two letters to Rome of January 2 and March 8, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 237 *seqq.*; II., 77 *seqq.* However, all the Italian monks were not giving scandal (*ibid.*, II., 82). Ninguarda praises a Dominican of Vienna whom he describes as a "persona assai literata e virtuosa." He was a professor at the university and everyone spoke well of him. His lectures did much good (*ibid.*). The answer given by the monks in Vienna to the accusations, *ibid.*, III., 34.

try and reform the Italians. He placed all his hopes for the reform of the monks in Ninguarda, who was summoned for that purpose from Passau.[1]

If Ninguarda had found the state of the Bavarian monasteries not entirely bad, he was to have the saddest experience of them in Austria. This was the case with the first monastery which he visited in the territory of the Emperor, that of his own Order at Krems. The two friars who were still there did not at first make such a bad impression, and it was only afterwards that it was discovered that they had conspired to deceive the visitor; one of them was later on condemned by Ninguarda to the galleys.[2]

Ninguarda reached Vienna a little after the middle of March, 1574. He first presented to the Emperor the brief accrediting him as the authorized envoy of the council of bishops at Salzburg. That synod, he declared, marked the beginning of an improvement in the sad state of affairs in Germany, but that the concurrence of the Emperor was needed for the carrying out of its decrees.[3] Maximilian promised his help, so long as the bishops would do their duty. Ninguarda then gave him the names of certain abbots, provosts and parish priests, who not only lived with women as their wives, but professed heretical opinions.[4]

The nuncio Delfino had already on many occasions asked for the intervention of the civil power in the case of such persons, but a commission of inquiry had hardly been appointed when it reached the ears of the Emperor that some of these abbots were dissipating the property of their abbeys in favour of their sons. The government had cunningly tried to place the abbot of Melk in close confinement, but had wrapped its action in profound mystery, in order that the guilty man might not escape to the Protestants with the gold and silver objects belonging to the monastery.[5] In consequence of

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 57, n., 80 *seq.*, n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., 78; II., 58; III., 161, 172.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 78 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 81, 91.
[4] *Ibid.*, I., 79.
[5] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 79, n. 2.

the protests of Ninguarda the Emperor promised in future to leave the punishment of the guilty to the bishops. As for the foreigners in the monasteries of Vienna, who gave signs of improvement, the Papal envoy obtained permission to allow them to remain, so long as the superior and some of the monks in each monastery were Germans, and German novices were received.[1]

Ninguarda might well believe that he had accomplished something; he hastened to provide the Dominican convent at Vienna with a German superior and preacher, as well as a capable master of novices, and to admit four novices.[2] But the Emperor Maximilian very soon went back to some extent upon his word with regard to the Italian monks,[3] though he again renewed his promises when Ninguarda protested.[4] But the promise to take action against the Abbot of Melk was not taken seriously by the Emperor; only a little while before he gave it he had said that there was nothing serious in the matter and that he had punished the abbot's accusers.[5] Nevertheless in 1577 the Bishop of Passau made the most serious accusations against him, as well as against a whole number of Benedictine and Cistercian abbots in Austria.[6]

In the meantime so many scandals concerning the monasteries had reached the ears of the zealous Dominican that he would willingly have taken refuge anywhere rather than visit them.[7] But the question of the foreign religious,

[1] *Ibid.*, 81 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, *cf.* II., 82.

[3] Explanation of April 21, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 106 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 83 *seq.* Ninguarda's reasons for not straightway excluding all foreigners, in his letter to the Emperor of April 29, 1574, *ibid.*, 111 *seqq.*, only gradually could a preponderance of Germans be brought about. The Emperor thereupon declared himself satisfied (*ibid.*, 110).

[5] *Ibid.*, 79, n. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, V., 39 *seq.* For the visitation of the Conventual Franciscans of Austria and Bohemia by Paolo da Norcia, *cf.* *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*, 233 and I., 82, n. 2, 95, n. 2.

[7] To Galli on March 26, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 80.

and the oppression of some of the Imperial officials, which was by no means favourable to the cause of the Catholic religion,[1] made him prolong his stay in Vienna from March 19th to June 14th. His original plan had been to present himself first before the Archduke Charles at Graz, as the representative of the reforming synod of Salzburg, and then to take in hand the reform of the monasteries of Styria and Carinthia.[2] While he was there, however, he received news that the prior of the Dominicans at Prague had been arrested by the order of the archbishop and the civil authorities,[3] and decided to go first of all to Prague. Before he set out, however, by the advice of Delfino he undertook the visitation of the Conventual Franciscans at Vienna.[4]

Ninguarda had received ample powers for the tour which he now began. As the visitor of the Dominicans he had two duties to perform; he was charged by his own superiors to visit the territories of the Archduke Charles and the Emperor, with the exception of Hungary;[5] he was charged by the Pope to do the same in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia.[6] As far as the Mendicant Orders in general were concerned, that is to say the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites, he at first only had powers as visitor for Salzburg, Freising and the states of the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand.[7] Ninguarda had naturally pointed out in Rome that it was necessary that his mandate should also include Central Austria, for otherwise the monks would be constantly escaping from one region to another; at the same time he had also begged that someone else should be given this huge task, whereas he himself had enough to do with

[1] To Galli on May 7, 1574, *ibid.*, 232.

[2] *Ibid.*, 81.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 84.

[4] *Ibid.*, 87; II., 240 *seq.*

[5] See *supra*, p. 87 *seq.*

[6] Brief of January 9, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 308, n. 8. Ninguarda himself had desired the Papal commission (*ibid.*).

[7] Brief of November 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 240; SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 59.

the convents of his own Order.[1] But the reply came from Rome that the Pope did not know of anyone else who was capable of carrying out this duty, and that Ninguarda must therefore also take this burden upon his own shoulders,[2] to which the loyal servant of the Holy See replied that he would shrink from no labours, in obedience to the Pope, no matter how great the difficulties might be ; it seemed to the Emperor as well to be absolutely necessary that his faculties of visitation should be extended to Central Austria.[3]

In addition to his plenary ecclesiastical powers Ninguarda also obtained the Imperial authority for the exercise of his office, since the monasteries were forbidden to receive visitors without the express consent of the Emperor.[4]

In the middle of June, 1574, Ninguarda was able at last to set out upon his intended journey to Prague. The Imperial mandates, which would have opened to him the doors of the Augustinian and Franciscan convents, had not yet reached him ; he could therefore, for the moment, only deal with the houses of his own Order, and convince himself by personal experience of their sad condition.

At Rätz the Dominican convent had been abandoned for sixteen years ; the buildings were in the hands of the citizens, who were allowing them to fall into ruin. At Znaim a fire had several years before destroyed the Dominican convent ; the religious, one of whom had recently been sent thither by Ninguarda, were living there literally among the ruins. The visitation of this convent, and that of Brünn, Ninguarda postponed until he returned.[5] At Olmütz, too, where, in spite of his haste, he had to wait for fifteen days for an Imperial official in order to discuss the question of the religious, the convent of the Dominicans was almost extinct ; many accusations were made against the Italian prior and the two

[1] To Galli on April 1, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 86.
[2] Galli to Ninguarda on June 12, 1574, *ibid.*, 254.
[3] Ninguarda to Galli on April 8, 1574, *ibid.*, 91.
[4] *Ibid.*, I., 85, *cf.* II., 92, 93, 240, 241, 250, 252.
[5] *Ibid.*, I., 87 *seq.*

religious who still remained.[1] Ninguarda replaced him by a German, who later on also led an unedifying life.[2] He also admitted two novices. At the convent of the Dominicanesses at Olmütz he made the enclosure more strict.[3]

At Prague the conditions were no better. The arrested Dominican prior, on whose account the visitor had hastened his journey, had escaped from prison. The only inhabitant of the convent was a novice, with two brothers of the Order whom Ninguarda himself had a short time before summoned by letter. At the houses of the Franciscan Conventuals and the Augustinians in each case he only found two religious, who were leading scandalous lives; he had to throw the two Franciscans into prison. Ninguarda did what he could under the circumstances; he gave the Dominicans a new prior, and the Franciscans a new provincial and a new guardian; he was compelled by necessity to leave the superior of the Augustinians, who promised in writing to amend his ways, in his office. In other convents he especially insisted upon the observance of the enclosure. He naturally interested himself especially in the members of his own Order; he systematized the legal position, obtained from the government the restoration of the property of the monastery, which had been confiscated on account of the flight of the prior, and increased their diminished revenues.[4]

At the end of July Ninguarda began to collect fuller information as to the condition of the religious Orders in the rest of Bohemia by making further journeys. He first went towards the east, to Pilsen, Mies, Pniow and Eger. Then, again starting from Prague, he went northwards to Leitmeritz, Gablonz and Melnik.[5] In Rome, however, they began to fear that the indefatigable Dominican, who was the right hand of the Holy See for the reform of the monasteries of Germany, would succumb under the burdens laid upon him. A Papal

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98; II., 282.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 89.
[4] *Ibid.*, 89-91.
[5] *Ibid.*, 91-93.

brief therefore allowed him, in the case of those religious houses which he had not been able to visit in person, to choose one or two representatives to do so.[1] In accordance with this permission he chose the provincial of the Conventuals to visit the convent of the Observants at Kaaden in western Bohemia, where none but the guardian remained. He informed himself later on of the state of the monasteries in south Bohemia, at Bechin, Budweis and Neuhaus, in the course of his journey to Moravia.

Even in the monasteries of Bohemia bright spots were not altogether wanting. Ninguarda praised the five Franciscan Observants as well as the twenty Poor Clares of Eger. The prior of the Dominicans there had distinguished himself as an administrator and preacher.[2] Of the Franciscan Observants at Pilsen there only remained two old men; of the Augustinians at Pniow, as at Melnik, only the superiors were left, but they did honour to their state.[3] The same could be said of the two Conventuals whom the Archbishop of Prague had sent to the two Observant houses at Neuhaus and Bechin, which had entirely died out.[4] But generally speaking religious life in Bohemia was at its last gasp. The superiors themselves gave a wholly bad example, and Ninguarda imprisoned the guardians of the Minors at Mies and Leitmeritz,[5] and the prior of the Dominicans at Pilsen, who was the only religious left in that convent.[6] For the most part, too, the monastic buildings were in a miserable state; those of the Dominicans at Pilsen, Eger and Gablonz,

[1] Galli to Ninguarda on July 10, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 263; Memorandum of the German Congregation dated July 7, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 92.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.* I., 93.

[3] *Ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 96. On December 5, 1574, Ninguarda wrote from the Franciscan monastery at Neuhaus: "E assai ben'in ordine (the building), ma mercè di quel signore (Lord of Neuhaus) ch' è catholico." *Ibid.*, II., 281.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 93.

[6] *Ibid.*, 92.

were on the point of falling into ruin,[1] and that of the Minors at Mies was half in ruins; their convent at Lietmeritz seemed like a lodging house; a crowd of tenants, men and women, often persons of ill-fame, had made it their dwelling place. The buildings were to a great extent falling down through old age, and the church was full of cracks.[2] The revenues were hardly enough for one inmate. The Conventuals at Mies could spare nothing for the repair of their house.[3] Just as the Franciscan Observants had entirely abandoned their houses at Neuhaus and Brechin, so had the Dominicans at Leitmeritz and Budweis.[4] At Weisswasser a secular ruler had confiscated the convent of the Augustinians, and had left no religious there at all. At Rakow the convent of the Augustinians had experienced much the same fate; the prior, who alone remained of all the religious, had, trusting to the noble owners, for two years refused obedience to the archbishop, so much so that the visitor deemed it useless to make a special visit there.[5]

Ninguarda, in common with the ecclesiastical and secular princes, felt that he had good reason to be satisfied with the results of this journey. It was the first visitation that had been made for many years, and everything had passed over without disputes or disturbances, while not a few evils had been remedied. Ninguarda owed much to the assistance of the Archbishop of Prague, who, on bidding him farewell, had begged him to keep a close watch upon the monasteries of Bohemia.

But if the visitor thought that there would be an interior change in the religious whom he had visited, he was very soon

[1] *Ibid.*, 92-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 93, 96. Concerning Budweis *ibid.*, II., 281. The monastery had been given up in 1566; Ninguarda regretted that "si perchè la citta è catholica, come anco che in tutta Boemia non ho veduto droppe la cathedrale di Praga la più bella chiesa nè ho ritrovato altrove tanta argentaria come lì." *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 95.

disillusioned. Soon afterwards the Archbishop of Prague had recourse to Ninguarda, and through him, to the General of the Dominicans, and earnestly begged him to do all that he could to have the Dominican convents occupied by other capable and active religious, because so far very little result seemed to have been produced by the visitation.[1]

In Moravia, whither Ninguarda went on December 3rd, 1574, the same state of affairs prevailed as in the rest of Bohemia. Here too there were monasteries in a state of absolute poverty, occupied by lay tenants, with three, or even fewer religious, who were not uncommonly quite unworthy. Ninguarda began his visitation at Iglau, and then went on at once, without stopping at Brünn, to Olmütz, to settle a dispute between the city and the Dominicans. When, after this, he was making ready for his visitation of Brünn, an Imperial order reached him to go at once to Vienna. He reached that city on December 24th,[2] and learned that he had been summoned on account of the Italian monks, whom the Emperor wished to drive out altogether.[3] At last Maximilian II. agreed once more to allow a postponement in the case of the three monasteries in Vienna.[4] Ninguarda had hardly set out for Prague when, in accordance with an Imperial injunction of February 4th,[5] all the property, both moveable and immoveable, of the three Mendicant convents was inventoried and sequestrated.[6] It was the council for convents which had taken this step, and this, as Ninguarda knew, was, with two exceptions, composed of declared Protestants, who only wished to injure the Church.[7] After

[1] The Archbishop to Ninguarda on January 8, 1576, *ibid.*, IV, 110 *seqq.*

[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 97-9; II., 281 *seq.*

[3] Ninguarda and Delfino to Galli on the first and second of January, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 23 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 100; III., 26, 31, 35, 38, 41 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 100. Ninguarda to Galli on January 28, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 46 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 60 *seq.*, 62 *seq.* THEINER, II., 62 *seq.*, 63.

[6] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 102.

[7] To Galli on March 2, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 169.

this the superiors of the Augustinians and the Franciscan Conventuals at once gave full authority for the repatriation of all the Italians in the convents of Vienna.[1]

After his visit to Vienna it had been the intention of Ninguarda to complete his visitation of Moravia,[2] but the Archduke Charles, who had been living at Vienna since the end of 1574, incessantly urged the visitor to devote his attention as soon as possible to the territories of Central Austria; unless help was soon given to the monasteries there, there would be an end of them.[3] Armed with full powers from the prince,[4] and with the authority of the Archbishop of Salzburg,[5] Ninguarda went to Central Austria,[6] where he remained until the beginning of September; after another visit to Vienna he then went on to Moravia.[7]

In the course of his journey Ninguarda was able to convince himself that the Archduke had not exaggerated with regard to Styria and Carinthia. Religious life there was indeed at its last gasp, nor was it any better in Moravia. A number of the monasteries were entirely empty, or had been turned to other purposes; of the convents of men, only two still had five religious.[8] Moreover, the moral conduct of these

[1] Concerning the Emperor's wish that these monasteries should be attached to German Provinces of their respective Orders, see *ibid.*, 39, 182 *seqq.*; *cf.* I., 208, n. 1.; III., 65 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*, 181 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 104; III., 170.

[3] Ninguarda to Galli on January 14, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 104.

[5] *Ibid.*, 106.

[6] On March 12, 1575, *ibid.*, 102. Ninguarda to Galli on January 2, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 23.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 222-9.

[8] Ninguarda's report of his visitation, *ibid.*, I., 194-8, 204-20. It is impossible to give an exact itinerary of Ninguarda's journey; see *Quellen und Forschungen*, I., 104, n. 5, 204, n. 3. In the following list the names of completely abandoned religious houses are given in brackets. The number of religious that Ninguarda found in each house are added in brackets. In Styria Ninguarda visited the Dominicans at Leoben (2), Graz (7), Pettau (4), Neukloster (5); the Conventual Franciscans at (Bruck a. d. Mur),

intruders was such that at Laibach the officials of the Archduke demanded that Ninguarda should degrade the guardian of the Conventuals, and hand him over to the secular arm, because he had incurred the death penalty.[1] In other convents conditions were rather better. In the course of his journey through Styria the visitor went to Tuln; there, six years earlier, Commendone had found eight Dominican nuns, who in spite of their wretched poverty were leading irreproachable lives; Ninguarda only found five still alive, who also gave no cause for blame.[2] The same was true of the Dominican nuns at Mahrenberg in Carinthia, at Graz,[3] and at Studenitz;[4] yet here, as was generally the case with the convents of Austria, there was no strict observance of the enclosure, which the Papal legate now introduced for the first time. The prior of the Augustinians at Fürstenfeld was praised as a man who was alike capable in spiritual and temporal matters[5]. The

Marburg (1), Cilli (3), Pettau (4); the Observant Franciscans at Graz (2), (Lankowitz), (Judenburg); the Augustinians at (Judenburg), Fürstenfeld (2), (Radkersburg), (Güssing); the Carmelites at Voitsberg (2); the Dominican nuns at Graz (14), Studenitz (7); the Poor Clares at Judenburg (8); in Carinthia and Carniola he visited the Dominicans at Freisach (3); the Conventual Franciscans at Villach (1), Wolfsberg (1), Laibach (1), Minkendorf (2); the Augustinians at (Völkermarkt), Hohenmauthen (1); the Dominican nuns at Mahrenberg (4), Michelstetten (5); the Poor Clares at (Sankt Beit), Bischofslaak (8), Minkendorf (8); in Mähren he visited the Dominicans at Znaim (3), Olmütz (2), Brünn (3); the Observant and Conventual Franciscans at Znaim (2), Olmütz (2), Brünn (Observants 5, Conventuals 1); the Augustinians at Tebiz (1), Brünn (4); the Dominican nuns at Olmütz (8), Brünn (2 convents of 8 nuns each); the Poor Clares at Znaim (their convent occupied by 3 Benedictine nuns), Olmütz (3); the sisters of the Third Order at Brünn (6).

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 213. Similiar conditions at Brünn, *ibid.*, 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, 206.

[4] *Ibid.*, 211. "Laudabiliter ac religiose vivunt." Archduke Charles to Gregory XIII. on March 12, 1576, *ibid.*, IV., 117.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 210.

Franciscan Observants at Lankowitz and Judenburg had a very good reputation, but their fine and well-kept houses were now abandoned, because the religious had been taken to fill up the convent at Innsbruck, but they had been much loved by the people of Lankowitz, while at Judenburg both nobles and prelates bewailed their loss.[1] At Minkerdorf in Carniola he found eight Poor Clares who were still keeping their enclosure with great exactitude, and living in accordance with their rule. The two Franciscan Conventuals in the same place were also in a good state.[2]

In Moravia too some of the Franciscan Observants stood out; at Znaim the guardian of the convent was living with one brother, in accordance with the rule of the Order; but there was a want of harmony between them as well as of the enclosure;[3] in the same way everything was satisfactory with the five Franciscan Observants of Brünn,[4] though here too the enclosure was not observed, and the office had ceased, since all the fathers collected alms outside. Under their direction there were six nuns of the Third Order, who lived "in a praiseworthy and irreproachable way."[5] The same applied to the eight Dominican nuns at Olmütz.[6] On his way to Moravia Ninguarda visited the nuns of his Order near Krems, who observed their rule "not inaccurately."[7] That, in spite of the general decadence, all that was required was the strong hand of a capable man in order to revive the monastic life, was shown in the case of the Benedictine monastery of St. Lamprecht near Friesach. The Benedictines, not being Mendicants, were not subject to Ninguarda's visitation, yet the abbot invited the visitor to come to them, because there were at St. Lamprecht a fugitive Dominican from Landshut, and a Benedictine who had apostatized and

[1] *Ibid.*, 106, 107.
[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 214.
[3] *Ibid.*, 224.
[4] *Ibid.*, 228.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 225, *cf.* 89.
[7] *Ibid.*, 222.

afterwards repented, and had taken refuge there. "The abbot,"[1] wrote Ninguarda,[2] "is a man of excellent life, and full of zeal, not only for the Catholic faith, but also for monastic discipline, so that everyone rightly loves and reveres him. Would to God that all the other convents in this country had such superiors, for things would then be far better than they are now. Before his appointment his monastery had practically died out, for it had no monks. But thanks to his zeal, he has not only restored the buildings very well, but, which is much more important, has provided the monastery with many good monks. They now number twenty, including the one who repented, among whom six are already priests, and the others youths. They have a very good name and give much edification; the reason for all this is to be found in the diligence with which the abbot maintains discipline and the monastic enclosure."[3] The convent of the Premonstratensians at Bruck on the Thaya near Znaim also had in Abbot Sebastian Freytag of Czöppern, an excellent abbot and reformer.[4]

In the meantime Ninguarda, who was in request in so many places, and with no one to replace him anywhere, had been frequently warned that he was wanted again in Salzburg.[5]

[1] John Trattner, Abbot, 1562-91; see PIRMIN LINDNER, Monasticon Metropolis Salzburgensis antiquae, Salzburg, 1908, 53.

[2] To Galli on May 5, 1575, SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, IV., 97.

[3] "Tutti danno di sè buonissimo adore et edificazione per la diligenza, qual usa il reverendo abbate in mantener la disciplina et clausura dell' osservanza monastica" (*ibid.*). On April 4, 1581, Archduke Charles recommended this monastery to the support of the Pope, and, at the same time, praised the abbot who "et verbo et exemplo inter omnes harum mearum provinciarum praelatos veluti stella lucet." THEINER, III., 260. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 504.

[4] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 225; V., 183. W. SCHRAM in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Gesch. Mährens und Schlesiens*, III. (1899), 312 *seqq.*

[5] Galli to Ninguarda on May 22, 1574, SCHELLHASS, Akten, II., 246; on January 29 and February 12, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 56, 65. Ninguarda to Delfino on April 8, 1575, *ibid.*, 183. On September 18, 1575, yet another warning, *ibid.*, IV., 103.

As the result of the insistence of the German Congregation,[1] on January 7th, 1576, he received a Papal injunction to let everything else be and to go to Salzburg for the carrying out of the provincial synod.[2] If Ninguarda, wrote the Archbishop of Salzburg,[3] had been with him, no doubt much would have been done, which was still delayed ; if he could return by the middle of Lent, in that case he and the bishops of the province would hold diocesan synods.

Ninguarda left the visitation of some of the Franciscan convents to the Franciscan Observant, Michele Alvarez, who had been appointed by his superiors, visitor of all the monasteries of his Order,[4] and after a visit to the Archduke Charles at Graz, who wished to discuss certain matters with him,[5] he went to Salzburg. When he reached that place on March 20th, 1576, the parish priests and prelates of the whole diocese had assembled for the synod. The decrees of the provincial synod of 1569 and the liturgy were published, and their carrying out ordered, each member being given a copy ; the archdeacons and deans of the district were ordered to do the same in the case of their priests after their return.[6]

Gregory XIII. had sent briefs recommending concerted action against the worst vices of the clergy to the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Archduke Ferdinand and Duke Albert V.[7]

[1] Session of January 4, 1576, SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 112.

[2] Ninguarda to Galli on February 22, 1576, SCHELLHASS, Akten, IV., 106.

[3] On February 8, 1576, *ibid.*, 109.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 231. For particulars about him, *cf.* SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI. (1904), 134-45. See also *infra*, p. 122, n. 4.

[5] The most important question of all was the establishment of the Jesuit College at Graz. The matter was settled by handing over the convent of the Dominican nuns at Studenitz while sparing the Dominican Priory at Neukloster (*ibid.*, I., 220, 230, n. 8 ; IV., 101 *seqq.*). By a Brief of July 10, 1577, Gregory XIII. dissolved Studenitz (*ibid.*, V., 227).

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 234.

[7] *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.* For the result *cf. ibid.*, 234, n. 1 ; 235, n. 1.

At the wish of the Archduke,[1] a meeting was held on January 15th, 1576, at which the archbishop, together with the Bishop of Chiemsee, and the representatives of Freising, Ratisbon, Passau and Brixen, discussed the steps to be taken, and appointed a diocesan synod for March 1576.[2] The last meeting decided upon a limit of three months for ecclesiastical offenders, after which they must expect severe punishment.[3] An agreement with the rulers of the Tyrol and Bavaria made it impossible for them to escape punishment by flying to a neighbouring district.[4] It was inevitable that the synod should once more discuss the usurpations of the secular princes in ecclesiastical matters. It had already been decided at the meeting in January to collect the facts which gave grounds for complaint, for the purpose of making an appeal to Gregory XIII. and asking for his intervention; in order that the secular princes might not be confirmed in their previous line of action it was also decided to ask the Pope not to entrust in future to the secular princes questions which, like concubinage, came under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and not to make any further concessions to the civil authorities without the knowledge of the bishops. By another decision of the January meeting it was their intention to present the same request at the coming Imperial Diet. The synod then concluded by all present promising obedience to the decrees, and making the profession of faith. It was then announced that the archbishop, on the occasion of one of his canonical visitations, would see whether they had been faithful to their promises.[5] By the command of the metropolitan, all the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg were to hold similar synods in their own dioceses.

[1] In a document written by Ferdinand on October 26, 1575, in SCHELHORN, Ergötzlichkeiten, I., Ulm—Leipzig, 1762, 699 *seq.*

[2] A. v. Arzt in SINMACHER, Beyträge, VII., 607. The Archbishop to Gregory XIII., in GÄRTNER, Salzburgische gelehrte Unterhaltungen, III., Salzburg, 1812, 180 *seqq.*

[3] GÄRTNER, *loc. cit.*

[4] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 235.

[5] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 236, n. 1.

In spite of all these promises and exhortations the representatives of the Holy See did not consider that further insistence would be out of place. When in 1576 Cardinal Morone was at the Diet of Ratisbon as Papal legate, he did not lose the opportunity of repeating, from the mouth of one of the greatest dignitaries of the Church, what had already been said so often. In a letter to the whole of the clergy of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, Cardinal Morone complained, after a courteous introduction, that both from his personal observation and the testimony of others, he found that in spite of all the decrees everything was in its former state, both among the bishops and canons, and the regular and secular clergy. He summed up the principal ordinances of the provincial synod of Salzburg, together with some additions of his own, in 47 points, upon the observance of which he again insisted.[1] The hand of Ninguarda can be clearly recognized in this document. He had accompanied the Archbishop of Salzburg to Ratisbon and had spoken with Morone.[2] Portia too, who was also present at Ratisbon, called the attention of the Cardinal legate in writing to eight points which he should strongly impress upon the Archbishop of Salzburg.[3]

The representatives of Rome were especially and justly dissatisfied with the archbishop in one respect. "It seems necessary," Portia wrote in his eight points,[4] "to insist urgently upon the establishment of a seminary, because the necessity for it is obvious and the suffragan bishops will not move a finger until they see the archbishop make up his mind." A year earlier Delfino had also urged the erection of a seminary, "on which everything depended" with the greatest insistence.[5] The archbishop had excused himself by saying that he wished first to wait for the return of Ninguarda, though Delfino did not attach much weight to

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 123-37.
[2] *Ibid.*, 121, n. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, 122.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 216, n. 2.

that excuse. For many years past, he wrote to Galli,[1] the archbishop has enjoyed vast revenues, but it is not apparent that he uses even a small part for the good of the Church. With an expenditure of from 2000 to 3000 thalers a year he could maintain a seminary, or, what would be better, a number of students with the Jesuits, and at that cost he could educate so many persons that the whole ecclesiastical province would be supplied with the good and trained priests, who are at present entirely lacking. But Johann Jakob has no sympathy with the Jesuits, and will not make use of them, so that there is reason to fear that he will stop short with mere words or with a nominal seminary. In 1577 negotiations were begun with the Jesuits, and an agreement was drafted for the establishment of a seminary.[2] Ninguarda sent the plan of the building to Rome,[3] but the matter again came to nothing. It was only in 1582 or 1583 that the institution which had been so long projected came into existence.[4] The visitation of the archdiocese, on which Portia also insisted, had been commenced by the archbishop in the neighbourhood of his episcopal city at the end of 1576; visitors were also sent to Styria.[5]

After his great labours Ninguarda felt a desire to be allowed to return to Italy. He sent a letter from Ratisbon to Morone, who had already left,[6] begging him to urge his recall in Rome. The Pope acceded to the request of the man who had worked so hard, and appointed him Bishop of Scala near Amalfi, on February 25th, 1577.[7]

In the middle of April Ninguarda again went to Graz to

[1] On October 21, 1575, *ibid.*

[2] Ninguarda to Galli on February 21, 1577, *ibid.*, IV., 214 *seqq.* Negotiations with the Jesuits of February 26, 1577, *ibid.*, 218-21, *cf.* 223. Hoffäus to Ninguarda on March 10, 1577, *ibid.*, 224.

[3] *Ibid.*, 223, n. 2.

[4] Rieder in ZSCHOKKE, Theol. Studien und Anstalten in Österreich, Vienna, 1894, 618. *Cf.* WIDMANN, 97, 150.

[5] SCHELLHASS, Akten, IV., 222 *seq.*

[6] Of October 11, 1576, *ibid.*, 208.

[7] Galli to Ninguarda on March 2, 1577, *ibid.*, V., 204.

the Archduke Charles, in order to discuss the religious reform of Central Austria, and towards the end of August, 1577, he set out for Italy.[1] He was entrusted with a number of memorials containing plans for reform and complaints to be laid before the Pope[2] by the Archduke Charles and the government of the archduchy, as well as by the bishops of Gurk, Passau, Salzburg and Chur.

However gloomy these documents may be, with their dispassionate enumeration of the gravest abuses, they nevertheless have their bright side. They afford proof of a serious wish for reform, and leave one amazed at the trust of the reformers, who, in spite of all the decadence, never despaired, as well as at the inherent vitality of an organism which set itself triumphantly to overcome such deep-seated maladies. From what these documents reveal the historian can learn the radical causes of the decay of religion, and can see how it was indeed based upon what had so often been insisted upon on the part of the clergy, namely, that the principal cause of the decay was to be found in lay interference in ecclesiastical matters.

As the Bishop of Passau points out,[3] the hands of the bishop were tied by the civil authorities. This was especially the case in the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices, above all in that part of the diocese which was under the rule of Austria. The civil bureaucracy, without the knowledge of the bishop, welcomed heretical preachers, even when they had been driven out of other places, as for example apostate monks, and

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, V., 53, n. 2.

[2] Memorandum of the archducal government on the reform of monasteries and clergy, dated May 10, 1577, *ibid.*, IV., 225; of the bishop of Gurk on the disadvantages of administering the chalice to the laity and on concubinage, *ibid.*, 233 *seqq.*; of the Bishop of Passau on various abuses, *ibid.*, V., 35 *seqq.*; of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg on the encroachments of the secular power, *ibid.*, 41 *seqq.*, with covering letter and letter of recommendation for Ninguarda, *ibid.*, 50 *seqq.*, 54 *seqq.*; of the Bishop of Chur on September 2, 1577, *ibid.*, 55 *seqq.*

[3] *loc. cit.*

protected them. At Hofkirchen and Wels a crowd of 300 men with arms in their hands had protected their pastor against the commands of the Emperor and the bishop.[1] Where the right of patronage over ecclesiastical benefices was held, the priest who was chosen was placed in possession of his office without the bishop;[2] if he was subsequently rejected by the latter and forbidden to remain in the diocese, the laity maintained and protected him.[3] The cities, the prelates, and the laity had forcibly confiscated certain revenues in Austria, and secretly employed them for their own purposes, so that it was no longer possible to maintain a priest there.[4] Abbots, prelates, provosts, administrators and stewards were appointed and deposed by the civil authorities. There was a custom in Bavaria by which, at the death of an abbot or provost the civil authority prevented a new election, and placed a steward in the place of the deceased. The monasteries in consequence were falling into ruin.[5] Moreover the bishop no longer had any real power to punish ecclesiastics who failed in their duties. If a priest married, the laity defended him; in Austria unmarried priests were not allowed in certain places.[6] If the bishop summoned a lesser prelate or a parish priest before his tribunal, they took refuge with the secular prince. The administrator of the convent at Fürstenzell, who had not appeared when thus summoned, had been excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese. The officials of the Archduke then wrote to the bishop in imperious terms, and under their threats, the excommunication had to be removed.[7] To these things were added usurpations in the administration of Church property,[8] and contempt for the ecclesiastical tribunals. The

[1] *Ibid.*, Memorandum, no. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 14, 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 16.
[5] *Ibid.*, no. 20.
[6] *Ibid.*, no. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 21.
[8] *Ibid.*, nos. 11, 12, 17, 18, 22.

bishop's representatives were ill-treated by the laity, by the heretics, and by the preachers.[1] Government officials summoned matrimonial causes before them, and a divorce could be obtained from a preacher for ten shillings.[2] Not even purely ecclesiastical matters were free from attack; the preachers and states issued professions of faith, and the laity claimed to decide upon the services of the Church.[3] It was partly for this reason that there was cause for complaint of so many abuses in the celebration of divine worship. In many parts of Austria mass was either not celebrated at all or very rarely. Priests consecrated out of mass and absolution was given after a merely general confession; men would have nothing to do with the rites and ceremonial of the Church.[4]

The memorial from Salzburg makes much the same complaints.[5] In this Duke Albert V. is specially complained of because, even in the case of ecclesiastical benefices belonging to Rome, he claims the right of collation of those sent by the Pope[6]. It is especially insisted that the princes prevent ecclesiastical visitations.

But the point which the Salzburg memorial brings out above all others is the interference of the civil authorities in the Church's right of possession. When a priest dies, at once the civil authorities appear on the scene, make an inventory of his property, and decide what is to be done with it. On the death of a prelate, they at once on their own authority appoint an administrator and steward, undertake the administration and appoint a new prelate; sums of money which the dead man has left, pass as "loans" into their own pockets.[7] If a priest is unable to pay his debts the officials call together the creditors and decide what each

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 7, 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, nos. 1-4.
[5] *Ibid.*, V., 43-50.
[6] *Ibid.*, no. 17. The duke is not mentioned by name.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 1.

is to have, while they confiscate the possessions of the poor priest.[1] In addition to the taxes which are common to all, they arbitrarily demand many others from ecclesiastics, and more and more as the years go by. There are also taxes for colleges and seminaries, so that there is nothing left for the bishop's diocesan seminary;[2] moreover, contrary to all right and liberty, in some places they have begun to levy a personal tax upon all ecclesiastical persons of both sexes. Some of the secular princes, without the bishop's knowledge, obtain from the Pope leave to oppress ecclesiastics yet further. Church property is hypothecated and sold by the lesser prelates and parish priests with the consent of the prince alone and without the knowledge of the bishop, even when the needs of the church do not require it.[3] Superiors of Orders, both of men and women, have to pledge their property for the prince, and are in danger of losing it if the prince does not pay.[4] During recent years prelates, chapters and rich priests have had to lend money to the sovereign without any term being fixed for repayment. This is still the case, and if they have nothing to give, they must raise loans and pledge the property of the Church.[5] As the result of these extraordinary expenses monasteries and churches cannot be restored and are falling down.[6]

After Ninguarda had presented in Rome the memorials entrusted to him, he proceeded to make his own observations on the abuses in Germany in a carefully drawn up document,[7] and then summed up the principal points more briefly for the use of the German Congregation.[8]

Ninguarda does not repeat the matters treated of by the

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 5, 6. According to one manuscript, by colleges is meant Jesuit colleges.

[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 7-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, no. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, no. 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, V., 177-94.

[8] *Ibid.*, 194-7.

bishops of the province of Salzburg, and especially by the Bishop of Passau, but adds to them some remarks of his own. In the first place he alludes in strong terms to a deep-seated evil in the religious life of Germany, the election capitulations of the bishops, by which the canons sought to tie the hands of the future bishop, so that he should not interfere with them, and their dissolute lives. These capitulations had to be sworn to, and on account of his oath the bishop did not then dare to lift a finger against the canons.[1]

Moreover, on account of the scarcity of priests, many benefices which had no cure of souls attached to them were left vacant; the princes, whether ecclesiastical or secular, whose business it was to confer them, then kept the revenues without concerning themselves about the office for which the benefice had been founded. Some of these benefices which had fallen into unlawful hands might be recovered in Central Austria by means of the Archduke Charles, and at Ratisbon by Duke Albert, and then better employed.[2] Naturally Ninguarda again recommends, as he had so often done before, the annual visitation of the dioceses by their bishops. The Archduke Charles had insisted upon the necessity for this in Central Austria, but it was equally important for the whole of Germany. On the occasion of these canonical visitations the sacrament of confirmation would again be given; at present there were old men who did not even know that there was such a sacrament. The priests with their women and their frequentation of taverns, their disputes and altercations, and their indifference about the care of souls and their sacred functions, made canonical visitations urgently necessary.

After these remarks, the memorial turns to the subject on which the author, more than anyone else, was expected to give his opinion, the reform of the religious Orders. He recommends the regular visitation of the monasteries as an important step. The Archduke Charles had already asked for a special visitor for the very decadent Cistercian

[1] *Ibid.*, 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, 179.

monasteries in his dominions.[1] This should not be an Austrian, but should live there and annually visit his subjects. Ninguarda approved of this plan, which was also well suited for the whole of Germany, besides Central Austria.[2] The Archduke had recommended the bishops as visitors of the Benedictines, but Ninguarda thought it better that the various monasteries should be united into one congregation, which should then nominate its own visitors, as the religious would have a better understanding of their own conditions than the bishops.[3] Among them there were still some whose religious spirit was undiminished, and who were sufficiently filled with zeal, and desired with all their hearts the reform of the monasteries ;[4] this was especially the case with the abbot of St. Lamprecht, who might be entrusted with the difficult task of inaugurating the visitation, with every hope of success, and who was moreover very much in favour with the Archduke, as well as with the Archbishop of Salzburg.

A similar course of action could be adopted in the case of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. They had many monasteries, especially in the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, but they were in a very decadent state. Many of them no longer wore the habit of the Order ; in one of the houses there was not a single member, from the highest to the lowest, who had not a woman and children. Not one of them had ever seen the rule of St. Augustine.[5]

Other religious communities already had their visitors, but these were themselves in need of reform. This was the case with the Carthusians, who had in some places for a long time past begun to give up monastic discipline.[6] The same applied to the Premonstratensians of Bohemia and Moravia, whose General, like the General of the Carthusians, lived in France, and thus too far away. The office of visitor

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 225-33. Details, *ibid.*, V., 39 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, V., 180.
[3] *Ibid.*, 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, 182.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 183.

held by the so-called "abbot of abbots" was handed down in one fixed monastery from abbot to abbot But among other things this "abbot of abbots" was very far from being an ideal religious; he was held in no respect by his subjects, and either omitted the visitations altogether or made them superficially. Such an arrangement could no longer be tolerated, but after the death or removal of a visitor, some capable successor, drawn from any abbey, must be appointed. For the moment the person best fitted for this would be Abbot Sebastian of Bruck, near Znaim, who was a pious and exemplary religious who had reformed his own monastery, and then established two seminaries, one for the religious and one for boys of good birth.[1]

The visitors of all these monasteries must also turn their attention to heretical books, because heresy had found its way among some of the religious by means of such literature.[2]

With regard to the Mendicant Orders, that is the Augustinian Hermits, the Franciscans, the Carmelites and the Dominicans, there were already in Rome detailed reports of the visitation made by Ninguarda; in his memorial, therefore, he only touches briefly upon the more serious evils, such as scandalous life, dispersion of property, unwillingness to wear the religious habit, and friendship with Protestants, under whose protection they seek refuge from their superiors, in order to be able to continue their scandalous life. Even in Catholic districts the secular princes assume unlimited rights over the convents, on the ground that they had been founded by their ancestors. They wait for the death of a superior, and then do not allow a new election, but take possession of the property of the convent, which is allowed to go to ruin.[3] In the case of the nuns the absence of enclosure is especially lamentable; they take part in dances both inside and out of the convents, masquerade at the carnival and go hunting.[4]

Since many houses are reduced to one or two religious, he

[1] *Ibid., cf. supra,* p. 108.
[2] *loc. cit.,* 184.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.,* 189.

had thought of suppressing all the convents in a province and leaving only one, uniting there all the religious of the province, and concentrating all the revenues of the houses suppressed. But against this was the consideration that if the half-ruined buildings of the monasteries left vacant had to be restored, there would be very little revenue left, while the removal of the religious to another place would be harmful to the needs of the laity, as in many places the divine worship at the monastery was the only one which the few still remaining Catholics could attend. Therefore it seemed better to leave the one priest of the Order where he was, and try to provide him with good fellow religious.[1]

Light is thrown upon the state of affairs at the time by the fact that several monasteries could not find any lay-brothers to work in the kitchen, so that they were obliged to have recourse to women. Ninguarda tried to remove the women cooks from the monastery kitchens, but Gregory XIII. decided at length that in places where the enclosure bull of Pius V. had not been published, respectable women of at least 46 years of age might, in cases of necessity, do this work. Ninguarda also obtained permission for respectable and elderly women to enter the monasteries, but only if they were accompanied; any rule to the contrary had been shown to be impracticable in the case of Germany. During the stay of the Emperor at Prague in 1575 this concession was made use of too freely; complaints reached Rome, and the entrance of all women into the monasteries was again forbidden in the diocese of Prague. But soon the people of Prague had recourse to Cardinal Morone and Ninguarda during the Diet of Ratisbon; they felt that the enforcement of the bull was doubly impossible at Prague because the national States held their meetings in the monasteries, and while these were going on it was necessary that all sorts of people should be admitted.[2]

As the principal means for the renewal of monastic life Ninguarda again urged the establishment of seminaries for

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, V., 184 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 186 *seq.*

religious, for the training of a vigorous new generation. This matter had been often discussed, and recently in the presence of Cardinal Morone at the Diet of Ratisbon. The Augustinians and Franciscan Observants were thinking of establishing a seminary at Munich; the Dominicans contemplated three, at Bozen, Freiburg and Vienna; the General of the Franciscan Conventuals, a short time before his departure, had chosen Friuli as the place best fitted for the purpose. The carrying out of this useful project would be ensured if the Pope would issue a definite order, and at the same time urge the obtaining of the best possible professors and teachers.[1]

At the suggestion of Ninguarda Portia was instructed to bring pressure to bear upon the Duke of Bavaria for the establishment of a seminary for religious in one of the monasteries of his states,[2] and a brief to the duke[3] was intended to further this project. In the meantime the nuncio opinted out the difficulty,[4] in the then condition of the monasteries of Germany, of finding a sufficient number of suitable professors; at the same time, so great was the dislike of the religious in Germany, that it would be difficult to find a sufficient number of intelligent youths to enter the monasteries. Therefore there must be established in the Catholic universities houses for religious novices, who could attend the university lectures. This had already been attempted with much success at Dillingen, where he had seen more than thirty young religious, drawn from various places, being instructed with great profit in learning and a good manner of life. One of these students already bore the abbot's crozier in a praiseworthy manner.[5] Duke Albert V. agreed with the nuncio[6] that a house of studies for young religious might be established at Munich, or at

[1] *Ibid.*, 188-9.

[2] Galli on October 30, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 255.

[3] In THEINER, I., 250.

[4] To Galli on November 20, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 289.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Answer of December 24, 1574, to Portia's memorandum, *ibid.*, 338.

Ingolstadt, at the Jesuit College; the Jesuit schools were every day sending out to the various houses young men who were sufficiently trained in sacred and secular learning.[1]

When, some ten years later, the monasteries had been rescued from their state of decadence, it could be stated as a generally accepted fact that a great part of this change for the better had been effected by the Jesuit colleges. Gretser wrote[2] that they were the sources of supply for the monasteries, and no one could deny that the revival of some of the Orders and the re-population of the empty monasteries had begun with the opening of the Jesuit schools. Elgard too saw in the disappearance of the instruction of the young the reason for the decadence of the monasteries, and that therefore the way to their revival must be sought in the schools, where learning, and still more piety, were taught. Such were the schools of the Jesuits; if many of the religious were opposed to the Jesuits as newcomers, and put difficulties in their way, they were causing their own ruin. He considered that the Mendicant Orders in Bamberg and Franconia would have been destroyed if they had not gradually been reinforced by the pupils of the Jesuits.[3]

The Spaniard, Michele Alvarez, who to some extent carried on the work of Ninguarda in reforming the Orders among the Franciscan Observants of the monastic provinces of Austria, Strasbourg, Bohemia and Hungary, in a memorial of 1579[4] finds little to praise in the monasteries which he visited, but sees salvation from their terrible state of ruin in the formation of a new generation of friars. He thought

[1] *Ibid.*, 338 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, I., 500 *seqq.*

[2] "Haereticus vespertilio": Opera omnia, XI., 872.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, 322. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 499-508.

[4] Printed by SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI. (1904), 137-45. For Alvarez' work in Austria, for his dispute with Nas in which both appealed to Gregory XIII., for the Brief of July 19, 1578, which entrusted to the Archduke the duty of warning Nas to be willing to make peace, for the foundation of the Franciscan Province in the Tyrol in 1580 see MAX STRAGANZ in the *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Gesch. Tirols und Vorarl-*

of summoning capable teachers and professors from Spain.[1] The Premonstratensians in Moravia had established such colleges.[2] The General of the Cistercians, who visited the monasteries of his Order in Bavaria in 1573, on the other hand, thought that the damage could be repaired by sending young religious from Bavaria to the Cistercian monasteries in France to be educated.[3] By the advice of Ninguarda the Augustinians at Munich thought of sending monks to Italy for the same purpose.[4]

If the reform at Salzburg was delayed by the fact that Ninguarda was not, for a long time, to come to the side of Johann Jakob, it was also impeded by the fact his other adviser and mentor, the nuncio Portia, was summoned from the neighbourhood of Salzburg to a new sphere of action, which had a short time before been occupied by the Papal nuncio, Gaspar Gropper, namely Augsburg.

At first, the only thing that was under consideration in the Imperial city of South Germany was the establishment of a Jesuit college, which had been desired by Cardinal Otto, and had for many years been zealously striven for by the patrician families of the Fugger and Ilsung. The adversaries of this project were the Council of Augsburg and the cathedral chapter. Without the consent of the Council no ecclesiastics could acquire any settled property, but the attempt to apply to the purposes of a Jesuit college a piece of land that was already in ecclesiastical hands was again and again shipwrecked by the claims of the cathedral chapter.[5]

In the meantime, at the end of September, 1572, a few months after Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, the provost of the house of the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Cross at Augsburg died, and a new election was delayed because it was difficult to find a possible successor in the utterly

bergs, V. (1908), 303-9; HIRN, I., 250. *Cf.* v. OTTENTHAL in the *Mitteilungen des österr. Hist. Instituts*, XI. (1890), 322 *seqq.*

[1] SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI., 141 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 141.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 338.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 6.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xv-xxviii.

decadent convent. The patricians then thought of suggesting to the bishop, and through him to the Pope, a plan for transferring the five remaining religious of the convent of the Holy Cross to another house of the same Order in Augsburg, and changing the convent of the Holy Cross into a Jesuit college. Cardinal Otto, who was then in Rome, was opposed to this, but the chapter, who thought that he was in favour of the plan, resolved to oppose their bishop, and against this express prohibition caused Anton Beirer, hitherto procurator of the convent, to be elected on January 7th, 1573, as the new provost. After this it was no longer merely a question of the Jesuit college with Cardinal Truchsess, who took up the gauntlet that had been thrown down, and gave orders that the election of Beirer should be declared invalid, and himself fought for the handing over of the convent of the Holy Cross.

A memorial from the Fugger and Ilsung,[1] which was taken to Rome by Nicholas Elgard, who at that time held a canonry at Augsburg, and a petition from Elgard himself,[2] which was supported by Cardinal Otto,[3] laid the matter before the Pope. Gregory XIII. showed himself favourable to the project, but first wished for an assurance that Beirer had not really been canonically elected, and to know whether the disturbances which Cardinal Otto feared from the handing over of the convent were really to be expected.[4] The Fugger and Ilsung definitely replied in the negative to both questions in a further memorial.[5] Commendatory letters from the princes of

[1] Dated November 19, 1572, in THEINER, I., 27-31. The description of the monastery given by the patricians is called mendacious by THEINER (*ibid.* 27), though confirmed by Cardinal Truchsess (SCHWARZ, Gropper, 20, *cf.* 40) and by Portia (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 476).

[2] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 17-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 19-23.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xxx *seq.* Briefs of March 13, 1573, to the patricians and to the princes providing Elgard with recommendations, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 27-9.

[5] Dated May 30, 1573, in THEINER, I., 88-91. A memorandum of the same date for the German Congregation *ibid.*, 91 *seqq.*; another one, probably from Elgard, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 40.

Bavaria and the Tyrol, as well as from the Emperor himself, rendered a definite decision on the part of the Pope possible, and he handed over the convent of the Holy Cross to the Jesuits.

But before this took place a settlement of the question had become more complicated. On April 2nd, 1573, Cardinal Otto had died in Rome. The cathedral chapter of Augsburg held that during the vacancy in the see it fell to it to confirm Beirer, and it at once proceeded to do so. They drew up an election capitulation for the new bishop which made it impossible for him to hand over the convent of the Holy Cross, and this was sworn to by the new bishop, Johann Egolf von Knöringen on May 22nd, 1573.[1] In Rome, however, where nothing was known of this capitulation, the newly-elected bishop was charged, in a brief of July 15th, to carry out, together with Duke Ernest of Bavaria, the handing over of the convent, and the nuncio Gropper, who reached Germany on July 23rd, had the difficult task of making it possible for the bishop to perform a duty which he had bound himself by oath not to do.[2]

Gropper did not accomplish a great deal during his flying visit to the bishop, but Johann Egolf handed him a copy of the election capitulation, which excited great indignation in Rome.[3] The German Congregation then decided,[4] after long discussion,[5] to have the foundation of the college of Augsburg carried out by the nuncio Portia.

With this decision, Portia found himself faced by a task which soon filled him with disgust. At first the canons tried to avoid making any reply to his remonstances; the nuncio had to wait for months in Augsburg doing nothing, and when at last he received a reply it was clear that the chapter had no intention of doing what was required of them. Neither protests, nor memorials, nor admonitions from the Pope

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 263-74.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxxv. Gropper's instructions of July 19, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 43 *seq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xxxvii., xliii.

[4] On March 2, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 86.

[5] *Ibid.*, 81, 82, 84.

and the Emperor, and still less negotiations carried on by Duke Albert V., had any effect. The matter ended with the recall of Portia from Augsburg in May, 1575.[1]

Nevertheless, out of consideration for the bishop, who was seriously ill, Portia put off his departure until September. At the approach of death, Johann Egolf became more and more troubled by the election capitulation to which he had sworn, but for a long time he would not express himself on the subject to the nuncio. It was only a few days before his death, on June 4th, 1575, that he freed himself from the matter that was weighing upon his conscience.

The successor of Johann Egolf was Marquard von Berg, the author of the election capitulation. It now seemed that all hope of the Jesuit college had vanished, yet it was just at this moment that its realization became possible. Contrary to all expectations, the syndic and the Council gave their consent in 1580 to the foundation of the establishment, and within a short time the college which had so long been resisted was set up.[2]

[1] See *infra*, p. 128.

[2] *Agricola*, dec. 4, n. 407-32, p. 214.

CHAPTER IV.

Nunciatures in South West Germany.—State of Religion in Switzerland.

The new task which fell to Portia opened out to him an entirely new sphere of work.[1] Besides the north and south of Germany, the Pope wished for information from his nuncio concerning the state of affairs in south-west Germany and in Switzerland. The first to be chosen for this difficult task was Francesco Sporeno, a Franciscan from Udine, who had, as lecturer in the convent of the Holy Cross at Innsbruck, attracted the attention of the Archduke Ferdinand, had been his representative in Rome since 1573, and since 1575 had been trying to pave the way to the episcopal see of Münster for Andrew, Ferdinand's son.[2] Sporeno seemed to be the very man for those parts of further-Austria which belonged to the Archduke; by his means it would be possible and easy to obtain the powerful help of Ferdinand for the restoration of the ancient religion in the dioceses of the Upper Rhine, the revival of the as yet Catholic university at Freiburg in Breisgau, and the seminaries which had so long been needed for the training of novices for the deserted monasteries of Germany. Since, however, a task which included Switzerland as well as the south-west of Germany seemed to be too great for one man, it was decided that Portia should share it.[3] He and Sporeno were at first to work together at Freiburg and in the territory of Basle, after which Sporeno was to

[1] On May 6, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10 *seqq.*; Reinhardt-Steffens, 60.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xiii. *seqq.*; Hirn, II., 83-5.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10 *seq.*

separate from the nuncio and devote himself to Switzerland.[1]

Another four months passed, however, before the two envoys could set out from Augsburg for their new field of labour. Sporeno was still delayed for several months by the affairs of the Tyrol; he visited the monastery of Georgenberg,[2] and occupied himself with outstanding questions of reform; he especially projected severe measures against the concubines of the clergy; the penalties of whipping and exile, and, in case of relapse, of perpetual imprisonment, were to be employed against them, and, for reasons frequently reiterated,[3] the Tyrol, Bavaria and Salzburg were to act in like manner.[4] It was inevitable that the carrying out of such a project should involve a journey which would take up a great deal of time,[5] as also did the negotiations concerning the succession to the episcopal see of Münster, to which Sporeno had again to devote himself upon his return from Rome.[6] When, at the end of August, his instructions for his new nunciature reached the hands of Portia, he too found himself delayed.

In a letter to Rome,[7] Portia describes the new duties which were assigned to him as impracticable. He was of opinion that not only the professors and rectors, but also the pupils for the projected seminaries were lacking. The Jesuits could not provide them because of the smallness

[1] *Ibid.*, 12. The credentials for Portia and Sporeno to the bishops and chapters, etc., of April 30, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 55 *seqq.*

[2] Archduke Ferdinand to the Pope on July 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 66 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 92, n. 5. Sporeno to Galli on July 6, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 61. *Ibid.*, 63, 65 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, also in the letters quoted below dated August 6 and 15, October 4, 10, 19, November 2, 1575.

[3] *Cf. supra*, pp. 29, 110.

[4] Portia on August 22, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 155 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 157, n. 4.

[6] Sporeno to the Pope on July 9, 1575, *ibid.* 147, n. 3. Sporeno was in Munich at the beginning of September, 1575, on account of the Münster question, *ibid.*, 186, and n. 1.

[7] Of August 6, 1575, *ibid.*, V., 115-20.

of their own numbers; experience had shown that the introduction of Jesuit schools into the universities led to disturbances, and for this reason the Jesuits had recently left the city of Ingolstadt, and in order to prevent a renewal of the disputes the General had forbidden their return. The state of affairs at Freiburg was even worse than at Ingolstadt, for there the university did not recognize either the Archduke or the Emperor as its superiors, and would not allow a visitation. In the dioceses of the Upper Rhine the state of affairs was very unsatisfactory Thus at Strasbourg only six of the canons were looked upon as Catholics, and they were only allowed to go out in their ecclesiastical dress in the limited space between their houses and the cathedral; they could not appoint any preacher, nor recite the office in choir aloud, nor celebrate mass except with closed doors. When the election of a bishop had to be held at Basle, only three of the canons were stated to be Catholics. The roads through Switzerland were closed on account of the plague, and in Alsace because of the troops of Henry of Condé, who lived on plunder.[1]

Sporeno, who reached Augsburg on August 13th, for the most part confirmed this disturbing account of the nuncio, in the light of his own observation and experience at Innsbruck.[2] Galli replied to the objections of Portia[3] that nothing could be accomplished in this world without difficulties, and that the nuncio must do what he could in order to satisfy the Pope. On October 4th Portia and Sporeno entered Freiburg in Breisgau.[4] Until the time of his departure for the Diet of Ratisbon in June 1576, the city on the Upper Rhine became the centre of Portia's activities.

During the first few months it seemed that he could not by any means leave Freiburg. In order to fulfil his duties as nuncio he intended successively to visit the diocese of

[1] For the insecure conditions in Alsace at the end of 1575, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xlii-l.

[2] Portia on August 15, 1575, *ibid.*, 136.

[3] On September 3, 1575, *ibid.* 164 *seq.*

[4] Portia on October 4, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 198.

Sion, the Abbey of St. Gall, the city of Strasbourg, and the Bishop of Strasbourg, who lived at Zabern. But the abbot and monks of St. Gall had fled because of the plague, and in the other places, as he had already been warned, all the roads were closed.[1] When, on October 15th, Portia sent a first and long report to Rome,[2] he learned that the abbot of St. Gall was at Rorschach; he then set out to find him,[3] but because of the plague he only got as far as Constance,[4] whence he sent to Rome a memorial on the reform of the University of Freiburg.[5] At Constance he met Duke Eric II. of Brunswick,[6] but otherwise the only result of his journey was the visitation of the Cistercian abbey of Salem.[7]

There Portia found things in a fairly good state; besides the abbot, the monastery contained forty-five monks, thirty-seven of whom were priests;[8] it had a good name in the neighbourhood, and the nuncio himself said that nowhere in Germany, generally speaking, had he found a better observance of external monastic discipline.[9] Nevertheless the monks received the Papal envoy with a certain reluctance, and Portia contented himself with pointing out to them certain matters which needed reform, and bestowing upon them general praise.[10]

In the meantime Sporeno had worked together with Portia at Freiburg until the middle of October, and had made the journey to Salem and Constance with him.[11] Immediately

[1] Portia on October 10, 1575, *ibid.*, 202 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 207-14.

[3] Portia on October 19, 1575, *ibid.*, 216 *seq.*

[4] Portia on November 2, 1575, *ibid.*, 254 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 218-25; THEINER, II., 533-5.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 226-30.

[7] *Ibid.*, 233-54.

[8] *Ibid.*, 239.

[9] *Ibid.*, 236.

[10] To the abbot and fathers on October 28, 1575, *ibid.*, 244-50, The abbot's reply of October 29, *ibid.*, 251-4. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 26-70, 70-2.

[11] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 200, 210.

on his arrival at Salem the Franciscan received a summons to Innsbruck from the Archduke Ferdinand,[1] and at the beginning of November went once more to Rome as his representative.[2] The Curia still counted upon his going back to Portia[3] but Sporeno remained entirely in the service of the Archduke of the Tyrol. At the end of January, 1576, Ferdinand II. requisitioned his services to accompany his son Andrew on his pilgrimage to Rome.[4] The Pope thereupon dispensed him entirely from his duty as Portia's companion, and appointed him, though reluctantly, titular Bishop of Sebaste.[5]

When Portia returned to Freiburg at the beginning of November, 1575, without Sporeno, he found himself at first, to his great disgust, tied to that city. He complained that there he knew nothing of what was going on in the world ;[6] the letters which he wrote remained on his table, because he could find nobody to take them.[7] He anxiously awaited the time when the way to the various parts of his nunciature should be reopened.[8] At the end of January, 1576, his desire was granted ; he went to Porrentruy to visit the Bishop of Basle, and thence to Besançon, on his way back visiting the Bishop of Strasbourg at Dachstein, and reaching Freiburg once more about February 22nd. A few days later he received orders to set out upon another long journey, this time to the Bishop of Spires. He got there at the end of March, but returned almost immediately to Freiburg. At the end of

[1] Portia on October 23, 1575, *ibid.*, 230.

[2] Portia on November 18, 1575, *ibid.*, 270.

[3] *Ibid.*, xviii *seq.*

[4] On January 20, 1576, *ibid.*, 330.

[5] On Februray 11 (15), 1576, *ibid.*, 330, n. 4 ; THEINER, II., 181.

[6] On November 12, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 258. The same complaint had already been made on October 15, *ibid.*, 211 *seq.*

[7] On January 3, 1576, *ibid.*, 300. A letter from Freiburg to Rome had taken a month to reach its destination so that Portia often thought that his manuscripts had been lost. *Ibid.*, cxiii.

[8] "per non stare inutilmente tra queste mura con noia et crucio d'animo rinchiuso." On January 17, 1576, *ibid.*, 307.

May he was called to quite a new field of labour,[1] so Portia certainly could not complain of want of employment. In addition to Freiburg and the abbey of Salem, he was able to bring his influence to bear in person in the three dioceses of Strasbourg, Basle and Besançon, and by letter from Besançon on the Bishop of Lausanne; the questions in which he interested himself, whether by way of encouragement or reproof, were by no means unimportant.

In Freiburg itself the nuncio and to some extent his colleague Sporeno, devoted themselves in the first place to the often discussed project of a seminary for young monks, and the reform of the university.

Freiburg might be considered the most suitable place for a monastic seminary;[2] there was there a Catholic university where the religious who went there could study, and there were also the two almost entirely empty monasteries of Oberried and All Saints, the buildings and revenues of which might with advantage be handed over to the projected establishments.[3] Two colleges were contemplated, one of which was to be used by the novices of the Mendicant Orders, and the other by those of the remaining Orders.

When Sporeno, to whom the question of these seminaries

[1] *Ibid.*, xix-xxii.

[2] In Freiburg most of the religious houses were in a satisfactory or good condition, as for example the convents of the Sisters of Penance and of the Tertiaries, also the convent of Voluntary Poverty and especially that of the Poor Clares. "Also the religious houses for men gave no grounds for complaint, and the blameless conduct of the Augustinians was especially a matter for rejoicing. They carried on a Latin school in their house and made their members diligently attend the colleges of the university. A beautiful library was the pride of the monastery. Another Augustinian monastery, in the town, 'All Saints,' was at this time (of the archiducal visitation) quite empty." HIRN, I., 124. *Ibid.*, 122 *seq.* for the conditions of the religious houses in Upper Austria.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10, n. 1; 131, n. 2; 133, n. and p. 1. Gregory XIII. to Archduke Ferdinand on April 30, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 59.

was entrusted, was preparing to visit the monastery of the Williamites of Oberried, seven religious were hurriedly admitted to the empty monastery, and the admission of three more was expected. The house therefore was once again full, and therefore safe, and Portia, who had announced his visit, was not admitted at all.[1]

There were better hopes in the case of the monastery of All Saints. The congregation of the Canons of St. Augustine still had three religious in three houses of the Order, one of which was All Saints. The monastery was large, well situated and solidly built, and had a revenue of a thousand florins, which could, in Portia's opinion, be used for the education of candidates for the cloister; part of the house could be given over to the religious who were sent to study at Freiburg by their supporters; they would live at the expense of their monastery, under the care of some learned, pious and prudent man, who could certainly be found in Freiburg. But as a result of the behaviour of the Council of Freiburg, whose discourtesy, perversity and obstinacy were beyond belief, nothing could be accomplished without the Archduke Ferdinand.[2]

The latter declared himself in favour of the project;[3] in Rome it was decided to carry out in the monastery of All Saints, of the two suggested sections of the seminary, only that for the monastic students.[4] A brief of January 20th, 1576, addressed to Portia and Sporeno, gave them authority to take possession of the convent of All Saints;[5] a second,[6]

[1] Portia on October, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 210.

[2] *Ibid.*, 210 *seq.*

[3] Decree of November 5, 1575, *ibid.*, 274 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 311, n. 3. Brief to Ferdinand II. of January 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 184 *seq.*

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 433, n. 3.

[6] Of January 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 185; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 312. According to a decree of the German Congregation dated January 4, 1576, the statutes of the Freiburg College were to be drafted by the Rector of the German College. SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 113.

sent in six copies, giving the address in Freiburg, was to invite six abbots to send their young subjects to make their studies there. But the foundation of the establishment came to nothing owing to the resistance of these abbots; even before this the Archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal Bishop of Constance had met with no response each time they put forward similar projects.[1] On this occasion the Cardinal of Constance showed himself but little inclined to the plan.[2] It may also have seemed distasteful to the Canons of St. Augustine, for an attempt was being made to take away from them a monastery at Augsburg, and now a similar attempt was being made at Freiburg. In any case no further steps were taken in Rome in the matter, and Portia was forced to abandon it whether he liked it or not.

Whereas the affairs of the religious seminaries were principally in the hands of Sporeno, the whole matter of the University of Freiburg was entirely in those of Portia. He wished to avoid a real visitation of the university, as being too invidious; he contented himself with informing himself in secret as to its condition, and then bringing influence to bear upon individual professors in private interviews. What he learned in this way was not reassuring.[3] It was true that lectures in all four faculties were still delivered at Freiburg, as well as in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; the university was still Catholic, and the professors made the profession of faith on taking office, but as the Protestants of the surrounding districts sent their sons to the Protestant universities of Strasbourg, Basle and Zurich, Freiburg had

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 434.

[2] *Ibid.*, 313.

[3] See Portia's memorandum of October 15, 1575, *ibid.*, 218-25; THEINER, II., 533-5. As a matter of fact an archiducal visitation of the university had been held at the end of July, 1575 (HIRN, I., 337). Portia was of opinion therefore (on October 19, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 224) that Gregory XIII. should communicate his wishes with regard to reform to the Archduke so that the latter could impose them on the university in his own name and as coming from his own initiative.

very much declined. In the medical faculty there were more professors than pupils; the total number of students was not more than 250 and of these 80 lived together in college and were maintained in great poverty.[1] Above all, the students of the faculty of law betrayed their poverty in their appearance and dress, and they were guided by no other aim than quickly to accumulate a little practical knowledge, so that they might earn their bread.[2] In the teaching of canon law and theology the attempt was made to get through it as quickly as possible, so that the students received little more than an external smattering of those sciences.[3] Moreover the lectures only lasted at the outside for half an hour, and there were three months' vacation for the higher classes.[4] The dogmatic theology lacked all true scholastic form;[5] the professors were badly paid, were for the most part former students of the university itself, and did not rise above a very ordinary degree of mediocrity; to attract better material from outside would only be possible by considerably increasing the emoluments, while the jealousy of the local professors would have made it impossible for foreigners to come.[6] In consequence of the remarks of Portia, that it would be well to improve the study of scholasticism, or to introduce it on account of the Protestant schools of the neighbourhood, the professors tried to attract a capable man from Louvain, but they were asked for an annual stipend of 600 thalers, whereas at Freiburg an annual payment of 200 scudi was looked upon as something extraordinary. The attempt thus failed, but it was seen from the first that unless there were an improvement in the revenues it would be impossible to assist the university.[7] Various plans for doing this came to nothing; there was a suggestion for handing

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 222.
[2] *Ibid.*, 220.
[3] *Ibid.*, 223.
[4] *Ibid.*, 221.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 222.
[7] Portia on March 14, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 371.

over to it the abandoned monasteries, or of obtaining a large contribution from the many religious houses which still existed.[1] A third solution was put forward, of which the rector and professors of the university declared themselves to be in favour in a memorial to Portia;[2] it was suggested that each of the greater churches should set aside one benefice for the university. Portia recommended this suggestion of the professors to Cardinal Morone at the Diet of Ratisbon, where he insistently harped upon the importance of the University of Freiburg. It alone provided priests for the dioceses of Constance, Basle and Strasbourg, and it was generally believed that it was due to it that Catholicism had not disappeared in Swabia, on the Lake of Constance, and in the territory of Basle.[3] It appeared to the German Congregation that it would be difficult to put this plan into execution.[4] Nevertheless, at the suggestion of Portia, the rector and the leading professors addressed a memorial to the nuncio,[5] in which they reiterated their request. This petition was lost, and it was only on September 5th, 1577, that Portia, who was at that time nuncio in Cologne, could send a new copy to Rome.[6] In the December of the same year the matter passed outside his jurisdiction; in Rome it was thought that it would first be necessary to obtain the consent of the Archduke Ferdinand, and Portia realized the impossibility of getting into touch with the Archduke from Cologne.[7]

The efforts made by Portia on behalf of the university as a source of supply of priests and religious, helped towards the religious regeneration of the whole of south-east Germany. At the same time, in his capacity of nuncio, he sought to

[1] See Portia's memorandum of October 19, 1575, *ibid.*, 224.

[2] Of March 5, 1576, in THEINER, II., 185 *seq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 481 *seq.*

[4] Protocol of May 29, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 116.

[5] Of August 8, 1576, in THEINER, II., 186; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 495.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 161. *Cf.* SCHREIBER, II., 138, 308.

[7] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 206, *cf.* V., 520, n. 2.

bring his influence to bear in all the dioceses in the region of Freiburg. In this connexion he first turned his attention to the diocese of Basle.

Portia had already, in a letter to Rome from Augsburg,[1] before he set out for the scene of his new nunciature, spoken of the death of the Bishop of Basle, Melchior von Lichtenfels. He at once received in reply a brief[2] seriously calling the attention of the canons of Basle to their duties with regard to the forthcoming election. Bearing a letter from the Archduke Ferdinand, Sporeno, or the nuncio himself, if he were not detained by the election of the Bishop of Augsburg, was to go there, in order to prevent the nomination of an unsuitable man.[3]

As had happened before, after the death of the Bishop of Würzburg,[4] so now the pontifical brief came too late.[5] But, as had been the case at Würzburg, this time too the votes fell upon the most worthy candidate,[6] Jakob Christopher Blarer von Wartensee, hitherto canon of Basle and Constance, whose family had, during the period of the religious changes, given more than one distinguished man to the Church.[7]

[1] Of June 12, 1575, *ibid.*, V., 40.

[2] Of July 2, 1575, *ibid.*, 60, n. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 60.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 60 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 82.

[5] Portia reports the completion of the election on the 11th, the arrival of the brief on the 18th of July; see REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 62; Sporeno to Galli concerning the election on July 19, *ibid.*

[6] On June 22, 1575, Sporeno *loc. cit.*, 63. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx.

[7] Gerwick Blarer, Abbot of Weingarten 1520-67, according to Truchsess, "a pillar and support of religion"; Abbot Diethelm Blarer, 1530-64, the "Third Founder of St. Gall"; Abbot Louis Blarer of Einsiedeln, 1526-44 (*Freib. Kirchenlex.* (2), II., 902, V., 62, XII., 1267). According to STÄLIN (VI., 758) Abbot Gerwick was "together with Otto Truchsess the most active promoter of the counter-reformation in Swabia"; according to MEYER VON KNONAU (*Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, VI. [3], 351) Abbot Diethelm was "one of the most distinguished representa-

When three months later Portia went to Freiburg, Blarer was not yet appointed bishop, because the Papal approbation had not yet arrived, and it became the first duty of the nuncio to obtain it.[1]

A memorial to the German Congregation in 1573 points it out as a serious drawback that the approbation of German dignitaries was often so long delayed in Rome.[2] The case of Blarer shows that the blame did not always lay with the Curia. A few days after his election[3] he had sent a petition for its confirmation, while at the same time he asked that he might receive priest's orders outside the usual time and receive episcopal consecration from a single bishop assisted by two abbots, and also retain his two canonries; there was also a request for the reduction of the annates on account of his poverty. But it was August before this petition, together with the acta of the election, reached Constance where an agent was to recommend it to the Cardinal bishop of that place, Mark Sittich von Hohenems. In the middle of September it came back in its entirety to Blarer, who, probably in an altered form, once more sent it to his agent, only to receive a definite reply at the beginning of October that the Cardinal was ill, and could not attend to business.[4]

Portia and Sporeno, who reached Freiburg soon after this, expressed themselves as much surprised at the delay. Blarer, so Portia said to the auxiliary bishop of Basle, had everywhere the highest reputation for piety and learning, even with the Pope. He would willingly take the matter up, and a reply

tives of the restored Catholicism in Switzerland." However, the heretical reformer, Ambrose Blarer, was also a member of the same family. For particulars about him *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II., (2), 902; *Allgem. Deutsche Biogr.*, II., 691.

[1] Memorandum of the suffragan of Basle, Mark Tegginger, on October 12, 1575. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx, n. 1.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 46. See *supra*, p. 38.

[3] On June 30, 1575.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 288, n. 2. Portia to Galli on December 13, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 77.

might be obtained from Rome within a month.[1] As far as the poverty of the sadly reduced diocese of Basle was concerned, both the nuncio and the Curia promised every facility.[2] Naturally, Gregory XIII. pointed out that it was not right that the officials in Rome should entirely forego their accustomed fees, and the diocese of Basle could still afford to pay something.[3] At his visit to Porrentruy Portia offered to pay the expenses of the confirmation in Rome out of his own funds, and Blarer could repay him in Germany.[4]

Before all these negotiations between the bishop and Portia,[5] and Portia and Rome were completed, several further months elapsed. It was the end of December when the nuncio sent to Rome the request of the bishop-elect for confirmation, and the reduction of the annates, at the same time recommending that account should be taken of his desire to retain, of the two benefices which he held, at anyrate that at Constance.[6] The profession of faith of the new bishop, the careful inquiries into his previous behaviour and his moral conduct, together with the instrument of election, could only be sent on March 14th.[7]

On April 5th the documents were in Rome;[8] on the 11th of the same month the confirmation of Blarer was proposed

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx.

[2] Portia on December 26, 1575, *ibid.*, 294 and lxxvi. An auditor of Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo was Blarer's representative in Rome. *Ibid.*, 319, n.

[3] Galli on January 11, 1576, *ibid.*, 318.

[4] *Ibid.*, 339, n. 2.

[5] They were carried through in Portia's name by Tegginger, suffragan of Basle, in December, 1575 (*ibid.*, lxxiv, n. 3). Tegginger disguised himself and, carefully avoiding the main roads, crept into Basle in order to ordain Blarer to the priesthood. Portia to Galli on December 13, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 78.

[6] Portia on December 26, 1575; also on March 14, 1576; *ibid.*, 295, 370; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 78, 93. *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*, also Portia's letters to Blarer of May 30 and June 4, 1576.

[7] Portia on March 14, 1576; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 369 *seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 451, n. 5.

by Ludovico Madruzzo and granted on May 4th.[1] A Papal brief[2] allowed the bishop-elect to take possession of his diocese before the bulls were sent, and the annates were reduced to one third.[3] With regard to Blarer's desire to retain the benefice which he held at Constance, out of consideration for the Cardinal of Constance, nothing was definitely decided.[4] Blarer received through both Portia and Morone the authority to be consecrated by one bishop assisted by two abbots.[5]

On the occasion of his visit to Porrentruy at the end of January, 1576, Portia, on account of the good qualities of Blarer, made an exception to the usual custom of Rome of not treating with bishops who were not yet consecrated concerning the affairs of the pastoral office. He strongly urged upon him the reform decrees which he was insisting upon everywhere: synods, frequent canonical visitations, care in conferring sacred orders and the appointment of parish priests, and examination and concursus of parish priests, and above all the establishment of a seminary, as there was not a single school in the whole diocese, so that even the Catholics sent their sons to Protestant teachers in Basle. The bishop-elect listened with attention and promised to carry out his pastoral ministry in person. He pointed out that in some of the matters touched upon by the nuncio the work had already been begun, but that there were very great and real difficulties in the diocese; the poverty of the diocese was a special hindrance to the establishment of a seminary, and it would be impossible to find a way out of the

[1] *Ibid.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 103, 106.

[2] Of March 12, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 97.

[3] SANTORI, *loc. cit.*

[4] Consultation on the subject on May 4, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 451, n. 5. Portia felt this rebuff very keenly (to Blarer on May 30, 1576, *ibid.*, 451). For Blarer's canonry in Basle, *ibid.*, lxxxii.

[5] *Ibid.*, lxxix. Portia to Galli on September 29, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 102. Gregory XIII. to Blarer on November 6, 1576, *ibid.*, 103.

difficulty unless the Pope would grant him the revenues of the abandoned monasteries.[1]

Portia formed a favourable impression as to the personality of Blarer, who was scarcely thirty-three; he led a life that was truly ecclesiastical, loved study, was filled with the love of his neighbour and with piety, was convinced of the importance of the episcopal office and often said mass.[2] Blarer has "the capacity, the scientific culture, and the independence of spirit to accomplish great things."[3]

As bishop, Jakob Christopher Blarer became indeed the restorer of the diocese of Basle.[4] He insistently asked Charles Borromeo for his synodal constitutions;[5] in 1581 he held a synod at Delsberg, inviting Peter Canisius,[6] laboured for the establishment of a Jesuit college at Porrentruy, which, after great difficulties, came into existence in 1591;[7] he was zealous in the visitation of his diocese, and admitted no one to the care of souls without a favourable report from the examiners.[8] It was especially by means of the college at Porrentruy that he succeeded in regenerating his clergy; he himself paid the expenses of the education of poor youths.[9] Jakob Christopher only reaped the fruits of his labours and sacrifices under the

[1] Portia on February 14, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 86-91; Credentials for Portia to Blarer on November 12, 1576, *ibid.*, 72. A brief of March 22, 1578 (WIRZ, 409) once more warns the bishop of his duty with regard to good priests, visitations and seminary.

[2] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 90 *seq.*

[3] On February 27, 1576, *ibid.*, 92. Also on February 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 83.

[4] "One of the most remarkable clerics to appear at that time, an energetic and unfailing representative of the counter-reformation" (DIERAURER, III., 352). *Cf.*, his reports to Rome in SCHMIDLIN, III., 68-76, and FIALA in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.[2] 902-6.

[5] FIALA, *loc. cit.*, 903.

[6] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 69.

[7] SCHMIDLIN, III., 70. DUHR, I., 222-6.

[8] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 73.

successors of Gregory XIII.; when in 1602 he carried out a solemn visitation by means of the auxiliary bishop, Franz Bär, together with the vicar-general and a Jesuit, the people everywhere flocked to the sermons and catechism, which was held twice a day by the Jesuits, willingly threw open the churches and gave every sign of their submission.[1]

A short time after Blarer had taken possession of his diocese his Protestant subjects demanded the free exercise of their religion. The bishop's desire and efforts, on the contrary, was to rule over none but Catholics. He won back the Sissgau, where the new doctrines had already taken too deep root, to the city of Basle. In order the better to cope with the Protestants in the other parts of his territory, on September 28th, 1579, he concluded a treaty at Lucerne with the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, which was solemnly sworn to at Porrentruy on January 13th, 1580. The cantons bound themselves to support the bishop in bringing back his heretical subjects to the true Christian religion, and their obedience to their lawful superior, but refused to make use of any force without their own consent. Uri, which at first had had no share in this treaty, was advised by Gregory XIII. to adhere to it,[2] and later on the Pope praised the bishop for this alliance.[3] Blarer himself preached to the Protestants in the districts of Birseck and Laufen. A short time before the death of Gregory XIII. a decision by arbitration assured to the Catholics as well as the Protestants in both these districts the free exercise of their religion, and forbade any use of force. It was only after the death of Gregory that greater results were obtained.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 72. For particulars of the auxiliary bishop, Bär 1550-1611) see GFRÖRER in the *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., VXIII. (1903), 86-103.

[2] On November 22, 1579, WIRZ, 415.

[3] On May 10, 1580, *ibid.*, 420.

[4] FIALA in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*[2], II.[1] 903 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 355; DUHR, I., 476. *Cf.* CONSTANTINE SCHMIDLIN, Das Jahrhundert der politisch-religiösen Umwälzungen in den deutschen Vogteien des ehemaligen Fürstentums Basel 1502-1608 (special

Jakob Christopher, in taking possession of his office, so states the encomium on his epitaph, had found his diocese oppressed by error and sin, but owing to his prudence and firmness it had been saved.[1] Portia therefore had been right in the estimate which he had formed of Blarer from the time of his first meeting him in 1576, and that his intervention on his behalf had not been wasted. His exhortations to the other bishops whom he spoke with during the course of the same year were not altogether in vain. After his visit to Blarer at Porrentruy, Portia had gone to Besançon, and on his way back had met Johann von Manderscheid,[2] Bishop of Strasbourg, at Dachstein, where the bishop had built himself a splendid residence. For the most part Johann lived at Zabern; Strasbourg was closed to him, and Portia himself thought that his life would be in danger should he go there.[3]

In that city, which was entirely Protestant, Catholic worship was still tolerated, though with closed doors, only in two or three convents of nuns until their death.[4] Of the twenty-four canons six or eight still remained at Strasbourg,[5] the rest only passing some six weeks in the city every year, so as to receive the rich revenues of their office.[6] The cathedral chapter of Strasbourg was composed entirely of the sons of princes, counts, and barons, and was looked upon as the most distinguished in Germany; at the time of Portia's visit it included the sons of the Dukes of Saxony-Lauenberg, Cleves and Holstein. The canons were entirely secularized,

reprint from the *Geschichtsblättern*, IV.), Laufen, 1908-10, part II., and also TROXLER in the *Zeitschrift für schwiezerische Kirchengeschichte*, VI., 63 *seq.* Troxler is preparing a work on Blarer.

[1] SCHMIDLIN, III., 69, n. See also *infra*, p. 174.

[2] K. HAHN, Die kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen des Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderscheid 1569-92, Strassburg, 1913.

[3] Portia on February 23, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 354.

[4] *Ibid.*, 351.

[5] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 354.

[6] Gropper on November 5, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 436.

and wore the dress of secular nobles; new members were admitted at will, and with only the sanction of the provost. Portia would very gladly have seen the making of the profession of faith made a condition for admission, but the bishop did not dare to lay any such proposal before such important nobles.[1]

Johann von Manderscheid received from his contemporaries the character of a good life, and of love for the Church;[2] to the nunico he appeared to be very courteous, restrained, prudent, hard-working and intelligent, but too covetous of honours.[3] Portia recommended to the bishop the seminary, visitations and a synod; Johann Manderschied showed his good will in these respects but emphatically pointed out the difficulties of his position. No diocese in Germany had fallen so low as his, and none moreover was richer in privileges and liberties, but now it was plunged in licentiousness. In spite of long reflection, he had been able to find no means of raising his clergy, as to whose lack of culture and morals he expressed himself in much the same way as did public opinion.[4]

The auxiliary bishop, Johann Delphius,[5] pointed out, on the following day, that professors were lacking for a seminary; Portia might be able to come to their assistance in this respect. The scarcity of priests militated against any strong stand against concubinage; the priests who were expelled would be received with open arms by the Protestants, and could

[1] Portia on February 23, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 340.

[2] See DUHR, I., 134 *seq.* The Papal confirmation, which was also asked for by Cardinal Otto Truchsess (*cf.* his *letter to Manderscheid of July 2, 1569, with an autograph postscript, *Strassburger Bezirksarchiv*) was not granted to the bishop until June 26, 1573. SCHWARZ, Gropper, 39.

[3] Portia on February 23, 1576, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 346. *Cf.* HAHN, Die kirchenlichen Reformbestrebungen des Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderscheid, 53.

[5] For particulars of him see POSTINA in the *Festgabe für Hermann Grauert*, Freiburg, 1910.

not be replaced. To fill the parishes only by means of a concursus was equally impossible because of the want of priests, and because their appointment was in the hands of lay patrons.[1] As to the point that at that time it was impossible to obtain equality of rights for Catholics and Protestants in the city of Strasbourg, it would seem that Portia found himself in agreement with the account given by the auxiliary bishop. It was moreover of no use to count upon the extreme step of Imperial intervention, because no attention was any longer paid there to the commands of the Emperor.[2] With all the greater insistence did the nuncio urge the bishop to resist the spread of the new religion at anyrate in the territory where he had civil authority, and Johann promised this with great firmness. In Schlettstadt, which was seriously threatened, he had, in the course of his journey obtained from the council the promise to remain true to the old faith. He had introduced a good preacher at Oberehnheim, and wished to do the same at Schlettstadt; there was moreover a good parish priest there, who was much revered by the older councillors. The fate of both these cities depended upon the way in which religious events turned out at Colmar. The promulgation of the Council of Trent had proved to be impossible even under his predecessor.[3]

The Archduke Ferdinand had already exhorted the bishop to visit his diocese in 1570 and again in 1573,[4] but on both occasions without result, although a Papal brief had placed all the necessary faculties at his disposal.[5] Johann von Manderscheid contented himself with obtaining information as to the conditions in his diocese, and especially the state

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 347-50.

[2] *Ibid.*, 351.

[3] *Ibid.*, 352 *seq.*

[4] K. Hahn in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXVI. (1911), 206 *seq.*, 208 *seq.* Under date February 18, 1578, Ferdinand asked the Pope to found seminaries in Constance, Basle and Besançon. Theiner, II., 367.

[5] On March 30, 1574, in Hahn, *loc. cit.*, 211, n. 5.

of the clergy, by means of his assistant.[1] Portia now pointed out to him that such measures were not sufficient, that he ought rather to appoint true and real visitors, who would strive to correct, not only the faults of the clergy, but also the errors, abuses and immorality of the laity, and demand an account of the state of the churches, the ecclesiastical furniture and the celebration of the sacred functions. Portia's advice bore fruit:[2] after 1576 there was great activity in the matter of canonical visitations,[3] which continued after the death of Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. gave the bishop authority to visit all the ecclesiastical institutions in his diocese.[4]

On May 22nd, 1578, Gregory XIII. had already asked for information as to what steps had been taken so far for the establishment of a seminary.[5] As the bishop told Portia, he would gladly have invited the Jesuits to direct the institute, but feared the disturbances to which such a step might give rise.[6] It would seem that in this matter as well the nuncio succeeded in giving him courage. On the strength of this the bishop, in the very year following his visitation, wrote to the Pope[7] that he was thinking of establishing a Jesuit school, and of equipping it with the revenues of the deserted monasteries. In 1580 the college was opened at Molsheim;[8] a Papal brief confirmed the new establishment.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 207. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 347.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348.

[3] *Cf.* HAHN *loc. cit.*, 204-49, 501-43, 573-98.

[4] On April 30, 1588, *ibid.*, 220.

[5] HAHN, *loc. cit.*, 271.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 349.

[7] On April 20, 1577, in THEINER, II., 297.

[8] DUHR, I., 133-6. N. PAULUS in the *Revue cath. d'Alsace*, 1887, 175 *seqq.*, *cf. ibid.*, 1867, 1869, 1875. HAHN, *loc. cit.*, XXV. (1910), 246-94. Owing to pressure of work, the Jesuits had refused, at first, to undertake the college, and had advised the bishop to apply to other Orders, "non enim Deus Societatis tantum Deus est, sed etiam aliorum." HAHN, *loc. cit.*, 270.

[9] Of April 27, 1584, HANN, *loc. cit.*, 277. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 41, 252.

If, at the beginning of his government, opinions were rightly divided about Bishop von Manderscheid, who was the son of a Protestant mother,[1] after the foundation of the Jesuit college, his ecclesiastical conduct continued to gain in zeal and firmness. In consequence of the remarks of the rector of the Jesuits, Ernfelder, he had himself ordained a priest.[2] The schools at Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Benfeld and Zabern were reformed on the model of that at Molsheim.[3] The bishop gladly seconded the efforts of the Jesuits for the instruction of the children and the common folk by means of the catechism.[4] A circular from the bishop to the chapters of the territory enjoined[5] that there should be hung up in all the churches a printed notice containing the principal points of the Catholic faith, and that this should be read aloud after the sermon. In those places where the bishop was also the civil prince, by the advice of Portia he took proceedings against the Protestants: henceforth only Catholics were to be recognized as citizens, and those who did not fulfil their religious duties were to be driven out.[6] The reform of the clergy, after the canonical visitation, began to make progress, so much so that in the city of Strasbourg itself Catholic life began to revive.[7]

Among the lower clergy of Alsace one who especially distinguished himself was Johann Rasser, who was first parish priest at Colmar and afterwards at Ensisheim.[8] A report to the Archduke[9] praises him in that not only "at

[1] M. Lossen in the *Abhandlungen der bayr. akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1889, 754, n. 18.

[2] Hahn, *loc. cit.*, 280.

[3] *Ibid.*, 282.

[4] Duhr, I., 459.

[5] Of September 20, 1582; Hahn, *loc. cit.*, 284.

[6] Hahn in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschchichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXV., 285.

[7] *Ibid.*, 291.

[8] Gfrörer in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F., X. (1895), 514 to 519. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXVII., 332 (especially for his poetical and literary activities).

[9] From Landvogt George von Thurn, 1580; Gfrörer, *loc. cit.*, 515. Hirn, I., 270.

the altar, or in the pulpit, but also in the choir and the school, he served God and His Highness the prince so faithfully and well that such zeal and diligence, united to such keenness and unwearied labour had never yet been seen in anyone" ; "the whole of his conduct and character gave occasion for no complaint." Rasser was the true founder of the academy of Ensisheim ; he increased from his own property, and the annual revenues of his parish, the limited income received from the deserted monasteries. Worn out with years and feeble health in 1584 he thought of handing over the school to the Jesuits. It was only in 1614 that this project was carried out ; in the negotiations carried on in 1584 with the Jesuit, Ferdinand Alber, the latter marvelled at Rasser's "sincerity, purity, rectitude and zeal for souls" ; owing to his labours the people of Ensisheim became good Catholics.[1]

Rasser was also the principal adviser of the Austrian government in his district in ecclesiastical matters, and in the canonical visitations he repeatedly acted as its representative.[2] But his mixing himself up with the civil authorities had certain evil consequences ; Bishop Blarer wrote once concerning the Archduke's exhortations for the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees,[3] that it was just as "as though a man had been given a good sword and had had his hands tied behind his back, and was then scolded and severely beaten."

Thanks to its parish priest Rasser, the Imperial free city of Colmar, which was ecclesiastically dependent upon Basle, had for a long time resisted the religious changes. But in May, 1575, despite the religious peace, two Protestant pastors had been forcibly introduced.[4] There soon followed a prohibition on the part of the council against people sending their sons to the school of the canons of St. Martin, against the use of the large bells and the organ in that church, as

[1] Duhr, II., 1, 271.
[2] Gfrörer, *loc. cit.*, 514.
[3] *Ibid.*, 504. Schmidlin, III., 76.
[4] Portia on June 12, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 40.

well as a prohibition to the Dominicans to preach.[1] There was also a danger lest the neighbouring cities of Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Türkheim and Kaisersberg should follow the example of Colmar. Portia at once had recourse from Augsburg to the nuncio in Vienna in order to obtain the intervention of the Emperor, as the Archduke Ferdinand had no power to intervene in the free cities of the Empire.[2] But no definite step was to be expected from the Emperor Maximilian II.,[3] even though Gregory XIII. had recourse to him in an autograph letter[4] on behalf of Colmar, and though later on the Curia did all in its power to save the Catholic religion in that city of the Empire.[5] Immediately after the arrival of the nuncio Portia at Freiburg the prior of the Dominicans at Colmar informed him that the Catholic religion there was bound to perish.[6] In 1586 the council of Colmar was entirely Protestant.[7]

More cautious, perhaps, than Johann von Manderschied, in his early days, was his colleague Markward von Hattstein (1560-1581) in the diocese of Spires. The principal city of the diocese had turned to Protestantism in 1540, and only the numerous clergy, the officials of the Imperial tribunal, and less than thirty citizens still adhered to the old faith, but the Council, which was very much opposed to Catholicism, in violation of the religious peace, forbade men to assist at Catholic sermons.[8] Moreover the city of Spires was surrounded by the territories of the Counts Palatine, who were zealous reformers; some parts of the diocese were surrounded by

[1] See Portia's report to Morone, 1576, *ibid.*, 304, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 40 *seq.*; HIRN, I., 203 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxii-lxvii.

[4] Of December 10, 1575; *ibid.*, 214, n. 1. The Pope also addressed himself to the Archduke Ferdinand on February 25, 1576; THEINER, II., 181.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxv.

[6] Portia on October 15, 1575; *ibid.*, 209.

[7] SCHMIDLIN, III., 67. F. LERSE: Geschichte der Reformation der ehemaligen Reichstadt Colmar, Mülhausen, 1856, 9.

[8] Portia on April 4, 1576; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 399.

the possessions of the Protestant Dukes of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach. In some villages the bishop and the Count Palatine exercised their jurisdiction jointly.[1] The cathedral chapter of Spires was still Catholic, and the scholastic, Andreas von Oberstein, dean of the cathedral since 1586, was further "a man who enjoyed the highest reputation throughout Germany on account of his rare piety and sanctity, and his truly religious conduct, and who kept the canons obedient to their duties and under strict discipline."[2] According to Portia, too,[3] Oberstein was one of the most pious and deserving ecclesiastics in all Germany, as all bore witness, and as was specially recognized by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, since it was to him they owed their residence in that city and all that they possessed there, for it had been Oberstein who, in 1567, had been successful in bringing about the establishment of the Jesuit college at Spires.[4]

The attention of Portia had been drawn to Spires since 1573. The Calvinist Count Palatine, Frederick III., at that time was seeking from the Council the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spires, and had already gone so far as to cut off from the city the supply of wood and victuals. The bishop allowed himself to be intimidated, but not so the chapter.[5] The Jesuits had recourse through Portia to Gregory XIII., and the latter asked, through the nuncio at Vienna, for a letter from the Emperor to the Council of Spires, which for the time being settled the dispute.[6]

[1] SCHMIDLIN, III., 87 *seqq.*

[2] Minucci, 1588, *ibid.*, 90, according to STEINHUBER, Germanicum, I., 236.

[3] On July 30, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 147. Oberstein stayed with the Jesuits for three weeks making the Spiritual Exercises, after which he thought of becoming a Carthusian. DUHR, I., 543.

[4] *Ibid.*, 115. *Cf.* REMLING, Bischöfe, II., 375 *seq.*

[5] Portia on December 9, 1573 and January 6, 1574; *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266, 305.

[6] Galli on January 23, 1574; *ibid.*, 322; *cf.* 335, n.; 336, n. 21.

But in the following year it broke out afresh. As was always the case every fifteen years, on June 24th, 1575, there was a renewal of the terms of the contract existing, on the basis of the convention of 1420, between the council and the clergy of the city. On this occasion the council protested because this contract did not include "the sneaking Jesuits of Spires, who had been secretly introduced in these days."[1] Portia at once had recourse to the Emperor through the nuncio at Vienna, as well as to the Pope and Duke Albert V.[2] But the Bishop of Spires had already anticipated him. On July 20th, 1575, a letter from the Emperor arrived from Prague which again saved the Jesuits.[3] The briefs of Gregory XIII. to the chapter and the bishop[4] were no longer necessary when they came; but the hatred of the Council of Spires was not extinguished, and they forbade the citizens to harbour the pupils of the Jesuits.[5]

When the bishop sent to the nuncio his reply to the papal brief,[6] so that he might forward it, he subjoined two requests to it. He desired that the property of the church of Our Lady of Landau, which was falling down and was neglected by unworthy priests, might be given to the parochial church of St. Nazarius at Udenheim, so that it might not fall into the hands of the Protestants,[7] and also that the almost extinct convent of the Franciscans at Spires might be used for a seminary.[8] These suggestions gave the nuncio an opportunity of going in person to Spires. With regard to the convent of the Franciscans he pronounced in favour of the bishop's

[1] Portia on July 9, 1575; *ibid.*, V., 74. Extract from the Protestation, *ibid.*, 159, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 74-6.

[3] Portia on August 29, 1575; *ibid.*, 162, n. 4. DUHR, I., 119.

[4] Of July 30, 1575, in THEINER, II., 51 *seq.*, 52.

[5] DUHR, I., 119.

[6] Of September 6, 1575, in THEINER, II., 53. *Ibid.*, 52 *seq.* the reply of the Chapter on September 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, 53 *seq.* *Cf.* Portia on September 12, 1575; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 182.

[8] Portia on February 4, 1576; *ibid.*, 319.

wishes,[1] but he thought that the church of Landau, as the last remains of Catholicism, ought to be left to that city.[2] The German Congregation approved of these decisions.[3]

Before Portia came to these decisions he had met with several surprises at Spires. Immediately after his arrival, the suffragan, Fabricius, and the vicar-general, Beat Moses, informed him that the news of the arrival of a Papal legate would throw the whole city into an uproar, and that the nuncio must therefore either remain hidden at Spires, or chose the neighbouring Udenheim for his residence. Portia could not devote much time to the question and decided on the latter alternative. At Udenheim he at once received further news that the bishop was ill and unable personally to visit the nuncio.[4] Actually during the whole of his stay Portia was able to keep in touch with that timid man, either in writing or by means of Michael, the rector of the Jesuits.

In the meantime the nuncio took the opportunity of getting information as to the state of affairs at Spires. He learned that the bishop was looked upon as a member of the supreme tribunal, but in no way as the head of the diocese; he did not dare to mention the Council of Trent or reform.[5] Some even doubted his staunchness in the faith, as he was in constant relations with the Count Palatine and with John Casimir; both these had publicly stated that the diocese would be at peace so long as Bishop Markward lived, and that later on they would know what to do. The suspicions against his faith were removed when Markward in the most definite way declared that he had always been a sincere Catholic and wished always to remain so; he was cut to the heart to think that such suspicions were entertained about him; his only reason for keeping on good terms with the Count

[1] *Ibid.*, 401.

[2] *Ibid.*, 403. *Cf.* Portia to Bishop Markward on March 27, 1576; *ibid.*, 413-7; THEINER, II., 188.

[3] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 115.

[4] Portia on March 27, 1576; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 396 *seq.*

[5] Portia on April 4, 1576; *ibid.*, 400. Moreover see REMLING, Bischöfe, II., 370, 374.

Palatine was that Spires might not be destroyed as had already happened in the case of the diocese of Worms, which had been practically reduced to nothing.[1] Portia found the secular clergy of Spires better than elsewhere, a thing which was to be attributed to the zeal of the pious and prudent dean.[2] On the other hand the regular clergy were in a bad state.

In the convent of the Dominicans there was only one religious, who had recently been in prison; he belonged to a special congregation consisting of three houses with ten depraved religious. The nuncio suggested to Rome that this congregation should be suppressed.[3] The supreme authorities of the Order, moreover, had for a long time been working to that end, and Portia himself had been engaged upon the matter at Freiburg.[4] The profound decadence of the convent of the Friars Preachers had led to the Council of Spires causing Protestant pastors to preach in the church of that Order as well as in that of the Augustinians.[5]

Otherwise, that part of the diocese of Spires which lay in Wurtemberg and the Palatinate might be said to have been lost to Catholicism. A third part remained, but there the clergy were in a bad state; some of the priests had attempted to marry openly. Among the laity the Anabaptists had a strong following. At the instance of the chapter the bishop promised to make a visitation, but afterwards excused himself on the score of his duties as president of the supreme tribunal, and the disturbances caused by the war.[6]

In the diocese of Constance Portia thought it unnecessary to interfere, or to do more than make some inquiries into

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 409 *seq.* *Cf.* his letter to Portia of April 5, 1576; *ibid.*, 420.

[2] *Ibid.*, 400.

[3] *Ibid.*, 400 *seq.* As a matter of fact five convents belonged to that Congregation; see *ibid.*, lix, n. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, lviii-lxi, 325 *seq.* Acta capitulorum generalium O.P., ed. B. M. Reichert, V., Romae, 1901, 105, 123, 160.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 400.

[6] *Ibid.*, 402,

its condition, all the more so, as he wrote to the auxiliary bishop of Constance, Balthasar Wurer,[1] because of the zeal and capacity of that prelate, whom he had learned to appreciate and esteem by his personal dealings with him. Before his departure from Freiburg the nuncio nevertheless felt himself obliged in a letter to Wurer[2] to recommend to the reforming zeal of the auxiliary bishop all the principal abuses which he had noticed in the diocese of Constance; the radical cause of all the evils he declared to be the ignorance of the clergy, who took upon themselves the sacerdotal office without knowing its duties. The Austrian government treated the Protestants of Constance with great consideration; above all they refused to allow any Jesuit college there so as not to rouse religious feeling.[3] The Jesuit mission, however, was doing much good in Constance;[4] in 1592 scarcely half the inhabitants were still Protestants, and where formerly there had been only one Catholic there were now ten or more.[5]

Portia's activities in Upper Germany came to an end with his departure for Ratisbon. At the beginning of 1577 the Pope sent him as his representative to Cologne, and at the end of the following year he was chosen as nuncio to the Emperor, but he did not hold that office for long. Hardly recovered from a serious illness he set out for the national Diet of Bohemia at Prague, and died there as the result of a relapse, a victim to his devotion to duty and his zeal in the service of the Holy See.[6]

Portia's successor in 1578 in Upper Germany was Feliciano Ninguarda, who now, no longer as a simple Dominican, or as Papal commissary, but as Bishop of Scala and real nuncio,

[1] On June 5, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, 100-2. For the deplorable conditions prevailing in the diocese of Constance *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, III., 7 *seqq.*; GMELIN in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, XXV., 129-204; SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, N.F. XXXII. *seq.*

[3] HIRN, I., 204.

[4] DUHR, I., 408 *seqq.*

[5] HIRN, I., 205.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 8 *seq.*

took upon himself the reform work of his predecessor.[1] If Portia had especially distinguished himself as a capable diplomatist who, in his dealings with the civil and ecclesiastical princes and other dignitaries, had been able to give the first impulse to reform, Ninguarda in his turn sought above all to apply a healing hand to the evils of the clergy, and especially of those in the monasteries. The labours and sacrifices which he endured in carrying out his task were marvellous. Between the years 1578 and 1583 he indefatigably travelled about the vast district of his nunciature; he was not dismayed by the hardships of the winter in the north, or by the sight of the discouraging state of affairs; neither the weariness of the unending monotony of the work of reform, nor the resistance which he encountered, nor the want of results could ever make him fold his hands in despair.

Thus in 1578 he laboured with but scanty results at the reform of the cathedral of Freising, and the visitation of the monasteries of Neuenzell and Weihenstephan.[2] At the beginning of the following year he devoted his attention to the chapter of Brixen,[3] and addressed severe remonstrances to the Archbishop of Salzburg,[4] because after a lapse of ten years the decrees of the provincial synod of Salzburg had not been put into force. During the months of August and September he spent some time in visiting Constance.[5]

[1] His appointment, which had for its object the influencing of the Archduke Charles, was discussed by Odescalchi in a *letter of May 24, 1578, to the Duke of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] SCHLECHT, Ninguarda, 68. Ordinance made to the canons on October 10, and their reply in THEINER, II., 361 *seqq.*

[3] Rescript to the bishop in February, 1579, to the canons on February 14, and their answer which caused a warning to be sent to the bishop on February 26, *ibid.*, III., 28 *seqq.*; to the Poor Clares at Brixen on February 22, *ibid.*, 33; to the Dominicans Trent on January 16, 1579; *ibid.*, 35.

[4] On April 15, 1579, *ibid.*, 37.

[5] SCHELLHASS in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F., XXXII. (1917), 3-43. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II, 141 529, 713.

Ninguarda devoted his activities to Ratisbon after the beginning of 1580; the year before, to the advantage of the diocese, the bishop, David Kölderer, had died; Gregory XIII. after some hesitation,[1] had consented to the request of the chapter[2] and the Archbishop of Salzburg[3] that the five year old son of Duke William V. should be chosen as bishop, and appointed Ninguarda as administrator of the diocese. The nuncio therefore devoted special attention to Ratisbon. He visited the cathedral church, the two collegiate churches, and the Charterhouse of Prühl; also the three convents of noble women, the Franciscans, Benedictines, Scots, and Dominicans, the nuns of S. Clare and Holy Cross, and the Augustinian Canons and Hermits.[4] In 1581 there was issued a severe ordinance against the immoral clergy of the diocese, which was also printed.[5] In 1580 there was a visitation of that part of the diocese of Eichstätt which came within Bavaria, especially Ingolstadt,[6] as well as of the capital of Bavaria[7] and Passau.[8] During the following years the work of reform at Salzburg especially absorbed the energies of the nuncio; in September 1581 he visited the canons, for whose benefit he embodied his demands in a decree of October 24th; similar enactments had already been issued for the clergy, the Hospitallers and the monasteries; on October 31st a general decree for the court, the city and the civil government completed the work.[9]

As one who was so zealous for the reform of the Orders,

[1] On November 21, 1579; *ibid.*, 16.

[2] On August 15, 1579; in THEINER, III., 11 *seqq.*

[3] On August 17, 1579; *ibid.*, 16.

[4] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 69. REICHENBERGER in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIV. (1900), 356 *seqq.*

[5] On April 25; in THEINER, III., 254.

[6] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 70, 124-50.

[7] *Ibid.*, 70.

[8] Ninguarda to Bishop Urban on August 20, 1580; in THEINER, III., 143-6.

[9] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 71-4. Since 1580 George von Kuenburg had been coadjutor to the Archbishop of Salzburg who had been struck with apoplexy. WIDMANN, 104.

Ninguarda[1] encouraged the Benedictines of Swabia during the years 1580–1583,[2] as well as to the other religious congregations of Bavaria who were desirous of joining together in one congregation and establishing a seminary for young novices. This scheme came to nothing when it already seemed to be almost realized.[3]

In 1582 Ninguarda issued some enactments concerning prohibited books,[4] and the enclosure in monasteries.[5] His health, however, had in the meantime suffered badly; he could no longer walk and one arm was completely paralysed. He was accordingly given permission to return to Italy,[6]

[1] A mandate for the nuncio from the Archduke Charles to the religious superiors in his territory on June 23, 1578; in THEINER, III., 359. Ninguarda's visitation regulations for the Benedictine monasteries have been brought to light by B. ALBERS in the *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner und Zisterzienserorden*. Regulations for the convent of nuns at Niedernburg (diocese of Passau) in August, 1581, and July, 1583, in volume XXI (1900), 197-216; for Tegernsee in July, 1581, *ibid.*, XXII. (1901), 113 *seqq.*, 334 *seqq.*; for Salzburg in September and October, 1581, *ibid.*, 338 *seqq.*, 349.

[2] THEINER, III., 138 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Ninguarda's pronouncement to the Bavarian Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinian Canons and Premonstratensians on May 24, 1583, in ALBERS, *loc. cit.* XXII., 127; SCHMIEDER, *ibid.*, XII. (1891), 80 *seq.* A house for the seminary had already been bought in Ingolstadt; but, in spite of this, it was decided to find accommodation for the religious in a separated part of the Georgianum in Munich (*Römische Quartalschrift*, V., 127). Concerning the plan of a seminary for the female orders, see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 348.

[4] On May 1, 1582, in THEINER, III., 326. *Cf.* REUSCH, I., 472. He confiscated those books which contained sham miracles, mythical stories of the saints and such like things (*ibid.*, 478; JANSSEN-PASTOR, I. [19-20], 77, n. For the inquiry into the miraculous hosts of Andechs, see SCHLECHT in the *Jahresbericht des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, VIII. (1895), 65 *seqq.*

[5] On May 13, 1582, in THEINER, III., 327 *seq.*

[6] Madruzzo to Galli on July 21, 1582; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 472.

but was content to go to a spa to seek his cure.[1] In the autumn of 1582 and the following year he again devoted himself to important tasks.

In addition to his reforming activities among the chapters and monasteries, Ninguarda also had important business to transact and conclude at the courts of the princes and magnates. These took him in the first instance to Graz,[2] to the Archduke Charles, to whom he addressed severe remonstrances on account of his concessions to the Protestants The disturbances at Chur obliged him to make a stay of four weeks in 1578 with the Bishop of Chur at Fürstenburg, and in the following year to undertake long journeys in Switzerland.[3] But most important of all were the negotiation between Ninguarda and the Duke of Bavaria.

Although Albert V. had done so much on behalf of the Catholic cause, yet the interference of his officials in the affairs of the Church caused much discontent among zealous Catholics. The nuncio Portia had already had to listen to the gravest complaints on this subject, but had seen no way of providing a remedy.[4] Cardinal Morone, on leaving the Diet of Ratisbon, had made grave remonstrances to the Duke's councillor, Fend; Fend, however, had sheltered himself behind the plea that, in view of the negligence of the bishops, they ought to be glad that at anyrate the government took steps to remedy the grave abuses, that unless it did so Bavaria would no longer have any Catholic Church, and that the levies made upon the property of the monasteries rested upon Imperial privileges.[5]

Much the same reply was received by Ninguarda[6] when

[1] SCHLECHT, Ninguarda, 75. For the Papal permission to return, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 490.

[2] Where he stayed from May 30 until June 26, 1578, THEINER, II., 351 *seqq.*

[3] See *infra*, p. 166.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 72, 81, *cf.* 117.

[5] Fend's report of his conversation with Morone has been brought to light by SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII. (1910), 366-78.

[6] THEINER, II., 365.

in the Pope's name he again raised the former complaints, though naturally in a courteous and prudent way, in the presence of Albert V. himself.[1] The Duke was displeased that all his efforts on behalf of the Church only met with rebukes, and as long as he lived Ninguarda did not dare to take any further steps in the matter, but under Albert's son, William V., hope again revived in ecclesiastical circles. The new Duke himself obviously had in view the regularization of his political relations with the Church, and immediately after his succession to the throne he assured the Pope[2] that he would as prince make every effort to keep his conscience unstained, and not interfere in matters which did not pertain to him.

But the question whether the interferences in ecclesiastical matters, which rested upon a long tradition, were the province of the Duke of Bavaria or not, was a question that was hotly debated. When Ninguarda, immediately after the succession to the duchy of William V., again made the old complaints, the Duke's councillors maintained that they were ; Ninguarda denied this. Georg Eder, the councillor of the Empire, to whom the Duke submitted the written opinions of the councillors and the nuncio, declared in a memorial that he took the part of the theologians rather than the jurists, as custom could never justify an abuse. Finally, he advised the Duke to consult with the bishops and the Pope concerning the points under discussion.[3]

William then drew up the debated points in twenty-two requests, which he submitted to Ninguarda and the nuncio at Vienna, Bonhomini, for their observations,[4] and in the spring of 1581 he sent his court preacher, Martin Dum, to the Pope to ask for absolution for what had been done in the past, as well as for the confirmation of the claims now put forward for the future, and the concession of new ones. Rome, however, referred the duke to the bishops.

[1] *Ibid.*, 362-5.

[2] On November 24, 1579, *ibid.*, III., 7.

[3] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 292-6.

[4] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 296 ; Auswärtige Verhältnisse, Urkunden I, 43 *seqq.*, 48.

In the meantime the desired meeting of the bishops was again and again postponed. At first it was arranged for September, 1581; in preparation the nuncio held conferences with the duke's representatives from June 28th to July 4th, and mnay points were then settled.[1] Under the presidency of Cardinal Madruzzo, and in the presence of the nuncios, Ninguarda and Bonhomini, a further conference was held with the Bavarian councillors on the occasion of the Diet at Augsburg in 1582.[2] But the assembly of the bishops had not yet been brought about at the beginning of the following year, so that Gregory XIII. had to remind the Duke of Bavaria of it on January 29th, 1583.[3] William V. replied[4] that he too was very desirous of this meeting of the bishops, and again pointed out that he did not wish for anything that he could not have by right and with a clear conscience. On August 15th of the same year there met together at Munich the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishops of Freising, Ratisbon, Passau and Chiemsee, and from their negotiations with the representatives of the duke there resulted the concordat of Bavaria. The duke's councillor, Erasmus Fend, displayed special zeal, beyond all the rest, on behalf of the claims of the duke;[5] it was he who in September, 1581, had called attention to and insisted upon the conditions prevailing in France, Spain and Portugal,[6] namely, that what was permitted to the Emperor and to those sovereigns must also be allowed to the Duke of Bavaria in his own dominions. On the other side, Ninguarda showed himself very ready to meet the wishes of the government. The Bavarian councillors naturally did not succeed in obtaining all that they asked for, but several rights which the dukes

[1] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 296.

[2] On September 10; see SCHLECHT in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, V., 80.

[3] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 300, n. 14.

[4] On February 21, 1583 (new style), THEINER, III., 411.

[5] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 300 *seq.*

[6] To William V. on September 5, 1581; see ARETIN, Auswärtige Verhältnisse, Urkunden 1, 47 *seq.*

had hitherto only enjoyed *de facto*, were now granted to them *de jure* under the concordat. Both parties gained an advantage in that henceforth various legal uncertainties were cleared up.[1]

Nevertheless, almost another ten years elapsed before the concordat of Bavaria was promulgated in 1592. The reason for this lay in the fact that Duke William wished, together with its confirmation, for other things which Rome found a difficulty in granting. Above all he wished that Munich should be made an episcopal see, with a diocese including the district of the capital. It is easy to understand why such a request was made, since seven bishops shared the spiritual authority over Bavaria, namely, those of Salzburg, Chiemsee, Augsburg, Eichstätt, Ratisbon, Freising and Passau,[2] yet none of these seven had their see in a city which was subject to the Duke of Bavaria. Hence came the desire that the capital of the Duchy should also be the place of residence of one of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries. The diocese of the new bishop was not to extend outside the city of Munich, but he was to be directly subject to the Pope, and to exercise a kind of authority over the other bishops who ruled in Bavaria; he was to be the president of the ecclesiastical council and to hold the office of nuncio. The plan came to nothing because of its singularity.[3]

When at the end of 1583 Ninguarda bore the petition for the diocese of Munich, together with other requests, across the Alps, his work in Germany was ended. At the beginning of 1583 he was appointed Bishop of S. Agata dei Goti, and in 1588 received the bishopric of Como, where he died in 1595. In 1584 Cardinal Galli inquired whether his health would permit of his going back to Germany; in 1586 he was again designated as nuncio to Switzerland, but no further

[1] RIEZLER, VI., 271 *seqq.* DOEBERL, I., 466-74.

[2] ARETIN, Auswärtige Verhältnisse, 64.

[3] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, IV., 363-76. RATZINGER in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CX., 346-56, and in the *Forschungen zur bayr. Geschichte*, Kempten, 1898.

work was given to him in those countries for which he had made such great sacrifices.[1]

During the whole course of his travels through the vast territory of his nunciature, Ninguarda nowhere received a better impression of the piety of the faithful than in Switzerland.

In the cantons of Lucerne, Unterwalden, Uri, Schwyz and Zug, so he wrote in his report to Galli,[2] both the authorities and private persons received him everywhere as the representative of the Holy See, with a love and veneration such as he had nowhere met with in Germany. "All, from the highest to the lowest, show the greatest zeal for the mass, for the Catholic faith, and for Christian piety. Not only on festival days, but also on working days, the churches are filled with the faithful, with their rosaries or their prayer books in their hands. I can recall no place in the whole of Germany where the churches are so frequented by so many people or with such deep piety as in these Catholic cantons, where apostasy from the faith is punished by death."

But Ninguarda also saw very clearly some dark spots. The original cantons belonging to the diocese of Constance were much neglected by the officials of the bishop, who was generally absent. This had the result that the Catholic authorities, who, in the absence of the ecclesiastical organization, interfered with the best intentions, were gradually in self defence adding to their powers in a way that was both unfitting and harmful, so that ecclesiastical liberties were threatened with extinction. In one of his reports to the Secretary of State, Ninguarda speaks of the scandalous lives led by ecclesiastics, the complete non-observance of the enclosure in convents of women, the encroachments of the civil authority, who had reduced many convents to a state of absolute dependence, and had usurped judicial powers over the clergy. The one exception was Lucerne, where the

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, Introduction, p. cccxciii *seq.*

[2] On June 22, 1579, Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 361.

tribunal for ecclesiastics had for some time been left in the hands of the dean.[1]

Charles Borromeo had a little while before formed the same opinion as Ninguarda.[2] After his journey into the interior of Switzerland in 1570 he had laid two proposals before the Holy See for the religious revival of that country: there should be an authorized representative of the Pope in Switzerland, who, unlike former nuncios, should direct his attention, not to political questions, but primarily to the internal reform of the Church; there should also be established at Lucerne a Jesuit college for German Switzerland, and the projected seminary at Constance should be set up.[3]

In the time of Pius V. it had not been possible to realize either of these proposals,[4] but his successor at once took care that German Switzerland should have its educational establishments. Gregory XIII.'s plan of founding a Jesuit college at Constance was not carried into effect, so it was with all the greater pleasure that he acceded to the request of the citizens of Lucerne that some members of the Society of Jesus should be sent there. During the summer of 1574 they began their pastoral work as well as their school.[5] The instructions which the provincial of the Jesuits in Upper Germany gave to the two fathers who were first sent to Lucerne, recommended them to adapt themselves as far as possible and in all things to the simplicity of the people.

[1] Ninguarda to Galli on July 8, 1579; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 380 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 314 of this work.

[3] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccxxvii.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 322 of this work.

[5] *Cf.* SEGESSER: Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 551 *seq.* and Ludwig Pfyffer, II., 94 *seq.*; FLEISCHLIN, Aus den Annalen des Gymnasiums zu Luzern, in the *Monatsrosen*, XXV.; GRÜTER: Das Kollegium zu Luzern unter dem ersten Rektor P. Martin Leubenstein, Lucerne, 1905; DUHR, I., 211 *seq.* See also J. BUCHER: Zur Gesch. des höheren Schulwesens in Luzern, in the publication issued to commemorate the opening of the Cantonal School Building, Lucerne, 1893.

Father Leubenstein was especially to occupy himself with preaching, and Father Liner with the catechism; to the latter the hospitals, prisons and the sick were also expressly recommended. "In the sermons they were to avoid words of rebuke, and love and prayer were to predominate. They were not to occupy themselves with the objections of the heretics, but must inculcate Catholic doctrines solidly, in a short and popular form, and not too learnedly. The same thing must apply to the catechism. They must be discreet in their requirements, learn the language well, and not be too easy in dealing with women outside the confessional. Generally speaking, they must not engage in controversies with the clergy, and at first, at anyrate, not even touch upon their shortcomings. By acting thus all would realize that they had no other end in view than the salvation of souls."[1]

The work of the Jesuits at Lucerne had hardly been begun when it was threatened by the unhealthy climate of the city, situated in a marshy lowland, so that in 1576 there was an idea of giving it up again. But the municipal council as well as the Pope insisted that the work which had been begun must be continued. In May, 1577, there followed the establishment of the college, to which was made over the most beautiful building in the city, the so-called Palace of the Knights (the present Rathaus). The school was opened in the autumn, and quickly succeeded. Noble benefactors, and, above all, the secretary of the municipality, Cysat; and the magistrate, Ludwig Pfyffer, occupied themselves concerning the material welfare of the establishment.[2] The work of the fathers was not limited to their labours in the school, which at first, indeed, was not their chief preoccupation; preaching and the care of souls took the first place. The results of their work was shown at the jubilee of 1576. Religious associations were soon formed, as for example the Confraternity of the Rosary in 1578, in which many pious persons enrolled themselves.[3]

[1] See MAYER, II., 192 *seq.*

[2] DUHR, I., 215 *seqq.*

[3] GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 31.

A long time elapsed before Borromeo's second suggestion was fulfilled, the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland, in reality a nuncio for the work of internal reform. As early as October, 1573, there had been the appointment of Bishop Volpi of Como as nuncio in Switzerland, but its only purpose was resistance to the Genevese, who wished to be joined to the federation as an additional canton. As far as can be ascertained Volpi contented himself with a written agreement, which the Pope in 1574 supported by a special brief.[1] When the nuncio Bartolomeo Portia and the Franciscan, Francesco Sporeno, were sent to the south-west of Germany in 1575, their mission included Switzerland, and in particular the dioceses of Chur, Lausanne and Sion.[2] But, apart from the fact that Sporeno was not a nuncio, Portia could not devote his attention exclusively to Switzerland, and thus Borromeo's idea was not fulfilled by his mission. Portia's warnings, however, met with a favourable reception from the Bishop of Basle, Jakob Christopher Blarer,[3] whose diocese extended into both Alsace and Switzerland. Of the instructions which Sporeno had received concerning Switzerland, he was only able to carry out one.[4] In February, 1576, he went to the Bishop of Chur, Beatus von Porta, at his castle at Fürstenburg, and visited Vintschgau. The lamentable state of the diocese of Chur gave Sporeno plenty to do. Under the pretext of recovering certain debts from the bishop, the partisans of the Salis family were troubling the Bishop of Chur to such an extent that the latter asked the Pope through Sporeno to relieve him of his office. Gregory XIII. would not consent to this. The bishop himself at length realized how dangerous a new election would be, and worked to get Abbot Joachim Opser

[1] THEINER, I., 135. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccliii *seqq.*

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xv. See *supra*, p. 127.

[3] See *supra*, p. 139 *seqq.*

[4] For the commissions entrusted to Sporeno see *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10, n. 1.

of St. Gall appointed as his co-adjutor with the right of succession.

Sporeno, who was soon afterwards recalled, was followed by Ninguarda, who, in addition to the question of Chur,[1] was to direct his attention to the reform of the secular clergy and the monasteries,[2] and did so with all zeal. He remained at Fürstenburg almost a whole month,[3] and besides the bishop, he visited the clergy and the monasteries, and issued regulations for the cathedral chapter.[4] In June he went to Lucerne, Oberwalden, Nidwalden, Uri and Schwyz to carry out the duties of his mission.[5] He met with a courteous reception, especially at Lucerne.

Ninguarda's work, however, was for the most part temporary and transitory, and it was while he was in Switzerland that the question of the nunciature was definitely settled, and a true nuncio appointed, who was to devote himself entirely to Switzerland.[6]

Already in August 1577 Uri, Unterwalden and Zug had suggested that the Pope should be asked to send a representative, who should devote himself to the necessary reform of the clergy in the federation, and in the dioceses of Chur, Sion and Basle. But no definite decision on this point had been arrived at. The matter, however, seemed to be all the more pressing in that in the democratic Forest cantons the authorities, in spite of their good will, had not the power to carry out a reform of the clergy. The conditions

[1] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. ccclxvii *seq.* MAYER gives a detailed account of Bishop Beatus in his Geschichte des Bistums Chur, II., 122 *seqq.*, 170 *seqq.*

[2] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 121 *seqq.*

[3] From November 9 to December 8, 1578, *ibid.*, Introduction, p. ccclxxviii.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 205 *seq.*, 213 *seq.*

[5] Ninguarda to Galli on June 22, 1579, *ibid.*, 357 *seqq.*

[6] For what follows: SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 428 *seqq.*; FELLER, Lussy, II., 39 *seqq.*; MAYER, II., 202 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccxcv *seqq.*; J. BERTHIER, Lettres de J. F. Bonomo (to Fribourg), Fribourg, 1894.

were different in Lucerne, where the Council, in conjunction with the Jesuits, were working to remove the abuses in the Church.

These different conditions partly explain the unfavourable attitude adopted by Lucerne, when the secretary of the municipality, Balthasar Luxsinger of Schwyz, urgently pressed Rome to send a nuncio. The authorities in Lucerne feared lest the position of their Captain of the Guard in Rome, Jost Segesser, should be threatened by the presence of a nuncio in Swiss territory, and treated the intervention of Luxsinger all the more coldly because he arbitrarily stated that he had the right to make official application to the Pope in the matter. They therefore demanded that Luxsinger should be called to account, and stirred up the seven Catholic cantons to send a letter to Gregory XIII. on February 24th, 1578, stating that if Luxsinger had asked for a nuncio this had been done without the knowledge of and against the wishes of the cantons ; the sending of such a nuncio at that moment would give rise to suspicion and distrust, and was therefore undesirable, that Segesser was sufficient for all their business, and that the Pope could very well continue to make use of the Captain of the Guard in all his transactions with them. Ludwig Pfyffer expressed himself even more strongly in his letter to Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems.[1]

In absolute disagreement with the biassed and selfish point of view of Lucerne, Melchior Lussy of Stans, who, with Pfyffer, was the most important representative of the Swiss Catholics,[2] maintained the need for a nuncio. The Governor of Uri, Walter Roll, expressed himself in like manner.[3] On March 17th, 1578, the canton of Schwyz associated itself with the plan of Uri, Unterwalden and Zug. In spite of this, however, Lucerne maintained its hostile attitude,[4] but just

[1] See THEINER, II., 391 *seqq.* and SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 424, n.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 315 *seq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 113 *seq.*

[4] See *Sammlung der eidgenössischen Abschiede*, IV., 2, 645 ; SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 429.

then an event occurred which resulted in the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland.

On February 15th, 1578, Gregory XIII. charged the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, who had once accompanied Charles Borromeo on his travels through Switzerland, with the visitation and reform of the dioceses of Novara and Como.[1] Since the territories in Switzerland and the Federation belonged to the latter, Bonhomini was once again brought into direct contact with Switzerland. In the middle of July, 1578, the zealous bishop began by making a visitation of the most difficult part of his district, the Valtellina, where there had been no bishop within living memory. He there administered the sacrament of confirmation to 5000 persons, and gave communion to 3000, and encouraged the Catholics who had gathered together from the distant mountains to resist the religious changes. A prohibition on the part of the government of the three leagues put an end to this work on August 2nd.[2] Bonhomini then devoted himself to the visitation of the territory proper of the diocese of Como; at Lugano and in the Ticino he carried out the work of reform with such good results that even to-day his work there is still held in honour.[3] At the same time he brought pressure to bear on all sorts of persons for the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland; he especially addressed himself with great insistence to Charles Borromeo. The latter wrote in January 1579 to Speciani, his distinguished agent in Rome with Gregory XIII.: since Bonhomini had carried out his visitation of the Ticino to the great satisfaction of the Swiss, it might also be hoped that he would be able to effect much good as a visitor of the interior of Switzerland itself, provided that the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Mark Sittich, was of the same opinion. In this way it would be possible to discover by experiment what a nuncio could accomplish, and the visitation could also be extended to the territories

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 118-9.

[2] See *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

[3] See Ehses Meister, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxiii.

bordering on the German Empire. As Cardinal Mark Sittich agreed to this, and was also willing to share the expenses of the visitation, Gregory XIII. ordered that the necessary briefs should be prepared for Bonhomini after Easter.[1]

Bonhomini was ready to obey the Pope's orders, but he expressed doubts as to the wisdom of the title of visitor, which would not satisfy the Swiss because they thought they deserved a nuncio as much as the princes. At Rome where an intrigue on the part of Lussy against Segesser was suspected they would not at first hear of a Swiss nunciature, but later on Charles Borromeo intervened on behalf of an appointment being made in the sense desired by Bonhomini. A decisive factor was the memorial which the Archbishop of Milan sent to Rome on April 6th, 1579.

In this he set forth in the clearest way the importance of the questions that had to be dealt with in Switzerland, and how the chances of success would be greater in proportion to the authority enjoyed by the Pope's representative. The visitor should therefore be given the title of nuncio. The name of visitor was much disliked, and bad ecclesiastics, who feared punishment, would try to make it even more hateful among the people. Moreover, many things would be withheld the visitor on the pretext that they were being kept for the nuncio.[2]

The result of this was the appointment on May 2nd, 1579, of Bonhomini as Papal nuncio in the dioceses of Constance Chur, Lausanne, Sion and Basle, and in all other territories "which were subject or united to the Federation and the allies." Bonhomini was to make a personal visitation of those territories and dioceses, and to carry into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent, for which purposes he was given full faculties.[3]

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 231 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 316 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 325 *seq.*; *cf.* 340 *seq.* the credentials for the seven Catholic regions dated May 27, 1579. In the Bull of January 1, 1580 (*ibid.*, II., 1 *seq.*) which granted faculties to Bonhomini, the latter is described as "ad Helvetios, Rethos et Sedunenses

At the same time Gregory XIII. took another step which was of great importance for the religious revival of Switzerland by founding the Helvetian College at Milan.

In this establishment, which was to be dependent upon the bishop of Milan for the time being, at least fifty youths from Switzerland and the Grisons were to be educated, and trained as model priests. It was again Charles Borromeo who led the Pope to take this extremely important step for the carrying out of the work of Catholic reform. What the German College in Rome was for Germany, the Helvetian College in Milan was to be for Switzerland; a training ground for the formation of a capable, educated and zealous priesthood. The Pope expended an annual sum of 2400 scudi upon the institution, and gave his sanction to the handing over to it of the provostship of the Humiliati of S. Spirito, with its gardens, buildings and revenues. The college was given all the rights and the dignity of a university, and the tuition was undertaken by the Jesuits.[1]

After Bonhomini had had a personal interview with Borromeo at Milan, and another with Volpi at Como, he set out for the scene of his labours. It may truly be said that a new era in the ecclesiastical history of Switzerland began when this distinguished representative of Catholic reform crossed the pass of the St. Gothard at the beginning of July, 1579. The nuncio was accompanied by the canon of Milan, Bellini, as auditor, Canon Caresana of Vercelli as secretary,

eisque subiectos et confederatos ac in Basiliensi et Constantiensi diocesibus noster et Ap. Sedis nuntius cum potestate legati de latere."

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., 246; MAYER, II., 60 *seq.*; WYMANN, Der heilige Karl Borromeo &c., Stans, 1903. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I. and II. gives new documents which throw additional light on the genesis of the college. See also WYMANN, in *Schweiz. Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 294 *seq.*, LIII. and LIV. passim. Picture of the magnificent building (Palazzo Elvetico), which is now used for State Archives, in WYMANN: Kardinal Borromeo und seine Beziehung zur alten Eidgenossenschaft, Stans, 1910, 92, 123, 127. For Borromeo's visitation of the Collegium Helveticum in March, 1583, see *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, 1896,

and the Jesuit Wolfgang Pyringer, an Austrian, as interpreter and preacher.[1]

Bonhomini made such speed on his journey as to reach Baden in Aargau in time to assist at the federal Diet. On July 10th, he there presented to the representatives of the seven Catholic cantons his credentials as Papal nuncio, pointing out at the same time that his mission, as well as the foundation of the Helvetian College, was a fresh proof of the good will of the Pope, so often manifested before.

The requests which he presented to the assembly concerned three points: first, intervention on behalf of the Catholics of the Valtellina, whose ill-treatment in the matter of the suppression of Catholic preaching and the unrestricted liberty accorded to that of the Protestants he had seen for himself in the previous year as visitor: secondly, that a person should be appointed by the Catholic cantons to assist him in his work at Chur and Sion, and if necessary in an even wider field: thirdly, full information as to the abuses and scandals existing among the secular and regular clergy, the removal of these being his principal duty.[2]

On July 16th Bonhomini began by making a visitation of the city of Lucerne, for which purpose he put himself into touch with the Council. In order to complete the work more quickly he shared it with the members of his legation. After a visitation had also been made in the territory of Lucerne the nuncio went on to Unterwalden, where he was lodged by Lussy in the Winkelriedhaus, and thence he proceeded to Uri and Schwyz. Everywhere the authorities received him with marks of honour, and he insisted especially upon the suppression of the concubinage of the clergy and the wearing of the sacerdotal dress. Ill-natured accusations made by guilty priests were soon recognized by the people as calumnies.[3]

Bonhomini found himself faced by a difficult situation by

[1] See Reinhardt-Steffens, I., cdxiii *seqq.*, II., x. For Pyringer *cf.* Sommervogel, VI., 855.

[2] Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 388 *seq.*

[3] See Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 396 *seq.*, 417, 431.

the fact that the authorities of Schwyz, in violation of canon law, had thrown Abbot Heer of Einsiedeln into prison because of crimes of a moral nature. By so doing they had incurred excommunication, which, however, Bonhomini prudently refrained from pronouncing. He solved the difficulty by conveying the abbot to Einsiedeln, interning him there in his own rooms, suspending him and instituting a canonical process against him. The people of Schwyz apologized for having arrested him, whereupon Bonhomini absolved them.[1]

The visitation of Schwyz passed off better than anywhere else. Bonhomini then went to Zug, the parish priest of which he described as the best priest he had yet found in Switzerland.[1] The nuncio bestowed great praise upon the laity of the Catholic cantons, in contrast to the clergy, who had to a great extent fallen into a very decadent state; although they were not free from covetousness and drunkenness, they otherwise led irreprehensible lives, and showed a strong Catholic feeling. Their weaknesses were explained by the temptations put before them by all the princes, and by the want of moral guidance on the part of the priests, who for the most part gave them a very bad example. Bonhomini devoted himself to their improvement with all the greater vigour; he refused to delay the work of reform as had been suggested at Lucerne. It made a very good impression when the Pope's representative, in spite of the fact that at first he found himself in financial straits, granted all dispensations and every kind of favour gratuitously.[3]

From these districts which were entirely Catholic Bonhomini then passed on to places where the population was avowedly mixed, and first of all Aargau and Thurgau. There he frequently found an unspeakably sad state of affairs. Of the eleven canons at Zurzach, ten were living in concubinage, though these promised to amend their ways. At Rheinau,

[1] See *ibid.*, II., xi.
[2] See *ibid.*, I., 431.
[3] See *ibid.*, 447, 452 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*

besides the abbot, there were only three religious; the abbot himself knew no Latin.[1]

Form Rheinau Bonhomini intended to go to St. Gall, but the Abbot of that place, Joachim Opser,[2] thought it his duty to advise caution because of the fear of a Protestant rising: "We are not in Italy, nor yet in the five cantons," he wrote to Bonhomini. The latter replied that he did not understand what he meant by so unworthy a letter, but felt it his duty to remind the abbot that he must not treat with contempt the help which the Holy See was offering him.[3]

At the beginning of September Bonhomini interrupted his visitation by stopping for six days at Constance. There he discussed the affairs of Switzerland and the interests of the Federation with Ninguarda, as well as the religious state of Constance itself, and came to an agreement with him as to uniformity of procedure in the visitations. He carried away a good impression of the activities of Ninguarda, and with him visited the convent of nuns at Münsterlingen and the ancient Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, and was also with him on the occasion of the removal of Abbot Funck of Petershausen. The resistance which he encountered in his efforts to introduce the enclosure at Münsterlingen was very displeasing to Bonhomini. "I have not yet met with any opposition among the Protestants;" he wrote to Rome, "it has all come from ecclesiastics and monks, and now the nuns are beginning, but God is stronger than them all."[4]

Bonhomini had to put off the visitation of the abbey of St. Gall because the abbot excused himself on the ground

[1] See *ibid.*, 481. As late as 1584, the Provost of Zurzach was called upon by Charles Borromeo to reform himself and to bring back the inhabitants of Kadelburg to the Church; see Fribourg Diocesan Archives XI., 239 *seqq.*

[2] For Opser's worthy predecessors *cf.* E. Ziegler, Abt. Otmar II. von St. Gallen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in der Schweiz, Zurich, 1896.

[3] See Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 467, 472.

[4] See *ibid.*, 486.

of having had to go to take the baths, and when he came back it was not possible to have speech with him. The nuncio visited several parishes and monasteries in the territory of the abbey. In two convents of women he not only found that, as was the case everywhere, the enclosure was not kept, but also that the breviary was not recited at all. "How great is the negligence of ecclesiastical superiors in these matters!" exclaims the zealous disciple of Borromeo in one of his letters. "The Council of Trent is quite unknown; the convents of women will give me plenty to do, but with the help of God I hope to overcome all the difficulties."[1]

After a wearisome journey through Thurgau Bonhomini went to Porrentruy, to the Bishop of Basle, Blarer von Wartensee, who, as he states in his report to Rome, "is not like the others, but shows a pious anxiety to meet me." The principal subject of discussion at the meeting at Porrentruy was the plan for an alliance between Blarer and the Catholic cantons, which was to result in the restoration of Catholicism in those parts of the diocese of Basle which had fallen into Protestantism—80 places with 40,000 inhabitants. Bonhomini advised a change in the abnormal position by which Blarer did not reside in his own diocese, and caused Porrentruy to be separated from Besançon and united to Basle.

An attempt made by the nuncio at Porrentruy to reform the Cistercian monastery of Lützel in Alsace not only led to troublesome controversies with the religious, but also with the officials of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who saw in the conduct of Bonhomini an interference with his sovereign rights.[2]

At the beginning of October the nuncio was at Soleure, where he carried out the visitation of the city and the neighbouring countryside, preached, and took proceedings against two concubinists.[3]

After Bonhomini had met with so many difficulties, he

[1] See *ibid.*, 489.

[2] See *ibid.*, 489, 543 *seq.*, 553 *seq.*, II., xii-xiii; *Zisterzienster-Chronik*, XXI. (1909), 84 *seqq.*

[3] See Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 556.

experienced all the greater joy when he met with full approval of his mission at Freiburg, which he reached on October 10th. Not only was the welcome of the city more solemn and splendid than it had been anywhere else, but more important still was the fact that he found a kindred spirit in the provost, Peter Schnewly,[1] a man distinguished alike for his learning and piety, who supported his efforts for reform in the most zealous way. In spite of the plague Bonhomini visited many places in the territory of Freiburg, although he had to put off the completion of his visitation until a later time, because pressing business recalled him to Lucerne.[2] The grave accusations which the ecclesiastics of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden had made in September, 1579, against the Pope's representative, were to be discussed at the Diet which was to be held there. Faced by the terrible nature of the abuses which he met with, Bonhomini may have occasionally acted with harshness,[3] but in the main his conduct was entirely justified, and the accusations made against him were mere pretexts; the real cause of the opposition to him lay in his enactments against concubinage; to this there was added the democratic spirit of independence which found it hard to endure the interference of a stranger.

How little real foundation there was for the accusations made against Bonhomini may be clearly seen from an extraordinarily characteristic document bearing the title: "Accusations and complaints made by the whole clergy of the three cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden."[4] This states

[1] Bonhomini's letters to Schnewly, the most important source for the introduction of the Jesuits into Fribourg, have been published by Berthier in the *Revue de la Suisse cath.*, 1894. Schewly's treatise on State and Church has been published by Holder in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXIX. (1899), 291 *seqq.*, 425 *seqq.*; LXXX. (1900), 18 *seqq.* For particulars of Schnewly himself *cf.* BRASEY: Le chapitre de l'insigne collégiale de St. Nicolas à Fribourg, Fribourg, 1912, 42 *seqq.*

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., xiii.

[3] *Cf. Zisterziensier-Chronik*, XXI., 16, 123 *seq.*

[4] German and Latin text in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 495 *seq.*

that "the foreign bishop" says that he wishes to enforce the enactments of the Council of Trent, but in reality his reforms are directed against that Council, which places the work of reform in the hands of the diocesan bishop; this is the Bishop of Constance, who takes no interest in his diocese; reform at the hands of the auxiliary bishop would be willingly tolerated, but not at those of a stranger, and least of all of an Italian, for the latter, on the pretext of making a visitation is only trying to obtain information as to the wealth of the Germans in the Alps! This is followed by the equally untrue statement that Bonhomini, like the vendors of indulgences in the days of Luther, had demanded money for his indulgences. It is interesting to see how this memorial deals with the principal point at issue, the enforcement of celibacy. It is impossible under the present circumstances of benefices and of the houses of parish priests to do without the service of women, since no ecclesiastic can himself collect his revenues, which to a great extent consist in tithes in kind, or look after gardens or manage the house. It is not denied that concubinage is a sin and a scandal, but it is not given to everyone to live in chastity! Some indulgence must be shown, because they had not been trained to a higher ecclesiastical life. Lastly the memorial of accusation formally asks the civil authorities to drive out "the foreign bishop." If it is insisted upon imposing this Italian upon them they would rather expatriate themselves in a body!

Bonhomini's treatment of this accusation, which the secretary of the municipality of Lucerne, Renward Cysat, rightly described as a "vile document, and one unworthy of priests" was very dignified. On October 29th he first of all informed the envoys of the seven cantons of the Pope's decision to maintain a permanent nuncio in Switzerland after his departure, to look after the interests of religion. He then passed on to the accusations which had been made against him on the part of the recalcitrant priests. His first idea had been not to let such an act pass unpunished, but after mature reflection he had decided to pardon it, and further begged the delegates to abstain from any sort of

punishment. On the other hand, he made inquiries on his own plenary authority into the accusations made against him, and sent the result to the Pope for decision as the one supreme judge. Bonhomini then passed on to the consideration of the points which lay at the root of the existing abuses: the concubinage of priests, the usurpation of punitive jurisdiction against the clergy, the neglect of the enclosure by convents of nuns, and the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices in defiance of canon law. The abuse mentioned in the second place had already been removed, therefore Bonhomini asked all the more urgently for help in dealing with the concubinage of the clergy. With regard to this he addressed a special exhortation to the authorities of Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden and Zug, imploring them no longer to allow God to be constantly offended, the people to be exposed to great dangers, and their Catholic name dishonoured. He then pointed out in detail the necessity he was under, both because of the canon law, and the instructions he had received from the Pope, of punishing the violation of celibacy by suspension. The enforcement of the enclosure in the convents of nuns, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, was not a matter of very great hardship, because this did not entirely prevent visits from relations, or their being lodged in houses outside the convent. The question of the conferring of benefices too was easier to arrange than was thought by many people. The right of patronage would not be violated, but rather confirmed. They might ask the authorities at Freiburg concerning the suggestions he had made to them, and follow their example. Finally, Bonhomini pointed out that the requirements for reform contained nothing more than the Catholic cantons had already accepted by their adherence to the Council of Trent.[1]

How great an impression was made by Bonhomini's attitude is seen from the letter which the seven cantons wrote to the Pope on October 30th. They thanked him for sending

[1] See THEINER, III., 57 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 590 *seq.*

the nuncio, whose coming, because of their religious needs and especially the reform of the clergy, had been very necessary and much desired. This letter expressly states that Bonhomini had fulfilled his mission perfectly, and had shown himself helpful and kindly towards them.[1] The nuncio, too, had every reason for not being dissatisfied with the results of his labours, even though he had not been able, as far as his demands were concerned, to arrive at an agreement with the Catholic cantons with regard to united action. In the meantime he proposed, in view of the existing condition of Switzerland, henceforward to adopt a method more in conformity with his purpose, and more likely to be effectual, by dealing separately with each canton concerning his plans for reform. By this means he was able to effect much good, especially in Lucerne and Freiburg, which later on, owing to the power of example and the influence of those two cities, gradually made its way into the other cantons.[2] In order to carry out his lofty aims he continued as before to labour unceasingly both in word and in writing. He was very soon able to point to good results in the cantons of Uri and Schwyz,[3] more especially in his struggle against concubinage, which was so strongly approved of by the Holy See.[4]

Even the Abbot of St. Gall, Joachim Opser,[5] now showed himself more amenable. Bonhomini was able to carry out his visitation there, and on September 28th to hold a meeting of the clergy with regard to the publication of the reform decrees. He did the same at Wyl. What strong Catholic feeling there still was in Switzerland was shown by the enthusiastic welcome accorded to him in the territory of Appenzell, which had not seen a bishop for a century. At the same time he was not without experiences of another

[1] See *ibid.*, 604 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 432.

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 625, 636.

[4] See *ibid.*, 617, 628, 641.

[5] For J. Opser, who eventually sided completely with the Catholic Restoration, see SCHWEIWILER in the *Zeitschr. für schweiz. Kirchengeschich.*, XII., 43 *seqq.*

kind, such as his offensive rejection by the Charterhouse of Ittingen and the Abbey of Wettingen, where the abbots had been stirred up by the local governors. Bonhomini summoned them to appear at Lucerne.[1] Thence he went on December 12th for the second time to Freiburg, in order to continue his visitation and hold a diocesan synod. After Freiburg he intended to visit the Valais. Although the governing body of the Protestant movement there held itself entirely aloof, yet the tendency towards a state church, and the submission of the church to the state had obtained such a hold there that the Pope's representative met with an offensive refusal; the prevalent opinion that the visitation was a pretext for the covetousness of the Curia formed an excuse for the prevention of the correction of a very demoralized state of affairs by the supreme authority.[3] The same was the case elsewhere, but Bonhomini's energy and courage refused to be dismayed by any difficulties. When the circumstances demanded it, he knew how to give way, and this was shown by his conduct before the envoys of the Catholic cantons at Lucerne in January, 1580.

As a result of the complaints that had been made, especially by the monasteries of Thurgau, as well as of the difficulties which Bonhomini had met with from the governors of the Catholic cantons in the conferring of benefices, a very unfavourable impression of him had got abroad, which even affected the people of Lucerne, who thought that he had treated them with little consideration. Bonhomini explained and defended his conduct and disarmed all opposition by declaring that in future, before he published any edicts he would inform the cantons of them. He hoped that in

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., xv. With reference to Ittingen, see the essay by BÜCHI in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, I., 84 *seq.* This essay deals with the course of the reform in the religious houses of Thurgau. For Wettingen, see *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XXI., 122 *seqq.*

[2] Fueter is right in laying special emphasis on this point in his review on the reports of the Swiss Nuncios in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CI., 163.

return for this they would help him in punishing guilty priests.[1]

After this Bonhomini was kept busily employed by the disputes between the Bishop of Chur, Beatus von Porta, and his bitter adversaries. His behaviour in this matter showed how little truth there was in the idea which the nuncio's enemies had formed of him as a fiery southerner. There being no hope of being able to settle the matters at issue between the Bishop of Chur and his adversaries by the way of law, nor of inducing the League of the House of God to recognize all the rights of the Bishop of Chur, Bonhomini maintained the principle that for the saving of the diocese it was necessary to make great concessions in economic questions, for in Chur, he wrote, it is not right but might that decides matters.[2] He further insisted that Beatus von Porta should take up his residence at Chur. At the conferences which he held with Beatus at Fürstenburg in Vintschgau the bishop refused to return to Chur. All that Bonhomini could obtain was a resignation into the Pope's hands, which was at first to be kept secret; he then went to Innsbruck, to the Archduke Ferdinand, and afterwards to Brescia for an interview with Charles Borromeo. By his advice, after summoning a synod in his diocese of Vercelli, he set out upon a journey to Rome, in order personally to inform the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State concerning the affairs of Chur and other matters in Switzerland. In June he was back at Chur, where he prevented any further action on the part of the League of the House of God by announcing the eventual resignation of the bishop. He then went to Baden to the federal Diet, where he laid before the representatives of the seven cantons the proposal that they should definitely embark upon the reforms of the secular and regular clergy which he had suggested.[3]

The difficult question of Chur entailed new and fatiguing

[1] See MAYER, Konzil von Trient, I., 261 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., 43 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, II., 247.

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 634; II., xx.

[3] See *ibid.*, II., xxi *seq.*

journeys in July and August, without however any definite result. The nuncio was comforted, however, by finding a more favourable disposition towards reform at Lucerne. At Freiburg he was able to remove all the difficulties concerning the establishment, which he had long and eagerly advocated, of a Jesuit college, which Gregory XIII. had erected by a bull of February 25th, 1580 "to promote the salvation of souls, the instruction of youth, and the eradication of innovations in the faith."[1]

In the autumn this indefatigable man, in the interests of the dioceses of Lausanne and Basle, undertook a journey to Burgundy, visiting Cardinal de la Baume, Archbishop of Besançon, and displaying his zeal for the introduction of ecclesiastical reform in the Franche Conté. He then visited Bishop Blarer at Porrentruy for the second time, and urged him to move more quickly against his subjects who had apostatized from the Church. He then visited, with the concurrence of the officials of the Archduke Ferdinand, the Abbey of Lützel in Alsace, and with that of the Archbishop of Besançon, the city of Porrentruy. Then he went by way of Basle, to Thurgau, where the obstinacy of the Abbot of Kreuzlingen and the abbess of the Cistercian convent of Feldbach caused him great annoyance. He there met with the same experiences as his master Borromeo had done in the Ticino; in both places it was the ambition and selfishness of the governors which stood in the way of reform and encouraged the recalcitrant monasteries.[2]

The month of October was occupied by a journey into South Germany and the Tyrol. Bonhomini was successful in winning over the Archduke Ferdinand to a settlement of the disputes at Chur, and of ecclesiastical affairs in the Austrian part of the dioceses of Basle and Constance, as well as in overcoming the opposition of the provincial of the Jesuits, Paul Hoffaeus, to the foundation of the Jesuit college at Freiburg on the ground of the lack of suitable and

[1] See *ibid.*, II., xxii.

[2] See *ibid.*, xxv *seqq.*

trained subjects.[1] At Ratisbon, whither he went on November 7th, he had a conference with Ninguarda on the subject of Chur. There he found the state of affairs more critical than ever; the very existence of the diocese was at stake. Although he was personally threatened, he did not lose courage. Trusting in the power of prayer, in which he asked the help of all his friends, he succeeded at last in bringing about a settlement between the chapter and the League of the House of God, by which, by the sacrifice of certain rights, the existence of the diocese was saved. The new election, which had become necessary owing to the resignation of Bishop Beatus, was put off until *Corpus Domini* in the following year, and Bonhomini thought that he could leave the ancient Roman city with an easy mind on October 29th.[2] At Lucerne he was at last successful in coming to a satisfactory agreement with the government, concerning the reform of the clergy in accordance with the mind of the Council of Trent.[3] Thus, with his mind relieved, he was able to set out for Freiburg accompanied by Peter Canisius and another Jesuit; as the people of Berne had complained on a previous occasion that the nuncio always avoided their city, he this time took the road through Berne. But on his arrival there he found himself exposed to the vulgar attacks of the populace, in spite of the fact that he was accompanied by an official of the city of Lucerne.[4] At Freiburg, where he spent the greater part of December, he was happily successful in removing the last difficulties in the way of the establishment of the Jesuit college, to which, in virtue of the Papal authority, the property of the lapsed Premonstratensian abbey of Marsen had been assigned.[5] Bonhomini presented the two

[1] See DUHR, I., 227.

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., xxviii *seq.* *Cf.* HIRN, II., 218 *seq.*; EHSES-MEISTER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxviii.

[3] See SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 452 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., 546 *seq.*

[4] MAYER, I., 280 *seq.* REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., 554 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* BÜCHI in the *Freib. Geschichtsblätter*, 1897; DUHR, I., 26 *seq.* For particulars of the eminent Rector of the Jesuit

fathers to the Council with the words: "Men of Freiburg, you have here a precious stone which you must wrap up carefully, enclose it in a silken covering, and treat it with special veneration as a holy thing."[1]

At the beginning of 1581 Bonhomini repaired to his diocese of Vercelli, whence he hastened in March to Chur to superintend the election of the bishop at which Peter Rascher was elected on June 3rd.[2] He knew already that after this act his nunciature in Switzerland was ended. A decisive factor in the Pope's decision was the by no means energetic action taken by the Catholic cantons in reference to the occurrences at Berne, in defiance of the rights of nations, which had made a deep impression in Rome.[3] The Swiss nunciature was to remain vacant for a time, so that men there might learn better to appreciate the presence of a representative of the Holy See in their midst.[4]

Bonhomini then returned to his diocese of Vercelli, but he was not able to devote himself to it for long, since in August, with expressions of the most lively confidence, the Pope entrusted him with the visitation of the diocese of Novara. While he was getting ready for this, there came on September 16th, 1581, his appointment as nuncio at the Imperial court in succession to Ottavio di Santa Croce, who had died unexpectedly.[5]

His selection for this post, which was as honourable as

College at Fribourg (the Silesian Peter Michael), see DUHR, *loc. cit.* and also KÄLIN in the *Freib. Geschichtsblätter*, 1901.

[1] See RIESS: Petrus Canisius, 473.

[2] See MAYER: Geschichte des Bistums Chur, II., 174 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the Brief of February 11, 1581, in the *Archiv für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, II., 57.

[4] See EHSES-MEISTER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxix. *Cf.* HÜRBIN, II., 247.

[5] See *ibid.*, xxix-xxx. After Bonhomini's departure, Ninguarda was once more left to deal with the more important matters connected with Switzerland. See MAYER, I., 223 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, X., 209 *seq.* For S. Croce, *cf.* HANSEN, I., 302, II., lxvi.

it was important, shows how highly Bonhomini's work in Switzerland was appreciated in Rome, for that distinguished disciple of Borromeo, though he was often incapacitated by illness, had, in his noble zeal for duty, left no place of ecclesiastical importance unvisited, and, filled with a burning love for the Church, had done all that was in his power for the renewal of the secular and regular clergy, who had fallen into so decadent a state. "Would that such a man had been sent" wrote Canon Marcantonio Bellini to Charles Borromeo, "before the apostasy of Switzerland."[1]

Bonhomini had made no mistake in thinking that it would be the work of years to set upon a firm basis the work of reform which he had begun in Switzerland. The abuses there had been so long rooted, and had spread so far, that it was not enough "to have once cleansed the temple."[2] What was above all wanted was an auxiliary force to carry on the work in the way it had been begun.

Such a force, ever unwearied, the nuncio found in the Jesuits. He had had personal experience of their work at Lucerne, but he aimed at establishing more of their houses. His plan for introducing the Jesuits at Baden had come to nothing. On the other hand Bonhomini, by the foundation of the college at Freiburg, had ensured the work of reform, and removed the danger of the city and its territory being drawn by the neighbouring Protestant cantons to embrace the new doctrines.[3] In course of time the college of Freiburg became a stronghold of the Catholic Church in the west of the Federation, as that at Lucerne already was for the centre of Switzerland.[4]

Further help came to the Swiss Catholics by the mission

[1] Letter from Einsiedeln dated August 15, 1579, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 435. "The results achieved by Bonhomini before he had even completed his first six months in Switzerland were altogether extraordinary," says BÜCHI in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, I., 148.

[2] See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 33.

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 228, 440, 479.

[4] According to DIERAUER, III., 339.

of the Capuchins. Already in 1570, Charles Borromeo, with his wonted foresight in all things ecclesiastical, had turned his attention to them. It was the Archbishop of Milan who, together with Bonhomini, supported the efforts of Walter Roll and Melchior Lussy for the establishment of a Capuchin convent at Altdorf.[1] It was in 1581 that the first fathers reached the little town where legend places the scene of William Tell shooting at the apple; above the church was built the small and hospitable convent so well known to all visitors to the Forest Cantons.[2]

Bonhomini had already introduced some Capuchins into the Valtellina in 1578, but the foundation of a convent there was not possible on account of the disturbances concerning the Bishop of Chur.[3] On the other hand the pontificate of Gregory XIII. saw the successful establishment of the convents at Stans and Lucerne, where the sanctuary of Wesemlin was entrusted to the fathers.[4] These convents, which afterwards increased in number, were the starting point of the revival of religious life in Switzerland, and Charles Borromeo devoted special attention to them.

At the end of 1583 the great Archbishop of Milan once again appeared in person in Switzerland, accompanied by a Jesuit and a Franciscan. He began by holding a visitation for the reform of the Misoxthal in the Grisons. The zeal and self-sacrifice which he displayed were rewarded by extraordinary results. The people flocked in great numbers to the sacraments, many Protestants returned to the Church, while many who were hesitating were confirmed in the faith, and ancient abuses were removed. The opposition of the Protestants in the Grisons, however, prevented the further carrying on of the visitation in the Grisons and Valtellina,

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 192 *seq.*; II., 123, 141, 225, 238, 255, 306.

[2] See Chronica provinciae Helveticae Ordinis Capucinorum, Solod., 1884, 6 *seqq.* *Cf. Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 292 *seq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 158; II., 493.

[4] See *Chronica*, 12.

as well as the foundation of a Jesuit college at Rovereto.[1]

Towards the end of his life Charles Borromeo had in view another journey into Switzerland, in order to consecrate the Capuchin churches at Altdorf and Stans, but death prevented him from putting this plan into execution. The great merits of the Archbishop of Milan in the preservation and purification of the Catholic Church in Switzerland[2] can never be forgotten there; to this day, in every part of the country there are numerous signs and proofs of grateful love and veneration for the man whom Paul V. included in the catalogue of the saints.[3]

[1] In addition to the sources quoted Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 92, 93, see also MAYER, I., 193 *seq.*; *Geschichtsfreund*, LIV., 210, 213. With reference to the work of CAMENICH, C. Borromeo und die Gegenreformation im Veltlin, Chur, 1901, see WYMANN in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIII., 633 *seq.*, and MAYER in the *Schweiz. Rundschau*, II., 416 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KÖHLER in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XIII. (1917), 149.

[3] See MAYER, I., 201; WYMANN in the *Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 263 *seq.*, LIV., 144 *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

The Catholic Revival in Germany.

At the same time as Portia, on May 5th, 1573, Gaspar Gropper had been sent beyond the Alps as the second of the new nuncios in Germany. Gropper came from Lower Germany, from Soest. After profound studies in law he devoted himself first to the service of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, and afterwards of the archdiocese of Cologne. Together with his celebrated elder brother, Johann, he resisted in 1558 the unfortunate election of the Count of Mansfeld as Archbishop of Cologne, fled to Rome, and there, after his brother's death, obtained the benefice which he had held, and became a member of the Rota.[1] Thus he seemed to be the man best fitted to protect the interests of the Church in Lower Germany.

With the exception of Augsburg and the dispute concerning the monastery of Holy Cross,[2] Gropper's duties at first only concerned the diocese of Münster in Westphalia. Gradually, however, these duties were added to. A bull of July 1st, 1573,[3] assigned to him as his sphere of action, first the cities and dioceses on the Rhine, namely, Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Spires, and Worms, then Augsburg, with the whole of Westphalia, including Münster and Minden, and lastly, all the territories of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves and Berg.[4] Naturally, this vast territory, in almost the whole of which Catholicism and Protestantism were struggling for the supremacy, was

[1] Schwarz, Gropper, xx-xxviii, *cf.* 363-85.

[2] See *supra*, p. 123 *seq.*

[3] Printed in extenso in Mergentheim, II., 228-39. The faculties contained therein were extended and amplified by a Brief of March 12, 1574, *ibid.*, 242-5.

[4] Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 41 ; *cf.* xxxv. Credentials dated June 11, 1573, to Duke William of Cleves in Keller, 194 *seq.* ; to the Archbishop of Mayence in Theiner, I., 97 ; to the Bishop of Würzburg, the Cologne Chapter, the Council and Burgomaster

too large for the energies of a single man, and after a brief sojourn in the centre of Germany, Gropper's activities were almost entirely confined to the Lower Rhine and Westphalia. For the visitation of Minden, Bremen, Lübeck, Verden and Hildesheim, his place was filled by Alexander Trivius, a canon of Bonn, who had been the companion of Cardinal Commendone for many years.[1]

Gropper soon had to relinquish the care of central Germany entirely to his colleague, Nicholas Elgard, who there carried on a work that was distinguished for its zeal, and was highly valued in Rome.

Elgard, who was a native of Elcherait near Arlon in Luxemburg, and had been educated by a parish priest of the neighbourhood, had been sent after his ordination as priest to the German College in Rome by the Archbishop of Trêves, and again went to Rome as the envoy of the aristocracy of Augsburg in the dispute concerning the monastery of Holy Cross, where the German Congregation had chosen him to accompany the nuncio Gropper.[2] Very soon, however, this travelling companion threw his principal into the shade. As early as October, 1573, both the nuncio and his companion thought that they had accomplished their mission and asked to be relieved of their office.[3] Rome, however, would not hear of this; the complications in Gropper's field of activity became greater and greater; fresh duties continued to be laid upon him from Rome, so that Gropper had to content himself with transferring a part of his burden to the shoulders of his companion, who was not yet thirty. In June, 1574, Elgard, as Gropper's representative, set out upon a journey which took him from Cologne to Eichsfeld, to the Archbishop of Mayence, to Fulda, Würzburg,

of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 36-8; to the Archbishop of Cologne on July 8, to the Bishop of Minden on July 18, *ibid.*, 42-3. Instruction for Gropper on July 19, 1573, *ibid.*, 43-56.

[1] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xcii-xcvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxviii *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, lxx.

Bamberg, and to the Prince-elector of Trêves at Mergentheim.[1] Elgard's reports found high favour in Rome;[2] a mission to the centre of Germany, which it had at first been intended to entrust to Alexander Trivius, was given to him, and in the middle of winter, on January 16th, 1575, Elgard again set out upon his travels. He visited Fulda for the second time, and met the Archbishop of Mayence at Aschaffenburg. Following his own natural inclination for the direct care of souls, he occupied himself with this for about five months at Eichsfeld, which was almost entirely ngelected, and thence made two expeditions into Protestant territory. In April he had a conversation immediately after the midnight office with the dean of the cathedral at Halberstadt, and with the same complete secrecy he went on to Magdeburg. In May he went to the neighbourhood of Naumburg, intending to get detailed information with regard to that diocese, as well as Meissen and Merseburg. At the end of July Elgard left Eichsfeld, and passing through Hersfeld, went for a third time to Fulda, Mayence, Würzburg and Bamberg, where he received orders from the Pope to go to Ratisbon, to assist at the election of the future King of the Romans.[3] From Cologne, whither he returned after the election on December 3rd, 1575, he accompanied Gropper to Münster, for the election of the bishop. Both before this journey and after it, the Pope's orders took him to Westphalia, to the Archbishop of Cologne, and twice to the court of Cleves; thence he was sent by the orders of the Secretary of State in Rome to the Diet of Ratisbon, to place himself at the disposal of Cardinal Morone.[4] At the suggestion of the latter, Elgard was appointed auxiliary bishop of Erfurt; worn out by his zeal and his labours, he died there in 1587, when he was hardly forty years old, one of the most worthy representatives of the Holy See in Germany at that time, and one of the brightest glories of the German College.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxiv-lxxvii.

[2] Galli to Gropper on November 6, 1574; *ibid.*, 212.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxiv, lxxxi, lxxxiii-lxxxix.

[4] *Ibid.*, xci.

[5] *Ibid.*, xcvii, 390-402. STEINHUBER, I., 209-20.

If in Bavaria and Salzburg, as far as the higher clergy were concerned, the impulse towards an improvement in religious conditions came entirely from Portia and Ninguarda, the position of the Papal representatives in Central Germany was not quite the same. There certain energetic defenders of the Catholic Church arose among the prelates themselves, who did not receive their inspiration and guidance in interesting themselves in the disastrous state of affairs from the nuncios.

In the profoundly decadent diocese of Bamberg, however,[1] Gropper and Elgard were the only ones to urge men to rise up from the abyss of decadence, but for the moment their words fell on sterile ground. The clergy of Bamberg were no better than their bishop, but Bishop Veit von Würtzburg had done good service to the diocese as its temporal ruler,[2] though from the moral point of view he was the principal stumbling block of the diocese. After he had, to the general scandal, accorded a solemn public funeral to the mother of his sons and his open concubine, he had, however, amended his ways, and at the instance of the Bishop of Würzburg had received priest's orders. Gropper's report on this state of affairs[3] brought him orders to visit the diocese, when he had hardly completed his duties in the north.[4] This duty was afterwards transferred to Trivius, and by him was given to Elgard.[5] The latter brought great pressure to bear, especially for the establishment of a Jesuit college at Bamberg, with the idea that they should at least begin with the founda-

[1] LOOSHORN, Geschichte des Bistums Bamberg, 1556-1622, Bamberg, 1903.

[2] W. HOTZELT: Beit II. von Würtzburg, Fürstbischof von Bamberg 1561-77, Freiburg, 1919.

[3] Of September 26, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 411.

[4] Galli on the 12th and 19th of December, 1573, *ibid.*, 76, 85. Gropper's reply of January 20, 1574, *ibid.*, 114. The German Congregation on December 10, 1573, in SCHWARZ: Zehn Gutachten, 83.

[5] Credentials for Trivius dated July 30, 1574, to the bishop and chapter of Bamberg, in SCHWARZ, Gropper; 168 *seq.* Instruction for Trivius dated August, 1574, *ibid.*, 176 *seqq.*

tion of some sort of school. But he could not do anything with the timid bishop, either in this matter or in anything else.[1] When in the course of his travels he came again to Bamberg in the following year, he found no more signs of results of his efforts than if he had never been there.[2] In other respects he considered the bishop to be a kindly old man, who was still true to the Catholic faith.[3] He admitted no canon who had not made the profession of faith, and was thinking of demanding the same thing from all the professors. At Forcheim, near Bamberg, he would not allow a Protestant to be admitted into the Council.[4] Elgard praised the auxiliary bishop, Jakob Feucht, as a zealous preacher, though, in order to publish his sermons, he neglected reform.[5] The common people at Bamberg were not in such a bad state, and could easily be brought back to better ways, since the Protestant preachers had not as yet been able to obtain access to the city.[6] With regard to the monasteries in Bamberg, the Papal envoy could find little good to say.[7] Yet Gregory XIII. lived to see, in 1583, a bishop given to Bamberg in Ernest von Mengersdorf who was very zealous for reform.[8]

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 305. His memorandum about a Jesuit College, answer of the bishop and Elgard's reply *ibid.*, 306-13, *cf.* 319 *seq.* On December 3, 1575, Galli desired Elgard to press for a school without Jesuits, *ibid.*, 331 *seq.* *Cf.* Elgard to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 214 *seq.*

[2] To Galli on November 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 328. *Cf.* to Galli on October 1, 1575, *ibid.*, 319.

[3] To Madruzzo on July 31, 1574, *ibid.*, 171.

[4] To Galli on October 8, 1575, *ibid.*, 323.

[5] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 323. Earlier, on July 31, 1574, Elgard had been more unqualified in his praise of the assistant bishop (*ibid.*, 173).

[6] *Ibid.*, 324. "Populus non est emnino pessimus sed miserrimus" (*ibid.*, 316).

[7] To Galli on October 4, 1575, *ibid.*, 320-3.

[8] SCHMIDLIN, II., 143. On August 29, 1579, a brief was addressed to Zobel von Gibelstadt, Veit von Würtzburg's

In quite a different case from Bamberg was Eichstätt, where the bishop, Martin von Schaumberg (1560–1590) had from the first realized the importance of the Council of Trent. With the exception of the Bishop of Lavant, his auxiliary bishop had been the only representative of the episcopate of Germany at Trent during the last period of the Council. Immediately afterwards Schaumberg set up the first seminary in Germany in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent, and maintained it at his own expense until Gregory XIII. provided it with revenues of its own.[1] He generally drew the professors from the German College in Rome, to which he also sent many pupils.[2] Immediately after the Council Bishop Martin began to devote his attention to the moral regeneration of his diocese; however frank and friendly he was in his relations with them, he nevertheless in the case of bad priests made use of ecclesiastical censures, imprisonment, fines, suspension and banishment. The diocesan synods recommended by the Council could with difficulty be held at Eichstätt, yet the bishop managed to provide a substitute by capitular meetings of the eight deaneries. At his death Schaumberg left behind him a body of clergy whose morals were above reproach, and the scarcity of priests had been overcome; most of the people went regularly to mass and frequented the sacraments; no Protestant was admitted to the rights of citizenship.[3] If all the bishops had been like

immediate successor, in which he was severely blamed for having appointed a Protestant governor of Carinthia and Styria (THEINER, III., 21). Zobel's successor, Martin von Eyb, who had notified his election to Rome on January 17, 1581 (THEINER, III., 248), was likewise rebuked by the Pope, on April 1, 1581, for the very same thing (*ibid.*, 249). His excuses of June 17 (*ibid.*, 250) were rejected by the Pope on July 15 (*ibid.*, 252). *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxvi.

[1] SUTTNER, Geschichte des bischöflichen Seminars in Eichstätt, Eichstätt, 1859. SCHMIDLIN, II., 76.

[2] STEINHUBER, I., 280 *seqq.*

[3] JULIUS SAX: Geschichte der Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstätt, II. (1884), 453 *seqq.* SCHMIDLIN, II., 75-9. Between

Martin von Schaumberg, in the opinion of a Protestant scholar, there would never have been any separation from Rome.[1]

The diocese of Würzburg had, in the second year of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., an even greater bishop in Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn.[2] No Bishop of Würzburg ruled over the diocese for 43 whole years as he did (1573–1617), and none of his predecessors or successors have even approached his important services to the diocese. Equally great as a civil ruler and as a prince of the Church, and endowed with extraordinary shrewdness, vast prudence, an iron will and a great power of administration, he restored the diocese of

1587 and 1590, Robert Turner wrote to a Jesuit who was to become cathedral preacher at Eichstätt and described the conditions prevailing there as follows: "Principem esse gemmam sacerdotum, populum suavissimum et sanissimum, ecclesiam optime conformatam, clerum numerosum sine labe communi, quae nos et prodidit Luthero et perdidit Deo" (Epistolae, Cologne, 1615, 375). According to Ninguarda's secretary the bishop was "integerrimae vitae sed timidus, unde canonici liberius vivunt, cum eos coercere non audeat." SCHLECHT in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, V. (1891), 127.

[1] In the funeral panegyric Turner said of him: "Qui tota vita ita dixit, ita fecit, ut et vita verbo et verbum vitae et utrumque fidei fecerit fidem, usque eo, ut ab haeretico audiverim, si omnes sacerdotes fuissent hac vita Martini, numquam secessio fuisset facta a Roma" (Orationes, Cologne, 1615, 223). *Cf.* Eiszepf's extracts from the funeral oration in SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 126, n. 4.

[2] GROPP, I., 409 *seq.*, JOH. NEP. BUCHINGER, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Bischof von Würzburg und Herzog von Franken, Würzburg, 1843. C. BRAUN, Heranbildung des Klerus, I., 162 *seqq.* A. L. BEIT in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CLX. (1917), 113-27. TH. HENNER in the *Neujahrsblättern der Geschellschaft für fränkische Geschichte*, XIII. (1917). *Cf.* HENNER's Jubiläumsschriften (Munich, 1918), CI. B. HESSDÖRFER (Würzburg, 1917), B. BRANDER (*ibid.*, 1917). Various notices by RULAND in the *Serapeum*, 1863, 219 *seqq.*; 1864, 104 *seq.*; 1866, 33 *seqq.*; 1867, 9 *seqq.*; 1870, 260 *seqq.* W. GOETZ in *Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, IX³., 628 *seqq.* v. WEGELE in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XIV., 671 *seqq.*

Würzburg from a state of complete disorganization and bankruptcy to a healthy condition, and from the religious point of view, brought it back permanently to the old Church.

Among those who were well disposed towards the Church the election of the not yet thirty years old dean of the chapter was hailed with joy. He was born in 1545 of parents who were staunch Catholics, at the castle of Mespelbrunn[1] in Spessart; he had made his studies at good Catholic schools, as a boy with the Jesuits at Cologne,[2] as a young man at the academies in Belgium, France and Italy,[3] and had obtained his licentiate in law in Rome itself.[4] Although he was the youngest of the canons, in 1567 he was scholastic of the cathedral, and in 1570 its dean. In this capacity, a short time before he was raised to the episcopal dignity, he asked the superior of the Jesuits on the Rhine whether good and zealous priests could not be sent from Cologne to Würzburg;[5] twenty days after his election he wrote in the same sense to Rome to obtain some teacher from the German College for his diocese.[6] An annual report of the Jesuits on the Rhine[7] seems, therefore, to be right in describing

[1] For particulars of the castle see SCHULTE VOM BRÜHL, Deutsche Schlösser (1889); *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 1873, 231 *seq.*; for the year of his birth: *Archiv für Unterfranken*, V., 2 (1839), 181 *seq.*

[2] HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 627, 695.

[3] The Archbishop of Mayence lays stress on both these facts in his letter to Gregory XIII. of March 16, 1574, in THEINER, I., 236; the Archbishop of Trêves did the same on March 20, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 127.

[4] RANKE (Päpste, II[9]., 80), and others are wrong in saying that he was at the German College; see LOSSEN in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII. (1883), 361, n. 1; BRAUN, I., 163, n. 1. About his studies and the years before his episcopal election see SCHAROLD in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, VI., 3 (1841), 154 *seqq.*; WEGELE, Geschichte, I., 130-4.

[5] The superior's letter of August 11, 1572, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 626.

[6] In BRAUN, I., 163.

[7] Of September 16, 1574, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 695.

the new prince bishop as the declared friend of the Jesuits and of ecclesiastical reform. Julius swore to the Tridentine profession of faith on March 27th,[1] and two days later promised in a letter, in which he asked for confirmation from Rome,[2] to carry on the work of reform of his predecessor, Frederick von Wirsberg. He prepared himself for his sacerdotal ordination and episcopal consecration on May 20th and 22nd, 1575, for several days and with great devotion by means of the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits, and often said that he wished to live in a manner befitting a Catholic bishop,[3] and either to do all that appertained to his office or resign the episcopal dignity.[4]

Nevertheless the first years of the government of the new bishop did not seem to hold out any great hopes for the future. Many had expected from him an immediate and strong course of action, as for example that he would, by means of a diocesan synod, remind a clergy that was forgetful of its duties, of their obligations, and that he would employ force against those who were obstinate. Instead of this the new bishop contented himself with demanding as a condition for ordination, or for the conferring of a benefice, the making of the Tridentine profession of faith,[5] with trying to influence the clergy by means of spiritual exercises,[6] and with reprinting the Breviary of Würzburg,[7] and if, in 1575, he expelled immoral

[1] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 681.

[2] THEINER, I., 238, *cf.* 236. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 127, 138, 211.

[3] Jesuit letters of June 16 and 18, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 291 *seq.* *Cf.* HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 705.

[4] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 305. *cf.* 355.

[5] Portia to Galli on January 26, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 38.

[6] In the years 1574 and 1575. REININGER, 201.

[7] RULAND in the *Serapeum*, 1863, 219 *seqq.* He also had a prayerbook of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria (for soldiers) republished in 1600 and the following years (*ibid.*, 1864, 194 *seqq.*). About the printing of the Catechism of Canisius in 1590 and 1614, *ibid.*, 1867, 9 *seqq.*; about the Würzburg hymn books, 1591-1615, *ibid.*, 1866, 33 *seqq.*

women from the houses of the clergy and the canons, this was limited to the city of Würzburg itself.[1] Some preachers were also expelled, but down to 1577 only fourteen had thus been driven out.[2] Echter is a tedious temporizer, wrote one of the Jesuits.[3] Even the Pope complained[4] that in spite of the insistence of Elgard, Julius would not be persuaded to hold a diocesan synod before his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, held a provincial one ; at the same time, only common action on the part of the bishops could effect a sensible improvement of the clergy. Gregory XIII. did not deem it out of place to remind the bishop of his promise to set up a Tridentine seminary, and charged Gropper,[5] as well as Elgard,[6] to address remonstrances to him on this subject as well as about the synod ; Portia, too, on the occasion of his visit to Würzburg in 1577, again brought pressure to bear on behalf of both synod and seminary.[7]

But if Bishop Julius only proceeded very slowly, this was not from any want of zeal, but because he only wished to undertake what he could carry out. It was impossible, so

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 305.

[2] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 37.

[3] "satis magnus cunctator," in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 674, n. 1. In a written complaint of the year 1573 (published by S. MERKLE in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, XLI. (1899), 263 *seqq.*) the bishop is even suspected of Protestant leanings. RANKE (*loc. cit.*, 79 *seq.*) thought it probable that Julius had hesitated as to whether he should make his bishopric Protestant and hereditary. Opposed to this view are LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seq.*, S. KADNER in the *Beiträgen zur bayr. Kirchengeschichte*, IV. (1898), 128-36 ; WEGELE, *loc. cit.*, 158.

[4] On November 27, 1574, in THEINER, I., 238. "Chi tentarà per se solo si concitarà un odio immortale de' principi, et forse senza frutto potendo avvenire che da gl' altri non habbia approbatione," declared Julius in reply to the nuncio Portia. Portia to Galli on January 26, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 38.

[5] On November 27, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 226.

[6] On January 22, 1575, *ibid.*, 242.

[7] Portia, *loc. cit.*

he pointed out to Elgard, and later on to Portia,[1] to proceed with severity against the ecclesiastics of the territory, because in that case they would leave the country, and the whole district would be deprived of Catholic worship. He devoted his attention rather to the training of young and good priests, and the moment he found any such at his disposal, he put him in the place of some unworthy priest. Elgard did not venture to contradict him, but he was of the opinion[2] that Bishop Julius in his excessive zeal, embarked upon too many plans, so that one hindered the other ;[3] but that it was fair to say that, considering his youth and the fact that he had only recently begun to govern, he had fulfilled his duties as bishop with steadfastness and resolution.[4] Portia too, in 1577, recognized the bishop's zeal.[5] It was quite true that his hands were tied on every side by great obstacles. Julius complained to Cardinal Madruzzo at the Diet of Ratisbon that the patrons of more than 300 parishes would not allow the parish priests they nominated to be subjected to the examination desired by the Church. So that he might have some support against these patrons he suggested that the Pope might make a complaint to the bishop in a brief, to the effect that he had not opposed this arrangement with sufficient energy ; this suggestion was actually carried out.[6]

If Bishop Julius saw the only hope of better conditions for the Church in the schools and the rising generation, he was able to find confirmation for this view in the experience of his predecessor. Frederick von Wirsberg had been a zealous pastor ; he himself preached and administered the

[1] Elgard on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* ; Portia *loc. cit.*

[2] To Galli on November 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 329.

[3] "Tam multa fervore quodam proponit, ut metuam, ne seipsum multitudine nimia confundat et impediat." *Ibid.*

[4] "Ego ipsi plurimum confido in Domino. Nam pro ea aetate et initio administrationis suae constanter et fortiter officium episcopale praestitit." Memorandum of July, 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[5] *loc. cit.*, 37 *seq.*

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 493, 512.

sacraments. After he had taken possession of his see he issued a series of enactments against the Protestants. On fixed days of the week the Council of Trent was read to the clergy, and later on this reading was again repeated. The higher clergy and religious superiors were obliged in 1569 to take an oath according to the formulary of Trent, and to exact the same thing from their subjects.[1] But in spite of all this the bishop himself realized that the ecclesiastical revival was making very little progress. Often the pious old man rose in the night to pray God to raise up for the diocese a more energetic successor.[2]

As far as the education of youth was concerned, Frederick von Wirsberg had prepared the ground for his successor in a remarkable way. His first attempt at setting up an establishment for higher education in 1561 failed indeed,[3] but in 1567 a Jesuit college, as well as a house of studies was established.[4] Nevertheless the want of a true university in the district of Franconia was badly felt, since the youths who attended the high-schools returned home almost Protestants, or at any rate were "neither flesh nor fish."[5] There was also a want of a theological seminary in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, since the college of Frederick von Wirsberg was intended for students in all the faculties. The prince bishop Julius supplied these deficiencies, and established education in Franconia in such a way as to make it independent of outside resources, and well provided for in every way. First of all he obtained for the Jesuit college the pontifical and Imperial privileges which converted it into a university.[6] He further established

[1] Gropp, I., 386. Wegele in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VIII., 60 *seq.*

[2] Gropp, I., 388.

[3] Braun, I., 106 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 124 *seqq.*, 139 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*

[5] Julius to the Chapter on February 28, 1575, *ibid.*, 178.

[6] Gregory XIII. on March 28, 1575, in Gropper, I., 499 *seq.*; Wegele, Geschichte, II., 80 *seqq.* Maximilian, II., on May 11, 1575, *ibid.*, 84; *cf.* Braun, I., 167 *seqq.*

three colleges which were intended to ensure to the rising generation a means of recovery and protection from danger.[1] The first, the college of St. Kilian, for forty theological students, was to form the true Tridentine theological seminary; to this was attached a house for students in all the faculties.[2] The second, the Marian College, intended to serve as a preparatory school for that of St. Kilian, was also for forty students; this was to serve for the classics and philosophy.[3] The third institution for poor boys, was in its turn to serve as a preparatory school for the Marian.[4] To these three there was added in 1607 a seminary for 24 young nobles;[5] in this way, provision had now been made for all, as far as education was concerned. The teachers and professors in all these institutions were drawn by Bishop Julius from the Jesuits.

So as to prepare a suitable residence for his university, as well as for the college of St. Kilian, he erected a splendid new building.[6] He too had to contend with the same financial difficulties which had prevented Bishop Frederick from founding the university which he too had had in view. But in spite of all difficulties, and in spite of the opposition of his unintelligent chapter and their hostility to the Jesuits, Julius was successful in carrying out his intentions. Sometimes it is true, there was a tendency on his part to have recourse to force, the natural effect of his iron will. When

[1] A written document, dated January 2, 1589, decreed that the work of education should be distributed among three colleges. BRAUN, I., 316 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 175 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 259.

[4] *Ibid.*, 312.

[5] BRAUN, I., 351. F. K. HUMMER, Das von Fürstbischof Julius gestiftete Seminarium nobilium zu Würzburg, Würzburg, 1906.

[6] BRAUN, I., 285 *seqq.* BUCHINGER, 147 *seqq.* Opening celebrations on January 2, 1582 (WEGELE, Geschichte, I., 196 *seq.*, II., 127). About the university, see *Kunstdenkmäler von Unterfranken und Würzburg*, XII. (1914); R. STÖLZE, Erziehungs und Unterrichtsanstalten im Julius-spital seit 1580 bis 1803, Munich, 1914.

for example the chapter would not concede the use of an empty monastery for the projected Tridentine seminary, he himself handed over the building to the Jesuits, *brevimanu*, and the chapter had to give way whether they liked it or not.[1]

The zeal of Bishop Julius was not yet satisfied with all these institutions. He was not only a promoter of learning, but he was also a father of the poor and needy.[2] The destructive military campaigns of which the Duchy of Franconia had been the scene during the XVIth century, had directly injured many pious institutions, and given their unscrupulous administrators an excuse for being unfaithful to their trust. The prince-bishop now intervened; he examined the state of these institutions, saved some from ruin, and improved and reorganized them in general. Several of his enactments on behalf of the still existing hospitals, such as that for Arnstein in 1573, for Heidingsfeld in 1585, for Münnerstadt in 1591, for Dettelbach, Gerolzhofen, Mellrichstadt, Neustadt, and Rottingen in 1616, together with the ordinances on behalf of Ebern, Karlstadt, Volkach, Hassfurt, Iphofen and Königshofen, are couched in eloquent language.[3] In many instances the efforts of Echter on behalf of ancient institutions took the form of an almost entirely new foundation. He himself described the spirit which guided him in his works of charity in an autograph postscript to the statute for the hospital at Volkach, which he had rebuilt from its foundations;[4] "I do not remember having ever read of anyone dying a bad death who willingly devoted himself to works of charity, for such a one has many to intercede for him, and it is impossible for the prayers of many people not to be heard."

The most important of the bishop's charitable foundations was the great Julian hospital which still exists in the city

[1] BRAUN, I., 180, 259 *seq.* In 1581 Gregory XIII. issued a prohibition preventing the bishop from seizing the property of the Jesuits (*ibid.*, 206, n. 1). *Cf.* DUHR, I., 126 *seqq.*

[2] BUCHINGER, 243 *seqq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 239.

[3] BUCHINGER, 244.

[4] Of 1607, *ibid.*, 246.

of Würzburg. Persons with means were not to be admitted to this wealthy institution, and no attention was to be paid to recommendations in admitting inmates, because owing to such recommendations and payments the sick would be crowded out by the healthy. This bishop wished to assist none but the needy: the poor, the sick, the orphans, pilgrims on their way, and all in need, and these were assisted gratuitously out of the large revenues. The cathedral chapter made objections to this splendid undertaking as well, but at last agreed that the revenues of the deserted monastery of Heiligental and other funds should be made over to the hospital. Bishop Julius himself laid the first stone on March 12th, 1576, on March 12th, 1579, he signed the charter of foundation, and on July 10th, 1580, he was able to consecrate the church of the hospital.[1]

The great Bishop of Würzburg also distinguished himself in yet a third kind of foundation, and the epitaph which his successor placed upon his tomb records the fact that he had built more than 300 churches.[2]

When Bishop Julius had won for himself an established reputation both with his own subjects and throughout the Empire, and had laid the necessary foundations for a religious revival, he set himself in 1585 to the task of restoring the ancient faith, and carried it out with the resolution and prudent gentleness which distinguished him. As early as 1582 the nobility of Franconia had demanded of him the suppression of the ecclesiastical council, and of the Jesuits, as well as a chapel for Lutheran sermons, and marriage for the clergy of the country.[3] This last blow struck on behalf of Protestantism failed before the calm firmness of the bishop.[4]

[1] BUCHINGER, 247-56.

[2] GROPP, I., 429.

[3] BUCHINGER, 277, 290 *seq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 235. JOS. CHMEL, Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien, I., Vienna, 1840, 368, supplement to no. xxvii. The knights also expressed their opposition to the foundation of the university.

[4] BUCHINGER, 291.

Three years later, in the year of the death of Gregory XIII., Julius Echter took the offensive.[1] Missionaries and visitation commissions were sent throughout the country, and every subject was obliged to declare whether he preferred to return to the old faith or leave the country. The prince-bishop himself took part in the visitation.[2] In two years 120 Lutheran pastors had to leave.[3] Very few of the Protestants preferred exile to returning to Catholicism.[4] As early as June, 1586, we are told that hardly a sixth part of the state remained Protestant. Bishop Julius himself estimated the number of converts at that time at 53,000; only 34 persons had gone into exile. In the two years 1586 and 1587 fourteen cities and 200 villages, with their 62,000 inhabitants had again become Catholic.[5] Very often the reports speak of the readiness and joy with which the people came back to the ancient faith.[6] By 1590 Protes-

[1] EUCH. SANG, Triumphus Franconiae, Würzburg, 1618, reproduced in GROPP, I., 637-46.

[2] BUCHINGER, 172 *seqq.* HEPPE, Fulda, 161 *seqq.* where some extracts from original sources may be found on pp. 173, 174 n., 179, 183 *seq.*, 187, 188 n. RITTER, I., 626.

[3] RITTER, I., 627. SANG (*loc. cit.*, 639) merely remarks: "Tempore progrediente non deni aut viceni, sed centeni . . . ex diocesi moti sunt."

[4] "Inventi sunt, quanquam numero non ita magno, qui . . . hinc migrarunt" (SANG, Triumphus, *loc. cit.*, 643). Some actual figures in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[11111], 238; DUHR, I., 488 *seq.* *Cf.* RITTER, I., 628. Speaking of the entirely Protestant county of Wertheim, SANG says (p. 645): " . . . ut intra paucorum mensium spatium nova denuo et nobilissima ad catholicam religionem accessio facta fuerit, et ex universis vix unus aut alter inventus, qui piis monitis repugnaret et de abitu loqueretur vel cogitaret." Certain districts bordering on Saxony remained Protestant. DENZINGER in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, X., 1 (1850), 121 *seqq.*

[5] DUHR, I., 486, 488.

[6] *Ibid.* "But in general Würzburg was like every other place where the counter-reformation had been energetically undertaken. In the very next generation the people had become completely

tantism in Würzburg may be said to have been destroyed.[1]

Although Bishop Julius had done nothing against the Protestants in his duchy which had not long been in common use against the Catholics in Protestant districts, yet his method of procedure called forth strong complaints. The three secular Electors, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Count Palatine of Neuberg, together with the Duke of Wurtemberg and other princes made strong protests by letter. A series of Protestant writings heaped abuse upon the courageous person of the reformer, but Bishop Julius did not allow himself to be deterred by this. He replied to the princes calmly and in a dignified way, treating these abusive letters like votive offerings by hanging them up for a time at the altar of his castle chapel.[2]

In spite of the uproar caused by events in Franconia, Bishop Julius was by no means the only Catholic prince who set himself to the task of restoring the ancient faith in a state that had become almost completely Protestant. The signal for this really came from the tomb of the man who, sent in the first instance from Rome, had planted Catholicism in Germany, namely from Fulda. What bishops who were already advanced in years had not ventured to do, was there ventured upon by a Benedictine abbot of only twenty-two, Balthasar von Dernbach,[3] and his example, in spite of the

changed and devoted both to the Church and to the Jesuits." (GOETZ in *Herzog's Real-Enzyklopädie*, IX.,[1] 634). *Cf.* HEPPE, Fulda, 193: "The altered manner of public life made it almost impossible to imagine that the Protestant teaching had once flourished here." JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.,[15-16] 238.

[1] BUCHINGER, 169 *seqq.* SCHMIDLIN, II., 128.

[2] BUCHINGER, 179 *seqq.*, 332. HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 170 *seqq.*, 188 *seq.* Mission of the Elector of Saxony, *ibid.*, 176 *seqq.* Memorial presented by the knights to the chapter and the bishop's reply, *ibid.*, 174, n. 1, 178; *cf.* 186 *seq.*

[3] H. HEPPE, Die Restauration des Katholizismus in Fulda, auf dem Eichsfelde und in Würzburg, Marburg, 1850; also *Katholik*, 1863, I., 716-46. J. GEGENBAUR, Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung im Hochstifte Fulda während des 16 Jahr-

failures at first, had the effect of inspiring courage in others.

Fulda and its surrounding territory had at one time been rich in monasteries, but, as Elgard wrote in 1575,[1] the principal monastery was now no longer a monastery, and the rest had disappeared. Of the religious of the ancient and celebrated abbey of St. Boniface, those who formed the chapter had to be nobles; of these there were only four, and they, like the other canons, lived each one by himself in his own house. As the last remaining trace of their special position they wore the scapular over a dress that could hardly be described as a fitting raiment for a secular priest.[2] Besides the members of the chapter ten monks attended the office in choir. The learning of the canons was so little that they were unable to succeed in understanding even sufficient Latin.[3]

In the city of Fulda, as in the whole of the principality, the appeal of the Confession of Augsberg had become more and more strong ever since the middle of the century. As is shown by the repeatedly renewed demands of its subjects, toleration of the new faith had not yet been allowed, although Abbot Philip Schenk von Schweinsberg had in 1542 allowed freedom in the matter of communion under two kinds and in the use of the Latin tongue at baptisms. In spite of the Catholic sentiments of the abbots, the new doctrines continued to make progress under the influence of the neighbouring

hunderts (Progr.) Fulda, 1861. KOMP, Fürstabt Balthasar von Fulda und die Stifts-rebellion von 1576, in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI. (1865), 1-26, 106-33, 186-208, 288-99 (revised reprint together with certain hitherto unpublished documents by G. RICHTER, Fulda, 1915; *cf. Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter*, X. (1911), 39 *seqq.*; XI. (1912), 65 *seqq.* KOMP, Die zweite Schule Fuldas und das päpstliche Seminar, 1571-3, Fulda, 1877. H. v. EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach und die katholische Restauration im Hochstifte Fulda, 1570-1606, Munich, 1890.

[1] On March 9 to Galli, in THEINER, II., 74.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 75.

Protestant states, and the last traces of the ancient religion threatened soon to disappear entirely.[1]

It was under these threatening conditions that Balthasar von Dernbach assumed the reins of government in 1570. The new abbot came from a completely Protestant family of Hesse.[2] In his early youth he went to Fulda, where his great-uncle William von Klaur was abbot. We do not know exactly how it was that Balthasar embraced the Catholic faith, not only externally, but with all his heart, nor how he succeeded in preserving the spotless purity of his morals in a society that was certainly not a school of virtue. It is certain that the gifted youth soon drew attention to himself; as his subsequent life showed he was possessed in the highest degree of strength of character, resoluteness, steadfastness, prudence, and gentleness combined with deep piety and zeal for religion.[3] Even before he was twenty he became a canon, in 1568, and was elected abbot in 1570.

From the commencement of his rule[4] Balthasar set himself

[1] Komp in the *Hist-polit Blätter*, LVI., 8. Against Heppe's description of the edict of 1542 and its significance, see *Katholik*, 1863, I., 719 *seqq*. Evidence that the old faith had not been completely wiped out, *ibid.*, 724 *seqq*.

[2] "In it (in Lutheranism) his father had lived and died; also, without doubt, he himself, the abbot, had been baptized, instructed and educated in it from his youth" (Instruction for the ambassadors of the Protestant princes to Balthasar on September 24, 1573, in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 200). "Di cui lodano infinitamente la bontà et la constanza, che in cosi giovenile età non eccedendo il 23 anno in lui risplendono, che truovandosi cinto da heretici et nato di padre et di parenti infettissimi, etc." (Portia on December 9, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 265). *Cf.* Egloffstein, *loc. cit.*, 2 *seq*. According to other accounts, Balthasar's father was the only knight of Hesse who still remained Catholic (Komp, Zweite Schule, 7; *Katholik*, 1863, I., 745). His mother, though originally Protestant (see Komp, *loc. cit.*, 26), communicated in 1574 at Fulda under one kind (Hansen, Rheinische Akten, 680).

[3] *Cf. Katholik*, 1853; I., 744.

[4] He says so himself in a letter of December 28, 1573, to Gregory XIII. Theiner, I., 92.

to restore as far as possible the Catholic faith in his principality. He began by removing from his entourage all untrustworthy officials, and frequently at great expense summoned capable men to his counsels.[1] A second step was the establishment of a Jesuit college. The nobility, in paying their homage, had asked for a school; two of Balthasar's new councillors, who had both studied at Trêves under the Jesuits, called his attention to the new Order, of which Balthasar had not even heard, and on October 20th, 1572, the new establishment was opened at Fulda.[2] The chapter, to whom the abbot had at his election given a promise in writing that he would not annoy "the diocese and the abbey with foreign ecclesiastics" had consented to this.[3] Gregory XIII. allowed the Franciscan convent, which had been empty for twenty years, to be used for this purpose.[4] In 1579 the number of the pupils had already risen to 250.[5]

Other enactments followed these first steps. Prohibitions were issued against the singing of Lutheran hymns at divine worship, and the use of the books of the innovators; Catholic practices were again introduced, such as the administration of baptism in Latin, processions, etc.; a sodality of Our Lady was established. Balthasar interested himself especially in the improvement of his clergy and of the monks of his abbey, by insisting upon the prescriptions of Trent,[6] and

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 7. Hansen, *loc. cit.*, 691. Abbot Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on April 20, 1577, in Theiner, II., 300.

[2] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 9-12. Duhr, I., 128 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. Katholik*, 1863, I., 729 *seqq.* (against Heppe). That, in spite of this promise, the Jesuits could have been introduced without the chapter, was admitted by the Dean of the chapter and two of the canons. *Ibid.*, 732.

[4] Brief of June 28, 1573, in Schannat, Diocesis, 352. Zaccaria Delfino recommended the Abbot to the German Congregation. Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 22.

[5] Hansen, *loc. cit.*, 738.

[6] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 12. Schannat, *loc. cit.* 350. There is room for doubt as to whether the date of the mandate is March 14, 1573, or 1574.

Gregory XIII. supported the efforts of the prince-abbot by granting privileges.[1] Above all Balthasar himself influenced others by the example of his holy life and fear of God. He zealously assisted at the office and sermons, carefully observed the ecclesiastical fasts, and prepared himself to receive his abbatial benediction by making the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits.[2]

It was easy to foresee that the Protestants would not accept all this in silence. As early as March 8th, 1571, the knights held a meeting at Hünfeld, asked once more for the concession of the Confession of Augsburg, and told the abbot that they had indeed asked for a school, but not a Jesuit school.[3] With the knights was associated the chapter,[4] which, in spite of its former approval of the foundation of a Jesuit college, now refused its consent to the carrying out of the plan.[5]

Soon the agitation affected others. The municipal council asked[6] that the religious peace should not only be understood according to the letter, and complained that they had been deprived of the chalice as well as of the use of Latin at baptisms.[7] The magistracy expressed their desire for the

[1] A dispensation for the ordination to the priesthood of a 23-year-old candidate dated June 22, 1573; and faculties for absolution from heresy of the same date, in SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 351; a dispensation for the ordination of illegitimate candidates dated February 17, 1574; and another one for the absolution of apostates on May 17, 1574, *ibid.*, 366, 367. *Cf.* SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 76; MERGENTHEIM, II., 227 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 102: "And thus Fulda was provided with counter Reformation faculties quite as richly, or even more richly than were most of the German Ordinaries."

[2] KOMP, *loc. cit.* For the confirmation a Würzburg document of Bishop Frederick von Wirsberg in the *Augsb. Poststg.*, 1899, suppl., 163.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 10.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 11, 12.

[6] On May 28, 1573, in HEPPE, Restauration, 29, n. 1.

[7] On July 24, 1573. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Gesch.*, II. (1838), 77 *seqq.*

Confession of Augsburg,[1] and laid their demands before the abbot through the municipal council and the chapter.[2] Rejected by Balthasar, the chapter and the nobles met in a Diet at Geisa, in order to draw up a common petition, in which a supposed consent of the abbot to the Confession of Augsburg was mentioned.[3] Whereas the other petitions were still couched in terms of respect to the prince, that of the nobles and canons clearly struck the note of future rebellion.

Balthasar did not allow himself to be alarmed. On August 26th, 1573, he replied by issuing a detailed religious edict,[4] in which he justified the course he had adopted by custom and the terms of the religious peace, and ended by commanding them in the name of the obedience they owed to their sovereign to accept the ancient faith. Every kind of interference in ecclesiastical government was forbidden, as well as all discussion of the subject or any speech against the Catholic religion. Balthasar summoned the knights and the canons to his presence, each party separately, and warned the canons that in convoking the nobles they had exceeded their powers and had dared to take the part of the innovators;[5] the knights he referred to his edict on religion. The latter replied by once more demanding the free use of the Confession of Augsburg.[6] The heads of the magistracy, when they received the edict, declared that they would act in common with the council and the citizens, but the latter, at a further meeting, expressed themselves almost unanimously against the abbot.[7]

The storm which these repeated meetings and petitions stirred up soon threatened to lead to disturbances, even outside the borders of the state. The significance of a Catholic

[1] Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 30 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 31.
[3] On August 24, 1573, *ibid.*, 32.
[4] In Schannat, *loc. cit.*, 356-63.
[5] Komp in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI., 14.
[6] On August 27, 1573, in Heppe, Restauration, 32.
[7] *Ibid.*, 36.

Fulda in the midst of its neighbouring states, all Protestant, was recognized from the first by the adherents of both the old and the new religions; it was like a Catholic fortress placed in the midst of an enemy country. Zaccaria Delfino recommended the cause of the abbot to the German Congregation in Rome in this light.[1] The Landgrave William of Hesse said that he could not tolerate the Jesuits at Fulda because they not only attracted the flower of the nobility of Hesse to their college, but were also able to spread their books everywhere in secret.[2] Abbot Balthasar was further the first ecclesiastical prince who had dared to make use of the religious peace of Augsburg in favour of Catholicism. Should he be successful, his example would certainly find imitators among the other prelates; on the other hand, if they could succeed in crushing and driving out the courageous Abbot of Fulda, the Protestant princes would be encouraged to adopt a similar policy with regard to the other ecclesiastical princes.[3] It thus came about that the private disputes at Fulda very soon became a question involving the whole of Germany, and drew down a violent storm on the head of Balthasar. The Prince-elector of Saxony, the two Landgraves of Hesse, and at first the Margrave of Ansbach,[4] who, however, soon withdrew, united in making a common attack. There was already talk of armed intervention, of the expulsion by force of the Jesuits, who, as a new sect, were not included in the religious peace,[5] of the removal of Balthasar, and the election of a Protestant prince-abbot.

On October 21st, 1573, an embassy from the three princes

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 22.

[2] KOMP, Zweite Schule, 23.

[3] Rhetius on January 25, 1574, in HANSEN, Rheinische Atken, 668 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 764.

[4] At a meeting on September 14, 1573 (HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 38) which took place under the auspices of the Elector Augustus (EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 9, 84). For a meeting of tbe ahove named princes held at Leipzig, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III, lxxvii, 288, 305, 345.

[5] *Ibid*, 331.

arrived at Fulda; in the event of the abbot refusing the free concession of the Confession of Ausgburg and the banishment of the Jesuits, the envoys were to proceed to threats, and to demand from the dean and chapter the election of the young Count Palatine, Frederick;[1] the abbot gave his reply on the following day, asking for time for reflection.[2] Without the permission of the prince the envoys then went to the municipality and reminded the council and the magistrates that the Protestant princes would give them their support, in maintaining "the pure doctrine."[3] In spite of the protest of the abbot they also got into touch with the nobles and the chapter.[4] A special envoy from the Landgrave William Johann Meckbach, advised the citizens to avail themselves of the Landgrave's help.[5]

Naturally the noble canons and knights were emboldened by all this. At the beginning of November they again presented themselves before the abbot. But the canons again received a severe rebuke; the nobles, who once more demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits and asked for a Protestant preacher, were informed by the prince-abbot that he was prepared to submit the whole affair to the Emperor and the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber for decision.[6] The chapter sought to adopt another method of procedure, by issuing an order of expulsion to the Jesuits

[1] The envoys' instruction of September 24, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 199 *seqq.* The Elector of Saxony, however, was not really so eager in the Fulda affair as he gave himself out to be (MORITZ, 413, n., 415; *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266, 323). Landgrave William was opposed to the abbot for political reasons as well; see Graziani to Galli on January 20, 1574, in THEINER, I., 412.

[2] Report of the envoys of October 24, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.* 203-9. KOMP in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI., 15 *seq.*

[3] Report in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 209-11.

[4] *Ibid*, 211, 221.

[5] *Ibid.*, 45.

[6] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 15-8. DUHR, I., 130. Supplica of the Chapter of November 3, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 222-5.

on their own account, as shairng in the government of the abbey.[1]

Balthasar was not left without help in his difficulties: by the intervention of a friend, the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber at Spires had already, on November 13th, 1573, issued an edict from the Emperor in his favour.[2] Albert V. assured the abbot of his support[3] and recommended his case to the Emperor, as also did the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Archbishop of Mayence.[4] Later on Gregory XIII. took up the cause of the persecuted abbot strongly. Balthasar had asked for his intervention;[5] the Pope, according to his desires, could do two things for him; he could obtain a prohibition from the Emperor to the princes to interfere in his government and, under the pretext of religion, invade his territory, and he could issue an Imperial declaration that the rights over religion in his own territory belonged to him, and that the Jesuits, since they had been approved by the Pope and the Council of Trent, were included in the religious peace. The Pope might further exhort the chapter of Fulda to obedience. Gregory XIII. acceded to these two requests on February 13th, 1574, in two letters, to the Emperor[6] and to the canons of Fulda.[7] On April 3rd he also had recourse to the more important Catholic princes of Germany, namely, the Dukes of the Tyrol,[8] Styria[9] and

[1] Of November 6, 1573, in SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 363 *seq.* (extract); HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 231-4. Concerning the reply of the Jesuits of November 12, see DUHR, I., 130. A letter of consolation from the General of the Order to Thyräus of February 16, 1574, in REIFFENBERG, Historia S.J. ad Rhenum inferiorem, Cologne, 1764, 135.

[2] SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 364 *seqq.* KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 19.

[3] On November 27, 1573, in HEPPE, Restauration, 238 *seqq.*

[4] Albert on the 22, Ferdinand on the 30, Maximilian II. (to the Archbishop of Mayence) on the 24 January, 1574, in THEINER, Schweden, II., documents 289 *seq.*

[5] On December 28, 1573, in THEINER, I., 92.

[6] *Ibid.*, 256.

[7] In SCHWARZ, Gropper, 121.

[8] In THEINER, I., 256 *seq.*

[9] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 133.

Bavaria,[1] and the three ecclesiastical Electors,[2] asking them to unite with the Emperor on behalf of the abbot. He also asked the new King of Poland, who had gone to Fulda on his journey to his kingdom,[3] to take up the cause of the abbot with the Protestant princes.[4] It is an act of madness, and something contrary to the laws of the Empire, Gregory wrote to Portia on the same date,[5] for a prince to wish to prevent another from living as he chooses in his own house, or from having with him those religious whom he chooses; not even among the Turks would anything of the sort be done.

Nevertheless, peace was far from being restored by the decision of the Imperial Chamber. Johann Meckbach, the envoy of the Landgrave of Hesse, again presented himself at Fulda;[6] he was to suggest to the chapter whether they ought not to remove the abbot as a lunatic, and put in his place either the dean or the young Count Palatine. The justificatory letters of Balthasar to the Prince Elector of Saxony[7] and the two Landgraves[8] were rudely rejected.[9] Augustus of Saxony sent Balthasar's letter to the Landgrave William and advised him to ask the chapter to expel the Jesuits, and send the canons an auxiliary force of 500 or 1000 horse.[10] From Spires too there came news of the enrolment of troops to march against the ecclesiastical princes; a beginning was to be made with Fulda. The abbot was advised to hand over the principality to his brother and fly in disguise to Cologne.[11]

[1] DUHR, I., 131.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 134.

[3] SCHANNAT, Historia. Cod. Prob., 429.

[4] SCHWARZ, 133.

[5] Galli to Portia on April 3, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 401 *seq.*

[6] On January 14, 1574, HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 54 *seq.*

[7] Of December 4, 1573, *ibid.*, 49.

[8] Delivered by the envoy Johann Klinghard, who arrived in Cassel on January 12, 1574, and in Marburg on the 17th. *Ibid.*, 58 *seq.*

[9] Reply of the Saxon on December 18, 1573, *ibid.*, 52, n.

[10] *Ibid.*, 53.

[11] Lopperz on February 11, 1574 (HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 672).

Soon afterwards, on March 1st, 1574, Maximilian sent out four injunctions in defence of the prince abbot;[1] these were addressed to the three principal opponents of Balthasar, the nobility of Fulda,[2] the magistracy[3] and the chapter. But these Imperial edicts caused as their first result nothing but a fresh outbreak of indignation. In order to win over the Emperor to their side, Balthasar's three principal adversaries sent him a joint letter[4] to which the citizens associated themselves, while the nobility decided to have recourse to the tribunal of the Chamber.[5]

In one matter, however, the letters of the Pope and the Emperor produced a very definite effect: the canons dissociated themselves from the nobles, passed over to the side of the abbot, and declared that the views which they had hitherto held and the reasons by which they had defended them had been mistaken.[6] They everywhere spoke openly of the force of the declaration made by Ferdinand, now made public for the first time, as an appendix to the religious peace of Augsburg,[7] to which they denied any juridical authority, even supposing that it was authentic. It had been the Landgrave William of Hesse who, in the letter from the three Protestant princes which he himself had written, had brought to light this declaration, which had hitherto been quite unknown; according to this the nobles, the cities, and the municipalities which were not immediately subject to the Empire were to be left free to use the Confession of Augsburg, so long as they could show that it had been in use with them before 1555.

[1] HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 60. KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 20 *seq.*

[2] HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 235-7.

[3] SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 430 *seq.*

[4] Drafted by the Landgrave William at the beginning of April and dispatched on May 1, 1574; printed in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte*, N.F., II. (1869), 187 *seqq.* *Cf.* HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 62.

[5] *Ibid.*, 61 *seqq.*

[6] Their explanation of June 18, 1574, *ibid.*, 65-70.

[7] *Ibid.*, 67 *seq.*

If the withdrawal of the chapter of Fulda was a blow for the Protestant party, no less so was the reply of the Emperor rejecting the demands of the citizens.[1] Thus matters seemed to have taken a favourable turn for the prince abbot. At the end of March, 1574, there was hope that the disturbances at Fulda had been brought to an end ;[2] a letter from Würzburg in the middle of April expressed the view that the piety and firmness of the abbot would have great results for Germany, would dispel the vain fears of the other princes, and encourage them to unite together for the defence of the Church.[3]

Abbot Balthasar then proceeded unperturbedly with his plans. On March 27th, 1574, he openly instructed the magistracy to banish all those who refused to become Catholics.[4] When the Imperial decision came he turned likewise upon the nobles, and forbade communion in the Lutheran form in the cities and the whole territory.[5] In the June of the same year Protestant officials and ministers were again dismissed.[6] As it had been steadily maintained in the statements and demands of the nobles and the citizens that the Confession of Augsburg had already been in possession for ten years past, on August 13th, 1574, Balthasar summoned the burgomaster and the council to his castle and asked each one what proofs they had for such an assertion. Most of them could find nothing to say. Then on August 20th the abbot presented to them their own petition, proving that they had repeatedly asked him for a Protestant preacher,

[1] On July 3, 1574, *ibid.*, 73 ; printed in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte*, II., 94 *seqq.*

[2] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 677.

[3] The Jesuit Thyräus to L. Kessel on April 15, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 409, n. 2 (in the last line read " sedari " instead of " sectari ").

[4] HEPPE, Restauration, 61.

[5] *Ibid.*, 73. Protest of the knights against it on October 7, 1574, and reply of the abbot on February 17, 1575, *ibid.*, 74 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 71. Lopperz on July 18, 1574, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 691.

which showed that they had never had one. On October 15th and 16th he repeated this demonstration before the magistracy.[1] Under the existing circumstances this had a special importance for Fulda, for if the Confession of Augsburg had never been legally in use, it was impossible to appeal to the declaration of Ferdinand I. on the religious peace of Augsburg.

These proofs, however, were not sufficient to block the movement. The knights had recourse to their princes, and protested against the threat of expulsion from the principality.[2] Balthasar referred them to legal procedure. In the difficulty they experienced in finding a handle, the nobles clung to the declaration of Ferdinand I., and with their colleagues of Eichsfeld demanded[3] its confirmation by the Diet of the Electors, which had assembled at Ratisbon in 1575 for the election of the future Emperor. The electoral Diet at length referred the matter to the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon in the following year, before which the nobles and citizens of Fulda appeared with a long list of grievances against their prince.[4] But discussion of the matter was no longer necessary, since in the meantime open rebellion had broken out at Fulda.

In 1575 Balthasar had once more devoted himself to the work of reform with his accustomed zeal. In February, Nicholas Elgard, the companion of the nuncio Gropper, went to Fulda. He had already been there in the June of the previous year, and it was during his stay there that the canons had sent to the nobles their letter of withdrawal; by way of excuse for their previous conduct, they called

[1] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 23 *seqq.*

[2] On October 7, 1574, Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 74.

[3] In a memorial presented on September 5, 1575, according to Heppe (*loc. cit.*, 76), in October, according to Komp (*loc. cit.*, 25). Concerning Heppe's version of the Fulda-Eichsfeld trouble and the affair of the Declaration at the assembly of the Electors, p. 95 *seq.*, *cf.* the opinion of Moritz (151, n. 8) who does not agree with Heppe.

[4] Printed in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 111-20. *Cf.* Moritz, 265, n. 3.

attention, through the dean, to the utter ruin which threatened the principality at the hands of the Protestants, for which reason they had tried to hold back the abbot from taking any rash steps.[1] At his second visit Elgard went into matters with the abbot and the chapter in greater detail.

The principal difficulty in the way of reform lay in the fact that, in some parts of the principality, it was not clear to which diocese they belonged. For this reason the abbot had proposed to the chapter that the whole of the little state should be incorporated in one of the neighbouring dioceses, or that Fulda should be made into a diocese of its own; failing this the existing state of affairs should indeed be continued, but the whole position subjected to reform. Elgard was of the opinion that it would be advantageous to confer on the abbot an authority similar to that of a bishop over the whole of his principality.[2] He could be appointed as Papal delegate for possibly six or seven years, or else the Bishops of Mayence and Würzburg could appoint a special official for Fulda with the necessary powers.[3] Elgard further recommended the third plan of carrying out a radical reform of the existing state of affairs. As far as the chapter was concerned, this would consist in its return to the rule of St. Benedict, though on account of the heretics, the wearing of the monastic habit might be omitted. The canons, however, did not give Elgard any reply on this point, but they told the abbot that on entering the Order they had found a certain manner of life in use, and that they were only bound to the observance of that, and that the existing customs must be preserved.[4]

Elgard had, nevertheless, obtained this much, that the canons began to feel ashamed of their conduct though the true remedy could only come from Rome. Thither then,

[1] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 213. Elgard to Madruzzo on July 31, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 171.

[2] Elgard to Galli on March 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 75.

[3] Elgard to Galli on October 19, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 326 *seq.*

[4] THEINER, II., 76.

Elgard sent his views. First of all he insisted that there was no need to give up hope, as something is always accomplished by continued exhortations and warnings. The Pope should address a brief to the canons, and urge them themselves to draw up a scheme of reform.[1] Elgard had been led to give this advice by his secret conviction that the canons were prepared out of very shame to remove some of the abuses, if only in order not to have to own to them in Rome.[2] He further suggested the sending of a special representative to Fulda with wider faculties; the abbot might be urged to cause some of the young nobles to be educated with the Jesuits and at the German College. Once the chapter was filled up and renewed with such men, everything else would right itself.

Elgard's suggestions were acted upon in Rome in their entirety.[3] The news that the Pope desired that some youths should be sent from Fulda to the German College in Rome was received with great joy by Balthasar.[4]

Elgard had recommended in Rome that the canons should be treated with gentleness, for otherwise they would be driven to side with the seditious citizens and the angry nobles.[5] The abbot too was warned by other friends not to ask for too much at a time.[6] But Elgard saw for himself after a few months on the occasion of his third visit to Fulda how little the abbot allowed himself to be dismayed by the difficulties which he met with. There were at that time in the neighbourhood of the principality bands of soldiers who had been enrolled for the Huguenot wars, and who were uttering threats against the abbot on account of his "Jesuitical reforms." In spite of this, not only did Balthasar go on

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 213.

[3] Briefs to the abbot and chapter of May 7, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 284.

[4] Elgard on February 17, 1575, *ibid.*, 258. *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I., 221 *seq.*

[5] THEINER, II., 76.

[6] KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 106 *seq.*

with the building of the Jesuit college, but at that very time set to work with all zeal to put an end to the disgraceful lives of the canons.[1] By this time there was hardly a Protestant left at his court, and those who would not take the Tridentine profession of faith were dismissed.[2]

When, in January, 1576, Balthasar took steps once more to fill the abbey with worthy monks, he asked for the concurrence of the chapter in their maintenance, as well as for the construction of the necessary buildings. The canons replied that the present revenues did not suffice for this. The abbot declared his readiness to take upon his own shoulders the administration of the property, and therefore insisted upon an examination into the accounts, and finally, when this was refused by the administrator, he threw him into prison.[3] Steps were then taken against the immorality of the canons. He was dissuaded from his design of whipping the concubines out of the city in a body, but he nevertheless caused the dean's "lovely maiden" to be arrested in the public streets, and only released her after she had promised on oath not to set foot any more in the monastery.[4]

Then there occurred what Elgard had feared: the chapter once more made common cause with the nobles.

The barons were especially irritated with Balthasar because he had redeemed not a few lordships which they had pawned, and that for the small sum for which they had been pledged. Moreover, Balthasar had resolutely opposed their attempts to be made directly dependent upon the Empire, with the assistance of their neighbours in Franconia who were thus directly dependent, and so free themselves from Balthasar's authority over them.[5]

Besides the canons and the knights, the citizens as well were irritated by the new measures taken by the abbot. He

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 10, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 301.

[2] An unknown correspondent to Elgard on December 3, 1575, *ibid.*, 332.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, 108.

[5] *Ibid.*, 109 *seq.*

would not approve the election of a zealous Protestant as municipal secretary, and asked the council for the keys of the city.[1] Attendance at Protestant worship was forbidden throughout the district.[2] An ordinance of December 27th, 1575,[3] ordered fathers of families and all citizens to attend mass on Sundays and festivals, together with their households. The controversy over a new regulation of the city earned for the two senior burgomasters an imprisonment of 14 days.[4]

In this way the idea gradually took shape in the minds of the nobles and the canons of removing the abbot and placing the abbey in the hands of an administrator. The understanding between the malcontents and the nobles of Franconia makes it easy to see why for the same purpose they joined forces with their powerful neighbour, Bishop Julius of Würzburg, upon whom the greater part of the principality was dependent ecclesiastically, and who had so far given little trouble to the Protestants in his own principality in eastern Franconia. It is much more difficult to understand how Bishop Julius should have allowed himself to be mixed up in such a project. He himself a few months later tried to justify his action to the Pope. He was influenced by his anxiety, he said, lest the principality of Fulda might pass entirely into the hands of the heretics; if he had not intervened it would already be in their power.[5] That such a

[1] *Ibid.*, 111. HEPPE, Restauration, 117.

[2] EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 32.

[3] Promulgated on January 1, 1576, printed in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 106, n. 2, *cf.* 116; SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 368 (with the impossible date, July 27, 1576).

[4] On March 27, 1576, HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[5] On July 17, 1576, in THEINER, II., 192. As late as 1582 Julius told Madruzzo that he felt certain the abbot would never be able to govern the nobles and people of Fulda which would also be a source of embarrassment to neighbouring countries (Madruzzo to Galli on August 4, 1582, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 493, *cf.* III., 39 *seq.*). WEGELE says (Gesch, I., 161): "With regard to motives . . . the only point that he brings forward in his own defence, namely, that he refused to allow the Abbey of Fulda to fall into the hands of the enemy through internal intrigues for

danger existed cannot be denied; it is equally clear that Bishop Julius could not feel much sympathy with the proceedings of Balthasar, who was his direct opposite in everything. If he had not intervened the conspirators would have found another administrator, and a Protestant; that would have meant the end of Catholicism in Fulda, and he himself would have been seriously threatened in Würzburg. It is thus possible to understand to some extent the course of action adopted by the great Bishop of Würzburg, but it will always remain a stain upon his memory.[1]

The nobles had already entered into relations with Julius. When the questions at issue between the abbot and the chapter became more and more involved, Balthasar proposed a decision by arbitration, for example, by the prince Electors of Trêves and Mayence. But the chapter wished to have as arbitrator either the Bishop of Würzburg alone, or else the entire Roman Empire, and Balthasar at length agreed to this.[2] Julius suggested the following plan: the two prelates of Würzburg and Fulda were respectively to nominate each other as co-adjutors with the right of succession, but Balthasar rejected this strange plan. There then began secret meetings of the canons and nobles with Neidhardt von Thüngen, the dean of the chapter of Würzburg, and some of the nobles of Franconia, and on May 6th a decision was arrived at that an embassy of three nobles and two canons should treat with the bishop concerning his acceptance of the title of co-adjutor.[3]

The carrying out of their plan was made easier for the conspirators by the fact that Balthasar, on May 1st, 1576, had gone to the second largest town of his principality, to Hammelburg in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of Würzburg. There had been no Catholic priest at Hammel-

which he was in no way responsible, must be considered as something more than a mere pretext, for it must be admitted that the danger he feared was by no means remote."

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 177 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 106. Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 135, n. 1. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 33.

[3] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 111.

burg since 1553, and Balthasar celebrated mass there for the first time, which was not, however, done without the opposition of the council. On June 8th he told the citizens of Hammelburg that he did not intend to interfere with the practice of their religion, but that Catholic worship must be permanently carried out in Hammelburg for the future. He would recommend the Catholic priest not to show hostility towards the Confession of Augsburg, but he expected the same attitude towards the old faith from the preachers.[1]

In the meantime Balthasar received bad tidings one after another. Bishop Julius, whom he asked for an account of his dealings with Fulda, openly admitted on June 13th, that in order to lessen the danger to the abbot, he had accepted the coadjutorship. Immediately after this Balthasar learned that the nobles, the canons and the city had publicly declared on June 17th that they wished to elect a new ruler. In spite of this the abbot took no precautions; even when the news came that the conspirators with 100 horsemen were only two hours distance from the city, he still refused the advice to take to hasty flight, saying that those who were coming were all bound by their oath of fealty.[2]

On June 20th the rebels entered Hammelburg, produced a long list of grievances and threatened to hold the election of a coadjutor.[3] On the afternoon of the following day, the feast of Corpus Domini, Balthasar went in a friendly way to meet Bishop Julius, who had announced his coming; in spite of the advice of a trusted friend, that he should rather go at once to the Diet of Ratisbon, he still continued to put his trust in the bishop.[4]

On the Friday the rebellion broke out openly. Without warning, the conspirators went to the abbot, demanded that he should voluntarily abdicate and formally hand over the coadjutorship to the bishop, who, with Balthasar's consent,

[1] *Ibid.*, 111-7. HEPPE: Das evangelische Hammelburg und dessen Untergang durch das Papsttum, Wiesbaden, 1862, 82-131.

[2] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 121 *seq.*

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 123. HEPPE, Restauration, 140 *seq.*

[4] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 124.

was also present. Already they refused to accord to the abbot his title, and the air was filled with cries and uproar, yet the abbot, although so gravely threatened, remained firm.[1] Other means were then adopted. On the morning of Saturday, shortly after midnight, a great tumult broke out. The marshall of Würzburg climbed through a window into the abbot's lodgings, the door was thrown open, the alarm bell rung, the abbot's servants disarmed, and the Jesuit who accompanied him ill-treated. The whole day was passed in pressing the abbot with angry threats: "If your lordship will not consent, it will be a case of: sign or sink"; if they were forced to come back again and the abbot would not consent, they would cut him into as many pieces as he had drops of blood in his veins, and they[2] would kill him like a mad dog.[3] In the evening of the same day Balthasar let himself be persuaded to sign an already prepared document, and hand over the administration of the abbey to Bishop Julius. On Sunday the citizens took the oath to their new master; on the following Wednesday, in the presence of the abbot and the bishop, homage was paid in Fulda, after the new administrator had been canonically elected and installed in the church.[4]

Balthasar went first to Neuhof. There he was met by his two brothers and his chancellor, Winkelmann, who were returning from the Diet at Ratisbon, and brought the news that the Emperor had, on June 28th, 1576, ordered the reinstatement of the abbot under severe penalties, and that the Imperial commissaries had set out with them from Ratisbon and were already at Würzburg.[5] On July 3rd Balthasar had again been forced to sign a report to Louis of Hesse, announcing his resignation in the sense desired

[1] *Ibid.*, 125 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 129.

[3] *Cf.* Balthasar's letter to the Pope dat. August 1, 1576, where events are described, in THEINER, II., 191, and EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 41 *seq.*

[4] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 129-33.

[5] *Ibid.*, 187 *seq.* EGLOFFSTEIN, *loc. cit.*, 48.

by his adversaries ;[1] but they could not induce him to sign a similar letter to the Pope,[2] notwithstanding the fact that he was entirely in his adversaries' hands. On July 12th, he escaped them by flying to the territory of Mayence, where he found refuge in a small castle near Hausen.[3] Thence he sent his complaints to the Pope.[4]

Naturally what had happened at Hammelburg had made a deep impression on Gregory XIII.[5]

That act of violence was, as Erstenberger, the secretary of the Imperial Chancery put it, a glaring example of the way " they were trying to extirpate and devour the priests " :[6] fi strict reparations were not insisted upon, it would find many imitators, and that would mean the end of all Gregory XIII.'s plans for reform in Germany. As Giovanni Delfino wrote six days after the occurrence, the case was one of the most important that had occurred in those times, not only on account of the violence offered to the person of the abbot, but also because of its serious consequences, and the arrogance hwich their enemies would display if this offence did not meet with prompt and severe punishment.[7] Similar expressions also are of frequent occurrence in the correspondence of Roman circles.[8] Gregory XIII. therefore demanded in the most definite terms the reinstatement of the abbot. On September 3rd he sent a special messenger with five briefs, to the Emperor, Bishop Julius, the Archbishop of Mayence,

[1] Reproduced in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 275 *seqq.*

[2] Reproduced in SCHANNAT, Diocesis, 10 *seqq.*

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 189. On August 4 he retracted his letter to the Landgrave. HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 281 *seq.*

[4] On August 1, 1576, in THEINER, II., 190 ; SCHANNAT, Hist., 269 *seq.*

[5] " S.S^tà ha questo fatto molto a core (Galli on August 11, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 118) ; una causa che preme a N.S. quanto meritamente deve " (Galli on August 18, 1576, *ibid.*, 129).

[6] July 28, 1576, in MORITZ, 414, n. 2.

[7] To Galli, Ratisbon, 1575, June 29, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 66.

[8] *Ibid.*, 94, 122.

the Duke of Bavaria and the chapter of Fulda,[1] and when Balthasar's letter arrived, further briefs were sent of September 15th to Maximilian II., the Bishop of Würzburg, the Prince Elector of Mayence, the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol and Balthasar himself.[2] The brief to Bishop Julius threatened him with excommunication.[3] Immediately after the events at Hammelburg Morone as well addressed reproofs to Bishop Julius.[4] They had in Rome, however, taken into consideration the fact that the reinstatement of Balthasar might prove impossible; in that case Bishop Julius was provisionally to hand over the abbey into the hands of a third party, who was to be nominated by Morone, until a definite settlement of the case had been arrived at; in this way an honourable way out of the difficulty was opened to the Bishop of Würzburg as well.[5]

The Imperial edicts for the reinstatement of Balthasar were not carried into effect. Bishop Julius declared that without a judicial decision he could not renounce his canonically acquired rights over the abbey;[6] the nobles of Fulda and the canons refused to obey them;[7] the nobles of Franconia refused to accept Balthasar as their neighbour;[8] the nobles of Franconia and Fulda, moreover, were able to get together more than 4000 horsemen, so that the Emperor was unable

[1] Galli to Morone on September 4, 1576, *ibid.*, 147. The Brief to Maximilian II., in THEINER, II., 193.

[2] Galli to Morone on September 15, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 149. The Briefs to Julius and Balthasar in THEINER, II., 193 *seq.*; the one to the Emperor in SCHANNAT, Hist., 270, the one to Julius also in SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 368.

[3] But Morone was left free to send it or not (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 149). On October 31 it was in the hands of the bishop (THEINER, II., 197).

[4] On June 27, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114.

[5] Galli to Morone on September 1, 1576. Gregory XIII. to Bishop Julius on September 15, 1576, in THEINER, II., 193.

[6] KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 189 *seq.*

[7] EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 53 *seq.*

[8] Morone to Galli on August 9, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114. *Cf.* MORITZ, 411 *seq.*, 416 *seq.*

to enforce his orders.[1] Morone, too, held back the brief which threatened the Bishop of Würzburg with excommunication; in Germany, he wrote,[2] there is very little submission to the Holy See, so he was afraid that Bishop Julius might be won over to Protestantism, a fear that even Balthasar later on described as groundless.[3]

A stormy outlook now opened for the prince-abbot Balthasar. From the first he had resigned himself to tribulation. He told Elgard in a moment of danger that he was more fitted to be the anvil than the hammer,[4] and when the Jesuit Lopperz came to him with tears in his eyes after his arrest, the abbot consoled him by telling him that he had often prayed to Our Lord to be pleased to prove him, and to prove him greatly for the glory of God and the Church.[5]

Balthasar's *via dolorosa* was a long one. He had to wait for 26 years for his reinstatement, and during that time he had, so to speak, to pass as a beggar from door to door in order to obtain what was his plain and clear right. But the sorely tried man remained steadfast. With the revenues, which the convention of Hammelburg had assigned to him as the price of his resignation,[6] he might have led a life of ease, but he refused the convention, and thus condemned himself to the loss of his princely state, and to humiliation and struggles. For many years he remained without any assured means of support, and had to depend upon the hospitality of strangers, while his chapter enjoyed the revenues of the abbey and mocked at their abbot.[7] Standing firm, amid his sacrifices and privations, and in no way dismayed

[1] Morone to Galli on October 10, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II. 166.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 198.

[4] "se passurum, non percussurum." Elgard on August 10, 1575, in Schwarz, Gropper, 301.

[5] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 131.

[6] *Ibid.*, 129. Balthasar in Theiner, II., 192.

[7] Balthasar to Gregory XIII., on April 20, 1576, Theiner, II., 301.

by the artifices of the pettifogging notaries and their endless scribblings, Balthasar continued unmoved to defend his cause, which was at the same time the cause of the whole of Catholic Germany. If he had not distinguished himself before as a statesman, he now proved himself to be such.

When it was seen that the Imperial mandates could not be put into force, Maximilian II. laid the matter before the Diet of Ratisbon, which had just assembled.[1] The Council of the Prince Electors declared in favour of the abbot, but that of the Princes on the other hand was divided, since even among the Catholics, Bishop Julius had "great friends" who "perhaps had more regard for his friendship than for justice."[2] Even the Duke of Bavaria for a short time allowed himself to be won over by the Bishop of Würzburg.[3] The Protestants in general were not against the abbot, who was present in person at Ratisbon from the end of August;[4] the zealous Lutheran Landgrave William himself preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful Julius.[5] On condition that Balthasar would allow the free use of the Confession of Augsburg they were prepared to join the Catholics with their eighteen votes, and thus secure a majority for the abbot. But Balthasar could not be induced to enter into any such agreement.[6] In view of the divergence of opinion Maximilian II. at length decided on October 5th that the abbey should be placed in sequestration to the Empire until a definite settlement could be arrived at.

With the commencement of the reign of Rudolph II. the

[1] Balthasar to Gregory XIII., on November 10, 1576, *ibid.*, 194-6. MORITZ, 411-8.

[2] Morone to Galli on October 7, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 166.

[3] EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 44 *seq.* (Albert's letter of renunciation to Julius is dated August 8, *ibid.*, 50, n. 5). KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 119 *seq.*, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114, 122. LOSSEN in *Forsch. zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII., 354.

[4] MORITZ, 415.

[5] *Ibid.*, 416 n.

[6] THEINER, II., 195.

negotiations concerning the carrying out of the Imperial decree led to fresh difficulties for the abbot. The new Emperor had to refer the question to his advisers, but, as Balthasar seriously suspected, the latter had been persuaded by his adversaries not to show him any favour. If the abbot asked for his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, as administrator of Fulda, it was said that that prelate was not impartial, as he had given shelter to the exiled abbot; if he proposed the Prince Electors of Cologne and Trêves, the answer was made that they were too far off. Thus the choice was bound to fall either upon a Protestant or upon a partisan of Julius.[1] Moreover it was customary in the case of sequestration for the confiscated property to be left to its owner on the condition of his maintaining an administrator; in the case of Balthasar this was not observed.[2]

At last the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Henry von Bubenhausen, went to Fulda on March 12th, 1577, as administrator. The bishop renounced his right to the oath of fealty of his subjects, but retained the right of appointing officials who were bound to him by oath, so that the common folk imagined that they were still the subjects of the bishop.[3] Bubenhausen proved himself in all things in favour of his feudal lord, the Bishop of Würzburg, and opposed to the abbot. Balthasar still had to work for a long time before he was at length assigned a definite place of residence, and a fair share of the revenues of the abbey. He very much feared, he wrote to the Pope, that the sum would be calculated in such a way that he would not be able to give anything to his loyal supporters. He had only been able to send one councillor to the Emperor to watch over his affairs, since his means did not permit of his going in person to Vienna and making his appearance there as a prince.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 196.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on the 8th and 20th of April, 1577, *ibid.*, 298 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 299.

Gregory XIII. intervened on behalf of Balthasar,[1] and succeeded in getting the Emperor to invite him together with the bishop to Vienna for a conference.[2]

The result of this meeting was favourable to Balthasar. An Imperial decree of December 4th, 1577, referred his case to a judicial decision, and in the meantime assigned him an annual charge of 10,000 florins on the revenues of Fulda and the castle of Neuhof as a residence.[3] But Balthasar received neither the 10,000 florins nor Neuhof, as the administrator entered a protest; he had to take refuge in the territory of the Archbishop of Mayence at Seligenstadt,[4] until, in 1578, Rudolph II. assigned to him the castle of Bieberstein near Fulda, with its rents and services.[5] Still more painful for him was the fact that the Emperor referred his case to the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber, where such matters were apt to drag on interminably, sometimes for ten years.[6] As he wished to see whether the intercession of Gregory[7] would not win over the Emperor, and as the Pope had forbidden him to trust his case to the civil courts,[8] the abbot tried once more to gain his ends by negotiations and agreement with the Bishop of Würzburg. But these negotiations, which since 1578 had been carried on by the Archbishop of Mayence, before the Bishop of Spires, and in 1582 at Mayence and the Diet of Augsburg, came to nothing.[9] In 1584 therefore, recourse was had to legal

[1] On June 7, 1577, *ibid.*, 303.

[2] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 195.

[3] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on October 26, 1577, in Theiner, II., 305 *seq.*

[4] Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on February 16, 1578, *ibid.*, 383 *seq.*

[5] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 200.

[6] *Ibid.*, 306, 383.

[7] Of December 14, 1577, *ibid.*, 307.

[8] Gregory XIII. to Rudolph II. on February 4, 1584, in Theiner, III., 542; to Balthasar on February 27, 1580, and February 5, 1584, *ibid.*, 543.

[9] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 202-4.

procedure,[1] which at last, after another eighteen years delay, brought about a settlement. By an Imperial decree of August 7th, 1602,[2] the prince abbot Balthasar was reinstated in all his rights and dignities, and his adversaries were ordered to make restitution.

In all these controversies the abbot's most staunch supporter was the Pope. It is true that the three ecclesiastical Electors also repeatedly took his part,[3] but the sorely tried man always had recourse in the first place to Rome. Gregory XIII., as he himself said,[4] never ceased to write to the Emperor;[5] he frequently addressed himself to the Bishop of Würzburg,[6] and repeatedly threatened him with excommunication,[7] while he sought to obtain the support of the other Catholic princes. No nuncio went to Germany without having the cause of the abbot committed to him as one of his principal duties.[8] There can be no doubt that without the continued insistence of the Pope and the nuncios the cause of Balthasar would have failed miserably.

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 204 *seq.* A sensation was caused in 1576 by the written defence of the chancellor Winkelmann: "Informatio iuris," *ibid.*, 206. Gregory XIII. to Balthasar and to Julius on September 9, 1576, Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on October 25, 1577, in Theiner, II., 303 *seqq.*

[2] Schannat, Historia, 431 *seq.*; Diocesis, 373.

[3] *Cf.* the documents in Theiner, II., 302 *seq.* (forwarded to Rome by Balthasar on June 4, 1577) and in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1897, 431-45 (brought to light by Ehses).

[4] To Balthasar on November 11, 1581, Theiner II., 264.

[5] See *supra* p. 228, and letters of December 23, 1576; April 5, 1578; November 11, 1581; February 4, 1584, in Theiner, II., 198 *seq.*, 386; III., 542.

[6] See *supra*, p. 224, and letters of December 18, 1576, and February 4, 1584, in Theiner, II., 199; III., 542; Schannat, Historia, 272 *seq.*

[7] Theiner, II., 193.

[8] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 198. *Instructions for the Imperial nuncio Annibale di Capua, of December 7, 1576 (Var. polit. 129, p. 173, Papal Secret Archives), and Bonhomini of September 30, 1581 (Barb. p. 208, Vatican Library).

The Protestants of the territory of Fulda had not obtained the advantages they expected from the expulsion of their lawful master, for Bishop Julius at first acted with the greatest severity towards the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg.

He has appointed a Protestant as administrator, Balthasar complained to the Pope,[1] the Catholics are persecuted and put in prison for trifling offences; the banished pastors have returned, and the concubines have been recalled, even those who have taken a solemn oath not to do so. The officials, so he again said later on,[2] who had been dismissed by him for disloyalty, or who were tainted by the new doctrines, were now upheld, and in the course of a few months the learned and pious Catholics whom Balthasar had collected from all parts with great labour and expense, would all have gone away.

In reality, however, Julius was very far from allowing any legal status to the Confession of Augsburg. When, immediately after the arrest of Balthasar at Hammelburg, such proposals had been laid before him, he had managed adroitly to evade them.[3] Similar requests had been laid before the administrator, Henry von Bubenhausen, but the Emperor had decided that the religion of the magistracy must be authoritative for Fulda.[4]

The Jesuit college, the object of so many attacks, was maintained at Fulda, and continued to grow.[5] In 1584 a pontifical seminary for forty noble students was added to it; the Jesuit Lopperz was enabled to bring this institution into being by pointing out to Gregory XIII., on the occasion

[1] On August 1, 1576, THEINER, II., 191.

[2] To Gregory XIII. on April 20, 1577, *ibid.*, 300.

[3] HEPPE, Das evangelische Hammelburg, 154 *seqq.*

[4] HEPPE, Restauration, 146-50.

[5] DUHR, I., 132. Lopperz to Gregory XIII. on December 15, 1584, in THEINER, III., 543. *Cf. Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Provinz* of January 1, 1577, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 713; KOMP, Zweite Schule, 26 *seq.* Credentials for Lopperz to the Pope of October 27, 1583, in THEINER, III., 417 *seq.*

of a visit to Rome, that the conversion of the rest of the country depended upon the nobility of Germany. The prince abbot Balthasar assisted the Jesuits of Fulda as far as his revenues permitted.[1] He had recourse by means of personal letters to Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. on behalf of the seminary. In order to give new life to the Catholic faith, he wrote, no better means could be imagined than this seminary, since "the common people depend to such an extent upon the nobility that they easily and willingly accept any religion which they see to be supported by the aristocracy."[2]

The reason why the doctrines of the innovators were able to make such progress in the territory of Fulda is explained by these words, as well as the fact that they were easily stamped out again among the common folk. They had never taken any deep roots in their hearts. When Balthasar returned to his principality in 1602, he found all the necessary conditions for a restoration of Catholicism. The last of the recalcitrant canons had died in the previous year.[3] The instructions and other activities of the Jesuits had reformed the capital, and restored the religion of bygone days its good name.[4] Within a few years the whole principality of Fulda was once more substantially Catholic.[5]

The sorely tried abbot had found a friend and a protector from the first in his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, Daniel Brendel, of Homburg; when the first difficulties arose concerning the project of a Jesuit college at Fulda,

[1] *Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Provinz* of January 1, 1580, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 738. KOMP, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 202. For the erection of the high altar and the foundation of two free places in the college of Fulda on September 29, 1599, see SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 371 *seq.*

[2] To Gregory XIV., 1590, *ibid.*, 370. The same opinion is expressed in Balthasar's letter to Sixtus V. of May 12, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 74, *cf.* 103.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 291.

[4] DUHR, I., 133.

[5] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 293 *seq.* *Katholik*, 1863, I., 741 *seqq.*

Daniel at once took his part and encouraged him.[1] Nor was it long before Daniel himself began to follow the example of the reforming abbot.

The new doctrines had made considerable progress even in Mayence, and at first conditions were not changed under that zealous Catholic, Daniel. Mayence has a Catholic prince, wrote an eye-witness, Robert Turner of the Germanicum, in 1581, but the government is in the hands of his Protestant subjects.[2] Out of consideration for the neighbouring Protestant princes, the archbishop was obliged to fill the greater part of the offices at his court with Protestants; even in the kitchen there were Lutheran servants, and noble boys entered the service of the prince on the condition that they were not to become Catholics.[3] Above all the archbishop stood in need of trustworthy fellow workers. With the exception of his chancellor and a simple court chaplain, wrote Elgard,[4] he has no one he can talk to about Catholic interests. Especially was he in need of a capable and moral priesthood.

Nevertheless the election of Daniel to the see of St. Boniface marked the salvation of the archdiocese; his cleverest rival for the mitre was a secret adherent of Protestantism, and immediately embraced it openly.[5] As bishop, Daniel—as he himself stated to the nuncio Gropper—sought from the first with all his might to maintain the Catholic faith among both clergy and people.[6] As far as good will is concerned Elgard thought,[7] the archbishop leaves nothing to be desired,

[1] Document dat. Dec. 10, 1571, in *Collegii Fuldensis exordia et annuae literae, library of the seminary at Fulda. BROWER, Fuldensium antiquitatum libri IV., Antwerp, 1612, 365. SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 354. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266.

[2] "Sedet ad clavum princeps catholicus, tractat clavum subditus haereticus." *Triumphus Bavaricus*, in TURNER, Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadt, 1583, 109.

[3] TURNER, *loc. cit.*, 108.

[4] To Galli on February 27, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 264 *seq.*

[5] KNIEB, 58.

[6] Gropper to Galli on October 1, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 413.

[7] On August 10, 1575, *ibid.*, 301 *seq.*

but he is too much immersed in affairs of state, and with the exception of the Jesuits has no one to work with him. It was just at the time of Elgard's visit, that the difficulties that lay in the way of any sort of reform were shown. Daniel had just then attempted to purify the morals of his clergy, but everything was shipwrecked by the opposition of the chapter, which held up the election capitulation of the archbishop as an impregnable shield against any sort of reform.[1] As far as the greater part of his diocese was concerned, the archbishop could do little more than prepare the way for a better future by his care to provide good priests. His efforts in this respect won for him the high praise of Gregory XIII.[2] As early as 1558 Daniel Brendel sent some youths, among them the future Bishop Julius of Würzburg, to be educated at the Jesuit college at Cologne.[3] He soon planned and founded a similar institution at Mayence,[4] and very gratefully welcomed the offer of Gropper to receive youths from Mayence at the German college in

[1] *Ibid.*, 302, 352. That efforts for reform were made is proved by a Jesuit letter from Mayence dat. March 30, 1575 (library at Leyden, Cod. 77): "Generale quoddam bellum concubinariis in variis Germaniae partibus indictum est, Pontificis, ut arbitror edicto, sed impellentibus, ut alii fingunt, Iesuitis. Dux Bavariae libens edicto paruit et S.S^{mi} voluntatem perfecit. Reverendissimus noster, ne ea in parte segnior videretur, totam etiam suam dioecesim expurgare coepit." All concubines driven out. "Singula iam fere canonicorum collegia Moguntiae sunt expurgata. Sunt sane permulti, qui admodum gaudent, tanto se onere elevari et a turpi vita vindicari. Longum esset, quae in Effordia, ubi duo de nostris agunt, acta sunt commemorari. Missi sunt in eam dioecesis partem, quae oppidis aliquot, pagis vero plus quam ducentis abundat, et Saxoniae proxima est, aliquot visitatores, in quibus fuit D. suffraganeus qui aliquot milia confirmationis sacramento armavit. In Badensi quoque marchionatu quatuor ex societate degunt, sacerdotes duo, totidem adiutores; multum hi catholicam fidem promovent."

[2] Letter of October 26, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 209.

[3] HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 334, 339.

[4] DUHR, I., 103 *seqq.*

Rome.[1] For the primary schools he sought for Catholic masters, who were to teach in accordance with the Catholic catechism and had to make the Tridentine profession of faith.[2]

Daniel was several times urged by Gropper[3] and afterwards by Elgard[4] to hold a visitation of his diocese. Their exhortations had their effect, at anyrate for part of the archdiocese, namely the Thuringian district of Eichsfeld, on the western border. On March 4th, 1574, the archbishop set out to visit that long neglected part of his state,[5] which had not seen its pastor since 1544.[6]

Lutheranism had made great progress at Eichsfeld. As was the case at Fulda,[7] it had been spread outside the cities by the aristocracy, who had learned the new doctrines at the university of Erfurt, and who since 1547 had introduced Protestant preachers into the Catholic churches.[8] The leading inhabitants in the two principal cities, Heiligenstadt and Duderstadt, had also been won over to the new doctrines during the time of their studies at Erfurt, and about the time of the Peasants' War had drawn the whole citizen population with them.[9] The magistracy at Eichsfeld favoured the innovations and tried to deceive the archbishop as to the true state of affairs.[10] As soon as Daniel had seen with his own eyes how matters stood, he wrote to the Emperor

[1] Daniel to Gregory XIII. on December 1, 1575, in THEINER, I., 95. Johann Schweikart von Cronberg, afterwards Elector, was among their number. STEINHUBER, I., 110. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 209. KNEIB, 125.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 414.

[3] *Ibid.*, 110, 414.

[4] *Ibid.*, 262.

[5] KNIEB, 127.

[6] *Ibid.*, 59. Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 212.

[7] See *supra*, p. 231.

[8] KNIEB, 47 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.*, 79 *seqq.*

[10] *Ibid.*, 45, 61 *seq.*

Rudolph II.[1] that "the horrors, the devastation and the moral and ecclesiastical abuses in several places" were far worse than anything he could have been told or have imagined. It had been quite impossible during his short stay to restore everything to its former state.

Nevertheless, during his stay at Heiligenstadt Daniel did all that he could; he placed at the head of the officials a convert from Mecklenburg, Leopold von Stralendorff, who was trustworthy and experienced;[2] he again forbade communion under both kinds, and redeemed several territories which had been pledged to Protestant nobles.[3] At his visitation of Duderstadt he replaced two evangelical preachers by two Catholic priests.[4] The same thing was only done in the country districts at that time in a few cases, namely when the pastor had committed some offence against the lord of the manor.[5] Some of the parishes asked that they might be given Catholic pastors,[6] but owing to the want of good priests it was often found impossible to comply with their requests.

On the whole, compared with the Protestant princes of his time, Daniel acted with great gentleness.[7] When, as the result of a nocturnal attack he had got into his power the hated tyrant Barthold von Wintzingrode, and had thus recovered the castle of Bodenstein which belonged to him by right, he left the religious conditions unchanged in the neighbourhood of the castle.[8] He renewed the promise of religious liberty to the knights, and allowed some of the nobles to have private Lutheran worship in their own houses.[9] Even later on he adhered strictly to the religious peace.

[1] On April 16, 1579, *ibid.*, 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, 128 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 129 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 133.
[5] *Ibid.*, 130 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 149, *cf.* 212, 215.
[7] Knieb, 136.
[8] *Ibid.*, 133 *seqq.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 136.

In his struggle with the Prince-Elector Augustus he laid it down as his guiding principle that in view of the "general peace and common welfare of the country" he did not wish to claim anything to which he had not a right, and further that he did not desire or seek anything but "to be left in quiet possession of those things which belonged to him, and to which he was bound by his office and which it was his duty to carry out."[1] In spite of this leniency Daniel's stay of two months in Eichsfeld was of great importance for Catholicism, and Gregory XIII. expressed his great gratitude to him for it.[2]

Immediately after Daniel had left Eichsfeld Stralendorff thought it necessary to issue a severe decree in order that the enactments of the Prince-Elector might not be flouted. The "running back" of the Protestant preachers into the neighbourhood was prohibited under severe penalties at Duderstadt and Heiligenstadt, and in the case of contumacy under the penalty of banishment. It caused much bad blood when Stralendorff thus threatened the Protestants with a measure which they had themselves employed a short time before against the Catholics of Eichsfeld, namely that those who died in Protestantism were not to be buried in consecrated ground.[3] Daniel approved of the steps taken by his chief magistrate. Otherwise the archbishop left the carrying out of the Catholic restoration to a commission composed of the excellent auxiliary bishop of Mayence, Stephen Weber, and three other members. Two Jesuits and a worthy secular priest assisted the commission;[4] it began its visitation of Heiligenstadt at the end of December, on February 1st, 1575, it reached Duderstadt, and in the middle of the month turned its attention to the parishes of the territory. The country people for the most part

[1] *Ibid.*, 214.

[2] On September 17 and November 27, 1574, in THEINER, I., 241; SCHWARZ, Gropper, 225.

[3] KNIEB, 139 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 140. Elgard gives a very favourable report of the four commissioners, June 18, 1575, to Galli, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 295.

accepted the reform without much difficulty. The common people, the commission reported, is "dissatisfied with the evangelical preachers who have been imposed upon them"; the people do not wish for anything but that "by your princely favour, they may be removed once and for all."[1] By 1575 in 72 villages where there was no reason to fear the influence of the nobility, almost the whole of the population had been persuaded to receive communion at Easter.[2] During 1579 and 1580 Elgard, who had been auxiliary bishop of Erfurt since 1578, administered the sacrament of confirmation to 5000 persons in Eichsfeld.[3] By the end of 1576 the Protestant pastors had been driven out from fourteen villages and replaced by Catholic priests;[4] and the removal of the preachers went on slowly but steadily during the years that followed.[5] In 1576 Daniel established a Jesuit college at Heiligenstadt, the "most important work" that he accomplished in Eichsfeld for the restoration of Catholicism.[6] The foundations for a revival of Catholic life were laid under the government of Daniel, but another ten years elapsed before the whole of the little state, with the exception of a few places, was reunited to the Church.[7]

Elgard had experience of the way in which attachment to Catholic usages was still rooted in the people when, in 1574, he took part in the visitation, instead of the auxiliary bishop, who had been recalled to Mayence, and was thus a witness during the season of Pentecost of the great pilgrimage which still took place at that time to the celebrated Hülfensberg. Great crowds flocked thither, and the nobles themselves from the neighbouring Protestant territories were present. Some of the leaders of the aristocracy, who had been brought up in Protestantism, remained on the

[1] Knieb, 149.
[2] *Ibid.*, 148.
[3] *Ibid.*, 203.
[4] *Ibid.*, 200.
[5] *Ibid.*, 206.
[6] *Ibid.*, 179 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*; Duhr, I., 109 *seqq.*
[7] Knieb, 244-416.

mountain the whole day without food in order to hear Elgard preach a second time in the evening, having heard his sermon in the morning. A Jesuit who had been summoned from Heiligenstadt preached on the Monday after Trinity to from 2000 to 3000 people.[1] The number of the pilgrims increased during the following years, and at Hülfensberg too the number that approached the sacraments continued to grow.[2]

The resistance to the reform, both at Fulda and in Eichsfeld, came from the nobles and the inhabitants of the cities; in those country districts too where the aristocracy or Protestant citizens had influence over the rural population, the visitors met with difficulties.[3] At the beginning of March, 1575, almost the whole of the nobles of Eichsfeld met together at the instigation of the two brothers, William and Henry von Westerhagen, without the permission of the Prince-Elector, and addressed a petition to their lord,[4] and when the latter rejected it and prohibited such meetings without the permission of the Prince-Elector,[5] had recourse to William of Hesse, who with his customary zeal for Protestantism interested him in their cause.

William wrote to Daniel and asked for the support of the Prince-Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony.[6] But Frederick of the Palatinate, who complied with the request, was no longer able to occupy himself with the matter after Daniel had made his reply. William had asked the Prince-Elector of Saxony, by means of a special envoy, to send from the Saxon archives to the Emperor and the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber the declaration of Ferdinand I. to which, following the example of Fulda, the nobles of Eichsfeld had

[1] *Ibid.*, 158, *cf.* 107 *seq.* Elgard to Galli on June 18, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 297.

[2] KNIEB, 201.

[3] *Ibid.*, 149, 164, 206 *seq.*

[4] Of March 9, 1575, *ibid.*, 150; printed in HEPPE, Restauration, 251-6.

[5] On March 22, 1575, *ibid.*, 257-60.

[6] *Ibid.*, 88-91. KNIEB, 151-5.

called the attention of the Landgrave.[1] But Augustus curtly replied that the nobles of Fulda and Eichsfeld could themselves have recourse to the Emperor, at whose command he would hand over the declaration to the tribunal of the Chamber. In his reply to the Landgrave William, Daniel called attention to the way in which the Protestants had abused his patience, and to the way in which their ignorant preachers, some of whom could hardly read, committed outrages against their lords, and treated the sacraments without respect. Nothing was known of Ferdinand's declaration. William then tried to defend the Protestant preachers,[2] and once more, with threats, and appealing to the laws of the Empire, demanded religious liberty for his co-religionists. He also worked for a defensive alliance with the Prince-Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony.[3] Frederick of the Palatinate, who was the most violent upholder of his religious convictions in his day, had the effrontery to say that no man should have violence done to him on account of his religion![4]

There was certainly no question of violence in Eichsfeld, according to the view of the archiepiscopal visitors; on the contrary, they complained of the extraordinary leniency of the archbishop. Three preachers had so far been sent away by him; two of them had been recalled by the efforts of the nobles, and the third was not inconvenienced by his removal. So instead of resisting force by force, nothing happened except in the case of the recalcitrant; a final date, June 24th, 1575, was fixed, but this was again extended.[5] The visitors thought that such procedure would only confuse the people; the populace feared lest "they should be left defenceless to be flayed alive by the Junkers."[6]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 213.

[2] April 12, 1575, in KNIEB, 155. The document shows the credulity of the Landgrave. Examples of it, *ibid.* and in HEPPE, Restauration, 91.

[3] On April 6th and 9th, KNIEB, 155.

[4] *Ibid.*, 156.

[5] *Ibid.*, 164, 170.

[6] *Ibid.*, 164.

Twice again the nobles had recourse to the archbishop; the first time through their colleagues outside Eichsfeld, and again by a new petition. They did not, however, obtain anything; after their interview with Daniel their envoys gave them the advice that they should impose due moderation upon the evangelical pastors, and not use the property of the Church for their own advantage, but only for the honour of God.[1] They then once more brought before the Prince-Elector of Saxony their previous request that he would support the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand at the coming Diet of the princes at Ratisbon. The Prince-Elector agreed to do this, and the Landgrave William was also prepared to support their demands, but insisted that the other Protestant princes should also be stirred up to take action.[2]

Apart from the nobles the resistance to the reform found its chief support among the population of the cities, whose leaders, like the nobles, had received their education at the university of Erfurt. In spite of this it would be comparatively easy, for example, to win back Heiligenstadt to the faith; in 1574 the citizens told the magistrate Stralendorff that they would willingly attend the Catholic mass, if only there were better priests.[3] As a matter of fact every year Catholicism gained ground at Heiligenstadt. In 1584 there were 2064 communions, and more than 3000 in the following year. Greater and greater vigilance was used to see that none but Catholics were admitted to the municipal council, and processions, which had once been customary, were again introduced.[4]

On the other hand, the powerful Duderstadt, where Catholic worship had been entirely forbidden since 1562, obstinately resisted Catholic reform, so that by 1574 the whole of the citizens had apostatized.[5] After Daniel, on

[1] *Ibid.*, 165-70.
[2] *Ibid.*, 171 *seq.* *Cf.* MORITZ, 122; HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 93.
[3] KNIEB, 142.
[4] *Ibid.*, 203 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 88.

the occasion of his visitation, had removed the two pastors, and taken away the churches from the Protestants,[1] the citizens had at first gone voluntarily to the Catholic mass, but, under the influence of the council and the masters of the guilds, this was soon changed. Those who attended Catholic worship were mocked at, threatened with being excluded from the magistracy, and their sons beaten. Moreover, the new parish priest who was appointed, a priest who was not very exemplary in other respects, proved himself weak before the pressure of the Protestants, and with a miserable forgetfulness of his duties, handed over to them once more one of the churches of Duderstadt. The preacher then fulminated from the pulpit against the Pope and the Catholics, to whom no obedience must be paid. The council forbade the citizens to attend the sermons of the Catholic parish priest, and threatened those who disobeyed with expulsion from the city.[2] When the visitors demanded the restitution of the church which had thus unjustly been taken away, the citizens were filled with anger, and swore they would shed their blood for their faith, and to kill those who were sent to them by the visitors. The council in the meantime appealed to the declaration of Ferdinand I., and to the Prince-Electors, and presented a protest to the visitors by the hands of a Brunswick notary from Göttingen. Daniel again stated that he knew nothing of the declaration of Ferdinand, and that if his commissary had made any concession with regard to the Confession of Augsburg this had been done without his authority. He then caused the disobedient preacher to be removed, but desired that in other respects the objectors should be converted by the way of instruction rather than by violence.[3]

The citizens of Duderstadt were only confirmed in their resistance by this leniency. When further injunctions were received from the archbishop they set the fortifications in order and laid in supplies of gunpowder; the pastor was

[1] *Ibid.*, 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, 136 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 144-8.

instructed to resume his duties.[1] A deputation was sent to Daniel by the opposing party,[2] but the Prince-Elector replied by proclaiming his rights and renewing his orders. At length, when nothing else had proved of any use, he had recourse to stern measures. One of the principal sources of revenue of the city was from the sale of the beer of Duderstadt, which was celebrated even as far off as Vienna. Now Daniel threatened,[3] in case of further disobedience, to forbid the export of this celebrated beer. At first neither this threat nor the actual prohibition had any effect, until at length Stralendorff confiscated thirty barrels of beer at the city gates.[4] After this the prohibition of the export of the beer became one of the principal grounds of complaint of the citizens of Duderstadt.

Even before Daniel had taken this severe measure, the citizens had had recourse to the Protestant princes with the request that they would uphold their cause at the Diet of Ratisbon which had already been convoked. The city also sent a representative thither. The knights of Eichsfeld, like those of Fulda, rested their hopes on the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand at the electoral Diet of Ratisbon, to which the nobles of Eichsfeld sent a special representative, and the nobles of Fulda a petition. The princes there assembled thus, after so many requests, had to devote themselves to the consideration of all the questions connected with the declaration of Ferdinand.[5]

[1] KNIEB, 160.

[2] In May, August and September, 1575, *ibid.*, 160-2.

[3] On March 3, 1576, *ibid.* 163.

[4] On April 16, 1576, *ibid.*

[5] MORITZ, 151 *seqq.* The Declaration is given in LEHMANN, 55; [ERSTENBERGER] De Autonomia, 81, Munich, 1593. HEPPE'S version (Restauration, 3 *seqq.*) is incredibly careless just at the principal passage.

CHAPTER VI.

The "Declaration" of Ferdinand.—Rudolph II. and the Catholic Revival.

Until, during the disturbances at Fulda, a Saxon councillor had unearthed in the archives of the Prince-Elector the so-called declaration of Ferdinand, and had placed it in the hands of the Protestants,[1] it had remained entirely unknown to the public for almost twenty years, and only in certain forgotten documents were there a couple of unimportant references to it.[2] After the Landgraves of Hesse and the Prince-Elector of Saxony, however, had appealed to this document before the Emperor, and it had been subsequently printed in Saxony and Hesse,[3] and spread among the Protestants by the Landgrave William, the declaration began to assume importance and became the central point of the questions at issue between the parties.

Opinions as to the legal value of this document varied according to men's religious views. The Protestants defended its legal force as a self-evident fact, without giving any reasons; the Catholics challenged it. The Prince-Elector of Mayence stated to the people of Eichsfeld[4] that he knew nothing about the declaration; if such a document really existed he, as an Elector and Chancellor of the Empire, ought to have it in his chancery, which was not the case. A year before,[5] the chapter of Fulda, which at that time had once more rallied to the abbot, contested the legal value of

[1] Moritz, 22.
[2] 1560 and 1570, *ibid.*, 23.
[3] Dated 1555, *ibid.*
[4] On February 13, 1575, Knieb, 146.
[5] On June 18, 1574, in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 67.

the declaration in a detailed statement.[1] It was impossible to find a trace of it either in the chancery of Mayence or in that of the supreme tribunal. The religious peace of 1555 made no mention of it, but on the contrary laid it down that no contrary declaration was to have any force. None of those who had been present at the Diet of 1555, and none of the oldest assessors of the supreme tribunal could remember it. As far as the tribunal of the Chamber was concerned, moreover, no Imperial constitution could have any force if it had not been sent to it by the Elector of Mayence as chancellor, but no one remembered such a communication of the declaration, which moreover preceded the religious peace by a day, and would therefore have been cancelled by it. The secretary of the Imperial Chancery, Erstenberger, especially brought out this latter fact,[2] showing that the cancelling clause in the religious peace, which had been written, sealed and signed with the consent of all the states, was "so stable and complete" that the declaration could not be adduced against it.

The Protestants too for the most part knew nothing of the declaration until 1574. At the Diet of Augsburg in 1566 they promised to observe the religious peace of 1555 without changes or additions, nor did they at that time make any mention of any accessory enactment of the Emperor Ferdinand.[3] When, on the first appearance of the declaration, the Protestant states sought for copies of it in their archives, none were to be found. The ordinance had been kept entirely secret, and had not even been given to the representatives of the states of the Empire to copy, although it had been discussed with them.[4] The Imperial Chancery only had a draft of it, and the original copy was in the sole possession

[1] Its author was the Spires jurist, Winkelmann, who afterwards became Balthasar's chancellor. *Ibid.*, 66, n.

[2] To Albert V. of Bavaria, Vienna, July 17, 1574, in the Reports of the meetings of the Munich Academy for the year 1891, Munich, 1892, 159 *seq.*

[3] Erstenberger, *ibid.*, 160.

[4] Moritz, 33, n.

of the Elector of Saxony,[1] who was affected by the declaration owing to special circumstances.

The Elector Augustus had interested himself at the Diet at Augsburg in 1555 in bringing about the religious peace, but had also sought to obviate the disastrous consequences which that peace might have for him. After the Schmalkaldic war Catholicism had begun to revive in Merseburg and Naumburg owing to the activity of Bishops Helding and Pflug; if this continued Augustus would not have been able so easily to incorporate those two dioceses into his own territory.[2] He could not, with a clear conscience, so he wrote in this connexion to his representative at Augsburg,[3] see, either now or in the future, the episcopal cities such as Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Halle, Jüterbog, Merseburg, Naumburg and others which lay within his principality or its vicinity, being "disturbed on account of the Christian religion" on the pretext of the religious peace. The councillors of Saxony, who had laboured at Augsburg that religion should be left free, were above all things determined on this.[4] After his attempt to obtain religious liberty for all his subjects had failed, he pointed out to the sovereign together with the other Protestant states, that there would inevitably be war or a revolution if the barons, cities and communes which were subject to certain bishops and ecclesiastics were interfered with by them on account of their Protestant religion which they had long practised.[5] It was remarks such as these which led to the so-called declaration of Ferdinand, by which such barons, cities and communes were assured the desired independence from their ecclesiastical princes.

[1] The original document was completed in duplicate (Erstenberger, *loc. cit.*, 159). The electoral councillor Lindemann vouches for the fact, and therefore it is probable that he had both original copies before him in the electoral chancery.

[2] *Autonomia*, 391 (a).

[3] See Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte: Werke, VI., 322.

[4] *Autonomia*, 391 (b). Moritz, 28.

[5] According to the introductory words of the declaration. *Cf.* Lehmann, 47.

It is not clear what it was exactly which led to this Imperial concession. For the sake of simplicity the negotiations were carried on only by the representatives of the two religious parties.[1] At first the Catholics refused to have anything to do with it, until King Ferdinand, who presented himself in person in the room where the discussions were being held, at length declared that he would not let the councillors separate until everything was settled. Then the Catholics took counsel together, and decided to leave the whole matter to the decision of Ferdinand. After a period of reflection which lasted until night, it was finally announced to both the parties that the king wished to meet the wishes of the Protestants, though without disturbing the religious peace; his declaration on this point, was, in spite of the derogatory clause of the religious peace, to be binding, and the king should give the States of the Confession of Augsburg "an accessory, authentic, sealed, and signed ordinance" on the subject.[2]

No true accessory ordinance was ever made. A declaration concerning the general promise was authenticated, sealed and signed by Ferdinand, in virtue of the Imperial authority, without any further summoning of the States, but it was not sent to all the Protestant States, but only sent in secret to the Elector of Saxony. Substantially the negotiations about the declaration had come to nothing, but the Elector Augustus had obtained his end. As far as its text was

[1] Act of His Royal Majesty on September 20th and 21st, 1566, in LEHMANN, 50 *seq.* It would be worth while to examine more closely into the origin and reliability of this report which seems to be unknown except for the version printed in Lehmann. It is remarkable that, not only according to the *Autonomia* (392), but also according to the Saxon envoys to the Diet of 1576, apart from the actual introductory words of the declaration, no documentary evidence existed as to how they came into being. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the report mentioned by LEHMANN (50 *seq.*).

[2] LEHMANN, 51.

concerned the declaration was quite general;[1] that it had been asked for by Saxony, with special reference to his own position, is clear from the express declaration which the Emperor Maximilian II. made to the Catholic states "after diligent research";[2] it is also clear from the researches of Erstenberger,[3] and also from the otherwise inexplicable fact that the declaration was only sent to the Elector of Saxony, while it was kept secret from all the rest.[4] Taking it altogether this document shows the hopeless misery of the state of affairs in Germany. Constrained by necessity Ferdinand had to adopt a policy which admirably succeeded in saying "yea and nay" at the same time, for by his declaration he withdrew what had been granted by the religious peace, placed the Catholics in an inferior position to the Protestants, and among the Catholics themselves placed the ecclesiastical princes under the secular ones; its

[1] It was the Saxon councillors who pressed for the general terms of the declaration, the Elector himself thought only of Naumburg and Merseburg (Morone to Galli on July 16, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 89). Augustus was only concerned with the rounding off of his territory and the filling of his coffers; general considerations had no interest for him. *Cf.* KOLDE in *Herzog's Real-Enzyklopädie*, II.[3], 252; KLUCKHOHN in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, I., 676, 679.

[2] On August 15, 1576; see the report of the Mayence councillor. of this date in KNIEB, 187; another report in MORITZ, 28, n. 4, 358.

[3] *Autonomia*, 390 *seqq.*

[4] Arguments against this view brought forward by MORITZ (22 *seqq.*) are rightly described as unconvincing by KNIEB (188, n. 1). That the representations which eventually led to the declaration originated from all the Protestant States is evident from the declaration itself; and neither Maximilian II. nor Erstenberger would wish to deny it. The Emperor says (MORITZ, 29, n.) that the declaration was "not 'principaliter' desired by all the States of the A.C., but only by Saxony 'particulariter,'" which means that the declaration, though certainly desired by all the States of the A.C., was, nevertheless, not "principaliter" desired by them all, for the beginning and original impulse came from Saxony.

derogative formulas made both documents mutually destructive, while it honoured with the beautiful name of peace a work which of its very nature was bound to prove an apple of discord and an incendiary torch. Out of a pure love of peace a fire was enkindled which was to burn until the sea of flames of the Thirty Years War had reduced the whole of Germany to ashes.

The hopes of getting the declaration confirmed by the Electoral Diet of Ratisbon were very promising. The invalid Emperor was bound to be inclined to make concessions as he was very anxious that his successor should be elected during his life-time, and the supreme dignity thus be ensured to the House of Austria. It would seem that some of the German princes wished to place the Imperial crown upon the head of a Protestant, but France, in spite of her internal dissensions, aimed at the empty semblance of universal dominion, by aspiring at the same time to the throne of Poland as well as of the Empire.[1] It is true that all these schemes did not in the end turn out to be very dangerous; the aspirations of France did not meet with much approval in Germany,[2] and Augustus of Saxony, who alone of all the Protestant princes had any serious chance of attaining to the Imperial crown, preferred being a wealthy duke to being an impoverished Emperor.[3] He therefore allowed himself to be won over to the election of the Hapsburg prince,[4] and strongly promoted his candidature with the other princes of the Empire.[5]

At the same time there was also a threat of serious danger from that ardent Calvinist, the Elector Frederick III. of the Palatinate, the declared enemy of the Catholics and the opponent of the existing constitution of the Empire.[6] He

[1] MORITZ, 43 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 45 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 96, *cf.* 46 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 55, 61.

[5] *Ibid.*, 61.

[6] Otto Truchsess calls him "Author seditionum et receptor rebellium omnium nationum," in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 5.

aimed, not only at preventing the election of a Hapsburg,[1] but also was opposed to any appointment being made during the life-time of Maximilian, because at the death of the Emperior the Imperial vicariate would pass into the hands of the Electors and himself, in which case he would undoubtedly make use of his position to place the dioceses of the north of Germany in the hands of Protestants.[2] At anyrate he intended to make use of the coming electoral Diet to extort from the Catholic states the so-called "exemption" or abolition of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and above all the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand.[3] The Catholics especially had reason to fear lest with the vicariate of Frederick in the Empire, to use the words of the Venetian ambassador, Tron, in Germany and perhaps in the rest of the world, that which was most exalted might be dragged down to the lowest depths.[4] They had, nevertheless, every reason to desire a happy issue to the election, and it was to be expected that they would be ready to purchase the desired result by making concessions.

Fortunately for the Catholics there was a want of union among the Protestants. William of Orange had put away his wife, Anna, the daughter of Augustus, on account of adultery, and even before his divorce had married Charlotte de Bourbon, who was living at the court of the Palatinate;[5] on account of this "dog-nuptials," as Augustus put it,[6] there was the deepest enmity between the Protestant leaders, the Elector of Saxony and the Elector Palatine, and thus the prospect of united action by the whole Protestant party at the electoral Diet was seriously endangered.[7] As far as favouring the confirmation of the declaration was concerned all the Protestant states were indeed agreed, but in other respects,

[1] MORITZ, 82 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 83, *cf.* 44, 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, 105 *seq.*
[4] ALBÈRI, I., 6, 192.
[5] MORITZ, 106 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 145.
[7] *Ibid.*, 147.

with the exception of the Landgrave William, they were but little inclined to favour the plans of the Count Palatine.

At the beginning of October, 1575, a brilliant gathering of princes assembled at Ratisbon.

The Emperor was accompanied by his son, Rudolph, King of Bohemia, his wife, and the three Archdukes. With the exception of the Calvinist Elector Palatine, who was represented, and not for the better, by his Lutheran son, Louis, all the Prince Electors were present in person; there were also present the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and several other princes of the Empire. Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo had suggested to the Pope that he should send a legate *a latere* to the Electoral Diet, but the Pope found a difficulty in consenting to this in the fact that it was not customary, and it was not known how the legate would be treated.[1] When subsequently, the Emperor, unquestionably out of consideration for the Protestants, refused to accept a legate, the nuncio at Vienna, Giovanni Delfino, was instructed to represent the Catholic cause at Ratisbon;[2] in other words, he was to point out to the Emperor that the principal obstacle to reform was the fact that the bishops-elect of Germany received investiture from the civil power before they had the Papal approbation.[3] So as to prevent the movement in favour of the "exemptions" he was to devote himself to the defence of the religious peace.[4]

On October 10th the sessions were begun at Ratisbon and

[1] *Report of Giulio Masetti to the Duke of Ferrara, dat. Rome, June 15, 1575 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] MORITZ, 139 *seq.* Credentials for Delfino, dat. August 20, 1575, to the Emperor and the Archbishop of Mayence, in THEINER, II., 21 *seq.* Delfino's reports from Ratisbon to Galli between October 7 and November 3, 1575, *ibid.*, 463-70. According to an *Avviso di Roma, dat. August 13, 1575, the German Congregation, on August 6, resolved to send a nuncio. Urb. 1044, p. 512 Vatican Library.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxxi, n. 1.

[4] STIEVE, Ursprung des Dreizigjährigen Krieges, I., Munich, 1875, n. 94.

the twelve Electors informed the Emperor that they had made up their minds about the election. October 24th was chosen for the day of the election.

But matters were not destined to proceed so smoothly, and very soon the question of the declaration of Ferdinand divided men's minds to such an extent that it seemed as though the electoral Diet would have to be dissolved without anything having been accomplished. The Protestant Electors definitely insisted that the declaration must be included in the election capitulation of the future King of the Romans, while the Catholic party equally decidedly would not hear of this. The councillors of the Electors and several times the princes themselves met in conference; again and again the Emperor was asked by both parties to intervene and he summoned the ecclesiastical Electors at one time, and the secular Electors at another to confer with him.[1] But it seemed that nothing was of any avail.

The Catholic states and princes recognized the declaration which was now presented to them in the original as authentic, but nevertheless would not admit the validity of the document. The Archbishop of Trêves declared that he had heard from three or four of the princes how the declaration had come to be made, and no one was able to give him a satisfactory reply.[2] The Elector of Cologne declared that his chancellor and his majordomo had been present at the discussion of the religious peace; they could well remember "the wearisome business, but knew nothing of any discussion of the declaration."[3] The Protestants, including the Elector of Saxony, made no reply to these statements, and even when the Emperor asked them why they had never brought the matter to light before, while his father was alive, or at the time of his own election, "they could not make any other reply than that they had been waiting for the present occasion."[4]

[1] MORITZ, 154 *seqq.*

[2] LEHMANN, 127. MORITZ, 160.

[3] LEHMANN, 127. MORITZ, 156, n. 3.

[4] "Non hanno saputo dir altro, si non d'haver aspettato questa occasione." Delfino to Galli on October 28, 1575, in THEINER, II., 466.

Maximilian found himself in a very embarrassing position. The Elector Augustus had already declared on October 18th, that the declaration must not be thrown overboard; that if the ecclesiastics did not give way it was probable that in three days time the Emperor would see very few secular Electors at Ratisbon.[1] On the following day the same threat was again made by the three Protestant Electors.[2] The Emperor implored and adjured them; he would rather, he said, be 100 feet underground than have the electoral assembly broken up without completing its work.[3] But everything seemed useless.

In the meantime, one thing seemed clear; if the Catholics held firm their adversaries would give way. In reality the declaration was no longer of any great importance to the Elector of Saxony.[4] Even without it he had been able to get the dioceses of Merseburg and Naumburg into his power,[5] and to put off the election of the king until the Greek Kalends for the sake of a religious scruple seemed to him, in view of its incalculable consequences, to be too serious a thing to do.[6] He decided to adopt a way out of the difficulty which the Emperor proposed to him on October 21st, and to refer the question of the declaration to the next Diet. Augustus won over the Elector of Brandenburg, as well as the Elector Palatine, to this view; the Count Palatine did not inform his councillors, to whom the failure to elect the king seemed likely to be useful to the revolutionary plans of the Palatinate, before the session.[7] In this way, on October 27th the election of Rudolph II. took place, and was followed by his coronation

[1] Moritz, 161.

[2] *Ibid.*, 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, 163.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 189.

[5] "They have devoured and already digested their [founders]" said a councillor of the Palatinate in 1570 with regard to Saxony and Hesse. *Ibid.*, 123, n. 4.

[6] Autograph memorandum of Augustus, *ibid.*, 167. *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, IV., 15-16 391, n. 2.

[7] Moritz, 168 *seqq.*

on November 1st.[1] The election capitulation was the same as at the election of Maximilian in 1562.

With a view to obtaining help against the Turks, the Emperor, on his way back from the election, convoked a new Diet for February 15th in the following year at Ratisbon, but this, on account of the nomination of Maximilian as King of Poland, was postponed to April 1st, and afterwards to May 1st.[2] The Landgrave William of Hesse then recommended his fellow princes not to agree to a single farthing of tax for the Emperor's Turkish war, unless he first approved the declaration.[3] This unworthy attempt to profit by the necessities of the Emperor did not, however, meet with much approval.[4]

As far as the Catholics were concerned, Duke Albert V. warned his representatives at the Diet not to be led into any discussion of the declaration or of any religious exemptions, saying that he would rather "suffer and endure" anything than consent to depart from even a syllable of the religious peace. The declaration was certainly invalid, and offensive to Catholics, since it placed the ecclesiastical princes in a worse position than the secular princes. The suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* would make benefices hereditary, and would at last lead to the undoing of the nobles; the attempt to obviate these sad consequences by means of Imperial constitutions would be a vain one, and would break down the religious peace. The dioceses, moreover, had not been established in order to provide for the nobles, but only for the sake of that Catholic worship which the Protestants could not comply with.[5] Albert V. also tried to influence the other princes.[6] He wished to present himself at the Diet

[1] Description of the election and coronation: Delfino to Galli on October 28 and November 3, 1575, in THEINER, II., 465 *seq.*, 468 *seq.*

[2] MORITZ, 176, 188, 194.

[3] MORITZ, 189, 192, 222 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 197.

[5] *Ibid.*, 241 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 242.

only after the religious question had been dealt with, so that the rancour of the Protestants might not be directed against him as the zealous supporter of the old religion.[1] It was perhaps for this reason that he put off a visit to Augustus of Saxony until the very time of the Diet.[2]

In Rome men were fully convinced that this Diet might turn out to be of decisive importance.

At the consistory of April 23rd, 1576, Gregory XIII. expressed his determination to observe the previous custom of sending a special legate to the Diet of Germany; when Santa Croce objected that perhaps the presence of a Papal envoy would not be pleasing to the Emperor, the Pope replied that even so a legate should be sent; he did not for his part intend to omit anything that he could do. This decision of the Pope's met with the approval of all the Cardinals.[3] Gregory then chose for this difficult task Cardinal Morone, the best of his diplomatists, and when the Cardinal, who was already seventy-seven years of age, wished to be excused, Gregory said to him that either Morone or the Pope himself should go to Ratisbon.[4] Care for religion, so it was stated in the legate's instruction,[5] must naturally be the principal

[1] *Ibid.*, 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, 243, 246 *seq.*

[3] Protocol of the Consistory, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 11 *seq.*

[4] Elector Frederick of the Palatinate to whom "a reliable and well-known person of experience reported it" (KLUCKHOHN, II., 971; *cf.* MORITZ, 249). Pompeo Strozzi *reports on April 21 to the Duke of Mantua that when Morone shrank from the mission the Pope implored him with tears to go. On April 24 Strozzi *reports that Morone received the legatine cross some days before, and on the 29th, that he intended to start that evening. On November 17 *he writes that Morone had arrived on the previous day. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] Of April 26, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 21 *seqq.* Of less importance are two memoranda of Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo about resisting attacks on the Catholic Church and winning back the lost North German bishoprics and the apostate German princes. *Ibid.*, 12 *seqq.*, 17 *seqq.*

preoccupation of Morone during the Diet, but with the Emperor he must present himself principally as his counsellor in the question of Poland and Hungary, as well as in that of the Turkish peril. With the help of the princes and the Catholic bishops he must prevent the discussion of the declaration of Ferdinand and of the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum;* on his way to Ratisbon he could come to an arrangement on this subject with Ferdinand of the Tyrol and with Duke Albert of Bavaria. With the Emperor, from whom secret concessions were to be feared, Morone was to point out clearly that by his constant readiness to give way the Church in Germany was being ruined. Maximilian should also not confer investiture with civil rights upon those who had been intruded into ecclesiastical office.[1]

Morone set out from Rome in April. He made a fairly long stay at Innsbruck with the Archduke Ferdinand,[2] and at Landshut with Duke William, the heir to the throne of Bavaria. The city seemed to him, on account of the great concourse of people at the churches, the Catholic sentiments of the inhabitants, and the piety of the royal couple, like a jewel in the midst of filth.[3] With Duke Albert, who was at the baths of Ueberkingen, Morone could only communicate by letter.[4] When the legate learned that the arrival of the Emperor at the Diet was not to be expected immediately, he delayed his journey; finally he fixed his residence at Eckmühl, three miles from Ratisbon. On June 9th he reached the scene of the Imperial assembly, and it was only with difficulty that he could find lodging in the city, which

[1] Morone's credentials are dated April 25, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 28. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 153 (to the Emperor), 154 (to the Spanish envoys). For Morone's faculties see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten, II., Nördlingen, 1889, 244 *seq.*; MERGENTHEIM, I., 236 *seq.*, *cf.* 234. *Cf.* SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 273 *seqq.*

[2] To Galli on May 25, 1576, *Nuutiaturberichte*, II., 38 *seq.*

[3] To Galli, Eckmühl, June 6, *ibid.*, 45.

[4] MORITZ, 258 *seq.*

was almost entirely Protestant, and which shunned him and his companions as though they had been stricken with the plague.[1]

While they were still waiting for the coming of the Emperor, the Protestant councillors, and especially the representatives of Hesse and the Palatinate tried to arrive at a common course of action on behalf of the Protestant party. A general meeting of all the representatives of the innovators, however, could not be held because of the attitude of reserve adopted by the envoys of Saxony. The envoys of the Palatinate therefore drew up a memorial which met with the approval of the rest of the Protestants; this especially insisted upon a demand which dated from before the religious peace, and was to the effect that those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg should not be forced by the Catholic authorities to leave the country.[2]

Morone at once became the spiritual centre of the Catholic party. The legate had come filled with grave anxieties; he thought that by reason of the absence of the princes he would be obliged to treat with the councillors, though the greater number of these were not free from heresy. In his opinion the Protestants were filled with the most joyful expectations by reason of the necessities of the Emperor and the weakness of the prelates, "who have as much unity as an untied besom, and wish to enjoy life, no matter what may become of the world: many of them are not even firm in the faith."[3]

Morone's first duty therefore was to win the confidence of the Catholics and give them new courage. On the occasion of the first visit of courtesy paid to him by the councillors, he was able, as Delfino wrote,[4] to charm them by his courtesy, while he sought thereafter in every way to be well informed as to conditions in Germany. "If my health permits me,"

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 45.

[2] LEHMANN, 129 *seqq.* *Cf.* MORITZ, 198 *seq.*

[3] To Galli on May 25, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 38.

[4] On June 20, 1576, in THEINER, II., 528.

he wrote,[1] "to assist more generally at their banquets, as I have begun to do, it will be easier for me to win them over; I will do all I can." The Cardinal also made a deep impression by his knowledge of conditions in Germany. As the councillors of Bavaria wrote, he knew how to talk about public affairs, and of the beginnings and spread of Lutheranism, as though he had been present "at all the Diets and at all that had occurred."[2] The representatives of the Electors of Trêves and Mayence, and of several other bishops, promised him that they would take no action concerning the religious question without his knowledge.[3] With the Emperor Maximilian II., too, Morone was in much favour. On the occasion of the legate's first visit, the sick Emperor was unable to go to meet him, but had himself carried to the top of the stairs, welcomed him with expressions of great joy, and gave his hand to all the Cardinal's suite. In the Emperor's private room Morone was placed upon a seat almost equal to that of Maximilian, and went on to speak of his desire of serving him, of the Polish question and the Turkish war, and of religion, with so much skill that Maximilian showed the greatest satisfaction.[4] With regard to the religious position the Emperor remarked that it was difficult to describe the ill-will felt by the Protestant princes in Germany towards the Catholics. A great part of the blame for this, he said, naturally fell upon the prelates, who only thought of the temporal dominion which they had acquired by means of their spiritual position, who neglected their principal duty, the care of souls, and gave the worst possible example to the rest of the clergy.[5] When he took his leave, Maximilian again accompanied the legate to the stairs. Delfino, who was present at the audience, wrote to Rome: "if there is a man who is able to do any good in Germany, it is Morone

[1] On June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 56.

[2] MORITZ, 249, n. 5.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 56.

[4] THEINER, *loc. cit.* For the negotiations with the Emperor *cf.* Morone to Galli on June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 50-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 55.

and no one else: not only the Emperor, but the whole court, is full of his praises."[1]

The presence of Morone in the German Empire was also to the advantage of the whole work of Catholic reform in Germany. By the wish of the authorities in Rome all the promoters of German Catholic reform went to meet him; Delfino, Portia, Ninguarda, Elgard and Canisius gave him oral and written reports, and took counsel with him.[2] The Protestants naturally were not all pleased to see at Ratisbon this "lank and lean man" with his "white beard" and the unaccustomed "scarlet mantle and zuchetto," who in spite of his "advanced age"[3] could still cross the Alps; but in their acts and methods of expression they fully recognized his great ability.[4]

The speech with which Maximilian II. opened the Diet on June 25th contained not a word about the religious question,[5] but a written memorial from the councillors of the Electors, which had been accepted by all the Protestants, and only to some extent moderated by the councillors of Saxony, at once demanded before anything else the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand,[6] and although it was once again made clear that "several of the princes had never had any previous knowledge" of this much discussed document,[7] and although the councillors of Saxony affirmed in the presence of their Elector that the declaration

[1] Delfino in THEINER, II., 528. For the negotiations with regard to the Polish question, the League against the Turks, Flanders and religion, see Morone to Galli on June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 50-6.

[2] MORITZ, 272. Ninguarda composed at the Diet his *Informatio* concerning conditions in Germany; see SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 47-108, 204-37.

[3] MORITZ, 271.

[4] "A crafty, experienced head most qualified for that kind of business." Frederick of the Palatinate, in KLUCKHOHN, II., 960.

[5] MORITZ, 280 *seqq.*, *cf.* 279.

[6] *Ibid.*, 281-7.

[7] *Ibid.*, 286.

could not apply to the affairs of Fulda and Eichsfeld,[1] the demand nevertheless stirred up a veritable storm. The Catholics declared that they would go away rather than permit any religious discussion![2] First must come the discussion of the religious question or there will be no tax for the Turkish war! threatened the Protestants.[3] When Saxony had associated itself with this threat, a further petition was submitted, which was also principally in favour of the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand.[4] "God grant that this discussion may be calmed" wrote the envoy of Austria, "for otherwise we shall see a very strange Diet."[5]

The Catholics had all the less thought of giving way in that they possessed at that time an energetic leader in that curious personality Salentin of Isenburg. Although he was Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Salentin wore a secular dress, with a feather in his hat and a dagger in his belt, and abused priests with all his might. When Morone crossed the Alps, Salentin was on his way to Rome, in order to obtain permission from the Pope to resign his diocese and then get married. The two travellers met at Sterzing, where Morone used his influence to persuade the other to give up his journey to Rome and attend the Diet.[6] But at Ratisbon Salentin entirely avoided any meeting with Morone. In spite of everything he was quite firm in the Catholic faith,[7] and it was under his influence that a decision was arrived at, at a meeting of the Catholics, that "rather than give up a syllable of the ancient, Catholic and true faith, and above all of the religious peace, they would give all that they possessed, body, property and blood."[8] A memorial to this effect was solemnly sent to the Emperor.[9] Morone too presented to him a

[1] *Ibid.*, 282, n. 4, 288 n.
[2] *Ibid.*, 293 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 300-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, 308 *seq.*, 313.
[5] *Ibid.*, 302.
[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 15; II., 36.
[7] Moritz, 311.
[8] *Ibid.*, 314.
[9] *Ibid.*

memorial against the declaration, encouraged the Catholic councillors, and set them upon the way which in the end actually brought them out of their difficulties. From what had already happened, it could indeed be gathered that the Elector of Saxony "upon whom all the other princes had fixed their eyes" was not at heart prepared to fight very zealously for the declaration. By means of the Duke of Bavaria, who was just at that time paying a visit to Augustus of Saxony, an attempt was to be made to induce him to give way, and as William, the son of the Duke of Bavaria, was at Ratisbon, a bridge between the Cardinal and Dresden was already prepared.[1]

In the meantime the hopes of Morone continued to fade.[2] After a further declaration on the part of the Protestant princes, he was informed by the Emperor that it would be very difficult to put off the discussion of the declaration to a future Diet. The legate was already reconciling himself to the idea that it would be confirmed at Ratisbon,[3] when news came from Duke Albert that the Elector of Saxony would not insist strongly upon the declaration. It was for this reason, in order not to associate himself with his co-religionists among the supporters of the declaration, and so as not to "be troublesome" to the Emperor, that he had not come to Ratisbon, and in the meantime had instructed his councillors not to neglect the other business on account of the declaration. If he "holds firm and does not give way easily," Albert wrote encouragingly to the Emperor, "even those who protest" would leave things as they are; but if on the other hand he yields a finger to them, they would at once insist upon his whole hand.[4] Augustus wrote to his representatives at Ratisbon that they must not under any pretext allow themselves to be led into uttering threats

[1] *Ibid.*, 315 *seq.*

[2] "Di Sassonia non si può spera bene alcuno, perchè la moglie da lui amatissima è troppo vehemente nel Lutherismo." Morone to Galli on July 26, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 98.

[3] *Ibid.*, 96 *seq.*

[4] MORITZ, 323-7.

of refusing help against the Turks. If it were a question of destroying the religious peace, he asked "should the States for that reason fail to come to the assistance of his Imperial Majesty against the Turks, and allow it to come about that they were swallowed up one after the other, until in the end they all perished together?" It would be a strange form of resistance to say: "I do not wish to assist the supreme authority; I wish to let the Empire go to pieces, and myself be devoured by the Turks, in order that this or that may be done."[1] Naturally, however, Augustus avoided leaning too definitely to either side, and his instructions to his councillors at Ratisbon were certainly expressed very vaguely.[2]

In spite of the promise of the Elector of Saxony, Morone remained in a constant state of dread because of the instability of Maximilian,[3] and the Catholics felt it necessary to seek for powerful supporters with the vacillating Emperor. They had indirect recourse to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol through the Spanish ambassador, who was a zealous Catholic,[4] and King Philip.[5] Albert V.'s news concerning the views of the Elector of Saxony had hardly reached Ratisbon, when at once, on the following day, Ferdinand and the Archbishop of Salzburg repaired to the Emperor, and Ferdinand in particular appealed very strongly to his conscience.[6] On August 13th, Albert V. of Bavaria, who had been begged to come by Morone, presented himself before Maximilian, and received from the Emperor the express assurance that the demands of the Protestants would not be granted at any cost.[7]

[1] Moritz, 353.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348-55.

[3] To Galli on August 9, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 115.

[4] Moritz, 273 *Cf.* the envoy's reports in Bibl in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, CVI. (1918), 416 *seqq.*

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 116.

[6] Moritz, 345 *seqq.*, 347.

[7] *Ibid.*, 357. The duke, through his chancellor Elsenheimer, had previously sounded the emperor. Maximilian had already expressed to the chancellor his opinion that the Protestants behaved towards the members of the old faith like the wolf in

He repeated the same assurance more fully when, at a banquet which Johann Jakob of Salzburg gave to the princes on August 15th, the Archbishop of Mayence complained to the Emperor and again declared that the Catholics would return home without having settled anything rather than give their approval to the smallest concession. The Emperor added that the Catholics had more reason to complain of the Protestants than the latter had of them.[1]

In this way at last, on August 25th, Maximilian declared his intention of confirming the religious peace of Augsburg; to change it would be impossible without the consent of both parties; it was not necessary to unite the declaration to the decrees of the Diet nor to refer it to the supreme tribunal.[2]

Neither of the two parties was satisfied by the Imperial reply. The Catholics felt injured because the vice-chancellor Weber sent them the resolution with an exhortation to preserve the peace, and thus seemed to imply that the disturbers of the peace were to be looked for among the Catholics. They therefore drew up a protest enumerating a series of usurpations on the part of the Protestants.[3] The Protestants showed themselves even less satisfied. Some of the Imperial councillors, who were indeed quite indifferent about religion, but feared disturbances in the Empire if the innovators were not taken into consideration, urged them to take further steps.[4] In accordance with the ideas of these "court Christians" and especially their leader, Lazarus Schwendi, who demanded general religious liberty for Catholics and Protestants alike,[5] a new Protestant petition was drawn up on September 9th; in this, the declaration of Ferdinand,

the fable which blamed the sheep for polluting the water; "in the same way the Catholics must always be in the wrong according to these people"; what they did themselves they accused their opponents of doing. *Ibid.*, 356, n. 4.

[1] *Ibid.*, 358.

[2] *Ibid.*, 366. LEHMANN, 140 *seq.*

[3] MORITZ, 383.

[4] *Ibid.*, 368.

[5] *Ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*

which had hitherto been so zealously demanded, became quite a secondary matter.[1] The Elector of Saxony also remarked that he doubted whether the Protestant states would be willing to tolerate papistical subjects in their territories.[2]

This petition could not have much effect because it was signed by only a part of the Protestant states. At the party discussions it became increasingly difficult to conceal their want of unity; the Palatinate and Brandenburg insisted that the religious concessions should be made a condition of the subsidy against the Turks, but on the other hand the Elector of Saxony forbade his representatives to adopt an attitude which seemed to him to savour too much of holding a pistol at men's heads. Hesse tried to compromise by making no mention of any such condition to the Emperor, but the Saxons had already decided not to insist any further as far as he was concerned.[3]

In spite of the split in the party some of the princes did not cease even now to talk bombastically.[4] But the Landgrave William of Hesse, who more than the others loved to talk in this way about religion, had to put up with being told by the Elector Augustus that William himself knew quite well that by the declaration of Ferdinand and the outcry for independence "something very different from religion was understood and sought for."[5]

From July 28th to the beginning of September the discussions of the subsidy against the Turks were suspended. When they were once more renewed, the religious concessions no longer made their appearance, as they had previously done, as a condition of the subsidy. At the meeting of the Electors the Palatinate and Brandenburg united on behalf of the condition, but later on only the Palatinate took this stand;[6] when the assembly of the Electors and that of the

[1] *Autonomia*, 99 (b).
[2] Moritz, 375.
[3] *Ibid.*, 368-73.
[4] *Ibid.*, 379, 381.
[5] *Ibid.*, 377.
[6] *Ibid.*, 395, 396.

princes met, only Hesse and Woltenbüttel clung to it.[1] The representatives of Hesse wrote that everyone was walking warily and that no one wished to be called ungrateful.[2] The offers made for the subsidy against the Turks at first were so small that the Emperor expressed his indignation;[3] after protracted negotiations they were granted with comparative liberality.[4] In the end, however, after Maximilian II. had died at Ratisbon on October 12th, 1576, the sums agreed upon were only paid very slowly to his successor.[5]

On the very day, September 29th, on which the final decision concerning the subsidy against the Turks had reached the hands of Maximilian, the Protestant States once more assembled to take counsel concerning the reply which the Emperor had sent a few days before to their petition of September 9th.[6] One point in the Imperial reply was especially displeasing to the Protestants; this stated that the declaration of Ferdinand, in spite of its derogative formula, was in contradiction to the religious peace. A reply to the Imperial decree was prepared, but the Emperor, who was now seriously ill, can hardly have seen it.

When Maximilian received the Protestant demand of September 9th, he asked the Catholics to agree to its being referred to the next Diet. This would have been the best possible way of making the dispute everlasting, and for this reason the Catholics would not agree.[7] By their success at the Diet, the confidence of the Catholics in themselves had much increased, as well as their trust in Rome as the result of the action of Morone.

Minucci attributes the happy issue of the Diet to the efforts of the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Duke of Bavaria with

[1] *Ibid.*, 398.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 330.
[4] *Ibid.*, 394-8.
[5] Moritz, 452 *seqq.* For Maximilian's death, *ibid.*, 433 *seqq.*; Janssen-Pastor, IV.,[15-16] 495 *seq.*; Bibl, *loc. cit.*, 352 *seq.*
[6] Moritz, 401 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 399 *seq.*

the Emperor, and no less to the zeal and the "incomparable prudence" of the legate, Cardinal Morone.[1] The latter as well as the Pope expressed their great gratitude to the Duke of Bavaria.[2]

The change of government after the death of Maximilian II. at first seemed to open out to the Catholics the prospect of far-reaching consequences. The accession to the throne of Rudolph II. filled the Protestants with anxiety,[3] since the new Emperor, in contrast to his father Maximilian, was animated by strict Catholic sentiments. A short time after he had assumed the reins of government he removed the Protestant servants from his court, and refused to the Protestant states of Upper Austria the confirmation of the religious concessions made by his predecessor.[4] Rudolph chose his confessors from among the Jesuits, and a Jesuit was his court preacher.[5] At the first audience which the Papal nuncio Delfino had with Rudolph, the Emperor gave him such satisfactory assurances of his attachment to the Holy See and the Church, that the highest hopes were built in Rome from the change in the Imperial throne.[6] Although these were not fulfilled, and though the diplomatic relations of the new sovereign with the court of Rome were not without their difficulties,[7] nevertheless the attitude of Rudolph

[1] Report of October 6, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 185.

[2] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 216.

[3] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.,[15-16] 497.

[4] See the reports of the nuncio G. Delfino, dat. November 19 and 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 532.

[5] See SACCHINUS, 1576, n. 86; 1578, n. 80; 1579, n. 122; 1580, n. 166.

[6] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xxxiv-xxxv.

[7] Rudolph II.'s *obedientia* mission, though announced immediately after his election, did not arrive in Rome until 18 months later (April 27, 1577); and even then it arrived without decree of election and oath of the king. In spite of this, however, Gregory XIII., on July 1st, gave his solemn confirmation and supplied all defects. But the Bull of Confirmation was not accepted either by the imperial envoys or by Rudolph II. to whom Gregory had sent it by the nuncio (see SCHMID, in the

towards religious questions was much more satisfactory than that of his predecessor. This was clearly shown in his filling the principal offices at the court and in the Imperial government with men who were manifestly Catholics, as well as by Rudolph's efforts to win back his subjects to the Catholic Church. It was naturally another question whether Rudolph possessed the necessary strength and tenacity to accomplish this difficult task.

The Emperor Rudolph and his brother, the Archduke Ernest, to whom the administration of Austria was entrusted, were to some extent driven to interfere by the excesses of the Protestant pastors, who roused the animosity of their hearers to such an extent that the latter "every time they came away from a sermon were ready to tear to pieces with bloody hands the Papists as idolators and slaves of the devil."[1] Nevertheless the government ventured upon its first steps only with diffidence,[2] and it was only when the Emperor and his brother realized the weakness of the Protestants of Austria, the result of their internal dissensions, that they interfered with greater resoluteness, encouraged and supported by Duke Albert and the Papal nuncio. In June 1578 the carrying on of Protestant worship was forbidden in Vienna.[3] This step taken by the Emperor in defence of his sovereign authority filled the Catholics with the greatest

Hist.-Jahrbuch, VI., 186 *seqq.*). John Tonner *wrote to Rudolph from Rome on June 26, 1577, saying that Galli was the "*auctor* and contriver of all these difficulties; and the Pope a great canonist who desired to have everything *rigidissime iuxta literam.* I said to certain Cardinals quite bluntly: 'distinguamus tempora et concordabimus scripturas, et quod tempora praesentia non ferunt istum rigorem et obstinationem.'" Herberstein Archives (Eggenberg) at Graz. *Cf.* H. von ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.* LVIII. (1879), 175 *seqq.*

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.,[15-16] 500.

[2] For what follows *cf.* BIBL's exhaustive work: Die Einführung der kathol. Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich durch Kaiser Rudolph II., 1576-80, Innsbruck, 1900.

[3] See BIBL, *loc. cit.*, 88 *seq.*

joy. "Praise be to God" wrote the Imperial councillor, Doctor Georg Eder, to Duke Albert, "that we have seen such a day."[1] On July 13th, 1578, Gregory XIII. wrote a brief in which he congratulated Rudolph II. on the action he had taken.[2] Two years later the struggle with the Protestant states was settled in the sense that the quarrelsome nobles and barons were obliged to act merely on the defensive.

While the internal weakness and complete want of unity of the Protestant states was becoming more and more evident, there arose a highly-gifted champion[3] of Catholic restoration in the person of the son of a Viennese baker, Melchior Klesl, who had been brought back to the Catholic Church by the Jesuit, Scherer.[4] In 1579 the Emperor appointed him provost of the cathedral of St. Stephen, and chancellor of the University of Vienna. Two years later Klesl became vicar-general of the Bishop of Passau in Lower Austria. At his suggestion the Emperor in 1581 renewed the ordinance of Ferdinand I. by which no one could be admitted as a professor at the University of Vienna, nor have the right to promotion, who had not made the profession of the Catholic faith according to the formula prescribed by Pius IV.[5]

Things were in this favourable condition when Bonhomini, in December, 1581, began his nunciature at the court of the Emperor.[6] This indefatigable man, who had taken Charles

[1] See *ibid.*, 91.

[2] THEINER, II., 347.

[3] See BIBL, *loc. cit.*, v.

[4] In addition to the four-volume work of HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *cf.* (for particulars of Klesl) KERSCHBAUMER's monograph (Vienna, 1865) which, though exhaustive and based upon the Roman archives, does not solve all problems.

[5] See KINK, Geschichte der Universität Wien, I., Vienna, 1854 319 *seq.*

[6] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxx; HANSEN, I., 300 *seqq.* His *instruction of September 30, 1581, in the Cod. Barb., p. 203, Vatican Library. Minutes in Var. polit., 179, Papal Secret Archives.

Borromeo as his model,[1] proved himself once again in his new office the zealous supporter of reform and Catholic restoration, not only in the Empire, but also in Austria and Hungary. From the first Bonhomini's activities were on similar lines to those adopted by him in Catholic Switzerland, in the fortunes of which,[2] no less than in the religious interests of his own diocese of Vercelli,[3] he took a constant and active part, though only from a distance; in his new sphere of action too, which was so much wider, his first endeavour was to raise the moral state of the clergy, and for this purpose, no less than for that of fighting against the religious innovations, to establish new houses for the Jesuits, first of all at Pressburg,[4] and then at Linz and Krems.[5] It seemed to him that one of the principal difficulties was the scarcity of priests.[6]

Bonhomini was very pleased with his reception by the Emperor. Among other things he obtained from Rudolph the handing over of the heretic, Massilara, who went by the name of Paleologus.[7] As far as Austria was concerned, Bonhomini thought that, in consequence of the good will of Rudolph and of some of the Catholic councillors, matters would develope favourably everywhere.[8] Higher interests,

[1] See Bonhomini's *letter to John Anthony Guernerius (Canonic. Bergomati) dat. Posonii, IV., Cal. Ian., 1582, Min. Epist., 1582-4, n. 98, Jesuit Library at Exaeten.

[2] Numerous *documents bearing on this, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the beautiful *letter to the Chapter of Vercelli dat. Viennae, XIX., Cal. Ian., 1581, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *letter to the rector of the Jesuit College at Vienna dat. Posonii, Prid. Id. Febr., 1582, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *letter to the Archduke Maximilian dat. Viennae, VIII., Cal. April, 1582, *ibid.*

[6] See the *letter to Victor August Fugger Kirchbergensis parochiae rector dat. Viennae, XIII., Cal., April, 1582, *ibid.*

[7] See Ehses-Meister, I., xxx. For Paleologus *cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 319; XIX., 303 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 411, 414, 419, 448.

[8] *Letter to the Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, dat. Viennae, XI., Cal., April, 1582, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

however, suddenly tore the nuncio away from his new sphere for a time, for the Pope sent him orders to assist at the Emperor's first Diet, which Rudolph had convoked at Augsburg for April 22nd, 1582. This assembly not only attracted the attention of the whole of Germany, but it was also fully realized in Rome how important it was, and how advantageous it would be to be properly represented during the discussions.

That the presence of a nuncio, even though the latter possessed all the zeal of a Bonhomini, would not suffice, was very evident, and it was realized that a legate *a latere* would have to defend the rights of the Church, and prevent any further concessions being made to the Protestants. As candidates for this office, the names of Cardinals Delfino and Madruzzo were put forward as the most suitable,[1] and next those of Commendone, Cesi and Maffei.[2] The most prominent candidate from the first was Lodovico Madruzzo,[3] who, as Prince-Bishop of Trent, was also a prince of the Empire, and was, as Cardinal Protector, in close relations with Germany, besides being possessed of a detailed knowledge of the conditions of the Empire. It was upon this distinguished prince of the Church, who in 1578 had introduced the reform in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent into his diocese,[4] that the Pope's choice at length fell.

At a consistory of March 3rd, 1582, Gregory XIII. announced to the Cardinals the appointment of Madruzzo, and they cordially approved of his choice.[5] The choice also met with general praise, but, as the ambassador of the Este remarked,[6] not from Madruzzo himself. He was at that time in such

[1] *Report of Giulio Masetti, dat. Rome, February 8, 1582, State Archives, Modena.

[2] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, February 9, 1582, *ibid.*

[3] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, February 19, 1582, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Vita of L. Madruzzo in the Cod. Massetti of the Municipal Library, Trent.

[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 381.

[6] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, March 7, 1582, State Archives, Modena.

a bad state of health that the sessions of the German Congregation had to be held at his house.[1] Nevertheless he resolved to obey the call of the supreme head of the Church. Fully realizing the importance of his mission, he made a study of the acta of the preceding Diets, and drew up a memorial concerning the subjects which it could be foreseen would be brought up for discussion at Augsburg. Such were the two great questions around which since 1575 the struggle between the Catholics and Protestants had especially turned; the so-called "exemption" or the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand I. By settling these questions in accordance with their desires the Protestants intended, as Madruzzo pointed out in his memorial, to strike a death-blow at the existence of Catholicism in Germany. He therefore deduced the necessity for a close alliance between the Catholic states, and a revival of resistance to any further propagation of the new doctrines.[2] These two suggestions met with the fullest approval of the Pope and his Secretary of State, Galli. The latter made them the basis of the instructions which he drew up for the legate. It has been very rightly pointed out that this important document marks the great progress which the cause of the Catholic restoration had made in Rome during the last five years. It points to the fact that the time had come to abandon the defensive attitude which they had been obliged to adopt even at the time of the mission of Morone in 1576, and to aim at obtaining positive results against Protestantism by delivering a bold attack.[3] The ecclesiastical and secular princes who had remained loyal to Catholicism must, in close union, no longer wait, as they had hitherto done, for the Protestant demand to be set forth, but they must in writing put before the Diet the many

[1] *Reports of G. Masetti dat. Rome, March, 8, 9 and 10, 1582, *ibid.*

[2] Madruzzo's memorandum dat. March 15, 1582, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 382 *seq.*, *cf.* lxviii *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, lxx *seq.* The actual wording of the Instruction *ibid.*, 390 *seq.*, published for the first time by HANSEN.

violations of right which, in defiance of the religious peace of Augsburg and to the great harm of Catholicism, the Protestants had been guilty of in almost every part of Germany, and especially at Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bremen and, quite recently, at Aix. "By this application of the old principle that attack is the best form of defence, Cardinal Galli hoped to take his adversaries by surprise, to put them on the defensive, and thus in any case prevent any further loss to the Catholic Church, and also with great probability even gain something."[1] If, in spite of this, he should not be successful in preventing the demands of the Protestants from being put forward and discussed, the legate was to make this dependent upon the restoration of the dioceses of which the Protestants had, contrary to all right, taken possession after the religious peace.

Besides the plan for restoration, another for reform was added to Madruzzo's instructions. The Cardinal legate was to take advantage of the presence of so many bishops in order to urge them to repair the damage done and to remove the many abuses of which the Holy See had definite information from the nuncios Portia and Ninguarda. The Pope's representatives were severely to remind the bishops of Germany of their pastoral duties, and above all to urge them to make a visitation of their dioceses, to establish seminaries, and to effect the moral regeneration of their clergy.

As the death of the Elector of Mayence and Chancellor of the Empire, Daniel Brendel, which took place on March 22nd, 1582, delayed the Emperor's journey, Madruzzo and Bonhomini put off their arrival at Augsburg. The Cardinal remained at Trent, whence, still continuing his study of the acta of the preceding Diets,[2] he urged the Bishops of Salzburg, Trêves and Bamberg to undertake the journey to Augsburg,[3] and drew up a reply to the "book of concord" of the Protestants.[4] Bonhomini at first laboured at Vienna in

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxi.

[2] See *ibid.*, 413 *seq.*, 415, 420, 424.

[3] See *ibid.*, 419, 421, 427.

[4] See *ibid.*, 423, *cf.* 433, 596 *seqq.*

the interests of the Catholics of Hungary.[1] In April he went to Bohemia,[2] where he urged the establishment of a Jesuit college at Pilsen. After he had celebrated the festival of Pentecost at Prague, he went to Munich in order to consult with the Duke of Bavaria about the defence of Catholic interests at the Diet. He had already announced his visit to William V. from Vienna, and had exhorted him to prepare his weapons in time, so as successfully to oppose any demand from the Protestants for the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum.*

On June 14th, 1582, there also arrived at Munich Cardinal Madruzzo who had left Trent on June 1st, and had then stayed for a few days at Innsbruck with the Archduke Ferdinand.[3] What the Cardinal learned from the Archduke concerning the inexperience of the young Emperor, and the tepidity of the ecclesiastical princes,[4] was bound to cause him great anxiety. All the more pleasant, therefore, were the impressions which he formed at Munich. Once more the ducal court of Bavaria was shown to be the rallying point of Catholic interests in Germany. Duke William showed himself as full of zeal for the Church as though he had been a representative of the Holy See.[5] The Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, too, who arrived at the same time, showed the most satisfactory dispositions. Madruzzo and Bonhomini went into the position at prolonged conferences, and settled with Duke William their method of procedure at the coming Diet. Although the Duke of Bavaria did not conceal from himself the difficulties of keeping the Catholic party united, he agreed with Madruzzo in all essentials, especially with regard to taking the offensive.[6] At these conferences there also took part Germanico Malaspina, who had held the nunciature at the court of Graz since 1580, and had directed the

[1] Ehses-Meister, I., xxxi.

[2] Schmidl, Historia S.J. Prov. Bohemiae, II., 480.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte,* II., 379, *cf.* 427, 432, 435.

[4] See *ibid.*, 428 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, 432, 435.

[6] See *ibid.*, lxxiv.

resistance to the Protestants there.[1] The importance attached in Rome to the Diet of Augsburg is shown by the fact that the Pope sent yet a fourth representative to Augsburg in the person of Feliciano Ninguarda.[2]

On June 17th the Cardinal legate Madruzzo arrived in Augsburg with a great retinue.[3] On the following day there also came Bonhomini and Malaspina, and the new Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, who was not yet confirmed by the Pope, and of whom Madruzzo formed a very favourable impression.[4] The Cardinal, as well as the Archduke Ferdinand, Duke William and Bishop Julius of Würzburg, expressed the hope that the Elector Augustus of Saxony, the recognized leader of the Protestant states, would not insist too strongly on the "exemption." Madruzzo thought so well of the hopes for the Catholic cause, that he felt strengthened in his plan, already approved by the Holy See, of anticipating the possible attacks of the Protestant party by himself taking the offensive.[5] But at the very moment of the opening of the Diet an event occurred which upset this plan entirely.

The Emperor made his entry into Augsburg on June 27th, with a splendid retinue, in which were to be seen the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, and Duke William of Bavaria. At his first audience Madruzzo urged the defence of the Church in forcible terms, and Rudolph, who treated the Pope's representative with great honour, replied that he for his part would not be found wanting.[6] In the Imperial

[1] *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 431 *seq.* For the development of religious conditions in Inner Austria see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.,[15-16] 248 *seq.*, where the more recent literature is made use of. The publication of the Graz *Nuntiaturberichte* is being prepared by Professor Tomek (Vienna).

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 374.

[3] See the list given in FLEISCHMANN, Deskription des Reichstages zu Augsburg, Augsburg, 1582, 107 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 234.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 437, 439.

[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 441 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, 446 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 237.

programme which was read on July 3rd, nothing but political questions were mentioned, especially the Turkish subsidy. The religious question on the other hand was, following the precedent set by Maximilian, passed over in complete silence. But it very soon came to the fore when the Margrave, Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg, the Protestant and married administrator of the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, although he had neither been confirmed by the Pope nor had received investiture from the Emperor, demanded for his representative, not only a place and a vote, but also, as supposed Primate of Germany, the presidency of the council of the princes.[1] Madruzzo had protested against so manifest a violation of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* immediately before the opening of the Diet, through the Duke of Bavaria, and by an autograph memorial.[2] He was therefore extremely surprised when the hereditary marshal of the Empire, when he read the Imperial programme, accorded the first place, without rousing any objection, to the representative of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and above George Agricola, Bishop of Seckau, the representative of Salzburg. To the protests made by Madruzzo the envoy of Salzburg excused himself by saying that there was an arrangement between Magdeburg and Salzburg to take this position at alternate sessions, and that moreover other Protestant princes had a place and a vote among the ecclesiastical princes without having received the Papal approbation. Further negotiations resulted in Madruzzo and Malaspina, who were supported by the Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Mayence, being successful in winning over the envoy of Salzburg and in inducing him to make a protest, which was not only directed against the presidency which the representative of Magdeburg had usurped, but also called in question his right to sit and vote at the Diet.[3] Moreover, the Cardinal legate on July 6th

[1] *Cf.* Lossen, Der Magdeburger Sessionsstreit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag von 1582, in the proceedings of the historical class of the Munich Academy, XX. (1893), 623 *seq.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 452.

[3] See *ibid.*, 455 *seq.*

personally addressed severe remonstrances to the Emperor, pointing out the evil effects for the Catholic religion and the ecclesiastical princes which would follow if one who had neither the Imperial investiture nor the Papal approval, and who had never so far taken his seat, were to be admitted. Such an act would in fact grant to the dioceses the dangerous privilege of choice of religion.[1]

It was at once evident that the Emperor was afraid of a definite decision, from his fear of prejudicing the subsidy against the Turks which was being asked of the Diet. He was anxious to compromise the point at issue, by allowing the envoy of Magdeburg to be admitted as the representative of the chapter. Such an expedient, however, was rejected not only by Madruzzo and the Catholic princes, but also by the administrator himself.[2] It became clear in the course of the heated discussions which followed after July 12th that the threat of the Catholic princes that they would rather leave the Diet than grant the right to a seat and a vote to the representative of Magdeburg was seriously meant. It was evident, however, later on, that even the Catholics would be glad to arrive at a compromise. Madruzzo worked without ceasing to prevent any such weakness, and to keep the Catholics united in offering a firm resistance. He found a strong supporter in this in the Duke of Bavaria, whose brother Ernest, Bishop of Liège, Freising and Hildesheim, who arrived on July 15th, fully realized the hopes that had been built upon him.

This was all the more valuable as by this time the two ecclesiastical Electors, Wolfgang von Dalberg of Mayence and Johann Schönenberg of Trêves, in order to prevent the violent breaking up of the Diet, were inclined to a compromise, by which the envoy of Magdeburg might be allowed to take his seat at the Diet, at anyrate on this occasion, and without prejudice as to the future. An Imperial decree to this effect had already been drafted when the efforts of Madruzzo were successful in making the Catholic princes change their

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See LOSSEN, II., 19.

minds.[1] However, such aggravating changes were introduced into the said decree that the envoy of Magdeburg and his adviser, the Elector of Saxony, could not feel satisfied with it. On July 26th an approval of the thus amended decree was given by the majority of the Catholic states. It was at once presented to the Emperor, who, after cancelling certain expressions in it, declared his acceptance of it, and sent the proposal to the Elector of Saxony and the administrator of Magdeburg. Both made a reply.[2] It was now a case of preventing the discussion of any further compromise, and in this too Madruzzo was successful. He pointed out to the new Emperor in a memorial the danger to the constitution of the Empire and the Catholic religion which the attempted innovation on the part of the representative of Magdeburg was bound to involve. Finally he reminded His Majesty in grave words that he must bear in mind his sworn undertaking to protect the Catholic religion and the Apostolic See. As Madruzzo afterwards learned, what he had said made so deep an impression upon Rudolph II. that at the discussion wifh his councillors he rejected any further talk of compromise, and, placing his hand upon his cap, exclaimed: "If this were my Imperial crown, I would rather resign it than grant anything which would do harm to the Catholic religion."[3] Despairing of any success the administrator of Magdeburg left the Diet on July 28th. "I am satisfied," the Cardinal legate wrote on the same day to Rome, "with the existing state of affairs, nor is what has been accomplished to be despised."[4] These words betray his regret that he had not been able to obtain even more, namely, the exclusion from the Diet of all those other bishops who had not been confirmed by the Pope. Yet Madruzzo had every reason to be satisfied, for it was undoubtedly "an important success for the party of the Catholic restoration that by their determined opposition

[1] See LOSSEN, Sessionsstreit, 648 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 474.

[2] See LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 652 *seq.*

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 479.

[4] *Ibid.*

the pretended Primate of Germany, and what was more, the son of an Elector, had had to leave the Diet, with nothing more than the reservation of his rights, without the other Protestant princes having seriously accepted his claims, or made his cause their own."[1]

If, after the much appreciated[2] result of the dispute concerning the intrusion of the representative of Magdeburg, they hoped in Rome for further successes, disappointment was in store for them. The Protestants avenged the defeat which they had suffered by the most vigorous resistance to the Imperial request for help against the Turks, by violently taking the part of the council of the city of Aix, which had become Protestant, and in maintaining the assurance of the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to the innovators there in defiance of existing rights. The religious position in the ancient capital of the Empire was of extraordinary importance, because its accessibility to the innovators was bound to influence the Low Countries and Cologne, and open an obvious breach in the defences of the territory of the Lower Rhine, which was still Catholic. Madruzzo at once fully realized the importance of this, but he did not meet with that support from most of the Catholic princes which he required if he was to attain complete success.[3] In the meantime the Protestants remained with the advantage over the question of Aix, though they did not succeed in obtaining anything more than an armistice.[4]

Madruzzo was very justly grieved that he had not been able to obtain more help for the Archduke Charles of Styria in his struggle with his Protestant states, yet it was entirely his doing when the Emperor rejected a delegation of the nobles of Styria when they came with their complaints.[5]

The Cardinal legate met with insurmountable difficulties with regard to a number of other tasks. Such were the

[1] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 655.
[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xcii, n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, lxxxi *seq.*
[4] See Ritter, I., 587.
[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxv *seq.*

reinstatement of the Archbishop of Cambrai, the preparations for the new election at Münster, the settlement of the disputes between Fulda and Würzburg, and his interposition in the efforts being made to Protestantize the territories of Bamberg in Carinthia, by their vice-regent, John Frederick Hoffmann, whose activities were tolerated by Bishop Martin of Bamberg.[1] If, in these as in other matters, the legate had to complain so much of the indifference of most of the ecclesiastical princes, he also had reason to lament the want of that good will on the part of Rudolph II., on which he had so much counted. The Imperial coronation of Rudolph II., which the Pope had suggested, and for which Gregory XIII. intended to go to Bologna, proposing also to share in the expense, was given up on account of the temporary strained relations with Poland, which made any journey abroad impossible ; the publication of the new calendar was also put off until the following year.[2] Naturally nothing could be done to give effect to the anti-Turkish league,[3] which the Pope had so much at heart, in a Diet which, after long discussions, only granted forty "Roman months" in five years, and furthermore rejected the request to unite the new tax to those of 1576.

Undoubtedly what made the most painful impression on Madruzzo was the fact that the bold plan for a systematic attack on the Protestantism of Germany had been shown to be quite impracticable, on account of the weakness, indecision and indifference of the greater number of the Catholic states.

Immediately after the end of the controversy concerning the right to intervene of the representative of Magdeburg, Madruzzo had prepared a memorial in which were enumerated the complaints of the Catholics concerning the violation of the religious peace, and had communicated it to Duke William of Bavaria.[4] Cardinal Galli, to whom Madruzzo

[1] See *ibid.* lxxxiii *seq.* ; *supra*, p. 191, n. 8 ; Bonhomini's *Instruction (*supra*, p. 267, n. 6), p. 206.

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxviii *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 370, n. 1.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxix, 443, 447, 494.

sent this work, praised its accuracy and opportuneness. He only regretted that the controversy about the representation of Magdeburg had prevented its being presented immediately at the opening of the Diet, according to the original plan, because it would certainly have intimidated the Protestants. Since it was now clear that any form of consideration only rendered their enemies more bold and provocative, he hoped that the Catholic states would now come before the Diet with their protests.[1] Their co-operation was necessary as the Cardinal legate could not present it himself, since the Apostolic See had never recognized the religious peace.[2]

As just at that moment the Catholics were being provoked by offensive demonstrations against the Pope,[3] energetic action on their part was to be looked for. But instead of this the majority put up with these demonstrations patiently, like lambs, and did not dare to present the protest to the Diet. Their feebleness was so great that out of human respect there was not even any discussion. Madruzzo therefore found himself obliged to take the initiative. On August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption, he assembled the ecclesiastical Electors and the other ecclesiastical states at his lodging in order to make a strong appeal to their conscience concerning the measures to be taken to preserve the Catholic Church in Germany.[4]

The Pope, so said the Cardinal legate,[5] had done all that lay in his power to defend the Catholic Church in Germany against the attacks of Protestantism. For this purpose he had sent many nuncios, had founded colleges and seminaries in Rome and Germany, and everywhere exerted his influence, and given his help and advice. Since the expected result had not been obtained, and the danger was steadily increasing, he now had to remind the ecclesiastical princes, who every

[1] Memorandum of August 4, 1582, *ibid.*, 489.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 343.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xc, 500, 521, 538.

[4] See the report of August 18, 1582, *ibid.*, 508 *seq.*

[5] Text of the discourse *ibid.*, 600.

day had the sufferings of the Church before their eyes, of their duty. The legate was all the more ready to become the spokesman of the Pope, because he had, here in the Diet, more clearly realized the dangers and the abuses.

In the first place Madruzzo bitterly complained that during the five and twenty years that had elapsed since the religious peace of Augsburg, nothing whatever had been done to avert the loss of such illustrious dioceses as Merseburg, Naumburg, Verden, Meissen and Magdeburg. There was now the danger of the further loss of the dioceses of Lübeck, Halberstadt, Minden, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Bremen. As the representatives of these dioceses, though they had not yet been approved by the Pope, had been allowed to take part in the Diet, the Catholic majority in the council of the Empire was endangered. But nothing was being done by the Catholic states to face this danger. An academic struggle against independence was of no use, if the followers of Luther and even of Calvin were given admission to the cathedral chapters without protest. More and more Protestant assessors were finding their way into the supreme tribunal, which was of such great importance in the settlement of religious questions, while the ecclesiastical princes themselves nominated persons under suspicion. The bishops neglected their spiritual supervision of the Catholics in the free cities, which every day fell more and more into the hands of the innovators.

Notwithstanding this alarming state of affairs no one thought of remedying the abuses, or defending the common weal. The indifference and confusion of the Catholics stood out in strong contrast to the activity of their adversaries. In allusion to the matter of the vice-regent Hoffmann, against whom the Bishop of Bamberg refused to take any action, Madruzzo pointed to the grave abuse by which some of the bishops did not give to the Pope the obedience that they were bound to give. He also complained that the episcopal functions and ecclesiastical ceremonies were so neglected that the people had become accustomed to the lack of them. A stern warning to those present to turn their attention to the measures that must be taken, and an assurance that the

Holy See would not fail in its support, brought the discourse to an end.

Although the Duke of Bavaria warmly supported the forcible review given by Madruzzo, the ecclesiastical princes lost precious time in protracted discussions. "I still remain without any reply to my statements," wrote Madruzzo to Rome, "they discuss, and admit the necessity of finding a remedy, but the evil is so deep-rooted that any attempt to heal it sets the whole body in a terrible state of excitement. They all realize the losses that have been suffered, but they do not dare do more than grieve over them with useless sighs."[1]

After the Catholic states had presented their complaints against the Protestants on August 30th,[2] Madruzzo hoped for a similar step on the part of the ecclesiastical princes, but the latter at last, on September 3rd, gave him a reply to his discourse, which, together with a justification of themselves against the reproaches which he had made, although it was full of protests of devotion to the Pope and promises for the future, contained no word of any intention of bringing before the Diet the complaints of the Catholics, or their claim to the restitution of the confiscated Church property.[3] In any case this would have been too late, for the ecclesiastical princes had put off their reply to the moment when everyone was preparing to leave the Diet.

Madruzzo remained there for a few days after the closing of the Diet (September 20th).[4] At his farewell audience

[1] See *ibid.*, 526, *cf.* 524, 530, 532.

[2] See LEHMANN, I., 203; HÄBERLIN, XII., 331 *seq.*

[3] See BEZOLD, I., n. 399.

[4] Bonhomini remained four days longer and then returned to Vienna where he immediately resumed his reforming activities by continuing his visitation of Hungary and Slavonia (see EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxxi). G. Malaspina had already left Augsburg on September 16 in order to be in Graz in good time for the provincial Diet which the Archduke Charles had summoned for the end of the year. While there, he intended, as Madruzzo reported to Rome (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 535), to watch over the seed which

with Rudolph II., on September 23rd, he obtained a verbal promise from the Emperor that in future he would grant no investiture before the bishop-elect had been confirmed by the Pope. On the other hand the Cardinal legate had not been able to prevent the bishops who had been present at Augsburg, who were not yet thus confirmed, from being allowed to sign the decrees of the Diet.[1]

If we look to the results of the Diet of Augsburg, we shall find that the foresight of Bonhomini was justified, when on June 28th he told Canisius that they might feel satisfied if the Church came out of it without further losses.[2] This much at any rate had been attained, though to a great extent only owing to the favourable circumstances, since, if the dangerous discussions about independence and the declaration of Ferdinand were avoided, this was entirely due to the Elector Augustus of Saxony, who, in spite of the pressure of the Count Palatine, would not hear of the treatment of such questions.[3] The by no means unimportant success in the dispute about the right to a seat of the representative of Magdeburg was entirely due to Madruzzo.[4] If, notwithstanding his zealous efforts, the Cardinal legate did not obtain more, this was the fault of the Catholic states, whose timid behaviour Cardinal Galli described, on September 15th, 1582, in the severest terms. At the beginning of the Diet they would not anticipate the Protestants by asking for help

he scattered with so much zeal and energy. How important it was that Malaspina should remain permanently in Graz was seen later on during his absence which was caused by affairs in Cologne (see MAFFEI, II., 372). With reference to Ninguarda *cf. supra*, p. 159 *seq.*

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xcii, 561.

[2] The passage in question taken from the letters contained in the *Min. Epist. of Bonhomini (Library at Exaeten) in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 443, n. 3. *Cf.* also, in the same handwriting at Exaeten, the *letter of Bonhomini to the Archbishop of Prague dat. Viennae, XII., Cal., April, 1582.

[3] See RITTER, I., 576 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 20.

against their encroachments, for fear of irritating them; when they were themselves attacked, they roused themselves for a moment, but in the end, when the attacks of their adversaries became more violent, they did not dare to open their mouths. Since all the zeal of the Pope and his legate had proved in vain, so Cardinal Galli concluded, the only thing to do was to pray to God that He would be pleased to receive His Church in Germany, weakened and sorely humbled though she was, into His good-will and favour.[1]

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte,* II., 547.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Religion in North Germany.

Of the two nuncios sent beyond the Alps in May, 1573, Gropper found himself faced with a far more difficult task in the north of Germany than did Portia in the south. From the ecclesiastical point of view northern Germany was to a great extent a devastated area, or threatened to become so in the immediate future. All the dioceses to the east of the Elbe might be considered as lost to the Catholics; the civil princes there had been able to place their younger sons in the episcopal sees, and they in their turn, under the cloak of Lutheranism, had converted their bishoprics into civil principalities. Thus Schleswig, Schwerin and Ratzeburg had passed into the hands of the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg, Kammin into those of the Dukes of Pomerania, and Brandenburg, Havelburg and Lebus into those of the Margraves of Brandenburg. Further south, between the Elbe and the Weser, the same fate had befallen the dioceses of Merseburg, Naumburg and Meissen, which had become civil territories of the Elector of Saxony.[1] Further north the struggle for Halberstadt and Hildesheim was still being carried on, and the issue in the case of the latter seemed very doubtful. Things were better for the Catholics in Westphalia, where there was still much that might be saved for Catholicism at Osnabrück, and perhaps everything at Münster and Paderborn, if the Protestant candidates could be kept out of the episcopal sees; the same might be said of Cologne.

As well-informed witnesses testified,[2] the situation could

[1] *Cf.* the precis and literature on the subject in Schmidlin, Kirchliche Zustände, III., 244 *seq.*

[2] See Minucci's memorandum of 1588 on the condition of the Church in Germany, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 751.

only be saved if those princes who were genuinely and truly Catholic would follow the example of their Protestant fellow princes, and like them, endeavour to place their younger sons in the episcopal sees, since, surrounded as they were by Protestant princes, and sometimes hampered by difficulties in their own territories, the bishops in the north could only maintain their position when they were the sons of princes and found support in the respect due to their house. But in the case of the Catholic princely houses, things were much less favourable than in that of the Protestants, since, as Minucci pointed out in 1588,[1] almost all the cathedral chapters of Germany were at least partly composed of Protestants, and were inclined to a dissolute life, a thing which, from their point of view, could be carried on more easily under a Lutheran bishop. It was true that in Upper Germany, which was still more or less Catholic, the Lutheran canons themselves wished for bishops of the old faith, because they had seen how in other places the right to free election by the chapter had disappeared together with the Catholic bishop, and with it all chance of being able to obtain lucrative offices for themselves and their families as the price of their votes.[2] This on the other hand was not the case in the whole of the neighbouring Lutheran territory in the north. Moreover the sons of the Catholic princes stood aloof, since the episcopal office implied their being bound to celibacy and their episcopal duties; besides this they had to reckon, not only with the canons who elected them, like their Protestant colleagues, but also had to try to obtain the Papal confirmation; lastly, the Protestant princes did not shrink in any way from simony, but openly bought votes for ready money. "God grant that those canons who still wish to be Catholics, may be preserved from corruption." The only princes to whom the Catholics could look for protection for the threatened sees were, in Minucci's judgment, the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria, since the Duke of Cleves had only one son, while of the Hapsburgs, Andrew of Austria, the son of a woman of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 750 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 752.

middle classes, Philippine Welser, was not held in much esteem, and Cardinal Albert, the son of Maximilian II., who was more Spaniard than German.[1]

It was true that the adherents of the old faith placed all their hopes of success in the struggle in the north in Bavaria, and whatever was saved in Lower Germany was only preserved for them by the fact that Duke Ernest of Bavaria had been, one after another, placed in simultaneous possession of five bishoprics.[2] As was only natural, Gregory XIII. had only been induced to consent to this with great difficulty, in view of the opposition of the Council of Trent to such an accumulation of benefices in the hands of one man,[2] but the necessity of the case over-rode his wishes. Although Duke Ernest was anything but a model Catholic bishop in his conduct, it was necessary by force of circumstances to support him, as the one hope of finding a way out of the difficulty; in the north he governed with full authority a territory far larger than his native country, and for almost two centuries the episcopal sees of the whole of Germany were to a great extent in the hands of the princes of Bavaria.

The first northern diocese which called for the help of Bavaria was Hildesheim, where the state of affairs was almost desperate.

At the end of the XVth century the bishopric contained about 330 parishes, in addition to the cities of Hildesheim and Goslar. When Gregory XIII. ascended the throne there were still in the city of Hildesheim the actual provostship of the cathedral, as well as certain monasteries and families, together with the magistracy of Marienburg, in all, twenty-one villages with ten or twelve parishes.[4] Some parts of the

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 751.

[2] "It may be said that the preservation of the Catholic Faith in the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia is a result of the close connection which bound together the interests of the House of Bavaria and Catholic ideals." RIEZLER, IV., 645. LOSSEN, II., 67.

[3] RIEZLER, IV., 640, 647.

[4] K. GRUBE in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CI. (1888), 481, 500.

diocese lay within the territory of neighbouring princes; of that district which the bishop held as a secular prince, the so-called *Stift Hildesheim*, the neighbouring princes took about two-thirds in the war of the principality of Hildesheim.[1] Of the "little principality" which still remained to him, he had been obliged to pledge the greater part to the council of Hildesheim, or abandon it to the violent attacks of the Duke of Holstein. All these lost territories passed over to the new faith when their new masters did so.[2] The city itself accepted Lutheranism in 1542.[3] All the citizens were forbidden to go to the cathedral during the Catholic services.[4] "I and my church are entirely destroyed, both in spiritual and temporal things," wrote the bishop, Valentine von Teteleben to Rome in 1545.[5] In 1551 Hildesheim had in Duke Frederick of Holstein a bishop "who never went to the church," to use the forcible words of Oldecop, "and who ate and drank like a yokel," and one moreover who supported Lutheranism with all his power, dying in 1556 as the result of his intemperance.[6] By the recommendation of the Emperor this Lutheran had obtained confirmation from Rome.[7]

After the death of Frederick, Duke Henry of Brunswick did not wish again to see the son of a powerful princely house in the episcopal see. To the great displeasure of the Lutherans the choice of Hildesheim then fell upon a noble of the diocese,

[1] BERTRAM, 35.

[2] GRUBE, *loc. cit.*, 481-500. Change of religion in Grubenhagen, Göttingen, Kalenberg, Lüneburg: BERTRAM, 88-93, in Wolfenbüttel, *ibid.*, 93-9, 264.

[3] GRUBE, *loc. cit.*, 486. BERTRAM, 99 *seqq.*, 121. When, in 1548, the town appealed to the Emperor for mercy, it declared that it had: "come into the business quite innocently; for after the conquest of the principality of Wolfenbüttel we were three times called upon (to apostatize) and at last under compulsion and against our will, and thus we were innocently drawn into the quarrel." BERTRAM, 129.

[4] *Ibid.*, 131.

[5] *Ibid.*, 149.

[6] *Ibid.*, 198, 201.

[7] *Ibid.*, 182, 191.

Burchard von Oberg, who was a strict Catholic of blameless life.[1] Oberg endeavoured cautiously to preserve the remains of the old faith in the principality and the villages, but he was only able to introduce Catholic parish priests in those places where he enjoyed civil authority. In the city of Hildesheim itself, he was powerless against the municipal council.[2]

In the cathedral, however, Catholic worship according to the ancient ritual was still maintained, and when Alexander Trivius, in the course of his journey through the north of Germany assisted at mass at Hildesheim in 1575, he was deeply moved; what he had found nowhere, neither in Germany nor elsewhere, he found at Hildesheim, namely that the office in choir throughout the year was begun at midnight.[3] The state of the cathedral chapter, too, seemed not to be very bad, and Bishop Burchard declared that most of the canons were free from all blame. Naturally the Lutheran council thought otherwise.[4]

So long as Duke Henry the younger of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel lived, the Catholic religion found in him a protector. But Henry was already an old man, and his son Julius was a confirmed Lutheran, so the idea of looking for a protector elsewhere was inevitable. Hermann von Horneburg, the trusted adviser of Bishop Burchard, went for that purpose to Munich in 1566; after his return, in the December of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 248, 249.

[2] *Ibid.*, 255, 257.

[3] To Galli on May 3, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 281. It was not until the year 1608 that the night office was postponed until four o'clock in the morning. BERTRAM, 341.

[4] BERTRAM, 250 *seq.* At Hildesheim graduates in theology, canon or civil law and medicine were admitted as canons (Statute of February 26, 1387, in DÖBNER, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim, II., n. 649, *cf.* n. 722). By a statute of December 1, 1575, graduates could only be admitted provided they had studied for four years at a University. This resulted in the exclusion of the burgesses (BERTRAM, 366). For the diocese it was rather an advantage to have a support in the Westphalian nobility.

same year, the bishop formally petitioned for Duke Ernest as his co-adjutor.[1] In 1567, Horneburg, on the occasion of another visit to the capital of Bavaria, received the reply that he must first obtain the approval of the Pope, and was sent to Rome for that purpose.[2] Bishop Burchard, in a letter to his representative in Rome, explained the reasons for his request in urgent terms ; he would give his blood and his life in order to obtain security for the Church of Hildesheim, but the question of salvation or destruction depended upon the choice of a co-adjutor.[3] Pius V. feared to burden his conscience by granting a second diocese to the young administrator of Freising, and in January, 1568, he refused the request of Horneburg. Duke Albert was satisfied with this ; he said that he had yielded to the repeated requests of the bishop, but left everything to the pleasure of the Pope.[4]

When Duke Henry died on January 11th, 1568, it was at once obvious who was destined to be his successor. The Catholic vice-chancellor of Henry, Ludwig Halver, the confessor of the dead prince, had to seek a new sphere of activity in the service of Bavaria, and left the state as its last Catholic secular priest. Faced with the threatened danger, on November 30th, 1568, the bishop and twelve canons, the majority of the chapter, came to an agreement which assured the existence of what remained of the ancient Church in Hildesheim for centuries ; they bound themselves, by their dignity, honour and loyalty, not to accept, after the death of the present bishop, any other successor than the son of Duke Albert of Bavaria.[5] Albert V., when he was informed of this, contented himself with replying that he had no objection to the request for the co-adjutor being again put forward in Rome.[6]

In spite of this agreement, some of the canons of Lutheran

[1] LOSSEN, I., 128, 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, 131.
[3] BERTRAM, 273.
[4] LOSSEN, I., 132 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 135.

leanings did not give up hopes of getting the diocese of Hildesheim into the hands of a bishop of their own way of thinking, namely, either the young son of Duke Julius, who had already been asked for for Halberstadt, or the Lutheran Bishop of Lübeck, Eberhard Holle. The opportunity of getting into touch with Brunswick came when Bishop Burchard renewed the lawsuit for the lost property of his principality, and Duke Julius proposed an arrangement by which the Dukes of Brunswick, Henry Julius of Wolfenbüttel, and Eric II. of Kalenberg were to retain everything in return for the cession of certain offices. The chancellor of Hildesheim was in favour of this compromise, and had won over the old and, as Horneburg insisted, childish bishop. In order to ensure this, those who favoured the arrangement would have been glad to have induced Duke Albert to pronounce in its favour. But the embassy which was sent to Munich in 1570 was secretly anticipated by Horneburg. The Duke, he insisted, must at the conference take up his stand unconditionally in favour of the administrator of Freising; once he was in possession of Hildesheim Duke Ernest could obtain other dioceses, beginning with Halberstadt and Minden, and then proceed to restore the Catholic religion once more in the north. As a result of the reply which the envoys of the chapter took back from Munich, the whole arrangement fell to the ground, and with it the aims of Brunswick upon the diocese of Hildesheim.[1]

But very soon a further difficulty presented itself. Duke Ernest showed very little desire for so small a diocese as Hildesheim, while its inhabitants showed very little wish for him. The chancellor Eck said on one occasion that they would just as willingly see the Pasha of Buda as their bishop.[2] Therefore Bishop Burchard became more and more inclined to entertain the aspirations of Duke Adolphus of Holstein on behalf of his younger son. Faced with the Lutheran Holstein the Catholics naturally had to increase their demands, but Adolphus promised everything that was asked, "they

[1] LOSSEN, I., 134 *seqq.*, 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, 140, 141.

might submit quite extraordinary conditions, and Duke Adolphus would offer to grant and accept them all." The negotiations were already well advanced when, on February 23rd, 1573, Bishop Burchard died.[1]

Numerous claimants for the diocese at once made their appearance; above all, Duke Julius did all that he could to obtain Hildesheim for his nine year old son. Recourse was had to all the neighbouring princes to obtain their influence with the canons, public prayers were ordered in all the churches, while a special embassy to Hildesheim was charged to give expression to the wishes of the duke.[2] Horneburg realized that the danger lay in delay. On the day of the bishop's death he had sent a messenger to Munich, but now he no longer waited for any decision to arrive. The envoys of the Duke of Brunswick were to arrive in the evening of March 7th; at ten o'clock in the morning of March 7th the chapter assembled for the election, and an hour later proclaimed Duke Ernest of Bavaria as the new bishop.[3]

Albert V. had decided to accede to the request of the chapter, and therefore applied to Cardinal Truchsess in Rome to obtain the Pope's approval. He himself and his son, he wrote, looked for nothing from the election but annoyance and trouble, and if they had accepted it this had only been in order that the principality might not fall into Lutheran hands, and in course of time it could be handed over to a good bishop. In place of the Cardinal of Augsburg, who just at that moment suddenly died, the question of Hildesheim was taken up with the greatest zeal before the new Pope, Gregory XIII., by Cardinal Hosius and the Bavarian ambassador, Fabricius. On the very evening of the audience, April 18th, the Pope informed the Cardinal of Ermland that he gave his approval; in October, 1573, Fabricus set out on his journey with the brief of nomination.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 140 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BERIRAM, 281 *seq.*; LOSSEN, I., 141.

[3] *Ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 143, 147-9. The briefs dealing with the nomination, to Ernest, the Chapter, &c. given in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 158, n. 4. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 114, 116 *seq.*

That a princely house which was strongly Catholic should thus unexpectedly plant itself firmly in the midst of north Germany, in territory which had hitherto been unmistakably under the dominion of the new doctrines, excited unparalleled surprise everywhere. It was feared that the suit for the property belonging to the chapter of Hildesheim would be taken up again with renewed vigour, and that the Catholic religion would be restored to its former position. But the Protestant princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Hesse, the Rhenish Palatinate and Wurtemberg, were willing enough to enrich themselves at the expense of the "Gospel," but not to make sacrifices, so they congratulated the Duke of Bavaria upon the election that had taken place, and did not raise a finger to annul it.[1] Duke Julius was extremely annoyed at the shipwreck of his plans, but at last decided not to "go grey-haired before his time" on this account.[2] It was different with Adolphus of Holstein, who sought in every way at least to get his son recognized as co-adjutor and successor of Duke Ernest. But in spite of all the promises made by Holstein, this "co-adjutorship" in the episcopal administration of Hildesheim was looked upon as "the perpetual ruin and destruction" of the diocese.[3]

Duke Ernest, a man of sympathetic character, who knew how to make himself quickly loved everywhere, but who was not free from moral faults during the years of his youthful passions, was not yet twenty years old when he was elected Bishop of Hildesheim, and had often hesitated as to whether he ought to remain in the ecclesiastical state.[4] So that he might persevere therein many would have been glad to see him go for a time to Rome. He himself had importuned the nuncio Portia, during his stay at Freising, to facilitate his going to Rome.[5] At the Curia it was desired that he should take with him his cousin, the son of the Duke of Cleves,

[1] LOSSEN, I., 144 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 146.

[3] *Ibid.*; BERTRAM, 297 *seq.*

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 88, 141, 179.

[5] Portia to Galli on October 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 189.

who was intended for the bishopric of Münster ;[1] Albert V. had it in mind to give him as an additional companion the young Duke of Holstein.[2] In spite of all the difficulties and opposition the Bavarian councillor and ambassador of Albert V. in Rome succeeded in bringing it about that Ernest actually visited Rome in March, 1574, though without the wished-for companions.[3] There the young prince remained until the end of 1575, strictly watched over by his tutors, which had the effect of making him neglect the struggle against his passionate nature, and all his good intentions until he could become master of his own freedom.[4]

Ernest only remained at Hildesheim from October 30th, 1580, until June 3rd in the following year,[5] and even this short stay was broken by a long journey to Liège,[6] of which diocese he also found himself called upon to take charge. Nevertheless his period of government was fortunate for Hildesheim. When, in 1575, Alexander Trivius made a visitation of the diocese of Hildesheim by command of the Pope, he was able, in spite of the absence of the bishop, to see that the mere election of the powerful Bavarian prince had made a great impression on the Protestants ; the haughtiness with which they had tried to tyrannize over the priests had to a great extent disappeared, and if the bishop had only been present he might without much trouble have introduced the necessary reforms among the clergy, and brought back

[1] Portia to Galli on February 17, 1574, *ibid.*, 340.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 384.

[4] Lossen, I., 334-58. For the flight of the young duke from Rome and his return see K. Schellhass in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, X. (1907), 325-64.

[5] Bertram, 290 *seq.*

[6] From January 6 to February 11, 1581, *ibid.*, 290. For the journey to Liège, *cf.* Rob. Turneri, Sermo panegyricus de triumpho, quo Bavariae dux Ernestus . . . fuit inauguratus episcopus Leodius, in his Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadii, 1583, 91-187.

the laity to better ways.[1] Trivius tried especially to stir up the clergy to a more careful fulfilment of their duties; thus he brought pressure to bear upon the canons of St. John, who did not satisfy their obligations as to the choir, because their church was in ruins, yet still received the revenues, to make them fulfil this duty in some other church.[2] By the wish of the Papal legate, even after his departure the episcopal administration continued to address remonstrances to the clergy of the diocese.[3]

An episcopal visitation followed the Papal one in 1608; by the authority of the Pope this was held jointly by the representatives of Bishop Ernest and the Elector of Mayence, the metropolitan of Hildesheim.[4] The ecclesiastical tribunal, the so-called "officiality," again came into existence during the first years of the government of the new bishop, and was followed in 1586 by the establishment of the consistory or ecclesiastical council.[5] All that was possible was done for the restoration of the ancient religion under Duke Ernest. Catholic parish priests were gradually introduced in the territory of which the bishop was also secular prince.[6] In 1573 a former student of the German College, Henry Winichius (died 1612), whom Trivius found generally praised, began to preach in the cathedral.[7] By slow degrees the Jesuits, too, arrived, and in 1601 their house was converted into a college which held its own in spite of all opposition.[8]

Only two years after Duke Ernest had first been thought of as the future Bishop of Hildesheim, in 1567, he was also,

[1] Trivius to Galli on May 3, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 281.

[2] *Ibid.*, 282. Line 20 should read: "otiose comeduntur (instead of *commendentur*) peccata populi" (according to OSEE, IV., 8).

[3] BERTRAM 335.

[4] *Ibid.*, 339-44.

[5] *Ibid.*, 336.

[6] *Ibid.*, 398-431.

[7] *Ibid.*, 345. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 281.

[8] BERTRAM, 349, 356 *seqq.* For Winich *cf.* SCHREIBER, II., 299 *seqq.*

though only fifteen years old, intended for three other episcopal sees, those of Minden, Halberstadt and Magdeburg.[1] In the case of the latter the Catholics had almost immediately to give up all hopes; the administrator there, Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg in 1570 gave the first example of open contempt for the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* by marrying and still retaining his diocese. The cathedral chapter consented to his marriage,[2] and, at anyrate after 1574, demanded marriage or at least espousals as a condition for the admission of new canons.[3] "If God does not work a miracle," wrote the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino, in 1573, "Magdeburg and Halberstadt, as well as Naumburg, Merseburg and Meissen, are irrevocably lost."[4]

In the case of Halberstadt at anyrate, all hopes had not as yet been given up in Rome. Lutheranism had been introduced into the city, but its adherents had behaved with great moderation.

Elgard,[5] who visited Halberstadt in 1575, found in the parish church no traces of the usual iconoclastic destruction. The chapter to which the city was subject, was looked upon as above reproach; at least half were still Catholics,[6] and the other half only Protestants in the sense that they received communion under both kinds. The offices were celebrated in the old way; in the Church of Our Lady, ladies of the

[1] Lossen, I., 137 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 138.

[3] Trivius to Galli on September 16, 1574, in Schwarz, Gropper, 193.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxxii.

[5] Report of June 18, 1575, in Theiner, II., 45. "Nobis totique clero et omnibus monachis monialibusque licet secundum leges Sanctitatis vestrae et Sedis Romanae vivere, missas celebrare, divinis cultibus vacare." The chapter to the Pope on October 26, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 230. For the convents of nuns see *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIII., 50 *seqq.*

[6] Portia writes on June 26, 1574, that it had been reported to him that there was only one single Protestant. *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 86.

best families assisted at mass even on week days, and on Sundays many of the faithful heard mass in the cathedral and heard Catholic sermons.

Nor 88 years Halberstadt had been under the same bishop as Magdeburg, when, in 1566, at the election of the new Protestant administrator of Magdeburg the canons of Halberstadt had severed the connexion. It seemed to Julius, at that time Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, that the time had come to get possession of Halberstadt, and he proposed his little son of two years old to the chapter as the future bishop. Julius was himself a zealous Lutheran, but the government was for the moment in the hands of his grandfather, Henry the younger, who was a sincere Catholic; Julius promised to give his heir a Catholic education, and guaranteed to the chapter that he would not press the matter any further if Rome refused to accept his request on behalf of the two years old child. The chapter was therefore of opinion that they might agree. But Pius V. did not let himself be deceived, and ordered the canons under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of their right of election to have nothing to do with the request.[1]

Nevertheless, the canons did not dare for two years to proceed to a new election. When Pius V. died, the duke tried harder than ever to obtain the Papal approval for his son. Through the dean of St. Martin at Minden, Georg Gogreff, he tried to win over the nuncio Gropper to his side,[2] and obtained from the Emperor Maximilian II. a letter of recommendation to Gregory XIII.,[3] as well as to Cardinals Delfino and Madruzzo;[4] the youthful candidate himself addressed an autograph letter to the Pope,[5] and the chapter of Halberstadt again interested himself on his behalf.[6] On

[1] Portia to Galli on June 26, 1574, *ibid.*, 86. Elgard, *loc. cit.*, 44.

[2] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 216.

[3] Memorandum of April 29, 1574, *ibid.*, 227 *seq.*

[4] Gropper, *loc. cit.*

[5] Portia to Galli on December 24, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 325. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 231.

[6] On June 7, 1574, in THEINER, I., 228.

August 15th Gropper sent to Rome these petitions from the duke and the chapter, together with the letters of recommendation and a report of his own.[1]

But the German Congregation decided on November 19th not to give its consent.[2] A short refusal was sent to the Emperor,[3] and letters to the chapter and the Archbishop of Mayence,[4] ordering an immediate election. The frightened canons declared their readiness to obey,[5] but informed the duke of the brief. Julius entertained the representatives of the chapter very courteously for two days, and then summoned his little son and had him examined in the little catechism. The clever boy, who was that Henry Julius who later on made a name in literature as a dramatic poet, answered everything, and his father deemed that he had thus given proofs of his fitness for the episcopal office; he said that he would write again to Rome, and that in the meantime a new election was not to be held.[6] Then the canons began to fear for their lives if they opposed the headstrong duke,[7] and in their fear addressed a new petition to Rome.[8]

They said that it was very easy for the Pope to send them orders, but very hard for the chapter to carry them out. Moderation was necessary in Halberstadt, and it was by its

[1] *Ibid.*, 212-9.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 101. Amongst other things it was said that Henry Julius was an only son, and therefore the Duke of Brunswick would certainly not make a cleric of him. But on July 1, 1568, a second son, Philip Sigmund, was born, and on April 23, 1573, the duke had a third, Joachim Charles. Together with a fourth son and an unmarried daughter they were all provided with church property. COHN, Table, 86.

[3] Of November 26, 1574, THEINER, I., 233.

[4] On July 30, 1574, *ibid.*, 229.

[5] Portia to Galli on September 11, and Galli's reply of October 2, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 204, 230.

[6] Portia on October 16, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 246.

[7] For the duke's cruelty see Elgard on June 18, 1575, in THEINER, II., 44. He was also hated on other grounds. *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 422; V., 14.

[8] On November 26, 1574, in THEINER, I., 230-3.

use that the chapter had been able to carry on Catholic worship since 1517; the intervention of the Emperor on behalf of Henry Julius, and his own great qualities were a sufficient guarantee of his suitability.

The canons, however, secretly informed the Pope through the Duke of Bavaria that the boy's tutor was a Lutheran and the catechism in which he had been examined was the small catechism of Luther. The Pope rejected their third request for approval for the young Brunswick prince and in a further brief ordered the immediate election of a bishop under pain of forfeiture of their right of election. Hermann von Horneburg informed the Duke of Bavaria and the nuncio Portia of all these secret affairs, and gave them to understand that the election of Halberstadt would also fall upon Duke Ernest.[1] The chapter did not dare to speak openly, and when Duke Julius sent his councillor Gogreff to Gropper to complain bitterly of the brief of July 30th, the canons supported his complaints by means of a representative.[2]

This double dealing of the canons had the consequence that Rome could not immediately send the order for the election of the bishop, for they wished there first to know whether the canons would really, at the Pope's orders, proceed at once to the election of Duke Ernest, and whether the latter's father was prepared, even with armed force, to defend the castles and the inhabitants of the territory of Halberstadt against Julius.[3] When Portia had at length been satisfied as to this by the Duke of Bavaria and Horneburg, the desired brief,[4] which ordered the new election in imperious terms, was granted on May 7th, 1575.

Albert V. at once advised Portia not to send the brief for the moment; but when he had received satisfactory assurances from Horneburg concerning the consent of the chapter of

[1] Portia on October 16, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 246 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 362, n. Gropper to Galli on November 11, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 217.

[3] Portia on February 19, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 421 *seq.*

[4] In THEINER, II., 33; *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 14.

Halberstadt, it was dispatched in September, 1575.[1] But this soon proved to be a mistake. Horneburg had been quite right in saying that the chapter was well disposed towards a new election, but Julius was all the less ready to accept it. He forced the chapter[2] to make a protest against the brief,[3] and the chapter allowed itself to be forced to do so, thinking that it had sufficiently expressed its true sentiments by supporting Henry Julius' own petition with such weak arguments.[4] Not much stronger were the reasons which were expressed in an appendix to their letter;[5] the only thing worthy of notice in it was the assurance that the grandfather and the father of the candidate, as well as himself, had demanded a Catholic education.[6] A canon of Halberstadt took the documents in person to Rome.

The Curia now found itself seriously embarrassed. It was impossible to wage war with such persons as the canons of Halberstadt. Duke Albert could only intervene in the matter when the episcopal dignity of his son was at stake. But if the chapter had not the courage to ask openly for Duke Ernest as bishop, the latter could only have any right to the bishopric if the Pope, without paying any attention to the chapter, conferred it upon Ernest out of the plenitude of his own power, and such an appointment had difficulties of its own, because the canons could not be relied on. At first it was intended in

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 19, 167.

[2] Albert V. on May 23, 1576, *ibid.*, 465.

[3] Memorandum of October 6, 1575, in THEINER, II., 33 *seqq.*

[4] Amongst the arguments brought forward to prove that the tender years of the postulant was no obstacle, they pointed out that Jeremias and John the Baptist had been sanctified before birth and that, at the miraculous multiplication of the bread, the Saviour had received the seven loaves from a boy! Moreover, with God nothing is impossible; for Saul and Saint Augustine both started badly but finished well; while just the opposite took place in the case of Judas the traitor and Julian the Apostate. Henry Julius wanted to become a bishop; God, who gave the desire will also grant the power to accomplish.

[5] THEINER, II., 34-6.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36.

Rome to reject the appeal of the chapter, and a brief to that effect was already drafted.[1] But they soon began to ask themselves whether it would not be better to accept the son of the Duke of Brunswick as bishop, provided his Catholic education could be ensured. Duke Julius and the chapter itself, so the latter were informed in a Papal brief,[2] had frequently offered that the young Henry Julius should be sent to Rome or to a Catholic university.[3] The Pope decided that he must come to the Eternal City, and the chapter was to inform him whether the young duke would set out immediately. During the time of the absence of the future bishop the Pope wished one of the chapter to act as administrator of the diocese.

At the same time the question whether it would not be possible to place Duke Ernest in Halberstadt by the direct appointment of the Pope continued to be discussed. Horneburg secretly sought to learn the views of the chapter of Halberstadt, and found it, as before, in favour of the son of the Duke of Bavaria.[4] As Duke Albert wrote to Portia,[5] if the larger and better part of the chapter desired the postulation of the Dukes of Brunswick to be rejected, the direct appointment of Duke Ernest by the Pope would not meet with any difficulty.

The Emperor Maximilian II. made an unexpected end of all these plans. Julius of Brunswick was only taking all this trouble to obtain the Pope's approval, because, according to the prevailing laws, that was a necessary condition for the conferring of civil power in the diocese. At the instance of Brunswick, the Emperor, without paying any attention to the Papal approbation, now secretly conferred the so-called "regalia" on the son of the duke for two years.[6] In this way the fate of Halberstadt was decided, and it ceased

[1] Printed *ibid.*, 175.
[2] Of March 10, 1576, *ibid.*, 176.
[3] *Cf.* on this subject *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 363.
[4] Portia on August 17, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 511.
[5] On May 23, 1576, *ibid.*, 465-70.
[6] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 510 *seq.*

to be a Catholic diocese. Duke Albert V. told Portia at the Diet of Ratisbon there was now no longer any need to take counsel upon the subject. Morone endeavoured to persuade the duke that he might give a favourable turn to the matter by bringing his influence to bear upon the Emperor,[1] but Albert knew the Emperor too well to indulge in any further hopes, and refused to make any move in the matter.

In 1578 Rudolph II. renewed this civil investiture to the young Duke of Brunswick for another two years; in all probability he did so with the condition of his seeking for the Papal confirmation. Duke Julius entered upon further negotiations with the chapter, and, to the horror of the Protestants, had the tonsure and minor orders conferred upon the bishop elect. About ten days later his enthronement in the cathedral of Halberstadt took place with purely Catholic ceremonial.[2] To this was joined a further concession on the part of the chapter. When, on May 5th, 1584, the bishop elect was espoused to a daughter of the Elector of Saxony, the chapter gave its consent, Henry Julius being made to promise that nothing should be changed in the existing religious conditions of the diocese, and that his heirs should have no right to the principality.[3]

Although Duke Julius, in spite of the fact that his father was a Catholic, became a zealous supporter of Protestantism, his cousin, Duke Eric II. of Brunswick-Kalenberg, although he had been brought up by a Protestant mother, had in 1546 returned to the faith of his father and his ancestors, and had then endeavoured to restore it in his dominions by means of a general visitation of the churches and the expulsion of the pastors who resisted the Interim. The only thing wanting was a supply of suitable priests; the Diet made use of his constant need of money to wring from him in 1553 and 1555 the free exercise of religion and the recall of the evangelical pastors. Eric II. moreover, was but rarely in his principality,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Lossen, II., 561.

[3] *Ibid.*, 564 *seq.* Theiner, III., 526 *seqq.*

and in 1553 he appointed his Protestant mother as regent, and she laboured for the destruction of the old religion.[1]

The hopes of the Catholics again rose when, in 1576, Eric II. espoused the Catholic Duchess Dorothea of Lorraine. Even when this marriage was only talked of, the convert, Rudolph Clenck, who came from Bremen, and was afterwards professor of theology at Ingolstadt,[2] called the attention of the nuncio Portia to it, as a favourable circumstance for the Catholic cause. He said that he had learned from letters from his own country that people there were wearied of the constant religious changes; he himself was prepared to give up his own good position in order to devote himself henceforth to the restoration of the Catholic faith in the north.[3] In a conference at Constance Portia tried to bring influence to bear on the duke, as well as on his bride and his mother.[4] Eric seemed well-disposed, spoke of founding a Jesuit college, and accepted the offer made by Clenck, who was set free by Duke Albert V. from his duties in Bavaria.[5] But Clenck died in 1578, and his efforts as well as those of his companions were of no avail to Brunswick, as the duke, who ought to have supported him, remained absent from his

[1] K. Gruber in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CI. (1888), 494-6.

[2] For particulars of him L. Pfleger, *ibid.*, CXXXII. (1903), 45 *seqq.*, 90 *seqq.*; for his activities in the Brunswick affairs K. Schellhass in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XVI. (1914), 91 to 142; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xcvi-ci; for his proposed mission to Russia, Pierling, Rome et Moscou, Paris, 1883, 101 *seqq.*, 153 *seq.*; Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, XIII. (1910), 296 *seqq.*, 306 *seqq.*, 332 *seqq.*

[3] Portia on March 20, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 376.

[4] Portia on October 20 and 21, 1575, *ibid.*, 225 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 130.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 378. Clenck to Portia on February 26, 1576, *ibid.*, 384 *seq.* Another Hamburg convert living in Rome, Joachim Delius, offered his services to the duke for the Counter-Reformation in Brunswick. Galli to Eric II. on July 19, 1577, in Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 113, n. 1.

territory until 1581.[1] Later on the news of the apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne did the greatest harm to the attempts to restore Catholicism.[2] At the request of Duke William Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to Eric, advising[3] him to return to Brunswick, but the duke answered the nuncio Campegio, who handed him the Pope's letter at Venice, that it was out of the question to bring back his principality to Catholicism, and that to live there, entirely surrounded by heretics, could only be injurious to his own soul.[4] Eric II. died in 1584 without lawful heirs, and his principality passed to Duke Julius; in 1588 there were no longer any Catholic priests there.[5]

Besides Eric there was another member of the House of Brunswick who was among the first converts of the princely houses of Germany. Otto Henry, the eldest son of the reigning Duke of Brunswick-Harburg, made up his mind to return to the old faith during a stay at the court of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol.[6] Otto Henry was quite right in saying in his reply[7] to a letter of congratulation from the Pope,[8] that he had to make great sacrifices for his faith; he had to renounce his inheritance and go about the world as an

[1] "Al negotio, per cui (Clenchio) è passato nel ducato Brunsvicense, non s'è dato principio per l'absenza del duca Erico, che si truova in Loreno con la moglie." Portia on July 30, 1577. Portia and Clenck were in constant correspondence. *Ibid.*, 132, 146, 159, 176, 197.

[2] Gregory XIII. to Eric on July 18, 1583, THEINER, III., 413.

[3] On April 12, 1581, in SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 140, *cf.* 114 *seq.*

[4] Campegio to Galli on May 20, 1581, in SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XVI., 141 *seq.*, *cf.* 115. Some letters of recommendation for Eric to the King of Spain, of July 18, 1583, and September 7, 1584, in THEINER, III., 413, 532.

[5] GRUBE in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CI., 496. PFLEGER, *ibid.*, CXXXII., 98 *seq.* Letter of condolence to Eric's widow Dorothea, of December 21, 1584, in THEINER, III., 532.

[6] J. HIRN in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, V. (1884), 217-25.

[7] Of July 27, 1581, in THEINER, III., 262 *seq.*

[8] Of April 28, 1581, *ibid.*, 262.

official ; his memory was erased from the annals of his country.

Besides Hildesheim and Halberstadt, the dioceses of Münster, Paderborn and Osnabrück were for a time in danger of being lost to the Catholic religion. The bishopric of Münster[1] had been on the point of being converted into a secular principality during the reign of the Prince-Bishop Francis of Waldeck (1532-1553), who was at the same time Bishop of Minden and Osnabrück. The break up of the Schmalkaldic League put an end to these attempts, and compelled the bishop to intervene as the supporter of the religious reform,[2] which, however, for the moment made but little progress. Things only began to improve under the third successor of Francis of Waldeck, Johann von Hoya (1566-1574).

Von Hoya was a man of culture, and a learned jurist, who had previously laboured as a councillor, and then as president of the supreme tribunal of Spires.[3] To him was due a change in the administration of civil[4] and ecclesiastical justice,[5] corresponding to the period of his government of Münster, and under him began a reform of moral and religious conditions owing to the initiative of the zealous Gottfried von Raesfeld,[6] who was appointed dean of the cathedral in 1569.

Pius V. had recommended to the bishops of Germany, as a means for the restoration of religion, the visitation of their dioceses, so that the moral irregularities of the clergy

[1] Lossen, Der Kölnische Krieg., I. : Vorgeschichte, 1565-81, Gotha, 1882. L. Keller, Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein, I., Leipzig, 1881. Aug. Hüsing, Der Kampf um die katholische Religion im Bistum Münster, 1535-85, Münster, 1883.

[2] Schwarz, Akten, ix-xvi.

[3] For his beginnings W. E. Schwarz in the *Zeitschrift für vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens*, LXIX. (1911), 18-21.

[4] Rich. Lüdicke, *ibid.*, LIX. (1901), 1-168.

[5] W. E. Schwarz, Die Reform des bischöflichen Offizialats in Münster durch Joh. v. Hoya (1573), *ibid.*, LXXIV. (1916), 1-228.

[6] *Ibid.*, 80.

might no longer afford a breeding ground and excuse for error.[1] Johann von Hoya acted upon this advice of the Pope in the years 1571-1573.[2]

The visitation showed that there was no scarcity of priests in the diocese, though there was a want of educated ecclesiastics who were fitted to oppose the spread of Protestant doctrines. Anti-Catholic views about Purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of the saints, and other matters had secretly made their way, leading to a neglect of masses for the dead, the observance of feast days and fasts, and of Extreme Unction. In eleven parishes communion was given under both kinds, and sometimes under one; in nineteen it was always given under both kinds, which led to consecration outside mass, for the purpose of giving communion to the sick, and this was sometimes done from anti-Catholic motives. As far as the moral state of the clergy was concerned concubinage was inevitably very common, though many were not guilty of this.[3] Protestant views and leanings were often to be found among the aristocracy, but only rarely among the middle-classes. The few remaining Anabaptists were not of any importance.[4] Among the religious Orders the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life stood out especially,[5] but in most cases the dry records of the visitation do not afford a clear account of the state of the monasteries.[6]

[1] Brief of June 13, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 252. KELLER, 359 *seq.* *Cf.* CANISII Epist., V., 156.

[2] SCHWARZ, Akten (*Münsterer Geschichtsquellen.* VII.), 1-300.

[3] *Ibid.*, cv-cxviii. "In general the protocols created an impression that it would not have been so very difficult to have brought about a changed condition of affairs by means of energetic decrees such as Johann von Hoya had in mind The early death of the bishop and the events which followed did immeasurable harm to the cause of moral reform." *Ibid.*, cxvii.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxix *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, cxxxiii, cxlviii *seq.*

[6] A comparison of the accounts given in the acts of visitation with the complaints of the visitor Boucherat show this to be especially the case in regard to the Cistercian Houses in Westphalia. *Ibid.*, cxxx.

Peter Canisius, after a visit he paid to Johann von Hoya, who was at that time Bishop of Osnabrück, had said that no one on earth seemed to be exposed to such great dangers and difficulties as the bishops of Westphalia, and of Germany in general. If the Pope were not careful, at their death the sectarians would fall upon the dioceses and appropriate them. It was therefore advisable that the bishops should during their lifetime choose co-adjutors, so that the sectarians might have no chance of interfering in the election of a new bishop.[1] Johann von Hoya followed this advice. At first, while he was Bishop of Osnabrück, he was still rather indifferent about reform,[2] but when, in 1567, persuaded by Commendone and Canisius, he had received priest's orders and episcopal consecration, he began to display much zeal.[3] But his health, partly by his own fault, became steadily worse,[4] and the prospect of his death filled the Catholics with fear, since Hoya held the three dioceses of Osnabrück, Münster and Paderborn, and Duke Henry of Lauenburg, his bitter and powerful rival, who was his relative by marriage and was already Archbishop of Bremen, was planning to build up a large and permanent civil duchy by destroying the other dioceses in the north.

In order to defend itself from the shrewd and powerful Lauenburg, Münster too was driven to seek the support of a distinguished Catholic princely family. It was therefore of the greatest importance for the dioceses of Westphalia when Duke William IV. of Jülich-Cleves-Mark, who ruled over the largest principality in the north-east of Germany, became a Catholic by the advice of the friend of his youth, Werner von Gymnich. Until 1566, William, whether deliberately or no, had favoured the new doctrines in his territory, but in that same year he issued three edicts which were quite in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic

[1] To Francis Borgia on January 27, 1566, CANISII Epist., V., 169,

[2] LOSSEN, I., 224 *seq.*

[3] CANISII Epist., V., 581. Pius V.'s permission for the bishop to print the Roman Catechism, in KELLER, 386, *cf.* 390.

[4] About his illness, SCHWARZ in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, &c., LXVIII. (1910), 50.

restoration, and after 1570 he showed every sign of his intention of preserving and restoring Catholicism. His sons, Charles Frederick and John William, were educated by Werner von Gymnich in strict accordance with the old faith, but his two elder daughters were too rooted in Lutheranism for much hopes of their conversion to be entertained.[1] A great part in the consolidation of the Catholic religion among the people of Cleves was played by the Jesuits.[2]

Now that Duke William had thus once more become "a prince who was eminently Catholic and peaceful,"[3] Johann von Hoya was very glad when in 1571 it was proposed to him by the court of Cleves that he should accept John William, William IV.'s second son, as his co-adjutor. He at once agreed.[4] By the advice of Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the cathedral of Münster, who was a fervent and influential Catholic,[5] the cathedral chapter expressed its readiness to enter into further negotiations, provided that the Pope agreed to the proposal of Cleves.[6] A carefully drawn up capitulation[7] safeguarded the rights of the diocese and of the Catholics. The duke and Johann von Hoya, who had been furnished with many letters of recommendation, especially by the Emperor,[8] King Philip II.,[9] and the Duke of Alba,[10]

[1] KELLER, 5 *seqq.*, 27, 36. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 226 *seqq.*

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.,[15 16], 227 *seq.*

[3] Conference at Ahaus from November 5 to 7, 1571, KELLER, 159 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 156, 158.

[5] The Cleves envoy Henry von der Recke had received, on June 13, 1571, a special instruction concerning negotiations with Raesfield. *Ibid.*, 157.

[6] Conference from November 9 to 12, 1571, *ibid.*, 160 *seq.*

[7] Of November 11, 1571, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 1-3. *Cf.* SCHWARZ in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII. (1910), 19-24.

[8] To Pius V. and, on June 20, 1572, to Gregory XIII., KELLER, 171, 178 *seq.* *Cf.* the Instruction of the imperial envoys in Rome dat. June 28, 1572, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 6.

[9] To Pius V. and to his Roman envoys, both dated February 24, 1572, KELLER, 169 *seq.*

[10] Of January 10, 1572, *ibid.*, 164 *seq.*

presented to the Pope a request for his approval of their plan.[1]

But in the meantime the court of Cleves had once again given grave reason to doubt the sincerity of its Catholic sentiments. The hereditary prince, while on a visit to Vienna, received communion under both kinds, while his sister was chosen as the bride of the Duke of Prussia, Frederick Albert, and William IV. himself decided to preside in person at the betrothal of his son-in-law in the east. The future Duchess of Prussia expressed herself in a purely Protestant manner in a letter to William of Orange which was intercepted by the Duke of Alba. These things had forced the duke to send one embassy after another to Alba, so that he might not, in spite of everything, lose the powerful support of Spain.[2] In Rome at first they could not quite bring themselves to believe in a marriage between the princess of Cleves and a Lutheran,[3] but such occurrences could only confirm the Pope in his resolve to make his own conditions before he gave his consent to the duke. Besides William IV., the hereditary prince, Charles Frederick, must sign the election capitulation of Münster, and guarantee its being carried out, as well as the Catholic education of his brother, and must see to this being done in Rome itself. In the meantime negotiations concerning these conditions were carried on through the nuncio at Vienna and the Emperor;[4] the duke was instructed in a brief to treat verbally[5] with the nuncio Gaspar Gropper.

[1] On October 15, 1572, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 10, 11; *cf.* KELLER, 338. For numerous other letters of recommendation *cf.* SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 3, 6; KELLER, 168 *seq.*, 188, 389 *seq.*, 392.

[2] Instructions for the envoy Masius of December 11, 1571; April 22, 1572; January 28, 1573, in KELLER, 161, 174, 189. Masius' reports of 1571; March 29, 1572; January 2, 1573, *ibid.*, 166, 172, 187.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, xlviii, and in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII., 28.

[4] KELLER, 192, 194. SCHWARZ, Gropper, xix, n. 3.

[5] Of May 3, 1573, in KELLER, 193.

In the autumn of 1573 the nuncio Gropper arrived on the Lower Rhine, after paying a visit to the Bishop of Münster at Ahaus,[1] and at Cologne, at the beginning of December, he arranged a conference with a representative of the council of Cleves,[2] and after that, when the duke had returned from Königsberg, he laid his views before him at Düsseldorf in the middle of July, 1574.[3] As had been the case with the preliminary written negotiations, so now only one of the demands of Rome met with any difficulties; against the journey to Rome of the young prince the councillors urged his delicate state of health, and above all the opposition of the nobles. These objections seemed so well founded to the nuncio that he allowed himself to be led into acting on his own responsibility, and even during the discussions at Cologne he suggested that the tutors and professors of John William should make the Tridentine profession of faith, and should promise on oath that the pupil entrusted to them should receive a Catholic education in the sense of the Council of Trent, deeming that the Pope would be satisfied with this.[4]

The nuncio's task was naturally not limited to the choice of a coadjutor. With regard to the burning question of the duke's religious attitude, Gropper was warned in his instructions[5] to point out to him that only a small part of the officials in his state were Catholics, and that there were many infringements upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops. If Catholics were appointed as officials, it would be easy, in view of the general opinions of the people, to restore the old religion completely, especially with the help of canonical

[1] Gropper to Galli on October 20, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 422 *seq.*

[2] Brief summary of the proceedings from December 2 to 4, 1573, in KELLER, 189-201.

[3] Brief summary of the proceedings from January 13 to 16, 1574, *ibid.*, 204, 205. The duke's reply of January 16, *ibid.*, 206-8.

[4] *Ibid.*, 199.

[5] Of July 19, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 43-56.

visitations.[1] The nunico was to do all he could to induce the prince himself to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and to obtain the Pope's absolution for his past life, because it was undeniable that he had formerly given great scandal to the Church by tolerating communion under both kinds, the Lutheran chant of the psalms, the use of flesh meat on forbidden days, and the suppression of the mass.[2] The duke must also no longer allow his Lutheran sister publicly to favour the innovators, and must bring his influence to bear on the education of the princesses; rather should he entrust his daughters' education to zealous Catholic women, or place them in some good convent, or at the court of a Catholic princess. Lastly the university of Duisburg and the schools of Düsseldorf should be visited from Cologne.[3]

The nuncio did not dare to present all these demands to the duke's councillors at the same time. At the conferences at the beginning of December, he began by giving proofs of the neglect of the duke's government in dealing with the innovators, by quoting recent cases, which he had partly seen for himself. At Büderich he had seen with his own eyes the work of the destroyers of images and altars; yet there were scarcely 100 persons concerned: was it possible that they could not be forced to obey? At Werdohl complaints had been made to him that, entirely at the will of the officials, an apostate monk had been allowed to come and preach, against the orders of the duke. At Wesel the city supported Protestantism in defiance of the orders of the sovereign. Such things were not calculated to make the Pope decide in favour of the requests of the duke. In the diocese of Münster he had been informed that they intended to have recourse to extraordinary steps against Cleves if the spread of false doctrines were not checked.[4]

On the following day the councillors promised to remove these abuses, and it is a fact that the Elector Frederick of

[1] *Ibid.*, 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, 49 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 50.
[4] KELLER, 198 *seq.*

the Palatinate complained to the Landgrave of Hesse in the following year that the papistical mass had been restored at Büderich and Orsoy, where the Protestant religion had been established for fifteen years.[1]

After further discussions, it seemed well to the nuncio in the afternoon to inform the councillors in confidence of the whole of his instructions. They naturally were of opinion that too much was being asked of the duke, when the ecclesiastical princes themselves employed Protestant officials. On the other hand they agreed to a larger number of Catholic professors being employed in the schools of Duisburg and Düsseldorf.[2]

Gropper now found himself in an embarrassing position, He felt that he ought not to present himself before the duke, who was unwell, and had only recently turned to Catholicism. with too harsh demands, and when he found himself in his presence he remained entirely silent about the communion under both kinds which William IV. was even then receiving; of the demands concerning the duke and his family he only mentioned the wish that his daughters should receive their education at a Catholic court, or with Queen Maria Maddalena, the Emperor's sister.[3] He made his worst mistake when he imprudently said, in the presence of the councillors, that the communion under both kinds need not constitute a matter for disagreement, and that he would rather ask for a dispensation from the Pope.[4] The councillors immediately took the nuncio at his word: "Since His Holiness so kindly offers a dispensation" they also asked for the concession of the chalice for the rest of the duke's subjects.[5] It did not help Gropper when later on he spoke of the dispensation "which he might perhaps be able to obtain" for the family of the duke and a small part of the court.[6] In the duke's final reply

[1] *Ibid.*, 214.
[2] *Ibid.*, 200 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 204 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 201.
[5] *Ibid.*, 203.
[6] *Ibid.*, 206. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 98.

the chalice was demanded for all his subjects,[1] and the nuncio had the unpleasant task of exculpating himself as far as he could for this suggestion in his report to Rome.[2] For the rest he pointed out strongly how much had been already obtained in the fact that so autocratic a prince had given his solemn assurance that he would maintain the Catholic religion and stamp out heresy energetically. This was much more than they could have dared to expect at first. As a result the churches of Düsseldorf, which had been deserted, were now once more open, and the duke himself assisted at mass there. What was still wanting might be looked for in the future.[3]

On December 22nd, 1573, Gropper had informed Rome of the grave illness of the Bishop of Münster.[4] Three months later the condition of Johann von Hoya had become so much worse that Conrad von Westerholt and the syndic Schade went from Münster to Gropper and the Duke of Cleves, to take counsel as to what was to be done. A little more than a week later Johann von Hoya was dead, and a new struggle was to begin between the Catholics and the Protestants for the possession of the three bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn and Osnabrück.[5]

In Rome everything possible had been done to prevent further losses. Credential letters were sent to the chapters of the three vacant dioceses,[6] and to the Electors of Mayence and Cologne,[7] as well as warnings to Gropper to exercise the greatest vigilance and care. Osnabrück was in the meantime in the hands of Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, who was already in possession of the archbishopric of Bremen;

[1] KELLER, 208.

[2] To Galli on January 20, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 101.

[3] *Ibid.*, 102.

[4] THEINER, I., 99.

[5] SCHWARZ, Gropper, liv.

[6] Of February 5, 1574, in THEINER, I., 233 *seq.*

[7] Of February 5, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 102 *seq.* Gropper speaks to the duke about briefs to Mayence and Treves, *ibid.*, 130.

an election capitulation must secure the diocese for Catholicism.[1] Paderborn took refuge under the powerful protection of Salentin of Isenburg, the Elector of Cologne, whom it asked for as its administrator.[2] More anxious was the position of the diocese of Münster. As the brothers of Duke Julius of Brunswick had, during the course of military raids into the territory of Münster and Paderborn, promised to undertake their charge as coadjutors, Duke Julius, who was also making efforts to obtain possession of the dioceses of Hildesheim and Halberstadt, now maintained that after the deaths of his brothers their rights had passed to himself. In the meantime, so as to obtain protection from Brunswick, the cathedral chapter had resolved to ask for the son of the Duke of Cleves as coadjutor.[3] By Galli's orders, Gropper was instructed to inform Cleves that Rome was favourably disposed to the wishes of the duke, but that means must be found of ensuring that the diocese did not suffer any loss during the minority of John William. An experienced administrator must therefore be chosen; if possible he should be taken from the cathedral chapter of Münster; otherwise they might ask the Archbishop of Cologne, or some other person pleasing to the duke. Perhaps it might be well to follow the example of Freising and separate the civil and ecclesiastical administrations. Nevertheless Gropper must insist upon John William going to Rome, while everything would be done to care for the health of the prince.[4]

As Gropper had suggested to the duke and the chapter,[5] he went himself to Münster for the election, and there, on April 28th, 1574, the canons assembled in chapter and after an hour announced the acceptance of the postulation of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 163. LOSSEN, I., 257.

[2] On April 21, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[3] Gropper on December 22, 1573, in THEINER, I., 99.

[4] Galli to Gropper on February 6 and April 3, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 119 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

[5] To the duke on April 8, 1574, *ibid.*, 135. *Cf.* KELLER, 212.

son of the Duke of Cleves.[1] Conrad von Westerholt was unanimously chosen as civil "vicar" of the diocese, and at once made the profession of faith in the hands of the nuncio. Greater difficulty was experienced in finding a representative for the spiritual interests of the bishop-elect. With the consent of the chapter Gropper himself asked his colleague Elgard to undertake it, but the latter sought to escape the proposed honour.[2]

The nuncio profited by his presence in Münster to urge strongly upon the chapter on April 23rd, the principal questions of reform; he insisted upon the necessity of a canonical visitation, and the establishment of a seminary, which had best be entrusted to the Jesuits. The chapter declared themselves ready to do so. If the canonical visitation of the whole diocese had not yet produced its full results, this was due to the death of the bishop; they were willing to have Elgard as their spiritual head. The establishment of a seminary was beset for the moment with difficulties, but the dean and chapter were well-disposed towards it and considered it both useful and necessary.[3]

Thus the existence of the diocese of Münster seemed to be once more assured, and a fresh support for the Catholic religion seemed to have been found in the princely house of the Lower Rhine. The duke again confirmed in his own name and that of his eldest son all that had been agreed upon in the negotiations concerning the coadjutorship and the petition, and promised on his honour as a prince, and confirmed it by oath, that he and his successors would observe it in perpetuity; he would also as far as he could see to it

[1] Report of the Cleves councillors to the duke dat. April 24, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 136. Gropper to Galli on June 10, 1574, *ibid.*, 151.

[2] Gropper, *loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*

[3] Gropper's memorial to the Chapter in KELLER, 390-2; the chapter's reply of May 21, 1574, *ibid.*, 394-7. For the date of both documents *cf.* SCHWARZ, in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII., 65, 68.

that the Emperor approved and confirmed all that had been done.[1]

The education of the future bishop semed to be in good hands; his tutor, master and chaplain freely and willingly made the profession of faith, and promised to watch over the orthodoxy of his household. The young prince himself went frequently and almost daily to church with his suite, assisted at mass, listened attentively to the sermons, and studied diligently.[2] It was true that the approval of the postulation had not yet come from Rome, but in deference to the renewed protests of the duke the demand that John William should receive his education in Rome had been abandoned. The German Congregation wished to define some of the points in the capitulation more exactly.[3] The negotiations as to this dragged on, especially as the duke had once more gone upon a journey, this time for the betrothal of his second daughter, also to a Protestant, the Count Palatine of Neuburg. It did not seem, however, that the wishes of the German Congregation need offer a serious objection, especially as the duke, as well as the chapter of Münster[4] after his return,[5] did not think that any further guarantee was called for. Thus on the whole the hopes of the Catholics might be considered as well founded.

But suddenly all these fair prospects fell to the ground. On February 9th, 1575, the eldest son of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves died in Rome.[6] John William thus became the hereditary prince, and it was taken as a matter of course that he would succeed his father as civil prince and resign the bishopric.

Thus the struggle for Münster broke out afresh, and this time lasted for ten whole years. It was clear how much was at stake. If the most important diocese of Westphalia,

[1] Gropper, *loc. cit.*, 153 *seq.*

[2] Gropper to Galli on June 10, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 154.

[3] Protocol of August 12, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 95.

[4] In KELLER, 402.

[5] Gropper to Galli on December 13, 1574, in THEINER, I., 222.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 202.

which hitherto, like a barrier, had separated the Lutherans of the north of Germany from the Gueux of Holland, fell into Protestant hands, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Hildesheim could hardly be saved from the same fate; the Catholic duchy of Jülich-Cleves could scarcely be maintained for long, and in any case the duke would find himself with a dangerous neighbour, like the Spaniards in Flanders. Under these circumstances the eyes of the Catholics again turned to Duke Ernest of Bavaria as their saviour. The Spanish governor wrote at once from the Low Countries in this sense to Conrad von Westerholt,[1] as well as to Duke Albert V. himself.[2] Immediately after the death of the hereditary prince of Cleves, the Duke of Bavaria sent his envoy, Jakob Tandorf,[3] to obtain information as to the position of affairs. The Duke of Cleves at once gave his consent to the Bavarian candidature,[4] and an envoy from Cleves, Henry von Recke, laid the matter before the chapter of Münster.[5]

It was natural that covetous eyes should at once be turned upon the bishopric of Münster from all quarters.[6] But only one of these candidates, Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, was any serious danger to Duke Ernest.[7]

Henry's father, the Protestant duke, Francis I., who was related through his wife and sister with the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and with the principal princely houses of northern Germany,[8] was deeply involved in debt, and therefore sought in 1564 to provide for his two sons, Henry and Frederick, by means of canonries at Cologne; Henry acted in every way there as a Catholic; he attended the lectures at the Catholic university, kept the vigils,

[1] LOSSEN, I., 323.

[2] On March 25, 1575, in KELLER, 405.

[3] His instructions of March 1st and 4th, 1575, *ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[4] To Duke Albert V. on April 9, 1575, *ibid.*, 405.

[5] *Ibid.*, 405.

[6] *Ibid.*, 406, 411 *seq.*, 417, 420.

[7] For particulars of him SCHWARZ, Gropper, lviii *seqq.*; LOSSEN, I., 240; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XI., 506 *seq.*

[8] COHN, Table, 58.

confessed and communicated under one kind, assisted diligently at mass and at the office in choir, even during the years when he did not as yet receive any revenues from his benefice, took part in the processions even during the bad weather, and acted as sub-deacon at high mass.[1] Nevertheless they did not feel full confidence in him in Rome; and when his great uncle, Duke George of Brunswick, the Archbishop of Bremen, died, and the chapter chose the great-nephew in 1567 as his successor, the new ruler of the archdiocese of Bremen was not able, in spite of the warm recommendation of the Emperor, to obtain the Papal confirmation.[2]

Duke Francis I. nevertheless sought to provide for his son by means of another ecclesiastical principality, and when the succession to the sees of Johann von Hoya came under ever increasing discussion, Francis turned his eyes to Osnabrück in 1572. Johann von Hoya was not opposed to the suggestion, but advised him before anything else to obtain the approval of the Pope, without which Henry could not obtain "either this or any other diocese."[3]

During the years that followed the Lauenburger acted upon this advice. He first thought of going himself to Rome, but, as he wrote to Otto Truchsess,[4] the attacks of the Gueux prevented his doing so. So he had recourse to the nuncio Gropper, and by means of his councillor, Schrader, had the formal canonical inquiry into his life and capabilities carried out and sent to Rome. The evidence,[5] as well as Gropper's to Rome,[6] were altogether favourable and the German

[1] The inquiry concerning Henry of November-December, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 82, 83. Henry was made Subdeacon between the Diets at Spires of 1570 and 1572. Henry to Otto Truchsess on December 9, 1572, *ibid.*, 16.

[2] Maximilian II. to Pius V. on January 10, 1568, and the Pope's reply of February 10, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 97.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, lx.

[4] December 9, 1572, SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, 80-5.

[6] Of January 20, 1574, *ibid.*, 113 *seq.*

Congregation expressed itself in favour of Henry's being approved,[1] provided the informative process were sent in due form.[2]

Henry was kept fully informed of all that was happening, and when the chapter of Osnabrück genuinely asked for him as the successor of the dead Johann von Hoya, on condition of his having the Papal approval, he resolved to remove the last obstacle to his confirmation by making the Tridentine profession of faith in the presence of Christopher Bicker, Abbot of Hersfeld,[3] at the end of which was to be found the promise that he himself, and, as far as it rested with him, his subjects, would maintain the Catholic faith until death. He sent the documents to Rome, and presented a copy to the nuncio Gropper. The latter noticed first that the formula of the profession of faith had not been inserted verbally, and when he was afterwards given a document written in Henry's own hand, signed and sealed by him, which contained the Tridentine formula, he discovered at the end a clause stating that the whole only held good "subject to the other oaths and promises made by the petitioner."[4] The duke's envoy tried to justify this clause, saying that his master had been obliged at Bremen to promise to observe the religious peace. But Gropper declared that with such clauses added the document had hardly any value; the German Congregation in Rome came to the same conclusion,[5] and Cardinal

[1] On March 2, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 85.

[2] On June 22, 1574. For the precautions taken to secure the Catholic character of the foundation see LOSSEN, I., 257 *seq.*

[3] Bicker on June 22, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 164-7. For the personal character of the abbot *cf.* A. Trivius to Galli on March 30, 1575, in THEINER, II., 472: The abbot is "persona assai grave et buon cattolico," the prior is "di buonissima vita."

[4] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 217 *seq.*

[5] On September 7, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 97. The clause can only refer to the promise at the end of the Tridentine Confession of Faith. The dogmas contained in the confession had therefore been unconditionally accepted by Henry. *Cf.* Henry's letter to Morone of August 20, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Gropper,

Madruzzo wrote to the duke to the same effect.[1] The German Congregation sent Gropper a warning[2] that the profession of faith, even though it were to be made in the full form, was no longer sufficient, if the elect was not beyond reproach both in doctrine and in morals; the nuncio must therefore keep his eyes open as to this.

Gropper understood quite well what was hinted at by this remark. Henry's former zeal for religion had disappeared, and he had commenced a love affair with Anna Broich, a pupil of his former landlord at Cologne, had taken her to his estates at Bremen, and had finally been formally betrothed to her before a Lutheran pastor; in the document[3] which the pastor drew up for this purpose, it is stated that Henry had told him as his pastor and confessor, that not having the gift of continence he had therefore decided on matrimony. By so doing, Henry, who, being a sub-deacon, could not according to Catholic ideas contract matrimony, had disclosed his defection from the faith, though naturally he took care not to say anything in public to that effect, and even occasionally so expressed himself as to display his great reverence for the Apostolic See.[4]

Even before he went as far as this it had become very unlikely that Henry of Bremen would submit to the demands

358: "Finalis itaque clausula iuramenti . . . cum haberet, nos subditis nostris aliam religionem nullam permittere debere et velle, quam quae iuramenti forma comprehenderetur, existimavimus . . . si illam tam absolute . . . poneremus et ederemus nobis inde maxima pericula oboriri et violatae fidei scandala . . . excitari posse. . . . Ad utrumque igitur evitandum . . . apposuimus clausulas, &c."

[1] SCHWARZ, Gropper, 212. Discontent at Bremen caused by the making of the Confession of Faith; *ibid.*, 169.

[2] On November 25, 1574, SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 101.

[3] Of October 25, 1575, LOSSEN, I., 376.

[4] "che sarebbe sempre osservantissimo della Sede Apostolica, supplicando che Nostro Signore non volesse dar orecchia a'maligni." Henry to Trivius; see the latter's report to Galli of April 4, 1575, in THEINER, II., 474.

of the Pope. Alexander Trivius, who had a personal interview with him at the beginning of April, 1575, received from Henry a reply to his remonstrances to the effect that he wondered that the Papal approval had not been sent, when he for his part had done all that was required.[1] Nevertheless the German Congregation[2] did not think it advisable to reply any further to Henry; it would be better to try and bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor not to confer investiture with the civil power any more in the dioceses before the Papal approval had been given, as Maximilian II. had immediately put Henry in possession of the civil power in defiance of existing laws. On May 11th, 1575, Henry took possession of the diocese of Osnabrück as reigning prince.[3]

For a long time past the Duke of Lauenburg had been aiming at obtaining yet a third bishopric, the important one of Münster. Thus Ernest of Bavaria had a dangerous competitor, as Henry was well endowed with good qualities and had been especially successful as regent,[4] and, moreover, had behind him that powerful party which was striving to open a breach in the observance of the so-called *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, so that it was actually very badly observed. Henry seemed to be the very man to make it an accomplished fact.[5]

A powerful ally of the Duke of Lauenburg was also to be found in Salentin of Isenburg, the Archbishop of Cologne. He was thinking of resigning, and wished to have Duke Ernest as his successor, who would in that case have to abandon the diocese of Münster and leave it to Henry.[6]

[1] Trivius to Galli on April 4, 1575, *ibid.*, 472.

[2] On April 26, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 109.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, lxiii. LOSSEN, I., 259.

[4] *Ibid.*, 381. Trivius in THEINER, II., 474. Moreover, Henry was also an energetic persecutor of witches: "In the diocese, in the year 1583 alone, 163 persons, of whom 121 were women, were put to death in the town of Osnabrück." KRAUSE, in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XI., 507.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 303 *seqq.*, 306. KELLER, 404.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 289 *seqq.*

Duke Ernest, however, was not without his supporters. The head of the chapter of Münster was on his side, the dean, Gottfried von Raesfeld, "who combined a great capacity for public affairs, great knowledge, and much firmness of character with strong Catholic opinions."[1] The loyal friendship of the Duke of Cleves was also of the very greatest importance to Ernest. As a new election could not take place until John William had resigned his rights to Münster, it was in the power of William IV. to prevent any election which was not acceptable to him.

Albert V. therefore tried to obtain at last for John William the Papal approval which he had not yet received.[2] But when the two envoys of Cleves and Bavaria, Hammerstein and Fabricius, explained their plans for Münster in the presence of the Pope, Gregory XIII. listened to them with so threatening a look that Fabricius feared they would receive a downright refusal, and was relieved when at last the Pope referred the matter to a commission of Cardinals.[3] The Pope would have preferred to have seen Andrew of Austria, the son of the Archduke Ferdinand, as Bishop of Münster.[4] When

[1] According to SCHWARZ, Akten, xxxix. For Raesfeld see H. DEGERING in the festival publication: Aus dem geistigen Leben und Schaffen in Westfalen, Münster, 1906, 137 to 250; DUHR, I., 144 *seq.*

[2] William to Hammerstein on June 2, 1575, in KELLER, 410. Albert V. to William on June 16, *ibid.*, 411.

[3] Fabricius to Albert V. on July 16, 1575, *ibid.*, 414; *cf.* LOSSEN, I., 281 *seq.*

[4] Ferdinand's request for Andrew dat. July 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 66. On July 11 Sporeno suggested that Ernest, if he obtained Münster, might renounce Freising in favour of Andrew (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 147, n. 3). The Pope wished Ferdinand to come to an understanding with Albert (*ibid.*, 157, n. 4). The Archduke opened negotiations with William V. on the subject (KELLER, 411 *seq.*). On September 19, Gregory XIII. desired the Duke of Bavaria to use his influence in support of Andrew, should Ernest have no prospects of success (LOSSEN, I., 328; KELLER, 418). *Cf.* Gregory to Ferdinand on September 19, 1575, in THEINER, II., 5.

Duke Ernest returned to Munich after a stay in Rome of a year and a half, he took with him a brief[1] to the chapter of Münster, in which nothing more was asked of the future bishop than that he should be a zealous Catholic, of irreproachable morals, and the son of a Catholic father. A brief to Gropper declared that this description was intended to apply equally to Ernest and Andrew.[2]

When these briefs were dispatched from Rome, they were in ignorance of the events which had in the meantime taken place at Münster. At first it seemed as though the canons were in favour of Bavaria, so that the election of Duke Ernest was expected at the coming chapter on St. Martin's day, in 1575.[3] But when this chapter was held at Dülmen it was seen that the secret efforts of Henry of Bremen to win them over[4] had had their effect. Only ten or eleven votes of the canons were given for the Wittelsbach prince, while the seventeen junior canons gave theirs for the Duke of Lauenburg. So as not to be forced to a decision the older canons left the chapter-room[5] and wrote to Rome[6] to ask which of the two rivals the Pope preferred.

Rome replied on January 28th, 1576, and when a report from the Duke of Cleves on the events at Dülmen arrived on February 3rd,[7] another brief followed on the same day. But both the Papal letters were delayed for a long time on the way, and in the meantime the deadlock in the chapter of Münster became so embittered as to seem beyond repair. The older canons pledged themselves to remain firm for

[1] Of December 17, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 334 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 334.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 284 *seq.* *Cf.* Gropper on May 7, 1575, in THEINER, II., 38. For the Chapter meetings at Horstmar and Lüdinghausen see LOSSEN, I., 280, 283; KELLER, 415 *seq.*

[4] LOSSEN, I., 308. KELLER, 413.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 330.

[6] On November 22, 1575, in THEINER, II., 30.

[7] Of January 12, 1576, in THEINER, II., 160 *seq.* Requesens had also written to Rome on the subject on January 1. KELLER, 424.

Ernest, and as soon as the other party heard of this they too united in drawing up a signed and sealed document in favour of Henry of Bremen.[1] It was partly Gropper's fault that things had been allowed to go so far. As early as May 14th, 1575, Cardinal Galli had made it clear to him that the Duke of Lauenburg had no chance of receiving the Papal approval,[2] but the nuncio had failed to make this sufficiently clear, with the result that the party of Henry had strengthened its position.

It was only after the disunion in the chapter had taken place that the first of the Pope's replies reached the hands of Gropper on March 10th, 1576, the second coming on February 4th.[3] The younger canons were warned in this to unite with the older ones; only the son of a Catholic father could hope to receive the Papal approval. John William, however, would not renounce his postulation until he had received the Pope's consent to his doing so, whereupon the postulation was indirectly recognized as valid.[4] A covering letter to Gropper[5] mentions both the candidates for Münster, Ernest and Andrew, by name, and that of Ernest in the first place.

But when Gropper presented this brief on March 18th it was obvious that he was too late. It was true that all the canons protested their obedience to the Pope, and declared that they only wished for a Catholic bishop, but it was maintained in the discussions at the chapter that the Duke of Lauenburg was also a Catholic, and that they could not understand why the son of a Protestant could not be a good Catholic. Even though the brief expressly excluded the son of a non-Catholic from election, the party of the younger canons nevertheless were successful in obtaining an appeal to the Pope in the name of the chapter, asking him to declare

[1] Gropper to Galli on March 28, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 443.

[2] *Ibid.*, 286.

[3] Gropper *loc. cit.* in accordance with which LOSSEN (I., 375) must be corrected.

[4] The simultaneous answer to the Duke of Jülich was in the same sense. See THEINER, II., 161; KELLER, 427.

[5] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 337.

whether he approved the Duke of Bremen or the Duke of Bavaria.[1] The reply from Rome naturally once again excluded Lauenburg [2]

A short time after his return to Cologne Gropper received through Tandorf, the envoy of Bavaria, a belated brief, that of January 28th, 1576. Unlike that of February 4th, which had already been presented, in this one Henry of Bremen was expressly excluded by name. Therefore the nuncio set out a second time for Münster. After a conference on April 5th, the party of the younger canons declared that they could not for the moment arrive at a definite decision because all the canons were not present.[3] At the chapter held in Easter week, with the promise of which the canons had comforted the nuncio, Gropper, in spite of three days' efforts, was still unable on this his third visit, to obtain any decision.[4]

Gropper left Münster with the impression that the party of the younger canons adhered thus tenaciously to Henry because of their reliance on Salentin of Isenburg. Salentin, they thought, when he went to Munich and Rome, would be able to arrange everything in favour of his friend, Henry.[5] Henry, too, developed great activity in favour of his candidature. An embassy declared in his name to the chapter that he would maintain the diocese in the "ancient Catholic and Roman religion."[6] He sent a second embassy to Duke Albert V., and wrote[7] to William IV.,[8] as well as to the Pope,

[1] Protocol of the negotiations in KELLER, 430 *seq.* Gropper's report of March 28, 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 443 *seqq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, I., 375 *seqq.*

[2] Of June 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 405.

[3] KELLER, 431.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 386. KELLER, 440. A Brief of March 17, 1576 (THEINER, II., 163; KELLER, 429) was not delivered.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 387.

[6] *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.* The envoys' Instruction of March 22, 1576, in KELLER, 432.

[7] Instruction of April 17, 1576, *ibid.*, 437.

[8] *Ibid.*, 432-5.

when he assured him of his deep respect.[1] Rome answered that he must prove his words by his deeds.[2]

It was clear to both parties that the hope of salvation for the friends of Bavaria, as well as the impregnable barrier for the opposing party lay in the decree of postulation in the hands of the Duke of Cleves. It was round this decree that all the efforts of both parties turned in the time that followed. The nuncio Gropper wished the Pope to confirm it in full form.[3] But this suggestion met with difficulties in Rome. Might not the young John William yet wish to transform Münster into a civil principality? And could they, above all, put their reliance unconditionally in the court of Cleves? John William was about to make his first communion, and his father wished him to receive it under both kinds. Albert V. was begged by Rome to be on his guard against such double-dealing.[4] Elgard was sent to the Lower Rhine expressly to bring pressure to bear upon the duke; he was not, however, able to obtain anything more than further delay.[5] That the duke should gradually lose interest in the approval of the postulation was quite to the liking of the Pope.

All the more urgently, therefore, did the adversaries of Bavaria try to get the decree of postulation from the hands of their enemies, and all they did in the time that followed seems to have been influenced by this idea. All of a sudden the party of the younger canons manifested an extraordinary friendship for Bavaria in chapter. Their leader, the civil vicar, Conrad von Westerholt, expressed himself in private conversations as envoy to Cleves in favour of the candidature of Duke Ernest; if we trust him, he said, everything will be

[1] On April 1, 1576, in THEINER, II., 163 *seq.*

[2] On June 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 169.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 387.

[4] Brief of March 10, 1576, in THEINER, II., 170.

[5] Elgard to Galli on May 29, 1576, *ibid.*, 170 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, Zur Geschichte des Laienkelches am Hofe des Herzogs Wilhelm von Jülich-Cleve, 1570-9, in the *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XIX.

done in accordance with the wishes of Duke William.[6] At a meeting of the chapter on July 25th he declared that he would no longer be opposed to Ernest, so long as he did not wish to introduce the Inquisition into Münster, and if they were satisfied concerning the lawsuit of the chapter against Schenking, the majordomo of Ernest. Albert V. gave satisfactory assurances on both these points.[2]

At the meeting of the chapter on November 13th it seemed that they would at last come to a decision. The dean of the chapter proposed a capitulation with Bavaria, and no opposition was raised; they were in agreement that the earlier arrangement of 1575 should form the basis of the capitulation, and all the twenty-three canons present declared amid solemn applause that now all difficulties were removed.[3] On February 5th, 1577, the capitulation was definitely decided upon by representatives of the chapter, together with von der Recke and three envoys of Bavaria, and accepted by the whole chapter on the following day. Westerholt then declared that in spite of the agreement their choice must remain free, and von der Recke promised that the document of the postulation of John William, which had hitherto been the palladium of the party of Bavaria,[4] should be given back. The Bavarians now looked upon the election as safe, and the only thing that might cast a cloud over their hopes was the fact that that old intriguer, Lorenz Schrader, the trusted confidant of Lauenburg, had put in an appearance at Münster.

A short time before the day appointed for the election, February 23rd, the envoys of Cleves asked for an express promise that after the surrender of the decree of postulation, the election of the administrator of Freising would really take place. This request excited the indignation of the party

[1] LOSSEN, I., 441 *seq.*

[2] Letter to William IV. of October 5, 1576, in KELLER, 449-52. In the copy that William sent to the following meeting of the Chapter of November 13, he omitted a sentence on his own responsibility. *Ibid.*, 453.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 447 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

of the younger canons, and it was only on the morning of the election that a decision was come to. It was decided that a capitulation must precede any new postulation; now that the capitulation with Duke Ernest had been made, there must be a new postulation when the other decree of nomination had hardly been surrendered. The envoys of Cleves handed over such a document, and in the name of John William two priests of Münster, who had been charged to do so, resigned the bishopric and the principality.

After the mass of the Holy Ghost and a solemn admonition from the dean of the chapter, Gottfried von Raesfeld, three canons who had been appointed to collect the votes went with certain witnesses to the upper hall of the chapter in order first to give their own votes. This duty fell first of all to the provost, Goswin von Raesfeld, and he nominated Ernest of Bavaria as the future bishop. The next to vote was the vicar, Westerholt, and he, contrary to all expectation and to all his promises, named Henry of Bremen. Irritated at his duplicity, the other two fell upon the vicar, since, if the leader of the younger canons supported Henry, there was no doubt as to what was to be expected from his followers. How could he dare, they expostulated, contrary to the written decision of the chapter, to demand one with whom the capitulation had not been made? Westerholt replied that he and others had also sent a capitulation to Henry, and the latter had accepted it. As proof he produced from his pocket a letter from Henry, but was not able to read it, for the others in their indignation ran and informed the other canons of what had taken place.[1] Moreover, it was not true that the Duke of Lauenburg had accepted the capitulation.[2]

It was now clear what the presence of Schrader in Münster meant, for he had brought with him at the critical moment the letter from his master,[3] and in less than eight days had twice made a journey of at least twenty-five miles. He and

[1] Lossen, I., 457.

[2] *Ibid.*, 604. He signed it later, but only after he had completely changed it by unsightly alterations (*ibid.*, 607 *seq.*).

[3] Lossen, I., 457-9.

Conrad von Westerholt had contrived a deadly blow at the party of Bavaria by extracting from them the decree of postulation.

Westerholt[1] found himself after this in the very centre of the struggle which now began all over again. It was he who delivered the more severe blows at Bavaria, while the friends of the latter directed all their efforts to his defeat.

First of all the party of Cleves asked for the decree of postulation back, but this was not a serviceable weapon, as its validity was in question. In this state of uncertainty only Rome could accomplish anything. The party of the older canons therefore had recourse to Rome,[2] for a Papal confirmation of the prohibition by which the dean had placed the withdrawal of the postulation under the penalty of excommunication. The Dukes of Cleves[3] and Bavaria[4] also sent reports and demanded that proceedings should be taken against Westerholt and his followers. A special envoy, Johann von Raesfeld, a former student of the German College, was successful in Rome in getting it declared that the resignation of John William was null, and in having the leaders of the anti-Bavarian party summoned to Rome.[5]

There, however, it was thought that there were no grounds for juridical proceedings.[6] It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the nuncio; if possible he was to bring about the nomination of Duke Ernest, or at anyrate maintain the postulation of John William.[7]

The nuncio who was given this task was no longer what

[1] SCHWARZ gives particulars of him in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXIX. (1911), 60 *seq.*

[2] On April 23, 1577, in THEINER, II., 292 *seq.*

[3] On March 13 and May 10, 1577, *ibid.*, 287 *seqq.*, 289 *seqq.*

[4] On March 24 and May 31, 1577, *ibid.*, 290, 293.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 492 *seq.*

[6] Fabricius to Albert V. on April 20, 1577, in KELLER, 470.

[7] Briefs of April 16 to Duke William, in THEINER, II., 292, KELLER, 468 *seq.*; to the Chapter, in THEINER, II., 291; to John William, in KELLER, 469; credentials to the heads of the Chapter, dat. April 13, in THEINER, II., 292.

he had been. Gaspar Gropper had created a bad impression in Rome by the irregularity and prolixity of his reports; once when the Secretary of State had casually reproved him at a moment when the interruption of his reports was not due to him but to the posts, the angry man had not written any more for eight months.[1] Morone therefore proposed on June 6th, 1576, to send Bartolomeo Portia to Lower Germany in the place of Gropper; a man of weight was needed there, and Portia was so shrewd and experienced in public affairs, so capable and in such high esteem among the princes that much might be expected of him.[2] At the beginning of January, 1577, Portia received at Ingolstadt orders to go to Cologne, which he reached on March 4th.[3] Gropper never returned to Rome, and he seems to have become unbalanced in mind; he sat in his room, which he rarely left, with his hair and beard untrimmed, a misanthrope and an enigma to those about him.[4]

In the meantime the state of affairs had again become disturbed, so that even Portia could not do much for Münster. The courts of Düsseldorf and Munich were at that time pressing for the promotion of Duke Ernest to the archbishopric of Cologne, and did not wish to make their position more difficult by interfering in the disputes at Münster; thus until the winter of 1577 the time passed in an exchange of polemic writings between the two parties,[5] but otherwise the question of Münster made no progress. Portia too kept in the background, as the Duke of Lauenburg had a vote at the election to Cologne. At last, however, he decided to take one important step. At an interview with Duke William at Dinslaken he had not allowed himself to be led into confirming the postulation of John William, but a short time

[1] SCHWARZ, Gropper, cii.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 8.

[4] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, civ. LOSSEN, I., 472, n. 1. *Instruction for Annibale di Capua of December 7, 1576, Var. polit., 129, p. 178 (Papal Secret Archives).

[5] LOSSEN, I., 494, 592.

afterwards, in a conversation at Hamm, Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the chapter, explained to him that he and his party were losing ground every day, because of the uncertainty whether the postulation of the hereditary prince was still valid; relying on the words of the Elector of Cologne, the true headquarters of the party opposed to Bavaria, their adversaries were spreading the report that no decision was to be looked for from Rome, and that Duke Ernest would have to give up Münster in order to obtain Cologne. There was also reason to fear some act of violence to secure the appointment of the Duke of Bremen, while Münster in the meantime stood in need of John William, as its only possible protector.[1] Many of Westerholt's followers only adhered to Henry for this reason, because they wished to smooth the way for the canons of Bremen, who had actually made the promise to contract matrimony.[2]

As the result of what Raesfeld said Portia caused two briefs concerning the reinstatement of his son to be sent to the father of John William, and these were made known in Münster. The city, as well as the party of the younger canons, reserved their reply.[3]

Towards the end of the year the Bavarian party met with a decisive defeat at Cologne; Gebhard Truchsess was appointed archbishop. With this the prospects of Ernest of Bavaria took a bad turn, and not only on the Rhine. The party of Westerholt celebrated Gebhard's victory as their own. Henry of Lauenburg, after the resignation of Salentin, his successor at Paderborn, had to fix all his hopes on the fourth bishopric of north Germany. Westerholt's arrogance passed beyond all bounds, and he vented his wrath upon his adversaries in a violent accusation,[4] which he presented to the local Diet in the name of his party.

This violent attack naturally evoked an equally bitter

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 110 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 114 *seq.*

[3] LOSSEN, I., 511.

[4] In KELLER, 476 *seq.*; LOSSEN, I., 594.

defence. In conferences[1] held by von der Recke with the dean and the provost of the chapter, it was decided to suggest that the vicar should be summoned to Rome, some of the expressions he had used in his accusation affording sufficient grounds for this. Von der Recke moreover came back to his previous suggestion[2] of nominating John William as administrator of the principality, which would naturally put an end to Westerholt's vicariate, and incidentally to his power. The Pope could dispense the rule that the administrator must be a priest, and this dispensation could be asked for by the Duke of Bavaria, because enough confidence was not felt in the Duke of Cleves in Rome on account of his continually repeated requests for communion under both kinds, at least for the hereditary prince.[3]

But before everything else Duke William tried to get rid of Westerholt by means of a formal dismissal. But the inquiry of January 28th, 1578, which was intended to put an end to the divisions in the chapter, referred him to the regional Diet,[4] and there the matter of Westerholt was not raised at all. The supporters of Bavaria, however, had accomplished something; they brought pressure to bear in Rome before the Diet, to have a summons against Westerholt given to them, to use as a weapon, and the efforts of the Bavarian ambassador actually succeeded in obtaining such a document

[1] At Schermbeck on January 21, 1578, in KELLER, 478.

[2] To Paul Langer, Cleves, 1577, December 18, *ibid.*, 477.

[3] Portia to Galli on June 1, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 112 *seq.* Duke William to Gregory XIII. on January 28, 1578, in THEINER, II., 368. Gregory was thinking of sending Canisius to the duke to negotiate about Westerholt and the question of the chalice (Gregory to William on April 5, 1578, *ibid.*, 368 *seq.*; *cf.* SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 128 *seq.*). On March 21, 1579, Gregory congratulated the young duke on his having communicated under one kind (THEINER, III., (20). On January 6, 1578, Portia reported that in many places within the territory of Cleves the chalice was still administered to the people. *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 222.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 595 *seq.*

in two forms, one more severe,[1] and one less so.[2] On May 9th the summons against Westerholt was made known, and because of his daily increasing arrogance, in its severest form; he for his part had summoned Duke William before the supreme tribunal of Spires for insulting him![3]

Westerholt was not in any hurry to obey the command of the Pope. A troop of cavalry and infantry, which had been enrolled in Lower Germany for service in Flanders, harassed the principality at that time for fifteen days; Westerholt wrote to Rome that under these circumstances it was impossible for him to leave his post. When, however, he failed to pay any attention even later on, the Dukes of Jülich and Bavaria[4] renewed their complaints, and thus, in December, 1578, the German Congregation arrived at the decision of depriving him, on account of his disobedience, of his benefice and office, by the hands of the auditor-general of the Roman Camera, and excluding him from the chapter. On March 30th the decree to this effect reached the hands of the Duke of Jülich,[5] who published it in Münster during Easter week.

Westerholt had no intention of submitting. At Paderborn he had an interview with Henry of Bremen, and on April 29th, appealed "to the Pope better informed." On May 4th he presented himself at the cathedral accompanied by armed men, and took his place in the choir.[6] Shielding himself behind the rights of the chapter, which had documentary confirmation, he tried to prove to the governor that he was bound to protect him. Thereupon forty or fifty of the nobles of the city presented themselves

[1] Of April 5, 1578, in THEINER, II., 369.

[2] KELLER, 478, n. 2.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 597 *seq.*

[4] On October 8, 1578, *ibid.*, 601. Albert V. to William on December 26, 1578, in KELLER, 480. Fabricius to Albert on January 24, 1579, *ibid.*, 482.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 609. KELLER, 481. *Cf.* German Congregation, March 8, 1578, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 129.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 651.

to demand of the governor and the chapter a general Diet.[1]

The latter was held entirely in accordance with the wishes of Westerholt. It made a great impression when weighty embassies from Henry of Bremen, the Union of Utrecht and Gebhard Truchsess made their appearance,[2] and a letter in favour of Westerholt was read[3] in which the King of Denmark, Frederick II., recommended him warmly to the citizens of Münster on the ground that the cities of the diocese "have no little commerce and livelihood in our realm and territories," and that they should therefore pay heed to the wishes of their neighbour in the north. Feeling ran all the more high "in that many gave it to be understood that sooner than have the Duke of Bavaria for their lord, they would see their houses burned over them, and their heads cut off."[4] As the result of the final meeting of the Diet a request was sent to the Pope,[5] that he would inquire into the case of Westerholt again, and either absolve or pardon him. On receipt of the Pope's reply there was to be another Diet, and no further postulation was to be made before he was reinstated.

On hearing of this decision Duke Albert broke out into a rage: if Westerholt and Schrader, so he wrote, could be quietly suppressed and hanged to a tree, it would be a good thing.[6] The dean became "very much frightened"; if there were no improvement within three months, he intended to resign his office.[7] Albert V. dissuaded him from this,[8] as the Catholic religion was at stake.

[1] *Ibid.*, 651-4. The dean of the cathedral did not dare to publish four papal briefs of March 7, 1579, which deposed Westerholt and appointed Raesfeld in his place as governor (KELLER, 483, 484, n. 1). One of the briefs, dated March 14, in THEINER, III., 17.

[2] LOSSEN, I., 656-9.

[3] Of June 27, 1579, in KELLER, 486.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 659.

[5] Of August 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 17. Westerholt's written defence addressed to the knights and nobles on July 31, *ibid.*, 18.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 622.

[7] Document written by Langer on Aug. 3, 1579, in KELLER, 488.

[8] On August 16, 1579, *ibid.*

The occurrences at the Diet decided the Pope to intervene seriously. Westerholt was excommunicated and deposed.[1] A brief of September 20th[2] appointed John William administrator of the civil affairs of the diocese of Münster for three years; Henry of Bremen must not be asked for, and Ernest was accepted in Rome.[3] Westerholt's appeal "to the Pope better informed" had already been rejected.

Like the Pope, the Emperor also intervened. At the request of Albert V.[4] he appointed the archbishops of Mayence and Trêves, and the marshal of the court, Henry Otto von Schwarzenberg, as commissaries, who were to reconcile the two parties and bring about the nomination of a suitable bishop.

To all appearances a decision now seemed to be imminent, but in reality fresh complications were beginning. The Emperor, who had been called to their assistance by the adversaries of Westerholt, himself became his protector, and hampered the Pope's intervention; the party of Westerholt had become an Imperial party.

A short time before the young Archduke Matthias had been led into a great act of imprudence. At the invitation of the southern provinces of the Low Countries, he had gone there as viceroy against the wishes of Spain. He thought to escape from the unhappy position in which he found himself if he could get himself installed in the principality of Münster in the place of Duke Ernest.

The plan had already been put forward that both Ernest and Henry should renounce their candidature to Münster, and a third party chosen.[5] The idea of making this third party the Archduke Matthias had formed itself in the cunning mind of Henry of Bremen, who wished to profit by the difficulties of the Austrian states in order to

[1] On August 26, LOSSEN, I., 670.

[2] In KELLER, 489 *seq.*

[3] Briefs of August 15, 1579, to the Chapter, to the Emperor and to Duke William, in THEINER, III., 19 *seq.*, 20.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 663. *Cf.* Albert in KELLER, 488 *seq.*

[5] LOSSEN, I., 600 *seqq.*

obtain an honourable way out of the intricate labyrinth of the affairs of Münster.[1] In virtue of the agreements between Germany and Rome, the Duke of Lauenburg could not receive the Imperial investiture of the principality, without first obtaining the Papal approbation. In spite of this Maximilian II. and Rudolph II. had granted him the investiture of Osnabrück and Paderborn, but only for two years and with the condition, which was certainly not taken seriously, of his asking for the Papal approbation.[2] The thought of setting himself free from this state, by renouncing his candidature at Münster, and presenting an Austrian archduke in his stead, had taken shape in his mind; in return he wanted the Emperor to grant him the permanent investiture of his three dioceses. He first thought of the Archduke Maximilian, the brother of the Emperor Rudolph. In view of the embarrassments in which the Archduke Matthias found himself, Maximilian accepted, not for himself, but for Matthias.[3] Henry of Bremen agreed, but thought of profiting from the position on behalf of his friend Westerholt, so he made it a condition that the latter, who was already suspended, but who had not been removed, should again return to the undisturbed possession of his benefice.[4] At the beginning of October his envoy, von der Recke, once more presented the request that Westerholt's removal should be annulled.[5]

But Rudolph had not the courage to make an enemy of the powerful Duke of Bavaria by openly accepting this suggestion. Instead, on September 18th, he authorized the formation of an Imperial commission which was to settle

[1] LOSSEN in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, Phil. Kl., 1890, II., 85-108.

[2] *Ibid.*, 90. A letter of May 28, 1579, from Henry to the Flanders nuncio Castagna to whom he sends his councillor Schrader, in THEINER, III., 20 *seq.* Shortly before the death of Maximilian II., Henry had asked for an extension of time with regard to Osnabrück. SCHWARZ, Gropper, 355 *seq.*

[3] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 88-92

[4] Henry to Maximilian II., on May 25, 1579, *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 95.

the dispute about Münster according to the wishes of Albert. His zeal for this commission was naturally not very great. He very soon adopted the suggestion of Lauenburg of using the commission as a means of attempting the choice of a third candidate, to the exclusion of both the existing ones, and of recommending the archduke in this capacity.[1] Steps to attain this end were set on foot.[2] Henry of Bremen received as a reward for his advice investiture for life of Osnabrück and Paderborn, naturally once again with the condition, this time quite illusory, of his seeking once more for the Papal approbation.[3] Unfortunately for the Bavarian party at Münster, its most powerful supporter, Duke Albert V., died about this time, on October 24th, 1579; Rudolph and Matthias were thus freed from an adversary whom they could not afford to disregard.

Under these circumstances it was impossible to guess how the Emperor would act with regard to the treatment of Westerholt and in the granting of investiture to the administrator The party of the vicar became more bold. When Duke William gave notice to the nobles of the removal and banishment of Westerholt,[4] the Imperial officials only informed him of it privately,[5] but did not allow it to be made public. At the Diet at the beginning of January, 1580, the notice of his condemnation made very little impression; it was resolved to await the Imperial commission. Immediately after the Diet, the relatives of Westerholt bitterly complained of his suspension to the Emperor and to the Elector of Saxony, who had gone to Rudolph to obtain his support. The councillor of Lauenburg, von der Recke, conveyed these complaints to Dresden and Prague, together with a letter from his master, asking the Emperor to act quickly, as the dean of the chapter, Raesfeld, had expressed his disapproval of the election of

[1] *Ibid.*, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98. LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, I., 679.
[3] LOSSEN in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte, loc. cit.*, 98.
[4] On November 21, 1579, in KELLER, 491.
[5] On December 20, *ibid.*

an archduke as Bishop of Münster.[1] The first effect of these attempts was shown in the fact that the Imperial commission was altered in a sense quite hostile to Bavaria, and instead of the Elector of Trêves, the enemy of Bavaria on the Rhine, Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, was appointed.[2] At the recommendation of the Elector of Saxony,[3] Rudolph II. asked Rome for the annulment of the suspension of Westerholt, saying that otherwise he would do so himself.[4] The envoys of the Dukes of Jülich and Bavaria were coldly received by Rudolph, when they asked him not to take up the defence of Westerholt against the Pope.[5] The Emperor had already quite definitely refused his consent to the administration of John William, on the pretext that the Papal appointment to such offices was quite contrary to the German concordats.[6]

Henry of Bremen had recommended the Emperor to act swiftly, but his adversaries too resolved by swift action to find a way out of the tangle which was ever becoming more complicated. Encouraged by hearing from the governor of Flanders, Alessandro Farnese, that the Archduke Matthias would not be pleasing as a bishop, either to himself or to the king, Duke William took a decisive step; on February 8th he presented to the chapter by a notary, the decision of Rome against Westerholt. The dean and his supporters declared their acceptance of this, and the office of the expelled man was at once conferred on another [7]

The expulsion of Westerholt had another important result;

[1] LOSSEN, *Sitzungsberichte*, 99 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 101.

[3] Of January 20, 1580, *ibid.*, 102.

[4] At least von der Becke says so in a letter of March 20, 1580 *ibid.*, 103.

[5] von der Becke, *loc. cit.*, 103 *seq.*

[6] To Duke William on December 26, 1579, in KELLER, 491. That Westerholt's citation to Rome was also contrary to the Concordat was maintained by the Archbishop of Mayence, Von der Becke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

[7] LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, I., 680. *Cf.* Farnese on January 7, 1580, in KELLER, 493.

of the canons who had declared themselves for Henry of Bremen or Ernest of Bavaria in 1575, there were now, in the two parties, only eleven with the right to vote, so that the parties were equal. Gottfried von Raesfeld resolved to make use of this fact for a sudden stroke. Of the canons who had recently been admitted, only six had a right to vote, and it was possible that some of these might be won over to the party of Bavaria, and thus obtain a majority.[1] The candidature of Duke Ernest was then secretly put forward, and everything seemed ready for taking their adversaries by surprise. On April 9th, quite unexpectedly, a chapter was summoned at which the election was to take place.

But the plan did not succeed. According to the statutes of the chapter, a new postulation could not be proclaimed before April 26th, and this gave the anti-Bavarian party time to take steps to prevent it.[2] Henry of Bremen had already several times urged the Imperial commission to take action, and he now came in haste from Bremen to his house at Iburg, in the territory of Osnabrück, five miles from Münster. He summoned his advisers thither, and there Westerholt and his followers pledged themselves to vote for an Austrian archduke. An envoy from Henry went to John of Nassau at Arnheim, to ask for his intervention.[3] After Lauenburg had announced his presence to the city council, he entered Münster on April 24th with their permission, and was received by them at the head of an imposing cavalcade of 142 horsemen. On the following day Egeling, the chancellor of Bremen, read before the authorities and the city council a letter from the Emperor which demanded that they should resist the postulation which had been decided upon.[4]

In the meantime there had arrived plenipotentiaries from the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Imperial commissary, Winneburg. Even more disturbing was the fact that, on

[1] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 681. Schmale to von der Becke on March 11, 1580, in KELLER, 493.

[2] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 688.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Münchener Sitzungsberichte, loc. cit.*, 106.

[4] LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, I., 689 *seq.* KELLER, 494 *seq.*

the eve of the election, John of Nassau had come secretly into the city under a false name.

On the following day, April 26th, the Imperial commissaries appeared before the chapter and read a letter from the supreme ruler of the Empire in which the Papal decree concerning the administration of John William was brusquely rejected. Under threats of the Imperial displeasure they were told not to proceed to a new election until unity had been restored in the chapter.[1]

The day before, in spite of the coming of Duke Henry, the party of the senior canons had stood firm; now the chapter asked for time for reflection, in order that they might take into consideration the exceptional circumstances which John of Nassau had made known to the council and the authorities.[2] Early that morning John had informed the council of the citizens and the authorities, that the soldiers of the Low Countries near Deventer would not hear of the election of the Bavarian prince, and that it was known from letters that had been intercepted that he intended to make Münster a war base. By command of the federated provinces John offered the authorities of Münster and Duke Henry military assistance; for the moment he had restrained the ardour of the army, but nevertheless a body of troops had already advanced to the Rhine.[3]

When this news was spread among the people the defeat of Duke Ernest was already assured. The brazen falsehood that the soldiery of the Low Countries were actually within the territory of the diocese caused everyone to take up arms; the gates were shut, the sentries were increased, and cannon were set up in the market-place. There must be no new election, it was said; neither Bremen nor Bavaria! As was declared on the same day to the chapter and the government, it would be preferable either to elect a third party, or else to adhere to the one already postulated!

[1] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 690. *Cf.* KELLER, 496.

[2] *Ibid.*, 498 *seq.*

[3] LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, I., 691. Report of John of Nassau to William of Orange on May 9, 1580, in KELLER, 504 *seq.*

This last demand had set free the followers of Raesfeld. They came to an agreement with the envoys of the Duke of Cleves to hand over the administration as far as possible to the young Duke John William, but a postulation would be clearly impossible.[1] An invitation to Duke William to come himself to the city, together with the hereditary prince, or at anyrate to the frontier of Schermbeck, was dispatched on the same evening.[2] Henry of Bremen and John of Nassau left the city in haste, but the disturbances continued

After Duke William IV. and the hereditary prince made their solemn entry into Münster with 300 cavalry on the evening of May 7th, and had been ceremoniously received by the citizens, an agreement was arrived at on May 10th. The canons of the Bavarian party, although they were in a majority, gave up the idea of a new election, while the other party, in return, agreed that the young Duke John William should undertake the government, under the already existing council.[3] On September 20th the hereditary prince again came to Münster to take up his new office,[4] and on the 30th asked for the confirmation of the Pope.[5]

Thus the struggle for the possession of Münster was settled for the time being, and the Archduke Matthias had lost the day. The Emperor soon bowed to what he could no longer avoid; at first he had thoughts of appointing another commission,[6] but at the end of October gave his assent to the way matters had turned out.[7]

After the coming of the two Dukes of Jülich, Westerholt

[1] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 692.

[2] *Ibid.*; KELLER, 497.

[3] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 695-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 702.

[5] THEINER, III., 125.

[6] Letter of May 30, 1580, to the Elector of Cologne, to the cathedral chapter, to the Government and to the knights and nobles of Münster; see DIEKAMP in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, XLII. (1884), 169 *seq.*; LOSSEN, *Sitzungsberichte*, 108.

[7] LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, I., 702.

remained quietly in his own house. When John William was proclaimed as head of the government, his task was finished; he saw that he was no longer needed in Münster, and took the most prudent course by going to Rome, whither he had been summoned. They were not accustomed there to such obedience from the obstinate Germans, and Westerholt met with so kind a reception that they even began to fear in Münster that he would be restored to his former position, and begin his old intrigues over again.[1] At last the process against him was begun, but no sentence was pronounced, and he remained for several years in Rome.[2] In 1584 he appeared once more at Paderborn; the Pope, who had first tried to provide him with the provostship of the cathedral of Liège, now sought to give him that of Halberstadt.[3] When at last, in the following year, Münster had a bishop, the latter had to undertake, in deference to the insistence of the chapter, that Westerholt should henceforward be kept at least three days' journey away from the diocese.[4]

Duke Ernest could find consolation for this fresh defeat

[1] *Ibid.*, 698-702. *Cf.* John William and Duke William to the Pope on September 30 and November 30, 1580, in THEINER, III., 125, 126 *seq.* The Chapter had disposed of Westerholt's benefice on its own authority, in spite of the fact that the conferring of it belonged to the Pope. Rome maintained its rights (LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, I., 680 *seq.*; II., 544 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*). The briefs of November 18, 1581, to the Chapter and Administrator in THEINER, III., 246; KELLER, 509 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, II., 547, 550 *seq.*

[3] For the Provostship of Liège see document, dat. November 9, 1580, in DIEKAMP, *loc. cit.*, 170; for Halberstadt see Westerholt to Galli, Paderborn, November 15, 1584, in THEINER, III., 524 *seq.* In Rome they now believed in Westerholt's change of mind and recommended him to the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria (*ibid.*, 523 *seq.*); on November 15, 1584, William V. expressed his doubts on the subject (*ibid.*, 524), so also Bonhomini on October 30, 1584 (EHSES-MEISTER, I., 6); Recommendation of Westerholt to Bonhomini on August 25 and October 6, 1584, *ibid.*, 1 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 567.

[4] LOSSEN, II., 597.

at Münster in the fact that in 1581 he received the bishopric of Liège.[1] His obtaining of this new diocese naturally seemed to close to him the way to Westphalia. In Rome they were not inclined to give him another diocese, and, as was learned in the summer of 1581, they would have preferred an Austrian archduke, while at Münster they could not wish for a bishop who was bound by his election capitulation to live permanently at Liège.[2]

Cardinal Madruzzo, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582, undertook to settle the affair of Münster finally; he was authorized to inform Duke Ernest that Rome would never give him confirmation at Münster, as the presence of the bishop was as necessary there as it was at Liège.[3]

But after a conversation with the Emperor, with Duke Ernest, and the envoys of Münster and Cleves, Madruzzo had to write to Rome at the beginning of August, that Duke Ernest was the only possible bishop for Münster, and that the old duke would never allow the hereditary prince to resign the diocese except in favour of Ernest.[4] Moreover it would be very difficult to find anyone else suitable for the Westphalian diocese. The Emperor did not again raise the candidature of one of his brothers at the Diet of Augsburg.[5] Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, the brother of Henry of Bremen, was, it is true, behaving at that time as a good Catholic,[6] but the sad experience they had had of Henry of Lauenburg, and again, more recently, of Gebhard Truchsess, suggested caution. The church of Münster, Madruzzo wrote from the Diet, is in so dangerous a position, that it seems fitting to vote for Duke Ernest, about whose Catholic sentiments they could at anyrate feel safe.[7] Moreover, they did not feel quite satisfied, either in Rome or Munich,

[1] *Ibid.*, 711-54.
[2] *Ibid.*, 545 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 546.
[4] Lossen, II., 548.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 549.

as to the religious steadfastness of the court of Cleves, nor was the danger quite obviated of John William retaining the civil principality in the end. But if the princes of Bavaria were successful in their two plans, of betrothing the future Duke of Jülich to a fervent Catholic princess, Jacobea of Baden, who had been brought up at the court of Munich, and of installing their relative Ernest at Münster, in that case John William would find a strong personal support in his wife, for his political power in the powerful diocese of Münster, and for his Catholicism in the union of the vast territories of Liège, Jülich-Cleves, and Münster.[1] Thus the very state of affairs obliged Rome to show favour to the ambitions of Bavaria in north-west Germany.[2]

If the marriage of John William with Jacobea[3] took place, he would naturally have to resign the administration of the diocese of Münster. But the old Duke of Cleves would not hear of such a marriage; he feared that if his son turned his attention so far to the east, he would neglect his invalid father. The Duchess Anna of Bavaria, in order to overcome his morbid antipathy to the betrothal of John William, planned an embassy to the old duke from the three heads of Christendom, the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Spain.[4] But Gregory XIII., in spite of the request of the Duke of Bavaria,[5] could not throw his influence into the balance unless he had the assurance that John William would first resign the administration of the diocese of Münster; it was only in the middle of March, 1584, that he promised to interest himself in getting him to nominate Duke Ernest as his representative.[6] In a letter of March 18th, 1584, he communicated his decision

[1] *Cf.* the Instruction to the envoys of Ernest of Bavaria dated April 16, 1584, in KELLER, 519.

[2] LOSSEN, II., 548.

[3] LOSSEN on the subject in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* Hist. Kl. 1895, Munich, 1896, 33-64.

[4] *Ibid.*, 48.

[5] Of October 28, 1583, in THEINER, III., 410.

[6] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 55.

to Ernest of Bavaria and the two Dukes of Jülich ;[7] at the same time, however, he wrote to Munich, to William V.,[2] that if Ernest were chosen for Münster, he could only obtain the Papal approbation on condition of his resigning Hildesheim and Freising. The latter was then to pass to one of the younger sons of the Duke of Bavaria. After these preliminaries the embassy at length discharged its task on May 5th, and on the following day the father gave permission for the betrothal of his son.[3]

In the meantime things were turning out more favourably for Duke Ernest, and he was successful in winning over three of the canons to his side.[4] In spite of this he did not dare to attempt his election at the next chapter of St. Martin, as he was already Elector of Cologne and involved in the war of Cologne against Gebhard Truchsess, and the canons were afraid of drawing their own country into the war by electing him.[5] His representatives therefore proposed that the administrator should, until the end of the war, and thus even after his marriage, continue to keep his hold upon the diocese, with the title of protector or defender, the chapter retaining the government.[6] But the distrust of the court of Cleves which was felt in Rome and Munich was too strong for their agreement to this. Duke William of Bavaria thought that there was a cunning scheme on the part of the Protestant councillors, who wished to convert the bishopric into a civil principality. His brother Ernest ought rather to resign Münster, and he wrote to the Pope to the effect that he should invite the chapter to make the desired election of another bishop.[7] A brief of December 8th, 1584, actually put this suggestion into effect, but at the end made it clear that Duke Ernest was designated by Rome as the suitable person. At

[1] The three briefs printed in THEINER, III., 522 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 521 *seq.*

[3] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 57 *seqq.*

[4] In the summer of 1584, LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, II., 570.

[5] *Ibid.*, 572.

[6] *Ibid.*, 573 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 574 *seq.*

the beginning of January, 1585, the nuncio Bonhomini received orders to go in person to Münster to prevent John William from continuing to hold the diocese after his marriage.[1] The administrator himself was quite opposed to the new plan.[2]

For various reasons the marriage of John William was postponed until Pentecost, 1585. Friends and enemies alike were thus able to continue the struggle concerning the much discussed election. The Elector Ernest again did his utmost to secure partisans among the canons.[3] On the other hand, Gebhard Truchsess from his place of refuge in Holland, and the States General of the Low Countries, addressed threatening letters to the chapter to deter them from the election of Ernest, the Elector of Cologne, and the friend of Spain.[4] It was very disastrous to the prospects of the election when Ernest, under financial pressure, left the Lower Rhine to take refuge at Freising.[5] Moreover a fresh candidate for the episcopal see of Münster presented himself, who was by no means negligible, in the person of the brother of Henry of Bremen, Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, bishop-auxiliary of Cologne. Frederick had won the hearts of many priests by his moderation and his modest behaviour;[6] it was probable that the party of his brother would be likely to give their votes to him, and besides this, Salentin of Isenburg had adopted his cause, and sent a request to Duke Ernest that he would give up all thoughts of Münster in favour of his protégé, and had moreover won over the nuncio Bonhomini to his side. The latter, however, was very quickly dissuaded from this course by Frederick's bitter adversary, Duke William of Bavaria, so that he went to Münster to work on behalf of Ernest.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 575.
[2] *Ibid.*, 586.
[3] *Ibid.*, 576, 585.
[4] *Ibid.*, 577.
[5] *Ibid.*, 577 *seq.*
[6] Cardinal Madruzzo to Galli on August 4, 1582, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 495.
[7] LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, II., 587-91.

Frederick had already been to Münster as well as to his brother at Bremen.[1] But the old and formidable enemy of the Prince of Bavaria was no longer able to help him. On April 14th, 1585, Henry of Lauenburg had fallen with his horse upon the pavement,[2] and about three weeks later, at the moment when the envoys of Cologne and Jülich were arranging at Münster for the resignation of John William, and for a fresh electoral meeting of the chapter, he died. The question which had caused so much discussion hitherto could no longer offer any great difficulties. John William gave back his decree of postulation without remark, and on May 18th a unanimous request was made for Duke Ernest as bishop, and the fourth diocese of the north of Germany was placed under his care.[3] When, in the following year, Gottfried von Raesfeld died, he could close his eyes with the knowledge that he had saved Westphalia for the Church.

In addition to Münster, Westphalia included the dioceses of Paderborn, Osnabrück and Minden. The Protestants had gained much ground in all of them. Paderborn and Osnabrück had been united with Münster in the hands of Johann von Hoya, but if, in his somewhat optimistic judgment, the Catholic restoration had made great progress in Münster, in the case of the other two dioceses the nuncio Gropper had to comfort himself with hopes for the future, when he paid his visit to them.[4] The immediate future proved itself very far from encouraging for the Catholics, for after the resignation of Salentin of Isenburg, Osnabrück fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Bremen in 1574 and Paderborn in 1577.

The new bishop was only admitted at Osnabrück after he had promised that no change should be made in religion; the city adhered firmly to the Confession of Augsburg, but the Catholics and Protestants lived together in undisturbed peace, and contracted marriage with each other. Of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 590.

[2] *Ibid.*, 591 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 595 *seqq.*

[4] Gropper to Galli on October 20, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 422 *seq.*

convents in the city, only that of the Dominicans continued Catholic worship, that of the Augustinians had fallen into ruin thirty years before, as had that of the Franciscans; the seven convents of nuns in the diocese remained true to the old faith. The Osnabrück cities of Wiedenbrück and Quakenbrück still had a Catholic chapter and Catholic worship,[1] while the canons of Osnabrück itself were for the most part Catholics, and at the election of Henry of Lauenburg had tried to safeguard the Catholic character of the diocese by means of an election capitulation.[2]

At Paderborn the Catholics still retained the cathedral, and Johann von Hoya took steps to drive out a Protestant preacher.[3] In 1580 the chapter invited a Jesuit to act as preacher in the cathedral, and soon afterwards several of his colleagues joined him. After 1583 they taught in the school in secular dress, and a few weeks after the death of Gregory XIII. undertook the whole of the teaching. But the citizens were so much opposed to the old faith that several times the Jesuits thought of leaving Paderborn.[4] Soon after the death of Gregory, Theodore von Fürstenberg was appointed bishop, and it was to him that the church of Paderborn owed its revival. Six months before, the Pope had exhorted the canons to persevere,[5] and at the same time expressed his sorrow that, wtih the consent of Henry of Bremen, Protestant pastors had taken the places of Catholic parish priests in the diocese.

The other dioceses, which were already either entirely, or to a great extent, lost, were not neglected in Rome. When

[1] *Cf.* the inquiry on Henry of Bremen of March 15, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 266 *seq.*

[2] LOSSEN, I., 257.

[3] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 422.

[4] DUHR, I., 136 *seqq.* W. RICHTER, Geschichte der Paderb. Jesuiten, I., Paderborn, 1892, 181.

[5] On December 21, 1584, in THEINER, III., 531. Gregory XIII. had already written, on June 4, 1583, to Rudolf II. and to the canons of Paderborn protesting against the attempts of Henry completely to protestantise the foundation (*ibid.* 411 *seqq.*).

Elgard was ordered by the Pope to visit Central Germany in 1575, he was told in his instructions,[1] that, according to the reports of Gropper, there was very little hope for the dioceses of Naumburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Magdeburg and Halberstadt, but as the Pope did not wish to be rightly blamed in the future for neglect or indifference, he wished to attempt the impossible so that he might fulfil his pastoral duty. Elgard must therefore go in disguise and try and obtain information on the spot. He went to Halberstadt, and at Magdeburg got a sacristan to open the cathedral for him, and questioned him, as an inquiring traveller, about the state of affairs in that city. The dean, and many of the clergy, he learned, were married, and the Protestant administrator distributed the benefices after the manner of a civil fief. At the same time a kind of mass was celebrated, and the office in choir was continued in a restricted form. In the cathedral great choir-stalls had been erected for the canons and their wives, which would have been over magnificent for a king or an emperor.[2] Elgard reported an important fact from Halberstadt, namely that two priests, in company with a Roman agent, were carrying on a disgraceful trade in German benefices, and were doing more harm to the Church than the Pope could ever repair whatever he did.[3]

In consequence of the information which he had received, Elgard deemed it superfluous to visit Naumburg, Merseburg, and Meissen. In those three dioceses, he reported, there were still seven canonries in the hands of four Catholics, and there were still some good Catholics there. The Bishop of Meissen, who was still alive, had apostatized. Elgard was of opinion that even in that diocese it was not necessary to

[1] Of January 22, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 241.

[2] Elgard on April 21, 1575, in THEINER, II., 45.

[3] *Ibid.* Even the Provost of the Magdeburg Chapter, who was living in Freiburg, said to Portia: "che in Roma vi sono persone infette d'heresia, le quali per altro non dimorano che impertrar canonicati a nobili heretici di quelle parti, che per ciò li stipendiano grossamente." Portia on November 13, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 268, *cf.* 271, 323.

give up all hope, but his plan could only be carried out with the help of a Catholic Emperor, who was both resolute and energetic.[1]

Elgard did not mention the fact that in one part of the diocese of Meissen, in spite of everything, the adherents of the old religion had held their own, which was due to the efforts of the provost of the cathedral of Bautzen, Johann Leisentrit von Juliusberg. The latter was the son of a craftsman of Olmütz, who had been dean of Bautzen since 1559; he himself described the condition of the Catholics in Lausitz in a petition to Gregory XIII.[2] The Bishop of Meissen, he relates, had been forced by the Elector of Saxony to give up his residential city of Stolpen in exchange for compensation; the Elector had at once assumed the episcopal power, and in that capacity had sent his visitors, and everywhere destroyed the Catholic religion.[3] In order to punish this usurpation Ferdinand I. arranged that the spiritual power in Lausitz should be entrusted to a Catholic priest, namely to the dean, Leisentrit.[4] Maximilian II. and Rudolph II.[5] had given the

[1] To Galli on May 27, 1575, THEINER, II., 39-41. The Provost of the Chapter at Magdeburg also thought that Magdeburg might be saved by the employment of means similar to those suggested by Elgard (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 266 *seq.*). *Cf.* the memorandum of Cardinal L. Madruzzo for the Diet of 1576, *ibid.*, II., 17 *seq.* In a letter to Paul V., of December 27, 1607, Bishop Julius of Würzburg is still recommending similar methods to be employed in the case of Magdeburg. *Archiv für Unterfranken*, VII., 3 (1843), 140.

[2] Of July 1, 1579, and September 19, 1581, in THEINER, III., 45 *seqq.*, 265 *seqq.* For what follows see ED. MACHATSCHEK, Geschichte der Bischöfe des Hochstiftes Meissen, Dresden, 1884, 762 *seqq.* Concerning Leisentrit as an author *cf.* KERKER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.,[2] 1703; K. S. MEISTER, Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied, I., Freiburg, 1862, 53.

[3] MACHATSCHEK, *loc. cit.*, 764, 773 *seqq.*, 806.

[4] With the approval of the nuncio Melchior Biglia (*ibid.*, 790). As early as June 28 and July 24, 1560, Leisentrit had been nominated commissary-general by the bishop who afterwards apostatized (*ibid.*, 787 *seq.*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 808, 820.

Imperial approval to this arrangement. Maximilian further ordered that at the death of Leisentrit a successor should be appointed. The nuncio, Melchior Biglia, gave the Papal approval to this.[1] In spite of this Leisentrit had to write to the Pope in 1579 that for the last twenty-one years hardly a week had gone by in which he had not had to defend himself against the interference of Saxony. He therefore asked Gregory XIII. to decree by brief its entire separation from the former diocese of Meissen, and to subject Lausitz directly to the Holy See, recommending its care to the Archbishop of Prague. Even to-day, in the XXth century, there are still about 41,000 Catholics in Lausitz, which stands like a solitary island in the midst of a submerged world.

The state of affairs in the northern districts of Germany which had already passed over to Protestantism did not seem so hopeless at the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. as they were in the ancient dioceses of the east; to these Alexander Trivius was sent to obtain information at the same time as Elgard. He went first to Minden, where the chapter, though in sore financial straits, was still Catholic, though the citizens were strongly opposed to the old faith. It is now three years, wrote Trivius,[2] since the citizens, with arms in their hands, and with threats of death, demanded religious freedom from the chapter. For three days the canons were kept shut up, and after their liberation by the bishop's father they went voluntarily into exile, invoking the assistance of the Emperor and of Lower Saxony. In 1573 an arrangement was come to at Lübeck; worship was restored at the cathedral and in the monastery of St. Simeon, but was not to be attended by any citizen of Minden, while ecclesiastical burial was refused to children who attended the cathedral school. In the monastery of St. Simeon divine worship was still carried on carefully, and the abbot promised to obey the advice of the Papal envoy, and observe the enclosure better.

[1] On May 24, 1576, *ibid.*, 797. A decree of Gregory XIII., dated December 20, 1577, confirmed the passing of the episcopal authority to Leisentrit (*ibid.*, 812).

[2] On March 21, 1575, in THEINER, II., 470-2.

In 1567 Count Hermann von Schauenburg, to whom Gregory XIII. gave the Papal approbation at the advice of Salentin of Isenburg, was appointed Bishop of Minden.[1] Before his election Hermann had a good reputation, but later on fell into every kind of vice, and was especially addicted to drunkenness. Trivius could only obtain one public audience with him, but could not accomplish anything.[2] In 1582 Herman sold his diocese to Duke Julius of Brunswick,[3] to whom a year earlier the chapter had pledged itself to ask for the duke's son, Henry Julius, as bishop. As he had promised, the bishop-elect asked for the Papal confirmation, but this was refused. Nor could he obtain the Imperial investiture, and at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 the duke was given to understand finally that the Emperor had promised the Papal legate no longer to confer investiture before the Papal approbation had been obtained. In 1583 Henry Julius introduced the Confession of Augsburg into Minden, contrary to the promise he had made, and when in 1585 he resigned in consequence of his marriage, Catholicism there had disappeared.[4]

Trivius remained at Minden for more than a week and had an interview with Duke Henry of Lauenburg at the monastery of Lilienthal. The conversation, which could only take place in the presence of the dean, was without result.[5] If he had been able to talk to him privately, Trivius thought, he might have been able to accomplish something, for, in the general opinion, he was not ill-disposed.[6] The nuns of Lilienthal who feared lest he should introduce the Confession of Augsburg into their convent, had received satisfactory assurances from him at his first visit.[7] He was not a drunkard and had a taste for learning, and that meant a good deal in

[1] Lossen, I., 137, 363.
[2] Trivius to Galli on March 27, 1575, in Schwarz, Gropper, 270.
[3] Lossen, II., 263. *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 375.
[4] Lossen, II., 562. Wurm in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1536.
[5] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in Theiner, II., 473 *seq.*
[6] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 275.
[7] Theiner, II., 474.

those northern districts.[1] In the city of Bremen Trivius learned that there was only one Catholic, the dean of the metropolitan chapter. Lutherans and Calvinists fought bitterly with each other in the city, and the Lutheran council was driven out and replaced by Calvinists; the Lutherans now no longer possessed more than one church.[2] On his journey Trivius stayed at several convents. To his surprise he found Catholic worship in its integrity among the nuns of Zeven;[3] the same was the case with the Cistercian nuns at Lilienthal, though the enclosure was not observed so exactly as at Zeven.[4] The abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Hartzfeldt, upon which Zeven was dependent, seemed to be a good Catholic, for which reason the monastery had been burned down three times, and he himself several times threatened with death; the prior of the abbey lived a life of great austerity, and every night he rang the bell at eleven for the office in choir, and remained in the church until four; on Fridays he took no food at all, and on other days only ate a little once in the day.[5]

As the presence of a Papal envoy had become known Trivius only dared to go to Lübeck in secret. There the Abbot of Lüneburg, Eberhard Holle, had been appointed bishop in 1561, and had been recognized by Pius IV. In 1566 Holle was also elected Bishop of Verden, but this time his envoy came back from Rome without the Papal approbation,[6] for which reason Holle at once introduced Lutheranism. At Verden the mass was solemnly abolished and Holle had all the bishops of the city represented in the cathedral in episcopal vestments, with himself at the end in the dress of a prince.[7] He gave the dean of the chapter

[1] THEINER, II., 474.

[2] Trivius, Lilienthal, March 30, 1575, *ibid.*, 473.

[3] Trivius on March 27, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 270.

[4] THEINER, II., 473.

[5] *Ibid.*, 472.

[6] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* For Lübeck *cf.* E. ILLIGENS, Geschichte der Lübecker Kirche (1896), 150 *seqq.*, 157 *seq.*

[7] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 276.

of Lübeck, whom he had summoned before him, a slap in the face, because he had dared to speak to him on one occasion about the duties of a bishop.[1] Trivius thought it best not to present himself before Holle at all.[2] The chapter of Lübeck was still Catholic, and agreed to his request that the profession of faith of the Council of Trent should be a necessary condition to admission among the canons. Naturally, however, the vicars and chaplains only dared to say mass in secret and in their own houses. When it was learned that a foreigner had received the sacraments at Lübeck according to the Catholic rite, the pastors made such an outcry that there was almost a riot. Besides the chapter, there was still in Lübeck only one Catholic woman, the wife of a Protestant tailor, who remained steadfast despite all pressure. Trivius had already made her acquaintance in 1561, when he had visited the city with Commendone.[3]

As far as Verden was concerned the Papal envoy was advised that the Pope had better urge the chapter by a brief to hold a new election, and that even if the Imperial approbation were not granted at the same time, Holle would be to some extent restrained.[4] The brief was sent, but had no effect.[5] Holle only received the Imperial approbation for six months.[6]

Things were even worse at Hamburg, and the Portuguese agent there had to come to Lübeck to receive the sacraments.[7]

[1] Trivius on April 18, 1575 (in cypher), *ibid.*, 279.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Trivius on April 18, 1575, in THEINER, II., 474 *seq.* The nomination of Adrian Merode, formerly of the German College, to be Provost of the Lübeck Chapter met with many difficulties which caused Gregory XIII. to address himself both to Rudolf II. and to the Lübeck Chapter on June 25, 1583 (THEINER, III., 412, and THEINER, Schweden, Urkunden, 312). A Brief of April 21, 1582, requests Rudolf II. to remind the Chapter of Lübeck of their duty of electing a Catholic successor to the late heretical bishop (THEINER, III., 318).

[4] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 279.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 364 *seq.*

[6] THEINER, III., 318, 411.

[7] *Ibid.*, II., 475.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Situation in the Rhineland. Trêves. Aix-la-Chapelle. Cologne.

In the case of Jakob von Eltz, the Archbishop of Trêves (1567–1581), Gaspar Gropper had received different instructions from those which in most cases had been given him with regard to the other bishops of his nunciature. These only instructed him to praise the archbishop and exhort him to persevere in the way he was going; to tolerate no heretics in his diocese, and still less entrust any office to their hands.[1]

On visiting Coblenz, Gropper found that Jakob von Eltz was, in his life, his habits, his dress and in every act, a true bishop.[2] A few years later[3] the nuncio Castagna spoke in high terms of praise of his virtue and his attachment to the Holy See. The nuncios Gropper and Portia also spoke loudly in praise of Wimpfeling, the chancellor of Trêves.[4]

The first attempt to establish a Protestant community in the territory of the ecclesiastical Electors had taken place at Trêves in 1559,[5] but there the triumphal advance of the new doctrines had for the first time met with a resolute resistance, which decided its fate in that city.[6] When Portia visited the

[1] Schwarz, *loc. cit.* 59.

[2] Gropper on October 8, 1573, *ibid.* 418 *seq.*, *cf.* 126, 159.

[3] On October 23, 1579, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 350, *cf.* 341. For J. von Eltz see Marx, Geschichte des Erzstiftes Trier, I., 388 *seqq.*

[4] Gropper on June 10, 1574, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.* 158; Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 53, 117

[5] Ritter, I., 220 *seq.*

[6] Marx, *loc. cit.* 379. Janssen-Pastor, IV. 15-16, 121 *seqq.* Herzog's Real Enzyklopädie, XIV.[3], 361. Ney, Die Reformation in Trier, 1559, und ihre Unterdrückung, Halle, 1906-07.

city of Trêves he found the people very pious, and saw no traces of any adherence to the sects, while the Jesuits had a fine college with about 1000 pupils. In the suburbs the Benedictines had three monasteries, and the Carthusians one; all were filled with religious, for the most part pupils of the Jesuits, who observed their rule carefully.[1] The little Protestantism that there was outside Trêves, in the civil territory of the Elector, could not stand against the strong measures of Jakob and his successors.[2] In spite of all this there was an abundance of matter for reform.

Immediately after his appointment, Jakob von Eltz had made the profession of faith;[3] he had the decrees of Trent printed and distributed them to the prelates on the occasion of his consecration.[4] He then began to make regular visitations of his diocese, which he promised the nuncio Gropper in 1573 to continue in the future.[5] Many ordinances followed on the instruction of the common people and the improvement of the clergy, and in 1573 he provided for uniformity of divine worship by means of a ritual.[6] Portia urged the archbishop to found a seminary, to endow with revenues the Jesuit college established at Trêves in 1560, and only to confer benefices after previous examination; and in spite of the many difficulties in the way he insisted upon the visitations and the diocesan synod.[7] The archbishop often sought the advice of the Jesuits about these matters, who

[1] Portia on March 2, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 58. For particulars of the Jesuit College at Trêves *cf.* (in addition to DUHR) F. HÜLLEN in the *Festschrift des Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Trier* (1913), 70 *seq.*

[2] SCHMIDLIN, III., 133, note. For the re-catholicising of Neumagen see HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 550.

[3] The inquiry concerning him published by ST. EHSES in *Pastor bonus*, XII. (1899 *seq.*), 226 *seqq.* HANSEN, *loc. cit.* 550.

[4] *Ibid.* 570.

[5] SCHWARZ, Gropper, 418.

[6] F. HÜLLEN in *Pastor bonus*, XIV. (1901 *seq.*), 105 *seqq.*, 159 *seqq.*

[7] To Galli on March 2, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 59.

found the prelate "all on fire rather than warm" with zeal for the nuncio's suggestions.[1]

But a grave difficulty stood in the way of the archbishop's good intentions; from the commencement of his reign he had been engaged in disputes with the city of Trêves, and until a settlement was arrived at in 1580, he had been absent from the capital of his diocese.[2] The cathedral chapter, too, was scattered all over the diocese, so that the canons had become accustomed to wear secular dress and live in secular surroundings; moreover, none of them were priests.[3] The absence of the bishop and the canons from the centre of the diocese resulted in the cathedral remaining unreformed, and other churches finding an excuse in their local conditions. A provincial synod was out of the question, because it would have been useless to try and get the suffragan bishops of Metz, Toul and Verdun to undertake a journey to Coblenz; a diocesan synod was almost equally difficult.[4] Elgard and Portia proposed that in the meantime the canons should meet together in a collegiate church of the diocese, either at Coblenz or at Pfalzel.[5] Some small measure of success was attained in this respect, but on the other hand, as far as the sacerdotal ordination of the canons was concerned, the bishop had to be content with promises.[6] He provided the Jesuit college at Trêves with revenues, and established another at Coblenz.[7]

The state of affairs in Luxemburg, where the Spanish

[1] Portia on June 6, 1577, *ibid.* 117.

[2] Portia's account of the dispute see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 55.

[3] Elgard's memorandum of 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 354. Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 50.

[4] Portia *loc. cit.* 52.

[5] Elgard *loc. cit.* 354. Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 50.

[6] Portia on February 23, 1578, *ibid.* 245. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, III., 132.

[7] DUHR, I., 95 *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.* Documents concerning the foundation of the college at Coblenz in *Pastor bonus*, V. (1893), 253, 587 *seq.* *Cf.* DOMINICUS in the *Koblenzer Gymnasialprogramm*, 1862; WORBS, Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Koblenz (1882). For the preparatory work which prepared the way for the Jesuits

government would not allow an episcopal visitation without the state *placet*, caused Archbishop Jakob grave vexation. Elgard advised the archbishop not to stand too closely to his strict rights, because the simple folk of Luxemburg would feel the consequences.

The Abbey of Prüm was also saved to the Catholic faith by means of Archbishop Jakob. Prüm, Stavelot and Malmedy had as their common abbot Count Christopher von Manderscheid-Keil, who was inclined to the new doctrines, allowed monastic discipline to relax, and tried to hand over his abbacies to his relatives. Jakob von Eltz obtained a Papal bull, by which, after the death of the abbot, Prüm was to be incorporated in the archdiocese of Trêves. On August 28th, 1576, Christopher von Manderscheid died, whereupon the archbishop appeared at Prüm and effected the union of the abbey with the archbishopric. Stavelot and Malmedy passed to Liège.[1]

The successor of Jakob in 1581 was Johann von Schönenburg,[2] who carried on the work of his predecessor. He interested himself especially in the religious education of the young, and for this purpose published in 1589 a special "catechism of the Electorate of Trêves." In a number of edicts the archbishop insisted again and again on the reform decrees of Trent.[3] The seminary of Trêves was founded by him,[4] and almost at the same time a second one was established at Coblenz.[5]

in their restoration of the Catholic faith on the Rhine *cf.* J. HASHAGEN, in the *Monatsheften für rheinische Kirchengeschichte*, XV. (1921), 3 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* MARX, II., 1271 *seqq.*; LOSSEN, I., 719 *seqq.*; SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 77, 109, 126, 159, 314; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 82.

[2] *Letter of Rudolf II. to the cardinals dated November 16, 1581, with a request that they should use their influence to obtain papal confirmation and a remission of taxation (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] OTTERBEIN in *Pastor bonus*, VI. (1894), 369 *seqq.*, 423 *seqq.*; J. SCHNEIDER, *ibid.* 516 *seqq.*

[4] B. J. ENDRES, Das Bantusseminar zu Trier, I., Trêves, 1890, 52; for the year of foundation, *ibid.* II., 10, note.

[5] *Ibid.* I., 52.

In the very year, 1559, when the first attacks of the Protestants at Trêves were defeated, they also met with a reverse at Aix.[1] The first Protestants there were Calvinist fugitives from the Low Countries; gradually, however, the innovators developed into a strong party, and even one of the burgomasters, Adam von Zevel, professed the Confession of Augsburg. The spread of the new doctrines was made easier by the fact that there were only four parishes at Aix.[2] The Protestants soon sought to obtain a church and the right to preach in public, and they obtained the support of the Diet of Augsburg of 1559 in favour of their demands. But the intervention of the Duke of Jülich, Philip II., and the Emperor brought about a declaration on the part of the civic council that they would not agree to any change in the matter of religion. A decision of the council on March 7th, 1560, restricted the office of councillor and all public offices to Catholics; Adam von Zevel left the city[3] as did some of the foreign immigrants.

But a lasting peace was not yet restored by this triumph of the Catholics. Especially after 1567 thousands of Calvinist fugitives from the Low Countries flooded western Germany, and besides Wesel and Cologne, Aix became one of the head-quarters of the widely extended system which included many Calvinist communities from Emden to Heidelberg, as well as numerous centres of implacable hatred of the Catholics.[4] In the ecclesiastical enactments of these communities there were not wanting expressions which seemed to breathe the spirit of purity of conscience, and complete detachment from all earthly things;[5] but in the struggle for equality of rights

[1] For the Aix-la-Chapelle disputes *cf.* RITTER, I., 221, 555 *seq.*, 563 *seq.*, 577, 583, 585; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. ($^{15-16}$), 18 *seqq.*; PENNINGS in the *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, V. (1905), 36 *seqq.*; CLASSEN, *ibid.* VI. (1906), 297; J. HANSEN, *ibid.* X. (1910), 222 *seqq.*; JOH. MÜLLER in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV. (1895), 257 *seqq.*

[2] PETRUS A BEECK, Aquisgranum (1670), 228.

[3] RITTER, I., 221 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 555.

[5] *Ibid.* 557.

with the Catholics which, especially after 1574, was set on foot by the Protestant parties at Aix, the erstwhile iconoclasts did not disdain to import from the Low Countries on to German soil the methods of popular violence. The preaching of the Jesuits seemed to bring about a change in favour of the Catholics after 1578,[1] but in spite of this the Protestants were able in 1581 to take up arms to prevent the intention of the Imperial commissaries to intervene in favour of the Catholics. The Emperor's representatives had to retire in disgrace, and many Catholics left the city.

The struggle lasted beyond the time of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.; after 1582[2] the question of Aix became one of the principal grievances and subjects of dispute at the Diets. The Protestants of Aix had recourse to arms on many occasions, twice the city was placed under ban, until in 1614 General Spinola captured Aix, drove out the Protestant preachers, and restored peace in the ancient Imperial city.

An even worse fate than anything that had occurred at Aix threatened the ancient faith when the Elector of Cologne leaned towards Protestantism. If the most important of the Rhenish dioceses were to pass into the hands of the Protestants, the Catholics would be threatened with the loss, not only of Cologne, but of the whole of the Rhenish provinces, the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* would be destroyed, and the way thrown open to further defections. Even politically such a change would have had immense consequences. Calvinism would have been in possession of a united territory in the Low Countries and on the Rhine, and Spanish dominion in Flanders would have been threatened on both sides. By the defection of the Archbishop of Cologne the innovators would obtain a majority of the votes in the college of the Prince-Electors, and the plans of the Calvinist party of the Palatinate for setting aside the Hapsburgs and upsetting the whole constitution of the Empire would no longer be a mere dream, Germany would have been broken up into a number of small

[1] DUHR, I., 413 *seqq.* *Cf. Annalen für den Niederrhein*, XVII., 30 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 277.

states, the Catholic restoration would have come to an end in the Empire, and the Thirty Years War would have broken out ten years before it did.

In common with the greater number of the other dioceses of Germany after the period of the Middle Ages Cologne suffered from the evil that the greater number of the canonries were only accessible to the aristocracy. These canons of noble or princely birth caused their duty of choir to be carried out by beneficiaries, and themselves lived, like their secular colleagues, in the enjoyment of their great revenues. It is easy to understand how such men sought, in the appointment of the bishop, anything but his ecclesiastical spirit and his attachment to the old faith. The consequence was that the episcopal see was filled by men of worldly ideas, who had gone astray, not only in morals, but even in faith.

Even at the end of the pontificate of Paul III. Hermann von Wied, the Archbishop of Cologne, forgetful of his oath, had tried to lead his subjects into Protestantism. But he had paid for his attempt with the loss of his office.[1] Eighteen years later, the archbishop of that time, the Prince-Elector Frederick von Wied, was stirred up to make a similar attempt by the Protestant Counts of the Wetterau, and to begin by allowing the admission of Protestant canons, and the suppression of the obligations that stood in the way. If, in spite of his half Protestant sentiments, Frederick did not follow out the plan of his colleagues, this was probably because he was, among other things, afraid of incurring the fate of his relative. In the meantime the influence of the Catholic restoration was making itself felt even at Cologne. Pius V., like the majority of the chapter of Cologne, wished Frederick to make the Tridentine profession of faith. As he would not hear of this, in 1567 he had to resign.[2] Therefore, when the see of Cologne was then filled by Count Salentin of Isenburg, the chapter of Cologne demanded of him in his election capitulation the sworn assurance that if the Pope asked him

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. pp. 105, 205, 325 of this work.

[2] Ritter, I., 290, 473. *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. p. 250 of this work.

to swear to the Tridentine profession of faith, he would not refuse.

Salentin of Isenburg was a man of Catholic sentiments, but as the last of his dynasty he looked upon the archbishopric of Cologne merely as a temporary office, and therefore evaded the receiving of sacred orders, and refused to pay the tax for confirmation or to make the Tridentine profession of faith. Pius V. refused him confirmation, and even thought of depriving him.[1] Thus, like many of his colleagues, Salentin remained archbishop-elect. After Gregory XIII. had become Pope, Salentin applied once more to Rome. He met with a kindly reception, and after he had made the Tridentine profession of faith, Gregory XIII., on December 9th, 1573, granted him the Papal approbation and at the same time condoned all the fees.[2] In view of these favourable circumstance it was taken for granted in Rome that Salentin would keep the promise he had made, of helping Prince Ernest of Bavaria to succeed him ;[3] for here as elsewhere the Curia saw in the elevation of Duke Ernest the best means of ensuring the safety of the diocese. Salentin, who in 1574 was successful in also obtaining his appointment as Bishop of Paderborn, looked before everything else to his own advantage, and took up a middle position between the strictly Catholic Duke of Bavaria and the Protestant Counts of the Wetterau, who, in spite of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, had attempted to introduce their sons into the chapter of Cologne. The Prince-Elector, who was highly gifted intellectually, and was a splendid administrator, devoted his attention almost entirely to civil affairs, while he always had in view his resignation and marriage. Consequently Protestants were able to obtain admission even to the chapter of Cologne. They were obliged, it is true, to conform exteriorly, if they did not wish to forfeit their benefices in virtue of the prescriptions of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*. The Protestant

[1] See SCHWARZ, Briefe, I., 143 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*

[2] See SCHWARZ, Gropper, xliii. *seq.*, 75 *seq.*

[3] See LOSSEN in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXX., 217.

nobles, especially those of the Wetterau, aimed at the abolition of these prescriptions, and were urging "freedom of religion." The very natural anxiety with which all the representatives of the Catholic restoration, and above all the Pope, were watching Cologne, increased when, at the end of 1576, the immediate resignation of Salentin became certain. The nuncio, Bartolomeo Portia, who had been devoting his energies to southern Germany during the past three years, was given orders to go to the Rhenish metropolis to work in the interests of the Catholic restoration and for the election of Duke Ernest.[1]

Portia, who, according to Torquato Tasso, was the most prudent of all the nuncios, was not wanting in zeal for the candidate who was also favoured by Philip II., and who already possessed the dioceses of Hildesheim and Freising. But he found himself opposed by the united resistance of the chapter of Cologne, into whose hands Salentin had unreservedly placed his resignation in September, 1577.

The most bitter adversaries of the candidature of Bavaria were at first the three canons who were at heart Protestants, Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, Baron Johann von Winnenberg, the powerful Count Adolphus von Solms, and also the gifted Count Adolphus von Neuenahr and John of Nassau, the brother of William of Orange. These found strong allies in their colleagues of the chapter, who did not wish for the scion of a powerful princely house as archbishop, in whom, on account of their worldly conduct, there would be reason to fear they would find a pastor who was inclined to the Catholic restoration, who would put into force the laws of ecclesiastical reform.

Adolphus von Solms saw clearly that it was out of the question for the moment to put forward a Protestant candidate, and he therefore worked for the election of the thirty-year-old Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg. On December 5th, 1577, the election took place, and in spite of all the efforts of the Pope's representative, Ernest of Bavaria was defeated; he received ten votes and his rival Gebhard twelve.[2]

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xliii., 8.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* xlv. *seq.*; RITTER, I., 566 *seq.*

Like Portia, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Galli, consoled himself for the failure of the candidature of Bavaria, because no one felt any doubts of the Catholic sentiments of Gebhard.[1] It was well known that, even if the bishop-elect was not free from all error, he had, as the nephew of the distinguished Otto of Augsburg, received a Catholic education, and it was hoped that he would prove amenable to good influences. Even though the former relations of Gebhard with the Protestant canons and the Counts of the Wetterau continued, his exterior behaviour was such as to satisfy ecclesiastical opinion. The bishop-elect was ordained priest in March, 1578, in April he made the Tridentine profession of faith, he showed favour to the Jesuits, and warned the council of Cologne in October to restrain the Calvinists, who were behaving more and more boldly in the city.[2]

As Bavaria attacked the validity of the election of Gebhard, his approbation by Rome was delayed.[3] In March, 1578, Gregory XIII. had referred the matter to a special commission of Cardinals, and later on the German Congregation and the Rota were consulted on the subject. All agreed that the objections raised by Bavaria were without foundation. Nevertheless, in July, 1579, the nuncio Castagna, who was in Cologne on account of the Diet for the pacification of the Low Countries, was ordered to hold an inquiry into the life and morals of Gebhard.

The testimony of the witnesses, as well as Castagna's own observation with regard to the integrity of his faith, were entirely favourable to Gebhard, while the reports as to his spiritual training and his capabilities were full of his praises.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Lossen, I., 611 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 204 *seq.*, 215.

[2] See Lossen, I., 618, II., 32 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xlviii. *seq.* Gebhard's attitude was bound to give the impression in Rome that he was a good Catholic ; see the *report of the Mantuan envoy of December 28, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf* Lossen, I., 613 *seq.*, 629 *seq.*

[4] *Cf* *Nuntiaturberichte*, I , xlvii , 249 *seq* , 258 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 274, 281 *seq.* and evidence drawn from the Cologne Municipal Archives, XX., 39 *seq.*

With regard to his moral conduct, Castagna was not content with the merely general testimony of the witnesses, but insisted upon exact details. Gebhard, he wrote from Cologne to Cardinal Galli on July 31st, 1579, is, it is true, much given to feasting, and sometimes to drink, but this, looked at in the light of the evil habits of the place, is rather a virtue than a vice, and serves to win him many good friends. Since, however, Bacchus is generally accompanied by Venus, the nuncio had made inquiries in this matter as well, which, however, had not so far resulted in anything but to show that Gebhard was either innocent in this respect, or at any rate had been able to avoid giving any scandal. The suspicion that the bishop-elect was not a sincere Catholic was definitely rejected by Castagna on the strength of the reports which many ecclesiastics, both secular and religious, had given him; Gebhard was proud of the reputation for being a good Catholic which had been won by his family, and especially by his uncle, Cardinal Otto of Augsburg. If the Elector made friends irrespective of their faith, this was due both to the custom of the country and especially in his own case to his opposition to the houses of Bavaria and Cleves.[1]

Gebhards' entirely Catholic attitude during the pacification conference at Cologne also served to enhance his good repute.[2]

Since all those who were questioned in Rome were also in agreement in this matter, there was no reason for postponing the confirmation of Gebhard's election, and Gregory XIII. granted this on March 29th, 1580.[3]

It is best to leave the question open whether the entirely Catholic exterior behaviour of the new Archbishop of Cologne, was accompanied by any interior change. If there were any such change, it was certainly of very short duration. Gebhard had scarcely found himself in safe possession of his office

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte* I., 278 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 245; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 288 *seq.*

[3] See LOSSEN, I., 621 *seq.*, 673; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 290. RITTER says (I., 568): "In Rome there was no inclination to call forth a far-reaching conflict by refusing the confirmation on the grounds of mere apprehensions."

owing to the Papal approbation when he gave himself up openly to a life of luxury and immorality. Pregnant with consequences were his amorous relations with the beautiful Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, a worldly Protestant lady with a benefice at Gerresheim near Düsseldorf.[1] His illicit relations with her had gone on for some time when, in the autumn of 1581, the countess' brothers wrung from the Elector with threats the promise to save the honour of their sister by marriage.[2] As Gebhard had received priest's orders he could not contract marriage except with a Papal dispensation, which he could only have obtained with the greatest difficulty; in any case he would have had to resign his bishopric. This was by no means in accordance with the wishes of his Protestant friends, prominent among whom were Count Adolphus von Neuenahr, Adolphus von Solms and John of Nassau. They wished to profit by the impure passion of Gebhard in order to extort "liberty" from him, namely the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, which prevented the intrusion of Protestants into dioceses that were still Catholic. So they suggested to Gebhard that the resignation of his diocese was by no means necessary, if he embraced the new religion, and that even before the religious peace of 1555 other bishops had become Protestants and had married, and yet had retained the government of their dioceses.

It was not without a long interior struggle that Gebhard resolved to break with the religion of his fathers, but at last in May 1582 his passion won the victory over the voice of conscience.[3] At first it was only a few friends, among them the Count von Solms, who were let into the secret of the intention of the Archbishop of Cologne to apostatize from the Church and secularize himself, but gradually the number who

[1] Agnes von Mansfeld was not a nun, as is often asserted even to-day, but merely the possessor of a benefice.

[2] See Lossen, II., 36.

[3] See *ibid.* 41 *seq.* The first thoughts of apostasy from the Church began to appear at the beginning of 1580; see Bezold, Briefe, II., n. 1, note 5. *Cf.* Kleinsorgen, Tagebuch von G. Truchsess, Münster, 1780, 128.

knew of it increased. On August 6th, 1582, Gebhard, who had left the Rhineland, which was but ill-disposed to his plans, and gone to Westphalia, sent from Arensberg a long memorial and a letter to the Protestant Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, the married Archbishop of Bremen and Bishop of Osnabrück and Paderborn.

In these autograph documents he states how reading and reflection had led him to realize the errors of the Papacy, in which he had been born and educated, and how his "conscience" urged him to unite himself in marriage to a lady of noble family. His intention of renouncing in that case the archbishopric of Cologne had met with resistance from his friends and relations, who had pointed out that God permitted marriage even to ecclesiastics, and that his resignation would inflict great injury upon the adherents of the true religion in the Empire. But he could only carry out this plan "which was so pleasing to God" if he knew what help he could count upon.[1]

Gebhard then tried to win over to his cause the young Protestant nobles of Westphalia, with whom he gave himself up to dissolute feasting. Exteriorly he still behaved as a sincere Catholic; he assisted regularly at mass, began the negotiations for the foundation of a Jesuit school at Werl, and solemnly asserted in the presence of Catholics that it was a calumny of his enemies to say that he intended to change his religion and marry; he would rather give his life than separate himself from the Catholic Church.[2]

There were, however, too many people in the secret of Gebhard's plans for them to remain hidden. The Pope received the first news of the suspicious behaviour of the Archbishop of Cologne from Innsbruck, in a letter from Cardinal Madruzzo, who had gone to the Diet of Augsburg. But everyone was once more deceived by the fact that the

[1] See v. Bezold, Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir I., 511 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* M. ab Isselt, De bello Coloniensi, Coloniae, 1584; Kleinsorgen, *loc. cit.* 292.

councillors sent by Gebhard to the Diet behaved absolutely as good Catholics.

Nevertheless the rumours that Gebhard intended to marry, and that in spite of this he intended to retain his archdiocese, could not be kept quiet. They seemed to find confirmation in the news which the agent of Bavaria, Johann Barvitius, sent from Cologne, that, obviously with the concurrence of Gebhard, Count Neuenahr had had Protestant worship publicly celebrated outside the city of Mechtern on July 8th.[1]

To the noble and upright character of Gregory XIII. it was very difficult to place any belief in the first reports of the infidelity of Gebhard, all the more so as there were not wanting reports on the other side, which stated that the envious adversaries of the archbishop had already on previous occasions thrown suspicion upon his good faith without any grounds. In order to clear up the matter, Madruzzo was ordered to find out how much truth there was in the rumours by sending trusted envoys to Cologne.[2] The necessary steps could be taken after the return of the legate. The disputes of Madruzzo with the government at Innsbruck delayed his return to Rome until November 29th, 1582, but by that time such definite news had been received that it was no longer possible to doubt Gebhard's intention of apostatizing from the Church.[3]

It was clearly understood in Rome, as well as by Catholics in general, what great interests were at stake in Cologne. The common opinion was that the preservation or destruction of the Catholic religion depended upon the issue, as well as the existence of the Roman-German Empire, which was so closely bound up with it.[4] In proportion to the gravity of the danger did Rome act resolutely, surely and promptly.

[1] Memorandum of June 6, 1582; see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., li.; LOSSEN, II., 44 *seq.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lii.

[3] See LOSSEN, II., 75.

[4] *Cf.* the characteristic remarks of M. Minucci and Cesare dell' Arena in their letters to Cardinal Galli, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 375, 489, 495.

This was of all the greater importance in that the invalid Emperor Rudolph, out of fear of serious complications, as the Archduke Ferdinand wrote, at first "was inclined to turn a blind eye, and not bell the cat."[1] After the arrival of Madruzzo at the beginning of December a number of steps were immediately taken by the Roman Curia to meet the danger.

The comprehensive nature of these steps may be seen from the fact that no less than five Papal envoys were engaged upon them, and not only the Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany, but also the King of Spain, were asked to help. In order to leave no means untried, Gregory XIII. addressed to Gebhard on December 17th, a last warning, gentle and paternal in tone, reminding him of his previous solemn oaths, the Catholic sentiments of his predecessors and ancestors, especially of Cardinal Otto of Augsburg, and recalling to his mind the kindness with which the Pope had removed the obstacles to his confirmation. At the same time, the Archbishop of Trêves and Mayence, the chapter and council of Cologne, the Archduke Ferdinand and the Bishop of Strasbourg, were asked to use their influence with Gebhard.[2]

The duty of conveying these letters and explaining them was, by the advice of the German Congregation, entrusted to the secretary of Cardinal Madruzzo, Minutio Minucci, a young Venetian, who was accounted one of those best acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany. Among the duties laid upon Minucci was that of obtaining reliable information on the spot as to the state of affairs, and in the event of Gebhard's refusing to abandon his project, of informing Francesco Bonhomini, the nuncio at the Imperial court, of the fact, so that, under the protection of an Imperial commissary, he might go to Cologne to conduct the process against the rebel archbishop. Minucci was moreover to urge the cathedral chapter of Cologne to take energetic action and

[1] *Cf.* UNKEL in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XII., 513 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, III., 320 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 333, note 1.

to promise it the strong support of the Pope.[1] Briefs had been sent to Bonhomini on December 14th giving him the necessary faculties to take action against Gebhard. A week later the nuncio received a whole number of Papal letters concerning the question of Cologne which were to be sent to the Emperor, the Electors of Trêves and Mayence, and the Dukes of Bavaria and Cleves.[2] At the same time pressing exhortations were sent to the nuncio Taverna at Madrid to bring his influence to bear on Philip to spur on the Emperor on the one hand to resist the action of Gebhard, and on the other to authorize his governor on the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese, to intervene, even, if necessary, by force of arms.[3]

While, even before the mission of Minucci, the possibility of the removal of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was so forgetful of his duty, had been taken into consideration in Rome, at the same time, attention was directed to the choice of the person who could succeed him. It was only possible to think of a man who would be able, by reason of his connexions, to offer a strong resistance and bring powerful forces to bear, if he was to have any chance of fighting successfully against Gebhard. It seemed that such conditions were fulfilled in the fullest measure in the person of Ernest of Bavaria, whose brother William had in the meantime succeded to the duchy. Ernest was, moreover, the friend

[1] See *ibid.* liii., 332 *seq.* As late as December 17, 1582, Gregory XIII. had written to the Bishop of Strasburg: *"Disseminata iam diu sunt sermones pessimi de archiepiscopo Coloniensi, non possumus diutius tacere aut dissimulare . . . ; rogamus quantum possumus, ut de archiepiscopo ipsius vita et consiliis, quantum quidem extrinsecus apparere potest nos certiores facere velis." (Departmental Archives, Strasburg G. 172). At the beginning of the brief the bishop is praised for his attitude at the Diet of Augsburg which had been reported by Madruzzo. On January 12, 1583,* the Pope commended the two Papal Legates to the Bishop of Strasbourg and urged him to energetic action against Gebhard. *Ibid.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 337 *seq.*, 341. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 323. ARETIN, Maximilian I., 257.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 334 *seq.*, 341 *seq.*

of the King of Spain and the Duke of Jülich, and as the possessor of the dioceses of Hildesheim and Liège, and of the Imperial abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, held a secure position in Lower Germany. It was, however, an embarrassing fact that the concession of another diocese was contrary to the reform decrees of Trent, even more so as Ernest was one of those ecclesiastics who were sons of princes, and who in a certain sense enjoyed the good things of this world in a way that was not suitable for ecclesiastics. But the emergency made it necessary to pass over such considerations. It also weighed a good deal in the balance that Ernest, as a member of the cathedral chapter of Cologne, was eligible, and had in 1577 received almost half the votes.[1]

But in the meantime a fresh candidature was put forward, as the Archduke Ferdinand had suggested that his son, Cardinal Andrew of Austria, should be sent as legate to Cologne, with the further purpose of getting him appointed to that see. It was at once realized in Rome that by consenting to Ferdinand's plans they would gravely offend Bavaria, and, moreover, serve no purpose, as the chapter of Cologne would certainly not accept the son of a mother who was a commoner, as had been Philippine Welser. Andrew, moreover, was too insignificant a personality. But on the other hand they did not wish to forfeit the help of the archduke, nor that of the Emperor. Gregory XIII. therefore fell in with the wishes of Ferdinand to the extent of appointing, at the consistory of December 31st, 1582, Cardinal Andrew together with Cardinal Madruzzo as legates to Cologne, with the duty of opening the process against Gebhard Truchsess, of pronouncing his supension, and preparing the way for a new election.[2] The designs of Bavaria were cleverly countered

[1] See *ibid.* liii.-liv.; RITTER, I., 596 *seq.*

[2] See HIRN, II., 179 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lvi. *seq.*, 348; LOSSEN, II., 154 *seq.* According to LOSSEN (*loc. cit.*) the co-operation of Madruzzo was intended merely as a means of obviating suspicion of a too great desire to fall in with the wishes of Ferdinand. It was never seriously intended to send Madruzzo; and, in fact, he remained in Rome.

by this mission, while the Cardinal was given as colleagues and advisers the two experienced nuncios from the Imperial court and that of Graz, Francesco Bonhomini and Germanico Malaspina, as well as the auditor of the Rota, Francesco Orano, for the actual management of the process. The latter left Rome for Innsbruck on January 5th, 1583, with the bull of appointment and the instructions for Cardinal Andrew, and thence, in accordance with the wishes of the Curia, he went to Freising to overcome the fears of Duke Ernest of a fresh defeat, and to urge him to hasten his journey to the Rhine, which he was hesitating to make, by telling him of the Pope's wishes.[1]

In the meantime at Cologne, which Minucci had reached on January 20th, 1583, as the first of the Pope's envoys, the catastrophe had already occurred. At Christmas, Gebhard Truchsess had made a singular present to his Catholic subjects by announcing that the almighty and merciful God had set him free from the shadows of the Papacy, and brought him to the knowledge of His holy word, that he thought he could remain in his vocation and his office with a clear conscience, and that he intended to give freedom to the exercise of the new religion. On January 16th, however, a public declaration in reply came from the city of Bonn, which belonged to the diocese of which Gebhard had obtained possession with the help of John Nassau. It would appear that Gebhard did not altogether realize the dangers of his undertaking, for his energies were principally directed to holding festive banquets which generally ended in grave drunkenness. The climax of this mad behaviour, and at the same time the final proof of Gebhard's transition to Protestantism was afforded by his marriage to Agnes von Mansfeld, which took place on February 2nd. The wiser among the Protestant friends of the infatuated archbishop were frightened at his inconsiderate behaviour.

The Catholics took up the challenge with all the greater confidence .[2] The central point of the resistance to the

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 352 *seq.*, 358; LOSSEN, II., 161 *seq.* *Cf.* also UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 517.

[2] See RITTER, I., 590, 596; LOSSEN, II., 165 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. 15-16, 33 *seq.*

changes made by Gebhard was the city of Cologne, where Minucci was safeguarding Catholic interests with great prudence. Besides the city, the chapter of Cologne, with the exception of a few canons, united with courage and resolution in favour of the old faith, above all the auxiliary bishop, Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, the brother of Henry of Bremen, whom Gebhard had converted from being a half-Protestant and his devoted friend, into a determined Catholic and his bitter enemy, by first leading him to expect his resignation of the archdiocese, and then completely disillusioning him. At the Diet which was assembled at Cologne by the chapter, the States, the counts, the barons and the Rhenish city declared themselves against Gebhard,[1] while the latter proved himself more and more an incapable and weak person. The Spanish troops had hardly made their appearance near Aix, when he felt that he would be no safer at Bonn, and immediately after his marriage he retired to the territory of the archdiocese in Westphalia, where, as an illustration of what he meant by religious liberty, he began a violent persecution of the Catholics, and a savage outburst of iconoclasm.[2]

It is characteristic of Gregory XIII. that, as a strict jurist and a cautious politician, in spite of the provocative behaviour of Gebhard, he did not wish to take any precipitate action. The zealous nuncio Bonhomini, at the news of the public apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne, had as early as January 15th, 1583, suggested to Cardinal Galli from Vienna that the introduction of a formal process was no longer necessary, as the Pope could, without further ado, pronounce the deposition of a notorious heretic. This view was also shared by the members of the German Congregation and by the six

[1] See Lossen, II., 91 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*

[2] Fuller particulars in Janssen-Pastor, V. 15-16, 35 *seq.* In a *letter to the Cardinals dated February 22, 1583, the Prince of Waldburg deplored the apostasy of his brother and gave assurances of his own fidelity to the faith. Vatic. 6416, p. 93, Vatican Library.

Cardinals charged to deal with the question.[3] In spite of this Gregory XIII., as a prudent jurist, felt scruples, nor did he wish to offend Cardinal Andrew by thus depriving him of his office. As, however, owing to the plots of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the journey of the Cardinal legate to Cologne was hindered, delay seemed dangerous. On receiving news of this Gregory acted promptly and resolutely. Late in the evening of March 21st, 1583, he summoned a secret consistory for the following day, at which he pronounced the deposition of Gebhard.[2]

The bull of deposition, signed by the Pope and all the Cardinals, dated April 1st, 1583 (new calendar), began with the fact that Gebhard Truchsess, ignoring all the warnings of the Pope, had associated himself with heretics, so as to be able to retain the archdiocese of Cologne, in spite of his marriage. It then goes on to mention the fact that the marriage had been publicly celebrated before an heretical minister, the occupation by violence of the city of Bonn and of other places in the diocese in opposition to the chapter, and the outrages that had resulted. Since these facts were notorious, the Pope had once more had laid before him the information which he had charged the Cardinal legate Andrew to obtain, and accordingly the aforementioned Gebhard Truchsess, although he had by his own action forfeited all his rights, is now declared to be deprived of all his dignities, benefices and offices, with the advice and consent of the Cardinals, and with the certain knowledge and full authority which supplies for any defect of law, as a public heretic and perjurer, a rebel and excommunicate, and a corrupt member cut off from the body of the Catholic Church. The cathedral

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 387, 435 *seq.*, 441 *seq.*

[2] See the Acta consist. *ibid.* 473. *Cf.* UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 520 *seq.* Special prayers for Germany had already been ordered. Alaleone *reports on February 11, 1583: "Pontifex descendit pedester ad s. Petrum orationis causa propter iubilaeum plenarium ad extirpandam haeresim, augendam fidem catholicam in Germania et unionem principum." Diarium, p. 10 (b), Cod. Barb., Vatican Library.

chapter is then requested to nominate a new bishop as soon as possible.[1]

Together with this bull were sent the first money subsidies from the Pope to Cologne,[2] where Malaspina had been since March 28th, and Bonhomini since April 20th. Among the faculties sent to Bonhomini on April 4th was an authority in the case of extreme necessity, and after a period of three months, to nominate a new archbishop himself even without the chapter.[3] The use of this measure, provided for by the canon law, was not, however, necessary. Under the direction of Bonhomini, who from the first was the man really trusted by the Curia, the Pope's representatives made preparations for the new election; they specially made it their object to exclude the Protestant canons from that act, and their efforts at length met with the desired result. They were also successful in removing the other difficulties. After Ernest had got rid of his competitors by money payments, on June 2nd (May 23rd), his nomination as Archbishop of Cologne took place by a unanimous vote.[4] So as to cut at the root of the evil, Bonhomini, who in this matter as well acted as the courageous pioneer of the Catholic restoration, stood firm in his intention of excluding the Protestant canons from the cathedral chapter, and issued a decree that none could be admitted to the chapter who had not made the Tridentine profession of faith. At the same time the nuncio occupied himself with the moral reform of the clergy of Cologne.[5]

[1] The Bull is printed inaccurately in Isselt, 227 *seq.*; a more reliable version in Leonharti Waramundi Turingi admonitio in anathematismum, quo Gregorius XIII. Gebh. Truchsessium damnavit, Lugd. Bat., 1583. *Cf.* Lossen, II., 235, 251 *seq.*; Bezold, II., n. 171.

[2] See *ibid.* n. 126.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 482.

[4] See Unkel in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 525 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xxxc.; Lossen, II., 258-298.

[5] *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 578, 584, 596, 599, 617; Theiner, III., 398; Unkel in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 531 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xxxvi.; Lossen, II., 315 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*

The great triumph won at Cologne, which also served as an example and warning to the other bishops[1] whose faith was in the balance, could not, however, be said to be complete, in that Ernest for his part was not above reproach. Having become a priest against his will, as was the case with most of the secular princes of his time, his conduct was by no means moral. The Jesuits rightly lamented the tragic fate of the Church of Germany, in that under such dangerous circumstances it had not been possible to find a worthy head for holy Cologne.[2] But in any case Ernest gave the certainty that when Gebhard appealed to arms, the war of Cologne could only end in one way, and that Duke William V. of Bavaria would throw the whole weight of his influence into his brother's cause.

In acting as he had done Gebhard had placed his chief hopes in foreign help, but he was soon disillusioned; the insurgents of Holland could give him no help, as the Spaniards had the upper hand there at the moment, France was held back from intervention by her internal dissensions, while even among his new co-religionists in Germany the decided and harmonious unity which he had looked for was wanting. Decisive in this respect was the attitude of the Elector Augustus of Saxony, to whom the thought of the Empire, and the maintenance of the religious peace of Augsburg, which only allowed the apostasy of an ecclesiastical prince at the cost of the loss of his dignities and rights, seemed of greater importance than the further advance of Protestantism. Moreover, Augustus feared lest Gebhard should join the Calvinists.[3] Thus it was only the house of the Palatinate, and especially the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the Counts

[1] At that time, in Rome itself, suspicions were entertained of the Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 516, 520, 626 *seq.* For Wolfgang *cf.* A. L. Beit, Kirche und Kirchenwesen in Mainz, 25 *seq.*

[2] See Janssen-Pastor, V. 15-16, 38.

[3] See Riezler, IV., 643. *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, *loc. cit.*, 41 *seq.*

of the Wetterau, and a few cities that joined Gebhard, and this support was all the more insufficient, as the Pope energetically brought the whole weight of his authority, and all his shrewd political ability to bear in winning over the Emperor, and cleverly uniting the policy of the house of Bavaria with Catholic interests.[1]

The bloody struggle for the archdiocese of Cologne which Gebhard had begun dragged on at first for several months without definite result, as both the friends of the apostate archbishop and his Catholic adversaries lacked what was all important, sufficient money. But even in this respect the superiority of the Catholics soon showed itself. Of the ecclesiastical princes of Germany only the excellent Bishop Julius of Würzburg gave a large subsidy,[2] but all the more

[1] *Cf.* HANSEN (Nuntiaturberichte, I., lxiv.) who, as the best authority on the subject, says: "Available documents have proved, without any possibility of doubt, that the success of the Catholic restoration in Cologne must be ascribed, in the first place, to the initiative of the Papal government and not, as was previously supposed, to Duke William of Bavaria, brother of the new archbishop. From the very beginning, the Curia tackled the disorders at Cologne with great decision and firmness, and allowed no obstacles to deflect it from its chosen course of action. To this skilful leadership must be attributed the success against an undertaking which, though formidable in itself, was nevertheless, set on foot by an incompetent personality and was badly prepared and worse supported. From the moment when Gebhard's apostacy became an accomplished fact, the Papal government refused to have any further dealings with him; and the same determination was shown in the extreme measures adopted towards the Cathedral Chapter when Bonhomini was given full power to appoint an archbishop should the election fail to produce a suitable person. It was the Curia that induced Duke Ernest, against his will, to go to Cologne and press his candidature; and the Curia it was that persuaded him to remain there despite the fact that, despairing of success, he frequently desired to leave. Again it was the Curia that knew so well how to bend to its will the weak and vacillating Imperial policy."

[2] *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 511 *seq.*

generous were the Pope and the Duke of Bavaria, who took upon their own shoulders the principal burden of the war.

Gregory XIII. did not content himself with supporting the cause of Ernest everywhere with briefs of recommendation, but in spite of his own financial straits gave as much money as he could. As early as March 1583 he sent to Vienna to the Emperor, who wished at first to take the part of Gebhard, a gift of 100,000 florins, which at once had its effect.[1] To Duke William of Bavaria the Papal Camera had sent by the autumn, through the bank of the Welser, 90,000 florins. Other sums followed.[2] No less important was the fact that Gregory XIII., ignoring the fact that Rudolph II. was not pleased with the introduction of foreign troops into the territory of the Empire, showed great activity in Madrid to induce the King of Spain to send prompt and effective assistance to the army of Bavaria by means of his governor in the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese. The Pope pointed out that not only the Catholic religion, but also the House of Austria was gravely threatened.[3] As Spain only corresponded insufficiently to this request, in September Filippo Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, was sent to Madrid on a special mission. Sega, however, was not able to obtain any financial assistance from Philip, although he was able to cause definite orders to be sent to Alessandro Farnese to support the Archbishop of Cologne in every way.[4] William V. of Bavaria displayed great zeal, and in spite of his own debts expended large sums. By the end of November, these sums amounted to 200,000 florins.[5] It was due above all to the troops raised by him,

[1] See *ibid.* 311, 384.

[2] See THEINER, III., 402, 489 *seq.*, 496, 499; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lxv., 697; RITTER, I., 608; LOSSEN, II., 456. *Cf.* the *report of the Mantuan envoy of September 24, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 657 *seq.*, 674, 681, 685 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 201.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 697, 702 *seq.*, 711, 713.

[5] See RIEZLER, IV., 642.

and commanded by Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, that Ernest remained Archbishop of Cologne, and that Gebhard had to take refuge in the Low Countries.[1]

[1] For the details the reader is referred to the magnificent and exhaustive description in the second volume of Lossen's work, Der Kölnische Krieg, where copious use is made of published and unpublished material. In his preface, the author boasts of his impartiality, and although this self-praise may be more or less well-deserved on the whole, there are certain passages which show quite clearly that he belonged to the party of the so-called Old Catholics. Lossen cannot mention the Jesuits without a taunt, and (on page 315) Bonhomini is taken to task for being a zealot because he declared certain notoriously heretical canons to have forfeited their benefices. It is a complete travesty of the truth to suggest, as Lossen does (p. 686), that the Catholics, the Pope and the Duke of Bavaria were responsible for the outbreak of the religious war which caused so much suffering to the population of the Rhine land and Westphalia. These were not the guilty parties, for they merely resisted strenuously when unjust attacks were made on their rights and their religion. The real culprit was Gebhard who, in defiance to all the laws of the land, desired to keep a wife and an archbishopric at the same time. Impartial Protestants such as, for example, B. K. Hagen (Deutsche Geschichte, IV., 410), do not hesitate to speak of the "rather unsavoury" motives which induced Gebhard to embrace Protestantism, to break his vows and to attempt the overthrow of the civil constitution. This national side to the question is completely ignored by Lossen. When Gebhard spoke, not only of resisting the "tyranny" of the Pope, but also of "preserving German liberty" (*Letter to Frankfurt a/M of July 2, 1583, Municipal Archives, Frankfurt a/M.), he understood, by that, the introduction of complete independence for each separate State. In his review of Lossen's book, Stieve rightly emphasises the fact that it was thanks to the victory of the Catholic party that "the territorial politics of the German States, which for centuries had tended towards the destruction of the Empire, did not, at that time, split the Empire into a series of independent states; but that the valuable bond of national unity was maintained." (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1898, Supplement No. 43).

With the victory won by Gregory XIII. in union with the Duke of Bavaria, the greatest danger which had threatened Catholicism since 1555 was overcome. A victory on the part of Gebhard, on the other hand, with all its incalculable consequences, would have resulted not only in the triumph and absolute mastery of Protestantism in Germany, but would also have brought about a very difficult state of affairs for the Church in the neighbouring Low Countries and France. Like the north of Europe the whole of the west of Europe would also have gradually passed over to Protestantism. With profound shrewdness Henry of Navarre realized this when, fortunately for the Catholic cause, he vainly pointed out to the Lutheran princes of Germany that they must put an end to their divisions and their isolation from their co-religionists in other countries, and unite in a general Protestant alliance against the Papacy and the House of Hapsburg, in which case the triumph of Protestantism would have been assured. The case of Gebhard was "more important than anything else that had happened in Christendom for centuries"; "nothing else" he told John Casimir, "is of greater importance for the destruction of the Papacy."[1] To Queen Elizabeth of England, too, Navarre recommended in March, 1585,[2] "the holy cause of Gebhard, which was of so great importance to the whole of Christendom," but without result, as the Queen of England, as a believer in practical politics, was only guided by the interests of her own kingdom. When he implored her to help him, Gebhard, "abandoned by all," had to put up with hearing from the lips of the "virgin queen" that by his marriage "he had made it clear that he was not guided by the spirit of faith, but rather by his carnal desires of earthly enjoyments."[3]

It is easy to understand that the joy of the Catholic party was great at the victorious result of the historically important

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 45 *seq.* for the particular documents.

[2] See BERGER DE XIVREY, II., 18.

[3] See BERTHOLD in *Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch*, N. F. I., Leipzig, 1840, 70 *seq.*

struggle for the archbishopric of Cologne,[1] which was to a certain extent the decisive struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany.[2] But they did not fail to realize how much still remained to be done to give internal effect to the victory they had won. If the Catholic restoration was to endure in the archdiocese of Cologne, Catholic reform must be enforced there. Not only was an improvement in the religious conditions of the vast diocese absolutely necessary, but no less necessary was the supervision and guidance of the new archbishop, whose election had not been brought about by merit, but by his power to defend by force the maintenance of religion in the archdiocese.[3] It was realized too that it would only be by obtaining better information than had been the case hitherto, that a similar danger could promptly be avoided in the future. Events in the Low Countries too had made it clear that it was very desirable to have a permanent representative of the Holy See in Lower Germany. The logical result of these considerations was the necessity of establishing a special and permanent nunciature at Cologne.

The great Archbishop of Trêves, Johann von Schönenberg, had given the first impulse to this at the beginning of 1583 in a conversation with Minucci, and he had pointed

[1] According to LOSSEN (II., 646 *seq.*). The importance of the conflict is reflected in the popular literature of the time; *cf.* SOLTAN, Hist. Volkslieder, Leipzig, 1836, 437 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, Jesuiten, I., 68; *Zeitschrift des bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XII., 75 *seq.*; *Picks Monatsschrift*, I., 365 *seq.* See also the German *satirical poem with the superscription: "Honores mutant mores, sed raro in meliores," in fasc. 9953 of the Municipal Archives, Frankfurt a/M. A Latin lampoon beginning: "O Truchsess trux es, dux es, mala lux, mala nux es," in the Lucerne Archives.

[2] "Possession of the Rhine countries turned the scale in the war between Protestants and Catholics in Germany," says PLATZHOFF, Die Stellung der Rheinlande in der deutschen Geschichte, Bonn, 1921, 9.

[3] See UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 721 *seq.*

to Bonhomini[1] as the man best suited to the purpose; Minucci welcomed the suggestion and supported it with great zeal. Malaspina wrote a special memorial in favour of a new diplomatic representation of the Holy See on the Lower Rhine, and proposed Minucci for the purpose, Bonhomini also pronouncing in his favour. The latter advised that Minucci should be left for the present at Cologne, even though at first he was not given the title of nuncio. Later on he withdrew the objections he felt to giving him that title. On June 23rd, 1583, he asked Charles Borromeo for his support of a new nunciature on the Lower Rhine, saying that he was convinced that all the other nuncios together who were at that time working on behalf of the Holy See could not effect so much good as one at Cologne alone. Bonhomini, however, was no longer thinking of Minucci for the purpose at that time, but of Francesco Bossi, the friend of Borromeo, and Bishop of Novara.[2]

With its customary unwillingness to act hastily, the Holy See adopted at first a waiting attitude towards these suggestions, and it was only after repeated requests from Bonhomini that a decision was arrived at; on December 21st, 1583, Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State, wrote to him that the decision to send a nuncio to Cologne had been come to, and that the appointment would be made before Easter, 1584.[3]

Nevertheless there was still a delay in carrying the decision into effect, because of the difficulty found in the choice of the man to be appointed. Objections and difficulties were raised against all the candidates hitherto suggested, among whom was Feliciano Ninguarda.[4] In the end, in October, 1584, contrary to all expectations and to his own wishes,

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 362; UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 723.

[2] See *ibid.* 725. Malaspina's memorandum in THEINER, III., 404 *seq.*

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 732.

[4] *Cf.* UNKEL, *loc. cit.* 729 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 733 *seq.*; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxxix.

Bonhomini was appointed nuncio at Cologne. Malaspina, the nuncio at Graz, who was to succeed him in Prague, received orders to convey to him his instructions, which were dated October 27th. His credentials had already been sent on October 20th. A brief of January 19th, 1585, determined the faculties of Bonhomini as well as the limits of his nunciature, which was to include the ecclesiastical provinces of Cologne, Mayence and Trêves, the dioceses of Basle, Strasbourg, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Liège, the territory of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, and Spanish Flanders.[1]

When Bonhomini realized that the Pope had made up his mind, he withdrew his objections. He paid another visit to his beloved diocese of Vercelli, and set out for Germany from thence. On March 26th, 1585, he reached Trêves, where he at once began upon the labours of his new office, which Cardinal Galli declared to be the most honourable and important that had been conferred for many years.[2] The choice of the Pope can only be described as excellent, for Bonhomini was in every way the very man to cope with the many and great exigencies which the new office laid upon the man who held it, both as a truly pastoral and episcopal work, and with regard to the reorganization of affairs in the Netherlands.

The establishment of the nunciature at Cologne was one

[1] See HARTZHEIM, Concilia, VIII., 498 *seq.*; UNKEL, *loc. cit.* 731, 733, 736; THEINER, III., 500; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 735; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xliv. *seq.*, 4.

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 734; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xl. Bonhomini arrived in Cologne on April 9, the day before Gregory XIII.'s death. The motives for the establishment of the Cologne nunciature were later rewritten in the instruction for the nuncio Montorio of July 31, 1621, where it is stated that the occupant of the post is, above all, to watch "sopra le piu illustri e gran chiese della Germania e principalmente sopra li tre Elettorati accioche non s'introduchino ne capitoli cattolici heretici, non s'eleggano prelati non cattolici e non zelanti" see LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 129. *Cf.* PACCA, Mem. storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania, 235 *seq.*

of the last and one of the most important measures of Gregory XIII. A short time before Bonhomini reached Cologne that pontificate which had witnessed the beginning of a new era for the Church in Germany came to an end. During the pontificate of Gregory great things had been accomplished in the north; the dioceses of Hildesheim, Cologne and, for the most part, of Münster, had been saved to Catholicism; at Fulda, Würzburg and Eichsfeld the ecclesiastical revival had made great progress, and the Catholic restoration was in preparation in Austria as well as Bavaria. It had been in a special way due to the Pope that things had developed as they had.[1] It was due to the nuncios whom he sent that the Church of Germany was inspired with new life; the colleges which Gregory had founded shared the merit of having laid the foundations upon which the new religious life could be built up. In Rome men of great influence had long resisted the conviction that it was no longer by the disciplinary measures of the middle ages that the new doctrines in the countries which had apostatized could be destroyed, but that salvation could only come from the instruction given by a clergy trained for the purpose from the beginning. In the time of Gregory XIII. the great protector and founder of the colleges, these ideas had won the day.

The Catholic reformation of the XVIth century must be specially connected with three great names; it was Ignatius of Loyola who traced the fundamental ideas, and drew out the plan for the revival of the Church; in connexion with him, and on the basis of the Council of Trent, Charles Borromeo became the legislator of the new ecclesiastical discipline, and in union with Borromeo, Pius V. reformed Rome and the

[1] A *brief of March 15, 1582, which calls upon Bishop Johann of Strasbourg to work harmoniously with Cardinal Madruzzo at the Diet, rightly says: "Perspectum esse fraternitati tuae facile arbitramur nostrum perpetuum studium rerum Germanicarum. Nihil est, quod tantopere cupiamus quam nobilissimam illam provinciam omni munere coelesti cumulatissimam esse, idque assidue Deum precamur." (Departmental Archives, Strasbourg, G. 172).

Papal court. Gregory XIII. was able to gather in the harvest which these illustrious predecessors had sowed. Ignatius had provided hundreds of unassuming teachers who, with the sweat of their brow, laboured for the young on the benches of the schools, Borromeo and Pius had trained prelates who could be employed as nuncios. Under Gregory XIII. the right way for the Church of Germany had been taken; to what this way might have led, if external circumstances, and especially the desire for conquest on the part of the neighbouring states, had not changed vast territories of Germany into a shapeless mass of ruins, can hardly be imagined. Once again it had been proved what a treasure the Church possesses in the calumniated Papacy, the living and vigorous source from which she is for ever drawing new strength.

CHAPTER IX.

The Catholic Revival in Poland.

After France, even in the time of Francis I., had entered into close relations with Turkey, the peace which first Venice, and then Spain had, to the great grief of Gregory XIII., concluded with the hereditary enemy of Christendom, implied the abandonment by the Latin nations of their ancient and historical mission in the east. It was therefore natural that henceforward the attention and the hopes of the Pope should have been turned to that state in the east of Europe which, especially on account of the increasing weakness of Germany,[1] seemed both on account of its position and its own interests, to be destined to oppose a barrier by land to the advance of the Turks. This was the great kingdom of Poland, which hitherto, by reason of its internal dissensions, had been unable to make use of its power outside its own borders, and had adopted a policy of neutrality towards Turkey. A change of policy seemed possible when the throne fell vacant at the death of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagellons, which took place on July 7th, 1572.

The election of the King of Poland thus became a matter of great importance, not only for the war against Turkey, but also for the progress of the Catholic restoration in Poland, and in the eastern countries of Europe. Gregory XIII., to whom Cardinal Hosius described the state of affairs in Poland, recognized this so clearly that he ordered public prayers for the happy issue of the election.[2]

Many candidates, including Protestants, offered themselves

[1] In the November of 1574, Maximilian II. prolonged his peace with the Porte; see Hammer, III., 609 *seq.*

[2] See Hosii Op. II., 332; Eichhorn, II., 427.

for the vacant throne. At first Sigismund Wasa, the son of John III., King of Sweden and Catherine Jagellon, Duke Frederick Albert of Prussia, the Czar Ivan IV., the Archduke Ernest of Austria, came forward, and then Duke Henry of Anjou, the Voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, Anna, the sister of Sigismund Augustus, and lastly the King of Sweden himself.[1] Of the above named the Archduke Ernest of Austria seemed to the Pope the most desirable, both for the war against the Turks and for the protection of Catholic interests. The Cardinal legate, Commendone, even before the death of Sigismund Augustus, had received express orders to work for the candidature of the Hapsburg prince.[2] After the death of the king the Polish bishops were urged in a special brief to use their influence in union and agreement with the legate for the election of a good Catholic ruler.

Cardinal Commendone was not wanting in zeal. He strove at first, with great labour and skill, to unite the Catholics of Poland, and to prevent a union of the Protestants. He was successful in averting the danger of the election of a Protestant king, but his efforts on behalf of Duke Ernest met with no success, on account of the extravagant policy of the irresolute and badly advised Emperor.[3]

The Porte worked against the candidature of Austria, but much more against that of Russia, seeing in the Czar an adversary who might become very dangerous. In the impossibility of elevating a trusted partisan to the throne

[1] See BIAUDET, Le St.-Siège, I., 204 *seq.*

[2] P. DE CENIVAL, 118 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GRATIANUS, Vita Commendoni, IV., 2; PILINSKI, Das polnische Interregnum von 1572-73 und die polnische Königswahl Heinrichs von Valois, Heidelberg, 1861; REIMANN in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 69 *seq.*; DE NOAILLES, Henri de Valois et la Pologne en 1572, 3 vols, Paris, 1867, 2nd edition, 1878, SCHIEMANN, Russland, Polen und Livland, II., 344 *seq.*; BIAUDET, Le St.-Siège, I., 212 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*; P. DE CENIVAL, 119 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* The arbitrary conduct of the nuncio Vincenzo Portico, who supported the candidature of Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, led to his recall; *cf.* BIAUDET, *loc. cit.* 229 *seq.*

of Poland, Turkey at length declared in favour of Henry of Anjou, whose election, as the result of the unceasing and unscrupulous efforts of French diplomacy, was announced on May 16th, 1573.

The absence of any hope of the election of the Archduke Ernest forced Gregory XIII. to fall in with the French candidature. Although he did this comparatively soon the change was very distasteful to him.[1] But no other course lay open to him, as this at anyrate prevented a Protestant becoming King of Poland.[2] The religious future of that country seemed to be all the more seriously threatened as the Protestants, before the election of the king and under the leadership of Firley, the grand marshal of the crown, had formed a confederation at Warsaw which promised full equality of rights to all who differed in faith (excluding only the non-Christian sects, such as the Antitrinitarians and the Anabaptists), and granting supreme authority over their subjects even in religious questions to the noble land-owners. This agreement violated Catholic interests, in that it placed Protestant and Catholic worship on an equal footing, even though the latter had not ceased to be the state religion, and prevented any attempt to recover stolen ecclesiastical property.[3] The bishops, with the single exception of the Bishop of Cracow, refused to recognize the federation, and in

[1] Gregory XIII. made, as BIAUDET says (*loc. cit.* 236), "bonne mine à mauvais jeu." From this attitude, Maximilian concluded that Commendone had not sufficiently supported the Archduke Ernest; see P. TIEPOLO, 227 and Venez. Depeschen, III., 524, note 6. For the attitude of Commendone and the difficult situation in which he was placed see NOAILLES, II. (2), 256 *seq.*; P. DE CENIVAL, 157 *seq.* He was made responsible for everything that took place, not only at the imperial court (see Nuntiaturberichte edited by SCHELLHASS, III., 52), but also in the Curia (*cf.* the *Relatione di Serguidi of 1581, State Archives at Florence). In reality it was Galli's "politique trop ondoyante et pleine de trop d'intentions" that was to blame; see P. DE CENIVAL, 175.

[2] *Cf.* P. DE CENIVAL, 135 *seq.*

[3] See BERGA, Skarga, 180 *seq.*

this they were encouraged by Cardinal Commendone. In his speech before the Diet of Warsaw the Cardinal had opposed the attempt to make the various religions live in peace together by citing the action of Samson, when he tied together the foxes' tails, set fire to them and thus burned the harvests of the Philistines.[1]

Even though the Protestants were unsuccessful in getting their confederation generally accepted, they nevertheless succeeded in persuading Jean de Montluc, the leader of the French embassy, to swear to it. When the primate Uchanski learned of this he made a protest and declared the oath null.[2] King Henry accepted the protest, but was forced by Firley to take an oath in which the dissentients saw a confirmation of the liberties that had been promised to them.[3] As the new nuncio, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovì,[4] who went first to Paris and afterwards to Warsaw, resolutely defended the rights of the Catholics,[5] Henry would have found himself involved in a serious conflict if the death of his brother Charles IX., which occurred on May 30th, 1574, after only four months' reign, had not unexpectedly obliged him to return to France.

The Catholics were supremely humiliated, though the Protestants rejoiced, at the departure of the king, which was almost a flight;[6] the latter hoped that one of themselves

[1] Reimann in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 108.

[2] See Eichhorn, II., 435. *Cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 126 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lüdtke in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.* (III.², 1859 *seq.*, where the special Polish literature is utilized.

[4] *Cf.* Vita V. Laurei card. Montisregalis Ruggerio Tritonio auctore, Bononiae, 1599.

[5] *Cf.* Maffei, I., 111 *seq.*; Eichhorn, II., 484 *seq.*, 488 *seq.*; Reimann in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XII., 380 *seq.*, whose article, as Hergenröther rightly remarks (III. [1880], 435) needs a great deal of sifting. Since then have appeared Laureo's reports in Wierzbowski, V. Laureo nonce apost. en Pologne 1574-78, Warsaw, 1887, unfortunately in a very defective edition; *cf.* Korzeniowski in the Cracow periodical *Przeglad polski*, 1888 May number.

[6] See Berga, Skarga, 188.

would now obtain the throne. The Papal nuncio Laureo at once developed a strenuous activity and succeeded in preventing the summoning of a national council. He would have been glad to save Poland from the bitter controversies of a new election, but the Diet of Warsaw resolved to give the king until May 12th in the following year as the last date for his return, and if he should not do so to declare that he had forfeited the crown.[1]

Almost the same candidates as in 1572 found themselves opposed to each other in the renewed fight for election. The Emperor himself came forward on behalf of Austria, and with him his son Ernest and the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol.[2] Gregory XIII. again favoured the candidature of Austria,[2] as the union of Austria and Poland held out the best hopes for the war against Turkey. Báthory on the other hand was dependent on the Turks, and thus seemed to promise very little security for the Catholic Church, as his religious opinions were spoken of as doubtful.[4] In December, 1575, a two-fold election took place; the primate Uchanski, Archbishop of Gnesen, on the 12th proclaimed in the name of the senatorial party the Emperor Maximilian as King of Poland, while two days later the *Schlachta* elected Stephen Báthory,

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 125 *seq.*; WIERZBOWSKI, V. Laureo; N. BAIN in the *English Historical Review*, 1889, 645 *seq.* *Cf.* also SZADECZKY, Báthory István Lengyel királylyá választása. 1571-1576, Budapest, 1887.

[2] In addition to the works of Wierzbowski and Szádeczky referred to in the preceding note, see also NOAILLES (2), 475 *seq.* See also HIRN, II., 243 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 231 *seq.*, 274, note; WIERBOWSKI, two Candidatures for the Polish Throne: William von Rosenberg and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, Warsaw, 1889 (in Russian). *Cf.* also HÜPPE, De Poloniae post Henricum interregno 1575-76, Vratislaviae, 1866.

[3] See BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist. xli.

[4] See Vol. XIX. of this work, Appendix No. 28, the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, (Boncompagni Archives at Rome).

on the condition of his marrying Anna Jagellon, the sister of Sigismund Augustus.[1]

In spite of his sympathy for the candidature of Austria, Gregory XIII., out of consideration for France, had been obliged to maintain an attitude of reserve.[2] His nuncio, however, had worked strenuously for Maximilian. After the two-fold election he urged the Emperor to take action, but quite in vain. On account of the hesitation and inertness of Maximilian his supporters decreased while those of Báthory increased in number. At the end of April the latter made his solemn entry into Cracow, where, after the celebration of his marriage with the Princess Anna, he was crowned on May 1st, 1576, as King of Poland, by Stanislaus Karnkowski, Bishop of Leslau. On July 5th, he announced his election to the Pope in a humble letter. He asked for his protection and announced the sending of envoys for the *obedientia*.[3] Thus the attitude of the Holy See towards the Polish question was substantially altered. Rome had to take into account what had actually been done, for otherwise the most serious disadvantages for religion in that country would have ensued.[4] Gregory XIII., however, had the greatest consideration for the Emperor, and at first refused to give any reply to the envoys of Báthory,[5] but caused the

[1] See WIERBOWSKI, Laureo, 281-316; SZADECZKY, *loc. cit.* 198 *seq.* The report of the election arrived in Rome by special messenger on Thursday (according to a *report of Giulio Masetti, dat. February 8, 1576). On the following Monday the messenger had audience of the Pope. (State Archives, Modena).

[2] See *Sporeno's reports dated Rome, January 2 and February 24, 1575 (Government Archives, Innsbruck). *Cf.* HIRN, II., 84.

[3] See THEINER, II., 206 *seq.* On June 10 Laureo was instructed by Báthory to await the Pope's reply outside the kingdom; see SZADECZKY, 417. Laureo went to Breslau to await events; see WIERBOWSKI, Laureo, p. iv.

[4] See Galli's letter to Morone of July 21, 1576, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 93.

[5] Báthory had also applied to Hosius for help; see THEINER, II., 208.

attitude which was to be adopted towards the claimants to the Polish crown to be discussed once more by a congregation of Cardinals.[1] Their decision was made substantially easier by the favourable reports received of Báthory's religious sentiments, and by the news of the death of the Emperor which reached Rome at the end of October.[2] Gregory XIII. now no longer delayed in recognizing Báthory as King of Poland, and in accrediting Vincenzo Laureo as nuncio at his court, by a brief of November 6th, 1576.[3]

The ten years of the reign of Stephen Báthory, perhaps the greatest of the kings of Poland,[4] were to be of decisive importance for the religious future of the Polish kingdom.

Perhaps in no nation of Europe had the apostasy from Rome led to such great confusion of faith as in Poland. Besides the Lutherans, Calvinists and Greek schismatics who had been numerous there for a long time past, the country contained a varied assortment of every kind of sect; Zwinglians, Bohemian Brothers, Neo-Arians, Anabaptists,

[1] The Congregation was established on October 12, 1576; see SANTORI, Diario consist. XXV., 119. *Cf.* *Giulio Masetti's report of October 13, 1576 (State Archives, Modena). See also MAFFEI, I., 230. For Báthory's ambassador Zamoiski see HEINICKE in the *Programm des Hohensteiner Gymnasiums*, 1853, and *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 148, 153, 168.

[2] On October 26, 1576, Gregory XIII. imparted the news to the cardinals, see *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf.* *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 172.

[3] See THEINER, II., 209 *seq.* In SZADECZKY, 429 *seq.*, the brief is given with the wrong date, "August 6," owing to a mistake in the copy from which it was reproduced.

[4] According to LISKE in his review (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXI., 375) of ZAKRZEWISKI's St. Bátory, Cracow, 1887. This magnificent work first drew attention to the importance of Báthory. KRASINSKI also says (Geschichte der Reformation in Polen, 181) that Báthory's reign was "one of the most glorious epochs in the history of Poland." NOAILLES (II.[2], 484), calls Báthory one of the best and greatest of Poland's kings.

Antitrinitarians, and finally Socinians.[1] As some of these sects called in question the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, so there were not wanting in addition true free-thinkers, who denied all doctrine, and others who adopted a convenient indifferentism.[2] The easily moved and inflammable character of the Poles on the one hand, and the many foreigners, Germans as well as Italians, on the other, who had settled all over the country, for the most part as merchants, had led to the spread of the most varied and often most radical ideas.[3]

The principal support of Protestantism was the aristocracy, and especially the *Schlachta*, or lesser country gentry, who often forced their serfs by fines to attend the sermons of the innovators. In addition to material considerations a decisive influence was exercised over the Polish magnates by their spirit of independence. "Our state is free," said the nobles; "if the king has no power to give us orders, much less have the Pope and the bishops."[4]

A free hand had been given to the Protestants of Poland by the confederation of Warsaw. The Catholics, however, under the leadership of Archbishop Uchanski of Gnesen, had protested against this agreement as illegal; even the one

[1] *Cf.* Bukowski, Dzieje Reformacye w Polsce, II., 366; Trechsel, Die protest. Antitrinitarier vor F. Socinus, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1839, 1844; *Freib. Kirchenlex.* (2), I., 975 *seq.*, XI., 465 *seq.*; Fock, Der Socinianismus, Kiel, 1847; Luckfiel in the *Zeitschrift der Hist. Ges. für die Prov. Posen*, 1892-93; *Real-Enzykl. für protest. Theol.*, XVIII.[3], 459 *seq.*; Morawski, Arianie polscy, Lemberg, 1906; Zivier, I., 740 *seq.*, 764 *seq.*, 770. A monograph on Lelio and Fausto Sozzini is expected from the pen of the Sienese scholar Ant. Mazzei.

[2] For the Polish deists and freethinkers see Merczyny in *Przeglad Historyczny*, XII., Warsaw, 1911, 3 *seq.* and von Dunin-Borkowski in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LXXXV., 165 *seq.* For the Czech Neo-Arianism see also Brückner, Roznowiercy polscy (Polish sectaries), 239 *seqq.*

[3] See Spannocchi, Relatione, 244 *seq.* For the Italians see Bolognetti's report in Theiner, III., 727 *seq.*

[4] See Spannocchi, Relatione, 243.

bishop who had at first recognized it, Krasinski of Cracow, joined in this protest,[1] but Báthory had to promise to maintain the confederation of Warsaw. With scrupulous conscientiousness, he kept to this promise during the whole ten years of his reign ;[2] but in other respects, as a deeply convinced Catholic,[3] he, with his wife Anna and his chancellor Zamoiski, did everything in his power to further the interests of the Catholics. The Babel-like confusion in religious matters which prevailed in Poland, filled him and all who had the good of the kingdom at heart, with the greatest anxiety. As Hosius rightly said in one of his letters, he fully realized that from the time when Poland had abandoned the Catholic faith, her political faith had also disappeared, and that the kingdom could only be at peace when once again it had *one* faith.[4] But in the circumstances Báthory saw no other way out than rigorously to maintain the confederation of Warsaw. Nevertheless the Protestants did not succeed in obtaining anything more than a passive toleration. How anxious Báthory was to restore the Catholic Church was shown in the first year of his reign by his ordering the restitution of all the churches under the royal patronage which had been stolen by the Protestants. He made a conscientious use of his right of patronage by informing himself of the merits of the candidates.[5] This action of the king substantially facilitated the work of Catholic restoration, the principal promoters of which were, besides Cardinal Hosius, the Jesuits Skarga and Possevino, and the Papal nuncios.[5]

Laureo and the Archbishop of Gnesen, Uchanski, had acted as presidents of the provincial synod held at Petrikau in May, 1577. This assembly not only repudiated the confederation of the dissentients at Warsaw, but unanimously accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent, and issued further special

[1] See *ibid.* 249.

[2] See Berga, Skarga, 190 ; Boratyński, Caligarii Epist., xlv.

[3] Boratyński, Batory, 243.

[4] Hosii Op. II., 404 *seq.* Eichhorn, II., 496.

[5] See Berga, Skarga, 190-1.

[6] *Cf.* Wierbowski, Laureo, v. *seq.*

decrees for the reform of the clergy; the acta were sent to Rome for confirmation.[1] This was an event of great importance for the carrying into effect of the Catholic reform. An attempt made against the Catholic clergy by the dissentients in the year following the Diet of Warsaw was fortunately frustrated by the action of Báthory.[2]

Although Hosius, who from Rome took an active part in the fortunes of Poland, could have wished for greater resoluteness on the part of the king in certain matters, the Holy See could on the whole feel very satisfied at his attitude. The King of Poland, it was felt in August, 1577, at the Curia, showed more and more clearly his Catholic sentiments.[3] Laureo too, who at first did not trust Stephen, changed his opinions.[4] His last reports were so encouraging,[5] that the new nuncio whom Gregory XIII. appointed in April, 1578, in the person of Giovanni Andrea Caligari,[6] was charged to express to the king the Pope's gratitude.[7]

The King of Poland made an unequivocal profession of his Catholic sentiments when he sent Paul Uchanski to Rome

[1] See Wierbowski, *loc. cit.* 546 *seqq.*, 561 *seqq.*; Maffei, I., 283 *seq.*; Eichhorn, II., 506 *seq.*, 510; Theiner, II., 394; *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*, XXII. (1869), 89 *seq.*; Zivier, I., 756; Ulanowski in the *Archiwum Kom-Prawniczej*, I. (1895), 496-506; Berga, Skarga, 191.

[2] See Eichhorn, II., 511; Theiner, II., 394 *seq.* For the mitigations granted by the synod in view of special Polish conditions see Boratyński, Caligarii Epist. lv.

[3] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, August 3, 1577 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also St. Szántós' letter to Báthory dat. Rome, December 8, 1577, in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, I., 62 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Boratyński, *loc. cit.* xliv.

[5] See Wierbowski, Laureo, 685.

[6] See the Brief of April 5, 1578, in Theiner, II., 394. The instruction for Caligari dated April 23, 1578, first printed in the *Scelta di curiosità lett.*, 198, Bologna, 1883, 76 *seq.* The reports of Caligari's nunciature can be seen, beautifully edited, in Boratyński; I. A. Caligarii Epist. et Acta (Mon. Pol. Vatic. IV.), Cracoviae, 1915.

[7] See the Instruction of April 23, 1578, *loc. cit.* 5 *seq.*

in 1578 to make his public *obedientia* to the Pope. Gregory XIII., in his reply to this act of homage, on April 11th, 1579, expressed his joy at the zeal which Báthory was showing for the Catholic religion. The king gave a further proof of this by appointing a permanent ambassador in Rome. This important office had been destined for Paul Uchanski, but he lost it because, attracted by the beauties of Italy and its marvels, he made the journey to Rome too slowly. The Bishop of Plock, Peter Dunin Wolski, was appointed in his stead.[1]

The good relations between Báthory and the Holy See were strengthened by the fact that the king supported, as far as he could, the efforts of Gregory for a radical reform and restoration. The Curia learned with satisfaction that he only conferred the benefices in his gift upon good priests, who made the Tridentine profession of faith, and observed the duty of residence. The civil authorities as well in many cases complied with the Pope's wish to place tried Catholics in the more important civil offices. Báthory supported in every way the reform of the regular and secular clergy, which had been laid upon Caligari as his special duty; as he travelled about he often personally inquired into the state of the parishes, and the king soon found others to imitate him. Many of the higher officials publicly displayed their zeal for the Catholic faith.[2] The University of Cracow also showed its loyalty to the Pope when its governing body ordered in 1578 that no one should receive academic degrees who had not made the Tridentine profession of faith.[3]

It was of yet greater importance that Báthory gave effectual help to the Jesuits, not only by assisting them financially,

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 42; *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apostolskich*, I., 302 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 60 *seq.* For the "Obedientia" see BORATYŃSKI, *loc. cit.* 157 *seq.*, 764 *seq.*, and also *Odescalchi's report of April 11, 1579 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 339 *seq.*, II., 139 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*; THEINER, III., 63 *seq.*; SPANNOCCI, Relatione, 274 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 66.

but also in other ways.[1] In so doing he was complying with the special wishes of the Pope, who saw in the support of the Jesuits the best means for the restoration of religion in Poland.[2]

The nuncio Commendone and Hosius had already interested themselves in the introduction of the Jesuits into Poland, being convinced that the clergy were not sufficiently equipped for dealing with the religious innovations, and that the necessary reform of religious conditions could not be looked for without help from outside.[3] Hosius put his wishes into effect by summoning the Jesuits to Braunsberg at the end of 1564, where at the beginning of the following year they opened a college, and soon extended their activities to Poland as well. The first Jesuit house on Polish soil was opened at Pultusk in 1566, which was followed by colleges at Wilna and Posen in the years 1570-1571.[4]

Besides the revival and development of Catholic life, the Jesuits at first looked upon the struggle against Protestantism as their principal task, but they soon also turned their attention to the conversion of the adherents of the Greek schism.[5] Their method of procedure was similar to that which they had adopted in other countries. They resisted

[1] *Cf.* BORATYŃSKI, *loc. cit.* 80 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 470 *seq.* As early as June, 1577, Báthory had written to the Jesuits saying that he would support them "re potius quam verbis"; see ROSTOWSKI, 55.

[2] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, December 6, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Avviso di Roma of February 21, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 57 (Vatican Library).

[3] See BERGA, Skarga, 164.

[4] For the spread of the Jesuits in Poland *cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 1, II., 42, III., 102, IV., 64 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, V., 77, VII., 83 *seq.*, 121; EICHHORN, I., 179, II., 181, 473; ZALESKI, I., 171, 177, 185, 242 *seq.*, 252 *seq.* *Ibid.* 235 *seq.* for Báthory's earlier relations with the Jesuits. For the foundation of the college in Posen see *Zeitschrift der Hist. Ges. für die Prov. Posen, IV.*, 71 *seq.*, 123 *seq.* For the college at Braunsberg *cf.* DUHR, I., 179 *seq.*, 307 *seq.* and *Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Gesch.-Vereins*, 1899, 1 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* LIKOWSKI, Union von Brest, 66.

the spread of the new doctrines by constant preaching and by learned writings; by their excellent teaching they won the respect and confidence of parents, and by their exemplary conduct and sincere piety gave edification to both clergy and people. In some places they attained results bordering on the miraculous, especially when it is remembered that most of the fathers were not Poles; at Gostyn all the inhabitants returned to the Church. The consequence was that the pastors attacked and even threatened the new religious, and often the disciples of St. Ignatius were called upon to show their readiness to suffer severely for their faith. The Jesuits did not mix themselves up in political questions, and during both the interregnums observed a complete neutrality. The authorities of the Order had prudently taken the circumstances into account at the time of the election of Anjou by severing the connexion with Vienna and setting up a separate Polish province.[1]

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, was the most important centre of the Jesuits in the Kingdom of Poland. Báthory himself urged the conversion of the existing college there into a university,[2] and Gregory XIII. carried out this design on October 29th, 1579.[3] When Báthory had taken the city of Polozk from the Russians he hastened to establish a house of the Jesuits there (1580).[4] The new colleges of the Order at Lublin and Kalisch also owed much to the generosity of the king. Gregory XIII. favoured these establishments of the Jesuits in every way, and repeatedly made them con-

[1] *Cf.* BERGA, Skarga, 165, 188, 191. BRÜCKNER also, in *Ullstein's Weltgeschichte* (period 1650 to 1815) describes the Polish Jesuits who opposed protestantism as "men filled with devotion and self-sacrifice, full of strength and will and strength of faith; men of burning eloquence, theological learning and ascetical life."

[2] See THEINER, III., 66.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 560 *seq.* *Cf.* ZALESKI, I., 1, 252 *seq.* and BIELINSKI, Uniw. Wilna, Kraków, 1899-1900.

[4] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 260; IV., 1, 181 *seq.*

siderable gifts.[1] The great activity which they displayed was of ever increasing importance for the religious future of Poland.[2]

As in other places, so in Poland the Jesuits devoted themselves by preference to education and teaching. When the king died they were in charge of two universities, those of Wilna and Braunsberg, eight high schools, and one preparatory school. In order to provide professors for these establishments they had at first to make use of fathers belonging to other nations; side by side with Germans were to be seen Italians, and in some places fathers from Spain, Portugal and England. As the Poles specially esteemed foreign professors, this was of great advantage to the Jesuits.[3] The painstaking and intelligent care which they devoted to the work of education explains the great results obtained by the Jesuits, to whom many who differed from them in faith entrusted their sons. Even more than in Germany it was the sons of the greatest families of Poland who attended the educational establishments so admirably conducted by the Jesuits. In 1581 the college at Pultusk contained 400 pupils, almost all of whom belonged to noble families.[4] The Order also undertook the education of the lower classes;

[1] See *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198, Bologna, 1883, 88 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. der His. Ges. für die Prov. Posen*, IV. (1888), 73; REICHENBERGER, I., 9; BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist. 241 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LJUBOWITSCH, History of the Jesuits in the Lithuanian-Russian Countries, Warsaw, 1888 (Russian), and, by the same author, The Beginnings of the Catholic Reaction and the Decline of the Reformation, Warsaw, 1890 (Russian); also ZALESKI's great work; Jesuici w Polsce, especially I., 1, 363 *seq.*, 375 *seq.*; IV., 1, 44 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, 187 *seq.* An abbreviated edition, in one volume, appeared at Cracow in 1908. See also ARGENTUS, Ad Sigismundum III., Ingolst., 1616; POLLARD, The Jesuits in Poland, Oxford, 1892, 26 *seqq.*; SCHMURLO, Russia and Italy I., Petersburg, 1908, 123 (Russian).

[3] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 376 *seq.*

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 186.

thus free Ruthenian elementary schools were opened at Wilna and Pultusk in order to draw the Ruthenian children from the schismatic schools; there were others at Braunsberg for the children of the German workmen.[1]

The Jesuits were equally indefatigable in the care of souls. Especially did they encourage, by their striking and practical sermons, those who had remained faithful to the Church, and won back to it many Calvinists and Lutherans who had left it. They also devoted their care to the schismatic Ruthenians, and Fathers Herbest and Nahai are specially mentioned as the apostles of the territory inhabited by them.[2] The success of the Jesuits in converting the Protestant wives of the chancellor Zamoiski and the Voivodes of Podolia caused the greatest amazement. There were also numerous conversions among the lower classes, especially among the schismatic Ruthenians. During Lent, 1579, the king himself witnessed the reception into the Church at Wilna of eighty-two Protestants and forty Greek schismatics. Similar conversions continued in the following year, as is shown by the reports of the nuncio Caligari. Skarga received into the Church no less than 134 Protestants and schismatics, and about 100 Bernardines at Wilna.[3]

How energetically the Jesuits devoted themselves to the religious instruction of the people was shown not only by their sermons, but also by the lectures which they delivered to the educated classes in the larger cities, two or three times a week, for the explanation of the more important passages of Scripture; in the smaller cities there were corresponding lectures on the catechism. The fathers gave a practical turn to the confraternities, bearing in mind the conditions of the time, by exhorting the members to the practice of good works and especially to the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. In this way, moreover, they at the same time refuted the doctrines of the innovators. This was also done by their

[1] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 377.

[2] *Ibid.* 387.

[3] See BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., liv, 472, 533, 540, 623, 654, 775 *seq.*, *cf* 781 *seq.*, 823, 829, 836 *seq.*

great literary activity and by their taking part in the public religious disputations then in vogue, the most celebrated of which were those held in the seventh decade of the century at Wilna and Posen, and in the eighth at Lublin.[1]

The king, whose confessor, Father Martin Laterna, was court preacher, as was also for a long time the provost of Cracow, Stanislaus Sokolowski, continued to favour the Jesuits in every way, but the magnates too, among whom were many Protestants, valued the fathers for their instructions and their educational abilities.

The representatives of Protestantism were unable to accomplish much in the face of all this. If became more and more evident what feeble roots the new doctrines had taken, in spite of their wide dissemination in Poland and Lithuania. The little resistance offered by Polish Protestantism was the result, not only of its want of depth, but also of the great want of union among those who professed it.[2] The Lutherans were violently opposed to the Calvinists and the Bohemian Brethren, while all three were at one in persecuting the Socinians and the Antitrinitarians to the death. By excluding the latter sects from the confederation of Warsaw, the Protestants undermined the convention on which their existence was based. It was not surprising that there was a steady increase in the number of those who, wearied of the bitter controversies, became disgusted with Protestantism and withdrew from it, or returned once more to the ancient Church, whose clear and coherent doctrinal system the Jesuit preachers set forth so impressively. People of all classes flocked to their sermons, partly out of curiosity and partly led by an undefined desire, including thousands into whose minds the Protestant preachers had instilled the most extraordinary ideas of the Catholic faith.[3]

The great change which was taking place in an ever

[1] ZALESKI, l., 1, 378 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* ALTMANN, Über den Verfall der Reformation in Polen, Erfurt, 1861, 4 *seq.*; MALIANIAK, Andreas Fricius Modrevius, Vienna, 1913, 34.

[3] SPANNOCCHI, Relatione, 316.

increasing degree may be clearly seen from the reports of the Jesuits. "I have seen," relates one who had worked at Cracow, "the greatest diversity of hearers: Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists and Anabaptists, who had all come to hear a Jesuit preach. The number of those who wish to embrace the faith is so great, that I cannot count them." To this report, belonging to the first days of the sermons, others can be added, from which it may be gathered that the crowds of persons "who are starved in spirit" increased in an extraordinary way; the fathers had to remain in the church from three in the morning until seven in the evening.[1]

The names of the modest priests who laboured in this way are only recorded in the annals of their own Order. But one still lives on in the heart of every Polish Catholic with undiminished freshness; this was Peter Skarga. What Canisius was for threatened Germany, Skarga was for his own people.[2]

Peter Skarga, who was born in 1536 at Grojec in Masovia, had shown his wonderful oratorical powers in 1564 as theologian at Lemburg. In 1569 he entered the Jesuit noviciate of

[1] See the report of July 17, 1579, in LJUBOWITSCH, Zur Gesch. der Jesuiten, Document 1, and SCHIEMANN, II., 370.

[2] *Cf.* the valuable monograph by RYCHCICKI (pseudonym for Count Maurice Dzieduszycki): Piotr Skarga i jego wiek (Peter Skarga and his times), Cracow, 1850, 2nd edition, 1868-69, 2 vols., and BERGA, P. Skarga, Paris, 1916. See also GRABOWSKI, P. Skarga na tlo katholickiej literatury religijnej w Polsce wieku, XVI. 1536-1612 (P. Skarga in the Catholic religious literature in Poland in the 16th Century), Cracow, 1913; DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 1264 *seq.*; ROSENTRETER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 386 *seqq.*; PH. SCHMIDT in the *Katholik*, IV., 11 (1913), 38 *seq.*; KUMMERFELD in the Munich "Hochland" XI., 1, 486 *seq.* *Cf.* the special articles and literature referred to in the *Mitteil. des Osterr. Inst.*, 1915, 766, and in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXXIX., 185. Berga's monograph is one of the best works on Polish history in the 16th century. No other work gives such a lucid description of the conditions of the Catholic Church from the time when the new doctrines first began to make their influence felt; and no other work gives a clearer presentation of those new doctrines themselves.

S. Andrea in Quirinale in Rome where, six months before, his fellow-countryman, Stanislaus Kostka, had given back his pure soul to God.[1] In 1571 Skarga was sent to Poland by his General, Francis Borgia. There he laboured first at Pultusk and after 1573 at Wilna, and in the following year he became vice-rector of the college there.

Skarga found the Catholics in a considerable minority in Lithuania; they were almost lost in comparison with the great numbers of the Calvinists, Antitrinitarians and Greek schismatics. Thenceforward all his energies and powers were directed to winning over the latter by instructing them in the Catholic faith: "We have no need," he said, "to go and be missionaries in India; the Lithuanians and the peoples of the north are our Indies."[2] With his extraordinary oratorical powers, his words were very efficacious, especially his pathetic perorations.[3] He knew how to bring out with appropriate imagery the marvellous unity of the Church: she was the one secure vessel which took men to heaven: "therefore," he said, "do not leap into a new and untried boat, where there is no capable helmsman, and where there is danger of disputes, disunion and shipwreck."

Like Canisius, Skaga was averse to any kind of violence. "The heretics," he said, "are not to be won over by force of arms, but by the example of virtue and by love. It is true that the dissentients of our Poland, which was Catholic for centuries, must be overcome, but not with the dagger and the sword, but by a virtuous life, by learning, by sermons and friendly treatment." When a Calvinist had actually maltreated Skarga, and threatened him with death, and was to

[1] On August 15, 1568. The saint was only eighteen years old at the time of his death, and every year hundreds of pilgrims flock to his tomb. His biographies are collected in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 729. For particulars of Saint Stanislaus Kostka's cell, now converted into a chapel with a statue of the Saint by Le Gros in the noviciate house at S. Andrea al Quirinale, see SEB. BRUNNER, Italien, II., 99.

[2] See BERGA, Skarga, 184-5.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* 268-373.

be punished by having his hand cut off, Skarga intervened efficaciously on his behalf, pointing out that the unhappy man had acted under the influence of drunkenness. This magnanimity won for the Jesuits general esteem, and soon led to plentiful results. Many, among them the four sons of Prince Nicholas Radziwill, found their way back once more to the Church.[1]

Skarga was not only a fascinating preacher, but also a writer of distinction. He wrote, both in Latin and in Polish, a long series of works which are still held in esteem in Poland.[2] In 1576 he published an eloquent defence of the Holy Eucharist against the Calvinists, and in the following year there appeared his great work on the unity of the Church, which later on was of decisive importance for the reunion of the Ruthenian schismatics. To these was added in 1579 a Lives of the Saints written in Polish, which was spread in many editions, throughout the country.[3]

Skarga was held in high esteem, not only by the Papal nuncios,[4] but also by Báthory. During his long stay at Wilna, from March to June, 1579, the king often conversed with the indefatigable father who, in 1580, was placed as rector at the head of the Jesuit college founded by Báthory at Polozk in White Russia. After the conquest of Livonia, Báthory made use of the Jesuits Martin Laterna and Skarga for the restoration of the Catholic Church which he at once inaugurated in the conquered territory.[5] At Riga, where the Catholic worship which had been suppressed was again

[1] *Cf.* Rostowski, 54; Berga, Skarga, 187. Radziwill's eldest son, Nicholas Christopher, founded a colony of Jesuits at Nieswiez in 1584; see Zaleski, IV., 1, 426 *seq.* Stanislaus Radziwill also displayed great zeal for the Catholic Cause; see Maffei, II., 185 *seq.* *Cf.* Raess, Konvertiten, II., 571 *seq.*

[2] See St. von Smolka, Die Reussische Welt, Vienna, 1916, 255, who calls Skarga the Polish Bossuet.

[3] *Cf.* Berga's brilliant critical analysis of these works in Skarga 192 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Theiner, Mon. Pol., II., 736.

[5] *Cf.* Theiner, III., 336 *seq.*; Berga, Skarga, 200, 202 *seq.*

introduced, he gave Skarga the convent and church of St. James in order that he might establish there a college of the Society of Jesus, which, however, could take no root in the wholly Protestant city.[1] Báthory chose as regent of Livonia George Radziwill, whom Skarga had brought back to the Church, and who was elected Bishop of Wilna in 1579. The difficult work of Catholic restoration in Livonia, which had become almost entirely a prey to Lutheranism, and in which the Jesuit Antonio Possevino[2] also took part, was consolidated by the formation of a separate diocese with its see in the city of Wenden, which was erected by Gregory XIII. in 1582 at the request of Báthory.[3]

In 1584 Skarga was chosen by his superiors as head of the Jesuit house of St. Barbara in the ancient coronation city of Cracow.[4] A better place could hardly have been found for his apostolic zeal, for Calvinist and Antitrinitarian doctrines had become widespread among the nobility of Cracow, while the greater number of the citizens, consisting of German immigrants, were Lutherans.

Here too Skarga, labouring indefatigably, both in the confessional and the pulpit, won many Protestants to the Church. He especially devoted his care to the sick, the poor and the prisoners. Himself sprung from the people, he fearlessly stood up for the rights of the weak against the aristocracy, in whose preponderant power he saw a grave

[1] *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 444 *seq.*; BERGA, Skarga, 204.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 340 and BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 841 *seq.* Possevino composed a memorandum, intended for Gregory XIII., which dealt with the means to be adopted for restoring the Catholic Faith: Livoniae commentarius Gregorio XIII. scriptus. Acc. eiusdem litt. ad episcopum Vendensem etc., ed. Napierski, Rigae, 1852. *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 260 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, Bibl. hist. Livoniae, 134.

[3] See THEINER, III., 340 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*

[4] See Historici diarii domus profess. S. J. ad S. Barbaram Cracoviae 1579 ad 1597 (*Script. rer. Pol.*, VII.), Cracoviae, 1881, 63. Possevino had given the first impulse to the settlement of the Jesuits in Cracow; see WIERZBOWSKI, Laureo, 714.

danger for his country.[1] In order to succour the need of the shamefaced poor he set up at Cracow the "Confraternity of Mercy." By means of a system of pledges, after the manner of the Monti di Pietà in Italy, which advanced small sums without interest, he saved many of the working classes, and by his "Union of St. Nicholas," on the model of the institute of Cardinal Turrecremata in Rome, for the rescue of girls without dowries, he became the saviour of endangered innocence. The "Confraternity of St. Lazarus" which he established, undertook the care of the sick and homeless poor. Based as they were upon the foundations of religion, the greater number of Skarga's social institutes have continued their existence down to the present day.[2]

Of the greatest importance for the improvement of the religious state of Poland was the fact that a number of the bishops turned their attention with great energy to the work of reform. After the departure of Cardinal Hosius for Rome, Martin Cromer, following in his footsteps, laboured at Ermland, while in 1574 Peter Kostka, who became the reformer of his diocese, was appointed Bishop of Kulm.[3] Kamieniec received an excellent bishop in 1577, in the eloquent Martin Bialobrzeski,[4] Wilna in 1579, in George Radziwill,[5] Lemberg in 1582, in John Demetrius Solikowski,[6] and Chelm in Adam Pilchowski,[7] who devoted all their energies to the carrying out of the decrees of Trent, to the moral transformation of clergy and people, and to inspiring them with a true spirit

[1] *Cf.* PACZKOWSKI in the *Zeitschrift für osteurop. Gesch.*, II., 541 *seq.*

[2] See *Historici diarii*, 66 *seq.*, 85; PH. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.* 40; SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 1273; BERGA, Skarga, 207 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* EICHHORN, M. Cromer, Braunsberg, 1868; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, III.², 1197 *seq.*, 1226.

[4] *Cf.* LÜDTKE in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 581 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 185. *Cf.* the praise that Bolognetti gives to the Bishop of Wilna in his report of December 30, 1583, in the *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 153 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 343; SPANNOCCHI, 342.

[7] See THEINER, III., 344.

of religion. The progress of the movement towards Catholic restoration was much advanced when, in April, 1581, the distinguished Bishop of Leslau, Stanislaus Karnkowski, who was greatly esteemed[1] by Gregory XIII., took possession of the primatial see in succession to the weak Uchanski. It was he who established a seminary at Gnesen, and another at Kalisch, which he placed under the direction of the Jesuits. Karnkowski exercised a great influence for good by holding many synods, and by the publication of religious works. His countrymen also owed to him a Polish translation of the Sacred Scriptures, which he caused to be made by the Jesuit, James Wujek.[2]

The nuncio Caligari was also filled with great zeal for the renewal of religious life in Poland, but the great expectations which were entertained at his arrival were not altogether fulfilled. There is no doubt that during his nunciature Caligari loyally sought to promote Catholic interests wherever he could, to carry out the reform decrees of Trent, especially for the reform of the regular clergy, and everywhere to resist the many abuses which in various forms were closely connected with the state of affairs in Poland. In so doing he met with sympathy and support from King Stephen, and ready assistance from the Jesuits. But very often the nuncio was lacking in the necessary prudence. His extraordinary zeal often led him into forming a false opinion of the people he had to deal with. Himself of a naturally quick temperament, he was too ready to believe in rumours, and allowed himself to be swayed by the feelings of the moment, which were inevitably false. Austere and stern by nature, Caligari, and

[1] *Cf.* the Brief of March 15, 1581, in Boratyński, Caligarii Epist. 585 *seq.*

[2] See Theiner, III., 344 *seq.*; Likowski in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V.², 762; *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXIX. 185. The Catholic restoration in the diocese of Leslau, begun by Karnkowski, was continued by his successor, Hieronymus Rozdrazewski since 1582; see Kujot, Visitationes archidiaconatus Posnaniae H. Rozrazewski Wladislav. episcopo facate, Thorn, 1897-99.

this was especially fatal, was unable to get upon good terms with the Polish episcopate. His shortcomings and mistakes did not escape the notice of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Galli, and he repeatedly advised the nuncio to act with greater caution.[1] In spite of this the recall of Caligari did not take place until April 1st, 1581.[2] His successor was Alberto Bolognetti,[3] who familiarized himself with his new sphere of action extraordinarily quickly, although many of the conditions were quite new to him. It was especially important that Bolognetti, immediately after he had entered upon his nunciature, entered upon close relations with the more influential bishops. First of all he had a quite secret interview with Karnkowski, the distinguished primate of Gnesen, at the castle of Lowicz. The two men agreed upon a common course of action and formed a lasting friendship.[4] As well as Karnkowski, Bolognetti was able to count upon the Bishops of Cracow, Wilna, Lemberg, Ermland and Kulm. But in the case of many of the other bishops—there were sixteen

[1] *Cf.* BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., liii. *seq.*, lvi.-lx., lxiii.-lxv.

[2] See *ibid.* xxxii., lxv., 599 *seq.*, 642 *seq.*, 645 *seq.*, 709 *seq.*

[3] The *Correspondence of Bolognetti in the Papal Secret Archives, from which THEINER published a few documents (Ann. III.), was thoroughly investigated by the Cracow Academy together with relevant documents in the library of the Nonantola Abbey at Modena and in the codex of the Capitular library at Toledo; see *Script. rer. Pol.*, XII., 69 *seq.*; *Anz. der Krakauer Akademie*, 1894, 32 and BORATYŃSKI in the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Kl. der Krakauer Akad.*, 2nd Series, vol. 24 (1907), 53 *seq.* Dr. C. Hanke intends publishing them. O. SPANNOCCHI's Relatione delle cose di Polonia has been utilized by RANKE (Päpste (8), II., 241 *seq.*, III., 80* *seq.*), by F. CALORI CESIS in the rare publication, Il card. A. Bolognetti e la sua nunziatura di Polonia, Bologna, 1863, and by C. MORAWSKI (Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, Krakow, 1892). It has been published in its entirety by KORZENIOWSKI, *Anal. Romana*, 233-57. Some extracts from the *Instruction for Bolognetti (Cod. Barb., Vatican Library) in CIAMPI, I., 245 *seq.* Reports from him in the *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 116 *seq.*, 126 *seqq.*, 137 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*

[4] See SPANNOCCHI, Relatione, 323.

dioceses in Poland altogether—the nuncio found, to his sorrow, nothing but inertness and want of firmness.[1] He nevertheless tried in every way to inspire these prelates with new zeal, to exhort them to common action and a vigorous defence of Catholic interests at the Diet, and to the reform of their clergy. He especially recommended to them a careful visitation of their dioceses, the observance of their duty of residence, the wearing of ecclesiastical dress, and greater care for divine worship. Frequently Bolognetti himself took in hand the reform of the clergy, in doing which he knew very well how to make use of severity or gentleness according to circumstances. When, at his first visit to Warsaw, he observed that the Holy Viaticum was taken to the sick without any ceremony, and that no one in the streets knelt before the Eucharistic God, he at once had this altered. With the help of Queen Anna he founded a Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament on the Roman model, the members of which were to accompany the Blessed Sacrament with canopy and lighted torches.[2]

Bolognetti preached by his own example that Catholic reform which he sought to promote everywhere. The fasts, which were especially strict in Poland, were nowhere so carefully observed as in the house of the nuncio. When Bolognetti was at Warsaw, he always took part with all his household, even in the most severe weather, at the Forty Hours Prayer, and at the High Mass on every Sunday and feast day. He strictly insisted that those about him should lead exemplary lives; he would receive no presents, and granted all favours gratuitously.[3]

The nuncio was in no less close relations with the royal court than with the higher clergy. When Báthory was in the field, he kept up a close correspondence with him, and at other times as far as possible he kept by the side of the king. As the latter was very often travelling about, Bolognetti was always ready to go with him. He shrank from no trouble

[1] See *ibid.* 267, 271.

[2] *Ibid.* 304 *seq.*, 309, 311 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 279, 312.

in order thus to follow the court. As an Italian, and a man of very indifferent health, he suffered a great deal from the unaccustomed food, from his wretched lodgings in small rooms, overheated and filled with steam, and from the trials of the northern climate; but though the cold was intense during the long winter, and the heat overpowering during the three months of summer, he accompanied the king everywhere throughout the kingdom, from Cracow to Warsaw, and from Wilna to Lublin.[1]

Bolognetti attached a special value to thus being in close touch with the king, because in Poland, of all the ambassadors, only the nuncio had the right to speak to the sovereign without the presence of a senator. Bolognetti made good use of this privilege; whenever Catholic interests were at stake, he personally brought them to the notice of the king. He eloquently pointed out the necessity for the restoration of the tithes, the exclusion of all Protestants from the court, and the prohibition of Protestant worship in the cities dependent upon the king, as the Protestant nobles would not allow Catholic worship in their own territories. If Bolognetti was not able to obtain definite success in all these matters, he did not allow himself to be discouraged, as the king always did what he could, very often carried out his suggestions completely, and in other cases did so partially. For example, Báthory could not completely exclude all Protestants from his court, but for the future he took no suspect persons into his service, while those who still held any office or dignity were made sensible of the loss of his favour. The English merchants had asked to be allowed the free exercise of their religion; the negotiations as to this, which were already far advanced, were broken off in consequence of the protests made by Bolognetti to the king.[2]

How well able Bolognetti was to manage the king was seen

[1] *Ibid.* 329 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 293 *seq.*, 295, 296; *cf.* 255 for the question of tithes which occupied Bolognetti up till 1585. See also R. Ludwig, Quae Bolognettus card. Papae nuncius apost. in Polonia ab a. 1582 usque ad a. 1585 perfecerit, Vratislaviae, 1864.

in the controversy which occurred over the nomination of a quite unworthy man to the diocese of Premysl, to whom the Pope had had to refuse confirmation. After the controversy had been ended by the death of the candidate, Bolognetti obtained from the king the promise to choose for the bishoprics in future only priests of tried Catholic sentiments. In fact, during the whole of the nunciature of Bolognetti no important appointment was made after this without his advice being first sought.[1] This fact alone afforded a safe basis for the carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent, to which Bolognetti attached such importance. He also tried indefatigably to win back the churches which had been withdrawn from Catholic worship, to see that districts that were in danger were provided with pastors, and to strengthen in their faith others, such as Masovia, which had as far as possible been kept free from the religious innovations.[2] He took a conspicuous part in the difficult work of Catholic restoration in Livonia.[3]

In his efforts to restore the Papal authority, Bolognetti had the great happiness of seeing the king. at his request, order the introduction of the Gregorian calendar throughout the kingdom. How tenaciously the nuncio defended the interests of the Church was shown by the fight which he carried on for many years for the removal of the apostate Nicholas Pac, Bishop of Kiew. Although the latter had many powerful supporters, Bolognetti did not rest until he had resigned his bishopric, and a worthy pastor had been appointed in his place.[4]

[1] See SPANNOCCHI, 298 *seq.*

[2] SPANNOCCHI, 290 *seq.*, 316.

[3] *Ibid.* 319 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 186; SPANNOCCHI, 321; THEINER, III., 439 *seq.*; R. LUDWIG, *loc. cit.* 21 *seq.*, TURGENEVIUS, Monum., I., 396 *seq.* (The visitation journey of 1584 shows the attachment of the common people to the old Church). For the remnant of Catholicism which had maintained itself in Livonia, *cf.* SERAPHIM, I., 208 *seq.*

[4] See SPANNOCCHI, 282, 301 *seq.* The movement against the new calendar was easily suppressed in Dorpat, though in Riga serious disturbances took place in 1585; see KRASINSKI, 186.

It is not surprising that Bolognetti everywhere favoured the Jesuits as "the principal defenders of Catholic truth." It was he who suggested to the king the foundation of a house of the Order at Cracow.[1] It is clear from the important correspondence of Bolognetti, and from the reports of his secretary, Orazio Spannocchi, how important a part was played by this representative of the Pope in the renewal of religion in Poland. They also bring out clearly how great were the difficulties which had to be overcome in Poland; despite the unwearied efforts of part of the episcopate and the Jesuits, supported by the king, there yet remained a very great deal to be done, before Poland could once again become a Catholic country.

Bolognetti had made all the preparations for an extensive visitation, in which he was to be accompanied by his friend, Bishop Radziwill of Wilna, a man of like sentiments with himself, when the news came that the Pope had, on December 13th, 1583, rewarded both these distinguished prelates by conferring on them the purple.[2] In the following year there followed another cardinalitial appointment which was a signal mark of honour for Poland; the young nephew of the king, Andrew Báthory, was summoned to the Sacred College on July 4th, 1584.[3]

Andrew Báthory had been carefully educated, at the advice of his uncle, by the Jesuits at Pultask, and as he had shown an inclination for the ecclesiastical life, had been sent to Rome. He was there charged to make the *obedientia* in the name of the King of Poland for the province of Livonia, which had recently been conquered. This ceremony took place on December 5th, 1583. When the new Cardinal left Rome

[1] See SPANNOCCHI, 313.

[2] *Ibid.* 317; CIACONIUS, IV., 95-99. Bolognetti died, at the early age of 47, on May 9, 1585, at Villach while on his return journey to Rome; see CALORI CESIS, *loc. cit.*, 5.

[3] See *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, July 7, 1584. In a *memorandum of Juli 14, 1584, Odescalchi praises the new Cardinal as a cultured and distinguished man. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 105 *seq.*; KOLBERG, 14 *seq.*

on July 26th, 1584, he had to go to Transylvania in order to safeguard Catholic interests on account of the tender years of his nephew, Sigismund Báthory, who had been appointed Voivode of that territory in 1581.[1]

In Transylvania, which had become the arena of the most various Protestant sects, the Catholics, who had been despoiled of their Church property, found themselves in a difficult position. The most striking feature was the great want of priests. In order to provide these, the King of Poland had decided in 1579, together with his brother, Christopher, who had been elected Voivode in 1576, to summon the Jesuits, who made foundations at Klausenburg and Weissenburg. As they had had to do in the missions beyond the seas, the fathers, who often had to begin from the very foundations in this country which from the religious point of view was entirely neglected, were indefatigable in their care of souls and in giving instruction.[2] On account of the divisions among the innovators it was not difficult for them to win back many of them to the ancient Church.[3] But the

[1] See THEINER, III., 444 *seq.*; KOLBERG, 3 *seq.*, 14, 20.

[2] See A. VERESS' excellent publication: Epistolae et Acta Iesuitarum Transilvaniae temporibus principum Bathory (Fontes rerum transilvaniae, I. and II.), Vol. I.: 1571-83, II.: 1575-88, Budapest, 1911, 1913. See also Vol. III. of the *Fontes*: A. Possevini Transilvania (1584), ed. A. VERESS, Budapest, 1913. *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, in the *Civ. catt.*, 1912, IV., 477 *seq.*; 1914, III., 73 *seq.* The publication of these documents refutes the assertion made, without any evidence to support it, by TEUTSCH who says: "The principles taught by the Jesuits were bound to cause the destruction of all society and the killing of all morality" (Geschichte der Siebenbürgener Sachsen für das sächsische Volk, II.,[2], Leipzig, 1874, 30). Abuse of the Jesuits (historically quite useless) is also contained in the article by HÖCHSMANN: Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, in the *Archiv für siebenbürg, Landeskunde*, N. F. XXVI., Hermannstadt, 1895, 522 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Stephanus Arator Pannoniae to Sirleto dat. Claudiopoli September 21, 1581, in which it says: "Et sane (Deo nostros conatus promovente) labor noster in hoc

hostility they met with increased in consequence. During the discussion in the Diet concerning the recognition of Christopher's son as his successor, in May, 1581, the States decreed that the Jesuits must be restricted to the above-mentioned cities, and that Catholic preachers in general were only to be sent to places where the majority of the inhabitants were Catholics.

In spite of these limitations, the Jesuits were able to accomplish a far-reaching work, as Báthory, who after the death of his brother held the government of Transylvania in his hands during the minority of his son Sigismund, befriended them. With his support and that of the Pope, Antonio Possevino, who in 1583 visited Transylvania and Hungary, founded, in connexion with the college there, an educational establishment at Klausenburg, which soon numbered 250 pupils, and attained so great a reputation that even many Protestant parents sent their sons there.[1] In addition to the work of this "Papal and royal seminary," the Jesuits of Transylvania, who were repeatedly assisted by Gregory XIII.,[2] devoted themselves to the pastoral care

regno non fuit prorsus inutilis, nam hoc biennio amplius 400 ex hereticis diversarum sectarum Ecclesiae catholicae sunt reconciliati." Vatic. 6180, p. 64 (Vatican Library).

[1] See VERESS, Fontes rer. Transilv., I., 253 *seq.*, II., 87 *seq.*, III., 145; *cf.* THEINER, III., 446 *seq.* For Szántó see FRAKNÓI, Egy magyar jezsuita a XVI. században. Szántó István élese (A Hungarian Jesuit in the 16th century. Life of St. Arator), Budapest, 1887. Possevino's relations with Hungary were exhaustively dealt with by FRAKNÓI; Possevino nagyváradi látogatása 1583 ban (Possevino's visit to Grosswardein 1583), Nagyvarad, 1901, and in the valuable study; Egy Jezsuita-Diplomata hazánkban (a Jesuit diplomatist in our fatherland), Budapest 1902. Suggestions of Possevino in 1584 with regard to Hungary in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 209. See also FRAKNÓI, Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkel (Ecclesiastical and political relations of Hungary to the Holy See), III., Budapest, 1903, 167 *seq.*

[2] See VERESS, Fontes, I., 211 *seq.*, 297 *seq.*, 303 *seq.*

of the Catholics besides combatting the innovators. At Klausenburg their activities were especially directed against the "Arians" (Unitarians), who did not have their children baptized, and in other parts of the great principality against the Calvinists.

In all this it was a great advantage to the Jesuits that they had many superiors who were distinguished for their learning and apostolic activity, such as the rector of Klausenburg, Ferrante Capece,[1] and at Weissenburg, the tutor of the young Sigismund Báthory, Peter John Leleszi, who displayed an incomparable zeal. One of the best of these, the Hungarian, Stephen Szántó (Arator), worked at Grosswardein, where his blameless life convinced many of the innovators of the falsity of their ideas of Catholic priests. Szántó also engaged in disputations for several weeks with the Calvinists, who were unable to reply to him. The Jesuits also laboured with great success among the Magyars of Eastern Transylvania, and on the borders of Turkey at Lugos and Karánsebes. The fame of their qualities as priests as well as of their learning steadily increased. At the request of Báthory, in the autumn of 1585, their educational establishment of Klausenburg was transformed into a kind of university.[2]

The great services of Báthory for the spread of the Catholic faith as well as for the furtherance of the Catholic restoration were eulogized by Charles Borromeo himself in many of his letters.[3] The Pope gave them a solemn recognition by sending him the blessed hat and sword in 1579.[4] The king was always forming new projects for the consolidation of the Catholic restoration in his kingdom. Thus he took much trouble to

[1] For F. Capece, who died in 1586 while ministering to the plague-stricken, *cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, Opere stor. di M. Ricci, II., 398 *seq.* and VOLPE, Antonio Capece martire nel Giappone, Napoli, 1912, 12 *seq.*

[2] See VERESS, Fontes, II., vi.

[3] See *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 83 *seq.*, 93, 99 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, III., 74; BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist., 340, 364, 435. The sheath of the sword is now in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow.

secure as court preacher Robert Bellarmine,[1] who had already made himself a great name by his theological lectures at the Roman College, as well as for the foundation in the Eternal City of a Polish College, already suggested as necessary by Caligari, which, like the Germanicum itself, was to be a training ground for learned and virtuous priests.[2] The same purpose was served by the pontifical seminaries established at Braunsberg and Olmütz by the Jesuit Possevino, to which Gregory XIII. gave a charter in 1578. In these the youth, not only of Livonia, Lithania, Pomerania, Prussia, Hungary and Russia, but also of Sweden, Gothland, Norway and Denmark "were to be trained as chosen labourers in the great vineyard of the Lord, and for the restoration of the ancient faith and piety."[3] Braunsberg, the only large city which had remained loyal to the Catholic faith, seemed to be especially well adapted to such an establishment, since, situated as it was in the neighbourhood of the flourishing commercial cities of Dantzig and Königsberg, it was in constant and easy communication with the neighbouring Sweden, which was not very different in climate and manner of life; there, too, many distinguished families from Scandinavia and Finland had settled, whose sons could be led by the foundation of a house there, to attend the school of Braunsberg, and thus be led together with their neighbours to the knowledge of Catholic doctrines. Just as the Jesuits of Wilna extended their activities to Samogitia, and those of Riga and Dorpat

[1] See Boratyński, *loc. cit.* 54.

[2] See Spannocchi, Relations, 294; Maffei, I., 340. For the Polish national church of S. Stanislao dei Polacchi, founded in Rome by Cardinal Hosius in 1575, together with the adjoining hospice (*cf.* Th. Treterus, Theatrum virtutum St. card. Hosii, Braunsbergae, 1879, 103 *seq.*) see (in addition to Kolberg, Beiträge zur Gesch. des Kard. A. Báthory, Braunsberg, 1910, 25) Boratyński in the *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1911. The church, which contains several Polish monuments, belonged to the Russian Government up to 1917; it has now been handed back to the newly-formed Polish State.

[3] See Theiner, Schweden, I., 529 *seq.*, II., 153 *seq.*

throughout Livonia, so did those of Braunsberg seek to develop their work in Prussia, Denmark and Sweden.[1]

[1] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 533 *seq.*, II., 322 *seq.*; HIPLER, Literaturgesch. des Bistums Ermland (Mon. hist. Warm. IV.), Braunsberg, 1873, 166 *seq.*; EHRENBERG, Ostpreussen, xvii.; BENRATH in the *Zeitschrift des Westpreuss. Gesch.-Vereins*, XL. (1899); ZALESKI, I., 1, 9 *seq.*, 387; L. DAAE in the *Hist. Tidskrift*, III., Kristiania, 1895, 306 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

The Missions to Sweden and Russia.

The training of missionaries for Protestant Sweden was connected with the hope which had come into being in the time of Gregory XIII., that that kingdom too might be won back to Catholicism. This hope was based upon the attitude of John III., who had come to the throne in 1568. John, who, after the death of his father, Gustavus Wasa, had succeeded to the Duchy of Finland, had married in 1562 Catherine Jagellon, the sister of Sigismund Augustus of Poland. In her marriage contract she had been guaranteed the free exercise of her religion, and she was allowed to take two Catholic priests with her to her court.[1] This Catholic princess, who had thus come into a Protestant kingdom, acted as a faithful wife in the midst of the misfortunes that befell her husband.

The hopes of attaining to the throne of Poland which were opened out to John by his marriage, were opposed by his half-brother, King Eric XIV., with increasing bitterness. The consequence was that the two brothers soon found themselves violently opposed to each other. John, who had been condemned to death by the Swedish States for high treason, was forced to surrender on August 13th, 1563, after two months' siege. Eric shut him up in the castle of Gripsholm on the lonely lake of Mälar. He tried in vain to separate his wife from John, but the Polish princess preferred to share the imprisonment of her husband. When he was at last set free in 1567, even then John's life was not safe,

[1] See Biaudet, Le St. Siège, I., 93 *seq.*, who shows that Catherine's two court chaplains were not Jesuits in disguise as has often been asserted.

for the hereditary madness of the House of Wasa again showed itself in Eric in 1568. When the king married the woman who had hitherto been his mistress, the daughter of a corporal, John and his younger brother Charles put themselves at the head of the malcontent nobles. Eric was forced to abdicate, and was imprisoned in the same castle of Gripsholm, where his brother had once been confined.

On account of his hopes of the throne of Poland, and his marriage to a zealous Catholic, John III. could not take up a strong anti-Catholic attitude, as his predecessors had done. He was also averse to any such thing because, during the four years of his imprisonment, he had discovered from his wife and from his reading of theological books, that the Catholic religion was not the mixture of superstition and error which his tutors had made it out to be. Such a realization, however, was very far from implying his return to the ancient Church, all the more so as the theological knowledge which John had acquired was by no means profound.[1]

Political considerations and material interests had exercised a decisive influence in the separation of Sweden from the ancient Church.[2] It was the same considerations which now led to a rapprochement between John III. and Rome. A first attempt in this direction in the time of Pius V. had

[1] This has often been exaggerated; see, in contradiction to this BIAUDET, I., 110 *seq.*, 433. *Cf.* also GEIJER, II., 215. RANKE'S view (Päpste, II.,[8] 54), that John III. busied himself privately with ecclesiastical problems is quite false. The king was first and foremost a politician; in religious questions he was only half educated and therefore obstinate.

[2] "Gustaf Ier Vasa, le grand-père du héros de la guerre de Trente ans, avait imposé à la Suède la réforme pour des raisons essentiellement politiques et économiques. Roi de par révolution populaire, aspirant à l'autocratie héréditaire, il voulut écraser le clergé catholique qui, par sa forte organisation hiérarchique et son ascendant sur les masses, genait ses ambitions dynastiques. Maître d'un pays ruiné il vit dans le pillage des biens de l'Église l'unique moyen de faire face aux nécessités du moment et d'affermir sa propre position." BIAUDET, I., ii.

failed.[1] When Sigismund Augustus died in 1572 the succession to the throne of Poland, as well as the complicated question of the immense inheritance of Catherine, John's wife—she was the niece of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and of Isabella of Aragon[2]—which consisted of possessions in Naples, became matters of burning interest. With regard to both these matters, the attitude of the Holy See was of the greatest importance. In order to open negotiations, Paolo Ferrari, a servant of Queen Catherine, was sent to Rome in November, 1572. He carried letters from Catherine to Gregory XIII. and Cardinal Hosius, asking for a Papal absolution for having received communion under both kinds, and at the same time asking that it might be allowed for the future to herself and the members of the court. The letter to Hosius concluded by asking for prayers that John might turn to the ancient Church, from which he was not far removed.[3] Gregory granted the absolution asked for, in a brief of March 8th, 1573,[4] but refused the request for the chalice through Hosius.[5] These letters had already been dispatched when the nuncio in Poland reported that the Swedish ambassador, Andrew Lorichs, had asked for his mediation in the same matter. Almost at once Commendone wrote that at the electoral Diet of Poland the Swedish ambassador had held out hopes to the nuncio Vincenzo Portico that, if the Holy See should support the election of John III. as King of Poland, he would return to the Catholic Church. Naturally, neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State, Tolomeo Galli, allowed themselves

[1] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 311, n. 2.

[2] Biaudet deals very thoroughly with the question of the inheritance of Bona Sforza (I., 512 *seq.*).

[3] See Biaudet, I., 186 *seq.*, Notes et Documents, 27.

[4] See Theiner, I., 163.

[5] See Hosii Opera, II., 337. *Cf.* Biaudet, I., 191, for the postscript, added by Hosius on his own authority, in which he holds out hopes of a dispensation with regard to the chalice. In a *report to Philip II., dated December 14, 1574, Zuniga says of Hosius: "es facil de creer estas cosas." Coll. Favre, VIII., 5 (Library at Geneva).

to be influenced by this clumsy attempt to change their policy in the matter of the election of the King of Poland, but they considered themselves justified in inferring, from these Swedish attempts at a rapprochement, that a favourable moment had arrived for entering into closer relations with John III. Gregory XIII. therefore proposed the mission of the Polish Jesuit, Stanislaus Warszewicki, to Sweden, though in the end he had to abandon the plan because Warszewicki's presence was necessary in Poland.[1]

In November, 1573, Paolo Ferrari again appeared in Rome, In order to facilitate the gradual return of Sweden to the Church he proposed to the Pope that he should allow communion under both kinds. Gregory XIII. replied, with all possible courtesy, but with great firmness as far as the matter was concerned, that King John must first, by sending an embassy for the *obedientia*, make it clear that he seriously intended what he said, and that only then could his request be dealt with. Ferrari had in the meantime presented to the Curia by means of an agent the plan of supporting Spain against the insurgents in the Netherlands with a Swedish fleet. This led to the mission of the Jesuit, Stanislaus Warszewicki, to Sweden, who presented himself there as the envoy of the Princess Anna of Poland. Although the actual purpose of this mission, as well as the conversations which the Jesuit had with the king, came to nothing, yet, thanks to the reports of Warszewicki, Rome was for the first time put in possession of definite information as to the state of affairs in Sweden. There could now be no doubt that John's attempts at bringing about a rapprochement had no other ground than the fact that he wanted the Pope's support in the matter of his election as King of Poland, and in that of his wife's inheritance. It was, however, learned that the attachment to the ancient faith was not altogether extinct in Sweden, and that Queen Catherine was prepared

[1] See BIAUDET, I., 193 *seq.*; *cf* EHRENBERG, Ostpreussen, 52. For Lorichs see ÖDBERG'S monograph: Om Anders Lorichs, Skara, 1893.

to give her support to Catholic missionaries.[1] The first to be sent to Sweden were a secular priest named Florenz Feyt, and the Norwegian Lauritz Nilssön (Laurentius Norvegus), who had embraced the faith at Louvain in 1563, and afterwards joined the Jesuits. By command of the king both of them had to conceal the fact that they were Catholic priests, so that they might labour more effectively.[2] Nilssön founded a school at Stockholm, and won over a number of Swedish youths, who were destined to receive their further education at the German College in Rome.[3]

Out of consideration for the Protestant clergy, King John did not dare to proceed openly, but tried to attain his purpose by indirect means. For this purpose he caused his secretary Peter Fecht to draw up a new liturgy, the so-called Red Book,

[1] See BIAUDET, I., 277 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 332; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 82 *seq.*; THEINER, Schweden, I., 432 *seq.*, II., 270 *seq.*, 323; GEIJER, II., 220 *seq.* The attachment of the people to the old Church is shown, both in Sweden and in Finland, by their observance of the fasts, prayers for the dead and veneration of the Mother of God. All this is brought out in Possevino's report of the year 1587: Seconda relazione delle cose pertinenti alla cognizione dello stato presente del regno di Suetia. This report, intended for Gregory XIII., was published by C. BULLO (Il viaggio di M. Piero Querini e le relazioni della republica Veneta colla Suezia, Venezia, 1881, 73 *seq.*), though, as THOMAS points out (*Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad., Phil.-hist.*, Kl., 1882, I., 3, 358), in a defective form. Both Thomas and Bullo overlooked the fact that P. FERRATO had already brought out a good edition of the "Relatio" in 1876: Relazione sul regno di Suezia da A. Possevino, Firenze, 1876; and that a Latin version, deviating very little from the original, already existed in THEINER, Ann. II., 278 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Hist. Tidskrift*, I., cx *seq.*

[2] See KARTTUNEN, 85 *seq.* For Lauritz Nilssön (Laurentius Norvegus)—generally called Klosterlasse in Sweden—*cf.* KARTTUNEN, 91 *seq.*, and A. BRANDRUD, Klosterlasse, Kristiania, 1895; REGER, Jesuiterpateren Laurits Nielssen, saakaldt Klosterlasse, Kristiania, 1896. Biaudet, who unfortunately died prematurely, was preparing a monograph on L. Nilssön.

[3] *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I.², 353 *seq.*; BRAUNSBERGER, Canisius, 255.

which was based upon the Roman Missal.[1] This new ordinal, which appeared in print in 1577, at first met with the opposition of the Protestant clergy, but John III. secured its acceptance on February 16th, 1577.[2]

The ambitious king, who had failed for the second time to secure the crown of Poland in 1575, at last realized that he would have to do something more definite if he was to obtain the support of the Pope. When he at length decided, in the autumn of 1576, to restore the relations between the royal house of Sweden and the Holy See, which had been broken off since the time of Gustavus Wasa, by sending an official embassy, he kept his intention absolutely secret. General Pontius de la Gardie, to whom this mission was entrusted, was entirely devoted to him. The question of the inheritance of the royal family, which de la Gardie was to discuss with the Emperor, could not give rise to any suspicion. His companion, the royal secretary Peter Fecht, the author of the Red Book, was given the instructions in all that touched upon the religious question; Fecht was to obtain not only the sending of Jesuit missionaries to Sweden, but was also to ask the Pope for important concessions: communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the mass in the vernacular.[3] How completely secret the real purpose of the embassy was kept is shown by the fact that Lauritz Nilssön himself knew nothing about it. Nothing was said, moreover, of the fact that de la Gardie was once more to propose to the King of Spain that a Swedish auxiliary fleet should be sent against the Netherland insurgents.[4]

[1] *Liturgia Suecanae Ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae conformis*, Stockolmiae, 1576. *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 412 *seq.*; II., 267 *seq.* Annales, II., 217 *seq.*; QUENSEL, Bidrag till svenska liturgiens historia, Upsala, 1898; KARTTUNEN, 88 *seq.*, 90 *seq.* The copy of the Red Book that John III. sent to the Pope by Possevino is still in the Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* BIAUDET, II., 359 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* (in addition to THEINER, Schweden, I., 449 *seq.*, Annales II., 218 *seq.*). HILDEBRAND, 260 *seq.*, KARTTUNEN, 95 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, and especially BIAUDET, II., xiii *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, xv, 218 *seq.*, 239.

The envoys embarked at Stockholm on October 1576, 11th, but were very soon shipwrecked near the island of Bornholm. Fecht was drowned, so that de la Gardie had to continue his journey alone. After a long stay at the Imperial court, he at last reached Rome on April 24th, 1577. By May 10th the Pope was able to inform the consistory that the envoy of the King of Sweden had made the *obedientia* in his master's name, and had given him his promise to introduce the Catholic faith into his kingdom, for which purpose he had asked for missionaries. In order to avoid any disturbance, the making of the *obedientia* had not taken place in consistory, with the customary ceremonies, but in the private apartments of the Pope, though in the presence of several Cardinals.[1]

Thus it seemed that the first step towards the reunion of Sweden to the Church had been taken. There was general rejoicing in Rome.[2] Although Gregory XIII. was not blind to the private interests which had prompted the action of John III., it would seem that at first he had no doubts as to the sincerity of the king, nor of the trustworthiness of his envoys. The letters of credence for de la Gardie, dated August 18th, 1576, and drawn up in the most respectful form, left nothing to be desired, while a private letter from Queen Catherine to the Pope contained the request that he would receive the embassy favourably.[3]

At Pentecost, May 26th, 1577, the General of the Jesuits, Everard Mercurian, and his private secretary, Antonio Possevino, had gone to the Villa Mondragone, near Frascati, for an audience with the Pope. Gregory XIII. had chosen that day with a definite purpose. He was fully convinced of the good prospects of an effective mission to Sweden. He

[1] See the Acta consist. in BIAUDET, II., 342 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 344 *seq.*, 352 *seq.* still more reports. *Odescalchi's memorandum dat. Rome, May 18, 1577, brings out the fact that the *Obedientia* was made only in the name of the king and not of the kingdom (infetto quasi tutto). (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See St. Rescius' report in BIAUDET, II., 381.

[3] See *ibid.*, 80 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*

would very willingly have set out for that country himself, but as that was impossible, Possevino was called upon to accept this important mission. With it was combined the political mission of bringing about an alliance with Spain. Possevino at first hesitated to mix himself up in political matters, but Gregory XIII. pointed out to him how closely this was connected with the interests of religion, and how important it was to the King of Spain, who was also sending a special envoy to Sweden at the same time, in the person of Francisco de Eraso.[1]

Antonio Possevino, who was equally distinguished as a preacher, missionary and teacher, as well as being a scholar, writer and diplomatist, was born at Mantua in 1534, and went to Rome at the age of seventeen. The incomparable educational opportunities of the Eternal City had all the greater effect in the case of the talented youth in that he had the good fortune to find himself amid surroundings that were both spiritually and socially of a high order. Possevino was secretary to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and the tutor of his nephews. He won the love and esteem of the Cardinal to such a degree that a splendid future seemed to be assured to him. But he gave all this up by entering the Society of Jesus in 1559. His superiors sent him in the following year to Savoy, where he laboured against the Waldenses. For ten years (1562-1572) he laboured with great success in France under very difficult conditions, and in 1573 the new General, Mercurian, appointed him his private secretary. As Possevino had hitherto worked successfully as a missioner, so in his new position he acquired a profound grasp of the religious conditions of the various nations. It would not have been possible to have found a man better fitted for the difficult task that lay before him in Sweden, for, in addition to his vast learning, Possevino was a man of big ideas, unwearied application, great missionary zeal, dexterity and versatility, and besides all this was firm in his

[1] *Cf.* *Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. al P. Possevino (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

principles and indefatigable in carrying out his plans and projects.[1]

After Pontius de la Gardie had made his *obedientia*, he at once went to Naples on account of the question of the inheritance of the Queen of Sweden, being furnished on May 21st, 1577, with a letter of recommendation to the viceroy by Gregory XIII. But a month later Cardinal Galli had to complain to the nuncio at Naples of the misuse of this letter of recommendation by the unscrupulous general.[2] In July, 1577, Hosius wrote to Queen Catherine that the view was gaining ground in Rome that the *obedientia* made by de la Gardie had only been a trick to win the support of the Holy See in the Naples question.[3] Such a suspicion made Gregory XIII. all the more insistent upon the mission of Possevino, as the latter's diplomatic ability seemed to be required to cope with the difficulties of the situation.

At the beginning of September, 1577, de la Gardie returned from Naples. The customary credentials were prepared for him and Possevino by the Papal Chancery,[4] after which they both set out upon their journey.[5] Possevino was accompanied by two of his fellow-religious, the Irishman, William Good, and the Frenchman, Jean Fornier. As John III. made a

[1] A. GOTTLOB aptly remarks (*Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 116) that Possevino was the "right type of Jesuit in the time of Gregory XIII." *Cf.* D'ORIGNY, La vie du P. A. Possevin, Paris, 1712 (Italian, Venezia, 1759), and the monograph by KARTTUNEN, Lausanne, 1908. For Possevino's prolific literary activity see SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 1061 *seq.*; HURTER, I., 181 *seq.* *Cf.* also FELL, Pädagogische Schriften Possevinos, Freiburg, 1901, and SCHLESINGER, Jesuitenportraits, Regensburg, s.a. 89-103.

[2] See BIAUDET, II., 358, 362, 412 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 441 *seq.*

[4] See KARTTUNEN, 119; BIAUDET, II., 97 *seq.* Special faculties granted by Gregory XIII. to the Jesuit missioners in Sweden, Norway and adjacent countries on September 5, 1577, *ibid.*

[5] E. Malvezzi was nominated "envoy of the king of Sweden" in Rome, but he died in August, 1578. His epitaph in S. Maria in Via Lata in FORCELLA, VIII., 393.

great point of avoiding any disturbance and of concealing the true purpose of the mission, they wore secular dress, as had been done by the earlier missionaries sent to Sweden by the Pope; at Prague Possevino was given the task by the widowed Empress of informing the King of Sweden of the death of her husband.[1]

After a wearisome journey Possevino reached Stockholm on December 19th, 1577. There he found that Lauritz Nilssön, who had been labouring there since April, 1576, and who in his optimism looked upon the bringing back of Sweden to the Catholic Church as an easy task, had, in his unthinking enthusiasm, fallen in with the peace projects of John III., and had strengthened the king in his illusion that he would be able to obtain the consent of the Holy See to them. The diplomatic skill of Possevino was soon able to obviate the difficulties of the position which had thus been created.[2] His principal efforts were directed to persuading the king of the truth of the Catholic doctrine. With marvellous patience, he replied to all his difficulties. Great was his joy when, after months of discussions, which often lasted for three or four hours,[3] at the beginning of May, 1578, John declared himself ready to accept the Tridentine profession of faith. This consent was soon followed by the act, and this in its turn by a general confession. Before absolving

[1] For Possevino's mission see his report to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, Schweden, II., 257 *seqq.*, where will also be found other relevant documents. *Cf.* also KONECZNY, Jan III. Waza i missya Possewina, Krakow, 1901; KARTTUNEN, 119 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* See also BIAUDET, II., 451, n.

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 460 *seq.*, 465 *seq.*; II., 33 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 119 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*; BIAUDET, II., xxi *seq.*, 244.

[3] Possevino expressly says so in his "Prima Relazione sulle cose di Suezia mandata a Gregorio XIII." (THEINER, Schweden, I., 257), and he adds that during the five months that he was there, hardly a day passed without his having an interview with the king. It was therefore not "a couple of interviews" as RANKE says (Päpste, II.[8], 55).

him Possevino once more asked the king if he was willing to submit himself to the Pope's judgment in the matter of communion under one kind, to which John replied in the affirmative. After his absolution the king seemed much easier in his mind, because his conscience had been heavily burdened, since he had, on the strength of a decree of the council of state (which had been signed by the Lutheran bishops), removed his brother by poison on February 26th, 1577.[1] Possevino made use of the favourable moment; he earnestly implored God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to be pleased to complete the work that had been begun. John embraced him with the words: "like you, I embrace for ever the holy Roman Catholic Church." On the following day Possevino said mass in the king's apartments and gave him communion. All this was done in the deepest secrecy, and in the presence of only a few intimate friends in the castle of Stockholm.[2] Further steps for bringing back the kingdom to the ancient Church had to be postponed until after the decision of the Holy See as to the concessions that had been asked for.

Possevino's return was rendered necessary not only by these negotiations but also by the fact that his being a Catholic priest had become known in Stockholm, and had caused great annoyance to the Protestant clergy. He prudently did not wait for the king to order his departure, but anticipated the order by declaring his readiness to undertake the advocacy of John's political interests in the matter of the alliance with Spain, and in that of the queen's inheritance. He left the kingdom on May 20th, 1578, as the ambassador of Sweden, and took with him a number of young Swedes and Finlanders,

[1] *Cf.* GEIJER, II., 198.

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 471 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*: "A. Possevini responsiones ad nobilissimi et regii viri septentrionalis interrogationes qui de salutis aeternae comparandae ratione ac de vera ecclesia cupiebat instrui," in his *Bibliotheca selecta*, Romae, 1593, I., 6, p. 438 *seq.*, and also in Possevini Moscovia, Coloniae, 1568, 316 *seq.* *Cf.* WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, IV., 334, n.

who were to be trained as missionaries in Catholic institutions.[1]

In addition to the spreading of sound Catholic books, as well as a Swedish translation of the catechism of Canisius, Possevino rightly considered, as the most important means of restoring the ancient Church, the training of good native priests, who should unite to their knowledge of their own language a thorough training in theology and enthusiasm for the ideals of a pure sacerdotal life.[2] Little by little such missionaries could attempt the recovery of the ground that had been lost. From Braunsberg Possevino suggested to Gregory XIII. a plan of establishing there a Papal seminary for the training of priests for the northern countries,[3] especially for Sweden and Finland, which were so important on account of their proximity to Russia.[4] This plan was carried into effect in the same year. A similar Papal college was founded by Possevino at Olmütz. There, in 1579, was received the Protestant minister Olaf Sondergelteus, who had entered the Church, and was given by Possevino the task of translating the catechism into Finnish and compiling a Finnish grammar; another student of the college at Olmütz, Petrus Cuprimontanus, was to compile a Swedish grammar.

[1] See Possevino's report in THEINER, Schweden, II., 271 *seq.*, and John's memorandum in THEINER, Annales, II., 408 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 130 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I.[2], 354. Laureo sent, by Possevino, two Ruthenian youths and one Russian to be educated at Rome; see WIERBOWSKI, 713.

[2] *Cf.* PIERLING, La Russie, II., 210.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 245.

[4] "Qui guardagnera in Finlandia la conversione dell'anime aprirà una grande porta alla Moscovia e peró meno di quel paese perchè sieno in Roma instituiti," says Possevino on page 36 of the *Relazione* quoted *supra*, p. 421, n. 1. For the Finnish Jesuit alumni see LEINBERG, Om finske studerende i jesuitcollegier, in *Hist. Arkisto*, XI., Helsingförs, 1891, 156 *seq.*, and BIAUDET, *ibid.*, XIX. (1905), 178 *seq.* The undated *suggestion, which undoubtedly came from Possevino, to found seminaries for "Suecia e Finlandia," in Miscell., Arm. 11, t. 94, p. 213 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives).

Thus to the Jesuits belongs the glory of having prepared the first grammars in both those languages.[1]

On his journey Possevino was at pains to promote the political interests of the King of Sweden both at Prague and at Warsaw.[2] When he reached Rome on September 27th, 1578, detailed discussions of the concessions asked for by John III. had already taken place.

A special commission, to which belonged, besides Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Savelli, Galli, Hosius, Montalto, Madruzzo and Sirleto, the Franciscan, Cesare Montalcino, and the Jesuit, Francisco Toledo, had come to the conclusion that, of the twelve concessions asked for, five could not be granted, because the example would be too dangerous for the other nations, and the Church could not attain to any real life in Sweden under such conditions. Thus the commission rejected the mass in the vernacular, communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, the suppression of prayers for the dead and of holy water; on the other hand it recommended the granting of the other seven requests; among these was the renunciation of confiscated ecclesiastical property.[3] When Possevino returned from Naples, where, though without success, he had been dealing with the question of the royal inheritance, the commission sought his advice. On the basis of the memorial which he drew up, it devoted its attention to the future organization of ecclesiastical

[1] *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, II., 318; SCHYBERGSON, Geschichte Finnlands, I., 141 *seq.* for details of the attempts at a Catholic Restoration in Finland, and KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 96.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 136 *seq.*, Grégoire, XIII., p. 29.

[3] *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 503 *seq.*; II., 107 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*; WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, IV., 332 *seq.* The deliberations of the commission are reported by Odescalchi in his *memorandum dated Rome, July 29, 1578, in which he also relates that the Queen of Sweden had half converted her husband and that, on account of the concessions, Possevino was being sent to Rome "in habita secolare con spada e cappa." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

discipline which was to be in force in Sweden when that country again became Catholic.[1]

A brief of December 1st, 1578, confirmed Possevino in his office of Papal nuncio, and gave him wide faculties as vicar-apostolic for the whole of Scandinavia and the neighbouring northern countries of Denmark, Moscovia, Lithuania, Russia, Hungary, Pomerania and Saxony. Gregory also ordered a general jubilee for the success of the new mission.[2]

In the spring of 1579 Possevino set out for the second time for Sweden. Gregory XIII. gave him two Tyrolese who had been educated at the German College.[3] After he had worked to further the interests of John III. at the courts of the Emperor and the King of Poland, and to bring about an alliance between Sweden and Rudolph II. and Philip II.,[4] he reached Stockholm on August 7th, 1579, this time dressed in the habit of his Order. His experiences there of the hesitation and vacillation of the king were very disappointing. There could be no doubt that the attitude of John III., who was now strongly insisting upon the Pope's consent to the demands which he had but recently been willing to abandon, was principally determined by the political situation. When the Papal-Spanish expedition to Ireland proved a failure, Possevino fell out of favour with the king, but when the news arrived of the conquest of Portugal by Philip II. he received a cordial invitation to the court![5]

It was impossible to bring John III. to the point of making a definite decision in ecclesiastical matters; he adhered firmly to his own system of religion, which as far as he was concerned was expressed in his new liturgy. Himself a mere opportunist, he was incapable of understanding the firm

[1] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 517 *seq.*

[2] See ZACHARIAS, Iter litt. per Italiam, Venetiis, 1762, 294 *seq.*; THEINER, Schweden, II., 44 *seq.*, 48 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I.[2], 357.

[4] *Cf.* BEZOLD in the *Abhandlungen der Münch. Akademie*, XVII., 362 *seq.*

[5] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*; *cf.* Possevino's report in THEINER, Schweden, II., 236 *seq.*

stand of the Holy See, whose religious policy was based upon unchangeable principles. Under these circumstances Possevino was unable to attain the true end of his mission. On August 10th, 1580, he left Stockholm with fifteen Swedish youths who were to be trained as missionaries in the seminaries of Braunsberg and Olmütz. Henceforward he devoted his special attention to these establishments, which were making reassuring progress. His experience of the hesitation of John III. had confirmed him in his conviction that the conversion of Sweden would never be brought about by means of the king, but only by means of long preparatory labours on the part of native priests, trained in the Papal seminaries.[1] A similar view was shared by the authorities in Rome. Gregory did all that lay in his power, and was of opinion that money could not be laid out to a more useful purpose.[2] This indeed proved to be the case, for though some of the students of those establishments did not fulfil the hopes that had been placed in them, others proved themselves worthy to the degree of not even shrinking from martyrdom.[3]

When he left the capital of Sweden Possevino could feel satisfaction in the fact that the king at anyrate had taken under his protection the house of the Jesuits, which had been threatened by a popular tumult.[4] The venerable and

[1] See KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 149 *seq.* ; *cf.* ZALEWSKI, I., 1, 439 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 324. On February 18, 1581, Cesare Strozzi reported from Rome : *In casa del s. card. Farnese si è fatta questa settimana una congregatione sopra le cose del regno di Suetia con l'intervento delli sig. card^li Madruzzo et Como et del Padre Possevino et pare che non sia stato altro che erigere collegii esve si habbino a mantenere giovani che poi habbino a insegnare, in quel regno buona dottrina cattolica. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). These deliberations resulted in the Bulls of March, 1581, quoted by KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 176).

[3] As for example John Jussoila and Petrus Erici. *Cf.* for both these, *Hist. Arkisto*, XI., 196 *seq.*, XIX., 192 *seq.*, 219.

[4] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 159. P. St. Warszewicki remained in Stockholm in place of L. Norvegus who departed with Possevino ; see *ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

ancient house of the Brigettines at Wadstena on the Lake of Wetter, whose rule had been reformed by Possevino, was also placed upon a firm footing; the two Catholic priests who had been sent there as confessors received full faculties for the absolution of those who wished to return to the Church.[1] The hopes of the Catholics rested principally upon the queen and the heir to the throne, Sigismund, in whose household two disciples of the college of Braunsberg, Lawrence Magnus, a nephew of the dead Bishop of Upsala, and the Finlander, John Jussoila, were installed as court chaplains,[2] Sigismund, whose firmness in the Catholic faith Possevino counted as the principal result of his second mission,[3] did not in the event disappoint the hopes that were placed in him.[4] John III., on the other hand, made it more and more evident that his rapprochement with Rome had been the outcome of political motives. As Possevino was well aware of this he continued to promote the political interests of the king in every possible way, especially in the matter of the inheritance of Catherine. If he met with no success, the fault was not his. It was a severe blow to King John when his ally of Poland made peace

[1] See THEINER, II., 156 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 327; STEINHUBER, I.², 355. The faculties, dated Prague, May 22, 1584, given to John Jussoila by Possevino in *Hist. Arkisto*, XIX., 218-9: "Auctoritate, qua in regnis Septentrionalibus, ubi catholici episcopi non sunt, a S.D.N.P.M. Gregorio XIII. fungimur, facultatem tibi damus in iisdem regnis sacramenta rite et catholico more administrandi (exceptis sacramentis confirmationis et ordinum sacrorum) itemque absolvendi in quocunque casu, etiam in casibus reservatis in bulla Coena Domini, in foro conscientiae tantum ac cum, quocunque dispensandi in omnibus casibus irregularitatis (exceptis provenientibus ex bigamia et homicidio voluntario) deinde in quocunque loco cum altari portatili celebrandi . . . praeterea et libros prohibitos et haereticos legendi ad eum finem tantum modo ut haereses confutentur et s. fides catholica defendatur."

[3] See his *Sommario in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf. ibid.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli. See also *Anz. der Krak. Akademie*, 1891, 139 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, II., 3, 22 *seq.*

with Russia in 1583. This was equally disastrous for the Catholic cause in Sweden, for the more the political advantages which John looked for from his union with Rome failed of their fulfilment, the more did his zeal for the Catholic religion grow cool.[1]

The hopes of the reunion of Sweden to the Church were further reduced by the death of Queen Catherine in 1583. In her the Catholics lost their great support. In her will this noble princess left a legacy of 10,000 thalers to the seminary of Braunsberg, for the maintenance there of five Swedish boys.[2] How greatly attached Possevino was to this institution is shown by the fact that he wrote its history and kept a detailed register of its pupils.[3] He took a share in the alteration of its statutes in 1584, when it was decided that the youths who were received there must give a promise that they would proceed to receive priest's orders.[4]

A great change for the worse in Catholic hopes in Sweden took place when, on February 15th, 1585, John III. married Gunnila Bielke, who was sixteen years of age and a zealous Lutheran. It even became difficult for the heir to the throne, Sigismund, to remain faithful to the Catholic Church.[5]

At the very moment when the tendency of the King of Sweden, prompted as it was by material considerations, towards a reunion of his kingdom with the ancient Church had come to nothing, it seemed as though a compensation

[1] GEIJER has already pointed this out (II., 226). BERLIÈRE says, very justly, in his review of Biaudet's brilliant work: "Le rapprochement de la Suede avec le St.-Siège fut une oeuvre de politique comme celle qui avait detaché cette nation de l'unité catholique." (*Rev. Bénédict.* XXIV., 435).

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, II., 327.

[3] See *ibid.*, 324 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*

[4] See DUHR, I., 309.

[5] See THEINER, II., 3, 23; *cf.* GEIJER, II., 226, 241. The events connected with the execution of A. Lorich (for whom Gregory XIII. interceded with John III. on February 2, 1585) also contributed to alienate the king from the Catholic cause; see *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXVIII., 312 *seq.*

might be found in another undertaking, the result of which would be of incalculable importance. Even in the times of the greatest difficulty the Popes had not lost sight of barbarous and schismatic Russia, for which country a brighter future could only be opened out when her opposition to the Catholic Church and the culture of the west had been overcome.

Ever since 1561 the Holy See had endeavoured to persuade the Czar Ivan IV. to send delegates to the Council of Trent and to join the alliance against the Turks. Underlying these efforts there was always the thought of a religious reunion on the basis of the Council of Florence. But neither the envoys of Pius IV. nor of Pius V. had been able to reach Moscow on account of the opposition of Sigismund Augustus, the King of Poland.

An attempt made by Gregory XIII. in 1576 to enter into relations with the Czar came to nothing because of the generally unfavourable political conditions.[1] The efforts made by Gregory three years later to put an end to the bloody war between Russia and Poland, and to win over the two Slav kingdoms to the crusade against the Turks, met with no better success. The King of Poland, Stephen Báthory, would not hear of a compromise, as his arms were victorious,[2] and in the time that followed he harassed the Czar to such an extent that the latter found himself compelled to make peace with Poland. As mediator for that purpose the schismatic sovereign of Russia called upon the moral power of the supreme head of the hated Catholic and Roman Church.[3]

[1] See (in addition to PIERLING, St.-Siège, I., 408 *seq.*) SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Instituts*, XIII., 274 *seq.*

[2] See PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 419 *seq.*; *cf. Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXI. (1882), 224 *seq.*, and BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, Section 1.

[3] See PIERLING, A. Possevini Missio Moscovitica ex annuis litt. Soc. Iesu excerpta, Paris, 1882; Un nonce du Pape en Moscovie, Paris, 1884; Le St.-Siège, la Pologne et Moscou, 1582-7, Paris, 1885; Bathory et Possevino, Paris, 1887; La Russie et le St.-Siège, II., 2 *seq.* *Cf.* also LERPIGNY, Un arbitrage Pontifical au XVIe siècle, Paris, 1886; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 163 *seq.*; LICHATSCHEW in the *Bullet. de la Comm. archéographique de St. Pétersbourg*, 1903.

During the last week of February, 1581, there came to the Eternal City three men, whose strange oriental dress caused the greatest excitement. The amazement of the Curia was very great when it was learned that they had been sent by Ivan IV., the Grand Prince of Moscow, a schismatic and noted for his pride, from which place no messenger had presented himself in the capital of Christendom for half a century. At that time, in the days of Clement VII., apartments had been given to the envoy of Russia in the Vatican. This was not done on the present occasion. In the first place consideration had to be shown for the friendly sovereign of Poland, and this time it was not a case of a plenipotentiary, but only of the bearer of a letter from the Grand Prince. Therefore a middle course was adopted. When the envoys entered Rome on February 24th, 1581, the Colonna palace, the residence of Giacomo Boncompagni, was placed at their disposal. Báthory's representative at the Curia was able to arrange that they were not given any public audience, although they were the bearers of credential letters from the Emperor Rudolph II.; all they obtained was a private audience on February 26th. Besides Ivan Thomas Schewerigin, who was to deliver the Czar's letter, there were present only his interpreter, William Popler, together with Francesco Pallavicini and Giacomo Boncompagni.[1]

Schewerigin, a handsome and striking man,[2] appeared in a mantle of red scarlet cloth, with a silk dress of the same colour, long boots of skin and a tall hat of sable. The letter which he brought was written in the Russian tongue. Gregory,

[1] See MUCANTIUS, Diarium, in THEINER, Annales, III., 284; **Avviso di Roma* of February 25, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 87, Vatican Library; *Bernerio's report dated Rome, March 4, 1581, State Archives at Vienna; *Odescalchi's memorandum dated Rome, February 25 and March 4, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also MONTAIGNE, II., 6. SCHIEMANN'S statement (II., 383) that the Pope received Schewerigin "in full consistory" is altogether false.

[2] *E huomo di nobilissimo aspetto et di bellissima presenza, wrote Odescalchi on February 25, 1581, *loc. cit.*

therefore was only able, when he informed the Cardinals of the embassy in secret consistory on the following day, to say that thanks must be rendered to God for such a mission.[1]

There can be no doubt that the appearance of an envoy from the mysterious east at once raised hopes in the mind of Gregory XIII., not only for the furtherance of the war against the Turks, but also of the reunion of the Russian church with the Holy See, which had been vainly attempted by many of his predecessors. The translation of the letter[2] showed that Ivan was acting with true Asiatic cunning. He promised, if he were granted the friendship of the Pope and the other Christian princes to throw open his country to the trade of western Europe. He therefore begged Gregory XIII. to induce the King of Poland, that "vassal of the Turks," to lay aside his arms. This disposition manifested by the Grand Prince to ally himself with the Pope and the Christian princes after the restoration of peace, coincided with the Pope's favourite project. For that end Ivan asked that a representative of the Holy See might be sent to Moscow.

Although the request for mediation was honourable, and the hope held out of his support in the struggle against Islam was encouraging, the complete silence in which Ivan passed over the religious differences which existed between Rome and Moscow was very strange. The Curia did not, however, indulge in any exaggerated hopes; "the style of the letter," wrote Cardinal Galli to the nuncio in Poland, "is in some ways convincing. But all who know as we do, that this does not come from the good dispositions of Ivan, but from the salutary defeat which King Stephen has inflicted upon him, will be all the less inclined to look for good results from this mission, in that in the letter there is not a word about religious matters."[3]

However difficult it was to check Báthory in his victorious

[1] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See PAMIATNIKI, diplom. Snochénij, I., 6 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 19 *seq.*

[3] See CIAMPI, I, 237 *seq*

progress, Gregory felt that he ought not to let slip the opportunity of once more entering into closer relations with Russia. This view was shared by Cardinals Farnese, Madruzzo, Galli, and Commendone, to whom he showed the letter for their advice;[1] they approved of the decision which the Pope announced on March 6th, in secret consistory, to send an envoy to Russia as soon as possible, to treat, not only of the matter of the peace, but also of the reunion of the Czar's kingdom with the Church.[2] Out of consideration for Poland, and because Schewerigin had no high standing, this duty was entrusted to a simple religious, Antonio Possevino, who had acquired a special knowledge of the state of northern and eastern Europe in the course of his previous missions.[3] Great things were hoped of his zeal, his learning and his eloquence. It was also an advantage that he enjoyed the favour of Báthory.

The departure of Possevino, who was to travel with Schewerigin, was delayed for a while, as Gregory XIII. wished the envoy of the Grand Prince of Russia to assist at the impressive ceremonies of Holy Week.[4] Schewerigin, who attended in great state, behaved with absolute respect at his visits to the churches. He especially admired the new buildings of St. Peter's, the ceremonies of Holy Week, and

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 183 *seq.* On March 4, 1581, *Sporeno reported that the four Cardinals were still in consultation. (Government Archives at Innsbruck).

[2] See Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Odescalchi, on March 11, 1581, *reports the sending of Possevino and takes occasion to bestow great praise on the zealous religious for his past activity, especially in Sweden (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the same day, *Bernerio also reports the mission (State Archives, Vienna). On March 4, Galli had considered it as probable; see KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 173, n. 1. Here (on page 174) the author rightly observes that PIERLING trusted too much to Possevino's "Annales," for in them Possevino speaks only too often like a boastful old man.

[4] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of March 25, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 138 (Vatican Library).

the piety displayed by the Roman people; the fine discipline of the Swiss Guard also excited his admiration.[1] Possevino utilized the time before his departure by studying the works of Herberstein and Giovio on the strange country to which he was going. Gregory XIII. and Commendone placed all the documents in the Papal archives bearing on the subject at his disposal.[2]

In addition to letters to the courts of Russia, Poland and Sweden,[3] Possevino was given secret instructions, in accordance with which he was first to go to Venice to negotiate a commercial treaty between the republic and Russia, and then to bring about peace between Ivan and Báthory. Once this had been arranged, he was to press for the alliance against Turkey, to which the commercial treaty with Venice was to open the way,[4] and this, if possible, was to have its basis and guarantee of stability in the reunion of Russia with the Catholic Church.[5]

Possevino was given as his companions four of his fellow-religious, two of whom spoke the Slav language, as well as two interpreters.[3] As Schewerigin had, by Ivan's command, brought to the Pope a gift of precious furs, Gregory in return sent valuable gifts to the Grand Prince. Schewerigin himself received rich presents, so that he left the Eternal City on March 27th, 1581, together with Possevino, in a state of high

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 4, 8 and 11, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 101, 103, 109 (Vatican Library), and Avvisi-Caetani, 110.

[2] *Cf.* TURGENEVIUS, Suppl. ad Hist. Russiae monumenta, Petropoli, 1848, 20 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 25.

[3] See the text in Possevino's Moscovia, 57 *seq.*, and in THEINER, Schweden, II., 63 *seq.* *Cf. Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 343 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 175, n. 3.

[4] Cardinal Galli lays stress on these "arrière-pensées" in his *Memorie (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[5] See TURGENEVIUS, Hist. Russiae monumenta, Petropoli, 1841, 299 *seq.* *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 241 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 26 *seq.*

[6] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 176.

satisfaction.[1] The journey was made by way of Austria, with a stay at Venice. In Venice Possevino discussed a league against the Turks, but the government maintained an evasive attitude. From Villach he paid a visit to the Archduke Charles at Graz, in the interests of a marriage between the Hapsburgs and the royal house of Sweden. He joined Schewerigin once more at Prague. There, as the Pope had given him several thousand scudi for the seminary training of missionary priests for the north of Europe, he founded a Papal seminary, which was very soon in a flourishing condition.[2] His visit to the Emperor was without result. He then set out by way of Breslau for Poland, while Schewerigin continued his journey to Moscow through Lübeck.[3]

Báthory had viewed the coming of Possevino with considerable distrust. But the Jesuit was able by his shrewdness to overcome the prejudices of the king and win his confidence. It was of great advantage to the success of his undertaking that, as things stood, mediation was always desired in Poland.[4]

At the beginning of August, 1581, Possevino set foot on Russian soil, that is to say in a world which to a native of western Europe was as unknown as it was strange. Passing through Smolensk, on August 10th, he reached Stariza on the Volga, where Ivan had his court. Two days later he presented the Pope's letter and gifts to the Grand Prince. The letter was written with consummate diplomatic skill.[5] In it, Gregory recalled the relations between his predecessors and Russia, gave expression to his joy at the hostile feelings of the Grand Prince for the Turks, and declared himself all the more ready to intervene with Báthory in the cause of

[1] See *Odescalchi's report of April 1, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf. Avvisi-Caetani*, 111.

[2] See the *Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. al P. Possevino (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[3] See PIERLING, II., 45 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 176 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PIERLING II., 53 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*

[5] Printed in Possevino's Moscovia, 58. KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 171) describes it as a diplomatic masterpiece.

peace, in that the arms of Russia as well as Poland could then be turned against Islam. Since, as Possevino would be able to explain more clearly, political union without a religious one was impossible, the Pope begged Ivan to study the deliberations of the Council of Florence, which he sent to him, in which the Greeks had recognized the Roman primacy, to present them to his theologians, and then send another embassy to Rome. The gifts consisted of a precious crucifix in rock crystal and lapiz lazuli, containing a relic of the True Cross, a copy of Michelangelo's Pietà in ivory, a rosary adorned with precious stones, and a copy of the decrees of the Council of Florence written in Greek.[1]

During his stay of nearly four weeks at the Russian court Possevino had six audiences with the Grand Prince, which were for the most part very short. All the longer were his negotiations with the Boyars. In the latter Possevino first of all maintained the necessity of an understanding, not only with Poland, but also with Sweden, as well as the formation of a general league against the Turks, which could only rest on a solid foundation if the same faith united all those who composed it. He pointed out that the Pope was not asking the Russians to make any sacrifice of their liturgy. With regard to the commercial treaty with Venice he pointed out that the Venetian caravans were always accompanied by two priests, and that it was therefore only right that these should be given free access to Russia, and be allowed to build a church for foreigners.[2]

The replies of the Russians showed that in diplomatic skill they were quite the equals of Possevino. They rejected the inclusion of Sweden in the peace negotiations, though they made the concession that the envoy of John III. should be given a hearing. The Venetians might be allowed to bring Catholic priests to Russia if the same concession was made

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 25, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 141, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIERLING, II., 85.

[2] See PIERLING, Bathory, 115 *seq.*; La Russie, II., 86 *seq.*; LERPIGNY, Arbitrage, 153 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, Annales, III., 353 *seq.*, where, for 1582, read 1581.

to the Russians in the case of Venice; it was quite out of the question to allow the building of a Catholic Church in the dominions of the Grand Prince. The negotiations concerning any religious reunion must depend upon the conclusion of peace with Poland. For the latter, Ivan laid down hard conditions: above all he demanded the cession of Narva, which would give him access to the Baltic.

On receiving this reply Possevino went on September 12th to Báthory, whose position, on account of the stubborn resistance of the Russians, had changed greatly for the worse. He was therefore very ready for peace negotiations.[1]

The successes which the Swedes had in the meantime met with, made it clear to Ivan as well that an understanding with Poland was very desirable. Beginning on December 13th, 1581, the matter was discussed, with the mediation of Possevino, at the border village of Kiwerowa Horka, in the neighboroughood of Jam Zapolki, on the road to Novgorod. It was the depth of winter. In a small cabin, containing but one room, and with but primitive means of heating, the disciple of Loyola took up his abode, and, as Papal legate, was accepted by both parties as arbitrator. After unspeakable difficulties, he was at last successful, on January 15th, 1582, in arranging the terms of an armistice for ten years between Russia and Poland.[2]

After this Possevino repaired to Moscow, where he was received in audience by Ivan on February 16th, 1582. Although

[1] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 90 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Possevino, Moscovia, 82 *seqq.* The complaint that the armistice unduly favoured Russia is not justified; *cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXVI., 357. See *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 421 *seq.*, 429 *seq.*; LERPIGNY, 231 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie II., 113 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*, 132 *seq.* KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 192 *seq.*) draws attention to the fact that political conditions also played an important part in the conclusion of peace; but, at the same time, he remarks, quite rightly: "Batory aussi bien qu'Iwan étaient beaucoup trop orgueilleux pour céder l'un à l'autre. Si le jésuite ne s'était pas trouvé là, la lutte aurait continué probablement jusqu'à la défaite complète de l'un ou de l'autre."

he obtained but little from the Czar in the matter of an exchange of prisoners, he was able to count with all the greater confidence on success in the matter of the anti-Turkish league, as, although Ivan had been obliged to give up Livonia, he had rendered important service to the exhausted Grand Prince by obtaining the ten years' armistice.[1] But Ivan, now that he had obtained peace, had not the least intention of fulfilling his promises. Amid empty subterfuges he insisted that the Pope must first win over the states of Europe to such an alliance, and then treat of the matter at Moscow; he was, however, prepared to send a fresh envoy to Rome, who was to make the journey with Possevino. The passport for the Catholic priests of the Venetians was issued, and with regard to the sending of some young Russians to be educated in Rome in the ancient Greek faith he gave a promise without any binding force.[2]

On February 21st, 1582, the reunion of Russia with the Church was debated.[3] This memorable discussion, which took place in the Kremlin, did not have the results which were desired and perhaps expected by Possevino. Ivan, who prided himself a great deal on his theological learning, replied to Possevino's appeal to the primacy of Peter and his successors by remarking that some of the later successors of the Prince of the Apostles had shown themselves unworthy of that position by their evil lives. Possevino replied that they must not blindly believe all the accusations that were made against the Popes, and that in any case, the same thing applied to the Popes as to the Grand Princes, namely that there were

[1] According to LAVISSE-RAMBAUD (V., 752).

[2] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 160 *seq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, Russlands Orientpolitik, I., 11.

[3] In addition to Possevino's report in his *Moscovia* (31 *seq.*), there is also a Russian one which agrees, more or less, with that of the Jesuit; see SCHEIMANN, II., 393, n. 1. Against Possevino and Pierling, WALISZEWSKI is at pains to show (Iwan le Terrible, Paris, 1904, 461), that the conference had not been arranged in advance, and that, on this occasion, the Czar was only accompanied by his ordinary entourage.

good and bad ones, but that their right and prerogatives were always the same, no matter who filled the office. Carried away by rage, the Grand Prince exclaimed that the Pope was not a shepherd but a wolf.[1] To this insult Possevino replied with bold candour that it was a wonder that Ivan had sought the mediation of a wolf. Being thus driven into a corner, the Grand Prince gave a loud cry and grasped his sceptre which was tipped with iron, and with which he had a few months before killed his own son, and lifted it to strike at Possevino.[2] The latter, however, remained quite calm, whereupon Ivan again cooled down. They continued the discussion for a long time. Ivan reviled the Pope because in his pride he had himself carried in a chair and made men kiss the cross that was embroidered upon his shoe; he tried to make a laughing stock of Possevino by asking him why he shaved, since it was considered an outrage to cut off one's hair and beard in Russia. Possevino answered these attacks calmly and to the point, but Ivan clung firmly to his contention that the Pope allowed himself to be worshipped as God. The antipathy for the Catholic Church felt by the Russian Grand Prince, and the prejudices against the Latins which he had inherited from the Greeks, were fanned by the English merchants, who represented Rome as Babylon and the Pope as Antichrist, because it was the policy of the shrewd envoys of Queen Elizabeth to obtain a monopoly of the trade of Russia by parading the Protestant flag.[3]

[1] Possevino did not dare to print this outburst in his *Moscovia*, though it is contained in his original manuscript; see TURGENEVIUS, Suppl. ad Hist. Russiae Monumenta, 104.

[2] BRÜCKNER says (Geschichte Russlands, I., 405): "Possevino might easily have fallen a victim to his own zeal for conversion. It was a deed of daring to expose himself to the unbridled passion and brutality of a tyrannical opponent." According to LAVISSE-RAMBAUD (V., 752): "Iwan IV. se montra de mauvaise foi dans le discussion, pédant, insolent."

[3] *Cf.* BRÜCKNER, I., 405; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 166, 190 *seq.* For Possevino's written defence against the English attacks on the Pope see WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, III., 353 *seq.*

Two days later Possevino was again invited to appear before the Grand Prince, who apologized for the expressions he had used against the Pope, and even asked for a memorial setting forth the doctrinal differences between the two churches. Nevertheless the schismatic sovereign had no serious thought of coming to any agreement. On the first Sunday in Lent, March 4th, a first attempt was made to induce Possevino to take part in the Russian worship, but in vain. Ivan, who wished to maintain his relations with the Pope, which were so useful to him politically, tried to persuade him up to the last moment; the courageous Jesuit was courteously received in a farewell audience,[1] and in company with a Russian envoy, named John Molvianinow, set out on March 14th, 1582, for Riga, where he discussed with Báthory the best means for the restoration of the Catholic religion in Livonia, which had been secured by the peace; he then set out on his return journey to Rome.[2] During his stay in Moscow, as was also done in the case of all the foreign diplomatists, he had been so closely watched over by a supposed guard of honour that he could not even go for a short walk, and thus had been unable to get into touch with anyone.[3]

On his way back to Rome, at the end of June, 1582, Possevino discussed with the Emperor his controversy with Báthory, and got Rudolph II. to accept the Pope as arbitrator.[4]

For the Anglo-Russian relations see also SCHIEMANN, II., 395 *seq.*; G. TOLSTOY, England and Russia, 1553-93, St. Petersburg, 1875; *American Hist. Review*, XIX. (1914), 525 *seq.* The question of kissing the foot was dealt with at the time by the Spanish theologian Jos. Stephanus (see HURTER, I., 186) in his work: "De adoratione pedum Rom. Pontif." which was not printed at Venice until 1578. It also appeared "Coloniae, 1580" and "Romae, 1588."

[1] See POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 36 *seq.*

[2] See PIERLING, II., 177 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, Bathory et Possevino, 146.

[4] The dispute was about the towns of Szatmar and Némety and still occupied the attention of the nuncio Malaspina; see REICHENBERGER, I., xix *seq.* *Cf.* also VERESS, Berzwiczy Márton, Budapest, 1911, 158 *seq.*

In Venice Possevino made it clear that there was nothing to be hoped from either Russia or Poland for the war against the Turks, and he accordingly made proposals of another kind for the defence of Christendom.[1]

On September 14th, 1582, amid the roar of the cannon of St. Angelo, and a great concourse of the people, the Russian mission made its entry into Rome.[2] There it still remained under the care of Possevino, to whom the rude behaviour and the barbarous habits of Molvianinow caused no little embarrassment.[3]

On September 16th their reception by the Pope, who was attended by fourteen Cardinals, took place in the Palace of S. Marco, in the Sala del Mappamundi. Here too Molvianinow behaved in a boorish fashion. When his secretary failed to hand him the letter of the Grand Prince quickly enough,[4] so that he might deliver it to the Pope, he struck him![5] No negotiations took place; as the envoy had no powers there could be no more than an exchange of ideas and gifts.

On October 16th, Molvianinow set out again with Possevino.[6] He carried for Ivan a letter from the Pope, in which Gregory XIII. expressed his satisfaction at the relations that had been opened through Possevino and

[1] See PIERLING, Bathory et Possevino, 168-93.

[2] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, September 15, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* both the *Avvisi di Roma of September 15, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 332, 336, Vatican Library. See also the *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1582, in the State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 6.

[3] See PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 145, 215; *cf.* La Russie, II., 192 *seq.*

[4] Printed in POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 112.

[5] See MUCANTIUS, Diarium, in THEINER, III., 349 *seq.*; PRIULI in MUTINELLI, I., 135; Lettres de P. de Foix, 601; *Donato's report of September 22, 1582, State Archives, Venice; *Odescalchi's memorandum of September 22, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 344, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 109.

[6] See *Avvisi di Roma of September 29, October 3 and 16, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 360, 368, 380, Vatican Library; PRIULI in MUTINELLI, I., 137 *seq.* *Cf.* PIERLING, La Russie, II., 204 *seq.*

Molvianinow between Russia and Rome, and welcomed as a matter for particular satisfaction the fact that Ivan in an earlier letter to Báthory had recognized the preservation of the true faith in the Roman Church. He hoped that the Grand Prince would continue to hold this view. The Pope promised to further the league against the Turks, and informed Ivan that he might make use of Possevino for the future as a trustworthy mediator. The letter, which was furnished with a seal of gold, concluded with an expression of the Pope's pleasure at the free passage which had been granted to the merchants and their priests, and with an acknowledgment of the gifts of the Grand Prince.[1] This brought to an end the relations of the Holy See with Ivan, who died on March 18th, 1584.[2]

The restoration of peace between Poland and Russia was certainly to the advantage of the kingdom of Báthory, and specially advantageous for Livonia, which he acquired by it.[3] But the immediate results obtained by Possevino ended there; with regard to the principal matter, the reunion of Russia with the Church, his mission had been a failure, as had been his earlier attempts in Sweden. Nevertheless he did not altogether despair of success. In his memorials to the Pope,

[1] The document has often been printed: in POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 114, in *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 448 *seq.*, in TURGENEVIUS, Hist. Russiae Monumenta, I., 393 *seq.*, and in THEINER, III., 351 *seq.* The original with the attached Golden Bull is preserved in the archives of the Imperial House at Moscow; *cf.* BÜHLER, Reproduct. d'anciens cachets Russes, I., Moscow, 1880, p.v., where, however, for 1552, read 1582. In return for his presents, Ivan received a picture of Our Saviour.

[2] For Gregory XIII.'s attitude towards Ivan's successor, see TURGENEVIUS, II., 3 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 252 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 271 for the Papal order, inspired by the General of the Jesuits, in accordance with which Possevino had to leave the Polish court, owing to the rivalry between Rudolph II. and Báthory which necessitated strict neutrality on the part of the Jesuit Order.

[3] *Cf.* ZAKRZEWSKI, Stosunki Stolicy Apost. z Iwanem Groznym, Krakow, 1872, and ARNDT in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, XXXI., 240 *seq.*, 503.

which contain so much information of the highest importance as to the state of affairs in Russia, which was almost entirely unknown in the west, he recommends the training of special missionaries who should make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the language, and gradually impart to the neglected and ignorant people a true idea of western civilization and of the Catholic Church.[1] The introduction of any true missionary work on such lines proved to be impossible, yet the missions of Possevino had important indirect consequences which were realized in 1593 with the accession to the throne of Sigismund III., and in 1595, with the union of the schismatic Ruthenian Church to that of Rome.[2] In putting an end to the Ruthenian schism, an event of the greatest importance for eastern Europe, Possevino's fellow Jesuit, Skarga, as well as Gregory XIII. himself, had already played an energetic and important part.[3]

[1] *Cf.* both Possevino's Commentarii which are printed in his Moscovia, 1 *seq.*, and 12 *seq.*, and WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, III., 341 *seq.*

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 205 *seq.*; *cf.* PELESS, Zur Geschichte der Union der ruthen. Kirche mit Rom, I., Vienna, 1878, 507 *seq.*; PIERLING, II., 219-27. See also *Anz. der Krak. Akademie*, 1891, 137 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 402, and THEINER, III., 340, 433 *seq.* For the union of Polish Ruthenians brought about by Bolognetti and the Jesuits see MAFFEI, II., 350 *seq.*

CHAPTER XI.

Foreign Missions.—Japan.—China.—The Indies.

As he had done in the case of the various countries of Europe, Gregory XIII. also displayed so great an activity for the consolidation and spread of the Church in the Far and Near East, in Asia, Africa, and the New World, that he has rightly been called the Pope of the Missions.[1] Here too he found his best and most indefatigable helpers in the Society of Jesus. Like their founder, who at first had wished to devote his labours to the infidel as a missionary, the young followers of Loyola devoted themselves in a special way to carrying the Gospel to the peoples who were lost in the darkness of paganism. In this task Gregory XIII. supported and helped them in every possible way.[2] The unwearied labours of Francis Xavier, all on fire with zeal for the salvation of souls, had made it clear that the work for the conversion of Asia must be directed not only to the effeminate and visionary Hindoos and Malays, but rather to the Japanese and Chinese.[3] During the period that followed the Japanese islands offered to the Jesuits a field of labour that held out high hopes of success.[4]

[1] See Karttunen, Grégoire XIII., 94 *seq.* *Cf.* Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., c. 4 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Cf.* the countless dispensations and privileges enumerated in the Synopsis: 64, 67, 68, 70, 78, 82, *seq.*, 84, 86, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99-101, 108, 117 *seq.*, 129, 132, 136, 138-9, 140.

[3] See Vol. XIII of this work, p. 315 *seqq*

[4] See L. Delplace, Le Catholicisme au Japon. François Xavier at ses premiers successeurs, 1540-93, I., Bruxelles, 1909, 77 *seq.* and Hans Haas, Geschichte des Christentums in Japan, II.: Fortschritte des Christentums unter dem Superiorat des P. Cosmo de Torres, Tokio, 1904. *Cf.* M. Steichen, the Christian

When Francis Xavier left Japan in 1551, only a few hundreds of the natives, and those of the lowest class, had been won over to the religion of the Cross. Gaspar Vilela, who returned to India in 1571, worn out by his long missionary labours, estimated the number of Christians at 30,000.[1] Among the new converts there was one of the sixty Daimios, and not a few of the most highly educated and learned men of the country. There were also isolated Christians in those places where the missionaries had not yet penetrated; such were to be found, in the opinion of Ludovico Froes in 1566, in almost all the sixty-three principalities into which Japan was at that time divided.[2] In the midst of the corruption of the representatives of Buddhism and Shintoism, the Japanese felt themselves more and more attracted in those difficult times to the missionaries, in whom they still saw the spirit of Francis Xavier. Compared to the comfortable life and the selfishness of the pagan priests, the generosity and the self-sacrificing care for the sick shown by the missionaries formed a contrast which made a deep impression.[3]

The zeal of the new converts corresponded to the heroic courage and spirit of sacrifice of the missionaries.[4] They come on Sundays, wrote Baldassare Gago in 1559,[5] from a distance of two and three leagues, to the instructions for catechumens at Funai; those who live further off arrive the evening before and spend the night at the hospital. On solemn feasts the church is too small for the number of the faithful, but their devotion and the tears with which they receive the holy sacraments make the missionaries blush.

Daymios: A century of religious and political history in Japan (1549-1650), Yokohama, 1903. For a criticism of MURDOCH'S History of Japan, Kobe, 1903, *cf.* THURSTON in *The Month*, 1905, I., 291 *seq.*, 388 *seq.*

[1] DELPLACE, I., 172.

[2] *Ibid.* 149.

[3] *Cf.* the opinion of the Japanese G. MITSUKURI in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 194 *seq.*

[4] See HAAS, II., 332-71.

[5] DELPLACE, I., 91.

Every Wednesday and Friday during Lent, after a sermon on the Passion of Christ, they take the discipline before the crucifix. Everywhere there is set up a system of works of charity for the poor, and the care of the sick; meals in common, especially on the feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, help to foster the love and mutual good-will of the Christians. The steadfastness and constancy of the converts were no less great than their zeal. When the Daimio of Hirado persecuted the Christians in 1560, many went into exile and forfeited all their property.[1] When he was asked how far his love for Jesus Christ ought to extend, a boy of eleven replied: "as long as I am a Christian, even though I were to be cut into small pieces";[2] such replies are frequently recorded, even though at the utmost there were only isolated cases of true martyrdom.[3]

The joy experienced by the converts in feeling themselves to be members of a great universal Church, and children of the Vicar of Christ, was shown by the eagerness with which they asked the Pope for blessed *Agnus Dei*, or copies of the *Sudarium*. Some of them, wrote Lodovico Froes, pass eight days in prayer in order to merit the happiness of possessing such things. Some of the *Agnus Dei* had to be broken into 1530 pieces, in order to satisfy the devotion of all the claimants. Every day boat loads of men and women arrived asking to share in these treasures.[4]

The results of the labours of the missions, when compared with the difficulties they were faced with, are all the more remarkable. At first the missionaries were only quite a small number. Until the end of 1563, there were never more than nine priests in the country; in the following year they were increased by seven priests and eight lay-brothers, of whom four were Japanese; in 1570 two more priests were added.[5]

[1] DELPLACE, I., 96.

[2] HAAS, II., 342.

[3] DELPLACE, I., 94, 173.

[4] (I. P. MAFFEI), Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum volumen, Coloniae, 1574, 351, 369.

[5] DELPLACE, I., 98. HAAS, II., 274.

What was accomplished by this little band was the result of an inexhaustible perseverance, which never allowed itself to be discouraged, even when after years of work there were no visible results, and one of the frequent wars, or a change in the government, or the whim of a ruler seemed to have swept away all that had been won. From Kagoschima, where the work of the missions had been begun, the prohibition of the sovereign kept the missionaries away for a long time, and the Christian community to a great extent became demoralized.[1] A church was established amid great perils at Hakata, but almost entirely fell into ruins, because it was impossible to send any missionary there.[2] At Jamagutschi the progress that was made at first was considerable; the governor of the city himself, Naito Takaharu, with two of his sons, two learned priests, who obtained Christian priests from Meaco, received baptism. But in 1556 the Daimio Joschinaga was driven out, and his successor Mori Motonari forbade the preaching of the Gospel, and for about twenty years the Christians there were without priests.[3]

The conditions were most favourable for the missionaries in the kingdom of Bungo.[4] The Daimio there, Otomo Joschischiga, had asked the viceroy of India for missionaries, and went so far in his courtesy towards them as to ask them once a year to dine with him. But as he did not himself embrace Christianity they were unable to win over the magnates of the district. For thirty years, a missionary wrote in 1580, we have undergone great labours and dangers, and the result has been that from time to time we convert a hunchback, a cripple, or a leper. A young Portuguese merchant, Luiz Almeida, who soon afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, had built out of his own means a hospital for deserted children, and another for lepers, where those

[1] HAAS, II., 192 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 94 *seqq.*

[3] DELPLACE, I., 79 *seq.* E. SATOW, Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, VII., Yokohama, 1879, 131-56.

[4] HAAS, II., 72-111. DELPLACE, I., 83-96.

who were suffering from venereal disease also found a refuge. Many came out as Christians from these hospitals, and their charitable work thus met with its reward, but this did not prevent Christianity from being looked upon, on account of its connexion with these hospitals, as the religion of the poor and neglected, to which those of high rank ought not to belong. In spite of this by 1556 there were about two thousand Christians in Bungo.

There were about the same number in 1561 in the Island of Hirado, where the fickle Daimio, Matsuura Takanobu, was at one time favourable and at another opposed to the new religion, in each case in accordance with the political considerations of the moment. There the Jesuits found a supporter in Koteda, the powerful vassal of Takanobu, and the islands of Tukaschima and Ikitsu which were subject to him soon became almost entirely Christian.[1]

The preference which the Portuguese showed for the port of Hirado, suggested to Sumitada, the ruler of Omura, to the south, the idea of attracting Portuguese merchants to his state by offering great advantages to their merchants and missionaries. He offered them his port of Jokoseura, which they accepted. After several visits of courtesy, Sumitada began to take his relations with the missionaries more seriously; he began to wear a cross of gold in public, and went to visit the Jesuits at night, in order to discuss questions of religion with them, and at last openly embraced Christianity, and when, at the outbreak of the next war he went, in accordance with the Japanese custom, to visit the temple of the god of war, it was only in order to strike the idol with his sword. After this the Jesuits met with brilliant success at Omura. Soon, however, an insurrection of twelve of his vassals against the Daimio threatened once more to imperil the whole position. Sumitada found himself in great straits, but refused to purchase the submission of his vassals by abandoning his religion as they demanded; he was saved by the intervention of his father, who was still a pagan.[2]

[1] Haas, II., 207 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 229 *seqq.*

The example of Sumitada decided his brother, the Daimio Joschisada of Arima to call in the Jesuits as well, to his beautiful port and city of Kotschinotsu. But here the cause of the Cross was again defeated and the missionaries driven out for a time. After their return almost the whole city embraced Christianity. In the Islands of Goto, whither the Daimio Takaaki summoned the Jesuits in 1566, he had his son baptized by the name of Louis.[1] In the Island of Amakusa even more seemed to have been obtained. The Daimio himself embraced Christianity, but very soon again apostatized, when he found that the commercial advantages which he had looked for from his conversion were not realized.[2]

All this progress, however, could not have any decisive effect, because these were all places of the second rank. The religious centre of the country was the capital, Meaco (Kioto), with its Holy Mountain of Hije, which was peopled by hundreds of monasteries of the bonzes. It was necessary for Christianity to get a footing there, if the whole of Japan was to be won. Such a thing, however, was only possible by slow degrees and with great difficulty.[3] Cosmo de Torres, the head of the mission, had sent thither in 1559 his two best fellow-workers, Gaspar Vilela and the Japanese, Lawrence. Cross in hand, Vilela began to preach in the public streets, and aroused wonder even in the most exalted quarters. The Shogun himself (majordomo) summoned him twice to his presence and gave him a safe conduct. He soon aroused the hatred of the powerful bonzes, when he had converted about a hundred persons, including fifteen of the bonzes themselves. The position grew steadily worse, so that in August 1561 the missionary had no other course open to him but to leave the city, which, even apart from this, soon became the scene of military disturbances. Going back in the autumn of 1562 Vilela had once more to leave about Easter, 1563, and from 1565 to 1569 during the political disturbances which preceded

[1] *Ibid.* 258 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 262 *seqq.*
[3] DELPLACE, I., 100 *seqq.* HAAS, II., 113 *seqq.*

the union of Japan, any permanent residence in the capital was impossible for the missionaries.

Driven out from Meaco itself, Vilela continued to work indefatigably in the surrounding district, and gradually obtained some results. Lodovico Froes, who was Vilela's fellow labourer from 1565, and later on his successor, pointed to this as a definite proof that everything could be won by persistence. "Despised," he says, "hated, stoned, persecuted in every way, treated as unworthy of any consideration, Vilela has never ceased to do all he could for the spread of the faith. To-day he is venerated and loved by two of the greatest dignitaries, and by the king himself, the supreme head of all Japan, who willingly converses with him. Great lords have become Christians, and he has built seven churches in a district covering from twelve to fifteen leagues. In spite of his weariness and weakness, he does not cease to labour, as though he were still in good health."[1] For six years Vilela had seen no European, and for three years he had been unable to say mass, because owing to the depredations of bandits it had been impossible to convey vestments to Meaco.[2]

In 1577 there were about 1500 Christians in the capital.[3] In the surrounding district the progress had been greater and more rapid. For example, at the fortress of Imori 500 Japanese asked for baptism within a short period, after an important official there, the secretary of the first minister of Meaco, had become a Christian. The reasons for his conversion are characteristic of the existing state of affairs in Japan. The bonzes of Meaco had demanded of the minister of justice the expulsion of Vilela, but the minister replied that it would first be necessary to examine Vilela's doctrine. The two bonzes who were entrusted with this examination both declared themselves in favour of Christianity and asked for baptism. This unexpected conversion led to that of the secretary and through his means to many others.[4]

[1] Delplace, I., 113.
[2] Delplace, I., 106, 116.
[3] *Ibid.* 172.
[4] *Ibid.* 110.

Vilela made an even more interesting conversion in that of Takajama Hida-no-kami, governor of the fortress of Takatsuki, who was baptized under the name of Darius. Together with two other important nobles, he had invited Vilela and Lawrence to his house on the pretext of asking for instruction, but his real intention had been to cut off both their heads, if they, who spoke so much of the unreasonableness of the Japanese religion, should themselves say anything unreasonable. The result of the interview was that the governor himself, and his two guests, embraced Christianity.[1] Of the two brothers of Darius, one, Francis Moriaku, commandant of Sawa, was also a zealous Christian, and the other, Wada (Vatandono), fell in battle before his conversion had been completed, but his favourable dispositions towards Christianity were even more important than those of his two brothers. For when the Shogun and the whole of the Wada family perished in an insurrection in 1565, he saved the Shogun's brother Gakkei, the heir to the Shogunate, by giving him shelter in his own castle. When Oda Nobunaga, the prince of Owari, took up arms on behalf of Gakkei, for the conquest of Meaco, and assumed the supreme power, Wada became all powerful with the new sovereign, and used his influence on behalf of the Christians. At his recommendation, the Jesuit Lodovico Froes was enabled to obtain a personal interview with Nobunaga, and received from him a document permitting the missionaries to live in Meaco, and setting them free from various disabilities.[2]

A new era in Japan, both in its political history and in that of Christianity, began with the accession to the throne of Nobunaga. Whereas that powerful sovereign acted unhesitatingly against the Buddhist priests, who had joined forces with his enemies against him, he showed the Jesuits so much favour that it was rumoured that he had secretly embraced Christianity. Although the ambitious monarch had no thought of any such thing, he nevertheless remained very friendly towards the Christian mission. Thus the hopes

[1] *Ibid.* 135.

[2] HAAS, II., 159 *seqq.*

of Francis Xavier were at length to be realized. Father Organtino Gnecchi erected a church at Meaco, to the building of which the converts of the capital and the neighbourhood contributed. In memory of the day on which Francis Xavier first set foot on Japanese soil, he dedicated the church, though it was not yet quite finished, on the feast of the Assumption, 1576.[1]

Cosmo de Torres, the companion of Francis Xavier, died in October, 1570, after a laborious apostolate of twenty-one years. Francis Cabral then undertook the charge of the missions. In October, 1575, Cabral informed the General of his Order that since he had been working in Japan several thousand souls had been converted every year, and that in the present year there had been conversions in mass; in the kingdom of Omura alone 20,000 pagans had been won to the Church, together with sixty monasteries of the bonzes. Many, too, had been converted in Bungo and Meaco, and among them many of the nobles. In many of the other kingdoms preachers of the Gospel had been asked for, but he had only been able to reply to them with his tears, so great was his sorrow at seeing countless souls being lost without anyone being able to go to their assistance. He implored by the Sacred Wounds of Jesus that labourers might be sent to that vineyard, in which there was so much fruit and so few labourers, who, moreover, were for the most part very scattered and far distant from each other. Cabral in this letter also called the attention of the General to the need for the establishment of a special house to serve as a seminary for the natives, who had to be trained to act as catechists; the few whom he had at his disposal for that purpose were worn out by their constant labours, and some had died, so that he was in sore need of more help.[2] In spite of the insufficient numbers, however, the years that followed were rich in results, news of which was sent to the nations of Europe in special reports, printed in Latin, Italian and German.[3]

[1] See DELPLACE, I., 129 *seq.*, 135, 138.

[2] See *ibid.* 183 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CARAYON, Bibl. hist., 92 *seq.*; DE BACKER, II., 319 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1920, 235 *seq.*

In 1575 the ruler of Tosu at Schikoku embraced Christianity, and in 1576 his example was followed by the prince of Arima, and in 1578 by the prince of Bungo. The progress of the missions was especially great at Meaco, where conversions took place in mass. Many important dignitaries became Christians; Nobunaga continued to treat the missionaries with the greatest honour, and discussed religious questions with them. Optimistic persons thought that within ten years the whole of Japan would be converted.[1]

An important event for the missions in the Far East was the coming of Father Alessandro Valignani, who had been sent as visitor. This distinguished man, who was a native of Chieti in the Abruzzi, united a burning zeal for souls to consummate prudence; in course of time he was to win the name, in company with Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the East, of having done all that could be done for the Christianizing of the East.[2] When Valignani reached Japan in July, 1579, he found there 150,000 Christians, for whom he had at his disposal only 59 missionaries, 23 of whom were priests.[3] He divided Japan into three provinces: Bungo, Meaco and Hizen (Figen). He established a seminary at Arima, to which another was afterwards added at Ansukimono. In these institutions young Japanese were to be trained in Christianity, and if they proved to have a vocation, educated for the priesthood. In 1580 Valignani had the joy of administering the sacrament of baptism to the new ruler of Arima—giving him the name of Protasius—by whose example almost the whole of his kingdom was converted. It was of the greatest importance to retain the good-will of Nobunaga,

[1] *Cf.* DELPLACE, I., 184, 189, 211; BARTOLI, Degli uomini e de' fatti d. Comp. di Gesù, Torino, 1847, I., 4, c. 14; and Del Giappone, I., Torino, 1825, 61 *seq.*, 74 *seq.*, 389 *seq.*; Gregory XIII.'s brief to "rex Bungi" of December 20, 1578, Bull. patr. Portug., I., 229.

[2] A monograph on Valignani is in preparation by Luigi Manzi.

[3] In 1574 the number of Jesuit missionaries was 42, including 19 priests; see MANOEL CAMARA, Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente nos siglos XVI. e XVII., Lisboa, 1894, 140.

who, indeed, showed great favour to Father Gnecchi. In order to make the missionaries popular in Japan the prudent Valignani insisted that they should adapt themselves as far as possible to the customs of the country, and this led to good results. Gregory XIII. bore a great part of the expenses, not only of the two seminaries at Arima and Ansukimono, but also of the new Jesuit college at Funai, and the house of probation at Iquisenqui.[1]

When Valignani, who was accompanied by Organtino Gnecchi and Lodovico Froes, went to the court of Nobunaga at the beginning of 1581, he was received with the greatest honour. He presented the powerful monarch with a gilt chair, some yards of crimson velvet, and crystal vases. Nobunaga used the chair at a sumptuous tournament at which the whole court was present. Unfortunately there were no hopes of winning Nobunaga himself to Christianity; all the thoughts and preoccupations of that haughty man were fixed upon military glory and the extension of his power.[2]

Besides his work of internal organization, Valignani was at pains to bring about the sending of an embassy of the Christian Japanese princes to the Pope in Rome. He had a two-fold purpose in so doing: in the first place he wished homage and obedience to be paid to the supreme head of the Church, and thus give proof that the Pope's energetic support of the Japanese missions[3] had borne good fruit, but at the

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 351 and BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI (*infra* p. 459, note 2), xxi. *Cf.* HUONDER, Einheim. Klerus, 102 *seq.*, and vol. xix. of this work, p.

[2] *Cf.* BARTOLI, Del. Giappone, I., 137 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*; DELPLACE, I., 203 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 448, note 2. The great success of the Jesuits in Japan aroused, at the time, well-deserved admiration in the Curia; *cf.* *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, October 25, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to the *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1582 (Vatican Library), the yearly payments of the Pope to the Jesuit colleges of Japan amounted to 4,000 scudi. *Cf.* also SPECIANI, *Considerationi (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

same time Valignani had another purpose in view, namely that the Japanese, who were so proud of their own institutions and their own learning, might form, by their personal experience, an idea of the far higher culture of the west, and of the splendour of the Catholic Church.[1]

The Christian sovereigns of Bungo, Arima and Omura welcomed the proposal of the enterprising Jesuit.[2] They chose as their envoys their own near relatives, who were still young men, because it was thought that they, better than older men, would be able to bear the hardships of so long a journey, and the differences of climate. The "King" (Daimio) Francis of Bungo, chose as his representative a cousin named Mantius Ito; "King" Protasius of Arima and the ruler of Omura, also chose a near relative, Michael

[1] The opinion of BERCHET (*Arch. Veneto*, 1877, I., 255 *seq.*) that commercial and political aims were also involved in the sending of envoys is untenable; see TACCHI VENTURI, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1904, III., 456, note 3. The Japanese MITSUKURI expresses the same opinion in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 193.

[2] See "De missione legatorum Iapanensium ad Romanam curiam rebusque in Europa ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogus ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorum collectus et in sermonem latinum versus ab Eduardo de Sande sacerdote Soc. Iesu. In Macaensi portu Sinici regni" (Macao, 1590), written by A. VALIGNANI as is expressly stated in the copy in the Casanatense Library, Rome. Moreover, the book is not, as BRUNET asserts, the first to be printed in Macao; see TACCHI VENTURI, *loc. cit.* 455, note. *Cf.* also the Relazioni della venuta degli ambasciatori Giaponesi a Roma. . . raccol te da GUIDO GUALTIERI, Roma, 1586 (*cf.* PAGÈS, Bibliogr. jap., 28), Reprint, Schio, 1895; SACCHINUS-POSSINUS, V., 225 *seq.*; BARTOLI, I., 266 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 393 *seq.*; BERCHET, *loc. cit.* I., 255 *seqq.*; FRANCESCO BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Le prime due ambasciate di Giapponesi a Roma (1585, 1615) con nuovi documenti, Roma, 1904, a very beautiful publication (restricted to 104 copies) issued to celebrate the golden wedding of the Prince of Piombino Rodolfo Boncompagni and Agnese Borghese. See also CORDIER, Bibl. Jap. (1912), 94-107; *Die kathol. Missionen*, 1920, 217 *seq.*

Cingiva. To these royal personages others belonging to the great aristocracy were added, Julian Nacaura and Martin Hara. On February 20th, 1582, the envoys, accompanied by several Jesuits, among them Valignani, embarked upon a Portuguese vessel at Nagasaki. The whole company was not very large. On the way across to China the travellers had to pass through a cyclone lasting five days. At Macao they had to delay for nine months, because vessels only sailed thence once a year for the Indies. The Japanese made use of the time, as they did again during long delays at Malacca and Goa, in learning the Latin language, and the writing of the west.

The continuation of the voyage towards India was rendered extremely perilous by storms and pirates, and as Valignani had received orders to remain in India as provincial, he handed over the care of the envoys to Father Nuño Rodriguez, who was being sent to Rome as procurator of the interests of the Order. The envoys were also accompanied by another Jesuit named Meschita, who acted as interpreter. After having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, at last, after a voyage of two and a half years, the harbour of Lisbon was reached on August 10th, 1584. King Philip II., who received the envoys at Madrid, caused the most honourable welcome to be prepared for them in his kingdom, and the envoys were even shown the Escorial. At Alicante they embarked for Leghorn, which, on account of the storms which delayed them, they only reached on March 1st, 1585. The Grand Duke of Tuscany also showed the foreign visitors every possible attention; at Pisa, Florence and Siena they were lost in wonder at the splendid cathedrals and the other wonderful things they were shown.

Gregory XIII., after having carefully examined copies of their credentials, caused the envoys to be welcomed at the frontier of the Papal States by a guard of honour. After going to Viterbo, the Japanese visited the castle of Caprarola, the owner of which, Cardinal Farnese, entertained them in princely style. In the evening of March 22nd this unique embassy, which was awaited by the Curia with the greatest

enthusiasm,[1] arrived before the gates of the Eternal City. Three full years and thirty-two days had elapsed since they had set out from Japan! The envoys lodged, as had generally been the case on the course of their journey, with the Jesuits, this time in the professed house. Their solemn reception was to take place on the following day at a public consistory.

An enormous crowd assembled in the streets of Rome on the morning of March 23rd, to see the foreign visitors who had come from the mysterious island kingdom in the farthest east. The entry of the Japanese, whose short stature and appearance, as well as their youth, caused general pleasure, was made with the customary solemn ceremonial from the Villa of Julius III.[2] Thence the cortège passed by way of the Porta del Popolo and the Ripetta, past the Tor Sanguigna, and along the Via de' Coronari and the Via dei Banchi, to the Castle of St. Angelo. The cannon of the fortress saluted the envoys, who were mounted upon fine palfreys with black trappings, richly embroidered in gold. They had donned their national dress; white silk coats, embroidered in gold, with birds and flowers in various colours, open in the front and with wide sleeves, while over their shoulders was a rich scarf, crossed upon their breast and tied as a girdle. In their right hands they bore a splendid scimitar and in their left a dagger, in a sheath adorned with lacquer.

In the Vatican the envoys were first offered refreshments,

[1] *Cf.* *Camillo Capilupi's report dat. Rome, March 16, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* (in addition to the authorities quoted *supra* 459, n. 2) the *detailed report of C. Capilupi dat. Rome, March 23, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also "Acta consistorii publ. exhibiti a D. N. Gregorio XIII. regum Iapanicorum legatis, Romae" (ap. Zannettum, 1585 (published by Giampietro Maffei; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 421 and PAGÈS, *loc. cit.* 23); reprint Dilingae, 1585, Italian translation: Descrizione dell' ambasciata dei regi . . . del gran regno di Giapone, Venezia, 1585; see moreover the report of Mucantius in THEINER, III., 637 *seq.*, and that of Alaleone in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Appendix 12 *seq.*

and were then led to the Sala Regia where the Pope and the Cardinals were assembled. Two archbishops conducted Mantius Ito to the Papal throne, two more Michael Cingiva, and two bishops Martin Hara; Julian Nacaura had to be absent from the ceremony on account of a violent attack of fever.

After the envoys had expressed their veneration for the Pope by kneeling in the customary way, the Pontiff bade them rise and expressed his deep emotion at thus embracing the first born of the Church of Japan. The credential letters were handed to the secretary of briefs, Antonio Boccapaduli. After a short speech in Japanese, which the Jesuit Meschita translated into Italian, the envoys took their place in a tribune. Amid general attention the Portuguese Jesuit Consalvi delivered a Latin address to the Pope,[1] in which he expressed himself as follows:

The island kingdom of Japan is, it is true, so far away that its name is hardly known, and some have even doubted its very existence. In spite of this, those who know it set it before all the countries of the east, and compare it to those of the west, in its size, the number of its cities, and its warlike and cultured people. All that has been lacking to it has been the light of the Christian faith. But when not so long ago, the Gospel had made its way there with the authority of the Holy See, it was received, by the help of God, as in the case of the ancient Church, first by the lower classes and then little by little, by the nobility as well, and at length, under the happy and golden rule of Gregory, by the sovereigns and princes. Thus the Pope, while labouring with all his power for the restoration of the Catholic religion in those neighbouring countries which have been shaken by error, has seen the faith take root and grow in far distant countries as well. This consoling fact, which hitherto had been known to him only by report, he could now touch with his own hand and make known to all the world.

[1] The discourse appeared in an Italian translation by Agostino Ghettini, Firenze, s.a. (1586).

Noble princes, led by none but religious motives, Consalvi went on to say, have come from the furthest ends of the earth to promise to the father of Christendom their obedience and loyalty. Once upon a time Rome, under the rule of the Emperor Augustus, had been deemed happy because ambassadors had come from the Indies; but now envoys have come from even more distant countries, whom it had taken three years to reach the presence of Pope Gregory. Those Indians only sought to enter into a treaty of friendship, but to-day Rome had seen young men of the royal stock, offering their obedience as subjects. As the Church in the days of Gregory the Great had the special joy of seeing distant Britain converted to the Christian faith, so to-day she was sorrowing in equal measure at the apostasy of that island. The conquest of Japan afforded a rich compensation, and the joy they felt was all the greater in that the prophets had foreseen and proclaimed it. They might imagine they could hear David singing to his harp: "A people, which I knew not, hath served me: at the hearing of the ear they have obeyed me." In the days of antiquity a philosopher travelled as far as the Indies only to hear a hierophant explain from a throne of gold the courses of the stars. How much more marvellous is the love and zeal for religion of the Japanese, how much more fervent their desire to attain to the faith, when they have undertaken a journey with which that of that philosopher can hardly bear comparison! But in Rome they have found Gregory XIII., upon the throne of Peter, teaching no earthly science, but that of heaven.

In the further development of his discourse Consalvi extolled the religious zeal of the Japanese, who had sent these representatives, and he concluded with praise of the Pope. The perfect prince, better than anyone else, may be compared to the sun. It stands in the centre of the heavens and illumines with its rays, not only the nearest, but the most distant parts of the globe. In like manner the generosity and religious zeal of Gregory XIII. was not limited to Rome, to Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Syria, Greece and Slavonia, but extended in like manner across the equator to the distant

kingdom of the Japanese. Hardly had the Pope learned that the Christian faith had taken a firm footing there, when, convinced that true progress could only be assured to it when the natives of the country where trained for the priesthood, he spared no expense to establish colleges for the young students. There was reason therefore to hope that the work of conversion, by the labours of the students of those foundations, and by means of the members of the Society of Jesus, would make so great progress that the Christians of Japan would become more than men could number.

Antonio Boccapaduli replied to this address in the name of the Pope. The Princes of Japan, so he began, have done well to send an embassy to the Holy See, since there is but *one* faith, *one* universal Church, *one* head, and *one* shepherd: the successor of Peter, and Bishop of Rome. Gladly did he welcome the obedience of the Japanese princes, and prayed that by their example the kings and princes of all the world would renounce their idolatry and errors, and recognize the true God, and Him whom He had sent, Jesus Christ, in whom is eternal life.

After the envoys had once again expressed their veneration for the Pope, they accompanied him to his apartments. There they took part in a banquet given by Cardinal Boncompagni, at which Cardinal Guastavillani and the Duke of Sora were also present. Finally they had a private audience with the Pope, at which the Jesuit, Giampietro Maffei, acted as interpreter. At a subsequent audience they presented their gifts, among them a precious writing desk of ebony and a picture showing a Japanese city, which was included in the Vatican collection.

Gregory XIII. afterwards loaded the envoys with favours. He bore the expense of their lodging, and sent to them, as it was Lent, choice fish, and caused the sick Julian Nacaura to be tended by his own physicians; in this matter he took as much trouble as though Nacaura had been his own son. He assigned an annual sum of 4000 scudi for twenty years to the colleges in Japan. When the envoys visited the church of the Minerva on the feast of the Annunciation, they were

given, as royal princes, places before the Margrave of Baden. As their strange Japanese costume excited too much comment among the satirical Roman populace the Pope sent them European dress together with a gift of 1000 scudi. They appeared in this dress for the first time on March 29th at the granting of an indulgence in St. Peter's.[1]

The Cardinals and the ambassadors at the Curia too showed the foreign visitors the greatest honour. In contrast to the previous envoys from Russia the Japanese behaved with complete courtesy, culture and modesty.[2] All four understood Portuguese well, as well as Latin, Spanish and Italian, though they always communicated with strangers through an interpreter. Their moderation in eating gave great edification—above all, they never touched wine—as did their keen intelligence, their prudent restraint and the quickness with which they at once conformed to the usages of courtesy of the west. The way in which they professed their Christianity was altogether edifying. They assisted every day at mass with the greatest reverence and piety, and received the holy sacraments every week. The Jesuits watched over them that they should see nothing that could give them scandal, or be harmful to the mission after their return home.

We are told that Gregory XIII., after the reception of the Japanese envoys, repeated in consistory with tears in his eyes, the words of old Simeon : " Now let Thy servant depart in peace " and the presentiment felt by the aged pontiff was not an empty one : this embassy was his last happiness.[3] It was still in Rome when the supreme head of the Church was called out of this world on April 10th, 1585. It is characteristic of the modesty of the Pope that when the Romans

[1] *Cf.* *C. Capilupi's report of March 30, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Jesuit reports on this subject are confirmed from other sources see *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 153.

[3] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163. For a sonnet on the Japanese envoys addressed to Gregory XIII. see *Arch. Rom.*, VII., 522.

and the ambassadors of the powers congratulated him on the coming of so many Japanese into the Church, he disclaimed the credit, saying that all the merit belonged to the Society of Jesus.[1]

The hopes which the Popes of the XIVth century had entertained of the winning over to the religion of the Cross of China, the Central Kingdom, as the Chinese called their country,[2] during the stormy period of the fall of the Mongolian rule, and the rise of the national Ming dynasty, which was hostile to all foreigners, had come to nothing. Every trace of the mission of the Franciscans, among whom Father Giovanni da Montecorvino, who had been appointed Archbishop of Kambaluk (Pekin), in the XVth century, had been especially distinguished, had disappeared in the complete closure of China. The first to turn his attention once again, in his boundless charity, to the largest and most powerful empire in the east was Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. Resolved to sacrifice his life for this great work, this heroic man had breathed out his noble soul in 1552 in the lonely island of Sanchoan, in sight of the desired land.[3] But his spirit of sacrifice lived on in his brethren of the Society of Jesus. During the next thirty years, with wonderful tenacity of purpose, they made attempt after attempt to penetrate into China, which was strictly closed to them, with no other result than, after a short stay, having to leave the country again. Thus, on his way to Japan, the provincial of the Indies, Melchior Nuñez Barreto, twice during the summer of 1555 reached Canton, the capital of the province of Kwangtung, but was not able to remain there longer than four weeks. The Dominican, Gaspar de Cruz, met with no better success in the following year. The Jesuit, Francisco Perez, who arrived in Canton in 1565 with Portuguese merchants, vainly sought from the mandarin of the city

[1] See the *memorandum of C. Capilupi dat. Rome, March 30, 1585, (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Vol. I. of this work, p. 60 *seq.*, where the special literature is quoted.

[3] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 321.

permission to stay there. An attempt made in 1568 entirely on his own initiative, by the Jesuit Giambattista Ribera, to penetrate into China, also failed, as did the missionary enterprise of Cristoforo da Costa seven years later.[1]

In the time of Gregory XIII. other religious sought to obtain what the Jesuits had not succeeded in doing. In 1575 two Augustinians set out for China from the Philippines; in 1579 three Spanish Franciscans and one Italian, also set sail from the Philippines, but they all very soon had to leave the country.[2]

A change for the better only took place when the highly-gifted Jesuit, Alessandro Valignani, took the matter in hand. That the clear-sighted General of the Order, Everard Mercurian, was right in seeing in him the man best fitted to give a new impetus to the missions in the east, was proved not only in Japan.[3] Valignani had modestly only asked permission to go and labour as a simple missionary, but in August, 1573, the General appointed him visitor for the whole of India, and gave him picked fellow-labourers.[4]

Valignani embarked at Lisbon in March, 1574, and went first of all to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese Indies. When he had put in order the more pressing needs of the mission there, he set out in 1577 for Japan, and in the course of the voyage had to wait for ten months in the Portuguese colony of Macao for a favourable wind for continuing his journey.

[1] *Cf.* BARTOLI, Cina, I., c. 145 and 148; BRUCKER, M. Ricci, in the *Études*, CXXIV. (1910), 189 *seq.*

[2] See J. GONÇALEZ DE MENDOÇA, Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Regno de la China, Madrid, 1586. *Cf.* MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, Saggio di bibliografia Sanfrancescana, 453 *seq.*; Orbis Seraph. II., 786 *seq.*; La Palestina e le rimanenti Missioni Francescane in tutta la terra. Cronaca compilata dai padri Marcellino da Civezza e Teofilo Domenichelli in varie lingue, I., Roma, 1890, 56 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 495. *Ibid.* 401 *seq.* the report of Fr. Paulus a Jesu to Gregory XIII.

[3] *Cf, supra,* p. 457.

[4] See SACCHINUS, IV., 11, 55 *seq.*

During his long stay in the house of the Jesuits, which had been established at Macao since 1565, Valignani informed himself fully as to that Asiatic empire which was so little known in the west. From his conversations with the Portuguese merchants, as well as with the Chinese who came to Macao, he saw more and more clearly what great conquests Christianity might be able to make there, as well as what great difficulties stood in the way of such an undertaking. But no obstacles were able to dismay his apostolic zeal. His prudent and shrewd intelligence realized that the Christian missionaries would have to be trained in a different way from what had been done in the past if they were to attain to better results. Above all, the missionaries must no longer, as hitherto, have to rely upon interpreters who were for the most part unreliable, while, as well as having a knowledge of the Chinese language, it seemed to be equally indispensable that as far as possible they should conform to the customs and usages of the people among whom they wished to work.[1]

For the organization of the Chinese mission Valignani chose Michele Ruggeri, who had come to the Indies in 1578, and who had with great facility learned the difficult language of the natives of the Fishermen's Coast. When Ruggeri reached Macao in 1579 he found waiting for him detailed instructions from Valignani, who had already set out for Japan, as to how he was to prepare himself for his difficult task. Ruggeri threw himself zealously into this and first of all composed a catechism in the Chinese language,[2] but he had to struggle for three years before he succeeded in getting a firm footing in China.

On March 9th, 1582, Valignani arrived for the second time at Macao with the mission of the princes of south Japan to Rome.[3] There is a tradition that he would often take his

[1] Brucker, *loc. cit.* 193 *seq.*

[2] This work, which appeared in 1584, was the first book by a European to be printed in Chinese; *cf.* Bartoli, Cina, I., 1 and Ricci's letter of November 24, 1585, in the *Civ. catt.*, 1902, I., 220.

[3] See *supra* p. 460.

stand at the window of his house and gaze with sighs towards the land to which it was his supreme ambition to carry the blessings of Christianity. In the city itself he gathered together the poor Chinese who were working there as slaves into a congregation under the Holy Name. For the furtherance of the mission proper he found in Matteo Ricci, who arrived on August 9th, 1582, the man who was destined to succeed in doing what had hitherto proved impossible. In September, 1583, Ricci and his faithful companion, Michele Ruggeri, reached Tschao-King in the province of Kwangtung. He acted with the greatest caution and prudence. Attracted by the high reputation of the Chinese government, so he told the governor, he had come from a great distance to that land, for the sole purpose of serving God, the Lord of Heaven, in a small house and chapel; he and his companion would live on alms, and they accordingly asked for permission to live in the city. This modest request was granted.

Matteo Ricci,[1] whom Providence had destined for the

[1] *Cf.* besides the older biographies by D'ORLÉANS (Paris, 1854), CH. SAINTE-FOI (Paris, 1859), WERFER (2nd ed. Regensburg, 1870) the excellent article by BRUCKER in the *Études*, CXXIV. (1910), 197 *seq.* The memory of Ricci has been kept alive most of all by TACCHI-VENTURI who, at the instance of the Italian committee which organised the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the death of the "apostle and geographer of China" undertook to edit Ricci's historical works: Opere storiche di M. Ricci . . . Con prolegomeni, note e tavole. Vol. I.; I Commentarii della Cina; II.: Le lettere dalla Cina, Macerata, 1911-13. For the value of the letters, in which Ricci's heroic qualities are better expressed than in the Commentaries, *cf. Civ. catt.*, 1914, IV., 215 *seq.* and the beautiful article by A. LUZIO: Le opere storiche del P. Ricci, in the periodical, *La Lettura*, XV. (1915), 209 *seq.*, which praises Tacchi's publication as a "Monumentum aere perennius." *Cf.* also L. NOCENTINI, Il primo Sinologo, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso internaz. degli Orient.*, II., Firenze, 1881, 273 *seqq.*; CARACCI, Il P. M. Ricci e le sua opera geograf., in the *Riv. geogr. Ital.*, XXV. and XXVI, (1918 and 1919); RICCI-RICCARDI, Il P. M. Ricci (1578-1619), Firenze, 1910; VACCA in the *Nuova Antologia*, 1910, Sept.

carrying out of the work longed for by Francis Xavier, was born in 1552 at Macerata in the March of Ancona, and sprang from a distinguished family. After being educated at the Jesuit school at Macerata, he first studied law in Rome, and in 1571 entered the Society of Jesus, where Fabio de' Fabi was his master of novices. Besides this excellent man, he owed much to another of his masters, the celebrated Cristoforo Clavius. Clavius taught him the science of astronomical mathematics, a thing which, together with his exceptional talent for languages,[1] was to be of great use to him among the Chinese, who were so interested in learning.

Ricci and his companion hired a small but well situated house in Tschao-King, the main room of which served as a chapel. They very soon made a favourable impression by their well-ordered and hard-working life, which, in its kindliness, was so different from that of the bonzes. They very wisely adapted themselves to the peculiar conditions of the people, and by thus coming into closer contact with the temperament of the Chinese they discovered their prevailing characteristic, a seeking for what was practical and useful. Starting with this, Ricci began with great courtesy to explain to them the wonderful things they had in their house, artistic clocks, good pictures, printed books, beautifully bound, on cosmography, geography and architecture, terrestial and celestial maps, astronomical and mathematical instruments, and charts of the seas. The learned mandarins were delighted when the missionaries explained these products of western learning. Ricci was especially happy in the dexterity he

RICHTHOFEN (China, I., Berlin, 1877, 654) describes Ricci as one of the most outstanding figures in the history of missionary activity in the East. "Se la Compagnia di Gesù," says LUZIO (*loc. cit.*, 217), "annoverà il P. Ricci fra le figure più immacolate delle sue missioni, la civiltà e la scienza devono in esso additare una delle creature che le hanno più nobilmente propagate con le virtù dell'ingegno e del carattere, con l'idealità degli intenti, con l'eroismo dei sacrifici."

[1] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 27; BAUMGARTNER, Weltliteratur, II., 511.

possessed of embodying foreign ideas in a form easily understood by the Chinese, an art in which few Europeans have equalled him.[1]

Ricci excited the greatest wonder by a map of the world, of which he produced in 1584 a Chinese version, by the desire of the viceroy.[2] The viceroy had copies made of this work, which far surpassed all the native productions of that kind, and sent them to his friends. By pointing out the great distance of his own country, Ricci was able to dispel the fears of the Chinese that he had in view the conquest of their country. The reputation which he gained in an increasing degree by imparting his geographical, astronomical and mathematical knowledge, was made use of by him to lead his hearers, always ready to learn, from earthly sciences to a knowledge of a Christian and moral religion. In this matter, too, he set to work slowly and prudently, begining with the fundamental truths and the Ten Commandments. At the end of 1584 he published a small catechism with the assistance of a scholar.[3] In spite of this at first he did not succeed in converting any of the educated Chinese, but only one poor incurable, who had been abandoned by all.

The first public baptism was administered to two Chinese on November 24th, 1584, one of whom had taught the missionaries Chinese. For the most part the field proved very sterile, and the number won to Christianity in 1585 was only twenty, and only sixty in the four years that followed.[4] Ricci saw in this slow progress the will of Providence, that the work of Christianizing China should spring from the most modest beginnings.[5]

[1] *Cf.* WYLIE's opinion, Notes on Chinese Literature, Shanghai, 1867, 138.

[2] Ricci gives detailed reports of this publication in his letters to Aquaviva of November 30, 1584, and October 20, 1585, as well as in his Commentarii, ed. TACCHI-VENTURI, II., c. 5, 32. Copy of the map in the periodical *Razón y Fe*, IV. (1902), 464.

[3] TACCHI-VENTURI discovered a Latin translation of this catechism and published it in Ricci's Opere, II., Appendice.

[4] See TACCHI-VENTURI in the *Civ. catt.*, 1910, II., 397.

[5] See BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 207. *Cf.* BAUER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, III.², 151.

Rightly recognizing how important it was for the missions, both in China and Japan, that there should be united and harmonious action, in 1585 Gregory XIII. forbade all the other religious Orders to set foot in those countries under pain of excommunication.[1]

In the ancient and wonderful country of India the work of the missions had to struggle steadily with great difficulties. The position of the Christian missionaries, face to face with Brahmanism and its rigid castes on the one hand and Islam on the other, was all the more beset with difficulties in that they had to work side by side with a foreign conquering power, the Portuguese, whose cupidity and immorality had given grave scandal to the natives from the time of Francis Xavier.[2] They had an advantage in the fact that a number of metropolitan sees had not been erected in eastern Asia, as was the case in Spanish America. The first Portuguese colonial bishopric had been established by Leo X. in 1514 at Funchal in Madeira, the right of patronage being given to King Manuel the Fortunate.[3] Funchal, whose immense territory extended from the island of Madeira to further Asia, was in 1534 raised to be a metropolitan and primatial see, the right of patronage being reserved to the Portuguese crown, which undertook the whole endowment of the new archdiocese. Suffragan sees for Goa and the Indies were established at São Miguel in the Azores, in the Cape Verde island of São Thiago and at São Thomé on the Equator.[4]

The further advance of the Portuguese power and of Christianity in India led to a further development of the hierarchical organization under Paul IV.; Funchal, which was too far away from the colonies, was suppressed as a metropolitan see, and was, with its suffragan sees, placed under the archiepiscopal see of Lisbon. Goa, the undoubted emporium of the east, and, as the residence of the viceroy, the second city of the Portuguese dominions, was raised by

[1] See *Synopsis*, 133 *seq.*, 139. *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 16 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 311.

[3] See JANN, 69 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 365 *seq*, and JANN, 79 *seq.*

Paul IV. in 1558 to be the metropolitan see for the missions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, with suffragan sees at Cochin and Malacca, the right of patronage of the Portuguese crown being extended to them. The dioceses in the west of Africa, and the recently established dioceses in Brazil were left by the Pope under the archdiocese of Lisbon.[1] The establishment of a single metropolitan see for so immense and so distant a territory was a mistake, which was aggravated by the dependence of the archbishops of Goa upon the Portuguese government. They occupied a dangerously exceptional position, and their despotism was soon shown by the fact that they assumed the title of Primate of the East.[2]

In the interests of the preaching of the Gospel in China and Japan, Gregory XIII., by the bull of January 23rd, 1576, separated those countries, together with the neighbouring islands of Malacca, and formed a new diocese for them at Macao, subject to the metropolitan see of Goa.[3] This arrangement took place at the instance of King Sebastian of Portugal, who rendered great service by sending the Jesuit missionaries to eastern Asia.

The head-quarters of the Jesuit province of the East Indies, and a work which Gregory XIII. promoted by the grant of numerous privileges,[4] was formed by their college founded by Francis Xavier at Goa, to which was attached a seminary for young Indians. The solemn baptism of the catechumens, for whom a special house had been in existence since 1555, generally took place in the church of the Jesuit college, where the Bishop of Malacca, a Dominican, said the first mass in 1572. In 1581 the Jesuits also built a professed house at Goa, and soon afterwards a noviciate. The professed house had the care of souls for the city. The novices had their exercises in common with the ancient missionaries of India,

[1] See the excellent treatment of the subject by JANN, 108 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 110 *seq.*

[3] See Bull. patr. Portug., I., 243 *seq.*, Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 498 *seq.*; JANN, 124; STREIT, I., 347.

[4] See STREIT, I., 506 *seq.*

the Franciscans and Dominicans, especially in the care of the sick. Each month the Orders took their turn in the care of the royal hospital, but it would seem that the Jesuits proved the most capable, since in 1579 its care was placed entirely in their hands. The ranks of the fathers, thinned by their self-sacrificing labours during the frequent pestilences, were added to, at the arrival of the new visitor, Valignani, in 1574, by 44 new brethren, 26 of whom were priests.[1]

After his return from his visitation of the missions in the north—those in the south were visited by the new provincial, Rodrigo Vicente—the indefatigable Valignani held a provincial assembly at Goa, at which were present fifteen of his brethren, among them the provincial and the rectors of the colleges at Goa, Bassein and Salsette. After long discussion they abandoned the plan of dividing the province of East India into two parts, one on either side of the Ganges, and instead a vicar provincial was appointed for the regions beyond the Ganges. An important decision was that of establishing seminaries for learning the Indian language. With regard to the question whether it should be suggested that none but Portuguese Jesuits should be sent to India, they were unanimous in asking that as many members as possible of the Society should be sent, even from the other provinces of Europe.[2] After Goa, the most important centre was the Jesuit college at Cochin, where, too, the Dominicans had also been labouring since 1549.[3]

So far the work of the Christian missions had been entirely confined to the coasts of India, but in 1579 an opportunity quite unexpectedly presented itself of opening out the interior as well to the preaching of the Gospel. This came from the Great Mogul Akbar, whose dominions extended over the whole of north Hindustan, and in the south as far as the plateau of the Deccan. This enlightened sovereign, who was as energetic as he was desirous of knowledge, took a deep

[1] See MÜLLBAUR, 84 *seq.*, 89. *Cf.* also D'SA, History of the Catholic Church in India, I., Bombay, 1910.

[2] See SACCHINUS, IV., 92 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUR, 89 *seq.*

[3] See MÜLLBAUR, 107, 336.

interest not only in all political questions, but also in those of religion. Proof of this may still be seen in the splendidly constructed portico which he caused to be erected for purposes of religious disputations at his residence of Fatihpur Sikri, not far from Agra, and in which Brahmins, Buddhists, Mohammedans and Parsees took part in order to arrive at the best form of belief by means of comparative study. In course of time Akbar also turned his attention to the Jesuit missionaries, whose works of charity in Bengal, which were so advantageous to the state, had won his approval.[1] In the autumn of 1579 an envoy from Akbar presented himself at Goa, asking that two Jesuits might be sent to explain to his master the Christian religion, and take him their sacred books. Even though they might feel doubts as to the sincerity of the intentions of that powerful monarch, it was thought that the opportunity of carrying the Gospel into the interior of India must not be allowed to pass unheeded. The provincial of the Jesuits chose for this task, which was as difficult as it

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, *Litt. ann.*, 1582, p. 111 *seq.*; SACCHINUS, IV., 246 *seq*; V., 98, 145 *seq.*; BARTOLI, L'Asia, I., Roma, 1667 and Degli uomini e de' fatti della Comp. di Gesù, I., 4, c. 24; P. DU JARRIC, L'hist. des choses plus mémorables advenues tant des Indes Orient. qu'autres pays de la découverte des Portugais, I.-III., Arras, 1611 (Latin edition: Thesaur. rer. Indic., 4, vols, Coloniae, 1615); MÜLLBAUR, 133 *seq.*; GRUBER, Aquaviva, 80 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*; v. NOER and G. v. BUCHWALD, Kaiser Akbar, 2 vols., Leiden, 1880 and 1885; NOTI, Das Fürstentum Sardhana, Freiburg, 1906, 55 *seq.*; DAHLMANN, Indische Fahrten, II., 172 *seq.* The treatise on the Emperor Akbar by the Indianist R. GARBE (Tübingen, 1909) is based almost entirely on the book by Noer, whose conclusions—in so far as they affect the Jesuit missionaries—are nearly all false and untenable; see (in addition to GRUBER, *loc. cit.*) also *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LXXVI., 468 *seq.*, *cf. ibid.*, XXXVII., 219 *seq.* In the latest monograph on Akbar by VINCENT A. SMITH (Akbar the Great Mogul, Oxford, 1917), the highest praise is given to the value of the Jesuit reports, especially to A. MONTSERRAT, Mongolicae legationis commentarius, 1582 (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914, III.; *cf. Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1919, 132).

was important, three fathers who seemed to him to be especially fitted for it. One, Rodolfo Aquaviva, the son of the Duke of Atri, and related on his mother's side to Louis Gonzaga, was distinguished for his engaging kindliness, his courtly manners and his deep knowledge of theology. The second, the Spaniard, Antonio Montserrat, was also a distinguished personality, though his health left a good deal to be desired. To these was added Father Francisco Henriquez, a converted Mohammedan, who spoke Persian fluently.

On November 17th, 1579, the three Jesuits set out from Goa with the envoy of the Great Mogul, and on February 17th, 1580, they reached the court of Akbar. They met with a good reception, but found the conditions particularly difficult for their special object, for the Great Mogul had already devised a new religion of his own, and by its means was obviously pursuing the political end of consolidating his great dominions by the help of religious unity. In this he was energetically helped by his prime minister, Abul Fazil. The founders of this "Divine Faith" (Dini Ilahi) had in view the fusion, on a basis of rationalism, of Hinduism and Islamism with the best and purest elements of other religions. At first the new faith, which no one was to be forced to accept, only made its way among the courtiers and the officials.

Such was the state of affairs when Aquaviva and Henriquez, for Montserrat had fallen ill on the way, appeared at the court of the Great Mogul. By his wish the two fathers had at once to enter into disputations on religion with the learned Mohammedans, in the course of which Aquaviva, since Montserrat continued ill, explained the Christian religion in a detailed and brilliant defence, Henriquez acting as interpreter.

During the disputation Aquaviva spoke in bitter terms of Mahomet as a false prophet and an irreligious man, which made the followers of Islam so angry that the missionaries were in danger of losing their lives, and their desire of martyrdom would have been satisfied if the Great Mogul had not protected them. There can be no doubt that Akbar admired the Christian doctrine, for he consented that Montserrat

should instruct his second son Pahari, not only in Portuguese but also in Christianity.

The missionaries found a strong supporter in Abul Fazil, who, fully realizing the absurdities of the Koran, implored his master to accept Christianity, a step which also recommended itself on political grounds, as being the only way of introducing *one* religion into the Empire, as the Indians would never accept the faith of their oppressors, the Mohammedans. The missionaries even hoped that they were about to attain their end, for Akbar showed the greatest respect for the Christian faith; he venerated an image of Our Lady, which Aquaviva had brought him in the Pope's name, and wore an *Agnus Dei* round his neck. A plan for sending an embassy to Philip II. and Gregory XIII. was also discussed, but the conversion of the Great Mogul which was so anxiously awaited in Rome[1] did not take place.

Aquaviva waited patiently; in a report to his provincial he expressed the opinion that they must not give up hopes of the conquest of the "heart of India" until all possible means at their disposal had been tried. But Akbar remained undecided in his conduct. Although at heart he was naturally disposed towards religion, his pride and his unrestrained morals formed an insurmountable obstacle to his acceptance of the Gospel teaching. The many wives he had in his harem, and undoubtedly his political ideas prevented his following the guidance of grace. Akbar himself would have admitted that Christianity was too pure and his own morals too corrupt. He nevertheless sought to retain Aquaviva when the latter, on the strength of orders received from his provincial, asked leave to return to Goa, and it was only after a promise that he would come back that the Great Mogul allowed him to set out. On taking farewell of him he wished to give him gifts of gold and precious stones, but Aquaviva refused them

[1] *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report, dated Rome, February 3, 1582 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On February 18, 1582, Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to Akbar in which he called upon him "ne animi motum a Deo profectum deliberationis tarditate prodat." *Synopsis*, 119.

on the plea of his vow of poverty. When Akbar insisted on his accepting some other favour, Aquaviva asked for the liberation of some Christian slaves. With the latter, as the only fruits of a difficult mission of three years, Aquaviva returned to Goa in May, 1583. His superiors then sent him to the peninsula of Salsette, where he was granted the crown of martyrdom which he had so often longed for. In July, 1583, he and four other Jesuits and twenty Christians were killed by the natives. As had been the case in the persecutions of the early Christian Church, here too the blood of the martyrs was fruitful; by 1584 fifty catechumens, among them one of the most eminent Brahmins had been baptized.[1]

A zeal equal to that of the Jesuits in China and Japan was displayed as early as 1565 by the religious of the Augustinian Order in the Philippines, which had been discovered in 1521 and had been taken possession of by the Spaniards fifty years later. Philip II. furthered in every way the conversion of this new and valuable territory, and at his request the Augustinians strengthened their hold upon it in 1575 by sending twenty-four more missionaries.[2]

A few years later the Franciscans joined the Augustinians; in 1577, seventeen sons of St. Francis landed at Manila under the leadership of the learned and energetic Pedro de Alfaro. There they established the Custody of St. Philip, the name of which Gregory XIII., who showed the greatest interest in the undertaking, changed in 1578 to that of St. Gregory the Great.[3]

As they had done under Pedro de Alfaro, who went to

[1] See MÜLLBAUR, 101; GRUBER, Aquaviva, 227 *seq.*, 245 *seq.*, 286. *Cf.* also SUAU, Les martyrs de Salsette, Bruges, 1893. On October 6, 1584, Odescalchi sent, from Rome, to the Duke of Mantua a *Relatione del martirio di 5 padri del Giesù fatto nell' Indie l'anno passato (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* GROETEKEN, Die Franziskanermission auf den Philippinen, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLII., 587 *seq.*, and NEHER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 691.

[3] See GROETEKEN, *loc. cit.*, and PEREZ in the *Arch. Ibero-Americano*, I., 100 *seqq.*

China in 1579, the work of the missions in the Philippines developed rapidly under his successors Pablo a Jesu (1580-1583) and Juan de Plasencia (1583-1586). As the result of the further forces sent by Spain the preaching of the Gospel was more and more extended, so that within nine years 250,000 of the natives had been converted. These natives, who had hitherto been scattered, were gathered together round the cabins of the missionaries and thus were formed the so-called Pueblos (villages), in which schools were at once established. How well the missionaries[1] cared for the bodily needs of the inhabitants was shown by the erection of hospitals. In 1578 Father Juan Clemente built the great leper hospital of St. Lazarus at Manila, which is still in existence; in the same year the Franciscans also erected a hospital for the Spanish soldiers. Father Lorenzo a Sta Maria, who died at Cebù in 1585, rendered useful service to the cultivation of the sterile districts by bringing water to the plains from the mountains by means of canals.[2] Franciscan missionaries, and first among them Juan de Plasencia, composed grammars in the local dialect, the Tagale, a Spanish-Tagale vocabulary, as well as a catechism and other religious works in that language.[3]

A step of great importance for the consolidation of Christianity in the Philippines, as supplying a base for the work of the missions in the midst of the pagan world of eastern Asia,[4] was the formation of the see of Manila by Gregory XIII. in 1579, to which the Dominican, Domingo de Salazar,[5] who had rendered great service among the Indians of Mexico during a period of forty years active work, was appointed. By his means the Dominicans and Jesuits were also brought to the Philippines in 1582, whither in 1581, by the wish of

[1] *Cf.* P. Eusebio Gomez Platero, Catálogo biograf. de la provincia de S. Gregorio, Manila, 1880.

[2] *Cf.* P. Marcello de Ribadeneyra, Historia de las Islas de Archipélago, and Groeteken, *loc. cit.*, 589 *seq.*, 593.

[3] See Dahlmann, Sprachkunde, 115. *Cf.* Groeteken, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* Biermann in the *Kathol Missionen*, 1916-7, 53.

[5] See Gams, 113.

the Pope and the King of Spain, 33 more missionaries belonging to the Franciscan Order had gone.[1] The religious of the two Mendicant Orders, together with the Jesuits, had also worked with good results in the Moluccas since the time of the pontificate of Pius IV.[2]

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 168; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 251; SACCHINUS, V., 107 *seq.*

[2] See Daniele Barbarigo's report in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 14. *Cf.* HAHN, Gesch. der kathol. Missionen, II., 430 *seq.*; HENRION, Hist. des miss., I., 578 *seqq.*

CHAPTER XII.

Foreign Missions.—The Turkish Empire.—Africa.—Spanish America.

The eastern province of the Jesuits in India included, besides India proper, the Moluccas, China and Japan, as well as the east coast of Africa. The Jesuits had been working as missionaries in Abyssinia since the days of Paul III.[1] During the first part of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., it was above all others Andrea de Oviedo, who had been made a bishop, who, under the most difficult circumstances, displayed a truly apostolic activity, which was principally devoted to the Portuguese and their descendants who were scattered throughout the territory.[2] When this saintly man had succumbed to fever in 1577, the three Jesuits who had hitherto assisted him continued his work. In consequence of the hostility of the king, however, they found themselves in so difficult a position that in 1580 the question of giving up the mission was discussed.[3] But Gregory XIII. would not hear of this; he tried to meet the difficulties by sending a letter to the king, but the latter was animated with such feelings of hostility, that the Jesuits did not know whether he would even accept the letter.[4] The annual reports of the Order in 1582 state that there were at that time two fathers

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 112; Vol. XIII., p. 312.

[2] *Cf.* Bartoli, Degli uomini e de' fatti della Comp. di Gesù, I., 4, c. 29.

[3] See Beccari, Rer. Aethiopic, Stript. occid., V., 453 *seq.*; X., 306 *seq.* For P. Oviedo *cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 313, n. 2.

[4] See the report of Em. Fernandez of July 3, 1582, in Beccari, V., 328 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 303 *seq.*, the letter in which Gregory XIII. calls upon Prince Isaac Barnaynes to be at peace with the king and in union with the Holy See.

in Abyssinia, who were leading a life of great poverty and only making a conversion here and there, but that nevertheless there was no cause to despair, since often Our Lord sends His greatest help at the times of greatest need.[1]

For a whole generation the Jesuit Balthasar Barreira laboured as a missionary on the west coast of Africa, in Guinea, the Congo and Angola, where the Franciscans had already worked previously. In 1582 missionaries from the Order of Discalced Carmelites went to Guinea, and in the following year to the Congo, and in 1584 the King of Angola received baptism.[2] On the east coast, the mission begun by the Jesuits in the negro country, among the Bantu people, fell into ruin at the beginning of its sixtieth year, on account of the behaviour of the Portuguese colonists.[3] A new chapter in the history of the missions of east Africa was begun with the establishment of the Dominican house in Mozambique in 1577; missionaries from Mozambique supplied the territory of the Zambesi and the islands. The Dominican, João de Sanchez, who laboured there for a long time, has described the condition of that territory in a detailed work.[4]

The mission field also included the great Ottoman Empire, which contained a large Christian population, which, like the other non-Mohammedan inhabitants, had to pay for the right to live in their own country by the payment of a personal tax to the conquerors. But this tax was not all; in addition, a system of oppression was carried on by the Ottoman authorities which the Venetian, Giacomo Ragazzoni, described in 1571 as passing all belief.[5] The state of affairs was worst

[1] *Litterae ann.*, 1584, 139.

[2] See HEIMBUCHER, II., 16; PAIVA-MANSO, Historia do Congo, 129 *seq.*; Précis hist., 1895, 470 *seq.*; STREIT, I., 87. *Cf.* KILGER in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1921, 71 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* KILGER, Die erste Mission unter den Bantustämmen, 1560-2, Münster, 1917.

[4] Ethiopia orient., 1609. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN'S *Zeitschrift für Missionsgeschichte*, VII. (1917), 99.

[5] See the report in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 100; *cf. ibid.*, 252, the opinion of Jacopo Soranzo in 1581.

in the provinces furthest removed from the capital, where the unhappy inhabitants were at the mercy of the cupidity of the governors.[1] It is characteristic that when in 1569 the Sultan, Selim II., confiscated the revenues of all the Christian churches in the empire, an exception was made in the case of Constantinople, Adrianople and Brussa.[2] This exception however, only applied to the Greek schismatics, whose patriarch, thanks to an annual contribution and other taxes, enjoyed the protection of the Turkish government. The Latin Church had no such official recognition. The Turkish authorities saw with jealousy and fear the union of the Latins with Rome, and they tolerated the presence of the Franciscans and other Catholic religious principally because they believed that they were all subject to the Greek patriarchate; the majority of the Catholic secular priests and bishops, had been constrained to take to flight, as Pius V. had already complained.[3]

The condition of the Catholics in the Balkan peninsula was supremely unhappy, and any provision that was made for their spiritual care was entirely owing to the self-sacrificing resistance offered by the Franciscans.[4] In 1573 the latter possessed fifteen convents in Bosnia,[5] but this was quite insufficient for the widely scattered population. The pastoral care of Gregory XIII. was by no means blind to the needs of the Catholics in the Balkan peninsula. In 1580 he appointed apostolic delegates and visitors for the Venetian-Istrian territory,[6] as well as for those ruled by the Turks. For the

[1] See report of the Bailo Gianfranc. Morosini in ALBÈRI, III., 3, 272.

[2] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, III., 365.

[3] *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 60.

[4] *Cf.* BAKULA, I., Martiri nella missione Francescana osservante in Erzegovina, Roma, 1862, and BATINIČ, Djelovanje Franjecara n Bosni i Herzogevini, 2 vols., Agram, 1881-3.

[5] See Acta consist. in GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 52.

[6] Agostino Valiero, Bishop of Verona, became visitor; see FARLATI-COLETI, Illyricum sacrum, III., 465 *seq.*; IV., 227; V., 131 *seq.* *Cf.* also *list in the Cod. D. 6 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

northern provinces the Pope's choice fell upon the bishop of the small Dalmatian diocese of Stagno, Bonifacio de' Stefani, who had already been sent by Pius V. as visitor to Bosnia, and was still working with good results there at the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.[1] In the instructions given to him, Stefani was appointed visitor of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Moldavia, Wallachia and Bulgaria. He was to labour generally for the improvement of the religious conditions in those countries, and make a report in writing on all the episcopal sees still existing or now extinct, on the places suitable for the establishment of new dioceses, on the churches and convents, and the life and morals of clergy and people.[2]

In December, 1580, Bishop Stefani sent to the Pope his report of his visitation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[3] The Catholics of Bosnia and Serbia, as they wrote full of gratitude to the Pope in 1581, had hailed him as an angel of the Lord. It may be seen from the touching letter which the Bishop of Bosnia, Antonio de' Mattei, who lived at Diakovar, wrote in common with the Franciscans and the leading members of the Christian community, for the most part merchants, how well the apostolic delegate had done his work.[4] Unfortunately, his reports have not yet been found, but it was obviously these which led Gregory XIII., in 1581, to establish four more Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia.[5] When the delegate

[1] See FERMENDZIN, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 262, n.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 271; GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrb.* VI., 45, 47, where the Instruction for B. de' Stefani, which is preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (Var. polit., 129, pp. 194-210), is utilised for the first time. It was published in 1892 by FERMENDZIN (321 *seq.*), but with the wrong date 1582. *Cf.* also *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 744.

[3] See FERMENDZIN, 313 *seq.*

[4] The documents in THEINER, III., 272 *seq.* *Cf.* BALAN, La Chiesa cattolica e gli Slavi, Roma, 1880, 206, 242, and FERMENDZIN, 314 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 181; GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 53, n. 1.

died at the beginning of the new year, and in the very midst of his self-sacrificing labours, the Pope charged the bishop of the island of Curzola, Agostino Quintio, a Dominican, to complete the visitation.[1]

At the beginning of 1584 Gregory XIII. sent Alessandro Komulowic, a canon of Zara, and the Jesuit Tommaso Raggio, to the Balkan peninsula as apostolic visitors. They both laboured with good results among the clergy and people.[2] In the reports which Komulowic sent to the Pope of his travels, he gave a description of the religious needs of those lands.[3] It appears from them how large was the number of the Christians who were suffering from the oppression of the Turks. Komulowic estimated the number of Christians capable of bearing arms in Albania as far as the neighbourhood of Durazzo at 40,000; they almost all belonged to the Latin rite. In the remainder of the Epirus and Macedonia the Greeks far outnumbered them. Komulowic says that there were there more than 100,000 capable of bearing arms, and there were as many in Herzegovina, Slavonia, Croatia and Serbia. In Bosnia and along the Danube as far as Belgrade there were 200,000 and as many in Bulgaria. On the shores of the Black Sea there were certainly 400,000 Christians.[4] Although these numbers may be an exaggeration, it is beyond question that all those countries still contained a very large Christian population.[5] It is quite incomprehensible how the western powers entirely neglected to get into touch with all these forces.[6]

[1] The Instruction for Agost. Quintio, dat. June 29, 1582, has been published by FERMENDZIN (335 *seq.*).

[2] See MAFFEI, II., 390; SACCHINUS, V., 170 *seq.*

[3] See FERMENDZIN, 339 *seq.*

[4] See *Relatione del P. A. Comuleo, Cod. Barb. 3392, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, Werke, XLIII-IV., 538 *seq.*, and PIERLING, Papes et Tsars, Paris, 1890, 445 *seq.*

[5] The Bailo Gianfranc. Morosini also said in 1585 that most of the inhabitants of European Turkey were Christians. ALBÈRI, III., 263.

[6] See GOTTLOB in the *Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 117.

The attention of Gregory XIII. was called to the sad state of the Catholics in Constantinople, where especially pastors were lacking, by reports from Greek travellers,[1] and by a petition which the population of Pera addressed on October 1st, 1574, to the French ambassador to the Porte, François de Noailles. The latter sent on the document, together with two memorials for the Generals of the Dominicans and Franciscans, to the Papal nuncio at Venice, who sent it on to Rome. The result was that, in 1575, Gregory XIII. charged the Generals of the two Orders to send a number of capable priests to the Bosphorus.[2]

The care of Gregory XIII. was not only extended to the populations of the Latin Church in Turkey; with the large ideas that were so characteristic of him he also aimed at the union of the Greek schismatics with Rome. His advisers in this matter, in addition to the learned Cardinal Sirleto, were two other members of the Sacred College, Santori and Savelli. In 1573 he formed these into a special congregation to deal with the affairs of the Greeks.[3] By their advice the Roman Catechism was translated into modern Greek, and in 1576 no less than 12,000 copies were sent to the Levant, together with a like number of copies of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Pope also gave orders for a new edition of the decrees of the Council of Florence, for which Sirleto wrote a covering letter addressed to the Greek schismatics,[4] which

[1] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of March 13, 1574, in the *Romana* State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 317; MAFFEI, I., 206; GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 46. A memorandum of Gregory XIII. for the Franciscans of Pera in the *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 719. In 1582 Gregory XIII. sent 199 gold scudi for the restoration of the churches in Pera; see Galli's *letter to the nuncio in Venice, dat. November 11, 1582, *Nunz. di Venezia*, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the Acta consist. in the *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 135.

[4] *Exhortatio ad Graecos preserved in the Vatic. 6792, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta, 57. See also the Relazione of Corraro, p. 275.

was spread throughout the Greek provinces, together with the defence of the above-mentioned Council attributed to Gennadius.[1]

Side by side with this came the establishment of the Greek College in Rome, which has already been spoken of.[2] Unfortunately, the results did not come up to the hopes of the Pope; the difficulties were too great.[3] These became apparent when, in March, 1580, Gregory XIII. sent the Bishop of Nona, Pietro Cedulini, to Constantinople as delegate and visitor of the Latin Church in Turkey. The immediate occasion of this mission was the fact that an Italian merchant, who lived in the capital of Turkey, had given the Pope a personal description of the religious needs of Turkey, and especially of Constantinople.[4]

From the first grave difficulties stood in the way of the mission of Cedulini.[5] All the endeavours of the Pope to obtain for him the protection of the Venetian government and its Bailo in Constantinople were in vain. The Signoria, which was well aware of the jealousy felt by the Turkish authorities for the influence of Rome, was unwilling to do anything displeasing to the Porte, and thus endanger its own commercial interests. It would not even allow the bishop, who, having been born at Zara, was its own subject, to travel to Constantinople with the new Bailo, Paolo Contarini. At last Cedulini succeeded in obtaining a safe-conduct from the Sultan through the intervention of the authorities of Ragusa.

[1] *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, November 28, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., p. 247. For the Greek Congregation see XIX., p. 59, and the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1922, 2.

[3] *Cf.* Corraro's Relazione, 275.

[4] See THEINER, III., 228.

[5] For what follows *cf.* (in addition to MAFFEI, II., 143 *seq.*) GOTTLOB'S excellent article in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 42-72. The *Acta of Visitation, made use of here, are taken from a copy in the library of the Franciscan monastery of SS. Quaranta in Rome. These Acta are also preserved in manuscript in the Communal Library, Ancona.

Armed with this he was able to reach the Turkish capital in the autumn of 1580. The Catholic population welcomed him with joy, but on the other hand he did not meet with the expected support of the European ambassadors. The representative of Rudolph was unquestionably inclined to Protestantism, while the representatives of Spain and Venice held entirely aloof from political motives. Only the French ambassador, Jacques Germigny, who was a zealous Catholic, interested himself on behalf of the Papal envoy, and obtained permission for him to stay for a fixed period in Constantinople.

Cedulini made use of his stay to obtain information by questioning the clergy and laity concerning the state of the Latin Christians in Constantinople, as well as in the provinces. He was thus enabled to give the Holy See a fairly exact account of the population of the Latin Church in Turkey. From this account it is clear that it was especially owing to the lack of priests that the religious life of the Catholics in the Turkish Empire had become very much worse during the last generation. In the Crimean peninsula only in two cities had the inhabitants remained true to their faith; at Kaffa the Latins had lost all their churches except one; at Trebizond, and in all the cities on the coast of Asia Minor, where only the foreign merchants had remained Catholics, the Greeks and Armenians had taken possession of the churches. At Brussa the Catholic church had been converted into a mosque. The majority of the Catholics were to be found in the islands of the Archipelago; at Chios, Paros, Tinos and Naxos there were still bishops in union with Rome. At Santorin (Tira) the whole population, in spite of the inducements of the schismatics, had remained Roman Catholics; at Andros, on the other hand, the Catholics had had to fly to the mountains on account of the persecution of the Portuguese Jew, José Miquez. At Adrianople there were still many Roman Catholic Hungarian and Bosnians, who, however, had no priest. At Sofia there were 150 Catholic inhabitants, for the most part from Ragusa. There was a large community of the Latin rite at Novibazar, and smaller ones at Varna, Nisch and Rustschuk. In the two last-named places there

were twelve Paulician communities, who celebrated mass according to the Latin rite. Mention is made of the Protestantism which had made its way from Transylvania into Wallachia, Bosnia and Serbia.[1]

Cedulini found a very sad state of affairs in Constantinople, and its suburbs of Pera and Galata, where the Latins still possessed only twelve churches, which were all poor and in a ruinous condition. Very terrible was the state of the Christian prisoners of war in the Turkish prisons, whom Cedulini had been specially ordered to provide for by the Pope.[2]

How necessary the presence of an Apostolic visitor was is best seen from his reports on the state of the clergy in Constantinople, whose patriarch did not live there at all, and was represented by a quite unsuitable vicar. Even among the religious there was a great deal to find fault with. Cedulini made provision for all these things as far as he could, and formed plans for repairing the evils which he found; he especially suggested the establishment of a house of the Jesuits at Constantinople, and in doing this he wished at the same time to offer resistance to the Protestant propaganda, which had recently gained a footing there. He therefore entered into relations with the schismatic patriarch, Jeremias, and undoubtedly also conferred with him on the question of reunion.[3] The patriarch displayed visibly favourable sentiments towards Rome, but the question of the reform of the calendar which was discussed with him in the following year showed how firmly he adhered to the schism. Among the Greek popes unreasoning hatred of the Latins continued unabated.[4]

On April 16th, 1581, before his departure, Cedulini published a series of salutary enactments, which especially enforced the decrees of Trent. In pursuance of his mission he had

[1] See GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 56 *seq.*, 62.

[3] See *ibid.*, 67 *seq.*

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 68, and SCHMID, Kalenderreform, 543 *eq.*

already, in January, 1581, sent the Franciscan, Girolamo Arsengo, to Bulgaria to make a visitation; he now entrusted the Dominican, Giovita da Brescia, with the visitation of the Crimea. On his way home he visited the Catholic communities, administered confirmation, and exhorted them to persevere in the true faith. He reached Ragusa at the end of May.[1]

The first result of the reports of Cedulini to the Pope was the establishment of a Jesuit house in the Turkish capital. In November, 1583, three fathers and two lay-brothers, armed with letters of recommendation from the Pope to the ambassador of France and the Bailo of Venice, arrived there after a long and perilous journey. The French ambassador interested himself on their behalf with all his powers; he dispelled the prejudices of the Porte against the envoys of the Pope, and obtained for them permission to reside there permanently. The Jesuits took possession of the church of St. Benedict in Galata.[2] This was the beginning of a mission which later on was to prove of the greatest importance for the Christians in Turkey.

Gregory XIII. by preference also made use of the sons of St. Ignatius in his efforts on behalf of the churches of the oriental rite.

In 1578 two great dignitaries arrived in Rome from the east; the first was the Armenian archbishop, Nicholas of Naxivan, to whom the Pope gave money and vestments on his departure;[3] the second was the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Neemet, who had already been in communication with Julius III.,[4] but later on, yielding to the threats of the Turks, had passed over to Islam. In 1576

[1] See Maffei, II., 147; Gottlob in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 69 *seq.*, 71.

[2] See Sacchinus, V., 114; Theiner, III., 436; Maffei, II., 341 *seq.* For the church in Galata see the article in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1907, no. 37.

[3] See Maffei, I., 319 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIII., p. 313, n. 3 of this work.

Neemet sent his brother to Rome to pay homage to the Pope,[1] but he obtained nothing. Neemet therefore repaired in person to the Eternal City. He retracted his errors before the Inquisition, and after being given a light penance received absolution. As his return was impossible, he remained in Rome, where Gregory XIII., with his usual generosity, made himself responsible for his maintenance. The Pope hoped by this means to bring about the return of the eastern schismatics.[2]

A third mission from the east which reached Rome in 1578 made an even greater impression. This consisted of two representatives of the Patriarch of the Maronites of Lebanon, who bore the title of Antioch.[3] The Maronites, a Syrian tribe, had been closely united with Rome since the time of Innocent III., and since then had been the most loyal subjects to the Popes of all the easterns. The Popes had interested themselves in their affairs during the XVth and XVIth centuries, as far as was possible in view of their great distance and the difficulties of communication,[4] but had not been able to prevent heretics and infidels from introducing errors and abuses, both as to dogma and ritual, among that people, surrounded as it was by schismatics. A favourable opportunity for remedying these now presented itself. Cardinal Carafa, the Protector of the Maronites, introduced the envoys to the Pope, after they had presented a respectful

[1] See the *Memoriale all'ill. et rev. card. S. Croce per il patriarcha d'Antiochia, in Urb. 832, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta. 42.

[2] See LE QUIEN, Oriens christianus, II., 1404 *seq.*; BOTERO, Relationi, III., 106; MAFFEI, I., 320 *seq.*

[3] For what follows *cf.* the authentic account given by P. Giovan Bruno *Ragguaglio della missione fatta a Maroniti in Soria nel Libanon, in the Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. MAFFEI (I., 322), utilized this report. See also *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 748 *seq.*

[4] See the memoranda of Paul II., Sixtus IV., Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III. and IV., in ANAISSI, Bull, Maronit., Romae, 1911, 19 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 25 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

letter from their patriarch, and paid homage in his name. In his reply Gregory XIII. expressed his joy at the wish of the patriarch to remain in complete unity, but added an exhortation to renounce their errors as to baptism, confirmation and divorce, which were specifically enumerated.[1] The explanations which were offered by the envoys were unsatisfactory, and, as they further asked for the support of the Pope against certain archpriests who persisted in disobedience to the patriarch, Gregory decided to send a special embassy for the clearing up of this affair, and at the same time to combat the errors in question. This was entrusted to the Jesuits, Tommaso Raggio and Giambattista Eliano, who were acquainted with Hebrew and Arabic, and were well versed in oriental religious matters. Cardinal Carafa wrote instructions for them in March, 1578, exhorting them to prudent and cautious action, and further directing their attention to the ecclesiastical conditions of the Georgians, Copts and Jacobites.[2]

The two Jesuits set out for Lebanon in company with the envoys, who were given rich gifts by the Pope.[3] The welcome which they received from the Patriarch of the Maronites left nothing to be desired, but their inquiries into the religious conditions made it clear that intervention on the part of the Holy See was necessary.[4] In order to give the Pope more exact particulars the envoys returned to Rome with the consent of the patriarch;[5] they took with them two young Maronites who were to make their studies there.

The report of the two Jesuits decided the Pope to take

[1] See *ibid.*, 70 *seq.*

[2] This document, hitherto unknown, was first brought to light by RABBATH (Documents, 140 *seq.*).

[3] The letter of recommendation for the envoys addressed to the patriarch in THEINER, II., 440, their faculties in ANAISSI, *loc. cit.*, 74 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See his letter to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, III., 115.

the Maronites under his care in the fullest way. This lonely mountain people suffered from a great lack of good and correct religious books, and to supply this the Pope established a Syriac printing press in Rome. There was printed a catechism, drawn up by the Jesuits and adapted to the special conditions of the Maronites, as well as other things.[1] With these books and a plentiful supply of sacred vestments, which were lacking among the Maronites, as well as large alms and the pallium for the patriarch, two new envoys, Giambattista Eliano and Giovanni Bruno, were sent to Lebanon in the spring of 1580.[2] They were furnished with detailed instructions, both by the General of the Jesuits and the Cardinal Protector, Carafa. The General insisted that the fathers must keep quite aloof from political questions and devote themselves entirely to their religious task.[3] This consisted first in the holding of a synod, at which the new catechism was to be accepted and salutary decrees in conformity with the Council of Trent were to be passed for the restoration of purity of faith, and the improvement of discipline. The synod was held in August, 1580, in the monastery at Quannobin, which occupied a splendid site. This was followed by a careful visitation,[4] during the course of which the patriarch died. His successor was his brother, a good man, who supported the two Jesuits in every way. In this way order was restored everywhere, dogmatic errors were removed, and erroneous customs eradicated. The efforts of the Pope met with grateful recognition from the Maronites; every time his name was mentioned, they rose and removed their turbans from

[1] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580, Vatican Library. On June 9, 1580, Gregory XIII. issued instructions to Cardinal Santori concerning the printing of Arabic literature; see *Audientiae card. Santorii, Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 252; THEINER, III., 233; ANAISSI, 78 *seq.*

[3] See RABBATH, Documents, 145 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*

[4] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* The decrees of the synod in RABBATH, 152 *seq.*

their heads, which with them was the supreme mark of honour.[1]

On account of the difficulties of communication of those times, the two Jesuits could only expect replies and further instructions from Rome after the lapse of several months. They occupied the interval in making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they were cordially welcomed by the Franciscans, the faithful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, and converted two Nestorians. They then went to Damascus to visit the Maronites who lived there, and to have an interview with the Greek Patriarch of Antioch. Cardinal Santori, the Protector of the Greeks, had advised them to make an attempt to win him over to union with Rome. The patriarch heard with pleasure of the idea of establishing a Greek College in Rome; he was very courteous, but made it clear that he could do nothing in the matter of reunion, without the knowledge of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. After great dangers and hardships, and being several times imprisoned by the Mohammedans, the fathers returned to Lebanon. There they found instructions that Father Bruno was to return to Rome to make a report, while Father Eliano was to go to the Copts at Cairo.

Gregory XIII. was highly satisfied with the result of the mission to the Maronites; he confirmed the new patriarch, and granted him the pallium, together with large alms.[2] The patriarch sent a number of young Maronites to Rome, among them his own nephew.[3] At the suggestion of Carafa the Pope established the Maronite College. There, under the eye of the supreme head of the Church, were to be trained good ecclesiastics, who were later on to take back to their

[1] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* The Mass vestments which Gregory XIII. had sent to the patriarch of the Maronites were seen in use by Duke Christopher Nicholas Radziwill on the occasion of his visit to Lebanon in 1583; see *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LIII., 215.

[2] See *G. Bruno, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Anaissi, 91.

[3] See *G. Bruno, *loc. cit.*

distant country "the true spirit of St. Peter."[1] Great hopes were built upon the success of this establishment, not only for the Maronites, but also for the other churches of the east.[2]

The success obtained with the Maronites was the occasion of Gregory charging Leonardo Abel, titular bishop of Sidon, a Maltese who had a good knowledge of Arabic, with a mission to the eastern patriarchs in 1583, reunion with whom had already been projected in 1578.[3] Three Jesuits accompanied the bishop: the Italian, Leonardo di S. Angelo, the Spaniard Casa, and the Frenchman Lanzea, who were also well versed in Arabic.[4] Gregory XIII. was well satisfied with the choice made by the General of the Society of Jesus. At their farewell audience he exhorted the fathers to shrink from neither

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 249.

[2] *Hoggi dì, writes G. Bruno after the death of Gregory XIII., persevera questo collegio con speranza che debba seguire notabile aiuto in quella natione et molto honore della chiesa Romana, perchè non si ricorda mai che habbia havuti operarii che havessero gli idiomi arabici et caldei uniti con la lingua italiana et colle scienze di filosofia et teologia potendo essere questi strumenti di trattare la reduttione di molte nationi dell' Oriente che usano gli stessi linguaggi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See *Santori's notes on his audience of October 15, 1578, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* (in addition to SACCHINUS, V., 115 *seq.*, and MAFFEI, II., 344 *seq.*) SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 151, 154, and the *notes of P. Leonardo di Santangelo in the Cod. D. 5, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The final report of the Bishop of Sidon (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 22; FORCELLA, VIII., 39), dat. April 19, 1587, in BALUZE, Miscell., ed. Mansi, IV., Lucae, 1764, 150 *seq.* A. D'AVRIL has given a French translation of it: Une mission religieuse en Orient au XVIe siècle, Paris, 1866. A new edition of the original would have been of more use. This original exists in many manuscripts of which I noted the following: Berlin, Royal Library, Informat. polit., I.; Mantua, Capilupi Library; Rome, Vatican Library, Urb. 841, p. 392 *seq.*; Vienna, Court Library, 6319, p. 1 *seq.* PICHLER (II., 462) wrongly ascribes to Sixtus V. the sending of the Bishop of Sidon. *Cf.* also *Bessarione*, Ann. 6, Ser. 2, vol. 1, Roma, 1901-2, 205 *seq.*

dangers nor labour in order to convey the true faith to the eastern patriarchs. For the reunion of the east with the Holy See which he so ardently desired, no sacrifice and no pledge on his part would be too great.[1] The embassy left Rome on March 12th, 1583. It was only on April 16th that a ship could be found at Venice, that on which Duke Christopher Nicholas Radziwill was making his journey to Palestine. From Beyrouth the envoys first visited the Maronites in Lebanon, and then went on to Aleppo. It seemed impossible to penetrate as far as the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Ignatius David, who lived at Diarbekir ; the dangers of such a journey were represented to them on every side as being too great. The envoys nevertheless, by means of a trusted messenger, suggested to the patriarch a meeting in a monastery on the west bank of the Euphrates, near Orfa (Edessa). Ignatius David avoided a meeting, but sent his vicar-general. In the course of the negotiations the Bishop of Sidon and Father Leonardo insisted on the necessity of accepting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and rejecting the monophysite errors of Dioscuros.

The vicar-general declared that this was impossible, though he said that he was ready to accept the primacy of the Pope. Further negotiations led to no better result ; during the course of these it came out that the Jacobites had been strengthened in their adherence to their erroneous opinions by the Patriarch Ignatius Neemet, who was at that time enjoying the hospitality of Gregory XIII. in Rome.

The envoys found a disposition to accept reunion with Rome among the Chaldeans of Assyria, and the two patriarchs of the Armenians. The latter were given the presents from the Pope intended for the Patriarch David. The Armenian Patriarch Katschadur, who lived at Sis in Cilicia, promised to send an embassy to Rome to express his submission.[2] His death, however, prevented him from carrying this intention into effect. His successor Azarias, after long discussions,

[1] See the *notes of Leonardo di Santangelo, *loc. cit.*

[2] In addition to the sources quoted *supra*, p. 495, n. 4, see also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 157, 160.

accepted the profession of faith offered to him, which was signed at the same time by four bishops; the carrying into effect of the reunion, however, was stopped, as Azarias, who had been accused by one of his bishops, had to go to Constantinople to defend himself. "How difficult a thing it is," exclaimed the Bishop of Sidon in his report, "to deal with these eastern patriarchs!" He draws in this report an alarming picture of the lamentable condition of the Armenians, who openly declared that if they could be set free from the tyranny of the Turks they were all ready to become Latins. At Sis the two principal churches were rapidly falling into ruins, as the suspicious vigilance of the Turks would not allow the restoration of those buildings, which stood on a lofty site like a fortress. There were still twelve churches in the city; in some of them the images had to be kept hidden because of the Mohammedans. The patriarch, who had been despoiled of all his revenues by the Turks, lived on alms;[1] he gladly received the subsidy sent by the Pope, and enthusiastically praised the efforts being made by Gregory on behalf of the easterns.[2] How great these were was shown by the establishment in Rome of a college for young Armenians.[2]

At the same time as the Bishop of Sidon, the Jesuit Francesco Sasso had gone, by the command of Gregory XIII., to Egypt, to try and effect the reunion of the Copts with Rome, which had been vainly attempted by Pius IV. The first negotiations had been opened by Father Eliano. Sasso took to the Patriarch of the Copts, John, a letter from Gregory, as well as a hundred chalices for the churches which were entirely destitute. At the end of December, 1583, a synod was held at Cairo, the discussions at which for a time lent strength to the hope that it would be possible to bring back the Copts to ecclesiastical unity.[4]

[1] See BALUZE, *loc. cit.*, 157.

[2] See the *notes of Leonardo di Santangelo, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 249.

[4] See SANTORI, Autobiografia XIII., 157. How the work of Coptic reunion, so hopefully begun, ended in failure is described in the *Litt. annuae*, 1584, p. 343 *seq.* *Cf.* also SACCHINUS, V.,

In the meantime the Bishop of Sidon and Father Leonardo di S. Angelo had been successful in winning back the Chaldean patriarch who had come to Aleppo from his Nestorian errors, and reconciling him to the Church. The negotiations which had been begun by the envoys with the Patriarch of the Melkites at Damascus were interrupted by the threatening attitude of the Turks. The Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, upon whom the representations of the envoys had made a great impression, would willingly have renounced his schism if he had not been prevented by his entourage.[1]

Besides the ancient world, Gregory XIII. also bestowed the same pastoral care upon the recently discovered lands beyond the Atlantic Ocean. How much had already been done to christianize the vast Spanish possessions in America may best be seen by looking at the imposing edifice of its hierarchy, by the generous arrangement and far-seeing development of which the Popes of the XVIth century had shown themselves to be enlightened guides of the universal Church.[2] The Holy See, by granting to the Kings of Spain the right of patronage, gave to them a fresh and serious incentive for watching over the steady development of the Church in their colonies; above all, Philip II. was deeply

117 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*; PICHLER, II., 515. The energy with which Gregory XIII. continued to work for the union of the Copts is shown from the following entry of Santori on his audience of July 5, 1585: *De Cophti; "di quello che scriveva il P. Giov. Batt. Romano [Eliano] de Cophti et Sinodo: che perseveri il P. Battista a guadagnarli. Del partito che si propone da M. Paolo Mariani, console per il Re christ^mo in Egitto, di far deponere il patriarca de Cophti e far eleggere un altro di quelli, che confessano le verità cattoliche: che facci quello che pare poter fare." Audientiae card. Santorii, Arm. 52 t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See SACCHINUS, V., 172 *seq.* Moreover, in 1583, the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent twelve youths to be educated at Rome; see WYMANN in the *Zeitschr. für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1919, 116 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vols. VI., 163; X., 364; XIII., 290 of this work.

convinced of the importance of well ordered religious conditions for the maintenance of his own sovereignty.[1] The financial difficulties found an excellent solution in the fact that the crown fulfilled its duty of endowing and maintaining the missions, which it had assumed with the concession of the patronage, in the most generous spirit.[2] It was of course impossible to avoid certain weak spots, but at first these were but little in evidence.[3]

In the time of Gregory XIII. the Catholic Church in America had five archbishoprics: San Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala, Santa Fé de Bogotá and Lima in Peru, to which were subject a considerable number of bishoprics.[4] The oldest dioceses were those which had been established in 1513 at San Domingo and Panama;[5] Cuba had its bishopric in 1518, and Mexico in January 1519 at Yucatan (Mérida). Later on the Spaniards deserted Yucatan and only returned thither in 1542; after 1561 there was once more a resident bishop of Mérida.[6] Several dioceses were established under Clement VII.: in 1526 at Puebla (Tlaxcala), in 1530 at Mexico, in 1531 at Nicaragua, Carácas (Venezuela), and Honduras (Comayagua), and in 1534 at Santa Marta.[7] The pontificate of Paul III. formed an epoch in the development of the hierarchy in America, and no less than ten dioceses owed their origin to his pastoral

[1] *Cf.* AVARRAGARAY, La Iglesia en America y la dominación Española, 19 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HUONDER, Deutscher Jesuitenmissionäre des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts, Freiburg, 1899, 45 and FREYTAG in *Schmidlin's Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, III., 20.

[3] *Cf.* FREYTAG, *loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*

[4] See *Diocesium Indicarum maris Oceani descriptio iussu Gregorii XIII. facta a Petro de Aguillar Hispalensi, Romae, 1581, February, Vatic. 5505, Vatican Library. The author speaks as one who has had many years' experience of American conditions.

[5] See GAMS, 148; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 203, 286.

[6] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 168, 359; CRIVELLI in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, X., New York, 1911, 268 *seq.*

[7] See Vol. X. of this work, pp. 364 *seq.*

care: Guatemala (1534), Antequera (1535), Michoacan (1536), Cuzco (1537), Chiapa (1539), Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes, 1541), Quito (1546), Popayán (1546), Rio de la Plata (1547) and Guadalajara (1548). In 1546, besides Mexico and Lima,[1] the Farnese Pope made San Domingo an archbishopric, with suffragan sees at Cuba, Porto Rico and Carácas;[2] San Domingo was also made the primatial see over all the dioceses of the Spanish colonies in north and south America, although since 1524 there had been a patriarchate of the West Indies, whose titular resided in Spain.[3] To the archdiocese of Mexico there belonged Vera Paz and the diocese at Manila erected by Gregory XIII. in 1579.[4] La Plata had its own bishop after 1552,[5] Santiago del Chile after 1561, and Tucumán after 1570.[6] The metropolitan see of Lima of 1546 had as its suffragan sees Cuzco, Quito, Panama, Nicaragua and Popayán. The latter was detached in 1564 and placed under the new archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá.[7] The suffragan sees of Guatemala in 1577 were Chiapa, Honduras and Nicaragua.[8]

Gregory XIII. further added to the Catholic hierarchy of the vice-royalty of Peru, which included the whole of Spanish South America. On April 15th, 1577, he constituted the lapsed diocese of Santa Marta and placed it under the archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá. In the same year he also

[1] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 515. With regard to Guadalajaras *cf.* GAMS, 149.

[2] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 203.

[3] *Cf.* JANN, 109. AVARRAGARAY (*loc. cit.*, 81) emphasises the fact that the West Indian Patriarchate was "un mero titulo, sin autoridad o jurisdicción alguna, como los Obispos in partibus."

[4] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 251, 260; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX., 597 *seq.* Vera Paz, founded in 1556, lasted only until 1605; see GAMS, 151.

[5] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 290.

[6] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 167, 340; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 96. *Cf.* AVARRAGARAY, *loc. cit.*, 177.

[7] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 212, 242.

[8] See *P. DE AGUILLAR, *loc. cit.*

formed the new dioceses of Truxillo and Arequipa, and in 1582 that of Buenos Aires.[1]

The greater number of the bishops of Spanish America belonged to the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, which, during the period when the new world became Christian had borne the brunt of the work.[2] They very quickly displayed an extraordinary enthusiasm, patience and perseverance. Whereas the greater number of the laymen aimed at conquest, riches and gain, the disinterested religious sought only to gain souls. Armed with nothing but a crucifix and a breviary, a musical instrument and some toys, they made their way among the most savage peoples, made their language their own, instructed them in the fundamental principles of religion, taught them agriculture and European industries, and thus became the masters, counsellors and friends of the Indians. At the same time with the greatest intrepidity they fought against the hard and cruel yoke under which so many of the Spanish conquerors sought to bring the unhappy natives of America. At the head of these champions of the rights of the Indians as men against a brutal policy of violence stands the zealous Dominican bishop, Bartolomé de Las Casas, who was Bishop of Chiapa from 1543 to 1551.[3] He was worthily followed by Julian Garcés, Bishop of Tlaxcala, who urged Paul III. to issue his celebrated decrees in favour of the poor and oppressed Indians.[4] How deeply rooted was the cruel oppression of the Indians is clearly shown by the fact that the Dominican, Louis Bertrand, after working with burning zeal from 1562 to 1569 for the conversion of New

[1] See Acta consist. in the Records of the *American Cath. Hist. Society*, XI. (1900), 62 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 292; GAMS, 139, 140, 154, 165; STREIT, I., 506.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 297-305.

[3] See the monographs of FABIÉ (2 vols, Madrid, 1879), BAUMSTARK (Freiburg, 1879), DUTTO (St. Louis, 1902), WALTZ (Bern, 1905) and MAC RUTH (London, 1909). *Cf.* also SCHMIDLIN'S *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, I., 263 *seq.*; III., 13 *seq.*; VI., 266 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 519.

Granada, at last left that country in order that it might not appear that he concurred, even in the slightest degree, in the abominations which he could not prevent. But his fellow-religious and companion, Father Luis Vero, in spite of every obstacle, continued the work that he had begun until his death in 1588.[1]

The Franciscans vied with the Dominicans in the work of the missions and the protection of the natives, and but for their courageous intervention the Indians of Mexico would have been destroyed as they were in the Antilles and elsewhere.[2] They were supported by the Archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, of the Franciscan Order, who was one of the most important bishops of the New World;[3] when in 1548 Zumárraga died at the age of eighty, he had a worthy successor in the Dominican Alfonso de Montúfar, who held provincial councils in 1555 and 1565. The third Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, under whom the building of the cathedral, the most beautiful church on American soil, was begun in 1573,[4] held a similar council in 1585.[5] The good fortune of having excellent pastors was shared by Bogotá, where Luis Zapata established a seminary and held a provincial synod in 1582,[6] and Lima, where the first archbishop, Francisco Jeronimo de Loaysa, of the Dominican Order (1540-1575) issued some very wise decrees in two provincial councils. His successor Turibio (1579-1606) won the honourable title of Apostle of Peru.

[1] See B. WILBERFORCE, Life of Saint Louis Bertrand.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 303. See also HOLZAPFEL, 495.

[3] *Cf.* Vols. XII., p. 516; XIII., p. 298 of this work; also B. VERELST, Zumárraga, Rousselaere, 1907.

[4] *Cf. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* N.F., XXVI. (1915), 254. In his *Dioces. Indic. descriptio, P. de Aguillar calls the cathedral of Mexico a work "mirae magnitudinis." It was in course of construction at the time (1581). Vatic. 5505, Vatican Library.

[5] See Concilios provinciales Mexicanos, México, 1769-70; Concilio, III. provincial Mejicano celebrado en Méjico el año 1585, ilustrado con notas del P. B. ARRILLAGA, Méjico, 1857.

[6] *Cf.* GAMS, 140; HOLZAPFEL, 508.

In order to introduce the decrees of the Council of Trent in his vast diocese, Turibio held no less than thirteen diocesan synods and three provincial councils. At the council of 1582 laws were made in defence of the liberties of the Indians, and the religious rights of the negro slaves. The zealous pastor also cared for the natives in other ways: he protected them from violence, watched over their instruction in religion and set up a special press—the first in western South America—at which were printed by his advice a catechism in the Quichua language and other religious books. Turibio turned his attention to every part of his diocese as the father of the poor and the consoler of the sick. The work accomplished by this extraordinary man during the twenty-four years of his episcopate in the reform of the clergy, and the conversion and civilization of his diocese stands alone in the ecclesiastical history of America. On two occasions, amid indescribable difficulties, and in constant peril of his life, he travelled all over his great archdiocese, penetrating the most lofty valleys of the Andes, and to the most remote villages of the Indians, preaching everywhere and making salutary ordinances. He must have administered the sacrament of confirmation to about 800,000 persons. Churches, monasteries, seminaries and charitable institutions everywhere proclaimed, in many different places, and for a long time to come, the glory of this great pastor, whom Benedict XIII. raised to the altars of the Church in 1726.[1]

So vast a territory as the Spanish possessions in America could never have enough labourers. It was therefore a happy thought when the Society of Jesus resolved to preach the religion of the Cross in Mexico, Peru and Chili.[2]

The Jesuits went to Mexico at the request of Philip II. The General, Francis Borgia, sent thither Father Pedro Sanchez with eleven other fathers, and they landed at Vera

[1] *Cf.* NICOSELLI, Vita di S. Toribio Alfonso Magrovesio, Roma, 1726; BÉRENGIER, Vie de St. Turibe, Poitiers, 1872. For the introduction of printing by Turibio see DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 71 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* P. DE AGUILLAR, *Descriptio, Vatican Library.

Cruz in September, 1572. They preached there, and at Puebla de los Angeles with so great success that both those cities wished to retain them. In conformity with the orders of the General, however, they went to the capital, where in 1573 they founded a college, and soon afterwards schools. Colleges sprang up in quick succession at Pazcuaro, Oaxaca, Puebla, Vera Cruz and Tepozotlán.[1] The archbishop and the viceroy both sent reports to the Pope concerning the self-sacrificing labours of the missionaries among Spaniards, natives and negroes. During the years of pestilence in 1575 and 1576 the Jesuits distinguished themselves in common with the other Orders. In order to bring their influence to bear upon the natives, they took pains, as their predecessors, the Dominicans and Franciscans, had done, to learn the difficult Mexican language. The Indians especially extolled the complete disinterestedness of the Jesuits, who refused gifts, gave large alms, and even redeemed those who were imprisoned for debt. The Indians flocked to them from all parts; the sick were often brought from a great distance to the houses of the Jesuits to receive the sacraments. A Sodality of the Blessed Virgin sprang up in Mexico, which was affiliated to that in Rome. In the seaports the Jesuits cared for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the medley of people who congregated in them. The Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, bore splendid testimony in 1582 to their indefatigable labours as pastors and teachers.[2] By the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Society of Jesus had in Mexico eight houses and 150 religious, of the incredibly great results of whose labours the annals of the Order give interesting particulars.[3]

[1] For what follows, *cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 35, 64, 99, 210, 249; V., 64, 107 *seq.*, 224; ALEGRE († 1788), Hist. de la Compañia de Jesús en Nueva España, I., Méjico, 1841 *seq.*, and ASTRAIN, III., 123 *seq.*

[2] See ASTRAIN, III., 148 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Litt. ann.* 1581, p. 135, 1584, p. 305, 1585, p. 179 *seq.*; ASTRAIN, IV., 388 *seq.*

The Jesuit mission in Peru began as early as 1568.[1] Here too they first directed their attention to the new capital Lima, and the ancient "city of the sun" Cuzco. Without neglecting the Spaniards, they especially devoted themselves to the native population. The church of the college at Cuzco was divided into two parts, one for the Spaniards and one for the Indians. The rector of the college at Cuzco, Juan de Zuñiga (died 1577) penetrated as far as the wildest parts of the Andes. In order to work effectively in the territory it was necessary, as far as possible, to have a knowledge of the numerous Indian dialects. The first Jesuit missionaries therefore devoted themselves with all zeal to learning these difficult dialects. The Dominican, Domingo de Santo Tomás, had compiled the first grammar in the Quichua language.[2] The Jesuit, Alonso Barzana seemed to possess a miraculous gift of tongues.[3] Having arrived in Perú in 1569, he stayed first at Lima, and then in upper Peru, the modern Bolivia, where he learned the Puquina tongue, and then followed the conquerors into the eastern valleys of the Andes, where he again acquired the Indian dialects, so as to be able to preach to the people there in their own language. Later on Barzana published a grammar, a lexicon, and a book for confession and prayers in five Indian dialects. This work has won for him an honourable name among students of the Quichua language.[4] The largest work on Quichua was composed by Father Diego Gonzales Holguin, who went to Peru in 1570, and lived for many years at the Jesuit college at Juli, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, the sacred waters of the Peruvians. There, where are to be found the gigantic ruins of the celebrated Temple of the Sun, he acquired so profound a knowledge of the language that in 1575

[1] For what follows, *cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 35 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 132, 134, 171, 210, 250; V., 66, 108; also the *Litt. ann.* 1582, p. 273 *seqq.*, 1584, p. 286 *seq.*; ASTRAIN, III., 151 *seq.*; IV., 506 *seq.*

[2] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 70. *Cf.* L. PAZ, La Universidad de la Capital de los Charcas, Sucre, 1914, 49 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 68.

[4] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 72 *seq.*

the viceroy appointed him interpreter in chief for the Quichua, Puquina and Aymará languages, as well as defender and advocate of the Indians. At the end of his laborious life Holguin published a grammar and vocabulary of the Quichua tongue, which to-day is still of great value.[1]

At Juli the Jesuits set up a printing press, the productions of which are much more accurate and better produced than the printed Peruvian works of the second half of the XIXth century.[2] There were published also the works of Diego Gonzales Holguin, an excellent vocabulary, a grammar, and the Life of Our Saviour in the language of the Aymará, who formed the greater part of the population of the southern states. The Jesuit, Diego de Torres Rubio, who went to Peru in 1577, and taught Quichua and the kindred dialects at the college of Chuquisacha, succeeded in mastering the finest distinctions of the native language. The bishops of Peru entrusted him with the correction and new edition of the catechism, the publication of which was decided upon by the provincial council of Lima in 1584. The works of Rubio and Holguin still form the basis for all study of the Peruvian dialects.[3]

It was not only the linguistic attainments of the Jesuit missionaries that produced good results in Peru, for other branches of learning owed much to them as well. The principal proof of this was the celebrated *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* by José de Acosta, who went to Peru in 1571, and became provincial when scarcely thirty-five years of age. In the course of the long and difficult journeys which he made as superior, he acquired that great historical and linguistic knowledge which makes his work one of the most important authorities on Peru. Published first in Latin, the *Historia* was afterwards translated into Spanish, French, German,

[1] See *ibid.*, 73 *seq.*

[2] According to TSCHUDI, Organismus der Khetsua-Sprache, Leipzig, 1884, 73.

[3] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 73 *seq.*

English and Dutch. Blas Valera, who was descended from the Incas on his mother's side, and became a Jesuit in 1568, won considerable fame by his collection of the traditions and fables, as well as by his history of the Empire of the Incas. His history, which was written in Latin, has unhappily only been partially preserved; the fragments that remain concerning the religion, customs, institutions and language, and on the products and medicinal plants of Peru, which Garcilasso de la Vega made use of for his history of that country, give some idea of Valera's work.[1]

José de Acosta, who worked for fifteen years in Peru, attained a special importance by his work on the conversion of the Indians, published in 1584. This work, which is alike perfect in its matter and its form, is the first attempt at making a complete and coherent theory of the missions, and one that gives us in a classic form the method so profitably followed by the Society of Jesus. Acosta expressly declares himself against the view that the savages, by their unbelief, or else, as some theologians held at that time, by their sins against nature, had to be overcome by war. To him the ideal seems to be the preaching of the Gospel without any military aid, but as this was rendered impracticable by the savagery of the barbarians, another way must be adopted in dealing with this new human race, a middle course, by which the missionaries would be accompanied by soldiers for their protection. To those who undertook the care of the souls of the Indians, who, as far as morals and religion were concerned, left much to be desired, he insistently recommends purity of life, humility, piety, kindness and gentleness. Baptism must not be administered too soon, nor without careful preparation, nor, on the other hand, must the natives be kept back from communion; on the contrary, their zealous protector does not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the admission of the Indians to the priesthood; it was only the provincial councils of Lima (1582) and Mexico which for the first time allowed

[1] *Cf.* WINSOR, *History of America*, I., Boston, 1885, 262 *seq.*; DAHLMANN, *loc. cit.*, 67 *seq.*

the conferring of orders upon the Indians.[1] This was probably done by the advice of the Holy See. Pius V. had already given the widest powers to the bishops for the formation of a plentiful supply of priests for America; Gregory XIII. added to these, and allowed that the sons of invalid marriages, whether Creoles or Mestizos, might be ordained and receive benefices, provided that the conditions of the canon law were complied with in other respects. The hopes of the native clergy were also encouraged by the educational activities of the Jesuits.[2]

How greatly the Jesuit missions in Peru flourished in the time of Gregory XIII., in spite of the difficulties placed in their way by the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo,[3] may be seen from the fact that in 1582 the Order possessed in that country five colleges and two houses, with 133 religious, fifty of whom were thoroughly conversant with the language of the natives. The inhabitants clung with great affection to their masters and counsellors, who also zealously cared for the unfortunate labourers in the silver mines.[4]

The Franciscans vied with the Jesuits, and the lay-brother, Matteo di Junilla, especially did much meritorious work; he went from place to place in the province of Cajamarca, and with the help of the children whom he had instructed, won an extraordinary influence over the natives.[5] In Chili the Franciscan, Antonio di S. Miguel, converted countless Indians, who followed him about with childlike love. This good man

[1] See SCHMIDLIN's excellent article: Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts, in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, I., 219 *seq.*, and HUONDER, Einheimische Klerus, 19 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*

[2] See HUONDER, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.*, 33.

[3] He was recalled in 1580; *cf.* ASTRAIN, III., 168 *seq.* where will also be found detailed particulars of the proceedings instituted by the Inquisition (very rightly) against the unworthy P. Luis Lopez; *cf.* MEDINA, Historia de la Inquisición en Lima, I., 99 *seq.*

[4] See *Litt. ann.* 1582, p. 273 *seq.*

[5] See HOLZAPFEL, 511.

did not hesitate to confront the Spanish government with the injustice that was being done to the natives.[1]

The difficulties with which the Jesuits had to contend in Brazil were so great that some of them despaired of their work as missionaries and joined the Carthusians, a step, however, which was forbidden by Gregory XIII.[2] The majority, however, persevered, though the avarice and harshness of the Portuguese colonists often threatened to destroy that which had been built up with such great labour. The harvest, one of the reports states, is a rich one, but the difficulties are incredible.[3]

In Brazil too the Jesuits sought to organize the natives and gather them together in villages (aldeas) where they could accustom themselves to a well-ordered life and be prepared for the reception of Christianity. Very often, and in the most surprising way, they succeeded in making moral and pious Christians of these savages. Baptism was only administered after long trial, as the inconstancy of the Indians was well known. How great was the fear that the natives felt of the tyranny of the colonists was seen in 1575 when, at the bare news that the Portuguese were coming, the Indians who had been gathered together by the Jesuits in various places along the Rio Real, began to scatter. It was only with great difficulty that later on some of them were induced to return.[4]

In 1577 and 1581 wide tracts of Brazil were visited by infectious disease. It made a great impression among the Indians when the Jesuits in this time of need showed them a kindness that was marked by great self-sacrifice, and shrank from no danger of infection in order to console the sick, both spiritually and temporally. Many of them were converted. In the latter year the Society of Jesus

[1] See *ibid.*, 513.

[2] See SACCHINUS, IV., 200 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Litt. ann.* 1583, p. 201 *seq.*, 1584, p. 140 *seq.*, 1585, p. 136 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 61 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

had in Brazil two colleges and five houses, containing 140 inmates.[1]

Of the many splendid missionaries who laboured in Brazil the most distinguished was José de Anchieta, who from the time of his arrival in 1553 until his death in 1597, devoted all his energies to the work of the missions, so as to be given the honourable name of the Apostle of Brazil.[2] The greatest praise was accorded to his zeal for souls even on the part of Protestants. "Bare-footed, with a crucifix, and a rosary round his neck, with staff and breviary in hand, his shoulders weighed down with the burden of the requirements for his altar, this missionary penetrated the forests, swam across the streams, climbed the most rugged mountain districts, was lost in the deserts, faced the wild beasts, and overcame all these dangers and labours in order to win souls."[3]

By means of the reports which Anchieta sent to the General of his Order, he also did good service for the history and study of Brazil.[4] His grammar of the Tupi language has been declared by philologists of our own times to be of extraordinary scientific value.[5] Even as provincial Anchieta continued his apostolic journeys, and when he died in 1597 he was venerated as a saint.

Gregory XIII. fully appreciated the services rendered by the Jesuits in the missions, as to which the annual reports

[1] See *ibid.*, IV., 208 *seq.*; V., 63 *seq.*, 223 *seq.* The Discalced Carmelites had been working in Brazil since 1580; see DE MACEDO, O Brasil religioso (1920), 89 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* his biography written by BALTHASAR ANCHIETA in Latin, Cologne, 1617. It also appeared in Portuguese and Spanish, see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I.², 806. In more recent times we have the Vida do P. Jose de Anchieta pelo P. Pedro Rodrigues in the *Annaes da Bibl. nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXIX. (1909), 181-287.

[3] SOUTHEY, *History of Brazil*, London, 1810, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* also J. RIBEIRO, *History do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1900.

[4] See Informaçoes e fragmentos do P. J. Anchieta (1584-6) public por CAPISTRANO DE ABREN, Rio de Janeiro, 1886.

[5] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 82 *seq.*

of the Society give exact details.[1] Whenever an opportunity occurred he praised the fathers, and sought to help them in every way.[2] When in 1580 the Portuguese colonies came, together with Portugal itself, under the Spanish crown, it would seem that he foresaw the unfortunate consequences of that event upon the missions; he therefore begged Philip II. to extend the same protection to the Society of Jesus as the Kings of Portugal had done.[3] Of great importance was the decision by means of which Gregory interfered on behalf of the unity of the missions in Japan, by restricting, in a decree of January 28th, 1585, that field to the Jesuits alone.[4] Several Orders were no longer to work at the same time in the same mission field. The Pope expressed the same thing by his attitude of delay with regard to the wish of the Capuchins to take part in the missions to the pagans.[5]

In his diplomatic negotiations with Philip II. Gregory XIII. always kept the missions in view. He never wearied of urging the king to send good priests to the colonies.[6] His plan

[1] For particulars of the *Annuae litterae Soc. Iesu* which appeared each year in Rome from 1581 onwards, *cf.* LÖHER's essay in the Reports of the meetings of the Munich Academy, II. 167, and more especially DUHR, I., 674 *seq.* The high esteem in which these reports were held in the Curia, is clear from *Odescalchi's memorandum dat. Rome, July 21, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Additional special reports also appeared notably on Japan. A very complete collection of these reports, taken originally from the Jesuit settlement in Rome, is to be found in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] This attitude of the Pope is specially marked in the briefs given in THEINER, II., 249; III., 118.

[3] See *ibid.*, III., 362 *seq.*

[4] See *Synopsis*, 139 *seq.* An explanation and defence of this much abused decree is given by DELPLACE, II., 17 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 472.

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160 *seq.* The first use made of the Capuchins by Gregory XIII. was in 1584 when he sent two of them to Algiers to ransom captive Christians; see ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., 504 *seq.*

[6] See MAFFEI, II., 68.

of appointing a special nuncio for the ecclesiastical requirements of the Spanish possessions in America was shipwrecked by the resistance of the King of Spain,[1] who, instead of a titular patriarch of the West Indies, aimed at the appointment of a true patriarch, and thus at the preponderance of his own influence.[2]

What an active part the Pope, who was profoundly convinced of the universal mission of the Church, took in all questions that concerned the missions, is specially shown by the notes made by Cardinal Santori of his audiences,[3] as well as by other reports. The Pope listened, says Cesare Speciani, with indescribable pleasure to the reports of the missionaries, and gave them good advice upon their work.[4] Speciani also bears witness, and the Venetian ambassador Corraro bears this out,[5] that Cardinal Santori, if it was a case of help for the missions, never appealed in vain to the generosity of Gregory XIII.[6]

[1] *Cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 70. Philip II. openly declared his intention of making the American clergy, as far as possible, dependent upon the State, and he himself took many precautions to prevent false doctrine from penetrating into the colonies; see Leonardo Donato's *Relazione* of 1573, in ALBÈRI, I., 6, 462.

[2] *Cf.* Philip II.'s instructions to Zuñiga of September 9, 1572, in AVARRAGARAY, La Iglesia en America, 119 *seq.*

[3] See *Audientiae card. Santorii a 1572-85, Arm. 52, t. 17 and 18, numerous passages (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] See C. SPECIANI, *Considerationi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] Relazione di G. Corraro, 276.

[6] See *SPECIANI, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161.

CHAPTER XIII

The Papal States.—Brigandage.—The Pope's Care for Rome.

The spread of Christianity in the pagan world, and the maintenance of the Church in the countries of Europe beyond the Alps, endangered as they were by the religious changes, as well as the struggle against the Turks, laid many heavy financial burdens upon the occupant of the Holy See. There was further the need of continuing the traditional patronage in matters of art and learning, as well as the extraordinarily strong spirit of generosity of Gregory XIII. As the supply of money from the Christian nations to Rome had become very much reduced, and at times had almost entirely ceased, the revenue was not sufficient for the ever increasing requirements. Several plans were formed for meeting this situation,[1] but it was very difficult to find a suitable remedy, as Gregory XIII. was unwilling to burden his subjects with new levies. Moreover, he was by no means favourably disposed towards the method of raising money hitherto in use, by the sale of rents and offices.[2]

How much open to objection and how harmful this system was may be seen from the fact that the customs of Rome in 1576, although it had received the considerable sum of 133,000 scudi, was only able, in consequence of defalcations, to pay over to the Apostolic Camera 13,000 scudi. Some sources of revenue, such as those which came from the taxes on corn,

[1] Some of these suggestions in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Cocquelines on Maffei, II., 456. The Pope wished to abolish the Monte Pio altogether, but had to content himself with a reduction of it; see Moroni, XL., 250.

meat and wine, did not bring in any considerable sum, as the Monti had no other resources than these.

From the various provincial treasuries which had at the same time to provide for the needs of their own districts, nothing came at all; on the contrary, there was often a demand for help. In 1576 the expenditure upon the celebrated alum mines of Tolfa was so great as to exceed the revenues by 2000 scudi.[1] If the report of Paolo Tiepolo is to be believed, in that year the outgoings had reached the sum of 530,000 scudi, or half the whole of the revenues, which came to 1,100,000 scudi. After taking away the alienations, the 100,000 scudi for stipends, and 270,000 scudi for military expenses and the nunciatures, there remained to the Apostolic Camera, according to Tiepolo, a clear annual revenue of 200,000 scudi,[2] or, according to another estimate, 281,966 scudi.[3] Such a sum was not sufficient for the extraordinary expenses, such as the subsidy to the Emperor and the Kings of Poland and France.

The treasurer-general during the first years of Gregory XIII. was his compatriot, Tomaso Gigli; at the end of 1576 he was succeeded by Lodovico Taverna, who was in his turn succeeded in 1581 by Rodolfo Bonfiglioli, who was also a Bolognese.[4] This experienced man acquired a very great influence over

[1] See RANKE, Päpste, I.[9], 271. *Cf.* *Entrata d. rev. Cam. Apost. sotto il pontificato di Gregorio XIII. fatta nell' a. 1576-7 in Cod. 219 of the Library, Gotha. This summary is also to be found in many other libraries, including that of Upsala (Ms. Celsius, H. 315, 318) though the figures often differ considerably.

[2] See P. TIEPOLO, 210. *Cf.* Cocquelines on MAFFEI, I.,, 451 RANKE (*loc. cit.*) considers Tiepolo to be reliable throughout, but HÖFLER does not think so; see *Annali d. religione*, IV. (1837)1411.

[3] See the document in MÜNTZ, Les Arts, III., 1, Paris, 882, 62-3. According to a summary in the Cod. Pio, 73, p. 368 *seq.* of the Papal Secret Archives, 315,060 scudi remained the to Chamber.

[4] *Cf.* MORONI, LXXIV, 291; MARTINORI, 66. Bonfiglioli's epitaph in FORCELLA, IX., 525.

the Pope in financial matters.[1] By his advice, Gregory XIII., who had already since 1573 acquired a number of fiefs by devolution or purchase,[2] decided upon strong fiscal measures by means of which he could easily obtain large sums of money. A strict examination of all title deeds was ordered, and this yielded surprising results. It was found that many holders of fiefs or castles of great value had not paid the tribute for a long time; in the case of others it was proved that they had, in defiance of all law, entered into possession in succession to a family that was extinct, but which alone had had the right to hold it, having in the first place entered into possession merely as holders of a mortgage, and with the obligation of restoring it when the family to whom it belonged had died out. With the precision of an experienced jurist, Gregory XIII inquired into the cases in dispute in the light of authentic documents, and gave orders to the Apostolic Camera to take proceedings in strict accordance with the law. The properties in question were either to be confiscated or redeemed, and those who refused to submit were to be brought to trial.[3] It was not only the Roman barons who were seriously affected by this restoration of feudal rights: such were the Orsini, Colonna, Cesarini, Sforza, Savelli, and many others of the nobility in other parts of the Papal States; even pious institutions, such as the wealthy hospital of S. Spirito in Rome,

[1] See *Taverna's lists in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, App. 27.

[2] On this subject *cf.* in addition to MAFFEI, I., 105, 313, also Bernerio's report dat. Rome, December 12, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 264 *seq.*; G. CORRARO, 276; MAFFEI, I., 375; II., 73, 222 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 569; BROSCH, I., 254 *seq.* Interesting details are given in the *Dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors in the State Archives, Venice, and in the *Avvisi di Roma of January 28, 1579; May 9, 1580; July 8, 14, 15, 22, August 5, 19, 1581; Urb. 1047, pp. 36, 157; 1048, p. 144; 1049, pp. 255, 271, 274, 279, 309, 333, Vatican Library. RANKE (Päpste, I.[9], 279 *seq.*) makes a one-sided and incomplete use of the Venetian dispatches; see BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

were not spared, if their title deeds were found to be faulty.[1] This enactment, by means of which the revenues of the Apostolic Camera had risen to 94,000 ducats by 1578,[2] was regulated and enforced by a special bull, dated June 1st, 1580, concerning the rights of the Camera, especially against those who did not pay their tribute on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.[3]

One of the first to be hit was Cardinal Mark Sittich, who had to give up one of the castles bought from the heirs of Cardinal Madruzzo, because the tribute for it had not been paid for several years. It did not avail Mark Sittich anything, says Giovanni Corraro, that he was a Cardinal, nor that Gregory owed him special gratitude on account of his behaviour at the conclave. In matters of this kind the Pope was inflexible; he indignantly said that he did no one any wrong in demanding what was his own.[4] The confiscations of fiefs in 1581 were very numerous. When the Apostolic Camera took possession of Palestrina in July, Giulio Colonna went to Rome and threw himself at the Pope's feet, begging him with tears to be merciful to his family. Gregory replied

[1] See the report of G. Corraro in Brosch, I., 255, n. 2.

[2] See A. Tiepolo, 265.

[3] Bull Rom., VIII., 336 *seq.* Theiner, Codex dipl. dom. temp., III., 544 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 547 a list of the forfeited fees.

[4] G. Corraro, 276. Pius V.'s Bull of 1567, which forbade the sub-letting of fiefs that belonged to the Holy See, was confirmed by Gregory XIII. in 1572 (Bull. Rom., VIII., 11 *seq.*) once more confirmed in 1581 and made binding even on the Cardinals. *Cf.* (in addition to Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 367) the *Acta consist of January 23 and 30, 1581, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. See also *Odescalchi's report of February 18, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 18, 22 and March 18, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 69, 83, 131, Vatican Library. In the consistory of April 3, 1581, *" S. D. N. declaravit gubernia dominii Ecclesiae rev. dom. cardinalibus post bullam Pii V. 'de non infeudandis' concessa intelliga per triennium et in posterum non posse retuieri nisi per triennium." Acta consist *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Maffei, II., 225.

that justice must be allowed to take its course. A short time afterwards it was said that six chests of documents had been taken from the Vatican Library to the Castle of St. Angelo containing deeds concerning Papal investitures, on the strength of which very many persons, who had no idea of any such thing, would be required to surrender their property.[1] In August the Pope removed from the archives of the Lateran Basilica certain documents which were of importance for his policy of confiscation.[2] Giovanni Corraro states that Gregory himself examined the processes, before they were sent on to the Camera.[3]

The greater number of those who were hit submitted, though resistance was not wanting. In August 1581 Orazio Savelli threatened to join the bandits.[4] The discontent at length went so far that in December, 1581, Gregory XIII. restricted the proceedings of the Camera.[5] It was not, however, abandoned, as may be seen from certain enactments of the year 1583.[6] The Curia entirely supported the Pope's plan. This Pope, said Cardinal Galli, is called "the vigilant," but he only wishes to watch over and recover what is his own.[7] According to the testimony of the same Cardinal

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of July 14, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 271 Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 5, 1581, *ibid.* 307.

[3] G. Corraro, 276.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of August 19, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 333, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the report of L. Donato of December 2, 1581, in Brosch, I., 255, n. 3.

[6] See Maffei, II., 360. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 29, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 45b, Vatican Library. See also *Odescalchi's report of August 6, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See *the report of the Venetian ambassador of October 21, 1581, State Archives, Venice, utilised by Ranke, Päpste, I.[8], 280. In allusion to the vigilance of Gregory XIII., one of his medals shows the dragon of his arms bearing the inscription: "Vigilat." Ghislieri also says in the *Relatione (quoted on p. 518, n. 4) that the "recuperatione" redounds to the "immortal sua gloria" of Gregory XIII. *Cf.* also Boratyński, Caligarii Epist., 609.

more than fifty castles were reclaimed in all, which brought in to the Apostolic Camera several thousand scudi annually.[1]

Special difficulty was found in the confiscation of fiefs which had been proved to have lapsed or to be illegal in the Romagna, which for a long time past had been in the hands of small landowners, and the scene of bitter party feuds.[2] Gregory XIII. therefore only employed men of experience there.[3] One such, the Roman, Giovanni Pietro Ghislieri, who had been appointed president of the Romagna in 1578, had presented to the Pope a detailed report of the condition of his province, which affords us much interesting information.[4]

[1] See Galli's *Memorie in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The state of the finances after the death of Gregory XIII. is described in an *Avviso di Roma of April 17, 1585: The "Deputati" found "in Castello in cassa 400^{m} scudi" and "nel cassettino del Papa 500 sc. soli, ma buona et bella quantità di gioie, et da 14^{m} sc. in mano delli suoi più intimi Cam^{ri}, et si fà conto che quella santa sede ha speso un milion d' oro in fabriche et dato 900^{m} sc. d' elemosine senza i milioni spesi in Avignon et in guardarsi quà, prestati et donati a'Principi, et per estinguere i cavalierati del Giglio, di Loreto et di S. Giorgio, et spese in mantenere altre grandissime spese necessarie et non necessarie." Urb. 1053, p. 164^{b}, Vatican Library.

[2] For the confiscation of Longiano near Rimini see *Anecdota, litt.*, III., 330 *seq.*

[3] First Sega who came into conflict with the barons (see MAFFEI, I., 102), and after him Lattanzio who was forced to take energetic measures against the deeds of violence committed by the Rasponi in Ravenna (see *ibid.*, 221 *seq.*; MUTINELLI, I., 221; *cf.* also MORONI, LVI., 234).

[4] The *Relatione di Romagna di Mr Giov. Pietro Ghislieri a Papa Gregorio was first utilized by RANKE (Päpste I.^{8}, 254 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*) from a manuscript of the Altieri Library which was afterwards partially destroyed. From TONDUZZI, Historie di Faenza, 673 *seq.*, Ranke took the fact that Ghislieri came to the Romagna in 1578. The important point is that he remained there until the end of 1579, for the *Relatione* belongs to this period. The rich contents of the *Relatione* caused it to be multiplied in many manuscripts. I have noted the following: (1) Florence,

Ghislieri treats first of ecclesiastical conditions. The archdiocese of Ravenna, which had been held since 1578 by Cristoforo Boncompagni, had a revenue, according to him, of 9000 scudi a year. The celebrated abbeys of the city were still more wealthy; the Benedictines of S. Vitale had an annual revenue of more than 12,000 scudi, and the Canons of the Lateran at Santa Maria in Porto more than 18,000 scudi. There were also at Ravenna eight other houses of men and women. The ecclesiastical province of Ravenna included eight dioceses: Forlì, Rimini, Imola, Cesena, Cervia, Bertinoro, Faenza and Sarsina. The numerous Papal feudatories almost all had their fiefs in the mountainous districts of the province, which contained about 50,000 inhabitants. Ghislieri estimated the population of the territory directly subject to the Holy See at 160,000. The principal cities, besides Ravenna, were Rimini, Cesena, Forlì, Faenza and Imola; there were also many smaller towns. A great number of these had been recovered by Gregory XIII., either because they had lapsed or by way of purchase; such were Bertinoro, Forlimpopoli, Solarolo, Savignano, San Mauro, Montefiore, Mondaino and Pian di Meleto.

The territory directly subject to the Holy See yielded such plentiful produce in kind and in other ways that it was able to carry on an active export trade with Urbino, Bologna and Venice. Wine was produced in great quantities throughout the Romagna, and except for that from Ravenna and Cervia,

National Library, Cod. Capponi. (2) Frankfurt o/m, Municipal Library, Cod. signed in 4° III., 14. (3) Munich, State Library, *Ital.* 56, pp. 130-66. (4) Prague, Notitz Library, Ms d. 17, t. VII., pp. 2-90. (5) Rome, Vatican Library, Urb. 831, pp. 83-126; Papal Secret Archives, Var. polit., 159, n. 13. (6) Venice, St. Mark's Library, It. V., 62. Additional information is given in a very instructive *Descrittione (or Relatione) della Romagna in the Cod. XIV.b.-3 of the Altieri Library, Rome. It was written later, about 1615. Letters of G. P. Ghislieri, of the years 1569-82, while he held office in the Romagna, in Perugia, Camerino and Rome in the Cod. C. VI., 9 and 10 of the Seminary Library, Foligno.

was of excellent quality. Especially did the wines of Cesena, Rimini and Bertinoro, and the estates of the feudatories fetch high prices in Venice. In some places other products had a great reputation, as the hemp of Cesena and Imola, and the woad of Forli, Bertinoro and Forlimpopoli, which served for blue and green dyes, and the oil of Rimini. The cattle were more than were required, the sea yielded fish of various kinds, while ostriches were reared at Rimini, Porto Cesenatico and Cervia. Nor was game lacking, especially in the celebrated pine woods near Ravenna, and would be even more abundant if there were any prohibition of the chase. The revenues from salt at Cervia were very profitable. On account of the natural richness of the territory the people of the Romagna did not devote themselves at all to industries, with the single exception of the manufacture of majolica at Faenza. Ghislieri tried to introduce the dyeing of wool at Forli and Fano. The revenues of the province were as much as 122,899 scudi, and the expenditure 9321.[1] Unfortunately, this territory, which was so rich in natural resources, had no good natural port.

The government of the Romagna was in the hands of a president, who presented his reports on all more important matters to the Pope and the college of prelates (Consulta) associated with Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni. The president had a guard of his own, formed of Swiss. He ranked above the feudatories, and even took precedence over the bishops, as he represented the person of the Pope. He had special representatives for criminal and civil trials. To the president were made all the reports of the lesser officials, the chief of whom were the governors of the individual cities, who were appointed by Papal brief. The members of the magistracy

[1] Out of the "entrate," Ghislieri apportions 44,000 to the "sussidio triennale," and to the "sali" 20,500 scudi. The salary of the president amounted to 1,200 scudi, "che sono di moneta 1380." The "governatori" of the six "città principali" received annually 828, and the "guardia" of the "presidente" 1176 scudi. "Per cavalcate et riparationi delle fortezze" accounts for 1,090 Scudi, Urb. 831, p. 123[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library.

were elected by the citizens themselves from among their own number. At Ravenna they were called *savii*, at Rimini *consoli*, at Faenza and Cervia *anziani*, at Cesena and Forlì *conservatori*, at Imola *gonfalonieri* or *consiglieri*, and at Bertinori both *consoli* and *anziani*. Their council meetings wree held in the presence of the governor. The judge of the city was chosen from among the citizens. It was only at Imola and Cesena that a local man had not been appointed to that office, because at the private discussion one of the citizens had not thought the candidate to possess the necessary impartiality.

Ghislieri bears witness that the population of the Romagna were on the whole entirely devoted to the Holy See, as they were able to appreciate the mildness of the Papal rule.[1] Even though the constant disputes of the Romagnoli did not make the government easy, yet on the whole, Ghislieri says, it was easier to guide the people in their disunion, than if they had been united against the authority of the state.[2] The parties still styled themselves by the old names of Guelph and Ghibelline, although their interests had taken quite a different direction from what they had been formerly. Ghislieri gives detailed information in the case of each city as to the way in which the ancient families were divided. At Ravenna the Rasponi were opposed to the Leonardi, at Rimini the Ricciardini to the Ingoli, at Cesena the Venturelli to the Dandini, at Forlì the Numai to the Serughi, at Faenza the Calderoni to the Naldi, at Imola the Viani to the Sassatelli; the Viani declared themselves for the Ghibellines and the

[1] *Questi popoli di Romagna sono molto devoti in generale della Sede Apostolica conoscendo molto bene la dolcezza di questo governo et massime di V.S^{tà}, della quale confessano d'esser governati come figlinoli diletti et con molta prudenza, pietà et amore. Urb. 831, p. 105^{b}, Vatican Library.

[2] *Io sto in dubbio se a ragione d'utile per il governo sia bene che questi contadini et forse altri si mantengono in qualche discordia essendosi visto per esperienza che sicome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito, *loc. cit.*, 111.

Sassatelli for the Guelphs.[1] Each of these families had their own following, and as in the rest of Italy the French and Spanish parties[2] were distinguished by a small badge on their hats. Similar parties were to be found among the feudatories; to the Ghibellines there belonged the Marchese Montebelli and Alberto Pio di Carpi, and to the Guelphs the Malatesta, Lampeschi, Sassatelli and Isei. The division also extended to the peasantry, some of whom at Rimini, Cesena and Forlì drove the Signoria out of the city in the time of Pius V. There existed a friendly patriarchal relationship between the barons and their tenants.[3]

Even in the time of Paul III., with the permission and favour of the Papal government, first at Forlì in 1539, and later on at Fano, Rimini, Imola, Cesena and Faenza, the middle classes among the citizens had formed themselves into associations, the so-called "peacemakers," the members of which bound themselves under oath to maintain order and security. They had the right to take up arms against the promoters of disturbances.[4] Unfortunately, these associations had fallen into decay in the time of Gregory XIII.; and were all the less able to assist the government when they had received into their ranks incapable and suspect persons. Ghislieri, who fully realized their importance, endeavoured to reconstitute them, especially at Ravenna.[1] His hopes, however, of their revival were as little realized as was his trust in diminution of the party feuds. On the contrary, the latter increased to an alarming extent during the last years of Gregory XIII. On many occasions the parties took the administration of justice into their own hands,

[1] See *ibid.*, 109 *seq.* The names given by Ranke (Päpste, I.[8], 281) are partially incorrect.

[2] See MONTAIGNE, II., 154. *Cf.* also GUALTERIUS in the *Archivio stor. Ital.*, App. I., 347.

[3] See Ghislieri's *Relatione, Urb. 831, p. 105[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, I.[8], 255 *seq.*

[4] To supplement the insufficient data of RANKE, I., 256 *seq.*, *cf.* especially MORONI, XXV., 279 *seq.*

[5] See his *Relatione, Urb. 831, p. 105[b], Vatican Library,

they broke into the prisons in order to set free their own friends, but at the same time sought out their enemies there, and it was not uncommon on the following day to find their heads hung up by the fountains.[1]

To these political party feuds was added brigandage, a national scourge, from which the Romagna had to a certain extent been free in the time of Ghislieri.[2] Later on, however, it too became subject to the evil, which infected not only the Papal States, but the whole of Italy, and often took the form of a guerilla warfare. With the end of the wars the country districts found themselves overrun by discharged soldiers, who were joined by the dubious elements of the country people, and by others from the towns who were attracted by the prospect of a life of freedom, and the hope of rich booty. They were divided into highwaymen, who committed thefts and pillage on a small scale, outlaws who had been banished on account of some crime, and lastly brigands in the strict sense, who were formed into bands, commanded by a chief, and who offered their services for sale, as once had been done by the condottieri. The greatest feudatories and the aristocracy of the cities made use of their services without any scruple in order to carry on their petty feuds.[3]

Pius V. had already made war upon the bandits,[4] a task which was rendered extraordinarily difficult in the Papal States by the natural configuration of the country. The many impenetrable mountain districts, as well as the deserted undulating plain of the Roman Campagna, with its rocky little hills of tufa, its underground passages, and its many caves and precipices, afforded excellent hiding places. The forest too of the Campagna was very extensive, as were also the districts covered with thickets. Only some one who has passed through one of these thickets, with its tangled under-

[1] See the Ms. "Sixtus V. P.M.," Altieri Library, in RANKE, I., 282.

[2] *"Il paese assai purgato di banditi et altri homini di mala vita." Ghislieri's Relatione, *loc. cit.*, 116.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 571. HÜBNER, I., 275 *seq.*

[4] See Vol. XVII., p. 101 *seq.* of this work.

growth, and its ivy-clad tree trunks, can form any idea of the difficulties which the mysterious impenetrability of such a place put in the way of pursuit. In a memorial which was presented to the Pope, in addition to other measures, for the most part military, the destruction of the thickets in the Campagna is urged, especially of the Campo Morto.[1] Gregory gave orders for this to be done, with the further purpose of encouraging the cultivation of corn in the neighbourhood of Rome.[2] A fateful consequence of this was that the noble landowners, who enjoyed the widest powers, at once offered shelter to the bandits, and allowed them to organize themselves into regular bands. Between the two there sprang into existence a kind of mutual assurance; the shelter which the barons gave the bandits in their castles, ensured complete impunity to the evildoers, while on the other hands the barons were able to summon their protégés to Rome whenever they were involved in disputes with the government.[3]

Like his predecessor, Gregory XIII. had very much at heart the maintenance of peace and security in his states, and during the first years of his pontificate he met with undeniable success in this respect. Especially valuable in this direction was a decree of the Pope issued on September 24th, 1573, which abolished the pretended immunities of the foreign ambassadors, the Cardinals, and the great nobles of Rome, which had led to many flagrant abuses, and in many

[1] See the *Memorandum on the "estirpatione de' banditi, in the Cod. Barb. LVI., 29, p. 93, Vatican Library.

[2] The passage dealing with this, and quoted by RANKE (Päpste, III.[8], 171), was long ago printed in *Li Tesori della corte Romana*, Brusselle, 1672, 109. It has often been asserted (*cf.* T. M. LANCISII Diss. de nativis deque adventitiis Romani coeli qualitatibus, 19; KEYSZLER, Reisen, I., 625) that Gregory XIII. thereby contributed to the spread of malaria; but this has been justly contested. See TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., 170, and — independently of him — also HIRSCH, Handbuch der hist.-geogr. Pathologie, I.[2], Stuttgart, 1881, 207, n. 2.

[3] See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.*

cases had frustrated the course of justice.[1] In December we have reports of the success attained in hunting out the bandits sheltered by Paolo Giordano Orsini and the French ambassador.[2] No less important were the severe edicts of 1573 and 1574 against the carrying of weapons of offence.[3] The general security was improved, not only in Rome, but also in the neighbourhood. Assassinations only occurred in isolated cases, especially at Velletri and Ardea, where the country remained favourable for the bandits down to quite recent times.[4] But the state of affairs changed for the worse when later on the severity of the aged Pope began to be relaxed. At the beginning of 1575 it was found that the ambassadors and Cardinals were once more availing themselves of their immunities, and the sheltering of the bandits had once again to be threatened with penalties.[5] After the end of 1576 many murders were committed both in Rome and in the provinces, so that in June and November, 1578, the strict prohibition of carrying arms in the Papal States

[1] See THEINER, I., 202 *seq.* *Cf.* *Bernerio's report of October 3, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 19, 1573, *ibid.*

[3] In addition to *Bernerio's report of July 4, 1573 (State Archives, Vienna); see also the *Avviso di Roma of July 4 and September 26, 1573, and of August 14, 1574, Urb. 1043, p. 259, 309, 1044, p. 225, Vatican Library.

[4] "Questi giorni sono comparsi nella Campagna di Roma molti furbi assassini che si crede che siano di quei soldati Italiani ultimamente licentiati in Calabria, li quali hanno cominciato a porse nella strada et assassinare et venendo il Sr Card^li^ di Vercelli da Ardea a pigliare un poco d' aere gli fecero una bella paura, et al mio casale m' hanno fatto molto danno," says Odescalchi in a *memorandum dated the last day of February, 1573. He also *reports, on February 23, 1575, the murder of two Capuchins by robbers near Velletri, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The robbing of the Venetian courier near Prima Porta is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1574; see Avvisi-Caetani, 70.

[5] See *Cusano's report of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

had to be renewed.[1] The appearance of brigands in the Campagna Marittima, in the Marches, and in the mountains of Camerino led to the taking of further steps. The brigand chief, Marcello Tibalduccio, who was notorious for the cruelties he had committed in the Marches, was arrested in 1578; the head of another, Marianaccio of Camerino, was brought to Rome, and sixteen noble highwaymen were sent to the galleys.[2] Alfonso Piccolomini, Duke of Montemarciano, especially gave trouble. Quarrels with the Baglioni, and disputes with the pontifical authorities had driven this scion of a celebrated family to take to a life of brigandage.[3] His castle of Montemarciano, near Ancona, became the principal place of refuge for the disturbers of the peace in the Marches. He paid no attention to all warnings from Rome, so that no other course was left to the Pope but to destroy the castle of Montemarciano.[4] Piccolomini who was a feudatory, not only of the Pope, but also of Florence, had already withdrawn into Tuscany. His bands of brigands, who were organized on military lines, and overran the district in small companies and to the beat of the drum, like the free companies of the XIVth century, were the terror of central Italy. Their favourite refuge was in the forests of Montemarciano and of S. Vito, for which reason Gregory XIII. caused them to be destroyed.[5]

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 19 and May 18, 1577, and that of November 29, 1578, Urb. 1045, p. 227[b], 291, 408, Vatican Library. See also *Odescalchi's report of June 21, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the murder of the son of Pietro Corso on the Campo Vaccino by eight French noblemen "per risse antiche," see *Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 187, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 1, July 14 and 30, August 16, 1578, Urb. 1046, pp. 2[b], 157[b], 170, 279, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the monograph of L. GROTTANELLI: Alfonso Piccolomini, Firenze, 1892.

[4] See MAFFEI, I., 373 *seq.*

[5] *"Il Papa risoluto affato di snidare li banditi della Marca ha fatto tagliare la selva di Monte Marciano et quella di Monte S. Vito, che erano li principali ridotti che havessero, non havendo

At the beginning of 1579 the Pope himself mitigated the restriction of bearing arms, and granted to Cardinal Farnese and others the right to a personal guard armed with arquebuses.[1] The prohibition of immunities issued in 1573 had by that time been so far forgotten that the retinue of Cardinal Medici rescued a bandit from the hands of the police by appealing to the right of sanctuary.[2] The Pope continually sent troops against the brigands who made their appearance here and there, and also entered into an agreement with the government of Naples.[3] But in July the Papal troops had hardly returned from their expedition when a brigand chief named Catena appeared outside the Porta Salaria.[4] Very soon many bandits were discovered in Rome itself, and on one occasion thirty were arrested in an inn.[5] The zeal of Romolo Valenti, who had been appointed governor of the Campagna, was successful in capturing five brigand chiefs in August, but at once new ones sprang up in their place like the hydra's heads.[6] In October the Pope had to send a special commissary against the bandits who were making havoc in the neighbourhood of Capranica,[7] and at the end of the year he found himself obliged to get together troops against the brigands who were devastating the Marches and the Romagna.[8]

In Rome the delinquents could always find refuge in the palaces of the nobles, and even of certain Cardinals, who

quelle communità con lo stridere c'han fatto per il danno, che ne ricevono, potuto haverne gratia da S.S^{tà}." Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 437^{b}, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1579, *ibid.*, 1047, p. 14.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 21, 1579, *ibid.*, 24.

[3] See Maffei, II., 70 *seq.* *Cf.* also Theiner, III., 119.

[4] It was considered unsafe to visit the suburban vineyards. *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 235^{b}, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of July 29, 1579, *ibid.*, 254.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of August 12, 1579, *ibid.*, 276.

[7] See *Odescalchi's report of October 6, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Maffei, II., 71.

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of December 23, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 396 (*cf.* 376) Vatican Library.

protected them from the police.[1] Cardinal Este, too, who was so powerful on account of his close union with France, repeatedly protected his evil-doing followers from the punishment they deserved. In June, 1580, when a fresh incident had occurred, and the Cardinal's followers had assaulted the Papal police officials, Gregory XIII. lost patience; he summoned Este before him, and a violent altercation ensued, the consequence of which was that Este was banished from the Papal States.[2] At a consistory on June 15th, 1580, the Pope complained that some of the Cardinals were giving shelter in their palaces to criminals, and reminded them of the penalties entailed by such an act;[3] at the end of June certain offences on the part of the servants of Cardinal Mark Sittich in the matter of resistance to the police, were severely punished,[4] yet at the end of June Gregory decided to revoke the sentence of banishment pronounced against Cardinal Este! This was done in consequence of the pressure brought to bear by the ambassador of France.[5] This leniency towards the great only served to encourage the lesser offenders, and it is not surprising that it proved impossible to master the national plague of brigandage.

After various expeditions of troops against the bandits in the Papal States during the spring of 1580 had proved of

[1] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., App. 27, *the notes made by Mattei, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See also Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VIII., 224, and BELTRAMI, Roma, 32 *seqq.*, 36 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 176, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of June 26, 1580, *ibid.*, 187b.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1580, *ibid.*, 221. *Cf.* Sporeno's *Report to Archduke Ferdinand, of October 15, 1580, in the Government Archives, Innsbruck. Este's return took place a year later. The Pope received him cordially and the Curia greeted him with respect; see (in addition to HERRE, 263) the Avvisi di Roma of June 24 and July 8, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 237, 351, Vatican Library.

little use,[1] Gregory attempted to attain his purpose by means of severe enactments. All barons or cities who gave shelter to or encouraged the bandits were threatened with the penalties of high treason.[2] Cardinal Alessandro Sforza, who was appointed legate for the whole of the Papal States, with the exception of Bologna, on July 5th, 1580, was given such full powers for the destruction of brigandage, that he was no longer spoken of as legate-general, but as vice-Pope.[3] The legation of Bologna was entrusted to Cardinal Cesi,[4] with the same wide powers; he was to punish the disorders and murders that the quarrelsome aristocracy of the city had

[1] See (in addition to MAFFEI, II., 156) *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, February 20, 1580 (Troops against the bandits of the Marches and Umbria), March 12 (Troops against Petrino), April 16 (Bailiffs against the bandits of the Campagna and great care of the Pope), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1580 (about the bandits near Spoleto), Urb. 1048, p. 90, Vatican Library.

[2] Bull of July 11, 1580, Bull. Rom., VIII., 355 *seq.* The decree had already been announced in an *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1580 (Urb. 1048, p. 67, Vatican Library). Writing about this decree on July 23, 1580, Odescalchi says: *"il che ha messo gran terrore a questi signori et baroni di terra di Roma." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of July 9, 1580, which also reports that, on the previous Monday, 30 bandits from Trastevere had attacked the Bargello with his "sbirri" (Urb. 1048, p. 203, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of July 9, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Memorandum of Aless. de' Médici, of July 9, 1580, State Archives, Florence, and the *Memorandum of L. Donato, of July 16, 1580, State Archives, Venice, to which is attached the *Brief for Sforza, dat. Rome, July 11, 1580, from which RANKE (Päpste, I.[8], 283), and BROSCH (I., 257 *seq.*) have taken certain passages. For the appointment of Sforza see *Acta consist. of July 11, 1580, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. See also the brief in THEINER, III., 224.

[4] *Lettere di diversi negozii in tempo di P. Gregorio XIII. per la legatione di Bologna scritte al card. de Cesi, legato di quella città (mostly letters of Cardinal S. Sisto [F. Boncompagni] of 1580) State Library, Berlin, Inf. polit., XIX., 2 *seq.*

to its charge.[1] Sforza left Rome on July 14th.[2] He had previously written to all the governors to send him lists of all

[1] See *Acta consist. of July 4, 1580, Vatican Library; *Avvisi di Roma of July 8 and 9, 1580, in Sporeno's reports in the Government Archives, Innsbruck; BELTRAMI, Roma, 39; *Avviso di Roma of July 9, 1580, Urb. 1049, p. 201, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.*, 368, 382, 390, the *Avvisi of November 9, 19 and 26, dealing with excesses in Bologna which greatly exercised the mind of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* *Odescalchi's report of November 5, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In spite of these upheavals and others that had preceded them (*cf.* MAFFEI, I., 223) conditions in Bologna took a decided turn for the better (see MALVASIA, Felsina, I., 90). Gregory XIII. favoured the town with many privileges (in 1578 he sent the Golden Rose to the cathedral; see *Avviso of March 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 88, Vatican Library). On December 10, 1582, the bishopric of Bologna was raised to an archbishopric; see Bull. Rom., VIII., 432; *cf.* also FANTUZZI, IV., 284. But the factions in Bologna did not come to an end. Disputes about the form of government even went so far as to bring about the departure of the Bolognese envoy from Rome in 1584; see *Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 306, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of August 4, 1584: The Pope wished to have no more envoys from Bologna in Rome; the state of public feeling in Bologna was very excited, women went about wearing feathers "alla Guelfa et alla Ghibellina." Interesting, as showing the activity of the legate, are his *Memoranda of 1580-1 in Vatic. 6711, Vatican Library. The disputes over the water supply between Bologna and Ferrara (*cf.* FANTUZZI, IV., 285) led to the sending of Cardinal Guastavillani; *letters on the subject from September, 1582, to July, 1583, in Barb., XLVIII., 147, p. 72 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*, 173 *seq.* (Vatican Library); *ibid.*, 87 *seq.* *Memoriale di Filippo Succi al duca di Ferrara mentre era il card. Guastavillani legato; 99 *seq.* *Viaggio che si fece per visitare i luoghi pe' quali doveva condorsi il reno dal card. Guastavillano e dal duca di Ferrara. A *Discorso della differenza tra i Bolognesi e Ferraresi circa le acque &c., dedicated to Cardinal Guastavillani, in the Cod. Ital. 190, p. 95 *seq.* of the State Library, Munich. A *Discorso de D. Scipione di Castro, treating of the same subject and dedicated to Gregory XIII. in the Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the description of the departure given by Odescalchi in his *report of July 16, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the bandits in their territories, pointing out their usual place of residence.[1] The Cardinal, who was accompanied by 500 armed men, went first to Spoleto, where he executed 54 bandits and confiscated property to the value of 30,000 scudi. The notorious Pietro Leoncillo of Spoleto, named Petrino, had unfortunately made his escape.[2] The punitive expedition then went on by way of Orvieto to Perugia, where the legate confiscated the property of the Marchese di Serbello, and put an end to various feuds by peaceful means.[3] He then proceeded to the Marches, and lastly to the Romagna, where he succeeded in capturing one of the most dangerous of the bandits, the above-mentioned Catena.[4] Count Jacopo di Montevecchio, who among other things had murdered his wife, was executed.[5] At Ravenna the legate settled many disputes; he was supported by the Duke of Urbino and the government of Venice.[6]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 206, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 3, September 3, 10, 17, October 12, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 223, 276[b], 293, 298, 338, Vatican Library. Concerning Petrino *cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 21, and CAMPELLO, Il castello di Campello, Roma, 1889, 288 *seq.*, 294 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 24, 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 312, 327, *ibid.*, 224[b]. *Descrittione dell' apparato fatto in Orvieto pel entrata ivi del card. Sforza, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of October 1, 12, 19, November 23, 30, and December 7, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 319, 338, 348, 387, 396, 406 *seq.*, Vatican Library; *Avviso of December 10, 1580, Government Library, Innsbruck. Catena (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 216) was executed on January 11, 1581 (see MONTAIGNE, I., 231); he was 30 years old, had been a robber for twelve years, and had committed 54 murders. *Cf.* also *Avviso of January 11, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 10 *loc. cit.*, and the interesting *reports of Odescalchi of October 1, 22, November 5, 26, 1580; January 7, 14, 22, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 160.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 17, October 19, November 23, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 251, 351, 387, Vatican Library, and MAFFEI, II., 156. *Cf.* also P. SPRETI, Entrata dell' ill. card Sforza legato in Ravenna alli 6 Novembre, 1580, Ravenna, 1580 (a very rare work).

In November, 1580, it seemed that peace and order had been restored for the most part in the Papal States,[1] but only too soon it was obvious how very superficial the results attained had been. The evil was favoured by the social conditions of the state, as well as by the popular idea and the character of the inhabitants. Faced by Gregory XIII.'s policy of confiscation, many of the barons now availed themselves, only more openly, of the bandits as ready allies.[2] This alarmed the Pope, and Sforza was warned to take no further action against those who had harboured the bandits, but only against those who should do so in future.[3] The legate, who longed to be set free from his difficult task,[4] was unable to prevent the bandits from again making their appearance in the Marches in the spring of 1581.[5] The Grand Duke of Tuscany refused extradition in the case of criminals of this class.[6] The legate was spared further disappointments, for he died on May 20th, 1581, in all probability from poison.[7]

The bandits thereupon raised their heads with still greater insolence. The Swiss, Sebastian Werro, who set out from Rome to Loreto on May 27th, 1581, had hardly completed

[1] *" Il stato eccles^co restarà in gran quiete per qualch' anni et tanto più che [Sforza] ha guasto talmente il nido a banditi che non la rifaranno per un pezzo." Avviso di Roma of November 16, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 376, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 129.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 7, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 3^b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of March 18, 1581, *ibid.*, 131.

[5] " S'è inteso che nella Marca li banditi havevano cominciato a farsi sentire et che per ciò i popoli erano tutti in arme." *Odescalchi's report of April 29, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See Avvisi-Caetani, 107.

[7] In addition to the report of G. Corraro quoted by BROSCH (I., 257, n. 2) see also the *Avviso di Roma of May 20, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 183, Vatican Library, *Odescalchi's memoranda of May 13 and 20, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Sporeno's *reports of May 6 and 13, 1581, Government Archives, Innsbruck. Sforza's tomb with his effigy in S. Maria Maggiore ; see FORCELLA, XI., 42.

his first day's journey, before he became terror-stricken at the cruelties of the bandits, of which he heard stories in the inns on the way; at Foligno he met the garrison of that place, which was returning from an expedition against the bandits.[1] At the end of May, 1581, news reached Rome that the dreaded Alfonso Piccolomini was threatening the Marches. At Montalboddo, near Sinigaglia, this monster had his enemies' throats cut in the presence of their mothers and wives, while his followers danced and sang ribald songs.[2] The troops which were sent by the Pope against Piccolomini under the command of Latino Orsini refused to fight against the bandits, and foreigners had to be enlisted.[3]

But the principal reason why it was impossible to obtain any definite success was the fact that Piccolomini had safe places of refuge in Gubbio and Pitigliano. From these strongholds he made his raids into the Papal States, where he was joined by some of the malcontent nobles. Piccolomini had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and seemed to have no other aim in life but to attack his enemies, foremost among whom he counted Latino Orsini and Giacomo Boncompagni, who had been entrusted by Gregory XIII. with the protection of the Papal States. The services which were rendered to him by private individuals were rewarded in princely style; at the beginning of July he destroyed a mill which Latino Orsini had built near Corneto, and which was valued at 6000 scudi. In the last week of July he threatened the alum mines of Tolfa, and at the beginning of August, at the head of 200 well-armed men, made the district between Ponte Molle and Prima Porta unsafe. The Pope took special measures for the safety of Rome.[4] He was all the more alarmed in that an

[1] See the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum Seb. Verronis, Ms. in the University Library, Fribourg (Switzerland).

[2] See MAFFEI, II., 212; GROTTANELLI, A. Piccolomini, 45 *seq.*, 53. In RANKE (Päpste I.[8], 282) the name of the place has been disfigured into "Monte-abboddo."

[3] This interesting fact is given by Bernerio in his *report of June 3, 1581, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See the report of L. Donato in MUTINELLI, I., 127 *seq.*

attack on the Vatican, on the pretext of taking action against the feudatories, threatened his own person. The Pope's attendants therefore doubled the guards, and had the Belvedere patrolled at night; at the gates of the city, everyone coming in or going out was stopped to have his business inquired into.[1] Gregory had the chagrin of learning that Piccolomini had robbed a Papal courier of 7000 scudi.[2]

It was only possible to remedy the abuse if the Pope's neighbours, the Duke of Urbino and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were to refuse shelter in their states to the bandit chief. Gregory XIII. therefore addressed himself to both of them. Urbino was prepared to co-operate with him, but not so Francesco de' Medici, whose relations with the Holy See were always strained.[3] The evasive reply of Medici made it clear that he was unwilling to take any action against Piccolomini, who had powerful friends in Siena.[4] Instead, he gave the Pope the humiliating advice to come to a peaceful agreement with the bandit chief.[5]

The impunity of Piccolomini led other adventurers into making similar raids, and many sought to imitate him in their effrontery, savagery and cunning; such were Ramberto Malatesta, Giovanni Valenti, who assumed the title of "King

[1] See Lettres de P. de Foix, 98, 100 *seq.*; the *Avvisi di Roma of August 5, 12, 16, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 307, 319[b], 324, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 19, 1581, *ibid.*, 331.

[3] *Cf.* SEGHARIZZI, Relaz d. ambasc. Veneti, III., 2 (1916), 22.

[4] *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 129; Lettres de P. de Foix, 95 *seq.*, *cf.* 123; MAFFEI, II., 212 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 607. The Pope also complained repeatedly of Urbino, but the latter disclaimed all responsibility. The *Avviso di Roma of May 26, 1582, reports complaints made in consistory by Gregory XIII. about Florence and Urbino; and the duke has added with his own hand, in the margin, the words: *"Questo m'indusse andar da Farnese et è bugia espressa quanto a Urbino." Urb. 1050, p. 178, Vatican Library.

[5] See the reports in GROTTANELLI, 56 *seqq.*

of the Maremma," Pietro Leoncillo of Spoleto known as "the wild man," and the "priest of Guercino."[1]

For a long time Gregory was reluctant to follow the advice of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and enter into negotiations with Piccolomini. But the misfortunes of his troops in the war against the bandits, which involved great expenditure and the danger of a serious misunderstanding with Tuscany, while the fear lest Piccolomini should take a bloody revenge upon Giacomo Boncompagni[2] left him no alternative, so that Gregory XIII. found himself forced to take this extraordinary step, which in the end was also recommended by Cardinal Galli.[3] An agreement was arrived at, by which Piccolomini withdrew to Florence in June, 1582, where he lived like a great noble, honoured by the court of the Medici.[4] On March 30th in the following year, to everybody's amazement, he made his appearance in Rome, and took up his abode with the Florentine Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, on the Pincio. When his pardon had been proclaimed in a pontifical brief he left the city on May 19th, and returned to Florence.[5]

The temporary disappearance of Piccolomini by no means put an end to brigandage in the Papal States, which continued in spite of all the enactments of the Pope. During the whole of the second half of 1582 the Romans were disturbed by the

[1] See MUTINELLI, I., 131; GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 12. For Guercino *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 356 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 235. Odescalchi describes the death of P. Leoncillo in his report of February 17, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Donato's report in RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 284.

[3] See his *Memorie in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See GROTTANELLI, 67. That Piccolomini selected Florence for his dwelling place is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 212, Vatican Library.

[5] For Piccolomini's stay in Rome with which he was by no means satisfied, see the *Avvisi di Roma of March 30, April 2 and 23, May 21, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 148[b], 151, 187, 218, 226[b], Vatican Library (*cf.* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 166 *seq.*), and *Donato's reports (State Archives, Venice) utilized by Ranke, I.[8], 284. Ranke's assertion that the confessors at the Lateran had broken the seal of confession is not proved.

appearance of brigands in the immediate neighbourhood.[1] Even the safety of the city itself was seriously threatened. Many of the nobles who seemed to think themselves above the law were in secret agreement with the bandits, and encounters between the retainers of the barons and the police were as common as were robberies, duels and murders.[2] An especially horrible crime was committed in the night between April 16th and 17th, 1581; the nephew of Cardinal Montalto, Francesco Peretti, the husband of Vittoria Accoramboni, who was celebrated for her dazzling beauty, was killed in the garden of Sforza[3] by two hired "bravi." Three days after the crime the young widow retired with her mother to the palace of Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano. The assassins had been recognized as persons who were in close relations with Giordano Orsini, but no one dared to take any steps against the powerful and hot-tempered duke. Vittoria, who must at any rate have been privy to the murder, was arrested, and only recovered her liberty on the promise that she would not marry the duke. In spite of this she allowed herself to be induced to marry her lover in 1584 at Bracciano.[4]

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 8, September 15, December 11, 22, 24, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 283, 337, 470, 489, 496, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of July 21, 28, August 11, 18, December 22, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 258, 271, 302, 307[1], 489, *loc. cit.* Notwithstanding all penalties, more "furberie et latrocinii" than ever took place in Rome *reports Odescalchi on January 15, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Decree against murderers and bandits in the Bull. Rom., VIII., 355 *seq.*, 503 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 399 *seq.* new decree against duelling.

[3] Later the Palazzo Barberini was built on this spot.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed description by GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 74 *seq.*, 85, 131 *seq.*, 178 *seqq.* The correct date here given contradicts LITTA, who gives it as June 27, 1583. This mistake was repeated by REUMONT, III., 577. Gnoli's correct date is confirmed by *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, April 22, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Gnoli did not know of the existence of this report. See also *Bernerio's memorandum of April 22, 1581, which gives the date as April 18. State Archives, Vienna.

A no less evil reputation was enjoyed by Lodovico Orsini, who gave shelter to the bandits in his palace. Without paying any attention to the immunity which he claimed, in the evening of April 26th, 1583, the chief of the police, Gian Battista della Pace, forced his way with his officers into the palace to arrest two bandits, who had wrought havoc with fire and sword in the mountainous district of Norcia. When they were on the point of taking them away the police were resisted by Raimondo, the brother of Lodovico, Sillo Savelli, Ottavio de' Rustici, Pietro Gaetani, Emilio Capizucchi and other nobles. An altercation ensued, followed by a fight, in which Raimondo Orsini, Silla Savelli and Ottavio de' Rustici lost their lives.[1] Lodovico Orsini swore to be avenged for his dead brother. All the nobility, led by Paolo Giordano and Lodovico Orsini, prepared for retaliation, while the masses of the people who were devoted to them raised an alarming riot. Giacomo Boncompagni made vain efforts to calm the excited mobs. A contemporary says that it was just as though the Holy See were vacant, or the enemy in the city, as during the sack of 1527.[2] The chief of the police took to flight before the threatened attitude of the mob, while his officers hid themselves. Even the aged governor of the city, Vincenzo Portico, sought safety in the Vatican. Gregory XIII. had the gates of his palace closed, and prepared his artillery. In view of the unrestrained anger of the people, the general confusion, and the danger threatened by the bandits in the city, he at last felt that he must change his policy; he appointed a new governor of the city, and

[1] For the tumult of April 26, 1583, which GROTTANELLI (p. 71) wrongly ascribes to August 26, see the sources utilized by GNOLI (*loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*) of which the most important is Donato's memorandum of April 30, 1583 (in MUTINELLI, I., 140). See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 155, the *report of April 26, 1583, in Var. polit., 159, n. 158, Papal Secret Archives, and the detailed *report of Odescalchi of April 30, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of April 30, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 197, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 358.

issued an order for the arrest of Pace and his bailiffs. Whenever the people discovered these unhappy men, they killed them in the most cruel way. Pace was brought before the judge by the conservatori and executed! On account of the feebleness of the government the conservatori had given orders to the caporioni to assume the guardianship of the city.[1] The Pope gathered troops and doubled the guard of his palace; it was said that he had summoned 2000 Swiss. If this should be the case, says a contemporary, those who abuse the gentleness and kindness and leniency of Gregory XIII. will have reason to repent.[2]

After such occurrences as this, it is not surprising that the Pope was unable to master the plague of brigandage. On June 25th, 1583, the Mantuan ambassador reports that the danger in the environs of Rome was so great that no one dared to go outside the gates.[3] In July 700 men had to be sent against the bandits, who had set fire to the crops at Piperno. In August four bandits of Frascati were beheaded, together with a brigand chief who with his own hand had committed 65 murders. Giulio Ongarese, who had been appointed commissary for the whole of the Papal States, issued an edict against the bandits; whoever sheltered one of them was to be punished, whereas anyone who killed or handed one over to justice was to be rewarded.[4] Further enactments followed.[5] By October this had led to a restoration

[1] *Cf.* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 156 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of June 4, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 239, Vatican Library. For the revenge that Lod. Orsini took in September, 1583, when he caused Vincenzo Vitelli, Giacomo Boncompagni's representative, to be murdered, see the report in MUTINELLI, I., 147 *seq.*

[3] See *Odescalchi's report of June 25, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 157.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of July 20, August 6, 20, 27, 31, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 307, 324, 343, 357, 350, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 157 *seq.*, 160; see also Sporeno's *reports of June 2 and July 23, 1583, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[5] *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 161.

of order.[1] In January, 1584, they succeeded in defeating the band of the notorious "priest of Guercino," and wounding the leader,[2] but in April it was again learned that assassins were carrying on their misdeeds in the neighbourhood of Rome.[3] A special congregation of Cardinals was appointed to devise a remedy.[4] Military expeditions were carried out during the summer,[5] and it was believed that the Papal States were at last almost entirely freed from the bandits. But even this was only an apparent success.[6] "The bandits," wrote the Venetian ambassador, Lorenzo Priuli, on February 23rd, 1585, "are now more numerous than ever; they go about in large companies, and if this goes on it will require an army to disperse them."[7]

The failure of every attempt on the part of Gregory XIII. to put an end to brigandage in the Papal States, and the insecurity of Rome must not be put down only to the gentle

[1] See Sporeno's reports of October 15 and 22, 1583, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 18, Vatican Library. For the impudent behaviour of Guercino shortly afterwards, *cf.* the report of January 16, 1584, in MUTINELLI. I., 154 *seq.*

[3] See *Odescalchi's report of April 7, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 46.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 7 and 11, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 127, 132, Vatican Library.

[5] See Sporeno's *reports of May 26 and June 9, 1584, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] *Odescalchi's report of December 7, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See Priuli's reports in BROSCH, I., 259 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1585, reports that special precautions had been taken for Saturday, as the "Prete da Guercino" was believed to be in Rome under a disguise. The *Avvisi di Roma of February 9 and 23 report many details concerning the bandit scourge in the Papal States. According to an *Avviso of March 20, the robbers affixed "bandi" in Velletri which demanded, with threats, the withdrawal of the troops! Urb. 1053, pp. 61, 64, 76, 97, 126, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also BELTRAMI, Roma, 51, 52

character of the Pope, and his readiness to pardon;[1] the causes of the evil were so deeply rooted in the political situation and in social conditions that even the terrible severity of his successor was only able to crush the bandits for a time.[2]

In order to form a just judgment it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that, not only the States of the Church, but the whole of Italy suffered from the scourge of brigandage. A similar state of affairs prevailed, in spite of the strict Spanish government, in the Kingdom of Naples, and also in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.[3] Even in the territory of the Republic of Venice, justly celebrated for its political organization, brigandage had taken such a hold that even the southern Tyrol was seriously threatened. In 1579, the Venetian bandit, Count Ottavio Avogadro, was able to make a formal raid with 100 men from Verona, upon Arco, by way of the Lake of Garda, and then retire once more into Venetian territory and harass the Duchy of Ferrara. Avogadro, like Piccolomini, was reckoned one of the most terrible and dangerous of the Italian bandits; as the latter had done in Rome, so he too, in 1585, made his appearance at the court of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol.[4]

[1] *Cf* the Vita Sixti V ipsius manu emendata in RANKE, Päpste, III.[8], 72* The description of conditions given by Gualterius in the *Arch. stor. Ital.* App. I., 315 *seq.*, is certainly rhetorically exaggerated, though the state of things towards the end of Gregory XIII.'s reign was undoubtedly very bad indeed; *cf.* BALAN, VI., 617 *seq.* A candid account of the state of affairs in Rome and in the provinces was furnished to the Pope by a Roman parish priest: *Caeli Speti parochi S. Mariae in publicolis de urbe ad Gregorium P.M. XIII. de veritate dicenda, Vatic. 5514, pp. 44-51, Vatican Library.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 91 *seq.* *Cf.* our conclusions in the next volume.

[3] See ALBÈRI, II., 5, 469 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 231 *seq.*; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 302 *seq.*

[4] See SYLVIAN, II., 327 *seq.*; EGGER, Gesch. Tirols, II., 233; HIRN., I., 505, 508 *seq.* *Cf. Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols und Vorarlbergs*, XII. (1915) 42 *seq.* Avogadro

By way of explanation why brigandage, the inveterate evil of the time, made itself especially felt in the Papal States, the Venetian, Giovanni Corraro, gives two special reasons in his report for 1581; one he finds in the natural character of Gregory XIII., who, at heart more inclined to gentleness than to severity, discovered too late how dangerous a thing it is for a sovereign to change from severity to gentleness; the other he sees in the peculiar conditions of the Papal States. He remarks that severity was nowhere so called for as there, where there were nothing but parties, and men were, so to say, born with arms in their hands, while the frequent change of rulers, and the number of the Cardinals and influential nobles easily led men to expect pardon.[1]

To this middle course between severity and indulgence, which was satisfactory to the greater number of men, Corraro also attributes the remarkable increase in the population of Rome, which had grown from scarcely 90,000 to 140,000.[2] The number of new houses, which were occupied the moment they were finished, was so great as to cause amazement to anyone who had not seen the city, even for a short time. If this progress had continued, the capital of the Popes would have increased, in size and beauty, both rapidly and in an extraordinary way. It was characteristic that, in spite of this, the pontificate of Gregory XIII. had already lasted too long for the liking of the officials of the Curia, who hoped to gain some advantage from each change of government.[3] Yet they, no less than the rest of the Romans had every reason to be grateful to Gregory XIII.

is expressly classed with Piccolomini as the worst of the bandits in the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] CORRARO, 277.

[2] REUMONT (III., 2, 791) doubts the accuracy of Corraro's figures, but they are confirmed by a *memorandum of Camillo Capilupi dat. March 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (see Appendix, No. 1), and by the Avviso di Roma in BELTRAMI, Roma, 28.

[3] If things went according to their wishes, says Corraro (*loc. cit.*), there would be a new Pope at least every five years.

No one in Rome could complain of the burden of the taxes; no fresh burdens were imposed during the thirteen years of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.;[1] of the old ones, he had already, in the first years of his reign, taken off the duty upon pork introduced by Pius V. to meet the expenses of the war against the Turks,[2] and later on the tax on flour which had existed since the time of Julius III.[3] The Pope took thought for the provision of Rome with victuals in every way, especially during the Holy Year.[4] For a long time men were reminded of this by the great reserves of grain which he had gathered in the Baths of Diocletian.[5] In order to provide for Rome he also on several occasions issued prohibitions of the export of grain from the Papal States.[6] A decree of May 1st, 1578, renewed the penalties against the barons who interfered with the transport of grain to the Roman market. So as to prevent the usurious dealings of speculators, every citizen was forbidden to buy more grain than such as was necessary for the annual need of his family.[7] In the Campagna Marittima the Pope tried to extend the ground under cultivation by the destruction of the woods;[8] the draining of the marshes near Ravenna served the same purpose.[9] If in spite of this the Papal States had to suffer

[1] Galli emphasizes this in his *Memorie (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[2] See the Constitution of February 1, 1573, in the Collez. delle disposiz. su li più antichi censimenti dello Stato pontif., I., Roma, 1845, 67 *seq.* MAFFEI, I., 251 (1576) must be corrected accordingly.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 362; MORONI, XX., 159.

[4] *Cf.* Studi e documenti, XIII., 313; BENIGNI, 39 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 21; FORCELLA, XIII., 174; NICOLAI, III., 89; LANCIANI, IV., 80. CIAPPI (p. 9) also mentions granaries in Porto.

[6] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 140 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 373; RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 279.

[7] See BENIGNI, 39. *Cf.* DECUPIS, Per gli usi civici nell' agro Romano, Roma, 1906, 23.

[8] *Cf. supra.*, p. 524.

[9] On this subject see MAFFEI, II., 74; BENIGNI, 42, as well as the statements of Ghislieri in his *Relatione di Romagna, Urb.

for a time during the years of scarcity in 1579, 1582 and 1583, this was not the fault of the Pope; on the contrary he did all in his power to mitigate the distress.[1] In 1583 he himself expended 40,000 scudi.[2] Besides this he endeavoured to ensure that the people should have not only plenty of bread but also good bread, and severely punished those who adulterated this important item of food;[3] he repeatedly granted privileges to the baking industry.[4] In 1581, when the neighbourhood of Rome, and especially Viterbo, was invaded by swarms of locusts, he gave 20,000 scudi for their destruction.[5]

Gregory XIII. interested himself in a quite special way in preserving Rome and the Papal States from the plague, which affected many parts of Italy in the years 1575, 1576 and 1579. He ordered the making of penitential processions, in which he himself took part, and also made use of all the precautions then known against the spread of the contagion.[6] All the

831, p. 120b *seq.*, Vatican Library. A *Projetto del disseccamento delle paludi Pontine which was submitted to Gregory XIII. in the Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of August 26 and 29, September 2 and 5, 1579, Urb. 1047, pp. 295, 297, 301b, 306, Vatican Library, and *Acta consist. of August 17, 1579, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. For 1582 *seq.* see MAFFEI, II., 300. The "carestia" of 1583, which ravaged the whole of Italy, is dealt with in *Odescalchi's reports of February 12, 20, March 26 and April 23, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Cocquelines on MAFFEI, II., 461.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 318b, Vatican Library.

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 226.

[5] See *ibid.*, II., 225 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 251.

[6] To complete the accounts given in MAFFEI, I., 256, II., 69, 461 *seq.*, *cf.* CATENA, Lettere, 321; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 361, 365. See especially the *Avvisi di Roma of July 13, 1575 (on account of the Sicilian plague, guards increased at Civitavecchia, Ostia and Ripa-Grande), 1576, June 20 (energetic precautionary measures), July 21 and October 20 (processions); 1578, April 12 (precautionary measures); 1579, September 26

greater was his joy when Rome remained free from the pestilence. During the hot summer of 1580 a dangerous form of influenza broke out in the city, which affected a great part of the population. During those days Gregory devoted himself to the care for the sick; he sent alms and medicine to the poor, and prohibited any increase in the price of food, which certain merchants were inclined to make.[1]

and 30, November 11, 25 and 29, December 12 and 16 (precautionary measures and processions); Urb. 1044, p. 516; 1045, pp. 119, 130, 165; 1046, p. 106; 1047, pp. 323, 329, 380, 383, 387, 390, Vatican Library. See also the *reports of Aless. de' Medici of July 16 and October 28, 1575, State Archives, Florence. For 1576 *cf.* also the Mantuan *report of June 24 in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letters of Dr. Andreas Fabricius to Albert V. of Bavaria, dat. Rome, July 13 and 21, 1576, State Archives, Munich. A *Bando et ordine da osservarsi per il presente sospetto della peste, of November 15, 1579, in the *Editti*, V., 61, p. 30, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also A. Sarti, Bandi emanati dai legati pontif. in Bologna nel sec. XVI., Rocca S. Casciano, 1914, 22 *seq*, 24. The following very rare works may be mentioned here: 1, Mich. Mercati, Instruttione sopra la peste, nella quale si contengono i più eletti et approvati rimedii, Roma, 1576 (dedicated to Jacopo Boncompagni); 2, Libro del conoscere la pestilenza, di M. Giov. Batt. Susio, Mantua, 1576 (a copy in the Senckenberg Library at Frankfurt o. m.); 3, Cause et rimedii della peste. Raccolti da Marco Gonzaga, Firenze, 1577; 4, B. Pisanelli, Discorso sopra la peste, delle cause, effetti, remedii, Roma, 1577; 5, Litaniae et preces iussu S.D.N. Gregorii P. XIII. in omnibus ecclesiis dicendae ad implorandum divinum auxilium pro avertenda a populo christiano pestilentia, Romae, 1576, and Florentiae, 1577. A *Bull of Indulgence of Gregory XIII., "univ. Christifidelibus morbo contagioso in civit. Venet. ant locis ei subiectis laborantibus," dat. July 7, 1576, in the State Archives, Venice, Bolle. See also the inscription in Forcella, IV., 83.

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 13, 17, 20, and September 3, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 241, 251, 255, 276, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's reports of August 3, 20, 27, and September 3, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Maffei, II., 156 *seq.*; Marini, Archiatri, I., 453; Tomassetti, Campagna, I., 216.

The city of Rome also owed to Gregory XIII. a temporary relief from the scourge of mendicants and vagabonds.[1] He was also seriously preoccupied with the maintenance of good morals in his capital, which was visited by so many foreigners. In contrast to the great severity of Pius V., the effects of his mildness made themselves felt from the beginning of his pontificate.[2] But Gregory soon realized that in this matter he would have to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor;[3] above all he had to direct his attention, as Pius V. had done,

[1] In 1575 plans were made for collecting all the countless vagabonds and beggars of Rome into one hospice (see *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 424[b], 429[b], Vatican Library). At the beginning of 1581 the scheme was actually carried through; see *Avviso di Roma of January 15, 1581, Coll. Favre, 62, p. 103 *seq.*, Municipal Library, Geneva, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 22, March 4 and 8, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 83, 101, 105, Vatican Library; *cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium of February 13 and 28, 1581, Papal Secret Archives, and *Odescalchi's report of May 6, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. And thus the city seemed completely cleansed of this plague (see CORRARO, 275). But the abandoned monastery of S. Sisto in the Via Appia, which had been chosen for the hospice (*cf.* PIAZZA, 56 *seq.*; MORICHINI, II., 7 *seq.*) proved itself unsuitable on account of the malaria with which the place was infected; and so the Pope thought of acquiring the "isoletta vicino a Ponte Sisto"; see *Avviso di Roma of December 16, 1581, *loc. cit.*, 446. The plan which was mooted later, of erecting a new building near the hospital of the Convalescenti never came to anything; see the *reports of February 3 and September 30, 1582, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In February, 1583, the hospice at S. Sisto had to be given up; see *Avviso di Roma of February 26, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 95, *loc. cit.* The plague of beggars and vagabonds (*cf.* HÜBNER, I., 89) was, at that time, universal; and in Germany it was much worse than in Italy; see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII. [13-14], 301-77.

[2] See *Cusano's report of December 18, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1858, 690. That many officials made bad use of Papal property is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of December 1, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 452, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the more detailed particulars in the Appendix, No. 2.

to the abuses connected with the manuscript news-sheets (*avvisi*).[1]

In accordance with his own strict ideas, Gregory XIII. did not care about the Carnival. During that time he remained for the most part at his villa of Mondragone,[2] and exhorted the Cardinals as well to keep away from any such amusements.[3] On the Sunday of the Carnival he visited the Seven Churches of Rome.[4] He would very gladly have abolished altogether the unrestrained, and in many ways cruel, orgies of Carnival Tuesday. This, however, was not possible in view of the

[1] On September 6, 1572, was published the "constitutio contra famigeratores nuncupatos mercantes eorumque scripta recipientes et famosos libellos scribentes et mittentes" (Bull. Rom., VIII., 12 *seq.*; *cf.* *Cusano's report of September 20, 1572, State Archives, Vienna). For particulars of this Constitutio, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXVII., 574 *seq.*; CIAMPI, Innocenzo, X., p. 254 *seq.*; GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 38; note. At an earlier date a writer who had spread slanderous reports about the cause of Pius V.'s death, had been whipped out of the city; see *Arco's report of July 26, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. How the regulation, which produced little result, was carried into effect is reported in the *Avvisi, especially those of November 11, 1581, January 20, February 13, May 12, 1582, Urb. 1049, p. 428b, 1050, pp. 21, 50b, Vatican Library. In the last of these the originators are branded as calumniators. *Cf.* also Sporeno's *report to Archduke Ferdinand, of September 30, 1581, Government Archives, Innsbruck, and Donato's despatches of October 13, 1581, in BROSCH, I., 272, n. 1. The unscrupulous "mercanti," described by the envoy of Savoy as "razza d'huomini più tosto da forca che da galera," have found a defender in PICCA: I martiri del giornalismo nella Roma papale, Roma, 1912, a partisan work which should be read in conjunction with *Riv. stor.*, 1913, 6 *seq.* A biting "Pasquinata fatta da qualche Lutherano" caused Gregory XIII. to offer a reward of 1,000 scudi for the discovery of the author; see *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 264, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of February 8, 1578, and February 6, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 227.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report of February 20, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

attachment of many of the Romans to their ancient customs.[1] Gregory XIII. therefore endeavoured, like his predecessor, to cut the Carnival as short as possible.[2] In 1580 he availed himself of the plague,[3] in 1583 of the scarcity, and in 1584 of the disturbed state of the city, to prohibit all masquerades.[4] Montaigne, who saw them, describes the Carnival celebrations which were allowed in 1581, as moderate.[5]

During the time that preceded it, as well as during the Carnival itself, Roman society had loved from the earliest times to amuse itself with theatrical performances and other entertainments.[6] When Gregory learned in 1574 that one of those immoral comedies which had been fashionable in the time of the Renaissance had been performed, he took severe

[1] A decline in the Carnival fever, most probably a direct result of the Catholic Reformation, is established moreover by A. Zibramonte in his *report of January 17, 1573, according to which the carnival passed off "assai freddamente, non inclinando più che tanto questa città a simili piaceri." On February 20, 1574, C. Capilupi writes: *"Il carnevale si fa freddissimo." Also in 1577 and 1578, mention is made of "carnevale magrissimo"; see *Odescalchi's memoranda of February 19, 1577, and February 15, 1578. A good carnival is *reported by Odescalchi on January 28 and February 4, 1581, and also on March 3, 1582. All these documents in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of P. Tiepolo of February 28, 1573, in MUTINELLI, I., 108, and CLEMENTI. 248 *seq.* On January 14, 1576, Pompeo Strozzi *reports that the carnival was only allowed for the time after S. Antonio (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also in the App. 16 of Vol. XIX. the *report of Mucantius of February, 1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *"Hoc anno bravia quae curri publice solebant applicata fuerunt cathecumenis et larvae interdictae, cum instante pestis periculo potius orandum esset ad placandam iram Dei," writes MUCANTIUS, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of February 6, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *Odescalchi's reports of February 20, 1583, January 28 and February 4, 1584, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also CLEMENTI, 268 *seq.*

[5] MONTAIGNE, I., 247-8.

[6] *Cf.* CLEMENTI, 258 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*

action; the actors were punished with imprisonment, and the ecclesiastical dignitaries who had been present at the performance, including several Cardinals, were sternly rebuked.[1] At the consistory of January 27th, 1574, the Pope declared that the presence of the Cardinals, even at edifying and religious representations, was in his opinion unbecoming, and incompatible with their dignity; at the same time he expressed a wish that for the future ecclesiastical representations should not be given in the colleges and seminaries, because such things distracted the pupils from the study of serious things.[2] In spite of this, the Jesuits received permission in 1574 to have two religious plays acted by their pupils, one of which successfully presented the story of King Achab, and the other, the Last Judgment.[3] In 1582 the pupils of the Collegio Capranica performed a play at the palace of Cardinal Medici, and in the same year several other theatrical performances were allowed.[4] On the other hand, many actors who came to Rome in 1576 were forbidden to present their performance. Paolo Giordano Orsini, who in the same year asked permission for the Romans to hold masquerades, received from the Pope the reply that they should rather be thinking of military preparations, so as to defend Christendom against the heretics and the Turks.[5]

Like his predecessor, Gregory XIII. turned his attention

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 30, 1574, State Archives, Vienna, and SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 223 *seq.*

[2] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 224.

[3] In addition to the memorandum of P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 108 *seq.*, see also the *report of C. Capilupi, dat. February 20, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *Avviso, quoted in n. 1, estimates the cost of the "apparato" to have been more than 1,000 scudi. See also Soldati's work quoted Vol. XIX., p. 251, n. 1 of this work.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report of March 3, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See (Appendix, No. 3) the *report of P. Strozzi, dat. January 28, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to the difficult problem of the regulation of the Tiber,[1] and at the same time discussed the improvement of the military forces of the Papal States.[2]

The efforts made by the Pope to improve the harbours of Fiumicino, Civitavecchia and Ancona are worthy of record. At Fiumicino the undertaking met with insurmountable difficulties, but was successful at Civitavecchia, which now became more than ever the principal port of the Papal States.[3]

[1] After an overflow of the Tiber in April, 1575, which caused great damage, especially to the Castle of S. Angelo (see *Odescalchi's report of April 23, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) a special congregation of Cardinals was assembled for the purpose of considering the question of solving the problem by regulating the course of the river; see SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260, BELTRAMI, Roma, 8, *Odescalchi's memorandum of April 30, 1575, *loc. cit.*, and the rare work, dedicated to Gregory XIII.: Discorso di Luca Peto intorno alla cagione d. eccessiva inondatione del Tevere et modo in parte di soccorrervi, Roma, 1573, in Instr. Misc. 4586, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Proposals of Possevino concerning the foundation of a "Seminario militare" in the Cod. D. 5, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cod. Capponi, XXV., 137 *seq.*, contains *Avvertimenti per correggere gli abusi della christiana milizia. Dat. Roma del mese di Maggio, 1574, National Library, Florence. A *Discorso sopra la militia del stato eccles^co^ et la forma di ridurla simile all' antica Romana fatto l'a.° 1582 in Urb. 852, p. 200 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Cod. F. 59 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains (inter alia) a *Istruzione per la milizia a piede scritta in tempo di Gregorio XIII., and *Istruzioni militari a Giacomo Boncompagni, generale di S. Chiesa dell 'a.° 1574. *Ibid.* Cod. D., 5: Giulio Franchini, *Memorie per il ristabilimento delle milizie nello stato eccles^co^ nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII. For military conditions under Gregory XIII., *cf. Quellen und Forschungen des Preussischen Instituts*, VI., 97.

[3] To correct the obscure passage in MAFFEI, I., 376, *cf.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 84. C. Capilupi *reports, on February 14, 1573, that the Pope is going to Civitavecchia, "per vedere quel porto il quale alcuni ingegneri offeriscono di voler con mediocre spesa nettare et rendere sicuro a naviganti di navigalie grosse." On February 21 *Capilupi tells how, in spite of the bad

Considerations connected with the war against the Turks had much to do with the attempt to make Ancona into a great port. Gregory XIII. expended considerable sums on these works,[1] but never saw their completion. At Civitavecchia,[2] as well as at Ancona[3] the defence works were also repaired.

weather, the Pope undertook the journey to Civitavecchia; and he expresses the hope that the port would attract all the commerce "di Ponente con Italia," which would be greatly to the advantage of Rome and would bring in a yearly sum of 100,000 scudi to the Apostolic Camera (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also *Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *"N.S^re^ è stato a Porto per vedere il porto antico di Claudio et dare ordine che si rinovi secundo alcuni disegni dati a S.S^tà^." Odescalchi on March 2, 1577. He adds a doubt as to whether sufficient money would be available (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*

[1] See the *account books of the Camera Apost. for the years 1572-85, State Archives, Rome. In addition to MAFFEI, I., 376, see also KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 84 *seq.* For the impetus given to trade by improvements to the harbour of Ancona, see MAFFEI, II., 73.

[2] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 310 *seq.* Gregory XIII. repeatedly visited Civitavecchia at the beginning of 1573 for the sake of his health "et per veder in che termine si ritrova la fortezza" (*Cusano's report of January 23, 1573, State Archives, Vienna). An *Avviso di Roma of November 20, 1574, reports the setting aside of 12,000 scudi for the fortification of Civitavecchia, and another *Avviso announces the entrusting of these works to M. A. Colonna, Urb. 1044, pp. 295, 319, Vatican Library. On the occasion of a visit to Civitavecchia in January, 1577, further fortifications were decided upon; see *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 227, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also CALISSE, 428 *seq.*, and *Avvertimenti per la fortificazione di Civitavecchia dati nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII. in the Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] Cusano *reports on November 6, 1574: Ancona is being fortified against the Turks, wells for drinking water are being sunk and windmills built, "per esser il luogo importantissimo," State Archives, Vienna. Numerous *payments in the years 1573-6 in the Vatic. 6697, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Appendix No. 33 in

A tower that was erected near Terracina for the protection of the coasts bears the arms and the name of the Pope, with the date 1584.[1] In order to connect Loreto with Rome, Gregory XIII., who had made rich gifts to that sanctuary,[2] constructed the Via Boncompagni, as it is called in contemporary accounts, to serve as a highway; this was all the more necessary, as pilgrimages to the sanctuary of Loreto had greatly increased with the revival of religious life. Contemporaries speak with justifiable wonder of that road which led across the mountains, and especially of the solidity of the bridges of stone which were constructed by the Pope's orders. The Pope also constructed new bridges near Acquapendente and Forlì.[3] Lastly, the reform of the municipal statutes of Rome is connected with the name of

Vol. XIX., and RAVIOLI, Notizie sui lavori di architettura militare colla relazione fatta nel 1575 sulle fortificazioni di Ancona, Roma, 1870-1. For the *Relatio of O. Gaetani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, *cf.* Appendix, 27, Vol. XIX. The same archives contain, in the Cod. F. 39, a *" Parere sulla fortificazione di Castelfranco, fortezza della legazione di Bologna," and a second *" Parere " condemning this fortification as " dannosa allo stato ecclesiastico." The Pope has written a remark in his own hand on this codex. The arms of Gregory XIII. which still remain on the Rocca di Nettuno point to works of restoration having been undertaken at that spot.

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 448.

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of November 26, 1583, reports " Dicesi che il Papa faccia fare tutti gli ornamenti che vanno per fornir una cappella d'argento per offerirli di sua propria mano all' altare della s. Casa di Loreto." Urb. 1051, p. 493, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of April 4, 1584, *ibid.* 1052, p. 118. See also *infra*, p. 628.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 21; MONTAIGNE, I., 209; II., 64 *seq.*, 67, 69 *seq.*, 75; G. ERNSTINGER'S Reisbuch (Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins, 135), Tübingen, 1877, 84; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 86; ORBAAN, Documenti sul Barocco in Roma, Rome, 1920, 400. The care that the Pope bestowed on the road to Loreto is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of October 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 635[b], Vatican Library.

Gregory XIII.[1] What he did for the beautifying and the development of building in his capital is all the more deserving of special notice, as this side of his pontificate has fallen into an undeserved oblivion by reason of the brilliant splendour of the magnificent activity of his successor.

A happy chance has preserved for us a description of the Rome of Gregory XIII., which throws a strong light upon the state of the Eternal City before Sixtus V. imprinted upon it the marks of his vigorous personality. Its author is no other than the French philosopher, Michel de Montaigne. The chapters which he devotes to Rome in his diary of his travels in Italy in 1580 and 1581, which is of the greatest importance for the history of culture, are justly celebrated, even though they are little more than a sketch.[2]

[1] Statuta almae Urbis Romae auctoritate Gregorii P. XIII. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita, Romae, 1580. *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 265; LA MANTIA, Storia delle legislaz. Ital. I., Roma, 1884, 198 *seq.*, and especially RODOCANACHI, Institutions, 284 *seq.*, 286 *seq.* For the personal share in the matter taken by Gregory XIII., *cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 365. With regard to the decrees of the statutes which fixed the value of the currency, see GARAMPI, Sul valore, 310 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of June 10, 1581, declares that the prohibition of the foreign "quatrini" marked the beginning of a reform of the currency. Urb. 1049, p. 211, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 1044, p. 201[b], an *Avviso di Roma of August 21, 1574, concerning the confiscation of the "quatrini scambati" by the Sbirri. *Cf.* also MARTINORI, 36 *seq.*

[2] Montaigne's journal de voyage, not originally intended for publication, was printed in 1774 by de Querlon. As early as 1777 a German translation had appeared which, however, is just as inaccurate as the original French version. A good critical edition was brought out by Lautrey (Paris, 1906). An elaborate Italian edition was produced by A. d'Ancona entitled: L'Italia alla fine del sec. XIV, 2. ediz. Città di Castello, 1895. *Cf.* also DUMESNIL, Voyageurs français en Italie, Paris, 1865, 17 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 792 *seq.*, and Geschichte Toskanas, I., 611; FRIEDLÄNDER in the *Deutsche Rundschau* 1876, 237 *seq.*; *Rev. crit.* 1889, 386 *seq.*; J. FRAIKIN in the periodical *Cosmos*, II. (1900); BOURILLY in the

Montaigne was one of those travellers[1] who were imbued with the spirit of classical culture, and who, in the city of the Tiber, sought before all things the remains and records of antiquity. There can be no doubt that the disappointment of the Frenchman was very great, for, as he says, he found nothing but the grave of ancient Rome. He had set his hopes too high. As a matter of fact a great deal of the ancient buildings, especially of the Baths of Diocletian and Constantine, was at that time still preserved, which later on fell a victim to the destroyer. This is clear from the publications of another Frenchman, Etienne Du Pérac, the skilled draughtsman and engraver.

Du Pérac had come as a young man to Rome, and had

Rev. d'hist. mod., VIII. (1907); *Le Correspondant*, 280 (1920), 708 *seq.*; G. VALLETTE, Reflets de Rome. Rome vue par les écrivains de Montaigne à Goethe, Paris, 1909; RODOCANACHI, Les voyageurs français à Rome, in *Studi Storici*, XIX., 1 (1910), 5 *seq.*; D'ANCONA, Viaggiatori e avventurieri: Montaigne &c., Firenze, 1911; SCHINDELE in the periodicals *Das Bayerland*, 1907-08, 352 *seq.*, and *Die Kultur*, XIII., Vienna, 1912, 146 *seq.* Another Frenchman, Nicolas Audebert, of Orléans, came to Rome in the autumn of 1576, and wrote *a description of his travels, which is preserved in the Lansdowne MSS., 720, of the British Museum in London. From this work MÜNTZ (Antiquités de Rome, Paris, 1886, 72-128) has borrowed the description of the walls of Rome. It would be a good thing if further portions of Audebert's work were to be brought to light. *Cf.* NOLHAC in the *Rev. archéol.*, III., 10 (1887), 315 *seq.* [Engl. transl. with Introd. and notes by E. J. TRECHMANN, London, 1929 (Edit. note).]

[1] Montaigne arrived in Rome on November 30, 1580, and remained there until April 19, 1581, in order, on that date, to start on a pilgrimage to Loreto. On October 1, 1581, he returned to Rome, but had to leave again on the 15th owing to the fact that, in the meantime he had been elected Mayor of Bordeaux. Montaigne's first halting place was the Albergo dell' Orso; see *Rev. crit.*, 1883, II., 459 *seq.*; *cf.* the picture of this inn, which is still standing, in PASTOR, Rom. 33. Another inn, much frequented at that time, was "The Sword"; see S. KIECHEL, Reisen (*Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins*, 86), Tübingen, 1866, 165.

devoted himself diligently to the study of Roman antiquities. The result was a series of works of the greatest importance. His plan of ancient Rome, published in 1574, and dedicated to Charles IX. of France, is an attempt at reconstruction undertaken with great imagination, in accordance with the work of Pirro Ligorio, published in 1565. All the more valuable are his sketches of the buildings of ancient Rome, which appeared in the following year and were dedicated to Giacomo Boncompagni. This was followed by his most important work, with his great plan of the whole of Rome,[1] by which he rivals Mario Cartaro of Viterbo.[2] Even a casual inspection of this plan, which was published in 1577 by Antoine Lafréry, and especially of his complicated groups of the buildings round the church of St. Peter's, shows the importance of this work, while a more careful study shows it to be the most exact and detailed plan of the whole XVIth century. The houses, palaces and churches are shown therein, not schematically, but with great exactness, and with a plastic individuality. No other plan of the time is so characteristic, exact and accurate, not only in its general lines, but also in its details. Its value is greatly added to by the fact that it was made in 1577, and therefore before the great changes brought about by Sixtus V., which destroyed so much. In the plan of Du Pérac-Lafréry we get an idea of the Eternal City in that most splendid epoch of its history, which together with the well-known plan of Bufalini of 1551 makes possible an exact reconstruction of Rome in the Renaissance period, since Du Pérac did not intend in this work of his to place before the spectator ancient Rome, but the new city. With the help of his annotations the topography of the city may

[1] See EHRLE, Roma primo di Sisto V. La pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577, Roma, 1908; *cf.* also BARTOLI, Cento vedute di Roma antica, Firenze, 1911; HÜLSEN, Saggio d. lett. d. piante di Roma, 1915, 60 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1921, No. 1; Collect, L. Olschki oblata (1921), 121 *seqq.* See also ASHBY, Topographical Study in Rome in 1581. A series of views with a fragmentary text by Et. du Pérac, edited by T.A., London, 1916.

[2] *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 535 *seq.*

be completed in the most remarkable way; the site of some churches, which recent students have not been able to determine in their special works on the Roman churches, may easily be settled with the help of this plan.

The enthusiasm of Montaigne for the ruins of Roman times was so great that he compared the buildings of the new "bastard Rome" attached to the ancient monuments, to the nests of rooks and sparrows upon the roofs and walls of the churches destroyed by the French Huguenots. Like other observers, he too marvelled at the fact that quite two-thirds of the district enclosed by the Aurelian Wall contained no buildings. He estimated the whole area, as far as its size was concerned, as being as large as Paris with all its suburbs, but as far as the number of its houses was concerned, Rome was only a third of that size; on the other hand, however, it far surpassed the French capital in the number and size of its public squares and the beauty of its buildings.

In the Vatican, Montaigne was specially attracted by the Library, whose treasures he carefully examined and described in detail. He was no less interested in the antiquities of the Belvedere, of which he specially mentions the Laocöon and Antinoüs, and at the Capitol the bronze she-wolf and the youth extracting the thorn. Among the works of modern sculpture he praises the Moses of Michelangelo and the statue of Justice by Guglielmo della Porta on the tomb of Paul III. in St. Peter's. He also visited some private collections, for example, that in the house of the Fusconi, and that in the Palazzo Cesarini, where, besides the antiquities, he was attracted by the portraits of beautiful Roman women.

The unfavourable judgment passed by Montaigne on the Roman churches, which seemed to him to be less beautiful than those in most of the cities of Italy, is surprising. On the whole, he thought, the churches of the Italians, like those of the Germans, could not be compared with those of the French. Above all, Montaigne complains of the absence of pictures and statues in the churches of Rome. This can be better understood if we remember that the greater number of the pictures, statues and reliefs, which can be seen to-day

in such great numbers, owe their origin to the XVIIth century. At that time the Church, in her new life and her triumph over her enemies, was surrounding herself with all the splendour of the baroque style. It must also be remembered that the new church of St. Peter's was not yet finished. There Montaigne only makes mention of the trophies from the Huguenot wars, and the new chapel of St. Gregory. He is silent about the splendour of the ancient basilicas, as he is about the wonderful frescoes of the Sistine Chapel and the Stanze. On the other hand he mentions the modern paintings in the Sala Regia! He himself admits, however, that he had no opportunity of penetrating more deeply into the wonders of Rome, and that he only saw the exterior of the city as it was shown to ordinary travellers. He did not lack diversions; "for melancholy and chagrin I had no occasion, either within the house or outside. So this is a pleasant place to live in, and I may conclude therefrom how much I should have liked it, if I had enjoyed Rome more intimately."

Side by side with the antiquities, Montaigne devotes special attention to the vignas and villas, the beauty of which he could not but feel, endowed as he was with a great love of nature. It was there that he realized for the first time what advantage art can take of a site that is not flat, but is made up of hills. "They know how to utilize," he says, "the varied configuration of the ground with consummate art, and produce effects which are quite unattainable in our more level sites." He mentions as the most beautiful gardens those of Cardinal Este on the Quirinal, Farnese on the Palatine, Orsini, Sforza, and Medici, the gardens of the Villa of Julius III, the Villa Madama, and lastly the vigna of Cardinal Riario in the Trastevere, and that of Cardinal Cesi outside the Porta del Popolo.[1] All these splendid properties were open to all in the absence of their owners.

[1] More detailed particulars of the villas and vignas of Rome will be found later, collected together under Paul V. The Vatican garden at the time of Gregory XIII. is described as follows in G. ERNSTINGER's Reisbuch: "Neben difem palaft ift ain herrlicher garten bon mancherlay baumen, frembden, weyern und wasser.

Montaigne, that close observer of human events, had a far better understanding of the life and manners of Rome than of her works of art. In this respect he missed nothing that was characteristic. With great variety he gives in turn accounts of sermons and disputations, of exorcisms and barbarous executions, of carnivals and courtesans, whom the Popes vainly sought to suppress in the capital city of the world. He himself visited some of the most celebrated of these representatives of the *demi-monde*, who made men pay for their conversation as much as for their favours; some of them, says Montaigne, are of very great beauty, but the beauty of the other Roman women is not so great as it is reputed to be.

How little the Romans have changed is shown by the remark of Montaigne that their principal amusement consisted in walking endlessly about the streets, looking at the ladies who show themselves at the windows. There were streets which were specially dedicated to this "corso." All persons of rank used carriages, some of which had an opening at the top, so as to be able to look up more easily, for which reason a preacher had compared them to a telescope.

As a man of the world, Montaigne remarks the difference between French and Roman cooking. He praises the climate of the Eternal City as being as pleasant as it is healthy. He naturally makes mention of the fever, from which the wealthy seek to escape, by their doctor's advice, by changing their residence at the different seasons of the year. He is naturally little pleased by the general want of security.

The religion of the Roman people, with the exception of the upper classes and the court, seems to Montaigne to be less good than that of the French. But against this must be set what he has to say in his detailed description of Holy

werdhen geziert, barunter ain orgl von bier regifteren, bom wasser getriben; der boden ben diser orgl ift koll flainer rörlain, welche (fo man will) alle wasser in die höhe fprizen, wie auch die bilder, fo an wenden herumb stehen, welches wasser man bei 20 welsche meil dahin gelait. Alda ist auch ain dickher wald bon lorberbaumen." *Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins*, Tübingen, 1877, 97.

Week. At the exposition of the Veil of St. Veronica and the other great relics in St. Peter's on Holy Thursday, the masses of the people fell on their knees, begging for mercy, most of them with tears in their eyes. "Each time, at this exposition, which is repeated every day at intervals," Montaigne relates, "the church and atrium are filled by a densely packed crowd of men and women. It is beautiful in these days to see the religious enthusiasm of so many people. There are more than a hundred confraternities, to which almost all the nobility belong; some are also open to foreigners. For the most part these confraternities perform their religious exercises on vigils; on Holy Thursday they go in procession, in habits of linen, each of a different colour, and generally with their faces veiled. I have seen nothing more remarkable or more beautiful than the extraordinary crowd of persons who take part in the functions of Holy Thursday. By day-break a great number had already gone to St. Peter's, and at night-fall it seemed as though the whole city was on fire, because all the members of the confraternities were on their way to St. Peter's, each with a lighted torch in his hand. At least twelve thousand of these torches passed me. From eight to midnight the street was crowded, but perfect order was maintained, because, although the confraternities came from different places, there were neither gaps nor confusion. Each company had its company of musicians, and all were singing. Between the files there walked a number of penitents who struck themselves with knotted cords. I counted at least 500 with their shoulders wounded to blood. These people must have suffered a great deal, but this did not appear, either in their behaviour or their gait, or in the looks of those who had their faces uncovered, among whom there were many quite young men, and even boys of twelve.[1]

Montaigne sums up the impression made upon him by Rome as follows: "One sees nothing but nobles and courtiers, and everywhere there are palaces and gardens. There is no

[1] The splendour of the Sepulchres in Holy Week is described by the envoy of Savoy in BELTRAMI, Roma, 29 *seq.*

street given over to commerce which can be compared even with those in our smaller cities, no Rue de la Harpe or Rue de St. Denis. I felt that I was always in the Rue de Seine or on the Quai des Augustins. The appearance of the streets is the same on Sundays as on week-days. During Lent, when every day there is a "station" in some church, one sees nothing but coaches, prelates and ladies. One thing that makes Rome stand out is that it is the most cosmopolitan city in the world. National characterics count for little or nothing; the society taken altogether is a mixture of strangers of every kind, and everyone is at home there. The sovereign of Rome embraces all Christendom and makes laws for all. At his court it matters nothing whence men come. At Venice the independence of the government and commercial interests attract many foreigners, but there they are in the house of a stranger, whereas here they are in their own, for they depend upon their office and their dignity. Venice has a coming and going of foreigners which is as great or greater, but they reside there much less. The Roman people do not stare when they see French or Spanish or Teuton dress, and some of the beggars ask for alms in our own language."

Venice and Paris, which in those days were generally looked upon as international cities, were certainly left far behind by Rome in that respect; Rome was the international city in the fullest sense of the word, the common fatherland of all.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gregory XIII. and Art.—New Churches and Buildings.

Although Gregory XIII., who before all things was a jurist by training, had no profound understanding of art, he nevertheless generously encouraged it.[1] The reasons that led him to do so may be seen from a remark of his, characteristic of his noblemindedness, and of the whole period of Catholic

[1] The **Mandati* of Gregory XIII., up to the last two years 1583-5, are all preserved in eleven volumes of the State Archives, Rome. They record all the payments that the Pope caused to be made directly through the general treasurer, and they give an exact account of all the artists and craftsmen directly employed by His Holiness. In later pontificates, the series known as the *Registri delle fabbriche* was of much more importance from the point of view of Art; but in the time of Gregory XIII. it was only in a very rudimentary condition, and the State Archives contain only one single volume of it dealing with the years 1583-5, and that one volume has been compiled in a very unsystematic fashion. A more important role in the *Cameralia* of Gregory XIII. is played by the complete and faultlessly preserved **Registri della Tesoreria segreta* which mention some artists such as Vasari, Lorenzo Sabbatini, Mascherino, Frederigo Zuccaro and Muziano while the names of others are conspicuous by their absence. Bertolotti has made use of this series, but his information is incomplete and unreliable. The Papal Secret Archives contain only very few *Cameralia* for Gregory XIII. A volume entitled *Diversa Cameralia* 1573-9 contains really nothing but copies from the Mandati. Since 1920 all the account books of the State Archives have been returned to the Papal Secret Archives. In addition to the published works of Ciappi and Baglione, I was in a position to make use of two more hitherto unknown *records of Gregory XIII.'s artistic activities which I found in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. They are the **Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche di Gregorio* XIII., and an *Inventory of the artists paid by him. On account of their great importance, I give them in the Appendix, No. 11. *Cf.* App. 29, Vol. XIX., as well as *Musotti's Inventory in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

restoration: "even to build is a form of almsgiving."[1] He placed the superintendence of all his building activities, even that of the fortifications, in the hands of Cardinal Filippo Guastavillani.[2]

A considerable number of artists from all parts of Italy were employed by the Pope. Among the architects a prominent place was held by Giacomo Vignola, who was a Bolognese, and therefore acquainted with Gregory XIII.[3] After his early death the first place was taken by the Roman, Giacomo della Porta. Strongly influenced by Michelangelo and Vignola, and himself extraordinarily prolific, this master marks the transition in architecture from the cinquecento to the seicento. He attained to the age of sixty-five years. Little, however, is known about his life, and neither the year of his birth nor of his death has yet been fixed with certainty.[4] All the more clearly therefore do the many works with which he enriched both sacred and profane architecture speak for him. It was he who gave to the churches and the façades of the palaces, the definite stamp of the baroque style.[5]

Giacomo della Porta was followed by Martino Lunghi the elder, who was a Lombard,[6] the Bolognese Ottavio Nonni, named Mascherino, who had first worked as a painter,[7] and

[1] See CORRARO, Relazione, 274; BAGLIONE, 4; WEISSBACH, 8.

[2] See *Bernerio's report dat. Rome, December 12, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* the interesting report of the Ferrarese envoy of June, 1572, *Arch. stor. dell' Arte*, II., 254.

[4] *Cf.* G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 82 *seq.*

[5] See WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 2 ed. by H. Willich, Munich, 1907-8.

[6] "Architetto papale" since December 1573; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 68.

[7] The true name of this artist has only been recently established; see *Arch. Rom.*, I., 122 *seq.* His portrait and his posthumous drawings in the Accademia di S. Luca (see R. OJETTI in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca*, Ann. 1912, 657; 1913-4, 85 *seq.*). On June 5, 1580, "Ottavio Mascarino pittore" received "25 scudi 'per soventione dell sua infirmita'". Tesor. segr., 1579-80, Papal Secret Archives.

Giovanni Fontana. The aged Bartolomeo Ammanati also worked once more in Rome; the Pope had the monument to his ancestor Giovanni Boncompagni in the Camposanto at Pisa carried out by him.[1]

The number of painters employed by Gregory XIII. is extraordinarily large, the best known being Giorgio Vasari, Federico Zuccaro and Girolamo Muziano. Vasari was only in Rome from 1572 to 1573, Zuccaro from 1579 to 1581, and again after the end of October, 1583,[2] while Muziano worked there uninterruptedly throughout the pontificate of Gregory XIII. He as well as Zuccaro was closely connected with the artistic academy of St. Luke founded by Gregory XIII.

Ever since the Middle Ages there had been in Rome an association of artists of every kind, who had chosen the Evangelist St. Luke for their patron, and celebrated his feast in the little church of St. Luke near St. Mary Major's.[3] This association, which especially devoted its services to the social and religious needs of its members, and to which Sixtus IV. had given new statutes in 1478,[4] had fallen into decay. According to the suggestion of Muziano, this was now to develop a new life as an academy, and was to include architects

[1] See BAGLIONE, 27; LITTA, Boncompagni, Table I. *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II.[10], 592; THIEME, I., 414. See also *Icon sepulchri seu mausolei quod Gregorius XIII. A°, 1574, erigendum curavit Pisis maiori suo Io. Boncompagni, Cod. D. 8, of Boncompagni Archives at Rome.

[2] Zuccaro was summoned to Rome in November, 1579; see THEINER, III., 678. *Cf. Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII., 29. For his banishment from 1581 to 1583 see RONCHINI in the *Atti e Mem. p. la prov. Moden.*, V. (1870), 2 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Ital.* 3, Series, XXV., 506 *seq.*; GUHL, Künstlerbriefe, II., Berlin, 1880, 31; VOSS, II., 460 *seq.* Zuccaro died in 1609; see A. BENEDETTI, F. Zuccaro, in the *Rassegna contemp.*, Roma, 1908, No. 5, p. 301 *seq.*

[3] See RODOCANACHI, Corporations, II., 301 *seq.*; HOOGEWERFF, Nederl. Schilders, Utrecht, 1912, 136 *seq.*, and Bescheiden in Italië, II., 's Gravenhage, 1913, 1. For the church *cf* ARMELLINI, 314.

[4] See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 463.

as well as painters and sculptors.[1] A brief of Gregory XIII. of October 13th, 1577, gave the necessary consent, and granted it the right to acquire property, both moveable and immoveable, as well as to draw up the statutes, which were to serve as the rule of the institute.[2] These statutes, however, were only settled after the death of Muziano, by Federico Zuccaro.[3]

With Muziano and Zuccaro there were associated a number of painters, almost all of whom were born in the middle of the cinquecento. Such were Niccolò dalle Pomarancie, Cristoforo Roncalli, Marco da Faenza, Raffaellino da Reggio, Paris Nogari, Antonio Tempesta, etc. They are spoken of in general as the Manieristi; they actually formed a special group influenced by Federico Zuccaro, whose own style was influenced, not only by Michelangelo, but also by others, especially the Venetian masters.[4] All these, like Zuccaro himself, were above all decorative artists. The same applied to the Bolognese, Lorenzo Sabbatini (died 1572)[5] who was honoured by Gregory XIII. with numerous commissions,

[1] *Cf.* HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden, 3 *seq.*

[2] See MISSIRINI, Mem. d. Rom. Accad. di S. Luca, Roma, 1823, 20 *seq.*, and HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden 4-5 which gives the correct date.

[3] See MISSIRINI, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SOBOTKA in Thieme's Künstlerlexicon, VI., 309, and VOSS, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, I. and II. passim.

[5] For Sabbatini, usually known as Lorenzino da Bologna, *cf.* BAGLIONE, 17, and VOSS, II., 550 *seq.* MALVASIA'S assertion (Felsina, I., 231) taken from PLATNER (II., 1, 293) and STEINMANN (II., 515), that Gregory wished to have Michelangelo's Last Judgment destroyed and replaced by a painting by Sabbatini lacks independent confirmation as far as I can discover. Malvasia is certainly an unreliable authority; *cf.* THIEME, I., 172. That there was certainly no exaggerated rigorism with regard to unsuitable pictures in churches in the Rome of Gregory XIII., is clear from Ammanati's letter of August 22, 1582 (GUHL, I., 309 *seq.*) and also from the treatise on reform written between 1576 and 1584, in which the "Vicario del Papa" is called upon to take measures against "imagini lascive" in the churches; see DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 240.

and the Sicilian, Tomaso Laureti, who was summoned from Bologna to Rome. The most important of the painters employed by Gregory XIII. was undoubtedly Girolamo Muziano, who was born at Acquafredda near Brescia, and who has only recently become the object of real appreciation. Muziano was highly esteemed by Gregory XIII., and his work extended to many of the churches in Rome. Among his altar pieces are several works of the first rank. His splendid picture of the Stigmata of St. Francis in the church of the Capuchins is most effective by reason of the ecstatic and supernatural expression of the saint's countenance. In his "Preaching of St. Jerome," painted for the chapel of Gregory XIII. in St. Peter's, and now in S. Maria degli Angeli, one marvels at the inspired harmony of the grave and beautiful landscape, the glory of the saint and the monks who are devoutedly grouped at his feet.[1] Among foreign artists, outstanding figures were the celebrated landscape painters, Paul and Matthieu Bril, who came from Antwerp to Rome in the time of Gregory XIII.[2] Among the sculptors employed by the Pope were Pierpaolo Olivieri and Prospero Antichi, named Il Bresciano.

The artistic programme of Gregory XIII. consisted principally in the restoration of churches and the completion of the works begun by Pius IV. Gregory set before himself, both in Rome and in the Papal States, a close conformity with the building work of that Pope. After the decline of artistic life under Pius V., there now began a new and great activity. The consolidation of the status of the Papacy at once reacted in favour of the arts, and a new tendency showed itself on all sides. In the seventh year of

[1] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 46 *seq.*; G. CANTALAMESSA in *Bullett. d'arte del Minist. d. pubbl. istruzione*, 1910, 205 *seq.*, and especially VOSS, II., 559 *seq.*, 562 *seq.* Muziano's epitaph in BONANNI, Numismata templi Vaticani, 90, mentions April 27, 1593, as the date of his death; FORCELLA (XI., 55) gives 1592, which is probably more correct.

[2] See A. MAYER, Das Leben des M. und P. Brill, Leipzig, 1910. *Cf. L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 12.

Gregory's pontificate, in the autumn of 1578, the Mantuan ambassador in Rome was able to report that the artistic testament of Pius IV. had now been substantially carried into effect, and that now one would see new enterprises taken in hand.[1]

One of the principal cares of the Pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had been the completion of the church of St. Peter's, which was already looked upon as the most beautiful ornament of Rome, and one of the wonders of the world.[2] The approaching completion of this international cathedral in the midst of the storms raised by the division in the faith, was to zealous Catholics a visible sign of the divine protection which watches over the Holy See.[3] As Giacomo Vignola had died on July 7th, 1573,[4] at the recommendation of Tomaso de' Cavalieri,[5] his pupil, Giacomo della Porta, was appointed his successor as director of the gigantic edifice.[6] The Pope set to work, with good results, to obtain the necessary means.[7] The greatest activity prevailed in the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, and therewith a more definite character and a deeper technical understanding of its architecture made

[1] See (Appendix, No. 6) *Odescalchi's report of October 25, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the words of Baronius in the Acta SS. 9 Maii (Paris, 1866), 371.

[3] *Cf.* the remarks of Dr. Rabus in the description of his *journey to Rome in the year 1575, Cod. germ., 1280, p. 59, of the State Library, Munich.

[4] Vignola was interred in the Pantheon close to Raphael's vault. In BERTOLOTTI, Art. Moden., 29, a document dat. December 12, 1572, in which Vignola describes himself as "architetto della fabrica di S. Pietro."

[5] See RONCHINI in the *Atti Mod.*, VII. (1878), 25.

[6] See the *Abstracts of accounts in the Cod. H-II., 22, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf. Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement, p. 52. See also RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*

[7] See the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by G. FERRERI, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.). To the *letter of Philip II. addressed to his ambassador Juan de Zuñiga and dated Madrid, February 24, 1593, is attached the following, *"Nota de denari

themselves felt.[1] As the work went on interesting tombs and antiquities were constantly discovered.[2] At that time no one as yet thought of keeping an accurate record of these discoveries. A reckless destruction of the remains of bye-gone days, both Christian and pagan, was the order of the day. Thus in 1574, in the Chapel of St. Petronilla, they broke up and used for the paving of the basilica the ancient sarcophagus of the saint, which had been discovered a hundred years before, and had been brought by Paul I. in 757 from the cemetery of St. Domitilla, and which had long remained neglected in the vicinity.[3]

venuti de Napoli per servitio della fabrica di S. Pietro di Roma in diece anni : "

l'a°	1577	duc.	2350.67
,,	1578	,,	6222.62
,,	1579	,,	5091.32
,,	1580	,,	6486.00
,,	1581	,,	9999.92
,,	1582	,,	4346.12
,,	1583	,,	5098.11
,,	1584	,,	6256.00
,,	1585	,,	11965.19
,,	1586	,,	7137.92
		duc.	64953.87

Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. In 1579 the following were "Deputati" of the "Fabrica": Horatius Burghesius, Fabius Blondus (patr. Hierosolym.), Barth. Ferratinus (episc. Amer.) and Alex. Justus; see the document of March 18, 1579, in the Privilegia fabricae basil. princ. apost., Romae, 1559, among the printed works of the Barberini Library (TTT, II., 16).

[1] See KALLAB in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276.

[2] In addition to the statements of LANCIANI (IV., 52 *seq.*, 54 *seq.*), *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of January 22, 1575 (Tomb of John Maceslaus), Urb. 1044, p. 340, and the *Avvisi di Roma of August 6 and 10, 1580 (Vatican Library) in the Appendix No. 7. See also CERRATI, T. Alpharani de basil. Vatic. liber, p. 151 *seq.* 167.

[3] See *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1879, 12. *Cf.* ARMELLINI, 507.

A report of June, 1584, states that the building of the church of St. Peter's was growing in every way, and that the Pope had expressed the wish to Cardinal Farnese to make a gift of 100,000 ducats as soon as the vaulting of the dome was reached.[1] It was hoped that Gregory would live to see the complètion of the gigantic undertaking.[2] The drum of the great cupola had already been finished for several years;[3] it seemed, however, that no one dared to tackle the difficult task of completing the dome. The Pope turned his attention to this matter in an ever increasing degree, as well as to the chapel on the north side of the nave which was afterwards called the Gregorian Chapel after him. The designs for this sanctuary, which is quite improperly called a chapel, and which in reality forms a large church, were made by Giacomo della Porta.[4] Although the work was begun in 1572, the consecration could not take place until February 12th, 1578.[5] On this occasion the picture of the Madonna del Soccorso, which had previously been removed from the oratory of Leo I. in the time of Julius II., was translated to the Gregorian Chapel.[6]

An inscription,[7] as well as the account books,[8] show that the work on the Gregorian Chapel was continued even after

[1] *Il Papa, che vede i fianchi alzarsi et le sponde sorgere da tutti i lati della machina dell' edificio di S. Pietro, ha promesso al card. Farnese sopra cio che quanto prima si darà principio a chiudere il cuppulone della chiesa di donare 100000 scudi per tal conto. Avviso di Roma, dat. June 2, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 214b, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Vita Gregorii XIII., by G. Ferreri, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.

[3] In Mario Kartaro's plan of 1575 (Hülsen, Saggio, 62) St. Peters already appears with its drum. *Cf.* Rocchi, tav. XIII.

[4] See Baglione, 76.

[5] See Lanciani, IV., 54.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Bonanni, Numismata templi Vaticani, 74; Cerrati, *loc. cit.*, 91.

[7] "Hieronymus Mutianus Brixianus A.D. 1579." Lanciani, IV., 55.

[8] See *Tesor. segr. 1579-80, Papal Secret Archives. The

its consecration. The Pope gave everything possible for its decoration. Rich marbles of every kind, sumptuous capitals, and precious antique columns were made over to it. Although in the spring of 1579 it was thought that the Gregorian Chapel would soon be finished [1] this was by no means the case. The interest of the Pope in the work was always very great; on March 7th, 1579, he visited the chapel and spent two whole hours there [2]. In the spring of the following year he went nearly every day to the sanctuary, which was then at last approaching completion [3]. The marble decoration, which was in great part taken from ancient buildings,[4] was enhanced by the fine stucco work, richly picked out with gold, and by the precious mosaics in the ceiling. The designs for the latter were made by Girolamo Muziano, who also superintended the carrying out of the work by expert mosaic workers summoned from Venice.[5] These represented the Virgin Mary surrounded

premature death of the Art historian Kallab prevented him from carrying out his intention of publishing these accounts in their entirety. They were to have appeared in a larger work, planned by Professor Dvořák and myself, on the encouragement given to Art by the Popes of the 16th and 17th cetnuries.

[1] *La cappella Gregoriana sarà in breve tempo vaghissima, superba e miraculosa. Avviso di Roma of February 7, 1579. Urb. 1047, p. 44[b], Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of March 7, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 76.

[3] *N. S. non resta d' andar quasi giornalmente a visitare la sua cappella Gregoriana, la quale è oltre modo bella et quasi finita (Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580. Urb. 1048, p. 21, Vatican Library). The final item of July 23, 1580, for the stucco work of the Cappella Gregoriana in BERTOLOTTI: Art. Subalpini, Bellinzona 1886, 22. See also the inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 84.

[4] See LANCIANI, IV., 55 *seq.* *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, VI., 485 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 37 *seq.* Gregory XIII. even had ancient marbles brought to Rome from the cathedral of Anagni; see A. DE MAGISTRIS, Istoria d. Anagni, Roma, 1749, 69.

[5] On May 10, 1578, Galli instructed the nuncio at Venice to send to Rome *4 huomini intenditissimi et più eccellenti che sia possibile nelle cose di mosaico. Nunziat. di Venezia, 1578. Papal Secret Archives.

by angels, St. Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil. Baglione was of opinion that no more beautiful mosaics had been made since the days of antiquity.[1] Muziano also executed two oil paintings for the chapel. One of these represents St. Jerome among his hermits in a landscape after the painting by the Netherlander, Paul Bril,[2] the other the Mass of St. Basil after that of Cesare del Nebbia.[3] Later on the Duke of Sora left to it a picture of St. Gregory Nazianzen painted by Muziano.[4] The principal altar had a sumptuous adornment of four antique columns, two of African marble, and two of verde antique, with eight cherubs and four gilt bronze altar candlesticks, made by Bastiano Torrigiani, a compatriot of Gregory XIII.[5] A marble relief by the Florentine Taddeo Landini, which was placed above one of the doors of the chapel, represents the Saviour washing the feet of the apostles.[6] This work of art, for which, so as to give it a better light, a new window was constructed, caused the greatest admiration among contemporaries. They were of opinion that no such work had been done since the time of Michelangelo.[7]

Gregory XIII. had a special veneration for St. Gregory Nazianzen, the eloquent champion of the Blessed Trinity, whose life he caused to be written by the learned Baronius.[8] The body of the saint had been preserved in the church of the

[1] BAGLIONE, 48.

[2] *Cf. supra.*, p. 564.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 48; *cf.* BELTRAMI, 36.

[4] See, in the Appendix, No. 11, the *memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bolognesi, 77. These bronzes of Torrigiani have vanished since the reconstruction of the Cappella Gregoriana at the beginning of the 17th century; see SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 269.

[6] Later transferred to the Cappella Paolina of the Quirinal; see BAGLIONE, 60.

[7] *"Questa storia è tenuta delle belle cose di scultura che siano state fatte dopo Michelangelo," writes C. Capilupi on August 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] See Acta SS., 9 Maii, 371.

Benedictine monastery of S. Maria in Campo Marzo. As early as 1578, urged thereto by a remark of Achille Stazio, the Pope had planned a more worthy place for these relics, by removing them to the Gregorian Chapel.[1] Two years later Gregory put this idea into effect, after having compensated the monks of S. Maria in Campo Marzo with an arm of the saint, and a large sum of money. The translation was made the occasion of a great religious festival. A special congregation of Cardinals drew up the ceremonial which was to be used on this occasion. In order to impart yet greater joyfulness to the day, the Pope gave orders for the granting of indulgences, a reduction in the price of bread, and the liberation of all who were imprisoned for debts of less than twenty scudi, satisfying the creditors out of his private purse.[2] The translation was fixed for June 11th, 1580. By way of preparation, on June 5th, by the Pope's command, a celebrated orator, the Franciscan Francesco Panigarola, preached in St. Peter's on the great Greek saint.[3]

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 80, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Acta SS., 9 Maii, 455. The agitation instigated by A. Stazio is described by Mucantius in his *Diarium where will also be found a poem by Stazio. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 97[b]; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 145, 157, 160[b], 165, the *Avvisi of May 28, June 4 and 11, 1580, Vatican Library. The *Ordo quem rev. domini iudicarunt si S.D.N. videbitur servandum in transferendo corpore S. Gregorii Nazianzeni etc., in the *Diarium of Fr. Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives, and in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See MUCANTIUS, Diarium, in Acta SS., Maii, II., 454 *seq.*; G. B. RASTELLI, Descriz. d. pompa e dell' apparato fatto in Roma per la tralazione del corpo di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, Perugia 1580, and R. TURNER, Panegyrici sermones duo de S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, Ingolstadii, 1583. *Cf.* also KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XLII. (1918), 442 *seq.* where will be found detailed particulars of the epigrams which were composed at the time. THEINER (Annales, III., 235) wrongly gives the date as July 5. Mucantius, who describes Panigarola as "eximius et nostra aetate facile princeps omnium concionatorum," gives a

When the morning of June 11th arrived, all business was suspended, and in the streets where the procession was to pass awnings were drawn across to afford protection against the rays of the sun, the houses were adorned with branches of foliage, garlands, tapestries, inscriptions and pictures. Thirty-one confraternities with 3964 brethren, 1796 religious representing twenty Orders, and 932 priests, all with lighted candles in their hands, took part in the procession,[1] which started from the Benedictines at Campo Marzo, and went by way of the Via della Scrofa, the Piazza Apollinare, the Via dell' Anima, the Piazza Pasquino, and thence along the Via Papale through the Borgo to St. Peter's. The mortal remains of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in a casket adorned with silver and white damask, were carried by the Canons of St. Peter's, and accompanied by the students of the Greek College. There followed Bishop Bartolomeo Ferratino, Prefect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, and Giacomo Boncompagni, recently made Duke of Sora, with the Senator, the Prior of the Conservators and a number of nobles. The cortège ended with the Swiss Guard and a company of light cavalry. When the procession drew near the Bridge of St. Angelo it was greeted with a salvo from

Latin translation of the sermon which was preached in Italian. This translation is also in the Vatic. 6159 and in the Barb. XXX., 76, Vatican Library; the Italian text in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] The celebrations in connexion with the translation are fully described in the Diarium of Mucantius (see BONANNI, Numismata templi Vaticani, 74; Acta SS., 9 Maii, 455 *seq.*) in GRIMALDI in the *Barb. 2733, p. 364[b] *seq.*, and in the *Avvisi di Roma of January 11, 18 and 28, 1580 (Urb. 1048, pp. 164, 172, 176, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the Sommario della descrizione della processione et traslatione del corpo di S. Gregorio Naz. di M. Fortunio Lelio in the Cod. Barb., XXX., 76, p. 34 *seq.*, Vatican Library (for the most part printed in the periodical *Buonarotti*, 1868, 41 *seq.*), the *Relazione of Sebast. Torello in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, the report in BELTRAMI, 36, and the *report of Bishop Odescalchi of May 21, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also TURNER, *loc. cit.*, 1 *seq.*

the cannon of the Castle. In the meantime the Pope had vested in his pontifical dress, and assembled the Cardinals and prelates in the Sala dei Paramenti. Accompanied by them he went to the steps of St. Peter's, where he left the *sedia gestatoria*, and after taking off his mitre venerated the relics. He then joined the procession on foot, the casket being carried by bishops to the Gregorian Chapel. There they were placed before the high altar, and vespers were sung. The function, which a still well-preserved fresco in the Loggia della Bologna on the third floor of the Vatican has perpetuated,[1] lasted more than five hours. On the following Sunday, June 12th, the Pope celebrated mass at the altar consecrated by Cardinal Santori, and placed the relics in a sarcophagus of green marble, which he himself closed.

"The Gregorian Chapel," says a contemporary report, "is so richly and artistically adorned with gold, marbles and mosaics, that there is nothing like it in the world."[2]

According to the account of the Venetian ambassador, the sums that Gregory XIII. expended from his private purse exceeded 80,000 ducats.[3] Poems[4] and descriptions in

[1] Picture of the fresco (which is also most important as throwing light on the conditions of the dwelling houses of the period) in the article by C. RICCI in the *Lettura*, 1903, April; detailed description in the periodical *Buonarotti*, 1868, 47 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 172, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367, and (in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX.) the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The inscription on the shrine in CIACONIUS, IV., 10. See also BELTRAMI, 28.

[3] See the report of Giov. Corraro of May 20, 1580, in MUTINELLI, I., 126. Mucantius gives the same number in his *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives). The **Necrologium* in the Archives of St. Peters says 85,000. The much higher figures in the *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580 (*loc. cit.*) and elsewhere (see LANCIANI, IV., 55) are exaggerated.

[4] LAURENT. FRIZOLIUS, Sacellum Gregorianum, Romae, 1581 (dedicated to Gregory XIII.), also in TURNER, *loc. cit.*, 67 *seq.* A poem *"In Aram Gregorianam" in the Vatic. 7192, p. 251 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

prose[1] were devoted to the new sanctuary. The Pope endowed the chapel lavishly with vestments, chalices, candelabra and an organ, and founded four chaplaincies for its service.[2] Michel de Montaigne, when he visited the Gregorian Chapel in 1581 saw affixed to the walls a large number of votive offerings, one of which related to the battle of Moncontour.[3] It was said that Gregory XIII. had designated this chapel for his own burial and that of his relatives.[4] The sanctuary was completely finished in February, 1583.

At that time it was often said that other chapels in St. Peter's as well were to be decorated in a like manner.[5] In the May of the following year 25,000 scudi were set aside for one of these.[6] Long before this the Pope had restored the

[1] Asc. Valentinus, Sacelli Gregoriani descriptio, Florentiae, 1583, and Sebast. Torello, *Descrizione della Cappella Gregoriana nella basilica Vaticana, in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in the Cod. 150, p. 36 *seq.* of the Alessandrina Library, Rome. *Cf.* Cerrati, T. Alphani de basil. Vatic. liber, p. 91 *seq.*, where mention is made of another description in manuscript by Giacomo Romano, in the Cod. B. IV., 10, of the Casanatense Library, Rome. *Cf.* also the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by G. Ferreri, Papal Secret Archives (see Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.). Concerning a medallion with a picture of the chapel see Venuti, 140.

[2] See Ciappi, 6. Concerning the organ see Beltrami, 38; Forcella, VI., 85; Barbier, II., 483. The organ bearing the inscription "A° 1582" is at present in the Blessed Sacrament chapel at St. Peter's.

[3] Montaigne, II., 16.

[4] Second *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 176, Vatican Library. An *Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1575, reports that Gregory XIII. had ordered Cardinal Guastavillani "che faccia fare la sepoltura di S.S^tà in S. Pietro all' incontro di quella di Paolo III. riuscita bellissima." Urb. 1044, p. 644, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1583, *ibid.*, 1051, p. 68.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, *ibid.*, 1052, p. 207. For the building of the new chapels *cf.* the accounts in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement pp. 128, 130 *seq.*, 133.

pavement of the tomb of the Apostles, and had had twelve silver lamps made for that sacred spot, as well as six silver statues of the apostles to be added to the seven already there.[1] He also gave precious vestments, six beautiful candelabra and a valuable cross to the treasury of the church of St. Peter's.[2]

Gregory XIII. cared in like manner for the other churches of the Eternal City. The approach of the jubilee gave him an occasion for ordering much restoration work,[3] and the Cardinals too were urged to undertake this in the case of their titular churches.[4] The reports of the following years speak of restoration works in the churches of S. Maria Egiziaca,[5] S. Stefano Rotondo,[6] S. Apollonia,[7] S. Bartolomeo,[8] and the Pantheon.[9]

[1] See CIAPPI, 6, and the accounts of 1575 in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement p. 63. Concerning the statues of the apostles the *Diarium of Fr. Mucantius on May 17, 1578, reports: "In altari fuerunt additae statuae argenteae apostolorum VII ultra VI quae apponi solent, quas S.D.N. nuper conflari et construi fecit, ut complerent numerum XIII apostolorum et certe fuerunt ab aurificibus pulchrae compositae et fabricatae." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] This present, with the arms of Gregory XIII., is still preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's. *Cf.* the **Necrologium* in the Archives of St. Peter's. According to the *Avviso di Roma of June 9, 1582, Cardinal Farnese at that time presented to St. Peter's a cross and two "bellisimi candelieri" worth 18,000 scudi. They took four years in the making, and when they were placed on the altar for the first time on Whit Sunday, they aroused general admiration. Urb. 1050, p. 201, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 285, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 107.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 254 *seq.*

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 365.

[6] Proved by the arms of Gregory XIII. near a door with the date 1580. See FORCELLA, VIII., 210.

[7] *Cf.* (in the Appendix, No. 11) the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[8] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160.

[9] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

At the Lateran basilica Gregory erected a tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament, adorned with precious marbles and stucco work, which he went to inspect in the autumn of 1575. He also made gifts of vestments to the basilica, and the adjoining chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum;* at the same time he restored the baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte, and adorned it with pictures and other decorations.[1] By his orders pictures were also painted in the church of St. Paul's outside the Walls, but the principal work there consisted of the balustrade of precious marble surrounding the tomb of the Apostle of the Gentiles.[2] The portico erected by Eugenius III. at St. Mary Major's, which was falling into ruin, was entirely restored in 1575 by Martino Lunghi.[3] In 1582 this church was given new bells,[4] and in the following year the splendid ceiling constructed by Alexander VI., which had sunk, was raised again.[5] The beautiful ceiling of S. Maria in Aracoeli, which was begun by Pius V. to commemorate the naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto, was completed by Gregory and

[1] See CIAPPI, 7 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VIII., 39; Musotti's *notes (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX. *Cf.* LAUER, Latran, 318 *seq.* The *Avviso di Roma of October 2, 1575, reports: The Pope rode on Thursday to the Lateran, "ove vidde quel bello tabernacolo che vi fa fabricare con gran spesa et artificio." Urb. 1044, p. 557, Vatican Library.

[2] See CIAPPI, 8.

[3] See the inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 22, and FORCELLA, XI., 45. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 64; BIASIOTTI, La basilica Esquilina, Roma, 1911, 25.

[4] *Lunedi furono condotte a S. Maria Maggiore le nuove campane per il campanile fatto nuovamente in quella chiesa, che la prima è di 12,000 pesi et l' altra di 10,000 bellissime. Urb. 1050, p. 24[b], Vatican Library.

[5] See *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, March 19, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1584 Cardinal Guastavillani received, in exchange for the Casale di Salone, the palace built by Nicholas IV. near Saint Mary Major, which palace he wished to restore and beautify. *Avviso di Roma of March 10, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 87, Vatican Library.

adorned with his arms.[1] The rebuilding of the church, which was carried out at the same time, almost entirely destroyed its medieval character.[2] To some extent the same was the case with the works undertaken in 1581 at S. Sabina.[3]

Gregory XIII. made rich gifts to two great churches belonging to religious bodies which were then approaching completion, and which rivalled each other in their sumptuous character: the Gesù belonging to the Jesuits, and the Chiesa Nuova of the Oratorians.

Even in the time of Julius III. the Jesuits had had in view the building of a dignified church in the capital of the Catholic world, and no less a man than Michelangelo had occupied himself with this scheme, intending to devote himself gratuitously to the work.[4] If this work was not carried into effect as was first intended, this was principally due to the lack of funds, as well as to the difficulties made by the owners of the site intended for it; when the difficulty was removed by the magnificent generosity of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Michelangelo was already dead. The great master's successor at St. Peter's, Giacomo Vignola, who was in the service of the Farnese, was then given the task of building the church of the Jesuits in Rome. The first stone was laid on June 26th,

[1] *Cf.* CASIMIRO, Aracoeli, Roma, 1736, 34; FORCELLA, I., 189; VETTER, Aracoeli, Roma, 1886, 83; *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 464; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 198; O. CAROSELLI, Il soffito d. chiesa di S. Maria in Aracoaeli, Roma, 1922, 22-7. The *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1580, reports. Yesterday the Pope rode to Araceli, "per vedere il soffitto fatto di novo in quella chiesa, che e di maravigliosa bellezza." Urb. 1048, p. 206, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 733.

[3] The *Avviso di Roma of August 5, 1581, reports: On Sunday Cardinal Savelli went, by the Pope's orders, to S. Sabina, "per far levare quelle traverse con alcune capelle che sono in mezzo la detta chiesa fatte da Papa Honorio IV. per abellire e nettare la detta chiesa a spesa di S.S^{tà}." Urb. 1049, p. 309^{b}, Vatican Library.

[4] See the memoranda of June, 1544, in the *Mon. Ignat.*, 1. Series VII., 100, 103, 136, 257.

1568.[1] An important part was taken in deciding the form of this church both by Cardinal Farnese, and the General of the Order, Francis Borgia. It was due to them that the church has not three naves, but only one with chapels at both sides and a vaulted roof.[2] The site of the Gesù, in the Rione della Pigna, was a very fine one. Close by was the palace of St. Mark's, where the Pope often resided, and the Capitol was not far off. Two small churches, S. Maria della Strada and S. Andrea, as well as private houses, had to be destroyed in order to make room for the new building. By the plans which Vignola at once proceeded to make, he created the church of the baroque style.[3] He omitted the lateral naves, and replaced them by closed chapels, communicating with each other. In this way the lofty central nave could be made much wider, the lateral spaces being kept quite subordinate. No visitor can fail to be impressed by this splendid, wide and lofty building. Very admirable too is the clever way in which the gracefully rising dome is connected with the rest. Vignola intended to make the decoration of the interior, which later on became very excessive, quite severe and simple.

For the façade a competition was held in 1570, in which, besides Vignola, the Perugian Galeazzo Alessi took part; Alessi's design, however, could not be carried out because of the too great expense.[4]

On July 7th, 1573, Vignola died, when the church had reached the principal cornice. His successor was a certain "Maestro Giovanni," of whom we have no particulars, but who completed the principal portion of the church by 1575.[5]

[1] See RONCHINI in the *Atti Moden.*, VII., 21.

[2] See the memorandum in WILLICH, Vignola, Strassburg, 1906, 136, and particulars given by KARRER, Der heilige Franz von Borja, Freiburg, 1921, 340 *seq.*

[3] See KRAUS-SAUER, 657. *Cf.* GURLITT, 54; WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 8; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 7 *seq.*

[4] See RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.*

[5] Hence the inscription on the façade: "Alex. Card. Farnesius . . . fec. 1575."

An anonymous Jesuit father succeeded him,[1] who assisted Giacomo della Porta to such good effect that the façade, which was finished in 1577,[2] was attributed to him.[3] The latter, with its relatively small features, is less well proportioned to the majestic interior than the design of Vignola, which has the characteristic features seen in the façade of S. Maria dell' Orto in the Trastevere.[4] Giacomo della Porta must have also made the high altar which is adorned with precious columns, and the round chapels on either side, dedicated to Our Lady and St. Francis of Assisi.[5]

The completion of the church of the Jesuits was still delayed for several years, even though Cardinal Farnese had, at the end of 1572, added to the considerable sums which he had already expended in order to hasten the work.[6] It was only at the end of 1578 that the building[7] had advanced so far as to make it possible to hold in it the obsequies of the King of Portugal who had fallen in war against the Moors.[8] The Papal Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, expresses himself in terms of the highest admiration "for this marvellous and sumptuous temple of God, which has sprung from the never sufficiently to be praised generosity of Cardinal Farnese, and which may be compared to the buildings of antiquity."[9] In the following year fresh and costly works became necessary

[1] Probably Giovanni Matteo; see WILLICH, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[2] *Cf.* (in the Appendix No. 5) the important *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1577, Vatican Library.

[3] See RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* GURLITT, 55 *seq.*, 58; WÖLFFLIN, *loc. cit.*, 77 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, 28 *seq.*; G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 23 *seq.*

[5] See BAGLIONE, 77.

[6] See Avviso di Roma of December 21, 1572, in BELTRAMI, 5.

[7] For the stages of construction see RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*; WILLICH, *loc. cit.*, 135 *seq.*; G. GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*, 84.

[8] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 357.

[9] See MUCANTIUS, *Diarium of December 11, 1578: "ecclesia nova sacerdotum Soc. Iesu prope S. Marcum nuper fundamentis erecta impensa nunquam satis laudanda rev. d. Alex. card.

on account of the insufficiency of the foundations,[1] but the generosity of Farnese did not fail either now or later on,[2] while the Pope also made a large contribution in 1580.[3] In this way the Gesù became one of the most outstanding religious buildings of the period of Catholic restoration, the grand character of which it reflects.[4]

In June, 1582, the "cupola made in the form of half a ball, resting upon a graceful drum, round within and octagonal without"[5] was completed. Cardinal Farnese expended 3000 scudi on covering it with lead.[6] In the following year the Pope gave the Jesuits the relics of SS. Abundius and Abundantius, which had been found in SS. Cosmas and Damian. On September 15th they were solemnly translated in procession, and no less than 800 of the pupils of the Jesuits were to be seen in the ranks.[7] When Cardinal Santori consecrated the beautiful church to the Holy Name of Jesus on November

Farnesii S.R.E. vicecancellarii, mirum et sumptuosum aedificium atque artificio cum antiquis comparanda." Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of November 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 383, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of May 13, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 164, and of February 25, 1581, *ibid.*, 1049, p. 87.

[3] *Brief of August 13, 1580, quoted in the **Memorie* in the Fondo Gesuit. 290 of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* the conclusions of P. MISCIATELLI in the periodical *Vita d' Arte*, 1913, 141 *seq.*

[5] See GURLITT, 55.

[6] *Il sig. card. Farnese ha fatto sborsare ultimamente alli padri del Giesu 3000 scudi per coprire la cupola di piombo della chiesa nova che è gia finita di fabricare a tutte spese di S.S^ria^ Ill. la quale serà una delle belle chiese di Roma. Odescalchi's report of August 4, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] In addition to the *Diarium Pauli Alaleonis (Barb. lat. 2814), *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 387, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's report of September 17, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

25th, 1584, the relics were placed under the high altar.[1] In his last years the Pope honoured the Gesù on the Feast of the Assumption, by assisting at the functions. On that occasion in 1584 he admired the costly and artistic tabernacle which had been given by Cardinal Farnese.[2] On the façade of the Gesù, upon which Giacomo della Porta was at work from 1576 to 1584,[3] may still be read the name of the great Cardinal, whose anniversary on March 13th is solemnly commemorated to the present day.[4]

Just as the great church of the Jesuits was placed in one of the most aristocratic parts of the city, so did the disciples of Philip Neri choose a similar site for their church. This was in the Rione di Parione, the quarter chiefly inhabited by prelates, courtiers, scholars and book-sellers; to the south-west, in the Via di Parione, there was an ancient sarcophagus, the so-called Pozzo Bianco, which to-day is placed on the Janiculum near Tasso's Oak. Close by were three little churches: S. Maria in Vallicella, S. Elisabetta al Pozzo Bianco, and S. Cecilia. These had to be destroyed in order to make room for a new and large church, which was given the name of S. Maria in Vallicella. In the year of jubilee, 1575, Allesandro de' Medici laid the first stone in the presence of Philip Neri. The means were supplied by two noble brothers, Cardinal Pietro Donato Cesi, and Angelo Cesi, Bishop of Todi.[5]

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161; *Diarium Pauli Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*; *Avviso di Roma of November 28, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 470, Vatican Library; *Odescalchi's report of December 1, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf. Ann. litt. Soc. Iesu*, 1584, Romae, 1586, 9 *seq.* The *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1584, sounds the praises of the "tabernacolo d' ingegnosa et stupenda architettura." Urb. 1052, p. 240, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 84 *seq.*

[4] In the sacristy is a full length portrait of the Cardinal in oils.

[5] See the inscriptions in FORCELLA, IV., 148, 153. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 68; TACCHI VENTURI in the *Arch. Rom.*, XXVII., 483 *seq.* A letter of August 27, 1575, addressed to Cardinal Borromeo by Tarugi acting in the name of "padre messer Filippo" and asking for a contribution towards the building of the church in SALA, Docum., II., 445 *seq.*

The many followers of Philip Neri, and among them Gregory XIII.[1] himself, assisted the undertaking generously. In August and September, 1578, the Pope visited the works.[2] The number of people who flocked to the Oratorians at that time, we are told by a contemporary, was very great "on account of the good works of the priests of the Congregation of the Oratory, who teach a strict Christian manner of life by word and example." Gregory XIII. bore a great part of the expense of a chapel dedicated to St. Gregory,[3] and also by his gifts of money helped on the completion of this church, which sprang up rapidly and promised to become one of the most beautiful of the churches of Rome.[4]

The Chiesa Nuova di Pozzo Bianco, as the church of the Oratorians was called,[5] is the masterpiece of Martino Lunghi; he was responsible for the building as far as the façade, which

[1] The *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1577, mentions the setting aside of 1000 scudi for the new church which was being built "a Pozzobianco" for the "preti di S. Girolamo," Urb. 1045, p. 222, Vatican Library.

[2] *His diebus nempe 17 Augusti et praecedentibus S.D.N. visitavit ecclesiam novam S. Mariae in Vallicella nuper per presbyteros congregationis oratorii constructam ad quam quotidie magis fideles utriusque sexus conveniunt propter bona opera dictorum sacerdotum, qui verbo et exemplo rectam vitae christianae disciplinam ostendunt. Mucantius *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 17. For the visit of the "nuova chiesa di Pozzobianco" on September 1, see *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* (in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX.) *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See Baronius' memorandum of August 14, 1578, in CALENZIO, 148.

[5] *N.S[re] ha levato l'anello delli cardinali che moiono alle monache di Monte Magnanapoli, che dalla fel. mem. di Pio V. in qua hanno goduto, et hallo conferito alla chiesa di S. Maria Nuova di Pozzo bianco accio si finisca quanto prima. Memorandum of Odescalchi of October 22, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. CIAPPI says (17-18) that Gregory XIII. contributed altogether 5,000 scudi.

was then completed by Fausto Rugghesi from his designs.[1] The severe and simple character of the whole may to-day best be seen from this façade, which was not touched by the changes in the XVIIth century, whereas in the interior the very rich decoration conceals the original architectural conception.[2] On account of its great size, the church was able to become a true church of the people, in accordance with the characteristic work of the Congregation founded by Philip Neri. The learned Achille Stazio appreciated the pursuit of learning which the Oratorians did not neglect in the midst of their care of souls, and left to them the whole of his library; he erected an altar dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the new church.[3]

The generosity of Gregory XIII. was also displayed in the enlargement of the church of S. Marta, close to St. Peter's, as well as in the new Capuchin church dedicated to St. Bonaventure.[4] Many other convents[5] and churches were also assisted with money and in other ways; among these may be mentioned the national church of the Brescians, SS. Faustino e Giovita;[6] S. Maria degli Angeli,[7] S. Maria in

[1] See Baglione, 64; *cf.* G. Giovannoni in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 99. For the part played by Ant. Talpa in the building see Guasti in the *Arch. stor. Ital.*, 4., Series, XIV., 249.

[2] See Gurlitt, 192 *seq.*, where, nevertheless, the traditional mistake is repeated that the building "was already begun about 1580." *Cf.* also Letarouilly, Édifices, I., 109.

[3] See Lanciani, IV., 69 *seq.*

[4] See Ciappi, 11. *Cf.* Lanciani, IV., 63 *seq.*; *Civ. catt.*, 1909, III., 221.

[5] See Ciappi, 17, 18.

[6] Lanciani, IV., 65. *Cf.* Fè d' Ostiani, La chiesa e la confraternità dei Bresciani in Roma, in *Brixia Sacra*, II. (1911), 1-2.

[7] *Cf.* Forcella, IX., 151; Lanciani, IV., 80. An *Avviso di Roma of January 15, 1583, reports: "Dicesi che S.B^ne voglia far finire quella chiesa (S. Maria degli Angeli) poiche da molti huomini pii è frequentata et abbellita di ornatissime cappelle." Urb. 1051, p. 24, Vatican Library.

Traspontina[1] and S. Chiara al Quirinale.[2] The discovery of relics gave the Pope an opportunity of erecting a richly decorated chapel in SS. Cosma e Damiano,[3] and a beautiful tabernacle in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[4]

In the spring of 1580 a picture of Our Lady painted on the wall in the Rione de' Monti attracted the attention of the Romans by the many favours that were granted there.[5] So many alms were given that it became possible to build a beautiful church to contain the picture. Gregory XIII. endowed this with privileges and assigned it to the College of the Neophytes.[6] The new church, which was named S. Maria de' Monti, was extolled in many poems.[7] It was the work of Giacomo della Porta, and is one of the most effective examples of baroque. The façade, the cost of which was borne by Cardinal Sirleto, is considered one of the best of the time. The interior decoration, and especially the roof, with its beautiful stucco work, is almost entirely free from later additions, and thus gives a good idea of the earlier appearance of the Gesù. Just as the Jesuit church served as a model for large edifices, so did that of S. Maria de' Monti in the case of smaller ones.[1]

[1] See Bull. Carmelit., II., 199. *Cf.* Acta capit. gen. Ord. fr. b. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, I., Romae, 1912, 558 *seq.*, 570 *seq.*

[2] See Armellini, 188.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 321[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* Maffei, II., 276.

[4] *Cf.* Le cose meravigliese di Roma, Roma, 1575, 24.

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 30, May 7 and 14, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 99, 103, 127[b], Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 21; Forcella, IX., 378; Ciappi, 14; Lanciani, IV., 66. Bernardino Acciaiuoli had provided most of the means; see *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 135[b], Vatican Library. Gregory XIII. visited the building on September 16, 1581; see *Avviso di Roma of that date, Urb. 1049, p. 360, *loc. cit.*

[7] The poem by Pomp. Ugonius in the Barb. XXX., 87; *cf. ibid.*, 47, Vatican Library.

[8] See Burckhardt, Geschichte der Renaissance[3], 145, 147, 156, 359, and Cicerone, 348. *Cf.* Letarouilly, Edifices, I., 27; Brinckmann, Baukunst, 49; G. Giovannoni in *L'Arte*, XVI., 84 *seq.*

A church which owed its origin entirely to Gregory XIII. is that of the Greek College of S. Atanasio, in the Via del Babuino, the construction of which was ordered by the Pope on October 20th, 1580.[1] On November 23rd Cardinal Santori laid the first stone.[2] Gregory XIII. wished it to be built as quickly as possible,[3] and busied himself about every detail.[4] In May, 1582 he visited the building and urged haste.[5] A year later the church with its original façade and the two characteristic towers which flank it, the first of the kind in Rome was finished. The beautiful interior recalls S. Maria degli Angeli of Michelangelo. On the feast of St. Athanasius, the great Doctor of the Church and patron of the Church in the East, the first mass in the Greek rite was celebrated. The Romans flocked there in great numbers attracted not only by the special functions, which were so full of unction, but also by the indulgences which the Pope had granted.[6] The most recent researches give Giacomo della Porta as the architect of the church and he also made the design for the rich ciborium in wood which occupied the place of the existing high altar.[7] The pictures for the iconostasis and the two

[1] See Card. Santori, *Audientiae (Papal Secret Archives) in the Appendix No. 8.

[2] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of November 26, 1580, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 367.

[3] See Appendix No. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *The Pope visited the "Collegio de Greci, il quale ha ordinato che con ogni prestezza s' attenda a finire la nuova lor chiesa, che hormai si trova in buonissime termine havendo ancor in animo di comprare tutto il sito contiguo a detta chiesa per ampliare il suddetto collegio." Avviso di Roma of May 5, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 145, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1583, Urb. p. 205, Vatican Library.

[7] See Baglione, 76, and G. Giovannoni in *L'Arte*, XVI., 90, where no mention is to be found of the statement of Rodota (216) and Netzhammer (12) that Martino Lunghi was the architect of the façade. The inscriptions on the façade, in Greek and Latin,

chapels of the central principal nave, were painted by the Tuscan Francesco Trabaldese.[1]

The Greek College, placed at the right hand of the church, which Gregory XIII., at the advice of a Cistercian of Venice,[2] had built at the cost of the Holy See, had originally been situated in the Via Ripetta.[3] The Pope, who took a great interest in this institution,[4] removed it to the more healthy neighbourhood of the Via Babuino. This building had two floors, in addition to the somewhat lofty ground floor ; in front, towards the street, there was built yet a third, like a tower. The well-preserved inscription on the second floor of the façade, and surmounted by the Pope's arms, describes Gregory XIII. with classical conciseness, as "Founder and Father."[5]

Like the Greek College, the other colleges erected in Rome by Gregory XIII. were also plain and simple buildings, as for example that which he assigned to the English at the SS. Trinità degli Scotti (later St. Thomas of Canterbury), in the Via Monserrato,[6] that of the Maronites on the Quirinal,[7]

in the periodical *La Semaine de Rome*, II. (1909), 250. The splendid ciborium is now in the Archivium of the Greek College ; see NETZHAMMER, 15.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 31.

[2] See WILLIBRORD V. HETEREN in the periodical *Bessarione*, VII., 1900, fasc. 47-8.

[3] See Arcudio in LEGRAND, Bibliographie (1895), 482 *seq.*, and P. DE MEESTER in the periodical *La Semaine de Rome*, II., 106.

[4] See L. ALLATIUS, De ecclesiae occident. atque orient. perpetua consensione, III., c. 7.

[5] Gregorius P.O.M. Fundator et parens ; see FORCELLA, XII., 102 ; NETZHAMMER, 5 ; *ibid.* 10, for the oldest picture of 1591. *Cf.* also LEGRAND, *loc. cit.*, III., 209 *seq.* In July, 1584, Gregory XIII. honoured S. Atanasio with a visit ; see *Odescalchi's report, dat. Rome, July 14, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See CIAPPI, 19 ; ARMELLINI, 645 ; LANCIANI, IV., 75 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 243.

[7] *La fabrica del collegio, che fa fare il Papa a Montecavallo per il Maroniti, fin hora al numero di 26 che vengono del Monte Libano et Giudea, è finito. Avviso di Roma of October 6, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 393[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* also FORCELLA, XIII., 175 ; LANCIANI, IV., 76 *seq.*

and that of the Neophytes.[1] The cost of these and other Roman colleges, as well as for others outside Rome, amounted to 40,000 gold ducats annually.[2] Gregory's generosity was displayed in the fullest way in the case of the college which held the first place among the educational and instructional institutions in Rome, the Roman College of the Jesuits. This establishment, founded in a humble way by St. Ignatius, now required a large building.[3] The land between the church of the Minerva and the Corso was chosen as the site for this. On how vast a scale the new edifice was planned is shown by the demolition of houses which was begun in 1581, so that the whole appearance of the district was changed.[4]

The Pope took the greatest interest in this building:[5] he made a gift of 27,000 ducats towards it,[6] and energetically insisted upon its rapid progress.[7] It was a happy day for

[1] *Cf. supra.*, p. 583. Santori notes in his *Audientiae (of May 27, 1582): "Della necessità d' ampliare il collegio de Neofiti: Di sì." Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Odescalchi's report dated Rome, July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 59.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of June 17 and 27, July 29, October 21, 1581 (beginning of the demolition of the block of houses near the Guglia di S. Macuto), Urb. 1049, pp. 223[b], 230, 291[b], 402, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RINALDI, 90 *seq.*, 99. Probably the Arco Camigliano also vanished at that time; see RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 77, n. 2.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of September 16, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 360, Vatican Library.

[6] *"N.S[re] ha fatto dono al collegio del Giesù de 27,000 scudi acciò fabrichino le schole in una forma più ampla di quella, nelle quale si trovano." Memorandum of Odescalchi dat. Rome, July 8, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to RINALDI, 92, it was 30,000 ducats.

[7] *On Monday the Pope inspected the building of the "Collegio di S. Macuto" and expressed the wish that the work should speedily progress. Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

him when, on January 11th, 1582, Cardinal Guastavillani laid the first stone of the new college. The inscription on the stone declared the purpose of the institution to be "the education of the youth of all nations in the highest branches of knowledge."[1] Of the plans put forward that of the aged Bartolomeo Ammanati was chosen, who had completed the Palazzo Pitti at Florence and begun S. Giovannino, the church of the Jesuits.[2] The Jesuit, Giuseppe Valeriano, who was also a painter, undertook the direction of the construction.[3] The total cost of the building, which was planned on a gigantic scale,[4] was estimated at 400,000 scudi,[5] in obtaining which the Pope assisted the Jesuits in every way.[6] In September,

[1] *Il giovedì poi dopo celebrato la messa solenne dal padre generale dei Gesuiti nelle chiesa dell' Annunziata del Collegio con bellissima cerimonia et con grandissimo concorso del popolo il s. card. S. Sisto pose la prima petra nel fundamento del collegio novo, dopo la quale cerimonia quei padri rev^{mi} diedero un politissimo pranso ad esso sig. cardinale S. Sisto Guastavillano et all' ecc. sig. Giacomo Boncompagni. Odescalchi's memorandum of January 13, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The inscription on the foundation stone in the Memorie intorno al collegio Romano, Roma, 1870, 6, and in RINALDI, 100.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 27.

[3] This hitherto unknown fact I have taken from the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (reproduced in the Appendix No. 11), Boncompagni Archives, Rome. BAGLIONE (78 *seq.*) only mentions Valeriano's activities as a painter. G. Valeriano was born in Aquila in August, 1542, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1572; see the *Catalogue of the Collegio Romano of 1585, in which is also mentioned the fact that Valeriano busied himself with architecture and painting. General Archives of the Jesuit Order.

[4] BAGLIONE, 25.

[5] *Questi padri del Giesù attendono tuttavia a tirar su le facciate della lor fabbrica del Collegio Romano che secondo il loro disegno v' anderà di spesa più di 400,000 scudi, de quali si saranno provisti promettono di dar finita la fabrica in pochi anni che serà bella sopra tutte l' altre. Odescalchi's report of July 7, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of July 28, 1582, and May 30, 1584,

1582, he gave them no less than 116,000 ducats, and personally visited the works.[1] In May, 1584, there followed a further gift of 25,000 scudi.[2] It was hoped that it would be possible to commence the lectures in the new building in the November of the same year,[3] but Gregory XIII. was not destined to see the completion of this college, the finest possessed by the Jesuits in Europe.

The long and majestic façade of the Roman College is divided into three parts, but shows great freedom of treatment in the distribution of the masses. Its shape was fixed by the circumstance that the interior was composed of lecture halls with many closely grouped windows. The division of these windows into harmoniously alternating groups gives life to the façade. Its simplicity is in keeping with the purpose of the building, as is its magnificent width, which was enhanced

Urb. 1050, p. 271, 1052, p. 207, Vatican Library. According to the *Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1582, Gregory XIII. is said to have disapproved of the fortress-like character of the building. Urb. 1050, p. 447, *loc. cit.*

[1] Odescalchi *reported on September 16, 1582: "Questa mattina S.S^{tà} è stata a vedere il sito, che hanno comprato li padri del Giesù tra l' aguglia di S. Macuto et l' arco di Camigliano per aggrandire il collegio colle scole." The present of 116,000 ducats is also mentioned in Odescalchi's report of September 9, 1582, in the Appendix No. 20, Vol. XIX., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 9, the *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, Vatican Library.

[3] Odescalchi *reports on July 28, 1584: "Li Padri del Giesù attendono gagliardamente a tirare inanzi la fabbrica loro delle scole et mancandovi denari S.S^{tà} gli ha concesso un breve amplissimo che possino pigliar quella quantità di denari a censo che vogliono, obbligando li beni delle abbatie che hanno havute da S.S^{tà}, la qual fabbrica è già in termine che quest' anno che viene et forse questo settembre si potrà cominciare et a novembre a leggere nelle scole fatte di nuovo amplissime, et quando sarà al fermo la più bella habitatione et studio che detti Padri habbino in tutta Europa." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *survey of the "entrata et uscita della fabbrica del Collegio d. Comp. di Gesù, 1584-8," in the State Archives, Rome.

by the addition of a third floor.[1] To-day, however, since the revolution of 1870, the building has been completely alienated from its original purpose. On the façade may still be seen the arms of Gregory XIII., with the beautiful inscription: "For religion and learning, 1584."[2] In contrast with the simplicity and sobriety of the exterior is the richness of the magnificent and wide cloister, which is surrounded by a double arcade. Even though some of the arches have been walled up, the ensemble gives an effect that is "peaceful, dignified, free from ornamentation, and vast." It is rightly looked upon as one of the most effective works of the kind in Rome.[3]

Gregory XIII. also showed his care for the promotion of learning by the reconstruction of the Roman University. In the autumn of 1573 he visited the works, accompanied by Cardinals Morone and Alciati, who were in charge of the curriculum there.[4] In the following year the Pope repeated his visit and promised the Romans his assistance in providing the money.[5] Four years later the works were still in active progress; Gregory again visited the building and gave orders that they were not to depart from the plans of Pius IV.[6] On September 1st, 1579, he went with all his court to the University,[7] although it was not yet finished.

[1] See GURLITT, 182, who doubts whether the façade be really the work of Ammanati. According to BAGLIONE, 27, Ammanati's plans were departed from. A hitherto unnoticed contemporary description of the new building and its construction in the *Litt. ann.*, 1584, p. 11 *seq.*

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 175.

[3] See GURLITT, 182; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II.[10], 324.

[4] *Mercordi visitò (il Papa) lo studio per vedere quello che di novo era fabricato. Avviso di Roma of October 31, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma which, though undated, certainly belongs to October, 1574, in the Urb. 1044, p. 275[b], Vatican Library.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], *ibid.*

[7] *Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 306b, *ibid.*

The plan for the splendid palace of the Roman University, which went by the name of the Sapienza, from the beautiful inscription over the doorway: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (*Initium sapientiae timor Domini*), has been attributed to Michelangelo,[1] but this was not the case. A very reliable authority states that Giacomo della Porta made the plans for this building as well.[2] The cortile with pilasters on two floors, which is majestically severe, shows a considerable resemblance to Ammanati's courtyard at the Roman College; but whereas, in the latter Ionic pilasters are employed in the lower floor, and Corinthian ones on the upper, here they are respectively Tuscan and Ionic, the latter being placed on pedestals.[3] The whole space covered is much greater, and it is one of the most imposing of the many beautiful courtyards in the city. The façade, which is in a narrow street, correspond to those made use of by Antonio di Sangallo for the Roman palaces. A clear arrangement distinguishes the lecture halls, which are placed in two corridors along the two sides.[4]

To these buildings for the colleges and the University, which were of service to the whole Church, must be added other buildings, the cost of which, since they were intended to serve the practical needs of the city of Rome, fell to a great extent upon the municipality. A hospital for poor mendicants was established in the abandoned convent of S. Sisto on the Via Appia.[5] The prison of Corte Savelli was

[1] BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II.[10], 317.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See GURLITT, 67. *Cf.* also LETAROUILLY, Édifices, I., 70 *seq.*, and THODE, Michelangelo, V., 205.

[4] See GURLITT, 68.

[5] For the Pope's intention of erecting an almshouse, see *supra*, p. 545, n. 1, and BELTRAMI, 37. The project met with strong opposition; see *Avviso di Roma of February 18, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 67, Vatican Library; *cf.* (in the Appendix No. 16, Vol. XIX.) Mucantius, *Diarium, 1581, Papal Secret Archives. Unfortunately, the institution had to be given up later on; see, in addition

enlarged,[1] a house for penitents was built in the Corso,[2] and a hospital of the *Fate bene fratelli* was erected on the island in the Tiber.[3] Special mention must be made of the great stores of corn which were accumulated in the Baths of Diocletian.[4] Towards the end of his pontificate the Pope also planned the construction of a magnificent Trade Hall in the Via de' Banchi, such as other Italian cities already possessed; he intended to expend 40,000 scudi on this.[5]

Anyone who has lived in the south can appreciate the value of fountains and aqueducts. Rome was badly provided for in this respect, since during the stormy times of the past centuries, the aqueducts, once so numerous, had fallen a victim to devastation. The number of the fountains was so small that the population had to content itself with water from tanks or from the Tiber.[6] And one aqueduct, which had

to the particulars on page 545, n. 1, the *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 147 Vatican Library; and LANCIANI, IV., 74. *Cf.* also MONTAIGNE, II., 4 *seq.*, and S. Werro's report in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1907, 220.

[1] CIAPPI, 8. *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 467.

[2] See (in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX.) *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This hospital, near the church of S. Giovanni in Isola, is mentioned in the inscription on the third loggia of the Vatican. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 16; LANCIANI, IV., 79. For the paintings in the Palazzo del Commendatore of the hospital of S. Spirito see CANEZZA in the *Atti d. Arcadia*, 1917, I., 161 *seq.*

[4] See (in addition to the inscription referred to in the preceding note) also those in FORCELLA, XIII., 174, BONANNI, I., 325, and LANCIANI, IV., 80. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, VI., 232; RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 131.

[5] *L'altra mattina il Papa doveva comparire in Banchi a vedere il sito, ove S.B^ne^ vuole che si faccia un porticale spacioso con i suoi colonnati di spesa di 40,000 scudi come hanno l' altre città di traffichi per commodità de' mercanti et d'altri che negotiáno volendo S.S. che tutto Banchi conferisca a questa spesa. Avviso di Roma of March, 1585, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIII., p. 403 *seq.* of this work. The small number of wells is also emphasised by SEB. WERRO in his *Itinerarium Hierosolymit. (University Library at Fribourg, Switzerland).

been repaired by Nicholas V., and subsequently renewed and strengthened by Sixtus IV., Leo X., and lastly by Pius V., the Acqua Vergine or Trevi, was far from sufficient. Gregory therefore resolved to supply this defect,[1] but it only fell to his successor to carry out the work on a grand scale. Nevertheless, to the great joy of Gregory, a large number of fountains, fed from the Acqua Vergine, sprang up during his pontificate. The plans for this purpose were made by Giacomo della Porta.[2] In the first place comes the beautiful erection in the Piazza Navona, where the Pope excavated three large basins for the fountains, which he went to inspect in the autumn of 1578.[3] The round central basin underwent a complete transformation later on at the hands of Bernini in the time of Innocent X. Of the two smaller fountains at the ends of the piazza, the one at the south end still bears the heraldic dragons of the Boncompagni, and these dragons, like the four blowing tritons, fill the octagonal marble basin with foaming water.[4] Gregory XIII. also placed fountains in other parts of the city, as, for example, that in front of S. Maria de' Monti, the fountain della Lupa in the Campo Marzo, the fountain dell'Eridano in the Rione di Parione, of the Nile on Monte Giordiano, del Macacco in the Via Babuino, del Leone at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and lastly the great fountain in the Piazza del Popolo, designed by Giacomo della Porta, and that in front of the Pantheon. These were all adorned with fine Latin inscriptions.[5]

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 157, and the *Avvisi di Roma of October 27 and December 24, 1584, Urb. 1052, pp. 430, 432[b], 444 , Vatican Library.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 78. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 75. See also MISCIATELLI, in the periodical *Vita d' Arte* (1912), 63 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Mercato, 34 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Acquedotti, 129, and LANCIANI, II., 230 *seq.*, IV., 78; *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, IV., 11, 13 *seq.*; BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, Leipzig, 1914, 41.

[5] See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 85; BAGLIONE, 6, 82; LANCIANI II., 236, IV., 78; *cf.* LANCIANI, Aquedotti, 129; RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 114. The appearance of the great well in front of the

The Florentine Taddeo Landini, who had executed the most beautiful of the tritons in the Piazza Navona,[1] also had a part in the fountain erected by the Roman magistracy, which is considered the most graceful of the Roman fountains,[2] and which later on became celebrated by the name of the Fontana delle Tartarughe. This work of art stands in a comparatively small piazza, in front of the Palazzo Mattei, by the side of the great thoroughfare which leads from the Capitol to the Vatican. The idea and decoration of the fountain is very simple. Four active youths in bronze touch with one arm the edge of the upper basin, while they alternately support their right or left leg upon the dolphins which spurt water into a round shell. The Raphaelesque grace of the bronze figures led to the design being attributed to the great master of Urbino, but in reality it was Giacomo della Porta who made the design, and Landini who carried it out, after the manner of his own country, and unlike the Roman custom, executing the figures in bronze and the architectural features in yellow marble. It was this that gave the delicate contrast in colour.[3] The tortoises which gave their name to the fountain were a later addition of the XVIIth century.[4]

If Gregory XIII. appears as the forerunner of his great successor, Sixtus V., in his care for the fountains of Rome, this is still more true of his zeal for the improvement of the

Pantheon, before its alteration by Clement XI., can be recognized from the picture in C. A. DEL POZZO, Raccolta d. princip. fontane di Roma, Roma, 1647. To the time of Gregory XIII. (1581) also belongs the Fontanella del Facchino near S. Maria in Via Lata; see the periodical *Romana Tellus*, II. (1913), 50.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 60. For T. Landini *cf.* ORBAAN in the *Repert. für Kunstwissensshaft*, XXXVII., 30. n.

[2] See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 222.

[3] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 60; BERGNER, *loc. cit.*, 41. A "giostra" in the Piazza Mattei is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1574, State Archives, at Vienna.

[4] See W. FRIEDLÄNDER, in the *Kunstchronik* of May 27, 1910. *Cf.* also H. SEMPER in the *Mitteil. des bayr. Kunstgewerbevereins*, 1892, 58.

Roman streets. The approach of the Holy Year afforded the immediate opportunity for taking this work in hand. The practical sense of the Pope could not fail to be sensible of the unseemliness of the fact that the way of approach to two of the basilicas which were always visited by the pilgrims, the Lateran and S. Croce in Gerusalemme, should be through a deserted district, filled with ruins and brushwood. The way was not only difficult and long, but also dangerous, because there were practically no inhabitants. Gregory wished to change all this. When he visited the Lateran at the beginning of July, 1573, he gave orders for the construction of a better and more convenient road from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran,[1] as had already been planned by Pius IV.[2] The work was begun at once and pushed forward so quickly that by the beginning of the Holy Year of 1575, the pilgrims, in place of the winding and irregular old Via Merulana, had at their disposal for going to the Lateran basilica, a much wider road, which was almost straight. In Bufalini's plan the old street is called the Via Tabernola, but in that of Du Pérac-Lafréry of 1577, it is called from its maker the Via Gregoriana. What a great advance the construction of this new artery signified may be clearly seen by comparing the new straight road with the old winding one; the two meet at S. Pietro e Marcellino.[3]

Another improvement was made in the Via Ferratella which led from the Lateran Hospital to the Porta Metronia,

[1] *Mercori mattina il Papa cavalcò in compagnia di Cornaro et Como (Galli) sino a S. Giovanni Laterano, ove ordinò che s' accomodasse la strada da quella chiesa a S. Maria Maggiore et dell' altre 7 chiese per l' anno santo che fossero piane come la strada Pia. Avviso di Roma in a *report of Cusano of July 4, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Cf. Lanciani, III, 169.

[3] *Cf.* Ciappi, 8; Riera, 2[b]; Lanciani, IV., 91. The support given to the Pope in the laying out of streets by the Minorites and Capuchins is mentioned by Biasiotti (La basilica Esquilina, Roma, 1911, 25, n. 38) from a *document in the Archives of S. Maria Maggiore.

and was carried on as far as the Porta S. Sebastiano.[1] When the Pope visited the Seven Churches in 1581, he was able to enjoy the beauty of this new road.[2] The ancient Via Appia was at this time again coming into common use.[3] The frequent journeys of the Pope to the Alban Hills gave occasion for ordering the improvement of the Via Tusculana: from this a connecting road was made with the Via Latina and the Via Castrimeniese, which was named the Via Appia Nuova. In connexion with this the starting point of this road was changed from the Porta Asinaria to the Porta S. Giovanni, which, according to the inscription, was erected in 1574 by the Sicilian, Giacomo del Duca.[4]

Inside the city, Gregory XIII., by means of the Via della Rupe Tarpeia formed a new approach to the Capitol,[5] and completed the construction of the Borgo Pio begun by Pius IV., decorating that part of the city with buildings, and partly paving the streets with pebbles. An inscription on a column records that this work was completed in 1580.[6] It was soon seen, however, that this new form of paving, because of the great dampness of Rome, was not good for the health of the inhabitants, and by the advice of the doctors it was decided to adopt paving stones.[7]

[1] See LANCIANI, IV., 90. *Cf.* Inventario, I., 10.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1581, which says of the street: "è bellissima a vedere." Urb. 1049, p. 139, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of May 12, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 153, Vatican Library.

[4] See CIAPPI, 9; CIACONIUS, IV., 21; *Rev. archéol.*, VII. (1886), 225; LANCIANI, IV., 91; Inventario, I., 23. A present of 700 scudi for the Porta S. Giovanni is mentioned in the *Avviso di Roma of August 22, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 285, Vatican Library.

[5] See the inscription in the Arch. Rom. VI., 451. *Cf.* FORCELLA, XIII., 87; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 47.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 21; FORCELLA, XIII., 87; LANCIANI, IV., 62. *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 233; *Arch. Rom.*, XLIII., 79.

[7] See *Avviso di Roma of August 13, 1580, according to which the decision was taken at a congregation held in the house of

Principally on account of the pilgrims for the jubilee, in 1573 orders were given for the restoration of the so-called Ponte Senatorio, or the Ponte di S. Maria, which had been destroyed by the inundation of the Tiber in 1557,[1] and which had connected the Rione di Campitelli with the Trastevere. On June 27th, 1573, the Pope went in all haste to the Tiber and solemnly laid the first stone.[2] In February, 1574, he went to inspect the work, by means of which the bridge was being restored in an improved form. The expense of the restoration of the two ruined arches, which fell to the municipality of Rome, was calculated at not less than 30,000 scudi.[3] In 1588 the work was again destroyed by a flood; to this day an inscription and the Boncompagni arms may be seen on the remains.[4] The account books for 1583 also make mention of a restoration of the Bridge of St. Angelo.[5]

Gregory XIII.'s zeal for building spurred on the Cardinals and the Roman people to repair and adorn ruined churches, or to build new ones,[6] and also had a great influence upon the

Cardinal Cornaro. Urb. 1048, p. 246, Vatican Library. The pebble pavement was not completely abandoned; see *Bullett. d. Com. arch.*, 1892, 348 *seq.* Concerning an enlargement of the open spaces see FORCELLA, XIII., 87.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV., p. 169, of this work. For the unsuccessful attempt at rebuilding under Pius IV. see *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 66.

[2] See the detailed description in Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of August 1, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 211, Vatican Library. RIERA (2) gives the cost as 50,000 scudi. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 344-5; FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 74 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 24 *seq.*, IV., 85.

[4] The inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 21, and FORCELLA, XIII., 54. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Il ponte Leonino, in the Vatic. 9196, Vatican Library. See also BARTOLI, Cento vedute, 98.

[5] See LANCIANI, IV., 84. In the consistory of April 27, 1575, the plan, proposed by Pius IV., of regulating the Tiber was again discussed; see SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260, and BELTRAMI, 8.

[6] See LANCIANI, IV., 63, 65, 72 *seq.*; ARMELLINI, 596, 634, 645,

Romans in yet another way. The removal of precious material from the ancient ruins still went on, but now at anyrate more care was taken about the great monuments

780 ; Inventario, I., 39, 148. *Cf.* also RIERA, 102, for the restoration of the Confraternity churches in the year 1575. On S. Tommaso a' Cenci the inscription of 1575, commemorating the restoration, is still preserved. A restoration of S. Bartolomeo is mentioned by SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160. For the completion of S. Luigi de' Francesi, the façade of which is the work of Giacomo della Porta, see G. GIOVANNONI, in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 86 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*, for the building of SS. Trinità de' Monti. The laying of the foundation stone of the new church of S. Maria Scala Coeli in Tre Fontane did not take place in 1582, as ARMELLINI says (756), but in 1581, when the ceremony was performed by that great builder Cardinal Farnese ; see *Odescalchi's report of April 7, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the building of the richly decorated Capella Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere 1584, see FORCELLA, II., 348. For the work carried out on S. Maria di Loreto al Foro Trajano see the monograph of FIAMMA, Rome, 1894. Just as the English College had, in its church, pictures of the martyrs painted by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie, so also had the German College, in its church of S. Stefano Rotondo (see BAGLIONE, 38) which were engraved by G. B. de' Cavalieri with verses by Julius Roscius (Triumphus martyrum in templo D. Stephani . . . expressus opera et studio Io. Bapt. de Cavalleriis). *Cf.* A. GALLONIUS (Cong. Orat.), De ss. Martyrum cruciatibus cum figuris per Ant. Tempestum, Parisiis, 1659. In 1584 the paintings in the church of the English College were also reproduced in copper engravings by Cavalieri who has thus handed down to us the inscriptions which were later destroyed at the time of the French Revolution. One of these inscriptions has proved of the highest historical importance ; see PHILLIPS, The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy, London, 1905. The glaring crudeness and exaggerated realism of these pictures, though they offend our modern susceptibilities and cannot be called true art (see JANSSEN'S *Briefe*, I., 210), were nevertheless much admired by the people of the period in which they were painted (Proofs of this in STEINHUBER, I.², 150 ; *cf.* also the Avviso in the *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 309, which relates how Sixtus V. burst into tears on seeing the frescoes in S. Stefano). It would be a great mistake

which had survived from antiquity. Thus in August, 1574, the Romans decided to restore the column of Marcus Aurelius.[1] The Pope in his turn proposed the difficult task of transferring the colossal obelisk which stood at the south side of St. Peter's near the Campo Santo, and which had been brought by Caligula from Heliopolis, to the Vatican Circus and placed in the Spina. The expense, however, which was estimated at 30,000 scudi, justified the foresight of those who said that the change would not be made.[2]

Gregory XIII. also subsidized the restorations at the Palazzo of the Cancelleria,[3] and the works at the Capitol directed by Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi. Both

to suppose that these gruesome pictures were peculiar to the period of Catholic Restoration, though this mistake is still often made (e.g. WEISSBACH, Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation, Berlin, 1921, 36). The pictures produced in the Middle Ages were certainly not less gruesome (*cf.* for example, SCHULTZ, Deutsches Leben, I., 42 *seq.*; Wentzel von Olmütz' Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew and similar pictures in the Town Museum at Frankfort-on-Main and in the Museum at Colmar). Dürer's martyrdom of the 10,000 Christians and the altar to the martyrs of 1525 in the cathedral Xanten may also be mentioned in this connection. Even Correggio produced a very ghastly picture in his martyrdom of Saint Placid and Saint Flavia (*cf.* BURCKHARDT, Beiträge zur ital. Kunstgeschichte, 159).

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 211, Vatican Library.

[2] *"Dopo la tornata di N.S^re da Civitavecchia si è inteso che S.S^tà ha risoluto la gulia di S. Pietro sia condotta nella piazza di quella (basilica) per maggior commodità della vista delle persone che veranno l' anno santo a Roma." It is thought that it will cost 30,000 scudi, "essendone già stati offerti da altri pontefici 22,000 scudi, che poi non fu fatto altro come si credono si farà anco adesso per esservi altro che pensare." Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* C. AGRIPPA, Trattato di trasporta la guglia in su la piazza di S. Pietro, Roma, 1583; M. MERCATI, Gli obelischi di Roma, Roma, 1589, 341 *seq.*

[3] See the inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 42, and FORCELLA, XIII., 174.

architects retained their office. In 1577 Annibale Lippi was associated with them, principally with financial powers ;[1] the reason was that there had been some suspicion of fraud in connection with the works.[2] In the same year the Piazza was levelled ; in 1579 a new campanile[3] replaced the genuine medieval tower of the palace of the senators, which dated from the time of Boniface IX., and which had been damaged by a thunderbolt.[4] According to the plan of Michelangelo this was to retain its character of a fortress tower, and be of only one storey, but Martino Lunghi[5] gave it three storeys, the two upper ones being open.[6] The result was a slender construction, which harmonized very well with Michelangelo's palaces, since he always insisted upon the subordination of the whole building to one dominating feature. Many commemorative medals struck in 1579,[7] celebrated the construction of this tower. The balustraded staircase of the palace of the senators was in 1582 adorned with the statue, not of Jupiter as intended by Michelangelo, but of Minerva.[8] The

[1] *Cf.* O. Pollak in the supplement to the *Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrbuch der österr. Zentralkommission*, 1910, p. 168. The arms of Gregory XIII. also in the chapel of the Palace of the Conservatori.

[2] According to the *Avviso di Roma of August 24, 1577 (Urb. 1045, p. 482, Vatican Library) the amount of the deficit discovered in the "conti della fabrica di Campidoglio" was 100,000 scudi, but this is very likely an exaggeration. The acts of the Capitoline Archives give no information as to the result of the enquiry which was held ; see Rodocanachi, Capitole, 89.

[3] *Cf.* Thode, Michelangelo, V., 192 *seq.*

[4] See Fulvio-Ferrucci, 74[b].

[5] The tower is ascribed to M. Lunghi by all modern authorities, and yet it is a remarkable fact that Baglione, always so well informed, makes no mention of it when enumerating the works of this architect (p. 64 *seq.*).

[6] See Cancellieri, Le due nuove campane di Campidoglio, Roma, 1806, 45 *seq.* ; Lanciani, II., 88 ; Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 90.

[7] See Bonanni, I., 350 ; Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 91.

[8] See Rodocanachi, 91-2.

great flight of steps which unites the piazza of the Capitol with the city below had already been adorned in the time of Pius IV. with two sphinxes found near S. Maria della Minerva. In 1583 the Dioscori which had been excavated in the Ghetto, were placed at the upper extremity of the steps, not crosswise as Michelangelo intended, but parallel with the entrance. In the following year an ancient milestone from the Via Appia was placed upon the balustrade.[1] The monumental character of the site was thus ensured.

To the Minims, founded by St. Francis of Paula, Gregory XIII. gave the slope in front of their church of SS. Trinità de' Monti, and assisted them to build the steps.[2]

Of great importance for the beautifying of the Eternal City was a constitution concerning building issued by Gregory XIII. in 1574. Medieval Rome, which long continued to survive even during the period of the Renaissance, offered, it is true, like other cities of Europe, a very picturesque appearance with its labyrinth of little streets and alleys, but was all the less satisfactory at close quarters in that even the most elementary ideas of cleanliness were as yet unknown there.[3] From the bull of Martin V. in 1425, which revived the office of superintendents of the streets (*Magistri viarum*) we learn that butchers, fishmongers, shoemakers and others simply threw into the streets the intestines and the heads of the slaughtered beasts, spoiled fish, and skins, which were allowed to decay and infect the air.[4] This state

[1] See MICHAELIS in Lützow's *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, 1891, 192; LANCIANI, II., 88; THODE, *loc. cit.*, 193; RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.*, 83.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 604 Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of August 15, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 144, Vatican Library.

[3] For the state of medieval towns *cf.* DURM, Baukunst der Renaissance, 124 *seq.* For Germany see STEINHAUSEN, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur, Leipzig, 1904, 346 *seq.*

[4] Bull. Rom. IV., 716. *Cf.* Vol. I, p. 216, of this work and MORONI, XLI., 221 *seq.*

of affairs may be attributed to the neglect which was the inevitable consequence of the absence of the Popes during the period at Avignon; nevertheless an inscription of the year 1483 praises Sixtus IV. for having removed the pestilential filth from the streets.[1] There was at any rate, even in other respects, much left for that Pope to do towards the beautifying of Rome. The fundamental constitution which he issued on this subject[2] gives much surprising information. By reason of every kind of vestibule and porch in front of the houses, the streets had been rendered so narrow that all traffic and passage of vehicles was seriously interfered with, and in some places two men on horseback could hardly pass. Although a beginning had been made in removing these vestibules, and in paving the streets, nevertheless this had resulted in the destruction of several premises which were of no little value to the proprietors of the houses, so that these houses had been abandoned as being too confined, and thus the streets were indeed wider, but as they had many ruined buildings on both sides, they had become more neglected than ever. A remedy might have been provided for this effect of the changes in the city if two delapidated houses had been united into a single one, but the attempts to do this led to endless disputes, and very often the irritated owners refused to sell their property; Sixtus IV. endeavoured to remedy this by giving the superintendents of the streets the right to expropriate dangerous houses.

This enactment was confirmed by Julius II. and Leo X.;[3] but Pius IV. had to interfere once more in 1565.[4] The new streets made at that time were indeed marked out, but were not bordered on both sides by houses or even by walls, or

[1] BELLONI in the work quoted *infra* 604, n. 1.

[2] On June 30, 1480, Bull. Rom., V., 273.

[3] On November 2, 1516, *ibid.*, 655 *seq.* The confirmation by Julius II. is mentioned there. Alexander VI., on the occasion of the Jubilee year of 1500, also confirmed the Bull of Sixtus IV. for the Via Alessandria which he had built from the bridge of S. Angelo to St. Peter's Square. *Ibid.*, 377 *seq.*

[4] Decree of August 22, 1565, *ibid.*, VII., 386.

else the blocks of houses were broken by open tracts which served as refuse heaps for rubbish and filth.[1] For this reason Pius IV. ordered that these open building spaces should at least be enclosed by walls, and that steps should then be taken to pave the adjoining streets.[2] From this edict we also learn that the tangle of houses in Rome was traversed by a large number of narrow passages, the width of which was scarcely two or three palms, into which every kind of filth was thrown; the buildings on either side were falling into ruin, gave out unhealthy vapours, and at last fell down, whereupon the damp walls that remained partly standing were once more incorporated into the buildings, and used as a support for loggias.[3] To add to the filth and the danger to health, many of the houses had small open drains, by means of which every imaginable kind of sewage and filth was allowed simply to flow into the street.[4] Great tracts of the city and the neighbourhood were covered with reeds and rushes which were very harmful to health with their marshy vapours, prevented a clear view of the Tiber, and afforded shelter for criminals. As in previous centuries, people were still allowed to build out on to the streets; above all, large staircases leading to the first floors sometimes so interfered with the traffic that two carriages could not pass each other.[5] Moreover, light and outlook were cut off above by the fact that wooden passages were built across the streets from one house to the other.[6] In some places the streets were not paved, but strewn with gravel, which increased the dampness, one of the principal drawbacks of Rome,[7] and the air in the narrow streets, over and above the dangerous vapours and filth, was especially infected by the insupportable smell from the inevitable making of tallow candles. Candlemakers were to be found

[1] *Ibid.*, par. 12, p. 390.
[2] *Ibid.*, par. 12-15, p. 390.
[3] *Ibid.* par. 16, p. 391.
[4] *Ibid.*, par. 17, p. 392.
[5] *Ibid.*, par. 22, 24 *seq.*, p. 393 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, par. 27, p. 394.
[7] *Ibid.*, par. 31, p. 395 *seq.*

all over the city, whereas other industries, such as tanneries and dealers in cat-gut had for a long time past, because of the offensive smell, been restricted to certain places along the banks of the Tiber.[1]

Pius IV. set himself to issue suitable ordinances to meet these abuses, and further expressly renewed the enactments of Sixtus IV. and Leo X. for the beautifying of the city. In this way some provision had been made for the adornment and splendour of "Eternal Rome, as the common fatherland of all Christian peoples."[2] But it seemed to the successor of the Medici Pope, Pius V., that such zeal for external appearances might easily lead to the violation of ecclesiastical immunities, and of the rights of the poor and needy. He therefore revoked all the constitutions on the subject issued by Sixtus IV., Leo X., and Pius IV., in so far as they ran counter to the provisions of common law.[3]

This new enactment at once gave rise to fresh discontent. Pius V. had hardly closed his eyes when public decrees in the name of the Roman senate and people complained that this ordinance was opposed to the adornment of Rome and the desires of many of the citizens. Gregory XIII. was unable to pay attention immediately to these repeated complaints, although he saw that many beautiful buildings were being left unfinished, and that many people who were anxious to build were unwilling to take in hand new buildings, since Pius V. had abrogated the former decrees on the expropriation of property, with the result that impossible prices were being asked for such property.[4] At last Gregory XIII. took the matter in hand, but not in such a way as altogether to restore the ancient right. Starting with the principle that the common

[1] *Ibid.*, par. 30, p. 395.

[2] "in communemque totius christiani populi patriam," *ibid.* p. 386.

[3] On April 10 and July 3, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 910 *seqq.*

[4] "magnifica aedificia iampridem inchoata, propter nimiam quorundam cupiditatem interrupta pendere, plurimosque ea de causa aedificandi consilium abiecisse." Gregory XIII., Constitution of October 1, 1574, par. 1, Bull. Rom., VIII., 88 *seq.*

good and the beautifying of the city must always be considered before the cupidity or even the desires of individuals. it would be more true to say that he drew up a new building constitution on the basis of the enactments of Sixtus IV., Leo X., and Pius IV.,[1] which remained in force until the XIXth century, and left its mark upon the arrangement of the new Rome.

This constitution aims at facilitating, wherever possible, the making of new streets, the widening of the ancient, narrow, twisting passages, and to some extent straightening them. The chamberlains of the Holy Roman Church and the officials for buildings and highways received the necessary power of expropriation for this purpose.[2]

In order that the eye might not be offended in the streets by ruined or unfinished houses, or in building areas by heaps of rubbish, such places were to be surrounded by walls of a certain height, and this prescription was to be strictly carried out. Unless this wall were built no rent was to be demanded or paid for such houses or areas, and all rights to the use thereof lapsed. The lessee must use the rent for building the wall instead of paying it to the proprietor. The proprietor was to be obliged by fines to build the walls, and if he remained obstinate, his property might be leased, or handed over in hereditary tenure, or even sold to others who were more amenable.[3]

A terrible blemish on the appearance of the city of Rome was the narrow gaps between the houses, which were bound

[1] On October 1, 1574, *ibid.* *Cf.* CARLO BORGANANA, Degli edificii e delle vie di Roma al cadere del secolo XVI. e della Costituzione Gregoriana "Quae publice utilia," Roma, 1855; second edition with reprint of the Constitution added, *ibid.*, 1860; PAOLO BELLONI, La Costituzione "Quae publice utilia" del Pontefice Gregorio XIII. intorno al decoro ed ornato pubblico e la città di Roma considerata nelle vie e negli edifici dalla caduta dell' impero Romano sino al terminare del secolo XVI., Roma, 1870.

[2] Par. 2.

[3] Par. 3.

to become mere dungheaps and plague-spots. Gregory XIII. therefore ordered that in the case of private houses everyone must make use of the neighbouring wall to rest the beams of the new house upon, to which end he was to pay half the cost of the erection of such a wall. If the space between the houses were less than three palms, it was to be included in the new house when such was built.[1] It was manifestly with a view to the beautifying of Rome that the building constitution of Gregory XIII. urged the union of several small rough houses into one larger one. If the owner of a house or farm wished to build upon his property or his land, he could demand that the neighbouring houses or properties which were leased should be sold to him, but in that case he must pay a twelfth above the estimated value.[2] If it were a case of a splendid edifice, then a neighbouring house or property could be forcibly obtained if necessary, even though it were personally inhabited by its owner, always supposing that the important building had already been begun, that it touched upon the neighbouring property on at least two sides, and was four times greater in value. The price paid for the acquired land, however, must in that case be a fifth above the estimated value, and the neighbour must be given six months to find another place of residence.[3] If in making or altering a street a house was partly destroyed and made too small for its inmates, the proprietor of the house could buy the neighbouring leased house and unite it to his own. Similar arrangements held good in cases where several adjoining leased houses were damaged by the making of streets, or when the proprietor of a damaged house rebuilt his own, while his neighbour neglected to repair his damaged house or to enclose it with a wall.[4]

From the same wish to encourage the union of several small houses in one larger one came the decree that no one must sell his house without having first officially informed all the neighbouring proprietors of the price and terms of sale, and

[1] Par. 4-5.
[2] Par. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Par. 7.

their having declared that they did not intend under the terms of the sale to come forward as purchasers.[1] Substantially the same conditions applied in the case of a tenant living in the house to be sold ; if the neighbours did not intend to come forward as purchasers, then the right to acquire it passed to him.[2] In the same way the acquisition of the house was facilitated in the case of the hereditary tenant who wished to build.[3]

Moreover, in order that "in some way provision may be made for the beautifying of the country properties in the suburbs, which serve the purpose of suitably enhancing the amenities of life, and the healthy recreation of mind and body," the proprietor of the larger vignas and the like, was, also in certain definite cases, to have the right to have small properties sold to him.[4] Even the property of churches and entails were not excepted from the enactments of the constitution.[5] There were further provisions as to what was to be done if anyone refused to comply after two warnings, as well as for avoiding the abuse of the concessions made, and for the prevention of the abuses which had taken place in the case of the earlier enactments of Sixtus IV., Leo X. and Pius IV., as well as ordinances concerning the employment of the money paid in fines.[6] When mention is made in the constitution of compensation for expropriation, or of the sum to be paid in the case of a forced sale, it is always laid down that none but the officials in charge of the building works must fix the amount of the payment. Lastly, there is the important note, that in cases of doubt as to the meaning of the enactments, that interpretation was always to be adopted which most favoured the beautifying of the city.[7]

[1] Par. 8-10.
[2] Par. 11.
[3] Par. 13.
[4] Par. 14-15.
[5] Par. 16.
[6] Par. 17-21.
[7] "Omnia et singula, quae supra statuta sunt, in eam partem interpretanda esse, quae ad Urbis ornatum magis facere videbitur." Par. 23.

CHAPTER XV.

Decorations at the Vatican.—The Quirinal.—Death of the Pope.—Importance of his Ponfiticate.

Thus Gregory XIII. strove in every way for the improvement and benefit of his city. This was shown in a small matter by a decree of 1573 concerning the introduction of new fire-places; it speaks of an invention for preventing smoke.[1] For the defence and fortication of the city,[2] a matter which was equally dear to the Pope's heart, in April, 1575, a fallen bastion of the Castle of St. Angelo was repaired, and the defences of the Borgo were strengthened.[3]

All these undertakings encouraged the development of Rome which became so manifest after 1575.[4] As a mark of their gratitude towards their generous sovereign the Roman people resolved, on February 23rd, 1576, at the proposal of the Conservators, del Bufalo, Mancini and Cavalieri, to erect

[1] See *Decreto circa il fare camini che non faccino fumo nel modo ritrovato da Filippo Castagnoti, dat. June 22, 1573, in the *Editti*, V., 74, p. 100, Papal Secret Archives. For the chimneys of the Renaissance *cf.* Durm, Baukunst der Renaissance, 274 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* A. Nibby, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1820, 340, 359; Forcella, XIII., 36; Borgatti, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1890; Lanciani, IV., 84 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 23 and October 15, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 409[b], Vatican Library, and *ibid.*, the *payments 1575-6 in the Vatic. 6697. *Cf.* Ciappi, 11; Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 177.

[4] See the *list in the Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Collegi, 363, p. 65. For the increase in the population see Beltrami, 28; for the building of new houses, especially in the Trastevere, *cf.* Seb. Werro's *Itinerarium Hierosolymit., University Library, Freiburg, Switzerland.

a marble statue to the Pope in the great hall of the palace of the senators.[1] Its execution was entrusted to Pierpaolo Olivieri, who also decorated the monument to Gregory XI. erected by the Romans in 1574 in S. Francesca Romana, with a relief showing the return of that Pope from Avignon.[2] The marble statue, larger than life, shows Gregory XIII. in the pontifical vestments, seated on his throne, with the keys in his left hand, and his right raised in blessing. This statue, the inspiration for which is drawn from the Moses on the tomb of Julius II., is in many ways a fine work, but the members are badly proportioned, the upper part of the body is too large, and the expression of the face is not altogether successful.[3] The inscription extols some of the Pope's works, the removal of the tax on corn in Rome, the beautifying of the Eternal City with churches and other buildings, his generous help of the poor, the erection of colleges and seminaries in every part of the Catholic world, and also makes mention of the Japanese mission.[4] This historical monument was removed from its place in 1876, and taken to the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, but no steps were taken for the preservation of the inscription.[5]

[1] The *resolution in the Cod. G. 378, p. 211, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 111 *seq.* The statue was unveiled in May, 1577; see (Appendix No. 4) *Strozzi's report of May 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 299, Vatican Library.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 72; LANCIANI, IV., 67. The relief contains a panorama of Rome. Both LANCIANI, who treats of it in the *Bullett. d. Com. Arch.*, XXI. (1893), 272, and BURCKHARDT (Cicerone, II.[10], 599) consider it to be among the best works of its kind. The resolution to erect the memorial to Gregory XI. is *reported by Odescalchi on August 4, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.*, 112, and SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preusz. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258, where will also be found a good picture of the statue.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 6; FORCELLA, I., 39, *cf.* 40.

[5] And yet the author of the removal immortalized himself in an inscription! See *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 238.

The visitor of to-day is reminded by numerous inscriptions and coats of arms how extensive were the works carried out by Gregory XIII. at the Vatican. The mottoes of Gregory, "Vigilat" and "Non commovebitur," may also be seen in various parts of the palace.[1] Restorations were effected there very extensively,[2] especially in the Loggia della Cosmografia added by Pius IV.,[3] and in the chapel of Nicholas V.[4] The fresco decoration of the Sala Ducale was executed by Lorenzo Sabbatini, who was assisted by Raffaellino da Reggio and Matteo da Siena.[5] Vasari was employed to complete the frescoes in the Sala Regia.

At the death of Pius V. Vasari was still in Rome. His commemorative painting of the naval victory of Lepanto was then practically completed, and he considered it the best of his frescoes.[6] On his return to Florence, the artist at once learned that the new Pope wished to have him in his service. With the permission of Cosimo, he complied with this summons. He reached Rome on November 14th, 1572, and was courteously received by Cardinal Boncompagni.[7] At an audience which he had immediately afterwards, the Pope explained to him his plans for the pictorial decoration of the antecameras of the Vatican and of the Sala Regia. Vasari declared his readiness to begin work at once; Gregory XIII. heaped signs of his favour upon him, assigned him apartments in the Belvedere, and had his rooms furnished "like a sovereign's." When the artist fell ill in December, he sent to him his own physician; on December 5th Vasari told a friend: "Even

[1] See FORCELLA VI., 82 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*; TAJA, 7, 79, 107, 119, 130, 273, 282. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 62; *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 59; STEINMANN, II., 8, n. 1.

[2] See CIAPPI, 6.

[3] See FORCELLA, VI., 95. Danti was put in charge of it; see THIEME, VIII., 380.

[4] See FORCELLA, VI., 84.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 17, 25, 41. *Cf.* TAJA, 77.

[6] See GAYE, III., 312 *seq.*

[7] See *ibid.*, 331, 340; VASARI, VIII., 479 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VI., 80; KALLAB, Vasari-Studien, 135,

though His Holiness is an austere man and one of few words, he nevertheless shows great regard for me and an extraordinary esteem."[1]

So that Vasari might be able to devote himself entirely to the making of the cartoons for the frescoes intended for the antecameras of the Vatican, the subjects for which were to be taken from the life of St. Peter, and the remaining paintings in the Sala Regia, Lorenzo Sabbatini was charged to complete the little that was still wanting to the picture in commemoration of the naval victory of Lepanto in the Sala Regia. Vasari worked with his customary rapidity, so that by February the Pope could already be shown several cartoons. Gregory was highly delighted with the artist's work, and showed the greatest anxiety about his health. Vasari himself was in the highest spirits. Six Popes, he wrote to a friend, had so far employed twelve painters in the Sala Regia, and he himself was the thirteenth.[2] In March, 1573, three of the frescoes were completely finished, and the others half done. In the following month only one picture was still wanting, and when the news came in April of the dissolution of the league against the Turks, the Pope seemed at first inclined to do away with the fresco showing the united fleets of the Spaniards, Venetians and the Holy See, though he quickly gave up this idea. During the same month the new marble paving was laid in the Sala Regia, with the Pope's arms, and the inscriptions for Varsari's frescoes were set up. On the feast of Corpus Christi it was possible to throw open this work, which had taken thirteen months.[3]

Even more than to Vasari's frescoes dealing with the history of the Popes, such as the excommunication of Frederick II. by Gregory IX. and the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon,[4]

[1] See GAYE, III., 341, 343 *seq.*, 345; VASARI, VIII., 481 *seq.*

[2] See GAYE, III., 361 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 368, 370, 375. For the marble flooring see BAGLIONE, 5, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 59, where will also be found the inscription of 1573.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 13. *Cf.* BARBIER, II., 6 *seqq.* In his letters (GAYE, III., 365, 370) Vasari always speaks of "sei cartoni grandi delle 6 storie," but I could not verify the sixth fresco.

has attention been directed to his three pictures dealing with the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On the right of the entrance to the Sistine Chapel is a picture showing Coligny, the Huguenot leader, being taken away mortally wounded, and on the neighbouring right wall leading to the Pauline Chapel are shown the massacre of the Huguenots, and the justification of Charles IX. by the Parliament for that deed.[1]

Lorenzo Sabbatini had completed his work at the same time; in the front portion of the great picture of the fleet he had painted three allegorical figures, and in that of the naval battle the figure of religion, which rises above the defeated Turks, carrying the cross in one hand and the chalice in the other.[2] In the small pictures in the Sala Regia, Orazio Sammachini celebrated the donation of Luitprand, King of the Lombards, to the Roman Church.[3] Marco da Siena painted the restoration by Otho the Great of the provinces taken by Berengarius from the Holy See, and Livio Agresti da Forlì the investiture of King Peter II. of Aragon by Innocent III.[4] All these frescoes are only mediocre works.

[1] In a letter of December 12, 1572, to Francesco de' Medici (given in GAYE, III., 350) Vasari described the frescoes in which he desired to depict the "storie degli Ugonotti." The explanatory inscriptions, grown almost illegible by the lapse of time (*cf.* KEYSZLER, Reisen, I., 788) were copied, in the time of Sixtus V., by the author of the description of Rome in the Cod. Barb., XXX., 89; and according to him, they read as follows: 1. G. Colignius Amiralius accepto vulnere domi defertur; 2. Colignii et suorum caedes; 3. Rex Colignii necem probat (see *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 455). At a later date A. Buchellius read the inscriptions with almost exactly the same result (see *ibid.*, XXIII., 62). And that settles once and for all the reading given by anti-Jesuit and anti-Catholic pamphlets: "*Pontifex* Colignii necem probat," which, though long ago stigmatized as a malicious forgery by DUHR (Jesuitenfabeln², 191), was nevertheless still accepted as genuine by Wachler, Froude, Forneron and Polenz.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 17.

[3] See TAJA, 18 *seq.*

[4] See BAGLIONE, 18; TAJA, 15 *seq.*, 17. Picture in VOSS, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 551.

They are surrounded by heavily painted and elaborate frames, held up by plastic figures: "in these frames one is oppressed by the multiplicity of pinnacles and volutes, and figures full of life and movement, the whole without any particular connexion with the pictures."[1] These frescoes are, however, very interesting on account of the idea they give of the still substantially medieval views of ecclesiastical politics held at that time at the Roman court, and its conception of the position of the Papal State; they are characteristic of the period of Catholic restoration; on the walls of the splendid hall intended for the solemn ceremony of making the *obedientia* on the part of the Catholic princes, it was thought only fitting to represent the dominant power of the Church, and the victories of the Papacy.[2]

By the Pope's wish Vasari also made the designs for the decoration of the ceiling and walls of the Pauline Chapel;[3] their execution was entrusted to Lorenzo Sabbatini. In three frescoes the latter painted the stoning of St. Stephen, St. Paul disputing with Simon Magus, and the Apostle of the Gentiles being cured of his blindness by the hands of Ananias. A fourth painting, the baptism of St. Paul, was the work of

[1] See Posse in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 128.

[2] "Ecclesia militans and Ecclesia triumphans" was the programme says Escher in the *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLI. (1918), 108. "No attempt is made to tell a story, for the episodes are not arranged in chronological order, but each one has for its sole object the creating of an impression which gives unity to the whole." A hitherto unknown *programme for the paintings in the Sala Regia points out that these paintings must be in keeping with the purpose for which the place is used. "Et perche nella Sala Regia gli Imperatori et Re christiani publicamente rendono obedienza al Pontefice Romano . . . si dovesse dipingere alcun fatto o historia memorabile che rappresentasse la debita sugettione et inferiorità del principato terreno verso il sacerdotio." The author quotes examples from the Old Testament and from church history (Constantine and Pope Silvester, Charlemagne and Leo III.). Vatic. 7031, pp. 280-1, Vatican Library.

[3] Kallab, Vasari-Studien, 135.

Federico Zuccaro, who also painted the pictures on the ceiling.[1] The angels bearing torches round the arms of Gregory XIII. are the work of Prospero Bresciano.[2] The works of sculpture in the Pauline Chapel were entirely finished by the beginning of 1585.[3]

The restoration of the pictures in the Sala de' Palafrenieri was undertaken by Pietro de Santi, Pietro Comotto and the young Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino.[4] The Sala de' Paramenti also was given an elaborate new ceiling.[5] At the entrance to the Hall of Consistories, in which Muziano had painted the Descent of the Holy Ghost, there arose a loggia decorated with paintings and stucco work.[6] The Sicilian, Tomaso Laureti, was summoned from Bologna to complete the decoration of the ceiling of the Hall of Constantine. Laureti had made his name not only by his altar-pieces, but also by his architectural perspective paintings. The Pope, who was especially fond of this new style of decoration, honoured him almost as a prince.[7] These works were at their height in the last year of the pontificate of Gregory.[8] On the great

[1] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 7, and BAGLIONE, 117, and also TAJA, 68 *seq.* With regard to Vasari see THEINER, I., 202, 411. Numerous *payments for the decoration of the Capella Paolina in the Tesor. segr. of the year 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 40; THIEME, I., 155.

[3] The Pope inspected them on Thursday says the *Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1585. Urb. 1053, p. 7b, Vatican Library.

[4] See LANCIANI, IV., 60. *Cf.* PLATNER, II., 1, 379, who says that Zuccaro was employed.

[5] See PISTOLESI, II., 37, and plate VIII.

[6] See CIAPPI, 6; BAGLIONE, 5, 48.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 68.

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 480, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 68; CIAPPI, 6. On December 7, 1584, Odescalchi *reported that P. Toledo preached yesterday in the "Sala dell' udienze publiche, facendosi hora accomodare la suffito della sala di Costantino, che andava in ruina." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

wall of the Hall, in the fresco of the Donation of Constantine, the Emperor is shown in the act of giving to Pope Sylvester a golden statue of Rome. So as to depict the magnitude of the gift, Laureti painted on the ceiling, in the form of allegorical female figures, the eight provinces of Italy with appropriate emblems and inscriptions, and facing the windows personifications of the islands of Sicily and Corsica. On the ceiling were also shown, by means of globes, Europe, Asia and Africa, the Papal insignia, and allegorical emblems of the virtues of Gregory XIII. In the centre Laureti intended to commemorate the destruction of paganism by Constantine. While the work was still going on the Pope died, and his successor completed the fresco in a different way.[1]

The northern part of the Loggia, on the first floor of the Cortile of S. Damaso, was decorated by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie and other artists, with grotesque paintings,[2] the variety of which, when contrasted with the western part, carried out under Leo X., by Giovanni da Udine, well shows the decadence in art. This contrast is also clearly shown on the second floor, in the continuation of the Loggie of Raphael undertaken by Lorenzo Sabbatini, and after his death by Ottaviano Mascherino.[3] The paintings on the ceilings, representing scenes from the New Testament, as well as the arabesques and festoons of fruit, painted by Marco da Faenza,[4] are but mediocre works,[5]

The new apartments of the Pope adjoined the Loggie, and were very spacious.[6] For the private chapel Muziano

[1] See the *Memorie in the Appendix No. 11, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 38; TAJA, 130 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* OJETTI in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca*, Ann., 1913-4, 89 *seq.*, where will also be found a picture of the frescos which are valued too highly by Ojetti.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 21.

[5] Detailed description in TAJA, 174 *seq.*

[6] They constitute almost a palace in themselves, is the exaggerated comment of Cardinal Galli in his *Memorie (see Appendix No. 28, Vol. XIX.), Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

painted the altar-piece, the miraculous feeding of Paul the Hermit and Antony by a raven.[1]

Gregory had scenes from the life of St. Peter painted on the walls of the staircase leading from the first to the second floor of the Loggie. These, as well as other paintings on the stairs of the Vatican, are the work of Donato da Formello, a disciple of Vasari.[2] Gregory had the north-west gallery on the third floor of the Loggie finished by Martino Lunghi, and had the second series of arches decorated with paintings and stucco work in the heavy taste of the day under the supervision of Lorenzo Sabbatini.[3]

Matthieu Bril and Antonio Tempesta painted there that picture which is so important for the topography of Rome, the translation of the relics of St. Gregory Nazianzen to the church of St. Peter's.[4] Of special interest are the numerous inscriptions placed on the vaulting of the ceiling, recording the buildings and more important events of the long pontificate of Gregory XIII. ;[5] an inscription in gold letters records the reform of the calendar.[6] These were composed by a Dominican, Tomaso Fazello, a celebrated authority upon Sicily. The Pope criticized the fact that several building works were attributed to him which had never been carried out.[7]

The direction of the decoration of the so-called Sala

[1] *Cf.* TAJA, 197 *seq.* ; MORONI, IX., 158. The chapel is now used as the Papal chamber for Relics.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 15 ; THIEME, IX., 425.

[3] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, I., Cour de Loges tab. 46-7.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 201 ; THIEME, V., 16 ; MAYER, Die Brüder M. und P. Brill, 6 *seq.*, and plate 1. *Cf. supra*, p. 571, n. 1.

[5] Reproduced in FORCELLA, VI., 93 *seq.*, and LANCIANI, IV., 49. Detailed description in TAJA, 255 *seq.* *Cf.* BARBIER, II., 74 *seqq.*

[6] Reproduced in CIAPPI, 85. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 92.

[7] See *the notes of T. Fazello in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Bolognese[1] on the third floor of the Vatican, as well as the above mentioned second series of arcades on the same floor, was entrusted to Lorenzo Sabbatini. The foreshortened architecture of the vaulted ceiling, which is open to the sky, was painted by Ottaviano Mascherino with the signs of the zodiac ; the figures of celebrated astronomers and geographers which people the landscape, are the work of Sabbatini himself. Gregory also had the walls decorated. The brothers Cherubino and Giovanni Alberti painted on the entrance wall a plan of Bologna and its neighbourhood, with detailed reproductions of the buildings of that city ; there is also the concession of the decretals by Gregory IX., and the conferring of privileges upon the University of Bologna by Boniface VIII.[2]

Contemporaries admired above everything else the so-called Galleria Geografica in the Vatican. This name was given to the first half of the corridor in the Belvedere, 120 metres in length, which was completed in the time of Gregory XIII. by Ottaviano Mascherino,[3] and which is on the second floor of the western part of the Vatican. From this seventeen windows open, on the east to the cortile of the Belvedere, and on the west to the Vatican gardens. The name was derived from the geographical maps which were painted on the surface of the walls between the windows. This, however, forms only one part of the decoration of the long gallery, which is magnificently decorated from ceiling to floor with

[1] The " Sala detta la Bologna " was used, up to the time of Pius X., as a picture-gallery ; and is still well remembered by older travellers to Rome. Its floor bears the inscription : Gregorius XIII., &c. A° Iubilei, 1575.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, as also TAJA, 497 *seq.*, and *Atti e Mem. p. l., stor. d. Romagna*, 3. Series XIII., 158 *seq.* *Cf.* also POSSE in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 133.

[3] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (*loc. cit.*) which considerably supplement the particulars given by Baglione. The work had already been begun in 1580 ; see BELTRAMI, 36.

paintings, inscriptions and stucco work.[1] The ceiling, which is painted after the designs of Girolamo Muziano, Cesare Nebbia and others,[2] consists of historical pictures, arabesques and landscapes. There may be seen side by side and in great variety scenes from the lives of St. John the Baptist, the Princes of the Apostles, Popes Sylvester I. and Leo the Great, St. Benedict, St. Severus, St. Romuald and St. Bernadine. There is also an episode from the life of St. Peter Damian and the election of Celestine V. The restless impression of the whole is increased by the fact that at first the spectator cannot understand the connexion between the pictures. But an inscription[3] warns him that there are depicted those events which occurred in the places indicated in the adjoining geographical maps. It is above all these maps which attract the attention of the visitor. In all there are no less than forty, sixteen gigantic maps all round, others in the spaces between the windows, and four smaller ones near the two doors in the shorter walls. These are the work of the Dominican, Ignazio Danti, who had been professor of mathematics at Bologna since 1576.

Danti had a great reputation as an astronomer, mathematician, engineer and cartographer, and, as the editor of

[1] See the description in TAJA, 283 *seq.*, PISTOLESI, VI., 164 *seqq.*, CHATTARD, II., 272 *seq.*, and BARBIER, II., 140 *seqq.*, though they completely ignore the actual contents of the maps. For this see the excellent article by E. SCHMIDT, Die Galleria geografica des Vatikans, in Hettner's *Geogr. Zeitschrift*, XVII. (1911), 506 *seq.* See also E. MACCARI, Targhe e disegni d. carte geografiche nel Vaticano, Roma (no date—14 maps) and A. MELANI in *Arte Ital. decorat. ed industr.*, XV. (1906), 13 *seq.*; also BESNIER in the *Mél. d'archéol.*, XX., 295 *seq.*, who expressly draws attention to the fact that the maps were substantially altered at the time of the restoration by Urban VIII.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, *loc. cit.* According to BAGLIONE, 16, 17, 38, 41, 48, 54, 110, Jacopo Sementa, Lor. Sabbatini, Nicc. dalle Pomerancie, Matteo da Siena and others were employed in Galleria Geografica.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 22. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 85.

the "optics" of Euclid and the "perspective" of Vignola was also connected with sculpture.[1] He perfected his measuring instruments to such an extent that he was able to produce a widely admired plan of the territory of Perugia, which he painted upon the wall of the great hall of the Palazzo del Governo.[2] This work led Gregory XIII. to commission the learned friar to make a map of the whole of the Papal States. In 1580 Danti went to Rome, where he took part in the discussions of the reform of the calendar,[3] and received orders from the Pope to produce in large maps in the corridor in the Vatican a true representation of the whole of the Papal States.[4]

How strong a hold the idea of the temporal possessions of the Church had is seen from the fact that even Avignon is

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 633 *seq.*; BAGLIONE, 53 *seq.*; MARCHESE, Mem. dei pittori domenicani, II., Bologna, 1879, 351 *seq.*; PODESTÀ in the *Riv. Europ.*, VIII., 2 (1877), 41 *seq.*; J. DEL BADIA in the *Rassegna Naz.*, 1881; V. PALMERI in the *Bollett. d. deput. di storia per l' Umbria*, V. (1899); E. SCHMIDT, Die Galleria geografica, *loc. cit.*, 503 *seq.*; RIZZATTI, Perugia, Bologna, 1911, 151; THIEME, VIII., 380 *seq.*; *Mél. d' archéol.*, XX., 292 *seq.*; v. SCHLOSSER, Materialien zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgeschichte, Vienna, 1919, 49, 82. The Vatic. 5647 contains: Fr. Egnatius, ord. praed., *Anemographia in Anemoscopium Vaticanum horizontale ac verticale instrumentum ostensorem ventorum ad Gregorium XIII., Vatican Library.

[2] Giov. Pietro Ghislieri says, in his *Relatione della Romagna, that he transmitted to Danti the order to undertake this work. Urb. 831, p. 85, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., p. 285. MORONI's statement (L.,262), taken from SCHMID (Kalenderreform, 415), that Gregory XIII. recognized the errors in the Julian Calendar from the meridian constructed by Danti in the Torre de' Venti is probably a story without foundation.

[4] Interesting from a chronological point of view is the statement of L. Jacobilli, *Croniche di Foligno: "1581 di Gennaio per ordine del Papa si mandó da Foligno a Roma la pianta della città e territorio per poner nella Galleria." Manuscript in the possession of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.

included, and that to all the places recovered by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. the arms of those Popes are attached.

The original commission for the reproduction of the Papal States was soon extended to that of the whole of Italy. Besides the division into states, Danti also worked upon geographical lines. The Appenines serve as the main line of division ; on one wall may be seen the districts beyond the great mountain range, and on the other those on the nearer side. Italy is here shown by a symbolical figure with a crown upon her head, in her right hand the horn of plenty, in her left a spear, while at her feet are the two rivers, the Po and the Adige.[1] If one considers the tremendous cartographical work which was thus produced, it is easy to understand how Danti, even though he had assistants to help him, required three years hard work to produce it.[2]

Danti carried out his task in great detail. He himself was responsible for all the measurements, the outlines of the sea-coasts, the courses of the rivers, canals and roads, as well as the marking of places, and the plans of the cities. He obtained a large number of drawings from Venice.[3] The pictorial execution of these designs as well as the rest of the decoration, he left to his assistants, although he superintended the whole work with the greatest care ;[4] when the great work was approaching completion in 1583 the learned Dominican was appointed Bishop of Alatri,[5] a recompense which he had certainly deserved. His gigantic work in the Galleria Geografica is not, however, free from defects ; these are especially due to the fact that the maps had as their first

[1] Picture in the *Arch. p. l' Alto Adige*, IX. (1914), 61.

[2] See E. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 506. *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bolognesi, 50 *seq.* MONTAIGNE (I., 236) thought in January, 1581, that the gallery was near completion.

[3] *Cf.* *Bolognetti's letter to Galli dated Venice, November 19, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI., 582, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See E. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 514. For the Dominicans as assistants to Danti see MARCHESE, II., 374.

[5] He died there in 1586 ; see UGHELLI, I. *Cf.* Lettere di Bernardo Baldo, Parma, 1873, 26.

object their artistic effect, though no one can deny to them many excellences, as for example the exact configuration of the coasts of Italy. In his treatment of the cities Danti followed the taste of his times, which demanded not so much a plan as a general picture of the cities in question; thus, although in the case of the larger cities we have a plan, it nevertheless has rather the character of a general view, by reason of the bringing into prominence of the principal buildings, so that the strictly topographical value of the plan undoubtedly suffers. Rome, Bologna and other important cities have special maps to themselves, which either fill the small spaces near the doors, or are inserted in the margins of the larger ones in frames of their own.[1]

Danti sought to avoid the monotony of the large maps which extend from the ceiling to the floor, by filling the sea with sea-horses, dolphins, marine divinities and mythological animals, while he introduces historical episodes near the cities and in various districts. Moreover, the numerous inscriptions, with their richly coloured characters, the points of the compass, which are to be seen in every map, and which stand out effectively upon the blue of the sea, give to the whole work a decorative character; moreover, the large frames of the maps are adorned with a profusion of cupids, and allegorical personifications of each region in accordance with the taste of the times. But in spite of this predominance of the artistic point of view, the cartographical work of Danti, taken altogether, is an important geographical landmark of the late Renaissance.[2] Travelling was a difficult matter in those days and not devoid of danger, so that representations

[1] See E. Schmidt, Die Galleria geografica, *loc. cit.*, 507 *seq.*, 519, who was the first to give an expert appreciation of the work of Danti. *Cf.* Bertolini, L' autore della epigrafa alla carta delle Marche nella Galleria d. carte geogr. al Vaticano, in the *Bollett. d. Soc. Geograf. Ital.*, 5. Series, Vol. 10. For the representation of the so-called Alto-Adige district see Tolomei, in the *Arch. p. l'Alto Adige*, IX. (1914), 60 *seq.* A complete publication of all the maps is being prepared by A. Grossi-Gondi and B. Nogara.

[2] See E. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, 509, 511, 514, 516.

of foreign places and cities, which were beyond people's personal experience, were all the more welcome. For this reason the gallery justly excited the admiration of contemporaries,[1] and was even celebrated in verse;[2] it is undoubtedly a magnificent work of its kind.[3] From the first. the expense involved had been very large,[4] but this did not restrain Gregory XIII. from erecting, in the middle of the Belvedere galleries, at the hands of Ottaviano Mascherino, yet another building, the so-called "Tower of the Winds"[5] which was seventy-three metres in height: this was to serve as an astronomical observatory.[6] The arms of Gregory XIII. adorn the principal façade. The dragon of the Boncompagni may also be seen in the loggia of the tower which Urban VIII. had transformed into a hall, which contains the celebrated meridian of Rome attributed to Danti. The walls were adorned with frescoes by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie and the Dutch landscape painter, Matthieu Bril.[7]

These works at the Vatican, where the building operations made residence difficult for the time being,[8] and still more the

[1] *Cf.* CORRARO, 274, and, in the Appendix No. 28, Vol. XIX., the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the poem which praises the magnificent view from the gallery: *Ambulatio Gregoriana in the Cod. D. 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] According to H. Voss, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 431.

[4] The "spesa eccessiva nel corridore di Belvedere" is mentioned by the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 432[b], Vatican Library.

[5] See CIAPPI, 7.

[6] *Cf.* F. DENZA, Cenni storici sulla Specola Vaticana, in the *Pubblicaz. d. Specola Vatic.*, I., Roma, 1891, 13 *seq.*

[7] G. AURELI (La Specola Vaticana, in the *Rassegna Internaz.*, XI. (1902), 4 *seq.*) ascribes the paintings to Zuccaro. I follow the very well informed *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see Appendix No. 11.

[8] *"Essendo sottosopra il Vaticano per le nuove fabriche, che fa fare il Papa per un' altro pezzo si potrebbe godere il Palazzo di S. Marco et fare il S. Martino a Montecavallo," says the Avviso di Roma of October 7, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 396, Vatican Library.

bad climate that prevails there in the hot months, suggested to Gregory XIII. that he should pass the summers of 1572 and 1573 at the palace of S. Marco.[1] While he was there he frequently visited the splendid palace of Cardinal Este on the western slope of the Quirinal. From its owners, the Neapolitan family of the Carafa, the villa bore the name of the Vigna di Napoli; it was leased by the Carafa, first to the Farnese and later on to the Este.[2] Doctors recommended Montecavallo, as the Quirinal was then called, for its healthy climate.[3] It also enjoyed a splendid view over the city and the Campagna, and it is no wonder that Gregory XIII. was attracted by that locality. On the occasion of one of his visits, on October 4th, 1573, he expressed his intention of building a palace on the hill for use in the hot season.[4] For this purpose he had to buy one of the villas, but he had to take into account that this would involve a cost of 50,000 scudi.[5] It was probably the question of expense that delayed the carrying out of this plan. When the Pope again chose the Quirinal for his residence in the following year, he availed himself of the hospitality of Cardinal Este; on August 30th he held a consistory in the latter's splendid villa.[6] He again stayed at the villa of the Cardinal in the autumn of 1575.[7]

It was almost a whole decade later that Gregory XIII. once again returned to the wish which he had expressed in 1573; at the end of May, 1583, it was learned in Rome that the erection of a palace had been decided upon, on the estate of Cardinal Este, facing on the Via Pia, and that 23,000 scudi

[1] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, Vienna, 1909, 107 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÜLSEN, Römische Antikengärten, Heidelberg, 1917, 85 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Lettera sopra il tarantismo, 31.

[4] See Avvisi-Caetani, 69.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 319, Vatican Library.

[6] See MUCANTIUS *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 246.

[7] *Cf.* OJETTI in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca*, Ann., 1913-4, 104.

had already been expended for that purpose.[1] By the middle of June the work was in full progress, and was being pushed forward with the greatest energy ;[2] the question of the necessary water supply was already under consideration.[3] The direction of the work was placed in the hands of Ottaviano Mascherino ;[4] the great cost at first alarmed Gregory,[5] but in the end he allotted the necessary sums, and hoped to be

[1] *Si dice per la corte che N.S. habbia ordinato che si faccia un bel palazzo a Monte Cavallo nel giadino del s. card. d'Este su la strada Pia et che per questo conto S. B^ne^ habbia destinati 22,000 scudi. Memorandum of Odescalchi dated Rome, May 21, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. This report, confirmed by the *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1583 (Urb. 1051, p. 228, Vatican Library), and the hitherto unknown documents quoted below throw a certain amount of light on the history of how the Papal palace on the Quirinal came into being. The matter has always been obscure even to LANCIANI (IV., 92 *seq.*), who is the best authority on such subjects. HÜLSEN (*loc. cit.*, 88) rightly remarks that the usual statement that the building was begun in 1574 cannot be correct.

[2] Odescalchi *reported on June 18, 1583, that the Pope was causing the work on the new palace to be carried out "a furia."

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of May 28 and June 4, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 233, 239. In the first one of these it says : "N.S.^re^ fa aggiongere grandi stanze alla vigna del s. card. d'Este a Montecavallo con pensiero di farvi condurre anco certa acqua grossa di Salone con render quel luogo amenissimo da che si conosce che si aper habitarlo molti mesi dell' anno." Vatican Library.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 5 and 93 *seq.* ; *cf.* 64 for the part played by Martino Lunghi. See also OJETTI, *loc. cit.* M. DE BENEDETTI (Palazzi e Ville Reali d'Italia, I., Firenze, 1911, 16) describes Flaminio Ponzio as the first architect of the Quirinal under Gregory XIII.

[5] When the architects declared that 8,000 scudi would be sufficient for the new building, Gregory XIII. said that an annual payment of 1,000 scudi was too much, from which it was concluded that the Pope hoped to live for eight years more, *Avviso di Roma of June 1, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 237, Vatican Library.

able to make use of his new residence in the autumn.[1] In October he brought pressure to bear to hasten the work,[2] but when he went for a week to the Quirinal in January, 1584, he had to stay with Cardinal Este, as the new Papal palace was not yet fit for habitation.[3] In the same month the number of the workmen was increased, so that until March the work advanced rapidly.[4] At the end of May it was said that the Pope intended to add a lofty tower to the palace, which would afford a view, not only of the city of the seven hills, but also of the whole surrounding country as far as the sea.[5] When Gregory had, as before, passed the summer in the Palace of S. Marco,[6] he visited the new building in the autumn and found it so far advanced that he could at last make use of it. The north part, with its lofty loggia, and its beautiful winding staircases, was finished, but the interior decoration was still to a great extent lacking.[7] Moreover,

[1] *Ha applicato (il Papa) tutti li denari delle compositioni, che si davano a loughi pii, alla fabrica di Monte Cavallo volendo S.S^{tà} che sia finita et habitabile al prossimo autumno. Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 263, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of October 12, 1583, *ibid.*, p. 423.

[3] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of January 14, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 11 and 21, 1584, Urb. 1052, pp. 13 and 31. In the first one it says: Yesterday the Pope went to the villa of Cardinal Este, "essendo la fabrica nuova in quel sito sort ain un tratto maravigliosamente da fundamenti, ma per un pezzo sarà inhabitabile per S.S^{tà}." *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of January 25, 1584, Vatican Library. Odescalchi *reported on March 3, 1584, that the Pope remained until yesterday at Montecavallo, "essendo hormai quella fabrica ridotta a bellissimo termine d' habitatione." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The setting aside of 4,000 scudi for the building is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of March 7, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 83, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, *ibid.*, p. 207 (Appendix No. 9).

[6] *Cf.* DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 108.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 5; *ibid.*, 67, for the paintings of Giov. Alberti in the Quirinal. *Cf.* HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*, 88.

the whole building was too small to house a large court. The Pope therefore only made short stays in the palace; for example, at the end of September[1] and of November, 1584,[2] and in January, 1585, on which occasions he was accustomed to walk in the adjoining garden[3] until nightfall. The property and land upon which the palace stood still belonged to the Carafa, though it was leased to Cardinal Este. The relations of the Pope with Este were disturbed for a time by the excesses of the turbulent retinue of the Cardinal, who claimed immunity for them,[4] but at the end of the pontificate they were again on good terms. In June, 1584, Gregory expressed his intention of leaving the new palace to Cardinal Este in his will.[5]

The regular and frequent stays which he made in the delightful hills of Frascati, led the Pope to establish a parish and a small cathedral in honour of St. Gregory at the neighbouring Monte Porzio.[6] He also caused Martino Lunghi to build a new church for the Capuchins at Frascati.[7] This

[1] See *Odescalchi's report of September 22, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Sporeno's report of November 24, 1584 (the Pope betook himself from the Vatican "ad novum a se conditum palatium ad vineam Estensem"), Provincial Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, pp. 18-19. Here it is also mentioned that the contract for supplying water to the Quirinal was ready. Vatican Library.

[4] See Le Bret, Geschichte Italiens, in the *Haller Allg. Welthist.*, XLVI., 2, 312. *Cf. supra*, p. 528.

[5] See, in the Appendix No. 10, the *Avviso di Roma of June 6, 1584. According to the *Avviso of June 18, 1583 (Urb. 1051, p. 260) it was thought at the time that the Pope intended buying the Villa Este, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Ciappi, 10 *seq.*; Grossi-Gondi, 56; Hempel, C. Rinaldi, Munich, 1919, 65, and, in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX., *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The arms of Gregory XIII. are still to be seen over the main gate of the charmingly situated little town.

[7] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture e fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

church, which was dedicated to St. Francis, occupied a fine sight on the road leading to Tusculum. The name of the Pope may still be read upon its simple façade.[1] A beautiful Crucifixion by Muziano adorns the high altar, and two of the chapels were founded by Cardinal Guastavillani.[2]

On many occasions Gregory XIII. very seriously occupied himself about the improvement of the ports of the Papal States. This was the case at Fiumicino, where there still existed important remains of the ancient harbour;[3] but the silting up put such difficulties in the way of the works, which were directed by Giovanni Fontana, that the project had to be abandoned.[4] The Pope then directed his attention all the more energetically to the improvement of the other two ports in his States. On February 3rd, 1574, accompanied by a number of engineers, he went to Civitavecchia for a stay of ten days,[5] and gave orders for the harbour to be put into a state of repair; the fortifications there were also strengthened; the arms of Gregory and an inscription of 1584 on the rock commemorates this.[6] Ten years earlier Gregory XIII. had strengthened the fortifications at Ancona;[7] the principal

[1] "Sedente Gregorio XIII. P. M. a. iubil., 1575," and underneath the Pope's arms; over the entrance door: "Divo Francisco." The church was added to later on, for the *Avviso di Roma of June 27, 1579, reports: "Il Papa fa fare alla Villa una bellissima chiesa a PP. Cappuccini." Urb. 1047, p. 214, Vatican Library.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 6.

[3] See the picture in the Galleria Geografica with the inscription: Romani portus reliquiae A° X° Pontif. Gregorii XIII descriptae.

[4] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 84 *seq.* For particulars of Fontana's work in Fiumicino see BAGLIONE, 123.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of February 3, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 35. The *Avviso of December 18, 1574, reports that on Thursday the Castellano" went to Civitavecchia to direct the work of fortification. *Ibid.*, p. 319, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also BELTRAMI, 7, and *supra*, pp. 549 *seq.*

[6] Gregorius XIII. Pontif. Max. MDLXXIIII. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 10, VENUTI, 145, BONANNI, I., 347, and *supra*, pp. 549 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 318b, Vatican Library. The plan goes back to the year 1572; see BELTRAMI, 6.

works there, however, were in connexion with the repairs to the harbour, upon which large sums were spent.[1] The supreme direction of the works was in the hands of the Pope's nephew, Giacomo Boncompagni. A tower on the sea shore south of Terracina still bears witness to Gregory's zeal for the fortification of the coasts.[2]

In the interests of trade and communications, and above all to facilitate access to Rome for the pilgrims, Gregory XIII. ordered repairs of the bridges and roads in the Papal States. The most important means of communication, the road from Rome to Loreto and Ancona, was so radically improved that henceforward it could be used even by carriages. At that time, however, people still travelled for the most part on horseback, and the use of carriages, already common in France, was still the prerogative of the aristocracy in Italy. The new road, which, from its maker, bore the name, perpetuated in a marble inscription, of the Via Boncompagni, was at once, on account of its convenience and in spite of the detour involved, made use of by the post which went by way of Genoa to Spain. In consequence of the destruction of the forests it also afforded the advantage of safety.[3] The ancient Flaminian Way, which led to Rimini,[4] and the road from Rome to Civitavecchia, were also repaired, and a canal between Civitavecchia and the Eternal City was also projected.[5]

[1] See *supra*, p. 550. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 9 *seq.*

[2] The inscription, with the date 1573, on the tower which stands on the road to Fondi was seen by me as recently as 1903 when I was paying a visit to that district so much frequented by artists. For Gregory XIII.'s tower on the island in the Tiber see *Arch. Rom.*, XX., 77 *seq.*

[3] See CORRARO, 274, CIAPPI, 9, and Taverna's *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* KEYSZLER, II., 394; HÜBNER, I., 84 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 86 *seq.*, where will also be found particulars of the improvements in the postal service made by Gregory XIII.

[4] See the inscription in the *Arch. Rom.*, VII., 247. *Cf. ibid.*, XXIII., 36, 42; KEYSZLER, II., 392.

[5] *Cf.* NARDUCCI in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei*, 4. Series I. (1885), 300 *seq.*, where de Castro's Relazione is quoted from the Boncompagni Archives.

Closely allied with the making of roads was the repairing of the bridges. Especially famous, because of its utility and its beauty, was the Ponte Centino, near the Florentine border, across the Paglia, a swift tributary of the Tiber, in crossing which many people were drowned every year; its architect was Giovanni Fontana. Mention is also made of the bridges over the Montone near Cesena and Forlì.[1]

At Loreto the Pope decorated the façade of the celebrated sanctuary with marbles, and placed a bronze statue of the Blessed Virgin in a niche over the entrance. He also sent to the sanctuary the Golden Rose and rich vestments; in the city he built the Illyrian College and a palace for the lodging of princely visitors. At Città Castellana the apartments of the castle were enlarged. At Tolfa the officials employed in the alum mines were given new accommodation. The sanctuaries of S. Maria della Quercia near Viterbo, and of S. Petronio at Bologna received rich gifts.[2] In his native Bologna the Pope also subsidized the building of the cathedral,[3] and ordered the enlargement of the Palazzo Pubblico,[4] for which Domenico Tibaldi made a new portal for the bronze

[1] See *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 32; KEYSZLER, II., 465; BAGLIONE, 123; VENUTI, 145. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 346 *seq.* For the coins mentioned by Bonanni, *cf.* PIPER, Mythologie der christl. Kunst I., 2, Weimar, 1851, 556.

[2] See CIAPPI, 9 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 393. The artist of the bronze statue is mentioned in the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (Appendix No. 11). Gregory XIII. visited the Madonna della Quercia in September, 1578 (see BUSSI, Viterbo, 319), and a present from him followed in the next year; see *Avviso di Roma of June 27, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 214[b], Vatican Library. An inscription on the Rocca at Spoleto draws attention to the restoration carried out there by Gregory XIII.

[3] *Cf. Atti d. Emilia*, II. (1877), 196 *seq.*, and, in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX., Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The cathedral also received the Golden Rose; see *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 88, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 476, *ibid.*

statue of Gregory XIII. executed by Alessandro Menganti.[1] An inscription on the Porta Gregoriana at Ravenna records how the Pope had drained the marshes there, repaired the Emilian Way, built a bridge and the gate itself, protected Cervia from inundations, improved the salt works and constructed the Porto Cesenatico.[2]

Finally, the building works of Gregory XIII. extended beyond the borders of Italy. Besides the fortification of Avignon,[3] mention may be made of the seminaries and schools erected at the Pope's expense at Vienna, Graz, Prague, Olmütz, Braunsberg, Fulda, Dillingen, Rheims, Pont-à-Mousson, Wilna, and in far-off Japan.[4] It is not too much to say that Gregory XIII. by his buildings, recalls the versatility of the Popes of the Renaissance.[5] In this respect the Boncompagni Pope surpassed his great successor, Sixtus V., who confined himself almost entirely to Rome. The work which Sixtus accomplished there so strikes the observer that

[1] Fr. G. Cavazza, Della statua di Gregorio XIII. sopra la porta del Palazzo pubblico in Bologna, Bologna, 1888. *Cf.* Bonanni, I., 341; Thieme, I., 259. Tibaldi's first rough sketch in the *Bollett. d' Arte*, VII. (1913), 282 *seq.* For the statue of Gregory XIII. in Ascoli see C. G. Cantalamessa, Notizie storiche su una statua di bronzo erettasi dalla citta di Ascoli nel sec. XVI. al S. P. Gregorio XIII., Roma, 1845.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 42. For the draining of the marshes *cf.* Ghislieri's Relatione della Romagna (quoted *supra*, p. 518, n. 4), Urb. 831, p. 121[b], Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Ciappi, 10.

[4] Contemporaries rightly praised the numerous colleges; *cf.* Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadii, 1577. Pictures of the colleges and other buildings of Gregory XIII. in the new edition of Ciappi's Compendio which appeared in Rome in 1596. A certain number of pictures also in the rare work: Delle allusioni, imprese ed emblemi del s. Principio Fabricii da Teramo sopra la vita e opere ed attioni di Gregorio XIII. P.M. libri VI., nei quali sotto l' allegoria del Drago, arme del detto Pontefice, si descríveano la vera forma d' un principe christiano et altre cose, Roma, 1588.

[5] See Escher, 12.

the work of his predecessor is driven into the background. The same thing also holds good in many respects of the influence of Gregory XIII. in ecclesiastical matters, which were nevertheless the centre of gravity of his long pontificate.

Gregory XIII. found himself upon the threshold of old age when he ascended the throne of St. Peter, yet he felt as vigorous and strong as though he had been ten years younger.[1] As he came of a long-lived family, and was free from all disease,[2] he had every reason, considering his simple and strictly regulated manner of life, to promise himself a long reign, all the more so as, though he loved work, he did not neglect to take the necessary recreation.[3] To balance the inevitable annoyances and anxieties of his position, he had a calm disposition and an equable temperament.[4]

The Pope's vigour in 1574 filled the Imperial ambassador, Cusano, with wonder,[5] and this continued in the years that followed.[6] An illness in 1575 was thrown off with the same

[1] *Cf.* his declaration in the consistory of June 26, 1573, in SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 136.

[2] See *Franc. Mendoza's report of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and P. TIEPOLO, 212. Gregory XIII. had previously only suffered from a certain weakness in the chest; see *Speciani's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *"Il Papa è sano et di buona complessione, mangia bene et dorme bene ne ha veruna schinella," reports Franc. Strozzi on July 4, 1573, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 338, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., 38 *seq.* See also Zuñiga's report in the N. Colecc de doc. inéd., I., 154, III., 87.

[4] See CORRARO, 273.

[5] An *Avviso di Roma, sent in by Cusano and dated April 10, 1574, relates that Gregory XIII., after reading aloud the Bull *In coena Domini*, hurled the candle to the ground with such force "come se fosse giovane di 25 anni." State Archives, Vienna. See also the *Avviso di Roma of September 8, 1574, State Archives, Naples, C. FARNESE, 6.

[6] *Cf.* *Aless. de' Medici's report of June 17, 1575, State Archives, Florence.

ease as a more serious indisposition in 1577.[1] The Pope is now in better health than ever, the Mantuan envoy was able to report at the beginning of June, 1577; in spite of the great heat he was able to make the procession of Corpus Domini in person. In the autumn he was in the best of health at the Villa Altemps at Frascati.[2] In the January of the following year Gregory, although it was very cold, visited the Seven Churches. He went out in all weathers, sometimes so far as to tire out much younger persons who accompanied him. He always carried out all the religious functions.[3] In Holy Week of 1579 an ambassador remarked that the Pope was as well as though he had been only forty years of age.[4] In the May Cardinals congratulated him on possessing such perfect health at the beginning of the eighth year of his reign. Gregory replied that they should give thanks to God, and pray Him to make his life useful to religion and the Holy See.[5] When the Pope returned from Frascati at the end of June, 1579, for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he looked even better

[1] For the "accidente" of 1575, see P. TIEPOLO, 212. For the passing indisposition of 1577 see the *memoranda of P. Strozzi of May 4, 11 and 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avvisi di Roma of May 1 and 8, Urb. 1045, pp. 281, 287, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of June 1, 10 and 22, and of September 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of June 29, July 19, and August 14, 1577, Urb. 1045, pp. 439[b], 472, 524, Vatican Library. A passing indisposition of Gregory is referred to in an *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1577, State Archives, Modena.

[3] In addition to A. TIEPOLO, 258, see also *Odescalchi's memoranda of January 11 and December 28, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Memorandum of Odescalchi dat. "Sabbato santo 1579," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. ibid.* the *reports of May 23 June 13 and 20, July 25, August 15, October 17, 1579, and the *Avviso di Roma of February 21, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 56, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 182.

than before.[1] At the beginning of April, 1580, the Mantuan envoy reported that the Pope had borne all the tiring functions of Holy Week so well that everyone was surprised; during the long singing he always assisted standing and quite motionless, which was very wonderful in an old man of eighty years.[2] In the summer of 1584, the greater part of the inhabitants of Rome were ill, and only the Pope remained entirely well.[3] In the autumn, during his stay at Mondragone, he took long walks every day.[4]

In the first half of 1581 Gregory surpassed in vigour many who were younger than himself.[5] In the middle of August, however, he began to suffer from a malady which, at first, according to his wont, he tried to conceal, but his condition was soon seen to be serious,[6] and he became worse in consequence of the anxieties occasioned by the prevalence of brigandage.[7] Some of the Cardinals even began to prepare

[1] *Report of Aless. de' Medici of June 27, 1579, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Odescalchi's memorandum of April 2, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *Aless. de' Medici's report of March 12, 1580, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of August 20, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 259, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, an *Avviso di Roma of April 30, 1580: On Thursday the Pope said his office in a room over the Hall of Constantine; he had scarcely left the room when there fell "tetto e soffito con gran ruina."

[4] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma, sent by Sporeno and dated September 16, 1580, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and *ibid.* Sporeno's *report of September 24, 1580.

[5] See (in addition to CORRARO, 273) *Odescalchi's report of March 25, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Sporeno's *memorandum of May 13, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 16 and 19, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 324, 326 *seq.*, 331, Vatican Library, and P. Strozzi's *reports of August 19 and 23, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 103 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*

[7] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 19 and October 7, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 331, 389, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Sporeno's report of August 19, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

for a new election.[1] In addition to the attacks of fever, the Pope suffered a good deal from asthma. Throughout the whole of September his condition caused anxiety, though he once again recovered.[2] In the middle of September the Florentine ambassador described Gregory as a failing old man, pale, and with a difficulty in speaking; without a miracle, he thought, the Pope will never be well again.[3] At the beginning of October it was generally thought that a prophecy of an astrologer, that the Pope would die on the 16th of the month, would be verified.[4] Instead of that, however, on October 14th, he was able, completely recovered, to go to his villa at Frascati for a short stay, after having once again resumed his public business.[5] The Venetian ambassador, Corraro, thought that Gregory, who had already buried thirty Cardinals younger than himself, might very well survive another dozen.[6]

In the winter before 1582[7] and during the summer that followed, Gregory's health left nothing to be desired.[8] When

[1] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 123 *seq.*; HERRE, 269 *seq.*; HIRN, II., 406.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of September 2, 7, 9, 13, 16 and 30, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 346, 356, 358, 360, 365, 378, Vatican Library, Sporeno's *memoranda of September 2 and 8, 1581, Prov. Archives, Innsbruck, and P. Strozzi's reports of September 16 and 30, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Lettres de P. de Foix, 127 *seq.*; GROTTANELLI, Piccolomini, 59.

[3] See *Serguidi's report to the Grand Duke of Florence dat. Rome, September 14, 1581, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3605.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of October 4, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 387, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avvisi of October 14 and 21, 1581, *ibid.*, pp. 395, 400; P. Strozzi's *memorandum of October 14, 1581 (sta benissimo, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Sporeno's *reports of October 7, 14 and 21, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] CORRARO, 279.

[7] See *Sporeno's reports of December 9, 1581, and January 6, 1582, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[8] See *Odescalchi's reports of July 7 and 14, August 4 and 26, September 16, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

an artist was painting his portrait at the end of July, 1582, he was able, old though he was, to stand on his feet for an hour and a half without resting for even a minute.[1] In December his intimates thought they could detect a diminution in his strength,[2] but any serious anxiety was shown to be uncalled-for. An indisposition in February, 1583, quickly disappeared, and in March the Pope assisted at all the functions of Holy Week. In the summer he felt as well as ever he had been, and when he came back from his villa in the autumn, all Rome marvelled at his appearance. At Christmas he took part in all the functions, except the midnight mass.[3] The same was the case in the Holy Week of 1584, and the Pope even entertained the idea of undertaking the long journey to Bologna. When his nephews proposed to him that he should not himself pontificate on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he refused with a smile. With youthful energy, and in spite of the great heat, he assisted at the function at the church of the Jesuits on the feast of the Assumption. He spent the autumn at his villa in the hills of Tusculum, often going for walks, and at the same time devoting himself to business.[4]

The year 1585, the last of Gregory's life, opened with the

[1] *Essendo venuto desiderio al Papa del ritratto della sua persona stette in piedi un' hora e mezza senza appogiarsi mai, ragionando con mons. Datario mentre il pittore ne pigliava il ritratto dicendo S.S^tà di volerlo per lei medesima. Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1582, Urb. 1051, p. 271, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 9, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 469, *ibid.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of February 5 and 9, April 9 and 13, August 31, October 8 and 15, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 56, 64, 162, 166, 361, 421, 427, *ibid.* *S^mus adeo bene valet ut nemo audeat dicere illum annum 83 agere. Sporeno on July 23, 1583; *cf.* the *report of December 24, 1583. Landesarchiv, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *Avvisi of March 3 and 7, and June 27, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 80 *seq.*, 251, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's reports of January 7 and 10, March 31, June 2, October 20, November 24, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Sporeno's *reports of May 5, June 2 and 23, July 15, 21, 28, August 18, September 29, October 20 and December 1, 1584, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

old man of eighty-four in absolutely good health. As before, he took an active part in all kinds of affairs, and went for his usual walks, especially in the loggia which he had built at the Vatican. The Venetian ambassador, however, thought he saw certain disquieting symptoms, though the general opinion was that Gregory, like many of his ancestors, would attain to the full measure of human life.[1] In the meantime he assisted at all the ecclesiastical functions. He attended indefatigably to public business, was present at consistories and the Segnatura, and gave public and private audiences.[2] A cold which he contracted at the beginning of April had all the worse effect upon the old man as he strictly limited himself to the meagre fare of the time of abstinence. He refused to adopt the precautions suggested by the doctors even when they discovered on April 5th an inflammation of the throat and some fever.[3] Notwithstanding a bad night, the

[1] *Cf.* Sporeno's reports of January 12, February 2, March 2 and 23, 1585, *ibid.*, and the Avviso in BELTRAMI, Roma, 52. See also HÜBNER, I., 132.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of January 19 (N.S^re^ sta con molta salute et Roma con molta quiete) and March 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso of February 2, 1585, says, with reference to the customary distribution of candles on Candlemas Day, that the ceremony was performed by the Pope "con promissione nella cera et nelli fatti di doverne dar tante (candele) per l' avvenire che bastano a far lume alla sepultura della metà del collegio hora vivente." Vatican Library. See also Sporeno's *report of January 26, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] For the last days of Gregory XIII. *cf.* the *notes made by Musotti who was present at the death (Boncompagni Archives, Rome); Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, III., 642 *seq.*; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163; Priuli's reports of April 10 and 12, 1585, in MUTINELLI, I., 157-8; C. Capilupi's *memorandum of April 10, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Sporeno's report of April 10, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck; *Avvisi di Roma of April 10 and 13, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 145 *seqq.*, 158 *seqq.*, Vatican Library; MAFFEI, II., 423 *seq.* G. Masetti's report is given in PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, II., 237, with the wrong date. For the doctors of Gregory XIII. see HAEFER, II.[3], 52; MARINI, I., 452 *seq.*

sick man celebrated mass in his private chapel on Sunday, April 7th, and then assisted in the Sistine Chapel and gave some audiences. A consistory was held on the Monday morning, and more audiences were given in the afternoon. On the following day Gregory wished to be present at the Segnatura Gratiae, but as during the night the catarrh had become worse and his weakness had increased, the doctors forced him to keep to his bed, to give up his rigorous fasting, and to accept some fresh eggs. It was only very unwillingly that the old man accepted this, as he had never allowed himself any relaxation during the whole of his life.[1] On Wednesday, April 10th, he thought himself so much better that he regretted this concession to his body. After taking a simple meal in company with the Duke of Sora, he received Cardinals Boncompagni and Guastavillani, with whom, walking up and down his room, he discussed certain business concerning the Papal States. The doctors declared that the catarrh, from which he was still suffering, was not serious, so that the Pope's entourage had no idea of grave danger. Only the assistant physician, Michele Mercati, realized the true state of affairs, and when he visited him after the Cardinals had gone, he noticed an alarming diminution in his pulse and a cold sweat. There could be no doubt that he was in imminent danger. Gregory received the news with complete calm, and at once began to pray and to proclaim his desire to die in the Catholic faith. The end came with equal suddenness and rapidity; there was only time to administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction to the Pope, who immediately afterwards quietly breathed his last.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the following note.

[2] *Cf.* *Priuli's memoranda of April 10 and 12, 1585, State Archives, Venice, Roma, XIX.; CIAPPI, 77 *seq.* Anatomical examination of the body disclosed "le fauci et quei meati della gola pieni di materia catarale et viscosa, il petto tutto infocato, il fecato grande et duro tutto scabioso intorno, il polmone simile ad un legno d' esca estenuatissimo per la quaresima, che ha voluto al dispetto d' ognuno osservare in questa sua età di 84 anni seben haveva l' asma cosi grossa" (Avviso di Roma of April 12, 1585,

The body was first taken to the Sistine Chapel, where the Jesuits, as penitentiaries of St. Peter's, carried out the funeral vigil; on the following day it was taken in solemn procession to St. Peter's. There it remained exposed for three days in the Gregorian Chapel, and was then buried in a simple tomb, for which Prospero Bresciano executed a statue of the dead Pope.[1] Later on (in 1723) Gregory XIII. was given, by the care of Cardinal Jacopo Boncompagni, a monument of white marble, which was placed under the arch between the Gregorian Chapel and the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. The sculpture was the work of Camillo Rusconi.[1] The marble sarcophagus stands upon a plinth; Wisdom, represented by Minerva, raises a curtain on one side, uncovering a relief, referring to the reform of the calendar; on the other side is the figure of Religion with the Holy Scriptures, and a tablet bearing the words: *Novi opera eius et fidem.* In the centre above the sarcophagus is the enthroned and seated figure of the Pope in his pontifical vestments, his right hand raised to heaven in blessing: "a grave and very dignified figure of

Urb. 1053, p. 158, Vatican Library). Cardinal Galli remarks in his *Memorie: "Haveva le fauci strette come quelli che patiscono d' asma, onde parlava sempre con voce bassa et con qualche reluctantia de le parole, non pero ch havesse alcuno impedimento nel parlare." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 45. *Cf.* TITI, Ammaestramento di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, Roma, 1686, 13; SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258. See also CERRATI, T. Alpharani de basil. Vatic. liber p. 89. Picture of this tomb, which differed from the later one, in BONANNI, 33; *cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 104. Fòr the epitaph see CIAPPI, 119. Fazolio reports: *"Al tempo della b. m. del card. S. Sisto si trattò di S. S. Ill. di far l' epitafio" for Gregory XIII.'s tomb, "et furono eletti F. Orsini, Flaminio de' Nobili, Latino Latini et io, quali fussimo in casa del S. Latino." Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, where Fazolio gives two more epitaphs composed by him for Gregory XIII.

[2] *Cf.* PASCOLI, Vita de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni, I., Roma, 1730, 263 *seq.*

an old man."[1] The allegorical figures are a repetition of those on the tomb of Innocent XI. The whole, with its white marble, gives the effect of "a dying effort of the classical Renaissance."[2]

Gregory had ruled the Church for twelve years, ten months and twenty-eight days. To his pontificate, of which the Jesuit Stefano Tucci drew a concise picture in his funeral oration on April 17th, 1585,[3] as well as to his whole life, may be applied the words: It was precious because it was so full of labours and fatigues.

For a long time Gregory XIII. was not appreciated. Only the systematic researches in the secret archives of the Vatican which have recently been made, have afforded the material for an impartial judgment of his personality and his unwearied labours. This want of appreciation has also been helped by the fact that a saint like Pius V. was his predecessor, and a fascinating personality like that of Sixtus V. his successor. Sixtus V., facing with unflinching resoluteness the evil of brigandage, which Gregory XIII., by reason of his age and his leniency, often verging on weakness, had been unable to subdue, stands out in a brilliant light in contrast to his predecessor. In this way little by little a popular estimate was formed of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. which took into consideration only the undeniable and grave abuses which existed in the Papal States, while the great work that Gregory had done for the welfare of his subjects and the beautifying of Rome was suffered to fall into oblivion. Moreover, it has

[1] See PISTOLESI, I., 110 *seqq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 168; BRINZINGER, Ein Gang zu den Grabdenkmälern der Päpste in der St. Peterskirche, Einsiedeln, 1917, 22 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, Vatican, I., pl. 45. Epitaph in FORCELLA, VI., 170.

[2] See SOBOTKA, Marattas Entwurf zum Grabmal Innozenz' XI., Special reprint from the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1914, 19 *seq.* *Cf.* BERGNER, 103.

[3] See "Oratio in exequiis Gregorii XIII. P.M. a Stephano Tuccio sacerdote Soc. Iesu habita in Vaticano ad s. collegium XV Cal. Maii 1585, Romae, 1585." Reprint in CIACONIUS, IV., 27 *seq.*

too often been forgotten that in many cases Sixtus V. only carried to completion what Gregory XIII. had begun.[1]

The outstanding feature of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. was undoubtedly in the realm of religion. Even though in this respect he had done nothing more than carry on the reform work of Pius V., this alone would have entitled him to a place of honour among the Popes of the XVIth century. But Gregory XIII. was not content merely to work systematically and in the fullest measure for the carrying out of the

[1] The attempt to exalt Sixtus V. at the expense of Gregory XIII. was already noticeable in the diary of Guido Gualterius. The painstaking work of Maffei, which was intended to counteract this tendency (*cf.* App. 26, Vol. XIX.), was only partially successful; and the old attitude returned with Ranke. Out of the twelve pages that he devotes to Gregory XIII. seven deal with abuses in the States of the Church, especially the bandits. Hübner's work on Sixtus V. affords an even more striking illustration of how the traditional conception of Gregory XIII. came to be established. The only exception seems to have been Reumont, who (in the *Bonner Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1870, V., 612 *seq.*) protested against Hübner's statement of the case; and yet the old and false point of view was still being maintained, as late as 1879, by Giovanni Gozzadini (Giovanni Pepoli e Sisto V., p. 10). It was the opening of the Papal Secret Archives by Leo XIII. that brought about a complete change of attitude; and the abundant material thus made available was first made use of by Hansen in the *Nuntiaturberichte* (I., xxiv *seq.*, xxvi, xxx) where he endeavours to do justice to Gregory XIII. But it is to the indefatigable energy of Schellhass, most of all, that we owe the more correct estimate of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* especially *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., v and xv). In Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXX., 144, Schellhass has recently protested most emphatically against the belittling of Gregory and his pontificate. Now that two northern historians, Biaudet (Les Nonciatures, 27 *seq.*) and Karttunen (Gregoire XIII. comme politicien et souverain, iii *seqq.*), have also condemned the traditional misrepresentation of Gregory XIII., it can no longer be doubted that his pontificate was of the very greatest importance, as Kawerau has also pointed out in the new edition of Möller's *Kirchengeschichte* (III., 251).

decrees of the Council of Trent; the new spirit which was awakening in the Church, went much further than that during his pontificate; loyally supported by the ablest men of the school of Borromeo, headed by the holy Archbishop of Milan himself, he brought about a decisive change in the effective conflict against the apostasy from the faith.[1] This is made all the more clear, the further we examine his pontificate in the light of the documents. It is true that the complete restoration of the ancient religious unity of Christian peoples of Europe which Gregory XIII. and his fellow labourers aimed at, did not prove possible of attainment, in spite of their extraordinary efforts and their great financial sacrifices,[2] yet Gregory did succeed in accomplishing a great deal, and above all in the fact that, in strong contrast to the Popes of the Renaissance, he always definitely placed the religious point of view before any earthly considerations. The predominance of religious tendencies which began in the pontificate of Paul III., now became supreme for a long time to come.

Especially vital were the efforts made by Gregory XIII. on behalf of Germany, where such great gains were made for the Church that it is right to speak of his pontificate as the beginning of a new era.[3] But in the north and east of Europe as well the events of his pontificate marked a great change. Even though the attempts once more to unite Sweden and Russia to the Church were a failure, they nevertheless had very important results. The heir to the throne of Sweden was won over and the way paved for the reunion of the Ruthenians, while the change that was brought about in a comparatively short time in Poland was of the utmost importance. At the extinction of the dynasty of the Jagellons, the triumph of Protestantism in Poland was by no means

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, xxiv.

[2] According to *Musotti's notes, Gregory XIII. sent to France more than 300,000 scudi, to the Emperor 100,000, to the Archduke Charles also 100,000, and to Don Juan 50,000 scudi. He bestowed about 200,000 scudi on Cologne. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 383, and Vol. XIX., p. 7 of this work.

improbable,[1] and as that nation had an importance for the east comparable to that of the Netherlands in the west, the triumph there of the new religion would have been a fatal blow to the Church beyond the Alps. But the very opposite of what one party hoped for and the other feared took place, and when the pontificate of Gregory drew near its end, the failure of Protestantism and the triumph of the renewed Catholic Church in Poland had been assured.

An essential share in this change, which was of international importance,[2] was taken by the King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. Under his rule, and with his help, the Catholic Church in Poland found new life, "Protestantism was eradicated, and at the same time, the permanent seeds of Catholicism were sown in the Greek-Orthodox districts of the kingdom."[3] The support of the Pope and the Jesuits was of the greatest importance in this. Báthory, by his support of the Jesuits in Poland proper, and in Lithuania, as well as by opening out Livonia to them in the north, and Transylvania in the south, exercised a decisive effect on the propagation of Catholicism in the north and east of Europe.

The Jesuit Possevino prepared a far-reaching programme for this in his work on Transylvania which was dedicated to the Pope in 1584.[4] He drew up special plans for the carrying out of Catholic restoration in Transylvania, and pointed out the importance of this country for the spread of the Catholic faith in the neighbouring kingdoms. In the Grosswardein and other districts dependent upon Transylvania, he wrote, there are still many Catholics. They must be given help

[1] In 1572, only two Catholics remained among the councillors of the King of Poland; see HAUSMANN, Studien zur Geschichte des Königs Stephan von Polen, I., Dorpat, 1880, 25.

[2] According to SCHIEMANN (II., 371), who writes: "Poland was the vessel of election that was to carry through the counter-Reformation in the north and east; and was, at last, to bring about that union with the Greek Church which had been so earnestly desired ever since the days of Gregory VII."

[3] See *ibid.*, 269.

[4] Edited by VERESS in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 1 *seqq.*

without any delay. The same is the case with Temesvar, Belgrade and Bosnia, where the Catholics under Turkish rule do not hesitate to undertake long journeys in order to hear one mass and go to confession. There is also reason to hope for a rich harvest in Moldavia and Wallachia. In Wallachia the Greek schismatics call the Pope the "great father." It would not be difficult to win over this simple people, who are closely allied in origin to the Italians, but at least fifty missionaries are required who must learn the language of the country, and disseminate good Catholic books. These missionaries could be chosen, partly from the Society of Jesus, and partly from the Franciscan Order, who are highly esteemed by the Turks; the Oratorians too might be employed.

In Transylvania, says Possevino, and in the neighbouring districts, the greatest efforts must be made to supply priests and churches. The Pope it is true has done a great deal, but even more must be done, since these countries open the way by which the Gospel may be carried to the distant territories in the north and east of Europe. If the adversaries of the Church in Germany, he exclaims, put their trust in earthly means, we must proceed by peaceful means, and show that we do not seek for dignities and wealth, but only for the salvation of souls.

The far-reaching and generous spirit in which the zealous Jesuit drew out his argument was in complete accordance with the character and ideas of the aged Pope.[1] But when Gregory received the news of the vast plans of Possevino, his own life was hastening towards its end.[2] Let this be said: he whose name is associated with the new edition of the Canon Law, and the reform of the calendar, could truly say

[1] When Possevino went to Transylvania in 1583, Gregory entrusted him with briefs for the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia; see THEINER, III., 453 *seq.* The Pope had previously taken measures to protect Moldavia against the Turks.

[2] Since Possevino's proposals affected Hungary as well, Galli addressed himself, first of all, to the nuncio at the Emperor's court; see TURBA, III., 209.

that by his unwearied zeal for all the nations of the world, and by his establishment and support of ecclesiastical institutions for education and the training of missionaries throughout the world, had done more than any of his predecessors.[1] For that reason, as one of his contemporaries pointed out, the memory of Gregory XIII. must always remain in benediction, because he made clear to the world one of the principal duties of the true successor of St. Peter. "You Romans," he concludes, "must remember how much you owe to God and to such a pastor, who ennobled your city with institutions from which every year there goes forth a steady stream of missionaries to spread the faith. It is the duty of those who dwell in the Eternal City to consolidate by the example of their piety, that which he has planted."[2]

[1] See *Speciani's notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; MAFFEI, II., 478. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 567; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 94 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Raggioni date a diversi sig^{ri} cardinali in favore de' collegi e seminarii instituiti dalla S^{tà} di Gregorio XIII, Propaganda Archives, Rome, Vol. 362. *Cf.* for this memorandum, Vol. XIX., pp. 256 *seqq.*

APPENDIX.

1. Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1573, March 28, Rome.

. . . Essendo questo populo cresciuto notabilmente come dicono questi soprastanti alla gabella della farina che vogliono che dopo l'assumtione di S. S^{tà} al pontificato siano accresciute vintimila bocche, dicendo che si mangiano due milla rubbia di grano al mese più di quello che si faceva, il che nasce dall'ottimo et temperato governo di S. B^{ne} che administra giustitia senza crudeltà et tien a freno la licenza rigore et si mostra benigna et piacevole a tutti lasciandosi vedere spesso in publico et dando audienza a chi la vuole, ne si vede con tanta piacevolezza licenza straordinaria et la città quieta et l'honestà in ciascuno, et perchè questi soldati che eran qui in numero di cinque milla havevano cominciato a perturbare questa quiete con mille homicidii et assassinii che facevan per tutta la città, S. S^{tà} li ha cacciati tutti mandandoli a certi luoghi circonvicini, over saranno pagati et ridotti sotto le loro insegne et sotto la disciplina militare . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Cleansing of Morals in Rome, 1573-1582.[2]

i. Consistory of June 3rd, 1572.

See: *Studi e docum.* XXIV., 133.

ii. Niccolò Cusano to Maximilian II., Rome, May 9th, 1573. A severe watch over morals, as in the days of Pius V., was again established. Eighteen prostitutes were whipped at Tor di Nona.

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana.*]

iii. Avviso di Roma of September 12, 1573.

" Si pigliano tutte le cortegiane uscite dell'hortaccio et anco

[1] See *supra*, p. 541, n. 2.
[2] See *supra*, p. 545, n. 3.

tutte le altre di dishonesta vita, che saranno costrette di habitare in detto luogo a vero partirsi di Roma."

[Orig. Urb. 1043, p. 303b., Vatican Library.]

iv. Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1574.

Some "donne trovate in cocchio" received a whipping.[1]

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 136, *loc. cit.*]

v. Avviso di Roma of August 20, 1575.

The Pope ordered Monsignor Aragona to leave Rome, because, in spite of the repeated prohibition, he cultivated a passion for gaming. Cardinals Maffei and F. de' Medici had gambled for 27,000 scudi.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 517b, *loc. cit.*]

vi. Avviso di Roma of August 27, 1575.

The Pope complained that Cardinal Medici was publicly dissipating his property. Besides Aragona he has also punished Maffei for gambling. Medici lost 30,000 scudi in gambling.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 522b, *loc. cit.*]

vii. Avviso di Roma of September 10, 1575.

In spite of their attempts to justify themselves, Maffei, Verallo and Rustici are in disgrace on account of the gambling affair.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 530, *loc. cit.*]

viii. Avviso di Roma of October 20, 1576.

"Sono stati attaccati bandi per li cantoni, che tutte le meretrici ritornino ad habitare all'ortaccio, et i vagabondi sfrattino di Roma fra 5 giorni sotto pena della galera da ciechi e stroppiati in poi, et questo per questi sospetti di peste."

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 165, *loc. cit.*)[2]

ix. Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1577.

"De'spresso ordine del Papa si è publicato bando, che le

[1] This and other severe measures were justified by the grave moral conditions. *Cf.* the memorial in Döllinger, Beiträge, III., 237 *seqq.*, which was written in 1574 or 1575; see *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1884, n. 15, p. 604.

[2] *Cf.* the Mantuan report of October 22, 1576, in BERTOLOTTI, Repress. straord. alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI., Roma, 1887, 14.

cortigiane ritornino ad habitare nell'hortaccio sotto pena della perdita de' beni d'applicarsi a luoghi pii, et della frusta, che non vadino in cocchio, sendo di nuovo stati prohibiti li ridotti di giuocatori sotto pena della galera."

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 601, *loc. cit.*]

x. Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1579.

" Incrudelisce la corte di Roma contra le povere cortegiane, delle quali in 2 giorni de sono state prese da 80 circa."

[Orig. Urb. 1047, p. 14b, *loc. cit.*]

xi. Avviso di Roma of September 30, 1579.

On Sunday there were arrested by the new " Bargello alcuni cocchi pieni di cortegiane, il che dinota principio di riforma." The Pope sentenced them to the loss of their rings and gold chains and to 100 scudi for the hospital of the " SS. Trinità de' Convalescenti."

[Orig. Urb. 1047, p. 329, *loc. cit.*]

xii. Avviso di Roma of January 27, 1582.

" Perchè li giorni passati fu pubblicato un bando contro le cortegiane et particolarmente in Borgo, di dove sono state scacciate tutte, il barigello di Roma l'altro giorno vedendo la femina del s. Ostilio Orsino fratello del già card. Orsino, che andava per Roma nel cocchio di esso signore, la condusse subbito prigione et diede la corda al cocchiere, mandando il cocchio nell'osteria dell'Orso et poi a S. Sisto conforme a bandi."

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 23, *loc. cit.*]

xiii. Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1582.

Last week by the express command of the Pope 42 courtesans were arrested, who had gone in " cocchio " to the " ponte Salaro " ; they were ordered not to go out, and His Holiness further desired that " sino che esse pagghino 2,500 scudi," in future they should all be confined to the appointed places under severe penalties.

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 249b, *loc. cit.*]

3. Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1576, January 28, Rome.

Qui erano comparsi molti comedianti con disegno di ottenere licenza di recitar questo carnevale, il che non havendo ottenuto si sono partiti.

Il s. Paolo Giordano supplicando S. S^{tà} che si potessero far maschere, hebbe in risposta che era meglior a pensar di trovar corsaletti et arme per ditendersi dalle minaccie degl'heretici et infideli, che disegnano assaltar la povera christianità et che facessero cio intendere alli Romani, onde si crede che si faranno pochi giorni maschere.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1577, May 25, Rome.

. . . Il popolo Romano ha eretto in Campidoglio una statua a S. S^{tà} et dimani si cantarà una messa solenne in Araceli, et per tre giorni continui si farà festa in honore di S. B^{ne}, sotto la qual statua si metterà l'inscritione sequente, la quale è piacciuta a S. B^{ne} più che l'altra che era a contentamento del sig^{r} castellano: Gregorio XIII. Boncompagno. Bonon. Pont. Max. qui [etc.; s. Forcella I 39]. L'altra era come di sotto: Opt. Pont. Max. Gregorio XIII. Boncom. Bonon. ob Capitolium extructum, portas resistitutas, pontes instauratos, fontes publicos ornatos, iustitiam administratam, Rempublicam gubernatam religionemque conservatam S. P. Q. R. P.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1577.[3]

La nuova chiesa de' padri Theatini vicino a S. Marco posta nella strada, che va a Campidoglio, è (Dio lodato) condotta a perfetissima fine et è riuscita macchina di signolar maestà et bellezza per gli ornamenti di marmi nella facciata et de ricchissimi capitelli, che sono nella chiesa, che costa 100^{m} sc., de quali il card. Farnese ne ha pagati 4^{m} l' anno, da che principiorno i fondamenti, in memoria del quale è sopra la porta di mezzo, che sono 3 con pari proportione l'armi di

[1] See *supra*, p. 548, n. 5.
[2] See *supra*, p. 608, n. 1.
[3] See *supra*, p. 578, n. 2.

S.S. Illma in un' ovato di finissimo marmo, lungo 25 palmi et largo 10 con il suo nome in una linea, che tiene tutta la facciata della fabrica: Alexander Farnesius S. R. E. Card. Vicecanc. f. c. Anno 75.

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 650, Vatican Library.]

6. Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1578, October 25, Rome.

" . . . S. S^{tà} ha finite tutte le fabbriche restate imperfette per la morte di Pio IV., et si è già messo mano per finire il corridore di Belvedere che riguarda sopro il Boschetto. Con gran cura et diligenza ancora attende a far finire la sua Cappella Gregoriana in S. Pietro, la quale serà una delle maravigliose et suntuose cose che si sian fatte dalli antichi in qua, si per essere di mirabile spesa come per essere lavorata di musaico con molta più maestranza et diligenza che non si faceva anticamente; costerà avanti che sia finita più di 200^{m} duc. Ha anco fatto incominciare l'altra cappella al dirimpetto della sudetta che viene sopra la sacristia di S. Pietro . . ."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7. Avvisi di Roma of August 6 and 10, 1580.[2]

August 6: " Cavendosi in chiesa di S. Pietro in fondamenti d'una scala sono stati ritrovati 4 corpi santi di Leon Magno, Leon 2 e Leon 3. Pontefice et il corpo d'un rè d'Inghilterra, quale havea la corona et anello con un manto di broccato, che pareva nuovo, e sono più di mill'anni che fu sepolto. Il Papa ha voluto veder il tutto et ha donato al maestro di Camera la corona et anello."

August 10: In front of the Gregorian Chapel are the bodies of Popes Leo I., Leo II. and Leo III., as well as the remains of a King of England: the king's mantle down to the knees is of gold brocade, in silk embroidered with gold thread.

[Orig. Urb. 1048, pp. 228b, 239b, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 565, n. 1.
[2] See *supra*, p. 566, n. 2.

8. Audiences of Cardinal Santori with Gregory XIII. concerning the Greek Church of S. Atanasio.[1]

1580.

October 20: "Della fabrica della chiesa di Greci—che se cominci."

November 3: "Del disegno nuovo della chiesa del Collegio greco—lo viddimo insieme, che si seguiti. Dell'invocatione di S. Atanasio da imporsi alla chiesa nuova—gli piace et che è ben fatto per le raggioni dette e che di questo santo non vi è chiesa, ma de altri dottori greci vi è S. Basilio, la Cappella Gregoriana ha di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno e di S. Giov. Crisostomo vi sarà l'altra all'incontro in S. Pietro."

December 1: "Del disegno e fabrica della chiesa—che si seguiti a furia."

1581.

April 20: "Della cornice di fuera della chiesa di Greci, che fusse di tivertino e non di mattoni per le pioggie et acqua di tetti—che si parli con Jacopino e che se non fussero questi tivertini la chiesa saria finita."

November 16: "Dell'ampliatione della chiesa di Greci—che segli mostri il disegno."

[Orig. Audientiæ Card. Santorii, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18.]

9. Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584.[2]

"Il Papa ha donato il primo sborso delli 25^{m} sc. del Camerlengato alla fabrica del Collegio generale delli Iesuiti, et gli altri 25^{m} sc. da pagarsi in 2 anni, gli ha S. B. destinati per finire la capella, che si fa in S. Pietro di rincontro alla Gregoriana dedicata a S. Andrea.

"Hora anco per magnificare (come molto dedito alle fabriche) il palazzo di Montecavallo, è entrato in pensiero di erigervi nel mezo della sala una gran torre, la quale domini non solo i sette colli, ma scopri anco questi contorni fino al mare, et tal pensiero di S. B. piace molto al card. Guastavillano, ma S. Sisto n'è nemico, di maniera che questo humilia respicit, et l'altro a longe alta cognoscit."

[Orig. Urb. 1052, p. 207, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 584, nn. 1 and 3.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 588, n. 2; 624, n. 5.

10. Avviso di Roma of June 6, 1584.[1]

On Sunday the Pope showed himself very anxious about Cardinal Este's health, and begged him to take care of himself in the interests of Christendom, and to remain at the Quirinal, "a godere la salubrità di quell' aria, le delitie di quel luogo et le commodità di quella stanza fatta capace per ambidue et fabricata da S. S. a beneficio et commodo di S. S. Illma, alla quale sebene non haveva mai detto nulla ne per creanza ne per debito di voler fabricare nel suo giardino, non già però mai speso in quel sito che per servitio et beneficio di lei, della quale voleva dopo morte, che'l palazzo con tutti gli altri miglioramenti, che se gli aggiungeranno, siano i suoi." The Cardinal was quite confounded by the friendliness of Boncompagno.

(Orig. Urb. 1052, p. 218, Vatican Library.]

11. Notes on the Pictures and Buildings of Gregory XIII.[2]

La f. m. di P. Gregorio XIII. fece fare in Roma e fuori molte degne e magnanime imprese, tra li quali dignissima è stata la cappella Gregoriana, architetto della quale è stato Giacomo della Porta Romano; il musaico d' essa cappella fu ordinato e disegnato da Gieronimo Mutiano pittore Bresciano, e dal medesimo sono state depinte le doe tavole, che hora fa metter in opera l'ill. et ecc. duca di Sora cioè una di S. Gregorio Nanziano. La lavation de piedi, che fece il Signore all' apostoli, che sta sopra d' una delle porte, la fece Tadeo Landini scultore Fiorentino.

Sopra le cinque porte di S. Pietro e tutte le caposcale di palazzo [Vaticano], dove sono dipinti tutti l' atti delli apostoli, furono fatte con ordine e disegno di Lorenzo Sabbatini pittore Bolognese.

Nella cappella Paolina il medesimo Lorenzo Sabbatini dipinse tre quadri, nel primo la lapidation di S. Stefano, nel secondo S. Paolo riceve il lume nella casa d' Anania, lo terzo il miracolo che fece S. Pietro contra Simon Mago. Il quadro dove è depinto il battesimo di S. Paolo, ha fatto Federico Zuccaro,[3] e similmente tutta la volta dove son depinte attioni dell' apostoli S. Pietro e Paolo.

[1] See *supra*, p. 625, n. 5.
[2] See *supra*, cap. XIV.
[3] See H. Voss, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 460.

Il fine della Sala Regia, dov' è la battaglia navale e altr' attioni fatte in honore e benefitio di s. chiesa, fu condotto con ordine e disegno di Georgio Vasari pittore Aretino.

Il quadro del Spirito santo nel mezzo del palco della Sala del Concistorio lo fece Gieronimo Mutiano, la galeria piccola a canto a detta Sala Lorenzo Sabbatini.

Della Galeria maggiore ne fu architetto Ottaviano Mascherino, la pittura delle tavole di cosmografia fu fatta con ordine e disegno del rev^mo P. Ignatio Dante, vescovo d' Alatri, le pitture della volta ordinate da Gieronimo Mutiano, ma designate da Cesare Nebbia da Orvieto.

La Loggia de' venti ne fu architetto Ottaviano Mascherino ; la pittura dov' è la fortuna che patì S. Paolo alla venuta di Roma, con altre inventioni, la fece Nicolao Pomarancie ; le stantie a canto alla medesima loggia le dipinse Matteo Fiamengo, eccellentissimo nel far paesi.

Le loggie del cortile di Palazzo verso ponente le ordinò Martin Longo architetto, le pitture delle seconda e terza loggia Lozenzo Sabbatini, quelle della quarta, dov' è dipinta la translatione di S. Gregorio Nanziano, e d' alcune tavole di cosmografia il vescovo d' Alatri.

La sala detta la Bologna, dove sono depinte al mezzo della volta i 12 segni celesti con una prospettiva di colonne adornata di varie figure e nella prima pariete vi è depinta Bologna in pianta con il suo territorio, nella seconda Bologna con l' edificii alzati e nella terza vi son doi quadri, [in] uno de quali è depinto Gregorio IX. con li decreti e nel secondo Bonifacio VIII. che conferma i privilegii alli dottori e scolari del studio di Bologna ; tutta l' opera di pitture fu ordinata e designata da Lorenzo Sabbatini e molte cose fatte di sua propria mano, ma li 12 segni celesti nominati li ordinò Giovan Antonio Varesi.

Il palazzo di Monte Cavallo l' ordinò Ottav. Mascharini, la sepultura di Gregorio XI. a S. Maria nova fu fatta da Pietro Paolo Olivieri scultore Romano.

Lo studio della Sapienza Giacomo della Porta.

La chiesa di S. Marta Ottav. Mascharino.

Il collegio Romano il P. Giuseppe Valeriano architetto Giesuita.

La chiesa e il collegio de Greci Giac. della Porta.

Il ponte senatorio detto di S. Maria Matteo del Castello architetto,

La chiesa di S. Gregorio alla villa di Frascati Martin Longo, un quadro del crocifisso in pittura Gieronimo Mutiano.

La statua della Madonna fatta da bronzo nella facciata di S. Maria di Loreto Gieronimo Recanati.

Gl' architetti e pittori provisionati da essa f. m. :

Prima Martin Longo architetto, appresso Ottav. Mascharino.

Pittori provisionati :

Il primo fu Georg. Vasari Aretino.

Gieronimo Mutiano.

Lorenzo Sabbatino et ultimamente Tommaso Laureto pittore Siciliano fatto venire da essa f. mem. a Roma per depingere la sala Costantina.

La f. m. di P. Gregorio XIII. fece venir in Roma il medesimo T. Laureti per depinger la volta della Sala Costantina, et havendo egli anco assunto di far l' inventioni, li venne in animo di far attioni del medesimo imperatore et in particulare quelle che fece in honore e beneficio di s. chiesa, et havendo esso Tommaso vista in una delli parieti della medesima sala la donatione d' Italia fatta da Costantino a S. Silvestro e suoi successori rappresentata per una figuretta non molto intelligibile, pensò di fare l' istessa Italia distinta in 8 provincie secondo l' ordine de Strabone per più intelligenza di tal donatione. Pero fece nelle 4 pedocci della volta esse provincie, 2 per pedoccio, e primo la Liguria con la Toscana, appresso la Romana e la Napoletana, seguendo la Locania con la Puglia et ultimamente il Piceno con Venetia, tutte fatte in figura de donna con 2 puttini per ciascheduno che tengono l' uno l'insegni e proprietà del paese, l' altro l' inscrittione, nelli mezzi tondi piccoli o sordele, che chiamano alcuni della professione ; per l' incontro delle finestre la depinse la Corsica e Sicilia pure adornate de puttini che tengono medesimamente insegne e descrittioni ; nelli mezzi tondi grandi ah fatto li 3 corpi del mondo con le sue inscrittioni cioè l' Europa, l' Asia e l' Africa, nelli 4 angoli della volta son depinte 2 arme di essa felice memoria e 2 ombrelle insegna di s. chiesa, quali tutte son' accompagnate da 2 virtù con le sue inscrittioni, e prima la vigilanza e sapienza, che tiengono in mezzo una dell' armi, appresso la benignità e clemenza, dai lati di una delle ombrele la liberalità e magnificenza, tengono in mezzo l' altr' arma sicome la sincerità e concordia l' altra ombrella. Nelle lunette della volta vi son depinti alcuni puttini in scoccio con arte di

prospettiva, che tengono alcun' ornamento imperiale come il regno, la mitra, la corona, lo scettro, le vesti purpuree, lo stocco e speron d' oro et altri ornamenti, che dimostrano la dignità, e facoltà lasciata da Costantino a S. Silvestro e suoi successori. E perchè nelle parieti della medesima sala vi son depinte in forma di donne le 4 principali virtù, non parse ad esso Tomaso farle anco nella volta per non se vedere soto e sopra una medesima cosa, ma conoscendo egli tal virtù esser proprie della detta fel. mem., li venne in consideratione di farle a modo di embleme senz' alcun moto. Però fece in 4 triangoleti, che fan l' ornamento della volta, un globo della terra per ciascheduno in mezzo a 2 serpenti che doi timoni lo sostengono, sopra il primo ha fatto un specchio, al 2° una spada la bilancia, al 3° un leone e sopra il quarto la briglia, volendo dimostrare che la fe. mem. di P. Gregorio XIII. governò benissime il mondo con prudenza, giustitia, fortezza e temperanza.

Nel mezzo della volta pensò di dipinger quella degna attion di Costantino, quando commandò che per tutte le parti del suo imperio si gattassero a terra gl' idoli e s' adorasse Christo nostro redentore, ma essendo piacciuto al signor di tirar a se quell' anima benedetta, il nominato Tomaso non la possete far adornata di figure, come desiderava, per non esserli stato concesso dal successore d' essa fel. mem., ma nondimeno fece in quel luogo una prospettiva di un tempio, in mezzo al quale un altare con un crocifisso, e per terra una statua di Mercurio fracassata, che significano la medesima intentione.

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INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XX.

ABEL, Leonardo (titular-bishop of Sidon), 495 *seq.*, 497 *seq.*
Abundius and Abundantius, SS., 579.
Acciaiuoli, Bernardino, 583 n. 6.
Accoramboni, Vittoria, 536.
Acosta, José de (S.J., missionary), 507 *seq.*
Adolphus, Duke of Holstein, 51, 290 *seqq*, 293.
Agricola, George (Bishop of Lavant and Seckau), 62, 73, 76 *seq.*, 192, 274.
Aguillar, Pedro de, 499 n. 4.
Akbar (Grand-Mogul), 474–478
Alba, Duke of, 2–5, 307 *seq.*
Alber, Ferdinand (S.J.), 148.
Albert of Austria, Cardinal, 286.
Alberti, Cherubino (painter), 616.
Alberti, Giovanni (painter), 616.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 28, 41–52, 54, 59, 66, 71 *seq.*, 74, 80 *seqq.*, 83 *seq.*, 87 *seqq.*, 94, 109, 115, 117, 121, 126, 151, 158 *seq.*, 211, 224, 226, 250, 253, 255, 260, 266 *seq.*, 289 *seq.*, 293, 298 *seqq.*, 316, 321, 324 *seqq.*, 328, 332–337, 361.
Alciati, Francesco, Cardinal, 63 n. 6, 589.
Alençon, Francis (Duke of Anjou), 11, 18.
Alessi, Galeazzo (architect), 577.
Alexander VI., Pope, 575, 601 n. 3.
Alfaro, Pedro de (Franciscan missionary), 478.
Almeida, Luiz (S.J.), 451.
Altemps, *see* Hohenems.
Alvarez, Michele (Franciscan), 109, 122.
Ammanati, Bartolomeo (architect), 562, 563 n. 5, 587, 590.
Anchieta, José de (S.J.), 510.
Andrew of Austria, Cardinal, 18, 127, 131, 285, 321, 323, 370 *seq.*, 373.
Anjou, *see* Alençon and Henry.
Anna (Duchess of Bavaria), 93, 343.
Anna Jagellon, 386, 390, 393, 408, 420.
Anna of Saxony (wife of William of Orange), 249.
Antichi, *see* Bresciano.
Apian, 46 n. 2.
Aquaviva, Claudio (General of the Jesuits), 471 n. 2.
Aquaviva, Rodolfo (Jesuit missionary), 476 *seqq.*
Aragona, Mgr., 645.
Arator, *see* Szántó.
Arpino, Guiseppe Cesari d' (painter), 613.
Arsengo, Girolamo (Franciscan), 490.
Audebert, Nicolas, 553 n.
Augustus (Elector of Saxony), 51, 54, 203 n. 2, 209, 210 n. 1, 212, 236, 238 *seq.*, 243, 245–249, 251 *seq.*, 254, 259 *seqq.*, 263, 273, 276, 282, 284, 336 *seq.*, 349, 375.
Avrogadro, Ottavio (bandit), 540.
Azarias (Armenian patriarch), 496 *seq.*

BAGLIONE Giov., 560 n. 1, 569, 589 n. 1, 599 n. 5.
Baglioni, Family of the, 526.
Balduini, Martin (Bishop of Ypres), 9.

Bär, Francis (coadjutor bishop of Basle), 142.
Barbaro, Francesco (Patr. of Aquileia), 71, 80.
Barnaynes, Isaac, 481 n. 4.
Baronius, Caesar (Oratorian), 20 n., 569.
Barreira, Blathasar (S.J., missionary), 482.
Barreto, Melchior Nuñez, 466.
Barvitius, Johann (Bavarian agent in Cologne), 367.
Barzana, Alonso (S.J., missionary), 505.
Báthory, Andrew, Cardinal, 411.
Báthory, Christopher (Voivode), 412 *seq.*
Báthory, Sigismund (Voivode), 412, 414.
Báthory, Stephen (King of Poland), 386, 389 *seqq.*, 393–397, 399 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*, 406, 408, 414, 434 *seqq.*, 438, 444, 446, 641.
Baume, Claude de la (Archbishop of Besançon), Cardinal, 181.
Becke, von der (envoy from Bremen), 337 n.
Beirer (Augustinian canon of Augsburg), 124
Bellarmine, Robert (S.J.), 23, 415.
Bellini, Marcantonio (auditor to Bonhomini), 170, 184.
Berg, Marquard von (Bishop of Augsburg), 126.
Bernini (architect and sculptor), 592.
Bertrand, Louis (O.P., missionary), 501.
Bialobrzeski, Martin (Bishop of Kamieniec), 405.
Bicker, Christopher (Abbot of Hersfeld), 318.
Bielke, Gunnila (wife of John III. of Sweden), 433.
Biglia, Melchior (nuncio), 349 n. 4, 350.
Blarer, Ambrose, 138 n.
Blarer, Diethelm (Abbot of St. Gall), 130, 137 n. 7.
Blarer, Gerwick (Abbot of Weingarten), 137 n. 7.
Blarer, Louis (Abbot of Einsiedeln), 137 n. 7.
Blarer von Wartensee, Jakob Christoph (Bishop of (Basle), 137–143, 148, 165, 174, 181.
Blondus, Fabius (latin Patr. of Jerusalem), 566 n.
Boccapaduli, Antonio, 462, 464.
Bologna (painter), *see* Sabbatini and Torrigiani.
Bolognetti, Alberto (Bishop of Massa), Cardinal, 405 n. 5, 407–411, 447 n. 3.
Boncompagni, Cristoforo (Archbishop of Ravenna), 519.
Boncompagni, Filippo, Cardinal [S. Sisto], 26 n. 3, 464, 520, 636.
Boncompagni, Giacomo (General of the Church, Duke of Sora), 435, 464, 533, 537, 554, 569, 571, 627, 636 *seq.*
Boncompagni, Giovanni (ancestor of Gregory XIII.), 562.
Boncompagni, Jacopo, Cardinal, 637.
Bonfiglioli, Rodolfo (Papal treasurer), 514.
Bonhomini, Giov. Franc. (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 24, 159 *seq.*, 168–185, 229 n. 8, 267 *seqq.*, 271, 273, 281 n. 4, 341 n. 3, 345, 368 *seq.*
Boniface IX., Pope, 599.
Borgia, Francis (general of the Jesuits), 402, 503, 577.
Borromeo, Charles (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 67, 141, 163, 165, 168 *seqq.*, 170, 174, 180 *seq.*, 184 *seqq.*, 268, 381, 383, 414.
Bossi, Francesco (Bishop of Perugia and Novara), 381.
Boucherat, Nicholas (Abbot-general of the Cistercians), 305 n. 6.

Bourbon, Charlotte de (wife of William of Orange), 249.
Brendel, Daniel (Archbishop of Mayence), 188 *seq.*, 194 n. 3, 211, 220, 223 *seq.*, 228, 231–242, 243 *seq.*, 257, 271, 294, 297, 312, 334, 337 n. 6.
Brescia, Giovita da (O.P.), 490.
Bresciano, Prospero [Antichi], (sculptor), 564, 613, 637.
Bril, Matthieu (painter), 564, 615, 621.
Bril, Paul (painter), 564, 569.
Broich, Anna, 319.
Bruno, Giovanni (S.J.), 491 n. 3, 493 *seq.*
Brus, Anton (Archbishop of Prague), 102 *seqq.*, 350.
Bubenhausen, Henry von (administrator of Fulda), 227, 230.
Bufalini, 554, 594.
Bufalo, del (Roman conservator), 607.
Burghesius, Horatius, 566 n.

Cabral, Francis (S.J., missionary), 456.
Calderoni, Family of the, 521.
Caligari, Giovanni Andrea (nuncio), 394, 406 *seq.*, 415.
Calvin, 3.
Campegio, Lorenzo (nuncio), 303.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 27 *seq.*, 38 n., 41 *seq.*, 46 n. 1, 50 n. 3, 51, 85, 141, 182, 195 n. 7, 258, 282, 306, 401 *seq.*
Capece, Ferrante (S.J.), 414.
Capilupi, Camillo, 541 n. 2, 547 n. 1, 549 n. 3.
Capizucchi, Emilio, 537.
Capua, Annibale di (nuncio), 229 n. 8.
Carafa, Family of the, 622, 625.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 491 *seq.*, 494.
Caresana (secretary to Bonhomini), 170.
Carpi, Alberto Pio de, 522.
Casa (Jesuit), 495.
Casas, Bartolomé de las (O.P., Bishop of Chiapa), 501.
Castagna, Giambattista, Cardinal, 12, 15 n. 1, 335 n. 2, 363 *seq.*
Castro, Scipione di, 530 n., 627 n. 5.
Catena (leader of the banditti), 527, 531 n. 4.
Catherine Jagellon (Queen of Sweden), 386, 417, 419 *seq.*, 423, 425, 429 n. 3.
Cavalieri (Roman conservatore) 607.
Cavalieri, Giambattista de' (engraver), 597 n.
Cavalieri, Tomaso de'. 565.
Cedulini, Pietro (Bishop of Nona), 487 *seqq.*, 490.
Cesarini, Family of the, 515.
Cesi, Angelo (Bishop of Todi), 580.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 269, 529, 556, 580.
Charles, Archduke of Styria, 50, 54 *seq.*, 61, 66, 68, 70 *seq.*, 74, 78, 80, 83, 87, 99, 105, 109, 113, 117 *seq.*, 158, 211, 272 *seq.*, 277, 439, 640 n. 2.
Charles IX. (King of France), 388, 554, 611.
Charles (of Sweden), 418.
Charles Frederick (hereditary Prince of Jülich-Cleves), 51, 143, 307 *seq.*
Ciappi (biographer of Gregory XIII.), 560 n. 1, 629 n. 4, 636 n. 2.
Cingiva, Michael (Japanese prince), 460, 462.
Clavius, Christopher (S.J., mathematician), 470.
Clement VII., Pope, 435, 499.
Clement XI., Pope, 593 n.
Clemente, Juan (Franciscan missionary), 479.
Clenck, Rudolf (theologian), 302, 303 n. 1.
Coligny, Admiral, 611.
Colonna, Family of the, 515.
Colonna, Giulio, 516.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Viceroy of Naples), 550 n. 2.

Commendone, Giov. Franc., Cardinal, 26 *seq.*, 63 n. 6, 106, 188, 269, 306, 386, 387 n. 1, 388, 396, 419, 437.
Comotto, Pietro (painter), 613.
Condé, Henry of, 219.
Consalvi (Jesuit), 462 *seq.*
Contarini, Paolo (Bailo), 487.
Contreras, Pedro Moya de (Archbishop of Mexico), 502, 504.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 594 n. 1, 596 n.
Corraro, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 34 n. 2, 512, 516 *seq.*, 540, 572, 633 *seq.*, 635.
Correggio (painter), 598 n.
Corso, Pietro, 526 n. 1.
Cosimo de'Medici (Grand-duke of Florence), 609.
Costa, Cristoforo da (missionary), 467.
Cromer, Martin, 405.
Cruz, Gaspar de (O.P., missionary), 466.
Cuprimontanus, Petrus, 428.
Cusano, Galeazzo (Imperial agent in Rome), 630.
Cysat, Renward (state-secretary of Lucerne), 164, 176.

DALBERG, Wolfgang von (Archbishop of Mayence), 273 *seqq*, 368 *seq.*, 375 n. 1.
Dandini, Family of the, 521.
Danti, Ignazio (O.P., Bishop of Alatri), 609 n. 3, 617 *seq.*, 620.
Dario, *see* Hida-no-Kami.
Dathenus, Peter (Calvinist), 9 *seq.*
David, Ignatius (Jacobite patriarch), 496.
Delfino, Giovanni (nuncio), 50, 82 *seq.*, 87, 96 *seq.*, 99, 111, 223, 250, 256 *seqq.*
Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal, 26, 28, 86, 209, 269, 295 *seq.*
Delius, Joachim, 302 n. 5.
Delphius, Johann (Coadjutor-bishop of Strasburg), 144 *seq.*
Dernbach, Balthasar von (Prince-abbot of Fulda), 203, 205–231.
Dillinger, 85.
Dorothea, Duchess of Lorraine, 302, 303 n. 5.
Drieux, Rem. (Bishop of Bruges), 9.
Duca, Giacomo del (architect), 595.
Dum, Martin (court-preacher), 159.
Duninwolski, Petrus (Bishop of Plock), 395.
Du Pérac, Étienne, 553 *seq.*, 594.
Dürer, Albert, 598 n.

ECHTER, Julius of Mespelbrunn, (Bishop of Würzburg), 39, 82, 190, 193–203, 219 *seqq.*, 224–230, 233, 273, 376.
Eck, Johann, 44.
Eck, Simon Thaddeus (Bavarian chancellor), 44, 290.
Eder, George, 83 *seq.*, 159, 267.
Egeling (chancellor of Bremen), 338.
Egnatius, Fr., 618 n. 1.
Eisengrein, Martin, 47 *seq.*, 81.
Elgard, Nicholas (Coadjutor-bishop of Erfurt), 91 n. 3, 124, 188–191, 196 *seq.*, 204, 215–218, 237, 258, 314, 325, 348 *seqq.*, 356.
Eliano, Giambattista (S.J.), 492 *seqq.*, 497.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 3, 6 *seq.*, 379, 443.
Elsenheimer (Bavarian chancellor), 261 n. 7.
Eltz, Jakob von (Archbishop of Trêves), 189, 194 n. 3, 220, 227, 251, 257, 334, 337, 354–357.
Erasmus, 17, 21.
Eraso, Francisco de (Spanish envoy to Sweden), 424.

Eric II. (Duke of Brunswick-Kalenberg), 130, 290, 301 *seqq.*
Eric XIV. (King of Sweden), 417 *seq.*
Erici, Petrus, 431 n. 3.
Ernfelder (Jesuit), 147.
Ernest of Bavaria, Duke (Bishop of Freising, Hildesheim, Liège, Cologne and Münster), 23, 54, 71, 73, 80, 84, 88, 125, 160, 275, 286, 289 *seqq.*, 291–294, 300, 316, 320–323, 325–330, 334, 338 *seq.*, 341–346, 361 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*, 374–378.
Ernest (Archduke of Austria), 266, 386 *seq.*, 389.
Erstenberger (secretary of the Imperial Chancery), 223, 244.
Este, Alfonso d' (Duke of Ferrara), 530 n. 1.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 528, 556, 622, 624 *seq.*
Eugenius III., Pope, 575.
Eyb, Martin von (Bishop of Bamberg), 192 n., 278, 280.

Fabi, Fabio de' (S.J.), 470.
Fabricius, Andreas, 89, 152, 291, 321, 544 n.
Faenza, Marco da (painter), 563.
Farnese, Family of the, 622.
Farnese, Alessandro, Duke, (Governor of the Netherlands), 14 *seqq.*, 18 *seq.*, 23, 337, 377.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 26, 429, 437, 527, 556, 567, 574 n. 2, 576–580. 597 n.
Farnese, Ottavio, 14.
Fazello, Tommaso (O.P.), 615.
Fazil, Abul, 476 *seq.*
Fazolio, 637 n. 1.
Fecht, Peter (secretary to the King of Sweden), 421 *seqq.*
Fend, Erasmus (Bavarian councillor), 158, 160.
Ferdinand (Bavarian Duke), 378.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 56, 215, 238, 241, 243–247, 255, 258 *seq.*, 349.
Ferdinand II. (Archduke of the Tyrol), 28, 42, 54, 56, *seqq.*, 61, 63 n. 5, 64, 66, 70, 72, 74, 80, 83, 87, 99, 109 *seq.*, 127, 131, 133, *seq.*, 136, 145, 149, 174, 180 *seq.*, 211, 224, 255, 261, 270, 272 *seq.*, 303, 321, 368, 370, 389, 540.
Fernandez, Em., 481 n. 4.
Ferrari, Paolo (Swedish envoy in Rome), 419 *seq.*
Ferratino, Bartolomeo (Bishop), 571.
Feucht, Jakob (Coadjutor-bishop of Bamberg), 191.
Feyt, Florenz (Papal envoy to Sweden), 421.
Fickler, Johann, 71, 85.
Firley (grand-marshal of Poland), 387.
Fontana, Giovanni (architect), 562, 626, 628.
Forli, Livio Agresti da, 611.
Formello, Donato da (painter), 615.
Fornier, Jean (S.J.), 425.
Franchini, Giulio, 549 n. 2.
Franck, Kaspar, 47.
Frangipani, Fabio Mirto (Archbishop of Nazareth, nuncio in Paris), 11.
Francis, Daimio (Japanese convert), 459.
Francis I., (King of France), 385.
Francis I. (Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 143, 316 *seq.*
Francis of Paula, St., 600.
Francis Xavier, St., 448 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 466, 470, 472 *seq.*
Frauenberg, Ladislaus, Count of, 47.
Frederick (Duke of Holstein, Bishop of Hildesheim,) 143, 284, 287.

Frederick (Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 316, 342, 345 *seq.*, 372.
Frederick (Count Palatine), 210, 212, 238, 282.
Frederick II. (King of Denmark), 333.
Frederick III. (Elector Palatine), 150, 152, 248 *seqq.*, 252, 254 n. 4, 263, 310.
Frederick Albert (Duke of Prussia), 308, 386.
Freytag, Sebastian (Abbot of Bruck), 108.
Frizolio, Lorenzo, 572 n. 4.
Froes, L. (Jesuit missionary), 449, 454 *seq.*, 458.
Fugger, Family of the, 123 *seq.*
Funck (Abbot of Petershausen), 173.
Fürstenberg, Theodore von (Bishop of Paderborn), 347.

GAETANI, Pietro, 537.
Gago, Balthasar (Jesuit missionary), 449.
Gakkei, Schogun, 455.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal (of Como), 10, 26 *seq.*, 64, 83, 129, 161, 180, 191 n. 1, 270 *seq.*, 278, 282 *seq.*, 313, 323, 329, 363 *seq.*, 372, 381 *seq.*, 407, 419, 425, 429, 436 *seq.*, 517, 594 n. 1, 614 n. 6, 637 n., 642 n. 2.
Garcés, Julian (Bishop of Tlaxcala), 501.
Gardie, Pontius de la (Swedish envoy in Rome), 422 *seq.*, 425.
Gennadius, 487.
George, Duke of Brunswick (Archbishop of Bremen), 317.
Georg Ludwig (Landgrave of Leuchtenberg), 87.
Gérard, Balthasar, 19 n. 4.
Germigny, Jacques (French envoy in Constantinople), 488.
Ghettini, Agostino, 462 n. 1.
Ghislieri, Giov. Pietro, 517 n. 7, 518 *seq.*, 520 *seq.*, 522 *seq.*
Gibelstadt, Zobel von (Bishop of Bamberg), 191 n. 8.
Gigli, Tomaso. 514.
Giovio, P., 438.
Gluschitz, Konrad Adam (Bishop of Laibach), 71.
Gnecchi, Organtino (Jesuit missionary), 456, 458.
Gogreff, Georg (dean of Minden), 296, 298.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal, 424.
Gonzaga, Louis, 476.
Gonzaga, Marco, 544 n.
Good, William (S.J.), 425.
Granvelle, Cardinal, 10.
Gregory IX., Pope, 610, 616.
Gregory XI., Pope, 608, 651.
Gregory XIII., Pope, *see* Vol. XX.
Gregory of Nazianzen, St., 569 *seqq.*, 615.
Gretser (Jesuit), 122.
Groesbeek, Gerhard von (Bishop of Liège), Cardinal, 23.
Gropper, Johann, 82, 87, 187,
Gropper, Gaspar (nuncio), 66. 123, 125, 187–190, 215, 233 *seq.*, 284, 297 *seq.*, 308–314, 317 *seqq.*, 323 *seqq.*, 329, 348, 354 *seq.*
Gaulterius, Guido, 639 n. 1.
Guastavillani, Filippo (nephew of Gregory XIII.), Cardinal, 10, 464, 530 n., 561, 575 n. 5, 587, 626, 636.
Guercino, Prete da (leader of bandits), 539.
Gymnich, Werner von, 307 *seq.*

HALVER, Ludwig (vice-chancellor of Brunswick), 289.
Hammerstein (envoy of Cleves), 321.
Hara, Martin (Japanese nobleman), 460, 462.
Hattstein, Markward von (Bishop of Spires), 131, 149, 151 *seq.*, 228.
Haugwitz, Johann von (Bishop of Meissen), 348 *seq.*

Heer (Abbot of Einsiedeln), 172.
Helding (Bishop of Merseburg), 245.
Henriquez, Franc. (Jesuit missionary), 476.
Henry of Navarre, 379.
Henry (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 287, 288 *seq.*, 296.
Henry (Protestant Archbishop of Bremen, Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 306, 312, 316, 317 n. 1, 318 *seqq.*, 322 *seq.*, 324, 327, 329 *seq.*, 335, 337 *seqq.*, 340, 342, 345 *seqq.*, 351, 362, 366.
Henry III. (Duke of Anjou, King of France), 11, 386 *seqq.*
Henry Julius (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 288, 290, 297 *seqq.*, 300 *seq.*, 351.
Herberstein, 438.
Herbest (Jesuit), 399.
Hida-no-kami, Takajama [Dario], 455.
Hoffäus, Paul (S.J.), 49, 181.
Hoffmann, John Frederick, 278, 280.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von [Altemps], Cardinal, 26, 134, 138, 140, 167 *seqq.*, 176, 516, 528.
Holguin, Diego Gonzalez (Jesuit missionary), 505 *seq.*
Holle, Eberhard (Abbot of Lüneburg, Bishop of Lübeck and Verden), 290, 352, 353.
Horneburg, Hermann von, 288 *seqq.*, 291, 298 *seqq.*
Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal, 26 *seq.*, 41, 50, 291, 585, 390 n. 5, 393 *seq.*, 396, 405, 419, 425, 429.
Hoya, Johann von (Bishop of Münster), 304–307, 309, 312, 317 *seq.*, 346 *seqq.*

Ignatius of Loyola, 384, 586.
Ilsung, Family of, 123 *seq.*
Ingoli, Family of the, 521.
Innocent III., Pope, 491, 611.
Innocent X., Pope, 592.
Innocent XI., Pope, 638.
Isabella of Aragon, 419.
Isei, Family of the, 522.
Ito, Mantius (Japanese prince), 459, 462.
Ivan IV., "The Terrible," 386, 434-446.

Jacobilli, L. (chronicler), 618 n. 4.
Jacobea, Duchess, 48, 93, 343.
Jeremias (schismatic patriarch of Constantinople), 489, 494.
Joachim, Frederick (Margrave of Brandenburg), 274, 284, 295.
Joachim, Charles (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 297 n. 2.
John of Austria, Don, 6–9, 14, 640 n. 2.
John (Coptic patriarch), 497.
John (Duke of Nassau), 338 *seq.*, 340, 362, 365, 371.
John III. (King of Sweden), 51, 386, 417–423, 425 *seqq.*, 429–433, 440.
John Casimir (Count Palatine), 152, 373, 375, 379.
John George (Elector of Brandenburg), 252, 263.
John Sigismund (Elector of Brandenburg), 33.
John William (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 66, 307, 309, 313, 315, 321. 323, 325–331, 334, 337, 339 *seqq.*, 343, 345, 370.
Joschinaga, Daimio, 451.
Joschisada, Daimio, 453.
Joschischiga, Otomo, Daimio, 451.
Julius (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 291 *seq.*, 296–301, 303, 313, 351.
Julius II., Pope, 567, 601, 608.
Julius III., Pope, 490, 542, 556, 576.
Junilla, Matteo di (Franciscan lay-brother), 508.

Jussoila, John, 432.
Justus, Alex., 566 n.

KARNKOWSKI, Stanislaus (Bishop of Leslau), 390, 406 *seq.*
Kartaro, Mario (engraver), 567 n. 3.
Katschadur (Armenian patriarch), 496.
Kessel, L., 214 n. 3.
Khuen, Michael (Archbishop of Salzburg), 62 n. 5.
Khuen v. Belasy, Johann Jacob, (Archbishop of Salzburg), 27 *seq.*, 62, 64, 66, 69–80, 83, 87, 105, 109, 111, *seqq.*, 123, 155 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*, 250, 261 *seq.*
Klaur, William (Abbot of Fulda), 205.
Klefl, Melchior, 267.
Klinghard, Johann (Hessian envoy), 212 n. 8.
Knöringen, Johann Egolf von (Bishop of Augsburg), 125 *seq.*
Kobenzl, Hans von (Austrian chancellor), 80.
Kölderer, David (Bishop of Ratisbon), 39, 88 *seqq.*, 156.
Komulowič, Alessandro (Canon of Zara), 485.
Kostka, Peter (Bishop of Kulm) 405.
Kostka, Stanislaus (S.J.), 402.
Koteda (Japanese prince), 452.
Krasinski, (Bishop of Cracow), 393.
Kuenberg, George von (coadjutor of Salzburg), 156 n. 2.
Kunz, Othmar (Abbot of St. Gall), 130.

LAFRERY, Antonio, 554, 594.
Lampeschi, Family of the, 522.
Landini, Taddeo (sculptor), 569, 593.
Lanzea, (Jesuit), 495.
Laterna, Martin, 400, 403.
Latini, Latino, 637 n. 1.
Lattanzio (governor of the Romagna), 518, n. 3.
Laureo, Vincenzo (Bishop of Mondovì), Cardinal, 388 *seq.*, 390 n. 3, 391, 428 n. 1.
Laureti, Tomaso (painter), 564, 613 *seq.*
Lawrence (Japanese convert), 453, 455.
Leisentritt, Joh. (provost of Bautzen), 349 *seq.*
Leleszi, Peter John (J.S.), 414.
Leo I., Pope, 567, 648.
Leo II., Pope, 648.
Leo III., Pope, 612 n. 2, 648.
Leo X., Pope, 472, 592, 601, 603 *seq.*, 606, 614.
Leonardi, Family of the, 521.
Leoncillo [Petrino], of Spoleto, bandit, 531.
Leubenstein, Martin (S.J.), 164.
Leuchtenberg, Countess, 88.
Lichtenfels, Melchior von (Bishop of Basle), 131, 137.
Ligorio, Pirro, 554.
Lindanus, William (Bishop of Ghent), 20 n. 4.
Lindemann (Saxon councillor), 245 n. 1.
Liner (Jesuit), 164.
Lippi, Annibale (architect), 599.
Loaysa, Franc. Jeronimo de (O.P., Archbishop of Lima), 502.
Lopez, Luis, 508 n. 3.
Lopperz, (Jesuit), 225, 230.
Lorichs, Andrew (Swedish envoy) 419, 433 n. 5.
Louis (Duke of Wurtemberg), 71, 85, 150, 203.
Louis (Landgrave of Hesse), 203, 212, 222, 243, 311.
Louis (Count · Palatine), 250, 252.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 561, 575, 581, 584 n. 7, 598 *seq.*, 615, 625.
Lussy, Melchior (leader of the Swiss Catholics), 167, 169, 171, 185.
Luther, 3, 42, 298
Luxsinger, Balthasar, 167.

MACESILAUS, Joh., 566 n. 2.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 10 *seq.*, 26, 516.
Madruzzo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 26, 80, 140, 160, 197, 219 n. 5, 250, 254 n. 5, 269 *seqq.*, 272–282, 296, 319, 342, 366 *seq.*, 370, 383 n. 1, 429, 437.
Maestro, Giovanni, 577.
Maffei, Giampietro (S.J., biographer of Gregory XIII.), 464, 639 n. 1.
Maffei, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 269, 645.
Magnus, Lawrence, 432.
Malaspina, Germanico (nuncio), 272 *seq.*, 274, 281 n. 4, 371, 374, 381 *seq.*
Malaspina, Orazio (nuncio), 444 n. 4.
Malatesta, Family of the, 522.
Malatesta, Ramberto (leader of bandits), 534.
Malvezzi, E. (Swedish envoy), 425 n. 5.
Mancini (Roman conservator), 607.
Manderscheid, Johann von (Bishop of Strasburg), 130 *seq.*, 143 *seqq.*, 147, 149, 369 n. 1, 383 n. 1.
Manderscheid-Keil, Christopher von (Count and Abbot), 357.
Mansfeld, Count (Archbishop of Cologne), 187.
Mansfeld, Agnes von, 365, 371.
Manuel (King of Portugal), 472.
Margaret of Austria, 14.
Maria, Maddalena (sister of the Emperor Rudolph), 311.
Marianaccio of Camerino (brigand), 526.
Martin V., Pope, 600.
Mary, (Arch-duchess of Styria), 42.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 6.
Mascherino, Ottaviano [Nonni], (painter and architect), 560 n. 1, 561. 616–621, 623.
Masius (envoy from Cleves), 308 n. 2.
Massilara, *see* Paleologus
Mattei, Antonio de' (Bishop of Bosnia), 484.
Matteo, Giovanni (S.J., architect), 578 n. 1.
Matthias (Archduke of Austria, governor of the Netherlands), 8, 11, 334 *seqq.*, 337, 340.
Maximilian (Archduke of Austria), 195 n. 7, 253, 335.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 49 *seq.*, 54, 97 *seq.*, 104, 120, 149, 151, 211, 213, 224, 226, 247–265, 274, 296, 300, 307, 320, 334 *seq.*, 349 *seq.*, 385 n. 1, 387 n. 1, 389 *seq.*
Maxlrain, Wolf Dietrich von, 54.
Meckbach, Johann (Hessian envoy), 210, 212.
Medici, Alessandro de', Cardinal (afterwards Pope Leo XI.) 580.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal, 527, 548, 556, 645.
Medici, Francesco de', (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 460.
Menganti, Alessandro (sculptor), 629.
Mengersdorf, Ernest von (Bishop of Bamberg), 191.
Mercati, Michele (physician), 636.
Mercurian, Everard (General of the Jesuits), 423, 424, 467.
Merode, Adrian (provost of Lübeck), 353 n. 3.
Meschita (Jesuit), 460.
Michael, Peter (S.J.), 152, 182 n. 5, 462.
Michelangelo, 440, 555, 561, 569, 576, 584, 590, 599 *seq.*
Miletus, Vitus, 86.
Minucci, Minutio, 55, 285, 368 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*
Miquez, José, 488.
Molvianinow, Jacob (Russian envoy), 444 *seqq.*
Montaigne, Michel de, 552 *seq.*, 555–559, 573.
Montalcino, Cesare (Franciscan), 429.

Montalto, Cardinal, 429, 536.
Montebelli, Marquis, 522.
Montecorvino, Giovanni da (Franciscan missionary), 466.
Montevecchio, Jacopo di, Count, 531.
Montluc, Jean de (Bishop of Valence), 388.
Montorio (nuncio), 382 n. 2.
Montserrat, Ant. (Jesuit missionary), 476.
Montúfar, Alfonso de (Archbishop of Mexico, O.P.), 502.
Moriaku, Francis, 455.
Morone, Girolamo, Cardinal, 10, 26, 51, 63 n. 6, 67, 93 n. 5, 111 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 136, 140, 158, 189, 224, 254–261, 270, 301, 429, 589.
Morosini, Gianfrancesco (Bailo), 485 n. 5.
Moses, Beat (vicar-general of Spires), 152.
Motonari, Mori, Daimio, 451.
Moullart, Matthieu (Bishop of Arras), 13.
Mucantius, Franc. (Papal master of ceremonies), 578.
Musotti, Filippo, 635 n. 3, 640 n. 2.
Muziano, Girolamo (painter), 560 n. 1, 562 *seq.*, 564, 568 *seq.*, 613 *seq.*, 617, 626, 650.

NACAURA, Julian (Japanese noble), 460, 462, 464.
Nahai (Jesuit), 399.
Naldi, Family of the, 521.
Nas, Johann (Coadjutor-bishop of Brixen), 58–61, 70, 80, 93, 122 n. 4.
Nebbia, Cesare del (painter), 569, 617.
Neemet, Ignatius (Patriarch of Antioch), 490 *seq.*, 494, 496.
Neri, Philip, 580 *seqq.*
Neuenahr, Adolphus von, Count, 362, 365, 367.
Nicholas (Archbishop of Naxivan), 490.
Nicholas IV., Pope, 575 n. 5.
Nicholas V., Pope, 592, 609.
Nilssön, Lauritz (S.J., Papal envoy), 421, 426.
Ninguarda, Feliciano (O.P. nuncio), 27 *seq.*, 62–65, 66, 71, 77, 83, 86–91, 93–109, 111 *seq.*, 116–123, 154–163, 166, 182, 183 n. 5, 190, 258, 271, 273, 381.
Noailles, François de (French envoy to Turkey), 486, 490.
Nobili, Flaminio de', 637 n. 1.
Nobunaga, Oda (Prince of Owari), 455, 457 *seq.*
Nogari, Paris (painter), 563.
Nonni, *see* Mascherino.
Norcia, Paolo da, 98 n. 2.
Numai, Family of the, 521.

OBERG, Burkhard von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 288 *seqq.*
Oberstein, Andreas von (Dean of Spires), 150.
Odescalchi, G. A. (Mantuan envoy), 631 *seq.*, 635 n. 2.
Olivieri, Pierpaolo (sculptor), 564, 608.
Ongarese, Guilo (Papal commissary), 538.
Opser, Joachim (Abbot of St. Gall), 165, 173, 178.
Orange, William, Prince of, 1 *seq.*, 6 *seqq.*, 12, 14, 17 *seqq.*, 249, 308, 362.
Orano, Francesco (auditor of the Rota), 371.
Ormaneto, Niccolò (Bishop of Padua, nuncio), 7, 44, n. 1.
Orsini, Family of the, 515.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 10, 556.
Orsini, Fulvio, 637 n. 1.
Orsini, Latino, 533.
Orsini, Lodovico, 537, 538 n. 2.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano (Duke of Bracciano), 525, 536 *seq.*, 548.
Orsini, Raimondo, 537.
Ortenburg, Joachim von, Count, 47.

Oswald, George, 84.
Otto Henry of Brunswick Harburg, 303.
Oviedo, Andrea de (Jesuit missionary), 481.

PAC (Bishop of Kiew, apostate), 410.
Pace, Gian Battista della (head of the Roman police), 537, 538.
Pahari (son of Akbar), 477.
Paleologo [Jacopo Massilara], 268.
Pallavicini, Francesco, 435.
Panigarola, Francesco (Franciscan), 570.
Paul I., Pope, 566.
Paul III., Pope, 360, 481, 499, 501, 522, 555.
Paul IV., Pope, 472 *seq.*
Paul V., Pope, 556 n. 1.
Paulus a Jésu (Franciscan missionary), 467 n. 2, 479.
Peretti, Francesco (husband of Vittoria Accoramboni), 536.
Perez, Francisco (S.J.), 466.
Peto, Luca, 549 n. 1.
Petrino (brigand), 529 n. 1.
Pflug (Bishop of Naumburg), 245.
Pfyffer, Ludwig (Swiss magistrate), 164, 167.
Philibert (Margrave of Baden-Baden), 48, 55, 150, 465.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 1 *seqq.*, 6, 8, 11–18, 23 *seq.*, 261, 307, 343, 358, 370, 377, 422, 424, 430, 460, 478, 498, 503, 511.
Philip Sigmund (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 297 n. 2.
Piccolomini, Alfonso (Duke of Montemarciano, leader of bandits), 526, 533, 540.
Pilchowski, Adam (Bishop of Chelm), 405.
Pisanelli, B., 544 n.
Pius IV., Pope, 25 *seq.*, 45, 267, 434, 480, 564, 589, 594 *seq.*, 600 *seq.*, 602 *seqq.*, 606, 609.
Pius V., Pope, 25, 28, 33, 50, 61–63, 94, 120, 163, 289, 296, 304, 360 *seq.*, 383, 434, 483 *seq.*, 508, 522 *seq.*, 542, 545, 564, 575, 592, 603, 609, 619, 638 *seq.*
Pius X., Pope, 616 n. 1.
Plasencia, Juan de (Franciscan missionary), 479.
Pomarancie, Niccolò dalle (painter), 563, 614, 617 n. 2, 621.
Ponzio, Flaminio (architect), 623 n. 4.
Popler, William, 435.
Porta, Beat von (Bishop of Coire), 113, 158, 165, 180, 182.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 561, 565, 567, 578, 580, 583 *seq.*, 592 *seq.*, 598.
Porta, Guglielmo della (sculptor), 555.
Portia, Bartolomeo (nuncio), 10, 29 n. 1, 39, 49, 66–85, 87, 89, 93, 96, 111 *seq.*, 121, 123, 125, 127–141, 143–147, 149–155, 158, 165, 187, 190, 196 n. 4, 197, 258, 271, 284, 292, 298, 300 *seqq.*, 303 n. 1, 329 *seq.*, 354 *seqq.*, 362 *seq.*
Portico, Vincenzo (nuncio, governor of Rome), 386 n. 3, 419, 537.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 393, 404 n. 4, 413, 415, 423–433, 437–447, 641 *seq.*
Priuli, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 539, 636 n. 6.
Protasius (Japanese convert), 457, 459.
Pyringer, Wolfgang (Jesuit), 171.

QUINTIO, Gaspar de (O.P., Bishop of Curzola), 485.

RADZIWILL, George (Bishop of Wilna), Cardinal, 404, 405, 411.
Radziwill, Nicholas Christopher (Duke), 403 n. 1, 494 n. 1, 496.
Radziwill, Nicholas (Prince), 403.
Radziwill, Stanislaus, 403 n. 1.
Raesfeld, Goswin von, 527.
Raesfeld, Gottfried von (Dean of Münster), 304, 307, 321, 326 *seq.*, 330, 333 n. 1, 336, 338, 340, 346.
Raesfeld, Johann von (envoy to Rome), 328.
Ragazzoni, Giacomo, 482.
Raggio, Tommaso (S.J.), 485, 492.
Rascher, Peter (Bishop of Coire), 183.
Rasponi, Family of the, 518 n. 3, 521.
Rasser, Johann, 147 *seq.*
Recke, Henry von der (envoy from Cleves), 307 n. 5, 326, 331, 335 *seq.*
Reggio, Raffaelino da (painter), 563, 609.
Renée of Lorraine (Duchess of Bavaria), 52 *seq.*
Requesens, Luis de, 4, 22.
Rhetius, 29 n. 1.
Riario, Alessandro, Cardinal, 556.
Ribera, Giambattista (Jesuit missionary), 467.
Ricci, Matteo (Jesuit missionary), 469 *seqq.*
Ricciardini, Family of the, 521.
Rodriguez, Nuño (Jesuit missionary), 460.
Roll, Walter (governor of Uri), 167, 185.
Romano, Giacomo, 573 n. 1.
Roncalli, Cristoforo (painter), 563.
Roscius, Julius (poet), 597 n.
Rosenberg, W. von., 389 n. 2.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 531.
Rozdrazewski, Hieron (Bishop of Leslau), 406 n. 2.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 8, 11 *seq.*, 49, 87, 96, 226, 228, 230, 235, 250, 252, 266–269, 273 *seqq.*, 278, 282, 301, 335 *seq.*, 337, 340, 349, 368, 377, 430, 435, 444, 446 n. 2, 488.
Ruggeri, Michele (Jesuit missionary), 468 *seq.*
Rugghesi, Fausto (architect), 584.
Rusconi, Camillo (sculptor), 637.
Rustici, Ottavio de', 537, 645.

SABBATINI, Lorenzo [Lorenzino da Bologna], painter, 560, n. 1, 563, 609 *seqq.*, 612, 615 *seq.*, 617 n. 2.
Salazar, Domingo de (O.P., Bishop of Manila), 479.
Salentin of Isenburg (Archbishop of Cologne), 189, 227, 251, 259, 312 *seq.*, 320, 324, 330, 345, 351, 361 *seqq.*
Salis, Family of, 165.
Sammachini, Orazio (painter), 611.
San Miguel, Antonio de (Franciscan missionary), 508.
Sanchez, João de (Dominican missionary), 482.
Sanchez, Pedro (Jesuit missionary), 503.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 590.
Santa Croce, Ottavio di (nuncio) 183, 254.
Santa Croce, Prospero, Cardinal, 26.
Santa Maria, Lorenzo a (Franciscan missionary), 479,
Santangelo, Leonardo di (S.J.). 495 *seq.*, 498.
Santi, Pietro da (painter), 613.
Santori, Cardinal (of S. Severino), 486, 493 n. 1, 494, 572, 579, 584.
Santo Tomás, Domingo de (Dominican missionary) 505.
Sarrazin, Jean (Abbot of St. Vaast), 13.

Sassatelli, Family of the, 521 *seq.*
Sasso, Francesco (S.J.), 497.
Savelli, Family of the, 515.
Savelli, Giacomo, Cardinal, 429, 486, 576 n. 3.
Savelli, Orazio, 517.
Savelli, Sillo, 537.
Schade (syndic of Münster), 312.
Schauenberg, Hermann von (Bishop of Minden), 351.
Schaumberg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 192 *seq.*
Schenk, Philip (Abbot of Fulda), 204.
Schenking (companion of the nuncio Portia), 82.
Schenking (major domo of Ernest of Bavaria), 326.
Scherer (Jesuit), 267.
Schewerigin, Ivan Thomas (Russian envoy in Rome), 435, 437 *seqq.*
Schlattl, Christoph (Bishop of Chiemsee), 110, 160.
Schnewly, Peter (Provost of Freiburg), 175.
Schönenberg, Johann von (Archbishop of Trêves), 275, 357, 368 *seq.*, 380.
Schorich, Georg (S.J.), 48 *seq.*, 52.
Schrader, Lorenz, 317, 326 *seq.*, 333.
Schwarzenberg, Christoph von, 43 n. 5,
Schwarzenberg, Henry Otto von, 48, 334.
Schweikart von Cronberg, Johann, 234 n. 1.
Schweikart von Helfenstein (Count), 60 n. 5.
Schwendi, Lazarus (Imperial councillor), 262.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 473.
Sega, Filippo (Bishop of Piacenza, nuncio), 7, 377, 518 n. 3.
Segesser, Jost (captain of the Swiss Guard), 167, 169.
Selim II. (Sultan of Turkey), 483.
Sementa, Jacopo (painter), 617 n. 2.
Sequanus, Joh. Metellus, 16 n. 1.
Serbello, Marchese di, 531.
Serughi, Family of the, 521.
Sforza, Family of the, 515.
Sforza, Bona, 419 n. 2.
Sforza, Gian Galeazzo, 419.
Sforza di Santa Fiora, Alessandro, Cardinal, 10, 529 *seq.*, 532, 536, 556.
Siena, Marco da (painter), 611, 617 n. 2.
Siena, Matteo da (painter), 609.
Sigismund (heir to the Swedish throne), 432 *seq.*, 447.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 212, 385 *seq.*, 390, 417, 419, 430, 434.
Silberysen, Christoph (Abbot of Wettingen), 179.
Sirleto, Cardinal, 16 n. 1, 429, 486, 583.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 592, 601, 603, 606.
Sixtus V., Pope, 146, 231, 552, 554, 593, 597 n., 629, 638 *seq.*
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 393, 399, 401–405, 447.
Sokolowski, Stanislaus (provost of Cracow), 400.
Solikowski, Demetrius (Bishop of Lemberg), 405.
Solms, Adolphus von (Count, canon of Cologne), 362, 365.
Sondergelteus, Olaf, 428.
Sonnius, Francis (Bishop of Antwerp), 20 n. 4.
Sozzini, Fausto, 392 n. 1.
Sozzini, Lelio, 392 n. 1.
Spannocchi, Orazio (secretary to Bolognetti), 411.
Spaur, Christoph Andreas, (Dean of Brixen, Bishop of Gurk), 73, 76 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*, 113, 643 n. 1.
Speciani, Cesare, 512.
Spetus, Celius (Roman parish-priest), 540 n. 1.
Spinola, 359.

Sporeno, Francesco (Franciscan), 127–134, 165 *seq.*, 321 n. 4.
Stazio [Statius], Achilles, 570, 582.
Stefani, Bonifazio de' (Bishop of Stagno), 484.
Stephanus, Joseph (theologian), 444 n.
Stralendorff, Leopold von, 235 *seq.*, 240, 242.
Strozzi, Pompeo, 254 n. 4, 547 n. 2, 633 n. 5.
Succi, Filippo (Ferrarese envoy) 530 n.
Sumitada (ruler of Omura) 452 *seq.*
Susio, Giov. Batt., 544 n.
Szántó, Stephan [Orator] (Jesuit), 414.

TAKAAKI, Daimio, 453.
Takaharu, Naito (governor of Jamagutschi), 451.
Takanobu, Matsuura, Daimio, 453.
Talpa, Antonio, 582 n. 1.
Tandorf, Jakob (Bavarian envoy), 316, 324.
Tarugi, Francesco Maria (Oratorian), 580 n. 5.
Tasso, Torquato, 362, 580.
Taverna, Lodovico (Bishop of Lodi, nuncio), 514.
Tegginger, Mark (Suffragan of Basle), 138, 139 n. 5.
Tempesta, Antonio (painter), 563, 597 n., 615.
Tetelben, Valentine von (Bishop), 287.
Thüngen, Neidhardt von (Dean of Würzburg), 220.
Thurn, Georg von, 147 n. 9.
Thyraeus (Jesuit), 214 n. 3.
Tibaldi, Domenico (architect), 628.
Tibalduccio, Marcello (brigand), 526.
Tiepolo, Paolo (Venetian envoy in Rome), 42, 514.
Toledo, Francisco de (S. J.), 429, 613 n. 8.
Toledo, Francisco de (Viceroy of Peru), 508.
Tonner, John, 266 n.
Torello, Sebastian, 571, n. 1, 573 n. 1.
Torres, Cosmo de (Jesuit missionary), 453, 456.
Torres, Rubio, Diego de (Jesuit missionary), 506.
Torrigiani, Bastiano, 569.
Trabaldese, Francesco (painter), 585.
Trattner, Johann (Abbot of St. Lamprecht), 108.
Trennbach, Urban von (Bishop of Passau), 77, 79, 88, 98, 113, 117, 160, 268 n. 8.
Trivius, Alexander, 118 *seqq.*, 288, 293 *seq.*, 320, 350 *seqq.*, 353.
Tron (Venetian envoy), 249.
Truchsess, Prince of Waldburg, 372 n. 2.
Truchsess, Gebhard (Archbishop of Cologne), 303, 330, 333, 337 *seq.*, 342, 344 *seq.*, 359, 362–379.
Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 26–29, 33, 35, 38 *seq.*, 41, 50, 82, 123 *seqq.*, 144 n. 2, 291, 317, 363 *seq.*
Tucci, Stefano (S. J.), 638.
Turibio (Archbishop of Lima), 502 *seq.*
Turner, Robert, 84 n. 2, 193 n. 1.
Turrecremata, Cardinal, 405.

UCHANSKI, Jakob (Archbishop of Gnesen), 388 *seq.*, 392 *seq.*, 406.
Uchanski, Paul (Polish envoy in Rome), 395.
Udine, Giovanni da (painter), 614.
Urban VIII., Pope, 621.

VALENTI, Giovanni (leader of bandits), 534.
Valenti, Romolo (governor of the Campagna), 527.
Valentino, Ascanio, 573 n. 1.
Valera, Blas (S.J.) 507.

Valeriano, Guiseppe (S.J., painter and architect), 587.
Valiero, Agostino, Cardinal, 483 n. 6.
Valignani, Alessandro (Jesuit missionary), 457–460, 467 *seq.*, 474.
Vasari, Giorgio (painter), 560 n. 1, 562, 609 *seq.*, 612, 615.
Vega, Garcilasso de la (historian), 507.
Venturelli, Family of the, 521.
Vero, Louis (Dominican missionary), 502.
Viani, Family of the, 521.
Vicente, Rodrigo (Jesuit missionary), 474.
Vignola, Giacomo (architect), 561, 565, 576 *seqq.*, 618.
Vilela, Gaspar (Jesuit missionary), 449, 453 *seqq.*
Vitelli, Vincenzo, 538 n. 2.
Volpi (Bishop of Como, nuncio), 165, 170.
Vosmeer, S., 17 n. 6.

WADA [Vatandono], 455.
Waldeck, Francis of (Bishop of Münster), 304.
Waszewicki, Stanislaus (S.J.), 420, 431 n. 4.
Wasa, Gustavus (King of Sweden), 417, 422.
Wasa, Sigismund (son of John III. of Sweden), 386.
Weber, Stephen (coadjutor of Mayence, Imperial vice-chancellor), 236.
Welser, Philippine (mother of Andrew of Austria), 286, 370.
Werro, Sebastian, 532, 591 n. 5.
Westerhagen, Henry, 238.
Westerhagen, William, 238.
Westerholt, Conrad von, 312, 314, 316, 325, 327 *seq.*, 330–334, 336 *seqq.*, 340 *seq.*
Wied, Frederick von (Archbishop of Cologne), 360.
Wied, Hermann von (Archbishop of Cologne), 360.
William of Hesse, Landgrave), 203, 209, 210 n. 1, 212 *seq.*, 226, 238 *seqq.*, 243, 250, 253, 263.
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 42 *seq.*, 48.
William IV. (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 187, 285, 290, 292, 303, 306 *seqq.*, 311 *seqq.*, 315, 321 *seq.*, 324 *seq.*, 328 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*, 336, 337, 340, 343 *seq.*, 358.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 52-55, 156, 159 *seqq.*, 255, 260, 272 *seq.*, 275, 278, 321 n. 4, 341 n. 3, 344, 375, 377 *seqq.*
William von der Mark (leader of the Gueux), 1.
Wimpfeling (chancellor of Trêves), 354.
Winichius, Henry, 294.
Winkelmann (chancellor of Fulda), 222, 229 n. 1, 224 n. 1.
Winneburg (Imperial commissary), 338.
Winnenberg, Johann von (Baron), 362.
Wintzingerode, Barthold von, 235.
Wirsberg, Frederick von (Bishop of Würzburg), 82, 195, 197 *seqq.*, 207 n. 7.
Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain, *see* Maxlrain.
Wujek, James (S.J.), 406.
Wurer, Balthasar (coadjutor Bishop of Constance), 154.
Würtzburg, Veit von (Bishop of Bamberg), 190 *seq.*

ZAMOISKI (Polish chancellor) 391 n. 1, 393, 399.
Zapata, Luis (Bishop of Bogotá), 502.

Zevel, Adam von (Burgomaster of Aix), 358.
Zibramonte, Aurelio (Mantuan envoy), 26 n. 3, 547 n 1.
Zuccaro, Federico (painter), 560 n. 1, 562 *seqq.*, 613.
Zumárraga, Juan de (Archbishop of Mexico), 502.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Jesuit missionary), 505.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 419 n. 5.

80-051524-9 HUM 262.
1600.00 1309
P293

PASTOR, LUDWIG
HISTORY OF THE VOL 20
POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF
THE MIDDLE AGES 40 VOLS

80-051524-9 HUM 262.
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HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XXI.

PASTORS HISTORY OF THE POPES

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

OF THE LONDON ORATORY

VOLUME XXI

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THE AUTHOR OF
"SISTO E SESTO"
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat,
ab omni malo plebem suam defendit.
(Inscription on the Obelisk in the piazza of
St. Peter's, Rome).

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI.

PAGE

Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXI. and XXII. . . . . vii.
Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XXI. and XXII. . . . . ix.
Table of Contents . . . . . xxiii.
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix. . . xxxv.
Introduction. 1
Election, Antecedents and Character of Sixtus V. . . 7
Measures for the Suppression of Brigandage—The Pope's Care for the Welfare of his Subjects—Administration and Finance 72
Reforms in the Church—The Pope and the Religious Orders—The Jesuits . 127
Foreign Missions in the East—Baianism—The Inquisition and the Index—The Sixtine Vulgate 179
Sixtus V. and the Sacred College—The Cardinalitial Congregations 224
Disputes with Philip II.—Sixtus V. and the Parties in France 262
The Murder of the Guise—Sixtus V. and the League—Murder of Henry III. 305
Sixtus V. and Spain 340
Appendix of unpublished Documents and Extracts from Archives 375
Index of Names 443

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TURIN—State Archives.

UPSALA—Library.

VENICE—State Archives.
———Library of St. Mark.
——— Querini - Stampalia Library.
VERCELLI—Chapter Library.
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———State Library.
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WITTINGAU—Archives.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI.

INTRODUCTION.

A.D. PAGE

Fascination exercised over his contemporaries by Sixtus V.—differs in many respects from his predecessor—yet pursues the unchanging policy of the Holy See 1
His attitude towards France and Spain . . . 1
And desire of a balance of power between the rivals 3
The danger from the cesaropapalism of Philip II. . 4
Sixtus V. carries on the work of Catholic restoration— 4
And is an unrivalled organizer—his clear outlook and fearlessness 5
Immensity of the work accomplished during his five years' pontificate 6

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF SIXTUS V.

1585 Measures for preservation of peace in Rome after the death of Gregory XIII. on April 10th. . 7
Success of these—the election begins under favourable conditions 8
Desire to elect the most worthy—national considerations are *now* of minor importance—times had changed. 9
None of the great Catholic powers exercise any special influence—Venice refrains on principle . . 10
Cardinals Ferdinando de' Medici and Alessandro Farnese are the two rivals 11
Other prominent Cardinals 14
Capilupi's report (April 12th) on the prospects of Cardinal Montalto—The Conclave opens (April 21st) 15
Olivares favours Cardinal Sirleto 16
But the Cardinals fear a "Chaplain of the Catholic King" 17
Este, Medici and Madruzzo support Montalto, who holds himself quite aloof 18
The Conclave concludes on April 24th 20
With the election of Cardinal Montalto 21
Who takes the name of Sixtus V. 22
Ancestors and parents of the new Pope 23
Who is born on December 13th, 1521—the dream of his parents and they give him the name of Felice 25

A.D. PAGE
1585 His life as a boy 26
Fra Salvatore, his uncle, is his first patron . . 27
Enters the Franciscan convent at Montalto and takes his vows in 1534 28
After a brilliant course of studies, obtains the degree of doctor of theology on July 26th, 1548 . . 28
His activities as a preacher—Cardinal Carpi, his protector, calls him to Rome in 1552. . . 29
His sermons at the SS. Apostoli 29
The incident leading to his friendship with Michele Ghislieri (later St. Pius V.) 30
His indefatigable labours in Rome—his sermons in other places 31
Comes within the circle of the leaders of the Catholic reform—in 1557 becomes Inquisitor for Venice . 32
His action there—meets with opposition and retires to Montalto 33
Returns to Venice with wider powers but is soon (July 16th, 1560) called to Rome and appointed consultor to the Roman Inquisition. . . 34
The note-book of Fra Felice mirrors his character . 35
The catalogue of his books 36
Great esteem of Pius V. for Fra Felice who is made Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths in 1566. . 37
His enemies in the Curia 38
Created Cardinal on May 17th, 1570 39
His relations with Gregory XIII.—he withdraws as far as possible from court 40
Devotes himself to his books and a new edition of St. Ambrose 42
The members of his family 43
He acquires the Vigna Montalto 44
The murder of his nephew Francesco (April, 1581)—Cardinal Montalto's mastery of himself . . 46
His appearance—portraits, etc. 47
His severity, yet easily moved to tears ; his prudence 49
In many ways Sixtus V. recalls Julius II.. . . 50
Priuli's opinion of the Pope—His allocutions at consistories 51
Is extremely well informed—the audiences . . 52
Extraordinary vivacity and sensitiveness of the Pope 53
Whatever he decides upon, he carries into effect resolutely—his deep and simple piety . . 54
The expenses of the court reduced to a minimum . 56
A sketch of his manner of life. 57
His restless activity and long hours of work . . 59
" He did not intend to be a mere figure-head ". . 60
Cardinals Rusticucci and Bonelli entrusted with public business. 61
Decio Azzolini the Pope's *segretario intimo* . . 62
Rise of Alessandro Peretti [known as Cardinal Montalto] 63
1587 Changes in the secretariate—The Pope governs alone 65

A.D. PAGE
1587 The Cardinals enjoying the special confidence of the Pope 66
The Pope's relatives—his sister Camilla . . . 67
Marriages of his nieces 70
His dispositions towards the Roman nobility . . 70

CHAPTER II.

MEASURES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF BRIGANDAGE—THE POPE'S CARE FOR THE WELFARE OF HIS SUBJECTS—ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE.

1585 First care of the new Pope is for the public safety—his threats to the barons and the cardinals . 72
His determination to eradicate disorders—severe edict of April 30th. 73
Special congregation for the Papal States to take measures against bandits, and for revision of processes 74
The ceremony of the "Possesso" (May 5th)—First Consistory (May 10th) 75
Impression made by the Pope's severity—he endeavours to secure common action against the brigands 76
His determination to suppress them . . . 77
Severe pontifical constitution of July 1st. . . 78
No one spared however high their position . . 79
Numerous executions of bandits 80
Plots of the brigands—case of Giovanni Pepoli. . 81
Who is condemned to death—the great severity of the Pope is a political necessity . . . 82
And is a guarantee of public safety. . . . 83
"More bandits' heads exposed than melons in the market" 83
1586 Boldness of Valente, Malatesta and Piccolomini . 84
1587 In March new bands of brigands appear . . . 85
Malatesta at last captured and executed (August 13th) 86
Satisfaction of Sixtus V. at the restoration of security 87
But after his death, Piccolomini reappears . . 88
Severity of the Pope altogether justifiable . . 89
1586–88 Penalties against all kinds of crimes . . . 90
Are applied inexorably 91
Adultery and seduction punished by death . . 93
The Pope energetically represses the excesses of the Carnival 95
Execution of Accoramboni 96
1587 A fleet created for protection against Corsairs . . 97
Its success in capturing Turkish ships . . . 98
New congregations to deal with the interests of the State (Bull of January 22nd) 99
Care of the Pope to provide Rome with corn and bread at a fair price. 100
His encouragement of agriculture—and efforts to dry up the marshy districts 101

A.D. PAGE
His employment of the engineer Ascanio Fenizi . 103
The plan of Fabio Orsini for draining the Pontine Marshes 104
1589 Sixtus V. personally inspects the improvements . 105
And encourages other industries 106
His attempts to develop the silk industry . . 107
Ordinances for the planting of mulberry trees. . 108
1587 The repair of roads, bridges and fountains . . 109
1589 And (January 24th) to prevent abuses in the imposition of taxes 109
Instructions for the behaviour of the civil and ecclesiastical officials 110
The Pope's special attention to the town of Montalto and the places near it 111
His work at Loreto 112
1585 State of finances at the election of Sixtus V. . . 114
1586 He steadily increases his revenues 114
And undertakes their reorganization—based upon economies, saleable offices and "Monti". . 115
Details of these operations 116
Large sum accumulated by this means—Financial policy of Sixtus V. 121
Bull of April 21st regulating the use of the treasure in the castle of St. Angelo 122
589 By January 23rd a fourth million scudi had been saved 124
The Pope becomes "the richest prince in Europe"— 125
And intends to remain so 125
By means of this treasure Sixtus V. is able to face the needs of the Church and of his States . . 126

CHAPTER III.

REFORMS IN THE CHURCH—THE POPE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS—THE JESUITS.

Severity of Sixtus V. as supreme head of the Church—in ecclesiastical matters he follows Pius V.. . 127
1585 A visitation ordered of all the churches and colleges of Rome (July 29th) 127
This is carried out most thoroughly—a new reform commission appointed 128
1587 Serious warning to the delegates of the Datary—strict constitutions against irregularities . . 129
1585–88 Minute and severe visitation of the Roman convents 130
And of monasteries in other places . . . 131
Spanish and Portuguese nuns—The Pope insists upon the observance of the Tridentine decrees—duty of the residence of bishops . . . 132
And the regular visits to be made to Rome . . 133
1585 The Bull regarding the *Visitatio liminum* (December 20th) 134

A.D. PAGE

1585 Sixtus V. and the importance of nuncios—instructions for and duties of the nuncios 137
The Pope and devotion to Our Lady 137
Assists in person at festivals in the principal churches —the Canonization of two Saints 138
1586–88 His interest in the Religious Orders 139
St. Camillus of Lellis founds his Order 140
Attempts to unite the Franciscan Observants with the Capuchins 142
The Capuchins, Felice da Cantalice and Guiseppe da Leonessa 143
With Sixtus V. begins a period of disturbance for the Jesuits 145
Attacks upon the vows of the Jesuits—Melchior Cano 146
Dominicans and Jesuits in Spain 147
Dispute about the Bull "Ascendente Domino" . 148
1589 Bañes and the Society of Jesus 149
Attacks on the Society from the pulpit 150
Differences within the Society—Simon Rodriguez . 151
A special representative of the General is wished for in Spain 152
Reasons for this request—Antonio Araoz . . 153
Dionisio Vasquez, Ibañez and Ribadeneira . . 154
1586 Three Jesuits arrested by the Spanish Inquisition . 155
Vexatious requirements of the Spanish inquisitors . 157
Who order all Papal bulls and privileges to be handed over to them—Aquaviva appeals to the Pope. 158
Who orders the inquisitors to restore the books—further abuses by the Spanish Inquisition. . 159
1587 The royal decree—the Jesuit provincial not to allow his subjects to leave Spain 160
Sixtus V. loses patience and blames Cardinal Quiroga and the Bulls and books are returned . . 161
Further attacks—The reform party within the Order 162
The proposal of Dionisio Vasquez 163
The salvation of the Order "in having a General outside Spain" 164
The question of a Visitation—Philip II. asks for this 165
The Papal brief rejected by Philip II. . . . 165
1588 It is modified—Jeronimo Manrique to be visitor—his instructions—energy and skill of Aquaviva . 166
Philip II. and Aquaviva 167
Influence upon Philip II. of his confessor Diego de Chaves 168
Aquaviva himself appoints visitors. 168
Robert Persons and Acosta—In the end Philip is won over 169
Changes of opinion on the part of the Popes with regard to the Jesuits 170
At first Sixtus V. is thought to be not well disposed towards them 171
Attitude of the Pope towards the Society. . . . 172

A.D. PAGE
1588 Sixtus V. entertains doubts as to certain points in the Constitutions—on November 10th orders the Roman Inquisition to examine them . . 174
Changes asked for by Philip II.—Letters to the Pope in praise of the Society 175
The final judgment of the Inquisition is favourable 176
1590 Anger of the Pope against the Jesuits—in spite of this he abides by his promise to them . . 177
"The change of name"—death of the Pope before the decree is put into effect 178

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE EAST—BAIANISM—THE INQUISITION AND THE INDEX—THE SIXTINE VULGATE

1585 Sixtus V. and the Japanese mission in Rome . . 179
1587 Outbreak of persecution in Japan 180
1588 The first bishopric formed for Japan . . . 181
Jesuit missions in China—Sanchez and Valignani . 182
Franciscans and Dominicans in the Philippines and Mexico 183
Attempts at re-union in the East—Maronites, Armenians, Copts and Greek schismatics . . 184
Anxiety abont Louvain—Baianism not yet eradicated 186
Action of the nuncio Bonhomini—his advice about Baius 187
Fresh controversy at Louvain—Leonard Lessius . 188
His propositions condemned by the university—This arouses great excitement—The Flemish bishops pronounçe in favour of the Jesuits . 189
Lessius and the Louvain professors 190
Sixtus V. takes the matter seriously—his directions to the nuncio Frangipani 191
Who tries to bring about on agreement—on July 10th he issues an edict forbidding both parties to censure one another 192
1585 (August) new tribunals of the Inquisition erected in Italy 192
1587 (August 13th) Papal order allowing appeals . . 193
Sixtus V. less severe than had been anticipated—small number of death sentences carried out . 193
Details of sentences by the Roman Inquisition. . 194
1588 The Bull of January 22nd makes no change in the Roman Inquisition 196
Neither does it in the Congregation of the Index—The new Index of prohibited books (March 9th) 197
1590 Difficulty caused of the great variety of the versions of the Vulgate—the remedy proposed by the Council of Trent 198
The edition of Erasmus 199
Great work accomplished by Sirleto from 1545 to 1552 200

A.D. PAGE
1591 His commentary on the Gospels, 1549 to 1555. . 201
Work of Maggiorano on the Old Testament . . 202
The "Louvain" Bible of J. Henten the Dominican (1546)—a good printing press needed—Paulus Manutius is recalled to Rome (1561). . . 203
Foreign scholars offer assistance—Arias Montanus and the Antwerp polyglot 204
Hostility to Manutius in Rome—The "Medici" press established (1584) 205
A great polyglot Bible projected 206
New edition of the Septuagint: the "Sixtine" . 207
1586 In November Sixtus V. appoints a Commission for the Sixtine Vulgate 208
1587 The Pope sets up his own Vatican Press under the care of D. Basa and takes a personal part in the work 209
1589 But this direct intervention by the Pope is disastrous. 210
And to an extent destroys the work of his biblical commission 211
1590 By May 2nd the whole Bible was finished and was on sale 212
It occasions wide-spread anxiety—the criticism—Peña, Toledo, Bellarmine, Carafa . . . 213
The Cardinals of the Index do not conceal their opinion—very numerous printer's errors . . 214
The Pope abandons his plan to publish the Bull on the Vulgate 215
Therefore it is not of canonical validity . . . 217
And did not involve the condemnation of the 1st edition 218
Complaints of the Venetian printers. 219
Opposition to the Bull—general disapproval of the new Vulgate 221
The sale suspended a few days after the death of Sixtus V. 222
Baronius entrusted with revision of the Roman Martyrology—new editions of the Decretals and the Bullarium 222

CHAPTER V.

SIXTUS V. AND THE SACRED COLLEGE—THE CARDINALITIAL CONGREGATIONS

1585 First creation of cardinals (December 18th) . . 224
Eight in all, 7 Italians, 1 Hungarian—all men of great merit 225
And distinguished for qualities especially valued by the Pope 226
1586 The Bull signed (December 3rd) giving the college of Cardinals its definite form—the introduction to it by Cardinal Santori 227

A.D. PAGE
1586 The number of Cardinals fixed at seventy. . . 229
The cardinalitial Titles and titular churches . . 230
The second creation of cardinals (December 17th) . 231
In this the Pope acts solely upon his own judgment . 232
Merits of the new cardinals 233
1587 The purple conferred on William Allen (August 7th). 235
Third great creation of Cardinals (December 18th) . 235
Lively discussion preceding this nomination . . 235
Which includes many distinguished men. . . 236
1588 Two more cardinals appointed on December 14th . 239
Ferdinando de'Medici resigns the cardinalate to become grand duke of Tuscany (November) . 239
The creation of December 14th arouses a storm of discontent 240
1589 But the Pope will not give way and appoints four more cardinals (December) 241
1586–89 Deaths of Cardinals Luigi d'Este, and Alessandro Farnese 241
Who was greatly loved in Rome—his munificence . 242
In four years Sixtus V. creates thirty-three cardinals 244
Increasing difficulty in discharging the business of the Holy See 245
The cardinalitial congregations 245
1588 Plan for a systematic organization of the congregations 246
The Bull of January 22nd establishes this . . 247
It is a magnificent expression of the Pope's motives 247
Fifteen congregations: six for the Papal States, all the rest for spiritual matters 249
The Roman Inquisition the most important . . 249
Congregations of the Index and of the Council; their scope and powers 250
Congregation of Bishops; its very wide powers . 252
New Congregations are: The Consistorial, Segnatura di Grazia, Rites and Ceremonies—Sixtus V. greatly interested in this last one and he explains it 254
Duties of the Congregation of Rites. 255
The fourth of the new Congregations is for the official Vatican press 258
Regulations for Consistories 259
Great advantage of the formation of the Congregations 260
They are a splendid witness to the energy of Sixtus V. 261

CHAPTER VI.

DISPUTES WITH PHILIP II.—SIXTUS V. AND THE PARTIES IN FRANCE.

1585 Special instructions given (May 14th) to Olivares, the Spanish ambassador in Rome 262
Contrast between Philip II. and Sixtus V. . . 263
The Pope in some things meets the wishes of the King 264

A.D. PAGE
1585 And shews good-will in regard to Naples . . . 265
But will not tolerate the Spanish pride of the governors at Milan and Naples 265
1586 Arbitrary treatment in Spain of Papal ordinances . 266
Overbearing and quarrelsome conduct of Olivares . 267
The presence in Rome of such a man is disastrous . 267
Dispute on the "pragmatic on titles" of Philip II. . 268
1587 Allocution on this matter by the Pope in public consistory (July 27th)—The cardinals tremble 269
Letter of Sixtus V. to Philip II. (August). . . 270
To which the king makes no reply 271
Mixed feelings of the Pope regarding the Armada . 271
He refuses to contribute to a second Armada . . 272
His fear of Spanish preponderance and wish for a balance of power 273
1585 In June, Sixtus V. expresses himself on his attitude towards France 274
Influences for and against the League . . . 275
The struggle to win over the Pope 276
Envoys from the League in Rome 277
But the briefs (June 5th) they receive do not meet their hopes 278
Letter (June 24th) of the Pope to Henry III. and the brief of July 13th to Cardinal Bourbon and the Guise 279
Frangipani appointed nuncio to France . . . 280
Opposition to this—indignation of the Pope—Vivonne on July 26th is ordered to leave Rome in twenty-four hours 281
Efforts to calm the Pope are in vain, and Vivonne leaves the Papal States on August 3rd . . 282
The Bull against Henry of Navarre and Condé. . 283
Is published on 21st September and signed by twenty-five cardinals 284
Some see in this a condescension to Philip II.—but Sixtus V. hopes by it to unite the League with Henry III. 285
Violent attacks by Navarre on the Pope . . . 286
Expressions of opinion in France against the Bull . 287
Navarre appeals to Henry III.—Sixtus V. makes allowances for the difficult position of the King 288
Who cannot dispense with the help of the Pope . 289
1586 The incident of Frangipani finally settled. . . 290
The *obedientia* of the King of France (September 11th) 291
Henry III. desires a reconciliation with Navarre—Philip II. determined to prevent this . . 292
1586–87 The deaths of Cardinals Este, Rambouillet and of Frangipani 293
Joyeuse becomes protector of France in Rome. . 293
And G. F. Morosini nuncio in Paris—he describes the position in France 294
Inconstancy of Henry III.—"The league of the sixteen" 295

A.D. PAGE
1588 In January Guise decides to compel the King to join the League—Excitement in Paris 296
The Pope's conversation with the Venetian ambassador about French affairs 297–301
Interview of Vivonne with the Pope 301
Impartiality of the Pope at the Consistory of July 15th 302
Vivonne and Joyeuse announce tde convocation of the States-General—misgivings of the Pope . 303
Henry of Guise and his brother the cardinal murdered (December 23rd), and other leaders of the League imprisoned 304

CHAPTER VII.

THE MURDER OF THE GUISE.—SIXTUS V. AND THE LEAGUE.—MURDER OF HENRY III.

1589 The news of the murder of the Guise arrives in Rome (January 4th) 305
Vivonne and the Popê—foolish letter of the French king 305
Opinion of the Pope on this terrible occurence, expressed to Gritti 306
With calm and dignity—Olivares granted an audience 307
Sixtus V.'s heated discussion with Cardinal Joyeuse . 308
Speech of the Pope at the Consistory of January 9th. 309
Cardinal Joyeuse silenced by the Pope, and Vivonne refused attendance in the Papal Chapel . . 311
The Pope fears intervention on the part of Spain . 312
Henry III. deludes himself, and sends the Bishop of Le Mans to Rome—this mission is fruitless . 313
The League further than ever from reconciliation with Henry 314
Paris and a large part of the country against the king 315
Henry III. and Navarre unite against Mayenne (April 30th) 316
Both parties importune the Pope—who, however, will not adopt the ideas of Philip II.. . 317
Question of the "Monitorium—Consistory of May 5th —the Pope's careful review of the conduct of Henry III. 318
Terms of the Monitorium—limited to the murder and imprisonment of Princes of the Church . 319
Assassination of Henry III. (August) . . . 320
Discourse of the Pope on this event. . . . 321
Adopts an attitude of reserve towards the French parties—Henry of Navarre proclaimed King . 328
Passions in France break out with renewed violence. 324
Supreme duty of the Pope to save the Faith in France 325
He clings to his plan of uniting the two parties. . 326
Errico Caetani appointed legate to France . . 327
The Pope expects this will be acceptable to nearly all the Catholic princes 328

A.D. PAGE
1589 Instructions for Cardinal Caetani 329
Events in France cause a change in the views of the Pope 330
Fresh instructions for the Cardinal (October 5th) . 331
Venice recognizes Navarre as King of France—this causes resentment in the Curia. 332
L. Donato sent from Venice as special envoy to Rome —excitement among the Spanish party . . 333
Donato and Badoer received by the Pope (November 18th)—his complaint against Venice . . . 334
Reply of the ambassadors to the Pope's declaration 335
Gravity of the situation—the Pope gives a second audience to the two Venetians (November 24th) 336
And speaks very excitedly—Farewell audience granted to Donato (December 15th). . . 337
Who shews great presence of mind—his speech to the Pope 338
The envoys once more see the Pope (December 20th), who admonishes their government to be cautious 339

CHAPTER VIII.

SIXTUS V. AND SPAIN.

1589 Activity of the Spanish party in Rome—Olivares is indefatigable 340
On receipt of bad news from France the Pope offers to conclude an alliance with Philip II. . . 341
At this time Sixtus V. considers the sincere conversion of Navarre as improbable 342
1590 Francis of Luxemburg arrives in Rome (January 9th) as envoy from the Catholic supporters of Navarre 343
His requests—Sixtus V. rejects attempts at Spanish interference—and justifies his action at the Consistory (January 20th) 344
1590 Luxemburg consolidates his position in Rome—anger of Olivares 345
Who tries to intimidate the Pope—Sixtus V. says "it is his duty to listen to everybody" . . 346
He blames the action of the legate—reply to the proposal of alliance received from Philip II. (February 22nd) 347
The Pope wishes to avoid precipitate action—his altercation with Olivares (February 24th). . 348
Who makes his excuses (February 28th)—arrival in Rome of Martos—Demands of Olivares on March 3rd 349
Sixtus V. threatens Philip II. with excommunication 350
Cardinal Gesualdo succeeds in acting as intermediary and Olivares is again given an audience (March 10th) 350
Luxemburg leaves Rome for a time 351

A.D. PAGE

1590 Anxiety in Rome and of the Italian ambassadors . 352
The Pope complains of the unwise behaviour of Caetani 352
His heated discussion with Olivares on March 17th. 353
An extraordinary congregation (23 Cardinals present) on March 19th—only four Cardinals approve the Spanish demands 354
Speech of Cardinal d'Aragona against these demands 355
The result a severe rebuff to Olivares—his anger—The Cardinals forbidden to have dealings with him 356
Attitude of the Pope : " he would rather die than give way to the Spanish demands ". 357
His determination not to admit the protest of Olivares —Antoine de la Broderie in Rome . . . 358
Defeat of Mayenne at Ivry on March 14th—opinions of the Cardinals very divided as to the course of action 359
The Pope wishes to gain time—Philip II. instructs Olivares to moderate his way of acting . . 360
The Pope becomes ill (end of April) because of his anxieties 361
Some preachers blame the Pope—they are forbidden to preach on politics—declaration by the Sorbonne on May 7th 362
That " Navarre could never wear the crown of France " 363
The Duke of Sessa sent to Rome to obtain a final decision—his first audience (June 22nd)—and a second one on June 26th 364
The account of this 365
Reply of Philip II. to the complaints of the Pope (June 12th) 366
Characteristic attitude of Sixtus V.—a draft treaty drawn up (July 19th) between the Pope and Spain 367
But Sixtus V. will not ratify it—he speaks his mind to the Venetian ambassador 368
The mission of Sessa is a failure — yet the Spaniards continue to threaten 369
And to harass the Pope, who complains bitterly . 370
Sixtus V. emerges victorious from the struggle. . 371
The allocution at his last Consistory on August 13th 372
In spite of his illness summoned the French Congregation on August 21st—Six days later he dies 373
The course of events proved him to have been right 374

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX

		PAGE
1	Avviso di Roma of 27 April, 1585	377
2	Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua	378
3	Girolamo Ragazzoni to Pope Sixtus V.	379
4	Avviso di Roma of 13 July, 1585	380
5	Avviso di Roma of 13 July, 1585	380
6	Pope Sixtus V. to Cardinal Bourbon and to Duke Henry of Guise	380
7	Avviso di Roma of 16 April, 1586	381
8	Sixtus V. to the Superiors and alumni of all Seminaries	382
9	Avviso di Roma of 18 October, 1586	385
10	Avviso di Roma of 8 November, 1586	385
11	Avviso di Roma of 17 January, 1588	385
12	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	386
13	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	386
14	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	386
15	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	387
16	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	387
17	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	387
18	Avviso di Roma of 14 November, 1587	388
19	Avviso di Roma of 20 April, 1588	389
20	Avviso di Roma of 18 February, 1589	389
21	Avviso di Roma of 4 March, 1589	389
22	Avviso di Roma of 15 March, 1589	390
23	Francesco Sporeno to the Arcdduke Ferdinand	391
24	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	391
25	Avviso di Roma of 3 May, 1589	392
26	Avviso di Roma of 29 August, 1589	392
27	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	393
28	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	393
29	Sixtus V. to the Council of the League	394
30	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	395
31	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	395
32	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	398
33	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	402
34	Sixtus V. to the Dean of the Sorbonne	403
35	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	405
36	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	406
37	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	406
38	Biographies of Sixtus V. written by contemporaries	407
39	Later biographies of Sixtus V.	418
40	Vita Sixti Quinti ipsius manu emendata	423
41	Sixtus Quintus Pontifex Maximus	431

INTRODUCTION

WITH Sixtus V., the Franciscan Pope, there ascended the throne of St. Peter a man of such original and outstanding genius, who exercised so great a fascination over his contemporaries, as to lead them to attribute to him the merits which in reality belonged rather to his predecessor, Gregory XIII. Even though modern historical criticism has placed matters in this respect in a truer perspective, it has, nevertheless, not altogether grasped the part played in the affairs of the world by Sixtus V.

Although the character of the new Pope, as well as many of his ideas, and very often his methods, differed from those of his predecessor, in his case as well the first place was held by the reform of ecclesiastical life, and the restoration of unity of faith in the Christian world. In conformity with this idea, through this pontificate as well, the all-embracing and unchanging policy of the Holy See pursued its course and had the most important results for the Church.

But what was new and peculiar was the attitude of Sixtus V. in face of the grave crisis through which France was passing, and which was of so great importance to the whole future of Europe. This Pope, who had sprung from the lowliest estate, gave, in these circumstances, signal proof of his prudent and statesmanlike judgment by his care for the maintenance of the balance of power between the Catholic powers, the importance of which, both as the supreme head of the Church, and as an Italian sovereign, he clearly realized.

A two-fold aim unfolded itself before the eyes of Sixtus V. in his attitude towards the disturbances in France: the saving of the Catholic faith so seriously threatened by Calvinism, and the preservation of France as a powerful and independent state. The attainment of the former end was all the more bound to take the first place for the supreme

head of the Church in that, in the eyes of all contemporary observers, the triumph of the Huguenots in France would mean the triumph of Protestantism throughout Europe. In order to avert so terrible a catastrophe even the independence of France would have to be sacrificed in the last resort, yet the Pope was determined to use every means to prevent such a thing so long as it was possible. Hence arose his bitter struggle with Spain.[1] If Sixtus V. had placed his full moral support and his financial resources at the disposal of the King of Spain, Henry of Navarre must certainly have succumbed. What the consequent dominion, whether direct or indirect, of Spain over France would have entailed, was quite clearly realized by Sixtus V. As the French would not long have endured a foreign domination,[2] their country would in that case have fallen a victim to incalculable disturbances, and must have disappeared as a great power. At the same time the influence of Spain would have been so much increased that the independence of the Holy See and the liberty of the Church could no longer have been maintained.

The hesitating and changing attitude of Sixtus V. towards the disturbances in France, which was quite incomprehensible to many of his contemporaries,[3] was based principally upon

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 377 *seq.* whose retrospect forms the basis of the above observations.

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of the author of the Florentine account in BRATLI, Filip af Spanien, Copenhagen, 1909, 200 *seq.*

[3] With regard to the complaints of Philip II.'s representatives that Sixtus V. always took the line of least resistance, HÜBNER, remarks (II., 387) that this can only refer to the steady advance of Henry IV. who, with his ever-increasing Catholic following, made his influence felt in a very marked manner. The Pope acted like the tactician " who makes his own operations dependent upon those of his opponent. He changes his battle order, makes marches and countermarches, advances or retires, all according to the exigencies of the moment. But all the time he has one single aim and object in view, namely the defeat of the enemy ; and here the enemy consisted of the new religion and Spanish ambition. And so Sixtus sought to loosen the fetters that bound

that natural and equitable aim, steadily pursued by all the great Popes, of averting, by means of a balance between the rival European powers, the danger of cesaropapalism, and thus preserving to the Church and the Holy See that freedom and independence which were necessary to her for the carrying out of her great mission. Sixtus V. therefore wished for a France that should be, not only Catholic, but also independent, and which should be in a position to act as a counter-weight to the mighty power of the Spanish king, the further extension of which threatened, as once the power of the Hohenstaufen had done, to paralyse and crush the Papacy in its iron embrace.[1] If Philip II. had become the absolute master not only of the south of the continent of Europe, but also of the west, how easily he might have transferred the Holy See to Toledo, or have changed Rome herself into a Spanish Avignon!

The danger of a Spanish cesaropapalism appeared all the more threatening in that Philip looked upon himself as called upon, not only to give to the Church the protection of his secular power, but also to watch over her and safeguard her.

him to Spain, for he doubted no longer that France would emerge from the crisis as a Catholic and independent nation." The appreciation of the situation given by HERRE (407 *seq.*) and BALZANI (Sisto V., p. 63 *seq.*) is very similar to that of HÜBNER. Ranke had an insufficient knowledge of the diplomatic documents, and therefore his account is incomplete and, to a certain extent, misleading; and yet he says that it would be an injustice to Sixtus V. to reproach him with indecision and vacillation: "His powers of perception made him see things in all their bearings, he perceived the dangers on both sides, and so he gave way to opposing suggestions and the moment never arrived when he was called upon to make a final decision" (PÄPSTE, II. (8), 143). *Cf.* also the excellent treatment of the subject by EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., lx.

[1] See SEGESSER, III., 2, 79 *seq.* *Cf.* also PHILIPPSON in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXIX., 440 *seq.* and HERRE in the *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, 1908, 388 for Sixtus V. as the chief upholder of the principle of the Balance of Power.

Sixtus V. had seen for himself how the active but selfish zeal of the King of Spain for the interests of the Church, as well as the principles of his ecclesiastical policy, had constantly led to many usurpations in purely religious questions. The justifiable mistrust with which he watched the Spanish king, as he ostentatiously put himself forward as the protector of the Church, confirmed him in his opposition to any profit being drawn from the disturbed conditions of France to the advantage and increase of the power of Spain. By energetically resisting the ever-growing designs of Philip II., Sixtus V. bridled his cesaropapistical aims, saved France from calamitous conflicts, assured the position of the Church in that country, and set up a counter-weight on Catholic soil to the preponderance of Spain. Thus he became not only the saviour of the independence of France, but also of the liberties and independence of the Papacy.

But the importance of the pontificate of Sixtus V. was by no means ended with that. Wherever he could, especially in Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland and Poland, he carried on the work of reform and Catholic restoration, seeking to save what still could be saved, and striving to recover lost ground. He also encouraged the missions outside Europe. With a just appreciation of the importance of learning in fighting the religious innovations, he did all he could to place at the disposal of the pioneers of the old Church the necessary intellectual equipment. To this day witness is borne to this by the Vatican Library, which he renewed and splendidly consolidated, and by the printing press which he set up there.

As a reorganizer of the Church, Sixtus V., like Gregory VII., made a close union between the universal Church and Rome the basis of his programme of reform.[1] Full of energy, always going straight and directly to his end, and extraordinarily practical, from the very beginning of his reign, he restored the almost forgotten practice, by which all the

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, Kirchliche Zustände, xix. *Cf.* SEGESSER, III., 1, 283.

bishops, within definitely fixed periods, had to render an account to him of their fulfilment of their various pastoral duties, and of the state of the dioceses entrusted to them.

Of even greater importance for the spread of reform and Catholic restoration, was the fact that Sixtus V. gave to the central government of the Church its permanent form. The same keen insight into the needs of the future, which he displayed in the attitude which he adopted towards the crisis in France, guided him in this as well. To ensure victory in the struggle against Protestantism, and to enforce the reform work of the Council of Trent, a new organization of ecclesiastical administration was called for, which would make possible a systematic, speedy and impartial discharge of the business which was brought from all parts of the world to Rome. With that clear outlook which belongs to rulers who are blessed by God he realized that this purpose would be better served by the cardinalitial congregations than by the treatment of affairs at plenary assembles of the Sacred College, or in consistories, as had hitherto been customary. In the formation and organization of the congregations Sixtus V. showed himself to be an unrivalled organizer. His rearrangement of them, which has lasted until the present day, gave the Church a centralization and a cohesion which was an admirable complement to the work of the Papal nuncios and of the active fighting forces of the religious Orders, and which consolidated and reinvigorated the unity and authority of the old Church.[1]

Thus Sixtus V. stands out in history as one of the most important of all those who have worn the tiara ; gifted with an extraordinary personality, and stamped with great singleness of purpose, he proved himself a man of both genius and greatness in all his undertakings and in all his far-reaching designs. He united a clear outlook to a rare energy and complete fearlessness, and above all was possessed of a supremely practical judgment, and during his pontificate, which did not extend much beyond five years, to the marvel

[1] *Cf.* Balzani, Sisto V., p. 52 *seq.*

of his contemporaries, he accomplished more than many of his predecessors, who had enjoyed a far longer reign, had been able to do.

In the Eternal City, too, no Pope of modern times has left so many traces of his building activity as Sixtus V. What Julius II. had been for Rome in the time of the Renaissance, he was for the period of the Catholic restoration.[1] To this day his renown is proclaimed by the splendid halls of the Vatican Library, the palaces built as residences for the successors of St. Peter, the aqueducts, the new streets, the obelisks adorned with the insignia of the Cross, the statues of the Princes of the Apostles on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and the dome of St. Peter's, which he almost completed.

Historians of every school agree in this, that Sixtus V. is one of the most imposing of the many great Popes produced by the period of reform and Catholic restoration.[2] It may well be said that posterity has unjustly withheld the title of Great from this Pope, who, full of confidence in God, steered the ship of Peter at an extremely critical time,[3] with all the energy and prudence of the ancient Roman.

[1] See GREGOROVIUS, Die Grabmäler der Päpste (2), Leipzig, 1881, 149.

[2] A fact which has recently been emphasized by HERRE in a very decided manner (Päpstwahlen, 21, 365 *seq.*). Much earlier, in his continuation of Hortig's Church History, DÖLLINGER (III., 2, 728), declared that Sixtus V. was one of the greatest rulers of all times. In 1870, REUMONT (III., 2, 591) wrote that the three last centuries could point to no greater Pope. HASE (Kirchengeschichte auf Grundlage akad. Vorlesungen, III., 1, 375) praises Sixtus V. as "the hero of the renewed Papacy." EHSES (Nuntiaturberichte, II., lix) describes him as a Pope whose leadership and energy make him worthy to rank with the greatest men of history.

[3] *Cf.* the *addresses delivered in the consistories of July 31, and October 25, 1589, in the Acta consist., Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, Vatican Library.

CHAPTER I.

Election, Antecedents and Character of Sixtus V.

After the death of Gregory XIII., on April 10th, 1585, the first care of the Cardinals was directed to the preservation of peace in the States of the Church, and especially in Rome, where ample military precautions were at once taken. The duty of guarding the city, six of the gates of which were closed, was entrusted to Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, who had at his disposal more than 2000 infantry and four companies of light cavalry, while 1200 infantry were under the command of Monsignore Ghislieri, who was entrusted with the defence of the Borgo.[1]

During the first confusion after the death of the Pope many prisoners had escaped from the prisons, among them that party of thirty-six who were to have been executed before Easter. Some of the more dangerous prisoners had been removed to the Castle of St. Angelo. Cardinals Guastavillani, Colonna and Medici were especially concerned with measures for the repression of the many bandits who had made their appearance, not only in the neighbourhood of the city, but even in Rome itself. The discontented barons, too, were given serious warnings.[2] Although at the beginning of the vacancy in the Holy See the customary excesses were not wanting, yet, for the most part, peace was successfully maintained in Rome during the conclave, a state of affairs which was due to the behaviour of the Roman nobility, as

[1] See *Avvisi di Roma of April 13 and 21, 1585, Urb. 1054. Vatican Library, and *report from Rome of April 26, 1585, Hist, No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau. *Cf. Quellen und Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 98.

[2] See *Avviso of April 13, *loc. cit.* and Cardinal Medici's report in Hübner, I., 143.

well as to the severity of the Duke of Sora.[1] Another thing that told favourably for this end was the admirable success of the measures which the Cardinals had taken to provide Rome with food.[2]

Thus the election was able to begin under comparatively favourable conditions. Of the sixty members of the Sacred College only thirty-eight took part in this at first. Four others arrived later, so that the full number of the electors rose to forty-two.[3] Among these there were three Germans :

[1] See *Avviso of April 20, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Rerum a Romanis pontificibus gestarum post Gregorium XIII. liber primus, in the Cod. F. IV., 81 of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* GUALTERIUS, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Sporeno reported on April 20 : *" In urbe res omnes adeo bene dispositae sunt, ut cum summa tranquillitate transeant " (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). The *report from the archives at Wittingau (quoted p. 7 in the first note) is very similar.

[3] *Farnesius, Sabellus, Serbellonus, Gamba, Jesualdus, Altemptius, Avalus, Columna, Gallius, S. Crucius, Ferrerius, Sirletus, Paleottus, Bonellus, Madrutius, Pelve, Sanctorius, Cesius, Rombolietto, Perettus, Rusticuccius, Albanus, Boncompagnus, Simoncellus, Riarius, Deza, Caraffa, Facchinettus, Castaneus, Mediceus, Cananus, Sfondratus, Salviatus, Spinola, Contarellus, Lancellottus, Estensis, Mediceus, Vastavillanus, Austrius, Gonzaga, Sfortia (GUALTERIUS, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* PETRAMELLARIUS, 273 *seq.* Payments made to " Ottav. Mascherino, architetto del conclave " in BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bologn., 30. The anonymous report, which was not printed until 1667 in the *Conclavi* 143-211, was, for a long time, the only available source of information for the election of Sixtus V. ; but this report can only be regarded as trustworthy when it deals with external events. This Relation, which was worked up into a pamphlet in England in 1690 and 1724, was translated by Theodor Paur in the *New Lausitz. Archiv*, L. (1873), 162 *seqq.* This report was the principal source made use of by TEMPESTI (I., 127 *seq.*), but he also utilised other contemporary sources such as Santori, Alaleone and the letter of an anonymous conclavist. An important advance was made in 1856 when MUTINELLI (Storia arcana, I., 159-162) published L. Priuli's

Mark Sittich, Andrew of Austria and Madruzzo, and three Frenchmen: Rambouillet, Pellevé and Contarelli. Of the Spanish Cardinals only Deza was present. The rest were all Italians. All were animated with the desire to elect the man who was most worthy and capable of carrying on the great work of reform and Catholic restoration. National and personal considerations also naturally entered into the matter, but these were only of minor importance.[1] How much the times had changed was clearly apparent from the fact that hardly any mention was made of the one-time division of the Sacred College into a Spanish-Imperial and a

report of April 26, 1585. HÜBNER's exhaustive account (I., 131-213) is based, for the most part, on the Florentine reports which PETRUCELLI (II., 243 *seqq.*) had already utilised in the same uncritical manner that he used other ambassadorial despatches. Of these Florentine reports Hübner makes most use of those of Ferdinando Medici whose important memorandum of April 24 he published in its entirety in his French edition (II., 459-467). HERRE, who has given a new and very detailed account (p. 308-364), deserves the credit of being the first to elucidate the attitude of Spain by making use of the Spanish reports which, unfortunately, are not complete. He also cleared up several other points; and he utilised the new sources of information which had been published by ORSI (*La Cultura*, N.S., I., 470 *seqq.*), BREMOND (J. de Vivonne, 159 *seqq.*) and MOTTA (Otto pontificati, 130 *seqq*). HERRE (p. 359) very rightly points out that it was ecclesiastical and religious interests that overwhelmingly turned the scale in the election of Sixtus V.; and that it was not Medici, but Este and Madruzzo who were the real Pope-makers. In the account which follows, use has been made, for the first time, of the important *reports of C. Capilupi from the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 147. After the conclave, G. Maretti wrote: *" Si puo dicere che questo conclave sia terminato senza scoperta di rancori che cardinali hanno tra di loro fuori di quelli che si palesarono nelli primi 10 giorni della sede vacante. Madruzzo is said to have thought, " che questa è stata delle piu concorde et honorate elettioni," that had taken place for years. State Archives, Modena.

French party. The Cardinals naturally fell into groups, at the head of which stood the nephews of recent Popes.

An extraordinary combination of circumstances prevented any special influence upon the conclave on the part of the great Catholic powers. The man who, among the Catholic princes, might have intervened decisively, Philip II. of Spain, had no part in it; his wishes, as expressed in the instructions sent to his ambassador, Olivares, only reached Rome on April 24th, 1585, when a decision had already been arrived at.[1] The same was the case with the Emperor, Rudolph II., whose help had been called for by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[2] As in Prague, so also in Paris, but little attention was paid to what was happening in the Curia. But it was not only ignorance of what was going on in Rome which prevented any efficacious intervention on the part of the French government, whose ambassador, Vivonne, reached Rome on April 18th, but also the weakness and want of unity of the French party in the Sacred College, since only Este and his followers adhered to the cause of Henry III., while Pellevé openly declared himself a supporter of the League. As the election of the Pope, contrary to all expectations, took place very suddenly, it was useless to think of any intervention on the part of the Cardinals who were still in France, and who had been summoned to Rome by Este on April 10th.[3]

Of the Italian governments only Venice and Florence were in a position to bring any great influence to bear. The cautious Venetians, however, refrained on principle from trying to influence the election of the Pope; with all the greater zeal, therefore, did the Grand Duke of Tuscany endeavour to do so. Cosimo had a representative in Rome in the person of his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, who was a man of considerable capacity, indefatigably hard-working, and fertile in expedients. In order to place the

[1] See HERRE, Papstwahl, 323 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 82, note.

[3] *Cf.* BREMOND, 160; HERRE, 328 *seq.*

necessary check upon his ardent temperament, the Grand Duke also sent his secretary, Belisario Vinta, to Rome.[1]

Medici's declared adversary and rival had long been Alessandro Farnese. The latter, who was dean of the Sacred College, may be said to have represented in his own person the period which led from the end of the Renaissance to that of the reform and Catholic restoration.[2] Like Paul III., to whom he owed his promotion, Alessandro Farnese had accommodated himself to the changed times, which imperiously insisted upon the predominance of religious considerations. Transformed by his relations with Ignatius of Loyola and Philip Neri, he showed himself not only the munificent patron of artists and scholars, but also as the promotor of all Catholic endeavours. His special favour was bestowed upon the Society of Jesus, for which he built in the Gesù in Rome a sumptuous church, which became the model of many sacred edifices in the age that followed.[3]

Since the death of Paul III., Cardinal Farnese had witnessed the election, reign and death of six Popes. The important part which he had taken in all the preceding conclaves was so great that he had been called the "Pope-maker." This time he hoped to be able to bring about his own election, and thus bring his antagonism for Medici, his ancient rival, to a victorious conclusion.[4] At first sight he seemed to have a strong advantage over the latter. With the Roman people, on account of the generosity with which he used his vast

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 151 *seq.*, 166 *seq.* Medici is described as the cleverest member of the College of Cardinals in Sporeno's *report of April 5, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For Medici's turbulent temperament, his tactless remarks about many of the cardinals and his lack of courtesy to those who were not of princely blood *cf.* Serguidi's *Relatione di P. Gregorio XIII et della corte Romana 1581, Medic. 3605, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XI, p. 139 of this work.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XX, p. 577 of this work.

[4] As early as December 31, 1583, Sporeno reported to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol that Farnese hoped to become Pope; *Report in the Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

riches, he enjoyed a popularity that could not have been greater. At the same time he was very greatly loved in the Sacred College itself; by his strictly religious sentiments, and his kindly and attractive character he had made many friends among his colleagues. In spite of this Medici was resolved to do all in his power to prevent the success of Farnese at the conclave. Political considerations determined him in this. There was reason to fear that if Farnese became master of the Papal States, the power of his brother, the Duke of Parma, would be so greatly increased that the very existence of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany would be threatened, all the more so as Spain had taken the part of Farnese.[1]

As the result of the antagonism between Farnese and Medici, even in the time of Gregory XIII., the College of Cardinals had been divided into two parties; the decisive battle was now to be fought. Both the rivals sought in every way to win over the influential Cardinal Este and the nephews of the last three Popes: Altemps, Bonelli and Filippo Boncompagni. Boncompagni promised Farnese the support of his party, which seemed of all the more importance as sixteen of Gregory's Cardinals were taking part in the election. Farnese thought that he could build equal hopes upon the attitude of the King of Spain. Hitherto, the latter had excluded him, but now the Spanish ambassador, Olivares, solemnly declared that Philip II. left the Cardinals complete liberty. Medici was supremely alarmed at this declaration, and his annoyance was all the greater when he learned that he, the Cardinal Protector of Spain, had not been chosen to undertake the guidance of the adherents of Philip II. in the conclave, but Cardinal Madruzzo, whose arrival was looked for from hour to hour.[2]

However difficult the position in which Medici found himself, he did not lose courage, and worked for the exclusion of Farnese with undiminished zeal. It was easy for him to win over to his views Bonelli, the nephew of Pius V., who already

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 158 *seq.*

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 161 *seq.*

in the time of Gregory XIII. entertained hostile feelings for Farnese.[1] On April 11th Medici also won over Mark Sittich, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius IV., though on the other hand his attempt to separate Boncompagni from Farnese was a failure.[2] But even this did not altogether discourage Medici, and as the leader of Gregory's Cardinals continued to hold aloof, he devoted his attention to his followers.[3] In this he was helped by the imprudent behaviour of Boncompagni, who had not consulted Gregory's Cardinals about the candidature of Farnese, and thinking that they would be sure to follow him blindly, had given his promise on his own authority.[4] This mistake annoyed the Duke of Sora, who gladly set himself to influence the Cardinals in the sense desired by Medici. To all this had to be added the long-standing rivalry between the two nephews of Gregory XIII., and Boncompagni's sympathy with Farnese was balanced by the dislike of Guastavillani.[5]

While the ill-timed intervention of Boncompagni on behalf of Farnese only did the latter harm, it was clear that the powerful Cardinal Este, who had hitherto maintained an attitude of great reserve, was taking up a position of hostility to the grandson of Paul III. He was led to this, not only by the interests of the princely House of Este, but also by the conviction that Farnese, who had Spanish sympathies, was not the neutral personality that the good of the Church demanded.[6] The Mantuan envoy, Capilupi, whose master

[1] See Serguidi's *Relatione of 1581 quoted *supra* p. 11, note 1, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* REBASCHI CAROTTI, 15.

[3] See HÜBNER, I., 158 *seq.*; REBASCHI CAROTTI, 15.

[4] See *Capilupi's report of April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See HERRE, 311.

[6] See HERRE, 315 *seq.*; REBASCHI CAROTTI, 17. *Il vero subietto d' Este per papa, said Serguidi in 1581 in his Relatione di P. Gregorio XIII et della corte Rom., intendo che è Justiniano il quale vendendosi dalle cose di Genova in qua haver perso Spagna si è gettato a Franzesi forse con promessa di quella città dalla fattione nuova. Medic. 3605, State Archives, Florence.

had from the first been opposed to Farnese,[1] remarked as early as April 12th that his candidature was going badly. His opponents, he wrote, are united, and as twelve or thirteen votes will be sufficient to exclude him, it will be easy to keep them in agreement. It is difficult to understand how Farnese could have so completely deluded himself as to the importance of his alliance with Boncompagni ; it was quite clear to every shrewd observer that the nephew of the dead Pope was lacking in all the qualities necessary for keeping Gregory's Cardinals united, and for guiding them, though by reason of their number they were in a position to decide the question.[2] On the other hand, no one had any idea that Spain too was secretly not desirous of the election of Farnese. Olivares, however, had no need to trouble himself as to this, as Cardinal Medici was safeguarding the interests of Spain.[3] The latter's efforts met with so much success, that Farnese's hopes grew less every hour,[4] and by the eve of the entry into conclave had been almost completely wrecked.[5]

In place of the grandson of Paul III. men of quite a different stamp were in the foreground. These were, of the Cardinals of Pius IV., first Sirleto, and then Paleotto and Santa Croce ; of the Cardinals of Pius V., Cesi, Santori, Montalto and Albani. Among the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. the following were considered possible Popes : Torre, Facchinetti, Laureo and Castagna.[6] When each of these was looked at individu-

[1] See Rebaschi Carotti, 11 *seq.*

[2] See *Capilupi's memorandum of April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Rebaschi Carotti, 17 *seq.*

[3] See Herre, 320, 329.

[4] *Cf.* *Capilupi's report of April 17, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] *Cf.* *Capilupi's reports of April 19 and 20, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *Sporeno's memorandum of April 20, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] See the report of the conclave in *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* Appendix No. 41). See also the report of April 20 1585 in Fusai, B. Vinta, 35. Epigrams on the ' Papabili " Montalto, Albani, Savelli, Santa Croce, Torre, Sirleto and A. Farnese in the C.Strozz. 230, p. 144 *seq.*,State Archives,Florence.

ally, it was clear that only one of them corresponded to all the requirements that were put forward by the various parties. This was Felice Peretti, known, from the native place of his family, as Cardinal Montalto.[1] It is characteristic of the shrewd insight of the Mantuan envoy, Camillo Capilupi, that as early as April 12th, 1585, he had clearly realized the true state of affairs. Montalto, he reported, has every prospect of success; he is behaving with the greatest prudence and circumspection; not even the Spaniards reject him.[2]

In his letter of April 12th, Capilupi calls attention to two reefs upon which the election of Montalto might meet with shipwreck. In the first place, his ambitions must not be disclosed too clearly before the proper time, and secondly he would have to reckon with the fear of Paolo Giordano Orsini, who would certainly use his influence with Cardinal Medici, who was his relative, to prevent the election of a Cardinal from whom it was to be expected that he would call him to account as the murderer of his nephew.[3]

Moreover, the opinion was very wide-spread that Cardinal Medici, on account of his relationship with Paolo Giordano Orsini, would certainly not favour the elevation of Montalto.[4] But, as has so often happened in history, on this occasion too it was the unexpected that occurred.

On Easter Day, April 21st, 1585, the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in St. Peter's, after which the celebrated Muret delivered the usual discourse on the election of the

[1] See HERRE, 332 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*. who rightly points out that Montalto's chances of being elected were more clearly recognised in the city than among the electors whose judgment was easily clouded by the various influences brought to bear upon them. The *Avvisi of the Vatican Library, already utilised by GNOLI (V. Accoramboni, 234), are more reliable than the Florentine reports (PETRUCELLI, II., 249 *seq.*, 252) quoted by Herre.

[2] See the important *memorandum of Capilupi dat. April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* HERRE, 337.

Pope ;[1] in the evening, the conclave which had been prepared in the Vatican was closed.[2] There a new election capitulation was drawn up, which bound the new Pope to the restoration of peace among the princes, the war against the Turks, the carrying on of Catholic reform, the defence of the liberties of the Church, and the completion of the basilica of St. Peter's.[3] At first there was still talk of the election of Farnese, but the grandson of Paul III. himself realized how small his hopes had become ; he therefore kept altogether apart, and did not wish any mention to be made of his election.[4]

On the following day Altemps made an attempt to obtain the tiara for his chosen candidate, Sirleto. Although the latter was a man of irreproachable character, he nevertheless found many to oppose him. Being purely a scholar, he was not suited to a position which before all things called for practical action and political capacity. It is significant that the ambassador of Spain, Olivares, favoured the elevation of Sirleto, obviously with the hope of being able to dominate him. But it was exactly the favour of Spain which damaged the chances of Sirleto to an extraordinary degree. Like Este, Medici was the declared opponent of the candidature of Sirleto, and in this he was greatly influenced by his annoyance at the fact that Philip II. had not entrusted him, the Cardinal Protector of Spain, with the representation of his interests ;

[1] See A. Mureti Oratio habita ad ill. et rev. S.R.E. cardinales ipso die Paschae cum subrogandi pontificis causa conclave ingressuri essent, Romae 1585. The *Avviso of April 21, 1585, praises the discourse as a masterpiece. Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 338. A copy of the *Vera pianta del conclave* of 1585 (by Natal. Bonifacio) in the large collection of conclave plans in the Vatican Library. Montalto's cell in the Borgia Apartments is here given as No. 50.

[3] See the wording in the *Arch. d. Castel S. Angelo, Arm. 11, c. 3, n. 23, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* LULVÈS in the *Quellen und Forschungen des preussischen Instituts*, XII., 227.

[4] According to C. Capilupi in his *memorandum of April 24, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he now wished to show what he could do, and how it was not the task of the ambassadors, but of the Cardinals, to provide the occupant of the throne of St. Peter.[1] Those Cardinals who, as had already been the case under Gregory XIII.,[2] did not wish for any Pope who was dependent upon Spain, feared lest Sirleto should carry on the government of the Church as the "chaplain of the Catholic King," and so pronounced against him.[3] To this must be added the fact that Altemps acted in so impetuous a way that not a few of the Cardinals were filled with indignation.[4]

After the first fruitless scrutiny there arrived Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who had reached Rome from Innsbruck in six days. The Spanish ambassador insisted that he should at once enter the conclave.[5] As Andrew had not received deacon's orders, Farnese, who was joined by Boncompagni, was unwilling to allow him to vote. The Cardinal of Austria, however, could appeal to the dispensing bull of Gregory XIII., thanks to which Bonelli and Medici obtained his admission to the conclave.[6] The next scrutiny, however, produced no result. The negotiations which were carried on during the night for the election of Giambattista Castagna, who was very acceptable to Spain, also failed completely.[7]

It was of decisive importance when Medici was successful in coming to an arrangement with the powerful Cardinal

[1] See *Ibid.*

[2] On this subject see Cusano's interesting *report of February 19, 1575, where it deals with the machinations practised at the conclaves of those days. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* HERRE, 333.

[4] *Cf.* *Capilupi's memorandum of April 24, 1585, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Fu subito spinto dentro in conclave dall'ambassadore di Spagna senza darli tempo pur a cavarsi i speroni, says a report from Rome dat. April 26, 1585, Hist. No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau.

[6] *Cf.* P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 338 *seq.*; HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 407.

[7] See the report in MOTTA, 130.

Este[1] in favour of the candidature of Montalto. Although he was Protector of France, and the friend of the Valois, this Cardinal had even more at heart the good of the Church, which called for the exclusion of any Pope who should be devoted to French interests alone, as much as one who was completely subject to Spain. Este wished for an independent personality, and for this reason both Montalto and Albani were acceptable to him. He very prudently wished to take into account the attitude of Spain, by submitting his views to the approval of Madruzzo, the trusted friend of Spain, whose arrival was imminent.[2]

In the meantime Medici was working with true zeal for Montalto. He succeeded in winning over to his cause, first Altemps, who feared above all things the election of Cardinal Michele della Torre,[3] and then Bonelli, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius V.[4]

While, in the evening of April 22nd, the Romans were first in a state of joyful excitement at the rumour of the election of Farnese, and then, when this proved to be false, profoundly disappointed,[5] on the evening of the following day there at

[1] After Este had returned to Rome from Tivoli, the great power that he wielded was shown by the almost incredible concourse of people that flocked to his palace; see the *Avvisi of April 13 and 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* HERRE, 345 *seq.* For the false assertion that F. Peretti purchased the votes of Este and his followers *cf.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Moralstreitigkeiten, I., Nördlingen, 1889, 552 *seq.* According to the *Avviso of April 24, 1585 (Urb. 1053, Vatican Library), Sixtus V. said to the French Envoy that, after God, he owed his election to Este.

[3] *Cf.* PICHLER, Il Castello di Duino, Trento, 1882, 17 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Medici's report in HÜBNER, II., 459 *seq.*, Priuli's report in MUTINELLI, I., 159 *seq.*, and *Capilupi's memorandum in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, all dated April 24, 1585.

[5] *La voce uscita per la Città hiersera, che Farnese era Papa per 5 cannonate sparate da Castello per acquetare alcune questioni, che si facevano in banchi, fece in un tratto sollevare ognuno, et tanto in quell'hora fu il giubilo et l' allegrezza di Roma, che non

length arrived in Rome Cardinal Madruzzo, who had been detained in Florence by an attack of fever.[1] Madruzzo was sincerely attached to Philip II., but he was before all things a prince of the Church. He realized as clearly as Este that in the coming election the general interests of Christendom must first be safeguarded, and that it was necessary to give the Church a head who would have the wisdom and the strength to protect her as far as possible against both Spain and France.[2] With sentiments such as these it was not difficult for Medici, with the assistance of Bonelli and Altemps, to detach the Cardinal of Trent from the candidature of Sirleto and win him over to Montalto. From the ready assent given by the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, it was inferred that Montalto must be entirely pleasing to Philip II., a thing which Madruzzo also expressly stated. The number of the supporters of Montalto now increased in such a way that he only needed four votes for the necessary majority of two thirds.[3] All the subsequent negotiations were carried on with the greatest tranquillity; on the one hand Montalto held himself quite aloof, while on the other Farnese remained until the end under the illusion that Medici would never at any cost support the election of a Cardinal who was certain to be hostile to his relative, Paolo Giordano Orsini.[4] Thus a matter, which to all appearances

si può descrivere, all'udire questa gran nuova, che fu poi falsa, con altretanto rammarico degli interessati in questo desiderio (Avviso of April 23, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the Bologna report in TEMPESTI, I., 135 *seq.* and the *report of April 26, 1585, Hist. No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau.

[1] See the *Avvisi of April 22 and 23, 1585, *loc. cit.*, and the *Diarium P. Alaleonis lib. 1, Barb. lat. 2814, p. 139 (b), Vatican Library.

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 203 *seq.*; BREMOND, 165; HERRE, 351.

[3] See the reports of Priuli and Medici quoted *supra* p. 18, n 4.; also Madruzzo's letter to Philip II. of May 5, 1585, first quoted by HÜBNER (I., 205), and *Capilupi's memorandum of April 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* HERRE, 352 *seq.*

[4] See Priuli in MUTINELLI, I., 159 *seq.*; HERRE, 354.

should have proved an obstacle to Montalto's obtaining the tiara, was actually a great advantage to him.[1]

The friends of Medici decided, now that matters had advanced so far, to lose no more time. They were successful on April 24th in bringing to a conclusion the conclave, which in the opinion of most people had been destined to last a long time.[2] On the morning of that day Cardinal Guido Ferreri also arrived.[3] He and Madruzzo had still to take the oath to the bulls concerning the election of the Pope. Before the Cardinals assembled for this purpose in the Sistine Chapel, Cardinal Gonzaga, who was one of the most zealous of the supporters of Montalto, went to his cell for a conference. With what circumspection they were acting was clear from the fact that afterwards they did not go together, but separately, to the Pauline Chapel. They wished to avoid any sort of suspicion.[4]

While the lengthy bulls concerning the election, to which Madruzzo and Ferreri had to swear, were being read, Este proposed to Cardinal Bonelli to summon Boncompagni, the leader of the Cardinals of Gregory, from the chapel into the Sala Regia, and invite him to concur in the election of Montalto, as they were now assured of a sufficient majority. This information was imparted so abruptly that Boncompagni, although he had for some time been secretly perturbed, was quite taken aback by it. He declared that he must first consult his followers. Bonelli replied that if he must do so he would have to do it at once.[5] When Boncompagni explained the state of affairs to his followers, and urged them to vote for Montalto, most of them rather kept silence than

[1] *Cf.* Maffeii Hist. 2.

[2] See the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. and *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Appendix No. 38. See also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[3] See Diarium Alaleonis in GATTICUS, 339.

[4] See *Capilupi's report of April 24, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the good account in the biography *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41.

gave a consent. Only one, Facchinetti, raised any objection ; Montalto, he thought, was certainly worthy to ascend the Throne of St. Peter, but it would be more fitting to choose a man who was older than that Cardinal, who, although he was more than sixty-four years of age, was so vigorous that he hardly seemed a man of sixty. He was told that this could not be allowed to weigh against his indisputable worthiness. The election of an older candidate was not to be recommended, apart from the circumstances of the moment, which called for an energetic personality, because frequent conclaves were by no means to the advantage of the Church. When Alessandro Riario had added a few persuasive words in favour of the election the matter was decided. No one made any objection when Boncompagni called upon his party to repair to the Pauline Chapel and vote for Montalto.[1]

The Cardinals had hardly all reached the chapel when Cardinal Este, being informed by Gonzaga of the concurrence of Gregory's Cardinals, interrupted the master of ceremonies,

[1] See *ibid.* Riario's entry into the discussion is also mentioned in the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives. In Gualterius *Ephemerides, considerations favouring the election of Montalto are set forth as follows: Pontificem creandum qui principum nulli addictus esset partibus factionibusque minime studeret Cristiane Reipublice depravatos corrigere mores, vitia seva recidere, populorum calamitates tollere hominumque licentiam cohercere et sciret et posset, vite integritate, sanctitate, sapientia, morum gravitate, consilio, auctoritate rerumque usu omnibus polleret, magis Cristiane Reipublice res negotiaque ut digitos nosset. Hunc unum fore Montaltum asseverabant, cuius mentis etas obstare nullo modo debebat, cum Pontificem oporteat viridioris senectutis esse, ut ad tantum sustinendum onus, quo nullum gravius est, pares haberet cum animi tum corporis vires, nam in effecto corpore imbecillus langueat animus necesse est. Indignum insuper esse ab Apostolico Senatu Pontificem senio confectum eo consilio deligi, ut brevi alter creetur Pontifex, cum id Cardinalium ambitionem indicet, cumque crebra Pontificum creatio ecclesiastico aerario Sedisque Apostolice ditioni sit admodum perniciosa. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

Paolo Alaleone, who was still reading the pontifical bulls,[1] and in a loud voice exclaimed: "There is no longer time to read bulls! The Pope is made: let us proceed at once to the adoration."[2] The bystanders at once acted upon this invitation. The Cardinals of all parties, those of Gregory as well as the old supporters of Felice Peretti: Medici, Este, Altemps, Bonelli and their friends, as well as Madruzzo, approached Cardinal Montalto to pay him homage as Pope. Farnese too, with Savelli and Gambara, however surprised they were, did the same. At that moment, which destroyed for ever the ambitious dreams of his life, Farnese gave proof of his magnanimity and strength of character, overcoming with the greatest dignity his former dislike of Montalto. The latter, too, acted in a way corresponding with the generous behaviour of his rival, by giving his vote to Farnese in the public scrutiny that followed.[3] The newly elected Pope, who had first thought of taking the name of Eugenius V., called himself Sixtus V., so as to recall the memory of Sixtus IV., who had also belonged to the Franciscan Order.[4]

[1] See the passage from the Diarium Alaleonis in TEMPESTI, I., 158.

[2] HERRE (356 *seq.*), rightly contradicts the report in MOTTA (366), by maintaining that it was Este who gave the signal for the adoration, and this is confirmed by the *report (dat. April 24, 1585) of Capilupi who, at the same time, throws light on the part played by Gonzaga (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *report in Sixtus V. P.M. (Papal Secret Archives) mentions Bonelli instead of Este. But this is a mistake. The influence of Bonelli is also exaggerated in the report in CATENA, 315 *seq.*

[3] See TEMPESTI, I., 156; HERRE, 357. *Cf.* G. Maretti's *report of May 15, 1585 (State Archives, Modena).

[4] See TEMPESTI, I., 154 and REBASCHI CAROTTI, 26. *Cf.* *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Gualterius says in his *Ephemerides that the reason why Montalto chose the name of Sixtus V. was: "ut duos simul Pontifices representaret. Nomine igitur Sixto Sixtum quartum, qui seraphicae religionis, ut ipse fuerat, cognomine vero quinto Pium quintum, a quo ipse dignitatibus omnibus auctus erat. Huc accedebat, quod Sixti nome

A contemporary biographer of Sixtus V., relates how the latter, at the moment when the votes of the Cardinals fell upon him, filled with a holy fear, and with tears in his eyes, recognized in his election the hand of Providence.[1]

It is easy to understand this moment of abasement when one recalls the lowly circumstances from which this man, on whose head was now placed the triple crown, once borne by Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had sprung.[2]

The native place of Sixtus V. was in the fertile March of Ancona, his family living in the little village of Montalto, situated on the steep heights between Ascoli and Fermo.[3]

Pontificibus, qui eo usi sunt, felix faustumque fuit" (Sixtus I. and II. were martyrs, Sixtus III. was a holy man who had a special devotion to Mary: S. Maria Maggiore). Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[1] See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164 and *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae of April 25, 1585, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18.

[2] A number of important and trustworthy particulars of Sixtus V.'s former life are to be found, in the form of a diary, in his notebook which is preserved in the Chigi Library, Rome. These particulars have been published by CUGNONI in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 15-32 and 210-304. *Cf.* also the contemporary biographies quoted in the Appendix, No. 38, of which the most important are the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. and the voluminous work entitled *Sixtus V. P.M. (both in the Papal Secret Archives). For more recent works see TEMPESTI I., 3 *seqq.*, RANKE, Päpste, I. (8), 285 *seq.*, HÜBNER, I., 214 *seq.* and G. DELLA SANTA, Un documento inedito per la storia di Sisto V, Venezia, 1896.

[3] *Cf.* the important work by PISTOLESI, Sisto V e Montalto da documenti inediti, Montalto Marche, 1921, which is based on the results of researches made in the Notarial Archives at Montalto. The controversy as to whether Sixtus V. was born in Montalto or in Grottammare has been decided by Tempesti in favour of Grottammare and against the opinion of Galli (Vita di Sisto V., Ripatransone, 1754). Tempesti is wrong, however, in ascribing to his hero slavonic origin (I., 4); and this mistake of his has been

The Pope's ancestors were poor people. His father was commonly known by the surname of Peretto, which afterwards became the family name.[1] He lost all that he possessed in the unhappy war between Leo X. and the Duke of Urbino.[2] His belongings were confiscated and he himself was sent into banishment.[3] In 1518 Peretto and his wife Marianna,[4] who came from the neighbourhood of Camerino, moved to the ancient little town of Grottammare, ten miles away.[5] A road cut through the rock leads from the sea to this pictur-

repeated by all the more recent authorities up to the time of RANKE (Päpste, I. (8), 285), HÜBNER (I., 218), and CHLEDOWSKI (Rome II., Munich, 1912, 62). From the time of Piazza onwards, the authority for this statement has been the Bull of Sixtus V. for the rebuilding of the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni which mentions the Dalmatian origin of his family. But up to the present, this Bull has not come to light, so that the distinguished antiquary, Fr. Pistolesi, rightly rejects the current belief that the ancestors of Sixtus V. had fled from the Turks out of Dalmatia to the Marches (see his article in the periodical *Picenum*, X. (1913), 207 *seq.* and also his work Sisto V. pp. 13 *seqq.*). Not only the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., but also countless other sources expressly mention Grottammare as the place of his birth. HÜBNER (I., 218, note 1), writing as early as 1870, rightly says that the evidence brought forward by Tempesti has proved beyond all doubt that Sixtus V. was born at Grottommare, and this is confirmed by Priuli (in MUTINELLI, I., 163). In spite of this, however, PASINI-FRASSONI (Essai d'Armorial des Papes, Rome, 1906, 29-40) and F. DI BROILO (in the *Riv. d. Collegio Arald.*, III. (1905), 390 *seq.*) still maintain the old and false opinion that the Pope was born at Montalto.

[1] See Appendix No. 38.

[2] See Vol. VII., p. 147 *seq.* of this work.

[3] According to the testimony of his son Felix in the document quoted by Della Santa (6).

[4] See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 1, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* (B. MASCARETTI), Memorie stor. di Grottammare, Ripatransone, 1841; MORONI, LXVII., 79 *seq.*; PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 64; SPARACIO, 17 *seqq.*

esquely situated place. Close by are the ruins of a celebrated temple of antiquity, dedicated to the Sabine Goddess Cupra, which was later on restored by the Emperor Hadrian.[1]

Grottammare enjoys a very mild climate. Besides vines and olives, almonds and lemons, and other southern fruits, especially flourish there. Peretto leased a small farm from a citizen of Fermo named Lodovico de' Vecchi; his wife entered the service of the daughter-in-law of the proprietor.[2] In spite of all his efforts Peretto could hardly bring up his family, which increased quickly.[3] Before the birth of their fourth son his parents dreamed that they would have a son who would one day bear the tiara, and when, on December 13th, 1521, the feast of St. Lucy, Marianna gave birth to a baby boy, in the joyful hope that he would make his family happy, they gave him the name of Felice.

It is interesting to see how much the family clung to the hope which was based upon the dream of his parents. They were confirmed in their expectations by the fact that it seemed as though a visible protection of God was watching over the life of the little Felice. One day his bed caught fire from a spark from a lamp, but when the terrified mother ran to it she found her loved child unharmed and smiling.[4] A few years later Felice was nearly drowned in a pond.[5] He also

[1] *Cf.* GAMURRINI in the *Notizie degli scavi*, 1888, 559 *seq.*; 1895, 18 *seq.*; PAULY'S Realenzyklopädie des klass. Altertums, new edition IV., 1760 *seq.*

[2] *Hic (in Grottammare) natus perhibetur anno 1521 Idibus Decembris veneris die, qui festus est divae Luciae, hora circiter decima sexta cum pater Ludovici Vechii Firmani hortum exerceret, mater Dianae nurui eius perhonestae matronae domesticis ministeriis operam praestaret. Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives; see Appendix No. 38.

[4] See (in the Appendix No. 41) particulars taken from *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See GALESINUS, *Annales, Vatican Library; *Cf.*Appendix No. 38.

remained unharmed by the plague which carried off his brother, although he had been in close contact with the clothing of the dead boy.[1]

Peretto was so firmly convinced of the great future that lay before his little son, that he invited the neighbours to kiss his feet. Although they laughed at him he remained convinced that his son would be the future Pope.[2] He assured his acquaintances and friends who did him any kindness, that one day Felice would reward them generously.[3] When his little sister Camilla asked the passers by for a small alms she never failed to tell them that one day her brother would repay the kindness.[4]

Felice was treated by his parents with much strictness. He soon had to assist his father in his work in the garden and fields. Sixtus V. loved, when he was Pope, to tell of the humble circumstances in which he had grown up. It was not only with his intimates that he did this, but even once in consistory spoke of the great poverty of his family.[5]

Sixtus V. was wont to describe quite frankly and without any reserve how when he was a boy he had gathered chicory in the meadows, cut logs in the woods, dug in the garden, broken up the clods, and even tended his father's pigs.[6] This

[1] See *Sixtus V. P.M. *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Ibid.*

[3] The Franciscan Julianus Matthäus informed the Pope of this later. *Cf.* *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives ; See Appendix No. 41. *Cf.* PRIULI, 310.

[4] See PRIULI, 310. According to the report of the envoy of Lucca in the *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194, Sixtus V. was also a beggar in his youth. His father, "contadino di Montalto," is here described as "ortolano" in Grottammare.

[5] See Acta consist., 869.

[6] See (in the Appendix No. 1) the *Avviso of April 27, 1585, Vatican Library. When the margrave Edward Fortunat of Baden was staying in Rome in April, 1585 (*cf.* the *Avviso of May 1st, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 191 : "To-day the margrave of Baden took his departure"), Sixtus V. promised him financial support, "hora che di povero hortolano era diventato ricco giardiniero." *Avviso of May 4, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 192, Vatican Library.

does not mean, however, that the future Pope, as legend related later on, had been a swineherd by profession. Anyone who knows Italy knows that in the country districts every family owns some of these useful domestic animals, the herding of which is entrusted to the children.[1]

According to all probability Felice, like his father, would have become a country labourer, if he had not met with a patron in his maternal uncle, Fra Salvatore. The latter, a worthy and strict priest,[2] lived at S. Francesco, the convent of the Franciscan Conventuals at Montalto. He developed a great fondness for the clever and lively boy, who had learned the letters of the alphabet from the spelling-books of other children. He gladly paid for him the education fees which his father could not afford, in the bad conditions of those times, when, like the rest of Italy, the March was afflicted by war, pestilence and famine.[3] Felice did little services for his uncle, and often took him the linen which his mother had washed.[4]

Fra Salvatore at last took the boy who was so desirous of learning to live with him altogether in the convent. Felice assisted him in serving at table. His uncle treated him with great strictness, and even when he was Pope, Sixtus V. used to relate how he had received beatings because he had not laid the tables well, a thing which must have been very difficult for him as he was still very small. Twice a day Felice went to the convent of the Franciscans at Montalto to learn Latin from a master who was as strict as Fra Salvatore. In the meantime he had found so much happiness in the life of the cloister that he expressed a wish to be clothed in the

[1] *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 221. It was the assertion that he had been a swineherd that Sixtus crossed out of the *Vita when it was submitted to him (*cf.* Appendix No. 41), and which Leti afterwards utilised in such a disgraceful manner.

[2] "Senex antiqui moris ac spectatae probitatis" says the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* GALESINUS, *Annales, Vatican Library.

[4] Sixtus V. himself related this to his friends; see *Capilupi's memorandum of May 11, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

habit of St. Francis. Although he was but twelve years old his wish was granted.[1] A pious citizen of Montalto, Rosato Rosati, bought his habit for him. As the decrees of Trent were not yet in existence, the boy was able at the end of the following year (1534) to take his vows. By his father's wish he retained his baptismal name of happy augury, Felice.[2]

The young Franciscan devoted himself to study with unflagging ardour. He was often to be seen absorbed in his books near the lantern in the cloister, or if this had gone out, in the church near the lamp before the Blessed Sacrament.[3] His great ambition at that time was to become a celebrated preacher.[4] For his further education Fra Salvatore sent his nephew first to Fermo, in 1540 to Ferrara, in 1543 to Bologna, in 1544 to Rimini, and in 1546 to Siena. Fra Felice ended his course of philosophy and theology, which had extended over several years, brilliantly, by obtaining the degree of doctor of theology at Fermo on July 26th, 1548.[5] In his disputation he treated of very difficult theological questions with equal clearness and acumen.[6]

[1] Sacra veste ab ipso avunculo Salvatore induitur duodennis puer anno eius saeculi 1533. *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 4, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41. According to other sources, followed by TEMPESTI (I., 27), his entry into religion took place as early as 1532. For the monastery of S. Francesco see PISTOLESI, Altodunensia, Montalto, 1920, 26 *seq.*, 100.

[2] See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Out of gratitude Sixtus V. appointed one of the Rosati to be a Papal Chamberlain; see CICCONI, 28.

[3] See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41.

[4] See Capilupi's *report on May 11, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the note book of the Chigi Library in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 299. The letter published in the *Arch. Francisc.*, I., 470 refers to the sojourn at Ferrara.

[6] Post propugnatas publice in Franciscanorum templo utraque ex facultate sententias et numero et gravitate insignes theologiae magister magno cum suorum aliorumque, qui frequentes aderant, plausu omnibus rite suffragiis renunciatur (Sixtus V. P.M. c. 4,

At the disputations which were held at Assisi in 1549, during the sessions of the general chapter, the young Fra Felice again distinguished himself by the acumen and dexterity with which he defended his theses against Antonio Persico, a follower of the philosopher Telesius. It was then that he for the first time attracted the attention of Cardinal Carpi, the Protector of the Franciscans. In 1551 his superiors placed him in charge of the theological studies at the Franciscan convent at Siena.[1]

Even during his student days, and before he had received priest's orders, Fra Felice had preached on many occasions: first in 1540, when he was nineteen, at Monte Pagano in the Abruzzi, and in the following years in the neighbourhood of Ferrara and Bologna. He continued these activities afterwards. In his diary he has noted that he preached at Rimini in 1545, at Macerata in 1546, at S. Gimignano in 1547, at S. Miniato al Tedesco in 1548, at Ascoli in 1549, at Fano in 1550, and at Camerino in 1551.[2]

Cardinal Carpi did not lose sight of this Franciscan who promised so well, and in 1552 caused him to be summoned to Rome for the Lent. Fra Felice was in the full vigour of his manhood when, certainly on foot, he first came to the Eternal City, where he formed friendships that were to have a great influence upon his life and character. Cardinal Carpi had the happiness of seeing the discourses which his protégé delivered at the SS. Apostoli meet with the liveliest appreciation. High and low came thither, attracted by the burning eloquence of Fra Felice, so that often the great church was not large enough for the number of his hearers.

Papal Secret Archives). *Eos brevi in doctrinarum studiis progressus fecit, ut sexto post anno Firmi in Franciscanorum templo . . . cum propositas difficillimas quaestiones dilucide ac subtiliter explicasset, magna omnium approbatione magister theologiae sit creatus (Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives).

[1] See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 5, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.

[2] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 300 *seq.*

Half of Lent was passed, and Fra Felice was preparing himself for his sermon, when a fellow religious brought him a sealed letter which he had found in the pulpit of the church of SS. Apostoli. Both of them thought that it was a case of some request which it is customary to recommend to the hearers in the course of a sermon, and Fra Felice told his companion to place it with other letters of the same kind. When, during the interval which as usual was made after the first part of the sermon, he opened it, he found that it was very far from being a request for prayers. On the contrary, on the sheet were written all the doctrines of the Catholic faith which Fra Felice had so far dealt with in his sermons, and against each was written in large letters the words: Thou liest. In spite of his amazement, Fra Felice kept quite calm as he read it; it was only when he sought to hide the letter in his habit that many persons thought they detected certain signs of embarrassment. He hastened to end his sermon, and then sent the letter to the commissary-general of the Roman Inquisition, Michele Ghislieri. In his burning zeal, the latter at once went to see Fra Felice. When he was Pope, Sixtus V. often used to speak of the terror which he experienced, although he knew himself to be perfectly innocent, when this man entered his cell, with his severe countenance, his frowning expression and his deep set eyes. Ghislieri at once questioned him in short and grave words. But what appeared was not only the innocence of Felice but also his zeal for the Catholic faith. Ghislieri's severe look vanished, and his whole appearance was changed, so that he seemed to have become quite another man. With tears of joy in his eyes he embraced the good Franciscan.[1] Thenceforward the two men were closely associated, and were often to be seen at the house of Carpi. Many of the Cardinals too interested themselves in Fra Felice. The result was that Julius III, kept the celebrated preacher in Rome throughout the year.

[1] See *Sixtus V, P.M. c. 6, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41. CICARELLA (Vita Sixti V.) gives a different account of what happened.

where three times a week he commented on the Epistle to the Romans.[1]

The zealous religious also laboured indefatigably in other ways during his stay in the Eternal City. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament owed its origin to him, and it was owing to him that this association was united with another charitable confraternity established by Ignatius of Loyola, whence it received the name of the Twelve Apostles.[2] The Palazzo Colonna was close by the convent of the Franciscans in Rome, and Fra Felice soon become a welcome guest there. He gave lectures in philosophy to a son of the family, Marcantonio Colonna, Archbishop of Taranto.[3]

When Fra Felice took part in the general chapter of his Order held at Genoa in 1553, he also preached there. Having become, in the same year, Regent of the convent of the Order at Naples, he commented in the church of S. Lorenzo on the Gospel of St. John. In 1555 at the request of Cardinal Carpi he preached in the cathedral at Perugia.[4] Several of his sermons were printed.[5] In these he treated of the necessity of the Sacred Scriptures for the conversion of mankind, of the labourers in the vineyard, of the instruction of the Christian

[1] *Cf.* (Appendix n. 40) the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives. The "tre ill^mi cardinali" that Fra Felice mentions in his note book as his protectors (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V, 301) must have been Carpi, Dandino, Protector of the Arch-confraternity of the Holy Apostles, and Fulvio della Corgna, nephew of Julius III.

[2] See TACCHI-VENTURI, I., 675.

[3] He expounded to the above-named "philosophica aliquot e Scoti disciplina acumina, formalitates dicunt" it says in *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 301. For his visit to Montalto at that time and his care for his family, see PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 45 *seqq.*

[5] A copy of this very rare "Prediche," printed. Napoli, 1554, in the Barberini Library, Pamphlets, XXXV., B., 87. *Cf.* NARDUCCI, Intorno ad alcune prediche stampate di Sisto V, Roma, 1870. See also ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 40

disciple, of the coming of the Messias, and of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The sermons differ very little from those in use at that time; the impression that they made were for the most part the effect of the energetic personality of the speaker, and of the force, certainty and uncompromising frankness with which the young Franciscan was able to set forth the doctrines of the faith, which he had studied so deeply. This was the secret of his success in the pulpit. Whoever sat at his feet felt the power of his ardent mind, which gave compelling reality to his words, made an indelible impression, and changed men's hearts.

As Fra Felice, during his stay in Rome, had been brought within the circle of the leading figures in the Catholic reform—besides Ignatius of Loyola he had made the acquaintance of Philip Neri, the Capuchin Felice da Cantalice,[1] and Cardinal Carafa—the elevation of the last named to the throne of St. Peter, which took place on May 23rd, 1555, was bound to be of great importance to him. Indeed, the new Pope summoned him at the end of January 1556 to the meetings of the congregation which was to discuss the reform of the Roman Curia.[2]

A year later, Felice, whom his superiors had appointed in 1556 to the direction of the studies in the convent of Venice, was nominated by Paul IV. as Inquisitor for the whole of the territory of the republic. Although he was very fully occupied by the office, he nevertheless still found time to preach several

[1] RANKE (Päpste, I. (8), 288) calls him "Saint Felino"—a saint otherwise unknown!

[2] "L'a° 1556 fu chiamato a Roma al concilio generale che gia principiò la Stà di P. Paolo IV" it says in Felice's note book (Arch. d. Soc. Rom. V., 301). According to RANKE (I. (8), 288), Fra Felice had already been employed under Paul IV. "as theologian in the Congregation for the Council of Trent." As a matter of fact, "consiglio generale" refers to the Reform Commission which was enlarged at the end of 1556 (see Vol. XIV., pp. 195 *seqq.* of this work). This is clearly seen from the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives; see Appendix No. 40.

times a week. He also caused the Index of Paul IV. to be printed in the city of the lagoons.[1] This success, however, did not fail to raise opposition to him, which to some extent found its origin in the convent of the friars itself. It was objected to him that he was not only not a Venetian, and therefore a foreigner, but he was also condemned for his excessive severity.[2] It is not surprising that he should have had a reputation of that kind, since his superiors had already on many occasions charged him with the reform of the convents of the Conventual Franciscans,[3] in which his ecclesiastical zeal had found many things that called for improvement. By nature very brusque and violent, his intervention repeatedly led to much discontent. The adversaries of Fra Felice grew in number, but all the less did he suffer himself to be deterred from his holy zeal by any personal considerations. It was also objected against him in Venice that he had published the Index of Paul IV. prematurely, and had thus injured the republic. The hostility was so great that Fra Felice, whose health had suffered from his labours and anxieties, retired to Montalto at the death of Paul IV.[4] His former patron, Cardinal Carpi, learned with much indignation of this opposition to which his protégé had been exposed in Venice. After the election of Pius IV. he brought it about that Fra Felice should again, in February, 1560, be sent to

[1] See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 300 *seq.* The biography *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7 (Papal Secret Archives) lays special emphasis on the efforts made to have the Index printed (*cf.* Reusch, I., 260). A document of 1557, giving particulars of Felice's activities as Inquisitor in Venice, in Mutinelli, I., 260. *Cf.* also De Leva, Degli eretici di Cittadella, Venezia, 1873, 62.

[2] See the detailed story in *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also Cecchetti, I., 19 *seq.* For the handbook which Fra Felice used as Inquisitor, and which is preserved in the Chigi Library, see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 10 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 302.

[4] *Cf.* Pistolesi, Sisto V., 62 *seq.* for the position of Fra Felice which was, at that time, very precarious.

Venice with still wider powers, both as Inquisitor and as director of studies in the convent.[1]

Fra Felice's adversaries, headed by the superior of the Franciscan convent, were extremely angry at this. They accused him before the Council of Ten, and the latter, always jealous to uphold the claims of the state, was easily won over. In the meantime the matter had been referred to the Congregation of the Inquisition in Rome. This decided upon the recall of Fra Felice, but at the same time took away the Inquisition in Venice from the Franciscans and gave it to the Dominicans. In the end the members of the Franciscan convent, with the exception of the fanatical superior, came to their senses, but it was too late to undo the harm which had been done to the whole Order. At the end of June 1560 Fra Felice left Venice, and by July 16th in the same year the Roman Inquisition had appointed him its consultor.[2] If this honour was due to Ghislieri, his appointment as procurator-general of the Franciscans which quickly followed was owing to the intervention of Cardinal Carpi. Carpi also defended him against the difficulties which at first awaited him in the Franciscan convent in Rome,[3] and brought about his participation in the meetings of the congregation concerning the Council of Trent.[4]

Very characteristic of the energy which Montalto displayed as procurator-general is a letter to his fellow citizens at Montalto, which is still preserved there. "Leave me to manage the affairs of my Order" he says

[1] See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 302.

[2] See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 8, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Tempesti, I., 56 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Sixtus V. P.M. *loc. cit.* The events of that time found their echo later on when Sixtus V. was Pope, in friction with his religious brethren; see *Avviso of May 3, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 156, Vatican Library.

[4] See the statements in *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41.

in this, "just as I do not interfere with the affairs of your township."[1]

In November, 1564, Fra Felice obeyed the decree of the Council of Trent that religious must not, even with the leave of their superiors, possess any earthly property, by a new and express renunciation made to the vicar-general of his Order. From this document it appears[2] that he had already made over his paternal inheritance to his nephew. The most precious things which the learned friar, who was collaborating in Posio's edition of Aristotle,[3] possessed at that time, with the permission of his superiors, were his books. How dear these were to him is clear from the fact that in his note-book he made three careful indexes to them.[4]

This note-book, which now forms one of the most precious treasures of the Chigi Library in Rome, is for other reasons as well of no small value: it not only shows the fascination of the personality of its author, but faithfully mirrors the character of Fra Felice, and the conditions under which his life was spent until the time of his transference to Rome. The whole little book is written in his strong and clear hand. It begins with the holy name of Jesus and the beautiful prayer "Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our actions by Thy inspiration and further them with Thy continual help; that every prayer and work of ours may always begin from Thee, and through Thee be likewise ended."[5]

[1] This letter, dated March 13, 1563, has been published by Hübner (II., 397). Other letters on the same subject in F. Pistolesi, I. Peretti ai Montalesi (1907) and Sisto V., 67 *seqq.*, Appendix XVII. *seqq.*

[2] This *document is preserved in the Querini-Stampalia Library, Venice, cl. IX., n. 12. *Cf.* Della Santa (*supra* p. 23, note 2), 4 *seq.* and Pistolesi, Sisto V., 69 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the passage from Gualterius' Vita given by Ranke (Päpste, III. (8), 74) and also H. Sbaralea, Suppl. ad script. trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo descriptos, Romae, 1806, 88, 664.

[4] See Cugnoni in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 4 *seq.*, 210-262, 263-290, 290-299.

[5] Facsimile in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 15.

This prayer imploring the divine assistance with which he set out upon his daily undertakings betrays a glimpse of very evil conditions. The great love for his Order, which he here shows, is clearly to be seen in the three indexes of his books written in alphabetical order as well as in the biographical notices which follow them. They cover the years 1540–1560, and show us in detail the course of the studies of Fra Felice, the offices he held, the various special duties that were laid upon him by his superiors, and lastly the many sermons which he delivered in almost every part of Italy. It ends with a list of the modest store of linen which he possessed. In every part is to be seen the most scrupulous exactness and the most strict order. From the catalogue of his books it appears that the library of Fra Felice, which was increased during his stay in Naples by the collection of books left to him by his friend Marmilio da Monte Lupone, underwent many changes. From his act of renunciation it is clear that in 1564 it included 742 works, among which were not a few in several volumes, as for example the works of St. Augustine in eleven folio volumes. As far as their matter is concerned the Fathers and other works on theology are the most fully represented, with 230 works, philosophy with 140, canon and civil law with 105, history and geography with 106, cosmography and astronomy with 30, and literature with 100, the whole making a truly imposing collection for those days. Among the theological works are some that were but little known, such as the works of Paulinus of Nola, St. Zeno, St. Martial and St. Polycarp. Polemical works are well represented since Felice was much concerned with heresy as an Inquisitor. Among the classics there are also to be found some Greek authors.[1]

[1] See DELLA SANTA, *loc. cit.* 20-30. Here are printed, marked with the letters D, O, P and R, the books noted in the renunciation of 1564. From a comparison of the catalogue of the books of Fra Felice, published by Cugnoni in 1882 in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, Vol. 5, and unknown to Della Santa, it is evident that the register of the renunciation is in close accordance with the inventory printed in CUGNONI (p. 263 *seqq.*).

The important position which Fra Felice held in Rome, as procurator-general of the Franciscans, consultor of the Inquisition, and member of the commission for the new edition of the *Decretum Gratiani*,[1] exposed him to much jealous hostility on the part of his fellow religious. But Carpi, who, however, died in May 1564, and Ghislieri protected him.[2] In order to withdraw the austere friar, who had vainly tried to disarm his enemies by his generous treatment of them, from further attacks, in the autumn of 1565 Ghislieri obtained the appointment of Fra Felice as theologian to the legate Boncompagni when he was sent to Spain in connexion with the affair of Carranza.[3] On his return he was met with the joyful news that his patron Ghislieri had ascended the Papal throne under the name of Pius V. Henceforward his career was assured. The new Pope, who had come to know Fra Felice intimately at the Inquisition, and had formed a great esteem for him, appointed him vicar-general of the Conventual Franciscans, and on November 15th, 1566, gave him the diocese of St. Agatha of the Goths in south Italy.[4] In both these positions Fra Felice displayed both energy and prudence. His short period of government of the Conventuals (1566–1568) was especially marked by his efforts to improve discipline.

[1] See TEMPESTI, I., 97.

[2] See the accounts in *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.; EHSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xvii. *seq.*

[3] " *Alexandrinus, ubi omnibus tentatis nihil profici obstructis per inimicorum artes omnium auribus animadvertit, subtrahendam invidiae materiam prudenter ratus egit cum Pontifice, ut ad contentiones quae nullum reperient exitum praecendendas Montaltum aliqua honoris causa ablegaret. Sixtus V., P.M. c. 9, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 109; SPARACIO, Sisto V., 40 *seq.* A short time before his death Sixtus V. once more spoke of his activity at the Inquisition as the reason for the favour he found with Pius V, and the thing which had led to his promotion; see the report of Cardinal d'Aragona of August 21, 1590, in HÜBNER, I., 227, n. 1.

As a bishop, too, when he was generally known as Monsignor Montalto,[1] he worked with the greatest zeal on behalf of Catholic reform.[2] Pius V. was very pleased with his work, and recognized more and more in him a kindred spirit.

The Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths, who since 1555 had called himself by his father's name of Peretti,[3] enjoyed the ever increasing favour of the Pope. This fact, however, did not deter his enemies in the Curia, with whom at that time Cardinal Bonelli secretly associated himself. Peretti was first found fault with for his arbitrary and wrongful use of the money of his Order, but it was easy for him to justify himself to the Pope on this score, for Pius V. at once recognized the source and emptiness of the accusation.[4] Another accusation that was made seemed likely to be more dangerous to Montalto; he had, it was said, completely forgotten his vow of religious poverty, decorated his house sumptuously, and thus given great scandal. These reports became so serious that Pius V. resolved to satisfy himself in person as to the truth of the accusation. He appeared quite unexpectedly at the convent of the Friars Minor at SS. Apostoli and went straight to the apartments of Peretti. The sight of the bare walls convinced him that it was a case of wicked calumny. "What is in those large cases?" he asked Peretti. "The books," the latter replied, "which I wish to take to my diocese," and he opened one of the cases. "I hope," the Pope said, "that you have got there the new edition of St. Thomas which I have prepared," and without waiting

[1] See PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 70.

[2] *Cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 70 *seqq.*, HOLZAPFEL, 590. The chalice used by Sixtus V. when he was Bishop of Sant'Agata is now in the church of S. Lucia at Grottammare. *Cf. infra* p. 112, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* PISTOLESI in *Picen. Seraphic.*, 1915, 837 *seq.*, SPARACIO, Sisto V., 12, 40 *seq.* In his previous letters he only calls himself "Fra Felice de Montalto"; see TEMPESTI, I., 25; PASTOR in *Mitteil. des österr. Instituts*, III., 636 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

for a reply graciously took his leave. A few days later he told Peretti the object of his visit.[1]

The envious opponents of the Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths were destined to experience an even greater disappointment. On May 17th, 1570, Pius V. conferred the purple on this victum of so much calumny; he was only forty-eight years of age. He at once gave him 500 scudi for his necessary expenses, and assigned to him the pension of 1200 scudi made to poor Cardinals.[2] As had been the case with all his previous offices Montalto distinguished himself as Cardinal by his virtue and ability.[3] On account of the great knowledge of books possessed by the learned Franciscan, Pius V. appointed him to the Congregation of the Index. Cardinal Montalto, as the former Fra Felice was now called, was also appointed a member of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and of the Congregation appointed for the affair of Carranza.[4] So as to increase his revenues the Pope transferred him on December 17th, 1571, from St. Agatha to Fermo, which, however, he resigned in the summer of 1577.[5]

This was connected with the strained relations that existed between him and Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V.

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives. The calumnies which Fra Felice's enemies allowed themselves to spread may be seen from an *Avviso of May 12, 1568 (State Archives, Vienna), according to which he had fallen into disgrace with Pius V. because the Pope had learned that he had two daughters in a Tuscan convent! A certain Cipriano Saracinello had already put it about in a *report to Cardinal Farnese, dated Rome, "il primo di quaresima, 1568," that the Bishop of Sant'Agata had fallen into disgrace with Pius V. because of his ambition. State Archives, Naples, Farnes., 763.

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 350.

[3] See L. PRIULI, 309.

[4] See *Sixtus V., P.M., c. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 213. For the beneficial action of Peretti at Fermo, where he founded a seminary, see MORONI, XXIV., 36, and the monograph of G. CICCONI, p. 21 *seq.*, 43, cited *infra* p. 48 n.

The first disagreements between Cardinal Boncompagni and Montalto could be traced back to the time of their journey to Spain. It was said in Rome that Montalto had been very hurt by the want of respect that was shown him, and that sometimes, if there was a lack of horses on the journey, he was obliged to find a place on the baggage waggon.[1] The difference, which at that time was tacitly growing, showed itself much more sharply after the election of Boncompagni as Pope, if not immediately, at any rate after a time. The energetic and brusque character of Montalto could hardly be sympathetic towards Gregory XIII., who was rather pedantic. To this had to be added the fact that the Pope was of opinion that religious were best in their own monasteries, a view that found expression in the fact that of the thirty-four Cardinals he created, not one belonged to a religious Order.[2] In spite of this Gregory appreciated the theological knowledge of Cardinal Montalto, and made full use of it, as we learn from a report of 1574 concerning the affair of Carranza;[3] in other matters, however, he never consulted him. Cardinal Montalto felt this neglect all the more as he was conscious of his own powers, and could not but be sensible of the contrast with the time of Pius V.

Montalto was in close relations with Alessandro Farnese, as with the learned Sirleto. He lived very simply and managed his revenues well.[4] With the assistance of many

[1] See in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *" Con il Papa ha autorità nelle materie teologiche et per la causa di Toledo S.S^tà l'ascolta " is stated in the report of 1574 (Corsini Library). This quotation destroys the hypothesis of Gnoli (V. Accoramboni, 10 n. 1) that the affair of Carranza led to their first quarrel. On the contrary it was said in Rome as to this that Montalto was to be sent to Spain for the trial of Carranza and other matters; see the letter of Gabriele Salvago in the *Atti Ligure*, XIII., 870 *seq.*

[4] See the *Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library. Ratti rightly points out (II., 348, 357) that Montalto did not belong to the number of the rich Cardinals, but that he was not poor.

scholars he laboured assiduously at the new edition of the works of St. Ambrose, which had been entrusted to him by Pius IV. and Pius V., and when the first volume was printed in Rome in 1580, he dedicated it to Gregory XIII.[1] But the Pope still remained unfavourable to him at that time. Gregory XIII. was obviously influenced by Montalto's old adversaries, who were still busy in describing him as astute, despotic and tyrannical.[2] It is said that Gregory XIII., on his way back from a religious function at St. Mary Major's, remarked, when passing the beautiful villa of Montalto: "Poor Cardinals do not build palaces." He was not content with this remark, but at the beginning of 1581 he took away from Cardinal Montalto the annual pension assigned to him by Pius V.[3] The Cardinal thus found himself in the position of one who has fallen into disgrace, and he withdrew as far as he could.[4] Thus he was only known to a few people, and

[1] The dedication is dated: Romae. Cal. December, 1580. For the merits and errors of the edition *cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 200.

[2] *"E dotto in theologia et astuto" it is stated in the Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library. That he passed for malicious, as RANKE (I², 289) states, is said neither here nor in the *Discorso sopra i soggetti papabili which Ranke quotes (*ibid*), without giving his authority. All that is said is: "La natura sua tenuta terribile, imperiosa et arrogante non li può conciliare punto gratia ne di Medici ne d'Altemps." The *Discorso is to be found in Inform. polit., VII. of the Berlin Library. Another copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see MARSAND, I., 325), and a third in Cod. 6333, p. 302 *seq.* of the State Library, Vienna. According to Lelio Maretti, Montalto's principal enemy was no other than Cardinal Galli: *"Da Como si tenne offeso Sisto più volte nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII attribuendo a lui la provisione levatagli da Gregorio come a cardinale povero et le persecutioni che hebbe all'hora nella religione sua di S. Francesco." Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Cod. 1b, 55, p.27. Servite Library, Innsbruck.

[3] See in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M. (Papal Secret Archives), and the *Avvisi of February 22 and March 18, 1581 (Urb. 1049, pp. 82 and 129. Vatican Library).

[4] See *Avviso of March 18, 1581, *loc. cit.* 128. *Ibid.* 137 an *Avviso of March 22, according to which Cardinal Montalto

popular opinion very often formed quite false judgments of him, though the importance of his personality did not escape the notice of thinking men. As early as 1575 he was numbered among the Cardinals who might aspire to the tiara,[1] but he was only among those of the second rank, having against him the facts that since the time of Paul IV. no one was anxious to have a religious, and that the French were opposed to him.[2]

Montalto, wrote the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Tiepolo, in 1579, is a man of strong spirit and will be very active ;[3] but I could not assert for certain that he is favourable to us. In July, 1581, Francisco de Vera, who was in charge of the Spanish embassy, called the attention of Philip II. to this Cardinal who had good expectations of the tiara. All the Cardinals of Pius V., de Vera stated, are for Montalto. Borromeo is very well disposed towards him on account of his piety and virtue, and he himself shows all deference towards the Catholic King.[4]

Cardinal Montalto knew how to put the period of rest that had been imposed upon him to good use. He plunged more than ever into his books, which were always his greatest joy. Above all, he laboured to complete his new edition of the works of St. Ambrose, and for this purpose kept up an active

intended to place " sopra la porta della sua fabrica " the arms of Pius V. instead of Gregory XIII. The Venetian ambassador relates expressions of blame on the part of Peretti concerning the government of the Papal States by Gregory XIII. ; see MUTINELLI, I., 165.

[1] See the letter of Gabriele Salvago of 1575 in the *Atti Ligure*, XIII., 890 (*cf.* 893) and the Relazione of Paolo Tiepolo of 1576, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 225.

[2] See the report of O. Scozia of January 17, 1579, in the Appendix to Vol. XIX. of this work, n. 14, p 586. Montalto is also spoken of as " papabile " by Matteo Zane in 1584 ; see ALBÈRI, I., 5, 369.

[3] A. TIEPOLO, 252 *seq.*

[4] See *Documentos del archivo de Alba*, 281. *Cf.* HERRE, 306. On the strength of this the opinion of the *Discorso, cited p. 41, n. 2, may be corrected. *Cf.* also for this MAFFEI, Hist. 2.

correspondence with Charles Borromeo at Milan, who helped him in every possible way.[1] Though very sparing for himself he was generous to others. In 1578 he gave 1370 scudi to his native place Montalto for the foundation of a grammar school, and a year later 2000 scudi for the appointment of a doctor.[2]

Naturally, too, the Cardinal's family enjoyed his liberality. His sister Camilla, a very pious woman, had married Giovan Battista Mignucci, a simple countryman of Montalto. After the death of her husband he made her come to Rome with her two children, Francesco and Maria Felice.[3] At first, while he was still a simple Franciscan, he could only help them by what he deprived himself of, but afterwards, when he was a Cardinal, it was very different. In 1572 Maria Felice Mignucci married a small merchant in Rome, named Fabio Damasceni,[4] and had two sons, Alessandro and Michele, and two daughters, Flavia and Orsina. After the death of Maria Felice Mignucci, Cardinal Montalto adopted her children, who then took the name of Peretti,[5] and were brought up in the house of Lucrezia Salviati, the wife of Latino Orsini.[6] On June 21st,

[1] See the letters in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 551 *seq.*

[2] See GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 30. Montalto's strong love for his country is shown by the letters published by FR. PISTOLESI (I. Peretti ai Montaltesi, Montalto, 1907), and by his care for the city of Tolentino, which had chosen him as its protector: see BENADUCCI, Dodici lettere inedite di Sisto V., Tolentino, 1888 (*Nozze* publication). The Cardinal's letters, which are here drawn from the communal archives of Tolentino, cover the period from 1574 to 1584. For Montalto's efforts, which were crowned with success, to free Tolentino from the bandits, see MARANGONI, Storia di Civitanova, Rome, 1743, 365.

[3] See PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 36 *seqq.*, 75 *seq.*; SPARACIO, 43.

[4] "Mercadantello" is what he is called by the *Avviso of April 24, 1585. Urb. 1053, p. 179. Vatican Library. The report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194, says that he was on bad terms with the Pope, and adds that he at first called himself Tomasini.

[5] See the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 76.

[6] See the *Avviso of April 27, 1572, Urb. 1043, Vatican Library.

1573, Francesco Peretti also married, and the Cardinal assigned him a sum of 5000 scudi. Francesco married Vittoria Accoramboni, who was beautiful, intelligent, and cultivated, the daughter of a gentleman of Gubbio, and of Tarquinia Albertoni. In spite of this the marriage had a very unhappy issue, as the young wife was devoted to amusement and dissipation. Victoria surrounded herself with admirers and led her husband into such heavy expenditure that he was soon deeply in debt. His old uncle had again and again to come to his assistance. For two years he made over to the young couple his beloved vigna near St. Mary Major's.[1] As was the case with other houses which the Cardinal bought out of his savings, this property, perhaps in order to escape the hostile attention of members of the Curia, had been acquired by him in 1576 in the name of his sister Camilla.[2]

The Vigna Montalto[3] stood upon classic soil, upon the slopes of the Esquiline. It was situated upon quite uncultivated land, plunged in the deepest silence, which was only broken at midday and in the evening by the sound of the bells in the neighbouring churches of S. Maria degli Angeli and St. Mary Major's. A solitude such as this, which brought home the transitory nature of earthly things, and the work of divine providence in nature, was eminently to the liking of a man who, after a life filled with toil and fatigue, found there the opportunity for interior recollection, and calm meditation upon the past and future. Although the district where the vigna was situated was considered unhealthy, the Cardinal nevertheless preferred to live there, rather than at his house in the Rione di Parione, in the Vicolo Leutari,[4] near Pasquino.

[1] See Gnoli, V. Accoramboni, 9 *seq.*, 24 *seqq.*, 34 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 27.

[3] *Cf.* the fine work of Prince Vittorio Camillo Massimo ; Notizie stor. della villa Massima alle Terme Diocleziane, Rome, 1836. See also Vol. XXII. of this work, chapter V., pp. 203 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Cugnoni in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 7 *seq.*, 546 *seq.* ; and the periodical *Roma*, I. (1923), 387. The statement of Belli (Delle case abitate in Roma da parecchi uomini illustri, 81) that

The Cardinal had caused a young architect, Domenico Fontana, from Mili, on the Lake of Como, who had built the latter house, to construct for him a pleasant villa on his new property, which in accordance with the taste of the time, was adorned with paintings and antique statues. When the withdrawal of his pension put an end for the moment to its completion, Fontana declared his readiness to continue its construction at his own expense out of his own savings. The Cardinal had vines, olives, and other fruit-bearing trees planted all over the vigna.

When Montalto was thus interesting himself in the plantation of his vigna, he must have recalled the days when he had helped his father in the fields at Grottammare. The prediction which his parents, long since dead, had made on the strength of their dream, had not been fulfilled, but the possibility of it had by no means disappeared, since Fra Felice was now a member of the supreme senate of the Church. In any case he had every reason for gratitude to divine Providence, which had brought him, the son of a poor countryman, to such great heights. The financial difficulties which threatened him as the result of the suspension of his pension were easily overcome, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany made up the deficiency.[1] Since the Cardinal had need of very little for his own use, and knew how to economize, he was able, although his annual revenues did not exceed 8000 ducats,[2] to beautify his beloved villa, to add to his library, to erect a beautiful monument in St. Mary Major's to Nicholas IV., who also had belonged to the Franciscan Order and had come from a poor family, and to begin the erection of a splendid chapel intended for his own burial, and to which the holy relics of the cradle of the Saviour were to be translated.[3]

During the last years of Gregory XIII. very little was heard

the Cardinal had lived in the well known house of Crivelli (see PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss, 4-6, 38 *seq.*) is incorrect. *Cf.* MORONI, LXVII., 88.

[1] HÜBNER, I., 234, n. 1, II., 453 *seq.*

[2] See L. PRIULI, 306.

[3] More fully Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 285 *seqq.*

of Cardinal Montalto, who lived in great retirement. It was only on the occasion of the murder of his beloved nephew Francesco, during the night between April 16th and 17th, 1581,[1] that his name was once again heard throughout the city. The resignation with which he put up with the great weakness of the aged Gregory XIII., with regard to the powerful instigator of the assassination, the Duke of Bracciano, surprised everyone. He bore this new and painful blow with dignity and Christian generosity, but not without some slight hopes of better times to come.[2]

This mastery of himself on the part of Montalto was worthy of all the more admiration in that the Cardinal had a very violent and impetuous temperament. With all the force of a stream that has long been dammed, after his enforced inactivity in the days of Gregory XIII., this broke out afresh when his election as Pope afforded the widest and fullest possible outlet for the enormous energies which had been lying dormant in him. Those of the Cardinals who, like Bonelli, thought they had elected a poor old man, and now hoped to become his masters,[3] were destined to suffer a great disappointment. Legend later on lent colour to the old story that Cardinal Montalto, as soon as his election was over, threw away the stick upon which he had leant during the conclave, and stood erect in majestic dignity. Nothing could be less true to the facts than this story. Cardinal Montalto was no impostor or actor, deceiving his electors with feigned feebleness. Rather was he like the eagle, as his most recent biographer well puts it, which, as soon as it is freed from its cage, spreads its wings, and directs its flight towards the sun.[4]

The son of the poor countryfolk of Grottammare was in his sixty-fifth year when he was summoned to the highest dignity that mortal man can hold.[5] His outward appearance

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 536.

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 243.

[3] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164.

[4] HÜBNER, I., 250.

[5] For the coronation (May 1, 1583) see P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 394 *seq.*; *ibid.* 395 *seq.*; for the possesso (May 5). *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, 121 *seqq.*

showed a man of strong will and action, but at the same time betrayed his rural upbringing. Of middle height, he was strongly built, and far from handsome. His large head, slightly bent forward, was adorned with a thick, dark chestnut beard, tinged with grey. His cheek-bones were prominent, his nose large and heavy, many wrinkles furrowed his high forehead, his arched and extraordinarily thick eyebrows concealed his small and piercing eyes. The Pope's look was so penetrating that a single glance from him in consistory was enough to enable him to assert himself. His compressed lips showed his energy and inflexible will, and his high colour his good health.[1]

[1] For the appearance of Sixtus V. see GRITTI, 340. *Cf.* also the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194. Among the portraits of Sixtus V. the outstanding ones are those already eulogized by TEMPESTI (I., 223) in the Vatican Library (copy in ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome) and at the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome. The first, probably by Pietro Facchetti (*cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 299) was long considered the work of Padovanino; the other, according to A. BACCHINI (Dei retratti di P. Sisto V., in *L'Amatore d'arte*, II., Rome, 1921, n. 2) is by Ottavio Leoni. A third portrait, which may be numbered with these, by a Venetian artist, and published in *Roma, Rassegna illustrata dell'Esposizione del* 1911, p. 18, is preserved in the storehouse of the Vatican Pinacoteca: this shows the Pope seated, with the Vatican obelisk in the background. There is a similar portrait in the Lateran Palace (reproduction in CHLEDOWSKI, Rom., II., Munich, 1912, 60). For the portrait of Sixtus V. at Grottammare see *Picenum*, X. (1913), 166. The portrait which was in his villa is now in the Instituto Massimo alle Terme, Rome. The Pope in the much discussed picture in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck (n. 137) executed in the style of the Rosary picture by Dürer, and attributed by the catalogue to Martin Theophilus Polak, is supposed to be Sixtus V., which may, however, be an error. There is no doubt that the portrait of a Cardinal in the Vatican Library, which Balzani also includes in his monograph, and which is attributed to Sassaferrato, does not represent Sixtus V. *Cf.* PISTOLESI, I. ritratti di Sisto V., in *Il IV. Centenario di Sisto V.* (Montalto, 1922) fasc. 5, p. 65 *seqq.* Much more characteristic are the statues and busts of the Pope recently

All historians agree as to the facility with which Sixtus V. flew into a passion, and how impetuous he was in his anger, but add that he calmed himself with equal facility. In other

treated of by RICCI in the periodical *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 163 ; in this Ricci refers to the school of Recanati (*cf.* G. PAURI, I. Lombardi-Solari e la scuola Recanatese di scoltura, Milan, 1925). The bust of Sixtus V. which stands out for its strong realism, which is mentioned by Baglione and came from the Villa Montalto in Rome, came by the gift of Cardinal Grimaldi to the cathedral of Treia (province of Macerata) ; there is a cast of this beautiful work in the Instituto Massimo in Rome (see the work by DIEGO ANGELI, Sisto V., on the occasion of the Jubilee) and a reproduction of 1922 in the great hall of the Vatican Library. SOBOTKA (*Jahrbuch der preuss Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIII., 267 *seq.*) has published for the first time the bust at Treia, and shown that it is the model of the beautiful bronze bust of Sixtus V. in the ancient castle of Berlin ; he deems it the work of Bastiano Torrigiani. There is also, *loc. cit.* a phototype of the Berlin bust. RICCI (*op. cit.*) attributes the Treia bust to Tiburzio Vergelli. Of the statues of Sixtus V., since the disappearance of that of Landini in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, there is one at Grottammare with the inscription " Sixto V. P. O. M. civi munificentissimo " (see G. SPERANZA, Guida di Grottammare, Ripatransone, 1889). The bronze statue of Sixtus V. in the piazza at Camerino is certainly the work of Tiburzio Vergelli (see M. SANTONI, Sisto V. e la sua statua a Camerino, 1904, 1905) ; this is reproduced in RICCI, *op. cit.* 164. *Ibid.* the bronze statue of Sixtus V. in front of the sanctuary at Loreto, executed in 1589 by Ant. Bernardino Calcagni (see PAURI, *op. cit.*, 46 ; *cf.* MÜNTZ, III., 244). The character of Sixtus V. is best expressed in a fourth bronze statue which is to be found at Fermo, on the façade of the Palazzo Communale over the entrance, and is the work of Accursio Baldi (*cf.* GAETANO DE MINCIS, Statua di Sisto V. nel prospetto del Palazzo com. di Fermo, in *L'Album*, VII., Rome, 1841, 167 *seq.*, 171, and G. CICCONI, Sisto V. e Fermo, 49 *seq.* with illustration) ; another in PISTOLESI, Album 85. The bronze statue at the Capitol the erection of which was resolved upon in 1585 (VI. Cal. Dec. and 3 Non. Dec. ; see *Cod. G. III., 78, p.239 of the Chigi Library) is the work of Taddeo Landini (see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 112) ; a design for this is in the possession

ways too his character united the most contrary qualities. Extraordinarily severe in all things, especially in the administration of justice, he was nevertheless easily moved to tears. Extremely parsimonious, he yet showed himself charitable and often very generous. Of more than common prudence, he knew how to be kindly and encouraging or extraordinarily harsh and brusque in his dealings with others, as circumstances demanded.[1]

of Paolo Gassuri at Bergamo (see RICCI, *op. cit.* 172 ; *cf.* also PISTOLESI, *op. cit.* and especially STEINMANN, Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol, Rome, 1924, 12 *seq.*). Inscription in FORCELLA, I., n. 64. The statue was gilt ; it was destroyed during the French Revolution. There is thus only one contemporary statue of the great Pope in Rome, that on his monument in the Capella Sistina in S. Maria Maggiore, which is proved by documents to be the work of Valsoldo (*cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 222, SOBOTKA, *loc. cit.* 265), which, however, is much surpassed by the statue at Fermo. In RICCI, *loc. cit.* there is no mention of the statue erected to the Pope at Perugia in 1591 by Cardinal D. Pinelli, the work of the Perugian, Vincenzo Martelli, as this too was destroyed in 1798 (see A. ROSSI, La piazza del Sopramure in Perugia, Perugia, 1887, 37). Of the portraits in copper-engraving of Sixtus V. (*cf.* DRUGULIN, Allgem. Porträt-Katalog, Leipzig, 1860, n. 19650 *seq.*, and Portrait Index, ed. by W. COOLIDGE-LANE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1348 ; see also C. LANG'S catalogue of Ritratti ital. d. Raccolta Cicognara-Morbio, 186) the best are those by Ambrogio Brambilla (see THIEME, IV., 520) and by Nikolaus van Aelst (Rome, 1590). These also show the principal buildings of the Pope. For the privilege granted by Sixtus V. to the engraver N. van Aelst see HENSEN, Medeelingen van hat Nederl Instit., Rome, 1922. For the medals of Sixtus V. many of which show his features greatly idealized, see, besides the work of Bonnani, ARMAND, I., 169, II., 268, 332, III., 333 ; MARTINORI, 38, and F. PISTOLESI in *Arte e Storia*, XXX., 4. (1911).

[1] *Cf.* L. PRIULI, 304 *seq.*, GRITTI, 340, and the remarks in HÜBNER, I., 224. Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 121 *seq.* (Vatican Library) dwells in particular upon the munificence and liberality of Sixtus V. That the suspension of the alms of Gregory XIII. to the colleges was annulled after a short time is stated by C.

The great vehemence of character, which gave so much individuality to his personality, was closely bound up with many good qualities, tenacious will power, fascinating eloquence, indefatigable activity, and easily roused enthusiasm.

In many ways Sixtus V. recalled Julius II. Like the latter he was supremely arbitrary, and regardless of consequences in carrying out his purpose; he was a strong man, so that his contemporaries might well apply to him the epithets, terrible, powerful, magnificent. The essential characteristic, and that which stood out above everything else in Sixtus V. was the power of his mind and the strength of his will.

It is easy to understand that to keep on good terms with a man who was so impulsive, and so easily angered, was not

Capilupi in his *Report of July 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. ibid.* the *Report of August 19, 1585, according to which the alms of Gregory XIII., especially to "Ultramontane" and "donne Cipriote" were renewed. The large donations of Sixtus V. are also reported in the *Avviso of July 16, 1588 (Urb. 1056, p. 294, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18. For the Pope's care in providing marriage dowries for poor girls, see Galesinus, *Annales, I., 1126 *seq.* (Vatican Library); *cf.* App. n. 38. How generous Sixtus V. was in setting free prisoners detained for debt is shown by the *Avviso of January 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 4, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Bull., IX., 104 *seq.*, and the bull of April 5, 1589, Arm. 44 t. 29, p. 126b *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. According to the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. (Papal Secret Archives, *cf.* App. n. 40) the Pope personally gave 6000 gold scudi for the ransom of slaves. *Cf.* Moroni, LXII., 142. See also *Fondo di P. Sisto, XXX., taken from the archives of the Castle of St. Angelo to the Papal Secret Archives; there are to be found (1) Lista di pregioni liberato d'ordine di N.S. nel natale 1587, also Pasqua 1587 and 1588; (2) Elemosine alli loghi pii d'ordine di Sisto V. a Pasqua 1589 and 1590, in all 2040 scudi di moneta. Of the last consistory of the Pope, August 13, 1590, the Acta consist. record: *"Proposuit et fecit legi bullam super dotibus pauperum puellarum et pauperum carceratorum." Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, Vatican Library.

easy. Above all things it was necessary never to lose sight of his dignity, of which he was most tenacious. Anyone who failed in this respect might easily ruin his prospects. The Venetian ambassador, Lorenzo Priuli, said as to this that it had been difficult to confer with the late Pope on account of his tendency to refuse requests, but that now things were much more difficult with the present one, as he had to be handled as carefully as a piece of glass.[1] Filled with the idea of his own dignity, and his own powers, Sixtus V. did not easily take advice. Yet flattery was as ineffectual with him as open opposition. The above mentioned diplomatist therefore advised a middle course ; it was necessary to avoid excess in either direction. Anyone who knew how to deal wisely with Sixtus V., and did not overwhelm him with requests, might count upon success in his negotiations. He granted favours with the greatest facility, if they were not asked for. In general he showed himself well disposed towards those in whom he had confidence, but harsh and severe to all who opposed him in his designs.[2]

The orator who at one time had filled Italy with the fame of his sermons, now indulged his inclination for long speeches. Few Popes have spoken at such length as he. At consistories and congregations, and at private audiences, his words flowed from his lips like a torrent, accompanied by lively and expressive gestures, and keen looks. His allocutions at the consistories were majestic, emphatic and solemn, while in private conversation he could be spirited and facetious ; all his discourses, however, were generally too long.

[1] " Siccome del papa passato potevamo dire di avere un papa negativo, cosi del presente si può affirmare che abbiamo un papa vitreo per dire cosi, col quale bisogna sopratutte guardarsi di non urtare." PRIULI, 306 *seq.*

[2] See L. PRIULI, 304 *seq.* C. Capilupi reports on August 13, 1585 : *" Conobbi nel papa ardire et vigore et mostra di confidar in Dio et verso V. A. mostra grandissima buona voluntà, ma è persona sensitiva ne bisogna toccarla nell'humore ne contender seco quando si oppone ud alcuna cosa." *Cf.* also the *Letter of Capilupi of October 25, 1585, both in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

He loved to gather information and conduct conferences for long hours with his own diplomatists, as well as with foreign ambassadors. He willingly entered into discussions with men of learning ; in this he was helped by his extraordinarily good memory. What he had once read or heard, he remembered with the greatest ease.[1] Thus the medical knowledge which he had acquired at Siena enabled him to discuss such questions with his physicians.[2] His discourses contained in rapid succession quotations from the Holy Scriptures, historical examples and recollections from his own experiences. In these it was always possible to recognize the preacher who had travelled through the greater part of Italy during many years.[3] As he had always worked very hard, he was well informed about all ecclesiastical questions, and just as his predecessor had been distinguished as a canonist, so did he stand out as a theologian.

Audiences with Sixtus V. were by no means things to be treated lightly, even by men of experience ; they had to be well prepared for them, as the Pope was better informed than most people imagined. If in spite of this anyone succeeded now and then in putting him in a difficulty, he never lost his mastery of the situation. He always proved himself ready in reply, as well as clear, logical and prudent.

His remarkable personality is brought before the reader with great vividness in the many letters of the diplomatists, especially the representatives of Venice, who all strove to reproduce as faithfully as possible the speeches, views and sentiments of Sixtus V. We can almost see and hear him, as, walking up and down, he receives the reports of the ambassadors, talks to them, blames them, scolds them, but at the same time allows them to enjoy a confidential insight into his own policy.

[1] See GRITTI, 340.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of the Venetian ambassador Badoer, of May 19, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

[3] See G. ABATE, Un'omelia ined. di Sisto V., in *Miscell. Francesc.*, XXIII. (1922), 3 *seq.*

We are brought into confidential relations with his decided, energetic and authoritative nature, and are afforded a knowledge of details which reveal how this Pope, who was often so terrible, could also be kindly, and how he still retained much of the honest nature of the man who had sprung from the people, and by his own energies climbed to the supreme position on earth.[1] But we also come to realize his weaknesses ; as for example when, with ingenuous self-satisfaction, he praises his own achievements, or frequently criticizes the imaginary or real mistakes of his predecessor, from whom he felt himself more at variance than he really was ;[2] or when he gives free rein to his natural wit,[3] or allows himself to be led into violent outbursts of anger over trifles.[4] A man of extraordinary vivacity, and highly sensitive and incapable of restraining himself, he would very often on the spur of the moment express himself in a way that was absolutely imprudent and precipitate.[5] It is often difficult to decide from his violent discourses how far they were capricious

[1] See CHLEDOWSKI, Rom., II., 62, who refers to the reports of Reszka.

[2] Sixtus V. especially complained of the great expenditure of Gregory XIII. ; he blamed him for having used his money without discrimination and for having exhausted the treasury ; see *Avviso of May 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 217, Vatican Library, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 167. The harsh judgment which he passed on Gregory XIII. (*cf.* as to this the *report of the Venetian ambassador of October 12, 1585, State Archives, Venice) even made him go to the length of attacking the reform of the Calendar (see SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 194 ; HÜBNER, II., 187). Sixtus V. also spoke very bitterly of others of his predecessors, e.g. of Clement VII. ; see SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 175.

[3] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 172.

[4] See the report of the envoy of Este of May 4, 1588, in RICCI, Silingardi, I., 45.

[5] With regard to the Pope's precipitancy *cf.* SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 186 *seq.* and the *Avviso of November 26, 1585 (promises of favours, which he had to withdraw after further consideration) Urb, 1053, p. 503, Vatican Library.

outbursts, or how far they were devices intended to confuse and frighten his opponents.[1]

The state of excitement which often took possession of Sixtus V. burst out with such passion that his hearer was almost paralysed ; vehemently and without any consideration, he pushed forward to his end, and laid bare the truth without the least sense of delicacy. It was this which caused him to be held in such fear by many people. Often he unfolded ideas and plans which filled people with amazement, but prolific though he was in plans, he always carefully weighed the means at his disposal before he embarked upon any project.[2] Whatever he had once decided upon after mature reflection, he carried into effect energetically and resolutely.[3] His training and career had led to his remaining a stranger to questions of high policy. He thus had at first to accustom himself to such things, and he succeeded in doing so in an extraordinarily short time. Before long he was so completely a master in such matters that it was said that the political wisdom of this Pope who had grown up in the cloister was greater than that of any of his predecessors who had spent their whole lives in the midst of public affairs.[4]

Anyone who wishes to understand Sixtus V. fully must also take into consideration another characteristic, which does much to smooth over the harshnesses of his violent temperament ; this was his deep piety. This was quite simple and was part of the inheritance of his humble origin. On this solid foundation the indefatigable preacher, the zealous Inquisitor, the bishop devoted to the interests of his flock, had developed into the Cardinal who might well become Pope. Once he had ascended the throne of St. Peter he gave the faithful a shining example by the stately bearing and recollec-

[1] *Cf.* PRIULI, 307 and HÜBNER, II., 188 *seq.*, where it is justly pointed out that the deeply offended Olivares was quite wrong in describing the Pope as voluble and deceitful.

[2] See L. PRIULI, 304.

[3] See the opinion of the Tuscan envoy Vinta in his report of April 24, 1585, in GALUZZI, IV., 18. *Cf.* FUSAI, B. Vinta, 35 *seq.*

[4] See REUMONT, III., 2, 580.

tion with which he assisted at divine worship.[1] He took part regularly in all the religious functions. Much though he might suffer from the oppressive heat of August, he was punctual in his assistance at the festivals of the Church, and demanded the same thing from the Cardinals.[2] At the procession of Corpus Christi, he went on foot with head uncovered, carrying the Blessed Sacrament with his own hands, and with the greatest reverence.[3] Often he made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches of the Eternal City, during which he remained in prolonged meditation in the holy places.[4] The relics and pictures of the martyrs moved him to tears.[5] During the time of Carnival he retired to his villa.[6] Very

[1] The *Avvisi repeatedly bring this out. The Pope, we read in one of these of April 5, 1586, assisted at all the offices "con grandissima devotione, silentio et ordine" (Urb. 1054, p. 118, Vatican Library). *Cf. ibid.* 1053, p. 545b, December 25, 1585: The solemnity of the functions lasted so long on account of the Pope, "che va in essi considerato et devoto."

[2] On Sunday, says an *Avviso of August 13, 1586, "Capella in S. Lorenzo" in conformity with the Papal bull, in the presence of Sixtus V. and all the Cardinals, "benche assediati dal caldo et coperti della polvere" (Urb. 1054, p. 345, Vatican Library).

[3] See *Avviso of June 7, 1586 (The Pope "con incredibile devotione, sodisfattione et agevolezza"), Urb. 1054, p. 204. *Cf. ibid.* 1056, p. 244, June 18, 1588: The Pope "a piedi con la testa scoverta et con grandissima devotione et spirito," Vatican Library.

[4] See Gualterius *Ephemerides for December 27, 1585, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* *Avviso of October 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 467, Vatican Library. See also Galesinus, *Annales I., 107, Vatican Library (*cf.* App. nn. 38, 39).

[5] See *Avviso of June 21, 1589 (On Sunday at S. Stefano Rotondo, the Pope wept while looking at the pictures; see Orbaan, Avvisi, 310), and the *Avviso of July 21, 1589 (he gives orders for the suitable burial of the bones of the martyrs at S. Adriano: "non si potè di tenerezza continere dalle lacrime et cosi nel fare oratione alla immagine della glor. vergine") Urb. 1057, p. 364, 433, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *Report of Attilio Malegnani of February 4, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

great was his veneration for the Poverello of Assisi, and in 1586 on the feast of the saint (October 4th) he preached a sermon to his intimates, at which his vigour of mind and body caused general wonder.[1] After the autumn of 1587 he had a passage from the rule and life of St. Francis read to him every Friday.[2]

Sixtus V. assisted in great state at religious festivals and the solemn offices,[3] but in his own palace on the other hand he observed the greatest simplicity; in this respect he remained a strict Franciscan. In June, 1585, Camillo Capilupi estimated that the expenses of the maintenance of the court had been reduced to a minimum,[4] but a further reduction was made during the following months; nineteen *parafrenieri* and a number of chamberlains were dismissed, and the salary of those who remained was reduced.[5] In January 1586 the Pope looked into the accounts and found that the expenses were still too high. Further reductions were ordered, and others projected,[6] which were carried out

[1] See the *Avviso of October 8, 1586, Urb. 1055, p. 379, Vatican Library.

[2] Avviso of September 5, 1587, *ed.* ORBAAN, 300.

[3] Este was wrong in blaming him for this (see HÜBNER, I., 415) because in this too Sixtus V. showed his economical spirit, as had already been seen at his coronation; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 165.

[4] See the *letter of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso of May 1, 1585, announces that all the Pope's famiglia were to wear cassocks, and that the camerieri were only to receive 300 scudi for their expenses instead of 700. Urb. 1053, p. 190, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 3, 10 and 13, and August 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 278, 280b, 294, 302, 303,-359, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *Avvisi of January 29, February 1 and 22, 1586, Urb. 1054, 386, 41b, 69, Vatican Library. *Cf.* EHSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., lxiv. n. s, according to which the major-domo, Giov. Batt. Santonio, had at first received 5000 scudi a month for his duties, which was reduced in 1586 to 4000, then to 3000, and lastly to 2200 scudi.

in July and September.[1] In April 1587 a yet further reduction of the expenditure on service and meals was planned.[2] The Pope himself led the way by his own example. If he had to give banquets to visitors of distinction these were as simple as possible. He banished all signs of luxury from his own apartments. The carpets, which were a necessity in the winter, were to be of quite a common quality.[3] In January 1588, Sixtus V. suppressed the usual holidays for his employés, and justified this decree by the fact that he allowed himself no days of rest.[4]

A sketch of his manner of life shows how true this was.

Sixtus V. was accustomed to rise very early. After mass, he liked to deal with the more important business, walking about in the Belvedere for two hours. He dined at half past

[1] *A cent'altre bocche è stata levata la spesa a Palazzo (Avviso of July 9, 1586). An *Avviso of September 20, 1586, states: Non cura il Papa, che vigilat super gregem quanto può fedelmente d'impoverire la sua persona di tante commodità et grandezze, che govedevano gli altri suoi predecessori per arrichire la sede apost. et metterla in tremendo stato per freno de suoi nemici . . . riducendo tuttavia per potere ciò fare con le riforme palatine le tante prodigalità in poche spese et togliendo di nuovo a se, alla nipoti et li suoi intimi, molte commodità et spese et riducendo a 240 quello che a tempo di Gregorio XIII. costava alla Camera 800. Urb. 1054, p. 272, 419, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *letter of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, April 25, 1587, Departmental Archives, Innsbruck. Other economies mentioned in the *Avviso of March 4, 1587: *Avviso of March 4, 1587: Le provisioni e stipendii, che la Camera sborsava in Campidoglio a certi di questo popolo destinati alla guardia della colonna Traiana, alla custodia de muri di Roma, intorno alla fontana di Trevi, alla lettura di Tito Livio et sopra il carico d'altre cose simili sono stati levati indifferentemente tutti. Urb. 1055, p. 77, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Galesinus 42 *seq.*; De temperantia parsimonia et frugalitate Sixti V.

[4] See Avviso of Jan 27, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 35, Vatican Library.

twelve, and supped by himself late.[1] Very little was allowed to be spent upon his table, not more than five giulii a day.[2] As for his choice of dishes, he would only have simple food served, and few courses. He made an exception in having good wine, wishing by this to keep up his strength, but he ate and drank very quickly.[3] When in 1587 the physicians forbade him the rest that he was wont to take after dinner, he remained longer with his friends at table, engaged in lively conversation ; he also had documents and books read at this time.[4] The whole of the rest of his time until the evening was given over to serious business. He was indefatigable in this, and it seemed to give him real pleasure ; he devoted himself entirely to it, and went into everything down to the smallest detail.[5] He was never to be seen unoccupied. He was always active, and even during his walks in the garden gave audiences or issued his instructions.[6] His favourite time for audiences was during the afternoon.[7] The Pope still

[1] *" Ella lieva a buon hora et dopo la messa passeggia due hore in Belvedere negotiando et alle 12 1-2 hora desina et alle 22 ai più cena. Mangia con gusto et beve benissimo." L. Oliva, on July 16, 1586. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Avviso of March 15, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 94, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 425. Thus beyond doubt GRITTI, 340, must be emended. *Cf.* L. OLIGER, Sixtus V., et eius coquus Ferrariensis, in *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, I., 496 *seq.*

[3] See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.

[4] See Avviso of July 22, 1587, *ed.* ORBAAN, Avvisi, 299.

[5] *" N.S. è cosi diligente nel suo carico pastorale che vuole intendere, dispenere et ordinare fine alle minutie." Avviso of October 12, 1588 (Urb. 1056, p. 467, Vatican Library).

[6] See *Avviso of June 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 213. In an *Avviso of October 14, 1587 (Urb. 1055, p. 389b), it is stated : " Il Pontefice sollecito super gregem non solo si rende indefesso in tutte le fationi ordinarie, ma anco dispensa quel poco di tempo, che dovria pigliare di recreatione, quando esce fuori in audienze et negotii continui." Vatican Library.

[7] See the *report of Capilupi of February 8, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

worked for a long time in the evening, for he allowed himself but little rest.[1]

His restless activity and the ardour of his temperament made many fear that he would wear himself out before his time. The Pope himself did not think that he would have a long pontificate.[2] All the more did he think it his duty to use the time that he had, and it was characteristic of the little consideration that he showed for himself that he made so great demands upon his robust health. It was not enough for him that he had worked uninterruptedly throughout the day, and limited his hours of repose to the fewest possible, but even in the evening he walked about the corridors of the Vatican, caring nothing if he exposed himself to the risk of fever.[3] He only made one concession to his health; in the summer he went regularly to his villa or to the new palace on the Quirinal; this was due to the fact that he could ill endure the fierce heat of the Roman summer, and that his sensitive nature suffered much from insomnia at that season of the year.[4] Apart from that his health throughout his pontificate was in every way excellent. For his physicians he chose some of his fellow countrymen from the Marches. One of these, Durante, wrote a book about his health, which he dedicated to Camilla, the Pope's sister.[5] An attack of

[1] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

[2] See L. PRIULI, 311 *seq.*

[3] See Avviso of May 22, 1585, ed. ORBAAN, Avvisi, 283. *Cf.* the *Avviso of June 8, 1585: The Pope goes every evening "alla fontana di Giulio III.," although they were "stanza et sito cativissimi" (Urb. 1053, p. 243b, Vatican Library).

[4] See *report of Sporeno of July 26, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. *Cf.* the *letter of Oliva of July 23, 1586, and *that of A. Malegnani of August 5, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. n. 17. An *Avviso of May 8, 1585, reports: "Da Palazzo si sono allontanati e galli e cani et i tamburri della guardia per non interrompere con stridi et strepidi tali quella poca quiete del sonno, che piglia il Papa con molta difficoltà" (Urb. 1053, p. 200, Vatican Library).

[5] Durante makes mention of the first tobacco, which Santa Croce brought from Portugal to Rome; see ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 111 *seq.*

fever from which he suffered in November, 1586, soon passed.[1] The ambassadors could never find words adequately to describe the Pope's health and strength; he was accustomed to walk so quickly that the old Cardinals could not keep up with him.[2]

His strong constitution allowed Sixtus V. to keep all important business in his own hands, as indeed his autocratic character demanded. As he himself once said, he did not intend to be a mere figurehead, but to decide everything

[1] See the *report of A. Malegnani (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *report of the Venetian ambassador (State Archives, Venice), translated in HÜBNER, II., 492 *seq.*, and the *Avviso of November 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 481, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Sporeno, *report of November 16, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] For 1585 see the *reports of Sporeno of August 17, 24 and 28, September 7 and 14, October 5, November 30, and December 21, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. *Cf.* the *Avvisi of April 24 and June 22, Urb. 1053, p. 178b, 259, Vatican Library. For 1586 see the *reports of Sporeno of January 2, 4 and 18, February 1, March 15, May 3, 17 and 31, June 21, July 26, September 27 and November 29, *loc. cit.*, the *Avvisi of May 28 and October 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 198, 1055, p. 379b, Vatican Library, and the *letter of Oliva of June 16, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For 1587 see the *reports of Sporeno of March 14 and 21, April 18 and 25, June 27, July 4, 11 and 25, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* in App. n. 14, the *report of Malegnani of June 20, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. For 1588 see the *Avvisi of April 20 and June 18, Urb. 1056, p. 149, 244, *loc. cit.* (*Cf.* App. n. 19), and the *letter of Sporeno of May 14, *loc. cit.* At Easter, 1589, Sixtus V. sang the High Mass in a strong voice, and in September joined in the procession to S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli; see *Avviso of April 6, Urb. 1057, p. 178, Vatican Library; *cf. ibid.* 235 the *Avviso of April 29. In the autumn he visited the works at the Pontine Marshes (see more fully *infra* pp. 102-106). MORONI denies that he contracted the fever there (LXVII., 107); REUMONT (III., 2, 588) erroneously considers this probable, for so long a period of incubation is impossible.

himself.[1] Although he was expansive by nature, he admitted no one to his secrets.[2] He arrived at his decisions quite unexpectedly and was inexorable in having them carried out.[3] With him, said Giovanni Gritti, hardly anyone had a consultative vote, and no one a decisive one.[4]

Immediately after his election Sixtus V. entrusted the management of public business to Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci, who had previously held that office under Pius V. and had been in disgrace under Gregory XIII., Pius V.'s. nephew, Cardinal Bonelli, was at the head of the Consulta, which managed the affairs of the Papal States.[5]

The work of Rusticucci was rather nominal than real,[6] as Sixtus V. personally conducted all the more important business himself. Of all the greater importance therefore was the office of *segretario intimo*, which the Pope entrusted to a man who had been his private secretary during the period of his cardinalate, and of whose service he had long experience.

[1] See the *Avviso of August 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 364, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the report of Vinta of April 24, 1585, in Fusai, B. Vinta, 35 *seq.*

[2] See the *Avviso of June 7, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 332, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the opinion of Sporeno as to the person of the legate destined for Poland in his *report of May 14, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194. With regard to the nomination of Allen as Cardinal A. Malegnani says: *" et queste fu talmente all'improviso che nessuno lo seppe se non il card. Carafa." Report of August 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See Ranke, I[8]., 301.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of April 24, May 8, and June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 178b, 199, 259. *" Ha destinato subito le stanze di S. Sisto al cardinale Alessandrino," we read in the first of these Avvisi, " dipoi dato il luogo di Como a Rusticucci," Vatican Library. *Cf.* Ehses-Meister, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 79.

[6] *Cf.* Hinojosa, 333. According to the *Avviso of February 18, 1587, Rusticucci from that time onwards asked to be allowed to resign, but in vain. Urb. 1055, p. 56, Vatican Library.

This was Decio Azzolini, who also came from the Marches. Sixtus V. loved this loyal servant very much,[1] and in December 1585 he admitted him to the Sacred College.[2] As Cardinal, Azzolini retained his previous office, but the work of the chancery was made over to Antonio Maria Graziani, Bishop of Amelia. The latter had received his diplomatic training in the service of the distinguished Cardinal Commendone, whose secretary he had been and whose biographer he afterwards became.[3]

The appointment of Rusticucci and Bonelli was prompted by the Pope's feeling of gratitude to his former benefactor, Pius V. To this motive was added the impossibility of entrusting the direction of affairs to his nephew, Alessandro Peretti [Damasceni], at that time scarcely fifteen years of age.[4] His youth, however, did not prevent the Pope from conferring the purple upon him on May 13th, 1585, and at the same time

[1] See *Avviso of June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 257, Vatican Library.

[2] See the characteristic deed of appointment in CIACONIUS, IV., 158 *seq.*

[3] See RICHARD in the *Revue d'hist. ecclés*, XI., 528; EHSES, II., 523. Azzolini was on bad terms with the family of Sixtus V.; *cf.* GROTTANELLI, Fra Geremia, 84 *seq.* *Acta of the Azzolini heritage in the Egerton MSS. 1079, 1080, 1081, British Museum, London. The papers of Graziani are in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello; *cf.* the catalogue of P. BERTI (Florence, 1863) and MAZZATINTI, Gli Archivi d'Italia, IV., Rocca di Casciano, 1904, 6-31.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 147; HÜBNER, I., 264. That his intention of governing with his nephew was at once taken into consideration is clear from the fact that Sixtus V. anxiously inquired of Farnese "come egli giovinetto si governava a tempo di Paolo III. su zio circa alli speditioni et dispositioni di tante et tante altre cose." *Avviso of June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 257, Vatican Library. *Cf.* as to this the *report of C. Capilupi of June 25, 1585, as to the reply of Farnese, who said that his masters had been Marcello Cervini, Sadoleto and Maffei. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

his own name and armorial bearings.[1] It is said that it was Cardinal Farnese who, mindful of his own elevation by Paul III., proposed this nomination.[2] It is, however, certain that opposition was not lacking to a proceeding which must have seemed very hazardous. Cardinal Santori says in his notes that though the evil custom had long existed of Popes nominating their nephews as Cardinals, even when they were boys, yet such a thing was not to be expected of a Pope who had lived as a Franciscan ; for this reason Cardinal Carafa did not attend the consistory.[3]

Fortunately Alessandro Peretti, who was thenceforward generally known as Cardinal Montalto, in every way corresponded to the hopes which his uncle placed in him. Under the direction of Angelo Papio, he developed in the most satisfactory way.[4] In July 1585 he began to study public affairs at the Consulta.[5] He soon showed himself both hardworking and capable, and in 1586 Priuli said of him : the nephew speaks little but has a good head, and every day becomes more pleasing to the Pope.[6] In course of time Peretti was to become one of the most distinguished Cardinals in the Sacred College.[7]

[1] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55 *seq.* ; RATTI, II., 359 *seq.* A fine portrait of Cardinal Montalto, painted by Scip. Pulzone, 1588, is in the Corsini Gallery, Rome. For the bust by Algardi see *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV. (1923), 120 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of May 15, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 207, Vatican Library.

[3] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 165.

[4] *Cf.* *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Avviso of July 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 294b, Vatican Library. The brief to Cardinal Montalto with " facoltà di intromettersi ne negotii " is mentioned by C. L. CAPILUPI in his *report of July 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] PRIULI, 312. *Cf.* TEMPESTI, II., 373.

[7] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 147 *seq.* ; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Relazione d. Amb. Veneti, III., 1, Venice, 1877, 121 ; SIRI, Memorie, V., 507 *seq.* ; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 86 *seq.* The " Instructions " of Sixtus V. to his nephew are apocryphal, as has been shown by REUMONT (*Bonner Lit.-Blatt*, 1869, 618 note) and MAUREN-

Whereas the retiring and accommodating Rusticucci remained in favour with the Pope, Bonelli, who was too sure of himself, and thought to manage Sixtus V., who had been made Cardinal by his uncle, had by the end of 1585[1] fallen completely into disgrace.[2] In spite of his impetuosity, Sixtus V., who did not wish to offend against the memory of Pius V., whom he had so greatly venerated, kept up appearances in this case ; in January 1586 Cardinal Bonelli was given leave of absence on the ground of ill-health, and Alessandro Peretti was ordered to represent him at the Consulta.[3] The business was then divided up between Peretti, Rusticucci and Azzolini.[4]

This temporary state of affairs did not last long, and at the beginning of 1587 Sixtus V. put forward an entirely new arrangement. Rusticucci, who from the first had been very

BRECHER (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXVIII., 184) against HÜBNER (II., 74). It is remarkable that both GIOBBIO (Dipl. pontif., 252) and HERRE (369) persist in maintaining their authenticity. The first mention of these "Avvertimenti" is in the *Avviso of February 6, 1588 ("Va in volta una scrittura intitolata, etc."), Urb. 1056, p. 50, Vatican Library. They have often been copied (Berlin Lib., Inform. polit., XII., 29 *seq.* ; University Library, Bologna, Cod. 2324 ; State Archives, Florence, Carte Strozze, II., 765 ; Carlsruhe Library, see HOLDER, III., 13 ; Ambrosiana, Milan, S. 91 ; Bodleian Library, Oxford ; Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, Ms. ital. 196 [St. Germain] ; Archives of S. Croce, Rome) as well as being printed (in PH. HONORII, Thesaurus polit., I., 351 *seq.*).

[1] Not immediately, as Herre thinks (367). On August 17, 1585, C. Capilupi *reports that Bonelli enjoyed the same favour as of old. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 192.

[2] This lasted throughout the pontificate of Sixtus V. ; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 178, 192.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 8, Vatican Library, and PRIULI, 313.

[4] See *Avviso of January 29, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 38, Vatican Library.

unacceptable to the Spaniards, as Bonelli was to the French,[1] retired, and the Consulta was suspended.[2] The Pope governed entirely alone, assisted by Cardinals Montalto and Azzolini. To the great sorrow of Sixtus V., however, the latter died on October 9th, 1587.[3] His secretary, Antonio Maria Graziani, then entered the service of Montalto in a similar capacity. At the end of 1587 the Cardinal summoned to the secretariate of state a disciple of Commendone, Gian Andrea Caligari, Bishop of Bertinoro, who had held the nunciature of Poland under Gregory XIII.[4] Sixtus V. rewarded Rusticucci by

[1] Already on June 25, 1585, *C. Capilupi had foretold that the affairs of state would be entrusted to Peretti, "tanto più che veggendo ella [Sixtus V.] che signori Spagnuoli mal volentieri commettono li secreti loro al card. Rusticucci et signori Francesi al card. Alessandrino, pare che S. S^tà sia in necessità di trovar persone che habbino sola dependenza da lei et che siano confidenti a tutte le parti volendo ella essere più universale di tutti." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See in App. nn. 12, 13, the *reports of A. Malegnani of January 17 and 24, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Gritti, 240 and Schweizer, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 184.

[3] Gualterius (*Ephemerides 148b) writes concerning the death of Azzolini that this had occurred : " incredibili Pontificis dolore qui non solum ab ipso auctus cardinalisque creatus erat, sed eiu, prestantissimis dotibus tamquam filius diligebatur. Id quods ex eo potissimum intellectum est, quod eius audita morte lacrimas continere non potuit, atque adeo eius cadaver ad S. Mariam Mai. honorificentissime afferri sua impensa voluit. Urbs universa cardinalis et iuvenis et prudentissimi et humanissimi et summe expectationis immeturam mortem summo dolore miserata est."

[4] See the letter of Montalto to Caligari of December 9, 1587, in *Scelta di curios. lett.*, CXCVIII., 232 *seq.* *Cf.* Richard, *loc. cit.* ; Ehses, Nuntiaturberichte, II., ix, 523 ; Schweizer, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 184 ; Reichenberger, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 458 ; *Monum. Poloniae Vatic.*, IV, Cracow, 1915, xxxvi. The secretary for the letters to the princes from 1585 to 1588 was Ant. Boccapaduli, and from 1589 onwards Marcellus Vestrius Barbianus (Arm. 44, t. 29, and 30, Papal Secret Archives). For both these secretaries *cf.* Baumgarten, Vulgata Sixtina, 95, 116. The names of the other secretaries according to the Rotulo of

giving him, after the death of the distinguished and zealous Savelli in December 1587, the vicariate-general of Rome.[1] Sixtus V. also showed his gratitude towards loyal servants on other occasions, and, though he laid himself open to severe reproaches, even honoured several of them with the purple.[2]

Of the new Cardinals, two besides Montalto and Azzolini enjoyed the special confidence of the Holy Father: Pinelli and Aldobrandini. These were given apartments at the Vatican, so that Sixtus V. might conveniently discuss current business with them.[3] For his dealings with the diplomatists the Pope sometimes made use of the services of Cardinals Santori, Gesualdo and Aragona, as his nephew was still too young for this. Such a thing, however, did not happen very frequently, as, all through his pontificate, Sixtus V. dealt personally with the ambassadors. The representatives of the principal powers were received by him once a week, and their audiences often lasted for several hours, as the Pope loved to indulge in long and detailed discussions. His young nephew was taciturn in a corresponding degree, but devoted himself to his task with an assiduity rare in one of his years,

1587 in the *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XIV., 586. For the briefs of Sixtus V. see WIRZ, xxiv. The bull for the "reformatio officii secretarii domestici" of April 1, 1586, in Bull., VIII., 685 *seq.* That after the time of Sixtus V. the office of the *bollatori* was in charge of a prelate, who caused the sealing of the bulls to be performed by a deputy, is clear from BAUMGARTEN, Aus Kanzlei und Kammer, Freiburg, 1907, 104, 150. *"Lettere scritte a nome di Sisto V. per il cardinale Peretti di Montalto dal suo segretario Msgr. G. A. Caligari, 1588-1590" in Borghese, II., 495, Papal Secret Archives. For the secretary of cyphers, Giov. Battista Argenti, see MEISTER, Geheimschrift, 51, 55 *seq.*

[1] See MORONI, CIX., 94.

[2] See the 2nd part of *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also more fully *infra*, Chapter III.

[3] See PRIULI 313 *seq.* *Cf.* MORONI, XIX., 135. At first it was thought that Cardinal Albani had the greatest influence with Sixtus V.; see the *letter of C. Capilupi of May 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

and by his prudent reserve showed himself worthy of the affection which his uncle felt for him.[1]

With the appointment of Alessandro Peretti it might have been supposed that a new and unbecoming reign of nepotism had been inaugurated, but fortunately this was not the case. In spite of the fact that Sixtus V. was so devoted to Cardinal Montalto,[2] the latter had no decisive influence in affairs of state.[3] The many distant relatives of the Pope who at once came to Rome were received kindly and treated with hospitality, but things went no further.[4] It was only for his sister Camilla, who was two years older than himself, and for the sons of her daughter, Maria Damasceni, that Sixtus V. as Pope provided, at first to a limited extent, and afterwards generously, but not at the expense of the state.[5] Camilla was given the palace adjoining SS. Apostoli as her residence.[6]

Sixtus V. loved his sister with all his heart, and especially admired her great piety, which he compared to that of St. Monica ; he attributed his election as Pope to her prayers. Camilla was given a small court, but in assigning it to her Sixtus exhorted her always to keep in mind her humble birth, never to give scandal by extravagant expenditure, and never to mix herself up in any way in affairs of state. Camilla, to whom the Pope afterwards gave extensive property and his

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 69 *seq.* *Cf.* RATTI, II., 351.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Sporeno of June 11, 1587, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. The annual revenue of Montalto amounted, according to Cicarella (Vita Sixti V.) to 100,000 scudi in round figures.

[3] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 90.

[4] See the *Avvisi of May 18 and November 23, 1587, Urb. 1053, p. 211b, 500b, Vatican Library. For the distant relatives the best information is given by the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194 *seq.*

[5] See PRIULI, 305, 312.

[6] She went to live there at the beginning of July, 1585 ; see *Avviso of July 3, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 200 (*cf.* 1055, p. 120), Vatican Library.

own vigna,[1] carried out his advice as long as her brother lived. The property which he bestowed upon her so generously was well administered.[2] As she often saw the Pope, the diplomatists sought her friendship,[3] but they were soon made to realize that Sixtus allowed his sister no influence in matters of importance,[4] and that with her he did not discuss such matters, but only family questions.

[1] See RATTI, II., 351 *seq.*; MASSIMO, Villa Montalto, 150 *seq.*, 253 *seq.* For the purchase of "casali" with money given her by the Pope, see the *reports of A. Malegnani of June 24 and July 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 144. For the piety of Camilla see PRIULI, 312, and the Relazioni degli amb. Lucchesi, in *Studi e docum,*. XXII., 192. She founded the chapel of S. Lorenzo on the left hand side of S. Susanna in Rome; *cf.* MORONI, LXVII., 110; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232. G. de Mincis speaks in his *Monumenti di Fermo* (op. ined.) of a medal of Camilla Peretti.

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 145. Venice created the two nephews nobles; see the *letter of thanks from Cardinal Montalto to the Doge, November 16, and *that of Camilla of November 15, 1585. Camilla's signature in her own hand: "humill. serva Camilla Peretti," shows a writing that was still uneducated. Original in State Archives, Venice. Sixtus V. too thanked the Doge; see *Brevia, XXX., 113. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] She might only ask for favours and benefices; see PRIULI, 340. When C. Capilupi interested himself for the nomination of Scipione Gonzaga as Cardinal, he expressed in his *letter of January 4, 1586, the opinion that the first thing was to convince the Pope of his worthiness, and then win over Montalto and Camilla: "bisogna passar per questa porta." Camilla strove in vain, as Capilupi had to report on December 13, 1586 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). A letter of Camilla in FR. PISTOLESI, Sisto V., xxiii. Another original letter from her to Sixtus V. dated from Narni, September 15, supports the petition of the inhabitants of Narni for the importation of grain. Princ. 49, p. 363. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid* 48, pp. 15 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*, 467, 567, 589, original *letter of the niece of Sixtus V. who was a nun at Fermo to the Pope; the letters are of no general m portance.

How tenderly Sixtus loved his great-nephews[1] was shown not only by the promotion of Alessandro to the cardinalate, and the benefices which he gave him,[2] but also by his showing great favour to the Cardinal's brother, Michele, upon whom depended the carrying on of the family. Although Michele was only eight years old, in 1585 he was given the title of Captain-General of the Papal bodyguard and Governor of the Borgo ; later on he received other honours and many possessions. Camilla made him her heir. When he was eleven he married Margherita della Somaglia, a wealthy Milanese lady.[3]

Sixtus V. also witnessed the marriages of his two great-nieces, Flavia and Orsina. Both were very beautiful, and like their grandmother easily took their place in the aristocratic world.[4] His design was to marry one of them to Ranuccio Farnese, the hereditary prince of Parma, and this would

[1] See the *report of Capilupi of June 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. ibid.* the *letter of Oliva of July 15, 1586. An *Avviso of April 27, 1585, says that Michele Peretti is " l'anima istessa di S.B^ne." Urb. 1053, p. 186, Vatican Library.

[2] Alessandro received as a gift in 1587 the Villa Bagnaia near Viterbo ; see ORBAAN, Avvisi, 300 *seq.* After the death of Farnese in March, 1589, he was also given the office of vice-chancellor, but only a part of the revenues ; see *Avviso of March 4, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library. On March 12, 1589, Montalto received *faculties to possess other prebends in addition to the cardinalate and the office of vice-chancellor. Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

[3] See RATTI, II., 353 ; MORONI, LXVII., 94, 103 *seq.* ; HÜBNER, II., 149. *Cf. Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 109 *seq.* *" Dopo tanti si et non finalmente è concluso in si il matrimonio del s. Don Michele colla figlia della contessa della Somaia," wrote Matteo Brumani on March 19, 1588. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The marriage was first proposed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany ; all the Cardinals and ambassadors congratulated the Pope. *Report of July 30, 1588, *ibid.* For busts of Michele Peretti see *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV., 122 *seq.*

[4] See the *letter of Luigi Oliva of July 15, 1586, in which he describes a visit to Camilla. Of Don Michele he says : " è puttiero garbato." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

probably have succeeded if Philip II. had not stood in its way.[1] The negotiations which were then entered into with the two principal Roman families were brought to a successful conclusion at the beginning of 1589. Flavia Peretti married by proxy Virginio Orsini of Bracciano, the son of Paolo Giordano,[2] and Orsina Peretti Marcantonio Colonna, Grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and nephew of the celebrated victor of Lepanto of the same name. The marriage of the two sisters took place on March 20th, 1589. They received a dowry of 80,000 scudi, 20,000 scudi as pin-money, and precious gifts. Colonna was given the title of Duke of Paliano.[3]

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 146. For the efforts of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the marriage of Flavia to Virg. Orsini, who was his cousin, see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 43. Sporeno also remarks in his *letter of January 2, 1588, that Farnese hoped to obtain the tiara by means of this marriage, but that Sixtus V. was more robust than Farnese. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of February 1 and 4, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 49, 52. Vatican Library. According to the *report of Brumani of February 11, 1589, Flavia received a ring with a diamond worth 1200 scudi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On April 8, 1589, the *Diarium Alaleonis states : " Ingressus urbem Virginius Ursinus, dux Brachiani, novellus sponsus Flavie Perette." Barb. 2814. Vatican Library. Scipione Tadolini is about to write concerning the palace of the married couple, Virginio Orsini and Flavia Peretti, in the Via Parione, No. 7 in the *Bullettino d'arte del Minist. di pubbl. istruzione.*

[3] See the *report of Brumani of January 4, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of February 15, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 71, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RATTI, Sforza, II., 359. On March 20, 1589, the *Diarium Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*) states : " Sponsalia inter M. A. Columnam contestab. et Ursinam de Perettis." For the marriage of Orsina Peretti see the rare *nozze* publication, *Tre pranzi nel secolo XVI*, Bologna, 1838. See also G. M. GUICCIARDI DA BAGNACAVALLO, Rime nelle nozze del sig. Marcant. Colonna e dell'ecc. sig. Orsina Peretti, Rome, 1589. A *brief of thanks to the Doge for his congratulations on the marriages of his nieces, dated March 10, 1589, in State Archives, Venice, Bolle. At the consistory of December 15, 1589 (Acta consist.

When he received them, the Pope expressed his great joy at having by means of these marriages united the two most important families of Rome,[1] and when he appointed the husbands of his two great-nieces as assistants at the pontifical throne Sixtus V. ordered that the long disputed precedence was to belong to the elder of the two.[2] This position of honour, the highest that the Pope ever gives to a layman, has remained to this day in the families of the Colonna and Orsini. Sixtus V. also showed himself very well disposed towards the other barons of the Papal States, so long as they were obedient to the laws. In the first year of his pontificate, in grateful recollection of bye-gone days, he appointed Alessandro Sforza Duke of Segni, Giuliano Cesarini Duke of Civita Castellana, and Roberto Altemps Duke of Gallese.[3] These, however, were merely titles, which did not affect the sovereignty of the Pope, nor the status of the cities of the Papal States, which remained unchanged under Sixtus V.[4]

869) there was read the *Bulla confirmationis instrumenti 400,000 Sc. a Camera Marco Antonio duci Paliani et Philippo eius fratri mutuo datorum : see the document in Arm. 44, 6. 29, p. 253 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See *Avviso of February 18, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 87, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of July 20, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 319, Vatican Library. *Cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 256.

[3] See RATTI, Sforza, II., 325. *Cf.* MORONI, LV., 233 *seq.*, LXVII., 104.

[4] See BROSCH, I., 288 *seq.*, where it is especially brought out how, in addition to Rome, other cities of the Papal States had lost their character of independent communes,

CHAPTER II.

Measures for the Suppression of Brigandage. The Pope's Care for the Welfare of his Subjects. Administration and Finance.

One of the first cares of Sixtus V. was to put an end to the intolerable state of affairs in Rome and the Papal States, as far as public safety was concerned, which had grown up under the aged Gregory XIII.[1] It was soon realized how determined the Pope was to effect a radical change. When, on the day after the election, the Conservatori presented themselves before Sixtus V. and begged him to take thought for the administration of justice and for the adequate supply of provisions, he replied that he would himself provide against the scarcity which had made itself felt under another Pope, but that the administration of justice was their affair; if they neglected it he would himself intervene ruthlessly, and would not hesitate even to apply the penalty of death.[2] The barons and Cardinals were spoken to in like terms; the Pope addressed to them the gravest threats should they take it upon themselves to protect criminals on the pretext of the right of sanctuary; the barons were threatened with the death penalty, and the Cardinals with imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo.[3]

One of the principal reasons why the efforts of Gregory XIII. to suppress brigandage had failed lay in the want of discipline and loyalty in the troops he employed. Sixtus V.,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 526 *seqq.*

[2] See the *report of Babbi of April 26, 1585, State Archives, Florence, used by Hübner, I., 226.

[3] See in App. n. 1 the *Avviso of April 27, 1585, Vatican Library.

although the Cardinals tried to dissuade him,[1] dismissed them on May 3rd, 1585, leaving only the 300 men who formed his guard. If the Romans, in spite of this, still trembled, it was because they realized, behind the curt and peremptory manner of the Pope, his inflexible determination to eradicate the disorders. The Pope also showed himself firm and resolute with Paolo Giordano Orsini, when the latter had the effrontery to present himself before him. This powerful baron, who had been guilty of complicity in the murder of Francesco Peretti, had celebrated his marriage with Vittoria Accoramboni on the day of the Pope's election; to his solemn declaration of allegiance he now received the reply: what he had done against Cardinal Montalto was forgiven, but not what he had dared to do against Pope Sixtus; let him return to his estates and purge them from criminals and brigands. The duke was so impressed by this, that he went the very same night to his strong castle of Bracciano and dismissed all his bandits.[2]

The Romans were filled with a salutary terror when, on April 30th, 1585, there appeared a renewal of an edict forbidding the carrying of prohibited arms under pain of death.[3] It was soon seen that this enactment was not to remain a dead letter, as had been the case with others during the latter years of Gregory XIII. On the same day the police arrested four youths from Cori outside the Porta S. Giovanni for carrying prohibited arms, and they were condemned to death. The pardon of the culprits was asked for from many quarters. Some Cardinals were prepared to pay 4000 scudi if these youths' lives were spared and they were condemned to the galleys. It was also insisted that the death sentence could not be carried out as the Pope's coronation was to take place on May 1st. But Sixtus V. remained firm on the point; the law that had been issued must be carried into effect; so

[1] See Gualterius *Ephemerides, Vittori Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* the report of Gritti in Brosch, I., 275, n. 1.

[2] See Gnoli, V. Accoramboni, 241 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*, 445.

[3] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* *Sixtus V. P. M., Papal Secret Archives.

long as he lived, he said, every assassin must die. On the morning of the following day the sentence was carried out.[1]

However harsh such a course of action might seem, yet most people approved this action of the government, partly because the condemned men were notorious assassins. We shall have, said Camillo Capilupi, a just sovereign, and one who is made to cope with the difficult times and the weakness of the civil government; henceforward we shall see the strict edicts exactly enforced.[2] Most of the Romans praised the firm tone to the edict of the Pope. At the foot of Pasquino was written the words: "Pius V. has risen again Alleluia! Alleluia!"[3]

The hope of better times was also guaranteed by the fact that together with the Consulta, a special congregation was formed for the Papal States, composed of Cardinals Albani, Salviati and Carafa, who received orders to take energetic proceedings against the bandits and all other disturbers of the peace. This congregation was also to devote its attention to the revision of the processes held by the predecessors of Sixtus V. with regard to the juridical titles of the feudatories of the Holy See,[4] as the harshness that had been employed

[1] See besides Gualterius, *Ephemerides (*loc. cit.*) and *Sixtus V. P. M. (*loc. cit.*) the *letter of Capilupi of May 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *letter of Priuli of May 4 in MUTINELLI, I., 165, *Avviso of May 1, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 189, Vatican Library. and the GNOLI (*loc. cit.*, 255) rightly observes that the permission which had been given to the four children of Mario Sforza, representing the Duke of Sora, had been annulled by the new edict. BROSCH (I., 269) is silent as to this important circumstance, and at the same time makes M. Sforza a Cardinal.

[2] See in App. n. 2 the *report of Capilupi of May 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso of May 1, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 189, Vatican Library.

[4] See, besides the *letter "ex urbe" May 15, 1585, the Archives of Wittingau Hist. n. 5311, the *reports of Capilupi of May 1, June 29, and October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. n. 2.

had driven a number of the nobles, either to penury, or to take part in the depredations of the bandits.[1]

When on May 5th, 1585, Sixtus V. went in solemn procession from the Aracoeli to the Lateran to take possession of his episcopal cathedral, the population of Rome flocked from all quarters of the city to see the new sovereign who in a few days had made himself so feared. Like the Cardinals, prelates, ambassadors, and the envoys from Japan, the Pope as well rode on horseback in this splendid pageant, which was afterwards immortalized in the fresco in the Vatican Library. Sixtus V. rode along unmoved, and with a stern look. When he raised his hand no one quite knew whether it was by way of menace or benediction. The Pope had forbidden the throwing of money among the crowd, which was customary on this occasion, and which enriched the strong rather than the needy. In its place he had alms distributed to the poor. Moreover, the usual setting up of triumphal arches was not allowed on this occasion, and the banquet at the Lateran was suppressed on account of the miserable state of the population.[2]

On May 10th, 1585, Sixtus V. held his first consistory. He wished, he said, to devote his attention as sovereign to two things: the rigorous enforcement of justice, and the plentiful provision of his subjects with food. He put his trust in the assistance of God, for the carrying out of his wishes, though human means must also be employed. At the same time he once more urged the Cardinals not to abuse their right of sanctuary for the protection of criminals.[3]

[1] See Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 524 *seqq.* Later on indeed Sixtus V. found himself obliged to revert to the methods of devolution which had caused so much irritation under his predecessors; see besides the report of Gritti of May 11, 1589, in Brosch, I., 293, n. 2, the *Avviso of May 17, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 283, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* P. Alaleone in Gatticus, 395 *seq.*; Cancellieri, Possessi, 121 *seq.*; Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Amb. dei Giapponesi, 23 *seq.* *Ibid.* 22 *seq.* the report of Alaleone of the coronation of Sixtus V.

[3] See the report of Priuli of May 11, 1585 in Ranke, I.[8], 292, n. 1 and the *Avviso of May 11, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 202b, Vatican Library.

Especially characteristic of the great impression which was made by the severity of Sixtus V. was the fact that Paolo Giordano Orsini no longer felt himself safe in his strong fortress of Bracciano, but left the Papal States of his own accord. He took refuge in the territory of the Republic of Venice, with which he had long been on close terms of friendship. But on November 13th, 1585, he died unexpectedly at Salò, on the Lake of Garda. His wife Vittoria only survived him a short time ; on December 22nd she was cruelly murdered together with her brother Flaminio at Padua, at the instigation of Lodovico Orsini, while a body of hired bravos surrounded the house.[1]

Such an event clearly showed that public safety was in a very sorry plight, even in so well ordered a state as that of Venice. As was generally true of all the states of Italy, brigandage had taken root there no less than in the Papal States.[2] Sixtus V. fully realized that for an efficacious attack upon this national pest the common action of the various governments was necessary. To that end he had, on May 10th, 1585, written to the King of Spain and begged him to give orders to his representatives in Italy to support his efforts for the stamping out of brigandage.[3] He had recourse in like manner to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, though from him he did not meet with the goodwill which he had hoped for ; it was therefore all the more pleasing to him when Philip II., as well as the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara, promised him their co-operation in combatting the bandits. The Pope also succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory understanding with Venice, which, in its jealousy of its rights of sanctuary, had at first placed obstacles in the way of the extradition of the bandits.[4]

[1] See Gnoli, V. Accoramboni, 257 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Molmenti, I banditi della Repubblica Veneta, in *N. Antologia*, XLVI. (1893), 145 *seq.*, 325 *seq.* For Tuscany see Leo, V., 574.

[3] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 563.

[4] See Hübner, I., 301 *seq.* *Cf.* Mutinelli, I., 166 *seq.* The *report of the envoy of Mantua of May 17, 1588, tells of the differences with Ferrara over the handing over of those condemned to death. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

While their places of refuge abroad were thus being cut off, the Pope set himself to remove the bandits from Rome and from the whole of the States of the Church by measures of the greatest severity. On May 24th, 1585, the head of a murderer, with a gilt crown, was exposed at the entrance to the Bridge of St. Angelo. This was the head of the priest Guercino,[1] who called himself the "King of the Campagna" and who in the time of Gregory XIII. had struck terror into the neighbourhood of Rome by his murders.[2] On the following day were commenced the celebrations of the Jubilee ordered for the purpose of imploring a happy reign, in which the Pope took part in person.[3]

Sixtus V. had repeatedly declared to the Conservatori that the Papal States must be cleared of bandits at all costs.[4] A confirmation of this declaration was embodied in an edict which the Governor of Rome, San Giorgio, issued on June 1st, 1585. This promised to every bandit who handed over one of his companions, dead or alive, not only a pardon for himself, but also that of some of his friends, as well as a payment in money.[5] This promise worked wonders; it broke up the strong bands of robbers, whose members no longer trusted each other, and began to fight among themselves.[6] Very soon after this the heads of many bandits

[1] See the *Avviso of May 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 220, Vatican Library; Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Capilupi tells the whole story of Guercino in his *report of May 25, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* REBASCHI CAROTTI, 32 *seq.*; P. PAOLI, Sisto V e i banditi, Sassari, 1902.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 539.

[3] See the *Avviso of May 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 221, Vatican Library; *report of Sporeno of May 25, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck; *report of Capilupi of May 29, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. lat. 2814, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *report of Capilupi of May 25, 1585, *loc. cit.*

[5] For the full text of this bando see TEMPESTI, I., 265 *seq.*

[6] See the report of Priuli of June 29, 1585, in RANKE, I.[8], 294, n. 2. *Cf.* the Istoria di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, Script., I., 1092.

who had terrorized the state with their robberies and murders could be seen exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo.[1]

In the meantime a far-reaching pontifical constitution concerning the assassins, robbers and bandits had been prepared, which was signed by the Pope and all the Cardinals on July 1st, 1585. This document first renewed all the similar enactments which the Popes had issued from Pius II. onwards, and forbade all the barons, cities and communes in the Papal States to give shelter to criminals of this kind. In cases of disobedience the communes were to pay a fine of 2000 ducats and the barons 500. The moment robbers or bandits were discovered the tocsin was to be sounded, and a pursuit commenced, in which the neighbouring communes must lend their aid. Any that proved negligent in this, was not only to suffer the ordinary penalties, but was also to pay an indemnity for the robberies committed within its territory. Anyone who assisted, or gave refuge to, or in any way prevented the arrest of a bandit, even though he were his near relative, was to forfeit his property and go into banishment. The carrying out of these edicts was entrusted to the Cardinal Camerlengo, the Governor of Rome, the Auditor of the Camera, and all the legates and other officials in the provinces, under threat of the most severe penalties.[2]

In Rome itself, San Giorgio, the Governor of the city, adopted a procedure which was even more severe than the Pope intended. On July 7th, 1585, a young Florentine who had forcibly prevented the police from taking away an ass belonging to his father, was forthwith condemned to

[1] See the *report of Capilupi of June 22, 1585, who adds: "Il bando fatto et le taglie che si pagano fanno il loro frutto." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Bull., VIII., 585 *seq.* *Cf.* Acta consist., 842, and the *report of Capilupi, July 3, 1585. On July 24 Capilupi *wrote of the difficulties that the carrying out of the bull was meeting with from the barons. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

death.[1] The case excited much stir and general sympathy, and at the next consistory Sixtus V. severely condemned this action of San Giorgio. A report of July 18th, 1585, states that he was very nearly removed from his office, because he had acted contrary to the intentions of the Pope.[2] A few weeks later San Giorgio was actually succeeded by Mariano Pierbenedetti, an old friend of the Pope.[3]

It was with special satisfaction that the Romans saw that the Pope in his energetic measures for peace and order did not spare the great. Birth, high office, or important connexions were no longer any protection.[4] On the occasion of the punishment of a German, who belonged to the mission sent by Rudolph II. for the *obedientia*, Sixtus V. said that if the Emperor himself were to come to Rome, he would have to obey the laws.[5]

By the end of July, 1585, an agent of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol was able to report from Rome that,

[1] See the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 303b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 267. RANKE (Päpste, I.[8], 293) writes : " The youth of the condemned man was put before the Pope. I will add some of my years to his, he is said to have replied." The source of this is the biography *Sixtus V. P. M., where what is said is : " Addidere nonnulli strictiorem Pontificis vocem, qua triennium suis ex annis eum reo donare ut legitimum sit supplicium auditum sit, sed severitatis iis temporibus necessariæ odio ea conficta esse certo comperi." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Avviso of July 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 311, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the report of Priuli in BROSCH, I., 269.

[3] See besides the report in HÜBNER, I., 289 *seq.*, the *Avviso of August 21, 1585, according to which the Pope admonished the new governor when he took over his new office, " che voglia attendere alla giustitia senza rispetto alcuno et che particolarmente le siano raccommandate le cause de poveri." Urb. 1053, p. 370, Vatican Library.

[4] *" Questo principe non ha rispetto ne a cardinali ne a coronati ambasciatori." Avviso of June 26, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 270, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the declaration of Sixtus V. in the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, in App. n. 5, Vatican Library.

[5] See HÜBNER, I., 293. *Cf.* TEMPESTI, II., 583.

as the result of the strict justice that was being enforced there prevailed so great a fear that the crimes which had once been so common were now of very rare occurrence.[1] The heads of the bandits were constantly being sent in from the neighbourhood, and were exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo. During the summer of 1585 the reports of the time repeatedly speak of this practice, which was poisoning the air.[2] The Pope had coins struck with the inscription : "Noli me tangere."[3]

In the neighbourhood of Rome it was especially the legate of the Campagna, Cardinal Colonna, who was responsible for the suppression of the bandits. By August 10th, 1585, Camillo Capilupi was able to announce their almost complete disappearance from that district, which had before been so insecure. The severity practised, he adds, has had better results than the costly military expeditions of Gregory XIII. The convention concerning extradition with Naples has also had much influence.[4] A report of August 17th, 1585, announces that Cardinal Colonna had erected twelve gibbets between Frosinone and Anagni, which were laden with the quartered remains of the bandits.[5] Cardinal Gesualdo, who resided at Perugia, and the aged Farnese, who said that he was not a chief of police, were not so zealous as Cardinal Colonna, who knew very well how to cause the bandits to quarrel amongst themselves.[6] They, however, as well as the new Governor

[1] See the *reports of Sporeno dated Rome, July 27, 1585 (S.S^tas tota est in eo ut pacifice vivant in statu eccl. et annona abunde sit) and of July 30 (Adeo timetur a malis ut nemo audeat committere facinus aliquod). Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See also the *Avvisi used by GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 267, and the *reports of Capilupi of August 10 and 17, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *letter of Capilupi of August 17, 1585, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *report of Capilupi of August 10, 1585, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *Avviso of August 17, 1585, in GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 268.

[6] See the *Avviso of September 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 404, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the Istoria di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, Script., I., 1092.

of Rome, were exhorted to greater severity.[1] This was necessary, as the bandits strove in every possible way to deter the small forces of police who were sent against them from further pursuit by their acts of violence. Thus in July, 1585, a band of thirty of these criminals surprised a captain of the Papal police with six officers in the neighbourhood of the Abbey of Farfa, and cut the captain to pieces and hanged the others.[2] In the following year a plot of the brigand chief Bernardino da Magnano, from Garfagnana, which had for its object the murder of the Pope and Cardinals Cesi and Salviati, was discovered and prevented in time.[3]

From the first the Pope had declared that in the administration of justice it was necessary to act with the greatest harshness in the case of the great, so as to intimidate the others.[4] A case of this kind, which caused the greatest excitement throughout Italy, took place at Bologna at the end of August, 1585, where Cardinal Salviati was governing with great strictness.[5] The culprit belonged to one of the most distinguished families of the city; this was Count Giovanni Pepoli, who was beloved by most people for his generosity and kindness. The minutes of the trial in the criminal archives of Bologna show that in the past Pepoli

[1] See GNOLI, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 168. Sixtus V. was angry with Farnese because the latter opposed the abolition of the military expeditions which had been customary under Gregory XIII.; see the *report of Capilupi of August 13, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the report of Priuli of July 5, 1585, in BROSCH, I., 275, n.2,

[3] See the report of the Spanish collector of 1586, Nunziat. di Spagna, XIX., 27 and 29, in BALAN, VI., 623.

[4] *" Che bisogna tagliare delle teste grosse per far paura a gli altri perciochè per appicar ogni dì di questi furfanti non si fa niente venendo tutto il male da capi grossi che sono spalli agli altri." Report of Capilupi of June 29, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* REBASCHI CAROTTI, 33.

[5] See BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, 70; GOZZADINI, G. Pepoli e Sisto V., Bologna, 1879, 88 *seq.*

had been guilty of numerous crimes, and even of murders.[1] For this reason he had many enemies, especially the notary and fiscal, Giambattista Cappello.[2] The latter did not allow the opportunity for revenge to escape when Pepoli was arrested by Cardinal Salviati because, relying upon his status as a feudatory of the Empire, he had refused to hand over a brigand chief. Salviati entrusted the charge of the trial to a man so notoriously hostile to the accused man as Cappello. The count's fate was sealed when it was learned that he had written from prison letters to the Duke of Ferrara, and Cardinals Farnese and Este, containing insults to Sixtus V. as a "tyrannical friar." Cappello sent the letters to the Pope as proof of the guilt of the prisoner. In consequence of this, in spite of the fact that many distinguished persons, including Cardinal Este himself, interceded for Pepoli, he was forthwith condemned to death.

The biassed conduct of the trial on the part of Cardinal Salviati cannot be justified, yet the adoption of great severity by the Pope was politically necessary.[3] According to the report of the Tuscan envoy, Alberti, he was prepared to pardon Pepoli if the latter had retracted the insults, and recognized the Pope as the immediate lord of his fief. The obstinacy with which he refused to do so, Sixtus V. said to Alberti, led to his execution.[4] The terror which was caused by this

[1] See O. Mazzoni-Toselli, Processi antichi estratti dall' Archivio criminale di Bologna, I., 1866, 70 *seq.*

[2] See Gozzadini, *loc. cit.*, 158.

[3] This is brought out by E. Masi in his article on Pepoli in the *Rassegna settim*, 1878, 446 *seq.* Ranke and Hübner have already shown that it is impossible to speak of a legal murder.

[4] See Balan, VI., 621 *seq.*, who has put forward the other side of the question against the apologetically biassed and partisan account of Gozzadini in the above mentioned work, p. 63, n. 3. In agreement with the *report of Alberti of September 6, 1585 (State Archives, Florence) used by Balan, there is a *letter of Capilupi of September 7, 1585, according to which the Pope said that Pepoli had written letters to the Duke of Ferrara against the "governo dei preti," and that as he would not repent, he had

act among the Bolognese, who were well known for their insubordination, was so lasting in its effects that thenceforward the city remained entirely tranquil. The Malvezzi, who were devastating the neighbourhood with their bandits, sought safety in flight,[1] and the impression made in the whole of the remainder of the Papal States was very great.[2] The barons realized that the time was past in which they could make common cause with the bandits. Now that they see, said the ambassador of Venice, how strict the government is, and how little attention is paid to them, as far as they can they take refuge outside the state; but on the other hand it is the general opinion that this great severity is a guarantee of public safety, and everyone feels that henceforward it will be well to live quietly and peaceably, and in obedience to the sovereign.[3]

In a report from Rome, of September 18th, 1585, it is stated that in that year more bandits' heads had been exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo than melons had been brought to the markets.[4] That in spite of this the safety of the surroundings of the Eternal City still left a good deal to be desired is shown by the fact that at the beginning of October the courier from Venice was attacked beyond the Ponte Molle.[5] The Pope thereupon ordered the destruction of the woods in the

been punished with death as "pertinax" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to Galesinus (*Ephemerides 42, Vatican Library) Pepoli had claimed that he was not subject to the Pope, but only to God.

[1] See Galesinus, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Malegnani of September 4, 1585, who brings out especially the delusion and annoyance of Cardinal Este. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See MUTINELLI, I., 169.

[4] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, 284. *Cf.* GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 270.

[5] See the *report of Capilupi of October 9, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Campagna, which served as hiding places for the brigands.[1] On November 5th, 1585, a further severe edict for the public safety was issued.[2] This was called for by the fact that the brigand chief, Giovanni Valente, demanded a ransom of 10,000 scudi for a merchant he had captured.[3] This scoundrel, who had committed numberless murders, had so far escaped all the efforts of Cardinal Colonna to capture him. At last he fell into the hands of the troops of the viceroy of Naples, who destroyed his band. On December 24th, 1585, the head of this "King of Robbers" could be seen exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo.[4]

Of the bandit leaders there still remained Lamberto Malatesta, whose boldness was only surpassed by his good luck. All the efforts of the Pope to capture this most dangerous man during 1586 proved vain; at first it was impossible to discover his hiding place,[5] but at the beginning of 1587 it was at length discovered that Malatesta had passed the winter in Tuscan territory, and that there, as had been the case with Alfonso Piccolomini in the time of Gregory XIII., he had been able to equip his band with all that they required,

[1] See the *Avviso of November 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 474, Vatican Library. The *Avviso of April 29, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 234, *ibid.* reports the destruction of the woods near Terracina. The question of the effect of the woods on the hygienic condition of Rome, Pinto declares to be not decided (Sisto V e l'igiene in Roma, R. 1880, 23). It may be mentioned that Sixtus V. protected the pine trees near Ravenna; see *Boll. d'arte*, VII., 112.

[2] *"Bando che nessuno possa andare senza fede di non esser bandito, che li padroni di procoii e masserie diano in nota tutti quelli che tengono nei lor casali che non si facci polvera, archibuggi, etc." Editti V., 57, p 54, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Avvisi of November 5 and 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 474, 481b, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of November 9, 1585, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Avviso of December 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 545, Vatican Library. Galesinus in TEMPESTI, I., 268 *seq.*; Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] See REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 259, 261, 294.

so as to be able in the better season of the year to harass the Papal territory.

The Pope was extraordinarily alarmed by this discovery. By the beginning of 1586 he had thought that he had overcome brigandage by the severity which he had shown;[1] whenever he had been able to get possession of such malefactors he had always employed the most rigorous measures of justice.[2] But now, in March, 1587, he had the experience of finding that, not only in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, but also at Velletri and Corneto, new bands of brigands were making their appearance, who were committing robberies and murders, damaging the aqueducts and laughing at the measures of the government.[3] On March 10th, 1587, Sixtus V., whose patience had been put to a severe trial by the Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany, addressed to him an autograph letter in which he said: "If I have placed reliance upon any

[1] *E gode S.B^ne^, che con poco rigore usato nel principio del suo imperio habbia abassato l' orgoglio della città et frenate l'insolenze delle provincie, Roma con un asino in Trastevere, Bologna con la morte del conte Giovanni, l'Umbria col castigo simile in un solo, la Campagna con la decollatione di due preti con speranza in breve d'introdurre per questa via e pace e tranquillità in tutti gli altri luoghi del suo stato et fatto questo usare con ognum poi gratie, benignità, humanità et clemenza quanto potrà. Avviso, 1 January, 1586, Urb. 1054 p. 1, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of Oliva of August 23, 1586, concerning the execution of nine bandits, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. These were perhaps those bandits who had been carrying on their excesses during the previous month at Marta, near the lake of Vico; see *Avviso of July 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 264, Vatican Library. Two *Bandi against the bandits, of January 15 and March 26, 1586, in the Editti, V., 57, pp. 55 and 143. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See besides the *Avvisi of March 4, 7 and 11, 1587 (Urb. 1055, pp. 75b, 81, 87, Vatican Library) the *reports of Malegnani of March 11, April 22 and 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *Bando contra banditi, complici, et fautori et ordini per la lor destruttione, dated March 1, 1587, in the Editti, V., 57, p. 59, Papal Secret Archives.

mortal man, it has been upon your Highness, and now you are allowing Lamberto Malatesta, who has been excommunicated by the Church, to live in your state, to the great injury of my subjects. You see this and yet keep silence, while I, so as not to fail in the regard which I owe to you, must put up with it, to my own shame, and am laughed at by everyone. I have allowed your Highness to follow the bandits into the territory of the Church. I now ask of your Highness the same facilities. I beg you to reply, and hope that your Highness will not permit this man to continue to augment his forces and that we shall no longer be the object of the public derision."[1]

The Pope attached all the more importance to Malatesta falling alive into his hands as intercepted letters as well as other things led him to suspect an understanding between the bandit and the Huguenots.[2] When all the remonstrances of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke remained without effect, there arose the danger of a breach between Rome and Florence.[3] The words of the Pope became more and more threatening, and at length led the Grand Duke to give way; he had Malatesta arrested and taken in chains to Rome. When he arrived there on June 26th, 1587,[4] many persons took to flight, a proof how widespread was his system of secret intelligence. The trial was held at once, and ended in his condemnation to death. Out of consideration for the distinguished family of Malatesta, this took the form of simple decapitation, and on August 13th, 1587, the Romans saw the body of this dreaded man exposed at the Bridge of St. Angelo.[5]

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 305 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 307 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Malegnani of March 18, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *report of Sporeno of April 25, 1587, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *report of Malegnani, and the *letter of Sporeno, both of June 27, 1587, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *Avviso of August 15, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 316, Vatican Library, and the *report of Malegnani, same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 308.

At the approach of autumn, 1587, Sixtus V. was able to announce with great satisfaction that peace and security had been restored in the Papal States.[1] The great, he said to Cardinal Joyeuse, have surrendered, and the bandits have disappeared. This was no exaggeration. By his energetic procedure, in which the neighbouring states had also joined in the end, Sixtus V. had enforced respect for the laws in Rome and in the provinces, and had restored public security. But though a medal which was struck at that time extolls the permanent security enjoyed by the States of the Church,[2] this was not entirely true. Brigandage, which could not be eradicated in so short a time,[3] was not entirely destroyed.

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 310. Gualterius (*Ephemerides, 135b) writes concerning the execution of Malatesta: Iam sentiant omnes principes quidem longas habere manus, at Sixtum longissimas, quas facinorosus nullus effugere posse sperare audeat. Hic Pontificis constantia maxime cognita est, cum principibus permultis pro Malatesta summe deprecantibus surdas omnino prebuerit aures, quam gravius in eum consulere decreverat, sed ab Ep. Marturano Urbis Prefecto admonitus, fore ut graviori supplicio Malatesta christianam constantiam in anima servanda minime retineret, id quod ex ipso auditum erat, Pontifex non tam iustitie quam misericordie rationem habens, eius anime salutem plurimi faciens,securi tandem percuti iussit. Id quod statim atque Rambertus audivit, Deo gratias egit seque intrepidum ad supplicium paravit, fassusque est se tanta Pontificis pietate omnino indignum supplicioque longe graviori dignum, cum non modo sicarium perduellem grassatoremque se gesserit, sed in Germania et in Gallia cum hereticis commercium habuerit, eosque adversus Apostolicam Sedem ac Pontificem etiam sollecitarit. Antequam ad supplicium iret, litteras ad uxorem scripsit, quibus eam consolabatur, communes commendabat liberos de Pontificis benignitate optime sperare iubebat, sed ad supplicium, quod promeritus erat, equissimo animo ire asseverabat. Vitt. Em. Library, Rome.

[2] With regard to this and other medals see BONANNI, I., 382 *seq.*, and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 484, 495. *Cf. ibid.*, 426 n. 1, for the anagram relating to it.

[3] In 1588 Sixtus V. planned to remove one of the principal causes of the system of factions which had especially invaded the

In the summer of 1590 the evil broke out again,[1] and now that the energetic Pope was dead, there reappeared among others Piccolomini,[2] whose protection by Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope a short time before his death.[3] The ideas and character of the population, as well as the nature of the territory and the social conditions,

Romagna, and which concealed itself under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellines ; he appointed a special commission to deliberate on the steps to be taken in this matter, the difficulties of which are called attention to by Santori (see his Autobiografia, XIII., 180) ; see *Avviso of February 27 and March 2, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 78-85b, Vatican Library. A bull of February 19, 1588, forbade under severe penalties all armed self-defence to anyone in the Papal States. Bull., VIII., 999 *seq.*

[1] Brumani supposed in his *report of February 21, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) that there would henceforward be only a few bandits ; see *Avviso of June 6, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 296. *Ibid.* p. 367, an *Avviso of July 18, 1590 : On Saturday there appeared near Fara (Sabina), eighteen miles from Rome, 600 well armed bandits from Aquila and the Marches ; one of the leaders, Mario Sciarra, called himself " Flagellum Dei et commissarius missus a Deo contra usurarios " ; " pone tagli " took grain from the rich and divided it among the poor ; p. 373 *Avviso of July 21 : 600 bandits near Vetralla, eight miles from Viterbo, and another 400 from Monterotondo joined them ; near Tre Fontani 60 bandits from Velletri ; pp. 385, 387, *Avviso of July 28th. Retirement of the bandits towards Tolfa and Fiano ; everywhere great terror ; the bandits have three " insegne " (bianca, turchina e rossa), and also a " tamburo," the arms of Piccolomini ; p. 397 *Avviso of August 4 : The Pope sent 600 soldiers against the bandits, who were becoming more and more numerous ; p. 407, August 11 : 300 bandits seven miles from Rome outside the Porta S. Sebastiano ; p. 417, August 18 : bandits near the Ponte Salara, half a mile from the Porta Pinciana, and at the Tre Fontane ; p. 429, August 25 : Numerous bandits, who, however, only laid hands on merchandise. Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Badoer in MUTINELLI, I., 189 *seq.* ; TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., 282 *seq.* ; VERNACCI, Storia di Fossombrone, II., Fossombrone, 1914, 368 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RICCI, Silingardi, I., 22,

made Central and Lower Italy for centuries to come the classical home of brigandage, which not even the extreme severity of the Napoleonic authorities was able altogether to stamp out.[1] Therefore Sixtus V. cannot reasonably be blamed if he failed to do so.

As far as the employment of the sternest measures against the bandits was concerned, this was altogether justifiable, in that it was a case of dealing with the worst and most dangerous robbers and murderers, to fight against whom by every possible means was necessary for self-defence. Their companies, which during the last years of Gregory XIII. had become a veritable army (it was estimated that they were as many as 20,000) endangered the very existence of the state.[2] Their union with the Turks or the Huguenots would necessarily have brought incalculable disaster upon Italy.[3] Hence it is that contemporaries almost unanimously approve the iron hand of the Pope, and they praise him as the restorer of public security, not only within the Papal States, but also, indirectly, throughout Italy. Anyone who accuses him of too great severity, says Gualterio, does not understand that it is necessary to cut off diseased members, and that a people falls into ruin if justice is not done. The severe punishment, too, of light offences, is commendable in order to inspire fear. Whereas formerly innocent persons were killed, now that fate only falls upon the guilty; formerly robbery and murder were rife, so that the Papal States had a bad name, whereas now they enjoy security and peace. Sixtus V. himself often lamented the fact that he was forced by circumstances to use the iron rather than oil, so as to cure the wounds of the Papal States.[4]

Although the employment of extreme measures in fighting

[1] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirchenstaat, 110 *seq.*

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 310. *Cf.* the opinion of FUNK in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, XI., 382. See also CICCONI, 9 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BALZANI, Sisto V., 28.

[4] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* in App. n. 4 the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, Vatican Library.

brigandage may find its justification in the fact that in a well-ordered state such a thing was intolerable,[1] yet it cannot be denied that Sixtus V. went too far when he applied the same severity in the case of ordinary criminals, such as panderers, adulterers, fortune-tellers, the sacrilegious and those who spread false reports. The bull issued on January 5th, 1586, against astrology and other forms of superstition[2] was followed during the two following years by a series of constitutions which especially punished certain games, blasphemy, the setting up of obscene inscriptions and pictures in the taverns or prisons, the publication of false or injurious reports, certain forms of immorality, all betting, and the transgression of Sunday observance with penalties that were almost draconian in character. Blasphemers were to be publicly tied up for a day, and in the case of a repetition of their offence were to have their tongues slit, while for a third offence they were to be condemned to the galleys; the same applied to those who failed to denounce this crime. The death penalty was inflicted not only for incest and the crime of abortion, but also for verbal or written calumny, and this especially applied in the case of the so-called *menanti*, or unscrupulous writers of the daily broad-sheets which went by the name of *Avvisi*.[3]

[1] Brosch, who finds something to criticize in all the Popes, whether they acted with leniency or severity, is of opinion (I., 270) that the "horrors" of the executions were worse than, and did more to make the population savage than the excesses of those who were punished! Against this a remark of K. A. Hase may be recorded, who wrote in 1829: "Barbarous customs of a people call for barbarous laws to stamp them out." (Erinnerungen an Italien, Leipsic, 1891, 72). With regard to the partisan description of Brosch see the remarks in the *Rev. crit.*, 1880, 325, 327.

[2] See Bull., VIII., 646 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 175; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 297. See also CATENA, Lettere, 153 *seq.* The revocation of all permits for the game of lotto is mentioned in an *Avviso of January 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 20, Vatican Library.

[3] Gualterius (*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) mentions on p. 60 the edict of January 6, 1586, against gamblers; *ibid.* one against blasphemers; p. 93b, an edict dated October 3, 1586 "quo gravissimis penis cavetur, ne in cauponis, diversoriis,

The authorities at once proceeded to apply these penalties inexorably. The prisons were crowded,[1] and executions increased in the most alarming way.[2] Some cases made even contemporaries shudder, accustomed though they were to scenes of terror. Thus one day a father and son were taken to the gibbet on the Capitol, in spite of the fact that both

hospitiis carceribusve obscena et contumeliosa vel scribantur vel depingantur" ; (*cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 179) ; p. 94, edict of October 11, 1586, against the authors of calumnious Avvisi ; p. 96 Constitution against immorality, of November 3, 1586 ; p. 121, penalty of death for incest, April 5, 1587, (see Bull, VIII., 830 *seq.* ; *cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177) ; p. 143, edict of September 18, 1587, which forbids under the gravest penalties all offences "quae incredibili tumultu non solum cardinalium creandorum causa, verum minima qua de re antea fieri solebant, cum a mercatoribus tum ab opificibus artificibusque, qua quidem in re innumerabiles fraudes, mendacia, detractiones decoctionesque fieri solebant, praesertim a proxenetis, neque interdiu solum, sed noctu ab huiusmodi hominum multitudine Bancarum quae vocatur via, ita completur, ut transitus omnium impediretur; p. 173b, edict of the Vicar against the profaners of festival days, dated March 29, 1588. The constitution "contra abortum" of October 29, 1588, in Bull, IX., 39 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 186. For the bad influence of unscrupulous writers see the report of Sega in REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 306 *seq.* *Cf.* *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. Papal Secret Archives ; CIAMPI, Innocenzo X., 254. Sixtus V. gave an example by the execution of Annibale Cappello, one of the most notorious panderers. See in App. n. 18 the *Avviso of November 14, 1587. Vatican Library.

[1] An *Avviso of December 31, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 540 announces that the prisons were so filled with gamblers that there was no room. *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 3 and 6, 1585, and March 12, 1586 (Urb. 1053, p. 280b, 285 ; 1054, p. 90) for the arrest and condemnation of whole bodies of gamblers. Vatican Library.

[2] *"Nullus erat dies noxiorum suppliciis vacuus," is the exaggerated statement of a biographer of the Pope. "Capita caeterorum exulum in agris silvisque quotidie publice palis affixa proponebantur, alii laqueo, alii laceratione poenas legibus solvebant." Sixtus V. P. M. Papal Secret Archives.

asserted their innocence. Thereupon a woman with a child at her breast appeared with tears and cries before the senator and asked for a short delay, so that she might prove the innocence of her husband and son. As soon as the unhappy woman realized that her plea was useless, she threw herself out of the window, crying: "I will satisfy your thirst for blood." When the condemned men were taken to the gibbet the father refused to witness the death of his son, and the son that of his father; while the heartless hangman chafed at the fruitless delay, the bystanders were filled with compassion at this generous emulation.[1]

The execution in June, 1586, of a Roman woman who had sold the honour of her daughter met with general disapproval. The carrying out of the sentence in this case was made more brutal, as the daughter, decked out with the trinkets of her lover, was forced to be present and to remain standing for an hour at the foot of the gallows on which the dead body of her mother was hanging! Seduction, it was stated by way of excuse for this, in a contemporary account, was so common in Rome, that girls were no safer with their own mothers, than if they had been with strangers. The Pope wished, by such an example as this, to strike terror into wrongdoers.[2] In the same month Sixtus V. had a priest and a boy burned for sodomy, though both had voluntarily admitted their fault.[3] On July 5th, 1586, ten thieves were hanged,[4] and soon afterwards one of the members of the

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See *Avviso of June 7, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 205, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Gritti of June 7, 1586, State Archives Venice, used by Brosch, I., 272. In the same way the condemnation to death of a butcher was made more severe "per haver fatto il ruffiano alla moglie, la quale è stata condotta et legata sotto la forca"; see the report of Malegnani of 1587 in Bertolotti, Repressioni straord. alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI., Rome, 1887, 15

[3] See *Avviso of June 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 231, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of July 5, 1585, p. 265b, *ibid.*

obedientia embassy of Rudolph II. was flogged for carrying prohibited arms. The Pope said on that occasion to Cardinal Madruzzo that he had made laws in Rome so that all might obey them.[1]

Horror and excitement were aroused when, on July 29th, 1586, a nephew of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Azzolini, the captain Niccolò Azzolini, was executed for repeated murders.[2] His much loved chief cup-bearer, Bellocchio, who had made use of the Papal Ring of the Fisherman to forge a brief, so that he might be able to purchase a house, was condemned by Sixtus V. to the galleys. The secretary, Gualterucci, who was suspected of complicity in this, shared the same fate. The condemnation of Gualterucci was displeasing to everyone, because he was an excellent prelate, and his guilt was considered so small that after the death of Sixtus V. he was set at liberty.[3] In August, 1586, the execution of a distinguished and wealthy Roman lady with two accomplices aroused wide-spread compassion.[4] But Sixtus V. suffered himself to be so little disturbed by this that at the beginning of October he ordered Cardinal Santori to prepare a bull threatening the death penalty for adultery. An attempt was made to induce the Pope to change his mind, by pointing out that the innovators would make use of such a document to prove the corruption of morals in the Curia, but all in vain.[5] On November 3rd, 1586, the bull was

[1] See *Avviso of July 19, 1586, p. 293, *ibid*, and the report in HÜBNER, I., 293.

[2] See *Avviso of July 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 314b, Vatican Library. "Quae res" wrote Gualterius (*Ephemerides, 86) "incredibilem terrorem nobilitati omnibusque intulit," Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[3] See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti, V.

[4] See *Avviso of August 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 381, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *reports of Gritti of October 4 and November 8, 1586, (State Archives, Venice), used by BROSCH, I., 273, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 176. The Pope had already on June, 1586, concerned himself with the publication of a similar bull; see *Avviso of June 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 213, Vatican Library.

published, and ordered that adulterers and adulteresses, as well as parents who allowed the seduction of their daughters, were to be punished with death, and that married couples who separated arbitrarily in accordance with the verdict of the judges, were to be punished in a like manner.[1] So that no one should be able to excuse himself on the score of ignorance, an Italian epitome of the bull was issued. A large number of arrests followed. Many escaped the penalty by leaving Rome. In the case of the majority of the accused the constitution could not be enforced in all its rigour, and the authorities had to content themselves with punishing the culprits by public whippings and the imposition of fines.[2]

As had been the case with his predecessors, the evil of public prostitutes, which in a great city filled with strangers such as Rome, was always making itself evident, greatly occupied the attention of Sixtus V. He began in May, 1585, by driving these unfortunates out of the Borgo.[3] Then, during the course of the summer, regular proceedings were taken against them throughout the city, which again met with the same difficulties as under Pius V.[4] Special edicts

[1] Bull., VIII., 789 *seq.*

[2] See *Avvisi of November 15, 19 and 22, and December 24, 1586 (Urb. 1054, pp. 488, 494, 496b, 536), and *those of January 21 and August 22, 1587 (Urb. 1055, pp. 20b, 328), Vatican Library.

[3] *" Il marchese Altemps ha scacciato di Borgo come governatore tutte le meretrici." Avviso of May 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 200, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avvisi, 1585, July 13: The Pope ordered Santori to take severe measures against the prostitutes; September 7: " Tutte le parochie di Roma hanno havuto ordine che loro diano in lista tutte le cortegiane che habitano nelle loro parochie et mons. Pertico ne ha havuto il pensiero di farle ridurre tutte sotto una insegna "; December 4: On Monday the Bargello began by shutting up all the " meretrici " in an " ortaccio "; resistance; Savelli wished to remind the Pope of the " progressi cattivi et nefandi " under Pius V.; December 7: Adaptation of the " ortaccio " for the " meretrici "; December 11: The size of the " ortaccio " is not sufficient; many " meretrici " are leaving Rome; December 14: The commission of reformers decide

in the years 1586, 1588 and 1589 aimed at putting a stop to the evil.[1] At the end of 1588 Francesco Tromba bore witness to a visible improvement in the moral state of Rome.[2]

Sixtus V. also energetically combatted the ever increasing luxury,[3] and the customary excesses of the Carnival. As a result of his strictness he had the satisfaction of seeing these amusements pass in absolute quiet in 1586, and on that occasion there was not even any bloodshed, which was an unheard-of thing.[4] In the following years, too, thanks to the merciless severity which Sixtus V. had shown at the beginning of his reign, there was no noteworthy excess at the Carnival. In 1588 the Pope allowed the company of actors of the Desiosi to perform in public, but their performances were only to take place in the day-time, the women's parts

to remove the "meretrici" only from the principal streets and from the neighbourhood of churches and convents. Urb. 1053, pp. 304, 392, 513, 520, 523, 531b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *report of Capilupi of December 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] With regard to the edict of 1586 see *Avviso of May 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 169, Vatican Library; the *"Editto contro le cortegiane e donne dishoneste che non possino andare in cocchi o carozze" of October 16, 1588, and the *"Bando delle cortegiane e dell'arme" of May 29, 1589, in Editti, V., 60, p. 212 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Interesting from the point of view of the history of culture are the "Invettive" published by CESARE RAO, Venice, 1587, the fourth of which is directed "contra le meretrice e lor seguaci".

[2] *Letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated "di casa" 1588, December 17, Miscell., XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Bull., VIII., 819 *seq.*; Riforma del vestire, delle doti et altre spese da osservarsi in Roma, Rome, 1586, Blado. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177.

[4] See the *report of Capilupi, February 22, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.. *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 11 and February 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 12 and 54, Vatican Library, and the *Bando che non si possano tirare ove ne portare linterne di notte [nel carnevale], of February 8, 1586, in Editti, V., 60, p. 68, Papal Secret Archives. See also the *Avviso in ORBAAN, 302, and Galesinus, *Annales, I., 102b, Vatican Library.

were to be taken by men, and the audiences were to be unarmed.[1]

It was noted with great sorrow that frequently crimes long since forgotten were recalled and punished,[2] and among these it made a specially painful impression when Sixtus, yielding to the insistence of his sister Camilla, would not rest until Marcello Accoramboni, who had killed Francesco Peretti in April, 1581, by the orders of Paolo Giordano Orsini, was handed over by Venice. He was taken to Ancona, and although Cardinal Montalto had pardoned him at the time, he was put on his trial, which ended in his execution.[3] The condemnation of culprits whose crimes dated back to times long since past, gave occasion for a bitter jest. One morning there was to be seen affixed to the pedestals of the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, at the entrance to the Bridge of St. Angelo, the following dialogue: "Why," asked St. Paul of St. Peter, "have you put your cloak on your shoulders?" "I am taking to my legs," was the reply, "because I am afraid of being put on my trial for the ear which I cut off Malchus."[4]

When, on June 8th, 1588, Sixtus V., after his return from Civitavecchia, informed the Cardinals with justifiable satisfaction that it was now possible to travel anywhere in peace and security, he called attention to another result of his administrative activity.[5] This concerned the defence of the coasts of the States of the Church, which for a long time past had suffered from an evil of the same kind as brigandage though different in character. The Turkish pirate vessels

[1] See Hübner, II., 107; Ademollo in the *N. Antologia*, 2nd Ser., XXVI. (1881), 59; E. Re in the *Giorn. d. lett. ital.*, LXIII., 291. The *Ordini circa la comedia delli Desiosi in the Editti, V., 60, p. 123, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the reports cited by Hübner (I., 292) and by Brosch (I., 270). *Cf.* also Gualterius. *Ephemerides, 86, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[3] See Mutinelli, I., 172 *seq.*; Gnoli, V. Accoramboni, 378 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Hübner, I., 297.

[5] See the *report of the Acta consist. of June 8, 1588, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

not only hampered maritime trade, but every now and then effected landings along the coast, to pillage or carry off the peaceful inhabitants into slavery. Pius IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. had attempted to protect the coasts by building strong towers,[1] which, however, were not enough to keep the corsairs away. A short time after his election Sixtus V. announced his intention of providing an efficient remedy.[2] With his practical outlook he resolved to create a special fleet of ten galleys, which was to have its base at Civitavecchia. In January, 1587, he appointed a special congregation of Cardinals for this purpose.[3] As the corsairs became more and more daring,[4] he could not rest until, at the end of May, 1588, there were ready in the basin at the foot of the Aventine,[5] six galleys, and four of them fully armed.[6] He went in person to Civitavecchia on May 27th, 1588, to inspect them.[7]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 366, and Vol. XVIII, p. 359. A report of 1589 concerning the state of the coastal fortifications in *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 111 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of May 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 198, Vatican Library.

[3] See Bull., VIII., 990 *seq.*; *Avviso of January 24, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 26, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* in Hübner, II., 507, the letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

[5] *In ripa Tiberis ad Aventini radices, quem locum Marmora vocant, navale inchoavit amplissimum et commodissimum, quae res incredibili emolumento eccl^ce^ ditioni futura censetur . . . ; sollers perspicaxque illis excogitandis, quae Ap. Sedi "and be useful to all Christendom," in eoque ita totus est, ut superiorum Pontificum solertiam longe superare videatur. Gualterius, *Ephemerides 143^b^. *Cf. ibid.* 144 for the Pope's visit to the works on September 22, 1587. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[6] See the *Avvisi of February 7, September 26, October 28, November 11, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 42, 370, 408b, 423b, Vatican Library (*cf.* the *report of Malegnani of June 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and the *Avvisi of February 24, March 2 and 9, April 2, 9 and 13, and May 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 74, 86, 96, 125, 134, 136, 187 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[7] *" 27 Maii 1588 discessit ad Centum Cellas, dormivit ad casalettum Pii V"; May 28, continuation of the journey:

The flag-ship bore the name of St. Bonaventura, and was 180 feet in length.[1] The supreme command was given to Cardinal Sauli; his representative was Orazio Lercari, who, in the spring of 1589, with some Florentine galleys, captured twelve corsair ships.[2]

According to the original plan this fleet was in course of time to be increased to twelve ships.[3] In order that subsequent Popes might not be deterred by the great cost of the undertaking, the money necessary for the maintenance of the fleet, to inspect which Sixtus V. again went to Civitavecchia in November, 1588,[4] was secured by taxes and other levies.[5] At his last consistory, on August 13th, 1590, the Pope was able to announce that his fleet had succeeded in capturing three Turkish corsair ships, and taken them in triumph to

"vidit triremes 4 armatas 2 alias non armatas, fuit deinde ad Tolfam et ad lumerias"; June 2, return to Rome. Diarium P. Alaleonis, 388. Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of the Venetian ambassador of May 28, 1588, State Archives, Venice, and Guidi Gualterii S. Genesini *Sixti V. P. M. ad Centum Cellas Iter, Urb. 183, p. 481 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 60 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra. 35 *seq.*

[1] See *Avviso of November 11, 1587, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of April 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 131, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* the *Avviso of March 9, 1588, according to which the Pope said: "che si trovano anco tra preti alli tempi nostri prelati di spada et da toga" (p. 96b); and the Avvisi in BALAN, VI., 633.

[3] See the *report of Malegnani of November 1, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, 415, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso of November 26, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 536, *ibid.*

[5] See Acta consist., 862 *seq.*; Bulla Sixti V. impositionis et assignationis subsidii annui pro manutentione classis decem triremium, Rome, 1589; CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 9, 547 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 23 *seq.* *Cf.* the report of S. Paruta in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 405, and BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata Sixtina, 13.

Genoa.[1] A medal of Sixtus V. shows his galleys with the inscription : "Terra marique securitas."[2]

Besides the congregation for the Papal fleet, in the time of Sixtus V. various other congregations watched over the material interests of the States of the Church. Two of these, the Segnatura di Grazia and the Consulta, the Pope had found already in existence. The former was the supreme court of appeal for questions of grace and justice in the Church, as well as in her civil territories ; the latter was for the other branches of the civil administration of the territories of the Church, which was every day taking on the forms of a modern state in place of medieval conditions.[3] Sixtus V., by his celebrated bull of January 22nd, 1587, created, in addition to that for the fleet, four more new congregations to deal with the interests of the state, to which were assigned the Roman University, the Annona or Abbondanza (to deal with provisions and the price of food), the maintenance of the roads, bridges and aqueducts, and the regulation of taxation.[4]

Even before the formation of the Congregation of the Abbondanza, Sixtus V. had frequently concerned himself with securing a plentiful supply of bread for the Romans.[5] He wished that this should not only be cheap, but of good quality. The Conservatori were to keep a sharp watch over the markets, and see that bread and flour were not unduly

[1] See Acta consist. 874. Again in March the Pope said that he would build seven more galleys ; see *Avviso of March 10, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 104, Vatican Library.

[2] Bonanni, I., 400. Another medal bore the legend : Felix praesidium. *Cf.* Artaud de Montor, IV., 492 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Moroni, LXIII., 210 *seq.* For the Consulta *cf.* Le Bret, Statistik, II., 222 *seq.* Hinschius, I., 481.

[4] See Bull., VIII., 989 *seq.*, 992 *seq.*, 995 *seq.* *Cf.* Tempesti, I., 702 *seq.* ; Le Bret, *loc. cit.*, 228, 256 *seq.*

[5] Capilupi was able to report on December 14, 1585, *that Sixtus V. had sent to the Marches 14,000 scudi for grain, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The opening of a store of flour for the poor by the Camera is mentioned in an *Avviso of October 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 446, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Tempesti, I. 257.

raised in price.[1] It is related that Sixtus V. caused some of the common bread to be shown him, and that seeing that it was black and of poor quality, he at once ordered the issue of a severe edict against unscrupulous bakers.[2] The Congregation of the Abbondanza had hardly been formed when it was said that the Pope, in addition to the grain store in Rome, was going to build two others, in the Marches and at Ravenna, and was going to take over the monopoly of the grain trade.[3] Like many other schemes this was never carried out.

A series of bad harvests,[4] caused Sixtus V. grave anxiety in providing Rome with corn, and in maintaining a fair price for bread.[5] Although he had grain brought from abroad at considerable expense, in the spring of 1589 the Eternal City suffered from scarcity and famine.[6] Sixtus V. sought to provide a remedy in every possible way. He published a bull, by which 200,000 scudi were deposited with the pontifical treasurer, Giovanni Agostino Pinelli, which were to be used exclusively in providing Rome with good bread at a fair

[1] See Brosch, I., 289.

[2] See *Avvisi of January 22 and February 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 23, 46, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Tempesti, I., 356 *seq.*, According to Galesinus (*Annales I. 99b, Vatican Library; *cf.* App. n. 38) a Roman baker was executed who had adulterated the bread with ashes.

[3] See the *report of Malegnani of July 18, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] The bad harvests which affected the whole of south Europe at that date caused the Venetian government to send its secretary, Marco Ottoboni, to Poland to obtain grain there, which led to the formation of commercial ties with Dantzig; see Boratynski, Przyczynek do dziejów pierwszych stosunków handlowych, in the *Sprawozdanaia* of the Academy of Cracow, 1908, n. 5.

[5] See the *Avvisi of February 8 and March 24, 1586, September 9, 1587, and May 10, 1589, Urb. 1054, pp. 51, 53b, 107; 1055, p. 352; 1057, p. 267, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Avviso of April 9, 1589, Urb. 1056, p. 132, Vatican Library.

price, and in making loans to needy peasants who grew corn; this fund was to be administered by the Congregation of the Abbondanza.[1] In this bull Sixtus V. states that one of his principal anxieties was the provisioning of Rome, since in any large population it is the poor who suffer when there is a scarcity of provisions. The decrees of the Congregation of the Annona and the edicts of the Pope show how Sixtus V. tried in every way he could to fulfil by other means as well his duty of providing the Romans with good bread. A constitution dated September 10th, 1589, and signed by three Conservatori, regulated in minute detail the preparation and sale of bread. The price of bread, after four years of the reign of Sixtus V., was comparatively very low.[2] What great sacrifices the Pope had made, is clear from the fact that in providing bread and keeping down its price he had spent in all 800,000 scudi.[3] Sixtus V. also tried, by means of a severe edict in 1586, to deal with the steady decrease in agriculture, especially in the Campagna.[4] The Pope also tried to encourage agriculture in other places, as for example in the district of Civitavecchia, and this was done, not only to provide Rome with more corn, but also to improve the climate by putting more land under cultivation, and to afford opportunities of work to the poor.[5]

The efforts made by Sixtus V. to dry up the marshy districts of the States of the Church are worthy of grateful recognition. With this end in view he turned his attention to the unhealthy

[1] See Bull., VIII., 1019 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54; NICOLAI, II., 44 *seq.*; BENIGNI, 40 *seq.*; DE CUPIS, 23. Increase of privileges for the association of the bakers in Bull., VIII., 924 *seq.*

[2] BENIGNI, 42.

[3] BROSCH, I., 307. Once more at his last consistory, on August 13, 1590, the Pope concerned himself with the importation of grain; see Acta consist., 874.

[4] See Galesinus in TEMPESTI, I., 368. *Cf.* *Avviso of February 26, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 74, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* CALISSE in *Zeitschr. f. Sozial-Wirtschaftsgesch.*, VII. (1900), 189.

swamps of the Chiana near Orvieto,[1] those at the mouths of the Tiber,[2] in the neighbourhood of Ravenna,[3] and above all the Pontine Marshes. These marshes, situated to the south of Rome, between the Alban and Volscian hills and the sea, covered a district of about seventy or eighty thousand hectares. The Romans had turned their attention to the problem of drying them up as early as the second century before Christ. Later on Julius Caesar, and the Emperors Augustus and Trajan made an attempt to drain the water from the marshes. Later still the King of the Goths, Theodoric, and several of the Popes, especially Boniface VIII. and Leo X., made serious attempts to reclaim this district for purposes of cultivation.[4]

Earlier failures were not calculated to hold back a man of the energy of Sixtus V. from making a fresh attempt to dry up the marshy Pontine plain, to make it fit for agriculture, and free it from malaria.[5] In the event of success he would have found a remedy for the scarcity of corn from which Rome often suffered, as well as an important advantage to the Apostolic Camera. When, in the spring of 1586, an engineer from Urbino, named Ascanio Fenizi, presented to the Pope a

[1] See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.

[2] See MORONI, LXVII., 106. *Cf.* *Discorso al card. Sauli, legato dell'armata circa li bonificamenti da farsi alle foci del Tevere, Vat. 6549, p. 228 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[3] *Proposals, plans and suggestions for the draining of the marshes near Ravenna, dated July, 1588 (among others, letters from the brothers Domenico and Giovanni Fontana, and a design by Tommaso Spinola) in Nunziat. di Francia, 20, pp. 286-292, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* N. M. NICOLAI, De bonificamenti delle terre Pontine, Rome, 1800; T. BERTI, Paludi Pontine, Rome, 1884; see DONAT, Die Pontinischen Sümpfe, Cassel, 1886, and 1898. For Leo X. see Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 127.

[5] *"Opus duabus de causis Pontifex aggressus est, tum ut a gravi coelo Terracinam aliaque finitima loca liberaret, cui paludis illius causa plurimum obnoxia sunt, tum ut rei frumentariae consuleret" says Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 79b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

scheme for draining the marshes, Sixtus V. was enthusiastic about it.[1] The first thing to be done was to remove one of the principal obstacles, with which his predecessors had also been confronted; the opposition of the great landowners who were interested in maintaining the existing state of affairs. This task was entrusted to Fabio Orsini, who very quickly succeeded in dealing with it.[2]

According to the autograph letter which Sixtus V. addressed to the Apostolic Camera on March 28th, 1586, Ascanio Fenizi had obtained from the Pope all those lands and marshes, lying between Terracina, Piperno and Sezze, which had not been cultivated during the past five years, in order that he might drain them and put them under cultivation. Fenizi and his heirs, as long as the works went on, were to pay every year to the owners whatever the land in question had hitherto produced. Once the draining was accomplished, they were either to go on paying this sum as before, or to hand over land to an equivalent value from the rescued district. Moreover, Fenizi, after the work was finished, was to pay 5½ % of the revenues from the land placed under cultivation to the Apostolic Camera, which, at the discretion of the Pope, was to be divided among the interested parties, according to their share in the newly cultivated land. Fenizi was given full powers to widen the already existing water courses, to make new canals and channels to the sea, making a corresponding compensation to the owners. As the undertaking involved large expenditure, and the advantage accruing to all who shared in it was very great, the privileges granted to the promoters were never to be suspended.[3]

On account of the malaria which prevailed in the Pontine Marshes during the summer, the work could only be commenced on any large scale in the autumn of 1586. About

[1] See in App. n. 7 the *Avviso of April 16, 1586, Vatican Library,

[2] See the *Avvisi of May 3 and 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 156b., 170, Vatican Library.

[3] See NICOLAI, *loc. cit.*, 134 *seq.*; BENIGNI, 42 *seq.*

2000 workmen were then employed.[1] By means of a plan, Fabio Orsini explained to the Pope the scheme of the great undertaking, which in substance consisted in bringing the waters of the mountain streams, which stopped in the so-called Piscinara, in the *Fiume Antico*, and opening for the latter a fresh way to the sea, between Terracina and Cape Circe. In February, 1587, all the proprietors of the Pontine Marshes who were to draw an advantage from the work were invited to contribute to the expense.[2] It was calculated that by May a district would have been drained which would produce 4000 *rubbi* of corn.[3] In January, 1588, we have reports of the good progress of the works,[4] and in the following year they were practically finished. The great outlet, which now took a great volume of water from the marshes to the sea, into which it emptied itself near the promontory of Circe, was named after the Pope the "Fiume Sisto," while by the side of it another smaller channel was yet to be made.[5] After

[1] See in App. n. 9 the Avviso of October 18, 1586, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avviso of February 25, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library, and the *Editto of F. Orsini of February 16, 1587, in Editti V., 51, p. 320, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Si fa conto che a questo Maggio sarà diseccato uno spatio per piú di 4000 rubbia di grano essendo hora in opera a questa impresa più di 1400 huomini, i quali hanno purgato quasi tutto quel grandissimo alveo. Avviso of February 25, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 65, Vatican Library.

[4] An *Avviso of January 27, 1588, reports: In September the Pontine Marshes near Sezza and Piperno are to be drained "acquisto di ca. 14^{m} rubbia di torreno arativo fertiliss^{o}, et il letto, che si fà al fiume scolatoio alla marina per diseccare dette paludi largo forsi trè canne si chiamarà Sisto, et vi lavorano hora mille persone di continuo a costo di alcuni gentilhuomini; quest' opera con utile della camera Ap^{ca} di 5%. Il lavoro de quali viene aiutato dal beneficio del terreno cresciuto ben otto palmi dal tempo, che si narra essere state diseccate altre volte." Urb. 1056, p. 36^{b}, Vatican Library.

[5] See in App. n. 22 the *Avviso of March 15, 1589, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 178, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

three years' work altogether ninety-two square rubbi of land had been reclaimed from the waters, which proved to be quite suitable for agriculture. It was estimated that the new undertaking would yield a revenue of 30 %.[1] On receiving this satisfactory news the Pope resolved in the autumn of 1589 to visit on the spot the great works,[2] which unfortunately were to be abandoned after his death. On October 11th he went with a large retinue to Terracina. The cities of Marino, Velletri, Sermoneta and Sezze, through which he passed on the way, prepared a splendid welcome for him. Everywhere he was congratulated on having restored security to those districts which had once been so infested by the bandits. Three kilometres to the west of Sezze, at the foot of the hills of Trevi, the summit of which is crowned by the ruins of the castle of Settino, there is a stone which to-day still bears the name of the "stone (or seat) of Sixtus." It was there that the great Pope rested for a long time on his journey, rejoicing at the sight of the improvements which his own energy and the skill of his engineer had carried out. At Terracina the Pope, who was also planning the restoration of the Appian Way, consulted with his architect about the restoration of the ancient Roman harbour.[3]

Sixtus V. also entertained similar projects for the harbours of Ancona[4] and Rimini, and especially of Civitavecchia, which had become impracticable for large ships. The Pope also

[1] See BENIGNI, 43.

[2] See the *Avvisi of September 20 and 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 575, 579, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Avvisi of October 11 and 21, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 612, 624, Vatican Library, the *report of the Venetian ambassador of October 28, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the report of Sixtus V. in the consistory of October 25, 1589, see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55. For a medal of 1588 relative to the Pontine Marshes, see BONANNI, I., 410 *seq.* and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 494.

[4] *Cf.* *Restauratione del porto di Ancona per Iac. Fontana a Sisto V., Vat. 5463, Vatican Library.

supplied the last named city with plentiful drinking water by building an aqueduct.[1]

Besides agriculture, Sixtus V. also sought to encourage industries. This was in connexion with his attempt to suppress mendicity and vagabondage in Rome, for which purpose he established a poor-house, the *Ospizio di Ponte Sisto*, on May 11th, 1587. In the bull of foundation he insists upon the duty of a well-ordered community to provide for the poor who are unable to work, and to prevent the evils inseparable from mendicity.[2]

[1] See the *reports of Gritti of January 31, 1587, May 28 and June 10, 1588, State Archives, Venice; ALBÈRI, II., 4, 386; FONTANA, I., 90; ANNOVAZZI, 298. For the guarding of the acqueduct, see *Avviso of July 8, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 401, Vatican Library.

[2] Sixtus V. repeatedly occupied himself during 1586 with the plan for placing all the beggars in a hospice for the poor (see *Avvisi of March 8, May 14, July 2, October 18, November 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 88, 178, 226b, 463b, 473, Vatican Library). These, the constant plague-spot of Rome, were to be placed in a special house under the care of the director of the Hospital of the Trinità. (See the *Avvisi of January 17 and 24; *cf.* App. n. 11), and February 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 18, 26b, 39, *loc. cit.*). The bull concerning the "hospitale ad pontum Sixti" in Bull., VIII., 847 (*cf.* Acta consist., 859). With regard to the carrying out of the plan and the provision of revenues see *Avviso of April 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 115 (*cf.* 125), *loc. cit.*; the *report of Malegnani of May 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Sixti V. confirmatio et applicatio introitum et concessio facult. hospitali pauperum mendic., d. VIII. Id. sept. 1588," in Editti, V., 9, p. 209 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. As the beggars numbered thousands, some of them had to be sent away with alms (see *Avviso of June 13, 1587, in ORBAAN, 287). After this the hospice of the poor was enlarged. (See *Avviso of January 16, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 18, Vatican Library). A further *Editto "per i poveri mendicanti" appeared on January 19, 1588, (Editti, *loc. cit.*, 291 *seq.*), a second on September 6, 1588 (Bull., IX., 33 *seq.*). Again in 1590 many beggars had to be driven out of Rome (*Avviso of March 14, Urb. 1058, p. 115, *loc. cit.*). Sixtus V. had hardly died when the beggars abandoned their house "amando

Even in the first year of his pontificate we are told of the way in which this energetic and enterprising Pope interested himself in the woollen and silk industries, in order to provide the poor with work and the means of earning a livelihood.[1] Two wool staplers, Alessandro Capacefalo and Fenicio Alfano, received, at the end of 1585, a monopoly in the dyeing of wool and an advance payment of 12,000 scudi to meet the cost of the necessary plant. Cardinal Santa Croce was given the superintendence of this industry.[2]

Even more interesting were the attempts of Sixtus V. to develop the silk industry, which had been introduced into Rome by the Florentine, Donato Baldesi, in the time of Pius V.[3] Sixtus V., who remembered how the silk industry had prospered in the Marches in olden times, granted to a Tuscan named Pietro Valentini,[4] who had come from Pienza, and obtained the citizenship of Rome, a temporary privilege of planting mulberry trees. Very characteristic of the Pope as sovereign, was the grand manner in which he interested himself in this matter. In his bull of May 28th, 1586, he

la libertà et se ne veggono tanti che ne tengono hormai assediati" (*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 462b, *loc. cit.*). For the hospice of the mendicants see also MORONI, XXIX., 278 *seq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 495; FORCELLA, VI., 507; Galesinus, *Annales, I., 116 *seq.*, Vatican Library, (*cf.* App. n. 38).

[1] An *Avviso of September 17, 1585, reports: To-day "consulto" with the Pope, who "Ha resoluto di trovare modo che le povere genti possino viver delle lor fatighe e peró vuole introdurre l'arte della lana et della seta." Urb. 1053, p. 404, Vatican Library.

[2] See the bull of December 18, 1585, which confirms the statutes of the "Societas mercatorum artis lanae," in Bull., VIII., 638 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of October 9, 1585, (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and an *Avviso of May 21, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 185. See also RODOCANACHI, Corporations, II., 58. *Cf.*, *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 466; C. DE CUPIS, La lana e la sua industria in Roma, 1923, 6.

[3] See RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.* 35.

[4] RANKE (Päpste, I[8]., 298), although TEMPESTI (I., 260) gives the name and country of Valentini exactly, calls him "a certain Pietro di Valencia"!

ordered that throughout the state, all gardens, farms, meadows, valleys and hills, which were not devoted to the harvest, should be planted with mulberry trees, and that the Apostolic Camera, in order to set a good example, should lead the way. Anyone who had failed to carry out this order within four years, was to be fined. The senate and people of Rome were assigned certain unclaimed lands in the neighbourhood of Rome for the planting of mulberry trees.[1] Attracted by this ordinance, various speculators immediately presented themselves who were prepared to devote themselves to the manufacture of silk, in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Apostolic Camera; such were the Jew, Magino di Gabriele, from Venice, the Neapolitan, Giovanni Battista Corcione, the Genoese, Grovanni Battista Chiavari, and Lorenzo Fabri of Lucca, where the silk industry had flourished since the IXth century.

Unfortunately, their undertakings were not successful, and thus the Pope's great project came to nothing. The Pope's attempt, however, to promote so important a branch of industry in his states, is nevertheless worthy of notice, because the ideas concerning the export of manufactured goods which influenced him in this matter, show him to have been a precursor of modern industrialism.[2]

The accounts of his reign prove the interest taken by Sixtus V. in the roadways of the States of the Church,[3] such

[1] See Bull., VIII., 711 *seq.*

[2] See the fine dissertation of G. Tomassetti, L'arte della seta sotto Sisto V. in Roma, in *Studi e docum.*, II., 131-152, which, however, remained unknown to Rodocanachi (*loc. cit.*, 96). According to an *Avviso of February 5, 1590, Sixtus V. lent 45,000 scudi at that time for the introduction of the silk industry into Rome. Urb. 1058, p. 51, Vatican Library.

[3] For the Ponte Felice, on which D. Fontana was employed as engineer, see Fontana, I., 5, II., 20 *seq.*; A. Martinelli, Stato del Ponte Felice ,Rome, 1682; Keyssler, II., 391; Marocco, I., 102, 123; Moroni, LXVII., 106; Artaud de Montor, IV., 495; Bertolotti, B. Cenci, 28; Marinori, 33 *seq.* For the plan presented to the Pope by Iulius Roscius, *cf.* Hülsen in *Röm.-german. Korrespondenzblatt*, V. (1912), n. 6, p. 82, n. 3.

as the great bridge over the Tiber near Otricoli, which was begun in the spring of 1589,[1] and was given the name of the Ponte Felice.

Worthy of all praise were the means taken by the Pope to relieve the debts of the municipalities in the Papal States. Sales and alienations were limited and unnecessary expenditure forbidden.[2] Six clerics of the Camera were charged to examine the financial conditions of each city, and prepare schemes for the extinction of debts.[3] In the autumn of 1587 Giovanni Battista Ricci of Loreto was appointed commissary-general for the repair of the roads, bridges and fountains in the Papal States, and armed with ample powers.[4] By the order of the Pope the Camerlengo Caetani issued a series of ordinances on January 24th, 1589, to prevent abuses and hardships in the imposition of taxes.[5] All these provisions proved so salutary that an obvious revival of the municipalities followed.[6] Sixtus V. ordered that notarial documents, which had been retained by the notaries, to the great inconvenience of the parties concerned, should be deposited in certain archives,

[1] See the *Avvisi of April 29 and May 10, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 235, 267, Vatican Library; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 309.

[2] See the bull of September 30, 1586, in Bull., VIII., 785 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* IX., 127 *seq.* the ordinances for Bologna. See also A. SARTI, Bandi emanati dai legati pontif. in Bologna nel sec. XVI., Rocca S. Casciano, 1914, 30 *seq.*

[3] See Gualterius in RANKE, I[8]., 298, n. 1, and the report of Gritti in BROSCH, I., 283, for which it appears that Sixtus V. was also aiming by his enactments at the enrichment of the Camera. The *Relazione di Visita dell'Umbria fatta da Monsignore Malvasia chierico di camera per ordine di Sisto V., in Ottob. 987, Vatican Library. Another copy in Cod. 75 of the Valentini Library, sold in Rome in 1911. The *Acta of the visitation of Bologna and its territory in the Arch. S. Angelo, Arm. 15, c. 4, Papal Secret Archives, mentioned by GARAMPI (316).

[4] See *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 398, Vatican Library.

[5] See, Collezione delle disposiz. su li censimenti del stato pontificio, I., Rome, 1845, 73 *seq.*

[6] See this point of the *Memorie* in RANKE, I[8]., 298, n. 1.

where everyone could consult them on payment of a small fee.[1] The Pope also turned his attention to the improvement of the prisons.[2]

The standard, in accordance with which Sixtus V. wished the administration of the States of the Church to be carried on, is clear from the instructions which he gave to his civil and ecclesiastical officials. They were especially urged to give audience with regularity and courtesy, to give abundant alms, to see to the importation of merchandize, the water supply, and the maintenance of the roads, bridges and fortresses; they must personally acquaint themselves by means of deputies of the needs of those subject to them, and regularly send reports to Rome. They must behave with both dignity and modesty, and lead religious lives, as was fitting for the delegates of the Pope.[3] Officials who neglected their duty, even though they were Cardinals like Spinola, the legate at Perugia, were removed from their office without hesitation.[4] Sixtus V. also on several occasions interested himself in the settlement of disputes between the municipalities.[5]

[1] See Bull., IX., 23 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of August 24, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 363b, Vatican Library. Rome and Bologna, where such archives were already in existence were excluded from this ordinance. Sixtus V. fixed the number of the notaries in Rome at 30; he established the "Collegium Notariorum curiae Capitolinae" and united to it the notarial archivium set up by Pius IV. at the Capitol; see GREGOROVIUS in *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Akad. Philos. Kl.*, 1872, 492 *seq.*

[2] See the bull of September 4, 1589, in Bull., IX., 121 *seq.*

[3] *The instructions are to be found among the papers left by Graziani, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. It is characteristic of Sixtus V. that he controlled the participation of his officials in the procession of Corpus Domini; see the *report of Malegnani of May 30, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] As to this see more fully in *Avvisi of April 16, 19, 23, 26 and 30, and May 14 and 17, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 127b, 133, 136, 141b, 147, 148b, 178b, Vatican Library.

[5] See Bull. VIII., 691 *seq.*, IX., 109 *seq.*

The Pope devoted quite special attention to those places which were more or less near his own native place, and in which he had already taken a lively interest while he was still a Cardinal.[1] Mindful of his own poverty-stricken youth, he made provision for the establishment of a special college at Bologna for the education of the intelligent youth of the Marches.[2] He restored some of its ancient rights to the city of Ancona, and established a supreme tribunal for the whole province of the Marches at Macerata.[3] Fermo once more was given its university,[4] and was made an archiepiscopal see.[5] The town of Montalto became a city and an episcopal see ;[6] the same was done in the case of Sanseverino,[7] Tolentino[8] and

[1] On the occasion of his visit to their city in 1574 the citizens of Ascoli made him an honorary citizen ; see P. CAPPONI, Mem. stor. d. Chiesa Ascolana, Ascoli Piceno, 1898, 146. For the relations of Sixtus V. with Ascoli see also S. ANDREANTONELLI, Hist. Ascolana, Ascoli, 1676, 25 *seq.* *Cf.* Vincenzo Serafino *Trattato dell'acquisto et conservatione della pace univ. et perpetua della città d'Ascoli (dedicated to Sixtus V.), Vat. 5533, Vatican Library.

[2] See, Bulla ac privilegia Collegii Montisalti a S.D.N. Sixto V. in civitate Bononiae erecti, Bologna, 1627. *Cf.* FONTANA, I., 89b. ; LE BRET, Magazin, IX., 554 ; GUIDICINI, Miscell. Bologn., 20, 53.

[3] See Bull. IX., 81 *seq.*

[4] See CICCONI, 28 *seq.*

[5] See the *Acta consist. of May 24, 1589, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* CICCONI 30 *seq.*

[6] See besides the *report of Gritti of November 15, 1585 (State Archives, Venice), and the *report of Malegnani of November 15, 1586 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Bull. VIII., 800 *seq.* *Ibid.* IX., 254 *seq.* the bull concerning the " erectio praesidiatus Montis Alti." With regard to the college of Montalto see further Vol. XXII. of this work, Chapter V., p. 198. In general *cf.* PISTOLESI, Sisto V. e Montalto da documenti inediti, Montalto, 1921, 91 *seqq.*, with valuable details from archives.

[7] See besides the *Brief of October 27, 1586 (Original in Municipal Archives, Sanseverino) the bull in Bull. VIII., 805 *seq.* *Cf.* also *S. Servanzi-Collio,* Serie dei vescovi Sanseverino nella Marca, Camerino, 1874.

[8] See Bull. VIII., 817 *seq.*

Loreto.[1] At Montalto the Pope established schools and began the building of a large cathedral, to which he gave a precious reliquary, and erected a residence for the bishop, as well as for the canons.[2] Even more was done for Loreto, which was specially dear to Sixtus V. on account of the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin. In the church which encloses the Holy House the Pope adorned the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament with stucco work and paintings;[3] he also completed the façade begun by Gregory XIII.[4] and made

[1] See the *report of Priuli of November 9, 1585, and the *report of Gritti of October 17, 1587. State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* Bull. VIII., 666 *seq.*; VOGEL, De ecclesia Recanat., 308 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives (see App. n. 40) and the *Avvisi of May 13 and October 17, 1587, and June 10, 1589, Urb. 1055 and 1057, Vatican Library. The cathedral was built by a pupil of Fontana, Girolamo Rainaldi (see GURLIT, Barockstil, 377). Fontana himself relates how he sketched the designs for the enlargement of Montalto and Loreto. The cathedral of Montalto still preserves to-day as a precious treasure the reliquary given by Sixtus V., in which were used precious materials from the time of Cardinal P. Barbo, a lover of the arts, and later Paul II. For the reliquary at Montalto *cf.* the articles of C. ASTOLFI and GRIGIONI in *Arte e storia*, 1909-10. See also ORBAAN, Avvisi, 289; PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 16 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*, 91 *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.* With reference to a gift from the Pope, of gold and silver medals expressly coined for Montalto in 1588, see PISTOLESI in Arte e storia, XXX. (1911), 117 *seq.*; also his Altodunensia, Montalto, 1920, 17 *seq.*, 34 *seq.* *Cf. Boll. ital. d. numismat.*, XIII. (1915). The church at Grottammare possesses the chalice which, according to the inscription, was used by Sixtus V. when he was Bishop of Sant' Agata; see *Picenum*, X. (1913), 168 (with illustration). *Ibid.* 271 a plan of the boundaries of the city.

[3] See BEISSEL, Das hl. Haus zu Loreto, Freiburg, 1891, 21. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 384; A. COLASANTI, Loreto, Bergamo, 1910, 62 *seqq.*; FRANC. DAL MONTE CASONI, Nel IV. Centenario della nascita di Sisto V. Una pagina della sua vita (Memorie documentate di storia Recanatese e Loretana), Loreto, 1921.

[4] The summit is crowned with the arms of Sixtus V., with the inscription: Sixto V. P. M., A.III, 1587.

the beautiful side entrances.[1] Loreto also owed to Sixtus V. its extension, and new fortifications,[2] as well as the beautiful Porta Romana.[3] The Pope also concerned himself in improving the sanitary conditions of the city,[4] as well as caring for its material needs by the establishment of a Monte de Pietà.[5] One of the last bulls of the Pope granted to Loreto a number of privileges.[6] The grateful inhabitants erected a bronze statue to him on the steps of the cathedral, the work of Antonio Bernardino Calcagni of Recanati,[7] a fine and characteristic piece of work. At Loreto, as in most of the cities of the Marches, marble inscriptions record the benefits conferred by the Pope.[8]

Sixtus V. showed a quite special love for his own capital.[9] What he did for its development and its embellishment is of so great importance, as to call for a detailed description.[10]

The building undertakings of Sixtus V., as well as the need of the Church, called for the expenditure of large sums, which at first were all the more difficult to obtain, as the finances of the Holy See no longer balanced, owing to the lavish generosity of his predecessor, and his unwillingness to impose new taxes. Immediately after his election, and again in the consistory of May 13th, 1585,[11] Sixtus V. bitterly lamented his straitened financial circumstances. Gregory XIII. had used up the

[1] Above the side entrances may be read : Sixtus V.

[2] See Fontana, I., 90. See *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 397, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf. Guida di Loreto*, Siena, 1895, 32 ; Fr. dal Monte Casoni, Il santuario di Loreto e le sue difese militari, Recanati, 1919, 88.

[4] *Cf.* the *Brief to "Card. Perusinus, protect. Lauret.," of April 20, 1589, Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 119, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] "Ad sublevandam pauperum inopiam" says the inscription of 1590.

[6] Bull., IX., 230 *seq.*

[7] *Cf. supra* p. 48.

[8] See Ciaconius, IV., 127 *seq.*

[9] See in App. n. 25 the *Avviso of May 3, 1589, Vatican Library.

[10] See further, Vol. XXII. of this work, Chapters V. and VI.

[11] See the *report of Capilupi of May 15, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

revenues of Pius V. as well as those of his own pontificate, he said to Cardinal Santori, when the latter, on April 26th, urged him to subsidize the colleges of the Armenians and the neophytes.[1]

The state of affairs, however, was not so bad as Sixtus V. imagined. When the money deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo was counted it was found that there were 326,500 scudi in gold, and 33,500 in silver.[2] But, as Priuli reported on May 18th, 1585, the public treasury was empty, and the whole of the revenues for the next half year were mortgaged.[3] The energy of Sixtus V. was successful in steadily increasing his revenues,[4] and in spite of his extensive building operations and other undertakings, in depositing in the Castle of St. Angelo a reserve fund which at the time of his death amounted to five and a half million scudi, an achievement which seemed to his contemporaries a prodigy.[5]

The means by which Sixtus V. attained this result were very various and altogether new. If they cannot be unconditionally praised it is necessary in judging them to bear in mind the economic principles and the actual conditions of the time, and the Pope can hardly be blamed for not having been in advance of his times.[6]

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 167. I have taken the date which is missing (April 26) from the *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 65 ; *cf.* XIII., 314.

[3] See BROSCH, I., 278.

[4] According to COPPI (Finanze, 5, 10) the revenues increased in 1585 to 1,318,414 and in 1587 to 1,599,303 scudi. Another *estimate of 1587: "Entrate incerte" 383,600, "certe" 1,201,920, total sum: 1,585,520; "uscita" 1,498,540, (Cod. 39 B.13, p. 150 *seq.* Corsini Library, Rome).

[5] See the statements of Cardinal Prospero Santa Croce in the *report of Gritti of May 7, 1588 (State Archives, Venice), used by BROSCH, I., 282.

[6] Opinion of REUMONT in his review of Hübner in *Theol. Lit.-blatt of Bonn*, 1870, n. 16. TEMPESTI (I., 457 *seqq.*), has nothing but praise for the financial administration of Sixtus V. *Cf.* COPPI, Finanze, 5 *seqq.*, RANKE, I[8]., 301 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 341

The reorganization of the finances undertaken by the Pope was based on the one hand upon economies, and on the other upon an extensive use of the sources of revenue, afforded by saleable offices and the so-called Monti.

As far as economies were concerned Sixtus V. commenced with himself. His table and his whole manner of life were as simple as possible.[1] From the autograph diary of Fra Felice preserved in the Chigi Library, one can see the standard which he set before himself at that time. This he continued after he became Pope. It is related of him that even then his economy in providing for his own needs went so far that instead of having new shoes made, he had the old ones mended.[2] At the court various useless offices were suppressed, and in the case of others the salaries were reduced, while at first even the subsidies to the ecclesiastical colleges were suspended.[3] The number of the troops was reduced as far as possible, and in every branch of the administration of the state the rule was made of reducing expenditure to strict necessities.[4] The most strict control was kept of all these things.[5]

seq., BROSCH, I., 278 *seq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 31 *seq.* See also MARTINORI, 5 *seq.*, 21 *seq.* for the issue of copper money of a lesser value than the official coinage. With regard to the coinage of Sixtus V., see also SERAFINI, II., 71 *seq.* MARTINORI gives (27 *seq.*) a series of coinage ordinances. ARTAUD DE MONTOR (V., 12) gives a good description of the Pope's medals.

[1] See *supra*, p. 57.

[2] See *Avviso of September 9, 1587, Urb. 1055, 373, Vatican Library

[3] See the *report of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avvisi of May 29, and June 15, 1585, Urb. 1053, pp. 229, 250b. Vatican Library. Sixtus V. partly repudiated the subsidies to the oriental undertakings of Gregory XIII.; *cf.* HOFFMANN, Missionsinstitut, 210.

[4] See BROSCH, I., 280. *Cf.* *supra*, p. 56. For the orders for the restriction of the celebrations of the anniversary of the coronation (1586) see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54. The reduction of the "famiglia pontificia" is mentioned by Sporeno in his *report of March 22, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[5] *Cf.* *Avvisi of May 11, 1585, and February 26, 1586, Urb. 1053, p. 202, 1054, p. 73, Vatican Library.

These economies, which were estimated at 150,000 scudi a year,[1] were hardly enough to meet the expenses involved by the Pope's undertakings for the public utility, especially his buildings. The projected formation of a reserve fund was only possible by the opening out of fresh sources of revenue. It was very difficult to find these as Sixtus V. wished to preserve intact the ancient reputation of the Papal States, that its inhabitants were only burdened with small taxes. The most varied suggestions were laid before the Pope, some of which were quite extraordinary.[2] It is said that he did not even disdain to take the advice of Jewish financiers,[3] just as, probably for commercial reasons, he showed himself very well inclined to the Jews, and restored to them the greater part of the rights in the Papal States which had been taken away from them by Paul IV. and Pius V.[4]

The Pope's principal advisers in financial matters were the Treasurers of the Camera. He entrusted this important office first of all to the Genoese, Benedetto Giustiniani, who

[1] Thus the *Avviso of May 29, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. Later on Sixtus V. valued them at about 146,000 scudi; see HÜBNER, I., 355.

[2] See the passage from the Memorie in RANKE, Päpste, III⁸., 73. *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of September 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *letter of Sixtus V. to the treasurer Giustiniani, dated Montecavallo, 1585, June 23, deals with a certain Vincenzo Badalocchio, who wished to procure money "senza imponere gravezza e senza far torto a nessuno." Orig. in the collection of Pietro Pieri in Rome, now sold by auction.

[3] A great part in this was especially taken by the Portuguese, Juan Lopez; see *Avviso of October 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 439, Vatican Library. HOFFMANN, Missionsinstitut, 223.

[4] See Bull. VIII., 786 *seq.*; DE MAULDE, Les Juifs dans les états du St. Siège (1886), 45; RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN, II., 178 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, St. Siège et les Juifs (1891), 64, 187 *seq.*, 231; *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1888, 263 *seq.*; *cf.* also the statements of a Jewish chronicler in the *Emek Habacha* of R. JOSEPH HA COHEN, Leipsig, 1858, 127, edited by M. Weiner; the Capitoli e riforma delli Banchieri Hebrei ("ridotta a 18% l'anno"), dat. Prid. Non. Jan. Ann. IV., in Bandi V., 10, p. 111, Papal Secret Archives.

proved himself so able that on December 17th, 1586, the purple was conferred on him. Three years later the same honour was bestowed upon his successor, Guido Pepoli, who was succeeded in 1590 by Bartolomeo Cesi.[1] The office of Treasurer of the Camera was one of the purchasable offices. Under Gregory XIII. Rodolfo Bonfiglioli had bought it for 28,000 Roman scudi, Giustiniani had to pay 50,000, and Pepoli 30,000 gold scudi ; Cesi, although the revenues had been reduced by a half (5000), had again to pay 50,000. The office of Camerlengo also became purchasable in 1588, and Cardinal Errico Caetani had to pay 50,000 scudi for it.[2]

Not only was the price of offices increased, but the sale of them was extended to offices which had hitherto been granted gratuitously. This was the case among others with the office of *sollecitatore* of the Camera, as well as many notarial and fiscal offices. Here too very often large sums had to be paid.[3] For the office of treasurer of the Dataria, Monsignor Rusticci had to pay 50,000 scudi. The notariates of Fermo, Umbria, Fano, Orvieto, Terni and Narni as well as twenty-one posts as referendary produced 42,000 scudi.[4]

It has been rightly pointed out that the custom of selling offices, then prevalent in most other states as well, was not introduced into the Papal States for the first time by Sixtus V.[5]

[1] See Moroni, LXXIV., 292 *seq.* ; Garampi, 333 ; Martinori, 28.

[2] See Moroni, VII., 81, LXXXVII., 91.

[3] See the composition in the *Entrate e spese della Sede Apost. sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII., Barb. LV., 51, Vatican Library. This is the manuscript dealing with the Roman finances which Ranke (Päpste, I[8]., 304) quotes without any exact signature and with a printer's error which is also repeated in the more recent editions, " Klemens VII." Correction of a statement of Ranke (I[8]., 304) concerning the redeemable pledges in *Saggiatore*, II., 4, 112. For the dispute of Sixtus V. with the Romans, who blamed him for wishing to make the pledges saleable, see Rodocanachi, Institutions, 315 *seq.*

[4] See *Entrate e spese sotto Clemente VIII., *loc. cit.*

[5] Brosch, I., 279.

That he should have continued it cannot therefore be imputed to him by way of blame, though he may certainly be blamed for having extended it, especially when he did so in the case of offices affecting ecclesiastical administration.

How much these *Uffizi vacabili* were multiplied may be seen from a compilation made before December, 1586, which states that the selling price and the value of them, taken all together, amounted to 3,596,225 gold scudi. The long list begins with the great offices, those of the Camerlengo and Treasurer; it also shows how very large prices were also paid for other offices, e.g. 54,000 gold scudi for that of auditor of the Camera, and 36,000 each for those of clerics of the Camera. Smaller sums were brought by means of life annuities, as well as being paid for posts of lesser importance, such as those of the abbreviators, chamberlains, and writers, as well as for knighthoods; these last, which had been established by Leo X. with the 401 knights of St. Peter, now numbered 1486;[1] Sixtus V. had also added sixty to the 240 knights of Loreto.[2]

Like the sale of offices, the creation of a public debt, and the increase and reform of the Monti presented many difficult and anxious problems. Here too Sixtus V. did not strike out a new line, but developed or organized existing methods with great sagacity.

The state loans of the Holy See, known as the "Monti," bore different names, either from the Pope who had formed them, or from the use made of the money drawn from them, or from the source from which the interest came. They were divided into *Monti vacabili* and *non vacabili*. Like the saleable offices they came to an end with the death of the holder, or in certain cases with his promotion to the episcopate

[1] Coppi, Finanze, 8. The date may be fixed by the fact that Giustiniani, who became a Cardinal on December 17, is still treasurer. *Cf.* also the *Avviso of January 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 36b, Vatican Library.

[2] See Bull. IX., 324 *seq.* *Cf.* Acta consist. 846; *Avviso of October 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 436, Vatican Library; *report of Malegnani of October 10, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

or the cardinalate, so that the name *Monti vacabili* meant loans which would be extinguished within a certain period. The *Monti non vacabili*, or *Monti*, formed the state debt proper. The shares, the *Luoghi di Monti*, were true titles yielding revenue, which had their variations like modern state investments.[1] Their returns naturally varied, and at first were as much as 12 % or even more, while later on they yielded 4 %, or sometimes more according to circumstances.[2]

The establishment of the *Monti non vacabili*, the consolidated public debt in the strict sense, began in 1526, when Clement VII., in imitation of the Monte which the Republic of Florence had set up in 1345,[3] founded the Monte della Fede, so called because the money was to be used for the war against the Turks. The capital was 200,000 scudi, in 2000 bonds of the public debt, each of 100 scudi, with an interest of ten per cent. secured on the customs. In the same year Clement VII. founded the Monte di salo ed oro, of 284,000 scudi with an interest of eight per cent.; in the following year, after the sack of Rome by Bourbon, he established the Monte del Macinato, of 290,000 scudi.[4]

Subsequent Popes continued to act in the same way. Paul III. set up one Monte, Paul IV. as many as four, Pius IV. two, Pius V. four, and Gregory XIII. one,[5] so that at last the capital involved was five and a half millions, and the annual interest 281,968 scudi.[6] Sixtus V. increased the number and the capital of the Monti in such a way as to surpass all his predecessors. As soon as he discovered any source of revenue, it was capitalized, and as it was for the most part the Genoese who supplied the capital, the banking business passed almost entirely into their hands. In all Sixtus V. set up

[1] See MORONI, XL., 146 *seq.*, LXXXVII., 70 *seq.*; BROSCH, I., 280.

[2] See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 96 *seq.*

[3] This was intended to supply the expenses of the war against the Pisans for the possession of Lucca.

[5] See Vol. X. of this work, p. 328, n. 4.

[4] See COPPI, Finanze, 42. *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 104, n. 2.

[6] COPPI, Finanze 5.

eleven Monti, eight of which were *vacabili*.[1] The capital represented by the loans which he thus obtained was as much as two and a half million scudi in gold,[2] the interest on which could only be raised by increasing the existing taxes, or the imposition of new ones. However unwilling Sixtus V. was to do so at first, no other course lay open to him but to increase the taxation, which, in spite of all his good intentions, paralysed trade and industry. Once he had overcome his initial hesitation, Sixtus V., who never took half measures, proceeded in this with characteristic energy.[3] Giovanni Gritti says in his report of 1589, that the Pope had up to that time introduced eighteen new taxes.[4] One, the heavy tax on wine, which had been decided upon in the spring of 1587, had to be abandoned in the summer of the following year.[5] According to Cicarella the number of new taxes was more than thirty-five.[6] Paolo Paruta states that of the ten million

[1] Thus RANKE, Päpste, I[8]., 304, probably in accordance with the manuscript in the Vatican Library, cited *supra*, p. 116, n. 4. Statements to some extent in disagreement in COPPI, Finanze, 8 *seq.*, and MORONI, XL., 250 *seq.*

[2] See RANKE, I[8]., 306. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 583.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 583; BROSCH, I., 281.

[4] GRITTI, 337.

[5] *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 354. Gualterius, *Ephemerides 110 *seq.* (Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) tries to justify in detail the tax on wine. Also a duty on goods imported at Ancona, which did much harm, had to be once more abolished; see Badoer, *report of 1589, (Quirini Library, Venice); RANKE, III[8]., 78*.

[6] CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V. According to this MORONI LXVII., 161, must be emended. With regard to the opposition of Cardinals Paleotto and Carafa to the burden of the duties see *Acta consist. May 11, 1587, Consistorial Archives. In his *report of July 4, 1587, Malegnani mentions a pamphlet against the taxes and hoarding of gold of Sixtus V., who is described as a miser. We are also told that there was a ferment in Rome at that time by the Venetian ambassador in his *Dispatch of July 27, 1587, State Archives, Venice. A violent death was foretold for Sixtus V. (see the *report of Malegnani of September 5, 1587, *loc. cit.*) but the Pope laughed at the increase of the guard at his palace. See *Avviso of September 2, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 338, Vatican Library.

scudi which Sixtus V. collected during his five years' pontificate, only one million was drawn from the new taxes, all the rest coming from the sale or increase of offices or from other financial operations.[1] The questionable nature of the means which Sixtus V. employed to obtain further revenues apparently did not enter his mind, so preoccupied was he with the necessity of making the credit and influence of the Papacy and the Church unquestioned before the world, by means of her financial independence and supremacy.[2] He blamed his predecessors, even Pius V. himself, whom he so venerated[3], for not having taken enough care to maintain a reserve of money. Poor princes, and especially a poor Pope, he said, are a laughing-stock even to children, especially in times when everything is accomplished by money; a wise prince ought to follow the example of the ants, who store up provision for the winter during the summer.[4]

The financial policy of Sixtus V. was substantially based on the theory that all the resources of the Papal States were at his disposal; he saw how extraordinarily important and necessary it was for the power and status of the Popes that they should possess a temporal state.[5]

The fact that from the first Sixtus V. spent large sums on beautifying his capital, and on works of public utility, brought it about that the inevitable burden of taxation, combined with the sale of offices, and the raising of new loans, was not so much resented as might have been expected. The great

[1] P. Paruta in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 410.

[2] See HERRE, Papsttum, 374 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Gritti of July 26, 1586, State Archives, Venice.

[4] See GRITTI, 338.

[5] See RANKE, Päpste, 1[8]., 270. The bull of Pius V. concerning the inalienability and indivisibility of the "Dominium temporale" (see Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 104) which was so important for the fusion of the Papal States into a solid monarchy, was confirmed on oath by Sixtus V. on May 10, 1585 (GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53) and renewed with additions on July 1: see THEINER, Cod. dom. temp., I., 553 *seq.*

buildings that his energy raised in Rome in the course of a few years, and which made the city of the Popes stand out as the centre of the world even in the eyes of foreigners, to some extent palliated the new burdens in the eyes of most of the population.[1]

The zeal which the Pope displayed in accumulating wealth was by no means universally found fault with. When, after the first year of the pontificate, it transpired that, in spite of the expense incurred in provisioning Rome, in the struggle against the bandits, on the needs of the Church, and his building operations (especially the repairs to the aqueducts), he was in a position to deposit the sum of a million gold scudi in the Castle of St. Angelo,[2] everyone wondered indeed, but at the same time praised the precautions that he had taken to meet cases of real danger and special need.[3]

At the consistory of April 21st, 1586, a bull was presented to the Cardinals to sign and swear to, concerning the use of this treasure,[4] in which the Pope expressed himself in the following terms: "Having been called by Providence to steer the ship of Peter at a time of great difficulty, he had turned his attention with watchful care not only to the present storms, but also to future ones. Powerful enemies," he goes on to say, "the heretics, filled with an irreconcilable hatred, and the Turk, that scourge of the wrath of God, are threatening the Catholic religion, and especially its centre, the Holy See. Although the Pope puts his trust before all things in the Pastor of Israel, yet it is He that hath the power to command the waves and the sea, Who teaches that the master of the house must watch even in the night, and that we may not tempt God, asking for a miracle where human prudence and foresight are enough. The sad example of past

[1] See Balzani, Sisto V., 30.

[2] See the *reports of Capilupi of November 30, 1585, and January 25, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso of January 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 36b, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of May 21, 1586, *ibid.* p. 186.

[4] Printed in Bull. VIII., 693 *seqq.* *Cf.* Acta consist. 845 and Gulik-Eubel, III., 53.

times teaches that the Holy See must be prepared in all circumstances, and be provided with sufficient means for moments of need. Therefore, following the example of the Fathers of the Old Testament, who stored up sums of money in the Temple, we have resolved for the protection of the Holy See to deposit a million scudi in the Castle of St. Angelo, dedicating them to Christ Our Lord, to Mary, the Blessed Virgin and Mother of God, and to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul."

The bull further laid down the cases in which it would be lawful for the Pope and his successors to make use of this treasure, namely, if a war should be begun for the recovery of the Holy Land, or a general expedition against the Turks: in a case of famine or pestilence: if there should be manifest danger of a Christian nation passing into the hands of the infidels, or of the enemies of the Church: in the case of a hostile invasion of the Papal States: if a city belonging to the Holy See should be threatened, or if one could be recovered by means of an armed expedition. But in these cases care must be taken that not more than one half of the treasure is touched. All these enactments, the bull goes on to state, must be understood literally, and anyone that does not obey them will incur the most severe penalties. The most careful provision was made to ensure the safety of the treasure, which, at the consistory of April 28th, 1586, was carried so far as to enact that every four months the integrity of the treasure was to be checked.[1]

The Romans were astonished when they learned that, in spite of the extensive building operations, a second million gold scudi had been accumulated during the following year, 1587,[2] and a third by April, 1588,[3]

[1] See Acta consist. 841; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53. For the visit to the treasury in June, 1586, see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

[2] See *Avviso of April 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 129, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Avvisi of January 9 and 13, and April 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 12, 15b, 170, Vatican Library. See also GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

which like the first were protected by special bulls.[1]

All, even the Cardinals, were astonished that, in spite of this, sums of money were still being accumulated,[2] the future collection of which was discussed from every point of view, as the Pope did not wish further to burden the people.[3] At the consistory of January 23rd, 1589, Sixtus V. was able to announce that the fourth million would soon have been collected, but that this was not to be tied like the earlier ones, and would be left at the free disposal of his successor. But as soon as it was complete, it was decided in the consistory of April 12th, 1589, that this fourth million was to be kept in the ancient treasury of the Castle of St. Angelo, but separate from the other three, which were in the secret treasury.[4] This was the round domed chamber in the centre of the Borgia Tower in the Castle of St. Angelo, which had already served as a treasury in the time of Paul III.[5] To this day the visitor to St. Angelo may see three large coffers, in walnut bound with iron, of different sizes. That in the middle bears the initials of Julius II., the other two being those which, according to the accounts, were made in the time of Sixtus V. The largest of these coffers was made by the celebrated architect, Domenico Fontana;[6] at the death of Sixtus V. these chests

[1] The bulls of November 6, 1587, and April 27, 1588, in Bull VIII., 939 *seqq.*, IX., 1 *seqq.* *Cf.* Acta consist., 853 *seq.*; GULIK. EUBEL, III., 54. *Avviso of December 2, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 461, Vatican Library.

[2] *"Congessit usque modo in castellum s. Angeli S.D.N. tres milliones auri et quotidie pecuniam aggregat et omnes cardinales admirantur, et nemo illorum novit, quare fiat, licet a multo tempore sciant non fuisse factum" writes Sporeno, April 25, 1588 (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] See *Avviso of January 21, 1589, according to which the Pope had said "che li 4 milioni d'oro, che S. B. ha in Castello, sono una insalata rispetto al suo urgentissimo bisogno, onde ogniuno resta ammirato" (Urb. 1057, p. 27, Vatican Library).

[4] Acta consist. 863. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 388.

[5] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 575.

[6] See CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 306, and FR. TOMASSETTI in the *N. Antologia*, CXXIX. (1907), 717 *seq.*, where there is

contained three million gold scudi. Besides this there were 1,159,543 silver scudi, and the total value of the sum deposited amounted to five and a half million silver scudi, as the gold was worth 20 per cent. more than the silver.[1]

It is only possible fully to understand the satisfaction felt by Sixtus V. at such a result of his financial policy,[2] when it is remembered that the Emperor Rudolph II., Henry III. of France, and Philip II. of Spain, were, in spite of their large revenues, in great want of money. With the millions which he had deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo the Pope had become the richest prince in Europe, in so far as it may be said that he is the richest who at any given moment, has at his disposal, rather than any other prince, the sum which he requires to meet the needs of the moment, and carry out the projects which he forms.[3]

If Sixtus V. willingly spoke to the Cardinals, ambassadors and envoys of the large sums of money which he had at his disposal, this was, besides a certain natural complacency, due to a calculated policy. He wished it to be known, not only that he was rich, but that he intended to remain so. He was therefore very reluctant to make concessions and subsidies, and if he promised any, it was always with the condition that the money was to be paid in certain definite circumstances, namely, only when certain definite results had been obtained. This was the case with Philip II. on the occasion of the expedition against England, with the Duke of Savoy when he was forced by the French government to

also a picture of the "casse forti" of Sixtus V. There is a better representation in P. SCHUBRING, Cassoni. Truhen und Truhenbilder, Leipzig, 1915, tav. CLXV. *Cf.* also TELLUCINI in *Riv. ital. di numismat.*, 1910 and 1912.

[1] See COPPI, Finanze, 10 *seq.*, and CERACOLI, *loc. cit.*, 304, 314 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Acta consist. 869 *seq.* On February 21, 1590, the Pope visited the treasury at the Castle of St. Angelo; see *Avviso of that date, Urb. 1058, p. 74, Vatican Library.

[3] See HÜBNER, I., 342 *seq.*; BALZANI, Sisto V. 31. *Cf.* *Avviso of January 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

postpone his attack on Geneva, and with Henry III. during the Huguenot War.[1] If the diplomatic representatives of the princes, who were always in need of money, complained of such a Pope, this was, from their point of view, as intelligible as was their curiosity as to the purpose which he had in view in accumulating such large sums.[2]

Even contemporaries, and still more recent critics, pointed out the losses due to the withdrawal of such sums from circulation.[3] It was not, however, such an exceptional thing as has been maintained[4] that Sixtus V. should have kept a treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo to meet serious dangers. In reality such a course meant nothing more than the formation of a reserve fund, such as to-day every well-ordered institution must keep in its strong-room.[5]

The celebrated treasure of the Castle of St. Angelo, which was immortalized by medals,[6] gave Sixtus V. a great confidence in his own power, and an unwonted esteem among the princes. By the help of this he was able to face every urgent need of the Church and of his States, and energetically defend the Catholic faith, whether it were threatened by the Protestants or the Turks.

[1] See Hübner, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Pierling, II., 313.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Sporeno of April 22, 1589. Provincial Archives. Innsbruck.

[3] An *Avviso of December 11, 1585, remarks that the millions deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo had caused a shortage of money (Urb. 1053, p. 524, Vatican Library).

[4] Ranke, Päpste, I[8]., 306.

[5] See Fr. Tomassetti in the *N. Antologia*, CXXIX., 717. See also Seb. Brunner, Italien, II., 195, and E. Pinchia, Una pagina memorabile del papato (Sisto V.), Portici, 1903, 14.

[6] See Artaud de Montor, IV., 491, 493.

CHAPTER III.

REFORMS IN THE CHURCH—THE POPE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS—THE JESUITS.

THE same great severity which Sixtus V. showed as ruler of the Papal States, was also displayed by him as supreme head of the Church. When, immediately after his election, Cardinal Santori, speaking of the internal reform of the Church, reminded him of the example of Paul IV. and Pius V.,[1] this was all the more pleasing to the new Pope, as he always held Pius V. in the greatest veneration. The reform party was of the opinion that he would surpass even that saintly Pope, as he was by nature far more energetic.[2]

From the very beginning of his pontificate Sixtus V. trod completely in the footsteps of Pius V. in ecclesiastical matters, beginning with Rome itself. During the closing years of the aged Gregory XIII. some of the ancient abuses had once more crept in, even among the clergy; these Sixtus V. was determined to eradicate. On July 29th, 1585, two experienced bishops, Filippo Sega of Piacenza, a friend of Charles Borromeo, and Giulio Ottinelli of Castro, were ordered to make a visitation of all the churches and colleges of Rome.[3] Cesare Speciani, Bishop of Novara, was also summoned to take part in the

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164. *Cf.* the letter of Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi to the Cardinals on the renewal of the Church, August 3, 1586, published by VAUSSARD in *Rev. d'ascetique et de mystique*, V. (1924), 159 *seq.*

[2] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* also the *report of Giulio Masetti of May 15, 1585, State Archives, Modena.

[3] See Acta consist. 842 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of July 27, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

preliminary consultations.[1] Both he and Sega had carried out the reform of their own dioceses very effectively under Gregory XIII.,[2] so that they were well fitted for their new task. They at once presented to the Pope a detailed scheme of their suggestions for the reform of the Roman clergy, the Papal court, and the city of Rome,[3] and began their work during the summer.[4]

How thoroughly their work was done is shown by the fact that among other things all clerics who held benefices were examined minutely as to their personal affairs.[5] When, in the spring of 1586, Sega was sent to the Imperial court, Sixtus V. appointed a new reform commission, composed of six persons.[6] On November 16th, 1587, the Pope was able to announce in the consistory that the Roman clergy of every

[1] *Avviso of June 28, 1585, *ibid.*

[2] See MORONI, XLVIII., 135, LXIII., 203.

[3] *"Questi Monsignori Riformatori nuovamente deputati furono hieri l'altro con N.S. a cui portarono una minuta delle cose che per hora pareva che havessero più bisogno di riforma." Report of Capilupi, dat. Rome, July 31, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The views of Sega are preserved in Ottob. 2473, p. 58. *Parere del vescovo di Piacenza intorno al modo di trattare la riforma di Roma (Vatican Library). This proposes to place the matter in the hands of Cardinals Savelli, Santori and Farnese, and to set up congregations to deal with each subject, a method which, to all appearance, seemed to Sixtus V. too slow.

[4] See *Avviso of August 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. For the visitation of the German College see STEINHUBER, I., 170 *seq.*, for that to the Anima, SCHMIDLIN, 423. The *Relatio status collegii Graeci de urbe ad Sixtum V., in Vat. 5526; the *Relatio status collegii Maronitici in Vat. 5528, Vatican Library. *Acta concerning the visitation of the Roman Seminary in the archives of that seminary. For the visitation of the Lateran basilica, see Gualterius, *Ephemerides, October 5, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] See *Avviso of December 14, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[6] The *Avviso of August 23, 1586, mentions as members of the commission: S. Severina (Santori), Lancelotti, Caetani, Torres, Celso and Borghese. Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

degree had now been changed for the better, so that the Eternal City could with truth be described as the Holy City.[1] At the consistory on April 12th, 1589, he praised the Cardinals for the piety which they had shown during Lent.[2]

In 1585 Sixtus V. appointed the Auditor of the Rota, Ippolito Aldobrandini, as Datary, and later on, in September, 1587, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta.[3] The fact that, in conferring this important office, the Pope had passed over his nephew, was much praised.[4] The delegates of the Datary were given serious warning to the effect that Sixtus V. desired them, as his own servants, to be an example to others.[5] What a severe view the Pope took above all things of anything that savoured of simony, was shown by his instituting an inquiry against the Datary of Gregory XIII., Cardinal Contarelli, who had died on November 28th, 1585, but who had quite undeservedly fallen under suspicion.[6] By a constitution of January 5th, 1589, the bishops were enjoined, under severe penalties, to avoid any sort of simony or other irregularity in conferring orders.[7] On November 26th, 1587, and on October 21st, 1588, Sixtus V. renewed and made more strict the canonical constitutions against illegitimacy and other forms of irregularity, nor did he fail in enforcing them.[8]

With regard to the accumulation of benefices, too, Sixtus V.

[1] See Acta consist., 854.

[2] See *ibid.*, 863.

[3] See MORONI, XIX., 135.

[4] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avviso of January 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *Avvisi of July 16 and August 20, 1786, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. What evidently contributed to the suspicion was the circumstance that Contarelli, as an "oltramontano," as is stated by an Avviso of August 20, 1586, was hated by the Italians, who could not forgive him his rapid promotion. *Cf.* HERRE, 296.

[7] Bull. IX., 63 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 179.

[8] See EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 453 n. *Cf.* SANTORI, *loc. cit.* The constitution was so severe that Gregory XIV. had to mitigate it; see Bull., IX., 392 *seq.*

wished to hold rigorously everywhere to the canonical regulations; in Germany, however, both in this and in other matters, he as well as his representatives, had to allow relaxations so as to avoid greater evils.[1]

In the visitation of Rome the Pope directed his special attention to the reform of the regular clergy.[2] As early as August, 1585, plans were under discussion as to the best way to deal with the wandering about of religious outside their monasteries.[3] It was only in May, 1586, at a meeting held under the presidency of Cardinal Carafa, that a resolution was arrived at which seemed likely to put an end to this abuse.[4]

The visitation of the Roman convents was carried out with equal minuteness and severity.[5] Above all, the enclosure was made more strict by a severe edict,[6] the provisions of which were rigorously insisted upon, even when such powerful princes as the Grand Duke of Tuscany intervened.[7] In October, 1588, a prohibition was issued for Rome against any religious using a carriage in the city.[7] The ambassador of Venice reports that in the spring of 1590 there was an example in Rome of the terrible severity of Sixtus V.; a religious who had had guilty relations with a nun, was executed, and the nun, though she belonged to a noble family, shared the same fate.[9]

[1] *Cf.* HIRN, II., 398 *seq.* and BEZOLD in *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1897, 312.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 27, 1585, and August 23, 1586, Urb, 1053 and 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Capilupi of August 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of August 28, 1595, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Gaulterius, *Ephemerides, August 16, 1585, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[4] See *Avviso of May 7, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso of February 14, 1587, Urb. 1055, *ibid.*

[6] See *Avviso of October 19, 1588, Urb. 1056, *ibid.*

[7] See *Avviso of October 21, 1589, Urb. 1057, *ibid.*

[8] See *Ottob. 2461, p. 454 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[9] See the *report of Alb. Badoer, dat. Rome, April 14, 1590. State Archives, Venice.

A similar procedure was followed in other places besides Rome. The Pope made use of a Theatine for the reform of the monasteries of Salerno, suggested by the indefatigable Cardinal Santori.[1] Very characteristic of the reputation for severity borne by Sixtus V. is the story which is told to this day at Terracina, that he pulled down a relaxed monastery on Monte S. Angelo.[2] How inexorable his procedure was is shown by the acta of the visitation of the Dominican convents in the Kingdom of Naples.[3] In the city of Naples,[4] as elsewhere, e.g. at Ferrara,[5] it was the convents of nuns that were principally aimed at, where the enclosure was badly observed. The religious of the monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga near Venice were urged by the Pope to a stricter observance of their vow of poverty.[6] The superior of the Cassinese Benedictine Congregation was charged in 1586 to reform the convents at Ragusa.[7] In 1589 the Archbishop of Milan was ordered to enforce the enclosure in all the houses of nuns in his diocese.[8] In the same year the Pope charged the Bishops of Calahorra and Palencia to restore the relaxed discipline by making a visitation of all the monasteries in their dioceses.[9]

Two years earlier he had revoked all the permissions granted

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 185.

[2] See CHR. GMEINER in *Hist. pol. Blattern*, CXIX., 332.

[3] *Acta visitationis apost. fratrum ord. praedic. in regno Siciliae de mandato Sixti V. Vat. 6546, Vatican Library.

[4] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 188 *seq.*

[5] See Bull., IX., 248 *seq.*

[6] See Bull., VIII., 651 *seq.* *Cf.* the reform ordinance of Sixtus V. of March 12, 1586, in *Bull. can. reg. congreg. S. Salvatoris*, Rome, 1733, 170 *seq.*

[7] See the *brief to the "praeses congreg. Cassinins." of May, 1586, Archives of Briefs, Rome. For the reform of the Basilian monks near Ragusa, 1588, see GUILLAUME, L'Abbaye de Cava, Cava de' Tirreni, 1877, 324.

[8] See Bull., VIII., 337 *seq.*

[9] See the *briefs to the "episc. Calagurit." and to "Ferdinand. episc. Palentin." April 15, 1589 (sent by order of Sixtus V. on May 16), Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 137b, Papal Secret Archives.

by preceding Popes to enter the enclosure of Spanish nuns.[1] The visitation of the convents of Portuguese nuns was entrusted in 1585 to the bishops of that country.[2] A constitution of 1589 was directed against the abuses that had crept into Portugal in connexion with the celebration of Holy Week.[3] The Pope had already interfered in Rome in the case of similar abuses.[4] Everywhere, in Spain[5] as well as in far off Peru, he insisted on the observance of the Tridentine decrees.[6] His efforts to get them at last accepted in France were unfortunately destined to remain fruitless.[7]

The higher clergy were by no means spared by Sixtus V.; thus, in 1586, the unworthy Bishop of Catania, Vincenzo de Cultellis, was removed from his office.[8] The Pope especially insisted on the observance of the Tridentine decree concerning the residence of bishops. The edict on this subject of October, 1585, was expressed in the strongest terms; no one was to be excepted from this obligation.[9] A similar ordinance was also

[1] See Bull., VIII., 258 *seq.* For the reform of the convents in Spain 1586-1588, *cf.* also Vita di Msgr. Ces. Speciani, Bergamo, 1786, 112 *seq.*

[2] See Bull., VIII., 244 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 343 *seq.*

[4] See the edict of March 1, 1588, mentioned by Gaulterius in his *Ephemerides. *Cf. ibid.* April 14, 1588. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] See Bull., VIII., 275 *seq.*

[6] See Bull., VIII., 96 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* further, *infra*, pp. 302 *seq.* For the ecclesiastical visitation of Avignon see the *briefs of September 13, 1588, to the local authority, the archbishop and the clergy, Arm. 44, t. 29, pp. 53b, 58. Papal Secret Archives.

[8] See Rodocanachi, La Réforme en Italie, II., Paris, 1921, 427.

[9] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, October 25, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* the *reports of Capilupi of October 30 and Nov. 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *Avviso of November 2, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library, and the *letter of Sporeno of November 9, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

urgently pressed on several other occasions,[1] and had very salutary effects. The Pope insisted that even the Cardinals must observe the duty of residence as far as possible.[2] At the beginning of 1587 he again urgently reminded parish-priests of this duty.[3] On August 23rd, 1586, Sixtus V. issued a noble exhortation to the superiors and students of all the seminaries, in which he brought out how the Holy See had always embraced all nations with the same affection.[4]

A decision of great importance concerned the regular visits to be paid by the bishops to Rome. This salutary custom had to a great extent fallen into disuse after the disturbance of the great schism.[5] Pius V. had sought to reintroduce it, but without success.[6] Charles Borromeo, the great reformer, had again enjoined this ancient custom in 1582, in the sixth synod of Milan, but his constitution was naturally limited to Milan.

[1] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*; *Avvisi of March 19 and 22, 1586, and November 15, 1589, Urb. 1054 and 1057, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Lettere di Bernardo Baldi, Parma, 1873, 28. In Castille the clergy protested against a brief of Sixtus V., in that for breaches of the obligation of residence he imposed more severe penalties than those laid down by the Council of Trent, see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España, I., Rome, 1915, 52. The Bishop of Como, Fel. Ninguarda, was very active; *cf.* Atti di visita pastorale diocesana di F. Ninguarda P 1, Como, 1892-1894.

[2] See the *Avvisi of January 14, 1587, and January 31, 1590, Urb. 1055 and 1058, Vatican Library, and Bull., VIII., 1023 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Attilio Malegnani of January 17, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, in App. n. 12.

[4] *Brevia Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, n. 52, p. 231; "Praefectis et alumnis nostrorum et aliorum cath. seminariorum" (Papal Secret Archives); text in App. n. 8. For the interest taken by Sixtus V. in the colleges of the various nations in Rome see ENSES-MEISTER, I., 104; for the subsidy of Sixtus V. to the seminary of Venice, PIERLING, II., 314.

[5] See the accurate description of I. PATER, Die bischöfl. Visitatio liminum ss. Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1914, 80 *seqq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, 86 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*

It was reserved for the great organizer, Sixtus V., to extend this reform to the whole Church.

At the end of November, 1585, the news ran through Rome that the Pope intended to renew the *Visitatio liminum SS. apostolorum*, or the regular visits of the bishops to the tomb of the Apostles.[1] About a month later, on December 20th, the bull which prepared the way for this made its appearance.[2]

Beginning with a statement of the supreme authority of the Pope over all the bishops, and the obvious usefulness of a regular system of information, the Pope, in the introduction to this document, bitterly laments that so salutary and necessary a custom had fallen into disuse, some adducing one pretext and others another, to the great harm of their own souls and of their dioceses. To the abandonment of this salutary custom Sixtus V. directly attributes the origin and spread of the most dangerous heterodox doctrines by which the Church had been disturbed and the garment of Christ torn. Inspired therefore by the heavy responsibilities of his office as supreme pastor, he renews the ordinance that all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and even the Cardinals, before they receive consecration or the pallium, or before they undertake the charge of a new diocese, must personally, and within a definite period, visit the *Limina Apostolorum*. In the case of their being prevented by good reasons, they may send a representative from their chapter, or some other ecclesiastical dignitary, who only in a case of necessity may be replaced by some other priest or religious of the diocese. At the same time the Pope for the first time gives definite though brief instructions as to what was, besides the *obedientia*, undoubtedly the most important part of the visit to the tomb of the Apostles; the bishops must, on this occasion, make a

[1] See the *report of Capilupi, Rome, November 30, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Bull., VIII., 641, *seq.* The bull has also been printed several times elsewhere e.g. in LUCIDI, De visitatione s. liminum instructio S. C. Concilii edita iussu Benedicti XIII. exposita et illustrata, III., Rome, 1883, 1 *seq.*, and in CAPELLO, De vistatione ss. liminum dioeceseon. I., Rome, 1912, 9 *seq.*

report as to all their pastoral duties, and as to everything concerning the state of the church entrusted to them, the discipline of clergy and people, and lastly the state of the souls entrusted to their care, and in return receive the apostolic mandate to fulfil their duty as carefully as possible. At the same time Sixtus V. lays down the period of time for these visits to Rome, according to the distance of the dioceses. The bishops of Italy, the neighbouring islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and of Dalmatia and Greece, must undertake this journey every three years; the Germans, French, Spaniards, Belgians, Bohemians, Hungarians, English, Scottish, Irish, and other European bishops of the north and west, and those of the Mediterranean islands, every four years; those of other more distant regions of Europe, of the African coasts, and of the islands on the eastern side of the American continent, every five years; all the others every ten years. Any who failed to fulfil this grave duty were to be at once suspended, and forfeit their revenues until they had obtained absolution.

This regular appearance of all the bishops or their representatives before the Pope, which was brought about by the renewal and restoration of the visits to Rome, was intended to give him exact information as to the religious conditions of all the nations, and at making possible a more practical and well-informed intervention in every religious development. At the same time the new ordinance caused the bishops to keep a closer watch over the spiritual welfare of their subjects, and urged them to a keener sense of duty.[1] It is obvious how important all this was for bringing the bishops into more intimate contact with their supreme head, and for bringing about a deeper and more uniform transformation of religious conditions, in accordance with the spirit of the Tridentine decrees.[2] Its salutary effects were very quickly seen, especially in Germany, where the great development of the

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, XIX. *seq.*

[2] See PATER, *loc. cit.*, 6; DENGEL in *Quellen u. Forsch. zur Gesch. Tirols*, IV. (1907), 311.

Church coincides with the putting into force of this decree.[1] Thus this enactment of Sixtus V. forms a turning point and a powerful factor of Catholic reform, the importance of which can never be sufficiently appreciated.[2]

Sixtus V. was no less firmly convinced of the importance of the nuncios than his predecessor. Among the papers of his secretary there was found the draft of some instructions for the representatives of the Holy See at the foreign courts, which shows the ideas prevalent at that time in the Curia, and the efforts that were made to cope with the needs of the times. The nuncio, these instructions state, must carefully inform himself as to his duties, and study the history of the nation to which he is sent, as well as the correspondence of his predecessor. The representative of the Holy See is also urged to exercise care in the choice of his suite, some of whom should belong to the nation to which he is going, to employ courtesy

[1] *Cf.* more fully Vol. XXII. of this work, chapter II. Philip II. negotiated with Sixtus V. that the Spanish bishops might not be obliged to make their visit ad Limina in person. The acta concerning this, for the years 1586-1589 in the archives of the Spanish embassy, Rome; see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de Espana, I., 52. *Lettera del archvescovo della città dei Re nell' Indie to the Pope, September 8, 1588. Dimanda licenza di visitare limina Apostolorum per procuratore in Roma. Et perche la sua diocesi è grandissima et non gli vuol manco di sette anni a visitarla, supplica che li sia concesso tanto tempo. Ha consecrato il vescovo di Panama con l'assistentia di tre canonici, essendo difficilissimo haver altri vescovi per la grande lontanaza, et questo ha fatto fondato sul privilegio concesso per breve da Pio 4to alle Indie di poter far la consacrazione con l'assistenza di due dignità o di due canonici; anchora che l'eletto di Panama havesse presentato la bolla spedita da Roma nella forma solita, nella quale si diceva che consecrasse con l'assistenza di dui vescovi, nella qual bolla poiche non si faceva mentione del privilegio di Pio 4to ne se gli derogasse, per consiglio de iuristi et di theologi, usò del privilegio del breve. Per l'avvenire desidera dechiaratione come si havrà da governare in simili occasioni per sicurità di sua conscienza . . . Princ. 46 p. 448, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, XX.

and kindness to all, and to show modesty and prudence in his relations with the court. He must combine dignity with zeal, severity with gentleness; he must be severe with himself, and above all lead a life of piety, often saying mass, and several times a year giving communion to those about him. Besides living in as much retirement as possible, the nuncio is urged to be completely disinterested. He must aim at neither benefices nor honours, he must give his support to good works, and live in accordance with his rank, though without any worldly pomp. Questions of religion must always take the first place in his interests, and he must often and truthfully send reports as to these to Rome.[1]

Sixtus V. must be given the credit for having reintroduced the feast of the Presentation of Our Lady (November 21st).[2] It was he, too, who in 1587, by the granting of an indulgence, gave to the so-called Litanies of Loreto, which are so beautiful, and drawn from the Marian poetry of the Middle Ages, their pre-eminence over other similar prayers.[3]

At the very beginning of his pontificate he had prohibited all applause in church.[4] It was an imposture which a hermit allowed himself in connexion with a crucifix, which led the

[1] *The minute in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. With regard to the use of the faculties, it is stated: *Se ha facoltà di collationi et di dispense et di simili gratie come tutti ordinariamente hanno eccetto il Nuntio in Francia la adoperi con carità et gravità et non solo senza avaritia, ma con odio di guadagnare proponendosi per grandissimo honore il ritornar niente più ricco di quello che era quando vi andò. The greediness for money on the part of the nuncios contributed to the beginnings of the religious innovations.

[2] See BÄUMER, 480.

[3] *Cf.* A. DE SANTI, Les Litanies de la s. Vierge, trad. par A. Boudinhon, Paris, 1901, 205. Santi shows that the actual text of the Litany of Loreto appeared for the first time in 1576 in a vademecum for pilgrims to Loreto.

[4] The date missing in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54 (May 17, 1585) is clear from the *Ephemerides of Gualterius, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

Pope to order its being broken in pieces.[1] An important step towards the revival of religious life in Rome, was the restoration of the ancient custom by which the Pope himself celebrated High Mass in the various principal churches of the Eternal City on the more solemn festivals. A bull of February 13th, 1586, regulated this practice in detail. The custom by which the Pope inaugurated his pontificate by the promulgation of an extraordinary Jubilee to implore the divine assistance was also due to Sixtus V.[2]

In 1586 the Pope celebrated the canonization of the Dominican, Louis Bertrand,[3] and in 1588 that of the Franciscan lay-brother, Diego de Alcalà.[4] Just as Pius V. had added St. Thomas Aquinas to the four Doctors of the Church, so did Sixtus V. confer the same extraordinary honour on his fellow Franciscan, St. Bonaventure. In the bull of March 14th, 1588, which announced this, he spoke of that great scholastic as one of the greatest and most brilliant doctors who shone in the Church.[5] To promote the study of the works of Bonaventure the Pope set up at SS. Apostoli in Rome, the college named after that saint, which was to serve as a house of studies for the Franciscan Conventuals.[6] The Pope felt

[1] From this came the proverb: Papa Sisto non la perdonó neppure a Cristo. (BESSO, Roma nei proverbi, Rome, 1889, 141).

[2] See MORONI, VIII., 141, *seq.*, 210.

[3] See Acta consist. 846. *Cf.* *Avviso of June 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[4] See besides the *Diarium Alaleonis, July 2, 1586 (Vatican Library), the *Avvisi of June 13 and July 2, 1588, Urb. 1056, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1436, n. 25; Bull., IX., 8 *seq.*; BONNANI, I., 407; BREMOND, 271 *seq.*

[5] Bull., VIII., 1005 *seq.* *Cf.* *Diarium Alaleonis, March 14, 1588, Vatican Library. LAMMER, Melet., 232 *seq.*; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 179. See also KNELLER in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1916, 39. The allocation of Sixtus V. at the consistory of October 12, 1587, in Acta consist. 853 *seq.*, and in compendium in *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, XI., 853 *seq.*

[6] See MORONI, XIV., 150 *seq.*, LXXV., 228, LXXXV., 193; HOLZAPFEL, 605. The "Constitutiones collegii S. Bonaven-

his connexion with the Order to which he had belonged so strongly that he would often, in his private apartments, put on once more the habit of St. Francis.[1] He showed his interest in and his zeal for the work of the Poverello of Assisi by numerous favours and concessions to Franciscan institutions, and by preference promoted Franciscans to bishoprics.[2] But however much inclined he was to that Order, he did not for that reason neglect the others. The Feuillants, who had sprung from the Cistercians, owed their approbation to him, as did the Augustinian Hermits of Centorba, the Hospitallers of St. Hippolytus, the Clerks Regular Minor, and the Fathers of a Good Death.[3]

To the Feuillants, who were distinguished for their great austerity, the Pope assigned a convent of their own near S. Pudenziana.[4] He allowed the Fathers of a Good Death to collect alms in the Eternal City. The life of the founder of that congregation, which did so much for both bodies and souls in the hospitals and private houses, is closely bound up with Rome. Its beginnings were very chequered. Born in the year of Jubilee, 1550, at Bucchianico in the Abruzzi, not

turae" in the *Miscell. Valenti, 846, n. 1, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, and in WADDING, XXII., 190-194. The revenues and the library were seized by the Italian government in 1873.

[1] *Cf.* *Sixtus V. P. M., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* See also HOLZAPFEL, 426, 454, 554, 599, 677 and SPARACIO, 95, *seqq.* The bull forbidding the Observants to enter the Order of the Capuchins in Bull. VIII., 657 *seq.* *Ibid.* 931 *seq.* confirmation of the privileges of the Observants. For the favour shown to the Minims see D. TACCONE-GALLUCCI, Monografia del santuario di S. Francesco di Paola, Reggio di Calabria, 1901, 25.

[3] *Cf.* Bull. VIII., 700 *seq.*, 945 *seq.*, IX., 5 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 241, 453, 496, II., 264, 270. The Theatines, who had hitherto been governed by their chapter, were ordered by Sixtus V. to elect a General. The Pope also showed favour to the Barnabites; see, Litt. et constit. Summorum Pontificum pro congreg. cler. regul. S. Pauli, Rome, 1853, 56 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso of September 12, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

far from Chieti, Camillus of Lellis,[1] the son of a noble soldier in the service of Charles V., having become an orphan, himself embraced a military career. For seven years he took part in the war against the Turks in the service of the Republic of Venice. Although he remained unharmed by the cruel pillaging and the moral excesses to which the wild soldiery who had been recruited for that purpose gave themselves up, yet during that period he acquired such a passion for the vice of gambling that he lost all he possessed. Having fallen into the greatest poverty he was driven at last to seek a livelihood as a labourer on the building of the Capuchin convent at Manfredonia. This humiliation, added to the example of the Capuchins, made him enter into himself. He entered the Order, but the reopening of a wound in his foot, on account of which he had already been in the hospital of S. Giacomo, obliged his superiors to send him away. He then went for the second time to the same hospital, where, after his cure, he held various offices during four years. During this time he was brought into close contact with Philip Neri, and resolved once more to join the Capuchins, but as his wound again broke out, he had once more to be sent away. He returned to the hospital of S. Giacomo, and there filled the office of house-porter. The heartless treatment of the invalids by the infirmarians, whom it was his duty to assist, led him to form the idea of founding an association of infirmarians, who should take charge of their poor suffering brethren from the love of God alone. So that they might be able to assist the sick, not only corporally but also spiritually, the association

[1] For Camillus of Lellis *cf.* the works of Sanzio Cicatelli (Viterbo, 1615, and Naples, 1627; republished by Pantaleone Dolera 1742, 1837 and 1882 [Engl. transl., London, 1850]), Dom Regi (Naples, 1676), Luis Muñoz (Madrid, 1693), Guardi (Rome, 1846, German translation, Ratisbon, 1858), Trambusti (Rome, 1860), Justin Fèvre (Paris, 1885), Wilh. Bäumker (Frankfort a.M., 1887), M. Amici (Mem. stor. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis, Rome, 1913), and the beautiful biography published for the third centenary of the saint's death by the German Fathers of St. Camillus, Freiburg, 1914.

was to be formed of priests and laymen. For that purpose, though he was thirty-two years of age, Camillus resolved to begin his studies, and in 1584 was ordained priest; he was given the office of chaplain in the little church of S. Maria dei Miracoli in the Piazza del Popolo. There he founded, with others of like ideas as himself, an association of infirmarians. Cardinal Cusano, the protector of the hospital of S. Giacomo, as well as Philip Neri, did not approve of this; they wished to retain the valuable services of Camillus for that hospital. When the latter remained firm in his purpose, Philip Neri gave up his spiritual direction, and referred him to another father of the Oratory. Camillus bore this trial with the utmost submission, and went on with his work, though he was once more hampered by an illness. He was given a house in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure by the Lombard, Pompeo Barattelli,[1] which was not exposed to the inundations of the Tiber, as was that where he had hitherto dwelt. In 1585 he removed thither with his company. Camillus now added to the duties imposed upon the members of his society the obligation of giving corporal and above all spiritual assistance in the hour of death to those who were ill in private houses. The ready charity and self-sacrifice with which Camillus and his companions fulfilled this office won for them from the people the honourable title of the "Fathers of a Good Death."

Camillus had carried on his labours for two years when, through the influence of Cardinal Laureo his congregation received the Papal approbation. In the brief issued by Sixtus V. on March 18th, 1586, it is said that among all the works of Christian charity none is more pleasing to the Divine Redeemer than the assistance of the poor and abandoned sick in the hospitals, and that Camillus and his companions had devoted themselves to that task with the zeal and charity that only a mother can show for her children. Since these men wish to lead a common life in poverty, chastity and obedience, without binding themselves by vow, in order to serve God and the sick, the Pope approves and confirms their society under the name of the "Congregation for the assistance

[1] *Cf.* Amici, Mem. stor., 14 *seq.*, 16.

of the sick," and permits them to collect alms in Rome, and if they are approved by the Cardinal Vicar, to hear the confessions of the sick in the hospitals.[1] On June 26th of the same year the Pope further authorized the members to bear a red cross upon their mantles.

When Camillus had been chosen head of the congregation by an unanimous vote, he obtained in 1586, through the influence of Felice Colonna, a larger building near the church of the Maddelena,[2] which has remained the mother house of the congregation. At Naples, where Camillus founded a second house in 1588, his society had at once to pass through the ordeal of fire, for in the same year the plague broke out there.[3] The "Fathers of a Good Death" were even more severely taxed in the years that followed the death of Sixtus V., when Rome was visited by the terrible pestilence. It is easy to understand how, later on, Camillus of Lellis, together with Philip Neri, was venerated as the protector of Rome.

Although the attempt made by Sixtus V. to effect a union between the Franciscan Observants and the Capuchins, together with the other reformed branches of the Order, failed,[4] just as formerly similar attempts made by Pius V. had failed, the Pope nevertheless remained very favourably inclined towards the Capuchins.[5] Together with the other excellent qualities which distinguished these friends of the people, he openly and in a special way valued the fact that their theologians almost entirely followed the teaching of

[1] See Bull., VIII., 669 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Amici, Mem. stor., 213.

[3] *Cf.* F. Ceva-Grimaldi, Della città di Napoli, Naples, 1857.

[4] See Holzapfel, 311. An *Avviso of March 1, 1586 reports the fears entertained from this union, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[5] For the relations of Sixtus V. with the Capuchins *cf.*, besides Boverius, II., 949 *seq.*, Bull. Capucc., II., 286, 337 *seq.*, 367, III., 117, *seq.* For the great increase of the members of the Capuchin Order *cf.* the letter of May 27, 1587 in *Lettere di B. Baldi*, Parma, 1873, 40.

St. Bonaventure.[1] Among the many holy men who at that time were to be found in the Capuchin Order,[2] three stood out in particular: Girolamo da Narni, Felice da Cantalice and Giuseppe da Leonessa. Girolamo Mantini da Narni,[3] in company with Panigarola the Minorite, and the Jesuit Toledo, was renowned as a preacher. These three on several occasions had the honour of preaching before the Pope and the Cardinals[4].

Felice da Cantalice,[5] who came from the mountains of Umbria, and was born in 1515, had until he was thirty years of age led the hard life of a husbandman in that country. Having been happily saved from a grave danger of death from two mad bulls, he made a vow to enter the strict Order of the Capuchins. After he had passed through his year of probation in an exemplary way, he was finally admitted to the Order. His superiors sent him to Rome where he filled the difficult office of a begging brother. For about forty years, every day except Sundays and Festivals, Fra Felice could be met in the streets, with his wallet on his shoulders and the peace of God in his heart, and with only one reply for every little gift as well as for insults and mockery: the words "Deo Gratias," which are so frequently to be found in the Holy Scriptures

[1] See *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VII²., 130. For the "Summa ad mentem s. Bonaventurae" by the Capuchin, Petrus Trigosus (I., Rome, 1593) see HURTER, Nomenclator, I., 46 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, II., *seqq.*

[3] For Girolamo Mantini (died 1632) *cf. Script. ord. Min., Rome*, 1650, 172; RANKE, II⁸., 298. *Predica fatta da Fra Girolamo Mantini da Narni, vicario generale dell'Ord. dei Cappuccini, nel palazzo Apost. nel venerdi della domenica II di quaresima, in Cod. ital. 70 p. 1-10, Munich Library.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of December 7, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the Lenten sermons of Panigarola at St. Peter's, and the great crowds that he attracted, see the *report of Attilio Malegnani February 11 and 18, 1587, *ibid.* *Cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 303 *seq.*

[5] See MATTH. SALO (O.C.), Vita Felicis; *Acta Sanct.*, Maii 21. *Cf.* AUG. DE LOSSI, Vita, Rome, 1712; CAPECELATRO, F. Neri, 266 *seq.*; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, III²., 1915 *seq.*; GOYAU, Figurines Franciscaines, Paris, 1921.

and which the Church uses repeatedly at mass, and which were above all in use among the early Christians. Fra Felice was known throughout Rome as "Fra Deo Gratias," and with Philip Neri was the most original and popular figure in the city. The people realized the sanctity of this man, who had the humility and the glad serenity of St. Francis, and recommended themselves to his prayers, attributing to him the gifts of prophecy and of healing the sick. When he died on the Feast of Pentecost in 1587, an enormous crowd of people flocked to see his body, which was venerated as that of a saint.[1] Everyone wished to possess a relic of him. Sixtus V., too, was among the sincere admirers of this man so loved by God, and gave orders for the introduction and hastening of the process of his canonization. After this, he wished to have his mortal remains removed to S. Mary Major's.[2]

Two years after the death of Fra Felice, another Capuchin came to Rome, who became the object of a like veneration; this was Giuseppe da Leonessa, who had been born in 1556. Even as a novice he had been an example of the perfect religious; in 1587 his superiors sent him to Pera, where, a year before, the Jesuits, who were working there as missionaries, had been carried off by the plague. Together with two other religious, and filled with zeal for the spiritual well-being of the Catholics living there among the Mahometans, and of the Greek schismatics, as well as of the many prisoners, Giuseppe da Leonessa, following the example of St. Francis, conceived the daring idea of converting the sultan. Having fallen into the hands of the guards of the Grand Turk, he was

[1] See the *Avvisi of May 20, 23 and 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library (*cf.* ORBAAN, 296; DEJOB, 83), and the *letter of Malegnani of May 20, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Malegnani of June 24, 1587, *ibid.* *Cf.* also the *Avviso of August 20, 1588, Urb. 1056, Vatican Library, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 178. The beatification of Felix did not take place until 1625, nor his solemn canonization by Clement XI. till 1712. His body is buried in the church of the Capuchins in Rome, S. Maria della Concezione, in the fourth chapel on the left side.

condemned to a slow and painful death; for three days he remained hanging to a beam, with his left hand and his right foot fastened to it by chains. Having been miraculously released, he returned home with all the merits of martyrdom, which through no fault of his had not been consummated. Sixtus V. welcomed him with joy as a confessor of the name of Jesus. For another twenty years Giuseppe da Leonessa laboured as a preacher of penance in Umbria with true apostolic zeal, and the gifts of prophecy and healing the sick were attributed to him. Towards the end of his life, having been attacked by a terrible cancer, he had to submit to a double operation. When it was proposed to bind his limbs tightly for the purpose, he said, pointing to the crucifix: "There is the strongest of all bonds; He will keep me without movement better than a cord." He died, as he had foretold, on February 4th, 1612.[1]

The relations of Sixtus V. with the Jesuits call for a fuller account. With him there began for the Society of Jesus a period of disturbance when the ideas of the founder had to be defended against hostility and opposition even from within the Order itself.

The institute of Loyola meant something completely new in the religious life. In drawing up his rule, the actual constitution was never the decisive factor with Ignatius, but always its purpose, that is to say his intention of placing at the disposition of the Church a body of workers fitted for the actual and pressing needs of the pastoral life. Even though certain things had not yet found acceptance among any of the religious Orders, he nevertheless imposed them if they served that purpose. If on the other hand, other things had been accepted as laws by all the existing Orders, he left them out, if they were not adapted to that purpose. In this way he did not hesitate even in face of the accepted ecclesiastical law;

[1] Giuseppe da Leonessa was beatified in 1737, and canonized by Benedict XIV. in 1746. For him see LECHNER, Leben der Heiligen aus dem Kapuzinorden, I., Munich, 1863, 81 *seqq.*; ILG, Geist des hl. Franziskus Seraph., II., Augsburg, 1879, 175 *seq.*; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VI², 1869 *seq.*

the Pope, he said, has the power of dispensing for the very purpose of providing a remedy in such cases. Even in the expressions he used may be seen this prudent attitude towards the ecclesiastical laws of the time. The Society of Jesus has no General Chapter, nor convents, nor abbots, nor priors, like the existing Orders, but in their place a General Congregation, colleges and houses, rectors and superiors; in the same way the language and the enactments of Canon Law hitherto in use could not be blindly applied in the case of the new Order. It was the Popes who, with far-sighted vision, welcomed the ideas of Loyola and made their fulfilment possible. Vincent of Paul, Alphonsus Liguori, and the founders of many missionary congregations of later times, followed on the same lines. It was to the great advantage of the Church that the ideas of Loyola met with approval, but it is easy to understand that it was only after a prolonged struggle that they were enabled to become established. The opposition arose above all from the ancient Orders, and it was certainly not chance alone that led all the Popes of the sixteenth century who were members of religious Orders to think that it was their duty to alter the work of Loyola in certain essential points; this was the case with the Theatine Paul IV., the Dominican Pius V., and as will be seen, the Franciscan Sixtus V.

From 1582 onwards it was above all certain Dominicans who, as though of set purpose, revived against the Jesuits the old attacks of their brother in religion, Melchior Cano.[1] Above all the attacks upon the vows of the Society of Jesus are of general importance because of their canonical effects.

From the time of the Middle Ages there had been a general distinction between simple vows, those which are of their very nature solemn and those which are so because of their special juridical effects. The vow of chastity, for example, if it was simple, only rendered marriage unlawful, but if it was solemn, also invalid. By taking a solemn vow of poverty, a man was rendered incapable of possessing anything, whereas if he had taken a simple vow of poverty the possession of property was only unlawful. St. Thomas Aquinas had taught that it was

[1] Astráin, III., 1, 250-346.

essential to the religious state that the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience should be made solemnly; Ignatius, on the other hand, introduced solemn vows into his Order only in the case of the professed, while for all the others, and especially the students, he only prescribed simple vows, though his institute was nevertheless a religious Order. Papal bulls had approved such an institute.

In 1582 it happened that a young Jesuit at Avila, the son of a distinguished family, after the death of his elder brother, left the Order and married. The fugitive found a defender in Diego Peredo, a professor of theology in the Dominican convent at Avila. Because of their simple vows, he maintained, the Jesuit students did not become religious. In the case of the violation of such vows, the superior of the Order had no right to interfere judicially, since any bishop could dispense from them.[1] Similar opinions were maintained at the University of Salamanca,[2] and accordingly the General of the Jesuits, Claudio Aquaviva, asked from Gregory XIII. a bull containing the express declaration that the students of the Jesuit Order, once they had taken their simple vows, were religious, and had been so in the past.[3]

Under the pretext that the Pope had spoken, not as the head of the Church, but as a private doctor, Peredo continued to uphold his view.[4] Especially so as to prevent its spread in the universities of Spain, the Jesuits again made a complaint in Rome, so that the nuncio in Spain received orders to address a strongly worded warning to Peredo and to issue a brief condemning his thesis in the universities of Salamanca and Alcalà. Aquaviva replied to the complaints of the Dominican provincial, Cuevas,[5] that if the views of Peredo prevailed, the Society of Jesus could no longer be considered an Order, but only a simple congregation or confraternity,

[1] *Ibid.*, 268 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 270.

[3] Bull "Quanto fructuosius," February 1, 1583, Bull. VIII., 406 *seqq.* (the date of the bull there has been arbitrarily changed.

[4] Astráin, 271.

[5] July 15, 1583, *ibid.* 276 *seq.*

and that nothing but the decision of the Pope could provide a remedy. Prompted by this conviction, Aquaviva obtained from Gregory XIII. the celebrated bull *Ascendente Domino* of May 25th, 1584,[1] which is of great importance, not only for the Jesuit Order, but for all canon law concerning religious. The simple vows of the Jesuits, this bull states, are true religious vows, and constitute true religious. Anyone who attacked the institute of the Society of Jesus, or called into question the decisions of the bull would fall at once under excommunication.

Peredo now maintained that the Papal bull had not been sufficiently promulgated, and with his supporters continued to make covert attacks upon the new Order, even after his Provincial had severely rebuked him for his obstinacy in the chapter. When Sixtus V. ascended the throne his hopes revived, and at the end of 1586 he went to Rome to take up once more the discussion of the controversy. On January 24th, 1590, a decree of the Inquisition laid it down that the theses standing in the name of Peredo which had been condemned had been justly rejected, but Peredo managed to get the condemnation pronounced against himself revoked, as those theses did not find a place in his writings.[2]

The questions at issue with Peredo were certainly not calculated to reconcile the adversaries of the Jesuits among the Dominicans. It was a bitter blow for the members of the Order of Preachers, the recognized representative of the true faith and of ecclesiastical science, when the theological teaching of one of their number was condemned in both the Spanish universities by a public sentence ; this implied, they thought, the clothing of the whole Order with the " Sanbenito " (the dress of those condemned to death for heresy).[3] The tension was added to by a dispute with the leading professor of theology at Salamanca, the celebrated theologian and valued

[1] Bull. VIII., 457 *seqq.*

[2] ASTRÁIN, 281-287.

[3] *Ibid.* 275. " Li frati dominicani hanno sentito terribilmente questa bastonata," wrote the nuncio on May 26, 1584, *ibid.*

counsellor of St. Teresa, Domenico Bañes.[1] Aquaviva had warned his followers only to speak of the bull *Ascendente* in case of necessity.[2] It would appear that Bañes himself had not heard of it, because, at a public disputation on December 13th, 1589, he revived the old thesis that solemn vows were indispensable for the religious state.[3] When Bañes in the same year 1589 had very plainly described the Society of Jesus in a work of his as the least perfect Order, because it did not practise exterior austerities, and allowed himself to make an attack upon the Exercises, the Jesuits kept silence ;[4] but now they sent a courier with all speed to the nuncio, begging him to intervene. During the night before the disputation a brief arrived prohibiting the said thesis, and on the following day the disputation had hardly been begun in the crowded hall when a notary with some legal officials made their appearance and read aloud the nuncio's prohibition of the thesis before the rector, the professors, the scholars of the city, and all the students.[5]

Bañes by no means admitted defeat. He first tried to win over to his side the university, and then the court and the nuncio. But the Jesuits for their part were not inactive, and no one cared to take up the hopeless cause of Bañes.[6] At last, on February 2nd, 1590, he wrote to Sixtus V., asking to have his doubts cleared up, and claiming that there was no contradiction between his thesis and the bull of Gregory XIII., cleverly appealing in his defence to an expression not quite accurately drawn from a document of Sixtus V. himself. But all was in vain, and on July 14th, 1590, the Inquisition decided against Bañes ; the Pope's death, however, prevented the publication of the sentence until February, 1591.[7] Before the publication of his thesis in 1589 Bañes had already trans-

[1] *Ibid.* 288-306.
[2] *Ibid.* 281.
[3] *Ibid.* 292.
[4] *Ibid.* 290 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.* 293 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.* 295-303.
[7] *Ibid.* 303-306.

lated the work of his colleague Juan de Orellana, according to which the Jesuits did not observe the seal of confession, made use of the confessional for the exterior direction of the members of the Society, and abused the evangelical precept of fraternal correction.[1]

To these matters, which principally concerned scholars, there were added attacks from the pulpit. The Dominican, Alonso de Avendaño, from 1577 onwards preached for seventeen years against the new Order, which, however, he naturally never mentioned by name. He went so far as to assert that since the foundation of the Church, the devil had never found a better instrument with which to combat her; the Jesuits were secret heretics, hypocrites and pharisees.[2] If he met any Jesuit he made the sign of the Cross,[3] while other Dominicans took part in the fight against the Society of Jesus. In a protest to Gregory XIII.[4] Aquaviva spoke of the disputes that had taken place, and were taking place every day, and asked for the intervention of the Pope against this deep-seated evil. In spite of all the warnings of the Pope, the nuncios, and the superiors of the Dominican Order, the attacks continued until the end of the century.

In spite of this, however, these attacks did not imply any hostility on the part of the Dominicans as such to the new Order.[5] The Provincial of Castille, de Las Cuevas, was sincerely well-disposed towards the Society of Jesus, and did all he could to put an end to the disputes.[6] He expressly bore witness to the fact that many distinguished members of his Order were the friends of the Society of Jesus.[7] A man like Alonso de Avendaño was looked upon as a madman even by his own fellow-religious.[8] But even though this hostility was

[1] *Ibid.* 328 *seqq.*, 340.
[2] *Ibid.* 318. SCORRAILLE, I., 264 *seqq.*
[3] SCORRAILLE, I., 273.
[4] *Cf.* August 27, 1582, ASTRÁIN, 254.
[5] *Ibid.* 252.
[6] *Ibid.* 255 *seq.*; 265 *seqq.*; 271 *seqq.*
[7] *Ibid.* 265.
[8] *Ibid.* 320.

only the work of a few individuals of that distinguished Order, it could not be a matter of indifference to the Jesuits. "The Order of St. Dominic," wrote the nuncio in Spain, Camillo Gaetano, in 1594,[1] "enjoys for the most part the highest reputation, both because it contains men of extraordinary learning in all the universities and convents, and because the confessors of the king and the princes are almost always chosen from that Order, and confessors have much authority in Spain. Therefore these fathers have much influence over the Spanish government in civil as well as religious matters."

Much more dangerous to the institute of Loyola, however, than any external hostility were the differences that arose within the Order itself. There too the ideas of the founder had not been grasped by all. To some of them Ignatius was too severe; these were especially dissatisfied because he had made constitutions, a thing which hampered liberty of spirit; they would have wished for a life modelled upon that of canons.[2] Others, on the other hand, wished for greater severity in their external manner of life, for the preponderance of prayer over pastoral work, for greater retirement from the world, and in general for a closer approach to the spirit and forms of monachism. Simon Rodriguez was not the only representative of this school of thought. Ignatius had been obliged on many occasions to fight against it, and he opposed it with iron severity.

It is strange to see how the forces which had gained ground against the work of Loyola under the generalate of Mercurian, and still more under that of Aquaviva, combined the principal features of both these tendencies. The ease with which the Jesuits in Portugal and Spain had found access to the court and the upper classes had led in the case of some of them to an approach to the spirit of the court; these wished for more liberty and for greater comfort, and they were discontented with the great powers which Ignatius had given to the General of the Order. It was especially the latter who, well aware of

[1] *Ibid.* 251 *seq.*

[2] O. Manarei, De rebus Societatis Iesu commentarius, Florence, 886, III.

conditions in Spain, but by no means led away by Spanish ideas and influence, steadily insisted upon the observance of the constitutions of the Order, and chose the subordinate superiors according to their own judgment, and not according to the wishes of the malcontents. These wished for a special representative of the General for Spain, who should live in Spain, and that the appointment of the subordinate superiors should be made in accordance with the majority of the votes of the subjects. Special discontent was caused by another enactment of Loyola, which called for a greater degree of humility than was possessed by many of them: this was the distinction between the professed and the coadjutors. According to the wishes of the malcontents, in future all were to be admitted to solemn vows as a matter of course after they had spent a certain number of years in religion, and thus it would no longer be in the power of the General to postpone or refuse the profession of anyone.

In putting forward these proposed reforms the malcontents were very far from making any attempt to show that the constitutions of Loyola were unsuited to their purpose or imperfect; on the contrary they extolled the institute of the Society of Jesus in the highest terms, as being holy and perfect, but rather declared that the present degenerate times were no longer capable of such great heights, and that what was required was that the institute of Loyola should be tempered to human weakness.[1] In truth the advocates of the suggested reform, when they are examined more closely, are all but indifferent examples of religious.[2]

As a further reason for the adoption of their suggestons, they called attention to the institutions and customs of other

[1] Thus wrote Francisco Abreo, one of the chief defenders of the "reform": "The institution of the Society, as left by Ignatius of Loyola, its founder, is in itself so lofty, perfect and in conformity with the Gospel, that it needs holy men, of true and deep humility, simplicity, veracity, frankness and fear of God, of angelic and apostolic purity and perfection, and who are detached from themselves and from all earthly things." ASTRÁIN, 419.

[2] *Ibid.* 352-364.

Orders. Especially with regard to the demand for a separate superior, who should be independent of the General in Rome, a similar suggestion was put forward for all the Orders in Spain in the time of Philip II. The reason for this request for independence lay in the distrust of Rome felt by the Spaniards, and in the idea that they had formed of the purity of their own Catholicism. In their opinion no one understood or felt true Catholicism better than the Spaniard; the King of Spain was the Catholic King, and the arms and influence of Spain the one safe support of the Catholic Church in the world.[1] From contact with the other nations, even indirectly by way of Rome, the Spaniard looked for nothing but injury to the purity of his faith, and a memorial of the time demanded for all the branches of the religious Orders in Spain, Generals who were independent of Rome, because otherwise they would be threatened with the danger of heresy.[2] As far as dogma was concerned the Spanish theologians undoubtedly defended the privileges of the Vicar of Christ with all zeal, but they had such exaggerated ideas of the corruption of the court of Rome that all the decrees of Rome were received with distrust, and Melchior Cano went so far as to say that anyone who looked for any improvement from Rome knew very little about Rome.[3]

Similar ideas made their way among the Spanish Jesuits by means of the first Spanish Provincial, Antonio Araoz, who even in the time of Loyola had been dissatisfied with the management of the Order in Rome, and in the time of Lainez had disapproved of the office of General lasting for life, and wished the rectors and provincials in Spain to be appointed by election, besides demanding a chapter-general on Spanish soil.[4]

The first steps to obtain a change in the constitutions of the Order were made at the time when the nuncio Ormaneto was reforming the Spanish Orders by the Pope's command.[5] Two

[1] *Ibid.* 100.
[2] *Ibid.* 103; *cf.* 115.
[3] *Ibid.* 100.
[4] *Ibid.* 101.
[5] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 127.

memorials were sent to him by unknown Jesuits demanding the abolition of the distinction between the professed and coadjutors, the election of the Provincial by vote, and the making of expulsion from the Order more difficult.[1] After the death of Ormaneto (1577) the Provincial Cordeses learned of these intrigues from his papers,[2] and a year later the visitor Antonio Ibañez succeeded in gathering the main strings of the conspiracy into his own hands.[3] The whole movement had sprung in particular from the ex-rector of the Roman College, Dionisio Vasquez, who, from motives of personal grievance had formed the idea of changing the constitution of the Order, in those points which he disapproved of.[4] Two long memorials, one of which he intended to send to the king, fell into the hands of the visitor.[5] In the meantime Vasquez allowed himself to be won over by Ibañez and Ribadeneira, and in 1579 he himself destroyed his plans of reform,[6] and for several years there was no further talk of any plans subversive of the constitution of the Order.

But this lull was only in appearance. As was shown later on, there were other malcontents besides Vasquez, who sought to induce the Inquisition to interfere by means of secret memorials, and an imaginary slight led Vasquez himself several years later to resume his former schemes.[7] Under the

[1] Astráin, 103-106.

[2] *Ibid.* 103.

[3] *Ibid.* 112.

[4] Aquaviva in 1589 called Vasquez: "hombre que me turbaba todas aquellas provincias" (of Spain). Astráin, 479. The visitor, Gil Gonzalez Dàvila said of him: El autor [of the disturbances] fué Dionisio, que por haver sido sacado de Nápoles, donde él dió mala cuenta de sí, tomó un odio irreconciliable con el gobierno de Roma, y sempre maquinó contra él en Andalucia, en Toledo, en tiempo del Reverendísimo Ormanetto, en la Sede vacante del P. Everardo, con el Rey y Cardenal de Toledo y agora en estos tiempos, amotinando á los que puda etc. *Ibid.* 496.

[5] Astráin, 112.

[6] *Ibid.* 122, 352.

[7] *Ibid.* 352-354.

influence of these reforming Jesuits and of the Dominicans who were opposed to the Jesuits, the mistrust felt of the new Order by the supreme tribunal of the faith continued to increase. The actual intervention on the part of the Inquisition aroused storms which were not calmed during the whole rule of Aquaviva, which involved wider and wider circles, even including the king and the Pope, and led to the only two extraordinary general congregations in the history of the Jesuits, and threatened its whole existence.

In March, 1586, Antonio Marcén, a short time previously Provincial of Castille, and now Provincial of Toledo, who was, in the course of his official duties, making a visitation of the college at Madrid, received orders on the 18th of that month to present himself within six days before the Inquisition at Valladolid. He obeyed, and had hardly appeared when he was thrown into prison. The same thing happened to two of his colleagues, the former rector of the college at Monterrey, and, a few days later, another Jesuit who belonged to the same college.[1] Once the doors of the Inquisition had closed behind them, it was as though they had disappeared from the world. "We know no more of the prisoners," Villalba, the Provincial of Castille, wrote to Rome, "than if they were in the Indies."[2] It was not known why they had been arrested, and during the four months that followed all that the world knew was that 21 Jesuits had had to appear for interrogation, and that some of them had been kept under arrest for two or three weeks, in order to answer interminable questions.[3]

The arrest of the three Jesuits caused immense surprise. The year before, the Japanese mission to Rome had spread the praises of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, and now its name was once again on everybody's lips in Spain, but this time in shame, since the Inquisition had had to turn its attention to the members of that Society. The excitement increased when, on February 26th of the following year, 1587,

[1] *Ibid.* 376 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 380.
[3] *Ibid.*

a fourth Jesuit, Ripalda, the rector of the college at Villagarcia, was sent to share the imprisonment of the other three.[1]

The responsibility for all these incidents came from within the Order itself, namely from the Jesuit, Diego Hernandez of Monterrey. Certain women of that city had informed him that another Jesuit, Briviesca, had tried to lead them into sin, had taught false doctrines, had allowed them to receive Holy Communion twice a day, and in so doing had given them several hosts. Hernandez informed the Provincial of Castille, Antonio Marcén, who, under threats of excommunication, demanded an explanation from the accused man. Briviesca denied everything, except the communion with several hosts. As appeared later on, he was almost certainly innocent as to all the rest; his accuser Hernandez, on the other hand, who had to be expelled from the Order soon afterwards, was far from being a trustworthy religious. Briviesca was then sent by Marcén to Italy, where he joined the Capuchins.[2]

Hernandez now began to feel great scruples, or at least so he said, for not having reported the matter to the Inquisition. In spite of the prohibition of his Provincial, he found the means in the spring of 1584, of repairing his neglect. At one and the same time he denounced the Provincial Marcén, for having sent Briviesca to Italy, and thus withdrawn him from the tribunal of the faith, and another fellow religious, Francesco de Ribera, who, according to his statement, had taught false doctrines at Segovia.[3] This denunciation sufficiently explains the arrest of Marcén. He had sent a subordinate to deal with an accusation into which the tribunal of the faith was accustomed to inquire. In the opinion of that tribunal he had thus usurped the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The other three prisoners were accused of having cooperated in this offence. The accusation of heresy and of defection from the Catholic faith was also brought against Ripalda, but the grounds for such an accusation are obviously absurd.[4]

[1] *Ibid.* 377.
[2] *Ibid.* 372.
[3] *Ibid.* 373.
[4] *Ibid.* 378-380.

These initial accusations, however, soon became of secondary importance with the Inquisition. Out of the trial of the four Jesuits there soon developed a process against the whole Jesuit institute, and as the latter had been approved by the Pope, the private controversy developed into a public one, and a quarrel between the Spanish Inquisition and the Holy See.

In the internal forum of the confessional the Jesuits had jurisdiction from the Pope to give sacramental absolution even in the case of the sin of heresy.[1] The inquisitors had learned of this privilege with much annoyance, and their indignation was the reason for their desire to become acquainted with the other privileges of the Order. They obtained possession of the bulls and constitutions and rules of the Society of Jesus, as well as of a printed copy of the so-called scheme of studies (*Ratio studiorum*), which at that time had not been published as having the force of law, but had been sent by Aquaviva to the various provinces, in order to obtain their opinion before its definite publication. Not only this draft of the programme of studies, but the Pope's bulls as well, were submitted to the same fate of being examined by theologians by order of the Inquisition, and modified to meet the requirements of Spanish orthodoxy.

The censure, which was in other respects restrained, passed by a Franciscan, Nicola Ramos, attached, for example, to Gregory XIII.'s prohibition of any dispute of the institute of the Society of Jesus, or its being seriously called in question, the remark : no one but Mahomet has forbidden the disputing of his laws, and demands instead their defence by force of arms.[2] Another opinion discovered many dangerous points, and a third even found manifest heresies in the books submitted. The most dangerous to the Jesuits was the judgment in which the king's confessor, the Dominican Diego de Chaves, made a report to the king himself concerning the institute of the Society of Jesus.[3] In the end Chaves withdrew his

[1] PASTOR, Dekrete, 42 n.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 382.

[3] *Ibid.* 385-390.

objections; these concerned the obedience of the Jesuits, their teaching as to the duty of denouncing heretics, their supposed contempt for the Latin Vulgate and the teaching of St. Thomas, their support of an unheard-of liberty of opinion in theological questions, their constitution which was so different from that of other Orders, and, above all, their power to absolve from heresy and from the reading of prohibited books: "What else," he exclaimed, "are we to expect from all this but the complete ruin of Christianity!" It would be necessary to seek very carefully for a remedy for so great an evil, and to ponder well how little security there yet remained to the civil power in all those provinces where, because of our sins, divisions in the faith prevailed.

The first result of this judgment was that the Inquisition ordered the Jesuits to hand over to the Holy Office all the printed copies of the Papal bulls, and of their privileges and other books so dangerous to religion and to the state. As in all probability the constitutions were also demanded, the Order was left without any copy of its own laws.[1]

In their trouble the Jesuits turned to the one place where they could still look for safety—to Rome. Even before the Papal bulls had been demanded by the Inquisition, Aquaviva went to Sixtus V., told him of the arrest of the four Jesuits, and asked him for a decision as to the main question, whether it was in the power of the superiors of the Order to judge their own subjects with regard to certain faults even when the Inquisition summoned these offences before its own tribunal. The Roman Inquisition made no such claim against this procedure by the superiors of Orders.

Sixtus V. listened to Aquaviva's remonstrances kindly, and reassured him; such difficulties come and go, let the General therefore urge the superiors of the Order to fulfil their duty. He, the Pope, would have a letter written to Spain; Aquaviva might discuss the case of the four Jesuits with the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition. A letter ordering the Spanish Inquisition to proceed no further with the trial of the four Jesuits without further instructions was, however, kept back

[1] *Ibid.* 390 *seq.*

by Sixtus V. ;[1] on the contrary, Speciani, the nuncio in Spain, was ordered at the beginning of March, 1587, to present a brief to the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga, which probably asked for information concerning the trial. It would appear that this first intervention on the Pope's part did not have the looked-for effect upon Quiroga, and he was filled with fury at the fact that the Jesuits had dared to have recourse to Rome. Since the four Jesuits were in prison, for the time being he paid no attention, but took it for granted that their arrest was justified. Like Quiroga, the other Inquisitors were greatly irritated at the steps taken by Aquaviva with the Pope.[2]

In the meantime news reached Rome of the sequestration of the Papal bulls. The honour of the Holy See itself was attacked by this, so that Sixtus V. thought the time had come to adopt a more severe attitude. He definitely instructed Rusticucci to order the Grand Inquisitor to restore the books he had taken, and not to proceed with the trial of the four Jesuits.[3]

While this new letter was still on its way, the anger felt at the action of Aquaviva led the Inquisition to further abuses. The Provincial had drawn up a kind of safe-conduct for two Spanish Jesuits who were to go by way of Rome to Transylvania, where the plague had carried off more than thirty of their number. When the two reached Valladolid, it seemed prudent to the Jesuits there that they should in the first instance only be given passports to Rome, and that there they would probably be furnished with a second one to Transylvania. Jeronimo de Acosta had received from the Provincial several blank sheets bearing his signature, and on one of these he wrote the safe-conduct to Rome, and retained the original. This change would have had no consequences if Valladolid had not happened to be the residence of two of

[1] According to a letter of Aquaviva in Astráin, 391.

[2] *Ibid.* 392.

[3] La quale [the Papal letter] venendo tanto resoluta, che non si procedesse più oltre qui in questa causa, et che si restituissero li libri che si erano levati alli sudetti Padri, fece gran paura al Cardinale. Speciani to Rusticucci, June 3, 1587, in Astráin, 393.

the Jesuit reformers, Dionisio Vasquez and Enrico Enriquez. These at once went to the Inquisition and complained of the cruelty of sending young Jesuits among the heretics of Transylvania, and made out that the change of the passports had been done by way of deceit and malice.[1]

The Inquisition saw in this an opportunity for making the Jesuits pay the penalty of their action in Rome. On April 29th, 1587, it wrote to the king about the mission to Transylvania, dealing not only with the two Jesuits concerned, but also with four others who had been chosen from a large number who had volunteered for that mission. It further pointed out that very soon some Jesuits would be setting out for Rome for the Congregation of procurators. Was it not an obvious course, in both cases, to forbid the Jesuits to leave Spanish soil! The king replied in the affirmative to this suggestion, but only on the condition of proceeding with great caution, so as not to hurt the susceptibilities of Rome.[2]

Cardinal Quiroga received the royal decree on May 7th, 1587. He promptly ordered the authorities of the Inquisition on the same day to warn the Provincial of the Jesuits not to allow any of his subjects to pass the frontiers of Spain without first informing the Inquisition of the person of the traveller and the object of his journey. In the case of any violation of this order the guilty parties would at once incur excommunication, and proceedings would be taken against them as against those who interfered with the authority of the Inquisition.[3]

By this injunction the royal command was certainly exceeded, but the Jesuits had no other course open to them but to keep back the missionaries for Transylvania, and to ask for a passport to Rome for those who were to take part in the Congregation of procurators in Rome. The Inquisition was imprudent enough to give such permission in writing, or in

[1] *Ibid.* 393 *seqq.*

[2] The autograph decree of Philip II. states: Està bien lo que paresce, y lo serà que se haga con buen modo y de manera que no sea irritarlos, que podrìa dañar para lo que se pretende de Roma, adonde serà bien avisar de todo y prevenirlo. *Ibid.* 394.

[3] *Ibid.* 394.

other words itself to bear witness to the fact that it was interfering with free communication with Rome. The vice-provincial of Toledo, Francisco di Porres, no sooner got this permit into his hands than he had an authentic copy made by a notary and forwarded it immediately to Rome, where Aquaviva took care that it came into the hands of the Pope.[1]

Then Sixtus V. lost patience. He at once ordered the nuncio in Spain to deliver a warning to Cardinal Quiroga in the Pope's name that he had exceeded his powers in demanding the Papal bulls from the Jesuits. He must return them at once, and in the event of his disobedience the Pope would depose him and take away from him his Cardinal's hat. The acta of the trial of the four Jesuits must be sent to Rome.[2]

Quiroga did not dare to offer any resistance; the old man was quite overcome when the nuncio informed him of the orders and the threat of the Pope. After various negotiations their bulls and books were given back to the Jesuits.[3] On the other hand. Aquaviva tried for a long time without success to bring about a reconciliation with the Inquisition; the principal obstacle, the power to absolve from heresy, was removed, for Sixtus V., at the suggestion of Aquaviva, had revoked this privilege, in so far as it applied to notorious heretics.[4] The Inquisition itself, thereupon, at the request of the vice-provincial Porres, limited its prohibition of leaving Spain; all that was now forbidden were journeys to Transylvania or other heretical countries.[5]

Quiroga did not send to Rome the process of the four Jesuits, because the acta were preserved in the room of the three keys, which was to be found in all the Inquisitions of Spain, and from which no one was allowed to remove any document. Between the spring of 1587 and March, 1588, Quiroga wrote a series of letters to the Pope, and to Cardinals Rusticucci,

[1] *Ibid.* 396 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 397 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Decree of February 19, 1587, in ASTRÁIN, 398 n., PASTOR, Dekrete, 41 *seq.*

[5] ASTRÁIN, 396.

Savelli, Castagna and Deza, in justification of his proceedings and to express his deep reverence for the Holy See. In the meantime the trial went on in secret. The influence of friends, and still more the fear of Sixtus V., at length hastened the affair, so that in April, 1588, a sentence of acquittal was pronounced; the four Jesuits could at least rejoice in having the official declaration that they had been imprisoned for two years without any justification.[1]

The trial naturally afforded the adversaries of the Society of Jesus an opportunity for further attacks. As the nuncio in Spain reported to Rome in 1587, a professor of Salamanca had said such disgraceful things about them from his chair, and a preacher at Alcalà from his pulpit, as to call for the fullest compassion and protection of the Pope.[2]

The reform party within the Order itself also took courage from the trial; once more the Inquisition was bombarded with memorials concerning the reform of the Order, this time by the dozen;[3] the tribunal of the faith at Valladolid claimed the right to present these writings, which were to reach the eye of the king by means of Cardinal Quiroga;[4] the opinions which the Inquisition expressed concerning the institute of the Society of Jesus were to a great extent inspired by the reform party, and reflect their views.[5] In Rome itself, until 1588 or later, none of these writings were known in their text, but as none but the Pope could change the constitution of the Order, it became necessary in the end to send some of them to Rome, so that they also came to the knowledge of Aquaviva. He expressed his surprise that their authors should have

[1] *Ibid.* 399 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 398. Probably Bañes and Avendaño are meant.

[3] *Ibid.* 402-420.

[4] *Ibid.* 409.

[5] *Ibid.* 382, 386, 407. More recently Ranke has allowed himself to be guided by the writings of the reformers (Päpste, II., 186 *seqq.*). Ranke himself in his 3rd Vol., App. n. 150, describes as "satirical and fictitious" the *Consulta in Cod. 1099 of the Corsini Library, Rome, which he quotes from that source, p. 191, n. 2.

adhered so little to the truth in questions of fact. "I have detected from 80 to 90 lies in your work," he wrote to Juan Suarez: "God grant that they may some day be brought to the light, so that men may see the true worth of sons who fight against their mother."[1]

What a painful impression was made upon certain Jesuits by the hostility of the powerful tribunal of faith was clearly seen when the provincial congregations of the Order assembled in 1587. At regular intervals of three years all the professed members and the superiors of each province met to elect representatives to go to Rome to discuss and decide as to the necessity for a General Congregation of the whole Order. In a letter addressed to the four Provincials of the Spanish provinces of the Order, Dionisio Vasquez proposed that ten men should be chosen from each province to discuss at a national congregation the grave situation then existing. This suggestion, which was inspired by schismatic views, was unanimously rejected. In Aragon it was looked upon "as though it had come from Martin Luther himself." Aquaviva curtly replied that he did not understand what these forty chosen men could discover better than the two hundred who would in any case be assembling in the Spanish provincial congregations.[2] The Society of Jesus, Ribadeneira wrote at that time, was not built upon so weak a foundation that it need fall to pieces if the Holy Office arrested four or even forty Jesuits, or even if it condemned them to the stake if they deserved it. Such things had taken place in the history of other Orders.[3]

Dionisio Vasquez met with better success at the provincial congregation of Castille, which was more directly affected by the recent events. Under the influence of Vasquez this decided by a majority of votes for the necessity for a General Congregation, and by a unanimous vote resolved to ask for a special representative of the General for the four Spanish

[1] ASTRÁIN, 409.
[2] *Ibid.* 422
[3] *Ibid.*, 423 *seq.*

provinces. The reason for these proposals was to be found in a wish for an explanation of the constitutions, which would in practice have amounted to a change in them.[1] If even men of goodwill allowed themselves to be won over to this decision, the principal reason was to be found in the want of resolution of the Provincial, Villalba, who, in view of the combined pressure of the Inquisition, the malcontents and adversaries outside the Order, saw in temporary compliance the only hope of salvation.[2] In the same spirit of conciliation he rewarded Vasquez after the congregation with the office of rector,[3] but by his very yielding in the face of difficulties he frustrated the wishes of the provincial congregations; no common superior for the Spanish provinces living on Spanish soil could provide a remedy for the growing disorder. On the contrary the salvation of the Order lay in having a General outside Spain, who for that very reason would not be exposed to the danger of succumbing to the influence of the Spanish group, or of becoming a tool of the Inquisition. Aquaviva at once reproved the provincial for his timidity,[4] removed Vasquez and those who thought as he did,[5] and gave the province of Castille a new superior.[6] In Rome the congregation of procurators rejected both the requests of the provincial meeting of Castille.[7]

The reform party among the Jesuits by no means looked upon themselves as defeated. They had already won over the Inquisition, and now they obtained the support of the king as well. In June, 1587, Porres, the vice-provincial of Toledo, learned that Philip II. had obtained a brief from Rome, ordering the visitation of the Order by a prelate who did not belong to it.

The fact was that the malcontents had, by means of

[1] *Ibid.*, 425-428.
[2] *Ibid.*, 428.
[3] *Ibid.*, 429.
[4] *Ibid.*, 430.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 432 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 431.

Quiroga and the king's confessor, caused their memorial to be laid before the sovereign, who was so busily engaged upon the reform of the Orders.[1] They gradually succeeded in this way in leading the king to suppose that all was not in order in the government of the Society of Jesus, and that a visitation by one of the Inquisitors or by a bishop would be the best way to remedy this. On March 21st, 1587, Philip II. charged his ambassador in Rome, Olivares, to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope to that effect.[2]

Sixtus V. agreed to the wishes of the king. Out of consideration for the Jesuits, they were not expressly mentioned in the brief, but general faculties were given for the visitation of all the Orders in Spain.[3]

Naturally the visitation of the Society by a stranger, or directly by the Inquisition, was looked upon as a fresh and severe blow. The good name of the Order would in consequence, as Porres at once pointed out to the king at the Escorial, be gravely prejudiced, and people would be gravely scandalized as soon as news of the Papal brief was made public. Porres therefore asked the king if he should insist upon his idea of a visitation, that it might at least be made by two Cardinals. He made similar remonstrances to Cardinal Quiroga.[4]

Porres did not make much impression upon the king by the reasons he adduced, yet Philip hesitated to put the brief into execution at once. He had in fact suggested to Rome that the choice of the visitors should be left to him, but Sixtus V. would not agree to this, and had referred the whole matter to the nuncio in Spain. The latter was known as the friend of the Society of Jesus, and was therefore not acceptable to the reforming Jesuits. After a vain attempt to obtain four bishops for the visitation of the four Spanish provinces, King Philip II. rejected the brief without opening it, and charged

[1] *Ibid.*, 434 *seq.*

[2] Extracts from the letter, *ibid.* 435; *Revista de España*, L. (1876), 434 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX. (1878), 411 *seq.*

[3] Astráin, 436.

[4] *Ibid.*, 437 *seq.*

his ambassador to ask for the Bishop of Cartagena, Jerónimo Manrique, as visitor.[1]

Sixtus agreed to this suggestion ; and on March 5th, 1588, Quiroga received the necessary brief. The Jesuits vainly tried to induce Manrique to refuse the charge laid upon him, while Porres equally vainly laid further memorials before the king. On June 9th the Papal brief was delivered to the appointed visitor.[2] A letter from Rusticucci gave him more detailed instructions as to the manner of conducting the visitation, telling him that he was to begin with the Order named by the king. Royal instructions pointed out the matters which Manrique was to try and elucidate in the course of his labours. He was to inquire why the Jesuits differed from the Orders in the matter of dress and exterior ceremonial, why they did not accept any stipends for masses and sermons, why they had no office in choir, what was the purpose of the difference in the vows, what was the reason for expulsion from the Order without trial, why the superiors were not chosen by vote, and why the government of the Order in all things and in the case of everyone was dependent upon Rome. The inquiry therefore was not directed to the members of the Order but to its constitution, and aimed at its destruction.[3]

On this occasion too the Order owed its salvation to the energy and skill of its General. As the memorials of the malcontents had had so great an influence upon the course of events, Aquaviva ordered the provincials of the four provinces in Spain as well as in Portugal, to draw up corresponding memorials in defence of the constitution of the Order. He then explained to the Pope the dangers involved by the visitation ; all the secret plots of recent years had the one aim of withdrawing the Spanish Jesuits from their dependence on Rome, and at deciding Spanish questions on Spanish soil, and at the will of the king and his ministers. Lastly he pointed out how such a man as Manrique, who was himself illegitimate,

[1] *Ibid.*, 438 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 438-440.
[3] *Ibid.*, 440 *seq.*

and who in his youth had had three illegitimate sons, could not be a suitable instrument for the reform of a religious Order.[1]

This last consideration especially made a deep impression upon Sixtus V. He had no sooner convinced himself of its truth than he sent orders to the nuncio in Spain not to commence the visitation, or if it had been begun, to suspend it. On September 8th, 1588, Philip II. was informed of this decree of the Pope.[2]

It was more difficult to make the king change his mind than the Pope, but Aquaviva was at least successful in moderating his enthusiasm for the Jesuits who were advocating reform. A letter from the General of the Order,[3] which was presented by Porres on October 15th, pointed out that it would do irreparable harm to the Society of Jesus if it should be made to appear that it had been necessary to invoke the aid of the hand of a stranger to set its affairs in order. The General was prepared to nominate several men who belonged to the Order, from among whom the king could choose the visitors for the Spanish provinces of the Society. At the same time Porres handed in a document in which seventy of the most eminent Jesuits of the province of Toledo described the intervention of a stranger as a disaster for the Order. A few days later similar expressions of opinion arrived from the other three Spanish provinces of the Society and from that of Portugal.[4]

These documents seemed to prove what the greatly venerated provincial of Portugal, Pedro de Fonseca, also laid before the king.[5] This was to the effect that it was by no means the majority of the Jesuits who desired a visitation or a reform, but only a handful of ambitious men whose weight was negligible in comparison with the numerous approbations of Loyola's constitutions by the Popes and by the Council of Trent. In spite of this Philip II. did not yet change his views.

[1] *Ibid.*, 441 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 442 *seq.*

[3] Of September 6, 1588, *ibid.*, 445.

[4] *Ibid.*, 446.

[5] November 12, 1588, *ibid.*, 447.

His confessor, Diego de Chaves, had laid it upon him as a matter of conscience to insist upon the reform of the Jesuits. Chaves was also under the influence of his fellow Dominican, Juan de Orellana, who was a declared adversary of the Society of Jesus.[1] Moreover, those Jesuits who favoured a reform tried to convince the king that the many signatures attached to the memorials suggested by the General did not prove, as they were intended to prove, that the great majority of the Jesuits did not wish for a visitation, since no one could refuse to sign without making himself out an enemy of the Order, and the signatures had been asked for on purpose to find out who was desirous of a reform. Besides the superiors, only the professed members had been allowed to sign, and these did not form a majority of the Order.[2] Aquaviva had only intended to show that the two dozen or so friends of reform were opposed by the overwhelming majority of all the most distinguished Jesuits, but in spite of this the king could still be tricked into thinking that even Dionisio Vasquez and those who shared his views had not been ashamed to sign their names to the memorial against the need of a visitation.[3]

In the end, however, in spite of all these reasons, Philip did not insist upon a visitation by a stranger Manrique was compensated by being appointed visitor of the chancery of Valladolid.[4]

Aquaviva, who had been thinking of having a visitation of the Spanish provinces made by a Jesuit since 1586, now took up the idea once more with renewed energy, and sought to win over the king to this. It seemed to him that he had a representative well fitted for this difficult task in José de Acosta, formerly provincial of Peru, who after having been sixteen years beyond the seas, had come to Spain and Rome in 1587 in the interests of the foreign missions.[5] At the end

[1] *Ibid.*, 448.
[2] Philip II. to Olivares, December 9, 1588, *ibid.*, 449.
[3] *Ibid.*, 450.
[4] *Ibid.*, 452.
[5] *Ibid.*, 476 *seq.*

of 1588 Aquaviva sent him to Spain to win over the king and the Inquisition, and to remedy the internal disturbances in the Order by causing it to be visited by one of its own number and not by a stranger.[1] He and, even more, the skill of his colleague, the Englishman Robert Persons, succeeded in winning over the king, and on January 16th, 1589, Philip declared that he would not oppose the wishes of Aquaviva.[2]

The names of the visitors who had already been chosen were at once published ; Acosta himself was one of them, and he was to visit the provinces of Andalusia and Aragon. He had already been engaged upon his task for some time when news reached Rome that Philip II. had once more obtained a brief of April 16th, 1589, appointing three bishops as visitors of the Jesuits in Spain. The death of the Bishop of Segovia, who had been appointed as the first of the three, caused the brief not to be put into force,[3] and it seemed as though Philip II. was once more satisfied. He listened with pleasure to the report which Acosta made to him as to the state of the province of Andalusia.[4] He gave signs of great pleasure when Gil Gonzales Davila, in his account of the province of Castille, defended one of the points most controverted, the choice of the superiors by the General, since, taught by sad experience, Philip himself had abolished at the Escorial the appointment of superiors by all the members of a religious house.[5] He gradually became convinced of the biassed prejudice against the Society of Jesus of his confessor, Diego de Chaves.[6]

If it had been a great triumph for the malcontents among the Jesuits to have for a time won over to their side the greatest monarch of that age, they were very soon able to boast of a yet greater success, for it appeared that under their influence the power from which there is no appeal on earth

[1] Aquaviva's instructions to him, *ibid.*, 477-480.
[2] *Ibid.*, 480-483.
[3] *Ibid.*, 484.
[4] *Ibid.*, 488.
[5] *Ibid.*, 495 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 498.

had been persuaded to strike its death-blow at the work of Loyola.

From the first no one had expected any special fondness for the Jesuits in Sixtus V., though during his pontificate the results of their labours had been brilliantly manifested on many occasions. The Japanese mission which they had led to his feet from the ends of earth bore witness to their labours for the propagation of the faith ;[1] and when, at the end of November, 1585, conducted by the Spanish ambassador and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the eldest son of a princely Italian family, Aloysius Gonzaga, presented himself before him and asked for the Papal blessing upon his resolve to renounce his principality and put on the Jesuit habit,[2] the aged pontiff must have thought of the day when he himself had put on the habit of St. Francis, and have realized the progress of Christian ideas which had taken place from that time onwards, in no small degree owing to the influence of the Society of Jesus, and was now manifesting itself even in those exalted circles in which the son of an Italian prince moved.

But men had been accustomed for the past ten years to changes of opinion on the part of the Popes as regards the Jesuits. Paul IV. had changed the original enactments of Loyola, Pius IV. had seen fit to restore everything to its original state, while Pius V. had seemed to wish to follow in the footsteps of Paul IV. But Gregory XIII. had entirely restored the original constitution of the Order. It was no

[1] Escorted by the Jesuits, the ambassadors appeared before Sixtus V. on May 24, 1585, to make the *obedientia* for the kings of Arima and Omura (Gualterius, *Ephemerides 24, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome). The ambassadors were knighted on the feast of the Ascension (*ibid.*). Sixtus V. sent the blessed sword and hat, and a relic of the True Cross, with a brief of May 26, 1585, to the princes of Arima and Omura (Synopsis, 143, nn. 5-6).

[2] *" On Monday (November 25) Aloysius Gonzaga received the habit " nella chiesa di Novitiato de quella setta, nella quale è entrato con principio d'indubitata santità's s'havera vita." Avviso of November 30, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

wonder then that men asked themselves what attitude would be adopted by Gregory's successor.

The common view in Rome, and even more abroad, was that Sixtus V. was not well disposed towards the Jesuits, and that he would change their constitutions.[1] Above all, those who were either the declared opponents of the seminaries, or were unwilling that they should be in the hands of the Jesuits, saw in him one who shared their views ;[2] on the other hand, among the Cardinals, those who were the friends of the seminaries, especially Galli and Santori, had, during the conclave, for that very reason, inserted in the election capitulation a clause on the preservation of those institutions.[3] At first it seemed that these various rumours were not going to be fulfilled. When Aquaviva presented himself before the new Pope for the first time, in order to place the services of the Society at his disposal, Sixtus V. spoke in praise of its deserts,[4] and promised pecuniary help for the building of the Roman College ;[5] the 4000 scudi a year given by Gregory XIII. for the Church in Japan and its seminaries, were increased by him to 6000 scudi.[6] It is true that afterwards Sixtus V. declared that the contributions for the seminaries would no longer be paid,[7] and for a time they were not paid,[8] but in deference to the remonstrances of Cardinals Galli and Madruzzo

[1] SACCHINI, P. V. 1, 5, n. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* n. 30.

[4] *Ibid.* n. 14.

[5] Avviso of April 27, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 188, Vatican Library.

[6] SACCHINI, n. 17 ; Synopsis, 143, n. 8.

[7] SACCHINI, n. 25.

[8] EHSES-MEISTER, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., XIII. *seq.*, 103, n. 2. EHSES, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 245 n. ; FOLEY; 6, 113. For the subsidy to the college at Graz, see REICHENBERGER, I., 467 *seq.* *S. Stà va tuttavia più tosto demenuenda che accrescendo le spese intanto che ha ridotto le cose della sua casa tanto stretto che non possono essere più, et quelle provisioni che si davano a molti collegii et ad altri non si vede che continuino. It is deduced from this that the Pope has some great undertaking in mind. Capilupi, June 19, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Pope changed his mind. On July 9th, 1585, he gave the General of the Jesuits the assurance that not only would the seminaries be maintained, but that they would also be provided with an assured income where this was lacking. During his pontificate the Society of Jesus would have no cause to feel the loss of Gregory XIII. Some of the nuncios had already written to him that the adversaries of the Jesuits thought that with the death of Gregory their time had come, but he intended to act in such a way that all should recognize his goodwill towards the Order, and he had answered the nuncios to that effect.[1]

But in spite of all this the hope of being able to obtain a change of the rules of the Jesuits from a Franciscan Pope remained alive in certain quarters. Many claimed to know that pressure was being brought to bear upon the Holy See, not only to carry out the reforms intended by Pius V., but to destroy the constitutions of Loyola and substitute for them one of the rules of the Mendicant Orders.[2] A visitation of the Roman seminaries directed by the Jesuits, the German and English Colleges, the Roman College, and the College of the Maronites, was actually ordered in 1585; the careful investi-

[1] SACCHINI, n. 26 *seq.* An *Avviso of July 29, 1586 (Urb. 1054, p. 310b, Vatican Library) has heard in the following year of hostile feelings towards the German College: Teme il Papa grandemente, che gli Alemanni, che vengono quà nel Collegio Germanico a studiare, nel ritorno loro al paese non servino per spie di Roma con danno del poco giuditio del suo predecessore in questo che l' eresse, cavando ciò S. B. da un libro venuto di là pieno de biasmi et di qualch' altra cosa più peggiore in pregiuditio di questa corte.

[2] *Sono intorno i riformatori alli Jesuiti, acció il Papa commandi loro, che faccino professione, cantino l' hore canoniche et intervenghino alle processioni et a sepellire i morti, et senza mutatione de loro habiti vivino secondo quella regola de Mendicanti, ch' essi s' elegeranno delle quattro, che si trovano, poichè tanto lor piace la mendicaria per non dire forfantaria." Avviso of September 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 406, Vatican Library. An unfriendly remark about the Jesuits *ibid.* October 16, 1585, p. 448b. *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 454 *seq.*

gation, however, turned out in favour of the Jesuits.[1] After the visitation Sixtus V. provided the Maronite College with revenues,[2] while other similar institutions experienced the generosity of the Pope.[3] To the request of Aquaviva, that he would grant the Jubilee indulgence to the Society of Jesus for the year 1586, the Pope thought well to reply with a special brief, so that the rumour of an intended change of the institute of the Jesuits was seen to be false.[4] When Sixtus V. reserved, in the case of all the Orders, the acceptance of novices to the general and provincial chapters,[5] he granted the Jesuits an exemption and mitigation,[6] because with them the provincial chapter was only held every three years, and the general chapter did not take place at regular intervals.

Nevertheless the influence of the reform party among the Jesuits gradually made itself felt in Rome. In 1587 there arrived certain letters of Jesuits who were anxious for a reform, but at first Sixtus V. did not attach much importance to these.[7] Very soon, however, the recurring disturbances in Spain aroused in him the suspicion that there must be serious faults in the constitutions of the founder. During the summer of 1588, at the very moment when he set free the Jesuits from the general visitation of Manrique, a Papal order was issued that all the memorials of the discontented party in the Society were to be sent to Rome.[8] Sixtus V. at once set himself to study the constitutions of Loyola. When, about the same time, Aquaviva was discussing with the Pope the

[1] SACCHINI, P. V. 1, 5, n. 30 *seqq.*; Report of Cardinal Sega of his visitation of the English College in Rome, in MEYER, 428-454.

[2] SACCHINI, n. 35.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 17; Synopsis 141, n. 1, 143, n. 8.

[4] SACCHINI, P. V. 1, 6, n. 1.

[5] November 26, 1587, Bull. VIII., 951 *seqq.*

[6] Edicts of March 1, 1588 (Synopsis, 152, n. 38, with wrong year 1587) and October 21, 1588 (Bull. VIII., 957, n. 7). *Cf.* SACCHINI, P. V. 1, 8, n. 1 *seqq.*

[7] ASTRÁIN, 454.

[8] *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

disturbances in Spain, Sixtus censured indeed the authors of the disturbances, but remarked that he entertained doubts as to several points in the constitutions of the Jesuits, and that he had submitted some observations on the matter to Cardinal Carafa; Aquaviva must talk to the Cardinal about these.[1] Carafa declared that the Pope's objections were of no great importance, but that the questions with which they dealt were by no means so; these concerned obedience in the Society of Jesus, the duty of making a manifestation of conscience to the superior, and the distinction between the professed and the coadjutors. Sixtus V. was especially displeased by the name of Society of Jesus; it seemed to him an act of pride, to wish to be called by the name of the Saviour.[2]

Aquaviva saw a new storm approaching. In order to prepare for this he exhorted the provincials of the northern nations to ask the princes, nuncios and bishops for letters of recommendation, which should give recognition to the activities of the Order, and express the sorrow of Catholics and the joy of the heretics at the attacks being made upon its constitutions. At the same time he wrote a brief reply to the censures of the Pope upon the institute of Loyola. Carafa, a friend of the Order, thought that a man of the temperament of Sixtus V. would be only further irritated by any sort of contradiction; Aquaviva therefore remained silent for the time being.[3]

But even without any incitement, Sixtus V. at once went on to take further steps. On November 10th, 1588, he ordered the Roman Inquisition to choose two theologians to examine the constitutions with the assistance of a learned Jesuit and correct its defects.[4] For a long time nothing was known of the work of this commission, upon which, out of consideration for the Order, the Pope had imposed an oath of silence. At last, in the summer of 1589, Aquaviva learned that the memorials of the Spanish Jesuits who wished for a

[1] *Ibid.*, 455.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 456.

[4] Text in ASTRÁIN, 456 n., and PASTOR, Dekrete, 45.

reform had been presented to the commission, and that Philip II. had asked for two changes in the constitutions of the Order. These were profession after a period to be fixed by law and the appointment of superiors by election, and it was understood that the Pope was disposed to grant both these demands.[1] The memorial in defence of these two points now seemed to be superfluous.[2] To a cautious question by Cardinal Colonna, Sixtus V. replied that he did not wish for any electoral chapter among the Jesuits, because otherwise each of them would set their friends and penitents to work, and thus there would be a chapter in every city and family. Such a system would not be suited to the Jesuits. If this reply indicated some sort of withdrawal, the letters recommending the Order, which were soon sent by the Archduke Charles, King Sigismund of Poland, Duke William of Bavaria and several bishops,[3] could only serve to further a more lenient decision by the Pope. At first, indeed, Sixtus V. flared up when he read the high praises of the labours of the Jesuits in the letter of the Duke of Bavaria:[4] he was of opinion that the letter was a forgery of the Jesuits, and the Bavarian ambassador had to prove the authenticity of the

[1] Astráin, 457. Whether Philip II. asked once more for this change in 1589, or whether it refers to proposals that were already under consideration, is not certain. *Ibid.*

[2] Extract, *ibid.*, 457-460.

[3] Sacchini, P. V., I. 9, n. 20 *seqq.* Letter of the hereditary Duke, John William of Jülich-Cleves, Dusseldorf, March 22 1589, in Ehses, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 259 *seq.*; the nuncio Frangipani to Cardinal Montalto, Cologne, March 15, 1589, *ibid.*, 253; Bishop Johann of Strasbourg, Zabern, April 14, 1589, in Ehses-Meister, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., 312 *seq.*; the Archbishop of Treves, Johann von Schoenenberg, Wittlich, March 14, 1589; all published by Ehses in *Pastor Bonus*, IV. (1892), 523 *seqq.* With regard to William V. and the Archduke Charles, see *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXIV., 150. The Emperor Rudolph II. at length caused some remonstrances to be addressed to the Pope by Cardinal Madruzzo; see Hübner, II., 49.

[4] In Sacchini, V. I. 9, n. 22. The draft of the letter was made by the provincial of the Jesuits in Austria, Ferdinand Alber.

signature by means of undoubtedly genuine letters from the Duke. Nevertheless the letters made an impression upon Sixtus V.; he wrote to Germany that it was not his intention to change the constitution of the Society of Jesus, which was so useful to the Church, but that he wished to oppose the errors of certain Jesuits.[1]

It seemed too that the discussions of the Roman Inquisition were likely to end in a sense favourable to the Jesuits. Cardinal Carafa, in order to gain time, had tried to protract the discussions as much as possible, and Sixtus V., who was not unaware of this, had to give express orders to the theologians to make their final judgment. This was naturally in accordance with the views of the Pope, and was to some extent based upon his own written observations on the institute of the Society of Jesus. The name of the Society, the absence from the rule of prescribed works of penance, sacerdotal ordination before religious profession, the manifestation of conscience, the delay in profession, the character of fraternal correction in the Order, the simple vows binding the scholastic to the Order and not the Order to him, these were the points which had occasioned difficulty.[2] But the reply of Aquaviva[3] silenced these objections.

Thus the final judgment of the Inquisition was favourable, but with a man like Sixtus V. this went for very little. The Cardinals did not dare to lay their views before him. "You are trying to make the matter drag on," Sixtus V. said one day, "because you are waiting for my death, but we will complete it on our own account."[4]

[1] Cardinal Montalto to the Bishop of Strasbourg, in EHSES MEISTER, *loc. cit.*, 315; to Frangipani in EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 270; to the hereditary Duke of Cleves, April 29, 1589, *ibid.* 276. *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, 461 *seq.*, who was not acquainted with the text of the letters. The interference in politics on the part of the Jesuits, especially in Transylvania, is suggested as the motive for the Pope's reform plans in the letter of Montalto to Frangipani, *ibid.* 270.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 462.

[3] Extract, *ibid.*, 462-466.

[4] *Ibid.*, 466.

That some sort of measure against the Jesuits was bound to follow upon such words as these was evident. Unfortunately for the Order, at that moment certain events aroused the anger of the Pope both against individual Jesuits and against the whole Society of Jesus. In Madrid on Ascension Day, 1590, a Jesuit went so far as publicly in the pulpit to describe the attitude of Sixtus V. towards Henry IV. in France as the encouragement of a heretic.[1] About the same time the somewhat imprudent words of a Roman preacher of the Order again annoyed the Pope ; during the siege of Paris news had arrived that the nuncio in France was in great danger ; at the request of his relatives and at the instance of Aquaviva's assistant, Lorenzo Maggio, the Jesuit Bartolomeo Blondo recommended him to the prayers of the people. The nuncio was in very bad odour with Sixtus V. because of his political ties with Spain. The Pope at once had Blondo imprisoned, and as a punishment had the assistant suspended from saying mass.[2] At the same time he caused a volume of the great controversial work of Bellarmine to be placed upon the new Index, though the efforts made to defer the publication of this were successful ; after the death of the Pope the name of Bellarmine was once again removed.[3]

In spite of his irritation it appeared that Sixtus V. intended to abide by his promise not to change the constitutions of the Society of Jesus, though on the other hand he looked upon it as a point of honour that the examination of the constitutions which he had already undertaken should not be altogether devoid of result. He therefore resolved for the moment to

[1] *Cf.* further, *infra*, p. 373 n. 1. At the consistory of August 13th, 1590 the Pope said that the Jesuit had preached "Papam esse Navarristam et fautorem haereticorum [mendacium hoc impudentissimum ipse commentus est, nam res aliter se habuit] et hoc obtentu invectus est acerrime in Iesuitas et in illum, sed tacite contra regem catholicum appellando eum etiam scelestissimum." Consistorial Acta of Santori, in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, XI., (1872), 874.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 470 *seq.*

[3] See HILGERS, Index, 12 *seq.*

insist upon the change of the name of Society of Jesus, which so greatly irritated him; the change of name did not appear to him to be a substantial change. Cardinals Santori and Castagna were to inform Aquaviva of the Pope's wishes; if the Order submitted in this respect there was reason to hope that the Pope would give up all idea of further reforms.[1] The change was not to be effected by a Papal bull, but by a decree of the General, as the Pope had promised the northern princes that he himself would make no change in the rule of the Order. The name of Jesuits could continue to be used.[2]

Aquaviva drafted the decree, which was presented to the Pope by Santori. In order to examine it more closely Sixtus V. placed it on his desk, and there it still remained when his unexpected death ended his activities, and after that no one thought of putting it into effect.[3]

[1] ASTRÁIN, 471. The *Diarium audientiarum of Santori states, June 7, 1590: "Della correttione delle Regole di Giesuiti; la risolutione presa, che si faccino di nuovo e che vuole vedere lui le confirmationi." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 472.

[3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign Missions in the East—Baianism—The Inquisition and the Index—The Sixtine Vulgate.

Sixtus V. gave proof of his interest in the foreign missions from the beginning of his pontificate, by the favour which he showed for the Japanese mission which was still in Rome. In spite of his parsimony, he increased as has already been said, the annual subsidy granted by Gregory XIII. to the Jesuit college in Japan from 4000 to 6000 scudi. This increase was to continue until the institution should be provided for in other ways. He made gifts of valuable vestments and relics to the churches in Japan. In order to give the envoys a further mark of his favour he made them Knights of the Golden Spur, and himself presided at the ceremony. At their farewell audience he gave them a Papal brief for the Japanese King, and furnished them with commendatory letters for their journey, assigning them 3000 ducats for their expenses. When the envoys left the Eternal City on June 3rd, 1585, they travelled by way of Spoleto, Perugia, Loreto, Ferrara, Venice, Mantua and Milan, being everywhere received with the greatest honour, to Genoa, where they embarked for Barcelona.[1]

The Japanese mission of 1585, which the enemies of the Jesuits vainly sought to discredit,[2] was hailed throughout

[1] See the report of L. Priuli in *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 165; Bartoli, Del Giappone, I., Turin, 1825, 313 *seq.*; *Synopsis*, 143; Boncompagni-Ludovisi, xlix. *seq.* and App. p. 17 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Bartoli, I., 277. That German Protestant propaganda was not behindhand is clear from a book composed by an adherent of the Confession of Augsburg which Kentenich has treated of in the appendix to the *Alleg. Zeitung*, 1905, n. 212. The author laments that such far-off peoples, coming as it were from a new

the Catholic world as a triumph for the Church. Actually it marked the highest point in the conversion of Japan. When, in June, 1590, the envoys reached their own country after an absence of eight years,[1] they found that the state of affairs was entirely changed.

In the very year when the mission set out for Rome Nobunaga was murdered. He was succeeded by his general, the powerful Taikosama under whose rule, after a preliminary period of favour for the Christians, a persecution was begun. Various reasons are given for this sudden change. In the opinion of some the headstrong monarch was led to this course because Christian women and girls would not become his prostitutes after the pagan fashion. According to the report[2] made by the distinguished missionary Father Soldi Gnecchi Organtino to the General, Aquaviva, the responsibility for the outbreak of the persecution must be attributed to the imprudent behaviour of the superior of the mission at that time, Gaspare Coelho. An edict of July, 1587,

world, should go to Rome instead of going to Germany and Saxony to seek the vicar of Christ and the light of the true Gospel, which had been brought out of concealment by that beloved man of God, Dr. Martin Luther, and kindled and exposed everywhere, rather than with the aged and musty Papacy, now at length shattered ; but he consoles himself by the evangelical mission that was to be begun in that country, no matter how difficult it was to set it on foot with the existing scarcity of wine, meat and money. He adds that " people of the court and of the profession of arms are rarely fervent in faith " but that merchants who live by gain and usury would certainly be attracted to Protestantism, if they were taught that works " are neither necessary nor profitable " for salvation, just as already in France and the Low Countries the merchants had contributed greatly to the propagation of the evangelical faith.

[1] *Cf.* the letter of King Protasius of Arima to Sixtus V. in *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 181.

[2] The *report bears the date " Nangasagni " March 10, 1589, and was confirmed by the *report of Valignani to Aquaviva, dated, *ibid.* October 14, 1590, both in Archives of the Society of Jesus.

ordered the Christian missionaries to leave the country within a fixed period. At first they made an appearance of obeying, but managed nevertheless to remain. This was all the more easy for them as Taikosama was occupied with other affairs. Thus the mission, though greatly hampered, was able to be continued, and in some places even made some progress. Two Japanese Christians suffered martyrdom during this first persecution.[1]

Pius V. had already tried to give Japan a hierarchy, but the two bishops he appointed never reached that distant land.[2] Sixtus V. once more took up the project. On February 19th, 1588, he formed a bishopric for Japan, of which Philip II. undertook the patronage and endowment.[3] He assigned Funai, the capital of Bungo, as the see, for there Christianity, in consequence of the conversion of the royal family, had the greatest number of adherents, and could count upon protection.[4] The first bishop was Sebastian Moralez, the Provincial of the Jesuits in Portugal. But in this case too the new pastor never reached his destination, and died on the way at Mozambique.[5]

Sixtus V. felt an extraordinary joy when, in January, 1586, definite news reached Rome that the Jesuits had at last succeeded in setting foot in China, which had hitherto been strictly closed to all foreigners. He conceived the most sanguine hopes of the conversion of that great empire.[6]

[1] See DELPLACE, I., 239 *seqq.*, 254. *Cf.* Litterae annuae, 1590-91, 833.

[2] *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 14.

[3] *Cf.* Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, III., and in Synopsis, 193 JANN, Missionen, 128 *seq.*

[4] See the *briefs to the Kings of Bungo and Arima, February 6, 1588, Brevia Sixti V., Papal Secret Archives. For the ambassadors of Gamo Ugisato, feudatory in Aidzu, sent to Rome in 1584, and again in 1586, 1588 and 1590, see the article by VALENZIANI in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei*, V., 4 (1895) 229 *seq.*

[5] See SACCHINI, P. V, 1, 8, n. 184.

[6] Galesinus reports in his Annales, January 17, 1586: *Iis ipsis diebus Iesuitarum litteris et nunciis ad Pontificem perlatum

But it was only possible to count upon the realization of these hopes by following the method hitherto adopted in the east, of spreading the Gospel by way of preaching. Some Spanish Jesuits, especially the zealous Alonso Sanchez, thought, on the contrary, that solid results could only be obtained if the missionaries were accompanied by soldiers, not to effect conversions by force but only so as to free the missionaries by force of arms from all those external obstacles which were put in the way of their preaching, and to secure undisputed freedom for Christianity.[1] The views of Sanchez, however, only met with a lukewarm approval, and even with definite opposition, from his Italian and Portuguese brethren who were working with him in the east. The visitor, Alessandro Valignani, expressed himself frankly in this sense in a letter to the General of the Order.[2]

Valignani himself had another plan for ensuring the safety of the missions in China. Sixtus V. should be asked to send a mission to the Emperor of China, and to this end Father Ruggieri was sent to Rome. When he arrived there in 1589 he found the Pope so absorbed in the affairs of France that the suggestion produced no results. In the meantime Matteo Ricci had again been driven out from Tschaoking by a new

est, tres illius societatis viros in Synacum, regionem quam Chinam vocant, ingressos esse, quo exteri homines ex antiquo nationis illius instituto ac lege antea ingressi nunquam sunt, presertim ad religionem novam disseminandam; patres autem illos a provinciae praeside, ut reciperentur, facile impetrasse, cuius praesidis diploma ex arborum corticibus amplum ac tenuissimum Pontifici astenderunt, qui ea de re magnum in spem venit fore ut amplissima illa regio brevi tandem depulsis superstitionum tenebris lumen accipiat christianae religionis. Vat. 5438, p. 99, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, Ricci., II., 425 *seq.*; Labor evangélica, Ministerios apost. de los obreros de la Comp. de Jesùs . . . en las Islas Filipinas, por el P. FR. COLIN, nueva edic. por el P. P. PASTELLS, I., Barcelona, 1900, 390 *seq.*; HUONDER, Die Eroberung Chinas in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXXXIX. (1915), 130.

[2] See TACCHI VENTURI, Ricci, I., 146 n.

viceroy; he was allowed for the time being to remain at Tschaotschen, where he did not meet with any greater success than on his previous visit. But neither the small results of their labours, nor the many acts of hostility to which they were exposed, could discourage Ricci and his companions. Ricci himself saw, in the almost uninterrupted series of difficulties and disappointments which fell to his lot, a manifest sign that Our Lord was with him; all the great undertakings of the Church, he wrote to his General in Rome, have met with opposition at their beginnings in the same way.[1]

In the Philippines where so great interest had been taken in the missions in China, the labours of the Franciscans had at the same time developed so much that Sixtus V., when new forces had arrived there from Spain, raised the Custody which had been formed there by Gregory XIII., into a Province; at the same time the provincial received permission to set up new houses in India and China.[2] The Dominicans, whom the Bishop of Manila had summoned to the Philippines, took a zealous part in the labours of the missions. In 1586 they established the province of the Most Holy Rosary in the island of Luzon,[3] which was to play an important part in the history of the missions in east Asia. Sixtus V. learned with satisfaction that a provincial council had been held in Mexico. He addressed a brief of thanks to the archbishop and exhorted him and his suffragans to continue their apostolic labours.[4] In 1588 Sixtus V. confirmed the decrees of the synod held at Lima in 1583, which had been corrected by the Congregation of the Council.

[1] Letter of November 15, 1592, in *Civilta Catt.*, 1910, II., 400.

[2] See Bull., VIII., 802 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXVIII. (1920), 467 and SCHMIDLIN, Missionsgesch., 261.

[3] See Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, VI., 691.

[4] See in App. n. 8 the *brief of August 23, 1586, Papal Secret Archives. The confirmation of the decrees took place after an exhaustive examination in 1589; see Bull., IX., 350 *seq.*; HARDUIN, X., 1784.

The Pope also energetically furthered the work of the Franciscans in Brazil and in the Indies.[1]

Sixtus also turned his attention to the attempts at reunion in the east which had been made by Gregory XIII. After the visitation of all the colleges in Rome, which had been set on foot in the first year of his pontificate, he resolved to provide new revenues for the Maronite College.[2] The Pope was filled with great grief when he learned that Neemet, the Patriarch of Antioch, who was living in exile in Rome at the expense of the Holy See, was acting in opposition to the Bishop of Sidon, who had been sent by Gregory XIII. to effect the reunion of the eastern churches with Rome.[3] When the latter bishop came to Rome in the spring of 1587, he made a detailed report to the Pope. From this it appeared that only the Maronites of Lebanon, the Armenians of the province of Nachitschewan, which belonged to Persia, and the Chaldeans of Diarbekir, Seert and the neighbourhood sincerely wished for a firm and genuine union with the Holy See. In the case of all the others, though they too protested their submission to the Pope, there were to be found errors of various kinds. The Bishop of Sidon was of opinion that in spite of this there was no need to abandon the hope of bringing them back to the unity of the Church, because they had at least good will. He suggested further negotiations and recommended the sending to the east of suitable religious books in Arabic and Chaldean, as well as missionaries.[4] That the attraction towards the true centre of the Church still remained among them was shown by the attitude of the non-Uniat Nestorians, a mission from whom appeared

[1] STREIT, Biobliotheca, I., 508.

[2] See ARCAISSI, Bull. Maronit., 100 *seq.* The *Relatio status collegii Maronitici ad Sixtum V. (1585), in Cod. Vat. 5528, Vatican Library.

[3] "Si dolse che si desse il mangiare a chi ci insidiava," remarked Cardinal Santori on his audience of May 12, 1588, Arm 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 166.

[4] See BALUZE, Miscell., ed. Mansi, IV., 158.

in Rome in 1588.[1] The profession of faith of the Chaldean Patriarch, Elias V. (1559-1591), which was sent by him, was found to be as yet insufficient, though from that time onwards the relations improved so much that they continued under his immediate successors.[2] The question of the reunion of the Copts of Egypt, where the Jesuit Eliano, who had been sent by Gregory XIII., had to undergo severe persecution from the Turks,[3] was again taken up by Sixtus V. On April 20th, 1590, he sent to Gabriel, the new Patriarch of Alexandria, a letter by the Florentine Vecchietti, in which he set forth in eloquent words the doctrine of the primacy and the necessity of union with Rome; at the same time he addressed himself to the vicar-general of the Patriarch, who had studied in Italy.[4]

Special misfortune followed the mission to Constantinople, where a pestilence carried off all the Jesuits who were working there in 1586. The Capuchins bravely threw themselves into the breach, undertaking the pastoral care, not only of the Catholics, but also of the many Christian prisoners, but they in their turn succumbed to the plague. Their leader, Giuseppe da Leonessa, who made an attempt to convert the Sultan, was on the point of undergoing martyrdom, but had to be content to return to Italy in 1589.[5]

It would seem that Sixtus V. also aimed at reunion with the Greek schismatics.[6] An opportunity for this seemed to

[1] *Cf.* *Acta consist, March 30, 1588. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] See LÜBECK, Die chaldäische Kirche, in the *Hist. pol. Bl.*, CLIV., 85.

[3] *Cf.* SACCHINI, V., 175 *seq.* For Eliano *cf.* HOFMANN, Missioninstitut, 223.

[4] See the *letter of August 20, 1590, Brevia Sixti V., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* besides the works of Lechner and Ilg already cited *supra*, p. 145 n. 1 the monograph of BREMAN: St. Joseph of Leonessa, London, 1912.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of January 8, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

be offered by the reports of the resistance made by the Greek bishops to the appointment as Patriarch of the metropolitan of Moscow, Job, which was projected by the Czar Ivan IV., and carried out in 1589 with the help of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II.[1]

Sixtus V. was as careful to see that the doctrines of the Church in the west should remain pure and unchanged as he was zealous for her spread elsewhere. At the beginning of his pontificate, it was evident that, in spite of all declarations, Baianism was not yet conquered in the Low Countries. Towards the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. fresh and disquieting news had reached Rome of the state of Louvain, and when in 1584 Gregory XIII. had sent the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovan Francesco Bonhomini, as nuncio to Germany, he had charged him to direct his attention to the state of affairs there.

The reports which Bonhomini sent to Rome could not fail to increase the anxiety. The precautions which had so far been taken against Baianism, he wrote at the beginning of June, 1585, to Rusticucci, the Secretary of State of Sixtus V.,[2] had not been sufficient; in the opinion of Bonhomini the mistake lay in the fact that in the bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. the enumeration of the condemned propositions was only followed by the general judgment that they were to be held as relatively heretical, erroneous, temerarious and scandalous. Thus it was well known that among the theses condemned there were to be found some heretical propositions, but it could not definitely be said of any one thesis that the bull stigmatized it as heretical; there always remained the excuse that it had been rejected only because it might give scandal, and Baius thought that he could sufficiently avoid this scandal so long as he did not publicly defend any of the condemned propositions. Many had become convinced that Baius still privately held as true the condemned propositions, and was of opinion that this was still lawful for him, even after the bull; if a doctrine

[1] *Cf.* PICHLER, II., 84 *seq.*

[2] June 5, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 88.

opposed to the condemned propositions was defended at the university, it was noticed that he bore with this very unwillingly. What was worse, his followers had carried their master's doctrines to other places, where they defended and propagated them.[1] Bonhomini made secret inquiries among the eldest and most cultured professors of the university concerning the views of Baius, and became convinced that the aged scholar still adhered to his former opinions, which had not been properly understood in Rome.[2] After taking counsel with the Archbishop of Malines, it seemed best to the nuncio that the faculty of Louvain itself should draw up and impose upon the university a connected exposition of the Catholic doctrine on the points in question. The Louvain professor, Lensäus, was charged with this task. It was only completed after the death of Gregory XIII., and was signed by all the professors.[3] As far as Baius himself was concerned, Bonhomini had from the first advised that this learned man, who was still held in the highest esteem, should be summoned to Rome on some honourable pretext.[4] But an illness of Baius, who was already seventy-five years old, rendered this plan impossible.[5] Bonhomini nevertheless advised that formal proceedings should be taken against him, and that he should be obliged to abjure, not only the errors condemned by the Pope, but also his views as to the origin of episcopal jurisdiction; such a step no longer appeared to him so dangerous as he had at first thought and feared.[6]

In Rome the nuncio's proposals were agreed to and Bonhomini himself was furnished with wider powers to enable him to intervene at Louvain. But when the necessary brief

[1] To Rusticucci, November 9, 1585, *ibid.* 184. The questions which he proposed to the witnesses in CLAUDII FLEURII Historia eccles. continuata, L., Augsburg-Innsbruck, 1772, 354 *seqq.*

[2] To Rusticucci, Louvain, October 30, 1585, *loc. cit.*, 180.

[3] LE BACHELET in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, II., 56.

[4] To Rusticucci, Ghent, June 13 and September 4, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 91, 133.

[5] To the same, Oct. 30, 1585, *ibid.* 180.

[6] To the same, Antwerp, Nou. 9, 1585, *ibid.* 184.

was issued[1] Bonhomini was no longer alive, while the man whose doctrines had occasioned such great disturbances followed him to the grave in 1589.

Before the death of Baius a fresh theological controversy at Louvain was occupying the whole attention of the new nuncio Frangipani. At the end of 1585 the Jesuits had established a school at Louvain and had come forward as the opponents of Baianism. One of their number, the celebrated theologian Leonard Lessius,[2] now seemed, by his teaching of grace and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, to afford Baius an excuse for bringing against his adversaries a countercharge of doubtful orthodoxy.[3]

The controversy that thus arose was one of the opening phases of the great dispute concerning the doctrine of grace which led to discussions lasting for many years under Clement VIII. and Paul V. Baius was very possibly aware that in 1581 at Salamanca the Dominican Bañes had declared against the doctrine of grace taught by the Jesuits, and had thereby been encouraged in his own proceedings;[4] in any case, the

[1] February 27, 1587. There it is stated: "ad aures nostros pervenit quod ille tantum abest ut ab istis opinionibus, sententiis et dognatibus sic damnatis abduci potuerit, ut etiam de illis publice disputare et contrariam partem tenentes calumniarum defensores appellere ausus fuerit." *Ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* R. VAN SULL, L. Lessius, Wetteren., 1923.

[3] The acta concerning the controversy in LIVINUS DE MEYER, Historiae controversorum de divinae gratiae auxiliis, Antwerp-Brussels, 1715. *Cf.* G. SCHNEEMANN, Die Entstehung der thomistisch-molinistischen Kontroverse, Freiburg, 1879.

[4] That the controversy was to be attributed to the influence of Baius is stated by Bellarmine, Lessius, Strien and others (SCHNEEMANN, 123, n. 1, 124). The nuncio Frangipani was of opinion: "Con tutto si crede, che non tanto il zelo di carità et il sospetto di scisma habbia dato occasione alla Facoltà di censurare la dottrina delli teologi del Giesù . . . quanto l' haver voluto i detti teologi del Giesù nelle loro lettioni reprendere et dannare con poco modestia la Facoltà sopra quelli articoli dannati dalle fel. me. di Pio V. et Gregorio XIII., che fe movere la Facoltà a render la pariglia alla Società, divolgando fuora et dentro della Fiandra, li padri del Giesù accostarnose al Pelagianismo per la

Jesuits at Louvain discovered during Easter week, 1587, that an attack upon them was in preparation; when they asked to be informed exactly as to the points in their teaching which had been found distasteful, the faculty presented them with a list of 34 propositions which were held to be scandalous. The Jesuits then asked to be allowed to explain more fully and to defend their opinions in friendly conferences with representatives of the faculty. But the theologians of the university would not hear of this. They condemned the 34 propositions of Lessius, published their censure by means of copies, and sought to obtain the approval of the other faculties and of the bishops of the Netherlands.[1]

These proceedings aroused the greatest excitement. More than a hundred priests of Malines and Brussels declared that the doctrine of the Jesuits was Pelagian; in the streets of Louvain the students who adopted the rival views came to blows, while among the people it was said that the Jesuits had apostatized from the Church.[2] The faculty of Douai associated itself with the censure pronounced by Louvain, but the university of Paris refused to do so as it was in sympathy with the Jesuit teaching on grace.[3] Among the Flemish bishops, the Archbishop of Malines and the Bishops of Roermond and Ypres, though they were at first opposed to Lessius,[4] soon changed their views; this was because the Bishop of Middelburg, Johann Strien, who himself came from the university of Louvain, and was president of the

dottrina ch' insegnano alle lor scole." Frangipani to Santori, July 4, 1588, in EHSES, II., 164; *cf. ibid.* 166: "procedendo questa discordia da un emulatione et da un mal affecto d' animi delle parti."

[1] SCHNEEMANN, 125 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 127.

[3] *Ibid.*, 126 *seq.*, 131.

[4] *Ibid.*, 127. Joannes Hauchinus, Archbishop of Malines to Sixtus V., December 15, 1588, in EHSES, Frangipani, II., 207. Petrus Simonius of Ypres had signed the censure of Louvain (*ibid.* 166, and his letter of May 10, 1588, in LIV. DE MEYER, I., 16). Gulielmus Lindanus of Roermond seems at first to have spoken bitterly against the Jesuits (EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 207, n. 2).

royal college there, took up the cause of the Jesuits energetically, and in eloquent letters to the bishops he called attention to the fact that the adversaries of Lessius were all followers of Baius, and that what they had condemned in the Jesuits was the teaching of the ancient university of Louvain and of its most distinguished representatives.[1] The dean of Courtrai, who had received his theological training at the university of Louvain, also declared that 36 years before the teaching on grace in the university had been quite different from what it had been since the time of Baius and Hessels. The Bishop of Antwerp and the Bishop-elect of Tournai also pronounced in favour of the Louvain Jesuits.[2]

In the meantime the Jesuits themselves were by no means inactive. They obtained from the Roman theologians of their Order an approval of the attacked propositions; above all, Bellarmine upheld the cause of Lessius in a written thesis.[3] Lassius himself set forth in a short work the teaching of his own party and the opposite doctrine of the Louvain professors, obtaining for his work the approbation of the theological faculties of Trêves, Mayence and Ingolstadt.[4]

The controversy had lasted for about a year when the nuncio Frangipani intervened. The Louvain professors, he reported to Rome, were trying to obtain the approbation of the Flemish bishops, and wanted the matter to be decided by the Archbishop of Malines; he had written to the faculty that they must be on their guard lest such disputes introduced discord into the Church of God: to the archbishop, that the decision of the matter belonged to the Holy See alone: to the Jesuits that they must not irritate the faculty. He was going himself to Louvain to restore peace, and in the

[1] SCHNEEMANN, 128 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 128.

[3] Printed in XAVIER-MARIE LE BACHELET, S. J., Auctarium Bellarminiarnum, Paris, 1913, 94-100; LIV. DE MEYER, I., 780-784.

[4] SCHNEEMANN, 129.

meantime sent to Rome the controverted propositions.[1] Until the arrival of a Papal decision, Frangipani imposed silence upon both parties.[2]

Sixtus V. took the matter very seriously. The greatest possible danger, he wrote to the nuncio, might come to the Church from such controversies as this;[3] Frangipani must seek in every possible way, and if possible by his personal presence at Louvain, to bring about peace; silence must be imposed upon both parties in the name of the Pope, and they must consign their works to the nuncio to be sent on to Rome.[4] As far as the Jesuits were concerned, this letter contained the favourable expression that the dispute was concerned "with certain points of sound doctrine";[5] which implied that the university had unjustly stigmatized the doctrine of the Jesuits as uncatholic. At the same time, however, Sixtus V. was careful not to offend the faculty of Louvain. In a brief addressed to the dean and the professors,[6] in which he warmly recommended the same things as in the letter to Frangipani, the Pope highly praised their zeal for and their services to the Catholic religion. But when Frangipani arrived in Louvain he did not deliver the brief, because the faculty had not so far complied, as they had been asked to do, with the Pope's request that they would supply material for the new edition of the Index of prohibited books.[7]

[1] To Montalto, Cologne, March 17, 1588, in Ehses, Frangipani II., 111.

[2] Montalto to Frangipani, Rome, April 9, 1588, *ibid.* 129.

[3] *Cum autem eiusmodi contentiones . . . ecclesiarum scissuras parere consueverint, verendum maximopere est, ne damnum exitiale ecclesiae catholicae afferant." To Frangipani, April 15, 1588; *ibid.*, 131.

[4] *Ibid.* These documents were sent by Frangipani on April 28, 1588, *ibid.*, 166.

[5] "Controversias . . . in quibusdam sanae doctrinae (2 Tim. 4, 3) articulis ortas fuisse." *Ibid.*, 131.

[6] Of April 15, 1588, *ibid.*, 132 *seq.*

[7] Frangipani to Cardinal Santori, Louvain, July 4, 1588, *ibid.*, 164 *seq.* The nuncio had arrived at Louvain on June 22. (*ibid.*, 163).

Frangipani tried in vain, by his personal influence, to bring about an agreement between the two parties.[1] The question, he was of opinion, was far from being a matter of indifference; it contained the germs from which ruin might come to the Church.[2] If the Holy See should see fit to condemn one of the opposing doctrines, or even both of them, this would have to be done out of consideration for the Church in those parts, and in such a way as not to injure the reputation of either of the two bodies concerned.[3] On July 10th, 1588, Frangipani issued an edict forbidding both the parties, under pain of excommunication, to censure the other. Thus the censure passed by Louvain on Lessius was disallowed, and it was expressly reaffirmed that the difference of opinion was concerned with matters of sound doctrine. This brought the controversy at Louvain to an end.[4]

It was only to be expected that Sixtus V. would display the same zeal in supporting the Roman Inquisition in every way as he had himself shown as an Inquisitor.[5] In spite of this the zealous Cardinal Santori thought it his duty to urge the new Pope to show favour to the Inquisition.[6] Santori's anxiety must have been satisfied when, in August, 1585, Sixtus V. ordered the erection of new tribunals of the Inquisition at Ascoli, Fermo and Camerino. In October, he confirmed by bull the death penalty inflicted by Paul IV. on those who said mass without having been ordained.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 163-166.

[2] "Questa causa è da stimarse al mio parere, perchè ha seco un male che può crescere giornalmente col seme di questa diversa dottrina." *Ibid.*, 166.

[3] EHSES, Frangipani, II., 166.

[4] Under Innocent XI. the faculty tried once more to obtain an approbation of its censure of Lessius; under Innocent XII. it strove to obtain the express permission of the Pope to take its stand upon the doctrine contained in that censure. But not even this was granted to it. *Ibid.*, 132.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 314, 472 *seqq.*

[6] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164.

[7] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 40.

In 1586 he established the feast of the Inquisitor, St. Peter Martyr, who had been killed in carrying out his duties.[1] In the same year he enlarged the palace of the Inquisition in Rome by building a new prison.[2] At Naples the Pope induced the viceroy Ossuna to allow the presence of a commissary of the Roman Inquisition at the trials of heretics.[3] On August 13th, 1587, a Papal order was issued to all the bishops and Inquisitors to allow appeal from a sentence pronounced by the ordinary or by an inquisitor in a matter of faith, only to the Holy See. In 1588 a tribunal of the Inquisition was also set up at Aosta.[4]

In view of the ruthless severity with which Sixtus V. acted as a civil ruler, it was to be expected that under his rule the number of death sentences pronounced by the Roman Inquisition would be very large. This, however, was not the case. During his five years' pontificate only five sentences of death were carried out, two of which were for crimes which had nothing to do with heresy. After a Carmelite had been executed in February, 1586, for heterodox doctrines,[5] an autodafè took place on August 2nd, 1587, in front of the Minerva.[6] The concourse of people on this occasion was

[1] This was to be kept as a "duplex"; see *Avviso of April 23, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BÄUMER, 480, where there are also other similar prescriptions concerning the feasts of the saints.

[2] See *Avviso of August 9, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* LEA, The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies, New York, 1908.

[4] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 43, 44.

[5] *Quel frate Carmelitano, che dal S. Officio fu mandato a Torre di Nona per abbruggiarlo l' altro giorno in Ponte per errori degni di secretezza, fu per manco scandalo strangolato in prigione et portato alla fossa a mezza notte d' ordine del Papa. Avviso of February 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* for the following the *reports of Malegnani of August 1 and 5, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *letter of G. Gritti of August 1, 1587 (State Archives, Venice), the *Diarium Alaleonis (Vatican Library), and the *Avviso of August 5, 1587. According to the *Avviso of August 8, the execution of the four condemned

especially great, as nothing of the sort had happened for five years.[1] Twelve of the accused abjured their errors, and received minor punishments ; four were condemned to death : the Portuguese Gaspare Eliseo and a priest from Montecchio for heresy, a priest from Aquila for the violation of the seal of confession and the celebration of mass without a consecration, and a Franciscan for having posed as Patriarch of Jerusalem by means of forged bulls. Three of the above died repentant. A sentence of death was also pronounced on the Genoese Orazio Pallavicini, who was in England, for having encouraged heresy. The Franciscan, Christopher Cheffontaines, who held dangerous views as to the moment of transubstantiation at mass, was brought to Rome from the Low Countries, but received a lenient sentence on account of his great former merits.[2] On many other occasions the

men took place on August 5 (Urb. 1055, Vatican Library). This agrees with a note in the *Diario delle giustizie fatte in Roma di persone eretiche e religiose, which states : " A di 5 Agosto 1587 Gasparo Runchi, che mori impenitente e rilassato, D. Pomponio Rustici eretico e infedele, D. Antonio Nuntio eretico pernicioso, fra Giovanni Bellinello negromante (*cf.* as to this the dissertation of BERTOLOTTI on the Streghe nel sec. XVI. in Roma in the *Riv. Europ.*, A. XIV., Florence, 1883, XXXII., 634 *seq.*, and RODOCANACHI, Le Réforme en Italie, II., Paris, 1921, 418 *seq.*) et idolatro furono in Campo di Fiore appiccati e poi brugiati. Morirono li 3 ultimi con buoni sentimenti." Papal Secret Archives, III., 8, p. 365. *Cf. ibid.* the *Annotations of a volume without signature, from the Archivium of the Dataria : " Index anni, mensis et disi expedit, causarum in S. Officio per card. general. Inquisit. " beginning May 13, 1587, " in qua die deputatus assessor ego Iulius Caesar Salicetus." For the executions ordered in Bologna by the Inquisition in the years 1587 and 1588 see BATTISTELLA 106 *seq.* Those executed in Bologna in October, 1588, were described as " luterani e sodomiti."

[1] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* EHSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., lxviii. The statement of Döllinger-Reusch (Bellarmins Selbstbiogr., 235) that B. Bartoccio was executed under Sixtus V. is incorrect. For Bartoccio *cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 306.

Inquisition asked for and obtained the extradition of persons suspected of heretical opinions.[1]

The tribunal also summoned before itself cases of divination and witchcraft,[2] on the strength of a constitution of Sixtus V. of January 5th, 1586, which ordered the bishops and inquisitors to take severe proceedings against astrologers and other soothsayers, as well as sorcerers, and renewed the penalties pronounced against them by earlier Popes.[3] On several occasions the Roman Inquisition was asked for its

[1] Thus Sporeno *reports on July 8, 1589, the desire of the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition for the handing over of a Venetian heretic, who had escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition at Vicenza to the Tyrol, and was in the prison of Count Wolkenstein at Castel Thun (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). Among the papers of Cardinal Santori in Cod. lat. 8994, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, there is a *Process against "Franciscus Moriscus de civitate Cales Normandiae," who was arrested in Naples and taken thence to Rome, and a *Process against "Bertrandus de Santre" of Lorraine, who was arrested in Novara in 1590. *Cf.* also *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XXIX. (1902), 122, and *Scelta di curios. lett.*, CXCVIII., Bologna, 1883, 192 *seq.* The nuncio at Prague, Visconti, on October 2, 1589, called the attention of Cardinal Montalto to the sectary, Francesco Pucci, and advised his arrest, see SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 65, where no mention is made of the statements of Friedrich concerning Pucci in the *Sitzungsber. der Münchner Akad.*, 1880, 111 *seq.* On February 11, 1589, the Inquisition at Bologna received orders to arrest as a heretic: "Alberto Schenk barone di Limburg e con lui il figliolo del duca di Sassonia": see BATTISTELLA, 145. Other examples in AMABILE, I., 334 *seqq.*, and RODOCANACHI, La Réforme en Italie, II., 421 *seq.*, 428.

[2] See the letter of G. Gritti of October 18, 1586, in MUTINELLI, I., 179. The Augustinian who is not named here was Giov. Maria Pevezelli, theologian of Cardinal Este; see *Avviso of October 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also PASTOR, Dekrete, 44. M. ROSI, Le streghe di Triora in Liguria, Rome, 1898.

[3] See Bull., VIII., 646 *seq.* *Cf.* HINSCHIUS, V., 695.

opinion, as for example with regard to the reunion of the Hussites.[1]

At the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Jacopo Savelli acted as dean of the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition. When he fell ill in 1586, the Pope caused the principal documents to be referred to Cardinal Santori, who was very zealous in all that concerned the Inquisition, though the latter insisted upon the observance of the usual procedure, according to which such documents were sent to the senior member of the commission.[2] Savelli died at the beginning of December, 1587;[3] by a bull of January 22nd, which was published on March 15th, 1588, and dealt with the erection of fifteen congregations, the Roman Inquisition underwent no change, as has generally been thought;[4] all that the Pope did was to define more exactly the offences that fell under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the faith.[5]

In the same way the constitution of January 22nd, 1588,

[1] See SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 119. The question of the Patriarch Grimani of Aquileia (*cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 341 n. 2) was once more entrusted by Sixtus V. to the Inquisition (SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 167), which definitely refused him the pallium and the purple; see CARCERERI, G. Grimani, Rome, 1907, 87.

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 174. For Santori's zeal *cf.* also the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 191 *seq.* Numerous *original letters of Italian local Inquisitors to Cardinal Santori and others, in *Acta in Cod. lat. 8994, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. For the local Inquisitors *cf.* FRA CIPRIANO UBERTI, O. PR., Tavola delli Inquisitori Novara, 1586. A copy of this rare work, which is lacking in the Guicciardini collection, was in the Manzoni Library, which was sold in Rome in 1892.

[3] See *Avviso of December 5, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

[4] Thus BANGEN, Kurie, 95, and more recently HENNER, Beiträge zur Organisation der päpstlichen Ketzergerichte, Leipzig, 1890, 370. Henner wrongly gives the date of this ordinance of Sixtus V. as 1587 instead of 1588.

[5] *Cf. infra*, p. 249. The assertion of MIRBT in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXIX., 333 is only justified in so far that Sixtus V. gave the Inquisition its definite form.

did not introduce any substantial change into the Congregation of the Index.[1] In the previous year the Pope, who had once been a member of that congregation, and who held very strict views with regard to prohibited books,[2] had ordered it to prepare a new edition of the Index of prohibited books. To this end great preparatory labours had been begun. In a brief of June 20th, 1587, Sixtus V. had recourse to the universities, such as Paris, Salamanca, Alcalà, Coimbra and Louvain, in order to obtain their co-operation. The introductory bull to the new Index bore the date, March 9th, 1590; although this was printed, it was not yet so entirely completed as to be fit for publication; the Pope at once had it taken in hand, but never saw its completion.[3]

[1] See HILGERS, 11.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of March 19, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See HILGERS, 11 *seq.*, who in several places corrects the account of REUSCH (I., 501 *seqq.*). For the preparatory work see the *report of Gritti of February 7, 1587 (State Archives, Venice), and EHSES, II., 2 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*, 34. Sixtus V. did not go too far only in the case of Bellarmine, by putting on his Index his work "Disputationes de controversiis christ. fidei," on account of the expressions it contained concerning the indirect power of the Popes in temporal matters (*cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 623; COUDERC, I., 130 *seq.* Urban VII. caused the book to be removed from the Index) but also in prohibiting all the writings of the Franciscan Joh. Wild; *cf.* PAULUS I. Wild, Cologne, 1893, App. 2. Supplements to Hilgers in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata Sixtina, 14 *seq.*, and Neue Kunde, 212. The revision of the Jewish books begun under Gregory XIII. was continued under Sixtus V., see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 183; also his *Audientiae, *cod. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives; LE BACHELET, Auct. Bellarm., 658 *seq.* On June 22, 1590, Sixtus V. in accordance with the petition presented by the Mantuan Benedetto da Segni in the name of the Jews, ordered that the correction of the Talmud should be undertaken by the members of the Congregation of the Index who knew Hebrew, without its being necessary to make a translation of the whole Talmud; see STERN, Urkundl. Beiträge uber die Stellung der Päpste zu den Iuden, I., Kiel, 1893, 156.

A stranger fate than that of his Index befell the Vulgate of Sixtus V. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, new versions of the Holy Scriptures in Latin and other languages were very plentiful. Among other abuses connected with the book of books the Council of Trent called attention to the great variety of these versions, and the difficulty that they occasioned; thus it was complained that there was a danger of uncertainty arising as to the sense and meaning of important passages of Scripture; the way was opened to heresy so long as anyone was free, on his own authority, to treat the translation of Valla or of Erasmus as authentic. The Council saw that the remedy for abuse was to declare the ancient Latin translation from the Hebrew and the Greek to be the only authentic one. This did not imply that the ancient Latin Bible reproduced the original text in every case with absolute correctness, or that it was to be preferred to the original; the Council aimed at nothing further than at setting forth the ancient Latin version as an authentic source for dogmatic and moral teaching. For the Council the guarantee of its dogmatic safety lay in the Church's use of that version, for the accusation of doctrinal error had never been brought against it through all the centuries. There was no prohibition of consulting other ancient or modern Catholic versions in order to elucidate its meaning.[1]

[1] Chi havesse pretermesso nel decreto l' approbatione di questa editione vulgata . . . saria ancora stato causa, che in breve tempo non si fusse saputo, qual era la vera bibia, tante se ne sono tradutte da venti anni in qua et traducevasene tutto il giorno, et tante se ne sono stampate et stampavasene tutto il giorno, varie l' una dall' altra in molti et importatissimi lochi, et attissimi non solo a fomentare et notrire le presenti heresie, ma a far nascere dell' altre, dove la editione vecchia et vulgata non fu mai suspetta di heresia, la qual parte è la potissima n' i libri sacri (the legates of the Council to Cardinal Farnese on June 8-9, 1546, in BUSCHBELL, 519). Non ducimus pro abusu diversas et varias esse bibliorum translationes . . ., sed dicimus abusum esse plures haberi translationes ut authenticas (the Bishop of Fano at the

The Council's declaration only referred in general to the Latin Bible which had been in use in the Church from ancient times, and not to any definite edition of that Bible. But since the manuscripts and printed editions differed a good deal from each other, the Council of Trent decreed "that the Holy Scriptures, and especially this ancient and widespread version, must be published as far as possible without any mistakes." Naturally, reliance was placed upon the help of the Pope and of the treasures in the libraries of Rome for the carrying out of this decree.

Scientific criticism of texts was still in its initial stages at that time, and the decrees of the Council led to its being greatly developed. Erasmus had made the best manuscripts the basis of his edition of the Greek New Testament, and had been guided by the principle that a manuscript was the more to be relied upon the more it differed from the Latin Vulgate.[1] Cardinal Marcello Cervini, to whose zeal the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate was due, thought that an emended edition of the Latin Bible could be promised within a short time.[2]

In these circumstances it was fortunate that the Popes did not hasten overmuch in carrying out the charge

Council of Trent, in MERKLE, I., 42). In like manner the Archbishop of Acerenza (in EHSES, Acta, II., 59, 40) and Cardinal Pole (*ibid.*, 65), who adds: "Neque latina tantum est approbanda, sed graeca et hebraica, quia debemus pro omnibus ecclesiis providere." The original text, as such, does not call for any approbation. With regard to the sense of *authenticus* at the Council, and the subsequent exaggerations of certain ultra-zealous Spaniards, *cf.* the works on the Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, e.g. R. CORNELY, Introductio generalis, Paris, 1894, 460 *seqq.* HÖPFL, 1-43. In like manner the English Protestants too have their quasi-official Authorized Version, the Dutch their "Staatenbibl". HERZOG-HAUCK, Realenzy-klopädie, II³., 99, 123.

[1] BLUDAU, 15; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 30 *seq.*

[2] Letter of April 24, 1546, in BUSCHBELL, 468; HÖPFL, Vulgata, 44.

committed to them by the Council; and it was a further piece of good fortune that Rome possessed the man who, above all others, was fitted to prepare the way for it; this was Guglielmo Sirleto, who was in every sense a model of a learned ecclesiastic. Sirleto was second to none of his contemporaries in his knowledge of the classical and Hebrew languages: he was able to point out to Erasmus himself errors in his Greek grammar which to-day would be hardly excusable in a beginner.[1] His extraordinary learning was united to great disinterestedness and piety, and he steadily refused the splendid positions that were offered to him.[2] In quiet retirement, first in the house of Cardinal Cervini, and then with the Theatines,[3] without any thoughts of honour or esteem, he was content to work for the Church and devote himself to her service with a diligence and perseverance that never relaxed during his forty years of labour on the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church.[4] From an exaggerated sense of modesty he refused to print the fruits of his uninterrupted researches among the works of the Fathers of the Church, but he shared in almost all the undertakings in the field of ecclesiastical learning, so that the traces of his influence are to be found almost everywhere.

During the years 1545-1547 and 1551-1552 Sirleto contributed, through his patron, Cardinal Marcello Cervini, a number of passages and evidences from the Fathers for the use of the sessions at Trent, and again in the years 1561-1563, through Cardinal Seripando;[5] he also took part in the reform of the breviary, the missal and the calendar.[6]

[1] Examples in Höpfl, Sirlet, 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2.

[3] *Ibid.* and Höpfl, Vulgata, 65 n. 2.

[4] As the object of his scientific work he kept in view the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbour. - Höpfl, 26, n. 1.

[5] Buschbell, 929-955; Höpfl, Sirlet, 17, 118. Sirleto, so writes Seripando in 1562, was of more use to the Council in Rome than fifty prelates in Trent could be. Höpfl, Vulgata, 72, n. 1.

[6] Höpfl, Sirlet, 3. *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 287 *seqq.*

At the same time he disinterestedly assisted the researches of other scholars, as for example for the great Antwerp polyglot of Arias Montanus.[1] But it was in quite a special way that he rendered great service in establishing a better text of the Latin Vulgate, and of the old Greek version of the Old Testament. Sirleto was marvellously equipped with the learning necessary for such a work. Inspired by the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate, Cervini wished for a scientific appreciation and defence of the ancient Latin Bible against the attacks of Valla and Erasmus, for which purpose he first enlisted the services of the Franciscan, Riccardus Cenomanus, and when the latter had to give up the task, of Sirleto. From 1549 to 1555 Sirleto devoted all his free time with rigid perseverance to this work, which gradually developed into a textual and critical objective commentary on the Gospels in thirteen quarto volumes.[2] The Vatican Library could give him for his purpose one of the most precious Greek manuscripts, the antiquity of which, however, he post-dated by almost five hundred years;[3] he was also able to make use of at any rate the variants of another no less celebrated manuscript at Lyons.[4] In this way the foundations were laid for the proposed corrected edition of the Latin Bible.

But the Council of Trent had also given an impulse towards a better edition of the original Greek and Hebrew texts of

[1] Montanus says in his preface, June 23, 1571, that by Sirleto "theologorum labor in perquirendis s. voluminum variis lectionibus magna ex parte sit sublevatus: tanta enim industria et iudicio eas collegit et quas sequi et quas reiicere oporteat ita docte admonuit, ut merito tanti beneficii immortales gratias amplissimo huic viro debeas" (in NESTLE, Septuagintastudien, I., 3; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 3, n. 1). Sirleto's critical notes on the text of the Psalms were published in the polyglot (HÖPFL, Vulgata, 103). For similar notes on Ecclesiasticus *ibid.*, 103 *seq.*

[2] HÖPFL, Sirlet, 22.

[3] Erasmus too was in error, to about a thousand years, in his opinion as to the age of the Codex B. HÖPFL, Sirlet, 36 *seqq.*

[4] Codex D. or *Bezae, ibid.*, 40 *seq.*

the Holy Scriptures.[1] In this matter too it was Cardinal Cervini who sought to give effect to this desire of the Council. As before, he placed the matter of the Greek New Testament in the experienced hands of Sirleto,[2] while the Greek version of the Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, was to be restored to its original purity by another of his learned friends, Nicolò Maggiorano.[3] On January 14th, 1554, Sirleto received from Julius III. a reward for having during six years devoted himself to the correction of the New Testament "in conformity with the injunctions of the Council of Trent."[4] In 1554 it was hoped that the labours of Maggiorano would shortly be published in the form of a collection of variants of the text.[5] But however important the works of the two scholars were, neither the one nor the other made their appearance. Sirleto put off the publication of his Greek New Testament because he could never feel quite satisfied with it;[6] in the case of the work of Maggiorano a number of difficulties arose, so that it was useless to expect its publication during the pontificate of Paul IV.[7]

Cardinal Cervini, who had been raised to the Papal throne under the name of Marcellus II., went to his grave without seeing anything more than the preparatory labours for the desired fulfilment of the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate. The city of the Popes had been surpassed by none in the solidity and variety of these preparatory labours; yet one

[1] Höpfl, Vulgata, 49. The legates of the Council wrote on April 26, 1546, to Cardinal Farnese, that by the order of the Council he was to ask the Pope to be pleased with all speed to correct in the first place our Latin version, and then the Greek and Hebrew. Buschbell, 471 (*cf.* 446): see *supra* p. 199.

[2] Höpfl, Vulgata 49.

[3] *Ibid.*, 55.

[4] *Ibid.* 51; Höpfl, Sirlet, 25; Mercati in *Théol. Rev.*, VIII. (1909), 60 *seq.*

[5] Masius to Latinius, February 25, 1554, in Lossen, 153; Höpfl, Sirlet, 37. *Cf.* Nestle, Septuagintastudien, I., 14.

[6] Höpfl, Vulgata, 51.

[7] *Ibid.* 55. *Cf.* Nestle, *loc. cit.* 14-17.

work, which could be considered as a real carrying into effect of the Tridentine decree, had appeared, not in Rome but in the Low Countries. As various Latin, French and Flemish Bibles had been involved in the prohibition of books made by Charles V., the University of Louvain attempted to provide a substitute, all the more so as it had already published in 1546, by the work of one of its members, the Dominican Johannes Henten, an emended Latin Bible, which had been several times reprinted. Henten had collated thirty manuscripts in preparing his work.[1]

Whereas edition after edition of the Louvain Bible appeared, the Eternal City was still in want of the preliminary requirement for the publication of important works, namely a press capable of producing them. Already Paul IV. had attempted to remedy this defect, and in the time of Pius IV. Paulus Manutius, the son of the celebrated Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius the elder, had been recalled to Rome in 1561. A commission of four Cardinals, the most active of whom was Cardinal Mula, was to superintend the publication of ecclesiastical works in the Latin and Greek languages, but in the setting up of the new press what was principally aimed at was the publication of a Latin Bible.[2]

The summons to Manutius had been suggested by Cardinal Seripando, who had succeeded Cervini, not only as legate to the Council, but also as the principal promoter of the so greatly desired new edition of the Vulgate. To his no small sorrow the work not only made slow progress,[3] but Seripando himself was forced to admit after mature consideration and discussion with the other Cardinals, that for the time being it was wiser not to undertake the printing of the Latin Bible ;[4] in spite of this, however, the interest in the undertaking did not diminish.

Sirleto worked so hard that he fell ill for a long time from

[1] Höpfl, Vulgata, 56.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 35 *seq.*

[3] Letter of November 23, 1561, in Höpfl, Vulgata, 66.

[4] *Ibid.*, 67.

overwork.[1] Foreign scholars gladly offered their assistance. Thus in the time of Pius IV. Lavinus Torrentius offered to collate the Netherland manuscripts for the Roman scholars; the monks of Avellana and the Benedictines of St. Paul's placed at their disposal valuable manuscripts of the text of the Bible.[2] In the time of Pius V. it was above all the Benedictines of Florence and Monte Cassino, and the Abbot of S. Benigno at Genoa who laboured zealously upon the critical emendation of the Latin text; in the time of Gregory XIII. Arias Montanus with the help of his friends, collated more than thirty Netherland codices to the same end.[3] In Rome too, especially in the time of Pius V., men were hard at work. Sirleto, who had been a Cardinal since 1565, devoted all his energies to the great undertaking with wonderful diligence, until the time of his death.[4] In 1569 Pius V. set up a special commission for the correction of the Vulgate; this was composed of Cardinals Colonna, Sirleto, Madruzzo, Souchier, Antonio Carafa and Morone, who were assisted by twelve consultors. The duty of the latter was to point out to the Cardinals those passages where the reading was doubtful, and the text was thereupon decided by vote at the general meetings.[5] This method of procedure however, was very slow. Arias Montanus, who was at the same time working on the Antwerp polyglot, boasted that more was done there in a month than was done in a year in Rome,[6] and Cardinal Carafa complained in June, 1569, that only fourteen chapters had been completed; the reason for this lay in the fact that the commission was composed of too heterogeneous elements, some of whom wished to change everything out of hand, while others would have retained everything as authentic.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 120 n.
[2] *Ibid.*, 71-73 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 82 *seq.*, 105.
[4] For his full collection of variants, *ibid.*, 114 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 77 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*
[6] To Philip II., October 9, 1570, *ibid.*, 101.
[7] To Salmeron, June 17, 1569, *ibid.*, 100.

To this was added the fact that the want of a press on any large scale was painfully obvious. Paulus Manutius had found himself exposed in Rome to a certain hostility, so he had made over his workshops to the Roman people and had left the Eternal City. It was then once more suggested to Gregory XIII. that he should summon capable craftsmen from Germany, France and Italy, and start the printing of the Latin Bible.[1] These plans were not carried out, and during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the world still had to wait for the Latin Bible which was so urgently demanded. The fairly good editions of Plantin at Antwerp afforded for the moment some sort of compensation.[2]

But even though Paulus Manutius did not have any successor in Rome at first, yet another press was set up in the time of Gregory XIII. which was of importance for the spread of the Holy Scriptures. In his zeal for the missions in the east the Pope conceived the idea of having polemical and doctrinal works printed in the languages of those peoples, and of having them secretly introduced among those nations where the missionaries were excluded. Cardinal Medici provided the cost of carrying this plan into execution, so that in 1584 the "Medici press for the oriental languages" was set up in Rome.[3] The first book printed there was an

[1] Memorial of Giovanni Carga to Cardinal Lomellini, 1576, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata Sixtina, 141-150; HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 116.

[2] HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 106.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 219. TIRABOSCHI, Storia d. lett. ital., VII., 1, Rome, 1784, 195; GUGL. ENR. SALTINI in the *Giorn. stor. degli archivi Toscani*, IV. (1860), 257-308. As early as 1581, Zanetti, the printer of Gregory XIII. boasted that by his efforts type for printing Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian had been made. (HÖPFL, Vulgata, 119, n. 1). "Il Gran Duca ha dimandato lizenza a N.S. di possere fare stampare qua nella stampa di Sua Altezza la biblia in lingua siriaca, caldea arabica, persiana et ethiopica per mandarne in quelle regioni a quei popoli che la desiderano per catechizzation loro." (Avviso of January 17, 1590, in ORBAAN, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII. [1910], 311). Information concerning the obtaining of Arabic, Armenian and other characters in BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 105.

Arabic version of the four Gospels. By the wish of Gregory XIII. 18,000 copies were to be printed, which were to be introduced by merchants into the countries using the Arabic language.[1] Without taking smaller publications into account,[2] a great polyglot Bible was projected, which was to be published in no less than eleven languages and as many volumes.[3]

The polyglot, it is true, remained only a project, but at least one of the texts in a foreign language, which was to have been included in it was finally published.[4] Cardinal Montalto, in his work on the writings of St. Ambrose noticed that especially the biblical quotations from the Old Testament made by the Doctor of the Church frequently did not agree with the Latin version then in use;[5] the edition of the Old Testament used by St. Ambrose was certainly not the translation of St. Jerome, but a version from the Greek, taken from the earliest pre-Christian version of the Hebrew text, known as the Septuagint. It was looked upon as being of great importance for the projected edition of the Vulgate that the text of that version should be known as exactly as possible, as it represented a witness that was older than any Hebrew texts that had been preserved. Therefore, at the instigation of Montalto, a commission was formed in 1578, under the presidency of

[1] SALTINI, *loc. cit.* 259. In 1610 Raimondi offered the King of Spain 3000 copies of these Gospels (*ibid.*, 260). *Cf.* ZENKER, Bibliotheca orientalis, n. 1545. According to Zenker (n. 1570) an Arabic breviary had been published by the Medici press in 1584. The first printed Arabic works in Italy are a breviary, Fano, 1514, and a translation of the Tridentine profession of faith "iussu Pii V. in collegio soc. Jesu, 1566" (ZENKER, n. 1566, 1569).

[2] These only appeared in the time of Clement VIII.; *cf.* SALTINI *loc. cit.*, 272.

[3] SALTINI in the *Boll. ital. degli studii orient.*, N.S. n. 22.

[4] HÖPFL, Vulgata, 119-125.

[5] *Ibid.* 126; KELLNER in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, XLVI. (1922), 325 *seq.*

Cardinal Antonio Carafa, to prepare an edition of the Septuagint.[1]

Such an undertaking was alike in accordance with the wishes of the Council of Trent, and with the aspiration of Gregory XIII. to prepare editions of the Bible for the use of the missions in the east ;[2] moreover, Rome possessed one of the best manuscripts of the Septuagint. After eight years of work, in which the Benedictines of the Cassinese Congregation as well as other foreign scholars took part, a splendid work was produced, which has been reprinted down to modern times.[3] The Greek text in the Sixtine edition is confronted with the Hebrew, and with various Oriental translations, as well as with quotations from the Fathers of the Church, while at the end of each chapter are collected the fragments of other ancient Greek versions.[4] The work

[1] For its members see HÖPFL, *loc. cit.* 121. According to the printing privilege granted by Sixtus V. in "Epistolae decretales 1591" of Carafa, the Septuagint was printed "suasu nostro, cura ac diligentia" of Carafa (BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 241). Montalto does not seem to have had any special knowledge of Greek, for his library only contained Greek works in a translation ; see CUGNONI in *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 5 ; *cf.* HÖPFL, 152, n. 2. Ghislieri (in F. VEZZOSI, I scrittori de' cherici regolari detti Teatini, I., Rome, 1780, 14), wrote it is true in connexion with the correction of the Vulgate : "Ceterum ipse Sixtus P.M., cum per eam emendationem sibi, ut homini in scholastica theologia, *magisque* in linguarum peritia versato, haud satisfactum esset . . ." ; but probably instead of *magisque* should be read *magis quam*.

[2] That this consideration also contributed to the publication of the Septuagint was wrongly called in question by NESTLE (Septuagintastudien, I., 4). *Cf.* HÖPFL, Vulgata, 120, n. 2.

[3] The commission took as the basis of its work the Aldine edition of the Septuagint of 1518. The freely corrected copy of the Aldine, which was used for the press, is still in the Vatican Library. A. RAHLFS in the *Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissensch.*, XXXIII. (1913), 30.

[4] HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 123 *seq.*

was ready for printing in 1586,[1] but did not appear until 1587. In the following year (1588) there appeared as a supplement a Latin version of the text of the Septuagint.[2] Sirleto, who had rendered great services in preparing this edition of the Septuagint, did not live to see its publication, for he died on October 8th, 1585.

Now that the work of printing the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint had been so successful, the idea of a Sixtine Vulgate took possession of the Pope with renewed force. With the magnificence that was so characteristic of him he at once conceived the idea of accomplishing something extraordinary in this matter as well. In the first place his scholars had to finish the preparatory work with all speed, and then he resolved to take the matter in hand himself, and with the special assistance of heaven, which, as head of the Church, he thought he could count upon even in matters of literary criticism, settle the readings in every case of doubt. After the completion of this unique work, he intended to present it solemnly to the Church with a special bull, and strictly forbid all other Latin versions. In November, 1586,[3] Sixtus V. appointed a commission to undertake the preparatory work under the presidency of Cardinal Carafa, and what had not been accomplished in forty years was actually done in only four. It is true that the collation of manuscripts of the Old Testament which would have taken so much time, had already been done for the most part by Sirleto; the commission only had to revise his work, and followed in his footsteps "down to the smallest detail."[4] A folio edition of the Antwerp Bible of 1583, in the margin of which the commission wrote its proposed changes, does not, in the

[1] Probably in October. AMANN, 31, n. 5.

[2] HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 126-127. For the reprint of the Roman edition of the Septuagint which is supposed to have been projected in Frankfort in 1587 *cf.* EHSES, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 19 34, 45.

[3] AMANN, 29, n. 3. First session of the commission on, November 28, 1586, *ibid.*, 31. For the members, *ibid.*, 29.

[4] HÖPFL, 134; *cf.* the tables, *ibid.* 135, 240-277.

case of the Old Testament, generally make mention of the manuscripts which it was following, but these had already been indicated by Sirleto.[1] The manuscript generally followed, as had been done by Sirleto, was that of Monte Amiato, which is still considered the best to-day. As far as other good ancient texts were concerned, the commission had at any rate an elenchus of the various readings.[2]

All these advantages made it possible for Carafa and his collaborators to produce "an excellent work." Its text, in the opinion of an expert, "is on the whole so good that even to-day, in spite of a greater wealth of material, and the perfecting of textual criticism, it would be difficult to produce a better."[3]

The Sixtine edition of the Septuagint was published by the Roman printer, Zanetti. But in 1587 the Pope set up his own Vatican Press, which was directed by the Venetian, Domenico Basa.[4] In the bull which entrusted the charge of this press to a special commission of Cardinals, Sixtus V. had ordained that all important questions which arose in connection with the publication of the Bible, or other ecclesiastical works, were to be laid before himself, so that, in virtue of the special privilege granted by God to the Holy See, he might decide what corresponded best to the truths of the faith.[5] In accordance with this pronouncement, Sixtus V. now actually took a personal part in the progress of the work. What he now learned concerning this did not please him, and in a conversation with Carafa on November 16th, 1588, there was a violent discussion. On the following day he demanded, through Santori, to see the work accomplished by the congregation as he wished personally to devote his energies to the Bible, and to "bring a matter so worthy of his attention to completion."[6] Then Sixtus V. himself

[1] *Ibid.* 134 *seq.*,

[2] AMANN, 32-37; HÖPFL., 129.

[3] HÖPFL, 138.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 199 *seqq.*

[5] Bull., VIII., 996.

[6] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 183; Diarium audientiarum in LE BACHELET, 28; AMANN, 45 *seq.*

set to work to read everything, and personally to decide upon the text that was to be printed. The matter went forward with all the energy and decision that characterized him, and at the beginning of June, 1589, he had reached the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse of St. John.[1]

But this direct intervention of the Pope was shown to be very disastrous. While he was still Cardinal Montalto, Sixtus V. had devoted himself to a work of textual criticism as editor of the works of St. Ambrose.[2] and in this he had given definite proofs that his ruthless temperament, accustomed to act without any consideration, was not suited to the patient, painfully detailed and exact work of deciphering a text. He was much more inclined to dominate the manuscript than to let himself be dominated by it; what he could not at once explain must be discarded, and thus his St. Ambrose was found to be very faulty by later editors,[3] and afforded an opportunity to the Protestants of early times to throw suspicion in general upon the whole of Catholic editorship.[4]

[1] Badoer on June 3, 1589, in HÜBNER, III., 301 *seq*; BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 136. The date, July 3 in Baumgarten (*ibid.* 22, 28) is wrong.

[2] Some letters of Charles Borromeo to Cardinal Montalto 1571-1581 concerning this edition in CUGNONI, *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 551-562. *Cf.* HÖPFL, 126 n.

[3] The Maurists attribute the blame to the collaborators of Montalto (preface to their edition in MIGNE, Patrologiae cursus completus, Ist Ser., XIV., 18); in like manner R. CEILLER O.S.B. (Hist. générale des Auteurs sacrés, V., Paris 1865, 584). The most recent editor of St. Ambrose, Karl Schenkl, passes a severe judgment: Cardinal Montalto "non dubitavit ea (Ambrosii opera) plane ad arbitrium suum refingere suisque commentis insertis deturpare" (Corpus Scriptorum eccles. lat., XXXII., 1, lxxviii.). Schenkl further adds: "Neque tamen silentio praetermittendum est, in hac editione non paucas scripturae corruptelas egregiis emendationibus sublatas esse" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* also HURTER, 108.

[4] E.g. Joh. Dalläus: "Haec est illa officina ex qua miser ille Ambrosius tam foede interpolatus prodiit (De usu Patrum, Geneva, 1686, 84).

Montalto changed the text of the Doctor of the Church, suppressed additions, and substituted other things at will, without having any guarantee from the manuscripts.[1]

Such an arbitrary attitude was obviously not the best preparation for an examination of the text of Holy Scripture, where more than in anything else the greatest respect for tradition must be predominant. In fact Sixtus V. to a great extent destroyed the laborious work of his biblical commission. The corrections which it had made in the Antwerp Bible of 1583, in the light of the oldest manuscripts, were to a great extent removed by the Pope, and the Antwerp text restored.[2] The reason for this procedure may have lain in the fact that Sixtus V. was accustomed to that text, which was that of the Louvain Bible; perhaps too he feared lest too many changes would give the Protestants an excuse for finding fault with the Catholic Church for having hitherto used a false Bible.[3] He certainly only rarely arrived at a decision without taking the manuscripts into account,[4] but he once more accepted additions which had crept into the text from marginal notes, or in some other way, and which had already been removed by the biblical commission and what was worse, and almost incomprehensible, he removed certain things which undoubtedly formed part of the authentic text of the Holy Scriptures.[5] The Pope's collaborators

[1] *Cf. Kneller* in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Théol.*, XLVI. (1922), 313-317.

[2] In the 1st book of Samuel, e.g. the commission had changed the Louvain text in about 358 cases. Sixtus V. removed these changes in 316 cases and only left 18 of the corrections of the commission. AMANN, 55.

[3] AMANN, 47 *seqq.*

[4] HÖPFL, 149, n. 1.

[5] *Cf.* the accurate collation of the Sixtine Vulgate in HETZENAUER, 108*-148*. Bellarmine's list of the principal changes in LE BACHELET, 130-134; NISIUS in the *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, XXXVI. (1912), 220 *seqq.* In the comparatively few hours which Sixtus V. was able to devote to the bible, his study of the state of the manuscript was naturally not included. We must concur in the opinion of Amann (56) that in several cases Sixtus arbitrarily altered the text. HÖPFL, 150.

were certain learned Augustinians, such as Angelo Rocca ;[1] in cases of doubt he also consulted the Jesuit Toledo, without, however, telling him whether he would follow his advice.[2] Sixtus wished to make it perfectly clear that the new Vulgate was his own work.

Even before the revision of the text was quite finished, the Bible was sent to the press. At the beginning of June, 1589, when the Pope was settling the text of the Apocalypse, the printing had got as far as the Book of Wisdom, that is half the whole Bible.[3] Sixtus himself had the proofs laid before him, and himself took part in the correction of printer's errors.[4] On November 1st, 1589, the whole of the Old Testament was in type, and by May 2nd, 1590, the whole Bible was finished.[5] and could be bought by anyone for four gold ducats.[6] On May 31st twenty-five copies were sent out to the princes together with a brief of May 29th.[7] A bull, in which the Vulgate was solemnly presented, and declared to be the only authoritative Latin version, was prepared very soon afterwards.[8]

[1] Badoer, June 3, 1589, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 136.

[2] Olivares to Philip II., May 7, 1590, in LE BACHELET, 189.

[3] Badoer, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 22 *seqq.*

[6] Olivares, May 14, 1590, in HÖPFL, 322. Copies on large paper were more expensive ; *cf.* Badoer, August 25, 1590, in AMANN, 150. Bibliographical descriptions of the Bible, *ibid.* 133 and BAUMGARTEN in the *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1922, 167 *seqq.*

[7] Avviso of June 3, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 24 ; *letter of Brumani of June 2, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. BAUMGARTEN, 110, enumerates twelve of these briefs. The brief to Philip II. printed in HÖPFL, 322 *seq.*, that to Sigismund of Poland in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., n. 126, p. 170 *seq.* ; the brief to the Emperor in part in BAUMGARTEN, 110 *seq.*

[8] BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 64. *Ibid.* 28-65 for the details of the bull, the true solution of the date (March 1 in the year of the Incarnation 1589, that is 1590 of our era) and an exact diplomatic copy from the original discovered by Baumgarten. The

Long before the new Bible made its appearance, the news of the arbitrary action of the supreme editor had spread anxiety far and wide. "From the first," wrote the canonist Peña, "there had been public regret that in certain passages sufficient reverence had not been shown for the Word of God, as to which no mortal man has any authority."[1] Olivares, according to the reports of Toledo, informed his sovereign[2] that besides other important changes, the Pope had in one instance omitted five whole lines; Toledo feared that by such mutilation he was laying himself open to the attacks of the heretics, and was giving more serious scandal to the faithful than anything else the Pope could do; this alone seemed to make it necessary to summon a General Council.[3] Bellarmine spoke in similar terms in the time of Gregory XIV.: there is reason to fear, he said, that the Protestants will avail themselves of the changes made by Sixtus V. to prove that the Pope has falsified the Holy Scriptures with his own hand. A more effective means of disturbing Catholics and consolidating the heretics could hardly be imagined than this work; they would now have a strong and manifest proof of their old contention that the Pope made himself the equal of God, if they could show that the Pope had assumed authority over the word of God, and thus attempted to correct the Holy Spirit Himself.[4] Cardinal Antonio Carafa had the courage to express the general disapproval to Sixtus V. himself, telling him frankly that, as far as the text of the Holy Scriptures were concerned, even the Pope must not allow himself to add, omit or change anything.[5]

bull was not included in the Bullarium. Printed in R. CORNELY, Hist. et crit. Introductio in V. T. libros sacros, I., Paris, 1894, 486-495, and in HETZENAUER, 149*-155*.

[1] In LE BACHELET, 191 *seq.*

[2] May 7, 1590, *ibid.* 189.

[3] "Por muy occasionada à provocarse un concilio general quando no huviera otra cosa." *Ibid.*

[4] Memorial in LE BACHELET, 137.

[5] Olivares, May 7, 1590, *ibid.*, 189.

Naturally Sixtus V. broke out into lively indignation at such words, and threatened the courageous Cardinal with the Inquisition.[1] But in his calmer moments he could not conceal from himself that Carafa was right. The members of the biblical commission, whose work Sixtus V. had to a great extent destroyed, would certainly take the part of Carafa ; the Cardinals of the Index, to whom the new Bible was presented,[2] did not trouble to conceal their opinion, and by their orders Cardinal Ascanio Colonna made oral and written remonstrances to the Pope.[3] Sixtus V. could not be unaware of the views of scholars in Rome. Moreover, a number of printer's errors were discovered, and once the search for these was begun, more and more came to light. As a copy of the Bible had been presented to the Spanish ambassador, Rocca went to him one day and asked permission to be allowed to correct a number of printer's errors.[4] An attempt was made to repair this defect by means of attaching loose sheets, covered with notes, cancellations, and corrections in writing or in print,[5] but such disfigurements in an edition de luxe were not calculated to increase the satisfaction of the Pope with his work.

Sixtus V. was obviously a man of inflexible obstinacy when he felt himself to be in the right, but this did not imply that he was inaccessible to advice. In connection with this very question of the Bible, Cardinals Montalto and Rovere expressed the view that at first he would remain immovable in his decisions, but after a time would suffer people to speak to him on the subject.[6] In the matter of the Bible, in view of the strong opposition and the serious objections raised to it

[1] *Ibid.* From the beginning of May until August Carafa was at the baths of Lucca. AMANN, 58, n. 1.

[2] Avviso of November 25, 1589, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 22.

[3] Badoer, August 25, 1590, in AMANN, 151 ; Olivares, May 14, 1590, in LE BACHELET, 190.

[4] Olivares, June 30, 1590, *ibid.*

[5] Summary of the corrections in AMANN, 138-141 ; BAUMGARTEN in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1922, 265.

[6] Badoer, *loc. cit.* 150 *seq.*

he could not shut his eyes or fail to see that his work could not be imposed under the gravest penalties of the Church as the one and only approved text of the Vulgate. He therefore abandoned his original plan at least so far as not to publish the bull which had long been prepared, with its grave enactments concerning the exclusive authenticity of the Sixtine text, with those formalities which were necessary to give it the force of law.

In the bull itself it was expressly laid down that it was to be promulgated by being affixed at the Lateran, St. Peter's and the Cancelleria, and that its obligatory force as far as Italy was concerned would begin within four months of its publication, and within eight months beyond the Alps. Thus its being publicly set up at the places named was absolutely essential to the bull on the Vulgate. But as far as contemporary notices of the Sixtine Vulgate are concerned, neither the reports of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, nor the weekly Roman *Avvisi* contain a word as to the publication of the bull, and the same is true of the consistorial reports.[1] The still preserved original of the Vulgate bull, bears, it is true, at the end the testimony of the *cursori*, that the prescribed promulgation had been made,[2] and the same attestation is to be found on a printed copy of the bull, published in August, 1590.[3] But at the time when

[1] *Cf.* HOPFL, 191 *seq.*

[2] Of April 10, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 64.

[3] NISIUS in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, XXXVIII. (1914), 233. BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 259 *seqq.* Just as the title bears the addition : "ad quorum [Bibliorum] normam Missalia et Breviaria necnon omnes ecclesiastici libri reformari debent," so in all probability the printed copy was meant for the Venetian printers (see *infra* p. 219). If it had been intended to communicate the bull officially to the whole Church, this addition would have been incomprehensible. After the publication of the original bull, the printed edition could only acquire legal force when it had been officially signed and sealed, and of this nothing is said. Cardinal Giustiniani, prefect of the cardinalitial congregation of the Vatican press, of which the Venetian printers complained, had ordered twelve copies from the printer Basa. BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 162.

this printed copy became known in Rome, the theologian Gabriel Vasquez was a professor at the Roman College, and he attests that sometimes this note by the *cursori* was placed on certain documents in the first instance, before they were promulgated, even though for some reason this never took place.[1] Another contemporary authority on canon law, the moral theologian Azor, who was also a professor at the Roman College, expressly states that this occurred in the case of the Sixtine Vulgate bull.[2] This note as to publication would have been placed in advance on the bull, for the very reason that it was to be printed in the Sixtine Bible. In 1610, at the suggestion of the professor of theology, Adam Tanner of Ingolstadt, an inquiry into the question of its publication was set on foot by the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva. The result of this was that the bull on the Vulgate could not be considered as a bull published with canonical validity, since no mention of its publication could be found in the registers. Bellarmine afterwards Cardinal, was not in Rome when Sixtus V. published his Bible, and on his return in November, 1590, he learned from many Cardinals that the promulgation had certainly not taken place. Paul V. confirmed this to the Jesuit Alber in 1610, when the latter informed him of the result of the Roman inquiry.[3]

[1] "Accidit interdum, ut in legibus et in bullis impressis dicatur: 'Publicatae tali die,' et tamen nunquam solemniter fuerint promulgatae, nec tunc vim legis habebunt" (In 1, 2, S. THOMAE, tom. II., disp. 155, c. 2, n. 15, Antwerp, 1621, 62).

[2] See the following note.

[3] Reply of the German assistant of the General of the Order, F. Alber. to Tanner: "Circa Biblia Sixtina *post diligentem inquistionem et discussionem* hanc denique responsionem dederunt ii, qui huic rei incumbebant . . . : Certum est, Bullam de iis Bibliis non fuisse promulgatam, cuius rei certissimum indicium est, in Registro [the Apostolic chancery] huiusmodi promulgationem non reperiri; et Ill. Card. Bellarminus testatur se, cum ex Gallia rediisset [November 1590] a pluribus Cardinalibus audivisse, Bullam illam non fuisse promulgatam et id quidem illi *se certissime* scire affirmabant . . . Sciat praeterea R. V.

Although Sixtus V. abandoned the publication of the bull on the Vulgate, and therewith the presentation of the work as perfect of its kind, and exclusively authentic, this by no means implied the withdrawal of the printed Bibles. As is officially stated in the introduction to the subsequent Clementine edition, Sixtus V. thought of "sending back his work to the forge,"[1] and then preparing a second and emended edition. But this did not involve the condemnation and cancellation of the first edition; this could still continue in common use, though Sixtus no longer vested it with that solemnity which the formal and solemn publication of the bull would have given it. His loyal collaborator in the

haec eadem ex SS. Domino Nostro [Paul V.] habita fuisse . . . Respondit publice P. Azor Bullam ipsam non fuisse publicatam, *quamvis in impressione* [a special print of the Bull] *legeretur subscriptio cursorum:* nam hoc factum fuisse per anticipationem typographi, ita iubente Pontifice, ne impressio tardaretur. Huius rei testis est P. Andreas Eudaemon Ioannes, qui tunc aderat disputationi" (TANNER, Theol. schol., tom. III., disp. 1, q. 4, dub. 6, n. 265). As the words of Tanner show, extracts from the bull with the publication note were known to the earlier theologians, and had been taken into account in their examination of the question. *Cf.* NISIUS in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1912, 20 *seqq.*; 1914, 213 *seqq.* With regard to the expression "Constitutione iam edita" in the dedicatory briefs to the princes, see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1913, 706 *seqq.*; 1914, 206 *seqq.*; KNELLER, *ibid.* 1923, 604. With regard to the printed copy of the bull in volume 22 of the "Lettere ai Principi," which *cannot* be understood as making up for the missing note of registration of the original bull, see NISIUS, 1914, 224 *seq.*; KNELLER, *ibid.*, 1923, 601.

[1] "Animadvertens non pauca in s. Biblia praeli vitio irrepsisse, quae iterata diligentia indigere viderentur, totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit." The preface is written by Bellarmine (autobiography in LE BACHELET, Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat, Paris, 1911, 458). But since the Clementine Vulgate is an official edition, so the preface is an official utterance at the end of which, evidently by official orders, the directions of the Holy See concerning the new Vulgate are stated. It is not therefore permissible to take the preface as a private utterance on the part of Bellarmine.

Sixtine Bible, Angelo Rocca, expressed the situation when he said that the Pope was prevented by death from completing the corrected edition which he had in view, but he nevertheless issued the first edition as a kind of proof, to obtain the judgment of the world of scholars on his work.[1] This statement shows once more that at any rate Sixtus V. did not intend to give the first edition of the Bible to the Christian world by means of a solemnly promulgated bull, but it also seems to show that until the time of his death the Pope held firm to his intention of imposing his work upon the world once it had been brought to a conclusion.[2]

The Sixtine bull on the Vulgate naturally shared the fate of the Sixtine Bible itself. Its being printed at the beginning of the new Vulgate made it to a great extent public; but the note concerning its promulgation which is to be found in the original of the bull was omitted, as evident proof that this solemn promulgation never took place.[3] The enactments contained in the bull concerning the printing and sale of the Vulgate would naturally involve a strict obligation only when the solemn promulgation took place, but even as it was they still expressed the will of the Pope, and were thus of importance. In the briefs which Sixtus sent with his Bible on May 29th, he did not indeed order, but exhorted the princes to enforce the enactments of the bull. That a formal Papal injunction, even without the solemn promulga-

[1] In Le Bachelet, Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clem., 97. From Vercellone onwards it has become customary to treat this statement as quite unworthy of belief; on the contrary, it coincides too well with the historical events to make it possible to ignore it, and since the handwriting of Rocca has been recognized in the single copy, one must hesitate before suspecting it to be an invention.

[2] See more fully *infra*, p. 220. On August 22, 1590, Sixtus V. still cherished the hope of seeing the liturgical books corrected in accordance with the text of his Bible, and granting a printing privilege accordingly. Baumgarten in the *Theol. Revue*, 1924, 121.

[3] Kneller, *loc. cit.*, 1924, 138.

tion of the document, can confer upon its enactments a full and living force, is self evident.

It is clear, however, from the interchange of letters between the Venetian ambassador in Rome and the Signoria, that Sixtus V. never issued any such injunction. In Venice men learned of the bull for the first time from its inclusion in the Bible itself, or from some extract, but even this knowledge was enough to terrify all the Venetian printers, when the rumour spread that the Inquisitor had issued orders to them to discontinue the sale of the Bibles they had printed.[1] They laid their complaints before the senate: their shops, they said, were filled with Bibles, missals and breviaries, according to the old text, and hundreds of thousands of ducats would be lost if they could no longer sell these; the bull on the Bible would be their ruin. Naturally they would be allowed to correct these books in accordance with the new Vulgate, but this would be an impossible task, and in the end would be useless, as no one would buy such mutilated books from them.[2]

By command of the senate, the ambassador Badoer spoke to the Pope about it. Sixtus replied that he had issued no other bull than that which was printed at the beginning of his Bible, that he had issued no order to anyone as to its being put into force, and that the Inquisitor had acted too precipitately.[3] When the ambassador again made remonstrances to the Pope, Sixtus again tried to calm him by saying that there was no need to be so anxious about the bull, that the Inquisitor need not enforce it, and that all that it expressed was a "kind of wish."[4] But Badoer was still

[1] That such an intimation was not actually made is clear from two letters of the nuncio and the Inquisitor in Venice, both of August 4, 1590, see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1914, 213.

[2] The Senate to Badoer, June 30, 1590, in NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1913, 878 *seq.* the petition of the printers, *ibid.*, 881.

[3] "Che lei non ha fatto altra Bolla che la posta nel principio della Bibbia stessa." Badoer, July 7, 1590, in AMANN, 142. For the date see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 681.

[4] BADOER, July 21, 1590, in AMANN, 143.

not satisfied. The bull, he said, is there; fear of incurring its censures will frighten all purchasers, and moreover, it infringes the rights of the Republic.[1] But Sixtus could not be induced to recall the bull; the document had been spread throughout the world, and he could not withdraw; he would rather lose his life.[2] There was fresh excitement in Venice a short time before the death of Sixtus V., when news came of the separate printing of the bull, that of August 22nd, 1592, which bore at the end of it the notification of its publication, and in its title stated that all Bibles, missals and breviaries that did not contain the corrected text of the Vulgate were forbidden.[3] On the strength of the contents of this bull, the senate again addressed its complaints to Rome; the four months after which it was to become obligatory had already elapsed, and now it made no difference if the Inquisitor did overlook the previous intimation, as the bull itself contained a far more definite one, and the period of grace was already passed. In other cities, the protest of the printers went on to state, immediately after the appearance of the "new bull" the Inquisitors had called attention to it. As Sixtus had in the meantime been struck down by his mortal illness, Badoer was only able to speak to the nephew, Montalto, and to Cardinals Colonna and Rovere.[4] They were of opinion that there would be a modification of the bull, as it was quite impossible to put it into force, and protests from the princes would not be long in arriving.

Indeed, it was only to be expected that the Sixtine bull would meet with opposition, especially in Spain. In the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Badoer, July 28, 1590, *ibid.*, 145. It is clear from the whole proceeding that the bull, apart from the fact that it was never published, never had the force of law. Höpfl, 193; Nisius, *loc. cit.*, 1914, 217 *seqq.*

[3] The Senate to Badoer, August 25, 1590, in Nisius, *loc. cit.* 886; Complaints of the printers at the "new bull," *ibid.*, 887 *seqq.*

[4] Badoer, August 25, 1590, in Amann, 149 *seqq.*

judgment already mentioned, Peña thought[1] that the King of Spain would be obliged, on account of the arbitrary character of the text, to have the matter examined by four or six competent theologians, and if the examination disclosed difficulties or doubts, to make a protest to the Pope.[2] Olivares sent this opinion on May 21st. That Philip was likely to follow this suggestion was all the more to be expected, in that he looked at the bull on the Vulgate, with its privileges to the Roman booksellers, as a threat to the Spanish and Flemish printers. Whether the new Bible passed the test or not, he was resolved in any case only to admit copies of the Roman edition which were printed by his own subjects into his kingdom.[3]

The exalted aims which Sixtus V. had in view in producing his Bible were thus not fulfilled, and the task which he had set out upon with such noble sentiments and such magnificence threatened to become a serious embarrassment for the Holy See. He was obliged to witness his ideal text meeting with anything but approval from the Cardinals, the biblical commission and that of the Index, as well as from scholars, and if afterwards he partially abandoned his text as well as his bull of introduction to the new Vulgate, he could not fail to foresee the pitfalls which are the lot of all half-measures.

[1] See *supra*, p. 213.

[2] In Le Bachelet, 191 *seqq.*

[3] Philip to Olivares, October 5, 1590, in Höpfl, 324. When the nuncio Cesare Speciani spoke for the first time to the king of the privileges of the Vatican Press, the latter appeared to receive the matter favourably: *"Diedi al segretario di S. M. come si suole la lettera del sig. conte d' Olivares per il privilegio dell' impressione della Bibbia et Concilii, e poi ne parlai io medesimo al Re, il quale mi intese volentieri, et laudó il santo pensiero di N.S. etc." Speciani to Carafa, December 19, 1587, Casanatense Library, Rome X., VI., 22, n. 26. Bishop Torrentius of Antwerp speaks of the intention of printing a copy at Antwerp in a letter to Frangipani as early as August 2, 1590, in Ehses, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 500; the same to Baronius in Laemmer, De Caesaris Baronii literarum commercio diatriba, Freib. in Brisg., 1903, 100; Höpfl, 177.

Death saved him from having to extricate himself from these pitfalls. A few days after his death the Cardinals suspended the sale of the new Vulgate, as well as the printed copies of the bull of introduction.[1] The immediate successor of Sixtus V. confirmed this ordinance.[2]

In association with the efforts made by Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. turned his attention to the correction of the Roman Martyrology. The man entrusted with this work was Baronius, who dedicated his work to Sixtus V.[3] Again following in the footsteps of his predecessor, the Pope planned a new edition of the Decretals. This was entrusted to a commission, composed of Cardinals Pinelli, Aldobrandini, and Mattei, and later on of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, Bishop Lucio Sasso, and the Auditors of the Rota, Lorenzo Bianchetti, Francesco Peña, Pompeo Arrigoni and Serafino Olivario. In spite of the many meetings they held under the presidency of Pinelli, at his palace, the work was not completed during the lifetime of Sixtus V.[4] This was to some

[1] Avviso of September 5, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata, 96; Olivares, September 8, in LE BACHELET, 196,; *cf.* HÖPFL, 157. Olivares already advises the withdrawal of all the copies that had reached Spain, and the prohibition of discussion by the Universities of the Sixtine Vulgate.

[2] Avviso of September 26, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, 19. Anonymous contemporary annals of Sixtus V. maintain that the Bible was suppressed "ex doctrina sapientium et sacrae Inquisitionis iussu" (in (HÖPFL, 157, n. 2). We have no knowledge from any other source of any decision on the part of the Inquisition.

[3] *Cf.* I. VEITH in *Hist.-pol. Bl.*, CXVII., 474 *seq.*, where there are also particulars concerning the fact that Baronius later on worked on further improvements and corrections, and PASCHINI, La Riforma Gregoriana del Martirologio Rom., Monza, 1923, 24 *seqq.*

[4] Besides the remark of SENTIS, p. ix., and LÄMMER, Zur Kodifikation des Kan. Rechts, 8 *seq.*, *cf.* the researches of H. SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-stiftung f. Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVIII., Kan. Abt. VI., 110 *seq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 248. According to the *Avviso of July 15, 1589, the first session of the commission was to take place on July 17 (Urb. 1057, Vatican Library). Following the example of Gregory XIII. Sixtus V.

extent compensated for by a collection of the pontifical constitutions from Leo I. down to his own time, which was published by the initiative of Sixtus V. by the Roman lawyer Laerzio Cherubini, under the title of "Bullarium," and published in Rome in 1586.[1]

on May 1, 1585, confirmed the "Congregazione di S. Cecilia fra i musici di Roma"; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, IV., 482 *seqq.*, and *Le Conforenze al Laterano*, March-April, 1923, 94.

[1] See PHILLIPS, IV., 482 *seq.* *Cf.* GRISAR, Analecta, I., 27; STREIT, I., 67, 161.

CHAPTER V.

Sixtus V. and the Sacred College.—The Cardinalitial Congregations.

The ecclesiastical aims of Sixtus V. were shown especially clearly in his nominations of Cardinals. His first great creation took place before the end of the first year of his pontificate, on December 18th, 1585.[1] It was a pleasant surprise when the Pope returned to a custom that had been observed before the time of Gregory XIII., by announcing eight days previously his intention of adding to the numbers of the Sacred College,[2] in which, owing to many deaths, there were vacancies. This gave the Cardinals as well as the ambassadors an opportunity of expressing their wishes, and also of raising objections, which the Pope listened to with

[1] See Acta consist. in Gulik-Eubel, III., 56.

[2] There had died in 1585, on May 1, Nicc. Gaetano; May 16, Guido Ferreri; May 23, Alb. Bolognetti; June 5, Georges d' Armagnac; July 18, Aless. Riario; October 16, G. Sirleto; November 28, M. Contarelli (see Petramellarius, 282 *seq.*). The tomb of Sirleto in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna is adorned with a fine marble bust of the Cardinal; the inscription calls him the patron of scholars and of the poor (*cf.* Orbaan, Sixtine Rome, 126 *seq.*). "*Iste cardinalis," writes Alaleone in his Diarium, "erat pater pauperum et quod habebat pro elemosina distribuebat et erat litteratissimus vir, homo integer et devotus" (Barb. 2814, Vatican Library). "*Il card, Sirleto, che se n' andó in cielo domenica mentre era a tavola, ha lasciato di se una santissima memoria et un' infinità di poveri che il piangono, ch' erano da lui spesso sovenuti senza gl'ordinarii che spesava ch' erano più di cento venti bocche ne di questi 30 il servivano perciochè la maggior parte erano poveri giovani studenti overo poveri derelitti o altre persone simili," reports Capilupi, October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

great patience.[1] But he made the final decision entirely alone, and on the day before gave to Cardinals Rusticucci and Montalto the list, which he kept changing until the last moment.[2] This contained the names of eight prelates. They were all Italians, with the exception of the Hungarian, George Draskovich, Archbishop of Kalocsa, who had done good service at the Council of Trent, and whose elevation had already been promised to the Emperor by Gregory XIII., as well as by Sixtus V. himself.[3] The other candidates who had been nominated by the princes did not seem to the Pope to be reliable or suitable, so none of them were taken into consideration.[4]

The list of those raised to the purple on December 18th shows how seriously and with what a sense of responsibility Sixtus V. had acted.[5] All were men of a blameless past, and of great merit.[6] Most of them were still in the vigour of their age, and they were all well known to the Pope. Thus Ippolito Aldobrandini and Errico Caetani had distinguished themselves in offices of great responsibility at the Curia. As Bishop of Padua, the Venetian Federico Cornaro had done good service in carrying out the decrees of Trent and in the establishment of a seminary. He was one of those who had

[1] See *Avviso of December 21, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[2] This is *reported by Capilupi on December 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *report of Capilupi of December 20, 1585, *ibid.* Giov. Federico Madruzzo *reports from Rome on July 13, 1855, to Rudolph II.: The Pope promises to create at the first promotion the Archbishop of Kalocsa (Draskovich), "verum nullo unquam tempore se extra ieiunii tempora cardinales creare velle, asserens praedecessores suos in hoc nec laudare neque imitari posse, qui multoties aliis . . . diebus cardinales creaverunt" (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] See the *report of Capilupi of December 20, 1585, *loc. cit.* and the *letter of Sporeno of December 21, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[5] Opinion of HERRE (370).

[6] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 151 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 228 *seq.*; TEMPESTI, I., 314 *seq.*

taken part in the four provincial councils held by Charles Borromeo. The Bishop of Pavia, too, Ippolito de' Rossi, who was a native of Parma, had been praised by the apostolic visitors as labouring in accordance with the spirit of the great Archbishop of Milan.[1] The Genoese, Domenico Pinelli, was also an old friend of the Pope, who had formerly made over to him his own bishopric of Fermo. How well Pinelli had laboured there in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform was shown by the fact that he had established there houses of the Oratorians and Jesuits. Pinelli was also a scholar of distinction, and was looked upon as an authority on Canon Law. By the elevation of Decio Azzolini and Giambattista Castrucci the Pope intended above all to reward the services of two tried fellow labourers. They were close friends, and were distinguished for those qualities which the Pope especially valued in his servants, loyalty and devotedness.[2]

When discontent was expressed with the nominations,[3] Sixtus V. said quite frankly that it was enough for him if the Cardinals whom he had appointed were men worthy of esteem, even though they were not brilliantly gifted.[4] It was supposed however that very soon others of his servants, such as his

[1] Capilupi brings out this circumstance in his *report of December 18, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *A letter of thanks from Cardinal Rossi to Aldus Manutius for his congratulations, dated Rome, January 18, 1586, in MS. 272 of the Library at Montpellier.

[2] See the *report of Capilupi of December 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* HERRE, 370, whose statement that Pinelli was a Jesuit was untrue. According to the *Relatione al card. Este in Cod. 6619 of the State Library, Vienna, at the end of 1599 a great influence on behalf of the appointment of Pinelli was exercised by his brother Giov. Agostino "banchiere in Roma, con cui Sisto avanti il papato in materia pecuniaria hebbe qualche obligo."

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 4, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 7, Vatican Library.

[4] See PRIULI, Relazione, 312 *seq.*

steward, Antonio Maria Galli, and his chaplain, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, who was skilled in drawing up memorials, would receive the purple.[1] When this actually occurred later on, sharp criticism was not wanting. Among those who expressed themselves to this effect was the learned Jesuit Toledo, who in a sermon at the Vatican frankly raised his voice against the autocratic conduct of Sixtus V.[2] But the Pope did not suffer himself to be deterred by this, for Galli and Pallotta were excellent priests, and Pallotta, whose charitable acts had won for him general praise, led a truly saintly life.[3]

A short time before the second promotion of Cardinals, Sixtus V. signed, on December 3rd, 1586, his celebrated bull which gave the College of Cardinals its definite form.[4] In the introduction to this bull, which was composed by Cardinal Santori,[5] Sixtus V. compared the Cardinals to the Apostles who surrounded Our Lord. He expressed their close relations with the holder of the Primacy, by saying that they were so to speak the most noble and the most important members of his body. As the Pope's advisers and assistants, he continues, the Cardinals must be prepared, if necessary, to shed their blood for the Catholic religion, for the Catholic people and the Holy See. In order that they may be, as their name implies, the "hinges" of the Church, the main pillars and columns of the Temple of God, the Pope must appoint

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] "Habitus," it is stated in *Sixtus V., P.M., "eam ob rem profusior quam deceret privatorum in se obsequiorum remunerator auditusque aliquando eo audiente concionator [Toledo] in Vaticano est adversus indignorum honores libere declamitans eo argumento non licere ob fidelem quovis in ministerio operam quovis honore domesticos remunerari neque enim ob cibos recte conditos consentaneum esse, ut quis ad purpuram vocaretur." Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See HERRE, 389.

[4] Bull., VIII., 808 *seq.* the text of the bull "Postquam verus" which was discussed in consistory on November 5 (GULIX-EUBEL, III., 54); is was published on December 9, 1586.

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 176.

to that dignity only the most eminent men, all the more so, as to the Sacred College belongs the election of the successor of St. Peter. The constitution especially recommends, as Leo X. and the Council of Trent had already done, that those who are raised to the cardinalate should possess the qualities necessary for the episcopal office, and that therefore, among other things, they should be thirty years of age. The only exception to this should be in the case of the Cardinal Deacons, in whose case it will be sufficient to have reached the age of twenty-two, but anyone who is appointed at that age must, under the penalty of forfeiting their active and passive vote, be ordained within the course of a year. Besides exemplary conduct, sincere piety, ardent zeal, blameless purity of faith, and great prudence with regard to learning, it is especially recommended that besides doctors of canon law, or of both branches of law, there should be among the members of the Sacred College eminent masters in theology, preferably from the Mendicant Orders, and that there should be at least four of these. All impediments which prevent the reception of orders, and especially irregularity, are also to be impediments to the cardinalate. Comparing this dignity to the royal dignity, Sixtus V. lays down the principle that illegitimate sons are to be absolutely excluded, and that in their case neither legitimatization, nor dispensation, nor rehabilitation may be applied. In order that the cardinalitial dignity may not be attained by persons incapable of ecclesiastical functions, it is only to be conferred on these who are already clerics, and have received the four minor orders, and who at the same time have not for a year previously renounced the tonsure or ecclesiastical dress. Those too are to be excluded who have children, especially living ones, whether they are legitimate or are illegitimate The decree of Julius III. that under no circumstances, even for the most pressing reasons, must anyone be raised to the cardinalate who already has a brother in the Sacred College, was extended by Sixtus V. in such a way that the Cardinal's hat was to be conferred on nobody who had a cousin, or uncle, or nephew, or in general any collateral relative in the first or second degree already invested

with that dignity If, despite this, such a nomination were to be made, the constitution declares it to be invalid *a priori*. Since the Cardinals, together with the Pope, have to rule the whole Church, it is decreed in conformity with the Council of Trent, that in filling the Sacred College,[1] care must always be taken that, as far as is possible and desirable, it shall be composed of men of different nationalities. If anyone is appointed who is not resident in the Curia, he must take an oath on receiving the hat, to go to Rome within the year, to have his title conferred upon him ; the failure to comply with this oath is threatened with the penalty of disability and the forfeiture of the cardinalate.

With regard to the number of the Cardinals, which hitherto had been very uncertain, Sixtus V. started with the principle that, taking into consideration the state of affairs at the time, the inclusion of all the nations, and the fact that some would be prevented by age or illness from the exercise of their office, a considerable number of Cardinals was necessary, but not, however, so large that the dignity of the cardinalate suffered, as had been the case in his own time. Therefore, in imitation of the seventy ancients of the Old Testament, who assisted Moses, he enacted that in future the number of the Cardinals was not to be greater than seventy, namely six Bishops, fifty Priests, and fourteen Deacons. Any appointment over and above this number was to be void. Finally he regulated in greater detail the right of "option."[2]

A special constitution of April 13th, 1587,[3] was devoted

[1] This was only to take place in Advent.

[2] *Cf.* HINSCHIUS, I., 345 *seq.*

[3] The constitution "Religiosa sanctorum" (Bull., VIII., 833 *seq.*) was discussed at the consistories of April 6 and 13 (GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54) and published on May 13, 1587. *Cf.* as to this PHILLIPS VI., 228 *seq.* An *Avviso of February 8, 1587, mentions a congregation for the reform of the titular churches ; according to the *Avviso of March 4, 1587, the national churches could not be made into titular churches, as had been at first intended, because they were dependent on their own sovereigns. Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177, who also deals with the second bull.

to the external form of the Sacred College. This laid it down that it rested upon a tradition handed down from the earliest times that the priests of the Holy Roman Church should have certain churches assigned to them, which were called their titles,[1] and which were so to say their dioceses, while the deacons had the various regions of the city assigned to them for the purpose of the preservation and spread of the Christian religion: thus they, like the six Bishops who presided over the neighbouring Cathedral churches, were to possess their titles and deaconries with the clergy and people belonging to them, and which were to be made over to their quasi-episcopal authority in both material and spiritual matters. Since, however, some of the ancient titles and deaconries had disappeared owing to the vicissitudes of the times, and others of the more recent ones were inconveniently situated, it was laid down as follows: first, that every effort was to be made that the old ones should be preserved as far as possible, so that they might continue to be conferred in the future, and secondly, that in the place of such modern titles, ancient churches or certain outstanding new ones should be made into titular churches.

In conformity with this, the six ancient cardinalitial episcopal sees remained: Ostia, Porto (S. Rufina), Sabina, Tusculum (Frascati), Albano and Praeneste (Palestrina), while the number of Cardinal Priest's titles was raised to fifty. Of these twenty-six were ancient titles,[2] namely S. Croce in Gerusalemme, SS. Quattro Coronati, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Anastasia, S. Sabina, S. Stefano in Monte Celio, S. Clemente, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, S. Susanna, S. Pudenziana, S. Sisto, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Eusebio, S. Prisca, S. Vitale, S. Marco, S. Marcello, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, SS. Apostoli, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Balbina, S. Cecilia, S. Crisogono, S. Prassede and S. Maria in Trastevere. Fourteen of the new titular churches were to remain: SS. Quirico e Giulitta, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, S. Agnese

[1] The origin of the name is still uncertain.

[2] I.e. 25; see GRISAR, Gesch. Roms., I., 151.

in Agone, S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, S. Tommaso in Parione, S. Silvestro in Campo Marzo, S. Pancrazio, S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, S. Matteo in Merulana, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. Maria in Via, S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Maria degli Angeli, and S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. The deaconry of S. Onofrio was made a presbyteral title, and the following nine titles were erected: S. Agostino, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Alessio, S. Biagio dell'Anello (ai Catinari), S. Maria della Pace, S. Salvatore in Lauro, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Trinità de' Monti, and S. Maria in Transpontina. Only fourteen deacon's titles remained: S. Maria in Aquiro, S. Maria in Cosmedin, SS. Cosma e Damiano, S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana), S. Adriano, S. Maria in Via Lata, S. Maria in Portico (S. Galla), S. Angelo in Pescheria, S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Eustachio, S. Vito in Macello, S. Agata and S. Giorgio in Velabro. These deacon's titles were to be strictly separated from the priest's titles, so that confusion might be avoided in future, as had occurred through conferring deacon's titles as priest's, and vice versa. It was further specially enacted that the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso was always to be conferred on the Cardinal holding the office of vice-chancellor. The right of option was recognized in the constitution, as well as the quasi-episcopal rights of the Cardinal Priests and Deacons in their titles. The Bishop of Ostia was to be the Dean.

A few days after the publication of the first constitution, on December 17th, 1586, Sixtus V. made his second great appointment of Cardinals. As early as January, 1586, both ambassadors and Cardinals had begun to work on behalf of their candidates, but neither the wishes of the Emperor, nor of Duke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Bavaria, Mantua and Ferrara, nor of the senate of Milan were satisfied.[1] In November it was learned that the creation was imminent, and the names of

[1] See *Avviso of January 22, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library, and the *report of Sporeno of December 20, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

many and various candidates were mentioned.[1] The Cardinals of the reform commission were discussing at that moment the bull in which the Pope intended to lay down in the strictest manner the qualities of those who were to receive the red hat.[2] Sixtus V. summoned the commission to discuss the appointments, and their reply was that the Sacred College had no need for the son of any prince, of any lawyer or canonist, nor of any statesman, but only of theologians.[3] Immediately before a decision was come to, however, Cardinals Santori, Medici, Farnese, Gonzaga and Este presented petitions on behalf of their candidates,[4] but in the end the Pope acted upon his own judgment alone. This caused much dissatisfaction,[5] but when Sixtus V. announced his choice at the consistory of December 17th, 1586, the Sacred College did not dare to make any serious opposition.[6]

[1] See *Avviso of November 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vat. Lib. (App. n. 10). See also *Rom. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 143, and the *report of Malegnani of November 12, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the strenuous efforts of the Duke of Mantua on behalf of Scipione Gonzaga *cf.* also the *report of Capilupi of December 17, 1587, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* *Avvisi of November 8 and 15, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of November 29, 1586, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avvisi of December 10, 13 and 20, 1586, *ibid.* The candidate of Este was his own "gentilhuomo Ercole Tassoni."

[5] The annoyance of Santori comes out in his Autobiografia (XIII., 176). According to the *Avviso of December 17, 1586, Santori concealed his anger at the consistory "con scherzi sopra la bolla." Vatican Library.

[6] See Acta consist. 848 and GULIK-EUBEL, III., 56 *seq.* (wrong date); *Avviso of December 17, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library; *report of Malegnani of December 17, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua: Gualterius, *Ephemerides (with description of most of the newly appointed Cardinals), Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Biographies of the new Cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 161 *seq.* *Cf.* CARDELLA, V., 247 *seq.* The incident with Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto recorded by TEMPESTI (I., 448 *seq.*) following

On this occasion, too, only one foreigner, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Auxerre, the zealous supporter of Henry III. of France,[1] received the red hat, together with seven Italians. Two of these, the Dominican, Girolamo Bernerio from Correggio, and the Franciscan, Costanzo Boccafuoco of Sarnarno, in the March of Ancona, fulfilled the requirements of the constitution of December 3rd, 1586, by their theological learning. In the case of Bernerio Sixtus V. was also rewarding his blameless life, in that of Antonio Maria Galli his good and faithful service, and in those of Girolamo Mattei and the Genoese, Benedetto Giustiniani, their knowledge of law. The Archbishop of Turin, Girolamo della Rovere, for whom the Duke of Savoy had interceded,[2] was

the "Anonimo Capitolino" I have not been able to find in the above-named authors. With regard to the life and good qualities of G. Mattei see GARAMPI, 316. For the complications with the Duke of Savoy in consequence of the appointment of Boccafuoco as Bishop of Vercelli see MORONI, LXII., 29.

[1] By a *letter of February 25, 1586, Sixtus V. informed King Henry III. that he had given way in the matter of the promotion of Lenoncourt, which had at first been refused, by a special act of good-will (Nunziat. di Francia, XIX., 175, Papal Secret Archives). Henry III. thanked him in a *letter of June 11, 1586, *ibid.* and again pressed for the appointment of Gondi (*cf.* BREMOND, 257 *seq.*). A *letter of Henry III. to Sixtus V., dated November 26, 1586, asked for the red hat for Alessandro Pico della Mirandola (Nunziat. di Francia, XIX., 336, *loc. cit.*).

[2] In the *brief to the Doge of December 17, 1586, Sixtus V. describes the new Cardinals. He characterizes "Hieronymum de Ruvere archiep. Taurin." as a "virum et generis nobilitate et ex ea familia Romanorum Pontificum splendore et propria virtute illustrem." *Cf.* Ph. Lenoncourt, he says: "cuius magna semper fuerunt in rempublicam christianam merita." H. Bernerius, episc. Ascul., Ord., praed." is described as "theologus et vitae integritate et doctrina commendatione insignis; Constantinus frater ord. min. as a "theologus eximius inque optimis sacrorum doctorum libris versatissimus"; H. Matheus and B. Iustinianus as "viri in iuris tum civilis tum canonici doctrina exercitatissimi inque omnibus negotiis magna semper cum integritate et laude

recommended by his learning, his knowledge of the state of affairs in France, and his relationship to two Popes. Ascanio Colonna was another scholar, by whose appointment the Pope was meeting the wishes of Philip II., while at the same time he gave outward expression to his reconciliation with the family of the Orsini.[1] As had been the case with the promotion of the previous year, so now Sixtus V. kept no other object before his eyes than the safeguarding of the interests of the Church; all political considerations, or personal and selfish aims, were excluded, unless we interpret in the latter sense the efforts of the Pope to appoint men of like views with himself.[2] In the oath which the new Cardinals took on December 20th, 1586, the new constitution issued by Sixtus V. was expressly accepted.[3]

versati"; Asc. Colonna as "vir nobilitate et doctrina excellenti laudatissimus." of A.M.Gallus, episc. Perusin., it is said "familiaris noster nobis probatus atque ob multas virtutes imprimis carus." Original in State Archives, Venice, Bolle. Of similar tenor is the description in the *brief to Philip II., also of December 17, 1586, in which Sixtus V. remarks that he had been unable to grant the request of the king on behalf of Allen, whose zeal, learning and purity of morals were well known to him, because the number was already complete when Philip's letter arrived; he would grant his request in due time. Epist Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 370, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* of the same date, *briefs to the Dukes of Bavaria and Ferrara, the King of Poland and the Bishop of Paris. In the latter it is stated that the Pope had been unable to grant the request of Henry III., to promote the bishop, although he esteemed him highly; it was not the will, but the possibility that was lacking. A *panegyric in verse of Robardus on Cardinal Lenoncourt in the extracts from the *Contelorio*, Arm. 11, t. 49, Papal Secret Archives. I. CASTALIONIS, Carmen ad Hier. de Ruvere cardinal. a S. D. N. Sixto V. creatum, and printed Rome, 1586.

[1] See letter to Philip II. in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 569; BENTIVOGLI, Memorie, 88; HERRE, 386 *seq.* For the magnificent library of A. Colonna see *Anecd. litt.*, I., Rome, 1773, 75 *seq.*

[2] See HERRE, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Diarium Alaleonis, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the form of oath in LAEMMER, Melet., 228.

Although the Sacred College lost six of its members in 1586, and seven in 1587,[1] nevertheless Sixtus V., who had conferred the purple on the Englishman, Allen, on August 7th,[2] did not, at the creation of December 18th, 1587, exceed the number of eight, which he had adopted in the two previous years. On this occasion, however, there were three foreigners and only five Italians raised to the purple.[3] Lively discussions had preceded the nomination, especially with Cardinal Farnese, who in his latter years besieged the Pope on behalf of his candidate, Carlo Conti, Bishop of Ancona, but without success.[4] Sixtus V. held firm to his principle that, after taking

[1] There died in 1586: on February 19, Michele della Torre; June 7, Filippo Boncompagni; September 21, Granvelle; September 29, Pietro Donato Cesi, December 18, George Draskovich; December 30, Luigi d' Este; in 1587: March 23, Charles Rambouillet; May 5, Franc. Gambara; August 17, Filippo Guastavillani; September 5, Decio Azzolini; October 30, Vaudemont; December 5, Jacopo Savelli (see PETRAMELLARIUS, 303 *seq.*). The *Oratio habita in templo SS. XII. Apostolorum in funere Phil. Guastavillani card. Camerarii, 1587 in Cod. D. 8, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 57. Particulars as to this *infra*, chapter VIII. and Vol. XXII., chapter I.

[3] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 57 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, IV., 176 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 273 *seq.*; TEMPESTI, I., 707 *seq.*

[4] According to the *Avvisi of November 25 and 28, 1587, Gondi, Mendoza, Gonzaga, Sauli and Pallotta were looked upon as safe candidates, though the Pope preserved an absolute silence. An *Avviso of December 2 reports that the Pope would not allow betting as to the candidates; by that time, besides Gonzaga, Lelio Orsini and the Archbishop of Naples, Annibale di Capua, were looked upon as certain (Urb. 1055, Vatican Library). Of the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Madruzzo *reported on December 18 to Vienna that Sixtus V. had promised that if the state of affairs in Poland gave an opportunity he would effect his promotion separately and out of the proper time, but otherwise not, in spite of the request of the Emperor (State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., 9). According to the *Avviso of December 12, Farnese had at first urged the Pope to abstain from any

into account the just desires of the princes, nothing but ecclesiastical considerations must be taken into account in filling the Sacred College.[1] The new appointments show how truly this was the case.[2]

The most distinguished was the friend and protector of Tasso, Scipione Gonzaga, who was the cousin of St. Aloysius and the friend of Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri.[3] He had entered the ecclesiastical state at a mature age, and would have become a Cardinal under Gregory XIII., if the latter had not had a quarrel with the Duke of Mantua. After Sixtus V. had healed this dispute, Scipione was at first threatened with the loss of his revenues,[4] and then at the last moment it seemed that his promotion was imperilled by the fact that the Gonzaga family was already represented in the Sacred College by Cardinal Vincenzo Gonzaga;[5] but this obstacle, too, was happily overcome. In Rome the appointment of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the title borne by Scipione

promotion, as the Sacred College was already large enough, and especially was this true of those who had no means, whose position should in the first place be improved. According to the *Avviso of December 19 Farnese also made a request on Wednesday on behalf of C. Conti, but was not listened to, so that he left the audience very dissatisfied. Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* HERRE, 389. The intercession of the Archduke Ernest on behalf of G. Fr. Biglia was without result (*letter of July 18, 1587, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello) as well as that of the Emperor for Lelio Orsini (*letter of November 26, 1587).

[2] In his *brief to the Doge, December 20, 1587, Sixtus V. boasts of them as being distinguished for their "fede, prudentia, pietate spectatissima." Original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

[3] *Cf.* besides CIACONIUS, IV., 176 *seq.*, I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, II., 39 *seq.*, 204; BAUMGARTEN, Weltliteratur, VI., 373; SORDI, Appendice alle biografie de' Canonici Mantovani, Mantua, 1864, 11 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* LUZIO, L' Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova, II., Verona, 1912, 175. *Ibid.*, 147 a very characteristic letter of Sixtus V. to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of July 19, 1586.

[5] See the *Avviso of December 16, 1587, which brings out the complete integrity of Gonzaga, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

Gonzaga, was hailed with sincere joy.[1] The same was the case with the elevation of the Archbishop of Genoa, Antonio Maria Sauli, and of Federico Borromeo.[2] The appointment of Sauli, for whom, as for Gonzaga, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had interceded,[3] was not a happy one, as later on he developed worldly tendencies.[4] All the more happy was that of Federico, who was hardly twenty-three years old, and, brought up in the school of Philip Neri, was following in the footsteps of his uncle Charles; the future founder of the Ambrosian Library was already distinguished for his love of learning, as well as for his ecclesiastical spirit.[5] Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, Archbishop of Cosenza, owed the hat to the faithful services he had rendered to Sixtus V. The latter was wont to say of him that he was a hidden jewel.[6] The same praise could be bestowed upon another old friend of the Pope, who received the purple at the same time: this was the Servite, Stefano Bonucci, Bishop of his native city, Arezzo.[7]

[1] See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* autograph *letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, December 5, 1586. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715.

[4] "E poco ecclesiastico, ha bell' ingenio, gran memoria" says the *Discorso de cardinali viventi of 1618, in Cod. C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] A good biography of this distinguished man is unfortunately wanting, as the monograph of QUESNEL (Lille, 1890) is not sufficient. Of great value are the remarks of MAZZUCHELLI (II., 3, 1800 *seq.*) and the article by REUMONT in the *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, II., 1125 *seq.* We shall speak in a subsequent volume of the foundation by F. Borromeo of the Ambrosian Library; for the Cardinal as a patron of art see SCHLOSSER, Quellenkunde f. Kunstgeschichte, VI., Vienna, 1919, 54.

[6] See TEMPESTI, I., 709. Gualterius says of Pallotta, *loc. cit.*: *"fide integritate, sollertia in rebus agendis, admirabili ingentique morum sanctitate praeditus est."

[7] Gualterius (*loc. cit.*) gives a *biography of this distinguished man, who unfortunately died as early as January 1, 1589. *"Et

Men of strict ecclesiastical views were also Juan Mendoza, who was promoted at the wish of Philip II.,[1] and the Bishop of Paris, Pierre Gondi, whose appointment however was not pleasing to Henry III., who wished for that of Candale, Bishop of Aire.[2] Sixtus V. was led to the nomination of the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, Hugh de Loubenx de Verdala, who had come to Rome a short time before,[3] in the hope of obtaining help in the struggle against the Turks.[4]

In the spring of 1588 Philip II. and Henry III. of France pressed for the appointment of more Cardinals.[5] The King

expiravit dicens illa verba S. Stephani, cuius sancti ipse erat devotissimus : Video caelos apertos ; coepit in festo S. Stephani aegrotare de pleuritide et obiit eius octava." Darium of P. Alaleone, Vatican Library.

[1] Sixtus V. wrote on March 20, 1587, that in the promotion he intended to take into consideration the wishes of Philip II. ; see *Arch. Rom.*, V., 570 *seq.* PRIULI (Relazione, 327) claims to have learned from the Spanish ambassador himself that Philip II. desired that only Spaniards proposed by himself should receive the purple, and that otherwise he preferred that there should be no promotion of any Spaniard.

[2] *Cf.* BREMOND, 260 *seq.* Sixtus V. informed Henry III. on January 6, 1588, of the elevation of Gondi ; on the same day he sent the red hat to him and to Mendoza ; see *Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 88 *seq.*, 90b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] For his entry and reception by the Pope on December 8, 1587, see the *Avviso of December 9, 1589. The Grand Master had lodgings in the Vatican in the apartments of Innocent VIII. The appointment of a Grand Master was exceptional (see Gualterius, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*) ; Verdala had to give a promise that he would retain his office ; see *Avviso of December 19, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. For the intervention of Sixtus V. in the disputes of the Maltese, in the summer of 1586, see C. FEDELI, Canteggio dei Gran Maestri coi duchi d' Urbino, Pisa, 1912, 59 *seq.*

[4] See TEMPESTI, I., 711.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Sporeno from Rome, March 16, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For the intercession of Bavaria for its candidates see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 143.

of France wished for support against the Spanish party of the League, and therefore recommended that the purple should be conferred upon the nuncio Gian Francesco Morosini. Sixtus V. consented to this on July 15th, 1588, out of consideration for the state of affairs in France, though Cardinal Santori was opposed to this step.[1] In the autumn the Emperor renewed his demands for the purple on behalf of the nuncio in Poland, Annibale di Capua.[2] The College of Cardinals did not wish for any further increase of their numbers, but it was believed in the Curia that the Pope would not for that reason abstain from doing what he thought necessary.[3] Actually, the appointment of two more Cardinals was made on December 14th, 1588; this was obviously connected with the relations with Florence.

On October 19th, 1587, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco, had died, and had been succeeded by his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando. The Pope was determined to continue and develop the friendly relations with the government of Florence which had hitherto existed.[4] Although it vexed him very much that Ferdinando should resign the purple, he nevertheless gave his consent, and at a consistory on November 28th, 1588, he declared that he accepted Ferdinando's resignation of the cardinalate.[5] On December

[1] See the *Acta consist. of July 15, 1588, Barb. XXXVI., 5 P. II, Vatican Library.

[2] See SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 320 *seq.*

[3] An *Avviso of November 21, 1588, reports that it is believed that three new Cardinals will be created at Christmas; bets were made on the candidate of Tuscany at 90 per cent., of Cusano at 60 per cent., and of the treasurer Pepoli at 40 per cent. "Quando il Papa vidde giovedi la lista delle scommesse, che si fa portare ogni sera per spasso et che trovó il No a cinque, disse: o povero No a che sei condotto . . ., et sogiunse il mondo osserva sopra ció le nostre parole, ma noi faremmo quello che ci illuminerà il Spirito Santo." Vatican Library.

[4] See HÜBNER, II., 98 *seq.* (German edition). For the relations of Ferdinand with Sixtus V. see REUMONT, Toskana, I., 380.

[5] With regard to this see the *Documents in Cod. Barb. lat. 2814, p. 415b-421, Vatican Library. The *letter of Ferdinand

14th Ferdinando's confidant, Francesco Maria del Monte, who had been working for a long time in Rome in the interests of Florence, received the purple.[1]

An intermediary between Rome and Florence was all the more necessary in that dissensions between the violent characters of Ferdinando and Sixtus V. were inevitable,[2] while their removal was all the more desirable in that the two rulers had to rely upon each other in their common interest. In order still further to promote the interests of the Church the Pope added to Francesco Maria del Monte the Milanese Agostino Cusano, who belonged to the school of Borromeo, and was living in Rome as the associate of the younger disciples of the Archbishop of Milan, and was the friend of Philip Neri.[3] It was characteristic of the temper of the Sacred College that even this small creation aroused such a storm of discontent that at first the Pope could hardly make himself heard at the consistory.[4] Naturally he had

to Sixtus V., November 22, 1588 (X Cal. Decemb.), also in Cod. Celsius 54 of the Library at Upsala. The statement of Guido Sommi Picenardi, that the resignation only took place in 1589 (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XLVII., 106) is wrong.

[1] See Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 58; with regard to Monte and Cusano the remarks in CIACONIUS, IV., 192 *seq.* *Cf.* CARDELLA, V., 299 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 305 *seq.* The necessary dispensation for the marriage of Ferdinand, who was in minor orders, was granted by the Pope without delay, but reluctantly, because as Hübner rightly remarks, the fact that an ex-prince of the Church should contract marriage was repugnant to him. The Pope's indignation was justified by the fact that Ferdinand was still wearing the purple when the preparations for the entry of his bride were begun in Florence.

[3] See HERRE, 395.

[4] *See* the *Avviso of December 14, 1588. The *vote of Santori against the promotion because "s. hoc collegium referitssimum esset viris eminentissimis et omni virtutum et scientiarum genere praestantissimis ornatissimisque" in Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, in Barb. XXXVI., 5 P, II., p. 273, Vatican Library. Brumani *reports on December 15, 1588, that Gondi had un-

no idea of giving way. In his biting way he rejected the protest of Paleotto with the pertinent remark that they were not dealing with Pius IV., who on one single occasion had appointed twenty-five Cardinals, among others the one who was now so indignant.[1]

Although the views of the Sacred College remained unchanged, Sixtus V. again in December 1589 appointed four Cardinals. A decisive reason for this was probably the death of those Cardinals who for ten years past had been chiefly responsible for the grouping of parties in the Sacred College.[2] When, on December 30th, 1586, the celebrated Cardinal Luigi d'Este died unexpectedly, the Mantuan envoy remarked that the aged and greatly suffering Cardinal Farnese could not expect to live much longer.[3] After the election of Sixtus V. the "great Cardinal" as Farnese was called, had retired to his magnificent castle of Caprarola, which remains his splendid monument. Although Farnese did not even now neglect literature and art, which owed so much to him,[4] yet he lived more and more in the practice of spiritual things, having long changed from being a man of the world into a zealous promoter of the Catholic restoration. Above all he loved the Jesuits. He had built for them in Rome, not only their professed house, but also the magnificent church of the Gesù, on the façade of which his name may still be read. It was the Jesuits too under whose guidance he prepared himself for death.[5] This he did not only with fervent

successfully made in the name of Henry III. requests for the appointment of a French Cardinal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See the report of Gritti in HÜBNER, II., 6 *seq.*

[2] See HERRE, 395.

[3] *Report of Malegnani of December 31, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Leonardo Salviati published an Orazione delle lodi di Don Luigi card. d'Este fatta nella morte di quel Signore, Florence, 1587, which is dedicated to King Henry III.

[4] *Cf.* Navenne, Palais Farnese, Rome, 1915, 615 *seq.*

[5] *"E verissimo, che 'l card. Farnese in tutto et per tutto s' è dato allo spirito, et che ha di continuo al fianco i Jesuiti, non

prayer, but also by a yet greater distribution of alms. When, at the beginning of December, 1587, the Cardinal returned to Rome, there was great joy.[1] Sixtus V. welcomed him very affectionately: certainly Farnese did not obtain any great influence, but the Pope never failed to show him every attention.[2] On March 4th, 1589, a series of strokes brought about the death of this Cardinal, who had worn the purple for fifty-five years. Immediately after the first attack Farnese had the sacrament of Extreme Unction administered. Assisted by a Jesuit, he passed his last hours in uninterrupted exercises of piety and penance. "Thus he encouraged all his people" wrote the Venetian ambassador Badoer, "by the holiness of his death." Rome, Badoer continued, lost in him a Cardinal who, for experience, discernment, generosity and munificence to the poor, and Christian charity to all, had no equal.[3] It was further stated that the dead man had spent 450,000 scudi annually on good works since 1586, a third part of his whole income.[4] He also made large gifts during his illness. When the discalced friars had asked him for a small alms, the Cardinal promised to give them a sack of grain, but on the following day sent them a sack full of gold

trattando S. S. ill^{ma} d' altro, che di volersi spogliare di queste grandezze mondane, facendo elemosine regie di cento rubbia di grano alla volta a luoghi pii." Avviso of September 10, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Avviso of December 5, 1587, according to which the Grand Duke of Tuscany said of Farnese that he was "unico splendore e grandezza della corte." Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

[2] When the Pope received Farnese on the Sunday, reports the *Avviso December 7, 1588, he embraced him and kissed him and made sit down in intimate conversation beside him, granted him all the favours he asked for, and also spoke of promotion. Urb. 1056, Vatican Library.

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 8. *Cf.* in App. n. 21 the *Avviso of March 4, 1589, Vatican Library. Farnese had made his will in 1587; see LANCIANI, II., 168.

[4] See *Avviso of 1586, s.d., Urb. 1054, and in App. n. 21 *that of March 4, 1589, Vatican Library.

pieces.[1] The body of Farnese was exposed in the great hall of the Cancelleria, and thence was taken to the Gesù where it was buried in front of the altar. Forty-two Cardinals assisted at the obsequies.[2] In many places the merchants and craftsmen draped their shop-windows with mourning, and the whole city mourned his loss,[3] especially the poor and the superiors of ecclesiastical institutions; at the end of March the envoy of Urbino wrote that Rome was still showing its grief and its respect for Cardinal Farnese.[4]

In November Rome was eagerly discussing a coming creation of Cardinals, and hazarding every sort of name.[5] The Spanish ambassador was making every effort to obtain the nomination of Odoardo Farnese, Henry III. of the Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Epinac, and Rudolph II. of the nuncio Antonio Puteo,[6] while the agent of the Duke of Bavaria was resisting the promotion of Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, the Archbishop of Salzburg, which was being recommended by Madruzzo and Mark Sittich.[7]

[1] See *Avviso of March 8, 1589, which contains an attack on the parsimony of Sixtus V., Urb. 1057, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso of March 22, 1589, Vatican Library; *Diarium di P. Alaleone, *ibid.*; FRANC. FERRETTI, Relatione della morte e funerale del card. Farnese, Ancona, 1589; FRANC. COATTINI, Raccolta d' orazioni e rime di diversi col discorso e descrizione dell' esequie e del catafalco in morte del sig. card. Farnese, Romae, 1589; PETRI MAGNI, Oratio in funere card. A. Farnesii, Romae, 1589; GIOV. BATT. LEONI, Oratione nell' esequie del card. Farnese, Roma, 1589; also: Funebris pompa Alex. card. Farnesio S.R.E. vicecam. episc. Ost. ex archiconfraternitatis confalonis decreto, 28, IV., 1589 (Engraving, H. RAYNALDUS, inv.).

[3] *"Multi artifices ornarunt suas apothecas pannis nigris significantes luctum et in rei veritate tota civitas contristata est propter amissionem huiusmodi viri." Diarium of P. Alaleone, Vatican Library.

[4] Urb. 1057, p. 154, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avvisi of November 9, 18 and 29, 1589, Urb. 1057 Vatican Library.

[6] See Rudolfi II., Epistolae, Vienna, 1771, 71 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* the *report of Giulio Cassano of November 29, 1589, State Archives, Modena.

On this occasion too Sixtus V. followed his own opinions.[1] Besides the Bishop of Metz, Charles of Lorraine, who was to take the place of his uncle, who had been killed in the previous year, on December 20th, 1589, he appointed two good theologians, who were at the same time his fellow-countrymen; the governor-general of Rome, Mariano Pierbenedetti of Camerino, and the General of the Augustinians, Gregorio Petrochino of Montelapare in the Marches; to these he added his treasurer, Count Guido Pepoli.[2]

During his thirteen years' pontificate Gregory XIII. had created thirty-four Cardinals; the number raised to the purple by Sixtus V. in four was thirty-three. Of these twenty-eight were at any moment liable to be called upon

[1] See the *Avvisi of December 9, 20 and 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library, and the *report of Brumani of December 9, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the Archbishop of Salzburg see WIDMANN, III., 212 *seq.*, and SCHWEIZER, III., 118. To the request of Henry III. for the Archbishop of Lyons, the Pope *replied on December 31, 1589, that he esteemed the archbishop and would promote him later on, but that now it was impossible. "Consuevimus binis consistoriis totum cardinalium creandorum negotium conficere; primo numerum ac personas declaramus, de quibus cogitamus, altero rem totam obsolvimus." The arrival of Gondi occurred between the two consistories. Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 59b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Sixtus V. explained the reasons for the nomination at the consistory; see *Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5 P. II., Vatican Library. For those appointed see CIACONIUS, IV., 194 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 303 *seq.* The Pope sent the hat to Charles of Lorraine with a *brief of January 6, 1590. On January 22, 1590, he *wrote to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany about Petrochino, who was united with him in close friendship. (*Cf.* as to him I. NICII ERYTHRAEI Pinacotheca, I., 232). Brevia Sixti V, Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives. According to the *Relatione al card. Este of 1599 Petrochino had also been recommended to the Pope by Philip II. This helped on the nomination "alla quale Sisto inclinava da se dopo che senza conoscerlo per relatione del cardinale Azzolini lo prese in gratia." Cod. 6619 of the State Library, Vienna.

to take part in a conclave,[1] but not content with having thus made provision for the carrying on of the tradition of his pontificate, Sixtus V. further planned a reform in the election of the Pope. This took the form of enacting that instead of two-thirds, half the votes cast should be sufficient to secure a decision, while nothing but the secret ballot was to be allowed.[2] This did away with the election by adoration, which undoubtedly involved a restriction of liberty. But Sixtus V. died before his plan was carried through, though on the other hand he lived to see the completion of another important work; this was the reorganization of the whole system of administration.

Even during the first half of the seventeenth century a continually increasing difficulty had been found in the customary way of discharging the multifold and varied business which the Holy See had to undertake and decide, by means of the consistory of Cardinals assembled in the presence of the Pope. In course of time this was found to be more and more unsatisfactory, not to say impossible. Sixtus V. saw the way to provide a remedy already pointed out in the cardinalitial congregations instituted by his predecessors, to which certain definite ecclesiastical business was entrusted for decision. Only four of these, however, the Congregations of the Index, the Inquisition, the Council, and of Bishops, had a permanent character, whereas the many others only functioned temporarily. This arrangement provided a remedy for the delays in the discharge of business of which even in the fifteenth century many reports complained. It also resulted in a more settled procedure and gave a guarantee of an equitable decision, while it also reduced the expense, as to which even more complaints had been made than those concerning the delays of procedure. Sixtus V. clearly saw what an opportunity for a complete, logical, and speedy dispatch of business was afforded by its being entrusted to the cardinalitial congregations. He therefore showed a manifest preference for this way of dividing up the

[1] See HERRE, 409.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 24 *seq.*

work from the beginning of his pontificate.[1] On May 17th, 1586, he set up a new permanent congregation to deal with the affairs of the Regulars.[2] A year and a half afterwards he proceeded with characteristic energy to a complete elaboration and a systematic organization of the congregations, which was to have a profound importance for the whole system of the government of the Church and the Papal States At the consistory of January 22nd, 1588, he communicated his decision to the College of Cardinals, having first explained his plans in a long allocution.[3] On February 19th, the bull was read in consistory. Cardinal Pellevé wished for various alterations, while Cardinals Santa Croce, Madruzzo and Paleotto (who was almost always in opposition) expressed themselves against the Pope's plan, but without meeting with any support. All the other Cardinals approved the document,[4] which was published on March 23rd by being set up in the customary places, and at the consistory of May 11th was further elaborated by certain details concerning some of the points involved.[5] The most important of the

[1] *" S.Stà si vede che defeisce quasi in tutte le cose a questi congregationi (di cardinali) per scaricar se stessa et per fare le deliberationi con più maturità." Report of Capilupi of March 21, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] In confirming the faculties of this congregation on June 13, 1586, Sixtus V. added that it must also settle the differences between the bishops and the regulars. The constitution, unfortunately missing in the Bullarium, is printed in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 1, 1372 *seqq.*; I., 2, 2260 *seq.*

[3] Acta consist. 855. *Cf.* LAMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 74.

[4] Acta consist. in Barb., XXXVI., 5 P., II., p. 261, Vatican Library.

[5] The bull "Immensa Dei" dated "Anno Incarnat. 1587, XI. Cal. Febr. Pontif. nostri anno tertio" (i.e. 1588, not 1587, as so frequently and quite recently stated in the otherwise excellent work of HILLING, Die rom. Kurie, Paderborn, 1906, 47 *seq.*), in Bull., VIII., 985 *seq.*, where are also the "Declarationes" of May 11, 1588. The best commentary, which we have used in this work, is by PHILLIPS (VI., 561 *seqq.*). *Cf.* also MORONI, XVI., 140 *seq.*; BANGEN, 92 *seqq.*; *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 2 (1857)

statements then made was that the decision of a congregation was only to be valid when it had received the assent of at least three Cardinals.[1]

The bull dated January 22nd, 1588, which established the new organization of the congregations was undoubtedly drawn up by the Pope himself;[2] it magnificently expresses the ideas and motives which had inspired him. In the introduction Sixtus begins with a reference to the wonderful harmony which the infinite wisdom of the eternal God has set up in His creation. The Architect of all things, he continues, has united His creatures together in such a way, sweetly assigning to each its special purpose, that all serve and complete each other. In the heavenly Jerusalem He has divided the spirits of the Blessed into different orders, of which the higher illuminate the lower as to the designs of Divine Providence. He has also divided the body of the Church militant, which is an image of the Church triumphant, into its various members, which, united to their head and joined together by the bond of charity, help each other reciprocally, in such a way that the health and preservation of the whole body depends upon this.

Therefore, with good reason, the bull continues, the Roman Pontiff, whom Jesus Christ has appointed as the visible head of His body, which is the Church, and Who wills that he should guide and rule all the churches, surrounds himself by many

2230 *seqq.*, 2362 *seq.*; HINSCHIUS, I., 448 *seq.*; P. GRAZIANI, Sixte-Quint et la réorganisation du St. Siège, Paris, 1906 (Ital. trans. Rome, 1910); B. OJETTI, De curia Rom., Rome, 1910 J. SIMIER, La curie Rom., Paris, 1909; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 106, 108. Of the archives of the various congregations BROM (Archivalia, III., lii. *seq.*) gives a good account. *Cf.* also *infra* p. 251, n. 2, for the archives of the Congregation of the Council.

[1] This annulled the constitution of Pius V. that the decisions of the Roman Inquisition, although decreed by only two Cardinals, were to have full validity; see PHILLIPS, VI., 589.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 8; E. PINCHIA, Una pagina memorabile del Papato (Sisto V.), Portici, 1903, 13.

assistants for so immense a burden, and sets them by his side, whether they be the venerable bishops whom he sends throughout the world to care for the scattered flocks, or the exalted body of Cardinals who, as the most noble members in immediate relation with the head, the Supreme Pontiff, as were the Apostles with Jesus Christ, are ever by his side, and are his first associates and fellow labourers in work and counsel, to the end that he himself, by sharing with them and the other officers of the Roman Curia the gigantic burden of anxiety and business, may not, with the assistance of divine grace, succumb. Moved, therefore, by the example of the great Moses, who, though he spoke with God, did not despise the counsel of his brother-in-law Jethro, and by the order of God set up the senate of the seventy elders, that they might with him bear the burden of the people, and that he alone might not be troubled by them. We have decided to share the pontifical burden, which would be formidable for the shoulders of the angels themselves, among the senators of the world, our brethren the Cardinals, in the manner most salutary and adapted to the need of the times, and to the amount and diversity of the affairs, being well aware of the advantages to be gained thereby. We have allowed ourselves to be led to this course principally by the wish that all those men of every nation who seek refuge in such great numbers with this Apostolic See, the mother, mistress and refuge of all believers, with Us, in their piety and their desire of salvation, or for the protection of their rights, or in order to obtain favours, or for any other reason, may come to Rome in peace and security (in so far as it lies within our power in our States); and, in order that they may more easily and speedily discharge their business, that they may find various assemblies and congregations of Cardinals, ready to deal with definite questions and business, and in order that the Cardinals themselves may more easily fulfil the task assigned to them, administer their charge more diligently, and counsel us more suitably, and finally, in order that there may never be a lack of men in high position, well versed in public affairs. We have therefore set up fifteen congregations, drawn from

the Sacred College, and to each we have assigned definite business, in such a way that in more important and difficult questions they may have recourse to us, while to each we have given the necessary faculties and authority.

Of the fifteen congregations, six were to be concerned with the administration of the Papal States,[1] and all the rest with spiritual matters. The sphere of action of these new authorities in the Curia was definitely fixed.

Since the maintenance of the purity and integrity of the Catholic faith, which has been entrusted in quite a special manner by God to the successor of St. Peter, forms the foundation of the Church, Sixtus V. placed the Roman Inquisition at the head of his congregations, as being the most important bulwark of the faith. This court, of which, on account of the importance of the questions dealt with by it, the Pope himself held the presidency, was continued unchanged by Sixtus V., as founded by Paul III., and completed by Pius IV. and Pius V.,[2] and was confirmed in all its far-reaching jurisdiction. By this it retained, for all parts of the world where the Christian religion was practised, the right to take judicial proceedings against the crimes of heresy, schism, apostasy, magic, chiromancy, divination, and the abuse of the holy sacraments, as well as against anything that might arouse the suspicion of heresy.

The Cardinals hitherto belonging to the Inquisition, Lodovico Madruzzo, Giulio Antonio Santori, Pietro Deza, Gian Antonio Facchinetti, Giambattista Castagna, Girolamo Bernerio and Costanzo Sarnano, were confirmed in their office, while the privileges of the officials of the Inquisition were expressly renewed, and the Catholic powers were called upon to support the Inquisition with the secular arm.[3]

[1] *Cf. supra* pp. 99 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 505; Vol. XVI,, p. 305; Vol. XVII., p. 228.

[3] The warning given to the congregation to change nothing in the constitution of the Spanish Inquisition without the permission of the Pope, safeguarded the principle of the jurisdiction of the Pope over that institution. *Cf.* HINSCHIUS, VI., 362.

The Congregation of the Index, too, was merely confirmed, for that end and purpose, so closely united to that of the Inquisition, for which it had been established by Pius V.,[1] namely, to enable the Church to pronounce for all her subjects the prohibition of those books which she deemed dangerous to faith and morals. To this Congregation, as to all the others, only five Cardinals were appointed, namely, Marcantonio Colonna, Girolamo della Rovere, Philippe de Lenoncourt, William Allen and Ascanio Colonna. They were exhorted to complete from time to time the Index of prohibited books, and thus maintain the purity of the Catholic faith; they were also to seek the co-operation of the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Louvain, and other approved educational institutions. The Pope also gave the Congregation authority to summon to its aid theologians, canonists, and other learned men, and to permit them to read prohibited books for the purpose of their work.

The Congregation for the enforcing and interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, established by Pius IV., and promoted by Pius V.,[2] was composed of Cardinals Tolomeo Galli, Girolamo Rusticucci, Antonio Carafa, Stefano Bonucci and Girolamo Mattei. Sixtus V. insisted on the fact that only the Pope has the right to summon councils, to confirm their decrees, to interpret them and enforce them. He therefore reserved to himself the declaration of all the dogmatic decrees of the Council, but granted to these Cardinals the right to interpret any doubts or difficulties concerning the enactments of the Council on the reform of morals, discipline, juridical changes, ecclesiastical tribunals, and other similar matters, with the condition, however, that here too the Papal sanction was necessary. Sixtus V. further ordered the above-mentioned Congregation to see that the decrees of Trent were everywhere enforced, that provincial councils were held every three years, and diocesan synods every year,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 203.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 11; Vol. XVII., p. 203.

as well as to examine the decrees of the provincial councils.[1] Further the Congregation was to receive the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops who came to Rome to give an account of their pastoral duties, and equitably and justly to decide those matters which fell within its competence, referring the more difficult matters to the Pope. The Congregation was also to ask the bishops concerning the moral state of their clergy and people, the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees, especially as to the duty of residence, what pious customs were in use in their dioceses, and in general what progress all were making in the way of the Lord, after which they were to give to the bishop the official attestation that he had paid his visit to Rome.

Lastly Sixtus V., in order to promote the reform of clergy and people, gave the Congregation of the Council the power, not only in Rome and the Papal States, but throughout the Christian world, to watch over everything that was necessary for the revival of public worship, the renewal of piety and the bringing of public morality into conformity with the decrees of the Council of Trent and the conditions of those difficult and stormy times.[2]

[1] For the wrong explanation of this decree given by HINSCHIUS (III., 504), see PH. SCHNEIDER in the *Freib. Kirchenlexicon*, X., 544.

[2] To the many services rendered by Pius X. to historical study belongs the opening of the Archives of the Congregation of the Council, to which Clement XIII. had assigned a special place in 1767, overlooking the garden della Pigna. The Archives, for the gaps in which see the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI. (1910), 127, contain (1) The "Relationes" of the bishops of the "Orbi christianus" in more than 1200 strong-boxes, alphabetically arranged, and chronologically for each diocese; (2) "Positiones per ordinem chronologicum"; (3) Collection of diocesan synods and aposotlic visitations; (4) "Acta S. Congregationis Immunitatis." At my request, one of the most distinguished members of the Austrian Historical Institute, Dr. Dengel, was enabled for the first time to penetrate these archives, and published with a preface of great value the reports of certain Austrian dioceses in the *Forsch. und Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols u. Vorarlbergs*, IV. (1907),

Sixtus V. conferred very wide powers on the Congregation for the affairs of the Bishops, set up by Pius V.,[1] to which he appointed Cardinals Nicolas Pellevé, Girolamo Simoncelli, Giambattista Castagna, Giulio Canani and Scipione Gonzaga. This Congregation was to receive all the requests made by those enjoying ordinary jurisdiction, beginning with the patriarchs, down to the ordinaries of every degree, so long as they did not belong to any religious Order. They were to reply in writing to the difficulties, questions and

307-372. In an exhaustive manner, also owing to me, in 1908 Prof. Dr. Schmidlin has made use in Vol. VII. of the *Erlauterungen u. Erganzungen zu Ianssens Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, of all the diocesan reports of Austria, Bavaria, East and West Germany down to the time of the Thirty Years' War, and has shown in a valuable dissertation as interesting as it is valuable, the ecclesiastical conditions of Germany, and by so doing has shown how much there is to be obtained from this new source in the way of information as to the epoch of Catholic restoration. Reports from the Archbishops of Prague to the Congregation of the Council have been published by A. Podlaha in the *Quellensamml. f. böhm. Kirchen gesch. des* 16-18 *Jahrh.*, II. (1908). A similar study of the reports for Italy, Spain, and the countries outside Europe would be a very welcome work. Reports of the French bishops (Toulouse, Mirepoix, Pamiers) were recently published in the rare work: Vocations sacerdotales du diocèse du Toulouse, Toul, 1912. The report of the Bishop of Antwerp, Torrentius, for 1590, in the *Anal. p. l' hist. ecclés. des Pays-Bas*, XV. (1878), 369 *seqq.* *Cf. Bull. de la Commission Roy. d' hist.*, LXXXIII. (1920), 352 *seqq.* *Ibid.* 375 report of the diocese of Bruges (1590), 438 *seqq.* the diocese of Cambrai (1589), 460 *seqq.* the diocese of Tournai (1590). The report of the diocese of Antwerp for Gregory XIV. (1591) in Brom-Hensen, Romeinsche Bronnen, The Hague, 1920, 410 *seqq.* In the Carte Strozziane of the State Archives, Florence, Cod. CCCLVII., there is (n. 28) a *Relazione della chiesa e diocesi di Bertinoro fatta dal suo vescovo al Papa; n. 29, a *Relatio status eclesiae archiepisc. Bononiens. facta S. Congreg. card. de rebus concilii, dated February, 1590, and signed by Cardinal Paleotto as Archbishop of Bologna.

[1] See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 204.

disputes presented to the Congregation, and were to decide summarily on all doubts, juridical conditions and forms, concerning the maintenance of the churches, their dignity, jurisdiction, exemptions, immunities, rights and privileges, and praiseworthy customs, and bring all these matters to a happy issue, either at the request of the parties, or of the official concerned, as seemed simplest and most advantageous. In the case of legal disputes arising between prelates on a matter of jurisdiction, or something else, or between chapters and dignitaries, or between individuals, or corporate bodies, or secular landowners, they were to examine the question thoroughly and settle it in a friendly way, and for this purpose they should invite the assistance of other persons, namely those who did not belong to the dioceses in question. All these cases supposed that it was not a matter for a regular trial, for such must always be referred to a proper judge, nor of the interpretation of the Council of Trent, which was to be referred to the Congregation of the Council. The Congregation had the right, in the case of all places where the Christian religion was practised, to suggest to the Pope suitable men to act as visitors, and to give the latter their instructions when they set out upon their task. They might also, where such a course was necessary, suggest suitable persons, distinguished for their learning, for the office of vicars-apostolic, to whom the government of definite churches could then be entrusted by Papal authority. Lastly, the Congregation was also established for the protection of ecclesiastical immunities, as well as for that of the persons of the prelates and of the property of the Church, against all oppression at the hands of anyone, no matter how exalted his dignity and authority.

The duties of the Congregation of Regulars, which was established in 1586,[1] and to which belonged Cardinals Michele Bonelli, Giulio Antonio Santori, Gian Antonio Facchinetti, Filippo Spinola and Costanzo Sarnano, were laid down in greater detail, it being enacted that it was to answer all the

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 246.

questions of the Orders, and itself to settle the difficulties arising between the Orders, it being once more made clear that the questions were not such as to call for a regular trial, nor involve an intepretation of the Council of Trent. The Congregation was, however, to decide upon a transfer from a less severe to a more severe Order, to deal with those who apostatized from an Order, or were expelled from one, or were allowed to live outside their monastery. Lastly, the Congregation was to concern itself with the internal visitation of religious houses.

Of the four new Congregations set up by the bull of January 22nd, 1588, the most important was the Consistorial Congregation. To this was assigned the preliminary inquiries as to the formation of new dioceses, and changes in those already in existence. The members were the vice-chancellor, Alessandro Farnese, Gabriele Paleotto, Lodovico Madruzzo, Pietro Deza and François Joyeuse.

In the case of the Congregation of the Segnatura di Grazia, which was to examine petitions for favours and graces, in so far as they did not come under the heading of ordinary justice, Sixtus V. enacted that it was to be composed of the Grand Penitentiary, the Prefects of the Segnatura di Grazia, the Segnatura di Giustizia, the Segnatura dei Brevi, and the Datary, offices at that time held respectively by Cardinals Ippolito Aldobrandini, Antonio Carafa, Giambattista Castrucci, Scipione Lancellotti and Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta.

The establishment of a special Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, in which Sixtus V. was greatly interested,[1] was explained by him as follows: Since the sacred ceremonies and customs of which the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and in accordance with apostolic traditions and ordinances, makes use in the administration of the sacraments, in her public offices, and in all acts of the worship of God and the Saints, contain valuable lessons for Christian people and

[1] *" N.Stà s'ha fatto portare molti libri in camera della libreria Vaticana che contengono la nota di tutti i riti ecclesiastici per cavarne una nuova asservanza da essi." Avviso of March 19, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

a profession of the true faith, bring out the magnificence of divine things, raise the thoughts of the faithful to the contemplation of the sublime mysteries, and enkindle the fire of devotion, we welcome the desire to increase the piety of the children of the Church and of her worship, by the maintenance and restoration of these sacred ceremonies and usages.

The Cardinals appointed to the Congregation of Rites, Alfonso Gesualdo, Niccolò Sfondrato, Agostino Valiero, Vincenzo Laureo and Federiço Borromeo, were, in comformity with the words of the bull of Sixtus V., to take care that ancient ecclesiastical customs were everywhere observed with all diligence, in all the churches of Rome and throughout the world, even in the Papal chapels, at mass and the divine office, in the administration of the sacraments, and everything else pertaining to divine worship, restored where they had fallen into disuse, and emended where they had become corrupt. In accordance with this it was the duty of the Congregation to correct, where necessary, the books concerned, especially the Pontifical, Ritual and Ceremonial, and then to examine the Offices of Patron Saints, and after taking counsel with the Pope, to bring them into use. The Congregation was also to devote its attention to the canonization of the saints and the sanctification of feast days, so that in this matter everything might be strictly carried out in conformity with the traditions of the Fathers. The Congregation was also to see to it that if kings or princes or their ambassadors, or other distinguished personages, ecclesiastical or civil, came to Rome or to the Roman court, they were received with honour, and in accordance with their dignity, rank and official position by the Apostolic See, as had been customary with their predecessors. Lastly the Congregation was to decide all disputes as to precedence which might arise at processions or elsewhere, as well as any difficulties which might occur in connexion with the sacred ceremonies and customs.[1]

[1] The Archives of the Congregation of Rites are at present in the palace of the Cancelleria. I obtained permission to use them for a member of the Austrian Historical Institute, Prof. I. Brzezinski, in 1901.

As early as the spring of 1588 the president of the Congregation of Rites, Cardinal Gesualdo, was ordered to obtain information in all parts of Christendom as to the need for correction of the liturgical books which had been issued in an improved form by Pius V., especially the breviary and missal. Gesualdo had recourse to the nuncios in Venice, Savoy, France, Germany and Poland,[1] and also to learned religious, such as the Theatines at Naples,[2] and the Oratorians in Rome, asking them to obtain the opinions of learned theologians, as well as suggestions and desires for the reform of the above-mentioned liturgical books. It is clear with what wisdom the Holy See wished to take into account the just requirements and desires of the various countries according to the mind of Gregory the Great and Pius V. In course of time many suggestions for improvements arrived from the various countries; some of these went too far, but most of them fell within the limits of fair criticism.[3] Among other things attention was called to inexactitudes and contradictions in the historical lections, and in the case of certain lections written by the command of Sixtus V., as for example, those of St. Francis of Paula, their excessive length was frankly criticized.[4] Some of the nuncios made a point of calling

[1] Before this hardly anything was known of the reform of the Breviary by Sixtus V. BÄUMER (485 *seq.*) was the first to publish the Acta contained in Cod. G. 79 and 83 of the Vallicella Library, but this by no means exhausts the manuscript material. Of the material in the Nunziat. di Savoia 22, p. 243 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*, 509 *seq.*, 513 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives) I have before me the copies made by my friend, the parish-priest Agostino Sauer, who died in 1914, who devoted much work to them. Bäumer has entirely overlooked the important *Fragment of the protocol of the sessions of the Congregations cited *infra*, p. 257, n. 2.

[2] The *letter of Don Giacomo of the Neapolitan Congregatio cleric. regul., dated September 2, 1588, to his fellow-religious P. Benedetti in Rome, in Cod. G. 83, of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See BÄUMER, 487.

[4] First *Addition to the letter of the nuncio in Venice mentioned in the following note.

attention to the difficulties that were to be expected; thus the nuncio in Venice pointed out the obstacles that had been raised by the printers and publishers in the time of Pius V. and that they had no intention of renouncing the liberties that had been granted to them.[1]

The Congregation of Rites began its labours even before the opinions arrived. Unfortunately only a part of their discussions, that dealing with the months of August, September and October, 1588, has been preserved.[2] This was written by the hand of Cesare Baronius.[3] The discussions reached no conclusion in the time of Sixtus V., but the results were of great use to the commission set up by his successor, in which the above-mentioned great historian of the Church took a leading part.[4]

[1] *Letter of the nuncio in Venice, dated August 27, 1588, in Cod. G. 83, p. 39 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[2] *August 27, 1588, it was decided: that since the Breviary has three kinds of lections, it would be well to quote its chapters, gospels, homilies and sermons (i.e. to indicate the sources) and also in the case of lections taken from the Holy Scriptures to note the place from which they are taken in the margin of the Breviary. In the case of the histories of the saints it is necessary, for the use of those who are employed on the reform of the Breviary, to note the authors from whom they are taken. In the "Commune Sanctorum" as many lections must be added as will be sufficient for use during the whole of the octaves. Certain things could be added and others removed in the case of the responsories and versicles, which can be used for those saints whose feasts are to be celebrated. *September 10, 1588, it was decided that a number of passages in the vita S. Andreae, S. Nicolai and S. Ambrosii must be examined by each of the consultors, and decided upon later on. At the end the protocol states that there is no intention of changing the lections of the Immaculata conceptio beatae Virginis. *October 25, 1588: Decided to examine once more the points already enumerated, at the next session. Cod. G. 83, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] A. Sauer, too, who had made a detailed study of the correspondence of Baronius, recognized his hand in this.

[4] See BÄUMER, 487.

The fourth of the new Congregations established at this time was given by Sixtus V. the superintendence of the official Vatican Press. It was to devote itself to the correct publication of important religious books, such as the Bible, the Decretals, and the Fathers of the Church, together with the proper use of the manuscript material in the libraries of Rome, especially the Vatican Library. To this Congregation, which formed at the same time a complement to that of the Index, there belonged Cardinals Antonio Carafa, François Joyeuse, Costanzo Sarnano, Scipione Gonzaga and Benedetto Giustiniani.

From this time forward the centre of gravity of the government of the Church lay in these Congregations, through whose hands there passed the greater part of the business hitherto discharged in consistory.

The view that Sixtus V., was guided in setting up the Congregations, not by any considerations of necessity, but by another motive altogether, namely his wish to overcome the powerful and unmanageable resistance he met with in the general assemblies in consistory, and thus to do away with the proper influence of the Cardinals, is without foundation.[1] The step he took rested upon the changed conditions of the times, and represented an administrative change that had become necessary.[2] Although it was an arrangement which at the same time enhanced the Pope's authority, and helped to consolidate it, yet on the other hand it had the effect of employing the Cardinals more directly than before in the actual government of the Church and State.[3] However autocratic Sixtus V. again and again showed

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 4 *seq.*

[2] LULVES, too, admits this in *Mitteil. des Osterr. Instit.*, XXXV. 482.

[3] See HERRE, 373, whose calm judgment forms a welcome contrast to the bias shown by Brosch in the matter (I., 285). The view which the latter holds, that in the time of Sixtus V. the information given to the consistories, and the decisions which they were called upon to make, steadily decreased, both in number

himself towards the Cardinals,[1] he never attempted to prevent or limit free discussion in the consistory;[2] on the contrary, he welcomed it, and sought to encourage it; all he insisted upon, and rightly, was the systematic discharge of business. For that reason, at his consistory of November 5th, 1586, he put an end to the abuse by which, at the beginning of the consistory, the Cardinals gathered round the Pope to express their wishes and make their petitions. Such things, he rightly said, were for the private audiences, which he granted so liberally. At the same time he ordered that there should be a consistory every week, and added the exhortation that the matters for discussion should be better prepared, that they should be set forth without prolixity or useless repetition, but not so briefly, either then or in the discussions, as not to observe the appointed order.[3] Even after the new arrangement came into force, which naturally limited the number of subjects to be dealt with in consistory, Sixtus V. ordered that consistories should still be held every Wednesday, even though there was no important business to be done, and at the same time ordered the Congregations to meet every week.[4]

In like manner, the complaints made of Sixtus V., that he did not pay sufficient attention to the opinions expressed by the Cardinals, are not just. It is, on the contrary, clear that, in keeping with his great opinion of the dignity of the members of the Sacred College, he took counsel with them,

and importance, is disproved by the Consistorial Acta, which Brosch neglected to consult, although they were easily accessible to him in the libraries of Rome, and even to some extent printed in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.* of 1872.

[1] *Cf.* Acta consist. 842, 843, 846.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 4 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, in Barb. XXXVI., 5, P. II., p. 218 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See *ibid.* P. III., p. 48, and GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55. It is incomprehensible how K. Wenk in his essay on the development of the College of Cardinals can maintain that Sixtus V. "may be said no longer to have had the Cardinals assembled in consistory." (*Preuss. Iahrb.*, LIII., 449).

often adapted his own views to theirs, and in important questions, attached the greatest weight to the consent of the consistory.[1] The Cardinals, on their part, did not allow themselves to be intimidated by the often violent methods of the Pope, and made free use of their right of opposition.[2]

One undoubtedly very great advantage that followed upon the bull of January 22nd, 1588, was that it prevented an evil that had often made itself felt. In the College of Cardinals there were members of reigning families, who naturally could not forget the interests of their own house, as well as the Protectors of the Emperor, and of the Kings of Spain, France and Poland, who were almost bound by their office to protect the interests of those committed to them; lastly, there was a large number of vassals, subjects or beneficiaries of foreign princes, whose favour they did not wish to forfeit. With all such, other than religious interests naturally weighed, whether dynastic, political or personal, but in any case extraneous to the matters under discussion in consistory. By the division of the work among the various cardinalitial congregations, these more or less dependent Cardinals obtained a greater independence and freedom of action for the protection of ecclesiastical interests.[3] It is quite certain that henceforward questions taken to Rome were treated with a greater understanding and more mature judgment, and also with greater speed and secrecy then before, and at the same time at much less cost.[4] The criticisms of the Cardinals and ambassadors which found expression after the bull of January 22nd, 1588, are rather concerned with the personnel of the Congregations than with their nature.[5]

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 5.

[2] Santori expressed himself very frankly; see his Autobiografia, XIII., 179 *seq.*

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 4.

[4] See *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 2, 2276 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, VI., 575; BALZANI, 53. The secrecy of consistorial decisions had to be strictly insisted upon by Sixtus V. on November 16 and 27, 1587. Acta consist. 855; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

[5] See the report of Gritti of January 30, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 13.

The Congregations afterwards fully proved their value as the immediate instruments in the hands of the Pope for the government of the Church ; they were maintained, and substantially contributed to the systematic carrying out of the work of Catholic reform. In the main they have been continued down to the present day.

By his formation and establishment of the Congregations, undertaken on traditional Roman lines, Sixtus V. earned great fame ; it bore splendid witness to his energy, to his far-seeing vision, and to his brilliant gifts as an administrator.[1] Very fittingly did Pius X.[2] recall his name with honour when in 1908 he undertook a reorganization of the Papal Curia.

[1] *Cf.* BROM, Guide des Arch. Vatic[2]., Rome, 1911, 18.

[2] See the constitution " Sapienti consilio " of June 29, 1908. Sixtus V. rendered signal service, in the first place to the administration, but also to learning, by his edicts concerning ecclesiastical archives, which like all his ordinances bear a strong personal impress. Following in the footsteps of Pius IV. and Pius V. he promoted in 1586 and 1587 the preservation and recovery of the Acta of the Apostolic Camera. The vast scheme for a central ecclesiastical archivium for the whole of Italy which Sixtus V. formed, in advance of his times (*cf.* SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España I., Rome, 1915, 100), was found to be impracticable. Sixtus V. therefore limited himself to what was attainable in the then conditions, ordering in the case of all the ecclesiastical institutions of Italy the compiling of inventories of their Acta, which were to be preserved in a safe place. The Pope also set on foot reforms in the case of the civil archives. *Cf.* LOEVINSON in *Gli Archivi ital.*, III. (1916), 167 *seq.* See *ibid*, IV. (1917), 64 *seq.* the " Motu proprio di soppressione dei piombatori Cisterciensi e di erezione del Presidentato del Piombo, uffizio vacabile," of Sixtus V.

CHAPTER VI.

Disputes with Philip II.—Sixtus V. and the parties in France.

Although in 1581 a Spanish diplomatist had praised the friendly dispositions of Cardinal Montalto towards Philip II.,[1] the king was not altogether pleased with the result of the conclave; he would much more gladly have seen Cardinal Serbelloni raised to the Papal throne.[2] But with prudent self-control, he concealed his displeasure, for he had in many respects absolutely to depend upon the man who filled the Apostolic See.

The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, was told, in special instructions dated May 14th, 1585, how to conduct himself so as to work in harmony with the new Pope.[3] In this document may be clearly seen the conviction that Spain, on account of the vastness of its dominions, and the internal peace prevailing at home, was, under the absolute and strong government of its king, the first power in the world. The Pope must be brought to understand this by Olivares as clearly as the weakness of the Papal States.

Having thus shown how indispensable a secular protector was, the ambassador was to insist upon the good will of his sovereign, and his readiness to place the whole power of Spain at the disposal of the Pope for the defence of the Church and the Holy See. This of course would strengthen the

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 42.

[2] See Hübner, II., 467. Bremond, 166.

[3] "Instrucion del Rey al conde de Olivares," dated Barcelona, May 14, 1585, not used by Hübner, but taken for the first time by Herre (381 *seq.*) from the Simancas Archives (Ley, 1870, p. 28). I have used the copy in the archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, III., 9.

disagreeable impression that Philip was the stronger and the Pope the weaker. In order to remove this Olivares was to call attention to the fact that Spanish dominion in Italy had brought peace and tranquillity, so that it must not be looked upon as foreign and oppressive, but natural and useful, and the only guarantee for the maintenance of order. Moreover the Spaniards had in view no fresh conquests in the Appenine peninsula, as had been shown by their attitude towards the disturbances at Genoa. The principal purpose of the instructions to the Spanish ambassador was disclosed in the second part. This brought out in the strongest terms how important it was for the welfare of Christendom that the Pope should act in full agreement with the king with regard to the disturbances in France, where there was a danger of a non-Catholic prince obtaining the crown. This interesting document ends with a reference to the intolerable preponderance of the Huguenots, and the Catholic zeal of the King of Spain. It shows how Philip II. sought from the first to anticipate the Pope's fear lest by his attitude towards the disorders in France he should find himself in political dependence upon Spain, and would contribute to a still wider extension of her power, a fear which was carefully fostered on the part of France, Venice and Florence.

The autocratic character of Sixtus V., as well as his lofty conception of the Papal dignity, explain how it was only very unwillingly that he accepted under compulsion the situation created after the unhappy war of Paul IV., which confirmed the Spanish preponderance in Italy, reduced the Papal States to a power of the second rank, and imperilled the liberty of the Apostolic See. The personality of Philip II., and his cold and calculating character, were in marked contrast to the fiery nature of Sixtus V., who loved to attain his end directly with an energy that never counted the cost. The aim of the King of Spain to assume the tutelage of the Church, and in a sense to share the office of the supreme apostolate with the occupant of the Apostolic See,[1] could not fail to be supremely antipathetic to him. In spite of this he saw

[1] *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 20.

clearly from the first that he could only carry out his great plans for the advantage of the Church by maintaining friendly relations with the monarch who was the most powerful of the Catholic sovereigns of his time, and at the same time the most zealous protector of Catholicism, even though beyond all doubt he almost always had secondary and purely Spanish ends in view. Therefore Sixtus V., as soon as he had assumed the reins of government, expressed himself in courteous terms to the Spanish ambassador, Olivares, and entered upon a friendly correspondence with Philip II.[1] Although the new Pope was not in a position to meet all the wishes of the king, especially with regard to the affairs of France, yet in many respects Philip had every reason to be satisfied with the friendly attitude of the new Pope. On May 2nd, 1585, Sixtus V. confirmed the *Sussidio* for another five years, which amounted to a revenue of 420,000 ducats. On October 17th, 1585, there followed for a similar period of time the approbation of the *Excusado* and of the *Cruzada* for six years. These brought two million ducats annually into the royal treasury.[2] In the following year Philip II. received, for himself as well as for his son, the right of presentation for Sicily and Sardinia.[3] Philip's request for the union of the title of Grand Master of the military Order of Montesa with the crown of Aragon was also granted.[4]

[1] See PRIULI, 316. HÜBNER, I., 259 *seq.* The Pope's first letter, of May 10, 1585, concerned the help of the Spanish officials in Italy against the scourge of the bandits (see *supra* p. 76). Worthy of note is the friendly advice which Sixtus V. gives the king concerning his government, by a brief of May 6, 1586; see the principal passage from this in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII, 170, n. 1.

[2] See *Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado in the archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. PHILIPPSON (Granvella, 450) wrongly places the concession of the Excusado and the Cruzada in September.

[3] Consistory of April 28, 1586; see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53.

[4] See Relazione di Fr. Soranzo in BAROZZI-BERCHET, I., 1, 48.

With regard to the unending disputes about jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Naples, Sixtus V. showed so much good will during the first year of his pontificate as to give hopes of a settlement of the differences which had so often disturbed the friendly relations between Rome and Madrid during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.; the Pope even entirely suppressed the congregation set up by his predecessor to deal with questions of jurisdiction. An agreement was occasionally come to in small disputes,[1] but it was very problematical whether a complete understanding could be arrived at.

The benevolent attitude of the new Pope encouraged the representatives of Philip II. in Italy to display their Spanish pride in an intolerable manner. At Milan the governor, the Duke of Terranueva, had a stall erected for himself in the cathedral, which was as high as that of the archbishop, and clung obstinately to this privilege. At Naples, the viceroy, the Duke of Osuna, included in his prohibition of the export of corn from the Kingdom of Naples the lands of the inhabitants of Benevento which were situated within the Neapolitan territory, in spite of the fact that it was a separate Papal enclave. In both cases Sixtus V. spoke so decisively and in such a threatening way that both governors had to withdraw their claims.[2]

Not so fortunate was the Papal nuncio in Spain, Cesare Speciani, who had gone thither in succession to Taverna in April, 1586. His reports are filled with complaints of the usurpations of the authorities in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[3] In March, 1586, Philip solemnly made his *obedientia* to the new head of the Church by means of a special envoy,[4] but the Catholic King nevertheless clung firmly to

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of August 14, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and PRIULI, 316.

[2] See HÜBNER, I., 329. *Cf.* the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 319 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*

[4] See Acta consist. 845; *Archivio della Societa Romana*, V., 567; BREMOND, 199; *Avviso of March 15, 1586, according to which the Pope, who had been much moved during the function,

his cesaropapistical ideas, in which he was especially supported by the aged Cardinal Granvelle. When, towards the end of 1585, the nuncio complained of the decrees of the royal council, which limited the rights of the Papal representatives, Granvelle pointed out to the king in a memorial that it was precisely with a Pope like Sixtus V. that they must be on their guard, and remember that the security of the Italian possessions of the Spanish crown demanded that none of their inhabitants should be dependent upon a foreign prince.[1]

Even now Papal ordinances met with an arbitrary and capricious treatment in Spain. This was the case in the autumn of 1586 with a decree which, in order to remove gross abuses, strictly forbade the handing over of benefices to others, without the previous consent of a cardinalitial commission. The Spanish authorities looked upon this as an infringement of the rights of the crown. In like manner a Papal decree concerning the dress of bishops was interfered with by Philip II. At Naples the old disputes were constantly breaking, out.[2] Nevertheless Sixtus V., in December, 1586 complied at the creation of Cardinals with the repeatedly expressed desire of Philip II., by conferring the purple on Ascanio Colonna, a son of Marcantonio.[3] If in spite of this

remarked jokingly of the supper which was given by one of the representatives of Philip II. "che sariano maltrattati perchè S.B. viveva da povero fratello." Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. The "Oratio" delivered at the function by Iosephus Valentinus was printed, Rome, 1586.

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 616. The nuncio at that time, Taverna, was replaced on December 11, 1585, by Cesare Speciani, Bishop of Novara; see the *brief to Philip II., December 11, 1585, Arm. 44, t. 30, n. 120 (*cf.* n. 153), Papal Secret Archives. Speciani reached Madrid on April 11, 1586; see HINOJOSA, 319.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 30; PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. u. d. Papsttum 437 *seq.*, HINOJOSA, 321.

[3] With regard to this see the letters of Sixtus V. to Philip II, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III., 567 *seq.*, 568 *seq.* What importance Philip II. attached to his relations with the Colonna is clear from the *Instrucion al condestabile de Castilla, embaxador de obedien-

the relations between Rome and Madrid became worse rather than better, the fault to no small extent lay with the Spanish ambassador, Olivares. This man, who was overbearing, often irritable, and quarrelsome, was not the person to promote conciliation,[1] while he deliberately fostered the mistrust felt by Philip II. for the acts of Sixtus V.[2]

The presence of such an ambassador became doubly disastrous when to disputes over ecclesiastical matters there were added disagreements and quarrels of another kind. One of the principal reasons for the concession of the *Cruzada* had been the repression of the corsairs in the Mediterranean, but Sixtus V. discovered that very little was being done for that purpose, although the concession brought to the Spanish king 800,000 ducats a year.[3] Soon afterwards the Pope felt himself personally insulted by another incident. A life of his benefactor Pius V., and dedicated to himself, which mentioned that Pope's disputes with Philip II. without any sort of exaggeration, and even with a good deal of reserve, was simply prohibited by the Spanish government.[4] The Spaniards, as Cardinal Este said at the time, expect everything to bow before their pride. It is displeasing to them that

cia al P. Sixto V., dated January 2, 1586, in which the duty is laid upon the ambassador of paying a visit, after the Cardinals, to the widow of Marcantonio Colonna. Archives of the Spanish Embassy Rome.

[1] See PHILIPPSON in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 439 ; HÜBNER I., 361 *seq.* ; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 570. For the delight taken by Olivares in disputation *cf.* the incident related by Santori in his Autobiografia (XIII., 178).

[2] For this distrust see the report in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 437. *Cf.* also PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 449, and *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX. 442 *seq.*

[3] See GRITTI, 343. An *Avviso of July 2, 1586, reports that Sixtus V. enumerated in a state of great excitement all the penalties incurred by princes who usurped spiritual favours (Spain, France), when an agent asked for the concession of tithes. Urb. 1054, p. 226b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 422, n. 1.

history, when it speaks of them, should conform to the fundamental law of telling the truth about them as about everything else. This was the reason for the prohibition of the biography of so holy a Pope, an act which Sixtus V. stigmatized as worthy of heretics.[1]

A much more serious dispute was caused by the manifestly biased "pragmatic on titles" of Philip II. in October, 1586,[2] which fully revealed the bureaucratic and absolutist character of the king. The enactment aroused general dissatisfaction among the diplomatic body at Madrid. The Imperial ambassador, Khevenhüller, protested openly against "the wretched scrawl" and said that he would go away before the beginning of the new year, when the ordinance as to titles was to come into force. The nuncio expressed himself in more measured language, but none the less frankly, and referred a decision to the Pope, since it was the latter who conferred and regulated titles in the case of ecclesiastics. Philip II. replied that his intention was to remove abuses, and not to offend anybody, least of all foreign princes; for the rest, what was written was written![3]

Sixtus V. was very sensitive in matters of this kind. In February, 1587, he complained in consistory that Cardinal Santori had spoken of the King of Spain as his sovereign, whereas the members of the Sacred College had but one sovereign, the Pope.[4] When Sixtus V. received the text of the pragmatic on titles, he summoned Olivares and told him that if the king did not at once revoke the ordinance, as far as ecclesiastical dignitaries were concerned, he would immediately put it on the Index.[5]

[1] Hübner, II., 30.

[2] Extract in Hübner, II., 500 *seq.* *Cf.* Ricci, Silingardi, I., 175 *seq.*

[3] See Hübner, I., 381 *seq.*

[4] See Acta consist., 850, and Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 178. The incident was soon known in Rome, and the attitude of Sixtus V. praised; see *Avviso of February 28, 1587, Urb. 1055 p. 71, Vatican Library.

[5] See Hübner, I., 383.

On July 27th, 1587, Sixtus V. spoke of the matter in public consistory. In an allocution lasting for an hour, he said that Philip II., by his pragmatic, had assumed jurisdiction over Cardinals and prelates, and that, acting under the advice of his ministers, who were schismatics and excommunicate, he refused to change it. Finally, he forbade the Cardinals, under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope, to receive letters from Spain in which they were not given their proper and customary titles.[1] This discourse was no sooner known in Rome than it aroused the greatest surprise, and it was generally thought that there would be a serious conflict.[2]

Even after the consistory, Sixtus V., whose irritation had been increased by the encroachments of the officials of Philip II. in Naples and Madrid,[3] indulged in bitter complaints. The Spanish Cardinals were astonished at the determination he displayed in this matter.[4] At a meeting of the Segnatura the Pope expressed himself so violently at the behaviour of Philip II. towards the nuncio in Madrid, that not only the referendaries, but the Cardinals themselves trembled.[5] For a time Olivares did not dare to approach the Pope, because he was openly speaking of excommunicating the King of Spain.[6]

[1] Besides the report in Acta consist. 851 (*cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54) see the *letter of A. Malegnani of July 29, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of July 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 284 *seq.* Vatican Library. The latter gives the discourse in great detail. *Cf.* also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 131b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[2] *"Hora i discorsi sopra questi negotii son varii, tutti però s' accordano a dire, che tal cosa non starà qui et che nasceranno degli inconvenienti grandi senza dubio. Ognuno però si confida nell' intrepidezza del Papa." Avviso of July 29, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 287. Vatican Library.

[3] See in App. n. 15 the first *report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See in App. n. 16 the second *report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See *Avviso, s.d. but belonging to this time, in Urb. 1055, p. 297, Vatican Library.

[6] See in App. n. 16 the *Addition to the second report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

When, on August 7th, 1587, the appointment of William Allen as Cardinal,[1] which had been asked for by Philip II., took place, Sixtus V. seized the opportunity to write an autograph letter to the Spanish king. He frankly pointed out to him that his expedition against England could only be successful if he first reconciled himself with God: since no sin displeases the Almighty more than the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as is plain "from both sacred and profane history." His characteristic letter goes on: "Your Majesty has been advised to include in your pragmatic, bishops, archbishops and Cardinals; this has been a very grave sin, and therefore you must remove these ministers of God from the aforesaid pragmatic, and do penance, for otherwise some punishment may fall upon you. Do not put your trust in anyone who advises you otherwise, as he is perhaps a flatterer or an atheist, but put your trust in me, the father given you by God, believe in this Holy See which is your mother, and which you are bound to obey *de necessitate salutis*. If your counsellors are classical scholars let them read Eutropius, if they are canonists let them read the 10th and 36th distinctions, if they are lawyers let them read *de S^mis^ Episcopis*, if they are theologians let them read the 1st and 20th opusculum of St. Thomas, and then they will not give your Majesty such bad advice. The Emperor Augustus and other pagan Emperors had so great respect for sacred jurisdiction that in order to make laws affecting sacred persons they caused Pontiffs to be appointed. I have shed many tears for this great sin of yours, and trust that you will amend your ways and that God will pardon you. In questions of salvation you must needs obey the Vicar of Christ without reply, and in this hope I implore for your excellent Majesty every blessing."[2]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 52.

[2] HÜBNER, III., 236 *seq.* has given the letter from the Simancas Archives. The copy in Cod. 35, V., 21, p. 222 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome, of which LÄMMER has published the principal part (Zur Kirchengesch., 165) is incomplete. Reprinted by CUGNONI in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 575 *seq.* It is incompre-

Philip II. made no reply to this letter,[1] because just at that time, on account of his preparations against England, it was more necessary than ever for him to be on good terms with Rome. His pride rebelled against a generous retractation,[2] but concealing his distaste, he tried to end the controversy superficially, and trusted to underhand means, such as acts of kindness to the Pope's nephews, to recover his good will.[3] But as opinions differed widely as to the form and purpose of the expedition against England, there were painful controversies on this matter as well.[4] The fate of the great Armada made the deepest impression throughout Europe, while in Italy the event intensified the hostility to Spain and caused a great coolness between Rome and Madrid.[5]

From the first Sixtus V. had assisted in the enterprise against Queen Elizabeth with mixed feelings, as, on account of the designs of Philip II. on the crown of England, the possible victory of Spain caused him anxieties which, however, were not always expressed, either personally or by his representatives abroad. His fears of the rise of a universal Spanish monarchy were assiduously fostered on the part of France, Venice and Florence. "I asked the Pope to take into

hensible how BROSCH, in his Geschichte des Kirchenstaates, in which he had freely used the Venetian reports, though in a partisan sense, can maintain (I., 296): "until the last year of his life the Pope remained on peaceful and cordial terms with Spain!"

[1] See GRITTI, 343.

[2] *Cf.* the Relazione di Spagna in C. BRATLI, Filip den Anden af Spanien, Copenhagen, 1909, 196; probably the work of Camillo Guidi.

[3] HÜBNER (I., 386) quotes in this connexion the report of Girol. Lippomano from Madrid, November 5, 1587. Philip II., however, had already tried to win over the Pope's nephew; see PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 571, and the *report of L. Olivo of August 20, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] More fully in Vol. XXII. of this work, chap I.

[5] See HERRE, 391 *seq.* The cesaropapistical tendencies of Philip II., which always obtruded themselves, contributed to the estrangement.

consideration," wrote Cardinal Este in October, 1585, "with regard to the proposed Armada, the alarm that this was bound to occasion among the Christian princes, since, although the heresy of the queen gives the Spanish monarch an excuse for his designs against England, there is no possible doubt that what he is aiming at is domination over the whole of Christendom. The Pope replied that it would be a long and wearisome journey to that point, and remained thoughtful and said no more."[1] Sixtus V. could not deceive himself as to what would happen to the Holy See if there should be a complete victory on the part of the world wide power of Spain, for the usurpations of Philip II. in ecclesiastical matters were still continuing, and were giving rise to constant disputes.[2] Very characteristic of the language employed by the representative of Philip in Rome was an incident which occurred during the time when the fate of the Armada was still in doubt. The Pope was considering the appointment of a new nuncio at Madrid. When he suggested for that office a prelate who was old and unacceptable to the Spaniards, Olivares had the effrontery to reply that he understood the reason for this choice, as the aged prelate would succumb to the hardships of the journey, and His Holiness would thus inherit a "clericato di Camera."[3]

How little suited Olivares was to deal with a man like Sixtus V. was also plain during the discussions which took place in Rome after the failure of the Armada. The ambassador advised his sovereign to insist upon the continuance of the payment of the subsidies, to prepare for a change of policy towards the Holy See, and in general to make use of open threats. In the Pope's refusal to contribute to the making ready of a second Armada, Olivares saw nothing but niggardliness, whereas the Pope was quite justified after the

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 375.

[2] See *ibid.*, II., 31 *seq.*

[3] See HINOJOSA, 327 *seq.*; in spite of this Sixtus V., as he announces in a *brief of August 27, 1588, to Philip II., appointed Annibale de Grassis, Bishop of Faenza, as nuncio in Spain. Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 38b, Papal Secret Archives.

destruction of the Armada in realizing the exhaustion of the Spanish monarchy, and the small probability of the aged and ailing king being able to resume with any success the terrible struggle against a queen so powerful as Elizabeth.[1]

How false was Olivares' fanciful description of the sentiments of Sixtus V. towards Spain, is clear from the fact that even now the Pope would not hear of any directly hostile attitude towards his powerful ally.[2] It is only true in the one statement that Sixtus V.'s fear of Spanish preponderance did not disappear. This fear, which was prevalent throughout Europe at that time,[3] was all the more deeply rooted in the Pope in that he, as he once frankly admitted, was, in his capacity of temporal sovereign, like a fly compared to an elephant before the king on whose dominions the sun never set.[4] For this reason he repeatedly declared his adherence to a policy of a balance of power among the powers of Europe. The great princes, he said to Giovanni Gritti, the ambassador of Venice, each stood in need of a counterweight, because, if one of them became too strong, the others ran a serious risk of being overwhelmed by him.[5]

In spite of this Sixtus V. was in serious danger of coming into complete political dependence upon Spain, and even of assisting the unlimited expansion of the power of Philip II., which he so justly feared. The struggle with the League in France placed him in this dilemma, which, in all probability, cut short his life.[6]

King Henry III. of France showed the greatest joy at the

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 403.

[2] See HERRE, 394.

[3] *Cf.* the German pamphlet of 1585, in KABER, Die Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts (1907), 25. Contemporary Spanish poets expressed in like manner their hopes of the formation of a universal Spanish monarchy; see GOSSART, Les Espagnols en Flandre, Brussels, 1914, 240.

[4] Thus did Sixtus V. express himself to Alb. Badoer on November 24, 1589; see RAULICH, Contesa, 297.

[5] HÜBNER, II., 516.

[6] See REUMONT in the *Bonner Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, 1870, n. 17.

election of Sixtus V. He was confirmed in this by the reports of his ambassador in Rome, Jean de Vivonne, known as the Sieur de St. Gouard, for that diplomatist, who was easily impressed, was able at first to say a great deal concerning the friendly dispositions of the new Pope towards the King of France. Henry III. accordingly at once had recourse to the Holy See to ask assistance in suppressing the insurrections in his kingdom. To this request for help, however, which was addressed to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the Protector of France, there was attached a threat, namely a hinted possibility of an alliance with the Huguenots.[1]

At the beginning of June, 1585, Sixtus V. expressed himself clearly on the subject of his attitude towards the disorders in France. He declared that he was resolved to support King Henry III., not only with his money and his authority, but even with his own blood, always supposing that His Majesty did not ally himself with the Huguenots.[2] The head of the Church was justified in insisting strictly upon this principle. But what attitude was he to adopt towards the League? A decision as to this point was made especially difficult by the fact that during his period of enforced inactivity as Cardinal, Sixtus V. had got out of touch with political affairs. He therefore at first avoided arriving at any definite decision. Very characteristic of his attitude was the story told in Rome to the effect that Cardinal Este, on the strength of the part he had taken in the election of the Pope, thought it right immediately afterwards to recommend the affairs of France to Sixtus V., and had received the reply: the Holy Father will do what he is inspired

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 261 *seq.*, 315, 362; BREMOND, 170 *seq.* The French ambassador looked upon it as an important concession that at the coronation of the Pope on May 1, as at that of Pius V., he was assigned the first place after the representative of the Emperor and before the Spanish ambassador. *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE IV., 371. Extract from the *Lettere al card. d' Este dal suo agente in Parigi, August 5, 1585, to August 2, 1586, in Barb. LXII., 15, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of Vivonne of June 4 in BREMOND, 173.

to do by the Holy Spirit.[1] Prudence was all the more called for in that the reports of the complicated conditions in France were extremely contradictory.

The Spanish ambassador Olivares, and Cardinal Pellevé, who was in close relations with him, were indefatigable in pointing out that the adherents of the League were the only reliable supporters of the Catholic religion left in France. It was to them, therefore, as they insisted, that the head of the Church must give his approval and assistance. On the other hand, Vivonne and Cardinal Este painted the members of the League in the darkest colours; they were intriguers, who under the pretext of the faith were promoting the ambitious designs of Guise, and they were manifest rebels, whose behaviour must result in the destruction of religion, by driving the king into the arms of the Huguenots. Vivonne and Este were able to point to the fact that not all the Catholics of France were on the side of the League, and that actually the greater number of the Catholic nobility and officials of the court, and also some of the prelates, were loyal to Henry III.[2] Priuli, the shrewd representative of the Signoria of Venice, in his views of the state of affairs in France, insisted above all upon the political aspect. The League, he whispered in

[1] See *Avviso of April 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 179b, Vatican Library.

[2] In the * Commentari delle cose successe nel regno di Francia da che prese il possesso di quello Henrico III. it is said: "Questa lega non è dubio che non fosse stata molto a proposito per conservare la religione quando il re ne fosse stato capo o la presa alla morte di quello, ma havendo i confederati drizzato senza indugio un' essercito et parte de' cattolici abborrendo tal attione come quella che pare[v]a lor peccato di lesa M^ta^ si mesero col re et lo essortavano a far la guerra contro essi confederati et questi furono tutti li prencipi cattolici del sangue reale eccetto il Cardinal di Borbone solo, cioè il prencipe di Conty, il Cardinale di Vandomo, il conte di Suisson figliolo del gia prencipe di Condé et il duca di Monpenisero et quasi tutta la nobiltà della corte et uffitiali della corona, alcuni del clero di maniera che tutt' i cattolici di Francia si divisero in due parti Realisti et Legalisti." Cod. Dur. 44, p. 266 of the Library at Carlsruhe.

the Pope's ear, is not strong enough to be able to secure the mastery without the help of Spain, which in the end would herself reap the fruits of victory.[1]

It was natural that the representatives of the various parties which were so violently struggling against each other, should have sought in every way to win over the Pope, and it is wonderful how the latter, in spite of his lack of experience of politics, and the partisan reports of the special congregation assembled under the presidency of Este,[2] was able so quickly and so surely to grasp the situation. If the League were to prove victorious with the help of Philip II., French Calvinism would be crushed, but at the same time the political independence of France would disappear. The predominance of Spain would then be so great as to overwhelm Italy and the Holy See. In addition to his primary duty of saving the Catholic religion in France, Sixtus V. had the secondary task of seeing that France survived as a great power. Spanish assistance, moreover, by means of which alone the League could be victorious, was unpopular with the greater number of the French people, not excluding many members of the League itself; the danger might arise of the vacillating king, and the great middle party which adhered to him as the lawful sovereign, and which was both Catholic and anti-Spanish, being ousted by the Huguenot party. The welfare of religion and the salvation of France, Sixtus V. rightly concluded, could only be secured if divisions among the French Catholics were removed, and if all the adherents of the Catholic religion were united under one standard. It was this conviction that determined the policy of the Pope, but as the moment for intervening with good effect did not seem to him to have yet come, the first thing to be done was to gain time.

In the meantime, on June 2nd, 1585, there arrived in Rome

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 160 *seq.*; BREMOND, 173 *seq.*; *cf.* also in App. n. 3 the *report of Ragazzoni of May 23, 1585, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] This is first mentioned in the *Avviso of May 11, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 202, Vatican Library.

the Duke of Nevers, Luigi Gonzaga, accompanied by Cardinal Vaudemont, Charles of Lorraine.[1] His object was to obtain what had not been possible under Gregory XIII., a clear and definite support of the League, and the publication of a bull excluding Henry of Navarre and Condé from the succession to the throne on account of heresy.

By the prudent advice of the Spanish ambassador, Nevers devoted himself above all to the religious sentiment of the Pope. Supported by Pellevé, he pointed out in eloquent words that the League had not in view any rebellion against the weak king, but was working solely for the national and religious welfare of France. The duke, so the Pope told Vivonne, has sworn to me that his friends are seeking for nothing but to serve Henry of Valois, and to drive out the heretics. The head of the Church certainly could not find fault with this. At another audience the Pope said: If the king at last takes action we shall not be bound to do so in his stead. "Tell the king that I want to help His Majesty with all my power, but only on the condition that he does not mix himself up with the Huguenots, but rather that he must drive them out of his kingdom. I am now given assurances that the League has only this end in view."[2]

Nevers and Vaudemont thought that they had carried the day,[3] but they counted on their triumph too soon. Even

[1] See *Avviso of June 4, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 240, Vatican Library, and the *report of Capilupi of June 3, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. H. DE LA FERRIÈRE (Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VIII., xxvii.) is wrong in making Nevers barely reach Rome by June 12. With regard to the forged letters of Nevers in Mémoires du duc de Nevers, I., 665, edited by M. LE ROY DE GOMBERVILLE, 1665, see BREMOND in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXXV. (1884), 226 *seq.*

[2] See BREMOND, 177 *seq.*

[3] Capilupi, too, in his code *reports of June 12 and 15, 1585, thinks that he can state that Sixtus V. will act in accordance with the wishes of Nevers. In the report of June 15 it is stated that Vivonne was "molto solo," and that the French Cardinals were on close terms with Nevers. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

though Sixtus V. admitted that their mistrust of Henry III. was well founded, he nevertheless insisted strongly on the necessity of coming to an understanding. "Enter into negotiations with Vivonne and Este," he said to Nevers and Vaudemont, "but let them be courteous and friendly; let all four of you settle upon some scheme of agreement, and show it to us, and we will see what is to be done. If you cannot come to an agreement we will take the matter into our own hands." To the insistent requests for the publication of a bull in favour of the League, an evasive reply was returned.[1]

Thus when Nevers, once more accompanied by Cardinal Vaudemont, took his departure on June 18th, he was forced to acknowledge that he had not attained his real purpose. A final attempt to obtain a bull against Navarre, made by Vaudemont at his farewell audience, came to nothing. The Pope cut short the increasingly heated demands of the French Cardinal by saying: "We have already told you that we cannot do it: now we tell you that we will not do it."[2]

The briefs of June 5th, 1585, which Nevers received in reply to the letters written to the Pope by Cardinal Bourbon and the Duke of Lorraine, did not even distantly correspond with the hopes of the League.[3] In the brief to Cardinal Bourbon the Pope expressed his great displeasure at the disturbances in France. He praised the zeal of the Catholics for the maintenance of religion, but joined thereto a stern warning: "In all you decide and do you must above all things take care that your end is a good one, that the means you adopt to attain it are righteous, and you must take into consideration the rank and dignity of the persons concerned, and especially must you recognize the authority and majesty of the king with all respect and obedience, according to the words of the Apostle: that all are subject to the higher powers, since there is no power except from God, and those who govern are sent by God, and if you fail in any way in this respect you will sin, your conduct will be condemned by all,

[1] See Hübner, II., 165 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 167.

[3] See Fouqueray, II., 133 *seq.*

and you can be of no use to yourselves or to the kingdom." The letter to Duke Charles of Lorraine only praised his zeal for the Catholic religion.[1]

Sixtus V. expressed his principles to the King of France in a letter dated June 24th, 1585, with all possible clearness. He wished to help the king, he said, in all his needs, nor would he suffer his royal dignity to be attacked, nor his kingdom divided. The leaguers had assured him that they only wished to defend religion and purge the kingdom of the heretics: if this were the case he could not find fault with their intention, but he wished them to recognize Henry III. as king. Este and Vivonne asserted that the king intended to revoke the edict of 1580, and purge the kingdom from the religious innovators. He praised this intention and promised his assistance, to bring it about that the arms of the leaguers should be united with those of his Majesty.[2]

In a brief of July 13th, 1585, addressed to Cardinal Bourbon and Duke Henry of Guise, the Pope praised their struggle against the Huguenots, but he very significantly added that victory was to be looked for with all the greater security if they acted in union with the king, concerning whom they had written to him that he was not only the support but also the leader of the common cause.[3]

In order to obtain better information concerning the complicated state of affairs in France, Sixtus V. decided to make a change in the nunciature in that country. The holder of that position at that time, Girolamo Ragazzoni,

[1] The text of the brief to Bourbon may be found in part in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII. (1880), 156, n. 1, and complete in *Le Cabinet hist.*, III., 206. The brief to "Carolo duci Lotharingiae" states: *"Zelum tuum catholicae religionis tuendae summopere probamus nec potest quidquam fieri Ecclesiae utilius, tibi ipsi gloriosius, reipublicae christianae salutarius, divinae bonitati acceptius." 15 Iunii, 1585. Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 583 *seq.*

[3] See the *text (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 6.

was making very biassed reports, to the discredit of the League and in favour of the weak king. Sixtus V. wished to replace him by Fabio Mirto Frangipani, Archbishop of Nazareth. This man, who had grown grey in state affairs, enjoyed the highest reputation, and was an ornament of the episcopate. As he had already been nuncio in France in the time of Pius V., from 1568 to 1572,[1] he was well acquainted both with the country and with its leading personalities.[2] Vivonne and Este, on the other hand, suggested the Bishop of Reggio.[3] But Sixtus V. would not let himself be persuaded and when Vivonne alluded to the close relations between Frangipani and Spain, the Pope replied: "We are informed that the King of France is making use of the Huguenots, and that he intends to enter into relations with Queen Elizabeth of England; you tell us exactly the contrary. Whom am I to believe? Frangipani will investigate the true state of affairs."[4] When Sixtus V. informed the French ambassador in courteous terms[5] of the definite appointment of Frangipani as nuncio in Paris, Vivonne did not dare to express his disapproval, so that the Pope concluded that he consented. This was borne out by the fact that Vivonne wrote to his king that he could be satisfied.[6]

But in the meantime Cardinal Este, who had been won over by Medici to oppose the appointment of Frangipani, had taken decisive steps in the matter in Paris. The consequence was that when Frangipani arrived at Lyons he found a letter from the king telling him not to continue his journey. To Vivonne fell the delicate task of informing the Pope of

[1] See Vol. XVIII of this work, pp. 118, 134.

[2] This was brought out in the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. in a special way. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report of Capilupi from Rome, June 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the report of Vivonne of June 16, 1585, in BREMOND, 181.

[5] *Cf.* BIAUDET, Nonciatures, 54, n. 4.

[6] See BREMOND, 182. According to the *report of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, the mission of Frangipani was already decided upon. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

this fatal decision of his sovereign. Emboldened by his previous experience of favour he thought that he would easily be able to discharge this duty, all the more so as he hoped that the news of the peace concluded at Nemours on July 7th, 1585, between Henry III. and the League, which had arrived just at that moment, would be very pleasing to the Pope. He looked upon this as so certain that he even went so far as to ask for a pecuniary subsidy for his king, as the French Catholics were now united against the Huguenots. He then added the request that Henry III.'s protest against Frangipani might be allowed. Sixtus V. showed great surprise, and did not conceal his indignation. With regard to the treaty he drily remarked that it would be necessary first to know its terms; he looked upon the rejection of Frangipani as an insult to his own dignity and that of the Holy See. When Vivonne alluded to the relations between Frangipani and Guise, he made the very just observation that to find fault with such a thing was more than strange at the moment when the king had made his peace with the League.[1]

When Sixtus V. had received from Frangipani a detailed report of the insult that had been offered him, he resolved to take strong steps to uphold the dignity of the Holy See. When Vivonne presented himself for an audience with the Pope on July 26th, he was told that the Pope could not receive him, and that further he ordered him to leave Rome within twenty-four hours, and the States of the Church within five days.[2] On July 29th the Pope himself informed the King of France of his decision, which had been provoked by the contradictory behaviour of the ambassador.[3]

[1] See the report of Vivonne, July 23, 1585, in BREMOND, 183 *seq.* For the peace of Nemours see DE BARTHÉLEMY in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII. (1880), 465 *seq.*

[2] For what follows, besides the documents produced by HÜBNER (I., 312) *cf.* the letters of Giov. Alberti in DESJARDINS, V., 12 *seq.*, and the *reports of Capilupi of July 27 and 31, and August 3 and 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Text in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 576-579, with wrong date 1575 for 1585.

Not only Cardinals Este and Rambouillet, but also the Venetian ambassador Priuli and Olivares himself, tried to calm the Pope. But their remonstrances were in vain. Sixtus V. said to Este that he was well disposed towards the King of France, and that he was willing to help him so long as the war against the Huguenots was carried on loyally and seriously, but that he could not, at the very beginning of his pontificate, quietly submit to personal affronts. If he did so everyone would do as they liked with him, and would treat him as Gregory XIII. had allowed himself to be treated. Santori had great trouble in preventing the Pope from speaking of the matter in consistory.[1]

The only concession to which Sixtus V. could be brought to consent was to say that he would allow Vivonne to remain for the time being with Este at Tivoli, but Vivonne, who was deeply offended, would not accept this. On August 3rd, he left the Papal States and went to the baths of Lucca, to get over his great agitation. Before he left, the hot-headed Frenchman addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, or rather a small book, in which he made a personal attack upon the Pope. He advised his king to demand a general council, and if Sixtus V. refused this, to convoke a national council in France.[2]

Before this incident occurred, which rendered probable a breach between the Holy See and the King of France, Sixtus V. had submitted to the examination of the Inquisition the question whether a bull against Henry of Navarre ought not to be issued.[3] Philip II. and Guise pressed for immediate action, while Este, Rambouillet and Vivonne definitely advised against it. The Pope was still in doubt; it was only at the beginning of September that he came to a decision. The result was that the conviction that France must have

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 167. *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 312; DESJARDINS, V., 19.

[2] See BREMOND, 188 *seq.*

[3] On June 5, 1585, Sixtus V. asked Santori for a presentation of the case against Henry of Navarre; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 166.

none but a Catholic sovereign carried the day against the other considerations which were above all urged by Santori. It seemed that it could only be by inflicting this censure upon the leader of the Huguenots that the hesitating Catholics would be induced to desert the party of Henry of Navarre, who had notoriously and repeatedly fallen into heresy.

The bull, which was read in consistory on September 9th, 1585, together with the acta of the process held under Gregory XIII., and numerous other documents, and important evidence, laid it down that Henry of Navarre and Condé had relapsed into the heresies which they had solemnly abjured, had taken up arms against the King of France and the other Catholics for the purpose of carrying on a bloody persecution of the adherents of the Catholic faith, and must thus be held to be notorious and relapsed heretics. According to the laws then in force notorious heresy involved the loss of sovereignty and rank. Accordingly by the bull Sixtus V. pronounced, in the traditional form, in virtue of the plenitude of power given him by God, and with the consent of the Cardinals, the sentence that Henry of Navarre and Condé, those "sons of wrath," had, as relapsed, impenitent, public and notorious heretics, and enemies of the true Christian faith, incurred the consequent penalties, and that they had in particular forfeited all title to the succession to the throne, especially in France, and therefore all right to the obedience of their subjects. Henry III., in virtue of his coronation oath, which obliged him to the destruction of all heresies, was exhorted to carry out this sentence, and the French archbishops and bishops were ordered to promulgate it.[1]

[1] See Acta consist. 843. DESJARDINS, V., 20. The text of the bull "Ab immensa aeterni Regis," dated "Quinto Idus Sept." (9 not 5, as often stated, even by L'EPINOIS [La Ligue 26] and by HERRE [337] was at once published in Rome "apud haeredes Ant. Bladii impress. Cam."; it is more easily to be found in GOLDAST, Monarchia, III., 124 *seq.* and SENTIS, Clem. VIII., Decret. lib. 7, p. 165 *seq.* IANSSEN (Ein zeites Wort an meine Kritiker, neue Aufl., besorgt von L. Pastor, Freiburg, 1895, p. 141), rightly points out against Ebrard that it is not a

The important document was published on September 21st, 1585, by being affixed at St. Peter's and in the Campo di Fiori.[1] Twenty-five Cardinals had signed the bull. Este and Rambouillet had stood out,[2] though not in the sense of contesting the right of the Pope to assert his judicial authority even in temporal matters in this way. No member of the Sacred College questioned this right, though opinions as to the opportuneness of the promulgation were very divided. Cardinal Santori, though he signed the bull, was absolutely opposed to the promulgation on the ground of inopportuneness, pointing out to the Pope the lamentable consequences of his using extreme measures in so headlong a way. When, later on, Sixtus V. realized that he had made a mistake in publishing the bull, he called the Cardinal his "Cassandra."[3]

definitio ex cathedra, and that in it is not to be found the general principle that a heretical prince has no right to rule over Catholic subjects, and that the latter owe him no fealty. *Cf.* also HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 676 *seq.*, and DE MEAUX, Luttes relig., 210.

[1] See GOLDAST, *loc. cit.*, 126. Capilupi mentions the bull for the first time in his *report of September 11, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Sporeno does so for the first time in his *letter of September 14, 1585 (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). On the same date an *Avviso, which states that the Pope's action was praised in Rome. Urb. 1053, p. 299, Vatican Library. The *brief to Henry III. dated September 21, 1585, in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See GOLDAST, *loc. cit.*, 126. According to a *code report of Capilupi of October 12, 1585, Sixtus V. was very angry at Este refusing his signature; if the bull did not please him, he rightly said, he should have said so before, and brought forward his reasons in consistory. In like manner the Pope complained of Rambouillet, who excused himself for not signing the bull because he had gout in the hand! Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 169. *Cf.* also what Sixtus V. said to Badoer, in RAULICH, 249, n. 2. and MAFFEJI, Hist., 8. Granvelle too looked upon the bull as premature, especially as he wished his king first to conquer Navarre; see PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 457.

It was a great misfortune that all the adversaries of Spain, and, among the Italian states, especially Venice, saw in the bull of Sixtus V. a weak act of condescension to Philip II. and the League.[1] In so doing they certainly did the Pope a wrong, and raised an insurmountable barrier between the leaders of the Huguenots and the Catholics. Sixtus V. for his part hoped to separate Henry III. from the Huguenots, and on the other hand to link the members of the League closely with their lawful sovereign, and thus render the dangerous intervention of Spain unnecessary. In order that it might not seem that he was acting in the interests of or under pressure from the members of the League, he had in June refused to publish the bull as requested by Nevers and Vaudemont. But after the peace of Nemours it seemed to him that the opportune moment had come, since, in virtue of that treaty, the king had allied himself with the League, revoked all the promises he had made in favour of the Huguenots, declared the latter incapable of holding any office, especially the right of succession to the throne, and ordered his subjects to embrace Catholicism or leave the kingdom within six months. After this edict, and still more after the bull of excommunication, there could only be, the Pope thought, two parties in France, the defenders and the enemies of the faith. If the members of the League united under the banner of the lawful king, and all the rival Catholic forces in France were directed against the Huguenots, Catholicism, and with it France, were safe, and it would become possible to solve the question of the succession, and solve it without the help of Spain. This reasoning on the part of Sixtus V. was quite logical, presupposing one thing: that the reconciliation between Henry III. and the leaders of the league, sealed by the peace of Nemours, was sincere and Lasting. The Pope believed that it was, not fully understanding the involved state of affairs in France.[2]

[1] See CHARRIÈRE, IV., n. 411.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 168-170; BREMOND, 193 n. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 20.

Henry of Navarre at once realized how dangerous to himself the Pope's bull might be, and attacked Sixtus V. with the greatest violence; he found means on November 6th of getting posted up in Rome a protest against the invalid excommunication of Sixtus V., who assumes the name of Roman Pontiff."[1] His own conduct was equalled, as far as want of respect was concerned, by his publicists. The most weighty of these was François Hotmann, the author of the work "The thunderbolt that failed" (*Brutum fulmen*).[2] This says "the stinking excommunication" is impious unjust and false, the accuser has himself fallen into heresy, and Sixtus V. is the "arch-heretic and Antichrist." Henry declared himself ready to "prove it in a free and properly convened council" and that he would only submit to such a council.[3]

Henry had already addressed a protest to the Sorbonne, to the nobility, to the third estate and to the city of Paris,

[1] See *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 243; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 273 *seq.*; HAAG, France protest., Pièces justif., p. 191; ROBIQUET, II., 225.

[2] The work of FR. HOTMANS (Hotomanus): Brutum fulmen P. Xysti V. adversus Henricum regem Navarrae, etc., 1585, was placed on the Index; see REUSCH, I., 525 (*cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 250, 252, and for the German translations A. HAUFFEN in the periodical *Euphorion*, VIII., Leipzig, 1901, 560 *seq.*). Reusch brings out how curious it was that the book of François Perrot, Avviso piacevole dato alla bella Italia sopra mentita data dal re di Navarra a P. Sisto V. da un nobile francese, Monaco, 1586 (place of printing, fictitious) which makes use of passages from Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio against the Curia, was not placed on the Index. Bellarmine has confuted this work in detail in his controversies, in an appendix to the Tractatus de summo Pontifice. A list of the attacks on and defences of the bull is given by J. LELONG, Bibl. hist. de la France, nouv. éd., Paris, 1768 *seq.* The Vat. 5450 contains: Apologeticum adversus protestationem Henrici Borb. et Henrici Condei adversus declarat. Sixti V.

[3] *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 243; POLENZ, III., 219 *seq.*; L. Oliva says in his *letter from Rome, July 23, 1586, that Navarre had written a "lettera diabolica al papa." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua

the author of which was Duplessy-Mornay: in this he demanded that such a council should be convoked for his instruction, and that the States-General should assemble for the reform of the kingdom.[1] This appeal, as well as the view that the bull was an infringement of the rights of the state, met with special favour from the Parliament of Paris.[2] This body broke out into the most violent expressions against the "usurpation" of the Pope, in attempting to settle the succession to the throne, and suggested to the king that he should throw the bull into the flames in the presence of the whole of the clergy of France.[3] Many other Frenchmen, too, who did not share the religious opinions of Navarre, expressed themselves in favour of his right of succession, and resisted the bull, which in their opinion had been the work of the League, the "disturbers of the peace" and of Philip II.[4] All those Catholics who saw in the attack on Navarre nothing but a political move, now joined him,[5] so that the event was exactly the opposite of what Sixtus V. had aimed at by his bull.[6] A special impression was made by the fact that the Duke of Montmorency, whose influence extended over the whole of Languedoc, took the side of Navarre. "If consideration for the public weal and for religion" so he declared, "has made many men the followers of the Guise, so also the declaration of the King of Navarre, that he will change his faith in deference to a council, and his condition in accordance

[1] BERGER DE XIVREY, Letters missives, II., 138, 165; *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 300 *seq.*; L. EPINOIS, La Ligue, 29, n. 1.

[2] DESJARDINS, IV., 597; ROBIQUET, II., 229 *seq.*

[3] *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 222.

[4] It is well here to mention the work of Pierre du Belloy, containing bitter attacks on the Council of Trent, published for the first time in French in 1585 (see SCHELHORN, Amoen. hist., I., 922), which Bellarmine answered in a pseudonymous dissertation; see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Selbstbiogr. Bellarmins, 88 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* 91 *seq.* for the reply of Bellarmine to the Avviso piacevole alla bella Italia" (*supra*, p. 28, n. 2).

[5] *Cf.* CHARRIÈRE, IV., 422.

[6] See DESJARDINS, V., 20.

with the decrees of the States-General, has led the greater number of good Catholics and true Frenchmen to the view that what is at issue is not a question of religion, but of politics. If the Catholics join Navarre, they will certainly bring him back to the Church." Montmorency devoted all his energies to this end, convinced that a year of civil war would do more harm to religion than ten years of peace On December 1st, 1585, Henry of Navarre had turned to Henry III. himself. He pointed out to him how much he would be injured by the Pope's mixing himself up in the arrangements for the succession to the throne, and that he must be prepared to suffer the same fate as had befallen Childeric from the action of Pope Zachary.[1] But however displeasing the Pope's action had been even to Henry III., he did not dare to resist it openly. He did not take any steps on behalf of the bull, but neither did he pay any attention to the Parliament.[2]

Sixtus V. made allowances for the difficult position of the king, for which the latter was not to blame; he felt nothing but compassion for him, and would gladly have helped him, if so feeble and untruthful a man could have been helped. This essentially benevolent disposition of the Pope towards Henry III., was useful to the king in adjusting the incident which he had occasioned by his rejection of the Papal nuncio. Yet the agreement, which was urged by Venice,[3] and eagerly pressed by Este, was not reached so quickly as was at first expected at the Curia,[4] for Sixtus V. felt himself bound to uphold the dignity of the Holy See.[5] At the same time his

[1] See L'Epinois, La Ligue, 29 *seq.*

[2] See Stahelin, 29.

[3] See the *letter of Capilupi of August 10, 1585, *ibid.*

[4] See the *report of Capilupi of August 14, 1585. According to his *report of August 7, he had said that Cardinal Giulio Canani would go as legate to France, as to which, however, in his *letter of August 10, Capilupi remarks that this would be impossible until Henry III. had made satisfaction. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the *reports in Bremond, 192. *Cf.* also the *letter of Capilupi of August 31 and December 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives,

good sense told him that a complete break with Henry III. would be of great advantage to the enemies of the faith, and to those who were supporting the Catholic religion for secret selfish ends, i.e. the Guise and Philip II.[1] On the other hand, the position of Henry III. in face of the renewed struggle against the Huguenots, was such that he could not dispense with the assistance of the Pope.[2] At the beginning of November, 1585, the rumour spread that the Bishop of Paris, Pierre Gondi, was to be sent as envoy to Rome.[3] The Pope, who was constantly worried by the events in France,[4] learned of this decision with joy.[5] Gondi was received by him with great kindness,[6] because he brought most satisfactory assurances of the firm purpose of the king to cleanse France from religious innovations.[7] The ambassador was able to report

Mantua. The *letter of Henry III. to the Pope, in which he takes the blame for the incident, saying that Vivonne had acted by his orders, bears the date August 17, 1585; orig. in Ottob. 3210, I., p. 12, Vatican Library.

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 272.

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Capilupi of October 5 and 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The original of his *credentials, dated November 7, 1585, in Ottob. 3210, I., p. 7, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* a *letter of Catherine de' Medici to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated November 9, 1585, recommending Gondi. It is missing in the Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, where, VIII., 356 *seq.*, there is only the undated letter of the queen-mother to Sixtus V. Gondi set out on November 9; DESJARDINS, IV., 597.

[4] See the *report of Capilupi, October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Quarant'Ore ordered for an exceptional circumstance of which the *Avviso of November 5, 1585 (Urb. 1053, p. 474, Vatican Library) makes mention, probably related to France.

[5] See the *report of Capilupi of November 13, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See *Avviso of December 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 585, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* the autograph letters of Sixtus V. to Henry III. and Catherine de' Medici in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 564 *seq.*

to Paris that the Pope had granted to the King of France, as a subsidy against the Huguenots, the desired concession of the goods of the Church, up to the value of 2,400,000 livres.[1]

Thus the incident of the rejection of Frangipani was finally settled. When Henry III. had declared his readiness to receive him as nuncio in Paris, Sixtus V. allowed the ambassadorship in Rome to be once more filled by Vivonne, but under the condition that Francis of Luxemburg, Duke of Piney, who was to make the *obedientia*, should first come to Rome. This question of form, which once more endangered the agreement, was fortunately adjusted by the efforts of Cardinal Este.[2] In the last week of June, 1586, Frangipani set out for Paris;[3] on the way he met Vivonne, who reached Tivoli on August 10th.[4] Since all the questions relating to

[1] See L'Epinois, La Ligue, 40 *seq*; where there are further details of the opposition of the French clergy.

[2] See the reports of Gondi in Bremond, 195 *seq.*, and Desjardins, V., 21 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *reports of Capilupi of January 8 (le cose di Francia ancor molta suspense) and March 8, 1586 (Frangipani has not yet received permission to start, although the king has signified that his coming will be welcome), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For Francis of Luxemburg *cf.* Berger de Xivrey, Lettres missives, III., 22, n. 2.

[3] Capilupi *reports on May 3, 1586 that Frangipani was ready to start and that he was only waiting for the news of the departure of Vivonne for Rome (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On May 14, 1586, the *brief to Henry III., concerning the mission of Frangipani was issued (Brevia, Arm. 30, t. 30, p. 200, Papal Secret Archives), but it was only on June 21 that an *Avviso announced the departure of the nuncio, to whom the Pope had only said: "Fiat voluntas tua" (Urb. 1054, p. 243). On September 6, 1586, Henry III. *announced to the Pope the arrival of Frangipani, and at the same time thanked him for having accepted Vivonne as ambassador; orig. in Ottob. 3210 I., p. 23, Vatican Library.

[4] See Bremond, 199. Vivonne had been expected long before; see the *reports of Sporeno of June 21 and July 12, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

his return and to the act of the *obedientia* had not yet been settled,[1] he took up his residence for the time being at the Villa d'Este. Thence he went to Rome, where he was at once received in audience. He had the good sense to ask the pardon of the Pope, who thereupon embraced and kissed him.[2] After Duke Francis of Luxemburg had also reached Rome on September 9th, 1586, both he and Vivonne were received in audience by the Pope on the following day, on the occasion of the raising of the obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's.[3] On September 11th, the duke, in the name of the king, made the solemn *obedientia* in the Sala Regia, after which Luxemburg and Vivonne had the honour of dining with the Pope, and, after they had left the table, spending yet another hour in his company. The Pope was in the best of tempers, and showed special attentions to Vivonne. The latter would not be outdone, and declared that the incident had been entirely his fault. The Pope repeatedly assured them both of his love for France and for the king. "Oh! If only the king were successful," he said, "in restoring peace in his kingdom, and he could have a successor to the throne, then I would propose to His Majesty, without concerning myself about Spain, a joint enterprise against Tunis, where once St. Louis fought. Such wars as that I love, but not those between Christians. Money is not wanting: I have already accumulated a million in the Castle of St. Angelo."[4]

On October 3rd, 1586, the Pope thanked the King of France

[1] How difficult it had been for Este, especially the obtaining the return of Vivonne before the arrival of Luxemburg, is clear from his *Correspondence in: Fonds fr. 16042, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris.

[2] See the report of Vivonne of August 26, 1586, in BREMOND, 200.

[3] See the reports of Vivonne and Luxemburg, *ibid.*, 200 *seq.*

[4] See Acta consist. 847, the *Avviso of September 13, 1586, (Urb. 1054, p. 400, Vatican Library), and the reports of Vivonne in BREMOND, 202 *seq.* See also the *report of Camillo Strozzi of September 3 and 10, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MAURITIUS BRESCIUS, Oratio ad Sixtum V., Romae, 1586.

for his *obedientia*, and for the filial expressions of submission expressed on that occasion,[1] sending him by Francis of Luxemburg a relic of the True Cross,[2] while on October 27th, he granted him, for his life, the extension of the concordat to Brittany.[3] Thus Sixtus V. had not even yet abandoned his hopes of Henry III., in spite of the fact that the warnings he had given him to take prompt and energetic and armed action against the Huguenots, and which he had accompanied by his grant of money, had not been carried into effect.[4]

The king, who was peaceable by nature,[5] had from the first found himself very unwillingly involved in a war, in which he did not really desire the victory of either party. As the League was always embarrassing and dangerous to him, he had a strong wish to escape its influence by bringing about the reconciliation of Henry of Navarre with Rome.[6] Montmorency treated of this matter with the nuncio Frangipani, who had recourse to Rome for instructions. The Pope declared that the objections made to the bull were groundless, but said that he was ready to listen to Henry of Navarre if he would acknowledge his errors and ask for forgiveness.[7] But Philip II. was determined to prevent any such reconciliation. On September 15th, 1586, Olivares was ordered to urge the Pope with the greatest insistence not to entertain any illusions as to the sincerity of Navarre. Even though he were to conform externally, it was evident

[1] See Brevia Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the document in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 581, 585.

[3] See Acta consist., 847. The *letter of thanks from Henry III. for this favour, dated Paris, 1586, December 22, in Nunziat. di Francia, XIX., 338, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See BREMOND, 252. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 467.

[5] See the *Relatione del regno di Francia of 1587, a manuscript in private possession in Borgo in Valsugana, and made known by Mgr. Benetti in Trent.

[6] See STAHELIN, 93 *seq.*

[7] See the letter of Cardinal Montalto to Frangipani in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 576 *seq.*; *cf.* L'EPINOIS, La Ligue, 57 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

that it was all pretence on his part. He, the Catholic King, could never consent to a relapsed heretic becoming the sovereign of a kingdom such as France, which would at once fall into heresy.[1]

On December 30th, 1586, Cardinal Este, who had been ill for a long time, died, to the general grief of the Curia.[2] In March, 1587, he was followed by Rambouillet.[3] At the same time the aged Frangipani, who in the end had won the full confidence of Henry III., also died.[4] While, in accordance with the wishes of Henry III., Sixtus V. conferred the title of Protector of France, rendered vacant by the death of Este, on the young and vivacious Cardinal Joyeuse,[5] after long

[1] See HÜBNER, III., 227 *seq.*

[2] See the *Avviso of December 31, 1586, for the Christian death of this worldly prince of the Church, with whom Sixtus V. was on very strained terms. The sorrow, this Avviso states, was as great as that for "Titus, delitiae generis humani parendo ad ognuno, che sebene questa corte ha sempre accesi molti lumi di splendore et di grandezza, nondimeno le ne sia oscurata una gran parte con la morte di un signore, che nelle cortesie, nell' hospitalità, nella prontezza degli officii et in tutte l' altre qualità, che formano un vero magnanimo, non hebbe mai alcuno che l' avanzasse." Urb. 1054, p. 451b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the report in BREMOND, 245 *seq.*, and the *report of Malegnani of December 31, 1586. Luigi Olivo had already *reported the illness of Este on August 13 and October 22, 1586. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] He died at Corneto; see the *report of Malegnani of March 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 574.

[4] See L'EPINOIS, La Ligue, 74; BREMOND, 254. According to the *report of the Venetian ambassador of April 4, 1587, Frangipani died in such great poverty that not even the money for his funeral could be found. The Pope announced his death with tears in his eyes; see the *report of the same ambassador on April 12, 1587, State Archives, Venice.

[5] See the letter of Sixtus V. in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 587 *seq.*, BREMOND, 247 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 249 *seq.* the arrival of Joyeuse on August 20, 1587, and his rude and provocative behaviour towards Sixtus V. *Cf.* AUBÉRY, Vie du card. Joyeuse, Paris, 1654.

negotiations, in June, 1587, he appointed the Bishop of Brescia, Giovanni Francesco Morosini as nuncio in Paris.[1]

The choice of Sixtus V. could not have been better. Morosini, a friend of Philip Neri, was not only an excellent priest, but also a distinguished diplomatist. Before entering the ecclesiastical state, this noble Venetian had represented his country at Turin, in Poland, and at Madrid; later on, as Bishop of Brescia, he laboured in the spirit of Catholic reform.[2] The task now entrusted to him by the Pope, of safeguarding Catholic interests in France, was one of the most difficult imaginable, for the state of affairs was becoming visibly worse. Sixtus V. was so affected as to fall into a state of melancholy.[3]

Morosini has described the position in France in a way that cannot be bettered. "Here," he wrote, "and all round us, are civil and foreign wars. Here there are factions of state and religion, factions of Catholics and Protestants, factions of politicians and leaguers, factions of the most bitter type, because they are between men closely akin. The nobles distrust each other; a few favourites are prosperous and proud . . . the hatred of the people for the government is very great." As to Henry III. Morosini remarks that the sovereign "is one man, yet acts like two persons . . . he wishes for the defeat of the Huguenots, yet fears it, he fears the defeat of the Catholics, yet desires it; these interior

[1] See BREMOND, 254 *seq.*; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 272. For the other candidates *cf.* also the *reports of Malegnani of April 6 and 8, 1587. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Sixtus V., in his *brief of June 4, 1587, to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, was able, with reason to praise Morosini as "virum gravissimis in legationibus magna semper cum pietatis integritatisque laude versatum" (orig. in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* ST. COSMI, Mem. d. vita di Morosini, Venice, 1676. For Morosini's nunciature in France we must consult, besides the *Memorie e registri in Barb. LXI.. 31 (Vatican Library), used for the first time by Tempesti, the numerous *Acta in the Papal Secret Archives which L'Epinois has carefully drawn upon.

[3] See the *reports of Malegnani of July 18 and 25, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

conflicts within himself afflict him, so that he lives in constant mistrust of his own thoughts and wishes . . . he does not trust himself, and trusts only in an Epernon ; the envy of the latter for Guise has changed into hatred, and the poison has made its way into the heart of the infatuated monarch ; greed for possessions and honours tyrannize over the favourite, liberality and humanity hold sway in the heart of Guise, adored by the people and hated by the king, who loves Epernon, who is hated by the people."[1]

Faced by the inconstancy of Henry III., the governing classes in the French capital sought on their own account to put an end to a state of affairs that was becoming daily more intolerable. Lawyers, parish priests and merchants in Paris formed a secret league, which, from its governing body of sixteen persons, corresponding to the districts of the city, took the name of " the league of the sixteen." Its members bound themselves by oath to do everything to prevent a heretic ascending the throne in Henry of Navarre, and to remove all the abuses of the king's government. This body, which soon made its way into other cities, such as Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Rouen, entered into an alliance with the Guise to stamp out Protestantism and the abuses in the administration of justice.[2]

The year 1588, which was to witness the final decision of the terrible struggle between Spain and England, seemed to have become decisive for France as well. The common danger had in 1587 brought the king and Guise into the field against the Huguenots, but as soon as the danger had passed the former dissensions among the Catholics broke out afresh. The king saw in the numbers of the League his most dangerous enemies, while they could not trust a king who was ruled by Epernon. All the efforts made by Sixtus V. and his nuncio to reconcile the two Catholic parties proved useless.[3] The ambassador of Philip II. fanned the dissension as far as he

[1] TEMPESTI, I., 612 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, II[2]., 101 and Franz. Gesch., I., 422 *seq.*

[3] See L'EPINOIS, La Ligue, 115 *seq.*, 173.

could, because he feared the intervention of Henry III. on the side of England.

In January, 1588, the Guise decided at Nancy to compel the king to join the League. In Paris, where an attack from the Huguenots was feared, the excitement increased from day to day. Preachers incited men to commit excesses, and put forward the wildest theories.[1] Henry III. threatened, but dared do nothing. He collected troops in the neighbourhood of the capital, but at the same time opened negotiations with the Guise. The people of Paris, alarmed at the military preparations of the king, begged Guise to come to their assistance. Henry III. tried in vain to prevent this. On May 9th the duke arrived in Paris, and was received by the populace as a conqueror, with jubilant cries "Long live Guise, the pillar of the Church." Henry III. was terror-stricken, and on May 12th, brought his Swiss into the city. This was the signal for revolution; the barricades sprang up as if by magic. The courageous nuncio Morosini climbed over them and went on foot to the Louvre to try, even at the last moment to bring about a peaceful solution, but while he was still in the royal palace the fighting broke out in the streets and Henry III. sought safety in flight. Guise seemed to be the master of the French capital, but the radical elements soon obtained the upper hand.[2]

Sixtus V., who had hitherto striven in every way to preach conciliation to both the Catholic parties, and to urge them to a common war against the Huguenots,[3] was all the more grief-stricken at hearing what had happened in Paris as he had a sincere love for France, which had so often rendered good

[1] *Cf.* LABITTE, De la démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue, Paris, 1865. HAFERKORN (Die Hauptprediger der Ligue [Progr. des Wettiner Gymn.], Dresden, 1892) says nothing that is new.

[2] See L'EPINOIS, La Ligue, I., 134 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, where the reports of Morosini are fully used. *Cf.* ROBIQUET, II., 364 *seq.*

[3] A few days before the riots in Paris Sixtus V. had written in this sense to the Duke of Guise; see HÜBNER, II., 190.

service to the Church.[1] It is said that his irritation was so great that he could neither eat nor sleep.[2] He condemned in the severest way the action of Guise, which might drive Henry III. into the arms of the Huguenots, and had destroyed the unity of the Catholics. On the other hand, he did not fail to criticize the unworthy behaviour of the king.

The Pope expressed himself in the frankest way to Gritti, the ambassador of Venice. Gritti told him that the Senate feared lest the King of France, in order to escape his anxieties, might embark upon a policy that would be fatal to the Catholic cause, and that this was borne out by the language of his ministers.

The Pope sighed, and replied: "Those Lords (at Venice) have indeed good reason to grieve, because the considerations that you have laid before us are very true, and we too grieve at what has occurred, but it pleases us that those Lords are grieved, for when a tooth is decayed but does not hurt, a man pays no attention, but when it hurts he applies the remedy. The kingdom of France is a most noble kingdom, and the Church has always received great services from it; we love it and hold it very dear, and we are consoled to hear that the Signoria holds it in the same affection": then after a pause, he continued: "In this connexion we will tell you that when our nuncio went to France, we having learned on good grounds from certain Jesuits that the Queen of England was not averse to returning to the Catholic religion, and knowing that between the king and her there was a certain understanding, we instructed the nuncio to make it his business with the King of France to induce him to instruct his ministers, through whom he was wont to treat with the queen, to invite the said queen to return to the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, saying that we would promise her, in spite of the forfeiture of the kingdom pronounced against her by Pius V., to restore

[1] *"Pregamo Dio che non abandoni quel regno per li molti meriti di tanti gloriosi Re passati" he wrote in his own hand on April 19, 1588, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715).

[2] See L'Epinois, I., 179.

her to her kingdom, to give her all the assurances that she had asked of us, to declare as her royal successor whomsoever she pleased, to defend her against her subjects and against the King of Denmark, whom she said she feared, in a word, we have refused her nothing. The nuncio did what he could with the King of France, and it did not seem that he could do any more. When we were asked for help by the king, we offered him twenty-five thousand infantry paid by us, and eight thousand cavalry, all men above suspicion, and in whom he could put full confidence, and with whose help we could have chastised both heretics and rebels, and placed him in a position of complete mastery in his kingdom. We made him this offer because we thought that to give him the help of three or four thousand infantry would be to give him the opportunity of making peace with the heretics, and force him after a little while to go to war again, as had happened in the past under other Popes, from whom the king received but small help, and suffered himself to settle his own affairs and do his own will, and we did not wish things to turn out like that; but if we did help him we wished to help him to stamp out the heretics and not to help him to make peace with them."[1]

With regard to recent events Sixtus V. expressed himself as follows: "The Duke of Guise went to Paris with only eight horsemen, and dismounted at the house of the Queen-mother. The queen, when she saw him, asked why he had come without informing her; he replied that he had heard that the king intended to massacre all the Catholics in Paris, and that he, being a Catholic, wished to die with the rest, but the duke was wrong to make such a reply, and we cannot excuse him; the queen told him that this was not the case, and gave him assurances and asked him to go to the king; the duke agreed to this, and word was sent to the king to tell him of the arrival of Guise; the king replied that he knew long before that he was coming to Paris, and that if he was come to make a protest against Epernon, he did not wish to

[1] Report of Gritti of June 4, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 191 *seq.*, III., 244 *seq.*

speak to him; when this reply was brought back to Guise, he said that his differences with Epernon did not call for protests, but were matters to be settled with sword and dagger, and that he had come to Paris wishing to approach the king and serve him; the king consented that he should go to him, and the queen took the duke in her carriage and brought him to the queen regnant, whither two hours later the king came; they spoke together, and were on friendly terms; the duke was a long time with the king, and then he took his leave and returned to his own house; it came into the king's mind to introduce the Swiss into Paris, and to order the attendance of a gentleman to act as his guard; of the gentlemen commanded only one obeyed; when the Swiss were introduced into the city, the people of Paris claimed that it was not lawful to bring foreign soldiers into Paris, and that if the king needed soldiers for his privileges he was bound to ask the city, and the city would give him the soldiers he needed, and there was a rising and many Swiss were killed in the riots; during this rioting they sent to summon our nuncio, who was asked to intervene and quiet the disturbance; in the end the nuncio, who behaved in the most admirable way, took the Duke of Guise once more to the king, and the king and the Duke of Guise went together through the city, and the duke always accompanied the king with his cap in his hand, and waited upon him, and things became quiet; the king returned to his house, and the duke went to his lodging; in the evening the king set out and went to Chartres without saying a word."

"We consider (the Pope continued) that if the duke put himself into the hands of the king, and went alone to him, what could the king be afraid of, what reason had he for summoning the Swiss? either he suspected the duke or he did not; if he suspected him, why did he not detain him, and if he saw that he was disturbed why did he not cut off his head and throw it in the street? All would have been quiet; if he did not suspect him, why did he summon the Swiss, and if he did not wish to do this the first time, why did he do it on the second occasion? Some say that if the

duke were dead, there would remain Aumâle and Lorraine, who would have stirred up strife and sought for revenge ; but nothing would have happened, and those people would not have moved. Now we come to the other matter : the king left Paris ; whom was he afraid of, and if he was afraid, how was he safer for taking to flight ? If your fathers had fled from Venice in the tumults in your city, would they have handed down to you the liberty you enjoy ? Fly from Paris ! What for ? From fear of being murdered ? If he had been murdered the king would be dead. This is the position : they now ask us to send them a legate ; we do not wish to do so, as we do not wish to compromise our reputation, as Cardinal Orsini went as a legate to France and they would not receive him, saying : What is it to do with the Pope ? In the same way Cardinal Riario was sent to Spain and was not admitted ; we do not wish to meet with such rebuffs, and will never submit to them ; before we made up our mind to send a legate to Poland, we were asked by the King of Spain, the Emperor and the King of Poland, and we demanded to see the instructions given by the Pole to Reszka, and when we saw that the Pole said that he wished for a Cardinal legate, and that if we did this he would prove his esteem for us, we sent him. We will send a knight, we will send a bishop, or an archbishop to treat with France, we will send a Cardinal that they wish for, we will allow them to choose him, but a Cardinal Legate we will not send ; we have offered the king to leave the matter to us, and told him that we will give him his kingdom free from all trouble in a short time, if he will let us do as we will, or if he will do it himself ; they ask us to order Guise to leave Paris ; we have no power to give orders in Paris, except in a case of heresy or sin or something that concerns ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; with this matter we have nothing to do, for it is not an ecclesiastical matter." His Holiness added : " The king says that he will approach the Huguenots ; if he does that, there is still something else that we can do ; in spite of all this we have written our letters to the king, encouraging him and comforting him, and we will go on considering what can be done, nor will we cease

to do so, because, besides the interests of religion, consideration for the state makes it necessary to attend to the preservation of that kingdom, which is too important to be allowed to perish. . . ."

Gritti remarked that if Guise had gone to Paris with but eight horsemen, this proved his previous understanding with the city. The king had certainly made mistakes, but it was not a question now of criticizing what had happened, but of remedying the evil. Sixtus V. pointed out that he had already sent to Guise the strongest exhortations to submit to the king.[1]

Vivonne, the French ambassador, described to the Pope in a detailed and vivid way the insult which had been offered to the king by Guise.[2] According to his instructions he hinted that the king might in his desperation throw himself into the arms of Navarre. The Pope sprang to his feet in great excitement and said: "If all you tell me of the king's enemies is true, then God will punish them." Vivonne then thought that the moment had come to present the request that the Pope should openly pronounce in favour of the king, by immediately issuing three briefs: to Henry III., to the French clergy, and a third, strongly worded, to the members of the League. The Pope, however, thought that it was still necessary to reflect carefully. When Vivonne again insisted, the Pope replied: "Piano! Papal briefs are not struck off with a hammer. We are ready, however, to appoint a congregation to examine the affairs of France." The Pope said the same to Cardinal Joyeuse, assuring him at the same time that the leaguers were quite in error in boasting of a brief approving their conduct "for that they will never receive."[3]

The independence which the Pope maintained with regard to the rival parties, was also shown by another episode. The nuncio Morosini, who was working to bring about an agreement between the king and Guise, reported that the members

[1] See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the report of Vivonne, June 13, 1588, in BREMOND, 225.

[3] See the letter of Cardinal Joyeuse, June 13, 1888, *ibid.*, 226.

of the League hoped to compel the king, hard pressed as he was, to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent. Such a thing would in itself and for its own sake have been most pleasing to the Pope, but he did not suffer himself to be taken in by such tricks. It is not in the power of the League, he told Vivonne, to settle such matters; that is a question that must be decided between the Pope and the king.[1]

The Pope also expressed himself with great impartiality at the consistory of July 15th, 1588, when he adopted the king's desire for the appointment of a legate. When, in moving words, he had expressed his grief at the state of affairs in France, which had deprived him of sleep, he praised, though without pronouncing any opinion as to the intentions of the League, the efforts that they, as well as Henry III. had made against the Huguenots.[2] Since Morosini had laboured indefatigably with both parties, and had won the favour of both, he appointed him Cardinal and Legate for the kingdom of France, to the assistance of which he wished to come in every way. Nor did the Pope pay any attention to the objections which Cardinal Santori raised to this decision.[3]

[1] See *ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[2] "Laudavit constantiam christianissimi regis, qui invitatus ab haereticis illos reiecit atque repulit alios principes exteros et haereticos se cum eo coniungi cupientes et se illi offerentes. Laudavit etiam ducem Guisum, de quo licet dicant quod fidem catholicam et illius conservationem obtendat et aliud praetendat scilicet regimen regni, tamen Sanctitas Sua non videt nisi bona opera ad propagationem religionis catholicae et non potest nisi exterioribus bonis operibus ex praeclaris eius facinoribus contra haereticos gestis indicare." Acta consist. 856.

[3] See Acta consist., 856, SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 182; SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 226; *reports of Brumani of July 16, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *briefs to Henry III. and Guise, dated July 15, 1588, concerning the appointment of Morosini, in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives. The reply of Guise, of August 5, 1588, in L'EPINOIS, 196, n. 3. In April Rusticucci had hinted that two legates might be sent to France, one to Henry III. and one to the League, See the *report of Brumani of April 22, 1588, Gonzaga Archives. Mantua.

On July 19th, 1588, Henry III. gave way to the leaguers, who were steadily gaining ground, and issued the Edict of Rouen. In this he promised to suppress the religious innovations, to accept the Council of Trent, and recognized that none but a Catholic must ascend the throne of France. Soon afterwards Henry of Guise was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole army. On July 20th, 1588, Henry III. wrote to Vivonne that he could tell the Pope that peace with Guise was concluded, and that he was ready to proceed against the Huguenots more energetically than in the past. At the same time the king announced his journey to Blois, where the assembly of the States-General was to be opened on September 15th.[1] Sixtus V. deemed this step to be both premature and dangerous. When Cardinal Joyeuse spoke to him of the convocation of the States, and added that this had been done by the free will of the king, and that it promised well for the pacification of the kingdom, and the consolidation of the royal authority, he received the reply: "The Guise too will be there, and they will not do all the good that is expected from them."[2]

How right the Pope's view was, and how mistaken that of the king, was shown in the course of the proceedings, which increased the boldness of the Guise even more. On September 26th, 1588, Morosini, who, in accordance with his instructions, was striving to reconcile the king with the Guise, wrote from

[1] See BREMOND, 227 *seq.*, *Ibid.*, 288 *seq.* for the invasion of Saluzzo, which was much felt in France, by the ambitious Duke Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy, in the autumn of 1588, in which Sixtus V. participated because the duke had led him to believe that the Huguenots had established themselves in that territory; see the reports of Gritti of November, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 429, 433, 513 *seq.* *Cf.* also MAFFEJI, Hist., 39; L'EPINOIS, I., 226 *seq.*, 242; SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España, I., 104; C. RINAUDO, Carlo Emanuele Duca di Savoja, Turin, 1891, 142 *seqq.*; RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele, I. (1896), 349 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *letter of Sixtus V. to the Duke of Savoy, October 5 and November 1, 1588, State Archives, Turin.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 207. *Cf.* BREMOND, 297, n. 4.

Blois to Rome: the dissension between them becomes greater every day, and the duke has been warned to be on his guard, as the king is plotting to have him murdered. The position was so critical that Morosini made remonstrances on the subject to the king. If Guise, he said, were to be killed in the royal castle, it would bring shame upon His Majesty and peril to the kingdom, because the Catholics would be driven to desperation, and the king's authority would disappear. Henry replied that he intended to take as much care of the duke's life as of his own![1]

Three months later, on December 23rd, Henry of Guise, and on the next day his brother the Cardinal, were murdered by the order of the king; Cardinal Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Epinac, and other leaders of the league were imprisoned.[2] This was Henry's reply to the radical policy which bade fair to make Guise the master of France. When, after this crime, he entered the room of his mother, who was seriously ill, he exclaimed: "Now at last I am King of France! Guise is dead"; Catherine replied: "You have ruined the kingdom."[3]

[1] See the report of Morosini, September 26, 1588, in L'Epinois, La Ligue, 219 *seq.* Martin, in Le Gallicanisme, 236 *seq.* describes in detail the attitude of Morosini towards the negotiations of Blois, and the inflexible attitude of Sixtus V. concerning the publication of the decrees of Trent.

[2] See the reports of Morosini in Tempesti, II., 213 *seq.* and Desjardins, IV., 868 *seq.* *Cf. Bull. de la Soc. d'hist. de France*, I., 2 (Paris, 1834), 77 *seq.*; Segesser, Rechtsgeschichte, III., 378 *seq.*; *Eng. Hist. Review*, X., 304 *seq.*; Platzhoff, 85 *seqq.*

[3] See the *report sent by Morosini, in the Papal Secret Archives, Francia, II., 156, which has been made use of by L'Epinois, La Ligue, 265.

CHAPTER VII.

The Murder of the Guise—Sixtus V. and the League—Murder of Henry III.

The first news of the murder of the Guise reached Rome on January 4th, 1589, by means of a courier from the Duke of Savoy. In the course of the two following days this was followed by its confirmation and full details.[1] Vivonne, the ambassador of Henry III., undertook the difficult task of explaining the action of his sovereign, at an audience which was granted to him on January 6th. To his relief and surprise, the Pope spoke with calmness and moderation. His only bitter remark lay in his question whether, in the whole of history, Vivonne knew of a case of a sovereign murdering a Cardinal. The self-control shown by the Pope was all the more admirable as the king's letter to his ambassador was incredibly foolish and tactless. In this letter he said that it had been necessary for him to free himself from the duke, because the latter was aiming at his throne and at his life so that he had followed the advice given him by the Pope on the occasion of the insurrection of the Barricades. To this remark, which was as false as it was brazen, was attached the provocative offer of a benefice held by the murdered Cardinal Guise to the Cardinal nephew, Montalto! The reason for the murder of a member of the Sacred College was given in the following postscript: "I forgot to inform your Holiness that it was necessary to act in this way, because Cardinal Guise had had the effrontery to say that he would not die until he had held my head while my hair was cut to make a monk of me."[2]

[1] See the report of G. Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 24, and the *letter of Sporeno of January 7, 1589, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. *Cf.* L'Epinois, La Ligue, 275.

[2] See Bremond, 298 *seq.*; *cf. Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1922, 415.

After Vivonne, the Venetian ambassador, Gritti, was received in audience. To this intimate friend the Pope expressed in the clearest terms his opinion of the terrible occurrence, of which he had been informed in the strictly objective report of Morosini. "We were unable to approve," he said, "and were indeed forced to blame the Duke of Guise on account of his first act of taking up arms and uniting himself to other princes against his king, because it was not for him in any way to take up arms against his prince, and even though he did so under the pretext of religion, it was nevertheless not fitting that he, who was a subject, should take up arms against the king, nor attempt to impose laws upon him, and this was an excess and a sin, because the vassal has no right to command or constrain the prince; he may indeed persuade him, warn him, or exhort him, but to take up arms and stir up a rebellion against his king is a proceeding that cannot be excused; it is a sin, and if the king had in consequence taken proceedings and had punished him, he could only say that he was his subject, nor could anyone do aught but praise his act."

"The second action taken by the duke was to go to Paris during these last months, and he went to Paris with only seven men, and went to the queen-mother, and then to the king; if the king had wished to take proceedings then against the duke he could have done so, he could have arrested him and punished him, and if he had killed him and thrown him out of the window, no one would have said anything, and all would have been finished. If he still feared the rising of the people, he could have seen how the city was stirred by his arrest, and in any case, when the duke was dead and thrown into the street, all was over and everyone would have held his peace; but the king acted wrongly in not acting thus, which everyone would have praised; instead he fled from Paris and abandoned his royal city, and went as you know to Orleans."

"And now there has followed this third act; the duke was in his power and the king was master, and could do what was right against his subjects, having to render an

account to no one, but after the king was reconciled to the duke, to admit him to his councils, and confide in him, and talk over with him all that has occurred, to send and summon him to his chamber, and he going thither confidently, to have him butchered before his eyes, that we cannot praise, for it is not an act of justice but of murder ; he should have arrested him and put him on his trial, and then do as he wished because he is king, and thus all would have been well done with the authority of the laws, and by the ordinary methods of justice. If he had seen any insurrection, then he could have proceeded against him summarily, but to kill him as he did was murder and not justice, and it grieves us that the king should have committed such a sin.

"As to the Cardinal whom he put to death, if the king had even the smallest complaint to make of him, why did he not inform us of it ? We would have summoned him long since to Rome, and would not have allowed him to depart, and we should thus have remedied everything, and if the Cardinal had not come to Rome, we would have deprived him of his cardinalate as a disobedient subject, and then the king could have done as he pleased. We asked the ambassador who stood here before you, to tell us who has murdered a Cardinal, and we asked him if he had anywhere read of such an act. The king has also ordered the arrest of the Cardinal of Bourbon, an old man of seventy years, which will kill him. In a word the king has done ill to treat them thus, after having been reconciled to them, and admitted them to his counsels."

The Pope had spoken with calm and dignity, but he could not restrain a sigh at the heavy burden of the tiara. "When we were only a Cardinal," he said, "we had no need to rack our brains over being obliged to excommunicate a king, or summon him to Rome, or take any other action against him."[1]

In the evening of January 6th, 1589, Olivares, the Spanish ambassador, also presented himself at the Vatican, though it was not his day for an audience. He returned again on

[1] See HÜBNER, III., 266 *seq.*

the following day, and remained with the Pope for two hours. After him was received Giovanni Niccolini, the envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was told in brief the same as had been said to Gritti, and with him as well the Pope was very calm.[1]

In the meantime there was waiting in the antecamera Cardinal Joyeuse, who was greatly annoyed at the long audience granted to the Spanish ambassador. When the Pope repeated to him as well what he had said to Gritti, he objected that His Holiness himself had regretted that the king had not killed the duke during the insurrection of the barricades. In reply Sixtus V. rightly pointed out the difference, and said that the king had killed the duke, not while the facts of the rebellion were still recent, but after he had been reconciled to him and without any trial. Thereupon there followed an exceedingly heated discussion. For the murder of the Cardinal, in which Sixtus V. saw an incomparably greater crime, Joyeuse asked for pardon in the king's name. The Pope replied: "Matters of conscience are not dealt with through ambassadors. The king should himself write to us for absolution. We reserve to ourselves the right to discuss the matter with the Cardinals. Vivonne tried in vain to prevent this.[2]

Cardinals Santa Croce and Joyeuse again attempted to deter the Pope from his intention before the consistory of January 9th, 1589, but in vain.[3] When the ceremony of the "closing of the mouth" had been carried out in the case of the new Cardinals, there was a dead silence in the hall until the Pope, who was visibly agitated, rose to express his feelings about the sacrilegious crime that had been committed on the person of Cardinal Guise, without saying anything about the murder of the duke.[4]

[1] See DESJARDINS, V., 25 *seq.*

[2] See Lettres du card. d' Ossat, I., Paris, 1698, 12; BREMOND, 300 *seq.*; HÜBNER, II., 215.

[3] See Lettres du card. d'Ossat, I., 14.

[4] "Iustis de causis ommissa Guisii mentione," says MAFFEI (Hist., 38).

His discourse, which proved how entirely the interests of the Church held the first place with Sixtus V.,[1] opened with the characteristic words: "We find ourselves constrained to give expression to an unspeakable sorrow, so unspeakable that we cannot find words to describe it, for the sacrilegious crime which has caused it is quite unheard of. By the order of the King of France, Cardinal Guise has been killed, a Cardinal has been killed, a Cardinal Priest has been killed, and one who was at the same time Archbishop of Rheims. He has been butchered without trial, without sentence, by the civil authority, unknown to us, without the sanction of the Holy See, to which he was so closely united, as though we had not existed, as though there had been neither Apostolic See, nor God in heaven or earth. The divine law binds all men, nor is anyone excepted. The divine law commands that "thou shalt not kill." Who then is allowed to kill? Certainly no one, be he prince or king. If a judge, in virtue of the laws, condemns anyone to death, this is not to kill but to punish, to chastise so that the processes of law may be observed. But the Cardinal has been killed without judgment, without law, and not by the command of or with the consent of his superior, which in this case is ourselves. He has been killed like any ordinary man without consideration for his rights, his rank, or his episcopal and cardinalitial dignity. Nor can be it said that the Cardinal had done or said anything against the king or the crown, since, on the evidence of Henry III. himself, conveyed to us by his envoy Gondi, he had warmly recommended him for the vacant legation of Avignon, as the royal representatives can bear witness. Since then nothing has occurred on the strength of which it could be maintained that the Cardinal had done anything against the king. But even granting that that were the case, even so the king should have refrained from such a crime and sacrilege. He knows how strictly we proceed against the guilty. Could he not have left the condemnation to us,

[1] HERRE (398) rightly calls attention to this.

in the meantime holding the Cardinal under arrest? Or if he could not wait could he not have questioned our legate Morosini, who enjoyed his special confidence, and who had been created a Cardinal by us at his request?"

After the Pope had developed this point, he paused for a while, as though overcome by grief. He then went on, giving praise to Providence which had permitted such a disaster during his pontificate, for He that had assisted him from his youth would also be with him in the time to come, so that he might deal with such an evil. After a further pause Sixtus V. dwelt upon the fact that the king had only asked for absolution by means of his ambassadors, while he himself had uttered no single word of repentance. He then recalled how once King Henry II. of England had humbly accepted penance for the killing of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, who was not a Cardinal. The same was the case with even Theodosius, a powerful Emperor, after the massacre of Thessalonica: these examples drawn from history he developed at length. In recalling the power of Theodosius he quoted a passage from Claudian.

Then the Pope expressed his wonder that certain Cardinals dared to excuse the crime in his presence, without remembering that the honour and safety of the whole of the Sacred College was involved. "It is not we," Sixtus exclaimed, "who wish to become Cardinals, it is not we who seek after the purple by the favour of this or that prince. What has happened affects not us, but you. It is you who are willing that the civil authority should sweep aside your immunity, liberty, authority and all your privileges; this is your affair. If the killing of a Cardinal is passed over so lightly, the same thing may happen to each one of you. We for our part will see that justice is done, and in so doing we shall have nothing to fear, since God is justice itself. We cannot go on for sorrow, though there is still much to be said." Then the Pope announced the appointment of a special congregation of Cardinals, to deal with the affair. "May the Lord God assist His Church!" the Pope concluded.

Cardinal Joyeuse, who well understood that part of the

Pope's discourse was directed to himself, rose as soon as the Pope had ended, and with head uncovered, asked to be allowed to make some observations in excuse of the Most Christian King. Sixtus V. bade him be silent. In spite of this the Cardinal again attempted to speak, thus breaking the rule by which the Cardinals could only speak in answer to a question or with the permission of the Pope. This permission Sixtus V. refused him, and once again imposed silence upon him.[1]

After this painful incident the members of the congregation, which was to meet under the presidency of Santori, were appointed; they were Cardinals Facchinetti, Lancelotti, Pinelli and Mattei.[2] Santori soon succeeded in inducing Joyeuse to ask the Pope's pardon at the next consistory on January 16th.[3]

In order to show publicly his horror at the acts of violence committed by Henry III., Sixtus V. suspended the discussion of all matters concerning France in consistory, informed Vivonne that he must no longer attend in the Papal Chapel, and suspended his usual weekly audiences.[4] Olivares he received all the more frequently, but the latter still found the Pope's feelings towards France too lukewarm. Both

[1] The text of the discourse of Sixtus V. is corrupt in the printed edition of the Acta consist. (858-861); thus p. 850, n. 7 *cardinales* should appear instead of *cardinalis;* n. 8 the same; n. 9 *cardinalem* instead of *cardinales.* The printed edition is also wrong in giving January 11 as the date of the consistory; the correct date (January 9) is in *Acta consist. camer. XI., p. 107, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican and in the Spanish *Relacion, in Cod. 6423, p. 10-11, State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 216 *seq.* A new printed version of the discourse, from older manuscripts in *Anal. eccles.*, IV. (1895), 465 *seq.*

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 184.

[3] See *ibid.;* Acta consist., 861; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, in Barb. lat. 2814, p. 438b, Vatican Library; RICCI, Silingardi, I., 103.

[4] See *Avviso of January 18, 1589 (on Friday Vivonne was refused an audience), Urb. 1057, p. 24, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 30; HÜBNER, II., 221.

he and Philip II. were anxiously awaiting the moment for armed intervention in France, and took the strongest measures in Rome to bring this about.

But the Pope, who feared among other things danger to Italy and the Holy See from a victorious intervention on the part of Spain, would not let himself be hurried. Olivares informed him most insistently that Henry III. was negotiating with Navarre, and that he intended to recommend him to the States at Blois as his successor. If Navarre abjured his heresy, which of course would only be in appearance, and the Pope accepted his abjuration, the ambassador of Spain was instructed to remind the Pope that his king, as he had already informed him in 1586, would be forced to interfere under arms in France. In his reply Sixtus V. praised the zeal of the King of Spain for the holy faith, but his praise seemed to the Spanish ambassador to be rather half-hearted.[1] His suspicions of the Pope, however, were quite unfounded, for Sixtus V. had not as yet come to any decision.[2]

At the end of January the Pope expressed himself very frankly to Gritti. In this conversation he spoke of his fear lest Henry III. should suffer the same fate as Guise. He once more bitterly complained of the king's statement that in killing Guise he had followed the advice of the Pope. It is not we, he said, who are breaking the forms of law. To kill without a sentence is not justice but vengeance. If the king has acted from motives of revenge, he will receive the chastisements of God. If he has only exercised his rights, where are the minutes of the trial, the accusation and the defence? Does Henry think himself authorized to judge ecclesiastics? Does he wish to be both king and Pope? That would be heresy. We have done everything he has asked of us. After our accession to the throne the Duke of Nevers came to Rome to obtain our adherence to the League. May God pardon its authors: Pope Gregory, Galli and Pellevé. The king knows our reply. We said:

[1] See the reports of Olivares in HÜBNER, II., 221-223; III. 284 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the Este report in Ricci, SILINGARDI I., 104.

"Subjects may not rise in rebellion against their sovereign; if the king is negligent in combating heresy, it is not their affair to make laws for him. It is our business and not theirs to admonish. He wished to sell ecclesiastical property, and we gave him the power to do so; he asked for a Cardinal, and we complied with his request; for a nuncio, and we gave him one; for a Cardinal Legate, and this too we complied with, thereby departing from the normal usage. We met his wishes in everything and in all ways. You know, the Pope concluded, the story of Pharaoh. He had exhausted the patience of God. When he saw the people of Israel walking amid the waters, while he himself was at the bottom of the sea, he exclaimed: This is the finger of God (digitus Dei est hic). And indeed what is happening in France is the finger of God."[1]

In the meantime Henry III. was deluding himself with the hope of being able to settle the complications occasioned by the murder of Guise in a satisfactory manner. Deceived by Vivonne and Joyeuse, he expected by resistance to intimidate the Pope in such a way that "His Holiness will come to us hat in hand."[2] This task was entrusted to the Bishop of Le Mans, Claude d'Angennes, who reached Rome on February 26th, 1589, but his mission was entirely fruitless, for the Pope remained immovable in his determination that he would only give him absolution if Henry released from prison Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons; this however the king could not be induced to do.[3]

While the Bishop of Le Mans was negotiating with the Pope, the followers of the murdered Guise, who, under the leadership of his brother, Duke Charles of Mayenne, had risen

[1] See the report of Gritti of January 28, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 223 *seq.*; III., 291 *seq.*

[2] "S.Sta gli andarebbe con la berretta in mano." The reports of the French representatives fell into the hands of Sixtus V.; see the letter of Badoer of June 17, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 231.

[3] BREMOND (303 *seqq.*) treats of the mission of the Bishop of Le Mans in greater detail than Hübner. *Cf.* also L'EPINOIS, 301 *seq.*

in a twofold struggle against Henry III. and the Huguenots, did all they could to induce the Pope to take their part, but this they could not bring about. Sixtus praised indeed the zeal of the French Catholics against the Huguenots, but condemned their rebellion against the lawful king, to whom they must submit themselves, should he show himself truly repentant.[1]

The members of the League were further than ever from either submission or reconciliation with Henry III. As had been the case with the Huguenots after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, so did dangerous theories now make their way among the French Catholics. Thus on January 7th, 1589, the Sorbonne declared that Henry, by the crime at Blois, had forfeited all right to the crown of France, and that the people might take up arms against him in defence of their religion with a clear conscience.[2] This was followed by the new government of nobles, ecclesiastics and burghers, the so-called "Union" which was formed in the French capital, the members of which bound themselves to everything, even to

[1] See L'Epinois, 309. The statement of Ranke (Päpste, II², 112): "Sixtus was entirely on their side" (i.e. the league), is completely false. Polenz (IV., 657 *seq.*) formed a far truer opinion. Sporeno in his *report of March 4, 1589, well sums up the situation: "S.S^tas nihil penitus se declaravit circa vel personam dicti regis vel Guisianae familiae et nemo adhuc novit circa S.S^tis consilium." *Cf.* also in App. n. 23 the *report of Sporeno of April 22, 1589, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. *Cf.* also the letter of Brumani of April 22, 1589 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua), in App. n. 24.

[2] For the decision of the Sorbonne of January 7, 1589, see Hergenröther, Kirche u. Staat, 493; Segesser, Pfyffer, III., 372; Robiquet, II., 501 *seq.* The statement of Ranke (Franz. Gesch., I., 460) that in this the views of those members of the Sorbonne who were influenced by the doctrines of the Jesuits, were decisive, is wrong; *cf.* Duhr, Iesuitenfabeln, 405. For the attitude during the disturbances of the time of the French Jesuits, who for the most part avoided mixing themselves up in political questions, *cf.* the detailed account of Fouqueray (II., 170 *seq.*, 222 *seqq.*).

regicide. In Paris all the coats-of-arms and statues of Henry III. were destroyed. A huge procession passed through the streets, and at a given signal all taking part in it blew out their candles with the words: "May God thus extinguish the generation of the Valois." Some ecclesiastics, such as Jean Boucher, a parish priest of Paris, declared from the pulpit that it was lawful to clear a way by killing a prince who had been condemned by the people as the enemy of the common good and of religion.[1]

Like the capital, a large part of the country separated itself from the king, and it seemed as though the end of the French monarchy had come. Clergy and people saw in Henry III. a tyrant who had forfeited his right to his authority. In the cities the rich burghers thought of setting up small republics, while the nobles aimed at the formation of provincial "satrapies."[2] Violence was frequently employed against the supporters of Henry III. At Angers the Catholics who would

[1] See L'Epinois, 284 *seq.*, 288 *seq.*; Ritter, II., 42. *Cf.* the wor. of Labitte, cited *supra*, p. 296, n. 1, and Robiquet, II., 493 *seq.*, 522.

[2] *" Lo stato di Francia alla morte del duca et card. di Ghisa cessò di essere monarchia imperoche la più parte delle città et terre del regno et li migliori cominciando da Orliens levorono quasi in un medesimo tempo l' ubidienza al Re senza intendersi l' una con l' altra et furono tra questi in particolare tutt' i parlamenti fuorche Bordeaus et Renes, l'uno in Ghienna, et l' altro in Bretagna. Si rivoltorono anco contro S. M^ta^ una buona parte de nobili, tutti li prencipi della casa di Lorena et quasi tutti gli ecclesiastici, ma con pensieri diversi. Il clero et la gente bassa desideravano di deporre il Re come preteso tiranno, i ricchi et potenti delle città pensavano di volere instituire delle republiche in loco della monarchia et li nobili havevano la mira a far delle satrapie particolari co' l mezzo delle cittadelle et de presidii. Non di meno tutti furono d' accordo per conservarsi di stabilire un' unione et più tosto di rinovar quella che di già era stata stabilita l' anno 1585, ma non più contro gli heretici solamente ma contro quelli et contra la persona del Re. Commentarii delle cose successe nel regno di Francia," Cod. 44, p. 286, of the Library at Karlsruhe.

not join the League were maltreated, and Henry III. found himself confined to Blois, Amboise and Tours.[1] Duke Charles of Mayenne, the brother of the murdered Henry of Guise, could look forward to the complete victory of his forces. Henry III. outlawed him as well as the Parisians, but however great his straits were, the king never entertained any thought of setting free the princes of the Church which was insisted upon by the Pope as the condition of absolution; on the contrary, while his ambassador in Rome was asking for the Papal absolution, the king was carrying on negotiations with Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot leader, and at the beginning of April he concluded an alliance with him. On April 30th the two kings met at Plessis-les-Tours, and united their armies against Mayenne.[2] Cardinal Morosini had already left the court, and was eagerly awaiting his recall at Moulins. To the sorrow which this distinguished man felt on account of the failure of his great efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the two Catholic parties, was added the loss of the Pope's favour, who, quite unjustly, expressed the greatest displeasure at his conduct.[3]

[1] See L'Epinois, 239 *seq.*, 298.

[2] See *ibid.*, 318 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*

[3] Morosini, so as not to anticipate the decision of the Pope, contented himself, in face of the acts of violence of Henry III., with warning the king in a private conversation, a step which Hübner (II., 232 *seq.*) praises as being the most suitable. In Rome Morosini was severely blamed (see Ricci, I., 105). The Pope too rebuked Morosini, because he would have liked him to have acted with all possible rigour; he frequently, and without reflection, spoke with suspicion of the loyalty of the nuncio, whom he often called the secretary of the King of France! (Desjardins, V., 30, Hübner, II., 218). Morosini at once justified his conduct (see Desjardins, IV., 868 *seqq.*) and again asked for his recall, which the Pope refused because he did not wish to come to an open rupture with Henry III. (see Hübner, *loc. cit.*). The blame attached to the behaviour of Morosini, which L'Epinois (269 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*, 330 *seq.*) has well dealt with in accordance with the Acta of the Papal Secret Archives, was so severe that it was feared that the Pope would deprive him of the purple; see the

During the whole of the spring the Pope found himself courted by the rival parties in the most importunate way. Vivonne and Joyeuse endeavoured to induce him to refuse any hearing to the members of the League. Sixtus V. refused this: as the common father he was bound to listen to all.[1] Even greater efforts than those of the members of the League were made by the Spaniards, to win over the supreme head of the Church to their schemes.[2] But how little the Pope adopted the ideas of Philip II. was clearly shown by the words written by Olivares to his sovereign at the moment of the worst difficulties of the King of France, "It is a principle with this court to protect the King of France, however little confidence may be felt in him. It is feared that if France were to succumb Italy too would become the slave of your Majesty."[3]

The Spaniards and the leaguers might say what they would, but the Pope continued to exhort the French Catholics, not

*report of Brumani, Rome, January 18, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The intervention of Santori (see Autobiografia, XIII., 191) prevented matters from going to extremes. During this severe trial Morosini maintained a dignified attitude; he never failed in his devotion to the head of the Church, from whom he asked pardon in a moving letter, although he did not feel guilty of any fault (L'Epinois, 331). Later on the Cardinal succeeded in convincing the Pope of his innocence (see his apologia in Tempesti, II., 411 *seqq.*). After this he had the satisfaction of being able to justify his behaviour at a consistory on March 14, 1590, in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, in so excellent a report that a complete reconciliation with the Pope followed (see Acta consist., 870; Hübner, II., 516 *seq.*). Morosini then became one of the intimates of Sixtus V. (see Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 193).

[1] See L'Epinois, 327. *Cf.* the *Avviso of February 18, 1589, Vatican Library, in App. n. 20.

[2] See L'Epinois, 290 *seq.*, 300, 326 *seq.* The disagreements between the adherents of Henry III. and of the League became so acute in Rome that the two parties often came to blows; see *Avviso of May 3, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 256, Vatican Library.

[3] Hübner, II., 221.

only to the defence of their religion, but also to obedience to their king, provided he showed himself truly repentant.[1] In order to bring this about, Sixtus V. after a fierce struggle, resolved to publish the Monitorium, for which the Spaniards and the Guise had pressed as strongly as the supporters of Henry III., among whom the representatives of Venice and Florence were prominent, had resisted it.[2]

It was a dangerous step which the Pope thought it his duty to take for the salvation of the Catholic religion in France,[3] because it threatened to involve her in the nets of Spanish policy. The decision was only come to after Sixtus V. had received from Sini, the secretary of Morosini, a detailed report on the state of affairs in France.[4] On May 5th, 1589, the Pope carefully reviewed in consistory the conduct of Henry III., bringing out especially his alliance with the Huguenots. The documents bearing on the question were read, as well as the text of the Monitorium, which met with the approval of all the Cardinals. The whole, however, was to be kept secret for the time being under pain of major excommunication to be incurred immediately.[5]

Sixtus V. delayed for another whole week in publishing the Monitorium, so little can one speak of precipitation in the matter. It was only on May 12th that the document was sent to the legates, with orders to promulgate it on the same day as it was posted in Rome,[6] which was done on May 24th in

[1] See the important letter of Cardinal Montalto of April 23, 1589, in L'Epinois, 324.

[2] *Cf.* Desjardins, V., 42.

[3] See Herre, 398. L'Epinois (328) says of the monitorium : Cette mesure était juste ; c'était le droit du Pape et son devoir. *Cf.* also Rocquain, La France, 388.

[4] See L'Epinois 328 ; *cf.* 322 for the mission of Sini.

[5] In the printed edition of the Acta consist., 865, there are several printer's errors which alter the sense : thus, after *contrectaverunt* there should be : "quid fecerit Henricus III Rex, trucidavit et cepit et excommunicatus est." *Cf.* the Este repo t in Ricci, I., 107.

[6] See Hübner, II., 237, 240.

the customary manner.[1] In the consistory held on the same day, the Pope once more described the events that had led up to it, especially bringing out the patience which he had displayed towards the king, notwithstanding his many lapses. He again enumerated the benefits he had conferred on Henry III., and stated that the king had not asked for absolution, as he, the Pope, now admonished him to do; lastly, he made it clear that if the king would enter into himself, he was ready once more to bestow his favour upon him, as on a prodigal son.[2]

The Monitorium laid it upon Henry III., under pain of major excommunication, to set at liberty within ten days Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, and to appear in Rome within sixty days, either in person or by proxy.[3] The document, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, made no mention of the alliance with Henry of Navarre, although this was the real reason for this last admonition.[4] The Pope very prudently limited himself to that which, quite beyond question, entered into his sphere, the murder and imprisonment of the

[1] See the Este report in Ricci, I., 109. The printed copy of the monitorium at St. Peter's was, according to an Avviso of May 27, 1589, guarded for two days by light cavalry (Baumgarten, Vulgata Sixtina, 139). Vivonne, the Bishop of Le Mans and Joyeuse only left Rome on May 30 (see Desjardins, V., 43; *cf.* Ricci, I., 110). The statement of Thuanus (I., 95), that Vivonne left before May 24, is thus quite wrong.

[2] See *Acta consist. camer. XI., 118. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* Olivares in Hübner, III., 298 *seq.*

[3] The text of the *Monitorium, which begins with the words "Inscrutabilis Divinae providentiae altitudo," and is dated "Romae apud s. Petrum 1589 tertio Nonas Maii," in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 29 and 32, Papal Secret Archives; see Ehses, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 288 n. 2. *Cf.* Eyzinger, Rel. hist. cont., Cologne, 1589, 67 *seq.*

[4] See the letter of Montalto to Frangipani, May 27, 1589, in Ehses, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 288. *Cf.* Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 187.

princes of the Church. To the Venetian ambassador he said that he still held his arms open to the king.[1]

If Sixtus V. hoped, as a priest and as head of the Church that the king would act upon his admonition, as a statesman he desired the repentance of that unhappy monarch even more than he expected it. If Henry does not enter into himself, the Pope said to the Venetian ambassador on July 29th, he will come to a miserable end like Saul.[2] Three days afterwards, just when he was about to attack the League in its headquarters, Paris, he fell by the hand of an assassin.[3] When the news of

[1] In the letter of Montalto to Visconti it is said of the monitorium : " è medicinale, et non mortale." SCHWEIZER, III., 30.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 242 *seq.*

[3] The assassin, a young Dominican named Jacques Clément, who was mentally defective, and the butt of his companions from the cradle as POLENZ (IV., 618) says, was at once killed by the people. He was acting in the spirit of the party of the League, and had been encouraged in his purpose by its adherents, especially the Paris preachers, and was afterwards declared by them to be a martyr, " quae tamen sanctio (says MAFFEI in his Hist., 47) utpote nulla Pontificum auctoritate facta, postmodum evanuit." That Clément had nothing to do with the Jesuits, as DROYSEN (Gegenreformation, 190) still maintains, is shown by DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 402 *seq.*, where the story that Clément had first gone to confession to the Jesuits is also refuted. RANKE writes (Franz. Gesch., I², 469) " Clément was strongly impressed by the doctrine, which at that time was specially maintained by Boucher, that a tyrant who offended against the common well-being and religion, might be killed by a private individual, and his only scruple was as to whether a priest could perform such an act. He laid before his superior the question whether it was a mortal sin for a priest to kill a tyrant. He was told that it was an irregularity, but not a mortal sin." In support of this Ranke quotes the following, evidently taken from the *Relacion del successo de la muerte del rey christ.* sent by Mendoza to Spain (Simancas papers in Paris) : It is asked : " si peccava mortalmente un sacerdote que matasse a un tiranno ; it is replied : que vedeva el tal sacerdote irregular." Anyone who knows even the first principles of Canon Law will see at once that this has reference to *irregularitas ex delicto*, which occurs in

his terrible end reached Rome, this last scion of the House of Valois, a decadent both physically and morally, had already for a long time past forfeited all esteem.[1] Like many others,[2] Sixtus V. saw in this the punishment of God for Henry's misdeeds. He expressed himself to this effect at the Segnatura,[3] and at the consistory of September 11th, 1589.

Of the discourse he delivered at that consistory there only remain some extracts which are in part difficult to understand.[4]

all crimes publicly known as notorious, and suspends the person affected from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions. Such ignorance in the case of a celebrated historian would cause amusement if the most vile accusations against the Catholic Church had not been based upon this rashly stated and obstinately maintained assertion (again in the 4th edition of the Franz. Gesch. (1876), I., 239, n. 3).

[1] The first news arrived on August 18, 1589 (see TEMPESTI, II., 370 *seq.*; EHSES, II., 349, n. 1; RICCI, I., 111); in the evening of August 20, Niccolini, the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany received confirmation from Florence (see the *Avviso, of August 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 520, Vatican Library). When the news was read to the Pope, who at first would not believe it "S.S^tà mostrò . . . dispiacerli la morte del Re di Francia et che S.M. non avesse fatto già quel che la S. Sua voleva" (Niccolini August 22, 1589, in DESJARDINS, V., 52). At the feast of St. Louis the royal arms no longer were to be seen in Rome in the church of that saint (see *Avviso, *loc. cit.*, 524).

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII. 188.

[3] See in App. n. 26 the Avviso of August 29, 1589, Vatican Library.

[4] This is especially true of the abridged account given in a few lines of the Acta consist., where it is stated: "Multis rationibus ostendit hoc divino solummodo iudicio evenisse nihilque hac in re hominibus tribuendum." In the account too given by the *report of the Venetian ambassador A. Badoer, September 11, 1589 (State Archives, Venice, used by RANKE, Päpste, II^8., 113, but with the wrong date September 1), and in the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 56 *seqq.*, the event is attributed to the direct intervention of God. In a Spanish *Relacion del consistorio de 11 Settembre, 1589, which I found in Cod. 6423, p.4 *seq.* in the State Library, Vienna, it is expressly said of the discourse

But an exact report of his discourse at the Segnatura tells us in what sense the Pope interpreted the event. He especially brought out the great surprise which the assassination caused him, but also said that it had aroused his compassion. It was his opinion that God, after the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against the king, had allowed that Henry, himself the murderer of an ecclesiastic, should in his turn be slain by the hand of a priest. At the same time the

of Sixtus V.: *" Procuro dar a entender no succeder semejantes muertes sino por permission divina a los Reyes." This is in accordance with the version in *Acta consist. camer., XI., p. 124 (Papal Secret Archives), where it is stated: " rem huiusmodi actam esse ut in ea *divini iudicii* vis plane agnoscatur," and Sixtus V. expressed himself in the same sense at the Segnatura. The versions of the discourse of Sixtus V. spread about by the League were quite different. Thuanus has given extracts in his historical work (I., 96), in order to build up on the strength of this apocryphal fabrication (*cf.* E. Meaume, Etude hist. sur Louise de Lorraine, reine de France, Paris, 1882, 114) grave attacks on the Pope, attacks which have been repeated quite recently (e.g. by Ebrard, who is refuted by Janssen, Ein zweite Wort an meine Kritiker, ed. L. Pastor, Freiburg, 1895, 132 *seq.*, and lastly by Robiquet [II., 575 *seq.*]), after they had already been spread about during the life of Sixtus V. by the English Protestants (see: Antisixtus, Sixti V., P. M. de Henrici III. morte sermo, London, 1590; there was also an English translation, a copy of which is to be found in the British Museum). According to the version of the League, Sixtus V. had compared the assassination in its wonderful greatness to the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, had exalted Clément above Eleazer and Judith, and had said that by his action he had *given his assistance* to Divine Providence. That the Pope had not expressed himself in this way, but had only spoken of the *permission* of God, is clear from the above-mentioned passage from the Spanish report. From the same source it is also plain that the other statement concerning the blasphemous comparison is equally false. In the Spanish report it is clearly stated that in quoting the words of Habacuc (I., 5): " Aspicite in gentibus et videte et admiramini et obstupescite quia opus factum est in diebus vestris, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur," Sixtus V.

Pope alluded to the singular disposition of Providence by which the crown of a king who had killed a Cardinal, should fall into the hands of a Cardinal. At the end of his discourse at the Segnatura the Pope once more deplored in forcible words the terrible fate of the last of the Valois.[1]

If for a moment the Pope had hoped that matters would be simplified in France,[2] he was soon forced to realize that this was an illusion. In spite of the urgency of Olivares and of the followers of Mayenne, he at first adopted an attitude of prudent reserve towards the parties in France. The prompt proclamation of Henry of Navarre as king, by the army, and a great part of the Catholic nobility, without any previous change of religion, or even such a change being made a condition, was bound to fill the supreme head of the Church with anxiety for the Catholic religion. The declaration made by Henry as to the safeguarding of the rights of the Catholics, and his readiness to be instructed in the Catholic religion within six months, and to submit himself to a general and national council, showed that any precipitate action was not advisable. But in the meantime there had come to Rome on September 1st, the Seigneur de Diou, as the envoy of the Duke of Mayenne, to win over the Pope to the support of the

had remarked that although this passage had been applied by the ancient Fathers and theologians to the birth of Jesus, it might far better (muy bien) be applied to the present case. But this by no means implies that Sixtus V. compared the assassination to the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Nothing then remains in the version of the League but the allusion to Eleazar and Judith. According to the Spanish report Sixtus V. did indeed refer to these cases, which are recorded in Judith 13 and Macchabees I., 6, but he repeatedly and strongly insisted "no haver podido succeder al Rey de Francia este desastre sino por la misma permission," and especially as a "castigo," because the king, a few days before, had allowed the heretical soldiery to commit excesses, to profane the churches and to violate women.

[1] See in App. n. 26 the *Avviso of August 29, 1589, Vatican Library.

[2] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.*; TEMPESTI, II., 371.

League. In accordance with his duty of listening to all as the common father, he at once admitted him to audience, but did not recognize him as the envoy of France, just as he rejected his request that he would approve the election of Mayenne as Governor-General of the kingdom. In his reply to the suggestion of the members of the League, Sixtus pointed out that the account given by Diou had thrown so little light upon the intentions of the League, that he was unable to give them any rule of conduct, but at the same time he said that he would send a legate, who would obtain for him authentic information as to the disorders in that country, because he had the salvation of religion and of France very much at heart.[1]

It was impossible to maintain this attitude of reserve for long, because it was necessary to take the changed state of affairs into account. Political and religious passions had broken out with still greater violence after the murder of Henry III. There now existed in France only two great parties, that of the league, in whose eyes the legitimate sovereign was the imprisoned Cardinal Bourbon, who was at once proclaimed in Paris under the name of Charles X., and the party of Henry of Navarre, who, as a descendant by ten generations from St. Louis, now claimed the crown, even though he did not profess the faith of the majority of the French people. Although even many good Catholics, such as Cardinals Lenoncourt and Vendôme, supported him, yet this man, who had hitherto been the leader of the Huguenots, was only strong because of his Huguenot army. Since the Catholics declared themselves in his favour in ever increasing numbers, it did not seem improbable that his Huguenot supporters would become the minority and the Catholic ones the majority. But this remained very uncertain, as did the question whether a statesman of the stamp of Henry would

[1] *Brief "dil. fil. nobilibus viris generale concilium sanctae unionis Catholicorum in civitate Parisiorum repraesentantibus, dat. in monte Quirinali sub annulo piscatoris die sept. 21, 1589," in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 183b, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* other *briefs of September 21, 1589, concerning the mission of the legate. *Cf.* L'Epinois, 347.

keep the promises made to the Catholics when he had been proclaimed king.

To Navarre's right to the succession, which came to him from the provisions of the Salic Law, was opposed the declaration made at Blois in 1576 with the consent of Henry III., and recently solemnly confirmed as a fundamental law of the nation, that France could only be ruled by a Catholic king. Paying no attention to this Henry had seized upon the crown, although he was a Huguenot, and moreover a relapsed heretic and one who had been excommunicated by name. The danger which this involved for the Catholic Church in France was all the more clearly brought home to Sixtus V. because Philip II. was making every effort to prevent any reconciliation between Henry of Navarre and the Holy See, and was never weary of describing the possible return of Navarre to the Catholic religion as a trick. To this was added the news of the zeal with which John Casimir, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Ulm were supporting Navarre with loans of money and a licence to recruit.[1]

At that moment, to save the faith in France, to save it at all costs, seemed to the supreme head of the Church a sacred duty, a pressing duty, a duty that over-rode all other considerations, even if it involved (a thing which was very repugnant to him) making the King of Spain the arbiter of the destinies of France.[2] Therefore Sixtus V. was inclined to give his support and help to the League, although in many ways this was very dangerous, and he saw very little real solution of the problem of the succession in the proclamation of Cardinal Bourbon as King Charles X., since that aged prince of the Church was in the power of his rival.[3]

[1] *Cf.* EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., lvii.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 245 *seq.*, who calls attention to the remarks of Sixtus V. to Badoer.

[3] *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 659. Of interest is the remark of Brumani: "La Sorbona ha mandato a S.Stà la effigie de Borbone in stato regio." *Report of September 23, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

How firmly the Pope clung to his former plan of uniting the two parties under one standard was clearly shown by his action of sending a new Cardinal Legate to France in the place of Morosini, whose mission had not satisfied him, and which could now be considered to have been brought to an end by the death of the king.[1]

The choice of a suitable person presented extraordinary difficulties. The Cardinals of the French Congregation, Santori, Facchinetti, Lancelotti, Pinelli and Mattei, discussed the matter from every point of view. Some of the older Cardinals, and especially Scipione Gonzaga, who was supported by the ambassador of Venice, suggested the appointment of two legates, one for ecclesiastical and one for military affairs.[2] Cardinal Santa Croce was of opinion that no legate should be sent, but only a nuncio; the sending of a legate was not in keeping with the dignity of the Holy See; moreover, Henry of Navarre would only be annoyed by this, whereas he might obtain the mastery, so that in the end it might become necessary to treat with him. He gave this advice because, supposing that Navarre became a Catholic, he would be the lawful heir to the throne.[2]

Sixtus V., on the other hand, insisted that a Cardinal Legate must be sent to France. Many names were suggested for the purpose, but none of them satisfied the Pope, except Rusticucci who, however, had been passed over as he did not speak Latin well. Lancelotti, Aldobrandini and Mattei were ruled out by Olivares, who wished for Madruzzo, Galli, Pinelli or Rovere. Castrucci and Santa Croce were also spoken of.[4] Sixtus V. was of opinion that the new legate, although he must be acceptable to Philip II., must not be an object of suspicion to those who did not support the League, and must also be well

[1] See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 57.

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 188 *seq.*; MANFRONI, Legazione, 200 *seq.*; L'EPINOIS, 351.

[3] See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 62.

[4] See L'EPINOIS, 351. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 59 *seq.*, and the *report of Brumani of September 23, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

versed in public affairs and be absolutely loyal to the Holy See.[1] His choice at last fell upon Errico Caetani, in no way, however, as was widely supposed, to please Spain, but merely because there was no other suitable person in the Sacred College.[2]

Errico Caetani, whose memory is still preserved in Rome by the beautiful chapel which he built at S. Pudenziana, seemed to be, for various reasons, the man best fitted to solve the difficult problem. Appointed a Cardinal by Sixtus V. in 1586, and since September, 1587, Camerlengo of the Holy See,[3] a scion of an illustrious family, rich, of imposing appearance, wise and prudent, he had a great knowledge of the affairs of France. He was acceptable to Philip II., who had already mobilized his troops on the French frontier, but there was also reason to expect that, because of his calm and impartial character, he would be favourably received by the Catholics of France and the people of Paris.[4]

On September 24th the Pope announced his decision to the congregation of Cardinals appointed to deal with the affairs of France,[5] and on the following day appointed Caetani in consistory with the approval of the Sacred College.[6] Obviously

[1] See in App. n. 27 the *report of Brumani of September 27, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See MANFRONI, Legazione, 201.

[3] *Cf.* GARAMPI, 321.

[4] See in App. n. 27 the *report of Brumani, September 27, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Relacion del consistoro del 25 September, 1589, in Cod. 6423, p. 6–7 of the State Library, Vienna.

[5] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 64.

[6] See *Acta consist. of September 25, 1589 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), which is more detailed than the printed version in Acta consist. 867, and the *Relacion of the State Library, Vienna, cited *supra*, note 4. According to the latter there specially took part in the discussion Gesualdo, Colonna, Pellevé, Torre and Lancellotti. See also the *report of Brumani of September 27, 1589 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the letter of Montalto to Frangipani of September 30, 1589, in EHSES, II., 371 *seq.*, and that to Visconti in SCHWEIZER, III., 64.

so as not to allow any interference on the part of Olivares, the matter was dealt with in strict secrecy.[1] After the decision, however, the Pope spoke openly on the subject to the ambassadors who were most intimate with him. Thus he told the representative of the Duke of Mantua that the appointment of Caetani had been objected to because his brother had the Golden Fleece, and two of his nephews were serving in Holland, which made it appear that his sympathies were too Spanish. Against this Sixtus V. had pointed out that that distinguished decoration was possessed by many others, who were not for that reason looked upon as bound to the King of Spain. The same was true of those who owed him military service. On the other hand Caetani owed all his dignities to the Holy See, to which two of his brothers were also greatly indebted. For that reason it might confidently be expected that the Cardinal would be acceptable to all or nearly all the Catholic princes: to Philip II., the Emperor, the Dukes of Ferrara, Urbino, Mantua and Savoy, as well as to the League; even Venice and Florence at length reconciled themselves to his appointment.[2]

The Secret Archives of the Vatican contain the minute of the instructions for Caetani, which was presented to the Pope for his approval on September 30th.[3] As the purpose of the

[1] *"Con estrema secretezza ha passato questo negotio," says Brumani in his report of September 27, 1589, *loc. cit.*

[2] See in App. n. 28 the *report of Brumani of September 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Istruzione per ill. e rev. card. Gaetano legato in Francia, mandata a S.S. con quella del sig. card. SS. Quattro (Facchinetti) sabbato 30 settembre a ore 16, 1589: Miscell. di Francia, Arm. 11, caps 11, n. 24 and Varia polit. XCVI. (in the middle of the volume, see EHSES, II., 371), Papal Secret Archives. HÜBNER (II., 249) has been the first to use this Istruzione and to publish it (III., 303 *seq.*), and has come to the conclusion that "a number of reasons both internal and external show that the Instructions as given by TEMPESTI (II., 390 *seq.*) are apocryphal." BALAN (VI., 634, n. 1) had already pointed out that the Ragionamento published with other things by Tempesti did not emanate from the Pope. Without knowing of this remark MANFRONI

mission of the Cardinal Legate, this points out in the first place the preservation of the Catholic faith in France, and more particularly to separate from Navarre the Catholics who were supporting him, and to reunite them to the adherents of the league. The States, the prelates, and the nobles with whom the legate would have to deal, are enumerated in particular. He was to enter into Paris with great solemnity, bestow the apostolic benediction in Notre Dame, and at once open negotiations with the king (Cardinal Bourbon) if he were at liberty, or if not, with the Duke of Mayenne, the general council of the League, the princes who were in Paris, the municipal council and the Sorbonne. With regard to the use of the 100,000 scudi which the Pope gave him, and of the subsidies which were still to be made, he was to act in exact accordance with the special instructions given him by His Holiness.

The question of the succession was not touched upon in the instructions. Facchinetti, one of the members of the congregation, had suggested the election of Cardinal Vendôme, but the congregation was of opinion that the time had not come to face that question. Lastly, the legate was to prevent at all costs the convocation of a national council, and to request Mayenne in case of need to resist it with armed force.

The numerous briefs given to Caetani to announce his mission bear the date of October 2nd.[1] Among them there is even one for the "Most Christian King Charles."[2] That this

(Legazione, 203) came to the same conclusion with regard to the Ragionamento. Manfroni considers the Istruzione used by Hübner to be one of the plans proposed by the French Congregation, of the approval of which by the Pope there is no proof. For the fact that Sixtus V. modified the original Instructions Manfroni refers (205) to the *bull of legation for Caetani in Barb. XXXII., 203, p. 201, Vatican Library.

[1] *Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 198b *seqq.*, t. 32, p. 37 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The brief to Charles X. is printed from Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 278b of the Papal Secret Archives in SAULNIER, 301 *seq.*, who remarks: "Le bref ne fut vraisemblablement jamais remis au

was prepared only in case the Catholics should come to an agreement on his behalf, may clearly be seen from the brief addressed at the same time to the council of the League. In this the object of Caetani's legation is stated to be that all the efforts of the League may be directed in the best possible way to the election of a Catholic king.[1]

In the meantime there arrived the news of events in France which brought about a change in the views of the Pope. He therefore gave the Cardinal Legate before his departure on October 2nd,[2] new and different oral instructions. Following the example of the great work accomplished by Aldobrandini

cardinal Bourbon ni meme connu en France." A memorial intended for Caetani, October 3, 1589, in DESJARDINS, V., 649 *seq.*, discusses the possibility of an arrangement between Navarre and the League, by which Navarre should recognize the aged Cardinal as king, whom he would then support in the event of his return to the Church.

[1] See the *text (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 29.

[2] MANFRONI (Legaz., 203, 209) wrongly places the departure on October 15. In the Itinerarium legationis Gallicanae cum card. Caietano, in Barb. 2815, p. 1 *seq.* composed by Paolo Alaleone, it is expressly stated that on October 2: "Legatus discessit ab urbe" (Vatican Library); according to L'EPINOIS (359) the Itinerarium was printed in the *Revue du Monde cath.*, 1867); L. CAETANI, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 14 *seq.* has missed this. Brumani *reports on October 7, 1589: to-day Caetani left Viterbo for Florence (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Sporeno says in his *report of October 7 that Caetani's retinue, which was chosen by the French Congregation, was composed of about 200 persons; that no one knew whom the Pope wished for as king (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). Among the suite of Gaetani were his brother Onorato, Patriarch of Alexandria, the Bishop of Piacenza, Filippo Sega, the strong supporter of the League, P. Francesco Panigarola, Bianchetti as chancellor, Bellarmine (see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Bellarminio Selbstbiographie, 60 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*), the master of ceremonies P. Alaleone, and Camillo Sighicelli, whose letters and diary were used by MANFRONI (Legaz., 194 *seq.*). The *Acta of the mission of Caetani in Arm. 8, ord. 2, IKL of the Papal Secret Archives.

in his mission to Poland, Caetani was to work for a true peace, to secure the election of a Catholic king, and insist upon the liberation of Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, upon the introduction of the Inquisition, the breaking off of the alliance with the Turks, and the abolition of those Gallican liberties which conflicted with the authority of the Holy See. The Cardinal was also to inquire whether Cardinal Bourbon, who had been proclaimed by the League as King Charles X., had been accepted by all the members or only by some of them. Caetani was also to report as to the aspirations of the Duke of Vendôme and the Duke of Lorraine. The support he was giving to the League, the Pope added, was understood by him as being assistance to the Catholic religion, and so he must find out whether the League and the Duke of Mayenne were really only animated by the interests of religion, and whether Mayenne was not aiming in the first place at himself obtaining the throne, as well as at the destruction of heresy. The legate was also instructed to report if Navarre took any hostile action against the Catholics, and whether there was any hope of his becoming a Catholic. Over and above this Caetani was to keep a watchful eye on the aims of the Spaniards, and especially find out whether they were working to extend their own power in France rather than to bring about the election of a Catholic king.[1]

Fresh instructions for Caetani to this effect were written on October 5th by the Clerk of the Camera, Lomellini, which were much more restrained and reserved than the former ones, and were sent after the legate who had already departed.[2] According to these he was to win the confidence of the princes of the blood royal, not to make an enemy of Navarre, and to induce Mayenne to give up his unreasonable ambitions and make no attempt to withhold the crown from him to whom it belonged.

[1] TEMPESTI, II., 390 *seq.*

[2] *Instruttione per il card. Gaetani legato in Francia dal rev. Lomellini 5 ottobre 1589; Varia polit. XC p. 99, Papal Secret Archives, first consulted by MANFRONI, Legazione, 205. That subsequent instructions were also sent to Caetani is expressly stated by SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 190.

These changed instructions, the carrying out of which was beyond the diplomatic powers of Caetani, were obviously written under the influence of the fear of increasing the enormous power of Spain in France by an unconditional support of the League.

No less great an influence was also exercised by the news which had come that the Venetian government, despite its friendly assurances to the Pope, had ordered its representative in France to recognize Henry of Navarre as king.[1]

This bold step aroused general resentment in the Curia. It was asked: How can a Catholic state accord the title of Most Christian King to a notorious heretic and one moreover who had relapsed, and seek the friendship of such a man? Nor could the Pope pass over such a thing lightly, and he told his intimates that the occurrence might lead to the breaking off of diplomatic relations.[2] To Badoer, the ambassador of the Republic, Sixtus V. spoke at first very quietly, principally because he did not wish to close the way to Navarre, should the latter really wish to seek for absolution.[3] Therefore it was not in accordance with his wishes when the nuncio in Venice, the moment the Doge received the credentials of Henry IV. from the Seigneur de Maisse, who had until then been the envoy of Henry III., left Venice without taking leave. Sixtus V. condemned this haste, because he desired for every reason a peaceful settlement of the occurrence. From the first, through this affair, there was a conflict in his mind between his sense of duty, considerations of a politico-religious character, and his love and esteem for the Venetian government. His friendly dispositions towards Venice went so far as to lead him to order the nuncio to return at once to his post.[4] As for the Seigneur de Maisse, he was ready to recognize him as the representative of the King of Navarre, but he

[1] See RAULICH, Contesa, 250 *seq.*

[2] See in App. n. 28 the letter of Brumani of September 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the report of Badoer in RAULICH, 225 *seq.*

[4] See the *report of Brumani of October 28, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 267; RAULICH, 266.

firmly refused to accept him as the ambassador of the King of France.[1]

This distinction was rejected in Venice ; it was not the duty of the Signoria to pass judgment on the succession to the throne of France. By making any claim to do so it would drawn down upon itself the displeasure of Henry, who was recognized by the French army, by the princes and the greater part of the nobles, and who had pledged himself to protect the Catholic religion, and would sooner or later return to the bosom of the Church. He alone was in a position to restore peace in France ; to close the way to an understanding would be to drive him to extreme measures, and force him, with German and English help, to turn his arms against the whole Catholic world, and above all against Rome and Italy.[2] Remonstrances to this effect were to be made to the Pope by a special envoy. For this purpose a choice was made of Leonardo Donato, a distinguished diplomatist, who belonged to the group of young senators gathered round Andrea Morosini, and who was fortunately known to the Pope, having been sent by the Republic to make the *obedientia*.[3]

The benevolent attitude of the Pope towards Venice caused the greatest excitement among the Spanish party in Rome, who displayed an indefatigable activity. A statement made by Olivares made so great an impression on the Pope that he almost repented of having sent back the nuncio so hastily. If the Seigneur de Maisse, the representative of Philip II. said to him, is accepted in his official capacity, then his own sovereign and the Duke of Savoy must recall their ambassadors from Venice, and the diplomatic body there would henceforward be composed of the representatives of the Pope and of

[1] *Cf.* the instructions to the nuncio Visconti, October 28, 1589, who was forbidden to recognize as a royal ambassador the envoy of Navarre to Prague, and who was told to suggest to the Emperor a similar attitude. SCHWEIZER, III., 90 ; *cf.* 108, 113, 153 *seq.*

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 264 *seq.* ; RAULICH, 262 *seq.*

[3] For the circle of A. Morosini, see FOSCARINI, Letterat. Venez., Venice, 1854, 116 *seq.*

a relapsed heretic![1] This statement left the Pope very anxious, and Badoer had to use all his skill to prevent the Pope from being won over to the arrogant point of view of the Spaniards, and to that end he dwelt especially on the idea of bringing about the reconciliation of Henry with the Holy See by the mediation of Venice. He could not, however, prevent the Pope from expressing his disapproval of the attitude of the Signoria, and even speaking of the employment of ecclesiastical censures.[2]

Thus the position was very critical when Donato reached Rome on November 18th. On the following day he was received in audience with Badoer.[3] The Pope was very affable and even invited the two diplomatists to be seated. They employed all their eloquence in justifying the action of their government. Sixtus V. heard them kindly, but in his reply left no room for doubt as to the displeasure he felt that the Republic should have received Maisse as the envoy of the King of France, as this showed that it held a heretic in higher esteem than the Pope. His complaint, however, was not expressed with any violence, but rather as an old and sincere and affectionate friend of the Republic, who, despite his displeasure at the fault committed, was anxious once more to set matters right. "To break with those whom one does not love," said Sixtus V., "is no great hardship, but to do so with those whom one loves causes great sorrow. How could the

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 268.

[2] See RAULICH, 269 *seq.*, 273 *seq.* The Cardinal of Verona, Agostino Valiero, brings out in a *letter to a Venetian noble, Verona, 1589, October 21, that it was not lawful for the government to recognize as king a "giudicato relasso dalla S. Sede," or to admit his ambassador; as a Venetian, says Valiero, he grieves at this in a special way, but hopes that an arrangement may be come to by means of Donato. Cod. Cels. 53 (H.311) of the Library, Upsala.

[3] *Cf.* as to this the report of the two ambassadors of November 25, 1589, in RAULICH, 279 *seq.*, where, however, the audience is wrongly placed on November 10 instead of November 19. Ranke, who also uses this report (Päpste, II[8]., 136) mixes up the audiences of November 19 and 24.

good and wise elders of the Council have come to the pass of acknowledging as King of France one who is not, and cannot be such ? Navarre has neither been crowned, nor elected by the States, but tumultuously proclaimed by the army. Moreover he has upon his shoulders the excommunication and the declaration of the Holy See that he is incapable of ascending the throne. Yet in spite of that, and in defiance of all the warnings of the Pope, Venice has recognized him as the Most Christian King. As to this there can be no argument as to either religious or political interests, for any decision as to the interests of religion belongs to us, and Navarre should have submitted to that from the first. And as to political interests, Venice ought to know that it is not prudence to satisfy one prince by alienating all the others. The Republic of Venice does not stand so far above all states as to be able to set an example to the rest. The excuse, too, that the senate did but receive the envoy in the capacity which he himself claimed, does not hold good. For what did the senate do when the envoy of the Catholic League appeared, and presented himself as the ambassador of the crown of France ? It refused to receive him until he had renounced the title he had claimed. So should it also have done with the envoy of Navarre, so as to compel him to submit to the Holy See, whereas now he can boast that he has been recognized as king in Italy. If this is done, what becomes of her neutrality between the two parties in France ? What would Venice have done if Cardinal Bourbon had sent his representative to the city of the lagoons as the envoy of the King of France ? " Sixtus V. concluded by declaring that he appreciated the good dispositions of the Signoria in not admitting Maisse to the religious functions, but that he could not be satisfied with that. The ambassadors must work to bring about a settlement ; he, too, desired this, for, and at these words he placed his hand upon his breast, " it would be painful to us to have to break with Venice."

In reply to the Pope's declaration, the ambassadors insisted above all on the argument of opportuneness. The Republic saw in Navarre a counter-weight to the threatening preponderance of Spain, and feared lest Navarre should set the Turks in

action. The ambassadors also alluded to the fact that according to all the probabilities Navarre would be victorious.[1] Such arguments Sixtus V. would not accept, nor the suggestion that the whole affair was only a question of courtesy. During the course of the conversation the ambassadors were successful in showing that some of the accusations made by Sixtus V. were based on false reports spread by their enemies. They counted especially on the impression they would make by the argument that the Pope ought not to be displeased at seeing a representative of Navarre in Venice, because this made it possible for the Signoria to act as intermediary. "We do not wish for that," Sixtus replied, "for that would have the opposite effect of increasing the pride and arrogance of Navarre."

The audience, which had lasted for two hours and a half, passed so peacefully that the ambassadors went away with the impression that the Pope would not break with their government. Yet they could not conceal from themselves the gravity of the situation. Cardinal Pinelli, who was so friendly to them, expressly pointed out to them what was involved in the fact that the Venetian government had accorded to the King of Navarre the title of Most Christian King, in spite of the fact that he had been excommunicated by the Pope and declared incapable of succeeding to the throne.[2]

The pessimistic forecast of Pinelli was confirmed at the second audience given to the two Venetians, on November 24th. The Pope, who was alarmed at the news which had arrived in the interval of the help given to Navarre by England, Denmark and the Turkish Sultan,[3] this time spoke to them

[1] These arguments, which are missing in the report of the *letter ambassadors, were given by Sixtus V. to Brumani; see the of the latter, November 22, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Badoer in RAULICH, 293.

[3] See the *letter of Brumani of November 22, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On the previous day Sixtus V. had ordered a general jubilee in view of the situation in France; see EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 422 n.

in threatening terms, but in spite of this the ambassadors avoided making any concession. It was to no purpose that Sixtus V. pointed out that it was a question of religion, and that the friendship extended to Navarre must be considered as an insult to himself. "Does the Republic fear anything from Navarre ?" he said. "There is no need for her to do so, for in that case we will defend her with all our power." We have no lack of money or soldiers. We can help you more than he can hurt you. How many projects has not the Catholic King himself abandoned, yet not from fear of us, for our material strength compared with his is like a fly compared to an elephant. He has done so from respect for the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and your good and venerable senators, each one of whom is fit to rule the world, should do the same. We do not ask that Maisse should be expelled or not be received by their body, but we do not wish that he should be accorded those honours which belong to the ambassadors of France. If this concession is made to us, all will be settled, but otherwise we shall have to proceed in accordance with the canons.[1]

The Pope had spoken very excitedly. So as not to irritate him any further, the ambassadors contented themselves with the statement that they would ask for further instructions from their government. It was characteristic of the feeling of the Signoria that it replied that it could not and would not make any further concessions.[2] Thus all hopes of an understanding seemed to have vanished. The Spaniards were jubilant, while Donato was in despair ; he asked for a farewell audience which was granted to him on December 15th.

At this meeting, which has become celebrated, Donato first expressed in moving words his sorrow that the Pope should put greater faith in the words of the enemies of Venice, than in the actions of the Republic, which were directed solely to the peace and welfare of Italy. He strongly insisted that Venice had no intention of encouraging the heretics, either with money, troops or advice. He recalled the hesitation which Venice had shown in receiving Francis of Luxemburg when he

[1] See RAULICH, 296 *seq.*

[2] HÜBNER, II., 277.

visited the city of the lagoons on his journey to Rome in the interests of Navarre. But his government had not been in a position to do more.

The Pope understood perfectly well that the principal reason why Venice maintained diplomatic relations with Henry IV. was her fear of Spanish preponderance. Donato well knew that Sixtus V. as well was watching with much anxiety the ambitious schemes of Philip II., whose preponderance in Italy must increase in an intolerable way should he succeed in becoming the master of the destinies of France. In that case not only the independence of Venice, but also that of the Holy See was endangered. Taking his stand upon this community of interests, Donato begged, when the Pope had somewhat calmed down, that His Holiness would let him take his departure with a promise that he would settle the matter, and in their common interests not only restore the former friendship between Rome and Venice, but even consolidate it. Sixtus V. tried to avoid this ultimatum by saying that he could only come to a decision after he had met Francis of Luxemburg. With great presence of mind Donato replied: "If Your Holiness will only let me take my leave after the arrival of Luxemburg, you will thereby connect my mission with the affairs of France, with which it has nothing to do. My duties are only concerned with a question of etiquette, and my government does not wish to mix itself up in any way with religious questions." He further pointed out that the object of Luxemburg's mission was not known, and that perhaps he was coming to threaten a council.

During this speech Sixtus V. became more and more uneasy. "Whereas it was the last thing we were expecting," the ambassadors reported to the Doge, "the Pope, either acting upon an inspiration from God, or won over by our conclusive and pertinent observations, suddenly showed signs of yielding, and said: you have conquered us. He that has a companion has a master. We will speak again with the French Congregation, which we have always consulted. We will tell them that we have held a discussion with you, but that you have worsted us. Write this to the senate, that we beg of it in

future to proceed with greater circumspection in questions of religion, and to show more consideration for the Holy See."[1]

When the envoys presented themselves once more before the Pope on December 20th, he told them that even though he could not approve what the Republic had done, he was nevertheless willing to abstain from the rigorous measures which he had intended to take against her. He then admonished them again that the Venetian government must try, in matters concerning the Church, not to neglect the necessary caution and complained of the freedom with which pasquinades against Philip II. and the Pope were allowed in Venice.[2]

[1] See the report of Donato and Badoer, December 16, 1589, used by RANKE, Päpste, II[8]., 137, HÜBNER, II., 277, and RAULICH, 308 *seq.*; complete in HÜBNER, III., 327 *seq.*

[2] See the report of the ambassadors of December 20, 1589, in RAULICH, 313 *seq.* One of the pasquinades to which Sixtus V. alludes is printed in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, VII., 487 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Sixtus V. and Spain.

During these lively discussions between Sixtus V. and the two representatives of the Republic of St. Mark, the strong Spanish party in Rome was far from inactive. Olivares and Cardinals Madruzzo, Deza, Mendoza and Gesualdo held frequent meetings, at which Rusticucci and Galli also sometimes were present. These were also in close relations with Diou, the envoy of the league, and with Cardinal Pellevé.[1] The most indefatigable of all was Olivares. He repeatedly gave assurances that his sovereign had no other aim than to place a truly Catholic king on the throne of France, and that to secure that he would resist the heretic Navarre, even by force of arms. Not only did he appeal to the religious feelings of the Pope, but he did not even abstain from threats. Sixtus V. had to put up with being told that the troops assembled at Milan and Naples were, it was true, destined in the first place for the support of the League, but could easily be turned against Rome. Naturally the irritation caused by the diplomatic alliance of the Republic of Venice with Henry IV. was made full use of.[2]

The quarrel between Sixtus V. and Venice was still continuing, and seemed likely to lead to a breach owing to the obstinacy of the Signoria, when Sixtus V., in order to obtain the assistance of God for the religious future of France, ordered a jubilee at the beginning of December,[3] gave way

[1] See Hübner, II., 284 *seq.*

[2] See Raulich, 256.

[3] See the *Bando dated IX. Cal. December, 1589, in Bandi V., 1, 145, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Acta consist., 867, 869; Gulik-Eubel, III., 55; Couderc, Bellarmin, I., Paris, 1893, 150 *seq.*, 417 *seq.* The Pope took part in the jubilee with great

before the remonstrances of the Spaniards, and came to the grave decision of putting an end to the continued state of uncertainty, by adopting a policy of resolute action side by side with Spain.

The news that came from France was very disquieting. Henry of Navarre had undertaken a hurried march upon Paris, and on the morning of November 1st had occupied all the suburbs on the left bank of the Seine. It was learned that his troops had committed outrages upon the churches and sanctuaries, and against priests and religious.[1] Acting under the influence of this news, and of the threatened breach with Venice, the Pope sent to Cardinal Gesualdo, as the representative of the King of Spain, a declaration of his readiness to conclude an alliance with Philip II., to save the Catholic religion in France, and to protect the neighbouring nations from the contagion of the Huguenots. In the event of the death of Cardinal Bourbon, who had been proclaimed king by the League, under the title of Charles X., he was willing to settle the succession to the throne in accordance with the wishes of the King of Spain. He offered to share

devotion; see the *report of Donato of Dec. 2, 1589; a passage from which is in RANKE, Päpste, II[8]., 136 n. 1; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 189; *Avvisi of December 6 and 9, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 703, 707, Vatican Library. *"Mi disse di più Montalto," reports Brumani, December 2, 1589, "che le cose di Francia andavano a traverso." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the jubilee for France in 1587 *cf.* CAPECELATRO, St. Philip Neri, 541 (Engl. ed., 1926), see also BOTTONI, Osservazioni sopra i giubilei et in particolare quello dato da Sisto V. l'a. 1587, Piacenza, 1587.

[1] *"De Francia," writes Brumani from Rome, on December 9, 1589, "le nove sono poco buone per la Lega, ma si tace ne si può penetrare il tutto, che Navarra habbia saccheggiato alcuni borghi di Parigi, abbruciate case, violate chiese, imagini, sacramenti, religiosi, monarche, ammazzamenti molti, menati pregioni numero grandissimo, non si dubita punto che gia S. Sta, Olivares et quelli della congregatione lo confessano, et fatto tutto ciò partitosene Navarra nanti aggiunse Humena colle sue genti, tutto questo si sa certo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

in the enterprise in the same proportion, and with even larger forces, to confirm the attitude of the Italian states towards it, and to take action together with the king both promptly and energetically.[1]

It was a strange coincidence that just when this plan had been sent in great secrecy to Madrid on November 16th, 1589, one of the principal reasons for this fatal step, the apparently inevitable breach with Venice, was removed owing to the explanations of Donato. The Pope did not dare to draw back at once, because the news from France was still highly unfavourable for the Catholic Church.[2] Moreover, there was always the possibility that Venice might make common cause with Navarre, even before the latter was reconciled to the Catholic faith. At that time Sixtus V. still considered the sincere conversion of this man who had relapsed into heresy, and was looked upon as an atheist in Italy, to be improbable.[3] It was true that the reasoning of Donato had shaken his opinion on this point, but had not altogether changed it.[4]

[1] See the proposals of the Pope, in the form of verbal notes, which Gesualdo presented by his orders to Olivares, in HÜBNER, III., 339 *seq.*, 342 *seq.* MANFRONI (Legazione 228), thinks that Sixtus V. did not make the proposal seriously, but only so as to gain time.

[2] At the consistory of December 20, 1589, the Pope said that Caetani ought to have arrived in Paris (according to *a letter of Brumani of December 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), but that he had not yet had any definite news. Letters from the nobles to the legate were then read, after which the Pope remarked: *" Si in provincia ista, in qua vix una civitas remansit catholica, quid erit in aliis ? Voluimus significare vobis istas primitias legationis." Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5, of the Vatican Library.

[3] " E opinione che egli non creda in cosa alcuna perchè si dice che alli stessi suoi predictatori Ugonotti quando sono nel pergolo faceva mille scherni quando lei era più giovane," is stated in the *Relatione del regno di Francia of 1587, MS. in private possession in Borgo in Valsugana.

[4] See HÜBNER, II., 295.

The decisive change in the situation was brought about by Francis of Luxemburg, Duc de Piney, who at last,[1] on January 9th, 1590, arrived in Rome in the name of the Catholic supporters of Henry of Navarre.[2] Vivonne, who had returned to the Curia in the autumn of 1589, had skilfully prepared the ground for him.[3] Olivares, who, according to the expression of the envoy of Mantua, was working with a thousand spies,[4] was greatly disgusted when, on January 10th, Francis of Luxemburg was received by the Pope, not, however, in public consistory, but only cautiously and in private audience, at which, however, the Pope, in contrast to the cold behaviour of the members of the court, was very affable, and even allowed the duke to be seated.[5] This first audience, at which nothing was discussed but the general sad state of France, was followed by a second on January 14th. The duke told the Pope how his king had offered him to say to the Holy Father that he was not an obstinate heretic, and that if he were instructed it was his intention to abjure his errors. It made a particular impression upon the Pope when Luxemburg informed him that Henry of Navarre had assured him that

[1] According to the *report of Brumani of September 23, 1589, from Rome, Luxemburg, was expected daily, as he had announced his immediate arrival to the Pope in a letter of September 6. (L'Epinois, 383) Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Tempesti (II., 377) gives January 19, and (II., 466) January 26 as the day of his arrival. In his report of January 13, 1590, Badoer (Hübner, III., 344) mentions "luni" i.e. January 8.

[3] See Bremond, 317 *seq.*

[4] "Sta colli occhi aperti et con mille spie" says Brumani in his *report from Rome, January 6, 1590. At that time the arrival of Luxemburg seems to have still been uncertain. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See the *Avviso of January 13, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 12, Vatican Library; Maffei, Hist., 48; Ricci, II., 141 *seq.*, and the reports in L'Epinois, 348 *seq.* Sixtus V. related to Brumani with great emotion the "humiltà" with which Luxemburg has kissed his foot. Brumani records it as a "favore segnalato" that the Pope made the duke be seated during his audience. *Report of January 13, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he believed in the presence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. "Praised be God," exclaimed Sixtus V., "that is good news!" Luxemburg asked permission for the followers of Henry to remain faithful to their king without incurring the penalties of the Church. He also asked that, for the salvation of the king's soul and of a great number of his adherents, His Holiness would entrust the task of instructing him to suitable priests. The first request was received by the Pope in silence, but the other he granted at once, and Monsignor Serafino, Auditor of the Rota for France, was designated as being very fitted for the task.[1]

It was characteristic of the arrogance of the Spanish party that Olivares, and Cardinals Deza, Mendoza and Madruzzo who supported him, demanded the immediate dismissal of Luxemburg. Sixtus V. naturally rejected this attempt to restrict his intercourse; "We have no need of anyone to teach us" he said to the Cardinals, and to the ambassador of Venice he said: "We will not send Luxemburg away; he is a guarantee to us of the sincerity of those who have sent him."[2]

In spite of this definite statement the powerful Spanish party in Rome was not satisfied. The Pope therefore justified his action at the consistory of January 29, at which he said "to negotiate is not to come to an agreement."[3]

The insistent pressure of the Spanish ambassador confirmed the Pope in the course of action he had adopted. Cardinal Montalto was instructed to treat Luxemburg with all possible honour.[4] On February 7th the Pope replied to the letters of the Catholic princes and nobles who had taken up the cause of Henry of Navarre. He praised their readiness to defend

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 283 *seq.* For Serafino *cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 138 *seq.*

[2] See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 386 *seq.*, RICCI, II., 143.

[3] *Sermo de adventu ducis a Lutzenburgo, de audientiis eius, de causa et rationibus et quad aliud est audire, aliud facere, in Acta consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[4] See in App. n. 30 the *report of Brumani of January 20, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Catholic religion, but begged them to unite their efforts with those of the other Catholics.[1] A brief to the same effect was sent to Cardinal Vendôme.[2] The Cardinal Legate received instructions not to break off relations with the Catholics who supported Henry, and to receive them not with harshness but with good will.[3]

Seeing that Francis of Luxemburg was consolidating his position in Rome, Olivares became more and more angry;[4] his spies kept a watch on the duke's lodgings, and noted all the ambassadors and Cardinals who visited there.[5] In other respects Olivares found himself condemned to inaction, seeing that the king's reply to the Pope's proposal for an alliance had not yet arrived. The change that had taken place in the sentiments of the Pope made him more anxious every day.[6]

[1] *Brief "dil. Fil. nob. viris, principibus, ducibus, baronibus atque aliis catholicis regni Franciae Turoni commorantibus, dat. Romae apud s. Petrum 7 febr. 1590," in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 397b, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* L'Epinois, 387 *seq.*

[2] See *Brevia Sixti V., *loc. cit.*, p. 390.

[3] Letter of Cardinal Montalto to Caetani, February 8, 1590, published in the *Revue du Monde cath.*, 1867, Avril, 70.

[4] Luxemburg paid a visit to all the Cardinals; see the *report of Brumani of February 3, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] "Questo ambasciatore di Spagna (cypher) sta anotando et osservando chi visita questo duca Lucimburgo, massime i ministri di principi et chi (de') cardinali." Undated report of Brumani, *ibid.*

[6] In his Hist. (59) Maffei describes this change thus: "Ad extremum ipsemet, quo erat usu rerum, et ingenti solertia, reputare coepit apud se, quam sint ob privatos cuiusque respectus fluxae et instabiles belli societates; quam parvi momenti, precaria, nec suis radicibus alte defixa potentia. In suspicionem praeterea venerat Mayneus affectati (ut supra dictum est) obtentu religionis imperii. Simul observabatur Hispanorum dominandi cupiditas, quibus opponi Galliae regnum, et exaequatas Summorum Pontificum vires e republica ducebat esse, modumque statui genti, non tantum in florentissimis Italiae ditionibus, verum etiam in ipsa Romana Ecclesia arbitratu suo paene cuncta versanti. Hisce Pontificis Maximi cogitationibus intervenere per

He thought that if he intimidated the Pope all would be settled. At an audience which took place in January he presented to the Pope a document which Sixtus V. at first refused to accept, with the words: it is sure to contain one of his usual impertinences. Nevertheless, in the end the Pope took it, and when he read it after the ambassador had gone, he saw that his supposition had been a correct one. In this document Philip expressed his surprise that the Pope should be in treaty with the party of Navarre, and threatened that if he continued to do so, to employ both material and spiritual arms! When Sixtus related this to the ambassador of Florence, he remarked that a Catholic man like Luxemburg, who had a good purpose in view, could not be repulsed; as Pope it was his duty to listen to everybody; even if the Duke of Saxony or the Turk himself were to send an ambassador, he would listen to him.[1] When he asked whether Sixtus V. would receive a letter from Navarre, Luxemburg received a reply in the affirmative.[2]

By his conciliatory attitude the Pope was in direct conflict with the conduct of the Cardinal Legate Caetani whom he had sent to France. The latter allowed himself to be persuaded by the members of the League and the Spaniards that Navarre, as a relapsed heretic, could not become King of France, even if he received absolution from the Pope. Therefore, in defiance of the instructions sent to him, he treated Cardinals Vendôme and Lenoncourt, who advised moderation

eos dies privatae cum Philippo rege offensiones, quas Austriaco nomini infensi callidi homines, et aulae periti, miris artibus acuebant. Ergo paullatim effectum est, ut Sixtus, qui sese initio valde severum ac rigidum in regia caussa praebuisset, demitigari quotidie, et benigne coepere Luxemburgio polliceri."

[1] See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 72 *seq.* Sixtus V. expressed himself in a similar sense to the Venetian ambassador Badoer; *cf.* his report of January 13, 1590, printed in part by HÜBNER, III., 349 *seq.*, which RANKE (Päpste, II[8]., 138, n. 1) wrongly attributes to Donato. On this subject *cf.* also the letter of Montalto to Visconti in SCHWEIZER, III., 164, n. 7.

[2] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 75.

with Navarre, harshly and with rebuffs. The Cardinal Legate showed clearly that he would have nothing to do with Navarre, even if he became a Catholic. Even the censures of the Pope himself could not induce any change of policy. Lastly he went so far that, of the 100,000 scudi which he had brought with him, he gave 50,000 to Mayenne, at the very moment when Sixtus V. was refusing to the Seigneur de Diou the subsidies he asked for, on the ground that he could not give the subsidy originally intended because he was convinced that the League was only making religion a pretext for worldly ends.[1] With bitter words Sixtus V. blamed the action of his legate, because he was acting more in accordance with the wishes of the Spaniards than with the instructions of the Pope.[2]

On February 22nd, 1590, Philip's reply, dated January 28th, to the proposal for an alliance made to him in December, arrived in Rome. This was affirmative in every respect. An expedition of 50,000 men was to enter France, and the commander-in-chief was to be appointed by the Pope. Cardinal Gesualdo at once took his declaration to Sixtus V., but the evasive reply which he received on February 28th, made it only too clear what a change had taken place in the Pope's views during the last two months. It gave assurances, it is true, that at the time of the murder of the Guise, the Pope had considered the settlement of affairs in France most likely to be attained by acting in common with the Catholic King, and that he had inclined to this course even more definitely after the death of Henry III. But as this retrospective statement contained no hint as to the steps which would have to be taken in the immediate future, Gesualdo, who was deeply interested in the affair, asked for further enlightenment as to what he was to tell his king. First of all, the Pope said, it would be necessary to wait for further news from the legate

[1] See MANFRONI, Legazione, 222 *seqq.*, 241 ; L'EPINOIS. 367 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 389 *seq.*, 397 *seq.* ; EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 372, n. 2.

[2] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V. 85. *Cf.* HÜBNER, III., 357 *seq.* ; L'EPINOIS, 402 *seq.*

in France ; there had been dissension in the League ; Mayenne had received the news of the help that was to be sent with indifference ; there was talk of an attempted rapprochement between Mayenne and Navarre ; any precipitate action would encourage this rather than prevent it. The Cardinal said that the excommunication of the followers of Navarre was the indispensable minimum, but the Pope replied that the legate had orders first of all to try milder means. Gesualdo insisted that at any rate Luxemburg must be sent away, but was told that this too could not be done forthwith.[1]

Olivares now tried to attain his end by using stronger methods. At an audience on February 24th he read to the Pope a letter from Philip II. which demanded an authoritative ratification of the projected alliance of December. The king had done his duty, let the Pope now do his, by sending away Luxemburg at once, declaring Navarre permanently unable to succeed to the throne, and excommunicating without further delay the Cardinals, princes and nobles who supported him. Should His Holiness refuse, the king would on his own account take further steps in the service of Jesus Christ. Sixtus V. tried vainly to interrupt the reading of this letter. Then he sought to throw doubts upon its authenticity ; lastly he said that if the letter were authentic, he would be forced to point out that His Catholic Majesty, without coming to any previous agreement with the Holy See, had concluded peace with the Turk, and formed an alliance with the heretical King of Denmark, and ask whether now His Majesty wished to teach him how he was to proceed against the heretics. Let the king rather be careful not to offend the supreme head of the Church, for otherwise he would excommunicate him, release his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and demand an account of the millions of gold florins which he had taken of Church property. After these words, which were spoken in violent irritation, the Pope rose and left the hall.

Olivares, whose ostentation in Rome was proverbial, could not have looked for such a result of his audience. Pale with

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 296 *seq.*, III., 363 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*

anger, the haughty Spanish count had to open the door of the audience chamber for himself, and pass through the antecamera, thronged with curious courtiers, in order to return to his embassy. In an instant the rumour ran through Rome that there had been a breach between the Pope and Spain.[1]

Both parties, however, wished to avoid this, so were ready to come to an arrangement. Therefore, on February 28th, Olivares was given another audience to make his excuses. He formally expressed his submission, but in practice adhered firmly to the dismissal of Luxemburg. The Pope assured the ambassador that the legate's report would arrive in a few days, so that Olivares was induced to delay the departure of his courier until March 3rd.[2]

In the evening of the same day there arrived from Naples a distinguished Spanish magistrate, Doctor Martos, who was to read before the consistory the solemn protest of the King of Spain against the action of the Pope, in the place of Olivares, who knew no Latin.[3] It was clear that the Spaniards intended to push the quarrel to extremes. On March 3rd Olivares presented himself at the Vatican and asked for the Pope's decision as to his three demands: the immediate expulsion of Luxemburg, a fresh declaration against Navarre, and the excommunication of the Catholics who supported that king. When the Pope let slip the remark that Navarre might be victorious and that it would therefore be imprudent to irritate him, Olivares thought that the time had come to give the Pope, as he himself said "a great fright." His Majesty, he replied, views with surprise the want of agreement

[1] See the report of Badoer, to whom the Pope gave particulars of the audience, dated Rome, March 3, 1590, in HÜBNER, II., 298 *seq.*, and in the original text, III., 376 *seq.* Hübner, however, wrongly places the audience on February 28.

[2] See the report of Olivares, February 28, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 372 *seq.*, and in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

between the words and the actions of His Holiness. He, the ambassador, was therefore charged, with the assistance of Doctor Martos, to make a public protest against the proceedings of His Holiness. Sixtus V. broke out in the most violent way, threatened the King of Spain with excommunication, and the ambassador with expulsion from Rome, and even, as he himself afterwards said to Badoer, with execution. But Olivares remained undismayed, and appealed to the protection of the rights of nations under which he rested. No danger should deter him from carrying out the orders of his king. He again asked for permission to read the protest at the next consistory. "Does the king wish to be Pope?" cried Sixtus V., "in that case we must at any rate first make him a Cardinal." "No," replied Olivares, "my sovereign, as a good and strict Cathloic king, does not wish to go beyond his rights, and I once more ask permission to read the protest." The Pope curtly refused him.[1]

Although during the following days Sixtus V. spoke in the bitterest manner of the Spaniards (calling Philip II. the cause of the ruin of France),[2] Cardinal Gesualdo nevertheless succeeded in once more acting as an intermediary. On March 10th Olivares was again to be given an audience to ask the Pope's pardon. Sixtus V. told this to his suite, so that the news was at once spread throughout Rome. Luxemburg declared his readiness, until Navarre's reply arrived, to leave Rome in the meantime on the pretext of a pilgrimage to

[1] See the report of Olivares of March 3, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 378 *seq.* and *ibid.* 382 *seq.* the information given by Sixtus V. to Badoer about the audience, which was afterwards added to by legend; see as to this HÜBNER, II., 303 n. 1. *Cf.* also in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] "*Dopo questo caso il Papa parla in ogni occasione con passion de *Spagna* et con amaritudine et particolarmente dice il *Re cattolico* è causa della ruina di Francia et che Dio lo castigherà con i compagni che furon mezi della *Lega*, che gia si fece in *casa di Guisa*." Report, s.d. of Brumani, which certainly belongs to these days. The words in italics are in cypher. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Loreto. Sixtus V. gave permission for this, so that the duke set out on March 7th. It was thought in Rome that it had been done, because the Pope intended to yield to Spain and it was said that Luxemburg would not return.[1] But they were mistaken ; Sixtus V. remained firm in his resistance, and in a letter to Philip II., dated March 8th, he protested against the threats made to him of a council and a schism, and against the attempt of Catholic princes to sit in judgment on the Vicar of Christ.[2] Olivares made no mention of Luxemburg at his audience on March 10th, but only demanded the excommunication of the Catholic supporters of Navarre under the threat of his immediate protest. This led to a further violent scene and the breaking off of the audience.[3]

As the result of these occurrences fear and anxiety were rife in Rome. In the churches special prayers for France were added to the prayers of the Forty Hours.[4] The Italian ambassadors were a prey to indescribable anxiety, for Philip II. and Sixtus V., it was thought, would call the Italian princes to their assistance. The Pope would have on his side Venice and Urbino, and would forbid Ferrara and Parma, under the threat of censures, to help Spain, while he would also appeal to Florence and Mantua. Sixtus V. complained to the envoy of Mantua that Philip II. wished to oppress him who was quite unarmed, but that the king was deceiving himself. It was true that France, which had on previous occasions assisted the Pope against the Emperors, was ruined ; Savoy, Genoa, Parma, Ferrara and Urbino had been won over by the Spaniards, the Duke of Florence was a vassal of Spain because of Siena, while the Duke of Mantua was bound

[1] The above from the interesting *report of Brumani, s.d. in App. n. 31, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 304.

[3] See the *report of Badoer, March 17, 1590 (State Archives, Venice), used by HÜBNER, II., 305.

[4] See the *Avviso of February 28, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 82, Vatican Library. G. Campori, in his *report of March 20, 1590, bears witness how much the affairs of France were occupying everybody's attention. State Archives, Modena.

by the Golden Fleece ; nevertheless, the Pope was not afraid, because Our Lord would not refuse him His protection because of his righteous intentions towards France. He hoped, moreover, that the Italian princes would not suffer the Papacy and the dignity of the Holy See to be trampled on.[1]

Continuing his conversation with the envoy of Mantua, the Pope once more brought out his fixed intention of persuading Henry of Navarre, by a friendly arrangement with Luxemburg, to set Cardinal Bourbon at liberty ; it would only be after this had failed that he would be able to take proceedings against the Catholic supporters of Henry without exposing himself to the charge of harshness and cruelty. He could never have prematurely inflicted excommunication on the Catholics, as Olivares demanded, because it was his duty first of all to make a trial of every method of gentleness. Then Sixtus V. went on to make bitter complaints of the unwise behaviour of the Cardinal Legate, Caetani, who, by his great intimacy, which he did not hesitate to show publicly, with the ambassador of Spain, had from the first made himself an object of suspicion to the Catholic supporters of Navarre, and had increased that suspicion by paying the 50,000 scudi to Mayenne, although he had been warned to be on his guard, since that money was intended for the liberation of Bourbon. In the same way, contrary to his instructions, Caetani had treated Cardinal Vendôme very harshly, and had almost rejected that influential personage, by winning whom he would have won over many others to himself.[2]

At the consistory of March 14th Sixtus V. discussed the affairs of France, with open allusions to Olivares and Philip II., who wished to withdraw from his submission to the Holy See. He made it clear that he would have to meet such an act by the excommunication of Philip II.[3]

[1] See in App. n. 31, the *report of Brumani, s.d. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which gives the words used by Sixtus V. literally.

[2] See the *report of Brumani, s.d. *loc. cit.*

[3] See Acta consist., 870. *Cf.* the report of de Maisse, March 15, 1590, in the *Rev. d. scienc. relig.*, I. (1921), 342.

The Saturday audience of the ambassador Olivares, which took place on March 17th, was awaited with general tension. The maestro di camera, Sangalletto, who was in attendance, noted that when Olivares entered the audience chamber, he scarcely bent his knee before His Holiness, while the Pope took his seat without looking at the ambassador.[1] Three times Olivares asked him on his knees to approve of the immediate excommunication of the Catholic supporters of Navarre, together with a declaration of the latter's inability to succeed to the throne, or else to allow the presentation of the protest. When he saw that his demands and proposals were not listened to, Olivares threatened that *his king would withdraw himself from his obedience to the Holy See, and would deal with the cause of Christ according to his own ideas.* In the end Sixtus V. himself terminated the discussion, which had become very heated, by leaving the audience chamber. Olivares went to Cardinal Montalto and assured him that he would rather lose his head by the Pope's orders than by those of the king. The protest would have to be proceeded with, and if necessary, he himself would publish it in the antecamera or affix it in the city.[2]

[1] These details are given by Niccolini in his *report of March 30, 1590 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3299), used by HÜBNER, II., 306.

[2] The audience of Olivares, which has become celebrated, has been described in detail by Badoer, from information given him by Sixtus V., in his report of March 22, 1590, used by HÜBNER, III., 387 *seq.*, and before that by RANKE, Päpste, II[8]., 140. *Cf.* also in App. n. 32 the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. It is abundantly clear from this that the audience took place on Saturday, March 17. RANKE (II[8]., 140) and others wrongly place it on March 22, which has since been repeated in other works (e.g. BROSCH, I., 298). It is impossible to understand how Ranke can maintain: "We see that there existed an opinion that was more orthodox and more Catholic than the Pope himself; the Spanish ambassador made his appearance to give expression to it in words before the Pope," nor how Ranke himself, immediately afterwards calmly relates

Now that things had gone so far, the Pope, by the advice of Cardinals Gesualdo and Galli, decided to convoke an extraordinary congregation for March 19th, at which, besides the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and those appointed for the affairs of France, fourteen other Cardinals were to be present, or twenty-three in all. Gesualdo and Galli made the selection, so that those in favour of Spain were in the majority. The Pope allowed them to do so. Olivares nevertheless during the night developed a feverish activity in winning over the members of the congregation in favour of his demands.[1]

On March 19th all the Cardinals who had been summoned to the congregation appeared, with the exception of Santori, Carafa and Castagna. Santori was ill, and the other two feigned illness. In a discourse of more than an hour and a half the Pope once more reviewed the situation, and proposed three principal questions: should the protest of Doctor Martos, as demanded by the ambassador of Spain, be admitted? should excommunication be pronounced against the Catholic adherents of Navarre? should the relations with Luxemburg be suspended? He himself proposed a delay of fourteen days, to allow the arrival of the reply of Navarre concerning the liberation of Cardinal Bourbon, who was still a prisoner.

To the general surprise only four Cardinals, Gesualdo, Galli, Madruzzo and Deza, pronounced in favour of the simple approval of the Spanish demands, Gesualdo doing so with special vehemence. The Pope, who repeatedly intervened in the discussion, especially set forth clearly the threatening character of the protest, which he could not admit, but must on the contrary resist, even by extreme measures. Cardinal Colonna was in complete agreement with him. Cardinal

how this ambassador threatened that his king would renounce his obedience to the Holy See. This, according to Ranke was a view "even more orthodox and Catholic than the Pope himself!"

[1] See DESJARDINS, V., 89 *seq.*, 97, besides the reports of Niccolini, and also the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 32.

Mattei expressed his surprise that the King of Spain, who claimed to be the protector of the Catholics, should have allowed himself to act thus in the matter of the protest, by which he would render himself a schismatic. Most impressive of all was the speech of Cardinal d'Aragona. In view of his close relations with Spain, from him least of all could it have been expected that he would take the side of the Pope. First of all d'Aragona recalled the oath that he had taken to shed his blood if necessary in the service of the Church. He declared that he was resolved to speak his opinion without respect of persons, and in so doing believed that he was acting in the best interests of the Catholic King, his sovereign and benefactor, since nothing could do greater harm to His Majesty than the renunciation of the obedience which he owed to His Holiness, or the protest against the actions of the supreme head of the Church. Such a course of action would give scandal throughout the world, and would give rise to incalculable evils, but above all such a protest would produce in France quite a different effect from that which was intended. The whole of the aristocracy, and almost the whole of the clergy would find themselves suddenly excommunicated, and that by the act of the King of Spain and not of the Holy Father, who, on the contrary, had held out in his briefs the hopes of his blessing. Philip II. wished for a Catholic France, but the steps that he had taken would drive the French people into separation from the Church. Even from political motives the demand of the ambassador of Spain ought to be rejected, since the severe measures against Navarre which the king demanded, would only unite the French more closely to him.

The Cardinal had spoken with great heat ; he said that he would rather have his tongue torn out than approve anything contrary to the dignity of the Holy See. The votes which were taken at the end of the session, which had lasted for six hours, showed that the majority of the Cardinals shared the views of the Pope. "May God have mercy on us," exclaimed Sixtus V., "it cannot be said that we selected these men, for they (the Spaniards) drew up the list of the

congregation, and in spite of that our proposals have been accepted."[1]

It was a severe blow to Olivares that pure Catholic principle, which is only possible by following the Pope, had won so striking a victory over the Spanish conception, which threatened a schism. When two of the Cardinals, the elder Colonna, and Sforza, informed Count Olivares, not in the name of the Pope or of the congregation, but only in their own name, of the decision of the Sacred College, and exhorted him to submit, he seemed disposed to do so. He only asked for time to reflect until the following day. On that day, March 20th, Luxemburg, who was believed to be on his way to France, suddenly appeared in Rome. As a consequence the anger of Olivares knew no bounds, and he refused to give the two Cardinals any answer. When they asked him: were they to tell this to the Pope? Olivares replied: "Certainly."[2] At a consistory held on March 21st, Sixtus decided that such a reply was an affront, and forbade the Cardinals under pain of excommunication, to have any direct or indirect dealings with the ambassador of Spain. He summoned all the Cardinals to meet in congregation on the following day, March 22nd.[3]

[1] See besides Acta consist. 871 and the *annotation in Franciae Varia, t. 31, Papal Secret Archives, the full report of Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 97 *seq.* (with wrong date March 17), the letter of Broderie to Henry IV. in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XI., 28 *seq.*, the report of Badoer in Hübner, III., 388 *seq.*, and in App. n. 32, the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 100 *seq.* *Cf.* in App. n. 32 the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* in addition to the short account in the Acta consist., 871, the detailed version in the *Acta consist. camer., XI., 140, Papal Secret Archives, the Este report in Ricci, II., 152, and above all the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (*loc. cit.*) in App. n. 32. In L'Epinois the above mentioned events are not mentioned, nor in the text of Hübner. The latter gives in App. III., 394 *seq.* the report of Badoer of March 23, which, however, by reason of an omission is not quite intelligible.

At that meeting the Pope described his attitude towards the King of France from the murder of Guise down to the present moment. He proved by documents, which were read by the secretary Caligari, that he had tried in vain to act in union with Philip. He spoke bitterly of the behaviour of Caetani, and still more bitterly of Olivares, who was even threatening the Papal States from Naples. He therefore proposed the expulsion and excommunication of Olivares and the defence of the frontiers of the Papal States against the Spaniards. The views of the Cardinals were very varied. Some, especially Gesualdo, came to a violent exchange of words with the Pope. Most of them were opposed to the use of extreme measures until further negotiations with Olivares had been held. Only a few, however, dared to excuse the ambassador. Some pointed out that Philip II. knew nothing of the provocative behaviour of Olivares, or else that, even if this were not the case, the ambassador had deceived the king into thinking that it would be easy to frighten the Pope; that the whole of the Sacred College was opposed to Olivares, and that the whole of Rome as well was hostile to him. Sixtus declared that he would rather die than give way to the demands of Spain, and as the Spaniards did not believe what he said and threatened him with protests, he no longer considered himself bound by his proposals of December, 1589. After the Pope had spoken further of the pride of the Spaniards, who allowed themselves to go to all lengths, and had given expression to his own fearlessness, it was unanimously agreed that the protest of Olivares could not be admitted. Cardinals Deza and Mendoza were ordered by the congregation to inform the Spanish ambassador of this.[1]

[1] Besides the short report of Badoer in HÜBNER, III., 394, *seq.* see Acta consist., 871 (*cf.* the version in LAEMMER, Melet., 233) and the full reports of Niccolini and Montalto in DESJARDINS, V., 102 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*, the letter of Broderie in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XL., 30 *seq.*, the *note in Franciae Varia, t. 31, Papal Secret Archives, and the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 32.

They had an interview with him lasting for two hours and a half. It was learned that afterwards they informed the Pope that Olivares had yielded so far as to defer his protest for fourteen days.[1] Sixtus was determined not to admit it, but rather to send the ambassador out of Rome. The latter remained at his palace; the customary Saturday audience was refused to him, though Cardinals Deza and Mendoza interested themselves on his behalf. When Deza pointed out the fact that Olivares had written to Naples to withdraw the troops from the frontier of the Papal States, Sixtus V. said that the ambassador could do as he pleased; he felt no fears, for he could mobilize 8000 men for his protection. From the beginning of his pontificate he had been opposed to all hostilities, and in religious matters was prepared to act in union with the King of Spain, as a father, a brother and a comrade. If, in spite of this the king or his representatives insisted on employing violence, he would show the world that Sixtus V. was not a Paul IV.[2]

All goes well, wrote Antoine de la Broderie, who had been brought to Rome by Vivonne, and was working there as the agent of Henry; if the king asks the Pope for absolution and becomes a Catholic, there can be no doubt that there will be a breach between Sixtus V. and Spain. "For the love of God," Broderie adjured his king, "Your Majesty must not let so good an opportunity slip. But first of all it is necessary to liberate Cardinal Bourbon, because, as the Pope said yesterday to the ambassador of Venice, he will do nothing for Your Majesty until that is done. The annoyance of the Pope with the Spaniards, and especially with Olivares, is very great."[3]

It was in the midst of such favourable circumstances that news reached Rome which was bound to confirm the Pope

[1] See the above mentioned *report of Brumani, which completes the description given by Hübner.

[2] Brumani reports all this in his most important *letter of March 24, 1590, hitherto unknown (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 32.

[3] See *Revue des quest. hist.*, XL. (1886), 31.

in his opinion that so remarkable a personality and so capable a leader as Navarre would be victorious in the end. This was the news which arrived on March 29th,[1] that Mayenne had suffered a bloody defeat near Ivry on the 14th. When Sixtus V. communicated to the general congregation on the following day this intelligence, which sealed the preponderance of Henry over the forces of the League, he complained of the behaviour of Caetani, and especially of the monitorium which he had sent to the Catholic adherents of Navarre, and proposed the immediate recall of the legate. But all the Cardinals were opposed to this, on the ground that they must not give the impression that the French Catholics were being abandoned at so critical a moment.[2] At the same time, opinions were very divided as to what should be done. It was clear that the majority of the Cardinals did not believe in the likelihood of the conversion of Navarre, and were therefore in favour of strong intervention in union with Spain. Only some of them, like Giustiniani and Montalto, were opposed to such an undertaking. Contrary to his usual custom, the Pope on this occasion did not intervene in the discussion. Only at the end did he remark that he could not believe in the evil intentions of Navarre, for otherwise he would already have taken action against him. At last it was agreed that the final decision should be taken by the Pope together with the five Cardinals of the French Congregation and five other members of the Sacred College.[3]

[1] See Acta consist., 871.

[2] In the Acta consist., 872, and also in *Cod. XXXV., 5, III. of the Barberini Library, the general congregation is wrongly placed in April. L'Epinois (423) did not discover this, and thus confused his account. For the negotiations see the detailed report of Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 112 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* and the *report of Brumani of April 7, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 33. The *Acta consist. in Cod. XXXV., 5, III. of the Barberini Library names on March 29 as members of the Congregatio Franciae : S. Georgius (Serbelloni), Gesualdus, Aragon, Columna sen., Comens (Galli), Paleottus, Alexandrinus (Bonelli), Madrutius, S. Severina (Santori), SS.

Consistories and general congregations followed, at which the most recent news that had come from Caetani was read and discussed.[1] No decision was arrived at, but the Pope issued briefs of encouragement to those Frenchmen who were fighting against the Huguenots.[2] Although he was continually attacked by the League and the Catholic adherents of Navarre definitely to take their part, Sixtus V. remained silent. Nor did the brother of Cardinal Caetani, who had come to Rome to justify his conduct, receive any reply; the Pope wished to gain time.[3]

Although Philip II. was in complete agreement with Olivares as to the matter in hand, he nevertheless told him that he must moderate his way of acting. The ambassador followed this advice, which came too late, since, in the opinion of all, the behaviour of the Spaniards had been such that it could only injure their own cause.[4] Most men gathered from the fact that he had sent back Doctor Martos to Naples

Quattuor (Facchinetti), S. Marci (Valiero), Salviatus, Lancelottus, Pinellus, Aldobrandinus, Saulius, Sfortia, Montaltus, Matheus, Columna iun. According to the report of Niccolini of April 7 (Desjardins, V., 117) out of consideration for Venice and Florence Cornaro and Monte were also added to the Congregation.

[1] See Acta consist., 871 *seq.*; *cf.* Desjardins, V., 117 *seq.*, 120 *seq.* A more detailed account of the consistory of April 11, 1590, at which a discussion was held on the request of the Duke of Mayenne and the legate Caetani "super provisione ecclesiarum et monasteriorum Franciae," is to be found in the Brevia Gregorii XIV., in Cod. J., 58 of the Vallicella Library, Rome; there it is stated: *" Quibus litteris prius in consistorio per card. Mathaeum perlectis S^tas^ Sua exquisivit vota cardinalium iisque habitis S^tas^ Sua decrevit ius istud nominandi esse devolutum ad Sedem Apost., cum certus rex non sit hodie in dicto regno, et ideo Meduano [sic !] duci non fore illud concedendum; dixit autem S^tas^ Sua se dictis ecclesiis et beneficiis non nisi de personis catholico foederi gratis et acceptis provisurum."

[2] See L'Epinois, 425 *seq.*

[3] See Desjardins, V., 116; L'Epinois. 468 *seq.*

[4] See the Este report in Ricci, I., 155.

(on April 7th, 1590), that Olivares had given up his proposed protest. Others, such as Cardinal Pinelli, thought he still clung to it. That Olivares had not changed his views is clear from the way in which he laughed at the Pope's anxieties with regard to the state of the Church. "We have there (on the Neapolitan frontier)" he wrote to the king, "a few recruits and invalids."[1] A strange light is thrown upon the intentions of the Spaniards by the fact that the bandits, who had made a reappearance from March onwards, were, at the suggestion of Olivares, encouraged by the Neapolitan government.[2]

The Pope, who was still trying to gain time, became ill at the end of April because of his anxieties; a fever and catarrh, which he had neglected, took the form of an intermittent fever.[3] In the first week of May his health seemed to some people to give cause for anxiety,[4] and at the beginning of the month the Pope moved to the Quirinal.[5] In the latter half of May his physical state was somewhat improved,[6] but his spiritual martyrdom was by no means at an end. He had hardly recovered when he learned that during his illness the Cardinals had discussed the election of his successor.[7] He was no less saddened by the fact that even some of the Roman clergy had allowed themselves to be drawn into the party quarrels. Luxemburg complained to him that at the Gesù certain

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 314.

[2] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 193.

[3] See besides the letters used by HÜBNER (II., 364) the *report of Sporeno of May 19, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *report of Sporeno of May 19, 1590, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of Brumani of May 12 and 26, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] This we are told by an *Avviso of April 22, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 197, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *report of Brumani of June 2, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] According to Brumani (*report of June 16, 1590) this was principally done by Cardinal Lancellotti (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Jesuits had praised from the pulpit the Cardinal Legate as a martyr, as one who had exposed his life to danger before the heretics. The Pope attached no importance to this lack of tact.[1] When, however, other preachers publicly blamed in the churches his attitude towards Navarre, he issued an edict through the Cardinal Vicar on June 16th, forbidding preachers to speak of the political events of the time, and exhorting them to restrict themselves to urging the people to pray for the salvation of France, the maintenance of the faith, and the election of a Catholic king. Two preachers, who praised the conduct of Caetani, were arrested.[2]

In Paris too the preachers, and especially many doctors of the Sorbonne, lamented the fact that Sixtus V. had received Luxemburg, a manifest enemy of the Catholics, and that he had sent a legate without authority or money, who took up a political position between the two parties. On May 7th the Sorbonne declared that all French Catholics were bound in conscience not to accept as king a relapsed heretic such as Navarre, even though he were converted and absolved. Altogether apart from the questionable character of this decision, it was a usurpation of the Papal authority. This declaration, the publication of which Caetani had vainly tried to prevent, the Pope handed over to the Roman Inquisition, at whose suggestion he summoned the Dean of the Sorbonne to present himself in Rome within three months.[3]

[1] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 133.

[2] See Niccolini, *ibid.*, 139; HÜBNER, II., 518; L'EPINOIS, 436, n. 5.

[3] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 116, 135, 137 *seq.*, 138 *seq.*; CHALEMBERT, 213; HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 497; L'EPINOIS, 432 *seq.*, 437; ROBIQUET, III., 34; *brief to the Sorbonne (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 34. It is also absolutely false when RANKE (Päpste, II[8]., 139) believes that Navarre "according to the ancient laws of the Church, as one who had apostatized for the second time, was not even capable of absolution"; this was never the practice of the Roman Church.

Sixtus V. suspected in the action of the Sorbonne the hand of the Spaniards, who in Rome were threatening a national council, and even the deposition of the Pope himself.[1] At the consistory of June 12th Sixtus V. spoke bitterly of the action of the Sorbonne.[2] On the strength of certain indications, however, many in Rome at that time gathered that Sixtus V. no longer believed in the conversion of Navarre, which had been so long delayed.[3] Therefore the Spaniards thought that the moment had come to make a fresh attempt to win over the Pope to their side.

On May 9th, 1590, just when Henry of Navarre was making an attack on the fortifications of Paris, Cardinal Bourbon, the king nominated by the League, died in captivity in a castle of Poitou.[4] He had always been a tool in the hands of others.[5] In consequence of this the Sorbonne renewed its declaration that Navarre could never wear the crown of France, and the people of Paris prepared themselves to make a desperate resistance. Philip II. informed them that he would come to their assistance with all his forces. He looked upon the French throne as vacant, and aimed at settling the succession in accordance with his own ambitious schemes, while Sixtus V., now more than ever, inclined to the recognition of Navarre, supposing he returned to the Catholic faith. According to the plans of Philip II., the new king was to be either Mayenne, who in return for his elevation was ready to cede to Spain Burgundy, the Dauphiné and Brittany, or if Mayenne could not be intruded, the throne of France was to be filled by a son

[1] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 116, 134. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 23.

[2] Acta consist., 873. *Cf.* LAEMMER, Melet., 233 *seq.* (instead of June 13 read June 12).

[3] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 131 *seq.*, 134, 138. *Cf.* RICCI, II., 157.

[4] Definite news of this reached Rome on June 2, 1590; see DESJARDINS, V., 129. *Cf.* *report of Badoer, June 2, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

[5] See E. SAULINER, Le rôle polit. du card. de Bourbon, Paris, 1912.

of the Duke of Lorraine, who was to marry a daughter of Philip, in which case Lorraine would pass to Spain, so as to connect the Franche Comté with the Spanish Netherlands.[1]

The final decision of Rome was to be obtained by the highly gifted young Duke of Sessa, who enjoyed the full confidence of Philip II.[2] He reached Rome on June 21st, 1590. Sessa, the King of Spain hoped, would bring about by gentle means what the over violent procedure of Count Olivares had not been able to effect.[3]

At the first audience given to Sessa, in the evening of June 22nd, the conversation was limited to generalities. The Pope was courteous and seemed to be in a good humour. It was only on June 26th, at his second audience, that Sessa touched more directly upon his mission of carrying into effect the plans of December, and winning over Sixtus V. for a succession to the French throne in accordance with the wishes of Philip II. The duke first described, from the point of view of his sovereign, the complicated state of affairs in France, and suggested the remedies which would have to be promptly applied. With every expression of devotedness Sessa lamented that the plans made in December by His Holiness had never been carried out, and proposed, in order to meet the danger, the use of both spiritual and material means, namely the formation of a Papal army and the excommunication of the Catholic adherents of Navarre. The Pope replied calmly that he adhered to the proposals put forward through Gesualdo, but that they had not yet been accepted with any binding pledge. If he had done nothing for his part, the King of Spain too had done very little. Sixtus V. went on to show how right had been his judgment of the League. With all his readiness to conclude a treaty, he went on to say, he would rather throw his money into the Tiber than spend it on behalf of the Duke of Mayenne. The legate had acted contrary to his instructions in giving him

[1] See HÜBNER, II., 333 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*

[2] The *credentials for Sessa, dated April 10, 1590; orig. in Papal Secret Archives, Princ., XLVI., 103.

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 339.

50,000 scudi; he would not give his support to the League, he added, because the long standing quarrels between the houses of Bourbon and Guise had nothing to do with religion. The adherence of the greater part of the nobility to Navarre and not to Mayenne, was based on that. It was only by a policy of neutrality between the two parties, and a declaration that Spanish and Papal intervention had for its object nothing but the election of a Catholic king, without any favour for the League, that it would be possible to unite all the Catholics of France under one standard. Sixtus V. said nothing, however, of his opinion that the only possible Catholic king was Henry of Navarre, who was rejected by Philip. All the more fully did he dwell upon the evil conduct of Mayenne, who had shown himself to have no respect for the Holy See, and permitted his soldiers every kind of excess. He attributed his own want of activity so far in the first place to the attitude of Mayenne and Caetani; the latter had not been able to separate the Catholics from Navarre. When the ambassador pointed out that a Spanish force was already in Savoy, and that the Duke of Parma had orders to lead the army in the Netherlands against France, the Pope replied that nothing could be more rash than to divide their forces. He rejected the inflicting of censures on the Catholic adherents of Navarre with the remark that in that matter the decision rested with him as a theologian. With regard to the question of the succession to the throne, Sixtus V. said that if Philip II. wished to take France for himself, he might do so. All that concerned him was that France should have a Catholic king. The Pope's statement, that he would not allow any protests, either from Sessa or Olivares, was received in silence.[1]

Sixtus, in describing this audience, which lasted for more than two hours, to the envoy of Mantua, told him that he would not in any case launch an excommunication against the supporters of Navarre, because there was a possibility

[1] See in HÜBNER, II., 339 *seq.*, III., 457 *seq.*, the reports of Sessa, which are completed by the *letter of Brumani of June 26, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 35. *Cf.* also ROCQUAIN, La France, 417 *seq.*

that he would return to the Church. The Pope acknowledged that for the past two months Olivares had acted with greater moderation.[1]

The third audience of Sessa and Olivares on June 30th made it clear to them that Sixtus V. was resolved before all things to gain time and keep a free hand. They both soon learned that the Pope had told the agent of the Duke of Urbino that he had penetrated the real aims of Philip II. and Mayenne; what they were aiming at was the subjugation of France.[2]

In the meantime Philip's reply to the complaints which Sixtus had made in his letter of March 8th at last arrived. "It is with the greatest surprise," he said in this autograph letter, dated June 12th, "that I see that Your Holiness, after taking action that was inspired by God against Henry of Navarre at the beginning of your pontificate, has allowed heresy to take root in France, without compelling the Catholic supporters of Navarre to separate from him. The Church is in danger of losing one of her most prominent members, the whole of Christendom is threatened by the reunited heretics, and Italy is exposed to the gravest dangers. While the enemies of God are thus advancing you are content to look on and let things be. I, on the other hand, who look upon all these interests as my own, and who have recourse to Your Holiness as a beloved and venerated father, and who as a good son call your attention to the duties of the Holy See, receive in return nothing but insults! Heaven and earth are witnesses of my veneration for the Holy See. Nothing shall lead me astray on that matter, not even the absurdities which Your Holiness ascribes to me. But the greater my attachment is, all the less will I suffer Your Holiness to violate your duties to the Church and to God, who has given you the means of taking action. At the risk of being importunate and of giving displeasure to Your Holiness, I shall insist upon your setting your hand to this work. In the event of your not doing so, I shall disclaim all responsibility for the

[1] See the *report of Brumani of June 26, 1590, *loc. cit.*

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 344.

fatal consequences that will ensue. By this present letter I wish to defend the Church. I shall believe in the affection which Your Holiness says that you feel for me, when I see from your actions that Your Holiness is following my advice, paying heed to my prayer, and seriously turning your attention to remedying the sufferings of France, which so closely affect the whole of Christendom. If Your Holiness, in correspondence with your duty, and the assurances which you have so often made, will act in this way, I will lend my aid as your devoted son. Anything to the contrary I will not admit, for I cannot believe that God will so far forget His Church as to allow His Vicar to neglect her interests. The rest will be told to Your Holiness verbally by the Duke of Sessa."[1]

It was characteristic of the attitude of Sixtus V., who had no wish to drive matters to extremities, that he now deemed it advisable no longer to receive Luxemburg, though at the same time Monsignor Serafino Olivario, who was the soul of Navarre's party, always had access to him. The negotiations with Sessa and Olivares were handed over by the Pope to Cardinals d'Aragona and Santori, who were devoted to himself yet acceptable to Spain.[2] Cardinal Santori, after the Pope had imposed secrecy on him under the sacramental seal, was to draft a treaty of alliance for common action on the part of Sixtus V. and Philip II. in France.[3] The discussions held by the two Cardinals with the representatives of Philip II. were based upon this.[4] On July 19th a draft treaty was drawn up by which the Pope bound himself to military action in France, together with Spain, to save the Catholic religion, to unite the Catholics under one standard, to defend them against the attacks of the Huguenots, and to facilitate the election of a Catholic king. In a secret clause the Pope pledged himself to recognize as King of France the prince

[1] The original text of the letter of Philip II. to Sixtus V. in HÜBNER, III., 450-452. ROCQUAIN (423) calls the letter "presque menacante sous des dehors respectueux."

[2] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 140; HÜBNER, II., 346.

[3] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 192.

[4] *Cf.* HÜBNER, III., 466 *seq.*

chosen and pointed out by Philip, supposing him to be truly Catholic, though to this pledge there were attached a number of conditions which assured his own influence and that of the Holy See in the affairs of France, and to the acceptance of which the representatives of Spain could only be brought by the definite statement that in the event of their refusal the negotiations would be broken off. The representatives of the Pope also insisted on the omission of any expression in favour of the League. Philip's representatives thought that they had obtained a great deal in the omission of any mention in the articles of the integrity of the kingdom of France.[1]

The Spaniards were already congratulating themselves on having attained their end, since nothing was wanting but the signature of the treaty, when Sixtus V., though he was suffering from fever, to their great surprise, laid before the French Congregation the important question whether in the case of the throne being vacant, the election of the French king came within the competence of the Pope. Olivares and Sessa were quite taken aback by this move. They gave the Pope an ultimatum until August 1st, but in vain, for Sixtus would ratify nothing. His duty as head of the Church, he told them, obliged him, before he definitely pledged himself, to obtain the opinion of the French Congregation.

In these critical days Sixtus V. found comfort with his former confidant, the Venetian ambassador, Badoer, who for his part was doing all he could to prevent the Holy See from becoming enslaved by Spain. He brought the Pope the latest news from France, and tried to keep up his courage with the hope of the immediate fall of Paris, which must involve the return of Navarre to the Catholic Church. Badoer eloquently described how the Spaniards were everywhere at a disadvantage. "They want to conquer the world," Sixtus scornfully said, "and are not able to capture Cambrai."[2]

On July 28th the Pope spoke out frankly: "We wish," he said to Badoer, "to restore peace in France, and to do so

[1] See *ibid.* II., 347 *seq.*, III., 477 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* II., 350 *seq.*, 354.

without pandering to foreign ambitions." The prudent Venetian thereupon tried to find out the Pope's views as to the future by saying: "Holy Father, it will not be easy to drive Navarre out of France, for now he is stronger and more victorious than ever. And suppose he were to be converted?" "In that case," replied Sixtus V., "it will not be our duty to bar the way to his return to the bosom of the Church. If he accepts the Catholic faith, without a doubt he will be elected, and once he is elected and confirmed in his position, no one will be able to act against him."[1]

Thus Sessa's mission too was doomed to failure; this was quite clear to him as well as to Olivares. Yet the Spaniards continued to threaten. There was already talk of suspicious concentrations of Spanish troops on the Neapolitan frontier.[2] When Sixtus V. had heard the divergent views of the French Congregation,[3] he made a further proposal. Since the mission of Caetani was looked upon as ended[4], two prelates were to be sent to France: Serafino Olivario to the Catholic supporters of Navarre, and Monsignor Borghese to the adherents of the League, both with the task of convoking all parties to some given place and within a definite period for the election of a Catholic king. Olivares and Sessa, who saw in this the intention to hasten the conversion of Navarre, made strong remonstrances at an audience. Sessa described the sending of a Papal envoy to an heretical prince as a public scandal, as a dubious way of detaching his Catholic supporters from him, and as an unjust insult to his king. "We are not the slave of your king," the Pope replied in great annoyance, "we do not owe him obedience, nor are we accountable to him for our actions. We are his father, and it is not the place of sons to give him their advice without being asked for it. Do you,

[1] See *ibid.* II., 354 *seq.*, III., 493.

[2] See besides the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 146, the *letter of Brumani of July 28, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 37.

[3] *Cf.* Badoer in HÜBNER, III., 498.

[4] *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 141, and the *report of Brumani, s.d. belonging to July, 1590, in App. n. 36 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

who wear a sword at your side," said Sixtus, turning to Sessa, "do you pretend to understand theology better than we do, who have studied both theology and other sciences? By what right do you come here during the heats of August to molest and threaten us? It would be better if you had stayed at home. What has your king accomplished in France? Nothing of any importance."[1]

Although Cardinals Santori and Facchinetti told the representatives of Philip II. that their inopportune interference would drive Sixtus V. more and more to the other side, they continued to harass the aged and ailing Pope. On Sunday, August 19th, they again appeared before him in audience, to repeat once more what they had said a hundred times. They expressly protested against the mission of Serafino, and demanded, appealing to the "half" pledge wrung from His Holiness, that the troops for the Papal contingent should be furnished at once. The Pope answered them in violent words, and the ambassadors declared that if they were treated thus they could not present themselves again. To this Sixtus replied that they might go away at once, and then, calming himself a little, he added that he would communicate his further decisions to them.[2]

Sixtus V. complained bitterly to the French Congregation of the way in which the ambassadors of Philip II. had acted.[3] To Cardinal Pinelli he said that if things went on this way he would have, for his own justification, to issue a solemn statement, and show how the Spaniards, under the guise of religion, were merely pursuing in France their own ambitious political aims, and because he, the Pope, would not suffer himself to be used as their tool for this purpose, they accused

[1] See the report of Sessa, August 7, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 499 *seq.*

[2] See the report of the agent of Urbino, who had his information from the Pope himself, and the report of Badoer in HÜBNER, II., 361 *seq.*, III., 513 *seq.* *Cf.* also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 193.

[3] See HÜBNER, III., 509, 513.

him of encouraging heresy, caused him to be attacked in the pulpit, and threatened him with protests.[1]

As the Pope wished above all things to gain time—the news of the capture of the French capital, already hard pressed by famine,[2] by Navarre, was expected from hour to hour—he revoked the mission of the two prelates to France, which was not approved of by the Cardinals of the French Congregation.[3] But his decision was made, and all the diplomatists at the Curia realized it. The Papacy—this was certain—would not lower itself to become the instrument of political ambitions. Philip II. and the League would not have the wielding of the thunderbolts of excommunication from the Vatican, nor the use of the treasures of the Castle of St. Angelo ; Rome would safeguard the interests of religion, but at the same time she would protect the interests of France ; France would remain Catholic, and would not disappear as a great power ; the European balance of power would be preserved, and with it the liberties of the Holy See.[4]

The great crisis had been overcome. Sixtus V. emerged victorious from the long and bitter struggle, but the victory had been won at the cost of his life. Many things concurred to wear out the forces of his energetic nature ; the constant excitement caused by the unheard of struggles with the Spaniards ; the grief occasioned by the unjust and offensive accusations of the "exaltados" both of the Spaniards and the members of the league, that he was favouring the heretics while in certain circles in Venice he was defamed as the

[1] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 146.

[2] On August 2, 1590, Brumani wrote *"Delle cose di Francia non si sente altro più del scritto, ma tutti stanno con la bocca aperta per aspettare qualche gran novità." In *similar terms on August 4. On August 18 Brumani *reports that Sixtus V. had told him to expect that Navarre would soon enter Paris. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the authentic report, used by HÜBNER, II., 362.

[4] With this splendid summing up of the situation made by HÜBNER (II., 363 *seq.*) HERRE (407 *seq.*) is in full agreement.

mercenary of Philip II. ;[1] the extraordinary difficulty of his position, which he himself had twice made worse by political errors ; the responsibility which rested upon him in deciding religious questions of such importance ; and lastly the impetuosity of his temperament.

The consistory which Sixtus V. held on August 13th was to be his last. He opened it with a characteristic allocution. Just as our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, he said, shared with His Apostles both His sorrows and his joys, so he too, Christ's Vicar on earth, felt himself obliged to make known to the Cardinals those things which filled his heart with satisfaction or with sorrow. To-day he had two comforting pieces of intelligence to impart to them ; one was concerned with earthly affairs and the other with spiritual. As to the first he was able to inform them that his galleys had captured three pirate vessels ; this was the first success that his fleet had obtained. The second piece of news was no less satisfactory. His nuncio had reported from Switzerland how salutary an impression had been made there by the return to the Church of the Margrave of Baden, whom many who had fallen into error had followed. Sad news, however, had reached him from Madrid, where a Jesuit had been so forgetful of himself as to have insulted the Pope in the pulpit as a Navarrist and a supporter of heresy. Sixtus dwelt at length on this point, and angrily extended the blame to the Order of the Jesuits, and at the same time spoke bitterly against the King of Spain, in whose capital the occurrence had taken place, without anyone having punished the preacher. What would have happened if one of the fathers had preached against the *Cruzada !* Lastly Sixtus V. assigned a considerable subsidy for the assistance of the inhabitants of the Papal States who were in great need on account of the poor harvests. with much satisfaction he stated that, owing to his financial

[1] See the *Canzone Veneziana* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, VII., 490 *seq.*, which reflects the views of Sarpi, a thing which the editor has not remarked. Brumani, in his *report of June 16, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) speaks of a *canzone* being sung in Savoy, which annoyed the Pope.

policy he was in a position to dispose of considerable sums, not to wage war, but to be expended in works of charity. He therefore proposed to assign half a million ducats as a subsidy for his subjects.[1]

The quarrel with the representatives of Philip II. and the intense heat of the Roman summer had weakened the Pope considerably.[2] On August 20th he was seized with a violent fever. In spite of his illness he once again summoned the French Congregation on August 21st. But his discourse was that of a fever-stricken man: involved, disconnected, and full of contradictions. It was filled with violent complaints against Spain. "Philip II. will also appeal to God. If Serafino Olivario should announce the conversion of Navarre, he ought to receive the Cardinal's hat."[3] Six days later he breathed out his ardent soul.

Sixtus V., apart from certain passing moments of weakness. which may be accounted for by the difficulty of the situation, had endured and fought like a hero for his convictions, with

[1] See Acta consist., 874, and the Spanish *Relacion del consistorio de 13 agosto 1590 in Cod. 6423, p. 12-13, of the State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 52 *seq.*, 365 *seq.*; ASTRÁIN, III., 710. With regard to the Jesuit, Juan Jerónimo, *cf. supra*, p. 177. We do not know exactly the text of the passage against Sixtus V. of the sermon which P. Juan Jerónimo preached at Madrid on Ascension Day, 1590. Sixtus V. told the ambassador Badoer that Jerónimo had said: "Weep, brethren, because a reigning house, certain princes and even the Pope . . ." here he stopped, placed his finger on his lips, and continued, "hush! hush!"; then he went on in a low voice: "are supporting the heretic" (Henry IV.). The trial by the Papal nuncio Annibale de Grassi, which was sent to Sixtus V., and the notarial report vouched for by the rector of the Jesuits, Porres, have not yet been found (see ASTRÁIN, III., 467).

[2] See the *Avviso of August 11, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 407, Vatican Library.

[3] See the reports of Aragon and Sessa of August 21 and 22, 1590 in HÜBNER, II., 367 *seq.*, and the report of Badoer of August 25, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 185. *Cf.* ROCQUAIN, La France, 429.

firmness and courage to his last breath.[1] It was not granted to him to see the triumph of his wise policy of waiting; but the course of events proved him to have been right. After four years Henry IV. entered Paris; after five Clement VIII, once more received him into the bosom of the Church. Sixtus V. had substantially prepared the way for this success.

[1] Opinion of HÜBNER (II., 387 *seq.*). For the attitude of Sixtus V., always logical, always directed to the attainment of the same end, during these stormy months, see also HERRE, 407, who concludes that he "wished to act as the head of Catholic Christendom, whose authority must always rise superior to any worldly influence."

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

Preliminary Notice.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have been sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned, I have as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "sic." Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . .).

I take this opportunity of thanking my friend, Doctor J. Schmidlin, now professor at Münster in Westphalia, for his copious extracts from the Avvisi in the Vatican Library.

1. Avviso di Roma of 27 April, 1585.[1]

. . . Et il Papa con molta dolcezza racconta tuttavia a chi prima non lo disse, le sue bassezze et infimità, cioè d'esser nato in una grotta, d'essere stato alla campagna a pascere i porci, d'haver tagliate le legna al bosco, raccolta la cicoria alla foresta, zappato l'horto, spazzato le chiese et sonate le campane

[1] See *supra*, pp 26, 72.

et cose simili. Con tutto ciò da quello, che ha fatto S. B. mentre era povero cardinale, et da quello, che pensava di voler fare in servitio di Dio et delle pubbliche commodità et polizie, si cava, che fu sempre d'animo nobilissimo et che sarà principe d'altissimi pensieri et nel resto oltre la pietà et divotione, compassionevol anco alli fragili, amatore delli poveri, conservatore dell'abondanza et irreprensibile nell'indifferente giustitia. Havendo detto al popolo Romano, alli baroni et alli cardinali di non volere soldati in Roma et di esser tanto nemico delli malfattori et fuorusciti, che di loro signori per grande che sia fomenterà huomini di tal conditioni o ardirà di salvarli nelle lor franchigie o si opponerà alla corte, perche non si piglino, che procederà alla decollatione di qual si voglia et chiamarà in Castello i cardinali all'obbedienza, perdonando in tanto di tutto cuore a chi ha in qualche cosa offesa S. S., et condonando a tutti i peccati vecchi, con quanto, che se di nuovo daranno occasione, i nuovi et vecchi errori sarranno castigati.

[Orig. Urb. 1053, p. 185, Vatican Library.[1]]

2. Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1585, Mai 1, Roma.

. . . Questa atione benche sia paruta rigorosa per le molte conditioni che facevano il caso degno di compassione, non di meno per essere stata la prima atione et per essere coloro veramente homicidiarii, ha fatto che tutta questa corte ha fatto giuditio che siamo per havere un principe giusto et conforme alla qualità de tempi che corrono et alla coruttela, nella quale era scorso il governo temporale dello stato eccl^{co}, al quale per haver S. S^{tà} dato principio con tale essempio si spera che li bandi, che dopo sono seguiti, saranno meglio osservati di quello che si faceva et accioche oltre a quello che la B^{ne} S. ha ordinato per lo governo di Roma et suo distretto, tutto il resto dello stato eccl^{co} sia provvisto di opportuni rimedii; oltre alla consulta ordinaria, alla quale ha preposto il s^{r} card. Alessandrino, ha eretta una congregatione di tre cardinali, che sono Albano, Salviati et Carafa, quali havrano facoltà di provedere all' estirpatione de banditi et a tutti que'

[1] Similar Avviso in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Letter of Capilupi, April 27, 1585, in Rebaschi-Carotti, 28, 30.
[2] See *supra*, p. 74.

disordini, ne quali si richiedesse usare la man regia, et li medesimi havrano cura di rivedere le cause di questi s^ri^ baroni, che sono stati privati dalla s^ta^ memoria di Pio V et di Gregorio, accioche quelli che si trovaranno legitimamente privati habbino pacienza et quelli che per oppressione di giustitia et mala relatione di ministri si trovaranno malamente privati sieno reintegrati. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. Girolamo Ragazzoni to Pope Sixtus V.[1]

1585, Mai 23, Paris.

. . . A Guisianis partibus quidam, qui eis favebant, parumper videntur alienati, cum perspiciant multa ab eis oppida munitasque urbes in dies occupari et externum ab eis militem in regnum induci, quo populi ac regiones iam vexari magnopere coeptae sunt ; et vereantur ne de regni sceptro agatur potius quam de religione, praesertim cum fama percrebuerit permissurum fuisse regem quod petitur de alienae religionis exercitatione in hoc regno amplius non toleranda et de oppidis, quae ab haereticis accupantur, auferendis. Ac praeterea ipsis Guisianis ducibus et eorum sociis quaedam castra, securitatis eorum causa, cum milite etiam armato relicturum. Sed multo maiores conditiones, quae ad privata commoda pertineant, ab eis dicuntur postulari. Hae quales sint cognoscere vere non potui, sed narratur per plateas, praecipuas regni urbes ab illis peti. Si concordia sequatur, emanatum in vulgus est, episcopos regni huius unum in locum convocatos iri, quorum auctoritate vel suasione rex Navarae et alii multi catholicam religionem amplectantur. Addunt aliqui quod is episcoporum congressus concilii nationalis nomine appellabitur. Non desunt etiam qui dicant hunc conventum, non tam catholicorum quam haereticorum futurum, ut in ipso ad formam colloquii vigesimo fortasse abhinc anno hic habiti in oppido de Poisy de nostra veritate et illorum falsitate disputetur. Quod tamen eo animo atque ea mente regem dicunt concessurum, ut Navarae ipsi regi caeterisque haereticis satisfiat et haec eis quasi iusta quaedam causa tribuatur, qua possint asserere religioni se catholicae non armis, sed ratione victos, adhaerescere. Hic episcoporum aut alius eius generis congressus absque Vestrae Sanctitatis

[1] See *supra*, p. 276.

facultate fieri neque posse neque debere mihi notum est. Quare si quid certi de hac re cognoscam, regem statim admonebo, ut antequam id exequatur, Vestram Beatitudinem omnibus de rebus commonefaciat.

Multis ex partibus regni huius auditur, nonnullos, qui haeresim profitebantur, ad sacrum modo altaris sacrificium accedere et errorem detestari suum. . . . Parisiis die XXIII maii MDLXXXV.

[Orig. Nunziat. di Francia XIX, 33, Papal Secret Archives]

4. Avviso di Roma of 13 July, 1585.[1]

Dicesi, che il Papa rispondesse l' altro giorno a Medici, che procurava con ogn' efficacia il favor del duca di Galese, che se Cosimo padre di S. S. ill^ma^ non havesse in principio del suo dominio adoprato lo scudo del rigore et la spada della giustitia senza alcun rispetto, egli non havrebbe lasciata memoria di signore prudente ne la casa sua sarebbe in possesso di tante grandezze et che S. S. si servirà di questo esempio mentre vive et al Agente di Ferrara, chiamato da S. B. l' altro giorno per certi negotii disse, ch' ella non era sitibonda del sangue di nessuno, come era tenuta, ma che fulminava contro i cattivi o perchè si ritirassero lontani di qua o si emendassero.

(Orig. Urb. 1053, p. 315, Vatican Library.]

5. Avviso di Roma of 13 July, 1585.[2]

Qui se vede ogni giorno augmentare la giustitia con terror grande et senza rispetto alcuno che se ben par strano non di meno la qualità de' tempi per la molta libertà che haverano presa i malfattori porta necessariamente questa severità, la quale a chi ben la considera è salute et pace dello stato eccl^co^ poiche ogniuno imparando dall' altrui castigo si risolve a viver quietamente et honorar la giustitia et temere insieme conoscendo la mente di N. S. santa et retta.

[Orig. Urb. 1053, p. 333, Vatican Library.]

6. Pope Sixtus V. to Cardinal Bourbon and to Duke Henry of Guise.[3]

1585, July 13, Rome.

Dilecto filio nostro S. R. E. cardinali Borbonio nuncupato ac dilecto filio nobili viro Henrico Lotharingio duci Guisiae.

[1] See *supra*, p. 89. [2] See *supra*, p. 79. [3] See *supra*, p. 279.

Dilecte fili noster ac dilecte fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ut nullum potest iniri consilium gravius, nullum divinae bonitati acceptius, nullum christianae reipublicae salutarius, nullum auctoribus, adiutoribus, sociis gloriosius, quam de haereticis, quibus nullum potest esse genus hostium sanctae Dei Ecclesiae infensius, insidiosius, exitiosius, e catholicorum sinu, atque adeo si fieri possit, ex omnibus orbis partibus eiciendis, sic non potest vester ea in re conatus et rebus carere summo apud Deum merito ex mercede, cui rei dum omni studio inservitis dumque causas eas quae vestris litteris superiore mense datis continentur, propositas habetis, optimus exitus expectandus erit, maxime adiunctis opibus et zelo regis vestri christianissimi, qui communi causae, ut scribitis, non modo adiutorem, sed etiam ducem se fore ostendit. Nobis certe nihil perfidissimorum Christi hostium undique eiectione optatius posset accidere, nihil quod a nobis magis laborari atque agi debere intelligamus; sic enim postulat studium catholicae Ecclesiae tranquillitatis et Dei gloriae, qua nihil debet esse nobis commendatius, nec unquam in haereticis ex omnibus locis exterminandis inque causa tam iusta, tam gravi, tam necessaria amplectenda, iuvandao fovenda pro qua vitam libentissime profunderemus, consili, auctoritate opera deerimus, cumque omnia quaecumque possumus praestiterimus, minus tamen fecisse nos existimabimus, quam debemus. Caetera aliis litteris superiori mense datis complexi sumus, et quae [a] dilecto filio nostro cardinali Vademontio cognoscetis. Deus benedictus praesit consiliis conatibus vestris sua ope et gratia. Datum Romae apud s. Marcum sub annulo piscatoris die 13 Iulii 1585 pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Sixti V. Brevia, Arm. 44 t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.]

7. Avviso di Roma of 16 April, 1586.[1]

Un' Ascanio ingegniere da Urbino con l'appoggio di ricche borse di alcuni mercanti et con l'introduttione di mons. Lamberti intelligente in materie, de quali si tratta, in manco d'un mese ha fermato et stabilito in Camera apostolica con applauso universale i capitoli di disecare le paludi di Sezza, Piperno et Terracina di 16 miglia di circuito, impresa pensata et desiderata da Pontefici, ma non mai tentata da Martino

[1]See *supra*, p. 103.

Colonna in qua, la qual hora riuscendo (come si spera) arrichirà di gloria N. S. tutto intento all'abondanza et accrescerà l'entrate della Camera, perchè da questa desiccatione caverà quasi tutto il grano necessario a Roma con utile particolare delle dogane, oltre agli effetti buoni, che dall' aria per tal bonificatione nasceranno. Commissary able to settle the boundaries, and Fabio Orsini for the consideration of all differences about "questo negotio abbraciato con tanto affetto da N. S."[1]

[Orig. Urb. 1054, p. 126, Vatican Library.]

8. Sixtus V. to the Superiors and Alumni of all Seminaries.[2]

1586, Agosto 23, Roma.

Indulgentia.

Sistus Papa Quintus.

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Semper Apostolicae Sedis zelus complexus est caritate atque officiis nationes omnes, quamvis moribus, institutis, regionibus disiunsctissimas, semperque illis praesto fuit omnibus in rebus quae ad ipsarum salutem atque ad Dei gloriam catholicaeque Ecclesiae amplitudinem pertinerent, nec quenquam omnino in quo modo aliquid posse profici in hoc genere existimaret, a sua cura et studio alienum duxit. Eos vero imprimis semper commandatos habuit, quos praestanti ingenio et naturae bonitate praeditos optimis etiam disciplinis sanctaque educatione institutos, caeteris quoque ad pietatem ac salutem adiumento esse intelligeret. Ab hoc studio et caritate, haereticorum perfidia omnia permiscente, seminaria sunt profecta, in quibus cum a caeteris Romanis Pontificibus, tum proxime a Gregorio piae memoriae, nunc etiam a nobis ad hoc munus laboriosissimum nullo nostro merito vocatis, ea in primis cogitatio suscepta est, quo pacto in maximic Sedis Apostolicae angustiis temporumque difficultatibus provideri posset, ut haec ipsa seminaria cum disciplinarum sinceritate, tum pietatis praestantia florerent, tanta cum stabilitate, quantam et rei ipsius gravitas requirit et communis Elccesiae boni ratio et Dei gloriae studium exposcit. Et nos quidem hactenus ea, quae nostrorum seminariorum sustentationis causa ad aliquot annos fuerant constituta, non modo conservavimus, sed auximus etiam. Perpetuis igitur in Indiis

[1]. *Cf.* Orbaan, Avvisi, 287. [2] See *supra*, pp. 133, 183.

orientalibus seminariis institutis, nefariis haereticorum conatibus obsistendi studio depravataeque in tam remotis regionibus ecclesiasticae disciplinae restituendae hoc maxime tempus idoneum iudicavimus ad vos scribendi, Apostolicae Sedis alumni, sive e seminariis egressi iam estis, sive in illis adhuc erudimini, sive postea ad ea vos conferetis. Hortamur igitur ut cum caeterorum Dei in vos beneficiorum memoriam sanctissime retineatis, tum hoc praesertim nomine eius bonitati gratias agendas putetis, quod vos gravissimis periculis ereptos tutissime in statione collocavit, quodque magnis sumptibus, laboribus, vigiliis, patientia eruditos, ad gloriosissimum omnique existimatione maius sanctae Ecclesiae operariorum munus vocavit. Qua quidem cogitatione incensi et tum optimis institutis assuefacti, tum doctrinae sinceritate exculti, debetis non solum vos ipsos ab omni labe puros integrosque servare, sed aliis etiam prodesse contendere, parati semper de ea, quae in vobis est, fide rationem reddere, et eos qui contradicunt arguere, sanguinem quoque ipsum, si ita res ferat, pro Christi gloria atque animarum salute profundere, quod multi recenti memoria ex optimis collegiis profecti gloriosissime praestiterunt. Horum fidem, fortitudinem, caritatem semper ad imitandum propositam habere debetis: contra vero paucorum aliquot vicem miserari, consilium detestari, exitum perhorrescere, qui, cum in seminariis fidelem Deo sanctaeque eius Ecclesiae operam polliciti essent, inde egressi, sese inertiae terrenisque cupiditatibus dediderunt, caeterisque ea facultate, quam Sedis Apostolicae beneficio adepti essent, prodesse recusantes, respexerunt in vanitates et insanias falsas, sicque maxima de spe deciderunt. Ab horum igitur stultitia et miseria vos abhorrere persuasum habemus; quos vero vitae integritas, doctrinae sinceritas, voluntatis zelus commendabit, iis nulla unquam deerunt a nobis paternae caritatis officia. Quia vero omnes hominum rationes recteque agendi conatus, a divina gratia destituti, irriti plane sunt, ut vos ipsos (quoad homini datum est) hoc praesidio dignos reddatis, cupimus atque hortamur ut per aliquot dies (si ita visum fuerit praefectis vestris) vos colligatis attentissimeque cogitetis, quem ad finem a Deo conditi sitis, quantam ad spem vocati, cur tam diligenti cura et studio optimis disciplinis et moribus erudiamini, quam multis ad pietatem adiumentis abundetis, quam paucis haec ipsa

praesidia contingant, quam turpe atque exitiosum esset tam multis divinae in vos caritatis beneficiis non omni conatu respondere summa cum animi demissione et gratiarum actione, quam denique indignum et miserum non vos totos Deo consecrare Sanctoque Spiritui, cuius certe in hac meditatione exardescet ignis, in perpetuum incendendos tradere. Ea vero hebdomada, quam praefecti vestri designabunt, aut certe si quid per eos dies impedimenti acciderit, proxima hebdomada tribus diebus, quarta scilicet et sexta feria ac sabbato ieiunetis factaque sacramentali peccatorum confessione, proximo die dominico sacrosanctam Eucharistiam sumatis. Interea vero pro s. matris Ecclesiae exaltatione, haeresum extirpatione, catholicorum principum concordia, pace, tranquillitate, salute Deum oretis, eiusdem quoque gratiae praesidium nobis imploretis postuletisque ab eius bonitate, ut dignetur suo sanctissimo spiritu in tam multis tamque gravibus curis infirmitatem nostram adiuvare, operariosque quam plurimos et tanto mysterio dignos in vineam suam mittere. Nos vero vobis praefectisque vestris administrisque omnibus haec implentibus, divina misericordia confisi, plenariam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam elargimur. Qua etiam frui volumus catholica seminaria omnia, sive ab episcopis, sive a principibus saecularibus instituta, egentium etiam studiosorum domos, sive huius Sanctae Sedis, sive aliorum catholicorum benignitate atque eleemosynis sustententur, horumque item seminariorum domorumque praefectos ac ministros omnes, eos etiam, quorum hactenus opibus atque eleemosynis sustentari consueverunt, iis scilicet quas praescripsimus, rebus peractis ea hebdomada qua huius nostrae concessionis litterae ad eos pervenerint, aut certe, ut dictum est, proxima. Quia vero difficile esset has ipsas nostras litteras ad eos omnes, ad quos pertinent, perferri, volumus ut earum exemplis iam impressis, notarii publici manu subscriptis et alicuius in ecclesiastica dignitate constituti sigillo obsignatis, eadem omnino fides adhibeatur quae his ipsis litter s, si ad eos perlatae essent, tribueretur.

Datum Romae apud S. Marcum sub annulo piscatoris die vigesima secunda octobris millesimo quingentesimo, octuagesimo sexto, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Antonius Buccapadulus.

[Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 233 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.]

9. Avviso di Roma of 18 October, 1586.[1]

. . . Devono a quest'hora essere sul fatto alle paludii Pontine da 2m zappatori, dovendone anche callar degl'altri un taglio di 14 miglia et larghe 7 canne, per mandare quelle acque al mare et disseccare quelle paludi, essendo perciò stato mons. Fabio Orsino l'altro giorno lungamente dal Papa, come quello, che ha questo imperio principale, a mostrare col dissegno in mano a S. B. il sito come sta et l'opera com'ha d'andare.

[Orig. Urb. 1054, p. 463, Vatican Library.]

10. Avviso di Roma of 8 November, 1586.[2]

On Sunday fu aperta la nova chiesa di S. Andrea nella piazza di Siena, dove era il seminario di quei padri Theatini di S. Silvestro de Montecavallo, a quali donò quel palazzo la duchessa morta d'Amalfi.

Various rumours of cardinalitial promotions (Colonna, Gonzaga, Orsini, Corgna, Panigarola). A prelate is said to have given 1500 scudi to Camilla ; but if the Pope knew of it he would rather take it as "come strada indebita et dispiacevole a S. B., amatrice del giusto et honesto maximamente in negotio di tanta importanza, poichè il Pontefice, secondo soleva dir Pio Quinto, deve promover al cardinalato prelati tali, come se ciascuno di loro dovesse essere Papa, et però S. B. ha ultimamente deputato li illmi cardinali capi degli ordini, li quali debbino darli in nota tutte le qualità che si ricercano in un soggetto degno di quel grado, acciò S. S. per tutte le strade di giuditio humano et divino faccia elletione degna conforme alla sua mente santa."

[Orig. Urb. 1054, p. 483, Vatican Library.]

11. Avviso di Roma of 17 January, 1588.[3]

The Pope has given 700 scudi to the Trinità, in order that in eight days at most all the mendicants may be interned ; he has further given the hospice 6 thousand scudi as revenue. Several thousand scudi will also be expended for the church of SS. Apostoli, "iam collabentem."

[Orig. Urb. 1055, p. 18, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 104. [2] See *supra*, p. 232. [3] See *supra*, p. 106.

12. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, 17 gennaio, Roma.

. . . Il Papa ha fatto intimar ad Azzolino, Castruzzo, Perugia et Ascoli che vaddano alli lor vescovati quanto prima. Et si tiene qua che sia stato per metter gli negotii d'Azzolino in mano di Montalto, il quale già è entrato in possesso con l'aiuto del segretario che serviva sotto Azzolino. Hanno anche pubblicato un'editto contro gli preti che tutti vaddano fra otto giorni alle lor residentie. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1587, 24 gennaio, Roma.

La ritirata di Rusticucci è vera. Il Papa levò a fatto la consulta et non vole che altri si ingerisca se non lui et il s. card. Montalto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua[3]

1587, 20 giugno, Roma.

. . . Il palazzo di Montecavallo, altrevolte del s^r card. Vercelli et hora del marchese di Masserano, era stato affittato pre 20 anni a certi nobili Romani. S. St^à gli ha fatto intimare che fra 3 giorni l'habbiano sgombrato che intende volerlo per lui et dicono che lo piglia per bisogno della corte et si tiene che voglia anco la casa dei frati di S. Paolo et cacciar via detti frati et farli una bella fabbrica. S. St^à fa lavorare con gran furia diero alle sue fabbriche, così della sua capella, come della Vigna e di S. Giovanni Laterano, di dove movono la Scala santa, mettendola più appresso la capella del Salvatore. Hieri il papa andò a piedi alla messa dal palazzo di Montecavallo sino a S. Silvestro, accompagnato da molti cardinali, et è su la gamba che fa stupire chiunque lo mira. Si procede con gran rigore contro gli ufficiali che il giorno del Corpo di Christo N. S. restorno d'andar in processione, conforme il bando che fu publicato per questo . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 65, 133. [2] See *supra*, p. 65. [3] See *supra*, p. 60.

15. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, August 1, Roma.

. . . Dicesi che il papa havea mandato un comissario nel regno di Napoli per certe spoglie et che il vice re non ha voluto ch' egli eseguisca senza l' Exequatur, il quale il comissario non l' ha voluto pigliare dandone conto al Papa, et che gli Giesuiti in Spagna vorrebbero far un generale non ostante quello ch' hora si trova in Roma et che questo negocio è fomentato dal Re, in modo che il Papa più che mai per tutte queste cose sta in collera et si va dubitando di qualche stravaganza . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1587, August 1, Roma.

. . . Dicono che S. Stà doppo il consistoro et quasi tutta questa settimana non ha mai fatto altro che dolersi del Re di Spagna, giurando voler essere ubbedito in quello che ha di già ordinato, come scrisse nelle mie precedenti a V.A. havendo anco detto a molti cardinali che guardano non contravenire perchè certo non saranno assoluti in modo alcuno, mostrando tuttavia S. Stà gran collera di questo. Questi sigri cardinali della fatione spagnola stanno molto smariti.

On an adjoined leaf is the *following: " Ho inteso da un gentilhuomo mio amico che mi dice haver di buon luogo et sicuro che giovedì passato il Papa era in grandissima furia contra il Re di Spagna, perchè qui la Mtà S. haveva mandata la pragmatica dei titoli a tutti gli vescovi ed arcivescovi dei suoi stati acciò la facessero osservare, per il che S. Stà voleva in ogni modo scomunicare S. Mtà nè all'ambasciator suo bastato l'animo d' andarle inanzi, ma fecero tanto questi sigri cardinali della fatione di Spagna che a gran fatica l'acquetarono in questo modo, che si scrisse d' ordine della S. Stà alli vescovi et arcivescovi predelli che non ubidissero in questo nè in altra cosa il Re, il che dice che sarà isseguito. Questa cosa sin qui è assai segreta, ma io l'ho intesa da un gentilhuomo che l'ha di bocca dell'auditore del sr cardinale Caraffa col quale S. Stà conferì agni cosa, valendosene in cosa

[1] See *supra*, p. 269. [2] See *supra*, p. 269.

tale; ma esso gentilhuomo m'ha pregato di tenerlo segreto, ma solamente scrivendo a V. A. come faccio . . ."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

17. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, August 1, Roma.

. . . S. S. si ritrova al suo giardino con pochissima gente passando i caldi, che sono qua eccessivi, andando dopo cena per quello godendo il fresco sino mezz'hora di notte con suo grandissimo piacere dell'acque che vi sono in grandissima quantità et abondanza.

Hanno quasi a tutto drizzata la guglia su la piazza di S. Maria Maggiore lavorandovisi dietro tuttavia per finirla et così alla cappella di S. Stà et alla fabrica di S. Giovanni Laterano . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

18. Avviso di Roma of November 14, 1587.[2]

To-day "apiccato in ponte Annibale Cappello, tagliata lingua, mano inchiodata," with the inscription: "Falso menante et detrattore per molt' anni d' ogni grado di persone con disprezzo et derisione de santi, facendo professione di tenere et mostrare con gran scandalo figure oscene in ogni atto libidinoso et diffamato di havere mandato avisi a principi heretici.[3]

[Orig. Urb. 1055 p. 426, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 59. [2] See *supra*, p. 91.

[3] *Cf.* Acta consist., Papal Secret Archives. Gualterius reports in his *Ephemerides: 18, kal. Dec. Annibal Cappellus, cum superioribus diebus Pisauri captus esset et Romam perductus in Pontis arca suspendii supplicio necatus est, lingua manuque antea cesis. Nam praeterquam quod falsa et probra in praesules, in cardinales, in Pontificemque ipsum scribebat, ad principes et ad amicos sacris dictis exemplisque ad ludibrium utebatur, obscenumque omnium libidinem habebat, ut ostendebat Breviarium diurnum nocturnumque vocatum masculae Veneris, nocturnum mulicbris, in quem quingentos aureos mille impendisse fertur atque huiusmodi in rebus inanem quamdam ingenii praestantiam profitebatur. Denique ad principes haereticos adversus ecclesiasticos praesules pontificiasque litteras dabat; cum vero ab amicis admonebatur, ut Deum suppliciumque timeret, respondere illum solitum aiunt patrem suum fratremque suspendii supplicio necatos, seque certo scire eodem supplicio periturum. Improbi sane indicium animi cum turpissimum non extimesceret; at gravius passus est, quam promerebatur, uno tantum laudandus, quod constanti animo supplicium subiit. Carnificem enim hortabatur, maturaret manum linguamque illam caedere, quibus ipse tam flagitiose foedeque abuses esset. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

19. Avviso di Roma of April 20, 1588.[1]

Sunday at the Lateran S. B. dalle loggie di quella nuova fabrica diede la benedittione al popolo numerosissimo, havendo voluto il Pontefice, hce si parassero due delle nuove stanze contigue alla detta loggia (ove si legge questa inscrittione: Sixtus Papa V. ad benedictiones extruxit) et di quelle servirsi con il letto et commodità ordinarie per l' uso del vestire della B. S., la quale con forze robustissime et con miglior ciera et voce, che nell' intonare dell' orationi erano intese le parole precisamente fin' al capo di detta piazza.

(Orig. *Urb.* 1056, p. 149, Vatican Library.]

20. Avviso di Roma of February 18, 1589.[2]

The Pope has stated that the innocent blood must be avenged, that the King of France has not sent Rambouillet out of repentance, but only because he finds himself in great need. The French ambassador complains that the Pope has received the envoy of Mayenne and of the City of Paris, who have rebelled against his king. The Pope said that it was his duty as universal father to listen to everyone, and that he would not be deterred from doing so, and that in this neither the rightful king nor anyone else would be prejudiced; he has no "intentione di progiudicare."

[Orig. Urb. 1057, p. 86, Vatican Library.]

21. Avviso di Roma of 4 March, 1589.[3]

Wednesday at 7 p.m. Farnese had a fresh paroxysm "nella testa," which his physician declared to be gout or palsy, and which caused a retention of urine; Thursday, at 22 o'clock, havendo prima havuta la benedittione dal Papa et preso tutti i viatici estremi con mostrare sempre fino all'ultimo sospiro giuditio sano et contritione incredibile de peccati suoi, accordandosi con il padre Jesuita, che li raccommandava l'anima nel dire li sette salmi penitentiali et le letanie, disponendo inoltre delle cose sue et mostrando men fastidio nell'uscire di questo secolo a guisa di fanciullo di quello havesse fatto per andare al giardino . . . La sua morte è pianta da tutta Roma per essere mancato l'unico raggio et

[1] See *supra*, p. 60. [2] See *supra*, p. 317. [3] See *supra*, p. 242

splendore del Collegio et della corte, decano de cardinali, a cui succede S. Giorgio, et il padre delle opere pie et delle elemosine, perchè spendeva ogni anno 45^{m} sc. in alimentare poveri et povere vergognose, orfani, artisti, vedove, zitelle, et dove udiva essere bisogno et miseria, massime in tempo di carestia, aiutato amplamente con la sua liberalissima mano. Questo è quel gran nipote di Papa, che è visso 54 anni cardinale et servito in tante occasioni la sede Apost. et donato et sovenuto molti cardinali et altri principi de scudi a migliara, fatto fabricare la grande et maravigliosa chiesa del Jesù in piazza Gualtieri con tanta spesa et dato alimento alli padri che la custodiscono, edificata un'altra chiesa all'Isola, restaurato et fatto il soffitto di Lorenzo in Damaso con tante altre fabriche pie et profane degne della grandezza di un tanto Alessandro et finalmente dato fine alla sua sepultura nella sudetta chiesa del Jesù et al suo palazzo in piazza del duca, è salito in cielo. . . .

[Orig. Urb. 1057, p. 107, Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di Roma of 15 March, 1589.[1]

Subito che sia dato fine alla erettione della guglia piazza del Popolo, essendo hora in buonissimo termine, si darà principio alla strada dalla detta piazza alla Trinità de Monti, della quale si è già preso il disegno et stimato il danno delle case, che vanno per terra, di circa 4^{m} sc. per rifarne li padroni loro. Si è disegnata un'altra strada da S. Balbina alla basilica Lateran., un'altra dall'arco di Constantino a S. Maria Maggiore et due altre da S. Pietro in Vincoli verso S. Paolo et S. Maria Maggiore. Di più si è dato ordine di allargare la piazza di Montecavallo, spianandosi per questa struttura la chiesa di S. Geronimo con farvi una strada a drittura verso i Catecumeni, et al intorno di detta piazza et nella via Pia si fabricano hora molte case.

S' attende con tanta diligenza d' ordine del Papa intorno alla fabrica della cuppola di S. Pietro, che a Natale prossimo fanno conto che sarà finita, lavorandovisi anco la notte et i giorni festivi, con intentione fra un paio d' anni di vedere il resto di quella chiesa del tutto finita, attribuendosi veramente a Sisto Quinto quel detto : Dixit et facta tra le glorie per la prestezza, che si scorge in tutte le fabriche et altre deliberationi, che commanda S. B., di eterna memoria. . . .

[1] See *supra*, p. 104.

Secondo la relatione, che faranno il patriarca Biondo, il cavaliere della Guglia et altri ingegnieri andati a vedere le paludi Pontine, che sono in buon termine di desiccarsi, si risolverà il Papa a rimettere in uso la via Appia, la cui spesa importarà solo 70m sc., et si potrà andare con cocchi di qua a Napoli, et a fare il porto di Terracina, et fra 20 dì si finirà l' alveo, che chiamano fiume Sisto largo otto canne et lungo 20 miglia, non mancando che 20 giornate da farlo sboccare alla marina, con spesa di 100m sc. Un' altro alveo nuovo si farà dall' altra parte, ma di poca spesa, essendosi fatto il più importante, che apportarà l' utile.

Il popolo Romano ha fatta una bellissima sepoltura nella chiesa di S. Maria nuovo in campo Vaccino a Papa Gregoria XI.

Orig. Urb. 1057, p. 131 *seq*, Vatican Library.

23. Francesco Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol.[1]

1589, April 22, Roma.

. . . Licet semel in hebdomada congregatio cardinalium fiat circa Galliarum tumultus et homicidia ab illo rege patrata consulaturque quid in his agere debeat S. D. N. qualemve se ostendere debeat erga homicidam regem, nihil tamen omnino usque modo conclusum est, et quoniam tam ex parte regis quam et adversariorum laboratur penuria magna pecuniae et quia natura Gallorum cessato primo impetu est satis placabilis, dicitur si S. Stas interponet authoritatem suam posse res ad amicabilem compositionem deduci, et in hoc est totus dictus rex. . . .

[Orig. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.]

24. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1589, April 22, Roma.

. . . L'agente del duca Memoransi[3] publicamente dice che le cose del Re di Francia passarano bene et che il suo duca è unito con detto Re et l' ambasciatore di Francia in ciera et in parole piglia fiato et pare che S. Stà intenda meglio le cose che per il passato mostrava intendere et facil cosa sarebbe che S. Stà mandasse duoi legati levando quello, uno presso il Rei l'altro presso la parte per redurla all'obbedientia del Re ; così mi accennò Rusticuccio due giorni sono et così fece Papa

[1] See *supra*, p. 314. [2] See *supra*, p. 314. [3] Montmorency.

Niccolò IV., primo Papa beretino[1] come racconta il Platina, et S. Stà pare che camina per via di fare quelle famose actioni che fecero i Pontefici passati, massime beretini . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

25. Avviso di Roma of 3 May, 1589.[2]

. . . Nella signatura passata il Papa ragionò di voler mandare essecutione la fabrica del ponte tanto necessario al Borghetto, oltre al palazzo sopra la guardia de Svizzeri, le qual cose sono già state principiate, et disse parimente di voler dare un nuovo letto al Teverone, che viene da Tivoli facendolo passare da Montecavallo et che vada a sboccare in fiume verso la fontana di S. Giorgio con molto utile di questa città per la condotta di legne, pietre, calce et viveri, che si farà da quella parte, scoprendosi in S. B. ogni giorno maggiormente il desiderio et pensiero di giovare alli suoi popoli, et in specie a questa città, della quale sempre è stata affetionatissima.

[Orig. Urb. 1057, p. 258, Vatican Library.]

26. Avviso di Roma of 29 August, 1589.[3]

Nella Signatura passata N. S. avanti le propositioni disse come Henrico III. Re di Francia era stato ucciso da un frate Domenichano con un semplice coltello, stendendosi lungamente intorno alla narrativa di questo fatto ammirato et compatito da S. B. come giusto giudice, che scorge, qualmente dopo il fulmine spirituale lanciato da S. S. contra questo Re Iddio habbia permesso che come S. M. era stata publicamente ucciditrice di un religioso, così dell' istessa maniera sia restata estinta per mano di religioso, et che havendo ucciso un cardinale, un' altro cardinale gli sia successor', compatendo però S. S. come padre pietosissimo con l' occhio della misericordia il caso di detto Re.[4]

. . . Si è dato fine al gran palazzo fatto nella piazza Lateranense da Sisto V.[5]

[Orig. Urb. 1057, p. 535 f, Vatican Library.]

[1] Ash-colour, hue of the Franciscan habit. [2] See *supra*, p. 113.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 321, 323. [4] See Vol. XXII., p. 49.
[5] See Vol. XXII., pp. 271 *seqq.*.

27. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1589, September 27, Roma.

. . . S. Stà ha fatto questo [Caetani] cardinale legato et non latro, perchè dice ha più conditioni de ogni altro. È sua creatura e de casa famosa che ha servito in Francia suo padre et anco è ricco, di buona presenza, sano, di spirito, intelligente sodamente col Re Cattolico che aiuta questa impresa, sogetto destro, flematico et lontano da parzialità con principi di Francia che non s' intendano colla lega et parlamento di Parigi. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

28. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1589, September 30, Roma.

. . . Dopo questo negotio entrò a parlare del legato dicendomi molte cose, prima che haveva fatto questo et non altro tenendo per certo che habbia minori oppositioni et più conditioni che qual si voglia sogetto in questa occasione, et qui le raccontò tutte et disse anco le due oppositioni cioè che suo fratello habbia il tosone et duoi nepoti sono in Fiandra che però si può dire che sia troppo per il Re Cattco. Evacuò quella del tosone dicendo che tanti altri l' hanno, i fratelli o parenti de quali non sono perciò giurati de S. Mtà, alla seconda che non tutti che vanno alla guerra sono confederati al Re Cattco aggiongendo che il legato, quanto alla sua persona è obligato solo a S. Stà et S. Sede, havendo hauto dalla S. Stà sola motuproprio il patriarcato poi il cardinalato, poi la legatione di Bologna, poi il camerlengato, ultimo questa legatione, oltre che suo fratello Honorato è fatto duca da S. Stà, et l' altro fratello fatto patriarca, a tal che dependono principalmente da S. Stà, la quale sequitò, che tiene certo che piacerà a tutti o quasi tutti i principi cattolici, al Re, al Imperatore, a Urbino, Ferrara, Mantova, Savoia et alla lega, se mo non piacesse tanto alli sri Venetiani et al Gran Duca, fosse che all'ultimo le piacerà, dicendomi le ragioni del tutto. Mi disse anco haver detto all'ambasciatore Veneto che se è vero che quella republica habbia detto del Cristianissimo et Navara col farle residere il loro ambasciatore apresso, hanno fatto male, et che quando vorranno seguitare mandarà detto ambasciatore fuori di Roma rechiamarà il suo nuntio da

[1] See *supra*, p. 327. [2] See *supra*, pp. 328, 332.

Venetia a Roma, poi seguirà quello Dio le ispirarà et la giustizia vorrà. Qui si diffuse molto in astratto contra quelli signori catolici che favoriscono o vogliono favorire la parte di Navara iscomunicato, heretico et capo de Ugonotti et che spera in Dio et nel grandissimo aiuto de S. M. Catt^ca^, che ha promesso tanto che scacciarà il Navara et gli suoi seguaci. Mi disse le ragioni de ciascuno cardinale perchè non lo giudico atto a questa legatione et come venne alli duo cardinali Gonzaga, li escluse per rispetto del duca di Nevers. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

29. Pope Sixtus V. to the Council of The League.[1]

1589, October 2, Rome.

Dilectis filiis nobilibus viris generale consilium sanctae unionis catholicorum in civitate Parisiorum repraesentantibus.

Dilecti filii nobiles viri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, quantum vestrum rei catholicae et optimi regni studium ex foedere vestro hactenus acceperit accessionis, ex hoc intelligi potest, num consilia vestra ex communi concordia eo provecta sint, ut explicatam spem habeamus, brevi fore ut res, quae in infimo et humilissimo loco sitae videbantur, nunc in summo et altissimo dignitatis gradu facile reperiri posse existimentur. Quapropter, ut primum aliquid proficiendi occasio sese nobis obtulit, illico vestra studia auctoritate nostra tueri et quocumque, si opus erit, virium nostrarum genere confirmare deliberavimus ; ea igitur de causa dilectum filium nostrum Henricum cardinalem Caetanum nostrum et S. Sedis de latere legatum, qui magna qua sapientes viri praestant res humanas praevidendi et ad proprium finem perducendi facultate praeditus cuncta vestra studia singulaque consilia sua animi celeritate vestraque potentia ad optimam catholici regis eligendi rationem dirigere sciet, ad universum Franciae regnum destinavimus ; huc igitur quod semper intendistis vestras opes vestrasque cogiattiones, curas et copias intendite. Interea Deus optimus maximus secundissimos atque uberrimos aequissimis cogitationibus constantissimisque officiis exitus dabit, et maximos labores gravissimasque curas convenientibus et saluberrimis honorum et fructuum praemiis compensabit. Dat Romae II Octob. MDLXXXIX ann. V.

[Brevia Sixti V. Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 223, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 330.

30. MATTEO BRUMANO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[1]

1590, gennaio 20, Roma.

. . . Il duca Lucimburgo visita gli cardinali ben veduto da tutti et S. Stà se ha lassato intendere haver grato che sia ben veduto et il card. Montalto le ha usato parole di grandissimo complimento, dicendole tra le altre, haver ordine da S. Stà servirlo et honorarlo per quanto ha a grato la gratia della S. Stà, per le quali parole detto duca ha sentito gusto grandissimo et preso molto animo, non è però tenuto di gran valore, ma sì di molta verità, ma alcuni le vorriano di maggior valore et arte nel negotiare simile negotiatione gravissima. Altro di sostanza non vi è delle cose di Francia. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. MATTEO BRUMANO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[2]

1590, dopo il, marzo 12, Roma.

La mattina del mercorì di carnevale, che fu l'ultimo di febraro, il sr ambasciatore cattolico fu all'audienza et si humiliò a S. Stà, et se le have dato disgusti nelle precedenti audienze con qualche parlare alterato, che l'intentione sua fu buona et lontana di dargli disgusto, fatto questo passò con l'amorevolezza ogni ragionamento. La sera gionse in Roma un consiliere Martes venuto da Napoli et il sabato di carnevale il detto sr Olivares tornò all'udienza et disse che era venuto il consiliere Martes da Napoli per farli proteste a nome di S. M. Cattca che però addimandava concistoro a S. Stà, la quale sentendo questo s'alterò molto et con parole aspre la mandò quasi subito fuori di camera minaciando che se non impare a procedere, che l'insegnarà a far proteste a Papa. Partì Olivares et S. Stà stete alterata in modo tale che se Gesualdo non si interponeva la Stà S. non li volea dar più audienza, anci licentiarlo et mandarlo di Roma ; il temperamento fu questo, che Olivares il sabato seguente che fu li X di questo ingenochiato chiedesse perdono a S. Stà di questo modo di parlare, il che lo fece, et così s'aquetò il tutto almeno esteriormente. Hora il lunedì mattina a tavola, S. Stà coram servientibus disse questa seconda humiliatione a fine che si divulgasse per Roma, come subito fu fatto. Hor la protesta conteneva che si mandasse da Roma Lucemburgo, la seconda che si dichiarasse scomunicati tutti li seguaci directe vel indirecte di Navarre.

[1] See *supra*, p. 341. [2] See *supra*, pp. 349, 352.

La terza che S. Stà non tratasse più con Navara in qual si voglia modo. La sorte ha apportato che in questi accidenti Lucemburgo facesse dire da mansr Serafino al Papa di volere andare a Loreto per divotione in questo tempo di otio mentre vien la risposta di Navara. S. Stà laudò questa divotione et così Lucemburgo la sera di carnevale andò dal Papa et disse, che se ben volea andare a Loreto con sua buona gratia nondimeno, havendo presentito le proteste sodette et anco, di parlamento, di conciglio, di nuovo Pontefice, et una mano d' altri cardinali che era venuto in pensiero di non si partire perchè non dicessero esser scacciato per opera de Spagnoli, al che S. Stà disse, che il stare et l' andare era in sua libertà, ma che il riguardare a queste parole non lo lodava, perchè al ritorno haveria chiarito il fatto et così le baciò i piedi et la prima mattina di quaresima partì et tenendosi per Roma che questa partita fosse comandamento di S. Stà per fuggir l' incontro delle proteste, che per ciò non dovesse più ritornare. Vogliono che per ciò l' ambasciatore Olivares si lasciasse indurre a chieder perdono il sabato. Hora che Olivares intende che Lucemburgo sarrà qui presto, ha fatto parlare efficacemente da doi cardinali come da loro, et questi sono Como et Gesualdi, che si licentia detto Lucemburgo, et messo in consideratione tanti mali che ne possono occorrere et perchè hanno trovato l' un et altro separatamente che la volontà del Papa è di non desistere a niuna delle tre cose sudette, perciò si tiene per certo che tornato Lucemburgo all' improviso faranno le sudette proteste per le dette tre cose et che subito si ritirarà Olivares a Napoli. Et perchè Olivares non sa parlare latino, perciò ha fatto venire il consiliere da Napoli, cosa che non fece l' ambasciatore di Carlo V, quando fece protesta in publico concistoro, quando Paulo trasportò il concilio da Trento a Bologna senza saputa di Carlo, che all' hora quell' ambasciatore fece le proteste. Se queste proteste se faranno si teme de tante male consequenze quanto si può imaginare. Prima il Re trattarà lega con principi per sapere chi è suo amico vero ; si crede anco che S. Stà la cattarà con Venetiani, la procurerà col Gran Duca et la vorrà con Urbino come feudatario, prohibendo sotto censure ecclesiastiche a Ferrara et a Parma che non possino dar aiuto altrove et che anco procurerà con *V. A.*[1] aiuto, et si prega Dio

[1] In cipher.

con l' oratione di quaranta hore et altre particulari che non si veggano queste proteste. S. Stà si duole che S. Mtà vedendolo in tanti travaglii lo volgia travagliar più pretendendo forsi S. Mtà che S. Stà sarà priva di aiuto come che Franza è in rovina che soleva aiutare i Papi travagliati da Imperatori. Savoia è suo genere, Parma è al suo soldo et parente, Ferrara et Urbino da lui provisionati et fatto suoi confidenti. Il Gran Duca è suo feudatario per rispetto di Siena et il duca di Mantova per il giuramento del Tosone, ma che anco non si spaventa S. Stà perchè ha Dio dalla sua che diffenderà il Pontificato, la Sede Apostolica et la sua bona intentione circa le cose di Franza, sperando anco che i principi d' Italia non lascierebbono in ogni caso oprimere il suo Pontificato et la dignità della Sede Apostolica, et che se intendessero i Spagnoli la sua buona intentione circa le cose di Franza non farebbero tanto strepito, la qual intentione è d' indurre Navara a rilassiare amorevolmente Borbone, et perciò trattenne con tante carezze Lucemburgo et perciò ha fatto scrivere a Navara che li darà l' assolutione et lo benedirà mentre desista dal peccato et scomunica continua che è il trattenere un cardinale prigione che non lasciandolo non lo può assolvere, si come Dio non può perdonare il peccato d' un peccatore, che in atto persevera nel peccato. Hor rilassando Borbone in loco securo et publico ecco il Re fatto, se anco non lo vuol lassare Navara et i suoi legati conoscono con dolcezza che S. Stà non può ancor voglia fargli servitio in rebenedirlo, et così il Papa non sarà tenuto crudele et loro saranno inescusabili, et in tal capo potrà puoi procedere contra i seguaci almeno religiosi, et questa è la sua intentione, ma ch' egli sia per far hora le petitioni di Olivares dice che non le farà eternamente perchè non deve un Papa a petitioni d' altri iscommunicar catolici massime precipitosamente, ma usar prima tutte le debite benignità et puoi far da se stesso tutto quello che l' honor di Dio et l' offitio suo ricerca, ne deve tam poco il Pontefice ricusare a instanza d' altri simili a Navara che vogliono tornare al ben fare. Dice di più S. Stà che il legato Caietano si è mostrato publicamente troppo affettionato a Spagna con andare publicamente quasi del continuo coll' ambasciatore cattolico per Parigi potendo trattare secretamente di notte o per biglietti o per voci secrete, che così si è fatto dissidentissimo alla parte di Navara, più il dar ducati 50m a Humena

contro Navara ha aumentato la diffidenza havendo in ordine di dare questi denari sotto colore solo di liberare il card. Borbone. Più quando il card. Vandomo ha mandato a pigliarli ha risposto aspramente, havendo ordine di rispondere benignissimamante per vedere di guadagnarlo, che guadagnato questo che è primo del sangue reggio haveria tirato seco molti capi, et quando ha procurato di parlare col legato personalmente mentre il legato andava da Digiuno a Parigi non lo volse aspettare, che pur ha sdegnato detto Vandomo. Et tutto ciò è spiacciuto a S. Stà molto, perchè vede rotto il principio delle cose, quale con delicatezza et simulatione prudente si doveva trattare. Tutto questo che sarà lineato all' imagine *io l' ho dalla bocca* propria *de S. Stà hieri mattina* per occasione de una *gratia* per Madama serma, et *S. Stà* mostrò gran confitenza et amorevolezza in *dirmi* le sudette cose sfogando una passione che internamente mostrava. *Mi disse* anco che V. A. stasse più vigilante del passato *nel stato di Monferrato* contro di *Savoia*, perché passando queste cose tra S. Stà et *Spagna* et per consequente *Savoia* non può più ragionevolmente assicurar tanto V. A. et farla riposare sopra se stesso come facea per il passato et che però ogni prudente vigilanza sarà degna de V. A., che se ben non si ha molto da temere non si ha però anco de sprezzare et che ciò scrivesse a V. A. con ogni secrettezza adoperando anco la ziffra con darle anco parte delle sudette cose. Se *V. A.* giudica bene ch' io dica a *S. Stà* cosa alcuna in risposta delle sudette cose, tanto farò, che forse servirà ogni minima cosa che se le dica a sapere tutta la serie delle cose che saranno passate da hoggi a quel giorno.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

32. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1590, March 24, Rome.

. . . Sabato mattina [17 March] il sr conte Olivares andò all' audienza dicendo a S. Stà che le perdonasse puoichè era necessitato esseguire l' ordine del suo Re et non poteva far di manco, che ben poteva S. Stà far de lui quello le piacesse, ma non poteva desistere da esponere la volontà del suo Re. Et questo ce lo disse il conte con molta sommissione inginochiato, poi andò da Montalto et le replicò il medemo aggiongendo che

[1] See *supra*, pp. 353, 354, 356, 357, 358.

se tralasciasse il far questa atione chè S. Mtà Cattca le poteva far tagliare il capo a lui et tutta sua casa et famiglia, ma facendolo obediva al suo Re et S. Stà poteva far della sua vita quanto li piaceva et disse anco che se non havesse potuto far ciò in concistorio l' havrebbe fatto alla porta o nell' anticamera o in ristretto alle mura taccandolo. Tutto il sudetto conte lo disse a S. Stà, a Montalto et Bertinoro. Desinato che hebbe S. Stà fece chiamare Gesualdo et Come et li contò tutto et loro parlorono di far congregatione de cardinali et S. Stà le disse che già la voleva fare el lunedì di carnevale, ma Gesualdo non volse, hora che loro vogliano et S. Stà si contenta et volse anco che loro a gusto loro chiamassero li cardinali che erano a loro gusto, che la S. Stà non ne volea saper altro et così ellessero come in questa lista. Et quelli sono restati fuori si dogliono come fatti parere deffedenti del Re et de qui è nato mal humore contro chi ha fatto la lista. Et S. Stà non solo dice che non l' ha fatta ne le ha parte, ma quando ce fu portata al sabato notte, acciò la vedesse se le piaceva, non la volse vedere dicendo facciano loro et la gettò. Hora il lunedì mattina, li 19 di questo alle hore 13 e mezza entroron in congregatione nella sala di S. Stà, la quale ragionò efficacemente della sua volontà nelle cose di Francia, esplicando quello io scrissi sabato a V. A. et con tal modo che quattro soli parlaron per il conte Olivares, cioè Gesualdo, Como, Madruzzo, Deza ; il resto aprobò l' aspettare la risposta de Navara, che sarà fra quindici o venti giorni al più, colla quale non volendo lassare Borbone, come si tiene, che non vorà, all' hora si mandarà via Lucemburgo, si iscomunicheranno li aderenti a Navara citandoli prima col monitorio et passarà inanti S. Stà et il Cattolico di concerto. Fatto et concluso questo disse S. Stà che lo facessero sapere al conte, et li cardinali elessero doi cardinali, Colonna vecchio et Sforza, che il detto giorno parloron al conte, non in nome di S. Stà ne in nome della congregatione, ma solo in nome loro, come da loro, esortandolo soprassedere vinti giorni, ispettando la risposta da Navara, che lo giudicavano meglio, et il conte chiese tempo sino la mattina del martedì, nel qual giorno, perchè gionse Lucemburgo, perciò egli disse non poter soprassedere più, massime attesta la ritornata di Lucemburgo, la qual risposta intesa da S. Stà che ce la portaron li suddetti doi cardinali, nel concistoro del mercorì parlò di questa risposta chiaman-

dola impertinente et con altri nomi, et così comandò sotto pena di scomunica latae sententiae a cardinali che niuno di loro ne per se ne per interposta persona, nec directe nec indirecte parlassero col conte Olivares et li intimò per la mattina seguente, che era il giovedì. una congregatione generale de tutti li cardinali nella quale congregatione S. Stà dichiarò la serie delle cose sino alla morte delli doi Ghisi amazzati seguendo sin' hora, giustificando tutto quello la Stà S. diceva colle scritture in mano, che facea leggere (come de tutto questo raggionamento il sr card. Scipione, come auditore ne scrivea V.A.), onde li cardinali restoron tanto queti et sodisfatti della prudentissima guida di questo negotio che tutti vuotaron che non si amettessero queste proteste, come fuori di proposito et che forse S. Mtà non ne sa cosa alcuna, o se le sa ha dato questo ordine ricercato cosi dal conte Olivares con tre supositi, uno che S. Stà si spaventi et caglia a principi che il mostrano li denti, secondo, che tutto li colleggio sia contro S. Stà, terzo che tutta Roma sia nemica della S. Stà, il che si è trovato in contrario, si perchè S. Stà sodamente dice che prima morirà che mai fare ad istanza di Spagna tali cose, si perchè il colleggio tutto vuotò per S. Stà, massime Alessandrino, Arragona, Palleotto, Rusticuccio, Colonna vecchio, che forse Olivares ispattava per se stesso. Terzo Roma tutta crido in favore di S. Stà et contro il conte. Si trattò anco che se il conte non cessava dalle proteste che infra un giorno partesse dal stato di S. Stà sotto pena, anci voleva senz' altro scacciarlo, ma molti cardinali supplicaron che si stasse prima al vedere se desisteva et così con allegrezza universale di S. Stà et tutto il collegio finì la congregatione. Finita li doi cardinali Deza et Mendoza andoron alle hore 23 a trovar Olivares persuadendoli il desistere per li pericoli et risolutione di S. Stà, vi stetero due hore et mezza, pure andoron da S. Stà che havea fatta collatione intorno alle due hore di notte del detto giovedì et come trovaron S. Stà adirata così la lassaron allegra onde si corcò al letto allegramente et si cavò che Olivares *s'era ritirato*[1]. Qui finì il giovedì con estremo desio de cardinali et della corte di saper il netto della risposta. La mattina seguente che fu il venerdì andai all' audienza per intendere come passavano le cose et S. Stà con molto suo gusto mi contò per netto ordine quanto di sopra, ch' io non sapevo così chiaro et concluse che risoluta-

[1] In cipher.

mente lo scacciava da Roma se non desisteva da queste proteste et mi ordinò che ne dasse parte a V. A. di ogni cosa acciò ella sappia il tutto che segue alla giornata. Io le ne baciai i piedi a nome dell' A. V. et partii et entrò mons^{r} Bertinoro con lettere del legato sotto li 13 febraro sino alli 21 del detto, con quali avisa la rotta di Navara, et S. St^{à} uscì subito di camera per andare alla predica, et lo disse a Como, forse acciò lo dicesse al colleggio, et è nata opinione che per burla lo dicesse a Como, perchè puoi doppo magnare mi mandò a cercare, et io vi andai et doppo haver contato il netto al s^{r} ambas^{re} Badoero mi chiamò dentro et mi contò tutto che pasea acciò lo facessi sapere a V. A., ma prima mi diede la lettera del legato che parla della figliola del s^{r} duca di Nevers et mi disse che la portasse meco a casa et ne pigliasse copia et la mandasse all' A. V. Così ho fatto et la mando con haverne dato parte alli s^{ri} cardinali Gonzaga, mi disse puoi i tre ponti principali che scrive il legato dello stato delle cose di Francia. Uno è che fu vero che andando Navara per diffendere la fortezza di Melon fu assaltato dal campo di Humena et egli si ritirò, ma non si presto che quelli di Humena diedero alla coda di Navara, non però è cosa notabile ; et questo è nelle lettere dalli 13 alli 17 di febraro, ma nelle lettere di 17 sino li 21 capitate tutte in questo medesimo spatic scrive il legato, che Navara rinforzato ritornò al detto Melon et fece quanto volea far prima senza contraditione, a tal che dice S. St^{à} queste sono borascate giornali d' eserciti, tanto più che dice il legato che Navara ogni dì più piglia potere, credito et opinione. La seconda cosa è che il duca di Nemurs s' era aboccato con Suesson seguace di Navara, por il quale aboccamento eran fatti molti giuditii in Parigi, ma non si poteva dir questo è il vero. Inoltre s' eran debilitati quelli di Parigi, dubitando che per detto aboccamento non si trattasse qualche accordo senza loro et che pericò detto legato havea scritto al duca di Humena che non permettesse tali aboccamenti, perchè giovano poco a tener in fede i papali. La terza cosa è che da tanti cridi et ribombi de protetione del Cattolico et di volerle dare aiuto di 20^{m} fanti, s' era risoluto il negotio in offerire alla lega mille huomini d' arme, ma Humena havea risposto non volerli perchè non sono atti alle scorrerie per Francia, ma che era meglio i cavalli leggieri, de quali però la lettera di 21 febraro del legato non si fa parola, nè che sian gionte dette lancie, nè

che siano per viaggio, onde conclude S. Stà ecco i Spagnoli flegmatici più che il flegma istesso et tardissimi nel dar li aiuti promessi, voglion poi venir a Roma a far proteste a noi che siamo colerico et amatore della prontezza quando vediamo il tempo et il bisogno et qui tornò a dire che se Olivares faceva più motivo di proteste lo caccierebbe di Roma inviolabilmente, seguitasse quello che si voglia, che ben ha pensato a tutte le consequenze. Mi contò anco tutto quello che S. Stà parlò nella congregatione st il tenore de tutte le scritture, ma come ha detto il sr card. Scipione ha pigliato carico di darne minuto conto all' A. V. Sin' hora non hanno licenza i cardinali de parlare a Olivares, ne egli è uscito di casa ne ha potuto havere la solita audienza del sabato, con tutti che i sudetti card Mendozza et Deza la procurassero hieri et per placar più S. Stà li dissero che detto conte havrebbe scritto a Napoli hoggi, che levassero quelli doi millia cínquecento Spagnoli de disogno che sono qui alli confini del Stato ecclesiastico qui verso il regno, de quali S. Stà si era dolsciuta in congregatione, che soldati di bisogno si mettono alle marine ove non patono tanto come alle montagne in questi tempi, et che però si può credere che gli havessero fatti venire per spaventare tanto più, et la S. Stà rispose alli detti cardinali che il conte faccia quel che gli pare per debito, ch'egli non ha paura, che quando verrà saprà mettere in sieme 8m fanti che li andaranno a sacciare da quelli confini. Mi disse per ultimo che nel suo Pontificato non ha mai pensato di far dispiacere a S. Mtà ne a suoi stati, ma sì di proceder seco come padre, come fratello, come compagno alle cose dell'honor di Dio, ma se o il Re o i suoi ministri pensarano di violentare la volontà di S. Stà o disturbare i suoi stati farà vedere al mondo che Papa Sisto non è Paulo IV. Questo è quanto è passato degno di esser saputo dal l'A. V. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

33. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1590, April 7, Rome.

. . . Alli cinque cardinali delle cose di Franza sono aggionti sei, cioè Arragona, che disse già bene per il Papa contro queste proteste, Colonna vecchio, amicissimo del Granduca, Cornaro, per Venetiani, Sforza pretendente del ducato di

[1] See *supra*, p. 359.

Milano, Monte, creatura del Granduca et che porta l'arme di Franza, V. A. pensi il resto. Se il card. Gonzaga era sano è opinione che vi entrava et il lassare il vecchio presente in Roma per porvi il nuovo sano era offesa al vecchio, così mi è stato detto. Nella prima congregatione, che fecero giovedì, fu detto a S. Stà che dasse il giuramanto de silentio colla scomunica et S. Stà non lo volea fare, ma istato da Colonna S. Stà lo fece, et tiene certo che Colonna istasse per non essere obligato ma iscusato da relavare cosa alcuna all'*ambasciatore di Spagna*,[1] che del resto et Cornaro haverà licenza parlar al suo ambasciatore et Monte al suo et così V. A. spero saperà il tutto. La raggione perchè S. Stà non si curava che si sapesse il tutto è perchè mi raccordo che la S. Stà mi disse a dì passati, cioè perchè *S. Stà non vuole piu far altro per la lega*, poichè il *legato* et *ambasciatore di Spagna* hanno rotto la sua orditura et l'hanno necessitato a dir il tutto in publica congregatione et però per Roma si ride del generalato dato già al duca d'Urbino poiché sarà al fine voce vana et generalato aereo et al fine sarà più honore a non havere havuto tal nome et voce di generalato che haverlo havuto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

34. Pope Sixtus V. to the Dean of the Sorbonne, Paris.[2]

1590, June 25 (21), Rome.

Dilecto filio decano facultatis theologiae Parisiensis aut eius locumtenenti. Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Non sine magno animi dolore nuper accepimus in vestra universitate Sorbonica Parisiensi nonnullas propositiones sanctae catholicae fidei integritati repugnantes ac nostrae et huius Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae dignitati auctoritatique detrahentes magno cum fidelium scandalo et haereticorum laetitia ac eorundem in suis erroribus confirmatione et gravi ipsius universitatis detrimento et salutis animarum discrimine lectas fuisse et evulgatas. Cum autem tibi et isti universitati perspicuum esse debeat sacrosanctam Romanam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, non humana aliqua dispositione vel iudicio, non ab apostolis aut ullis synodicis constitutionibus tantum caeteris ecclesiis fuisse praelatam, sed divino verbo et evangelica voce ab ipso Domino et Salvatore nostro fundatam in universos Christi

[1] In cypher. [2] See *supra*, p. 362.

fideles et cunctas totius orbis ecclesias primatum et magisterium obtinuisse ac in beato apostolo terreni simul et caelestis imperii iura accepisse, non ut ipsa alicuius potestatis, nedum universitatis unius arbitrio ligetur vel iudicetur, sed ut alios ligandi et solvendi et in fide confirmandi atque oves Christi pascendi et regendi facultatem habeat, cum Christus eidum Petro dixerit: 'tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in cealo et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum et in caelis.' Et iterum: 'Ego autem rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua, tu autem aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos,' et rursus: 'pasce agnos meos, pasce oves meas.' Et cum hoc ipsum iam antiqua temporum serie communibus fidelium suffragiis fidelique sanctorum patrum testimonio ac demum constanti omnium sanctorum generalium et universalium synodorum auctoritate perpetua receptum, definitum et confirmatum fuerit et adversus immanium persecutorum rabiem et saecularium tyrannorum potestatem ac haereticorum perfidiam inviolatum inconcussumque ita permanserit, ut de ipsa sancta Romana Ecclesia, quae caeteris benedicit ac omnium ecclesiarum mater ac magistra est, merito dictum sit. Prima sedes a nemine iudicatur et inferior sedes potiorem et inferior iudex vel etiam subditus superiorem iudicare non valet, non potuimus de huiusmodi propositionum evulgatione non magnopere commoveri. Verum cum ista universitate quam paterno semper amore complexi sumus benigne aeque agere volentes ac cupientes eam non solum ab omni errore et haeresis suspicione liberam et immunem esse et conservari, sed etiam scandalis et malis quae in auctoritatis et dignitatis huius Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae diminutionem sive in hominum perniciem inde exoriri possent, constanti et pia ratione obviam ire atque adeo de praemissis certiores fieri volentes, ut plenius edocti rectum super iis maturumque iudicium proferre possimus, te modernum decanum seu vicedecanum aut locumtenentem ad nos et ad nostram curiam necessario duximus evocandum, ut tu universitasque tua, a nobis et ab hac Sancta Sede, quae ut errare et deficere non potest, ita errantes et deficientes ferre non valet, propositionum evulgatarum veritatem accipientes Romanan Ecclesiam,

cuius auctoritatem docendo, disputando iudicando et communicando constanter et pie tueri debetis, vestram matrem et magistram, ut par est agnoscatis et adversus impios haereticorum conatus fortiter, cum opus fuerit, defendatis, quorum nefarios ausus dum humanis fortasse consiliis nimium addicti reprimere contenditis, ne ipsi in alios errores iusto Dei iudicio incidatis, et ut id ipsum diligenter caveatis, pro paterna nostra in vos caritate in Domino monendos esse duximus. Tibi igitur tenore praesentium in virtute sanctae obedientiae, et sub poena privationis graduum, honorum, officiorum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, quos et quae obtines excomunicationis latae sententiae aliisque ecclesiasticis nostro arbitrio in casu contraventionis infligendis, imponendis et promulgandis censuris et poenis districte praecipiendo mandamus, teque primo secundo, tertio, et peremptorie citamus, requirimus et monemus, ut omni mora postposita saltem intra trium mensium spatium et infra ad Romanam curiam ad nos personaliter venire et te conferre debeas et tenearis neque inde sine speciali nostra licentia recedere possis.

Dat. Romae etc. 25 Iunii 1590 anno sexto.

[Arm. 44, t. 31, Papal Secret Archives.]

Ibid. t. 29, p. 473b the same Brief with date of June 21.

35. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

. . . S. Stà disse che ancor non havea potuto penetrare se sarebbe restato residente o si o no, nè dal parlare d'Olivares che parlò alli 17 colla S. Stà della venuta di questo duca di Sessa, nè dalla prima audienza che fu li 22 doppo cena, nè dalle lettere credentiali di S. M. Cattca, nè dall'audienza di heri mattina che furon li 26 giugno, non cavò ne anco S. Stà il contrario, puoichè di questo punto non se ne parlò, ne il parlar di negotii accennava più presto che fosse venuto per trattare semplicemente et essendo detto a S. Stà che volevano venderla cara alla S. Stà questa mutatione d'ambasciatore la Stà S. rispose, quanto a noi non se ne curiamo, resta l'uno, resta l'altro, è vero che alli negotii di S. Mtà compleria il partirsi Olivares. Et quanto al negotiato della mattina fu un ragionare delle cose di Franza del trovare temperamento, sopra del che si parlò et delle proteste che volea fare Olivares, biasimandole di novo S. Stà et del non volere in modo alcuno

[1] See *supra*, p. 365.

S. Stà scomunicare li nobili di Franza che seguono Navara, che potrebbe venire il casa che quelli tornassero al bene, che scomunicandoli sarebbe causa della ruina loro et di farli heretici et che perciò non lo farà mai. Disse di più S. Stà che detto duca parlò con molta humanità da se et anco a nome del Re et della buona voluntà di S. Mtà disse anco che Olivares da doi mesi in qua camina humilmente et quando S. Stà le nega le gratie egli non s'altera più, ma dice che comanda S. Stà che egli scriva al Re et così passa humanamente. Il duca di Sessa laudò in genere le ationi di Olivares fatte con volontà del Re, ma quando S. Stà parlò contro quelle proteste niuno rispose parola ; altro non so delli soddetti. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

36. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1590, luglio, Roma.

. . . Si lamentò molto S. Stà del legato, dicendo che per il suo mal procedere ha ruinato la Francia et se quando egli gionse in Parigi, trovò che Papa Sisto V era in tanta veneratione a tutti, hora ha ridotto le cose, che dicono, che favorisse heretici, cosa indegna d'un legato ridur a questo le cose, ma forsi verrà occasione ch'egli solo se ne pentirà. Frattanto da Pasqua in qua non si risponde più a sue lettere, dicendosegli che S. Stà sta amalata. Io so di certo che la provisione è levata al detto legato, degno che si tiene come rivocato et alcuni vogliono che sia segretamente citato a Roma. Doi cardinali, S. Severina et Aragona, fanno congregatione con udire le dimande del duca di Sessa sopra le cose di Franza et mentre il negotio sta in discorso si può pensare quello conviene. Altro non si è penetrato.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

37. Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1590, luglio 28, Roma.

. . . Delle cose di Francia non si sa cosa di nuovo, ma si aspetta di giorno in giorno qualche conflitto o che Parigi sia reso. Quanto alli negotii tra S. Stà et questi sri ambasciatori del Cattolico sin hoggi non è concluso cosa alcuna et essendo qui Agosto non si vede che sia più a tempo far 15m fanti per mandar

[1] See *supra*, p. 369. [2] See *supra*, p. 369.

in Francia. Li banditi comparono sei o otto millia vicino a Roma sino el numero di 600, tra pedoni et cavalli et vicino ad Arriete[1] stato ecclesiastico se vi trova Carlo Pinelli Napolitano can 15m fanti del regno, cose tutte che danno da sospettare in Roma come che non si sa il loro fine et S. Stà sa ogni cosa, se ne ride et se ne burla con il cuore intrepido. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

38. Biographies of Sixtus V. written by contemporaries.

The very striking personality of the Franciscan friar on the throne of Peter made the very greatest impression upon his contemporaries, and led, partly during the life of the Pope, and partly after his death, to the writing of biographies of him. Apart from small essays,[2] no fewer than eight different works were composed dealing with the life and acts of Sixtus V.

1. Vita Sixti Quinti ipsius manu emendata.

Lagomarsini and Tempesti made use of a biography of Sixtus V. composed by Antonio Maria Graziani about 1587, which was revised, and in some places corrected by the Pope himself.[3] Lagomarsini intended to publish this work of such great authenticity, but had not the time. In 1829 Ranke saw in the Altieri library this Life, in which the errors of the original author were carefully noted and the corrections of the Pope placed over the words that were cancelled (Päpste, III., 68*). The Berlin historian showed that even if this copy was not identical with the manuscript used by Tempesti (I., xxviii *seqq.*) it was very closely akin to it. Prince Massimo too, in his Notizie della Villa Montalto (p. 26, 38) published in 1835, made use of the manuscript in the Altieri library. When, half a century later, in the spring of 1879, I visited the Altieri library, I found no more than a miserable remnant of its treasures; the Vita Sixti V. consulted by Ranke and Prince Massimo was missing. I sought for it in vain in all

[1] Rieti.

[2] The *Vita in Cod. Vat. 5563, p. 1-7 only treats of: 1. Patria, ortus et educatio Sixti V.; 2. Felix in s. Francisci familiam recipitur. Grottammare is definitely given as his birth-place, and the dream is attributed to his father alone. His entrance into the Order is wrongly placed as early as 1532.

[3] Sixtus V. in other ways too saw to the historical record of his acts. Thus an *Avviso of August 6, 1588, reports: "Si dice che N.S. habbia hora ordinato che si ponghino in carta et si stendino insieme tutte le attioni fatte da S.B. in tre anni o poco più del suo pontificato cioè dell' entrate et altri acquisti fatti alla Sede Apost., delli denari posti in Castello, delle fabriche fatte tanto necessarie, estirpatione de banditi et simili." Urb. 1056, p. 328, Vatican Library.

the other libraries of Rome ;[1] at last I succeeded in finding a copy in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 11, t. 61, p. 1–42. The following note at the beginning of the copy tells how it came there: "Posto in Archivio segreto in Vaticano per ordine del Pontefice Alessandro VII. dall'abbate Salvetti a dì 10 Ottobre 1659." The latter is the same Salvetti who gave to the said Pope the diary of Sixtus V., found at that time in the Chigi Library (see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 1).

The copy in the Papal Secret Archives seems to be essentially identical with that once to be found in the Altieri library. The passage concerning the "supplicationes" on the strength of which Ranke shows the conformity between his "Altieri" text with that used by Tempesti, is exactly identical in our manuscript with that in the Altieri manuscript. Ranke cites two of the remarks of Sixtus V. One concerns the Pope's sister. The author had written: "Quarum altera nupsit, ex cuius filia Silvestri profluxisse dicuntur," etc. Sixtus V. cancelled this and added: "Quarum altera aetate adhuc tenera decessit." In the manuscript in the Papal Secret Archives only this latter correction is to be found, the copyist having omitted the cancellation. The other passage is concerned with the dream of the future greatness of Sixtus V., which in the original text is attributed to his father, which Sixtus V. cancelled, inserting instead: "eius uxor partui vicina." Whereas in the Altieri text this correction was immediately obvious, in the manuscript in the Papal Secret Archives it has been inserted by the copyist in the text.

Although Ranke did not overlook the great authenticity and importance of the *Vita* he made but small use of it (I., 286, 295, 297, 312, 314.).[2] But how many things it contains of importance may be seen *infra*, App. No. 40, where the passages of the chief importance are printed.

2. Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus.

This biography composed after the death of the Pope was unknown even by Tempesti; Ranke (III., 69*—72*) was the

[1] In the very rare "Catalogo delle pergamene e manoscritti già spettanti alla famiglia Graziani di Città di Castello" (Florence, 1864) composed by PIETRO BERTI, there is mentioned: "Primo anno di pontificato di Sisto V, opera di Msgr. A. M. Graziani, segret. delle lettere latine" (Ms. saec. 18). Perhaps this is the "Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata"; I am unable however to ascertain this with certainty, as the Graziani Archives are again inaccessible.

[2] A passage taken from Ranke is to be found in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom by PLATNER, I., 702.

first to take it from a manuscript in the Altieri library, in proof of the authenticity of the "Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata" (*cf.* also I., 287, 289). But this document too was sold like the greater part of the treasures of the Altieri library, and had to be looked upon as lost until I found a second copy in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 11, t. 61, p. 45–104.

The anonymous author had good authorities. He names, in addition to the *Vita* corrected by Sixtus V. himself, oral information obtained from an intimate of the Pope, named Martino Cappelletto, and from Cardinal Paleotto. The work affords a valuable supplement to the Vita by Graziani, in that in it greater importance is given to the period previous to the pontificate, which Graziani only dealt with briefly. For its valuable contents, which are far from being exhausted by the information given by Ranke, *cf. infra*, App. No. 41.

3. Sixti V., P.M. Ephemerides Guido Gualterio auctore.

Guido Gualterius of San Genesio was first employed as a teacher of Latin in his native place, after that at Narni, Macerata, Camerino and Ancona, and lastly in Rome, where Sixtus V. employed him for the writing of the *Epistolae latine.*[1] He was in close relationship with the Pope, to whose acts he devoted his Ephemerides.[2]

MONTFAUCON (I., 175) makes mention of the diary of Gualterio, which was frequently made use of by Tempesti. T. GAR published in the *Arch. stor. Ital.*, App. I., 345 *seqq.*, a summary, unfortunately the least important part, namely the rhetorical description of the condition of the States of the Church under Gregory XIII. A much needed publication of approximately the whole work (see *Rev. hist.*, XVII., 253) has not yet appeared. LÄMMER (Melet., 51, 226 *seqq.*) has published several passages. Many other passages were consulted by BAUMGARTEN (Neue Kunde, 38, 52, 105, 303, 332, 334). GUGLIELMOTTI (Squadra, 22) and Stevenson have also made use of this work.[3]

The Ephemerides of Gualterius exists in many manuscripts,

[1] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, 323 *seq.*

[2] G. Gualterius dedicated to Cardinal Montalto *Orationes duae, altera in exaltatione Sixti V., altera vero anno sexto pontificatus ingrediente. Vat. 7833, Vatican Library.

[3] STEVENSON mentions in his Topografia, p. 6, yet another copy of the Ephemerides, with autograph annotations by Sixtus V., in the Altieri Library, which, however, no longer exists, as is the case with most of the manuscripts of that library; and another in Addit. 8440, of the British Museum.

e.g. in the Vatican library, Urb. 813, in the Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 11, t. 62, p. 237-333, in the Vittorio Emanuele library, Fondo Gesuit. 164,[1] in the Vallicella library, I., 60,[2] and in the Corsini library. The Ephemerides may also be found at Florence in the National library, in Cod. Capponi, 1086.

Gualterius set himself to his task after Sixtus V. had reigned for seven months. After the introduction already mentioned, which clearly showed his intention of exalting Sixtus V. at the expense of Gregory XIII., he made a beginning with April 11, 1585. After that the narration goes on in journal form until June, 1588. The reading of this work frequently recalls the diaries of the masters of ceremonies, though the work of Gualterius is distinguished from these by the fact that he passes over events of small importance. By preference the author treats of the internal affairs of the States of the Church, and above all of the Pope's buildings. Ecclesiastical events are also mentioned, but on the other hand there is hardly anything of politics.

Sixtus V. took a lively interest in the work of Gualterius. The latter notes on February 17, 1586, that he had had a two hours' audience with the Pope: "Collaudavit non mediocriter meas elucubrationes." He was able to note on May 11, 1587, that the Pope had conferred on him a pension of 100 scudi. It is evident that we must not always expect the necessary impartiality from such an author; indeed the author often betrays an apologetic tendency.[3] He zealously defends the great expenditure of the Pope, and especially defends him against the accusation of avarice. But Gualterius cannot be accused of any alteration or suppression of facts. His copious information as to the buildings of the great Pope

[1] This manuscript was used for the present work.
[2] TEMPESTI (I., xxix.) consulted this manuscript.
[3] The supposition expressed by HOPFL (Sixto-Klement, Vulgata, 147, n. 1) that the anonymous *Annales Sixtus V. in Cod. K. 6 of the Vallicella library, Rome, may have been composed by Gualterius, is mistaken, since this work came from a declared enemy of Sixtus V. (*cf.* TEMPESTI, I., xxx). From the continuation of the annals in Cod. K. 7, I believe that I can identify the hitherto unknown author; this was the archbihsop, Paolo Emilio Santori, who died in 1635 (*cf.* as to him UGHELLI, II., 803, IX., 265). This man, who wrote his work under Clement VIII., is rightly described in the *Relatione di Roma of 1624, Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. II., 150, n. 3, as "prelato di gran sapere, ma di humore ardente, impatiente et vfolente." He was not intended to be a historian, and his work can only be used with the greatest caution. Ranke did not make use of it, and rightly.

is interesting. As contemporaries note.[1] the Ephemerides of Gualterius is much more valuable than the *Vita Sixti V.* written in 1593 under Clement VIII., which first Ranke and then Prince Massimo made use of from a manuscript with notes by the author in the Altieri library. This manuscript was no longer there in 1879 when I made use of that collection. I have not been successful in tracing it in any other collection of manuscripts. We must therefore be content with the extracts, unfortunately very short, in RANKE (III., 73*—75*), and the passages in MASSIMO (Notizie, 26, 98, 99). This Life, however, seems to have been to a great extent little more than an elaboration of the Ephemerides, so that we may in some way console ourselves for its loss.[2]

4. Petri Galesini Annales Sixti V.

Pietro Galesini, who came from Ancona, and died in 1590, enjoyed a great reputation among the scholars of his time. He belonged to the intimates of Borromeo and was entrusted with the publication of the Acta eccles. Mediol.[3] His writings bear witness to his literary activity,[4] they are cited by ARGELATI (Bibl. Script. Mediol., II., 2, 2113). Galesini dedicated to Sixtus V. a translation of the sermons of St. Basil the Great concerning fasting,[5] and a work on the canonization of St. Didacus[6] which the Pope had brought about. Lastly, he composed the Annales Sixti V. which are preserved in Cod. Vat. 5438 and 5439, and which are for the most part worthy

[1] Gualterius wrote as follows concerning the erection of the Vatican obelisk: "Fundamenta, quibus imponendus est, iacta iam sunt, machinae parantur ad illum demittendum atque transferendum"; later on he tells of the erection of the stone giant and its crowning with the Cross.

[2] The *Vita di Sisto V. Papa cavata dall' orig. lat. esist. nella libreria Vatic. in Cod. Q. 8, 22 of the Angelica Library, and attributed to G. Gualterius, is not certainly his. Leti drew from it his account of the poisoning of the Pope; see NARDUCCI, 339.

[3] See Sala II., 524.

[4] *Cf.* also BAUMER, Brevier, 475. From DESJARDINS, V., 139, it may be seen that Galesini also worked at the Inquisition. Letters of Galesini from Milan, where he was by the side of Charles Borromeo, to the Duke of Mantua in 1571, 1573 and 1588 were published in the *Bibliofilo*, 1888, 161 *seq.* Other letters are preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. -There, in Cod. F. 40 inf, on p. 148 there is a *letter from Charles Borromeo to Galesini, dated May 10, 1580, in which St. Charles expresses his joy that Galesini had become a Benedictine and had visited the library. *Ibid.* 158 a *letter from Galesini to Borromeo, in which he asks for tbe post at the Vatican library which had been held by Panvinius, and expresses his intention of writing against the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Cod. L. 103 contains: Galesini *De columnis et monumentis Romae a Sisto V. erectis; *cf.* STEVENSON, Topografia, 6.

[5] *S. Basilii magni conciones de ieiunio Petro Galesino interprete ad Sixtum V. Vat. 5551. Vatican Library: Cod. Vat. 5668 contains: Petri Galesini pronot. apost. *Commentarius ad Alex. card. Montaltum de bibliis graecis tnterpret. Septuaginta a Sixto V. editis.

[6] *P. GALESINUS, Sancti Didaci Complutensis canonizatio quam Sixtus V. P.M. admiranda pietate, solemni ritu etc. celebravit. Romae, 1588.

of credence.[1] He explains what had inspired him to compose it in the following words at the beginning of his work :

Annales verum Sixti Quinti Pontificis Maximi scribere hoc tempore aggredior et mea sponte incitatus et aliorum quibus negare nullo modo poteram auctoritate impulsus et multis sane causis adductus : quae non fictae neque assimulatae, sed plane verae atque cum officio pietatis coniunctissimae tum mihi tum vero ceteris omnibus videntur, qui de republica christiana praeclare sentiunt. Nam opus iam instituo, quod Deo primum, deinde ecclesiae, tum Pontifici ipsi debetur iure ac merito. Soleo saepe toto animo in ea cogitatione fixus inhaerere, ut mihi Sixti Quinti Pont., cuius res litteris mandare studeo, tamquam ob oculos ponam stirpem, progeniem, educationem et universum vitae cursum. Video equidem, cum haec reputo, aut certe monimentis ad posteritatem prodo, humile eius genus ; video parentes ab omnibus rebus inopes manuum opere sibi liberisque suis victum quaeritantes ; video puerum ab ipso vitae exordio in rei familiaris summa egestate iacentem atque adeo miserabiliter omnibus incommodis impeditum vel potius omnibus miseriis afflictum. Hunc rursus cerno ad eam rerum maximarum spem excitatum, quam naturae, ingenii, disciplinae eruditionisque suae adiumenta et religionis sanctissimae, cui se dicarat, praesidia cunctis afferebant. Ad omnia vero eundem, etiam quibusdam repugnantibus, qui vitiosa aemulatione ducebantur, usque adeo spectata virtute progredientem aspicio, ut demum maximis muneribus summisque honoribus recte perfunctus, tum Pontifex necessario tempore creatus universae ecclesiae iam praesit mirifica cum laude.

In accordance with the laws of history Galesini does not wish to recount anything that is not in accordance with the truth, but nevertheless does not intend to preclude the embellishment of his narrative. In this latter respect he has gone beyond all bounds, so as at times to fall into mere rhetoric. He first gives us an account of the Pope's antecedents, as to which he tells us several interesting things (*cf. supra*, p. 25, n. 5) as well as concerning his election and coronation, and then deals analytically with the various acts of his reign. Filled with the greatest admiration for his hero, he gives absolute approval even to his severity :

[1] *Cf.* PISTOLESI, Sisto V. e Montalto, 33.

Ut in urbe Roma, a qua tamquam magistra et matre pietatis christianarum virtutum disciplina ad alias gentes et nationes dimanare debet, continenter viveretur, gravissime Smus Pater de lenociniis adulteriisque sancivit. Mulier igitur quaedam, non infimae conditionis neque pauper admodum, quae lenocinio suo domestico stuprum filiae suae procuraverat, eo nomine accusata et convicta, pridie Nonas Iunii in furcam acta poenas dedit foedissimi facinoris sui ; supplicio matris filia interfuit. Quod exemplum mirifice valuit ad alios deterrendos improbissimae libidinis ministros (Vat. 5439, p. 17).

In like manner Galesini defends the fact that Sixtus V. accumulated money (*ibid.* p. 43). It is surprising that the work should end with the close of the year 1587. In Vat. 5439, p. 89, it goes on : " De virtutibus quibus maximis eluxit Sixtus V. in pontificatus administratione " : but of this only the first section " De timore " is finished ; of the rest there is nothing but the titles. We ask whether perhaps death overtook the author in the course of his work ?

Galesini has been freely used by Tempesti, and later by Ranke (III., 75* *seq.*) and by Prince Massimo. In spite of this a review of his work still reveals several interesting points. Unfortunately these are the passages dealing with the building works of the Pope, which are so general, so that it is not possible to gather much that is new.

Galesini clearly brings out the intention of christianizing the pagan monuments. Thus he remarks, before he goes on to the description of the erection of the Vatican obelisk : " Iam inde ab eo tempore, quo primum sanctissimus Pater pontificatum iniit, eam cogitationem curamque suscepit, religiosissimo Pontifice dignam, ut urbis opera et idololatriae simulacra et inanis ac falsae gloriolae et insanarum superstitionum monumenta, adhuc in urbe iam diu nimis inveterata quadam rerum olim Romanarum a christiano cultu abhorrentium curiositate, tot aetatum saeclis permanentia, cum essent quaedam potius signa impietatis, ruinae, pestis, incendii atque exitii, ea ad christianae pietatis ornamentum traduceret."[1]

In another passage Galesini writes of the Pope's care for the restoration of ecclesiastical monuments (vetera illa veteris pietatis Romae exempla) : " Cum ad reipublicae christianae

[1] This passage is printed in RANKE, III., 76*, but incorrectly.

mores restituendos nihil quicquam praestantius esse statueret, quam ut instituta vetera renovaret pietatis, quae castissimae disciplinae et morum sanctitatis fundamentum est. In iis autem institutis, in quibus praesertim maximus elucet splendor pietatis cum summorum Pontificum tum populi Romani, est antiquissimum illud studium sanctarum stationum, quibus vel institeundis vel pie colendis, tum aliorum veterum Pontificum, tum vero sancti Gregorii Primi zelum pia aemulatione sequendum sibi Sixtus V. proposuit. Constitutionem igitur sanctissimam Idibus Februarii promulgavit, qua illam piam stationalium basilicarum et capellarum Pontificalium institutionem in veterem consuetudinem restituit."

5. J. P. Maffeji Bergomatis et S.J. Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII. libri tres Sixti V. pontificatum complectens, Bergomi, 1746; reprinted in 1747.

This is a work similar to the preceding, though more concise and covering the whole pontificate of Sixtus V. The author says in the preface that he wishes to assist the historians of the Church by describing its most recent period. "Necque ut caetera desint, aberit fides, quando me a saeculi fluctibus atque ambitionis aestu longe semotum, necque gratia necque odium a recto sensu detorquet, et mihi ad cognoscenda rerum eventa non solum sed etiam eventorum causas atque consilia, praeter communem vulgi notitiam interiores principum literae atque ipsa demum arcana tabularia patuerunt" (p. 1). L'autore si dimostra difatti assai ben informato. Alcuni dei suoi giudizi sono di sommo interesse. Ammirevole è il modo con cui egli sa descrivere succintamente gli avvenimenti intricati. Dal modo con cui espone, si riconosce l'autore degli "Annales" di Gregorio XIII.

The author shows himself to be very well-informed. Some of his views are of the greatest interest, and very admirable is the way in which he is able to describe succintly the most intricate events. From the way in which he expresses himself we may recognize the author of the "Annales of Gregory XIII"

6. Antonius Cicarella.

Whereas the work of Maffei bears the character of Annals of ecclesiastical history for the years 1585-1590, the Vita Sixti V. by Antonio Cicarella (died 1599) is a true biography. It is to be found in the later editions of Platina. Like Maffei,

Cicarella wrote in very good Latin. He clung so strictly to the purity of that language that in using the word "commissarius" he adds: "Ignosce, lector, quod barbaris vocabulis utor, ubi latina non habemus congrua."

Cicarella relates in detail the antecedents of the Pope, though not without mistakes. Thus he makes him preach at Perugia in 1553, and then go to Naples, and to Genoa in 1555, which is not in agreement with the notes in the notice-book of Sixtus V. (see *Arch. Rom.*, V., 301). After an account of the election, coronation, and early proofs of the severity of the new Pope, the author at once goes on to the building undertakings, with regard to which he gives information that is both detailed and interesting. After he has treated fully of this activity of his hero, he speaks in the subsequent division of his work as follows: Dicemus itaque primo de rebus quibusdam inter illum et principes actis: deinde de modo quo populum suum in administratione publica tractavit, qua moderatione in propria vita affectibusque suis temperandis usus est; quibus subiciemus alias etiam res ab illo tractatas, gestas, institutas et in usum Ecclesiae reipublicaeque ordinatas. Denique infirmitatem seu morbum et ipsam, qua extinctus est, commemorabimus.

Cicarella lived to see the great change to the discomfiture of Spain, and thus does not hesitate openly to express himself as to the opposition of Sixtus V. towards the intentions of Philip II. with regard to France.

7. Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V.

The author of these Memorie can only be looked upon as contemporary in a limited sense,[1] as they only go to the year 1587. The author does not disclose his identity.[2] But he had excellent authorities, and his description goes beyond the limits of a biography, and develops into a kind of history of Europe during the first years of the pontificate of Sixtus V.

Tempesti made use of the *Memorie* from a manuscript in the Capitoline Archives,[3] and therefore speaks of the author

[1] He was, as he himself says, still a baby when the Vatican obleisk was erected.

[2] Ranke remarks: "The author had written a life of Gregory XIII., and therefore has been taken for Maffei, though otherwise I find no reason for identifying him with that Jesuit" (III., 73*). This observation is just, though not original, since as early as 1711 Valesius had denied the authorship of this work to Maffei; Ranke must have known of it from TEMPESTI, I., xxiii.

[3] Cred. XIV., t. 2 (*cf.* NARDUCCI, 616).

as "Anonimo Capitolino." Ranke, who consulted a copy, now no longer existing, in the Altieri library, accuses Tempesti of great injustice, in that he makes use of the work in numberless instances and yet denies him credibility in his summarized judgment at the beginning of his history. This is not quite correct, for the judgment of Tempesti states: "Sunt bona mixta malis" (I., xxiv). Against Tempesti Ranke maintains that the *Memorie* are "without doubt, all that is best that still exists as to the history of Sixtus V." (III., 73*). This explains the wide circulation in manuscript of the work. Besides the copy in the Capitoline Archives I know of the following: 1. Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 11, t. 61, pp. 1-232; 2. Vatican Library, Vat. 8882 and Ottob. 2584; 3. Angelica Library, Rome, Cod. T. 7, 15 (*cf.* NARDUCCI, 616); 4. Vallicella Library, Rome, Cod. K. 46; 5. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Ital. 200 (*cf.* MAZZATINTI, Mss. ital. d. bibl. di Francia, I., 35); 6. Library of St. Mark's, Venice, Cl. V (ital.), n. 29 (*cf.* NARDUCCI, *loc. cit.*).

8. The Vitae in the Ferraioli Library.

Nicola Pansoni[1] has recently drawn attention to two manuscripts in the private library of the Marchese Ferraioli in Rome, which contain a life of Sixtus V. by Graziani. To these there are attached certain corrections which differ completely from those in the Altieri manuscript (see *supra*, p. 407). One of these manuscripts belonged, according to a note supposed to be of 1748, to Lagomarsini. There are further attached to this manuscript opinions of Alessandro Covoni, Giuseppe Cugnoni, Gaetano Milanesi and Achille Gennarelli, all of which agree in stating that the abovementioned corrections are in the hand of Sixtus V. himself. Nicola Pansoni, however, questioned this view, and left the final judgment to me.[2] After a close examination I came to the conclusion that the corrections are undoubtedly from the hand of the Pope. These corrections, and an anonymous Life, which covers the previous years and the first two years of the Pope's reign, which is also preserved in the Ferraioli Library, have recently been published by Canon Fr. Pistolesi,

[1] See the *IV. Centenario dalla nascita di Sisto V. Bollet. mensile del Comita Centrale promotore Montalto-Grottamare*, XIV. (March, 1923), 202 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 203.

who has rendered such good service to the history of Sixtus V.[1] The author is an enthusiastic admirer of his hero; he gives many interesting particulars, especially of the early days of the pontificate, so that we must be grateful to him for this publication. The editor, however, attributes too great a value to the life, and has failed to see that it includes inexactitudes and errors. Thus on p. 72 Paul III. is mentioned, where it should certainly be Paul IV. A more serious mistake is to be found on p. 74, where the conferring of the cardinalate on Montalto is assigned to XVI. Cal. Febr. (January 17), 1570, whereas the nomination really took place on May 17th, 1570 (see Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 165). The question whether Fra Salvatore was the uncle of Sixtus V. on his father's or his mother's side is avoided in the Life; this simply states that Fra Salvatore was "propinquitate coniunctus" with the Pope (p. 79). In the corrections in the hand of Sixtus V. in the Life by Graziani in the Ferraioli Library (in PISTOLESI, 66) it is stated: "Non Salvatore quendam, sed Salvatorem avunculum eiusdem divi Francisci professorem vocitet." According to this Ricci was the surname of his mother, not of his father, but this is not in accordance with the general procuration (for business) drawn up by Fra Felice Peretti himself on June 14, 1555, for Fra Salvatore, who is there called "patruus" (see PISTOLESI, Sisto V. e Montalto, App. X.). In spite of this Pistolesi still thinks that the preference must be given to the correction of Sixtus V. I have followed him *supra*, pp. 225-27, but do not deceive myself into thinking that the question is definitely decided. May not the Pope have made a mistake, whereas it is difficult to suppose this of a document much older, and drawn up by the notary Nicola Mazzocchi in the presence of witnesses? A mistake on the part of Sixtus V. is possible for the following reason: In the *Vita* dealt with *supra*, p. 407, the Pope inserted a correction to the effect that it was not his father but his mother who had had the dream; on the other hand in the corrections published by Pistolesi, Sixtus wrote: "Perectus pater fuit in somnis monitus." We must hope that my esteemed friend Fr. Pistolesi, who has made such indefatigable researches in the archives at Montalto, will be successful in clearing up this question as well. Pistolesi has rightly abandoned the idea of

[1] La prima biografia autentica di P. Sisto V., scritta dall'anonimo della Biblioteca Ferraioli di Roma, Montalto Marche, 1925.

publishing the draft by Graziani of a "Vita Sixti V." two copies of which exist in the Ferraioli Library.

39. Later Biographies of Sixtus V.

1. Gregorio Leti Even during the lifetime of Sixtus V. legend had begun to grow up round his extraordinary personality. This had already attained to a certain degree of development when a free-lance writer from Milan, who had embraced Calvinism, the adventurer Gregorio Leti (1630-1701)[1] obtained possession of the material. In 1669 there appeared at Lausanne his *Life of Sixtus V.* in two volumes, which immediately ran into several editions and was translated into French and German.[2] Its great popularity is explained in the first place by the absolute seriousness with which the author presents his work. "For a long time," he wrote in the preface to the new edition,[3] enriched with new anecdotes, and addressed from Amsterdam in 1693 to the Elector John William of the Palatinate, "I have with the help of my correspondents, been gathering literary material so as to give the finishing touches to a book which from its first appearance, and even before it was enriched with so much that is precious, has been received with universal applause. If the reading of my first *Life of Sixtus V.* has given so much pleasure, this one will do so in an even greater degree, as embodying more mature studies, since I have discovered a means of collecting much rare information that was hidden away in libraries." Various causes contributed to winning for the picture which Leti had drawn of the life of Sixtus V. a very wide circulation. In the first place there was the still strong interest in the great and strange figure of the Pope, who lived on in the memory of all men; to this was added the pleasant form of the narrative and the many spicy anecdotes, and lastly the fact that the Index had prohibited the work. The fact that almost a whole century had gone by before the appearance of a real historical and detailed description of the life of Sixtus V. enabled the

[1] *Cf.* A. Cameroni, Un scrittore avventuriero del sec. 17. G. Leti, Milan, 1894. A. Monti has recently tried in vain in the periodical La Parola, N.S. I. (Nov. 1924) to save the reputation of Leti. L. Fasso (Avventurieri della penna del Seicento, Florence, 1924) and A. Belloni, who reviewed it in the *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LXXXVI., 178, say of Leti's Life of Sixtus V.: "Non è una storia, ma un romanzo"; they rightly look upon it as a Calvinist libel.

[2] New editions appeared at Amsterdam in 1686, 1693, 1698, 1721; French translations in Paris in 1685, 1698, at Lyons 1701, in Paris 1714, in Brussels 1717, in Paris 1758; German translations at Leipzig 1706, and Frankfort 1720; the best edition appeared at Turin, 1853.

[3] *Cf. Allg. Zeitung*, 1893, Beilage n. 83.

caricature drawn in this great volume to set the tone to later opinion. Not even then was the worthlessness of Leti's work fully realized. Thus Wachler, who passed a severe judgment on Leti, and very properly denied to him all "critical exactitude or respect for historical truth," nevertheless stated in his *Geschichte des historischen Wissenschaft,* Vol. I. (Göttingen, 1813) that among the biographies by Leti "that of Cromwell was the most fabulous, and that of Sixtus V. the one worked out with the greatest accuracy" (p. 487 *seq.*). Ranke (Päpste, III., 59* *seqq.*) was the first to pronounce judgment and to hit the mark with regard to the work of Leti: going into the sources used by the adventurer, and showing how confusedly they were collected, and without criteria or critical sense, Ranke first showed that the *Life of Sixtus V.* by Leti was not really his own work, but an elaboration of an Italian manuscript, polished as to its style and furnished with various additions, which manuscript is to be found in the Corsini Library in Rome.[1] But this manuscript is "a collection of anecdotes, made after the lapse of several years, and quite apocryphal in character." Instead of "examining it and purging it of its defects, Leti has rather made worse that which he discovered" (RANKE, *loc. cit.*). The work is full of foolish inventions and obvious contradictions; it has not the smallest historical value.

2. CASIMIRO TEMPESTI, of the Order of St. Francis, to which Sixtus V. too had belonged, undertook the task of restoring the good name of the Pope, a thing which had become very necessary. He was not lacking in zeal, and consequently made every effort to consult the contemporary sources[2] which existed so plentifully in the Roman libraries, and which he introduced as much as possible into his text. His work[3] in two volumes, and published in 1754, is for the most part reliable and very creditable for those times, even though all the important sources have not been made use of; there is often a lack of critical acumen, and considerable errors

[1] Ranke does not mention any signature, but probably made use of the *Vita* in Cod. 161 (39, 14). Other copies are frequently to be met with in the Roman libraries, and I myself possess one bought in Rome in 1879.

[2] TEMPESTI, I., xiv. *seqq.* gives a good review of these.

[3] The work was completed at the end of 1751. An *Avviso of November 6, 1751, reports that it had been revised by scholars and all doubtful points cleared up, so that it would probably be sent to be printed at Florence (State Library, Munich, Ital. 199). A new addition, with additions, 2 vols. Rome, 1866.

have crept in here and there[1] while he speaks too much as an apologist.[2] Thus Tempesti wrongly denies the participation of Sixtus V. in the expedition against Saluzzo.[3] But on the whole it may be said, as of Maffei in the case of Gregory XIII., that Tempesti can rarely be consulted as to Sixtus V. without advantage. Nevertheless the work has failed in its purpose, since the dry and monotonous style, and the absence of all divisions prevent its having any wide circulation, except among scholars.[4]

3. What Tempesti lacked was possessed in a high degree by RANKE. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, though making use of further sources, he has in this work, as is his wont, drawn a brilliant and most interesting picture of the personality, and of the political, administrative and building activity of Sixtus V. (I., 285-315; II., 133-144). But this eclectic and aphoristic narrative is by no means sufficient. The treatment of one of the most important points, namely the relations of Sixtus V. with the League is frequently incomplete and often erroneous in Ranke (*cf. supra*, 335, 346, 352, 362). Quite incomprehensible is his serious neglect of the Pope's ecclesiastical activities, which were of quite special importance among the Popes of the Catholic reform.

4. There can be no question that the most serious defect in Ranke, besides his almost complete neglect of the negotiations concerning France, is the way he passes over the very important relations between Madrid and Rome. A diplomatist, Baron ALEXANDER VON HÜBNER, formerly Austrian ambassador to the Holy See, undertook the filling of these gaps. His biography of Sixtus V., which first appeared in French in 1870, and afterwards in English, Italian and German, in the latter case rather incomplete, is a work of lasting value. In a

[1] *Cf.* PISTOLESI, Sisto V. e Montalto, 10 *seqq.*, 44. See also SPARACIO, Sisto V., Perugia, 1923, 13.

[2] RANKE (III., 64*) points out this defect. The account of the events at Mülhausen, a thing specially brought out by the Berlin historian (*cf. supra*, p.), is nevertheless an unfortunate choice, since, as is rightly pointed out in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 257, n. 3, Tempesti is on the whole better informed than Ranke on that point. MANFRONI (Legazione, 193) rightly brings out the great accuracy of Tempesti. Tempesti's aim of enhancing the importance of his hero, even extended at times to the activities of the nuncios. An eloquent example of this is given us in his description of the Golden League, (see SEGESSER, III., 1, 147).

[3] See HÜBNER, I., 429; *cf.* also II., 217.

[4] DUMESNIL (Histoire de Sixte V., Paris, 1869) follows Tempesti for the most part; his work, however, is substantially no more than a diligent compilation (see REUMONT in *Bonner Theol. lit-Blatt.*, 1870, n. 16). The book of J. LORENTZ, Sixtus V. und seine Zeit, Mayence, 1852, which gives the old anecdotes, is of no value.

strictly objective style, the author gives us an attractive description of the manifold and varied activities of the Pope. Reumont, in a detailed review in the *Bonner Theol. Lit. Blatt.*, 1870, nn. 16, 17, has supplied an appreciation of the merits of this work, though he has not concealed its defects. Among these I count, besides the passing over of printed literature especially the faulty arrangement. As Reumont justly points out, the account of the internal condition of the States of the Church, and that of the spiritual and religious administration, leave much to be desired. Although the disturbances in France, which are admirably described, are brought a little too much into prominence, the political relations of the Papacy with Italy and the whole of Europe, dependent as they were on religious influences, are treated with knowledge of the material, and with accuracy.[1] In this well-weighed opinion Maurenbrecher (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXVIII., 181 *seqq.*) substantially concurs, and has rightly remarked that it is transparently clear that a professional diplomatist had composed this calm, limpid and logical narrative. H. Rump in *Lit. Handweiser*, 1875, 153 *seqq.*, has further shown that Hübner had unduly neglected other sources, especially the bulls of the Pope, in spite of the great wealth of diplomatic correspondence which he had consulted. Besides the fact that in consequence of this there are many gaps in the description of the ecclesiastical administration, this involves yet another fault. "It is especially in the case of Sixtus V., of whom it may be said with certainty that he gave a personal impress to the text of his bulls, it would have been of the greatest interest, alongside of so many reports of his everyday conversation, to have sometimes heard by way of contrast the solemn language of his decrees."[2]

In these criticisms there is no mention of the circumstance that Hübner did not make a sufficiently exhaustive examination of the diplomatic material for the years 1585-1590, as even Herre (Papastwahlen, 365, n. 1) supposes. On the title page Hübner gives as the authorities for his work, the diplomatic correspondence in the Papal Secret Archives, and the Archives at Simancas, Venice, Paris, Vienna and Florence. While on the whole good use has been made of the last five,

[1] HÜBNER sometimes leaves a great deal to be desired in the matter of knowledge of locality. He had been at Montalto, but it is impossible to understand how he could say (I., 216) that Apulia can be seen from there.

[2] *Cf.* also the *Revue crit.*, 1872, II., 397 *seq.*

the information drawn from the Papal Secret Archives is quite insufficient. Hübner gives as his excuse that during the jealous administration of A. Theiner access to these treasures was very difficult and sometimes quite impossible. But it still remains incomprehensible why Hübner did not avail himself of the plentiful materials contained in the Roman libraries, which were easily accessible ; of these he knows no more than is given by Ranke, and he has not even followed up the lead given by the latter. He did not even personally see the interesting note-book of Sixtus V. in the Chigi Library ! Further research in the Roman libraries would have yielded him valuable material, greater than that of Ranke. Even if it was not possible for Hübner to obtain the registers of briefs in the Papal Secret Archives, he could have found a complete copy of these, probably the work of Raynaldus in Cod. I., 58 of the Vallicella Library. There, too, as well as in the Corsini Library, the Ephemerides of Gualterius was accessible to him. At the Chigi library he might have consulted many reports of the nunciatures, in the Barberini library the Acta consistorialia and the Diarium P. Alaleonis, in the Vatican the Vita di Galesini and the Avvisi, as numerous as they are reliable. All these sources, and much diplomatic correspondence, as well as the reports, hardly at all used before, but very valuable, of the envoy of Mantua in the Gonzaga Archives, have been used in the present volume.

5. Of the works which have appeared since Hübner, special mention must be made, besides the valuable sketch of BALZANI,[1] of the exhaustive description of the complicated state of affairs in France, which L'EPINOIS, with copious use of the materials in the Papal Secret Archives, has given in his excellent book, *La Ligue et les Papes*, published in 1886. A new treatment of the conclave, and a much needed and shrewd elaboration of what Ranke and Hübner had written as to various important points in the pontificate of Sixtus V., has recently been given by HERRE in his great work on the Papal elections.

6. Of fundamental importance for the relations of Sixtus V. with Germany is the edition, undertaken by the Görres-Gesellschaft, of the reports of the nunciature during the

[1] In the *Cambridge Modern History*, III. (1904), 422-455, besides a full bibliography 835-838 ; Italian translation in the *Profili* of FORMIGGINI. n. 26, Genoa, 1913.

pontificate of Sixtus V., of which five volumes have so far appeared. What has been accomplished by the editors, EHSES, MEISTER, REICHENBERGER and SCHWEIZER, is all the more valuable in that the diplomatic papers of that pontificate had been scattered to the winds, and probably to some extent altogether lost. In the very place where research would first be made, the Papal Secret Archives, there is only a small part. The observations of the editors concerning the manuscript material show what trouble has been taken to collect this material. In this connexion Schlecht remarks in a review of the first volume: "Without the discoveries made by Ehses in the capitular library at Vercelli, and by Pastor in the National library at Naples,[1] it would not have been possible to take in hand an edition of the nunciature at Cologne, just as it would have been impossible to do so in the case of the Imperial nunciature without the so-called Argenti papers in the Chigi Library; even so there is in this first volume a large gap, embracing a period of about a year and a half (November, 1585—February, 1587), which only from necessity has been bridged by information taken from other published or unpublished sources, especially from the reports of the Imperial nunciature." (*Lit. Handweiser*, 1896, 177).[2] In the *Nuntiaturberichten* diligent use has also been made of the briefs of Sixtus V., as to the state of which Ehses has given a detailed account in the 2nd Volume of the *Nunciature of Cologne* (p. ix *seq.*).

40. VITA SIXTI QUINTI IPSIUS MANU EMENDATA.

The author begins with the following words: "Sixto Quinto Pontifici Maximo parentes probi homines atque innocentes fuere, sed humiles adeo atque inopes, ut vitam quotidianae operae labore et alieni parvique agri cultura tolerarent filiumque primos aetatis ineuntis annos in eadem humilitate habitum in Franciscanorum familiam tradidisse pro magno fortunae atque domus incremento duxerint.

[1] *Cf.* my Reisebericht in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XV., 711 *seq.*

[2] The Graziani Archives at Città di Castello (*cf.* REUMONT in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1862, add. to n. 236), which are important because among the correspondence for the years 1585 and 1586 in the possession of Graziani there are the letters of the secretary of the Cardinal, Decio Azzolini, have most unfortunately proved inaccessible (see EHSES, II., ix. 523, and REICHENBERGER, I., x). The Azzolini archives in Rome too, which would undoubtedly be interesting for Sixtus V., have been inaccessible. While I am writing these lines a correction is likely, by reason of the negotiations going on for the acquisition of the Graziani Archives by the Holy See.

Quippe pavisse puerum pecus et Picaentes memorant et ipse adeo non diffitetur, ut etiam prae se ferat natura humilitatis ac modestiae amicus."

There then follows an account of the parents of Sixtus V.[1] Of his sisters he specially mentions Camilla: "Camilla a patre Ioanni Baptistae de Mignuciis in oppido Montisalti in matrimonium est tradita, ex quo Franciscum ac Mariam Felicem genuit, quos inde amisso viro, fratris accitu Romam veniens, secum adduxit; et ab eo nondum alios quam ordinis sui honores assecuto, inops atque egens cum filiis alita ac sustentata est, cum ille vitae subsidia dempta necessitatibus suis insigni pietate in sororem conferret."

The description of the previous period of the life of Sixtus V. is treated comparatively briefly. Of importance is the information concerning the support he received from Julius III.: "Iulius tertius Pontfex Maximus Romae in eodem concionandi munere ad insequentem annum retinuit assignata illi pensione, qua vitam honeste toleraret; quae res illi magno apud suos honori fuit" and Paul IV. "Is igitur ad Pontificatum Maximum elatus pariter et conservandae integritati traditae a Deo religionis[2] colendae [que] pietatis et collapsae sacrorum disciplinae restituendae magnopere incubuerat atque in id consilium Romam undique viros vitae ac doctrinae laude praestantes evocaverat, in quibus fuit Felix Neapoli honorifici litteris accersitus."

The hostility to Venice is passed over; only the broken health of Fra Felice is mentioned. In the same way the author says not a word of the disfavour into which Cardinal Montalto fell with Gregory XIII. On the other hand he tells us in detail of the Cardinal's buildings: Habitavit primo in Parione modicis aedibus ab se pretio emptis, quas tamen aedificavit et additis, quae adiunctae illis erant domibus, multo ampliores illustrioresque reddidit. Deinde migravit in Esquilinum permansitque ibi usque ad Pontificatum Maximum, delectatus hortis, quos ipse et comparaverat sibi et excoluerat. Sed enim animum in omni actione novae fortunae parem praetulit, nec humilitatis atque originis suae vestigium in eo ullum agnosceres praeterquam vitae victusque parsimoniam, quam perpetuo in ipso quoque Pontificatu Maximo retinuit,

[1] Patri ipsi nomen fuit Peretto, quod Italorum lingua parvum pirum significat. Idp ostea Felix pio erga parentem animo in gentis suae cognomen vertit. Grottamare is mentioned as the place of birth.

[2] *Ms.* rat.onis.

cultu corporis simplici, cibo parabili et vulgari contentus omni mensarum luxu, omnibus gulae lenociniis atque irritamentis reiectis. In caeteris rebus magnificentiam magnitudinemque animi mireris. Nam hortos in Esquilino monte aedesque in hortis laxe ac magnifice aedificavit exaequatis late vallibus tumulisque complanatis et delectis arboribus consitis. Habitavitque ibi, quamquam parum salubris coeli opinio ei a multis incuteretur. Quam quidem opinionem et ipse contempsit et res ipsa et integra nec unquam tentata sua aut suorum valetudo refellit. Cuius sane domus ea laxitas est, ut Pontificem quoque coeperit delectaveritque magnopere et novitate formae et elegantia ; sacellum in templo Divae Mariae Maioris in eodem Esquilino ad Praesepe, in quo Christum Deum enixa pro maiestate numinis eius ornandum ea opere inchoavit cardinalis ut ne Pontifex quidem aut formam mutaverit aut splendoris addere quidquam potuerit. In eodem templo iacentibus vulgari tumulo Nicolai quarti Pontificis Maximi ossibus sepulchrum e marmore rarisque lapidibus cum geminis columnis e porphyrite et signis tribus statuit, eo opere atque impensa, ut honorificentius ab ipso sibi poni Pontifice vix potuerit.

After the account of the conclave, the author passes on to describe the first years of the pontificate, in doing which he naturally does not omit giving a description of the sad conditions which Sixtus V. found in the Papal States. He first treats of the internal administration, the enterprises against the bandits and pirates, as well as his interest in the Abbondanza. Then the life turns to the severity of the Pope towards France and Spain. With regard to the former the author remarks : " Si qua vero aut suam aut Romanae Ecclesiae iuraque laedere videretur, in his severum ac minime tractabilem se praebabat. Et forte accidit, ut eodem paene tempore due duorum christianae reipublicae maximorum regum ministri severitatem eius lacessierint, ut iis in ipso Pontificatus initio salubriter cohibitis et maiestas nominis sui in posterum sanciretur et exemplum omnibus ab officio non discedendi statueretur. Osanae dux, Neapolitani regni pro Philippo rege vicarius, contra iura foederis fideique, qua illud est regnum Romanae Ecclesiae obstrictum, decretum adversus Beneventanos fecerat, et quo magis ei civitati incommodaret ac celebritatem nundinarum impediret, quae haberi apud eos

statutis anni diebus solent, ne quis frumenta commeatusque Beneventum importaret, edixerat. Quod cum a legatis Beneventanis delatum ad Pontificem esset, significari statim vicario iussit, decretum abrogaret edictumque refigeret; siquidem ex legibus foederis, quo Romanae Ecclesiae Neapolitanum regnum obstringitur, adversarentur. Cunctanti excusantique et rem nunciis ac litteris extrahere conanti denunciari iussit, nisi intra praefinitam ab se diem quod contra ius foederum edixerat, revocasset, se eum sacris prohibiturum atque hostem indicaturum. Suetis sub Gregorio audere impune omnia asperior ac praecisa nimis imperandi ratio haec videbatur iniectumque nimiae licentiae frenum nequaquam aequis animis admittebant. Quamquam vicarius quidem, cum explorasset per amicos Pontificis voluntatem firmamque atque immotam intellexisset, moram sibi ad parendum non fecit et antiquato decreto Romam, qui Sixto satisfaceret, misit."

The account of the incident with France over the mission of Frangipani adds nothing new to what we are told in the diplomatic reports. In the description of the relations with Germany, Reichenberger (I., 305 n.) quotes a passage. The same applies to the interesting information concerning Báthory and Sixtus V.

A large portion of the life is occupied by remarks on the beautifying of Rome and the buildings of Sixtus V. As to this all that was hitherto known was a passage published in PLATNER (I., 702). The "Vita," however, has much to tell us as to this which is worthy of being recorded.

Nec Sixtus interea a magnifici operibus substructionibusque inchoandis perficiendisque cessavit. Quaternas vias a templo divae Mariae Maioris, quod sibi ab eximia in Dei genitricem religione ornandum concelebrandumque susceperat, duxit munivitque: unam ad aedem Trinitatis, quam sacerdotes Gallici nominis, qui fratres Minimi dicuntur, incolunt, atque inde ad Portam Flaminiam, alteram ad aedem Sanctae Crucis in Hierusalem, tertiam ad Portam Tiburtinam, quae ad sancti Laurentii templum ducit, quartam per Traiani Columnam aedemque Virginis, quae Laureti vocatur, ad sanctum Marcum, stratas et curribus pervias omnes; quibus et ornatus Urbi et ipsi templo Sanctae Mariae Maioris maiestas magnopere est addita. Et ne quid veterum monumentorum non ad cultum christianae religionis redactum cerneretur, Columnis

ipsis Traiani et Antonini marmoreas ingentes statuas, alterae [sic] Petri, alterae Pauli apostolorum custodum huius urbis imposuit Populus Romanus Pontificum Maximorum permissu Capitolium aedificare ac pro veteri nominis eius amplitudine exornare instituerat, ubi datus a Pontificibus Maximis magistratus forum agit ac ius populo dicit. Sed qui aedificationem curabant, studio antiquitatis provecti, cum alia signa deorum, quos olim veri expers civitas coluit, circum aedes posuerant, tum in ipsa aedificii fronte ac fastigio statuam tonantis Iovis mediam inter Palladem et Apollinem antiqui omnes operis collocarant. Ea res priscae superstitionis vanitatem referre visa Sixti animum iam tum graviter offenderat, cum cardinalis esset eamque cum plerisque palam detestatus fuerat. Creatus Pontifex amoliri statim iussit deprecantique magistratui ipsum se Capitolium everturum disturbaturumque, ni paruissent extemplo, est interminatus. Sed Iove atque Apolline amotis Minervam reliquit, quae galea atque armata urbem ipsam Romam referret, in cuius dextera detracta hasta veteris eius [sic !] Divae insigni aeneam ingentem crucem ad significandam veram civitatis religionem imperiumque non alteri iam quam uni Iesu Christo vero Deo ac verae salutis datori subiectum reposuit. In Vaticano Palatio bibliothecam a Sixto quarto Pontifice Maximo centum ante annis instauratam, sed loco abdito parumque illustri nec satis salubri relictam, transferre in splendidiorem partem palatii et libris, quos undique conquiri iussit, locupletare atque ornare destinavit ; ibidem instituta typographia et eius artis peritissimis hominibus praemio auctis quo librorum, qui in bibliotheca sunt manu scripti graeci latinique permulti probatissimique praelo impressi ederentur. Aedes Lateranensi fano adiunctas, ubi antiquorum Pontificum sedes et domicilium fuit, collaspas deformatasque vetustate ac neglectu, non instaurare, sed de integro aedificare multo quam antea ampliores splendidioresque instituit. Templum Petri et Pauli a Iulio secundo Pontifice Maximo inchoatum, quod aedificii magnificentia lapidum mole immanique magnitudine multorum saeculorum opus videbatur, pietate atque animo prope maiore quam ipsum opus, perficiendum suscepit, ut, ubi caput rerum et christianae religionis principatus sedesque divinitus constituta et apostolorum ipsorum morte ac sanguine sancita esset, ibi et Deo cultus et apostolis honos templo, quam

fieri humana ope posset maximo magnificentissimoque haberetur. Et quo rem ipso statim incepto nobilitaret ac per omnia summorum principum gloriam aemularetur, immensi ponderis obeliscum in forum quod ante templi ipsius gradus latissimum est, transtulit. Hunc olim in Vaticano circo Caius locavit Augusto et Tiberio sacratum. Aegypto advectus et ab Nuncoreo seu Pheronio traditur excisus, Sesostridis filio, cuius regis tantas opes atque ex his tantam superbiam atque vanitatem fuisse memoriae proditum est, ut statis annis ad currum quo ipse sublimis vehebatur, sorte lectos alios reges imperio eius parentes iungere solitus dicatur. Caeterum Vaticani collis faciem fortunamque ut fere omia aetas mutavit. Nam qui quondam desertus habitatoribus et suppliciis, quae in eo de sontibus sumebantur et coeli gravitate infamis habebatur, is nunc et nobilibus circa domibus frequentibusque aedificiis late colitur et Pontificum Maximorum sede et maiestate ac religione templi sacratus cum honore ac veneratione aditur. In templi ipsius latere, quo meridiem aspicit, obscuro ac abdito in angulo paene obrutus terra Vaticanus obeliscus visebatur. Et cum loco illustriori dignum omnis inde aetas iudicarit videreturque magnum decus novo templo additurus, si apto loco statueretur, omnes tamen difficultas moliendi tantum saxi pondus deterruit. Et superiores Pontifices cupidinem hominum de transferendo eo agitarunt magis sermone et consultatione peritorum quam aggredi ipsi rem sumptu et molimine arduam ausi sunt. At Sixtus magnarum rerum appetens et, ut quodque difficillimum ita eius perficiendi maxime avidus adeo non cunctanter adortus est opus, ut architectum ex Etruria ad consultandum accitum, annum sibi excogitandis ferramentis machinisque poscentem spretum derisumque remiserit domum, et protinus invadi rem atque inchoari impigre opus imperavit, haud ferme alterius ingenio usus, quam Dominici cuiusdam a Lario lacu, qui ex fabro naturali acumine et exercitatione magis quam studio aut doctrina ulla evaserat architectus. Ab hoc felici conatu depositus prius, deinde traductus, postremo (quod multo operosius fuit) erectus statutusque est medio fori spatio e regione arae maximae et detracto aeneo globo, qui fastigio eius impositus erat, eodem aeneam crucem illitam auro reposuit. Quae quidem crux, magna cum pompa ac supplicatione a sacerdotibus linteis in vestibus e templo sancti

Petri elata atque ad ipsius crepidinem obelisci statuta ara solemni carmine ab infulato episcopo consecrata, manu etiam sacerdotis summo cacumine imposita est venerantibusque eam Sixtus peccatorum veniam atque indulgentiam est elargitus, confertissimo circa populo, qui non forum modo, sed omnia circa forum tecta compleverat et Sixti magnitudinem admirante et singulare humanae salutis insigne laeto ac religioso clamore salutante. Atque ita, quod ignara veri antiquitas fabulosis numinibus inani caerimonia sacraverat, id Sixtus iusta religione cruci subiecit ferendoque salutari hominum generi signo dicavit, ut ubi grassatum olim suppliciis in christianos et passim fixae cruces, in quas innoxia natio sublata teterrimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruci et in crucis versa honorem cultumque ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur. Et quod rarum ab condito orbe et soli Aegyptii reges Romanique Caesares et horum ipsorum non nisi qui florentissimis rebus usi sunt, usurparunt et pro maximo inde regni nominisque monumento duxerunt, id Sixtus primis Pontificatus sui diebus at enimo concepit et stabili decreto perfecit tenuitque universae civitatis oculos novae et post mille quingentos amplius annos relatae rei spectaculo, cum aut sedibus suis evulsam tolleret molem uni tempore, et duodenis vectibus impulsam et quinis tricenis ergatis, quas equi bini, homines deni agebant in sublime elatam, aut cum suspensam inde sensim deponeret extenderetque humi iunctis trabibus atque ex bis ingenti composita traha, quae iacentem exciperet, aut cum suppositis cylindris (sunt hae ligneae columellae teretes ac volubiles) quaternis ergatis protracta paulatim per editum et ad altitudinem basis, cui imponenda erat excitatum aggerem atque undique egregie munitum incederet. Denique cum iterum erecta librataque suis reposita sedibus est. Opus longe omnium antiquissimum, is ipse perhibetur obeliscus, quippe multis ante conditam Romam saeculis excisus, non regibus solum, qui exciderunt sed regnis quoque eorum superfuit. Item Caesaribus Caesarumque imperio, a quibus deportatus Romam est. Nunc demum cruce sacratus reverentia religionis aeternitatem sortitus videri potest. Ac ne illud quidem silentio praetereundum aut non aliquo Dei numine singularique huius obelisci fato accidisse censendum est, quod a Caio et Nerone duobus importunissimis humane naturae monstris ac saevis adoles-

centis et incrementa capientis Ecclesiae hostibus dicatus Augusto et Tiberio fuerit, quorum sub altero natus, sub altero morte atque cruce affectus Christus est. Et quorum Augustus senatum cupientem sibi divinitatem decernere cohibuit et ipso in sole medioque radiorum orbe Christi nuper nati matris gremio insidentis speciem conspexisse monstrante Sybilla dicitur. Et Nicephorus ecclesiasticae historiae scriptor tradit eidem Augusto consulenti super successore Pythium Apollinem, primo non redditum responsum, deinde quaerenti iterum, quid ita sibi oraculum negaretur, haec edita a vate carmina fuisse : Me puer Hebraeus Divos Deus ipse gubernans cedere sede iubet tristemque redire sub Orcum, ergo aris tacitus tu dehinc abscedito nostris. Quibus oraculis visionibusque commotum tactumque religione etiam ignoti Dei Augustum aram, quam coeli appellari iussit, in Capitolio consecrasse memorant. Et Tiberius (quod Tertullianus vetustissimus auctor scriptum reliquit) acceptis prodigiis, quae secuta mortem Christi ferebantur de illo asciscendo in Deorum numerum et retulit ad senatum et eo rem non probante nihilominus inter privatos deos colere perseveravit. Scilicet ut subscripta cruci cernantur duorum imperatorum nomina, qui et in ipso christiani nominis ortu rerum potiti sunt ac ne fuisse quidem alienos ab eo adorando, qui humano generi salutem crucis supplicio peperit, existimari possunt. Dominicum Fontanam, artificem ac molitorem egregii operis, magnis praemiis, ut dignum principe, Sixtus affecit. Primum aureo torque donatum ipsum posterosque eius e plebe ad equestrem ordinem transtulit honorificis verbis apud Patres collaudatum. Deinde et praesentia nummum aureorum quinque millia numerari illi iussit et pensionem annuam duorum item millium scutorum, quamdiu vixisset statuit. Ac praeterea materiam omnem ad transferendum erigendumque obeliscum adhibitam, ut haberet sibi, concessit, cuius aestimatio viginti nummum aureorum millia excessisse fertur. Transtulit quoque alium olim in Campo Martio ab Augusto Caesare positum, quem casu suo comminutum, ante sancti Rocchi aedem, multa saecula iacentem videre. Hunc in Exquilinum collem, eodem ergatarum molimine pertraxit, ante Sanctae Mariae Maioris aedem ad hortos suos subrecturus. Dicitur et tertium eiusdem Augusti munere locatum in Circo Maximo, eruturus terra, qua alte sepultus iacet, et ad Lateranense

templum a ruinis, ubi circus fuit, transportaturus. Verum aequasse veterum famam obeliscorum molitione non contentus, adiecit aliud haud minus magnificum opus. Saluberrima pars urbis Quirinalis collis habetur Exquilino novis a Sixto viis iunctus. Cum fervent aestate calores, maxime in eum seceditur et valetudinis et animi causa, quod ibi frigidior aer et purior hauriri creditur, sed villis hortisque egregie cultus deliciis aquae destituitur, quam nisi pluviam fere non habet, nec spes ducendi eam ulla tentata, quando neque in propinquo fons esset, et longius petere operosum atque anceps et sumptus magni negotium videbatur. Sixtus missis libratoribus, qui rem explorarent, ubi montem subituram aquam satis comperit haud mora geminos iungit fontes magnitudine prope iusti fluvii et fornicibus partim veteribus repertis purgatisque partim extructis novis longe uberrimam potuque salubrem aquam sexto decimo lapide ab urbe in colles Exquilinum et Quirinalem induxit, quae brevi in privatorum domos hortosque derivata excultiora omnia amoenioraque effectura videtur.

After this the " Vita " treats of the draining of the Pontine Marshes, the control of prostitutes, good morals, the relatives of Sixtus V., the Pope's religious activity, his care for his native place, and the creation of Cardinals of 1585. With the assurance that it is his intention to continue the work (see Ranke, III. 68*) unhappily the author here breaks off. The creation of December, 1586, is not mentioned. The work must therefore have been written before that event and not in 1587, as Ranke (*loc. cit.*) thinks.

41. Sixtus Quintus Pontifex Maximus.

Cap. I. Sixti genus, parentes, patria.

As is the case elsewhere, here too the author combats any depreciation of his hero : " Natales illi quidem non, ut vulgus ob recentis dominationis invidiam iactavit, usque ad sordes et . . . abiecti quamquam angustis in rebus humilies." There then follows the extraordinary story related by Ranke (III 69*) that Sixtus particularly wished to call himself Crinitus, and the explanation of the coat of arms. His mother's family is treated of in detail (*cf.* Tempesti I 10) ; her place of birth was not Camerino but the neighbouring

Ferentillo. Grottammare is given as the birth-place of Sixtus V; the same is stated in Cap. 3.

Cap. II. Ortus Sixti divinitus eiusque futura magnitudo praenuntiatur.

A detailed account of the dream which foretold his future greatness. Various versions are given; besides what is related in the "Vita Sixti V ipsius manu emendata" we are told of an Epistola, given in its entirety "Juliani Matthei ex pago Firmano Francavilla Franciscani ad Pontificem Sixtum (dat. Maceratae 1587 Nov. 6). Caeterum id undequaque exploratum est tantam hoc ex oraculo fuisse vel Peretto patri vel Sixto filio futurae magnitudinis fiduciam, ut Perettus quidem, cum infantem adhuc circumgestaret Sixtum, amicis vicinisque pontificem se maximum gestare palam affirmaret pedemque infantis iam tum (ridentibus omnibus festivam, ut arbitrabantur, hominis insaniam) osculandum obviis ingereret. Neque ullis aut iocantium conviciis aut irridentium contumeliis deterreri ab constanti eius praedictione, dum vixit, potuit."

Cap. III. Infanti Sixto nomen Felicis insigni cum parentum altercatione imponitur eiusque pueritia gemino periculo eripitur.

. . . Neque periculis tenera Felicis aetas insignibus vacavit. Accensam olim candelam mater prope cunas infantis filii deposuerat, dum curis aliis alio deinde avocatur; candalae flamma reliquum depasta pabulum cunas invasit. Fit reliquorum infantium ad repentinum emicantis flammae conspectum comploratio. Excita vocibus et eiulatu Mariana periculi ignora segnius quam oportuerat accurrit iamque omnia late incendium occuparat. Ergo periculo tandem, quod imprudens ipso filio crearat, conspecto ad extinguendum ignem exanimae similis advolat. Verum dum se miseram inclamans Felicem per flammas petit praeter spem non modo incolumem, sed etiam ridenti similem offendit. Et hoc quidem ab igne Felix aliud non levius a pestilentia periculum paucis post annis effugit. Gravis afflixit Clemente VII, uti antea dicebam, Pontifice aliquot Piceni urbes pestilentia, reliquarum, ut fit, assecla, quae eo tempore Italiam vexavere calamitatum. Haec inter promiscua funera Felicis fratrem magno parentum luctu, maiore domus totius periculo absump-

sit. Dum enim quae extinctum puerum attigerant vestes vel expiationi vel incendio, ne contagione noceant, parantur, Felix elati iam fratris pileolum pueriliter surreptum capiti imposuit suo aufugitque. Perculsi metu parentes promissis, minis, clamore frustra revocant. Contento quippe nihilominus cursu ille abripit se contactumque lue spolium multas horas ludibundus circumgestat. Neque tamen quicquam vel tunc vel postea noxae sensit.

Cap. IV. Studia litterarum et religiosae apud Franciscanos vitae initia.

. . . Iam diu Peretto improba egestas omnem Felicis apud mercenarium doctorem instruendi praeciderat spem. Itaque laboribus aliis per aetatem minime idoneum hortorum reique domesticae custodiae interdum adhibebat. Atque hinc equidem vulgari fabulae locum factum existimo, qua herile pecus Sixtum prima aetate pavisse, ipso etiam vivente, ferebatur. Quod falso esse iactatum, ipsius Sixti testimonium ostendit. Cum enim ea vir ille fuerit vel aequitate animi vel magnitudine, ut humilitatem generis, ingenue semper fassus, si quae essent veteris fortunae tenebrae, ultro, ad praesentis excitandum splendorem, memoraret, hoc unum tamen, affictum natalibus suis probrum, adeo non agnovit, ut ex iis, quae supra memorabam, incerti auctoris, de eius vita commentariis, totum eum locum, quo sibi subulci nota appingebatur, expunxerit. Neque alia de causa inchoatam illam de vita rebusque a se gestis historiam ab eodem auctore continuari vetuit, quod Martinus Cappellettus, Sixti familiaris, olim mihi narrare consueverat. Fabulae igitur domestici forte sues, inter hortorum purgamenta, a Peretto more gentis educati, fecere locum, cum vix ullus sit Piceni agri cultor cui porcus et gallina villaticae pastionis pars prima non sit.

How poor his parents were is also clear from the following full description of the difficulty in getting Felice educated (*cf.* RANKE, III, 70*). His entrance into the Order took place in 1533 (*cf. supra*, p. 28); his profession in 1543. Exitu anni insequentis religiosam illam disciplinam Felix solemnibus nuncupatis votis pro eius more aetatis, qua Tridentini decreta nulla erant, adhuc impubes rite profitetur. Fra Salvatore is renowned as being sacerdos pius antiqui moris et probi. Moreover, he is sensitive: Erat Salvatori severum ac triste ingenium. . . . Utebatur Felice Salvator in domesticis mini-

steriis imperiose ac duriter neque, si quid ob imbecillitatem aut aetatem peccaret, impune erat. Ea tamen universa Felix insigni supra puerilem captum patientia devorabat. Narrare interdum per iocum, non sine morosi senis festiva insectatione solebat iam Pontifex Sixtus, saepe sibi impactos a Salvatore colaphos, quod cibos sedenti dum apponeret, non satis aut attolleret aut promoveret, cum tamen, quantum posset etiam in summos elatus peditum dignitos conaretur, se enim tenerae eius aetatis initiis vix summam mensae cui senex adsidebat oram mento excessisse. . . . Primas grammaticae litteras a publico Montaltenis pueritae institutore didicit, ad quem nihilo quam Salvator mitiorem bis quotidie e Franciscanorum coenobio, quod iusto erat ab oppido milliari, ventitabat. In hunc modum primis grammaticae latinaeque linguae superatis rudimentis philosophiam ac theologiam a suis iisque nobilibus magistris auditurus Firmum primo, tum Ferrariam, postremo Bononiam eodem Salvatore curante transit. Ubique summis ob rerum omnium egestatem laboribus vexatus annis omnino sex philosophiae et theologiae spatia emensus est.

Speaking of his course of studies, the author tells of Fra Felice's enthusiasm as follows: Narrabat inter familiares, cum eos ad praesentes tolerandas angustias hilarius hortaretur iam cardinalis, se non semel . . . noctes ipsas libris commodatis lectitandis stantem ad lucernas quae publice in conenobio ardent in angulis vigilasse, iis nonnunquam absumpto eleo extinctis ad eas, quae in templis sanctissimae Eucharistiae praelucent, confugisse.

Cap. V. Assisii disputator, Romae concionator et vulgo et principibus viris mire placet.

A detailed description of the disputations at Assisi. "Ex eoque die Carpensis Montalti patrocinium suscepit neque nisi Vita deserente deposuit." Carpi protected him against the envy of his companions in the Order, shown for the first time in 1550. His sermons at Camerino won him such a reputation that the inhabitants of Belforte, which he passed through on his journey, forced him to preach there three times. "Sesium venit paucisque concionibus ita Picenum sui nominis fama complevit, ut in Romanas quoque aures incurreret." Great success of the sermons in Rome: "Maior expectatione visus Felix usque adeo, ut ampluna quamvis SS. Apostolorum

Romae templum confluentem multitudinem non caperet, quare pulpita circumquaque, ex quibus audiretur, exstructa."

Cap. VI. Montalto cum Ghislerio Alexandrino iungendae familiaritatis occasio.

. . . Mos erat Montalto, sive ex evangelii explicandi sive ex moris christiani formandi occasione catholicae veritatis effatis in loco orationem inspergere iamque quadragesimam emensus feliciter tenebat cursum, cum concionem maxime meditanti libellus apte complicatus obsignatusque a socio affertur illi inscriptus. Eum in ipso suggestu repertum a se socius affirmabat, dum quod diligentes solent concionatorum socii locum ante concionem lustrat. Credidit uterque litteras esse egeni alicuius egestati suae subsidium ab auditorum misericordia per codicillos postulantis prohibente verecundia ut assolet, ne manifestus recederet. Itaque ne resignatum quidem socio reddit iusso, ut qui mos est Italicis concionatoribus, post captam in media oratione quietem, inter libellos reliquos multitudini recitandos, hunc quoque redderet. Iam priorem orationis partem exegerat, cum oblatum libellum resignat ac tacitus, ut populo summam exponat, legere incipit. Prudentiae ac fortitudinis insigne opus fuit nihil eo perlecto conturbari. Vecors enim et stolide impium scriptum erat; quotquot ad eam diem catholicae fidei dogmata Montaltus pro concione affirmarat, ordine collecta continebat singulisque id tantum addebat litteris grandioribus: Mentiris. Complicatum dissimulanter libellum, sed ita, ut consternationis manifestus multis esset, ad pectus demittit, orationemque brevi praecisam, paucis absolvit. Ubi in cubiculum se recepit, nihil prius quam socium ad fr. Michaelem Ghislerium, sacrorum in haeresim quaesitorum primarium ministrum, cum libello ablegat. Quaque illum ratione tum reperisset tum ad se detulisset, narrare iubet. Nulla mora fuit. Ut erat Ghislerius in iis, quae ad christianae fidei tuendam integritatem pertinebant, ardentis animi, codem die Felicem convenit iuratumque severe de re tota articulatim interrogat. Narrare solitum, cum deinde Pontifex esset, Sixtum accepimus, magno sibi terrori quamvis innoxio severam frontem, adducta supercilia, oculos ab eminente naso introrsum conditos, raras et graves voces Ghislerii, dum quaestio tenuit, fuisse. Ea absoluta, ubi Montalti innocentia, immo catholicae rei

studium, ex rei gestae serie luculenter apparuit tantum fiduciae ac bonae spei a mutato repente eiusdem Ghislerii vultu accessisse. Prorsus enim hominem alterum dixisses: adeo amanter in collum Montalti confestim egregius quaesitor invasit neque deosculandi hominis ullum finem, nisi lacrimis impeditus fecit.

Cap. VII. Per magnam multorum invidiam et obtrectationem ad magnos multosque honores evadit.

A very full account of the hostility which Fra Felice had to endure, and especially the opposition in Venice. *Cf. supra*, p. 34,

Cap. VIII. Romanae Inquisitionis consultor, sui ordinis procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii Montaltus adscribitur.

The mistake made by RANKE (*cf. supra*, p. 32, n. 2) is explained by the fact that he only read the title; the text says: "Hoc ipso tempore Tridentini concilii rebus tractandis examinandisque amplissimum Romae Pontifex cardinalium praefecerat coetum illique gravissimos a consiliis theologos attribuerat. Inter hos Montaltum adscribi a Pontifice Carpensis sive vetera beneficia tuendi sive vehementius invidos urendi studio curavit."

Cap. IX. "Post insignem repulsam pontificii legati theologus, generalis Franciscanorum vicarius, demum episcopus creatur."

Cf. supra, p. 37. Here too there are many details, which, however, are rather of interest for the history of the Order. Of the journey to Spain it is stated: "Eo in munere multa et egit Montaltus praeclare et fortiter tulit. Cum enim non satis omnes, qui apud legatum poterant, aequissimos haberet, non pauca fuere necessario devoranda. Acciditque nonnunquam, ut quasi per iniuriam aut necessitatem iumento, destitutus vehiculis, quibus impedimenta comportabantur deferri necesse fuerit."

Cap. X. Post honorifice delatum episocpatum per iniquorum hominum calumniam cardinalatus Montalto maturatur.

. . . Cum ergo, dum haec fiunt, aliquot illatas in eius conclavia, obseratas arcas distulisset rumor (neque quicquam eorum quae domi faceret, clam erat, cum in Franciscanorum

coenobio inter veteres aemulos habitaret), fuere qui Pontifici nunciarent, Montaltum vix dum episcopum religiosae paupertatis oblitum splendide habitare, opulentam supellectilem aggerere, quod bonis viris offensioni esset. Pius silentio delatoribus imperato rem per se omnem exploraturus iter alio nomine susceptum repente ad Franciscanos flectit. Rectaque ad Agathensis episcopi sedem divertit. Ibi exclusis aliis cum multa vago sermone ab illo quaereret, diligenter omnia oculis lustravit. Cumque primum nudos omni vesta parietes, contra quam delatores nunciarant, vehementer probasset, quid arcis illis (quatuor erant) clauderetur, quaerit. Forte evenerat, ut eo ipso tempore, quo adventare Pontificem nunciatum Montalto est, ex iis arcis duas ille recluderet, neque otium aut cura, dum ad Pontificem festinat, iterum claudendi fuerat ; elato ergo statim alterius operculo : libri, inquit, pauci quidem sunt, beatissime Pater, quas mecum Sanctam Agatham defero vel curae pastoralis adiumentum vel solitudinis solatium. Nihil tum ad ea Pontifex. nisi quod collaudato bibliothecae instruendae studio : an sancti Thomae suo iussu Romae nuper editi praeclara illa volumina coëmisset, interrogavit. Neque expectato responso, bene homini iterum ac tertio precatus abiit paucosque post dies accersito rem totam, uti gesta erat, aperuit. Eae res destinatos Montalto honores maturavere ; sic omnino Pius erat. Destinata semel animo, si quis per malas artes oppugnaret, acrius ac festinantius urgebat. Proxima ergo Senatus amplissimi lectione in cardinalium collegium Montaltum cooptat anno salutis MDLXIX.

Cap. XI. Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita et mores.

Fuerunt qui dicerent non aequum Montalto cardinali fuisse Gregorium, eo maxime argumento, quod constitutam cardinalibus minime locupletibus annuam a Pontificio fisco pensionem Montalto postremis sui Pontificatus annis persolvi vetuerat. Causam fuisse praehibent splendide aedificatam a Sixto in Exquilino villam. Eam enim cum praeteriret aliquando Gregorius, percontatus, cuius illa opus esset, ubi a cardinali Montalto extructam audivit, nimirum, inquit, egeni cardinalis aedificatio haec esse minime videtur. Quare, ne egenis constituta stipendia in copiosos absumeret, Montaltum inter indigentes in posterum referri vetuit.

Cap. XII. Francisci Peretti caedes incredibili animi aequitate tolerata.

Here once more we find mention of "Gregorii minus aequus animus," and we are informed that it was stated that the Pope had said to the Cardinals: "Caverent magnum illum cinerarium, qua voce Montaltum a colore franciscani vestitus designabat." After the description of Montalto's mastery over himself on the occasion of the assassination of his nephew, the author remarks: "Ea animi aequitatis aditum Montalto ad Pontificatum aperuisse credita constanter est."

Cap. XIII. "Pontifex Maximus magna Patrum consensione declaratur."

Cf. supra, p. 14, n. 5; p. 20, n. 5; p. 22, n. 2.

The author refrains from giving any account of the pontificate of Sixtus V. In the second part he only speaks of his character: 1. Gratia in benemerentes; 2. Pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem; 3. publica securitas. Of this latter matter Ranke (III. 71* *seq.*) has given the more important passages in his description of conditions under Gregory XIII. The account of the measures taken by Sixtus V. is clearly curtailed. In the second part the author makes mention of the reproaches made to Sixtus V, for some of his cardinalitial nominations (*cf. supra*, p. 227, *seq.*).

ADDENDUM

By the Editor of the Italian Translation.

With the permission of the Author, I add an account of a note published in the *Atti della Reale accad. delle Scienze di Torino* (Vol. LXII, 1927, p. 481 *seq.*) by A. Luzio and G. Sella, entitled Sisto V. e Carlo Emanuele I. (N. d. T.).

It is gleaned from four "large bundles of correspondence with Rome in the State Archives, Turin." The documents published by Luzio are short autograph letters from the Pope to the Duke, and reports from the ambassadors of Savoy at the Roman court. Most of these were known to Pastor himself, and he has made brief mention of them in the volumes dealing with the pontificate of Clement VIII.; these refer to the expeditions against Saluzzo and Geneva, which the Duke was preparing.

The reports of the ambassadors on the other hand were not used in the present volume. For the most part they only confirm what Pastor himself has said as to the "humble origin" of Sixtus V., and his sufferings he endured during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. during which time "essendo travagliatissimo pareva che ognuno cercasse di opprimerlo totalmente in modo che qualche volta di disperazione la notte levandosi quasi si scorrucciava con Dio, dicendogli che farai Signore, *Contra folium quod vento rapitur ostendis potentiam tuam, et stipulam siccam persequeris*, che non vi era neanco chi andasse a vederlo, nè chi li compatisse in modo che poteva dire *Consolantem me quesivi et non inveni ;* pure che finalmente quanto erano maggiori le afflittioni, tanto più conosceva che quella era opera di Dio . . . onde si acquetava" . . . Onde diceva il papa all'inviato di Savoia che promoveva al cardinalato i suoi perchè "non poteva di meno di non mostrarsi grato et satisfare a quei che l'avevano servito nelle tribolazioni." (page. 51).

In a short autograph letter of August 16, 1586, the Pope

recommends the Duke "di continuare nel pensiero di non voler fare cosa per suo particolare interesse, la quale possa alterare la quiete d'Italia . . . et conservarsi in buona intelligenza con tutti i Principi" (p. 55).

The many dispatches given by Luzio are to a great extent concerned with the candidature of Charles Emanuel as King of France, to which Sixtus V. showed himself very well disposed, as is clear from the following words of the dispatch of June 9: ". . . E tanta la gran bona volotà che (il Papa dimostrò) verso la persona di V.A. che mi fa credere che impiegasse tutto il suo potere per farlo Re di Francia ogni volta che il Re di Spagna vi inclinasse. . . ."

The ambassador spoke of the matter with the Pope on the very eve of his death:

1590—27 agosto.

Il corriere, che l'A. V. fece spedire per Napoli gionse qui li XX. stante hore XXIJ. et subito quasi passò a quella volta, et per esso ricevei una sua delli XVI. del medesimo, dalla quale havendo inteso quanto degna comandarmi, me n'andai subito a N. S. per basciarli (come feci) in nome di Lei li piedi della buona volontà che tiene verso la persona di V. A. intorno la corona del regno di Francia con quelle più efficaci parole, ch'allhora mi sovennero, et lo ringratiai con assicurarlo, ch'in questa et in ogni migliore fortuna V. A. sarà per tenerne memoria non solo verso la sua santa persona et questa santa sede ma ancora verso sua casa, diffondendomi con molte parole, quali tralascio per non infastidirla. Nel rispondermi mi disse, ch'io assicurassi l'A. V. che l'intentione, ch'egli ha havuto sempre non sarà mai volta in altri che nella persona di V. A. ch'io assicurassi l'A. V. se bene haveva scoperto non so che, da questi ministri di Spagna che in questo caso lo facevano dubitare de la loro fede et non si lasciavano intendere di havere ferma mira in alcuno suggietto, ma di haversi a governare nel luogo istesso secondo che li populi concorsi sariano, al che egli haveva assentito con havergli discorso, che niuno poteva essere a Sua Maestà più confidente di V. A. per le qualità, ch'in lei concorrano, et fu ciò da loro aprovato, dicendoli però sempre di non haver commissione sopra questo. Di che N. S. mi comandò a scriverne a V. A. et "mi sogionse ch'ella resti sicura che Sua Stà gli farà ogni potere per metterla in testa quella corona."

How shrewd was the judgment of Sixtus V. of the haughty character of the Spaniards is clear from a third dispatch.

1589—January 4.

(The ambassador speaks of a plan of the Duke of Savoy for a league of all the Italian princes in defence of the Catholic faith, and of the peace and quiet of the peninsula.)

N. S. mi stette (volentieri) ad udire et voltadosi a me dissemi: "credete ch'io non habbia pensato molti giorni sono a questa cosa, io ce ho molto ben pensato": et restando così sospeso per un pezzo proruppe in queste precise parole: "per dirvela liberamente (però resti qui) è tanta la superbia de spagnuoli che non si collegariano con Dio, parendoli che niuno al mondo sia degno d'esserli compagnio: dovete sapere che quando si trattò di far l'impresa d'Inghilterra io proposi al Re una lega nella quale me offersi d'entrarvi et forse anco Franza; non si degniorno tampoco di respondermi, del che mai avessimo resposta, così anco avvenne ne l'impresa d'Algeri. Or vedete adesso come si vorrà abbassar a condescender a questa lega, non lo farrà mai." Et respondendole io che credevo che in questo caso vi fusse facilmente per condescendere, essendo più suo servito che de altri per l'interessi de stati d'Italia et anco di Fiandra respondevami: "voi il vedrete, non cognioscite ancora bene la superbia di costoro come fo io, et scrivetelo a S. A. ma che lo tenga a sè per boni respetti, che ben anch'egli la deve ben cognioscere." Avendole io resposto che del tutto darria conto a V. A. assiscurandola ch'el tutto sarria restato presso di lei; et seguendo suo ragionamento dissemi che ben li bastava l'animo di farvi entrar Ferrara, Mantua, Genova, Fiorenza, Urbino et Parma et che se Venetiani non vi fussero voluti entrare poco importava.

The particulars which Muti sent to the Duke concerning the death of Sixtus V. (p. 80 *seqq.*) are only the well-known gossip cunningly spread by the Spaniards; Luzio sees in this a rapprochement on the part of Muti with the Spanish party, now that the power of the Peretti had passed.

I close this account with the important note of Luzio, giving an Avviso cited by him, which records some act of clemency of the over-severe Pope.

Martedi 19 Agosto, 1589.

"Per la solennità dell'assontione della Madonna, S.Stà andò a far cappella nella Chiesa di Stà Maria Maggiore, nella quale

fu celebrata la messa dal Card. Pinello come arciprete e quella mattina la compagnia del Gonfalone diede la dote a 50 povere zitelle da maritarsi, havendo Sus B^ne^ aiutata quest'opera pia di 600 scudi di limosina, e fece anco gratia a detta compagnia di poter librare due prigionieri condannati alla morte, i quali levati dalle carcere di Torre di Nona furono condotti processionalmente a S. Maria Maggiore con gran concorso di popolo. . . ." (Collection of Avvisi in *Materie politiche estere in genere*, ad annum).

Nor must we pass over, as a sign of a crabbedly kindly mind, the Avviso of March 29, 1589: " N.S. tutto intento a fare opere di pietà fa liberare questa Pasqua tutti i prigionieri per debiti da certa somma in più, che paga la S^tà^ Sua . . ." (*ibid*).

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOLUME XXI.

Abreo, Francisco (S. J.), 152.
Accoramboni, Flaminio, 76.
Accoramboni, Marcello, 96.
Accoramboni, Vittoria, 44, 73, 76.
Acosta, Jeronimo de (S. J.), 159.
Acosta, José de (S. J.), 168 *seq.*
Aelst, Nic. van, (engraver), 49.
Alaleone, Paolo (master of ceremonies), 8 n., 224, 330.
Albani, Cardinal, 8, 14, 18, 66, 74, 378.
Alber, Ferdinand (S. J., provincial), 175, 216.
Alberti, Giovanni (Tuscan envoy), 82, 281.
Albertoni, Tarquinia (mother of Vittoria Accoramboni), 44.
Aldobrandini, Ippolito, Cardinal, 66, 129, 222, 226, 253, 326, 330, 360.
Alfano, Fenicio (wool stapler), 107.
Alfonso II. (duke of Ferrara), 82, 88, 231, 234.
Allen, William, Cardinal, 61, 234, 235, 250, 270.
Aloysius Gonzaga, St., 170, 236.
Alphonsus Liguori, St., 146.
Altemps, Cardinal [Sittich, Mark], 8 *seq.*, 12 *seq.*, 17 *seqq.*, 22, 41, 243.
Altemps, Roberto (Duke of Segni), 71.
Ambrose, St., 41, 206, 210.
Andrew of Austria, Cardinal (Bishop of Constance), 8 *seq.*, 17.
Angennes, Claude d', Cardinal (Bishop of Le Mans), 313, 319.
Annibale di Capua (Archbishop of Naples, nuncio), 235, 239.
Aquaviva, Claudio (general of the Jesuits), 147-151, 155, 157 *seqq.*, 161, 164, 166-169. 171, 173 *seq.*, 176 *seqq.*, 180, 216.
Aragona, Carlos de (duke of Terranueva), 265.
Aragona, Tagliavia de, Cardinal, 37, 66, 355, 367, 400.
Araoz, Antonio (S. J., provincial), 153.
Argenti, Giov. Batt. (secretary of cyphers), 66.
Armagnac, Georges d', Cardinal 224.
Arrigoni, Pompeo (auditor), 222.
Augustine, St., 36.
Avalo, Cardinal, 8.
Avendaño, Alonso de (O. P.), 150.
Azor, Johannes (S. J., moral-theologian), 216 *seq.*
Azzolini, Decio, Cardinal, 62, 64 *seqq.*, 93, 226, 235, 386.
Azzolini, Niccolò (murderer), 93.

Babbi, 72.
Badolocchio, Vincenzo, 116.
Badoer, Alberto (Venetian ambassador), 52, 130, 219 *seq.*, 252, 273, 284, 320, 332, 334, 343, 346, 353, 357, 368, 373.
Baius, Michael, 186 *seqq.*, 190.
Baldesi Donato 107.
Baldi Accursio (artist) 48.
Bañes Domenico (O. P. theologian) 149 188.
Barattelli, Pompeo (Lombard), 141.
Baronius, Cesare, 222, 257.
Barrau, Bertrand de (Bishop of Pamiers), 252.

Bartoccio, Bartol. (heretic), 194.
Basa, Domenico (printer), 209.
Bellarmine, Robert (S. J.), 177, 188, 190, 197, 211, 213, 216 *seq.*, 286, 330.
Bellinello, Fra Giovanni (necromancer), 194.
Bellocchio (cup-bearer to the Pope), 93.
Belloy, Pierre du, 287.
Benedetti, P. (clerk-regular), 256.
Benedetto da Segni, 197.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 134.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 145.
Bernerio, Girolamo (O. P.), Cardinal, 233, 249.
Bertrand, Louis (O. P.), St., 138.
Bertrandus de Santre (heretic), 195.
Bianchetti, Lorenzo (auditor), 222, 330.
Biglia, G. Fr., 236.
Blondo, Bartolomeo (S. J.), 177.
Boccaccio, 286.
Boccafuoco, Costanzo (Franciscan), Cardinal, 233.
Boccapaduli, Antonio (latinist, secretary), 65.
Bolognetti, Alberto (Polish nuncio), Cardinal, 224.
Bonaventnre, St., 138.
Boncompagni, Filippo, Cardinal, 8, 12, 20, 235.
Boncompagni, Giacomo (Duke of Sora), 7 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*
Bonelli, Michele, Cardinal, 8, 12, 17–20, 22, 61 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*, 253, 359.
Bonfiglioli, Rodolfo (treasurer of the Camera), 117.
Bonhomini, Giovanni Francesco (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 186 *seqq.*
Boniface VIII., Pope, 102.
Bonucci, Stefano (Servite, (Bishop of Arezzo), Cardinal, 237, 250.
Borghese, Mgr., (envoy), 128, 359.
Borromeo, Charles, St., Cardinal, 43, 127, 133, 210, 226, 236 *seq.*
Borromeo, Federico (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 237, 255.
Boucher, Jean (parish-priest), 315.
Bourbon, Charles de (Archbishop of Rouen), Cardinal, 275, 278, 304, 307, 319, 324 *seq.*, 329, 331, 341, 352, 354, 363, 380, 397.
Brambilla, Ambrosius (engraver), 49.
Brescius, Mauritius, 291.
Briviesca (Jesuit), 156.
Broderie, Antoine de la (agent of Henry of Navarre), 356, 358.
Brumani, Matteo (Mantuan envoy), 69, 212, 325, 341, 343, 361, 365, 371, 393, 395,, 405 *seq.*

Caetani, Errico, Cardinal, 109, 117, 225, 327–332, 346, 352, 360, 362, 365, 369, 393, 397.
Caetani, Onorato (Patriarch of Alexandria), 330.
Calcagni da Recanati, Ant. Bernardino (artist), 48.
Caligari, Gian Andrea (Bishop of Bertinoro, nuncio), 65, 357.
Camillus of Lellis, St., 140–142.
Campori, G., 351.
Canani, Giulio, Cardinal, 8, 252, 288.
Candale, de, (Bishop of Aire), 238.
Cano, Melchior (O.P.), 146, 153.
Capacefalo, Alessandro (wool stapler), 107.
Capilupi, Camillo (Mantuan envoy), 13, 15, 51, 56, 65, 68, 74, 80, 224, 284, 288, 290, 378.
Cappelletto, Martino, 409, 433.
Cappello, Annibale, 91, 388.
Cappello, Giambattista (notary-fiscal), 82.
Capua, *see* Annibale di Capua.

Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 8, 74, 120, 130, 174, 176, 204, 207 *seqq.*; 213 *seq*, 250, 253, 258, 354, 378.
Carga, Giovanni, 205.
Carlo Emanuele I. (Duke of Savoy), 125, 233, 303, 305. 333.
Carpi, Cardinal, 29, 31, 33 *seq*, 37.
Carranza (Archbishop of Toledo), 37, 39.
Cassano, Guilio, 243.
Castagna, Giambattista, Cardinal (later, Urban VII.), 8, 14, 17, 162, 178. 249, 252, 354.
Castrucci, Giambattista, Cardinal, 226, 253, 326, 386.
Catherine de' Medici (Queen-Regent of France), 289, 298, 304.
Celso, Mgr., 128.
Cenomanus, Richard (Franciscan), 201.
Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal (Pope Marcellus II.), 62, 199–202, 203.
Cesarini, Giuliano (Duke of Città Castellana), 71.
Cesi, Bartolomeo (Treasurer of the Camera), 117.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 8, 81, 235.
Charles V., Emperor, 203.
Charles (Archduke of Austria), 175.
Charles of Lorraine, *see* Lorraine.
Chaves, Diego de (O.P. royal confessor), 157, 168 *seq.*
Cheffontaines, Christopher (O.F.M.), 194.
Cherubini, Laertio (lawyer), 223.
Chiavari, Giov. Battista (speculator in silk), 108.
Cicarella (biographer of Sixtus V.), 120, 414.
Clement VII., Pope, 53, 119.
Clement VIII., Pope, 188, 206.
Clement XI., Pope, 144.
Clement XIII., Pope, 251.
Clément, Jacques (O.P.), 320.
Coelho, Gaspare, 180.
Colonna, Family of the, 71.
Colonna, Ascanio, Cardinal, 7, 8, 84, 204, 214, 220, 222, 234, 250, 266, 327, 354, 356, 359, 399, 402.
Colonna, Felice, 142.
Colonna, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 80, 175, 250, 360, 385.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Archbishop of Tarento), 31.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Duke of Paliano), 70, 266.
Commendone, Cardinal, 62, 65.
Condé, Prince de, 275, 283.
Contarelli, M., Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 129.
Conti, Carlo (Bishop of Ancona) 235.
Corcione, Giov. Battista (speculator in silk), 108.
Cordeses (S.J., provincial), 154.
Corgna, Fulvio della, Cardinal, 31, 385.
Cornaro, Federico, Cardinal, 225, 360, 402.
Crivelli, 45.
Cuevas, de las (O.P.), 147, 150.
Cultellis, Vincenzo de (Bishop of Catania), 132.
Cusano, Agostino, Cardinal, 239, 240.

Dallaus, Johann, 210.
Damasceni, Alessandro (nephew of Sixtus V.), 43.
Damasceni, Fabio (husband to niece of Sixtus V.), 43.
Damasceni (Peretti), Flavia, 43.
Damasceni (Peretti), Maria, 67.
Damasceni (Peretti), Michele, 43.
Damasceni (Peretti), Orsina, 43.
Dandino, Anselmo, Cardinal, 31.
Dante, 286.
Dávila, Gil Gonzalez (S.J.), 154, 169.
Desiosi, The (actors), 95.

Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 162, 249, 253, 340, 344, 354, 357 *seq.* 399, 402.
Diego [Didacus] de Alcalá (Franciscan), 138.
Diou, de (envoy of the Duke of Mayenne), 323 *seq.*, 347.
Donato, Leonardo (Venetian ambassador), 333 *seq.*, 337 *seq.*, 342.
Draskovich, Georg (Archbishop of Kalocsa), Cardinal, 225, 235.
Duplessy-Mornay, 287.
Durante (physician), 59.
Dürer, Albert, 47.

Eliano (Jesuit), 185.
Elias V. (Chaldean patriarch), 185.
Eliseo, Gaspare (heretic), 194.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 271, 273, 280, 297.
Enriquez, Enrique (S.J.), 160.
Epernon (favourite of Henry III.), 298 *seq.*
Epinac, Pierre d' (Archbishop of Lyons), 243, 304.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 198 *seqq.*, 201.
Ernest of Austria (Archduke), 236.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 8, 10, 12 *seq.*, 16, 18, 20 *seq.*, 22 56. 82, 232, 235, 241, 267, 272, 274 *seq.* 278 *seqq.*, 280, 282, 284, 288, 290 *seq.*, 293.
Eudaemon-Joannes, Andreas. (S.J.), 217.

Fabri, Lorenzo (speculator in silk), 108.
Facchetti, Pietro (painter), 47.
Facchinetti, Giov. Ant., Cardinal (later, Innocent IX.), 8, 14, 21, 249, 253, 311, 326 328 *seq.*, 360, 370.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 11–14, 16 *seqq.*, 22, 40, 62 *seq.*, 70, 81 *seq.*, 128, 198, 202, 232, 235, 241 *seqq.*, 253.
Farnese, Alessandro (Duke of Parma), 12, 365.
Farnese, Odoardo, 243.
Farnese, Ranuccio, 69
Felix of Cantalice, St. (Capuchin), 32, 143 *seq.*
Fenizi, Ascanio (engineer), 103.
Ferdinand (Bishop of Palencia), 131.
Ferdinand (Archduke of the Tyrol), 11, 79, 231.
Ferreri, Guido, Cardinal, 8, 20, 224.
Fonseca, Pedro de (S.J., provincial), 167.
Fontana, Domenico (architect), 45, 112, 124.
Fortunat, Edward (Margrave of Baden,) 26.
Frangipani, Fabio Mirto (Archbishop of Nazareth, nuncio in France), 280 *seq.*, 290, 293, 327.
Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto (Bishop of Cajazzo, nuncio in Germany), 175, 188, 190 *seqq.*
Francis of Paula, St., 256.
Francis of Assisi, St., 56, 139.

Gabriel (schismatical patr. of Alexandria), 185.
Gaetano, Niccolò, Cardinal, 128, 224.
Gaetano, Camillo (nuncio), 151.
Galesini, Pietro, 411.
Galli, Ant. M., Cardinal, 227, 233.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal (of Como), 8, 41, 171, 250, 312, 326, 354, 359.
Gambara, Franc., Cardinal, 8, 22, 235.
Gassuri, Paolo, 49.
Gesualdo, Alfonso, Cardinal, 8, 66, 80, 255 *seq.*, 327, 340 *seqq.*, 347 *seq.*, 350, 354, 357, 359, 364, 395, 399.
Ghislieri, Mgr., 7, 207.
Giacomo, Don (clerk-regular), 256.
Girolamo da Narni (Capuchin), 143.

Giuseppe da Leonissa, St. (Capuchin missionary), 143–145, 185.
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 116 *seq.*, 215, 233, 258, 359.
Gondi, Pierre (Bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 234, 235, 238, 240, 289, 309.
Gonzaga, Guglielmo (Duke of Mantua), 231, 232, 294, 386 *seq.*, 393, 395.
Gonzaga, Luigi (Duke of Nevers), 277 *seq.*, 285, 312, 394, 401.
Gonzaga, Scipione, Cardinal, 68, 170, 232, 235, 236, 252, 258, 326, 394, 401.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 8, 20 *seq.*, 236, 385, 394, 401.
Granvelle, Cardinal (Viceroy of Naples), 235, 266, 284.
Grassi, Annibale de' (Bishop of Faenza, nuncio), 272, 373.
Graziani, Ant. M. (Bishop of Amelia), 62, 65, 110, 407.
Gregory I., St., Pope, 256.
Gregory VII., St., Pope, 4, 23.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 1, 7, 12 *seqq.*, 17, 39 *seqq.*, 45 *seq.*, 61, 65, 72 *seq.*, 77, 80, 84, 89, 97, 112 *seq.*, 117, 119, 127, 129, 148 *seqq.*, 157, 170, 172, 179, 183–187, 204–207, 222, 224 *seq.*, 265, 277, 282, 312.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 213.
Grimaldi, Cardinal, 48.
Grimani (Patriarch of Aquileja) 196.
Gritti, Giovanni (Venetian ambassador), 61, 120, 273, 297, 300, 306, 308, 312.
Gualterius, Guido (secretary to Sixtus V.), 22, 49, 409.
Gualterucci (secretary), 93.
Guastavillani, Filippo, Cardinal, 7 *seq.*, 235.
Guercino (bandit), 77.
Guidi, Camillo, 271.
Guise, Cardinal, *see* Lorraine.
Guise, Henri de (duke), 279, 287, 289, 295 *seqq.*, 298–304, 305 *seq.*, 312, 316, 357, 380.

Hauchinus, Johann (Archbishop of Malines), 187, 189 *seq.*
Henry II., (King of England), 310.
Henry III., (King of France), 10, 125 *seq.*, 233, 238, 243, 273 *seqq.*, 277–283, 288–304, 305, 308–321, 324 *seq.*, 332, 347, 357, 392.
Henry IV. [of Navarre], King of France, 2, 177, 278, 282 *seq.*, 285–288, 292, 295, 312, 316, 319, 323 *seqq.*, 326, 329, 331–337, 340–352, 354, 359, 362–369, 371, 374, 379, 396 *seq.*, 401.
Henten, Johann (O.P.), 203.
Hernandez, Diego (S.J.), 156.
Hessels (Louvain theologian), 190.
Hotmann, Francis (pamphleteer), 286.

Ibañez, Antonio (S.J.), 154.
Ignatius Loyola, St., 11, 31 *seq.*, 145, 151 *seq.*
Innocent III., Pope, 23.
Innocent XI., Pope, 192.
Innocent XII., Pope, 192.
Ivan IV. (Czar of Russia), 186.

Jeremias II. (schismatical patr. of Constantinople), 186.
Jeronimo, Juan (S.J.), 373.
Job (Metropolitan of Moscow), 186.
John Casimir (Count-palatine), 325.
John William (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 175.
Joyeuse, François, Cardinal, 87, 253, 258, 293, 303, 308, 310 *seq.*, 313, 317, 319.
Julius II., Pope, 6, 50, 124.
Julius III., Pope, 30, 202, 228.

KHEVENHÜLLER (Imperial ambassador), 268.

LAINEZ, James (general of the Jesuits), 153.
Lancellotti Scipione, Cardinal 8, 128, 254, 311, 326, 360, 361.
Landini, Taddeo (artist), 48.
Latinius, 202.
Laureo, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 14, 141, 225.
Lenoncourt, Philippe de (Bishop of Auxerre), Cardinal, 233, 250, 324, 346.
Lensäus (professor at Louvain), 187.
Leo I., St., Pope, 223.
Leo X., Pope, 24, 102, 118, 228.
Leoni, Ottavio (painter), 47.
Lercari, Orazio (naval commander), 98.
Lessius, Leonard (S.J.), 188 *seqq.*, 192.
Lindanus, Gulielmus (Bishop of Ghent and Ruremond), 189.
Lippomano, Girolamo (Venetian envoy), 271.
Lomellini, Cardinal, 205.
Lomellini (clerk in chancery), 331.
Lopez, Juan (financier), 116.
Lorraine, Charles, Duke of, 278 *seq.*, 300, 331, 364.
Lorraine, Charles de [Vaudemont], Cardinal, 235, 244, 277 *seq.*, 305, 307 *seqq.*
Loubenx de Verdala, Hugh de (Grand-master of Knights of Malta), Cardinal, 238.
Louis, St. (King of France), 291.
Luther, Martin, 180.
Luxemburg, Francis of (Duke of Piney), 290 *seqq.*, 337 *seq.*, 343 *seqq.*, 346, 348 *seqq.*, 351 *seq.*, 354, 356, 361 *seq.*, 367, 395, 399.

MADRUZZO, Giov. Federico, 225.
Madruzzo, Lodovico (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 12, 18 *seqq.*, 22, 93, 204, 235, 243, 246, 249, 253, 326, 340, 344, 354, 359, 399.
Maffei, Cardinal, 62 n.
Maggio, Lorenzo (S.J.), 177.
Maggiorano, Nicolò (humanist), 202.
Magino di Gabriele (speculator in silk), 108.
Magnano, Bernardino da (brigand chief), 81.
Maisse, The Lord of (envoy of Henry III. and Henry of Navarre), 332 *seqq.*, 337.
Malatesta, Lamberto (leader of bandits), 84, 86.
Malegnani, Attilio (envoy), 60, 120, 386 *seq.*
Malvasia, Mgr. (clerk of the Apost. Camera), 109.
Malvezzi, Family of the, 83.
Manderschied, Johann, Count of (Bishop of Strasburg), 175.
Manrique, Antonio (Bishop of Calahorra), 131.
Manrique, Jerònimo (Bishop of Cartagena), 166, 173.
Manutius, Aldus (printer), 203, 226.
Manutius, Paulus (printer), 203, 205.
Marcén, Antonio (S.J., provincial), 155 *seq.*
Maretti, Giulio (envoy), 9.
Maretti, Lelio (conclavist), 41.
Marianna (mother of Sixtus V.) 24.
Marmilio da Monte Lupone (friend of Sixtus V.), 36.
Martelli, Vincenzo (sculptor), 49.
Martial, St., 36.
Martos, Dr., 349 *seq.*, 354, 395.
Masetti, Giulio (Bishop of Reggio), 127, 280.
Masius, 202.
Massimo, Vittorio Camillo, 44, 407.
Mattei, Girolamo, Cardinal, 222, 233, 250, 311, 326, 355, 360.

Matthaeus, Julianus (Franciscan), 226.
Mayenne, Charles de (duke), 313, 316, 323 *seq.*, 329, 331, 345, 347 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*, 363 *seqq.*, 389.
Medek, Martin (Bishop of Prague), 252.
Medici, Alessandro, Cardinal, 8, 205, 232, 280.
Medici, Cosimo (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 10, 45, 380.
Medici, Ferdinando (Grand-duke of Tuscany), Cardinal, 7, 8, 10–13, 15, 17–20, 22, 41, 239.
Medici, Francesco (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 70, 76, 85, 130, 231, 239 *seq.*, 380.
Mendoza (Spanish envoy), 320.
Mendoza, Juan de, Cardinal, 235, 238, 340, 344, 357 *seq.*, 402.
Mercurian, Everard (General of the Jesuits), 151.
Mignucci, Francesco, 43.
Mignucci, Giov. Battista (husband to Camilla Peretti), 43.
Mignucci, Maria Felice, 43.
Mirandola, Alessandro Pico della, 233.
Monica, St., 67.
Montalto [Alessandro Peretti], nephew to Sixtus V., 62 *seqq.*, 65–69, 73, 96, 176, 191, 195, 206, 207, 210 *seq.*, 214, 225, 262, 305, 320, 327, 341, 344, 353, 357, 359, 360, 398 *seq.*
Montanus, Arias, 201, 204.
Monte, Francesco Maria, del, Cardinal, 240, 360, 403.
Montmorency, Duke of, 287 *seq.*, 292, 391.
Montpensier, Duke of, 275.
Moralez, Sebastian de (S.J., Bishop of Funai), 181.
Moriscus, Franciscus (heretic), 195.
Morone, Cardinal, 204.
Morosini, Andrea, 333.
Morosini, Giov. Francesco (Bishop of Brescia), Cardinal, 239, 294, 296, 301 *seq.*, 304, 306, 310, 316, 326.
Moya de Contreros, Pedro (Archbishop of Mexico), 183.
Mula, Cardinal, 203.

NAVARRE, *see* Henry IV.
Neemet (Patriarch of Antioch), 184.
Neri, Philip, St., 11, 32, 140 *seq.*, 142, 236 *seq.*, 240, 294.
Nevers, Duke of, *see* Gonzaga, Luigi.
Niccolini, Giovanni (Tuscan envoy), 308, 321, 346, 353, 357, 360.
Nicholas IV., Pope, 45, 392.
Ninguarda, Fel. (Bishop of Como), 133.
Nobunaga, Oda (Prince of Owari), 180.
Nuntio, Antonio (heretic), 194.

OLIVA, Luigi (Mantuan envoy), 58, 60, 286.
Olivares, Duke of (Spanish ambassador), 10, 12, 14, 16, 54, 165, 213, 221 *seq.*, 243, 262 *seqq.*, 267 *seqq.*, 273, 275, 282, 292, 307, 311 *seq.*, 317, 323, 326, 328, 340, 342–345, 349–354, 356 *seqq.* 361, 365–369, 395, 398 *seq.*, 400, 405 *seq.*
Olivario, Serafino (auditor), 222, 367, 369, 373.
Orellana, Juan de (O.P.), 150, 168.
Organtino, Soldi Gnecchi (missionary), 180.
Ormaneto, Niccolò (Bishop of Padua), 154.
Orsini, Fabio, 103 *seq.*, 385.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 300, 385.
Orsini, Latino, 43.
Orsini, Lelio (Papal chamberlain), 235, 236.

Orsini, Lodovico, 76.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano (Duke of Bracciano), 15, 19, 46, 70, 73, 76, 96.
Orsini, Virginio, 70.
Ossuna, Duke of (viceroy of Naples), 193, 265.
Ottinelli, Guilio (Bishop of Castro), 127.
Ottoboni, Marco (Venetian secretary), 100.

Padovanino (painter), 47.
Paleotto, Gabriel, Cardinal, 8, 14, 120, 232, 241, 246, 252 *seq.*, 359, 400, 409.
Pallavicini, Orazio (heretic), 194.
Pallotta, Giov. Evangelista (datary), Cardinal, 129, 227, 235, 237, 253.
Panigarola, Francesco, 143, 330, 385.
Papia, G. Angelo, 63.
Paruta, Paolo, 120.
Paul II., Pope, 112.
Paul III., Pope, 11, 13, 16, 63, 119, 124, 249.
Paul IV., Pope, 32 *seq.*, 42, 116, 119, 127, 146, 170, 192, 202 *seq.*, 263, 358.
Paul V., Pope, 188, 216.
Paulinus of Nola, St., 36.
Pellevé, Nicolas, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 246, 252, 275, 277, 312, 327, 340.
Peña Francisco (canonist), 213, 221, 222.
Pepoli, Giovanni, Count, 81 *seq.*
Pepoli, Guido, Cardinal, 117, 239, 244.
Peredo, Diego (O.P.), 147 *seq.*
Peretti, Alessandro, *see* Montalto.
Peretti, Camilla (sister to Sixtus V.), 26, 43, 59, 67 *seqq.*, 96, 385.
Peretti, Flavia (niece to Sixtus V.), 43, 69 *seq.*
Peretti, Francesco (nephew to Sixtus V.), 44, 73, 96.
Peretti, Michele (nephew to Sixtus V.), 69.
Peretti, Orsina (niece to Sixtus V.), 69 *seq.*
Peretto (father of Sixtus V.), 24 *seqq.*
Perrot, François, 286.
Persico, Antonio, 29.
Persons, Robert (S.J.), 169.
Peter Martyr, St. (O.P., Inquisitor), 193.
Petrarch, 286.
Petrochino, Gregorio (General of the Augustinians), Cardinal, 244.
Pevezelli, Giov. Maria (O.S.A.), 195.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 2 *seqq.*, 10, 12, 16–19, 42, 70, 76, 125, 153, 160, 164 *seq.*, 167 *seqq.*, 175, 212, 221, 234, 238, 262–273, 276, 285, 287, 289, 292, 295, 312, 317, 325 *seqq.*, 328, 333, 338 *seq.*, 341, 347–352, 355, 363–367, 370–373, 399.
Piccolomini, Alfonso (bandit), 84.
Picenardi, Guido Sommi, 240.
Pierbenedetti, Mariano, Cardinal, 244.
Pinelli, Carlo, 407.
Pinelli, Domenico, Cardinal, 49, 66, 222, 226, 311, 326, 336, 360 *seq.*, 370.
Pinelli, Giov. Agostino (treasurer), 100, 226.
Piney, Duke of, *see* Luxemburg.
Pius II., Pope, 78.
Pius IV., Pope, 14, 33, 97, 119, 170, 203 *seq.*, 241, 249, 250, 261.
Pius V., St., Pope, 12, 14, 18, 30, 37–41, 61, 64, 74, 94, 97, 107, 114, 116, 119, 121, 127, 133, 138, 142, 146, 170, 181, 204, 247, 249 *seq.*, 252, 256, 261, 267, 280, 297.
Pius X., Pope, 251, 261.
Plantin (printer), 205.
Polak, Martin Theophilus (painter), 47.
Pole, Cardinal, 199.
Polycarp, St., 36.

Porres, Francisco de (S.J.), 161, 164 *seq.*, 167, 373.
Posio (editor of Aristotle), 35.
Priuli, Lorenzo (Venetian ambassador), 19, 24, 51, 63, 114, 238, 275–282.
Protasius (King of Arima), 170.
Pucci, Francesco, 195.
Pulzone, Scip. (painter), 63.
Puteo, Antonio (Archbishop of Bari, nuncio), 243.

Quiroga, Gaspar de (Grand Inquisitor), Cardinal), 159 *seqq.*, 162, 165 *seq.*

Ragazzoni, Girolamo (Bishop of Bergamo, nuncio), 279, 379.
Rainaldi, Girolamo (architect), 112.
Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von (Archbishop of Salzburg), 243.
Rambouillet, Charles, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 235, 282, 284, 293.
Ramos, Nicola (Franciscan), 157.
Rao, Cesare, 95.
Resca, 300.
Riario, Alessandro, Cardinal, 8, 21, 224, 300.
Ribadeneira, Peter (S.J.), 154, 163.
Ribera, Francisco de (S.J.), 156.
Ricci, Giov. Battista (Papal commissary), 109.
Ricci, Matteo (Jesuit missionary), 182 *seq.*
Ripalda (S.J.), 156.
Robardus, Vincentius (poet), 234.
Rocca, Angelo (O.S.A.), 212, 214, 218.
Rodriguez, Simon (S.J.), 151.
Rosati, Rosato (of Montalto), 28.
Roscius, Julius (poet), 108.
Rossi, Ippolito de', Cardinal, 226.
Rovere, Girolamo della, Cardinal, 214, 220, 233, 250, 326.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 10, 79, 93, 125, 175, 225, 231, 243, 328.
Ruggieri (Jesuit), 182.
Runchi, Gasparo (heretic), 194.
Rusticci (treasurer), 117.
Rustici, Pomponio (heretic), 194.
Rusticucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 8, 61 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*, 161, 166, 186, 225, 250, 289, 302, 326, 340, 386, 391, 400.

Sadolet, Giov., Cardinal, 62.
Salazar, Dominic de (O.P., Bishop of Manila), 183.
Salicetus, Julius Cesar, 194.
Salmeron, Alph. (S.J.), 204
Salvago, Gabriele, 40.
Salvaterra, Martin de (Bishop of Segovia), 169.
Salvatore, Fra (uncle to Sixtus V.), 27 *seq.*, 433 *seq.*
Salviati, Ant. Maria, Cardinal, 8, 74, 81 *seq.*, 360, 378.
Salviati, Leonardo, 241.
Salviati, Lucrezia, 43.
Sanchez, Alonso (S.J.), 182.
Sangalletto (maestro di camera), 353.
San Giorgio (Governor of Rome) 77 *seq.*
Santa Croce, Prospero, Cardinal, 8, 14, 59, 107, 114, 246, 308, 326.
Santoni, Gian Battista (majordomo and nuncio), 56.
Santori, Giulio Ant., Cardinal, 8, 14, 63, 66, 93, 114, 128, 131, 171, 178, 184, 192, 196, 227, 232, 239, 240, 249, 253, 268, 282 *seqq.*, 302, 311, 317, 326, 354, 359, 367, 370.
Saracinello, Cipriano, 39.
Sarnano, Costanzo, Cardinal, 249, 253, 258.
Sarpi, Paolo, 372.
Sassaferrato (painter), 47.

Sasso, Lucio (Bishop), 222.
Sauli, Ant. Maria (Archbishop of Genoa), Cardinal, 98, 235, 237, 360.
Savelli, Jacopo, Cardinal, 8, 14, 22, 66, 128, 142, 162, 196, 235.
Schenk, Albert (Baron of Limburg), 195.
Schönenberg, Johann VII. von (Archbishop of Trêves), 175.
Sciarra, Marco (bandit), 88.
Scozia, O., 42.
Sega, Filippo (Bishop of Piacenza), Cardinal, 127 *seq.*, 173, 330.
Serafino, Olivario (auditor of the Rota), 344.
Serbelloni, Giovanni, Cardinal, 8, 359.
Seripando, Cardinal, 200, 203.
Sessa, Duke of, 364 *seqq.*, 367 *seqq.*, 370, 373.
Sfondrato, Niccolò, Cardinal (later, Pope Gregory XIV.) 8, 255.
Sforza, Alessandro (Duke of Segni), 71.
Sforza, Francesco, Cardinal, 8, 356, 360, 399, 402.
Sforza, Mario, 74.
Sigichelli, Camillo (diarist), 330.
Sigismund (Crown-prince of Sweden, King of Poland), 175, 212, 234, 300.
Simoncelli, Girolamo, Cardinal, 8, 252.
Simonius, Peter (Bishop of Ypres), 189.
Sini (secretary to Morosini), 318.
Sirleto, Guglielmo, Cardinal, 8, 14, 16, 40, 200 *seqq.*, 204, 208 *seq.*, 224.
Sittich, Mark [Cardinal Altemps], *see* Altemps.
Sixtus I., Pope, 23.
Sixtus II., Pope, 23.
Sixtus III., Pope, 23.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 22.
Sixtus V., Pope., Vol. XXI.
Somaglia, Margherita della, 69.
Sommi Picenardi, Guido, 240.
Souchier, Cardinal, 204.
Speciani, Cesare (Bishop of Novara, nuncio), 127 *seq.*, 159, 221, 265.
Spinola, Filippo (Bishop of Nola), Cardinal, 8, 110, 253
Spinola, Tommaso, 102.
Sporeno, Francesco (envoy), 11, 60, 115, 238, 284.
Strien, Johann (Bishop of Middelburg), 188, 189.
Strozzi, Camillo, 291.
Suarez, Juan (S.J.), 163.

TAIKOSAMA (Shogun of Japan), 180 *seq.*
Tanner, Adam (theologian), 216 *seq.*
Tasso, Torquato, 236.
Tassone, Ercole, 232.
Taverna, Lodovico (nuncio), 265.
Telesius (philosopher), 29.
Teresa of Jesus, St., 149.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 138, 146.
Thomas of Canterbury, St. (archbishop), 310.
Thuanus, 319, 322.
Tiepolo, Antonio (Venetian ambassador), 42.
Tiepolo, Paolo, 42.
Toledo, (S.J.), 143, 212 *seq.*, 227.
Torre, Michele della, Cardinal, 14, 18, 128, 235, 327.
Torrentius, Lavinius (Vicar-general of Liège, Bishop of Antwerp), 190, 204, 221, 252.
Torregiani, Bastiano, 48.
Trigosus, Petrus (Capuchin), 143.
Tromba, Francesco, 95.

UGISATO, Gamo (Japanese noble), 181.

VALENTE, Giovanni (brigand chief), 84.

Valentini, Pietro, 107.
Valentinus, Josephus, 266.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 255, 334, 360.
Valignani, Alessandro, 180, 182.
Valla, Laurentius (humanist), 198, 201.
Valsoldo [Giov. Ant. Paraca], 49.
Vaudemont, *see* Lorraine.
Vasquez, Dionisio (S.J.), 154, 160, 163 *seq.*, 168.
Vasquez, Gabriel (S.J., theologian), 216.
Vecchi, Lodovico de' (of Fermo), 25.
Vecchietti, 185.
Vendeville, Jean (Bishop of Tournai), 190.
Vendôme [Bourbon], Cardinal, 275, 324, 329, 345 *seq.*, 352, 398.
Vendôme, Duke of, 331.
Vera, Francisco de (Spanish (envoy), 42.
Verdala, *see* Loubenx de Verdala.
Vergelli, Tiburzio (artist), 48.
Vestrius, Marcellus (secretary), 65.
Villalba (S.J., Provincial of Castille), 155, 164.
Villars, Pierre de (Bishop of Mirepoix), 252.
Villeroi (Secretary of State), 272.
Vinta, Belisario (secretary to Cosimo de' Medici), 11, 54.
Vincent de Paul, St., 146.
Visconti, Alfonso (nuncio), 195, 319, 320, 327, 333.
Visconti, Gaspare (Archbishop of Milan), 131.
Vivonne, Jean de (French ambassador), 10, 274, *seq.*, 277–282, 289 *seqq.*, 300, 305 *seq.*, 311, 313, 317, 343, 358.

Wild, Johann (O.F.M.), 197.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 175, 231, 234.
Wolkenstein (Count of Castel Thun), 195.

Zachary, Pope, 288
Zane, Matteo, 42.
Zannetti (printer), 205, 209.
Zeno, St., 36.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXII.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xvii
Trial and execution of Mary Stuart. The Spanish Armada	1–70
Catholic Reform in Germany and the Netherlands	71–107
Work of the nuncios in Hungary, Bohemia, Austria and Switzerland	108–144
Plans for a Crusade. The Polish election. Death of the Pope	145–188
Patronage of learning and art. The water-supply of Rome. New streets	189–245
The Obelisks. The Lateran palace. The Vatican library. The Quirinal. The Dome of St. Peter's	246–312
The Pontificate of Urban VII.	313–350
The Pontificate of Gregory XIV.	351–408
The Pontificate of Innocent IX.	409–427
Appendix of unpublished documents	428–453
Index of Names	455–467

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XXI.

70945

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXII.

CHAPTER I.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY STUART.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.

A.D.		PAGE
1585	Position of Mary Stuart at the accession of Sixtus V..	1
	Opportunities for English statesmen to win over public opinion	2
	Walsingham's army of spies	3
	Composed of the dregs of humanity	4
	The Queen of Scots in prison at Chartley	5
	Career of Gilbert Gifford the spy	6
	He endeavours to win the confidence of the Catholics	9
	And turns his attention to Antony Babington	9
	The apostates Ballard and Tyrell	10
1586	Ballard's visits in Scotland and England	11
	Goes to Paris and meets Mendoza	12
	He gets into touch with Babington and discloses his plans—Babington's objections	13
	Progress of the "conspiracy"—Gifford, the spy, joins the conspirators	14
	Walsingham and Babington	15
	Gifford undertakes to give new life to the conspiracy	16
	Babington's proposals to Mary—she is not blind to the vagueness of these projects	17
	And expresses herself with great reserve	18
	Phelippes and Walsingham	19
	Utter folly of the conspirators	20
	Delusion of Babington and his friends—their terror, arrest and execution (September)	22
	Excitement caused by discovery of the plot	23
	Confession and retraction by Tyrell	24
1586	Mary Stuart taken to Fotheringay—her trial (October 5th)	25
1587	And execution on February 18th	27
	Character of Mary—the real reason for her death	27
	Reception of the tidings in Europe	29
	Characteristics of Elizabeth's policy	30
	No serious step taken to save Mary	31
	Sixtus V. on Elizabeth	33
	He thinks that her conversion may be possible	35
	But at the same time presses for armed intervention	36
1586	Guise contemplates an attack on England	37
	Memorial from Allen to the Pope on an invasion of England	39

A.D. PAGE
1586 Development of English naval power—the pirates . 40
False ideas in Spain of England's naval power . . 43
Success of the raids by Drake 44
Spain at last roused to action 46
Extreme dilatoriness of Philip II. 47
This is bitterly complained of by the Pope . . . 48
The point of view of Sixtus V. not the same as Philip's 49
1587 Convention of 29th July between the Pope and Spain 51
Allen created cardinal at the request of Philip . . 52
The Pope again exhorts the King 53
1588 Prayers for success of the Armada—predictions of its wreck 55
Sixtus V. on the Armada—his doubts . . . 57
The Armada sails at last, end of May. . . . 58
Early rumour of victory—mistrust of the Pope. . 59
His attitude is full of doubt—Definite news of the fate of the Armada (October) 61
The political aftermath—Sixtus V. refuses further financial aid 63
Effects of the disaster upon Philip II.. . . . 64
Rejoicings in England—loyalty of the Catholics. . 65
Does not protect them from the revenge of Elizabeth 68
All that the defeat of the Armada portended is by no means realized 69

CHAPTER II.

CATHOLIC REFORM IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS.

1585 The nunciatures in Germany 71
Tasks of the nuncios—The Emperor Rudolph II. . 72
Efforts of the nuncio Malaspina 73
He complains of the weakness of the emperor . . 74
Firm catholicity of the Archdukes Ernest and Ferdinand—labours of the Jesuits . . . 75
William V. of Bavaria. chief support of the church . 76
Timorous reserve of Rudolph II. in the contest for Neuss 77
Consequences of the death of Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg 78
Work of Brillmacher for restoration of religion in Münster 79
State of the diocese of Paderborn—energy of the bishop, Dietrich von Fürstenberg . . . 80
Loss of the dioceses of Osnabrück and Bremen . . 81
Zeal of Bishop von Jerin of Breslau for Catholic restoration in his diocese 82
Efforts of Malaspina to save Halberstadt and Lübeck are in vain—necessity of more priests—difficult conditions in Bohemia 83
Recall of Malaspina—The emperor annoyed with the Pope 84
1586 Filippo Sega appointed nuncio-extraordinary . . 85

A.D. PAGE
1586 His instructions—difficulty of his position at the Imperial court 86
And inability to get on to good terms with the emperor 87
Relations between the Pope and Rudolph II. become steadily worse. 88
1587 Thereby the position of Sega is still difficult . . 89
Memorial by Sega on the religious condition of Bohemia and Austria 89
Work of the nuncio at Graz, Caligari. 90
1585 He is supported by the Bishop of Laibach and by the Jesuits 91
Success of the Catholic revival at Graz 92
1586 Foundation of the university is of great importance . 92
1587 The relations of Caligari with the Archduke become strained—he is recalled 93
1587 Change also in the nunciatures of Prague and Cologne 94
1585 Activity of Bonhomini 94
His success at Liège (September-October) . . 95
1586 He returns to the Low Countries—The Synod at Mons 96
1587 Exhausted by his labours, he dies on February 25th. 97
Frangipani succeeds Bonhomini as nuncio 98
Position of affairs in the Rhineland and Cologne. . 99
1588 Frangipani and the elector Ernest. 100
Success of the nuncio in Cologne in spite of obstacles 102
Difficulties in the duchy of Jülich-Cleves 103
Work of the nuncio in Liège, Utrecht, Malines and Antwerp. 104
He gets great help in his work from the Archbishop of Trêves 106

CHAPTER III.

WORK OF THE NUNCIOS IN HUNGARY, BOHEMIA, AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND.

1587 Antonio Puteo succeeds Sega as nuncio to the empire 108
Interesting "instructions" by Sega on the work of the nunciature 108
Disputed matters treated of 109
Lamentable state of affairs in Hungary 110
Success of the nuncio in filling the vacant sees . . 111
Disputes at Strasbourg about Gebhard Truchsess . 112
1588 Difficulties of Puteo in Bohemia 113
He assists Bishop Urban von Trennbach of Passau . 114
1589 Is succeeded in the nunciature by Alfonso Visconti . 115
Who displays the same vigilance in religious matters.
And zealously supports the work of Klesl 116
1585 Sixtus V. imposes the duty of visiting the *Limina Apostolorum* 117
1587 Many of the German bishops carry this into effect . 118
1589 And others make their reports to Rome . . . 119
The Pope obtains detailed information in this way . 120
And salutary advice is sent from the Congr. of the Council 121

A.D. PAGE

1588 The "memorials" on German affairs by Minuccio Minucci—Their extraordinary interest and the suggestions they contain—Account of the obstacles to reform and mistakes hitherto made . . . 122
Minucci's breadth of outlook—attitude of the Emperor 129
The way to Catholic restoration clearly laid down . 130
Zealous care of the Pope for religion in Switzerland . 130
1586 Santoni sent as nuncio to the Catholic Cantons . . 131
The religious alliance of the seven Cantons (October) . 132
1587 Who conclude a defensive alliance with Spain (May) . 133
Influence of Ludwig Pfyffer 134
Difficulties in the diocese of Constance . . . 135
Fruitful labours of Santoni in Appenzell—Work of the Capuchin Father Ludwig 135
Help afforded to Santoni by the Cantons for restoration of discipline—but Lucerne resists his appointment of the parochial clergy 136
Ottavio Paravicini succeeds Santoni as nuncio (Sept.) 137
His intimate union with Pfyffer 137
His work accomplished by Paravicini is very far-reaching 138
1588 Beneficial work of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Lucerne 139
1589 Meeting of the superiors of convents then existing—The "great prayer"—Report of Renward Cysat. 140
Success of Paravicini in ecclesiastical politics—the authorities support the Tridentine ordinances . 141
1588 Events of Appenzell—The "pact" secures unity . 142
1590 Conversion of the Margrave James of Baden-Hochberg 143
His sudden death followed by re-introduction of Protestantism 144

CHAPTER IV.

PLANS FOR A CRUSADE.—THE POLISH ELECTION.—DEATH OF THE POPE.

1585 Enthusiasm of Sixtus V. for a crusade against the Turks 145
Discourse of the nuncio Costa to the Doge of Venice (June 22nd) 146
Reply of the Doge—his anxiety—The Venetian *obedientia* 147
Discourse of Donato at this ceremony (October 10th)—And reply by the Pope 148
Who desires to be on good terms with Venice . . 149
The Republic a barrier against Lutheran doctrines . 150
Priuli wins the confidence of the Pope—favours granted to the Venetians 151
Who take pains to maintain friendly relations with the Holy See 152
1587 The embassy of Gritti—serious dispute averted . . 153
Peculiar position of Venice as regards the Turks . 154
1585 The daring plan of Báthory for attacking the Turks . 155

A.D. PAGE
1585 The question of Russia—negotiations of Possevino . 156
1586 Death of Báthory—grief of the Pope 158
What it is that prevents a Crusade ?. . . . 159
1587 Plan of the Pope to buy the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks 160
1588 His complaint of the King of Spain. . . . 161
1589 The Shah of Persia replies to the Pope's brief . . 162
1587 The aspirants to the throne of Poland . . . 162
Only two of them serious : Sigismund of Sweden and the Russian prince 163
A congregation appointed to deal with this question. 164
Instructions to the nuncio Annibale di Capua—efforts on behalf of an Austrian archduke . . . 165
The electorial diet proclaim Sigismund (August 19th) and the Austrian party Maximilian . . . 166
1588 The archduke defeated and made prisoner (Jan. 24th) 167
Sixtus V. recognizes Sigismund. 168
Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini sent as legate to Poland 169
Influence of the chancellor Zamoiski. . . . 171
1589 Success of the unwearied efforts of Aldobrandini. . 172
The treaty of Beuthen (March) and return of the legate to Rome 173
Great satisfaction of the Pope. 174
1590 Sigismund " a faithful son of the church "—his support of the Jesuits—his envoy makes the *obedientia* . 175
Overwork and anxiety affect the Pope's health. . 176
On July 11th it is rumoured that he is dead. . . 177
He rallies and takes part in the procession on August 18th 178
A heated discussion with Olivares renews the fever . 178
But he persists in working to the end. . . . 179
His death on August 27th—hatred shown by his enemies—excitement in Rome. . . . 180
His burial and tomb in St. Mary Major's . . . 182
Deep impression made by Sixtus V.—his greatness . 184
The safeguarding and spread of the faith the fundamental principle of his policy 186
What he accomplished in a reign of five years . . 188

CHAPTER V.

PATRONAGE OF LEARNING AND ART.—THE WATER SUPPLY OF ROME.—NEW STREETS.

Character of the writings dedicated to the Pope. . 189
Sixtus V. and the works of Baronius. . . . 190
His interest in other historical works. . . . 192
The poems of Bordini and the work by Fontana. . 193
The Pope and Tasso 194
His interest in works by Bozio, Ugolini, Orsini and others 196
1586–8 Generosity of Sixtus V. for the Roman University. 197
He founds the universities of Fermo, Graz and Quito. 198

A.D. PAGE
1587 Bull of April 27th regulating the Vatican Press . . 199
The tasks assigned to it by the Pope 201
Love for building undertakings on a grand scale . . 202
Description of the Villa Montalto 203
1585 Sixtus V. restores the channel of the Acqua Alessandrina 208
Orders this new water supply to be called "Acqua Felice" 209
Difficulties of the work—its speedy accomplishment . 209
What it does for Rome 213
Description of the new fountains 215
1590 The Bull of February 19th on the Acqua Felice . . 216
New streets to facilitate visits to the basilicas . . 218
The dominant idea of Sixtus V.'s system of streets . 219
Peculiar features of the city of Rome 220
Improvement in the streets and piazzas by former Popes 222
Michelangelo and the Capitol 223
Sixtus V. carries on and completes the work of his predecessors 224
Plan for a new system of roads, radiating from St. Mary Major's 225
1585 This work begun and continued throughout the pontificate 226
Description of the new streets 227
New piazzas—hydraulic works 232
These improvements necessitate the destruction of many interesting buildings 234
Criticism of the Pope is on the whole not justified . 235
Indifference shown by Fontana to the remains of antiquity — the Baths of Diocletian — the Septizonium 236
Christianization of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius 238
Significance of the prayer for their dedication . . 242
Sixtus V. wished to show that there was but one Master—Jesus Christ—in the Eternal City . 244

CHAPTER VI.

THE OBELISKS.—THE LATERAN PALACE.—THE VATICAN LIBRARY.—THE QUIRINAL.—THE DOME OF ST. PETER'S.

Sixtus V. is not the "declared enemy of antiquity" . 246
His idea in the erection of the four obelisks . . . 247
The Vatican Obelisk—its removal contemplated by earlier Popes 248
1585 Sixtus V. is determined to carry it out—appoints a special commission for the undertaking . . 249
The plan of Fontana 250
Who at once sets to work—the Pope gives him full powers 251
1586 It is possible to fix April 30th for the raising . . . 252

A.D. PAGE
1586 And September 10th for its erection 255
This is accomplished amidst intense excitement—doubtfulness of the legend "Acqua alle funi" . 256
Rewards bestowed on Fontana 257
The literature on this triumph of engineering . . 258
Solemn blessing of the obelisk by the Pope (Sept 26th) 259
The inscriptions 261
Significance of this event 262
Plans for the position of other obelisks . . . 263
At St. Mary Major's, the Lateran and the Piazza del Popolo 264
Further works by Fontana 269
Transformation of the Lateran palace . . . 270
1587 The Pope personally stimulates the building operations 273
Description of the new Lateran palace . . . 274
The "Sancta Sanctorum" and "Scala Santa". . 277
Work at St. Paul's outside the Walls and other churches 279
Veneration of Sixtus V. for the church of St. Mary Major's 282
He builds there the Capella Sistina to contain the relics of the Præsepium 283
The tomb of St. Pius V. and his own monument . . 286
Buildings of public utility erected 290
Work of Sixtus V. at the Vatican Library . . . 291
And the Palace of the Vatican 299
Additions to the Quirinal — the Pope takes up his residence there (June, 1590) 301
Marvellous building activity of Sixtus V. . . . 302
Descriptions of Rome by contemporaries . . . 305
Completion of the Dome of St. Peter's . . . 306
1590 The last stone of which is placed on May 14th . . 309
Symbolism of the Dome 311

CHAPTER VII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF URBAN VII.

1590 Lavish use made by the Cardinals of the money of Sixtus V. 313
French affairs—The *papabili* Cardinals . . . 314
Parties in the Conclave 315
The Spanish party under the leadership of Madruzzo. 318
The candidates of Philip II. 319
Opening of the Conclave on September 8th . . 320
Efforts on behalf of Colonna 321
Election of Urban VII. (Castagna) on September 14th. 323
Personality, family and previous career of the new Pope 323
His work at the Council of Trent and in nunciatures 325
His successful legation at Bologna 327
Satisfaction caused by his election 328
The Pope's first thought is for the poor of Rome. . 329
His vigorous constitution gives hope of a long pontificate 330
But he succumbs to an attack of Roman fever and dies on September 24th 331

A.D. PAGE
1590 Negotiations for election of his successor . . . 333
A long and stormy conclave 334
Effrontery of Olivares 335
Who works strongly for Santori 336
And is vehement against Colonna 337
And also opposes the candidate of Montalto and Sforza 338
Indignation against Spain in the sacred college. . 339
Attempts to obtain election of Madruzzo. . . 342
Montalto at head of the anti-Spanish Cardinals. . 344
The Conclave in a state of chaos 345
Facchinetti or Sfondrato ? 247
1590 Niccolò Sfondrato elected on December 5th and takes the name of Gregory XIV. 348
Supposed prophecy of St. Malachy 349

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY XIV.

Family and father of Niccolò Sfondrato . . . 351
His career—Cardinal in December 1583 . . . 352
His friendship with St. Philip Neri and St. Charles Borromeo 353
The gentle character of Gregory XIV., his inexperience of politics—and devotedness to Philip II. . . 354
1591 The Pope soon gives (January 23rd) signal proof of good-will to the King of Spain 356
The Cardinal-nephew Paolo Emilio Sfondrato . . 357
Suffering in the Papal States from bandits, famine and epidemics. 359
Efforts of the Pope to relieve the miseries of Rome . 360
All civil affairs placed in hands of Card. Sfondrato . 361
Whose head is quite turned 362
And conceals the true state of affairs from the Pope 363
Illness of Gregory XIV. during March and April. . 364
The discontent in Rome—Deputation of the Roman Senate to the Pope. 365
Trouble with the bandits—capture and execution of Piccolomini 366
Attitude of Gregory XIV. towards France . . . 367
He decides to support the League 368
And to adopt a policy in sympathy with Spain. . 369
Letter from the Pope to Sega, the nuncio in France . 370
Landriano sent to France 370
Monitorium to the French clergy (March 1st) . . 371
Gregory XIV. determines to intervene in France by force of arms 372
Three French Cardinals ordered to separate themselves from Henry of Navarre (March 28th). . 373
Ercole Sfondrato commander of the Papal expedition (May 12th) 374
The Pope's letter to the inhabitants of Paris—the instructions for Landriano (May) . . . 375

A.D. PAGE
1591 Declaration of the Paris Parliament against the Papal monitoria 376
The Pope decried as "schismatic and the enemy of peace" 377
Sufferings of the Papal army. 378
Illness of the Pope (April and July). 379
Alfonso II. of Ferrara arrives in Rome (August). . 379
Question of the succession to his duchy 380
Refusal of the Pope to make a great creation of Cardinals 381
Discussion about the Bull of Pius V. on the disposition of fiefs 382
Renewed illness of the Pope (September 25th) . 383
His death-bed discourse to the Cardinals (October 4th) 384
Saintly death of Gregory XIV (October 15th) . . 386
Many marks of favour shown to Philip II.. . . . 387
Constitution on the choice of bishops (May 15th). . 389
Other reforms of Gregory XIV.—The "red biretta" . 390
The question of the 'Sixtine Vulgate" 391
Bellarmine's memorial on this subject 393
Constitution concerning right of sanctuary (May 24th) 394
The five Cardinals created by Gregory XIV. . . 395
Gregory XIV. and the Religious Orders 398
Disputes of the Spanish Jesuits 400
The Bull confirming the whole Constitution of the Jesuits (July) 401
And abrogating the enactments of Sixtus V. . . 401
Effects of this Bull 402
Memorial [by Possevino ?] presented to the Pope on the affairs of Germany and Switzerland . . 403
Its far-reaching suggestions 404
Gregory XIV. able to carry some of them into effect . 405
The Pope and patronage of the arts 406
Gregory XIV. and Pierluigi Palestrina 408

CHAPTER IX.

THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT IX.

1591 The Conclave—The Spaniards and Montalto—Great annoyance at the Spanish influence (October) . 409
Candidature of Cardinal Facchinetti. 410
Changed attitude of Philip II.. 410
Made clear from the memorial of Olivares and Sessa . 411
"His majesty does not exclude them" [i.e. Cardinals of Sixtus V.] 412
The Conclave opens on October 27th—two days later
Cardinal Facchinetti is elected. 412
He takes the name of Innocent IX. 415
Previous career of the new Pope 416
His character and disposition 417
Joy of the Romans at the election 418
The Pope in spite of feeble health devotes himself to the duties of his office 419

A.D. PAGE

1591 His wisdom, punctuality and exactitude—his interest in every kind of question 420
Division of the secretariate of state into three sections . 421
Innocent IX. re-establishes the German Congregation 422
His economy in financial matters 422
Reduction of the subsidy to the League—Spanish anxiety 423
Memorials to the Pope on French affairs 423
Displeasure of the Pope with the Catholic adherents of Navarre—Aless. Farnese urged to invade France (December 11th) 424
The great-nephew of Innocent IX. receives the purple (December 18th) 424
The Pope makes the pilgrimage of the Seven Churches and catches cold (December 21st)—his death on December 30th fills Rome with grief 426
Crowds flock to St. Peter's to touch his dead body . 427

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1585.	428
2	Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua	428
3	Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1586	428
4	Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1586	429
5	Avviso di Roma of March 29th, 1586	429
6	Avviso di Roma of June 4, 1586.	429
7	Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1586	430
8	Avviso di Roma of October 1, 1586	430
9	Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1586	430
10	Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1587.	430
11	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	431
12	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	431
13	Avviso di Roma of May 9, 1587.	431
14	Avviso di Roma of May 13, 1587.	431
15	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	432
16	Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1587.	432
17	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	432
18	Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua	433
19	Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1587.	433
20	Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1587	433
21	Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1587	434
22	Avviso di Roma of January 30, 1588.	434
23	Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1588	434
24	Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1588	434
25	Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1588	434
26	Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1588	435
27	Matteo Brumano to the Duke of Mantua	435
28	Avviso di Roma of October 12, 1588.	436
29	Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1588.	436
30	Avviso di Roma of October 26, 1588.	436
31	Diarium P. Alaleonis, October 30, 1588	436
32	Avviso di Roma of February 18, 1589.	437
33	Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1589	437
34	Avviso di Roma of April 26, 1589	437
35	Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1589	438
36	Avviso di Roma of July 1, 1589.	438
37	Avviso di Roma of July 26, 1589.	438
38	Avviso di Roma of July 29, 1589.	438
39	Avviso di Roma of September 10, 1589	438
40	Avviso di Roma of October 7, 1589	439
41	Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1590	439
42	Federico Cataneo to the Duke of Mantua	439

PAGE

43 Lelio Maretti, Conclave of Gregory XIV. . . . 440
44 Memorial for Pope Gregory XIV. on the Catholic restoration in Germany, 1591 443
45 Pope Gregory XIV. to Cardinal Lenoncourt. . . 448
46 Pope Gregory XIV. to Card. Ascanio Colonna . . 449
47 Avviso di Roma of October 16, 1591 450
48 Cardinal Lod. Madruzzo to Giacomo Kurz . . . 451
49 Avviso di Roma of November 13, 1591 . . . 451
50 Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1591 . . . 452
51 Avviso di Roma of December 7, 1591. . . . 452
52 Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1592 452

CHAPTER I.

Trial and Execution of Mary Stuart.—The Spanish Armada.

The brief pontificate of Sixtus V. marks a decisive turning point in the lot of the Catholics of England. In the first place, with the execution of Mary Stuart, all hopes disappeared of seeing the English crown on the head of a Catholic after the death of Elizabeth, while the destruction of the Spanish Armada in the following year, made it clear that they could no longer hope for the restoration of the old religion by the help of a foreign power.

When Sixtus V. ascended the throne, some seventeen years had elapsed since the Queen of Scots had sought for help in England, and had found instead a prison. Her beauty, once so lauded, had faded ; her good name had been dragged in the mire ; her health had become so broken that often she could hardly stand on her feet.[1] But the compassion which is wont to be felt for the rights of the oppressed made the helpless prisoner a greater danger to her enemies than she could ever have become as a free princess. There was therefore an ever growing desire on the part of the rulers of England to put an end to the ceaseless threats from abroad and conspiracies at home by an act of violence. As early as 1572, John Knox had demanded the death of Mary ; his successors in this demand were the Puritans, who dominated England by means of Leicester and Walsingham. According to the ideas of that sect Elizabeth was provoking the anger of God in allowing Mary to live any longer, for " woe to the shepherd that nourisheth the wolf in his sheepfold, woe to the husbandman that driveth not forth the wild boar from the vineyard

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove, Maria Stuart, I., 23.

of the Lord." Were Jezabel and Athalia, who were put to death by the command of God, less guilty than the queen of Scotland?[1] Even at that time Walsingham looked upon Mary's life as a constant menace of death to Elizabeth, and even in state dispatches he described her in 1581 as the serpent which England was nourishing in her bosom.[2]

An excellent opportunity of winning over public opinion, as well as English statesmen, to decisive action against the Queen of Scots and the Catholics as a body, was given to the crafty secretary of state in 1584 by the murder of William of Orange. If the Catholic King could employ violence in the case of Orange, it was easy to persuade the English Protestants by means of this precedent that their own queen could do the same in the case of the Catholics. Rumours of attempts against the queen, for the most part fictitious, and condemnations to death of those supposed to be guilty of attacks upon the life of Elizabeth, fanned still more the popular indignation. This reached its height with the trial of Parry, because it was thought to prove that not only the agent of Mary Stuart in Paris, but the Pope's secretary of state himself, had approved of plans for the murder of Elizabeth.[3] The excitement of those days not only gave the English ministers an excuse for passing the terrible laws against the Catholics, but also supplied them with the desired pretext for notably pushing forward their designs against Mary Stuart.[4] Everywhere in England hundreds of Protestants pledged themselves in the churches to persecute in every way, and even to death, any who threatened the life of Elizabeth, and anyone on whose behalf she was menaced. Corresponding legislative proposals followed, and even though the laws that were eventually issued fell short of the promises held out by this Protestant alliance,

[1] *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

[2] "The bosom serpent." *Cf.* POLLEN in the *Month*, CIX. (1907), pp. 356 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 453 *seq.*

[4] "Les desfiances sont sy grandes à present pardeça, que lon a subson des ombres." Castelnau, January 1, 1584, in POLLEN, Mary, xxiv.

Walsingham had nevertheless obtained a great deal. England had become accustomed to the idea that it would be possible to shed the blood even of a queen and the heir to the throne.[1]

In order, however, actually to lay hands upon Mary Stuart, it was necessary to have proof that she had personally been concerned in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. According to the revelations of Parry, such proof could be found in the papers of Morgan, and Elizabeth actually obtained his arrest from Henry III.[2] In all probability the hot-headed and incautious Welshman had indeed taken part in machinations against the life of Elizabeth, but without the connivance of Mary.[3] But Morgan was warned in time before his arrest, and nothing incriminating was found among his papers.[4]

It thus became necessary for them to spy upon Mary herself, and to entrap her by means of those arts, in the use of which the creatures of Walsingham were past masters. There was a whole army of spies in the service of the secretary of state, who, in the guise of friends, won the confidence of their victims, and, if necessary, even incited them to conspiracy, that they might then employ the arm of the law against them. Parry is but one example of such creatures. Walsingham employed spies in eleven cities of France, seven of Flanders, three of Holland, and six of Spain, and outside Europe in Algiers and Constantinople.[5] In Rome he employed the exile

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 455, and POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, xxiii-xxx.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 74-88.

[3] POLLEN in the *Month*, CIX. (1907), 364.

[4] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 80. "They had not only writing or letter to hurt any in the world; but after their old manner, they have forged some writings by all appearance to terrify the good people of England." Morgan, July 20, 1585, *ibid.*, 81.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 144. BURGON (*Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, I., 95) to some extent gives various numbers; on one occasion he enlisted 53 spies abroad besides 18 others whose duties could not be officially defined. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LIX., 238.

Solomon Aldred, who was in the enjoyment of a pension which he had received from Gregory XIII., and acted as an agent of the Holy Office.[1] Among the English Catholics there was no family or person of note who was not kept under surveillance.[2] In the French embassy in London, Chérelles was in the pay of the secretary of state, and he handed over the code used by Mary, though he adjured the man to whom he gave it to let nothing be known of the transaction, saying that he could not, for all the gold in the world, bear the shame of having what he had done made public.[3] For these purposes of espionage the government made use of people who belonged to the dregs of humanity, broken and desperate men, and not infrequently impoverished gentlemen, who were not ashamed in their poverty to share the booty of the robbers ;[4] for, as Walsingham wrote to the English ambassador in Paris,[5] it is necessary to pay rascals so that honest folk may succeed in discovering the truth. The most repulsive of these scoundrels made their way into the English seminaries on the continent, where they simulated piety and zeal for the Church, received the sacraments and were ordained priests, in order the better to carry on their espionage and serve their master.

To win the confidence of the imprisoned queen for one of

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 147. Aldred was of opinion that it was better to serve men than God ; because men pay with gold and God with martyrdom (*ibid*). One of Elizabeth's Privy Councillors told Charles Arundel that the queen would have given a Cardinal in Rome 20,000 scudi to spy out the secrets of the court and its intentions towards England. Arundel reported this to Gregory XIII. Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 166 ; *cf.* Acta consist. (of Card. Santori), 854.

[2] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 145.

[3] *Ibid.*, 183.

[4] Thus e.g. Sir George Gifford ; see Pollen in the *Month*, CX. (1907), 245 ; Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 146 *seq.* *Cf.* the sketch given by Pollen (*loc. cit.*, 243-253 ; Mary, xxxv. *seqq.*) of R. Bruce, R. Poley, George Gifford, N. Berden, Gilbert Gifford and Savage.

[5] January 25, 1585, in Pollen, the *Month*, CX., 244.

these spies was naturally a difficult matter, but against his will Mary's imprudent agent, Thomas Morgan, came to Walsingham's assistance in this. His own imprisonment in the Bastille prevented Morgan from forming a sound judgment concerning the visitors who asked him to recommend them to Mary. Thus it came about that persons in Walsingham's service, made their way to her armed with letters of recommendation from Morgan, and on the strength of these letters won her confidence. As Allen said later on,[1] it was Mary's own servants who hastened her to her ruin.

The "conspiracy" and trial of Parry had brought to the Queen of Scots an increased severity in her imprisonment; at the end of 1585 she was taken to Chartley, an ancient and unhealthy castle, within the cold walls of which at first the most ordinary conveniences of life were lacking.[2] The Catholics looked upon it as an ominous sign when the custody of Mary was no longer entrusted to a member of the higher nobility, but to a man of lesser rank, Amias Poulet, who was moreover entirely devoted to the principles of the Puritans, the mortal enemies of the queen.[3] Mary remained for three months in her new abode, cut off from all contact with the outside world.[4] She was then informed that she could receive and dispatch letters by means of her vintner, in the casks which he brought full and took away empty, and for the first time after a long period was the captive queen able to rejoice in receiving proofs of the attachment of her friends. She had no suspicion that a trap was being laid for her, but no single letter made its way in or out in the casks which, after being decoded by the skilful Thomas Phelippes, was not conveyed to Walsingham.[5] The very first letter which Mary received

[1] In POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 243.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 120 *seq.* It would seem that Mary herself wished to leave Tutbury. POLLEN, Mary, lii.

[3] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 118, 129. *Cf.* the Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet, keeper of Mary Queen of Scots, ed. JOHN MORRIS, London, 1874.

[4] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 133; POLLEN, Mary, lvi.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 190. With regard to Phelippes see *ibid.*, 160-163, and POLLEN, Mary, liii., *seq.*

through her vintner was the first mesh in the net in which the queen became more deeply entangled, for it contained a letter of recommendation from Morgan of Gilbert Gifford, that crafty man who, to use the expression of Henry III., had been charged by the lords of Elizabeth's Privy Council to destroy the Queen of Scots, and who carried out his task in a masterly way.[1]

Gilbert Gifford who was a member of a good Catholic family of Staffordshire, had, in obedience to his father's wishes, devoted himself to a life of preparation for the ecclesiastical state. After two years he exchanged Allen's seminary at Rheims for the English College in Rome; he was expelled from thence for bad conduct, but by means of a repentance which was probably insincere, obtained from the rector of the college a letter of recommendation to Allen. Out of consideration for Gifford's family Allen let himself be persuaded to help him to make a fresh attempt, but instead of actually entering the seminary at Rheims, Gifford made his way to Paris and London, and probably was thenceforward in touch with Walsingham. He then went to Rome, to the spy Aldred, and thence to Allen at Rheims, where he once more, with many tears and admissions of his faults, admirably succeeded in playing the part of the returned prodigal. Allen was weak enough to let himself be touched with pity, and he gave Gifford shelter, assigning him a minor position in the teaching staff of the institute.[2] The result was a grave disaster for

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 176. Morgan wrote on January 25, 1586, that he had only given Gifford a few lines (*ibid.*, 180); on the other hand in the form in which his letter of recommendation was given it is of considerable length (*ibid.*, 191). It was amplified, we must suppose, by Phelippes. The draft of the letter, written in Phelippes' hand, is dated in the old style (*ibid.*, 185).

[2] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 148-152; Pollen in *The Month*, CX. (1907), 249 *seqq.*, and Mary, xlii *seq.*; Lee in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXI., 302 *seq.* Froude and Hosack make Gilbert Gifford a Jesuit, Kretzschmar (112) attributes the entire fault (without any proof) of the whole Babington Plot to the Jesuits. On the contrary Gilbert Gifford was the declared *enemy*

the seminary of Rheims, for within its walls was devised the plan for the assassination of Elizabeth, which, in its results, formed one of the most serious blows which fell upon the English Catholics.

At the same time as Gilbert Gifford there was in the seminary at Rheims his kinsman, William Gifford, a professor of theology, who afterwards, when he had entered the Benedictine Order and become Archbishop of Rheims, was a man of great distinction, but who at that time, embittered by the party strife among the English exiles, was in communication, perhaps not always blameless, with Walsingham and his tools.[1] For some months during 1581 there was also in the college John Savage, a man of limited intelligence, who suffered himself to be led by Gilbert Gifford as though he had no will of his own. After he had done his military service, first with Leicester, and afterwards with the Duke of Parma, Savage again stayed at Rheims (1583-1585), and it would seem was once more a member of the seminary.[2] In a conversation he had with the two Giffords, in the summer of 1585, concerning the attempts to kill Elizabeth, Savage received the impression that the professor of theology, William Gifford, looked upon such acts as good and praiseworthy, and three weeks later he resolved to take upon himself the carrying out

of the Jesuits ; at the instigation of Morgan he composed, together with Grately a polemic against them, which has disappeared, but which was probably for the next twenty years the authority for writings against the Jesuits (POLLEN in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 357 n. ; CXIX. (1912), 302 ; LEE, *loc. cit.*, 303). The antagonism of Morgan, William Gifford and others for the Jesuits was connected with a division among English and Welsh parties of the English exiles, into which we cannot enter here. *Cf.* LECHAT, 157 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* the controversy concerning him between E. C. Butler, O.S.B. and J. H. Pollen in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 243 *seqq.*, 348 *seqq.* A letter to Walsingham of April 18, 1586, does honour to William Gifford : printed in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 248.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 178 *seq.* ; POLLEN in *The Month* CX. (1907), 250 *seq.*, and Mary, xliii.

of such a plan.[1] In August, 1585, he went to London with that purpose, though how and when it was to be accomplished he had no idea. At first he wandered about the city, waiting for chance to give him a good opportunity. It would seem, however, that Gilbert Gifford did not take Savage seriously, for when, later on, he entered upon a closer relationship with Walsingham, there was nothing to show that he had ever really entertained any fears for the queen's life.

When on September 23rd, 1585, orders were issued for Mary Stuart to be imprisoned at Chartley, Gilbert Gifford, on October 8th, suddenly turned his back on the seminary at Rheims, obtained in Paris a letter of recommendation from Morgan to the Queen of Scots, and placed himself at the disposal of Walsingham in London, who put him in touch with the forger and cypher-reader, Phelippes.[2] Thenceforward it was Gifford who laid the snares to bring about the death of the prisoner of Chartley.[3] It was he who put himself in touch with Mary's vintner, and acted as her intermediary in her correspondence with the French ambassador, taking care, however, that all Mary's letters should first reach the

[1] The only source for these events is the confession of Savage in his interrogatory (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 306). This confession has only reached us in a mutilated form (*ibid.*, 308). In this as in other documents the name of Gilbert is deliberately suppressed, so as to conceal his participation from the conspirators. The whole blame is thrown on William Gifford, but from the character of the latter it is extremely improbable that he would have approved of the regicide. Gilbert Gifford will have skilfully informed him of the questions which later on he interpreted in his own way before Savage. POLLEN (Mary, xlv.; *The Month*, CX., 251) discovered a version of the confession of Savage in which Gilbert's name was *not* suppressed. *Cf.* BUTLER, *loc. cit.*, 254 *seqq.*; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 179.

[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 181, 184.

[3] "Lequel (Gifford) ne demandoit autre chose que de faire tomber la royne d'Escosse en une conjuration contre la vie de la royne d'Angleterre, laquelle estant descouverte, ils pussent inciter la dicte royne à la faire mourir." Châteauneuf, the French ambassador, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 188.

hands of Phelippes and Walsingham.[1] Gifford's family had not the least suspicion of the dastardly part being played by Gilbert, who had the effrontery to ask for a reward from both Walsingham and Mary,[2] and later on, while in the midst of his disgraceful intrigues, had himself ordained priest,[3] in order to win the confidence of the Catholics.[4]

At first the letters of the prisoner contained nothing serious; Poulet complained of this to Walsingham, and thenceforward there were to be found in Mary's letters, that is to say in the copies which have been preserved, and which are all from the hand of Phelippes, demands for vengeance on Elizabeth and for help from abroad.[5] But this was not enough for Walsingham, for it was necessary to involve Mary in a plot against the life of Elizabeth. It was therefore first of all necessary to set such a plot on foot, by adding more important fellow conspirators to the insignificant Savage. According to the report of the French ambassador, it was again Gilbert Gifford who set himself to this task,[6] and he turned his attention to Antony Babington, a young and wealthy Catholic gentleman, aged 24, who had given himself up to a life of pleasure in London with his young companions,[7] a life which did not prevent occasional outbursts of religious enthusiasm. As a page of Shrewsbury, Babington had made the acquaintance of Mary Stuart, and up to a few months before her removal to Chartley had acted as go-between in the correspondence of the captive queen.[8] It was not, however, Gifford himself who involved Babington, but another equally scandalous seminarist, John Ballard.

[1] *Ibid.*, 190, 196, 200. He never entered into personal relations with Mary (*ibid.*, 214), though he wrote to her (*ibid.*, 198).

[2] *Ibid.*, 196.

[3] At Rheims on March 14, 1587; see POLLEN, MARY, 122; LEE, *loc. cit.*, 303.

[4] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 512 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 198.

[6] *Ibid.*, 222.

[7] *Ibid.*, 223-227.

[8] *Ibid.*, 224. That he was not Mary's page, see POLLEN, Mary, cv., 50.

Ballard, it would seem, had begun his career as the opponent of Mary Stuart. In 1578 he had offered himself to the English ambassador in Paris as a spy upon Morgan and the French court, but with the condition that he should not be insulted by a large reward for his services.[1] But in the following year, having graduated at Cambridge, he entered Allen's seminary at Rheims, and in 1581 began his sacerdotal work in England; this soon brought him into prison, from which, however, he soon escaped.[2] Both in prison and in his escape, he was accompanied by Antony Tyrell, a nervous and excitable priest, who afterwards four times apostatized from the Catholic Church, and four times returned to her, and who at one time made the most disgraceful depositions against Catholic priests, and then retracted them.[3] Ballard's enthusiasm for his ecclesiastical labours came to an end after his first arrest. In 1584 he set out for Rome. Tyrell accompanied him, and later on, when he had fallen into the hands of the English government, made the most extraordinary allegations against his companion. In Milan before Owen Lewis, in Rome before the rector of the English College, the General of the Jesuits, and Gregory XIII. himself, and in Rheims before Allen, Ballard was made out to have laid plans for the murder of Elizabeth, and to have claimed the approval of the Pope and the Jesuits. Afterwards Tyrell retracted what he had said, and asserted that there was not a word of truth in his accusations.[4] That Ballard principally

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 76.

[2] POLLEN, Mary, lxvi. *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, lxviii. *seqq.*

[4] In his retractation, he thus described all that he had related concerning his journey to Rome: "A long and monstrous tale, and most untrue. Neither was there ever any such speech or negotiations with the persons in any of the places named, neither would we ever have durst to have proposed any such thing unto them, if Ballard or I had been so wicked to conceive it, as thank God we never were" (POLLEN, Mary, lxxvi.). If we can put trust in this hysterical man anywhere, it is only in the case of his retractation. He made it in a public pulpit before a Protestant

devoted himself to politics seems clear from the fact that when Tyrell was imprisoned in 1586 he feared the suspicions and anger of the English authorities chiefly on account of his relations with Ballard.[1]

On his return from Rome Ballard went to seek out in Paris Morgan, Mary's representative, and his friends, and under their influence became more and more filled with the idea that he was called to do great things, and to initiate a great change in favour of the Queen of Scots and the Catholic religion.[2] He began to visit the castles of the nobles whom he thought to be well disposed to the employment of violence against Elizabeth, and at their instigation, went to Scotland to inquire into the sentiments of the nobles there. There, at the beginning of 1586, he especially treated with the most important of the supporters of the Queen of Scots, Claude Hamilton, who was closely connected with the royal house, and was in near succession to the throne. It was also quite in keeping with his grand plans that, in the course of his travels in England, he sought to make the acquaintance of the nobility, travelled in great splendour, and expended large sums of money on entertainments and banquets. He was possessed in a high degree of social gifts and talents, while one cannot but admire his behaviour, later on, when faced with a disgraceful death. But even though in other respects Tyrell is not to be trusted, he has hit the mark when he makes Ballard's outstanding characteristic the ambition[3] which led him to aspire to a position which was quite beyond his capacity. Ballard was not a statesman in any sense of the word. He was lacking in cool judgment and circumspection, and that which calm reflection would have shown to have been a bare possibility, his lively imagination painted as a practical

audience, which was expecting anything but a retractation, which cost him the loss of a lucrative office which he desired, and placed him in prison instead (*ibid.*, lxx. *seq.*, lxxii. *seq.*). For Tyrell see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LVII., 437.

[1] POLLEN, Mary, lviii.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxxvii., lxxix.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxviii.

reality. That he should have looked upon extreme measures of violence as lawful and excusable for the attainment of his ends may be to some extent explained by his residence in Flanders and France, where, in the struggles between the Gueux and the Huguenots, the most elementary principles of right and morality had become undermined among many people. Persons described Ballard as an ecclesiastic gone astray ;[1] to understand the whole of his conduct it is necessary to keep before one's mind the fact that the priests in England had no bishop, or other superior over them, and that they were able to act according to their own wishes.

They were fateful moments for the English Catholics when, at the beginning of 1586, Ballard was initiated into the schemes of John Savage, and came to the decision to go to Paris in order to discuss with Morgan and Paget the carrying out of those plans ; soon afterwards he got into touch with Babington and his friends, spoke to them of the imminent arrival of foreign troops in England, and promised them in his lordly manner high position and great rewards, if they would cross the seas and join the hostile armies. Ballard thought that he was acting in the most profound secrecy ; he had no suspicion that Walsingham had already turned his attention to him, and that he had been given, to accompany him on his journey, under the guise of a trusty friend, his paid employé, Bernard Maude. About the same time Gilbert Gifford boasted to Phelippes that it would soon be possible to find out all that was going on among the Catholics.[2]

Ballard carried out his project of going to Paris in the spring of the year 1586. By the help of Paget, Morgan's representative, he obtained access to the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, and explained to him how favourable the circumstances were for a military expedition against England, saying that a new courage was animating the English Catholics, that the armed forces of England were engaged in Flanders, and that four of the nobles had given their word

[1] "Un cierto clerigo desviado (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 211, n. 1). FRERE (244 *seq.*) makes Ballard a Jesuit.

[2] POLLEN, Mary, lxxxii. *seq.*

to murder Elizabeth. Mendoza replied to Ballard in general terms, but that was quite enough for the hot-headed enthusiast, and he returned to London without waiting to speak a second time with Mendoza.[1] On May 22nd, 1586, there reached London a certain Captain Fortescue, in a blue velvet doublet and a plumed hat, who was shortly to be seen in every inn and tavern.[2] This was Ballard in disguise, whose aspirations to a name and fame was soon to be satisfied by a world-wide reputation, though in quite another sense from that which he dreamed of. He at once talked with Babington, just as though Mendoza had made him solemn promises of the most far-reaching kind, and the carrying out of the plan were certain. According to him, the Catholic powers had united in an alliance, preparations had been made for an expedition against England during the coming summer, the like of which the world had never seen. The Pope was to be the head of the enterprise, the French under Guise or Mayenne, and the Spaniards under the Duke of Parma would pour into England with 60,000 men ; whoever failed to join them would run the risk of losing all he possessed. At first Babington raised some objections : the foreign princes had their hands tied by the disturbances in their own countries, so how could they ever find the means to call into being so vast an army, and convey it across the seas ? In England their coming would meet with but little support. As long as Elizabeth was alive, he added, the government would be in strong hands. These remarks gave Ballard the opportunity of disclosing the worst part of his plan. Steps have been taken, he replied, to see that her life shall not stand in the way. The instrument chosen for this purpose will be Savage, who has bound himself by oath to carry it out, as well as several others.[3]

Ballard also spoke in the same sense with Babington's friends, among whom his disclosures led to lively discussions. We stand between two serious dangers, said Babington : from the government we have to fear lest it destroy the

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxxvii. *seq.*, xciii. *seqq.*

[2] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 219.

[3] Babington's first confession, in Pollen, Mary, 52.

Catholics, either by a massacre, or by laws by means of which it will hold the lives of every Catholic in its hands; on the other hand we have to fear lest the foreigner should take possession of the country, and pillage and subdue it. And what of the position of the Catholics? Printed books maintain the view that no Papist can be a good subject, from which it naturally follows that it is right to wish to exterminate them. The government knows to what lengths desperation will drive men; it must therefore either lighten the burdens of the Catholics, of which there is no hope, or exterminate them, as soon as a convenient pretext for so doing is presented. The best course would be to leave England to its fate, said Babington. At the death of the queen there would beyond all doubt be reason to fear civil war, because of the many claimants to the throne; the successor of the ailing Mary Stuart could only be James of Scotland, in whom the friends of Babington had no confidence at all.[1]

But in spite of certain doubts the conspiracy made progress. Savage was set aside, and the whole affair was entrusted to Babington.[2] On June 7th, 1586, Ballard and Babington had a conversation at the village of St. Giles, at which they discussed the murder of Elizabeth and the liberation of Mary Stuart, who was then to mount the English throne.[3] Not long afterwards, Gilbert Gifford, Walsingham's spy, was received into the number of the conspirators,[4] and the secretary of state could thus be assured that he would be informed of everything that Babington and his friends decided upon in the deepest secrecy. When, a short time after the meeting of June 7th, Ballard undertook a journey through England, in order to sound the feelings of the aristocracy, he was

[1] Babington, *ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*

[2] Pollen, cx. List of 18 conspirators, *ibid.*, cxvi.

[3] Thus the Indictment against Babington, which also makes Gilbert Gifford a participator in the plot. Later on the name of Gilbert was omitted in the documents of the case. Pollen, cxiv. For the reason, see *ibid.*, cxv.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxv.

accompanied by Walsingham's tool, Bernard Maude.[1] Immediately, by order of the secretary of state, Gifford went to Paris, to watch Morgan more closely; on his return, Babington, who was still hesitating, asked him what was the opinion of the French theologians concerning the plans of the conspirators, and as Gifford could give him no information on the subject, he sent him back to France to make inquiries.[2]

Although Babington and his associates continued to discuss the raising of the country districts, and the carrying out of the plot, neither he nor his accomplices were free from anxieties. One of the latter put forward the plan of merely making Elizabeth a prisoner in a fortress, and surrounding her with Catholic ministers. It was perhaps only in order to conceal his intentions that Babington tried to obtain from Walsingham leave to go abroad. It was unfortunate for him that, for this purpose, he sought the mediation of Robert Poley, one of Walsingham's vilest tools, who, in his dealings with the Catholics, feigned piety, in order the better to betray them. Poley welcomed the advances of Babington in such a friendly way, that the heedless young man opened his heart to the traitor, both as to the conspiracy and his own doubts; Poley naturally seized upon the opportunity to quiet his scruples and to encourage Babington in his plot. Walsingham himself three times received the hesitating conspirator, and tried to win him over as a tool in his designs upon Mary Stuart, but Babington turned a deaf ear to his suggestions, as well as to his guarded hints and warnings.[3]

In the opinion of a contemporary, not long afterwards,[4] the fire of the plot would have been put out with a few drops of water, or rather would have died out of itself, as soon as its basis, the Franco-Spanish attack which was supposed to be intended, was realized to be a chimera. But Walsingham wanted the hesitating conspirators to adhere firmly to their design, and in this Mary herself came to their assistance. As

[1] *Ibid.*, cxvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, cxviii.

[3] *Ibid.*, cxx-cxxix.

[4] Southwell, 1591, *ibid.*, cli.

Babington had been the first intermediary for conveying to him letters from Mary Stuart, Morgan formed the idea of renewing those relations, and in consequence Mary addressed to Babington a request that he would hand over to her envoy any letters for him which he might still happen to possess.[1] Walsingham at once realized the importance of this note: if Babington complied, it was very probable that Mary would become involved in his plans. It therefore became supremely important to give new life to the already waning conspiracy. This task was undertaken by Gilbert Gifford. He complained to Savage of his everlasting irresolution, while to Babington, referring him to Mary's agent, Charles Paget, he confirmed all those things which Ballard claimed to have understood from the lips of Mendoza: namely, that before September a hostile force would be landed upon English soil, and that a levy of a great number of troops had already been made.[2] Babington again gave expression to his doubts: he wished first of all to be assured by some authority beyond the seas—probably Allen—of the lawfulness of the undertaking; it was therefore necessary that the preliminary measures should be completed, and that the rewards for carrying out the dangerous scheme should be rendered quite certain. Until all this was done, Gifford must engage to hold back Savage and the others from any attack upon the queen; if this were not done he swore that he would reveal the whole affair to the queen.[3]

It was perhaps in consequence of a letter from Mary to himself, or perhaps even before he received it,[4] that Babington, in spite of his hesitation and his own doubts, sent the fatal documents by which he explained to the Queen of Scots, and

[1] POLLEN, cxxx.

[2] *Ibid.*, cxxxv.

[3] "Untill all which were don, I advised him to witholde such as were imployed against the Queens person. . . . If he did not, I protested and swore I would discover it unto the Queen." *Ibid.*, 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxxxvii. Babington says in his eighth confession that he had written to Mary: "To think to move the Scottish Queen, to deale the more roundely and readily." *Ibid.*, 91.

thus, as can readily be understood, to the secretary of state, the whole plan of the conspiracy.[1] He set forth how, as a result of the communications made to him by Ballard concerning the plans of the Catholic princes, he had formed the desire of offering his services to Mary, and then went on to mention the principal matters involved; among these appeared the plan for "getting rid of the usurper of the throne."[2] He even came back a second time to this matter; with ten nobles and a hundred others, he said, he intended to undertake the liberation of Mary; as for "the removal of the usurper," this would be undertaken by six nobles of his acquaintance.[3] Mary was asked to appoint the leader of the insurrection, to give authority to Babington, and to guarantee "suitable rewards for the carrying out of the tragical" undertaking.

When he read this letter, Nau, Mary's secretary, advised her to leave it unanswered.[4] During the past few months the captive queen had refused two plans for her liberation, though she thanked those who had put them forward; but now, when it was no longer an individual loyalist who wished to become her cavalier, and it seemed that she was offered an alliance of the Catholic princes, and that an enterprise against Elizabeth was already decided upon, she determined on July 12th to accept Babington's proposals.[5]

Mary was not blind to the vagueness and incompleteness of all these projects, and pointed out[6] that first of all everything must be thought out and prepared to the smallest detail. First of all it was necessary to be quite certain of foreign help, and to be sure that all the work of preparation

[1] *Ibid.*, 18-23, written about the 6 (16) of July, 1586, and reached Mary's hands on the 12 (22) of July (*ibid.*, 24).

[2] "The dispatch of the usurping Competitor." POLLEN, 20, n. iv.

[3] "For the dispatch of the usurper . . . six noble gentlemen . . . will undertake that tragicall execution." *Ibid.*, 21, n. viii.

[4] POLLEN, Mary, 148.

[5] *Ibid.*, cxli.

[6] *Ibid.*, 38-46.

had been carried out, and that only after the blow had been struck against Elizabeth could there be any thought of her own liberation. With regard to the matter which certainly lay nearest of all to the heart of Babington, Mary expressed herself with great reserve. Babington had asked for authority to assure his friends of a reward for their blow against Elizabeth.[1] To this Mary would not agree.[2] She promised rewards, it is true, but not for the six, nor for their particular undertaking, but only in general and for her own liberation. But any authorization in virtue of her royal authority Mary did not give.[3] On the other hand she did not expressly find fault with the blow against Elizabeth. She looked upon herself as lawfully queen, with all the rights and powers belonging to one in that position, and did not look upon it as her duty to instruct the subjects of a foreign sovereign as to their civil duties, the more so that, if the projected attempt were to take place, the war on her behalf and against Elizabeth would already have broken out. Later on, and indeed immediately before her death, she asserted that she had not approved the projected assassination, and from all that is known of her it is impossible to suppose that she would "have appeared before her heavenly judge with a lie upon her lips."[4]

[1] "It resteth that . . . their heroical attempt maie bee honorably rewarded . . . and that so much I maie bee able by your Majestys authoritie to assure them." *Ibid.*, 22.

[2] Gifford to Walsingham, July 11, 1586, *ibid.*, 107.

[3] "Remitting to the judgment of our principall frends on this side with whome you have to deale herein, to ordaine (and) conclude upon this present . . . as you shall amongst you find best; and to yourself in particular I refer to assure the gentlemen above mentioned of all that shal bee requisite of my part to the entier execution of thie good willes. I leave also to your common resolutions, etc. (Pollen, Mary, 42). I doe and will thinck my self obliged, as long as I live, towardes you for the offers you make to hazard your self as you do for mie delivery, and by anie means . . . I shall doe my endevour to recognise by effects your desertes herein" (*Ibid.*, 45). *Cf.* the remarks of Pollen, *ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

[4] Thus Bresslau in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LII. (1884), 288.

Moreover, according to Mary's intention, the letter she wrote to Babington at that time was not intended to be final, and in the course of the correspondence further opportunities were bound to present themselves for entering more minutely into the particulars of Babington's plan.

At the end of the letter Phelippes added a forged postscript, by which Babington was asked to state the names of the six nobles.[1] Babington could hardly reply to this request, because the six were not as yet finally decided upon.[2]

By this letter Mary had placed herself in Walsingham's hands. On August 2nd Phelippes asked him what was now to be done with Babington, whether he was to be arrested, or whether the game that was being played with him was to continue.[3] Walsingham hesitated for more than a month. He knew that with men like Babington and Savage there was no real danger, and that in the meantime it might be possible to learn something more of their secret designs.

In the meantime the conspirators could not help becoming aware of the uselessness of their plans. Some weeks after Mary's letter, Ballard returned from his tour in the north, and he had been forced to realize that the Catholics were very far from having thoughts of a rebellion. Those who ought

[1] POLLEN, Mary, 45. That the postscript had been added to the letter when Babington received it is placed beyond doubt by its mention in the confessions of Babington and Dunne. Walsingham too makes mention of the postscript. *Ibid.*, clxvi.

[2] "The sixe for taking away the Queen were never named nor sounded nor in my owne determination resolued upon." The second confession of Babington, n. 21, in POLLEN, Mary, 75. The controversy whether the steps concerning the killing of Elizabeth were falsified in the letters of Babington and Mary was also declared by BROSCH (VI., 584) to be insoluble. We follow the opinion of Pollen, who considers both the letters to be authentic (Mary, cxxxvii., 31-33). The forged postscript was certainly found attached to the letter when this reached the hands of Babington; this is clear from the words of Babington, Dunne and Walsingham themselves (*ibid.*, clxvi.).

[3] *Ibid.*, cl.

to be the most eager, he complained to Babington, are the most lukewarm, and this only bore out the saying that the older men are the colder they become;[1] he told Gilbert Gifford that for the success of the undertaking it was necessary to have Mary Stuart's consent, signed and sealed, and that otherwise no one would listen and all would be in vain; some had even openly threatened to denounce him.[2] In order to close to Ballard every way of escape, he now received from Morgan[3] orders to give the Queen of Scots no information as to the steps being taken by the conspirators, so as not to solicit her authority. Ballard was now in a position of the greatest difficulty; he could not withdraw, because the matter was too far advanced, nor could he go forward. He said, with tears in his eyes, that he had forfeited his good name, and that thousands would perish through his fault, because, trusting to Mendoza and Paget, he had pledged himself to many people.[4]

Ballard now thought of going to France in order to obtain information from Mendoza. Even more significant of the utter folly of the conspirators were the instructions which at this moment Babington gave to the traitor Gifford. The latter was to go to the continent in order to obtain from those in authority tranquillizing replies to certain questions. These concerned the real intention of the foreign powers to give their assistance, and the rewards which the conspirators were to receive; above all Gifford was to bring back the assurance

[1] The first confession of Babington, *ibid.*, 56: "those, that should be most forward were most slowe and the older the colder."

[2] "Withoute the which, saied he, we laboure in vain, and these men will not heare us. . . . He complained much of Sir T. Tressom and my Cosin Talbot, for not only they woulde not heare him, but thredned him to discouer him; and saiethe he, unlesse we obtain that from . . . [sign to indicate Mary Stuart] all is but winde." Gifford to Walsingham, July 11, 1586, in POLLEN, 107 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 138, the confession of Ballard.

[3] About July 3 (13), and reached the hands of Ballard about July 16 (26), 1586, POLLEN, 112, cliv.

[4] *Ibid.*, 112.

that "this undertaking is directly lawful in every respect!" Until these questions were cleared up Gifford was to prevent any steps being taken against the person of the queen. If this were not done Babington once again asserted on oath that he would disclose the whole affair to the queen.[1] Thus, at a moment when everything depended upon prompt action, they were still considering the question of lawfulness or unlawfulness, and they were quite uncertain as to the fundamental premises of the whole undertaking!

Gifford actually took steps to obtain from Walsingham permission for his journey, but as, for some reason or other, he received no reply, he escaped to France. Later on, he explained in confidence the reasons for this strange behaviour; the traitor still retained some vestiges of shame, and feared, at the trial of Mary which was bound to follow, to be confronted with his victim.[2]

In the meantime Babington and his friends received news which filled them with terror. Phelippes, for example, in deciphering the fatal letter of Mary, had drawn a gallows in red ink, and news of this had reached the conspirators through a messenger.[3] Their terror was still further increased with the discovery that Maude, who had accompanied Ballard on his journey through England, was a party to all their secrets, and had taken much trouble to keep the conspirators firm in their designs, was nothing but a spy of Walsingham's.[4] The vilest of his supposed friends, Poley, was still called by Babington his "sweet Robert,"[5] even when he was already

[1] First confession of Babington, *ibid.*, 61.

[2] *Ibid.*, cxvii. *seqq.* In Paris Gifford elicited from the ambassador Mendoza a letter concerning the approval of the regicide, which however did not arrive (*ibid.*, clxxiii. *seqq.*). In Paris Gifford was very active as a spy, and got himself ordained priest in 1587, the better to spy upon the Catholics. Soon afterwards he was arrested in a house of ill-fame and thrown into the episcopal prison, where he died in 1590 (*ibid.*, 118-130).

[3] *Ibid.*, cxlix., clx.

[4] *Ibid.*, cliii., 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, clxx.

deeply entangled in his snares. When Babington wished for a passport to go abroad, Poley had obtained for him an interview with Walsingham, at which the secretary of state had let fall mysterious hints.[1] Overcome with terror, Babington sought the counsel of his "sweet Robert" as to whether it would not be better to inform Walsingham of the whole conspiracy. Poley naturally tranquillized his fears, but Babington now endeavoured to do the secretary of state a service, not, as Poley asserted, by betraying the two recently arrived Jesuits, Garnet and Southwell, but by spying on them.[2] Poley succeeded so well in winning the confidence of Babington that the latter informed him of Mary's letter of reply, and discussed the whole conspiracy with him. After three days of such discussion Babington made up his mind that Poley must go to Walsingham and prepare him for the confession which Babington intended to make to the secretary of state on the following day! Ballard too sent a message to Walsingham, offering to make a full confession. But it was too late; Walsingham would receive neither of them.[3]

Mary's letter of July 17th (27th) only reached its destination after twelve whole days' delay in Babington's hands; his reply of August 3rd (13th) contained the unhappy news of the betrayal of his supposed friend by the conspirator Maude, but nothing else of importance. Walsingham then put an end to the game he was playing with the conspirators, and Ballard and Babington and their accomplices were arrested. They made full confession[4] and on September 30th and

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 15.

[2] POLLEN, clxiii. After his arrival in London, Southwell wrote on July 25: "At the court it is said that they are preparing a matter which, should it be successful, would mean the utmost sorrow to us; if it does not succeed all will go well" (*ibid.*). At first Southwell bitterly blamed "the wicked and ill-fated conspiracy"; later on, when some part of the infamous behaviour of the government was known, he though of it more leniently. POLLEN in *The Month*, CXIX. (1912), 302.

[3] POLLEN, Mary, clxiii. *seqq.*

[4] Confessions of Babington printed in POLLEN, 49-97.

October 1st suffered the cruel death which the English laws inflicted for the crime of high treason.[1]

The news of the discovery of the plot caused tremendous excitement in the country. Even before the arrest of the guilty parties vague rumours had made their way among the people of a bloody day of terror, and a new massacre of St. Bartholomew, threatening England and her queen. The landing of a hostile army was looked upon as imminent, and during the night great bonfires were lit along the coasts.[2] At the execution of Babington, such an "army" of spectators assembled, that it alone would have been enough to resist all the enemies of England.[3] Bonfires were lit all over London in rejoicing, the bells rang out unceasingly, and the children sang psalms.[4]

To the English Catholics the plot and the executions were a terrible blow. The attempt upon the queen had been planned by Catholics, and a Catholic priest, a student of the seminary at Rheims, was its promoter. Such facts lent themselves in an extraordinary degree to being used against the old religion, and in order to use them to the best advantage, the dangers, in themselves very limited, which might have come from Babington's schemes, were grossly exaggerated. That the greater number of the Catholics knew nothing of the attempt,[5] and that the other missionaries could not be judged by the standard of a Ballard,[6] did not enter the minds

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 332-337.

[2] *Ibid.*, 274 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 332.

[4] *Ibid.*, 336.

[5] The greater part of them considered the plan for the assassination as an invention of the Protestants. POLLEN, Mary, cvi., n.

[6] MEYER (130) says: "The few priests who thus gravely injured the dignity of their mission were all men who were far removed from the typical character of the Catholic missionary in England. John Ballard . . . lived as a man of the world and did not exercise his priestly functions. Anthony Tyrell . . . was, with his utter instability, a character that was the complete opposite of the missionary trained to inflexible fortitude . . .

of most Protestants. For the greater discomfiture of all who professed the Catholic religion, it was just at that time that Antony Tyrell, Ballard's companion on his earlier travels and who was also a student of the seminary at Rheims, fell into the hands of the government, having been arrested on the score of his priesthood. On hearing of the arrest of Ballard this nerve-racked man was quite beside himself, and in order to save himself made any sort of confession that was asked of him. He claimed to have been present when Allen, the General of the Jesuits, and the Pope himself, had urged the assassination of Elizabeth. Later on he retracted all these statements as sheer lies,[1] but at the time, and more or less down to our own times, complete belief was placed in them. Elizabeth herself expressed to Tyrell her satisfaction at these confessions.[2]

The Queen of England did not know how nebulous and empty the whole conspiracy was, but her irritation had been especially aroused by the fact that nobles of her immediate entourage were among the accomplices of Babington. She would have liked to have inflicted special torments in punishing the conspirators, but Burghley pointed out to her that if the law were enforced to the letter, the death for high treason was so horrible that any further outbreak would hardly be possible. Nevertheless, on the second day of the executions, the tortures of the victims were cut short on account of

Gilbert Gifford . . . who got himself ordained priest only the better to betray his Catholic coreligionists . . . did not injure the prestige of the mission, but only that of those who assisted him."

[1] See *supra*, p. 10; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 300 *seq.*; BUTLER in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 225. Without any proof FRERE writes (244): "Ballard the Jesuit, who had originally obtained the Papal sanction (!) for the deed, etc." Perhaps Gilbert Gifford had attempted to involve the Pope in the conspiracy; he induced the Earl of Westmoreland to entrust a certain Yardley, a secret spy, with a mission to Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 303.

the murmurs of the spectators, a thing which the printed accounts subsequently attributed to the clemency of Elizabeth.[1]

When such sentiments, both of the people and of the Queen of England, were at their height, the time had at last come for the act of violence which Walsingham had so long been preparing, and in the midst of the excitement of those days the charge against the Queen of Scots was launched. But naturally, it was not easy to prove Mary's guilt. No letter of hers had been found in Babington's house ; in all probability he had burned it soon after he received it. It was therefore necessary to make Babington and Mary's private secretaries, Nau and Curll, authenticate the copy made by Phelippes, but this too was a matter of difficulty. The letter could not be shown to the secretaries with the forged postscript, nor to Babington without it. Nevertheless, Babington's signature was obtained by calling the attention of the heedless young man to the first part of the letter, and after this, its recognition by the two secretaries followed in due course. Nau was led to believe that the original letter had been found among Babington's papers, while Curll was shown the supposed original, which was beyond doubt a forgery, but which the secretary in his fright recognized as being the work of the queen herself.[2]

Thus Mary's fate was sealed. On October 5th she was taken to her last prison, Fotheringay, a castle near Peterborough. There, on the 21st of the same month, forty-three of the greatest nobles were assembled in order to pronounce sentence on her as Babington's accomplice. The judges took their stand on the law which had been issued on the occasion of the association of 1584, and aimed against Mary ; thus it was impossible to look for an impartial judgment. Mary took up her stand on the ground that, as an independent sovereign, she was not subject to the English laws. At first, therefore, she refused to appear before the lords, but when the crafty

[1] *Ibid.*, 330 *seq.* POLLEN, Mary, clxxxi. *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, clxxxiii-cxciii.

Hatton pointed out to her in apparent friendship that her refusal would be taken as an admission of her guilt, whereas, by replying to the accusations she could prove her innocence, she fell into the trap, and while protesting against the legitimacy of the tribunal, agreed to answer the accusations.[1] Naturally, no attention was paid to her protest, and the trial was carried on as though by a properly constituted tribunal.[2] Mary skilfully pointed out the monstrous nature of the proceedings; she was not allowed to have anyone to defend her;[3] Babington, who, in the case of her guilt, would have been able to prove it, had been destroyed:[4] Babington's letter and her own reply were not produced, either in the original or in authenticated copies.[5] Her secretaries Nau and Curll were not admitted.[6] As far as the assassination of the queen was concerned Mary began by setting forth the claim that she had treated of this matter in detail in a letter to Mendoza. "After I had worked for my liberation by good means, and without result, I was forced to adopt the means that were suggested to me, though without either consenting to them or approving them."[7] But in the situation in which she found herself, she said to her secretary Nau, she did not feel herself obliged to make any denunciation.[8] Nevertheless she denied, to the moment when she found herself at the block, that she had ever sought or approved the death of Elizabeth. The

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 22-29.

[2] *Ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 42.

[4] Opitz, II., 341.

[5] Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 42.

[6] *Ibid.*, 49.

[7] Labanoff, VI., 458 *seq.*

[8] "N'estimant ès termes ou elle se voyait estre obligée de la réveller." Labanoff, VII., 208; *cf.* Pollen, cxcvii. With regard to Mary's words concerning her relations with Babington see Opitz, II., 341 *seq.* It would seem that at first she denied all relations with him, which, however, in the mouth of an accused person, only meant that she left it to her accusers to prove it against her.

sentence, which was pronounced at Westminster, and approved by Parliament, declared the captive queen to be convicted and guilty.[1] On February 18th, 1587, the headsman's axe put an end to her life at Fotheringay.[2]

The grandeur of Mary's character was never shown in a brighter light than in the last days of her life, and it has been as she showed herself then that the picture of her has been handed down to posterity, and lives on in the remembrance of men. Her calm serenity, and the courage and the fearlessness with which she met her death, show her to us as though transfigured by sorrow and martyrdom, and comforted and sustained by a true religious consecration. For a long time past she had been convinced that the real reason why her death was sought was none other than her loyalty to the Catholic religion, and that her enemies wished to destroy her because, as the Catholic heir to the throne, she was a menace to English Protestantism.[3] For this reason she looked upon her violent death as a kind of martyrdom. To Burghley and Bromley, when they summoned her before the tribunal of the nobles at Fotheringay, she declared that she cared nothing for her life, and that she was only defending herself on account of her own honour, and the honour of her friends and the Church. She was a Catholic, and she was ready to shed her blood to the last drop for the faith, and she would count herself

[1] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 56 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 328 *seqq.* MAXWELL SCOTT, the Tragedy of Fotheringay founded on the Journal of Dr. Bourgoing and on unpublished MS. Documents, London, 1895. Among the letters of farewell which Mary wrote as early as November, 1586, when she thought her execution was at hand, there is a letter to Sixtus V. of November 23, 1586. LABANOFF, VI., 447 *seq.*; *cf.* F. PALACKY, Literarische Reise nach Italien im Jahre 1837, Prague, 1838, 9.

[3] See further *infra*, pp. 28 *seq.* The address of Parliament, which demanded the death of Mary, further maintained that Mary wished to remove Elizabeth from the world, not only to deprive the country of the true religion, but also to set up there the tyranny of Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 64; *cf. ibid.*, 66, the speech of Pickering before Elizabeth.

happy if God should give her the grace of dying for His cause.[1] This statement she repeated on the eve of her execution, when she was told of her approaching death ; her end, she said, was very welcome to her, and she would not be deserving of eternal happiness if her body could not suffer the stroke of the headsman's axe.[2] When the Earl of Kent retorted that her life would be the death of the Protestant religion, and her death its life, her face was transfigured with joy : " I did not deem myself worthy of such a death " she exclaimed, " because to die for the faith means to be numbered among the elect."[3] In her letter of farewell to the Jesuit, Samerie, who had for a time, in the disguise of a physician, and under the name of La Rue, ministered to her, she said that she remembered that she had promised him to die for the faith, and that she had kept her promise.[4]

Filled with thoughts such as these, the queen for a long time past had had read to her daily the lives of the saints and martyrs ;[5] the example, she said, of those who had borne testimony to the faith with their blood, would be a support and instruction to her.[6] She gladly devoted herself to the remembrance of the Passion of Christ ; above her hearth there were embroidered scenes from the story of the Passion of the Redeemer worked by her own hand.[7] On the eve of her execution she washed the feet of her ladies, for Christ too had entered upon His Way of the Cross by washing the feet of the Apostles.[8] After midnight the courageous lady had the story of the Passion read to her from the Gospels : at the words of Jesus to the good thief : " This day thou shalt be with me

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, 331-332.

[3] *Ibid.*, 332 *seq.* ; *cf.* 337.

[4] Opitz, II., 369. For Samerie *cf.* Pollen in *The Month*, CXVII. (1911), 11-24, 136-149.

[5] Kervyn de Lettenhove, II., 76, 346.

[6] *Ibid.*, 81.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 122 ; II., 343.

[8] *Ibid.*, II., 345.

in Paradise" she signed to them to stop.[1] In her prayer at the block she said that she wished to breathe out her soul at the feet of the Crucified.[2]

Her conviction that she was dying for the faith was thus the explanation of the calm serenity with which, as Burghley himself bears witness, she received her death sentence.[3] While her attendants were bathed in tears, her own eyes were dry; even at the block she prayed without any sign of fear, and in so loud a voice as to drown that of the importunate Dean of Peterborough.[4] There were none among those who were present at her execution who were not filled with wonder at her bearing.[5] Philip II. was for a time uncertain whether he should order a requiem for her, since, in his opinion, she had died as a martyr, and thus no longer had need of any prayers.[6] In Paris the populace were so incensed against Elizabeth, that the English ambassador could not leave his house without risk to his life, or the probability of being publicly insulted.[7] Sixtus V. received the news of Mary's execution at the end of March; his great sorrow was only tempered by the hope that Henry III. would be led by this catastrophe to take serious steps against England.[8] He thought of honouring her by a solemn requiem, but changed his mind, remarking that such manifestations were not customary for women in Rome. He therefore contented himself with giving alms for prayers for her soul, and having masses said for her at privileged altars.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 346.

[2] *Ibid.*, 372.

[3] *Ibid.*, 333.

[4] *Ibid.*, 373.

[5] *Ibid.*, 375. *Cf.* KLEINPAUL, Die Fuggerzeitungen der Wiener Hofbibliotek, 1568-1605, Leipzig, 1921, 101.

[6] Letter of Lippomano to Venice, April 21, 1587, in BROWN, n. 504.

[7] Dolfin to Venice, March 13, 1587, *ibid.*, 483.

[8] Gritti to Venice, March 28, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 491; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 180. *Cf. Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII., 196.

[9] *Avviso of April 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 114b, Vatican Library.

Just as the events of those days brought out in the most striking manner Mary's spiritual character, so was it in the case of her rival. The outstanding characteristics of Elizabeth's policy were her indifference with regard to questions of morality and conscience, and the duplicity with which she sought to cover up even acts of violence and the most barefaced deceit with a cloak of justice and truth, leading men to believe that she was only reluctantly led into doing the things that she desired with all her heart. In a queen who was so richly endowed with intellectual gifts we look in vain for any definite sign of generosity or compassion towards her unfortunate cousin. It may be that perhaps such feelings may have existed in her from time to time, but, in the case in question, there is no reason to think that it existed. One cannot get away from the impression that we are here confronted with nothing but ill-concealed cruelty.

In Westminster Abbey James I. has placed side by side the tombs of the two queens who in life were so much brought into contact with each other, but who never met. But in so doing Elizabeth's successor and admirer has done but a sorry service to his own memory. "Not an hour in the day" says Washington Irving,[1] "but some ejaculation of pity is uttered

[1] "Not an hour in the day but some ejaculation of pity is uttered over the fate of the latter, mingled with indignation at her oppressor. The walls of Elizabeth's sepulchre continually echo with the sighs of sympathy heaved at the grave of her rival" (The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon (Irving), I., Paris, 1823, 361). Very soon the story of Mary Stuart was made the subject of poetry. As early as 1593 there appeared a *Stuarta tragoedia sive caedes Mariae Scotiae reginae in Anglia perpetrata*, by the professor of poetry at Douai, Adrian Rouler (*Zeitschr. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XXII. (1912), 42; *cf.* FOPPENS, Bibliotheca Belgica, I., Brussels, 1739, 19). For a drama by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt in 1594, see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 484. The tragedy by VONDEL, Maria Stuart (1646) aroused a storm of indignation among the Protestants of the Netherlands, and earned for its author a fine of 180 florins (A. BAUMGARTNER, Joost van den Vondel, Freiburg, 1882, 157 *seqq.*). The history of the Popes must specially mention that the future Urban VIII. composed

over the fate of the latter, mingled with indignation at her oppressor. The walls of Elizabeth's sepulchre continually echo with the sighs of sympathy heaved at the grave of her rival."

Among the princes of Europe no serious step was taken to save Mary from her ignominious death,[1] while not a hand was lifted to avenge her destruction. Mary was abandoned by her cousin in France, by the Catholic King, and by her own son in Scotland, who, in the midst of his mother's grave peril, did nothing more than have prayers publicly made in church for her conversion and the amendment of her life.[2]

In spite of all this, attempts had not been wanting during Mary Stuart's last years to incite the kings of France and Spain to make a landing in England. Villeroy, one of Henry III.'s councillors, drew up a scheme for this purpose ; by so doing he wished, on the one hand, to keep the Guise occupied, and render them harmless to the king, and on the other to withdraw from the Huguenots the support which they were receiving from the Queen of England.[3] The Duke of Guise easily allowed himself to be fired with enthusiasm for this new crusade, and Henry III. himself was not at first averse

some verses on Mary Stuart (MAPHEI S.R.E. CARD. nunc Urbani Papae VIII., Poemata, Dillingen, 1640, 207). A sonnet on her death by Giulio Cortese, of the years 1588, in *The Athenaeum*, 1908, n. 4205. *Cf.* K. KIPKA, Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur vornehmlich des 17 n. 18 Jahrh., Leipzig, 1907. With regard to the tragedy *L'Ecossaise* by Montchretien (1610) see PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, Hist. de la langue et de la littérat. française, IV., Paris, 1897, 188.

[1] For the steps taken by the French ambassador Châteauneuf, and the ignominious part played by Henry III., as well as by James VI. see KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 145 *seqq.*, 171 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 222 *seqq.* ; BROWN, xvi. *seqq.*

[2] He ordered " to pray publiclie for his Hienes' mother, for hir conversion and amendiment of life, and if it be godis plesour to preserve hir from his present danger quhairin sche is now, that sche may heirefter be ane profitabill member in Christis Kirk (FLEMING, 424).

[3] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 89-108.

to the undertaking. Sixtus V. entered into communication with Guise concerning the plan, encouraged it, and promised his help.[1] But the everlasting hesitation of Philip II. brought this scheme as well to nothing. Villeroy, through Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, had asked Philip for the help which Guise deemed to be absolutely necessary. For a long time Philip did not reply at all, and when he did so it was only in general terms.[2] In the meantime English spies had come to a knowledge of the whole affair, and the Catholic Earls of Arundel and Northumberland, on whose help Philip was counting, were thrown by Elizabeth into the Tower, where Northumberland was put to death; the work of fortifying the English coasts was undertaken with feverish haste.[3] As early as August 25th, 1585, Guise wrote that the whole affair would end in nothing, and on October 1st he spoke of it as having been abandoned.[4] Eight days later Henry III. definitely withdrew his support from Guise and offered to restore Cambrai, which he had conquered, to the King of Spain if he would abandon Guise. Philip seemed to be seriously inclined to enter into the undignified bargain.[5] Nothing further was then done for Mary Stuart; Olivares declared to the Pope that it was absurd to think of attacking heresy in England before it was crushed in France.[6] Faced by the energy of Elizabeth, and knowing that he must be dependent upon the indecision of Philip, Sixtus V. bitterly gave utterance to the celebrated remark, that the distaff of the Queen of England was worth more than the sword of the King of Spain.[7] Sixtus V. had written to the Duke of Guise that he would do all in his power to further the expedition

[1] *Ibid.*, 93.

[2] Letter of July 9 (sent July 23) and of August 17, 1585, *ibid.*, 97-99.

[3] *Ibid.*, 100 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 96, 107.

[5] *Ibid.*, 102, 105.

[6] *Ibid.*, 107.

[7] "Que valia mas la rueca de la reyna de Inglaterra que la spada del rey de España." *Ibid.*, 108.

against England, while in other ways as well he showed great zeal for Mary's liberation; although he was by nature so parsimonious he told the ambassador of Spain that he would willingly spend a million gold florins for that purpose.[1]

What a weight in the balance, for the solution of European problems, could be exercised by that northern kingdom, small though it was in area, was no secret to a man so keen-sighted and far-seeing as Sixtus V. Just as, to express the political importance of England, he said that at at that time the British Isles, situated though they were at the ends of the earth, had in a moment become the centre of the world, that Spain and France were on either side of the scale, but that England was the fulcrum,[2] so did the Pope above all take into account the religious influence of Elizabeth. He saw in the Queen of England the principal stronghold of heresy,[3] and would like to have united the Catholic princes in an alliance against the "new Jezabel,"[4] who was everywhere supporting Protestantism, and was now trying to stir up the Turks against Catholic Spain.[5]

His aversion for the "new Jezabel" by no means blinded the Pope to her great qualities. Himself a statesman of ability, he was well able to appreciate her great gifts as a sovereign, and the strange spectacle of a woman who could stand up on sea and land against the two most powerful sovereigns of Christendom, filled him with admiration. If she were a Catholic, he said, she would have been his chosen friend, and in alliance with her he would have undertaken to have brought all things to a satisfactory issue.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 27.

[3] *Ibid.*, 93.

[4] HAMMER, IV., 159; BREMOND, 277. *Cf.* BROSCH in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, I. (1884), 776-790.

[5] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 93.

[6] BREMOND, 278. "Questa è una gran Donna, e se fusse cattolica saria una cosa senza esempio, e noi la stimaressimo molto. Essa non manca in alcuna cosa al governo del suo regno,

His ardent desire to possess such an ally in defence of the Catholic cause led this man, who was wont to be so far-seeing, to a strange misconception of the true state of affairs. Whereas he despaired of the conversion of Henry of Navarre,[1] he cherished for a long time the hope of being able to win back Elizabeth to the Catholic faith. The Duc de Piney, who in September, 1586, had made the *obedientia* in the name of Henry III., went back with instructions to the King of France to work upon Elizabeth in this sense by means of his ambassadors; he was to bring home to her that by her heresy she was stirring up endless plots against herself, whereas, by returning to the Church, she would win the esteem and affection of everyone.[2] Perhaps, said Sixtus V. when Pisany shrugged his shoulders, Elizabeth would let herself be persuaded more easily than was thought. Men had often presented themselves before him with some plan for killing the heretic queen for a small sum of money, but he had always rejected so disgraceful a method of fighting. By his command, he went on to say, a Jesuit had gone to London to examine into the possibility of the conversion of the queen. The Jesuit and his purpose had been betrayed, and he himself banished, but the chancellor, who was a heretic to the marrow, gave him 200 scudi for his return journey, and gave him to

etc." (Giovanni Gritti to the Senate of Venice, Rome, March 12, 1588, in BROWN, n. 640). "Certo che questa è una gran Regina; vorressimo solamente che essa fusse cattolica, perchè saria la nostra diletissima; vedete come si governa bene; è donna et non è padrona se non di meza Isola et si fa temer da Spagna, da Franza et dall' Imperator et da tutti; et ha arrichito il suo regno delle prede tolte a Spagnoli, oltre il tenerli l'Olanda et Zelanda." (Gritti, March 19, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 642).

[1] BREMOND, 212.

[2] *Ibid.*, 277 (*cf.* 204); HÜBNER, I., 369. Under Gregory XIII. the Spanish nuncio Ormaneto had laboured to win over Philip II. to an attempt to convert Elizabeth; he looked upon this "non solo per difficile, ma quasi per impossibile per la mala qualità di questa Donna, e di quel principalissimo ministro che ha seco, sed apud omnia possibilia." (CARINI, 88).

understand that the conversion of the queen was not so difficult as was thought.[1]

Such confidences only go to show that Sixtus V. was in many respects taken in by Elizabeth's ministers. The plans for her death may also be presumed, at any rate to a great extent, to have had their origin with the same English government, which wanted to tempt the Pope.[2] What the chancellor said concerning Elizabeth's inclination to conversion, only shows once more what is already well known from other sources, that the queen, from political motives, wished to keep alive among the Catholics the idea that at the bottom of her heart she was still well-disposed towards the old religion.[3]

[1] Pisany on November 15, 1586, in BREMOND, 277 *seq.* By the Jesuit perhaps Crichton is meant. FOUQUERAY, II., 108 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 447 *seq.*

[3] When the marriage with Alençon was being disscused Elizabeth expressed herself in this sense to the French ambassador, de Lansac, so that the latter, on his return, was " full of praises " of the queen, in the sense that as far as religion was concerned matters were not so hopeless as was generally supposed : she spoke of the Pope with the highest esteem ; if he could only read her heart, she said, he would not think so badly of her : her one desire was the religious unity of Christians : if the Emperor and the other princes desired a general and free council she would take part in it. If sons should be born of her marriage, then the kingdom would return to the Catholic faith on the following day. This might easily be brought about in another way, for the queen was very favourably disposed towards the faith : she only concealed this so as not to arouse discord in the kingdom. These expressions made so great an impression upon Lansac, that he said to Priuli, the Venetian ambassador in Paris : In her inner heart the queen is no more devoted to heresy than I am, who would die a thousand times for the Catholic faith (Priuli, July 14, 1581, in BROWN, n. 32). Similar statements are to be found in the very earliest years of Elizabeth. Thus *Bernardo Pia wrote from Rome on February 15, 1567, of " stupende nove " from England : that the queen had allowed the mass : if her marriage to the Archduke Charles took place, more might be hoped for every day (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Later on Clement VIII. once more hoped for the conversion of Elizabeth : she had listened

Sixtus V. never allowed himself to be discouraged by the fact that the queen made no sort of response to his plans for her conversion.[1] Even in the last year of his life he still entertained the hope of seeing the Queen of England[2] and her kingdom[3] return to the faith. Elizabeth, he told the Venetian ambassador, had sent an agent, who was already in Rome.[4] Nothing further is known of this, but on the other hand it would seem that a secret agent of Sixtus V. actually penetrated to the English court. When the news of the sailing of the Armada reached Rome, the Pope said to the Venetian ambassador that he had done all that he could to induce the queen to return to the Catholic faith ; in spite of the bull of deposition of Pius V. he had proposed to her a fresh investiture with her kingdom, and the appointment of bishops of her choosing. Elizabeth scornfully replied that the Pope would do better to give her some of his money.[5]

Even though to the last the Pope looked upon as possible the peaceable recovery of England by way of conversion, at the same time he never neglected to press France and Spain

willingly to the admonitions of a Catholic hermit, while on the other hand it was only with difficulty that she forced herself to listen to the discourses of her own preachers (Mocenigo on June 26, 1598, in Brown, Calendar IX. (1592-1603), n. 703). Again at the death of Elizabeth the Venetian ambassador Scaramelli wrote that some Catholics at the court were of opinion that in her secret heart Elizabeth had not been far removed from a reconciliation with the true Catholic faith (Scaramelli, April 7, 1603, *ibid.*, n. 1169).

[1] Hübner, I., 371.

[2] Badoer on February 24 and May 5, 1590, in Brown, n. 15-928. On March 26, 1590, Sixtus V. spoke in consistory " de reductione Reginae Angliae et Ducis Saxoniae." *Consistorial acta of Cardinal Santori, in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., p. 63, Vatican Library.

[3] Badoer on June 23, 1590, in Brown, n. 942.

[4] Badoer on April 14 and 21, and May 5, 1590, *ibid.*, n. 923, 924, 928 ; *Brumani on April 14, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] Gritti on July 2, 1588, in Brown, n. 679.

by means of his nuncios, to intervene by armed force.[1] In France, Henry III. was, it is true, allied with Elizabeth, but from the Duke of Guise such an idea was sure to meet with full consent. On July 17th, 1586, Guise wrote to Mendoza that he had decided upon the undertaking against England, and that he counted upon the help of Philip II. for this. At the end of September he declared to the king that either with his help or without it he was going to risk an attempt to land in England. At the end of 1585 a secret treaty for the same purpose was entered into with the nobility of Scotland, and renewed in May, 1586. Rumours concerning these plans became so alarming that in August the English merchants were thinking of leaving France, and the English ports were fortified. But by the end of 1586 the disturbances in France had rendered any such undertaking out of the question.[2] Guise nevertheless still retained his enthusiasm for the new crusade. He wrote to Alessandro Farnese that he would think himself fortunate to be able to take part in so beautiful and holy an expedition as a simple soldier, dagger in hand, under the command of Farnese.[3]

The constant pinpricks with which Elizabeth harassed the King of Spain seemed little by little to exhaust his patience, and the grand plans which he had been so long maturing were now actually nearing their realization. At the end of 1584 Philip placed the direction of the English question in the hands of Farnese,[4] who was full of enthusiasm for a scheme of invasion. England, said Farnese, is the head, and Holland and Zeeland are the neck and the arms, and it would be possible to solve the English and Flemish problems at a single blow, if first of all the head were struck at.[5] Filippo Sega put forward the same view in a memorial which he presented to Sixtus V. in 1586.[6] On April 20th, 1586, Farnese submitted

[1] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 339 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 341-343.

[3] *Ibid.*, 344 *seq.*

[4] Lechat, 143.

[5] Kervyn de Lettenhove, I., 346.

[6] See Brom, Archivalia, I., 596 *seq.*

his plan of attack to the king,[1] upon which Philip sent Mendoza the orders for the attack, which he was to send on to Farnese,[2] but even now the actual execution was prevented. Mary Stuart's evil genius, Gilbert Gifford, presented himself before Mendoza and told him of the support which a Spanish army of invasion would meet with from the English Catholics, and of the conspiracy of Babington.[3] Mendoza then thought it advisable, with the consent of Philip II.[4] first to wait for the issue of the plot, and when soon afterwards Babington's schemes were discovered, there was no further idea of sending on the letter to Farnese.[5] After this Mary Stuart was completely deserted. On April 10th Paget had already written to her that her hope lay with the King of Scots.[6] Now even this hope proved vain ; James VI., who was not yet twenty, was writing sonnets on Elizabeth, and was seriously thinking of marrying that queen, who was thirty-two years older than himself.[7] On July 5th, 1586, he bound himself in close alliance with Elizabeth,[8] and after the end of 1585 Mary's gaolers took savage pleasure in taunting the mother with the betrayal by her son.[9]

Mary had learned from Allen at Rheims at the beginning of 1585, that the landing in England was about to take place, and on January 3rd of the same year Allen expressed his joy at this in a letter to Farnese.[10] In the following November Allen went to Rome, principally it would seem to ask for help for the needs of the seminary at Rheims, to which the new Pope had not continued to pay the

[1] LECHAT, 147.
[2] KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 347.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 350 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 352.
[7] *Ibid.*, 354.
[8] *Ibid.*, 358.
[9] *Ibid.*, 354 *seq.*
[10] LECHAT, 143.

subsidy granted by Gregory XIII. ;[1] but that Allen also had other purposes in view in making the journey is shown by a memorial on a landing in England which he sent to the Pope.[2] Allen tries to show that the undertaking would be easy, because the English, for the most part, were Catholic in sentiment, at least in their hearts ; the invasion, however, should be made in the name of the Pope, because there were many in England who would have nothing to do with the Spaniards ; the bull of excommunication of Elizabeth should be renewed, in order that the foreign princes might break off their relations with her, and their commercial treaties with England. About 10,000 to 16,000 men would be sufficient to subdue the island, but they should act with all speed, so that the Catholic nobles might not gradually lose courage, and Mary should not be killed or die. Elizabeth's own life might suddenly come to an end, and then a heretic would ascend the throne, and things would be in a desperate position.

[1] Bonhomini to Rusticucci, Aix, September 12, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., 141. " Pope Gregory granted him large subsidies, but these ceased on the change of the Pontiffs." Allen got Gritti to give him recommendations for Venetian territory, and collected there by means of his agents several hundred ducats for his seminary. Gritti on August 7, 1587, in BROWN, n. 565.

[2] De praesenti rerum statu in Anglia brevis annotatio, in THEINER, Annal. 1583, n. 90, pp. 480-483. The date of this, which is wrongly given by Theiner, is clear from p. 481 : the Earl of Northumberland (died June 21, 1585) " haeretici hoc ipso anno in carcere crudelissime trucidarunt " ; there was also the rising of 1569, 16 years before the time of the writer (*ibid.*, 481, n. 2) ; " Status ecclesiae temporalis . . . per felicissima novi Pontificis auspicia subito tranquillitati et securitati sit restitutus " (*ibid.*, 483) ; Flanders is once again almost entirely subject to the King of Spain (*ibid.*). The author of the document finds himself " hic in Urbe " (*ibid.*, 482, n. 7) ; he has " iampridem " (perhaps for the projected invasion of 1583 ?) a broadsheet in English " de modo procedendi et movendi catholicos, quando ventum erit ad executionem rei " (the landing). By this broadsheet perhaps is meant the work described by Meyer (280).

When Allen wrote in this strain he had in mind the state of affairs prevailing in England at the time of his exile; he did not realize that in the meantime many things had changed in his country. His view, however, that the land forces of England could not cope with the true Spanish army, still held good. But before it would be possible to attack and destroy those land forces, it would be necessary to defeat the English fleet, and until that was done it was useless to think of an invasion of England. But during the long period that had gone by since Allen had visited his country, the English fleet had been entirely transformed, and henceforward England could be considered as a single almost impregnable fortress.

The foundations of the development of the English naval power had already been laid by the first two Tudor kings. Queen Mary, after her marriage with Philip II., devoted herself to the repairing of the old ships and the building of new ones. During the first decade of her reign Elizabeth had allowed the fleet once more to decline,[1] although during the same period there had sprung up in England an interest in great commercial undertakings; the wish, following the example of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, to bring back fabulous wealth from the Indies, had made its way among all classes of the people, including the queen herself, and thus the spirit of enterprise of individuals had made up for the neglect of the first years of Elizabeth's reign. Commercial companies were founded, and voyages of exploration undertaken. An attempt was made to find a way by land across Russia to India, and to cross the polar seas to the north of Asia and

[1] JULIAN CORBETT, Drake and the Tudor Navy. With a. History of the rise of England's Naval Power, London, 1898 (*cf Hist. pol. Blätter*, LXXIV. (1899), 74 *seqq.*); CESAREO FERNANDEZ DURO, La Armada invencibile, 2 vols., Madrid, 1884, 1885; State Papers relating to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Ano 1588, ed. by JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON (*Navy Records Society*), London, 1894; FROUDE, Spanish Story of the Armada, London, 1892; WILLIAM FREDERICK TILTON, Die Katastrophe der spanischen Armada, July 31 to August 8, 1588 (*Diss.*) Freiburg i., Br., 1894.

America.[1] These attempts did not succeed, but the English were able to gain advantage for themselves even without obtaining possession of a colony of their own ; they captured the valuable commerce between the colonial powers of the south and the other nations ; they pillaged like pirates the badly defended Spanish-Portuguese possessions in the West Indies ; they lay in wait for the ships returning thence, and looked upon their rich cargoes as lawful booty. The first English sea heroes, Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake, were nothing but pirates, pirates in every sense of the word, but men of an audacity that has something grand about it. When after his predatory expedition to Peru, Drake found his return by the Straits of Magellan barred, he sailed across the Pacific to England,[2] and thus, without intending it, completed the voyage round the world, just as was done a little later by Thomas Cavendish ;[3] of his five ships he brought only one back, but that one carried a booty of 800,000 pounds sterling. In other respects these founders of the English maritime power were destroyers and men of violence, quite devoid of conscience. Hawkins, with the connivance of the Queen of England, enriched himself by slave-trading,[4] while on one occasion Drake set fire to a convent of nuns, and would allow none to leave the building until it was completely burned down ;[5] generally speaking churches and convents met with no mercy at his hands.[6]

The experience gained by these pirates on their voyages and adventures was of great value during the seventh decade of the century to the English fleet.[7] The warship of the past

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 258.

[2] *Ibid.*, 260 ; BROSCH, VI., 600.

[3] LINGARD, VIII., 262.

[4] *Ibid.*, 259.

[5] " Haveva tra le altre cose messo fuoco in un monasterio di monache, abbrugiandole dentro di esso, senza permetter che alcuna uscisse viva di là." Letters of Gradenigo and Lippomano to Venice, June 25, 1586, in BROWN, n. 371.

[6] BROWN, n. 321, 354, 358 *seqq.*

[7] MEYER, 216 *seq.*

had been the galley, which was for the most part driven by oars; in naval battles an attempt was made to get close to the enemy ships and board them, whereupon the crews of the two ships fought with sword and lance and gun, and there thus ensued a battle as though on land. The cannon that were mounted on an elevated poop at either end of the ship, only took part in the battle in a secondary degree. The Battle of Lepanto was fought and won by the Christian powers after this fashion, since galleys driven by oars were sufficient for the comparatively calm Mediterranean Sea, and the Turks too possessed no other kind of ships.[1]

Matters were different on the more stormy seas, and the English soon realized that oar power was not suited to cope with winds and high seas. They therefore set themselves to the building of ships with sails. The sides of the ships, which had previously been given up to the oars, were thus left free, and could be used for the mounting of cannon. The custom of waging naval warfare by means of ramming and boarding, and of carrying on hand to hand fighting with the opposing force, was abandoned, and the object became to put the enemy ship out of action from a distance by means of the artillery.[2]

The advance which was brought about by this change was perhaps hardly less great than that other, made much later, when the sailing ship gave place to that driven by steam.[3] In England men became convinced of their superiority to the maritime power of Spain. The naval power of the King of Spain is of no importance, it was stated in 1579 at a meeting

[1] In the open sea the Mediterranean type of galley could not be brought into general use; "the ships at the battle off Sandwich in 1217, or near Sluys in 1340 were for the most part sailing ships, in which however oars were also used." J. K. LAUGHTON in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, XIII. (1898), 581.

[2] MEYER, 216.

[3] *Ibid.* LAUGHTON (*loc. cit.*, 582) thinks: "It is no exaggeration to say that the change from the ships of 1500 to those employed against the Armada was greater than that from the latter ships to the ships of war at Trafalgar."

of ministers at Greenwich, he has nothing but galleys, which are of no use in the northern seas ;[1] in instructions sent to the envoy with William of Orange it is stated that England is strong enough to defend itself unaided against the King of Spain, or any other prince.[2]

Many people abroad, however, judged very differently. Neither Philip II. nor his advisers had any thoughts of the superiority of the English naval power. In 1580 Mendoza wrote, when ambassador in London, that the English fleet could not withstand a fourth part of the Spanish maritime forces.[3] The English exiles who were so often in such circumstances called into consultation in Rome and Madrid, expressed the same opinion.[4] Very often, however, men held the most exaggerated views of the power of Spain.[5] At anyrate for some time the views of Sixtus V. were not free from this error, and he too sometimes, when conversing with the Venetian ambassador, said scornfully that after all England was only a small island which had often before been conquered by the Britons and Saxons.[6]

False ideas of this sort were soon disproved by the facts. Conscious of her own power, England resolved in 1585 not to wait for the Spanish attack which was slowly being prepared, but to attack on her own account. Leicester was sent quite openly with an army to assist the insurgents in Holland, and in June of the same year Drake received orders to make ready a fleet against Spain. At the same time the English statesmen made use of the relations which they had entered into with Turkey in 1579[7] to urge the sworn enemy of Christen-

[1] MEYER, 217.
[2] *Ibid.*, 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, 249.
[4] *Ibid.*, 239.
[5] *Ibid.*, 240.
[6] Gritti on January 10, 1587, in BROWN, n. 451.
[7] *Cf.* BROWN, xxix-xlvi. ; PEARS in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, VIII. (1893), 439-467 ; BROSCH in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, I. (1884), 776-790.

dom to attack Spain,[1] and Drake sent silver cups to the Turkish Kapudan as a present.[2] In order to be able to keep a strong fleet against Spain in the Red Sea the Turks at that time were thinking of restoring the canal "which the Kings of Egypt had made from Damietta to Suez," and even of constructing one from the Nile to the Red Sea.[3]

But the Turks had their hands tied by their war with Persia, while the incapable Leicester met with no success in Holland. Drake on the other hand inflicted serious losses on the Spaniards at sea.[4] He first harassed the coasts of Galicia, and captured twenty-six ships in Portuguese waters, containing 300,000 ducats.[5] He captured the flagship of the Peruvian fleet with 400,000 crowns,[6] and pillaged the Cape Verde Islands.[7] He then crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies; S. Juan in Porto Rico, S. Domingo in Haiti[8], Porto Caballos in Honduras, Cartagena and Florida[9] yielded him rich booty. He met with no resistance anywhere at sea, and became "master of the seas."[10] If on the other hand he landed, and the inhabitants plucked up courage to defend themselves, he fared worse; thus at Teneriffe, where "the troops, with the monks and priests, who encouraged them to resist, and to face death for the faith of Christ," hampered the landing, sent one of the ships and its crew to the bottom, and damaged the flagship and another so badly that they had to be taken in

[1] Brown, xxxix. *seq.*

[2] Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, April 2, 1586, in Brown, n. 332.

[3] Bernardo, July 23, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 385.

[4] Julian S. Corbett, Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585-1587, London, 1898.

[5] Gradenigo, October 25, 1585, in Brown, n. 290.

[6] Gradenigo, December 21, 1585, *ibid.*, n. 300.

[7] Report concerning this, *ibid.*, n. 321.

[8] Letter of the governor of Havana, February 6, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 334.

[9] Report concerning this, *ibid.*, n. 416.

[10] "Draco è patrone del mare, ne ha impedimento alcuno onde puo disegnare et esseguire tutto il desiderio suo." Gradenigo, January 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 304.

tow by the others.[1] But for the most part no resistance was attempted. When Drake and 800 English approached the city of S. Domingo in Haiti, the inhabitants fled to the mountains, "fathers left their sons in danger, and daughters their mothers, monks and nuns fled in panic, and the English took possession of the whole of the island without shedding a drop of blood"; a million and a half of gold was the value of the booty.[2] Drake had thoughts of establishing himself in Haiti, and constructing fortresses, but in an attack on Havana he was driven off with the loss of three ships; when the governor of Haiti turned upon him at the head of 4000 men, the negroes, on whom the English were counting, refused to apostatize from the Catholic faith, and sickness reduced the ranks of the pirates, so that Drake found himself obliged to withdraw.[3] Of the 1300 men with whom he had set out, only 400 returned home.[4] In the following year, however, the daring pirate again set out against Spain, burned in Cadiz harbour more than twenty Spanish ships,[5] and by a daring coup-de-main captured the harbour of Sagrez at Cape St. Vincent.[6] As had been the case in the West Indies and on the coasts of Spain, so too did the Spaniards suffer serious losses in the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1586 Philip II's Sicilian fleet of thirteen ships was utterly defeated near Pantelleria by five merchant vessels in a battle that lasted for five hours. The battered Spanish ships had to take to flight, while the English only had two men killed and one wounded.[7]

The Spanish national pride was now deeply wounded.

[1] End of November, 1585; report of January 11, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 308.

[2] Letter of the governor of Havana, February 6, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 334. *Cf.* the report of February 24, *ibid.*, n. 358.

[3] Gradenigo, May 14, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 351; *cf.* n. 358

[4] Giov. Dolfin, Venetian ambassador in Paris, September 12, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 407.

[5] Report as to this, *ibid.*, n. 513.

[6] Report of May 21, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 522.

[7] MEYER, 263 *seq.*

If, as the Venetian ambassador at Madrid thought[1] the French reflected too little and therefore did not always attain their purpose, the Spaniards certainly reflected too much and thus let the favourable opportunity slip, so that even the Spaniards themselves said that their king was reflecting and negotiating while Elizabeth was acting and seizing her opportunity. Through all Spain there ran the cry that they were going to take the matter seriously and make every sacrifice, for Elizabeth and Drake were dragging the greatness of the king and the glory of Spanish courage in the dust.[2] The city of Seville offered to equip twenty-four ships at its own expense and to maintain them for a year.[3] In spite of its poverty, the province of Valencia promised 200,000 crowns.[4]

Preparations for a great military expedition had been commenced a long time before; levies were to be raised in Spain and Italy, and forty ships were to be kept in readiness, and it was commonly believed that this was intended for the generally expected attack upon England. More cautious observers, however, were of opinion that such an undertaking was out of the question until Flanders had been subjugated, and the customary financial subsidies granted by the Pope,[5] and that such help would have been on a grand scale. Spain's greatest sea hero, the brave admiral Santa Cruz, was of opinion[6]

[1] Lippomano, December 3, 1586, in BROWN, n. 439.

[2] "Spagnuoli dicono che il Re pensa et negotia, et la Regina d'Inghilterra opera et fa da vero." Lippomano, May 21, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 518.

[3] "Par che tutta la Spagna si lasci intendere di voler far davero et dar ogni aiuto, dicendo che questa Regina d'Inghilterra et Draco vanno oscurando la grandezza di questo Serenissimo Re, et il valor della nation Spagnuola." Lippomano, May 16, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 514.

[4] Lippomano, May 24, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 518.

[5] Gradenigo, August 10, 1585, *ibid.*, n. 280.

[6] *" Santa Cruz stimava necessarie 300 navi per la impresa d'Inghilterra et 70 m. fanti et tre millioni d'oro per hora." Gritti June 14, 1586, State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* BROWN, n. 364., The number of ships and the equipment at the review on April 19, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 657. The numbers after the review of May 9 and

that in order to attack England, 300 ships, with 70,000 men and three millions of gold would be required.

Before long there was no longer any room to doubt that the armaments were actually directed against England; an army was to be sent to the island from Spain, and from Flanders under the command of Farnese. But to the despair of far-seeing statesmen these warlike preparations were carried on extraordinarily slowly. "It is really incredible," wrote the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, "how Philip, considering his long experience and his great intelligence, tries to control the huge machinery of government without the Council of State, and so to speak, without ministers.[1] He writes many folio pages, and sometimes issues two thousand edicts in a day."[2] This determination of the king, to deal with and grasp everything for himself, and to have every detail laid before him, was the cause of constant delay.[3] Moreover, in spite of his warlike preparations, until the last moment, Philip did not give up the hope of concluding peace with Elizabeth, and the latter encouraged his negotiations; it would seem that she did this in all seriousness, because she too feared the superior strength of the Spaniards.[4]

No one so often or so forcibly expressed his displeasure at the dilatoriness of the king as Sixtus V. Before Christmas, 1585, Philip II. to his great joy, received the Papal authority which confirmed or granted to him again for seven years all the revenues of the so-called bull of crusade.[5] But after

14 in TILTON, 24 *seq.* In a memorial of March, 1588, Santa Cruz asked for 556 ships, among them 150 large ships of war, amounting altogether to a tonnage of 77,250 with 94,222 men (Duro in TILTON, 2).

[1] Lippomano, January 12, 1587, in BROWN, n. 453.

[2] Lippomano, April 14, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 501.

[3] Gradenigo, January 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 304.

[4] Lingard, VIII., 277 *seq.*; BROSCH, VI., 606; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 344. Lippomano wrote again on May 27, 1588, of the *mandati amplissimi* for Farnese, "per che possa concludere quando li deputati della Regina acconsentino alla libera restitutione di Holanda et Zelanda." BROWN, n. 670.

[5] Gradenigo in BROWN, n. 304, p. 130.

making this munificent concession, which meant an annual revenue of 1,800,000 crowns,[1] the Pope wanted to see something done by the king; he did not cease to give advice and to bring pressure to bear, and often bitterly complained that he was always put off with promises for the future. He said to the ambassador of Venice that Drake's successes had been foreseen by him, and that King Philip would do better to make his plans in advance, rather than wait until his trade was ruined by the enemy and his colonies captured, and only then take the matter in hand. He said the same thing to the ambassador of Spain.[2] Another time he said that Santa Cruz should have sailed against Drake; he should have aimed his blow directly against England, for in that case all the English troops would have been at once recalled; moreover, England was not prepared, and her forces were scattered between the Indies and Flanders. At the same time Sixtus V. pointed to his generosity towards Spain; he had made a calculation of the subsidies granted by Paul III. to Charles V., by Julius III. to Parma, by Paul IV. when Charles brought the French to Italy, and lastly that granted by Pius V. for the league; "we are ready," he said, "to give the king four times this, to help him against England."[3] So long as the Armada did not set sail, and even afterwards, the Pope looked upon the undertaking without confidence or trust. When he heard of Drake's successes he gradually changed his original opinion, that an attack upon England would be an easy matter, while in Rome the whole undertaking was looked upon as full of difficulty.[4] Although Sixtus V. was unwilling to make any further subsidies he nevertheless was prepared in the middle of 1586 to grant half a million scudi from the Papal treasury, and two millions from the revenues of the Spanish clergy, if Philip would contribute another two million.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Gritti, May 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 349.

[3] Gritti, May 31, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 359.

[4] "L'impresa era stimata piena di molte difficoltà." Gritti, July 5, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 376.

[5] *Ibid.*

Philip's dilatoriness was not looked upon in Rome as the only difficulty standing in the way of the undertaking against England. If Sixtus V., thought the nuncio in Spain, had been as well informed as Gregory XIII., he would perhaps have looked upon both his schemes as impracticable, namely the attack on Geneva and that on England. For who would become the sovereign of the latter, if it were conquered? Philip would put forward his own claims, but neither the Pope nor any other prince would give his consent to such an aggrandizement of the power of Spain.[1] If Philip were to unite England as well to his world-wide dominions, there would be a danger of the Pope becoming a mere chaplain of the King of Spain. Sixtus V. had an opportunity of learning what the other princes would think of such an extension of the power of the Spanish monarchy, when he asked Henry III. what attitude he intended to adopt towards the expedition against England. The king replied[2] that he would indeed be glad to see England in other hands than those of Elizabeth, but that he would never consent to seeing that kingdom in the hands of the Spaniards. When the Pope replied that if that country were conquered it would come into the hands of James VI., who would easily be converted, the king retorted: if the victory is won by the King of Spain, nobody need expect that he will give up his conquest; the Spaniards are not friars, and they will not give up the fruits of their victorious arms in obedience to a command of the Pope.

Sixtus V. naturally looked at the matter from the point of view of religion; he desired the conquest of England as a preparatory step to bringing that country back to Catholicism. To Philip, on the other hand, the undertaking was principally political; to him it was a question of protecting his existing dominions and of acquiring a new kingdom; at first

[1] Gradenigo, February 22, 1586, in BROWN, n. 322. HÜBNER (I., 315, Germ. edit.) says: "How very modern these reflections of the diplomatic Pope sound; and how they develop the doctrine of the European balance of power!"

[2] Gritti, June 14, 1586, in BROWN, n. 364; *cf.* n. 337.

he wished to be invested by the Pope with the crown of England for himself, and when Sixtus V. would not agree to this, he wished for it for his daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia.[1] Some of his contemporaries entertained suspicions of Philip's religious motives, and thought that he was acting in accordance with the advice of Macchiavelli, that a prince should be guided by religion rather in outward appearances than in fact.[2] It would seem, however, that this was going too far, and the king's usurpations at the expense of the Church were not sufficient to warrant such an accusation. Nevertheless in his designs against Elizabeth religious motives were only secondary, and therefore Sixtus V. mistrusted the sincerity of his intentions, so that Olivares had considerable difficulty in removing such suspicions.[3] The ambassador of Venice several times openly voiced the suspicion that the preparations against England were only feigned, in order to deceive the Pope and obtain money from him.[4] Sixtus V. himself once said: We have granted the King of Spain the goods of the Church, and this money is the cause of all his failures, because it was not used for its proper purpose."[5]

But in spite of all his doubts the Pope was in the end constrained to avail himself of the services of Philip.

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 561; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 161.

[2] Al' incontro non mancano infinite e gravi persone che tengono, che quella santimonia e devotione non sia sopra pietosa radice e christiana base fondata, ma su quella politica regola che la religione in un principe debba più apparire che esservi et che solo a similo esteriorità nenon con grande arte dirizzate le cose sopradette. Spanish report (by Camillo Guidi ?) in C. BRATLI, 189.

[3] See his letter of February 24, 1586, in BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 157.

[4] Gradenigo, August 10 and October 18, 1585, in BROWN, n. 280, 288.

[5] Gritti, November 28, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 604. Perhaps this suspicion explains the harsh tone of the autograph letter of the Pope to Philip II. of July 25, 1588, in which Sixtus V. defines his position in the matter of subsidies. *Arch. Rom.*, XIV. (1891), 172 *seq.*; MEYER, 273, n. 1; HERRE, 385 n.

On July 29th, 1587, a formal convention was drawn up.[1] In virtue of this Sixtus V. promised financial aid to the amount of a million scudi ; half of this was payable after the departure of the Spanish troops for England, and the other half was to be paid in two-monthly instalments. To the Pope's promise was attached the special condition that the Spanish fleet should sail during 1587. Other conditions were also laid down as essential, and to these Philip had to pledge himself by a public act on his honour as a sovereign. After the conquest he was to nominate a king for England from whom the restoration and maintenance of the Catholic religion could be definitely expected, the man chosen must be acceptable to the Holy See, and was to receive his investiture from the Pope. The Apostolic See was to receive back all its rights and revenues, and the churches, monasteries and pious foundations all their former possessions. The treaty was signed on behalf of the Pope by Cardinal Carafa, and on that of the king by Olivares. The whole matter, moreover, was to be treated as an inviolable secret, and it was only at the end of June, 1588 that Sixtus V. informed a few Cardinals, especially Cardinal Mattei, of the alliance.[2]

[1] Printed in MEYER, 454-457. * " L'anno passato di luglio sottoscrissero i capitoli S.St^à^ et il conte Olivares, per questa impresa d' Inghilterra, et vi era il capitolo che al settembre si andasse all' impresa." Brumani, August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On June 27, 1587, Gritti wrote that the Pope had promised to pay 600,000 crowns immediately after the landing in England, and after that 70,000 crowns a month for the whole duration of the war, but England was to remain a Papal fief and the Pope was to nominate the king. BROWN, n. 537.

[2] * " Noverit V.S. S.S^mum^ D.N. pepigisse fedus ante aliquot menses cum rege Ispaniae adversus reginam Angliae ; quod quidem adeo hucusque occultavit, ut nec unus ex cardinalibus a S.S^te^ cognoscere potuit. Detegit tamen ante 4 dies uni vel alteri cardinali et presertim cardinali Matteo Romano." Sporeno, June 25, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 180.

Although the treaty with Philip II. was kept secret, Sixtus V. gave a public proof of his rapprochement with the King of Spain. For a long time the English refugees on the continent had sought to obtain through Philip II. the elevation of Allen to the cardinalate.[1] The object was to give the English Catholics a leader and a head, round whom they could rally, because, as they said, the effects of the want of such a head could be clearly seen from the case of Scotland.[2] Philip pressed for the appointment of Allen especially in order that the new Cardinal might accompany the Spanish army on the expedition to England as Papal legate, and after the conquest bring his authority to bear for the reorganization of religious and political conditions.[3] But in spite of all his efforts, the end of 1586 arrived without Advent (the time kept by Sixtus V. for the appointment of Cardinals) having brought with it the fulfilment of the king's wishes.[4] Everyone was therefore surprised when, on August 7th, 1587, the Pope, quite outside the customary time, and not long after he had spoken bitterly against Philip II., at the close of a consistory proposed Allen for the cardinalate, on the ground that the necessity of giving the English an Englishman as their leader justified this exception to the law recently issued. The Cardinals gave their assent, and only two of them hinted at a Scottish archbishop as a suitable candidate. After this Cardinal Carafa presented Allen to the Pope and the Cardinals. During the next few days Allen received the title of Cardinal

[1] Mendoza to Philip II., April 6, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe II. Vol. V., 565 *seq.*

[2] Letter of November 1, 1582, *ibid.*, VI., 421 ; the memorial of Olivares to the Pope, March 14, 1587, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 165. Morgan and the Welsh party were working against Allen and wished to see nominated in his stead their compatriot Owen Lewis. LECHAT, 161 *seq.*

[3] Olivares, February 24, 1586, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 158.

[4] All that had been done was to appoint a new Cardinal Protector for England : " Sisto V. crea il cardinale Enrico Gaectani protettore d' Inghilterra." June 30, 1586, from the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

of England.[1] It was thought that the appointment had been made to make up to Philip II. for the bitter words which the Pope had employed against him.[2] In fact Sixtus V. wrote to the king on the same day that he had promoted Allen in order to comply with his wishes,[3] adding that the whole of Rome had understood the event as an announcement of the expedition against England, even though he had adduced a quite innocent motive for the appointment.[4] Sixtus V. took the opportunity of again bringing pressure to bear, and at the same time of appealing to the conscience of the powerful king "so that your Majesty may set your hand to this undertaking, taking care first to reconcile yourself with God, for the sins of sovereigns are the misfortune of their subjects, and the ruination of their kingdom. No sin calls down the anger of God more severely than the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as may be seen from both sacred

[1] "Tum S^mus^ proposuit promotionem Gugl. Alani Angli in cardinalem, et hoc quia cum Maria regina Scotiae, in qua Angli et catholici omnes illarum partium spes suas posuerant, exspectantes illius successionem in regni Angliae, et finem tandem imponi tot calamitatibus, persecutionibus et miseriis, defuncta sit, ne regnante impiissima Iezabele catholici et fideles omnino desperent, cogitavit illum in cardinalium coetum aggregare. . . ." Acta consist. in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, II., p. 238b, Vatican Library, printed in *Anal. juris Pontif.*, IInd. Ser., 1872, 852. *Cf.* Gritti, August 8, 1587, in BROWN, n. 565. Extract from the Consistorial Archives in LAEMMER, Melet., 232; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 176. RITTER (*Deutsche Gesch.*, II., 40) makes Allen a Jesuit!

[2] Further "a confusione di quella scelerata et indegna regina d' Inghilterra." Allen is "creatura di Farnese," and hence the displeasure of the Cardinals not of Farnese's party. Thus *Malegnani, August 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Letter in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 176. *Cf.* BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, Hague, 1922, 671.

[4] "Et ancorche io nel proporlo habbia tenuto pretesto molto lontano da ogni sospetto, nondimeno mi si dice che per Roma subito fu cominciato a dire: hora mettianci in ordine per la guerra d' Inghilterra." *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 575.

and political history." Sixtus V. developed this theme in detail, and exhorted Philip to do penance, for otherwise a great disaster might fall upon him.[1] It would seem, however, that the Pope, apart from his consideration for Philip II., had resolved to promote Allen, and when Pisany complained that France had been once again passed over, he gave hopes for the coming Advent; the appointment of Allen had not been made out of consideration for Spain, and they would see the good purpose it would serve.[2] At Madrid the promotion of Allen was received with great satisfaction,[3] and in Rome as well men were unanimous in praising the new Cardinal.[4]

Sixtus V. showed himself accommodating to the Spaniards in another way as well; he gave his approval to an edict solemnly declaring to the English Catholics the renewal of the Papal bull of excommunication of Elizabeth, and her sentence of deposition. This was printed as a broadsheet at Antwerp and was to be disseminated among the Catholics immediately after the landing in England.[5] Allen, from whose pen the document came, accompanied it by a declaration in which the misdeeds of Elizabeth in her public and private life were enumerated in the strongest terms.[6] When at last it really seemed that the Armada was preparing to put out to sea, on March 30th, 1588, a printed announcement of a great jubilee indulgence was issued, which was kept throughout Italy with great devotion and with large gifts of alms by great crowds. After Easter, so the Pope stated, he would make known the reasons why he had published the indulgence.[7] In Spain too heaven was implored to grant

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 270.

[2] BREMOND, 259.

[3] Speciani in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 177; MEYER, 275.

[4] *Malegnani, *loc. cit.* says of him that he is very dignified; just as "bello d' aspetto, persona humanissimo" is the description of the Avviso of August 8, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 307, Vatican Library *Cf.* Gritti, *loc. cit.*

[5] MEYER, 277-279.

[6] LINGARD, VIII., 279, 442-446.

[7] *Avvisi of March 30, April 13 and 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 121, 136, 170, Vatican Library.

victory by prayers at every mass and in all the churches ;[1] in Madrid the Forty Hours was held forty times in forty churches,[2] and every day there was exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and a sung mass in a specified church ;[3] on festival days there were crowded processions ;[4] all this was done for the happy event of the Armada, and the continuation of these prayers was ordered anew every two months.[5] The king himself prayed on his knees every day for two or three hours before the Most Holy, and as was reported, he got up in the night to pray.[6] When the fleet had put out to sea he knelt for four hours on the bare pavement with his hands joined or raised, and the heir to the throne was made to serve the mass which Philip was hearing.[7] This gives the impression that the king had a lively realization of the inadequacy of his preparations ; natural means, upon which the issue essentially depend, had to be supplemented by supernatural ones, which, however, are not intended to fulfil their purpose unaided. It would also seem that Philip attached importance to the supposed visions and prophecies of a mystic, who was said to have received the stigmata.[8] Other visionaries on the other hand prophecied disaster to Spain.[9] The Augustinian, Alonso de Orozeo, who was held to be a saint, predicted

[1] Lippomano, July 5, 1587, in BROWN, n. 543.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Lippomano, October 31, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 592.

[4] Lippomano, May 5, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 656.

[5] Lippomano, September 19 and October 31, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 583, 628.

[6] Lippomano, April 30 and May 5, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 653, 656 ; Speciani, April 30 and July 11, 1588, in MEYER, 267 *seq.*

[7] Speciani, July 11, 1588, *ibid.*, 268.

[8] He wrote to her with his own hand and promised to visit her ; later on it appeared that she had received 40,000 crowns in jewels and gold. Lippomano, December 31, 1588, in BROWN, n. 794. The judicial sentence upon her, *ibid.*, n. 795. Santa Cruz also visited her, *ibid.*, n. 550 ; even Louis of Granada was deceived by her, *ibid.*, n. 628.

[9] Speciani, in MEYER, 267.

that the expedition would be shipwrecked "on account of our sins."[1]

Shrewd observers also threw doubts upon the happy issue of the Spanish venture, but on the other hand Alonso di Leyva held out great hopes to the king, saying that Elizabeth could never withstand, on land or sea, so great an armament.[2] But in Paris, in April, 1588,[3] men still thought that Philip would never hazard so great an undertaking, and that he would never submit the peace and independence of his kingdom to the uncertainty and risk of a battle. It was too well known how strong the English fleet was, and how skilled the English were in sea fighting. Therefore, the Venetians Mocenigo and Gritti wrote from Paris and Rome that even in the event of victory the Spanish Armada would be so reduced that there could be no thought of effecting a landing in England.[4] It was therefore hoped up to the last moment that peace would be concluded between Spain and England,[5] but this very hope gave opportunity in Spain for working less zealously upon the fitting out of the Armada. It is the Papal nuncio in Madrid who tells us this,[6] while his colleague in Venice reports that, according to the view widely held there, the Spanish fleet could not be compared with the English one, that its ships were inferior, and the crews without experience or military discipline.[7] The French ambassador Pisany described the state of the Armada and of Philip's army to the Pope in similar terms; the king, he said, will accomplish nothing against England, because he is unable to do so.[8] Sixtus V. himself said to the Venetian ambassador[9] that it was true that the

[1] See T. Cámara, Vida del b. A. de Orozeo, Valladolid, 1882, 321 *seq.*

[2] Lippomano, February 6, 1588, in Brown, n. 625.

[3] Mocenigo, April 8, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 648.

[4] Mocenigo, April 8, Gritti, May 7, 1588, in Brown, n. 648, 660.

[5] Gritti, *ibid.*

[6] Speciani, January 18, 1588, in Meyer, 286.

[7] Matteucci, May 11, 1588, *ibid.*

[8] On August 24, 1587, in Bremond, 284.

[9] Gritti March 12, 1588, in Brown, n. 640.

king had prepared his Armada, but that he was so slow in coming to his decisions that "we have no idea when he will carry out his plans. Nor do we see what he can do, since Elizabeth has 140 ships of war, she has received great pecuniary assistance from Denmark and Saxony, she has constructed fortifications, and she has been able to do so quite unmolested. On the other hand the king has lost 20,000 men by bad management and bad administration. We do not know what will happen. On the other hand the king has on his side the justice and mercy of God, and therefore he, the Pope, has not lost hope." Sixtus V. expressed himself still more bitterly to Pisany about the King of Spain.[1] When he was alone with his secretary he shed many tears whenever he thought about the sailing of the Armada.[2]

There were reasons enough for fear and anxiety. Philip, according to an estimate of the time,[3] had got together 153 ships, 8,041 sailors, and 19,747 soldiers, 916 volunteers and 2,460 cannon. The armament was obtained in great measure from Protestant contractors in Germany and Denmark.[4]

[1] Pisany to Henry III., April 13, 1588, in BREMOND, 286.

[2] "Se l' armata del re Cattolico fosse uscita il Settembre et Ottobre passato, N.S. haveva certa fiducia, che dovesse ottenere vittoria. Hora è tanto disconfidato di se stesso, che non si puo indurre a credere, che habbia a sortire buon fine. Et ogni volta che si ricorda, che habbia ad uscire, non puo tenere le lagrime, che li piovono largamente da gl' occhi. Et nel leggere la cifra de V.S., se bene la tiene per vanità, non si ha potuto contenere, che non pianga meco, et tanto dirottamente che ha indotto me ancora in piangere. Ma questo sia tra lei e me." The secretary, Giov. Andrea, Bishop of Bertinoro, to the Spanish nuncio, Speciani, April 2, 1588, in BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, The Hague, 1922, 673, n. 856.

[3] BROWN, n. 671. The information, however, is contradictory. Other figures in MEYER, 284, and BROSCH, VI., 608. *Cf.* also the Este reports in RICCI, Silingardi, II., 39 *seq.*, 41.

[4] Some of the largest ships were purchased from the German cities of the Hanseatic League; for the construction and equipment of the others Spain obtained everything in the way of timber, ropes, tackle, pitch, tar, provisions and artillery which

At first Elizabeth was neglectful about her own armaments ; but in the end the English fleet had about as many large ships, and many more small ones than the Spanish Armada, while in artillery the English were three times superior to their inexperienced adversaries.[1] Moreover, a short time before the Armada sailed, the Spaniards suffered an irreparable loss by the death of their distinguished admiral, Santa Cruz, the conqueror of Don Antonio at the Azores.[2] His place was taken by Medina Sidonia, who owed his appointment to a position of such great responsibility solely to his noble birth. Their misfortunes were brought to a head by the instructions given to the new admiral. Although the great number of cannon, about 2,500, in the fleet, seemed to point to the advisability of abandoning medieval methods of sea warfare, and of meeting the English artillery on their own terms, yet the instructions of Medina Sidonia[3] contained the advice to try and draw near the enemy's ships and to board them. It was quite impossible to overcome the English fleet by such means.

When at length in the last days of May the Armada set sail from the harbour of Lisbon, whole months passed in Rome without any exact news of its fortunes. At the beginning of July the Pope expressed his painful surprise at this ; instead of leaving the Queen of England time to arm, he said, Philip should have followed the Pope's advice and attacked England in the September of the previous year. But the king is old, he said, and he cannot change his nature ; we must take him

could not be provided at home, to a great extent from Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and Wismar. The embargo upon and the capture of certain ships by England had the consequence that later on reinforcements for the Spanish undertakings against England had to be conveyed by long detours round the Orkneys to the Spanish ports. EDWARD P. CHEYNEY in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, XX. (1905), 662-670.

[1] MEYER, 284 ; TILTON, 29 *seq.*

[2] Died on February 29, 1588 ; see BROWN, n. 628,

[3] TILTON, 3-5 ; MEYER, 284.

as he is.[1] At the end of August the rumour ran through Rome that the Spaniards had been victorious ; many Cardinals and crowds of people went to the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli to give thanks to God, and there were public festivities.[2] But the Pope remained mistrustful ; this English expedition, he said about this time, has never pleased me.[3] About a fortnight later he again expressed himself as before as to the cunning of Elizabeth and the dilatoriness of Philip, and he ended by expressing his fear that the Armada would accomplish nothing unless God worked a miracle. To a bishop who visited him in disguise, James VI. had promised to recognize the Holy See, and to provide a harbour of refuge for the Armada, but Philip's delays had given Elizabeth time to induce the young king once more to change his mind. Cardinal Morosini wrote to Rome from Paris that a harbour of refuge in France for the Spanish fleet was an absolute necessity, and that at his suggestion the French king was inclined to provide this, but that when the Pope showed the letter on the subject to the Spanish ambassador the latter had laughed and treated the matter as of no importance.[4] The Pope's advice was also neglected in other

[1] Gritti, July 9, 1588, in BROWN, n. 686. Dated July 6, 1588, is the *Descrittione dei porti e fortezze d' Inghilterra, composed by Fr. B. Bonardus, " magist. s. palatii," in Varia polit. LXX., 106 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI., 172 *seqq.* a similar *note to Filippo Pigafetta, when the Duke of Parma was suggested as general.

[2] *Avviso of August 24, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 363, Vatican Library. Such reports of victories were also spread elsewhere, especially by Mendoza ; *cf.* DURO, I., 175-200.

[3] " *La guerra di Inghilterra non piaque mai alla S.S^tà^, ma sì quella d' Alghieri, prima perchè quella è più difficile, secondo non è tanto dannosa Inghilterra alle anime christiane, come che non praticano se non volontariamente, come Alghieri che van depredando sempre i nostri mari." Brumani, August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. No. 27.

[4] Moreover Philip had entered into relations with the Duc d' Aumale, so that he might hand over to him the port of Boulogne; but Aumale was driven back (FOURNERON, Les Ducs de Guise,

ways, in spite of the fact that Sixtus V. had promised far greater pecuniary help than ever had been given by his predecessors.[1]

II., 294 *seq.*). In a secret instruction Philip II. pointed out to his admiral, Medina Sidonia, that if the landing in England was not immediately successful he should take possession of the Isle of Wight as a base (TILTON, 7).

[1] " *S.S^{tà} mi ragionò dell' armata, et sta con dubbioso pensiero del successo, vedendo così traversati principii. Il duca di Parma sbarcò la sua gente, per questo ponto secreto, perchè havea presentito nella Fiandra solevatione cagionata si crede per industria della regina d' Inghilterra per divertirlo a non unirsi con l' armata spagnola il che gli è successo. Lodò qui S.S^{tà} l' astutia per ragion di stato, di questa donna, mi disse che la tardanza ha cagionato et cagionerà ogni male perchè il re di Scotia havea promesso due cose col mezzo d' un vescovo vestito da laico, con licenza de S.S^{tà}, una di mandare a riconoscere la S.S^{tà} come vero Vicario, la 2^{a} porto principale per tutta l' armata spagnuola, ma tardando l' armata, la regina ha fatto tanto che l' ha dissuaso et indotto alla sua devotione, inducendolo a far tagliar il capo ad un principale che lo tenea nella devotione christiana. Mi ha detto di più che il Morosino hora card^{le} scrisse a S.S^{tà} a mesi passati che non sapea como l' armata non dovesse haver bisogno di porto per la riviera Francesca in occasione di fortuna et che a raggionamento largo havea cavato dal re di Francia buona inclinatione a tal comodità, N.S. [communicò] questo capitolo di lettera al conte Olivares, il quale se ne rise e lo sprezzò. Pensa mo' V. A. che dica hora S.S^{tà} in veder l' armata andar in traversia senza haver porto. Mi ha detto di più haver dimandata l' armata sopra le spalle sue con promessa de pagar ogni legno che si perderà et pagar il nollo de legni che stanno a nollo in quest' armata et lassare che S.S^{tà} faccia guidare da chi gli piace quest' impresa, ma non la vogliono intendere. Mi ha detto anco che quando si capitulò l' anno passato volea mandar gente sua si come fece sempre Paolo III. in tutti gli aiuti che diede a Carlo V., et Pio V. nell' aiuto di Francia et nella lega contro il Turco, ma i Spagnuoli non la volsero intendere et S.S^{tà} condescese acciò di lui non si puotessero mai lamentare, che per sua causa non si fosse fatta l' impresa. Quanto al denaro gli protestò, che niun Papa secondo le scritture di Castello non diede mai più che

In the meanwhile, the rejoicings in Rome in August had long spent themselves. On September 24th the Mantuan envoy, Brumani, wrote that they were anxiously waiting for definite news of the Armada ; on October 1st he reports that Cardinal Joyeuse had received bad news.[1] In the middle of October they were still in a state of uncertainty ; at that date they kept the Forty Hours in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli for the victory of the fleet, which had already long since been defeated, and the Pope himself was present at its solemn conclusion.[2] But at the same time Sixtus V.'s attitude at that time was so full of doubt and so little favourable to Spain that Olivares reported this to Madrid in words of great irritation. The Pope, he said, shows no joy at good news, but even, on the contrary, an almost scandalous indifference to bad news.[3] Sixtus V. had to defend himself against the accusation of discourtesy towards Spain ; he said that he could not give Philip a greater proof of his sympathy than by telling him his opinion quite frankly.[4]

At length Spain herself received definite news of the fate of her Armada, when, at the beginning of October, the first wretched remnant of the powerful fleet and the half-starved survivors of the crews returned to their country.[5] A month later half the ships had not yet returned.[6] It was not the

100m ducati a l' anno, et che S.Stà promettea un milione d' oro cioè 500 milia, sbarcata la gente per far l impresa e poi cento milia al mese, et con tutte queste cose va dubitando che non si farà impresa, se la Mtà de Dio non fa miracoli. Questo in sostantia ho cavato a longhi raggionamenti dalla S.Stà". Brumani, September 10, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] Both *letters in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the report of Gritti, September 24, 1588, in BROWN, n. 744.

[2] *Avviso of October 19, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 475, Vatican Library.

[3] Olivares, September 26, 1588, in HÜBNER, III., Appendix 39 ; BREMOND, 287.

[4] Gritti, July 9, 1588, in BROWN, n. 686.

[5] MEYER, 286.

[6] Lippomano, November 1, 1588, in BROWN, n. 770.

winds nor the seas that had brought about the destruction of the Armada, on which in the opinion of many the fate of Christendom seemed to depend ;[1] rather it was the superior mobility of the English ships, the greater experience of their commanders, and the greater efficiency and range of their guns, which, in the initial encounters, from July 30th onwards, and after the destruction of so many ships by night by the English fire-ships in the decisive battle of August 8th, forced the Spanish fleet into retreat It was fortunate for the vanquished that after the battle the prevailing north-west wind suddenly dropped, for otherwise it would have driven the helpless ships to be wrecked on the coasts of Zeeland ; it was a further piece of good fortune that the enemy's ships which were pursuing them were short of munitions, for otherwise England would have won a victory which would have completely exterminated the enemy The remnant that, in the course of the long voyage home by the north of England, was broken up by storms and driven upon the coasts of Ireland, were but the sorry remains of the once powerful Armada.[2]

Numerous broadsheets spread the news of the surprising event among the nations of Europe.[3] The impression they

[1] See the letter of Frangipani to the rector of the Jesuit college at Trêves, August 23, 1588, in BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, 675.

[2] MEYER, 286 *seq.* ; TILTON, Katastrophe der span. Armada, Freiburg, 1894, with a summary of the sources, pp. 35-44. *Cf.* the report of Pedro Coco de Calderón, who took part in the expedition, in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, I., Madrid, 1897 ; HUGH ALLINGHAM, Captain Cuellar's Adventure in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588, London, 1897 ; report of the Duke of Parma, August 12, 1588, in BROWN, n. 728 (*cf.* 734, 746) ; Los náufragos de la Armada Española en Irlanda, in the *Bol. de la R. Acad. de la historia*, XVI. (1890), 255 *seqq.*

[3] One such broadsheet : Contrafactuer der Hispanischen und Englischen Armada, wie sie auf dem Britanischen Meer einander augetroffen. Anno 1588, 9 Augusti, in J. B. ADRIAN, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften u. seltenen Dokumenten*, Frankfort, 1846, 364 *seqq.* Another broadsheet bears the title : Ein new Lied / von der Spanischen Ar / mada und Kreigsrüstung auf / Meer under

produced was very great everywhere, and the political aftermath was bound to follow ; this was to be seen in Italy, which was so oppressed by the Spaniards, in the changed attitude of Venice and Tuscany.[1] Sixtus V. was inclined to follow the example of these two states, when the murder of the two Guise led him once more to a rapprochement with Spain.[2] The Pope disclaimed any share in the responsibility for the ill-fated expedition, to which he had only given his consent with a bad grace, so as not to seem to hold back from an undertaking against the enemies of the faith.[3] He refused, however, to come to the assistance of the embarassed finances of the King of Spain, because he had only made the promise to do so in the event of a landing being made in England. In his indignation, Philip for a time only dealt with the nuncio in Spain by letter.[4] Moreover, the Pope had already shown his unwillingness to touch the treasure kept in the Castle of St. Angelo, and when the Armada set sail he had summoned the Conservatori of Rome to his presence and appealed to them for help to raise a million ducats in some other way.[5]

Philip II. was hard hit by what happened. At the receipt

dem befelch des Her / zogs von Medina Sidonia auss Portugal / wie dise nach Engellandt abgesschifft, aber / durch die Engelländer durch vilfaltige Schar / mützel und Schlachten Sämmlich erschlagen / verbrendt, gefangen, zum Teil durch / un glückhafte Wind auf dem Meer / verwähet worden sind etc. / In der Weiss, wie die Schlacht / aus Frankreicht singt oder in s Linden / schmids Thon zu singen. / Gedruckt zu Nider Wesel bey Nicolaus Schreber, 1588, 3 folios in sm. oct. ; copy in the library of J. v. Görres, kindly lent by Frl. S. Görres.

[1] HERRE, 391 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Badoer, April 29, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 481. At the end of September, 1588, Sixtus V. declared himself quite ready to lend 800,000 ducats, but demanded guarantees of repayment if the expedition against England should not take place. BROWN, n. 743.

[4] BREMOND, 288 ; Badoer, July 6, 1589, in BROWN, n. 861. *Cf.* RICCI, Silingardi, I., 52.

[5] Pisany, June 28, 1588, in BREMOND, 288.

of the news of the terrible disaster he preserved his exterior calm, as he had previously done during those sad weeks when all Spain was in suspense between hope and fear.[1] After the first bad news, which was carefully withheld from the people, had come, he withdrew more than ever from appearing in public, and no one could have access to him : he made his will anew, and remained for hours alone with his confessor.[2] A religious openly said to him that God had listened to other appeals than the prayers and processions ordered by the king, namely the prayers of the downtrodden poor, who thronged round the court without receiving their pay and unheeded in their needs.[3] The sorrows of this sorely tried man reached their height when, at the beginning of 1589, in addition to his anguish of mind, he was made to suffer also as a father. The only son who remained to him was lying between life and death. Even then Philip tried to conceal his anguish, but he could not succeed in doing so. He sat in his study, he signed edicts, he superintended current business, but he could not refrain from visiting his son, who seemed to be at the point of death.[4] He did not give up the idea of sending another fleet against England.[5] He would sell, he said, even the candelabra on his desk if necessary, in order to obtain money. In the meantime the cities of Spain vied with each other in offering their assistance to the king.[6]

While Spain was plunged in the depths of grief, England, as may well be understood, was beside herself with joy at what had happened. Firework displays and entertainments were arranged, and the people enthusiastically acclaimed the queen when, mounted on a white palfrey, and with a marshal's baton in her hand, she reviewed the troops at

[1] Meyer, 291.

[2] Lippomano, September 6, 1588, in Brown, n. 732.

[3] Lippomano, October 1, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 747.

[4] Lippomano, February 27, 1589, *ibid.*, n. 821.

[5] Lippomano, September 29, October 12 and 24, and November 1, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 745, 754, 768, 770.

[6] *Ibid.*, n. 770. Speciani to Montalto, September 24, 1588, in Meyer, 291 ; Brosch, VI., 656, n. 3.

Tilbury on the day after the battle.[1] The rejoicings were also given a religious form; services of thanksgiving were held, and the opportunity was eagerly seized upon for representing the triumph over the Spanish Armada as a judgment of God, in which the Almighty had pronounced in favour of Protestantism and against the Catholic Church. In order to make this opinion credible and self-evident the historical facts were entirely distorted.[2] In the legend which grew up, and which has found an echo even in recent historical works, it was not the superiority and experience of sea warfare, not the better equipment of the English which had brought about the victory, but the direct intervention of God which drove the enemy to disaster. Thus the might of the Spanish Armada was depicted in the most exaggerated colours, it was Elizabeth who had nothing of the kind with which to oppose it, it was England which seemed doomed to destruction. But the Almighty fought for His own, and sent a tempest against the Spaniards; "Almighty God breathed, and the Armada was scattered in all directions."[3] The fable that Philip II. had looked upon his Armada as "invincible," and had from the first called it so, was intended to serve

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 285, 290.

[2] "That a great naval engagement should die out of the popular imagination and give place to the impression left by the disaster wrought by the forces of nature; that storm and foam should take the place of the roar of cannon, and that to wind and wave should be ascribed what was due to the superior equipment of a fleet, finds no parallel in the history of modern warfare." MEYER, p. 223 (Engl. transl.).

[3] Catholics too drew a moral of a religious nature from the great event. Thus Maffei says: "Haec tanta tamque inopinata Hispanorum clades haereticis interim exultandi, Catholicis moderandi animos, rerumque humanarum imbecillitatem agnoscendi, cunctis divina iudicia cum timore ac tremore pensandi, satis amplam in multos annos materiam praebuit: ac simul dilati sapienter a Sixto subsidii, vel iniquis et obtrectatoribus apertam confessionem expressit (Hist. 44). *Cf.* MEYER, 293.

the same purpose. But no such expressions are to be found in the Spanish records.[1]

The Catholics of England had to pay dearly for the Spanish attack and defeat. When the attack by Spain was imminent in 1586 the royal Privy Council had allowed itself to be led to relax for the first time the persecution of the Catholics; after February 23rd in that year those adherents of the old faith who were prepared to enter the light cavalry, were, on the payment of a sum to be agreed upon, relieved of the fines which they would otherwise have had to pay for non-attendance at church and the like. In November 1586 for the first time the opinion began to be held that the constant condemnations were damaging the reputation of the government itself, and they began to withdraw priests from the prisons in the large cities and remove them to isolated castles, where they would attract less attention.[2] But 1588 brought a reaction. At the end of the year some of the royal councillors suggested the carrying out of a kind of massacre of St. Bartholomew among the Catholics. Elizabeth rejected this proposal, but a great number of Catholics of both sexes and of all classes were thrown into prison, perquisitions were carried out, and ministers inveighed from the pulpits against the tyranny of the Pope and the treason of the Catholics.[3] Nevertheless the loyalty of the latter under such treatment remained unshaken, and the Catholics displayed the same love of their country as their Protestant fellow countrymen.[4]

[1] "It is clear from the despatches that the Spaniards never regarded their Armada as invincible; it sailed amid fears and prayers rather than amid popular exaltation." Opinion of ARMSTRONG in an article in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII. (1897), 667.

[2] POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 274 *seq.*

[3] LINGARD, VIII., 276 *seq.* A contemporary description of the terror by the Jesuit Weston in SPILLMANN, III., 154.

[4] *Ibid.* The English exiles on the continent, who were looking to their return to their country from the Armada, were for the most part on the side of Philip. The list of the officers and nobles of the Armada contains about 20-25 English or Irish names; according to Camden there were in the ranks of Farnese's army

Burghley himself bore witness to this after the defeat of the Armada, in a work composed by himself and entitled *A Letter to Mendoza*, issued as the supposed work of an English Catholic, and published in various languages.[1] This especially praises Viscount Montague, who appeared before the queen with his son and his nephew at the head of 200 horsemen, for the protection of her person. The writer goes on to relate how in the prison of Ely those who had been arrested for their religion signed a declaration of their readiness to protect the queen till death against everyone. Francis Englefield, a declared supporter of the Spaniards, wrote on February 3rd, 1589, that there was no hope of the immediate return of England to the ancient Church, since the English Catholics themselves were resolved to resist Spain.[2] Marino Cavalli,

of invasion about 700 Englishmen. But even among the exiles some refused to bear arms against their own country. Thomas Denyce, a fervent Catholic, who enjoyed the favour of the Inquisitors, even warned Elizabeth of the Spanish plans. LECHAT, 145.

[1] This work was at once recognized by Persons as a forgery (LINGARD, VIII., 277 n.). Sir Walter Scott prefaces his new edition in the Somers Tracts with the remark: "It is hardly necessary to add that the letter is suppositious." The proof of the authorship of Burghley was given by Pollen. In addition to internal evidence, this is further shown by the sketch of the work which still exists in Burghley's hand, see *The Month*, CXVII. (1911), 300-304, 531-532. For the facts given in the text we may use, together with LINGARD (VIII., 277 n.) the letter to Mendoza. Just as Mendoza, after the defeat of the Spaniards still continued to spread news of their victory, so did Burghley in this work direct his irony against the attitude of the ambassador, who grieved as a Catholic at the damage inflicted on the English Catholics by the Armada, disapproving of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth and the explanation of it given by Allen, and speaking of the aversion felt by English Catholics for a forced restoration of Catholicism. For the French edition of this work *cf.* STÜBEL in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XX. (1899), 672 *seq.*

[2] POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 411. It is uncertain whether the British admiral Lord Howard of Effingham was a Catholic (*ibid.*). Further reasons against the view that Lord Howard, the victor of the Armada, was a Catholic, are given by E. J. DAVIS in *History*, 1925.

the Venetian ambassador in Paris, wrote in 1602 that at the time when the Spanish fleet made its attack upon England, the Catholics had all remained loyal to the queen.[1]

But their loyalty could not protect the Catholics from the fate of Elizabeth taking her revenge at their expense for the attack of the Catholic King. Even during the fight with the Armada, on July 24th, 1588, three priests were put to death on account of their religion.[2] After the danger was over, in one week, about the feast of St. Bartholomew, fourteen priests and laymen were put to death, and between August 28th and November 29th no fewer than twenty priests, ten laymen and one woman suffered the same fate. During the years 1589 and 1590 nineteen Catholics went to the scaffold, and the storm of persecution lasted for ten years longer.[3]

In the pride of its sense of superiority, Parliament presented to Elizabeth the request that she would retaliate for the attack upon England by an expedition against Spain. Drake actually got together a fleet of 180 sail and 21,000 men, with which he set out from Plymouth on April 18th, 1589. He met with a certain amount of success in his attack upon the Spanish port of Coruña, but when he proceeded to Lisbon, in order to enthrone Don Antonio there as king, he was driven off by the skilful manœuvres of Cardinal Albert. The whole expedition came to a miserable end.[4]

[1] The archpriest was active in the Spanish cause. "I am told that it is impossible to foresee what will happen, for the last time the Spanish fleet attacked England the Catholics all remained loyal to the Queen." Cavalli, January 7, 1602, in BROWN, Venetian Calendar, IX. (1592-1603), n. 1043. What he says holds good even though Cavalli had in mind the naval attack of 1596.

[2] SPILLMANN, III. (1905), 161.

[3] *Ibid.*, 166 *seqq.*; MEYER, 298 *seq.*

[4] BROSCH, VI., 641 *seq.* At the consistory of August 30 was read the letter from the Cardinal Archduke concerning the defeat and pursuit of Don Antonio and Drake. The Pope ordered that in thanksgiving the Cardinals should go on the following Friday from S. Maria sopra Minerva to S. Giacomo (*Consistorial acta of Cardinal Santori in Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5; III., p. 42, Vatican

With her victory over the Armada Elizabeth reached the height of her power ; thenceforward her star began to decline.[1] Her popularity with the people became less, and Parliament, which hitherto had been so docile, gradually plucked up courage to have opinions of its own. The former advisers of the queen died, and the queen thus became more and more isolated. In foreign policy there were no more specially brilliant successes, and even against Spain, in spite of the provocations of the Turks,[2] the " queen of the seas " won no outstanding victory. The colonies of the Indies remained in the hands of their mother country, and under the sceptre of Spain led a life that was by no means unprosperous. Gradually they learned how to defend themselves against the English pirates. Thus all that the defeat of the Armada had seemed to portend was by no means realized.

The view which has so long held the field, that the defeat of the Armada was a mortal blow at the world power of Spain, and the saving of Protestantism is in the main untrue.[3] Philip II. was still possessed of sufficient means to be able to send new Armadas in 1596 and 1597 against England, which continued to harass him. In both cases it was indeed storms at sea which forced the Armada, which had already sailed in 1596, to return after severe losses, and which in 1597 scattered both the fleets, so that neither the English nor the Spaniards won any laurels.[4] On the other hand it is true to say that by

Library). Indeed on September 1 the Pope went with 36 Cardinals and the court, from the Minerva to S. Giacomo, in procession and on foot. After the mass a psalm and some prayers composed by the Pope himself were sung, while the Cardinals stood. Then they went to S. Antonio de' Portoghesi ; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis p. 475b, Cod. Barb. lat. 2814, and *Avviso of September 2, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 539, Vatican Library.

[1] Brosch, VI., 640-684 ; A. Zimmermann in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXV. (1904), 199-215 ; J. Corbett, The Successors of Drake, London, 1900.

[2] *Cf.* the report in Schweizer, Nuntiaturberichte, III., 114.

[3] See Lindner, Weltgeschichte, V., Stuttgart, 1907, 266.

[4] *Cf.* Brosch, VI., 657.

the victorious defeat of the Spanish attack in the Channel in 1588 "was won the future world-wide power of England," for this great encounter remained effective, and bore immediate fruits in the wars waged against Spain.[1] England's most vulnerable point continued to be Ireland, where Elizabeth was unable to subdue the constant disturbances. Until the last years of the queen's life, the leader of the insurgents, the Earl of Tyrone, who had been educated in England, maintained his power there. If Spain had supported him more energetically, there can be no doubt that Ireland would have been lost to English dominion.[2]

[1] LINDNER, *loc. cit.*

[2] BROSCH, VI., 669; JOHN B. KELSO, Die Spanier in Irland (1588-1603), Leipzig, 1902 (*Diss*).

CHAPTER II.

Catholic Reform in Germany and the Netherlands.

Thanks to the pastoral care of Gregory XIII., the Holy See possessed in the time of Sixtus V., in addition to the nunciature at the Imperial court, permanent representatives at Cologne and Graz as well. The principal and most honourable position[1] was always at the court of the head of the Empire, where, in addition to internal affairs, purely political questions had also to be dealt with. Although the nuncio at Cologne was absolutely independent in his vast territory in the west of Germany, all his transactions nevertheless came before the Emperor, and thus fell under the jurisdiction of the nuncio accredited to the Imperial court. The latter had further to devote his attention to religious questions in Bohemia, where the Emperor Rudolph II. lived, to those of Hungary and the other parts of Austria, as well as to those of south Germany. He was thus the representative of the Holy See for the whole of the Romano-Germanic Empire.[2] The holder of the nunciature at Prague at the time of the election of Sixtus V. was Germanico Malaspina, while the nunciature at Cologne was held by Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, and that of Graz by Giovanni Antonio Caligari.[3]

The complicated political conditions of the Empire were bound to occasion constant anxiety for Catholic interests. The successes obtained in the war of Cologne, just at the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V., had been rendered

[1] *Cf.* the letter of Card. Aldobrandini, January 9, 1597, in *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 268.

[2] See Ehses in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIX., 96.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 24, 394.

doubtful by the activities of the partisans of the archbishop, Gebhard Truchsess, who had been deposed on account of his apostasy from the Church, while at the same time important dioceses in the north of Germany ran the risk of being entirely lost to the Church. This state of affairs called for the care both of the nuncio at Cologne and of the nuncio at the Imperial court. Upon the latter fell the task of directly maintaining the possessions of the Church, as well as of striving to carry out the work of Catholic reform in those parts of the Empire which had remained true to her. In this respect, in spite of the fact that Gregory XIII. had devoted his special attention to conditions of Germany, there was still a great deal to be done. Almost everywhere there were evident signs of deep moral decadence, the reforming laws of Trent had as yet made but little impression, while in many places the decrees of the Council had not been even published.[1] Only a few of the bishops, above all the energetic Julius Echter of Würzburg, had completely fulfilled the task assigned to them. This distinguished man was indefatigably active in reforming the clergy, as well as in bringing back to the ancient Church the Franks who were dependent upon his territory. But not a few of the other German bishops were lacking in the necessary zeal. Thus Sixtus V., in the first years of his pontificate, had to address letters of reproach to the Bishops of Spires and Strasbourg, for not having discharged their duty of maintaining discipline among the clergy, and above all in the matter of extirpating concubinage.[2]

The state of affairs at the Imperial court was anything but favourable to the success of the efforts for Catholic restoration. The Emperor Rudolph II. had a real and steady wish to protect the Catholic religion in his hereditary dominions as well as in the Empire, but he was lacking in courage and firmness; moreover, he was already a misanthrope, weighed down by financial difficulties, so that he generally allowed

[1] See Reichenberger, I., xvi. *seq.*

[2] See Ehses-Meister, I., 81 *seq.* The Bishop of Würzburg was honoured with laudatory briefs, and the cathedral chapter was exhorted to support him. Reichenberger, I., 300 *seq.*

things to take their course.[1] His efforts on behalf of the Catholics were also paralysed by the fact that his relations with Philip II. were often strained,[2] while the powerful Protestant Prince Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had a great influence over him. All Malaspina's efforts to find a remedy for this were in vain.[3]

It was also fatal that the Emperor's entourage shrank from any energetic steps. In Rome they were convinced that the vice-chancellor, Vieheuser, was altogether opposed to the Holy See.[4] The truth was that in most parts of the hereditary territories of the Emperor, Protestant worship was tolerated, whereas the Protestant princes of the Empire without exception would not allow in their territories any sort of freedom for Catholic worship. In many cases Protestants sat side by side with the Catholics on Imperial commissions, which was a serious danger to Catholic interests.

The Romano-Germanic Empire seemed to Malaspina to be a great edifice which was in danger of falling to pieces.[5] In order to prevent its complete ruin, as well as to cultivate good relations with the Holy See, he insisted more than anything else on definite opposition being made to the Protestant movement in favour of independence, which had as its object the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and the recognition as a law of the Empire of the declaration of Ferdinand I., concerning the free exercise of religion for the subjects of the ecclesiastical States.[6]

Malaspina rightly saw a great danger, which must be removed, in the fact that the education of the aristocracy was much neglected, both in Austria and in the Empire.

[1] See Janssen-Pastor, V., 82. *Cf.* Hübner, I., 454.

[2] *Cf.* Bezold, Rudolf II. und die hl. Liga, in the diss. of the *Münchner Akad. Hist. Kl.*, XVII., 356 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Malaspina of October 15, 1585, in Reichenberger, I., 182 *seq.*

[4] See Bezold, *loc. cit.*, 362, n. 1.

[5] "Un grand edificio minacciante d'ogni parte rovina." Account of Malaspina to Sixtus V., in Reichenberger, I., 211.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 243 *seqq.*

Since for the most part only nobles were given bishoprics the capability of the supreme pastors of the Church depended upon this education. Malaspina therefore very properly found fault with the fact that whereas the innovators made every effort to win over the nobility, Catholic Germany did not pay enough attention to their scientific and moral education.[1]

Malaspina not only complained of the weakness shown by the Emperor towards the Lutherans, but even more of his similar attitude towards the much more radical Calvinists, whose boldness was encouraged by the Count Palatine, John Casimir. Fortunately the efforts made by this prince to support the Huguenots met with resistance from Saxony, even after, in February, 1586, his son Christian I. succeeded Augustus in the office of the Elector.[2] Although the other

[1] See the report of Malaspina to Sixtus V., *loc. cit.*, 213.

[2] The death of the Elector Augustus was much lamented by the Catholics (*cf.* the *letter of Sig. Giov. Cobenzl to Mgr. di Bertinoro [Caligari] Worms, 1586, April 14, in Cod. n. 19 of the Vallicella Library, Rome). With the death of Augustus (February 21, 1586) there was an end of the faint hope of bringing back that prince to the Catholic Church, a hope that since the death of his wife in the autumn of 1585 had once more revived, and had been welcomed with enthusiasm by Sixtus V.; see Ehses-Meister, I., lxxii. *seq.*, where on p. 271 *seq.* the whole *Discorso* of Minutio Minucci *sopra le cose del Duca di Sassonia*, November 25, 1585, is published, and which was also printed in *Beitr. zur sächs. Kirchengesch.*, X. (1895), 295 *seq.* See also Bezold in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, n. 4, p. 319 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 1900, n. 4, p. 555 *seq.* for the embassy of the electorate of Saxony to Italy, which was directed against Spain. According to Bezold this embassy did not go to Rome, as was expected, but on receipt of the false news of a change of the Papal policy in favour of Philip II., returned from Florence to Germany. According to the *report of Badoer, July 21, 1590 (State Archives, Venice) a Saxon mission was sent instead to Rome, where Sixtus V. declared that he would treat with it only concerning the return of Saxony to the Church, but not about anything else. *Cf.* also Bezold in *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Akad. Hist. Kl.*, 1882, II., 158.

Protestant princes also held back, John Casimir nevertheless favoured the sending of a mercenary army to France, which, however, met with unfortunate results.[1]

The Catholic cause could place its hopes in the Archdukes Ernest and Ferdinand, both men of strong Catholic sentiments, rather than in the Emperor. The former, assisted by Klesl, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Passau for Lower Austria, and the Jesuit Wilhelm Scherer, set to work in Austria, which he governed in the name of the Emperor, in accordance with the ideas of Catholic reform and restoration. In some places, such as the countship of Hauseck, the conversion of the inhabitants to the Catholic faith was carried out without difficulty.[2] On the other hand in some places the innovators offered so strong a resistance that force had to be employed.[3] This was not necessary in the Tyrol, where the Archduke Ferdinand was carrying on the same work with like zeal.[4] There the difficulties arose rather from the negligence of the Catholic clergy, among whom any real change could only be brought about by slow degrees. This was made up for by the indefatigable labours of the Jesuits, as preachers, catechists, educators and confessors. It was a misfortune for the Catholic cause when there appeared on the scene, in opposition to the

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 86 *seq.* A *Canticum in equitum peditumque Germanorum aciem eorumque repetitam cladem 1587" composed by the students of the Sorbonne in Paris in Cod. Barb. LX., 31, p. 83, Vatican Library.

[2] See G. SCHERER, Ursachen d. Bekehrung der Herrschaft Ober und Nider Hausseck im Erzhertzogthumb Oesterreich vunder det Enss so vom Luthertumb darinnen sie uber 26 Jahr leider gesteck widerumb zum vhralten alleinseligmachenden Cathol. Glauben . . . gebracht worden, Ingolstadt, 1586. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 802.

[3] See WIEDEMANN, III., 73 *seq.*; IV., 198 *seq.* *Cf.* HUBER, IV., 294 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 803; BIBL in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit. Suppl.*, Vol. VI., 589 *seq.*, and in *Jahrb. f. Länderkunde von Niederösterreich*, N.S., VIII. (1909), 151 *seq.*

[4] According to the *report of Sporeno, August 10, 1585, Sixtus V. praised the zealous work of Ferdinand against the innovators. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

Society of Jesus, a man who was in other respects very deserving, the Franciscan, Johann Nas; even the relations of Ferdinand with the Jesuits were cooled, a fact helped by his strained relations with Bavaria,[1] whose duke, William V., was rightly looked upon as the chief support of the Church in Germany.

William V. not only kept his own subjects in close union with the ancient Church,[2] but also brought pressure to bear on the Emperor and the Catholic princes for the formation of a defensive alliance among the Catholic States, which would oppose a barrier against the wish of the Protestants to attack. Such plans, however, were hindered by the jealousy of the Emperor, and as the Electors of Mayence and Trêves were timorous in the matter the negotiations never got beyond the preliminary stage.[3] The vice-chancellor of the Empire, Vieheuser, openly told the Duke of Bavaria that Rudolph II. would never join a defensive alliance of all the Catholics. Among the Imperial councillors, William complained to the Archbishop of Salzburg, there is always great dissension, and one is full of hatred of the other; some of them personally are not averse to the religious innovations, while those of sounder views are the victims of excessive fear. Even in the Imperial house itself, there is a want of union, and the Archdukes are striving among themselves for the succession to the Empire.[4]

The powerlessness of Rudolph II. was clearly shown when

[1] See especially HIRN, I., 160 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, and DUHR, I., 841. HUBER (IV., 314, n. 3) with his too evident tendency to describe the successes of the Catholic restoration as being entirely external, allows himself to be led into adducing as a proof of this a circumstance which demonstrates the exact opposite; namely the large number of confessions and communions mentioned by the Jesuits. That the latter, in their care of souls, were by no means contented with outward appearances, is convincingly shown by DUHR (I., 495).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 53 *seqq.*

[3] See RITTER, II., 12 *seq.*, 15.

[4] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 82. *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 451 *seq.*

two of the partisans of Gebhard Truchsess, Count von Neuenahr, and Colonel Martin Schenk of Niedeggen, with the support of the States-General of the Netherlands, set on foot an expedition against the archbishopric of Cologne and the diocese of Münster. When, on May 9th, 1585, Neuenahr had succeeded in taking possession of so important a position as the strong city of Neuss, the Elector Ernest of Cologne sought the help of the Emperor, but Rudolph II. showed a timorous reserve, out of consideration for the Protestants, especially the Elector of Saxony.[1] Sixtus V., too, who was annoyed with the Elector Ernest on account of his worldly behaviour, also refused the help he was asked for ; he turned therefore to Philip II., and the governor of the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese. Malaspina and Bonhomini worked hard for the same purpose.[2]

Malaspina was no longer nuncio when, on July 26th, 1586, the Spaniards succeeded in recapturing Neuss.[3] On the other hand, during his period of office, he had the satisfaction of seeing various important bishoprics filled by men who belonged to the party of Catholic reform and thus preserved to the Church.

[1] See Reichenberger, I., xxviii. For the importance of Neuss see Ehses-Meister, I., 77 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*

[2] See Reichenberger, I., 101 *seq.* ; Ehses-Meister, I., 80, 86, 201 *seqq.* ; Hübner, II., 22 *seq.* How unfounded is the statement of Ranke (Päpste, II.[3], 78), repeated by Stieve (Politik, I., 330), that Sixtus V. was very careful not to let Ernest know that he was aware of his misconduct, is clear from the severe words of the Cardinal Secretary of State Azzolini to Bonhomini on July 4, 1586, in Ehses-Meister, V., 203.

[3] The news reached Rome on August 20. The Pope was delighted and at once informed his entourage ; on the next day he went with twenty Cardinals to a thanksgiving celebration at S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli and at S. Maria dell' Anima, where a Te Deum was sung (*cf.* Schmidlin, 435 *seq.*). The brief of congratulation to Farnese in Ehses-Meister, I., 209 *seq.* On August 1 the blessed hat and sword were sent to the victorious general ; see Lossen., 628. *Cf.* also *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. Papal Secret Archives.

A short time after the election of Sixtus V., there suddenly occurred the death, as the result of a fall from his horse, of Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, who, without having received the Papal confirmation, occupied the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Paderborn. This powerful prince, at a time when he was still posing as a Catholic to the Pope, had, as early as 1575, contracted marriage in all possible secrecy. When the news at length reached Rome, the Imperial nuncio was asked, supposing the story to be true, to take proceedings against the archbishop, who evidently intended to follow in the footsteps of Gebhard Truchsess [1] But this proved to be unnecessary All the more need, however, was there for watchfulness in the case of vacant bishoprics, and for this purpose Malaspina and Bonhomini at once took the necessary steps [2]

The indirect consequence of the death of Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg was that a Catholic obtained possession of the bishopric of Münster The Elector of Cologne, Ernest, had for a long time aimed at this, and was strongly supported by Malaspina. His principal rival had been Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg. Since there was now no longer any need to fear the latter's intrigues, on May 18th, 1585, the Elector of Cologne was unanimously elected Bishop of Münster. The election capitulation bound the new bishop to support the Catholic religion, and to combat all sects and seditious innovations in the diocese of Münster.[3]

The distinguished prelate who had brought about the choice of the Elector of Cologne was Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the cathedral, who had laboured indefatigably for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Münster.[4] Before his death, which occurred on October 26th, 1586, Raesfeld left a legacy of 30,000 thalers for the establishment of a Jesuit college in the ancient capital of Westphalia. The

[1] See Reichenberger, I., xxi.; Ehses-Meister, I., 80, n. 4.

[2] See Reichenberger, I., 100, 104; Ehses-Meister, I., xlviii. *seq.*

[3] See Keller, I., 342; Lossen, II., 596 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* H. Degering, G. v. Raesfeld, Münster, 1906.

negotiations about this were carried on for two years; the matter was at last arranged in the autumn of 1588; the Jesuits were given the church of St. Nicholas, and the charge of the old cathedral school, known as the Pauline institute. Their position was at first very difficult; they had bitter enemies both among the citizens and in the cathedral chapter, which was partly Protestant in sentiment. The decadent clergy, too, showed themselves absolutely opposed to the moral improvement which was to be looked for from the new body of religious. But the new rector, Peter Michael, known as Brillmacher, who was a native of Cologne, and who had already on many occasions, and especially at the court of the Duke of Cleves, worked with great zeal and success, was able to surmount all the difficulties. His principal thoughts were for the Pauline institute. The number of the pupils of this establishment rose, in spite of the plague, from 300 to 700, and after three years to 1000. It was of great importance for the development of the institute that the energetic rector, in spite of all obstacles, at once commenced the erection of a new building and a church. But Peter Michael also laboured indefatigably in other ways. He was one of the preachers in the cathedral, and he wrote a brief explanation of the truths of the Catholic faith and of the doctrines opposed to them, which found a wide circulation. The nuncio in Cologne frequently made use of this distinguished man to carry out difficult undertakings.[1]

The Elector Ernest, coming as he did, as a Bavarian prince, from a house which was very well disposed towards the Society of Jesus, also gave his support to the establishment at Münster. When he had obtained, at the end of 1588, a predominant share in the government, he at once took steps to restore the Catholic religion. For this purpose in February,

[1] See SACCHINI, V., 8, n. 83-91; REIFFENBERG, I.; SÖKELAND, Geschichtl. Nachrichten über das Gymnasium zu Münster (1821), 60 *seq.*; KELLER, II., 268 *seqq.*, 276 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 144 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*; *ibid.* 640 *seq.* for the church of the Jesuits, St. Peter, at Münster, which is worthy of notice architecturally, aesthetically and constructively.

1590, he appeared in person at Münster, and with the governor and the chapter, made arrangements for the carrying out of the work of Catholic restoration.[1]

A short time after the appointment of the Elector of Cologne as Bishop of Münster, Paderborn as well, which for size was the second ecclesiastical principality in Westphalia, received, on June 5th, 1585, in the person of the provost of the cathedral, Dietrich von Fürstenberg, an excellent pastor, who was animated by sincere Catholic principles. Bonhomini, the nuncio in Cologne, had helped to secure this happy event.[2]

The religious state of the diocese of Paderborn was even more lamentable than that of Münster. The religious changes had obtained a strong influence over the proud aristocracy of the population of the city, as well as of the country folk, while a large part of the clergy had fallen into barbarism and immorality. It required extraordinary energy, as well as great prudence to provide a remedy, both of which qualities Dietrich von Fürstenberg possessed in a high degree. The prudence with which this shrewd administrator set himself to his task, was shown by the reserve which he at first showed towards the Jesuits, in whom later on he saw his best helpers. While the see was vacant, the school of Paderborn was handed over to them on May 1st, 1585. The number of pupils, which was then 140, had risen by the end of the year to 300, and in 1586 to 400. Later on the number declined, and in 1590 it was 268. This was due to the activity of their enemies, among whom was the parish priest of the church of St. Mark, Tunneken, who in spite of the oath which he had taken had apostatized from the ancient faith, and had fanatically taken up a stand against the "black wolves in sheep's clothing." "It is a hard and thorny task" complained the annalist of the college of Paderborn, "to cultivate this field of Paderborn, both because of the sterility of the soil, and because the seed is choked by thorns." At that time things had gone so far that even among the small number of Catholics few were

[1] For this see more fully under Clement VIII. in Vol. XXIII. of this work.

[2] See Keller, I., 558; II., 421 *seq.*; Lossen, II., 594 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, I., xlix., 81, 95 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*

willing to be accounted friends of the Jesuits, and even these feared to have the fact known. How small the number of the Catholics was is shown by the fact that in 1588 only 750 persons approached the sacraments, and that in this number were included the pupils of the Jesuits. Two years of hard work had to elapse before conditions were improved. The decisive change was then brought about by the energy of Dietrich von Fürstenberg, who was then in the full vigour of his age.[1]

Dietrich had at first also had good prospects of being elected to Osnabrück. But in the end, on July 20th, 1585, the dean of the catheral, Wilhelm von Schenking, was chosen in his stead. The early death of this prelate, whom Bonhomini declared to be the most Catholic member of the chapter, was all the greater loss because the party that was opposed to Rome succeeded, on October 25th, 1585, in electing as his successor Count Bernhard von Waldeck, whose religious opinions were very doubtful. In order to obtain the Papal approbation Bernhard swore to the Tridentine profession of faith, but it soon became clear that Bonhomini's fears as to the count's attitude were only too well founded.[2]

Since the cathedral chapter of Bremen was entirely filled by Calvinists, it was evident that no Catholic success could be looked for there. In the circumstances Bonhomini was satisfied that at Bremen, in succession to Archbishop Henry, there should be elected the young Duke John Adolphus, who was a member of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, and on good terms with the King of Spain and his governor in the Low Countries, and who, although he was indeed a Protestant, was looked upon as an upright and peace-loving man. The obligation of asking for the Papal confirmation

[1] *Cf.* v. Löher, Gesch. des Kampfes um Paderborn, Berlin, 1874, 322 *seq.*; Richter, Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten, I., Paderborn, 1892, 4, 16 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*; Schmidlin, 579 *seq.*; Duhr, I., 140 *seq.*

[2] See Ehses-Meister, I., 173 *seq.*; Lossen, II., 595. For Bernhard von Waldeck *cf.* A. Falkmann in *Pickschen Monatsschrift*, III., 273 *seq.*

for his son was recognized by Duke Adolphus of Holstein; for this purpose he had recourse to the mediation of William of Bavaria. The latter received a reply from Rome that he must induce the Duke of Holstein to send his son, first to Ingolstadt and later on to Rome. Nothing came of this suggestion, and Bremen remained lost to the Church.[1]

In 1585 the death of Martin von Gerstmann brought about the vacancy of another bishopric, the great diocese of Breslau. Here too the provision made to fill it meant a success for the Catholic restoration. On July 1st, 1585, Andreas von Jerin, the provost of the chapter, was elected; he was under the protection of Malaspina, had received an excellent training at the German College in Rome, and was numbered among the most distinguished prelates of eastern Germany.[2] The great hopes which the nuncio had of him were fully realized. An example of all the virtues, Jerin worked with the greatest zeal for the spread of the faith, the destruction of heresy, and for the restoration of discipline and Catholic worship in his diocese.[3] In spite of the great activity of his predecessor, very unsatisfactory conditions still prevailed there. Above all Jerin sought to provide for a better future by the revival of Catholic education. He was unable, however, to secure the establishment of a college of the Jesuits, who had been summoned to Breslau by his predecessor; on the other hand he enlarged the seminary for ecclesiastical students at Niesse, and out of his own means established in that city a college for youths of the aristocracy, in order to meet the deficiency of higher Catholic officials.[4] The Congregation of the Council

[1] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., 81, 114; LOSSEN, II., 593; SCHMIDLIN, 595.

[2] See REICHENBERGER, I., 113, 122, 132, 135.

[3] *Cf.* JUNGNITZ, Die Breslauer Germaniker, 10, 13, 15 SCHMIDLIN, Restaurationstätigkeit der Breslauer Fürstbischöfe 12 *seq.*, Kirchl. Zustände, 533; NAEGELE, A. v. Jerin, in *Katholik*, XCI. (1911), 23 *seqq.*, 110 *seqq.*, 280 *seqq.*, 358 *seqq.* (separate and enlarged edition, Mayence, 1911).

[4] See JUNGNITZ, Gerstmann, 210, 285 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Schlesiens*, XVIII., 68 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 170 *seq.*

very justly bestowed the highest praise upon this zealous bishop.[1]

Although Malaspina saw the Catholic restoration take secure roots in Breslau, Münster and Paderborn, he was sorrowfully forced to admit that his efforts for the saving of the dioceses of Halberstadt and Lübeck were in vain. The attention of the nuncio was also called to the religious disputes which were going on at Strasbourg, Aix and Augsburg, and the tiresome, and as yet undecided issue as to the lordship of Fulda between the Archbishop of Würzburg and the Prince-Abbot of Fulda. With clear insight Malaspina realized that in all his efforts to promote Catholic reform in those parts of the Empire which still remained to the Church, the thing that was most necessary was to find a remedy for the great lack of priests. He therefore called the special attention of Sixtus V. to the support of the pontifical seminaries, which was all the more necessary as they were looked upon with suspicion by the Curia. As the students of these institutions were not sufficiently numerous, Malaspina advised the education of noble youths in Rome, the establishment of new colleges for the regulars, and the enlargement of the "Seminaria Pauperum" to provide for the needs of the rural parishes.[2]

The difficult conditions of Bohemia caused special anxiety to Malaspina, as there Protestantism was making progress. The nuncio was unable to obtain the carrying out of the edict of 1584, which was issued against the Picards there, but on the other hand, at the beginning of 1585, he succeeded in winning over the king to the making of a general visitation of the religious situation in Bohemia, which was to be followed by another one in the other dominions of the Hapsburgs. But his zeal had to be contented with an Imperial decree, although he himself fully realized how little this was in accordance with the injunctions of the Church. It was no wonder that Malaspina's work met with an unfavourable reception in Rome. A judgment which was drafted there insisted that the nuncio,

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, Kirchl. Zustände, 534 *seq.*; NAEGELE, *loc. cit.*, 122 *seq.*

[2] See REICHENBERGER, I., xxxi., 116 *seq.*, 148.

who had accepted the Imperial decree, must interest himself in having it annulled or altered. It was already said that Malaspina would be recalled. It was only with great difficulty that he succeeded in settling the dispute with the Emperor, who was much offended by the difficulties which had arisen in Rome, when the outbreak of plague caused an unexpected set-back.[1] In the meantime the recall of Malaspina took place. The real reason for this step is by no means clear, but there can be no doubt that a decisive factor in many of Sixtus V.'s actions was his opposition to the policy of his predecessor.[2]

The Emperor Rudolph II., with whom Malaspina enjoyed great favour, tried in vain to induce the Pope to change his mind,[3] but in another matter they were more accommodating to him in Rome, namely, in the revocation of the tithes of all the churches of Germany granted by Gregory XIII. for the support of the Elector of Cologne. The Emperor had protested against this measure, as being likely to arouse the suspicions of the Protestants that a league was being formed against them. He was therefore very annoyed when the Pope, in a letter to the Duke of Bavaria, had adduced some such reason.[4] The form, too, of the brief of September 21st, 1585, which dissuaded Rudolph II. from supporting the Huguenots, had not given satisfaction at the Imperial court. In order to contradict the rumours that the Holy See intended to take action against the Protestant Electors, as it had done against

[1] Later on the visitation was entirely suspended. See REICHENBERGER, I., 85 *seq.*, 88, 90 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*

[2] Hirn in his dissertation on Reichenberger in the *Allg. Literaturblatt der österr. Leo-Gesellschaft,* XVII., 621, doubts whether the recall of Malaspina was caused by his acceptance of the Imperial decree for the visitation, and supposes that the action taken by the nuncio for Papal assistance for Rudolph had undermined his position.

[3] See the *Avvisi in REICHENBERGER, I., 134, n. 1.

[4] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., 145 *seq.*; REICHENBERGER, I., xxix., 143, 172, 193.

Navarre, by deposition, the brief stated that this was not intended ; but the words " we will not molest them " did not seem a sufficient guarantee in the eyes of the Imperial ministers.[1]

How great were the fears generally entertained by the Catholics of the Protestants was also shown in the appointment of the successor of Malaspina. The Pope had at first intended to send to Germany a nuncio-extraordinary, in order to induce the Catholic princes to come to the assistance of the Elector of Cologne in recovering Neuss. But Duke William of Bavaria made a protest against this, because such a thing would cause grave suspicion among the Protestants. The Pope therefore agreed that Filippo Sega should be sent, not as a nuncio-extraordinary, but as an ordinary nuncio. On January 18th, 1586, his credentials were prepared, but as he had already been employed upon the negotiations for an alliance, the Emperor feared that his very personality would again give rise to the suspicion that he was aiming at forming a Catholic league.[2] But no attention was paid in Rome to these objections.

Sega, whose departure was hindered by heavy snowstorms,[3] reached Innsbruck at the end of March, 1586, whence he went by way of Vienna to Prague. He reached that city on April 17th. At Innsbruck he received fuller information as to the position of affairs in Germany from the Archduke Ferdinand, and at Vienna from the Archduke Ernest.[4] He

[1] Instead of " Non incommodaremus " Rudolph wished for the more precise words " non incommodabimus " ; see HÜBNER, I., 449. *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., xxvii., 169 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*

[2] See REICHENBERGER, I., 219 *seq.*, 223, n. 3.

[3] Sega, according to the *report of C. Capilupi of January 18, 1586, was already at that time ready to set out. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See REICHENBERGER, I., 220 *seq.* Galesinus (*Annales 99b, Vatican Library) praises Sega as " vir in rebus gerendis industrius."

further received detailed instructions from his predecessor.[1] Malaspina had written a full account for the Pope, in which he gave a picture of the conditions which he had found, of the principles which had guided him, and a formal programme of the policy to be adopted for the Catholic restoration in Germany.[2]

Sega had been charged by Cardinal Azzolini, the Secretary of State, to urge Rudolph II. to promote Catholic reform in every way and in all circumstances, and "in a special way" to obtain his help in defeating the partisans of Gebhard Truchsess in the question of Cologne. It was principally on this account that the Pope was sending a nuncio, "because there was reason to fear a great conflagration there."[3] For this purpose he was before all things to point out the dangers which would result to the Empire from the intervention of England in these disputes. The nuncio was also to express the special satisfaction of the Pope to those bishops, such as Julius Echter of Würzburg and Johann von Schönenberg of Trêves, who had indefatigably promoted the Catholic cause.

Sega's position at the Imperial court was rendered difficult from the first, because the departure of his predecessor was looked upon with great regret there. The new nuncio could not succeed in dispelling the suspicion that he had been sent to form a new league, or to stir up concerted action against the Protestant Electors.[4] He made his position worse by

[1] (*Instructione de rebus Germanicis) partially preserved in Borghese, IV., 274, pp. 132-140, Papal Secret Archives. As to whether Malaspina is not the author see EHSES in *Röm Quartlaschr.* XIX., 96 *seq.*

[2] See REICHENBERGER, I., 211-216.

[3] The instructions missing in Reichenberger were found by me in the original draft in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Istruzioni, I., 134 *seq.*: *Instruttione per Mons. di Piacenza, signed by Cardinal Azzolini, s.d., and beginning with the words: "Continuando le turbulenze di Colonia."

[4] See REICHENBERGER, I., xxxviii., 224. *Cf. ibid.*, 170, n. 1 for the intentions of the Curia, which were also believed in Rome,

publishing the bull *In Coena Domini* without first coming to an understanding with the Emperor. The indignation which Rudolph displayed on this occasion arose both from his morbid sense of dignity, and from his haunting fear of the Protestants. At first he refused to give Sega an audience, and even thought of asking for his recall. But at last Sega succeeded in obtaining his audience on June 14th, 1586, and in smoothing over the occurrence. He attributed the whole blame to the vice-chancellor, Vieheuser,[1] but as it was only possible to see the Emperor on rare occasions, it was impossible to avoid this man, who had so much influence in all public business. Unfortunately Sega was not able to get on to good terms with him, and in consequence could neither accomplish very much, nor acquire much influence. To this was added the fact that Sega's character, which was easily moved to harshness and rigour, was in sharp contrast to that of the diplomatic Malaspina.[2]

In these circumstances we cannot be surprised that Sega should have painted the situation in much darker colours than his predecessor, who was certainly no optimist.[3] He com-

against the Protestant Electors (*cf.* BEZOLD, II., 300), which Sixtus V. resolutely denied. Thus *Sporeno wrote on January 2, 1586, that the Pope had said, "nunquam se cogitasse de depositione electorum haereticorum" (*cf.* HIRN, II., 133, n. 3). See also the *report of Sporeno of January 4 and March 1, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. The rumour was again spread in the autumn of 1589: see DROYSEN, Oratio legati Lotharingici ad Sixtum P.M., Jena, 1586. *Cf.* STIEVE in *Abh. der Münchner Akad.*, XV., 1, 13 *seq.*; see BEZOLD in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1900, n. 7, p. 541 n.; SCHWEIZER, III., 76 *seq.*; all these three scholars have overlooked the work of Droysen; Schweizer again printed the "Oratio legati Lotharingici ad Sixtum P.M."

[1] See REICHENBERGER, I., 248 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HIRN in *Allg. Literaturblatt der österr. Leo-gesellschaft*, XVII., 620 *seq.* See also BEZOLD, Briefe des Joh. Casimir II., 270 *seq.*

[3] The general descriptions of the situation in Germany, both by the nuncios as well as in the Venetian reports contain inexacti-

plained bitterly of the inaccessibility of the Emperor, of his dependence upon his advisers, and of his many usurpations of the property of the Church. Sega was much deceived as to the spread of the new doctrines, though he rightly looked upon the immorality which had spread among the clergy and the weakness of the Emperor as the principal causes of this. Yet he was not discouraged. His chief hope of improvement lay from the first in the quiet but persevering work of the Jesuits and of the alumni of the pontifical seminaries.[1]

It was disastrous to the work of the nuncio at the Imperial court that the relations between Rudolph II. and Sixtus V. were growing steadily worse. To what lengths this had gone was clearly seen when at the end of the summer of 1586 the customary Imperial commission sent to make the *obedientia* arrived in Rome. In his reply the Pope spoke of the succession to the Empire, complained of the great influence exercised by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, urged the taking of steps against the innovators, especially the Calvinists, insisted that no civil investiture should be given without the Papal approbation, urged the upholding of Catholic interests at Cologne, Aix and Strasbourg, and also enlarged upon the matter of the Imperial fief of Count Landi, Val di Taro, which had been seized by the Duke of Parma, and which had several times occupied the attention of Malaspina. The Emperor had this matter much at heart. The plan which was outlined by the Pope was so little satisfactory to the envoys, already annoyed by the ill-success of their efforts to obtain money for the war against the Turks, that they refused to accept the brief dated August 13th. A copy therefore was only sent to Sega.[2]

tudes and even contradictions. Thus Malaspina in his report to Sixtus V. says that the "nobili del Tirolo e di Baviera sono heretici o inclinati all' heresia," whereas Sega writes: "le manco infette de tutte (le provincie) sono il contado di Tirolo e la Baviera." REICHENBERGER, I., 215 and 244.

[1] See REICHENBERGER, I., 224, 240 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., xl., 227 n. 1, 236, n. 3, 284, n. 1, 301 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 324, n. 3; HÜBNER, II., 18 *seq.* The relations between the

The displeasure of the Emperor rendered the position of the nuncio accredited to him 'extraordinarily' difficult, and he saw himself becoming more and more isolated and unable to exercise the influence over the course of religious questions which was desirable. When in 1587 Sega took the necessary steps with the Emperor to save the bishopric of Lübeck, which like that of Verden had been rendered vacant by the death of Eberhard von Holle, who had become a Protestant, he himself had no hopes of being successful. There also followed the loss of Halberstadt, the administrator of which, Henry Julius of Brunswick, had married, and sought by force to obtain the bishopric of Minden as well. Sega advised the encouragement of the efforts of the Archbishop of Cologne to obtain these bishoprics. In March, 1587, the nuncio obtained the election and confirmation of a Catholic, Count Anton von Schaumberg, who, however, did not fulfil the hopes entertained of him. Sega also laboured on behalf of the Catholics to prevent the concession of the regalia to the Protestant Bishop of Osnabrück, as well as in the disputes concerning Augsburg, and in both these matters met with friendly dispositions on the part of the Emperor.[1]

But the attention of Sega, as of his predecessor, was chiefly fixed upon the religious condition of Bohemia and Austria, which for the most part was in a very lamentable state. Sega saw the fundamental reason for this in the neglect of the government, which almost instigated the Protestants to usurpations, and in the old abuse of the interference of the civil officials in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He set this forth in a special memorial which was presented to the Emperor

Emperor and the Pope, which at first had been improved (see PRIULI, 314), became worse on account of other occurrences; see GRITTI, 341; HÄBERLIN, XV., 164 *seq.*, and especially ZÖCHBAUR, Rudolf II. und die Nachfolgefrage, I., Urfahr, 1899, 31 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*

[1] See REICHENBERGER, I., xlv. *seq.*, and EHSES-MEISTER, I., 220 *seq.* For the fate of the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Lübeck, Minden and Osnabrück *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, Kirchl. Zustände, 581 *seq.*, 584 *seq.*, 589 *seq.*, 596 *seq.*

by the Archduke Ernest, the zealous promoter of the Catholic restoration, so much so that he was honoured by Sixtus V. by the bestowal of the blessed sword.[1] In this document a request was made above all for a change of the present ecclesiastical councillors in Austria. But Sega was unable to obtain such drastic measures, though he succeeded in getting these officials supplemented by some Catholics. On the other hand his efforts to get the edict long since issued against the Picards in Bohemia put into force were fruitless.[2] Affairs there were irreparably ruined. Archbishop Medek of Prague was on strained terms with Sega, as he had already been with Malaspina. Medek, Sega reported, hates the nuncios and the Jesuits, and the whole country would rejoice if he were summoned to Rome.[3]

The nuncio at Graz, Caligari, also had to contend with great difficulties. Sixtus V. had warned him to make every effort there that none but Catholics were admitted to the privy council of the Archduke Charles, and the heretics dismissed, as well as to see that at Graz and the other cities of the principality the Confession of Augsburg was prohibited. Finally, the nuncio was to strive, by visitations, warnings and punishments, to bring about the reform of the prelates and the religious.[4] Caligari showed no lack of zeal in carrying

[1] See *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 137.

[2] See Reichenberger, I., xlvi. *seq.*, 239, 264, 267, 286 *seq.*, 310, 341, 343, 347.

[3] See *ibid.*, I., xlvii., 356, 367. *Cf.* Kröss, 580. As in other places praiseworthy things are said of Medek (see Schmidlin, 150) Sega's opinion must be modified.

[4] See Schuster, Fürstbischof M. Brenner, 644. With this monograph, which is based on profound researches into archives, and written in classical and eloquent language, the description of Loserth, Reformation u. Gegenreformation in den inner œsterr. Landen im 16 Jahrh., Stuttgart, 1898, and which is also drawn from many archival sources, is in many points in agreement, though it is not always objective, and does not sufficiently use all the material. *Cf.* the critique of both these works by Dr. Starzer, who as a member of the Austrian Historical Society in Rome, was

out these instructions. It was of great importance for the reform of religious conditions that at the very beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V., they were successful, with the help of the nuncio, in placing in the vacant sees of Lavant and Seckau two bishops who were destined to be the pioneers of Catholic reform and restoration in Central Austria. These were George Stobäus, an alumnus of the German College in Rome,[1] and Martin Brenner, who as early as 1585 had begun a complete visitation of his diocese.[2] As Caligari also found a staunch supporter in the Bishop of Laibach, Johann Tautscher, who, with the permission of the Holy See, had been living at Graz as vicar and president of the government,[3] and also in the Jesuits,[4] there was reason to hope for a progressive improvement in the state of affairs, hitherto so anxious, since almost the whole of the nobles and burgesses were adherents of Protestantism. This was the case, not only throughout Styria, but also in Carinthia and Carniola. the majority of the country folk, however, were almost everywhere Catholic.[5]

The Archduke Charles gave indisputable proofs of his real wish to oppose Protestantism in his dominions, and if possible

deeply versed in the period in question ; see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXI., 531 *seq.* Loserth steadily calls the nuncio " Bishop of Britonoria " (505, 521, 599, 600), an expression which is frequently met with in the acta and correspondence (p. xxxi. and 563). It should read " Brictinorium " (Bertinoro).

[1] *Cf.* STEPISCHNEGG in *Archiv. f. österr. Geschichtsquellen*, XV., 73 *seq.* ; MAYR-DEISINGER in *Zeitschr. f. allg.* Gesch., IV., 1887, 124 *seq.*; ROBITSCH, Gesch. der Protest. in der Steiermark 181 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I., 337 *seq.* ; REICHENBERGER, I., 444 ; SCHMIDLIN, 104 *seq.* Stobäus is deserving of a monograph, such as Schuster has devoted to Brenner, for the work of Stepischnegg is insufficient, and still more that of Mayr-Deisinger.

[2] See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 197 *seqq.*, 247 *seq.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, 33 *seq.*

[4] See REICHENBERGER, I., 436.

[5] See the report of Caligari, May 20, 1586, in REICHENBERGER, I., 464.

to eradicate it altogther, but the Archduke's councillors, with the exception of the chancellor, showed but little interest in the restoration of the Catholic faith. Many of them were openly favourable to the religious changes, or, like the court-marshal, Count Ambrose of Thurn, sought to promote them secretly. The kindly and unpretentious Archduke for the most part did not resist these tendencies with the necessary resoluteness,[1] and therefore Caligari was unable to attain that success in fighting the Protestant movement which, in his ardent zeal, he had looked for ; on the other hand his efforts to revive Catholic life among the Catholics of Graz were more successful. In 1585 the nuncio, before a great concourse of people, administered the sacrament of confirmation in the church of the Dominicans, after it had almost completely fallen into disuse. In the same year the preaching in the capital of Styria was made much more efficient, the procession of Corpus Domini was made solemnly, and the jubilee published by Sixtus V. at the beginning of his pontificate was observed with all pomp. By no means inconsiderable progress was also made with the reform of the clergy, both regular and secular.[2]

The establishment of a university at Graz was of great importance for the preservation and restoration of the Catholic religion ; this was erected by Sixtus V. on January 1st, 1586, and entrusted to the Jesuits, who were there to train men who should be definitely Catholics, of whom the Archduke could make use for " the good of the state," and especially

[1] See *ibid.*, I., 441 *seq.*, 460. The sentiments of the Archduke Charles were good, but his " minstri " are " per la maggior parte heretici " reports Priuli in a *dispatch from Rome, August 24, 1585, State Archives, Venice.

[2] See Reichenberger, I., 449 *seq.*, 455 *seq.* *Cf.* Schuster, M. Brenner, 647 *seq.* The exhortation of Caligari to the Archduke Charles concerning the unworthy proposals of Stainz and Vorau, published by Loserth in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXIV., 344 *seq.*, had to a great extent long before been published by Sugenheim (*Bayerns Volkzustände*, 539 *seq.*).

for the "preservation of the hereditary Catholic religion."[1] About a year later the Archduke renewed the already existing prohibition[2] of studying in other schools.

The usefulness of the university of Graz could only be realized by degrees. Caligari who, in his great zeal, looked for immediate results, seems to have imperfectly realized the importance of this institution. This certainly was due to the fact that his good relations with the Jesuits had changed into feelings of quite another kind. The reasons for this change are fairly clear.[3] The nuncio's position was also made more difficult by the fact that his relations with the Archduke, hitherto so good, had become strained. There can be no doubt that the refusal of Sixtus V. to erect a new diocese at Görz, and to grant money for the war against the Turks contributed to this. The nuncio for his part had reason to complain more and more of the weakness of the Archduke, who under the influence of his entourage, constantly opposed the requests on matters of religion made to him by the representatives of the Holy See. In these circumstances the impetuous Caligari lost courage to such an extent as to ask for his recall in 1587, which was granted.[4] Caligari's action was very precipitate, for it was just at that time that the government at Graz was beginning to work systematically for the repression of Protestantism.[5]

[1] See PEINLICH, Grazer Programm, 1870, 29 *seq.*; KRONES, 605 *seq.*; LOSERTH, Reformation, 482; the same, Akten u, Korrespondenzen zur Gesch. der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich, xxxi. *seq.*; the same, Die protest. Schulen in Steiermark, Berlin, 1916, 79; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 218 *seq.*; DUHR. I., 166 *seq.*

[2] See REICHENBERGER, I., 453 *seq.*, 467; DUHR, I., 842; LOSERTH, Akten u. Korrespondenzen, 590 *seq.*

[3] This too clearly brings out the fact that the documents concerning the nunciature of Caligari at Graz are only preserved in part.

[4] See REICHENBERGER, I., 448 *seq.*, 457 *seq.* The return of Caligari to Rome is announced by Gritti in his *dispatch of May 2, 1587. State Archives, Venice.

[5] *Cf.* LOSERTH in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1897, app. nn. 28 and 31.

In the same year 1587 Sega too obtained his recall, which he had repeatedly asked for; during the last months of his residence at Prague his chief preoccupation was centred round the preliminary intrigues concerning the succession to the throne of Poland.[1]

Like the nunciatures at Prague and Graz, that of Cologne also underwent a change in 1587, though in the latter case the change was brought about by the death of the nuncio, Giovanni Bonhomini, which took place on February 25th, 1587. This distinguished man, the friend of Charles Borromeo, and of like sentiments with him, had displayed great activity, and was therefore held in high esteem by Sixtus V.[2]

The threat to the Archbishop of Cologne which resulted from the capture of Neuss, caused Bonhomini, on May 20th, 1585, to go to the Netherlands, to obtain the help of the Spanish governor, Alessandro Farnese. He stayed there for two months, principally to initiate the much needed reform of religious conditions by holding a provincial synod. The position was more favourable for such a thing there than it was on the Rhine, where for the time being it was impossible to think of holding synods, either at Cologne, because of the fall of Neuss, at Trêves, on account of the disturbances caused by the French wars, or at Mayence, on account of the timidity of the archbishop, Wolfgang von Dalberg. Supported by the vicar-general of Liège, Lavinus Torrentius, Bonhomini was successful in arranging for the convocation of a synod for October 3rd, and in making a beginning with the reform of the clergy and especially in the matter of preventing concubinage.

Bonhomini also started the process against the unworthy

[1] For this *cf. infra*, pp. 163 *seqq.*

[2] By a brief of October 12, 1585, Sixtus V. not only confirmed the faculties granted to Bonhomini by Gregory XIII., but added to them considerably; see MERGENTHEIM, I., 270. In addition to what has already been said of Bonhomini in Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 168-185; *cf.* also *Bijdrag .v. d. geschied v. het bisdom Haarlem*, XXXIV. (1912), 231 *seq.*, and *Arch. d. Soc. Vercell.*, XII. (1920), 73 *seqq.*

abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Lawrence at Liège, and promulgated in that city the jubilee published by Sixtus V. at the beginning of his pontificate. He did the same later on on the Rhine, hoping in this way to restore religious life and participation in the sacraments of the Church. At Cologne, where Bonhomini passed the first three weeks of August, he strove to impress upon the canons their duty of residence, and laboured to prevent the spread of Protestantism. The indefatigable nuncio also visited the Dukes of Jülich-Cleves, father and son, at Siegburg, and made every effort to induce them to dismiss the pastors and Protestant officials. In September Bonhomini was forced by gout to seek a cure at the celebrated baths of Aix, but his health became worse because during his cure he laboured too hard in administering confirmation and in other pastoral works on behalf of the Catholics of Aix.[1]

In spite of his ill-health he went in the last week of September, 1585, to Liège, where a hard struggle was awaiting him, since the introduction of the decrees of Trent meant to the clergy the giving up of certain privileges and exemptions, and Bishop Ernest feared from the limitation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the reduction of his revenues, but Bonhomini succeeded, with great firmness coupled with prudent condescension, in overcoming all these obstacles. His joy was great when the synod held at Liège from October 3rd to 5th happily resulted in the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and thus laid the foundations for a lasting reform.[2] How necessary it was to take steps for the moral

[1] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., l-lv., 102, 104 *seq.*, 107, 109 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 114, 116 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, 143.

[2] EHSES-MEISTER, I., lv., 150, 152 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 166, n. 1; EHSES in the periodical *Pastor Bonus*, VI. (1894), 236 *seq.*; A. v. HOVE, Les statuts synodaux Liégeois de 1585, in *Anal. p. s. à l' hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XXXIII. (1907), 5 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 529. There is also reference to the synod of Liège in a *letter of Bonhomini to the chancellor of Treves, Joh. Wimpfeling, dated 1585, Cal. oct. (Sept. 26), in Cod. 107, Vol. II., n. 31, in the Gymnasium library, Coblenz.

reform of the clergy was shown by the process against the Abbot of St. Lawrence, in whose punishment and degradation, which was finally decided upon, Bonhomini never lost sight of that gentleness, which was befitting in the representative of the supreme pastor. Even while he was away, he did not lose sight of Cologne, and could not rest until the council had driven the rebellious Calvinists from the city, and forbidden them to return in future. After the end of the synod the zealous nuncio, in spite of his failing health, took part in person in the visitation of almost all the churches and monasteries of the diocese of Liège, in order thus to complete and consolidate the work of reform.[1]

In the spring of 1586 Bonhomini again visited the Low Countries to prepare for a provincial synod of the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai. This was held in October, 1586, at Mons, under the presidency of himself and the Archbishop of Cambrai, Louis de Berlaymont. The decrees showed in all respects the closest conformity with the reforms of Trent; they only differed from those made at Liège in that here not only were the decrees of Trent promulgated, and explained by decrees made by the nuncio, but the entire sphere of religious life, and of the duties of bishops and pastors, was summarized in twenty-four chapters, and regulated by numerous canons.[2] How efficacious was the impulse given by Bonhomini was shown by the fact that in 1589 the new and excellent Bishop of Tournai, Jean Vendeville, followed his example and held a diocesan synod.[3] The indefatigable nuncio, who had fallen ill at Mons, was hardly recovered when he made a visitation of the diocese of Cambrai in order personally to superintend the introduction of the decrees of the synod. The result was a radical change in the morals of

[1] See CHAPEAVILLE, III., 540; EHSES-MEISTER, I., lv., 168 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 186, 190.

[2] HARTZHEIM, VII., 991 *seq.*; EHSES-MEISTER, I., lvii. *Cf.* GOUSSET, Les actes de la province ecclés. de Reims, III., Rheims, 1844, 542 *seq.*

[3] HARTZHEIM, VII., 1036 *seq.*

the clergy. It was then that the celebrated monastery of Lobbes was reformed.[1]

From Lobbes Bonhomini went to the Archbishop of Trêves, Johann von Schönenberg, who was closely allied with him by ties of friendship and common ideas, with whom he had dealings in 1585 concerning the convocation of a diocesan synod. To this frail man, accustomed as he was to the climate of Italy, the journey was all the more laborious in that it was made in the depths of winter, which was an especially hard one, and led him through the wild forests of the Ardennes. This proved the final blow to the exhausted body of the nuncio. When, at the beginning of December, Bonhomini reached Liège, his favourite residence, he was a dying man. Like a loyal soldier, wrote Lavinus Torrentius, he did not spare his own life, nor took any care of himself when he could be of any use to the Christian people. Though his physical powers were exhausted, it was not so with his energy. It was while he was preparing the decrees of the synod of Liège for the press, that Our Lord called His faithful servant to Himself (February 25th, 1587). Bonhomini's last days were as edifying as his whole life had been, and his biographer tells us that when he was seriously ill, in spite of the injunctions of his physicians, he would not relax his strict observance of the fast of Lent. Before his death he wished once again to make the Tridentine profession of faith.[2]

Sixtus V., who had taken a close interest in the labours of Bonhomini, intended to confer the purple on the man whose name was intimately bound up with the successful defeat of the most dangerous Protestant attack upon the Catholic territories of the Rhineland. At the consistory of April 6th, 1587, he lamented the death of this man who was only in his fiftieth year, and who, on fire with zeal for the salvation of souls, and refusing no sacrifice of health or goods, had laboured without respite on behalf of the Catholic people, and said

[1] See EHSES, II., 521 *seq.* *Cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 487.

[2] See *Compte rendu de l' acad. de Bruxelles*, III., 11 (1870), 212; EHSES-MEISTER, I., lix. *seq.*; EHSES, II., 522 *seq.*

that he would for all time hold an honoured place among the nuncios of Germany. He very justly alluded to the successes that the work of Catholic reform and restoration in Germany might have won if, instead of Ernest of Bavaria and Wolfgang von Dalberg, the archiepiscopal sees of Cologne and Mayence had been occupied by such men as Charles Borromeo and Bonhomini.[1]

Bonhomini had devoted himself to his work of reform in the spirit of self-sacrifice which showed the disciple of Charles Borromeo ; this had been the primary scope of the nunciature at Cologne, when Bonhomini was carried off by death. He found a successor in Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, Bishop of Cajazzo, who, although he was a man of quite different character, and much more of a diplomatist, nevertheless worked for the same end, the renewal of religious life among both clergy and people. His appointment was made on June 13th, 1587. It was probably with only oral instructions that he set out in July, reaching Cologne on August 25th.[2]

The state of affairs in Germany had been until then entirely unknown to Frangipani, who was a Neapolitan. Yet the choice of the nuncio, which proved to be a complete success, was probably due to the initiative of the Pope, who was very independent in such matters. The diplomatic talents of Frangipani were very opportune in the strained conditions existing in the Rhineland. He was able to familiarize himself with the complicated conditions in a comparatively short time, and always to intervene with firmness, prudence and calmness. Unlike his predecessor, with the exception of a stay of a few months in the Low Countries, by reason of a

[1] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., lix. *seq.* *Cf.* COLOMBO, Bonomi, 86 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*

[2] See EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xvi., xx., 4 *seq.* *G. Gritti, who had on April 18, 1587, reported the current rumour of the sending of a Cardinal legate to the Diet, announced on June 13 the appointment of Frangipani (State Archives, Venice). For the ample faculties of Frangipani see MERGENTHEIM, I., 273 *seq.* ; for his life see L. v. DER ESSEN, Corresp. d' Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, Rome, 1924, lxvii. *seq.*

theological dispute at the University of Louvain,[1] he remained almost entirely in the capital of the Rhineland. The state of affairs there, even after the crisis occasioned by Gebhard Truchsess had been surmounted, was such as to make the presence of the nuncio very desirable. While Rheinsberg was still in the hands of the adherents of Gebhard, the position in the Rhineland, in spite of the reforms inaugurated by Bonhomini, still presented many lamentable features, although there were not wanting brighter signs. The good people of the Rhineland had for the most part remained true to the faith of their fathers ; they frequented the churches with diligence and piety, and conscientiously observed the Paschal precept. Frangipani also soon formed a good impression of the clergy entrusted with the care of souls, and praised their zeal and hard work. He also noted with special satisfaction among the Catholics of Cologne a keen pursuit of learning. Besides the ecclesiastical historians and scholars, such as Michael Eyzinger, Petrus Suffridius, Michael ab Isselt and Georg Braun, distinguished polemical writers, such as Cornelius Schulting-Steinweg, Johann Nopel and Gaspar Ulenberg, were also very active. The magistracy showed themselves to be sincerely attached to the Catholic Church, even though in some cases, through consideration for economic interests, they were inclined to favour the Netherland heretics. The solemn offices in the cathedral were still suffering from the neglect of the noble canons. On the whole, however, he could, thanks to the work already done by Bonhomini, feel fairly satisfied with the state of affairs in Cologne. On the other hand the position was bad in Westphalia, where Gebhard Truchsess' apostasy had met with a far greater following, and where immorality and ignorance were very prevalent among the clergy.[2]

Frangipani had every intention of fulfilling the duties of his position, and he very soon formed the plan of making a

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 186 *seqq.*

[2] See EHSES, II., xxiii. *seq.*, 15, 29 *seq.*, 104, 137, 148, 477, 481, 498. For G. Braun *cf. Jahrb. des Kölnischen Gesch.-Vereins*, III. (1916).

thorough visitation of the archdiocese of Cologne. This project was fully approved in Rome, but insistence was laid upon his coming to a better understanding with the archbishop, the clergy and the magistracy of Cologne.[1] Unfortunately the chief obstacle in the way of Frangipani's plans of reform was the archbishop himself, the Prince Elector, Ernest of Bavaria. Having entered upon an ecclesiastical career without a vocation, this scion of the house of Wittelsbach, who held five other dioceses in addition to Cologne, was anything but a prince of the Church, in the sense of the Catholic restoration.[2] Entirely worldly in his ideas, this Bavarian prince performed his ecclesiastical duties so little that Frangipani soon realized the necessity of associating with him a number of auxiliary bishops. The Elector went but rarely to Cologne, and resided for the most part in Westphalia or at Liège. Although he refrained from the temptation to secularize himself as his predecessor had done, he not only was devoted to banqueting and hunting, but also gave much scandal by his moral conduct, so that Sixtus V. very justly spoke in very harsh terms of him.[3]

Frangipani visited the clever but frivolous Elector of Cologne for the first time in the autumn of 1587 at Bonn, and in the name of the Pope addressed severe rebukes to him, quite frankly but also in an affectionate spirit. But no matter how much the nuncio did so, and in spite of the fact that Sixtus V. did not conceal his great displeasure, Ernest made no attempt to change his scandalous ways. He flatly refused to give up the bishopric of Freising, which Sixtus V. demanded of him, whereupon the Pope even went so far as to threaten him. In the circumstances Frangipani thought it his duty to urge a policy of indulgence, as without the good-will of the Elector, his efforts at reform would have to remain

[1] See Ehses, II., 9 *seq.*, 24, 28. *Cf. ibid.*, 35 *seq.* the reply that they must radically change the statutes of the chapter concerning the nobility.

[2] Opinion of Bezold in his valuable recension of the Nuntiaturberichte of Ehses in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1900, n. 7, p. 518.

[3] *Cf.* Ehses, I., 43, 77, 87 n. 1; Bezold, *loc. cit.*

as fruitless as the weaving of Penelope.[1] By his prudent restraint, Frangipani succeeded, in the course of his conversation at Bonn, in persuading Ernest to give him full authority to make a visitation of the archdiocese. The nuncio thereupon at once made preparations on a large scale, and was hoping to begin this useful work before the end of 1587, when, during the night between December 22nd and 23rd, Bonn, the residence of the Elector, was seized by the adventurer, Martin Schenk of Niedeggen, an adherent of Gebhard Truchsess, which occasioned an unfortunate delay.[2] But with the help of Alessandro Farnese, who, by reason of the close relations between the Low Countries and the Lower Rhineland, was deeply interested in the safety of the Catholics of Cologne, it was possible to win back Bonn on September 29th, 1588;[3] but this success, which was due in great measure to the zeal and courage of Frangipani, had its drawbacks, as the Spanish troops had to occupy Bonn, Neuss and Kaiserswerth. It was soon obvious that the fickle Elector Ernest, who, as far as the civil administration of his archdiocese was concerned, was deeply involved in the military disturbances in the Low Countries, left a great deal to be desired in the matter of the ecclesiastical administration.

The electoral principality of Cologne had fallen into such a state of confusion as far as its civil administration and finances were concerned, as to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Frangipani found himself obliged to intervene, and he set himself to this intricate and unpleasant task with the conviction that, until this state of affairs had been cleared up, his activities on behalf of religion could have no lasting results. Since all his energies were taken up by this labour of Sisiphus, namely of putting in order the civil administration and finances of the archdiocese of Cologne,[4] he was unable

[1] See Ehses, II., 22, 41 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 51, 60 *seq.*, 77. How greatly the Pope grieved over the loss of Bonn, to the agent of the Duke of Bavaria, *cf.* the *report of Gritti, February 6, 1588, State Archives, Venice.

[3] See Ehses, II., 184 *seq.*; Bezold, *loc. cit.*, 520.

[4] See the clear account of Ehses, II., xxi. *seq.*

to evolve any systematic or complete plan of reform. "Everything here is going to ruin" he complained on one occasion.[1] Nevertheless, as far as reform was concerned, the nuncio strove to do all that was possible in the circumstances. At Cologne he succeeded in restoring the solemn offices in the cathedral, in preventing the admission into the chapter of the Protestant Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg, in introducing the Observant Friars Minor, and in working for the establishment of good Catholic primary schools. As the promulgation of the Council of Trent in its entirety was not possible, Frangipani began by introducing it gradually, first by obliging the clergy of all ranks and dignities to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and then by introducing the canons on the administration of the sacraments.[2] He found his most valuable helpers in the Jesuits, whose activity in educational and pastoral works filled him with so great enthusiasm, that he wished to see one of their houses set up in all the more important centres.[3]

Lamentable and unfortunately insuperable obstacles stood in the way of the principal means of ecclesiastical reform, a canonical visitation and a provincial synod, so that Frangipani had to be content with introducing an improvement in certain individual matters. He first set his hand to the removal of the two fundamental evils among the clergy, concubinage and simony. In this matter he allowed no difficulties to stand in his way, and he took severe proceedings against all public transgressions of celibacy. He displayed both severity and gentleness in his visitation of the monastery of Kerpen.[4] Even in that part of the archdiocese which lay within Westphalia, and was equally in danger, Frangipani's efforts,

[1] *Ibid.*, 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxiii. *seq.*, 50, 72, 76 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 449.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., xliv., 197, 212, 253 *seq.*, 433, 440. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 416, 846 *seq.* For the attitude of the Jesuits at Cologne *cf.* PFÜLF in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVIII., 89 *seq.*, where the information in the "Buches Weinsberg" is made use of.

[4] See EHSES, II., xlvi. *seq.*, 187, 249, 282, 316.

which here were backed up by the Elector, effected an improvement in religious affairs.[1] At Cologne itself, as far as man could judge, the Catholic religion was on an assured and lasting basis.[2] Taking all things together it may be said that Frangipani had done all that could be done for the improvement of the archdiocese of Cologne. In Rome he received well-deserved praise for the prudence and zeal which he had displayed, as well as for his perseverance and constancy. Many other things which the nuncio had set before himself, such as the establishment of seminaries at Bonn and Neuss, came to nothing because of the unfavourable circumstances.[3]

One of the principal obstacles in the way of a general visitation was to be found in the opposition of the councillors of the decrepid William IV., Duke of Jülich-Cleves, who were to a great extent timid and vacillating Catholics. Unlike his father, the hereditary prince, John William, who had married Jacobea of Baden, the niece of Albert of Bavaria, was, to the great joy of Sixtus V., a zealous promoter of the Catholic cause. But unfortunately John William, in spite of his good dispositions, was lacking in the necessary self-command, so as to incur the jealousy and displeasure of his father.[4] It was to no purpose that the Pope, in accordance

[1] *Ibid.*, xlix., 291, 326, 435. *Cf.* PIELER, Fürstenberg, 137; KAMPSCHULTE, Protestantismus in Westfalen, 323 *seq.*, 337 *seq.*

[2] Thus reports Frangipani to Rome, July 5, 1590; see EHSES, I., 487.

[3] See EHSES, II., 276, 283, 289, 311, 316, 340, 375, 505.

[4] *Ibid.*, xxvi., 339, 351, 353. *Ibid.*, 254 *seq.* the report of Frangipani concerning the custom of communion under both kinds in the villages of the Duchy of Jülich-Cleves; as this "abuso" could not be removed, it was tolerated by Rome (see *ibid.*, 270; *cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 635 *seqq.*). For the situation at the court of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, where the Jesuit Peter Michael laboured with success from 1585 to 1587, see also DUHR, I., 151, and besides the work of STIEVE on the Duchess Jacobea, in *Zeitschr. des bergischen Gesch.-Vereins*, XIII., 1 *seqq.*; the article by UNKEL in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins f. den Niederrhein*, LIV., 98 *seq.*; where the reports of Frangipani are also used.

with the advice of Frangipani, sought to bring about a reconciliation between them.[1] An even more unfortunate circumstance was that the hereditary prince, on account of the calamities brought upon his country by the wars, threatened to quarrel with Spain, so that, partly owing to the annoyances caused him by his father's councillors, in the summer of 1589 he showed signs of the beginnings of mental derangement. John William had no children, and thus there arose a serious danger lest after his death the government should pass into the hands of one of his three sisters, who were married to Protestants. Frangipani sought every possible means of avoiding such a danger.[2]

Besides the safety of the Church in the territory of Jülich-Cleves,[3] which was of great importance because of its position, Frangipani also had greatly at heart the protection of the Catholics of Aix. As he was there supported by the Elector Ernest, he was able to bring about a substantial improvement.[4]

Frangipani also found a strong supporter in the Elector Ernest in his efforts for reform in the diocese of Liège, where the establishment of seminaries, both in the episcopal city and at Saint-Trond was of particular importance.[5] The nuncio also turned his attention to Holland, where, in spite of the difficulties of the position, even in the time of Gregory XIII., Catholicism had shown an encouraging development in the diocese of Utrecht.[6] In June, 1589, Frangipani reported to Rome that in Holland many had preserved the

[1] See SCHWEIZER, II., 179, 193, 261; HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 286.

[2] See EHSES, II., liv. *seq.*, 228, 250, 306, 310, 329, 335, 337, 348, 382, 389, 420, 467, 471.

[3] See HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 284 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* EHSES, II., xlix., 48, 68, 211, 281, 355, 364, 376, 434, 444 *seq.*, 469, 479, 516 *seq.*

[5] See CHAPEAVILLE, III., 541 *seq.*; EHSES, II., xxxi., xlviii., 196 *seq.*, 404, 419; PIRENNE, IV., 428 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* FRUIN, De werder opluiking van het Catholicisme in Noord-Nederland, in the *Verspreide Geschriften*, III., 249 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 377 *seq.*

faith, but that owing to the intolerance of the insurgents they could only be ministered to in secret, and that moreover many had returned to the ancient faith, so that the Catholic cause would make still greater progress when the bishoprics of Groningen and Deventer were once more filled. It is true that the last-named city was given a bishop in 1589, but was afterwards lost, as was Groningen, owing to the ascendancy of the rebels.[1] At that time the diocese of Saint-Omer and the archdiocese of Malines, where Cardinal Allen was unable to enter into possession of his office, were also unprovided for.[2] Ghent was again filled in 1588 by an excellent man, William Lindanus, who is celebrated as a writer, but he unfortunately died on November 2nd in the same year, and had no successor until 1590. In the same year the distinguished Jean Vendeville took possession of the see of Tournai.[3] At Antwerp the work of Catholic restoration was hindered by the fact that the bishop, Lavinus Torrentius, met with the greatest difficulties from his chapter. At the time when the city still belonged to the diocese of Cambrai, the chapter had obtained far-reaching exemptions from Popes Alexander VI., Leo X. and Adrian VI.; although Antwerp had been erected into a diocese by Paul IV., and its chapter had become a cathedral chapter, it maintained these exemptions when Torrentius, in accordance with the ordinances of the Council of Trent, asserted his own full episcopal jurisdiction. At the end of 1588 Frangipani succeeded in persuading both parties to leave the settlement of the matter in the hands of the Congregation of the Council in Rome. The latter decided in favour of the bishop, though this did not make the chapter give way, so that Gregory XIV. renewed the decision come to in the time of his predecessor, and took away in perpetuity

[1] See EHSES, II., 291.

[2] See BELLESHEIM, Allen, 183 *seq.*; for Saint Omers see EHSES, II., 425.

[3] See GAMS, 248, 251. For Lindanus *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 260; XX., p. 20, n. 4. A much needed monograph on the first Bishop of Roermond is being prepared by W. Schmetz, professor of theology at Koesfeld i W.

from the chapter of Antwerp the privileges in question. Duke Alessandro Farnese worked zealously in Rome on behalf of Torrentius, and also promoted the interests of the Church in every way he could.[1] In a report of June, 1590, Frangipani pointed out that the return of Holland and Zeeland to the Catholic Church depended upon their coming once more under the rule of Spain. The conversions of apostates which had taken place at Delft and elsewhere, he reported later on, was due to the priests who had been sent thither, but they were only able to work in secret.[2]

Very advantageous were the good relations into which Frangipani had entered with the distinguished Johann VII. von Schönenberg, the Archbishop of Trêves, a man filled with the spirit of the Catholic restoration. He esteemed this bishop so highly that he turned to him almost always in questions concerning the examination and appointment of aspirants to ecclesiastical benefices, both in Catholic and Protestant territories.[3] Frangipani frequently had to interfere in the unhappy struggle for jurisdiction between Fulda and Würzburg, in filling of abbatial vacancy at Hersfeld, the existence of which was seriously imperilled, in the conferring of benefices by the Pope, and in the question of the Imperial rights concerning the regalia in the Protestant

[1] See EHSES, II., 190 *seq.*, 213 *seq.*, 226.

[2] See *ibid.*, II., 483, 487. According to the *report of Laurus Dubliul to the Duke of Parma, Rome, February 29, 1589, Sixtus V. praised the proposal to establish Jesuit colleges at Brussels and Groningen. Négot. de Rome, I., State Archives, Brussels. *Ibid.*, a *letter from Cardinal Pellevé to the Duke of Parma, Rome, September 12, 1589, which says: "La Stà di N.S. et questi miei ill. signori della congregatione sopra la riforma et negotii dei vescovi hanno inteso con molto piacere la domanda che vien fatta dal Senato di Gruninga per haver un collegio de' padri Gesuiti."

[3] See EHSES, II., xxv., 11, 59. For the restoration activity of Johann von Schönenberg *cf.* HONTHEIM, Hist. Trev., III., 49, 146, 165, 170, 174, 180, 185; STIEVE, IV., 143, 183; SCHMIDLIN, 133; *Pastor Bonus*, 1894, n. 9.

territories of the Empire.[1] Frangipani also followed with the same close attention as his predecessor Bonhomini the course of the dangerous disputes in the chapter of Strasbourg. The measures that he adopted in this connexion are a further proof of his diplomatic caution.[2]

[1] See EHSES, II., xlix. *seq.*, lii. *seq.*, 58 *seq.*, 360. *Cf.* WINTER in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1890, 136 *seq.* From the documents given here it is clear that the attempt to obtain by subterfuge the Papal confirmation for Krafft von Weissenbach, elected as abbot of Hersfeld on September 9, 1588, by concealing his Protestant views, failed owing to the vigilance of Sixtus V. Twelve years later, however, the annexation of this venerable abbey by the state of Hesse-Cassel took place.

[2] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxxxii.

CHAPTER III.

Work of the Nuncios in Hungary, Bohemia, Austria and Switzerland.

Although Strasbourg belonged to the nunciature of Cologne, nevertheless the dispute between the Catholic and Protestant canons there, fell, in the circumstances, under the jurisdiction of the nuncio at the Imperial court. Here too a change had taken place in the nunciature when Sega was succeeded in 1587 by the Archbishop of Bari, Antonio Puteo. Armed with the customary faculties, the latter left Rome on March 21st, and reached Prague on May 15th.[1] Sega informed him verbally of all that had occurred, and also furnished him with written instructions, in which he explained the general principles to be observed in the work of the nunciature, and dealt with all those matters which were still waiting a solution.

In this interesting document[2] Sega points out as the primary duty of the nuncio, the preservation of the old faith in those parts of the Empire which were still Catholic. For the fulfilment of this task he recommends his successor to keep Rome closely informed, in which he could be especially helped by the Jesuits, to keep on good terms with the Emperor and his advisers, as well as with all the princes and Catholic prelates, to observe dignity and prudence in his behaviour, and to respect the German national customs, which were so different from those of Italy. He need not seek to enter into close relations with the Protestants, but on the other hand he must not avoid them, and must show them no dislike, but rather a paternal interest. Sega was of opinion that he must above all bring home to the Emperor how the

[1] Schweizer, II., cxl. *seq.*, 8, 533.

[2] Published by Reichenberger, I., 411 *seq.*

Protestants were trying, in view of the progress of Calvinism as against Lutheranism, to take advantage of the radical tendencies of the time, and how, in spite of the religious peace of 1555, they were aiming at nothing less than the complete destruction of the Catholic religion in the Empire. In this matter he would find very useful the treatise *De autonomia*, published in 1586 by Andreas Erstenberger, which, in answer to the Protestant claims of every kind, not only subjected the question of independence to a learned theological examination, but discussed it principally from the legal point of view.[1] The worst enemy of the Catholics, according to Sega, was the Count Palatine, John Casimir, who was in close relations with Elizabeth of England, and the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries, and was working for the complete extermination of Catholicism in Germany.[2] With regard to the state of affairs in Austria, Sega especially called the attention of his successor to the intolerable usurpations by the Imperial officials over the right to administer ecclesiastical property, to the furthering of reform and Catholic restoration in Bohemia, to the protection of the Catholics at Glogau, and the filling of the vacant sees in Hungary.

Besides the questions concerning Austria, Sega spoke of the dispute about dominion at Fulda, and especially the publication of the ban of the Empire against Gebhard Truchsess, and the protection of the Catholics at Aix, Strasbourg and Augsburg. Sega was of opinion that wherever an opportunity offered of carrying into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent, it should be acted upon He also spoke at length of the problem of the lack of priests This was making itself felt in Poland and in the north, as well as throughout Germany and Hungary; the harvest was great but the labourers were few. The best remedy was to be

[1] For the scope and importance of the work of Erstenberger *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 461 *seqq.*, where the special literature is noted. The opinion of Sega in REICHENBERGER, I., 353.

[2] For the way in which John Casimir had been for years a friend of all the Calvinist states *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 3 *seq.*

found in the seminaries established by the Jesuits, the importance of which he intended to lay personally before the Pope. The instructions only touch briefly upon the Austrian claims to the crown of Poland, because on that matter Puteo was already fully informed in Rome. Yet this question was to absorb the greater part of the nuncio's energies during the next two years.[1] To this was added the Italian territorial disputes and the feudal controversies,[2] as well as the difficult question of filling the vacant episcopal sees in Hungary, where the state of affairs was unspeakably sad. Half that country was occupied by the Turks, while the other half was threatened by the same savage enemies of the Catholic faith. To add to its misfortunes Protestantism was almost everywhere prevalent; the one honourable exception was the diocese of Agram in Slavonia, where religious life was in a flourishing condition.[3]

This state of affairs had been fostered by the fact that many of the Hungarian bishops also held important civil offices, and neglected the interests of religion in favour of the latter. The position became quite intolerable when the Emperor, as his financial straits grew worse, no longer made any appointments to episcopal sees as they fell vacant, in order that he might have their revenues at his disposal. First Malaspina and then Sega had already called the attention of the Holy See to this abuse,[4] which meant the ruin of all care of souls. Puteo also devoted himself to this matter with great zeal, and sought to effect a change in the system of investitures. In Hungary it was the custom that the king (in this case the Emperor) should grant the regalia before Papal approbation.[5] The Holy See on the other hand

[1] *Cf. infra*, pp. 165 *seqq.*

[2] E.g. in 1589 the long dispute concerning Novellara; see SCHWEIZER, II., 209, 358, 367, 383 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 517 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, cxxxiv.

[4] See REICHENBERGER, I., 147, 237, 421.

[5] See FRAKNÓI, A magyar királyi kegyŭri iog, Budapest, 1895, 71 *seq.*; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxix.

demanded that, as was the case in Germany, Papal confirmation should precede Imperial investiture, and Puteo endeavoured in every way to arrange this, but to no purpose. On the other hand, during 1587 he obtained an Imperial appointment to the vacant sees of Raab, Neutra, Waitzen, Fünfkirchen, Veszprim, Csanad, Agram, Sirmium, Zengg and Knin. After the Holy See, in exact conformity with the canonical regulations, had received the necessary information, the Papal confirmation was granted in the case of all these sees, with the exception of Veszprim, where the bishop-elect had not attained the proper age.[1]

The filling of the vacant sees of Hungary was looked upon in Rome as a great success for Sixtus V., and his biographers could rightly attribute to the energetic Pope the credit for having saved the sees of Hungary from ruin.[2] By filling these sees with capable bishops the first step had been taken towards an improvement of ecclesiastical conditions. In his instructions to his successor Puteo pointed out what this involved for the strengthening of the Church; the immediate convocation of a provincial synod, the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent and their carrying into effect with the help of the Emperor, as well as the making of a general visitation, which was to be entrusted to Cardinal Georg Draskovich, the Archbishop of Kalocsa. Unfortunately the latter died on January 31st, 1587, whereupon the Emperor raised difficulties.[3] Many years had still to elapse before Hungary shared in the benefits of reform and Catholic restoration, a matter in which the Jesuits played a prominent part.[4]

While Puteo was meeting with success in the matter of the Hungarian sees, the other questions at issue in Austria and

[1] See SCHWIEZER, II., cxxix. *seq.*

[2] See TEMPESTI, I., 665.

[3] See SCHWEIZER, II., 504. By the death of the Bishop of Raab, Petrus Heressinki, in June, 1590, who had been Hungarian chancellor, there occurred a fresh vacancy, which was difficult to fill, and was only done in 1592; see SCHWEIZER, III., 178.

[4] A brief account of the spread of the Jesuits in Hungary is given by KRONES, Gesch. Oesterreichs, III., Berlin, 1878, 372 *seq.*

the Empire made but little progress. With regard to these we have clear details in the instructions which he prepared for his successor, Alfonso Visconti, who arrived in Prague on July 4th, 1589. In this document, as in the clear Venetian reports, he gave a lucid description of the existing state of affairs, and then went on to make practical suggestions for the furthering of the Catholic restoration.[1]

Puteo's limited success may be partly explained by his personality, which was not calculated to exercise any great influence.[2] But the decisive factor was the timid attitude of the Emperor, who avoided any energetic measures, but who satisfied neither the Protestants nor the Catholics by his vacillations. This was clearly shown during the disputes at Strasbourg, where Gebhard Truchsess, the deposed Archbishop of Cologne, and the Protestant canons of Cologne, who like him had been excommunicated by name, took possession by force of arms of the benefices of the Catholic canons, and forced them to take refuge with their bishop at Zabern.[3] This controversy, as far as the Protestants were concerned, was not only between the canons, but it was the principle of independence that was at stake. The Protestant nobles wished to keep their hold over the cathedral chapters, as a convenient and lucrative way of providing for their younger sons, whom they wished to introduce into them. Thus the Protestant canons of Strasbourg and other places met with a ready support from the aristocracy and princes who were adherents of the Protestant cause, whereas the Emperor showed himself over timid and weak in safeguarding the rights of the Catholics, and in enforcing obedience to his commands.[4]

[1] This interesting document, which formed a kind of final report, and to which EHSES (II., 511 *seq.*) was the first to call attention, is now published in its entirety in SCHWEIZER, II., 447-556. From this it is clear that the nuncios at this time almost always drew up such retrospective summaries for their successors. For the change of nuncios see SCHWEIZER, II., 440, 472, 474; III., xvi. *seq.*

[2] See SCHWEIZER, II., cxli.

[3] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 114 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxxxiii. *seq.*

The importance of the dispute was aggravated by the geographical position of Strasbourg. The bishop and Duke William of Bavaria urged the Pope to take energetic measures against the attacks of Gebhard Truchsess and his adherents. It would seem that Sixtus V. did not quite realize the importance of this dispute,[1] as the disturbances in France, on the outcome of which the existence of the Catholic Church in western Europe depended, were occupying his whole attention. As a matter of fact he was satisfied with the work being done by his nuncios at Prague, Cologne and Lucerne, without granting the pecuniary subsidies asked for by the bishop. Besides his well-known parsimony, it is certain that he hoped for success from the carrying out of the ban, whereas any warlike action on the part of the bishop, which would only be possible with pecuniary help, was a hazardous undertaking.[2]

In Bohemia Puteo was unable to effect anything, and he had the greatest difficulty in inducing Archbishop Medek of Prague to make a report to Rome of the state of his diocese; when he did so, the latter drew a picture that was by no means in accordance with the truth.[3] Puteo repeatedly complained of the Archbishop of Prague's negligence in fulfilling his pastoral duties, especially in the matter of visitations, and of his indifference with regard to Protestantism and the Hussites. The attitude of the Emperor and his advisers prevented the improvement which Puteo hoped for. In Lower Austria, too, Catholic restoration made but slow progress during his nunciature, in spite of the efforts of the Archduke Ernest and of Klesl, principally owing to the want of good priests to take the places of the banished Protestant ministers. There the opposition of the aristocracy and the

[1] This is specially brought out by G. Wolf in his discussion of Vol. I. of the nunciature of Cologne in *Mitteil. aus der hist. Lit.*, XXVI., 345.

[2] See Ehses-Meister, I., lxxvii. and Schmidlin, 403 *seq.*

[3] Schmidlin (150 *seq.*) was unable to recognize it because at that time the reports of Puteo were unknown.

cities was more or less passive, but in Upper Austria there were serious disturbances among the peasants, which did not arise only from religious questions. The attitude of the people there was so threatening that the government gave way.[1]

To Puteo belongs the credit for having assisted the Catholic reforming activity of the excellent Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach.[2] The difficulties which stood in the way of Catholic restoration in south Germany were experienced by Duke William of Bavaria in his attempts to establish a Jesuit college at Ratisbon. To effect this he had to fight, not only the Protestant magistracy, but also the administrators and the cathedral chapter, but Sixtus V. supported the duke so energetically that the latter succeded in his purpose.[3] In this matter important service was rendered by an alumnus of the Germanicum, the cathedral preacher, Dr. Jakob Miller. Sixtus appointed this excellent priest as Papal visitor for the whole of the diocese of Ratisbon, including the exempt monasteries.[4]

The appointment of Klesl by Rudolph II. on February 28th, 1590, as reformer-general falls within the first part of the nunciature of Visconti, Puteo's successor; this was an important sign that at last even the Imperial court thought that the time had come for decisive action against the Protestant propaganda. To this period belongs a memorial from Klesl to the Archduke's governor in Lower Austria concerning the best way to take further action against Protestantism at Vienna and the neighbouring district. In this Klesl makes clear the real desire for the work of reform at the heart of the Hapsburg monarchy, and as time went

[1] See SCHWEIZER, II., 262, 266 *seq.*, 269, 305, 405, 432, 461; HUBER, IV., 295 *seq.*

[2] See SCHWEIZER, II., 8, 13. For Bishop Urban von Trennbach see SCHMIDLIN, 191 *seq.*

[3] See DUHR, I., 206 *seq.* *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 332; SCHWEIZER, II., 157 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*

[4] See SCHWEIZER, II., 346 *seq.*

on the methods that he had devised with such great prudence were steadily followed.[1]

The position of Alfonso Visconti, who reached Prague on July 4th, 1589, seemed at first likely to be difficult, because a change in the nunciature was viewed with displeasure at the Imperial court. Although for other reasons the relations between Rudolph II. and Sixtus V. had always been more or less strained, nevertheless the vexed question of the feudal tenure of Novellara had a happy issue owing to the conciliatory attitude of the Pope. On the other hand Visconti was told by the Imperial ministers that the Pope had been guilty of an unjustifiable interference in the interminable dispute about dominion between Fulda and Würzburg. The fresh dispute which had sprung up concerning salt between the Duke of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Salzburg reopened once more at the Imperial court the wounds of the struggle for jurisdiction between the Curia and the Imperial tribunal. The greater part of these controversies were touched upon in the instructions given to Veit von Dornburg when he was appointed ambassador in Rome on September 3rd, 1589.[2] In his reply on December 2nd, 1589, delivered on the arrival of Veit, the Pope thought it his duty to remark that he would have been better pleased if the ambassador had come more quickly.[3] A Papal brief of September 13th, 1589, had urged the systematization of the succession to the Empire, and the nomination as king of the Archduke Ernest, who was a strict Catholic, but this exhortation had been without result.[4]

Like his predecessors, Visconti displayed a vigilant activity in religious matters. During his journey to Prague he had worked in this sense at Munich and Salzburg, and was able to send satisfactory reports of his success.[5] At the Imperial

[1] See Bibl in *Jahrb. f. Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N.S VIII. (1909), 157 *seq.*

[2] See *Rudolfi II., Epist.*, 82 *seq.*

[3] See Schweizer, III., xx *seq.*, xxviii., 30, 130.

[4] *Ibid.*, III., xxxi. 48. The brief in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 213.

[5] Schweizer, III., 4 *seq.*, 41.

court, in accordance with the instructions of the Cardinal Secretary of State, he devoted his attention in the first place to the interests of the Catholics at Aix and Strasbourg. He also worked against the granting of the investiture of Halberstadt to the Protestant Duke Julius of Brunswick. He was instructed from Rome, without waiting to consider anything further, to press the claims of the Catholic canons of Halberstadt upon the Emperor, so that a Catholic bishop might be appointed.[1]

Much anxiety was caused to Visconti by the sad state of Bohemia, where the death of Archbishop Medek, which occurred on February 2nd, 1590, raised the difficult question of the succession to the see of Prague. Upon this depended the possibility of being able to carry out a canonical visitation, as well as the success in the struggle with the Hussites which Visconti hoped for.[2]

He zealously supported the reforming activities of Klesl in Lower Austria. At the end of 1589 Klesl was also charged with the visitation of the monastery of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, which was directly subject to the Holy See.[3] The visitation and reform of the neglected Benedictine monasteries of Melk and Göttweih was entrusted to Visconti.[4]

The rise of a new sect in Silesia, and the demands of the innovators in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola caused the nuncio no less anxiety. The dangers to the Catholic faith there were increased by the death of the Archduke Charles, which took place on July 10th, 1590. The Pope recommended the care of these territories to the zeal of the neighbouring Catholics, and had under consideration the restoration of the nunciature at Graz.[5] In all such matters Visconti was entirely dependent upon the good-will of the Emperor, and he was therefore all the more distressed at the slowness with

[1] *Ibid.*, xxix., 23, 72 *seq.*, 79, 93 n., 104, 121 n., 135, 147, 169 171.

[2] *Ibid.*, 56, 140 *seq.*, 152, 186, 191.

[3] The brief, December 13, 1589, *ibid.*, 53.

[4] *Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, where is printed the brief of February 10, 1590.

[5] *Ibid.*, 48, 90, 132, 193, 198 *seq.*

which business was always conducted at the court of Prague.[1] But the caution with which he himself acted even in pressing matters was also characteristic ; before taking a single step he awaited instructions from Rome : this was the case even in the question of the succession to the duchy of Jülich-Cleves, where the Protestants were trying to gain a footing at all costs.[2]

It had already been realized in the time of Gregory XIII. that one of the principal obstacles to the progress of reform and Catholic restoration in Germany[3] was the want of a close understanding with the Holy See, and the inadequate information possessed by the latter of conditions in Germany. Being thoroughly convinced that for this purpose the activities of the nuncios were not sufficient, that great ecclesiastical organizer, Sixtus V., by a bull of December 20th, 1585, laid it as a strict duty on all the bishops that they should within a determinate period of time, either in person or by means of a suitable representative, visit the *Limina Apostolorum*, as the official expression runs, in order to give an account to the supreme head of the Church of their manifold pastoral duties, of all that concerned the state of the churches entrusted to them, of the discipline of clergy and people, and lastly of the salvation of the souls committed to their care, and in return to receive the apostolic instructions. The bishops of Germany were to perform this duty every four years.[4]

The Pope entrusted it to the Congregation of the Council, which he had reorganized on February 19th, 1587, to see to the examination and arrangement of the reports from the various dioceses, and to the Cardinal Prefect of that Congregation to interview the bishops or their representatives, and give them their instructions. Even before this arrangement was made there arrived in Rome, as the first of the bishops

[1] *Ibid.*, xxxi., 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxix., 147 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the views of 1573 in SCHWARZ, 1 *seq.*, 20, 23, 39, 42 *seq.*, 48, 57.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 133 *seqq.*

of the Romano-German Empire, the energetic pastor of Trieste, Nicholas von Coret, who was filled with zeal for reform (1586).[1] His splendid example was followed in the middle of the summer of 1587 by the Bishop of Gurk, Christoph Andreas Spaur.[2] In the following year, besides the Bishop of Chur, there came those of Salzburg and Brixen. The Bishop of Brixen, Johann Thomas Spaur, who had laboured for years at the reform of his diocese, sent his vicar-general,[3] while the metropolitan of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, who had been elected on May 22nd, 1587, when not yet twenty-eight years of age, came in person. Though he had not been invited to make a report, the new archbishop wished to pay homage to the Pope and receive his blessing. Thus his coming was bound to make a very good impression at the Curia. In order to avoid the customary pomp, he arrived in the Eternal City quite unexpectedly on the evening of May 20th, and lodged with his uncle, Cardinal Altemps.[4] While the archbishop's suite were discussing the question whether, as Primate of Germany, he ought to stand or sit during his audience with the Pope, Wolf Dietrich put an end to the discussion by declaring that in his opinion he could get nothing but honour and glory by showing the greatest possible veneration to the representative of Jesus Christ and the successor of St. Peter, and that it would be only in compliance with the repeated command of the Pope that he would rise from his knees. And so did he act when, on May 21st, he was received by the Pope for the first time. Contrary to the ideas of his suite, Wolf Dietrich was quite content that no place of honour above the other patriarchs and prelates should be assigned to him at the pontifical functions. The impression formed in the Curia of the attitude and ideas of the Primate of the Church of Germany was so

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, 96 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 66, 101 *seq.*

[4] For what follows *cf.* the important information given by MARTIN in *Mitteil. f. Salzburger Landeskunde*, LI. (1911), 254 *seq.*, 329.

favourable that they saw in this youthful and ardent prince of the Church a veritable warrior of God.[1] The joy of Sixtus V. was increased when he learned of Wolf Dietrich's intention of energetically resisting the religious innovations which had made their way from the neighbouring territories into his diocese, and especially into the wealthy city. For this purpose the archbishop, on his return on July 9th issued a severe "patent of reform" by which all in his episcopal city who would not become Catholics must leave the city and the principality within a few weeks.

Although Wolf Dietrich promoted in like manner the Catholic restoration in the Hapsburg territories which came within his spiritual jurisdiction, he did not dare to adopt so decisive a course of action in his own principality, since this would have endangered his revenues, and also those drawn from the neighbouring mines. In this case it was clear that the civil prince was predominant over the spiritual pastor.[2]

Sixtus V. very quickly, through his Secretary of State and his nuncios, informed the German bishops of the duties laid upon them by the bull of December 20th, 1585.[3] It was owing to the pressure that he thus brought to bear that during 1589, which marked the end of the first period, no less than ten bishops made their reports to Rome. On account of the critical state of Germany and the no small dangers of the journey, all of them, with the exception of the Bishop of Laibach, Johann Tautscher,[4] sent their representatives. The bishops in question were Andreas Jerin of Breslau, Martin Medek of Prague, Stanislaus Pawlowski of Olmütz, Ernest Mengersdorf of Bamberg, Marqward von Berg of Augsburg,

[1] Utinam Germania multos huius mentis ac ingenii praelatos et pastores haberet, quibus adiutoribus et facile et brevi ad suam germanam fidem redire posset," says the note in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

[2] See ERBEN in *Mitteil. f. Salzburger Landeskunde,* XLII., 56 *seq.*, and WIDMANN, Gesch. Salzburgs, III., 157. *Cf.* also F. MARTIN, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Erzbischof von Salzburg, Vienna, 1926.

[3] *Cf.* EHSES, II., 47.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, 36.

Martin von Schaumberg of Eichstätt, Christoph Blarer von Wartensee of Basle, Count Johann von Manderscheid of Strasbourg, and Wolfgang von Dalberg of Mayence.[1] After a short delay the following also made their reports during 1590: Julius Echter of Würzburg, Lodovico Madruzzo of Trent, Grimani, the Patriarch of Aquileia, Georg von Schönenberg of Worms, Johann von Schönenberg of Trêves, the Bishop of Trieste, and lastly the Prince Elector of Cologne, Ernest of Bavaria.[2] Sixtus, who had repeatedly warned the last named, did not live to see the coming of the representative of Cologne.[3] In the case of the bishops of Hungary the Pope was unable to induce them either to make their visit "ad limina" in person, or to send a representative, and had to be satisfied with the information given him by their procurator in Rome, Diotalevi.[4]

By means of the reports of the bishops the Pope obtained detailed information from which to form an estimate of the spirit and breadth of view with which they fulfilled the duties of their office. He also learned in greater detail the state of affairs and progress in the various dioceses. The reports described the episcopal city and its churches, the collegiate institutions, the monasteries and other establishments, the deaneries and parishes of the diocese, the moral and religious state of the clergy and laity, the bishop's own activities, his reforms, visitations and synods, the pastoral care exercised, public worship, seminaries, schools, and even the economic conditions.[5] On the basis of this information the Curia was

[1] *Ibid.*, 150, 176 *seq.*, 224, 267, 331, 404 *seq.*, 422, 469 *seq.*, 534; SCHWEIZER, II., 394.

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, 23, 59 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*, 498.

[3] See EHSES, II., 71, 124 *seq.*, 285 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*, 439, 442, 488; SCHMIDLIN, 499 *seq.*

[4] See SCHWEIZER, III., xxii., 60 *seq.*, 70, 105 *seq.*

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, xxxiv. *seq.* The method adopted by the author in agreement with myself, of using the reports of the bishops, which not only illustrate ecclesiastical history, but also that of culture and law, is a middle course between editing and dissertation. This method was not only made a condition of our

in a position to apply the necessary remedies. The Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, Cardinal Carafa, sent everywhere salutary advice concerning the reform of morals, and especially the carrying out of the decrees of Trent, the establishment of seminaries, the holding of synods and the stamping out of religious innovations.[1] It is clear how much the churches of Germany benefited by this exchange of reports with the centre of unity, because almost everywhere it was necessary to take strong measures against the moral and religious decadence, and the falling away from the faith. Whenever the energetic action of the bishops gave occasion

using these reports, but was also rendered necessary by the lack of the means for publishing the literal text, as had been done by F. Dengel in the case of certain Austrian dioceses in 1907. Schmidlin has sufficiently defended himself against unfounded attacks, especially those made by LOSERTH, in *Hist. pol. Bl.*, CXLIV., 375-393; *cf.* also his work: Die kirchl. Reform in Oesterreich zur Zeit der sog. Gegenreformation im Lichte der bischofl. Romberichte, Salzburg, 1910. The temptation to exaggerate in both directions was natural in the case of the bishops who furnished the reports; thus careful criticism had to be employed, but there was no need to make so little of the reports as Loserth has done. The means for forming a fair judgment is provided by a critical comparative examination of the other sources. Among such are not only the reports of the nunciature, which Dengel supplied in 1907 in *Forsch. u. Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols*, IV., 313, but also the special material provided by the documents to be found in the archives of the various dioceses, which to a great extent have not yet been used. It will only be when a special search has revealed all these that we shall be able to have a complete picture of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany at that time. *Cf.* also the valuable remarks of W. E. SCHWARZ in *Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Berliner, "Germania,"* 1907, n. 1, and 1910, n. 14, who warmly eulogizes as do many other critics, the permanent services of Schmidlin "in having opened up this new source for the history of the Church in Germany, and for having made it accessible and placed it at the disposal of the scientific world."

[1] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 37, 97, 226, 268, 333.

for praise, the Pope did so whole-heartedly. He and the Congregation of the Council were especially rejoiced at the report of the Bishop of Würzburg, telling of the return of 100,000 souls to the Church.

In the reply of the Congregation, dated May 23rd, 1590, the highest praise was bestowed on the piety of the Bishop of Würzburg, his zeal in stamping out the innovations in religion, his care for the spread of Catholic doctrine, and his loyal devotion to the Holy See, and Julius Echter was held up as an example to be imitated by the other German bishops.[1]

What keen attention was directed in Rome in the time of Sixtus V. to the state of affairs in Germany was also shown by the memorials sent in 1588 by Minuccio Minucci. This Roman diplomatist, who was undoubtedly the best informed as to German affairs in the Curia at that time,[2] gives on the one hand a very detailed summary of the religious conditions in all the German dioceses,[3] and on the other goes into the general state of the Catholic Church in the Empire, and the best means of restoring it to its former splendour.[4] In contrast to the pessimism of some of the Italians, Minucci shows a comforting optimism. On account of the still large number of the German Catholics, and the fervour of their faith so sorely tried by temptations and persecution, he inclined to the opinion of those who, in the midst of the present

[1] See *ibid.*, 324. For the restoring activitives which Echter von Mespelbrunn displayed, especially in the years 1585, 1586 and 1587, energetically assisted by the Jesuits, and not hesitating to employ severe measures, see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 235 *seq.* and DUHR, I., 486 *seq.*

[2] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 737.

[3] *" Matricula in qua discripti sunt archiepiscopatus et episcopatus Germaniae," Urb. 839, pp. 177-294, Vatican Library, which is also described in copies as " Commentarius ecclesiarum Germaniae " composed in 1588 (not 1586 as Hansen supposes [734]) ; see SCHMIDLIN, xli., for more details as to the manuscripts.

[4] " Stato della religione in Alemagna, pericoli che soprastanno et rimedii " edited by HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 744-785.

evils and in spite of everything, clung to the hope that "from this holy seed there would yet spring such flowers and such fruit that in the end no other Christian country would yield a more abundant harvest."

Minucci did not conceal from himself the enormous difficulties that stood in the way of reform and Catholic restoration in Germany. The physician who hopes to render efficacious assistance, he insisted in his introductory sketch, must first of all understand the organism, in the present case so complex, if he wishes to administer medicines which at least will not kill the patient, and will prevent his becoming any worse, and by means of wise diet to keep him alive until such time as the recuperated natural forces, assisted by divine grace and healthy conditions, will gradually bring about a cure. Minucci saw the principal means for the improvement of religious conditions in Germany, not in the use of force, but in the radical renewal of the old religion, and the prudent use of the privileges which belong to the Holy See, though not so as to withhold blame for the errors that had been committed. He frankly said, with regard to many of the civil and ecclesiastical princes, that after the rise of Protestantism they had turned their backs upon the Church, and that the blame for their doing so was not to be attributed only to material considerations, but rather to their neglect of their religion. Instead of trying to strike terror into those who were hesitating, excommunication and deprivation had only been employed after their apostasy had taken place. The greatest vigilance must be used, as well as all possible charity, in keeping the ecclesiastical princes and the few remaining secular Catholic princes true to the old faith. It was characteristic of Minucci's optimism that he looked upon the winning back of some of the Protestant princes, such as the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuberg, the Landgrave William of Hesse, and Henry Rantzau of Holstein, as possible. But with clear realization of the uncertainty of such hopes, Minucci only makes mention of it in passing. He devotes his chief attention only to the successes which had already been won among the Protestants of Germany, and then

proceeds to inquire into the means of preventing further apostasy, and how it could be combatted.

Minucci distinguishes two ways in which the Protestants in Germany had persecuted the Catholics. This had been done in a peaceful manner by the absorption of bishoprics, benefices and churches, by strengthening their party among the authorities of the Empire, especially in the tribunal of the chancery, and by aiming, with the certainty of success, at the so-called exemption, which made it possible for Lutherans, Calvinists, and the adherents of the other sects, to hold the offices of the Catholic Church. But from the first Protestantism had obtained much success by means of open violence ; in many cities a Protestant minority had succeeded in completely dominating the Catholic majority, as had recently been shown by the occurrences at Aix, Colmar and Glogau. One would never come to an end, says Minucci, if one were to enumerate the churches, monasteries and abbeys which had been violently taken from the Catholics. or to tell of the monks and nuns who have been driven from their property and forced to wander about without a shelter. Against all this the Catholics had for most part contented themselves with acting on the defensive, and often it had seemed as though the Catholic princes had made up their minds to put up with anything. The attempt had been made completely to suppress the Catholic faith in the cities of the Empire no less than in the territories of the Protestant princes, where the Catholics were unable either to perform their religious duties or to educate their children in a Catholic way : relying on the principle *Cuius regio eius religio* (the religion of the country is that of the prince) the Protestant authorities had freely disposed of the consciences of their subjects in such a way that in the Palatinate there were some who had experienced a forcible change of religion five times over.

Referring to the losses of the Church in Germany Minucci points out that of the bishoprics of the Empire twelve had already been made into hereditary principalities, seven were in the hands of avowed Protestants, and the others held by men who were Catholics only in name. The end of this

process could not yet be seen, because, in addition to the cowardice of many of the Catholic princes, there was danger from other causes as well, especially the corruption of the cathedral chapters, the members of which were either Protestant in their leanings or morally corrupt, so that bishops were chosen who were of like sentiments. It was no wonder that, in contrast to earlier times, no attention was paid to the capability, virtue or moral purity of the candidate, but rather to his political and administrative ability, so that men were often merely guided by the hope that he would leave each one free to live as he liked. The candidates for the episcopal sees had no thoughts of the necessity for celibacy, or of the other virtues of the ecclesiastical state, they had no idea of ruling over their dioceses as true pastors, but only of enjoying their revenues and their rights as princes. To this must be added the fact that in very few of the princely houses which had remained Catholic was there anyone who was fitted to obtain possession of a cathedral church. Thus Cardinal Andrew of Austria, the son of Filippina Welser, did not live up to the expectations that had been formed of him, while Cardinal Albert was more occupied with Spanish affairs than those of Germany. Thus there only remained the princes of Bavaria. Another unfortunate circumstance was to be found in the difficulties that were being raised in Rome to the uniting of several bishoprics in the hands of a single person, while another was the buying of votes from the canons openly practised by the Protestants.

Of great interest is Minucci's account of the obstacles to reform and Catholic restoration even in the dioceses of the south, whose bishops had remained Catholics. "In some," he says, "the difficulties arise from the neighbouring princes, in others from the disposition of the subjects, in others from the tepidity of the bishops themselves, and lastly, in others from the chapters, which, after having limited the episcopal authority by unlawful election capitulations, will not hear of reform, and with their head, cannot agree upon any good work. Examples of the first category are Spires, Worms and Basle, where, in spite of the excellence of the bishops

and the chapters, the power and audacity of the Count Palatine on the one hand and of the Swiss heretics on the other is so great that they have to be on their guard against any change, so as not to give an excuse for the seizure of the little that still remains to them of territory or ecclesiastical power in those dioceses. The disposition of the subjects prevents progress especially in the dioceses of Franconia, where the bishops, since the aristocracy is for the most part entirely heretical, very often do not dare to come forward with proposals that would be very useful for the service of God; although the Bishop of Würzburg has at last succeeded in making a visitation, to the great benefit of his diocese, it cannot be said that he has converted a single noble. The cowardice and weakness of the bishops," Minucci goes on to say, " may be seen in the cases of Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, and many others, though, as for the first named, on account of the continuous wars, it is not yet possible to say what he might do in time of peace. The disagreement between the bishops and the chapters, and the limitation of the episcopal power by unlawful conventions, may be seen in almost all the dioceses of Germany, and probably more than anywhere else at Salzburg, Ratisbon and Passau. In some places the matter has gone so far that the chapters have become the bishops, and the bishops canons. It may also be remarked that many, and perhaps the majority of the dioceses of Germany, are suffering from all these difficulties together, namely, that the neighbouring heretical princes keep them in a state of fear, the subjects belonging to the aristocracy are opposed to any salutary enactments on behalf of divine worship or the Catholic religion, the bishops devote themselves but little to their duties, and the little zeal they show is almost nullified by the recalcitrancy of the canons, and by the limitation of the episcopal power by the disastrous electoral capitulations."

It cannot be said that the dark picture thus drawn by the Roman diplomatist was exaggerated. He did not, however, doubt the possibility of being able to avoid further losses, and to recover the bishoprics that had been lost, and thus

once more bring back the ancient church of Germany to its former splendour. Every kind of remedy, both internal and external, is then suggested. Much would already be gained, Minucci thought, if the abuse by which the Emperor conferred the regalia before the Holy See had given its approbation were removed. The Emperor also had many other ways of bringing his influence to bear for the appointment of good bishops. Minucci expressly insists that the Holy See must devote the greatest possible care, especially by means of the nuncios, to the matter of filling the episcopal sees, and must always have at hand a list of suitable candidates, in which the alumni of the German College must be given a special preference. As the greater number of the bishops were drawn from the cathedral chapters, a remedy could only be supplied by the reform of those bodies; but this was a task that would naturally take many years. Minucci did not lose sight of the disadvantage which flowed from the fact that the chapters had come into the hands of the greater and lesser nobility. He discusses the possible ways of remedying this, but prudently pronounces against the complete exclusion of the aristocracy, since, humanly speaking, so radical a change would spell the ruin of the Catholic religion in Germany.

Minucci places his chief hopes in a radical reform of the aristocratic cathedral chapters, in which the Holy See must co-operate by insisting on the making of the Tridentine profession of faith, and by great care in conferring benefices and indults. Here too Minucci speaks quite frankly of the mistakes that had hitherto been made, owing to the want of knowledge of persons and circumstances, and for the avoiding of these in future he makes suggestions that are as exhaustive as they are prudent and well-weighed. Thus he is of opinion that a special Datary should be appointed in Rome for Germany, who should keep a list of suitable noble Catholics, which could easily be kept up to date with the help of the nuncios and the Jesuits, and in accordance with which appointments should promptly be made. This Datary should treat the German nation benevolently, assist it, and above all not burden it with taxes. As one who well understood the

state of affairs in Germany, Minucci discouraged the Pope from refusing to tolerate in the German chapters a plurality of benefices which was not allowed in Italy or Spain. Such a measure in Germany, where the conditions were quite different from those in the countries named, could only bring about serious disasters ; on the other hand the Holy See had other means for effecting the moral reform of the German bishops and canons. Above all attention must be paid to the training of suitable young priests, and first by the revival of the Catholic universities ; most of these, such as Cologne, Freiburg, Vienna, Trêves, Mayence and Erfurt, were quite poverty stricken ; only Ingolstadt, by the generosity of the princes of Bavaria, had sufficient revenues. A similar endowment should also be given to the other higher schools, especially to the university recently established at Würzburg by the energetic Julius Echter, and that at Erfurt, which was so important for the north of Germany. Minucci also suggests the enforcement of the Tridentine decree concerning the doctorate of the bishops, which would give the nobles an incentive for studying at the Catholic universities.

With a just appreciation of the revival of Christian instruction, Minucci speaks in detail of the seminaries and colleges established in Rome and in various parts of Germany under Gregory XIII. He especially recommends their encouragement to Sixtus V., who was inclined to be parsimonious in this respect.[1] The German College in Rome must above all be used for the education of the nobility, and the establishments in German for the ordinary pastoral clergy, in whose case it was less important to produce men of great learning than good and capable parish priests. In order to provide for the poor country parishes which had been deprived of their revenues, popular schools should also be maintained. With regard to the Jesuit colleges, which did so much good work, Minucci advises that they should be encouraged in all those territories which, like Bavaria and Trêves, had been

[1] For Sixtus V. and the seminaries *cf.* EHSES, II., 245 n., 344 n. 1. For the benevolent sentiments of Sixtus V. for the German College see STEINHUBER, I., 183 *seq.*

kept free from the religious innovations, so that the places which were threatened by Protestantism could thence be provided with capable priests.

Minucci's breadth of outlook is also shown by his advice to make provision for the training of good Catholic higher officials, since it was obvious what a decisive influence these must have in affairs of state. He especially urges the carrying on of the measures which had been taken by Gregory XIII. in this respect. In his next section Minucci turns his attention to the importance of the tribunal of the Imperial chancery. If Protestantism obtained any stronger hold there, the Catholics would never obtain their rights. So as to preserve the Catholic element in that tribunal Minucci makes detailed suggestions; the justiciaries of the Catholic states must be induced to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and all those newly appointed must be made to take an oath that they will not change their religion, and should they do so, resign their office. Minucci also naturally deals with the dangerous movement in favour of independence, which was principally directed against the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, With regard to this he calls attention to the important treatise by the secretary of the Imperial council, Andreas Erstenberger, published in 1586,[1] which should be translated into Latin.

Like others who had given their views on the question, Minucci places no little hope in making use of the divisions in the Protestant camp, though he is of opinion that, even more than from this discord, great advantages could be derived from a firm alliance among the Catholics. The nuncios should strive to bring this about in every possible way. Of special importance would be the maintenance of good relations between Austria and Bavaria.

At the end of his memorial Minucci once more comes back to the importance for the Catholic restoration of the attitude of the Emperor. The supreme head of the Empire, he thinks, should be spurred on to urge the other Catholic princes, by his authority, and his own example in his hereditary states,

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 15-16, 461 *seq.*

not to tolerate in their territories subjects of different faiths, as was the case in those of the Protestants. The bishops above all should aim at this, making use of the authority belonging to them by the peace of Augsburg, as had been shown by the example of the Bishop of Würzburg. They should also prevent the injuries that were being done to the Catholics in the cities of the Empire, and watch over the safety of the clergy and religious, for then the power of the truth, at present violently oppressed by earthly considerations, would be able to proceed victoriously on its way. The threatened danger of united and violent action on the part of the Protestants, who as far as material power was concerned, were far superior to the Catholics, must be met by strengthening the league of Landsberg by including in it the Archduke Ferdinand, the Electors of the Rhineland, and the Duke of Cleves, and by obtaining the adherence of the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, and of the Catholics of Switzerland.

In this way was the path to be followed in the Catholic restoration of Germany clearly and practically laid down; the religious future of Germany depended upon the way it was followed.

Sixtus V. devoted a no less zealous care to the religious affairs of Switzerland than to those of Germany. As early as May 29th, 1585, he addressed a warning to Peter Rascher, the Bishop of Chur, to act in a worthy manner.[1] What above all called for action was the serious harm done by the almost continual absence of the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Altemps, to whose diocese the greater part of Switzerland belonged.[2] For this purpose the Pope immediately took steps to fill once more the Swiss nunciature, which had been vacant since 1581, though, in consequence of what had occurred in the time of Gregory XIII.,[3] he wished the Catholics of Switzerland

[1] See *Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.* XXI. 426. *Cf.* MAYER Gesch. des Bistums Chur, II., 183. In 1589 Montalto again called the attention of Frangipani to the diocese of Chur; see EHSES, II., 376.

[2] See TEMPESTI, I., 444. *Cf.* SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 285.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 183.

to petition for this. This was done by the majority of the five Cantons at a Diet of February 26th, 1586. Sixtus V. was all the more ready to restore the Swiss nunciature as the disturbances close by in France pointed to the necessity for the presence of a representative of the Holy See in Switzerland. But, as he stated in consistory, in answer to the rumours of his warlike intentions, what he principally had in view was the preservation and consolidation of the Catholic faith in Switzerland. The religious restoration which had been suspended owing to the vacancy in the nunciature must be carried on,[1] and as the Pope was not fond of half measures, he decided, in accordance with the wish already expressed by St. Charles Borromeo, to establish a permanent diplomatic representative of the Holy See in Switzerland.

On August 17th, 1586, Sixtus V. accredited his maestro di casa, Gian Battista Santoni, as ordinary nuncio for the seven Catholic Cantons. Santoni, who was furnished with full episcopal jurisdiction for the Cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, which belonged to the diocese of Constance, was to devote himself principally to the work of reform, as Bonhomini was doing at Cologne. He was to bring back the secular and regular clergy to purity of morals and discipline, to revive everywhere Catholic life among the people, to restore to the ecclesiastical authorities their rights and their churches, and take them out of the hands of the cantonal governments. In this last matter he was urged to exercise the greatest prudence, which was all the more necessary as this south Italian, for all his good qualities, had the violent and impetuous temperament of his fellow-countrymen.[2]

Santoni left Rome on August 24th, 1586, visited the Swiss College established at Milan by St. Charles Borromeo, and thence went by the St. Gothard, on the summit of which he visited the hospice inhabited by two Capuchins, to Lucerne, which he reached at the end of September, just in time to witness an important event. This was the formation of the

[1] See TEMPESTI, I., 442. EHSES-MEISTER, I., 227, n. 2.

[2] EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxv. *seq.*, 227.

"Christian alliance" which later on was known from the gilt initials as the "Golden League."[1]

On October 5th he gave Communion in the parish church of Lucerne to the representatives of all the seven Cantons: Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg and Soleure, after which they all swore to the new alliance.[2] The seven Cantons bound themselves together as true and loyal allies, as fellow citizens and fellow countrymen, as being bound together in the ancient Roman and Catholic religion, and pledged themselves and their descendants to persevere, fully, constantly and firmly in the true, undoubted, ancient, Catholic, Roman and Apostolic faith, and to live and die therein. On account of the alliances formed by their ever growing adversaries, it was also further agreed that if one of the seven Cantons, which God forbid, should apostatize from the Catholic faith, the others were to oppose this with all their power, and to punish the authors of such apostasy. If one of the allies was attacked or injured by an enemy as not being of his religion, or on any other pretext, in such a case the others were to assist him with all their power and without delay, until the danger was removed. No other alliance, new or old, was to stand in the way of this mutual agreement.[3]

It was only fitting that the Pope should participate in this union of all the Catholic Cantons for the preservation of the ancient faith by a special letter, and that Sixtus V. should have expressed in a brief his joy at this event, at which his

[1] See *ibid.*, lxvii. The old idea, still maintained by RANKE (Päpste, II.[8], 103), that the conclusion of the Golden League was merely connected with the creation of the nunciature of Lucerne, is entirely exploded; see SEGESSER, Pyffer, III., 1, 148. The name of League of Borromeo probably only came into existence about 1655, after the seven cantons had chosen Charles Borromeo as their patron, after he had been canonized. See DÄNDLIKER, II., 661.

[2] See *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 955 *seq.* SEGESSER, Rechtsgesch. von Luzern, IV., 525.

[3] See *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1590 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 144 *seq.*

nuncio had been present.[1] The view that the seven Cantons by their alliance recognized the Pope as their supreme lord is as mistaken as the other, that Sixtus V. or Santoni had contributed to the formation of the alliance. It is more true to say that it sprang simply and solely from the position in which five of the Cantons at that time found themselves, so that for them it was a matter of their own self-preservation against the struggle that was to be expected from the attempts of Geneva, after the defensive treaty between France and Berne, to induce Soleure and Freiburg to make common political cause with her, to set them free from their pledges to Berne, and to assure them of help in any event.[2]

The completion of this internal defensive alliance of the Catholic Cantons led to the defensive alliance concluded with Spain on May 2nd, 1587, for mutual help in the case of their being attacked from religious or other motives. In this way there was set up a counterpoise to the hitherto almost exclusively French influence in Switzerland.[3]

Both these alliances were the work of the syndic and knight Ludwig Pfyffer of Lucerne, a man of strong Catholic sentiments, and who by his natural superiority and force of character had attained to a quite extraordinary position of influence, in which, however, he carefully avoided any violation of republican forms. The great Swiss statesman

[1] *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, V., 1, 3; *Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 67 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, *Pfyffer*, III., 1, 138 *seq.*; *cf.* MAYER V. KNONAU in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XLIII., 196 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, II., 271 *seq.*; *Anz. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, 1909, n. 1, p. 440.

[3] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 151, and HÜRBIN, II., 272 *seq.* *Cf. Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, I., 669 *seq.* If DIERAUER (III., 376) complains that by the formation of the Golden League and the Spanish Treaty two different confederations came into existence, one Catholic and the other reformed, with conflicting interests and opposite policies, it must be remarked that this was the result of the appearance of reformers in religion, and not the fault of men who wished to remain in the faith of their fathers. *Cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVIII., 624.

also deserves a place of honour in the history of the Popes on account of his constant zeal for the interests of religion, the reform of the clergy, the promotion of divine worship, and the establishment of a Jesuit college and a high-school for the clergy and laity of Lucerne.[1]

Ludwig Pfyffer had already by the end of 1586 conferred with the Papal nuncio concerning the religious needs of the Cantons on the lake which sprang from the fact that the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Altemps, lived far away from his diocese. Santoni agreed with the Lucerne statesman that a remedy must be found. He was of opinion that this could be done best of all by arranging that Cardinal Altemps should appoint a vicar with the necessary jurisdiction in each of the Catholic Cantons, so that he might be able to intervene efficaciously in all abuses in ecclesiastical matters. As for Constance itself Santoni saw its salvation in the establishment of a seminary and a convent of Capuchins, who would give a powerful example of sacerdotal poverty.[2] Cardinal Altemps, jealous of his rights, did all he could to prevent the suggested enactments in religious questions, and Sixtus V. thought it his duty to defer to the Cardinal, whose bad health made it very likely that within a short time there would be a new occupant of the see of Constance. He therefore adhered to the instructions which he had given to Santoni in the first instance, that he should combat abuses by his own reforming activity. To this task the nuncio devoted himself with both zeal and success.[3]

However, from that time onwards, negotiations were carried on which in 1589 led to the appointment of Cardinal Andrew of Austria as Bishop of Constance in the place of Altemps, whereupon the work could be really begun.[4] Santoni had

[1] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 96 *seq.*; IV., 291 *seq.*, 297 *seq.* *Cf. Geschichtsfreund*, VII., 213 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 211, 215 *seq.*, 231 n. 1, 622.

[2] See the reports of Santoni of December 20, 1586, and January 16, 1587, in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 235 *seq.*

[3] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxviii. *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 238.

[4] HIRN, II., 395 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 361 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 91 *seq.*

prepared the way for this by his zeal. He visited the parishes, reformed convents, and issued a number of salutary enactments for the improvement of the secular clergy. The voluntary self-denial of the nuncio in his pastoral labours on behalf of all classes of the people, his insistent recommendation of celibacy to the clergy, and of the enclosure to the convents, as well as his efficacious arrangements for the training of a good clergy, are rightly highly praised.[1] Besides the Jesuits, he especially favoured the Capuchins. Their introduction was very fruitful in results, especially in the district of Appenzell (1587), where Father Ludwig, a convert from the ancient Saxon family of the Lords of Einsiedel, who had received a thorough theological training with the Jesuits at Lucerne,[2] met with extraordinary successes by his burning eloquence.

Whereas at the Easter of 1587 only some forty or fifty men had confessed and communicated, at Christmas there were already more than 300, including some who had apostatized and returned to the Catholic faith.[3] Father Ludwig preached by preference on the Passion of Jesus, in expiation of the fact

[1] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxix., MAYER, I., 297 *seq.*; II., 99, 236.

[2] See Chronica prov. Helv. ord. Capuc., 20 *seq.*, 50 *seq.* *Cf.* RITTER, Die Teilung des Landes Appenzell, Trogen, 1897. App. II. *seq.*; SCHWEILER in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 241 *seq.*

[3] See MAYER, II., 223. The attention of Santoni was also attracted by the sedition in the city of Mülhausen, known under the name of "Finningerhandel." The fact that the opposition there sought for support in Catholic districts gave hopes of its being possible to bring back that city to the Church. In this case Sixtus V. promised the Catholic cantons the most vigorous assistance, and placed 100,000 scudi at their disposal. But all these projects came to nothing, on account of the capture of the city of Mülhausen during the night between June 24 and 25, 1587, by the Protestant cantons. *Cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 602 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 193 *seq.*; EHSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., lxix., 253 *seq.*; 257, 263; DIERAUER, III., 278 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, II., 268, 274.

that he had once, when a conceited student, mocked at the procession on Good Friday.[1]

The cause of Catholic reform was also indirectly served by the efforts of Santoni to bring about an agreement between the Bishop of Basle, Jakob Christoph Blarer von Wartensee, and the city and Canton of Basle. By the smoothing over of these difficulties Blarer obtained a free hand to take efficacious action in his diocese.[2]

In his labours for reform Santoni met with generous help from the governments of the Cantons, which fully approved of his severe enactments for the restoration of the discipline of the clergy ;[3] on the other hand he met with bitter resistance, especially in Lucerne, in his attempt to take out of the hands of the civil authorities the appointment and confirmation of the beneficed and parochial clergy, and the administration of justice against and the taxation of the clergy. The hot-headed son of south Italy, who was filled with holy zeal, and wanted at once to enforce the canonical ordinances against the abuses that were customary (and easily explained by the long absence of the bishop), was not the man to settle such delicate questions. Fleckenstein, the syndic of Lucerne, resisted him with a violence equal to his own. The devil, so said Fleckenstein, may carry off the nuncio to the place he came from. The Council of Lucerne insisted, with the greatest obstinacy, on burdening the collegiate church with taxes which took away the greater part of its revenues. The nuncio then summoned the Council to the church of the Jesuits, and threatened them with excommunication before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. It is hardly to be wondered at that this proceeding excited indignation. The Council immediately appealed directly to the Pope. The latter, who realized very well that it was not possible to employ force with the Swiss,

[1] See the letter of L. v. Gennep in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 222.

[2] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxviii., 225 *seq.*, 229, 239 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 249 *seq.* ; MAYER, I., 97 *seq.*, 294 *seq.* ; K. GAUSS in *Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch.*, XXI. (1923). For Blarer *cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 137 *seqq.*

[3] See SEGESSER, Rechtsgesch. von Luzern, IV., 467 *seq.*

saw that the position of his nuncio was untenable. On August 15th, 1587, he ordered the recall of Santoni, which, out of consideration for him, was attributed to his age and inability to bear the climate of Switzerland.[1]

On September 19th, 1587, Sixtus V. appointed Ottavio Paravicini, Archbishop of Alessandria, and a pupil of the learned Baronius,[2] to succeed Santoni.[3] It would be difficult to imagine an appointment so well inspired as this. In spite of the ill-humour which the nuncio met with even in a man who was so loyal a Catholic as Ludwig Pfyffer, his diplomatic ability was nevertheless successful, in an incredibly short time, in entirely restoring the broken relations. Both parties clearly saw that their common aim, the maintenance of the Catholic faith, could only be attained by the closest possible agreement. By meeting quite frankly there soon grew up a complete trust between them, which had the best possible results. The influential Pfyffer became the closest friend of Paravicini, and shared with him all his plans. As a free Swiss Pfyffer spoke without reserve even of the conduct of the Pope, though always showing his unshaken respect for the Holy See and for the interests of the Catholic religion. By his vast correspondence Pfyffer was in close touch, not only with the whole of Switzerland, but also with France and Germany, and thus could give the nuncio every kind of information. Paravicini was also on close terms of friendship with Melchior Lussy of Stans, who after Pfyffer was the most important representative of Catholic Switzerland. After the Catholic assembly the nuncio invited the delegates to dinner, which

[1] *Cf.* TEMPESTI, I., 541 *seqq.*; RIEDWEG, Gesch. des Kollegiatstiftes Beromünster, Lucerne, 1881, 321 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 101 *seq.*; III., 1, 287; EHSES-MEISTER, I., lxxi., 266 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 304.

[2] *Cf.* MAYER, I., 309, n. 3.

[3] The brief of September 19, 1587, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 69. *Cf.* the letter of Montalto in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 270, and the *acta* in WIRZ, 427 *seq.*, 432.

was so successful that it was recommended to all his successors.[1]

As a skilled diplomatist Paravicini made it his principle to listen rather than speak. Although he was very cautious in putting forward his own views he nevertheless knew how to defend the policy of his sovereign with both prudence and skill. This was especially shown when, in 1588 and 1589, the Pope's prudent attitude of reserve towards events in France caused serious mistrust among the Swiss, who were entirely devoted to the league. It was on that occasion that Pfyffer had direct recourse to the Pope. He frankly set forth the dangerous consequences of the refusal to pay the money promised by Cardinal Caetani to the Swiss regiment that had been summoned to the assistance of the league.[2]

Paravicini had been furnished by Sixtus V. with full powers for the reform of the secular clergy and for the administration of his nunciature.[3] His attention was principally directed from the first to the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline in Switzerland, the state of which he came to understand from every point of view, even in material matters, and so intimately that in reading his reports[4] one is reminded of the celebrated reports of the Venetian ambassadors. Thus the work of reform which was accomplished by Paravicini was very far-reaching. He brought his influence to bear wherever he could, not only in Switzerland, but also at Constance.

[1] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 289 *seq.*, where use is made of the reports of the nunciature of Paravicini, in the Papal Secret Archives. The assertion which Segesser to some extent adopts from Ranke that the nunciature in Switzerland was observatory in character, does not, according to MEISTER (I., lxxix.) apply to the time of Paravicini. *Cf.* also the extracts from the reports of Paravicini given by MOSSMANN (Un échec de Henri IV. en Alsace, 43 *seq.*).

[2] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 293 *seq.*; IV., 86 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 324 *seq.*

[3] See WIRZ, 427 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the report on the financial resources of the various parts of the Confederation in SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 292, n. 3.

He made visitations of parishes and monasteries, insisting on the removal of concubinage and the observance of the enclosure. He also devoted himself to pastoral labours. He many times himself distributed Holy Communion, and at Baden, and later on at Lucerne, conferred the sacrament of Confirmation on many hundreds of people ;[1] he had greatly at heart the support of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Switzerland. The Jesuits, of whom the nuncio also made use for the reform of several convents of nuns, displayed an extremely successful pastoral activity at Lucerne, which was also extended to the country districts and the neighbouring cantons.[2] The development of their school was unfortunately hindered, as the council interfered with their freedom to take pupils, especially foreigners.[3] The laying of the first stone of the new Jesuit church in Lucerne, the expense of which was entirely born by Ludwig Pfyffer, was performed in person by Paravicini in 1588.[4] The sermons of the Jesuits and their catechism at Lucerne were attended by extraordinary crowds, and the fathers were not enough for the administration of the sacraments.[5] No less beneficial was the work of the Capuchins, as to which Paravicini sent frequent reports to Rome. On October 16th, 1588, their church at Wesemlin near Lucerne, which had become celebrated as a sanctuary, was consecrated by Paravicini, and in the following year the fathers obtained the adjoining convent.

During 1588 the Capuchins also obtained a footing at Soleure, and there, as at Appenzell and Baden, the nuncio furthered the building of their convents in every way. On

[1] See MAYER, I., 122 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 316 *seq.*, 318 *seq.* ; II., 27 *seq.*, 53, 56, 74, 162, 181, 237 *seq.*

[2] See DUHR, I., 216 *seq.*, 483. Paravicini advised the Bishop of Basle to make use of the Jesuits in Laufen ; see his letter in J. BURCKHARDT, Die Gegenreformation in den ehemaligen Vogteien Zwingen, Pfeffingen u. Birseck, Basle, 1855, 138 *seq.*

[3] See GRÜTER, Das Collegium zu Luzern unter dem ersten Rektor P.M. Leubenstein (1905), 56.

[4] See DUHR, I., 622.

[5] *Ibid.*, 217.

July 2nd, 1590, the consecration of the church of the Capuchins at Appenzell took place; in 1589 they erected the Confraternity of the Rosary in all their churches. In June of the same year there met at Lucerne the superiors and representatives of the seven convents then existing in Switzerland (Altdorf, Stans, Lucerne, Schwyz, Appenzell, Soleure and Baden) and they elected a provincial and three definitors, thus establishing the Swiss province of the Capuchins.[1]

Paravicini also saw many other results of his labours. When in the spring of 1589 there took place the "great prayer" for their own needs and for those of the Catholics of other nations, the people displayed the greatest devotion, and the nuncio reported to Rome that he had never yet seen anywhere such great fervour.[2] This is also confirmed by the statements of the Jesuits. Whereas in 1575 the number of those who approached the altar in the parish churches, outside the Easter season, was about 300, in 1588 it was more than 10,000, and in 1589 more than 12,000.[3] The communal secretary, Renward Cysat, reports as follows concerning the change in the whole of the public life at Lucerne, which was to a great extent due to the Jesuits: "There has been a considerable reform in the matter of worldly pleasures, and men have begun to give up drinking, dancing and gambling; people of loose life are no longer to be seen in the streets; purposeless and tiresome crowds, singing and uproar are forbidden, at night masquerades and fancy dress parades are done away with, and the bonfires at night are abolished. Public women are banished and many have taken the *Vota Castitatis;* the adultery which was so flagrant, and wrongful possession, which was so common that it was looked upon rather as a

[1] See Chronica prov. Helv. ord. Capuc. 26 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 321; II., 222 *seq.*, 225, 237 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 270 *seq.*

[2] See MAYER, I., 320. For the "great prayer" *cf.* LÜTOLF in *Schweizer Geschichtsfreund*, XXII. (1867), 99 *seq.* and RINGHOLZ in *Zeitschr. f. Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XI., 2.

[3] See FLEISCHLIN, Aus den Annalen des Gymnasiums in Luzern, in the *Luzerner Monatsrosen*, XXVI., 135.

habit than a sin, are now strictly forbidden. On Sundays and festival days there are three sermons all the year round, and very often on other days as well. How can I describe the wonderful fruits that this has produced, except by saying that there has been a marvellous change in the public lives of all classes? Evil living people have been changed into devout, like lions become lambs, who before would submit to no authority, civil or ecclesiastical. Thus it seems to everyone as though their eyes had been opened for the first time, and that they have awakened as though from a dream in comparison to their former manner of life, and as though they had found themselves in a new world."[1]

In questions of ecclesiastical politics, where Santoni had met with shipwreck, Paravicini displayed the greatest leniency as to forms, while skilfully avoiding any material concessions. He was scrupulously careful to avoid any sort of conflict with the civil power, and to settle the difficulties already existing, and he was successful in finding the true middle course, and in acting in harmony with the civil authorities. By thus forming such friendly relations with the government, he was able to exert great influence even in political matters.[2]

Paravicini's prudent behaviour was of extraordinary advantage to his work of reform, for the authorities, of their own accord, supported the ordinances of the Council of Trent, on the observance of which Paravicini everywhere insisted, with legal enactments in their own districts. Noteworthy too was the prudence he showed with regard to this matter, which he had so much at heart. When Lussy suggested bringing forward in the general assembly the publication and enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, he rejected the proposal on the ground that the opposition which was to be expected to such a procedure might cause unforseen difficulties.[3]

[1] See TROXTER, Luzerns Gymnasium und Luzern (1823), 38 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Rechtsgesch. von Luzern, IV., 572, n. 1.

[2] See *ibid.*, IV., 480 *seq.*, and Pfyffer, III., 1, 288 *seq.* *Cf.* also MAYER, II., 118 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*

[3] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 289. *Cf.* also MAYER, I., 319, precautions taken by Paravicini concerning reforming activity in Basle.

Paravicini devoted the greatest attention to events at Appenzell. The innovators in that canton aimed at interfering in those districts which had remained completely Catholic, especially in the chief town, in defiance of the decree of the general assembly in 1524, and confirmed in March, 1587, which had left the decision of the religion of the parishes in the district to the majority of the parishioners. The Catholics, who were closely united by the labours of the prudent and shrewd Capuchin, Ludwig of Saxony,[1] showed themselves determined to maintain their religious unity, in which determination they were supported by the nuncio and the Catholic Cantons. They knew very well that any further spread of the new doctrines would threaten the complete suppression of the Catholic faith. The Protestants of Appenzell turned in 1588 to their co-religionists at Ausserrhoden, and the latter expressed their readiness to come to their assistance. As, however, the people of Zurich refused to mix themselves up in the matter, many of the Protestants of Appenzell had to emigrate to the remote parts of the canton. At last the irritation increased to such an extent that on April 11th both parties took up arms. On April 23rd there was held a general assembly in which the representatives of all the confederated Cantons took part, and on the following day a pact was drawn up confirming the statute of 1524. As a result of this the Protestants who still remained at Appenzell were forced either to recant or emigrate.[2]

Paravicini very rightly saw in this pact, which secured religious unity in Appenzell, an important success, and the conversion of a magistrate in that district filled him with hopes of the return of the whole Canton to the ancient Church.[3] Sixtus V. shared his nuncio's hopes ; at a consistory of June 20th, 1588, he informed the Cardinals of the restoration of

[1] *Cf. Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch*, X., 270.

[2] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 307 ; RITTER, Teilung des Landes Appenzell, 26-38.

[3] See the letter of Paravicini in RITTER, *loc. cit.*, append. lxi. *seq.* *Cf.* MAYER, II., 277 *seq.*

the Catholic Church in the mountains of Appenzell.[1] On July 31st in the following year he once again in consistory spoke of the progress of the Catholic faith in Switzerland, in which he saw a sensible proof that God had not abandoned His Church.[2] Sixtus V. also spoke repeatedly in consistory of the reform work of the Bishop of Basle, Blarer von Wartensee.[3] At Laufen five thousand souls, the Pope reported on November 29th, 1589, had been brought back by that energetic man to the Church.[4] On April 30th, 1590, the Pope again spoke of the progress of the Catholics at Appenzell and in the territories of the diocese of Basle.[5]

Both the Pope and his nuncio were strengthened in their hopes when in 1590 the able Margrave James III. of Baden-Hochberg embraced the Catholic faith.[6] On July 18th that prince, so distinguished for his learning and the purity of his morals, officially informed the nuncio in Switzerland of his return to the Catholic Church, which had taken place three days before, and of his resolve to make use of the reforming rights given him by the religious peace of Augsburg to bring back his subjects as well to the ancient faith.[7]

The conversion of the Margrave James of Baden, which was the result, not of politics, nor done for the sake of a throne as in the case of Henry IV, but of pure conviction, and only

[1] See *Acta consist, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* as to this BURCKHARDT, Gegenreformation (see *supra*, p. 139, n. 2); VAUTREY, Hist. des évéques de Bâle, II., 135 *seq.* See also the monographs already cited by DIERAUER, III., 354, n. 2, among which however MAYER (II., 211, 282 *seq.*) is wanting.

[4] See *Acta consist. 869 (for *Zuichem* read *Zwingen*). *Cf.* MAYER, II., 211, and the *report of the Venetian ambassador, November 11, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the *report of the conversion of the cities of Laufen, Thiengen (Zwingen) and five others in 1589, in Miscell. Franciae, I., 22, p. 306 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See *Acta consist. 872.

[6] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR V. 418 *seq.* where the abundant special literature is used.

[7] See EHSES II. 490 *seq.*

arrived at after a long struggle,[1] made all the greater impression throughout Germany and Switzerland in that it was the first case of the kind since the outbreak of the religious divisions. Besides the learned Johann Pistorius, Paravicini, and the Duke of Bavaria, William V., the indefatigable and hard-working guardian of the Capuchins at Appenzell, Father Ludwig, played an important part in bringing about this happy event.[2] Sixtus V. announced this important event to the Cardinals at a consistory on August 13th, 1590, and ordered a service of thanksgiving in the German national church of the Anima.[3] Like Paravicini, he attached great importance to it for the spread of the Catholic religion in the margravate, and looked to it to react favourably on the religious conditions in Switzerland. But all hopes of this kind were shattered when James III. died suddenly on August 17th, and his successor and brother, Ernest Frederick, at once drove out the Catholic priests, reintroduced the Protestant religion, and in defiance of the will of his dead brother, had his sons educated in the Protestant religion.[4] It was fortunate for Sixtus V., who had expressed to James III. in a brief of August 18th, his extraordinary joy at his return to the Church,[5] was spared the knowledge of his disappointment.

[1] See EHSES II. lxi.

[2] *Cf.* WEECH in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch des Oberrheins* N.S., VII. (1892), 663 *seq.*

[3] See the sources given by SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 437 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter of Badoer, August 18, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

[4] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 424 *seq.*

[5] See *Freib. Diözesanarchiv*, IV., 111 *seq.* *Cf.* EHSES, II., 492 n.

CHAPTER IV.

Plans for a Crusade.—The Polish Election.—Death of the Pope.

A Pope who, like Sixtus V., always kept the general welfare of Christendom before him as his chief care, could not be indifferent as to the Turkish peril. The idea of the struggle between the Cross and the Crescent, which had inspired the immortal verse of his contemporary, Torquato Tasso, appealed to him in a special way by reason of the traditions of his own Order, the members of which alone, after the conquest of Palestine, had remained courageously at their post, maintaining with self-sacrificing generosity the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre.

There is no reason to wonder, then, that among the great projects which occupied the attention of Sixtus V. after his election, a Crusade against the Turks had its place. How unfavourable for such an undertaking the whole political situation of Europe had become, he, who was but a novice in such matters, was only able to realize by slow degrees. At first he only recognized one obstacle: the critical state of the Papal finances. "If I had the necessary money," he said at the beginning of his pontificate, "I would set on foot a great expedition against the infidel." He spoke of it with so great enthusiasm that some people believed that one day he would follow the example of Pius II., and take his place in person at the head of a crusade, in order thus to lead the other Christian princes to follow his example.[1]

When, at the beginning of June, 1585, he pointed out to the Venetian ambassador, Priuli, the greatness of the danger

[1] See Priuli, Relazione 308 *seq.* *Cf.* the *letters of Priuli November 30 and December 28, 1585, State Archives, Venice; Mutinelli, I., 171 *seq.*

threatened by the Turks, he made clear his intention of devoting his special attention to this question. He then stated that he had sent an envoy to the Shah of Persia, who was at that time at war with Turkey, and that he intended to form an alliance with the Tartars of the Crimea.[1]

Cesare Costa, the Archbishop of Capua, who was appointed nuncio in Venice on June 22nd, 1585, delivered a discourse to the Doge, when he presented his credentials, which went beyond the limits of an official oration in a very significant way: "If our Holy Father," he said, "had the opportunity of himself expressing to you his sentiments, you would realize from his words, his looks, and his gestures, the paternal love which binds him to you, and his ardent desire for the grandeur, prosperity and glory of your republic. He will overwhelm you with proofs of his friendship and will call down the blessings of heaven upon you. With the keen sorrow and the tender anxiety of a father he sees you surrounded by powerful enemies, and is ever ready to take up your defence. Against the invasions of the barbarians and the attacks of the infidel, he will gladly open to you the treasury of the Church, and sacrifice the revenues of the Holy See, and even his own life. In return he expects from your Serenity the filial love and zeal for religion which must not be measured by the rules of statecraft and prudence, but must be accepted with simple confidence and the sentiments of the true believer, which are always the same, and cannot be altered by events or by the will of men. It is to its obedient submission to the Holy See, and its faithful observance of the canonical precepts, that your illustrious Republic, so small in its beginnings, owes its greatness, power and glory of to-day. Its close union with the Holy See is a guarantee of the maintenance of

[1] See the *letter of Priuli, June 1, 1585, *loc. cit.* For the mission to Persia, the reply concerning which only arrived in 1589, see CHARRIÈRE, IV., 571. *Cf.* also REICHENBERGER, I., 313 *seq.* and ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 57. Negotiations were also begun with the ruler of Georgia concerning a war against the Turks; see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España, I., Rome, 1915, 54.

peace at home, and of great importance to its good name in Italy."[1]

In his reply the Doge expressed with enthusiasm his pleasure at the friendly sentiments of the Pope, which he felt all the more sensibly in comparison with the attitude of Gregory XIII. The actions and concessions of the Pope, which gave immense pleasure to the Venetian government, quickly followed upon this exchange of friendly sentiments.[2] Only one thing filled the government with anxiety; the Pope constantly spoke of the Turkish peril.[3] His words on this subject were so impressive that in Venice men feared that the fiery old man who occupied the See of Peter meant to ask of the Republic an enterprise against their powerful neighbour in the East. The Signoria therefore awaited with some anxiety the welcome which the embassy sent to make the *obedientia* should meet with in Rome. This was so composed as to include the most important men whom the Republic had at its disposal: the former ambassador, Leonardo Donato, the learned connoisseur of art, Marcantonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini and Marino Grimani. Filippo Pigafetta, who was of their number, has left a detailed description of the pomp which accompanied this extraordinary embassy.[4]

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 409 *seq.* The *brief appointing Costa, dated June 22, 1585, in Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] E.g. the suspension of the right of sanctuary, which was allowed for three years; see the *brief to the Doge, September 20, 1585, State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

[3] See the *report of Priuli, September 21, 1585, State Archives, Venice. *"Il Papa," says an Avviso of September 28, 1585, "ha tuttavia gran voglia di fare un lega di tutti principi cattolici contro tutti li diavoli terrestri." Urb. 1053, p. 424, Vatican Library.

[4] See, Descrizione della comitiva e pompa con cui andó e fu ricevuta l' ambasceria dei Veneziani al p. Sisto V l' a. 1585 fatta da F. PIGAFETTA, gentiluomo al sequito, p.p. Giov. da Schio, Padova, 1854 (*Nozze. Publ.*). For Marcantonio Barbaro see the edition de luxe of CH. YRIARTE: La vie d' un patricien de Venise au 16e siècle, Paris, 1884. For the entry of the "obedientia" embassy into Rome, see the *report of C. Capilupi, October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The making of the *obedientia* took place at a public consistory in the Sala Regia on October 10th, 1585. The discourse which was delivered on this occasion by the Nestor of the Venetian diplomatists, Leonardo Donato, moved the Pope to tears.[1] He promised the Republic three-tenths, and granted to it an Auditor of the Rota.[2] After the ceremony on October 10th, the envoys were again received repeatedly in private audience. At these, in addition to Italian affairs, the Turkish question was discussed ; to their great satisfaction the ambassadors received from Sixtus V. the express assurance that he did not intend to compromise the " Serene Republic." " We know," he said, " that it is striving to live on good terms with the Sultan, because it is in no position to carry on a war alone against him. At present he is leaving us in peace, because his hands are occupied with the Persians. Use therefore the time that is left to you. Make your preparations in silence, and wait until we are ready to make an attack. Unfortunately the other princes are thinking only of satisfying their own ambitions and even of worse things. They would willingly sacrifice an eye, if only they could thereby put out both those of another. They are hindering each other in well-doing, and their mutual hostility is to the advantage of the common enemy. Let the Signoria therefore dissemble and restrain itself, help us in secret, but wait until the other princes are ready to deliver an attack upon the Turks. Only then can they take part with us. This was our view when we were a Cardinal, but no attention was paid to us. Therefore we urge caution upon the Signoria. Too often Venetian ships are guilty of acts of violence in the Levant ; in such cases the Signoria, in order to satisfy the Turks, must punish the guilty, but not too severely ; thus for example they must never cut off the head of a Christian to please the Moslem. This was also the view of the good and venerable senators,

[1] See *Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, and *report of C. Capilupi, October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See GUALTERIUS, *Ephemerides, 49, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

whom we often heard speak on this subject when we were living in Venice."

Passing on to the affairs of Italy, the Pope insisted on the necessity of that agreement between the various states which would assure the peace of Italy. Above all, he urged a good understanding with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was of opinion on the whole that the Italian princes should be friendly with each other, but without forming alliances or leagues.[1] It is evident how wise Sixtus V. was in insisting on an agreement between the Italian states, yet without wishing for too close an alliance among them, by which the sovereign of the States of the Church might easily have been outweighed.

The Venetian ambassadors for the *obedientia* were created knights by Sixtus, and given many privileges. For their part they were as well satisfied as the Pope.[2] Their principal object, the consolidation of friendship with the new head of the Church, was all the more easily attained in that Sixtus, by reason of his position in Italy, and in view of the preponderant power of Spain, attached the greatest importance to good relations with the Republic of St. Mark.[3] He generously passed over the hostile attitude formerly adopted towards him in Venice, when he was Inquisitor.[4] Since he wished to be on good terms with the governments everywhere, and especially in Italy,[5] he had no intention of making an exception in the case of Venice. Rather was it his desire to be on the most friendly terms with that state which alone in

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 411 *seq.*

[2] By a *brief of October 22, 1585, Sixtus V. thanked the Doge, Pasquale Cicogna, for the obedientia: "Fuit nobis eorum adventus actioque ipsa longe iucundissima. Multa etiam apud nos privatim egerunt magna cum testificatione pietatis, prudenti eximiarumque virtutum tuarum." Orig. State Archives, Venice.

[3] See CHARRIÈRE, IV., 402 *seqq.* *Cf.* BALZANI, Sisto V., p. 36.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 342 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* PRIULI, 317 *seq.*; GRITTI, 345; BROSCH, I., 295. For the relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany see REUMONT, I., 327 *seq.*, 380. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 62 *seq.*

Italy had, together with the Holy See, still maintained its complete independence.

To this another reason had to be added; as a former Inquisitor, Sixtus V. was particularly on the alert against the danger of the spread in Italy of the religious innovations, and just as for this reason he had supported the ambitious aspirations of Duke Charles Emanuel of Savoy for the conquest of Saluzzo and Geneva, the places of refuge for many Italian Protestants, so did he see in the Republic of Venice a barrier against the penetration into Italy of Lutheran doctrines.[1]

In these circumstances it was easy for the ambassador of the Republic of St. Mark, Lorenzo Priuli, to be on the most

[1] See BALZANI, Sisto V., p. 36 *seqq.* For Saluzzo see Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 303, n. 1. Sixtus V. was already personally well disposed to the plans of the Duke of Savoy against Geneva, "quel maledetto nido d' heresia" (see *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 432 *seq.*). As early as May, 1585, he declared his readiness to take part in it (see RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele, I., 244) and adhered to his purpose in spite of all the efforts against it on the part of France; he was persuaded to consent to a short delay in March, 1586 (*ibid.*, 256). When the undertaking became impossible, he complained in June 1586 of the dilatory procedure of Philip II. (*ibid.*, 275). At the beginning of 1589 the Duke of Savoy again projected an attack on Geneva, but the Pope, who was at that time entirely occupied with the pacification of France, now looked upon the undertaking as inopportune (see *ibid.*, II., 59). In a *letter of May 8, 1589, he urgently pointed out to the duke the danger to which he was exposing himself (orig. in State Archives, Turin): in a *letter of June 6 he promised 100,000 scudi if Geneva was defeated within the current year! (*ibid.*). In August, 1589, considerations connected with the attack of Philip II. on England led the Pope to refuse his support (RAULICH, II., 70). In a letter of October 12, 1589, Sixtus V. advised the duke to be cautious "perchè le cose fatte con poco conseglio tolgono l' honor, la roba et alle volte la vita" (State Archives, Turin). Consideration for France, which overshadowed everything else, led Sixtus V. in March, 1590, once more to urge the duke to his undertaking against Geneva, in order to divert its attention from Provence (RAULICH, II., 138, 156).

friendly terms with the Holy See. But in addition to this he succeeded in winning the full confidence of the new Pope. The latter had so completely lost sight of the former disagreements that Priuli attributed the Pope's kindly feelings to his long residence in the territory of the Republic. During that period, he wrote, (probably quoting expressions made use of by the Pope), Sixtus V. learned to value the greatness of the Republic, its splendid system of government, the piety of its inhabitants, its great history and its traditional friendship with Rome. Whence it had come about that probably no other Pope had given the Venetians, and in so short a time, such proofs of his favour and affection as Sixtus V. Frequently he had granted more than he was asked for, and always with such expressions of benevolence, in spite of the opposite opinion held by most of the Cardinals, that it could be clearly seen how much he valued Venice.[1]

As a principal sign of favour, in addition to the provision of bishoprics and abbacies, Priuli mentions especially his prudent settlement of the controversy with the Patriarch of Aquileia, which had occasioned such difficulties in the time of Gregory XIII., and the extraordinary concession of including the religious in the tithes of the clergy,[2] which was granted in consideration of the threat to Crete and Corfù on the part of the Turks. In the bull by which Venice was given a special Auditor of the Rota, particular mention is made of the services which the Republic had once rendered as a barrier against the Crescent.[3] The important concessions, both political and financial, which Sixtus V. made to the Venetians,[4] were so extensive that several times Priuli asked himself what the

[1] See PRIULI, 319 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 324 *seq.* for the attitude of the Cardinals towards Venice.

[2] See PRIULI, 320. *Cf.* CECCHETTI, I., 340. The arrangement arrived at by Sixtus V. as to Aquileia, was such that neither the Papal, the Venetian, the Imperial, nor the Austrian interests were injured. *Cf.* LE BRET, Venedig, IV., 30.

[3] See, I libri commemmor. d. repub. di Venezia VII., Venice, 1907, 38 *seq.*

[4] The bull concerning tithes, February 27, 1586, *ibid.*, 39.

Pope was going to ask of the Republic by way of return. He was only able to hit upon one thing: an expedition against the Turks, but that, as he says in his final report, is not spoken of *for the moment*, since the Pope has repeatedly stated that in that respect he would have the greatest consideration for the situation of Venice, knowing that the Republic was, on account of its possessions, exposed in a peculiar degree to the attacks of the Porte, and therefore could not put itself forward as the first or only power in a war against the Turks.[1]

The government of Venice for its part sought to show its friendly feelings towards the Pope with equal zeal. As early as the autumn of 1585 the nephews of Sixtus V., had received patents of nobility at Venice.[2] A very great impression was made upon him by the attitude of the Republic in the matter of the struggle against the bandits, which caused the head of the Papal States such anxiety.[3]

Following the advice of Priuli the ambassadors who succeeded him took special pains to maintain friendly relations with the Holy See. This was the case with Giovanni Gritti, who was given the post of ambassador in Rome in April, 1586,[4] and retained it for three years. It fell to him to make frequent reports as to favours and concessions granted by the Pope.[5] The Republic for its part showed its gratitude. At the first rumour of the intention of the Pope of buying, as he had done in Naples, a palace in Venice for his nuncio, so as to increase the prestige of the Apostolic See, Venice acquired from the

[1] See PRIULI, 320 *seq.*; *cf.* 309.

[2] See the *brief of thanks to the Doge, November 13, 1585. Orig. in State Archives, Venice.

[3] See PRIULI, 321. *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 76.

[4] In his *brief of April 24, 1586, to the Doge, Sixtus V. praised Priuli and expressed his conviction that G. Gritti would prove equally skilful. Orig. in State Archives, Venice.

[5] See GRITTI, 344. Very characteristic of Sixtus V.'s predilection for Venice was his attitude towards the dispute between the Duke of Parma and the Republic concerning the navigation of the Adriatic; *cf.* the report of Gritti, December 20, 1586, in BROSCH, Papst Julius II., 346.

heirs of the Doge Andrea Gritti, for the sum of 25,000 ducats, the palace in the Campo Francesco della Vigna, rented by the nuncio in Venice, and on August 30th, 1586, presented it to the Pope as a mark of its attachment and devotion.[1]

In view, however, of the cesaropapistical tendencies of the Venetians, the period of Gritti's embassy could not pass by quite calmly. Once, in the spring of 1587, it seemed that there must be a serious dispute, on account of the right claimed by the Signoria to nominate the Abbot of San Cipriano at Murano. The Pope's peaceful dispositions, however, succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory compromise.[2] The Pope consented to the Signoria's wish to retain the Julian Calendar in its possessions in the Levant all the more readily because he quite inexplicably completely misunderstood the importance and usefulness of the change introduced by his predecessor.[3] The nuncio, Girolamo Matteucci, Archbishop of Ragusa, who was appointed in November, 1587, in succession to Costa,[4] was in every way a *persona grata* to the

[1] See Acta consist. 844, 847; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 110 *seq.*

[2] See GRITTI, 344; besides Acta consist. 850 and TEMPESTI, I., 674 *seq.*, *cf.* the *letter of Malegnani, February 28, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Cardinal Santori says on July 16, 1590: *I interceded on behalf of Pera, Chios, and Albania for the use of the old calendar. "S.S. se ne contentó. dicendo molto male del nuovo, et che tutti se possano servire del vecchio in quelle parti, come anco havrebbe concesso in queste, se ne fusse stato ricerco dall' Imp^re^ o da. qualche re, et per questo così concesse in Candia ad instantia de' Venetiani, et che io li scriva, che S.S. ce lo concede. Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

[4] In the *brief to the Doge, November 16, 1587, announcing the appointment, it is said: "Iam dudum perspectam habemus praestantem fidem, prudentiam, integritatem ven. fratris Hieronymi archiep. Ragusini, cuius etiam opera gravissimis in rebus usi sumus." Orig. State Archives, Venice. *Ibid.* *brief to the Doge, January 8, 1590: Matteucci recalled to Rome, and in his place appointed as nuncio ordinary "Marcellus (Aquaviva) archiep. Hydruntinus"; the *brief of appointment of the latter, January 8, 1590, in Arm. 44, t. 29, Papal Secret Archives.

Republic.[1] In April 1589 the embassy in Rome was taken over by Alberto Badoer.[2] This diplomatist, who was in every way superior to his predecessor, very soon won the confidence of the Pope as completely as Priuli had done. At the end of 1589 he and Donato were successful in arranging in a satisfactory way the dispute concerning the recognition of Navarre by Venice, which had been embittered by the inconsiderate action of Matteucci.[3]

It was of greater importance for Venice that the Pope took into account the peculiar position of the Republic as regards the Turks, as none of his predecessors had done. He did not in the least degree urge the Republic to make war on the Turks, although, in case this should ever happen, he had promised her his full support.[4] In so acting, however, the Pope had by no means given up the idea of a struggle against the infidel. This was a question that was always before him, and to this end proposals were made to him in writing from many quarters.[5]

[1] On December 5, 1587, Sixtus V. wrote to the Doge: "Gaudemus ita evenisse ut volebamus omne scilicet ex pacto (quod ex tuis litteris cognovimus) satisfactum esse nobilitati tuae in ven. fratre Caesare archiep. Capuano quo apud te nuncio usi sumus. Quae tibi reipublicaeque tuae sunt iucunda, nobis accidunt iucundissima. Prudentiam tuam plurimi facimus, pietatem unice diligimus, tibi reipublicaeque tuae summa omnia a Domino precamur." Orig. State Archives, Venice.

[2] See the *brief to the Doge, April 10, 1589, Orig. State Archives Venice.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 332 *seqq.* For a struggle concerning the convents in Venice see the report of Badoer, May 17, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 184 *seq.*

[4] See GRITTI, 346.

[5] Only a few of these documents have been printed: e.g. G. PICCA Oratione per la guerra contro Turchi a Sisto V P.M., Roma 1589, and S. AMMIRATO, Orazione al beat. et sant. padre et signor nostro Sisto Quinto intorno i preparamenti che havrebbono a farsi contra la potenza del Turco, Firenze 1594; of the unpublished copies I note: Vat. 3614: Iulii Castellani Faventini *Oratio ad Sixtum V, de bello adversus Turcos gerendo; Vat. 5518: Ant. Peregrini

While Sixtus V.'s thoughts at first turned to an expedition against Algiers, for which, however, Philip II. showed no inclination,[1] in the autumn of 1585 an extremely daring plan was put forward by the warlike King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. During the latter days of Gregory XIII. the relations of that sovereign with Turkey had become more and more embittered as the result of the murder of his master of the horse, Podlodowski, at Adrianople. Báthory formed the plan of profiting by the disturbances which had broken out in Russia after the death of Ivan IV. to conquer that kingdom, and then to attack the Turks with the united Polish and Russian forces. The importance of this grandiose project was not grasped, either by the nuncio Bolognetti, or by Gregory XIII.[2] but from so enterprising a man as Sixtus V. the King of Poland could well expect that he would be favourably disposed towards the realization of this vast project for the solution of the Eastern question.

Virgilio Crescenzi, who was in the service of Báthory, reported that Sixtus V. had discussed the plan of an anti-Turkish league with Cardinal Medici, and had declared his readiness, if Báthory would put himself at its head, to pay him annually a sum of a million as subsidy. Thereupon Báthory took the initiative, and on October 15th, 1585, he sent to Cardinal Rusticucci, the Secretary of State, a transcript of all the negotiations which had taken place during the last years of Gregory XIII., on the subject of the anti-Turkish league.[3]

Lucens. *Oratio pro concordia ad principes christ. in Turcos, with dedication to Sixtus V.; Vat. 5521: Agostino Quintio, vesc. di Corzola, *Discorso sopra una lega contra il Turco, and Amelio Marinata, *Ragionamenti in proposito della lega contra infideli, both dedicated to Sixtus V.; Vat. 5535: Giov. Belippi, *Esortatione a principi christiani contra il Turco et altri in lode di Sisto V. Vatican Library.

[1] See HÜBNER, I., 364 (*cf.* II., 474 *seq.*); PHILIPPSON, Granvella 449.

[2] See BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory, 330 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, II., 287; KARITUNEN, Possevino, 219.

At the end of March, 1586, Báthory sent his brother, Cardinal Andrew, to Rome; the latter was to explain to the Pope his great plan for an expedition against Constantinople by way of Moscow, there to place upon his head "a more than royal crown," and definitely set Europe free from the Turkish peril. The instructions which the Cardinal received he kept absolutely secret, even from his travelling companion, the Archbishop of Lemberg, Solikowski, who was to make the *obedientia* in the name of Poland, as well as from Cardinal Radziwill.[1] Cardinal Andrew reached Rome on June 2nd, 1586.[2] It was unquestionably as the result of his explanation that Cardinal Azzolini wrote by the Pope's command to Báthory on June 24th that the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, who was fully informed as to the plans of the King of Poland, would be very welcome in Rome. Without waiting for the consent of his General, this zealous man at once set out upon his journey to Rome, which he reached at the beginning of September, 1586.[3]

Possevino described the position of Poland with regard to Russia as extremely favourable. In Russia, he said, there were many who resented being ruled by a prince who was mad, and these malcontents were well disposed to having the King of Poland as their sovereign. Another circumstance that favoured the Polish undertaking was the similarity of language and customs, as well as other things, foremost among which was the warlike spirit of the fearless Báthory. This information we have from Giovanni Gritti.[4]

Although there are no documents extant dealing with the negotiations between Possevino and Sixtus V., which were probably carried on orally, nevertheless the most recent

[1] See PIERLING, Le St. Siège, la Pologne et Moscou, 160 *seq.* KOLBERG, Beiträge zur Gesch. des Kard. A. Báthory, 24.

[2] See *ibid.* The Papal brief of thanks for the "obedientia" in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 2. Radziwill received the red hat on July 4, 1586; see Acta consist. 846.

[3] See PIERLING, II., 295 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 221 *seq.*

[4] See HASSENCAMP, Sixtus V. poln. Politik, 52 *seq.* *Cf.* PIERLING, II., 302 *seq.*

biographers of the celebrated Jesuit think that it may be gathered from a mass of other testimonies that a complete agreement was arrived at on the subject of the far-reaching project of a great war to be waged by Báthory against the Turks, in which, above all, Persia was to co-operate, while, as far as the Pope was concerned, the expedition against Moscow was of secondary importance.[1] The expressions made use of by Sixtus V. after the death of Báthory, to the effect that he had large sums of money in readiness for his part[2] show that such a conclusion is justifiable. There were two motives which decided Sixtus V. to assure Báthory of his support against Russia. The first was that Báthory had described the situation to the Curia in such a way as to make it apparent that there were only two possibilities: either Russia would become the prey of Turkey, which would be the ruin of Europe, or it must become Polish, and the Pope fell in with the plans of the King of Poland. His second motive was the hope that he would in this way secure the submission of the Russian schismatics, a thing which so far had not been able to be brought about by diplomatic means.[3]

If no more is known, it is because the negotiations were carried on in complete secrecy. This was again seen when, at the beginning of December, Possevino was sent back to Báthory in company of Annibale da Capua, Archbishop of Naples, who had been appointed nuncio in Poland. In the official letter which the indefatigable Jesuit was given for his return journey, he was in the first place charged to bring about an agreement between Poland and Russia in the matter

[1] *Ibid.*, 307 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 222 *seq.* Santori, to whom Sixtus V. related his plan for fighting the Turks with the help of Báthory and Persia, has unfortunately recorded no details; see Autobiografia, XIII., 186. Of importance is the description published by REICHENBERGER (I., 351, n. 1) in *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See HASSENCAMP, 53. *Cf.* PIERLING, II., 312; see also REICHENBERGER, I., 351, n. 1.

[3] See ÜBERSBERGER, Oesterreich und Russland, I., Vienna, 1906, 502.

of the disputes concerning the territories of Smolensk, Novgorod and Pskow, which Báthory was thinking of seizing if necessary, even by force of arms. Possevino was further charged to promote the Catholic restoration in Livonia, and above all to further the interests of the Jesuit college there.[1]

Possevino and Annibale da Capua travelled together from Rome to Venice, whence the nuncio went on to Vienna, while Possevino travelled by way of the Tyrol to Munich. While crossing the Brenner Pass he received the catastrophic news that Báthory had died on December 12th after a short illness, without leaving an heir. At Innsbruck he had confirmation of this news which put an end to all his far-reaching and daring plans,[2] an event which meant a complete change in the position in the East.

Sixtus V. too was deeply affected by the unexpected death of Báthory. At a consistory on January 7th, 1587, he spoke with tears in his eyes of the sad loss they had sustained, praised the courage, valour and the Catholic sentiments of the dead man, and pointed out the irreparable loss which the death of this man, who was but fifty-four years of age, involved for their plans of war against the Turks. "We had placed great hopes in him, and had already sent him money to help his undertaking of crossing Russia against the Sultan, and at the same time giving assistance to the Persians and the

[1] See SCHWEIZER, Possevino, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 173 *seq.* To the briefs there cited must be added, for the mission of Annibale di Capua, the letter to Báthory on November 15, 1586, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 3 *seq.* Two briefs were addressed to the Doge: the *first on November 15, 1586, announced the arrival of Annibale (Orig. State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*); the second concerned Possevino and is cited in SCHWEIZER, *loc. cit.*, 186, from the minute in the Papal Secret Archives; the date, November 25, is wrong; orig. State Archives, Venice, is clearly dated November 20. His appointment as nuncio had been announced to Annibale di Capua on September 6, 1586; see BIAUDET, Nonciat., 299.

[2] See KARITUNEN, Possevino, 223. For the death of Báthory see PIERLING, II., 314 *seq.*

Tartars. We attribute this blow to our own sins, but at the same time we have not altogether lost our courage, relying upon the promise that Christ will not abandon us."[1] The Pope honoured the memory of the chivalrous monarch by solemn funeral services in the Sistine Chapel.[2]

Sixtus V. knew well what it was that stood in the way of an energetic struggle against the Turks. In 1587 he spoke on the subject in a conversation with the Venetian ambassador, Gritti. "The Turks," he said, "have only to think of their own interests in all their undertakings; but on the other hand the Christians have so many and such diverse interests, that one stands in the way of another. France is afraid of the aggrandizement of Spain; Spain does not wish Venice to become any stronger; Venice entertains similar feelings with regard to all the other powers. Nevertheless these individual passions and enmities affect the interests of the common welfare, and the enemy triumphs."[3] These words afford us an inspired commentary upon all that had happened since Lepanto,[4] and explain why the Pope had to content himself with isolated undertakings. At the same time his former ideas of a war against the barbarians in north Africa regained their ascendency in his mind, though plans of this kind were by no means pleasing to Philip II. In consideration of his strained relations with England, he was unwilling to be drawn into other undertakings, and thought that he must maintain friendly relations even with Turkey.[5] Moreover the King of Spain had no confidence in the independent

[1] See Acta consist., 848; Gritti in PIERLING, II., 315 *seq.* *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 359, n. 3.

[2] January 12, 1587; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2814, p. 294, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso of January 14, 1587, Urb. 1054, p. 11b, *ibid.*

[3] See BROWN, Cal. of State Papers, Venet., 1581-91, p. 265.

[4] Opinion of BROSCH, Gesch. dreier Grosswesire, Gotha, 1899, 21.

[5] Besides the reports used by HÜBNER, I., 365 *seq.*, see also the letter of G. Gamberini of May 10, 1586, *Scelta di curiosita lett.*, CXCVIII., 218, and the *letter of Brumani, August 22, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

mode of action of the Pope, while for the most part his attention was becoming more and more absorbed by events in France.

Sixtus V. had sought ever since 1586 to interest the Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany in the undertaking against north Africa.[1] He dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of Egypt, if only he had the necessary money, as he said to the Venetian ambassador when discussing this daring project with him.[2] In February 1587 it was said that the Pope was planning to buy the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks.[3] When he spoke of this to the Venetian ambassador, Gritti, in the following year, he showed him a plan of the sanctuary, saying that he had no intention of acquiring it for money, because

[1] *Cf.* besides Priuli, 317, HÜBNER, II., 475 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Gritti, August 9, 1586, State Archives, Venice, and his report of August 30, 1586, published by NARDUCCI in *Atti dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, IV., 1, Rome, 1885, 302. The letter of Gritti of August 23, 1587, which is cited by RANKE, II., 136, n. 1, and on the strength of which he says that the Pope had, according to Gritti planned to open a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, does not, as far as the researches of Narducci show, exist in the State Archives, Venice, this is a further proof of how often Ranke's archival statements are false. If RANKE (p. 135) speaks of the "fantastic" plans of Sixtus V., HASE (Vorlesungen über Kirchengesch., III., 1, Leipzig 1891, 372) very justly remarks as to this that "fantastic things are not infrequently attempted by those who actually accomplish great things; and what they have done if they had not accomplished it, would have seemed fantastic to us." Evidence of Sixtus V.'s caution is afforded by his attitude towards Venice in the Turkish question, and his unwillingness to impose on the Signoria any premature disturbance of its trade in the Levant.

[3] "*Si va dicendo, che 'l Pontefice ha un pensiero gloriosissimo di volere, cioè redimere di mano del Turco il santo sepolcro et servirsi in questo traffico delli più omnipotenti mezzi, senza riguardo di qual si voglia somma di denari, che la Porta di Costantinopoli adimandi, et di quali si voglia eccessiva spesa, che ci vada per havere quel felicissimo sasso, che fu arca del nostro Redentore." Avviso of February 18, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 56, Vatican Library.

he did not wish the idea to get about that he was unable to win the Holy Sepulchre by force. "In our days," he added, "that is impossible, and we should fear to commit a sin were we to wish to bring the Sepulchre to Rome, since it was the will of Our Saviour to be born at Bethlehem. The Pope then went on to express his sorrow that pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre were so often maltreated by the Turks. "We must have patience," he added, "until it shall please Our Lord to send us a man, who, to the glory of the Divine Majesty, shall reconquer the Holy Land." The King of Spain, he said, has the necessary means for this, but not the will. Christianity needs a prince like Constantine, but he, the Pope, would not give up hopes that such a one would arise. For his own part he had three millions in readiness. He spoke bitterly of Philip's slowness in taking up arms against England; thirteen millions had already been expended to that end, and nothing yet was done. Yet in spite of his complaints Sixtus V. fully realized the importance of the King of Spain. "He is seventy-three years old," the Pope said, "and though he is unwilling to appear to be ill, yet he is so. May God preserve his life, which is so precious in these times."[1]

From a conversation which Matteo Brumani had with Sixtus V. at the end of August 1588 it is clear that the Pope would have preferred the undertaking against Algiers to that against England. Although he would have wished for such a crusade after the expedition against Elizabeth had proved successful,[2] the great Armada actually met with a terrible defeat. Then there followed the crisis in French affairs.

[1] See the report of Gritti, August 20, 1588, in HÜBNER, I., 389 *seq.* According to the *report of the same of June 13, 1588, the Pope was speaking at that time of a journey to Loreto and Padua "et soggiunse che vorria far anco un altro viaggio al santissimo sepolcro" (State Archives, Venice). At that time Sixtus V. sent subsidies to the Franciscans in Jerusalem; see ARTAUD DE MONTOR, Hist. des Souv. Pontifes, IV., Paris, 1847, 478.

[2] See in App. n. 27, the *report of Brumani of August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

While the latter was occupying the whole attention of Sixtus V. there at length arrived the reply of the Shah of Persia to the brief which had been sent to that monarch at the beginning of the pontificate. The Pope communicated this document to the Cardinals at a consistory on June 26th, 1589, and, under the obligation of secrecy, had a translation of his reply read to them.[1] This was the last occasion on which Sixtus V. occupied himself with the matter of the war against the Turks. The murder of Henry III. and the ambitious attempts of Philip II. to turn the disturbances in France to his own advantage, drew his attention more than ever to the west of Europe.[2] In eastern Europe the complications brought about by the death of Báthory entirely overshadowed any thoughts of an undertaking against the Turks.

The premature death of so distinguished a prince as Stephen Báthory was a grave disaster for Poland, because it was followed by a dangerous interregnum, and a violent electoral struggle. The Polish Protestants, who were still of great political importance, at once profited by the interregnum to revive the confederation of Warsaw.[3] This immediately revealed the danger to the Catholic cause of the death of Báthory.[4]

The great attraction exercised by the crown of Poland was shown by the great number of the princes who aspired to it. The nuncio at Prague, Sega, enumerates them in his report of December 30th, 1586; they were Henry III. of France, who had already held the throne of Poland; Anna, the widow of Báthory; the twenty-nine year old hereditary prince of Sweden, Sigismund, the son of Catherine Jagellon; the Woivode Sigismund of Transylvania, the nephew of the dead king; the Duke of Parma; the Margrave George

[1] Acta consist. 867. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 186.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 320 *seqq.*

[3] See BERGA, Skarga, 212, 215.

[4] Specially harmful was the reaction in Transylvania, where the aristocracy, who to a great extent adhered to the new faith, rose against the Jesuits in 1588 and obtained their expulsion; see SACCHINI, V., 1, 373 *seq.*; EHSES, II., 270, n. 1.

Frederick of Brandenburg, the administrator of Prussia; the Grand Prince Feodor of Russia; Duke Alfonso of Ferrara; Wilhelm von Rosenburg-Orsini, a Polish born Piast, and lastly, of the House of Hapsburg, the Archdukes Ernest, Maximilian, Matthias and Ferdinand of the Tyrol.[1] According to Orazio Spannocchi, the secretary of Cardinal Bolognetti, who had died in 1585, the aspirations of the following had also to be taken into account: the Emperor Rudolph II., William V. of Bavaria, Cardinal Andrew Báthory, the Duke of Guise, a prince of Saxony, the King of Denmark, and several other Protestant princes. The grand chancellor of Poland, John Zamoiski, also aspired to the throne, though he did not come forward definitely as a candidate.[2]

Many of the above mentioned candidatures were only based upon the suppositions of the diplomatists. The real and serious aspirants were the Hapsburgs and the Grand Prince of Russia, and the hereditary prince of Sweden, Sigismund, who had remained true to the Catholic religion in the midst of a Protestant nation;[3] his aunt, the widowed queen, Anna Jagellonica, threw all her influence and resources into the scales on his behalf; the prudent and energetic grand chancellor, Zamoiski, who had been appointed by Báthory, also supported Sigismund, while the party of the haughty and powerful family of the Zborowski which was in opposition to Báthory and his chancellor, declared itself for the Hapsburgs. The Polish Protestants, who hated Sigismund as a pupil of the Jesuits, also declared for the Hapsburgs.[4] Against the latter was the unsettled condition of the dynasty, a thing which made it possible for the four archdukes to put forward their candidature at the same time.[5]

[1] See Reichenberger, I., 363 *seq.*

[2] See Schweizer, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xiv. *seq.* *Cf.* Relayce Nunc. Apost., I., 459 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp 432 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Berga, Skarga, 216.

[5] The events after the death of Báthory have recently been much discussed. The work of Caro, Das Interregnum Polens im Jahre 1587 u. die Parteikämpfe der Häuser Zborowski u. Zamoiski

Sixtus V., who fully realized the dangers to which the peace of Poland, as well as the religious future of that nation, was exposed by the death of Báthory, had at once, on January 7th, 1587, appointed in consistory a special congregation to deal with the affairs of Poland, to which belonged Cardinals Farnese, Laureo, Radziwill and Azzolini.[1] To this congregation was presented an opinion by Graziani, who was experienced in Polish questions.[2] Acting upon the advice therein contained, Sixtus V. resolved on January 10th that the briefs sent to the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries of Poland should merely recommend peace and the choice of a Catholic king, without putting forward any particular candidate. Anything further was to be communicated by Annibale di Capua, the successor of Girolamo Bovio in the nunciature of Poland. The Polish bishops were further specially exhorted to see that the confirmation of Protestant religious liberty should be removed from the oath of the new king.[3]

(Gotha, 1861) was very shortly after its appearance recognized as insufficient (see *Hist. pol. Bl.*, LI., 957 *seq.*), and was later on corrected and confuted on many points, by SIENIAWSKI (Das Interregnum u. die Königswahl in Polen im Jahre 1587, Breslau, 1869; *cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXV., 440, where there is a good account of the sources, to which must be added the diaries of Sokolowski in Script. rer. Pol., XI. (Cracow, 1887), otherwise very incompletely published (see *Hist. Jahrb.*, X., 249). Valuable material is supplied by E. v. MAYER, Des Olmützer Erzbischofs Stan. Pawlowski Gesandtschaftsreise nach Polen aus Anlass der Königs wahl, Kremsier, 1861. To these must be added, as based on the sources, the praiseworthy publications of HIRN (Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 263 *seq.*), and especially of SCHWEIZER (Nuntiaturberichte, II., xiv-cxxviii.).

[1] See SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xx.

[2] Printed copy in BIAUDET, Nonciat., 300 *seq.* *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 209.

[3] See the briefs in Relayce Nunc. Apost., I., 445 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, and THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 4 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHWEIZER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 177; A. PRZEZDZIECKI, Listy Annibala y Kapui, Warsaw, 1852, app. p. 259 *seq.* For G. Bovio see EHSES in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, IX., 382.

In the instructions which were sent to the Polish nuncio by Cardinal Azzolini on January 10th, 1587, to the effect that he was to work before all things for the election of a Catholic king, it was added that as far as the Catholic candidates were concerned, he was to seek to maintain a strict neutrality. As Annibale di Capua was well known to be a supporter of Austria, this meant that he was not to let himself be carried away by his zeal for the Hapsburgs.[1] This attitude of the Pope was determined solely by the interests of religion. Just as the schismatic Grand Prince of Russia had from the first been unacceptable to him, so on the other hand, both Maximilian and Sigismund, who both affirmed their reverence for the Catholic Church, were equally acceptable to him. This absolute neutrality of the Holy See towards the two candidates, however, could not be observed as time went on.

Cardinals Madruzzo and Medici, as well as Olivares, worked eagerly in every way at the Curia on behalf of the Austrian candidates, and their united efforts certainly contributed to bringing the Pope to a decided preference for the Hapsburg princes. On March 21st, 1587, Annibale di Capua received orders to favour an Austrian archduke, and even the one for whom the greater number of the Poles should declare themselves. On April 6th Annibale di Capua was again exhorted in a cypher dispatch to concentrate all his efforts on the election of a Hapsburg.[2] At the same time the Emperor was informed by Madruzzo and Medici of this change of policy.[3] Sixtus V. especially took up the cause of the zealous Catholic Archduke Ernest, made arrangements for the honourable recall of Possevino, which was specially asked for by Rudolph II., and sent his maestro di camera, Lelio Orsini, to the archduke to convey to him the blessed hat and sword, and to confer with him orally. But the financial help which was asked for by the Imperial court was refused.[4]

[1] See BIAUDET, Sixte-Quint, 13 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 13 *seq.*

[3] See the letter of Medici in SCHWEIZER, II., xxi., n. 4.

[4] See *ibid.*, xxv., 3 *seq.*, 24. *Cf.* PAOLO VITI MARIANI, L' arciduca Ernesto d' Austria e la S. Sede, Rome, 1898, app. p. 36 *seq.*

A decisive factor in this change in the Papal policy, by which Sigismund of Sweden was excluded, was the question of the war against the Turks.[1] If a Hapsburg were King of Poland he could count on the support of the Emperor and Philip II., whereas Sigismund only had at his disposal the limited resources of Sweden. For this reason Sixtus V. declared against the candidature of Sigismund and abandoned Possevino.[2]

The Pope knew well that the principal obstacle in the way of the success of the plans of Austria lay in the rivalry of the archdukes. The nuncio at Prague worked hard to bring them to a unanimous course of action, but at first without success [3] When at length an agreement was come to in favour of Maximilian, the best of the sons of Rudolph II., it was already too late. On August 19th, 1587, at the electoral diet which had been assembled since June 30th on the plain of Wolo near Warsaw, Stanislaus Karnkowski, the Primate and Archbishop of Gnesen, together with Zamoiski, proclaimed Sigismund, the hereditary prince of Sweden as King of Poland. The Papal nuncio, Annibale di Capua, who in accordance with the instructions of the Pope, had adhered loyally to the party of Zborowski, which favoured Austria, while his principal orator, the Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislaus Pawlowski, intervened, and in an official discourse to the States, only insisted on the necessity of electing a good Catholic prince.[4] When Sigismund was proclaimed on the evening of August 22nd, the supporters of Austria replied by proclaiming the Archduke Maximilian by the mouth of the Bishop of Kiew.[5]

Thus Poland had two kings, and in the end it became necessary to decide the matter by force of arms. Fortune from the first favoured Sigismund, who had the advantage

[1] See Reichenberger, I., 400, n. 3. *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 177.

[2] See Biaudet, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*

[3] See Schweizer, II., xxv. 9 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*

[4] See Mayer, 312 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*; Sieniawsky, 26 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*; Schweizer, II., xxxv. *seq.*

in the eyes of the Poles of having sprung on his mother's side from an ancient and revered House of Jagellon. An attack on the strongly fortified Cracow which was made by Maximilian on November 23rd with insufficient forces was repulsed by Zamoiski. The archduke, who was abandoned by almost everyone, was obliged to retire into Silesia, while his rival was crowned at Cracow on December 27th, 1587, by the Archbishop of Gnesen. On January 24th, 1588, Zamoiski succeeded in inflicting a decisive defeat on the archduke near Pitschen, forced him to surrender, and carried him as prisoner to Poland.[1]

Both parties had at once recourse to the Pope; Zamoiski as early as August 26th, 1587.[2] In March, 1588, King Sigismund sent to Rome a detailed report of the double election, and the defeat and imprisonment of his rival, whereas Maximilian only decided on taking a similar step on April 28th.[3] On February 27th Sixtus V. had sent to the Emperor a letter of condolence on the capture of Maximilian, offering to act as mediator, but hinting at the same time that for a long time past there had been no ambassador at the Curia, and that Cardinal Madruzzo, who was often incapacitated by illness, could not be considered as a substitute.[4]

After Sigismund's coronation the Pope had to reckon with

[1] *Cf.* KARGE, Das österr. Unternehmen auf Polen u. die Schlacht bei Pitschen, in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Schleisiens*, XXII., 119 *seq.*; GRÜNHAGEN, Gesch. Schlesiens, II., 112; C. v. JERIN-GESESS, Bischof Andreas von Jerin, in *Berichten der Wiss. Gesellschaft "Philomatie" in Neisse*, XXX. (1900); NAEGELE, Der Breslauer Fürstbischof A. Jerin, Mayence, 1911, 43 *seq.* See also the monograph in Polish by GÓRSKI: O Korone, Warsaw, 1888 (with plan). For the coronation of Sigismund see THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 11 seq.

[2] See MENCKEN, Sigismundi Augusti Pol. regis epistolae, Leipzig, 1703, 558 *seqq.* The request of the Austrian party is mentioned in Rerum Poloniae liber singularis, ed. CIAMPI, Florentiae, 1827, 44 *seq.* *Cf.* HASSENCAMP, 61 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 28 *seq.*, 32 *seq.* The reply of Sixtus V. to Maximilian in SCHWEIZER, II., 270.

[4] See *ibid.*, II., 212 *seq.*

the existing conditions. This he did both speedily and with resolution. Without paying any attention to the displeasure of the Imperial court, on March 12th he instructed the nuncio Annibale di Capua to go to Sigismund and recognize him as king. These instructions were again repeated and with much insistence, on April 9th and May 7th.[1] It is almost certain that Sixtus V. was influenced in taking up this attitude by the hope that Sigismund would favour the reunion of Sweden with the Church.[2] It was significant that just at that moment (May 8th) there arrived in Rome, as a special envoy from Sigismund, Stanislaus Reszka, the former secretary of Cardinal Hosius,[3] who was a staunch Catholic. The Pope received him twice in private audience and was handed by him a letter from Sigismund. He also brought pressure to bear upon the king for the liberation of Maximilian.[4]

In connexion with the efforts of the Emperor and Philip II. for the mission of a legate to Poland, Sixtus V. declared his readiness to act as peacemaker, and to obtain the liberation of Maximilian. It was difficult, however, to find a suitable person. Cardinal Gonzaga the younger, Caetani, Pinelli and Mattei were all thought of, and the difficult mission was even offered to Cardinal Farnese.[5]

[1] See *ibid.*, lxxiv., 252 n. *Cf.* MAYER, 141; HASSENCAMP, 64 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GEJER, II., 268. See also THEINER, Schweden, II., 40; HANISCH, Gesch. Polens, 223 *seq.*

[3] J. Czubek has recently published the diary of St. Reszka, which gives us new and important information. St. Rescii Diarium, 1583-1589, Cracow, 1916.

[4] See besides SCHWEIZER, II., lxxiii., 243 *seq.*, VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 298. Sporeno reports on May 14, 1588: *"Huc appulit quidam Resca Polonus a rege Poloniae privatim ad S.D.N. missus (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). *Cf.* Cod. 159, p. 160 *seq.* of the Library of the Jagellon University, Cracow: St. Rescii acta legationis apud Sixtum V.

[5] See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 299; HÜBNER, I., 461. In his *report of May 21, 1588, Sporeno was of opinion that either Caetani or Mattei would be given the legation. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

The choice of the Pope, who was accustomed to come to such decisions entirely on his own account,[1] at length, to the great surprise of the Curia,[2] fell upon Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, who was acceptable to both parties. On May 23rd, 1588, his appointment as Cardinal legate to Poland was made in secret consistory, the nuncio there retaining his office.[3] Cardinal Aldobrandini at once put himself into touch with both Madruzzo and Reszka,[4] and was given his credentials, in order to treat with all parties for the restoration of peace in Poland.[5] On May 27th he received the legatine cross with the customary solemnities.[6] Briefs and special letters from the Cardinal Secretary of State announced his mission to the courts and the nuncios. The Pope informed the King of Spain of the appointment of Aldobrandini in an autograph letter, in which he pointed out that the Cardinal was in every respect suitable to mediate a peace, since he had been for many years an Auditor of the Rota, was already more than fifty years of age, was distinguished for his judg-

[1] See the *report of Sporeno, May 14, 1588, *ibid.*

[2] "Fu fatto legato Aldobrandini con maraviglia della corte ch' aspettava Cactano come ricco, grato di presenza, affabile di conversazione, di casa illustrissima, atto al bere et mangiare per compagnia come ricerca il paese ove vanno" wrote *Brumani on May 28, 1588. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to the *report of Ercole Tassoni, May 18, 1588, the appointment was expected on that day. State Archives, Modena.

[3] See Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 132; MAFFEJI, Hist., 28; TEMPESTI, II., 239 *seq.* VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS (298) wrongly places the consistory on May 22. Sixtus V.'s justification of the remaining of the nuncio in Poland in SCHWEIZER, II., 257 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, II., lxxv.

[5] See the *report of Gritti, May 28, 1588, State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 461; HASSENCAMP, 64. For the secondary duties which Aldobrandini had to discharge see SCHWEIZER, II., cxliv. *seq.* A special work on the legation of Aldobrandini is being prepared by the ex-member of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, Dr. Nanke.

[6] See Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 132.

ment and experience, and was an altogether impartial personality.[1]

Aldobrandini was given as his companions a number of distinguished men, among others Monsignor Bastone as datary, Monsignor Lorenzo Bianchetti as auditor, Monsignor Tolesani as abbreviator, and Andrea de Grandi as prelate.[2] After the Cardinal legate had made a pilgrimage to the Seven Churches on May 30th, and had passed the evening with the Cardinal Madruzzo, he was accompanied on the following day by the Sacred College as far as the Porta Angelica. On June 1st he began his journey. He went first to Loreto, where he made a gift of five hundred scudi to the Sanctuary, and thence by way of Florence, Bologna, Venice, Padua, Verona and the Brenner Pass to Innsbruck, which he reached on June 28th, and was welcomed by the Archduke Ferdinand with the honours due to his rank.[3]

[1] See SCHWEIZER, II., lxxv. *seq.*, 253 ; MAYER, 146, n. 3 (instead of " Bunapadulius " read " Buccapadulius "), the original of the *brief to Duke Vincenzo of Mantua, May 25, 1588, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The original of the *brief to the Doge, of the same date, in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*. This states : " *Quod omnino praestari a Nobis posset in rebus Polonicis, de quibus semper fuimus anxii, in tanta voluntatum consiliorumque varietate certum habere nunquam potuimus. Nunc autem quoniam spes aliqua ostenditur, posse aliquid profici nostra auctoritate atque opera, mittimus eo legatum a latere dil. fil. Hippolytum s. Pancratii presbyterum card. Aldobrandinum."

[2] See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 298. The participation of Possevino was refused by the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva ; see ROSTOWSKI-MARTINOW, Lituanicorum Soc. Iesu hist. libri X., Paris, 1877, 155. *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 182 *seq.*

[3] See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 299 *seq.* ; SCHWEIZER, II., lxxv. ; HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., *passim*. These scholars have overlooked the *Diary of the journey of Aldobrandini in Cod. N. XXXIV., p. 220 *seqq.*, Vallicella Library, Rome, though RYKASZEWSKY in Relayce Nunc. Apost., II., 4 *seq.*, 20 *seq.* has given some extracts in Polish referring to the journey across Poland. The diary, however, opens with the departure of the Cardinal from Trent on June 20, 1588, and describes the travels

At Linz the Cardinal legate had a conversation with the Archduke Matthias, and at Vienna, which he reached on July 7th, with the Archduke Ernest. The welcome outwardly accorded to him everywhere was honourable in the extreme. So as not to arouse any suspicions among the Poles, Aldobrandini gave up his visit to the Emperor at Prague, being advised to do so by the Archduke Ernest. The legate therefore went direct by way of Olmütz to Cracow. When he made his solemn entry into the ancient coronation city on July 27th, King Sigismund went a distance of two miles to meet him with a grand military retinue, and attired in the sumptuous dress of the country.[1]

Aldobrandini at once realized that the chancellor Zamoiski was more powerful than the king, and Zamoiski, who had viewed the sending of a Papal legate with great dislike, put difficulty after difficulty in his way. The unconditional liberation of Maximilian was refused. Although the nuncio, Annibale di Capua, knowing well that the Pope wished for his liberation, had united his efforts to those of the legate, the two were unable to accomplish anything. Even the grandees of Poland, who were at variance with the chancellor, were in agreement with him in insisting that a complete renunciation on the part of Maximilian and security for his

of the legate in the Tyrol, Austria, Moravia and Silesia. It continues down to May 8th, 1589. RYKASZEWSKI published, again in a Polish translation, the description of the situation in Poland in a letter from Annibale di Capua to P. Guglielmo di S. Clemente, from Cod. Urb. 1113, p. 164 *seq.* Vatican Library, Vat. 3661 contains: Ant. Martinelli *De Hipp. Aldobrandini card. legati Cracoviam Praganique adventu introituque narratio, *ibid.*, Reports of Aldobrandini in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 65-82, 124-129. *Ibid.*, 52-65 and 129-150 part of the report of the nuncio in Poland. More complete editions may be expected from the Academy of Cracow and from the Finland Historical Institute in Rome.

[1] *Cf.* in addition to the sources mentioned *supra*, p. 170, n. 2, the good description in MAFFEJI, Hist., 28, and in TEMPESTI, II., 240 *seq.*

doing so should be necessary conditions for the peace negotiations. But when Monsignor Tolesani, Aldobrandini's auditor, reported this to the Imperial court, he received a refusal.[1]

As the difficulties continued to increase, the Cardinal resolved to pay a personal visit to the Emperor at Prague. He made his solemn entry there on December 7th, 1588. In a series of audiences he explained the position to the Emperor Rudolph II., and at last arrived at an agreement by which a commission of ten Poles and ten Austrians should meet on the borders of Poland, and discuss under his presidency the best way to set the peace negotiations on foot. The members of the Polish commission were to meet at Bedzin, the Austrians at Beuthen, while the Cardinal was to take up his residence at Olkusch. Aldobrandini arrived there at the appointed time, but the members of the commission kept him waiting a long time. When it was at last possible to begin the negotiations such difficulties were put forward that the Cardinal legate repeatedly feared the complete shipwreck of his labours for peace. He was nevertheless unwearied in his efforts, and negotiated continually with both parties.[2] His tenacity was at length to be crowned with success.

On March 10th, 1589, Aldobrandini was able to report to Rome, where they were already feeling very depressed, the happy tidings that on the previous day the preliminaries of peace had been arrived at under his presidency. The conditions meant a triumph for the Poles over the Austrians, who might well find reason for dissatisfaction, but in the existing state of affairs not even the most skilful diplomatist could have brought about a different result.[3] The mediation of the Pope was gratefully accepted. The archduke was to be set free where he had been taken prisoner, but he had to

[1] See HASSENCAMP, 65 ; VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 304 ; SCHWEIZER II., xci. *seq.*

[2] See MAYER, 157 *seq.*, 164 *seq.* ; VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 306 ; SCHWEIZER, II., c. *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*, 351 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*, 371, *seq.*, 373 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*

[3] Opinion of SCHWEIZER (II., cxlv.).

give up Lublo to the Poles, as well as to renounce his title of king, in addition to all rights to Poland, and this he was to confirm on oath at the frontier. The Emperor was also to swear to the treaty, which contained among other things a clause that in any future negotiations with the Turks, he should agree to nothing that was unfavourable to Poland. A like promise was also submitted to Sigismund.[1] The Cardinal legate's nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini, was sent with the embassy, first to Prague and then to Rome, while the Cardinal himself repaired to Vienna, where he arrived on March 23rd, 1589, as the guest of the Archduke Ernest.[2]

The acceptance of the terms of Beuthen naturally met with no difficulties in Poland. The king sent his secretary to the Cardinal legate and then to the Pope, to thank him orally for what had been done. The Emperor, however, probably at the instigation of the Archduke Maximilian, refused to accept the treaty; what displeased him above all was the attempt to tie his hands in the matter of Turkey. Aldobrandini therefore had to interrupt his return journey to Rome, and for the moment retired to the abbey of Admont; but at last they succeeded in satisfying the Emperor, and the Cardinal was able to resume his journey. He reached Padua on May 12th, 1589, and travelled thence to Rome to make his report to the Pope.[3]

Cinzio Aldobrandini had reached Rome on March 29th, 1589, with the news of the conclusion of peace, and two days later the Pope communicated the news to the Cardinals. Although it was not right, he said, on that day of mourning (it was Good Friday), to rejoice at these happy tidings, it was nevertheless a day of peace and reconciliation between the human race and the Heavenly Father. For this reason he had felt no difficulty about informing the Cardinals of the

[1] See MAYER, 450 *seq.* The letter of Aldobrandini, March 10, 1589, in SCHWEIZER, II., 402 *seq.*

[2] See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 308; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxxi, 402, 409 *seq.*, 412 *seq.*

[3] See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 309; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxiii. *seq.*, 428 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*

success which had crowned the mediation of Aldobrandini. The reports of the legate and the text of the treaty were then read.[1] After the Pope had again referred to this important event on May 5th and 12th[2] Cardinal Aldobrandini made his solemn entry into Rome on May 27th. He was received at the gates of the city by the College of Cardinals, and the crowds welcomed him with every mark of jubilation. On the following day he had an audience with the Pope, who showed the greatest gratification at the success which he had obtained.[3] The solemn reception of Aldobrandini took place at the consistory of May 30th, which was held at the Lateran. The Cardinal afterwards gave a detailed account of his mission at the consistory held on June 5th, in which he praised the prudence of the Pope and the help given him by his companions, but he only spoke briefly and modestly of his own part. Sixtus V. bestowed the highest praise on him and his companions. Any religious celebration was postponed for the time being, as neither the Emperor nor Maximilian had as yet sworn to the treaty.[4] This precaution was quite justifiable, for Rudolph II. took the oath on July 10th, but Maximilian refused to do so until he should feel safe in Austrian territory. It was not until May 8th, 1598, that he carried out his pledge of furthering the conclusion of an alliance between the Emperor and Poland against Turkey.[5]

Such an alliance against the Turks on the part of the two neighbouring states had been aimed at by Sixtus V. and his legates ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Beuthen, but besides this the efforts of the zealous pontiff were at once

[1] See Acta consist., 863; HÜBNER, I., 465 *seq.*

[2] See Acta consist. 865; *cf.* KORZENIOWSKI, 133.

[3] See *Avviso of May 31, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 318, Vatican Library.

[4] See the Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 133 *seq.*; MAFFEJI, Hist., 34; ORBAAN, Documenti, 425 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* HIRN in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, 4, suppl., p. 248 *seq.*, and Erzherzog Maximilian der Deutschmeister, I., Innsbruck, 1915, 28 *seq.*

directed to promoting Catholic reform in Poland.[1] As early as April Sixtus V. had sent the king the advice to marry none but a Catholic wife ;[2] Sigismund III. promised this.[3] But the plan formed in Rome to betroth the king to an Austrian archduchess was at first negatived by the obstinacy with which Maximilian refused to take the oath. In spite of this, however, Sixtus V. could regard with satisfaction the diplomatic mediation of his peace legate. If this was held up as a glorious accomplishment of his pontificate,[4] it was all the more justified as Sigismund behaved in Poland as a faithful son of the Church, and as the zealous promoter of the reform and Catholic restoration. In this respect the favour he showed for the Jesuits was significant ; he appointed one of the most distinguished members of the Society of Jesus as his court preacher, in the person of the celebrated Peter Skarga.[5] On July 7th, 1590, his envoy Bernard Maciejowski made his *obedientia* to the Holy See,[5] and on the occasion

[1] The order was sent to Annibale di Capua on August 19, 1589, to hold a provincial synod and to reform the discipline of the monasteries ; see THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 109 *seq.* At the provincial synod at Petrikau it was decided among other things that in future only one who was " vere catholicus, etc." could be elected as King of Poland. Sixtus V. confirmed the decrees of the synod ; see Bull., IX., 140 *seq.* (dated 1589, s.d. but not to be placed in January as Hassencamp (66) supposes, but rather towards the end of the year.

[2] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 99 *seq.* Similar briefs were sent to Zamoiski and others, as was again done later on ; see SCHWEIZER, II., cxxiv.

[3] See the Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 134.

[4] See the letter of Aldobrandini to Montalto in SCHWEIZER, II., 402.

[5] See BERGA, Skarga, 217.

[6] See the Acta consist in KORZENIOWSKI, 136. *Cf.* the *report of Brumani, July 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *letter from King Sigismund to Cardinal Montalto, dated Reval, September 19, 1589, contains besides the request that he will accept the protectorate of Poland, vacant by the death of Cardinal Farnese, a further request that he will make his excuses to the Pope for

again conveyed his thanks for the peace mediation of the Pope, bringing out the Catholic sentiments of the king, and recommending the Kingdom of Poland to Sixtus V. as the bulwark of the true faith in the east. Marcellus Vestrius answered in the name of the Pope that if Sigismund would go on as he had begun, in deserving well of the faith, in taking the field against error, and proving himself its champion against the Tartars and the Turks, the Holy See would always stand by him.[1]

The consistory at which this discourse was delivered was one of the last acts of the government of Sixtus V. It affords a ray of light in dark days, during which the energies of the aged Pope were shaken by the disturbances in France and the menaces on the part of Spain.

The Pope's state of health down to the last year of his reign had been excellent in every way. He had asked a great deal from his strong constitution ; labouring all day and far into the night, the Pope in his zeal for the Church allowed himself no rest, yet in spite of this the ambassadors every year reported that His Holiness was fairly well.

It was only in the spring of 1590 that, under the influence of the terrible anxieties caused to the Pope by Olivares, a change for the worse took place. Overwork and the anxiety which weighed upon the Pope, were bound in time to break down even the strongest constitution. A cold that was not cured developed at the end of April into an intermittent fever [2] Sixtus V. sought to fight against it with the usual remedies, and, as is still customary in Italy to-day, took more wine than was his wont.[3] The reliance which the Pope's intimates placed in his strong constitution seemed to be justified by the improvement which took place at the end of May.

not having yet sent an embassy for the "obedientia," because the wars with the Turks and the Tartars had kept him entirely occupied. Nunz. di Francia 20, p. 60, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 172 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 361.

[3] *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 364, where there are given numerous contemporary reports. See also the *letter of Brumani of May 12 and June 2, 1590. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

More shrewd observers, however, marked with anxiety the haggard look and depression of Sixtus V.,[1] who kept on his feet with iron will and continued to fulfil all the duties of his office. When he pontificated on the feast of the Ascension (May 30th) it was seen that he had a fever.[2]

The summer of 1590 was marked by excessive heat, and many people in Rome were ill.[3] Although Sixtus V. moved to the Quirinal, where the air was better, he nevertheless suffered from the extraordinary heat.[4] On July 6th the audiences of the ambassadors had to be curtailed, as the Pope had been attacked by fever and sickness during the previous night. On July 7th, however, he held a public consistory to receive the Polish envoys sent to make the *obedientia*.[5] Four days later the rumour ran through Rome that the Pope was dead, and the Jews, who were holding their Wednesday market in the Piazza Navona, hurriedly took away their merchandise in fear of pillage.[6] But it was soon learned that though the Pope was indeed seriously ill he was still alive. The constant anxiety concerning the state of affairs in France, the threats of the Spaniards and the news of the reappearance of the bandits,[7] could not fail to have a bad effect upon his health.[8]

Sixtus V. had often said that a prince should die in the

[1] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 194.

[2] See HÜBNER, II., 364.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 428, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of August 11, 1590, *ibid.*, p. 407.

[5] See the *report of Brumani of July 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See *Avviso of July 14, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 363, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 88.

[8] The well informed Maffei says in his Historiae (64) that Sixtus V. died "non tam senio morbove consumptus quam animi angore curisque ob suscepta recens cum Philippo rege certamina." *Cf.* also the letter of van Winghens, September 1, 1590, in ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 275.

midst of the duties of his office.[1] Accustomed as he was to spare himself in nothing, the aged Pontiff, weakened though he was by fever, anxieties and worries, even now paid not the least attention to his health. Thus he refused to refrain on August 18th from taking part in the procession to the national church of S. Maria dell' Anima to give thanks to God for the return of the Margrave of Baden to Catholicism.[2] He there caught a fresh cold.[3] After an extremely heated exchange of words on the following day with the Spanish ambassador, the Pope succumbed to a bad attack of fever on August 20th, but in spite of this he assisted at the French Congregation on the 21st.[4] A fresh and serious attack of fever which followed threw the entourage of Sixtus V. into a well justified state of anxiety. The doctors were at once summoned, as well as Cardinal Montalto, and later on the Datary. The doctors spent the night at the Quirinal.[5] Sixtus V. had always been a difficult invalid, and as he had some slight knowledge of medicine he loved to converse and argue with the doctors about his health, and quoted Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna. He had never been wont to follow the advice that was given to him, nor did he do so now. On August 22nd he rose from his bed, ate some melon and drank wine chilled with snow, while he conferred with the Datary and signed petitions. Again on August 23rd, though still seriously ill, he dealt with affairs of state. His entourage was amazed when in the evening of the same day he found himself free from fever.

[1] See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti, V.

[2] See *ibid.* *Cf.* EHSES, II., 497, n. 1.

[3] See WEECH in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., VII., 662, n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 373.

[5] See the report of Badoer, August 25, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 185 *seq.*, which has escaped the notice of HÜBNER (III., 514 *seq.*). The account of Badoer together with that of Cicarella (*loc. cit.*) accurately describes the mortal illness of Sixtus V. See also, besides MARINI, I., 462 *seq.*, G. PINTO, Sisto V e l' igiene in Roma, Rome, 1880, 6, n. 4.

Sixtus V. now thought that he had overcome the danger, the more so as on the morning of August 24th he felt better. He left his bed, and expressed his wish to hear Mass, to receive the Cardinals and to preside at the meeting of the Inquisition, which it was usual to hold on that day. He refused to listen to any objections, and, as usual, with complete disregard for himself, worked for four whole hours.[1] At noon he had no appetite, but a great thirst, which he tried to satisfy with cold water. He then signed petitions with the Datary, after which the fever returned. At last he let himself be persuaded to suspend the audiences.[2]

After that the fever never left him, and he was in great pain the whole of the following day.[3] In spite of this he got up, and completely disregarded the instructions as to his diet given him by the doctors, and ate some fruit. On the 26th he had no appetite ; four attacks of fever left him very weak and the night before the 27th was very disturbed.[4] In the morning he had Mass said in his room, and was only able with the assistance of his chamberlain Sangalletto to raise himself in bed at the elevation.[5] The sick man, whose inflexible

[1] Badoer (*loc. cit.*) states this expressly. Cardinal D. Pinelli immediately announced the improvement to the Doge on August 24, 1590 : " *N.S. ha havuto et ha tuttavia un poco di alterazione di febre ; però si netta et con il buon governo si spera in Dio che non sarà altro et se bene è in 69 anni ha però robusta et buona complessione. Le SS. VV. illme faccino fare orazione a Dio per la salute di S. Beatitudine come si conviene ad ogni principe cristiano." State Archives, Genoa, Lettere cardinali, mazzo XII.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 431, Vatican Library.

[3] See Badoer, *loc. cit.* *" La febre del Papa gli è venuta hoggi due hore prima del solito " reports the envoy of Urbino on August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 428, Vatican Library. A. Celli, Storia d. malaria nell' Agro Romano, Città di Castello, 1925, finds all the symptoms of a tertian fever in the illness of Sixtus V.

[4] See Badoer in Mutinelli, I., 187. *Cf.* Cicarella, *loc. cit.* and the report in Tempesti, II., 535.

[5] The report of Sangalletto, August 27, 1590, in Hübner, II., 369.

strength of will had thus so long struggled with death, now realized that his end was near. He went to confession and received Extreme Unction; Holy Communion could not be given him on account of the violent catarrh. In the evening he died, while a violent storm broke over Rome. Cardinal Montalto remained to the last by the bed-side of his uncle.[1]

The death of Sixtus V., who had attained the age of sixty-nine, was the signal for his enemies to show their fierce hatred. His rigorous justice and his increasing taxation had aroused great discontent, and the mob at once thronged the streets and an attempt was made to overthrow the marble statue of the Pope, the work of the Florentine Taddeo Landini, which had been set up by the Senate in the Palace of the Conservators in gratitude for the many benefits he had conferred on the Eternal City. It was asserted that the Spaniards had had a hand in this attempt, and the assertion may be looked upon as true when we take into account the infamous calumnies which the representatives of Philip II., Olivares and Sessa, sent to Madrid. Thus, for example, they state, in contradiction to the truth, that the Pope had died without going to confession.[2] Absurd statements were current among the

[1] See the report in Tempesti, II., 536.

[2] Against Brosch, who maintains (I., 299) that Sixtus V. certainly died without confession, Vast, in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, 326 *seq.*, has already pointed out that there is no sufficient proof of this. Brosch is simply repeating the calumny of the Spanish ambassador (see Hübner, III., 517), which, however, is to be found in a dispatch, which he does not place more precisely, of the Marchese Muti, the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, who is as biassed as the ambassadors of Philip II., and concludes emphatically: "Indisputably the greatest Pope that the Church has had for 300 years, and who has been seen by the world from that time to this, has died *in suprema impoenitenta.*" That Sixtus V. actually went to confession is on the other hand confirmed by the *report of Brumani to Tullio Petrozani, dated Rome, August 27, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. That Brumani was reporting conscientiously, is clear from the following: as he had reported that the Pope had received communion, he hastens to correct this in his *letter to the Duke of Mantua, on September

common folk, which the writers of the Avvisi, who had not forgotten the proceedings of Sixtus V. against them, spread far and wide.[1]

The efforts of the Constable, Colonna, and of Mario Sforza, who had been ordered by the College of Cardinals to calm the people, were successful in saving the statue in the Palace of the Conservators and in preventing further disturbances. The feelings of the excited mob were pacified by withdrawing the monument from their sight by means of a partition. A

1, 1590. In this letter Brumani exposes the rumours spread by the Pope's enemies concerning his last hours, with regard to which he says: "La verità è che si confessò et me lo giura Aldobrandino (the Grand Penitentiary), ma per il catarro non si puote communicare et in un tempo perse li sentimenti onde viene calumniato, etc." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Another *report, preserved in the Capitular Archives, Modena, says that Sixtus V. was unable to receive Holy Communion "rispetto al molto catarro che in un tratto gli soprabondò." The statement, in itself improbable, of the impenitence of Sixtus V., not even the author of the *Annali Sixtus V. in Cod. K. 6 of the Vallicella Library, Rome, who was so hostile to him, had the hardihood to repeat. It is equally certain that the rumour which immediately sprang up (see MAISSE in the *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, XL., 42) that the Pope had been poisoned by the Spaniards, was false. Although HÜBNER (III., 517) had already made this clear, it was nevertheless repeated as true by Roubiquet. LEWIN (Die Gifte in der Weltgeschichte, Berlin, 1920) on the other hand rejects it (p. 514); he believes that the Pope died of a cerebral disease.

[1] See *Avviso of August 29, 1590, which begins with the following words: "Placatus est Dominus ne faceret malum et miseratus est populo suo!" (Urb. 1058, p. 437, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also HÜBNER, II., 377, n. The same writer of Avvisi reports again on September 5, 1590: *"Si dice hora che Sisto V havesse un spirito domestico chiamato Dante et che da quello sia stato ingannato circa il tempo che doveva vivere in Pontificato!" (Urb. 1058, p. 450). The gossip of the Romans is repeated by the correspondent of the Duke of Urbino, Gratioso Gratiosi, in his *letter of August 29, 1590, State Archives, Florence, Urbino, p. 145.

decree of the Senate further enacted that in future no statues should be erected to living Popes.[1]

The body of Sixtus V. was taken during the night following his death from the Quirinal to St. Peter's, where it was provisionally buried.[2] His heart was taken to the church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio under the Quirinal,[3] a custom that was henceforward observed in the case of all the Popes down to Leo XIII. The funeral discourse at the obsequies of Sixtus V. was pronounced by Baldo Cataneo.[4]

About a year later, on August 26th, 1591, Montalto conveyed the body of his great uncle with solemn pomp to the tomb[5] which he himself had in his lifetime erected in the chapel of the Presepio in the basilica of St. Mary Major's.[6] The monument of Sixtus V. stands facing that which he had set up to his great benefactor and friend, Pius V. It has the

[1] See the text in CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.; *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 112; STEINMANN, Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol, Rome, 1924, 13. No light has yet been thrown on the disappearance of the statue in question; see SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kuntssamml.*, XXXIII., 265, who, however, relying on RANKE, II., 144, inclines to the erroneous opinion that the statue was destroyed during the disturbances which followed the death of Sixtus V. Cicarella absolutely denies this, saying: "statuam Sixto in Capitolio erectam evertere *voluerunt.*"

[2] "Al lato della capella di S. Andrea"; see Avviso of September 1, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 443, Vatican Library.

[3] See FORCELLA, IX., 281.

[4] BALDI CATANEI, Oratio in funere Sixti V. P.M., Romae, 1590.

[5] See P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 482 *seq.*

[6] See besides the *Diarium P. Alaleone (Barb. 2815, p. 187b *seq.*, Vatican Library), BALDO CATANEI, La pompa funerale fatta dall' ill. card. Montalto nella transport. dell' ossa di P. Sisto V., Rome, 1591. *Cf.* TEMPESTI, II., 545 *seq.* The catafalque in St. Mary Major's was designed by Fontana, the painting was by Giov. Guerra of Modena, the reliefs by Prospero Bresciano; see Disegno del catafalco per l' esequie di P. Sisto V. a S. Maria Maggiore . . . inventione del cav. Fontana il 27 d' agosto, 1591, contemporary wood-engraving. *Cf.* MUÑOZ, Roma Barocca, 24 *seq.* For the catafalque see also BAGLIONE, 317.

same form, an antique triumphal arch, as was seen for the first time in the case of the monuments of the Medici Popes. Four precious columns of verde antique support an attic crowned with the arms of Sixtus V., and adorned with three bas-reliefs. In the central niche there is the great marble statue of the Pope, executed by Giovanni Antonio Paraca, known as Valsoldo ; vested in cope, he is on his knees in prayer, with his head slightly bent and his hands joined. The tiara is on the ground at his left hand. The simple inscription only states that here rests Pope Sixtus of the Friars Minor, and that his nephew Alessandro Peretti had set up the monument. At the sides of the statue there are two reliefs ; that on the left of the spectator, also the work of Valsoldo, has reference to the Pope's care, also eulogized by Silvio Antoniano,[1] for the poor of Rome, and to his work as a builder ; that on the right, with the scenes of fighting, and men carrying the heads of the bandits, tells of the inexorable severity of his justice, and of his other measures for the welfare of the Eternal City. Of the reliefs on the attic, which like the others are adorned with inscriptions,[2] that in the middle shows the coronation of the Pope, that on the left the canonization of the Franciscan, Didacus, and that on the right the mediation of peace between the Hapsburgs and Sigismund of Poland.

In the living and expressive statue of the Pope, Valsoldo shows himself to be a skilful realist, but on the other hand, the reliefs, which are the work of Egidio della Riviera (Hans van Vliete) and Niccolò Pippi of Arras,[3] with their crowds of figures, are of little value ; they show clearly how the plastic arts had degenerated at the end of the century.[4] Very

[1] Quaeris cur tota non sit mendicus in urbe ?
Tecta parat Sixtus suppeditatque cibos.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 126, where is also a reproduction, though unsatisfactory, of the monument.

[3] *Cf.* TEMPESTI, II., 590, and BRINCKMANN, Barockskulptur, II., 216.

[4] See besides KRAUS-SAUER, 622, SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 271, and R. CECCHETELLI-IPPOLITI, La tomba di P. Sisto V., Rome, 1923.

mediocre too are the statues of the saints of the Order to which Sixtus V. belonged, which are set in the niches on the walls on either side of the monument. That of St. Francis of Assisi is by Flaminio Vacca, and that of St. Antony of Padua by Pietro Olivieri. Thus the style of the monument is closely allied with that of the Medici monuments of Michelangelo, in that it almost completely covers the walls of the chapel as though with a second wall.[1] The change in taste is shown in the use of many-coloured marbles, which, when the sun is shining, is very effective.

When Lelio Pelligrini, at the obsequies held on the occasion of the removal of the body to St. Mary Major's, stood before the artistic catafalque and in eloquent words spoke of the deep religious feeling of the dead man, his purity of life, his splendid but extremely severe government, his incessant labours for Rome and the Papal States, his mighty buildings, his efforts on behalf of France, and his political successes in Poland, Germany and Switzerland,[2] there was a visible stir among those present, among whom there were thirty-nine Cardinals. It was said that now even the Romans realized to the full the greatness of Sixtus V., and that they sincerely grieved the loss of so great a ruler.[3]

What a deep impression had been made upon the imagination of the people by this singular and quite unique personality who had risen from the cottage of a poor countryman to the most sublime dignity on earth, was shown by the fact that very soon legends grew up round his life as well as his actions. "Papa Sisto" still lives on to-day among the Roman people in many anecdotes.[4] If his government, which only lasted

[1] See Escher, 105 *seq.*

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 141 *seq.*; Tempesti, II., 553 *seq.*

[3] The *Avviso of August 28, 1591, speaks of "popolo dolente del perso et non conosciuto Pontefice." Urb. 1060, II., 457. Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Zanazzo, Tradizioni popolari Romane, Rome, 1907. There is no Pope of whom so many anecdotes are related; see Moroni, LXVIII., 92 *seq.* In addition to Sixtus V. only the following Popes have become a living memory among the Romans, Leo X., Benedict XIV., Pius IX. and Pius X.

for five years and four months, is spoken of, generally the first thing mentioned is his ruthless punishment of the bandits, then the Monti and the treasury, the Congregations and the Vatican obelisk. Then tradition goes on to tell of the various branches of his domestic policy, the administration of justice, the reorganization of the finances, the reform of ecclesiastical administration and the monumental development of Rome.

The earliest historical narratives for the most part confined their attention to these points, but modern historical and critical research has distinguished the reality from legend in the life of this highly gifted Pope, and side by side with his ecclesiastical activities has given due importance to his foreign policy, and especially to his attitude, as prudent as it was efficacious, towards the disturbances in France. The more diplomatic reports are rescued from the obscurity of the archives, the more clearly can we realize what rare lucidity of understanding, what far-reaching and penetrating vision, what breadth of mind,[1] what strength of will and what fearlessness were to be found in Sixtus V.

"It is thought," so the Tuscan ambassador Vinta reported immediately after the election of Sixtus V., "that the new Pope will be neither Spanish nor French, but will retain his liberty for the greater good of Christendom and the Holy See."[2] This was indeed the ideal of Sixtus V., as the common father he wished to take up the most impartial possible position, above all the powers of this world.[3] The well-being

[1] This is even recognized by an author so hostile to the Popes as Brosch; see Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire, Gotha, 1899, 21.

[2] Report of April 24, 1585, in GALLUZZI, IV., 19.

[3] What a high opinion Sixtus V. had of his position as Pope is shown by the fact that he gave Rudolph II. to understand, in connexion with the disorders in France on October 12, 1589, that he, the Pope, and not the Emperor, must administer justice in France (see SCHWEIZER, III., 71). In consequence of the rumours that were current of the conferring of the title of king on the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Visconti, the nuncio at Prague, was instructed to inform Rudolph II. that the conferring of this title

of the Church and the honour of the Holy See came before everything else with him.[1] Free from all earthly tutelage, it was his wish to employ all his powers for the safeguarding and spread of the faith, which he had preached as a Franciscan and defended as an Inquisitor. This was the fundamental principle of his policy.[2] Like his protector and hero Pius V. he always set the advantage of religion in the first place as the guiding principle of his actions, whether he was dealing with affairs in France, England, Germany or Poland.

Of great importance to the history of the world was his attitude towards the great crisis in France. There, with the exception of a few mistakes, he succeeded in paving the way to the solution which was realized under Clement VIII.: the reconciliation of Henry IV. to the Church, the preservation of France from Protestantism, from serious internal disturbances and from subjection to the world power of Spain. When Sixtus V. not only saved their Catholic faith for the people of France, but defended them from enslavement under a foreign yoke, he at the same time saved the liberty of the Holy See in face of the tutelage, which was daily becoming more and more intolerable, on the part of the King of Spain.[3]

In forming an estimate of the work of Sixtus V. as a civil ruler, it is the task of an impartial judge to correct earlier exaggerations. There can be no question that in this capacity he did great service, and his zeal for the welfare of his subjects and his labours for the common good, earn for him a place among the best rulers. But some things which were attributed to him will not stand the test of critical examination. Thus it is impossible to speak of his *complete* destruction of brigand-

appertained to the Pope and not to the Emperor, because it was evident that the Empire was subject to the Papacy (see *ibid.*, 151 *seq.*).

[1] See the expressions of Sixtus V. in DÉSJARDINS, V., 13, 17.

[2] Besides HÜBNER (II., 37) this has been very well brought out by HERRE (375, 380). The inscription of 1586 at SS. Apostoli extolls Sixtus V. as *iustitiae vindex, propagator religionis*; see FORCELLA, II., 249.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 3, 368.

age,[1] even though the measures he took broke down the relations between the bandits and the landed gentry in such a way that they could never again be as they once had been.[2] In the same way it is only possible to speak with limitations of the reforming activities of Sixtus V. in the matters of finance and of the political administration of the States of the Church. In this latter respect it may fairly be pointed out that he was only a reformer in the sense that he was able to put life into those things which were already ripe for a systematic change,[3] and that to a great extent he carried the already existing development in ecclesiastical matters to perfection.[4] This, however, does not detract from the credit due to him for having, by his constitution of December 20th, 1585, opened the way to a close union between the universal Church and Rome, for having greatly furthered the work of reform and Catholic restoration, and for having given a stable and definite form to the Sacred College, as he also did to the Congregations. In these matters he showed himself to be an organizer on a grand scale. The administrative reform which found expression in the formation of the Congregations organized that calm, silent, centralized and universal government of the Holy See, the grandeur of which is admired even by its mortal enemies. In this matter too his predecessors had opened the way to Sixtus V., and his successors have added much to it, but all that is essential in the form which he gave to the meetings of the consistory was fixed by him in such a way that his arrangement continued unchanged for centuries. Its characteristic features still remain to-day, even after the changes by which Pius X., himself like Sixtus V. sprung from the people, adapted them to modern requirements.

In like manner the reign of this man, who was born to be a ruler, was of importance by reason of the transformation and beautifying of the Eternal City, which in many respects was given its modern form by Sixtus V., and which, even after

[1] *Cf. ibid.* p. 372.

[2] See Brosch, I., 288.

[3] See *ibid.*, 284 *seq.*, 293.

[4] Karttunen (Grégoire XIII., p. 65 *seq.*) brings this out clearly.

the violent changes of recent times, still preserves much of the outward appearance given to it by Sixtus V. When we remember that he accomplished all this in a reign of only five years, one cannot but be overcome by admiration for the great genius, the extraordinary energy and the activity of the Pope who was thus able to give to all his undertakings the imprint of true Roman grandeur. The mind of this highly gifted Pope, and his practical realism is clearly shown in this part of his work. All his building undertakings were of a practical character, and tended to the exaltation of the faith.[1]

[1] The opinion of GREGOROVIUS, Die Grabmäler der Päpste, Leipzig, 1881, 151.

CHAPTER V.

Patronage of Learning and Art.—The Water-supply of Rome.—New Streets.

Although Sixtus V. was a careful administrator he nevertheless extended a general patronage to the sciences and arts, and, as was only to be expected, it was the religious point of view which always came first with him in this matter.[1] This was clearly brought out in the writings which were dedicated to the Pope. For the most part these were of a theological character, though among them there is to be found a number of works devoted to the profane arts.[2] The most

[1] See v. Sickel, Sixtinische u. Leoninische Bibliothek, in *Wiener Zeitung*, 1892, Nr. 269, and D. Frey, Beiträge z. Gesch. der röm. Barock-Architektur (extract from the *Wiener Jahrbuch f. Kunstgesch.*, III., 1924), 43.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 131. Most of these are preserved in the Vatican Library, many being still unpublished. We may here make mention of : Iulii Ferretti (Ravennatis) *Defensorium fidei, Vat. 8485 ; Petri Ocariz (clerici Tirasonensis) *De immaculata virginis Deiparae Mariae conceptione, Vat. 5563, p. 97-110 ; Annib. de Grassis (episc. Favent.), De iurisdictione univ. s. Pontificis in temporalibus, Vat. 5434 (printed in Roccaberti, IV. 21 *seq.*) ; Frat. Alfonsi Giaconi *Preces sacrae in morem Rom. Eccles. pro navigantibus, Vat. 5681 ; Consalvi Ponce *Animadversiones in latinam versionem Epiphanii, Vat. 5505 ; Franc. Soares (iuriscons.), *Panegyricus dicatus ad Sixtum V. (especially dealing with the extermination of the bandits), Vat. 5542 ; Fra Lucantonio Veneruccio (Min. conv.), *Il magistrato christiano Vat. 5473 ; Discorso del principato e della republica et del buon governo della chiesa (anonymous), Vat. 5476 ; Aurelio Marinati (Dr. da Ravenna), *Terzo ragionamento in proposito d. s. lega che dovria farsi fra principi christiani contra infedeli e nemici d. si chiesa, Vat. 5531, p. 38 *seq.* ; Hieronymi Manfredi *Tractatus

noteworthy of these is the learned work of the physician, Andrea Bacci, dealing with the thermal springs and baths of all countries and all periods.[1] Among the historical works of which the Pope accepted the dedication the first place belongs to the first and second volumes of the celebrated Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius.[2] The learned Oratorian had already dedicated to Sixtus V. his notes on the Roman Martyrology.[3] After this Sixtus had granted an annual pension of 400 scudi as a subsidy for the work of the Annals

contra Ugonottas, Vat. 5498; *De summo Pontificatu dialogus ad Sixtum V Picentino auctore, in Cod. Q. 6. 26, Angelica Library Rome. For a work dedicated by the German Jesuit C. Schulting, see EHSES-MEISTER, I., 188. Cardinal Valiero dedicated to Sixtus V. the Sermones S. Zenonis, Verona, 1589. For the dedications of P. Galesini see Appendix No. 38 in Vol. XXI. For the commentaries on St. John by the Jesuit Toledo see ASTRAIN, IV., 47. According to F. LADELEI (Storia d. botanica in Roma, Rome, 1884, 10) the botanist Giov. Fabro found favour with Sixtus V. For the "Prelezioni anatomiche" of the physician Piccolomini dedicated to Sixtus V. see CURATOLO, L' arte di Juno Lucina in Roma, Rome, 1901, 127. The collection of works on natural science collected by Mich. Mercati was placed by Sixtus V. in a special room near the Vatican Library; see LAIS in *Atti dei nuovi Lincei*, 1879; ROSSI in *Studi e docum.*, V., 370.

[1] ANDR. BACCII ELPIDIANI, De thermis libri septem, Venetiis, 1588. Of other works of a profane character dedicated to Sixtus V., I add the names of some that are still unpublished, from the Vatican Library: GIOV. BATT. SCAGLIA, *Modo proposto a P. Sisto V di far una republica di principi christiani, Vat. 5505; by the same, *Dichiaratione sopra una supplica data a Sisto V per l' unione de principi sotto nome di republica christiana, Vat. 5537.; ANT. NUMAIO, *Della lode della historia, Vat. 5530; in Cod. E. VIII., 258, Chigi Library, Rome: BART. GUIDOTTI (Brix. can. s. Georgii in Alga), *Trattato d' arte militare sì per terra come per mare. The explanation of Theophrastos by F. Accoramboni is mentioned by GNOLI (15).

[2] For the Annals *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 183 *seqq.* For the dedication see CALENZIO, Baronio, 261 *seq*, *Ibid.*, xlviii. *seq.* for the editions of the Annals.

[3] See CALENZIO, 222 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 222.

upon which Baronius had been engaged for twenty years, but which the learned scholar only accepted under compulsion.[1] The Pope further had books and manuscripts brought from Spain for the use of Baronius.[2] In May, 1587, he placed six printing presses at his disposal for the work and associated with him certain experts, who relieved him of the labour of correcting the proofs.[3] When he received the first volume he sent him a gift of money.[4]

In his dedication of the Annals Baronius relates the origin of this gigantic work, to which Philip Neri had urged him and indefatigably spurred him on; he also records the help given by the Vatican librarian, Cardinal Antonio Carafa, who put at his disposal, for his unrestricted use, the incomparable manuscript treasures of the Vatican Library. Cardinals Carafa, Silvio Antoniano and Paleotto, who had read the proofs, bestowed the highest eulogies upon Baronius. He, however, very modestly replied that they had formed too high an estimate of his deserts; the praise was due to Almighty God.[5] As early as 1589 Plantin published a new edition of the Annals at Antwerp, and a year later the Bishop of Asti, Panigarola, made a summary of them in Italian, which he dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Montalto; Mark von Fugger took in hand a German translation, because the Annals, as he said, was the best of all the histories of the Church which had yet appeared, and would do good service in Germany against the Centuriators of Magdeburg.[6] Baronius had abstained from any direct polemics, and to the caricature of the Centuries had opposed a documented history. Scholars, too, who do not share his Catholic views, have appreciated the "extraordinary service" which Baronius

[1] See CALENZIO, 227 *seq.* The two briefs of Sixtus V. to Baronius in the Appendix, Annales C. Baronii, Lucca, 1740, 409.

[2] See MERCATI in the commemorative work, Per Ces. Baronio. Scritti vari nel terzo centenario d. sua morte, Rome, 1907, 140 n.

[3] See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 299.

[4] See CALENZIO, 265.

[5] See *ibid.*, 236.

[6] See *ibid.*, 250 *seq.*, 253, 265.

has rendered to historiography, in that, as far as was possible with the means then at his disposal, he has given us a "Chronicle of ecclesiastical history on a grand scale," which even to-day can only be described as a "mine" of ecclesiastical history in the Middle Ages.[1]

Mention may also be made of other historical works which were dedicated to Sixtus V.: the life of Cardinal Hosius by Stanislaus Reszka, two works dealing with the growth of the Franciscan Order,[2] a fresh source on Gregory IX.,[3] and the biographies of Popes Nicholas IV. and Pius V.,[4] in which Sixtus V. took a lively interest. The practical ideas of the Pope were shown by his interest in the collection of the Decretals and Constitutions of his predecessors.[5]

Of the works dedicated to Sixtus V. relating to Rome,[6]

[1] See REUIER and MIRBT in *Herzogs Realenzyklop.*, II., 416 *seq.* For the tribute of admiration for Baronius by J. Fr. Böhmer see my contribution to the commemorative work, Per Ces. Baronio, 15 *seq.*

[2] P. RIDOLFI, Hist. seraph. religionis (see HOLZAPFEL, 579); FR. GONZAGA, De origine seraph. religionis Francisc. eiusque progressibus, Rome, 1587. *Cf.* MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, Bibliografia, 215 *seq.*

[3] See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 134, as also concerning the other works set on foot by G. Voss, at the desire of the Pope. *Ibid.* 340 for the interest taken by Sixtus V. for the printing of the works of O. Panvinio.

[4] HIERON. RUBEI. *Vita Nicolai IV. Barb. XXXIII., 136, Vatican Library. For the Vita di Pio V. by Catena see Vol. XVII. of this work, pp. 420 *seqq.* The *work of Nic. Vincenz. Bonaventura Barolitanus, Minorita) dedicated to Sixtus V. Vat. 5531, p. 77 *seq.* Vatican Library, is of very little importance.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 222 *seq.*

[6] *Letter (of Catervo Foglietta) di ragguaglio delle chiese di Roma et opere fatte da Sisto V. S.P. con reflession morali, in Ottob. 568 (with dedication dated May 10, 1587); Federici et Marini Rainaldorum *Epistola nuncpat, ad Sixtum V. in librum de imagine Deiparae ad S. Mariam Mai., in Reg. 2023, p. 288 *seq.* (also in Vat. 3921, p. 72 *seq.* and Vat. 5539), Vatican Library. Poems on the new chapel in St. Mary Major's in Cod. S. 6, 6 of the

besides the collection of poems adorned with interesting illustrations made by the Oratorian, Giovanni Francesco Bordini,[1] there was another that gave the Pope special pleasure; this was the folio work written by his architect, Domenico Fontana, on the removal of the Vatican obelisk, and the other building works he had undertaken in Rome. The large frontispiece of this work, which is adorned with rich engravings,[2] shows the façade of a temple supported by columns; in the framework appears the dedication to the Pope, whose arms at the top are supported by two angels; in the centre there is a portrait of Fontana, who is holding in his hand a model of the obelisk and a medal bearing the effigy of his patron. The dedication rightly extols Sixtus V. as the author of the transformation in buildings in Rome. This autobiographical narrative of Fontana shows more clearly than any eulogies the administrative genius of the Pope, which was revealed in all his actions. It can clearly be seen how Sixtus V., starting with a magnificent conception, was the guiding spirit of the whole of the activity shown in

Angelica Library, Rome. *Cf.* NARDUCCI, 498. For the book dedicated to Sixtus V. by Gius. Castalio concerning the column of Antonius Pius or Marcus Aurelius see I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 167. Numerous are the poems on the erection of the obelisk (*cf. infra*, p. 258). An *Epigram, appertaining to this, by Domenico Berzerra Ispalen. in Ottob. 695, pp. 43-44, Vatican Library.

[1] De rebus praeclare gestis a Sisto V., Io. FRANC. BORDINI, Carminum liber I., Romae Iac. Tornerius, 1588 (extremely rare, and not even to be found in the Vatican Library). The thirteen wood engravings reproduced therein give to some extent interesting views of the edifices erected by Sixtus V. in Rome (*cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 422 *seq.*). A similar work, but of no importance are the *Epigrammata Iulii Roscii Hortani, Cod. Vat. 5531, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* *Ad Xystum V. P. M. de restaurando Hortano ponte antiquissimo Iulii Roscii Hortani narratio. To the same category belongs VINC. ROBARDI, Sixti V. gesta quinquennalia, Rome, 1590.

[2] Della trasportazione dell' obelisco Vaticano et delle fabriche di N. S. P. Sisto V., Rome, 1590.

building. He never degenerated into littleness, and knew how to give free play to genius.[1]

The removal of the Vatican obelisk to the Piazza of St. Peter's also gave an opportunity to the learned poet Petrus Angelus Bargaeus for a work which in like manner extols the Pope as a sovereign.[2] Bargaeus also dedicated to Sixtus V. another epic work, the "Syrias," which develops in Latin verse the same theme as that of Torquato Tasso in his celebrated poem, "La Gerusalemme liberata."[3] Bargaeus, on the strength of the plan formed by the Pope at the beginning of his pontificate for a crusade, wished to offer him a timely gift; in the carrying out of his work he adhered strictly to the intention laid down in his dedication, of writing a "Christian poem."

Tasso was animated by the same ideas in 1587, and in his "Discourses on the art of poetry, and above all on the heroic poem," he maintains the view that "the actions of the Gentiles do not seem to us to be a suitable subject for the making of the perfect epic poem," since, as he goes on to add, "in such poems we either intend to have recourse to the deities adored by the Gentiles, or we do not; if we do not make any mention of them, there is a lack of anything marvellous, but if we do, the poem, as far as that is concerned, lacks verisimilitude."[4]

The work in which these ideas are expressed is dedicated to the titular Patriarch of Jerusalem, Scipione Gonzaga, who received the purple on December 10th, 1587; at the end of October in the same year Tasso was the guest of this prince

[1] See S. Brunner, Italien, II., 10 *seq.*

[2] Commentarius de obelisco, Rome, 1586. *Cf.* Rüdiger in *N. Jahrb. f. das klass. Altert.*, I. (1898), 505 *seq.*

[3] Petri Angeli Bargaei Syriados libri sex priores, Rome, 1585. *Cf.* Tiraboschi, VII., 3, Rome, 1785, 297; Rüdiger, *loc. cit.*, 498 *seq.*; Belloni, Gli epigoni di Tasso, Padua, 1895 (*cf. Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVII., 170); Manacorda in *Annali d. Scuola norm. sup. di Pisa*, XVIII. (1903).

[4] See Discorsi dell' arte poetica, in the Opere, ed. Rosini, XII., 197 *seq.*; Baumgartner, VI., 399.

of the Church,[1] in whose palace in the Via della Scrofa an inscription still records to-day the visit of the celebrated poet.

Sixtus V. successfully maintained the personal liberty of Tasso against the Duke of Ferrara, while on the poet's behalf he took energetic measure against his relatives in Naples.[2] But in spite of the enthusiastic verses which Tasso devoted to the building works of the Pope,[3] the poet's hopes of becoming established in Rome were not to be realized. He was given no audience because it was feared that his disordered imagination might give the Pope displeasure.[4]

Many other poets as well dedicated their works to the Pope.[5]

[1] See the letter of Tasso to the Duke of Mantua, November 7, 1587, in Lettere ined. di alcuni illustri italiani, Milan, 1856, 45.

[2] See SOLERTI, I., 576, 605; CIAN in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVI., 414 *seq.*

[3] See Opere (Florence, 1724), II., 560 *seqq.*, 588 *seqq.* (concerning the chapel of the Praesepium, dedicated to Sixtus V.). A hitherto unknown sonnet by Tasso to Sixtus V. is given by VATASSO from Cod. Vat. 9880 in Albo offerto dagli Arcadi a Pio X., Rome, 1909 31. See also TASSO, Rime ined. p.p. Vatasso, I., Rome, 1915, 69.

[4] See SOLERTI, I., 591. *Cf.* BAUMGARTNER, VI., 3849.

[5] I. A. Peretti, Sixti V. P. M. creatio; Carmen, Romae, Lauro Badoero, Al S. ed O. Pontefice Sisto V. Canzone, Rome, 1589; Felice Pannemacher, *Sonetto a Sisto V., in Vat. 9020, p. 96, Vatican Library; Girol. Sorboli (theol. e modico di Bagnacavallo), Canzone in lode di Sisto V., P., Ferrara-Verona, 1585; *De Sixto V. . . . elogium Angeli Rocchensis Augustiniani a Camerino, in Cod. 6. 6 p. 134, Angelica Library, Rome; Fratris Leandri Dulciani Placent. (ord. monast. s. Alexii) *Hymni varii ad Deum et sanctos, Vat. 5482; Ioh. Matth. Jamundi, *De morte D. N. Iesu Christi, Vat. 5486; Frat. Nicol. Vincentii Bonaventurae *De quinque Sixtis summis pontificibus partim carmine, partim soluta oratione, Vat. 5531, Vatican Library; Feliciano Cotogni (da Foligno), *Del sant. parto della b. Vergine libri 3, in Cod. C. II. 8, Seminary Library, Foligno. The remarkable poem of a Jesuit father to Sixtus V. concerning his cure by means of the Papal blessing, was published by BAUMGARTNER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XX., 200 *seq.* Antonio Costantini undertook a collection of the poems in praise of Sixtus V. (Rime in lode di Sisto V.; Mantua, 1611): see MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 35. *Cf.*

The Oratorian Bordini, who has already been mentioned, was followed by his fellow Oratorian, Tomaso Bozio.[1] The Roman Aurelio Orsi sang of the Villa Montalto.[2] Giovanni Battista Stella and Antonio Quarenghi wrote of the fleet that had been built at that time.[3] In spite of the heavy burdens of his work Sixtus V. took a lively interest in literary productions of this kind. Thus it is said that when Lelio Zanchi of Verona presented to him his poem on the anger of God, the Pope conversed with him about it for a whole hour. Among other things, the poem develops the idea that the anger of God is justly roused against those who ruin their own souls, as much as in the case of a tyrannical prince.[4] Bartolomeo Ugolini was generously rewarded for his book on the holy sacraments,[5] while the celebrated scholar, Fulvio Orsini, received considerable pecuniary help.[6]

It was characteristic of the changed ideas as to antiquity that Orsini, when he dedicated to the Pope the work of his friend, Pierre Chacon (Ciaconius), on the banquets of the ancient Romans, thought it his duty in a long dissertation to make his excuses for occupying himself with pagan antiquities by pointing out the use that might be made of them in understanding the Holy Scriptures.[7]

ibid., II., 3, 1393 and 1595 for poems on this subject as yet unpublished. For the poems of the Bishop of Grasse, Guillaume le Blanc, dedicated to the Pope, see MASSIMO, Notizie, 98, 149.

[1] *Cf.* VILLAROSA, Scritt. Filippini, 74 *seq.*; CAPECELATRO, p. 473 (English ed. 1926).

[2] See MASSIMO, Notizie, 230 *seq.*, where the poem is again published. A second edition, Rome, 1837: the original edition of 1588 is to be found in the Vatican Library.

[3] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 28.

[4] See Avviso of November 25, 1589, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310. The *Tractatus de ira Dei, poema ad Sixtum V. by Lelio Zanchi, was found by me in Cod. Vat. 5673, Vatican Library.

[5] See IANI NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., Coloniae Agripp. 1645, 201.

[6] See NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 29.

[7] P. CIACONIUS, De triclinio Romano Fulvii Ursini, appendix, Romae, 1588.

Sixtus V. also showed his generosity for the Roman University, where he had himself once been a professor.[1] He not only condoned its debts to the amount of 22,000 scudi, but continued the erection of the new building begun by his predecessor.[2] In the autumn of 1586 he proceeded to reorganize the staff of professors, and at the same time increased the salaries.[3] The commission of Cardinals appointed by Julius III. to supervise the studies[4] was replaced in the great administrative changes of 1588 by a cardinalitial Congregation. To this there belonged Prospero Santa Croce, Antonio Maria Salviati, Scipione Lancellotti, Errico Caetani and Alessandro Peretti.[5] The administration of the university was in 1588 entrusted by the Pope to the college of consistorial advocates, from whose number the rector was to be chosen.[6] In the same year he summoned the Minorite Ottaviano da Ravenna, and the Spaniard Bartolomé de Miranda, a Dominican, to the theological faculty.[7]

When there was a question of finding a successor for the celebrated Muret, Sixtus V. at first wished to send for Bargaeus, but in his stead Aldus Manutius, the son of Paulus, was appointed, who, however, did not fulfil the hopes placed in him.[8] A happy choice was that of Pomponio Ugonio, a Roman, who was appointed as professor of the French and Italian languages in 1587. The discourses of Ugonio are

[1] See RENAZZI, II., 171 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, III., 3 *seq.*, 5 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of October 27, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library, and DEJOB, 318.

[4] See Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 327 *seq.*

[5] See RENAZZI, III., 16.

[6] See Bull. VIII., 897. *Cf.* RENAZZI, III., 11 *seq.*; CURATOLO, L' arte di Juno Lucina in Roma (1901), 124.

[7] See RENAZZI, III., 29. The intention of inviting a Franciscan and a Dominican was formed as early as 1585; see *Avviso of September 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[8] See the *letter of G. A. Papio to Aldus Manutius, dated Rome, September 24, 1586, orig. in the Library at Montpellier. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 142.

among the best productions of the time.[1] His work on the station churches of Rome, dedicated to the sister of Sixtus V., Camilla Peretti, is of permanent value.[2] The ancient literature cited in it is quite original, and critically selected; of special value are his very clear descriptions of the state of the various churches, and of the changes being made in them at that time. Ugonio also collected materials for a great work on the pagan and Christian monuments of the Eternal City.[3] For this purpose he visited the catacombs, and his name may still be seen at S. Priscilla.[4]

Three universities, those of Fermo,[5] Graz[6] and Quito,[7] owe their origin to Sixtus V. Mention may be made in the same connexion of the Collegio Montalto at Bologna,[8] and of the Collegio di S. Bonaventura in Rome.[9]

[1] See RENAZZI, III., 45. *Cf.* SCHOTT, Iter Ital. ed. 1625, 363 Bibliografia Rom., I. (1880), 236 *seqq.*; SCHUDT, Giulio Mancini, viaggio per Roma, Leipzig, 1923, 33 *seq.*

[2] "Historia delle stationi di Roma che si celberano nella quaresima alla ecc. sig. Camilla Peretti, dove oltre le vite de santi alle chiese de' quali è statione si tratta della origine, fondatione, siti, ristaurationi, ornamenti, reliquie et memorie de esse chiese antiche et moderne," Roma, 1588. *Cf.* v. SCHLOSSER, Kunst literatur, 526.

[3] *Theatrum urbis Romae, Barb. 1994, Vatican Library.

[4] See ROSSI, Roma sott., I., 15.

[5] *Cf.* Bull. VIII., 593 *seq.*; CURSI, L' università di Fermo, Ancona, 1880, 135; DENIFLE, Universitäten, 633 *seq.* For the favour shown to the university at Perugia, see De Perugini auditor d. Rota Rom., Perugia, 1786, 112 *seq.*; RIZZATTI, Perugia, Bologna, 1911, 150; for the university at Valencia, Bull. VIII., 609; for that of Bologna, *ibid.*, 721 *seq.* *Cf.* *ibid.*, 571, for Pont-à-Mousson.

[6] Bull. VIII., 563 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 733 *seq.*

[8] See *Sixtus V., P.M. 91 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Bull. VIII., 771 *seq.*

[9] See Bull. VIII., 978. *Cf.* D. SPARACIUS, Seraph. D. Bonaventurae de urbe collegii a Sixto V. fundati Synopsis historica. Romae, 1923.

It was quite in keeping with the practical ideas of Sixtus V. that in the case of the Vatican Library he thought not so much of adding to its treasures[1] as of the utility and safety of the collection,[2] which is so valuable to Catholic learning. In the grand manner which was characteristic of him the Pope concerned himself with the erection of a new and sumptuous building for his library, and in connexion with this, in order to complete its usefulness, with the setting up of the official Vatican press.

The bull of April 27th, 1587,[3] which settled the financial basis of this institution, prescribed its functions in detail. "Among the most outstanding of the many duties of our office," the introduction to this document states, "we have always counted the detection and confutation of the religious errors of the innovators, and the spread of the Christian faith." Since the Protestants in spreading their false doctrines have successfully made use of the press, it is fitting that we should retaliate by the same means, and also by the same means bring the light of the faith to far off peoples by the help of suitable books. This purpose could be served by setting up in the Vatican a press adequate for the publication of corrected editions of the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, the Lives of the Saints, the Decretals, and other religious books, not only in Latin and Italian, but also in foreign languages. In this way the institution would be of use for the salvation of souls in the widest sense, by publishing works

[1] Sixtus V. transferred the manuscript works of Panvinio from the palace of Cardinal Savelli to the Vatican ; see Spicilegio Vatic., I., Rome, 1890, 87. For the failure to acquire the library of Cardinal Sirleto see MERCATI, Per la storia d. Bibl. Apost., Perugia, 1910, 66, n. 2.

[2] Federico and Marino Rainaldi remained the wardens ; see *Rotolo di Sisto V., Vat. 7956, Vatican Library. For the catalogue drawn up under Sixtus V. see Cat. Codic. Palat. lat., I., cxi. *Cf.* CARINI, Bibl. Vaticana, Rome, 1892, 65 *seqq.* See also BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 109 *seq.* ; BROM-HENSEN, Romeinsche Bronnen (1922), 678.

[3] Bull. VIII., 841 *seq.*

for the defence and spread of the Catholic religion, suitable for the salvation of those who have made shipwreck of their faith, the strengthening of those who are wavering, and the instruction of the ignorant.

An experienced printer from Venice, Domenico Basa, was placed at the head of the institution, and one of the fifteen Congregations of Cardinals, to which belonged Antonio Carafa, who had been appointed librarian of the Roman Church after the death of Sirleto, was to superintend it. The total expense came to 40,000 scudi.[1] The way in which the Pope looked upon library and press as one undertaking may be seen from the fact that he appointed the same correctors for both; two each from among Italians, Germans, Frenchmen and Spaniards, who had to be theologians or canonists, and philologists.[2]

Like most of the works carried out by Sixtus V. the idea of the Vatican press went back to the time of his cardinalate. He had at that time been zealously occupied with the publication of the works of St. Ambrose, the first volume of which appeared in 1580.[3] Together with the continuation of this

[1] See Rocca, De bibl. Vatic., Romae, 1591, 414; Bonanni, I., 432 *seq.*; Baumgarten, Vulgata Sixtina, 9 *seq.*, 16 *seq.* and Neue Kunde, 104, 109. *Cf.* Stevenson, 3; Ehrle, La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del tempio e palazzo Vatic. 17. The *Bulla Sixti V. qua Paulo Blado typographie cameralis nova erectio ad vitam conceditur, dated 1589, Non. Cal. Febr., in Bandi V., 70, p. 180, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Ehses, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 283, 293, 333 *seq.* (summons of Henricus Gravius); Schweizer, II., 459; III., 12, 30. *Cf.* Avviso in Baumgarten, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seq.* See also *Bulletin de l' Instit. Hist. Belge a Rome*, I. (1919), 261; Brom-Hensen, Rom. Bronnen, 345 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*, 678 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 42. The appearance of a new volume of the edition of St. Ambrose, which cost 10 scudi, is mentioned by the *Avviso of July 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 316, Vatican Library. The *Ephemerides of Gualterius state on April 27, 1587: "S. Ambrosii opera ab ipso Pontifice multorum annorum spatio incredibili cura et diligentia ante Pontificatum recognita et emendata pristinoque candori imprimi cepta sunt. Illud enim opus suscepit et absolvit." Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

work there also was published by the Vatican press the complete edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great, edited by Pietro da Tossignano.[1] The trouble taken by the Pope to prepare a good text of the Vulgate has already been described.[2] Sixtus V. also initiated another undertaking which he looked upon as one of the principal tasks of the new Vatican press. This was the publication of the complete works of the great medieval Franciscan theologian St. Bonaventure. The bull dated March 14th, 1588, by which the saint was declared a Doctor of the Church, like St. Thomas, the most celebrated representative of scholasticism, and which strongly recommended the study of his works to all theologians,[3] served as the introduction to the first volume of the new edition, which was published by the Vatican press in 1588, and was dedicated by Cardinal Sarnano to the Pope.[4] Sixtus V. did not live to see the completion of this extremely valuable publication, for which he had manuscripts brought from abroad, as for example from Cologne;[5] the same was the case with the editions of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory the Great. The Pope's plan of publishing the voluminous works of the Augustinian, Onofrio Panvinio, was never carried into effect.[6] In order to give effect to such far-reaching literary undertakings, as well as for the realization of the plans of Sixtus V. for collecting into one

[1] The dedication extols Sixtus V. as the founder of the Vatican Press, *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 195.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 198 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 138. See also the Briefs of Sixtus V. in S. BONAVENTURAE O. Min. Breviloquium . . . opera et studio Antonii Mariae a Vicentia, ed. 2, Freiburg i. Br. 1881, xi.

[4] *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 4, 2360; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 328 *seq.*

[5] See EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, 1 *seq.*, 9, 18, 28; BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, 325, 348. *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 4, 1957. Sixtus V. also obtained a manuscript from Munich; see HARTIG, Gründung der Münchner Hofbibl., 249, 277.

[6] See ORBAAN, Avvisi, 302. *Cf.* Spicil. Vatic., I., 87. The dissertation De primatu Petri by PANVINIUS was printed in 1589.

place the ecclesiastical archives of Italy,[1] a longer pontificate was needed than was granted to him.

The short duration of the pontificate of Sixtus V., however, did not prevent the building transformation of Rome from being pushed forward in a way that no one would have thought possible. In more than in any other direction, the assurance, logic, energy and speed with which the Pope acted in this matter, compel us to accept the view of his recent biographer that as a Cardinal, during his involuntary retirement under Gregory XIII., he had made his plans for the future.[2]

Even as a Cardinal, Sixtus V. had had a passionate love for building undertakings on a grand scale. A proof of this was his villa, which he built on the level ground between the Viminal and the Esquiline, and on the neighbouring slopes. For this he employed Domenico Fontana, who was born at Mili on the Lake of Como in 1543, and who, like his master, had sprung from the lowliest circumstances—he had come to Rome as a plasterer in the time of Pius IV.—and had worked his way up by the labour of his hands.[3]

The Villa Montalto, as it was named from the native place

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of February 28 and July 8, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. See also the *report of A. Malegnani of March 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Bull. Casin., Venice, 1650, 247. The statute of Sixtus V. for the maintenance of libraries in the convents of the Friars Minor, in Bull., VII., 928 *seq.*

[2] See REUMONT in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, V., 650, who confirms the opinion of Hübner.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 79. In the first months of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Fontana was described as *muratore* (ORBAAN, Avvisi, 290, n. 1), later on he became *architetto generale* of the Pope (see FONTANA, II., 1b). Information as to his life is given by the article of ESCHER in *Thieme*, XII., 174 *seq.*, where the special literature is collected. *Cf.* also ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 130 *seq.*; A. CAMETTI, Una divisione di beni tra i fratelli Giovanni, Domenico e Marsilio Fontana (from *Boll. d' arte*), Rome, 1918. ORBAAN, Die Selbstvertedgung des D. Fontana, in *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI., 177 *seq.*

of its author, was built upon classic soil. In the time of Augustus there had stood the gardens of the rich and beautiful Lollia Paulina, who was put to death through the jealousy of Agrippina.[1] On the slopes of the Esquiline there are still preserved the mighty remains of the Servian fortifications, which here take the form of a huge bastion. Over against this eminence, at the highest point, and within the city walls, Cardinal Peretti, on June 2nd, 1576, bought from a doctor of Lucca a vigna, once the property of the Rangoni of Modena, and shortly afterwards two others, in order to build a villa there.[2] It was undoubtedly the enchanting site that attracted him; to the north the gigantic Baths of Diocletian, and to the south the Cardinal's favourite church, grown grey with age, St. Mary Major's. The panorama which opened out over a great part of the city, over the wide Campagna and the ring of mountains that surrounded it, was incomparable. In the plan of Rome by Du Pérac-Lafréry of 1577, there is not yet any sign of the Villa Montalto; thus its erection must have been begun later than that date.[3] The central point was formed by the Palazzetto Felice, a graceful country house built by Fontana, with a beautiful entrance loggia. Fontana also made the designs for the large garden and the park, in geometrical form. The Cardinal personally superintended the plantations,[4] a work which took him back to his earliest youth, when he had helped his father in the garden at Grottammare.

[1] *Cf.* R. Corsetti, Il passato topografico e storico dell' Istituto Massimo alle Terme, Rome, 1898, 20.

[2] See Massimo, Notizie stor. d. Villa Massimo alle Terme Diocleziane, Rome, 1836, 23 *seq.* In this work, which is based upon profound researches into archives, by Prince Vittorio Camillo Massimo, who died when about seventy on April 6, 1873, and who rendered such good service in other respects as well to the history of Rome, we find collected all information as to the Villa (*cf.* Reumont in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1873, Nr. 104).

[3] Escher (in *Thiemes Künstler lex.*, XII., 175) puts the date of construction too soon.

[4] See G. Gualterius, Vita Sixti V. in Massimo, Notizie, 26.

In 1581 the Villa Montalto was so far advanced that the Cardinal was able to take up his residence there.[1] In 1655 it passed by inheritance from the Peretti to the Savelli, and in 1696 was acquired by Cardinal Negroni ; it was one of the most splendid in all Rome, and was especially celebrated for it splendid groups of trees. When it had already, after coming into the hands of Negroni, lost much of its beauty,[2] its destruction was decided upon when it was acquired in 1784 by the Tuscan merchant, Giuseppe Staderini, whose aim was profit. The greater number of the statues were sold, and the splendid plantations cut down. Nothing but the imposing avenues of cypresses, in the shade of which Cardinal Peretti had once walked, escaped the woodman's axe. The steady work of destruction only came to an end when in 1789 Prince Camillo Massimo acquired the villa ; mutilated and overgrown though it was, even in this state it remained beautiful and imposing,[3] and carried the visitor back in imagination to the days of Sixtus V., whose arms still appeared everywhere, on the fountains, as well as in the frescoes of the portico, the staircases and the rooms. The end of the villa was at hand when at the beginning of the sixtieth year of the last century the central railway station was built in its immediate vicinity.

To-day the building has entirely disappeared in the sea of houses of the great city, which is continually extending, and only a few cypresses remind the historically minded passer-by of the magnificence of former days.[4] This revealed itself

[1] *Cf.* FONTANA, Trasportazione, I., 31b, where there is a reproduction and plan of the palazzetto, before the accession of Sixtus V.

[2] See KEYSSLER, Reise, II., 143. Keyssler also saw the horse which Sixtus V. was accustomed to ride embalmed in the precincts of the palace.

[3] See BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 2, 859.

[4] The cypresses may still be seen at the Istituto Massimo, which has preserved many relics of the Villa, among them part of the frescoes of the Palazzetto representing the works of Fontana. *Cf.* the reproductions in PASTOR, Sisto V., plates 6, 7, 14, 18. The antiquities of the city, by reason of the constant change of proprietors, had hitherto been scattered all over the world. For the gates of the city see *N. Antologia,* CXXXVI. (1908), 413, and *Inventario,* 1908-1912, V.

to the visitor who approached it from S. Maria Maggiore as soon as he had passed the entrance gates.[1] He at once stopped in admiration ; before him there opened out three divergent avenues of splendid cypresses, which were connected at the point nearest to him where they met, as though by two clasps, by two lion fountains adorned with antique statues. Richly adorned with statues, bas-reliefs, and other antique marbles was the central avenue leading to the villa itself, which was of three storeys, and on either side of which, half the height of the first storey, were small " secret gardens ". At the back of the villa, which like the Florentine villas was surmounted by a small tower with a belvedere, there was another avenue of cypresses, crossed by yet another which led to the second entrance, near the Baths of Diocletian. Both these avenues ran beyond the gardens of the villa into the adjoining park ; they ended in small hills from which there looked down statues, on the bases of which were the arms of the Peretti, a lion holding three pears in its claws. Sixtus V. especially loved the summit of the highest of these hills, which was seventy-five metres above sea level ; there, upon a stone seat, he loved to gaze at the panorama of his beloved Rome.[2] His plan for building a palace there was never carried out, but later on his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, set up on that beautiful spot, among the cypresses and laurels, a colossal antique statue.[3] On account of this statue the hill was named " Monte della giustizia."[4] Thence an avenue 900 metres in length climbed the slope of the hill. The arrangement of these enchanting vistas was a device of

[1] *Cf.* the engravings of GREUTER (LANCIANI, IV., 128), FALDA (Giardini 17 and 18 ; Fontane, III., 18 and 19) and PERCIER-FONTAINE (Les plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome, 27-29) and also GOTHEIN, Gartenbaukunst, I., 320 *seq.*, where, however, the important work of Massimo has been overlooked.

[2] The bench was given the name of " Canapè di Sisto V." ; see MASSIMO, Notizie, 141.

[3] See FONTANA, Trasportazione, 37.

[4] See MASSIMO, *loc. cit.* The statue of *Roma* there reproduced (tav. 6) is to be seen to-day at the Villa Massimo at Asroli.

Fontana which, together with the marvellous views on all sides, was characteristic of the Villa Montalto.[1]

The great impression which the villa made in all its splendour is preserved in an anecdote. According to this, Gregory XIII. expressed his disapproval of a poor Cardinal building so sumptuous a villa, and took away from him the subsidy which he had hitherto allowed him, but the threatened suspension of the work on the villa was averted by Fontana, who put all his savings at the disposal of Peretti. Fontana, however, cannot have possessed the necessary funds, and it is certain that the Grand Duke of Tuscany made up to Peretti the pension which the Pope had taken away.[2] The real foundation for this anecdote was the disfavour into which he had fallen with Gregory XIII. During that long period Peretti had ample time in the solitude of his villa to make plans with Fontana, which were at first merely flights of fancy, but which, with his elevation to the supreme dignity, suddenly received a practical character.[3]

How dear his work on the Esquiline was to the new Pope, the grand scale of which corresponded so well with his natural character, was shown on May 5th, 1585, on the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran. That solemn ceremony had heretofore concluded with a banquet; instead of this, however, Sixtus V. took leave of the Cardinals, and repaired to his villa, where he partook of a frugal meal with his former servants. The rest of the day he spent in walking about the plantations which he had himself laid out. It was only when evening was come that, accompanied by the Cardinals who had waited in the neighbouring vignas, he returned to the Vatican amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.[4]

Even afterwards the Pope showed an affectionate interest in the Villa Montalto, partly by adding to it by further

[1] See GOTHEIN, I., 324. *Cf.* H. ROSE, Spätbarock, 36 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÜBNER, I., 199.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, II., 156 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso of May 8, 1585 ("passando il giorno fra quelle piante da lui inserte et più volte purgate con le proprie mani"); Urb. 1053, p. 199, Vatican Library.

purchases, and partly by gifts made to him by Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati. The whole was surrounded by a high wall.[1] As the palazzetto was too small for the Papal court, especially in the summer when he wanted to stay there,[2] there was erected in the vicinity, near the entrance by the Baths of Diocletian, the heavy Palazzo delle Terme, with two storeys,[3] under the direction of Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia. Sixtus V. had this decorated with frescoes which in style and subject were similar to those in the Vatican Library. In the main hall there were representations of the principal building achievements of Sixtus V., adorned with verses by Guglielmo Bianco.[4] In 1586 the Pope presented the whole, the most important building of its kind in the Eternal City, to his beloved sister Camilla, who had already bought a vigna of her own near the villa erected by her brother.[5]

At the Villa Montalto Cardinal Peretti was constantly reminded that that district which in the time of the Emperor Augustus had been covered with splendid gardens and buildings, had fallen into a state of complete desolation because, after the destruction of the great ancient aqueducts at the hands of the Ostrogoth Vitiges (537), it had suffered from the lack of the necessary supply of water. In the gardens, where the plantations suffered so much from drought, there still remained the ruins of the aqueduct which had supplied the Baths of Diocletian. When in the evening the Cardinal enjoyed the sunset from his loggia, and the ruins of the neighbouring Baths and the aqueducts glowed with a rosy light, his eye wandered with desire to the mountains gleaming with a magic gradation of colour, whence at one

[1] See ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 61 *seq.*, 70.

[2] See FONTANA, Trasportazione, I., 31b.

[3] *Cf.* MASSIMO, Notizie, 118 *seq.*

[4] The frescoes, now preserved in the Istituto Massimo, were described in detail by MASSIMO (Notizie, 125 *seq.*) and reproduced by ORBAAN (Conti di Fontana, VII., 420, 421 ; VIII., 62, 65, 69) and by PASTOR (see *supra*, p. 204, n. 4.).

[5] See CORSETTI (*supra*, p. 203, n. 1), 51 *seq.*

time fourteen great aqueducts had brought to the capital of the world plentiful supplies of precious water.[1] But to restore to the Papal capital even a part of such a supply called for difficult and costly works, which Gregory XIII. had already contemplated.[2]

It was characteristic of the courageous spirit of Sixtus V. that at the very beginning of his pontificate he turned his attention to this gigantic task. On the very day of his taking possession of the Lateran he announced his intention of restoring the channel of the Acqua Alessandrina, constructed be the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-225), but now for the most part in ruins.[3] The source of this aqueduct was on the property of the Colonna, in the hills of Pantanelle, near Palestrina. On May 28th, 1585, he bought these abundant springs from Marzio Colonna, the brother of the Cardinal, for 25,000 scudi, and in June expended as much as 36,000 scudi for the cost of the works, in which a part of the ancient aqueduct was to be made use of.[4] A special congregation was set up under the presidency of Cardinal Medici to discuss the undertaking,[5] by which Sixtus V. not only intended to supply the heights of the Esquiline, Viminal and Quirinal with the necessary water, but other parts of the city as well.[6] The preparation of the plans took a certain time,

[1] See A. Betocchi, Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma, Roma, 1879, 26. For all the details see Lanciani, I commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti (special number of the *Atti dell' Acad dei Lincei*, Cl. di sc. 3, serie IV., 215-614), Rome, 1880, which also frequently relate to subsequent times.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 592.

[3] See Fontana, Trasportazione, I., 43. Ranke (I., 310) erroneously speaks of the Acqua Marcia, which was only completed in 1870, as having been restored by Sixtus V.

[4] *Cf.* Fea, Storia d. Acque, 98 *seq.*, and *Avviso of June 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 243, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 380, Vatican Library.

[6] *" [Il Papa] ha parimente rissoluto di far condurre in Roma un capo d' acqua tanto grosso che potrà servire non solo a Monte

but in the autumn the work was begun under the direction of Matteo Bertolini da Castello. The expenses were very great, and were estimated at 300,000 scudi.[1] But this was no obstacle in the eyes of Sixtus V. He ordered that the new water supply should be called, after his own name, the "Acqua Felice."[2]

This great but very difficult undertaking began to look more hopeful when Sixtus V. replaced Matteo Bertolini da Castello, who was not equal to so great a task, by the clever Domenico Fontana, who was helped by his brother Giovanni.[3] If the work had presented plenty of difficulties in the region of the springs,[4] even more were met with in building the aqueduct across the Campagna. The hills of Palestrina were sixteen miles distance from Rome, but the difficult nature of the ground increased this to twenty-two miles. In the plain the conduit had to be carried to a great extent underground, and to do this rocky elevations in the soil had to be cut away.[5] The works, however, were pushed forward with feverish speed.[6] As a rule 2,000 men were employed, and sometimes three or four thousand. During the summer many fell sick with malaria, but their places were at once filled up. In order to prevent any interruption of the work,

Cavallo, dove disegna condurvela, ma in molti altri luoghi della città, et questi sono li trattenimenti con quali S.Sta si va sollevando dalle cure gravi che passano, mostrando in tutte le sue attioni grandezza d'anima." Avviso of September 28, 1585, *ibid.*, p. 420.

[1] See the *reports of Capilupi, September 16 and October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gritti, in his *report of May 10, 1586 (State Archives, Venice), estimates the cost at about 200,000 scudi.

[2] See *Avviso of October 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 429, Vatican Library.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 123.

[4] See FONTANA, Trasportazione, I., 43.

[5] See *ibid.*

[6] See *Avviso of March 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 79, Vatican Library.

in August, 1586, the Pope forbade the customary burning of the stubble in the Campagna.[1] As the Pope wished to see tangible results as soon as possible, and the expenses were very great, he several times found himself engaged in disputes with Cardinal Medici, who had supreme charge of the undertaking; the Cardinal, however, succeeded in pacifying the Pope, though he showed that an increase in the money to the amount of another 60,000 scudi was necessary, as well as the enlargement of the reservoir.[2]

It was characteristic of the zeal of Sixtus V. that he several times interfered in person. In May, 1586, accompanied by several Cardinals in his confidence, he went to Zagarola to inspect the works. Marzio Colonna entertained the Pope sumptuously, and Sixtus addressed words of encouragement to the directors of the works, bidding them not to desist until the water should flow on the Quirinal.[3]

Sixtus V. would have been glad if by St. John's Day, 1586, it could have been proved that the water had reached the Quirinal.[4] This, however, could not be done until after the new springs had been brought nearer.[5] The work was carried on with the greatest energy all through the summer. In August the Pope's sister brought him a bottle of the new water, from which it was seen that it was less good in quality than the Acqua Vergine.[6]

It was a day of happiness for Sixtus V. when at the end

[1] See *Avviso of August 16, 1586, *ibid.*, p. 350.

[2] See *Avvisi of July 16, 19, 26 and 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 288b, 295, 302, 307, 313, Vatican Library. See also the *report of Olivo of July 23, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* *diarium P. Aleleonis, May 12, 1586, Vatican Library, and *Avviso of May 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 168 *seq.*; the same in part in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 287. See also MUTINELLI, I., 177.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of May 31, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 200, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 23, 1586, *ibid.*, p. 355.

[6] See *Avviso of August 27, 1586, in ORBAAN, Roma, 289. For the quality of the Acqua Felice *cf.* PINTO, Sisto V e l' igiene in Roma, 10 *seq.*

of October, 1586, his hope of seeing the water gush forth at the Villa Montalto was realized.[1] By the end of the year the aqueduct was in working order, though at first but slowly, as far as the Strada Pia.[2]

In the following year, 1587, the expenses were still very great.[3] But everything was compensated in the spring by the undeniable and complete success of the undertaking. The volume of water brought by the aqueduct made it possible not only to erect fountains and hydraulic devices at the Villa Montalto, but also to supply water to Cardinal Medici for his celebrated villa on the Pincio.[4] The visit which the Pope paid to Zagarola at the beginning of June resulted in the enlargement of the reservoir. Sixtus V., who visited the whole district carefully, returned to Rome after an absence of five days.[5] In August he gave Cardinal Azzolini, archpriest of St. Mary Major's, the water supply he needed for his villa.[6] The Romans too resolved to avail themselves of the new water supply, but from financial reasons of the projected fountains the only ones carried into effect were those at S. Maria de'Monti, the Campo Vaccino, the Aracoeli and the Piazza Montanara.[7] In the spring, besides the erection of a fountain

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi of October 25 and 27, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 460, 467, Vatican Library, and the *report of Attilio Malegnani, October 22, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Avviso of December 22, 1586, in LANCIANI, IV., 159. The *Avviso of December 31 reports: "L'acqua della Marana sarà divisa in quell'istesso luogo (strada Pia) et ripartita alli compratori et sboccarà in quel sito come fa quella di Trevio da tre aperture." Urb. 1054, p. 540b, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of A. Malegnani, January 24, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* the *reports of Malegnani, April 1 and 8, 1587, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of June 6, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 204, Vatican Library; *letters of Malegnani of June 3 and 6, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Report of Gritti, June 16, 1587, in HÜBNER, II., 497 *seq.*

[6] See Avviso of July 22, 1587, in ORBAAN, Roma, 299.

[7] See LANCIANI, IV., 159. The fountain in the piazza of the Aracoeli is hidden from sight; it still bears the emblems of

in front of the Quirinal,[1] the Pope took in hand another in the Piazza S. Susanna.[2] In March, 1588, he assisted in person at a test, to see whether the aqueduct would reach the colossal "Horse-tamers" on the Quirinal.[3] The results obtained so far were so satisfactory that at the end of May Sixtus V., on his way to Civitavecchia, took under consideration at Bracciano the plan formed in the previous year for providing the right bank of the Tiber as well with water from the same supply.[4]

The final opening of the Acqua Felice took place in 1589, on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. On that day, which had been chosen by Sixtus V. out of devotion to the Mother of God, the water for the first time flowed from all the fountains.[5] The important occasion was celebrated in poetry by Torquato Tasso in sublime verse, in which he described how the water was brought by hidden ways from the darkness to the light of day, in order to gaze upon Rome the mistress of the world, as Augustus had once seen her.[6]

In the brief space of three years Sixtus V. had accomplished

Sixtus V., viz. the lions' heads and the three mountains from which there gushes a stream of water. *Cf.* PARASACCHI, Raccolta d. principali fontani di Roma, Rome, 1647, tav. 16. *Ibid.*, tav. 35, the Fontana de' Catecumeni alla Madonna delli Monti. See also Inventario, I., 15. The *Avviso of September 3, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 391, Vatican Library, tells how anxious the Pope was for the completion of the fountain near the Aracoeli.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of April 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 134, Vatican Library.

[2] See the passage from Galesini in LANCIANI, IV., 159, n. 1.

[3] See *Avviso of March 23, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 113, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avvisi of September 26, 1587, and June 1, 1588, Urb. 1055, p. 370; 1056, p. 222, Vatican Library.

[5] *"Hieri per il giorno della Madonna fu data l' acqua Felice a tutte le fontane di Roma, che erano preparate a riceverla, facendo bellissima riuscita per la gran calata che evi et si condurrà anco in Trastevere." Avviso of September 9, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 549b, Vatican Library.

[6] TASSO, Opere, II., 560.

a work that rivalled that of the Caesars, and assured to him an imperishable memory for all time in the Eternal City.[1] To this day Rome still enjoys the benefits conferred on her by the great Pope. The Acqua Felice daily yields 21,000 cubic metres of water, and supplies twenty-seven fountains.[2] Coming down from the hills of Palestrina it crosses the Campagna, to a great extent underground, to cut across the road leading to Frascati near the so-called Porta Furba, by means of a quite peculiar construction which is really neither arch nor tower.[3] There it runs above the road on heavy arches, and follows the course of the ancient Aqua Marcia, Tepula and Julia, the ruins of these three aqueducts being used for the purpose. After the Acqua Felice has once more gone underground at the Villa Montalto, it supplies the fountains near S. Susanna, and provides with water not only the hills from the Lateran to the Pincio, but also other parts of the city as far as the Capitol.[4]

All that the Acqua Felice implied was summed up by Fontana in the following enthusiastic words: "The higher parts of Rome," he said, "are now placed on the same footing as the lower parts as far as water supply is concerned. With the greatest generosity the Pope has placed the needful water at the disposal of monasteries, Cardinals and nobles for their gardens and villas. Building operations have been begun in places hitherto left desolate, so that a new Rome is rising up, to the gardens of which the court, the Cardinals, the nobles and the people can repair for recreation."[5]

If Sixtus V. felt himself filled with a sentiment of satisfaction at seeing the success of so difficult and useful an undertaking, it is easy to understand his feelings, for this reconquest of

[1] Opinion of RANKE (I., 310). *Cf.* GOTHEIN, I., 312. Gualterius (*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) calls the aqueduct "opus paene immensum."

[2] See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

[3] See ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 15. *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, I., 85 *seq.*, and PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 3.

[4] *Cf.* FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 86.

[5] FONTANA, I., 436.

the hill district meant for Rome one of the greatest achievements since ancient days, and a triumph for the Papacy.[1] For centuries past all building activity had been confined to the banks of the Tiber, because all that part of Rome that lay upon the hills lacked the necessary element of water. Only now were the Romans able to take advantage of their hills, with their pure and fresh air, and their splendid views. While the city was given the opportunity of eventually extending, it was also given that splendid district of gardens which, until the demolitions of the nineteenth century, gave her a beauty of her own.[2] The feelings which animated the Pope after the completion of the Acqua Felice were expressed in inscriptions which may be seen to this day, the lapidary art of which is in no way inferior to that of the Imperial age.[3] At the Porta Furba a double stone, below which is carved the head of a lion, the heraldic bearing of Sixtus V., tells the traveller on his way to Rome, as well as him who is leaving it, that Sixtus V., in order to restore life to the deserted and unhealthy hills of Rome,[4] had gathered together, and conducted by ways in part underground, the waters that passed over that arch, into the city where he dwelt. Inside the walls, near the Porta S. Lorenzo, a great inscription tells how the aqueduct runs for seven miles upon arches overground and for thirteen miles underground, and that it was constructed at the expense of Sixtus V.[5] Still more characteristic are the inscriptions and sculptures on the great

[1] See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 15, 19.

[2] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, I., 312. For further particulars see the volumes of this work for the pontificate of Paul V.

[3] *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, Quinto centenario dei Marmorarii di Roma, Roma, 1906, 18

[4] *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXXVI., 137, n. 1.

[5] The inscriptions in FONTANA, I., 43b-44. Fontana (I., 43) places the expense at 270,000 scudi (*cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Svizzeri, Roma, 1886, 13 *seqq.*). With this agrees the *report of Gritti, June 16, 1587, according to which up to that time 250,000 scudi had been expended (State Archives, Venice). The higher figures given, up to a million, are exaggerations.

fountains which Sixtus V. set up in the piazza near S. Susanna.[1]

Whereas the Roman fountains hitherto erected were of the classical type, with basin or cantharus, Fontana here inaugurated the wall fountain on a grand scale. It was fully in accordance with the ideas of his patron that he should in this erection which was principally intended for the benefit of the people, recall the religious symbolical importance of water, and build the fountain in the form of a great façade of a temple, or, it might be said, of an imposing altar.[2] Four antique Ionic columns divide the travertino wall into three niches. In the central one is the grand, but unfortunately too short figure of Moses, who, striking the rock with his rod, causes the water to gush forth at his feet. If Baglione relates in his life of the artist that the author of this work, Prospero Antichi, died of chagrin on account of the criticisms levelled at it,[3] this is not in accordance with the truth, for Antichi lived until January, 1592.[4] The statue of Moses which gives its name to the fountain is characteristic of the changed ideas of the time ; during the Renaissance a Neptune would have been chosen. It is flanked in the two niches at either side by high reliefs of scenes from the Old Testament : Aaron leading the thirsty people to the water which had sprung up miraculously in the desert, by Giambattista della Porta, and Gedeon choosing his soldiers by watching the way they drank the water, by Flamino Vacca.[5] The three streams of water which flow from the plinths of these sculptures fall

[1] See LETAROUILLY, II., 231 ; MAGNI, Barocco in Roma, 17.

[2] *Cf.* H. SEMPER, Uber Monumentalbrunnen und Fontainen, in *Zeitschr. des bayr. Kunstgewerbevereins*, 1891, 57, 65. See also RIEGL, Barockkunst, 131 ; GUIDI, Fontane, Zurich, 1917, 67 *seqq.*

[3] BAGLIONE, 41. *Cf. ibid.*, 86 concerning the collaboration of Leonardo da Sarzana in the statue. The idea of the statue was mentioned in July, 1587 ; see ORBAAN, Avvisi, 299. It was paid for in September, 1588 ; see *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232.

[4] See THIEME, I., 555.

[5] BAGLIONE, 68 ; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232 ; BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lomb., I., 220.

into as many basins. These are separated by lions spouting water; the two Egyptian ones were taken from the Pantheon, and the two medieval ones from the Lateran.[1]

The impression made by the fine proportions of this construction was unfortunately spoilt by the too heavy attic,[2] the centre of which is surmounted by the Pope's arms held up by angels, while above is the Cross upon three mountains, and on either side a small obelisk. Just as the lions have reference to the arms of Sixtus V., so do the mountains refer to his birthplace, Montalto. The inscription on the attic gives a brief history of the work: Pope Sixtus of the March of Ancona has gathered together the rich streams near Colonna to the left of the Via Prenestina, and has brought them here by a winding aqueduct for a distance of twenty-two miles from the springs, and of twenty miles from the reservoir. The aqueduct, which bears his own name, was begun in the first year of his pontificate and completed in the third.[3]

Sixtus V continued to concern himself with the preservation of the Acqua Felice during the last years of his life On February 19th, 1590, he presented to the Cardinals assembled in consistory a bull which met with unanimous approval.[4] In this remarkable document the Pope justifies himself for the undertaking, which was deemed by some to be impossible, and by others too costly.[5] He begins by pointing out that Rome, as the centre of the Christian religion, the common

[1] *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 158.

[2] See ESCHER in *Thiemes Künsterlex.*, XII., 176.

[3] See FONTANA, I., 45. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, II., 231. Commemorative medals of the Fontana Felice in BONANNI, I., 402 *seq.* Under the reproduction of the Fontana Felice in the Villa Montalto were the beautiful verses:—

Currite felices felice principe fontes
Nulla Quirinali notior unda iugo.

See MASSIMO, Notizie, 130.

[4] See *Acta consist. in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

[5] The bull "Supremi cura regiminis" in Bull. Rom., IX., 177 *seq.*

fatherland of the faithful, and the safe place of refuge for men of every nation, must enjoy not only spiritual, but also temporal advantages. It was for this reason that from the beginning of his pontificate he had taken thought for the needs of the inhabitants, and had sought to glorify the city by means of restorations and new buildings, to the glory of God and the Holy See. He then goes on to show how, in the days of antiquity, the quarters of the city which stood upon the heights had been covered with splendid palaces, theatres, baths and marvellous aqueducts, and how, later on, in the Christian era, it had been made remarkable by basilicas and churches, but had afterwards fallen into a state of complete desolation when the aqueducts had been partly destroyed by the barbarians, and partly fallen into ruin by reason of storms and the lapse of time. This state of affairs, which had lasted for several centuries, had, Sixtus went on to say, attracted his attention, all the more so as the lower quarters of the city, so thickly populated, were damp, unhealthy, and exposed to the frequent inundations of the Tiber. It was therefore necessary to bring a sufficient water supply once again to render habitable the hill districts, which enjoy such excellent air and so beautiful a position. Neither the difficulties of the undertaking nor the heavy cost could discourage us.

The bull goes on, as though in illustration of the inscriptions, the words of which are given verbally, to give a detailed history of the making of the Acqua Felice. After this introduction there come the enactments required for the preservation of this great work. The care of it is entrusted to the cardinalitial congregation set up in 1587 to superintend the water supply, the streets and the bridges, and the congregation is given all the necessary powers as well as a suitable sum of money. The Pope further orders that every year two Roman citizens are to be chosen who shall every three months make a careful inspection of the aqueduct and the fountains. Their report is to be made to the cardinalitial congregation, and by them to the Pope. There follows a series of detailed ordinances for the preservation and protection of the Acqua Felice from

any damage or injury, and finally grave penalties are inflicted on those who shall do such injury.

The bull on the Acqua Felice also makes mention of the new streets constructed by Sixtus V., which were to a great extent intended to serve the same purpose of restoring life to the deserted districts of the upper city.

It was above all motives of religion which guided the Pope in the radical changes which he effected in the appearance of the city; he wished to facilitate the access of pilgrims to the celebrated basilicas and other churches situated outside the inhabited districts. The pilgrimage to the Seven Churches had been revived, especially by the labours of Philip Neri, and was frequently made, not only by strangers but also by the Romans.[1] Sixtus V. took an important step to further this devotion. By a bull of February 13th, 1586, he ordered in the first place that the functions of the stations,[2] which had completely disappeared since the fourteenth century, and which only took place at that time in St. Peter's, should be revived, and that the Papal choir should attend in the case of the other basilicas as well, substituting for the too distant church of St. Sebastian on the Via Appia that of S. Maria del Popolo. In this bull the Pope expressly states that in order to facilitate visits to the venerable basilicas, he had already made broad and straight roads.[3] A fresco in the Vatican

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 177.

[2] By this was meant the processions of penance, already ordered in detail by Gregory the Great, which were held on certain days in definite churches, in which there was afterwards a high mass.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 663 *seq.* *Cf.* also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. The bull of February 13, 1586, was published on the 15th; *cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, where it is remarked as a "res nova" that the Pope had on that day announced: "Dominica proxima, quae erit in quadragesima, sacram stationem celebrabimus apud S. Mariam de Populo, ut quae pia devotione precamur, eiusdem Dei Genetricis suffragantibus meritis et intercessionibus impetrare valemus" (Barb. 2814, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the eulogy, so characteristic of the times, by Panigarola, of the revival of the custom of the Stations, in Berthier, S. Sabine, Rome, 1910, 89 *seq.*

Library[1] gives a bird's eye view of the new Rome. This clearly shows the dominant idea in Sixtus V.'s system of streets : " a great net-work of streets, connecting and affording distant views of the principal churches of Rome which were illustrious on account of their antiquity, is stretched throughout the city, with the nodal points impressively marked by obelisks. We have here the idea of an intelligent transformation of Rome, the principal sanctuary of all Christendom, which lies at the root of the great building programme for the city."[2]

It was the spirit of Catholic restoration, then showing itself in every direction, which gave the impulse to this great transformation of Roma Eterna, which at that time, even externally, and for the third time in the course of its long history, stood out as the capital of the world.[3]

It was a special piece of good fortune that, for the carrying out of his vast designs for the transformation of Rome, the Pope should have had in his service so versatile a man as Domenico Fontana. He had already, in the building of the Villa Montalto, proved himself a master in creating wide vistas, rendered full of effect by their starting points and endings. What he had already done on a small scale at the villa, he could now set his hand to on a grand scale. It was to the credit of the Pope that with ready understanding he accepted all the plans of his adviser, appointed him his principal architect,[4] and by his marvellous energy made it possible for him to carry them out in the brief space of five years.

Until that time Rome had been substantially a medieval city ; irregular in plan, with streets and alleys that were narrow and tortuous, cutting across each other with sharp corners, and lacking air and sunlight.[5] This medieval

[1] *Cf. infra.*, p. 227, n. 7.

[2] D. Frey on p. 43 of the dissertation cited *supra*, p. 189, n. 1.

[3] Opinion of RANKE (I., 307). *Cf* also ORBAAN, Documenti, XVIII.

[4] " Architetto generale " ; see FONTANA, II., 16.

[5] The interesting article by A. MORONI, Vie, voci e viandanti della vecchia Roma, in *N. Rassegna*, 1894, I., 407 *seq.*

character had been substantially retained until the middle of the sixteenth century, as is shown by the celebrated panorama of the Netherlander, Marten van Heemskerk, of 1536.[1] There still rose in many places square fortress towers, with loop-holes and surmounted by battlements, such as at one time had been a feature of all the houses of the nobles, and especially of the Cardinals. The greater number of the churches still had their medieval bell towers. The few domes that dated from the time of Sixtus IV. could hardly be seen because they were so low. The houses too for the most part were low, but everywhere among them there rose the palaces of the Renaissance, above all the new Vatican and the Cancelleria. In building the Roman palaces architects had in most cases to be contented with crooked and awkward building sites, but they succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, and to erect noble and monumental buildings on narrow and irregular sites. A splendid example of the way in which it was found possible to use a curved frontage and produce a great work of art was given by Baldassare Peruzzi in his construction of the Palazzo Massimi. The true type of Roman palace only developed by degrees, and until the fourth decade of the sixteenth century Rome remained the principal field for architectural experiment. A great influence was exerted by the Palazzo Farnese, begun in 1534, and if one must speak of the type of a Roman palace, it may be said to have been expressed for the first time in this. The court rivalled it with the most beautiful in the city, that of the Cancelleria; its staircase was the first to be really broad and convenient, as was fitting for the city of ceremonial.[2]

One peculiar feature of the city of Rome must be specially insisted upon. In the case of all the cities of Europe at that time the boundaries were fixed by the bastions that surrounded them, and inside this protective ring were the houses, for the most part small and huddled together. It was quite different

[1] See tav. 1-2 in PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaissance, fourth edition, Freiburg, 1925.

[2] See BURCKHARDT, Gesch der Renaissance, 199 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, 207.

in the case of Rome. Of the wide extent of ground round which ran the mighty Aurelian Walls, still maintained as fortifications, a good two-thirds was almost entirely uninhabited. The city proper was densely packed into a comparatively small space in the level ground between the Tiber, the Pincio and the Capitol.[1] The reason why the houses as far as possible clung to the Tiber was that the river was not only an important means of communication at that time, but also supplied the population with the necessary water.[2] The city properly so called stretched along the left bank of the Tiber; on the right bank were the Trastevere, the Leonine City, with the church of St. Peter's and the residence of the Pope.

At the time of the Renaissance men were no longer satisfied with the medieval form of the city. The researches of the humanists had made men familiar with the regular plan of the city in ancient times, and as was the case with all that they could learn concerning antiquity, this regularity of plan seemed to be the model to be aimed at. It was perhaps even more important that the whole tendency of the new buildings in the time of the Renaissance was towards regularity, and therefore called for straight streets, crossing each other at right angles, with corresponding open spaces. The use of straight lines seemed to be suggested, not only by these considerations, but also by the question of utility, and therefore during the whole of the fifteenth century in all the more important cities of Italy there was a strong tendency to widen and straighten the narrow and twisting streets, as well as to form new piazzas and enlarge those already existing. Side by side with the levelling of the streets we have the beginning of regular paving.[3]

On account of the exile of the Popes at Avignon and the disturbances connected with the great schism the Eternal

[1] See PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss., 88 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 90 *seq.*

[3] See W. WEISBACH, Stadtbaukunst, in *Preuss. Jahr.*, CLVII., 81 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 299 *seqq.*, and WEISBACH, Die ital. Stadt der Renaissance, Leipzig, 1923.

City was affected by this tendency comparatively late. Another influence was the contrast between the successive pontificates and the brevity of each of them. Thus the great plan for the complete transformation of the Leonine City into a monumental place of residence formed by Nicholas V. in the spirit of the Renaissance was never carried out.[1] It only fell to Sixtus IV., with whom generally speaking a new epoch may be said to have begun, to set on foot the transformation of the Eternal City, and to introduce some light and air, and consequently better sanitary conditions, into the labyrinth of streets which made up the crowded medieval Rome. He had the more important streets paved and widened, and removed the outbuildings and projecting houses. Besides the Via del Pellegrino, which led to the Campo di Fiore, to the two ancient streets in the Leonine City he added a third which originally bore his name, and extended from the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo to the great doors of the Papal palace (now the Borgo S. Angelo).[2] As even this was not enough in view of the great crowds that flocked to the Vatican and St. Peter's, Alexander VI. added a fourth parallel street, the Via Alessandrina, now the Borgo Nuovo.[3] Julius II. completed this street, which has remained to the present day the principal artery in that quarter. The vigorous Rovere Pope also improved other streets and piazzas in the city properly so called, where to-day a splendid inscription glorifies his labours and attempts to remove the narrow and irregular streets.[4] But his principal work was the construction of the Via Giulia, which ran in an absolutely straight line from Ponte Sisto parallel to the Tiber, which it reached near the ruins of the ancient Pons Triumphalis Thanks to this linking of the old city with the church of St. Peter's and the Vatican, the capital of the Popes was given the first imposing street of the Renaissance on a grand scale, the

[1] *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*
[2] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, pp. 455 *seqq.*
[3] *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 166 *seq.*
[4] See PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss. 26 *seq.*

dignity of which was to be emphasized by new monumental buildings.[1]

Leo X., who renewed the ordinances of Sixtus IV. for the removal of out-buildings, began in the southern part of the Campo Marzo the construction of three streets leading to the Piazza del Popolo, which were completed by Clement VII.[2] In like manner Paul III. after he had repaired the damage done by the sack of 1527, made two other streets alongside the one main road of communication between the Ponte S. Angelo and the interior of the city, the Via di Panico and the Via Paola, which opened into the Via Giulia, so that at that point three streets led in different directions into the city. The later efforts of Paul III. and his adviser, Latino Giovenale de'Manetti, to rearrange the streets of Rome, especially by means of the Via Triumphalis, constructed in 1535 on the occasion of the visit of Charles V., from the Porta S. Sebastiano across the Forum and thence to the Piazza of S. Marco, was of even greater importance than the undertakings of Sixtus IV.[3] The pontificate of the Farnese Pope also witnessed the transformation of the Capitol by Michelangelo; this had hitherto been entirely medieval in character, but now came to have an inportance as a model for municipal building.[4] It is true that the narrow ideas of the Roman Conservatori hampered to a great extent the carrying out in full of the plan of Michelangelo, in which, so as to give the impression of complete unity, all the various parts "were placed in relation with each other, and connected in various ways, taking into account the site, the views and their disposition, and the effects of light and shade." The broad steps of approach, intended to form part of the

[1] See Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 494 *seqq.* *Cf.* also H. VOLKMANN, Roms Strassenanlagen seit der Renaissance, in the periodical *Der Städtebau*, IV., Berlin, 1907, 87.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 127; Vol. X., p. 354.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 566. See also Lanciani, II., 236.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 569. *Cf.* BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, 40.

ensemble, and designed in relation to it, led directly to the summit.[1]

This principal approach, the Cordonata, was carried out under Pius IV.; Gregory XIII. gave the Palace of the Senators its slender campanile.[2]

Michelangelo, who made plans for many of the gates of Rome, increased their importance as terminal points for the streets by decorating the inside as much as the outside in the case of the Porta Pia, erected under Pius IV. The pontificate of Pius IV. was of like importance in the matter of improving the streets. The Via Pia, which led from the Quirinal to the Porta Pia, became one of the most splendid highways in the whole city.[3] Rome owed to Gregory XIII. a new and radical building ordinance,[4] as well as various improvements in the streets, the most important of which was the Via Merulana, which led in almost a straight line from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran.[5]

Sixtus V. carried on and completed what his predecessors had done in the matter of making streets and piazzas. It was he who employed in his vast plans for the transformation of Rome the architecture of the baroque, and who carried out the happy idea, conceived long before his elevation to the Papacy, of connecting the heights of the Esquiline, Viminal

[1] See WEISBACH, Stadtbaukunst, 82, who also says: "The conception belongs to the transition from the Renaissance to the baroque. To the latter belongs the idea of making the mass of a palace appear larger by allowing by means of the arrangement of the perspective, the facades of the palace to spread towards the base, and not constructing a mass that is at all points equally distant from the central axis, but in carrying out an ideal symmetry on the basis of this." *Cf.* also MICHAELIS in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, N.S. II. (1891), 190 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 439 *seq.*; Vol. XX., p. 595. The fresco in the Vatican Library, showing the Piazza of the Capitol, in PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 9.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 436 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 594 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 594.

and Quirinal with the lower city, thus giving new life to the districts which had been deserted since the devastation carried out by the troops of Robert Guiscard, and which even in the second half of the sixteenth century contained only a very few scattered houses.[1]

Sprung from a mendicant Order like Sixtus IV. and Julius II., Sixtus V. was the third Franciscan Pope to set himself, with the large ideas that characterized him, to the task of beautifying the city of the Seven Hills. For the central point of the new Rome he chose his favourite church, S. Mary Major's, where he wished one day to be buried. This was to form the starting point for the new system of roads, which were calculated to cover long distances and to afford wide views towards their terminal points, which were to be adorned by monuments.[2] He had in his mind a central starting point in the shape of a star, like to that of the ideal city in the architectural work of Maggi, published in 1564.[3] The plan in the collection of poems by Giov. Francesco Bordini was also derived from Maggi;[4] this, like the fresco in the Vatican Library,[5] shows the church of S. Mary Major's as the central point,[6] from which five roads start like rays, towards the

[1] *Cf.* the detailed work of ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 180 *seq.*, based on the plans of the city.

[2] *Cf.* WEISBACH, Stadtbaukunst, 82.

[3] "Della fortificazione." *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 164.

[4] BORDINI, Carmina, 51; "De viis amplissimis quas Sixtus V. P. M. ab Esquilino monte in syderis formam ad loca diversa aperuit et stravit," with a plate of the plan of the streets which has recently been reproduced by MUÑOZ (Roma barocca, 15). The reproduction of the medal with the inscription *Cura pontificia* is not successful; see ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 490. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 426.

[5] See STEVENSON, Topografia, tav., IV., n. 1; *Mél. d' archéol.*, XX., 297; ORBAAN, Documenti, lxviii. *seq.*; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 5. In the fresco executed in commemoration there is also a sixth road leading from S. Pietro in Vincoli to the Colosseum, which was planned, but not carried out. *Cf.* also FULVIO-FERUCCI, Antichità, 27 *seq.*

[6] In Bordini's poem it is said: "ut centrum residet dirigitque vias."

Porta S. Lorenzo, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the Lateran, Trajan's Column, and the Trinità dei Monti. Only one of these roads, that leading to the Lateran and called the Via Merulana, dates from the time of Gregory XIII., all the others being the work of Sixtus V. and his architect, Domenico Fontana.

The work was begun in the summer of 1585 and continued throughout the pontificate.[1] The first thing to be taken in hand was the great highway leading from the Esquiline to the Pincio, which was pushed forward so rapidly that in spite of the difficulties of the ground it was already in use in March, 1586.[2] In the autumn it was opened to ordinary traffic.[3] The new road led to the lower city at the point where the houses came to an end (whence we have the name Via Capo le Case).[4] The first part was called the Via Sistina, and the second the Via Felice. In a very short time there sprung up along the new road many houses and a few palaces, such as that of Muzio Mattei (later on Massimi, Albani, and del Drago). "In three years," said the Venetian ambassador

[1] *Cf.* the detailed account taken from the *Avvisi (Vatican Library) in the Appendix. See also LANCIANI, IV., 129 *seq.*; PANSA, 79; *Inventari*, I., 347.

[2] See *Avviso of March 26, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 290. *Cf.* FULVIO-FERRUCCI 171 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 172. That the Pope, in order to connect one of his new streets with the lower city, also began the construction of the so-called Scala Spagnuola is due to a tradition which is quite destroyed by a passage of Gualterius in RANKE., I., 310. Gualterius writes: 'scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portae latere commodas perpulcrasque admodum extruxit.'' This does not refer to the steps leading to the Piazza di Spagna, but to the great steps directly below the church; the so-called Scala Spagnuola was only projected by Sixtus V. *Cf.* in App. Nos. 7 and 8, the *Avvisi of July 30 and October 1, 1586, Vatican Library. Orbaan, Conti di Fontana VIII., 64; L'Arte XVI. (1913), 93 *seq.* See also in App. Nos. 2, 17 the *reports of Capilupi of September 28 and of Malegnani, July 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

in April, 1587, "the whole district will be inhabited."[1] In order to encourage the zeal for building, owners of houses on the Via Felice and the Via Pia were given special privileges in the autumn of the same year.[2] The building, however, went on but slowly, though an important step had been taken towards the settlement of the central point of life in the city,[3] a thing that made itself felt in the middle of the sixteenth century, and which found expression in the transference of the principal inns from the Banchi and the Campo di Fiore to the Piazza di Spagna.[4] The point where the Via Felice reached the summit of the Quirinal, and where it crossed the Via Pia, leading from the Porta Pia to the Quirinal, was marked by the Quattro Fontane,[5] erected at the corners in 1587, and supplied by the Acqua Felice. The wide views that could be obtained from here excited universal admiration;[6] at the different hours of the day and with the changing light they are always affording something new, and are among the most beautiful in the Eternal City. Towards the north the eye follows the road, which first drops and then rises again to the Trinità dei Monti, with Monte Mario crowned with pine trees as a background. To the south there may be seen beyond the Viminal the summit of the Esquiline, where the basilica of St. Mary Major's forms a majestic end to the vista. To the west the view ends in a most effective manner with the group of the horse-tamers near the Quirinal. To the east lies the Porta Pia.[7] The fountains at this magnificent

[1] See in App. No. 12 the *report of Malegnani of April 29, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Bull., VIII., 914, and *Studi e docum.*, II., 145, n. 3. *Cf.* the *Avvisi of October 7 and 10, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 376, 388, Vatican Library.

[3] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 402.

[4] *Cf.* Cerasoli in *Studii e docum.*, XIV., 398.

[5] *Cf.* Lanciana, IV., 132, *Cf.* M, Guidi, Le Fontane Barocche di Roma, Zurich, 1917.

[6] See the *letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[7] A fresco in the Hall of Consistories at the Lateran represents the panorama from the Quirinal towards the Porta Pia; see Pastor, Sisto V., tav. 10.

position, which afforded a view of the city, such as at that time only Rome could boast,[1] were designed and in part carried out by Fontana; above each of them there rises a simple niche in the wall. The decoration consists of rocks and life-sized reclining figures carved in travertino, and representing Fidelity with a dog as her symbol, Strength resting on a lion, the Tiber and the Anio. Later on the whole central part of this great thoroughfare, which was continued beyond St. Mary Major's as far as S. Croce in Gerusalemme, was named after these four fountains (Via Quattro Fontane).[2]

Quite straight too were the roads that led from S. Mary Major's to the Lateran on one side, and to Trajan's Forum (Via Panisperna)[3] on the other, as well as that between the Lateran and the Colosseum. In March, 1588, the Pope personally inspected them when they were thrown open. New roads were also to lead from the Colosseum to the Capitol,[4] and from Trajan's Forum to St. Peter's.[5] The road connecting the Colosseum and the Quirinal also owes its origin to Sixtus V.[6]

Besides these main highways many others were also made, such as that from S. Lorenzo to S. Maria degli Angeli, from the Piazza de'Cerchi to S. Sabina, from the Capitol to S. Maria della Consolazione, from the Porta Pia to the Porta Salara, and from the Porta Settimana in the Trastevere to the Ripa Grande. For the most part the Pope's aim was to render

[1] The Quattro Fontane in Rome were imitated in 1611 in the Quattro Canti at Palermo.

[2] *Cf.* FULVIO-FERRUCCI, Antichità, 25. The fountains were transformed under Clement IX.; see BELLORI, I., 165. *Cf.* MAGNI, Barocco e Roma, 28.

[3] See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, *loc. cit.*

[4] See in App. No. 23, the *Avviso of March 2, 1588, Vatican Library.

[5] See PANSA, 79, who remarks: "e perciò furano buttate molte case a terra, ma non si vede però fin' hora [March, 1590] altra mutatione." Pansa also gives the inscriptions of the new roads.

[6] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 304.

access to the churches more easy.[1] Mention may also be made of new streets near S. Pietro in Montorio, Trajan's Forum, and S. Silvestro.[2] Changes in the streets were also made in the Borgo.[3] This quarter, which had hitherto had a municipal administration of its own, was added as a fourteenth to the other thirteen Rioni of Rome, and granted as its special distinction the arms of the Pope's family.[4]

The Master of Ceremonies of Sixtus V. relates how very often the Pope would leave the Quirinal early in the morning in order to assist at Mass, on one day in one church, and on another at another church, and how it was his custom on these occasions to inspect the rising buildings and plan new streets.[5] Contemporaries often speak of these plans of his. Thus we are told that new streets were to be made from the Lateran to S. Croce in Gerusalemme and St. Paul's outside the walls, from the Porta Maggiore to S. Lorenzo, from the Piazza de'Termini to S. Vitale, from S. Andrea delle Fratte

[1] See FONTANA, I., 89, and the *letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob. 568, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the inscriptions in PANSA, 79, and the *Avvisi of January 14, 1587, and January 30, 1588, in App. Nos. 10, 22, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* LANCIANI, II., 126 *seq.*; IV., 136 *seq.*, and the *Avviso in App. No. 26, Vatican Library.

[3] See the Conti di Fontana in LANCIANI, IV., 136, and the inscription in the *Inventario*, I., 326. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, V., 656, and the *Avviso of June 4, 1586 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 6.

[4] The ancient Augustan division of the city into 14 Rioni was retained unaltered until the eleventh century; later on we find 12 and at the beginning of the Fourteenth century 13 Rioni (*cf.* C. RE in *Studii e docum.* X., 349 *seq*). The bull by which the Borgo was made into the 14th Rione is dated December 1, 1586; see Bull., VIII., 807 *seq.* *Cf.* also ROCCHI, Piante, 97 and BARACCONI, I Rioni di Roma, Città di Castello, 1889.

[5] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis (Vatican Library) in App. No. 31. *Cf. ibid.* No. 33, the *Avviso of March 22, 1589, Vatican Library. See also the *report fo Malegnani of September 5, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Sixtus V. twice visited the hospice of the Mendicants in 1587; see the *Avvisi of May 30 and October 31, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 197, 415, Vatican Library.

to the Scrofa, from S. Pietro in Vincoli to St. Mary Major's and the Porta S. Paolo, from the Arch of Constantine to St. Mary Major's, from S. Balbina to the Lateran, and lastly from S. Pietro in Montorio to the Ponte Sisto.[1] Again, at the beginning of 1590 the Pope was planning the making of a new street near the Cancelleria, where houses were to be bought to the value of 100,000 scudi.[2] Plans were made for the construction, near the little Porto di Ripetta, of a bridge across the Tiber, whence a road was to lead to the Belvedere.[3]

Even though all these plans were not carried out, the work accomplished in making streets by Sixtus V. during his short pontificate is nothing less than marvellous. It is estimated that the length of the roads he made was more than 10,000 metres.[4] The Via Felice, with its continuation, is 2,787 metres in length, and this queen of the new roads has never yet been surpassed by any other in Rome. It is further worthy of admiration to point out that all these works were carried out with such wisdom and insight into the future

[1] *Cf.* FONTANA, II., 20, PANSA, 80, and the reports in the *Avvisi in App. Nos, 6, 28, 32, Vatican Library.

[2] *" Ordinò appresso due strade dalla porta grande di essa Cancelleria a drittura fino in piazza degli Altieri et dalla porta piccola di S. Lorenzo in Damaso alla Pace importando la rovina delle case più di 100,000 scudi." Avviso of January 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 33, Vatican Library.

[3] See in App. No. 28 the *Avviso of October 12, 1588. An *Avviso of October 26, 1588, reports: " La fabrica del nuovo ponte a Ripetta sta sospesa per esser stato posto in consideratione a N. S. che questo sarebbe un levare la franchigia a castello S. Angelo et un render facile la ispugnatione di questa mole in tempo di guerra che Iddio guarda. Si parla in oltre che N. S. habbia commesso che si faccia altre strade nuove dentro Roma " (Urb. 1056, p. 488, Vatican Library). Fr. Tromba proposes in a *letter to Cardinal Rusticucci of December 17, 1588, the construction of a bridge near the Hospital of S. Spirito, which would relieve the bridge of St. Angelo. Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See LANCIANI, IV., 129.

conditions of the city that they still to-day constitute the principal arteries for traffic. It was entirely fitting that the city itself should have been made to share the expense.[1]

The new system of streets led to an important development of carriage traffic;[2] hitherto for the most part horses and litters had been employed. Sixtus V. carefully watched over the maintenance of the new streets; proof of this was not only the cardinalitial congregation set up in 1587 for the water supply, the streets and fountains,[3] but also the increase in the number of the superintendents of the roads. This authority had hitherto consisted of two persons; Sixtus V. added twelve more, so that now each of the fourteen Rioni of Rome had its own superintendent.[4] The Via Flaminia outside the Porto del Popolo was improved, as was the connexion between the Quirinal and the Porta Pia. Many of the streets were repaved.[5] In the matter of paving the Pope at first followed the example of his predecessor, but the use of pebbles not having proved satisfactory, these were removed and paving stones substituted. In February, 1588, it was resolved to employ this method throughout the Via Felice.[6] The large scale on which Sixtus V. carried out such works may be gathered from the fact that during the first half of 1587 no less than 121 streets were repaved.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 131 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the Avviso of March 7, 1580, in BELTRAMI, Roma, 22. See also WOLFLINN, Renaissance und Barock, 100.

[3] *Cf.* supra, p. 217.

[4] The information in MORONI, XLI., 224, is too general. Definite particulars in the *Ordinance of March 7, 1588: "Erectio magistratus 14 magistrorum viarum Urbis," in Editti, V., 74, pp. 67-68b, Papal Secret Archives. The literature concerning these officials (Magistri viarium) in LANCIANI, I., 47.

[5] See PANSA, 80.

[6] See the Avvisi in ORBAAN, Avvisi 292, 303. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 136; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 110, 153. See also Discorso del mattonato o selicato di Roma by GUIDO BALDO FOGLIETTA in *Arch. Rom.*, I., 371 *seq.*

[7] See CERASOLI in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun. di Roma*, XXVIII. (1900) 342 *seq.* The advantage of the *mattonati* is

Sixtus V. also took care to embellish Rome with piazzas. In the autumn of 1585 he was occupied with the enlargement of the piazza near Trajan's Column.[1] Three years later a plan was under consideration for the isolation of the column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna,[2] and for the enlargement of the Piazza Navona.[3] The piazza near the Ponte S. Angelo and that in front of the Quirinal were put into a better state, and that in front of S. Lorenzo outside the walls was enlarged.[4] A huge piazza was also formed

brought out by Franc. Tromba in a *letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated, "Di casa, 19 December, 1588," namely that "per li mali tempi non se potea se non con grandissima difficoltà et lordura praticare per la città" (Miscell. Arm. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives). In this letter Tromba suggests connecting the Leonine City with the centre of Rome by means of a bridge near the Hospital of S. Spirito; this would facilitate access to St. Peter's, especially in times of Jubilee, and would safeguard the Castle of St. Angelo, because then the bridge of St. Angelo could be completely closed during the night. Julius II. and Pius IV. had already projected such a new bridge. The cost, which was estimated at about 100,000 scudi prevented the carrying out of the scheme, which was only recently carried into effect.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of October 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 442b, Vatican Library.

[2] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 307.

[3] *" Si parla per ampliare piazza Agone di buttare a terra tutte le case che sono di mezzo tra detta piazza et il palazzo di Altemps." Avviso of November 5, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 506, Vatican Library.

[4] The *Avviso of March 23, 1588, reports: On Sunday the Pope held a cardinalitial capella at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, ordinando S.Sta all' uscire che fosse ampliata la piazza dinanzi a quella chiesa per commodità della corte sicome fa hora quella di ponte S. Angelo riducendosi per i contorni di essa piazza tutti quei bottegari e rivenditori d' herbe, frutti, pane et simili come disegnò parimente di tirarsi ramo d' acqua Felice. Urb. 1056, p. 113. *Cf. ibid.*, 134, and 143 *Avviso of April 2, 1588: S' abbassa la somità della piazza di Montecavallo di ordine del Papa per tirasi un ramo d' acqua Felice et farsi una bellissima fontana facendo nettare d' orni intorno quelle scabrosità che rendevano quel bel sito inornato. Vatican Library. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Roma, 304.

near St. Mary Major's,[1] and another near the Baths of Diocletian, and great basins were set up there for washing.[2] This last piazza was intended to serve both for the weekly general market, and for the fair which had so far been held near the ancient Benedictine abbey of Farfa.[3] The Pope also formed another project, which equally was not carried out; according to this the Piazza de Termini was to contain the basin of the great canal which was to bring the waters of the Anio from Tivoli to Rome. The construction of this gigantic work would have enormously facilitated the transport of the travertino and lime needed for the buildings, and would have supplied water for the works.[4]

Other undertakings of a hydraulic character also occupied the attention of the Pope; near the Porto di Ripetta a branch stream was to be carried from the Tiber, taken behind the Castle of St. Angelo, and brought back into the main stream near the Hospital of S. Spirito. By this means Sixtus V. aimed at increasing the safety of the fortress and of the treasure kept there, and at the same time putting an end to the inundations of the Tiber.[5] Another plan was devised by the Pope after the flood at the beginning of November, 1589. According to this a wide and deep trench was to be taken under the Ponte Molle from the Tiber to the Valle

[1] *Cf.* *letter of C. Foglietta, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[2] See the fresco of the Villa Massimo in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 6.

[3] See MERCATI, Obelischi, 259; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III., 376; PLATNER, III., 2, 346; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 288, 303. *Cf.* in App. No. 5, the *Avviso of March 29, 1586, Vatican Library, and LANCIANI, IV., 127.

[4] See FONTANA, I., 88b; *Avvisi of May 3 and October 19, 1588, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library (*cf.* App. No. 25, Vol. XXI.); MORONI, LXVII., 96, and the brief to the engineer Pompili Eusebi da Perugia, in MASSIMO, Notizie, 249 *seq.* *Cf.* C. BORGNANA, Dell' Aniene e del breve Sistino, "Cum, sicut accepimus," Rome, 1861; ROSSI-SCOTTI, Pompili Eusebi da Perugia e Sisto P. V., Perugia, 1893.

[5] *Cf.* the interesting article, based on the Avvisi, by P. M. BAUMGARTEN, Rom als Seehafen, in *Köln. Volkeszeitung*, 1909, n. 707.

dell'Inferno, and thence back into the Tiber across the hills. The floods were also to be controlled by protective works.[1] A preliminary estimate showed that this work would have cost about 200,000 gold ducats.[2]

Although these plans were not carried out, Sixtus V. nevertheless successfully accomplished another great work; the improvement of the means of communication in the Eternal City. This was only made possible by energetic intervention, but that a nature like that of Sixtus V. was not going to let this be lacking was seen from the orders given to Fontana, which gave him powers to break his way ruthlessly through every obstacle that stood in the way of the Pope's plans.[3] Houses, chapels and convents were as little spared as the precious ruins of antiquity.[4] A fresco in the Vatican Library shows the great demolitions by means of which the link between the Via Felice and the Via Gregoriana leading from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran was made possible.[5] At first complaints were not wanting,[6] but intelligent people realized that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. Poets boasted that the city was doubled in size, and had recovered its ancient area.[7] In 1587 Panigarola in a Lenten sermon gave great praise to the Pope

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of November 4 and 5, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library; the *report of the Venetian ambassador, November 4, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the *letter of Brumani of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* A *Doscorso sopra la inundatione del Tevere del presente a. 1589 (Instr. miscell., n. 4586, Papal Secret Archives) places its hopes in the assistance of Sixtus V.

[3] *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, L'opera edilizia di Sisto V., in *Rassegna Settimanale*, 1879, n. 80, p. 31.

[4] Plentiful information in LANCIANI, IV., *passim*. *Cf.* also *Arch. Rom.*, II., 229 *seq.* and in App. No. 11 the *report of Malegnani of April 15, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] *Cf.* the reproduction in BIASIOTTI, La basilica Esquilina, Rome, 1911, 31-32.

[6] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[7] RANKE, I[8]., 310.

not only for his many building works, but also because by means of his roads he had facilitated the visit to the Seven Churches.[1] There were still, however, some who looked upon all this with disfavour. One of these was the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who in May, 1587, lamented that in consequence of the making of the new roads houses had disappeared, and even venerable sanctuaries. "Here," so his report ran, "buildings are being tortured like men, only the Castle of St. Angelo triumphs in exchanging gold for stones.[2] This venemous remark refers to the fact that, in order to obtain the necessary funds, Sixtus V. had sold properties which, owing to lack of water or because they were covered with stones and ruins, were quite uncultivated. No man of intelligence can agree with this criticism, and Sixtus is deserving of the highest praise for having been able in this way to supply the funds required for his efforts for the common good.[3] In the same way it was folly to blame the Pope for the traffic difficulties rendered inevitable by the making of the new roads.[4] On the other hand it is only fair to deplore the inconsiderate attitude adopted towards the ruins of antiquity, though as to this the ideas of the time must be taken into consideration.

Even at the height of the Renaissance the great enthusiasm for antiquity had not been able to prevent the vandalism committed on all sides against the medieval monuments from being extended to antiquities, for which at that time there was such general veneration.[5] If all the Popes of the Renaissance took without scruple from the ruins of antiquity in Rome the materials they needed for their new buildings, such as travertino and marble, as well as columns, and even destroyed the records of early Christian days,[6] similar action

[1] See the *report of Malegnani, February 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 32. *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 134 *seq.*

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 166 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 688 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. II. of this work, pp. 179 *seq.*; Vol. III., pp. 302 *seq.*; Vol. IV, p. 78; Vol. VI., p. 478; Vol. VIII., p. 132.

on the part of Sixtus V. can hardly cause surprise.[1] A further excuse for the Pope may be found in the fact that his architect, Fontana, as had once been the case with Bramante, saw no harm in the destruction of the remains of early days. Of much significance in this connexion is a passage in the description given by Fontana of the buildings of Sixtus V., in which the celebrated architect does not hesitate to make specific mention, among the useful works of his benefactor, of the demolition of important ruins at the Baths of Diocletian because they prevented access to S. Maria degli Angeli.[2] In the same work Fontana quite calmly, as though it was fully justifiable, speaks of a plan for transforming the Colosseum into a cloth factory. "The Pope," he says, "not only intended to promote industry, but also to provide free lodging for the beggars: if he had lived for another year Sixtus would have carried out this useful undertaking."[3]

The indifference for ancient ruins shown by the artists of that time was also a result of the increased sense of their own importance.[4] It was in no sense the artists, but the Conservators of Rome, who took under their care certain monuments of antiquity which were threatened by the building activity of Sixtus V. Appealing to the bull issued by Pius II. for the protection of the monuments of antiquity, they decided in the first place to have recourse to Cardinal Santori.[5] In his autobiography the latter records that in

[1] *Cf.* the many proofs given in LANCIANI, IV., *passim*; see also II., 145 *seq.*; III., 12 *seq.*

[2] See FONTANA, Trasportazione, I., 88b. *Cf.* also the *Avviso in App. No. 26 (Vatican Library).

[3] See *ibid.*, II., 18 *seq.*, where Fontana explains by means of a design a complete plan for the transformation of the Colosseum. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Avvisi, 311; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, Topographie, I., 3, 286; CLEMENTI, Il Colosseo, Roma, 1912, 196 *seq.* In the last year of his pontificate Sixtus V. removed the ruins that had accumulated round the Colosseum; see *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXX. (1902), 305 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Les monuments antiques de Rome encore existants, Paris, 1920, 127.

[4] WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 12.

[5] *Cf.* LANCIANI, III., 12.

1588 representatives came to him in the name of the Roman people and begged him to dissuade the Pope from the proposed destruction of the Septizonium, the Arch of Janus and the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. Santori fell in with their request, and accompanied by Cardinal Colonna, had recourse to Sixtus V. The Pope's reply was that it was his intention to destroy ugly antiquities and to restore others if necessary.[1] Of greater importance than any aesthetic considerations in this petition was the fact that the Romans looked upon themselves as the heirs and direct successors of the "Senatus Populusque Romanus," and the commotion aroused among the representatives of the Eternal City decided the Pope not to touch so popular a monument as the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. But he did not spare the ruins of the Septizonium built by Septimus Severus at the south-west corner of the Palatine, when some columns of the three-storeyed portico were thrown down. The precious marble and granite of these characteristic and picturesque ruins, called by the people the "Scuola di Virgilio," were used for new buildings.[2] We are expressly told that there was general distress in the Eternal City at the disappearance of the remains of this monument, which had already once before been destined for destruction in the eighth century, because it was remembered that

[1] SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 181. This does not state that the tomb of Cecilia Metella had served as a hiding place for the bandits, as is often said on the authority of PAPANCORDT (Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, Paderborn, 1857, 356).

[2] *Cf.* HÜLSEN, Das Septizonium des Sept. Severus, Berlin, 1886; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, Topographie, I., 3, 100; STEVENSON in *Bullett. Com.*, XVI. (1888), 268 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 87 *seq.*; BARTOLI in *Bollett. d' arte*, III. (1909); PETERSEN in *Röm. Mitteil.*, XXV. (1910), 56 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 17 *seq.*; HÜLSEN in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. der Architekur*, V., 1 *seqq.*; there (p. 23 *seq.*) a printed copy, newly compared with the manuscript in the Papal Secret Archives of the: "Misura et stima della disfattura de tutta la fabrica della Scuola de Vergilio over Settizonio," which Fontana and Prospero Rocchi presented to the Apostolic Camera on May 15, 1589. See also TH. DOMBART, Das Palatinische Septizonium zu Rom, Munich, 1922, 14, 57.

Bramante once had said that there were no better models for architects than the Septizonium and the Colosseum.[1]

That Sixtus V. did not entirely despise the relics of ancient Rome is shown by the fact that immediately after his accession to the throne he appointed an energetic commissary to watch over antiquities in the person of Orazio Boari.[2] The Pope also acquired "imperishable merit" in the case of certain ancient monuments.[3] It was he who turned his attention to the colossal triumphal columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, by isolating the one and saving the other from certain destruction, by having it restored by Fontana, and providing it with a new pedestal.[4] Extraordinarily characteristic of the ideas of Sixtus V. is the fact that at the same time he sought in a sense to Christianize these two great monuments which owed their origin to the deification of the Emperors. In his description of the building works of Sixtus V. Fontana explains how the Pope aimed at the glorification of the Cross, and therefore wished to erase the memory of paganism; accordingly, for the Column of Trajan which once had borne the statue of the best of the pagan Emperors, he destined the statue of the prince of the Apostles, the counterpart of which was to be that of St. Paul on the other. The placing of the two bronze gilt statues of the princes of the Apostles, which was directed by Fontana, was specially difficult in the case of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The models of the statues were made by Tommaso della Porta,

[1] See the Avviso of September 14, 1588, in ORBAAN, Roma, 305 *seq.*

[2] See LANCIANI, IV., 123.

[3] Opinion of O. RICHTER (Topographie der Stadt Rom, Munich, 1901, 76). If it had not been for the energy of Sixtus V. the column of Marcus Aurelius would have fallen, says LANCIANI (III., 146).

[4] See FONTANA, I., 86; LANCIANI, II., 127 *seq.*; III., 146 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 267 *seq.* A reproduction of Trajan's column, from a fresco in the Villa Massimo, in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 7. *Ibid.*, tav. 8, a reproduction of the column of Marcus Aurelius from a fresco in the Vatican Library.

Leonardi Sormani da Sarzana assisting him with that of St. Peter, and Costantino de'Servi with that of St. Paul.[1]

Sixtus V. looked upon the monuments of antiquity with quite different eyes from the men of the Renaissance: in their regard he always remembered, like Tasso,[2] that the kingdom of Christ has conquered paganism and made it tributary; therefore by his orders the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were no longer in future to bear witness to the empty triumph of pagan Rome[3] over the Dacians and the Marcomanni, but were to be changed into monuments which told of the victory of Christianity. In the place of the images of the Emperors which once had crowned the two columns, there were placed the standing statues of those who were now the masters of Rome, the princes of the Apostles. On September 28th, 1587, there was placed on the top of Trajan's Column the statue of the holy Apostle Peter;[4] the Emperor who had furthest spread the boundaries of the Roman Empire gave place to the poor fisherman of Galilee,[5]

[1] *Cf.* FONTANA, I., 86; BAGLIONE, 144; GAYE, III., 473 *seq.*; BONANNI, I., 393 *seq.*; FEA, Miscell., II., 9; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 75, 80 *seq.*, 201, 219; *Art. Bol.*, 79; STEVENSON, 18, 23; *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXIV. (1896), 179 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 128; III., 147 *seq.*; IV., 153 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 299 *seq.*, 305, 306, and CONTI DI FONTANA, VII., 423 *seq.*; CERRATI, 18; *L' Arte*, X. (1907), 136; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 270; BARIOLI, Cento vedute di Roma antica, Florence, 1911, 39. The *Avviso of August 29, 1589, reports: "Lunedi il papa ha visitato quella mole Antoniana restaurata di commissione della S.S. così bene con le sue inscrittioni [see FORCELLA, XIII., 129] nella base et in cima, che rende maraviglia et stupore ad ognuno." Urb. 1057, p. 535, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* TASSO, Opere, II., Florence, 1724, 480.

[3] *Cf.* the collection of poems by G. F. BORDINI, p. 25, dedicated to Sixtus V.

[4] *Diarium P. Aleleonis, p. 339b, Vatican Library.

[5] Prosper Aq., De ingratis, I., 40 *seq.* (MIGNE, Patr. lat., LI., 97):

Sedes Roma Petri; quae pastoralis honoris,
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet.

whose spiritual overlordship had even in the fifth century spread far beyond that of any victorious Roman army, and whose successor had in recent times received the homage of seas and nations, of whose existence the age of Trajan had had no suspicion.[1] A year later, on October 27th, 1588, the statue of Marcus Aurelius, the violent persecutor of the Christians, the philosopher and writer, was replaced on the top of the column bearing his name by that of the Apostle Paul;[2] for a long time past indeed the persecutor had had to yield place to the martyr, the half forgotten writer, Marcus Aurelius,[3] with the empty introspection of his philosophy, to the Apostle, who by the force of his written word had become a true teacher of the nations, and a shining sun in the kingdom of the Spirit.[4] After a High Mass at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the dedication of Trajan's Column was performed with solemn ceremonial by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gonzaga, and of that of Marcus Aurelius by the Patriarch of

Cf. De vocat. omnium gentium, 2, 16 (MIGNE, *loc. cit.*, 704) brings out the same idea in the prayer of blessing of Trajan's column (with the words of Leo the Great, Serm. 82, c. 1, in MIGNE, LIV., 423). Praesta, . . . ut sicut per sacram b. Petri Sedem dissolutis terrenae sapientiae vantatibus eiectisque daemonum cultibus Urbem hanc caput orbis effici, ac latius tua religione, quam dominatione terrena praesidere voluisti, ita nullis eam permittas perturbationibus concuti etc. (*Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 341, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the rare work composed by P. GALESINUS and dedicated to Cesare Speciani: Dedicatio columnae cochlidis Traiani Caes. Augusti ad honorem s. Petri, Romae, 1587. At the end is printed the "Ordo dedicationis in honorem s. Petri."

[1] The Japanese embassy left Rome on June 3, 1585; *cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 179.

[2] *Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 408 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] At that time his column was taken for that of Antonius Pius.

[4] *Cf.* the prayers for the blessing of the column of Marcus Aurelius: *Concede, . . . ut Urbem istam, quam olim vanitatum errorumque magistram coelestis eloquii sui radiis b. Paulus illustravit, discipulamque veritatis effecit etc. [*cf.* Leo the Great, *loc. cit.*; quae eras magistra erroris, facta es discipula veritatis.] Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 410, *loc. cit.*

Alexandria, Camillo Gaetano. By this change of pagan monuments into Christian ones the wisdom of the Christian humanists made it apparent in a sensible and almost personal way to the eyes of all the world that, under the guidance of Providence, all the actions of pagan antiquity, in war and in peace, in science and in art, had served only to set up the pedestal on which was to be erected the edifice of Christianity, and that all the creations of human power belonged to the Creator and to the Christ God, and must be made to serve Christianity, receiving therefrom their greatest honour.[1]

In the prayers with which the two columns were dedicated to their new purpose another idea comes out, which shows what a change had been introduced into the appreciation of antiquity by the Catholic restoration. At the height of the humanist period men had been lost in admiration before the works of ancient Greece and Rome ; in them they saw nothing but the wonderful manifestations of the development of a power that had conquered the world, and of art and civilization that had been evolved with insuperable force. But now attention was turned to the reverse of the medal ; to understand this it is enough to remember that the proud buildings of antiquity owed their splendour to the labour of slaves. Their splendid trappings, as St. Jerome, the favourite writer of Sixtus V., says,[2] were woven with the sorrows of the unfortunate and the penal labours of the condemned, while tears and perchance blood stained the magnificent cameos and jewels, and the artistic capitals, carvings and statues. Moreover, men could not forget that all this magnificence was intended to minister to pride, a fierce spirit of war, and

[1] Under the reproduction of the column of Trajan, which was adorned with the statue of St. Peter, in the Villa Montalto, were the verses :

Quid Traiane doles quod te Petrus aeneus urget ?
Desine nobilior hinc tibi surgit honor.

MASSIMO, Notizie, 130.

[2] " Domus miserorum poenis et damnatorum labore vestitae. Epist. 46 (Paulae et Eustochii ad Marcellam) n. 10, in *Corp. script. eccl. lat.*, LIV., 341.

sensuality, and thus to serve the forces hostile to God. But now, according to Christian ideas, just as man was degraded by sin to become the slave of Satan,[1] so too the creatures of God, of which he had made use to sin, were, as it were, tainted by misuse and fallen into a kind of slavery.[2] Therefore, before the two columns were deemed worthy of bearing the blessed bronze statues of the princes of the Apostles, they were exorcised, that the evil spirit might be driven out. "I exorcise you," we read in the prayer of dedication, "O stone created by God, in the name of the Almighty Father, in the name of Jesus Christ, His Son Our Lord, and in the power of the Holy Ghost, that you may be cleansed to bear the image of the Prince of the Apostles, and may remain free from every taint of paganism, and from the enmity of evil spirits."[3]

How wide-spread the spirit of Catholic reform, which found expression in manifestations such as this, had become, is shown by the numerous declarations of contemporaries which speak with enthusiasm of the transformation of pagan monuments into Christian ones effected by Sixtus V.[4] Among the poets who spoke in this sense[5] was Torquato Tasso, who

[1] Hieron. In ep. ad Rom. 8, 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, 8, 19.

[3] Similar exorcisms were in use in the Church, on the authority of the Gospel (Mark, 16, 17) from the first days of Christianity. *Cf. Dict. de théol. cath.*, V., 1770.

[4] Besides the *passage from Galesinus in App. No. 38, Vol. XXI. *Cf.* the passage from the "Relatione al Papa Sisto V." in Ranke, III., 77* (without note of the source), the passage in Tempesti, I., 411, and Maffei, Hist. ab excessu Gregorii XIII., ed. 1753, 3. C. Foglietta remarks in his *letter cited *supra* (p. 192, n. 6): Et era dovere che Roma gia ricettatrice di tutti gl' errori del mondo fatta poi maestra de la verità non ritenesse più memoria di quel male, anzi da quel male ne cavasse Sisto V. questo bene d' honorare Dio con quello che quelli lo dishonoravano. Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[5] In the work of Galesinus mentioned in preceding note there are some poems on the blessing of Trajan's column in honour of St. Peter, edited by Guil. Bianco (Stà cubiculi intimus),

sang in burning words of the Cross at that time being set up on the obelisk at the Lateran, as the symbol that overcomes death.[1] Sentiments of this kind come everywhere into the mind of the Christian who visits the Eternal City; but perhaps most of all when from the Palace of the Caesars he contemplates the dome of St. Peter's and the countless other churches; here at his feet is death, there is life. No one who does not possess the Christian outlook can rightly appreciate the course taken by Sixtus V., though perhaps he may realize that it would have been difficult to have adopted any other. It is indeed a fact that for the most part monuments which recall some definite event or some particular person are irretrievably doomed if those for whom they were intended and who have an interest in their preservation have themselves disappeared. If, generally speaking, the monuments are the splendid expression of fixed ideas, with the disappearance of which they too must disappear, it is difficult to think of any way of preserving them except that of despoiling them of their original character, and of bringing them into harmony with prevailing ideas.[2] This Sixtus V. did on other occasions as well. In this connexion he was able to associate himself at the Capitol with his benefactor, Pius V., who in a very characteristic inscription had dedicated to the true God that spot which is perhaps the most important in the history of the world.[3] By no means in accordance with this was the conduct of the Senate, which,

by Silvio Antoniano, by Hier. Badesius (Romanus) and by P. Angelus Camers a Roccha. *Cf.* the poems of P. A. Bargæus in CIACONIUS, IV., 118. The collection of poems by G. F. Bordini (*supra*, p. 193, n. 1) are inspired by the same sentiment; *cf.* especially the poems on the Vatican obelisk (19), on that of St. Mary Major's (23), and on the statue of St. Peter on Trajan's column (25).

[1] TASSO, Opere, II., 466. G. F. BORDINI (Carmina, I., 23) expresses a similar idea in his poem on the obelisk near St. Mary Major's.

[2] See RIEGL, Der moderne Denkmalkultus, Vienna, 1903.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 135.

in the time of Gregory XIII., had placed upon the tower of the Capitol[1] an antique statue of Jupiter, between Minerva and Apollo. When he was a Cardinal, Sixtus V. had been scandalized at this, and when he had become Pope he gave the municipal authorities of Rome to understand in forcible words that he was not prepared to tolerate the presence of these statues which so strongly recalled paganism and its idolatry. Jupiter and Apollo had to be removed, and Minerva alone was allowed to remain after her heavy lance had been changed for a great cross of bronze. By this action Sixtus V. wished to show that there was but one who was master in the Eternal City: the God-Man and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.[2]

The scrupulous attention that was paid at that time to the Christian character of Rome was also shown by the consultations held concerning the removal of pagan names from the titles of some of the cardinalitial churches, as for example S. Maria sopra Minerva, but Sixtus V. did not approve of this.[3] On the other hand, on the ground that it is not right to mingle the sacred with the profane, he wished to change the name of the street near Macello de' Corvi, which was known as *Spoglia Christi*. He also wished to rename

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 599.

[2] See Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. in PLATNER, Breschreibung, Roms, I., 702; GALESINUS, *Annales Sixti V., Vat. 5438, p. 85, Vatican Library; GAULTERIUS, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuel Library, Rome; the *letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob. 568, Vatican Library. *Cf. Riv. Europ.*, XXII. (1880), 385; ORBAAN, 283 *seq.* For the coins in question see MARTINORI, 11 *seq.* The Trofei di Mario were removed to the Capitol in 1590; see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 83. *Cf. ibid.*, 92 *seq.* for the erection of the fountain at the Capitol, and p. 105 for the restoration of the prison there.

[3] In the *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae it is stated on March 18, 1587: "In audientia consistoriali: De tollendis nominibus gentilitatis in aliquibus titulis ut S. Maria supra Minervam et similibus: Quod videtur difficile propter designationem certam et substitit ac non visum est ei hoc probare." Papal Secret Archives, LII. 19.

the Piazza Sciarra, because it recalled Sciarra Colonna, the persecutor of Boniface VIII.[1] In keeping with the same idea was the removal ordered by Sixtus V. of an inscription on a statue in front of S. Clemente, which through a misunderstanding had led to the growth of the legend of Pope Joan.[2]

[1] *" S. S. aborrisce anco quel nome della contrada sopra Macello de' Corvi detta Spoglia Christi per non miscere sacra profanis et parimente il nome di piazza di Sciarra perche Sciarra Colonna fece prigione Papa . . . et pero si dice che S. S. imporrà a questi luoghi nuovi nomi." Avviso of January 27, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 36, Vatican Library.

[2] See DÖLLINGER, Die papstfabeln des Mittelalters, Munich, 1863, 27 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, 1907; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 247. *Cf.* also R. ENGELMANN, Die Päpstin Johanna, in *Sonntagsbeilage der Voss. Zeitung*, 1907, n. 607, and LANCIANI, Wanderings through ancient Roman churches, Boston, 1924, 189.

CHAPTER VI.

The Obelisks.—The Lateran Palace.—The Vatican Library.—The Quirinal.—The Dome of St. Peter's.

It is not right to condemn Sixtus V. as being the declared enemy of antiquity. When he was a simple Franciscan he had possessed the work of Marliani on the antiquities of Rome; as Pope he was on intimate terms with the learned Fulvio Orsini, and accepted the dedication of a work on the ancient monuments.[1] Indeed the Pope was able to appreciate, even as such, the works of ancient art which did not specifically recall paganism. Thus he caused to be removed to his villa on the Esquiline, whence in the time of Pius VI. they passed to the Vatican Museum, the statues of Posidippus and Menander which had been discovered near S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.[2] Even more noteworthy was the care he devoted to the colossal marble statues of the horse tamers, which a late inscription attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles. This

[1] See Orbaan, Sixtine Rome, 248 *seq.*, 250, where there are further particulars as to the work of Demontiosius (Louis de Montoise), Gallus Romae hospes, dedicated to the Pope.

[2] See Massimo, Notizie, 172 *seq.* In his otherwise so correct article, Michaelis writes concerning the Cortile of the Statues of the Belvedere (*Jahrb. des Deutschen Archäol. Instit.*, V., 48); "Sixtus V. planned nothing less than to remove to the Vatican the Laacoon and the Apollo together all their pagan company," and he relies for this upon Ranke, Päpste, I., 312, who for his part cites a passage in the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., which is printed in Platner, I., 702 *seq.* But this says nothing about the statues in the Belvedere. On the other hand an Avviso of February 10, 1588 (in Orbaan, Avvisi, 303) says: "Si dice che si tramuteranno in luogo di miglior vista quelle belle statue che sono in cima alli corritori di Belvedere di marmo."

work of art, which fully expresses the nobility of antiquity, had given to the Quirinal its name of Monte Cavallo ; it stood there on an awkward and low base of a later date. Sixtus V. ordered that the magnificent horses should be restored by the sculptors Flamini, Vacca, Leonardo Sormani, and Pier Paolo Olivieri, and that the group should be removed to the piazza he had made on the Quirinal, where, set upon a lofty pedestal corresponding with the Porta Pia, it found a worthy setting.[1]

The idea of the triumph of Christianity over paganism which was responsible for the crowning of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius with statues of the Princes of the Apostles, as well as aesthetic considerations, led to the erection of the four obelisks surmounted by the victorious symbol of Calvary, whereby Sixtus gave Rome an adornment which no other city in the world could boast.[2]

Of the many tall, rectangular, pointed columns, ending in a small pyramid, which had been brought to Rome in the time of the Emperors, and which the Romans called "obelisks"[3] and the Middle Ages "guglie "[4] the only one that had remained

[1] See *Arch. Rom., II.*, 232 ; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Suizzeri, Bellinzona, 1886, 19, and Art. Lomb., I., 77 ; *Bullett. d'Istit. Germ.*, XIII., 260 *seq.*, XXVI., 318 *seq.* ; *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXIV. (186) ; BONANNI, I., 421 ; LANCIANI, IV., 155 *seq.* The inscriptions in FONTANA, I., 87 *seq.* ; *cf.* the fresco in the Lateran Palace in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

[2] See in App. No. 38, Vol. XXI., the passage from the *Annales of Galesinus, Vatican Library. That the placing of the cross was Sixtus V.'s own idea is expressly stated in FULVIO-FERRUCCI (172). The credit due to Sixtus V. for having realized the value of the obelisk as an ornament to the city, was first brought out by C. Foglietta in his *letter, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library, cited *supra*, p. 192, n. 6.

[3] MERCATI, Degli obelischi di Roma, Roma, 1589 ; GORRINGE, Egyptian Obelisks, London, 1885 ; O. MARUCCHI, Obelischi egiziani di Roma, Roma, 1898.

[4] The name of *Aguglia* or *Guglia* which the Romans still use for the Vatican obelisk is probably derived from the French *aiguille* (needle).

in its original position was the graceful and red granite monolith, twenty-five and a half metres in height, which Caligula had brought to Rome from Heliopolis and set up in the centre of the *spina* of the Circus which he had commenced and which Nero completed. A stone in the pavement of the first street connecting the church and the sacristy of St. Peter's marks the spot, more or less hidden, and partly concealed by ruins, where this remarkable monument, rich with legend and round which the horses and chariots once had raced, watched over the little houses in the shadow of St. Peter's, which had fastened themselves on to the great basilica like swallows' nests.[1]

The first Renaissance Pope, Nicholas V., had already intended to place the Vatican obelisk in the middle of the Piazza of St. Peter's, in front of the church of the Prince of the Apostles, resting upon colossal bronze standing figures of the Evangelists, and surmounted by a statue of the Saviour with a cross of gold in His right hand,[2] but neither he nor his successors Paul II., Paul III., and lastly Gregory XIII., who had in view the translation of the obelisk,[3] had the courage to attempt this difficult undertaking. It needed a man like Sixtus V. to take up the project once more and carry it out.

What a difficult thing it was to lift from its position so great a mass of stone, more than twenty-five metres in height, to lower it gently to the ground, to transport it to another place, and there re-erect it, was realized from the account given by Pliny of the removal of the Vatican obelisk, and the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus of the erection of the obelisk of Constantius in the Circus Maximus. For more than a thousand years no such problem had been set to any architect, nor could there be found anywhere models of the mechanism

[1] The inscription states : Sito dell'obelisco sino all'anno 1586. How deeply the obelisk was planted in the ground is shown by the illustration of Dosio-Cavalieri of 1569, reproduced by Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli in *Roma, Rassegna illustr. dell'Esposizione del* 1911, n. 5, p. 16.

[2] See Vol. II. of this work, p. 174.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, p. 75, and Vol. XX., p. 598.

to be employed for the purpose. Consequently the most famous architects of the Renaissance, Michelangelo and Sangallo, had declared the plan to be impracticable. But nothing was impossible in the eyes of Sixtus V. He remained firm in his intention of carrying it out, all the more so, because, as is stated in his life, which he himself revised, he wished to see the monuments of paganism subjected to the Cross in the very places where once the Christians had been fastened to the cross.[1] Only four months had elapsed since he had assumed the supreme dignity, when the Romans saw in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's a wooden model of the obelisk.[2] It was said at the same time that the Pope had set up a special commission for the undertaking, consisting of Cardinals Cesi, Guastavillani, Medici and Sforza, of four important prelates, among them the grand treasurer, Benedetto Giustiniani, some of the Conservatori, and six experts.[3] The commission called to its assistance architects, engineers and mathematicians, and did not conceal from the Pope the enormous difficulties of the task, especially insisting on the weight and size of the obelisk, and the unexampled nature of the undertaking. As the Pope persevered in his intention, a concursus was announced, which produced the

[1] See the *passage in App. No. 40, Vol. XXI.

[2] "Hanno eretto una piramide di legno nell'istesso luogo su la piazza di S. Pietro, ove ha da esser condotta e posta quella di marmo [sic], che è dietro la sacrestia dell'istessa chiesa, nella quale dentro un pallone di metallo stanno rinchiusi le ceneri di Cesare primo imperatore." *Avviso of August 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 380, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the *report of Capilupi of August 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See FONTANA, Trasportazione, I., 5. This great work is the principal authority for what we are about to say. *Cf.* also FULVIO-FERRUCCI, Antichità, 216 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, De secret., II., 925; III., 1101, 1115 and tav. 3-5, which further names other contemporary writers; HÜBNER, II., 127 *seq.*; BRUNNER, Italien, II., 10 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 144 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 144 *seq.* Nothing new is given in the works of A. MAZZONI (Sisto V. e l'innalzamento dell'obelisco Vatic., Roma, 1886) and A. BUSIRI (L'obelisco Vatic., Roma, 1886).

most various suggestions, which their authors defended, partly in writing and partly in person, with the help of plans and models.[1] The ideas were of many different kinds, but may be divided into three principal groups according to their fundamental principle. Some, and they were the majority, thought that the removal of the obelisk should be effected without taking it out of the perpendicular; others thought that it should first be lowered and then re-erected; others again put forward the suggestion that the best course would be to incline it at an angle of forty-five degrees, move it in that position, and then bring it upright again. Fontana maintained that it should be lowered, moved and then re-erected, explaining his plan by means of an artistic model, in which the obelisk was of lead, the mechanism of wood, and the cords of thread. Although Cardinal Medici declared himself in favour of another method, also explained by a model by the architect Francesco Tribaldesi,[2] the Pope decided in favour of that of Fontana. The commission bowed to the commands of Sixtus V., but gave way to the many enemies of Fontana to the extent of entrusting the execution of the plan to the aged master Bartolomeo Ammanati, as being the most experienced.[3] Eight days later Sixtus discussed the matter with Fontana, who pointed out that no one was better fitted to carry out a plan than the man in whose brain it had been conceived. The Pope realized the justice of this, and placed the difficult task exclusively in the hands of

[1] The statement of FONTANA (I., 6), that the plans of 500 architects were submitted, is as much an exaggeration as the other, that architects, not only of Italy, but of Rhodes and Greece, took part. The difficulty of the task, even with our technical knowledge, and the help of steam and electricity, is brought out by DURM, Baukunst der Renaissance, Stuttgart, 1903, 46.

[2] I found this hitherto unknown information in the *letter of Capilupi of September 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and printed in App. No. 2.

[3] See BERTOLOTTI in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, N.S. IV. (1979), 145 *seq.* *Cf.* the same in Art. in relaz. coi Gonzaga, Modena, 1885, 22.

Fontana. This decision was arrived at on Wednesday, September 25th, 1585. It was then remembered that Sixtus V. had become a bishop, and later on Pope, on a Wednesday.

Fontana, who was given as his assistant his elder brother Giovanni,[1] at once set to work to excavate the foundations in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's, but met with an unexpected difficulty, which made it impossible to hope, as the impatient Pope desired,[2] that it would be possible to erect the obelisk in its new position by Christmas; the soil was found to be marshy as the water penetrated there. Accordingly a wooden fence of oak and chestnut was constructed, held together by boards. A carefully prepared cement was used instead of loose stones. In these foundations two caskets containing medals of Sixtus V. were deposited.

The task to which Fontana next set himself was a careful examination of the obelisk and the erection of a wooden scaffolding to take the weight of the heavy stone until it could be lowered on to the wooden platform. It was discovered that the necessary materials for this purpose were not to be obtained in Rome. Once again Sixtus V. intervened by giving his architect full powers on October 5th, so that he might quickly obtain in the Papal States, by favour or payment, all the wood and iron he required. Fontana at once sent his agents everywhere. He obtained from Foligno the hemp for the 44 ropes, each 100 ells in length, which were made in Rome. From the forests of Campo Morto in the Roman Campagna he obtained beams of oak so enormous that it required a team of 14 oxen to draw each of them. Terracina supplied the boards, and other wood came from Santa Severa. All the smithies in Rome were not enough to prepare the ironwork, and Ronciglione and Subiaco had to be called upon for help. At the approach of spring the buildings that stood near the obelisk were demolished in order to make

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Svizzeri, 12, Bellinzona, 1886; HÜBNER, II., 128.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso of September 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

room for the scaffolding, which looked like a veritable castle, as Fontana says in his description. The obelisk was first enclosed in matting and boards, and bound with strong bands of iron, to which were attached a number of iron pulleys. This covering and the whole of the other mechanism was carefully weighed, as the strength of the ropes, which were as thick as a man's arm, and of the scaffolding had to be equal to the weight of the obelisk. Fontana had calculated this carefully and found that it was about a million Roman pounds. In his description he explains the procedure he adopted in several folio pages. There, in a number of engravings, one may see the "Castello" for dragging the obelisk, the wooden platform on which the obelisk, once it had been taken down, was to be carried, and the forty windlasses for the ropes for lifting and lowering the great mass.[1]

At length, after six months' work, everything was so far advanced that it was possible to fix April 30th, 1586, for the raising of the obelisk. In order to keep the expected great crowd of sight-seers in check, it was forbidden under pain of death to set foot on the site of the works, and the police were at hand to carry this threat into effect.[2]

Fontana had done everything that human foresight could suggest to ensure the success of the work, but now, with the true Christian spirit, as the fateful day drew near, he recommended the matter to the powerful protection of God. On the day before, Fontana and all those who were taking part in the undertaking received Holy Communion; on the morning of April 30th he caused three Masses of the Holy Ghost to be celebrated.

The undertaking was blessed with splendid weather, and a magnificent spring day displayed the Roman sky in all its azure beauty. A great part of the population of Rome as well as many strangers from all parts of Italy had flocked into the Piazza of St. Peter's: all the windows and roofs were

[1] FONTANA, I., 18-20. Two of the windlasses used on this occasion are preserved in the Museo di S. Pietro.

[2] This explains the origin of the later legend that a gallows was erected near the scaffolding.

packed with spectators. In the neighbouring streets the mass of human beings was so dense that the Swiss Guard and the cavalry had hard work to keep order. Special tribunes had been set up for Cardinal Medici and the other members of the Sacred College, for the Governor of the Borgo, Michele Peretti, for the Pope's sister, Camilla Peretti, for the Roman nobles and for the ambassadors.

In the midst of the works, separated by a palisade, a lofty place had been prepared for Fontana, from which he could survey the whole scene. He and his fellow craftsmen recited a short prayer, and then a blast from a trumpet gave the signal for the forty windlasses to be set in motion. A deathly silence prevailed, broken only by the commands of Fontana and the creaking and shrieking of the windlasses. All followed the new and extraordinary spectacle with anxious tension, as to the joyful wonder of everyone the enormous mass was raised from the base on which it had rested for a millenium and a half. At the twelfth pull it had been raised two and three quarter palms, that is to say enough to enable it to be gently placed upon the wooden platform on which it was to be conveyed to the Piazza of St. Peter's.

At five in the afternoon this work was finished, and immediately the Castle of St. Angelo announced the news to the whole city. Fontana at once proceeded to remove the metal blocks by which the obelisk rested on its pedestal. Two of them were not very firmly fixed, and Fontana had one of them taken, as the first fruits of the undertaking, to the Pope,[1] who was in a state of joyful emotion. The other two were so firmly embedded in the stone with rivetted clamps, swallow-tailed in shape, that it took four days and nights to remove them.

The hollow bronze ball on the top had already been removed by Fontana on the previous day. An examination of it proved the falsity of the view that had been held from the Middle Ages onwards, that it contained the ashes of

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Gritti in MUTINELLI, I., 176.

Caesar,[1] for it was found that there was no aperture and that it was quite empty. In the small holes in it Fontana thought he saw the traces of the bullets of the Imperial soldiers who, on the occasion of the Sack of Rome in 1527, had entered the city near the obelisk.[2]

The still more hazardous task of lowering the giant was completed on May 7th, this time too with complete success, and amid the jubilation of the Romans. Fontana was conducted in triumph to his lodging with drums and trumpets. The Pope was highly delighted.

As the site of the obelisk was higher than the Piazza of St. Peter's, a causeway had to be constructed,[3] along which on June 13th the colossus began to move on rollers to the spot where it was to be re-erected. By reason of the heat of the summer this part of the work, the greatest and most serious, was postponed to the autumn. When the foundations were completed with blocks of travertino, in addition to the first stone bearing the name of Sixtus V., there were included medals of his as well as of Pius V. It was seen from this how faithfully the Pope cherished the memory of his benefactor whom he had taken as his august model.

The success which had so far crowned the undertaking had silenced all doubts and fears.[4] Sixtus V. had paid as little attention to these as to the witticisms of Pasquino,[5] being fully persuaded that God would bless the work undertaken in His honour.

[1] With regard to this and other fables connected with the obelisk see, besides PLATNER, II., 1, 39 *seq.*, 157, the detailed information of ERSILIA CAETANI-LOVATELLI in *Roma, Rassegna illustr. dell'Esposizione del* 1911, n. 5, p. 17 *seq.* See also DE WAAL, Der Campo Santo der Deutschen, 93 *seq.*

[2] The sphere is now to be seen in the Sala dei Bronzi, in the Capitoline Museum, where C. Maes was the first to identify it; see *Romana Tellus*, I. (1912), 158.

[3] Reproduction in FONTANA, I., 22.

[4] *Cf.* BREMOND, Jean de Vivonne, 201; MUTINELLI, I., 176.

[5] *Cf.* as to this the *Avviso of November 16, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 491, Vatican Library.

In order to set up the obelisk another great scaffolding of wood had to be constructed.[1] In spite of the heat of the summer the Pope insisted that the work should be pushed forward in all haste.[2] September 10th was fixed for the erection. Here too we can see the essentially religious ideas which guided Sixtus V. in the whole undertaking. September 14th was the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, on which the obelisk was to be dedicated. Yet another circumstance contributed to the choice of that date; Jean de Vivonne was to resume his interrupted embassy, while at the same time news was received of the coming of the Duke of Luxemburg as the envoy for the *obedientia* on the part of Henry III. When the Pope saw Vivonne, who first made his appearance incognito at a function at S. Maria del Popolo, he formed the idea of letting the two representatives of France be the witnesses of his triumph, the triumph of his own strength of will and of the courage and skill of his chosen architect. Therefore the master of ceremonies was given orders that, contrary to the usual custom, the envoys should make their entry, not by the Porta del Popolo, but by the Porta Angelica, which led direct to the Piazza of St. Peter's.[3]

Fontana and his fellow-labourers received Holy Communion on the previous day, and had two Masses celebrated on the morning of September 10th. Before they took up their positions they said a special prayer that God would bless the work. All eyes were turned towards the wooden castle. At last Fontana gave the signal for the work to commence, and at once the forty windlasses were set in motion by 800 men and 140 horses. Slowly the stone colossus moved, and rose up majestically. Towards noon the great task was half accomplished, and the workmen calmly took a meal before

[1] Reproduction in FONTANA, I., 24.

[2] " *Dicesi hora che'l Papa non partirà da Palazzo fin' a tanto che l'obelisco di Cesare non sia eretto sopra la sua base gia loro luogo collocata che sarà per tutto Agosto lavorandosi a furia intorno a questa impresa." Avviso of July 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] See HÜBNER, II., 131 *seq.*, and BREMOND, *loc. cit.*, 202.

continuing their labours. In the meantime the French ambassadors appeared in the Piazza of St. Peter's, where for a time they joined the great crowd of spectators, many of whom had given up all thought of eating or drinking, and remained at their posts all day long.

It was necessary to pull the cables fifty-two times before the obelisk, with its mystic inscriptions,[1] and gilded by the rays of the setting sun, happily stood upon its pedestal.[2] At that moment there rose from the multitudes gathered there a mighty shout of applause, with which there soon mingled the salvos of the Castle of St. Angelo. Fontana became the most popular figure in Rome, and in the evening all the trumpeters of Rome serenaded the director of the works, thus crowned with glory.

The salvos of the Castle of St. Angelo informed the Pope, who had at his own expense borne the cost, which amounted to 37,975 scudi,[3] as he was going from the Quirinal by the Banchi to the Vatican, where the reception of the French envoys was to take place. The satisfaction of the Pope was as great as it was justifiable, and he expressed it openly. Fontana was loaded with favours. The Pope appointed him

[1] M. Mercati in his work Degli obelischi di Roma (Roma, 1859) has vainly attempted to decipher the hieroglyphics; *cf.* Volkmann, Die Bilderschrift der Renaissance, Leipzig, 1923, 11.

[2] In the description given by Fontana there is no mention of the anecdote, once more repeated by Hübner (II., 130) as "historical," that the machine employed to raise the obelisk suddenly stopped, and the obelisk threatened to fall, and that this was averted by the sailor, Bresca of San Remo, who cried out: "Acqua alle funi," and that Sixtus V. in consequence granted to Bresca the privilege of supplying the Pope with the artistically woven palms at Eastertide. This alone would not bring suspicion upon the story but more serious is the fact that neither the *Avvisi, nor any of the contemporary accounts say anything about it. *Cf.* Orbaan, Sixtine Rome, 165 and Hülsen in the periodical *Roma*, I. (1923), 412 *seq.*

[3] The cost of the cross at the top, which was undertaken by the Apostolic Camera, was not included; see Fontana, I., 31. *Cf.* Bertolotti, Art. Lomb., I., 75.

a Knight of the Golden Spur and a citizen of Rome, gave him a chain of gold and ten prebends at Loreto, which brought him in several thousand scudi, as well as a pension of 2000 scudi from ecclesiastical goods, which, although he was married, he was able to enjoy in virtue of the privileges of the Knights of Loreto. Sixtus V. also gave orders that he should receive another valuable gift, by handing over to Fontana the materials used in the work.[1] Of greater importance still was the influence which Fontana acquired in Rome and with the Pope: "the knight of the obelisk" became the man of the hour, and Sixtus placed all his building undertakings in his hands,[2] with the exception of St. Peter's. In view of the variety of these works it is impossible to suppose that Fontana was in all cases the architect who actually carried them out. It was already an almost superhuman work that he should have made the plans and superintended and inspected the works in general. In this he was loyally assisted by his brother Giovanni.[3] In Fontana technical skill exceeded his artistic powers, but even the most critical judges have bestowed unqualified praise on his talents as an organizer.[4]

Just as, according to the account of Pliny, in ancient times the removal of the Vatican obelisk caused the greatest excite-

[1] See the report of Gritti of October 4, 1586, in MUTINELLI, I., 177, and the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 289 *seq.* A special distinction was the fact that Sixtus V. placed upon the lowest base of the obelisk the inscription: "Domenicus Fontana ex pago Milis Novocomensis transtulit et erexit." The work was not completely finished until the end of October: *"La guglia è finitfi e netta che fa una bella vista" reports A. Malegnani on November 1, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The obelisk was surrounded by a balustrade, as may be seen from the fresco in the Palazzo Massimo (see the reproduction in *L'Istituto Massimo*, Roma, 1904, 11), and in that in the Vatican Library (see PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 13).

[2] *Cf.* BAGLIONI, 80.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 123, and THIEME, XII., 175, 179.

[4] See KALLAB in *Jahrb. der kunsthist. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276. *Cf.* the opinion of REUMONT, III., 2, 735.

ment in the civilized world,[1] so was it now with its erection in the Piazza of St. Peter's. Proofs of this are the contemporary reports of this great engineering triumph of that time,[2] and the letters of the diplomatists, most of whom sent home reproductions of the mechanism employed by Fontana.[3] The number of poems written on the occasion was extraordinarily large; one of these is printed in the form of an obelisk. Tasso as well dedicated verses to the "guglia." In the pictures and plans of the city published for the use of foreigners, as well as in guides to Rome, and books of travel, the obelisk, the proportions of which were often exaggerated, played a great part.[4] The re-erection of this colossus of stone,

[1] See PLINIUS, Hist. nat., 16, 201.

[2] See Familiaris quaedam epistola G. P. Petro Vallejo e Roma in Hispaniam missa, in qua quid actum sit in translatione obelisci explicatur. Brevis item rerum in hoc primo anno a S.D.N. gestarum enumeratio. Romae, 1586 (copy in State Library, Munich). Other works in CANCELLIERI, Il Mercato, Roma, 1811, 175.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Sporeno, July 19, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Sporeno probably sent the large wood engraving by Bonifacio de Sebenico.

[4] *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 147 and ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 166 *seq.* See also HÜLSEN in *Collect. L. Olschi oblata* (1921), 137. P. GALESINUS published many poems under the title Obeliscus Vaticanus Sixti V., Romae, 1586-87. See also J. B. AGUILAR, Epigrammata in dedicat. Obelisci Vatic., Romae, 1586; Epigrammata GUGL. BLANCI in obeliscum, Romae, 1586; Poemata ad Sixtum V., Paris 1588. For the world-wide fame of the obelisk see especially the Deliciae urbis Romae, Aug. Vindel., 1600. For the plans of the city *cf.* HÜLSEN, Saggio di bibliografia d. piante di Roma, Roma, 1915, 18 *seq.* Of the guides to Rome the most wide-spread was that of FRA SANTI DI SANTO AGOSTINO: Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma col movimento delle Guglie e gli Acquedotti, le strade fatte da Sisto V e le chiese rappresentate in disegno da Girolamo Francino, Venezia, 1588, and Roma, 1595, which was also translated into Spanish: Las cosas maravillosas de la S. Ciudad de Roma, etc., Roma, 1589. *Cf.* Also Reisen des S. Kiechel, published by HASSLER, Stuttgart, 1866, 167 *seq.*

accompanied as it was by such great difficulties, was looked upon as so important that it was perpetuated not only by models, but also by a fresco in the Vatican Library.[1] Together with the poem by Pomponio Ugonio,[2] special mention may be made of a work by Petrus Angelus Bargaeus,[3] in which he extols in burning words the energy and sagacity of the head of the Church in removing everything that recalled the pagan era. Bargaeus sets forth as a noble example and worthy of imitation the attitude of the Pope in contrast to the professed cultus of the Renaissance with its setting up of antique statues. This eulogy has special reference to the festival celebrated on September 26th, which opened with a Mass in honour of the Holy Cross said in St. Peter's by Bishop Ferratini. After the mass, the Pope, accompanied by all the clergy of the basilica, went in procession to an altar erected in front of the obelisk, where Ferratini blessed the great gilt bronze cross, which by the orders of Sixtus V. was to crown the summit of the obelisk. There then followed a ceremony which appeared to be necessary because the obelisk had served for the pagan worship of the Emperors. In order to free it from all demoniacal influence, it was purified and exorcised, and then, so as to show Whom the obelisk was to serve for the future, during the singing of the *O Crux, ave spes unica* and the *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, the Cross which was to crown the summit in the place of the ball was set up. The granting of an indulgence and the *Te Deum* concluded the ceremony, after which the Swiss fired their muskets and the cannon of St. Angelo fired salvos. A decree of Sixtus V. granted a special indulgence to all who

[1] The medals in BONANNI, I., 412 *seq.* *Cf.* FREY, Michelangelo-Studien, 118. Reproduction of the fresco in the article, p. 18 of ERSILIA CAETANI-LOVATELLI, cited *supra*, p. 254, n. 1, and in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 12.

[2] De cruce obelisci Vaticani, Romae, 1587.

[3] Commentarius de obelisco, Romae, 1586. *Cf. Neues Jahrbuch f. das klass. Altertum*, II., 50 *seq.*

should venerate that Cross, and pray for the Church and the Pope.[1]

Even more clearly than by these ceremonies, which were prescribed in detail by Sixtus V. himself,[2] his intention in setting up the Vatican obelisk was made known by the masterly inscriptions of sublime import which he had placed on the granite pedestal. These, which are among the most beautiful in Christian Rome, all have reference to the sign of our Redemption which, above the arms of Sixtus V., the three mountains and the star, crowns the summit.[3]

On the base of the obelisk,[4] the Pope left the ancient inscription by which Caligula had dedicated the monument to his Imperial predecessors, the "divine Augustus" and the "divine Tiberius."[5] But above this, on the side facing St. Peter's, he engraved in large and easily visible gold letters the declaration that he had taken away the obelisk from those Emperors and dedicated it to the Most Holy Cross.[6] The same idea of the victory of Christianity over paganism is again

[1] Besides FONTANA, I., 28b *seq.* see P. GALESINUS, Ordo dedicationis obelisci, etc., Romae, 1586, the report of the Rector of the German College, M. Loredano, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1897, 461 *seq.*, the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Vatican Library, and the *Diary of a gentleman of Cardinal Aldobrandini, in Borghese IV. 145, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] In the *Diarium P. Alaleonis (loc. cit.), it is stated: "Ordo dedicationis a Pontifice visus, correctus et approbatus."

[3] *Cf.* the collection of poems of G. F. BORDINI, p. 19, dedicated to Sixtus V.

[4] The shaft rose upon four supports concealed by as many bronze lions. The models for these lions, which referred to the armorial bearings of Sixtus V., were, according to BAGLIONE (140) designed by Prospero Bresciano. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 65 *seq.*

[5] See *Corpus inscript. lat.*, n. 882.

[6] This and the following inscriptions, already in FONTANA, I., 31, and later in almost all the guides to Rome, in FORCELLA, XIII., 123 *seqq.* That they were *lettere d'oro* is stated by Lanciani in his description of Rome published in the *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 495.

expressed in the inscriptions on the lower part of the base. Those on the north and south sides announce in concise words the translation carried out by Sixtus V., and the happier and more righteous destiny of the monument, once dedicated to pagan worship, but now cleansed from all impure superstitions, in the second year of his pontificate. On the side may be read the following beautiful words :

ECCE CRUX DOMINI
FVGITE
PARTES ADVERSAE
VINCIT LEO
DE TRIBU IVDA

The inscription on the west side, which has become famous, expresses the triumph of Christianity over paganism in even more effective words. They are as follows :

CHRISTVS VINCIT
CHRISTVS REGNAT
CHRISTVS IMPERAT
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO
PLEBEM SVAM
DEFENDAT[1]

There are few spots in the Eternal City where the historian must feel such deep impressions as in front of the obelisk in

[1] The inscription "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat," is taken, as WYMANN, *Hist Jahrb.*, XXVII., 79, points out, from the *laudes*, in litany form, used in Rome at Imperial coronations. In this imposing and majestic triple asyndeton. rendered yet more solemn by the anaphora of the subject, Wymann sees an indication that this text was based upon a yet older model. He claims to have found it in a passage in Quintilian. Wymann further rejects the strange opinion of HAUCK (Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, II. [3-4], 798) that the specifically German conception of Jesus is to be seen in the formula. *Cf.* also HÖFLER, Deutsche Päpste, I., 285.

the Piazza of St. Peter's. If ever stones speak, it is surely there. Transported by Caligula to Rome, the capital of the world, from the mysterious land of Egypt, as a sign of the triumph of victorious earthly power, the obelisk had witnessed from its height the first Roman martyrs when Nero drove his chariot between the files of living torches, all fire and smoke. Not far from it the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, had suffered martyrdom. Untouched by time or by the struggles of men, this colossus of stone had been a silent witness of the most important events in the history of the world. It had seen the decline of Imperial Rome with her magnificent palaces and temples of idolatry all glittering with gold, it had seen the slow transformation of Rome into a Christian city, the dedication of the burial place of the Prince of the Apostles as a church by Constantine, the rise of the Cross to dominion over the Roman Empire destroyed by the barbarians, the growth of the Roman Primacy, the beginnings of the Papal States, the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor, the anarchy of the nobles in the XVth century, the degradation of the Papacy and its restoration by Gregory VII., the struggle, so fraught with vicissitudes, between the Church and the Empire, the zenith of the medieval Papacy under Innocent III., the celebration of the first Jubilee under Boniface VIII., the great Schism, the last Imperial coronation by Nicholas V., and the laying of the first stone of the new St. Peter's by Julius II. The obelisk had further witnessed the destruction of religious unity in the West, the foul savagery of the Sack of Rome, and lastly the Saints of the reform and Catholic restoration. That great period of renewed and reinvigorated Catholic consciousness, of the power and rejuvenation of the ancient Church, had now set its seal upon the obelisk itself, subjecting to the Cross of the Galilean that in which the ancient Imperial worship had been perpetuated, and had made it into a symbol of the Church which outlives all the changes of time. As Christ is for all time Conqueror, King and Master, so His Church can never perish.

How deeply penetrated he was by this truth was repeatedly shown by Sixtus V. in his allocutions to the consistory. On

January 23rd, 1587, for example, at the canonization of the Spaniard, Diego, he spoke in enthusiastic terms of the divine grace and mercy which gave saints to that Church which was so harassed by the heretics and infidels, and seemed in the eyes of man to be abandoned.[1] In another consistorial allocution he spoke emphatically of Divine Providence, which directs all things, and grants protection to the Church at all times.[2]

Merely by reading these discourses one can well understand the inscriptions on the obelisk on the everlasting and triumphant reign of Christ, whose Cross stands out in the limpid air on the summit of the monument in token of triumph over all hostile powers. This should be seen even from afar by all the pilgrims to the tomb of the first Pope, and therefore, Sixtus V. conceived the vast plan of extending the Piazza of St. Peter's as far as the Tiber.[3]

Just as the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles now had its obelisk, so Sixtus V. now intended to give similar adornment to the other six principal basilicas of Rome.[4] As symbols of the victory of the Crucified, the obelisks were to excite the hearts of the pilgrims going to those sanctuaries to prayer and devotion. The sign of the Redemption, to which the Eternal City owed its new position in the world, was to be set up in the more important piazzas of Rome.[5]

Immediately after the erection of the Vatican obelisk Sixtus V. gave orders for the excavation of the obelisk which

[1] See *Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5, 11, Vatican Library.

[2] See *ibid.*, October 25, 1589.

[3] *Cf.* in App. No. 6, the *Avviso of June 4, 1586, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *report of A. Malegnani, July 22, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 18.

[5] " *Consentaneum enim arbitratus est, ut cuius virtute Roma caput est universae rei christianae publicae et arx divinae religionis et lux totius christiani orbis terrarum et domus christianarum virtutum, illius signum fere ubique in ipsa urbe praesertim in locis celebrioribus excitaretur." Galesinus, Annales Sixti V., Vat. 5438 p. 83, Vatican Library.

the Emperor Constantius had once set up on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus.[1] In the February of the following year the monument was completely cleared. In April they excavated in the Circus Maximus, at that time a kitchen-garden, the obelisk set up there by Augustus, the base of which had come to light in the time of Gregory XIII. This it was intended to place in front of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, while the larger one was to decorate the piazza in front of the Lateran.[2] For the piazza at St. Mary Major's, which had been cleared at great expense, the Pope destined the obelisk from the Mausoleum of Augustus, which, broken in two pieces, was lying near the Porto di Ripetta, where the timber was unloaded.[3] In March 1587 the foundations for this were dug,[4] and Sixtus V. insisted that the monument must be quickly repaired and set up for the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. In spite of the great heat of summer, the work, again under the direction of Fontana, was pushed forward; during August they were at work day and night,[5] so that on the 11th of that month it was possible to set upon the obelisk the victorious Cross.[6] The dedication took place on the feast of the Madonna.[7] The inscriptions on the pedestal here too record the Divine power, which had brought about the victory

[1] See Avviso of September 17, 1586, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 289.

[2] See *ibid.*, 292. *Cf.* FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 140; LANCIANI, IV., 148. In the collection of poems of G. F. Bordini reproduced the obelisk near S. Croce, with the remark: "ante aedem S. Crucis in Hierusalem propediem erigendum" (p. 63).

[3] See FONTANA, I., 67.

[4] See ORBAAN, Avvisi, 293. *Cf.* MASSIMO, Notizie, 86 *seq.*

[5] See the *reports of Malegnani of August 1, 5 and 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. No. 17 in Vol. XXI.

[6] *Report of Malegnani, August 12, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 92; Art. Bologn., 30, and the anecdotes in MASSIMO, Notizie, 242 *seq.* The fresco in the Villa Montalto in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 14, shows the then state of the piazza.

[7] *Report of Malegnani, August 15, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of Christianity over paganism. Mention is cleverly made of the Crib, preserved in St. Mary Major's, in which at the time of the general peace under Augustus, the Saviour had been born. There is also mention of the legend connected with the interpretation of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, that Augustus had adored the infant Jesus, who had appeared to him in a vision, and that henceforth the Emperor would no longer suffer himself to be called Master.[1]

Fontana had placed the obelisk in front of the apse of St. Mary Major's in such a way that it formed the beginning of a very effective vista for the great and straight road leading to the Trinità de' Monti.[2] In the same way the obelisk destined for the north side of the Lateran basilica was to form the end of the long road leading thither from St. Mary Major's. This obelisk seemed to be specially suited to adorn the temple which bore the title of Mother of all Churches, not only because it was the largest of the Roman obelisks, but was also the most ancient, and was richly adorned with hieroglyphics. The Pharaohs Thutmosis III. and IV. had set up this monument, thirty-two metres in height, in the fifteenth century B.C., in the temple of Ammon at Thebes. The Emperor Augustus had wished to transport this obelisk to Rome, but had been deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking. The Emperor Constantine took up the project, which was actually carried out by Constantius. A special ship had to be built for the purpose manned by 300 rowers. Ammianus Marcellinus has described in his history of the Emperors[3] the transport and erection; it is not known when the obelisk fell. It was very difficult to excavate it because it lay in three pieces twenty-six feet below the surface of the arena of the Circus, and in marshy ground.[4] At the end of the autumn of 1587 Fontana had successfully removed it to the

[1] See FONTANA, I., 67b-68.

[2] *Cf.* in App. No. 20 the *Avviso of September 19, 1587, Vatican Library.

[3] 17, 4, 12. G. Farina has recently treated of the hieroglyphics of the Lateran obelisk in the periodical *Bessarione*, 1906.

[4] See FONTANA, I., 60b; FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 139b *seq.*

piazza of the Lateran.[1] He had also succeeded in joining the pieces together. For erecting it on the spot where hitherto had stood the so-called Torre degli Annibaldi,[2] on a new base in the place of the old one which was damaged, and which because of its inscription was removed by the Pope's orders to the collection of the Belvedere,[3] Fontana employed the same means as in the case of the Vatican obelisk, and in exactly the same way the dedication took place on the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10th, 1588.[4] This monument, too, was naturally adorned with the diadem of the Cross, as the symbol of the Church of Christ triumphant.[5] The inscriptions on the pedestal referred to the same thing. In that at the side we may read: *Constantinus, per Crucem victor, a S. Silvestro hic baptizatus, Crucis gloriam propagavit.*[6]

Sixtus V. destined for the Piazza del Popolo the other obelisk excavated in the Circus Maximus, which bears hieroglyphics of the time of Seti I. and Rameses II., the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews, and which Augustus had brought to Rome from Heliopolis. It was set up in the spring of 1589, and crowned with the Cross; on the vigil of the Annunciation of Our Lady, March 24th, the ceremony of its purification and blessing took place.[7] To the ancient inscription of Augustus, Sixtus V. added two more: one records the history of the monument and its dedication to the Holy Cross, the other has reference to the fact that Augustus had once dedicated it to the Sun. It runs as follows: *Ante sacram illius aedem,*

[1] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvissi, 301. *Cf.* Conti di Fontana, VIII., 64.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of a contemporary in LAUER 324, n. 2.

[3] See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 141b.

[4] See FONTANA, I., 61; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 304. *Cf.* PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 15.

[5] Under the arms of Sixtus V. four more lions are placed on this obelisk.

[6] See FONTANA, I., 63b *seq.*

[7] See the Avvisi in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 309, and the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, March 24, 1589, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also in App. No. 34 the Avviso of April 26, 1589, *ibid.*

augustior laetiorque surgo, cuius ex utero virginali, Augusto imperante, Sol Iustitiae exortus est.[1] Fontana expressly informs us that in setting up this monument the Pope intended above all to adorn S. Maria del Popolo, which he had not only made into a cardinalitial title, but had included in the number of the Seven Churches in the place of St. Sebastian's.[2] A further reason was the fact that the Porta del Popolo was the principal entrance for all pilgrims to Rome, and that from that point started the "three most beautiful, longest and straightest streets" of the lower city.[3] To the obelisk there was added a beautiful fountain, designed by Fontana,[4] and in this way Rome was given an entrance gate that was unequalled in impressiveness.[5] The premature death of the Pope prevented the carrying out of a further plan of adorning with obelisks the Piazza Navona,[6] and the piazzas before St. Paul's outside the Walls,[7] and S. Maria degli Angeli.[8]

This extraordinary architectural adornment of the piazzas which Sixtus V. gave to the Eternal City by means of the ancient obelisks, was rightly commemorated by medals,[9] because it signified a supremely important artistic innovation, and one characteristic of the baroque period.[10] As was shown by the two granite columns erected in the Piazzetta at Venice as early as 1180 the Middle Ages had been

[1] See FONTANA, I., 65 *seq.* *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 418.

[2] See PANCIROLI, Tesori nascosti, 452.

[3] See FONTANA, I., 65b.

[4] Reprodution in FALDA, Fontane, I., tav. 14. *Cf.* WÖLFFLIN,, Renaissance u. Barock, 118.

[5] See the fresco in the Vatican Library in PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 16.

[6] This piazza was to have two obelisks, according to the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 309.

[7] For this project of the Pope's, which is also mentioned by Gritti (in HÜBNER, II., 496) *cf.* in App. No. 18 the *report of Malegnani of July 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] LANCIANI (IV., 127) cites as to this MERCATI, Obelischi, 259.

[9] *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 412 *seq.*, 417, 419.

[10] See BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 163.

accustomed to the erection of such antique columns: the Renaissance too had confined itself to the same thing. Thus in 1563 Cosimo had placed in the piazza of S. Trinità at Florence a granite column from the Baths of Caracalla. In its two great Imperial columns Rome already possessed such a decoration for its piazzas, but now, in the obelisks, the Eternal City was given an entirely characteristic form of decoration, which was perfectly adapted to the locality. Since at that time artists aimed before all things at perspective effects, the obelisks of Sixtus V. were adapted in an incomparable way to the lines of the streets by giving them an effective ending. They afford the eye a resting point in the great distances and amid the mass of the buildings. The obelisks at St. Mary Major's and the Lateran each form the end of a great highway, and that in the Piazza del Popolo of three great streets. Here, therefore, the effect is even greater.[1] The development in other directions of urban architecture in the baroque period, and its carrying out of the ideas of the Renaissance[2] is also shown by other works of Sixtus V., in which we can see how, in the erection of monumental buildings, every effort was made to harmonize them with the lines of

[1] See *ibid.*, 163, 165, who remarks concerning the Piazza del Popolo: "the rising shape of the obelisk seems to gather to itself the confluent energies of the open space, gently rising towards it, thus rendering the piazza itself more impressive. Piazza and obelisk combine to produce a single grand effect. At the same time, being in itself graceful in form, it offers no hindrance to our admiration of the varied panorama, disappearing as it were before the surrounding buildings." *Cf.* also RÖSE, Spät-Barock, 96, who however erroneously attributes the obelisk in front of the Trinità de' Monti to Sixtus V.

[2] In this connexion mention must be made before all else of the great plan of Michelangelo recorded by Vasari. According to the latter the so-called Farnese bull was to have been placed as a fountain in one of the inner courts of the Palazzo Farnese, in such a way that it would have been possible to see from the entrance court the heights of Trastevere beyond the river: see VASARI, VII., 223 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 582.

the streets. Thus the Via Pia was levelled all along its length, and, in accordance with the plan of Fontana, was raised in such a way that from the Quirinal it was possible to see the Porta Pia, a mile away.[1] In the same way we have the heavy gateway which Sixtus V. caused Fontana to add to the entrance of the Cancelleria,[2] after the appointment of his nephew Montalto as vice-chancellor, because baroque taste required that the building should be in harmony with the street which ran in front of it. In the same way, in the case of the great street leading from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran, Fontana erected, between 1586 and 1588, the beautiful Loggia of benediction in two storeys near St. John Lateran, which, with its five dark arches on each story, with Doric pillars below and Corinthian ones above, is so effective from a distance.[3]

The erection of this beautiful loggia, which is adorned within with paintings,[4] was connected with the demolition and destruction of the extensive and irregular mass of buildings, which had grown up round the basilica since the fourth century.[5]

Coming from the Colosseum and entering the piazza of the Lateran, one saw on the right the Baptistery of Constantine

[1] See FONTANA, I., 87b. *Cf.* the fresco of the Lateran Palace in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

[2] See LAVAGNINO, Il Palazzo della Cancelleria, Roma, 1925, 32,

[3] FONTANA, 46 *seq.*, 89. The inscription in Fontana's engraving : "1588 A. IV.," does not correspond with the existing one, "1586 A. II." (see FORCELLA, VIII., 44). *Cf.* also EGGER in *Beiträge zur Kunstgesch.*, dedicated to Wickhoff (1903), 155 : GURLITT, Barockstil, 213 ; NOHL, 186 ; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 152. See also SITTE, Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen, Vienna, 1889, 84 *seq.*

[4] See the mandate in *Arch. Rom.*, II., 230.

[5] *Cf.* for the description that follows REUMONT, III., 1, 15 *seq.* and the great works of Rohault and Lauer. Lauer gives numerous illustrations and the description of the ancient Patriarchium by Ortensio de Fabiis (p. 325 *seq.*) and P. Ugonio (p. 576 *seq.*). See also the fresco in the Vatican Library in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 17.

surrounded by chapels, especially the oratories of the Holy Cross and of St. Venantius, and immediately facing one the lateral façade of the basilica facing north. This façade, which terminated the right transept, had been decorated by Gregory XI. with a Gothic marble portico. This formed the side entrance into the church, and was flanked by the two antique marble lions which Sixtus V. removed to his fountain in the piazza near S. Susanna. Above this lateral façade there rose two small campanili, which had been restored by Pius IV. To the left of the façade there stood, coming out at right angles, the ancient residence of the Popes, the so-called *Patriarchum Laterenense.* Like the Vatican this was a conglomeration of buildings of many different centuries, which, however, were all connected with each other. In the first place, running along the west side, was the great Sala del Concilio, which had also been used for Imperial coronations, with its three doors supposed to have been brought from the Praetorium at Jerusalem. Next, standing out to the north, was the Loggia of benediction erected by Boniface VIII. in the year of Jubilee, 1300. With this graceful marble building, which Giotto adorned with three paintings,[1] there was connected, at right angles, a great corridor with a portal, at the end of which was the Oratory of St. Sylvester and further on the Scala Santa. To the left of these could be seen the entrance, the staircase and portico of the ancient Papal palace, the portico leading to the Sancta Sanctorum, and the sanctuary itself. The most important building of the eastern part of the Papal palace was the great triclinium constructed by Leo III. (795-816), in order that he might there carry out, in conformity with the ancient and beautiful custom of the Popes, his apostolic hospitality. The southern part of the Patriarchum, the centre of which was formed by a great square court-yard, joined on to the extreme right of the portico of the principal façade of the Lateran basilica.

[1] One of these, the proclamation of the Holy Year by Boniface VIII., is now to be found on the back of the first pilaster of the central nave in the Lateran basilica.

Since the end of the thirteenth century the ancient palace of the Lateran had not been inhabited for long by any Pope. During the Avignon period it had fallen into complete decay; the burning of the church of the Lateran in 1308 had also damaged the palace, and only such repairs as were strictly necessary had been carried out; its deplorable condition was the reason why on their return the Popes took up their residence at the Vatican, and in consequence of the unhealthy climate of the district, which was almost destitute of houses, of all the Popes of the Renaissance only Sixtus IV. had seriously thought of restoring the ancient place of residence of the successors of St. Peter. Leo X. had resided there for a few days after he had taken possession of the church, and like Julius II., he had held the Council of the Lateran in the Patriarchum. After that, however, the palace fell into still greater decay, and only a few scholars, such as Panvinio, interested themselves in those buildings and ruins which were bound up with the memories of eleven centuries. The words with which Fontana begins his account of his new buildings at the Lateran Palace, show with terrible clearness how little appreciation there was in the time of Sixtus V. of the sculptures, mosaics, inscriptions and other monuments of every kind, which still existed there in great numbers. "On account of the state of St. John Lateran, the true cathedral of the Bishop of Rome" Fontana states, "Sixtus V. resolved to construct a new Loggia of benediction, and a new palace, not only to provide there a suitable residence for the Popes, but also to adorn that district which was covered with 'ancient buildings of no value.' The greater part is in a state of ruination, there are no amenities, and it is so dismal and filthy to look at, as to be quite unsuited to so holy a spot." On the other hand, Fontana praises the palace which he had erected as the most splendid of all in Rome.[1]

[1] FONTANA, I., 48. Catervo Foglietta writes (see *supra* p. 192, n. 6) in his *letter that Sixtus had destroyed "alcune casette et cappellette tanto vecchie che più tosto erano occasione agli impii che senza rispetto alcuno entrano le case di Dio di far male" (Ottob. 586, Vatican Library). Guido Gualterius too has no word

The new building was ordered by Sixtus V. immediately after his election, and the reason he gave was that it was unfitting that the bishop should have no suitable residence near his cathedral. The work was being actively prosecuted in June, 1585.[1] The first part to be finished was the Loggia, from which Sixtus V. blessed the people at Easter, 1587, although the pictorial decoration was not yet completed.[2]

In May, 1587, the number of workmen on the new palace was doubled.[3] The want of consideration shown in pulling down the ancient Patriarchum, one of the most precious monuments of antiquity, is deplorable in the highest degree.[4] When the time came to lay hands upon the Chapel of the Holy Cross erected by Pope Hilary (461-468) near the baptistery, the chapter of the Lateran made a protest, but in vain.[5]

of blame in his *Ephemerides (p. 127b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. See App. No. 38 in Vol. XXI.) for the demolition of the Hall of Councils in the old Lateran Palace. But that he and others as well felt the mistake of such an act of destruction, is clear from the words of Guido Gualterius in the Vita Sixti V. concerning the general displeasure caused by the destruction of the Oratorium S. Crucis, cited by RANKE (III., 75*) and from the report of Ugonio. See WILPERT, Die röm. Mosaiken u. Malerein II., Freiburg, 1917, 727.

[1] See in App. No. 1 the *Avviso of June 8, 1585, Vatican Library, and that of June 28, 1585, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 283.

[2] See the *report of Malegnani of April 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A description of the pictures is given by FONTANA (I., 46). *Cf.* S. ORTOLANI, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Roma, 1925, 100.

[3] See in App. No. 14 the *Avviso of May 13, 1587, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the harsh remarks of ROHAULT (273 *seq.*) and LAUER (319 *seq.*). In LAUER (643 *seq.*) there are also the accounts of the demolition works. V. VANNUTELLI (Mem. sacre Lateranensi, Rome 1900, 46) seeks to excuse Sixtus V., on the ground that the old palace was reduced to ruins, which could not be saved.

[5] See in App. No. 13 the *Avviso of May 9, 1587, Vatican Library. For the Oratorium S. Crucis at the Lateran see GRISAR in *Civ. Catt.*, 1895, III., 727 *seq.* and Gesch. Roms., I., 333 *seq.* *Cf.* EGGER, Verzeichnis der Sammlung architekt. Zeichnungen der Hofbibl., I., Vienna, 1903, 36.

This oratory, which was adorned with magnificent mosaics, much damaged it is true, stood in the way of the new road towards St. Paul's, and was sacrificed, as were the oratories built by Popes Sylvester I., Theodore I., and Adrian I.[1] It was fortunate that Sixtus V. also employed the learned Fulvio Orsini on the work at the Lateran, and that at least some precious things were saved, especially Giotto's famous fresco "the promulgation of the first year of Jubilee by Boniface VIII."[2]

Characteristic of the Pope's impatience were the repeated visits he paid to the building operations. In the last week of July, 1587, he appeared there to urge the hastening of the work.[3] A month later he repeated his visit, and this time the directors of the work were sharply reprimanded for their dilatoriness. On his way back Sixtus V. inspected the obelisk which had been excavated in the Circus Maximus and gave orders for the construction of a road from the Capitol to the Lateran.[4] Men wondered at the youthful energy of the Pope when, at the end of October, 1587, he made a detailed inspection of every part of the new building.[5] In April, 1588, he imparted the blessing from the new loggia in a clearly audible voice.[6] In June 1588 he again inspected the palace,[7]

[1] See STEVENSON, 25; LANCIANI, IV., 140. *Ibid.* 139 *seq.* for the gold coins found in the foundations of the Patriarchum. *Cf*, also the *report of Malegnani of June 27, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives. Mantua) referred to in the bull of December 1, 1587 (Bull. VIII., 966 *seq.*). The Pope presented one of the coins to the Bolognese numismatist Tommaso Cospi, who left it to the church of S. Petronio, where it still is; see A. GATTI, Catalogo del Museo di S. Petronio, 1893, 36.

[2] See NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 24.

[3] See the *report of Malegnani, July 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of July 22, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 273b, Vatican Library.

[4] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 293.

[5] See the Avviso *ibid.*, 301.

[6] See in App. No. 19, Vol. XXI., the *Avviso of April 20, 1588, Vatican Library.

[7] See *ibid.*, No. 24, the *Avviso of June 18, 1588.

but, although the works had been pushed forward with all possible speed,[1] they were not completed until the summer of the following year.[2] Quarters were then allotted there to the Rota and the Apostolic Camera.[3] The mighty edifice, in which all the Cardinals in the Curia were to have lodgings,[4] was completely finished at the end of August, 1589,[5] but it had already been possible to hold a public consistory there on May 30th.[6] The expenses came to 172,884 scudi.[7]

The Lateran Palace of Sixtus V. with its three storeys, is imposing because of its great proportions: its height is equal to that of the new six-storeyed buildings recently erected in the neighbourhood. But it is a cold edifice; its three façades give it a uniform but gloomy appearance: "the great proportions and the regal calm of the grand unbroken lines of the cornice enhance them in a way, and the courage with which the windows are placed in an unbroken line, only in the upper floors alternating with angular and curved pinnacles, tell us at once that we are still in the Rome of Bramante and Peruzzi. The principal cornice, which stands out strongly, produces a magnificent effect."[8] Three great doorways lead to the piazza and two to the basilica. The windows over the

[1] *Cf.* UGONIO, Stationi (1588), 44.

[2] See in App. No. 37 the *Avviso of July 26, 1089, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Avviso, of June 3, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 322, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avviso of February 24, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 76, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avviso of August 29, 1589 (Vatican Library) in App. No. 26, Vol. XXI., and that of August 30, 1589, in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXXVII. (1909), 14.

[6] See BONANNI, I., 315.

[7] LANCIANI, IV., 139. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 244 *seq.* The inscription on the façade: Sixtus V. Anno IV. (1589), in the *Inventario*, I., 14.

[8] See GURLITT, Barockstil, 216 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, Edifices, I., 224 *seq.* *Cf.* also BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, 28 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 56 *seq.*, 67.

principal entrance to the south display the name of its builder, and his shield with the lions.[1] The great square interior cortile has seven arches on each side, and is of two storeys, with Doric pilasters below and Corinthian ones above. Around this cortile, which is modelled upon that of the Palazzo Farnese, the apartments are placed on three sides, while on the fourth is the long principal staircase. It is one of the largest in Rome, and more than seven metres in width, so that the Pope could conveniently go down to his cathedral with all his court. Other staircases as well provide for the traffic, and a winding one leads from the ground floor to the graceful loggia on the roof.

The arcades and rooms on the ground floor were vaulted, while the great halls on the first floor had ceilings of gilt and painted wood. The staircases as well as the arcades and all the apartments on the first floor Sixtus V. caused to be painted with arabesques, landscapes and other subjects, and richly adorned with stucco and gold. The plan of the decorations was made by Giovanni Guerra of Modena, Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto drew the designs, while other painters such as Cesare Santarelli and the Netherlander Paul Brill, carried out the work.[2] The ensemble forms a counterpart, though on a less splendid scale, to the decoration of the Vatican Library.

The principal hall on the first floor, with a magnificent gilt coffered ceiling, besides two large frescoes representing the institution of the primacy, contains the seated figures with inscriptions of nineteen Popes of the first centuries. Another series of frescoes in this hall, also explained by inscriptions, represent the works of Sixtus V.; the extirpation of the

[1] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 110, 151; MAYER, Brill, 2, 23 *seq.*; GERSTENBERG, Die ideale Landschaft smalerie, Halle, 1923, 72 *seq.* The paintings described by FONTANA (I., 48 *seq.*) have almost entirely fallen into oblivion, on account of the difficulty of access to the greater part of the apartments of the palace. Although they are of no great importance artistically (though NOHL, Skizzenbuch, 179 *seq.* forms a more favourable judgment of them) they are nevertheless interesting in understanding the intellectual ideas of the court of Sixtus V.

bandits, his care for the provisioning of Rome and the safety of the Papal States, the treasure laid up in the Castle of St. Angelo as well as the Vatican Library are represented, the harbours of Terracina and Civitavecchia, the cities of Loreto and Montalto, the Acqua Felice and the fountain in the Piazza S. Susanna, and the Quirinal Palace[1] with the view towards the Porta Pia. These last two frescoes are larger than the others.

The great Papal hall intended for the holding of consistories is adjoined by the Imperial hall[2] with portraits of the fourteen Emperors whose coins were found while building the palace.[3] Here a special fresco represents the veneration shown for the Church by the Christian Emperors. Next comes a small hall with scenes from the Old Testament ; this leads to the private chapel of the Pope, which is decorated with scenes from the Life of Our Lord. The four other apartments also contain frescoes, representing scenes from the Old Testament. All these have inscriptions. The first floor also contains two other large halls ; one with scenes from the life of the Emperor Constantine,[4] the other, the Sala dei Paramenti, scenes taken from the Acts of the Apostles. The ceilings and loggie of the new Lateran Palace and the corridor of the staircase leading to the basilica,[5] are decorated with scenes from the Sacred Scriptures, with landscapes and allegorical figures. The inscriptions speak of the fourth year of the pontificate.

In all these apartments one may constantly see the arms and devices of Sixtus V., as well as numerous allegorical figures, which are all draped. In this we can see the strict

[1] See PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

[2] This officially bears the name *del Concilio*, evidently in memory of the Sala del Concilio in the ancient Lateran Palace.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 273, n. 1.

[4] In this, the only hall now accessible, there is in the pavement the large antique mosaic of " the Athletes," which was discovered in 1824 at the Baths of Caracalla.

[5] At the establishment of the Museo Lateranense Cristiano the corridor was intended by Pius IX. to receive the collection of sarcophagi.

Franciscan, who would have nothing to do with the cultus of the nude which had become common during the Renaissance, and still prevailed at secular courts.[1] In the account-books there is a payment to Cesare Nebbia and his companions for draping the nude figures in the Loggia della Cosmografia of the time of Pius IV.[2]

Besides the triclinium of Leo III. the destruction of the ancient Lateran Palace left intact the Papal chapel, the Sancta Sanctorum, which in addition to precious relics contained a venerated image of the Redeemer.[3] On either side of this famous sanctuary, which had suffered much in the sack of Rome, Sixtus V. erected two other chapels, and caused Fontana to construct a portico in front, of two storeys with arcades. Thither he transferred, as the central one of the five staircases leading to these three chapels, the Scala Santa, which had become almost forgotten and neglected. Ferraù Fenzoni of Faenza and Paul Brill of Antwerp took part in the fresco decoration;[4] here, as in the Lateran Palace, the work of the latter is still quite free from Italian influence, and is purely Netherland in feeling. The inscription on the façade[5] tells us that Sixtus V. constructed the portico and placed the Scala Santa in a more sacred place.[6] By this new building the

[1] A painter was whipped on account of obscene pictures; see *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft,* XXXVII., 36.

[2] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Mod., 32; LANCIANI, IV., 163.

[3] *Cf.* GRISAR, Die röm. Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum u. ihr Schatz, Freiburg, 1908, and WILPERT, Röm. Mosaiken u. Malereien, II., 1101 *seq.*

[4] See MAYER, Brill, 27 *seq.*

[5] The various designs for the façade may be seen in the frescoes in the Vatican Library; see LAUER, Pianta, 26-27.

[6] See FONTANA, I., 60, II., 2 *seq.*, where there are a plan and illustrations. The name of Sixtus V., and a brief inscription on the façade (see *ibid.*) is also over the doors of the lateral chapels. *Cf.* PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 18; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, I., 507 *seq.*; L. MAZZUCCONI, Mem. d. Scala Santa, Roma, 1840; LETAROUILLY, Edifices, I., 197 *seq.*; GRISAR, *loc. cit.*, 12–16; LAUER, 321 *seq.* See also in App. Nos. 3, 4, 30, the *Avvisi of

Pope aimed at bringing into greater veneration the venerable sanctuary of the Sancta Sanctorum, which after the spoliations of the Sack of Rome had become deserted, but the devotion of the faithful was more attracted by the Scala Santa, which since the Middle Ages had been looked upon as that ascended by Our Saviour, than by the chapel beyond, whose treasury of relics had become so far forgotten that it was left for modern research really to discover it.[1] In the last year of his pontificate Sixtus V. entrusted the guardianship of the Scala Santa and the Sancta Sanctorum to four chaplains.[2]

It was fortunate that at that time the Lateran basilica remained intact,[3] since the transformations carried out by Sixtus V. in ancient churches proved fatal to antiquities, whether pagan or Christian. Besides the widespread indifference to such remains another special circumstance contributed to this. In the liturgical functions to which the Pope had given renewed life, or which were celebrated in

March 1 and 15, 1586, and October 26, 1588, Vatican Library. Giov. Baglione, the author of the Vite de' pittori, shared in the painting of the new chapel; see THIEME II., 356. For Fontana and Brill *cf.* VOSS II., 506, 534. The frescoes were restored in 1922.

[1] *Cf.* GRISAR, *loc. cit.*, 26.

[2] See the *bull "Dat. in monte Quirinale Non. Iun. 1590." The chapel Sancta Sanctorum is there described as "illa insignis ac praecipua sanctitate toto terrarum orbe inter omnia Urbis et orbis sanctiora loca celeberrima." Therefore the Pope had transferred thither the Scala Santa, which formerly was "propter temporum iniurias, Urbis excidia, direptiones et alias calamitates quodammodo in loco abiecto, situ et squalore ac sordibus obsito, vetustate pene collapsa." Arm. 44, t. 29, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] An *Avviso of Nov. 9, 1588, reports concerning the Baptistery, in connexion with the visit of the Pope on the previous Sunday: "Ordinó, come giunse alla basil. Lat. che si reducesse in isola S. Giovanni in Fonte et si trasportasse la effigie della gloriosa vergine dalla cappella contigua che va gittata in terra in una delle cappellette che sono dentro quel oratorio di S. Giovanni." Urb. 1056, Vatican Library.

certain churches on definite days in the presence of Cardinals, it was thought necessary that the eye should be able to travel unimpeded to the seats placed in the apse. To this end in the basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls, the transverse nave of which was provided with a new wooden ceiling,[1] the columns between the altar and the apse, which were for the most part of porphyry, and a relic of the primitive Constantinian basilica, were sacrificed.[2]

How little men felt the loss of such remains is shown by the account given by Pompeo Ugonio in his work on the Roman Station churches. In this book the transformation thus inconsiderately carried out, and intended to render the basilica of St. Paul's more spacious, is mentioned as one of the Pope's titles to fame![3] So too the removal of the balustrade from the choir of Eugenius II. and of the ambos of Alexander III. from S. Sabina is eulogized by Ugonio with the remark that the church had recovered under the fifth Sixtus that grandeur and splendour which it had lost under his namesake, Sixtus III.[4] The ancient crypt too was destroyed, though fortunately the principal features of the basilica were preserved, so that it has recently been possible to restore it to its appearance in the IXth century.[5] Certain small churches were entirely destroyed, such as S. Andrea della Colonna,[6]

[1] C. Foglietta, in his *letter cited p. 192, n. 6, praises its richness and beauty. Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[2] See GRISAR, Gesch. Roms., I., 362 and *Studi Rom.*, I., Roma, 1913, 409. *Cf.* also in App. Nos. 9, 19, the *Avvisi of November 22, 1586, and September 2, 1587, Vatican Library.

[3] See UGONIO, Stationi, 8 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 10b. *Cf.* BERTHIER, S. Sabine, Rome, 1910, 89 *seq.*, where is to be seen the bombastic discourse of Panigarola. See also *Arch. dell'arte*, 1896, 195 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 287, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 60; GRISAR, I., 374; LANCIANI, IV., 167 *seq.* The inscription on the restoration of 1588 in FORCELLA, VII., 306.

[5] *Cf.* STYGER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1915, *Archäol. Teil*, p. 24; MUÑOZ, S. Sabina, Roma, 1919, 13 *seq.*; MUÑOZ, L'Eglise de S. Sabine à Rome, Rome, 1924, 16 *seq.*; TAURISANO, S. Sabina, Roma, s.d. 10 *seq.*

[6] See LANCIANI, IV., 169.

and S. Gregorio in Palatio, near the Teutonic cemetery.[1]

Although we must deplore these works of destruction, we must on the other hand remember with gratitude that Sixtus saved other churches of Rome which were in need of restoration from ruin. Mention may be made of SS. Apostoli,[2] the convent adjoining which, and where Sixtus V. had once lived, was added to,[3] S. Giovanni in Capite, near S. Silvestro, S. Giovanni in Agno in the Via Monserrato, S. Pellegrino al Vaticano,[4] and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.[5] In the new building of S. Andrea in Valle the Pope took care that a record should be preserved of the little church of S. Sebastiano de Via Papae.[6] Among the Cardinals there vied with the Pope above all Cardinal Farnese, whose liberality was displayed at S. Lorenzo in Damaso and the Gesù of the Jesuits.[7] Cardinal Carafa restored SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Cardinal Caetani S. Pudenziana,[8] Cardinal Azzolini S. Matteo in Merulana,[9] and Cardinal

[1] See De Waal, Der Campo Santo der Deutschen, 26, 28 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* in App. No. 10 the *Avviso of January 17, 1587, Vatican Library. For the convent of SS. Apostoli, and on the fountain dei Leoni there, constructed by Sixtus V., see Fr. Santilli, La basilica dei SS. Apostoli, Roma, 1925, p. 23 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of April 30 and October 5, 1588, and July 5, 1589, Urb. 1056 and 1057, Vatican Library. See also Letarouilly, Edifices, I., 363 *seq.*, 366 *seq.*

[4] See Lanciani, IV., 171. *Cf.* Forcella, VI., 251.

[5] See Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 177. *Cf.* also *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae, March 11, 1587. Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19, and the Avviso in Orbaan, Avvisi, 308, for the interest taken by Sixtus V. in S. Marco.

[6] See Lanciani, IV., 171. *Cf.* the *Avviso of November 8, 1586 (Vatican Library) in App. No. 10 in Vol. XXI.

[7] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of April 8 and August 12, 1587, and March 4, 1589, Vatican Library (see App. No. 21, Vol. XXI., *cf.* No. 25) and the *report of Malegnani, August 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] See Platner, III., 1, 488 *seq.*; III., 2, 257 *seq.*, 261.

[9] See Armellini, 465.

Joyeuse the French national church of S. Luigi.[1] At S. Maria in Trastevere Cardinal Mark Sittich had the chapel which he had erected on the left side of the apse painted by Pasquale Cati.[2] Camilla Peretti, the Pope's sister, built at S. Susanna a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence.[3]

The restoration of the national church of the Slavs dedicated to St. Jerome not far from the Porto di Ripetta was almost a new building; Martino Lunghi the elder worked on this and Sixtus V., who venerated that Father of the Church in a special way,[4] caused a radical reconstruction on an enlarged scale by Martino Lunghi in 1588 of that church which had been his own cardinalitial title, but was in a ruinous state, decorating it with frescoes by Giovanni Guerra and others.[5]

[1] See the *Avviso of October 14, 1589, in Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, Ferd. 83, fasc. 3.

[2] *Cf.* the *contract in Atti orig. 162, p. 397 *seq.* of the Arch. Notarile Comun. in Rome, entered into by Quirinus Zurla Cremonens. as representative of Cardinal Mark Sittich, with Pasquale Cati pictor, on January 30, 1588. The inscription concerning the completion of the chapel in 1589, in FORCELLA, II., 349; reproduction of the frescoes in MUÑOZ, Roma barocca, 28.

[3] See ANGELI, Chiese, 578. A *Descrittione di tutte le chiese di Roma con l'inventario delle reliquie of 1586 in Cod. 131 of the Bibl. Civica, Padua.

[4] *Cf.* BARDENHEWER, Patrologie, Frieburg, 1901, 400, and *infra*, p. 285.

[5] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 34; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 231; BERTOLOTTI, Art, Lomb., I., 69; G. BIASIOTTI and J. BUTKOVIIČ, S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma, Rome, 1925. *Cf.* also the *Avvisi of July 4 1587, July 6 and October 12, 1588, April 26, June 4 and 13, July 29, September 30 and October 7, 1589 (Vatican Library); see App. Nos. 16, 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40. For the paintings *cf.* TITI, Descriz. d. pitture in Roma, Rome, 1763, 396 *seq.* See also GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 98 *seq.* and POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 140, n. 1. Vat. 5440 contains the original copy, adorned with miniatures, of the *Liber bonorum hospitalis . . . et ecclesiae S. Hieronymi Illyric. built by Sixtus V.; there, p. 7: "Robba donata da N.S. Sisto V. quando era cardinale" (Paramenti, palio di altare). Vatican Library.

The façade, which was finished in July, 1589, and the church, which was richly endowed, still show that strictly simple style which also may be seen in S. Caterina dei Funari, S. Spirito, the Gesù, and later on S. Maria de' Monti: a later style is only to be seen in the windows and the doorways.[1] The interior, which is in the form of a Latin cross has a single nave with three chapels on each side and a square apse. The tower is similar to that of the Capitol. The Pope's love for his former title led him to erect there a chapter, consisting of an arch-priest, six canons and four vicars. His nephew, Michele Peretti, was appointed the patron.[2]

Sixtus V. who deeply venerated the Mother of God, loved no church in the Eternal City so much as the Liberian Basilica, St. Mary Major's, enthroned upon the Esquiline, in which while still a Cardinal he had caused to be set up by Alessandro da Cioli a marble monument to his compatriot Nicholas IV., who also belonged to the Franciscan Order (1288-1292).[3] This church of the Madonna, the largest and most splendid in the world, had been according to an inscription still preserved known since the sixth century as S. Maria *ad Praesepe*, because it contained a reproduction of the grotto at Bethlehem, which probably went back to Sixtus III. (442-440). This small oratory was behind the principal choir of the basilica, at the spot where now a great flight of steps leads to the Esquiline. There the Popes were wont to pontificate on Christmas night, and on that occasion Gregory VII. had been surprised and taken prisoner in 1075. In consequence of the changes made by Nicholas IV. in the apse of the basilica built by Sixtus III., the chapel of the Crib, of which some traces still remain, was moved and

[1] See GURLITT, Barockstil, 194; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 64, 160; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 19

[2] See the bull in [Ivančič], La questione di S. Girolamo de schiavoni in Roma, Rome, 1901, 98 *seq.* ·*Cf.* RATTI, Sforza, 355, 363.

[3] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 86; ESCHER, Barock 104; LANCIANI in *Ausonia*, I. (1906), 96 *seq.*

was at the same time decorated in marble by Arnolfo di Cambio.[1]

Among the many lovers of this venerable oratory, in which, as may be proved, relics of the Crib had been preserved since the twelfth century, and where in 1516 Gaetano da Tiene, the founder of the Theatines, had celebrated his first Mass, Sixtus V. was one of the most zealous. Three months before his election as Pope, to the left of the High Altar, adjoining the side nave, he had begun the construction of a new chapel, of such a size as to be like a new church.[2] When he had ascended the throne of St. Peter, Sixtus at once gave orders for the carrying on of the work in that basilica which he loved so dearly, and which he also treated with so much honour in other ways,[3] that Girolamo Catena openly calls it the basilica of Sixtus V.[4] His interest in the new chapel was very great; he visited the works in September and October 1585,[5] and at Christmas 1586 celebrated High Mass in the new church, although there was still scaffolding everywhere.[6] In the following year the chapel was given a provost of its own and four chaplains.[7]

[1] See GRISAR, Archeologia del "Presepio" in Roma, in *Civ. Catt.*, 1908, IV., 703 *seq.* *Cf.* also ADINOLFI, Roma nell'età di mezzo, II., 185 seq.

[2] See FONTANA, I., 33. *Cf.* the *letter of C. Foglietta, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[3] In June, 1585, Sixtus V. held a Papal Capella in St. Mary Major's, a thing that had not been done for thirty-five years; see the *report of Malegnani, June 15, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] CATENA, Lettere, 7.

[5] See the *Avvisi of September 21 and October 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[6] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 291, and Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63. *Cf.* Report of Malegnani, December 24, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] *Cf.* Avvisi of June 24 and August 19, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 227, 323, Vatican Library; TACCONE-GALLUCCI, S. Maria Maggiore, Roma, 1911, 122 *seq.*; P. M. DI LUCIA, L'Abbadia di S. Giovanni Siro unita da Sisto V alla capella del Presepe, Roma, 1700.

In the building of the new chapel, which was named after its founder the Capella Sistina, precious materials from ancient buildings, and especially from the ancient Lateran Palace, was employed.[1] Reverence for the relics of antiquity, which on this occasion as well left a great deal to be desired, was fortunately displayed in a high degree in the case of the ancient oratory of the Praesepium. "So as to maintain the veneration and memory of this" he ordered that the original walls and the whole construction should be preserved and transported to the new chapel, and there placed under an altar which was to be erected in the middle. It was Fontana who carried out this task, which of its kind was perhaps more difficult than the removal of the obelisks. The chapel was indeed made up of many different fragments: its ancient walls were still there with many cracks, and broken by a window and the marble arch which formed the entrance. With justifiable conceit in his achievement Fontana describes the mechanism he devised to save the sanctuary for posterity. The chapel was enclosed in a covering of wood and iron, and strengthened with timbers on the inside in such a way as to appear like a solid block. It was then detached from the foundations and transported by means of rollers for a distance of seventeen metres to its new position. There it was first raised up and then lowered on to its new foundations.[2]

The Capella Sistina, which forms as it were the arm of a lateral nave, breaks the line of the magnificent antique columns of the central nave of the Liberian Basilica and the entablature by an arch inserted into it, and recalls at first sight the form of the splendid chapels of the height of the Renaissance, but a closer examination shows the manifest influence of the new style of building of early baroque.[3] It forms a perfect Greek cross. The dome surmounted by a well-lit drum, shows such

[1] See LANCIANI, IV., 164 *seq.*

[2] See FONTANA, I., 40 *seq.*, and the reproductions given there. *Cf.* also the reproductions in CIACONIUS, IV. 144. See also ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63, and PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 20.

[3] See GURLITT, Barockstil, 210; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 39.

a gradation as it rises that it completely dominates the whole, and the four short arms with their barrel vaulting serve only the purpose of supporting it. On either side of the entrance, in the corners, there are two small square chapels: in that on the right hand Sixtus V. placed under the altar dedicated to S. Lucy the relics of the Holy Innocents, in an antique marble Christian sarcophagus, bringing both relics and sarcophagus from St. Paul's outside the Walls.[1] The chapel on the left was dedicated to St. Jerome, for which Sixtus V. vainly sought to discover the mortal remains of the saint, which had been, it was supposed, buried not far from the ancient oratory of the Praesepium.[2]

On the outside of the Capella Sistina everyone admired[3] the elegant and harmonious proportions, which recalled the period of the Renaissance, easily to be recognized everywhere, even in the interior, in spite of the wealth of its detailed decoration. Wherever one looked, one saw precious marbles of every colour,[4] alabaster, jasper, breccia, gilt stucco and paintings in bright colours. The ornamentation shows, in a few cases on the exterior, but more frequently in the interior, the arms and device of the founder,[5] while the paintings, which were executed by Paris Nogari, Andrea Lilio and other painters of note,[6] are for the most part devoted to the mystery

[1] See *Studi Rom.*, I., Roma, 1913, 406 *seq.* The removal of the relics is described in the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, November 1, 1586. Vatican Library. Sixtus V. had a special veneration for St. Lucy, because he had been born on her feast; see CATENA, Lettere, 9.

[2] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 291. *Cf. Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1915), 29 n. 2. See also BIASIOTTI in *Miscell. Geronimiana*, Roma, 1920, 242.

[3] UGONIO (Stationi, 69) was the first to describe in 1588 the sanctuary while it was being built. A second description in BENCI, De sacello Esquilino a Sisto V. condito, Roma, 1592. It has recently been described by JOZZI, Storia di S. Maria Maggiore, Roma, 194, 4 *seqq.*

[4] For this innovation see MUÑOZ, Roma, 10.

[5] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 32.

[6] See BAGLIONE, 36 *seq.*, 83. Among the painters there also appears the Venetian Salvatore Fontana; see THIEME, XII., 187.

of the Incarnation.[1] The altar, which stands in the centre, under the dome and over the chapel of the Praesepium, bears a tabernacle in gilt bronze, intended for the reservation of the Most Holy Sacrament. This work of Bastiano Torrigiani and Lodovico del Duca is in the form of the chapel which it adorns: it is supported by four angels, holding cornucopias in their left hands, in which are placed candles.[2] From the altar a double staircase leads to the chapel of the Praesepium. In the lateral niches of the back wall Sixtus V. placed marble statues executed by Leonardo da Sarzana from designs by Prospero Bresciano,[3] of the Princes of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. On the wall of the left arm of the chapel the Pope erected a splendid monument to Pius V., his friend and deeply venerated benefactor, while, to the surprise of his entourage, in 1587 he gave orders that facing it, in the right arm, his own place of burial should be prepared.[4] The principal wall was destined for the Papal throne, approached by marble steps.

When, in the summer of 1586, Sixtus V. gave orders for the construction of the tomb of Pius V., he set aside no less than 25,000 scudi for the purpose.[5] This made possible the erection of a monument of two storeys and of great size, which completely discovers a great part of the walls, as though with a second wall. This work became the model which prevailed in the case of Papal monuments in the pontificates which immediately followed. The connexion with the Medici tombs

[1] *Cf.* CATENA, Lettere, 9. Andrea Lilio executed the frescoes in the ceiling, with the four Evangelists in the lateral nave in front of the chapel; see VOSS, II., 503, 504.

[2] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bologn., 78; KRAUS-SAUER, III., 2, 680; SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kuntsamml.* XXXIII., 269 *seq*; BRAUN, Der Altar, II., 640.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 86.

[4] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 43.

[5] See the Avviso of July 16, 1586, in ORBAAN, Roma, 289, where, however, July should be read instead of June. The same Avviso, dated July 19, 1586, in State Archives, Brussels, *Négot. de Rome*, I.

of Michelangelo can readily be seen, a thing also shown in the fact that the sides are of the same height and width as the central niche, which, however, is to some extent marked off by means of a pinnacle. At the same time other points of difference characteristic of baroque art may be noted. The plinth is low " being no longer intended to serve as the background for a sarcophagus with reclining figures : the principal face is therefore much brought forward and is nearer to the spectator : the attic forms a second plane, filled with reliefs and caryatids, and the entablature above projects ; reliefs also fill the side niches in the lower part, while to balance the proportions the artists had to have recourse to slabs of various coloured marbles."[1]

The seated statue of Pius V., with his right hand raised in benediction, is the work of Leonardo da Sarzana,[2] and is worthy of admiration for the faithfulness of the likeness and for the drapery of the sumptuous pontifical vestments, which recalls antiquity. Sixtus V. went to see this statue intended for the central niche in the workshop of the master at the end of September 1586,[3] and was present at its erection in June 1587.[4] He also certainly shared in the composition of the inscription, which extolls Pius V. because, in imitation of the saintly Popes of old, he had propagated the Catholic religion and restored ecclesiastical discipline, until, after a glorious reign, and while meditating even greater things, he was carried off by death at the age of sixty-eight to the loss of the whole of Christendom.[5]

Under the statue of the Pope there is placed on gilt bronze ornaments, like a sepulchre on brackets, the sarcophagus of verde antique ; it stands between the plinths of the two

[1] See ESCHER, Barock, 106. *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 598 *seq.* and *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, N.S. XXV. (1914), 230. ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 47 ; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 21, 22.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 86. A good reproduction in *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 173.

[3] See *Avviso of October 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 297. *Cf.* Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] See FONTANA, I., 58.

magnificent centre columns. The bas-relief to the right of the statue of Pius V. represents the giving of the standard of the crusade to Marcantonio Colonna when he was appointed to command the league against the Turks. As a pendant to this on the other side the Pope is giving the commander's baton to the Count of Santa Fiora when he was sent to help the French Catholics against the Huguneots. To these two basreliefs, which were executed by the Netherlander, Hans Van den Vliete,[1] and which are effective for their light and shade, there correspond two smaller ones on the upper level, recording the victories over the Turks and the Huguenots, while in the centre is the coronation of Pius V.[2] The apex is crowned by the arms of the Pope.

In the niches on either side of the monument, Sixtus V., in reference to the Order from which Pius V. had belonged, placed marble statues, on the left of St. Dominic, by Giambattista della Porta, and on the right St. Peter Martyr, by Giov. Antonio da Valsoldo.[3] In like manner for the niches on either side of his own monument he chose saints of the Order to which he himself belonged: on the right St. Francis of Assisi,[4] and on the left St. Antony of Padua.

What importance Sixtus V. attached to the monument of Pius V. appears from his consultations with Cardinal Santori,[5] as well as from the solemnity which he gave to the translation, on January 8th, 1588, of the body of the great

[1] BAGLIONE (65) calls him Egidio della Riviera. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 49; *Repert f. Kunstwissenschaft,* XXXVII., 28, n. 36; the periodical *Roma,* I. (1923), 168.

[2] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, Barocksculptur, II. 215 *seq.* The predilection for war-like subjects in the reliefs was probably due to Catena, who made use of similar subjects in his frontispiece to his Vita di Pio V., published in 1586.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 70, 75.

[4] By Flaminio Vacca; see *ibid.*, 67.

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177, 181. *Cf.* also *Audientiae card. S. Severinae, February 18 and 25, 1587, Papal Secret Archives.

Pope from St. Peter's to St. Mary Major's.[1] On January 11th the Pope was present with forty-four Cardinals at a Mass of Requiem, at which he himself gave the absolutions: the discourse delivered on that occasion by the Secretary of Briefs, Boccapaduli, aroused general admiration.[2]

When the Pope went to St. Mary Major's for Mass on July 30th, 1589, the statue of himself, which was not quite completed, and was the by no means satisfactory work of Valsoldo, was unveiled: it shows the Pope on his knees in prayer, with his eyes turned towards the tabernacle.[3] To look upon his own place of burial with his own statue must have aroused special emotion in a man of the temperament of Sixtus V., who from the time he attained to the Papacy had only counted upon a short pontificate, a conviction which caused the feverish activity with which he pushed forward the carrying out of his artistic undertakings.[4]

Sixtus V. did not allow the great church building works which he had carried out at St. Mary Major's[5] to lead him to forget the needs of Rome from the secular point of view. We

[1] See the *Avviso of January 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 12, Vatican Library, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *ibid.* *Cf.* the fresco in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 25. A printed poem on the translation of Pius V. in Ottob. 2445, p. 108, Vatican Library. *Cf.* GALESINUS, De translatione Pii V., Romae, 1588; GUILIK-EUBEL, III, 54; TACCONE-GALLUCCI, S. Maria Maggiore, 119 *seq.*; on January 27, 1588, Sixtus V. also moved the body of F. Peretti from S. Maria degli Angeli to his own chapel, and on January 30, 1588, that of the mother of Cardinal Montalto to the chapel of the Praesepium; see the *Avvisi of January 27 and 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 36, 45, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *Avviso of January 13, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 15, *ibid.*

[3] The tabernacle was erected at Christmas in the same year; see the Avvisi in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310 *seq.* Reproduction in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 24. *Cf.* R. CECCHETELLI IPPOLITI, La tomba di Sisto V. nella Basilica Liberiana, Roma, 1923.

[4] See ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 44.

[5] For the further plans for the basilica see *Avviso of June 14, 1589 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 35.

have already spoken of the great services rendered by the Pope, who was also careful in other ways for the health of the Romans,[1] by his aqueducts, streets and piazzas. To these may be added a large number of buildings of public utility, which earned for him a grateful memory in the Eternal City. Such were the assignment of a new building to the Monte de Pietà near the Via de' Coronari,[2] and the great work-house built in 1587 near the Ponte Sisto to get rid of the plague of mendicity, which was endowed with 150,000 scudi, and in which 2000 men and women could be employed.[3] Not content with this the Pope set on foot other projects, such as the erection of a new market,[4] the setting-up of sun-dials at the two obelisks,[5] and the completion of the great palace commenced by Bramante in the Via Giulia under Julius III., for the housing of the mint.[6] The walls of the city[7] and the Villa Magliana were also repaired.

[1] *Cf* PINTO, Sisto V. e l'igiene di Roma, 14 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of January 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 1, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LE BRET, Statistik, 274; FORCELLA, XIII., 175; TAMILIA, Monte di pietà, 103.

[3] See Vat. 9003, Vatican Library; FONTANA, I., 70b *seq.*, with a reproduction of the portal and its inscription. Reproduction of the building in G F. BORDINI, Carmina, 1, 1, 39, and PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 26. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63, 68; BONANNI, I., 391; HÜBNER, II., 496; LANCIANI, IV., 74; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, II., 227, XXIV. 52 *seq.*; PINTO, *loc. cit.*, 19. The Pope himself visited this first modern "workhouse"; see Avviso of May 27, 1589, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 296. For the plague of the mendicants *cf. Rassegna ital.*, 1882, II., 197 *seq.*

[4] See in App. No. 21 the *Avviso of September 26, 1587, Vatican Library.

[5] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 308; *cf.* Sixtine Rome, 71.

[6] See the *report of Malegnani of April 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the Avviso of June 24, 1587, in ORBAAN, Roma, 297, and in App. Nos. 24, 36, the *Avvisi of June 18, 1588, and July 1, 1589, Vatican Library.

[7] See NIBBY, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1820, 342; BORGATTI, Mura di Roma, Roma, 1890, 368; *Inventario*, I., 345. *Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXX., 339.

[8] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXII., 486. The restoration of the

The interests of learning were also served by the completion of the Roman University,[1] and above all by the construction of the Vatican Library. The locality which Sixtus IV. had formerly assigned to this purpose not far from the Sixtine Chapel[2] was on the ground floor and therefore suffered considerably from the dampness of the soil of Rome. Gregory XIII. had already contemplated the removal of the library elsewhere,[3] and Sixtus V. had hardly ascended the throne when he began to consider for this purpose the gallery of the Belvedere,[4] which had also been suggested to his predecessor.[5] After much consultation, however, he decided, with characteristic magnificence, to create a splendid home for the precious collection, which should be more spacious and better lit, by constructing an entirely new building.

The library of the Popes had indeed to be kept in the Vatican Palace, but the unfortunate idea was entertained of placing it across the great cortile of Bramante,[6] thus destroying its great impressiveness. Sixtus V. adopted this proposal, undoubtedly because he wished once and for all to make it impossible to hold tournaments there, as had been the case even in the time of Pius IV.[7] Such worldly spectacles in the palace of the head of the Church were as abhorrent to him as to Pius V.

palace of the Inquisition is shown by an inscription on the corner of the palace giving upon the Campo Santo, which, however, has no date, but only the name "Sixtus V. P. M." Fr. Tromba mentions an "augmento al Palazzo del S. Offizio notabilissimo" in a *letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, December 17, 1588, Misc. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See in App. No. 29 the *Avviso of October 19, 1588, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Renazzi, III., 4; Escher, 15 note.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IV. of this work, p. 437.

[3] See Nolhac in *Studii e docum.*, 1884, 267.

[4] See the Avviso in Orbaan, Avvisi, 285.

[5] See the *Memorial in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, n. 20.

[6] See Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 485 *seq.*

[7] See Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 392, 415.

There was general dismay in Rome when in May, 1587, work was begun on pulling down the great double staircase with which Bramante had connected the two parts of the Belvedere.[1] But very soon men's minds accustomed themselves to the idea, all the more so when, in November, 1589, the great new building of Fontana aroused general admiration: this was extolled as one of the best works of the Pope,[2] who had visited the works in the February and May of the same year.[3]

In building the new library Fontana accommodated his work to the great difference between the two parts of the cortile of the Belvedere, by giving his building on the south side, which was lower, one storey more than on the north side. The fourteen rooms on the upper floor were intended for students, and the eight on the third floor for the custodians. Above these rose the great hall of the Library, into which when it was ready, the codices and printed books, at that time looked upon as equally important, were transferred. Since, in spite of its great size, this hall proved to be too small, even in the time of Sixtus V. a part of the collection was placed in the adjoining gallery on the east side. Afterwards, all along its length, every time it received an addition through the munificence of the Popes, the Vatican Library has been extended both on the right and left sides, until, when even this was not sufficient, other rooms at a greater distance had to be made use of.

[1] In the Avviso of May 13, 1587, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 296, the demolition is only mentioned. There is also an *Avviso of May 22, 1587, in which it is stated: "Quanto dispiace a tutta *Roma* la ruina del *theatro*, fusse per bono quel loco per la *libreria* manco mal seria (the words in italics in cypher). Urb. 1055, p. 176b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* in App. No. 15 the *report of Malegnani, May 30, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua

[2] See the *Avviso of February 8, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library. Information from the account books in the Papal Secret Archives concerning the construction of the Vatican Library in STEVENSON, 7 *seq.*

[3] See the Avvisi in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata Sixtina, 13.

Over the entrance door to the Library, in the Galleria Lapidaria, may be read the name of its founder. Two marble inscriptions in the entrance hall at once attract attention: one gives a short account of the history of the Library and of the new building which was completed in 1588, and the other pronounces excommunication reserved to the Pope for the removal or theft of books and codices.[1]

The great hall of the Library (*Salone Sistino*), which covers almost the whole of the upper floor, presents a surprising vista.[2] The whole space, which is well lit on three sides by tall windows, measures seventy metres in length, fifteen in breadth and nine in height. Six heavy pilasters divide it into two fine halls, with cruciform vaulting. The visitor asks himself in surprise: where are the books and codices?

[1] FONTANA, I., 72a *seq.* There, besides a short description, are collected all the inscriptions of the frescoes. *Cf.* also CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.; BONANNI, I., 428 *seq.*; PANSA, Della libreria Vatic., Roma, 1590, 34 *seq.*; ROCCA, Bibl. Vatic., Romae, 1591, 3 *seq.*; DUMESNIL, Hist. de Sixte-Quint, Paris, 1869, 392 *seq.* In STEVENSON, Topografia the frescoes are reproduced: tav. 1 the coronation with the façade of old St. Peter's and the Vatican; tav. 3 the removal of the Vatican obelisk, the Piazza Colonna with the column of Marcus Aurelius; tav. 4 the church and palace of the Lateran before Sixtus V., and the plan of Rome with a relief of the line of the streets of Sixtus V. In Sixtine Rome, Orbaan gives excellent reproductions of the translation of the body of Pius V. (p. 43), of the "Possesso" by Sixtus V. (p. 91), of the pontifical galleys (p. 95) and of the Piazza Colonna (p. 109). In the *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., are reproductions, p. 197 the coronation of Sixtus V. by A. Tempesta, p. 199 the lateral view of old St. Peter's and the piazza with the recently erected obelisk. The apse and façade of St. Mary Major's in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXXV. (1915), Pl. 1 and 2. The most recent reproduction of the frescoes in MUÑOZ, Roma barocca, 2 *seq.*, 11, 17, 23, and in PASTOR, Sisto V., tavv. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 29. It has not hitherto been noticed that some of the frescoes have been retouched; thus the arms of Alexander VII. are to be seen on the Porta del Popolo.

[2] See PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 28.

In accordance with a proposal made by Vitruvius[1] in the time of Gregory XIII., for the sake of safety these treasures were placed in forty-six small closed presses,[2] architecturally adapted to the walls and pilasters, the remaining parts of the wall surface being adorned with paintings. According to the account books these cost 4582 scudi, and the whole building 42,077 scudi.[3] Federico Rainaldi, the custodian of the Library, drafted the plan, and the arrangement was settled by Silvio Antoniano, who, with the assistance of Pietro Galesini, also composed the inscriptions.[4] The paintings were designed and executed by Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto and Giovanni Guerra of Modena,[5] who employed a large number of collaborators for the different parts of the work, among them Paris Nogari, Antonio Tempesta, Andrea Lilio and Ventura Salimbeni.[6]

Not only the walls, but also the other parts of the hall, including the pilasters and the vaulting, were covered with paintings explained by Latin distichs. The fresco decorations, which are unusually rich, though varying a good deal in quality, together with the good light, give the celebrated library of Sixtus V. a very splendid appearance, though not

[1] See the *Memorial addressed to Gregory XIII. in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, n. 20.

[2] As the presses for the manuscripts are spread over a wide space, and their shelves are separated by considerable intervals, no fire on a large scale can develop at any one point. Therefore Ehrle (*Köln. Volkzeitung*, 1903, n. 953) says that the Vaticana surpasses "as far as the isolation and safety of its treasures are concerned, all the other libraries of Rome, and most of the modern libraries known to me."

[3] See Lanciani, IV., 163.

[4] See Rocca, Bibl. Vatic., 272; Mercati, Bibl. Ap., 70.

[5] *Cf.* Baglione, 83, 110, 151. See also Orbaan, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 67 *seq.*

[6] For the frescoes of A. Lilio and Salimbeni *cf.* Voss, II., 504, 518, as well as Voss, *Gesch. der Barockmalerei*, Berlin, 1925, 458, 466. The fresco in the Lateran palace, representing the Salone Sistino while the painting was being executed, in Pastor, Sisto V., tav. 27.

restful and too highly coloured. The whole of the decoration is characteristic of the over-hasty pictorial ornamentation which was customary under Sixtus V., always so anxious for the speedy completion of his undertakings. How different they are from the creations of the true Renaissance! "In place of the principle adopted in the ceilings of the Sistine Chapel and the Hall of Constantine, we here find a varied scheme of painted surfaces and grotesques, which covers both walls and vaulting with ornamentation, but no longer, as in the time of Raphael, is this rigidly subordinated to the architecture, but on the contrary even serves to disguise the purpose of the architectural members, and transforms the whole surface into a fantastic tangle of line and colour."[1] Although from the artistic point of view they are unequal in merit and to a great extent worthless, these frescoes are nevertheless very interesting on account of their subjects. They are like the open pages of an illustrated book, which at once transport the spectator to the times of Sixtus V., and afford a vivid picture of his tastes and achievements. They almost all of them have reference to the purpose of the place and to its founder. There are but few productions of decorative art in which books play so important a part as in this.

The nine frescoes on the left wall represent the most celebrated libraries of all times and places. Among them may be seen the Library of the Pisistratidi at Athens, the celebrated creation of the first Ptolemy; the Museion at Alexandria, the Library of Augustus on the Palatine, the ancient Christian libraries of Jerusalem and Cesarea, and lastly the collection of books of the Popes in Rome.

On the right wall sixteen frescoes commemorate the

[1] See Posse in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 130. *Cf.* also Bergner, Das barocke Rom., 113, who compares some of the representations to modern water-colours for their "light and masterly touch which is very far from Roman" Bergner believes that F. Barocci must have shared to some extent in the execution of the paintings in the Library. See also Friedländer, Kasino Pius IV., and Muñoz, Roma barocca, 20.

ecumenical councils, beginning with that of Nicaea and ending with that of Trent. The second and third Councils of the Lateran are omitted, as well as the Council of Basle, which may easily be understood. Near to some of these frescoes are depicted scenes relating to them, as for example, near the Council of Nicaea, the burning of the Arian books at the hands of the Emperor Constantine. By the side of the fourth Council of the Lateran are shown the war against the Albigenses undertaken by Count Simon de Montfort at the instance of St. Dominic, and the dream of Innocent III., to whom St. Francis appears as the supporter of the tottering Church ; by the side of the Council of Lyons are the reunion of the Greeks with the Roman Church, and the baptism of the King of the Tartars; alongside the picture of the fifth Lateran Council may be seen the Emperor Maximilian and Francis I. of France.[1]

On the pilasters, beginning with Adam, are depicted the supposed inventors of letters and languages, Abraham having ascribed to him the invention of the Chaldaean characters Moses and Esdras the Hebrew, "Queen Isis" the Egyptian, while Chrysostom is included as the inventor of the Armenian, and Jerome and Cyril of the Illyrian languages. On the last pilaster may be seen Christ, and in His hand an open book with the letters Alpha and Omega ; the beautiful inscription describes Him as the supreme master and author of sacred learning ; on his right hand is shown a Pope as the Vicar of Christ, and an Emperor as the defender of the Church of Christ.

Much the most noteworthy part of this vivid chronicle of the Church and of learning, in each case explained by inscriptions, are the frescoes referring to the pontificate of Sixtus V. These are to be found over the entrance doors, and above the windows, in the lunettes of the principal hall and the two adjoining rooms. The whole of the pontificate of the builder of the Library is here placed before the eyes of the spectator.[2]

[1] See Fr. Pistolesi, I concili ecumenici illustrati, con riproduzione degli affreschi della Biblioteca Vaticana e prefazione di L. de Pastor, Montalto Marche, 1925.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 293, n. 1.

There are the coronation of Sixtus V., the taking possession of the Lateran, the jubilee procession from the Aracoeli to St. Mary Major's at the beginning of his reign, and the translation of the body of Pius V. Naturally we find also an allegorical representation of the punishment of the bandits, and of the great galleys built for the protection of the coasts. Specially interesting is the picture of the *Possesso*, which shows the Pope on a white palfrey followed by the two Japanese princes; this shows the state of the Capitol at that time, and of the Lateran before the great changes effected by Sixtus V. Of great value too is the picture of the coronation, on account of the information it affords of the new building of St. Peter's, which at that time already rose high above the ancient basilica, although the dome was hardly half finished. Two frescoes record the Pope's care for the provisioning of Rome, and the establishment of moral discipline in the Eternal City. These show us many monuments and parts of the city in their primitive state, extraordinarily picturesque, and enlivened by representations of the life of the streets. Thus in the frescoes devoted to the obelisks we see the former state of the piazzas before St. Peter's, St. Mary Major's, S. Maria del Popolo and the Lateran. In the background of the picture of the Piazza Colonna,[1] we can see a large part of the city of that time. Then follow the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, adorned with the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, with the houses then surrounding them, the hospital for the poor, the Acqua Felice and the chapel of the Praesepium A picturesque plan of the Rome of Sixtus V. gives a good idea of the streets which he had made. Very interesting too for the topography of Rome are such pictures as the following: S. Girolamo and the Scala Santa, the hospital for the poor, the colossi on the Quirinal, and the fountain near the Capitol. Other frescoes refer to the decoration of Loreto and Montalto, the new aqueduct near Civitavecchia, the draining of the Pontine Marshes and the treasure of the Castle of St. Angelo. A special and very noteworthy picture, with a characteristic

[1] See PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss., Fig. 82.

inscription,[1] is devoted to the removal of the obelisks. Another, immediately facing the latter, shows the dome of St. Peter's completed according to the design of Michelangelo.[2] Two other frescoes record the canonization of Diego and the elevation of St. Bonaventure to the dignity of a Doctor of the Church. The other Fathers and Doctors of the Church are depicted on the pilasters. As there was plenty of space, and as no part was to be left unpainted, a number of other subjects were also introduced. Thus rhetoric is symbolized by Cicero, history by Livy, arithmetic by Pythagoras, geometry by Euclid, physics by Aristotle, politics by Justinian, economics by Xenophon, astronomy by Ptolemy, logic by Zeno, grammar by Donatus, poetry by Virgil, music by Boethius, ethics by Plato, and theology by the Master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard.

The ceiling too is richly decorated with gold, stucco, grotesques and other paintings, among which may be seen landscapes and the national churches. Here, as elsewhere, there are numerous allusions to Sixtus V., and the lion and other heraldic emblems, as well as the devices of the founder may frequently be seen; very magnificent are the figures of some of the angels, who look down with open books in their hands.

Besides these frescoes the Library possesses near the original entrance an oil painting which is one of the best portraits of Sixtus V. The Pope, who is surrounded by his nephews, Michele Peretti and Cardinal Montalto, the Cardinal Librarian, Antonio Carafa, and some of the officials of the Library,

[1] Saxa agit Amphion, Thebana ut Moenia condat.
Sixtus et immensae pondera molis agit.
Saxa trahunt ambo longe diversa sed arte,
Haec trahit Amphion, Sixtus et arte trahit.
At tantum exsuperat Dircaeum Amphiona Sixtus,
Quantum hic exsuperat caetera saxa lapis.
In FONTANA, I., 83.

[2] See PASTOR, Sisto V., tav 29. For the representation of St. Peter's on the medal for the erection of the Vatican obelisk, see FREY, Michelangelostudien, Vienna, 1920, 119.

among them Federico Rainaldi, is seated in an arm-chair, while Fontana presents to him the plan of the Library.[1]

It will always be one of Sixtus V.'s special titles to fame that for the most precious of all collections of manuscripts he provided the most magnificent setting that the world has ever seen.[2]

The painters who were employed in the decoration of the Vatican Library were also employed in various ways in the embellishment of the ancient Vatican Palace.[3] Tommaso Laureti, the professor of perspective at the academy of S. Luca,[4] who was at that time leading his own life there, carried out the fresco decoration of the ceiling of the Hall of Constantine,[5] which had been begun in the time of

[1] An excellent reproduction as frontispiece in Sixtine Rome, ORBAAN. This author (89) as well as BESSONI-AURELI (Dizion. de' pittori ital., Città di Castello, 1915 (248), and MUÑOZ (Roma, 20) attribute the painting, which used frequently to be described as a work of Scip. Pulzone, to Pietro Facchetti, who is also mentioned in the most ancient guides to Rome. For Facchetti *cf.* the article by ELSHEIMER in *Kunstchronik*, 1910, n. 32. See also *Jahrb der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV., 118.

[2] Opinion of DURM, Handbuch der Architektur, 347, who also says that the Vaticana is not surpassed in beauty and artistic value except by the Library of the Cathedral in Siena (*cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 204) constructed by the order of Cardinal Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III. ORBAAN (Sixtine Rome, 78) rightly says of the Vaticana of Sixtus V.: "It is one of the monuments of Sixtine Rome, which bear the characteristics of this Pope's taste in its most appealing form." BLUME (Iter. ital. III., Halle, 1830, 80) observes that the Vaticana owes the magnificent voluntary gifts of the seventeenth century to a great extent to nothing but its magnificent quarters, which are a guarantee of order and security, and which were the creation of Sixtus V.

[3] *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 163.

[4] *Cf.* MISSIRINI, Mem., d. Rom. Accad. di S. Luca, Rome, 1823 23 *seq.* HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden en Italië, The Hague, 1913, 6. See also SCHLOSSER, Materialen zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgesch., VI., Vienna, 1919, 54.

[6] *Cf.* BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 55.

Gregory XIII., in accordance with the new ideas; the principal picture, the removal of the idols by the Emperor Constantine, and characteristic of the ideas as to antiquity in vogue at that time, gave very little satisfaction even to his contemporaries. It shows the interior of a church with a broken idol lying before the Crucified. The whole is too like an example of an academic essay in perspective.[1] In the corners the Pope had four devices painted, a lion, three mountains with a star, St. Francis of Assisi and the barque of St. Peter with Christ at the helm.[2]

Fontana also constructed a great new staircase adorned with frescoes, leading from the Vatican to St. Peter's, and also carried out various restorations in the Palace itself.[3]

In the spring of 1589 the Pope decided—he had been thinking of it since 1586,[4]—to make Fontana construct, in accordance with the ideas and needs of the times, a new residence in front of the ancient Vatican Palace, on the east side of the Cortile of S. Damaso. He was led to this great undertaking, which had to be carried out on steep and difficult ground, not only by his wish to enjoy from his windows a complete view of the city and of the Piazza of St. Peter's with its obelisk, but even more by hygienic considerations; the apartments on the north of the old Vatican Palace had been found to be unhealthy, whereas the new ones gave full access to the sunlight so necessary in Rome, besides which their elevated position was more healthy.[5] This construction,

[1] See BAGLIONE, 68 *seq.*; POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 132 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS, II., 572.

[2] See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 284.

[3] See FONTANA, I., 5, 88, 89b; ORBAAN, Roma, 290 and Conti di Fontana, VII., 422 *seq.*; 424, VIII., 59. The name of Sixtus V. is also over the small door in the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

[4] " *Si dice che S. B. voglia in ogni modo abbellire il Vaticano et rimediare con abbassare il colle et riempire il piano accio non vi sia piu quell'aria cattiva et stendersi con la fabrica delli corritori verso la piazza sui fondamenti di Nicola V." Avviso of November 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the inscription in TAJA, Descriz. del Palazzo Apost. Vaticano, Rome, 1750, 492; FONTANA, I., 5; MAFFEJI, Hist., 3;

which was at once taken in hand, and was on a very large scale, forms a somewhat elongated square, and encloses a courtyard and joins on to the massive tower of Nicholas V. The façade facing south almost exactly follows the lines of the Lateran Palace. The palace, the severe character of which was enhanced by the employment in the walls of bare bricks,[1] was pushed on vigorously, but was not completed during the lifetime of the Pope.[2]

Thus it came about that Sixtus V. passed his last days at the Quirinal, where Cardinal Este had completed the palace begun there by Gregory XIII.[3] Sixtus looked upon the Cardinal as its owner,[4] all the more so as he was the lessee of the property which still belonged to the Carafa. In July 1586 he accepted the invitation of the Cardinal to exchange theVatican, which was situated in a hot and unhealthy district, for the more airy heights of the Quirinal.[5] When Cardinal Este died (December 30th, 1586), Sixtus V. at once formed the idea of obtaining possession of the property on the Quirinal.[6] As soon as the contract of purchase was concluded in the spring of 1587,[7] he at once set to work with great activity on the new property, which was added to by further purchases. The façade facing the Via Pia was completed, and the piazza

ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 102, 202 *seq.*; EHRLE, La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del tempio e palazzo Vatic., 112. See also the *letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, November 16, 1586, in which the Pope says: "Questa indispositione crediamo che habbiamo fatta dall'aere temperato di Montecavallo a questa di S. Pietro ch'è humido." State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3, 715.

[1] *Cf.* FONTANA, II., 11 *seq.*; GURLITT, Barockstil, 216; LETAROUILLY, Vatican, II., tavv. 28 and 29.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso of June 23, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 284.

[4] See *Avviso of May 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso of July 9, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 273b, *ibid.*

[6] See *Avviso of January 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 4, *ibid.*

[7] See LANCIANI, IV., 97 *seq.* *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, II., 227; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 294.

in front of the Quirinal was enlarged and adorned with the colossal statues of the horse-tamers, while plans were also made for erecting a fountain.[1] Here too Fontana was in charge of the works.[2]

When Sixtus V. went to take up his residence at the Palace of the Quirinal in June 1587, his quarters were so small that at a consistory he held there some of the Cardinals had to remain standing.[3] Although pressed forward with all energy the works had not been completed, though they advanced so far that in June 1590 he was able to offer accommodation to his more intimate Cardinals.[4] As had been the case in the previous year, so the Pope once again moved to the Quirinal Palace at the beginning of May, 1590,[5] and died there on August 27th.

The building work which Sixtus V. carried out with such force and energy in Rome during a reign of scarcely five years has rightly been described as marvellous and gigantic.[6] But this activity of his can only be properly understood if it is looked at in connexion with the Catholic restoration. The whole of the ideas of that period, the grand lines along which the policy of the Holy See was developing at that time, are reflected in the monumental conceptions of Sixtus V., whose

[1] *Cf.* FONTANA, I., 87b, 100; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10; RODOCANACHI, Antichità di Roma, Paris, 1912, 37; GURLITT, Barockstil, 216. See also the *reports of Malegnani, Apr. 29, June 20, 24, 27, 1587. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avviso of June 10, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 208b. Vatican Library, and in App. No. 20 the *Avviso of September 19, 1587, *ibid.*; also the Avviso of April 16, 1588, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 304; *cf.* Sixtine Rome, 256 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* M. DE BENEDETTI, Palazzi e ville reali d'Italia I., Florence, 1911, 16 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Malegnani, June 10, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *Acta consist, June 18, 1590, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avvisi of June 3, 1589, and April 22, 1590, Urb. 1057, pp. 322, and 1058, p. 197, Vatican Library.

[6] See HÜBNER, II., 124. *Cf.* LANCIANI, II., 236, and N. TOSCANELLI in *N. Antologia*, CLIV. (1911), 276.

patronage of the arts recalls the grandiose ideas of Julius II.[1] Like the Rovere Pope, Sixtus V. was rarely content with a middle course. Nothing but outstanding undertakings satisfied him. His enthusiasm easily fired, he at once wished to see his ideas carried into effect. For him his architects always worked too slowly.[2] In spite of the drastic reductions which he made in the expenditure[3] the sums he expended for this purpose reached a million scudi by 1589,[4] without taking into account the expenditure on St. Peter's.

From the artistic point of view the feverish activity displayed by Sixtus as a patron of the arts certainly gives

[1] See TIETZE in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., p. 51.

[2] See *Avviso of February 24, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

[3] See the information from the account books of Fontana for the restoration of Trajan's column in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, 1896–1897. See also BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 220.

[4] Exactly: 1,002,245 scudi 15½ Bol.; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Svizzeri, 13 *seq.* and Art. Lomb. I., 75 *seq.* *Cf.* Gritti in HÜBNER, II., 497; STEVENSON, 6 *seq.*, 26. MÜNTZ (III., 244) calculated that this sum was equal to about 5 million francs in 1895. The statement of Paruta of more than four million scudi (in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 410) is an exaggeration. Detailed information from the "Libri I–XI. of the Conti del cavalier Domenico Fontana, architetto di N.S.," beginning on August 24, 1585, formerly in the State Archives, Rome, and now in the Papal Secret Archives, is given by ORBAAN in *Bollett. d'arte*, VII., 422 *seqq.*, VIII., 59 *seqq.*; *cf.* Sixtine Rome, 171 *seq.* According to this the Acqua Felice cost 255,341; the chapel of the Praesepium at St. Mary Major's about 90,000; the erection of the Vatican obelisk 37,000; the Vatican Library 38,000; the erection of the obelisk at the Lateran 24,611; the erection of the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo 10,337; the erection of the obelisk near St. Mary Major's 3,000; the Hospice of the Mendicants and the Quirinal Palace 31,500 each; the Loggia of Benedictions at the Lateran 11,000; the Lateran Palace more tha 30,000; the restoration of S. Sabina 717; the staircase from the Vatican to St. Peter's more than 600; the Villa Montalto 30,000 scudi. 12,000 scudi are set down for the various streets.

occasion for justifiable criticism ;[1] yet in spite of this he must be given the credit, by the way in which, with the energy of the ancient Romans, he carried on the glorious traditions of Papal patronage of the arts, for having introduced into Rome, though he lacked the services of any great masters, the art of the baroque period and of having traced out the path for his successors. The Eternal City owes to him that character of grandeur and severe majesty which, developed by the great Popes of the sixteenth century, together with the bringing out of her spiritual character, gave for three centuries to the residence of the successors of St. Peter the special characteristics which marked it off from all the other capitals of the world.[2] And to this external transformation of Rome there corresponded the internal change effected by the Catholic restoration.[3]

Contemporaries passed over the unfortunate state of art during that time of transition:[4] their accounts express nothing but unconditional admiration for the new Rome

[1] See KALLAB in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276, and VOSS, I., 6, II., 431.

[2] See LANCIANI, Sulle vicende edilizie di Roma, Roma, 1878, 41. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, III., 243 *seq.*; ESCHER, 12; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 173 *seq.* D. ANGELI in *N. Antologia*, CXX. (1905), 21. The example set by Sixtus V. also influenced the plans of Henry IV. for Paris; see LAVISSE, VI., 2, 479.

[3] *Cf.* the *Raggioni per i collegii, p. 28, Propaganda Archives, Rome.

[4] In this connexion D. Angeli rightly observes: "Quel periodo fu, più d'ogni altro, un periodo di transizione. Posto fra gli ultimi aneliti del Rinascimento e i primi vagiti del grande secolo barocco, non sentiva più la grandezza del Buonarotti, nè aveva ancora l'impeto e la passione di Gian Lorenzo Bernini. I suoi artisti—pittori e scultori sopratutto—parteciparono di quella incertezza e di quella stanchezza, producendo un arte corretta, ma freddissima, abile, ma senza sentimento (L'Istituto Massimo, Roma 1904, 10)." *Cf.* also the severe criticism of MUÑOZ (Roma barocca, 10 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*), who, however, places the art of this period in correspondence with the *contrariforma*, which does not seem to be quite justifiable.

created by Sixtus V.[1] "O happy Rome" (Roma Felix) exclaims Catervo Foglietta at the end of his description of the works of Sixtus V.[2] The Venetian ambassador Paruta says: "Anyone who sees the many and extraordinary works of Sixtus V., the long aqueducts and the public fountains, the streets and palaces and churches, could hardly believe that all this had been brought into being in so short a time."[3] No less a man than Tasso extolled the merits of "the great Sixtus" in enthusiastic verse,[4] which does not seem exaggerated when we remember that since the day of the Empire no such extensive and radical changes had taken place in the Eternal City. The Benedictine abbot, Angelo Grillo, gave enthusiastic expression to his views, writing soon after the death of Sixtus V. to Alessandro Spinola: "Here am I in Rome, and yet I cannot find the Rome I know: so great are the changes in the buildings, the streets, the piazzas, the fountains, the aqueducts, the obelisks, and the other marvels with which the glorious memory of Sixtus has beautified this old and ruinous city, that I cannot recognize nor find, so to speak, any trace of that old Rome which I left ten years ago, when I came away; and so would it seem to your lordship if you saw it in its new guise. If I had the leisure to play the poet, it would be to say that at the imperious summons of the dreaded trumpet of that great-hearted pontiff the limbs and venerable bones of its huge and half-buried body, broken and scattered throughout the Latin Campagna, had been

[1] See the *Epigramma of Julius Roscius, "De nova Rom. urbe sub Sixto V. P. M.," Vat. 5531, Vatican Library; PARUTA, Relazione, 410; *Letter of Fr. Tromba to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated di casa 19 dicembre 1588. Miscell. Arm. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Letter of May 10, 1587, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

[3] PARUTA, Relazione, 410. *Cf.* also ANDREAE BACCII Elpidiani, civis Romani, apud Sixtum V. P. M. medici De Thermis libri septem, Romae, 1622, 373.

[4] Quante le stelle in ciel, in mar l'arene
Tanti sono del gran Sisto i meriti e i pregi.
TASSO, Opere, II., 560.

gathered and joined together, and that by the power of that fervid and living spirit, this new Rome had risen like the phoenix from its ashes."[1]

On this new Rome Sixtus V. also set its final and distinctive seal by his completion of the gigantic dome of St. Peter's. If in other things he had in many ways departed from the steps taken by his predecessor, in the building of St. Peter's Sixtus V. made no change of any kind: the direction of this work was left in the experienced hands of Giacomo della Porta,[2] who first devoted his attention to the removal of the temporary choir of Bramante, and the construction of the new tribune for the choir.[3] The fresco in the large hall of the Vatican Library shows the appearance of the ancient and the new basilicas still standing side by side at the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Here too the monuments of former ages were not spared: thus in 1586 the tomb of Callixtus III. was destroyed.[4]

During the summer of that year difficulties were encountered, which, however, Sixtus V. was able to overcome by obtaining

[1] See lettera dell' Ab te Angiolo Grillo, pub. by Pietro Petracci, Venice, 1608, 379.

[2] *" Giacomo della Porta hora tiene il primo luogo poichè ha la cura della fabrica di S. Pietro e quella delle fabriche del popolo Romano" reports C. Capilupi, September 6, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* the documents published by O. Pollak in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI., 69 *seq.* and Frey, Bramantes St.-Peter-Entwurf, Vienna, 1915, 69. A reproduction of St. Peter's in 1585, with the provisional choir of Bramante in *Arch. d'arte*, VI. (1893), 125.

[4] *Cf.* Lanciani, IV., 160 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 162, for the further, decoration of the Capella Gregoriana by Sixtus V. A. Buchelius describes in his report of his travels (in *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 56), how the ancient monuments of St. Peter's were lying scattered about and neglected. *Cf.* also Grisar, I., 432, and the Avviso in Orbaan, Avvisi, 296. The discovery of the tomb of Cendwalla is described in a report of 1588 in De Rossi, Inscript., II., 288.

the necessary funds.[1] He was already urging the completion of the dome of Michelangelo,[2] which no one yet had dared to face on account of the difficulties connected with so vast an undertaking : the diameter of the drum is forty-two metres. It was the general opinion in Rome that it would take at least ten years and a million ducats to carry out the work,[3] and that it would be impossible to do this in a single pontificate. But as had been the case with the construction of the aqueduct, with which he began his pontificate, Sixtus V. did not let himself be dismayed by the magnitude of the task ; as had been the case with the setting up of the obelisk, its difficulties only spurred him to greater efforts.

In the autumn the Venetian ambassador was able to report " It has been decided to complete the vaulting of the dome."[4] In January 1587 the Pope was in close consultation with the engineers and architects,[5] but a year later no decision had been come to. Nevertheless the rumour was current that the Pope was determined that the work should be begun in February,[6] but it was only in the middle of July 1588, twenty-four years after the death of Michelangelo, that a start was made upon the great work.[7] The necessary funds were in

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 7 the *Avviso of July 30, 1586, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of August 23, 1586, Urb 1054, Vatican Library.

[3] See Bonanni, Numismata, 76.

[4] See the *letter of Gritti, October 25, 1586, State Archives, Venice.

[5] See the Avviso of January 21, 1587, in Orbaan, Avvisi, 291.

[6] See the *Avviso of January 23, 1588 (Sixtus V. desires that at the beginning of February " con ogni sollecitudine si attenda alla perfettione della cupola della chiesa Vaticana "), Urb. 1056, p. 30, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* the accounts beginning July 21, 1588, published by Orbaan in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., supp. (1917) 189 *seqq.* from the archives of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, completed with explanations and contemporary designs, and illustrating the successive progress of the building. *Ibid.*, p. 207, is given the passage from Grimaldi, stating that the building operations were begun on July 15, 1588.

readiness, and the Pope wished to have daily information as to the great undertaking.[1] It was said in Rome that the Pope had assigned 1500 scudi a week to the purpose.

The view that Giacomo della Porta did not altogether follow Michelangelo's design for the exterior lines of the dome has wrongly been called in question.[2] On the evidence of the detailed description of Vasari, of the engravings in du Pérac, and of contemporary Papal medals, it is possible to identify the changes introduced by della Porta, which affected the elevation of the cupola, the windows and the lantern.[3]

As in the case of his other building works Sixtus V. urged the speedy completion of the vaulting of the dome, characteristically saying in August 1588 that there were still other great works to be done.[4] The vaulting of the dome was begun on December 22nd, 1588.[5] Giacomo della Porta, who was assisted by Fontana,[6] did all they could to satisfy the Pope's wishes. From March 1589 800 workmen[7] were employed there day and night, even on feast days, with the exception of Sundays. It was as though the Pope had a presentiment of his approaching end; he nevertheless hoped to see the work

[1] See the letter published by ORBAAN in *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist.*, XLII. (1925), 111 *seq.* *Cf.* also BONANNI, Numismata, 76; *Avviso of July 20, 1588 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 25; ROCCA, App. Bibl. Vat., 418.

[2] *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, Ursprüngl. Entwürfe, 244; DURM, Die Domkuppel in Florenz u. die Kuppel der Peterskirche in Rom., Berlin, 1887 (from *Zeitschr. f. Bauwesen*); MACKOWSKY, Michelangniolo, 339.

[3] This especially on the authority of Dagobert Frey, whose account I follow.

[4] *"Il papa sollecita la fabrica di S. Pietro dicendo che restano oltre grande opere da farsi ancora." *Avviso of August 24, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 367, Vatican Library.

[5] See Grimaldi in ORBAAN, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., 207. *Cf.* STEVENSON, 17.

[6] See FONTANA, I., 5, 88.

[7] See ROCCA, 417.

finished. The progress made was extraordinary, and so great that men counted on its completion by Christmas, 1590.[1] Yet Sixtus V., in his ardent zeal, entertained the hope of even greater speed. In November 1589 he expressed his hope of being able to celebrate the first mass under the new dome within a few months.[2] If he had lived longer the energetic Franciscan would have carried out his further intention of completing the new façade of St. Peter's.[3]

On May 21st 1590 Rome was informed that "to his everlasting glory and the shame of his predecessors our holy Pope Sixtus V. has completed the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's." On May 14th, 1590, a magnificent day in spring, after a solemn mass of thanksgiving in St. Peter's, the last stone, adorned with the name of Sixtus V., and already blessed, was placed in the dome.[4] It was a day of triumph for the aged Giacomo della Porta: none but a Roman, it was said, could have accomplished so great a work, which threw into the shade even the creations of the ancients.[5] In a poetic glorification of the works of Sixtus V. published at the time, Vincenzo Robardi devoted enthusiastic verses to the dome.[6] Angelo Rocca in his work on the Vatican Library extols it as being unique in all the world.[7] In spite of the heat of the summer the work was carried on, and thus before he died Sixtus was able to admire from the Quirinal Palace the most beautiful and noble outline that architecture has ever produced.

[1] See in App. Nos. 22 in Vol. XXI., 34, the *Avvisi of March 15 and April 26, 1589, Vatican Library.

[2] See Avviso of November 1, 1589, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310.

[3] *Cf.* STEVENSON, 22.

[4] See the Avvisi of May 12 and 19, 1590, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 311 *seq.*; *cf.* Sixtine Rome, 222, where the date (March 19) is wrong. See also BONANNI, Numismata, 77.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 76.

[6] "Tollitur aetherias tholus admirandus in auras etc." V. ROBARDI, Sixti V. gesta quinquennalia, Romae, 1590. *Cf* also the poem of Silvio Antoniano in TEMPESTI, II., 25.

[7] ROCCA, 417.

All that remained to be done was its covering with lead, the interior mosaics, and the lantern.[1]

In the history of the church of St. Peter's we have a reflection of the vicissitudes of the Papacy in modern times. Commenced on the eve of the great schism which cut off from the centre of unity vast territories of Europe, the zeal for its completion grew cold by reason of the stormy times, only to be taken up again with renewed energy under Paul III. after the beginnings of the internal reform of the Church. While the Council of Trent was once more consolidating, uniting and purifying the deeply shaken Church, the new St. Peter's was solidly growing up under the disinterested direction of Michelangelo, and when the Catholic reform in the south of Europe had been effected, and the state of the Church consolidated even beyond the Alps, in Germany, the Low Countries and France, this victory of the Church again found its expression in art. The miracles of architecture had found their ideal completion in seeing the Pantheon as it were carried into the air, and it fell to the most energetic of the Popes of the Catholic restoration to put the finishing touch to the aspirations of the artists of the Renaissance, and to bring to completion the greatest and the most imposing work of Michelangelo.[2] Free and light as a celestial globe the gigantic cupola stands with the solemn majesty of a mistress of the world against the blue of the southern skies. Words cannot describe the dignity, the harmony and the imposing ascent into the empyrean of this work, perhaps the most daring of all time. At every hour of the day and year the dome of St. Peter's presents new beauties: whether it be that the windows of its drum are pierced by the first rays of dawn, by the burning heat of noon, or by the sun as it sets, or whether it be overcast by the heavy clouds of storm and rain, it produces an effect quite its own, even when the leaden skies of the scirocco hang over the Eternal City. It is most beautiful when in spring, after a day of rain the skies

[1] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Avvisi, 312.

[2] See DURM, Baukunst der Renaissance, 496.

have cleared, and the sun setting behind the Janiculum paints the firmament blood-red, until houses and churches slowly merge into darkness, the first lights are lit, and the great mass stands out clear and detached against the sky all strewn with glittering stars.

As it is the most beautiful, so the dome of St. Peter's is the greatest work that the Eternal City can show. From every point of view it gives the impression of grandeur. Seen from the Pincio or the Janiculum, from the Palace of the Caesars or from the heights of the Alban Hills, it stands forth as mistress among all the buildings of Rome. Wherever one goes in the melancholy stretches of the Campagna, everywhere there rises up the dome of St. Peter's; when all the palaces and churches, the houses and the hills have disappeared, this marvellous creation may still be seen rising tall and majestic in the air.

A royal symbol of the city of the Seven Hills, which conveys to the traveller the first greeting and the last farewell of the city of the Popes, the dome of St. Peter's is also the symbol of the universal Church, and of its centre, the Papacy. With the majestic circle of columns that surround it, like a splendid coronet, it adorns the tomb of the Fisherman of Galilee. The promise made by the Divine Founder of the Church to the Prince of the Apostles has dethroned Jupiter from the Capitol and Caesar from the Palatine, and made the occupants of the Chair of Peter the rulers of a world-wide and ever growing spiritual kingdom, assured of an existence that will have no end. Such thoughts fill the mind of the pilgrim with exultation when, kneeling at that august tomb, he lifts his eyes to the dome all flooded with light. Above the intersection of the naves he reads in letters of gold mosaic the charter of foundation of the Papacy: TU ES PETRUS, while at the summit near the lantern there shine in the same gold letters the words: SANCTI PETRI GLORIAE SIXTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS V. ANNO 1590.

Artistically a monument of the height of the Renaissance, which reached its completion in the midst of the Catholic restoration, in virtue of its renewed enthusiasm for religion,

the most beautiful of the domes created by the hand of man has become for all time an incomparable symbol of the ancient Church restored after the storms of the religious schism, and of her unceasing care for the spread of the kingdom of Christ among all the peoples of the world.

CHAPTER VII.

The Pontificate of Urban VII.

Sixtus V. had watched with iron severity over the peace and quiet of the Papal States, but no sooner was he dead than the elements of disorder raised their heads. Although, thanks to the steps taken by the Cardinals, the period of the vacancy was not so disastrous as was at first feared, lamentable excesses were by no means wanting. The great number of foreigners who were in Rome caused a notable scarcity of provisions.[1]

At their first congregation the Cardinals confirmed the dead Pope's grand-nephew, Michele Peretti, as general of the troops of the Papal States, while, in accordance with the proposal of Cardinal Montalto, Duke Onorato Caetani was associated with him as lieutenant-general with the task of at once enrolling 2,000 infantry for the protection of Rome. In the meantime the Romans devoted themselves to the task of keeping guard. The College of Cardinals made lavish use of the money of Sixtus V., and the 1,150,000 scudi which had not been tied up by Sixtus V. were almost completely spent: 400,000 scudi were given to the city of Rome to purchase grain, and another half million to the other cities of the Papal States: the remaining 250,000 scudi were devoted to the expenses of the conclave.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of September 1 and 5, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 441b, 449, Vatican Library, and the *report of Sporeno, ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol (*cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 128 *seq.*), September 8, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, fol. 96, n. 83, fasc. 3. See also *Memorie d' alcuni fatti accaduti durante il conclave di Urbano VII essendo generale di S. Chiesa Onorato Caetani, Gaetani Archives, Rome, 79, n. 25.

[2] See the report of A. Badoer, September 1, 1590, in Hübner, II. 379. *Cf.* *Avviso of August 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 437b, Vatican Library.

The Cardinals at once turned their attention to the affairs of France. With regard to the question whether Cardinal Caetani was to be recalled to Rome, or was to remain in Paris, it was unanimously resolved to leave the decision to the legate himself. On the other hand there was a great divergence of opinion as to whether the death of Sixtus V. was to be notified to all the French Cardinals, and whether they were to be summoned to the conclave. Bonelli maintained strongly that this should not be done, as the Cardinals who adhered to Navarre had by that very fact become schismatics. But the majority did not agree with this view, and it was resolved against the opinion of Bonelli, that a summons should be sent to all the French Cardinals to attend the conclave. A decisive factor in this decision was the fear lest otherwise the validity of the election should be impugned. For this reason even Cardinals of pronounced Spanish leanings, like Deza, gave their votes in this sense.[1]

In the days immediately following the death of Sixtus V. many different names were put forward as *papabili*, or as having good hopes of being elected. From September 5th, 1590, the Roman, Giambattista Castagna, was looked upon as the candidate with the best chance of success;[2] the only things that were prejudicial to him were the great number of his relatives, and the open support of the Spanish party.[3] A few days later his chances were estimated in financial circles at 22 per cent. After him there came the aged Giovanni Serbelloni with 15 per cent., Sfondrato with 11 per cent,, Colonna with 10 per cent., Valiero and Laureo with 9 per cent., Galli with 8 per cent., Santori with 7 per cent., and Paleotto, Albani and Montelparo with 4 per cent.[4]

[1] See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 149 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso of September 5, 1590, Urb. 1008, p. 449, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of Brumani, September 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso of September 1, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 441, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the report of Vinta in PETRUCELLI, II., 283.

[4] *Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 454, Vatican Library.

Although the pontificate of Sixtus V. had only lasted for five years, the aspect of the Sacred College had nevertheless during that short time entirely changed its aspect. No fewer than twenty-four Cardinals had died,[1] among them some, such as Sirleto, Cesi and Farnese, who at preceding elections had been in the first rank. Of special importance had been the death in 1589 of the grandson of Paul III., for the "great Cardinal" as Alessandro had been called, had for years past determined the grouping of the parties in the Sacred College.[2] After the death of this outstanding personality, the traditional division of the Cardinals had once more come into being, namely that which grouped together the creations of each Pope. This was clearly manifested at the conclave, which began on September 7th. Out of the sixty-seven Cardinals forming the Sacred College, fifty-four took part in this.[3] Among the electors only six foreigners took part: two Germans, Altemps and Madruzzo, two Spaniards, Deza and Mendoza, one Frenchman, Pellevé, and one Englishman, Allen.

The principal parties in the sacred College were three: the Spanish, the Gregorian and the Sixtine; the number of

[1] Niccolò Gaetani, Guido Ferreri, Alberto Bolognetti, Georges d'Armagnac, Alessandro Riario, Guglielmo Sirleto, Matteo Contarelli, Michele della Torre, Filippo Boncompagni, Ant. Granvella, Pietro Donato Cesi, Luigi d' Este, Georg Draskowich, Charles d'Angennes, Giov. Franc. Gambara, Filippo Guastavillani, Decio Azzolini, Charles of Lorraine, Jacopo Savelli, Louis of Lorraine, Stefano Bonucci, Alessandro Farnese, Prospero Santa Croce, Charles Bourbon; see CIACONIUS, IV., 200 *seq.*

[2] See HERRE, 395, 415. *Cf.* NAVENNE, Palais Farnese, 673 *seq.*

[3] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59. Of these who were absent 8 (Gaspare di Quiroga, Albert of Austria, Rodrigo de Castro François Joyeuse, Georg Radziwill, Charles de Bourbon, Andrew of Austria and Andrew Báthory) belonged to the Cardinals of Gregory XIII., 5 (Errico Caetani, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Pierre Gondi, Hugh de Loubenx and Charles of Lorraine) to the Cardinals of Sixtus V. The complete number 67 is given exactly in PETRAMELLARIUS, 340; in CIACONIUS, IV., 203 *seq.* A. Carafa is missing.

Cardinals who owed their elevation to Sixtus V. was twenty-five: Gimbattista Castrucci, Federico Cornaro, Domenico Pinelli, Ippolito de' Rossi, Ippolito Aldobrandini, Girolamo della Rovere, Girolamo Bernieri, Antonio Maria Galli, Costanzo Sarnano, William Allen, Scipione Gonzaga, Antonio Sauli, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, Juan de Mendoza, Giovan Francesco Morosini, Mariano Pierbenedetti, Gregorio Petrochino Montelparo, Alessandro Peretti Montalto, Girolamo Mattei, Benedetto Giustiniani, Ascanio Colonna, Federico Borromeo, Agostino Cusano, Franceso Maria del Monte and Guido Pepoli.[1] Of the Cardinals of Sixtus V. only two were looked upon as *papabili*, Ippolito Aldobrandini and Girolamo della Rovere. Aldobrandini had especially attracted attention to himself by his successful legation in Poland, but in itself there was but little likelihood of one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V. being elected. Rovere, as the candidate favoured by the Duke of Savoy, had against him all the friends of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; nor were the Spaniards favourably disposed to him on account of his relations with France.[2]

The real candidate of Montalto, the leader of the Cardinals of Sixtus, was Marcantonio Colonna, though the latter, on account of his worldly life, did not seem to be at all fitted for

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 203. HERRE (415, n. 2) has given three lists, giving information about each of the Cardinals and their chances of election. *Memoria de los cardenales que en esta sede vacante de Sixto quinto se hallan en Roma y cuya hechura y criatura sea cada uno dellos y lo que se debe advertir sobre la elecion del sumo pontefice [September 14, 1590] (besides the copy in the Simancas Archives, used by Herre, there is another in the archives of the embassy of Spain in Rome. II. *Relazione of Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II., July 27, 1591, State Archives, Vienna, Rom., 42. III. *Discorso per la sede vacante di Gregorio XIV. del mese d' ottobre 1590. Besides the copy used by Herre in Cod. Milich. 389, pp. 39-42, in the Library, Görlitz, this Discorso, many points in which call for a serious critical examination, is also to be found in Cod. 6322, pp. 126-145 of the State Library, Vienna, and in Cod. 112 of the Capilupi Library, Mantua.

[2] See HERRE, 418.

the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.[1] He had, moreover, many enemies among the Cardinals of Sixtus V. In spite of this the young nephew of the dead Pope was resolved to work with all his might for this relative of his. When, on September 3rd, Montalto promised Vinta, the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was working on behalf of Castagna, that he would concur in the election of his candidate, he still insisted on first making an attempt on behalf of Colonna.[2]

Besides Colonna, the eight Cardinals of Pius IV. included in their number four other *papabili:* Serbelloni, Galli, Gesualdo and Lodovico Madruzzo, all of whom, however, had to reckon with powerful opponents. Of the six Cardinals of Pius V., Bonelli, Pellevé, Rusticucci, Albani, Carafa and Santori, only Santori had any serious chance, but on account of the great number of his opponents his success was not likely.[3]

Of the fourteen Cardinals of Gregory XIII., Deza, Facchinetti, Castagna, Alessandro Medici, Canani, Sfondrato, Salviati, Valiero, Laureo, Spinola, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Lancellotti, Vincenzo Gonzaga and Francesco Sforza, several were strongly inclined to Spain, and it seemed that they were likely to play all the more decisive a part as they were more closely united. The leadership of the Gregorian Cardinals was in the hands of the young and energetic Sforza, with whom Laureo, Salviati, Valiero and Medici were in close alliance. Sforza himself was very worldly in his ideas; he combined an ardent spirit and a gift for negotiation with great courage.[4] He was resolved to do all in his power to secure the tiara for one of the Gregorian Cardinals. This was in accordance with the tradition by which the creations of

[1] The statement of Vinta, that Colonna had illegitimate children (PETRUCELLI, II., 284) is confirmed by a *report of Brumani, s.d. in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which certainly belongs to the beginning of September 1590.

[2] See HERRE, 428 *seq.*, 436.

[3] See *ibid.*, 419, 430.

[4] See the opinion of Maretti, *ibid.*, 429, n. 2.

the last Pope but one had the first claim on the supreme dignity. The *papabili* among the Gregorian Cardinals were in the first place Giambattista Castagna, the declared candidate of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, and who was at the same time very acceptable to the Spaniards;[1] then came Facchinetti and Sfondrato, but these had to reckon with more opponents than Castagna, though their hopes of success were nevertheless outstanding. Much less favourable were the prospects of Lancellotti, who was opposed to the Spaniards, and of Laureo, whose candidature was principally supported by the Duke of Savoy.[2]

The Spanish party consisted of twenty-two Cardinals: these were the two Colonna, Galli, Madruzzo, Pellevé, Santori, Rusticucci, Deza, Sfondrato, Spinola, Paleotto, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Simoncelli, Facchinetti, Carafa, Allen, Mendoza, Andrew of Austria, Cusano, the two Gonzaga and Caetani.[3] In spite of its large numbers, the Spanish party was weak, as it lacked solidarity, so that, as Olivares, the representative of Philip II. quickly realized, it was quite unable to deliver any decisive blow. Those who were unconditionally devoted to the King of Spain were only Deza, Mendoza, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Spinola and Madruzzo.[4] To the latter, who was generally respected, fell the leadership of the Spanish party, because all had a high opinion of his capability and experience of the affairs of the conclave;[5] Olivares, the ambassador of Philip II., was all the more anxious for the arrival of the Cardinal of Trent, as in spite of his requests, he had received

[1] See *ibid.*, 416, 420 *seq.* *Cf.* FUSAI, B. Vinta 44 *seq.*

[2] See HERRE, 416, *seq.*

[3] See in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua the *list sent by Cataneo on November 10, 1590.

[4] See *Conclave di Gregorio XIV. composto da Lelio Maretti gentilhuomo Sanese, Library of the Servites, Innsbruck.

[5] *" Cardinale accettissimo al Re per l' affetto havuto sempre alla casa d' Austria, per la gravità de' costumi et per l' opinione che havevano li Spagnuoli della sua prudenza in questi maneggi particolarmente dove egli era con sua molta lode intervenuto più volte," says Maretti, *loc. cit.*

no fresh instructions from Madrid, and was therefore obliged to make use of those he had received in 1585. These excluded all the candidates favourable to France. As those most worthy of support Madruzzo and Santori were named in the first place, and then Castagna, who was praised on account of his zeal for religion and his great experience. Facchinetti, della Torre and Sfondrato were also mentioned as acceptable candidates. The candidature of Marcantonio Colonna, although the latter was one of the Spanish party, inspired little confidence in Olivares,[1] and his opinion of the danger of putting forward that Cardinal was fully shared by the Duke of Savoy and Madruzzo. The three representatives of Philip II. finally decided on a kind of compromise, and Madruzzo was instructed to present, not only to the Spanish party, but also to the whole Sacred College, Cardinals Paleotto, Galli, Santori, Facchinetti and Castagna as the candidates acceptable to Philip II.[2] This was done, notwithstanding the fact that a number of the Cardinals displayed a justifiable indignation at the preponderant influence exercised by Spain in Papal elections.[3]

Without the help of the Spanish party, or of the party of Cardinal Montalto, thought the ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, no Pope could be elected, as neither of these parties was in a position by itself to secure the necessary majority of two-thirds; the decision therefore lay either with the Gregorian Cardinals or with those of Sixtus V.[4]

While the Jesuits exposed the Blessed Sacrament in their church for the Forty Hours in order to obtain the election

[1] See HERRE 323 *seq.*, 423 *seq.* Of significance is the statement of the *Avviso of September 1, that until the arrival of Madruzzo and of Vinta, the trusted agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, nothing could be said. Urb. 1058, p. 441, Vatican Library.

[2] See HERRE, 441 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Sporeno, September 15, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See *ibid.*

of a good Pope,[1] the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in St. Peter's on the morning of September 8th, 1590, after which Antonio Boccapaduli delivered the customary discourse to the Cardinals. In this discourse he spoke of the importance of the office of the Pope, whose duties had been increased in consequence of the losses which the Church had suffered, and by the complicated state of the political situation. He specially alluded to the fact that one of the most important parts of the Church, France, was a prey to the horrors of war, while almost everywhere else there were wounds crying out to be healed. Hence it was their sacred duty, putting aside all private interests, to effect a wise Papal election.[2]

After Boccapaduli's discourse the Cardinals repaired to the conclave, which had been made ready in the Vatican. Before it was closed the diplomatists once more presented themselves. The Spaniards displayed special eagerness, for to them the result of the Papal election was extremely important because of the disturbances in France, and they continued their activities up to the last moment at the window which afforded the sole remaining means of communication with the outside world.[3] The leader of the Spanish party, Madruzzo, only arrived in the afternoon of the following day in the conclave, where an indecisive ballot had already taken place in the morning. When he was asked by his followers what their attitude should be towards the candidature of Colonna, the Cardinal of Trent left the matter entirely to their judgment. But even so it was seen only too clearly how great was the influence of Philip II. It was inferred from Madruzzo's attitude of cautious reserve that the King of Spain would not welcome the election of Colonna, and this was itself enough

[1] See *Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 455, Vatican Library.

[2] The discourse, which was much praised (*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 454, Vatican Library) is inserted in the *Diaria caerem. of Joh. Paulus Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives, and Cod. 12547 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is also found in Cod. F. 39 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See Vinta in PETRUCELLI, II., 291; HERRE, 445.

to ruin his chances.[1] Nor did Galli, who was put forward by Bonelli, meet with any better success, since Madruzzo was unwilling to pledge himself to his support in face of the opposition of Montalto and del Monte. When, after this, Bonelli suggested Aldobrandini, Madruzzo rejected him unconditionally. Fifty-one Cardinals were present at the opening of the conclave, to whom three more were added during the days that followed, thus bringing the number of the electors up to fifty-four.

From September 9th to the 13th the days were occupied by the zealous efforts of the friends of Colonna to obtain his elevation,[2] but these met with the greatest difficulties. A vain attempt was made to win over Madruzzo to the cause of Colonna, but the Gregorian Cardinals opposed him solidly.[3] On the other hand the attempts to obtain the tiara for one

[1] See the notes in diary form of a conclavist of Cardinal Colonna in "Conclavi" (1667) 213-224 (in Latin in Tria conclavia, Frankfort, 1617), the great reliability of which HERRE (445) rightly points out. The description by Herre is the most complete and best of all recent ones; he was the first to use, besides the reports of the embassies, which had been consulted by Petrucelli, the *reports of Dörnberg to Rudolph II. (State Archives, Vienna, Rom, 42) as well as the *reports of Olivares (Simancas Archives). WAHRMUND (101 *seq.*) combats the descriptions of the conclave of Urban VII. given by Ranke and Gindely, though he is wrong in reducing the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. to seven. For Gindely see also HERRE, 458, n. 2. A *Sonetto sul conclave after the death of Sixtus V. in Cod. 21382, British Museum, London.

[2] The statement of Dörnberg that many armed men with the badge of Colonna were to be seen in the city (HERRE, 446), in order to support the claims of Colonna, is confirmed by the *Avviso of September 12, 1590. According to this the leader of these bands was Marzio Colonna. In the Avviso we find the following: "Motto gustoso: Colonna per pratiche, S. Quattro [Facchinetti] per ragione di canoni, Como [Galli] per ragione di Stato, Mondovì [Laureo] per Spirito Santo et Albano per modum provisionis." Urb. 1058, p. 461, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Fed. Cataneo, September 15, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the two candidates chosen by Philip II., Facchinetti and Santori, met with no success. As far as Santori was concerned, not only did the Spaniards give him their united support, but it also seemed that the majority of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., in spite of Montalto, were disposed to give him their votes. The hopes of Santori rose so high, that the Florentine party and Montalto found themselves obliged to resolve on his definite exclusion ; they also declared themselves equally definitely against Facchinetti.[1] Montalto tenaciously continued his efforts on behalf of Colonna, but was filled with chagrin and displeasure as it became more and more evident that not only was the lukewarmness of the Spanish party fatal to his candidature, but that in consequence of the continued secret activity of the Florentines, he was unable even to count upon the support of his own followers. Montalto, however, continued to resist so strongly that fears were entertained of a long conclave.[2] He only gave up Colonna when Madruzzo told him that he could not give him his vote, while at the same time Federico Borromeo declared that his conscience forbade him to vote for Colonna. To all this was also added the opposition of Cardinal Sforza, the leader of the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. In the end Colonna had the sense to withdraw of his own accord.

It was at that moment that there came upon the scene that Cardinal " as to whom alone the interests of the parties in whose hands the decision lay were not divided,"[3] Giambattista Castagna. He had already at the scrutiny of the morning of September 14th obtained twenty votes.[4]

[1] See HERRE, 448 *seq.*

[2] " Vuole star duro in una sua creatura et crepare in conclave " says the *Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 455, Vatican Library. The envoy of Urbino remarks concerning the *Avviso of September 15, 1590 (*loc. cit.*, 463) that in the conclave there were so many " scartafacci et scritture, che si prevede con grande scompiglio per questa elettione." *Cf.* also *Diaria caerem. of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See HERRE, 451.

[4] According to Fed. Cataneo in his *report of September 15, 1590, there were only 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The Spaniards and the Florentines had already declared for him, and now Sforza and his followers, and lastly the Genoese Cardinals of Sixtus V. did the same. But Montalto still resisted. If in the end he withdrew his opposition, this was due, not only to the pressure of the Florentines, but also to the fact that Sforza, Altemps, the two Gonzaga and the two Colonna pledged themselves to vote at the next conclave for one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V.[1] It was in the evening of September 14th that a decision was come to, and on the following day Castagna was unanimously elected Pope. When he was asked by the Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, what name he wished to take, he replied that as he desired to bear an ancient name of the Popes, he wished to be known as Urban VII.[2]

The new Pope[3] was a sympathetic personality, of middle height, and dignified bearing.[4] He came of an ancient noble

[1] For this reason the *Discorso dei cardinali of 1621, in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, could state that Montalto had in a sense obtained the tiara for Urban VII. *Cf.* MARETTI *Conclave (*supra*, p. 318, n. 4) Library of the Servites at Innsbruck; HERRE, 452. The *letter of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, September 15, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, tells of the share taken by the two Gonzaga.

[2] *" A Francisco fratre seniore ex magistris caeremoniarum interrogatus quo nomine vellet nuncupari, respondit renovanda esse nomina antiquorum s. pontificum, et sic elegit sibi nomen Urbanum VII, quod nomen cum ipsius pontificis benignitate et natura maxime conveniebat, nam et urbanus erat et de urbe ac urbanitatis plenus." Ioh. Paulus Mucantius, *Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See CICARELLA, De vita Urbani VII., in the later editions of Platina. This biography is as insufficient as that of LORENZO ARRIGHI, Urbani VII. P.M. Vita, Bologna, 1614. *Cf.* also CIACONIUS, IV., 70 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*; NOVAES, VIII., 229 *seq.*; MORONI, LXXXVI., 36 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, II., 198 *seq.*; *Studi stor.*, IX., 229 *seq.*; SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., I., xxii. *seq.* A special work on Urban VII. is to be published by B. RICCI in *Atti d. Soc. scient. e lett. del Frignano.*

[4] See the engraving of Geille; *cf.* Portrait Index, ed. WILLIAM COOLIDGE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1472.

Genoese family, which had settled in Rome,[1] and had been born there on August 4th, 1521. On the other side, by his mother, Costanza, he was related to the noble Roman families of the Ricci and Jacobazzi. Giambattista Castagna was of calm and serious character; moderate and prudent, and of keen intelligence, he seemed to be a man made for the study of law, to which he had zealously devoted himself, first at Perugia and afterwards at Padua. After he had obtained his doctorate at Bologna, he returned to Rome, where his uncle, Cardinal Girolamo Verallo, took him into his house and service. He accompanied him to the conclave of 1550, when Julius III. was elected Pope.[2] When in the autumn of the following year Cardinal Verallo was sent as legate to Henry II. of France,[3] Castagna accompanied him as his auditor, and there was initiated into diplomacy, at the same time becoming acquainted with the conditions of a non-Italian nation.

Castagna remained all his life closely connected by ties of gratitude to his uncle, who had thus laid the foundations of his own brilliant diplomatic career. When later on, he himself attained the dignity of Cardinal, he constructed for himself a tomb at S. Agostino, alongside that of his uncle.[4] On his return from France to Rome Castagna was given by Julius III. the office of referendary of the Segnatura di Giustizia, and in 1553 the archbishopric of Rossano in Calabria.[5] It was only then that the young man of thirty-two

[1] The ancient idea that the family of Urban VII. came from Genoa, has been shown to be true by A. Neri in *Boll. stor. d. Svizz. ital.*, XXVII., 130, against Vegezzi. *Cf.* also v. Liebenau in *Kath. Schweiz., Bl.*, N.S., III., 270, who rejects the view of Vegezzi that Urban VII. was a Swiss from Lugano, and will only admit that the family of the Pope was connected with the Castagna of Lugano. See also Pasini-Frassoni, Armorial, 40.

[2] Castagna, however, was not present at the whole conclave; see Concil. Trid., II., 124.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 135 *seq.*

[4] See Ciaconius, IV., 210. *Cf.* Moroni, LXXXVI., 38; Forcella, V., 99.

[5] See Ughelli, IX., 309 *seq.*

was ordained priest.[1] After being for a short time governor of Fano under Paul IV., he returned to his diocese. There, by his serious manner of life, and by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the ministry of preaching, he showed that he belonged to the party of Catholic reform.[2]

The Popes frequently made use of the services of the distinguished archbishop. In March, 1559, Paul IV. sent him as governor to Perugia, where Castagna displayed great zeal in very critical circumstances.[3] Pius IV. entrusted to him the task of settling the boundary dispute between Terni and Spoleto. After this, the reopening of the Council summoned him to Trent, where he arrived on November 14th, 1561.[4] He remained there until the conclusion of the Council. taking part in its discussions with equal zeal and success. Together with Ugo Boncompagni, the future Gregory XIII., he was a member of a commission for the reform of the Church,[5] and distinguished himself in the discussions concerning matrimony, as well as in those concerning the duty of residence and the concession of the chalice to the laity. Everyone was surprised when this calm and gentle man spoke with unaccustomed severity against the concession on June 6th, 1562; his arguments on the subject were both clear and profound.[6]

After the Council was ended, Castagna, who had been in close relations there with Charles Borromeo,[7] returned to his diocese of Rossano. But he was not suffered to stay there long, for Pius IV. appointed him in 1564 to accompany Cardinal Boncompagni on his legation to Spain, and then

[1] See Ciaconius, IV., 71; Moroni, LXXXVI., 37.

[2] See Serrano, Corresp. dipl., I., xlviii.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 230. *Cf.* Fumi in *Boll. stor. d. Umbria,* XIII. (1907), 81 *seq.*

[4] See Cocil. Trid., II., 360.

[5] See Pallavacini, 22, 4, 10.

[6] See Concil. Trid., II., 479, 481 *seq.*, 782, 825 *seqq.*; Pallavicini, 17, 1, 3; 18, 4; *Studi Stor.* IX., 229 *seq.* See Vol. XV. of this work, pp. 295, 335.

[7] See Grisar, Jacobi Lainez disput. Trid., I., 409, 448.

nuncio in Madrid.[1] It was seen in the reign of Pius V. that in him the right man had been chosen for that office. In spite of the great difficulty of the position, Castagna filled the office to the complete satisfaction of the Pope as well as of the King of Spain, until 1572. The conclusion of the Holy League against the Turks, which resulted in the victory of Lepanto, fell within his term of office.[2] When Gregory XIII., soon after his election, decided to replace him in the nunciature, Philip II. was very unwilling to see this prudent and moderate man, whose calmness and seriousness were specially sympathetic to him, leave the court.

Gregory XIII. would have liked to have sent Castagna to Bologna, but in spite of the honour attaching to this position as head of the most important of the provinces of the Papal States, Castagna refused the office, because he feared that on account of the many relatives of the Pope at Bologna he would be unable to act with that strict impartiality which he thought it his duty to display in all circumstances.[3] Castagna gave a proof of his disinterestedness when in 1573 he resigned his archbishopric without accepting any pension. Gregory XIII. then intended to employ him in the visitation of the Patrimony, but afterwards changed his mind, sending him in June, 1573, to further the war against the Turks as nuncio in Venice, where he was a witness of the splendid welcome accorded to Henry III.[4] When the plague broke out in Venice Castagna went to Bologna, where he was obliged to accept the office of governor.[5] In

[1] See Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 334, 371.

[2] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, Chaps. IX. and X. A letter of condolence from Castagna to Vespasiano Gonzaga, dated Madrid, June 24, 1570, and signed : L'arcivescovo di Rossano, in CAMPORI, CIII., lettere ined., 29 *seq.*

[3] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 323, n. 3).

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 62. The *brief of his appointment as nuncio at Venice, June 15, 1573, in Arm. 44, t. 22 ; his *instructions, June 18, 1573, in Varia polit., 117, p. 152 *seq.* ; the *reports of Castagna in Nunziat. di Venezia, V., VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

1578 the Pope entrusted to him the difficult task of acting as the representative of the Holy See at the negotiations for the peace in the Low Countries, which were to take place at Cologne. His appointment was made at the end of August, after a consultation with the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga.[1] Castagna left Rome on September 9th, but when, in order to get fuller information, he went to the Emperor at Prague, he discovered at the end of October that his mission was unacceptable to Rudolph, because the latter feared difficulties from the States General on account of the close relations between Castagna and Philip II.[2] On February 28th, 1579, Castagna left Prague to go, by way of Munich, to Cologne. He reached that city on April 1st, and lodged with the Carthusians,[3] and remained in the capital of the Rhineland until the beginning of December, 1579, keeping, in accordance with his instructions, in close touch with the Spanish plenipotentiaries.[4] When the negotiations at Cologne had broken down at the beginning of 1580, he returned to Rome where he became consultor of the Inquisition and of the Congregation for the affairs of the Papal States. As a reward for his indefatigable activity on behalf of the Holy See Gregory XIII. conferred the purple on him on December 12th, 1583.[5]

The new Cardinal, whose titular church was S. Marcello al Corso, became a member of the Roman Inquisition, and afterwards legate at Bologna, where he remained until the death of Gregory XIII.[6]

On account of his wide experience, his great prudence, and his strict religious principles, Castagna quickly acquired an honoured position in the Sacred College. These qualities,

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 223. *Ibid.*, 218 *seq.* the instructions for Castagna, August 29, 1578.

[2] See *ibid.*, lii.

[3] See *ibid.*, 200, 274.

[4] See *ibid.*, lii. *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 274-370 the reports of Castagna from Cologne and the letter from Galli to him.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 230, 232.

[6] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 47, February 21, 1591.

as well as his former close relations with Philip II. caused him to be counted among the *papabili* from 1585. It was said that the King of Spain, soon after the admission of Castagna to the Sacred College, had said of him that it would be more easy for him to obtain the tiara than it had been for him to obtain the red hat.[1] It was a fact that at the conclave of 1585 Castagna was put forward as the candidate of the nephews of Gregory XIII.[2] Although he was not at first well disposed towards the election of Sixtus V., the latter nevertheless showed him great favour. He confirmed him as legate of Bologna, where Castagna met with considerable success,[3] and employed him on the Congregations of the Inquisition, of Bishops, and of the affairs of the Papal States. Rumour in Rome attributed to Sixtus V. anecdotes according to which he saw in him his own successor.[4]

The election of Urban VII. gave the Grand Duke of Tuscany the greatest satisfaction, as may easily be understood. Philip II. too was highly delighted, and caused the election of this old friend of the Spanish monarchy to be celebrated in an extraordinary way.[5] In Rome, where the people were not at first altogether satisfied with the result of the conclave,[6] the new Pope very soon won all hearts. His gentleness and kindness of heart, and the dignity of his bearing, made a deep impression on all who saw him, and very soon all were convinced that the best was to be expected

[1] See the report of the Lucca envoy edited by PELLEGRINI in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 192. Musotti in his *notes (see Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 609 *seqq*) calls Castagna "soggetto di tanto valero quanto tutto il mondo sa." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 14.

[3] See REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 220.

[4] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* If Sixtus V. dies, reports an *Avviso of November 12, 1586, then Castagna will become Pope. Urb. 1054, p. 486, Vatican Library.

[5] See HERRE, 453. *Cf.* Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438.

[6] See HERRE, 453.

from a man who was so intelligent, and as prudent as he was pious.[1]

The new Pope, Federico Cataneo reported on September 19th, 1590, is a serious man, the enemy of innovations and of all useless things, so that great things may be expected of him ; he will remove abuses quietly, and will take care to provide Rome with provisions. Cattaneo also praises the careful way in which Pope Urban weighed his plans and actions.[2]

The first thought of Urban VII. was for the poor of Rome.[3] Immediately after his election he generously distributed alms among the poor of the Borgo. The parish priests of Rome were warned to prepare lists of all the poor, and the benevolent institutions were freely endowed with gifts. The Pope declared that to provide Rome with good bread at a fair price he would spare no expense, since the treasure of the Church must be used for the poor.

On the very day of his election Urban VII. had given sums of money to Cardinals Pellevé and Allen, and he also spoke of removing the oppressive imposts of Sixtus V. Cardinals Paleotto, Facchinetti, Lancelotti and Aldobrandini were charged with the reform of the Dataria. On September 20th, 1590, Urban VII. placed Cardinal Pinelli at the head of the Congregation for the States of the Church in the place of Montalto.[4] The reserve which the Pope displayed towards his numerous relatives showed how baseless were the fears

[1] See the *report of Sporeno, September 15, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and the *letter of Badoer, September 22, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

[2] The *report of Cataneo, September 19, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 42.

[3] *Cf.* for what follows Mucantius in *Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives ; *Avvisi of September 19 and 22, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 474, 479, Vatican Library ; CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* ; Conclavi, 222 *seq.* See also in App. No. 42, the *report of Cataneo of September 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Bull. IX., 382. This is the only constitution of Urban VII. contained in the Turin Bullarium.

that he would fall into the sin of nepotism. In the first place, the Pope said, I must take care of the poor, and then of my servants, who, however, have no need for luxury, and lastly of my relatives. During the conclave Cardinal Bonelli had repeatedly spoken violently against Cardinal Castagna, but Pope Urban shamed his adversary by assigning him lodgings in the Vatican, and granting him all the favours he asked for.[1] Very characteristic too of the noble sentiments of Urban VII. was the fact that he ordered Fontana, in completing the palaces of the Vatican and Quirinal, not to set up his arms, but those of Sixtus V. He wished, however, to have the arms of Gregory XIII., which had been removed by Sixtus V., restored in the older parts of the Quirinal. For the rest Urban VII. declared that he did not wish to be involved in any further building undertakings, except of course the completion of the dome of St. Peter's, because his intention was to build upon the rock of St. Peter.[2] Thus the representatives of Catholic reform could look to the future with joyful confidence, all the more so as the Pope, although he was in his sixty-ninth year, enjoyed excellent health. This he owed to his great moderation and his vigorous constitution, so that he could boast that till his fortieth year he had never had to take any medicine.[3]

While everyone was hoping for a long pontificate, the new Pope fell a victim to the dangerous Roman fever. During the month of September this malady frequently occurs in Rome, while the district of the Vatican is especially exposed to malaria. To-day it is well known that this is propagated by mosquitos. From this point of view special interest

[1] *Avviso of September 19, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 437, Vatican Library.

[2] See in App. No. 41 the *Avviso of September 19, 1590, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *ibid.* No. 42 the *report of Cataneo of same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For St. Peter's see the discourse of P. Ugonio in Ciaconius, IV., 209.

[3] See Cicarella, *loc. cit.*; Herre (459, n. 2) rightly combats the view of Gindely that Urban VII. was elected because he was an ailing man.

attaches to the report of the master of ceremonies, Mucantius, that Urban VII. passed a very disturbed night after his election, being grievously tormented by mosquitos.[1] For this reason Urban wished to move on the first day after his election to the Quirinal, but was informed that it was contrary to custom for the Pope to leave the Vatican and show himself in the city before his coronation. In his kindness of heart the Pope gave way to these representations,[2] and in spite of the great heat that prevailed he remained in the Vatican and granted many audiences which fatigued him greatly. The effects were soon seen. By the third day after the election he was laid low by the fever, from which many others in Rome were also suffering at that time.[3] The physicians insisted that Urban should remain in bed, while they sought to relieve the sick man, who was suffering from lassitude, by blood-letting. The Pope was in good spirits ; he carefully followed the injunctions of the physicians and showed great resignation. Every day he had mass celebrated in his room, and daily went to confession and received Holy Communion.[4]

The news of the illness of Urban VII. caused all the greater consternation and sincere grief in Rome, as the Pope had won immediate good-will by his generous alms, by his revocation of some of the oppressive taxes, and his care to supply the scarcity of grain.[5] The Forty Hours were held to obtain

[1] J. P. Mucantius (*Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives) says : Aiunt S^tem^ Suam primam noctem sui pontificatus insomnem fere totam pertransivisse et molestas sibi fuisse musculas nonnullas, quas zampanas vocant, et quia adhuc apud Vaticanum aer salubris non erat die sequente . . . (the rest in Gatticus, 452).

[2] See J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 452.

[3] See the *Avvisi of September 22 and 26, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 480b, 490, Vatican Library ; the *letter of Cataneo, September 22, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *report of Badoer, September 22 and 23, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

[4] See P. Ugonio in CIACONIUS, IV., 209.

[5] See the *report of Sporeno, September 26, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

his cure, and a procession was made in which 30,000 men took part.[1] Even the Jews, it is reported, fasted and prayed.[2]

In spite of all the remedies the fever did not leave the Pope, and he soon exhausted his strength. On September 24th it was already reported that he was dead. But the news was false, and Urban VII. lived until September 27th. When he woke on that day he wondered to see so many people about his bed. The sick man complained of pains in his stomach; a medicine which had been sent by the Duchess of Olivares was given him, which afforded him some relief. As had been the case during the other days of his illness, so on the 27th Urban VII. had Mass said in his room. At the elevation the dying man tried to raise himself up as best he could, and then fell back with his arms crossed, and had Extreme Unction administered. At the end of the Holy Sacrifice the Pope breathed out his soul. The last words of the dying man to those who stood about were a request that they would remember him in their prayers.[3]

When the will of Urban VII. was opened it was found that he had left all his patrimony of 30,000 scudi to the Confraternity of the Annunziata at S. Maria sopra Minerva, for the endowment of poor girls. In grateful memory of this bequest the confraternity erected in its chapel the monument, the beautiful statue of which was executed by Ambrogio

[1] See the *Avviso of September 26, 1590, *loc. cit.* Mucantius in Gatticus, 452, and the *letter of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, September 26, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Avviso of September 26, 1590, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* besides the *Avvisi of September 26 and 29, 1590 (Urb. 1058, pp. 490 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*, Vatican Library) the *dispatch of Badoer, September 27, 1590, State Archives, Venice, the *reports of Sporeno, September 26 and 29, 1590, Prov. Archives, Innsbruck, the *letter of Brumani, September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the report of Giampietro Rossi, S.J. penitentiary at St. Peter's: "Relazione della morte di Urbano VII.," manuscript in Cod. E. IV. 9, University Library, Genoa, printed in Rome, 1590, German translation, Munich, 1591.

Bonvicino.[1] On September 21st, 1606, the mortal remains of the Pope, which had first been buried at St. Peter's, were removed thither.[2] The eulogies pronounced by the ambassadors in their reports,[3] and by the celebrated Pompeo Ugonio in his funeral discourse at St. Peter's on October 6th, 1590,[4] were well deserved. Although the Pope had only occupied the throne of St. Peter for thirteen days, and only one of these in good health,[5] his memory was nevertheless held in benediction.

The negotiations concerning the election of his successor had already begun during the illness of Urban VII. At first the same names were put forward as *papabili* as before the last conclave, namely, Serbelloni, Colonna, Galli, Paleotto, Madruzzo, Santori, Facchinetti, Sfondrato, Valiero, Laureo and Rovere.[6] It was expressly stated that Sfondrato had the best chances, because he had fewest opponents, and because he was disinterested and in no way outstanding;

[1] See MORONI, LXXXVI., 40; FORCELLA, XII., 483. The Senate too had projected the erection of a statue at the Capitol; see MARTINORI, 59 *seq.* *Ibid.*, for the coins and medals of Urban VII. *Cf.* also CIACONIUS, IV., 210; ARMAND, I., 294; III., 301; SERAFINI, I., 99 *seq.* For the tomb see also BERTHIER, 106 *seq.* *Cf.* also the reproduction in *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 182.

[2] See the report of P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 483. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI in *Effemeridi lett. di Roma*, XII. (1823), 79 *seq.* The discourse delivered by Valerio de Molaria, De laudibus Urbani VII., P.M., was printed in Rome in 1614.

[3] See the two *letters of Brumani, September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Printed in CIACONIUS, IV., 206 *seq.*

[5] See report by the envoy of Ferrara, in RICCI, Silingardi II., 28 (1907).

[6] Thus the *Avviso of September 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 496b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the report of Sporeno of September 29, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and Brumano's report of September 29, 1590, which states: "Niuno vuole Como [Galli] da Spagna in poi, se bene sono che dubitano che realmente non lo vogliono perchè l'hanno per troppo potente di volontà del Granduca." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

against him was the fact that he was entirely Spanish in his sympathies and was scarcely fifty-three years of age though his health left much to be desired.[1] If Montalto, the Mantuan envoy reported on September 29th, cannot succeed with Colonna, he will decide in favour of Sfondrato, who is as acceptable to the Gregorians as to the Spaniards, so that if only the Florentines will also support him, he ought easily to become Pope.[2]

The city of Rome at first remained free from any great excesses, though the inhabitants were repeatedly alarmed and disturbed by the appearance of bandits who infested the neighbourhood.[3] The Cardinals had resolved to enrol 1,000 soldiers,[4] and ordered all the gates of the city, with the exception of three,[5] to be walled up, while they also sought in every way to provide for the scarcity of provisions.[6]

In view of the fact that practically all the same Cardinals[7] were gathered in the conclave as at the election of Urban VII., it was generally thought that the election of the Pope would be quickly and easily accomplished. But the contrary was the case. The discussions were long and stormy. The

[1] *Cremona si mantiene più alto di tutti come quello che patisce manco difficoltà degli altri ; è di poco spirito, buono gentilhuomo et non sanguigno ; quello gli nuoce è l' essere giovane de 53 anni et tutto Spagnuolo, ma pero male affatto et che ogni poco che va in cocchio urina sangue. Avviso of October 3, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 506, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Maretti in HERRE, 417, n. 1.

[2] See the *report of Brumani of September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avvisi of October 3 and 6, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 507, Vatican Library. "The city is tranquil," writes *Sporeno, September 29, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[4] See J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 453.

[5] See the *report of Badoer, September 29, 1590, State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* FACINI, 7.

[6] See *Avviso of October 3, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 597, Vatican Library.

[7] On October 5 only Cardinal Cornaro had died ; see PETRAMELLARIUS, 344.

conclavist of Cardinal Sforza, Lelio Maretti, who wrote a detailed account of the conclave,[1] attributes the blame above all to the representatives of Philip II., Olivares and Sessa.[2] These at once and continuously made extraordinary efforts to secure at all costs an election that would be favourable to the interests of their king. The violent Olivares especially displayed a zeal and effrontery which went beyond anything that had hitherto been seen. He was determined to revive the hopes, which had been destroyed by the unexpected and sudden death of Urban VII., that the man chosen to fill the Apostolic See should adopt an attitude favourable to Philip II. with regard to the disturbances in France.

[1] The *Conclave de Gregorio XIV composto da Lelio Maretti gentilhuomo Sanese, states on the accurate information of an eye-witness that he did not conceal his anti-Spanish sentiments; this is the principal authority, together with a report that is equally credible, and for the most part worthy of belief, of another anonymous eye-witness, included in *Conclavi* (pp. 225-280) published in 1667 (in Latin, *Tria conclavia*, Frankfort, 1617). The work of Maretti, who was Sforza's conclavist, was widely circulated in manuscript, as inculcating "prudentia conclavium." I have used the copy in Cod. I. b. 55 of the Servites Library, Innsbruck. Herre used that in the library, Görlitz, Cod. Milich. 389, pp. 113-133. I have seen other copies in the Papal Secret Archives, in the Altieri Library, Rome, in the Borghesiana, I., 279, Papal Secret Archives, in Vat. 9486, Vatican Library, in Cod. 1150 of the Trivulzi Library, Milan, and in Cod. 178 of the Fabronian Library, Pistoia. For Maretti see also SINGER *Das c*[apo]. *Quia frequenter, ein nie in Geltung gewesenes "Papstwahldekret" Innozenz'* IV., extract from the *Zeitschr. de Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVII., Kan. Abt. VI., p. 142 *seq.* The *Instruttione al card. Medici del modo come si deve governare nella città di Roma, written by L. Maretti, in Cod. Ottob. 2689, p. 142 *seq.* of the Vatican Library, and in Cod. 38A. 22 of the Corsini Library, Rome. The most exhaustive recent description of the conclave is that given by HERRE (460-532) and FACINI (4-37). The article by BRUZZONI in *Stampa*, 1900, n. 95, is only a repetition of the report in *Diaria caerem.

[2] See App. No. 43 (Maretti).

Immediately after the death of Urban, Olivares and Sessa put forward as the candidates of the Catholic King seven Cardinals: Santori, Paleotto, Madruzzo, Galli, Colonna, Facchinetti and Sfondrato. Of these, however, neither Colonna nor Galli were seriously wished for.[1]

The Spaniards would have been best pleased to have seen either Madruzzo or Santori elected, and Olivares worked almost passionately on behalf of Santori. That he should have done so was all the more remarkable, as Santori belonged to the party of Paul IV., whom he resembled both in his Neapolitan origin and in his character. Like that Pope Santori was extremely rigorous in his views, a zealous supporter of the Inquisition, and an ardent defender of the rights and liberties of the Holy See. He had many times openly condemned the Spanish claims with regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *exequatur* at Naples.[2] Although Santori shared the Spanish point of view as to the French question, yet that he should have passed over his dislike of the cesaropapistical aims of Philip II. seems so remarkable that it was supposed that Olivares was influenced by personal motives. These were to be found, not only in his long-standing friendship with Santori, but also in the influence of his wife, who, it was said, wished in this way to obtain the purple for her brother Baldassare.[3] As, moreover, Cardinal del Monte hoped to reap advantage from the elevation of Santori, whose party he had openly supported, he was influenced by the fact that the candidate of Spain was also the one specially favoured by Tuscany.[4] Besides del Monte several other Cardinals showed much sympathy for the candidature of Santori, who, however, was not a

[1] See the letter of Cardinal del Monte to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, September 28, 1590, in PETRUCELLI, II., 302; HERRE, 468.

[2] See *Conclavi*, 229.

[3] See Maretti, *Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Servites Library, Innsbruck.

[4] *Maretti, *ibid.*; HERRE, 462 *seq.*

little feared by the ambassador of Venice and still more by the Romans, who remembered the difficult days of Paul IV.[1]

Marcantonio Colonna seemed to have even better chances than Santori, and he did all he could this time to obtain the tiara, which had already been so nearly his in the conclave of Urban VII. On that occasion his candidature had failed because of the opposition of the Spaniards; Olivares had declared himself against him with such vehemence that there was even a danger lest the powerful family of the Colonna should join the adversaries of the Hapsburgs. It was in order to prevent this that Olivares decided to include the name of Colonna among the candidates acceptable to Philip II. On account of Colonna's many rivals this did not seem to present any dangers. Actually, however, this step caused much confusion. The Spanish party complained bitterly of the rash act, which placed them all in an equivocal position, and destroyed their confidence in the real care for the interests of the king being shown by his ambassadors. Sforza, Colonna's ancient rival, sent his confidant, Lelio Maretti, to the two ambassadors, and put before them clearly the danger to which they were exposing the interests of Philip II. Colonna

[1] *Roma abhorrentissima del suo nome, says Maretti, *loc. cit.* 8, riconoscendolo dipendente da Paolo IV. Napolitano della medesima inquietudine e stravaganza di cervello ne viveva piena di ansietà et mestitia dubitando soto il suo pontificato di haver a sentire di quelli danni ch'ella patì nel pontificato di Paolo, la memoria del quale per questa cagione era gravissima alla maggior parte di questa città. Per questo timore alcuni de principali Romani si raccomandorno supplichevolmente pregandoli che non volessero l'ultima ruina della patria loro conferendo il pontificato a S. Severina, inimico a lei così implacabile et acerbo. Oltre i Romani vivevano in gran gelosia di questa prattica l'orator Venetiano Badoero, il card. Morosini et Verona, nobili di quella republica, se bene Morosini, o persuaso da Monte o dal Granduca o mosso da altri rispetti, con la lunghezza del conclave si mutò di parere procurando di tirare Verona ancora nella medesima sentenza. Servites Library, Innsbruck.

succeeded in winning over Cardinal Vincenzo Gonzaga as well as Scipione Gonzaga, but all his efforts to win over Sforza were in vain.[1]

It was a great advantage to Colonna that the opponents of his rival Santori, Bonelli, Altemps and Sforza, were now joined by Montalto. On the strength of the pledge given by Sforza to Montalto at the conclave of Urban VII., that he would vote at the next conclave for one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V.,[2] the two leaders of the younger Cardinals, with the support of their followers, agreed on united action, and if possible to support a candidate not nominated by Spain. Against this Olivares insisted all the more vehemently on the seven Cardinals he had nominated, and even went so far as to let fall the statement that only these would satisfy his king, and that all the other members of the Sacred College were excluded.[3]

Olivares displayed the greatest vigour in opposing the candidate on whom Montalto and Sforza had agreed. This was Cardinal Laureo. Olivares hated this prince of the Church with all the ardour of his temperament, although well-informed persons recognized that he was a man absolutely suited to receive the supreme dignity.[4] But Olivares paid no attention to this, and by his unrestrained partisanship antagonized both friends and foes. He felt himself all the more confirmed in his attitude as he had a short time before

[1] See *Maretti, *loc. cit.*; HERRE, 464.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 323.

[3] See HERRE, 470.

[4] Maretti says of Laureo (*loc. cit.*) *Cardinale Regnicola, nato in Torpia della provincia di Calabria, che di medico ch'era et di basso nascimento si era tirato col valor suo et con la servitù fatta alla Sede Ap^ca^ alla dignità del cardinalato datogli da Gregorio XIII. Questo cardinale per la vecchiezza, per la grandezza dell' anima, per le lettere et per l'esperienza grandissima che haveva delle cose del mondo era giudicato da chi lo conosceva accommodatissimo allo stato presente dell'Italia et al bisogno della Sede Apost^ca^ et pero in predicamento ragionevole di Papa. Servites Library, Innsbruck.

received the instructions of Philip II. dated September 14th. As well as the Cardinals of Sixtus V., these also excluded all those who were reputed the friends of France, among whom was numbered Laureo. In other respects the king allowed his previous instructions to hold good, by which Madruzzo and Santori were given the preference, and among the Gregorian Cardinals Facchinetti and Sfondrato.[1] The hopes of Sfondrato, though still considerable, had been lessened because the Cardinal of Cremona, as Sfondrato was called, was looked upon by many as unfit because of his phlegmatic disposition and his small experience of public affairs.[2] Del Monte, as the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the two Gonzaga, were openly working against him. Many also believed that the Spaniards had only included him in their list for appearance sake.[3]

In the evening of October 6th, 1590, the conclave was begun, fifty-two Cardinals being present.[4] A short time before, Olivares presented himself, in order to work once more against Laureo, and to recommend the Cardinals nominated by his king. Madruzzo and his followers were expressly forbidden to give their votes to any others.[5] This unusual prohibition, as well as the large number of Cardinals excluded by Spain caused surprise and indignation in the Sacred College. Hitherto one, or two, or even none at all had been excluded: this time there were thirty![6]

The first important event in the conclave was the attempt

[1] See HERRE, 479 *seqq.*

[2] Thus *reports Sporeno, October 6, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] See Maretti, *Conclave 279, *loc. cit.*

[4] At first 50. Andrew of Austria and Caetani came later; see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59; FACINI, 4, 14, 22. According to the *report of Sporeno, October 12, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, Cardinal Andrew of Austria arrived in Rome on October 11. He entered the conclave on October 13: see *Avviso of October 13, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 521, Vatican.Library.

[5] See *Conclavi*, 237.

[6] See *ibid.*

of Montalto to obtain the tiara for Cardinal Aldobrandini. The nephew of Sixtus V. was already deluding himself with the idea that he had acquired the necessary two-thirds majority of thirty-six votes, but soon was forced to realize that Madruzzo, to whom Aldobrandini was quite unacceptable on account of his attitude towards the French question, was working against him with equal skill and success.[1] After the failure of the candidature of Aldobrandini things remained quiet for several days: there was talk of Rovere, who was also energetically opposed by the Spaniards on account of his attitude towards France.[2] They subsequently also worked against Laureo and two other Cardinals who seemed to be specially worthy of the tiara by reason of their great qualities: Salviati and Valiero.[3] It is not surprising that there arose ever increasing complaints of the preponderance of Spain, which was thus attempting to dictate to the Sacred College, and to limit the number of those from among whom the Pope should be chosen, and which presumed to exclude many excellent Cardinals as unworthy. If in this conclave seven

[1] See Maretti, *Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Servites Library Innsbruck; *Conclavi*, 238 *seq.*; HERRE, 485 *seq.*; FACINI, 14.

[2] See Maretti, *Conclave 45, *loc. cit.*

[3] For Salviati and Valiero *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 231, 329, Maretti says (*loc. cit.*): *Fra le sette [Spanish candidates] hebbe sempre buon numero Paleotto et fra le cinque [Montalto's candidates] Verona et Salviati. In questi tre si conosceva veramente l'inclinatione universale de cardinali et in Verona in particolare havendo in tutto il tempo, che durò il conclave, avanzato di voti nello scrutinio ciascun cardinale. Faceva desiderabile Paleotto et Verona al collegio la bontà della vita, l'humanità della natura, l'eruditione delle lettere, ch'era in ciascun di loro, se bene di diverso genere, et Salviati oltre alla vita lodevole, ch'egli haveva sempre vissuta, la stima più che ordinario del valor dell'huomo, l'opinione certa, che haveva ciascuno ch'egli havesse l'animo sgombrato da ogni passione et affetto verso li congiunti suoi, qualità sommamente desiderabili in persona, che aspiri alla grandezza del pontificato. Servites Library, Innsbruck. For the candidature of Valiero *cf.* also Carte Strozz. I. 269 *seq.*

Cardinals were selected as the candidates of the King of Spain, it was said that on another occasion that number might be further reduced, until in course of time the King of Spain would himself nominate and elect the Pope. Many of the Cardinals openly declared that this was tyranny, which no friend of ecclesiastical liberty, of the dignity of the Church, and the maintenance of the rights of the Holy See could in any way tolerate. On the contrary, such a procedure must be resolutely resisted, as it was intolerable that the College of Cardinals should have such a heavy yoke laid upon its shoulders. Some slight comfort was to be found in the supposition that such novel and intolerable measures were due to the ambassadors rather than to the king, to whom such disgraceful steps could only reluctantly be attributed in view of his genuine piety. It was also pointed out that at the previous conclaves of Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul III. such attempts had not only been ignored, but had even become the principal reason why the very men who had been excluded had obtained the tiara.[1]

In the evening of October 12th the rumour was current in Rome that the election of the aged Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna was certain, and already in some parts of the city the arms of the family were adorned with the tiara and crossed keys. The Colonna were already receiving the congratulations of their adherents.[2] All the greater then was the disappoint-

[1] See *Conclavi* 243 *seq.*, and Maretti in HERRE, 492. One of the passages given here had been published long before by SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 252, n. 3, though the latter was not aware that it came from Maretti. For the general annoyance at the behaviour of the Spaniards *cf.* also the *report of Giulio Maretti to the Duke of Ferrara, October 3, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

[2] *Alle 4 hore di notte erano usciti avvisi di conclave dalli Colonnesi et da altri cardinali et conclavisti della certezza, che si haveva del pontificato del card. Marcantonio. Per Roma s'attaccorno delle arme Colonnesi con il Regno et con le chiavi sopra. La sig^ra^ Felice, madre del cardinal Ascanio, riceveva le congratulazioni, diede grosse mancie a chi gli portò il primo

ment when the opponents of Colonna, at whose head was once more to be found Sforza, succeeded in shipwrecking the negotiations which had made such great progress.[1]

When the minds of the electors had recovered from the excitement occasioned by the candidature of Colonna, and the efforts of Montalto and Sforza on behalf of Laureo had failed,[2] the Spaniards on October 15th made an attempt to obtain the tiara for their leader, Madruzzo. Although the Bishop of Trent seemed, on account of his many undeniable qualities to be suited for the dignity, he yet had to reckon with so many enemies that his candidature too came to nothing. The two Venetian Cardinals, Valiero and Morosini, especially worked against him, for, both on account of the relations between their republic and Austria, and of the Spanish leanings of Madruzzo, they feared the worst both for Italy and for France if he should be elected Pope. Sforza and Aragona insisted on national considerations, on account of which the Papacy must not be taken out of the hands of an Italian. As Madruzzo was only fifty-four years of age, and as Pope would have filled the Sacred College with the friends of the Emperor and Philip II., there was every probability that his successor would be one of his own family. Attention was also drawn to the fact that Madruzzo, on

avviso di tanta felicità. Il Sig. Martio, nipote di Colonna, haveva la casa piena de amici et di servitori che con parole gravi contro Sforza godevano come certa tanta grandezza. Il cardinal Ascanio fece intendere al Sig. Martio esser bene che invitasse per la mattina seguente più numero dei baroni, che fosse possible, acciochè portassero sopra le spalle il nuovo Pontefice in S. Pietro, non convenendo che un Papa Colonnese fosse portato sopra le spalle di vili palafrenieri. Maretti, * Conclave p. 56, Servites Library, Innsbruck.

[1] Concerning the enemies of Colonna *Maretti gives more detailed information than the report printed in *Conclavi*, 241; see the passage in App. No. 43, Servites Library, Innsbruck. *Cf.* also Facini 15 *seq.*, and the *report of Giulio Maretti of October 10, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

[2] See *Conclavi*, 241 *seq.*; Herre, 489 *seq.*; Facini, 19 *seq.*

account of his gout, would not be able to perform the ceremonies attaching to the Papal office, and also to the large number of his relatives. But Cardinal Pierbenedetti opposed him so resolutely, inveighing against the disgrace of allowing the Spaniards to tyrranize over the conclave, and trying to exclude anyone, no matter how excellent, who was not the blind tool of Philip II. in the matter of France, that the supporters of Madruzzo, according to Maretti, failed to show the necessary determination. A decisive factor arose when at length Montalto decided that he could not support Madruzzo.[1]

While all the efforts of Madruzzo to win over his rival Montalto to one of the seven Cardinals in the Spanish list proved vain,[2] the nephew of Sixtus V. on his side put forward another list of five Cardinals: Aldobrandini, Laureo, Valiero, Salviati and Medici, but none of these found favour with Madruzzo, who adhered firmly to his own candidates.[3] Montalto, who had been especially annoyed by a libel on Sixtus V., put about by the partisans of the League,[4]

[1] *Cf.* concerning this the *report of Maretti, "Conclave," Servites Library, Innsbruck. With regard to the complaints of Pierbenedetti, LECTOR (Le conclave, Paris, 1894, 536) justly remarks that they form the clearest proof that the Spaniards for their party had no other argument in the conclave than that of force.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Giulio Maretti, October 20, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of Sporeno, October 20 and 27, November 3, 9, 17 and 24, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. See also the *letter of Cattaneo, October 18, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *In questo tempo venne in conclave una lettera scritta da Parigi al cav. Diu, ambasciatore per la lega, dentro alla quale era un'instruttione molto ingiuriosa contra Papa Sisto zio di Montalto. La lettera et l'instruttione dal Diu fu mandata in conclavi et letta in cappella alla presenza di tutti i cardinali offese notabilmente Montalto di maniera che vedendo il poco rispetto che per ordinario havevano li Spagnuoli a lui et il disprezzo che mostravano verso la memoria del zio, lo rese più implacabile contra Spagna. Maretti, *Conclave p. 91, Servites Library, Innsbruck.

declared that he would rather die in the conclave than give way.[1]

It was well known that the Spaniards rejected the five candidates put forward by Montalto only because they looked upon them as the friends of France, and as desirous of the maintenance of the independence of that kingdom. The result was that many of the Cardinals had their eyes opened, and the longer the conclave lasted owing to the obstinacy of the Spaniards, the stronger grew the feeling of hostility towards Philip II. There grew up, Lelio Maretti says, a French party among the Italian Cardinals, a thing of which at the beginning of the conclave there had been no trace.[2] Montalto put himself at the head of the anti-Spanish Cardinals, certainly more from personal motives than from any real conviction. Similar motives were also decisive in the case of other Cardinals, though in the case of others again what weighed most was their interest in the wagers made upon the result of the election,[3] with the result that there was such a confusion

[1] See the *report of G. Maretti, Oct. 24, 1590, State Archives, Modena, and *Avviso of Oct. 31, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 559, Vatican Library.

[2] *Appariva ogni dì più l' errore fatto da Spagna con la nominatione di sette et esclusione degl'altri non solo per la divisione, che partorì nel conclave et per l' ostinatione così gagliarda che ci introdusse, ma per haver suscitata una scola de cardinale Francesi negl' Italiani senza che all' entrar del conclave ve ne fosse pensiero o almeno fondato disegno conoscendosi chiaro che l' esclusione di Salviati et Mondovì, Firenza, Verona et Aldobrandino non haveva altra ricoperta che l'esser giudicati questi cardinali amici di quel regno et desiderosi, che si riunisse in un capo, in modo che li Spagnoli con questa scoperta unirno alli cinque molti deboli, vi fecero dichiarar molti dubii et apersero gl' occhi di molti cardinali a questo interesse, che senza questa occasione pocchi ve ne sarebbono stati che ne havessero tenuto conto et in vero era cosa meravigliosa vedere in conclave il card. di Sans [Pellevé] solo Francese tutto di Spagna et tanti cardinali Italiani affettionati a Franza senza capo e senza Rè. Maretti, Conclave p. 91, Servites Library, Innsbruck. *Cf. ibid.* 118.

[3] See *ibid.*, 101 ; HERRE, 512.

and division into parties as had not seen been for two generations.[1]

In the heat of passions the severe ordinances prohibiting all communication with the outside world had been ignored, and all the steps taken in the matter were abortive; men had exact information in the city as to all that was happening in the conclave.[2]

While absolute chaos prevailed inside the conclave,[3] Rome was threatened by famine and by the bandits who swarmed in the neighbourhood. To this was added the fact that as a result of the continued rains, there was danger of an inundation of the Tiber.[4] After the middle of November, when there was still no hope of the electors agreeing, it was feared that riots would break out.[5] In spite of this the

[1] See the *report of Brumani, Oct. 10, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the letter of F. Orsini in NOLHAC, Bibliothéque, 445 *seq.*, and the Este report in RICCI, II., 32.

[2] See *Avviso of Oct. 17, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 531, Vatican Library. An attempt was made to smuggle information into the conclave in the head of a fish; see Maretti, *Conclave p. 284, Servites Library, Innsbruck. *Cf.* also J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 340 *seq.*; *MARETTI, *loc. cit.*, 102; HIRN, II., 408; HERRE, 494, 499.

[3] See *Avviso of Oct. 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 550, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the German *report from Rome, Oct, 27, 1590, in which Marco Sciarra, Conte della Corgna, and Bastiletto are named as the leaders of the bandits. Wittingau Archives, Hist. n. 5505. For the bandits *cf.* also FUSAI, B. Vinta, 49. The scarcity of grain prevailed at that time throughout the Papal States; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Nov. 19, 1590, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso of Oct. 24, Nov. 3, 10, 14, 17, and 21, 1590 ("Si dubita grandemente di tumulto, se si tarda a fare il papa, perchè ci è pochissimo grano e quel che ci è, è in mano de potenti") Urb 1058, p. 545 *seq.*, 561, 575, 584, 588, 602, Vatican Library. It would seem that the bandits were supported by Colonna (see MUTINELLI, I., 191); the same thing was supposed of the Spanish ambassador, though wrongly (see, HERRE 505).

disagreement among the Cardinals continued to increase.[1] It seemed that no change was to be looked for unless a division in one of the two opposing parties opened the way. This showed itself first in the anti-Spanish party. Montalto himself began to realize the impossibility of attaining his purpose without the help of the Spaniards, and he declared his readiness to agree to the election of Santori, but Sforza sought in every way to dissuade him from this. In the end, however, the candidature of Santori proved to be as fruitless as the efforts of the adversaries of Spain on behalf of Laureo and Valiero.[2]

Besides Santori, the Spaniards had made repeated efforts on behalf of both Madruzzo and Paleotto, because they hoped that if the latter became Pope they would be able to dominate him completely.[3] Of all the Cardinals of Philip II. Montalto dreaded none so much as Paleotto, but a fresh attempt to obtain the tiara for him seemed likely, on December 4th, to prove successful. Paleotto received thirty-three votes, and thus only needed three more for the

[1] See *Avviso of Nov. 28, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 614, Vatican Library. *' Io no parlo del conclave" wrote Brumani on Nov. 24, 1590, "perchè le cose sono hormai tanto disperate"; the Spaniards as well as Montalto "tutti stanno sul duro et duro." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See HERRE, 508 *seq.*, 511 *seq.*; FACINI, 27 *seq.*

[3] *Era Paleotto cardinale nato in Bologna da famiglia nobile et da Pio IV. era stato levato dalla Rota, dove era stato molt' anni auditore et tirato al cardinalato ancorche nella gioventù havesse dato qualche volta segno di non haver il cervello interamente sano e perseverato qualche tempo in quella dispositione. Era tenuto da chi lo conosceva huomo di costumi buoni, di volontà retta, zelante della religione et dell' honor di Dio, ma di spiriti bassi, d' intelletto debole e di valor non accomodato a tanto peso et per questo creduto, che fosse entrato nella nomina di sette et desiderato da Spagnuoli per Papa pensando per via della coscienza et della debolezza di tirarlo in tutti i fini et desiderii loro. Maretti, Conclave p. 239, Servites Library, Innsbruck. *Cf.* as to this the opinion of Tirante Bongiovanni in HERRE, 419, n. 1.

two-thirds majority. At first it seemed that there was no chance of getting these, but in spite of this Montalto had every reason for grave anxiety. The Venetians, Morosini and Valiero, showed signs of joining Paleotto, and Sforza threatened to do the same unless Montalto finally made up his mind to vote for one of the two candidates named by Olivares who had so far remained quite in the background, and as to whom there was less dispute. These were Facchinetti and Sfondrato. Montalto resisted for a long time before he would give up his old allies, Florence and Mantua, and it was only when Madruzzo again made preparations for the elevation of Paleotto that he gave way during the night between December 4th and 5th, and pledged himself to Sforza to concur in the election of Facchinetti or Sfondrato.[1] On which of the two the decision would fall, he could have little doubt. Although Aragona, Salviati, Laureo and Caetani made great efforts on behalf of Facchinetti, the nephew of Sixtus V. thought that he had less to fear from the gentle, condescending and peace-loving Sfondrato than from Facchinetti. Montalto feared that the latter would bear him ill-will for having resisted his election merely from regard for Florence.[2]

Madruzzo placed no confidence in the unexpected conversion of Montalto, and so did not display any great haste.[3] Montalto, Aragona, Altemps and Sforza were all the more active, and they quickly succeeded in settling all

[1] See *Maretti, *loc. cit.* 262 *seqq.*, 268 *seq.*; the *Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 624, Vatican Library, and the *report of Cataneo of Dec. 5, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Carlo Grotti to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, Dec. 8, 1590, State Archives, Modena; HERRE, 526 *seq.*; RICCI, II., 32; FACINI, 33 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the report in *Conclavi* 276, Maretti, *Conclave 268 *seq.*, Servite Library, Innsbruck.

[3] The author of the report in the *Conclavi* as well as Maretti see in this reserve of Madruzzo the secret hope that he himself might become Pope; but this supposition is false; see HERRE, 529.

essential questions,[1] and thus to bring to an end the widowhood of the Church,[2] which Torquato Tasso himself had bewailed in a sonnet. On the morning of December 5th Sfondrato was elected Pope by a unanimous vote. In grateful memory of Gregory XIII., who had summoned him to the Sacred College, he took the name of Gregory XIV.[3]

If the Romans rejoiced,[4] and Torquato Tasso dedicated

[1] *Cominciata la prattica di Cremona intorno al far del giorno fu condotta con tanta velocità et così felicemente che in spatio d' un hora e mezza fu conclusa la sua grandezza e ritirato nel letto quasi dalla più parte de cardinale intorno alle 13 hore fu condotto nella capella Paolina, dove fu eletto a viva voce (Maretti, *Conclave p. 276, Servites Library, Innsbruck). In the Diarium P. Alaleonis is noted 5 dicembre 1590, as follows: "Summo mane, practica praecedente secrete facta a Dominis de factionibus, cardinales unanimes duxerunt Sfondratum . . . valetudinarium, quem e lecto surgere fecerunt et festinant vestire, ad Capellam Paulinam indutum rochetto absque mozzetta, quae pro celeritate non fuit inventa, et pro nimio gaudio suorum conclavistarum, et propter diligentiam, quam cardinales faciebant in conducendo ipsum, ut in S. P. eligerent e adorarent, et sic istam electionem per adorationem fecerunt" (*Barb.* 2815 p. 127[b], Vatican Library). Brumani reports on Dec. 5, 1590: *A Dio che fa gli pontefici è piacciuto che sia fatto questa volta il s.[r] card.[le] di Cremona che si dichiara Gregorio XIV. et è stato tanto all'improvviso che poche hore vi sono interposte et in tempo che pochi cresero fosse possibile, et il tutto è concluso da Montalto per fugire Sta Severina et Palleoto, come del tutto a pieno V. A. intenderà da mons.[re] Cataneo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Solerti, Vita di T. Tasso, I., Roma, 1895, 665.

[3] In his *brief to Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, Dec. 29, 1590, Gregory XIV. says: "Beneficiorum honorumque in nos a fel. rec. Gregorio P.P. XIII. praedecessore nostro, cuius nomen ea causa libenter sumpsimus, collatorum recordatio nunquam ex nostro animo delebitur" (Arm. 44, t. 25, Papal Secret Archives). The *Relazione del conclave di Gregorio XIV. in Cod. 58 of the Communal Library, Viterbo reports that Sfondrato refused the name of Alexander VII. suggested to him by Montalto.

[4] See Silv. Carrari, Trionfo di Roma nella creatione del beat. N.S. Gregorio XIV., Trevigi, 1591.

one of his most beautiful poems to the new Pope,[1] these manifestations were so far justified in that personally Gregory XIV. was as noble as he was pious. In contrast to his many colleagues, during the whole of the conclave, which had lasted for fifty-seven days, he had never made the least effort as far as he was concerned, to obtain the tiara, which now fell to him, and had by his conduct made many friends.[2] When Montalto went to Sfondrato's cell to tell him that the majority of the Cardinals had agreed upon him and wished to elect him, he found him kneeling in prayer before his crucifix.[3]

During the long conclave candidatures of the most various kinds had been put forward. The supporters of Cardinal Simoncelli of Orvieto[4] tried to work on his behalf by putting about the well-known prophecy concerning the Popes attributed to St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland (died 1148). These consist of 111 mottoes descriptive of the Popes, from Celestine II. (1143) to the end of the world, which were first published in 1595 by the Benedictine Arnold Wion without any statement of their source.[5] The doubts as to their authenticity, which were at once raised, are well justified. Even though some of the characteristics of the Popes during the period subsequent to 1590 are inspired, others on the other hand suffer from great inaccuracy, many are frankly foolish and can only be made to fit in with the facts of history by an effort. Serious criticism can only attribute to this clumsy work the same limited importance as to those other prophecies concerning the Popes which were published and printed from the end of the sixteenth century

[1] The canzone : Da gran lode immortale del re superno, was printed in Rome in 1591 ; see SOLERTI, Rime di T. Tasso, Bologna, 1898, 253 ; *cf.* Opere min., IV., n. 81.

[2] See MARETTI, *Conclave p. 145, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Conclavi*, 276.

[4] For this prince of the Church *cf.* Concil. Trid., II., 502, n.2.

[5] See Lignum vitæ, Venice, 1595, 307 *seq.* Later printed copies are numerous (see MORONI, LV., 288 *seq.*), and more recently in GFRÖRER, Prophet. vet. pseud. (1840), 433 *seq.*

and were accepted by the credulous.[1] The Catholic Church has no need of such prophetic inventions; she has all that she needs in the promise of Christ that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church, which is built upon the Rock, Peter.

[1] The earlier opponents of its authenticity, among whom the French Jesuit Menestrier (died 1705), is specially prominent, are supported almost unanimously by recent research. The one recent defender, J. MAITRE (La Prophétie des Papes attribuée à S. Malachie, Beaune, 1901) has been unable, despite a great display of erudition, to produce any valid proof of the authenticity of the document. *Cf.* PAULUS in *Katholik*, 1901, II., 577 *seqq.*; *Anal. Boll.*, XXII. (1903), 98. SCHMIDLIN in his publication in honour of H. Finke (1904), 1–40. See also BUTE in the *Dublin Review*, XCVII. (1885), 369–386, and VACANDARD, Etudes de critique et d' hist. relig., 4th ser., Paris, 1923. According to Premoli, Alfonso Ceccarelli was probably the author of the forged document; see *Arcadia*, Atti, 1917, I., 247, and *Rassegna naz.*, XLI. (1919).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Pontificate of Gregory XIV.

Niccolò Sfondrato, who succeeded Urban VII. with the name of Gregory XIV., sprang from an ancient noble family, originally resident at Cremona[1] and afterwards removed to Milan.[2] His father Francesco, a senator of Milan, was held in high esteem by Charles V., and rendered important services to the Emperor. After the death of his wife, Anna Visconti, he entered the ecclesiastical state, was entrusted with important missions by Paul III., was raised to the purple in 1544, and at the conclave of 1550 was among those who were thought likely to become Pope.[3]

Niccolò, the son of Francesco, was born on February 11th, 1535, two months before the due time.[4] This resulted in his

[1] See Vairani, Cremon. Monum., II., Romæ, 1778, 80 *seq.* *Cf.* Bresciani, I dottori del collegio di Cremona, Cremona, 1652, 18 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* P. Morigia, Illustre raccolta nella quale si descrive sommariamente la progenie del S. P. Gregorio XIV. di casa Sfondrata, nob. Milanese, Milan, 1591.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, pp. 202, 207; Vol. XIII. pp. 12 *seq.*, and the special literature there indicated.

[4] Among contemporaries *cf.* Ant. Cicarella, Vita Gregorii XIV. (in the later editions of Platina) and Greg. Polidori, Gregorianum, in quo de XIV. Gregoriis Rom. Pont. vitæ, mores et gesta pertractantur, Florence, 1598. See also Ciaconius, IV., 78 *seq.*, 214 *seq.*; Moroni, XXXII., 304 *seq.*; Famiglie nobili Milan., VIII., Milan, 1879. The work promised by D. Bergamaschi: Vita e pontificato di Gregorio XIV. (see *Arte e storia* XXV., Florence, 1906, nn. 19–20) has not appeared. The monograph by Maria Facini, Il pontificato di Gregorio XIV. (Roma, 1911) which is valuable for its use of many unpublished authorities, only deals with his political action in its principal

permanent physical weakness. He studied law at Perugia and Padua,[1] and then resolved to enter the ecclesiastical state. A decisive turning point in his life was the fact that he was received among the famiglia of Charles Borromeo. Pius IV. very soon became interested in this exemplary priest, and on March 12th, 1560, he appointed him Bishop of Cremona. In this capacity Sfondrato went on March 31st, 1561, to the Council of Trent, where principally at his instigation the decree against the accumulation of benefices was published.[2] After the close of the Council he returned to his diocese, where he met with great difficulties owing to the lack of priests.[3] The zealous pastor sought to remedy this defect by introducing the Theatines and Barnabites,[4] and by making a visitation of his diocese.[5] In 1580 he held a synod, which promulgated the reform decrees. Sfondrato's charity was very great, and he gave special proof of this in the case of the pilgrims who went to Rome for the jubilee of 1575. Gregory XIII. conferred the purple on this distinguished bishop on December 12th, 1583.[6] The new Cardinal took no pleasure in the work of the Curia, so that as soon as possible he returned to his diocese to carry on his

points (see SPEZI in Riv. stor., 1913, 189 *seq.*); the judgment formed is not a fair one, because there is no appreciation of his religious activity.

[1] Gregory XIV. recalls this period of study in his *brief to the Doge, Dec. 26, 1590, in Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives; original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

[2] *Letter of Sfondrato to his brother from Trent, in Cod. 1608, Trivulzio Library, Milan.

[3] *Cf.* the letter of Sfondrato in CAMPORI, CIII. lettere ined., 35 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 37 a letter of Sfondrato of Oct. 25, 1585, concerning the visitation of monasteries entrusted to him by Sixtus V.

[4] *Cf.* M. TESTI, I Barnabiti a Cremona sotto il generalato di s. A. Sauli e gli auspici di N. Sfondrato vescovo, Milan, 1908.

[5] The *Acta of the visitation of 1576 are preserved in the episcopal archives at Cremona.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 231.

work of reform ,[1] only under exceptional circumstances did he go to Rome.

Cardinal Sfondrato, who was much esteemed by Philip Neri,[2] was entirely imbued with the strict principles of the Catholic reform. Among the virtues of the Pope, the authorities especially dwell upon his angelic purity, by which he recalled his contemporary St. Aloysius.[3] In spite of his constant weakness and infirmity Sfondrato fasted every Friday, and also abstained from meat on Wednesday. He began his day's work by the recitation of the seven Penitential Psalms, and an hour's meditation. The breviary and the Office of Our Lady, which occupied an hour and a half, he always said on his knees. His favourite author was St. Bernard, from whose works he made copious extracts. From the time of his ordination as priest Sfondrato had made a rule for himself to confess and to say Mass every day, unless prevented by illness. In that case he had Communion brought to him by another priest. Extraordinarily temperate in eating and drinking, until his eighteenth year he never tasted wine. The doctors were of the opinion that the Pope's suffering from stone was due to the fact that he had hardly ever drunk anything but water.[4] Although he was often tortured by this disease, his countenance was always lit up by a gentle smile.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Biblioteca pontificia a Lud. Iacobo a S. Carolo, Lyons, 1643, 100.

[2] *Cf.* Bacci, Life of St. Philip Neri, Vol. II., p. 30.

[3] *Cf. infra.*, p. 354, n. 1, the *Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, Vatican Library.

[4] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* L. GUALINO, La litiasi di Pio V., Roma, 1925, 3. For the severe views of Cardinal Sfondrato *cf.* also his letter of 1584 in *Miscell. di Studii e docum. d. Soc. Lomb.* 1903, 134.

[5] See *Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, *infra*, p. 354, n. 1. The Pope himself said to the envoy of Lucca that he could never hope to be cured of his complaint ; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 106. The features of Gregory XIV. are well shown in bronze busts by Torrigiani, copies of which are to be found in the castle of Friedrichskron,

Just as previously Sfondrato had been united in close friendship with Charles Borromeo, so was he later on with Philip Neri. Following the example of these saints he shamed his enemies by the special marks of love he showed them. During the conclave, besides Cardinal del Monte, who represented the interests of the Grand Duke of Florence, the two Gonzaga had in particular worked against the election of Sfondrato. When the latter approached the new Pope, everyone was surprised when he embraced them both, not once only, as was customary, but three times.[1] The Roman agent of the Duke of Parma said that the Pope was a holy man; he is very pious, and a great friend of the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, and is also the declared enemy of the innovators.[2]

In spite of all his excellent qualities, however, Gregory XIV. was not the man for the heavy task that fell upon him as Pope, not only on account of his constant bad health, but also because of his gentle, sweet and over complaisant character, and his complete lack of experience of political

the collection of Pierpoint Morgan, and the industrial museum at Reichenberg; *cf. Kgl. Museum zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke christlicher Epochen*, Berlin, 1914, II.: Die ital. Bronzen, by F. GOLDSCHMIDT, I., 2. Portraits of Gregory XIV. engraved by F. van Hülsen and Nicholas van Aelst; for medals see ARMAND; Les médailleurs ital. des 15 et 16 siècles, I., Paris, 1879, 170.

[1] *Si dice, we read in an Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, che S. Sta sia vergine a nativitate et secondo sin qui si è visto di spirito poco, mal sano, urinando sangue ogni poco che fa esercitio violento o si sbatte in cocchio. Ha del continuo un riso modesto in bocca. Ha tenuto sempre buona casa sebene con poca entrata e con debiti. Et quando i cardinali Gonzaga, che l' hanno attraversato a più potere per ordine del duca di Mantova, gli sono andati a bacciare i piedi, sono stati abbracciati tre volte da S. B^ne^ quasi in segno di mortificatione et in somma è amatore della povertà non meno che della religione et giustitia. Urb. 1058 p. 624, Vatican Library.

[2] *Letter of Laurus Dubliul to Mgr. Froissart at Brussels, Rome, Dec. 24, 1590, Négociat. de Rome, I., State Archives, Brussels. *Cf.* also the opinion in SCHWEIZER, II., 254, n. 2.

affairs.[1] He had the best of intentions, but his mild disposition was not suited to the task of government, as had already been shown in his administration of his diocese.[2] His simple, ingenuous and unworldly mind was quite inexperienced in practical questions, and in the political problems with which he had to deal. A subject by birth of the King of Spain, who had played a decisive part in his elevation to the throne of St. Peter, he was all the more devoted to him because in the maintenance and aggrandizement of the world-wide Spanish monarchy he saw the safety and future of the Catholic Church. Thus Olivares above all had reason to rejoice at the election of Gregory XIV.[3]

[1] Maretti describes the opinion held of the new Pope immediately after his election, dwelling on the fact that he had taken his name from Gregory XIII., as follows: *Fu grato questo nome a chi si ricordava del giusto et caritevol governo di Gregorio XIII. sperando che questo Papa fosse per imitarlo nella vita et nell' amministratione del pontificato come haveva voluto imitarlo col nome. Ma non già si promettevano tanto di lui quelli che conoscevano la debolezza et la poca habilità sua al governo delli stati temendo molto che trovandosi lo stato della chiesa così afflitto dalle gravezze, dalla fame et da banditi et la Francia in tanto pericolo di perdere la religione et di rimanere senza capo, che il pontificato suo non dovesse essere di quell' utilità che si sarebbe desiderato dal mondo. Conclave, p. 277, Servites Library, Innsbruck. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 334, n. 1, the opinion in the *Avviso of Oct 3, 1590. Sporeno at that time remarked of Gregory XIV.: "qui licet sit bonæ et sanctæ, vitae, sed quoniam est nimis flegmaticæ et frigidæ naturæ et in rebus gerendis non multum versatus," he did not seem to be very well fitted to be Pope (*letter of Oct. 6, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). The sickly constitution of Gregory XIV. is visibly reflected in his tired features, which Bastiano Torrigiani has well reproduced; *cf.* SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 262 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 200.

[3] See HERRE, 531 *seq.*, 544. *Cf.* FACINI, 37, 41. The election, reports Giuseppe Campori to the Duke of Ferrara, pleases and satisfies these ministers of Spain in an inexpressible way; the dissatisfaction of the envoys of the Medici was correspondingly great. *Letter of Dec. 5, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

The court of Madrid too was very well satisfied with the election of Gregory XIV., because the new Pope came of a family that had always been loyal to Spain; Gregory's brother, Ercole, had for a long time been in the service of that country. To this was added the gentle and calm disposition of Gregory and his want of experience of world politics.[1] In announcing his election to Philip II., Gregory, in addition to the official brief of December 5th, 1590,[2] two days later sent an autograph letter in which he renewed his thanks for the favour shown towards his election, and informed the king that he thought he would best satisfy His Majesty by the fact that he had no other aims than the service of God, the salvation of souls, the crushing of heresy, the conversion of the infidel, the reform of the Church, and the peace of Christendom.[3] The new Pope gave a signal proof of his good-will towards the Spanish sovereign when, on January 23rd, 1591, he granted him for five years, not only the right to levy the so-called *Excusado* and *Sussidio*, but also the *Cruzada* for a further six years, which brought to the royal exchequer two million ducats.[4]

The pathetic words which may be read upon the tomb of Adrian VI., "Alas! how much do the efforts, even of the best of men, depend upon time and opportunity," may also be applied to Gregory XIV.

The general state of the world, as well as that of the Papal States, was such that the powers of this gentle and sickly

[1] See T. Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438.

[2] *Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives: "Epistolæ Gregorii XIV. ad principes et alios" contained in this volume are written by "Marcellus Vestrius Barbianus secretarius" (*cf.* BONAMICUS, De claris pontif. epist. scriptoribus, Romæ, 1753, 314). A copy evidently made by Raynaldus in Cod. I. 58 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See *Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p.7, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See *Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado, Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome.

man were bound to prove inadequate.[1] Immediately after his election he was so exhausted that it was only on December 7th that he was able to begin his audiences to the Cardinals and ambassadors.[2] In view of his physical state he realized at once that he needed help, and this he thought to find best of all among those men who were in full sympathy with his own strictly ecclesiastical ideas. He therefore at once summoned to Rome the Theatine, Girolamo Feri of Bari, the Minorite Panigarola, who was celebrated as an orator, and many of his relatives, among them Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, his brother's son.[3] Feri and Panigarola were both men of strict ecclesiastical views, but had no political experience.

The principal work was destined for Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, who from his youth had been closely connected with Philip Neri. Besides the saint, he was united in close friendship with his disciples, Francesco Maria Tarugi and Baronius.[4] Far removed from the cares of the court, Paolo Emilio Sfondrato had lived in Rome almost as a religious, meeting few but the Oratorians,[5] and drinking in from them the ideas

[1] Gregory XIV. felt this himself ; *cf.* the brief to the widowed Queen of Poland in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 169. According to the *Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, the Pope said with tears in his eyes that he did not think he would ever be able to bear the fatigue, with his feeble health (Urb. 1058, p. 637, Vatican Library). The coronation of Gregory XIV. took place on Dec. 8, and the "possesso" on the 13th, 1590 ; see GATTICUS, 296 *seq.* ; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 128 *seq.* ; FACINI, 44 *seq.*

[2] See CICARELLA, Vita Gregorii XIV. *Cf.* *Avviso of Dec. 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627b, *ibid.* Paolo Emilio Sfondrato came to Rome immediately after his nomination as Cardinal (Dec. 19, 1590) ; the Marchese d' Este came on Jan. 8, 1591 ; see *Avviso of Jan. 9, 1591, Urb. 1059, p. 17b, Vatican Library.

[4] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 79.

[5] *Frequentava semplicimente la Vallicella," says Bentivoglio, *loc. cit.* This was the house in Rome of the Oratorians at S. Maria in Vallicella, not, as Herre says (545), "the silent cloisters of the Valtellina."

of Catholic reform. For this reason Gregory XIV. saw in him the man suited to direct the business of the secretariate of state, quite failing to see that his nephew, who certainly administered his abbey well,[1] and was a man of artistic taste,[2] possessed nothing of that political skill which his new position called for. Therefore it was a fatal error when Gregory XIV., on December 19th, 1590, appointed his nephew Cardinal and placed him at the head of the secretariate of state.[3] Thus arose the impossible position that both the Pope himself and his first minister were ignorant of the political affairs of the world.[4]

The new Secretary of State, who was born in 1561, was in the full vigour of his manhood, and from the first entered upon his duties with so great confidence that everyone wondered.[5] Sure of the complete confidence of the Pope, he devoted himself zealously to business,[6] in which he was efficaciously assisted by Gregory's private secretary, Giovanni Andrea Caligari, Bishop of Bertinoro, who had already had

[1] See *Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627b, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, 1870, 49 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; *Avviso of Dec. 19, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 654, Vatican Library. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 224.

[4] *Cf.* in App. No. 47 the *Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library.

[5] *"E vero," remarked the envoy of Urbino in the Avviso of Dec. 26, 1590, "ch' l novello cardinale fa tanto sicuramente tutte le sue attioni ch' è una maraviglia" (Urb. 1058, p. 669, Vatican Library). Letters of Vannozzi, secretary of Sfondrato, in CIAMPI, III., 106. Information from the *Registrum litterarum ad Nuntios sub Gregorio XIV. (Lett. d. princ. 150, Papal Secret Archives) concerning the conversion of the Margrave of Baden, Jacob III., in *Zeitschr. d. die Gesche. des Oberrheins*, N.S., XII., 268 *seq.* The Marchese Alessandro Albicini at Forlì possesses a portrait of Sfondrato attributed to Guido Reni.

[6] *Il card. Sfondrato, che fa riuscita ogni di migliore, abbraccia i negotii et spesso è all' orecchio del Pontefice. Avviso of Jan. 2, 1591, Urb. 1058, I. 2, Vatican Library.

experience under three Popes.[1] Sfondrato was called upon to attend to the direction of both civil and religious matters.[2]

The Papal States, like other states, were at that time being harassed by three scourges: the bandits, high prices and scarcity of grain, and epidemics. In August, 1590, Rome was attacked by a plague which showed itself in those who fell victims to it in fever and violent headaches, and which often caused death within eight or ten days. The doctors attributed the disease, which particularly attacked men between thirty and fifty years of age, partly to the abnormal weather, heavy rains following great heat, and partly to the poor quality of the food stuffs. In Umbria several places were almost entirely depopulated. In Rome too the mortality was very great, though the statement that between August, 1590, and August, 1591, sixty thousand of the inhabitants had died, that is to say more than half the entire population, is certainly exaggerated.[3] It was only in September, 1591, that the plague, which had spread into upper Italy, died out.[4]

Gregory XIV. sought from the first to aid his harassed subjects by lavish alms and by other works of charity. Many Cardinals, prelates, nobles, and of the religious Orders especially the Oratorians[5] and Jesuits, strove to imitate the example of the Pope. Above all Camillus of Lellis distinguished himself, who with four brethren of his congregation was unwearied in his care for the sick, and went from door to door with medicines and food. In the same way during

[1] See HINOJOSA, 345.

[2] "Ha in mano il governo di tutte le cose," according to the report of the envoy of Lucca; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

[3] According to the *Descrittione di tutte le infra scritte bocche fatta ultimamente in Rome questo mese di Febraio 1591 essa contava 116,698 anime. Otto. 2434, p. 856 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* The number of the dead both in Cicarella and the *Avviso of May 11, 1591, which says that 40,000 persons died in two months, is exaggerated. Urb. 1059 II. 258, Vatican Library.

[5] See Pompeo Pateri, *Memorie, Manoscr. Carpegna 62, p. 57 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

the plague and famine which followed, Camillus and his companions proved themselves angels of charity.[1] More than one religious fell a victim to his generous altruism. Among these victims there was a saintly scion of a princely house, who when only seventeen years of age had entered the Society of Jesus in 1585: Aloysius Gonzaga. In attending to the sick this noble youth contracted the plague, and on June 21st, 1591, breathed out his pure soul.[2] He had taken leave of his mother in a touching letter of June 10th.[3] In 1621 he was beatified by Gregory XV., and in 1726 Benedict XIII. numbered him among the saints.[4] His body was first buried in the crypt of the little church of the SS. Annunziata of the Roman College, and afterwards translated to the sumptuous church of S. Ignazio.

In spite of the efforts of Gregory XIV to relieve the miseries of Rome, it nevertheless happened, as Cicarella reports, that many persons died of hunger.[5] The same statement is to be found in an autograph letter from Gregory XIV. to Philip II. on December 9th, 1590, in which he begs him to

[1] *Cf.* BÄUMKER, Der hl. Camillus v. Lellis u. sein Orden, Frankfort, 1887, 43 *seq.* See also the commemorative work Der hl. Kamillus v. Lellis u. sein Orden, Freiburg, 1914.

[2] See MESCHLER, Leben des hl. Aloisius von Gonzaga, Freiburg 1891, 217 *seq.*, 230 *seq.* See also CEPARI-SCHRÖDER, Der hl. Aloisius, Einsiedeln, 1891. The relief representing Aloysius carrying a sick man on his shoulders to the hospital of the Consolazione, was removed in 1911 from the hospital to the museum of the Castle of St. Angelo. A. CANEZZA in an article: L. Gonzaga e l' ospedale della Consolazione. Il danneggiamento d' un opera Berniana, in the *Corriere d' Italia* of June 25, 1922, demands the restoration of this work to its original place.

[3] See REUMONT, Briefe heiliger Italianer, Freiburg, 1877, 271 *seq.*

[4] As early as 1605 Aloysius had been declared venerable; see MESCHLER, *loc. cit.*, 259 *seq.* A good description of the room in which St. Aloysius died is given by S. BRUNNER, Italien, II., 30 *seq.*

[5] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Istoria di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, I., 1110 *seq.* See also PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma, R. 1895, 37, n. 2, and for the scarcity in the Papal States the periodical *Le Marche*, II., Fano, 1902, 201 *seqq.*

allow the export of grain to Rome.[1] Many who escaped the famine died from the plague and the cold of winter. The hospitals were found to be insufficient, so that a new lazzaretto had to be erected near S. Sisto. The Pope was beside himself: in January, 1591, it was reported that he could not sleep for anxiety.[2] The edicts issued at that time to deal with the scarcity were of no avail.[3] During the vacancy in the Holy See unscrupulous merchants had taken large quantities of grain out of Rome,[4] and now the general position stood in the way of the importation of grain into Rome.[5] As in other parts of Italy, so too in Rome, plans were formed for obtaining grain from the ports of Danzig and Lübeck.[6] For this purpose the Pope resolved to issue passports even to heretics who were willing to bring grain to Rome.[7]

At the beginning of February, 1591, the Pope said to Ciaconius that he intended to place all civil business in the hands of Sfondrato, and to restrict himself entirely to ecclesiastical matters.[8] Such a step was eagerly desired by the Cardinal Secretary of State himself, because a curious change of heart had taken place in him. At first he had shown

[1] See*Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 11b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Avviso of Jan. 5, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 8, Vatican Library.

[3] See* Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, *ibid.*, 35.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of Jan. 30, 1591, *ibid.*, 49.

[6] *Cf.* Th. Hirsch, über den Handelsverkehr Danzigs mit den ital. Staaten zu Ende des 16. Jahrh. in *Hagens Neuen preuss. Provinzialblattern*, IV., Königsberg, 1847, 97 *seq.*, 217 *seq.* Clement VIII. showed his gratitude by supporting Danzig against Sigismund of Poland; *cf.* Reumont, Bibliografia dei lavori pubblici in Germania sulla storia d' Italia, Berlin, 1863, 116.

[7] See *Avviso of Jan. 30, 1591, *loc. cit.*

[8] This statement (that he had decided to place all the temporal affairs of the Papacy in the hands of Cardinal Sfondrato) was made when Gregory XIV. told Ciaconius of his intention of employing him in the Vatican Library; see *Avviso of Feb. 2, 1591 (Urb. 1058, I., 52, Vatican Library) partly published in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 93

great meekness and humility,[1] but very soon his rapid rise to the next place after the Pope had turned his head, and had weakened the principles which had hitherto guided him. It was no longer possible to recognize in him the disciple of Philip Neri. The more Sfondrato saw himself obliged to reckon on a short pontificate, owing to the Pope's constant bad health, the more eager did he show himself to get the power into his own hands and as far as possible to consolidate his short lived period of absolutism.[2] It was obviously for this purpose that he persuaded his weak uncle to summon more of his relatives to Rome.[3] Of these, Ercole Sfondrato became General of the Church,[4] while the other lay nephew, Francesco Sfondrato, was first made castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, and general of the pontifical galleys, and afterwards Marchese di Montafia.[5]

Gregory XIV.'s intention of confining himself entirely to ecclesiastical matters found expression in his making over to Cardinal Sfondrato, which was a quite unusual thing, the

[1] See Lettere di S. Andrea Avellino, II., Naples, 1732, 18.

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 79. *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 197, and the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

[3] As early as Dec. 26, 1590 it was rumoured that the two Sfrondato brothers would be summoned to Rome ; see *Avviso of Dec. 26, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 667b, Vatican Library.

[4] On Jan. 28, 1591 *Papa recepit iuramentum ab Herc. Sfondrato nepote generali eccl. pro gubernio Burgi etc. (Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815 p. 153, Vatican Library). In May, 1591 the nephew espoused Lucrezia Cibo, the daughter of the Prince of Massa ; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 187 *seq.* *Cf.* FACINI, 193.

[5] The *Diarium P. Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*) notes on Mar. 10, 1591 : "Franc. Sfondratus nepos Papae præstitit iuramentum pro castellanatu. His appointment as general of the galleys is announced by the *Avviso of Mar. 27, 1591, Urb. 1059, I., 182, Vatican Library. The investiture of Montafia, dated Oct. 1, 1591, in Bull., IX., 501 *seq.* Both nephews received the "privilegi della noblità Veneziana" ; the brief of thanks from Gregory XIV. to the Doge, June 29, 1591, State Archives, Venice, Bolle.

signature of petitions with the words exclusively reserved to the Pope : *Fiat ut petitur*. But the extraordinarily increased powers of the Secretary of State at once aroused in the Sacred College the gravest anxieties as to his character and suitability. It was pointed out to Gregory XIV. that his predecessors had only granted the right to attach this signature, *Fiat ut petitur*, in cases of serious illness, if they had not preferred to give up signing petitions altogether. The Pope realized that he had gone too far, and revoked the concession made to the Cardinal.[1] Otherwise, however, on account of the physical weakness of Gregory XIV. Cardinal Sfondrato retained the direction of the greater part of the government. As it was impossible to provide for the necessities of the Roman people, a thing which occasioned the Pope so much anxiety, the Cardinal sought, as far as possible, to conceal from him the true state of affairs. When at the beginning of February the people carried by storm the granaries at the Pantheon, the Piazza Giudea and the Campo di Fiori, Gregory XIV. knew nothing about it.[2] But it was only for a short time that he could be kept in ignorance of the desperate state of the Roman people. When on February 11th, 1591, he was carried in a litter to St. Mary Major's, he saw for himself the discontent of the people.[3] What the Secretary of State had failed to do, was done by a simple priest of Rome, who frankly described to the Pope the needs of his subjects.[4] An

[1] See the article of P. M. BAUMGARTEN in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 91 *seq.* *Cf.* as to this the Este report in RICCI, II., 61.

[2] See *Avviso of Feb. 6, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 64b, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of Feb. 13, 1591, *ibid.* *Cf.* MARTINORI, 72.

[4] See *Caelii Spetii parochi S. Mariae in Publicolis de Urbe oratio ad Gregorium XIV. P.M. de veritate dicenda, Vat. 5514 p. 44—51b. "Populus Romanus," it is stated, "panis ac frugum precio in dies magis crescenti rerum penuria mendicare cogitur. Hic est Urbis status." The state of affairs in the provinces was even worse, as was shown by the case of Umbria! Here too the cause was the abnormal weather: "Nive caeloque dilapsa geluque in arbores confirmato vites omnes, olivae omnes interiere." To this was added the difficulty of importation because of the new imposts. Vatican Library.

attempt was made to provide for the scarcity of provisions by importing grain and cattle, and by distributing tickets for bread. But these steps were not enough, for the imports were hampered by storms at sea.[1] During Lent the Pope dispensed the precept of abstinence, so that the population might sustain themselves with meat.[2] In spite of the large sums which he spent on purchasing grain, and the taking of 100,000 scudi for the purpose from the treasury at the Castle of St. Angelo,[3] it was still impossible to meet the demand. When the Pope fell ill at the end of March it was said that his chief trouble was the sorrow he felt for the scarcity in Rome,[4] to which was added the outbreak of brigandage in many parts of the Papal States.[5]

The physicians vainly tried to relieve the Pope of his serious attacks of stone.[6] As he was suffering from this during March and April Cardinal Sfondrato carried on the whole of public business by himself.[7] Even now he still tried to hide as much as possible of what was going on in Rome from the Pope. When during the sale of bread in the Rione di Ponte on April 14th a soldier was killed, 300 persons, complaining of

[1] See *Avvisi of Feb. 27, Mar. 2 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1058, I. 109, 114, 149; *cf. ibid.* 214 the *Avviso of Apr. 13, 1591. "Yesterday the tickets (bollettini) for bread came to an end" (for these *cf.* CICARELLA. Vita Gregorii XIV.), these had probably been issued in order to ensure bread until the next harvest. Vatican Library.

[2] See CICARELLA *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Studii e docum.*, XIII., 307.

[4] See *Avviso of Mar 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., p. 172, Vatican Library.

[5] "The bandits are keeping the whole of the Marches and the Romagna in a state of disturbance," reports an *Avviso of Feb. 20, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 91, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* 135 the *Avviso of Mar. 9, 1591. See also the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196 *seq.*

[6] See *Avvisi of Mar. 23, 27 and 30, Apr. 6, 10 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 174, 183 *seq.*, 185b, 195 *seq.*, 200b, 204, 207, 213, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso of Mar. 30, 1591, *ibid.*, 185b.

the bad government, made their way to the gates of the Vatican and demanded to speak to the Pope, and it was only with difficulty that the Swiss Guard were able to repulse the excited crowd. When the Pope heard the uproar he was given to understand by his relatives that a thief had been discovered in the palace. The report which relates this incident adds that Cardinal Sfondrato wished to be informed of everything that had been said in every audience. Rome was in a rebellious mood, but lacked a leader. Thus, men mocked at Sfondrato, because as a remedy he had hastily convoked a congregation *dell' abbondanza*, which had decided on the restoration of the tickets for bread.[1] When during the last week of April the Pope felt better, a deputation of the Roman Senate waited upon him complaining of the edicts issued against the bakers, in consequence of which there was reason to fear riots in the city.[2] Such a statement was however exaggerated. We learn from the impartial report of the envoys of Lucca that at the beginning of May, 1591, the provisioning of Rome had been so far organized that it was possible to speak of scarcity rather than of famine. In view of the want of grain that was being felt everywhere, and in comparison with earlier conditions, this seemed to the envoys a satisfactory state of affairs.[3]

One of these evils had hardly been dealt with when another followed which caused the Pope grave anxiety. This was the plague already spoken of, which after May, 1591, worked havoc, especially among the poorer classes of the population. The complaints of the want of bread and of the bad quality of that which was obtainable only really came to an end

[1] See *Avviso of Apr. 17, 1591, *ibid.*, 222, and CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also BENIGNI, 43 *seq.* On May 13, 1591, there took place a " Processio propter penuriam a regularibus et clero " from the Minerva of St. Peter's, for which the Pope granted a plenary indulgence. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, p. 165, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of Apr. 24, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 239, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

when the new harvest was gathered, but the excesses of the bandits, which troubled the Pope not a little, went on.[1]

Gregory XIV. had been obliged to turn his attention to this trouble from the first. Already during the vacancy in the Holy See great danger had threatened from Alfonso Piccolomini, Duke of Montemarciano, who had returned to his native place and to his old ways; fortunately, however, on December 6th, 1590, he was defeated by Virginio Orsini near Monterosi, and on January 2nd, 1591, was taken prisoner in the district of Cesena by the Tuscan troops who were in pursuit of him. The request of the Papal authorities that he should be handed over was refused, and the Grand Duke tried him himself; on March 16th Piccolomini, having been condemned to death for his many crimes, ended his life on the gibbet in the Bargello at Florence.[2]

While Tuscany was now in peace, the Romagna and the border districts towards Naples continued to be harassed by the bandits.[3] At the beginning of April Monsignor Grimaldi defeated 800 bandits in the neighbourhood of Ascoli, and pursued them to the frontier of Naples.[4] In spite of this, however, the district was not entirely at rest. On the other hand Cardinal Sforza succeeded in the first week of May in defeating the bandits in the Romagna.[5] A few

[1] See the report *ibid.*, 197.

[2] See Reumont, Toskana, I., 334 *seq.*; Grottanelli, A. Piccolomini, 157 *seq.*; Facini, 160 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*, 173. A *Bando contro A. Piccolomini e suoi seguaci et altri fautori, had already been issued on Dec. 3, 1590 (see *Avviso of Dec. 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 628, Vatican Library). The text of this document is in the *Editti*, V., p. 62, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 63: *Bando delle nominationi e taglie contra bandidi et facinorosi, dated 1590, Dec. 30.

[3] See *Avvisi of Feb. 20, Mar. 6 and 9, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 91, 126, 135, Vatican Library. *Cf. Studii e docum.*, XXII., 197, and Facini, 174 *seq.*

[4] See *Avvisi of Apr. 6 and 10, 1591, *ibid.*, 195b, 204.

[5] See *Avviso of May 11, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 255. *Cf. Studii e docum.*, XXII., 197, and the rare work, Relatione sopra la destruttione delli banditi fatta dal card. Sforza, Pavia, 1591 (copy in the Library of J. v. Görres).

weeks later these ruffians again made their appearance in the Sabina,[1] preventing the conveyance of provisions to Rome, and robbing pilgrims on their way thither.[2] It was necessary to send troops against them, who met with a certain amount of success.[3] In July Sforza destroyed the bandits in the Romagna.[4] Rome was then left in peace, and it was only during the last illness of the Pope in October that the old evil again showed itself.[5]

The most important question which the Pope had to deal with in foreign politics was to decide his attitude towards the disturbances in France. Bearing in mind the fruitlessness of the diplomatic intervention of Sixtus V. the members of the League, for the preservation of the Catholic religion, brought pressure to bear on the new Pope for a change in the policy hitherto adopted by the Holy See. They were able to remind him that fifteen months had already elapsed without Henry of Navarre having fulfilled his promise to return to the Church, but that in spite of his attitude, many Catholics, and among them the great dignitaries of the Church, still adhered to his cause, so as to give rise to grave danger to the Catholic religion in France. Remonstrances of this kind, which were also expressed in broad-sheets,[6] were bound to make a great impression on so conscientious a Pope as Gregory XIV. To this was added the fact that he had always looked upon Philip II. as the natural and tried

[1] See *Avviso of May 22, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 272, Vatican Library.

[2] See the vivid description in *Oratio Caelii Spetii, p. 46 *seq.*, Vatican Library, mentioned *supra*, p. 363, n. 4.

[3] See the *report of Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II., May 18, 1591, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Avviso of May 29, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 285, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of July 13, 1591, *ibid.* 570, and the Relatione cited *supra*, p. 366, n. 5.

[5] See *Avvisi of Oct. 6 and 12, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 543b, 549, Vatican Library.

[6] See L'Epinois, 445, 464, 660.

protector of the Catholic cause.[1] As Gregory XIV. was accustomed in all matters to act cautiously and slowly,[2] more than a month went by before he had made up his mind about the French question.[3] If the Pope then decided to take up the cause of the League, he was not a little led to this by the views of Cardinal Sfondrato, who was in even greater sympathy with Spain than his uncle, and very soon had become quite dependent upon the Spanish ambassador in Rome.[4] For their part the Spaniards were untiring in their remonstrances and exhortations; they pointed out that if the Pope would whole-heartedly use his authority on behalf of the League, the Catholic nobles would desert Navarre and that this would make it possible to give France a Catholic king.

Hopes of this kind were responsible for the change that took place in Rome. What neither the insistence nor the threats of Philip II. had been able to obtain from Sixtus V., namely the pledging of the moral and military power of the Holy See against Navarre, was now granted to the King of Spain

[1] To this belongs "Fr. Ant. Gar epistola ad rev. episcop. Cassanae D. Audoenum Ludovicum Anglum intercepta et impressa in qua Galliae regni praesens status et miseriae recensentur," which appeared in print in 1591. It is a letter from a Catholic religious, dated "Parisiis XIV. Cal. nov. 1590," in which he vigorously attacks the "Pseudocattolici in Gallia." "Hi politici," he says, "labiis fidem catholicam honorant, cor autem eorum omnino est cum haereticis."

[2] *Huc usque S. S^tas^ nihil de iis quae ad authoritatem et officium pontificis spectant, disposuit neque enim vacantes episcopatus contulit neque, uti moris est, officiales mutavit; adeo sensate et mature incedit, ut de tarditate ipsius in expendiendis negotiis conqueratur . . . De rebus vero Gallicis tractandis nec verbum usque modo factum est. Sporeno, Dec. 29, 1590. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] Sporeno reports on Jan. 5, 1591, that nothing had yet been decided about France (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also FACINI, 53 *seq.*

[4] See the opinion of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 154, which is in agreement with SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 198. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 344 *seq.*

almost without an effort, even though it was now too late, since the propitious moment for the triumph of his ambitious projects had already passed.[1]

How seriously Gregory XIV., after the end of December, 1590, set to work to employ all his powers against Navarre, may be seen from the fact that he ordered a canonist to examine the question whether he could with a clear conscience use the millions stored up in the Castle of St. Angelo for the assistance of the Catholic cause.[2]

The entirely changed policy towards France which was inaugurated by the new Pope found expression in the appointment of Cardinals Madruzzo, Caetani, Santori and Facchinetti, who were notoriously Spanish in their sympathies, as members of the Congregation for France,[3] and in a brief to Philip II. dated January 19th, 1591. The city of Paris, this states, is the stronghold of the Catholic faith in France and the heart of that kingdom. When, a short time before, by the help of the King of Spain, it had been relieved from the fear of capture, it had again become the object of the sacrilegious attacks of its assailants. For this reason the Pope had resolved to grant a monthly subsidy of 15,000 gold scudi to that city.[4]

[1] See SEGESSER, IV., 2, 80.

[2] *Il dottor Briscia studia tuttavia de ordine del Papa, se egli può con buona conscienza assolvere se stesso del giuramento fatto nella bolla delli millioni, che fece Sisto V. per il disegno, che S. B. ha d' aiutare con essi la causa de cattolici et per altre opere pie et gloriose. Avviso, of Dec. 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 671, Vatican Library.

[3] See FACINI, 55 *seq.*

[4] *Cum itaque ad nobilissimum Franciae regnum, quod magna cum haeresum perfidia factionumque pertinacia ad communem fere internecionem exardet, statim animam mentemque converterimus et in eo civitatem Parisiorum, arcem et catholicae fidei ibidem domicilium, in novissima obsidione, a qua singulari Dei sedisque Apostolicae beneficio et praecipua M^{tis} Tuae ope praeteritis his mensibus liberata fuit, summis commeatus et auxilii difficultatibus laborasse adversantiumque, potentia atque opum vi maxima oppressam fuisse nuper experti fuerimus, eius-

The brief of January 19th, 1591, also deals with the Apostolic letters which were then sent to the leaders of the League in Paris, and to other cities which had rendered good service to the Catholic cause in France, as well as to the nobles of the French kingdom who had abandoned the cause of Navarre. These contained an invitation to unite with the other Catholics in electing a truly Catholic king. In a letter sent shortly afterwards to Sega, the nuncio in France, the Pope declared that he had nothing else so much at heart as to destroy the religious innovations in that noble kingdom, to consolidate the Catholic religion and restore peace, which would only be possible by the appointment of a sincerely Catholic king.[1]

When at the end of January, 1591, the French Congregation had decided to send to France the Milanese Marsilio Landriano, who belonged entirely to the Spanish party, it went on to discuss the military intervention of the Pope in France, and at the end of February settled upon the documents which Landriano was to take with him on his mission.[2] One of these

dem regni causa graviter dolentes ipsius civitatis periculum pro totius regni discrimine iure optimo habuimus . . . Est ea civitas, ut optime omnium novit M^tas^ Tua, totius illius regni quasi cor, circa quod nunc maxime agere non desinant impii oppugnantium conatus . . . Nos autem eam civitatem ab ingruentibus incursibus salvam et incolumem adhuc tueri cupientes idque ad celerem fidei catholicae restitutionem et ad publicam regni tranquillitatem pertinere sentientes, ut domesticas ipsius angustias immensosque sumptus, quibus novissime quasi absumptam fuisse accepimus, aliquo pacto levemus et ut ipsorum militum copiae hoc tempore ad defensionem dictae civitatis collectae solutis eis debitis stipendiis commodius retineri possint, summam aureorum quindecim millium quolibet mense, donec id expediens esse nobis videbitur, ex apostolico nostro aerario subministrandam duximus. Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Brief to Sega, dat. 1591, Jan. 27, Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the reports of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 151 *seqq.*; that of Mar. 31, 1591 (p. 155) mentions the publication of the monitorium. For the document see also Journal de Henri IV., par DE L'ESTOILE, 52.

was directed against Navarre, renewing all the former decrees issued against him, and declaring that, as a relapsed heretic, he had forfeited all his rights, kingdoms, and dominions, and above all the succession to the throne of France. This document was supported by two monitoria, one addressed to the ecclesiastical body and one to the laity of France. Both contained an impassioned appeal to break away from the heretical Navarre, while at the same time severe penalties were inflicted in the case of their failing to do so.

The monitorium addressed to the ecclesiastical body[1] dwelt especially on the Pope's anxiety for France, one of the most noble kingdoms of Christendom, and especially dear to and valued by the Holy See on account of its many and great merits. This was followed by a bitter complaint that the ecclesiastical body in France had forgotten their duty, not only by failing to oppose even in word the adversaries of the Catholic religion, and the disturbers of peace, but even, as it was reported, by in some cases becoming their associates and abettors. Therefore, so that no one might plead the excuse of ignorance, it was clearly laid down that Henry of Navarre had become a relapsed heretic, and that for that reason Sixtus V. had inflicted the most severe penalties on that fierce enemy of the Catholic religion, and leader of the heretics. Hence was shown the responsibility of the bishops, who paid no attention to this, and thus led their flocks into error. With greater courage than prudent consideration for French national feeling, Gregory XIV. struck at the root of all the evils from which France was suffering at that time: this was the false policy of the French kings, who, urged by their ambition for power, had concluded alliances with unbelievers and heretics. Apart from anything else this above all had brought down upon the royal family and the French people the anger of God, so that they were now devoured by heresy and civil war. As the evil came from the

[1] The *document which begins with the words: "Beatissimi Apostolorum principis Petri cathedrae," is contained in the collection of briefs of Gregory XIV. in the Papal Secret Archives (Arm. 44, t. 35) is dated: Cal. Martii (Mar. 1), 1591.

head, so there was no other hope of salvation except to give France, which might God grant, a good and pious king, who both in name and in deed should be the Most Christian King. Therefore the clergy must gather together all their forces, since they alone could watch over the defence of the Catholic religion, the preservation of the Church, and the restoration of peace in the kingdom. The Pope was ready, for the same purpose, to give both spiritual and material assistance, and even to send military help. Those who assisted in this would merit his praise, but those who remained in adherence to Navarre, the most severe penalties: major excommunication and interdict. Ecclesiastics who failed to withdraw from Navarre within fifteen days were to be excommunicated, and after another fourteen days were to forfeit their benefices.

When, at the end of February, 1591, Gregory XIV. informed the ambassador of Venice of his determination to intervene in France by force of arms, he said that he looked upon it as his duty to do all that lay in his power against the Huguenots; if necessary he would even ally himself with the Turks against the heretics in France. But he would rather carry out the undertaking by himself, though in the existing circumstances he would have to avail himself of any assistance that offered. If now he united his forces to those of the League and the King of Spain, this was only done to set France free from the heretics, and not to support the private ambitions of the others; in keeping France under a king of Catholic sentiments he was fulfilling his duty as the universal father of Christendom.[1]

When the monitoria which Landriano was to publish in France had been prepared, Gregory XIV. proposed in a consistory on March 13th, 1591, to take half a million scudi from the treasury in the Castle of St. Angelo for use on behalf of the Catholic cause in France, as well as to meet the scarcity in Rome. Cardinals Colonna, Galli, Paleotto, Pellevé, Santori, Facchinetti, Aldobrandini, Sauli and Mattei opposed this suggestion. At last twenty-four hours were given them

[1] See the report of Badoer of Feb. 23, 1591 in Brosch, I., 300, n. 1.

for reflection, and on the following day the greater number of the objectors gave way at a general congregation; only 400,000 scudi, however, were voted, of which 300,000 were to be used for France, and the rest for meeting the scarcity.[1]

On March 28th Cardinals Bourbon,[2] Lenoncourt and Gondi were ordered, under pain of suspension and the forfeiture of their dignities, to separate themselves at once from Henry of Navarre, no longer to recognize him as king, and no longer to give him their assistance. Within forty days of their receipt of this brief the Cardinals were to give satisfactory proof of their obedience; should they fail to do so they were to be cited and sentenced as abettors of heretics.[3] On April 5th the Pope addressed himself to the Catholic royalists of France who had taken the part of Navarre, and adjured them to abandon those who had renounced the faith, and at the same time he announced the mission of a special legate, Marsilio Landriano.[4]

At the same time the Pope took energetic steps for the formation of a Papal expeditionary force to protect the Catholic religion in France, and to secure the appointment of a Catholic king. Gregory's nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, was charged with the military preparations in the Papal States,[5] and the nuncio at Lucerne, Ottavio Paravicini, who was raised to the cardinalate on March 6th, but was provisionally left in his office, with the enrolment of 6,000 Swiss.

[1] See *Acta consist. Mar. 13 and 14, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. *Cf.* L'Epinois, 467 *seq.* See also further details in Facini, 107 *seq.*

[2] Really Cardinal Vendôme, who called himself Cardinal Bourbon after the death of his uncle.

[3] See the *text of the brief (Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 45.

[4] *Dilectis filiis nobilibus viris, principibus, ducibus et baronibus atque catholicis regni Franciae haereticorum partibus in eodem regno adhaerentibus, Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives. French translation of the letter in L'Epinois, 468 *seq.*

[5] See the *briefs of Ercole Sfondrato, Apr. 6, 1591, Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 166 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

Paravicini, who was well versed in the affairs of Switzerland, managed the negotiations with great skill.[1] Navarre's envoy, Sillery, worked against him, but to no purpose, and at the beginning of June fifteen companies, in all about 4,000 men, marched by way of the St. Gothard, the Val d'Aosta and the Little St. Bernard into Savoy, where they found the promised force of 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 Italian musketeers. At the beginning of July they joined the Papal army.[2] On May 9th Gregory XIV. had given the supreme command to Ercole Sfondrato, who became Duke of Montemarciano.[3] On May 12th the nephew took his oath of allegiance to the Pope in St. Mary Major's, after which the latter gave him the baton of commander-in-chief, and two standards blessed by the Pope himself. One showed the Crucifix between the Princes of the Apostles, and below the device of the Roman Church, the crossed keys, with the inscription: *Haec est victoria quae vincit mundum, fides nostra.* The other showed the arms of Gregory XIV. with the words: *Dextera Domini exaltavit me.* After this ceremony Ercole Sfondrato set out.[4]

[1] See SEGESSER, IV., 156 *seq.* *Cf.* WIRZ, Bullen, 437 *seq.*; FACINI, 110 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, IV., 171, 174.

[3] See the *brief for "Herculi Sfondrato nostro sec. carnem nepoti, militiae S. R. E. capitaneo generali nec non ecclesiastici exercitus nostri in regnum Franciae deducendi duci item et praefecto generali, dat. Romae in monte Quirinali May 9, 1591," Arm. 44 t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the detailed description in the *Diarium P. Alaleonis Barb. 2815, p. 178b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *avviso of May 11, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 254, *ibid.* The brief by which the Archbishop of Ragusa, Matteucci (see *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 806 *seq.*) was appointed commissary general of the Papal army sent to France, Apr. 24, Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 217. *Ibid.* p. 223 the *brief for Petro Caetano; his appointment as commander of the cavalry of the Papal army, May 3, 1591; p. 224b, that to "Appio de comitibus"; his appointment as "magister campi generalis," also May 3, 1591, Papal Secret Archives. The original of the *brief to P. Caetani in Gaetani Archives, Rome, 9 n. 112. A *Relatione dell'attione di Msgr. archivescovo Matteucci, commiss.

On May 20th Landriano also left Rome.[1] The Pope had already announced the mission of both to Montmorency on April 19th,[2] and on May 1st had announced it to the citizens of Paris. In the letter addressed to the inhabitants of the French capital he expressed his joy that they had happily overcome the attack upon their city, and exhorted them to stand firm until their end was attained. Being filled with anxiety as to their fortunes he had resolved to come to their assistance, first with money, even beyond what he could afford, and then by means of letters and monitoria and the sending of a special nuncio, Marsilio Landriano, who was to unite the Catholics of France, and lastly by sending troops under the supreme command of his nephew, Ercole Sfondrato. The brief ends with the exhortation that, putting all private interests aside, they should devote all their powers to one single purpose, the choosing of a Most Christian and truly Catholic king.[3]

Landriano's instructions, a very significant fact, were drawn up by Cardinal Caetani. Their contents may be summarized in two words: the maintenance of the Catholic religion in France, and the destruction of the Huguenots is only possible by preventing the candidature of Navarre for the throne. To this end peaceful means were first to be adopted, namely the detachment of the French nobility from Navarre, so that

apost. destinato da Gregorio XIV. sopra esercito mandato in Francia, fatta da G. B. Rosa Bolognese ministro sue, in Ottob. 3211, p. 33 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] The *Instructions for Landriano, drawn up by Cardinal Caetani, in *Nunziat. di Francia*, XXXI., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* MARTIN in *Rev. des sciences relig.*, I. (1921), 343.

[2] Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 192, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Original text of the *brief to the "sexdecim civitatis Parisiensis" in Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives; French translation in CAYET, Chronologie novennaire, *Mémoires Collec. univ.* LVII., 62. In the *letter of thanks for the congratulations of the Sorbonne, dat. Quirinal 1591, June 5, Gregory XIV. declares that he will help Paris with money, and will send troops. Original in National Archives, Paris.

the united Catholics might elect a truly Catholic king. Landriano was instructed to hold himself aloof from any party measures and to keep in view nothing but the interests of the Catholic religion.[1]

But how was such a neutrality to be observed in a country where all was party? Moreover, what reason was there to hope that the Papal monitorium would be enough to detach the Catholic royalists from Navarre?[2] Such suppositions were a fatal error, the origin and continued existence of which were the fault of the League and the Spaniards, who had done all they could to deceive Gregory XIV. as to the true state of affairs. From the beginning of his pontificate they had never wearied of assuring him that as soon as the Papal standard was unfurled in France, everyone would desert Navarre.[3] Just the opposite occurred.

The members of the Parliament of Paris, who were Gallican in sympathies, had on June 10th, 1591, declared at Châlons that the Papal monitoria were invalid and had ordered them to be burned; they declared that the election of Gregory XIV. was invalid, appealed to a future Council, and cited Landriano as guilty of high treason. Henry of Navarre, who had so far prudently kept in the background, was grateful for their action, and invited the members of the Parliament who were at Tours to take a similar course, confirming by means of a declaration of his council of state all that they should do in that sense. "The Pope," this states, "has become the laughing-stock of the people, and under the pretext of religion is trying to ruin the kingdom and the crown. For what has religion got to do with his opposition, since I have more than once solemnly promised that I will not in any way or for any

[1] *Cf.* L'Epinois, 480 *seq.*, who treats exhaustively of the mission of Landriano in the light of the acta in the Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* as to this the *instructions for Dario Boccarino who was sent on Apr. 9, 1591, to Madrid, in *Lett. d. princ.*, 46, p. 209 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. See also Hinojosa, 340 *seq.*, as well as Facini, 90 *seq.*

[2] See L Epinois, 484 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 153.

purpose interfere with the status of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, and have so far kept this promise inviolate under all circumstances? But now these unscrupulous men are suggesting to the Pope that I am rejecting out of hand all instruction and all advice, and that I am every day trying to introduce into the Christian community greater and more dangerous innovations. They know that they are lying when they say this. I therefore once more assert in the sight of God that I desire nothing so much as the convocation of a free and holy Council, or some other assembly which shall be in a position to remove the great schism in religion. I am ready to be instructed and enlightened; my greatest ambition is to learn to know the truth, and to see it unanimously observed by all my subjects." On the strength of this assertion Henry denied all force to the Pope's edicts, and sent them on to his ordinary tribunals that they might take action concerning them in accordance with the laws of the state.[1]

All this was by no means an empty threat, and the representatives of the Holy See were finding themselves in an extremely dangerous position. Landriano found it impossible to present the Papal brief to Cardinal Lenoncourt, and Mayenne, to whom the nuncio turned, declared that his mission, if he tried to carry it out, would put him in danger of his life. Cardinal Bourbon refused to accept the brief addressed to him or to reply to it.[2] The members of the Parliament who were at Tours declared on August 5th that the Papal edicts were null, and described the Pope as a schismatic, the enemy of peace, of the Catholic Church, of the king and of the state, who was in conspiracy with Spain. "The word schismatic," says Landriano, "comes from the Protestants and heretics who refuse to acknowledge him as lawful Pope, as having been elected not by the will of the Cardinals but of the King of Spain."[3] Cardinal Bourbon,

[1] See THUANUS, I., 101; Mém. de la Ligue, IV., 267 *seq.*; STÄHELIN, 275 *seq.*

[2] See L'EPINOIS, 488, 492.

[3] *Ibid.*, 487 *seq.*

the Archbishop of Bourges, Renaud de Beaume, and the Bishops of Le Mans, Angers, Chartres, Nantes, Beauvais and Bayeux declared on September 21st, 1591, at Chartres, the nullity of the monitorium "of the badly informed Pope," at the same time asking "true and good Frenchmen" to pray that Navarre might turn to the Catholic Church. In this they saw the only means of overcoming Spanish domination on the one hand and heresy on the other.[1]

At first Landriano built great hopes on the appearance of the Papal army, but the long delay[2] filled him with despair. When at length the Papal troops made their appearance in Lorraine in the first weeks in September, it was seen that owing to the hardships and privations of the long march they were greatly reduced in numbers. They had also suffered from desertions, and in order to recover a little were quartered in the neighbourhood of Verdun. Ercole Sfondrato and the Duke of Lorraine took up their residence in that fortress, and anxiously awaited the arrival of Alessandro Farnese.[3] "If he does not come," wrote Landriano on October 29th, "and any disaster overtakes us, France will rise in revolt, for the cities are filled with politicians and the enemies of Spain. If it were certain that Philip II. is only acting in his own interests, then the followers of Mayenne would join the party opposed to him. The only chance of salvation," Landriano goes on to say, "lies in the detachment of the nobility from Navarre, but anyone who understands the

[1] See *ibid.*, 508 *seq.* *Cf.* also the very rare work of MATT. ZAMPINI: Ad calumnias, et imposturas, a pseudo-parlamentis, Cathalaunensi, et Turonensi, at Carnotensi, conventiculo, ad catholicae religionis perniciem, populique deceptionem, impie confictas in Gregorium XIV. illiusque monitionis literas, ad clerum, principes, nobiles, et populos Franciae responsio, Lugd. 1592.

[2] For the slow progress of the armaments *cf.* the report of the envoy of Lucca, May 1591, in *Studii e docum.*, XIII., 197.

[3] See SEGESSER, IV., 2, 175, 181; *cf.* FACINI, 143 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*

French character realizes that that can only be brought about by peaceful means, and not by force."[1]

When this view of the fruitlessness of the policy adopted by Gregory XIV. was expressed the Pope was no longer alive. At the beginning of April he was taken ill with an affection of the bladder[2]; a month later he was removed to his summer residence at the Quirinal. There he again fell ill on July 5th. Pressure was brought to bear on him, not only to appoint new Cardinals, but to entrust the discharge of public business to some of the older ones, as Sfondrato was unable to do everything by himself.[3] When the state of the Pope's health had improved in the third week of July, and the heat had become greater, he gave way to the wishes of his entourage and moved to the palace of S. Marco. There on August 10th he received Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara,[4] who was comfortably lodged with his large retinue of 700 men and 400 horses in the spacious precincts of the palace. The duke occupied the apartments of the titular of S. Marco. This was done so that he might be in communication with the Pope without being disturbed or seen.[5] The purpose of their negotiations

[1] See L'Epinois, 506, 510, who was the first to use the letter of Landriano preserved in the Papal Sceret Archives (*Lettere del Nunzio*, XXVIII., 823). Facini has now again published it. (p. 152 *seq.*)

[2] *"Smus dixit se fuisse visitatum a Domino in praesenti infirmitate sua se excusans." Acta consist. Apr. 5, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avvisi of July 10 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 366, 369, Vatican Library. Rudolph II. had already pressed in January, 1591, for the nomination of Annibale di Capua, Archbishop of Naples; see Rudolfi II., Epist. 298, 312 *seq.* In March the Emperor interested himself on behalf of the Bishop of Alba, Alberto Cauriano (see *ibid.* 333 *seq.*) in April of the Archbishops of Naples and Bari (*ibid.* 342, 345 *seq.*) and again on May 10 of the Archbishop of Naples (*ibid.* 357 *seq.*).

[4] See J. P. Mucantii *Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Relatione dell'arrivo in Roma del Duca di Ferrara, in Cod. Capponi 63, p. 195 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[5] See Dengel, Palazzo di S. Marco, 111 *seq.*

was to settle the question of the succession to the throne of Ferrara.[1] As the duke had no children it seemed that the throne must pass to his nephew, Cesare d'Este, the cousin of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But there was another collateral branch of the house of Este, that of the Marchese di S. Martino, which was related to the Sfondrato, and in sympathy with Spanish interests. The Duke of Ferrara was informed from this quarter that he could easily obtain from the Holy See the new investiture necessary to regularize the succession, should he prefer Filippo d'Este, Marchese di S. Martino to Cesare d'Este. Alfonso II. agreed to this; he did not like Cesare, and his sister, the Duchess of Urbino, bore him a mortal hatred. A decisive factor was that Alfonso would have had to have asked for the investiture of Ferrara for his relatives in accordance with the dispositions he should make at his death.

Alfonso, the Pope's nephews, and the Spaniards were already convinced that they had been successful in the negotiations. When, however, Gregory XIV. spoke of the matter in consistory on August 19th, he found himself faced by the bull of Pius V. which he had himself renewed, but which forbade any alienation of the fiefs of the Church. The Pope then appointed a congregation of thirteen Cardinals, Gesualdo, Paleotto, Bonelli, Madruzzo, Facchinetti, Valiero, Salviati, Laureo, Lancelotti, Aldobrandini, Mattei, Ascanio Colonna and Piatti, to inquire into the question whether the bull affected the case in question.[2] It was at once obvious that

[1] For this *cf.* MURATORI, Antichità Estensi, II., LE BRET, Allg. Welthistorie, XLVI., 2, 386 *seq.*; GALUZZI, IV., 294 *seq.*; FACINI 183 *seq.*; COTTAFAVI, Filippo d'Este e l'investitura di Ferrara nel 1591, Reggio, 1889.

[2] See *Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; CIACONIUS, IV., 233; FACINI, 185 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of Aug. 21, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 441, (*ibid.*, 445 an *opinion of the envoy of Urbino on each of the members of the congregation), Vatican Library.

the majority of the Cardinals were opposed to the investiture wished for by Alfonso.[1]

Anti-Spanish feelings, as well as the influence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, had led to this decision. The annoyance of the Spaniards was very great, and it was said in Rome that they had advised the Pope to put an end to the opposition of the Sacred College by making a great creation of Cardinals.[2]

But Gregory absolutely refused to take any such step. He had the matter further examined, and consulted both the supporters and opponents of the request of the Duke of Ferrara. The most bitter opponent of acquiescence in the Duke's request was Cardinal Aldobrandini.[3] When Cardinal d'Aragona advised the Pope to have nothing to do with the matter, the latter thanked him sincerely. The celebrated Jesuit Toledo said to Gregory XIV. that the case in question was not provided for by the bull of Pius V. but that the Pope could not agree to the proposal of the duke without the consent of the Cardinals;[4] to obtain this, however, was impossible. Alfonso's advisers negotiated with the Cardinals and tried to show them that the bull of Pius V. only affected fiefs that had already fallen vacant, but not those such as this which were still held, but the majority of the Cardinals refused to admit this reasoning.

The strong feeling with which the matter was treated, the dissension in the Sacred College, and the inevitable offence that would be given to Alfonso II. disturbed the Pope greatly. Although he had two attacks of fever at the beginning of September he would not suspend the negotiations.[5]

[1] According to the *Avviso of Aug. 24, 1591, only Valiero, Piatti and Lancellotti spoke in favour of the duke. Urb. 1060, II., 447, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of Aug. 31, 1591, *ibid.* 460.

[3] *Cf.* Bentivoglio, Memorie, 202.

[4] See *Avviso of Aug. 24, 1591, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avviso of Sept. 4, 1591, *ibid.* 471 *seq.*

As the Duke of Ferrara was proposing[1] an increase in his tribute, he hoped, relying principally on this, to find a way out of the difficulty. On September 7th the question was put to the Congregation of Cardinals and to the Auditors of the Rota whether the bull of Pius V. applied to a Papal disposition of a fief that had not already fallen vacant, supposing that an obvious advantage to the Church resulted therefrom. Only Cardinals Lancellotti and Piatti accepted this view unconditionally; Madruzzo, Laureo and Valiero thought that the advantage must first be shown to exist absolutely; Salviati and Mattei definitely opposed it, saying that by reason of the bull the Pope could not make any such disposition. The other Cardinals said the same, pointing out that the advantage did not of itself suffice. Ascanio Colonna in particular expressed himself at length to this effect. The members of the Rota, with the exception of Serafino and Bianchetti, expressed themselves in the same sense.[2]

In spite of this Gregory XIV., at a consistory on September 13th, 1591, declared that the bull of Pius V. did not prevent a new granting of a fief that had not yet fallen vacant, when the needs and the manifest and real advantage of the Church demanded it.[3] Without taking any further vote of the Cardinals a consistorial decree was drawn up to this effect. When Cardinal Mattei contested the real necessity, Gregory XIV. angrily replied that he had clearly stated that he did not intend to put the question to the vote.[4]

[1] The offers of Alfonso were greatly exaggerated by rumour; according to an *Avviso of Sept. 15, 1591, he offered a million in gold, in addition to an increase of interest by two-thirds, and the cession of the whole of the indemnity (12 millions). The envoy of Urbino on the other hand doubted this utterly. *Ibid.*, 502 *seq.*

[2] All this in accordance with the information given in the *Avvisi of Sept. 11 and 14; 1591 (*ibid.*, 484, 489) confirmed by the envoy of Urbino.

[3] *Cf.* as to this Bull., IX., 521. See also Acta consist., in Gulik-Eubel, III., 60; Facini, 188; Ricci, II., 57.

[4] See *Avviso of Sept. 14, 1591, *loc. cit.*

As it was impossible to obtain the consent of the Cardinals,[1] recourse was had to the expedient of conferring the investiture by brief or motu proprio, for which the consent of the consistory was not required.[2] It is true that this document was drawn up, but its execution was suspended on account of the growing opposition of the College of Cardinals in which Cardinals Pierbenedetti and Santori were especially prominent.[3] This drew down upon them the hostility of Cardinal Sfondrato, and when the nephew had the audacity to call in question the loyalty to the Church of these men, Santori in particular was roused to just indignation. He drew up in his defence a memorial on the duties of the Cardinals.[4] Santori also had a quarrel with the Pope on this matter in consistory, and Gregory XIV. had become so excited that he afterwards asked pardon of the Cardinal with tears. He then praised the outspokenness of Santori and expressly stated that he regretted having caused a brief to be drawn up which ran counter to the bull of Pius V.[5] It was clear that no decision was to be come to.

The continued anxiety caused by the question of Ferrara reacted unfavourably on the state of health of the ailing and weak Pope. Although in May his health was better, an ambassador in reporting this adds that he feared that with the fall of the leaf the " tree of Sfrondato " would also fall :[6] and so it proved. On September 22nd he held another long conference on the troublesome question of Ferrara, after which he became seriously ill with the stone. The fever increased so much during the following days that on September 25th the Pope had the Holy Viaticum brought to

[1] *Cf.* Ricci, II., 59.

[2] See *Avviso of Sept. 21, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 500, according to which Alfonso rejected such a document because any Pope might revoke it. Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avvisi of Sept. 18 and 21, *ibid.*, 496, 500, Vatican Library.

[4] See Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 199.

[5] See *ibid.*, 200.

[6] See the Este report in Ricci, II., 63 *seq.*

him.[1] In the evening of the same day the rumour was current in Rome that Gregory XIV. was dead.[2] Messengers were already taking the news abroad, but actually the sick man was still alive, although his condition was hopeless.[3] Residence in the palace of S. Marco seemed to the dying man, who longed for the green and airy heights of the Quirinal, like a prison.[4] But there was no possibility of thinking of moving him. On October 2nd a procession of intercession from S. Maria in Vallicella to the Gesù took place.[5]

On October 4th the Pope summoned the Cardinals to his death-bed, and addressed a touching discourse to them in Italian. Being at the point of death, he said, he had summoned the Cardinals as his brethren and sons, in order solemnly to declare to them that he had always had the best will to fulfil the duties of his office in all charity, for which he would now have to render an account before God. Whatever had been wanting in him must not be attributed to ill-will, but to weakness and human frailty. The Cardinals must pray for him and forgive him if he had offended them. He urged them to make a new election, quickly and wisely, and recommended to them the League and the election of a Catholic king in France, as well as his nephews. The Pope concluded with the words that he wished to die in the true faith of the Catholic, Roman and Apostolic Church. During these words no eye remained dry. Cardinals Gesualdo, Altemps, Pellevé,

[1] See *Avviso of Sept. 25, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 510 *seq.* According to the report of the embassy in RAUMER, Briefe aus Paris, I., Leipzig, 1831, 362, Gregory XIV. suffered from a disease of the liver. For the stone and its remedies see L. GUALINO, L. litiasi di Pio V., Roma, 1925, 3 *seq.*

[2] *Questa sera sul tardi si fa gran rumore tra gli Hebrei che sgombrano in fretta dicendo la morte del Papa. Urb. 1060, II., 512, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of Oct 2, 1591, according to which the sick man was "spesso agghiaciato dalle coscie in giù." *Ibid.*, 529.

[4] See the report of the Venetian ambassador Moro in DENGEL, Palazzo di S. Marco, 112.

[5] See *Avviso of Oct. 2, 1591, *loc. cit.*

Radziwill and Aldobrandini were especially moved. Gesualdo, as Dean, replied to his paternal exhortations, of which the Sacred College would be ever mindful, after which all the Cardinals kissed the trembling hand of the Pope and retired with his blessing.[1]

On October 4th a Papal constitution was published, confirming the bull of Pius V. against the alienation of Church property.[2] Three days after the Pope was taken ill the Duke of Ferrara retired from Rome to the Castle of Caprarola, where he remained for some time, before returning to Ferrara.[3]

The Pope, it was announced on October 9th, was lying between life and death.[4] His death was looked for at any moment. Cardinal Sfondrato to his terror saw the power which his uncle had given him too freely, slipping away. He quarrelled with the doctors and blamed them for failing to understand the disease of the Pope, who, he said, could yet have lived for many months.[5] In the meantime the nephew did not fail, in every way he could, to enrich himself and his friends,[6] but his attempts to induce the

[1] See *Avviso of Oct 5, 1591, *ibid.*, 536b. *Cf.* Acta consist. in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 136 *seq.*, and CICARELLA, Vita Gregorii XIV. Cardinal Valiero wrote a dissertation "De postremo sermone Gregori XIV. P. M. ad cardinales habito"; see CIACONIUS, IV., 87. *Cf.* Cod. Barb. XLII., 61, p. 95 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 543. *Cf.* CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

[3] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Il Papa vivendo more et morendo vive perchè sta a similitudine di notomia con flusso, febre continuo brugiore di orina." The doctors marvelled that the sick man, who was sometimes delirious, still lived (Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *ibid.*, 543). On Oct. 5, 1591, Cardinal Sfondrato had written to the "patriarca Caetano, nuntio alla corte Ces.: *N.S. sta tanto aggravato che si può dubitar che sia per esser molto presto sede vacante." Gaetani Archives, Rome, 53, n. 17.

[5] See *Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Avvisi of Oct. 9 and 16, *loc. cit.*, 554, 559.

dying Pope to make an appointment of Cardinals remained without effect.[1]

From the beginning of his illness Gregory had wished to devote himself entirely to preparing for a good death.[2] During the night between October 15th and 16th he was freed from his terrible sufferings.[3] He died, a contemporary informs us, after having repeatedly received Holy Communion, a Christian and a saint, as he had lived. Capuchins, Jesuits and Camillans watched constantly by his bedside.[4]

The pontificate of Gregory XIV. had only lasted for ten months and ten days. During that time he had shown himself to be, as Cardinal Santori truly declared, a good and pious sovereign, full of good-will and kindness, but weak and unsuited to the work of government.[5] This was all the more disastrous as his Secretary of State, Cardinal Sfondrato, who had monopolized all the business of state, did not rise to the heights of the great duties pertaining to him.[6] Instead of acting as a counterweight to the over great inclination of his

[1] See *Avvisi of Oct. 2, 5 and 16, *ibid.*, 531, 536, 559.

[2] See the Este report in Ricci, II.; 64.

[3] See *Avvisi of Oct. 12 and 16, 1591, *ibid.* (*cf.* App. No. 47), as well as the *letters of Cataneo, of the 16, and Brumani of the 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the reports in Ciampi, III., 106; Dengel, *loc. cit.*, 113, and Laemmer, Melet., 234; Herre, 551. Gregory XIV. was buried in St. Peter's in the Gregorian Chapel. In 1854 he was given a new tomb with his statue in marble, which represents him seated, and is the work of Amici. For the earlier tomb see Moroni, XXXII., 307 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 183.

[4] See in App. No. 47 the *Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library, and J. P. Mucantius, *Diaria cäerem. which gives the result of the autopsy; in the bladder a large stone and the lungs affected. According to Mucantius the nephews abandoned the dead man "sine ulla caritate et pietate." Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Santori, Autobiografia, XIII., 200.

[6] See *ibid.*, 197 *seq.*, and in App. No. 47 the *Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library. Facini (*loc. cit.*) forms a very unfavourable opinion of the lack of political and diplomatic tact shown by Sfondrato in the matters of both France and Ferrara.

uncle to Spain and the League, he only confirmed him in taking part in the war against Henry of Navarre, which brought no advantage to the Holy See, but rather loss, especially from the financial point of view.[1] Philip II. was as much pleased with this depletion of the Papal treasury as with the help given to the League in France, for the treasury of Sixtus V. had been greatly feared by the Spanish king as a source of power in Italy over which he had no control.[2]

Taking into consideration the many marks of favour which Gregory XIV. had shown to the King of Spain,[3] it must have caused special sorrow to the Pope that difficulties were placed in the way of the publication of his two bulls in Spain,[4] and that a work had been printed in Madrid which, under the pretext of protecting the Spaniards against oppression by the ecclesiastical judges, was inimical to ecclesiastical liberties and immunities. How little the Pope, in his ignorance of the world, understood the tenacity with which Philip II. adhered to his cesaropapistical aims, is shown by the fact

[1] *Gregorio XIV. è visso in pontificato mesi 10, giorni 10 nel qual tempo si fa conto che habbia speso circa tre milioni d'oro della Sede Ap^ca^, delle cui entrate in questo tempo non si è visto pur un soldo ne in Castello sono rimasti fuori delle dui milioni et ½ d'oro obligati più di 60,000 scudi, de quali giovedì furono cavati 30,000 per principio delle spese di sede vacante che importano più di 80,000 senza veruno assegnamento, is stated with exaggeration in the Avviso of Oct. 19, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 562. According to the report of Cardinal Monte, Apr. 15, 1592 (in DESJARDINS, V., 157) Clement VIII. said : in the case of France " Gregorio XIV. ha speso più di settecento milla scudi e ha lasciato si esausta la Sede Apostolica che il depositario è creditore più di duecento mila scudi." According to a detailed note in Cod. Vat. 5474, 400,000 gold scudi were taken from the treasury in the Castle of St. Angelo for France ; see *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 316. For the coins of Gregory XiV., see SERAFINI, I., 103 *seq.*

[2] See T. Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438 ; *Hist. Zeitschr.* XXXIX., 446.

[3] For the concessions of the Crusade Bull to Portugal see SCHÄFER, V., 95.

[4] See HINOJOSA, 339.

that he had recourse to the king in an autograph letter, adjuring him to intervene against a work that might do more harm than the armies of the heretics.[1] Gregory XIV. did not reign long enough to realize how deceived he was in the hopes he expressed in this letter, that the King of Spain, "like another Constantine," would fight on behalf of ecclesiastical liberties, which were incompatible with his political absolutism. On the other hand Gregory XIV. was not spared the pain of seeing for himself, on a solemn occasion, how the efforts of Spain were directed to the degradation of the supreme head of the Church to the position of a chaplain of the Catholic King. When on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul the customary presentation of the tribute for Naples was to be made, the Spanish ambassador kept the Pope waiting for him! The Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, who reports this, adds that the kindly Gregory XIV. bore it in silence.[2]

In spite of its short duration and the constant ill-health of the Pope, the pontificate of Gregory XIV. was not without importance from the point of view of internal religious development.[3] In the case of a man such as Gregory this development could not fail to be along the lines of the Catholic reform. Immediately after his election it was learned that the Pope was turning his attention to the reform of the Dataria,[4] to a stricter enforcement of the duty of residence,[5] and that he also had in view a general visitation of religious

[1] The *letter dated May 30, 1591, in the *Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 12, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] The contrary assertion of HASEMANN in *Ersch-Gruber Enzyklop.*, I Sekt., LXXXIX., 274 is wrong. Very remarkable however was the change of the personnel of almost all the nunciatures; see BIAUDET, 59.

[4] Gregory XIV. erected a special congregation for this purpose; see *letter of L. Dubliul to Mgr. Froissart, dat. Rome 1590, dec. 24, State Archives, Brussels, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 354, n. 2).

[5] See *Avvisi of Dec. 26, 1590, and Feb. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, p. 666 and 1058, I., 77, Vatican Library.

houses.[1] The efforts of Cardinal Charles of Lorraine for the reform of the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in his legation were strongly supported by the Pope.[2]

On May 15th, 1591, a very important constitution was issued, which, in accordance with the decree of the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, laid down detailed regulations for the examination of the worthiness and capability of candidates for the episcopal office. Gregory XIV. remembered how he himself had once, as Bishop of Cremona, taken part in the Council. At that time no fixed rules had been laid down for the examination of bishops, but the matter was left to the provincial synods, whose regulations were to be confirmed by the Pope. Realizing the importance of the choice of good bishops, Gregory XIV. took the matter in hand. He laid it down who was to carry out the examination, and the form which it was to take, the qualities that the candidates must possess, and the witnesses who were to be heard ; after this the candidate must make the profession of faith. The acta of the process were then to be sent to Rome to be examined.[3]

A decree issued in Rome forbade the celebration of Mass in private houses.[4] A constitution of March 21st forbade the making of wagers as to the election of the future Pope,

[1] See Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 36, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* HAUDIQUIER, Hist. du vén. Dom Didier de la Cour, Paris, 1772, 4, 98 *seq.* Worthy of mention too is the letter addressed by Gregory XIV. Apr. 5, 1591, to Vincenzo I. Gonzaga, in which he severely admonishes him to give up his dissolute life ; see LUZIO, Antonio Gonzaga, II., 176.

[3] See *Acta consist., May 15, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. Bull. IX., 419 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHERER in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, IV.[2], 1065 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 36, Vatican Library. On Feb. 3, 1591, there took place in S. Maria sopra Minerva a " pubblica abiura " of twelve " heretici tre [relapsi] rilasciati al braccio secolare e altri alle galere perpetue." *Note in the codex (cited in Vol. XXI., of this work, p. 193, n. 6) from the Archives of the Dataria, now in the Papal Secret Archives.

or the creation of new Cardinals.[1] Gregory XIV. also turned his attention to the reform of the conclave, which called above all for the prevention of undue influence on the part of the princes,[2] and he carried on the work on the ritual[3] and the reform of the breviary.[4] Gregory XIV. altered two constitutions of Sixtus V., concerning criminal abortion and the acceptance of illegitimate children as novices in the religious Orders.[5]

Since the time of Pius V. it had been discussed whether Cardinals who belonged to an Order should wear a red or black biretta. Gregory XIV. decided this question, in which Cardinal Bonelli was especially interested, in favour of the red biretta, as otherwise Cardinals belonging to an Order would have nothing to distinguish them outwardly from other great prelates.[6]

[1] See Bull. IX., 396 *seq.*

[2] See *Avvisi of Jan. 12 and Apr. 17, 1591 (Jan 12 : Care must be taken for a more complete isolation of the conclave from the outside, and election by way of adoration is also prohibited. " Questa bolla sarà strettissima et rigorosissima havendosi mira principale che resti esclusa la dentro l' autorità de principi secolari " ; Apr. 17 : The bull will be very important, the Pope is working on it). Urb. 1058, I., 19–20b, 223b, Vatican Library.

[3] Santori remarks concerning this in his *Audientie presso Gregorio XIV., Dec. 14, 1591 : " Del Rituale che fu cominciato a stampare da me e poi intermesso, che vorrei finirlo con lo intervento di alcuni huomini da bene soliti, M. Curtio et M. Marcello : che le piace, ne me priega, et per quanta autorità tiene sopra l' amorevilezza mia, me l' commanda." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

[4] See BÄUMER, 487 *seq.*

[5] See Bull. IX., 392 *seq.*, 430 *seq.* *Cf.* Bull. Carmelit., II., Romae, 1718, 258 *seq.*

[6] See *Acta consist. Apr. 26, 1591, Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library ; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59 ; Bull., IX., 433 *seq.*, J. P. Mucantius (*Diaria caerem.) reports June 9, 1591 : " Pontifex dedit bireta rubra quattuor cardinalibus religiosis, qui hactenus nigra vel iuxta colorem habitus suae religionis portaverant " (Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* *Discorso di Girol. Catena

Among the questions which were awaiting settlement from the time of Sixtus V. the most burning was the fate of his bible. How great had become the irritation at the impetuous editorial activity of the dead Pope may best be seen from the proposals which were laid before his second successor on the subject. "Men of weight," undoubtedly the members of Sixtus V.'s biblical commission, frankly advised the new Pope openly and expressly to prohibit the Vulgate of his predecessor. Fortunately for Sixtus V., however, he found a defender in the person of Bellarmine, who had returned from France on November 21st, 1590. He insistently dissuaded the Pope from so drastic a step; let them rather correct in the Sixtine Bible what called for correction, and to safeguard the honour of the deceased pontiff, let it be published once more under his name. A preface might excuse as far as possible his mistakes.[1]

The carrying out of these suggestions was entrusted by Gregory XIV. to the president of the Congregation of the Index, Cardinal Colonna, who was assisted in his difficult task by six Cardinals, among them Allen, Valiero and Borromeo, and eleven consultors.[2] Every Monday and Friday, under the presidency of Colonna and Allen, a meeting of these learned consultors was held, among them special mention being made of Bartolomeo Valverde, the Theatine Agellio, and the Jesuits

al cardinal Sfondrato intorno alla beretta rossa da darsi a cardinali religiosi (May 28, 1591), Var. polit., 106, p. 25 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Non esse biblia illa prohibenda, sed esse ita corrigenda, ut salvo honore Sixti Pontificis, biblia illa emendata prodirent. Quod fieret, si quam celerrime tollerentur, quae male mutata erant, et biblia recuderentur, sub nomine eiusdem Sixti, et addita praefatione, qua significaretur in prima editione Sixti prae festinatione irrepsisse aliqua errata vel typographorum vel aliorum. (Autobiography of Bellarmine, in Le Bachelet, 90). It may be asked whether the opinion mentioned here is the same as that mentioned in 1591. We follow in this Höpfl, 158 *seq.*

[2] Olivares to Philip II., Jan. 29, 1591, in Le Bachelet, 197; *Avviso of Feb. 23, 1591, in Baumgarten, Vulgata Sixtina, 98.

Bellarmine and Toledo. The secretary, Angelo Rocca, read out the text of the Holy Scriptures, word by word, in a clear voice; wherever difficulties were raised, these were discussed and presented on the Thursday to the general meeting. If it proved impossible even then to arrive at a decision, the matter was referred to the Pope. The first meeting took place on February 7th, 1591.[1]

It soon became clear, however, that this method was too slow. In the case of the first book of the Holy Scriptures, Genesis, they only reached the end after forty days;[2] the examination of the whole Bible, therefore, would take years. Moreover, a speedy decision, which the circumstances called for, was not to be expected from a commission composed of so many persons. In deciding upon the reading to be adopted there was an absence of any definite principles of textual criticism, and the consultors and Cardinals allowed themselves to be guided in each case merely by their own opinion and ideas. It was Bellarmine who called attention to this difficulty, and who in a short memorial[3] pointed out the way to obviate it. A smaller commission was formed composed of Cardinals Colonna and Allen with eight consultors. These ten scholars then devoted themselves exclusively to the task entrusted to them at the villa of Colonna at Zagarolo, and now actually completed it in nineteen days[4]; on July 5th, 1591, Olivares reported to his king that the revision of the Bible was completed.[5] The time was incredibly short for so vast a work, but the whole of the preparatory work, thanks to the labours of Sirleto, and of the biblical commission of Sixtus V., had already been long completed, while the commission wasted no time in discussing grave and insoluble difficulties, but left their decision to the Pope.[6]

What still remained to be done was once more discussed

[1] Höpfl, 159 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 162.

[3] Printed in Le Bachelet, 126, 129.

[4] Höpfl, 165. The inscription in Zagarolo recording the correction of the Bible, in Reumont, III., 2, 881.

[5] Le Bachelet, 198.

[6] Höpfl, 166.

in a memorial of Bellarmine,[1] whose influence in the question of the Vulgate was on many occasions shown to be decisive under Gregory XIV. This set forth three questions: first, should the Latin Bible be published at once in the textual form now decided upon, which of course would mean the definite setting aside of the Sixtine Vulgate; secondly, under what name should the new edition be published; and thirdly, should critical notes be appended to the text?

To the first question, Bellarmine replied unhesitatingly in the affirmative; since the Sixtine edition had undoubtedly come into the hands of the Protestants, there was reason to fear lest they should publish some work in which the Vulgate of Sixtus V. would be used to show that the Pope had falsified the text of the Bible, and that he wished to set himself above the word of God, and above God Himself, and to correct the Holy Ghost. Nothing worse could be imagined for the confusion of Catholics and for confirming the heretics in their errors; therefore it was necessary to take immediate steps to prevent this. Consequently the new Bible should be published as soon as possible, while in the preface it could be shown that Sixtus V. had published his Vulgate a year before, but that he himself had realized that for various reasons defects had crept into it, and that he had therefore himself intended to correct his own edition. This task, which his death had prevented him from carrying into effect, had now been done by his successor. In this way the Apostolic See would neither hurt the memory of the dead Pope, nor confirm the errors in his edition.

With regard to the second question—under whose name the new Latin text of the Holy Scriptures was to be published—Bellarmine gave it as his opinion that it should bear the name of the Pope, and that in the title the names of both Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. could be mentioned, as those to whom the present edition owed its origin. It was not advisable, however, to follow the example of Sixtus V. and prohibit all other editions of the Vulgate, for which opinion

[1] In Le Bachelet, 137–141.

Bellarmine gave five reasons, and in a further memorial seventeen more.[1] In acting thus Bellarmine once again had the Protestants in mind: if Paul IV.'s prohibition of Bibles emanating from suspect quarters had given occasion to the heretics to put it about that the Pope had forbidden the Bible itself, what would happen if pontifical editions, treasured by Catholics, and approved by Catholic universities, were to be condemned?[2]

In reply to the third question, Bellarmine expresses the wish that marginal notes concerning the variations in the text should be added to the new edition, as such notes would be of use and importance. This third proposal was not accepted, but on the other matters Bellarmine met with complete acquiescence on the part of the Congregation.

However, the Bible which had been so long in preparation, was not yet ready for the press even after the discussions at Zagarola. Many questions which had not yet been settled had been left to the decision of the Pope, while others had to be presented to the whole Congregation for examination. Months passed while this was being done and in the meantime Gregory XIV. died, without the new Vulgate making its appearance.

Of great importance was Gregory XIV.'s constitution of May 24th, 1591, concerning the right of sanctuary.[3] Although great abuses had crept in in this matter, the Council of Trent had not arrived at any settlement of this question. All the greater credit is therefore due to Gregory XIV. for having set himself to bringing the right of sanctuary into line with modern conditions, to which at the same time he made considerable concessions. But at the same time the Pope safeguarded the authority and power of the Church in this respect, especially by his detailed ordinance concerning the manner of handing over delinquents who were unworthy of

[1] *Ibid.*, 142-145.

[2] *Ibid.*, 140.

[3] See Bull., IX., 424 *seq.* The author of the bull was Santori; see his Autobiografia XIII., 197.

sanctuary.[1] The bull of Gregory XIV. suspended all previous enactments, and also withdrew the indults and privileges granted by previous Popes to individual governors concerning the arrest of those who were unworthy of sanctuary. He laid it down that the right of sanctuary belonged to all churches, convents, cemeteries and other sacred places, though in future the bandits, devastators of the fields, those who were guilty of homicide or mutilation in holy places, murderers, cut-throats, heretics and those guilty of high treason were debarred from the enjoyment of this privilege. Those who were guilty of the above-mentioned offences who attempted to take sanctuary were, if they were laymen,[2] to be handed over to the civil authorities for punishment should this be demanded. The officers of civil justice were forbidden under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* to arrest on their own authority anyone unworthy of the right of sanctuary in places that enjoyed ecclesiastical immunity; the arrest must only be made in virtue of the express authority of the local bishop and by an ecclesiastic authorized by him to do so.[3] Unfortunately the bull of Gregory XIV. had but little practical effect in face of the ever-increasing cesaropapalism among the Catholics.[4]

Besides his nephew, Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, Gregory XIV. had, on March 6th, 1591, received four other Cardinals into the Sacred College: Odoardo Farnese, the second son of Duke Alessandro, who was much esteemed by the Pope, Ottavio Paravicini, Flaminio Piatti and Ottavio Aquaviva.

[1] See the excellent work of BINDSCHEDLER, Kirchl. Asylrecht (Immunitas ecclesiarum localis) und Freistätten in der Schweiz, Stuttgart, 1906, 251.

[2] In the case of priests and regulars ecclesiastical jurisdiction was maintained in its entirety, while the recognition of the cause of heretics was absolutely reserved to the "forum ecclesiasticum"; see BINDSCHEDLER, *loc. cit.*, 253.

[3] BINDSCHEDLER, 251 *seq.* The reproaches which were made by the Old Catholics (Hüber and Döllinger) against the bull are quite unfounded; see HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 537 *seq.*

[4] See HINSCHIUS, VI., 396.

All these were upholders and supporters of the Catholic reform, and for the most part belonged to the Spanish party.[1]

Farnese, who was twenty-six years of age, had enjoyed a good education in Rome under his great-uncle, Cardinal Alessandro, in whose footsteps he followed in every way. Living in winter at the Palazzo Farnese, and in summer at the splendid castle of Caprarola, he showed himself a true Farnese by his generosity, his charity, his patronage of learning and art,[2] and by his close relations with the Jesuits, whose professed house in Rome he built. A special friendship united the Cardinal with the celebrated Bellarmine. The Venetian ambassador Dolfin says of Odoardo Farnese that in appearance his hanging lip betrayed his Hapsburg origin, but that in spite of his sumptuous court he always lived a strictly ecclesiastical life.

Ottavio Aquaviva, too, who came of an ancient Neapolitan family, was on intimate terms, as well as being connected by

[1] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 228 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 60; CARDELLA, V., 314 *seq.* For O. Farnese and Aquaviva see BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 81, 89. *Cf.* Dolfin in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 487, 491. For Paravicini see MAYER, Konzil von Trient u. Gegenreformation in der Schweiz, I., 309 *seq.* Gregory XIV. wrote to O. Farnese on Mar. 7, 1591: *Nihil magis in optatis habuimus quam spectato aliquo monumento testatum omnibus facere, quanti praestantia maiorum tuorum in Sedem Apostolicam et in familiam etiam nostram merita antea fecerimus quantique nunc fortissimi ac piissimi ducis Alexandri patris tui singularem virtutem cum praeclara animi magnitudine praecipuaque pietate coniunctam tuamque ad omnes virtutes, sed ad sedis Apostolicae in primis dignitatem ostendendam propensionem studio et labore hactenus auctam merito nunc faciamus. Cum itaque etc. Gregory XIV. announced to Duke Farnese the nomination of his son as a cardinal in a *brief of Mar. 15, in which he says: Deus benedictus nobilitatem tuam pro Christi gloria et catholicae fidei defensione dies noctesque per quantum coelesti gratia protegat. Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* NAVENNE, Rome et le Palais Farnese, I., 9 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

kindred, with the Jesuits. This talented young man had had a splendid education; he was a master of Canon Law as well as of the ancient classics, especially the Greek authors, and of theology; his knowledge of St. Thomas is said to have been extraordinary. Sixtus V. had first employed Aquaviva at the Segnatura, and then as vice-legate of the Patrimony; Gregory XIV. made him master of his household and then Cardinal. Aquaviva then bought a palace in Rome and built himself a villa at Frascati. Later on, in 1605, Aquaviva, who as a Spanish subject was on the best of terms with the Catholic King, was appointed Archbishop of Naples, where, as had previously been the case in Rome, he was especially distinguished for his works of charity and his pastoral zeal. To this day a Monte de Pietà there still recalls the gifts that he made to this charitable institution. Two convents of Franciscan Observants in the territory of Naples also owed their origin to his generosity.

The Milanese Flaminio Piatti, was a relation of the family of Gregory XIV. but was deserving of the purple by reason of the purity of his morals, the piety of his life, and his special knowledge of Canon Law. He had come to Rome in the time of Gregory XIII., and had been made an Auditor of the Rota by Sixtus V.

No less distinguished a personality was Ottavio Paravicini, who came of a Lombard family which had settled in Rome. As a small boy he had served the Mass of Philip Neri, and until his twenty-eighth year had been in close relationship with that body of men which gathered round the Apostle of Rome. He was especially the friend of Baronius. Gregory XIII. had conferred on him the bishopric of Alessandria, with which he was invested by Charles Borromeo. Sixtus V. sent Paravicini as nuncio to Switzerland, where he displayed great zeal in accordance with the spirit of the reform and Catholic restoration,[1] in which he was also supported by Gregory XIV.[2]

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 137 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 438 *seq.*

The interests of the older Orders as well as of the new ones occupied the attention of Gregory XIV. Gregory extended the privileges of the Theatines to the Clerks Regular Minor, also known as Mariani, who had been founded in 1588 by Giovanni Agostino Adorno, St. Francis Caracciolo and Fabrizio Caracciolo for the contemplative and active life.[1] A constitution forbade the reformed Franciscan Conventuals as well as other religious to wear the hood and habit of the Capuchins.[2] The privileges of the Italian Cistercian congregation of St. Bernard were added to, as were those of the Camaldolese Congregation of Camaldoli and Murano.[3] In pursuance of an order issued by Pius V., the privileges of the Cardinals in the matter of transference of benefices were systematized.[4] An unfortunate enactment, of but short duration, of June 1st, 1591, forbade the Capuchins to hear the confessions of laymen or secular priests. In this the intentions of the Pope had been good, for he wished to protect that Order, as "the stronghold of spiritual contemplation," from too close contact with the world.[5]

Gregory XIV., who during the epidemic in Rome had learned to value and esteem the heroic labours of Camillus of Lellis and his association of "Fathers of a good death"

[1] See Bull. IX., 389 *seq.* By a *bull of June 5, 1591, Gregory XIV. gave the Theatines the Chiesa della Giara in Verona. Theatine Archives, Rome.

[2] See Bull. IX., 442 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 467 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 503 *seq.*

[5] This constitution is missing in the Turin Bullarium; it is to be found in L. CHERUBINI, Bull. ed. noviss. Lyons, 1592, II., 707. The *Diarium P. Alaleonis notes on Feb. 3, 1591: "Abiuratio 12 haereticorum carceratorum in S. Officio, tres traditi sunt curiae saeculari"; this took place at the Minerva (Barb. 2815, p. 155b, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Avviso of Feb. 6, 1591, according to which there were found among the heretics "frati, tutti ignoranti et per propria instigazione diabolica" (Urb. 1058, I., 63, *ibid.*). Decrees of the Inquisition of the time of Gregory XIV. in PASTOR, Dekrete, 47 *seq.* See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 196, 197.

which had been approved by Sixtus V., on September 21st, 1591, made the association into a true Order, and allowed the Camillans to take the three customary solemn vows, together with a fourth of serving the sick even in time of plague.[1] In this way the Pope's name was connected with one of the most useful institutions that sprang up during the period of Catholic reform. Gregory showed the same veneration as he paid to Camillus of Lellis to Alessandro Sauli and to the aged Apostle of Rome, Philip Neri; it is said that when the saint went to visit the Pope for the first time, the latter embraced him saying: "Father, though I may be greater than you in dignity, you surpass me in sanctity."[2]

Just as, when he was a bishop, Gregory XIV. had shown his love for the Theatines, so as Pope he especially took the Jesuits under his care. Opportunities of showing his goodwill for them were not wanting. The schemes of certain Spanish Jesuits, who were aiming at a change in the constitutions of the Society, had found fresh force when Sixtus V., as was generally known, formed the idea of changing the internal constitution of the Society of Jesus. In one important matter he had already changed it, for certain Papal enactments concerning the receiving of novices had taken their right of decision out of the hands of the superiors of the Jesuits; after 1588 this right no longer belonged, as in other Orders, to the general and provincial councils, but in each province of the Order three houses were to be selected, the superiors of which, together with the provincial, were to accept or reject novices by a majority of votes.[3] In the case of the Society of Jesus this innovation was all the more dangerous as it violated a principle which Ignatius of Loyola had laid down for his Order, namely that the whole of the

[1] See Bull. IX., 479 *seq.*

[2] Gregory XIV. gave Philip Neri 200 scudi and assisted the building of the church of the Oratorians in Rome; see Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 290. For the relations of Gregory XIV. with Sauli, whom he raised to the episcopal see of Pavia, see *Riv. di scienze stor.*, IV. (1907), 161 *seqq.*, 261 *seqq.*, 435 *seqq.*

[3] Sacchini P., V., 1, 8. n. 1–4, p. 364 *seq.*

authority was to be in the hands of the superiors. The malcontent party rejoiced when the Pope himself seemed to take their part.

Aquaviva therefore addressed to Gregory XIV. a petition that he would confirm in the Order the old system of taking novices as well as the method of government. The Pope acceded to this request by a brief of May 2nd, 1591;[1] in this brief all attacks upon the essential points of the constitutions of the Society of Jesus were also forbidden.

Gregory XIV. had already taken a part in the internal disputes of the Jesuits: at the request of Aquaviva, Cardinal Sfondrato had addressed complaints to the King of Spain, and to Cardinal Quiroga and the Inquisition that the malcontents were allowed to shelter themselves behind the authority of the Inquisition, whereas the decision of matters pertaining to the religious Orders pertained to the Pope.[1] The new Papal brief of May 2nd was therefore bound to set the friends of the change in an uproar. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Gusman de Olivares, addressed remonstrances to the Pope because of his edict; it was Aquaviva, he said, who was upsetting everything by his method of government, and who was trying to make the Jesuits independent of the Inquisition; the constitutions of the Society were not in any need of confirmation, but of reform in certain points, and this had been the opinion of Sixtus V. These objections were not without their effect, and the brief of confirmation, which had already reached the hands of the General, was recalled.[3]

The victory of Olivares, however, was short-lived. Aquaviva complained to Cardinal Sfondrato that secular ambassadors had had the effrontery, from political motives, to protest against the publication of Papal edicts, and to mix themselves up in purely spiritual matters.[4] Gregory XIV. suffered himself to be persuaded, and on June 28th, instead of the

[1] Bull., IX., 414.
[2] Feb. 20, 1591, in Astráin, III., 437 (*cf.* 509).
[3] *Ibid.*, III., 474.
[4] *Ibid.*

simple and limited brief there appeared a bull[1] containing the most detailed confirmation of the whole constitution of the Jesuit Order which had ever been granted by any Pope. The peace and stability of the religious Orders, this bull states, depend upon their adherence to the constitutions of their founders, and for this reason he wished once more to confirm what had been laid down by Ignatius and confirmed by the Papal see. An attempt had been made to revile and calumniate these constitutions to Sixtus V. The points against which these attacks had been levelled were then enumerated, and were one after another expressly confirmed, while all further attacks or alterations were forbidden, by which a thinly veiled rebuke was given to Philip II. and his Inquisition.[2] The bull had been prepared in complete secrecy, so that it was already known in Spain before Olivares had heard anything of it in Rome.[3] A supplement to this solemn bull was provided by the edict which quite expressly abrogated for the Jesuits the enactments of Sixtus V, concerning the reception of novices.[4]

Those documents which had entrusted the visitation of the Jesuit houses to strangers had already been orally declared null by Gregory,[5] even when they had been obtained at the request of the King of Spain. The seminaries of Gregory XIII. had not been greatly favoured by his successor, so that some of them found themselves in great difficulties. Through Cardinal Galli, Aquaviva got Gregory XIV. once again to assist them with annual grants of money.[6]

[1] Bull. IX., 436–442.

[2] *Ibid.* 440, par. 20.

[3] *Iuvencius P.*, V., t. 2, 1, 11, n. 13, p. 5. The bull was only solemnly published by being affixed on July 28; see the printed copy in *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, I., Florence, 1892, 125.

[4] Bull. IX., 466. The two edicts, of Nov. 16, 1587, and Oct. 21, 1588, had been for the most part already modified by Gregory XIV. ASTRÁIN, III., 392.

[5] Aug. 22, 1591; see ASTRÁIN, III., 473 (*cf.* 513).

[6] SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 67. In Rome Gregory XIV. entrusted the direction of the Greek College to the Jesuits; see MEESTER in *La Semaine de Rome*, 1909, 302 *seqq.*

The favour shown to the Jesuits by the second successor of Sixtus V. soon relieved their position not a little beyond the Pyrenees. The Spanish Inquisition, which quite recently had unmistakably protected the revolutionary Jesuit Carrillo against his superiors,[1] became rather more cautious after the letter of Cardinal Sfondrato, dated February 20th, 1591, had forbidden interference with the internal affairs of an Order.[2] When in 1589 the disturbances made by the malcontents, hitherto confined to Spain, had extended to Portugal, and Cardinal Albert had set himself to deal with the matter in 1591,[3] he was held back from taking any further steps by the Papal prohibition of extern visitors of the Order, and still more by Gregory XIV.'s solemn confirmation of the constitutions of the Jesuits.[4] On the strength of the new bull Aquaviva was able to suppress from the first the publication of Portuguese memorials in Spain.[5]

The favour shown by Gregory XIV. for the Jesuits could not but be increased by the news received of their successful labours in the missions across the seas.[6] In Poland and Germany too the members of the Society of Jesus had proved themselves the strongest supporters of the Church.

In order to strengthen Catholicism in the Kingdom of Poland, Gregory XIV. like Sixtus V., had laboured by means of his nuncios to persuade King Sigismund to choose a Catholic wife. For this the Pope thought of a princess of the Styrian branch of the Hapsburgs. On July 20th, 1591, he addressed himself to King Sigismund as well as to the Emperor, recommending and praising such an alliance. After a letter had been sent from the king to the Pope by Cardinal

[1] Astráin, III., 505–510.

[2] *Ibid.*, 509.

[3] *Ibid.*, 510–516.

[4] *Ibid.*, 513, 515.

[5] *Ibid.*, 516.

[6] See Alonso Sanchez, S.J., *Relazione sullo stato del christianesimo nelle isole Filippine scritta a P. Gregorio XIV. Cod. H. 179, n. 15, Ambrosian Library, Milan. *Cf.* Cod. ital. 189, p. 677 *seq.*, State Library, Munich.

Radziwill, further briefs to the same effect followed on August 2nd.[1]

The affairs of Germany had to some extent fallen into the background, owing to the fact that the critical position in France had engrossed the attention of Sixtus V. A far-reaching scheme for taking up the matter once more, on the grand scale of Gregory XIII., was set forth in a memorial which was presented to the Pope at the beginning of 1591 by Cardinal Federico Borromeo.[2] Its author was probably the indefatigable Possevino, who since 1587 had been teaching at the University of Padua. In the introduction he welcomes the intention of the new Pope to resume the payments to the Jesuit colleges at Fulda and Braunsberg, which had been suspended since 1590; like other educational establishments, these were of the greatest importance for the maintenance and spread of Catholicism: Fulda for Saxony, and Braunsberg for Prussia, because on account of their high reputation many of the Protestant nobles sent their sons thither for their education.

The author of the memorial above all recommends the re-establishment of the nunciatures in Upper Germany and Switzerland. As the nuncio at the Imperial court was strictly kept at his post, and could not, like other nuncios, travel about as required, it was suggested that some other suitable person should be associated with him for that purpose. As the nuncios had to take up a position in keeping with the dignity of the Holy See, insistence was laid upon the necessity of sending, either none but wealthy prelates, or of increasing the allowances hitherto made to them. They would then be able to visit all the Catholic princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, and thus obtain first-hand information as to the state of all parts of the Empire, in which task the Jesuits were in a position to render important service.

In the second place the author insists on the necessity of re-establishing the German Congregation, and recommends

[1] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 200 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*; SCHWEIZER, III., cxxv., cxxvii.

[2] See the *text in App. No. 44, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

that not too many Cardinals be placed on this, but rather prelates who were acquainted with Germany from their personal residence there.

An excellent suggestion in the memorial concerned pastoral work in the German Diaspora, which should be entrusted, not to a nuncio, but to someone of rather lower rank, who without attracting too much attention could look after the spiritual needs of the neglected Catholics living in territories that were entirely Protestant. In many places, the author says, there were still Catholics who had remained true to their faith, but who now had no opportunity, but rather met with the greatest difficulties, of hearing a sermon and receiving the sacraments. There were about two hundred such neglected Catholics at Ulm, while at Nuremberg and Wurtemberg there were still Catholics for whom no one " broke bread."

With this pastoral work in the Diaspora might be combined a visitation of those convents of women which had still survived in places and cities which had become entirely Protestant. Such convents existed at Ulm, Strasbourg, Neuburg, in Saxony, Brunswick and also in Holstein. Most of the nuns were of noble birth, and this fact had saved them from destruction, though, naturally these poor women, who were cut off almost entirely from spiritual consolations had many trials to endure. All the more admirable, therefore, was the constancy with which they had remained true to the faith of their fathers, when, being compelled to be present at Protestant sermons, they closed their ears with wax, and carried on their spiritual exercises by night.

In order to afford spiritual comfort for those who had remained loyal in those parts of the Empire where Catholics were forbidden to practise their religion, it is further suggested that use might be made of the houses of the military Orders, the Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Order, which in virtue of their privileges could not be deprived of Catholic worship.

Of the other suggestions made two more are worthy of mention: frequent pontifical letters of exhortation and encouragement to the bishops and German princes, and the

making of the visit *ad limina*. Of considerable interest is the zeal shown by the author of the memorial for a fuller representation of Germany in the Sacred College. The great Empire, he says, has but four Cardinals; Mark Sittich, Madruzzo, Andrew of Austria and the Archduke Albert; the two latter are for the most part far away from Rome, while Mark Sittich is almost always ill; Madruzzo too is ailing and overburdened with work. So to whom in Rome are the Germans to have recourse? Moreover, by the grace of God, there are not wanting among the German episcopate candidates who are worthy of the purple.

At the end, the author of the memorial calls the attention of the Pope to the share which the decay of the Mendicant Orders had had in the spread of Protestantism in Germany. The Generals of the Orders had neglected the necessary reforms: very often they had sent unworthy members from Italy to Germany in order to prevent scandals, and the Protestant preachers had made greater use of this than of any other argument in order to attack the Church. The Pope is therefore asked to intervene by addressing suitable injunctions to the Generals of the Orders.

An appendix further calls attention to the enthusiasm with which theological questions were discussed in Germany, so that the nuncios who were sent thither must either be themselves well versed in such matters, or must have expert theologians to assist them.

Unfortunately the pontificate of Gregory XIV. was too short for the carrying into effect of such far-reaching suggestions. Nevertheless, during the short time that was allowed to him, he did all that he could, especially by means of his nuncio at the Imperial court. The nunciature at Prague, at the court of Rudolph II., was filled until the summer of 1591 by Alfonso Visconti. When he was transferred to Madrid his place was taken on June 20th, 1591, by Camillo Caetani.[1] During his period of office, to the already existing

[1] See SCHWEIZER, III., xxiii. *seq.*, 320, 388 *seq.* The *Ricordi di Camillo Caetani scritti al oblate Antonio Caetani suo nipote nell'occasione che egli partì nunzio per la Germania, in Gaetani Archives, Rome, 101, n. 29.

anxieties of the Curia concerning the filling of the important archbishopric of Prague, and of the vacant bishoprics in Hungary, the preservation of Catholicism in Styria, Jülich-Cleves, Aix and Strasbourg, two new ones were added: the election of a Protestant as Bishop of Osnabrück, and the forcible introduction of the doctrines of the innovators at Halberstadt by Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick. All that was possible was done with regard to all these questions, so as to prevent any further injury to Catholic interests.[1]

His intervention in the affairs of France, as well as the help given during the scarcity in Rome made a heavy drain upon the financial resources of Gregory XIV., so that the fact that he did not neglect the Papal patronage of the arts is all the more praiseworthy. After the first month of his pontificate it was learned that he had given orders for the completion of the dome of St. Peter's, and of the building works of Sixtus V. at the Vatican and Quirinal.[2] In March 1591 he had designs made for a chapel at St. Mary Major's, to balance the chapel of Sixtus V. and receive his own tomb.[3] At the same time the Palace of the Lateran was connected

[1] See SCHWEIZER, III., xxv. *seq.*, 267, 277, 298, 300, 322, 332 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 383 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*

[2] *N.S.re ha ordinato che si finisca la cuppola di S. Pietro sicome fa delle fabriche del Vaticano et di Montecavallo cominciate da Sisto et si dice voglia fare ridurre a perfettione la cappella incontro alla Gregoriana et a similitudine di quella (*Avviso of Jan. 9, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 18, Vatican Library). For the temporary cession of the Palace of the Lateran to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna see in App. No. 46 the *brief of May 4, 1591, Colonna Archives, Rome. The inscriptions "Gregorius XIIII." over the two doors, on the first floor of the loggie, at the entrance to the Hall of Congregations, record his work in the Vatican Palace.

[3] *N.S.re lunedì disegnò una capella in S. Maria Maggiore incontro et a similitudine di quella di Sisto per una sepultura. Avviso of Mar. 2, *loc. cit.* 182b.

with the residence of the archpriest of that basilica.[1] His residence at the palace of S. Marco gave him an opportunity for the restoration of the corridor leading to S. Maria in Aracoeli.[2] A work of piety was the tomb which Gregory XIV. erected in S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo for his former friend, Cardinal Federico Cornaro, who died in October 1590.[3] To Cesare Baronius the Pope gave the extraordinary permission to have on loan for two months a precious Greek manuscript from the Vatican Library.[4] That other scholars too had reason to hope for the Pope's favour, is clear from the works dedicated to him.[5]

[1] The Pope connected the Lateran Palace erected by Sixtus V. with the apartments of the archpriest, says the *Avviso of Mar. 27, 1591, *ibid.*

[2] *Di ordine di N.S. si refabrica il corritoro che fece rompere Sisto V., il quale andava la S. Marco in Araceli (Avviso of July 6, 1591). The same Avviso reports concerning Cardinal Montalto: "E in capriccio di statue et ha comprate quelle di Camillo Crescentio ricercate dal cardinal Ascanio (Urb. 1060, II., 335b *seq.* Vatican Library). *Cf.* DENGEL, Palazzo di S. Marco, 112. On the staircase leading to the cathedral at Todi is the coat of arms of Gregory XIV. with the date 1590.

[3] N.S.re ha risoluto per l'amicitia che haveva già col cardinale Cornaro, di farli una sepoltura nobile in S. Silvestro a spese di S.B.ne (Avviso of Dec. 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 671, Vatican Library). *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 154.

[4] See CALENZIO, Baronio, 266. A prohibition of Gregory XIV. against using documents from the Papal collections without his permission in BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 110 *seq.*

[5] For the printed works, among which are the Relatione dell' assedio di Parigi (Bologna, 1592) by F. PIGAFETTA, the work of Rocca on the Biblioteca Vaticana)see *supra,* p. 293, n. 1), and the "Nuova Filosofia" of the Platonist Franc. Patrizi (see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 362), *cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 87, 223 *seq.*; VAIRANI, Mon. Cremon., II., 85 *seq.*; P. CAVALIERI, Degli uomini illustri d. congregaz. del S. Salvatore Lateranesi, Velletri, 1836, 123. In this connexion belong the following unpublished works: Vat. 5483: *Horatii Massarii Castperiensis Sabiniadon libri 4 cum epistola ad Gregorium XIV; Vat. 5504: Julii Caravatii

If it was not granted to Gregory XIV. to associate his name with any outstanding work of art, he was able to show favour to the great master of Catholic music, and the greatest genius of all time. Old friendship had united him for many years past with Pierluigi Palestrina, and the latter dedicated to Gregory XIV. a collection of motets, among them a splendid Magnificat and a profoundly striking Stabat Mater. The Pope rewarded the choir-master of St. Peter's, whom his own contemporaries hailed as the prince of music, by increasing his salary.[1]

Brixiani *Brevissimus sacramentorum tractatus ad Gregorium XIV. ; Vat. 5510 : Alex. Fusconii Ravennatis *Liber de miraculis Eucharistiae c. epist. ad Gregorium XIV ; Vat. 5515, p. 21–44, Alph. Ciaconius, *Tredecim Gregoriorum Rom. Pontif. gloriosa et praeclara gesta ad S. D. N. Gregorium XIV. ; Vat. 5543 : *Epigrammata de Gregorio XIV. . . . ad eundem pontif. Ascanii Grimaldi. Cod. Barb. XXX., 45 contains a *Discorso di Iulius Roscius Hortinus a Gregorio XIV. Vatican Library. In Cod. ital. 56, p. 274 *seq.* of the State Library, Munich : *Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda et delle gente che vi bisogneria per conquistarlo fatto a P. Gregorio XIV.

[1] See Baini, Mem. di P. L. da Palestrina, Roma, 1838, 226.

CHAPTER IX.

The Pontificate of Innocent IX.

During the last illness of Gregory XIV. the parties had openly begun upon their struggle over the new election In this almost the same Cardinals were to take part as had been the case ten months before, so that broadly speaking the situation was the same as at the election of Gregory XIV.[1] Once more the decision lay with the Spaniards and Montalto.

Among many of the members of the Sacred College, however, there prevailed great annoyance and dissatisfaction at the influence exercised by the Spaniards over the Papal election.[2] Among these the pensions which were so lavishly assigned to the Cardinals by the King of Spain were described as simoniacal.[3] The number of the malcontents would have been even larger, if there had been any probability of their being able to offer an effective resistance to this dictatorship.[4] As, however, in view of the experience of the last conclave, this was not the case, the decisive struggle had to be deferred

[1] Four Cardinals had died during the pontificate of Gregory XIV. (Carafa, Serbelloni, Albani and Ippolito de Rossi; see Ciaconius, IV., 234), and five new ones had been created (see *supra*, pp. 395 *seqq.*).

[2] See *Avvisi of Oct. 19 and 23, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 563, 571, Vatican Library.

[3] See the note of the Urbino envoy in *Avviso of Oct. 12, 1591, *ibid.* 551. A list of the pensioners of Spain in the summer of 1591 in Hinojosa, 334, n. 2.

[4] *La fattione et classe pero de malcontenti si aiuta in contrario et si conclude, che tutto il collegio da due cardinali in poi sarebbero con detta classe per fare un Papa contro Spagna quando credessero, che havesse da riuscire per reacquistare l'antica libertà del collegio. *Avviso of Oct. 30, 1591, *loc. cit.*

to a future occasion. "It was resolved to conceal the prevailing hatred of foreign domination, and in the meantime to put up with the intolerable yoke with clenched fists."[1]

In these circumstances, the candidate who had the greatest chance of success from the first was Cardinal Gian Antonio Facchinetti, who had already almost obtained the tiara at the preceding conclave. He had almost all the necessary qualities: he was distinguished for his great learning, his profound knowledge of the Roman Curia, and his capability as a statesman; the bad state of health, however, of this seventy-two year old man pointed to a short pontificate. Facchinetti was acceptable to the Spaniards, to Sforza and to a good number of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., while the Grand Duke of Florence, who had previously excluded him, had also declared in his favour. He had no declared enemies, though Montalto, who in other respects was in close accord with the Grand Duke, did not look upon his election with any favour.[2]

Of special importance was the attitude of the Spaniards towards the new election. In view of the excitable temperament of Count Olivares, who had been appointed viceroy at Naples, but who had put off his departure and remained by the side of the Duke of Sessa, who had been appointed ambassador, many might have thought that the electors would find themselves subjected to the same inconsiderate pressure as at the previous conclave. This would certainly have been the case, if instructions from Philip II., dated December 5th, 1590, had not forbidden the renewal of such a procedure.[3] In consequence of this changed attitude of the King of Spain, which had been made known in Rome at the beginning of 1591, the conclave after the death of Gregory XIV.

[1] See HERRE, 590.

[2] *Ibid.*, 558 *seq.*, 579; FUSAI, B. Vinta, 51. To these sources may be added the Este reports in RICCI, II., 79 *seq.*, and a contemporary report, s.d. (Nov. 1591) in Cod. CCCCXI. of the library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

[3] See HERRE, 535 *seq.*, 538, where this important document is used for the first time.

was able to take place speedily and in peace.[1] Moreover, the representatives of Philip themselves realized that any renewal of their open designation and inclusion of names was not desirable, because it was to their political disadvantage. But they did not for that reason by any means cease warmly to support certain Cardinals, or to exclude others.[2]

This is clear from the memorial which Olivares and Sessa sent on October 27th, 1591, to Cardinal Mendoza.[3] who this time was entrusted with the leadership of the party in the conclave instead of Madruzzo. It is true that in this document it is stated: "In conformity with our instructions not to put forward any name, but only to co-operate in the choice of a good Pope, to the satisfaction of the Sacred College, with the exception of those who are excluded on general principles, it seems advisable that Your Magnificence should not put forward anyone, and thus avoid giving offence to other candidates, but that you should rather wait for others to take action." This concession, however, is qualified by the clause: "In case, however, it should become desirable to put forward anyone, in order to prevent the election of someone unsuitable, this rule need not be observed, and the same would apply in the case of the conclave becoming very protracted." In the memorial the exclusion of Laureo, Valiero and Salviati is adhered to. At the same time instructions are given for the best way to resist the candidature of Medici, Pierbenedetti, Morosini and Aragona. The document suggests Madruzzo

[1] It was thought at first that the conclave would again last a long time; see *Avviso of Oct. 19, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 563.

[2] See HERRE, 565 *seq.*

[3] *Memorie de lo que se ofrece acordar al señor card. de Mendoza en las materias del conclave a 27 de octubre 1591. The credit must be given to Herre for having first called attention to this document; he published several passages from it. Herre made use of a copy in the Simancas Archives. I found the original in the archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome, III., 4; it is damaged in several places. Against several passages Mendoza wrote "Io" or "nota" in the margin.

as the most acceptable to the King of Spain,[1] and then Santori, Paleotto, Facchinetti, Aldobrandini, and lastly Galli and Colonna. With regard to the Cardinals of Sixtus V. it is stated: "His Majesty does not by any means exclude them, nor deem them unworthy of confidence, though it seems right to him that others should be given the preference. The only thing that would render them unworthy of confidence would be if Montalto united them against the interests of His Majesty." In that case they would all have to be excluded. In accordance with this Mendoza was given instructions with regard to Aldobrandini, to the effect that should Montalto show himself determined to adhere to this his chosen candidate, and the other parties should also be inclined to him, he might, after consultation with the Spanish Cardinals, give him his vote.

The memorial also takes into account every kind of possibility, and gives rules for guidance in each case. All these proved futile. After the Bishop of Bergamo, Girolamo Ragazzoni, had delivered the customary discourse to the Sacred College on October 27th,[2] the fifty-six Cardinals who were present in Rome[3] went into conclave at the Vatican. Two days later the new Pope was proclaimed; this was Cardinal Facchinetti, in whose case the saying: "he who goes into the conclave Pope, comes out a Cardinal," was not verified.

[1] Badoer *reports as early as Feb. 9, 1591, concerning the "prattiche de Spagnoli per Madruzzo al pontificato." State Archives, Venice.

[2] The discourse is preserved in the *Diaria caerem. of J. P. Mucantius. The orator described the difficult tasks that awaited the new Pope: Continuation of Catholic reform (enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, and especially of the duty of residence; Rome in this should set the example); repression of the ever-increasing heresy in France, and provision for the prevailing scarcity throughout Italy. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the names in CIACONIUS, IV., 236 *seq.* The absentees were Gondi, Lenoncourt, and Bourbon in France, Quiroga, Albert of Austria and R. de Castro in Spain, Báthory in Poland, the Grand-master Hugh de Loubenx in Malta, and Charles of Lorraine.

According to all the reports Cardinal Facchinetti received twenty-three votes at the first scrutiny, which took place in the Pauline Chapel on October 28th, while Galli received ten, Paleotto and Salviati twelve, Santori fourteen, and Aldobrandini and Madruzzo only eight.[1] A speedy decision was favoured by two circumstances: first, that the Spaniards were pressing for a short conclave,[2] and second that in refusing his own candidature Madruzzo spoke so definitely both to the Spanish ambassador and to his friends, that their efforts to make him change his mind were fruitless. Madruzzo said to Facchinetti that he would use all his influence on his behalf.[3] We have an authentic account of the subsequent developments in a report from Cardinal Mendoza to Philip II. In this Mendoza relates how at first he made every effort to win over Montalto to the cause of Madruzzo. The Cardinal nephew would not agree to this, but according to Mendoza declared his readiness to vote for a candidate acceptable to Philip II., without, however, designating him expressly. The end of their long conversation was that Montalto promised to give him his definite decision on the following day. On the same day Mendoza informed Cardinal Andrew of Austria of

[1] See *Conclavi*, 285. Much better than the report of the conclave printed in this is another, the work of a conclavist of Cardinal F. Borromeo, which HERRE (580 *seq.*) makes use of as well as the Florentine reports, from a copy in the Dresden Library (Cod. F. 131, p. 302–308). Herre has been unable to find the Spanish reports in the Simancas Archives. This lack, however, is supplied by the important *report of Cardinal Mendoza to Philip II., dated Rome, 1591, Nov. 8, which I discovered in the archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. According to the account of the envoy of Urbino, Santori received 12 votes at the first scrutiny, and only one at the second; Salviati received 14 at the first, and Aldobrandini eight and one at the second, and Rovere five at the first and two at the second. Urb. 1059, II., 587, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of M. Minucci to the Duke of Modena, Oct. 30, 1591, State Archives, Modena.

[3] See the *report of Cardinal Este to the Duke of Modena, Nov. 2, 1591, *ibid.*

the impossibility of obtaining the election of Madruzzo, as many even of the Spaniards were opposed to him,[1] and Montalto had expressly declared that he could not vote for the Cardinal of Trent, while the latter had made known his willingness to vote for one of the Cardinals acceptable to the King of Spain.

On the following day, October 29th, very early in the morning the infirm Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna had himself carried to Mendoza, which excited much wonder. The two of them discussed the situation. The result was seen in the scrutiny which took place on that day, when the number of votes given to Facchinetti increased to twenty-eight; just half the Cardinals present had voted for him, a thing that had never happened before.[2] The agreement of Montalto, however, was still wanting. Mendoza begged him to put an end to his hesitation, and give him his promised reply. Both the Cardinals retired to the Sixtine Chapel for a long conversation, the result of which was anxiously awaited by forty Cardinals in the Sala Regia. Montalto declared himself once more for Santori; if it was impossible to succeed with him, then he was ready to vote for Facchinetti, but never for Galli or Paleotto. Mendoza was satisfied with this. The two Cardinals agreed that they would not give their followers any particulars, but merely inform them generally that they had come to an agreement.[3]

Mendoza then entered into negotiations with the members of his own party, strongly asserting that Philip II. did not wish to restrict the freedom of election of the Sacred College, which made a very good impression. Opinions were much divided, and some wished for the nomination of Galli, others

[1] The Italians did not wish for Madruzzo, "per non vedere un Papa thedesco"; see *Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 590, Vatican Library.

[2] See the letter of Cardinal Sfondrato to the Marchese d'Este, Nov. 1, 1591, in *Miscell. di studi e docum. d. Soc. Lombarda*, 1903, 136.

[3] *Report of Mendoza, Nov. 8, 1591, Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome.

of Paleotto, and others, though they were but few, of Colonna. Many declared themselves strongly, either for or against Santori.[1] Many voices were raised for the election of Facchinetti, none against him.

Although Montalto still clung firmly to Santori, he could not fail to see how difficult it would be to obtain the tiara for that Cardinal, to whose former opponents Sfondrato and the four Cardinals of Gregory XIV. now attached themselves. Now that almost all the Cardinals were agreed upon Facchinetti, Mendoza decided to take action. He went to Madruzzo, who agreed, and also informed all the other Cardinals of his party; he then sought out Montalto, who, as he was unwell and suffering, was in his cell.[2] He outlined the situation to him: only Facchinetti was possible, and thus they had all agreed upon him. Montalto still raised difficulties, but Mendoza shortly and curtly broke off the discussion, taking Montalto by the arm and saying: "If you do not concur in his election, it will take place without you."[3] Only then did Montalto give way.[4] The two Cardinals then went to Facchinetti's cell, and informed him of his approaching election to the Papacy. They then accompanied the aged Cardinal to the Pauline Chapel, where the election was made.

The new Pope, who took the name of Innocent IX., realized

[1] According to a letter of Cardinal Monte to Vinta it was Cardinal Ascanio Colonna who destroyed the great chances of Santori; see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 110.

[2] Nothing is said in the *report of Mendoza of Montalto having hidden himself under his bed, as HERRE (584) following a report of Niccolini states: Mendoza only says: "A las cinco oras de la tarde fui con esta resolucion al card. Montalto en su aposento quexandose de dolor de estomago." Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Diziendole que viniese por que si no venia se haria la elecion sin el. *Report of Mendoza, *loc. cit.*

[4] According to the *report of Tullio Caretti, Oct. 30, 1591 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) Scipione Gonzaga also brought strong pressure to bear on Montalto.

the services of Philip II. and of Mendoza, and to the latter he said: *Opera manuum tuarum.*[1] It was already night when the conclave was thrown open, and the new head of the Church was carried by moonlight through the Sala Regia to St. Peter's.[2]

The Cardinal of SS. Quattro Coronati, as Cardinal Facchinetti was called from his titular church, had been born at Bologna on July 20th, 1519, whither his parents had gone from Nogara near Verona.[3] He had studied jurisprudence in his native city and obtained his doctorate at the age of twenty-five, and had then gone to Rome, where he entered the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. For four years he was his representative at Avignon, where he distinguished himself, as he did later on in very difficult circumstances as governor of Parma. Paul IV. made the learned and distinguished prelate referendary of the Segnatura di Grazia e Giustizia. Pius IV. gave him the bishopric of Nicastro in Calabria in 1560. Facchinetti established a seminary there and built a church to S. Petronio, the patron of his own

[1] Mendoza himself reports this in his letter to Philip II., Nov. 8, 1591 (*loc. cit.*), adding that after the election Innocent IX. again once more repeated the words.

[2] See P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 342. *Cf. Conclavi*, 288. According to HERRE (585) it would seem that he believed that the solemn coronation took place on the same evening. This could not have been the case. The coronation of Innocent IX. took place on the 3, and the *possesso* on Nov. 8; see GATTICUS, 402; CANCELLIERI, 149 *seq.* *Cf.* HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 408.

[3] Of contemporary writers *cf.* CICARELLA, Vita Innocentii IX. (in later editions of Platina) and Possevino in ZACHARIA, *Iter. litt.*, 300 *seq.*; of later writers see CIACONIUS, IV., 69 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*; MORONI, XXXVI., 10 *seq.*; LITTA, *fasc.* 29; VALENSISE, Il vescovo di Nicastro poi Papa Innocenzo IX. e la lega contro il Turco, Nicastro, 1898. For the origin of the family see D. BERGAMASCHI, Della patria e del pontificato d'Innocenzo IX., in *Arte e Storia*, XXV., Florence, 1906, nn. 19–20. *Cf.* also N. BAZZETTA, Innocenzo IX., in the periodical *Serapione*, 1909, nn. 30-31, and Storia di Domodossola, *ibid.*, 1911, 342 *seq.*

country. As Bishop of Nicastro he took part under Pius IV. in the discussions of the Council of Trent, and in accordance with the decrees of that Council made a visitation of his diocese.[1]

In 1566 Pius V. sent Facchinetti as nuncio to Venice, and while holding that position, which he continued to retain for a long time under Gregory XIII., he rendered important service in the formation of the league against the Turks.[2] When in 1575 he resigned his diocese for reasons of health, Gregory XIII. conferred on him in the same year the title of Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Pope employed this distinguished prelate in the Consulta, the Inquisition and the Segnatura, and on December 12th, 1583, conferred on him the purple.[3]

Facchinetti, who was of a melancholy disposition,[4] lived much in retirement, and in strict asceticism, devoting himself entirely to the duties of his office and to his studies. He was looked upon as a great authority on Plato and Aristotle, and wrote a special work on the "Politics" of the Stagyrite; he also composed dissertations on ethics, and a work against Macchiavelli.[5] Slow and scrupulous in all things, Facchinetti

[1] The Acta of the visitation, mentioned by UGHELLI and GIULIANI (Mem. stor. d. città di Nicastro, 129) are no longer to be found in the episcopal archives of Nicastro. This is the result of the destruction wrought by the earthquake of 1638; see VALANSISE, *loc. cit.* 21.

[2] See Vol. XVIII of this work, pp. 364, 393.

[3] See Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 230. The *letter of thanks for the congratulations of Aldus Manutius, dated V. Cal. Febr. 1583, in ms. 272 of the Library at Montpellier.

[4] See the opinion of Maretti in HERRE, 416, n. 5.

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 245, where the works dedicated to Innocent. IX. are enumerated. The most important is the collection of Papal Letters and Decretals in three volumes, dedicated by Antonio di Aquino to the Pope, and published in Rome. See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 240. Innocent IX. gave Baronius 300 scudi in November, 1591; see *ibid.*, 126, 291. *Cf.* also ZACHARIA, Iter ital., 301. FRATI has published in *Arch. stor. ital.* 5th series, XXXV., 450 *seq.* Ricordi d'Innocenzo IX. According to KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 234, Innocent IX. entrusted the celebrated Jesuit with a refutation of Macchiavelli.

never had these works printed. The Cardinal was generally esteemed, not only for his learning and his knowledge of public affairs,[1] but also for his piety and the purity of his morals.[2] He had on several occasions nearly attained to the tiara ;[3] when at the death of Gregory XIV.,who had appointed him his representative at the Segnatura, it was at length conferred on him, his always feeble constitution was worn out, and complete exhaustion followed quickly when Innocent IX. devoted himself with all zeal to the fulfilment of the duties of his high office.

The coronation of the new Pope was performed on November 3rd, 1591, as had been the case with his two predecessors, by Cardinal Andrew of Austria, the junior Cardinal Deacon. After the ceremony Innocent IX. playfully saluted the Hapsburg Cardinal with the words: "May it happen that we in return may crown a scion of your illustrious house as Roman Emperor!"[4]

The joyful hopes with which the Romans hailed the election of Innocent IX.[5] were increased when the Pope at once gave

[1] See *Conclavi*, 277 *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to the Duke of Modena in note to App. No. 48, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the *report of Cardinal Este to the Duke of Modena, Oct. 26, 1591, State Archives. Mantua.

[3] *Cf. supra.*, pp. 322, 347.

[4] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 408. *Cf.* GATTICUS, 402, and the *letter of Cardinal Madruzzo in App. No. 48, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] *Si crede quod lux Orbi restituta sit, essendo questo soggetto gran legista et che è pervenuto a questo luogo graduatim, cortegiano vecchio, gran pratticone in tutte le cose et in tutti i carichi et congregazioni, sodo nelle deliberationi, conscienza, religione, bontà soda et stimato non secondo tra li bravi del collegio d' ogni tempo, se bene in alcune cose si è monstrato di prima impressione, ma questo si attribuisce al suo sapere et valore. (*Avviso of Oct. 30, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 584, Vatican Library). According to an *Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, the following insrciption was set up: "Innocentio Nono Pontifici patrique optimo optatissimoque

orders for the remedying of the scarcity and for the repression of the bandits.[1] All the Cardinals, with the exception of Montalto, who had lost all prestige,[2] showed great satisfaction, especially as the Pope, in spite of his great knowledge of public affairs, expressly asked them to assist him, as without their help he could not bear the burden of the pontificate.[3]

Although Innocent IX. was in his seventy-third year, and very feeble in health—he was only skin and bone, says a contemporary,[4] while another describes him as the shadow of a man[5]—he devoted himself with quite youthful enthusiasm to the duties of his office. To these he devoted the whole of the day, as the Pope, who had always been very moderate in eating and drinking, took nothing in the morning but some barley broth, and then remained fasting until the hour of

Urbis, ecclesiae terrarumque omnium spei, a Deo in haec tempora difficillima misso ob iustitiam severitatemque in Urbem revectas" (*ibid.*, 604b). Sporeno gives great praise to Innocent. *" Vir probus, doctus, pius, prudens et inclitae Austriacae domui benevolus et adictus, debilis complexionis . . . multum desideratus a populo Romano" is how he describes him in his *letter of Oct. 29, 1591. On Nov. 19 he again says: *" Prudens, doctus et pius pastor est et in gubernandis humanis rebus imprimis idoneus, non admodum sanus." Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[1] See *Avvisi of Oct. 30, Nov. 2 and 9, *loc. cit.*, 584b, 588, 604b.

[2] *" Il card. Montalto per la creatione di questo Papa è rovinato affatto" says an *Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, as to which the envoy of Urbino remarks: *" Si tiene per certissimo" (*ibid.*, 605). *Cf.* also the remarks of HERRE, p. 585. In the *brief to the Doge, Nov. 9, 1591, Innocent IX. says that he owes anything of good there is in him to God alone: "nostra imbecillitas est pertimescenda" and that therefore the Doge must pay for him. State Archives, Venice, Bolle.

[3] See *Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, *ibid.*, 588.

[4] The envoy of Urbino in his note to the *Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *ibid.*, 600.

[5] CICARELLA, Vita Innocentii IX., *loc. cit.* Engraving of the portrait by Vandersypern: see Portrait Index, by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWN, Washington, 1906, 742.

supper. He then rested a little, recreated himself with some music,[1] and then granted a number of audiences.[2] With the exception of a walk in the Belvedere, or in the Vatican Gardens, which the Pope, who was very fond of nature, especially loved,[3] he made use of every minute of his day. Men admired the wisdom, punctuality and exactitude with which he did everything.[4] Every Tuesday the bishops were received, on Friday and Saturday the ambassadors and envoys, and on the other days the prelates and officials.[5] The Pope was extremely generous in granting audiences, and wished people even of the lowest classes to be admitted.[6] At his audiences he showed himself to be a man of few words, but he knew so well how to deal with everyone that all went away well satisfied.[7]

As sovereign the Pope proved himself so wise that he seemed to have ruled for a long time.[8] From the first he displayed a surprising activity, and interested himself in every kind of question, such as supplying his subjects with provisions,[9]

[1] *Avviso of Nov. 9. 1591, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* in App. No. 49 the *Avviso of Nov. 13, 1591, Vatican Library.

[3] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* According to the *Avviso of Nov. 30, 1591, the Pope bought the "Casaletto di Pio V. (*cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 57) presso la porta di S. Pancrazio et lo fa abbellire per sua ricreatione." The envoy of Urbino remarks as to this that the Pope often went there for a time. Urb. 1059, II., 653b, 655, Vatican Library.

[4] See in App. No. 49, the *Avviso of Nov. 13, 1591, *loc. cit.*

[5] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Avviso of Nov. 20, 1591, *ibid.*, 630. *Cf.* the very rare broadsheet: Il successo del conclave passato tenuto in Roma per la morte di Gregorio XIV et per l'elettione d'Innocenzo IX. con l'aviso delle prime attioni di Sua Beat^ne^, Turin, 1591.

[7] See *Avvisi of Nov. 2 and Dec. 11, 1591 (è cosa incredibile la sodisfattione che dà N.S. a tutti che trattano seco) *loc. cit.*, 588b, 678.

[8] *Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *ibid.*, 597.

[9] *Cf.* the broadsheet cited *supra*, n. 6, and the Istoria di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, I., 1111. See also BENIGNI, 43.

the repression of the bandits,[1] the moral purity of Rome,[2] the regulation of the course of the Tiber,[3] the sanitation of the Borgo,[4] the restoration of the port of Ancona,[5] and the completion of the dome of St. Peter's.[6] In religious matters he devoted his attention to the reform of the clergy,[7] as well as of the manner of electing the Pope.[8] The bull of Pius V. forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical property, and the renewed concession of lapsed Papal fiefs, was confirmed and made more severe by Innocent IX. on November 4th, 1591.[9]

Of great importance was the change which Innocent IX. made at the very beginning of his pontificate in the secretariate of state. Hitherto this had been controlled by a single man, who, as may easily be understood, was unable to deal with the whole of the business. Innocent IX. divided the secretariate of state into three sections: one for France and Poland, one for Italy and Spain, and one for Germany. The direction of the first was entrusted to the distinguished Giovanni Andrea Caligari, of the second to the former secretary of Innocent IX., Monsignor Zagordi, and of the third to Minuccio Minucci, who

[1] *Cf.* broadsheet cited *supra* 420, n. 6. See also *Barb. 3376, p. 90, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avvisi of Nov. 23 and Dec. 28, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 634, 714b.

[3] See in App. No. 50 the *Avviso of Nov. 27, 1591, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Barb. 3376, p. 91, Vatican Library.

[6] *" N.S.re ha ordinato che si finisca la cuppola di S. Pietro " (*Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 604); on account of the work which was immediately begun the mass of Christmas 1591 was to be celebrated in the Sixtine Chapel, instead of in St. Peter's; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, p. 218b, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avvisi of Nov. 6 and 23, 1591 (concerning the duty of residence and the dress of clergy) *loc. cit.*, 597. *Cf.* Possevino in ZACHARIA, Iter. ital., 301 *seq.*

[8] See in App. No. 51 the *Avviso of Dec. 7, 1591, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Maretti in SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 256 and *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII. (1894), 203 *seq.*

[9] Bull. IX., 505 *seq.* *Cf.* RICCI, II., 71 *seq.*

was well versed in German affairs.[1] Annibale Ricci was confirmed as secretary of the Consulta, and the celebrated Latinist, Antonio Boccapaduli, as secretary for Latin letters and for the letters to the princes.[2]

The Pope also showed his care for the affairs of Germany by re-establishing the German Congregation. This was to meet once a week under the presidency of Madruzzo, and Cardinals Laureo, Spinola, Gonzaga, Paravicini and Borromeo were appointed to it.[3] It was consideration for the state of Germany which led the Pope to reduce the taxes of the Dataria for the "Ultramontanes."[4]

In financial matters it appeared that Innocent IX. intended to revive the economic system of Sixtus V. He declared at his first consistory that there should always be ready in the Castle of St. Angelo sufficient sums to meet cases of necessity, and to deal with possible emergencies.[5] In every case the Pope insisted upon an orderly administration of the finances, and all possible limitation of expenditure.[6]

Innocent IX.'s spirit of economy was also shown in his first dealings with French affairs. During the first days of his pontificate he repeatedly said that the Holy See would be ruined financially if the enormous expenditure of his predecessor on the Papal army in France was continued.[7]

[1] See the letter of Minucci to the nuncio at Cologne, Nov. 1, 1591, in F. ALTAN (de'conti di Salvarola), Memorie intorno alla vita di M. Minucci, Venice, 1757, 19. *Cf.* also STIEVE, IV., 126 n., and SCHWEIZER, III., 407.

[2] See the broadsheet cited *supra*, p. 420, n. 6.

[3] See *Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 597b, and Minucci in ALTAN, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Avviso of Dec. 21, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 703. For the care taken by Innocent IX. for the preservation of Catholicism in Jülich-Cleves see SCHWEIZER, III., 414 *seq.*

[5] See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Avvisi of Nov. 9 and Dec. 4, 1591 (examination of the accounts from the time of Sixtus V.) *loc. cit.*, 602b.

[7] I found this important information, which confirms the opinion of HERRE (592) in the *Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 590.

Such words were bound sensibly to diminish the joyful expectations which the Spaniards had formed at the victory they had won in the conclave.[1] It is true that the Papal troops were left in France, but the subsidy assigned for the purpose was reduced. The French Congregation had proposed sixty-eight thousand scudi for this, but the Pope only granted fifty thousand.[2]

The Spaniards anxiously watched to see what would be the further attitude of the new Pope towards the disturbances in France. His decisions, Santori told Cardinal del Monte, are arrived at by him absolutely independently, secretly and slowly.[3] We still have the various memorials which were presented to Innocent IX. concerning the affairs of France. In one of these it is said that Navarre was so far in the right in that he was the legitimate heir to the throne, but that he was in the wrong in having professed himself in favour of Calvinism. The same also applied to the League, in that it had no right to fight against the legitimate king, but at the same time could not allow a heretic to mount the throne of France. Another memorial insists that the Holy See must employ its weapons, both spiritual and material, with wise

[1] Mendoza concludes his report to Philip II. of Nov. 8, 1591, with the words : Todo esto resulta en autoridad i reputacion de V. M. i de que todo el mundo entienda el santissimo zelo con que trata este negocio porque conocen mui bien que todo quanto en el a succedido a sido orden de V. M. i hasta aora a sido lo que avemos jusgado por mas conveniente al servicio de Dios i de V. M. segun que avemos podido alcançar i descubrir, seremos servido que lo mismo succeda en el discurso del Pontificado con mucho aumento i prosperidad de la Iglesia i gusto de V. M. i paz de sus estados, a quien N^ro^ Señor conserve mui largos años con mucho aumento dellos i prosperos sucessos. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* also in App. No. 48 the *letter of L. Madruzzo, Oct. 29. 1591, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See L'Epinois, La ligue, 514 *seq.* ; Herre, 592 The supposition there found of the recall of Landriano is an error ; this only took place by the act of Clement VIII. ; see Biaudet, 271.

[3] See Desjardins, V., 156. *Cf.* Herre, 593.

prudence. As force of arms had met with no success, negotiations had become inevitable, but these must not be broken off suddenly, but gradually, by reducing the monthly sudsidy of 10,000 scudi. It would be well to conclude an armistice in order to see whether Navarre might not be reconciled to the Church. If he should show good will, the Pope should encourage him, but if he should not, he should again take up arms and assist the League.[1]

While the matter was under discussion, Caligari asked the commissary general of the Papal armies, Monsignor Matteucci, for a report on the state of the parties, and for suggestions as to what should be done with regard to them.[2] The reply to this did not arrive in the lifetime of Innocent IX., but otherwise his last acts showed the baselessness of the Spanish fears that he would follow in the footsteps of Sixuts V. On December 11th, 1591, del Monte was able to report to the Grand Duke of Tuscany how displeased the Pope was with the Catholic adherents of Navarre. The latter, he said, took no account of Rome, and looked to no other defender and protector of the Catholic religion than the King of Spain.[3] In confirmation of this, advice was sent to Alessandro Farnese to hasten his armaments, so that he might again invade France and help to raise the siege of Rouen.[4] So that the Papal troops might assist him, 36,000 ducats were granted at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine.[5]

A return to the policy of Gregory XIV. was, however, shown by the admission of Sega to the Sacred College. This took place on December 18th, 1591; at the same time the Pope's great nephew, Antonio Facchinetti, received the purple.[6]

[1] See DESJARDINS, V., 659 *seq.*

[2] See L'EPINOIS, 523.

[3] See DESJARDINS, V, 660. *Cf.* HERRE, 594.

[4] See CAYET, Chronologie in *Mém. coll. univ.*, LVII., 356; RANKE, II., 150.

[5] See PETRUCELLI, III., 363; HERRE, 594.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 245 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 61. *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 522; REICHENBERGER, I., xxxvii. J. P. Mucantius (*Diaria caerem.) wrote: Ant. Facchinettus, praeclarae indolis

This appointment was in accordance with the custom by which, at the beginning of a pontificate, a nephew was given the red hat, and also, as happened in this case, the church of which the Pope had been titular. Antonio Facchinetti also inherited his uncle's virtues, and later on became one of the ornaments of the Sacred College.[1]

Three days after this appointment, Innocent IX., whose state of health during November had often caused anxiety,[2]

et optimae spei adulescens, qui licet in urbe praesens esset, tamen in consistorio ad birettum rubrum accipiendum tunc non comparuit. Non enim decere S^tl Suae visum est, novos cardinales vix creatos statim in consistorium comparere sicut Sixtus V. facere consueverat, sed antiquum morem, qui regulis caeremon. magis conformatur, a Paulo III. et aliis successoribus suis usque ad Sixtum V. observatum renovare voluit. On Dec. 19: the sending of the red hat and the oath. Voluit autem S. D. Innocentius videre prius formam huius iuramenti et cum Franciscus frater S. S^tis antiquam et novam formam ostendisset, magis placuit S^tl Suae antiqua quam nova forma a Sixto V. introducta. There follows the oath, which corresponded to the ancient form, and only contained certain additions. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* Arm. 44, t. 35, the *brief to Sega, dated Dec. 19, 1591 (Girol. Agucchia will take him the red hat). The Pope had refused the nomination of Cardinals in accordance with the wishes of the princes; see the *report of G. Campori, Rome, Dec. 7, 1591. State Archives, Modena.

[1] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 90 *seq.*; HERRE, 595. The *Diarium P. Alaleonis notes on Dec. 7, 1591: Romam venerunt duo pronepotes Papae: Iohannes et Iohannes Antonius Facchinetti Bononia, invenes imberbes et bonae indolis; on Dec. 8: Papa fecit protonotarium et referendarium signaturae Ant. Facchinettum pronepotem; on Dec. 14: Signatura coram S^mo; the Pope ordered his "pronepos, ut proponeret commissiones, et ita fecit, et omnes suae commissiones signitae fuerunt et non reiectae"; on Dec. 22: Venit Romam secrete Caesar Facchinettus nepos Papae, pater cardinalis et castellani. Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[2] *Al Papa da hieri i sono cominciate ad enfiare le gambe. *Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 599. *Cf. ibid.*, 630, the *Avviso of Nov. 20, 1591: The Pope, as is often the case, is remaining in bed on account of his weakness, but in spite of this he is attending to affairs of state.

surprised his entourage by announcing that he wished to make the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches. This was all the more risky as the Pope had always been very weak on his feet and suffered much from the cold.[1] He actually made the pilgrimage,[2] but caught a cold. The doctors ordered him to bed; although the Pope had no fever, they were nevertheless very anxious about him on account of his age and his feeble constitution. The improvement in his health which took place on December 25th was not maintained. Although he was in danger of death on December 29th he nevertheless received from his nephew Cesare Facchinetti his oath as General of the Church, and commander-in-chief of the fleet. When the Pope learned that his end was at hand, he himself asked for Holy Communion and Extreme Unction.[3]

The death of the Pope, which took place on December 30th,[4] filled all Rome with sincere grief. All men realized the purity of life and intention of the dead man, the tried prudence, the sense of justice, and the dignity which his courteous and affectionate nature had combined in a remarkable degree.[5] The loss of a man from whom all men looked for a distinguished pontificate seemed like a sign of the anger of God.[6] The

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of Dec. 28, 1591, *ibid.*, 715.

[2] See *Avviso of Dec. 21, 1591, *ibid.*, 703.

[3] See J. P. Mucantii *Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives; *Diarium P. Alaleonis in Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; *Avvisi of Dec. 28, 1591, and Jan 1, 1592, *loc. cit.*, 712, 515 *seq.*, 717b; and Urb. 1060, I., 1, Vatican Library. Letter of Canani in Ricci, II, 82; note in Laemmer, Melet., 236. *Cf.* also Grottanelli, Claudia de' Medici, 27 *seqq.*

[4] See besides the *report of Sessa, Dec. 30, 1591, Simancas Archives, consulted by Herre (595 n. 2), the *letter from the College of Cardinals to Duke Vincenzo of Mantua, Dec. 30, 1591: The Pope died "hodierno die mane paulo ante lucem." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See J. P. Mucantii *Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See the note of Laemmer, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the praise given to Innocent IX. in the *report of T. Carretti of Jan. 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. As Innocent IX. only reigned for two months and a day, his coins are rarities; see Armand, I., 289, 302;

mortal remains of Innocent IX. were exposed in St. Peter's, and the people flocked thither in crowds to touch his body with their rosaries, which was generally only done in the case of the saints.[1]

BONANNI, I., 449 ; SERAFINI, I., 105 ; MARTINORI, 75 *seq.* This is especially true of the gold coinage of Innocent IX., which was struck at Bologna. It is of the size of a 10 centesimi piece, and bears the Papal arms with the inscription : " Innocentius IX. Pont. Max.," and on the obverse, under the cross, the heraldic emblem of Bologna together with that of the Cardinal Legate, Sfondrato, who at that time governed the city in the Pope's name. The inscription runs : " Bologna docet." Until the end of the XVIIIth century only one example of this gold piece existed in the Papal collection of coins, and was afterwards lost at the time of the sack by the French. It was only in 1892 that a second example was found in the excavations of the foundations of a church near Acqui, together with 155 other gold pieces. It was in vain that the Prince of Naples, now King Victor Emanuel III. of Italy, well known as an enthusiastic collector of coins, and the syndic of Bologna tried to acquire this unique piece. The court adjudged it to Giuseppe Gualandi, from whom the Bishop of Acqui, Dismas Marchese, acquired it in 1908, and presented it to Pius X. for his sacerdotal jubilee. The Pope gave it to the collection of coins in the Vatican. *Cf. Riv. ital. Numism.*, XXI., 4 (1908), and *Bollett. ital. di Numism.*, 1910, Nov. See also SIGHINOLFI, Una rariss. moneta d'Innocenzo IX., in *Illustraz. Ossolana*, III. (1912), and SEREFINI, I., 14.

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 52 the *Avviso of Jan. 1, 1592, Vatican Library. The funeral discourse by B. Justinianus, S.J. in CIACONIUS, IV., 240 *seq.* The mortal remains of Innocent IX. lie in the crypt of St. Peter's, in a sarcophagus of marble, made up of several pieces, the simplicity of which affords a touching contrast to the other sumptuous monuments to be seen there ; see *Katholik*, 1901, II., 544, and *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 184. The epitaph on the sarcophagus of Innocent IX. in FORCELLA, VI., 133.

APPENDIX.

1. Avviso di Roma of June 8, 1585.[1]

. . . Il Papa ha fatto dar principio ad un palazzo nuovo vicino a S. Giov. Laterano per commodità de Papi, incominciando dalla parte, ove si facevano i Concilii Lateranensi, et per questa struttura S. S. ha fatto chiamare l' architetto del Granduca, et per far condur l' acqua de Pantan de Griffi 12 miglia di qua a Montecavallo et alla sua vigna contribuendo 36^{m} sc. alla spesa, che fa il popolo Romano di detta acqua comprata per 25^{m} sc. dal card. Colonna.

[Original. Urb. 1053, p. 243, Vatican Library.]

2. Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1585, September 28, Roma.

. . . Credo certissimo di mandar la settimana che viene il Trabaltese architetto, essendomi deliberato in lui, si per essere di età più fresca che lo Scalci et si perchè sarà più pronto a partir subito, essendo l'altro impedito per alcuni dì come ho scritto, oltre che il s^{r} card. de Medici me l'ha lodato per un valent'huomo et m'ha detto che il modello che egli haveva fatto per trasportar la guglia di S. Pietro è stato il più bello che si sia visto, benchè S. S^{tà} habbia voluto dargli carico ad un suo maestro che l'ha servito altre volte,[3] et mi dice S. S. ill^{ma} ch'egli fece anchor il dissegno della scala da farsi al Monte della Trinità, che fu stimato ingegnosissimo et di bellissima architettura . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

3. Avviso di Roma of March 1, 1586.[4]

Perchè N. S. perdura gran tempo in signatura di gratia, per non essere così capace della professione legale come della teologale, ha ordinato che invece di 3 rifessero soli 2 referendari. Dicesi, che N. S. per tirare a perfettione la fabrica

[1] See *supra*, p. 272. [2] See *supra*, pp. 226, 250. [3] Fontana.
[4] See *supra*, p. 277.

incominciata a S. Giov. Laterano, disegna pigliare quella parte tutta detta Sancta Sanctorum et transportare il Salvatore con le altre reliquie più oltre della Scala santa in luogo più decente et forsi dar nuovo letta alla detta Scala, contribuendo S. B. per la spesa 2m sc. et 6m il capitolo di S. Giovanni.

[Orig., *Urb.* 1054, p. 78, Vatican Library.]

4. Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1586.[1]

. . . N. S. è tuttavia intento a fare stendere quelle strade nuove per retta linea et a far finire la fabrica di S. Giov. Laterano, dovendo (secondo il disegno moderno) restare la cappella del Salvatore, cioè Sancta Sanctorum in isola, et che la Scala santa, che va mossa vada a riferire a detta cappella, la qnale (secondo la mente del Papa) sarebbe ancor lei stata trasportata, ma qualche pio avertimento l' ha levato di questo pensiero.

[Orig., *Urb.* 1054, p. 93, Vatican Library.]

5. Avviso di Roma of March 29, 1586.[2]

Si tratta di aprire una strada da porta Salara alle Terme Diocletiane et d' allargare quelle piazza per farvi la fiera solita farsi alla badia di Farfa.

[Orig., *Urb.* 1054, p. 112b, Vatican Library.]

6. Avviso di Roma of June 4, 1586.[3]

N. S. disegna di far tirare una strada nuova dalla chiesa di S. Andrea delle fratte, luogo posto in cima della piazza della Trinità fin' alla Scrofa, et ch' el habbia pensiero di buttare a terra tutte le case, che fanno isola per mezzo Borgo da Ponte fino alla piazza di S. Pietro, che vengano ad essere le case del Priorato, dell' Acquila con la chiesa di S. Jacomo Scossia Cavalli et le prigioni di Borgo con tutte l' altre case a queste annesse acciò in arrivando allo sboccare di Castello si vegga quella bella prospettiva guglia, posta che sia nella piazza di S. Pietro, il che sarà presto, lavorandosi hora con diligenza.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1054, p. 202b, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 277, 280. [2] See *supra*. p, 233.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 229, 230, 263.

7. Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1586.[1]

The Pope has assigned the 12 thousand scudi from the transaction with the Caffarelli for the Scala della Trinità, and in like manner the *spogli* from Spain for the works at St. Peter's, "con pensiero, finite che siano le fabriche di S. Giov. Laterano e di S. Maria Maggiore, di voltare quelle spese et quelle maestranze a questa struttura, che con l' agiunta di 20 sc. l' anno, che pagaranno i Spagnoli di più dell' ordinario per la confermatione, che ha loro fatta il Papa di cruciate, sussidii et escusadi potressimo vedere il tempio di S. Pietro tutto ornata et finito."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1054, p. 313b, Vatican Library.]

8 Avviso di Roma of October 1, 1586.[2]

On Sunday the Pope decided "che la strada aperta da S. Maria Maggiore fin la Trinità seguitasse ancora a drittura fin al Popolo et che s' incominciassero le scale scritte tante volte per salire più commodamente a quella chiesa."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1054, p. 436, Vatican Library.]

9. Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1586.[3]

D'ordine di N. S. riducendosi a dui piani il pavimento di S. Paolo fuori delle mura, nello scavare il terreno sotto l'altare del sacramento contiguo alla cappelletta, di dove furono levati li corpi delli innocenti, sono state trovate 2 casse, in una delle quali stanno i corpi di S. Timoteo et di S. Celso et nell' altra di S. Basilissa et di S. Martianilla.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1054, p. 496, Vatican Library.]

10. Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1587.[4]

S'apre una strada, che saglie per retta linea de Cerchio a S. Sabina acciò che a tempo della statione di quella chiesa non siano quelle pressure pericolose tra li genti degli altri anni, et si accommoda detta chiesa come l'altre basiliche per la cappella Papale, che in essa si farà la matina delle ceneri.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1055, p. 12b, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 226, 307.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 226, 281.
[3] See *supra*, p. 279.
[4] See *supra*, p. 229.

11. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, April 15, Roma.

. . . Il Papa fa cavar tutte le colone o mezze colone che sono sui cantoni delle strade et case et vole anco tutte le conche di marmo che sono su le piazze per servirsene per l' acqua Felice alla sua vigna . . .

(Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1587, April 29, Roma.

. . . Andarà il Papa a Zagarolo la settimana che viene per veder quell' aqua che designa di comperare, havendo pagata quella Felice al s^r Martio Colonna per 25^m ducati, che già tre giorni gli furono sborsati, et vi starà otto giorni e poi andarà a stare a Montecavallo. Dicesi che il Papa compra il palazzo del marchese di Masserano a Montecavallo per fabbricarvi apresso per l' habitatione delli cavalli leggieri et tedeschi, havendo disegno di starsene a Montecavallo. Si fabbrica alla gagliarda dietro le strade nove fatte dal Papa verso Montecavallo et la Trinità et non passerà 3 anni che tutto quel paese sarà habitato . . .

[Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

13. Avviso di Roma of May 9, 1587.[3]

Fin' adesso non si sà, che il capitolo di S. Giov. Laterano habbia rimosso il Papa dall' ordine dato da S. B., che si spianino quelle capelle antiche et moderne di tanta divotione, che sono congiunte con S. Giov. in Fonte, alias il bagno di Costantino per metterla in isola, et questo perchè forsi impedirebbe la risposta della strada da aprirsi fra S. Paolo et S. Giov. Laterano, volendo anco il Pontefice, che si gettino a terra tutte l'hosterie che sono là in filo per allargare quella piazza et erigervi l' obelisco in modo, che sia a vista di S. Maria maggiore.

(Orig., *Urb.*, 1055, p. 160, Vatican Library.]

14. Avviso di Roma of May 13, 1587.[4]

. . . Gli operarii della fabrica di S. Giov. Laterano sono stati di commissione del Papa radoppiati, volendo S. B., che alla seguente festa di quella chiesa siano alzati a pelo della terra i fondamenti del nuovo palazzo, che vi fa construere, et sono stati i mastri di strada per ordine di S. S. a mettere i

[1] See *supra*, p. 234.
[2] See *supra*, p. 272.
[3] See *supra*, p. 227.
[4] See *supra*, p. 272.

biffi col cavaliere Fontana et con gli architetti per aprire nuove strade di Campidoglio a S. Giovanni oltre alle scritte di S. Croce et di S. Paolo, che hanno da rispondere a drittura all' obelisco, che si erigerà su quella piazza.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1055, p. 165b, Vatican Library.]

15. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, 30 Maggio, Roma.

. . . S. Stà ha fatto disfare la scalinata di Belvedere verso il giardino che fece fare Pio IV. et vi vol fabbricare un loco, dove vuole che si stampino tutti i libri ecclesiastici, che si chiamerà la stampa apostolica, volendo prohibire che in altro luogo non se ne stampino. Veramente l'haver guasto questo theatro fatto con tanta spesa è spiacciuto a tutta la corte, massime perchè si rovina quella bella vista et quel bel cortile, et in particolare spiace alle creature di Pio quarto . . .

[Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

16. Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1587.[2]

L'illmo Dezza conforme all'ordine che hebbe dal Papa ha mostrato a S. B. il modello d'una bella chiesa, che vorrebbe fare in quella istessa di S. Geromino a Ripetta delli Schiavoni per memoria di essere stato titolo della S. Sua, et Farnese, che ha la protettione di quella natione et di quel luogo, ha raccordato a S. S., che gettandosi a terra le case di quel contorno per piantarvi una nuova fabrica, questa natione sentiria un danno di più di 500 sc. a l'anno, che sene cava di pigione, et provisto che si sia d'un ristoro a questo, s'attenderà alla detta struttura con pensiero di piantare un ponte, che passi il Tevere, et su quell'altra ripa fare una piazza per il mercato della legna, che hora si vendono innanzi a questo sito, che ha da essere fabricato.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1055, p. 243, Vatican Library.]

17. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1587, July 8, Roma.

. . . The Pope intends to construct new steps to the church Trinità de' Monti, "non vi piacendo quella che a pena è finita."

[Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 292. [2] See *supra*, p. 281. [3] See *supra*, p. 226.

18. Attilio Malegnani to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1587, July 22, Roma.

. . . Il papa ha fatto chiamare l' abbate di S. Paolo et gli ha detto che vuole che si ponga una guglia nanti le basiliche patriarchali et che perciò ha provisto a S. Pietro, a S. Giovanni Laterano et a S. Maria Maggiore et bisognandovene una per S. Paolo, che gli donava una di quelle due picciole di Cerchio massimo, cioè quella da cavare et che dovesse farla cavare et condurla quanto prima al luogo destinato et farla drizzare, di modo che il povero abbate è restato molto di malavoglia per la spesa, oltre che bisognano anco quei padri far il soffittato alla detta chiesa, havendo di già cominciato a farlo dal capo dell' altare maggiore . . .

[Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1587.[2]

See Orbaan, *Avvisi* 300. This is followed by: Fa il Papa sollecitare i frati di S. Paolo, perchè finischino il Tassello[3] a quella loro così gran basilica et che anco all' advento futuro sia eretta la guglia.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1055. p. 340b, Vatican Library.]

20. Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1587.[4]

. . . S'è rissoluto alla partita del Papa di Montecavallo ad ogni santi di spianare il palazzo dell'inverno per dar piazza al principale quando la corte per atti publici si riduce là et che la stanza di quelli che sono necessarii al servigio del Papa sia quella de frati di S. Paolo che hanno di là da uscire per questo et si parla d'aprire una strada da Montecavallo a Giov. Laterano et quella fra detta chiesa et S. Maria Maggiore chiuderla per un'altra, che si fa più a proposito per la postura della guglia da erigersi su quella piazza et con qualche pentimento di haver principiato quella gran fabrica di detto S. Giov., si ha parimente da dare un gran taglio per allargare dirittura la salita di Montecavallo del corso fin' la su. Et perchè la vista del palazzo del Papa non sia tanto offuscata, si habbiano da levare quelle tante cerchiate et cupole del giardino Estense.

[Orig. *Urb.*, 1055, p. 360, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 267.
[2] See *supra*, p. 279.
[3] An occasional work.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 265, 302.

21. Avviso di Roma of September 26, 1587.[1]

. . . S. B. ha ordinato, che in Banchi si faccia una gran loggia acciò nei cattivi tempi li mercanti et negotiatori vi si possano redure et attendere ai negotii.

[Orig. *Urb.*, 1055, p. 371, Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di Roma of January 30, 1588.[2]

Di ordine di N. S. si sono posti i biffi per dare un taglio da porta Settignana in Transtevere fino a Ripa grande et farvi una bellissima strada, che vada a rispondere verso S. Paolo, per il che vanno a buttare a terra molte case

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 44, Vatican Library.]

23. Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1588.[3]

The Pope projects "la nuova strada aperta a drittura dal Coliseo a S. Giov. Laterano, facendo tal volta essercitio di due miglia sempre a piedi, et salendo et girando per la nuova fabrica di quella basilica a vedere minutamente ogni cosa con molta robustezza (Dio laudato) et senz' appoggio."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 85, Vatican Library]

24. Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1588.[4]

To-day the Pope visited all the works at the Lateran. "Si dice che N. S. voglia fare una nuova zecca in strada Giulia nel palazzo cominciato da Giulio II,[5] et che si fondino monete di uno scudo l'uno con l'impronta da una parte di S. S. et dall'altra di S. Francesco."

(Orig. *Urb.*, 1056, p. 244[b], Vatican Library.]

25. Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1588.[6]

. . . Et ha di più N. S. ordinato, che si attenda con molta diligenza et prestezza a finire la cuppula della medesima basilica di S. Pietro et assegnato per tal fabrica oltre a 1500 sc. la settimana il prezzo del chiericato di Camera vacato per morte del Quistello, che sono 40[m] sc.

[Orig. *Urb.*, 1056, p. 297, Vatican Library[7])

[1] See *supra*, p. 290. [2] See *supra*, p. 229. [3] See *supra*, p. 228.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 273, 290. [5] See Vol. VI. of this work, p. 494.
[6] See *supra*, p.p 280, 308. [7] Orbaan, Avvisi, 304.

26. Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1588.[1]

On Monday the Pope gave orders about S. Maria degli Angeli, etc.: "che la porta della chiesa, che risponde hora nel mezzo della detta piazza si faccia all'incontro del giardino di S. B., mutandosi per questo la nave di essa chiesa. Ha di più S. B. ordinata un'altra strada a S. Silvestro et che quella principiata a S. Marco si tiri più avanti, che vada a rispondere al giardino del Florenzo, che però andarà quasi tutto a terra."

(Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 307, Vatican Library.]

27. Matteo Brumano[2] to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1588, August 27, Roma.

. . . Tornò a parlare di cose di guerra, non laudando la guerra di Julio II. contro Parma et la Mirandola, non quella di Paolo IV. contro Napoli come senza fondamento inditioso, ma accennava a qualche guerra contro nemici della fede et si vede che ha pensieri a qualche impresa, come mi disse in conclusione, hoggi otto, che hora scrivo a pieno all'A. V. et è che la guerra di Inghilterra non piacque mai alla S. Stà, ma sì quella d'Alghieri, prima perchè quella è più difficile, secondo non è tanto dannosa Inghilterra alle anime christiane, come che non vi praticano se non volontariamente, come Alghieri che va depredando sempre i nostri mari. Di più S. Mtà tre anni sono gli fece parlar di questa d' Alghieri et si conclusero tutte le partite per quella impresa, ma s'avedava che S. Mtà s'era voltata a quella d'Inghilterra, per i danni del Drago nel porto di Cadice et Lisbona et per l'aiuto che dà quella regina in Fiandra; mi soggionse che l'anno passato di luglio sottoscrissero i capitoli S. Stà et il conte Olivares per questa impresa d'Inghilterra et vi era il capitolo che al settembre si andasse all'impresa et che si ha tardato sin'hora con tanta spesa et tanto dispendio, Piaccia mo a Dio che si riporta compita vittoria, concluse S. Stà che finita quest' impresa è rissoluto di far l' impresa d' Alghieri et farla lui coll' aiuto dei principi d' Italia et in ciò offerendoli io di novo la persona di V. A. con quell' aiuto ch' ella puotrà, come bramoso di servire e la S. Sede et la S. Stà particolarmente con molto gusto. S. Stà mi disse havere in ciò molta speranza in V. A. . . . Roma 27 Agto 1588.

Vesc. Brumano.

[Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 229, 236.
[2] Co-adjutor Bishop of Mantua; see Mazzuchelli, II., 4, 2157 *seq.*
[3] See *supra*, pp. 59, 161.

28. Avviso di Roma of October 12, 1588.[1]

The Pope contemplated the plan of a street from S. Pietro in Montorio to the Ponte Sisto.

The Pope to-day approved "la nuova fabrica, che si fa della chiesa de Schiavoni, con il disegno del ponte a Ripetta et strada, che di là andarà a rispondere a Belvedere, volendo alcuni, che debba in quel mezzo fabricare borghi per stanza degli hebrei, riducendoli fuori dell' habitato, sicome il medesimo pensiero hebbe Pio V. Ha visto parimente il sito, ove si ha da piantare la guglia nella piazza del Popolo, che vuole faccia mostra a vista di quella di S. Pietro."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 468, Vatican Library.]

29. Avviso di Roma of October 19, 1588.[2]

On Sunday the Pope was at S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, where the Quarantore for the Armada was concluded; he visited the new building, which is still rising, at the Studio (University).

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 475, Vatican Library.]

30. Avviso di Roma of October 26, 1588.[3]

On Sunday the Pope was at S. Luigi, and at the Lateran visited "la Scala santa transportata all'incontro della cappella detta Sancta Sanctorum . . ."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1056, p. 488, Vatican Library.]

31. Diarium P. Alaleonis October 30, 1588.[4]

Dum Pontifex stetit in Monte Quirin., fere singulis diebus de mane exiit per Urbem, nunc audiendo missam in una ecclesia et nunc in alia, et nimis copia sui visendi fuit, et dum per Urbem ibat deliberabat aliquas vias construere et aliquas domos destruere, et quando ibat ad aedificia, quae ipse Pontifex construenda curat, instabat, ut finis ipsis quam primum daretur, et his superioribus diebus fecit mutare Scalas sanctas, id est amovere eas a priori loco et ponere eas contra S^mum^ Salvatorem, quem locum Pontifex contruendum curavit ac picturis ornavit, et hinc inde ad Scalas sanctas curavit con-

[1] See *supra*, pp. 230, 281.
[2] See *supra*, p. 291.
[3] See *supra*, p. 227.
[4] See *supra*, p. 229.

struere duas alias scalas pro commoditate populi ascendendi et descendendi non volentes Scalas sanctas genibus flexis ascendere, et antiquum aedificium S. Ioannis Laterani destruere fecit et alium novum perpulcrum construere curavit et in platea S. Ioannis unum obeliscum erigere etiam fecit et multa alia de novo fecit, facit et faciet, si vivet, quae videbuntur et omnibus manifesta erunt quia dicetur: hoc aedificium construendum curavit Sixtus V. et hanc viam construendam curavit idem Sixtus V., et hanc equam conduxit Sixtus V.

[*Barb.*, 2814, p. 411, Vatican Library.]

32. Avviso di Roma of February 18, 1589.[1]

N. S. ha ordinato una nuova strada dalle Terme alla chiesa di S. Vitale nella valle di Quirino.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 88[b], Vatican Library.]

33. Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1589.[2]

On Saturday the Pope on his way planned "alcune strade et strutture verso Montecavallo . . ."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 144, Vatican Library.]

34. Avviso di Roma of April 26, 1589.[3]

Domenica nel ritorno di N. S[re] al Vaticano S. B. fece la strada della piazza del Popolo et di Ripetta, per vedere l'obelisco del tutto accomodato et risarcito, et la nuova fabrica della chiesa de Schiavoni, la quale si farà collegiata d'ordine del Pontefice, essendo quella fabrica ridotta a buon termine. Volse vedere parimente la mole Antoniana in piazza Colonna risarcita mirabilmente et con celerità, sicome aviene in tutte le fabriche, che si fanno d'ordine di S. B. et in specie della cuppola di S. Pietro, che camina a perfettione con certezza, che fra un' anno sarà finita a confusione de' tanti suoi predecessori, che in tanto tempo non hanno saputo adempire quello, che per tutto Natale prossimo è per ultimare la B[ne] Sua.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 229, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 230. [2] See *supra*, p. 229. [3] See *supra*, pp. 266, 281, 309.

35. Avviso di Roma of June 14, 1589.[1]

. . . The Pope has ordered "sull'Esquilino, che si faccia un'ampliosa scala a cordoni con una bella facciata a la basilica di S. Maria Maggiore dalla parte della guglia, et una loggia, dalla quale S. S. possi dare la benedittione in certe solennità, se gliene verrà pensiero con altre fabriche et abbassamenti di strade nel medesimo monte Esquilino.

Si dice in oltre, che N. S. voglia erigere in collegiata la chiesa Illiricorum a Ripetta, applicandovi canonicati et altre dignità da smembrarsi di ciascuna collegiata di Roma una et in perpetuo. Era suo titolo."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 349, 351, Vatican Library.]

36. Avviso di Roma of July 1, 1589.[2]

N. S. si lascia intendere di volere finire la fabrica in strada Giulia incominciata già da Giulio II. per habitatione perpetua et commoda di tutti li tribunali di Roma.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 385, Vatican Library.]

37. Avviso di Roma of July 26, 1589.[3]

On Sunday the Pope minutely inspected at the Lateran "il nuovo et maraviglioso palazzo attaccato alla chiesa et ridotto hormai a perfettione."

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 446, Vatican Library.]

38. Avviso di Roma of July 29, 1589.[4]

Essendo ridotta a perfettione la chiesa de Schiavoni a Ripetta, (il Papa impose al datario che la provvedesse) di una collegiata . . .

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 453[b], Vatican Library.]

39. Avviso di Roma of September 30, 1589.[5]

1589, September 30, Roma.

The Pope has had the palace of Cardinal Deza pulled down, because he wished to unite it to the hospital and church of the Schiavoni, and to transfer thither the Illyrian College from Loreto. To-day he assisted in the church for the feast of St. Jerome.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 591 *seq.*, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 281. [2] See *supra*, p. 290. [3] See *supra*, p. 274.
[4] See *supra*. p. 281. [5] See *supra*, p. 281.

40. Avviso di Roma of October 7, 1589.[1]

It is said that the Pope intends to erect in the palace of Cardinal Deza, not only the Slav College, but also the Polish one, since these two nations are akin ; he has made gifts of 2200 scudi to the church of S. Girolamo.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1057, p. 602[b], Vatican Library.]

41. Avviso di Roma of September 19, 1590.[2]

. . . Il papa comandò che si finischino le fabriche del Vaticano et di Montecavallo sotto il medesimo architetto, che le ha principiate, che è il cavaliere della Guglia, a cui ha fatto pagare 15[m] sc. d' avanzi et vuole che nelle dette fabriche si pongano le armi di Sisto, dicendo S. B. che non è suo pensiero di fabricare et che le sudette fabriche incominciate le fa ridurre a perfettione per necessità, volendo nel resto fabricare supra firmam petram.

[Orig., *Urb.*, 1058, p. 475, Vatican Library.]

42. Federico Cataneo to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1590, September 19, Roma.

. . . Il Papa è uomo grave, nemico di novità et di vanità, per il che non s' aspettano gran cose, ma che sia per tener una via piana, levando senza strepito gli abusi, come di già sopra la Dataria ha ordinato una congregatione di quattro cardinali con due theologi che rivedino quelle cose. Ha cominciato a far fare di molte eleniosine et vuole in ogni modo vedere di provedere di vivere per lo stato ecclesiastico col mandar a pigliar grani in Sicilia et dove se ne potrà havere. Farà seguitar le fabriche di S. Pietro, della nova fabrica di Palazzo et di Montecavallo, lasciando che vi si mettino le armi di Sisto, non curando di lasciar questo honore ad altri. Egli è moderato ne' pensieri et nelle ationi, non è amico del denaro, ma ne anco lo butterà. Si sta attendendo quello che potranno i successi di Francia, ne intanto si parla come N. S. si sia per governare, se non che senza dubbio non vorrà parte con heretici . . .

(Orig., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 281. [2] See *supra*, p. 330. [3] See *supra*, pp. 329, 330.

43. Lelio Maretti, Conclave of Gregory XIV.[1]

1. Ancorchè la brevità della vita di Urbano VII., che non fu più lunga di dodeci giorni, facesse credere a molti, che il conclave, dove fu creato Gregorio XIV., per esser quasi una continuatione di quel medesimo dovesse riuscir facile et senza difficoltà, poichè essendo in essere li medesimi cardinali, così perchè le prattiche, così conosciuti gli humori che tosto e senza molto travaglio si dovesse venire alla creatione del nuovo pontefice; ma l' esperienza mostrò il fatto sta altrimente et essersi di gran lunga ingannati coloro, che pensorno in tanta varietà di voleri et di fini et dove non si scopriva cardinale accommodato all' interesse di ciascuno, com' era stato Urbano, che' l tutto fosse per spedirsi con brevità et senza contrasto, anzi dalle persone di giuditio fu conosciuto sin dal principio della sede vacante, che' l conclave di Gregorio sarebbe pur di difficoltà et che la creatione del Papa non sarebbe stata così presta come richiedeva il bisogno dello stato della Chiesa et del christianesimo. Ne pareva a chi giudicava senza passione lo stato delle cose, che le difficoltà che si scoprirono sino all' entrar del conclave, havessero altra speranza di presta risolutione che la giovannezza et la poca esperienza del card. Montalto delli negotii grandi argomentandosi da questa et da quella ch' egli non fosse per esser costante nelle difficoltà et che con facilità dovesse esser aggirato dalle sue creature et credendo con poco contrasto alle voglie degli Spagnuoli et di Madruzzo havesse in pochi giorni a risolversi di far il papa secondo la lor voluntà. Ma essendo egli riuscito parte per la sua natura melenconica et alta alla fermezza et parte per il buon consiglio degli amici, che egli apparve più accommodato a questo maneggio di quello che fu creduto potè dar luogo et occasione a tutti gli accidenti che nacquero et che da molti furono prevedute le cagioni principali della lunghezza et ostinatione del conclave, furono come quasi sempre gli interessi et le passioni degli cardinali papabili; ma se più adentro si risguarda questa volta hebbero origine dalli ministri del Re di Spagna, i quali o per haver havuto ordine da quella Maestà come havessero a procedere nel nuovo conclave per la subita morte d' Urbano o per fini ambitiosi, come si scoperse di poi, presero partiti tali da loro medesimi con i quali offendendo alcuni cardinali principali del collegio et altri

[1] See *supra*, pp. 335, 342.

dichiarandone così poco confidenti et amici del Re che disperati dell' aiuto suo al pontificato poterno poi tutti insieme dar occasione a periculose divisioni et accidenti poco accommodati agli interessi di quella corona ; ma le più gravi et le più periculose furono le due risolutioni che presero il conte d' Olivares, ambasciatore residente in Roma et il duca di Sessa, venuto a Sisto V. per negotio particolare di quella Maestà et di un volere istesso col conte nella prattica del conclave, l' uno di trattar con modo diverso il negotio del cardinal Colonna da quello che fecero nel conclave d' Urbano et l' altra con la nominatione fatta di sette cardinali, acciò che di quelli uno ne conseguisse il pontificato, per la quale tacitamente si comprendeva ch' ogni altro cardinale fosse o non così voluto o manifestamente escluso da loro. Il Gran Duca di Toscana ancora per escluder molti cardinali di merito per le spesse sue variationi et per portar con troppa volontà et forse con poco avvedimento il cardinal Santa Severina alla scoperta et Paleotto segretamente aggiuntavi ancora la dimostratione che fece il duca di Mantova contra il cardinal di Cremona, nata però dalla mala volontà che haveva l' uno e l' altro di loro al duca di Savoia, del quale giudicavano che questo cardinale fosse particolarmente amico et la poca prudenza del cardinal Gonzaga mal sodisfatto di Cremona furono cagioni assai sostantiali della lunghezza del conclave, forse il più travagliato et il più pieno d' accidenti gravi et pericolosi di quanti sieno stati già gran tempo . . .

2. Quindici furono li cardinali, che si trovorno in camera di Sforza per l'esclusione di Colonna, due di Pio V. : Carafa et Sans [Pellevé], tre di Pio IV. : Altemps Aragona, Paleotto ; cinque Gregoriani ; Santiquattro [Facchinetti]. Verona [Valiero], Cremona [Sfrondato], Mondovì [Laureo] et Sforza, cinque delle creature di Montalto : Morosini, Rovere, Cusano, Alano et Borromeo, Carafa vi s' indusse per l'odio, che mostrò gravissimo di questa famiglia alla casa Colonna Paolo IV., et Sans per la coscienza, com' egli diceva, giudicandolo indegno del pontificato et anco per piacere a Carafa et Borromeo amicissimi suoi, Altemps per il sospetto stillatogli nell'orechio, che il s. Giulio Colonna da Palestrina, amatissimo dal card. Marcantonio con il suo Papato potesse legargli due castelli Soriano et Galese, nelli quali il s. Giulio haveva probatissime pretensioni ne potè l' industria del card. Colonna liberar Altemps da questo

timore ne assicurarlo, che in alcun tempo havrebbe ricercato il s. Giulio il fatto delli castelli mostrandogli un foglio sigillato sottoscritto da lui, nel quale havrebbe potuto Altemps distendere tutta quella sicurezza che havesse potuto desirerare. Haveva veduto Colonna nel conclave di Urbano l' incontro così gagliardo di Sforza che per guadagnar Altemps et scemarsi inimici procurò dal sig. Giulio il foglio sottoscritto a questo effetto. Dubitava ancora Altemps che il Contestabile, figliuolo già di Fabrizio Colonna, volesse con il favor del suo pontificato ricomprar quasi per forza il monte di computo comprato da lui dol sig. M. Antonio suo avo, hoggi di prezzo di X^m più di quello che lo comprò Altemps. Aragona si opponeva a questo Pontificato per le inimicitie antiche della casa d'Avalos et Colonnese, Paleotto vi fu spinto dalle preghiere d'Altemps obligatogli come creatura di Pio IV. et parte dalla speranza che haveva non riuscendo Papa Colonna di poter egli ascender a quel grado, Santiquattro per interesse della casa Farnese per sodisfare a Sforza et per evitare le speranze che haveva di se medesimo. Per queste due cagioni ancora vi si indussero Verona, Mondovì et Cremona. Morosini nongiudicando Colonna in coscienza sua accommodato al bisogno della Sede Apost^ca et per il timor che haveva, che fatto Papa non turbasse Italia et mettesse in travoglio la republica Veneta et forse per compiacere al Gran Duca, al quale interamente era molestissima l' essaltatione di Colonna ancorchè in apparenza mostrasse di desiderarla. Per coscienza pura si indussero a questa risolutione Cusano et Alano se bene l' uno e l' altro cordialissimi amici al card. Borromeo. Rovere per la speranza et per il desiderio che haveva immerito del pontificato id se facilmente si tirava nell'esclusione di ciascuno che potesse esser Papa. Sforza fu spinto a mostrarsi avverso a Colonna solo dall'ambitione et grandezza dell'animo non potendo sopportare ancorchè fuori di questi interessi facesse professione di esser amico et servitore a quel cardinale, che in Roma, dove la case Sforzesca era grande di nome, salisse la Colonnese ad altezza tale che la sua n'havesse a rimanere o depressa o grandemente oscurata. Parevagli ancora che il card. Ascanio emulo suo nella corte di Roma fosse per crescer troppo immodicamente con un Papa di quella famiglia giudicando ancora che l'alterezza della sig^ra Felice sua madre benchè cugina sua fosse per esser troppo grave alla casa Sforza, non gli parendo che per il passato di lui e della contessa sua

madre havesse tenuto quel conto che meritava il parentado et le qualità loro.

[Copia. Cod. I b 55 of the Servite Library, Innsbruck.

44. Memorial for Pope Gregory XIV. on the Catholic Restoration in Germany, 1591.[1]

Considerationi date all'ill^{mo} s^{r} card^{le} Borromeo per proporre alla santa memoria di Gregorio XIV. nel principio dell' anno 1591 per aiutare la Germania.

E stato sempre in questa S. Sede il nome di Gregorio così felice alla natione tedesca che tutti i buoni si sono eretti a speranza di qualche gran bene in questo felicissimo pontificato di Gregorio XIV. o che con la divina gratia si corrisponderà pienamente mediante l' zelo et prudenza di S. S^{tà} et mediante i consigli retti che saranno dati da huomini prattici tra quali ardisco io con humiltà et con un vero desiderio del divino servitio di soggerire li sequenti capi.

1. Primo che si habbia cura alla conservatione et instauratione de collegii così de quelli di Roma come de quelli dell' Alemagna tra quali erano già caduti per la detrattione de stipendi quel di Fulda et quel di Brunsberga, che se si remetterano in piede come s' intende essere la determinatione di S. Sta, ne ridonderà notabil servitio alla religione catholica, perchè l'uno è nella frontiera di Sassonia, l'altro nella Prussia et in ambe due si sogliono allevare anco de nobili delle vicine provincie heretiche, nelle quali appena riman più alcun vestigio di catolicismo, ne ricusano molti padri heretici senza risguardo alcuno di religione, aciò li figli imparino le buone lettere senza loro spesa di lasciarli anco ammaestrare nella fede catholica o sperando che siano poi per abandonarla o pur non curandosi in qual fede essi siano per vivere, perchè sono anco molti heretici, li quali vogliono in ogni modo che i figli s'allevino catolicamente per causa che saria longo narrare.

2. La s. mem. di Papa Gregorio XIII. soleva tenere nella Germania quatro noncii, uno in corte Cesarea, uno su' l Rheno, uno nella Germania superiore et uno nei Suizzeri[2]; hora ne sono tre soli, et quello della Germania superiore è levato, il qual si doveria rimandare, se pur non si volesse anco aggiongere qualch' altro di più, ma tutti con ordini et commissioni con-

[1] See *supra*, p. 403.
[2] In margin: "hora non c'è nontio a Suizzeri."

formi al bisogno delle provincie, per le quali hanno da girare come si mostrerà in particolare scritto quando sarà tempo, et da quello della corte Cesarea in poi, il qual ha sempre da risedere, ove sta l'Imperatore, gl'altri haveriano a stare in perpetuo moto senza fermarsi in luoco alcuno più di quello che portasse la necessità di provedere a qualche disordine, di levare gl'abusi, di dare qualche consolatione a i buoni et di mostrare la cura paterna di N. S^re^ verso l' gregge suo anco lontano, et quello di corte Cesarea non potendo far questo per se stesso doveria tenere presso di se un prelato o altro personaggio ben qualificato per adoperarlo in simili affari. Et perchè importa molto alla dignità di questo S. Sede che i ministri suoi vivano con molto splendore et quello tende anche al servitio di Dio, perchè si guadagna più credito con la gente et si pratica con più persone, dalle quale tutte si cava qualche lume per ben governarsi nelle attioni della religione, saria bene o mandare noncii ricchi o accrescere almeno al noncio di corte Cesarea la provisione che hora è solo di 200 il mese, et chi non volesse accrescerla a gl' altri doveria tenerli con solo titolo di commissarii dandoli pero le facoltà necessarie o mondare come s' è detto huomini ricchi et honorati che potessero et volessero sostenere la dignità col suo proprio.

3. Con tal occasione (massime se si mutassero i presenti noncii) s'haveriano a far visitare in nome di N. S^re^ parte dall'uno parte dall'altro seguendo l'ordine del viaggio tutti li principi catholici ecclesiastici et secolari di Germania informandosi prima di quel buono che si potesse fare in ciascuno loco, di che a suo tempo si daria anco nota particolare et si doveria in tanto ordinare al generale della compagnia di Giesù che facesse venire segretissimamente de suoi provinciali una informatione de tutte quelle cose che di luoco in luoco si potessero tentare con fruto per maturarle poi qui et pigliarne quella resolutione che paresse meglior ad honor di Dio benedetto.

4. Per queste occorrenze et per altre saria molto a proposito a rimettere in piedi la congregatione Germanica che fu instituta a tempi di Papa Gregorio XIII., ma gioveria più se fosse de pochi cardinali de i più prattici et de qualche prelato che vi fosse stato in nonciatura o altri carichi, perchè importa molto la notitia del paese et de gli humori per intendere la diversità con che si hanno a regere et condurre soavemente alla via della salute.

5. Oltre li noncii gran carità et gran cura mostreria S. Stà se da qualche persona minore che non portasse seco apparenza di dignità facesse visitare alcune poche reliquie disperse di catholici che vivono in varii lochi in mezzo a gl' heretici et vi si conservano miraculosamente senza havere " qui frangant panem," alli quali louchi non saria così securo ad un noncio d' andare o di fermarsi più di quello portasse la necessità del viaggio. In Ulma si truovano fin' a 200 catholici constanti senza alcuna comodità di prediche o sacramenti se non li vanno cercando fuori della città. In Norimberga medesimamente alcuni, cosi in diverse terricciuole et villaggi del ducato di Wirtemberg et in altri molti luochi de quali si daria più piena notitia, parlando hora de quelli a quali è tolta ogni comodità presente d'essere pasculati di cibo spirituale, se non lo mendicano di fuori con pericolo et con fatica, che negl'altri luoghi come Augusta, Ratisbona, Spira, Francfort, Aquisgrano et simili, se ben magior senza paragone è il numero degl'heretici, i catholici godino nondimeno la sua liberaà et hanno Dio gracia le chiese loro aperte, ma presso a gl'altri che mancano d'ogni consolatione non si potria dire quanto gran frutto si faria con una visita paterna che si conoscese uscire dal proprio cuore et dalla propria carità di N. S. mostrando cura particolare d' intendere lo stato loro, i bisogni et li aiuti che se li potessero dare et portandoli corone benedette con indulgenze proporcionate alle necessità loro, come saria che recitando un rosario havessero tanto merito quanto se udissero la messa . . .

6. Sotto questo medesimo capo va una visita ben circonspetta che si haveria da fare in alcuni monasterii di donne che nel mezzo degli heretici si sono conservate catholiche . . . " Di questi monasterii se ne trovano in Ulma, in Argentina, in Neoburg, nel ducato di Sassonia, in quel di Brunsvich, di Brandeburg e fin in Holsatia molti et ben numerosi, il mantenimento di quali si deve attribuire in parte alcuna a raggione humana, ma diversa da questo ch'essendo tali monasterii per il più di donne nobili, hanno rispetto i principi o le communità a supprimerli per non offendere la nobiltà la quale s' allegra d' havere quei luoghi ove locare le figliuole senza provisione di donne." Splendid examples of the constancy of these nuns. Some of them, during the sermons of the heretics, at which they were forced to assist, block their ears with wax, others conceal the Most Holy Sacrament, and gather together at night to pray continually before It. " Alcune non potendo

pur haver dell'acqua benedetta hanno usato di farlasi portare in un fiasco mostrando che fosse vino per ingannare la guardia posta dagl'heretici a fine di farle mancare d'ogni consolatione spirituale. Altre desiderose di confessarsi s'hanno ingegnato di far un sacerdote in forma di gentilhuomo laico et passeggiando per un chiostro in vista de medesimi guardiani si sono confessate." It is necessary to choose a very experienced man for the visitation of these monasteries; the best would be a Jesuit.: "perchè essi hanno hormai domesticato il paese ne ricevono oltraggio alcuno anco se sieno veduti nelle più corrotte parti dell'Alemagna, ma lo receverianno bene."

7. "Seminario de iureconsulti et canonisti" erected by Gregory XIII. at Bologna, but the Pope then died. Sixtus V. applied it to other purposes. The Pope might re-establish this seminary; the place suited for it would rather be Ingolstadt.

8. "Sono tali in ogni parte dell'Alemagna i privilegi et l' immunità de cavallieri Hierosolomitani tanto de quei di Malta quanto degl'altri che chiamano Teutonici, che in qualonque loco essi tengono comenda non c' è o communità che ardisca privarli della libertà loro, ne intromettersi in quel che si faccia nelle loro case o chiese, et perciò in quella città ove è sbandito ogn' essertitio di religione catholica non si prohibisce però loro l' essercitarela, il che se fosse stato considerato da principio con maggiore zelo, haveria bastato questo rimedio solo a fomentare in molti luochi le scintille della fede catholica che non s' estinguessero affatti. Ma è stata tal negligenza che molte delle commende così dell' uno come dell' altro ordine poste in luochi tanti importanti sono cadute in man' de cavallieri o heretici o che niun persiero pigliavano del divino culto, il qual male si va di maniera invechiando che l' rimedio si farà ogn' hora più difficile, ma non ancora pero impossible." For this purpose steps should be taken with the Cardinal Grand Master, with the Archduke Maximilian, and with the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

9. The Pope should write at once to the German princes and bishops or to the Chapters to counsel and encourage them.

10. The distance of the Germans from Rome. In spite of the injunction of Sixtus V. the German bishops have not come "ad limina apostolorum." There are far too few German Cardinals; the great country of Germany has only four Cardinals: Altaemps, Maddrucci, Austria et Arciduca, questi

due sempre lontani, il primo quasi sempre infermo, l' altro con minore sanità et con più occupationi di quel che ricercaria il bisogno dei Tedeschi, i quali non hanno però altro refugio in questa corte, et quando per absenza o per infermità mancano, di questo maggiormente si truovano desolati et quei pochi che vengono parteno spesso mal contenti. Et pure ardisco di dire che la Germania a questi tempi per gracia de Dio fiorisca de vescovi così eminenti in ogni virtù che non cede ad alcun altra provincia del christianesmo.

11. Ha anco hauto la poca disciplina de religiosi mendicanti non picciola colpa nella dilatione dell'heresie in Alemagna si come da loro stessi hebbe l' origine ne si può se non accusare la negligenza de generali che quanto più sono accresciuti i mali in quella provincia, tanto meno hanno curato di mandarvi buoni medici, anci quando s' è trovato un frate per qualunque vicio insoportabile in Italia l' hanno subito mandato in Alemagna et bene spesso con carico, onde no sono seguiti tanti mali essempi et tanti scandali che oltre poi l' essere stati cacciati da molti luochi i frati et occupati i monasterii, et qualche volta menduti anco da i medesimi religiosi s' è messa nota damnosissima al catolicismo valendosi i predicanti heretici de mali essempi et mala vita de religiosi più che di qualonque testo della sacra scrittura, a che s' haveria a rimediare per l' avenire mediante l' commandamento di N. S^re^ a generali delli ordini etc.

AGGIONTA DELL' ANNO 1592.

Dopo queste considerationi è successo in Halberstadio la matatione della religione . . ., il Duca Henrico Giulio di Brunsvich v'ha introdotto il lutheranismo più con l'autorità et con la forza che con le persuasioni.—The Catholics have again made a courageous stand at Halberstadt.

Per le pretensioni de Suizzeri con la Camera Apost. s' è anto interrotta quella nonciatura con gran danno della religione catholica in quelle parti, ne pare che sia difficile o finire il negocio o assicurare il noncio anco che non si finisca.

In Alemagna s' attende per ordinario molto alle dispute et si parla in ogni congresso et nelle tavole di materie di religione, però è necessario che i noncii che vi si mandino habbino per le mani le controversie de nostri tempi o almeno conducano seco huomini che le intendano et ne sieno versatissimi perchè occorre il disputare anco in presenza de principi.

Alcuni credono che nella confusione nella quale si truovono al dì d'hoggi gl'heretici si potria sperare qualche gran bene da un concilio nationale nel qual i contrasti che di sicuro nascieriano tra Lutherani et Calvinisti et l' haver già conosciuto molti principi i mali che porta seco l' heresia et le fallacie sue con gl'inganni de predicanti di quelle sette potriano causare qualche gran bene per la gloria di Dio benedetto massime a questi tempi che la parte catholica abbondaria d'huomini dottissimi et pieni di spirito ove gl'heretici mancano già di dottrina et di quell'ardore, con che da principio s'infiammavano a diffendere gl'errori proprii.—The matter can be left to the discretion of the Pope.

[Cod. H. 179, Nr 19, p. 120 f u. Nr 20, p. 126 *seqq.*, Ambrosian Library, Milan.]

45. Pope Gregory XIV. to Cardinal Lenoncourt.[1]

" Dilecto filio nostro Philippo tit. S. Honophrii presbytero cardinali de Lenoncourt nuncupato.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quantum istius nobilissmi regni Franciae cura inter caeteras pastoralis muneris solicitudines nobis cordi sit, testis est Deus, qui nostras cogitationes cognitas habet et testis est quilibet, qui consilia et actiones nostras diligenter observat, finis enim ad quem studia et actus nostri tendunt, is demum est qui ad fidei catholicae et publicae tranquillitatis in isto regno restitutionem maxime dirigitur. Iam vero si haec eadem ratio, quae in nobis praecipua esse debet, a quolibet pie sentiente sive principe sive privato homine minime est aliena, quanto magis a te retinenda est, qui sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalis existis quique ad sanguinem usque ipsius catholicae veritatis defensionem et haeresum extirpationem procurare teneris? Cum itaque ex multorum literis et relatione acceperimus multa facta fuisse, et hoc tempore fieri, quibus Henrici Borbonii olim Navarrae regis et eius fautorum et illi adhaerentium conatus non modicum incrementum sumpsisse dignoscuntur, te ab eiusdem Henrici eiusque fautorum et adhaerentium coniunctione, sincero corde recedere ac omni dissimulatione remota prorsus disiungi oportere duximus, ac propterea ne errores quibus non resistimus approbare videamur, auctoritate

[1] See *supra*, p. 373.

apostolica tenore praesentium tibi in virtute obedientiae iniungimus ac sub suspensionis a divinis et ab ingressu ecclesiae aliisque sententiis et censuris ecclesiasticis nec non privationis omnium ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, dignitatum, officiorum ac beneficiorum quorumcumque, cuiuscumque ordinis, praeeminentiae et qualitatis existunt ac caeteris contra fautores et defensores haereticorum atque eis adhaerentes a sacris canonibus et apostolicis constitutionibus statutis spiritualibus et temporalibus et praeterea aliis etiam gravioribus ipso facto incurrendis atque arbitrio nostro imponendis et infligendis poenis dis ricte praecipiendo mandamus, ut nulla interposita mora ab ipso Henrico eiusque fautoribus omnino recedas teque penitus seiungas et separes neque illum unquam ut regem agnoscas, tractes vel habeas atque ab omni publica vel secreta eius vel ei faventium et adhaerentium familiaritate, consuetudine et commercio sue quavis alia communicatione etiam per literas abstineas nullumque ei vel eius fautoribus et adhaerentibus praedictis consilium auxilium, opem vel favorem praestes vel impendas, atque ut intra quadraginta dies a die quo praesentes nostrae literae ad te pervenerint numerandos te his nostris monitis paruisse nos per specialem nuntium vel literas tua manu subscriptas tuoque sigillo obsignatas seu per publicum et authenticum instrumentum ad nos et Sedem Apost. transmittendum doceas seu certiores reddas." Otherwise we will cite and condemn you as a supporter of heresy. Dat XXVIII., Martii, 1591, An. 1.

Simili brevi ai card. Bourbon e Gondi, dat. ut s.

[Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.[1])

46. Pope Gregory XIV. to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna.[2]

1591, May 4, Roma.

Dilecte fili etc. Cupientes apostolicum palatium quod fel. rec. Sixtus papa V. praedecessor noster prope basilicam Lateranensem magno sumptu et labore extrui mandavit, sartum tectumque conservari et diligenter custodiri, tibi eiusdem basilicae Lateran. archipresbytero ob singularem quo personam tuam prosequimur amoris affectum, praedicti palatii usum et habitationem quamdiu nobis et successoribus

[1] *Ibid.*, a second *Brief to Cardinal Bourbon, dated May 28, 1591, which was to be presented by M. Landriano.
[2] See *supra*, p. 406.

nostris Rom. Pontificibus ibidem moram trahere vel ad illud divertere non placuerit ac alias ad nostrum et Sedis Apost. beneplacitum concedimus et assignamus. Non obstantibus etc. Dat. Romae in monte Quirinali sub ann. pisc. die quarta Maii 1591 P. n. ao primo.

[Orig. Colonna Archives, Rome.]

47. Avviso di Roma of October 16, 1591.[1]

Questa notte su le 8 hore et ¼ N.S. † in vero da christiano et santamente della maniera, che è visso sempre, havendo al lato, da che è stato con la morte alla bocca, del continuo Padri Scappuccini, Jesuiti et altri Religiosi, oltre a Verona et altri cardinali et parenti chiamati di ordine di S. B., la quale più volte ha preso i viatici estremi, confessandosi ogni matina, et dalla sua bocca si è sempre inteso scaturire parole di molta sanità. A stone of three " oncie " in the " vessica," like an egg, injuring the surrounding " fegato, reni " ; there was " febre ettica et putrida " ; an outlet for " ori, perle macinate, etc." to the depth of 15mm, kept him going for a long time ; lungs and kidneys full of pus and blood.; all the physicians wondered that he lasted so long.

Lascia nome di ottimo Religioso, ma vile et da poco in superlativo grado, essendosi sempre conformato all' oracolo del card. Sfondrato et de parenti non meno di lui fa niente et di nissuna esperienza et prattica. Il che si è conosciuto nell' occasione del fare li cardinali, essendo rimasto il nepote a guisa di pavone senza coda solo nel procurarsi in questo ultimo danari, offici, benefitii, spogli, et quanto haveva la Sede Apost. et hanno havuto in ciò tanto ingegno, che per le spese del conclave et de soldati da farsi contra i banditi è bisogno di pigliare danari ad interesse o poner mano alli milioni obligati. Il che hanno fatto cosi scovertamente che non ci è memoria simile. Il card. Sfondrato voleva maneggiare ogni cosa et non sapeva nulla, essendo solo obedito nell' interesse appartenente a S. S. ill^{ma}, ma nel resto del governo si lavorava al peggio, et nel tempo della malatia del Papa non si conosceva per la imbeccilità de ministri, se fosse sede vacante o piena, per il che era da tutti desiderata la morte di S. B.

It is hoped, che debbiamo essere meglio governati in queste

[1] See *supra*, pp. 358, 386.

tempo di sede vacante che nella piena, perchè Sfondrato non permetteva si dicessero al Papa le stravaganze della carestia et de banditi, havendo ultimamente il detto Sfondrato fatto sapere al Papa, che questo stato era netto de banditi, et che'l grano non si vendeva che a 7 sc. il rubbio, et dicendo ciò S. B. al conte di Olivares un pezzo fa nel volere S. Ecc. rispondere il contrario, Sfondrato gli accennò, che tacesse, onde il conte rispose solo, che sene rallegrava.

Non ci è memoria simile a questa, che in un' anno la Sede apost. habbia havuto 4 Papi.

[Orig. *Urb.* 1060 II., p. 559–561, Vatican Library.]

48. Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo to Giacomo Kurz. [1]

" . . . La elettion sua [di Innocenzo IX.] è stata favorita a tutto poter dalla nostra banda. Onde possiamo et dovemo sperare che sarà il padre amorevole della ser^ma casa d'Austria. Egli l'altra volta nel conclave passato fu uno de nominati." Lo scrittore stesso non avrebbe avuto nella congregazione del S. Ufficio alcun amico più intimo di lui da circa 20 anni . . ." Essendo sugetto di singolar prudenza, dottrina, in buon spero che sarà bon papa et bon pastor del grege di Christo."[2]

[Orig. autograph, State Archives, Vienna.]

(Corrispondenza di Corte) 9.

49. Avviso di Roma of November 13, 1591.[3]

N. S. riesce ogni dì più singolare et ottimo pastore, et perchè la matina non si ciba si non di una semplice orzata mangiando poi la sera convenientemente con bevere poco et temperatissimo, di qui è che tutto il giorno intiero attende a speditioni, et pur l' altra sera erano intimate 27 audienze a prelati et signori, con spedir presto et bene ogni persona, come quello, che è versatissimo in tutti li nogotii. Risolve senza fatica, et si è lasciato intendere con Sfondrato, che supplicava di essere rimosso dalla consulta ma in vano, perchè S. B. non vuole adoprare li suoi nipoti nelli maneggi della Sede Apost.,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 418, 423.
[2] See *supra*, p. 418. On November 22, 1591 Cardinal Gonzaga *reports to the Emperor : " Credo che N. Sr Dio n' havrà fatta in ciò la gratia desiderata havendoci dato un papa conforme alle necessità presenti et di quelle rare parti di valore, bontà et religione delle quali si è conosciuto in ogni tempo essere stata la persona del sigr cardinale Santi Quattro hora Innocentio Nono." State Archives, Vienna (Corrispondenza di Corte, 9).
[3] See *supra*, p. 420.

per non essere idonei, ma servirsi in ciò de soggetti buoni et prattichi, et di non voler dare a suoi servitori pezze da 200 s.c. . . ."

[Orig. *Urb.* 1059, II., p. 613, Vatican Library.]

50. Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1591.

" . . . Il Papa notò molto bene il letto, che ha animo di fare per la valle del' Inferno, per dare un ramo al Tevere dietro al Vaticano, in tempo di crescenza del fiume, et si scorge, che S. B. ha gran pensieri, tutti di servitio alla Sede Apost. et christianità."

Next summer the Pope intends to live at the Palace, " procura di fare seccare tutte le acque de prati et altre intorno al Vaticano, per render tanto migliore l' arie."

[Orig. *Urb.*, 1059 II., p. 648b, Vatican Library.]

51. Avviso di Roma of December 7, 1591.[2]

Dicono, che'l Papa prema fuori di modo et si fatichi la memoria in trovare semedio, che nelli conclavi i principi laici non habbiano quella parte, che hanno havuta fin qui, et particolarmente in provedere al regresso continuato de Spagnoli nella elettione de Pontefici . . .

[Orig. *Urb.* 1059, II., p. 668 , Vatican Library.]

52. Avviso di Roma of January 1, 1592.[3]

. . . Domenica la notte il Papa cominciò a peggiorare in maniera, che su le 12 hore et ¾ rese l' anima a Dio santamente, siocme è visso sempre, in tanto che posto il suo cadavero in S. Pietro al solito in vista a tutti, è andato di continuo il popolo con gran calca a baciarle il piede e a farle toccare le corone come a Santo. Ne si trova, che mai habbia havuto nievo o macola veruna in tutta la sua vita, venendo pianto questo buon Principe da tutta Roma per le rare qualità sue. Amava S. B. et abbracciava generalmente tutti et massime la povertà, la religione et la nobiltà. Teneva a cuore il servitio della Sede Apost. Haveva gran politica, termini di vecchio cortegiano et rispettava i cardinali. Ascoltava tuti, et più li poveri che li ricchi. Ringratiava chi li dava avertimenti de

[1] See *supra*, p. 421. [2] See *supra*, p. 421. [3] See *supra*, p. 427.

disordini, angarie et cose mal fatte, era flemmatico in tutte le cose, circonspetto, prudente, savio, grandissimo, intelligengte in tutti gli affari, conservatore de thesori spirituali et temporali della Sede Apost., et finalmente tanto parco nel dare alli suoi parenti, che da che si ammalò, non ha mai voluto segnare speditione veruna, et pur domenica notte havendo i parenti spinto fin un padre Jesuita a supplicarlo, che almeno donasse alli nipoti 25^{m}sc. contanti, et altritanti d' offitii, che erano in thesoreria et Dataria, i quali con sicurissima conscienza posseva donare, anzi era obligato, rispose, che se i parenti suoi fossero stati da bene, Iddio li havrebbe provisti del modo che haveva fatto S.S. Ma che dirò io dopo preso il ss. sacramento per viatico, ch' essendoli stata portata da segnare la supplica del priorato di Barletta in persona del cardinale suo nipote, S. B. con honesta ira la ributtò, dicendo che haveva accommandato l' anima sua con Dio, et che però non le trattassero se non di cose spirituali, si come fu fatto specialmente dalli cardinali Borromeo et Sfondrato fino all' ultimo suspiro, che fu apunto nel fare della eclisse, salendo al cielo . . .

[Orig. *Urb.*, 1060 I., p. 1^{b}, Vatican Library.]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXII.

Accoramboni, Flaminio. 190.
Adolphus (Duke of Holstein), 82.
Adorno, Giov. Agost. (co-founder of the Minor Clerks Regular), 398.
Adrian I., Pope 273.
Adrian VI., Pope, 105, 356.
Aelst, Nicholas van (engraver), 354.
Agellio, Theatine), 391.
Agucchia, Girolamo, 425.
Alaleone, Paolo (master of ceremonies), 218, 229, 285, 289, 333, 365, 398, 421.
Albani, Cardinal, 314, 317, 321, 409.
Albert of Austria Cardinal, 68, 125, 315, 402, 405, 412.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 103.
Aldobrandini Cinzio, 173.
Aldobrandini, Ippolito, Cardinal (later Pope Clement VIII.), 71, 169-174, 181, 316, 321, 329, 340, 343 *seq.*, 372, 380 *seq.*, 385, 412 *seq.*
Aldred, Solomon (spy), 4, 6.
Alençon, Duke of, 35.
Alexander III., Pope, 279.
Alexander VI., Pope, 105, 222.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 293, 348
Alexander Severus (Roman emperor) 208.
Alfonso II. (Duke of Ferrara), 163, 195, 341, 355, 379-382, 383, 385.
Allen, William Cardinal, 5 *seq.*, 10, 16, 24, 38 *seqq.*, 52 *seqq.*, 67, 105, 315 *seq*, 318, 329, 391 *seq.*, 441.
Aloysius Gonzaga, St., 353, 360.
Altemps [Mark Sittich], Cardinal, 118, 130, 134, 281, 315, 323, 338, 347, 384, 405, 441 *seq.*
Ambrose, St., 200 *seq.*
Ammanati, Bartolomeo, 250.
Ammianus Marcellinus (historian), 248, 265.
Andrew of Austria (Bishop of Constance), Cardinal, 125, 134 *seq.*, 315, 318, 339, 405, 413, 418.
Angennes, Charles d', Cardinal, 315.
Anna Jagellonica (Queen-mother of Poland), 162 *seq.*
Annibale di Capua (Archbp. of Naples, nuncio), 157 *seq.*, 164 *seqq.*, 168, 171, 175, 379.
Antichi, Prospero (sculptor), 215.
Antoniano, Silvio (poet), 183, 191, 243, 294.
Antonio, Don (pretender to the crown of Portugal), 58, 68.
Antonio de Aquino, 417.
Antony of Padua, St., 184, 288.
Aquaviva, Claudio (general of the Jesuits), 10, 24, 170, 400 *seqq.*
Aquaviva, Marcello (nuncio), 153.
Aquaviva, Ottavio (Archbp. of Naples), Cardinal, 395 *seqq.*
Aragona, Tagliavia d', Cardinal, 317 *seq.*, 342, 347, 381, 411, 441 *seq.*
Armagnac, Georges d', Cardinal, 315.
Arundel, Charles, Earl of, 4, 32.
Augustus (Elector of Saxony), 73 *seq.*, 77, 88.

Augustus (Roman emperor), 212, 265 *seq.*, 295.
Aumale, Duke of, 59.
Azzolini, Dezio (secretary of state), Cardinal, 77, 86, 156, 164 *seq.*, 211, 280, 315.

BABINGTON, Anthony, 9, 12, 26, 38.
Bacci, Andrea (physician to Sixtus V.), 190.
Badesius, Hieronymus, 243.
Badoer, Alberto (Venetian ambassador), 36, 74, 154, 178, 234, 329, 337.
Baglione, Giovanni (painter), 215, 278.
Ballard, John, (missionary priest, conspirator, *alias*: Fortescue), 9-14, 16 *seq.*, 19 *seqq.*, 23 *seq.*
Barbaro, Marcantonio (Venetian ambassador), 147.
Bargaeus, Petrus Angelus (poet), 194, 197, 259.
Barocci, F. (sculptor), 295.
Baronius, Cesare (historian), 137, 190 *seq.*, 357, 397, 407.
Bartolomeo de Miranda (O.P.), 197.
Basa, Domenico (printer), 200.
Bastiletto (bandit), 345.
Bastone (datary), 170.
Báthory, Andrew, Cardinal, 156, 163, 315, 412.
Báthory, Stephen (King of Poland), 155-158, 162 *seq.*
Beaume, Renaud de (Archbp. of Bourges), 378.
Bellarmine, Robert (S.J.), 391 *seqq.*, 394, 396.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 360.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 184.
Berden, R. (spy), 4.
Berg, Marquard von (Bishop of Augsburg), 119.
Berlaymont, Louis de (Archbishop of Cambrai), 96.
Bernardo, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 44.
Bernieri, Girolamo, Cardinal, 316.
Bernard, St., 353.
Bertolini da Castello, Matteo, 209.
Berzerra, Domenico, 193.
Bianchetti, Lorenzo (auditor), 170, 382.
Bianco, Guglielmo (poet), 207, 242.
Bladus, Paulus (bookseller), 200.
Blanc, Guillaume le (Bishop of Grasse), 196.
Blarer von Wartensee, Jakob Christoph (Bishop of Basle) 120, 136, 143.
Boari, Orazio (commissary for antiquities), 238.
Boccapaduli, Antonio (latinist, secretary), 320, 422.
Boccarino, Dario (envoy to Madrid), 376.
Boëthius, 298.
Bolognetti, Alberto (Polish nuncio), Cardinal, 155, 163, 315.
Bonardus, B. (O.P.). 59.
Bonaventure, St., 201, 298.
Boncompagni, Filippo, Cardinal, 315.
Boncompagni, Giacomo (Duke of Sora), 348.
Bonelli, Michele, Cardinal, 314, 317, 321, 330, 338, 380, 390.
Bongiovanni, Tirante, 316, 367.
Bonhomini, Giov. Francesco (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio) 71, 77 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*, 94 *seqq.*, 97-99, 107, 131.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 245, 262, 270, 273.
Bonucci, Stefano (Bishop of Arezzo), Cardinal, 315.
Bordini, Giov. Francesco (Oratorian), 193, 196, 225, 243, 264.
Borromeo, Charles, St., Cardinal, 94, 98, 131, 325, 352, 354, 397.
Borromeo, Federico (Archbp. of Milan), Cardinal, 316, 322, 391, 403, 413, 422, 441 *seq.*, 443.
Bourbon, Charles (Archbp. of Rouen), Cardinal, 315, *see* Vendôme.

Bourgoing, Dr., 27.
Bovio, Girolamo (nuncio to Poland), 164.
Bozio, Tomaso (Oratorian), 196.
Bramante (architect), 236, 274, 291 *seq.*, 306.
Braun, Georg, 99.
Brenner, Martin (Bishop of Seckau), 91.
Bresca of San Remo (sailor), 256.
Bresciano, Prospero (sculptor), 182, 260.
Bril, Paul (painter), 275, 277.
Brillmacher, *see* Michael, P.
Briscia, Doctor (canonist), 369.
Bromley, 27.
Bruce, R. (spy), 4.
Brumani, Matteo (Mantuan envoy), 51, 59, 61, 161, 180 *seq.*, 317, 332 *seq.*, 345, 346, 386.
Buchelius, A., 406.
Buonvicino, Ambrogio (sculptor), 333.
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 24, 27, 67.

CAETANI, Camillo (nuncio), 241, 405.
Caetani, Errico, Cardinal, 52, 168, 197, 280, 315, 318, 339, 347, 369, 375, 385.
Caetani, Onorato, Duke, 313.
Caetani, Pietro, 374.
Caffarelli, Family of the, 430.
Calderón, Coco Pedro de, 62.
Caligari, Gian Andrea (Bishop of Bertinoro, nuncio), 57, 71, 74, 90 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*, 358, 421, 424.
Caligula (Roman emperor), 262.
Callixtus III., Pope, 306.
Camillus of Lellis, St., 359 *seq.*, 398 *seq.*
Campori, Gius. (envoy), 355, 425.
Canani, Giulio, Cardinal, 317, 426.
Capilupi, Camillo (Mantuan envoy), 249.
Caracciolo, Fabricio, 398.
Caracciolo, Francesco, St., 398.
Carafa, Family of the, 301.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 51 *seq.*, 121, 191, 200, 280, 298, 317 *seq.*, 409, 441.
Carretti, Tullio (envoy), 415.
Carrillo, (Jesuit), 402.
Castagna, Family of the, 323 *seq.*
Castagna, Costanza (mother of Urban VII.), 324.
Castagna, Giambattista, Cardinal, *see* Urban VII.
Castalio, Gius, 193.
Castelnau, 2.
Castro, Rodrigo, Cardinal, 315, 412.
Castrucci, Giambattista, Cardinal, 316.
Cataneo, Baldo, 182.
Cataneo, Federico (envoy), 322, 329, 331, 386.
Catena, Girolamo, 192, 283.
Catherine, (Queen of Sweden), 162.
Cati, Pasquale (painter), 281.
Cauriano, Alberto (Bishop of Alba), 379.
Cavalli, Marino (Venetian ambassador), 67 *seq.*
Cavendish, Thomas (sailor), 41.
Ceccarelli, Alfonso, 350.
Celestine II., Pope, 349.
Cendwalla, 306.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 249, 315.
Chacon (Ciaconius), Pedro, 196, 361.
Charles V., Emperor, 48, 60, 223, 351.
Charles (Archduke of Austria), 35.
Charles (Archduke of Styria), 90 *seqq.*, 116.
Charles Emanuel (Duke of Savoy), 130, 150, 180.
Charles of Lorraine, *see* Lorraine.
Châteauneuf (French envoy), 8 *seq.*, 31.
Chérelles (spy), 4.
Christian I. (Elector of Saxony), 74.
Ciaconius, Alphonsus, 408.
Cibo, Lucrezia (daughter of the prince of Massa), 362,

Cicarelli, Ant. (biographer), 178, 182, 359, 385.
Cicogna, Pasquale (doge of Venice), 146, 149.
Cioli, Alessandro (sculptor), 282.
Clement VII., Pope, 223.
Clement, VIII., Pope, 35, 186, 361, 387, 423.
Clement IX., Pope, 228.
Cobenzl, Giov., 74.
Colonna, Family of the, 341, 441.
Colonna, Ascanio, Cardinal, 237, 316, 318, 341, 380, 382, 406, 412, 415.
Colonna, Fabrizio, 442.
Colonna, Giulio, 441.
Colonna, Marcantonio (The Constable), 181, 288, 442.
Colonna, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 208, 314, 316-320, 321 *seqq.*, 333 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*, 338, 341 *seq.*, 372, 391 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*, 441.
Colonna, Marzio, 208, 210, 321, 342, 431.
Colonna, Sciarra, 245.
Contarelli, Matteo, Cardinal, 315.
Coret, Nicolas von (Bishop of Trieste), 118, 120.
Corgna, Conte della (bandit), 345.
Cornaro, Federico, Cardinal, 316, 334, 407.
Cortese, Giulio (poet), 31.
Cospi, Tommaso (numismatist), 273.
Costa, Cesare (Archbp. of Capua, nuncio), 146, 153.
Costantini, Antonio (poet), 195.
Crescenzi, Camillo, 407.
Crescenzi, Virgilio, 155.
Crichton, (Jesuit), 35.
Curll, (private secretary to Mary Stuart), 25 *seq.*
Cusano, Agostino, Cardinal, 316, 318, 441.
Cysat, Renward (communal secretary of Lucerne), 140.

Dalberg, Wolfgang von (Archbp. and Elector of Mayence), 76, 94, 98, 120.
Demontiosius, *see* Montoise.
Denyce, Thomas, 67
Dernbach, Balthasar (abbot of Fulda), 83.
Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 315, 317 *seq.*, 438 *seq.*
Diego [Didacus] de Alcalá (O.F.M.), St., 183, 263, 298.
Diotalevi (procurator for Hungarian bishops), 120.
Dolfin, Giovanni (Venetian ambassador), 45, 396.
Dominic, St., 288, 296.
Donato, Leonardo (Venetian ambassador), 147 *seq.*, 154.
Donatus, 298.
Dornberg, Veit von (Imperial ambassador in Rome), 115, 321.
Drake, Francis (pirate), 41, 43-46, 48, 68.
Draskovich, Georg (Archbp. of Kalocsa), Cardinal, 111, 315.
Dubliul, Laurus, 106, 354, 388.
Duca, Lodovico del, 286.
Dunne (conspirator), 19.
Du Pérac-Lafréry, 203, 308.

Echter, Julius (of Mespelbrunn, Prince-bishop of Würzburg), 72, 83, 120, 122, 126, 128, 130.
Egidio della Riviera, *see* Vliete.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 1 4, 6-10, 13, 15 17 *seq.*, 24-27, 29 *seqq.* 32-41, 46 *seq.*, 49, 54, 56-59, 65 *seq.*, 68 *seqq.*, 109, 161.
Englefield, Francis, 67.
Ernest of Bavaria (Elector and Archbp. of Cologne), 77-80, 84 *seq.*, 89 94 *seq.*, 98, 100 *seq.*, 104, 120.
Ernest of Austria, Archduke, 75, 85, 90, 113, 115, 163, 165, 171, 173.
Ernest Frederick (Margrave of Baden-Hochberg), 144.
Erstenberger, Andreas (contro versialist) 109, 129.
Este, Cesare d', 380.

Este, Filippo d' (Marquis of S. Martino), 380, 414.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 301, 315, 413, 418.
Eugenius II., Pope, 279.
Eusebi da Perugia, Pompili (engineer), 233.
Eyzinger, Michael, 99.

Fabiis, Ortensio de, 269.
Fabro, Giovanni (botanist), 190.
Facchetti, Pietro (painter), 299.
Facchinetti, Antonio (great-nephew to Innocent IX.), Cardinal, 424 *seq.*
Facchinetti, Cesare (nephew to Innocent IX.), 425 *seq.*
Facchinetti, Giov. Ant. (afterwards Innocent IX.), Cardinal, 317, 318 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, 329, 333, 336, 339, 347, 369, 372, 380, *see* Innocent IX.
Farnese, Alessandro (Duke of Parma), 7, 13, 37 *seq.*, 47, 59, 66, 77, 88, 94, 101, 106, 152, 162, 354, 378, 424.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 53, 164, 168, 175, 280, 315, 395, 416.
Farnese, Odoardo, Cardinal, 395 *seq.*
Fenzoni, Ferraù (painter), 277.
Feodor (Grand - prince of Russia), 163, 165.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 73.
Ferdinand (Archduke of Tyrol), 75 *seq.*, 85, 130, 163, 170, 319.
Feri, Girolamo (Theatine), 357.
Ferratini (Bishop), 259.
Ferreri, Guido, Cardinal, 315.
Flamini (sculptor), 247.
Fleckenstein (syndic of Lucerne), 136.
Foglietta, Catervo, 192, 242, 247, 271, 305.
Foglietta, Guido Baldo, 231.
Fontana, Domenico (architect), 193, 202 *seq.*, 206, 209, 213, 219, 226, 228, 236, 238, 250-258, 264-267, 269, 271, 277, 284, 292, 299, 300, 302 *seq.*, 308, 432.
Fontana, Giovanni, 202, 209.
Fontana, Marsilio, 202.
Fontana, Salvatore (painter), 285 n. 6.
Foscarini, Giacomo (Venetian ambassador), 147.
Francis I. (King of France), 296.
Francis of Assisi, St., 184, 288, 296, 300.
Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto (Bishop of Cajazzo, nuncio in Germany), 62, 98-107.
Frobisher, Martin (sailor), 41.
Froissart, Mgr., 354, 388.
Fugger, Mark von, 191.
Fürstenberg, Dietrich von (Cathedral-provost of Paderborn), 80 *seq.*

Gaetani, Niccoló, Cardinal. 315.
Gaetano di Tiene, St., 283.
Galesini, Pietro (O.S.B.), 85, 240, 242, 247, 263, 294.
Galli, Antonio Maria, Cardinal, 314, 316 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*, 321, 333, 336, 372, 401, 412 *seqq.*
Gambara, Giov. Franc., Cardinal, 315.
Gamberini, G., 159.
Gar, Fr. Anton. 368.
Garnet, Henry (S.J.), 22.
Gennep, L. v., 136.
George Frederick (Margrave of Brandenburg), 73, 88, 162 *seq.*
Gerstmann, Martin von (Bishop of Breslau), 82.
Gesualdo, Cardinal, 317, 380, 384 *seq.*
Gifford, George (spy), 4.
Gifford, Gilbert (conspirator), 4, 5-9, 12, 14 *seqq.*, 20 *seq.*, 24, 38.
Gifford, William (O.S.B., Archbp. of Rheims), 7 *seq.*
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 249, 316.
Gondi, Pierre de (Bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 315, 373, 412.

Gonzaga, Scipione, Cardinal, 194, 240, 316, 318, 323, 332, 338 *seq.*, 354, 415.
Gonzaga, Vespasiano, 326.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 168, 317 *seq.*, 323, 338 *seq.*, 354, 418, 422.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo I. (Duke of Mantua), 354, 389, 426.
Gradenigo (Venetian envoy), 44, 50.
Grandi, Andrea de (prelate), 170.
Granvella, Ant., Cardinal, 315.
Gratiosi, Gratioso, 181.
Gravius, H. (O.P.), 200.
Graziani, Ant. Maria (Bishop of Amelia), 164.
Gregory the Great, St., Pope, 201, 218.
Gregory VII., St., Pope, 262, 282.
Gregory IX., Pope, 192.
Gregory XI., Pope, 270.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 4, 10, 34, 39, 49, 71 *seq.*, 84, 104, 117, 128 *seqq.*, 147, 151, 155, 202, 206, 208, 224, 226, 244, 248, 264, 291, 294, 300 *seq.*, 317, 322, 325 *seqq.*, 330, 338, 348, 352, 355, 401, 417, 443, 446.
Gregory XIV. [Sfondrato], Pope, 105, 351-408, 409 *seq.*, 418, 420, 424, 440, 443.
Gregory XV., Pope, 360.
Grillo, Antonio (O.S.B., abbot), 305.
Grimaldi, Cardinal, 307, 308.
Grimaldi, Mgr., 366, 408.
Grimani, Marino (Venetian ambassador), 147.
Grimani, (patriarch of Aquileia), 120, 151.
Gritti, Andrea (Doge of Venice), 153, 419.
Gritti, Giovanni (Venetian ambassador), 34, 39, 43, 46, 48, 51, 56, 98, 152 *seq.*, 156, 159 *seq.*, 209, 214, 257.
Grotti, Carlo (envoy), 347.
Gualandi, Giuseppe, 427.
Gualterius, Guido, 213, 226, 272.
Guastavillani, Filippo, Cardinal, 249, 315.
Guerra da Modena, Giovanni (painter), 182, 207, 275, 281, 294.
Guglielmo de S. Clemente, 171.
Guidi, Camillo, 50.
Guiscard, Robert, 225.
Guise, Henri de, Duke, 13, 31 *seq.*, 37, 163.

Hamilton, Claude (adherent of Mary Stuart), 11.
Hatton, 26.
Hawkins (pirate), 41.
Heemskerck, Marten van, 220.
Henry II. (King of France), 324.
Henry III. (King of France, 3, 6, 29, 31 *seq.*, 34, 37, 49, 162, 225, 326.
Henry IV. (of Navarre, King of France), 34, 143, 186, 367 *seq.*, 369-378, 424, 448 *seq.*
Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg (Archbp. of Bremen), 78, 81, 102.
Henry Julius of Brunswick (administrator of Halberstadt), 89, 406, 447.
Heressinki, Peter (Bishop of Raab), 111.
Hilary I., Pope, 272.
Holle, Eberhard von (Bishop of Lübeck), 89.
Hosius, Cardinal, 192.
Howard of Effingham, Lord (admiral), 67.

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 399, 401.
Innocent III., Pope, 262, 296.
Innocent IV., Pope, 335.
Innocent IX. [Giov. Ant. Facchinetti], Pope, 409-427.
Irving, Washington, 30.
Isabella Clara Eugenia (daughter of Philip II.), 50.
Isselt, Michael ab, 99.
Ivan IV. (Czar of Russia), 155.

Jacobazzi, Family of the, 324.
Jacobaea of Baden (Duchess of Juliers-Cleve), 103.
James III. (Margrave of Baden-Hochberg), 143 *seq.*, 178,

James VI. (King of Scotland), 14, 30 *seq.*, 38, 49, 59.
Jerin, Andreas von (Bishop of Breslau), 82, 119.
John Adolphus, of Holstein-Gottorp, 81.
John Casimir (count-palatine), 74 *seq.*, 109.
John William (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 79, 95, 103 *seq.*, 130.
Joyeuse, François, Cardinal, 61, 281, 315.
Julius II., Pope, 222, 225, 232, 262, 271, 303, 434 *seq.*, 438.
Julius III., Pope, 48, 197, 290, 324, 341.
Julius (Duke of Brunswick), 116.
Justinianus, B. (S.J.), 427.

KARNKOWSKI, Stanislaus (Archbp. of Gnesen), 166 *seq.*
Kent, Earl of, 28.
Kiechel, S., 258.
Klesl (vicar-general for Passau), 75, 113 *seq.*, 116.
Knox, John, 1.
Krafft von Weissenbach (abbot of Hersfeld), 107.
Kurz, Jacob, 451.

LANCELLOTTI, Scipione, Cardinal, 197, 317 *seq.*, 329, 380, 382.
Landi, Count, 88.
Landini, Taddeo (sculptor), 180.
Landriano, Marsilio (legate), 370, 372 *seq.*, 375 *seqq.*, 378, 432.
Lansac de (French envoy), 35.
Laureo, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 164, 314, 317, 321, 333, 338 *seq.*, 340, 342 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 380, 382, 411, 422, 441.
Laureti, Tommaso (painter), 299.
Leicester, Earl of, 1, 7, 43 *seq.*
Lenoncourt, Philippe de (Bishop of Auxerre), Cardinal, 315, 373, 377, 412, 448.
Leo I., Pope, 240.
Leo III., Pope, 270, 277.
Leo X., Pope, 105, 184, 223, 271.
Leo XIII., Pope, 182.
Leubenstein, M. (rector of Jesuit college, Lucerne), 139
Lewis, Owen, 10, 368.
Leyva, Alonso di, 56.
Lilio, Andrea (painter), 285, 286, 294.
Lindanus, Wilhelm (Bishop of Ghent and Ruremonde), 105.
Lippomano, Girolamo (Venetian envoy), 46 *seq.*, 55.
Loredano, M. (rector of the "Germanicum"), 260.
Lorraine, Charles de [Vaudemont], Cardinal, 315, 389, 412, 424.
Lorraine, Louis de, Cardinal, 315.
Loubenx de Verdale, Hugues de (Grand-master of the Knights of Malta), Cardinal, 315, 412.
Louis of Granada (O.P.), 55.
Lucy, St., 285.
Ludwig of Saxony (Capuchin), 135, 142, 144.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 281.
Lussy, Melchior, 137, 141.
Luxemburg, François de (Duke of Piney), 34, 255.

MACCHIAVELLI, 50, 417.
Maciejowski, Bernard (Polish envoy), 175.
Madruzzo, Lodovico (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 120, 165, 167, 169 *seq.*, 315, 317 *seqq.*, 320 *seqq.*, 333, 336, 339 *seq.*, 342 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 369, 380, 382, 405, 411, 413 *seqq.*, 418, 422, 440.
Maffei, Giampietro (S.J., annalist), 65, 177.
Maggi, Giampaolo (architect), 225.
Malachy, St. (Archbp. of Armagh), 349.

Malaspina, Germanico (nuncio), 71, 73 *seq.*, 77 *seq.*, 82-88, 110.
Malegnani, Attilio (envoy), 54, 202, 257, 264, 273, 283.
Manderscheid, Johann, Count of (Bishop of Strasburg), 72, 113, 120.
Manetti, Latino Giovenale de', 223.
Manutius, Aldus (printer), 197, 417.
Manutius, Paulus (printer), 197.
Marcellus II., Pope, 341.
Marchese, Dismas (Bishop of Acqui), 427.
Maretti, Giulio (envoy), 342, 343.
Maretti, Lelio (conclavist), 318, 335, 337, 340 *seqq.*, 343 *seq.*, 347, 355, 421.
Marliani (archeologist), 246.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 1-6, 8-11, 14 *seqq.*, 17-22, 25-32, 38, 53.
Mary Tudor (Queen of England), 40.
Massimo, Vittorio Camillo, 203, 204.
Mattei, Girolamo, Cardinal, 51, 168, 316, 372, 380, 382.
Mattei, Muzio, 226.
Matteucci, Girolamo (Archbp. of Ragusa), 56, 153 *seq.*, 374, 424.
Matthias of Austria (archduke), 163, 171.
Maude, Bernard (spy), 12, 15, 21 *seq.*
Maximilian, the Emperor, 296.
Maximilian of Austria (archduke), 163, 165-168, 171, 173 *seqq.*
Mayenne, Charles de (duke), 13, 377 *seq.*
Medek, Martin (Archbishop of Prague), 90, 113, 116, 119.
Medici, Alessandro, Cardinal, 155, 165, 317, 343, 411, 428.
Medici, Ferdinando, Cardinal (grand-duke of Tuscany), 208, 210 *seq.*, 249, 250, 253, 301, 316 *seqq.*, 336, 354, 366, 381, 410, 424.
Medici, Francesco (grand-duke of Tuscany), 149, 160, 185, 206, 235, 339.
Medina, Sidonia (admiral), 58, 60.
Mendoza, Bernardino de (Spanish envoy), 12 *seq.*, 16, 20 *seq.*, 26, 32, 37 *seq.*, 43, 59, 67, 414, 423.
Mendoza, Juan de, Cardinal, 315 *seq.*, 318, 411-416.
Menestrier (Jesuit), 350.
Mengersdorf, Ernest (Bishop of Bamberg), 119.
Mercati, Michele, 190.
Michael, Peter [Brillmacher], S.J., 79, 103.
Michelangelo, 223, 249, 268, 298, 307, 311.
Miller, Jakob (visitor for Ratisbon), 114.
Minucci, Minuccio, 74, 122-129, 413, 421, 422.
Mocenigo (Venetian envoy), 56.
Molaria, Valerio da, 333.
Montague, Viscount, 67.
Montalto, Alessandro Peretti (nephew of Sixtus V.), Card. 130, 175, 178, 180, 182 *seq.*, 191, 197, 205, 289, 298, 313, 316 *seq.*, 319, 321 *seqq.*, 329, 334, 338, 340, 342 *seqq.*, 346 *seq.*, 349, 407, 409, 412 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*, 419, 440 *seq.*
Montchrétien (poet), 31.
Monte, Francesco Maria del, Cardinal, 316, 321, 336, 337, 339, 354, 368, 370, 387, 415, 423 *seq.*
Montelparo, Gregorio Petrochino, Cardinal, 314, 316.
Montfort, Simon de (count), 296.
Montmorency, 375.
Montoise, Louis de [Demontiosus], 246.
Morgan, Thomas (agent of Mary Stuart), 3, 5-8, 10 *seqq.*, 15 *seq.*, 20.
Moro (Venetian ambassador) 384.

Morosini, Giov. Franc. (Bishop of Brescia), Cardinal, 59, 60, 316, 337, 342, 347, 411, 441.
Mucantius, Joh. Paulus (master of ceremonies), 320, 323, 331, 386, 388, 390, 412.
Muret, Marc Ant., 197.
Musotti, 328.
Muti, Marquis (envoy of Savoy), 180.

NAS, Johann (O.S.F.), 76.
Nau (secretary to Mary Stuart), 17, 25 *seq.*
Navarre, *see* Henry IV.
Nebbia, Cesare (painter), 207, 275, 294.
Negroni, Cardinal, 204.
Neri, Philip, St., 191, 353 *seq.*, 357, 362, 397, 399.
Neuenahr, Count von, 77.
Niccolini, Giovanni (Tuscan envoy), 376, 415.
Nicolas IV., Pope, 192, 282.
Nicolas V., Pope, 222, 248, 262, 300 *seq.*
Nogari, Paris (painter), 285, 294.
Nopel, Johann, 99.

Northumberland, Earl of, 32, 39.

OLIVARES, Duke of (Spanish ambassador), 32, 50 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, 165, 176, 180, 318 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*, 347, 355, 392, 400 *seq.*, 410 *seq.*
Olivieri, Pierpaolo (sculptor), 184, 247.
Olivo, Luigi, 210.
Orange, William, Prince of, 2, 43.
Ormaneto, Niccolò (Bishop of Padua), 34.
Orozeo, Alonso de (O.S.A.), 55
Orsi, Aurelio (poet), 196.
Orsini, Fulvio (humanist), 196, 246, 273, 345.
Orsini, Lelio (papal chamberlain), 165.
Orsini, Virginio (Duke of Bracciano), 366.
Ottaviano da Ravenna (Minorite), 197.

PAGET, Charles (agent to Mary Stuart), 12, 16, 20, 38.
Paleotto, Gabriele, Cardinal, 191, 314, 318 *seq.*, 329, 333, 336, 340, 346 *seq.*, 372, 380, 412 *seqq.*, 415, 441.
Palestrina, Giov. Pierluigi da, 408.
Pallotta, Giov. Evangelista, Cardinal, 316.
Panigarola, Francesco (Bishop of Asti), 191, 218, 357.
Panvinio, Onofrio, 192, 199, 201.
Papio, G. Angelo, 197.
Paraco, Giov. Ant., *see* Vasoldo.
Paravicini, Ottavio (Bishop of Alessandria, nuncio), 137-144, 373 *seq.*, 395, 397, 422.
Parry, William (spy), 2 *seq.*, 5.
Paruta, Paolo, 303, 305, 307.
Patrizi, Franc (Platonist), 407
Paul II., Pope, 248.
Paul III., Pope, 48, 60, 223, 248, 311, 315, 341, 351, 425.
Paul IV., Pope, 48, 105, 325, 337, 394, 416, 435.
Paul V., Pope, 214.
Paulina, Lollia, 203.
Pawlowski, Stanislaus (prince-bishop of Olmütz), 119, 164, 166.
Pellegrini, Lelio, 184.
Pellevé, Nicolas, Cardinal, 315, 317 *seq.*, 329, 344, 372, 384, 441.
Pepoli, Guido, Cardinal, 316.
Pérac, du, 308.
Peretti, Family of the, 204, 205.
Peretti, Alessandro, *see* Montalto.
Peretti, Camilla (sister to Sixtus V.), 198, 207, 210, 253, 281.
Peretti, Francesco, 289.
Peretti, Michele (nephew to Sixtus V.), 253, 282, 298, 313.
Persons, Robert (S.J.), 12.
Peruzzi, Baldassare, 220, 274.

Petrozani, Tullio, 180.
Peter Lombard, 298.
Peter Martyr (O.P., Inquisitor), 288.
Pfyffer, Ludwig, 133 *seq.*, 137 *seqq.*
Phelippes, Thomas (agent of Walsingham), 5 *seq.*, 8 *seq.*, 12, 19, 21, 25.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 29, 31 *seq.*, 34, 37 *seq.*, 40, 42 *seq.*, 45, 47 *seq.*, 49-59, 61, 63 *seqq.*, 68 *seq.*, 73, 77, 81, 150, 155, 159, 161 *seq.*, 166, 169, 180, 186, 318 *seqq.*, 321, 326 *seqq.*, 335 *seqq*, 339, 341 *seqq.*, 344, 346, 356, 360, 367 *seq.*, 369, 372, 378, 387 *seq.*, 397, 401, 409 *seqq.*, 412 *seqq.*, 416, 423 *seq.*
Philip Louis (Count palantine of Neuburg), 123, 126.
Pia, Bernardo, 35
Piatti, Flaminio, Cardinal, 380, 382, 375, 397.
Piccolomini, Alfonso (bandit), 366.
Pickering, 27.
Pierbenedetti, Mariano, Cardinal, 316, 343, 383, 411.
Pigafetta, Filippo, 59, 147.
Pinelli, Domenico, Cardinal, 168, 179, 316, 329.
Piney, *see* Luxembourg.
Pippi, Niccolò (sculptor), 183.
Pisany (French envoy), 34, 56 *seq.*
Pistorius, Johann, 144.
Pius II., Pope, 145, 236.
Pius III., Pope, 299.
Pius IV., Pope, 224, 232, 270, 277, 291, 317, 325, 346, 352, 416 *seq.*, 432.
Pius V., Pope, 36, 48, 60, 186, 192, 243, 254, 286 *seqq.*, 291, 293, 297, 317, 326, 380 *seqq.*, 385, 390, 398, 417, 420 *seq.*, 436.
Pius VI., Pope, 246.
Pius IX., Pope, 184, 276.
Pius X., Pope, 184, 187.
Plantin (printer), 191.
Pliny, 248.
Podlodowski (Polish noble), 155.
Poley, Robert (spy), 4, 15, 21 *seq.*
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 306, 308 *seq.*
Porta, Giambattista della (sculptor), 215, 288.
Porta, Tommaso della (sculptor), 328.
Posidippus (sculptor), 246.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 156 *seqq.*, 165, 170, 403, 421.
Poulet, Amias, Sir, 5.
Priuli, Lorenzo (Venetian ambassador), 35, 145, 150 *seqq.*, 154.
Ptolemy (King of Egypt), 295.
Pulzone, Scipio (painter), 299.
Puteo, Antonio (Archbp. of Bari, nuncio), 108, 110-114.

Quarenghi, Antonio (poet), 196.
Quiroga, Gaspar de, Cardinal, 315, 400, 412.

Radziwill, Georg, Cardinal, 156, 164, 315, 385, 403.
Raesfeld, Gottfried von (Dean of Münster), 78.
Ragazzoni, Girolamo (Bishop of Bergamo, nuncio), 412.
Rainaldi, Federico (librarian), 192, 199, 294, 299.
Rainaldi, Marino, 192, 199.
Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von (Archbp. of Salzburg), 76, 115, 118 *seq.*
Rangoni, Family of the, 203.
Rantzau, Henry (count of Holstein), 123.
Rascher, Peter (Bishop of Chur) 130.
Reni, Guido (painter), 358.
Reszka, Stanislaus (envoy), 168 *seq.*, 192.
Riario, Alessandro, Cardinal, 315.
Ricci, Family of the, 324.
Ricci, Annibale (secretary of the Consulta), 422.
Robardi, Vincenzo (poet), 309.

Rocca, Angelo (O.S.A.), 195, 243, 309, 392, 407.
Rocchi, Prospero (architect), 237.
Roscius, Julius (poet), 193, 305, 408.
Rosenberg-Orsini, Wilhelm von, 163.
Rossi, Giampietro (S.J.), 332.
Rossi, Ippolito de', Cardinal, 316, 409.
Rouler, Adrian (professor of poetry), 30.
Rovere, Girolamo della, Cardinal, 316, 333, 340, 441, 442.
Rudolph II., The Emperor, 71 *seqq.*, 76 *seq.*, 84, 86-89, 108, 110-116, 127, 163, 165 *seq.*, 172 *seqq.*, 185, 316, 327, 342, 379, 405.
Rusticucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 155, 230, 232, 317 *seq.*

Salimbeni, Ventura (painter), 294.
Salviati, Ant. Maria, Cardinal, 197, 207, 317, 340, 343 *seq.* 347, 380, 382, 411, 413.
Samerie, Henri [La Rue], S.J., 28.
Sangalletto (Papal chamberlain), 179.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 249.
Santa Croce, Prospero, Cardinal, 197, 315.
Santa Cruz (admiral), 46, 48, 55, 58.
Santarelli, Cesare (painter), 275.
Santi de Sant 'Agostino, Fra, 258.
Santoni, Gian Battista (nuncio), 133, 134, 136.
Santori, Giulio Ant., Cardinal, 153, 236, 288, 314, 317 *seqq.*, 322, 333, 336 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*, 346, 369, 372, 383, 386, 390, 394, 413, 415, 423.
Sarnano, Costanzo, Cardinal, 201, 316.
Sarzana, *see* Sormani.
Sauli, Ant. Maria (Archbp. of Genoa), Cardinal, 316, 372, 399.
Savage, John (apostate), 4, 7 *seq.*, 12 *seqq.*, 16, 19.
Savelli, Family of the, 204.
Savelli, Jacopo, Cardinal, 199, 315.
Scaramelli (Venetian envoy), 36.
Schaumburg, Anton von, Count (Bishop of Minden), 89.
Schaumberg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 120.
Schenk, Martin, von Niedeggen, 77, 101.
Schenking, Wilhelm von (Bishop of Osnabrück), 81.
Scherer, William (S.J.), 75.
Schönenberg, Georg von (Bishop of Worms), 120.
Schönenberg, Johann VII. von (Archbp. of Trêves), 76, 97, 106, 120.
Schulting-Steinweg, Cornelius, 99.
Sciarra, Marco (bandit), 345.
Sebenico, Boniface de (engraver), 258.
Sega, Filippo (Bishop of Piacenza), Cardinal, 37, 85, 87-90, 94, 108 *seqq.*, 162, 370, 424.
Serafino, Olivario (auditor of the Rota), 382.
Serbelloni, Giovanni, Cardinal, 314, 317, 333, 409.
Servi, Costantino de' (sculptor), 239.
Sessa, Duke of (Spanish ambassador), 180, 335 *seq.*, 410 *seq.*, 441.
Sfondrati, Family of the, 351.
Sfondrato, Ercole (brother to Gregory XIV.), 356.
Sfondrato, Erocle (nephew to Gregory XIV.), 362, 373 *seqq.*, 378.
Sfondrato, Francesco, Cardinal (senator, father of Gregory XIV.), 351.
Sfondrato, Francesco (nephew to Gregory XIV.), 362.
Sfondrato, Niccolò, Cardinal, 314, 317 *seqq.*, 333, 336, 339, 347 *seq.*, *see* Gregory XIV.

Sfondrato, Paolo Emilio (nephew to Gregory XIV., secretary of state), Cardinal, 357 *seqq.*, 361-365, 368, 383, 385 *seq.*, 395, 400, 402, 451.
Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, 288.
Sforza, Francesco, Cardinal, 249, 317, 322 *seq.*, 335, 337 *seq.*, 342, 346 *seq.*, 366 *seq.*, 410, 441 *seq.*
Sforza, Mario, 181.
Shrewsbury, Earl, 9.
Sigismund (Crown-prince of Sweden, King of Poland), 162 *seq.*, 165-168, 171, 173, 175 *seq.*, 183, 361, 402.
Sigismund (Voiwode of Transylvania), 162.
Sillery (envoy of Henry of Navarre), 374.
Simoncelli, Girolamo, Cardinal, 318, 349.
Sirleto, Guglielmo, Cardinal, 200, 315, 392.
Sixtus III., Pope, 282.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 222 *seq.*, 225, 271, 291.
Sixtus V., Pope, 1-313, 315 *seqq.*, 328 *seqq.*, 338, 340, 343, 367 *seq.*, 390 *seqq.*, 397, 399, 401 *seqq.*, 410, 412, 422, 424 *seq.*, 437, 441, 446.
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 175.
Solikowski (Archbp. of Lemberg), 156.
Sormani, Leonardo, da Sarzana (sculptor), 239, 247, 286 *seq.*
Southwell, Robert (S.J.), 22.
Spannocchi, Orazio, 163.
Spaur, Christoph Andreas (Bishop of Gurk), 118.
Spaur, Johann Thomas (Bishop of Brixen), 118.
Speciani, Cesare (Bishop of Novara, nuncio), 56, 240.
Spetius, Celius (parish-priest), 363.
Spinola, Alessandro, 305.
Spinola, Filippo (Bishop of Nola), Cardinal, 317 *seq.*, 422.
Sporeno, Francesco (envoy) 51, 87, 258, 329, 331, 333, 339, 343, 355, 368.
Staderini, Guiseppe (merchant), 204.
Stella, Giov. Battista (poet), 196.
Stobaeus, Georg (Bishop of Lavant), 91.
Suffridius, Peter, 99.
Sylvester, St., Pope, 270, 273.

Talbot, 20.
Tarugi, Franc. Maria (Oratorian), 357.
Tasso, Torquato, 145, 194 *seq.*, 239, 242, 258, 305, 348.
Tassoni, Ercole (envoy), 169.
Tautscher, Johann (Bishop of Laibach), 91, 119.
Tempesta, Antonio (painter), 294.
Theodore I., Pope, 273.
Thomas of Aquinas, St., 201, 397.
Thurn, Ambrose, Count of, 92.
Toledo (Jesuit), 381, 392.
Tolesani, Mgr. (abbreviator), 170, 172.
Torre, Michele della, Cardinal, 315, 319.
Torrentius, Lavinius (Bishop of Antwerp), 94, 97, 105 *seq.*
Torrigiani, Bastiano (sculptor), 286, 353, 355.
Tossignani, Pietro da, 201.
Trabaltese (architect), 428.
Trennbach, Urban von (Bishop of Passau), 114.
Tressom, T., Sir., 20.
Tribaldesi, Francesco (architect), 250.
Tromba, Francesco, 230, 232, 291, 305.
Truchsess, Gebhard (Archbp. of Cologne), 72, 77 *seq.*, 86, 99, 101, 109, 112 *seq.*
Tunneken (parish-priest), 80.
Tyrell, Anthony, 10 *seq.*, 23 *seq.*
Tyrone, Earl of, 70.

Ugolini, Bartolomeo, 196.

Ugonio, Pomponio, 197 *seq.*, 259, 269, 272, 279, 330, 333.
Ulenberg, Gaspar, 99.
Urban VII. [Castagna], Pope, 313-335, 440.
Urban VIII., Pope, 30.

VACCA, Flaminio (sculptor), 184, 215, 247.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 314, 317 333, 340, 342 *seq.*, 344, 346 *seq.*, 380, 382, 385, 391, 411, 441.
Valleius, G. P. Petrus, 258.
Valsoldo [Giov. Ant. Paraca] sculptor, 183, 288.
Valverde (consultor of the Index), 391.
Vandersypern (engraver), 419.
Vannozzi (secretary to Sfondrato), 358.
Vasari, Giorgio (painter), 268.
Vaudemont, *see* Lorraine.
Vendeville, Jean (Bishop of Tournai), 96, 105.
Vendôme (Bourbon), Cardinal, 373, 377, 412.
Verallo, Girolamo, Cardinal, 324.
Vestrius, Marcellus, 176, 356.
Vieheuser (Imperial vice-chancellor), 73, 76, 87.
Villeroy, 31 *seq.*
Vinta, Belisario (Tuscan ambassador), 185, 317, 319, 415.
Virgil, 265, 298.
Visconti, Alfonso (nuncio), 112, 114 *seqq.*, 185, 405.
Visconti, Anna (mother of Gregory XIV.), 351.
Vitiges (the Ostrogoth), 207.
Vitruvius, 294.
Vivonne, Jean de (French ambassador), 255.
Vliete, Hans van [Egidio della Riviera], 183, 288.
Vondel, Joost van den, 30.
Voss, G., 192.

WALDECK, Bernhard, Count of (Bishop of Osnabrück), 81, 89.
Walsingham (English secretary of state), 1-9, 12, 15 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 25.
Welser, Filippina (mother of Andrew of Austria), 125.
Westmoreland, Earl of, 24.
William of Hesse (Landgrave), 123.
William IV. (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 95, 103.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 76, 82, 84 *seq.*, 113 *seqq.*, 144, 163.
Wimpfeling, Johann (chancellor of Trêves), 95.
Wion, Arnold (O.S.B.), 349.

YARDLEY (spy), 24.

ZAGORDI, Mgr., 421.
Zamoiski, Johann (Polish chancellor), 163, 166 *seq.*, 171
Zampini, Matth., 378.
Zanchi, Lelio (poet), 196.
Zborowski, Family of the, 163, 166.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish ambassador), 327.
Zurla, Quirinus, 281.

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DEDICATED TO
HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.,
WITH PROFOUND VENERATION
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Catholicus non est, qui a Romana Ecclesia
in fidei doctrina discordat.
(Inscription on tomb of Cardinal Hosius in
S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.)

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIII.

PAGE

Collections of Archives and Manuscripts, referred to in Volumes XXIII. and XXIV. vii

Complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Volumes XXIII. and XXIV. ix

Table of Contents xxv

List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix. . xxxvii

Introduction 1

Election, Previous Career and Character of Clement VIII.—The Aldobrandini 6

Clement VIII. and France 59

The Absolution of Henry IV. 100

Religious policy of Henry IV.—Clement VIII. renews friendly relations with France.—Revival of religious life in France 147

Clement VIII. and Spain.—The Pope mediates between Spain, France and Savoy.—Decline of Spanish influence in Rome 195

Clement VIII. and the War against the Turks . . 265

Catholic Restoration in South Germany, Bavaria and Austria 311

Catholic Restoration in the Rhine Provinces, Bohemia and the Spanish Netherlands 361

Catholic Restoration in Switzerland.—The work of Francis of Sales 404

Appendix of Unpublished Documents 435

Index of Names 529

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXIII AND XXIV.

ANCONA—Communal Library.

BERLIN—State Library.
BOLOGNA—University Library.
BRUSSELS—State Archives.
——— Library.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—Graziani Archives.
COPENHAGEN—Library.

FERRARA — Communal Archives.
——— Library.
FLORENCE—State Archives.
——— Marucelliana Library.
——— National Library.
FOLIGNO—Seminary Library.
FRANKFURT A. M.—City Library.
FREIBURG I. BR.—City Archives.

GEMONA—Parish Archives.
GIRGENTI—Library.
GÖRLITZ—Milichsche Library.

HOHENFURTH—Convent Library.

INNSBRUCK—Provincial Archives.
——— Library of the Servites.

KÖNIGSBERG—Library.

LONDON—British Museum.
LUCERNE—Archives of the Capuchins.

MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
——— Capilupi Library.
METZ—City Library.
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
MODENA—State Archives.
——— Este Library.
MUNICH—State Library
——— Private Archives.

NAPLES—State Archives.
——— Brancacciana Library.
——— National Library.
NIKOLSBURG—Dietrichstein Family Archives.

ORVIETO—Cartari Archives (now: Piccolomini-Febei).

PADERBORN—Theodorian Library.
PARIS—National Archives.
——— National Library.
PARMA—Palatina Library.
PISTOIA—Fabroniana Library.
PRAGUE—Lobkowitz Library
——— Nostitzsche Library.

ROME—
Archives
Aldobrandini.
Boncompagni.
Borghese.
Congreg. del buon Governo.
Doria.
Fabbrica di S. Pietro.
Gaetani.
German College.
Holy Office (Roman Inquisition)
Papal Secret.

Archives :—cont.

Capitular : St. Peter's.
Congregation of the Council.
Consistorial (Vatican)
Notarial.
Propaganda.
Rospigliosi.
Rota
Spanish Embassy.
State Archives.
Theatines.

Libraries :

Altieri.
Angelica.
Barberini (Vatican).
Borghese.
Casanatense.
Chigi (Vatican).
Corsini.
S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
Pastor.

Libraries :—cont.

S. Pietro in Vincoli.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

SALZBURG—Consistorial Archives
SIENA—Library.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
STOCKHOLM—Library.

TRENT—City Library.
TURIN—State Archives.

URBINO—Archiepiscopal Archives.

VENICE—State Archives.
VERONA—Chapter Library.
VIENNA—Liechtenstein Archives.
——— State Archives.
——— State Library.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIII.

INTRODUCTION.

A.D.		PAGE
	Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. all distinguished by their zeal for renewal of the church . .	1
1592	They are worthily followed by Clement VIII . .	1
	His historical importance	2
	Shown in the reconciliation of Henry IV.—the acquisition of Ferrara—the Turkish danger .	3
	Ecclesiastical renewal in France is the outstanding work of this pontificate	4
	Successes won by the Church in Germany . .	5

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, PREVIOUS CAREER AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII. —THE ALDOBRANDINI.

1592	The Conclave—chances of Cardinal Santori . .	6
	Interest of Spain in the election	8
	Opposition and irritation of many Cardinals . .	9
	(Jan. 10th.)—Opening of the Conclave—attempt to elect Santori frustrated	10
	Action of Ascanio Colonna—confusion and disputes	12
	The prayer of Santori—his humility . . .	15
	Decisive defeat of the Spaniards	16
	(Jan. 25th.)—Candidature of Ippolito Aldobrandini.	17
	Who is elected Pope on January 30th . . .	18
	The family of the Aldobrandini	19
	Career of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini . .	22
	His reputation as a pious and hard-worknig man .	25
	As Pope he continues his exercises of penance and prayer	27
	Activity of Clement VIII. in the discharge of his duties—his strict time-table	30
	And simple manner of life	33
	But is always careful of his dignity . . .	34
	Notwithstanding his great affability . . .	35
	The Pope's relations with Silvio Antoniano . .	36
	And other members of his court	38
	Scrupulous exactitude of Clement VIII.. . .	41
	He makes personal inquiries about his officials .	42
	The Pope and his relatives	43

A.D. PAGE
1593 (Sept. 17th.)—Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini receive the purple 46
Their characters and influence 47
Together they administer the secretariate of State . 50
Their associates in this office 51
The Pope's secular nephew Gian Francesco and his children 53
The nepotism of Clement VIII. differs from that of former Popes 57
The Cardinal nephews as patrons of art. . . . 58

CHAPTER II.

CLEMENT VIII. AND FRANCE.

1592 Importance and difficulty of the French problem . 59
Prudence and caution of Clement VIII. 60
(Feb. 15th.)—His letters to Alessandro Farnese and to the leaders of the League 61
(April 15th.)—Sega sent as legate to France—his instructions 62
(June, July)—Briefs to Cardinal Gondi and Epernon 64
The Catholic supporters of Henry IV. urge his return to the Church—some of the Leaguers become more estranged from Spain 65
(Oct. 8th)—Henry writes directly to the Pope . 66
And announces his intention of sending an ambassador 67
1592 Clement VIII. mistrusts the intentions of Henry . 68
1593 The States General meet in Paris (Jan. 26th). . 69
Rapprochement of the moderates of both parties . 70
The offensive proposal by Philip II.—protest by the Paris Parliament (June 28th) 71
Abjuration by Henry at Saint-Denis, and his absolution by the archbishop of Bourges (July 25th)—protest by Sega 73
Henry publicly announces his return to the Church 74
Anxiety of the Pope—a change in his views—growing estrangement between Rome and Madrid . 75
The Venetian envoy, Paruta, urges Clement VIII. to absolve Henry (August 20th) 76
Who writes to the Pope "as a proof of his filial submission" 79
And announces the coming of a solemn embassy . 79
"What attitude was the Holy See to adopt"—dissertations on this subject 80
Prudence and caution of the Pope 81
"Care for religion is Our only guide" 83
Nevers dissuaded from coming to Rome . . . 84
Threats of the Spaniards—The opposing party . 85
Decision of the Cardinals of the French Congregation (Nov. 6th) 86

A.D. PAGE

Efforts of the Spaniards to prevent Nevers coming to Rome 87
Nevers arrives in Rome (Nov. 21st) and has an audience with the Pope at once and again on Nov. 23rd and 25th 88
Attitude of the Pope and the Cardinals . . . 89
"We must abide by the laws and tradition". . 90
Nevers fails to persuade the Pope to change his mind (Dec. 5th) 91
"Would to God that we could trust Henry" . 92
Continued negotiations with Nevers . . . 93
1594 Who has a farewell audience with the Pope (Jan. 10th.) 95
The Spaniards exult—discouragement of Nevers . 96
Prudence of Henry IV.—his coronation (Feb. 27th) and grant of amnesty to all who submit to him 97
1594 Triumphant entry of Henry IV. into Paris (March 22nd) 98
The Legate retires from Paris and arrives in Rome on November 15th 99

CHAPTER III.

THE ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV.

1594 Steady progress made by Henry IV. 100
Clement VIII. at length decides to enter into negotiations with Henry—schismatic tendencies in France 101
The Calvinist *Irenicum* of F. de Dujon . . 103
Many in the entourage of Henry would not shrink from schism 104
Silence of the Pope—he imposes the same on the Cardinals 105
Two rocks to avoid; excessive severity and leniency 106
The Pope actuated solely by religious motives—The proposal to send Du Perron to Rome . 107
Many things prove Henry's good-will . . . 108
Question of the annulment of Henry's marriage—difficult position of Gondi 109
Arrogance of the Spaniards—the Pope convinced of their purely material considerations . . 110
Gian Franc. Aldobrandini sent to Madrid (Dec.) . 111
Henry IV. decides to send Arnaud d'Ossat to Rome 112
Ossat's first audience with Clement VIII. (Dec. 15th) 113
Henry's letter to the Pope—principal demands of the Pope to guarantee Henry's sincerity . . 114
1595 Ossat and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini—Attempted murder of Henry IV. (January) . . . 115
The Jesuits unjustly accused of complicity . . 116
They are expelled from Paris—indignation in the Curia 117
Aquaviva begs the Pope not to refuse to be reconciled with Henry 118

A.D. PAGE
1595 Effrontery of the Spaniards—the Pope does not allow himself to be deceived—The mission of Du Perron 119
His arrival in Rome (July 12th)—dismay of Sessa . 120
The audience of Du Perron and Ossat on July 29th. 121
The petition of Henry IV. 122
Extreme caution of the Pope 123
The General Congregation on August 2nd—discourse of the Pope 124
Who calls for redoubled prayers between August 7th and 23rd 125
The Spaniards adjure the Pope to refuse the absolution 126
Energy of Ossat and Du Perron 127
The Pope announces his determination to grant the absolution (August 30th) 128
Strictness and leniency of Clement VIII. in the questions of absolution and rehabilitation. . 129
Memorial to the Pope from Baronius 130
Guarantees for the catholicity of Henry IV. . . 131
Who accepts the XVI. articles 133
Extraordinary protest by Sessa (Sept. 16th) . . 134
Solemn absolution of Henry IV. 135
The Bull of Absolution (Sept. 17th) 139
Letter to the Pope from Henry IV. (Nov. 12th) . 141
1596 Who soon follows up his words by deeds (Jan. 29th)—Alessandro de' Medici sent as legate to France (April 3rd) 142
His instructions 143
Henry meets the legate, who enters Paris on July 21st 145
In spite of opposition the King is resolved to keep his promises 145
Immense importance of this reconciliation . . 146

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF HENRY IV.—CLEMENT VIII. RENEWS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH FRANCE—REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN FRANCE.

The condition of France is well-known in Rome . 147
1591 Lamentable state of many dioceses 148
France still possesses many good bishops—great contrasts among the secular and religious clergy 149
1596 The legation of Cardinal de'Medici 150
His difficulties owing to the disorders in the church in France—Henry is far from blind to these . 151
The Pope desires the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent 152
Ossat and Medici strongly urge this 153
1598 The Pope writes (June 27th) to Henry pressing him to do this 154

A.D. PAGE
1598 In most respects Henry behaves absolutely as a Catholic 155
But many things give the Pope cause for complaint 156
1597 Henry obliged to negotiate with the Huguenots . 157
1598 The Edict of Nantes (April 30th) 158
Henry tries to pacify the Pope who adopts an attitude of reserve and remonstrance 160
Sorrow and anxiety of Clement VIII. . . . 161
1599 Ossat and Sourdis raised to the purple (February 25th) 162
Cardinals Joyeuse and Ossat endeavour to pacify the Pope (March 17th) 163
Henry IV. seriously begins the restoration of Catholic worship in many districts 164
And holds out the prospect of publication of the Tridentine decrees 166
1600 Henry draws up an edict concerning this; but is opposed by the Gallican officials . . . 167
Henry IV. and the Concordat—complaints of the Assembly of French clergy 168
Ability of Ossat as French cardinal in Curia—he has the complete confidence of Henry . . . 169
Increasing return of Calvinists to the Church . . 170
1600 Conference at Fontainbleau—discomfiture of the Huguenots 171
Henry's marriage with Margaret of Valois is annulled 172
And his marriage to Mary of Medici takes place (December 17th) 173
1601 The Pope is god-father to the Dauphin (October 22nd) 173
Revocation of the banishment of the Jesuits . . 174
And the appeal for restoration of their rights—Henry makes a number of conditions as to this . . 175
Father P. Coton wins the entire confidence of the King 176
1603 And at last Henry yields—his decision embodied in the Edict of Rouen (September 1st) . . 177
Some of the conditions seem hard—Henry recognizes the value of the Jesuits—his reply to the complaints of the Parliament of Paris 178
1604 Redoubled zeal of the Jesuits—they are resolutely protected by the King and many bishops . 180
Support for reform of the older Orders . . . 182
The Benedictine reform of Saint-Vannes . . 183
St. Peter Fourier at Mattaincourt 184
César de Bus and J. B. Romillon further the foundation of the Ursulines (1596-1600) 185
Madame Acarie, Bérulle and the Carmelites . . 186
Great services rendered by the Capuchins . . 187
Progressive renewal of the episcopate . . . 188
Some of the new bishops nominated . . . 190
1599 Pastoral from the Pope to the French episcopate (August 20th) 192
1604 Subsequent exhortations to French bishops—Instructions to the nuncio M. Barberini . . . 193

CHAPTER V.

CLEMENT VIII. AND SPAIN—THE POPE MEDIATES BETWEEN SPAIN, FRANCE AND SAVOY—DECLINE OF SPANISH INFLUENCE IN ROME.

A.D.		PAGE
	Extraordinary claims of the King of Spain	195
	Philip II. and the Church in countries subject to him	196
	Is supported by many Spanish ecclesiastics	197
1593	Difficulties of the nuncio and the legate	198
1595	Violent behaviour of the Spanish ambassador Sessa—Clement VIII. resents the pretensions of the Spaniards	199
	The question of Spanish interference with conclaves	200
	Sessa has an opinion drawn up by three Spanish theologians	201
	The Pope refuses to lend himself to the Spanish view on the French question—prudence of Clement VIII.	202
1596	Disputes in Naples and Milan	202
	Energetic complaint by the Pope to Philip II. (October 15th)	204
	Baronius appeals to the conscience of Olivares	205
	Efforts of Clement VIII. to recall the Spanish bishops to their duties	206
	Diminution of Spanish influence shown in the nomination of new Cardinals (June)	207
	This state of affairs leads to a rapprochement with France	208
1598	The Pope promotes peace between France and Spain—this is attained by the treaty of Vervins (May)	209
	Terms of the peace in which Savoy participates	212
	The Pope as "mediator between belligerent nations"	213
	But relations between Rome and Madrid still strained	213
	Death of Philip II. (September 13th)	214
	The relations between Spain and the Holy See are not better under Philip III.	215
	The situation in Milan—excommunication of the governor (May to October)	216
1599	Still much to complain of in Naples	217
	Usurpations in the Two Sicilies—the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *Exequatur*	218
1600	Disputes concerning the Spanish Inquisition and jurisdiction	219
	Externally good relations retained	220
	Financial advantage to Philip III.—Dependence of the higher clergy upon the government	221
	The Pope urges the King to make a good use of the right of nominations to the episcopate	222
	Ecclesiastical conditions in Spain	223
	Danger to Spain from the Moriscos—the Pope urges gentleness	224

A.D. PAGE
1598 Strife for the possession of Saluzzo 225
The decision to be left to the Pope 226
1599 The duke of Savoy refuses Papal arbitration—he sends an envoy to Rome (February) . . 227
Mission of Caltagirona to Savoy and France—unfounded suspicion by the Duke of Savoy . . 228
Who goes himself to France (September)—Henry IV. refers him to his representatives—Abuse of French hospitality by the Duke—Efforts of the Pope for peace 229
1600 Henry IV. declares war (August 10th) . . . 230
The Pope writes to Henry IV., Philip III. and the duke of Savoy 231
He decides to send Card. P. Aldobrandini as legate with wide powers (September 25th) . . . 232
Discussions with Aldobrandini at Turin (October) . 234
The Cardinal received with great honour by Henry (December) 235
Great prudence of Aldobrandini 236
1601 Success of his efforts—Peace between France and Savoy is signed at Lyons (January 17th) . . 238
Great satisfaction of the Pope 239
Philip III. ratifies the Peace of Vervins (May). . 241
Restlessness of the duke of Savoy 242
1602 Who secretly gathers troops for an attack on Geneva which completely fails 243
1603 Endeavours of the Pope to reconcile France and Spain 244
Jealousy and mistrust between the courts of Madrid and Paris 245
1601 Mission Béthune to Rome 246
Two creations of Cardinals as a counterweight to Spanish influence 248
The Pope wishes more French Cardinals to reside in Rome 250
1602 Scandalous intrigues of the Spaniards . . . 251
1603 The new Spanish ambassador in Rome, Escalona . 252
His imprudent conduct is favourable to Béthune . 253
1604 Death of Cardinal Ossat 255
The creation of Cardinals on June 9th . . . 256
Those favourable to France—Béthune thanks the Pope 257
Escalona thinks of nothing but revenge . . . 258
Quarrel between Farnese and Aldobrandini . . 259
Settlement of the dispute 260
As a consequence of this Aldobrandini becomes entirely devoted to France 261
The French Cardinals in Rome—Project for an anti-Spanish league among the Italian states . 262
1605 Death of Clement VIII. (March 5th) before coming to a final decision 263
He had recovered independence for the Holy See . 264

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT VIII. AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

A.D.		PAGE
1592	Constant attacks upon the Austro-Hungarian frontier	265
	The Pope's desire to form a large anti-Turkish league	267
1593	Rumour of a Turkish expedition against Vienna .	268
	Victory of the Imperial troops over Hassan Pasha .	269
	The Pope sends a number of missions to urge the formation of a great coalition	270
	Madruzzo as legate to the Diet at Ratisbon . .	271
	Borghese sent on a special mission to Phillip II. .	271
	His instructions	272
1593	Abbot Komulovic charged with a mission to eastern Europe and to extend it to Russia . . .	273
1594	The Pope sends special envoys to the Italian states (January)	274
	And subsidizes the emperor (June)—unsatisfactory state of the Imperial armies	275
	Hardegg surrenders Raab to the Turks (September 29th)—The advice of Doria is not followed .	276
	The "old excuses" of Venice—Grief of the Pope—Mission of Conti to the Emperor—his instructions (October)	277
	The mission of G. F. Aldobrandini to Madrid is as sterile as that of Conti	279
1595	Favourable news from the States of the lower Danube—their successes against the Turks . .	280
	The Pope organizes an auxiliary Papal army . .	281
	Italian princes join with companies of soldiers . .	283
	The supreme command given to G. F. Aldobrandini (June 4th)	284
	The Papal army and other Italian troops join the Imperialists under Mansfeld (August 22nd)—capture of Gran	285
	Irresolution of the Imperial commanders—lack of discipline and disputes	286
	Thus the Papal troops are condemned to inaction—disease breaks out	287
	Doria's account of the expenses of the Papal troops—The Hungarian Diet thank the Pope for his help—Successes of Sigismund Báthory . . .	288
1596	The Turks prepare for a new attack—Clement VIII. and Báthory	289
	The Pope urges a league between Poland, Transylvania and the Emperor	290
	He grants a considerable subsidy to Báthory . .	291
	Who does not correspond to the hopes placed in him	292
	Capitulation of Erlau and complete defeat of the Imperialists (October 26th)	293
1597	The Pope resolves to send another auxiliary force	294
	Course of the war in Hungary	295

A.D. PAGE
1598 The Imperialists recapture Raab (March 29th) . 296
1599 Further subsidies from the Pope 297
1600 Who renews attempts to form a fresh coalition—The Turks capture Kanizsa (October 20th) . 297
Central Austria is seriously threatened . . . 298
1601 Negotiations of the Pope with the Shah of Persia . 298
Venice deaf to the Pope's appeal; but Mantua and Tuscany send troops to Aldobrandini . . 300
Who succumbs to fever on September 17th . . 301
Two successes of the Imperialists (October 11th and 14th), but they fail to retake Kanizsa . . 302
On the whole the campaign was unfortunate . . 303
1602 The Turks take Stuhlweissenburg (August 29th) . 303
1603 Again the Pope gives financial help . . . 304
604 Inadequate organization of, and abuses in the Imperial armies 304
No advantages taken of favourable circumstances . 305
Revolutionary movement in Hungary and Transylvania 307
The Pope continues to strive for a coalition against the Turks 308

CHAPTER VII.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN SOUTH GERMANY, BAVARIA AND AUSTRIA.

The relations between Clement VIII. and Rudolph II. 311
1592 Cesare Speciani sent as nuncio to Prague—his difficult task 312
The religious conditions in Austria cause anxiety . 313
Melchoir Klesl and the Jesuits 313
Important instructions for the new nuncio . . 314
Indecision and timidity of Rudolph II. . . . 315
His attitude towards the succession to the Empire . 316
Intrigues of the protestant canons of Strasbourg . 318
1593 Struggle in the diocese of Strasbourg . . . 319
The affairs of Jülich-Cleves and Cologne. . . 320
1594 Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo appointed legate to the Diet of Ratisbon 320
Clement VIII. also sends to the Diet Frangipani and Porzia 323
The instructions sent to the Cardinal legate (March 26th) 323
Various undertakings suggested 327
The Emperor is only interested in obtaining assistance against the Turks 328
Madruzzo at last obtains an audience with the Emperor (June) 329
And broaches the question of the succession to the Empire 329

A.D. PAGE
Audacity of the Protestant Electors—their demands 330
Efforts of Madruzzo in opposition to these claims . 331
His partial success—Disagreement among the Protestants 332
The Catholic refute the Protestant accusations and set forth their own grievances . . . 332
Substance of the Catholic demands . . . 333
Reforms urged by Madruzzo—On the whole Clement VIII. is satisfied at the result obtained . . 334
1599 State of affairs in the dioceses of Salzburg and Bamberg 335
Gebsattel, bishop Bamberg deceives the Pope . 337
Bavaria is a strong support of the church in Germany 338
Work of the Jesuits in Bavaria 339
Duke William labours to support Catholic restoration 340
1593 Three of his sons go to Rome 341
The hereditary duke, Maximilian and Clement VIII. 342
Important progress made by Catholics in Germany . 343
The true cause of this 343
Great work done by the German College . . 344
And the archdukes Ferdinand and Charles . . 345
Both distinguished for their piety and strength of character 346
1592 Instructions for Porzia the nuncio at Graz . . 347
Canonical Visitation in Central Austria . . . 348
1592 And by Barbaro in provinces south of the Drave . 349
1595 The archduchess Maria urges the ejection of Protestants 350
1596 Ferdinand refuses all concessions to them . . 351
1598 Is determined to restore unity of faith—his interview with Clement VIII. 352
He puts into practice the principle "cuius regio, eius religio" 353
1599 And justifies himself in his edict issued on June 21st 355
Resolute action by Ferdinand 356
Measures taken by the commissions in Austria . 357
What it was the German protestants forgot! . . 358
Apostolic zeal of the Central Austrian bishops . 359
Far-reaching labours of the Jesuits . . . 360

CHAPTER VIII.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN THE RHINE PROVINCES, BOHEMIA AND THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

1598 Restoration of episcopal authority in Aix . . 361
Religious affairs in the lower Rhineland and Westphalia 362
The Jesuits at Emmerich and Münster . . . 362
1596 Vigorous action by the bishop of Paderborn who forbids all public protestant worship . . 363
1599 Maurice of Hesse occupies the city—it is recaptured in 1604 and the bishop is entirely successful . 365

A.D. PAGE
1593 The Archbishop of Cologne Ernest of Bavaria neglects his duties—the Pope remonstrates with him . 366
1595 A Coadjutor is appointed (April) in the person of his nephew Ferdinand, who presides at the diocesan synod 367
1599 A Visitation made in Westphalia 368
1601 Obstacles to the removal of abuses in Münster . 368
1599 Satisfactory conditions in the diocese of Trêves . 369
1602 Co-operation of the Jesuits—Abbot Dernbach returns to Fulda after 26 years in exile . . . 369
1601 Great improvement in Mayence when Bicken succeeds to Dalberg in the see 370
1604 Schweikart succeeds to Bicken and proves full of zeal and devotion to the Holy See 371
Good work by Gemmingen at Eichstatt and by Knöringen at Augsburg 372
1599 Importance of the change at the Imperial court at Prague 373
Success of the nunciature of Spinelli . . . 374
Value of the work at Prague of the archbishop Berka von Duba 375
Great progress of Catholic restoration in Moravia . 376
1600 And in the Tyrol owing to the two Prince-bishops Madruzzo 377
1601 Work accomplished at Brixen by Spaur and his coadjutors 378
The Pope makes urgent appeals to the bishops to make visitations 379
1604 Instructions to the nuncio Spinelli as to the filling of vacant sees and the manner in which the bishops govern 380
1593 Projects for reform of Benedictines, Cistercians, . 381
And other religious Orders—The Capuchins in Germany 382
1599 Lorenzo da Brindisi in Austria and Bohemia. . 384
1600–5 The Capuchins obtain a firm footing in many places 385
Their influence upon the masses of the people . 386
1598 Renewed efforts to induce Rudolph II. to settle the question of his successor 386
1601 The ecclesiastical electors as well as the Pope approach the Emperor on this subject 388
1603 The archduke Maximilian is no more successful than others 390
The opinion of the Spanish ambassador San Clemente 391
1605 The Pope sends briefs to the Elector of Cologne—Rudolph's malady gets steadily worse . . 392
1604 The Pope encouraged by the election of Jakob Fugger as bishop of Constance 393
1595 The Archduke Albert goes to the Spanish Netherlands 394
1598 His marriage with Isabella daughter of Philip II. . 395
1599 They are greeted with enthusiasm on their entry into Brussels. 396

A.D. PAGE
Importance of the nunciature of Frangipani . . 397
1600 The prevailing devastation in the country—but the Church rises from its ruins in a short time. . 399
1603 The Pope counts upon the help of Rudolph II. . 399
Zeal of the bishops in the work of Catholic reform . 400
Clement VIII. animates their courage . . . 401
Valuable work done by the Jesuits—The Capuchins obtain a footing in the country . . . 402
Albert and Isabella set a splendid example to the people 403

CHAPTER IX.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN SWITZERLAND—THE WORK OF FRANCIS OF SALES.

1595 Instructions for Della Torre the new nuncio . . 404
The Swiss Benedictines 405
Reforming activities of Della Torre—he makes frequent visitations 405
1602 Formation of the Swiss Benedictine Congregation . 406
And revival of the Congregation of Swabia . . 407
Reform of Cistercians and Carthusians . . . 407
1597 The Jesuit colleges—Deaths of Canisius and Schnewlin 407
The Faith in Appenzell, Aargau and Rheinau . . 408
1600 Popularity of the Capuchins; importance of their work 408
The report of Fra Agostino d'Asti [Pelletta] . . 411
Success of the Capuchins in the Valais . . . 412
1604 An extraordinary Diet convoked by the Abbot of St. Maurice 413
1566–1618 Francis of Sales, his life, and work in Romansch Switzerland 414–432

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	Lists of scrutinies at the Conclave of 1592	436
2	Giovanni Niccolini to Florence, March 12, 1592	436
3	Avviso di Roma of September 16, 1592	436
4	Pope Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia, September 30, 1592	437
5	Pope Clement VIII. to the Elector Ernest of Cologne, November 21, 1592	439
6	Pope Clement VIII. to the Emperor Rudolph II., February 19, 1593	439
7	Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, August 21, 1593	440
8	Guilio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, August 28, 1593	441
9	Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, October 9, 1593	441
10	Protocol of the sittings of the Roman Inquisition of the 15, 16, 17 and 18 September, 1593	442
11	Protocol of the sittings of the French Congregation and of the Inquisition on October 24, November 6, and December 5, 1593	444
12	Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, November 6, 1593	446
13	Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, December 4, 1593	447
14	Card. Cinzio Aldobrandini to the Card. Legate Madruzzo, January 15, 1594	447
15	Pope Clement VIII. to Cardinal Madruzzo, February 6, 1594	448
16	Cardinal Madruzzo to Pope Clement VIII., February 23, 1594	448
17	The Card. Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, February 23, 1594	449
18	The Card. Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, May 4, 1594	451
19	The Card. Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, May 31, 1594	451
20	Annibale Chieppio to the Duke of Mantua, October 22, 1594	452
21	Annibale Chieppio to the Duke of Mantua, December 22, 1594	453

PAGE

22 Pope Clement VIII. to the Emperor Rudolph II., May 20, 1595 453
23 Protocol of the General Congregation of August, 1595 454
24 Consistory of 30 August, 1595 455
25 Autograph letter from Clement VIII. to the Treasurer-general Cesi, October 7, 1595 455
26 Instruction for Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, Legate in France, May 10, 1596 456
27 Pope Clement VIII. to King Philip II., July 18, 1596 461
28 Autograph letter from Pope Clement VIII. to King Philip II., October 15, 1596 462
29 Pope Clement VIII. to King Henry IV., 21 December, 1596 467
30 Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua, June 5, 1599 468
31 Pope Clement VIII. to Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg, September 4, 1599 469
32 Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua, February 19, 1600 470
33 Relatione fatta all' Illmo Sig. Cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promotione, che doveva andar in Roma 472
34 Donations to Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini . 487
35 Testament of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini . . 487
36 Pope Clement VIII. to Christophe de le Vallée, Bishop of Toul, September 30, 1600 488
37 Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua, March 10, 1601 490
38 Pope Clement VIII. to the French Bishops, May 25, 1601 491
39 Pope Clement VIII. to the Bishops of the province of Bordeaux, July 12, 1601 492
40 Pope Clement VIII. to Ernest of Bavaria, Prince-elector of Cologne, December 7, 1602 493
41 Lelio Arrigoni to the Duke of Mantua, December 20, 1603 494
42 Pope Clement VIII. to King Philip III., December 3, 1603 495
43 Pope Clement VIII. to the Duke of Sessa, December 3, 1603 495
44 Cardinal P. Aldobrandini to Domenico Ginnasio, Nuncio in Spain, December 5, 1603 496
45 Instruction for Maffei Barberini, Archbishop of Nazareth, Nuncio for France, December 4, 1604 497
46 A conspectus of the alms of Pope Clement VIII. . 522
47 The Aldobrandini family archives in Rome . . 523
48 The Doria Archives, Rome 527

INTRODUCTION.

However much Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. had differed from each other in their origin, their character and their temperament, they were all alike distinguished for their blamelessness of life and for the zeal with which they aimed at the same end, the renewal of the Church; so that their contemporaries, both clergy and laity, gave thanks to God that in His mercy He had, immediately after the closing of the Council of Trent, granted to Christendom three successive Popes who, to the great advantage of the world, had carried into effect the reform laws of that general assembly of the Church.

These three luminaries were worthily followed by Clement VIII., of the house of Aldobrandini, who, after the short pontificates of Urban VII., Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., received the tiara on January 30th, 1592. For thirteen years and one month he bore the burdens of the supreme dignity, devoting himself to the end to the welfare of Catholic Christendom, and giving a living and eloquent example as a chief pastor of deep piety. The spirit of the Catholic reform, which at that time had found its most beautiful expression in Philip Neri, had penetrated the Pope in such a way that it was said that that saint had himself ascended the throne of Peter in his person.

In all the actions of Clement VIII. the first place was held by his priestly functions, his position as a secular sovereign falling into a secondary place. Even though by the annexation of Ferrara to the Papal States he obtained an important political success, the central interest of his pontificate lay entirely in his work as the supreme head of Catholic Christendom. Filled with true piety and a great pastoral zeal, he aimed before all things at the consolidation of the interior ecclesiastical life, at the growth of true religion among clergy

and people, and at the removal of abuses and scandals. With unwearied zeal, as he repeatedly said in his letters, he set himself to labour in the field of the Lord to clear it of the cockle.[1]

In his work as a reformer, as well as in his zeal in fighting against the Turks, Clement VIII. recalled his patron, Pius V.; in the way in which he furthered the foreign missions he recalled Gregory XIII.; but in his statesmanship he showed his resemblance to Sixtus V., who had conferred the purple upon him.[2] Yet he had nothing of the marvellous genius, the bold initiative, or the reckless energy of this predecessor of his; his strength lay in another direction; he was rather a far-seeing politician, and a cautious and skilful diplomatist,[3] and such he proved himself to be in the most delicate situations.[4] Slowly, but surely, he disentangled the French problem, the most difficult and at the same time the most important that at that time confronted the Holy See. The historical importance of the Aldobrandini Pope is to be found in the attitude which he adopted towards Henry IV. If Calvinism had proved victorious in France it would have meant a decision of the very greatest importance for the

[1] *"Est enim agri dominici praecipua cultura, quae nisi assidue visitetur et diligenter excolatur, spinis et vepribus repletur." Brief to Wolfgang von Dalberg, Archbishop of Mayence, September 17, 1594. Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Herre (Papstwahlen, 410) rightly calls Clement VIII. the spiritual heir of Sixtus V. Orbaan (Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 3) expresses himself in a similar way.

[3] The prudence and statesmanship of Clement VIII. are greatly praised by Mocenigo (Hist. Venet., I., 16), who is otherwise ill-disposed towards him. *Cf.* also Richard, Le légation du Card. Aldobrandini et le Traité de Lyon, Lyons, 1903, 70.

[4] In a *sketch for a biography of Clement VIII. the author of which has made use of the Vatican Secret Archives, praise is given to this Pope's "prudenza, longanimità et destrezza nell'aspettare le occasioni, segreto et silenzio dove bisogna, circospettione et maturità nel parlare" Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

whole of Europe, as Beza very rightly realized.[1] Now that a great part of Germany, the Scandinavian nations, and England had adopted the religious innovations, the apostacy of the French nation, the eldest daughter of the Church, would have meant the victory of Protestantism in western and central Europe, and those parts of Germany and the Spanish Netherlands which had still remained Catholic would not have been in a position to offer any successful resistance.[2] But the majority of the French nation showed itself determined to remain loyal to the ancient faith, and Henry IV. was bound to take this into account if he wished to become their king.

Even contemporaries recognized the reconciliation of the House of Bourbon with the Church as an event of the greatest importance, and posterity has confirmed their judgment. The reconciliation, which was at length brought about after undescribable efforts, was shown to be of the highest importance; the danger of Protestantism dominating the Latin nations was averted, while at the same time the continuance of the Catholic religion in the Netherlands and the Lower Rhineland was assured.

Not only was the acquisition of Ferrara made possible for the Pope by the help of Henry IV., but, a thing of incomparably greater importance, the Holy See recovered a position of greater freedom and independence of Spain, which enabled it, as formerly in the Middle Ages, to act as a peacemaker between the European powers. The great moral preponderance which the Papacy henceforth held among the European nations, despite the apostacy of whole countries, was clearly seen when Clement VIII. set himself to bring about peace between Spain, France and Savoy.

The incessant labours of Clement VIII. to dispel the Turkish danger recall the great days of the Middle Ages, and even

[1] On the result of the struggle in France, said Beza, "pendere prorsus videtur maxima totius orbis terrarum vel in melius vel in deterius commutatio"; see KAMPSCHULTE in *Bonner Theol. Lit.-Blatt.*,* VI., 38.

[2] *Cf.* BAUDRILLART, L'Église cath., la Renaissance, le Protestantisme, Paris, 1915, 131 *seq.*

though, in this respect, owing to a combination of unfavourable circumstances, he met with no outstanding success, nevertheless the participation of the Pope, by sending troops and the granting of large subsidies, in the defence of Hungary, must always remain a glorious page in the history of the Holy See. Clement VIII. witnessed important progress in the work of Catholic restoration in Germany, Switzerland and the Spanish Netherlands, and above all in Poland, to the carrying out of which he zealously contributed. On the other hand his hopes of the recovery of Sweden for the Church were not realized, as was also the case with the expectation that the successor of Elizabeth, the Stuart James I., would follow the example of the Bourbon king. The reunion of the Greek schismatics in eastern Europe, success in which would have been of the greatest historical importance, was only partially brought about.

Thus the reconciliation of Henry IV. with the Holy See remains the outstanding event of the pontificate of Clement VIII. Only then, after the conclusion of peace with the Pope, could Henry IV. look upon his cause as won. The saving of national independence and unity, and the restoration of peace in France, were moreover favourable for the ecclesiastical situation, and the forces that were latent in this direction in the kingdom of St. Louis were soon to manifest themselves.

With the victory of the ancient Church the work of interior renewal was begun in France as well. The noblest intellects of the nation, men and women of all ranks, set themselves to work with burning zeal and unwearied energy for their own sanctification and the good of their neighbour. Religious enthusiasm and reform took more and more far-reaching forms; new Orders sprang up, whose activities were by preference devoted to practical ends, to teaching and the care of the sick, while a new spirit permeated the older Orders and the episcopate as well. The day of the "hirelings" was gone, and there began the period of reforming bishops, such as Italy already possessed, trained in the school of Charles Borromeo.

This work of Catholic reform and restoration in France began in the time of Clement VIII., and reached its height in that of Paul V., whose pontificate of fifteen years may be looked upon in this respect as a continuation of that of the Aldobrandini Pope. Like the latter, he too carried on the anti-Turkish war, the propagation of the faith in missionary countries, and the work of Catholic reform and restoration in all parts of Europe. It is fitting therefore that in the magnificent Pauline Chapel in St. Mary Major's, the tomb of the Borghese Pope, Paul V., should stand facing that of Clement VIII.; even the scenes depicted in the bas-reliefs are in harmony with each other.[1]

However great were the successes won by the Church in Germany by the end of the pontificate of Paul V., it is the transformation of France which will always call for the greatest attention. With the cessation of the party wars which had violently convulsed both politics and religion in that country, the first ten years of the XVIIth century witnessed a remarkable repetition of that edifying spectacle which had been seen in Italy and Spain, and to some extent in Germany and Poland during the second half of the XVIth century. Here as there, there was shown forth in a wonderful way the varied and admirable vitality of the Catholic Church, and the divine life which is undying in her.

[1] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, Barockskulptur, II., 218.

CHAPTER I.

Election, Previous Career and Character of Clement VIII.—The Aldobrandini.

Scarcely a year had elapsed since the death of Sixtus V., and the Holy See was again vacant for the fourth time; nothing but the marvellous organization of the Catholic Church could have faced so frequent a change in the government without suffering serious harm. But now, in view of the critical situation, both in the States of the Church and in the whole world,[1] it had become necessary to elect a Cardinal whose age and state of health would guarantee a longer period of activity. From this point of view the sixty-two year old Cardinal Santori, as to whose worthiness and capability there could be no question, seemed to be the man best fitted for the office. In the previous conclave he had had the greatest probability of election, and still held the first place in all the party intrigues.[2] His hopes seemed all the better founded in that the pontificate of Innocent IX., which had lasted for scarcely two months, had left no opportunity either to the princes or the Cardinals to enter upon any long negotiations.

Many different parties were in favour of Santori. Not only could he count upon the votes of the Spaniards, but also on those of the Florentines and Venetians, as well as upon Montalto. Even though the adherents of Santori were

[1] Mucantius wrote, "si unquam Petri navicula vigilanti ac perito gubernatore indiget, haec nostra potissimum tempora illum postulant." *Diaria caerem., Cod. lat. 12547, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[2] *Cf.* besides *Avvisi of January 1 and 4, 1592 (Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library), and the letter of Minucci in Schweizer, III., 436, n. 3, the *forecast of the "cardinali papabili dopo Gregorio XIV.," in Cod. CXII., Capilupi Library, Mantua.

exaggerating when they declared that they could count upon five votes above the necessary number, it nevertheless seemed certain that among the fifty-two electors they could count upon obtaining the necessary thirty-five votes. When Olivares left Rome a few days before the death of Innocent IX. he indulged in the firm hope that this time his friend would obtain the tiara.[1]

[1] For the election of Clement VIII. of the greatest importance is a *Report of conclavist of the party of Santori, who is excellently informed and objective in his judgment, which has served as the basis of the account printed in *Conclavi*, I., 296 *seq.* HERRE (599) has been the first to bring it forward; he has made use of the report (which he marks A) from the copy in Cod. 391, pp. 7-23 of the Milich Library, Görlitz. *Ibid.* Cod. 389, p. 230-286, the *Conclave di Clemente VIII. scritto da Lelio Maretti gentilhuomo Senese, which, circulated by means of written copies, gives some important additions; various copies exist in Rome: e.g. (1) Altieri Library, IX., b. 3; (2) Vatican Library, Barb. LI., 72, pp. 48-203; Ottob. 2798 P. 1, p. 57 *seq.*, Urb. 1663 p. 21 *seq.*, Vat. 9486, p. 225 *seq.*; (3) Casanatense Library, XX., IX. 29; (4) Angelica Library, Nuovi acquisti, 1859; (5) Papal Secret Archives, Borghese, I., 280 and Arm. III., Miscell. 127, p. 209 *seqq.*; (6) a second copy from the Altieri Library belonging to the antiquarian Luzietti (Catalogue of 1921). Maretti's work is also to be found in the State Library, Berlin, Inform, polit., 27, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cod. 10046. and in the Fabroni Library, Pistoia, Cod. 177. HERRE, *loc. cit.* also points out the value of what was written by Giov. Stringa in PLATINA-BZOVIO, Vite de s. pontefici, Venice, 1622, 343-345. The following have also been used for the description given here: (1) the *Avvisi; (2) *reports of the Mantuan embassy; (3) *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, p. 225 *seq.*, Vatican Library; (4) an Italian *report, unfortunately partly destroyed, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 4, at the head of which is found only the name of Gesualdo; it is probably the work of a conclavist of the Cardinal-Dean, and gives further information as to his conduct, as well as other important information (afterwards marked B). For the *reports of Vinta in the State Archives, Florence, see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 52 *seq.* Some original *lists of the scrutinies of 1592 were found by me

After the departure of Count Olivares the direction of the Spanish embassy remained in the hands of the Duke of Sessa alone. At his earnest request Madruzzo undertook the leadership of the Spanish Cardinals in the place of Mendoza who, after being seriously ill, died on January 8th, 1592. Since Innocent IX. had died in the very midst of his intervention in the situation in France, the representatives of Philip II. were all the more interested in the coming election, and as the continuance of the negotiations that had been begun, and with them the solution of the French problem in accordance with the wishes of Philip II., depended upon the new Pope, the Spaniards worked with redoubled energy on behalf of Santori. In accordance with the instructions of their king, in the event of the candidature of Santori being, contrary to all expectations, a failure, the representatives of Philip II. were to turn their attention, first to Madruzzo, then to Galli, Paleotto and Colonna, and lastly to one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., Ippolito Aldobrandini. But with regard to this last candidature they prudently maintained a strict silence.[1] Aldobrandini too adopted an attitude of complete reserve, but although nothing was known of his aspirations, his name was put forward in various quarters. Most men thought him too young, but there was none who dared deny that he was worthy of the tiara.[2]

A no less zealous activity than that of the Spaniards on behalf of Santori was shown at first by the Grand Duke of

in Cod. J. 39, p. 366 *seq.* of the Vallicella Library, Rome. A *Pianta del conclave 1592, in the collection of plans of the conclaves in the Vatican Library; the cell of Aldobrandini in this bears the number 59.

[1] See Herre 603 *seq.*, who was the first to use a letter from Philip II. to Olivares in the Simancas Archives. This says of the man who was to be elected: "Il minimo, che si possa esigere in questi tempi, è ch'egli vada d'accordo con me."

[2] See *Conclavi*, I., 292; Schweizer, III., 437 n. The accusation of deceitfulness, which was brought against Aldobrandini, does not seem to be sufficiently proved; see Buschbell in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1909, 186.

Tuscany,[1] and in these circumstances it was of decisive importance that Montalto as well should have chosen Santori as his favoured candidate, and have clung to him firmly in spite of the fact that a small party was making extraordinary efforts against him. The following Cardinals were determined on the absolute exclusion of Santori: Mark Sittich von Hohenems, d'Aragona, Marcantonio Colonna, Paleotto, Galli, Bonelli, Bernieri, Sforza, Laureo, Canani, Sfondrato, Borromeo, Lancellotti, Aquaviva, Paravicini and Piatti, sixteen in all, whereas for exclusion in the ballot eighteen votes were necessary, or seventeen in the case of election by adoration. But though the opposition was small in numbers, it was strong by reason of its firm compactness, and in the resoluteness of its leader, Mark Sittich von Hohenems.[2]

The opposition could count especially on two circumstances: in the first place and above all on the personal antipathy aroused by Santori, whose severity, especially as an Inquisitor, was so universally feared, that it was thought that his pontificate would be like that of his fellow-countryman Paul IV.[3] To this was added the widespread and ill-concealed irritation of many Italian Cardinals at the moral pressure exercised by the Spaniards upon the election of the Popes.[4] As both the friends and enemies of Santori faced each other in bitter opposition the fears of a long conclave were not without foundation.[5]

[1] See HERRE, 601 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 607 *seq.*

[3] "Un altro Paolo IV." Colonna was especially obsessed by this fear; see*Avviso of January 11, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[4] If an anti-Spanish Pope should be elected, says an *Avviso of January 4, 1592, "guai all'Aqulla negra, che se li taglierebbero l'ali in maniera che forsi per lungo tempo non potrebbe più erigere il volo." Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[5] See besides *Avvisi of January 4 and 8, 1592 (*loc. cit.*), the *reports of Giulio del Carretto, Rome, 1592, January 2 and 4, which give many particulars. The last states: *"La discordia seguita tra il s. card. Sforza et Montalto nell'elettione del futuro pontefice fa credere a molti ch'el conclave sarà longo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Such was the situation when on January 10th, 1592, the fifty-two electors[1] assembled in the Vatican and took possession of the apartments that had been prepared for them, the doors being closed at the first hour of the night; the last to leave the conclave was Sessa. In his confidence in himself he said: To-morrow we shall hail Pope Santori.[2] This certainty was also shared by Cardinal Madruzzo; he definitely rejected the proposal of the friends of Santori that immediately after the closing of the conclave they should proceed to an election by adoration; this would have been a quite unusual procedure, and would have further emphasized the restriction of liberty of election signified by this method, which had been introduced since the time of Clement VII.[3] When, in the morning of the following day, Madruzzo wished to proceed to the election of Santori, it was evident that his adversaries, especially Sforza, Sfondrato, Aquaviva and Borromeo, had made good use of the few hours of the night.[4]

It was six o'clock in the morning[5] when Madruzzo and Montalto, the leaders of the combined parties, went to the cell of Santori to announce to him his election as Pope. While the conclavists of the Cardinal were availing themselves of their right to despoil his cell, Santori was conducted to the Pauline Chapel. There his election by adoration was to take place immediately, but the sixteen opposition Cardinals refused to take part in this, and retired to the neighbouring

[1] They were the same as those who had taken part in the conclave of Innocent IX., of course with the exception of himself, of V. Gonzaga, who had died in the interval, and Giovanni Mendoza. Of those nominated by Innocent IX., Facchinetti was present, and Sega absent; see PETRAMELLARIUS, 382. On January 12, 1592, there also arrived Joyeuse who took part in the scrutiny on the 13th; see Cod. J. 39, p. 367, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[2] See PETRUCELLI, II., 373.

[3] *Cf.* PHILLIPS, V., 2, 849, and SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, VI., 106.

[4] See the *Report A (*supra* p. 7, n. 1) used by HERRE, 610.

[5] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

Sixtine Chapel.[1] Their leader was resolved to proceed to extreme measures. When the procession of Cardinals who were accompanying Santori crossed the Sala Regia, Mark Sittich von Hohenems appeared at the entrance to the Sixtine Chapel. Santori went towards him and wished to embrace him, but the other rudely repulsed him with offensive words. Later on it was Mark Sittich who crushed all idea of a suspension of hostilities among the opposition.[2]

The thirty-six Cardinals who had gathered in the Pauline Chapel could have obtained their desired result so long as they acted with speed and energy.[3] Santori was therefore treated so as to lead him to believe that he had already been elected. Madruzzo recommended to him the Emperor and the King of Spain, Pellevé France and Radziwill Poland; almost all the Cardinals present asked him for some favour.[4]

In spite of this, however, the attempt came to nothing. What was decisive was, in the first place, that the dean of the Sacred College, Gesualdo, would not hear of so hurried a procedure; he began carefully to count those present, but could not complete this because the darkness was only broken by the light of a few candles, and there was great disorder, some of the Cardinals being seated and others on their feet. At last he had to entrust the counting to the master of the ceremonies, Mucantius, and to the secretary of the College of Cardinals, but these were no more successful than the dean, because the Cardinals were constantly changing their places.[5]

[1] See the *Report B (*supra* p. 7, n. 1), Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] *Conclavi*, I., 293 *seq.* According to this report, Mark Sittich von Hohenems hurled at Santori the words: "Va via Papa del diavolo!" The *Avviso of January 8, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, also speaks of the impetuous words of Mark Sittich against Santori.

[3] This view is also maintained in the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. *Cf. Conclavi*, I., 293, and SINGER, *loc. cit.*, 108.

[4] See *Conclavi*, I., 299.

[5] Report B, *loc. cit.* gives the fullest and best description of this.

In this way three whole hours passed, and while they were still awaiting the moment when it should be possible to announce the number of votes necessary for the election the young Ascanio Colonna suddenly stood up and declared in a loud voice that he would never give his vote to Santori; he then hastened to join the opposition party assembled in the Sixtine Chapel, who received him with joy.[1]

Since the example of Colonna might easily find imitators, his desertion was a severe blow for Santori. But his cause was not yet altogether lost. It was above all important that the thirty-five who were gathered in the Pauline Chapel should remain of one mind, but their number was only sufficient for an election by adoration provided that the vote of the candidate himself was included.[2]

In the midst of the confusion produced by the action of Colonna, Santori was reminded, though to most of them his election seemed assured, that before his elevation Pius V. had been reconciled to his adversary Morone. On the strength of this he resolved to try and come to an understanding with the opposition, by the mediation of the master of ceremonies, Mucantius, and the sacristan. When, after some time, these two returned without having accomplished anything, at the request of Santori the dean and Madruzzo personally attempted to win over the opposition; they were joined by Sauli. While these were negotiating, Montalto, Mattei and Giustiniani also made their appearance in the Sixtine Chapel, but they were forced to realize that their remonstrances were in

[1] The words which, according to *Conclavi*, I., 297, Colonna used: "Lo Spirito Santo non vuole S. Severina ne anco lo vuole Ascanio Colonna" are not to be found either in Report B, nor in the *Avviso of January 17, 1592 (Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library). Much more credible is the version given by the *Diarium P. Alaleonis: "Io non lo voglio, sono ingannato et non lo farò mai che sono Ascanio Colonna." Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[2] See the passage from Maretti, *Conclave di Clemente VIII., in SINGER, *loc. cit.*, 109.

vain.[1] Gesualdo, Madruzzo, Salviati, Caetani, Aldobrandini and Sauli then drew apart to deliberate, to the further side of the Sala Regia, where was stationed the guard of the conclave. They especially discussed the question whether Santori, at the adoration, could give his vote for himself, and canonical authorities were cited on both sides; all admitted, however, that if he acted in such a way he could not be held free from ambition, and in face of the determined opposition of those assembled in the Sixtine Chapel it did not seem advisable to proceed to such a step, by reason of which even the validity of the election might be called in question. This view was principally maintained by Cardinal Aldobrandini, who was joined by the most eminent among his colleagues, and even by Pinelli.[2]

According to the canonical prescriptions the Mass of the Holy Ghost had to be celebrated before the scrutiny was taken, but as the opposition party would not go to the Pauline Chapel for this purpose, the dean allowed them to have a special mass in the Sixtine Chapel, a thing that was quite unheard of. Matters threatened to become so embittered that many feared a schism.[3]

A fresh dispute developed when they set themselves to carry out the scrutiny. The friends of Santori proposed open voting, no doubt with the intention of being more easily able to keep doubtful voters firm in their purpose. But the party of the opposition, represented by Sforza, Sfondrato and Aquaviva, insisted on a secret ballot, and threatened to protest if the contrary course was adopted. Although no bull prohibited open voting the party in the Pauline Chapel gave

[1] This is in accordance with the accurate Report B. The *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* speaks in similar terms.

[2] See Report B, *loc. cit.* and Maretti in SINGER, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Report B, *loc. cit.* It is not only this report which speaks, on account of the obstinacy of the opposition, of the danger of a schism, but also the *Avviso of January 17, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Relazione, 438.

way so as not to expose themselves to the charge of departing from the usages hitherto observed.[1]

Of the opposition only Sforza and Aquaviva personally took part in the ballot.[2] Before the opening of the votes Santori stood up and demanded that it should be entered on the minutes by the master of ceremonies that the result of the scrutiny could not prejudice his election which had already been made! In reply to this the dean had to declare that they had not as yet reached any such point. To this he added an exhortation that Santori, should he become Pope, would not entertain any feelings of rancour towards his opponents on account of their behaivour. Santori replied that in token of his forgiveness of everybody he would call himself Clement.[3] The votes were then opened amid the greatest tension. These showed that only 28 votes, and with the accession of Montalto

[1] See Report B, *loc. cit.*

[2] This is what is stated in Report B, *loc. cit.*, whereas, according to the report in Conclavi I. 298, all the *escludenti* sent their missives to the Sistina.

[3] The report in *Conclavi*, I., 299, is very brief as to this ; fuller are Report B (*loc. cit.*) and the *Diarium P. Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*). Alaleone makes Aquaviva reply to Santori's declaration : " Quod nulla fuit electio nec valide et ad verum actum et validum non venerunt." It is possible that Aquaviva spoke thus, but it was the duty of the Dean of the Sacred College to reply first. This is stated in *Report B, where the incident is recorded as follows : " Nell' scrutinio non volsero intervenire altri delli escludenti che Sforza et Aquaviva et essendo messi li voti nel calice et seduti li capi d' ordini alla tavola per cominciare il scrutinio, come si suole, il card. S. Severina si alzò et disse che li mastri di ceremonie si rogassero come lui si protestava che questo scrutinio si dovesse fare senza prejudicio della elettione già fatta della persona sua, al che il Decano fu forzato replicare tocando al officio suo respondere per il collegio acciochè da questa pretentione di elettione fatta non potesse nascere qualch' inconveniente che li maestri di ceremonie potevano ben rogarsi della protesta che lui faceva, ma quanto all' elettione che non si poteva dire fatta non essendosi potuto venire all' atto dell' eleggerlo." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

and Pinelli, 30 were for Santori. Gesualdo then asked, not only once as was customary, but three times, if no one else would accede,[1] but as no one rose, he declared the session ended.

The Cardinals had been assembled in the Pauline Chapel for seven hours, and they now had to disperse in an exhausted state without having arrived at any decision. Some attempted to accompany Santori, but he repulsed them and went back alone to the cell, where he had already been acclaimed as Pope at dawn, and conducted in solemn procession to his election. He indulged in no illusions: the great dream of his life was irreparably shattered, for, well acquainted as he was with the custom of Rome, he well knew, as did the conclavists, that after such a discomfiture, in no circumstances could he look for subsequent success.[2] Above all he was grieved that the very men to whom he had shown the greatest favour had proved themselves his most violent adversaries.[3] "The night that followed," he says in his autobiography, "was more painful to me than any misfortune that I had ever endured, and the great grief and anguish of soul that I felt produced, incredible though it seems, a sweat of blood. But when in my sorrow I humbly turn to the Lord God, pondering how deceitful and wretched is all earthly happiness, and how true joy is only to be found in the contemplation of God, I found myself freed from all disturbance and all human passion. I was further confirmed in this blessed exaltation of my spirit when, on the following morning, during the holy Mass, I thanked God for His mercy to me, a poor sinner, and for all the favours that He had bestowed upon me. I also prayed for my enemies, who marvelled greatly when I sought to comfort my inconsolable friends."[4] A proof that Santori had completely recovered his better self was given when he humbly excused himself to the dean for his protest, and by his

[1] This consideration is brought out in *Report B, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Conclavi*, I., 300, where we find this definite statement: "Un cardinale è irrettrattabile."

[3] For this see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 203.

[4] *Ibid.* 204.

taking part in the voting that followed as though nothing had happened.[1]

The efforts made by Montalto during the following days to promote the election of Santori, met with no success, as might have been foreseen.[2] In the same way the attempt of the Spaniards to elevate Madruzzo was wrecked by the opposition of Cardinals Morosini, Giustiniani, Sforza and Montalto;[3] the candidatures of Galli, Colonna, and Paleotto were equally unsuccessful.

The Spaniards had suffered a decisive defeat with that of Santori, and no other course remained open to them but cautiously to turn their attention to the last of their candidates, Aldobrandini.[4] At the first scrutiny the latter had

[1] *Report B, *loc. cit.*

[2] The *Diarium P. Alaleonis states on January 12: "In scrutinio 48 cardinales; s. Severina habuit multa vota, sed non ad sufficientiam. Ingressus card. de Gioiosa"; on January 19: "In scrutinio 52 cardinales; S. Severina habuit aliqua vota et de electione nihil" (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library). According to the *Avviso of January 18, 1592, Santori always had 20 or 23 votes, and Rovere 18; that of January 22 says: *the *pratica* for him continues, but yesterday Madruzzo said to Montalto that they must think of another candidate, to which the Cardinal nephew replied that he had only been for Santori out of consideration for Spain. With regard to this the envoy of Urbino remarks: *Ho saputo di casa di Caetano che Montalto vuol movere la pratica di Aldobrandini nel qual sogetto dicono, escluso S. Severina, vogl stare fin che lo spunti et questo pensiero di Montalto è giudicato cosi nocevole per venirli fatta l'esclusione a questo signore da una buona parte delle sue creature che si teme che di subito li sia fatto in faccia Paleotto." Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 205, and *Avviso of January 25, 1592, *loc. cit.* See also the *Este report of January 11, 1592, State Archives, Modena.

[4] Giov. Niccolini reported on January 27, 1592, to Florence: *"Tengo per fermo che si darà in Rusticucci o in Aldobrandini non potendo far S. Severina, ma ho opinione più in Aldobrandini che in altri, perchè veduto li Spagnoli che non potranno ottenere

only received eleven votes, which gradually rose to nineteen.[1] Only Cardinal Girolamo della Rovere, who was in every way worthy, could have proved a rival to him, but he fell ill and suddenly died during the night between January 25th and 26th. To the admiration of everybody, Aldobrandini, as Grand Penitentiary, assisted his dying rival for five hours, giving him spiritual consolation.[2]

Even in the preceding conclaves, Aldobrandini had been Montalto's real candidate, and now, by a strange turn of affairs he found himself with an ever increasing hope of securing the success of that Cardinal. As soon as the nephew of Sixtus V. had assured himself that no serious danger threatened his chosen candidate from the jealousy of Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta and Antonio Sauli, or from the dislike of the Florentines, he took decisive steps. To that end on January 29th he went to Madruzzo, who immediately agreed as far as he was concerned, but wished first to ask his followers. These were officially informed that Philip II. had nominated Aldobrandini in the last event, so that they could not do anything but give their consent. With this the matter was decided. Even though the older Cardinals did not view with favour the choice of so "young" a Cardinal, they did not dare to oppose a candidate who was generally well thought of, and who had always led a blameless life, and had indisputable

uno della nomina et dubitando che non si caschi in uno delli esclusi parrà loro buono havere Aldobrandini tanto più che hoggi essi non lo fuggono." State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3303.

[1] *Cf.* the *information drawn from the original lists of the scrutinies, in App. No. 1, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* and *Avviso of January 29, 1593, which gives the following eulogy of Rovere: *"Lascia nome di dottissimo, particolarmente in lettere grecche et latine, di amatore di virtuosi, religiosissimo, di vita inreprensibile, senza nievo et finalmente datato di tutte quelle belle parti (Urb. 1060, I. Vat. Libr.). These two authorities give January 25 as the date of Rovere's death (*Conclavi*, I., 302, gives the 26), which agrees with the inscription on the tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli (CIACONIUS, IV., 161).

merits. After Madruzzo had had another long conversation with Aldobrandini on the morning of January 30th, his election as Pope took place at noon by an unanimous vote.[1] When he was asked if he accepted the election, Aldobrandini gave his assent if his elevation to that dignity would be for the glory of God and the salvation of his own soul: if not, he prayed that God might deprive him of the power of speech.[2]

The new Pope, who took as his name Clement VIII., and for his motto the words *Protector noster aspice Deus*,[3] came of an ancient Florentine family.[4] His father, Silvestro Aldobrandini,[5] who was born in 1499, had obtained a deep

[1] *Cf.* MARETTI, *Conclave di Clemente VIII., Milich Library, Görlitz; *Report A, in HERRE, 621 *seq.*; *Conclavi*, I., 302 *seq.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*; *report of Giulio del Carretto of January 30, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *report of Este of February 1, 1592, State Archives, Modena. RANKE (I[8]., 153) places the election on January 20, which has been followed by BROSCH (I., 301).

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* and in LAEMMER, Melet., 237, n.1, the passage printed from the *report of the conclaves in Cod. 411 of the Library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The author of this report thinks: *"L'elettion d'Aldobrandini fu tanto notabile quanto non fu pratticata e cosi giovane non hebbe alcuna di quelle oppositioni che furono fatte a S. Severina d'anni 62."

[3] PETRAMELLARIUS, 378. The words are from Psalm 83, 10.

[4] For the Aldobrandini *cf.* besides LITTA, fasc. 66, E. P. VISCONTI, Famiglie nobili Romani, Rome, 1830, and A. BERTINI in *Riv. d. Coll. Arald.*, IV. (1906).

[5] *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 392; VARCHI, Storia Fiorent., II., 163, 173, 175, 287; LITTA, fasc. 66 (where there is the portrait of Silvestro by Poccetti in the Florence Gallery); CONTE LUIGI PASSERINI, Marietta de' Ricci, Florence, 1845, c. 32; REUMONT, La gioventù di Caterina de' Medici, Florence, 1858, 181, and especially LUDOVICO PASSERINI, Memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini, con Appendice di docum., Rome, 1878 (only 104 copies printed), with, Aggiunta alle Memorie, Rome, 1879, valuable on account of many letters and documents hitherto unknown, but not free from an apologetic tone with regard to

and wide knowledge of law and the doctorate under Filippo Decio at Pisa.[1] On his return to his own country he became an advocate, and though but young in years, was made chancellor of the Reformazioni. But his love for liberty and for his country brought him disaster. On account of the active part which he had taken in 1527 in the second expulsion of the Medici, Silvestro was forced to go into exile four years later, at the fall of the republic. After he had laboured, as a clever jurist, upon the reform of the constitution, first at Venice,[2] and then at Faenza,[3] on the death of the Medici Pope, Clement VII., he repaired to Rome, where, as the result of the strained relations between Paul III. and Florence, many other Florentine exiles had also found refuge. At first, in 1535, he was sent as the deputy of the vice-legate, to Fano, and later on became vice-legate at Bologna. There, in spite of the prohibition of Paul III.,[4] he supported the enterprise of the Strozzi against Cosimo. After the defeat of the republicans at Montemurlo (July 31st, 1537) Silvestro could no longer remain at Bologna. He then sought his fortune in the service of others: first with Duke Alfonso of Ferrara,[5] and then with Cardinal Accolti, whom, as an experienced

his anti-Spanish sentiments under Paul IV., with regard to which *cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 427. See also GUASTI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th ser. I., 524 *seq.*

[1] The *Diploma of his doctorate, dated May 25, 1521, in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 249, Nr. 25.

[2] Clement VIII. recalled this in his *brief to the Doge of February 10, 1592: "Nam et parens noster olim vestrae Reipublicae inservivit in vestris legibus considerandis, cum de iis stabiliendis egeritis, et nos cum in Poloniam legati proficisceremur cumque rediremus, amanter honorificeque a vobis accepti sumus." (Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 77, Papal Secret Archives). He said the same to Paruta: see his *Relazione*, 439. His nephews too recalled it to Paruta; see *Dispacci*, III., 3.

[3] See BALLARDINI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser. XXXVIII., 349 *seq.*, 389 *seq.* *Cf.* MONTANARI, Guida stor. di Faenza, F., 1882, 61.

[4] See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 319.

[5] *Cf.* FRIZZI, IV., 439 *seq.*; PASSERINI, Memorie, 55 *seq.*

jurist, he defended with great ability at his trial.[1] In 1545 Silvestro became auditor-general to the Duke of Urbino, the adversary of the Medici.[2] His career only became more settled when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese obtained for him the office of consistorial advocate in Rome at the end of 1548, while at the same time he effected his reconciliation with Cosimo I.[3] In the first days of the pontificate of Paul IV., Silvestro was given an office of some importance in the Curia, and like other Florentine exiles, he attained to great influence under the secretariate of state of the Cardinal nephew, Carlo Carafa. He took part with great enthusiasm in the enterprise against Spain. Paul IV. also employed him in his plans for reform, until suddenly, in March, 1557, he fell into disgrace and lost his office.[4] Silvestro Aldobrandini only survived this sudden fall a short time; many of his juridical works, among them an edition of the Institutes, only appeared after his death, which took place on June 6th, 1558.[5]

Of the marriage of Silvestro Aldobrandini with the Florentine Lisa Deti (died 1557) there were born one daughter, Giulia, who married Aurelio Personeni da Passero, a merchant at Sinigaglia, and seven sons, one of whom died in infancy. Of the others, to whom their father, in spite of his troubled life and lack of means, had given an excellent education, two, Bernardo and Ormanozzo, adopted a career of arms, and the other four entered the service of the Pope.[6] Tommaso, who was well equipped with humanistic learning, was appointed secretary of briefs in 1567 by Paul IV., an office which he held until the death of the Pope, though he very soon followed him to the grave (July 13th, 1572). Another son, named Giovanni, who at first devoted himself to the law like his father, was

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XI. of this work, p. 311.

[2] See PASSERINI, Memorie 82 *seq.*

[3] For this *cf.* BONANNI in *Giorn. stor. degli archivi Tosc.*, II., 129 *seq.*; PASSERINI, Memorie, 100 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 85, 105, 154 *seq.*

[5] See PASSERINI, Aggiunta alle Memorie, 70 *seq.*; *Cf.* Catal. Bibl. Barb., I., 24.

[6] *Cf.* LITTA, fasc. 66; PASSERINI, Memorie, 92 *seq.*

given the bishopric of Imola in 1569 by Pius V., and a year later the purple. A premature death carried off this prelate, who was distinguished for his learning and kindness of heart, in 1573.[1] A third son, named Pietro, distinguished himself as a jurist; on May 26th, 1556, his father renounced in his favour the office of fiscal advocate which had been conferred on him on October 30th in the previous year. Pietro lost this office under Pius IV. but recovered it under Pius V. on March 17th, 1567.[2]

The fourth son of Silvestro, Ippolito, who was born at Fano on February 24th, 1536,[3] also owed his career to Pius V. The first stone of his fortunes was laid by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who gave Silvestro, who was a poor man, the necessary means to enable Ippolito, who was then employed as a

[1] "Huomo di gran dottrina e bontà." Alessandro Musotti calls him in his Memorie, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also the eulogy of Baronius in CIACONIUS, IV., 249. Giovanni's monument in S. Maria sopra Minerva reproduced in LITTA, fasc. 66.

[2] See the information taken from the Acta in the Papal Secret Archives, in GARAMPI, 300 *seqq.*

[3] As CIACONIUS does not give the year of his birth (IV., 160), this is often given wrongly; e.g. AMIANI (II., 235) and E. FRANCOLINI (Ippolito Aldobrandini che fu Clemente VIII., Perugia, 1867, 4) give the year 1535, as does LITTA, fasc., 66; DOLFIN (Relazione, 451) gives February 28, 1536 (28 is a printer's error, as in Cod. 6619, p. 123 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna, it is clearly written 24). The date given in the text follows L. MASETTI, La fede di battesimo di P. Clemente VIII. nato in Fano. Documento ined., Pesaro, 1881, 5. There on p. 6 is published the testimony of the baptism from the parish record of the cathedral of Fano; this states: "Alli 4 Marzo 1536. Fu baptizato uno putto di Messer Silvestro che fu locotenente qui, hebbe nome Ippolito, fu compare Monsignor rev^{mo} di Ravenna e un Francesco Fiorentino et Galeotto Peruzo et Gasparro Cignatta. Messer Jacomo Maiurana el baptizo." Tradition points to No. 1 in the Piazetta d'Este as the place of his birth.

clerk in a bank, to study law at Padua and Perugia.[1] After he obtained the degree of doctor at Bologna, where he had studied under the celebrated jurist Gabriele Paleotto, he returned to Rome. His family connexions, and a reputation for exemplary conduct, which he had maintained even during his years of study,[2] facilitated his entry into the prelature. He became a consistorial advocate, and in 1568, thanks to Cardinal Bonelli, he became Uditore del Camerlengato,[3] and in 1570 auditor of the Rota in the place of his brother Giovanni.[4] At this time the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga praised his knowledge of the law and his virtuous conduct.[5] In 1571 Pius V. gave him as a companion to Cardinal Bonelli, when Legate to Spain.[6] In his capacity Ippolito had an opportunity of learning something of diplomacy, as well as seeing new countries: that is, besides Spain, Portugal and France.

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 452. At Padua Aldobrandini formed a friendship with Fr. Capponi; see the *autograph letter of Clement VIII. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3715. After his election Clement VIII. said that he owed all his greatness to Farnese; see *Avviso of February 1, 1592, Urb., 1060 I., Vatican Library. According to this the annual subsidy was 1500 scudi. *Cf.* also *Avviso of February 5, 1592, *loc. cit.*

[2] "E stato sempre S.Stà di vita honesta et esemplare in tanto che negli anni più liberi della sua gioventù et nella vita laica non fu mai chi intendesse di lui cosa men honesta et commendabile," says the report of the envoy of Lucca; see *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 200.

[3] See *Avviso of December 4, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. For the office *cf.* MORONI, LXXXII., 179.

[4] The examination for his admission took place on April 13, 1570; see *Dicta testium examinatorum pro parte r. p. d. Hippoliti Aldobrandini in the Archives of the Rota, Rome, Acta seu processus in admissione auditorum s. Rotae, I., n. 30. *Cf.* G. BONDINI, Del tribunale della s. Rota Rom., Rome, 1854, 116.

[5] Report of July 3, 1571, *Corresp. dipl.*, IV., 375.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 409.

With the death of Pius V., the great patron of the Aldobrandini family, the career of Ippolito seemed to be ended.[1] During the long pontificate of Gregory XIII. he remained in the office which he had hitherto held at Rota, of which all through his life he retained a grateful recollection.[2] With Sixtus V., however, there came for the poor auditor, who had hitherto had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, rapid promotion.[3] On May 15th, 1585, he became Datary,[4] and on December 18th in the same year a Cardinal.[5] The titular church of Ippolito Aldobrandini was S. Pancrazio, and in 1586 he received the office of Grand Penitentiary.[6] The activity which he displayed in this important office naturally brought him to the notice of the public.[7] But it was with his appointment as peace legate to Poland in the summer of 1588 that he made his appearance on the stage of public affairs. Just as long before the generosity of Cardinal Farnese had made his studies possible, so now, with the refusal by the aged Cardinal of that legation, he was given a mission which was

[1] Pius V. tried in vain to reconcile the Aldobrandini with Florence; see in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna.

[2] When Serafino, as Dean of the Rota, thanked the Pope for the appointment of the Auditor Fr. Mantica as Cardinal, Clement VIII. replied that all his life he was grateful to the Rota, "riconoscendo l'origine della sua grandezza dalla Rota" (*Avviso of June 12, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., Vatican Library). "Ippol. Aldobrandini *Posit., vota et decisiones," as auditor of the Rota 1581-85, in Cod. 291 (481) of the University Library, Bologna.

[3] *Cf.* MARETTI, *Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Cod. Ib 55, p. 32 Servites Library, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *Diary of a servant of Aldobrandini in BORGHESE, IV., 145, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 225. Cardinal Aldobrandini lived in the Via de' Banchi Nuovi, No. 39; see PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma (1895), 65 *seq.*

[6] *12 Giugno 1586. Il sig. cardinale pigliò possesso dell' Officio del maior penitentiario in S. Pietro. Iddio lo conservi ancora lungamente ad maiora! Diary of a servant, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 2, cxliv.

to pave the way for him to the supreme dignity.[1] When he returned to Rome from the north, he brought with him a reputation for great statesmanship. Sixtus V., who received him first in the new Lateran Palace, was very pleased, and gave him the abbey of the Tre Fontane near Rome.[2] It was a fact that the conciliatory measures of Aldobrandini had greatly contributed to a satisfactory solution of the problem of the Polish succession.[3] His prestige was increased by his disinterestedness,[4] and from this time onwards he was among the Cardinals who had a serious chance of being elected to the supreme dignity. The very fact that he was inclined to act slowly and with deliberation led to his being looked upon as well fitted for the Papacy.

Indeed, Aldobrandini was not possessed of brilliant qualities; he was, moreover, irresolute; but his piety, kindness, calmness and his love of justice won for him in an ever-increasing degree the admiration of all men.[5] In spite of this, when Montalto made an attempt to secure his elevation after the death of his uncle, he was unsuccessful, for Madruzzo definitely rejected his candidature.[6] A fresh and inconsiderate attempt on the part of Montalto to obtain the tiara for his candidate after the death of Urban VII., also failed.[7] All this, however,

[1] For the legation to Poland *cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*

[2] See *Vita e gesta Clementis VIII. in the *Inform. polit.*, XXIX., State Library, Berlin. The Cardinal brought back from Poland a court buffoon; see STIEVE, Wittelsbacher Briefe, I., 28, 29; ORBAAN, Rome, 19, 33 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 24. For the pleasantries of the court dwarf of the Aldobrandini, in the frescos by Domenichino, at the Villa Aldobrandini, see TIETZE, Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoroñsky, Vienna, 1918, 71.

[3] Opinion of HERRE (418).

[4] See MAFFEJI, Hist., 29.

[5] *Era tenuto, says L. MARETTI (Conclave di Gregorio, XIV.), da ciascun cardinale, di bontà christiana, di natura placida, amico del giusto, ma di valor mediocre et di tarda risolutione. Cod. Ib, 55, p. 32, Servite Library, Innsbruck.

[6] See HERRE, 448.

[7] Ibid. 485 *seq.*

did not prevent, after the death of Gregory XIV., the candidature of Aldobrandini from again being put forward, this time with the consent of Spain, though he himself did not take it very seriously.[1] While the Pope was still living, the ambassador of the Emperor Rudolph II., speaking on July 27th, 1591, of the Cardinals who were *papabili*, referred to Aldobrandini in the most favourable terms, saying that he was very acceptable to the whole of the Sacred College, that he was looked upon as able and well fitted to discharge the difficult duties of the supreme pontificate to the satisfaction of all, and that the whole of the Curia eagerly desired his election; but in spite of all this his election would meet with great difficulties because of jealousy and the recollection of old questions, by which he was probably alluding to the position of the family in Florence.[2] In fact, at the conclave of October, 1591, the tiara did not fall to Aldobrandini, although Montalto once more set himself to obtain it for him.[3] Fifteen months later, however, this man who was the son of a fugitive and exile, and who had begun his career as a clerk in a Roman bank, ascended the throne of Peter.[4]

As Pope, Ippolito Aldobrandini still retained the reputation as a pious and hard-working man which he had always enjoyed. Every day, even when he was on a journey,[5] after he had made

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 412.

[2] *Aldobrandini è gratissimo a tutto collegio, stimato valoroso et sufficientissimo per portar questo peso con universal consolatione et è desideratissimo de tutta la corte et dal collegio stesso, ma haverà non di meno per gelosie intrinsiche et memorie vecchie contrasti gagliardi, ne si spera la riuscita sua salvo in caso che vi fossero portati da timore di peggiore et più odiata elettione, et il pretesto poria essere la età ancor fresca." Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II. on July 27, 1591, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* HERRE, 557 *seq.*, 568 *seq.*, 571 *seq.*, 575, 580 *seq.*

[4] As Clement VIII. was still only a priest, he also had to receive episcopal consecration; for this see the report of Joh. Paulus Mucantius in GATTICUS, 362 *seq.*

[5] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 144.

his morning prayer on his knees before a crucifix, he celebrated Mass with the greatest devotion, and during this shed abundant tears of emotion; he then gave Communion to his more intimate friends. Every evening the learned Oratorian Cesare Baronius, came to confess the Pope. Many times in the day, when affairs of state permitted it, Clement retired to his chapel for prayer and meditation.[1] He observed the fasts very rigorously, even when he was ill, and more strictly than the rules demanded, abstaining from meat several days in the week, and only taking bread and water on Fridays. This latter mortification he also frequently imposed upon himself at other times, especially on the vigils of the festivals of the Madonna,[2] just as in his prayers his preference was for the holy rosary.[3] Bentivoglio relates that Clement VIII. performed extraordinary penances in secret, just as though he had not been Pope, but a simple religious.[4] These rigorous

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 48 *seq.*; PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 34; DOLFIN, Relazione, 455; Donato in BASCHET, 209. Baronius, who was overwhelmed with work (see *Avviso of February 1, 1595, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library) still remained his confessor, even after he became a Cardinal (see *Avviso of June 29, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *ibid.*) But as time went on, this could not continue. An *Avviso of February 12, 1597, says that Bellarmine was to become the Pope's confessor, and *another of October 1, 1597, says that Baronius had given up the office, so that he might finish the VIIIth volume of his Annals; in his place Clement VIII. had chosen as his confessor his chaplain Girolamo (Urb. 1065, *ibid.*). In 1601 Baronius was again confessor; see OSSAT, Lettres, II., 499. That Clement VIII. every morning gave Communion to his household is stated by an *Avviso of August 30, 1597 (Urb. 1065, *ibid.*).

[2] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 44; *report of G. Niccolini of February 29, 1592, State Archives, Florence; *Avvisi of April 13, 1596, July 2, 1597, and December 5, 1601 (about three times a week), Urb. 1064, II., 1065 and 1069, *loc. cit.*, as well as the *report of Giulio del Carretto of December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of September 13, 1595, Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.*

[4] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 49.

fasts, which he practised even when on a journey,[1] were only mitigated in his latter years by order of the physicians, because, in view of his unwearied activity, they obviously injured his health.[2]

During Lent and Easter he redoubled his exercises of penance and prayer ; then Clement VIII. caused the pontifical apartment to be stripped ; even the canonical works belonging to the time of his auditorship, which were so dear to him, and formed the principal adornment of his study,[3] were removed ; he wished to pray and meditate on the transtiory nature of earthly things amid bare walls. Although various skulls in his rooms constantly reminded him that he would one day have to render an account to the Eternal Judge for all his actions,[4] he also had this truth preached to him by two monks. During Holy Week all business was suspended, because during those sacred days the Pope wished to devote himself entirely to spiritual exercises.[5] Sometimes he would sit in a confessional in St. Peter's for as long as three hours to hear all who came.[6]

When, on November 25th, 1592, in order to meet the grave dangers that threatened the Church from the Turks and the heretics, especially in France, the Pope prescribed the adoration of the Forty Hours and the exposition of the Most Holy

[1] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 134.

[2] See *Avviso of January 2, 1593, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.* VENIER, Relazione, 33 ; MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 161. For the strict fast which Clement VIII. imposed on himself in July, 1600, to obtain the favourable issue of a political matter, see BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 16.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of July 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[4] To the envoy of Urbino, who expressed surprise at the skulls the Pope said, *di tenercele per raccommandarsi sempre di non lassarsi a fare cose in vita che havesse poi a darne conto a Dio dopo la morte. Urb. 1060 II., 627, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *reports of Giulio del Carretto of April 17, 1593, and of Lelio Arrigoni of March 29, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See in addition to the reports in BROSCH, I., 350, the *Avviso of April 28, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

Sacrament[1] in the churches of Rome,[2] a thing that had first been zealously practised at Milan towards the end of the second decade of the century, and almost at the same time by the Barnabites and Capuchins, and soon afterwards by the Jesuits; he himself set an example, and was seen kneeling for an hour and a half without a cushion in the Pauline Chapel.[3] He also gave a shining example of piety on every other occasion; he took part in all the religious functions with touching devotion,[4] and accompanied by Baronius often visited the tombs of the saints buried in Rome,[5] often taking part, barefooted, in the processions;[6] as long as his health permitted, he never failed to carry the Most Holy in the procession of Corpus Domini, when the recollection which he showed deeply moved the spectators.[7] Indeed, on every occasion he displayed a special

[1] *Cf. Katholik*, 1898, II., 151 *seq.* and the accurate monograph of A. DE SANTI, L'orazione delle quarant'ore, Rome, 1919.

[2] Bull., IX., 644 *seq.*; A. DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*

[3] See in App. No. 13 the *report of Giulio del Carretto of December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 34. An *Avviso of September 24, 1596, tells of the participation of the Pope in the Forty Hours (Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library). *Cf.* also A. DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*, 187 *seq.*, who gives the report of Mucantius on p. 372.

[4] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815 and 2816, Vatican Library. See also *Avviso of April 9, 1594, Urb. 1062, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of June 18, 1597: "On Sunday visit to a half deserted church near St. Sebastian's, where Clement VIII. gave Baronius, who was accompanying him, the body of a saint for his church," and March 10, 1601, "visit to the tomb of S. Francesca Romana," Urb. 1065 and 1069, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 523, for the veneration of the body of St. Cecilia.

[6] *Avviso of August 17, 1596, "on the feast of the Ascension he went barefoot to St. Mary Major's," and May 22, 1601, "he went on foot from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Lateran," Urb. 1064, II. and 1069, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* *Avvisi of May 30, 1592, June 19, 1593, June 11, 1594, June 15, 1596, and June 7, 1597. Urb. 1060, I., 1061, 1062, 1064, I., Vatican Library. When the Pope, owing to his ad-

devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. In 1604, when the Pope was seventy-four years old, having met a procession, he at once got out of his litter, and accompanied the Most Holy on foot.[1] During the first years of his pontificate he gladly gave Holy Communion in person; thus in August 1592 he gave it to 300 persons at the Araceli, and in September in the same year to 1520 more,[2] on March 24th, 1593, he gave it to all the parish priests of the Eternal City.[3]

Like Pius V., throughout his pontificate Clement VIII. frequently practised the devotion of the Seven Churches, and of the Scala Santa, which he went up on his knees, sometimes barefooted, and with so great devotion as to give edification to all. Before a creation of Cardinals and in any other decision of importance, he sought inspiration in the same holy places. He never omitted these pilgrimages during the time of Carnival, and also made them frequently at other times, generally on a Sunday.[3] On these occasions, no matter how cold it was, the Pope went down early in the morning by candle-light to the church of St. Peter's, where he celebrated Mass and prayed at the seven privileged altars, before setting out with only a few companions on his pilgrimage. This often ended with a visit to a hospital, where he comforted the

vanced age, could no longer carry the Blessed Sacrament on foot, he submitted to the Congregation of Rites the question whether he could accompany it kneeling on a *sedia portatile*; see *Avviso of June 5, 1602, Urb. 1065, *ibid.*

[1] See *Avviso of June 26, 1604, Urb. 1072, *ibid.*

[2] See *Avvisi of August 5 and September 12, 1592, Urb. 1060 II., *ibid.*

[3] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[4] See besides the *report of Giulio del Carretto of May 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *Avvisi of May 6 and October 17, 1592, February 26 and November 12, 1594, August 23 and November 1, 1595, February 28, June 5 and August 16, 1596, February 4, 1598, May 22 and 30, 1601, January 16 and 30, April 3, September 25 and October 16, 1602, December 3, 1603, and October 26, 1604, Urb. 1060 I., 1060 II., 1062, 1063, 1064, 1066, 1069-1072, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 15.

sick, examined the food and distributed alms. Not infrequently the whole day was spent in this way, and the Pope returned fasting in the afternoon to the Vatican, but before he sat down to table, had a sermon preached before him.[1] As Clement VIII. took no care of himself even when he was suffering from gout, and, against the advice of the physicians, visited the churches even in the bad weather, it is not to be wondered at that sometimes, as a result, he fell ill.[2]

Clement VIII. proved himself a worthy disciple of Pius V., not only by his great piety, but also by his activity. From morning to evening he was indefatigable in discharging the duties of his office. He began very early in the morning; the time after breakfast was given up to audiences; at the beginning of his pontificate the Pope devoted three hours every day to these,[3] and in later years received such visits again in the evening.[4]

The Pope, who was accustomed to examine as far as possible all important matters himself, had to work very laboriously.[5] There were some days when he wrote letters in his own hand for four hours.[6] He carefully examined the dispatches of the nuncios, and covered them with notes for the reply; thus he was himself a kind of Secretary of State.[7] Sometimes he worked beyond his strength, and it was often reported that the Pope, when he had hardly recovered from an attack of

[1] See besides the Venetian reports in BROSCH, I., 350, the *Avvisi of February 26, 1594 and September 4, 1596, Urb. 1062, 1064, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Lelio Arrigoni of December 30, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso of February 8, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* VENIER, Relazione, 19.

[5] *Cf.* besides DOLFIN, Relazione, 462 *seq.* in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna. See also the *report of G. Niccolini of June 20, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[6] See *Avviso of August 24, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 409, 411.

gout, was again devoting himself to public affairs and taking part in the religious functions.[1] So as to get through everything, he kept to a strict time-table: Monday morning was for the Consistory, Tuesday for the Segnatura di Grazia, Wednesday for audiences of the ministers of state, Thursday for the sessions of the Inquisition, while on Friday and Saturday, both morning and afternoon, the ambassadors of the princes were received.[2] Sundays and feast days were to a great extent given over to spiritual things, and the only recreation which the Pope allowed himself on those days was the company of good religious, especially the Oratorians. Sometimes he made his appearance unexpectedly in their houses, to share their frugal meal with the religious.[3] Besides this, Sundays as well, when there were no public functions, were employed in strict visitations of churches and convents.[4]

Although he was a skilled jurist and well experienced in the business of the Curia, Clement VIII., who was very deliberate, scrupulously cautious and exceedingly conscientious, was never satisfied with his weighing and preparing everything in the most detailed way.[5] Bentivoglio reports that on the day before the meeting of the Segnatura, the Pope himself often went into the ante-camera, to get the necessary information from those concerned as to the cases to be dealt

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 56, II., 152 *seq.*

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 47 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of May 31, 1597, for the visitations of the convents of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo and S. Andrea al Quirinale, and *that of February 20, 1602: "The Pope dined with the fathers at S. Sabina on abstinence fare." Urb. 1065, 1070, *loc. cit.*

[4] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 455.

[5] *"E. N. S. bravo legista, come quello che fu auditore di Rota molto versato et dotto anco in altre scienze, reputato sempre il primo della signatura, et adoprato in molte congregationi et affari della sede Apostolica sebene un poco tardo nel risolvere, ma questo se li attribuisce a prudenza et mira di fare tutte le cose sue con rettitudine et perfettamente." (Avviso of February 1, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* the report in Stieve IV., 321, n.1.

with on the following morning, so as to study them more carefully in his own room.[1]

Fortunately, Clement VIII., who is described to us as a man of great stature, majestic bearing, pale complexion, with white hair and a well trimmed white beard,[2] had a constitution

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 48.

[2] "Egli è di pelo bianco, di molta carne, di statura assai grande, d'aspetto grave," writes DOLFIN, Relazione, 452. For the busts in the sacristy of the Lateran see Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 479. A fine bronze bust of Clement VIII. is in the atrium of the hospice of the Trinità de' Pellegrini in Rome, in gratitude for the many gifts of the Pope, and according to the *Avviso of July 11, 1597 (Urb. 1065, Vatican Library) inaugurated on that day; reproduction in *Cosmos cath.*, 1909, 503. Inscription in FORCELLA, VII., 203. For the very characteristic bust by Giorgio Albenga in the cathedral at Ferrara see FRIZZI, V., 47; AGNELLI, Ferrara, Bergamo, 1906, 28, and *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 185. The statue on his tomb in St. Mary Major's, by S. Milanese; see *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 186. Portraits in oil at the Aldobrandini and Mattei palaces (M. Wurtz) in Rome, and at the Villa at Frascati. The bronze bust in the latter Villa (weighing 200 kilos) with reliefs in mint-gold, which together with the pedestal is a metre in height, and is 70 centimetres across the shoulders, was stolen during the spring of 1908, but was later on restored to its place. Of the engravings the best are those of Fr. v. Hulsius, Domen. Custos, Antony Wierix, C. Waumans, Marius Arconius, Joh. Bussemacher, H. Ulrich, Crispin de Passe, A. Tempesta and Jan Sadeler, the latter representing the Pope half-length seated in a chair, with episodes of his life above and below. *Cf.* W. E. DRUGULIN, Porträt Katalog, Leipzig, 1860, Nos. 3564-56, and Portrait Index ed. W. COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 312. BAGLIONE mentions (p. 172) a portrait of Clement VIII. by the Bolognese Ant. Scalvati; *cf.* also ORBAAN, Documenti, 269, note. An excellent portrait, unsigned, in Florence, is reproduced by ORBAAN, in Rome, etc. A large portrait of Clement VIII. in Florentine mosaic is in the Corsini Gallery, Florence, n. 478. The features of the Pope are also well reproduced in his many medals and coins; *cf.* BONANNI, I.; ARMAND, I., 170, II., 532, III., 333; FUMI, Legazione, 32. See also

that was sufficiently strong to endure such labours,[1] a thing in which he was helped by his well-ordered and simple manner of life.[2] In spite of this he had to submit to distasteful restrictions, especially with the lapse of years. This was above all due to the attacks of gout, from which he suffered during the whole of his pontificate.[3] The physicians therefore insisted on his taking much exercise, and as the Pope could not obtain this sufficiently in Rome, they suggested frequent expeditions to Frascati. On account of his tendency to grow fat, they later on gave him detailed directions as to his diet, which proved efficacious.[4] But if Clement yielded in this matter to the advice of his phyiscians, on the other hand he refused to allow himself to be kept from his work or from the discharge of public affairs even by his illnesses.[5] Although he was often confined to his bed by the gout, he still granted audiences.[6]

These attacks of gout, which recurred periodically, gave timid people occasion for anxiety, and astrologers for gloomy prophecies. Although the Pope laughed at these prophecies

A. MONTI, Le monete monumentali de' Papi, in the *Periodico di Numismat. e Sfragistica*, VI., 6; MARTINORI, Annali d. Zecca di Roma, Clemente VIII., etc., Rome, 1919; G. HABICH, Die Medaillen der ital. Renaissance, Berlin, 1924, LXXVIII., 12-14.

[1] *"È papa Clemente di complessione assai forte et robusta," says PARUTÄ, Relazione, 439. *Cf.* FUSAI, B. Vinta, 53; HIRN, II., 408. *"È sanissimo e pieno di vita," says the *Avviso of February 1, 1592. *Cf.* also *Avviso of May 16, 1592. According to the *Avviso of February 12, 1592, Clement VIII. did not as yet wear spectacles. Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e Docum.*, XXII., 200.

[3] According to the *Avvisi (Vatican Library) the Pope was attacked several times in the year by gout, but these attacks generally only lasted for a short time.

[4] See VENIER, Relazione, 31.

[5] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 56; *Avviso of November 26, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avvisi of February 29, 1592, March 12, 1597, and July 18, 1601, Urb. 1060, I., 1065, 1069, Vatican Library.

they were nevertheless displeasing to him.[1] Grave though he was as a rule, he knew, at fitting times, how to be very cheerful and amusing;[2] he loved music, but only sacred music.[3] He kept strictly to the prescribed ceremonial,[4] but not infrequently gave audiences while he was walking in the corridors of the palace,[5] no doubt to save time. Clement VIII. showed his true humility by his quiet acceptance of the sharp criticisms of mistakes he had made expressed with the greatest freedom in a memorial by Bellarmine, adding that he had also made mistakes in many other matters, and that the Cardinal must pray to God for him, to help him in his difficult task.[6]

But with all his humility Clement VIII. was always careful of his dignity,[7] and even displayed a somewhat ostentatious pomp.[8] He gladly assisted people, above all the sick in the hospitals, and also gave abundant spiritual and material help to those in prison.[9] After May, 1594, he always had a

[1] See *Avvisi of March 18 and September 2, 1592, Urb. 1060, I. and II., Vatican Library. *Cf.* Ricci, II., 117, 152, 249 n. 4; A. Paoli, La scuola di Galilei, I., Pisa, 1899, xiv. *seq.*

[2] See *Avvisi of August 25, 1601, February 15 and July 26, 1603, Urb. 1069-71, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of April 4, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Moroni, VIII., 40.

[4] See *Avviso of April 2, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

[5] See Pàruta, Dispacci, I., 202, II., 211.

[6] See Laemmer, Melet., 379 *seq.* *Cf.* more fully Vol. XXIV. of this work.

[7] See *Venier*, Relazione, 145.

[8] *Cf.* Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 16 *seq.* Detailed account of the court of Clement VIII. Orbaan, Rome, 30 *seq.*

[9] See *Avvisi of March 25 and October 14, 1592, June 5, 1593, January 28, 1595, May 1 and August 21, 1596, Urb. 1060 I., 1060 II., 1061, 1063, 1064 I., 1064 II., Vatican Library. *Cf.* also De Waal, Campo Santo, 58. For the regular alms see in App. No. 46, the *Note from the Chigi Library, Rome. Mention is made of the care taken by Clement VIII. that those condemned to death "habbiano sempre 36 hore a disporre del anima et cose loro in mano de Scappuccini" in the *Avviso of

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number of poor men to dine in the same room where he took his frugal repast, and often waited upon them himself.[1] He was also very affable, and when three little children wished to kiss his feet when he was visiting the Scala Santa, he kissed them like an affectionate father.[2] He talked in a friendly way to the labourers whom he met in his garden, made them recite the Ave Maria and Credo, and then gave them a present.[3] Once, when he was going to the Casaletto of Pius V., a Capuchin presented him with a commentary on the sentences of St. Bonaventure, whereupon the Pope took off his hat and embraced the religious.[4] Clement VIII.'s study was so situated that in order to get there he had to go up some stairs adjoining the apartments of Cardinal Aldobrandini. One morning when the Pope was hastening to his work, he knocked on the door of the Cardinal, whose barber, annoyed at his master being disturbed so early, angrily threw open the door. The Pope laughed heartily at this incident.[5]

March 19, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library. The Pope also interested himself in assisting the poor Christian prisoners and in obtaining their liberation from captivity with the Mahometans; see the *Brief to "Ignatius de Bononia, O. Cap." of August 24, 1602, and *that to "Insulanus comes Bonon." of April 26, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 262; t. 47, n. 109; *cf.* n. 110: *"Oratori regis christ. in Constantinopoli." *Ibid.* n. 95 a *Letter to King Philip II., recommending Pierre Lusignan of Cyprus, of ancient royal stock, dated 1603, April 20, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *"N.S. infervorendo ogni dì più nel suo carico pastorale et sante opere vuole hora che alla sua presentia si dia mangiare alli 4 poveri che S.B. fa cibare ordinariamente ogni mattina" (Avviso of May 4, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library). See also VENIER, Relazione, 33. *Cf.* Ios. Castalli Epulum a Clemente VIII. P. O. M. pauperibus appositum versibus conscriptum, Romae, 1596, and Ruole di Clemente VIII., p. 7.

[2] See *Avviso of September 25, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of September 2, 1595, Urb. 1063, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of January 13, 1593, Urb. 1061, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of July 21, 1599, Urb. 1067, *ibid.*

Clement VIII. treated his suite as a kindly master;[1] he carefully selected his court: and appointed as his maestro di camera[2] a man whom he had already as a Cardinal learned to esteem on account of his exemplary conduct and his learning, this was Silvio Antoniano.[3] Born in 1540, the latter had distinguished himself, even as a boy, as a poet and musician. Pius IV., to whom, it was said, he had foretold the tiara, conferred on him a professorial chair in Rome. How admirable a man he was is above all shown by his close relations with Charles Borromeo;[4] it was at the suggestion of the Cardinal that Antoniano wrote his celebrated work on the education of children.[5] This admirable and deeply pious man was also the intimate friend of Philip Neri. Pius V. appointed him secretary to the College of Cardinals, while Sixtus V. made him secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Clement VIII., who consulted Antoniano in matters of every kind, made him Secretary of Briefs after the death of Antonio Boccapaduli, which took place in

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 453. His customary kindness to those about him, changed about this time as the result of his advanced age, *reports Lelio Arrigoni, February 7, 1604. Fr. Maria Vialardo also says in his *report of January 1, 1604, that the Pope had at time become easily irritated: "Il Papa è devenuto fastidiosissimo con ognuno"; he disputes with his physicians. Both in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *"Il Sr Silvio Antoniano detto il Poetino è dichiarato per Maestro di Camera. È huomo di vita esemplare, di bonissime lettere et ha servito il sacro collegio per secretario da molti anni in qua"; Giulio del Carretto, February 8, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* G. CASTIGLIONE, Vita Silvii card. Antoniani et eiusdem orationes XIII., Rome, 1610; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LIII 182. BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 216 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 405, 409.

[5] German translation by KUNZ in *Bibl. der kath. Pädagogik*, I., Freiburg, 1888. *Cf.* CARBONERA, S. Antoniano o un pedagogista della riforma cattolica, Sondrio, 1902.

November, 1593,[1] and in 1599 rewarded his loyal services by admitting him to the Sacred College.[2]

When Antoniano received the purple, Lodovico Angelita was made maestro di camera,[3] but the Cardinal retained the charge of the Latin briefs.[4] He loved to introduce into these documents many passages from Scripture, nor was he deterred from this practice by the criticism that his briefs were more suitable to a monastery than to the Roman court, and were too much like sermons. In reply Antoniano pointed out that the apostolic letters of the supreme head of the Church ought to be different from those of a secular prince; however much he admired Sadoleto and Bembo, yet their briefs were not in conformity with the Papal dignity, and Bembo especially had sometimes adopted a pagan style.[5] Clement VIII. was quite satisfied with the style adopted by Antoniano, and the latter, who was a man of touching humility, enjoyed his confidence as long as he lived. Before

[1] See *Avviso of November 10, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library. The *Briefs of Boccapaduli (*cf.* Bonamicus, De claris pontif. ep. script. 313 *seq.*) in Arm. 44. t. 36-38, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Addit. 26, 820 (Brevia A. Buccapadulii scripta A°. 1592), British Museum.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 327 *seq.*

[3] See MORINI, XLI., 133.

[4] *Cf.* OSSAT, Lettres, II., 202, and STEIERMARK. Geschichtsblätter, I., 79. Besides Antoniano, Marcello Vestrio Barbiano was also skilled as a secretary of Latin briefs; see *brevia Clementis VIII., Arm. 44, t. 34, Papal Secret Archives. OSSAT, II., 99; MORONI, XXXIV., 43, XLIX., 51, LXIII., 265, 267, LXXVIII., 162; BONAMICUS, De claris pontif. ep. script., 314; G. DELL'AQUILA-VISCONTI, Del prelato abbrev. de Curia, Rome, 1870, 47 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XXXVIII., 374. For the register of briefs of Clement VIII. see WIRZ, xxvi. *Cf.* *Studien aus dem Bened. Orden*, I., 200; MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, lxxxvi. *seq.* For the ciphers see Corresp. de Frangipani, I., xxxviii.

[5] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 111 *seq.*

the death of Antoniano, which took place in 1603, the Pope went in person to visit him.[1]

In the palace of Clement VIII. there also lived another representative of the Christian renaissance, the Jesuit father, Giovanni Pietro Maffei, who had made a name for himself by his biography of the founder of his Order, and as the writer of the history of the missions. Clement VIII. appointed this celebrated Latinist, who was at that time engaged upon a biography of Gregory XIII.,[2] his own historian.[3] The office of court preacher was entrusted by the Pope to the Capuchin Anselmo Marzato, who came from Naples, and was very pleased when in his sermons, which were simple and unadorned, but out-spoken, he told the truth to the court without compliments.[4]

The majordomo of Clement VIII. was Count Ercole Tassone, who had previously held that office under Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX.[5] For his personal service the Pope only retained

[1] See *ibid.*, 113. In his position as secretary of Briefs, Antoniano saw the Pope almost daily; see *ibid.* 151. Clement VIII. paid the cost of the funeral of Antoniano, who was buried in the chapel he had founded at the Chiesa Nuova; see *Avviso of August 20, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library. The place of Antoniano as secretary of Briefs was taken by Marzio Malacrida of Forlimpopoli; see Arm. 44, t. 56, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 597 *seqq.*

[3] See Bentivoglio, Memorie, 152 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 180.

[5] See the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 198. The same report also mentions as the most important prelates at the court, the Archbishops of Monreale, Ragusa, Urbino and Bari, and Mgr. Gloriero, Clerk of the Camera. For Tassone *cf.* Ossat, Lettres, I., 460, and Renazzi, Notizie stor. d. Maggiordomo pontif., Rome, 1784, 105 *seq.*, 159 *seqq.* It is *reported by the envoy of Mantua, August 22, 1592, that Clement VIII. had a special love for the Archbishop of Monreale (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). When Tassone died in 1597 the Florentine Annibale Rucellai became his successor, and after the death of the latter in 1601, Fabio Biondi, a friend of Sixtus V.; see Moroni XLI., 262. For Pietro Nores see *Arch. stor. ital.*, XII., xxi. *seq.*

the few servants whom he had previously had.[1] Of his suite, besides Tassone, he specially loved Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio,[2] and Marcello Nobili. The latter was to have been created a Cardinal, but he humbly refused the honour, recommending in his stead his nephew Paolo Emilio Zacchia,[3] who became one of the most intimate Cardinals of Clement VIII.[4] Among the private chamberlains of the Pope there were distinguished the Austrian, Franz von Dietrichstein, later Bishop of Olmütz and Cardinal, the noble Spaniard, Jayme di Polafei, and the Bolognese Guido Bentivoglio, who later on won a world-wide fame as nuncio and Cardinal. Other honorary chamberlains of the Pope also attained to the purple, e.g. the Frenchman, Simon de Marquemont, Antonio Caetani, the nephew of Cardinal Errico, the Eitel Friedrich, Count of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Among the chamberlains there were also to be found Poles and Flemings; all the nations were to be represented in the Curia.[5] But these were for the most part honorary chamberlains, without stipend, because the Pope would not depart from his parsimony, even in this

[1] See the report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.* 203, and foi his intimate friend Diego the report of Donato in BASCHET, 209. It appears from the Memorie of Bentivoglio, 181 *seq.*, that Clement VIII. still retained the Polish buffoon whom he had brought back when a Cardinal from Poland (see *supra*, p. 24, n. 2); this buffoon appears under various names; see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 141; ORBAAN, Rome, 33 *seq*. *Cf.* more fully Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 432, n. 7.

[2] See in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Archives Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 138; MORONI, CIII., 359.

[4] See OSSAT, Lettres, II., 93.

[5] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 182 *seq.* The "Informazione al marchese di Viglienna" reports concerning Dietrichstein that Clement VIII. immediately after his election had made him *intimo camerière*; "si compiaceva dell'ingegno accorto et faceto et della libertà di dire" (Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library). With regard to the excellent Camerlengo, Luca Masotti, see FORCELLA III., 388.

matter.[1] He rigorously exacted simplicity and a moral life from his suite, and only a few days after his election exhorted his servants to distinguish themselves by their modesty and their exemplary life. Above all, he forbade them to wear silken attire or to accept presents; he further insisted that they should all receive Holy Communion at his hands once a month.[2] In June, 1592, and again in July, 1593, the Papal court was reduced, as well as the number of the officials.[3]

The master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, cites, as an example of the Pope's patience how one day when the Cardinals were late in coming to Mass, he quietly and placidly awaited their arrival.[4] In his dealings with the ambassadors, too, Clement VIII. was benevolent and affable. If the occasion demanded it, he sometimes lost his temper, but these outbursts of anger soon passed, and he himself generally tried to excuse himself for his vehemence, and to atone for it by his courtesy. This we are told by the Venetian ambassadors, Paolo Paruta and Marco Venier.[5] The diplomatists thought it their duty to blame in Clement VIII., besides his timidity and want of confidence in himself, his excessive caution and pedantry, which delayed all business.[6] The Pope was aware that

[1] *The Pope appoints new "camerieri, però tutti cantano il verso di Isaia: Multiplicasti gentem, non magnificasti laetitiam, perchè di tutti loro tre soli mangiano et il Pontifice è tanto parco nel dare alli suoi servitori, che tanto di pensioni come di recognitione a 2 principali solamente ha dato 400 scudi, a 2 altri 300." Avviso of April 4, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of Giov. Niccolini of February 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence, and *Avviso of February 5, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. For the household of Clement VIII., see the information drawn from the *Ruoli* in MORONI, XXIII., 78 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of June 20, 1592, Urb. 1060, Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 250.

[4] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis (*cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 5 *seq.*), Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[5] PARUTA, Relazione, 440; VENIER, Relazione, 32.

[6] *"La natura del Papa è di risolvere tardi ogni cosa et come quello ch'è stato auditore di Rota è molto atto in materie legali

similar reproaches had already been levelled at him while he was a Cardinal, and therefore, after his election, he said that if the world had hitherto found him undecided, he now intended to prove by his acts that the contrary was the case.[1] As early as February 8th, 1592, Peranda was able to report from Rome that the Pope who, as a Cardinal, had been slow and undecided, now proved to be the contrary: that his slowness had been modesty, and his indecision prudence.[2] In all questions of importance, however, Clement VIII. continued his habit of reflection, the result of his great delicacy of conscience and his scrupulous exactitude, which betrayed in him the jurist. He was always troubled with doubts, and it could be seen in his face that he was enduring real torture when he found himself obliged to come suddenly to an important decision. Even after he had made it, he was generally not satisfied with what he had done. He used to say that important matters cannot be satisfactorily solved in a hurry, and that all the circumstances must be well weighed.[3] In this Clement VIII. was certainly not wanting. He was never tired of pondering over every question in detail, comparing it with previous cases, and taking into minute consideration the time, the persons concerned and all the circumstances. It was easy to detect the experienced Auditor of the Rota in the way in which he dealt with both juridical and ecclesiastical questions, and waited until the views of all the authorities and all precedents had been laid before him. Even in purely

a eccitare dubbi anche dove non sono," writes Annibale Chieppio on November 24, 1594. On December 10, 1594, the same reports: "Il Papa è per natura timido et dopoi aver rotta una lanci senza frutto fugge l'incontro," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf* also *Avviso of November 19, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library.

[1] *"N. S^ve ha detto che il mondo l'ha in mente di huomo irresoluto, egli dice de voler demonstrar dagli effetti tutto il contrario." Letter of Giulio del Carretto, February 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See LAEMMER, Melet., 237.

[3] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 453.

political matters he never abandoned the rigour and circumspection of the jurist.[1]

Clement VIII. was as independent as he was reserved.[2] Cautious to the point of timidity, he rarely spoke at length or at once; for the most part he made his observations in single sentences,[3] though on the other hand it was often easy to read his views in his face.[4] In difficult cases it was true that he had recourse to the advice of others, but he did not trust in this very easily. He willingly listened to the Cardinals, but the affairs of government were directed absolutely by himself. At the Consulta, as well as at the Rota and Segnatura, nothing must be done without his knowledge and consent. He even himself received the ordinary petitions and signed them with his own hand.

Clement VIII. loved to make personal inquiries so as to satisfy himself as to the scrupulous fulfilment of their duties by his officials. Thus he often went to the Rota, the Apostolic Camera and the Consulta, and always so unexpectedly that the officials had a salutary fear of him.[5] Soon after his election he had set Cardinals Salviati, Montalto and Pierbenedetti at the head of the Consulta, and it was these who at first enjoyed his greatest confidence.[6] These, however, were

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 440, and DOLFIN, *loc. cit.*, How greatly Clement VIII. clung to a logical procedure, *cf.* *Avviso of May 12, 1599, according to which he had said that he did not wish for contradictory measures, like Pope Celestine. Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 27; OSSAT, Lettres, I., 260, 293; *report of the envoy of Mantua, June 1, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 92.

[4] *Cf.* COUZARD, Ambassade, 38.

[5] See the *memorial of Sozzini in Ital. 178 p. 1175, State Library, Munich.

[6] See the *report of G. Niccolini, February 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence. In his *report of January 31, 1592, Este mentions, besides Montalto, Pinelli, Castrucci and Cusano as being in favour (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* the report of

soon succeeded by three other men, who were given the purple on September 17th, 1593: the learned Jesuit father, Francisco di Toledo and two relatives of the Pope.

As Cardinal Clement VIII. had severely condemned nepotism, but now as Pope he discovered how difficult it is even for the best of men to avoid this reef, once he finds himself in so exalted a position.

At the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had no doubt been animated by the best intentions of refraining from any unseemly promotion of his many relatives, and the restraint which he imposed upon himself in this respect caused wonder to everybody.[1] It seemed natural that there should remain at his court the two relatives to whom as Cardinal he had already shown his favour. These were the son of his sister, Cinzio Passeri, and Gian Francesco, who was made Governor of the Borgo in March, 1592. There was nothing extraordinary in this, nor in the simultaneous appointment of Pietro, a son of a brother of Clement VIII., as Castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo.[2] At first Pietro was not well-disposed towards the Spaniards, whereas Cinzio passed as one of their

the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 202; DESJARDINS, V., 278; PARUTA, Relazione, 441 *seq.*; DOLFIN, Relazione, 455. See also the "Memorie" of L. Donato in BASCHET, 206 *seq.* If in these sentences taken from a diary the Pope is in one place called "simulator maximus" there is nevertheless no proof given; *Cf. Lit. Rundschau.* 1909, 186. The Este envoy names in 1596 Cardinals Aragona, Salviati, Toledo and Baronius as the ones whom the Pope most often consulted, but that Baronius was only his spiritual director; see RICCI, II., 133. His long standing fondness for Salviati was clearly shown in 1602, when the Pope went in person to visit the Cardinal when he was ill; see *Avviso of April 3, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

[1] See the report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of March 4, 1592. An *Avviso of March 18 reports that Clement VIII. had ordered that Pietro with his relatives, and Cinzio should take up their abode at the Vatican; but according to an *Avviso of March 21, Pietro went to lodge at the Castle of St. Angelo. Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

adherents. It was at once supposed in Rome that both of them would be made Cardinals. Sessa and Cardinals Caetani and Madruzzo at once began to work on behalf of Cinzio,[1] while Montalto urged the claims of Pietro.[2] While the Pope was treating Cardinal Salviati as his principal adviser,[3] conjecture was rife in the Curia as to when the purple would be conferred on them. Many thought that this would take place at Easter;[4] then Pentecost was thought likely,[5] and at last men consoled themselves with the thought that a nomination of Cardinals would be sure to take place at Christmas. From the beginning of May the promotion of Pietro was looked upon as certain, but no one, not even the intimates of Clement VIII., knew when it was to take place.[6] It was insistently pointed out from many quarters what a very great advantage it would be for the discharge of public business if one of the nephews were to become a Cardinal, but for a long time the Pope showed himself absolutely opposed to it.[7]

But as time went on Clement VIII., who had but little confidence in the Cardinals, who were not always independent

[1] See the *reports of G. Niccolini of February 3 and 11, 1592, State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* *Avviso of February 8, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

[2] *Report of G. Niccolini, February 21, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *"Qua si governa ogni cosa secondo il parere del card. Salviati," who consults with the Pope every day for several hours. G. Niccolini, February 17, 1592, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi of February 29 and April 1, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library. See also the *report of Sporeno of March 7, 1592, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[5] *Report of G. Niccolini, April 16, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[6] See the *reports of G. Niccolini, May 1 and 19, 1592, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, and the report in *Arch. Veneto*, XXXVII., 2, 267 *seq.* See also *Avviso of April 15, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and the *report of Giulio del Carretto of April 29 and 30, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the influence of the sovereigns,[1] could not conceal from himself the fact that, to carry on the affairs of government, he could not do without men whom he could absolutely trust.[2] In the middle of September, 1592, he informed Cinzio Passeri, who had rendered him good service during his legation to Poland as Cardinal, and Pietro Aldobrandini of his decision to place them at the head of the Secretariate of State; they were to administer it together, but in such a way that Cinzio was to deal principally with the affairs of Poland, Germany and Italy, and Pietro with those of France, Spain and Savoy.[3]

As from that time forward the nephews went every morning to the Pope,[4] it was supposed that they would soon receive the purple. When in October Pietro became Protonotary, and at the end of December received the four minor orders, everyone believed that his nomination was imminent,[5] but some time elapsed before this took place. At Christmas, 1592, Montalto vainly made representations,[6] and it was looked upon as certain that the appointment would be made at Pentecost

[1] PARUTA, Relazione, 442.

[2] An *Avviso of April 14, 1593, which tells of the probable promotion of the nephews at Pentecost, says: "Conoscendo S.B. essere necessario di haver nepoti insigniti di questa dignita per rispetto de negotii gravi et di portata, che trattano li principi et ambasciatori i quali hora vanno circonspetti et lenti in trattare per questa occasione" Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

[3] See in App. No. 3 the *Avviso of September 16, 1592, Vatican Library, and the *report of G. Niccolini of September 15, 1592, State Archives, Florence. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 212: ZÖCHBAUER, II., 9, note.

[4] *Letter of G. Niccolini, September 18, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[5] *Cf.* *Avvisi of October 21, November 18 and December 30, 1592, Urb. 1060 II., Vatican Library.

[6] *"Hierisera il card. Montalto stè fino alle 3 hore della notte a supplicare et scongiurare il Papa per la promotione de cardinali, almeno de nepoti, tanto che S.B. stanca gli disse, che posseva andare a riposarsi." Avviso of December 16, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

in the following year. But Clement VIII. could not yet make up his mind, and it was suspected that some one had advised him against it.[1] At length, on September 17th, 1593, Cinzio Passeri and Pietro Aldobrandini, and at the same time the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo and the aged Datary, Lucio Sassi, received the purple.[2] Toledo had been for many years a close friend of the Pope, who had a high esteem for his learning and piety.[3] Henceforward he and the two nephews managed the affairs of state together with the Pope, while Salviati and Pierbenedetti fell into the background. After the death of Toledo[4] on September 16th, 1596, Clement VIII. frequently turned for advice to another Jesuit, the celebrated Bellarmine, on whom he conferred the purple in 1599.[5] Later on considerable influence was also obtained by the prelates Paolo Borghese and Pompeo Arigoni, who were admitted to the Sacred College together with Baronius on June 5th, 1596.[6]

The relations between the two nephews, each of whom was jealous of the other, had left a great deal to be desired

[1] See *Avviso of May 22, 1592, in addition to the remarks of the envoy of Urbino, Urb. 1061, p. 283 *seq.*, and *Avviso of July 10, 1592, *ibid.* Vatican Library.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 13; CIACONIUS, IV., 277 *seq.*; HERRE, 643; PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma, 86; HORVAT, 10. Cardinal P. Aldobrandini took charge of the Consulta on October 29, 1593; see *Avviso of October 30, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 13. Montalto had worked against the nomination of Toledo; see *report of Giulio del Carretto, September 20, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How much Clement VIII. loved Toledo was shown by the visit that he paid to him in his last illness; see OSSAT, Lettres, I., 312.

[4] See *Avviso of September 18, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

[5] See besides the autobiography of Bellarmine (*ed.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH 64 *seq.*, BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie 122 *seq.* and COUDERC, I., 234 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*

[6] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 453.

even before their promotion,[1] and their subsequent disagreements caused the Pope much annoyance.[2]

The elder nephew, Cinzio Passeri,[3] or Aldobrandini as he called himself after his uncle, is often spoken of as the Cardinal of San Giorgio in the diplomatic correspondence, from his titular church, San Giorgio in Velabro. He was forty years of age when he became a Cardinal. Educated at the German College, he always showed strictly Catholic principles, and for this reason as well as on account of his intelligence, Clement VIII., while he was still a Cardinal, had highly esteemed and loved him. It was therefore expected in the

[1] G. Niccolini *reported this as early as February 3, 1592 (State Archives, Florence). An *Avviso of March 21 speaks of the disagreements between the nephews. An *Avviso of April 28, 1593, describes the grand banquet which Pietro Aldobrandini had given on the Sunday to the Bavarian princes in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Urbino envoy remarks in this connexion: "Sdegnato, come si crede, che Mons. Cinthio fosse il primo a banchettarlo, li fece un apparato et banchettone che sarebbe stato bene al Re di Spagna" (Urb. 1061, p. 236, Vatican Library). For the jealousy of Cinzio see in App. No. 47 the *report of G. Niccolini, March 12, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[2] See Ossat, Lettres, I., 593; Stieve, IV., 543 *seq.* *Cf.* the *character sketch of the Cardinal in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* A. Personeni, Notizie del card. Cinzio Personeni, Bergamo, 1786; Dell' Epistolografia di Francesco Parisi divisa in tre parti: La prima contiene le memorie della vita del card. Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, le altre due contengono le lettere scelte del cardinale, Rome 1787. Osservazioni sopra l' Epistolografia di Francesco Parisi in difesa e in confronto delle notizie del card. Cinzio Personeni da Ca Passero Aldobrandini raccolte dal Abate Angelo Personeni Bergamo 1788; Solerti, I., 731 *seqq.* The *will of Cardinal Cinzio in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 2 Nr. 19. His monument, erected in 1707 in the right hand nave of S. Pietro in Vincoli (repr. in Litta, fasc. 66), shows behind the tomb a winged skeleton with a scythe and a book, which are made to show the feet of the skeleton below.

Curia that Cinzio Aldobrandini would hold the first place in the court, all the more as at first the Pope thought more of him than of Pietro;[1] moreover Cinzio was very generous and took up his position as a patron of learning on a grand scale. His apartments were adorned with valuable pictures by the great masters, among whom even Dürer had a place. All men of letters were welcome guests there, and Tasso in particular owed a great deal to the Cardinal. His numerous and characteristic marginal notes on the Reports of the Nunciatures afford proof of his activity and his lively temperament.[2] But he was lacking in one quality necessary for his position: he was no diplomatist. In his impetuosity and heedlessness he was even guilty of offensive expressions concerning the Pope himself,[3] and soon found himself in difficulties everywhere in the political world. He came to an open rupture with the ambassador of Spain, and had violent scenes with the envoys of Tuscany and Venice.[4]

Pietro Aldobrandini was a man of quite another stamp. Insignificant in appearance, short, pitted with small-pox, and suffering from asthma and a chronic cough, he made up for this by eminent spiritual qualities: prudence, zeal, strength of mind and practical common sense.[5] In his zeal for the Catholic cause and his love of art he resembled Cinzio Aldobrandini, but unlike the latter, he had a most affable

[1] See the report of Speer, February 6, 1593, in STIEVE, IV., 186 note.

[2] Some in MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, *passim*.

[3] An example in the *report of G. Niccolini, March 12, 1592, State Archives, Florence, printed in App. No. 2.

[4] See the descriptions in PARUTA (Relazione, 443), DOLFIN (Relazione, 455 *seq.*) and VENIER (Relazione, 34) as well as that of BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie, 52 *seq.*). The *famiglia* of Cinzio was composed, in addition to servants, of 18 persons; see Ruolo di Clemente VIII., p. 18 *seq.*

[5] His features are well shown on the medal reproduced by FUMI, Legazione, tav. 1. An oil portrait in the Villa at Frascati. The bust which was once there is now preserved in the Villa Aldobrandini at Porto d'Anzio.

disposition, and was always able skilfully to accommodate himself to everyone. In affairs of state he proved himself a born diplomatist, so that it is no matter for surprise that, although he was twenty years younger than Cinzio and of a less lively disposition he succeeded in outstripping his rival in the Pope's favour. This was also shown by fact that he was given a very much larger revenue, 40,000 scudi a year, whereas Cinzio only received 20,000 scudi. Even though Gian Francesco Aldobrandini enjoyed a certain influence as well as Cardinal Pietro, it was nevertheless the latter to whose judgment the Pope attached the greatest weight.[1]

Pietro knew admirably how to adapt himself to the character of Clement VIII. and in a sense to supply his defects. If sometimes the Pope was too impetuous, he knew how to calm him, mitigate his severity, and interfere when necessary. As Pietro was on the best of terms with the diplomatists, his influence and reputation increased from day to day, and in time, after the Pope, to whom he was sincerely attached,[2] he became the most important personage in Rome. When Clement VIII. was ill, he capably carried on the current business. Anyone who has recourse to this Cardinal, says the Venetian ambassador Giovan Dolfin, in his summary report of the year 1598, is sure to obtain what he

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 457 *seq.* *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 443 and especially BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie 51 *seq.*; Venier Relazione, 33 *seq.*, and the *report to Card. Este, State Archives, Vienna, printed in App. No. 33. *Cf.* also Ameyden in GARAMPI, Del valore, 336. Figures even higher than those of Dolfin are given in a *note of the revenues of Cardinal Pietro, though undated, in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 43, No. 35, according to which the annual expenditure on the Cardinal's house was 23920 scudi. Here too are entered the benefices of the Cardinal, from which he drew a net revenue of 17433 scudi; see App. No. 47. RANKE (Französ. Gesch., II., 18) confuses Pietro with Francesco Aldobrandini.

[2] In his *will (Aldobrandini Archives, Rome) he made him his universal heir in 1600; see App. No. 35.

wants.[1] The preponderance of Pietro over Cinzio, which was unmistakable by the autumn of 1594,[2] remained unchanged until the death of the Pope. In a report of 1599, written by Cardinal Este, it is said of Cardinal Pietro that all favours and graces depended upon him; prelates, nobles, courtiers and ambassadors thronged his house, and it could be said that all matters passed through the hands of the Cardinal, that his opinion decided every question, that all orders came from his mouth, and the carrying out of everything was in his hands.[3]

Nevertheless Clement VIII. insisted that the position of the two nephews who administered the Secretariate of State, should be equal, at anyrate in appearance.[4] They both had apartments in the Vatican, in the immediate vicinity of the Holy Father.[5] If Pietro was made Camerlengo, Cinzio

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 457. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 368 *seq.*, and *Avviso of October 22, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library. When Pietro was ill, business was at a standstill; see *Avviso of February 23, 1603, Urb. 1071, *ibid.* *Cf.* MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 187.

[2] See the *report, partly in cypher, of A. Chieppio, October 22, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. No. 20.

[3] *Report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna. RANKE (Päpste, II., 205) gives the passage, but transfers it to 1603, while in II., 155, he places it under the date 1599. For the exact date see App. No. 33. The preponderance of Pietro is also attested by the report of 1603 in STIEVE, V., 930. In the *Instruttione della corte di Roma da Fraschetta al marchese di Viglienna, the nephews are described as follows, Pietro: "È nelle lettere humane et nella politica assai istruito, di buono ingegno e di giudicio grave sopra l'età, dedito al negotiare, accorto et cupo"; Cinzio: "E dottor di legge et erudito nelle buone lettere, d'ingegno desto, di natura melancolica tanto che gli nuoce." Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library.

[4] *"N.S^re^ ha sempre la mira di trattare ugualmente i suoi ill^mi^ nepoti in tutte l'occasioni." Avviso of August 20, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[5] Pietro Aldobrandini lodged "sotto l'appartamento di N.S^re^, Cinzio "nelle secondi loggie al piano di N.S^re^,"; see Ruolo di

received the legation of Avignon and the prefecture of the Segnatura di Giustizia. The reports of the nuncios were addressed to both Cardinals, and the ambassadors, after they had laid their wishes before the Pope and Pietro, had to do the same with Cinzio. The nephews were always received together by the Pope, went together to his Mass, and came away together, but whereas Cinzio was only accompanied by his most intimate friends, Pietro always had a large following. Since Pietro loved the external signs of power rather than the power itself, he made a great point of being courted, and was delighted when his antecameras were thronged with people seeking audience.[1]

With him was associated in the work of the Secretariate of State the learned Bolognese Giovan Battista Canobio,[2] who had been employed as secretary of briefs in the time

Clemente VIII., for the year 1594, p. 7 *seq.* At that time there were also lodging at the Vatican Cardinals Gesualdo, Santori, Rusticucci, Morosini, Toledo and Sassi; later on (1599) there were also Baronius, Antoniano and Bellarmine; see BENTIVOGLI, Memorie 151. *Cf.* also ORBAAN, Rome, 25 *seq.*

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 55 *seq.* (*cf.* 301). Clement VIII. found fault with the pompous bearing of Pietro. (See *Avviso of May 7, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library); but insisted that foreign powers should pay due honour to the nephews. Thus it was a matter of great satisfaction to him when in 1594 Venice conferred the rank of patrician on his two ecclesiastical nephews, and on his lay nephew, Gian Francesco; see CERESOLE, 15 *seq.* The cities of Macerata and Imola conferred honorary citizenship upon Gian Francesco; see Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 151, Nr. 2, 164, Nr. 2.

[2] See the *letter of G. Niccolini, September 15, 1592, State Archives, Florence. For Canobio *cf.* OSSAT, Lettres, I., 89, and MORONI, VI., 120, XII., 172, LXIII., 264, LXIV., 218; for his lodgings see Ruolo di Clemente VIII., p. 12. *Ibid.* 13 for the apartments of Minucci, and those of the secretary of cyphers, Matteo Argenti (*cf.* MEISTER, Geheimschrift, Paderborn, 1906, 51). The secretary for memorials was Statilio Paolini, a friend of Tasso; see PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 245; SERASSI, Tasso, II., 224, 229; Bergamo, 1790; PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma, 110.

of Gregory XIII. To Cinzio Aldobrandini the Pope gave Minuccio Minucci, to whom, in the time of Innocent IX., had been entrusted the management of German affairs, but his position with the haughty nephew afforded him so little influence that he considered himself fortunate in finding, in 1596, a new field for his labours as Archbishop of Zara.[1] Very similar to that of Minucci was the position of Gian Andrea Caligari, who at first held a similar office under Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.[2]

The new secretaries drawn from the middle classes in succession to Minucci and Caligari, were in complete dependence upon the Cardinal nephews, and proved to be an excellent choice. Pietro's secretary was the Umbrian, Erminio Valenti, who, even after his nomination as Cardinal in 1604, continued to manage the correspondence with the nuncios. Pietro Aldobrandini had the highest opinion of the loyalty of Valenti and praise for his amiability of character.[3] Even better endowed than Valenti was the secretary of Cinzio Aldobrandini, the clever Lanfranco Margotti of Parma, who also received the purple, but not until 1608, under Paul V. Valenti became Bishop of Faenza under the Borghese Pope, where he displayed wonderful zeal as a reformer of his diocese and as the father of the poor. He died in 1618 when only forty-five yaers old. Margotti died at almost the same age in 1611; in the right-hand nave of S. Pietro in Vincoli may be seen his monument, designed by Domenichino, and adorned by him with a portrait of the Cardinal. The same sculptor also executed the adjacent monument to another man who was often employed by Clement VIII. and Pietro Aldobrandini in affairs of state: Girolamo Agucchi.[4] This man had received his training in diplomacy under his uncle, Cardinal

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, 741; RICHARD in the *Rev. d' hist. ecclés.*, XI., 529, 730.

[2] See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*, 731. *Cf. Studi e docum.*, XXII., 203.

[3] See FUMI, Legazione, 70.

[4] See SERRA, Domenichino (1909), 12 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 11 *seq.* for the portraits of Agucchi in the Corsini Gallery and the Uffizi at Florence.

Filippo Sega, the nuncio in France, after which he became major-domo to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, and retained this office until his own entrance into the Sacred College, which took place in 1604. In consequence of a grave illness he had had to retire from public affairs as early as 1600, when his brother Giovan Battista took his place at the Cancelleria.[1]

Along with his two ecclesiastical nephews, his secular nephew Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, as long as he lived in Rome,[2] enjoyed the favour and esteem of Clement VIII. The Pope endowed his nephew with as many lucrative military posts as he could,[3] and frequently gave him sums of money[4] for the support of his large family. The annual income of Gian Francesco was estimated in 1598 at not less than 60,000 scudi; of this sum he received a stipend of 12,000 scudi as General of the Church, 6000 as Castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, 4000 as Governor of the Borgo, and 3000 as commandant of the Papal Guard. As Gian Francesco was a good manager, his

[1] *Cf.* *Hier. Agucchi cardinalis vita a Io. Bapt. fratre conscripta, in Cod. 131 (75) of the University Library, Bologna, BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 177 *seq.*, 368; OSSAT, Lettres, II., 161; MORONI, I., 160 *seq.*, XLII., 299 *seq.*, LXXXVIII., 243 *seq.*; MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, xlviii.; SOLERTI, I., 735; *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.* VII. (1902), 487; G. LENZI, Vita di Msgr. Giambattista Agucchi, Rome, 1850, with a reproduction of the portrait of Agucchi by Domenichino.

[2] The nephew lived after 1596 in the Palazzo Gesualdo; see *Avviso of July 17, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library. For the statue of Gian Francesco at the Capitol see FORCELLA, I., n. 109. RODOCANACHI (Capitole, 130) attributes this erroneously to the Cardinal.

[3] For his appointment as Governor of Ancona, which took place in March 1593, see PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 126; for his appointment as General of the Church see *Avviso of May 4, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[4] See the Papal *Chirografi of October 7, 1595, and February 3, 1596. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. *Cf.* App. No. 25.

material position could be looked upon as assured, even if the Pope were to die soon.[1] In May 1600 Clement VIII. gave him no less than 150,000 scudi for the purchase of large properties in the Emilia,[2] and a year later there was a further gift of 40,000 scudi.[3]

Cardinal Pietro also favoured Gian Francesco, who was shrewd enough to depend upon him, however rough he was by nature. By his wife Olimpia, a lady of great distinction, he had twelve children, six of whom were boys, the last being born after his death, which took place on September 17th, 1601.[4] The eldest, Silvestro, was the favourite of Clement VIII.,[5] who was weak enough on September 17th, 1603, to nominate as Cardinal this boy who was scarcely fourteen, though otherwise gifted and making

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 458.

[2] See *Instrument of gift of May 4, 1600. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. App. No. 34.

[3] See the *Chirografo of Clement VIII. to the commissary of the Apostolic Camera, Laudivio Zacchia, May 12, 1601, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42-15.

[4] See, besides LITTA (fasc. 66) and GROTTANELLI, Ducato di Castro, 22 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*, 31, the *Avvisi of September 29, 1601, February 13, and March 6, 1602 (birth of his last son), Urb. 1069, 1070, Vatican Library. The Pope gave Olimpia 2000 scudi a month; see the *report of Lelio Arrigoni, October 4, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1601 he also gave her two houses with three shops and three cortili on Monte Giordano. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 49, Nr. 79; 96, Nr. 1.

[5] Silvestro, who was born in 1590, received in 1598 the rank of a Knight of Malta and the priorate of Rome, which had become vacant by the death of Bonelli, but on the condition that he should make his profession at the age of 18. So *reports Bernerio to Rudolph II., Rome, April 11, 1598, State Archives, Vienna. Three years later he was given the offices hitherto held by his father, of Governor of the Borgo and Castellan of St. Angelo; see the *report of L. Arrigoni, October 4, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso of October 3, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

his studies at Perugia.[1] The same dignity was also attained by the youngest son Ippolito in 1621, in the time of Gregory XV. Silvestro grew up with a universal good name,[2] but died as early as 1612; Ippolito died in 1638.[3]

Great hopes, which however were not realized, were built on the marriage arranged by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini between his niece, Margherita, and the ambitious Duke of Parma, Ranuccio Farnese. The wedding took place on May 7th, 1600.[4] Clement VIII. had given his consent unwillingly,

[1] *Cf.* besides CIACONIUS, IV., 344, and OSSAT, Lettres, II., 651, the *report of Arrigoni of September 17, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *brief of October 4, 1603, Papal Secret Archives, Brevia. In June, 1602, Clement VIII. had again refused to nominate Silvestro; see COUZARD, 285. *Cf. ibid.*, 286, the opposition of Sfondrato when the nomination was made in 1603. On September 19, 1603, Cardinal Silvestro reached Rome, and was affectionately welcomed by Clement VIII.: *cf.* *report of Arrigoni of September 20, 1603, who adds: "è assai piccolo e di faccia non molto bello, ma pronto e di vivacissimo ingegno" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *Informatione al Marchese de Viglienna also says of Cardinal Silvestro: "giovane di spirito vivo, mostro ingegno e capacità" (Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Avvisi of October 1 and 29, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library. Em. Constantino composed a Carmen ad Silv. Aldobrandini a S.D.N. Clemente VIII. cardinalem creatum, Romae, 1603.

[2] *Cf.* COUZARD, 287.

[3] *Cf.* RANKE, III., App. No. 116.

[4] See OSSAT, Lettres, II., 168; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2618, Vatican Library; *Avvisi of April 15 and 29, May 10 and 13, 1600, Urb. 1068, *ibid.* *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 322; BENASSI in *Arch. stor. per le prov. Parm.* N.S., IX.; *Kunsthist. Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 121 *seq.*; NAVENNE, Rome, Palais Farnèse, I., 26 *seqq.*, 99 *seqq.*; also De nuptiis ser. Ranutii Farnesii et Margaritae Aldobrandinae Parmae et Plac. ducum Nicolai Phaelli Parm. Carmina, Parma, 1600; La Montagna Circea. Torneamento nel passagio della ser. duchessa D. Margherita Aldobrandina sposa del s. Ranuccio Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza festeggiato in Bologna a 27 giugno 1600, Bologna, *s.d.* Copies of these rare works in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. For Ranuccio's ambition see BENASSI, *loc. cit.*, X.

but his complaisance was not fortunate, for the relations between the Aldobrandini and the duke soon developed into open enmity, which embittered the last years of the Pope.[1]

Another daughter of Gian Francesco, Elena Aldobrandini,[2] was equally unfortunate; in the summer of 1602 she was married for political reasons to a cousin of the Duke of Sessa, Antonio Carafa, Duke of Mondragone, who was as proud as he was vicious.

As was the case for the most part with the families of the Popes of the baroque period, that of the Aldobrandini was only of short duration, and as early as 1637 the male line was extinct. "Where to-day is the greatness of the Aldobrandini" wrote Cardinal Bentivoglio in his memoirs, published in 1648, "where are those five nephews that I so often saw in the antecameras of the Pope? They are dead, as is Clement VIII. and Cardinal Aldobrandini. The male line is quite extinct; how vain are the hopes of men, and how frail the happiness of this world."[3]

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 199-207.

[2] Lelio Arrigoni reports in detail concerning the negotiations previous to the conclusion of the marriage, in which Sessa took a leading part, in his *letters of March 31, April 14 and 18, May 5, 12 and 26, December 22, 1601, and May 18, 1602. An *Avviso of July 3, 1602, reports that the Romans complained of the haughty A. Carafa, who did not reply to their salutations ("et è la peggior cosa che si possa far in questa città"). On July 6 an *Avviso reports that the young couple were beginning to be in want of money; on July 10, that the duchess was very haughty (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library). As early as September 14, 1602, L. Arrigoni is able to *report concerning the immorality of Carafa, on account of which his marriage had become very unhappy (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso of October 18, 1603 (*loc. cit.*) reports a quarrel between Cardinal Silvestro Aldobrandini and the Duke of Mondragone. *Cf.* also A. BORZELLI, Giamb. Marino (1569-1625), Naples, 1898, 58.

[3] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 56. *Cf.* the Discorso in RANKE, III., app. n. 116. Cardinal Pietro died in 1621, when hardly 49, Cinzio Passeri in 1610 (*cf. Litta*, fasc., 66; FORCELLA, IV., 85). Olimpia died on April 28, 1637; soon afterwards, on May 6, her

The complaints that were made of the nepotism of Clement VIII. during his life,[1] and which found an unpleasant echo among the enemies of the Church,[2] were not without foundation. But the nepotism of Clement VIII. cannot in any way be put on a level with that of the Rovere, Borgia and Farnese; it was far more limited. The Pope resisted all temptations to give his nephews a principality, and did not in practice do more than had been done by Pius IV. and Sixtus V.[3] Nevertheless, from a strictly ecclesiastical point

son Giorgio, Prince of Meldola, Sarsina and Rossano, who had married Ippolita Ludovisi. The latter's daughter Olimpia married Paolo Borghese in 1638. In the archives of the Borghese family was to be found almost the whole of the diplomatic correspondence, not only of Paul V., but also a great part of the papers of Clement VIII. and Leo XI. This valuable collection was acquired in 1892 by Leo XIII., and included in the Papal Secret Archives, since when it has been used by the students of various countries. *Cf.* CARINI, Bibl. Vatic., 58 *seqq.*; BROM, Guide aux Arch. du Vatican, Rome, 1911, 101 *seq.*; PASTURE, Inventaire du Fonds Borghese au point de vue de l'hist. des Pays-Bas, Brussels, 1910; MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, lxxxv. *seq.*; Corresp. de Frangipani I., lxii. *seq.* On the other hand the private archives of the Aldobrandini, to which I have referred for the first time in App. No. 47, for Clement VIII., remained quite unknown. This also contains the Acta of the secretariate of State of Clement VIII., as do the Chigi Library (see GACHARD, La Bibl. Chigi, Brussels, 1869, 9 *seq.*), the State Archives, Florence (see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 210 *seq.*, 423 *seq.*) and the Doria Archives, Rome (see App. No. 48). *Lettere scritte nel pontificato di Clemente VIII. al card. Aldobrandini are also to be found in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, E 4 and 5.

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 442; VENIER, Relazione, 33; *Avviso of January 8, 1600, Urb. 1086, Vatican Library. For the jealousy of the Cardinals at the grandeur of the Aldobrandini see the *report of Fr. Gonzaga, July 31, 1601, State Archives Vienna.

[2] See an English lampoon of 1600 in LAW, The Archpriest Controversy, I. (*Camden Society*, 1896), 244.

[3] Richard rightly brings this out in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 730. The unfavourable judgment of Niccolò Contarini on Clement VIII. in RANKE, III., 17, is not free from exaggerations.

of view, the weakness of Clement VIII. for his relatives, which he himself admitted,[1] must be severely blamed.[2] Those who do not take this view will be all the more ready to form a lenient judgment of it when they take into consideration the patronage of letters and the arts of the Cardinal nephews.[3] Cinzio was the generous patron of the immortal Tasso; it was Pietro who was the creator of that great Villa which is enthroned like a queen on the heights above the beauties of Frascati, and which, with its picturesque terraces, its fantastic grottos, its groups of statues and its fountains, its rocky paths, its magnificent oaks and its splendid view, continues to charm every lover of art and nature.

[1] Paruta enlarges upon such expressions of Clement VIII., which sound like unnecessary excuses; see Relazione, 441 *seq.*

[2] See PALLAVICINI, Alessandro VII., Vol. I., 272, 274, 290.

[3] For fuller details as to this see Vol. XXIV. of this work.

CHAPTER II.

Clement VIII. and France.

The most important and at the same time the most difficult problem which Clement VIII. found himself called upon to solve at the beginning of his pontificate was the attitude to be adopted towards the troubled state of affairs in France. The policy of active participation in the struggle against Henry of Navarre, which, in accordance with the wishes of Philip II. had been followed by his two predecessors, Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., was not so attractive as to invite imitation, for the Holy See had gained nothing by it but vast expenditure which could not be maintained for long.[1] The new Pope had to ask himself whether it was not rather advisable to follow in the footsteps of Sixtus V. If such a course was feared in Madrid even under Innocent IX., how much more justification there was for fearing such a change of policy now, with a Pope who did not strictly belong to the number of the Spanish candidates, and whose father, in close alliance with the Carafa, had eagerly prosecuted the war of Paul IV. against Spain![2]

On the other hand it was soon obvious that Clement VIII., however fully he realized the dangers of continuing the policy hitherto followed, and of the overwhelming tutelage of Spain, was yet possessed of too much prudence and moderation to set himself to any *immediate* change in the course of events. A breach with Spain, which was still the first Catholic power,

[1] See Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 368, 424. At the consistory of April 15, 1592, Clement VIII. said: "Gregorio XIV. ha speso più di settecento mila scudi e ha lasciata si esausta la Sede Apost. che il depositario e creditore più di ducento mila scudi." Desjardins, V., 157.

[2] See the Relazione of Tommaso Contarini in Alberi, I., 5, 439,

and with which the Holy See had so many interests in common against common enemies, was bound to be all the more distasteful to a Pope who looked at the situation quite dispassionately, the more so as he could not count upon other safe allies. To this was added the fact that in Rome itself, and even in the Sacred College, Philip II. had many adherents, who were absolutely devoted to him, and that the Spanish troops could at any moment threaten the Papal capital from Naples.[1] But to allow himself to be degraded to the position of a "chaplain" of the Catholic King was nevertheless very far from the intention of Clement VIII., a man who was profoundly convinced of his own dignity and of the duties of his high office. If sooner or later a breach with Spain should have to be faced, the matter must be approached in the most delicate manner and with all prudent moderation. To do this Clement VIII. was the very man, because of his deliberate and cautious nature.[2]

With what consideration he treated Philip II. is not only shown by the autograph and very kind letter which he addressed to the King of Spain a short time after his elevation,[3] but also by his immediate grant of the ecclesiastical revenues, from which Philip II. received 2,000,000 ducats

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* HERRE, 629 *seq.*

[3] The letter mentioned by T. Contarini, *loc. cit.* was, together with that addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the only one written *manu propria.* Innocent IX. had acted in the same way. See Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 92b, Papal Secret Archives, where Antonio Boccapaduli further *reports that under Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. briefs containing the announcement of the election were only sent to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France and Poland, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; in the case of the other princes replies were sent to their congratulations. I drew up, Boccapaduli continues, briefs for those *duces* to whom Innocent IX. had sent such (list, *loc. cit.* nn. 65-70), but Clement VIII. would not have them sent. Philip II. himself addressed from Madrid on February 18, 1592, an *autograph letter to the Pope in which he assured him of his devotion and support as a most loyal son of the Church. Orig. in Doria Archives, Rome.

a year. On February 9th, 1592, the *Sussidio* and *Excusado* were granted for five years, and the *Cruzada* for six.[1]

Philip II. could also for the moment feel satisfied as to the position which the Pope had taken up with regard to the French. When on February 15th, 1592, Clement VIII. replied[2] to the letter addressed to Innocent IX. by the commander of the Spanish troops, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, he promised him his help, for nothing stood nearer to his heart than the Kingdom of France.[3] At the same time he pointed out that the nullifying of the plans of the religious innovators depended upon the choice by the states of a king of absolute and unquestionable Catholic sentiments. At the same time the Pope wrote in the same sense to the Dukes of Guise, Lorraine, Nemours and Mayenne, calling upon them to fight against the Huguenots and promising them further help.[4] Soon afterwards the representative of the Holy See in France, Filippo Sega, who had been nominated Cardinal on December 18th, 1591, by Gregory XIV., and Ercole Sfondrato, the commander of the Papal troops, were expressly exhorted to support the troops of the League.[5] In his letters the Pope urged the concord which was lacking among the enemies of Henry of Navarre, especially because of the jealousy felt by the Duke of Mayenne for the Duke

[1] See *"Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Farnesio duci Parnae, regis Hispaniarum gubernatori Flandriae et generali, Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 120, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Nihil enim est, de quo laboremus magis quam de Galliae regno, *ibid.*

[4] See, also dated February 15, 1592, the *briefs to the "dux Guisiae, dux Mercurii (in eligendo rege optimo et vere christianissimo, de cujus virtute et pietatis sinceritate nulla, ne minima quidem suspicio unquam fuerit aut esse possit), dux Lotharingiae, dux Nemursii, card. Lotharingiae, dux Mayne," Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* nn. 86-92.

[5] To the *dux Marciani (E. Sfondrato) e al card. Placent. (Sega), dated February 17, *ibid.* nn. 93-94.

of Parma. The reduction of the monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi for the Papal troops which was ordered in accordance with the advice of the French Congregation on April 15th, 1592, from purely financial reasons, did not imply any substantial change in the policy hitherto adopted; the simultaneous appointment of Sega as legate *a latere* for France could only be favourable to Philip II.,[1] in view of the sentiments of that prince of the Church. For this reason the friends of Navarre in Rome were much disturbed at this choice.[2]

In the bull of legation for Sega the election of a Catholic king and the close union among themselves of the Catholics were pointed out as being the most efficacious remedies for the state of affairs in France.[3] Urgent Papal monitoria were

[1] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library, and letter of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 157. In his *brief to A. Farnese, May 4, 1592, Clement VIII. says that he cannot give more than 15,000 ducats. Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 288, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *report of Carretto, April 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Relatione del card di Piacenza (Sega), legato in Francia fatta a Clemente VIII, di quanto passò nella sua legatione, Cod. S. 2, 12, pp. 29-51, Angelica Library, Rome. In the same manuscript *Registro di lettere del card di Piacenza all'ill. card. P. Aldobrandini, from December 29, 1591, to October 19, 1594. *Ibid.* S. 2, 11, a collection of *documents relating to the legation of Sega; *cf.* NARDUCCI, 459 *seq.*, 466 *seq.* Similar *copies in Barb. LXIII., 15 and 16, where there are, as in Ottob. 3211 *seq.*, also the replies of P. Aldobrandini (Vatican Library). The originals of the *letters of Sega to the "vesc. di Bertinoro, secret. di stato et card. P. Aldobrandini," from December 29, 1591, to October 19, 1594, in Nunziat. di Francia, t. 36. *Ibid.* t. 37, the "Cifre" from Sega to Aldobrandini from August 12, 1592, to July 3, 1594, together with the *letters of Gondi from August 21, 1594, to April 5, 1596, and *letters of the "vescovo di Biziers" from February 12, 1594, to October 23, 1595. The same collection in Borghese, I., 232-234, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* XI., 74: *Minutae bullarum Clementis VIII pro card. Placentino legato in Francia 1592; Nunziat. di Francia, t. 39: *Primum

addressed to the Catholics on April 27th and May 7th, 1592, to the effect that, for the welfare of the kingdom and the preservation of the ancient faith now threatened by the innovators, a truly Catholic king must forthwith be raised to the throne.[1] Sega was instructed to act in the matter of the election in such a way, that in the event of a result unfavourable for Philip II., the blame should not attach to the Pope, who only demanded of the candidates that they should be strictly Catholic and acceptable to the French.[2]

When, on April 20th, 1592, Henry of Navarre was forced to raise the siege of Rouen, Clement VIII. congratulated the inhabitants of that city on having been saved from the menace of conquest by the enemies of the Catholic faith,[3]

registrum supplicationum legationis card. Placentini in Francia legati 1592-1594 ; t. 40 : *Secundum registrum etc. 1592-1594 ; *Registrum expeditionum legationis card. Placentini in forma bullarum fact, 1592-1594 ; *letters of Sega also in t. 32. The Chigi Library, Rome, contains in M. II., 58 : *Lettere emesse in cifra nel pontif. di Clemente VIII. alli legati e nuntii di Francia (1592-1604), and 62 *seq.* ; *Lettere in cifra delli ill. legati nel regno di Francia nel pontif. di Clemente VIII. (all originals). *Ibid.* M I., 11 and 12 : *Letters from France 1594-1597. Certain *documents which belong here are also in Cod. 6423, pp. 20-31, of the State Library, Vienna.

[1] On April 27, 1592, *briefs were drawn up for "Carolus a Lotharingia dux Mena (Mayenne), dux Guisia, dux Nemoren., Parl. Paris, Parl. Tolos., Parl. Divion.," on May 7 for "archiep. Lugdun." and ten other French bishops, also for the "canonici Paris." and five other chapters, for the Parliament of Paris and five other Parliaments, for "gubernat. et consiliar. Paris.," for the "universit. Paris.," for seventeen other cities, for the "card. a Lotharing.," for "Gondius et Giocosa" and ten grandees ; see Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 271-275, 292-296, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 580 n. 1 ; STAHELIN, 490. The briefs were settled upon at a meeting of the "Congregatio Galliae" on April 29, 1592, Papal Secret Archives, I., 31, n. 44.

[2] See the *Relatione of Sega, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Brief to the "populi. Rhotomag.," and to the "clerus Rhotomag.," both of June 16, 1592, Arm. 44. t. 37, n. 405 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

while he bestowed the highest praise on the Duke of Parma,[1] to whom the raising of the siege was due. In the briefs of June and July, 1592, addressed by the Pope to the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Gondi, and the Duke of Epernon,[2] he expressed himself with the utmost severity against the excommunicated Henry of Navarre. Epernon was exhorted with all possible insistence no longer to assist the Bourbon, who had relapsed into Calvinism, and it was clearly shown that a Huguenot could never be accepted as King of France.[3] When these exhortations proved unavailing, Clement VIII., at the end of September, threatened to inflict ecclesiastical censures on Epernon.[4]

In the meantime military operations continued in France without any result, and the miseries of the country increased from day to day. With both parties a desire for the restoration of peace and national unity became irresistible. In very many quarters this wish increasingly took the form of a desire for the conversion of Henry to the Catholic Church.

[1] *Brief of June 28, 1592, *ibid.*, n. 419.

[2] In the *brief to Cardinal Gondi of June 1, 1592, the hope is expressed that he will become more and more deserving by his protection of the Catholics "inque detestando perfidissimo Ecclesias desertore et divini iudicio ac Romani Pontificis sententia damnato, cuius causae qui possit quisquam catholicorum favere, satis mirari non possumus. Sed est haec maxima fraus Satanae, ut nihil sit tam turpe tamque impium, quod non ille aliquo honesti quasi velo quodam obtendat." Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 363, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] The *brief of July 10, 1592, says of Henry of Navarre: "Cur igitur a catholicis descivit ad Calvinistas et impurissimos Ugonotos? Cur summum Galliae regno, quo ille aspirat, interre dedecus parat? Quem ille unquam nominabit regem Galliae Calvinistam? Cur a furia illa Anglicana, ad quam defecit, cui nomen dedit, cuius opibus sustentatur, edoctus molitur catholicos omnes tollere, alios alia specie, omnes falsis criminibus, et si nullum aliud suppetat, laesae maiestatis?" Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 424, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Brief dated Tusculi, 1592, September 30, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 43, Papal Secret Archives.

Such a step seemed to many the simplest, and after a time the only possible way to a solution of the question of the succession to the throne.[1]

The discontent among Henry's Catholic supporters increased to such an extent that he had reason to fear their desertion. They said that too long had they tolerated a Huguenot king, to the prejudice of their consciences; that subterfuges and excuses must come to an end, and that Henry himself no longer knew what valid reason to put forward in justification of his failure to fulfil his promise of being instructed in the Catholic religion. It was also complained that in defiance of this promise, which he had made at the time of his accession, he continued to promote zealous Huguenots to office and rank. Stronger and stronger grew the cry that the king must be urged to return to the Church within a definite period, and give the necessary guarantees for the preservation of the Catholic religion; should he refuse to do this, other arrangements would have to be made, and a Catholic king would certainly be found who would receive all the votes of the parties, and who would correspond to the just desires unanimously expressed by the whole of Catholic France.[2]

It was also of decisive importance that a sudden change also took place among the leaders of the League, who were becoming more and more estranged from the Spaniards. Many of the leaguers declared their readiness for a compromise in the event of Henry of Navarre becoming a Catholic. They therefore had recourse to one of Henry's most zealous adherents, Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, who, by a strange irony of fate, though he was a fervent Huguenot, was destined to pave the way for the reconciliation of Henry to the Church.[3] After difficult negotiations an agreement was at last arrived at. Henry of Navarre promised to have himself instructed

[1] See STÄHELIN, 422.

[2] See DAVILA, xii; STÄHELIN, 414 *seq.*

[3] Du Plessis Mornay had no idea of the double game of his sovereign, who was deceiving him; see TH. SCHOTT in *Herzog's Realenzyklopädie*, V., 86 *seq.*

within a definite period, with the desire and intention of being led by this instruction, which, however, was to imply no prejudice to his dignity, to the Catholic Church. He further said that he was ready to allow the Catholics of his party to send an embassy to the Pope, to ask his advice and his authority for the said instruction.[1]

Once Henry of Navarre had convinced himself that only as a Catholic king could he rule over the whole of France, and that his reconciliation to the Church would bring about the longed-for peace, he resolved upon a decisive step. Proceeding straight to his purpose, on October 8th, 1592, he wrote with his own hand a letter to Clement VIII. as follows: Most Holy Father, being resolved, not only by a firm promise, but also with the whole of our life, to show the obedience which we owe to Your Holiness and the Holy See, we desire to resume in all things the ways and means by which Our ancestors, the Most Christian Kings, paid due honour to the Holy Father, and with filial respect maintained that close and sincere friendship which is of so great importance for the kings and nation of France, for the welfare of the whole of Christendom, and for the preservation of the Holy Church and her religion. We therefore intend, immediately after assuring you of Our obedience, to have ourselves represented with Your Holiness by an official ambassador, and respectfully ask, Most Holy Father, that you will agree to this and accept Our representative, to allow him to be near you and to honour him with that benevolence and favour which Our ancestors, by their services to the Holy See, have deserved for Us, and handed down to Us as an inheritance. We for Our part certainly in all matters trust him entirely, and We pray Your Holiness to show Our ambassador, in all that he shall say and do in Our name, the same confidence as to Our own person. May God protect Your Holiness."[2]

[1] See VILLEROY, Mêm. d'Estat, 616 *seq.*; DU PLESSIS, Mem., V., 208-287. STÄHELIN, 470 *seqq.*

[2] Recueil de lettres miss. de Henri IV., Paris, 1843-76, III., 674.

The new ambassador in Rome announced in this letter was the Marquis de Pisany, Jean de Vivonne, who had previously represented Henry III. with Sixtus V.,[1] but, in order to prepare the way for the resumption of official relations, the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Gondi, who, disgusted by the demagogic excesses of the deputation of the Sixteen, had abandoned his see, had first to go to Rome. Both diplomatists set out at once for Italy. Gondi went to Florence to ask for the mediation of the Grand Duke, who was highly esteemed in Rome; Vivonne had two-fold instructions: first, as the representative of the Catholic aristocracy who supported Navarre, he had to justify their attitude and demand the recall of Sega; secondly he had to present the same request in the name of Navarre, and express his desire to return to the Church.[2]

Both Florence and Venice urgently advised Clement VIII. to receive the envoys of Navarre, but the Pope felt that he could not thus easily trust a man who had already apostatized from the Church. To this was added the fact that he, although he was himself favourably disposed towards Henry, would be doing a wrong to the leaguers who were fighting for the Catholic cause, and that he would have to expect from the Spaniards the same remonstrances which had already worn out the strength of Sixtus V. before his time. From the first the Spaniards openly and decisively threatened a breach of diplomatic relations should Gondi come to Rome.[3]

At length a way out was found which neither offended Spain nor entirely repulsed Henry of Navarre. Gondi and Navarre were given to understand that as the representatives of an excommunicated man they could not be received by the Pope, but that at the same time there was no obstacle in the way of their sending their secretaries to

[1] *Cf.* as to this Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 274.

[2] See BREMOND, 329 *seq.*

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 11, 15. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 244 *seq.*

Rome.[1] This was done, but the negotiations were without result, though the representative of Venice, Paolo Paruta, took every possible opportunity of persuading the Pope to change his mind.[2]

However much Clement VIII. had at heart the destinies of France, for the salvation of which he had ordered special prayers,[3] he did not think that the time had yet come to change the policy hitherto adopted. His principal reason was the mistrust, which is easy to understand, which he felt of the sincerity of the intentions of Henry of Navarre. "God knows," said the Pope to the ambassador of Venice at the end of January, 1593, "that if We could give peace to France, We would go there Ourselves, and even submit to martyrdom. But how can We put faith and confidence in Henry of Navarre, when even one of his adherents has told Us that even if St. Peter himself looked upon the conversion of that prince as certain, We ought not to believe it? And that is our own conviction. He is and will always remain a heretic: he wants to do like the Queen of England, who has saved herself by such expedients. By his negotiations with Us, he only wishes to force the League to submit to him."[4]

[1] The communication to Gondi was conveyed by the Franciscan, Alessandro Franceschi; see the *brief to Cardinal Gondi, dated Frascati 1592, October 6, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 82, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *dispatch of Donato, October 23, 1592, State Archives, Venice, used by RANKE (Päpste, I., 158). The supposition of Ranke, that Gondi was at that time actually in Rome, is entirely wrong, as is clear from PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 103.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 3 *seq.*, 6 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. of November 27, 1592, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 26, and *Avvisi of November 18 and December 5, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

[4] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 91 *seq.* Clement VIII. also took up a definitely hostile attitude towards Henry of Navarre in the *briefs to "Alph. Corsus" of December 29, 1592, and to cardinal "dux Guisiae" of January 19, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, pp. 157, 184, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* *briefs "in Galliam ad diversos nobiles catholici nominis qui cum furia illa Navarraea sunt,

While the Pope, who in all this affair had the whole of the French Congregation by his side,[1] was uttering these words, the States General, in so far as they belonged to the League, had assembled in Paris itself (January 26th, 1593). By the command of the Pope, Sega had laboured to secure as large an attendance as possible.[2] He hoped that this assembly would give to France a truly Catholic king, a thing in which Rome saw the only chance of the salvation of the Church in France.[3] But matters did not turn out thus. Instead of the Duke of Parma, who had died on December 3rd, 1592, there appeared as the plenipotentiary of Philip II. in France the Duke of Feria, who was known to no one there. There very soon

cohortatio per legatum [Sega] ut se ab illa peste seiungant, quod iam pridem factum opportuit atque utinam nunc fiat," dat. February 1, 1593; there follow 28 addresses. *Cf.* the *letter of Aldobrandini to Sega, February 4, 1593, Ottob. 3211, I., 111, Vatican Library.

[1] " *Die III februarii 1593 fuit congregatio Franciae coram S^mo^. . . . In ea S^mus^ proposuit aliqua negocia et literas de rebus Franciae et instantiam quae fit a marchione Pisanensi oratore Navarristarum, ut possit venire ad S.S. pro principibus sanguinis regii et aliis catholicis qui Navarram sequuntur, et interim degit Veronae, et omnes fuerunt in sententia ut non admitteretur multis de causis et quia nec card. Gondius est admissus iisdem rationibus, et quia ita expediebat." This decision was renewed once more on March 6, 1593: " *Omnes unanimiter concluserunt non esse a S. D. N. multis de causis et rationibus admittendum, excepto uno card. Aquaviva, qui censuit esse recipiendum et deinde dimittendum, et ut ei respondeatur ex praescripto." Autograph notes of Cardinal Santori, Papal Secret Archives, I., 28.

[2] *Cf.* *report of Sega (*supra* p. 62, n. 3), Angelica Library, Rome.

[3] " *Se questa [la creatione d'un Re catholico] non succedesse, il che a Dio non piaceria, da giuditio humano non par che si passa vedere ne sperare il fine se non molto tardi e con gran diminuitione della s. religione et afflition publica." Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to Sega, February 15, 1593, Ottob. 3211, I., 121, Vatican Library.

arose differences between him and the proud and ambitious Duke of Mayenne, but even though this caused anxiety to Sega, he found much greater cause for it in the turn of affairs in the theatre of war. There the significance of the loss of Farnese was soon made manifest;[1] although Noyon, in the siege of which the Papal troops were also taking part, had to surrender to the Duke of Mayenne, yet the victorious army could not advance on Paris, owing to lack of food and the disagreements of the commanders. The Spaniards returned to Flanders, and the Papal troops were disbanded.[2]

A rapprochement between the moderate elements of the League and the Catholic adherents of Navarre thus had an extraordinary effect. At the beginning of May it led to the opening of negotiations at Suresnes, with the consent of Mayenne, for the purpose of discussing "the best means for the preservation of religion and of the tranquillity of the country."[3] Sega had given his consent to this because he had been charged to bring about an agreement between all the Catholics.[4] Like the greater part of the leaguers he hoped by these negotiations to win over the Catholic adherents of Navarre from his side. But of this there was no chance, because the Catholics of the party of Navarre only came to the conferences to prevent the danger of the choice of a new king, and to gain time for the conversion of Navarre.[5] While they were threatening the king to abandon him if he delayed in taking this step, the moderate partisans of the League declared their readiness, on the same terms, to join his party. Henry decided to take advantage of this political situation, and on April 26th, 1593, he addressed an autograph letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in which he confirmed what Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* ISACKER in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XII., 705.

[2] *Cf. Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 812, and XII., 709; these give more detailed accounts of the heavy expenses of Clement VIII., who from this time forward limited himself to maintaining 450 men in Paris.

[3] See STÄHELIN, 518 *seq.*; L'EPINOIS, 584.

[4] See the *report of Sega, *loc. cit.*

[5] See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 228.

Gondi had already reported as to his conversion to the Church, and pledged his royal word that he was ready, following the example of the previous Kings of France, openly to profess the Catholic religion two months after the Duke of Lorraine had come to an acceptable agreement with him.[1] This private promise was followed on May 18th, after the negotiations at Suresnes had come to nothing, by a public declaration from Henry to a number of the French bishops, that he was ready to be instructed in the Catholic religion at an assembly to be convoked on July 15th, at Mantes.[2]

The adversaries of Henry realized that a decision was imminent, but they were not happy in the tactics they adopted. Sega rightly saw that it was a disadvantage to them that the Duke of Feria had neither troops nor money at his disposal, but could only promise them in the future.[3] The proposal put forward by Philip that they should elect his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia as Queen of France, did not at first arouse opposition, but men wished to know who was intended as the husband of the Infanta. The premature reply of Feria : "The Archduke Ernest" could not fail deeply to wound the national feeling of the French, and the proposal was rejected. Sega, who for that reason had earnestly discouraged such a step, thus drew down upon himself the dislike of Feria and Mayenne, and the position of the Papal representative became more and more difficult.[4] On June 28th the Parliament intervened and addressed a solemn exhortation to Mayenne to prevent, under the pretext of religion, the crown from passing into the hands of a foreigner, while it protested against any violation of the Salic Law.

The powerlessness of the States General to give the country a national king and the general desire for peace, made the

[1] Lettres missives, III., 763.

[2] See *ibid.*, 771.

[3] See *report of Sega, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the expression of Inigo Mendoza in RANKE, Franz. Gesch., I., 560 n. 2.

[4] *Cf.* De Leva in PARUTA, Dispacci, I., xiii *seq.* See also L'EPINOIS, 595, 597, who believes that Sega was wanting in energy.

situation more favourable for Henry than ever,[1] for he had the troops which the League lacked, and with the capture of Dreux was threatening Paris. Henry was not slow to profit by this state of affairs, and he concluded an armistice with the people of Paris in order to effect, at the neighbouring Saint-Denis and with all due solemnity, his return to the Catholic Church, the one thing which would ensure his final success, and which would restore order and peace to France which had been so sorely tried.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the *Considerazione in nome del duca di Umena, after the conversion of Navarre, in Cod. S. 2, 11, p. 362 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome, and addressed to Clement VIII.: "Noi eravamo," it is here stated, "senza forze et mezzi per procedere all' elettione di un Re, rimedio nondimeno necessario per oppore questo titolo et dignità a quello del Re di Navarra. . . . Questa conversione veniva in un tempo nel quale ognuno era stracco della guerra, in mala opinione di soccorso delli nostri amici, dalli quali non aspettavano meglio per l' avvenire che quello havevano esperimento per il passato."

[2] That political motives were of primary and decisive importance in the conversion of Henry IV., is asserted by those Catholic writers of France who also admit a serious change in his religious convictions, such as De Meaux (Luttes relig., 261 *seq.*) and Y. de la Brière (La conversion de Henri IV. in *Etudes*, XCII. (1902), 91 *seq.*, and La conversion de Henri IV. St. Denis et Rome, 1593-1595, Paris, 1905). In this matter it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the truth, because of the insufficiency of certain proof. I am inclined to agree with Bremond, who says: "Le fond des croyances religieuses de Henri IV est encore et sera toujours un mystère." In this connexion a contemporary, the Jesuit Benedetto Palmio, in a memorial drawn up for Clement VIII., stated that the interior intentions of Henry were known to God alone (Ricci, II., 119). Although the king after his conversion showed himself *exteriorly* a Catholic, this did not exercise any influence upon his private life, tainted by his constant intercourse with mistresses, nor upon his foreign policy. Therefore Schott is of opinion: "An interior change had no place whatever in the fickle Béarnais." (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, V., 110). A. Antin (L'echec de la Reforme en France au 16me siecle, Paris, 1918) comes to the

On the morning of July 25th there assembled in the church of Saint-Denis, venerable for its antiquity and as the burial place of the Kings of France, a splendid gathering of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, among the latter Bourbon, Cardinal and Archbishop of Rouen, the Archbishop of Bourges, Renaud de Beaune, and the Bishops of Nantes, Séez, Maillezais, Chartres, Le Mans, Bayeux and Evreux. Henry knelt before the high altar and at once took the solemn oath "that he would live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, the true Church of God and the infallible mistress of truth, that he abjured all opinions contrary to her holy doctrine, and that he paid obedience to the Pope, as the kings, his ancestors had done."[1] Then the Archbishop of Bourges absolved him from the major excommunication, launched against him eight years before by Sixtus V., reserving however the confirmation of the Holy See.[2]

Sega had protested in advance against any such absolution, and even Cardinal Bourbon was of opinion that an excommunication inflicted by the Pope could only be removed by the Pope, whereas the Gallicans maintained that absolution from public heresy pertained to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But the majority of the bishops who were adherents of Henry, did not dare to go so far as this, and obliged him to seek confirmation of the absolution in Rome. By way of justification for what they had done, they urged the constant danger of death in which Henry was placed during the war, and the manifest advantages to religion and the kingdom.[3] So as

following conclusion: "Ce qu'on appelle sa conversion n'est donc ni un calcul grossier ni une decision d'ordre religieux. C'etat un acte de sagesse et, pour reprendre le terme au sens où on l'a defini, un acte de haute politique" (p. 194).

[1] For the formula of the oath see STÄHELIN, 610 n. 2.

[2] See the "Procès verbal (signé des eveques) de ce qui s'est passé a St. Denis," in CIMBER-DANJON, Archives curieuses, I., ser. XIII., 343 *seq.*; Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, Etudes, CI. (1904), 75.

[3] See Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, Etudes, CI., 71. *Cf.* FERET, Henri IV, et l'Eglise, Paris, 1875, 65-78.

to gain time for the negotiations in Rome an armistice of three months was concluded on July 31st, 1593.

Henry had at once communicated his return to the Church in carefully thought out circulars, not only to his own followers, but also to those who had so far been his adversaries.[1] In cleverly drawn up broadsheets it was especially explained to the Catholics who had hitherto opposed Henry solely on religious grounds how much cause they had to rejoice at his return to the Church. By the grace of God, by this act the way was open for a return to a state of peace, and an end was put to the disasters which had threatened the ruin of the kingdom. The most happy results would also ensue for the Catholic religion; the intrigues of Spain would be crushed, since God had had pity upon France. No longer would she have to seek for a king abroad, for she had one who by the Salic Law was the descendant of St. Louis, who was in the flower of his age, full of kindness and gentleness and humanity, brave and fortunate in battle, and distinguished by his moderation in his victories. Henry, it was further stated, had proved by his deeds how ready he was to love the princes, to protect the clergy and their rights, to favour the nobles, to promote the welfare of the cities and to further the happiness of the country folk. The document ended with a burning appeal to the French Catholics thus to put an end to the divisions, both political and religious, which had inflicted such disasters on the country.[2]

The fact that it was thought necessary to issue such documents, appealing strongly to religious and national feeling,

[1] See Lettres missives, III., 822 *seq.* *Cf.* Daux in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXVIII., 217 *seqq.* Henry IV. assured the reformers that his conversion would not affect the edicts which guaranteed their religion.

[2] See Advis aux | Francois sur la | Declaration faicte | par le Roy en l' Eglise S. Denis | en France le vingt-cinquiesme | Juillet 1593. A Tours chez Jamet Mettayer imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1593. Avec privilege du Roy. A copy of this pamphlet was in the Library of I. v. Görres, whose niece, Fraulein Sofia Görres, courteously placed it at my disposal.

as well as to material advantages, shows how much opposition there was still to be overcome. Henry himself clearly recognized that in order to consolidate his success, it was necessary to take special steps to satisfy the Holy See.

The anxieties concerning the destinies of France which filled the mind of Clement VIII. from the beginning of his pontificate, continued undiminished during the first half of 1593. Repeatedly, in March and May, he had implored, with prayers and processions, the assistance of God for that noble but unhappy nation which had rendered such great service to the Church.[1] When he refused to receive Gondi and Vivonne, the Pope had done so not only on account of the threats of Spain, but for other reasons as well; but from March onwards there came a change in his views. It was known how much he was angered by the pretensions of the Spaniards: "These times are evil," he said towards the end of the month to the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta, when the viceroy of Naples was preventing the importation of grain into Rome," for everything is in the hands of a single power, that of the King of Spain." Towards the end of May he told the same diplomatist that he was not Spanish in his sympathies, and that all that he had at heart was the salvation of the religion and kingdom of France.[2]

To all those who viewed the situation clear-sightedly there was an evident and increasing estrangement between Rome and Madrid.[3] This was increased by the strong pressure brought to bear by the adherents of Philip II. to stifle any tendency favourable to the reception of Vivonne. After the subsidy to the League had been suspended in May, and the Papal troops in France had been disbanded, it seemed in June that there was also a hope that Vivonne might be

[1] See *Acta consist. of March 10, 1593, Cod. Barb. XXVI., 5, III.; *Avvisi of February 17, March 17 and May 29, 1593 Urb. 1061; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, May 20, 1593, Barb. 2815; all in Vatican Library.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 147, 216.

[3] See the Relazione del cardinal Monte, March 12, 1593, in DESJARDINS, V., 158. *Cf.* PARUTA, I., 164, 174, 222, 252.

received by the Pope.[1] At the end of the month Clement, in connexion with the conferences at Suresnes, hinted that if these were successful a rapprochement with Navarre might become possible. But two months later the Pope seemed to have reverted to his former opinion that it was not possible to put any confidence in so shifty and astute a man as Henry of Navarre.[2]

In the middle of August there reached Rome, by means of a courier of the banker Capponi, the first news of the return of Henry to the Catholic Church which had taken place at Saint-Denis.[3] All those who, like Monsignor Serafino Olivier and the Jesuit father, Toledo, had foretold such a solution as imminent, were delighted, while those of Spanish sympathies could not hide their consternation, although they challenged the truth of the news. The Spanish ambassador Sessa, who had announced the election of the Duke of Guise as certain, not only to the French Congregation but also to the Pope, found himself in great perplexity.[4]

Clement VIII. rejoiced heartily at the discomfiture of that powerful diplomatist, who brought forward fresh claims in the name of his king at every audience, and importunately demanded energetic intervention on the part of the Holy See on behalf of the designs of Spain, as "was demanded by the service of God."[5] This was clearly seen when it was reported that the Pope had openly manifested his pleasure at the news,[6]

[1] See *ibid.*, I., 241.

[2] See *ibid.*, I., 281. *Cf. ibid.*, xxi. for the hope expressed by Clement VIII. for the death of Henry IV. in battle, which would put an end to the whole difficulty. According to PARUTA (I., 93) Clement VIII. had expressed himself in a like manner in January, which shows how great his embarrassment was.

[3] See the anonymous report to Vinta, August 20, 1593, in DESJARDINS, V., 159.

[4] See *ibid.*, 162 *seq.*

[5] See HERRE, 633.

[6] See the above mentioned report to Vinta. PARUTA (Dispacci, I., 305) reports: "Così da alcun cardinale, che già di ciò le avea parlato e che so che intende queste cose per il buon verso, ebbi

which was bound to give him all the more satisfaction in that it meant a decisive step towards the solution of the problem of the succession, and the re-establishment of peace in sorely tried France, always supposing, however, that the conversion was a sincere one. The Spaniards at once set to work to call it in question, but as they had frequently deceived Clement VIII, concerning the state of affairs in France, he was far from putting full confidence in them. He wished first to wait for more definite news, and told some of the Cardinals that if the absolute majority in France declared for Navarre, and the latter made his submission to the Holy See, he could not, as things stood, roughly reject him. Thus reported the Mantuan envoy, Giulio del Carretto, in a cypher letter of August 21st.[1]

On the previous day Paolo Paruta had had an audience of an hour with Clement VIII., in which he had set forth with all possible eloquence the motives in favour of a reconciliation with Navarre, dwelling especially on the danger of a schism in France. The Pope listened to him quietly, and then enlarged upon the enormous difficulties that stood in the way of any decision. To absolve Henry, he said, meant to make him king. The Sorbonne and Roman theologians as well declared that this was impossible, and that they could base their opinion on definite canons. Paruta was of opinion that in making laws it is not always possible to foresee every case, and that this was a matter that was as important as it was abnormal; he also quoted the proverb that the exception proves the rule. Clement VIII. then referred once more to the previous conduct of Henry in the matter of religion, a thing which called for the greatest caution on his part. Paruta replied that only God can read the hearts of men, but that

certa informazione non essersi il Pontifice per questi avvisi molto alterato, avere quietamente ascoltato chi le avea già parlato sopra questa materia per la confirmazione delle cose fatte dall' assamblea de' vescovi di Francia, ma tuttavia restare ancora il suo animo involto nei soliti dubbi e perplessità."

[1] See the text of this *letter of August 21, 1593 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 7.

it did not seem likely that Henry would again apostatize from the Church now that he had experience of the difficulties that such an act had brought upon him. A chance remark of the Pope gave the Venetian ambassador an opportunity of enlarging upon the threats of the Spaniards: there was no reason to fear them, he said, as France had always shown herself the true defender of the Holy See. Then, departing in a remarkable way from his habitual reserve, Clement VIII. replied: "Our family has always been on the side of France, and I remember what my father did in that respect in the time of Paul IV. From that you may infer my own private inclinations, but I must act with caution and first wait for the state of affairs in France to be made clearer." The Pope remained of this opinion, though Paruta begged him not to act with too great severity, saying that just as Clement VII. had lost England, so Clement VIII. might still lose France. "We intend," the Pope concluded, "to await for a while the development of affairs in France; if God favours the cause of Henry, then neither shall We oppose him, and will bow to the inevitable."[1]

On August 28th, 1593, Paruta reported that the Pope was persisting in his attitude, by no means unfavourable to Navarre, and that he was openly showing his annoyance with the Spaniards; he complained of their cesaropapalism, which violated his own rights, and their trying to make the Orders Spanish, especially the Jesuits. No less did Clement complain of the fact that the Spaniards were intercepting all the letters that came from France, so that he was driven to believe that they were opposed to any election of a king in France, but rather wished to keep that kingdom in a state of schism, so as to be able to dominate it.[2]

It was impossible to prevent the arrival of news from France for long, but it was disastrous, not only that the leaguers looked upon the act of Henry as an unworthy comedy,

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 306-309.

[2] See the *report of Carretto of August 28, 1593 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 8.

intended to deceive, but that even the Papal legate, usually so shrewd, reawakened in the Pope his former suspicions. To all this was added the fact that Clement VIII. might, as a matter of right, expect a formal request for absolution on the part of Henry.[1]

Henry of Navarre himself realized that an arbitrary absolution on the part of a number of French bishops would not be tolerated[2] by a Pope who was so penetrated with the sense of the dignity and rights of the Holy See. On August 9th he sent by his majordomo Brochard de la Clielle, "as a proof of his filial submission" a letter to the Pope, in which he informed him of his return to the Church, and declared his firm purpose of persevering to the end in the Catholic religion.[3] This messenger, however, was only the forerunner of a solemn embassy, at the head of which was Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, and of which one of the bishops who had taken part in the absolution, Claude d'Angennes of Le Mans, was also a member. On August 15th Nevers wrote to the Pope that he was coming with the request that he would confirm the absolution given by the bishops, in so far as it was necessary for its validity, and also to ask permission to make the *obedientia* in the name of His Majesty.[4] Cardinal Gondi and Vivonne, who were still in North Italy, were at the same time instructed to work with redoubled zeal upon the governments of Florence and Venice, so that those states, which were anti-Spanish in sentiment, might bring their influence to bear upon the Pope in favour of Henry.[5]

[1] See L'Epinois, 603 *seq.*

[2] See the *Memorial "De causis quibus se defendunt episcopi Galli quod Navarraeum relapsum absolvere potuerunt." The author comes to the following conclusion: "Maneat igitur propter defectum substantialem tum absolventium tum absoluti absolutionem Henrico Borbonico ab episcopis Franciae impertitam inanem, irritam, nullam esse iudicandum." Papal Secret Archives, II., 91.

[3] See Lettres missives, IV. 11 *seq.* *Cf.* Bremond 339 n. 2.

[4] See L'Epinois 603.

[5] *Cf.* Y. de la Brière in *Etudes*, CI., 75.

What attitude was the Holy See to adopt towards the ambassadors of Henry of Navarre? This question occupied the attention of the whole of the Curia and the diplomatic world of Rome to an extraordinary degree. Almost everyone took a part in it, and even those who lived in the silent cloisters were divided into Spaniards and Navarrists.[1] What was at first discussed was only the question whether the Pope could receive the Duke of Nevers,[2] but soon every question connected with the absolution of Henry IV., and above all the sincerity or insincerity of his conversion was freely canvassed. Theologians and canonists were insatiable in drawing up memorials long and short,[3] filled with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, Canon Law, and Church History in support of their views, and to refute, often in violent terms, those of their opponents.

Of the great number of dissertations on the subject, two are deserving of special mention: one by the celebrated Spaniard, Francisco Peña (Pegna)[4] a canonist attached to the Rota, and the other by Cardinal Allen. The Cardinal, who was on intimate terms with Philip II., acrimoniously

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 32.

[2] *Cf.* the *Quaestio an missus ab Henrico Borbonio quondam rege Navarraeo ad excusandum quod non fuerit relapsus nec pro tali est habendus, a S. Pontifice audiendus," in Vat. 5530, pp. 52-111 (the writer replies to the question in the negative). On the other hand Vat. 4676, p. 1 *seq.*: *Ristretto delli incovenienti che risulterano dal negare N.S. l' assolutione della quale il sig. Duca di Nevers supplica S.S^tà^, Vatican Library.

[3] LÄMMER (Analecta, 82 *seq.*; Melet., 21) has consulted a part of these memorials which are in the Vallicella Library, Rome (especially in Cod. K. 45 and M. 13). *Others in Cod. 673 (35 B 2) of the Corsini Library, Rome, in Borghese, III., 75, and Arm. 2, vol. 91 of the Papal Secret Archives, and in Barb. 5182 of the Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Vat. 6549, p. 94 *seq.*: "*An Henricus Borbonius poenitens sit a S. Pontifice admittendus." Other *Memorials in two recently discovered volumes in the Papal Secret Archives, which are only now receiving the signature. *Cf. infra* p. 81, n. 2 for the memorial of Peña.

[4] As to this see LÄMMER, Melet., 65 *seq.*

maintained the insincerity of Henry IV., saying that both his conversion and his absolution had been a mere farce. Allen demanded that Bourbon should personally present his request for absolution to the Pope, as his representative was worthy of no confidence whatever.[1] Peña, in a memorial which was presented to the Pope by Sessa on September 11th, 1593, first examined the question whether, for the sake of the restoration of peace in France, Henry ought to be reconciled, and then went on to discuss whether the Bourbon was truly worthy of absolution, and whether he ought to be granted an audience. This question Peña answered in the most rigorous sense, and quite unfavourably to Henry IV.[2] At the same time Tommaso Bozio sought to prove from history what evil consequences had always followed for the Church when faith had been placed in heretical princes who had only professed their Catholic sentiments for the sake of obtaining worldly power.[3]

Very few held themselves aloof from the passionate excitement that prevailed, but among these the Pope held the first place. With wonderful prudence and caution he had so far observed the reserve that was necessary so as not to give the Spaniards any excuse for justifiable complaints, and at the same time not openly reject a sovereign like Henry IV. who was every day becoming of more importance. But now a decision could not longer be deferred, though before he gave expression to it Clement weighed, with the prudent calmness

[1] *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, Allen, 196 *seq.*

[2] *Discursus sive tractatus cui titulus: Iudicium de tribus praetensis capitulis Henrici Borbonii et fautorum eius, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* App. No. 60. The corresponding codex: "Relationi e scritture diverse nella causa di Henrico Borbone, raccolte da Francesco Pegna e molte scritte di sua mano" was catalogued in 1883. N. 33 is now: A.A., I-XVIII., n. 4020. This also contains many other *Dissertations, which my deceased friend, A. Sauer, who died as parish priest of Heinrichau in 1916, had intended to deal with.

[3] Scriptum Patris Thomae Bozii de non admittendo Navarro, *ibid.* Papal Secret Archives.

that was so characteristic of him, all the arguments for and against this case that was as vital as it was abnormal. This he did all the more because the politico-ecclesiastical question had also become a case of conscience.[1]

A bull of Sixtus V. had solemnly declared that Henry of Navarre, as a relapsed heretic, had, according to the laws then in force, forfeited his rank and his right to the throne of France.[2] The annulment of this decision could belong to no one but the Pope. The French bishops who had joined the party of Henry, were, according to the admonitory bull of Gregory XIV.,[3] themselves excommunicated, and, by their arbitrary action had incurred the major excommunication. In these circumstances, according to the existing laws, it was absolutely out of the question for Clement VIII., without further ado, to treat Henry as a lawful king, by receiving the embassy of obedience sent by him. To the difficulties on the ground of Canon Law, which Nevers sought to evade by giving a different sense to the word obedience,[4] were added others by the fact that Henry had in no way been recognized as king by the whole of France. A considerable part of the population, and among them the most fervent Catholics, were still adherents of the League, which, in the time of Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., and even during the first days of Clement VIII., had been supported by the Holy See with troops and money, and in which alone the Papal legate, Sega, still saw the salvation of the Catholic religion and of the kingdom. These, as well as the Spaniards, declared that the conversion of Henry was a farce and a trick. In the light of all the news that had reached him, Clement VIII. was bound to consider the possibility, and even the probability of Henry relapsing into heresy.[5] If this should occur, after he had recognized Henry as king, the Catholics would rightly

[1] See MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 276.
[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 283.
[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work. p. 371.
[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, 41, n. II.
[5] *Cf.* the report of Sega, cited by MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 277.

attribute to him the blame for having helped to place the crown of St. Louis upon the head of a Huguenot.[1] Therefore the Pope was in every way bound to exact from this man who was now asking for absolution, definite proof of his changed opinions, and satisfactory guarantees for the future. There was no question that a rejection of Henry was bound up with grave dangers, and his adherents in Rome, and especially the Venetian ambassador, Paruta, never tired of painting these in the darkest colours. The cautious Clement fully realized these dangers, nor was he insensible to the threats of the Spaniards, who looked upon the absolution of their mortal enemy as a direct declaration of war on the part of the Holy See. These, however, were not the reasons which ultimately guided his decision, but the duty imposed upon him by his position as the supreme representative of the Catholic religion.

With full consciousness of his responsibility before God for the use he made of the power of binding and loosing granted to him, his reply to those who begged him to take into consideration the dangers that might result from his attitude, always was: "We must do Our duty, come what may."[2] "God knows that care for religion is Our only guide," he protested to Paruta, "would to God that all those who are interested equally kept this one aim before them! We seek for no advantage for Ourselves, for We are inspired solely by zeal for the cause of God."[3]

In view of the influence which Philip II. exercised over the College of Cardinals, Clement VIII. could not look for an impartial judgment there, but on the other hand he was unwilling to act alone in this important matter. He therefore took counsel with the French Congregation and with the Roman Inquisition, as well as with the learned Jesuit Toledo, upon whom he conferred the purple just at that time,

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 16.

[2] See *ibid.* 26.

[3] See *ibid.* 117 and G. RONDONI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5, Ser. V., 150, who remarks: "the attitude of Clement VIII. forces one to admire him."

and made him a member of both these Congregations.[1] Toledo was charged to explain to La Clielle, who arrived in Rome in the middle of September with Henry's letter of August 9th, why it was impossible to receive the embassy for the *obedientia*, at the head of which was the Duke of Nevers.[2]

To Antonio Possevino, another Jesuit well disposed towards France, and experienced as a diplomatist, was entrusted the task, by the advice of Santori, of dissuading Nevers from setting foot in the States of the Church. In the instructions given to Possevino it was stated that however much the Pope rejoiced at the return of Henry to the Church, it was nevertheless in the circumstances impossible to receive the duke as ambassador of the King of France.[3] Nevers had already

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 34, 41, 49, 82. According to the *Protocol of the "Congregatio Franciae" given by Cardinal Santori, Miscell., I., 28, Papal Secret Archives, the members who assembled on January 27, 1593 (in domo S. Severinae) were as follows: Lancelotti, Caetani, Pinelli, Mattei, Aquaviva, Pietro Aldobrandini "nepos et secretarius S.S^{tis}." At the session held in the presence of the Pope on April 25, there were in addition Salviati and Aragona; the ordinary meetings, from April 26 onwards, were held at the palace of the latter. From October 24 onwards Toledo also appears as present. See the *Protocols relating to the important sessions of September 15, 16 and 17 in App. No. 10.

[2] See L'EPINOIS, 604. For the mission of Clielle see especially BREMOND, 340.

[3] For the mission of Possevino see his report in ZACHARIA Iter. litt., 305, and the article by L'EPINOIS in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIV. (1883), 68 *seq.*, where the Instructions for Possevino are utilized for the first time, being taken from Borghese, III., 74a. Dated the same day as the Instructions (September 19, 1593) is the *brief to the Duke of Mantua, which accredits "A. Possevinus S.I. vir prudens et gravis" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). L'EPINOIS (*loc. cit.*) is mistaken when he says that the Instructions were drawn up by Aldobrandini; Santori composed them at the request of Clement VIII.; see the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 10, Papal Secret Archives.

arrived in the Valtellina when this message reached him. "If the Pope does not receive me," he replied, "it will mean the ruin of France, the loss of millions of souls and perhaps a schism." To the question whether Clement could not receive him at least as Duke of Nevers, Possevino, in conformity with his instructions, had to reply in the negative, though he offered to seek further instructions from Rome, by means of a courier.[1]

In the meantime Clement VIII. was being attacked in the most troublesome way by the Spaniards in order that Nevers might not be received in any capacity. Threats of open violence were even made in this quarter, recalling the events of the times of Clement VII. and Paul IV.[2] Not a day passed without one of the adherents of Philip II. presenting himself in the Papal antecamera for audience; the Spanish ambassador, Sessa, took turns in this with his secretary, Cardinals Sfondrato, Caetani, Deza and others, as well as the agent of the Sieur de Diou, the ambassador of the League, who was ill. All repeated the same thing: the salvation of France depended on the rejection of Henry, whose conversion was the merest hypocrisy; the moment Nevers set foot in Rome the ambassador would leave, and in a short time they might look for the appearance of a Spanish army in France, to effect the election of a truly Catholic king.[3]

The opposing party, however, Cardinals Toledo, Salviati, Sforza and d'Aragona, and the ambassadors of Tuscany and Venice, were working with all their might. They pointed out that the appearance of a Spanish army in France was very improbable, that Philip was only aiming at the ruin of France, so that he might dominate her; if Nevers were repulsed the French Catholics would separate themselves from the Holy See by a national council and elect a Patriarch.[4] The

[1] See L'Epinois, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Paruta, Dispacci, II., 32.

[3] See in App. No. 9, the *report of Carretto of October 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *ibid.* *Cf.* the report of G. Giglioli of October 6, 1593, in Ricci, I., 163.

Pope was in a state of the deepest anxiety, because in any case, however he decided, whether for or against Henry, the gravest dangers were to be expected. "We find Ourselves in a dark wood; both parties are trying to drive us to extreme measures. A good king in France would be the greatest happiness for the Church, but a bad one would be her ruin" he said.[1] The danger of a schism had already been repeatedly pointed out by Paruta, and this made the deepest impression on Clement VIII,[2] who once again had the pros and cons examined by the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition. Opinions were divided: three of the Cardinals belonging to the Inquisition were for a rejection, while three others were undecided. The other seven were for the reception of Nevers, though with a number of limiting conditions.[3] Clement VIII., who took counsel in everything with Toledo, decided upon this latter course.[4] On November 6th the Cardinals belonging to the French Congregation and the Inquisition met at the Vatican under the presidency of the Pope, and it was resolved to send a messenger to Possevino, who was to inform Nevers of the way out of the difficulty that had been decided upon. According to this, Nevers might come to Rome, not as the ambassador of Henry, but as a private individual and without any state; during his

[1] Letter of Palmio of October 9, 1593, in Ricci, II., 119 *seq.* *Ibid.* a similar report of the same, of October 16.

[2] See the *report of Carretto, October 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] "*Die dominica 24 Octobris 1593 S. D. N. Clemens VIII congregavit coram se cardinales congregationis Galliae et congregationis Inquisitionis et lectis quibusdam litteris missis a legato Franciae et a Possevino regavit an dux Nivermensis esset recipiendus et audiendus. Tres cardinales Deza, Ascolanus et Sfondratus tenuerunt quod non, tres tuerunt dubii, reliqui videlicet septem tenuerunt pro admissione." Autograph notes of Fr. Peña in Cod. D. 56 (recently marked differently, *cf. infra*) Papal Secret Archives. See also the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 11.

[4] *Cf.* the report of Giglioli, October 6, 1593, in Ricci, II., 163.

stay, which was limited to ten or fourteen days, he was forbidden to visit the Cardinals or to receive visits from them.[1] These conditions, which the as yet obscure situation in France made necessary,[2] were accepted by Nevers.

The Spaniards made unceasing efforts, by means of their spies, to find out what was happening at the Vatican.[3] The Pope, at the meeting on November 6th, had imposed secrecy as to the discussion under the threat of the major excommunication, reserved to himself.[4] This new state of affairs obliged the Spaniards to discuss the steps they were now to take; Sessa, although he had failed to attain his principal purpose of absolutely preventing the coming of Nevers, limited himself, in his paltry way, to making the protest,[5] with which formerly Olivares had threatened Sixtus V., of retiring to Naples if Nevers should remain beyond the allotted time in Rome. But only some of the Spanish party approved of this drastic procedure, which might produce exactly the opposite effect, and force the Pope to a reconciliation with Henry. The others pointed out how greatly the situation had changed in the meantime: Henry had been converted, and the Pope might take his stand upon the opinion pronounced by the French Congregation and the Inquisition; he would have on his side Venice, Tuscany and Mantua, which would make the position of the Spaniards in Italy very hazardous. Although they met three times to discuss the matter, the Spanish party came to no other decision than to surround Nevers and his adherents in Rome with spies,

[1] See the *Protocol of November 6, 1593, in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 95, 99, and in App. No. 12, the *report of Carreto, November 6, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* De Leva on PARUTA, I., xxiv.

[3] Thus *reports Carretto, November 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 369.

so as to have exact information as to what was happening.[1]

Possevino reached Rome on November 19th, and Nevers arrived there in the evening of the 21st. His arrival was looked for at the Porto del Popolo, where a large crowd of sight-seers had assembled. But the duke wished to avoid all publicity, and with a small retinue, among them the Bishop of Le Mans and two other prelates, as witnesses of Henry's abjuration at Saint-Denis, entered the city by the Porta Angelica, whence he went to his lodgings in the Palazzo Rovere in the Borgo,[2] formerly the residence of Madruzzo. He presented himself before the Pope the same evening. At this audience, which lasted for more than an hour,[3] Nevers at once asked for an extension of his stay in Rome, and for permission to treat with the Cardinals, but met with a curt and decided refusal. Clement VIII. reported this to the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition on November 22nd, who approved of the refusal of Nevers' request, and also decided not to allow the duke's further demand[4] that some of the Cardinals should be present at his negotiations with the Pope. On November 23rd and 25th Nevers had two more very stormy audiences, each of which lasted for three hours. The Pope reported concerning these to the French Congregation on November 28th. The Congregation approved his extension of Nevers' stay in Rome until December 5th, and his refusal to allow him to visit the Cardinals or receive visits from them, as well as from the French prelates. At this meeting the secrecy as to the discussions was once again imposed. At the same time the Pope complained of some of the Cardinals that they had

[1] See the *report of Carretto, November 19, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Carretto, November 20 and 21, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; PARUTA, Dispacci II., 111 *seq.*; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[3] "Amplius quam per horam," says Santori in his *Notes, Papal Secret Archives, I., 28.

[4] See *ibid.*

expressed themselves differently towards the Spanish ambassador, to himself, the Pope, and to the Duke of Nevers, and that they had advised the reception of the duke as the ambassador of Henry.[1]

The widespread view that Clement had allowed himself to be intimidated in his attitude towards Nevers by the Spanish threats, is not justified. The Pope, as well as the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition whom he consulted, had no other motives than prudence, which forbade any premature recognition of Henry, their duty to the Church,[2] and their consciences. This obliged them, even against a prince who was on the point of ascending the throne of France, strictly to observe ecclesiastical laws, in accordance with which absolution could only be pronounced after they had convinced themselves that the penitent was sincere and deserving of it. In the meantime the credentials presented by Nevers contained no request for absolution, just as though this was looked upon as in no way necessary.[3] This circumstance obliged the Pope to be more severe than he would have been if things had been otherwise. Therefore the strong remonstrances made by Nevers were quite unavailing, as were those of the ambassadors of Venice and Mantua, who tried, with all possible insistence, to prove to the Pope

[1] See *ibid.* *Cf.* also the reports of PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 115 *seq.*, and the *reports of Carretto of November 25 and 27, and December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The envoy of Urbino reports on November 27 concerning the audiences of Nevers: *"Il Papa affatica in convertir lui et ritirarlo alla lega. Et perchè una volta scappò al Duca di dire, il Re mio signore, S.S., che è di sua natura piacevolissima, s' incolleri di maniera che fu sentita gridare anco fuora della camera" (Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). For the unreliability of the Mémoires de Nevers, often used uncritically, see BREMOND, 344, n. 2, and *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXV., 226 *seq.*

[2] This is expressly stated in the *letter of Maurizio Cattolico, dated Rome, December 27, in Cod. M. 13, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See Lettres d' Ossat, I., 67.

that if he allowed the duke to go away without having decided anything, he would only have favoured the cause of the heretics and the Turk, and done harm to the Catholic religion, the Holy See, the Roman Curia, the kingdom of France, the League, Italy and the whole of Christendom.[1] In reply the Pope declared that no consideration, not even the danger of losing an annual revenue of 200,000 scudi, which he drew from France, would be allowed to influence his conduct, but only the duties imposed upon him by his office.

Clement VIII. spoke in an especially open way to Paruta, to whom he said: "What has the King of Navarre done to deserve absolution? What signs of true repentance, and what satisfaction has he given? Brought up as a heretic he has twice relapsed into heresy, he has destroyed a large number of churches in France, he has exiled bishops, caused the death of priests and religious, introduced Calvinism into France, and fought against Henry III. and the French Catholics. Is it enough if in compensation for all this, he now once makes the sign of the Cross? In the first place he must give evidence of his firm and manifest intention of remaining a Catholic, and make adequate satisfaction; then only will he be able to speak of absolution and of habilitation to succeed to the throne. He is absolute master in Navarre, but has he protected the rights of the Catholics there? How have other princes expiated their crimes?"—and so saying the Pope pointed to the reconciliation of Barbarossa, represented in the adjoining Sala Regia. "If I," he went on, "in defiance of Canon Law and tradition, here and now absolved Henry from censures, what blame and reproach should I not deserve in the case of his relapsing into heresy? Therefore We must abide by the laws and tradition; we are afraid of nothing: if evil results from our conduct, the fault is not ours."[2]

Nevers received the same reply: "Only the fear that the

[1] See the *report of Carretto, December 8, 1593, which covers ten pages, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 125 *seq.*

conversion of Henry may not be sincere" the Pope explained to him, "holds us back from absolving him, and thus giving him an opportunity of once more persecuting the Catholics as king."[1] When Nevers suggested that the Bishop of Le Mans and the two other prelates who had taken part in the absolution of Henry should be questioned about it, he received the reply that these had incurred excommunication by their arbitrary conduct, and must first justify themselves before the Inquisition. The three French prelates refused to do this and openly made use of threatening language concerning a national council and setting up of a French patriarch, a thing which could not fail to prejudice the position of Nevers.[2]

On December 5th the duke made a further attempt to make the Pope change his mind. He threw himself at his feet and adjured him with tears in his eyes to grant absolution to his sovereign for the sake of the salvation of so many souls. "We cannot do it," the Pope replied, "because it would be against our conscience, and we are responsible before God. It is said that we are favouring the Spaniards, but Our Lord knows the truth; He knows that we are only held back by the fear of doing something unlawful, and we do not wish to burden our conscience. We can see no results from this conversion." The Pope also expressly refused to receive the Bishop of Le Mans and the other French prelates.[3] If Clement would not accede to the request of the duke that he would point out to him in writing what marks of repentance and what satisfaction his sovereign should have given, this was because if he had done so he would have departed from the sphere of private negotiations, which were all that he had allowed.[4]

An attempt made by the duke to bring about a change in the position by the help of Philip Neri, who was

[1] See L' Epinois, 608.

[2] See Paruta, II., 123, 131.

[3] See the *Notes of Santori in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives. Paruta, Dispacci, II., 133; L' Epinois, 609.

[4] See Paruta, Dispacci, II., 129.

highly venerated by Clement VIII., proved unsuccessful.[1] This was not surprising as, on December 17th, the secretary of the Cardinal legate, Sega, had arrived in Rome,[2] bringing the worst account of the behaviour of Henry, so that any further discussion as to his sincerity seemed to be labour lost.[3] "Would to God" said Clement VIII. to Paruta at that time, "that we could trust Henry; we would be ready to do anything; if only he had given some sign of his conversion we would willingly send not one but many legates to France. But Henry is contradicting himself: in his letter to us he promises to prove by his actions that he is worthy of absolution. Where are these actions? We are informed only too clearly of what he is doing and of how he is living. To the request of Nevers that we should tell him what Henry ought to do, we have replied with St. Chrysostom: Poison is cured by the antidote (Contraria contrariis curantur). Henry, who has sown Calvinism in France, ought to know how to behave as a Catholic." After the Pope had spoken at length on this subject, he rose, and going to a table, took up a book, saying: "We will tell you what the Canon Law prescribes in the case of relapsed heretics." Then he read the ordinances, especially those passages where it is stated that relapsed heretics cannot be re-admitted to the sacraments, if they do

[1] According to the *Avviso of December 11, 1593, Nevers visited on Wednesday "P. Filippo della Chiesa Nuova" who was ill in bed, and spoke with him concerning Henry (Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). *Cf.* the report of Mellini, December 10, 1593, in DESJARDINS, V., 178, according to whom the Spaniards were trying to win over some of the Oratorians and Jesuits to their plans. This serves to complete the dispatches of Niccolini used by CAPECELATRO, *Life of St. Philip Neri*, p. 545 [Engl. Ed. of 1926].

[2] Thus says Carretto in his *report of December 18, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 145, 153. Other news that came was also unfavourable; see the *letter of "Monsieur Cenatt" from Paris, November 16, 1593, in the *Notes of Fr. Peña (*supra* p. 81, n. 2), Papal Secret Archives.

not give manifest signs of their conversion and repentance. He then added: "Can we therefore, not only absolve the King of Navarre, who has so far done nothing of the kind, but also make him King of France?" After this strong declaration Paruta only remarked that in any case it was not advisable entirely to break off the negotiations and drive Henry to desperation. The Pope then replied: "We do not say that we are rejecting him absolutely, but only at the present moment."[1]

In all his negotiations with Nevers Clement VIII. had conscientiously taken counsel with the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition. He alluded to this in the important allocution which he addressed to the consistory on December 29th, 1593.[2] On this occasion the Pope severely rebuked those Cardinals who had loudly complained that they had not been consulted on this important question. This, he declared, was not necessary because it was only a question of a simple point of law. In spite of this, in order to avoid any further complaints, he explained his course of action in detail. First of all he complained of the tenor of the letter in which Henry had announced the Duke of Nevers as his ambassador for the *obedientia*, because this letter made it appear that the king, like another Charlemagne, had delivered the Holy See from its enemies. Nevertheless he had received the duke, though only as a private individual. Nevers had added nothing that was new; he had for the most part devoted himself to making long speeches about the egoism of certain Christian princes, and the impossibility of

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 158.

[2] See Acta consist. according to the Cod. Vallicell. I., 61 in LÄMMER, Melet., 238 *seq.*, and the *Relatio gestorum et dictorum per S. D. N. Clementem VIII. in concistorio celebrato die lunae 20 dec., 1593, in the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives, which refer to the information of Cardinal Piatti. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 181 *seq.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 153, 171: L'EPINOIS, 611 *seq.* The envoy of Urbino *reports on December 22, 1593, the severe and threatening "parlata del Papa" at the consistory. Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

their electing a king for France. The absolution of Henry asked for by Nevers, could not be granted because his conversion was neither complete nor sincere, and was even looked upon by many as fraudulent ; moreover Henry had not made that satisfaction that was to be looked for from one who was sincerely converted, but rather was doing things which gave reason for fears lest he should soon become once more an enemy of the Church.

In a detailed statement the Pope explained how in this question three different things were involved : sacramental absolution (in foro conscientiae), canonical absolution (in foro exteriori) and his habilitation to succeed to the throne. As to the first and most important point, Clement VIII. showed that he could not absolve Henry for three reasons : first because he had not yet done penance for all that he had done against the Church ; secondly, because the heretics themselves would laugh at so easy a granting of absolution, and every heretical prince would think that in order to obtain everything from the Holy See he had only to make the sign of the Cross and hear the Mass ; thirdly and lastly because the most serious dangers would result if Henry, as he had always done before, returned again to Calvinism. Rather than expose Christendom to such dangers, he, the Pope, would prefer martyrdom. "The Church of God" he concluded, "is not guided by political considerations but by the Canons and the prescriptions of our predecessors."

At his audience on December 5th, 1593, Nevers had insistently forced the Pope to accept, though he had at first refused to do so, a memorial on the consequences of a refusal of the absolution of Henry.[1] He now, through Giulio di Carretto, the envoy of the Duke of Mantua, asked for a reply to this. At a meeting of the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition, held at the Vatican on December 28th in the presence of the Pope, it was resolved, after a

[1] *Ristretto degli inconvenienti che seguiranno se non si accetta et assolve Navarra. Fr. Peña drew up against this a *Confutation which is contained in his *Relationi e scritture (*supra* p. 81, n. 2), Papal Secret Archives.

violent speech by Santori,[1] not to reply in writing, and to proceed, in accordance with the law, against Le Mans and the other French ecclesiastics, should they any longer refuse to appear before the Inquisition or the French Congregation. This, however, they did not do. The suggestion that they should justify themselves before Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, Santori and Toledo was also abandoned, and they were allowed to depart together with Nevers.[2] On January 10th, 1594, the duke received a visit from Cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, and then had a farewell audience of Clement VIII. The Pope gave him a cross of gold and other valuable presents, and spoke to him very kindly, but remained firm in his insistence upon clear proofs of the true conversion of Henry,[3] so that the duke, deeply discouraged

[1] In this Santori says of Henry: "Non edit, non mandat talia quae a catholico principe facienda sunt. Si audit aliquando missam, audit frequenter haereticorum praedicationes, ut referunt, habet consiliarios et familiares haereticos, alit et in sinu retinet Ugonottos perfidos et perniciosos homines. Misit ad praetensam Angliae haereticam reginam, misit ad status Flandricos haereticos, misit ad protestantes haereticos Germaniae." *Protocol of Santori of the session of December 28, 1593, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *Notes of Santori of January 6 and 7, 1594, *loc. cit.* Santori here mentions negotiations between Toledo and Nevers, of which no one learned the result. That the advice of Toledo had a decisive influence upon the dismissal of Nevers is stated by the author of the dissertation hitherto unknown: *Responsio canonica ad scriptum nuper editum in causa Henrici Borbonii, quo illius fautores persuadere nituntur episcopos in Francia iure illum absolvere potuisse ab excommunicatione in casu Sedi Apost. reservato. Vat. 9364, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Notes of Santori, Papal Secret Archives, in which the visit of Nevers to the two nephews on January 11, 1594, is mentioned; *Avviso of January 12, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, *ibid.* *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 170, 181 *seq.*; L'EPINOIS, 612 *seq.*; BREMOND, 344; Y. DE LA BRIÈCE IN ÉTUDES, CI., 79. For Nevers' fear of a schism see *Avviso of January 8, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 179 *seq.*

at the ill-success of his mission, and fearing a schism in France, left the Eternal City with his companions on January 14th, 1594. The Spaniards were exultant, and published a satire on Henry's ambassador.[1]

On his return journey Nevers met Cardinal Joyeuse, the ambassador of Mayenne and the League, and Baron Senecey, who were on their way to Rome to ask for the intervention of the Pope. While Nevers gave expression to his disgust at his want of success in a violent memorial, the Bishop of Le Mans drew up a justification of the absolution pronounced at Saint-Denis. As he declared in writing his readiness to justify himself in Rome, Clement VIII gave orders for the suspension of the process that had been begun against him.[2] In view of the fact that Henry had publicly abjured Calvinism,

[1] *Sonetto al duca di Nevers, in *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Santori in his *Notes, says of Nevers: "Et non longe ab Urbe obviam factus ill. d. card. de Gioiosa, qui ex Francia profectus pro foederatis, eo die pervenit ad Urbem, noluit illum salutare. Sed episcopus Cenoman. dom. card. salutavit atque peractus est, ut in Urbe fidem faceret, quod ipse esset et fuisset semper catholicus, ut dominatio sua ill. in Francia noverat.—Die XV. eiusdem sabbato vespere venit ad me dom. de Creil, syndicus Sorbonae Parisiensis, nomine dicti d. episc. Cenoman. significans quod et si ipse ex Urbe recederet, non oportebat ipsum citari per affixionem ad valvas uti haereticus vel suspectus, sed quod quandocunque vocaretur vel citaretur aut moneretur, venturus est e Francia in Urbem ad docendum quod ipse est catholicus, et reddendam rationem totius eius anteactae vitae, et ego mandavi ut scripto mihi daret hanc illius significationem, prout fecit postridie die XVII. eiusdem. Id ipsum significavi S. D. N. in congregatione s. Inquisitionis die XX eiusdem mensis Ianuarii et legi schedulam dicti syndici et S^tas^ Sua pro nunc supersederi in negotio et schedulam reponi in processu mandavit." (Papal Secret Archives). An *Avviso of January 19, 1594, says, concerning the meeting of the duke with Cardinal Joyeuse, that on that occasion certain Frenchmen exclaimed "Fate largo, lasciate passare la lega et li Spagnoli gridando: Viva il Re, cioè Navarra." Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

had solemnly declared his return to the Catholic religion, and sought for a reconciliation with the Pope, as far as the great mass of the people was concerned the question whether the act of absolution was valid without the assent of the Pope, as well as that of the sincerity of his conversion, were only of secondary importance. The number of those who considered that by this act the civil war was ended, and who wished to rejoice in the peace, steadily increased.

The numerous caricatures, the biting epigrams and the poisonous libels in which the members of the League were held up to scorn and contempt,[1] contributed not a little to turn public opinion in favour of Henry. The most celebrated production of this kind was the so-called *Satire Ménippée*, distinguished by its language and style, which was first published by means of broad-sheets at Tours.[2]

The armistice had hardly elapsed, when Henry had promised a complete amnesty to all who submitted to him. This prudent policy of forgiveness and forgetfulness led to good results, and the number of his adherents increased. It was in vain that Sega addressed a public letter to the French Catholics, in which he pointed out the failure of the mission of the Duke of Nevers, and called upon them not to anticipate the judgment of the Holy See.[3] His voice was unheeded, while on the other hand the coronation and unction of Henry, which took place on February 27th, 1594, in the cathedral of Chartres, made the greatest impression throughout France.[4]

[1] *Cf.* CAPEFIGUE, VI., 333 *seq.*

[2] The primitive text of the *Satire Ménippée* was published by CH. READ, Paris, 1878. It appeared in print, in 1594, with the date 1593; see the editions of LABITTE (1841), FRANK (1884), MARCILLY (1889) and GIROUX (1897). *Cf.* BAUMGARTNER, Weltliteratur, V., 282.

[3] See the *report of Sega in Cod. S. 2, 12, II. of the Angelica Library, Rome.

[4] Epistola d'Yves vescovo di Chartres toccando la consacrazione del Re Ludovico le Gros fatta in Orleans per Daimbert arcivesc. di Sens nell'a. 1109, per la qual si mostra che la consecratione di Re di Francia puo esser fatta non solamente a Rheims per

The number of the cities which submitted to him increased visibly.

A change in favour of Henry also made itself apparent even in Paris, the headquarters of the League. Sega no longer felt himself safe there. Nevertheless he persevered and sent his nephew to the Netherlands to ask for help.[1] In the meantime Brissac, who had been appointed commandant of Paris by Mayenne, handed over the city into Henry's hands. Amid the popular acclamations: "Long live the King! Long live the peace!" on March 22nd, 1594, in all the splendour of his armour, and with the famous white feather in his hat, Henry made his entry into the capital, from which the Spanish troops and the leaders of the League had to withdraw. He proceeded at once to Notre Dame, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated. In an edict of March 20th he had promised to forget all that had happened, and declared his intention of living and dying in the Catholic religion.[2]

The Parliament declared that all the decrees they had issued from 1588 onwards had been wrung from them by force, and even the Sorbonne now recognized Henry. The secular and regular clergy made him an oath of fealty, and only a few of the religious, principally Capuchins and Jesuits, resisted on the ground that they did not wish to anticipate the decision of the Pope.[3] Sega, as the representative of the Pope, was treated with consideration. Henry set himself to win over

l'arcivescovo di detto luogo, ma anco in ogni altro luogo et pe tutti gli altri prelati di questo regno. Borghese III. 72[b] p. 548 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *report of Sega, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Revue retrospective*, 1838, 5 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, V., 694 *seq.*; L'EPINOIS, 618 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, II., 344 *seq.*, where are to be found particulars of the attitude of the Jesuits, and of the attempt made by the new rector of the university, Jacques d'Amboise, to drive the whole Order out of France. For the attitude of the Capuchins see DESJARDINS, V., 148 *seq.* and DUAIS, Capucins et Huguenots dans le Languedoc (Extrait de la Controverse et du Contemporain), Lyons, 1888.

this inveterate enemy, but the Cardinal legate declared that it was impossible for him to have any dealings with one who was not yet absolved by the Pope. Therefore Henry refused him permission to go to Amiens or Rheims, but after eight days gave the legate permission to retire to the neutral Montargis, in order to await the instructions of the Pope, even after that city had submitted to Henry.[1]

[1] See the *report of Sega, *loc. cit.* The return of Sega to Rome took place long after the decision had been come to, i.e., on the 12th, or better the 13th of November, 1594 (see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 482), his solemn entry on November 15. *Cf.* PARUTA, II., 487 *seq.*, who reports that Clement VIII. did not trust the Cardinal, who was aiming at the tiara, and that Sega "con diversi parla diversamente." *Cf.* also DESJARDINS, V., 194. Sega was often spoken of as the future Pope (see STIEVE, Politik, I., 275, n. 2), but he died as early as May 29, 1596. Clement VIII. had sent him his blessing three times; see *Avviso of May 29, 1596, which extolls Sega as "worthy of the Pontificate, if jealous death had not intervened" (Urb. 1064, Vatican Library). The tomb of Sega is in S. Onofrio; see FORCELLA, V., 311.

CHAPTER III.

The Absolution of Henry IV.

The steady progress made by Henry could not fail to have its effect, even on the envoys of Mayenne and the League, who had been in Rome since January 1594. These were now convinced that the star of the Bourbon was steadily in the ascendant. This is clear from the memorial which they presented to Clement VIII. on March 14th, 1594. The Pope, so this important document states, would have to sacrifice millions, and Philip II. make his armies three times as large, in order to bring the war against Henry to a victorious conclusion. From the impossibility of such an effort, and from the general proclamation of Henry as king, which must be looked upon as imminent, because of the great desire for peace among the French people, the writers conclude that the Pope, so that he may not be excluded from all influence, must immediately take the conclusion of a peace into his own hands. As the conditions for this they propose that he should submit to Henry the Catholic education of the Prince de Condé, the heir presumptive to the throne, the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees, and the energetic restoration of unity of faith in France.[1] If only an evasive reply was given to such proposals for the moment, the occupation of the French capital by Henry[2] must convince the Pope that one of the great obstacles to direct negotiations, namely the want of a *fait accompli*, no longer existed. Henry of Navarre

[1] See L'Epinois, 613 *seq.* *Cf.* Desjardins, V., 189 *seq.*

[2] The "Congregatio Franciae et S^it^ Officii" dealt with the capture of Paris at a session which was held on April 13, 1594, at the Vatican under the presidency of the Pope. *Notes of Santori, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

was looked upon as the true King of France, even by the French Catholics.[1] But the second great obstacle, the doubt of the sincerity of the conversion of that prince, remained unchanged in the mind of the Pope. This can occasion no surprise, all the more so as the majority of the great cities of France trusted so little in Henry in the matter of religion that in their acts of submission they insisted on his documentary guarantee that he would prohibit any other worship than the Catholic.[2] If Clement VIII., after a long internal struggle, at length decided to enter into negotiations with this shrewd man, to whom the majority of Frenchmen had rallied, this was principally due to the evident danger, always becoming more threatening, of a French schism, a thing at which Paruta especially often hinted.[3]

France was a country peculiarly adapted for such an event, as the schismatic tendencies of the XIVth and XVth centuries had taken deeper and more tenacious root there than in any other country. Hence had come the so-called pragmatic sanction of 1438,[4] the abolition of which under Pius II., and by means of the concordat under Leo X.,[5] had only resulted in this growth, barely cut down, always springing up again with fresh vigour.[6] It was above all the parliaments which thought themselves called upon to carry on the opposition to the Holy See for the protection of supposed ecclesiastical privileges and national interests.

It was there that the opposition to the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent had chiefly taken root, on the ground that they were incompatible with the "liberty of the Gallican Church." This new idea, which was exactly

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 276.

[2] *Cf.* MARIÉJOL, Hist. de France, VI., 1, 391.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 429; *cf.* Dispacci, II., 229 *seq.*, III., 28, 43.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, p. 335.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. III. of this work, p. 150; Vol. VII., p. 145.

[6] So PHILLIPS (III., 341) rightly supposes.

contrary to what the words implied,[1] became a "catch-word" which flattered the national pride, in favour of the old schismatical tendencies directed against the authority and rights of the Holy See. These tendencies were already sufficiently clear in the time of Sixtus V.,[2] and received a powerful impetus when Gregory XIV., deceived by the Spaniards and the League, took steps in the matter of the succession which the prudent Sixtus V. had avoided. By making himself the executor of the wishes of Philip II., Gregory XIV. aroused a national opposition, which even extended to the clergy. All those French Catholics who preferred to see upon the throne of France even Henry of Navarre rather than a claimant pleasing to Spain, now extended the hatred they felt for Philip II. to the Holy See and its rights. Some of the episcopate, led by the Archbishop of Bourges, openly placed themselves at the head of the opposition,[3] while an ever increasing number of persons became familiar with the idea of having a patriarch elected by the bishops, who should govern the French Church, in practical independence of Rome.[4]

Schismatical tendencies of this kind were bound to fill the Huguenots with joyful hopes. They repeated in yet stronger terms all that had been said, in view of the intervention of Gregory XIV., by the French Catholics against the authority and status of the Holy See: with a zeal as great as if they had been speaking of their own sect, they defended the Gallican liberties and the election of an independent patriarch; but, they said, the only way to attain to this was an open and sweeping reform, and such a transformation of the Church

[1] See PHILLIPS, III., 342, who describes the true significance of this in the words of Charlas (De libertatibus ecclesiae Gallic., I., Rome, 1720, 36): "Oppressionem iurisdictionis ecclesiasticae a laica et depressionem auctoritatis Romani Pontificis a clero Gallicano."

[2] See the important dispatch of Giov. Mocenigo, January 21, 1590, in ROMANIN, VI., 412, n. 5.

[3] See Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 377 *seq.*

[4] See STÄHELIN, 328 *seq.*

as had already been effected by one section of the nation.[1] By means of broad-sheets they solemnly assured the French Catholics that they did not wish by cunning or by force to inveigle them into Calvinism, but only, on the ground of their common welfare and a loyal service of the king, to extend a helping hand to them for the good of their native land; if only they would better inform themselves, they would discover that "those of the reformed religion" were not so wicked as they were said to be by the representatives of the Pope.[2]

It was in a similar sense that the *Eirenicon* of François de Dujon was drawn up, which, however, at the same time showed what they had the hardihood to propose to the French Catholics. "Beyond doubt" this work states, "the Roman Church is the Babylonian harlot, with which it is forbidden to have any part; but in every ecclesiastical commnuity, no matter how corrupt it may be, there are souls that belong to Christ, and to these brotherhood, communion and cordial affection may not be denied."[3]

In many quarters there was a talk at the time of a union of the various sects into a single Church. To the great grief of Beza there were to be found, even in his own party, men who were even prepared to give up their Calvinist principles to that end.[4] These attempts at union were based upon the

[1] See Response aux commonitoires et excommunications de Gregoire XIV. jettés contre . . . Henri de Bourbon, Roi tres chrétien de France, in Mém. de la Ligue, IV., 384 *seq.*; extract in STÄHELIN, 346 *seq.*

[2] See Traité en forme d'Apologie pour les Français faisant profession de la Religion reformée contre les calomnies et impostures de Ministres du Siège Papal, in Mém. de la Ligue, V., 193 *seq.* *Cf.* STÄHELIN, 348 *seq.*

[3] Εἰρηνικον sive de pace Ecclesiae catholicae inter Christianos, quamvis diversis sententiis, religiose procuranda auque continuanda, Geneva, 1593, published in the same year in a French translation at Leyden; see STÄHELIN, 352 *seq.*

[4] See STÄHELIN, 353 *seq.*, 356 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 364 *seq.* concerning the Confessio Henrici IV., 1592.

promise made by Henry, at the time of his succession to the throne, that he would cause himself to be instructed by a general council, a promise, however, which was withdrawn, and finally replaced by a conference with Catholic bishops. If Henry of Navarre intended by this to give up all schismatical projects, it was all the more uncertain how far the curt rejection of the Duke of Nevers gave cause to fear a final breach between Rome and Paris.

In these circumstances it was highly significant that in 1594 Henry of Navarre should have accepted the dedication of a work in which Pierre Pithou, an ex-Calvinist and an advocate in the Parliament, recommended to the first of the Bourbons the precious Gallican liberties, and pointed out as the weapons for their protection, in addition to a peaceful agreement, the royal "placet," the appeal to a general council, and the appeal against abuses.[1]

It is beyond question that there were in Henry's entourage several men who would not have shrunk from schism. Even before the mission of the Duke of Nevers, Henry himself had said things to the Grand Duke of Tuscany which sounded like a threat of this kind.[2] The duke's friends, whose hopes were completely disappointed, and whose pride was deeply hurt at the definite refusals of any kind of negotiation on the part of the Pope, now began to turn their thoughts to a separation from a Pope who thus decisively rejected any advances. "May I be allowed to remind Your Majesty," wrote Guillaume de Gadagne, "that your predecessors often thought of ordering the setting up of an independent patriarch in France for much less reasons than those that are now in question. A great part of your Catholic subjects, and even many ecclesiastics, would joyfully hail such a step. If the Roman Church will not open her doors to Your Majesty, then Your Majesty

[1] For the work of Pithou which aroused such excitement, Les libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane, and to which we shall return later, *cf.* PERRENS, L'Eglise et l'Etat sous Henri IV., vol. I., 157 *seq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V., 68 *seq.*; THOMAS, Concordat, III., 172 *seq.*

[2] See STÄHELIN, 711. *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 621.

may rest content with a French Catholic Church, in the bosom of which you can remain and make it independent."[1]

At the end of May, 1594, a letter reached Rome from the Duke of Nevers in which he spoke of the danger of a French schism as imminent. In France, he said, they are on the verge of excluding the Holy See from any conferring of benefices, and of re-establishing the pragmatic sanction; if all hope of reconciliation is taken away from Henry he will be bound to give his consent to the French church being made independent of Rome.[2]

The supposition of the inaccessibility of Clement VIII. was not altogether justified, as the Pope, in February, 1594, had summoned Cardinal Gondi, the Bishop of Paris, to Rome, and had told him that he was prepared to receive an envoy from Henry.[3] Naturally this information was given absolutely confidentially. The Pope maintained a complete silence, and except for Cardinal Toledo, did not discuss the French situation with anyone; thus the rumours spread by the Spaniards, that the Pope was entirely on their side, were generally believed. It was only a few who knew the sentiments of Clement VIII. who looked upon this as impossible.[4] At the beginning of May the rumour was spread that Gondi was about to leave Rome, a thing which gave rise to all manner of conjectures.[5] The Pope then ordered special prayers in all the religious houses in Rome, that God might enlighten him in a decision of the greatest importance. At the same time it was learned that Clement VIII. had imposed the most strict silence on the Cardinals, under pain of the major excommunication,[6] as to all that he had told them on the subject. Gondi, left Rome on May 25th: many deduced from this that his mission had been a failure, but Paruta on

[1] See STÄHELIN, 711.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 333.

[3] See BREMOND, 345.

[4] See the opinion of Camaiani in L'EPINOIS, 623, n. 1.

[5] See the *report of Annibale Chieppio, May 7, 1594. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 302.

the other hand saw in the Cardinal's departure an evident sign of the friendly attitude of Clement VIII. towards Henry.[1] The Venetian diplomatist formed still higher hopes when, at the beginning of June, the Pope recalled Sega without appointing any successor, so that there was no longer any Papal representative with the League.[2]

During the critical days that followed the Pope continued to observe the greatest prudence and caution as to the French question. He clearly saw that there were two rocks to avoid: excessive severity, which might bring about a schism, and excessive leniency, which might injure the rights and authority of the Holy See.[3] Even when he was looked upon as the slave of the Spaniards, and the news from France became most threatening, he maintained his silence, waiting for the situation to be cleared up.[4] It was extremely difficult to understand the true state of affairs because the passions with which the matter was being discussed were very heated. "Here in Rome" complained one of the ambassadors, "many lies are being told about France, and as many more in France about the Curia."[5] But Clement VIII., for his part, intended to treat the matter dispassionately. Therefore, with the exception of his two nephews who were directing the Secretariate of State, he took counsel with no one except Cardinal Toledo, who was absolutely impartial.[6]

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini had written on June 13th, 1594, to the Duke of Nevers that if Henry would give proofs of the sincerity of his return to the Church, the world should

[1] See *ibid.* 325. At his farewell audience the Pope embraced the Cardinal and kissed him "più volte." See *Avviso of May 25, 1594, which is confirmed by the envoy of Urbino; Urb. 1062, p. 290, Vatican Library.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 336.

[3] See L'EPINOIS, 621.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 263, 388, 427.

[5] See the letter of the envoy of Urbino in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, X. (1870), 738 *seq.*

[6] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 433. *Cf.* also the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

see that the Pope had never closed the door, nor absolutely refused absolution. He assured him that His Holiness had never been actuated in this affair by human interests, but purely by his religious duty, and above all by his anxiety for the salvation of souls and for the security of the Catholic religion in France.[1] Gondi supported this statement when he reached Paris in July. There he found that the opinion was generally held that the Pope was absolutely opposed to France and her king, and that he had thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards. Henry himself shared this opinion, and Gondi had great difficulty in convincing him.[2] But at last Henry declared his readiness to send an ambassador to Rome, and this time a member of the ecclesiastical body. Gondi proposed for this difficult mission a man who a few years before had returned from Calvinism to the Catholic Church and had become a priest, and had also converted many other heretics by his sermons. This was Jacques Davy Du Perron, who had been made Bishop of Evreux, a man who charmed everyone by his eloquence, as well as by his practical knowledge of the world and his theological learning, and who had taken part in a prominent manner at the abjuration at Saint-Denis.[3] Henry declared his readiness to accept the suggestion of Gondi.[4] As Du Perron had also gained the confidence of Sega, the Pope, who

[1] See L'Epinois, 623.

[2] *Cf.* besides the report of Bonciani from Paris, August 13, 1594, in Desjardins, V., 289 *seq.*, the important cypher letter of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in Martin, Relations, I., 378 *seqq.*

[3] For Du Perron *cf.* the biographies by Bourigny (Paris, 1878), Féret (Paris, 1876), and Blondel (Sens, 1899) as well as Räss, Konvertiten, II., 266 *seq.*, 441 *seq.*, III. 384 *seq.* Fouqueray, II., 441 *seq.* For the period and birthplace of Du Perron see *Rev. hist.*, V., 195 *seq.* Like other Protestant writers, even Stähelin (437), who is strongly opposed to Du Perron, admits that the preachers whom Henry caused to dispute with him, could not vie with this learned man. *Cf.* also G. Grente, Quae fuerit in card. D. du Perron vis oratoria, Paris, 1903.

[4] See the report of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in Martin, *loc. cit.*

at the end of July had angrily rejected the arguments of Cardinals Deza and Pinelli against the reconciliation,[1] agreed to the choice of this man as mediator,[2] all the more so as Gondi, in his report of August 21st, 1594, sent by special messenger, had openly and frankly stated that the negotiations must now be brought to an end without delay, as this was the last attempt of Henry to come to an agreement; any delay would cause irreparable harm.[3]

The Cardinal was convinced of the good will of his king, and was able to adduce many things in his favour: Henry had the firm intention of removing the Prince de Condé from his Huguenot surroundings and of placing him under the care of the Catholic Vivonne: in Bearn he had already done away with many anti-Catholic ordinances, and when he went there he would entirely restore the rights of the ancient Church: he intended to banish his sister Catherine de Bourbon, and to forbid the Calvinist sermons at the Louvre. Gondi further stated that Henry assisted daily at the Holy Mass, and that like his ancestors he took part in all Catholic functions. With regard to the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, Henry had to take into account the opposition of the Parliament and the Gallican clergy, but in time the Pope could count on this as well, as the king did not share the anti-Roman sentiments of his counsellors and the Gallican clergy.[4]

[1] *"Die XX. vel XXII. Iulii an. 1594 cum consessi sunt cardinales Inquisitores in monte Quirinali et Deza et Pinellus loquerentur de Navarraeo et Deza diceret a fructibus eius esse cognoscendum, [S^mus^] valde commotus se sermonibus immiscens dixit: Non est ita, sed spectandum illud: sinite crescere usque ad messem. Quod ipsum S^mus^ obiecit card. Alexandrino in colloquio habito cum S^mo^ super absolutione Navaricini principio mensis Augusti 1594." Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V., 290.

[3] See the cypher report of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

[4] See besides the letter of Gondi, August 21, 1594, *loc. cit.*, the report of Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V., 291 *seq.*

Gondi, however, soon discovered for himself that these views were too optimistic, for in October Henry suggested to the Cardinal that he should dissolve his marriage with Margaret of Valois. He insisted on this although Gondi told him that only the Pope could do such a thing. Henry's reply was that if the Cardinal would not pronounce the annulment, he could find others who would do so.[1]

In the middle of October the mission of Du Perron seemed very uncertain ; it was known that Henry had been dissuaded from such a course in many quarters, e.g. by the English ambassador, whose queen feared a rapprochement between France and Spain ; by the Huguenots, who foretold that many Catholic ecclesiastics would desert the cause of the king, unless this step was abandoned ; and lastly by those Catholics who could not be appeased for the rejection of Nevers by the Pope. He was advised to have the annulment of his marriage pronounced by the French bishops. The Florentine ambassador in Paris remarked at the beginning of November, 1594, that the situation was very similar to that of England in the time of Henry VIII.[2]

Gondi was in a very difficult position : in the letters he addressed to Rome, he painted the good will of Henry towards the mission of Du Perron in glowing colours, and tried to explain[3] the delay in his deparutre, but the truth was that the Huguenots were doing their utmost to prevent his mission. It was also beyond question that the Parliament was trying to get the conferring of benefices into its own hands ; the number of Catholics who had turned their hatred of the Spaniards against the Pope was always growing and a schism seemed imminent.[4]

[1] See the report of Bonciani, October 2, 1594, in DESJARDINS, V., 293.

[2] See the reports of the same, October 19 and November 4, 1594, *ibid.*

[3] See the *reports of Gondi to Clement VIII., dated Paris, October 20 and November 3, 1594, Nunziat. di Francia 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See BONCIANI, *loc. cit.*

If Clement VIII. on the one hand had to reckon with the danger of the separation of the Church of France from Rome, on the other he had no less reason to fear falling into complete dependence upon the Spaniards, who, with their unwonted arrogance, brought pressure to bear in the Curia, incessantly inveighing against Henry, and uttering grave threats in the event of his absolution.[1] The Pope was convinced that the Spaniards, as well as Mayenne and the League, were influenced, not by motives of religion, but by purely material considerations.[2] He had long hesitated, but from the beginning of October he made no secret of the fact that, should Du Perron bring the necessary guarantees, he would suffer no one to prevent him from acting in the French question in accordance with his duty, and from being reconciled to Henry.[3] Even the Cardinal legate, Sega,[4] whom he had recalled to Rome on November 13th, 1594, now advised him to do this.

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 382, 385, 429.

[2] *"No cree el Papa que por interes de religion España se aia movido a emprender la guerra, sino que todo es temporalidad, y lo mesmo affirmó de Umena y de los otros que havian seguido la Liga," wrote Fr. Peña in his notes at the end of a written report of a long conversation which he had with Clement VIII. at the Quirinal on July 31, 1594, concerning the absolution of Henry IV., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Avvisi of October 8 and 12, 1594. According to the latter, the Pope said: "Basta, noi staremo aspettando la venuta di Monsu di Perona, et se Navarra sarà quel buon christiano che dice essere, faremo quello comple al debito nostro, senza guardare in viso a nissuno havendo noi studiato et consultato diligentemente in questo negotio" (Urb. 1062, Vatican Library). Chieppio describes in his *report of December 22, 1594, printed in App. No. 21 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), how the Spaniards only changed their tactics, without abandoning their purpose.

[4] *Discorso del card. di Piacenza sopra le rebenedittione de Re di Navarra, in Cod. S. 2, 12, p. 53 *seq.*, Angelica Library, Rome, and in Nunziat. di Francia 36 p. 420 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Among other things, Sega here says: "Il mio parere è dunque, Beat. padre, che nel presente stato delle cose sia per essere espediente et convenga l'assolvere il Re di Navarra

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who had been sent to Madrid at the beginning of December, 1594, in connexion with the war against the Turks, was instructed[1] to prepare the King of Spain for the step, the necessity for which was becoming more and more inevitable. The nephew, in putting forward the proposal, said that the Pope intended to make use of the negotiations concerning the absolution to bring about peace between Spain and France. But this very thing was taken by the opponents of the reconciliation of Henry with Rome at the French court, as a prètext for once more dissuading thc king from sending Du Perron, whose arrival was looked for in Rome as a certainty as early as the end of October.[2] The matter was put forward in such a light as to make it appear that Clement intended to sell the absolution, by forcing the king to make concession favourable to Philip II. The Gallican members of the Parliament and the old Huguenots like Du Plessis Mornay, urged the giving up of all negotiations with the Pope more eagerly than ever.[3]

But Henry, cautious as ever, was careful not to let himself be led into any such course of action, being clearly convinced that a religious schism would prevent the tranquillity of France for a long time to come, even if it did not render it

et il reconciliarlo alla s. chiesa cattolica et Romana, ma con decoro, gravtià et maturità tale che quantunque si rilassi in qualche cosa il rigore della disciplina ecclesiastica non si possa nondimeno far argumento giamai da chi si sia che la S. Sede ci sia stata tirata più tosto da qualche timore che da carità paterna ne Navarra entrare in pensiero di poter con questa scusa accostarsi al tentativo di divortio. . . . Si deve dunque a mio giudicio procurare la maggior sicurezza che si può alla depressione et estintione dell'heresia et alla conservatione et propagatione della religione cattolica et della giurisdittione ecclesiastica in Francia."

[1] For this mission see HINOJOSA, 386 *seq.* *Cf.* further *infra*, p. 279.

[2] See in App. No. 21 the *letter of Chieppio, December 22, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Études*, CI., 83.

impossible. To him, who wished to be in every way the successor of the Most Christian Kings, it seemed far more advantageous to restore the old relations with Rome, to take away from the members of the League their last excuse for opposing him, and to contest the influence of the Spaniards at the Curia.[1] In any case, however, he did not intend again to expose himself to the risk of failure, such as had attended the mission of Nevers. Therefore Du Perron should only go when the ground had been already prepared in Rome; this difficult task was entrusted by Henry to Arnaud d'Ossat,[2] an ecclesiastic learned in the law, who had already done good service as a mediator in the missions of Clielle and Nevers.

Arnaud d'Ossat, who was both a good Catholic and a patriotic Frenchman, had already gone to Rome in 1580, in the time of Gregory XIII., as secretary to the French ambassador, Paul de Foix; he had then become a councillor of the Cardinal Protectors of France, Este and Joyeuse, and lastly the agent of the queen-dowager, Louise. He was intimately acquainted with Roman circles and was on good terms with many influential persons in the Curia. He was moreover possessed of extraordinary diplomatic talents: keen intuition, psychological insight, clear judgment,[3] and great executive ability. He was a past master at "seizing upon the right moment, drawing advantage from unfavourable

[1] See RANKE, Französ. Geschichte, II., 17 *seq.*

[2] Besides the short biography by Amelot de la Houssaye, anterior to his edition of the Lettres du card. d'Ossat, issued in 1668, on which is based the interesting work of MME. D'ARCONVILLE (2 vols., Paris, 1772), and what is said by TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE in his Lettres inéd. du card. d'Ossat, Paris, 1872, 6 *seqq.*, see the monograph by A. DEGERT, Paris, 1894. For the tomb of Ossat see D'ARMAILHACQ, St. Louis des Francais a Rome, Rome, 1894, 215 *seq.*

[3] It is remarkable how he at once correctly estimated the French policy of Gregory XIV.; he wrote on January 22, 1591, of the support given by the Pope to the League: "C'est une aide que n'aidera pas tant l'un parti comme elle offensera l'autre." TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE, Lettres, inéd., 32.

complications, and finding a way out of the most difficult situations."[1] Only a man such as this could successfully remove the obstacles which threatened the success of the mission of Du Perron.

Although the Spaniards brought all their powers to play, and now sought to convince the Pope that a schism was to be feared in France especially in the event of the absolution of Henry,[2] Ossat set himself to his task courageously, because he was convinced that Henry was in a far more advantageous position than the Pope. He was fully prepared for the negotiations to proceed slowly, in accordance with the custom of the Curia: you must bear this patiently, he wrote to Paris, but at the same time insist upon a frank procedure as the primary condition of success.[3]

Ossat met with a reception from Clement VIII., who had just then again ordered special prayers and processions for the well-being of France,[4] which could not have been better. His first private audience on December 15th, 1594, was very successful, and Ossat delivered a letter from Henry dated November 8th. In this it was stated that no worldly considerations but the grace of God alone had determined his

[1] See WILCKENS in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 544. Ossat well described himself, when he once wrote: "Ce que la fortune sembloit me presenter de la main gauche, je le prit de la droite." Lettres, I., 86.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 54.

[3] See *ibid.* 72-76. As early as July 3, 1593, Ossat had written to Pisani that it was *"sicurissimo che detta assolutione senza contrario non si otterrà in meno d'un anno per la lunghezza della corte et che le conditioni da darsi per forma di penitenza ne vorranno anco spatio di più d'un altro." Borghese, III., 72b, p. 154, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, December 7 and 9, 1594, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 227 *seq.*; *Avviso of December 10, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library; PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 509. In a *brief of January 11, 1595, to the Bishop of Nevers the Pope says that he hopes in the intercession of the holy patrons of France. Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 7, Papal Secret Archives.

return to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, that in this he intended to live and die, and to regulate all his actions by it, and thus win the favour of His Holiness. And since, according to the information given him by Gondi, there were still certain hopes unfulfilled, he had resolved to take the necessary steps, without looking to the past or the future; he therefore begged His Holiness to forgive him if, by force of circumstances he had not yet carried out this good work as he would like to have done. The Pope must not attribute this to any change of sentiments, nor to lack of good-will, respect or submission, for he would fulfil his duty, as Ossat would explain in greater detail.[1] The skill of this intermediary was easily able to dispel the unfounded doubts, as well as to remove a number of outstanding difficulties. He persuaded Clement VIII. and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini of the inopportuneness of treating of the peace between Spain and France at the moment, and of the impossibility of fighting openly against the Huguenots, and of detaching Henry from his Protestant allies in any political sense, so long as Spain was fighting him.[2]

As guarantee for the sincerity of the conversion of Henry, and at the same time as satisfaction for his behaviour in the past, the Pope's principal demands were: the education of the heir presumptive to the throne, the Prince de Condé, in the Catholic religion; the restoration of the ancient Church in Bearn, and the publication of the decrees of Trent in France. Ossat declared that in principle Henry was quite ready to agree to these, but in the case of the second and third asked for the necessary time; this was granted without any difficulty. Du Perron was to draw up the practical solution.[3] But, as Ossat foresaw, the negotiations on another point were likely to prove very troublesome. As the bull of Sixtus V. in 1585, had, in accordance with the existing law, deprived Henry of all his dignities, and especially of his right of succes-

[1] Lettres missives, IV., 243.

[2] Lettres d'Ossat, I., 65 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 91 *seq.*

sion to the throne,[1] it seemed to Clement VIII., as a rigorous jurist, that it was necessary, not only to grant him absolution from heresy and centures, but also a dispensation from the defect of inability to succeed. Such an act, however, was looked upon by Henry as incompatible with the dignity and independence of the French crown, whereas he was in effective possession of a great part of France, and looked upon himself as the legitimate and national sovereign of his kingdom. Since in this matter he could rely upon the support of the Parliament and the Gallican clergy, he definitely rejected the need for rehabilitation. Ossat told Cardinal Aldobrandini that his sovereign was ready to accept any satisfaction as a sincere penitent, but that to seek for rehabilitation as king at the hands of the Pope was opposed to his rights, to the decrees of parliaments and states general, and to the convictions of all Frenchmen, including the clergy.[2]

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, on the other hand, pointed out with great frankness that a rehabilitation could not be avoided, as the Holy See had expressly by its judgment deprived Henry of the right to succession, and that in the absence of such an act Henry would indirectly be denying the authority of the Pope, which he had promised to recognize. The Cardinal thought, however, and in this he was confirmed by the Pope, that a way of solving this difficulty to the satisfaction of both parties could easily be found.[3]

When the negotiations had happily reached this point news reached Rome at the end of January, 1595, of the attempt of Jean Chastel upon the life of Henry IV., and of the consequent banishment of the Jesuits from France; this threatened once more to endanger the whole affair.[4] Chastel

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 283.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 77, 92 *seq.*, 95.

[3] See *ibid.* 95 *seq.*, 105.

[4] *Cf.* for what follows the detailed description in conformity with the acta in FOUQUERAY, II., 379 *seq.*, who also gives (p. 722 *seq.*) the interrogatory of Chastel, from the National Archives, Paris. For a criticism of the modern narratives, which are contrary to history, especially that of HUBER (Jesuitenorden,

had been educated by the Jesuits, and the Gallicans, who hated the Jesuits on account of their loyalty to the Holy See, and especially of their Spanish origin, resolved to make use of this circumstance. Not a shadow of proof of the complicity of the Order in the attempt could be found, and it was a sheer act of injustice[1] when the Parliament proscribed the Jesuits—who had not even been interrogated—as "corruptors of youth, disturbers of the peace, and enemies of the king and the state" and banished them within three days from Paris and within fourteen from France, and forbade everyone under pain of high treason to attend their schools abroad. In this decree it was declared that anyone who maintained that the king did not belong to the Church without the Papal absolution was a heretic.[2] In order to cause the Jesuits to appear in the eyes of the people as accomplices in the attempt of Chastel, the Parliament did not even shrink from the unjust condemnation to death of an innocent person. During the stormy days of the League, the question of tyrannicide and of the rights of Henry had been discussed in the most heated way, and many of the publications that appeared at that time had been in the highest degree compromising, both for the Sorbonne and for the Parliament. Almost everyone was in possession of works and articles of this kind. After Henry's conversion the Rector of the Jesuit College in Paris had ordered such works to be placed among the prohibited books, and later on there appeared an edict by Henry, ordering their destruction. A father named Jean Guignard had nevertheless kept such documents in his room. There they were found, and a charge of high treason was based upon the fact. It was to no purpose that Guignard claimed that these works belonged to an earlier period, and

159 *seq.*), see DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 404 *seq.* *Cf.* also BROU, Les Jésuites, I., 141 *seq.*

[1] "Une scandaleuse iniquité, un grand acte de lâcheté politique," says Sismondi, who is far from being a friend of the Jesuits, in Hist. des Français, XXI., 323.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 112 n. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 302.

appealed to the amnesty proclaimed by Henry; on January 7th, 1595, he was executed in the Place de Grève.

On the following day all the Jesuits in Paris had to leave the city, and their property was confiscated. The same thing took place in five other colleges in the district of the Parliament of Paris. The Gallicans and the University, which was jealous of the successes of the Jesuits, were exultant. Henry, by the advice of the Huguenots, and looking upon the Jesuits as the "slaves of Spain," although he did not believe in the complicity of the Order, suffered this injustice to be done, though he took no action against those parliaments, such as those of Toulouse and Bordeaux, which refused to follow the example of the Parliament of Paris.[1]

The news of the unjust and disgraceful exile to which the Parliament of Paris had subjected the Jesuits naturally aroused sorrow and indignation in the Curia. In the meantime a detailed cypher report of what had happened was received from Cardinal Gondi, who attested the innocence of the Jesuits.[2] The Spaniards, upon whom Henry had openly declared war on January 17th, 1595, formed renewed hopes of being able to prevent the reconciliation of Henry with the Pope, but however much Clement VIII. was affected by this incident, he refused to allow himself to be drawn into any precipitate step. Quite dispassionately he expressed to Ossat his righteous grief at the unjust proceedings against an Order that had rendered the greatest services to the Church, and which had also promoted the reconciliation of Henry with the Holy See. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini expressed himself even more frankly, though he was careful to avoid speaking too strongly. In like manner the Pope continued

[1] See FOUQUERAY, II., 396 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, 423 *seq.* For the unjust judgment of Henry on the Jesuits see the report of Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V. 296. *Cf. ibid.*, 302 for further proof of the innocence of the Jesuits, and p. 304, the affair of Guignard. See also BROU, *loc. cit.*, 151 *seq.*

[2] *Dated January 10, 1595, in Nunziat. de Francia, 37 p. 243-245, Papal Secret Archives. A passage of this in the edition of the Dispacci (I., xxxviii.) of Paruta.

to show his love for France, and his good will towards an agreement with Henry.[1] He was confirmed in this attitude when the exiled rector of the Jesuit college in Paris appeared in Rome at the beginning of March, 1595. The Spaniards then spread the most alarming rumours concerning the intentions of Henry, who was supposed to have also driven out the Capuchins, Minims and Carthusians, to have convoked a national council, and elected a Patriarch for France.[2] They hoped that a description by an eye-witness of the wrongs that had been inflicted on the Jesuits, would finally dissuade the Pope from his pacific policy. They had not however counted on the fact that with the Society of Jesus the general interests of the Church counted for far more than the interests of the Order itself. Together with the rector of Paris, the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, presented himself before the Pope, and truthfully described the destruction of the college, but did not draw therefrom the conclusions wished for by the Spaniards; on the contrary, he begged the Pope, in accordance with the teaching of the Apostle, to return good for evil, and not refuse to be reconciled with Henry, pointing out to him the danger of a French schism.[3] A conciliatory policy, in view of the important issues at stake, was also recommended by Baronius, and others of similar views.[4] Clement VIII. himself considered moderation the best course, and went so far as to inform the Capuchins, Minims and Carthusians, through their Cardinal Protectors, that they might recite the customary prayers for the sovereign.[5] Even the report of Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who returned from Spain on May 16th, that Philip II. was more opposed than

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 109 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 118 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 121; DESJARDINS, V., 207 *seq.*

[3] See the report of P. de Mena in PRAT, V., 66 *seq.* For the work of the Jesuits in the matter of the reconciliation of Henry see *ibid.* I., 233 *seq.*

[4] See *Anonymi de causa Borboniana . . . tractatus in Cod. K. 45 of the Vallicella Library, Rome. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta, 81 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, Melet., 21.

[5] See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 127.

ever to the reconciliation of Henry with the Church,[1] in no way altered the Pope's opinion. The inconsiderate disturbances made by the Spaniards in Rome made even less impression on him; they secretly declared that the Pope had not the right to give absolution to Henry, that he could not do so of himself and that if he did, instead of gaining the obedience of France, he would lose that of Spain. The Spaniards shamelessly sought to bribe the members of the College of Cardinals, and to deceive the Pope as to the true state of affairs, spreading the report that Henry's cause in France was irreparably lost, and that the League was still very powerful.[2] But Clement did not allow himself to be deceived: all the effrontery and threats of the Spaniards had no other effect than to increase his desire to put an end to their tyrannical influence in Rome.[3]

There was thus no longer any threat to the reconciliation from that quarter, yet danger arose in another. The starting of Du Perron had been repeatedly announced by Ossat, and yet the news remained unconfirmed. Ossat had to employ all his skill to explain and excuse a delay that was becoming more and more inexplicable.[4] At the Curia they became nervous, and the suspicion arose that Henry was going to allow the mission of Du Perron to lapse, and that in the end, in France as had been the case in England, things would end in a schism.[5] Ossat found himself in a very painful position, and only breathed again when the long delayed departure and speedy arrival of Du Perron was at last announced.[6]

Du Perron reached the Ponte Molle in the evening of

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 140. *Cf.* the *report of L. Arrigoni, dated Rome, May 20, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 139 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 140.

[4] *Cf. ibid.* 129, 131, 136 *seq.*, 138.

[5] *Ibid.* 147, 150, 151. See also DESJARDINS, V., 197 (*cf.* 307, 316); PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 148.

[6] According to Henri VI., Lettres inéd. au chancelier Bellièvre, ed. HALPHEN, Paris, 1883, 160, the departure of Du Perron was also delayed by want of money.

July 12th, 1595. So far he had avoided all possible risks with the greatest care,[1] but now by the advice of Ossat, he took the deserted road across the fields to the Porta Angelica, and went directly to his hired lodgings in the Palazzo Patrizi. While the curious crowds were still awaiting at the Porta del Popolo the arrival of this long expected envoy, he was hastening to the neighbouring Vatican to have audience of Clement VIII. The Pope was as deeply moved as Du Perron himself. The latter adopted a very modest attitude, and Clement was so delighted that he said he had found a man after his own heart. The audience was hardly ended when the Pope, despite the late hour, gave orders that the Roman clergy should go in procession on the next three days to St. Peter's, the Lateran and St. Mary Major's, and that in these three basilicas, as well as in the national church of S. Luigi, the Forty Hours should be held, in order that the Holy Spirit might enlighten the Pope to decide justly in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV. After this Clement VIII. retired to his chapel to pray.[2]

The Spanish ambassador, Sessa, and his adherents could not conceal their dismay and consternation at the arrival of Du Perron, but they would not yet accept defeat. Sessa redoubled his efforts with the Cardinals, in order to prove to them how dangerous the absolution of Henry would be for Christendom. On July 14th he spent three hours with Cardinal Toledo, and on the following day attacked the Pope himself.[3]

The first official audience of Du Perron and Ossat was fixed for July 16th. They both came with letters from Henry, accrediting them as his special envoys to present to the Pope

[1] *Cf.* DEGERT, 134 *seq.*

[2] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 216; PARUTA, Dispeci, III., 216 *seq.*, 222; L'EPINOIS, 628; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, July 13, 1595, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; Mucantius in DE SANTI, L'orazione delle quarant'ore, Rome, 1919, 202 *seq.*; *Avviso of July 15, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 222, 223 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*; *report of Lelio Arrigoni, July 29, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

his due declarations and excuses, to ask for absolution for their sovereign, and to sign the promises demanded by the Canon Law. The audience passed off to the satisfaction of both parties. Ossat had carefully prepared the ground, and Du Perron was given permission to visit all the Cardinals with the exception of Bonelli, who was known to be an inveterate partisan of the Spaniards.[1]

On July 29th the Pope ordered a continuation of the processions and prayers,[2] and on the same day Du Perron and Ossat had a second audience. They reported as to their conversations with the Cardinals and submitted an official request for the absolution of Henry. Although the latter was now in a far more powerful position than he had been at the time of the mission of Nevers, yet the tone of this document was far more humble and submissive.[3] It began with an account of the steps taken for the reconciliation of the French king with the Church. It told of the mission of the Sieur de Piney in the time of Sixtus V., and of the refusal of Clement VIII. to receive Cardinal Gondi and Vivonne. As Henry was continually exposed to the danger of death, it went on to say, he had turned for absolution to the French bishops, and these had absolved him from censures and from excommunication, after which he had abjured his errors and made a profession of the Catholic faith. As the Duke of Nevers had not been able to obtain the Pope's approval of this act, which had been dictated by necessity, His Majesty, trusting in the paternal kindness of the Pope, now had recourse

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 158 *seq.*; Lettres missives, IV., 359 *seq.*; L'Epinois, 627. The Instructions for Du Perron and Ossat, dated May 9, in Lettres et negotiations de Du Perron, I. 135 *seq.* *Cf.* Polenz, 726 *seq.* A clear *Description of the negotiations of Du Perron, sent by Lorenzo Soranzo to Marcantonio, Bishop of Ceneda, is to be found in the Vallicella Library, Rome; see Lämmer, Analecta, 82.

[2] See *Avviso of July 29, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library, *Cf.* the *report of Arrigoni, July 29, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Opinion of Ranke (Päpste, I.[8], 167).

to His Holiness, and for the love of Jesus Christ, for the complete tranquillity of his soul, for the satisfaction of his subjects, and for the restoration of the peace of his kingdom, humbly asked for his holy blessing and for his supreme absolution from the censures which he had incurred. The king submitted his own person to the requirements of the Pope and of holy Mother Church, as is prescribed in such cases. He begged that allowance might be made for the errors and dangers which had occurred in the ecclesiastical situation in France, where many dioceses, abbeys and parishes had remained vacant, and Church property sequestrated, and where heresy, atheism, barbarism and paganism had run riot, and where a terrible schism, threatening the loss of millions of souls, had gained a footing.[1]

The Pope asked for a copy of the petition, to which he promised to give a reply to the bearers after he had carefully examined it.[2]

The first question which Clement VIII. had to put to himself was whether, and to what extent, he was bound to consult the College of Cardinals as to his decision about the absolution of Henry. Entirely to ignore the advice of the Cardinals in a question of such overwhelming importance did not seem to be prudent. But a full discussion in consistory seemed an even greater risk, since Sessa and his agents would leave no means untried to deceive and intimidate them. They had even allowed themselves to utter threats against Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, who were in charge of the Secretariate of State. According to the opinion of many, the situation was so involved, on account of the intrigues of the Spaniards, that if Henry's petition were brought before the consistory for discussion,[3] it would meet with a refusal.

Therefore Cardinal Medici, after consultation with Du

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 160 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 211, 219 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 231 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*; DU PERRON, Ambassades, I., 149.

Perron, Ossat, and the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini, advised the Pope not to bring the petition before the consistory, but to discuss it with each Cardinal separately, at special private audiences, forbidding any communication on the subject between them under pain of the major excommunication. This method allowed of open discussion between the Pope and the Cardinals, while it placed a barrier in the way of further Spanish intrigues.[1] For this reason Clement VIII. adopted this advice, and at a secret consistory on July 17th he only referred briefly to the arrival of Du Perron, "the envoy of Henry of Bourbon," whose mission he did not as yet fully know; he then announced the meeting of a General Congregation on August 2nd.[2] On July 29th Sessa sent to the Pope a full memorial against the absolution of Henry.[3] To the great surprise of all, Clement VIII. did not say a single word about the French question at the consistory on July 31st,[4] but on the same day he summoned the Spanish Auditor of the Rota, Francisco Peña, to his presence. At this long audience the celebrated canonist once again devoted all his learning to turning the Pope against Henry of Navarre,

[1] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 214 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*

[2] The *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican (now Papal Secret Archives) record on July 17, 1595: "Deinde N. D. N. dixit advenisse ad urbem Peronium Henrici Borbonii legatum; quaenam autem mandata afferat, adhuc S^ti S. non esse satis exploratum; cum ea sibi exposita fuerint, cardinales statim se facturum certiores." According to the version of the *Acta consist. in Cod. Barb. xxxvi., 5, III., the Pope said: "Vos scitis negotium Gallicanum; nos adhuc non dedimus audientiam isti qui venit (dabimus autem quam primum); vix cum advenit in Urbem, fuit ad asculandos pedes nostros, et nihil de his rebus locutus est; cum redierit ad nos, audiemus et videbimus quid afferat, et deinde faciemus congregationem generalem." Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Niccolini in DESJARDINS V., 223.

[3] Memorial of the Duke of Sessa, July 29, 1595, in Borghese, III., 72b, p. 665 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 243.

but Clement VIII. remained of the contrary opinion, on the ground of the great danger of a schism.[1]

At the General Congregation, which was held on August 2nd at the Quirinal, all the Cardinals were present except d'Aragona and Paravicini, who were prevented by illness. Amid the greatest tension of all present, Clement VIII. began to speak, telling in detail the course of the negotiations which had so far taken place with "this prince"—so he described Henry IV. —and spoke so frankly that at certain points Sega and Joyeuse were seen to redden. The Pope remarked that after having for so long supported the League, he had nevertheless been forced to watch the steady rise to power of Henry. He was now master of Paris and of almost all the great cities, and in the event of a rejection of his request for reconciliation was threatening a schism. The Pope then caused to be read by his secretary Canobio the text of the king's letter of November 8th, 1594,[2] translated into Italian, then the credential letters of Du Perron and Ossat, and lastly the petition presented by these two. When the secretary had retired, the Pope adjured the Cardinals, in emphatic words, to weigh well a matter of such great importance as had not occurred for centuries, and not to be guided in their decision by human considerations, by their sympathies for Spain or France, but only as their consciences should direct them for the cause of God and the good of souls. Each of them should ask himself what he would do if he were in the place of the Pope. In order to give them time for reflection, and in order that they might speak freely, he would not ask for their replies at a general meeting, but from each of them separately at a special audience.

In his discourse the Pope had not only repeatedly hinted

[1] Fr. Peña has fully described all this audience in the 2nd volume of his *Notes in the Papal Secret Archives, A. A. Arm. I.-XVIII., n. 4021. *Cf.* also the letter of the envoy of Urbino, A. Geronimo, Rome, July 29, 1595, in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, X. (1870), 740.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 113 *seq.*

at the danger of a schism, in the event of a refusal of the absolution, but he had openly expressed his own opinion by declaring that this was a question *de iure positive*, in which they had to take into consideration that absolution from censures is different from absolution from sins, and that the man now seeking it was not a private individual, but one who was in possession of almost the whole of the kingdom of France, comprising many millions of souls, and that for such a case no law could be brought forward as affording ground for the refusal of the absolution. Repeating his admonition to lay aside all human motives, and to think only of God and His cause, the Pope brought his discourse to an end.[1] He had spoken in so masterly a way that even the Cardinals who were not well disposed towards him could not withhold their praise, and only those members of the Sacred College who were passionately devoted to Spain showed their displeasure.[2]

On the days between August 7th and 23rd the Pope received all the members of the Sacred College in their exact order of seniority; for the most part each audience lasted for an hour and a half or two hours.[3] Throughout the whole of this important period the Pope called for redoubled prayers, and himself fasted and prayed incessantly. Twice, on the feast of Our Lady of the Snow (August 5th), and the Assumption of Our Lady (August 15th), he went early in the morning, barefoot and with a small retinue, from the Quirinal to St.

[1] For the General Congregation of August 2, 1595, *cf.* the *Acta consist (see App. No. 23) and the *Relatione di quello disse il Papa nella congreg. generale alli 2 de agosto 1595 in the 2nd vol. of the Notes of Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives; also the detailed report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 243 *seq.*; PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 243; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 161 *seq.*; DU PERRON, Ambassades, I., 858 *seq.*; *Avviso of August 5, 1595. Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[2] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 249.

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 163; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 254 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*; *report of Arrigoni, August 19, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Mary Major's, where he celebrated Mass, and after remaining for a long time in prayer, returned with bent head and tears in his eyes to his palace, without noticing the crowd which was waiting for his blessing. On the three Sundays, August 13th, 20th and 27th, he said Mass at S. Maria degli Angeli, and then went up the Scala Santa barefooted, and with a devotion that edified all Rome.[1]

In the meantime the fanatical supporters of the Spanish policy were unceasingly declaring that the rigorous decrees of the law must be observed, and that it did not matter whether France perished or not.[2] The Pope thought otherwise, and he laid the agitation of his own soul before the Auditor of the Rota, Francisco Peña, who was on close terms with Sessa, and was working indefatigably on behalf of the view held by the Spaniards. When this violent upholder of the false idea that a relapsed heretic could not be absolved, adjured the Pope on his knees in the name of Sessa to refuse Henry absolution, the Pope dismissed him with the words: "The schism is already here, so we must act without delay."[3]

When he had seen all the Cardinals, there began the decisive conferences between the Secretary of State, Pietro Aldobrandini, and Cardinal Toledo, with Du Perron and Ossat. No one else was summoned to these conferences, which lasted for eight days, which aroused the jealousy of Monsignori Serafino and Lomellini,[4] who had taken part in the earlier negotiations concerning the affairs of France. Both the Pope

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 165; Agostino Valiero in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 45; Mucantius in DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*, 204, and especially the *Avvisi of August 12, 16, 19, 23 and 30, 1595 ("con tanta devotione et compositione che non si potria esprimere"). Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[2] See Agostino Valiero, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 250. *Cf.* also the *Notes of Peña, August 17, 1595, in the 2nd vol. of his collection. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, v. 227.

and Ossat insisted on the strictest secrecy, seeing in this one of the principal conditions of success.[1]

The representatives of Clement VIII. were excellently prepared for the negotiations, as the Pope, with great foresight, had ordered Domenico Rainaldi to collect[2] all the documents in the libraries and the Vatican archives, concerning France and her relations with the Holy See, the prescriptions of ecclesiastical law as to the relations between an ecclesiastical and a civil power, and previous cases of the absolution of an heretical prince.

With regard to certain points, especially the question of the rehabilitation of Henry, it was not found possible even now to reach an agreement, as Du Perron and Ossat had been ordered to offer the strongest resistance on this point. But they were successful in coming to an agreement on the more important questions. The chief credit, according to the declaration of the French negotiators themselves, was due to Cardinal Toledo.[3] The prudent representative of Venice, too, Paolo Paruta, brought his influence to bear on both parties in the cause of peace, and advised them to restrict themselves to the principal questions, in order thus to arrive more quickly at a solution.[4] Both Ossat and Du Perron were able to show, with all the eloquence at their command, that a great kingdom must not be lost for the sake of a few words, nor the salvation of innumerable souls and the authority of the Holy See,[5] be seriously imperilled by delaying the decision.

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 183 *seq.*

[2] D. Rainaldi presented to the Pope the result of his researches with a dedication; see Dominici Rainaldi *Adnotata varia de regno Galliae et consultationes de absolutione Henrici IV. Regin. 382, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta, 58 *seq.*

[3] Du Perron (Ambassades, I., 13) wrote that Toledo had shown himself a good Frenchman, just as Pellevé had once shown himself a good Spaniard.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 224 *seq.*, 273.

[5] The Pope, so said Ossat, wishes to consider "per salvar parole di non perder un così gran regno ne con differir l'assolutione

In this they found themselves in complete agreement with Clement VIII. When they appeared before him at an audience on August 28th the Pope assured them that if necessary he was ready to go himself to France for the absolution of Henry.[1] Even if, on certain points, Clement VIII. would have liked to have obtained more, he could nevertheless be contented with what had been obtained, since, as Paruta reported to Venice, his wishes had been satisfied on all the principal points.[2]

On August 30th the Pope announced in consistory, in view of the fact that more than two-thirds of the Cardinals had expressed themselves favourably, his irrevocable determination to grant the absolution, since Henry's representatives had consented to all the essential conditions. Besides these concessions, which were communicated to the Cardinals, he hoped, he said, to obtain yet more, but those mentioned were sufficient. To the question of Cardinals Gesualdo and Colonna whether these concessions would be carried into effect before the absolution, Clement replied that this was not possible in every case.[3]

Like the Pope, the French envoys too had been unable to obtain all that they had aimed at in the beginning, especially in the matter of the simple confirmation by the Pope of the absolution pronounced by the French bishops. On this point Clement VIII. remained inflexible, and with reason.

lasciarsi più lungamente le cose della religione in confusione ne tante millioni d'anime in via di dannatione ne la propria sua autorità et della Sede Apost. in rovina et perditione. *Memorial di Mons. du Perron et Ossat al sig. card. Toledo" in Borghese, III., 72b, p. 398 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 163 *seq.*, 168 *seq.* A dissertation *Persuasione al [papa] Clemente VIII. di andare in Francia, in Cod. 35 F. 29, p. 169 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 274.

[3] See in App. No. 24 *Acta consist., Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5 III., Vatican Library; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 260; PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 274 *seq.*; *report of Arrigoni, September 2, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

If the absolution of the bishops was valid, then the Pope's confirmation was useless, but at the same time Clement VIII. had the practical common sense to realize that the French bishops took their stand in their illicit act on theological grounds which had a certain appearance of right, especially in the eyes of Henry, who was not experienced in such matters. For this reason it must be stated in the bull of absolution that: though the bishops' absolution had been granted *festinantius et minus rite ac recte*, the Pope had nevertheless rejoiced in it, in that it might result in the desired conversion.

In like manner the way in which the actual formula of absolution was drawn up showed a rigorous adherence to fundamental principles, together with all possible consideration for the penitent. In this the bishops' absolution was declared null, invalid and illicit, and was expressly annulled, but at the same time it was declared that the acts in themselves Catholic and religious, which had been performed after that absolution, and which could only be performed by one who had been absolved, were approved and looked upon as valid, as though Henry had been absolved by the Pope himself.[1]

If in the matter of the absolution Clement VIII. adhered strictly to ecclesiastical law, in the matter of the rehabilitation of the king on the other hand he displayed a prudent leniency. He refrained from any express mention of this point, as well as from the declaration that Henry, in the event of his relapsing, would forfeit the crown. In face of the invincible opposition of the French representatives he also had to pass over[2] other clauses asked for at first, such as the recognition of the nominations made by Mayenne, the unconditional acceptance of the Tridentine decrees, and the suspension of the exile pronounced against the Jesuits. The Holy See,

[1] See Bull., X., 305, 307 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Y DE LA BRIÈRE in *Etudes*, CI., 182. According to Iuvencius (Hist. Soc. Jesu P. V. 1, 12, n. 39) the General of the Jesuits himself, Aquaviva, did not wish the restoration of peace in France to be delayed on account of the demand for the re-establishment of his Order.

as had so often been the case in the past, contented itself with what was attainable. But this was so much that, as Paruta wrote to Venice, every impartial observer was of the opinion that if only the king carried out what he had promised, for a long time past no Pope had won a more important or more glorious success.[1]

There can be no question that it was not easy for Clement VIII. to give way on certain points, but in the end his sacerdotal spirit won the victory over all his hesitation, for he had nothing more at heart than the salvation of souls.[2] The preservation of the Catholic religion in France was only possible by a reconciliation with Henry, whose representatives were ready to give the necessary guarantees for this and for the Catholic behaviour of their sovereign. It only remained then to decide the single question whether the conversion of Henry was absolutely sincere. Clement VIII. was still in doubt as to this, but his confessor, the great Baronius, dispelled his doubts, and in a special memorial pointed out to the Pope that it is only possible to judge of the conversion of a sinner by external signs, and that in the case of Henry these had been sufficiently given by his remaining steadfast in his request for absolution, and insistently repeating it, in spite of the curt refusal he had received at first. To read the secrets of hearts, so Baronius ended his memorial, is not given to human judgment, but belongs only to the wisdom of God.[3]

Besides Baronius, two other men whom he looked upon as the most worthy whom the Church possessed, had had a decisive influence on Clement's decision: Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, whom Clement VIII. had long

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 295.

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of G. RONDONI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., V., 153.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 235. *Cf.* also DESJARDINS, V., 242; BARNABEI, Vita Baronii, 61 *seq.*, Capecelatro, St. Philip Neri, [Engl. ed, 1926], p. 548; LÄMMER, Analecta, 142 *seq.*; CALENZIO, 355 *seq.* for particulars of the dissertations of Baronius on this subject, preserved in the Vallicella Library, Rome.

held in the highest esteem, and Cardinal Toledo. A short time before his death, which took place on May 26th, 1595, Philip Neri had worked hard for the reconciliation ;[1] while Ossat thought so highly of the part played by Toledo, who was so learned in ecclesiastical law, that he said that after God and the Pope, Henry owed his absolution to the persevering labours of the Jesuit. He saw the hand of God in the fact that one who was a Spaniard by birth should have been the one to overcome the indescribable difficulties which came principally from the Spanish party.[2]

The additions which still had to be made to the articles already decided upon referred principally to the guarantees for the personal Catholic behaviour of Henry.[3] As to this it was agreed as follows : I. Henry's plenipotentiaries were to make the customary oath of obedience to the prescriptions of the Holy See and the Church. II. They were to abjure, in the presence of the Pope, Calvinism and all other heresies, and make a profession of the Catholic faith. III. The king was to restore Catholic worship in the principality of Bearn, and

[1] *Cf.* Capecelatro, St. Philip Neri [Engl. ed., 1926], p. 540 *seqq.*

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 165. Fr. Peña was of like opinion with Ossat in his *Notes, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives. Of the treatise composed by Toledo on the absolution of Henry IV. Agostino Valiero says in his work *De paterna caritate Clementis VIII. (*cf. infra*, p. 138 n. 1) : " Quo in libello, ut in aliis doctissimos homines superare consuevit, ita se ipsum superasse visus est " (Cod. BH, 5 of the Library at S. Pietro in Vincoli). The autograph copy of Toledo's first *Parere sulla ribenedizione di Enrico IV., was found by me in Borghese, III., 75, p. 38 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* p. 52 *seq.*, from the hand of Toledo, the beautiful *Dissertation : " An Henricus Borbonius quarto iam ad sedem Apost. veniens sit recipiendus." Not all the French Jesuits were for Henry, as RANKE (Franz. Gesch., II., 17) supposes. Thus the ex-rector of the Jesuit college at Rouen, Jean Machault, as early as February, 1595, had sent to Rome through the nuncio Malvasia a memorial, suggesting the rejection of Henry and the appointment of a truly Catholic king ; see CAUCHIE in Mélanges G. Kurth, I. (1908), 279 *seq.*

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 293.

appoint bishops there without delay, whom he was to maintain at his own expense until such ecclesiastical property should be restored to them as would enable them to live in a fitting manner. IV. Within a year the king was to remove the Prince de Condé from the hands of heretics and entrust him to Catholics to be educated in the Catholic religion and Christian piety. V. The arrangements concerning prebends and other matters were to be maintained and observed. VI. In the case of bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices as to which the king had the right of nomination, the king should not propose heretics nor persons suspect of heresy. VII. He was to publish and observe the Council of Trent, with the exception of such things as could not be carried into effect without disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, should there actually be any such. VIII. The king was to take under his special protection the ecclesiastical body, and not to allow any of the clergy to be opposed or molested, nor have their property sequestrated, but was to provide that throughout the kingdom, wherever it might be situated, it should be forthwith restored. IX. If the king had bestowed on Catholics or heretics, property or castles belonging to the Church, he was to revoke such gifts. X. He was to prove by word and deed his favour towards the Catholics in his disposal of offices of honour and the dignities of the kingdom, so that all might realize that he wished but one religion to exist and flourish in France, namely the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion which he himself professed. XI. He was daily to recite, unless legitimately prevented, a corona of the Blessed Virgin, and on Wednesdays the Litanies, and on Saturdays the Rosary in honour of the Madonna, his heavenly protectress; he was to observe the days of fasting and the other commandments of the Church, to assist daily at Mass, and on feast days at a sung Mass. XII. Four times a year at least he was to go to confession and publicly receive Holy Communion. XIII. In each province of the kingdom and in Bearn he was to establish a religious house of men and another of women, either of some contemplative Order or of the reformed Mendicant Friars. XIV. He was to confirm in France, at

the hands of the legate or of another representative of the Holy See, his abjuration and profession of faith, as well as the promises made by his representatives, and send the deed of ratification to the Pope. XV. He was to inform the Catholic princes of his joy at being received into the grace of the Roman Church, and that he had bound himself by oath to remain for ever in her bosom. XVI. He was to order throughout the kingdom a day of thanksgiving for this great favour that had been granted him by God.[1]

With the acceptance of these articles by Henry's representatives, the "hydra of difficulties," to use an expression of Paruta,[2] had been destroyed, and after unheard-of obstacles the longed for goal had been attained. In spite of this Sessa and his Spaniards again tried at the eleventh hour, to get the absolution once more deferred or at anyrate given in secret. Their efforts were so violent that the French were filled with fears lest the whole affair should once again be endangered.[3] But Clement VIII. stood firm. The wish of Henry's representatives that the solemn proclamation of the absolution should take place on September 8th, the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, could not be satisfied by the Pope, for the Holy See is not wont to hasten matters. The exact tenor of the bull of absolution had first calmly to be decided, together with the acts relating to it, which was done by the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition.[4] After this the Pope, who during all this time had prayed and caused prayers to be said,[5]

[1] See Bull., X., 311 *seq.*; Du Perron, Ambassades, I., 155 *seq.* *Cf.* App. No. 29.

[2] See Paruta, Dispacci, III., 274.

[3] See Niccolini in Desjardins, V., 267 *seq.*; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 163 *seq.* 168.

[4] See *Avviso of September 9, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[5] Extraordinarily characteristic are the words which Clement VIII. addressed, on Sunday, September 3, to his *famiglia*, before giving them Holy Communion. According to the *Avviso of September 6, 1595, he spoke as follows: "Figlioli mei, vi prego et comando a voler fare oratione con me per la attione

decided upon September 17th for the promulgation of the solemn absolution.[1]

When, on Saturday, September 16th, Sessa had his usual weekly audience with the Pope, he complained of the imminent absolution of the enemy of his king. Clement replied that he had decided upon this step after the deepest consideration, because it was his duty to prevent the apostasy of France. Thereupon Sessa declared to the Pope, to his great surprise,[2] that it was his duty to present a protest, in the presence of three witnesses, not against the absolution, but because the recognition of Henry as King of Navarre and Duke of Brittany was a usurpation of the rights of the King of Spain. After this protest had been read Clement only remarked: "We

che son per fare in materie delle cose di Francia, a fine che Iddio la indrizzi per la retta strada et ne faccia esequire quel utile e bene, che io sommamente desidero et bramo, e se pure tale attioni non ha da resultare in servitio di s. div. maestà et della s. chiesa cattolica, prima che pronunci tal parole per tal causa, mi faccia non solo secare la lingua, ma morire ancora" (Urb. 1063, Vatican Library). An *Avviso of September 9, 1595, reports that the Pope had gone on the previous day (Nativity B. V. M.) barefooted to the Lateran and the Scala Santa (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 283. On September 10 Clement VIII. made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches, and on September 12 visited the churches of the Minerva and S. Maria dell'Anima, again barefooted; see *Avvisi of September 13 and 16, 1595, *loc. cit.* An *Avviso of September 2 reports: "N.S. vuole che *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* si riponga una cronica in castello S. Angelo di tutte queste dimande di Navarra." Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[1] In the 2nd vol. of the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives is contained the *Cedula of the invitation which was sent on September 16 "paulo post meridiem per cursores" to the Cardinals and prelates.

[2] "Nihil tale cogitanti de improviso intimavit," says Peña in the 2nd vol. of his *Notes, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives. Here too is the text of the protest.

have heard what you have said,"[1] and gave orders for the preparation of a bull relative to the matter.[2]

On Sunday, September 17th, a great crowd of people filled the Piazza of St. Peter's from early morning, as well as the staircases and court-yards of the Vatican.[3] At the hour appointed there were thirty-four Cardinals present; of those who were in Rome only Paravicini, who was ill, and Bonelli, who wished to show his opposition to the absolution of Henry to the end, were absent. The Sacred College assembled in the Hall of Consistories, where the Pope also made his appearance, in all the pontifical vestments. Followed by the Cardinals and by the whole court, he was carried on the

[1] See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 273.

[2] This is dated September 16, 1596, and is preserved in Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 252b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] With regard to the ceremony of the absolution of Henry IV., which Ranke, even in the new edition of his Päpste (II., 18) wrongly places on December 17, *cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library), who begins his description with the words which originally described the intention of the Curia, but which do not altogether correspond with the facts: "Papa sub porticu S. Petri benedixit et absolvit Henricum IV. et illum *habilitavit ad regnum Galliae et sic regem christianissimum stabilivit* et nominavit," printed in LÄMMER, Analecta, 148 *seq.* See also the Relatione d. reconciliatione assolutione et benedittione del s. Henrico IV. fatta dalla S. di N. S. Clemente VIII. nel portico di S. Pietro domenica alli 17 di settembre 1595 racc. da G. P. MUCANTE, Viterbo, 1595 (copy in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome); MUZIO PIACENTINI, Felicissima benedizione di . . . Enrico IV. fatta da N. S. Clemente VIII., Ferrara, 1595; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 167 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*; DU PERRON, Ambassades, I., 162 *seq.* *Acta consist. only printed in part in LÄMMER, Analecta, 151 *seq.*; *Relacion de la abiuracion in the Papal Secret Archives, in a vol. marked: Enrico Borbone e Clemente VIII.; report of Paruta in his Dispacci, III., 292 *seq.*; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 272 *seq.*; letter of Geronimo Provenzale in *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 247 *seq.*; *Letter of the Mantuan ambassador, September 23, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avviso of September 20, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

sedia gestatoria to the atrium of St. Peter's. The corridors of the Vatican were so crowded that the Swiss Guard could scarcely force a way for the procession.

In the atrium of St. Peter's, which was adorned with tapestries, all the doors had been closed. On the left side, near the central door of the basilica, there was erected a platform on which was placed the throne of the Pope under a baldachino, and approached by three steps. In front of this was the enclosure for the Cardinals, and hard by a picked Papal guard. On this occasion, as formerly on February 24th, 1510, at the absolution of the Venetians by Julius II.,[1] the humiliating ceremonies were omitted. After the customary adoration of the Cardinals, the master of ceremonies led the representatives of Henry, Du Perron and Ossat, to the Pope, whose feet they kissed. Then, kneeling on the lowest step, they read their mandate of proxy, signed by Henry himself, and sealed with the seal of the kingdom. Then Cosmo de Angelis, assessor of the Inquisition, came forward to read the petition signed by Du Perron and Ossat. In this they asked in Henry's name for the Papal absolution from all the censures, under which their sovereign had fallen, by apostatizing in word and deed from the holy Catholic religion. Du Perron and Ossat then confirmed this request themselves. Then the assessor of the Inquisition read in a loud voice the annulment of the absolution given by the bishops at Saint-Denis, the declaration of the validity of the religious acts performed thereafter by Henry, and lastly the declaration of the Pope that he was ready himself to pronounce the necessary absolution after the representatives of Henry had abjured the heresies of Calvin and sworn to the Tridentine profession of faith. This they did upon the holy Gospels before a crucifix. In the same way Du Perron and Ossat swore that Henry had observed the sixteen conditions agreed upon. Thereupon the Papal choir intoned the *Miserere*, and at each verse the Pope, in accordance with an ancient usage still observed in Rome, lightly touched the shoulders of the procurators kneeling

[1] See Vol. VI. of this work, p. 319.

before him with a rod,[1] as an external sign of absolution. He then rose and solemnly intoned the prayers of the ritual and the formula by which he absolved Henry from the major excommunication inflicted on him by Sixtus V., and from all the other censures of the Church, using now for the first time the title of "Most Christian King of France and Navarre." The words of the Pope, which were clearly audible in the intense silence, had scarcely come to an end, when the trumpets and joyous music rang out, mingling with the sound of the bells of St. Peter's and the roar of the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo. While the people broke out into cries of joy, the two procurators once again approached the Pope to kiss his feet. Clement VIII. embraced them and expressed the hope that Henry, to whom he had just opened the gates of the Church militant, would now by his good works open to himself the gates of the Church triumphant and of the kingdom of Heaven. After a notarial deed had been drawn up as to all that had been done, the main door of St. Peter's was opened, and by this door Du Perron and Ossat, accompanied by Cardinal Santori, the Grand Penitentiary, and ten Jesuit penitentiaries of St. Peter's, entered the basilica, to go, amid the singing of the *Te Deum*, to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament and to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, where prayers of thanksgiving were said. A Mass of thanksgiving in the national church of S. Luigi, and fireworks of joy at dusk, brought to an end this important day, which is still recorded by a column of granite, surmounted by a cross, near St. Mary Major's.[2]

[1] "C'est une cérémonie" wrote Ossat (Lettres, I., 238) "qui est au Pontifical, laquelle nous ne sentions non plus que si une mouche nous eut passé par dessus nos vêtements ainsi vêtus comme nous étions."

[2] The monument erected by the abbot of S. Antonio, Ch. Anisson, was originally a tabernacle surmounted by four columns, but it had become so damaged in 1745, that Benedict XIV. had to make provision for it. It stood on the piazza in front of S. Antonio, and was saved from destruction by transporting it within the precincts of St. Mary Major's. *Cf.* G. TOMASSETTI,

It is characteristic of the cool temperament of Clement VIII. that in the midst of the jubilation of the Curia, and the high eulogies expressed by the eloquent Cardinal Agostino Valiero,[1] he did not exaggerate the value of the agreement which, after unspeakable trouble, he had come to with Henry IV. Paruta congratulated him on September 22nd, and pointed out the contrast with the unhappy pontificate of Clement VII., under whom England had been lost to the Church. Another Clement, the Venetian went on to say, could deservedly claim the glory of having re-conquered, by the help of God which he had incessantly implored, and his own wise conduct, a powerful king and a noble nation that were already to some extent separated from the centre of unity, and thus saved countless souls. "God grant," replied the Pope, "that King Henry will show himself a true Catholic, and that he will persevere in his good purpose."[2] His old suspicion of the

La colonna di Enrico IV. in Roma, (Estr. dal *Bullet. d. Commiss. Archeol.*), Rome, 1882; J. DE LAURIÈRE, La colonne dite de Henri IV. à Rome, Tours, 1883; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, La colonne de Henri IV. à Rome, Lille, 1883 (*cf.* Oeuvres, I., 189); L. MALLET-GUY, Charles Anisson et la colonne dite de Henri IV. à Rome, Grenoble, 1912 (from the *Bullet. de la Soc. Archéol. de la Drême*, XII.). The Canzone de la Isabella Cervoni da Colle al s.p. P. Clemente VIII., sopra la benedizione del christ. Enrico Quarto Re di Francia e Navarra, Florence, 1597 (copy in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome), compares the event with the union of the Greeks under Eugenius IV. An *anonymous poem in Vat. 5514, Vatican Library. Laz. Soranzo published an Oratione al Henrico IV. Re di Francia nell'assolutione data a S.M^tà da Clemente VIII., Bergamo, 1596.

[1] *Cf.* *De paterna caterna caritate Clementis VIII. S. P. ergo amplissimum regnum Galliae ad Fridericum card. Borromaeum archiepiscopum Mediolanens. composed by Cardinal Agostino Valiero, in Cod. BH 5 of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli (used by LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 44 *seq.*); also in Vat. 5550, p. 17 *seq.* and Barb. 2511, p. 23 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and in *Carte Strozz.*, State Archives, Florence (see *Carte Strozz*, I., 2, 544).

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 296.

sincerity of the king, which showed clearly in these words of the Pope, actually led to the sending of the bull of absolution being delayed until definite news had arrived of the cordial acceptance by Henry of the agreement.[1] Thus Alessandro Del Bene was unable to set out for France with this important document until November 7th.[2] He took with him at the same time a brief addressed to the French sovereign, dated November 1st.[3]

The bull of absolution is dated September 17th, 1595.[4] This document, one of the most important ever issued by the Papal Chancery, was composed by Silvio Antoniano.[5] It briefly recounts the negotiations leading up to the event, and states in detail the conditions imposed upon Henry IV. The bull begins as follows:

"When We consider the superabundance of the divine grace shown in your conversion, and carefully ponder in Our mind how you have been brought into the light of Catholic truth from the deepest obscurity of error and heresy, as though from an abyss of evil, by a mighty act of the hand of the Lord, We feel Ourselves constrained in our wonder and admiration to exclaim with the Apostle: O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways! (Rom. xi, 33). It is certainly fitting that you too should often meditate upon the great things that the Lord hath done in you, a thing which, as far as we can judge, you have already done. For when you were far removed from salvation, and were dead in sin, He hath quickened you in Christ (Eph. ii, 5), and led you back, by the way of salutary penance and the authority of this Apostolic See, to the unity of the Catholic Church. This thought will rightly lead you to recognize and to profess, to the honour of God, how much you owe to the

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 174. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 324 *seq.*

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 184.

[3] See *Brevia Arm. 44, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Bull. X., 304 *seq.*

[5] See *Cod. 15 M. 43, p. 46 of the Papal Secret Archives.

Father of mercies (2 Cor. 1, 3), who has not abandoned you to the end, who has taken away from you the stony heart, and has given you a heart of flesh (Ez. xxxvi, 26) that you may put off the old man of the time passed in your errors (Eph. iv, 22). Confess too what gratitude you owe to the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, your mother and the mother of all believers, which, forgetful of the many wrongs wherewith she has been afflicted by you, has opened to you her maternal bosom, and the lap of her love, has regenerated you in Christ, and once more welcomed you among her beloved sons, and with great joy has crowned you with glory and honour (Ps. viii, 6). For this was the desire of that pious mother who invited you to her embraces, who prayed incessantly for you, and who was plunged in the deepest sorrow at your spiritual death. And if she, after a just judgment, separated you from her communion, she did so with the most lively sorrow and anguish of heart, as Sixtus V. of happy memory declared before all the world in the letter which he issued against you on the 9th day of September in the first year of his pontificate. In this he expressly says that it was a deep sorrow to him, that, by the duty of his office, he was constrained to employ against you the sword of punishment.

"But the more bitter is the remembrance of that time that is past, all the more sweet is now the joy at your return and your conversion. From the depths of Our heart We thank God who has reserved this joy for the Catholic Church during the time of Our pontificate, and granted to Our unworthiness, after the abjuration of the errors of that wicked man Calvin and the condemnation of all heresies, after the due profession of the Catholic faith, to be able to bring you back, amid the exultation of heaven and earth, to the bosom of that Church. This was always Our most ardent desire, from the day in which the dispositions of divine providence, notwithstanding Our unworthiness and weakness, willed that We should take into Our hands the helm of the universal Church, and preside over His flock.

"To this we were spurred on by the continued conflicts

and sufferings of noble France, as well as by the multifold misfortunes of the Christian community, which steadily increased and gave reason to fear even graver dangers, when a kingdom, once so flourishing, was in so striking a manner struck and divided and weakened by internal discord; so great and notable a part of the Christian community, which nevertheless forms one single body, could not, without the grave injury of the other members, be allowed to fall into ruin, a thing which, if at any time it implied grief and disaster, would have been specially lamentable in our times, when the Church of God is so violently attacked by the Turks and the heretics, the bitter and persevering enemies of the Christian name.

"Therefore We have not ceased to have recourse day and night to the throne of the divine clemency, and to ordain that other pious Catholics and servants of God, exhorted by Us, should do the same, that He, who is rich in mercy (Eph. ii, 4) may be appeased by the prayer of many, and restore peace and tranquillity to that great kingdom, and give it for its head a king who should truly be the Most Christian, truly a son of the Catholic and Roman Church, recognized and obeyed by all."

"I have no words to praise the kindness of Your Holiness as it deserves," says the letter of thanks from Henry, dated November 12th, 1595. "My life henceforth shall have no other purpose than to glorify God by a meritorious obedience, which will restore the Church in France, and give back to the Holy See its prestige and glory. I and my people will always love and venerate Your Holiness." In a second autograph letter of the same date Henry IV. renewed his thanks and his promises.[1] It was a triumph for Clement VIII. when, on December 4th, 1595, he was able to inform the Cardinals assembled in consistory of this assurance. Two days later the Pope himself carried the Blessed Sacrament at the Forty Hours in the Pauline Chapel, where he remained for an hour,

[1] Du Perron, Ambassades, I., 17 *seq.*; Lettres missives, IV., 445 *seq.* *Cf.* Stähelin, 689 *seq.*

praying and recommending to the protection of God, France and Christendom.[1]

It was soon seen that Henry intended to follow his words by deeds, and as early as January 29th, 1596, Clement VIII. was able to show the Cardinals in consistory two important documents in this connexion.[2] One was a royal decree, annulling the prohibition[3] of having recourse to Rome for benefices: the other a letter to Cardinal Gondi concerning the Catholic education of the heir-presumptive to the throne, the Prince de Condé. Soon reports arrived in Rome from Del Bene, according to which Henry resolved to lend no ear to the Gallican remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris against the bull of absolution. The king, Del Bene reported, would be more pleasing to the Pope than any of the preceding sovereigns of France.[4]

After the restoration of peace, it became possible to resume the regular diplomatic relations between France and the Holy See, which had been so long interrupted. Clement VIII. did not wish this to be done by means of a simple nuncio, and on April 3rd, 1596, he appointed Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici as legate *a latere* for France.[5] This distinguished prince of the Church, who nine years later succeeded the Aldobrandini Pope as Leo XI., was charged to obtain the ratification of the promises contained in the bull of absolution.

[1] See *Avviso of December 6, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Barb. lat. 2871, 5, III., Vatican Library. *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, I., 188; Du Perron, Ambassades, I., 19; Desjardins, V., 281. A medal struck at that time shows the busts of Clement VIII. and Henry IV.; see Bonanni, II., 457; Armand, I., 302; Martinori, 4, 36.

[3] *Cf.* for this Mélanges, G. Kurth, I., 292.

[4] See L'Epinois, 636 *seq.* *Cf.* Desjardins, V., 317 *seq.* For the good will of Henry IV., see also the cypher *letter of Cardinal Joyeuse to Cardinal Aldobrandini, dated 1596, February 9 (decif 9 Marzo), in Cod. M. II., 62 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

[5] See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library; *report of L. Arrigoni, April 6, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 238.

He was also given a number of other tasks, such as the bringing about of peace between France and Spain, and the revocation of the expulsion of the Jesuits. But his principal duty was to further the re-establishment of religious conditions in France,[1] which had been terribly shaken during the civil and religious wars. His instructions dealt exhaustively with the points of view which had to be taken into consideration in that respect, and show how well informed they were in Rome as to the abuses, and the comprehensive and radical way in which it was sought to attack them. The reform of the clergy must begin with the bishops and abbots having care of souls. Thus the filling of the episcopal sees must be, among all the duties of the legate, the most responsible, for which he would have to render an account to God. The abuse of the right of nomination, in virtue of the concordat granted to the crown, had provoked the anger of God, and brought about a great part of the evils which had fallen upon France. This abuse had gone to such a length that even women and soldiers had been nominated for the bishoprics; the consequences had been wide-spread simony, neglect of souls, usurpation of jurisdiction, confiscation of ecclesiastical property and general confusion. To this end exhortations and prayers must be addressed to the king, and it must be pointed out to him that the abolition of these abuses was in the interest of the kingdom and the crown. At the same time the legate must bring pressure to bear on the king and his ministers for the promulgation of the decrees of Trent; if insurmountable difficulties arose in this connexion, the matter must not be hastened, but in no way lost sight of. Just as had been done by Pius V. he should in the meantime work for the effective introduction of the decrees of the Council by the appointment of good bishops, the development of the Orders, the choice of good preachers, and the abolition of the abuses in the

[1] See in App. No. 26 the *Instructions for Medici of May 10, 1596, to be found in Pio, 222, Nunziat. div., 239 and Borghese, I., 616, p. 1 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives, and in Cod. 468, p. 84-96, Corsini Library, Rome.

conferring of benefices. At the same time the legate must show that these reforms were in the true interest of the king and his kingdom, and that Henry IV. had expressly promised the promulgation of the decrees of the Council. The whole of the clergy and their well-being was recommended to the king. The instructions then expressed the hopes of the Pope that Henry IV. would not allow himself to be deterred by difficulties, which would certainly not be lacking, from the public profession of the Catholic faith. If Henry IV. would set a good example, it would be a sermon to the whole kingdom. As the king had been brought up as a soldier, he did not know much about matters of religion, and so he must be treated with the greatest consideration and prudence, like a tree that had recently been planted. Since the parliaments assumed an undue authority even over the clergy, it was well to point out that a limiting of such usurpations was in the interests of the crown itself. In order to help France in every way the Pope had granted a special jubilee. The legate must exercise his office gratuitously, as Clement VIII. himself had done in his legation to Poland.

Special briefs recommended the legate, not only to the king, but also to the bishops and the nobility.[1] At the same time, Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, was appointed nuncio in Paris.[2]

On May 10th Medici received the legatine cross and left Rome on the following day; on the 22nd he reached Lyons, where he was given a magnificent welcome.[3] When he was

[1] See the *briefs to Henry IV. the great nobles and the bishops of France, of May 10, 1596, in Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 182, 184 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. In t. 59, p. 5 is the brief to Henry IV. dated May 12, 1596. *Ibid.* p. 1 *seq.* the *bull of faculties for Medici of June 19, 1596. The jubilee for France, May 23, 1596, in Bull., X., 267.

[2] See the *brief to Henry IV. of May 10, 1596, in Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 238 (*cf.* 239-250), Vatican Library.

[3] See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library. For the journey of the legate see the *Diarium P. Alaleonis (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library) who accompanied Medici (*cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI.,

nearing the French capital, an extraordinary honour was paid him: the king himself, with a splendid retinue, including the Dukes of Montpensier, Mayenne and Nemours, went to meet the legate on July 19th, 1596, as far as Montlhéry. On July 21st the Cardinal made his entry into Paris.[1] In spite of the opposition made by the Gallicans, he easily obtained, with the support of Du Perron, who had returned to France at the end of March, the ratification of the bull of absolution,[2] for Henry IV. was resolved to keep his promises.[3] The subsequent reports of the legate, who was fascinated by the courtesy of the king, and with whom he became on the best of terms,[4] gave reason to hope for better times for the Church in France.[5]

24 *seq.*) and the detailed *description of the journey there and back given by Francesco Gregorii da Terni, dedicated on November 14 to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini in Cod. T. 5, 10, n. 1, pp. 1-62, of the Angelica Library, Rome (*cf.* NARDUCCI, 577) and in Vat. 6291, Vatican Library. *Lettere del card. di Firenze legato in Francia, scritte in cifra al s. card. P. Aldobrandini (deciphered), from July 24, 1596, to August 18, 1598, in Nunziat. di Francia 45, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 46: *Lettere del card di Firenze scritte alla piana al card. P. Aldobrandini, from May 18, 1596, to October 27, 1598. The *Lettere missive del card. P. Aldobrandini scritte alla piana al card. di Firenze, from May 21, 1596, to September 4, 1598, *ibid.* t. 44, pp. 1-96, and pp. 97-131, the deciphered **avvertimenti* of Aldobrandini to Medici from June 15, 1596, to May, 18, 1598. *Cf.* also Borghese, I., 646, Papal Secret Archives; and copies in Barb. 5827-28, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* Vatican Library. *Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 25; L'EPINOIS, 641.

[2] See Bull., X., 314 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 315 *seq.* the brief of thanks from Clement VIII., October 13, 1596. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 320. For the departure of Du Perron see *Avvisi of March 20 and 30, 1596, Urb. 1064, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 297; MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 289.

[4] *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 641; MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 297.

[5] The solemn welcome accorded to the legate caused great joy in Rome. See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 304. The ratification

Even in the world of politics, the unhappy nation soon derived great benefits from the reconciliation. As early as January, 1596, there took place the treaty with Mayenne, which involved the dissolution of the League. Even though peace was not restored as soon as had been hoped, and the war with Spain still continued, nevertheless the existence of France as a great power, a thing which for some time had been seriously threatened by Philip II., was now assured. This was of the greatest importance, not only for the political situation in Europe, but also for the Church. When, alongside of Catholic Spain, which, despite many signs of decadence, was still a formidable power, there arose a national Catholic France, the latter acquired once more the influence in the Catholic world that belonged to her. The restored balance of power, moreover, could not fail to be advantageous to the Holy See, which was now able, with every hope of success, to free itself from its irksome bonds, and set itself to the recovery of its complete independence.

was read in consistory on October 7, 1596, and Henry IV. praised see *ibid.* 341. The *Acta consist. report that it was stated in the consistory that the legate had written: "Regem, cum forte deesset mensa, cui scribendo inniteretur, super proprium genu ratihabitionem subscripsisse, ridentemque addidisse: Ubique commode ea scribi, quae libenter et magna voluptate scribuntur." Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library.

CHAPTER IV.

Religious Policy of Henry IV.—Clement VIII. renews Friendly Relations with France.—Revival of Religious life in France.

The civil and religious wars, which had lasted for five and thirty years, had brought France to the brink of the abyss. The beautiful, rich and fertile lands in the valleys of the Seine, Loire and Rhone had been terribly devastated, and that great country, the eldest daughter of the Church, as she called herself, had poured out her blood from a thousand wounds,[1] not only physically, but also morally and in the name of religion.

The condition of France, of which the Venetian ambassador, Pietro Duodo, gives us an impressive picture,[2] was known to Clement VIII. partly from his personal observation during his journey of 1571,[3] and partly from the reports which arrived in Rome in ever increasing number. How well informed the Roman Curia was is clear from a memorial drawn up for Gregory XIV. in March, 1591, which gives an accurate account of the ecclesiastical conditions, furnished with many particulars which fill us with horror.[4] The author had seen with his own eyes, in many different parts of the

[1] *Cf.* Mariéjol, VI., 2, 1 *seq.* The Papal territory too had suffered gravely during the religious and civil wars; see Ch. Perrin, États pontificaux de France au 16me siècle, Paris, 1847, 103 *seqq.* At Avignon 8000 poor were still in need of help in 1597; see *ibid.* 104 *seq.*

[2] Relazione of 1598, in Albèri, App. 73 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 22.

[4] This hitherto unknown document was found by me under the title *Relassioni et rotture dello stato ecclesiastico di Francia et rimedii a risarcirle, in Ottob. 3210, p. 119 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

kingdom, the traces of the terrible fury shown by the Huguenots against the magnificent churches, with which the piety and munificence of the Middle Ages had covered the land. The devastation had been the greatest in Languedoc and the Dauphiné, but elsewhere as well, for example in Orleans and Poitiers, there were to be seen many ruins of religious edifices. In addition to this external destruction the Church had to lament the most serious losses of her possessions. Much of her property was in the hands of laymen and even of the Huguenots, while even those who belonged to the League had taken possession of church property, which they refused to restore.

Even worse than these external losses was the internal harm resulting from the state of the episcopate. The abuse which for a long time past had formed the culminating point of the rights granted by the concordat, cried aloud for vengeance, having resulted in quite unworthy bishops being in charge of many of the dioceses. During the civil and religious wars matters had become sensibly worse. The episcopate was divided into adherents of the League and the adherents of Navarre; many of the bishops who belonged to the League were in exile, while some of the partisans of Navarre had had to leave their cities, when these, as was the case with Rouen, declared for the enemy. The Bishop of Beauvais was imprisoned by his own flock, when he went over to the party of Navarre. Some dioceses, such as Tarbes and Nîmes, were completely in the hands of the Huguenots; the latter were absolute masters in Bearn, where the dioceses of Lescar and Oleron had been suppressed, and where Catholics who still attempted to practise their religion were persecuted even worse than in England.

After the accession of Navarre many of the bishoprics could no longer be filled, and in March, 1591, the dioceses of Rheims, Bordeaux, Coutances, Vannes, Viviers, Grasse, Vence, Montauban and Senez were without bishops. Not a few of the bishops who belonged to the party of Navarre were quite unworthy men, and the ignorance of the Bishop of Tulle was proverbial. The author of the memorial describes the

Bishops of Seez, Mirepoix, Rodez, Béziers and Le Puy as men of quite evil life.

It was a special grace of God that France, even in the midst of these troubles, still possessed many excellent bishops, and the author of the memorial extols as exemplary men the Bishops of Lyons, Mâcon, Soissons, Châlons-sur-Marne, Amiens, Boulogne, Senlis, Laon, Nevers, Avranches, Evreux, Sens, Tours, Dol, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Quimper, Poitiers, Angoulême, Sarlat, Agen, Bazas, Toulouse, Pamiers, Lavaur, Gap, Vienne, Embrun, Glandève and Clermont, the bishop of which, François de Rochefoucauld, like Henri de la Marthonie at Limoges, showed exemplary zeal for Catholic reform.[1]

The French secular clergy, too, afforded the greatest contrasts. The chapters and ecclesiastics in the estates of the aristocracy were for the most part completely worldly, while with regard to the rest of the ecclesiastical body having the care of souls the author gives an account that, on the whole, is certainly too favourable: he says that the great majority were well instructed and of exemplary life, especially those who had studied at the Sorbonne or under the Jesuits. It is indisputable that there was still much that was good among the lower clergy, and this is clear from the fact that that part of the population of France which had remained Catholic clung to its religion with an affectionate loyalty. The author of the memorial bears witness to the zeal with which the churches were attended and adorned, and the sternness with which the people insisted on the sacred offices being well carried out and on the clergy doing their duty.

The old Orders too showed the greatest contrasts. More than any others the Mendicant Orders had suffered from the storms of the times, and their convents were deserted, even in Paris which was so strictly Catholic. The state of the other regulars was less lamentable, except in those abbeys which had been made over in commendam to laymen

[1] *Cf.* the fine work of AULAGNE, La Réforme cath. au 17mo siècle dans le diocèse de Limoges, Paris, 1906. For Cardinal Rochefoucauld *cf. Rev. hist.*, CXL., 70 *seq.*

and even to Huguenots. In some convents of nuns there was an entire lack of discipline, while others were handed over to the mercy of the soldiery. Of great importance for the preservation of Catholicism in France were the Jesuit colleges, which besides the work of the apostolate devoted themselves especially to education. At Bourges they kept the university in being,[1] which was of all the more importance as the university of Paris had suffered gravely: instead of thirty or even forty thousand students, it could count scarcely a thousand!

The general picture drawn by the memorial was a sad one. The convents of the Mendicant Orders were disappearing altogether as time went on, as in Germany, and there was reason to fear a complete ruin of the clergy unless God came to their assistance: nor was this estimate unduly pessimistic, for other reports, from both secular and ecclesiastical sources, fully corroborated this view.[2] Above all the Venetian ambassadors described the sad state of affairs, and pointed out as the fundamental cause the abuse of the concordat on the part of the kings of France. When the bishoprics were filled only by the creatures of the king, the abbeys reduced to commendams, and the king had become the master of the Church, there was bound to follow a disastrous decadence which paved the way for the Huguenots, and which, thanks to them and the disturbances which ensued, went from bad to worse.[3]

Immediately after the reconciliation of Henry IV., Clement VIII. resolved to spare no effort to provide for the religious needs of France. A great part of the conditions imposed upon the king at the time of his absolution had only this end in view, and at Easter, 1596, Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici was sent as legate to France to carry them into effect. His instructions exhorted the legate to work, both

[1] *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, II., 412.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Cardinal Caetani to Henry IV. in SAGGIATORE, I., 1 (Rome, 1844), 196.

[3] See the Relazione of P. Duodo, mentioned *supra* p. 147, n. 2. *Cf.* also DE MEAUX, 335 *seq.*, THOMAS, Concordat, III., 198 *seq.*

for the improvement of the clergy (especially the higher clergy), and for the restoration of religious unity, though he was to act with prudence and well-weighed moderation.[1]

Rarely had any representative of the Holy See been entrusted with a more difficult task. The state of disorder and abandonment in which the Church in France found herself was described to the king by the Bishop of Le Mans, Claude d'Angennes de Rambouillet, in the name of the assembly of the French clergy, in his discourses of January and May, 1596. Of the fourteen archbishoprics, half were without pastors, and some had been so for fourteen or fifteen years. Of about a hundred bishoprics, from thirty to forty were vacant, while others were filled by men who were neither worthy nor canonically elected, while most of them were badly administered. The state of the abbeys was equally sad. A single inquiry in twenty-five dioceses had shown that a hundred and twenty abbeys were either without abbots, or were held by laymen, whose only care was to collect their revenues. The convents of women were in similar disorder, and the abbesses were to a great extent the daughters and friends of the king's mistresses. The external losses were in keeping with the moral devastation. Church property was often held by laymen: innumerable churches had been sacked, pillaged and even totally destroyed by the Huguenots.[2]

Henry IV. was very far from being blind to the sad ecclesiastical conditions which were thus described to him on such competent authority. The evil is even greater than you describe it, he replied to the remonstrances of the clergy; a radical remedy can only be found in the promulgation and application of the decrees of Trent. This long-standing and righteous demand of the Holy See had hitherto always met with an opposition in France that was quite unreasonable,

[1] See the *Instructions for Medici, May 10, 1596 (Papal Secret Archives), in App. No. 26. *Cf. supra* p. 143 *seq.*

[2] See Recueil général des affaires du clergé de France, I., Paris, 1634, 184 *seq.*, 198, 620; PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 77; DE MEAUX, Luttes relig., 336; *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XCVI. (1914), 72.

since the Council of Trent had limited itself entirely in its prescriptions to spiritual matters, and only on some points, when no other course was possible, had indirectly touched upon civil or mixed questions, but in such cases the Holy See had always shown its readiness to come to an accommodation.[1]

Pius IV., Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., each in his own way had worked for the promulgation and carrying out of the decrees of the Council of Trent, but they had not been successful. Even when at the meeting of the States General at Blois in 1576 the bishops of France had asked for the publication of the reform decrees of Trent, they had not had the least encouragement from Henry III., while again, in spite of the energetic action of the clergy at the assembly at Melun, the Gallican party, which dominated the Parliament, was able to persuade the government to prevent these necessary prescriptions from being put into force. One result, however, had been attained: the French clergy were now definitely on the side of the Holy See.[2]

Clement VIII. made use of his reconciliation with Henry IV. to make a fresh attempt to obtain what his predecessors, including Sixtus V. with all his wonted energy, had vainly sought after.[3] The acceptance of the decrees of the Council by the assembly of the states of the League, on August 8th, 1593, had once more been annulled by the Parliament.[4] But Clement VIII., among the conditions for granting the absolution, once more expressly included the promulgation and carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent; he showed, however, by allowing the clause "with the exception of things which cannot be enforced without disturbing the peace of the kingdom," that he was ready to take into account, in matters that were mixed in character, the reasonable demands of the civil power.

[1] See De Meaux, 371; Thomas, Concordat, III., 223 *seq.*

[2] See Martin, Gallicanisme, 38 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 196 *seq.*; Vol. XIX., p. 554.

[3] *Cf.* Tempesti, Sisto V., II., 146 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 285 *seq.* See also L'Epinois, 202 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*, and Martin, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.*

[4] See Martin, *loc. cit.*, 258 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*, 270.

After the ratification of the bull of absolution, one of Henry IV.'s most loyal servants, Ossat, strongly urged him to begin the publication of the decrees of Trent, a thing which could only be advantageous both to the king himself and to his kingdom. Nothing would delight the Pope more, or be more displeasing to the Spaniards, than the fulfilment of this promise; moreover, the opposition would not be as great as was feared. Those who objected that the Council injured the rights of the king and the liberties of the Gallican Church, would have great difficulty in specifying what they feared. The matter did not concern the Huguenots, as they already had the edict of 1577, as well as the above-mentioned clause, while as for the actual execution, the Pope, like any prudent person, realized that after the recent disturbances this could only be done gradually.[1]

Although Ossat, who was aiming principally at the political aspect, looked upon the promulgation of the decrees of the Council as more important than their actuation, the Pope and the legate, Medici, on the contrary, were rightly of another opinion. In their full realization of the grave religious wounds of France, they were more concerned with a radical if gradual remedy, than with spectacular but only apparent results. How deep these wounds were may be seen from a general survey of the state of the dioceses at the end of 1596. In spite of the efforts of Medici, though they were often crowned with success, there still remained forty bishoprics in the hands of laymen.[2] It was extraordinarily significant that just at that time Lesdiguières, a notorious Protestant, and governor of the Dauphiné, could have asked for investiture of the archbishopric of Embrun, as the most natural thing in the world.[3] Fully realizing the difficulties which Henry IV. must meet with in depriving his adherents of their episcopal titles, Medici tried, with the consent of the

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 349 *seq.*

[2] See MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 292.

[3] See *ibid.*, 291.

Pope, to indemnify them with pensions. He was not disturbed by the fact that in so doing he met with opposition from certain of the prelates. "One remedy at a time: what is above all pressing is to have good bishops" was Medici's reply.[1] But at the same time the legate did not neglect to apply remedies to other abuses, and in this, which made but slow progress, he never lost sight of the promulgation of the decrees of the Council, a thing of which he was repeatedly reminded from Rome, as being the most essential thing. In March, 1597, he took advantage of a favourable opportunity to bring this home to Henry IV. in eloquent words. The king replied that he would have kept his promise, but that over-haste might endanger everything. After the Treaty of Vervins had restored peace to France (May 2, 1598), the Pope addressed himself to Henry in an autograph letter of June 27th,[2] and by a brief of August 17th, and adjured him to set himself finally to the work of promulgation.[3] But the king firmly adhered to what he had said to the prelates in September 1598, when they had brought pressure to bear on him: "have patience and confidence, for Paris too was not built in a day."[4]

The question whether such confidence was justified may

[1] *Report of Medici to Aldobrandini, July 13, 1597, Nunziat. di Francia, 46, p. 120, Papal Secret Archives, used by MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 292. We have an excellent account of the procedure adopted by Medici in a dissertation written by an unknown member of his suite: *Historia ovvero ragguaglio della legatione fatta nel regno di Francia a Enrico IV. per mons. ill. Alessandro di Medici card. di Firenze sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII. l' anno VI, messa insieme da un suo intrinseco familiare, in Pio, 225 (now 150), pp. 56-133, Papal Secret Archives. MARTIN (*loc. cit.*) rightly attaches great weight to this narrative. V. MARTIN gives a detailed description of the legation of Medici in his article: La reprise des relations dipl., II., 233 *seqq.*

[2] *Borghese, II., 491, p. 15, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Arm. 44, t. 42, p. 176b, *ibid.*; excerpts in MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 298 *seq.*

[4] See MARTIN, 302.

best be decided by a cursory glance at the religious policy of the first Bourbon king.[1]

After the absolution of Henry IV., it was a case, before all else, of fulfilling the conditions which the Pope had attached to the absolution; these conditions of Clement VIII. were concerned partly with the king himself, and partly with the government of his kingdom. As far as the former were concerned, it is certain that, even though the king's own morals showed no improvement, he nevertheless behaved absolutely as a Catholic. He heard Mass every day, and assisted at High Mass on feast days; he also received the sacraments, and even, it is certain, with signs of great devotion.[2]

Henry would also have wished to have fulfilled the promise concerning his government, but only did so in so far as it seemed possible to him to do so without injury to his political interests.[3] The Prince de Condé, still the heir presumptive to the throne, was brought up as a Catholic;[4] the edict of Traversy, in May 1596,[5] ordered the re-establishment of Catholic worship in those places where it had been suppressed. Henry surrounded himself almost exclusively with Catholics, and generally gave them the preference in conferring office, as well as encouraging conversions from Calvinism to the Catholic Church.[6] On the other hand there were not wanting inconsistencies which were hardly surprising in a man so

[1] See for what follows especially De Meaux, Luttes relig., 339 *seq.*

[2] The secretary of P. Aldobrandini reports that when Henry IV. received Communion at the celebration of his marriage at Lyons "non haverebbe un cappuccino potuto nè stare alla messa ne ricevere il ss. sacramento con maggior divotione"; see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 120.

[3] Philippson in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 88, clearly brings out this fact which has escaped so many writers.

[4] See Duc d'Aumale, Hist. des princes de Condé, II., 222 *seq.*, and Documents, 433 *seq.*; Bremond, II., 354 *seq.*

[5] Y. de la Brière, L'Edit de Nantes, in *Études*, XCVIII., 767.

[6] *Cf.* Serbat, Les assemblées du clergé, Paris, 1906, 327.

far out of touch with ecclesiastical matters as the first of the Bourbons. Above all, his use of the concordat, as of old, was not altogether blameless, while the country had to wait, not only for the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees and the restoration of the Catholic Church in Bearn, but also for the foundation of the convents in each province.

But if all these things gave the Pope cause for complaint, though he fully realized the difficult position of Henry IV., he was far more troubled by the concessions which the king thought himself obliged to make to the Huguenots.

The king undoubtedly wished for the restoration of religious unity in France no less than Clement VIII., but this was only possible by the return to Catholicism of the Huguenots, who formed about a twelfth part of the entire population.[1] But if the king wished to attain this end only by peaceful means, and by pacifying the Huguenots, and was prepared to make concessions to them, the Pope, as the supreme guardian of the faith, looked upon any concessions to the former mortal enemies of the Church as supremely dangerous, and always urged the use of the severest measures.

Even before the absolution of Henry, Clement VIII. had asked of him, though in vain, a promise to prohibit Protestant worship throughout France, and the exclusion of the Huguenots from all the offices of state. When, in the autumn of 1596, the King of France, who was being seriously threatened by the Spaniards, gave way before the impatient Huguenots,

[1] See MARIÃÉOL, VI., 1, 86; Y. DE LA BRIÈRE (*loc. cit.* 761) reckons for the year 1589, out of a total number of inhabitants of about 14 millions, 1,250,000 Huguenots. According to a *Summary of 1610 in the Library at Brussels (No. 10741), that PHILIPPSON published in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 91, the number of reformed parishes in 1610 was 760. The statements in RANKE, Papste, II[8]., 279, and Französ. Gesch., II., 57, are to some extent contradictory. The division was rather irregular; in the provinces to the south of the Loire the Huguenots were more numerous than elsewhere. Besides Béarn their principal head-quarters were in Languedoc, Lower Guienne, Poitou and Saintonge.

and caused the Parliament of Rouen to register the edict of 1577, Ossat had the greatest difficulty in pacifying the indignant Pope.[1] But his position was to become even more difficult: on March 7th, 1597, a few days before the capture of Amiens by the Spaniards, he was ordered to explain to the Pope that in view of the Spanish invasion worse danger could only be avoided by the king's making even greater concessions to the Huguenots, in view of their threatening attitude, than those contained in the edict of 1577.[2]

Henry knew the Huguenots too well not to be aware that they would not shrink from even the most extreme measures if he did not make them further concessions. During his campaign for the recovery of Amiens he fully realized what was involved by the hostile, or at anyrate the indifferent attitude of a part of the population, which though a minority, was by no means negligible.[2] The anxiety which beset the king when the Huguenots refused their assistance in resisting the Spanish invasion, was increased when he saw how, trusting in the support of England and the Netherlands, they replied to all his exhortations with ever increasing demands.[4] Henry found himself obliged to enter into negotiations with them, and during the summer of 1597 was forced to make them those important religious and political concessions which found their final form in the Edict of Nantes which he signed on April 30th, 1598.[5]

[1] See Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, L'Edit de Nantes, in *Études*, XCIX., 49.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 144. *Cf.* A. DEGERT, Le card, d'Ossat, Paris, 1894, 236-239.

[3] See STÄHELIN, 736.

[4] See MARIÉJOL, VI., 1, 417; DE MEAUX, 292 *seq.*

[5] Original in National Archives, Paris, J., 943, n. 2; the text has often been printed, e.g. in ANQUEZ, Hist. des assemblées polit. des réformés de France, Paris, 1859, 456-502, and in AGNESSE, Hist. des Parlements de France, IV., Paris, 1886, 601 *seqq.* *Cf.* STÄHELIN, 747 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 297 *seq.*; HOLTZMANN, Französ. Verfassungsgesch, 472 *seq.* The plentiful special literature from the 17th century down to FAUREY, Henri IV. et L'Édit de Nantes

This edict, which was to become so celebrated, laid it down that Catholic worship was to be restored throughout the kingdom and in all those places where it had been suppressed, and that the Catholics were to be given back all the buildings and revenues of which they had been deprived. But it also enacted that "the adherents of the so-called reformed religion"[1] as it is always spoken of in this document, could live in all parts of the kingdom without being molested in any way on account of their religion. They were also to be eligible for all dignities and offices which were not ecclesiastical. Their aristocracy, which enjoyed the greater jurisdiction, were to be free to practise the Calvinist religion on their own estates, both for themselves and their subjects; moreover, the Huguenots were to have the right to their own worship in all the royal cities, and those places where they actually were in the exercise of it in the years 1596 and 1597, besides those places mentioned in the treaty of Nérac (1579), and places directly subject to the jurisdiction of the Parliaments. On the other hand this worship was forbidden at the king's court, in Paris and within a radius of five miles of the capital, in the episcopal cities, in the territories beyond the Alps, and in the army, with the exception of districts commanded by reformers. No difference was to be made on account of religion in admission to the universities, schools and hospitals. The Huguenots were to abstain from traffic and business on Catholic festivals, they were to observe the matrimonial impediments of consanguinity of the Catholics, and fulfil their duty of paying tithes, but they were not to be attacked in the pulpits, nor their sons taken away from them for education. They could hold consistories and synods, have their own cemeteries, and set up schools and printing

(Bordeaux, 1903), in Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, l'Édit de Nantes, in *Études*, CXVIII., 759 *seqq.*, who gives a good account of the treaty. P. E. VIGNEAUX in the *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXV. (1909) issue of March-April, proves that all the documents relating to the Edict of Nantes, of April 30, 1598, were signed by Henry IV.

[1] "De la religion *pretendue* réformée."

presses, but naturally only in places where they had the free right of worship. Disinheritance on account of religion was to be invalid. In the Parliament of Paris and elsewhere special courts were to be set up for the settlement of Protestant causes, in which half the officials were to be reformers. As a mark of special favour Henry granted the Huguenots 45,000 scudi a year as stipends for their preachers, and permission to retain by way of surety for eight years their eighty-four fortresses, some of which, such as Montpellier, Montauban and La Rochelle, were very strong; there was to be a further 29,000 for the maintenance of the garrisons and commandants appointed by the king. Thus the treasury of the state, which was nominally Catholic, was called upon to guarantee the safety of this small but strong minority, which was able to oppose 25,000 men to the royal army, which in peace time only counted 10,000.[1]

Henry IV. realized the necessity of making excuses for the Edict of Nantes to the Cardinal legate, Medici, and he did so by saying that he had no other way of disarming his rebel subjects. The Cardinal legate who was acquainted with the state of affairs in France from his personal observation, and who was strongly inclined in favour of the king and trusted him,[2] was satisfied with this explanation. He was of opinion that this agreement, though in itself very regrettable, was necessary for the maintenance of peace, but he did not conceal from the king that the Pope would be very grieved by it, and would not be able to understand that it had been necessary to act in this way. "His Holiness" replied Henry IV., "will come to see that the edict in no way corresponds to my own wishes, and I will prove it by delay in carrying it out."[3] Cardinal Medici, who was convinced of Henry's sincerity, only begged him to put off its promulgation until after his own departure from France, which was

[1] "L'État catholique faisait les frais des garanties qui etaient prises contre lui," says MARIÉJOL (VI., 1, 419).

[2] *Cf.* MARTIN, Relations, II., 256 *seq.*

[3] See L'EPINOIS, 648.

to take place at the beginning of September, 1598, which Henry agreed to do.[1]

In order to pacify the Pope, Henry IV. explained to him as clearly as possible the political necessity for the edict, showing how the Huguenot party still had deep root in the kingdom, and was so robust and strong, even in its foreign connexions, that it could not be neglected; he also showed how, on the other hand, he had done all he could to favour Catholic interests.[2]

Clement VIII. adopted an attitude of reserve, and did not trust Henry. The news brought to him by the Spaniards was very alarming; they exaggerated the concessions made to the Huguenots, and were silent as to the advantages for the Catholics contained in the edict. The Pope addressed serious remonstrances to Ossat: even though he did not know the exact terms of the edict, a measure that favoured the Calvinists was in any case an evil thing, and Henry IV., considering his own past history, should have been more on his guard than any other sovereign against so harmful and damaging a step: it was only too easy to believe that he was protecting heresy. "It grieves me exceedingly," the Pope concluded, "to have to hear of such things; write in that sense to His Majesty."[3]

The King of France, in issuing the Edict of Nantes, had been actuated by purely political motives, and the agreement was in his eyes a political expedient for the preservation of peace in his kingdom.[4] The step he had taken was an entirely novel thing, for civil tolerance by law of persons

[1] See De Meaux, 318 *seq.* *Cf.* Martin, Gallicanisme, 301. For the return journey of Medici see "Relazione del passagio per gli stati del duca di Savoia e degli onori ricevuti dal card, Aless. de Medici nel suo ritorno dalla legazione ad Enrico IV., con un saggio di epigrammi." Turin, 1889.

[2] See Z. Denais-Dareste, Un État dans l'État. Les protestants français sous Henri IV., Paris, 1903, 48, and also Y. de la Brière in *Études*, XCIX., 51, n. 1. *Cf.* De Meaux, 407.

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 589 *seq.*; De Meaux, 319.

[4] See Paulus, Protestantismus u. Toleranz im 16. Jahrh., 343.

belonging to another religion was quite unheard-of in those times.

We cannot be surprised that the Pope, as the supreme guardian of the faith, should have received with sorrow and anxiety the news that the Most Christian King had abandoned the principle of religious unity in his kingdom, and it was also entirely comprehensible that Clement VIII., in his judgment of the matter, should have adopted a strictly dogmatic and canonical attitude.[1] According to this the civil power had no authority to tolerate heretical worship, nor to issue unilateral decrees on such a matter. Henry IV. appealed to the fact that the Edict of Nantes only amplified an already existing and accepted law, such as was to be found above all in the edict of 1577. But in so doing he forgot that the Holy See had never recognized the edict of 1577, and that this had been annulled by the Treaty of Nemours in 1585. Moreover, the Edict of Blois of 1588 had expressly prohibited Protestant worship and the admission of the Huguenots to offices of state. The concessions which had been made to the Huguenots, first by Henry III. in 1589, then by Henry IV. in 1591, and 1594, and lastly by the Edict of Nantes, were incompatible with the Edict of Blois, which had been accepted as one of the fundamental laws of the Kingdom of France. If we further bear in mind that with the Edict of Nantes the Pope found himself confronted with an accomplished fact, we can understand how it was that Cardinal Medici, when he returned at the end of 1598, was unable to dispel the anxieties of the supreme head of the Church.[2]

Clement VIII.'s grief was increased by the news that Catherine, the sister of Henry IV., and a Calvinist, notwithstanding an express Papal prohibition,[3] and without seeking

[1] See De Meaux, 319, and especially Y. de la Briúre, *loc. cit.*, 51 *seqq.*, whose account I reproduce in what follows. With regard to the position of the Church towards liberty of belief in general see Hergenröther, Kirche u. Staat, 617 *seqq.*

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 610; II., 25.

[3] See the *briefs to the Duke of Lorraine, August 10, October 8, and December 30, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, nn. 217, 229, 282, Papal

the necessary dispensation from consanguinity, had married[1] the elder son of the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Bar, who was a Catholic. In these circumstances, Joyeuse[2] and Ossat found themselves in a difficult position in Rome, all the more so as the opposition of the Parliament of Paris and the French clergy to the Edict of Nantes had raised hopes in the Curia that even at the last moment the concessions would not be carried into effect. Ottavio Bandini, who had been left in France by the Cardinal legate as his representative, laboured with all zeal to bring this about, but to no purpose.[3]

In the second half of March, 1599, soon after Clement VIII., in accordance with the wish of the King of France, had honoured Ossat and Sourdis with the purple, news reached Rome that Henry IV. had overcome the resistance of the clergy and the Parliament to the Edict of Nantes, and on February 25th had caused the treaty to be registered by the Parliament of Paris.[4] After this, on March 17th, the Pope

Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.*, nn. 219, 297, the *briefs to the Cardinal of Lorraine of August 10 and October 8; also that to the Duke of Bar of October 8 in Lettres d'Ossat, II., 179.

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 27. D'Ossat laboured for years to obtain a dispensation, but Clement VIII. obstinately refused it. He only gave way when he was shown a precedent of the time of Gregory XIII. obtained by the intervention of Charles Borromeo (see the *report of Paravicini to Vienna, dated Rome, 1603, December 20, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., 10, and Lettres d'Ossat, II., 660 *seq.*); but Catherine died as early as February 13, 1604 (see Lettres d'Ossat, II., 665).

[2] The return of Joyeuse to Rome is reported by an *Avviso of February 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. In the summer he again left the Eternal City; see Lettres d'Ossat, II., 71.

[3] See the reports of O. Bandini to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini in *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. II., 426 *seqq.*

[4] See the letter of O. Bandini to P. Aldobrandini, March 2, 1599, *loc. cit.* 455 *seq.* With regard to the small concessions made to the Parliament of Paris, and the acceptance of the Edict on the part of the provincial parliaments see MARIÉJOL, VI., 1, 422 *seq.* *Cf.* DE MEAUX, 314 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*

summoned Cardinals Joyeuse and Ossat to an audience, as the representatives of France. Showing more sorrow and anxiety than anger, Clement VIII. enumerated the concessions made to the Huguenots, which had been done at a time of internal and external peace, without the least necessity on the part of the king. By means of the liberty of conscience which the edict granted to all, the Calvinists would be able to make their way into the offices of the government and Parliament, propagate their errors, and put obstacles in the way of Catholic measures. Clement VIII. drew a contrast between the zeal of the French king in defending the Edict of Nantes against the resistance of the clergy and the Parliament, and his cold reserve when it was a question of introducing the decrees of the Council of Trent. What figure would he, the Pope, now cut before the world, when, in face of the opposition of the greatest and most powerful sovereign of Europe, he had absolved Henry IV.? He might yet take a step back, and act in a contrary sense.[1]

The two Cardinals employed all their eloquence in defending their king and pacifying the Pope. Henry too, they cleverly pointed out, aimed at the return of his subjects to the Catholic religion, but this could only be done by degrees, and by steering a course like a skilful helmsman, who is always making for port, even though he cannot attain to it directly. The king had no intention of offending against the rights of the Church; he was only aiming at the preservation of peace in his kingdom, by which means alone it would be possible to restore the position of the Catholic Church. The edict had been extorted from him by the threatening attitude of the Huguenots during the Spanish invasion.

When in the course of the discussion the Pope spoke of the publication of the reform decrees of Trent, Ossat and Joyeuse assured him that their king had the best intentions in this respect, but that for the moment the solution of the question was not yet possible.[2] In the time to come it was shown

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 44 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

more and more clearly that Clement VIII., like Pius V. in similar circumstances, insisted upon a definite support of the efforts for Catholic restoration in France, as a counterweight to the dangers of the Edict of Nantes. In order to satisfy the Pope, Henry IV. promised to co-operate in this, and said so in the reply which he made on November 6th, 1599, to the complaints of Clement VIII. In this he said that his intentions and his conduct had been falsified by those who were guided more by their own interests than by those of religion. He had drawn up the edict in such a way that the chief advantages would come to the Catholic religion, as had already begun to be the case.[1]

It was a fact that Henry IV. had seriously begun, in accordance with the Edict of Nantes, the restoration of Catholic worship in those places in the various provinces of France where it had been suppressed by the Huguenots. It is estimated that as a result of this, in no less than three hundred cities and a thousand parishes the practice of the Catholic religion had been reintroduced, after having been prohibited for fifteen years.[2] In this task Henry met with extraordinary difficulties in his own principality of Bearn, where the Calvinists had been masters for a generation, and showed themselves determined to maintain their violent oppression of the Catholics. The king left them the Church property, but undertook the maintenance not only of the two new bishoprics of the province, but of twelve parishes as well. Later on he summoned from Italy to act as missionaries religious of the Order of the Barnabites, at whose head was the Bearnais, Fortunat Colomb, who had been converted by Ossat and was recommended by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo. But it was after a considerable time that these

[1] See Lettres missives, V., 183 *seq.*; De Meaux, 333.

[2] See Palma-Cayet, Chronologie novennaire: *Collect. Michaud* 1st. ser. XII., 48. *Cf.* Y. de la Brière in *Études*, XCIX., 56 *seq.*; Dunan, Études sur le rétablissement de la messe a la Rochelle en 1599 d'après le manuscrit inédit du pasteur Jacques Merlin, c.s., 1868. For the Dauphiné see Ch. Dufayard, Le connétable de Lesdiguières, Paris, 1892.

religious, despite their zeal, met with success in a country where for so long every outward sign of Catholic life had been forbidden under the severest penalties, and where they found themselves face to face with the most inveterate adversaries.[1] In 1604 the state of affairs was still far from satisfactory.[2]

When, by the Peace of Lyons in 1601, the province of Gex, where the Genevans had robbed and oppressed the Catholics, itself became Catholic, the day of liberation for the adherents of the ancient Church at last dawned. Francis of Sales

[1] See POYÉDAVANT, Hist des troubles survenus en Béarn, II., 333, 353, 361, 394; MIRASSON, Hist. des troubles de Béarn, Paris, 1768, 149, 153 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 341 *seqq.* The Edict of Fontainebleau concerning the restoration of the Catholic Church in Béarn, dated 1599, April 15, is printed in Bull. de la Soc. Hist. des protestants de France, XLVII. (1898), 332 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Relatio status ecclesiae et catholicorum principatus de Bearne S.D.N. Clementi VIII., preserved among the papers of Fr. Peña, and which contains bitter complaints of the attitude of Henry IV. Here it is said among other things: "Episcopi Olorens. et Lasurens. carent redditibus suarum ecclesiarum atque auctoritate et decore episcopali et absque canonicis coadiutoribus quasi depicti et despecti vivere compellentur." The document concludes: "Propter praedictas causas quidquid a quinque annis et citra aedificari coeptum fuit in illo principatu pro fide catholica restituenda et stabilienda, manifeste ruit et catholici valde frigescunt et quasi desperant iam se posse videre in suis oppidis liberum catholicae religionis exercitium. . . . Supradictis malis remedium a V.S. adhiberi postulat Arnoldus episcopus Olorens. et praesenti circa tria principaliter provideri: Primum quod capitulum canonicorum suae ecclesiae restauretur et in antiquum statum sicut esse solebat reducatur. . . Secundum quod seminarium sive collegium illud haereticorum omnino eradicetur et tollatur. . . . Tertium quod in toto principatu detur libera et tuta facultas verbum Dei praedicandi et sacra celebrandi cum idonea provisione pro catholicis ministris et praedicatoribus, qui populum doctrinam sanam et puram doceant et bonis moribus imbuant." The document was sent with marginal notes to the Pope on September 14, 1604; it was resolved to write on the subject to Henry IV. AA. Arm. I.-XVIII., 4020, p. 267 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

himself, who was held in high esteem by Henry IV., helped to overcome the scruples of Villeroi, the minister of foreign affairs, and to obtain for the Catholics the right to practise their religion once more, where they were in sufficient numbers.[1]

In his letter of November 6th, Henry IV. had held out to the Pope the prospect of the publication of the decrees of Trent. This assurance, and still more the report of the Bishop of Modena, Gaspare Silingardi,[2] who had been appointed nuncio in Paris on February 9th, 1599, made a deep impression upon Clement VIII., who thought that the time had come to bring pressure to bear with renewed energy. On December 15th, 1599, he addressed to Villeroi, Bellièvre and other councillors of Henry IV., urgent briefs, in which, besides the recall of the banished Jesuits, he asked above all, for the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent. No more efficacious means for the renewal of the broken ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of the Catholic Church could be found than the granting of these two requests. The salutary influence of the Jesuits was so evident that even the enemies of the Order entrusted to them the education of their sons. As for the decrees of the Council it was a groundless pretext to say that the civil power would be injured by them. Wherever the decrees had been promulgated it was impossible to point to anything of the kind, and least of all had France any reason for fear, where the bishops were nominated by the king. On the contrary, the carrying out of the decrees

[1] See PÉRENNÈS, François de Sales, II., 12 *seq.*, 40 *seq.* *Cf.* BENOIT, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, I., Delft, 1693, 359-371; ANQUEZ, Hist. des assemblées polit. des réformés de France, Paris, 1859, 300-303; FAUREY, Henry IV. et l'Édit de Nantes, Bordeaux, 1903, 63. J. Nouaillac, the most recent biographer of Villeroi, shows how he, so good a Catholic, was personally averse to the severely Catholic tendency which had become prevalent since the Council of Trent. Villeroy, Paris, 1909.

[2] See especially the long report of November 6, 1599, in MARTIN, Les négociations du nonce Silingardi, Paris, 1920, 46 *seq.* *Ibid.* 27 *seq.*, the instructions for Silingardi.

would not only further the reform of the clergy and the renewal of the Catholic religion, but also the tranquillity of the kingdom.[1] On December 16th, Clement VIII. addressed an autograph letter on the subject to the king himself.[2]

This time it seemed as though victory would crown the efforts of the Pope. In the spring of 1600, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy, Henry IV. drew up an edict concerning the publication of the decrees of Trent. He sent the draft to Rome to Sillery and Ossat to ask their opinion. The latter expressed his complete approval, as the clauses added to the edict would have met with no difficulty from the Pope: they were also calculated to close the mouths of the adversaries of the publication. Whatever they may say, Ossat continued, the decrees of the Council imply no prejudice to the rights of the crown, and still less to the liberties of the various Churches, unless they wish to maintain that concubinage, simony and other abuses are liberties of the Gallican Church.[3] In the end, however, the opposing party obtained the upper hand in Paris. The Gallican officials, with the president of the Parliament, Jacques Auguste de Thou, at their head, offered so determined a resistance, and found so much to say as to the harmful and dangerous effect upon the states of such a step, that the king abandoned his purpose.[4] When the Pope renewed his instances, Henry IV. adduced the foreign situation, which had become changed and obscured by the Duke of Savoy not having observed the terms of the peace. But even when this danger was over Silingardi could only obtain fair words and excuses in view of the calamities of the times.[5] It was

[1] See MARTIN, *ibid.* 51 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 60 *seq.*

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 176. PALLAVICINI (Stor. del concilio di Trento, 24, 10) refers to this significant letter.

[4] See DE THOU, Mémoires; *Collect. Michaud*, 1st. ser., XI., 272. *Cf.* MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 304 *seq.*

[5] See MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 328.

evident that Henry IV. not only feared difficulties on the part of the Gallicans, but also on that of the Huguenots.[1]

Just as this refusal meant that an important promise of Bourbon had been left unfulfilled, so was it with another, namely the setting up of a convent in each province of the kingdom, though this was abundantly compensated by the zeal and spirit of sacrifice of the French Catholics, supported by the king.

Henry IV. had repeatedly shown himself very negligent in his use of the rights granted to him by the concordat. In reply to the complaints made to him in an assembly of the clergy in 1596, he himself admitted that he had made many unsuitable appointments to abbeys and bishoprics because of his ignorance. The restoration of freedom of election, asked for by the Bishop of Le Mans, he naturally refused, though he promised for the future only to propose for bishoprics candidates who were suitable for the office, and to act in a similar way in conferring benefices; he also issued an order in support of the reform of the monasteries.

Since, however, no radical improvement took place, the Archbishop of Tours, François de Guesle, renewed in the name of the clergy the request for the restoration of freedom of election. "I am not the author of the innovations," Henry replied; "you have reminded me of my duty, but I would remind you of yours."[2] A certain improvement, which had been promised to Cardinal Medici,[3] undoubtedly now took place, though it was far from complete. Thus when, in the spring of 1601, Henry IV. asked the Pope for the extension of the concordat to Metz, Toul and Verdun, and the territories acquired under the Peace of Lyons, Clement VIII. was able

[1] The king said so to Cardinal Aldobrandini when, at the beginning of 1601 they were negotiating the peace of Lyons, and the publication of the decrees of the Council was again brought forward, as well as the return of the Jesuits; see FUMI, Legazione, 125 *seq.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 405.

[2] See PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 105 *seq.*; MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 91.

[3] See DE MEAUX, 407.

to justify his refusal by saying that experience had taught him that his predecessors would have done better to have refused the princes the right of nomination, because it had been abused, even in France.[1]

Nor was his promise to appoint as abbesses none but true religious, kept by the king. When in March 1605 he dismissed one of his mistresses, he promised her an abbey, while Sully, though he was a Calvinist, had two in commendam.[2]

In view of the many violations of the concordat,[3] it was of the greatest importance for the maintenance of good relations between Paris and Rome, that Henry IV. should have had in Ossat a representative at the Curia who frankly warned him not to go too far, and who, as a skilled diplomatist,[4] was able to pacify and convince the Pope. Ossat, who was a sincere Catholic, and a thorough Frenchman, was deeply experienced in all questions of ecclesiastical politics, prudent, reserved, vigilant, clear-sighted and cool-headed ; he defended the interests of his king, who honoured him with his complete confidence in a way that could not have been greater. For himself, Ossat sought nothing ; if he received the purple in March 1599, he had said no word and taken no steps, in order to become a prince of the Church. As a Cardinal he lived in as great poverty as before ; Clement VIII. did not forget how honest and sincere he had proved himself in the matter of the absolution.[5]

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 353 *seq.*

[2] See MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 92.

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 519.

[4] " É acuto d' ingegno, di buon giudicio, di natura calida et dissimulata," says of d'Ossat one of his adversaries, the author of the *report on the Cardinals, to which we shall return, written in 1602-1603 for Viglienna. Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* A. DEGERT, Le card. d'Ossat, évêque de Rennes et de Bayeux (1587-1604) sa vie, ses négociations a Rome, Paris; 1894. C. A. WILKENS in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 545, in his account of this work relates how Pius VII., after a difficult discussion took both the hands of Niebuhr, and thanked him for having shown himself a loyal man ; Clement VIII., who was also absolutely sincere, must have felt the same of d'Ossat.

Ossat was the ideal of a Cardinal in Curia, and the esteem which he enjoyed with the Pope was of great advantage for the interests of his sovereign. As time went on his influence was increased by the fact that there arose among the entourage of Henry a strictly Catholic party, which strove above all things to maintain good relations with the Holy See. The Pope's displeasure at the Edict of Nantes was lessened, the more he realized that at bottom Henry was giving more support to the Catholics than to the Huguenots.[1]

Henry IV. openly favoured the increasing return of the Calvinists to the Church,[2] and how much he aimed in other ways at weakening Protestantism in his kingdom, looking upon it as an obvious danger to national unity, was made clear to all the world when the leader of the French Huguenots, Du Plessis-Mornay, who, after his dismissal from the office of councillor to the king, had become governor of Saumur, irritated his Catholic fellow-countrymen in the gravest manner. In a dissertation on the institution of the Eucharist, he attacked the central point of the Catholic religion, the presence of Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the altar, in the most violent way, and declared that the Pope was Antichrist. The ambitious writer referred to a thousand quotations, but these were put together with so much ignorance and lack of criticism that the learned Bishop of Evreux, Du Perron, was able openly to speak of falsification. Du Plessis was rash to challenge his adversary to a public theological disputation. On March 25th Du

[1] See RANKE, Päpste, II[8]., 186, 281.

[2] *Cf.* L'EPINOIS, 646; PHILIPPSON, Westeuropa, 418 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 330 *seq.*, and *Études*, XCIX., 57, as well as the literature there cited, to which must be added RÄSS, 11 *seq.* The *Acta consist. report on March 29, 1599: "S.S. fecit legi litteras binas scriptas de conversione haereticorum apud dominium Avinionense in oppido Arausino (Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, 111, Vatican Library). In a *brief of July 10, 1601, Clement VIII. expressed to the chapter of Orleans his joy at the numerous conversions of Calvinists. Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

Perron declared his readiness to prove in the presence of the king and his commissaries that there were five hundred manifest lies in his adversary's book. As Du Plessis still demanded a disputation, the king gave his consent. As arbitrators of the conference, which was to take place at Fontainebleau, under the presidency of the royal chancellor, Bellièvre, he appointed two Catholics who did not belong to the strictly orthodox party, the parliamentary advocate Pithou, well known for his defence of Gallican liberties, and the historian de Thou, and two moderate Calvinists, the learned Casaubon and Fresne-Canaye.

Du Plessis became frightened, and sought for every kind of delay, but could not escape the disputation. This was opened in the presence of the king, many grandees, and several bishops, and the very first day brought great discomfiture to the leader of the French Calvinists. It was proved against him, among other things that, owing to his ignorance of the scholastic methods of Duns Scotus, he had attributed to him the very opposite of what he really maintained, and that in his quotation from Chrysostom he had omitted the essential part, besides deliberately falsifying him. The defence made by Du Plessis-Mornay was, in the opinion of the Calvinist Sully, so feeble as to make some laugh and others angry, and even to excite some to pity. The Huguenot leader completed his own discomfiture on the following day by declaring himself ill, and going away without taking leave of the king. Henry IV. himself took part in the ridicule which fell to the lot of this man who had been thus deeply disgraced; with the king's permission the minutes of the conference were immediately published.[1] He was evidently amused at seeing the pride of the Calvinists,[2] who looked upon their leader

[1] See Actes de la conférence tenue . . . à Fontainebleau, Evreux, 1601. *Cf.* Räss, II., 269 *seq.*; Feret, Le card. Du Perron, 169-216; J. A. Lalot, Essai hist. sur la conférence tenue entre Duplessis-Mornay et Du Perron, Fontainebleau, 1889; *Annuaire de l'université de Louvain*, 1907, 328 *seq.*

[2] Opinion of Ranke (Französ. Gesch. II., 109).

as impregnable, thus once for all humbled. Cardinal Ossat did not fail to impress upon the Pope the share taken by the king in the brilliant victory of Du Perron.

Just as the behaviour of Henry IV. on this occasion filled the Pope with satisfaction,[1] so was it in yet another occurrence. Henry IV. had married Margaret of Valois, though for a long time past they had lived apart. They had no children, and Margaret wished for the annulment of her marriage, into which, like the king, she had been forced. Negotiations as to this had been going on for a long time in Rome, and Clement VIII. had assigned it to a special commission, composed of Cardinals Giustiniani, Borghese, Bianchetti, Arrigoni and Visconti, and two Auditors of the Rota, Benedetto Giustiniani and Giovan Battista Pamfili. The actual process was held in Paris by Cardinal Joyeuse, the Archbishop of Arles, Orazio del Monte, and the nuncio Silingardi, and the result of the most careful investigation was to show that the princess had only given her consent under pressure, and that moreover the dispensation on account of near relationship had never been given, so that the marriage was invalid. After this the declaration of annulment was made at the end of December, 1599, this judgment being confirmed by Clement VIII.[2]

It was of great importance for the Catholic cause that Henry should now have married, as the Pope desired,[3] a princess belonging to a strictly Catholic family, Mary de'

[1] See the autograph letter of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., June 5, 1600, in MARTIN, Négociations de Silingardi, 87.

[2] *Cf.* P. Feret, Nullité du marriage de Henri IV. avec Marguerite de Valois, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 77-114; MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 311, and Négociations de Silingardi, 20 *seq.* The *opinion of the Jesuit, Benedetto Giustiniani, dated "Romae in collegio Soc. Iesu 1599 Aug. 5" (in Ottob. 2423, I., 477-482, Vatican Library) is both exact and objective; it came to the conclusion that the marriage had been invalid.

[3] *Cf.* in MARTIN, Négociations de Silingardi, 45, the autograph letter of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., September 26, 1599, dissuading him from a mixed marriage.

Medici.[1] The Cardinal legate, Pietro Aldobrandini, who was sent to France to mediate the peace between that kingdom and Savoy, solemnly blessed the marriage at Lyons on December 17th, 1600.[2] When an heir was born to the King of France on September 27th, 1601, the Pope congratulated Henry on this event, which ensured the future of the dynasty, in an affectionate letter of October 22nd, 1601, in which he urged the Catholic up-bringing of the Dauphin.[3] The protonotary apostolic, Maffeo Barberini, afterwards Pope Urban VIII., together with this letter, took to the Catholic heir to the throne a present which was introduced for the first time by Clement VIII., namely valuable swaddling-clothes, blessed by the supreme head of the Church.[4] If Henry IV. gave the Pope the satisfaction of choosing him as god-father of the Dauphin, he was principally influenced by the idea of thus counteracting the pre-eminence of Spain in Rome.[5]

How greatly the king allowed himself to be guided by political considerations, and how confused were his ideas on religious questions is shown by the fact of his choosing Queen Elizabeth of England as the god-mother of his daughter,

[1] See ZELLER, Henri IV. et Marie de Médicis, 26 *seq.*, 51 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 66 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, II., 536 *seq.*

[3] See *Brevia, Arm. 44. t. 45, n. 340, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 341, a *brief to Mary de' Medici, also dated October 22, 1601.

[4] *Cf.* McSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS, Le Portugal et le St. Siège, III., Les langes bénits, Paris, 1899, 1 *seq.*, 11 *seq.* Here it is remarked (p. 15 *seq.*) that Clement VIII. had three months earlier sent by the Spanish nuncio a similar gift for the heir to the Spanish throne. The *reports of Barberini from November 1601, to March 1602 are in Barb. 5810, Vatican Library. For the arrival of Barberini in Paris see the letter of Vincenzo Giugni to the Grand Duke of Florence, Ferdinand I., which is also of interest for the manner of life of the royal family of France, dated Paris, December 8, 1600, published by A. PAOLI on the occasion of the *Nozze Supino*, Perugia-Florence, 1875.

[5] *Cf.* BAROZZI, Francia, I., 40; COUZARD, 226.

born on November 22nd, 1602, a thing from which he was fortunately dissuaded by Ossat.[1]

Clement VIII. and the Secretary of State, Pietro Aldobrandini, who had come to know the king very well during his legation, were under no illusions in his regard. This is clear from the instructions given to Maffeo Barberini,[2] when he was sent as nuncio to Paris at the beginning of December, 1604, Barberini was instructed to enlighten Henry IV., who had always lived as a soldier, on religious questions. At the same time the nuncio's instructions were concerned with a wide programme for the furtherance of Catholic interests,[3] a thing which the king greatly assisted by his revocation of the banishment inflicted on the Jesuits by the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon and Grenoble. The Cardinal legate Medici had already, in accordance with the wishes of Clement VIII., worked hard for this end, but without success.[4] The Pope insisted that every means should be employed to restore to the Order its rights. To this end he resolved to have direct recourse to Henry IV. to bring home to him the value of the Society of Jesus, even from the point of view of the interests of the state. This task he entrusted to two men who enjoyed Henry's favour, the Archbishop of Arles, Orazio del Monte, and the Jesuit Lorenzo Maggio. These two arrived in Paris in July 1599, and the negotiations, in the course of which the king showed himself far more favourable than had been expected, were commenced at the beginning of August.[5]

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 654.

[2] See the *brief to Henry IV., December 4, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 348b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the text of the *Instructions, to which we shall return later, in App. No. 45, Barb. Vatican Library, and Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See FOUQUERAY, II., 458 *seq.*

[5] See COUZARD, De edicto Rhotomagensi Iesuitas in Galliam restitutente, Paris, 1900 ; FOUQUERAY, II., 520 *seq.* The *letter of credential for O. del Monte, addressed to Pomponne de Bellièvre, dated January 23, 1598, st. fl. (=1599) in Brevia, Arm. 44, Papal Secret Archives..

On November 6th Henry IV. replied to the Pope, who had warmly recommended the cause of the Jesuits to him in a letter of October 28th, that he had attempted to meet his wishes.[1]

Nevertheless the matter still dragged on, and in spite of the insistence of the Pope,[1] Henry IV. and his advisers[2] continued to postpone the decision. It is evident that this was principally done out of consideration for the powerful Huguenots, who, as the nuncio reported, hated the Jesuits more than the devil. Thus neither the two mediators, nor the nuncio Silingardi, nor even Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, when he was sent to mediate peace between France and Savoy, met with any success.[3] When the Cardinal personally informed the Pope of the result of his mission in March 1601, Clement VIII., on April 13th, congratulated the French chancellor on the conclusion of the peace, but at the same time asked him to further the renewal of Catholic life, the best means towards which would be the revocation of the decree of banishment on the Jesuits.[4] In spite of this appeal no progress was made for the time being, while the prospects even became worse, for Henry had made a number of conditions, some of which seemed to be impossible of acceptance. These conditions were presented to the Pope by the French ambassador Béthune in December 1601. The Pope informed Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, but said nothing more.[5] In the meantime the friends of the Jesuits in France, as well as the new nuncio Bufalo,[6] found themselves in an embarrassing position. The nuncio thought that the enemies of the Order had redoubled their attacks

[1] *Cf.* Lettres missive, V., 184. *Cf.* Mazio in the SAGGIATORE, I., 1 (Rome, 1844), who erroneously transfers the letter to the year 1595 (56 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* the brief of December 15, 1599, in PRAT, V., 166 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, II., 529 *seq.*, 534 *seq.*

[4] See PRAT, V., 179.

[5] *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, II., 597 *seqq.*, 603.

[6] Innocenzo Bufalo was appointed on May 25, 1601, to succeed Silingardi; see BIAUDET, 256.

and had employed every means to render Henry IV. and public opinion hostile to the Jesuits.

Queen Elizabeth, through the French ambassador in London, advised Henry IV. against any concession. The king replied that although the Pope had been bringing pressure to bear for five years to obtain the revocation of the edict of banishment, nothing had yet been done, but that he did not intend to render an account of his internal policy to anyone, just as he did not interfere with the internal affairs of England.[1] Almost at the same time the Calvinist press at La Rochelle issued two books, the work of Etienne Pasquier and Antoine Arnauld, the object of which was to excite hatred of the Jesuits, and which did not shrink from manifest calumnies: Pasquier described the Jesuits as the enemies of France, of the monarchy, and even of Christianity, while Arnauld attacked them not only for doctrines hostile to the state, but also for contempt of learning. To these obvious falsehoods the Jesuit Louis Richeome made a dignified reply. Henry read this work, which confirmed him in his opinion of the value of the Jesuits, especially in the matter of education. When he went to Metz in February 1603, he there received on April 3rd, the provincial of the French Jesuits, Ignace Armand, who defended the cause of his Order with so great calmness, frankness and dignity that he met with a very favourable reply.[2]

A decision was at last brought about by the Jesuit Pierre Coton, the celebrated preacher. This man, with his courtesy, affability and intelligence, very soon succeeded in winning the full confidence of Henry IV., and in dispelling his lingering prejudices against the Order. In the opinion of the Venetian, Niccolò Contarini, Henry IV. was also influenced by the consideration that it was in the interest of the kingdom to provide, by means of the Jesuits, a counter-weight to the powerful party of the Huguenots.[3]

[1] See FOUQUERAY, II., 609.

[2] See *ibid.*, II., 610 *seq.*, 622 *seq.*

[3] See the passage from the *Hist. Veneta of N. Contarini in RANKE, II.[8], 281. As is often the case with Ranke, he does not

After this change for the better, Clement VIII. in his prudence thought that the time had come to have recourse once more, in a letter dated July 14th, 1604, to the King of France, without making any allusion to the conditions which he had laid down. An attempt to instigate the King of France against the Jesuits on the part of James I., who had in the meantime ascended the throne of England, came to nothing. Henry replied that he intended to protect all his subjects, whatever their religion might be, so as to win them over to this service. As for the Jesuits, their Order was powerful in Christendom, and included many learned men of note, so that it seemed to him more fitting to show them favour than to reject them, thereby offending a great number of Catholics. In other respects he would keep the Jesuits in check, so that they could not fight against the Huguenots, except by their good lives and their excellent education of the young.[1]

The decision to yield to the Pope's insistence in the matter of the return of the Jesuits was taken by Henry IV. when in August 1603 he summoned a commission to discuss the matter, composed of the members of the Parliament and of the Council of State. Although the opinions of the commission greatly varied, it nevertheless submitted to the king's decision. This was embodied in the Edict of Rouen,[2] published on September 1st, 1603, which confirmed the existing houses of the Jesuits at Toulouse, Auch, Agen, Rodez, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Limoges, Tournon, Le Puy, Aubenas and Béziers, and also allowed them to establish colleges at Lyons, Dijon and La Flèche, though under certain conditions and restrictions. The most important of these were: all Jesuits working

say where he found it; the work of Contarini is in Cod. 6177-79 of the State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* also the study by VON DROIN in the *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, III. (1902).

[1] See FOUQUERAY, II., 631 *seq.*, 638 *seq.*

[2] Text in PRAT, II., 147 *seq.* *Cf.* COUZARD, De edicto Rhotomag. (1900). See also FOUQUERAY, II., 644 *seqq.*, who on p. 668 *seqq.*, describes in detail how Henry IV. overcame the resistance of the Parliament of Paris.

in France must be of French birth; the establishment of new colleges was subject to the express permission of the king; without the consent of the bishop concerned the Jesuits could not exercise any pastoral office outside their own institutions, and they must promise on oath to do nothing against the interests of the king or against the peace of the kingdom. As a guarantee of this there was always to be a Jesuit at the royal court, under the title of court preacher.

Some of Henry IV.'s conditions were so hard that the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, expressed his regret at having accepted them. To this Coton and the nuncio Bufalo replied by pointing out that the sentiments of Henry IV. gave every reason to hope for the withdrawal of these conditions, and this opinion was shared by Clement VIII.[1] The course of events justified this view. Maffeo Barberini was urged in his instructions to work for the withdrawal of the conditions which restricted the activity of the Jesuits, and for the removal of the defamatory column which had been set up against the Order in Paris. As early as February 1605 the nuncio succeeded in getting Henry IV. to destroy this monument.[2] Although the Edict of Rouen had said nothing about the return of the Jesuits to Paris, in 1606 they received permission to reopen their college there, though their work of instruction was deferred to a more favourable moment.[3]

His celebrated reply to the complaints of the Parliament of Paris,[4] shows how far Henry IV. rose above local prejudice, and the statesmanlike and practical perspicacity with which he recognized the value of the Jesuits to his kingdom: "How can you," the king said, "accuse of ambition men who

[1] See *ibid.* 662.

[2] See Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu, 1605, 517; IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 73. *Cf.* Nicoletti, *Vita di Urbano VIII. tom. I., 1, 1, c. 12, in Barb. LI., 16, Vatican Library; PRAT, II., 344 *seq.*

[3] PRAT, II., 462 *seq.*

[4] For the authenticity of the discourse, which is wrongly called in question, see DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 767 *seq.*, and FOUQUEARY, II., 676. *Cf.* also DE MEAUX, Luttes relig., 365 *seq.*

renounce the honours and benefices which are offered to them, and who have even vowed to God never to accept them, and who ask for nothing else on earth than to be allowed, without reward, to serve those who wish to avail themselves of their services? If the name Jesuit seems to you too pretentious, why do you not complain of those others who call themselves the brothers of the Most Holy Trinity? As far as I myself am concerned, I would rather call myself Jesuit than Jacobin or Augustinian. Indeed, so far the Society of Jesus has only been tolerated in France, but Our Lord has reserved for me the glory of giving them citizenship in this country. The university is opposed to them, but only because they do better than others, which is shown by the crowds that attend their lectures. If men did not learn more and better from them than elsewhere, how is it that, because of their skill, your universities have nothing to show against them but empty benches, and that in spite of your prohibitions, the students follow them everywhere, even beyond the frontiers of the kingdom? You complain that they attract to themselves all the clever children, and choose the best. For this very reason I esteem them highly. Do not we ourselves choose the best soldiers to lead to battle? Would you choose men who are unworthy of you, and of seats in the council? You would despise them if they presented to you ignorant professors and preachers, yet now you blame them for presenting chosen spirits."

After Henry IV. had brushed aside the accusations of the wealth of the Jesuits as calumnies, he went on: "The vow that they make to the Pope does not bind them in all matters, but only when they are sent to convert the heathen. By their means God has indeed evangelized China. I often say to myself: if the King of Spain can make use of them, why not the King of France as well? Are we less important than anyone else? You say that they make their way everywhere, as they can; but others do exactly the same thing, and I myself, as far as is possible for me, have made my way secretly about my kingdom. It must be admitted that their patience is great, and for my part I admire them, because it is by

patience and virtue that they attain their ends. With regard to the authority of the Pope, their teaching is no different from that of other Catholics, and if you would put them on their trial for that, you would have to do the same to the Catholic Church. I do not believe that they withdraw the clergy from my authority, or teach regicide. Out of a hundred thousand students not one has ever shown a sign of any such thing; no torture could induce Chastel to accuse a Jesuit, and even if a Jesuit had committed that crime, should all the Apostles suffer on account of Judas, or am I responsible for all the misdeeds of my former soldiers? Therefore leave me alone to deal with this Society."

In the time that followed the Edict of Rouen, the Jesuits redoubled the zeal with which they were working in France. In the first year they founded new colleges at Dijon, Lyons, Bourges, Billom, Rennes, Rouen and La Flèche, in the last of which Henry IV. interested himself in a special way.[1] They were quite indefatigable in their spiritual work and in their instruction of youth, and extended their care to all classes of the population, including those in prison. Just as they fought against immorality, so did they boldly fight against heresy. They often successfully held disputations with the Calvinist preachers, and the number of these whom they brought back to the ancient Church increased from year to year.[2]

Besides the favour of the king, who resolutely protected the Jesuits against their enemies, they were greatly helped by the support of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of Cardinals Sourdis and Joyeuse,[3] as well as of many bishops. Some of the fathers accompanied the bishops on the work of visitation,

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Coton, II., 292 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Litt. ann., 1603, 246 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*; 1604, 405 *seq.*; 1605, 520 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Litt. ann. 1603, 246, 307; 1604, 520. For the way in which the number of converts, and among them well-known names, increased in France during the latter days of Clement VIII. *cf.* the future volumes of this work, together with the description of the Catholic reform in that country in the time of Paul V.

and gave their assistance in missions.[1] Thus in 1604, at the invitation of the Bishop of Mende, two Jesuits went to the mountains of the Cevennes, where the Calvinists were very numerous, while the small remnant of the Catholic population which still remained had been deprived of the consolations of religion for almost forty years.[2] The immorality and ignorance which the Jesuits met with on some of their missions was so great that it was often said that without the Jesuits, the faith would have entirely disappeared.[3] It was significant of the prestige enjoyed by the fathers as educators that many of the Calvinists, in spite of the threats of their preachers, sent their sons to the Jesuit schools, because they had the best reputation.[4] The priests of the Society of Jesus were so sought after as confessors that they could scarcely comply with all the demands upon them, and often had to exercise their ministry for ten hours on end. People came to their churches from great distances.[5] Religious life improved visibly, and places are mentioned where the number of communions at Christmas increased from 50 to 800.[6] At Nîmes, where only 3000 Catholics lived among 25,000 Calvinists, the number of those who received communion at Christmas rose to 500. Such frequentation of the sacraments had not been seen in that city in living memory.[7]

While the Jesuits, with the assistance of Clement VIII., were once again receiving from Henry IV. a legal status and the opportunity for more far-reaching labours, the Pope was also furthering in other ways the work of reform and Catholic restoration. He encouraged in every way the efforts that were being made for the revival[8] of the older Orders, in which

[1] *Cf.* Litt. ann. 1603, 256, 261; 1604, 534.

[2] See *ibid.* 1604, 405 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 529.

[4] See *ibid.* 1603, 279; 1604, 405.

[5] *Cf. ibid.* 1603, 262; 1604, 540, 551, 611.

[6] See *ibid.* 1604, 425.

[7] See *ibid.* 1603, 309.

[8] *Cf.* Bull., X., 301 *seq.*; GAUDENTIUS, 254 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER I., 313, 455; *Brief to Henry IV. dated April 10, 1602, concerning

work the Jesuits as well co-operated.[1] The new spirit which animated the Mendicant Orders was shown by the labours of certain Franciscans, among whom special mention must be made of François Feuardent, who travelled all through France as a controversial preacher, and also found the time to compose learned works.[2]

The reform of the older Orders found a powerful supporter in Cardinal Givry, who was living in Rome after May 1604, and whom Clement VIII. appointed Protector of the Benedictines. The many requests that were addressed to this prince of the Church in support of the efforts for reform, show what great progress had been made by the new religious spirit.[3]

the reform of the Carmelites, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives. In the *Informazions del P. Sosa ministro generale de' Min. Oss. a P. Clemente VIII sopra il modo di riformare la religione it is stated: "In Francia è molto necessaria la riforma perchè con le guerre et altri travagli sono le provintie in quel regno rovinate. . . . È cosa evidentissima che havendosi da applicare la medicina ad un inferno, bisogna che sia conforme all' infermità. Quel che patisce Francia è universale, per il che bisognerà attendere a riformare tutto il corpo della religione." That the Pope therefore wishes to come to an agreement with Cardinal d'Ossat and the French ambassador (Cod. miscell. [without signature] Communal Library, Ancona). *Cf.* also Vat. 7520; Iacobi Archimbandi Claramontensis *De reformatione ord. fratr. praedic. in regno Galliae facta circa a. 1595 a bo. mem. R.B. Sebast. Michaele O. Pr. Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, II., 357 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, Gesch. des Franziskanerorden, 481.

[3] See Cod. 219 of the Communal Library, Metz, *Lettres et Mémoires de l'em. card. de Givry . . tirés des originaux par Mathieu Husson. *Ibid.* p. 44: Lettre du p. Jean Rivière, custode des religieux réformés de l' ordre de St. Francois de l' estroite observance, on the subject of reform, dated La Flèche, 1604, July 27; p. 53: Fratres religiosi expresse professi monast. s. Martini a Campis Parisien. ord. Cluniac., dated Paris, 1605, February 19 (Request for help against the unworthy subject of the diocese of Boulogne, Claude Dormy, who had been appointed their prior).

Important results for the whole of France flowed from the Congregation of reformed Benedictines of Saint-Vannes, which had been founded in Lorraine by Didier de la Cour, and in the establishment of which Clement VIII. had taken an important part. Cardinal de Vaudemont had been appointed by Gregory XIV. in 1591 Papal legate for the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, with authority to introduce the Tridentine reforms in the Abbeys of those districts, but in this task he found himself confronted by so many obstacles that after seven years of fruitless labour he thought it best to suggest to Clement VIII. the suppression of the Benedictine Order in those provinces. But the Pope would not agree and replied that on the contrary the Cardinal had been sent as a legate to reconstruct the crumbling edifice and not to destroy it from its foundations; that the order of St. Benedict had already rendered to the Catholic Church so great and such signal services that the very thought of suppressing it would be a crime.[1] This view of the prudent Pope was shown to be fully justified, for when the Abbey of Saint Vannes at Verdun was given a new Prior in 1598 in the person of Didier de la Cour, a reform of the monasteries in Lorraine was carried out. On April 7th, 1604, Clement VIII. was able to establish the reformed Benedictine Congregation of Saint Vannes and Saint Hidulphe (at Moyen-Moutier) from which later on sprang the Congregation of Saint Maur which won a world-wide celebrity for its learning.[2]

The Reformed Congregation of the Feuillants, which was founded in the time of Gregory XIII. by the Cistercian, Jean de la Barrière, and confirmed by Sixtus V., was able after the restoration of peace in France to extend more widely, especially after Clement VIII. had to some extent mitigated the rule, which was at first too severe. The Pope also freed it from its dependence on Citeaux so that the reformed

[1] *Cf.* GÉRIN in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1876, I., 510.

[2] See HAUDIQUIER, Hist. du vén. Dom Didier de la Cour, Paris, 1772, 4 *seq.*, 98 *seq.* *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CV., 273 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 150 *seq.*; DIDIER-LAURENT, Nancy, 1904.

Cistercians of Barrière formed an independent Order based on the Benedictine rule. The founder died in Rome in the spring of 1600 after he had founded a branch of his Congregation for women.[1] The Feuillants, who had come to Paris in 1587, were given a new church there in 1601 in the Rue Saint Honoré, of which Henry IV. and his wife laid the first stone.[2] The same thing occurred at Orléans where the Cathedral had been destroyed by the Huguenots as far as the choir. In the year 1601 Clement VIII. granted a jubilee for its rebuilding, which developed into a great religious demonstration. Alms poured in so abundantly that the new Cathedral of Saint Croix could be erected on a large scale.[3] Vincent Musart, who was animated by similar ideas as Barrière had founded a Congregation of the Third Order of St. Francis, which he established at Picpus near Paris, which did good work.[4]

The Canon Regular, Peter Fourier, of the Abbey of Chamousey in the neighbourhood of Epinal chose for himself the most wretched and uncomfortable parish in Lorraine, that of Mattaincourt in the Vosges where so great disorders were prevalent that the place was known as the "little Geneva." Fourier transformed Mattaincourt completely and like an ideal parish priest thought not only of the religious but also of the social welfare of his people. He founded a Confraternity of ladies for the gratuitous instruction of the girls, out of which grew the Congregation of Our Lady, which after having overcome innumerable difficulties at last obtained

[1] See HEIMBUCHER, I., 241 *seq.*; BAZY, Vie de J. de la Barrière, Toulouse, 1885; MABILLE, Les Feuillantines de Paris, Paris, 1902.

[2] See PICOT, I., 65.

[3] See C. SAUSSEYUS, Annales ecclesiae Aurelianensis, Paris, 1615; *Mém. de la Soc. d' agricult. et sciences d' Orléans*, 5th. ser, IX. (1909), 138 *seqq.* In a *brief to the Capitan. Aurelianens., July 9, 1601, Clement VIII. expresses his joy at the course taken by the jubilee, during which many Calvinists were converted, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See PICOT, I., 48.

the approval of the Holy See and then developed in a wonderful way.[1]

In like manner, the Clerks of Christian Doctrine founded at Avignon by César de Bus and Jean Baptiste Romillion[2] devoted themselves to the education of the young. By the advice of these good priests Françoise de Bermond founded the Ursulines in France, having, with her sister and some other daughters of the first families of Avignon, adopted community life in 1596 in the Isle de Venise, in the county of the Venaissin.[3] A second house was opened in 1600 at Aix. The Ursulines came to Paris later on, on the initiative of Barbara Acarie (née Avrillot). The life of this noble lady, like that of the Baroness de Chantal, shows how the work of Catholic regeneration had extended to the highest classes.[4]

Barbara Avrillot, who came of a noble family and was

[1] For P. Fourier *cf.* the biographies by BEDEL (Paris, 1645), CHAPIA (2 vols. Paris, 1850), ROGIE (3 vols. Verdun, 1887), LAGER (Ratisbon, 1884), HELD (Luxemburg, 1892), CHÉROT (Lille, 1897), VUILLEMIN (Paris, 1897), E. DE BAZELAIRE (Nancy, 1897), E. KREUSCH (Steyl, 1899), CHAPELIN (Epinal, 1919). See also GOYAU, Hist. relig., 380 *seq.* The letters of Fourier were published by ROGIE (6 vols. Verdun, 1878). *Cf. Études*, LXXI., 5 *seqq.*, 166 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*; LXXV., 666 *seq.* *Hist.-polit Blätter*, XXXIX., 106 *seq.*

[2] For C. de Bus *cf.* MORONI, XI., 113 *seq.*, and CHAMOUX, Vie de vén. C. de Bus, Avignon, 1837; for Romillion see the monograph by BOURGUIGNON (Marseilles, 1669); RÄSS, Konvertiten, V., 104 *seq.*; BATTEREL-INGOLD, Mem. p. s. a l'hist. de l'Orat., Paris, 1902, 17 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BOURGUIGNON, Vie du P. Romillion, 288 *seq.*

[4] For Madame Acarie, in religion Marie de l'Incarnation, *cf.* the biographies of MARTIN (Paris, 1677), CHARLEVOIX (Paris, 1724), DUPANLOUP (in German, Cologne, 1860), CASGRAIN (in German, Ratisbon, 1872) and RICHADEAU, Tournai, 1876). We also owe to Richadeau an edition of the letters of this magnificent woman (2 vols., Tournai, 1876), who was beatified by Pius VI. in 1791, and whose life has been nobly described by GOYAU (Hist. relig., 386 *seq.*). We shall return to Jeanne de Chantal when dealing with Paul V.

born in Paris in 1566, by the wish of her parents in 1582 married Pierre Acarie de Villemor, who was a staunch Catholic, and wealthy, though somewhat obstinate, and to whom she subjected herself with resignation and obedience. In the same spirit the young wife performed her duties in instructing her six children, in watching over her household, and in ministering to the needy. Pierre Acarie, who was an ardent partisan of the League, was obliged, after the capture of Paris by Henry IV., to go into exile, and lost the whole of his fortune. His family was reduced to beggary, and had to accept the hospitality of Madame de Bérulle. Barbara Acarie bore this heavy trial with unaltered serenity of soul. She stood up for the rights of her husband with a masculine courage and prudence, rescued a part of his patrimony, and provided for the good education of her children. Her activities were not restricted to the narrow limits of her own house, but extended to many others of like mind with herself, whom she guided to a higher state of perfection; people of all classes sought the advice of this lady, who was as pious as she was prudent. The Jesuit Coton, who was for a time her confessor, has given us a touching picture of her delicacy of conscience, her humility, her love of God, her charity towards her neighbour, and of the special graces that adorned this chosen soul. When Francis de Sales went to Paris in 1602, he recognized the value of this hidden gem.[1] He, and above all Pierre de Bérulle, afterwards Cardinal, assisted Barbara Acarie in beginning her work, the introduction into France of the reformed Carmelite nuns of Teresa of Jesus. She won over to this plan the Duchesse de Longueville, who obtained the permission of the king, while Francis de Sales obtained from the Pope the canonical permission (November 13th, 1603). Great difficulties had to be overcome in getting Carmelite nuns from Spain, but in the meantime

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, Coton, II., 366 *seq.*; PÉRENNÈS, II., 22 *seq.*; HAMON, I., 416 *seq.*; HOUSSAYE, M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France, 124 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*; BREMOND, Hist. du sentiment relig., II. (1916), 5 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

Barbara Acarie established, first in her own house, and then in a house near Sainte Geneviève, a company of young girls and women, who led a life of religion under her direction, and who were prepared to enter the Order before long. When at length the first Carmelite nuns arrived from Spain in the autumn of 1604, they found the company under the direction of Madame Acarie so well prepared that after a year the Spaniards were able to go home and leave the young foundation to itself. This grew rapidly and contributed greatly to the religious renewal of France in the XVIIth century.[1] Barbara Acarie, who had shown the rare example of a lady living in society introducing a religious Order, when she had completed the education of her children and had lost her husband, in 1613 entered the poorest of all the French Carmelite convents, that at Amiens. Out of humility she became a lay-sister and the subject of her own daughter, who, like two other daughters of Madame Acarie, had become a Carmelite.

Members of French society also entered the Order of the Capuchins, who as preachers and spiritual directors developed an extraordinary activity, and rendered the greatest services to Catholic restoration and reform. The ex-Duke Henri de Joyeuse, who had entered the Capuchin Order under the name of "Père Ange" was known throughout Paris as a brilliant and popular preacher. Of equal celebrity with him were Charles Bochart de Champigny, known as "Père Honoré," the son of a councillor of state, and Jean Baptiste of Avranches, and Jean of Angers.[2] A glance at the history of the various dioceses shows how this Order, which in many cases enjoyed the favour of Henry IV.,[3] had spread throughout France. Their convents were divided into the provinces of Paris, Burgundy, Toulouse and Lyons; the latter included

[1] *Cf.* besides the biographies of Acarie the work of Houssaye, which is based upon new acta: M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France, 251 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, and Chronique de l'ordre des Carmélites, I., Troyes, 1846.

[2] See Boverius, II., 806 *seq.*; Picot, I., 96 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Charpenne, I., 247 *seq.*

the "custody" of Lorraine.[1] Together with the Jesuits the Capuchins were the most zealous opponents of Calvinism. When in 1604 Clement VIII. praised the constant steps taken by Henry IV. for the protection of the Catholic religion in the Dauphiné, he expressly recommended to him the Capuchins who were working there.[2] It was a great help to them when, after the death of Santori (1602), Cardinal Joyeuse became the Protector fo the Order.[3] In 1603 Clement VIII. allowed the establishment of a convent of Capuchin nuns in Paris, where they took the name of "Sisters of the Passion of Jesus,"[4] by the wish of the then provincial, Père Ange.

Of decisive importance for the future of the Church in France was the progressive renewal of the episcopate. In spite of the gravity of the abuses existing among them, there had never been wanting excellent bishops. Some, like Clausse de Marchaumont at Châlons-sur-Marne, Pierre de Villars at Vienne, and François de la Rochefoucauld at Clermont, are still spoken of with honour in the ecclesiastical history of France. But side by side with these, there were, as the result of the abuse of the concordat on the part of the crown, still too many unsuitable Bishops.[5] The abuse of the right of nomination did not come to an end even after the conversion of Henry IV. Some cases were openly scandalous, as when Henry IV. appointed to the archdiocese of Rouen his bastard brother Charles de Bourbon, who had so far held the diocese of Lecture without being even a priest. How little change there was in this unworthy man, even after he had received sacred orders, is shown by the fact that he, deaf to the warnings of the Pope, gave his sister who was still a Protestant in marriage to the Duc de Bar. It was fortunate

[1] *Cf.* Boverius, II., 618, 753.

[2] *Brief of June 28, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 253b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* Boverius, II., 680.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 693.

[5] *Cf. supra* p. 175. Particulars of the bishops named in Gallia christiana.

for the diocese when Charles de Bourbon resigned it in favour of Cardinal Joyeuse in 1604.[1] Although the latter lived for the most part in Rome he nevertheless came to the assistance of his new diocese by founding a seminary and in other ways as he had already done as Archbishop of Toulouse where he had rendered good service by his reform measures and by introducing the Jesuits and Capuchins.[2] But though we must admit the munificence shown by the Cardinal in his good works it was nevertheless a grave abuse that he should have received the revenues of no less than six Abbeys.[3]

In like manner the granting of the archbishopric of Rheims to Louis de Lorraine in 1605, who was not yet a priest, can only be described as an abuse.[4] But the fact that Henry IV. in 1604 appointed the four year old son of the Duc de Ventadour, Charles de Lévis, to the diocese of Lodève went beyond all limits. Clement VIII. did not show himself so indulgent as some of his predecessors had done;[5] he refused his confirmation and for the time being the see remained empty.[6] In the same way the attempt of Henry IV. to obtain the diocese of Metz for his illegitimate son, Henri de Bourbon, Marquis de Verneuil, who was hardly seven years old, failed owing to the opposition of the Pope.[7]

In spite of such cases, the number of which could be added

[1] See Gallia christ., XI., 101; De Meaux, 376.

[2] *Cf.* Migne, Dict. des cardinaux, 1107 *seq.*

[3] Fécamp, St. Martin de Pontoise, Mont St. Michel, Notre Dame de Chambons, Laulne and Juilly; see Mariejol, VI., 2, 89.

[4] *Cf.* Gallia christ., IX.

[5] *Cf.* as to this Baudrillart, Quatre cents ans de Concordat, Paris, 1905, 196 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Gallia christ., VI. Henry IV.'s former levity is shown in his letter to Mary de' Medici of October 14, 1605, where he writes: "Je feray le Toussaint où je me trouveray. M. de Lodève est mon confesseur. Jugez si j'auroi l'absolution a bon marché." Lettres missives, VI., 557.

[7] Cardinal Givry became the bishop, whereas Henry of Bourbon only received the expectation of it; see *Jahrb. f. lothr. Gesch.*, X., 154 *seq.*

to, there was nevertheless under Henry IV. a sensible improvement in the appointments of the bishops.[1] Not a few of those whom he nominated displayed the greatest zeal in carrying out their ecclesiastical duties. Thus indefatigable visitors were found in the Bishops of Aire, Auxerre, Meaux and Mâcon: Phillippe Cospéan, François de Donnadieu, Jean de Vieux-Pont, and Gaspar Dinet as well as the Archbishop of Embrun Honoré de Laurens, who travelled all over his mountain diocese on foot and distributed all his revenues to the poor.[2] Another excellent man was François de Guesle, Archbishop of Tours from 1597, and the intrepid defender of the rights of the clergy against the king.[3] As a change from the translation of the bishops which had been so frequent, Pierre du Vair gave a fine example of disinterestedness by formally refusing to exchange his diocese of Vence for a more wealthy one.[4] The Capuchin Leonard de Trappes, who was Bishop of Auch from 1597, became the reformer of his diocese and died with a reputation for sanctity. In 1603 there came to Bourges André Fremyot whose father had distinguished himself in the days of the League by his Catholic loyalty and whose sister was Madame de Chantal.[5] Louis de Vervins, who was Archbishop of Narbonne from 1600 showed himself indefatigable in preaching and in the visitation of his diocese, for the churches and convents of which he made generous provision.[6] In 1596 Clement VIII. rewarded with the purple the services rendered by Anne D'Escars de Givry as Bishop of Lisieux; later on the Cardinal laboured with the same zeal for ecclesiastical reform in Metz. The zealous

[1] *Cf.* Goyau, Hist. relig., 379.

[2] *Cf.* De Meaux, Luttes relig., 39; Picot, I., 144, n. 1. For Dinet, who took Charles Borromeo as his model, see *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 133 *seq.*; Cimetier, Les origines du séminaire de Macon, Macon, 1912.

[3] See De Meaux, Luttes relig., 380.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] See *ibid.*

[6] See Picot, I., 101.

François de Sourdis,[1] who was received into the Sacred College in 1598, showed a like activity. Ossat, who had been honoured with the purple at the same time as Sourdis, was almost constantly retained in Rome by more important interests so that he was not able to devote himself to his diocese of Rennes and later of Bayeux except by means of representatives. On the other hand Du Perron, before he was received into the supreme senate of the Church in 1604 belonged entirely to France; from 1596 he was Bishop of Lisieux where he showed himself the reformer of his diocese as well as the unwearied defender of Catholic truth against the Calvinists in word and writings.[2]

Immediately after the restoration of peace in August, 1598, Clement VIII. had addressed himself to the whole French episcopate and had exhorted them in words of the utmost gravity to carry out the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent. In addition to visitations he above all urged provincial synods.[3] These assemblies were to become of great importance especially for the establishment of seminaries for the clergy.[4]

The qualities which Clement VIII. required in the bishops was brought home by him to the French government by the fact that he appointed to the arch-diocese of Avignon, one after another, two Oratorians who were zealous reformers,

[1] *Cf.* RAVENEZ, Hist. du card. de Sourdis, Bordeaux, 1867; ALLAIN, Les débuts du card. de Sourdis, in *Compte rendu* of the congress of Catholic scholars held at Freiburg in Switzerland in 1897, Freiburg, 1898.

[2] See *supra* p. 170.

[3] See the *Pastoral letter of August 17, 1598, and the *brief of the same date to the Cardinal legate Medici in Arm. 44, t. 42, nn. 228 *seq.*, 230, Papal Secret Archives. Clement VIII. also tried to promote the development of Christian life by granting large indulgences; *cf.* CALENDINI, La Confrérie du St. Sacrament de Loué-en-Champagne, in *La Province du Maine*, XX. (Le Mans, 1912), 27 *seqq.*

[4] See DEGERT, Hist. des séminaires, II., 69 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *Rev. de l'hist de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 35 *seqq.*

Tarugi and Bordini, of the school of Phillip Neri.[1] In the sublime pastoral letter which the Pope, after the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, addressed to the French episcopate on August 20th, 1599,[2] he expressed himself in an incomparable manner as to the duties of bishops. This pastoral says: Already France is recovering from her dangerous illness; religion is reviving and many pastors are watching over their flocks; as his previous exhortations had borne such good fruit, he now renews them at this favourable moment. The bishops must not stop but must continue to labour unweariedly in expectation of the eternal crown which is awaiting them. There is still much to be done. France, which once was a Paradise from the point of view of religion, is not yet sufficiently cleansed from the thorns and cockle of heresy and corruption; but on account of the grace which is inherent in the nation he hopes for a second spring. To this end the bishops must above all things look to the choice of good priests and avoid every kind of simony. Everything depended on a good clergy, and therefore they must ordain only such as were perfectly suitable and blameless. The bishops would have to render an account to God for such things. Above all, in districts where religion had been restored, they must provide none but chosen and tried priests, not only for their learning and practical sense, but also for their goodness and prudence, priests who would edify the people by their zeal, and who sought for no earthly reward, but only for the salvation of souls. The Pope went on to insist on the bishops making regular visitations of their dioceses, and by their own example, by their frequent and fervent celebration of the holy Mass, and by their love for the poor, standing out as true leaders of their flocks. The labour was great, but the reward was equal to it. "Do honour to your ministry," exclaimed the Pope, "help your country, drive away heresy, preach and convert those who

[1] See Gallia christ., I.; Capecelatro, St. Philip Neri [Engl. Ed., 1926] pp. 516, 520. MORONI, III., 288 *seq.*, 293.

[2] Bull., X., 524 *seq.*

have gone astray. God, and the authority of the king and of the Pope, will be behind you in this work."

This letter of Clement VIII. is a precious record of ecclesiastical history at that time, and is as honourable to the Pope himself as it was calculated to spur on the zeal of the French bishops to remove the abuses in their country.[1] Nor in the time to come was Clement VIII. sparing in his exhortations. Proof of this is to be found in his letters to the Bishops of Toul[2] and Verdun,[3] and to the bishops of the province of Bordeaux.[4] The Pope ordered his nuncios[5] to work in the same sense, especially reminding them of their duty of residence. In 1604 he begged Henry IV. to assist him in this matter, which was also of importance for the maintenance of civil order.[6]

The new nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, was instructed at the end of 1604, to inform the French government that henceforward the Holy See would observe the utmost strictness in confirming those who were nominated to episcopal sees. At the same time Barberini was instructed to work with all possible energy for the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, for which his predecessor had so far laboured in vain.[7] On the successful issue of this problem, for which four Popes had striven to no purpose, in the highest degree

[1] See Picot, I., 37.

[2] See in App. No. 36 the *brief of September 30, 1600, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *brief of January 18, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 31, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See in App. No. 39 the *letter of July 12, 1601, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *letters which Clement VIII. addressed to Cardinal Sourdis and all the French bishops on the occasion of the mission of I. Bufalo. Arm. 44, t. 45, nn. 154, 183, Papal Secret Archives. The text of the latter, May 25, 1601, in App. No. 38.

[6] See the *brief of March 20, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 160, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Cf.* in App. No. 45, the text of the Instructions for Maffeo Barberini, Papal Secret Archives.

depended the progress and consolidation of the revival of ecclesiastical life which had begun in France. How tenaciously Clement VIII. laboured for the restoration of religion in that country, is best shown by the fact that the instructions which he gave to the nuncios, Silingardi, Bufalo and Barberini, insistently recommended, almost in the same words, the furtherance of his efforts.

CHAPTER V.

Clement VIII, and Spain.—The Pope mediates between Spain, France and Savoy.—Decline of Spanish Influence in Rome.

Philip II. had found himself at issue with almost all the Popes of his time, nor was Clement VIII. to prove an exception. Even before the absolution granted to Henry IV. had definitely placed the Pope and the King of Spain at variance, estrangement and tension had begun to take the place of their former good relations. All this could above all be traced to the cesaropapalism of Philip II.

The Spanish monarch, who was an absolutist and a bureaucrat to the marrow, was not content to rule over his own kingdom almost as a Pope-King, but wished to have a decisive voice in all important matters concerning the government of the Church. He based this extraordinary claim on the protection which he afforded to Catholic interests all over the world. It is impossible to deny the sincerity and purity of the intentions which had guided him in the beginning, but by degrees purely Spanish interests had come to take an ever-increasing place, while only too often these were preferred to the interests of the Church. Though this was quite obvious, nevertheless the "hermit of the Escorial" claimed that no Pope understood the true interests of the Church so well as he, and that therefore the occupant of the Papal throne must be in all things subject to his will. As time went on, a reaction against the influence which Spain exercised in Rome over the conclaves, as well as in almost all ecclesiastical and political matters, became inevitable. True Italians saw in all this a hateful foreign domination, while the representatives of Catholic reform looked upon it as a duty to resist this tutelage of the Holy See. The great Sixtus V. had risked open

resistance. In the conclaves which rapidly followed each other after his death, the Spaniards once more succeeded in breaking down the resistance which had manifested itself, though they had been obliged to adopt stronger measures than in the past. Even Philip II. realized that he must leave his diplomatists in the conclaves a freer hand than before, because he could not attain his purpose against France in any other way; he therefore sought to intervene in the sense of moderation.[1] But even then it did not enter into the mind of the King of Spain to curb his cesaro-papistical ambitions.

The relations of Philip II. to the Church, in the countries which were subject to him, were so extraordinary that many people, though wrongly, maintained that the strictly Catholic sentiments of the king were founded, not on any sincere conviction, but on political considerations. Nor is there any reason to be surprised at this, reported a Florentine diplomatist in 1591, when we remember what the Papal nuncios have to put up with at that court. The list of the abuses mentioned by this well-informed witness is a long one: contempt of ecclesiastical privileges; the rejection of Papal bulls, beginning with the important *In coena Domini*, down to that prohibiting bull-fights, which every year cost fifty men their lives; the use of ecclesiastical revenues for quite other purposes; the condemnation of priests and religions by the civil courts, and sometimes, as had happened in Portugal, the condemnation to death of ecclesiastics; the prohibition of seeking matrimonial dispensations from Rome; grave abuse of the Cruzada bull; the absolute dominion of the Inquisition, which had been degraded to a department of state. As a typical proof of his abuse of religion for political ends, mention is made of the interference of Philip II. in the religious disturbances in the kingdoms of England and France, and attention is called to the infamous calumny against the purity of the faith of Sixtus V. The credibility of this account is confirmed by the fact that the author is fair enough to

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 8.

recognize that the King of Spain, although he aimed at having in his own hands all the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom, from the archbishoprics to the smallest chaplaincies, was scrupulously conscientious in seeing that none but the most worthy and capable men were appointed.[1]

Philip II. was supported and encouraged in his cesaro-papistical aims by ecclesiastics who, satiated by favours and graces, had nevertheless sworn upon their conscience to respect the rights and liberties of the Spouse of Christ above all human considerations. Just at the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII. one of these courtier theologians, whose behaviour made the fault of the king less great, Juan Rova Davila, composed at Madrid an "Apologia for the rights of princes,"[2] which attacked the rights of the Holy See, in such a way that Clement VIII. placed it on the Index.[3] Camillo Caetani, Patriarch of Alexandria,[4] who arrived in Madrid in February, 1593, as the new nuncio in Spain, was instructed to take proceedings against this work, and to demand the cessation of the violations of ecclesiastical liberties and immunities which the Spanish government allowed itself in many cases.[5]

Caetani had not been long in Madrid, when there were published the decrees of the Cortes for the years 1588-1590,

[1] See the Relazione di Spagna in C. Bratli, Filip den anden af Spanien, Copenhagen, 1909, 189 *seq.*, 192. *Cf.* also the remarks of the Venetian ambassadors in Gindely, Rudolf II., Vol. I., 21.

[2] Ioaniis de Rova Davila theologi, Apologia de iuribus principalibus defendendis et moderandis iuste ad cath. Hispania regem Philippum II., Madrid, 1591. *Cf.* Baronius, Annales VI. ad ann. 447, n. 8.

[3] See Reusch, Index, I., 537.

[4] A *brief, dated Tusculi, 1592, October 1, informed Philip II. of the mission of Caetani. Brevia Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 72, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *Instructions for Caetani, dated October 27, 1592, Nunziat. di Spagna, 318 pp. 1-9, Papal Secret Archives. For the letters to Caetani and from him during his nunciature in Spain see Hinojosa, 350 *seq.*

and on the strength of these a law which seriously violated ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberties.[1] The nuncio did not fail in energetic action, but obtained very little.[2] In like manner the special legate, Camillo Borghese,[3] who was sent to Madrid in the autumn of 1593 on account of the war against the Turks, was no more successful. Instead of improving, the politico-ecclesiastical situation became worse. Philip II. insisted on the independence of the Church in Spain from Rome in so brusque a way that not even the Gallicans themselves behaved worse a little later in the case of the Church of France. The law of 1593, which extended the royal *placet* even to the faculties of the nuncio in Spain and the Papal legates,[4] was followed at the end of the same year by the pragmatic on titles, against which Sixtus V. had previously fought, and against which Caetani now once more protested. The bull of Clement VIII. of July 19th, 1594, prohibiting religious of both sexes from accepting or giving presents which were not to the advantage of the community, was not received in Spain, together with various other prescriptions of the Papal Chancery. Vexatious disputes, especially between the Rota and the royal council, were quite common.[5]

[1] See the *Cause (July, 1593) per le quali si può tenere offesa S.S.tà et i suoi ministri delli capitoli de corti generali di 1588, Nunziat. di Spagna, 43, Anno 1593, p. 167 *seq.* (*Cf.* p. 212 *seq.*, 258 *seq.*), Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 1594, p. 114 *seq.*, another *Memorial concerning the infringement of ecclesiastical liberties. *Cf.* also MEISTER, Zur span. Nuntiatur, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 453. A *Memoriale del vescovo di Monopoli a Clemente VIII. sopra alcune molestie mosseli da ministri regii, in Vat. 6196, p. 160. *Ibid.* p. 161 *Memoriale del vescovo di Civita di Penne a Clemente VIII. sopra alcune molestie mosseli dal Vicere di Napoli intorna ad una antica sua giurisdizione (August, 1592), Vatican Library.

[2] See HINOJOSA, 355 *seq.*

[3] As to this mission see more fully *infra*, pp. 271 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* HINSCHIUS, III., 755 ; MÜLLER, De placito regio, Louvain, 1877, 47 *seq.*

[5] See the *reports of February and March, 1594, in Nunziat. di Spagna, 43, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 449 *seq.*, HINOJOSA, 358 *seq.*

As was the case in Spain itself, so in Portugal, Milan and Naples, ecclesiastical liberties and jurisdiction were frequently infringed.[1]

Usurpations of this kind were certainly not calculated to win over Clement VIII. to the Spanish claims and desires in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV.; the same was the case with the severe pressure brought to bear by Philip II. in Rome as to this question. This interference was all the more bitterly resented as the question of the absolution was a purely ecclesiastical one.[2] The feeling that prevailed in Rome is clear from a letter of the Florentine ambassador of July 26th, 1595. This reports the violent disputes that had taken place between the Spanish ambassador, Sessa, and the Cardinals. Cardinals d'Aragona and Cusano remarked that in spite of all their attachment to Philip II. they felt themselves bound in conscience, in virtue of their dignity, to defend the rights of the Apostolic See. When Sessa went so far, in the presence of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, as to maintain that in the question of Henry IV. Philip II. was only influenced by his zeal for religion and for the Holy See, the Cardinal replied that his sole interest was to obtain dominion over France. Sessa retorted that it was only the purple which restrained him from challenging the Cardinal to a duel. Cardinal Medici expressly stated that the question of the absolution had nothing to do with the king, since he had not been invested with the stole or the keys; in such a matter his chaplain had more authority than the king, since in danger of death every priest has the power of absolving.[3]

Clement VIII. too deeply resented the pretensions of the Spaniards in the matter of the absolution, though even in this he showed his cautious nature. The Pope never lost sight of their community of interests, especially in the matter of the Turkish war. Therefore he was scrupulously careful

[1] *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 439 *seq.*, 443; *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 213 *seq.*; RICCI, Sillingardi, I., 194 *seq.*; RINIERI, Fine d'una Monarchia, xxi. *seqq.* For Milan *cf. infra*, p. 203 *seq.*

[2] See PARUTA, Relazione, 428.

[3] See DESJARDINS, V., 237 *seq.*

not to come to an open breach with Philip II. He refused to identify himself with the anti-Spanish party, represented in Italy[1] by Venice and Tuscany, and when the absolution of Henry IV. could no longer be deferred, he tried to accomplish it with all possible consideration for Philip II. But he never relinquished the rights of the Church, and kept constantly before his eyes the dangers of Spanish preponderance, which threatened the liberties and independence of the Holy See. In this he was all the more justified as the Spaniards more and more openly made use of force, and made it increasingly clear that with them religious interests were subordinated to political considerations.[2]

Clement VIII. perfectly understood the state of affairs in the Curia, and the place held there by the representatives of Spain; above all, the events of the last four conclaves which had followed each other so rapidly, and in which he himself had taken part, were vivid in his memory. He realized that it was no use to think of any improvement in the situation so long as the Spaniards continued to interfere in the Papal elections, and to influence the Cardinals. As early as the end of 1593 the theologians of the Holy See had drawn up an opinion, directed against the methods hitherto adopted by Philip II. in the conclaves, and openly declaring that the behaviour of his representatives was unlawful and liable to the censures of the Church. In a special way the Papal theologians declared that Philip II. was guilty of grave sin, especially in the following cases: 1. When he announced through his ambassador, that he wished for the election of a definite Cardinal, he was interfering with the freedom of the election, since the Cardinals who were devoted to him feared to incur his displeasure by an election that was not pleasing to him. 2. When the king excluded a definite

[1] See HERRE, 633 *seq.*

[2] See HERRE, 635. The nuncio Pietro Millino *reports on August 3 [1593], from Madrid, that Philip II. gave no hearing to any proposals on behalf of the Catholics of Scotland "per essere occupato alle cose di Francia." Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

Cardinal from the possibility of election, he was inflicting a grave injury upon the Church, because sometimes such an exclusion struck at men who had the greatest qualifications for governing the Church. 3. When the king conferred pensions on the Cardinals of his party, and made them every kind of promise, with the purpose, more or less concealed, of directing the Papal election in accordance with his wishes, he was to some extent guilty of the sin of simony, since voting at the election of the Pope was an ecclesiastical matter, and he was by his presents purchasing a real influence over this.[1]

In reply to this opinion, at the instance of the Spanish ambassador Sessa, three theologians who were devoted to him, the Auditor of the Rota, Francisco de Peña, who was violently Spanish in his views, the Dominican, Giovanni Vincenzio and the Jesuit José de Acosta, drew up a strong counter-opinion. Their views were summarized as follows: 1. Catholic princes may treat with the Cardinals concerning the election of a Pope, *sede vacante*, though not by way of command or ordinance, in order that they may choose a Pope who should be pleasing, not only to the Church, but also to their peoples. 2. For this purpose it is lawful for Catholic princes to exercise the right of inclusion and of exclusion but only on the condition that no one is included who is not worthy of election, nor excluded if he is best suited for the government of the Church. It is therefore permissible to exclude one or more Cardinals who, although they are capable of governing the Church, are nevertheless, for good reasons, looked upon as the enemies of Spain, so long as others are included who are as capable as those who are excluded. 3. In order to win over the goodwill of the Cardinals in this, it is lawful to do so by any honourable means, such as pensions, the granting of favours and other privileges, because in such concessions no contract is entered into, but the Cardinals are left with full liberty in voting.[2]

[1] See GINDELY, Papstwahlen, 258. *Cf.* also SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVII., Kan. Abt. VI., 122 *seq.*

[2] See GINDELY, Papstwahlen, 259.

It was justly remarked that although these controversies between Madrid and Rome were of little practical effect, they were nevertheless of the greatest importance. They obliged the Spaniards to abandon, what they had so tenaciously maintained, the identity of their national interests with those of the Church, and to admit, so to say officially, that the interests of the Church must come before those of the state.[1]

This point of view found its clearest expression in the French question, with regard to which Philip II. claimed that the Holy See, in order to favour his purely worldly ends, must allow France to fall into schism. Clement VIII., in refusing to lend himself to this, and in granting Henry the absolution he had repeatedly asked for, took the decisive step in setting the Holy See free from the Spanish yoke. The joy with which the Curia hailed this decision, clearly showed[2] the satisfaction felt at the end of the servitude to Spain which had been borne with indignation for so long.

The defeat of the Spaniards was rendered all the more complete by the fact that they did not dare to carry out their many and violent threats. Sessa and his party took no definite steps in Rome, and the same was true of Philip II. himself.[3] "Although the absolution of Henry," reported the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, Francesco Vendramin, "has shaken and disturbed the king's mind in an extraordinary way, he yet allows no one to know how much he is offended."[4]

Clement VIII. was prudent enough not to come to an open breach[5] on account of any violation of his own rights on the part of Philip II. When in the autumn of 1596 the application of the *exequatur* in Naples, and the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the expense of the Archbishop of Milan, Frederick Borromeo, did not allow him to keep silence any longer, he intervened firmly, but always in such a way as to

[1] See HERRE, 641.

[2] *Cf.* the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 254, 276 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* V., 279.

[4] See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 466.

[5] See *ibid.*

avoid coming to extremities. He addressed himself in the first instance on both occasions to the local Spanish authorities. On September 7th he addressed a brief to the governor, Juan de Velasco, and the senate of Milan. He pointed out that the archbishop, Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, did not wish for litigation, but that that prelate, no less than the Pope himself, could no longer tolerate[1] the constant violation of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Clement VIII. also showed every consideration for the viceroy of Naples, Olivares, by having recourse to him, not as Pope, but as a private individual.

Even if there was room for a diversity of opinion as to the legal position in the disputes at Milan,[2] at Naples, on the other hand, the case was perfectly clear. The state of affairs there was characteristic of the Spanish system. The Pope had found himself obliged to take away the direction of the convent of Poor Clares from the Franciscan Observants on moral

The *brief addressed "Praesidi et senatui Mediol." complained of the burdens that pressed upon ecclesiastical property, of affronts to priests and interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 367, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, also dated September 7, 1596, a *brief to Cardinal F. Borromeo, who is praised for his vigilance. The Pope says that he, like the Cardinal, only wished to maintain the state of affairs existing in the latter days of Charles Borromeo. A number of *Scritti concerning the question of jurisdiction in Milan, 1596-97, in Barb. LIX. 106, Vatican Library. Quite onesided, and in no sense neutral, is the description of the quarrel at Milan in the *Report addressed to Philip II. by the Constable Juan de Velasco, dated July, 1597, in the Lobkowitz Library, Prague; another copy in Inform. polit. XXIX., 470 *seqq.*, State Library, Berlin, used by GINDELY (Rudolf II., vol. I., 15 *seq.*). See also a *Spanish Memorial of 1596 addressed to Philip II. on the subject of the quarrels at Milan, in N. 13, p. 340 *seq.* Vallicella Library, Rome. *Cf.* also GALANTE, Diritto di placitazione e l'economato dei benefici vacanti in Lombardia, Milan, 1894, 80 *seq.*, and the literature there cited.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 371 *seq.* *Cf.* also A. RATTI, Opusculo ined. del card. Baronio, 10 *seqq.*

grounds. When the archbishop, Cardinal Gesualdo, set himself to carry out this order of the head of the Church, purely ecclesiastical in character, entirely justified, and even necessary, the civil authorities resisted it, on the pretext that this brief required the *exequatur* of the king. It is intolerable, wrote Clement VIII. to the viceroy on October 5th, 1596,[1] that the Pope should not be able to govern even monks and nuns, who are primarily subject to him; no king and no earthly prince had any jurisdiction in matters which only concern religious, and the removal of grave moral evils. In this case he had only acted after a strict inquiry, not hastily, but after mature reflection, and in accordance with his sacred duty as supreme pastor of the Church. He had issued similar orders, without meeting with any opposition, in Venice, where the convents were filled with the relatives of the rulers of the republic. The *exequatur* in Naples was well known to him. It had not existed from time immemorial, but had only been allowed in the dioceses, so that persons hostile to Spain might not interfere there. The civil power had then extended it little by little, and now wished to make use of it to prevent an urgent monastic reform. Olivares must take care that the overstrung bow does not break. Purely out of consideration for the king he was writing to him as a private individual and not as Pope.

Clement also adopted the form of a private autograph letter when, on October 15th, 1596, he had recourse to Philip II. himself on the subject of the usurpations in Naples and Milan. This letter enters into detail concerning the state of affairs, and is explained by attached documents. The Pope makes his complaint in energetic terms: he gravely points out that the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction prejudices civil jurisdiction; if bishops and priests are treated in this way by the officials, they will come to be despised, and will not be able to prevent the penetration of heresy and schism, since this was the very thing as to which all the religious

[1] The *letter to Olivares in Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 14, Papal Secret Archives and in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

innovators were in agreement, namely the humiliation and destruction of the authority of the Holy See.[1] On October 11th, 1596, Clement VIII. had to complain in a brief to the king, of the violation of the liberties of the Church on the part of the representatives of Philip II. at Cambrai.[2]

The Pope's confessor, the learned Baronius, urgently appealed to the conscience of Olivares, who was an ardent admirer of his Annals. "If," he wrote, "I were to come down in my work to our own times, and to the reign of the mighty "Catholic" king, I should have to relate how, in the Kingdom of Naples, bishops were driven into exile by the viceroy, as in the days of the Emperor Decius; that property was stolen from the Church, and the Papal authority gravely contemned, so that it was not even allowed to change the confessors of convents. The oppression of the clergy by the civil power, such as prevails in the Spanish dominions, is equivalent to a crypto heresy. I shall not be able when the time comes, to hide the truth, even though in describing the fault, I have also to tell of its expiation, and show that all this has been done against the wishes of the king."[3] Spain, so thought the Venetian ambassador Agostino Nani in 1598, would like as far as possible to limit the power of the Holy See, to make the Papal Nuncio its servant, and see none adorned with the purple except those men who have been chosen for that dignity by the Catholic King. The same shrewd observer goes on to point out how Philip II. had not only completely subjected the Spanish Inquisition to his purposes, but the clergy as well. Nani clearly shows how much the king was attempting to limit ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Those officials, he says, who have been excommunicated on account of their violation of the rights of the Church are the very ones accounted the most trustworthy, while an Alcade or a Corregidor who has not been excommunicated for at least ten months, is looked upon

[1] See the text of the *letter (Vatican Library) in App. No. 28.

[2] See Corresp. de Frangipani 394 *seq.* (*cf.* 407 *seq.*).

[3] See LÄMMER, Analecta, 141.

as wanting in zeal in the fulfilment of his duties. Unjust excommunication was looked upon them as valid, and they took the judgment of the matter into their own hands. All this was based upon ancient custom, while Philip II. pacified his own conscience by the opinions of his theologians.[1]

In a Church where there was no freedom of action, such as that of Spain, grave abuses were bound to take root only too easily. Clement VIII. had been able to see for himself, when he had been in Spain, that the men who held the wealthy bishoprics of that country were very often more like great secular nobles than pastors of souls.[2] He therefore, from the beginning of his pontificate, made every effort to recall them to their duty, and especially to a strict carrying out of visitations.[3] Like the Pope, his nuncio Caetani worked energetically[4] in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform. But as the fundamental cause, the enslavement of the Church, still remained, a radical improvement was attained but slowly, so that further exhortations were constantly called for.[5] Clement VIII. did all he could; in July, 1596, he told the King of Spain that in future he would only give his consent to the translation of those bishops who had fulfilled their duty in making visitations and who had acted as true pastors.[6] The reiterated exhortations of the Pope had the effect of making a number of the bishops, such as those of Tarragona,

[1] See Albèri, I., 5, 484 *seq.*

[2] See in App. No. 27 the *brief of July 18, 1596, addressed to Philip II., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Clement VIII. had already written to the chapters of Seville and Toledo in his first *brief of July 8, 1592, that he intended to fight against the decadence in ecclesiastical discipline (Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 429, Papal Secret Archives). He exhorted the Archbishop of Evora on February 19, 1593, to hold a visitation and to reform (*ibid.* t. 38, p. 233).

[4] *Cf.* Hinojosa, 359 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *brief to "episc. Ulixbon." of May 16, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 258, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See in App. No. 27 the *brief of July 18, 1596, Papal Secret Archives.

Granada, Saragossa and Compostella, faithfully carry out their duties. Clement VIII. encouraged them to persevere, and urged them, in addition to the visitations, to hold synods.[1]

The failure to assert his authority which Philip II. had experienced in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV., had been a serious blow to his reputation in Rome, and henceforward Spanish influence began gradually to decline. It was however an exaggeration when Francesco Vendramin expressed the opinion in 1595 that the King of Spain no longer had much authority in the College of Cardinals on account of his masterful behaviour, and that in future he would have even less because the French party had attained to considerable power, so that in a short time it would be able to offer an effective resistance to that of Spain.[2]

In reality such a change could not have taken place so quickly, though it had begun, and Clement VIII., convinced that it was only by limiting the preponderant Spanish influence in Rome that the Holy See could recover its necessary independence, left nothing undone to consolidate and further the change which had taken place after the absolution of Henry IV. Thus in February, 1596, he replaced the nuncio at Venice, Lodovico Taverna, a friend of Spain, by Antonio Maria Graziani,[3] a man of quite other opinions. In the same way the unexpected nomination of sixteen new Cardinals in June, 1596, implied a diminution of Spanish influence, in that only prelates of neutral sentiments were promoted. This promotion, which created quite a new state of affairs for the next conclave, clearly showed that instead of the worldly aims of Philip II, henceforward none but purely religious considerations would prevail in Rome.[4]

[1] See the *briefs "Congregat. ex ecclesiis Castellae et Legionis Madridii collectae," of February 7, to "archiepisc° Tarracon," of July 24, to "archiepisc° Granat." of September 1, to "archiepisc° Caesaraugustae" of September 9, 1597 (Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 60, 191, 206, 211) and to "archiepisc° Compostell." of June 22, 1598 (*ibid.* t. 42, n. 180) Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 467.

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 226. *Cf.* BIAUDET, 55, 59 *seq.*

[4] See HERRE, 643. Particulars of the promotion, see *infra*, p. 248, and Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 195.

This changed state of affairs with regard to Spain naturally led to a rapprochement with France, even though the attitude of Henry IV. still left a great deal to be desired. Very characteristic of prevailing opinion in Rome was the sorrow and consternation felt there when Calais was captured by the Spaniards in April, 1596, and Amiens in the following March.[1] According to the report of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Dolfin, Clement VIII. and his nephews feared that the Spaniards would now vent upon them their anger at the absolution of Henry IV.[2]

The importance of the friendship of Henry IV., whose ambassador, François de Luxemburg, Duc de Piney, made the solemn *obedientia* in April 1597,[3] was shown in the autumn, when, with the death of Duke Alfonso II. there arose the question of the succession to the Duchy of Ferrara. Joining forces with the Pope, the king of France enabled Clement to subject this duchy to the direct government of the Church, though it had hitherto only been a fief.[4] If the greatest impression had been made upon the Spaniards by the fact that the Pope had granted absolution to Henry IV. against the wishes of Philip II., they were now amazed at the display

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 251 *seq.*, 458. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 340.

[2] DOLFIN, Relazione, 469 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *La entrada que hizo el ill^mo y ex^mo S. Duque de Lucemburg, Embaxador del Rey Christianissimo de Francia y de Navarra, con el recibimiento maravilloso, que por orden de N. S. Clemente Papa octavo le fue hecho en Roma a los 16 de Abril Anno de 1597, in Conradi baronis in Bemelberg et Hohenburg iunioris (*cf.* A. FARINELLI, Apuntes sobre viajes y viajeros por España y Portugal, Oviedo 1899, 135 *seq.*). *Liber litterarum in Cod. 580, p. 123 *seq.* of the University Library, Innsbruck. For the making of the *obedientia* (April 17, 1597) and the previous negotiations, see Lettres d'Ossat, I., 429, 432 *seq.*, 442, 447 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, and *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae in Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library. Clement VIII. thanked Henry IV. in a *letter of April 20, 1597, for the mission of Luxemburg, Orig. in National Archives, Paris, L. 357.

[4] *Cf.* as to this Vol. XXIV. of this work, pp. 389 *seq.*

of military power on the part of the Holy See, and at the success of an undertaking which had been carried out without their participation, and even against their wishes. The prestige of Henry IV. was further consolidated by his attitude in this affair.[1]

Clement VIII. made his solemn entry into Ferrara on May 8th, 1598. Six days earlier the peace of Vervins had been signed. This agreement, which put an end to the disastrous war between France and Spain, and which confirmed the national independence of the French people, was entirely the work of Clement VIII.[2]

The Pope had urged the Cardinal legate, Medici, to promote an agreement between France and Spain, which was so necessary in view of the Turkish peril, but without meeting with any sympathy on the part of Henry IV.[3] Nevertheless the Pope continued to keep this peace, so desirable in Catholic interests, before his eyes. In 1597[4] the situation became favourable for an agreement.[5] On September 25th Philip II. again lost Amiens;[6] his financial straits and his increasing years, as well as the successes of the English and the Dutch, forced him to think seriously of ending the war with Henry IV. The King of France too was not blind to the same necessity; the siege of Amiens had lasted for six months, during which the fate of France had depended upon this single stronghold. A prolonged duration of the war gave reason to fear the breaking up of the royal armies.

Clement VIII. now once again, and in the most definite way, laid the question of peace before the representatives of France and Spain, again pointing to the Turkish peril. As early as June, 1597, he had ordered public prayers, in

[1] See Agost. Nani in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 480; Lettres d'Ossat, 496 *seq.*

[2] Opinion of HERRE (664).

[3] See MARTIN, Relations, II., 261 *seq.*

[4] See GIORDANI in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 5th series, XXVI. (1917), 591 *seq.*

[5] See MARTIN, Relations, II., 262 *seq.*

[6] See GIORDANI, *loc. cit.*, 594 *seq.*

order to obtain from God the end of the terrible struggle.[1] On September 9th, 1597, he was able to report to the King of France that Philip II. was prepared to enter into negotiations for peace, but he attached to this a new and insistent appeal to Henry IV. that he for his part, would encourage an understanding on which so much depended, both for the good of Christendom, and for that of France herself.[2] The news of the capture of Amiens by Henry IV. delighted Clement VIII., because he saw in this the first step towards the restoration of peace.[3] Although for the time being things did not turn out as he had hoped,[4] the Pope did not relax his efforts. It was of decisive importance to the negotiations that he should have discovered in the General of the Franciscans, Bonaventura Secusi di Caltagirona, the very man to remove the outstanding difficulties.[5] It was an all-important triumph when this southern Italian, who was as shrewd as he was energetic, was able to induce the Spaniards to agree to the restoration of Calais, a thing that had hitherto been refused, but upon which Henry IV. rightly insisted. The other great difficulty lay in the separation of the King of France from his Protestant allies, the English and the Dutch. These worked in every way against the peace and promised Henry IV. further help if he would continue the war against the hated Spaniards.

The English and Dutch diplomatists were still continuing

[1] See *Avviso of June 18, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library.

[2] The *brief to Henry IV. of September 9, 1597, in which Clement VIII., alluding to the absolution of the king, remarks that he had long borne him in sorrow and at last brought him forth in joy, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 208, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 220 a *brief to the "card. Austriae" of September 9, 1597, exhorting him to support the negotiations for peace.

[3] See the *report of Franc. Maria Vialardo, dated Rome, October 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* GIORDANI, *loc. cit.*, 596 *seq.*

[5] BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie, 130) already brings out clearly the merits of Caltagirona.

these efforts when at the beginning of February, 1598, the definite peace negotiations were begun in the little city of Vervins, to the east of Saint-Quentin.[1] As the representative of the Pope the Cardinal legate Medici presided over these. By command of Clement VIII. there were also present the General of the Franciscans, Fra Bonaventura di Caltagirona and the nuncio in France, Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, who also belonged to the Franciscan Order. Spain had appointed as her representatives diplomatists of distinction: Jean Richardot, Giovanni Battista de Taxis and Verreiken; Henry IV. sent Bellièvre and Sillery.

The negotiations, in which not only the interests of France and Spain, but also those of Savoy, England and Holland

[1] RANKE (II.[8], 202), in dealing with the negotiations for the peace of Vervins, only consulted the detailed report, published under the title of "Autres Mémoires," based on the edition of the Mémoires of Angoulême in DIDOT, 1756, I., 131-363. It is amazing that Ranke should have passed over another source which he had at hand: i.e., the equally detailed and exact report issued by the entourage of the Cardinal legate, *"Relazione del trattato di pace fatto nell'assemblea tra li deputati del Re Christianissimo et del Re Cattolico e del Duca di Savoia in presenza del cardinale di Firenze, legato de latere di Clemente VIII. nel regno di Francia et del Re Christianissimo, con l'intervento di M. Gonzaga, vescovo di Mantova, nunzio di Suo Beatitudine, e del generale degli Osservanti di S. Francesco" in Inform. polit. II., p. 123-188, State Library, Berlin. Other copies in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Istruz. I., 398 *seq.*, and in Cod. Barb. LVI., 125 p. 95 *seq.*, and LIX., 52 p. 147 *seq.*, Vatican Library. French *translation "pour suppléer aux fautes qui se trouvent en la copie italienne" in Cod. 35 G. 2, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* GACHARD, La Bibliothèque Corsini, Brussels, 1869, 60 *seq.* See also GACHARD, La Bibl. nat. de Paris, II., 15-21; L'EPINOIS, 651; RÜBSAM, 130 *seq.* *Cf.* also MARTIN, Relations, II., 263 *seq.*; RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele II. (1896), 375 *seqq.* Another important source in Borghese, III., 62a. *Lettere decif. del patriarca di Constantinopoli intorno la pace di Vervins 1597-1600 (copies); *Lettere di fra Bonaventura di Caltagirona al card. Aldobrandini 1597-1600 (originals), Papal Secret Archives.

were considered, lasted for three months. England and Holland, trusting in their power, attempted once more the impossible task of destroying the peace,[1] but once Henry IV. had made up his mind to pay no attention to their cunning suggestions, the conclusion of the peace was assured. The King of France clearly saw that both his Protestant allies had no other purpose than to destroy, together with the power of Spain, that of France as well. During the negotiations at Vervins there also distinguished himself the secretary of Secusi, Francesco de Sosa, so that three sons of St. Francis had a share in the peace treaty. Great service was rendered by the Cardinal legate, Medici, who with his skill and impartiality, was the real mediator of the peace, which was at last signed on May 2nd, 1598.[2] Each of the two kings was to restore what he still held of the territory of the other: Henry the county of Charolais, which formed part of Spanish Burgundy; Philip II. Calais and the other important fortresses on the frontier of the Netherlands, as well as the port of Blavet (Port Louis) in Brittany. The Duke of Savoy also participated in the peace, though the important question of the possession of Saluzzo was left unsettled.[3]

The Pope was at Ferrara when the good news reached him, and he immediately ordered a procession of thanksgiving.[4] When he had received fuller details he addressed warm

[1] *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 352 *seq.*

[2] See MARTIN, Relations, II., 264. *Ibid.* for the departure of Medici in September, 1598.

[3] See DUMONT, V., 1, 566 *seq.* I. B. de Tassis Commentarii in H. v. PAPENDRECHT, Anal. Belgica, II., 2, The Hague, 1743, 573 *seq.* RÜBSAM, 132. For the promulgation of the peace see DESJARDINS, V., 360 and E. SOYEZ, Séjour à Amiens du card. de Florence. Publication de la paix de Vervins, Amiens, 1905.

[4] See besides the letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini in L'EPINOIS, 651, the *report of Lodovico Cremaschi, dated Ferrara, 1598, May 14, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Bernerio, May 23, 1598, State Archives, Vienna.

letters of gratitude to Henry IV.[1] and Philip II. ;[2] once more he exhorted the King of France to participate in the struggle against the Turks.

It was perhaps the crowning point of the pontificate of Clement VIII. when he thus succeeded in putting an end to a struggle which threatened with ruin two great and noble nations, and which at the same time seriously hampered his efforts as Pope in resisting the Turkish peril, as well as interfering with the interests of the Church. As had been the case in the great days of the Middle Ages, the Holy See now once more exercised its high office as mediator between belligerent nations, and stood out before the world as the haven of peace.[3]

If Philip II. sheathed his sword, it was not only because he felt himself worn out, but even more because, convinced of the weakness of his successor, he wished to leave to him a kingdom at peace.[4]

The relations between the King of Spain and Rome still remained strained, and Clement VIII. was convinced that whatever he might do, the government at Madrid would never forgive him for the absolution of Henry IV. He hoped

[1] "Exultat incredibili gaudio cor nostrum . . ., mente quodammodo excedimus neque verba ulla satis invenire possumus" says the *brief of May 18, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 136, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Brief of May 30, 1598, *ibid.* n. 152. Philip congratulated the Pope ; see the report of the nuncio in Spain, May 25, 1598, cited in TURBA, Beiträge in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI. (1899), 367. Clement VIII. wrote to the Duke of Savoy on May 26, 1598, about the peace : *"O divitias bonitatis Dei, o nuncium optatissimum salutiferae pacis, quod ardentissime expetivimus, quod summis votis in omni humilitate cordis nostri a Deo et patre misericordiarum precati sumus, quodque pro nostro pastorali officio tamdiu tantaque diligentia procurare non cessavimus, id nunc divinae benignitatis abundantia perfectum esse incredibiliter laetamur." Orig. in State Archives, Turin.

[3] See HERRE, 644.

[4] *Cf.* the report of Franc. Soranzo in BAROZZI, Spagna, I., 179.

however, for an improvement after the death of Philip II.[1] In the physical state of the King of Spain that event could not be long delayed, and indeed, on September 13th, 1598, a peaceful death set Philip II. free from his painful sufferings,[2] which he had borne with a truly Christian patience. He had exhorted his son to be faithful to Catholicism, but up to the last had clung to his cesaropapistical principles.[3] Only a short time before his death, in connexion with the question of his influence upon Papal elections, the king had approved a defence, drawn up by his theologians in June, 1598, of the right to designate an approved candidate (inclusion) and to exclude one who was not acceptable (exclusion), provided that in so doing he acted reasonably and with moderation.[4]

The news of the death of Philip II. reached the Pope on September 29th, 1598, when he had gone from Ferrara to Comacchio.[5] In spite of their many disputes Clement VIII. realized the virtues of the dead man,[6] and on October 12th assisted at the obsequies which were conducted with the

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 472.

[2] *Cf.* LAFUENTE, Hist. de España, XIV. (1854), 470-480; BÜDINGER, Mitteilungen aus der span. Gesch., Vienna, 1893, 12 *seq.*; TURBA in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI. (1899), 376 *seq.*, where the reports of the nuncio Caetani were used for the first time; *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XXII. (1901), 443 *seq.*; RICCI, Silingardi, I., 203 *seq.*

[3] For the advice which Philip II. left to his son, see the excellent and exhaustive study by TURBA, *loc. cit.* 410 *seq.*

[4] See GINDELY, Papstwahlen, 260 *seq.*; HERRE, 645 *seq.* The *memorials used by Gindely from the Simancas Archives were also to be found in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Ibid.* another *memorial dated Rome, 1598, April 18, which is not mentioned by Gindely.

[5] *"Hoggi è venuto aviso certo a Ferrara che a S.S.tà giunse hieri un corriero con l'aviso della morte de re catholico," reports L. Cremaschi, September 30, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See the text of the Pope's allocution on October 9, 1598, in HERRERA, Elogio a las virtudes de Filipe II., Valladolid, 1604, 177 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Avviso of October 7, 1598, Urb. 1066, Vatican Library.

customary solemnities.[1] It was characteristic of the revival of his private sentiments, which had been strengthened by the acquisition of Ferrara, as well as of his disinclination for any radical change in the political situation in Italy, as it had existed since the time of Paul IV., that on the occasion of the succession to the throne he offered the assistance of the Holy See, by Papal briefs dated October 1st, 1598, to the Spanish governors at Naples and Milan.[2]

Notwithstanding the strictly religious principles of Philip III. the relations of Spain with the Holy See were in no way substantially better than they had been in the time of his father, and we may indeed wonder whether a sovereign who was so lacking in energy, so phlegmatic in character, and so wanting in great qualities was capable of bringing about any change in a state of affairs which had become engrained by long usage.

In view of the overwhelming influence which the favourite of Philip III., the Duke of Lerma, exercised over affairs of state, it was only natural that every effort should have been made in Rome to win the favour of this man, and with this purpose it was decided to promote Sandoval, Lerma's uncle, to the cardinalate, which was done on March 3rd, 1599.[3] Nevertheless the looked for politico-ecclesiastical results were not verified.

About the same time as Clement VIII. conferred the purple on Sandoval, who also became Archbishop of Toledo, he addressed himself to Lerma concerning the frequent violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the Spanish officials,[4]

[1] See the *report of L. Cremasci, dated Ferrara 1598, October 13, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Lettres d'Ossat, I., 592 *seq.*

[2] See the *briefs to the "Gubernator Mediolani" and to "Prorex Neapol." both dated Kal. October, 1598, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 290, 291, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 316 *seq.*

[4] See the *brief of March 1, 1599, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 116, Papal Secret Archives. At the same time Philip III. charged the Count of Lemos, who was to be viceroy of Naples,

but to no purpose. On the contrary, the situation at Milan became so much worse[1] that at the end of May, 1599, Baronius himself recommended the excommunication of the governor of Milan, the Count of Fuentes.[2] But Clement VIII. wished once more to attempt to come to a peaceful solution. For this purpose he sent Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein to Milan in the summer, but without success.[3] When the excommunication was pronounced on the governor of Milan, the latter complained to the Pope, who replied to him in his own hand on October 16th, 1599. With the utmost dignity the Pope answered the reproaches that had been addressed to him.[4] The matters under dispute were at length adjusted at the beginning of 1601,[5] but in 1604 the Pope had

to make the *obedientia*; see *letter of Philip III. to Cardinal Sfondrato, dated Valencia, 1599, March 12, Cod. L. III., 66, Chigi. Vatican Library.

[1] See *Avvisi of January 1, 16 and 23, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and the *reports of Giulio Cesare Foresti, Rome, May 22 and 29, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat II., 6 *seq.*, 25, 50, 55.

[2] See *Avviso of May 25, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RATTI, Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio, 14. DIERAUER (438) calls Fuentes "one of those cold statesmen without a heart trained by Philip II."

[3] *"È tornato il sig. card. Dietrichstano dalla sua legatione (a Milano) con la disgratia di N. S. et con perdita affatto d'ogni riputazione appresso tutta la corte." Report of G. C. Foresti, July 31, 1599, according to which Dietrichstein only did harm by his complaisance. *Cf.* the *report of the same, August 7, 1599, for the reproofs addressed by the Pope to Dietrichstein. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *Avviso of July 31, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *letter with many details in Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 19 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *briefs to the Governor of Milan, April 29, October 26 and November 8, 1600; Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 122, 365, 377, Papal Secret Archives.

once more to complain of the infringements of ecclesiastical liberties.[1]

At Naples, where Olivares had permitted himself many usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,[2] a new viceroy had been appointed in the summer of 1599 in the person of the Count of Lemos. The Pope expressed to him his hope that the rights of the Church would now be respected,[3] but as early as September he had to complain that, in violation of the investiture[4] shortly before conferred on Philip III., the viceroy was seeking to damage the trade of the city of Benevento, which belonged to the Papal States.[5] This matter was still pending when in March, 1600, Lemos came to Rome to make his *obedientia*, where the nephews of the Pope prepared sumptuous festivities in his honour.[6] By the advice of his confessor, a Jesuit, Lemos settled the dispute

[1] See the *brief to the Governor of Milan, January 20, 1604, *ibid.* t. 56, n. 92.

[2] *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 6 *seq.*, 25, 55.

[3] See the long *brief to the "Comes de Lemos, vicerex Neapol." dated 1599, July 3, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 321, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] For this, as well as for the negotiations which preceded the act, G. C. Foresti *reports on September 11, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The bull of investiture of September 9, 1599, in Bull., X., 536 *seq.* *Ibid.* 534 *seq.* the Bull, dated September 6, 1599, in which it is stated that Philip III., in addition to Milan, may also hold Naples.

[5] There is question of a new road to be taken within two miles of Benevento; see the *brief to the viceroy of Naples, September 4, 1599, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 354, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cf.* GROTTANELLI, Ducato di Castro, 24 *seq.* The *Avviso of March 25, 1600, describes the splendid cavalcade of the viceroy. Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BERNARDINO BECCARI, La solenne entrata che ha fatto il s. conte di Lemos vicere di Napoli in Roma alli 20 marzo 1600 con la cavalcata di S. E. al consist. publ. 22 marzo, Rome, 1600. The discourse made on behalf of Philip III. at the *obedientia* was published: Ferd. Ruiz de Castro et Andrade ad Clementem VIII. Oratio habita dum Philippi regis cath. nomine obedientiam exhiberet. Rome, 1600.

about Benevento in 1601, as well as many other abuses which had arisen from the infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[1] But how deep-rooted such usurpations were in the Spanish system, is shown by the fact that even a viceroy so well-disposed as Lemos repeatedly gave the Pope in 1603 occasion for complaints and remonstrances.[2] It was out of the question to think of any renunciation of the claims deriving from the privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula*, for the government at Madrid clung to this with inflexible tenacity.

The Venetian ambassador at Madrid, Girolamo Soranzo, remarked in his report for 1602 that in spite of the incessant attempts of the Popes to safeguard their rights against the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *exequatur* in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Spanish government had even extended and increased its usurpations, and that, in order to avoid a complete breach there remained no other course open to the Holy See but to put up with the present state of affairs, no matter how harmful it was, as the lesser of two evils. The Spanish government refused any renunciation of its cesaro-papistical pretensions in Naples and Sicily, because it saw in these one of the best ways of holding in check the population, which hated the oppressive foreign domination.[3]

Soranzo thought, however, that Philip III. did not offend so openly and shamelessly against the authority and liberties

[1] Clement VIII. complained to the viceroy about Benevento in a *brief of December 16, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 419, Papal Secret Archives. On January 19, 1601, the Pope was able to thank him for having removed the reason for his complaints (*ibid.* t. 45, n. 17). Clement VIII. thanked the confessor of the viceroy, F. Mendoza, S.J. for his co-operation in protecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction with Lemos, in a *brief of February 22, 1601 (*ibid.* n. 55). *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 244 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*

[2] See the *briefs of May 9 (restriction of ecclesiastical liberties by means of the concession of titles) and June 18 (affront to the ecclesiastical state by the sending of *litterae hortatoriae* to bishops, and even to Cardinals), Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 121, 158, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Barozzi, Spagna, I., 102.

of the Church as his father,[1] and this held good, in a limited degree, for the actual Kingdom of Spain, as well as for the possessions of the king in Italy. The list of the violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was drawn up in Rome at the end of 1600, and sent to the nuncio in Spain, is nevertheless considerable enough.[2]

In the course of the negotiations at the time, Cardinals Guevara and Toledo proposed, for all questions concerning jurisdiction, the setting up of a tribunal in Spain, which, like the Inquisition, should be dependent upon the Pope. The reply which Cardinal Aldobrandini gave to the Spanish nuncio, Domenico Ginnasio, concerning this proposal, on July 31st, 1600, is very characteristic. The Pope, this states, absolutely rejects the setting up of any such tribunal, because the Holy See would be gravely harmed thereby; as for the Spanish Inquisition, which should be dependent on the Pope, it does not obey him in any way, nor has it ever been possible to obtain from it the minutes of the trials, even when the Pope or the Roman Inquisition asked for them.[3]

While this grave condemnation of the Spanish Inquisition, the excesses of which were frequently wrongly attributed to the Pope, was being written, there met at Avila, under the presidency of the king, a commission to discuss the best way

[1] See *ibid.*, 158.

[2] *Cf.* *Cod. Barb. 5852, p. 57 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[3] *"Dice la S. Sua che di questo si levi ogni speranza perche la Sede Apost. è scottata et la istessa Inquisitione, che pende dall' autorità del Papa, non le obbedisce ne è stato mai possibile di havere di quella alcun processo quando da N. S. et da questa congregatione si è chiesto." (Letter of July 31, 1600, Barb. 5852, I., p. 69b-70, Vatican Library). HINOJOSA (410) had called attention to Nunziat. di Spagna, t. 58, Papal Secret Archives, on the matter of the disagreement between Rome and the Spanish Inquisition. Clement VIII. says in the *brief to "episc. Carthag. Inquisit. Hispaniae," July 19, 1602, that if the office of Inquisitor is not exercised properly it involves great harm to the country. Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 221 *ibid.*

of putting an end to[1] the disputes concerning civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the suppression of Papal bulls, and the question of the *spoglie* of the bishoprics. Even the confessor of Philip III. worked in defence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,[2] and it would appear that during the following years there was an improvement;[3] complaints became less frequent though they were not altogether wanting.[4]

Since there was no hope of the removal of the root of all the evil, namely the spirit of cesaropapalism,[5] the relations between Madrid and Rome remained strained.[6] Externally, it is true, good relations were maintained as far as possible,

[1] On these deliberations is based the *"Consulta que se hizo al Rey Felipe III. sobre jurisdicion real, retencion de bulas, espolios de los episcopos," Madrid, July 30, 1600, Archives to the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 10.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, August, 1600, Barb. 5852, I. 79, Vatican Library.

[3] I found among the Briefs only one to Philip III., of September 20, 1600, containing the exhortation already addressed to him on May 29, 1599, to hurry forward the carrying out of the testamentary dispositions of Philip II. with regard to the restitution of ecclesiastical property in Spain (Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 267, Papal Secret Archives). Of the Lettere del card. Aldobrandini al nunzio di Spagna there belong here the *letters of February 24 (on the prevention of the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* in Peru), of July 1 and 21, and August 28, 1603 (on the revocation of the Cedola reale delle cause beneficiali di patronati regii). In the letter of August 28 it is further said: "Qua non si è potuto far di meno di non parlarne al S. Duca di Sessa, col quale S.B. ne fece a questi giorni un gran risentimento in proposito dell'instanza che si fa in nome di S.M. della secularizzazione della Chiesa di Saragossa, sendo parso cosa molto strana." Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

[4] *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 409.

[5] See the pessimistic view ofClement VIII. in *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, August 28, 1600, Barb. 5852, I. 95, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* the report for 1605 in PELLEGRINI, Relazioni inedite degli ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Madrid, Lucca, 1903, 26.

since both parties realized that they were dependent upon the other in many important respects. In the case of the Pope it was above all the Turkish war which forced him to treat Spain with all possible consideration.[1] On the other hand Philip III. and his ministers fully realized what enormous financial advantages they derived from the continued renewal of the two million ducats a year which came to them from the ecclesiastical revenues, and from their power over the investitures of the Spanish bishoprics. All their efforts therefore were directed to retaining the goodwill of the Pope in these two matters, a thing which they were successful in doing.[2]

The dependence of the higher Spanish clergy upon the government was bound to have evil results. In the choice of bishops the government acted conscientiously, but only in so far that candidates were nominated who were morally blameless, because only thus could they count upon obtaining the Papal confirmation, but in other respects only too often men were placed in charge of the dioceses who neglected their pastoral duties and employed their large revenues principally on behalf of their relatives, and as the lower clergy were very badly paid, many dangerous situations arose.[3]

As he had done in the time of Philip II., so now did Clement VIII. endeavour with all his power to bring about a reform of ecclesiastical conditions in Spain. To this end he not only made use of the nunciature, which, after February, 1600, was in the hands of Domenico Ginnasio, Archbishop of Siponto,[4]

[1] *Cf.* DOLFIN, Relazione, 472.

[2] See report of G. Soranzo for 1602 in BAROZZI, Spagna, I., 44 *seq.*, 71.

[3] See G. Soranzo *ibid.* 46 *seq.*, 171 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* 258 the report of Ottaviano Bon.

[4] A *brief of January 20, 1600, informed Philip III. of the replacement of the present nuncio Caetani by Ginnasio, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 25 (*cf.* 36), Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 407 *seq.* To this translation of the *reports of Ginnasio must be added: Barb. LXIII., 37-41 (now 5852): *Lettere di Msgr. D. Ginnasio Nuntio in Spagna, 600-1605, and LXIII. 42: *Lettere

but also by repeatedly addressing personal admonitions to the government. As early as May 22nd, 1599, he had recourse to Philip III. himself, and appealing to his piety, adjured him to make use of the right of nomination which had been granted to him, only for the appointment of worthy and suitable bishops, and above all those who were not handicapped by the burden of illegitimate birth. The king was further implored to refrain in future from asking for the translation of bishops for futile reasons, as this led to grave abuses. The Pope had personally become aware of these during his own earlier sojourn in Spain, where many of the bishops did not live as priests, but merely as secular princes, gravely neglecting their pastoral duties. Many neglected to celebrate or to assist at Mass; they did not preach, they did not administer the sacraments nor confer orders, and failed to make canonical visitations. Especially harmful was the neglect of the duty of residence, for which reason the king was adjured not to summon the bishops to his court, except for reasons of great importance. In order to do all that was possible for his part, the Pope revoked all the permissions hitherto granted to the bishops to live away from their dioceses.[1]

These exhortations resulted in Clement VIII. being able to honour a number of the bishops with briefs praising them for

del card. Aldobrandini a D. Ginnasio from January 15 to December 18, 1600, Vatican Library. The originals of the letters of 1603 in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287. The bust made by Bernini gives us a perfect likeness of Ginnasio; see CANTALAMESSA, in *Bollet. d'arte*, V. (1911), 81 *seq.*

[1] The letter is printed in Bull. X., 478 *seq.*, with date February 26, 1599; the true date is May 22, 1599, in Brevia Clementis VIII., Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 237, Papal Secret Archives. This states: "Multi Hispaniarum episcopi ita vitam instituunt, ac si principes saeculi essent, non autem ministri Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum eius, itaque in ipsa familia et in omni domestico apparatu et externarum rerum splendore saeculares principes videri volunt, ab iis vero quae proprie episcoporum sunt, et in quibus non illa umbratilis, sed vera et solida episcopalis idgnitas consistit, ab iis magnopere abhorrent."

the faithful discharge of their duties, especially those of Coimbra,[1] Lamego,[2] Lisbon,[3] Evora,[4] Seville[5] and Valladolid.[6] Newly appointed bishops were urged to fulfil their duties.[7] Wherever abuses showed themselves, the Pope intervened energetically, both in the case of the bishops[8] and of the convents of women[9] which had fallen into a very bad state, especially in Aragon[10] and in Portugal. The Pope zealously supported the reform of the Cistercians, the Augustinians, the Trinitarians and Basilians in Spain.[11]

[1] *Brief to Alfonso de Castello-Branco, August 2, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 220, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Brief to Martino Alfonso de Mello, December 1, 1601, *ibid.* t. 45, n. 415.

[3] *Brief to Michele de Castro, July 27, 1602, *ibid.* t. 46, n. 228.

[4] *Brief to Alessandro de Braganza, December 20, 1603, *ibid.* t. 56, n. 74.

[5] *Brief to Cardinal de Guevara, March 8, 1603, *ibid.* t. 47, n. 31.

[6] *Brief to Giov. Batt. de Azevedo, June 20, 1603, *ibid.* n. 163.

[7] *Brief to Lod. Ferd. de Cordova, Bishop of Salamanca, May 6, 1603, *ibid.* n. 115.

[8] See the *brief to the Archbishop of Valencia, September 20, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 270, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* t. 45, n. 294, 295, the *briefs to Philip III. and the Bishop of Elvas, Antonio de Matos de Noronha, August 18, 1601. See also *infra* (n. 9) the *brief to the Archbishop of Braga, and t. 56, p. 117, that to the Bishop of Segovia, Pietro de Castro, April 6, 1604.

[9] See the *brief to the Archbishop of Braga, Agost. de Castro, April 9, 1603, and *those to the other bishops of Portugal, April 10-12, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 77-89, Papal Secret Archives.

[10] See HINOJOSA, 410.

[11] See besides Bull. IX., 580 *seq.*, XI., 143 *seq.*, the *briefs to Philip III. of February 28 (recommendation of the General of the Cistercians as visitor of Aragon), and May 3, 1603 (recommendation of the General of the Basilians, who wishes to reform the convents in Spain), Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 19, 112, Papal Secret Archives. Many matters which appertain here are to be found in the *reports of the nuncio Ginnasio (see *supra*, p. 221, n. 4). See also the *Lettere del cardinal P. Aldobrandini al Nuntio

A great danger to Spain lay in the so-called Moriscos. Many of these Moors had only accepted Christian teaching outwardly, and secretly continued to live as Mahometans. The banishment of the Moriscos was urged in many quarters at that time, but Clement VIII. refused to adopt this view. He believed that the Moriscos were opposed to Christianity more from ignorance than from obstinacy, and accordingly issued in 1599 an edict of grace whereby a period, first of twelve and then of eighteen months was fixed for the conversion of the Spanish Moriscos. The missionaries, however, who were charged with their conversion met with no success, whether they adopted a policy of gentleness or severity, and the attempt to merge this element, which was alien both in religion and in race, into the national unity proved impossible.[1] Often it was the Moors themselves who were the aggressors, and in Valencia it became necessary to conceal the crucifixes in order to save them from mutilation and profanation on the part of the Moors.[2] Then the demand for the banishment and extermination of these fanatical aliens became stronger than ever.

In spite of everything Clement VIII. still urged the application of measures of gentleness, and it is curious that he should have addressed his exhortations to the very Spanish prelate who was urging upon Philip III. the immediate extermination of the Moors. This was the Archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera. After the Pope, on April 6th, 1604, had asked him and his suffragans for information as to the attitude of the Moors,[3] the archbishop received an exhortation, on September

di Spagna of January 18 (visitation of the Augustinians in Andalusia), February 24 (reform of the Trinitarians), July 21 and August 1 (reform of the Cistercians), and November 7, 1603 (reform of the convents in Spain), Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

[1] *Cf.* L. Pfandl, Spanische Kultur u. Sitte des 16. u. 17. Jahrh., Kempten, 1924, 12 *seq.*

[2] See Philippson, Heinrich, IV., Vol. II., 128 *seq.*

[3] See the *brief to the "episcopi regni Valentiae" in Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 172b, Papal Secret Archives.

20th, 1604, to win over those who had strayed from the Christian religion by the immediate establishment of schools and parishes,[1] a means which the Pope, in agreement with Philip III., had for years urged and supported, but which had never been carried into effect.[2]

At the Peace of Vervins one important matter had been left undecided. Ever since the death of the last Marquis of Saluzzo (1548), France and Savoy had been striving, with every kind of device and effort, for the possession of this small but important border territory, which had for France the value of a fortress against Italy, and meant for Savoy dominion over Piedmont, as well as the security of its own territory.[3] Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy, a man of unlimited ambition, and a politician without scruples, after the manner of the tyrants of the Renaissance, profiting by the disturbances in France, had occupied the marquisate in 1588; in 1598 he was all the less willing to give up his prey or to make compensation for it to Henry IV. since by the Peace of Vervins he had lost the fortress of Berre, his last possession in Provence. For this reason, at the negotiations which took place at that time the decision concerning Saluzzo had been postponed; the matter was to be settled within the space of a year by the decision of the Pope.[4]

[1] *Brief, *ibid.* p. 312. *Cf.* HINOJOSA, 409.

[2] *Cf.* Bull. X., 337 *seq.*, 790 *seq.*, 812 *seq.*, 831 *seq.*; XI., 24 *seq.*

[3] "La ville de Saluce n'est qu'à une petite journée de Turin et Carmagnolle n'en est qu'à une petite demie journée, et tout le Marquisat est comme une citadelle pour les François sur toute l'Italie et particulièrement sur le Piémont." Ossat to Villeroi, Rome, 1600, Aoust 14, Lettres d'Ossat, II., 198.

[4] The principal sources for the Papal mediation for peace between France and Spain are: 1, *Registri di lettere del negoziato della pace conclusa in Lione dal cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini sopra le differenze del marchesato di Saluzzo, Nunziat. di Savoia 37-38, Papal Secret Archives. 2, *Diario del viaggio fatto del card. Pietro Aldobrandini nell'andar legato a Fiorenza per la celebrazione dello sposalizio della regina di Francia e dopo in Francia per la pace. Var. polit. LXX., 98-295, and Borghese, II., 466, Papal Secret Archives. Later copies, *e.g.* in Rome in

At first Clement VIII. showed very little readiness to accept this task which, though an honourable one, was very complicated. If in the end he consented to undertake it, he was led to do so by his praiseworthy desire to prevent the outbreak of a new war, which, as far as could be judged, would be widespread, and which would in any case be bound to have a considerable effect upon his efforts to provide against the

the Barberini Library, LIII., 83, in the Chigi Library, M. I., 12, both now in Vatican Library; in the Corsini Library, Cod. 162, 240, 395, and in the Aldobrandini Archives, t. 287. Other copies in the State Archives, Modena, the Brancacciana Library, Naples (III. b. 11), and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fondo ital., 377, 675, 1323). The author was the secretary of the legate, G. B. Agucchio. 3, Relazione in forma d'historia del negotiato del card. Aldobrandini sopra la pace del marchesato di Saluzzo, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fondo ital. 673, 674), and Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, Gesuit. 538, anonymous. This Relazione was really composed in his old age by Cardinal Aldobrandini himself, and for the historian Omero Tortora. This is evident from a manuscript of the Relazione in the Cartari Archives (now Piccolomini-Febei) at Orvieto, from which Fumi published his account (La legazione del card. P. Aldobrandini narrata da lui medesimo, Città di Castello, 1903). Fumi, however, overlooked a second complete manuscript of the Relazione, with the name of the author, in Barb. 5673, Vatican Library. Among the accounts printed in earlier times there stands out the detailed, and with the exception of certain inexactitudes, trustworthy one by BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie 229, *seq.*); this is based almost entirely upon the Relazione of Cardinal Aldobrandini. The episode has recently been exhaustively treated by MANFRONI in *Riv. stor.*, VII. (1890), 217-255 (with additions and certain documents as an appendix in, Carlo Emanuele, duca di Savoia, Turin, 1891, 79 *seq.*, and in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII. (1890), 101-150, which makes special use of the sources mentioned in Nos. 1 and 2; this is also done by FUMI in *Bollet. d. Soc. Umbria*, II. (1896), and by RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 481-509, VIII. (1903), 25-48, 133-151 (printed separately: La légation Aldobrandini et le traité de Lyon, Lyons 1903), who also consulted the account mentioned in No. 3, though he erroneously attributed it to G. B. Agucchio (VII., 490).

Turkish peril. He therefore sought at all costs to bring about an agreement between France and Savoy, an almost hopeless undertaking, as both the rivals were determined not to yield on the main issue. This was already evident in their efforts to put off as long as possible any definite negotiations with the Pope.

It was true that the Duke of Savoy had proclaimed the Peace of Vervins at Turin on June 21st, and had congratulated the Pope upon it,[1] but he refused to hear of the arbitration of Clement VIII. His envoy, the Count of Verrue, only arrived in Rome in February, 1599.[2] Brulard de Sillery, who was sent by Henry IV. to support Ossat, had to be waited for until April 19th, 1599.[3] The state of affairs became even more hopeless when Spanish diplomacy began to interfere.[4] In this way the end of the year within which Clement was to give his decision drew near without the smallest agreement having been come to.

In these circumstances the Pope decided to send the General of the Franciscans, Bonaventura Caltagirona, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had already rendered great services on the occasion of the conclusion of the Peace of Vervins, which

Richard also uses the shorter narratives: *Relazione mandata da mons. nuntio di Venetia and *Negotiato del card. Pietro Aldobrandini, Borghese, II., 469, Papal Secret Archives, which were composed after the death of the Cardinal (1621). In the light of these sources both the Pope and the Cardinal come out as disinterested mediators, filled with a great love of peace. It is not even necessary to discuss the suspicion already refuted by BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie, 269) that there was a question of obtaining a principality for the nephew; *cf.* FUMI, Legazione, XV.

[1] This is clear from the *brief of May 26, 1598, State Archives, Turin, already mentioned *supra*, p. 213, n. 2.

[2] His reports in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, I., 353 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, II., 521. The mission of Sillery had already taken place at the beginning of 1599; see the *letter of Henry IV. "al mio cugino il card. Sfondrato," Paris, January 18, 1599, in Cod. L. III., 66, Chig. Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 31 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

had been so favourable to France, in order that he might obtain from Henry IV. a prolongation of the period for another six months, and induce the king to give up his claim to Saluzzo in return for compensation.[1]

While Caltagirona, who left Rome on April 1st, 1599,[2] was endeavouring, in conjunction with the nuncio in France, Gaspare Silingardi,[3] to obtain from Henry IV. at least a prolongation of the period, Clement VIII., despite his frequent illnesses, was negotiating uninterruptedly with Sillery and Verrue.[4]

The King of France refused a prolongation of six months as being too favourable to Savoy, and put forward instead the proposal that the Pope should in the meantime sequestrate the marquisate. or take it, in the language of the time, *in depositum;* Clement VIII. at length agreed to this course. Then Caltagirona went to Savoy to obtain the consent of Charles Emanuel. The duke agreed with apparent delight, but he soon made it evident, by the difficulties which he raised, and the conditions he laid down, that he only wished to gain more time.[5]

Charles Emanuel entertained the unfounded suspicion that the Pope wished to give Saluzzo to his nephews;[6] he also

[1] *Ibid.* II., 41 *seq.*, 53.

[2] See the *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, April 3, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The reports of Silingardi to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini are to be published by Amelli and Palandri in the monograph which they have in preparation: La pace di Lione.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, July 17, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *Avviso of July 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and Lettres d'Ossat, II., 80.

[5] See the report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, Legazione, 15 *seq* Bentivoglio, Memorie, 249 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 261 *seq.* Philippson, Henirich IV., vol. I., 89.

[6] See the report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, Legazione, 20 *seq.*, who says: "Calumnia uscita dalla solita malignità della corte di Roma, dove la passione ed invidia massimamente contro un papa glorioso fa ritrovar false inventioni senza haver l'occhio alla verisimulitudine."

hoped for the help of Spain, but when he failed to obtain this, he resolved, in September 1599, to try and attain his end by means of personal negotiations with Henry IV. The sanguine prince was so sure of his success that before he set out he freed himself from the Pope's meditation. He informed Clement VIII. through his envoy that he knew very well that His Holiness would have decided in favour of the King of France, because the latter had pledged himself, once he was possessed of the marquisate, to hand it over to the Pope. Clement VIII. was indignant at this suggestion and suspended his office as mediator, which from the first had been very distasteful to him.[1]

The Duke of Savoy was received in France with the greatest honour, but soon found himself disappointed in his hopes of being able to treat of Saluzzo with Henry IV. in person, for the king referred him to his representatives, and the ambitious duke was forced to realize more and more clearly that he could not count upon the realization of his hopes. He thereupon, with a disgraceful abuse of the hospitality that had been extended to him, entered into secret negotiations with some of the malcontent grandees of France, such as Marshall Biron, who were aiming at the destruction of the French monarchy.

The negotiations of Charles Emanuel with the representatives of Henry IV. were frequently on the point of being broken off. This would have been equivalent to the outbreak of a new war, and therefore Caltagirona and the Pope did all in their power to bring about an agreement between the rivals.[2] Clement VIII. wrote in the most urgent way to the King of France and the Duke of Savoy;[3] Caltagirona was indefatigable; he himself presided at the discussions, and at last, on February 27th, 1600, after having overcome unspeakable difficulties, succeeded in bringing about an agreement. In

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich, IV., vol. I., 90 *seq.*

[2] Report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, Legazione, 28 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 283 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., vol. I., 91 *seqq.*

[3] See report of Aldobrandini, *loc. cit.* 36.

accordance with this Charles Emanuel promised to give up within three months, either Saluzzo, or the territory of Bresse, which adjoined that of Lyons.[1] The duke signed this agreement only in order to gain time to prepare for a war against Henry IV., in which he counted upon the help of Spain. But the King of France anticipated him, while Spain failed him. On August 10th, 1600, Henry IV. issued a declaration of war, and in a very short time the whole of Savoy and Bresse were in the hands of France. The fact that eventually Spanish troops to the number of 14,000 men appeared on the scene did not improve the position of the duke, for the Spaniards did not advance against the French, but occupied the fortresses of Piedmont, so that Charles Emanuel was in danger of losing everything to his much more powerful adversaries.[2]

The Pope had followed the course of the struggle for Saluzzo with ever increasing anxiety, and from the summer of 1600 onwards no question occupied his attention so much as this.[3] An attempt on the part of the Spaniards to win him over to their plans failed completely, and Clement VIII. spoke in the strongest terms to the ambassador of Philip III., the Duke of Sessa, of the responsibility which he would incur if he were to support the intrigues of Charles Emanuel and thus provoke a war.[4] In July he redoubled his prayers, his visits to churches and his fasts, that God would prevent the outbreak of war between France and Savoy.[5] Up to the last moment he hoped to avert this calamity, which would put an end to the plans which he was forming for a league against the

[1] See the text, *ibid.* 49 *seqq.*

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 106 *seq.*, 110; ERDMANNSDÖRFER, Karl Emanuel I. von Savoyen, Leipzig, 1862, 55.

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of Foresti, Rome, June 24 and July 8, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letter of Raimondo della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 3, 1600, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 56 *seq.*

[5] See *Avvisi of July 22 and 26, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

Turks.[1] Even at the eleventh hour he attempted, though in vain, to prevent the breach between France and Savoy by sending Caltagirona to France.[2]

After this all the Pope's thoughts and plans were directed to the restoration of peace. To this end he wrote with his own hand to the Duke of Savoy, to Philip III. and to Henry IV.,[3] and seeing all his diplomatic efforts come to nothing, formed a plan of putting an end to the war by an extraordinary step, namely of sending a Cardinal legate to the King of France. He spoke of this in consistory on August 30th, 1600, and said that he wished to have the views of each of the Cardinals in private audience.[4] With the exception of a few, among whom was Ossat, who defended the interests of Henry IV. with the greatest zeal, all the Cardinals consented. Consequently Clement VIII. to whom the conclusion of peace was of paramount importance,[5] at the consistory of September 11th expressed his intention of sending a Cardinal legate to act as mediator.[6] It only remained to decide which of the two nephews was to be given this honourable but extremely difficult task. If in the end the choice fell upon Pietro Aldobrandini, Clement was led to this decision to a great extent by the request of Sessa, but no less by the desire of

[1] See *reports of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 17 and July 1, 1600, State Archives, Vienna, and *Avviso of August 9, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, 60 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

[3] The letter to Philip III., August 25, 1600, published by Manfroni in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 139 *seq.*; that to Henry IV. mentioned by Foresti in his *report of September 2, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *autograph letter to Charles Emanuel, August 25, 1600, in State Archives, Turin. Details of the contents of all three letters in the report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, 68.

[4] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI. 5, III., Vatican Library. *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat., II., 201 *seq.*, 209, 211 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *reports of Foresti, Rome, September 2 and 9, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.*

Henry IV. that that Cardinal should bless in Florence his marriage with Mary de' Medici.[1]

At a consistory on September 25th, 1600, Pietro Aldobrandini was entrusted with this two-fold task, and was given wide powers.[2] On the same day urgent briefs were dispatched to Henry IV., Philip III. and the Duke of Savoy, which made it clear that the safety of the whole of Christendom depended upon the conclusion of peace. The Pope said that he could not have sent anyone who was more closely united to him by relationship, affection or confidence, than Pietro Aldobrandini.[3] At the same time the French bishops, the grandees and councillors of the kingdom, and the Italian princes were informed of the mission of the Pope's nephew.[4]

Cardinal Aldobrandini left the Eternal City on September 26th. His suite was as numerous as it was magnificent; it was composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were seven bishops and as many representatives of the Roman

[1] See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 75 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 319 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of the Imperial representative in Rome, May 6, 1600, State Archives, Vienna. The sacrifice which the Pope made in sending P. Aldobrandini out of Rome doubled the burden of business upon the shoulders of the aged Clement VIII. He brings this out in an *autograph letter to Charles Emanuel, September 25, 1600, State Archives, Turin.

[2] See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library. *Report of Foresti, September 30, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Lettres d'Ossat, II., 228 *seq.*

[3] The *briefs to Henry IV., Philip III. and the Duke of Savoy, September 25, 1600, in Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 273, 274, 275, Papal Secret Archives. In the brief to Henry IV., it is said: "*Eum enim mittimus, qui unus nobis et sanguine coniunctissimus et amore carissimus et in omni officii munere nobis supra quam dici potest est necessaris, sed Dei honorem et publicam causam quibusvis nostris et familiae nostrae commodis et privatis rationibus, quamquam non sine multo sensu, tamen libenter anteferendam duximus." The credentials for Aldobrandini, September 23, 1600, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 136. *Cf.* FUMI, 77.

[4] See *Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 277-318, Papal Secret Archives.

nobility. Garcia Millini, later on Cardinal Secretary of State under Paul V., acted as Auditor; Maffeo Barberini, who was to ascend the Papal throne as Urban VIII., was there as a simple cleric of the chamber.[1] When he arrived at the Certosa of Florence on October 3rd, Aldobrandini there received a visit from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and made his solemn entry into the city on the Arno on the following day. He dismounted at the palace of the Grand Duke and at once paid his respects to Mary de' Medici. On October 5th he celebrated the marriage of this princess of the house of Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany representing the King of France.[2]

The Cardinal legate left Florence on October 10th. In order to travel more quickly, he had dismissed the greater part of his retinue, but kept with him the Bishop of Avellino, Tommaso Vannini, and two celebrated religious preachers, the Capuchin, Anselmo di Monopoli, and the Theatine, Paolo Tolosa.[3]

Aldobrandini's journey was made by way of Bologna and Ferrara to Parma. Thence, availing himself of the invitation of Count Fuentes, the governor of Milan, he was at Stradella on October 18th, and at Voghera from the 19th to the 21st, since, in view of the close relations between Charles Emanuel and Philip III., the attitude of the Spaniards might prove to be of great importance. In addition to the conclusion of peace, Aldobrandini's efforts were also aimed at setting the Pope free if possible from the burden of a *depositum*. During the course of the negotiations he clearly realized that the difficulty concerning the handing over of Saluzzo did not

[1] See *Avviso of September 27, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, *ibid.* See also RICHARD in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 483; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 17.

[2] See the report in DESJARDINS, V., 445 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 214. 217 *seq.* *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, Vatican Library.

[3] See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 78, and BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 218 *seq.*, 222 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*

come only from the Duke of Savoy, but in an equal degree from the Spaniards. In the end he decided to deal with Charles Emanuel himself. Aldobrandini and Fuentes then went to Tortona, where the duke also arrived on October 22nd. The representative of Philip III. at the court of Turin, as well as the nuncio at Turin, also took part in the discussions.[1]

During the negotiations the old trick was at once repeated of trying to frighten the Pope's representative with the pretext that Saluzzo in the hands of the French meant the penetration of heresy into Italy. But the Cardinal did not allow himself to be deceived, and he replied that the care for religion might be left quietly in the hands of the Pope, to whom it was of more account than his own life. In the end, on October 25th, Aldobrandini was able, by a threat of his immediate departure, to extort a reply which rendered further negotiations with Henry IV. possible.[2] The king, however, although Caltagirona had addressed to him in the name of the Pope the strongest exhortations, showed less and less readiness to enter into negotiations as the successes of his troops became greater. He definitely declared that he could not interrupt his operations, but declared his readiness, out of respect for the Pope, to receive his nephew, provided that the latter came as a really impartial arbitrator.

After this Aldobrandini left Turin on November 2nd for Chambéry, where Henry IV. was. This journey to the ancient capital of Savoy, across the Mont Cenis, was a great trial to the Cardinal and his Italian companions, who were not accustomed to such journeys across the Alps. Near Montmélian they had to pass through the camp of the French beseiging army.[3]

Henry IV. received the representative of the Pope, who reached Chambéry on November 8th, 1600, with all possible honour and extreme courtesy. It was an advantage that

[1] See report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, 80 *seq.*

[2] The report of Aldobrandini (*ibid.*, 84 *seq.*) throws a full light on the negotiations at Tortona.

[3] See report of Aldobrandini, *ibid.*, 90 *seq.*

Aldobrandini was able to express himself fairly well in French.[1] Henry, who was obviously greatly impressed by the amiability and the intellectual gifts of the Cardinal expressed himself to him with unbounded frankness.[2] As a result Aldobrandini was able to remove the suspicion entertained by the French of the sincerity of his intentions, prompted by the supposition that the Spaniards were the principal authors of his mission. At first it seemed to the Cardinal that the principal difficulty lay in the fact that Henry looked upon himself too much as a conqueror, and was therefore disposed to exaggerate his claims, and Aldobrandini made no secret of this opinion to Villeroi, the French Secretary of State. Henry IV. expressed himself in the strongest terms against the Spaniards, and above all against Charles Emanuel, whose intriguing policy he had fathomed. It cost Aldobrandini much hard work to obtain the consent of the king for the envoys of the Duke of Savoy to present themselves at Chambéry. In the meantime, on November 16th, Montmélian, the last bulwark of Savoy, fell into the hands of the French ; this had a very unfavourable effect on the peace negotiations.[3]

Mary de' Medici had landed at Marseilles on November 3rd, and Henry IV. resolved to go to Lyons for the celebration of his marriage with her ; he persuaded the Cardinal legate to accompany him thither. It was not without difficulty that Aldobrandini persuaded the envoy of Savoy to come as well.[4]

Aldobrandini was received at Lyons with great honour, and in accordance with the wishes of Henry IV., on December 17th, he blessed, for the second time, in the cathedral, his marriage with Mary. At the great banquet which took place

[1] See the *Diario* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 117.

[2] For what follows *cf.* the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 91 *seq.* ; the masterly account of Bentivoglio, based on this, in Memorie 355 *seqq.* More recently see RICHARD, Légation, 34 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*

[3] See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 98.

[4] See *ibid.*, 103.

in the evening, he sat at the left hand of the king, who had the queen on his right.[1]

After the marriage festivities, during the course of which the Cardinal and his Italian companions, who were accustomed to the more refined manners of the Italian renaissance, marvelled at the rude ways of the French,[2] the negotiations for peace were continued, for the conclusion of which, at the critical moment, the Pope had brought pressure to bear by means of autograph letters to Henry IV.[3] The French still laid down the most rigorous conditions, whereas the representatives of Charles Emanuel were opposed to any considerable concession. In spite of this Aldobrandini did not lose hope. With the greatest prudence, and with quite youthful energy, he set himself to his task, always, however, safeguarding the dignity of the Pope, of whom he was the representative.[4] Without respite he interviewed Jeannin, who had been appointed as his representative by Henry IV., and Sillery, who had returned from Rome, as well as Count Arconati and Baron des Alymes, the envoys of Charles Emanuel. In order to avert the heated quarrels which had taken place in Paris during the discussions presided over by Caltagirona, Aldobrandini preferred to hold separate conferences with the two parties. These latter presented the strongest possible contrast, and the demands of the French were as great as the concessions offered by Savoy were small. The French, moreover, increased their demands the more fortune smiled upon their arms; they even asked for an indemnity for the cost of the war, which they estimated at 800,000 scudi. It was quite impossible for the duke to raise this enormous sum, even though the Holy See should contribute 100,000 scudi, as

[1] See *ibid.*, 103 *seq.* *Cf.* also the report of Cavalli in CERASOLE, Relazioni tra la casa Aldobrandini e Venezia, Venice, 1880, 35 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII., 501.

[3] *Cf.* report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 104 *seqq.*

[4] See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*, VII., 497 *seq.*

the Pope, in his desire for peace, had already offered to do in December.[1]

However hopeless the situation might seem, Aldobrandini remained unwearied in his efforts. His hopes were above all based upon his knowledge that at the bottom of his heart, Henry IV. wished for an agreement. In the end the legate, after weary negotiations, succeeded in arriving at an arrangement, with which both parties declared themselves satisfied. The wished-for peace thus seemed to be assured when suddenly an unforseen difficulty threatened to spoil everything. The chancellor Bellièvre and Villeroi had given Aldobrandini a definite promise not to destroy the fortress of Santa Caterina, which the Duke of Savoy had set up against the heretics in Geneva. We may imagine the sorrow and surprise of the Cardinal when he learned that this fortress, which, in accordance with the terms decided upon was to be restored to Charles Emanuel, had been secretly demolished.

The legate had hard work to keep within due bounds his indignation at this act of treachery on the part of the French, which moreover sensibly affected Catholic interests and was a serious blow to Rome.[2] At first he refused to consider any further mediation, and Bentivoglio says[3] that the ship was on the point of sinking when it had reached its harbour. But the necessity for peace was so great for the parties concerned, that even this danger was overcome. Charles Emanuel ordered his representatives, without heeding this occurrence, to sign the agreement that had been come to; nor did Henry IV. and his advisers wish to provoke the outbreak of another war, in which the Pope would have been opposed to France as her enemy. Aldobrandini, who had already announced his success to Rome, found his whole reputation at stake; if he were to return without any success, he had reason to fear that he would fall into complete disgrace with

[1] See letter of Clement VIII., December 26, 1600, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 137 *seq.*

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 292.

[3] Memorie, 398. *Cf.* report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 111 *seq.*

the Pope, who longed for the peace because of the Turkish war; but on the other hand he could not accept the excuses which were at first offered by Henry.

Sully, who, although he was a Huguenot, had always treated Aldobrandini with great courtesy, and had furthered the peace in every possible way, at length hit upon an acceptable proposal for an agreement.[1] Henry IV. declared his readiness to promise that half of the 100,000 scudi which Charles Emanuel was to pay in accordance with the terms that had been come to, should be employed for the reconstruction of the fortress; Aldobrandini was able to declare himself satisfied with this, and all the steps necessary for the conclusion of the pact were at once put in hand. In the meantime there arrived a letter from Charles Emanuel strictly forbidding his representatives to sign for the time being. Count Fuentes had asked for an interview with him, and he could only come to a definite decision after this had taken place.[2]

Even now Aldobrandini did not lose his presence of mind and his courage. By his unwearied efforts, and supported by the Spanish ambassador accredited to Henry IV., Giov. Battista de Taxis, he succeeded in overcoming this last difficulty, taking upon himself the responsibility to the Duke of Savoy for his representatives affixing their signature to the compact. In consequence of this the representatives of Savoy gave way on January 11th, 1601,[3] so that at length the peace between France and Savoy could be signed at Lyons on January 17th, 1601.

The terms were as follows: Charles Emanuel ceded to France all the territories on the left bank of the Rhone: Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, Gex and Château Dauphin; he destroyed Bèche-Dauphin and paid 100,000 scudi. In return Henry gave up to Savoy the marquisate of Saluzzo and certain

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 115 *seq.*, and RICHARD, Legation, 64 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of G. B. de Taxis, January 6, 1601, National Archives, Paris, Simancas, K 1604, cited by PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., vol. 116. *Cf.* also report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 117 *seq.*

[3] See FUMI, 119.

fortresses on the eastern side of the Alps which had hitherto belonged to France, while Savoy retained the bridge over the Rhone at Gressin together with the adjacent villages, as a means of communication between Italy, the Franche Comté and the Netherlands, on conditions that no fortresses were erected there, nor duties levied. The King of France further bound himself to the restitution of all the places which he had conquered. Ratification of the treaty was to take place within a month.[1] Aldobrandini at once took steps to see that this term was observed. But at Avignon he was alarmed by hearing that Charles Emanuel had raised fresh difficulties, but the legate immediately took counter-measures, in which he displayed great diplomatic ability, but he only breathed freely when at last, on March 6th, the duke ratified the treaty.[2]

Thus at last, contrary to the expectations of most people, peace, to which the unscrupulousness of Charles Emanuel, the intrigues of the Spaniards, and the mistrust of the French had opposed endless obstacles, was attained. The credit for having brought about this success, belongs, besides the legate Aldobrandini, to a great extent to the Pope.[3] Clement VIII. had unweariedly done all that lay in his power; he had unceasingly exhorted the legate to persevere with patience, and had shared with him his joys and his sorrows. Thus his satisfaction was exceedingly great when, on March 11th, 1601, a special messenger from Aldobrandini brought him the longed for news[4] of the ratification of the peace; he embraced the messenger and kissed him.[5] He then went

[1] See Du Mont, V., 2, 10 *seq.*

[2] For these efforts, not mentioned by Bentivoglio, see report of Aldobrandini in Fumi, 126 *seq.* *Cf.* Richard, Légation, 76 *seq.*

[3] See Manfroni in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 108.

[4] See *report of Foresti, March 10, 1601 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 37.

[5] See letter of Clement VIII. to Aldobrandini in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 138, the *Avviso of March 14, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library, the *report of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, March 17, 1601, State Archives, Vienna, and Lettres

to St. Peter's, where the Te Deum was intoned; the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo fired salvos of joy[1] and the people of Rome exulted.[2] When the Pope, at the consistory on March 14th, remarked that the credit was due neither to himself nor to the Cardinal legate, but to Our Lord alone, the historian of the Church, Cardinal Baronius, very rightly pointed out the services rendered by Clement VIII.[3] The same was done by the Papal chamberlain Stella in the discourse which he delivered on March 21st after the Te Deum, in which he also extolled the services of Henry IV. and Cardinal Aldobrandini.[4] In the evening of March 29th Cardinal Aldobrandini himself arrived unexpectedly and quite quietly in Rome; the Pope received him radiant with joy.[5] The Cardinal legate did not make his solemn entry until April 3rd. The idea of a report to the consistory was abandoned;[6] the very fact of the peace spoke for itself.

Henry IV. and Philip III., each from their own point of

d'Ossat, II., 333. G. C. Foresti *reported on January 27, 1601, from Rome that on Monday there had come a courier from Aldobrandini who reported that he looked upon the peace between France and Savoy as certain (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On February 16 Clement VIII. thanked the Grand Duke of Tuscany for his congratulations on the peace (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 53, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 333; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 109.

[2] See *Avviso of March 14, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. An *Avviso of September 22, 1601 (*ibid.*) speaks of a commemorative inscription set up on the Capitol. The poet of the house of Aldobrandini, the Portuguese Em. Constantino, published on this occasion his "Carmen ad card. P. Aldobrandinum de pace inita inter Henricum IV. Galliae regem et Carolum Em. Allobrogum ducem." Rome, 1601.

[3] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library, and *Avviso of March 20, 1601, Urb. 1069, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of March 24, 1601, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of March 31, 1601, *ibid.*; Lettres d'Ossat, II. 345.

[6] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 346; *Acta consist. of April 3 and 4, 1601, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

view, had every reason for satisfaction with the agreement come to at Lyons. Charles Emanuel should have felt the same, for he owed to the Pope his very territory, rounded off in several useful respects, and he had now become a purely Italian power. But the duke was very far from realizing the importance of the change that had been brought about; in his greed for gain, he looked only at what he had lost by the peace, and not at what he had gained. He levelled bitter accusations against the Spaniards and turned his back on them.[1]

Soon after the Treaty of Lyons a change took place in the relations between Spain and France, which opened out the hope of a permanent agreement. At the end of May 1601, a solemn oath on the part of Philip III.,[2] accomplished the ratification of the Peace of Vervins, a thing ardently furthered by the Pope,[3] but which had hitherto been postponed on various pretexts. Clement VIII. thanked the king in an autograph letter.[4] The Pope not only desired, as he often said to Ossat, that peace should prevail, but that friendship might grow up between Henry IV. and Philip III.,[5] because only thus would the great league against the Turks, of which

[1] See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., vol. I., 119 *seqq.*, 121 *seq.* Here belongs the *autograph letter, s.d. of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., in which it is stated: "Premendoci tanto, quanto fa la conservatione della pace, può ben credere V.M., quanto piacere habbiamo sentito del final accomodamento delle cose di Savoia, conveniendo molto bene, che chi teme d'un incendio, vigili ancora le faville, dalle quali si può accendere." Then follow thanks for the steps he had taken, of which the Pope had been informed by the French nuncio and the Swiss nuncio. Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 124 *seq.*; *cf. Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 305 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Instructions to the nuncio in Spain, May 11 and 15, 1601, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the *letter of Aldobrandini to the nuncio in Spain, July 13, 1601, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

[5] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 449, 496.

Cardinal Aldobrandini had spoken during his legation, be rendered possible. At a consistory on October 22nd, 1601, the Pope said that the welfare of Christendom depended upon agreement between the Kings of France and Spain, its two most powerful sovereigns.[1]

Two years after the peace of Lyons this was once more endangered by the restless Duke of Savoy. Relying upon his family connexion with Spain, Charles Emanuel wished to take possession of the city of Geneva. It made no difference to him that he could not count on the help of anyone for his plan, and least of all upon Henry IV., since the King of France, on August 13th, 1601, had expressly declared that he looked upon Geneva as forming part of the "alliance of the thirteen cantons," and thus included in the protection guaranteed by the Peace of Lyons.[2] If, in spite of this, Charles Emanuel resolved to break the peace, and openly provoke the King of France, he was certainly encouraged by the conduct of the governor of Milan, Fuentes, who had concentrated an unheard of number of Spanish troops in Savoy, and had brought pressure to bear on the cabinet at Madrid to obtain its consent to concerted action with the troops of Charles Emanuel.[3] The duke naturally tried to win over Clement VIII. as well to his plan, knowing well that the headquarters of Calvinism was bound to be hateful to him, as to any Pope. But he received a refusal from Rome. Perhaps in other circumstances this might have been less strong, but so soon after the Peace of Lyons, Clement VIII. was absolutely opposed to any warlike undertaking, especially one that seemed to be very doubtful in the hands of Savoy, and would moreover have roused Henry IV. to the defence of Geneva. The Pope therefore sought in every way to

[1] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III. Vatican Library.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., I., 257.

[3] See Documents sur l'Escalade de Genève tirés des archives de Simancas, Turin, Milan, Rome, Paris et Londres, Geneva, 1903, 59 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 411.

maintain the peace, both at Madrid and Turin, by means of his nuncios.[1]

In spite of this Charles Emanuel persevered in the project which he had formed, and made use of his governor in Savoy, the Lord of Albigny, Charles de Simiane, for the carrying out of his plan. At the end of 1602 the troops of Savoy were assembled in all secrecy in the valley of the Arve, and during the darkness of the night between December 21st and 22nd, Albigny attempted to take possession of Geneva by a *coup de main*, a thing which at that time was by no means uncommon.[2] But the attack, the so-call escalade, failed completely.[3] The sentiments of the Roman Curia were shown by the fact that the news aroused undisguised joy in Rome.[4] Clement VIII. openly disapproved of the perilous venture of the Duke of Savoy, and spared no pains to prevent any armed complications. All his efforts were directed to the end of maintaining the peace that had been attained with so much difficulty,[5] and which must not be jeopardized because of the war against the Turks.

[1] *Cf.* the article, based on the extensive publication of documents cited in *supra*, p. 242, n. 3. Documents, etc., published by ALAIN DE BECDELIÈVRE in Études, XCVII. (1903), 398 *seqq.*; Clement VIII. et la République de Genève, à l'époque de l'Escalade. See also DE CRUE, L'Escalade de Genève et la Ligue, Genève, 1903.

[2] *Cf.* HOLLÄNDER in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.S. XVII., for the attack of Duke Henry of Guise on Strasbourg in 1579.

[3] In DIERAUER, III., 412, n. 1, and in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, III., 833, may be found the special literature on the attack, the trophies of which are in the Museum at Geneva, and the memory of which is still celebrated there to-day. *Cf.* also *Rev. Savoisienne*, 1920, 31 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

[4] See *report of Lelio Arrigoni, January 4, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See article by A. DE BECDELIÈVRE, 397 *seq.*, cited *supra*. There more concerning the position of the Holy See with regard to the treaty of San Giuliano and the energetic letter of Clement VIII., April 10, 1603, to Henry IV. (published in *Documents sur l'Escalade*, 381 *seq.*) *Cf.* also COUZARD, Ambassade, 60 *seq.*

Just as he had done in the case of France and Savoy, so did Clement VIII. seek to reconcile France and Spain; it filled him with sorrow to see that the peace between these two was more apparent than real. If he could succeed in finding a remedy for this state of affairs, and in bringing about an alliance between these two great Cahtolic powers, then the league against the Turks, which Clement VIII. so ardently desired, might be realized. To this end a Franco-Spanish matrimonial alliance seemed to be an excellent means. The eminently practical politician who occupied the throne of France had expressed a desire for this in the autumn of 1601, but had received no definite reply from the court of Spain.[1] At the end of 1602 Henry IV. once more renewed this project, and this time it seemed that they were inclined in Madrid to accede to his wishes. The Duke of Lerma, through the nuncio Ginnasio, begged Clement VIII. to take the negotiation of the marriage into his own hands. But however welcome to the Pope might be such a bond of relationship between the two great Catholic powers, who had so long been at war to the injury of the Church, especially in view of the Turkish war, he did not lose sight of his duties as a statesman in face of this flattering proposal.

As was always the case with him, he acted on this occasion with great caution, and though he certainly received the proposal with satisfaction, it was at the same time with a surprising coldness, because he feared lest, by a formal proposal of a marriage, he might rather increase the mistrust between the two houses than remove it. It was necessary therefore that the obstacles that stood in the way should first be removed. The briefs which he addressed in January 1603 to Henry IV. and Philip III. were directed to that end. In the former there is no mention of the suggested marriage, with regard to which the Pope intended only to deal through the nuncio in Paris and the French ambassador in Rome. But Philip III. was frankly asked what attitude he would

[1] See HILDEBRANDT in *Quell. u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 306 *seq.*

adopt towards the matter.[1] The caution of Clement VIII. proved to be fully justified: Paris showed its old mistrust of the Spaniards, while Philip III. maintained an eloquent silence. The disagreements between France and Spain once more increased, and embittered the last years of the life of Clement VIII.[2]

The jealousy and mistrust between the courts of Madrid and Paris had always shown itself in an intensive way in Rome itself. As a wise and far-seeing statesman Henry IV. realized better than Philip III. the political importance of the Pope, not only as an Italian prince, but even more as the head of all Catholics. He well know what an advantage Spain had derived during the past generation from the material and spiritual support of the Holy See, and he realized perfectly how Spanish diplomacy had been able cleverly to disguise its ambitious aims under a cloak of zeal for the Catholic cause. Henry IV. looked upon it as one of his principal tasks to strike a mortal blow at the influence of Spain, which had so long prevailed in Rome, and by revealing the machinations of his rival to recover for Catholic France its lost influence in the Curia. If he was successful in doing this, he owed it, in addition to a series of favourable circumstances, above all to the skill of the diplomatist who, from the middle of October, 1601, held the position of ambassador of France at the court of Clement VIII.: this was the brother of Sully, Philippe de Béthune.[3] At the same time the nunciature in Paris was placed in other hands, and the Bishop of Camerino, Innocenzo Bufalo, succeeded Silingardi.[4]

[1] See *ibid.* 308 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 309 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* for what follows the excellent monograph of COUZARD: Une ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV., Paris, 1900, which is principally based upon the reports of the ambassador to Henry IV. and Villeroi, partly preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (franc. 3492-94) and partly in the archives of Count Béthune-Sully in the Castle of Sully-sur-Loire.

[4] The *instructions for Bufalo in Nunziat. de Francea, 291, p. 1 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. The *reports of Bufalo from

The task which the King of France had entrusted to Béthune was two-fold.[1] Before all else he was to dispel the doubts concerning the religious sincerity of Henry IV., and give the lie to the accusations of the Spaniards, which were based upon the concessions made to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, upon the attitude taken up by the King of France towards the Netherland rebels, and upon his relations with England. But it was not only a case of winning over to the cause of France the reigning Pope; in order to obtain a lasting influence in the College of Cardinals, which during the wars of religion in France, and as a result of the weakness of the last Valois kings, had fallen too much under Spanish influence, it was necessary to build up a party devoted to the Most Christian King. In both these respects Béthune met with considerable success. It was of great advantage to him that the cautious Clement VIII., and with him many others in Rome, resented the dependence upon Spain, as well as the fact that the cabinet in Madrid and its representatives foolishly acted in a way that was to the advantage of their French rivals.

The arrival of Béthune in Rome occurred at a favourable moment, for only a short time before the dynasty of his sovereign had received an important pledge for its future in the birth of the Dauphin. How greatly the hopes built upon France in Rome had grown was shown by the fact that Clement VIII. and several Cardinals, who like him were weary of Spanish tutelage, abandoned their attitude of reserve in a striking manner. The Pope told Béthune that he expected, after his own death, Henry IV. to interest himself in his

1601 to 1604 in Barb. 5831-33 (the last letter from Lyons, October 25, 1604; until the arrival of the new nuncio Barberini, the nunciature in Paris was administered by Agostino Giajosi), the *Lettere del card. Aldobrandini a Bufalo, from July 12, 1601, to January 4, 1605, in Barb. 5830, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* the "Cifre" from July 19, 1602, to September 21, 1604.

[1] See the *Instructions for Béthune, August 23, 1601, in F. franc. 3465, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. *Cf.* COUZARD, 5 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*

nephews. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini expressed the hope that Béthune would succeed in increasing the prestige of the French in the Curia. Henry IV. was quick to realize what advantage he could draw from this state of affairs ; he begged Clement VIII. to be the sponsor of the Dauphin and overwhelmed with honour[1] Maffeo Barberini, the special envoy sent for this purpose to France.

In spite of all this Béthune's task was a difficult one. Notwithstanding the efforts of Ossat, he only had a few friends he could rely upon, whereas the Spaniards still exercised the overwhelming influence in the College of Cardinals which they had enjoyed for a generation. The Cardinals had heavy expenses, but for the most part their revenues were small, so that they were to a certain extent dependent upon the pensions of the sovereigns. Spain knew how to profit by this circumstance without restraint, and at the elections of the Popes, excluded all the candidates who were not devoted to her. The greater number of the Cardinals therefore did not wish to prejudice themselves in the eyes of the powerful protector of the Church, and even though, like Salviati, they inclined in their hearts more to France than to Spain, they did not dare to manifest this externally. There were only a few Cardinals who were as austere as Baronius or as independent as Medici, who openly declared their sympathies with France.[2]

Ossat had pointed out in June, 1596, how great was the influence of the Spaniards in the College of Cardinals, and in view of the coming creation had shown that in the Sacred College there were only two French men as against fourteen Spanish subjects, to say nothing of Albert and Andrew of Austria, who were kinsmen of Philip II., as well as Farnese and five other Cardinals who were absolutely devoted to the king, besides others on whom Spain could count because of the pensions paid to them.[3]

[1] See COUZARD, 225 *seq.*

[2] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 470 *seq.*, 473, 479. *Cf.* COUZARD, 222 *seq.*

[3] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 258 *seq.*

In order to break down this unlawful influence of the Spaniards in the supreme senate of the Church, and to set up a counterweight to it, Clement VIII., in 1596 and 1599 conferred the purple upon a number of neutrals. Prudent and cautious as ever he did this without supporting their political rivals, and merely setting purely ecclesiastical considerations against the worldly aims of Spain.[1]

On June 5th, 1596, there were nominated one Frenchman, Anne d'Escars, and two Spaniards, Francisco Guzman de Avila, and Fernando de Guevara, the others being all Italians of repute, neutral in their politics, and closely connected with the Pope, namely Lorenzo Savelli, Patriarch of Constantinople and vice-legate of Avignon; Lorenzo Priuli, formerly ambassador in Rome and afterwards Patriarch of Venice; Francesco Maria Tarugi, the venerated reformer of the diocese of Avignon; Ottavio Bandini, Bishop of Fermo, who had for a long time been on close terms of friendship with Clement VIII.; Francesco Cornaro, Bishop of Treviso, who had laboured there in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform; Francesco, Count of San Giorgio e Blandrata, Bishop of Acqui; Camillo Borghese, who had recently returned from his mission to Philip II.; Lorenzo Bianchetti, once the companion of Clement VIII. in his legation to Poland; the Auditors of the Rota, Pompeo Arrigoni and Bartolomeo Cesi, Andrea Peretti, and lastly, eclipsing them all, the equally learned and modest Baronius, whom the Pope had to compel to accept the purple.[2]

[1] See HERRE, 643.

[2] See *Acta consist., Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; *Avviso of June 5, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *ibid.* (*cf.* the *letter of Arrigoni, June 5, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); Lettres d'Ossat, I., 264 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*; DOLFIN, Relazione, 254; *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 247. See also the *briefs to Philip II., the Doge of Venice and Henry IV., of June 12, 14 and 15, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, nn. 276, 282, 284, Papal Secret Archives. The biographies of the new Cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 287 *seqq.*, and CARDELLA, VI., 161 *seq.* Some of the Cardinals of Clement VIII. were described in an interesting way in JANII NICII

At the creation on March 3rd, 1599,[1] the red hat was conferred upon two Frenchmen, Ossat and Sourdis, the Spaniard, Bernardo Sandoval, the German, Franz von Dietrichstein, and besides these Alessandro d'Este to whom the cardinalate had been promised on the occasion of the acquisition of Ferrara, and eight other Italians who were entirely neutral, and who almost all proved themselves distinguished princes of the Church. By the nomination of Bonifacio Bevilacqua, who had distinguished himself as governor of Camerino, Clement VIII. wished to give a proof of his good-will towards his new subjects at Ferrara. The Milanese, Alfonso Visconti, had been under Gregory XIV. nuncio at the court of Rudolph II., and then at that of Philip II., while under Clement VIII. he had been entrusted with a mission to Transylvania, in the interests of the Turkish war. The learned canonist, Domenico Toschi,[2] who came of a poor family, owed his promotion to Cardinal Pietro Donato Cesi: he received the purple as a reward for his successful government of Rome during the stay of Clement VIII. at Ferrara. Paolo Emilio Zacchia had also been in the service of Cardinal Cesi; his uncle, Marcello de' Nobili, upon whom Clement VIII. wished to confer the cardinalate, drew the attention of the Pope to his learned nephew, who was honoured by Clement VIII. with a mission to Philip II., and who had won the confidence and good-will of the Pope to the highest degree. The elevation of the

ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., Coloniae Agripp., 1645 (for Erythraeus-van Roscius see ORBAAN, Rome, 234). The *original of the will of Tarugi, dated Rome, April 2, 1603, was sold by auction a few years ago by the Viennese Antiquarian Rauschberg.

[1] See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* and the *report of Foresti, March 6, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The promotion is often wrongly transferred to the year 1598, even by CARDELLA (VI., 47) and GARAMPI (334). For the reports that had preceded this, see, besides the Florentine reports in DESJARDINS, V., 366 *seq.*, the *report of Lod. Cremaschi of March 28, 1598, and *that of Foresti of February 20, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] A portrait of Cardinal Domenico Tosco is preserved in the Gallery at Vienna.

youthful Giambattista Deti, who was nominated at the request of Pietro Aldobrandini, was a mistake, and his unworthy conduct later on called for the interference of the Pope. Buonviso Buonvisi of Lucca had distinguished himself as commissary of the auxiliary Papal troops in the Turkish war; appointed Archbishop of Bari in 1602, he became an example of a God-fearing and zealous reforming prelate. Lastly, two learned and pious men of the highest distinction, of whom the Church might well be proud, were Silvio Antoniano and Robert Bellarmine.[1]

Just as he had done in the matter of his nominations to the cardinalate, so, at the instance of Baronius,[2] did Clement VIII. work in yet another way against the unlawful preponderance of the Spaniards, by encouraging the formation of a French counterweight. He went so far as to express to Béthune the wish that more French Cardinals would take up their abode in Rome.[3] Aldobrandini and Medici gave the same advice. But the carrying into effect of this desire was not possible for the time being; Cardinal Gondi was too old, Givry was not wealthy enough, Sourdis was detained at Bordeaux by his dispute with his chapter, and Joyeuse was afraid of the climate of Rome.[4]

In the meantime Béthune sought to win over not only the

[1] *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 34 *seq.*; *Avvisi of March 3 and 6, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and the *briefs, to Cardinal Sourdis, March 19, and to the Cardinal of Sens, of March 20, 1599 (the new Cardinals are called "viri lectissimi doctrina, vita et usu"), Arm. 44, t. 43, nn. 161, 165, Papal Secret Archives. The biographies of the new cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 314 *seq.*; CARDELLE, VI., 47 *seq.*; NOVAES, IX., 47. For Deti see BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 126; for Zacchia see GARAMPI, 334.

[2] See in App. No. 30 the *report of Foresti of June 5, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See ROTT, Henri IV., 122.

[4] See COUZARD, 245. For the dispute with Cardinal Sourdis, in which Clement VIII. intervened, see ALAIN-TAMIZEY DE LARROCQUE, Fr. de Sourdis et l'affaire des autels, Bordeaux, 1893.

Cardinals but also the more influential prelates of the Curia. Above all he sought to gain the powerful Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, by flattering the vanity of the nephew, and advancing his material interests. It was not, however, easy to win over the Cardinal nephew to the side of France, and Henry had occasion to complain of him several times. It was a triumph for Béthune when Clement VIII. appointed an old friend of France, Serafino Olivier, Patriarch of Alexandria and Abbot of Marquemont, as Papal Chamberlain.[1] But much had yet to be done before it could be said that the preponderance of the Spaniards in the Curia had been broken. How necessary the presence of the French Cardinals in Rome was, was shown at the end of October, 1602, when Clement VIII. fell ill, by the scandalous intrigues of the Spaniards to obtain the election of Cardinals Galli, Piatti or Montelparo. The Pope recovered, but the Spaniards continued to count upon an early conclave. At the end of 1602 Sessa sought to win over, by means of pensions, the very Cardinals whom Béthune was trying to win, but Clement, who wished for independent Cardinals, caused all those whom he had appointed to refuse Spanish pensions.[2] The failure of these attempts at corruption did much harm to the Spaniards, and many of the Cardinals abandoned them. Nevertheless Spain still possessed great influence, and it was to her advantage that it was believed in Rome that Henry did not take much interest in the affairs of the Curia. The presence of the French Cardinals in Rome became all the more necessary, and Béthune was relieved when at last, on October 15th, 1603, Cardinal Joyeuse arrived there.[3] With his coming the number

[1] See COUZARD, 229 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*, 240 *seq.* In September, 1602 it was openly said that Cardinal P. Aldobrandini had been altogether won over by the Spaniards; see DESJARDINS, V., 504.

[2] See Couzard 249 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 256 *seq.* The envoy of Este *states on September 28, 1596, that Clement VIII. did not wish his nephews to accept pensions from Spain. State Archives, Modena.

[3] See COUZARD, 261.

of the Cardinals devoted to the cause of France rose to ten.[1]

At this point, at the end of 1603, the political position experienced an important change, in the coming of a new ambassador of the King of Spain to Rome. The Duke of Sessa, who hitherto had alone held Béthune in check, was recalled. It was he who had obtained for his king the extension of the Cruzada, Sussidio and Excusado.[2] At the beginning of November he left the Eternal City, where he had made many friends.[3] In his stead there came Juan Fernando Pacheco, Marquis of Villena and Duke of Escalona,[4] who by his ignorance of affairs of state, by his childish vanity, and his foreign ways, was destined to do more harm to the interests of his king, than Béthune had been able to do in two years of hard work.

The Duke of Escalona offended the Pope at his very first audience, by, contrary to custom, keeping his head covered, believing that this was his right as a grandee of Spain.[5] The quite exceptional marks of honour with which Clement VIII. had caused the ambassador of the Catholic King to be received on his arrival, were neutralized by him by his foolish offending of the Pope's relatives. Clement VIII. found himself obliged to address serious complaints to Spain on this account.[6] In

[1] *Cf.* the *report to the Duke of Escalona for the year 1603, Vatican Library, examined more in detail on p. 253 *seq*,

[2] The Cruzada and Excusado, last granted on January 17, 1600, were again renewed on October 30, 1603 ; also the Subsidio ; see *" Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado," Archives of the Spanish Embassy Rome.

[3] See *report of Arrigoni, November 1, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* F. de Béthencourt, Hist. geneal. y heraldica de la Monarchia española II., 246 *seq.*

[5] See Couzard 265 *seq.*

[6] See in App. Nos. 42, 43, 44, the *letters of Clement VIII. to Philip III., Sessa, and the nuncio in Spain, December 3 and 5, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

the same way the duke came into conflict with Cardinals Peretti and Paleotto, who henceforward went over to the side of France.[1]

Béthune saw with satisfaction the imprudent conduct of the Spanish ambassador, but with great shrewdness was very cautious in furthering the tension that had sprung up between Rome and Madrid. He had availed himself of his first visit to the Duke of Escalona to demonstrate to the Romans the greatness of France, and went to him with no less than sixty carriages. The haughty duke saw nothing in this but a special honour paid to himself. How cleverly Béthune was able to make use of all circumstances was shown by his behaviour towards Cardinal Galli, who, although as Dean of the Sacred College he enjoyed the privilege of not being obliged to visit anyone, had nevertheless, as a Spanish subject, thought himself justified in making an exception in the case of the Duke of Escalona. Béthune thereupon pretended to ignore the Cardinal Dean in this matter, and forced him to make his excuses. This humiliation of a dangerous adversary made a great impression in Rome; it added to the repute of the French government, and increased the number of its friends.[2]

From a report drawn up in 1603 by the Duke of Escalona we can clearly see how the situation in Rome was developing to the disadvantage of Spain. This brings out above all things, and in the clearest terms, the importance of the Roman court, as being the first in the world.[3] Fifty Cardinals, it states, who are almost comparable to kings, resided for the most part in the Eternal City: to these could be added as many patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, more than two hundred prelates and innumerable nobles of all nations. On account of the importance of the Pope as an ecclesiastical and secular sovereign, the princes chose as their representatives at the Curia not only men of noble birth, but also men of great

[1] See COUZARD, 270.

[2] See *ibid.*, 267 *seq.*, 271.

[3] *"La corte di Roma è senza dubbio veruno la prima corte del mondo."

prudence. None of those who had once been ambassadors in Rome, for which office the cleverest men were always kept, was ever sent to another court, and rightly so, since the interests of the whole world were concentrated in Rome, for the Pope was still the arbiter of the Catholic princes, upon whom he conferred not only spiritual favours, but also temporal ones.[1] Spain, by reason of the vast extent of her dominions, and of her possessions in Italy, had a special interest in being well represented. Upon her ambassador fell the task of deciding many questions of jurisdiction, and of preparing the way for the election of the Pope. The writer very truly says that the former was entirely a secular matter. This was not the case with the election of the Pope, because, even though the King of Spain should succeed to the position of the Emperor, the nomination or confirmation of the Pope would not be his affair, though it would pertain to him to see that a good Pope was elected, both from the religious and the secular point of view. Therefore, neither Charles V. nor Philip II. had failed to bestow pensions, both on the court and on the Cardinals.

The writer of this report also gives a sketch of the Cardinals, in which he specially inquires to which group each one belongs. It is very interesting to see from this that among the fifty-six Cardinals he can only name ten or twelve upon whom the King of Spain can count for certain. Ten Cardinals already appear in the list as being of French sympathies, while the remainder belong to no party in particular.[2]

[1] *"Aggiungerei che qui corrono come in loro centro tutti i negotii del mondo, essendo il Pontefice arbitro di principi christiani, qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le querele, le guerre, le leghe et altre cose simili si maneggiano dal Pontefice."

[2] *"Instruttione della corte di Roma e delle qualità de cardinali nel 1603 da Fraschetta (secretary of the embassy) al marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore catholico in Roma" in Ottob. 2689, p. 113 *seq.* Vatican Library (*cf.* the copy in Cod. A. 21 p. 118 *seq.* Graf Nostitz Majorats library, Prague), and in Inform. polit., XXVI., State Library, Berlin (this manuscript briefly used by RANKE, III., 96*). A similar *report of Fraschetta

As against the steady progress of the French cause there had to be set notable losses ; on March 13th, 1604, there died at the age of 67 Cardinal Ossat, who had worked on behalf of his country in Rome for a whole generation, and to whom Béthune owed many of his successes. Soon afterwards Joyeuse once again left the Eternal City. This was compensated, on May 30th, 1604, by the arrival of Cardinal Givry, who made many friends in the Curia, and acquired much influence with Clement VIII. But Béthune's most valuable auxiliary was still the Duke of Escalona. The arrogance of this singular diplomatist continued to repulse the Pope's nephews, who at times were disposed to yield to the flatteries of the Spaniards.[1] The Pope also openly showed his displeasure at the conduct of the duke. The latter only realized too late how imprudently he had acted, and the courteous attitude which he adopted towards the Pope's nephews in June, 1604, lost its effect because it was obviously connected with the coming creation of Cardinals.[2]

Clement VIII. had refused for a long time to add to the number of the Sacred College, because only a few titles were vacant, and many of the Cardinals were only possessed of small means.[3] In course of time the number of vacancies in

with regard to the "qualità et natura de cardinali nel 1602" in Cod. 411, S. Croce Library, Rome, gives various characteristics, though all the Cardinals are judged entirely from the Spanish point of view (*cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchegesch., 17). The Duke of Escalona made use of these reports for his *report on the 68 Cardinals of whom the Sacred College was then composed, sent on April 24, 1605, to Philip III. Orig. in Simancas Archives. Est. Leg. 980 ; French extract in COUDERC, II., 38 *seq.* *Cf.* further Vol. XXIV. of this work, Chapter

[1] See the *reports of Fr. Vendramin, February 28, 1604, and of Agost. Nani of June 26, 1604, State Archives, Venice, used by BROSCH, I., 344.

[2] *Cf.* COUZARD, 273 *seq.*, 276 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 3, 1600, State Archives, Vienna.

the College of Cardinals rose to 18,[1] but there still remained the same uncertainty as to what the Pope would do, since he was accustomed to keep his nominations entirely secret, and then suddenly bring them forward.[2] At the end of December, 1603, the Duke of Escalona, by the command of his government, asked the Pope to confer the purple of Giovanni Doria. In the course of his audience the Spanish ambassador permitted himself to allude to the age of the Pope, and to advise him to leave the discharge of public business more to his nephews. Clement VIII. received this very ill, and replied that the ambassador should not burden himself with the business of others, and that the Pope knew quite well what he ought to do.[3]

The creation of Cardinals which took place on June 9th, 1604, had as far as possible been kept secret up to the last moment.[4] The Duke of Escalona had done all that he could that Spain should be given a Cardinal more than France,[5] but Clement VIII. only conferred the red hat on the Archbishop of Burgos, the learned Antonio Zappata, and Giovanni Doria. At the request of Henry IV. Serafino Olivier and Du Perron were appointed, and at the request of the Emperor the Bishop of Trent, Carlo Madruzzo, while Poland received Bernard Maciejowski, Bishop of Cracow. All the remainder were deserving Italians, closely connected with the Pope and Pietro Aldobrandini: the Bolognese Domenico Ginnasio, Archbishop of Manfredonia and nuncio in Spain: the Roman Innocenzo Bufalo, Bishop of Camerino and nuncio in France: the

[1] See COUZARD, 292.

[2] See the report of Lelio Arrigoni, December 6, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See in App. No. 41 the *report of Arrigoni, December 20, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] On June 5, 1604, F. M. Vialardo reports: *"Il Papa ha detto presenti due camerieri che vuole fare cardinali. Non so se si burla" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also *Avviso of June 2, 1604, urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

[5] See COUZARD, 294 *seq.* According to the *report of Arrigoni of December 27, 1603, France asked for nothing more than equality with Spain. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Neapolitan Filippo Spinelli, till 1603 nuncio the Rudolph II.; the Roman Carlo Conti, Bishop of Ancona: the Venetian Giovanni Delfino, formerly ambassador of his native city in Rome, and afterwards Bishop of Vicenza; Jacopo Sannesio, who came from a poor family of the Marches, and had risen to the position of Secretary of the Consulta: the capable secretary of Pietro Aldobrandini, Erminio Valenti: the Bolognese Girolamo Agucchio, the nephew of Cardinal Sega and major-domo to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini: the governor of Rome, Ferdinando Taverna: Carlo Emanuele Pio of Savoy, from Ferrara: the Capuchin Anselmo Marzato of Sorrento, generally known as Monopoli from his native place, and much esteemed as a preacher: and lastly the pupil of Philip Neri, Girolamo Pamfili,[1] who was on close terms of friendship with Baronius.

Of the foregoing, the following, according to Béthune, were favourable to France: Delfino, Ginnasio, Valenti, Monopoli, Sannesio, Emanuele Pio, Agucchio, Taverna, Conti, Bufalo, and Pamfili.[2] Béthune thanked the Pope in the warmest terms, and Henry IV. showed no less satisfaction, and paid the greatest honour to the Papal nuncio, Bufalo.[3] It is easy to understand the dissatisfaction of the Duke of

[1] See *Avvisi of June 9, 12 and 16, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library; Ciaconius, IV., 346 *seqq.*; Cardella, VI., 86 *seq.*; Novaes, IX., 68. For. G. Doria *cf.* Boglino, La Sicilia e i suoi cardinali, Palermo, 1884. 53 *seq.* Clement VIII. replied on July 3, 1604, to Cardinal A. Valiero on his congratulating him on the promotion: *Consenuimus iam; novis opus erat commilitonibus, qui vestri collegii tum tua tum aliorum virtute partam existimationem tuerentur in posterum et sanctitatis et prudentiae opinionem, quae multorum piorumque cardinalium morte videbitur debilitata, alerent ac sustentarent. Rerum humanarum frequens est vicissitudo omnium. Nihil perpetuo floret, aetas succedit aetati. Senes nos pellimur, instant iuniores, et quocunque nos vertimus, persequuntur." Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 265b, Papal Secret Archives. *Report of the Este envoy, June 9, 1604, State Archives, Modena.

[2] See Béthune's *Memorial on the subject of the new Cardinals, in F. franc. 349, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[3] See Couzard, 297.

Escalona with the creation of June, 1604. He did nothing, however, to improve his position by showing it openly, and by neglecting, contrary to all usage, to thank the Pope for the elevation of the two Cardinals who had been promoted at the request of the King of Spain. On the occasion of this act of discourtesy Clement VIII. remarked: "The Spaniards would like to give me orders, but I shall know very well how to prevent it."[1]

All the rules of prudence should have led the Duke of Escalona to maintain a careful moderation towards Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, whose influence had been considerably increased by the great creation of June 1604. But instead of this he only thought of avenging himself for his sudden disappointment upon the Pope and Pietro Aldobrandini. It was to this end alone that he became reconciled with Montalto, the rival of the Cardinal nephew. Béthune acted with far greater acumen. With ever increasing empressement he courted Pietro Aldobrandini, who had so far always held open the possibility of his going over to the side of Spain. Béthune assured him that Henry was resolved to favour him in every possible way, and at the same time told him that his king intended shortly to send three Cardinals to Rome: Joyeuse, Du Perron and Sourdis. This master-stroke led Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, in August 1604, to proclaim himself definitely in favour of France. The Pope too expressed his pleasure at the coming of the French Cardinals.[2]

In the meantime the Duke of Escalona thought of nothing but revenge, and easily found allies. The predominant position which Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini held in Rome had long excited jealousy and hatred in many quarters, and the recent creation of Cardinals, which had been so advantageous to the Cardinal nephew, drove his enemies to extreme measures. The latter entered into a close alliance with the Spanish ambassador, namely, among the Cardinals, especially Montalto and Sfondrato, and among the princely

[1] See *ibid.* 294 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 303 *seq.*, 306.

families the Farnese above all. This deep-seated opposition, which worked in secret, was able to count upon the discontent of the Roman people, who had repeatedly experienced to their cost the strong hand of the Cardinal nephew.[1] It required very little to cause the hatred and jealousy which had been smouldering for years to break into flame.

On August 23rd, 1604, a sailor who had been arrested by the police for debt, succeeded in escaping and taking refuge in the Palazzo Farnese. A gentleman and two servants belonging to the suite of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese protected him, drove the police officials from the palace, and wounded one of them. The governor of the city reported the matter to Cardinal Aldobrandini, who gave orders to demand the handing over of the escaped sailor and his protectors. Cardinal Farnese absolutely refused this to the governor of the city, appealing to the privilege belonging to noble families, long since taken away, of affording sanctuary in their places to criminals. He also gave a defiant reply to Cardinal Aldobrandini when he presented himself in person, knowing that he could count upon the ambassador of Spain. Farnese requested the latter not to allow the right of sanctuary of his house, which was under the protection of Phillip III. to be violated. The ambassador, set upon revenge, did not need to be asked twice; he invited all the Roman nobles who were under the protection of Spain, to undertake the protection of the Palazzo Farnese, which was at once placed in a state of defence. Not only the Roman people, but Cardinals Sfondrato and Facchinetti as well, openly took the side of Farnese, so great was the hatred felt for the all-powerful nephew.

Pietro Aldobrandini realized the danger, and sought in every possible way to settle the matter peacefully, but in vain. Cardinal Farnese remained firm in his refusal, while the

[1] See *ibid.* 307. Clement VIII. had already tried to establish good relations between Farnese and P. Aldobrandini; *cf.* *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, September 30, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ambassador of Spain declared his readiness to defend Farnese at the cost of his own life; he sent couriers to the Neapolitan frontier to have troops placed at his disposal. The Farnese were extremely popular in Rome, and very soon four thousand persons were gathered round the Palazzo Farnese. The situation seemed very threatening and a bloody rising was feared. The Pope who was much alarmed, sent three couriers on August 24th: one to Philip III., another to Duke Ranuccio Farnese at Parma, the brother of Cardinal Odoardo, and a third to the Cardinal himself.

Odoardo Farnese did not wish to push the matter to extremes, and on August 25th retired to his splendid palace at Caprarola. But the Duke of Escalona expressed his thanks in the name of the King of Spain to all those who had come to the assistance of Farnese. This open support of a rebellion was a violation of the rights of nations, and was condemned by all thinking men. Béthune was of opinion that the Pope ought to demand satisfaction, for otherwise the same would happen to Clement VIII.; he advised him to ask for the recall of the Duke of Escalona. At this juncture the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who hated Pietro Aldobrandini, and did not love the Pope, took the part of the ambassador of Spain. Ranuccio Farnese came to Rome to act as mediator, but not only the Spanish ambassador, but also the envoys of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and of Rudolph II. worked against him. Ranuccio, who was received with all honour by Clement VIII., refused to have any dealings with Cardinal Aldobrandini; he hoped to force the Pope, who had been ailing for some time, to act with greater leniency. Nor was he mistaken in this hope.

The settlement that was come to was certainly over favourable to the guilty parties. The three protectors of the escaped sailor were, it is true, to be called upon to account for their action, but were to be pardoned; the Roman nobles who had taken the part of the house of Farnese, as well as Cardinal Farnese himself, were also to be forgiven, while the governor of the city was to make his excuses to the Cardinal. After this decision, Cardinal Farnese returned in

triumph to Rome on September 14th, and was acclaimed by the people with cries of joy. The Cardinal, however, made his excuses to the Pope ; Aldobrandini was not present, because he did not wish to witness the triumph of his rival.[1] But he did not forget the discomfiture that had been brought upon him, and if hitherto he had often listened to the requests of the Spaniards, this now became definitely a thing of the past, and he resolved henceforward to devote himself entirely to the cause of France.[2]

This occurrence had also made a deep impression upon Clement VIII., and he summoned Corsican troops to Rome, and had the artillery of the Castle of St. Angelo kept in readiness.[3] He was more resolved than ever, though with all due prudence, to favour the French party in Rome permanently and efficaciously.

In October 1604 the tension between Rome and Madrid was increased[4] by an incident that occurred at Naples, where the civil authorities had arrested an official of the Inquisition. In the interests of his own independence Clement VIII. eagerly awaited the arrival of the three French Cardinals.

[1] See SIRI, Memorie, I., 311 *seq.* ; COUZARD, 318.

[2] See COUZARD, 321. For the quarrel with Cardinal Farnese *cf.* the *report of Agost. Nani, Rome, August 28, 1604, State Archives, Venice, consulted for the first time by BROSCH (I., 344 *seq.*), upon which is based the description employed by RANKE (Päpste, II.[8], 206 *seq.*) by NICCOLÒ CONTARINI in his Hist. Veneta, III., I., 13 (Cod 6179 of the State Library, Vienna) ; also the reports of Béthune used by COUZARD, 307 *seq.*, the *reports of Niccolini in the State Archives, Florence, consulted by NAVENNE (Rome et le Palais Farnèse, I., 142 *seqq.*), and the *report of Giov. Batt. Thesis of August 26, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which also gives certain other information. See also the detailed accounts, especially as to the reconciliation, in the *Avvisi of August 25, September 11, 15, 18 and 22, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *reports of F. M. Vialardo, September 17, 1604 and of G. B. Thesis, October 23, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso of September 29, 1604, *loc. cit.*

[4] See COUZARD, 319, 328.

The first to come was Joyeuse, who at once entered into confidential relations with Cardinal Aldobrandini; then came Sourdis, and lastly, on December 16th, 1604, Du Perron, who was received by the Pope with the greatest honour and welcomed in the most cordial way.[1] Cardinal Aldobrandini too rejoiced. The Spaniards, who had not believed that Du Perron would really come, were beside themselves. Since, in their pride, they had failed to satisfy the Pope in the matter of the recall of the Duke of Escalona, a thing on which he had counted, their position became visibly worse. They advised the Duke of Parma and Cardinal Farnese to become reconciled with Cardinal Aldobrandini, but Clement VIII. gave but cold encouragement to this idea.[2]

There were now five French Cardinals resident in Rome: Givry, Serafino Olivier, Joyeuse, Sourdis and Du Perron. Four of them were in every respect men of distinction. This was especially the case with Du Perron, whose great learning, intelligence and courteous manners won for him a wide circle of admirers.[3] Henry IV. and Béthune were able to count with confidence upon the ascendancy of the star of France in Rome, with that of Spain steadily waned. Béthune continued to work with admirable skill.[4]

After Cardinal Farnese had become reconciled with Aldobrandini, to whom the Pope had given a fresh proof of his good-will by conferring upon him the archbishopric of Ravenna,[5] he devoted all his attention to fighting against the Spaniards. He wished to strike at them in their most vulnerable point. To this end he entered upon secret negotiations with Venice and Florence for the formation of an anti-Spanish league among the Italian states, which was to give its support to France. Before he set out for Ravenna he unfolded this project to the French ambassador.[6]

[1] See Du Perron, Ambassades, I., 257 *seq.*

[2] See Couzard, 322, 334.

[3] See *ibid.* 332.

[4] See *ibid.* 201.

[5] On September 13, 1604; see Gams, 718.

[6] See Couzard, 339.

Like Henry IV. Béthune did not yet quite trust the Cardinal nephew.[1] But Maffeo Barberini was able to assure them that this time their doubts as to the anti-Spanish sentiments of Aldobrandini were unfounded.[2] The Pope, prudent and circumspect as ever, adopted a waiting attitude towards the whole affair, though he leant strongly to the side of France.[3] But he never came to a final decision because, after having been seriously ill for a long time, he departed this life on March 5th, 1605.

In Paris they had every reason to lament the death of Clement VIII., for few Popes had conferred such great benefits on France as he.[4] The absolution of Henry IV. had put an end to the disastrous civil war; the conclusion of peace at Vervins and at Lyons had further set the country free from the calamity of a foreign war. Deeply convinced of his duty as supreme head of the Church of watching over the peace of Christendom and of defending it against the infidel, the Aldobrandini Pope had laboured—though to no purpose—to bring about a sincere agreement between France and Spain. In order to destroy the predominant influence of the Spaniards in the Curia, which was as unlawful as it was harmful, he encouraged the growth of a French counterweight. Taking up a position above all parties, he sought to treat the two great Catholic rival powers in the same way,[5] until the support which the ambassador of Spain, in defiance of the rights of nations, gave to the rising of Farnese, called for a definite change of policy.

Thus the force of circumstances led the Holy See, which at the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had found in close union with Spain, almost to the point of an alliance

[1] *Cf.* Rott, 117.

[2] See Couzard, 339.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 218.

[4] Opinion of Couzard, 345.

[5] It is therefore significant that the gift of honour of the blessed swaddling clothes in 1601, was sent alike to Madrid and Paris (*cf. supra*, p. 173).

with France against Spain, over whose ambassador, who was as incapable as he was proud, the skill and capability of the representative of Henry IV. had won victory after victory. Always cautious in affairs of state, now as in 1598, it was far from the intention of Clement VIII. to summon the French armies to Italy.[1] It was enough for him to have freed himself from the oppressive domination and tutelage of the Spaniards. In recovering its independence for the Holy See, Clement VIII. at the same time "by peaceful means, little by little, without disturbance or excitement, but with all the more security"[2] co-operated in giving to the French their due influence in the capital of the Catholic world. To what an extent this had been accomplished was revealed, to the surprise of many, in the conclave which followed the death of Clement VIII.

[1] See RANKE (Päpste, II.[8], 209 *seq.* For the attitude of the Pope in 1598, on the occasion of the acquisition of Ferrara, see more fully in Vol. XXIV. of this work, Chapter

[2] See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VI.

Clement VIII. and the War against the Turks.

However much Clement VIII. was occupied with the disturbances in France during the first years of his pontificate, he never lost sight of the great danger which threatened the west from the Turks. With full realization of his duty as supreme head of the Church,[1] he faithfully endeavoured in this matter to carry on the glorious traditions of Pius V.[2]

[1] See Paruta, Relazione, 436.

[2] The article by Mathaus-Voltolini in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XV. (1901), gives us, it is true, new and valuable material, but leaves much to be desired in his use of it. This was rightly realized by A. O. Meyer, who has properly brought out the fact that Clement VIII., in supporting the Emperor in the war against the Turks, intended to set that monarch's hands free for the struggle against Protestantism. But it would seem that Meyer (Nuntiaturberichte, xlvii *seq.*) goes a little too far in his controversy with Voltolini when he supposes that Clement VIII., in his support of the Emperor, only wished to render him independent of the Protestants, and did not also wish to save the culture of the West, which would not on that occasion have been threatened by the Turks. This cannot be admitted. It was universally felt in Germany, Catholic and Protestant alike, that if Hungary and Vienna were lost, Germany as well would have been left defenceless before its sworn enemy (see Stieve, IV., 198). If later on voices were raised among the Protestants, discouraging the support of the Emperor, the impression nevertheless remained among the majority of the states and people "that they were not fighting only for the possession of Hungary, but at the same time for the safety and liberty of Germany, and for the preservation of Christendom against Mahometanism, and thus for the highest possible interests" (opinion of Stieve, and supported with many

Outwardly the armistice which had been concluded in 1576 between the Emperor and the Porte still continued. In spite of this the Turks constantly made attacks upon the Austro-Hungarian frontier, showing by this how small an opinion they had of the power of the Emperor, whose military weakness as well as the paralysing effect upon him of the religious disputes, were well known to them.[1] One of these attacks, in June 1592, placed Bihač, the last fortress which Austria still held upon the Una, in the hands of the Turks, and they at once transformed the church of that city into a mosque. Clement VIII., who even before the fall of this important fortress had assisted the emperor with money for the enrolment of troops,[2] immediately urged Rudolph II., in a letter of July 25th, 1592, no longer to remain in a state of inactivity,

proofs, V., 349 *seq.*). *Cf.* for the Turkish peril, HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 308. The capable author of the Nuntiaturberichte would probably have come to another conclusion if he had known of the unpublished reports of which I have made use, and the more recent works both on the anti-Turkish war and the share taken in it by Clement VIII. These are indeed but little accessible on account of the language in which they are written, but are most certainly worthy of consideration on account of the material in the Papal Secret Archives which they utilize. These are especially the information given by FRAKNÓI in his great work on Hungary and the Holy See: Magyarorszag es a romai szentszék III., Budapest, 1900, 232 *seqq.*, and the work of HORVAT: Vojne ekspedicije Klementa VIII. u. Ugarsku i Hrvatsku, Zagrab, 1910. The writings of Fraknói were translated for me by Dr. Coloman Juhász, while the author himself courteously did so in the case of Horvat.

[1] *Cf.* the remarks of the Venetian, Lorenzo Bernardo, in his report for 1592 concerning the Porte in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 382 *seq.* *Cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXV., 175 *seq.*, for what A. O. Loebl wrote about the earlier historians of the war up to 1592 inclusive in *Prager Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, fasc. 6 and 10.

[2] ZÖCHBAUER (II., 10, n. 2) has rightly shown as against STIEVE (IV., 167, n. 4) that Clement VIII. had already sent subsidies in 1592, before they were needed for the war; see BOHM, Landtagsakten, VIII., Prague, 1895, 127.

but to forestall the further attack that was imminent.[1] The Pope at once thought of the formation of an anti-Turkish league on a grand scale,[2] even though the general situation seemed anything but favourable to such a project. Spain was almost entirely occupied with the disturbances in France, so that Sessa at once declared that Philip II. could at the utmost assist the Emperor with money ;[3] Venice was unwilling to place herself in bad odour with the Porte, while the Emperor was in the greatest straits for money.[4] On September 15th, 1592, Clement VIII. addressed to the Republic of St. Mark and the other Italian powers a call to go to the assistance of Rudolph II., because Italy too was threatened ; the Turks, he said, would long ago have been exterminated if the Christian powers had united in a league.[5] The Pope also wrote to the King of Spain, pointing out the danger which threatened the whole house of Austria.[6] He also addressed a letter to the Shah of Persia.[7]

[1] See the *brief to Rudolph II., July 25, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 449, Papal Secret Archives. In like manner to Madruzzo, same date, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *ibid.* n. 432 the *brief of July 15, 1592, exhorting the Archduke Ernest to resistance.

[2] See the retrospect in the detailed *report of Giulio del Carretto of September 25, 1593, which states : "Questo pensiero di lega contro il Turco non è novo a S.B., ma incominciato fin dalla perdita che si fece degli Austriaci de Biahe." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Carretto, July 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] *"Verum haec nostra semper fuit miseria, ut cum quid in his facto maximo opus esse intelligeremus, tamen nunquam id aggredi statueremus," states the brief to the Doge. *Cf.* also the *briefs to Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino and Parma, dated September 15, 1592, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 29, Papal Secret Archives. These state that the Pope would like to extinguish the conflagration with blood. *Cf.* also PARISI, Epistolografia, II., 83.

[6] See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See *brief to Abbas, the Shah of Persia, September 30, 1592 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 4.

The Pope's grief at the sight of the Turkish menace and the weakness of Rudolph II.[1] is very great, reported the Mantuan ambassador on October 3rd, 1592. It was just then that the Imperial envoy, Hans, Baron von Kobenzl, arrived in Rome to ask for help;[2] he was assured that the Pope, in spite of the lamentable state of his finances,[3] intended to devote 50,000 florins to the assistance of the Emperor. Part of this sum was handed over at once, and Kobenzl, on his departure in November, received a letter of credit for 10,000 florins, which were to be paid at the end of the month. The nuncio at the Imperial court, Cesare Speciani, was ordered to see that this money was really employed for the expenses of the war.[4]

The shrewdness of Clement VIII. which foresaw a further great attack of the Turks upon Austria-Hungary was justified in the event. The news received of the Turkish preparations became more and more alarming; in March 1593 news reached Rome that the Sultan had officially declared war on the Emperor, and that the Turks had in view a great expedition against Vienna.[5] The Pope was very anxious: he ordered a jubilee, took part in the processions,[6] and urged the Emperor to take the field in person against the Turks in Hungary.[7]

[1] See *report of Carretto, October 3, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* HORVAT in the periodical *Starine*, XXXII., Zagrab., 1907, 132 *seq.*

[3] See for this the *report of Carretto, October 3, 1592, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the letters of Minucci and Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 10, n. 1 and 2, and LOEBL in *Sitzunsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., CLIII., 45. *Cf.* also HORVAT, 15 *seqq.*

[5] See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 12, n. 3. The Bishop of Lesina, Cedulini, had sent the Pope at the end of January 1593 his *Discorso per la difesa contro 'l Turco (Vat. 5485, Vatican Library); see GOTTLOB in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 72.

[6] *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, March 17, 1593 (procession through the Borgo "pro iubilaeo contra Turcos et haereticos") Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[7] See letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, April 3, 1593, in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 12 n.

The news of the official declaration of war proved to be premature, but there could be no doubt as to the aggressive intentions of the Turks. After the fall of Bihač, which was only two days' march distant from the frontier, the Signoria began to look anxiously at Friuli, the ancient port by which the barbarians had entered into Italy.[1] At the beginning of the good season Hassan, the Pasha of Bosnia, made an attack with considerable forces upon Sissek, which was important because of its position at the point where the Kulpa flows into the Save, but he experienced a serious defeat.[2]

When the news of this victory of the Imperial troops reached Rome on July 7th, 1593, the Pope breathed a sigh of relief, and all the ambassadors offered him their congratulations.[3] On Sunday, July 11th, he went on foot in procession from the Minerva to the German national church of the Anima, where the Te Deum was sung, and a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated by the Pope himself.[4] Clement VIII. at once urged still larger armaments ;[5] his estimate of the situation was a true one, for the battle of Sissek had put an end to the apparent peace between the Emperor and the Porte. The war was publicly proclaimed at Constantinople ; the

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 214 *seq.* See also the *report of Carretto, July 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For the battle near Sissek see *Mitteil des Hist. Ver. fur Steiermark*, XXVI., 111 *seq.* HUBER, IV. 375, *Mitteil. österr, Instit.*, Suppl. vol. IX., 767 *seq.* Besides the German journals enumerated by STIEVE (IV., 166), there are also Italian Avvisi printed concerning the battle near Sissek ; e.g. the rare pamphlet "La grandissima victoria la quale al presente hanno havuta li Christiani contro a i Turchi nel paese d'Ungheria," Turin, 1593 (copy in the Library of J. v. Görres, subsequently in the possession of Fraul. Sofia Görres at Vienna). *Cf.* also the accounts in the periodical *Starine*, XXXII., 185 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*

[3] See *report of Carretto, July 17, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 438 *seq.*

[5] See *report of Carretto, July 17, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Imperial ambassador was thrown into chains, and Sinan was sent with an army against Hungary.

The Imperial ambassador, Count Harrach, who had arrived in Rome in July, 1593, found the Pope well disposed to helping the Emperor.[1] But the ideas of Clement VIII. went further than that, and the project for the formation of a great coalition against the Turks, which had already been suggested to Kobenzl in the previous year, was once again put forward.[2] The Pope refused to allow himself to be discouraged either by the coldness shown by Sessa, the representative of Philip II. nor by the endless difficulties suggested by the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta.[3] "Overwhelmed with unspeakable anxiety" for Germany threatened by the Turks,[4] the Pope in the autumn of 1593 sent out a number of important diplomatic missions.

In the first place Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo was charged in September to bring energetic pressure to bear at the Imperial court for serious preparation for the Turkish war, and to insist upon the necessity for summoning the Diet, which had been repeatedly postponed in spite of the constant exhortations of the Pope. So as to win over Spain to the anti-Turkish league, Madruzzo was also to negotiate with the Archduke Ernest concerning his journey to the Low Countries, as well as concerning the pacification of those territories. Above all, Madruzzo was to urge upon the Emperor in a special way his duty towards Christendom, and to remind him of the interests of his own house and his own good name.[5]

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 263, 279.

[2] See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 293 *seq.*, 318 *seq.* See also *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *"Incredibilis nostra sollicitudo de rebus Germaniae in tanto teterrimi hostis conatu," begins the brief to Rudolph II., September 18, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 407, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *reports of the Este envoy from Rome, September 11 and 25, 1593, State Archives, Modena.

[5] The instructions for Madruzzo, September 12, 1593, in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 14, n. 2. The *briefs to the Emperor and many

When, soon after this, the news reached Rome that the convocation of the Diet had been decided upon, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini expressed the joy of the Pope to the nuncio at Prague, Speciani, assuring him at the same time that the Pope was more anxious about the defence of Europe against the Turks than about anything else. In December, 1593, Madruzzo obtained from Rudolph the promise that he would take part in the Diet at Ratisbon, and if necessary would go to Vienna and march against the enemy. This declaration was also confirmed by Rudolph to the nuncio Speciani. When the Diet was convoked Madruzzo was appointed as legate,[1] since he was well acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany, while the nuncios at Prague, Graz and Cologne were also warned to be present at Ratisbon.[2]

At the beginning of October, 1593, Clement VIII. charged one of the most important prelates in the Curia, the Auditor-general of the Apostolic Camera, Camillo Borghese, with a mission to Philip II. The Pope would gladly have chosen a Cardinal for this mission as well, and had even thought of his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, but as the latter was unwell, he gave up, in the interests of speed, the idea of sending a Cardinal legate.[3] Borghese's duties were only concerned

other German princes concerning the mission of the Cardinal dated September 18, 1593, in Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 407-409, Papal Secret Archives; that to the Duke William of Bavaria in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 143.* For the statement by the Pope in the consistory see the *letter of the Este envoy, September 15, 1593, State Archives, Modena.

[1] See *brief to the Emperor, November 6, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 34, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SIIEVE, IV., 185 *seq.*; ZÖCHBAUER, II., 15 *seq.* *Cf.* MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 314 *seq.*

[3] See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 26 *seq.*, and *report of the Este envoy of September 11, 1593, State Archives, Modena. In the *credential brief to Philip II., October 2, 1593, it is stated: "In hoc teterrimi barbari adversus Germaniam atque Italiam conatu, cui si ut hactenus initia successerunt,

with the Turkish question. He was instructed to employ all his eloquence to induce the King of Spain to come to the assistance of the Emperor, and to negative the objections raised by the Spanish diplomatists. He was not only to put forward the interests of religion, but also those of the house of Hapsburg. If the Turks should advance from Bihač upon Friuli, not only the Venetian republic and the Austrian territory would be menaced, but also the Spanish possessions in Italy. The danger was greater than it had been in the time of Pius V., for then it was Venice and not Spain that had cause for fear. Borghese was specially to urge the King of Spain to support the Turkish question at the Diet, and to assist the Emperor with troops, which could easily be levied if the necessary money were at his disposal. He was also to suggest action on the part of the Spanish fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, where the Pope had already entered into relations with the Christian populations. All this must be done at once.[1]

Camillo Borghese was not wanting in zeal, but he only

sic nisi maiora in dies molienti et paranti obsistitur, quanta ab eo clades immineat nomini christiano, omnes vident, boni ingemiscunt." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 426, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] The instructions for C. Borghese, October 6, 1593, are printed from a Florentine copy in MOREL-FATIO, L'Espagne, 194-203. But there are better manuscripts, *e.g.* in the State Library, Berlin, Inform. polit. XV., 475 *seq.*; in Rome in Vat. 9427, p. 201 *seq.*, Urb. 866, p. 113 *seq.*, Barb. LVII., 15, Chigi I., III., 67, p. 423 *seq.*, Vatican Library; in the Corsini Library 38 A, 21 p. 9 *seq.*, 38 A, 22 p. 182 *seq.* The text in Morel-Fatio must be corrected in many points in accordance with these; *e.g.* p. 194, l. 6, we must read *modi* for *medi*; l. 3 from the bottom, *ne noi* for *noi*; p. 195, l. 6, we must add after *prima*: *resolutione*; p. 198, l. 1, *quaranta quattro* for *quaranta otto*; p. 199, l. 2 from the bottom: *vincoli moltiplici* for *miracoli politici*; p. 200, l. 4 from the bottom: *tutta occupata* for *stata occupata*; p. 201, l. 3: *potrà* for *parta*; p. 202, l. 8, *detta alla dieta Imperiale* for *dalla alla detta Imperatrice*. *Cf.* also GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 107 *seqq.* For the blessed sword then sent to Philip II. see *Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 161.

obtained promises for the future. He was encouraged to hope for considerable sums of money, but not until July, when the fleet should have returned with silver from America.[1]

The instructions for Borghese also stated that the anti-Turkish league, the centre of which was to be formed by the Holy See, Spain and Venice, was to extend to Eastern Europe, a project which it cannot be denied was a grandiose one. The aims of Clement VIII. were directed not only to the conquest of Transylvania, so important on account of its position, but of the whole of eastern Europe. At the end of November, 1593, after favourable news had been received of the encounters between the Imperial troops with the Turks in Hungary,[2] Alexander Komulovič, the rector of the Jugo-Slav church of San Girolamo in Rome, and Abbot of Nona, was charged with a mission to eastern Europe. As a Slav by birth, and as visitor of European Turkey in the time of Gregory XIII., he was admirably fitted for this task. Komulovič was in the first place to try and win over the sovereign of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, then the Voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, the leaders of the Cossacks, and lastly the King of Poland, to the anti-Turkish league. Shortly after his departure he was also ordered to extend his journey to Moscow, in order to interest the Grand Duke, Feodor, in the war against the Turks.[3] From Tran-

[1] See HINOJOSA, 364 *seqq.* where the *reports of Borghese in Cod. Borgh. III., 94c are used. A contemporary account of the journey in MOREL-FATIO, 161 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, November 19, 1593, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[3] See PIERLING, Papes et Tsars, 443 *seq.*, La Russie, II., 336 *seq.*; MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 320. The instructions for Komulovič, November 21, 1593, in PIERLING, Novi Izvori o L. Komulovicu, Zagrab., 1885, 12 *seq.*; HURMUZAKI, III., 2, 36 *seq.* and VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, 35 *seq.*, and partially also in *Docum. privitore la istoria Romanilor.*, III., 2 35 *seq.* The briefs of Clement VIII. to the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and to the Cossacks, November 8, 1593, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III. 210 *seq.* Facsimile of the signature of Komulovič in VERESS, *loc. cit.* 49.

sylvania, where, at the beginning of 1594, he had begun negotiations for an alliance with the Emperor against the Turks, Komulovič went on to Jassy, to Aaron, the voivode of Moldavia, with whom he had two private audiences. He then treated with the leaders of the Cossacks, before making the journey from Poland to Moscow.[1]

In the meantime in Rome the Pope was seeking to interest the Italian states in support of the anti-Turkish war. He was able to point out how, in the case of a further advance of the Turks, Italy as well would be directly threatened.[2] He especially entered into detailed negotiations with Paolo Paruta, the Venetian ambassador, and in answer to the objections made by the latter the Pope suggested that if the Signoria did not wish to break openly with the Porte, it might at least assist the Emperor in secret. But Venice would not hear of even this, nor indeed of the whole of the Pope's plan for a league.[3] The situation was further complicated by the fact that not far from Aquileia the Venetians had begun to erect a fortress named Palma, which they said was intended to defend their territory against an attack by the Turks, whereas at Prague they saw in it a threat to Austrian territory.[4] In spite of all the Pope's efforts, Venice showed no disposition to abandon its cautious attitude of waiting.[5] In order to win the support of at any rate the small Italian states for the Turkish war, Clement VIII. sent out special envoys at the end of January 1594.[6] In the meantime Giambattista

[1] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 337 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*

[2] See the reports in the periodical *Starine*, XXXII., 218, 223, 249, 258.

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 27 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 77 *seq.*, 87, 105 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, 165 *seq.*, 186, 190 *seq.*

[6] See the *Instruttione d' ordine di N.S.P. Clemente VIII. a Msgr. S. Vitale, vescovo di Spoleto, et all sig^ri Orsini suoi referendarii, destinati nuntii a principi et potentati d' Italia, Rome, January 30, 1594, in F. ital. 1173 p. 37b *seq.*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in greater detail in Vat. 9427, p. 125 *seq.*,

Vecchietti, who was well acquainted with affairs in the east, was entrusted with a mission to the Shah of Persia.[1]

While the Diet, which was at last opened at Ratisbon on June 2nd, 1594, was still discussing the question of help against the Turks, the Pope resolved to grant to Rudolph II. the large sum of 30,000 florins a month. The first instalment of this generous subsidy was paid while the Diet was still in session by the Cardinal legate Madruzzo, who was vigorously supporting the Emperor.[2] The rest of the money was obtained from the Italian clergy by the imposition of six tenths.[3] Giambattista Doria, who was sent to the theatre of war at the beginning of July, 1594, as Apostolic Commissary, was charged with the payment of this and with superintending its use.[4]

Doria found the Imperial armies in a very unsatisfactory state. Although he remedied, as far as lay in his power, the lack of means, he was powerless against the absolute lack of discipline, the disagreement among the leaders, and the incapacity of the Archduke Matthias, the official commander

January 24, 1594, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 175, 182. The *credential briefs for the Bishop of Spoleto, January 30, 1594, for Genoa, the Dukes of Parma, Savoy and Urbino, in Arm. 44, t. 39, nn. 77, 80, 85, 87, Papal Secret Archives. Valerio Orsini was sent to Lucca and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Fabio Orsini at the same time to the Dukes of Mantua and Ferrara; see the respective *briefs, *ibid*, nn. 78, 79, 91, 89. Originals in the State Archives, Naples, Perg. dell' Arch. Farnese, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua and State Archives, Turin.

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 175.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* 350 *seq.*; MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 316; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Bull., X., 98 *seq.* (*cf.* 109 *seq.*), *Avviso of May 11, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, and the *report of Sporeno, May 7, 1594, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For the difficulties made by Venice because the Venetian clergy were also included, see *Nunziat. di Venezia, XVII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] The briefs for Doria are dated July 2, and his instructions July 5, 1594; see MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 316. *Cf.* ZÖCHBAUER, II., 16, n. 1, who give part of the instructions; HORVAT, 38 *seqq.*

in chief. The principal adviser of this prince, the president David Ungnad, was a drunkard, who was assisted by two German captains, who had never seen a Turk, or ever taken part in a battle.[1]

Especially fatal was the fact that Count Ferdinand von Hardegg, the commandant of the strong and important fortress of Raab, which was well equipped with the means of defence, proved himself quite incapable. It was a serious blow to the Christian cause when Hardegg, to the surprise of the Turks, surrendered after a short siege on September 29th, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to go free; a disgraceful act, which he later on paid for with his head.[2] The Grand Vizier then turned against Komorn, which however defended itself so vigorously that at the end of October the Turks had to raise the siege. Doria vainly insisted upon following up the enemy, but the council of war resolved to withdraw to its winter quarters.[3] Thus the campaign of 1594, in spite of the grave losses which the Turks had suffered, especially before Raab, ended for them with a great success, namely the capture of this important bulwark of Vienna.[4]

Clement VIII., who at the beginning of September had been rejoiced by the news of the abundant help voted against the Turks by the Diet,[5] felt the loss of Raab

[1] *Cf.* FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 21 *seq.* FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* For the incapacity of the Archduke Matthias see the report in HORVAT, 55, n. 1.

[2] See FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 23.

[3] *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

[4] See HUBER, IV., 380. For the limited successes met with at the same time by the Archduke Maximilian in Croatia, see HIRN, Massimiliano I., 34 *seq.*

[5] See the *briefs to the German Catholic princes, September 2, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, nn. 270-276, Papal Secret Archives (*cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 146*). Special praise was bestowed on Cardinal Madruzzo in the *brief addressed to him, also on September 2 (*loc. cit.* n. 268) as follows: "Nunc autem comitiis absolutis gratulamur tibi, quod ad vetera merita tua erga hanc

severely.[1] Even before he had received the alarming news of this disaster, which brought the danger of a Turkish invasion of German Austria much nearer, on September 25th he summoned the ambassadors of the Emperor, of Philip II. and of Venice, informed them of the bad news from Hungary, and urged them, as strongly as he could, to induce their governments to give their assistance against the Turks. Once more he had to listen to the old excuses from the Venetian ambassador,[2] while the attention of the Spanish ambassador was far more intent upon the French question than upon the safety of Christendom.

The writers of the reports from Rome tell us how greatly the Pope was afflicted at that time, and how he grieved, with tears in his eyes, over the Turkish peril and the failure to take measures for defence, and how he held conference after conference.[3] At the beginning of October he sent a special ambassador to the Emperor in the person of his chamberlain, Lotario Conti, Duke of Poli.[4] Conti was to bring home to Rudolph II. with the greatest insistence, that the principal reason for the hitherto disastrous outcome of the campaign was the miserable state of the Imperial armies. The only possible remedy would be for Rudolph to appear in person among his troops, for otherwise things would go from bad

carissimam matrem tuam Romanam ecclesiam hunc quoque cumulum addideris peractae legationis Ratisponensis ex nostra et Ap. Sedis dignitate et christianae reipublicae utilitate." There follows a eulogy of the activity he had shown for the preservation of the Catholic faith and for the war against the Turks.

[1] See *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 215-220.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 451 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of September 28, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avvisi of September 24 and 28, 1594: "S.S. piange et si afflige tanto di queste male nuove che lunedi celebrando la messa bagnò 5 fazzoli di lacrime," Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[4] See brief to Rudolph II., dat. Cal. Oct. 1594, in CASCIOLI, Mem. stor. di Poli, Rome, 1896, 328 *seqq.*, and the *brief to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, October 1, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 317; HORVAT, 47 *seqq.*

to worse. In the instructions given to Conti it was openly stated that the principal fault for the losses that had been suffered so far lay with the commander in chief, who had no knowledge of war, and enjoyed no prestige among the soldiers. The Emperor must bear in mind the example of his ancestors; he was in the flower of his age, he was in sound health and had neither wife nor children to keep him back. He must in a word give ear to the words of the Pope, for otherwise he would lose his mastery over the rest of Hungary, and all the more so as there was already great discontent there. The words of St. Thomas Aquinas that the king is the soul of the state, were especially true in time of war. If Hungary was altogether lost, then Vienna and the hereditary states would be menaced. The Turk would easily be able to advance into Moravia and Bohemia. Above all the attention of the Emperor must be called to the fact that, according to reliable news received in Rome, Vienna was not properly equipped to withstand a siege. Let Rudolph do his duty, and the Pope for his part would not fail in his; he was prepared to send troops, and to induce the other Christian princes to give their assistance, and he would continue his efforts with Poland, Venice and Spain for the formation of a league. But if the Emperor persisted in his inertia, what was to be expected of the others?[1]

The Mantuan envoy, in his report of October 15th, 1594, drew a vivid picture of the sorrow which the Pope felt at that time at the attitude of Rudolph towards the state of the Imperial armies, and at the failure of his efforts to form a league. As a last resource he resolved to try and raise an

[1] The *Instruttione per ordine di N.S.P. Clemente VIII. al sig. Lotario Conti duca di Poli mandato alla M^tà^ dell' Imperatore del mese d' ottobre 1594 in Cod. N. 19 pp. 179-193 of the Vallicella Library, Rome, in Urb. 866, pp. 188-196, Ottob. 2527, p. 287 *seqq.*, and Barb. LVI., 125, p. 173 *seqq.*, Vatican Library; a number of passages from these were printed in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 36 n. 4. The instructions are also to be found in Cod. H. 155, n. 9 of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

auxiliary Papal force.[1] In order to obtain the support of Philip II., the Pope's nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, was sent to Madrid at the beginning of December 1594.[2] This mission proved to be practically as sterile as that of Conti. Rudolph II. promised, it is true, to go to Vienna, but it never entered his head to go in person to the battle front.[3]

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who took with him many valuable presents,[4] was only able after a long time to obtain from Philip II. an equally unsatisfactory reply. The King of Spain promised, indeed, to assist the Emperor with 5,500 men, but attached to this the offensive condition that the Pope should abstain from any interference in the matter of the *spoglie* of the archbishopric of Toledo. He declared his readiness to join the league if Venice too would do so.[5] How little likelihood there was of this was shown at the earliest opportunity.[6]

[1] *Reports of Annibale Chieppio, October 15, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso of October 5, 1594, in which it is stated that the Pope, on account of his sorrow, will no longer go to Frascati to recreate himself. Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[2] See *brief to Philip II., November 19, 1594, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 365, Papal Secret Archives. The *instructions for Aldobrandini, November 27, 1594, in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 4, n. 52, and in Cod. H. 155, n. 8, Ambrosian Library, Milan. *Cf.* Rocca da Cesenale, I., 151 *seq.*, and Hinojosa, 384 *seq.*, where the material for this mission is collected, and which is also to be found in Borghese, Vatican Archives ; *cf.* also Horvat, 19 *seq.*, 31 *seq.* Clement VIII. gave communion to his nephew before his departure ; see *Avviso of November 30, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, December 1, 1594, Barb. 2815, *ibid.*

[3] See Zöchbauer, II., 38. *Cf.* Mathaus-Volotolini, 318.

[4] Relics of St. Alban, a blessed sword for the king (*cf.* *Jahrb des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 161) and the golden rose for the infanta Elizabeth ; see *briefs to the above mentioned, November 29, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 393-395, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* Hinojosa, 390. *Ibid.* the compromise on the question of the *spoglie*.

[6] *Cf.* Paruta, Dispacci, II., 473 *seq.*, 498 *seq.* ; III., 19.

While the Pope's envoys were still on their way, Clement VIII. invoked the assistance of heaven by two processions, the first of which, on December 7th, 1594, went to the German national church of the Anima. He also published a jubilee, in which, following the example of the supreme head of the Church, the Romans took part in great numbers.[1]

The favourable news which arrived at the beginning of 1595 seemed to be an answer to this prayer. From this it appeared that the hopes which had been built upon the states of the lower Danube had been justified;[2] an alliance had been concluded between the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia and Sigismund Báthory, with the firm purpose of making a joint attack upon the Turks.[3] In order to press forward this plan a special nuncio was sent to Transylvania at the end of January, 1595, in the person of the Bishop of Cervia, Alfonso Visconti, to whom were given briefs to the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia.[4] A joyful item of news for the Pope was the information that, at the end of January, 1595, through the mediation of the nuncio Speciani and the Spanish ambassador, San Clemente, an alliance had been entered into at Prague between Sigismund Báthory and the Emperor. To this was added the news of the successes which the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians had won against the Turks on the lower Danube.[5] This change in the

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 439 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *report of Chieppio, Rome, December 10, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See HUBER, IV., 386. For the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia see TEUTSCHLÄNDER, Michael der Tapfere, Vienna, 1879, and IORGA, Rumänien, II., 90 *seq.*

[4] The *briefs, all dated January 15, 1595, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 49, pp. 14, 15, 23, Papal Secret Archives. The instructions for Visconti in VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, 50 *seqq.*, who also publishes there the reports of Visconti and Speciani. For the delay in the departure of Visconti see PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 11, 19, 33. *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 115 *seq.*, PIERLING, La Russie, II., 340.

[5] See FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 29 *seq.* HUBER, IV., 386 *seq.*, JORGA, Osmanen, III., 304 *seq.*

situation was all the more important in that it threatened the flank of the enemy in his advance on Hungary. It was therefore decided in Constantinople to proceed first with the subjection of the vassal states which had been lost, which were also of great importance for providing Constantinople and the armies with grain, but the opening of the campaign was delayed until the middle of the summer, owing to the death of the Sultan, Murad III., which took place on January 16th, 1595, and by other circumstances.[1]

Thus Clement VIII. was left with sufficient time to carry out the plan of organizing an auxiliary Papal army. In so doing he had to encounter the greatest obstacles. Many sought to dissuade him from his project altogether,[2] while to this was added enormous difficulty in raising the necessary money.[3] It was necessary to levy 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry,[4] and to raise such a force not only involved great expense, but was also very difficult in itself, owing to the decadence of military traditions in the Papal States.[5] Thus it became necessary to include in the army even bandits, who were promised in reward that they should return to their former possessions.[6] The way in which the Pope supported the

[1] See HUBER, IV., 388; JORGA, *loc. cit.* 305.

[2] In the *Discorso sopra la ragione di fece e di stato appoggiato sopra la guerra fra la Ces. M^tà^, e il Turco diviso in 4 libri, the second book is devoted to the confutation of those who blamed the assistance given by Clement VIII. to Germany, Urb. 872, Vatican Library.

[3] Much information on this subject in PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 1 *seq.*, 9 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 19, 70 *seq.*, 95 *seq.* *Cf.* the *reports of Arrigoni, May 13 and 20, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Avviso of May 27, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. By a *brief of February 29, 1595, Clement VIII. asked for assistance in money from Cardinal de Castro, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See PARUTA, II., 95.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 378,

[6] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 169 (cf. 77 *seq.*) and PARUTA, Relazione, 392.

enterprise was shown by his resolve to release for the Turkish war the cavalry which had hitherto been employed against the bandits, replacing them with Corsican soldiers.[1] Gian Francesco Aldobrandini,[2] who was recalled for the purpose from Spain, was to be placed in command of the Papal auxiliary troops.[3]

While Clement VIII. was vigorously equipping his troops in the Papal States,[4] he continued to seek for help from abroad. By means of Komulovič and his nuncio Malaspina, he brought special pressure to bear in Poland for the beginning of a war against the Turks. But King Sigismund III. showed himself unwilling, as did the Polish Diet, to break the peace with the Porte. Both pointed to the inertia of the Emperor and of the other Christian princes, and to their own perilous relations with Russia, where the efforts of Komulovič, who had been sent thither by the Pope, had proved fruitless. To this was added the fact that Poland had also to fight against the Tartars and the Cossacks.[5] In spite of this the Pope did not give up hopes of winning over the kingdom to his plans.

The way in which Clement VIII. sought everywhere to obtain help against the enemy was shown by the fact that in April he sent Ettore Mondini to the shieck of the Arabs,[6] and Alessandro Komulovič to the Circassians.[7] At the same time Antonio Maria Graziani, Bishop of Amelia, and Monsignor della Corgna, were charged with a mission to the princely

[1] See *report of. L Arrigoni, Rome, March 8, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Avviso of February 22, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library, and *report of Arrigoni of same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *report of Arrigoni, March 8, 1595, *ibid.*

[4] See *report of Arrigoni, March 18, 1595, *ibid.*

[5] See PIERLING, Papes et Tsars, 462 *seq.*; La Russie, II., 351 *seq.* *Cf.* GOTTLOB in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 117.

[6] *Brief to the "Sceicho Arabum Orientis duci (pro 4 ducibus)" April 20, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 90, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Brief "uni seu pluribus in Circassia et provinciis illis," April 29, 1595, *ibid.* p. 92.

courts of Italy in the interests of the Turkish war.[1] They took with them briefs in very urgent language.[2] These resulted in various companies of soldiers later on joining the Papal army at the expense of the Italian princes. The Duke of Mantua appeared in person at the head of a regiment of cavalry equipped by himself. Tuscany contributed considerable help in money, which was even more acceptable than the rough Italian soldiery. Princes Giovanni and Antonio de' Medici, of the reigning house of Tuscany, also presented themselves; the former enjoyed a great reputation for his knowledge of war.[3] Of the Roman aristocracy, Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, and Francesco del Monte had already taken part.[4] From their ranks Clement VIII. now chose the six captains of the Papal auxiliary troops: Mario Farnese, Francesco del Monte, Marco di Pii, Paolo Sforza, Ascanio della Corgna and Federigo Sangiorgio. The cavalry was entrusted to the celebrated Flaminio Delfino. The lieutenant of the commander in chief was Paolo Sforza,[5] who had great experience of war. After Rome the principal centre of enlistment was Perugia; the arms for the most part were furnished by Brescia. Doria retained the position of com-

[1] See *Instructions to the above mentioned in Cod. CCLXIX., p. 101 *seq.* of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome. *Cf.* the *brief to Ranuccio Farnese, April 29, 1595, State Archives, Naples, Perg. dell' Arch. Farnese. For the departure of the two envoys see Lettres d' Ossat, I., 144 *seq.*

[2] Graziani was sent to the Dukes of Savoy, Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua and to Genoa; Corgna to Florence, Parma and Lucca; see the *briefs of April 29, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 93, 95, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 324 *seq.* *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, III., 600; LOEBL in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.* Hist. Kl., CLIII., 45 *seq.* The *original of the *brief of July 22, 1595, in which Clement VIII. congratulated Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga on his resolve to go to the war against the Turks, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. Arch. stor. Lombardo,* XLII. (1915), 29 *seq.*

[4] See MATHAUS-VOLOTOLINI, 324 *seq.*

[5] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 155, 169.

missary of the war, assisted by the prelates Buonvisi and Mateucci. Jesuits and Capuchins were appointed for the spiritual needs of the troops, while members of other Orders were assigned to care for the sick and the wounded.[1]

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini had returned to Rome on May 16th,[2] and at the consistory on May 22nd the Pope made a statement concerning the assistance which he was in course of sending to the Emperor.[3] On June 4th the solemn handing over of the insignia of the supreme command to Gian Francesco Aldobrandini took place at St. Mary Major's. The Pope went thither with the Cardinals and all the court. After mass he blessed the standards, one of which bore the figures of the princes of the Apostles, and the other the arms of the Aldobrandini. Then Gian Francesco Aldobrandini received from the hands of the Pope the bâton of the commander in chief. In his discourse Clement VIII. spoke of a just war for the salvation of Christendom.[4]

On June 16th Gian Francesco Aldobrandini left the Eternal City. He went first to the Marches and the Romagna to enlist more soldiers.[5] A few days later the Pope was able to report in consistory the success of Sigismund Báthory in the war against the Turks.[6]

[1] See IUVENCIUS, V., 377 *seq.* *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 139.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

[4] See besides PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 162 *seq.*, the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*, the report in RICCI, II., 205, and *Avviso of June 7, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. *Cf.* HORVAT, 59.

[5] See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 163, 169; *Avviso of June 17, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. The mission of Aldobrandini was announced on June 15, 1595, by *briefs to the Emperor, the King of Poland, S. Báthory, and many princes of Germany and Italy. Arm. 44, t. 40, pp. 155-177, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, June 19, 1595, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *brief of praise and encouragement to the "Princeps Transilvaniae," June 20, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 185, Papal Secret Archives.

The Papal auxiliary army moved in separate divisions by way of Ancona, Bologna and Modena towards the frontier of the Tyrol, crossed the Brenner, and from Hall near Innsbruck continued its march along the river as far as the city of Hainburg, below Vienna, which was the appointed place of assembly. On July 2nd there were assembled about 7600 infantry and 260 cavalry. At the beginning of August Gian Francesco Aldobrandini joined his troops at Hainburg. Thence he led them to Gran, where the imposing Imperial army was quartered;[1] this time Rudolph II. had placed a competent general in command, Count Karl von Mansfield, who preserved strict discipline.[2] He had been besieging Gran, which was well fortified, since July 1st, and an auxiliary Turkish force of 20,000 men was completely defeated by Mansfield on August 4th. It was a serious loss to the Christian cause when, only ten days after this victory, and when he was hardly 52 years of age, this excellent general was carried off by dysentery.[3] On August 22nd the Papal auxiliary army and the other Italian troops joined forces with the Imperial besieging army. As early as August 25th the Papal soldiers received their baptism of fire in the assault of Gran. Their share in the fighting contributed efficaciously to compelling the Turks to surrender on September 2nd, on condition of being allowed to withdraw unmolested. The cathedral was at once reconsecrated and a mass of thanksgiving celebrated. Soon afterwards Aldobrandini also compelled Visegrad to capitulate.[4] At the consistory of September 11th the Pope

[1] See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 411 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instsit.*, VI., 101 *seq.*, and HORVAT, 60 *seq.* The original *reports of Doria from June 20 to December 31, 1595, and the *letters addressed to him by Cardinal Aldobrandini in Borghese, III., 84d and III., 19a, Papal Secret Archives; the *reports of G. Fr. Aldobrandini *ibid.* III., 96.

[2] See Mon. comit. Ung., VIII., 268, 293; Mon. Hung. Script., VII., 21 *seq.* HUBER, IV., 392.

[3] See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 30; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 314 *seq.*; HORVAT, 66 *seq.*

[4] A report printed in Rome in 1595: "L' assedia et presa di Strigonia" in *Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor.*, III., 2, 492 *seq.* *Cf.* also RICCI, II., 214; HORVAT, 70 *seq.*

informed the College of Cardinals of the capture of Gran.[1] He told the Este ambassador that for fifty years no place of such importance to Christendom had been taken; on the same occasion he spoke in great praise of the part that had been taken in this success by the Italian troops.[2] On the following day he celebrated a mass of thanksgiving in the church of the Minerva, and then went barefoot to the German national church of the Anima, reciting the rosary with great fervour all along the way.[3] A few days later he exhorted the Archduke Matthias, who after the death of Mansfield had again joined the Imperial troops, to prosecute the war energetically.[4] On the Duke of Mantua he conferred the praise that he had deserved for his courageous conduct, which Aldobrandini had reported.[5]

A brief of October 1st urged the Emperor Rudolph to take in hand at once the recovery of the capital of Hungary,[6] since, owing to the weakening and discouragement of the Turks the opportunity for such un undertaking seemed to be very favourable. Gian Francesco Aldobrandini urged the same thing. But the irresolution of the Imperial commanders, the lack of money, the want of discipline among the troops, who often behaved worse than the Turks,[7] led to a suspension of military operations. The effect of the loss of Mansfield was manifest;[8] in the south, during September, the general of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria had recaptured Petrinia and other small places in Croatia, but nothing was to be looked for from the main army in Upper Hungary, on account of the disputes among the leaders, the lack of

[1] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, *loc. cit.* Vatican Library.

[2] See Ricci, II., 214.

[3] See Schmidlin, Anima, 440.

[4] *Brief to the Archduke Matthias, September 18, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 255, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Brief of September 30, 1595, *ibid.* p. 260.

[6] *Imperatori, October 1, 1595, *ibid.* p. 262.

[7] *Cf.* the report in Ricci, II., 217. See also the letter of Aldobrandini in Horvat, 77.

[8] See Fessler-Klein, IV., 31.

discipline, and the discontent of the soldiers at the delay in receiving their pay. At the beginning of the cold season the army went into winter quarters.[1]

Thus the auxiliary Papal troops as well found themselves condemned to inaction. For a long time past they had been so badly treated by the Imperialists in the matters of quarters and victuals, that the Pope had had to make bitter complaints.[2] There now broke out among them a contagious disease, and as early as October 5th Aldobrandini reported to Rome that the number of the sick was as great as 2,500. As well as the commanders Mario Farnese and Francesco del Monte, Aldobrandini himself fell sick. He went to Presburg, while the greater part of his troops were encamped on the islands in the Danube. There too the conditions, both as to quarters and provisions, were in no way better.

This news was bound to produce a very bad impression in Rome; it was even reported there that the Imperialists would not be sorry to see the return of the Papal troops, that Rudolph II. was inclined to make peace with the Porte, and that the bad treatment of the Papal troops was due to the Protestant Imperial councillors of war. As the result of this orders were issued to the Papal troops at the beginning of December to return, which was done in the case of the infantry, while Aldobrandini went with the cavalry to Vienna towards the end of the year.[3]

When Doria presented his account of the subsidies made to

[1] See *ibid.* and HUBER, IV., 394. For the capture of Petrinia see the *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand, October 14, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the report in RICCI, II., 218.

[3] See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 417 *seq.*, HORVAT, 72 *seq.* A *brief of December 14, 1595, asked the Doge for the free passage and provisioning of the Papal troops on their way back from Hungary (Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 341, Papal Secret Archives). Their return to Italy only took place at the end of May, 1596; see CERESOLE, Relazioni fra la casa degli Aldobrandini e la repubblica di Venezia, Venice, 1880, 20 *seq.* G. Fr. Aldobrandini reached Rome on June 16, 1596 (HORVAT, 85).

the Imperial court during the year 1594, and of the expenses of the Papal troops for the year 1595, it was found that these amounted to 600,274 scudi.[1] The Hungarian States, at their Diet, held in 1596, expressed their thanks for this generous help in the following terms: "We know of no higher duty than that of expressing to Your Holiness a fitting and eternal gratitude for the extraordinary favours granted by you to our poor country, which has been so sorely tried. With the exception of His Majesty no mortal man has afforded more help to our unhappy country than Your Holiness. May our destiny change in such a way that we may be able to show to Your Holiness and to the Holy See a fitting gratitude, and repay what we have received."[2]

Some compensation for this last and disappointing campaign in Hungary was afforded by the successes won by Sigismund Báthory against the Turks in Wallachia in the autumn of 1595. Supported in every way by the Papal nuncio Alfonso Visconti, the sovereign of Transylvania had collected a large force. With this he crossed the pass of the Törzburg, and at the beginning of October joined forces with the Voivode Michael of Wallachia. The Turks were unable to withstand this force; on October 17th they lost Tirgoschyl and had to withdraw hurriedly beyond the Danube. The Papal nuncio Visconti, who accompanied Báthory, sent a detailed report of this campaign to Rome, which was received with great joy. But it was overshadowed by the news that Báthory had not followed up his victory, and by the conduct of Poland, which sought once more to assert its claims to Moldavia, and thus prevent the carrying on of the Turkish war.[3]

[1] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *ibid.* the nuncio at Venice stated: "La gloria di S. B. è in haver mandato contro i Turchí il più numerso esercito che habbi mai mandato verun'altro Pontefice" (HORVAT, 86).

[3] See HAMMER, IV., 250 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 32 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 389 *seq.* JORGA, Osmanen, III., 316 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* In a *brief of November 8, 1595, Clement VIII., expressed to S. Báthory his sorrow at the events in Moldavia, which hampered his war against the Turks (Brevia, Arm. 44,

The news from Constantinople pointed to a great new attack during 1596.[1] The loss of Gran and their defeat in Wallachia had made a deep impression on the Turks; by command of the Sultan public prayers were ordered, a thing only done in cases of extreme necessity. Armaments were prepared on a grand scale, and the Sultan resolved to place himself at the head of his troops, a thing which contributed in no small degree to revive the flagging spirits of the army and the people.[2]

Sigismund Báthory was of the opinion that the principal attack would be delivered against himself. In January, 1596, therefore, he went, accompanied by the Papal nuncio Visconti, and his confessor, the Jesuit Alfonso Carillo, to the Imperial court, where he was promised abundant help.[3] Clement VIII. had already at the beginning of 1596 appointed Count Lodovico Anguisciola as nuncio extraordinary to Transylvania. Anguisciola was to express the Pope's joy at the victories in Wallachia, to present to Báthory a blessed sword, to urge him to come to a peaceful settlement of the dispute with Poland, and to urge him to prosecute vigorously the war against the Turks.[4] At the same time Bishop Benedetto

t. 49, p. 308b, Papal Secret Archives). The report of Visconti on the successes in Transylvania was read in the consistory of December 4, 1595 (*Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb, XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library). On December 6, 1595, a Te Deum of thanksgiving was sung at St. Peter's (*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, *ibid.*

[1] *Cf.* Avviso degli apparati, della pompa e del numero de soldait con che Mehemet Re de Turchi parti da Constantinopoli per venire alla guerra d'Ungheria, Rome, 1596.

[2] See HAMMER, IV., 254 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, III., 601.

[3] See HUBER, IV., 395. The Bishop of Caserta, B. Mandino, who was sent by the Pope to Poland, *reported from Prague on February 20 and 23 to Clement VIII. concerning his meeting with S. Báthory, and of the latter's warlike zeal: "Si bene è giovanotto di età, non dimeno è di spirito molto relevato e savio e devotissimo alla Stà V. et a questa S. Sede." Original in Doria Archives, Rome, sect. Aldobrandini.

[4] The instructions for L. Anguisciola, January 23, 1596, in Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor., III., 2, 410 *seq.*, and in

Mandino of Caserta was sent as nuncio to Poland.[1] He was to urge the formation of an anti-Turkish league between Poland, Transylvania and the Emperor. This is the most pressing matter, said the instructions he received, and they went on to enumerate all the previous efforts made by the Pope to form a league.[2]

The alliance between Poland and the Emperor met with great difficulties,[3] but Clement VIII. did not lose heart. What store he set upon winning over Poland was shown by the fact that in April he attempted to win that kingdom over

VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, 172 *seq.* The *brief to S. Báthory concerning the blessed sword, January 20, 1596, in Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 41, Papal Secret Archives. Anguisciola only set out on May 5, 1596; see VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 206.

[1] See letters to Sigismund III., January 5 and 12, 1596, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 249. *Cf.* VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 167 *seq.*; HORVAT, 86 *seq.*

[2] * Instruttione per il vescovo di Caserta per l'unione contro il Turco, dated: 1596, January 7: Dallo stringere in una ferma congiuntione di consigli et di forze il regno di Polonia con la M^tà^ dell'Imperatore et con il principe di Transilvania, acciò tutta quella potenza s'impieghi contro il Turco, depende il maggior utile, che la republica christiana possa aspettare in questi tempi da opera humana, però V. S. può stimare d'essere conseguentemente detta per carico importante sopra tutti l'altri ch'hoggidì corrono. . . . Sin dal principio che la perfidia de Turchi cominciò ad inquietare questi anni addietro li stati della casa d'Austria, N.S^re^ voltò i pensieri suoi ad unire insieme i principi christiani per la resistenza, come prima havia in varii modi tentato d'unirli per l'assalto mentre si teneva che fosse per continuare la guerra di Persia et dare più commodità a christiani di scuotere il duro giogo della servitù barbara et ad altri d'assicurarsi di non havere a cader sotto l'insatiabil sete degli Ottomani et i loro continui spiriti di monarchia (Cod. CCLXIX. p. 7 *seq.*, 65 *seq.* of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome). Other manuscript copies of the instructions in Vat. 9427, p. 220 *seq.* and Urb. 866, p. 92 *seq.* Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Sur Kirchengesch., 16.

[3] See the *report used by HORVAT (88), in Urb. 816 p. 419, Vatican Library.

to the war with the Turks by sending Cardinal Caetani.[1] At first he intended to send Gian Francesco Aldobrandini to Transylvania, and was prepared to grant 20,000 scudi a month for the maintenance of the cavalry that was to be levied there. Báthory on the other hand declared that he himself intended to summon to the colours the whole of his population capable of bearing arms, and that he desired the prompt financial assistance of the Pope. Thus the mission of Aldobrandini was cancelled.[2] The Pope granted Báthory, who had sent to Rome the indefatigable and hardworking Jesuit Carillo, a considerable financial subsidy for seven months, namely 20,000 florins a month, 60,000 of which were to be paid in advance.[3] Acilia Amalteo, the principal commissary for the war, sent this sum to Transylvania on May 15th. At the end of July the Pope sent 30,000 florins to Visconti and promised another 30,000.[4]

In so doing Clement VIII. had done more than he was really

[1] The appointment of Caetani took place on April 3, 1596; see *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *report of Arrigoni, April 6, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the object of the mission see the briefs to Sigismund III. and the magnates of Poland, April 20, 1596, in THEINER, III., 262 *seq.*, and the *brief to the Emperor of same date (orig. in State Archives, Vienna). The Pope likewise wrote on April 20 in the *briefs to the "Princeps Transilvaniae" and the Duke of Bavaria; see Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 153 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 161 *seqq.*, numerous credential *briefs for Caetani. The instructions for Cardinal Caetani, April 13, 1596, in Urb. 866, p. 333 *seq.* Vatican Library, and in Cod. N. 33, p. 21 *seq.*, Vallicella Library, Rome. The Cardinal started on April 15; see Lettres d'Ossat, I., 253, and *Avviso of April 27, 1596, Urb. 1064, Vatican Library. For the mission of Caetani see Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 113.

[2] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor, III., 1, 264, 265, and VERESS, Epist. Carrillii, Budapest, 1906, 516 *seq.*

[4] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*; VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., 199, 219, 233.

able to do,[1] but Báthory, on the other hand, did not correspond to the hopes that had been placed in him. In June he laid siege to Temesvar, but was unable to capture that fortress as he did not possess cannon of heavy calibre. At the news of the approach of a Turkish army he withdrew to Transylvania, as the auxiliary troops promised by Rudolph II. had not arrived. In the autumn he sent 10,000 men to assist the Imperialists in Hungary.[2] It was against the latter that the principal attack of the Turks was directed. The Archduke Maximilian, to whom was attached Schwarzenberg as field-marshal, was given the supreme command. But the levying of the troops proceeded very slowly; money was lacking,[3] though on June 15th the Pope had promised the imperial army every possible help.[4] At the same time he urged Rudolph II. to begin operations at once,[5] and on August 31st addressed a brief to the Archduke Maximilian, in which he suggested to him that he should make an attack upon Buda.[6] At that time the Archduke was besieging the fortress of Hatvan with an army of 33,000 men; this was taken by assault on September 3rd, and burned, after which all the inhabitants, for the most part women and children, were massacred by the cruel soldiery.[7]

[1] Letter of Cinzio Aldobrandini to Visconti, July 27, 1596, in VERESS, *loc. cit.* 233.

[2] FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 33 *seq.*

[3] See HIRN, Maximilian, I., 43 *seq.*

[4] See *report of Arrigoni, Rome, June 15, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Raimondo della Torre had already *reported from Rome to Vienna on April 20 that the Pope had said that he would help the Emperor lavishly and that "venderebbe li calici *er aiutar la M^tà V." State Archives, Vienna. The Este envoy preports on June 1, 1596, that if the Emperor was willing to embark on any serious undertaking against the Turks, the Pope would give him 12,000 scudi. State Archives, Modena.

[5] *Brief to Rudolph II., June 15, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] **Ibid.* n. 359.

[7] See HIRN, Maximilian, I., 47 *seq.*

In the meantime a Turkish army of more than 100,000 men had appeared before Szegedin. The Archduke Maximilian felt himself too weak to withstand this superior force and fell back to Gran. The Turks then turned upon Erlau, which had already once before (1552) offered them an heroic resistance. The siege of this important fortress was begun on September 22nd, and on October 13th it was obliged to capitulate. The Archduke Maximilian with his auxiliary army arrived too late, for he had been detained by heavy rains and the impracticability of the roads. But as Sigismund Báthory, who had again been helped by Clement VIII. with a subsidy of 30,000 florins,[1] had now joined him with his troops, he resolved to face the enemy with his army, now numbering 50,000 men, and possessing more than 100 cannon. On October 23rd there began the first engagements, to the east of Erlau, in the plain of Keresztes, and on October 26th there followed a great battle which at first went in favour of the Imperialists, but ended in their complete defeat.[2] The Turks, however, had suffered such heavy losses that they were obliged to retire to their winter quarters. Like the fall of Raab, the fall of Erlau, which was the key to Upper Hungary, increased, in a most anxious way, the danger of the invasion of Austria by the Turks.[3] The dismay in Rome was very great;[4] the Pope ordered prayers,[5] and by means of letters of November 23rd, 1596, sought to revive the courage of the Emperor, the Arch-

[1] See VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., 260.

[2] See HUBER, IV., 396 *seq.*; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 321 *seq.*; HIRN, Maximilian I., 49 *seq.*, who also gives a plan of the battlefield of Keresztes, taken from the Aldobrandini Archives. An interesting contemporary account of the battle in RINIERI, Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala, 151 *seq.* For the loss of Erlau see the report of the engineer Claudio Cogarani to Rudolph II., in *Atti dell'Emilia*, IV., 1, 213 *seq.*

[3] See RITTER, II., 123.

[4] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 354 *seq.*, and VERRES, Mon. Vat. Hung., 261 *seqq.*

[5] See *Avviso of November 27, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

duke Maximilian and Sigismund Báthory. "As for us," he wrote, "we will endeavour to give assistance, beyond our power and that of the Holy See, even if we have to melt down or sell the chalices and other sacred vessels; it may even be that we shall appear in person on the field of battle in order to excite courage."[1]

Clement VIII. resolved to send another auxiliary force for the year 1597, which was once again to be commanded by his nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini. At the beginning of February, 1597, he sent his nephew to the Imperial court, where the details and especially the question of munitions were to be discussed, so that the disadvantages that had been met with two years before, with regard to quarters and provisions, might be avoided.[2] The Pope once more enlisted

[1] See *briefs to Rudolph II., the Archduke Maximilian and S. Báthory in Arm. 44, t. 40, nn. 443-445, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PARISI, Epistolografia, II., 194 *seq.* The Este envoy *reports on December 18, 1596, that the Pope at the suggestion of Madruzzo had yesterday convoked the Hungarian Congregation, to which Cardinals Cesi and Savelli were also summoned. They discussed the means of raising the money, which was difficult, because the financial straits were great. It was decided to send Mario Farnese to the Emperor. The ambassador reported that yesterday a messenger arrived from the Emperor with the news that no peace had yet been concluded with the Turks and that it was intended to go on fighting. State Archives, Modena.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 386, 427. This mission of Aldobrandini is referred to (his report in RINIERI, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.*, and HORVAT, 100 *seq.*) in the *briefs to Rudolph II., January 13 and 28, and April 19, 1597 (Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 15, 29, 99, Papal Secret Archives) and the *brief to S. Báthory, May 24, 1597 (*ibid.* n. 135). The Este envoy *reports on January 8, 1597, that Madruzzo asked for assistance for the Emperor, whose warlike zeal he guaranteed, saying that if Rudolph were not helped he would be obliged to make peace with the Turks. The Pope announced at the meeting of the Cardinals that the Imperialists asked for the mission of Gian Francesco Aldobrandini. The Cardinals agreed to send him. "Gian Francesco Aldobrandini brama questa andata." State Archives, Modena.

7000 men. This time he appointed Buonvisi as chief commissary for the war.[1] Among the commanders there again appeared Flaminio Delfino, who had so greatly distinguished himself in 1595 that the Emperor had wished to take him into his service.[2] The departure of the troops took place at the end of May, the same route being adopted as had been the case two years earlier.[3] At the end of July they reached Altenburg in Hungary (Ovár), where the German and Hungarian troops were encamped under the command of the Archduke Maximilian. The Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, took part on this occasion in the Turkish campaign.[4]

At the council of war Aldobrandini made a proposal to attack Buda and Raab, but Buda in the first place, because by such a stroke the capital of the country would be captured, the way would be opened for the fall of Raab, and the warlike intentions of Sigismund Báthory would be re-enkindled. But the council of war did not adopt this proposal, and Aldobrandini bowed to the majority.[5] The latter resolved to attack in the first place Pápa. The Papal troops played a distinguished part in the capture of that fortress,[6] the castle of which capitulated on August 20th, a thing which especially rejoiced Clement VIII.[7]

[1] *Cf.* *brief to Rudolph II., May 17, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 124, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also SAGGIATORE, III., 42 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*, and VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, xxxii. *seq.*

[3] *Brief of May 17, 1597, to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) refers to the passage of the pontifical troops.

[4] See the *brief of congratulation to him, July 26, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 34 *seq.*

[5] See report of G. Fr. Aldobrandini of August 8, 1597, published in a Hungarian translation by J. LUCKSICS in the periodical *Pápai Lapok*, 1901, No. 17.

[6] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*, HIRN, Maximilian I., 57; Corresp. de Frangipani, 93.

[7] See letter of Cinzio Aldobrandini in HORVAT, 118.

The Archduke Maximilian now retired again to Altenburg, but on September 10th began the siege of Raab. This dragged on for a long time. At the beginning of the rainy season epidemics broke out, from which the Papal troops, which were not accustomed to the Hungarian climate, especially suffered. Moreover, there was a lack of discipline and order in the army, which also suffered from the want of the necessary provisions. When, at the beginning of October, news came of the approach of an auxiliary Turkish force, Maximilian withdrew to Komorn, but successfully repulsed an attack upon his camp on November 6th.

The Papal troops also took part in this engagement, though they were already decimated by sickness. Aldobrandini too was ill. At the beginning of the winter the Imperialists went into winter quarters, after which Aldobrandini disbanded his forces, now reduced to 2000 men.[1] It was, however, some consolation to the Pope that they had borne themselves courageously.[2]

In the following year (1598) Clement VIII., who had up to that time, besides the sums he had sent to Transylvania, expended in Hungary alone a million and a half scudi,[3] was not in a position to supply immediate financial assistance, as the annexation of Ferrara was a very heavy burden upon him.[4] It was all the more consoling, therefore, that this time the campaign of the Imperialists was opened by an important success, the recapture of Raab on March 29th. Unfortunately this brilliant feat of arms, in which Adolph Schwarzenberg and Nicholas Pálffy covered themselves with glory, was not followed up with sufficient promptitude. It was only in July that the Imperial army made its appearance; it captured Totis and Palota, and occupied Vesprim, but then returned once more to the camp at Raab. At the beginning of October

[1] See ILLÉSHAZY, Diarium: *Mon. Ung. Script.*, VII., 47 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 38; HUBER, IV., 400 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*; HORVAT, 119 *seq.*

[2] See VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, xxxiii.

[3] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 454.

[4] *Cf.* HIRN, Maximilian I., 69.

an advance was made upon Buda. The lower city was indeed taken by assault, but it proved impossible to gain possession of the upper city. A further attempt undertaken by Schwarzenberg in the following April (1599) was equally unsuccessful, as was his enterprise against Stuhlweissenburg.[1]

The Pope had granted for this undertaking an impost payable by the clergy in the territories of Rudolph II.;[2] he himself again gave considerable subsidies (in 1599 the sum of 80,000 crowns).[3] All the more painful to him therefore was the news that they were treating with the Turks for peace. In consequence he wrote to Philip III. on August 10th, 1599, that every attempt must be made to lighten the burden of the war for the Emperor; that the loss would be incalculable if he succumbed or was forced to conclude an unfavourable peace; he, the Pope, had given subsidies to the limit of his resources; Spain must no longer delay in giving her aid.[4]

In the year 1600, at the beginning of which the Pope had made renewed attempts to form a new coalition against the Turks,[5] the Holy See sent to the Emperor subsidies to the amount of 50,000 scudi, and a further 60,000 for the payment of the Walloon and French soldiers.[6] The autumn brought a notable disaster to the Christian cause. On October 20th there capitulated the fortress of Kanizsa, which was counted the most important point on the frontier between Croatia

[1] See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 39 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 401 *seq.*; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 325 *seq.* The capture of Raab is referred to in the *brief to the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, April 18, 1598 (Arm. 44, t. 42, nn. 122, 123, Papal Secret Archives), and the campaign round Buda in the *brief to the Archduke Matthias, January 2, 1599 (*ibid.* t. 43, n. 2).

[2] See letter of Clement VIII. to Rudolph II., August 12, 1598, in DUDIK, Iter Rom., II., 175 *seq.*

[3] See HURTER, III., 108.

[4] *Regi Hispan. Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 341, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See in App. No. 32 the *report of G. C. Foresti of February 19, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See HURTER, III., 108.

and Bosnia.[1] As Kanizsa was only sixteen miles distant from Styria, central Austria was seriously threatened, and we cannot be surprised that the news caused the greatest dismay there. This was increased when it was learned that the Turks were trying to enter into relations with the Protestants of Central Austria, and that they intended in the following year to march upon Vienna.[2] Italy too seemed to be threatened, and the Pope was filled with consternation.[3] He insistently urged the Catholic princes in the kingdom of Germany to give their assistance,[4] and resolved for the third time to send troops to Hungary. Gian Francesco Aldobrandini was again appointed generalissimo, and Giovanni Serra chief commissary for the war.[5]

While the Pope was projecting a great league of the Catholic princes,[6] and was raising armaments in Rome,[7] there arrived on April 5th, 1601, as representative of the Shah of Persia, whither two Papal envoys had been sent at

[1] See HURTER, IV., 348 *seq.*, 357; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 47.

[2] See STIEVE, V., 551.

[3] See *Avviso of November 11, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* A. HARTTMANN, Relat. hist., 1601, I., 73.

[4] See *briefs to the Archduke Ferdinand November 11 the Archbishop of Salzburg, November 18, the Bavarian bishops, December 23, 1600, the Electors of Cologne, Trêves and Mayence and the Duke of Bavaria, January 13, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 383, 395, 425 *seqq.*, t. 45, nn. 4-7, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*; HORVAT, 154 *seq.* In the *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, April 13, 1601, it is stated of the efforts of the Pope and the mission of the nephew: "Et cosi S.Stà ci porra la robba et il sangue proprio" (Barb. 5852, Vatican Library). The Emperor would have preferred a money subsidy, but Clement VIII. would not agree to this on account of the mistrust he felt of the financial administration of the Emperor, see STIEVE, V., 561.

[6] *Cf.* ROTT, 107 *seq.*

[7] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 149 *seqq.* For the raising of money by imposing taxes on the religious Orders in Italy, see *Miscell. di Clemente XI., t. 213, Papal Secret Archives.

the end of February in the interests of the Catholic missions,[1] a Persian named Luscinati Beg and an Englishman, Anthony Shirley. They had come from the Imperial court. Filled with jealousy of each other, each of them claimed precedence, and as they could not come to an agreement on this point, they each negotiated separately.[2] The news they brought with regard to the Turkish war was very encouraging. The Pope replied on May 2nd, 1601, to the letter from the Shah of Persia which they had brought, expressing his joy at the relations that had been formed, and at the hope held out that the Shah would fight with all his power against their common enemies, the Turks. With regard to the desired anti-Turkish league, he added that the Pope's thoughts and efforts were directed to that end, but that it was not easy to bring about such an alliance. The Emperor, however, was pledged to the war against the Turks, in which he, the Pope, was giving him every assistance. He expressed the wish that the Shah should attack the Turks in flank, while the war in Hungary was going on. What importance the Pope attached to an alliance with Persia had already been shown by him, by his sending P. Francesco Costa and Didaco Miranda, who should already have reached the Shah. Finally the Pope welcomed with special joy that passage in his letter which promised the Christians in Persia freedom to trade, and the undisturbed exercise of their religion. In consequence of this the Pope would send priests as soon as possible to Persia. The brief ended with the hope that the successor

[1] Particulars of the mission in Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 247 *seq.*

[2] For this, and the stay of the envoys see Lettres d'Ossat, II., 350, 361, 375, 388 *seq.*, 404, the *report of the Duke of Sessa to Philip III., Rome, April 10, 1601, National Archives, Paris, Pap. de Simancas, K., 1630/94, the *Avvisi of April 7 and 14, June 2 and September 25, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library, and the special literature given by MEYER (187 n. 2). Prof. J. v. Roscius of Petrograd intended to issue a new edition of the very rare work: L'entrée solenelle faicte a Rome aux ambassadeurs du Roy de Perse, le cinquième Avril, 1601. Traduit de l'Italien, imprimé a Rome (Paris, 1601).

of the great Cyrus would conquer the Turks, and once again open Persia to the light of the Gospel.[1]

In May the Pope turned to Venice and the other Italian powers, inviting them to go to the assistance of the Emperor.[2] If this appeal, like those that had gone before, met with no hearing from the republic of St. Mark,[3] it was on the other hand welcomed by the other Italian princes. Duke Vincenzo of Mantua resolved once more to take part in person in the war.[4] The same was the case with the brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who sent 2000 men, who were to be placed under the supreme command of Aldobrandini. Philip III.

[1] *Regi Persarum, May 2, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 126, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 143 *Recommendation of A. Shirley, May 17, 1601, and n. 224, "Comunicazione, che tre dei compagni degli ambasciatori persiani si sono convertiti al cristianesimo," June 6, 1601.

[2] See the *briefs to the Doge, Genoa, the Dukes of Savoy, Parma ,Urbino, Mantua and Modena, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Lucca, May 4, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, nn. 128-136, Papal Secret Archives. The *brief to the Doge of May 3 and 31, 1601, originals in State Archives, Venice. In an *autograph letter of May 26, 1601, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Pope praises the latter's warlike zeal. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715.

[3] See HURTER, IV., 361. To the year 1596 belongs the *Parliamento di Msgr. Minucci vescovo di Zara fatto a nome di P. Clemente VIII. in Senato Veneto per la lega contro il Turco, Barb. LVII., 66, pp. 106-131, Vatican Library. For a second fruitless attempt in 1598 see ZINKEISEN, III., 624. The reasons against the adhesion of the Venetians to a league against the Turks are collected in the "Discorso di Tomaso Contarini circa la lega della christianità contro il Turco," published in the rare *nozze* work; Documenti storici p.p. le nozze Bevilacqua-Neuenfels, Venice, 1856. *Cf.* also the *Discorso sopra il modo di muovere li Veneziani contro Turchi (dated Sept. 1601) Urb. 860, pp. 308 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See *brief to V. Gonzaga, July 9, 1601, Gonzaga Archives Mantua. *Cf. Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 37 *seq.*

too, enrolled some German infantry under Gaudenzio di Madruzzo.[1]

Opinions differed as to the plan of the campaign. While the Emperor wished that all the auxiliary troops should be united to his own army, and should attack first of all Stuhlweissenburg or Buda, Aldobrandini was firm in wishing to proceed first against Kanizsa. On the feast of the Ascension (May 31st) the nephew had received the insignia of his office: he set out on June 1st.[2] His troops, which numbered about 9000 men, were conveyed by sea from Ancona to Fiume, whence they marched by way of Laibach to Agram, and reached Warasdin in the second half of August. There Aldobrandini was attacked by fever, and died on September 17th.[3]

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 406; HURTER, IV., 373 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 407.

[2] See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 406 *seq.*; *Avviso of June 2, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. According to the *Chirografo of Clement VIII. to "Laudivio Zacchia commiss. d. nostra Camera," dated Pal. di Montecavallo, May 12, 1601, G. Fr. Aldobrandini received as a monthly payment "scudi tre mila d'oro" from the date of his departure until his return (Orig. in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42, 15). *Cf.* *brief to Rudolph II., May 30, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 190, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*; RINIERI, Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala, 149 *seq.*; HORVAT, 157 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 180 *seq.* For the Jesuits as chaplains to the pontifical troops see IUVENCIUS, V., 380. For the obsequies of G. Fr. Aldobrandini, celebrated with great pomp in the church of the Minerva, see *Avvisi of December 15, 19 and 22, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. In that of December 19 there is a description of the catafalque on which were represented eight virtues. There too are given the inscriptions, *e.g.* *Strigonii expugnatori.* According to the *Avviso of January 5, 1602, the body arrived on the Monday; it was carried by the family to the church of the Minerva, "et lo ripose in una cassa di piombo fatta a sepultura nella nuova cappella che fa far S.B." (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library). EM. LUSITANUS, in funere I. Fr. Aldobrandini S. R. E. generalissimi lacrimae, printed in Rome in 1602. Another funeral eulogy in HORVAT, 180, n. 5.

When the Pope heard of the grave state of his nephew he entrusted the supreme command to Flaminio Delfino.[1] The latter led the Papal troops against Kanizsa, the siege of which had been begun by the Archduke Ferdinand on September 10th. Unfortunately this prince had as little military talent as his lieutenant, the Duke of Mantua, who was more inclined to the amusements of the court than to the hardships of the camp. The Imperialists, among whom the venerated Capuchin, Lorenzo da Brindisi acted like another Capistrano, had in the meantime recaptured Stuhlweissenburg on October 11th, and won a further victory against the Turks on October 14th, forcing them to retreat.[2] But this success could not make up for the unfortunate result of the siege of Kanizsa. An assault which was delivered on October 28th, and in which the Papal troops took part, failed to achieve its purpose.[3] Since the winter set in earlier than usual, the mortality

[1] See *brief of September 17, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 314, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Acta consist. September 16, 1601, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

[2] See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 48; STAUFFER, Rusworm, 80 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 407 *seq.*; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 334 *seq.*; HORVAT, 181 *seq.* For Lorenzo da Brindisi see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 1525. Clement VIII. said at the consistory on October 22, 1601, that thanks must be given to God for the recovery of Alba-Reale, which for forty years had groaned under the yoke of the Turks (*Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library). *Cf.* the "Avviso della presa d'Albareale dell'Ungheria 1601," Rome, 1601, and HEILE, Der Feldzug gegen die Turken und die Eroberung Stuhlweissenburgs unter Erzherzog Matthias 1601, Rostock, 1902. During the siege of Kanizsa, Fed. Ghislieri, who was fighting among the pontifical troops, had distinguished himself especially; see *brief to Philip III., March 2, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 70, Papal Secret Archives. The breaking off of the undertaking was ignominious; see HORVAT, 201. A satire on the "cose di Canisa" was suppressed; see *reports of Arrigoni of January 26 and February 2, 1602, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* HURTER, IV., 375 *seqq.*; STAUFFER, Rusworm, 88 *seq.*; *Mitteil des österr. Instit.*, VII., 273; HORVAT, 186 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 54 *seq.*

among the troops, who were encamped in tents and miserably fed, assumed an alarming extent. At the end of November the Archduke suspended the siege. The Papal troops too had suffered bitterly, and when Delfino reviewed them at Marburg, their number had fallen to 3500, and even among these there were many who were sick.[1]

This unfortunate campaign had not only cost the lives of the generalissimo Aldobrandini and five and a half thousand men, but had also eaten up a million florins. In spite of this the Pope listened to the appeal of Rudolph II. and did not recall the remainder of his troops, but left them for the time being under the Imperial command; all he asked was that they should be better treated than in the past in the matter of their lodging and provisions.[2]

In the year 1602 the Turkish attacks were directed against Stuhlweissenburg, which they succeeded in taking on August 29th.[3] The Pope's sorrow was all the greater because he had provided the Emperor with a considerable subsidy, namely 100,000 scudi.[4] At that time Clement VIII. feared the fall of Gran,[5] but fortunately the Turks remained inactive for a time, and employed a part of their army against the rebels in Asia Minor. After the Grand Vizier had turned towards Transylvania, which had been ceded by the Emperor

[1] See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., III., 3, xxxiii.; HORVAT, 193 *seq.*, 203.

[2] See brief of November 18, 1601, in *Archiv f. osterr. Gesch.*, XV., 235. *Cf.* FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* On December 14, 1601, there was a consistory: *"dixit [Clement VIII.] maxime dolendum quod exercitus S.S. discesserit re infecta ab obsidione Canisae. causasque se non explicare, cum notae sint, sicut magnopere laetandum, quod Imperatoris exercitus Alb. Reg. in ditionem restituerit"; he had a letter read, which had arrived on the previous day from the Archduke Matthias, *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library.

[3] See JORGA, Osmanen, III., 335.

[4] See report of Serra in MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 629.

[5] See *report of Arrigoni, September 22, 1602, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to Sigismund Báthory, the intrepid Rusworm undertook the siege of Buda-Pesth. He succeeded in getting possession of Mount Gebhardt and of Pesth, but Buda resisted all his attacks. The coming of winter put an end to the fighting.[1]

After the course taken by the Turkish war so far, we cannot feel surprise if at the beginning of 1603 the Pope felt reluctant to give any financial assistance.[2] Nevertheless in the end he paid another 50,000 scudi. The Papal commissary, Serra, sought to employ this money to the best advantage; he gave 30,000 scudi for the undertaking against Hatvan, in which he himself took part.[3] The capture of this fortress, which Rusworm succeeded in taking in November, was all the more important in that henceforward Buda was threatened on the flank.[4]

Serra and the nuncio at Prague, Ferreri, in their reports to Rome, strongly criticized the organization, as expensive as it was inadequate, of the Imperial armies, a criticism that was held to be justified by all who were skilled in such matters. Serra mentions the following abuses, without the removal of which the war would continue to be futile: 1. The Emperor was cheated in the matter of the pay of the troops, and was paying twice as much as was necessary. If a regiment numbered 1800 men, pay was sent for 3000, and for three months the pay was maintained at that figure, although every month the regiments were becoming reduced in numbers. In this way the commanders became rich in the course of a few years, but there was no question of taking proceedings against them as most of them were relatives of the ministers. 2. The contributions and other receipts were always spent in advance, so that the Emperor lost 25% of them. 3. Instead of forming a permanent army

[1] See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 55; STAUFFER, Rusworm, 104 *seqq.*, JORGA, Osmanen, III., 336. For the manifestations of joy in Rome on the receipt of the news of Rusworm's success, see SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 441.

[2] See Meyer, *loc. cit.*, 24, 41, 43, 48.

[3] See *ibid.* 60 *seq.*, 62, 71 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*, 120.

[4] See HUBER, IV., 411.

and letting it spend the winter in Hungary at the seat of war, the troops were only kept under arms there for half the year. This "madness of disarming every half year, and of making a present of the arms to the commanders," thought Ferreri, "causes the Emperor a loss of a million or more; it is impossible to obtain brave troops; the hereditary territories are ruined by the coming and going of soldiers, and the Emperor never finds his army ready in the spring, which is just the time when every year it would be possible to recapture some important position, as the Turks are unable to be on the spot until the autumn."[1]

All this took place again during the year 1604, during which no advantage was taken of very favourable circumstances: the rising of the Turks in Asia, the victory of the Shah of Persia, Abbas the Great, and the death of the Sultan Mahomet III.,[2] which occurred on December 22nd, 1603.

[1] See MEYER, lxxxii. *seq.*

[2] Clement VIII. on receiving news of the death of the Sultan, made a fresh attempt to win over the renegade Turkish general, Sinan Pasha Cicala. *Cf.* for what follows the articles by RINIERI, based on Roman documents, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1897, I., 693 *seq.*, II., 151 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 671 *seq.*; 1898, I., 164 *seq.*, which prove among other things that Sinan Pasha Cicala did not die, as has hitherto been supposed, soon after 1602, but only on December 2, 1605, after a serious defeat by the Shah of Persia, Abbas. A recent elaboration of the articles in the Civiltà Cattolica, which gives for the first time the history of Cicala in conformity with the documents, appeared under the title Clemente VIII., e Sinan Bassa Cicala, Rome, 1898. *Cf.* also P. OLIVA, Sinan Bassà, in *Arch. stor. Messin.*, VIII. (1907), and IX. (1908). Sinan Pasha Cicala, a Genoese born at Messina, was taken prisoner by the Turks together with his father. The father was killed in prison at Constantinople, and the son was brought up as a Mahometan. He attained to the highest rank, directed the attack on Reggio in September, 1594, and also fought in Hungary. But the renegade could not forget his mother, Lucrezia Cicala, who was still living at Messina. By means of negotiations with the Spanish viceroy at Naples, Sinan succeeded in seeing his beloved mother again. The news of this reached Clement VIII.,

Clement VIII. then wrote at once to Philip III.[1] In an

who then in 1599 made his first attempt to win back Sinan Pasha to Christianity, and to induce him to desert the Sultan. During these secret negotiations (the Mantuan envoy, Giulio Cesare Foresti, was unable to explain them ; see *report, February 12, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) the celebrated poet philosopher, Tommaso Campanella, a member of the Dominican Order from 1584 onwards, organised a conspiracy against the Spanish government, in which Sinan Pasha was to take part. The conspiracy was discovered, and brought Campanella an imprisonment of many years, from which he was only released by the intervention of Urban VIII. *Cf.* the great work, not always correct, and filled with hatred of the Catholic Church, by L. AMABILE : T. Campanella, sua congiura, suoi processi, sua pazzia, 3 vols., Naples, 1882. See also AMABILE, Fra T. Campanella nei castelli di Napoli ecc., Naples, 1887. GENTILE (Il primo processo d'eresia di T. Campanella, in *Arch. Napol.*, XXXI., [1906], 629 *seqq.*) shows that there are still doubts, both concerning the first process against Campanella before the Naples Inquisition in 1591, and the second in Rome in 1595. These doubts might be solved by an examination of the Archives of the Roman Inquisition, which however are not yet accessible. Further literary information in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 1143 *seqq.* Of the literature which has so far appeared, the following must be mentioned : J. KVAČALA, Th. Campanella, ein Reformer der ausgehenden Renaissance, Berlin, 1909 ; FIORENTINO, Studi e ritratti d. Rinascenza, Bari 1911, 375 *seq.*, 391 *seq.* ; RINIERI, Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala, 47 *seqq.*, 167 *seq.* ; J. KVAČALA, Ueber die Genese der Schriften des Th. Campanella (1911) ; DEJOB, Est-il vrai que Campanella fut simplement déiste ? *Estr. du Bull. ital.*, 1911 ; GOTHEIN, Reformation u. Gegenreformation, Munich, 1924, 185 *seq.* ; MEINECKE, Die Idee der Staatsraison in der neueren Gesch, Munich, 1924 ; SCHMIDLIN, Missionsgesch., 319 ; GENTILE in *Giorn. crit. d. filosofia ital.*, V. (1924). The more recent monograph by CECILIA DENTICI D'ACCADIA (in the collection, *Il pensiero moderno*, Florence, 1925) is too much influenced by the anti-Catholic insinuations and tendencies of Amabile ; see the criticism by G. ZUPPONE-STRANI in the *Corriere d'Italia*, May 27, 1925. T, Campanella, Del senso delle cose e della magia. Testo ined. ital., ed. A. BRUERS, Bari, 1925.

[1] See MEYER, 126.

instruction to the nuncio in Spain it is said that now was the time when the Christian princes must at last rouse themselves from sleep, and take advantage of the favourable moment[1] for the complete extermination of the Ottoman tyranny. The Pope did all that he could,[2] but his hopes were not to be realized. On the contrary, Pesth, Vácz and Hatvan were again lost, and they were obliged to content themselves with having at least retained Gran.[3]

After the retirement of the Turks from Gran, Basta, who was appointed in this year to command the Imperialists in Hungary, had to turn his attention to the disastrous revolution which had broken out both in Hungary and Transylvania. At the head of this movement was a rich magnate of Transylvania, a relative of Báthory, Stephen Bocskay. This ambitious man, who was at heart absolutely indifferent as to the issues between the Catholics and the Protestants,[4] made religion his pretext for raising the standard of rebellion against the Emperor. The moment was favourable for him, since Rudolph II. had aroused the excitement of the Hungarian Protestants by the forced restoration of the cathedral at Kaschau, and by very severe enactments against the innovators, together with an absolute rejection of their

[1] *" Non è dubbio che questa morte nei tempi presenti doverebbe essere a principi christiani uno svegliamento dal sonno nel quale si può dire che habbino dormito sin'hora con tanto danno della christianità, et che mentre regna questo giovanetto inhabile all'armi et al consiglio potrebbono servirsi dell'occasione non solo di recuperare a Dio benedetto i regni intieri, ma di estinguere affatto questa tirannia del Ottomano." Cardinal Aldobrandini to the Spanish nuncio D. Ginnasio, February 10 1604, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* the *letter of March 8, 1604.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* the *letters of Aldobrandini of July 24, and October 19, 1604; see also the *brief to the Shah of Persia, June 30, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, f. 262b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 56; HUBER, IV., 411; JORGA, OSMANEN, III., 337.

[4] *Cf.* report of Ferreri, September 20, 1604, in MEYER, 261.

claims, and that in such a way as profoundly to offend their constitutional ideas. At the Diet held at Pressburg in February, 1604, to the 21 legal statutes, the Emperor, "of his own authority" added a 22nd, in which he confirmed all the laws and prescriptions which had been issued since the time of the reign of King Stephen I. onwards for the protection of religion, threatening with severe penalties those who henceforward on any pretext introduced religious questions into public affairs. The malcontent nobles and Szekler of Transylvania chose Bocskay as their sovereign as early as February 22nd, 1605, and the Hungarian revolutionaries took the same step on April 20th, 1605. Both parties sought to obtain the support of the Porte.[1]

Clement VIII. only saw the beginnings of this insurrection, which not only seriously threatened the struggle against the Turks, but also the reform and Catholic restoration which he had promoted with all his powers, not only in Hungary and Transylvania,[2] but also in Austria itself. He once more in

[1] See GINDELY, Rudolf II., Vol. I., 69 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 448 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, 455 *seq.*

[2] HUBER (IV., 412 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*) gives a good summary of political events in Transylvania and Hungary, though his account of ecclesiastical conditions is quite inadequate (*cf.* as to this *infra* Chapter VII). FRAKNÓI (in Magyarország és a római szentszék, III.,245 *seqq.*) has treated briefly but well of the relations of Clement VIII. with Transylvania. He shows how the Pope always kept two objects before him, the war against the Turks and the restortion of unity of faith in Transylvania. As the plan for the abdication of Sigismund Báthory threatened both these objects, it was vigorously resisted by the nuncio, A. Visconti. When Sigismund insisted upon abdicating, Clement VIII. objected to the principality being held by Cardinal Andrew Báthory, whom he rightly looked upon as unfit to govern it. Sigismund abdicated on April 10, 1598, in favour of the Emperor, then repented of what he had done, and returned once more to Transylvania in August, in order to abdicate finally, in March, 1599, in favour of Cardinal Báthory. The latter sought the intervention of the Pope to obtain the recognition of the Emperor. Clement VIII. tried to make use of this event on behalf of the war against the

1604 decided to give financial aid to the Emperor, while at

Turks. The mission of Germanico Malaspina was directed to this end ; this is dealt with, on the basis of the archives in Rome by Adalbert Ambro in his article on the labours of Malaspina in Transylvania in 1599, in the Hungarian periodical *Kath, Szemle*, 1887, 253-290. *Cf.* also VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung.. 317 *seqq.* The efforts of Malaspina to maintain the rule of Báthory were frustrated by the victory of the voivode Michael over Cardinal Báthory, who met with his death on October 28, 1599, at the battle of Nagyszeben [Sibiu] (*cf.* for this the report of Malaspina, November 14, 1599, in Docum. privit. la storia Romanilor., III., 1, 511 *seqq.*, and VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 358 *seqq.* Then followed the episode of Michael, the "Vallacco," whom Clement VIII. invited on April 22, 1600, to return to the Catholic Church (see brief in *Archiv. f. Gesch. Siebenburgens*, N. S. XIX., 1884, 596 *seqq.*). Sigismund Báthory, who was once more elected Prince of Transylvania on February 3, 1601, was already tired of his sovereignty in the following year ; he ceded the country to the Emperor, whose commissaries tried to heal the wounds of the long wars and at the same time to restore the Catholic Church (*cf.* brief of 1602 in *Archiv. f. Gesch. Siebenburgens*, N. S. XIX., 601 *seqq.*). After the suppression of a revolt in 1603, the Imperial general Basta was of opinion that it was only possible to keep the country in check by rigorous measures. The aristocracy were severely punished, and henceforward only the Catholic religion was tolerated in the cities. The Jesuits were recalled to Kolozsvar [Cluj]. The annulment of political rights then led once more to a revolution, which made common cause with that which had broken out in Hungary (see HUBER, IV., 434 *seqq.*). Full information as to the events of that time, in accordance with the documents, is to be looked for from the publication of Prof. Veress, which is still only in its initial stages. Of the greatest importance are the *Relationes Nuntiorum apost. in Transilvaniam miss. a Clemente VIII.* 1592-1600, ed. VERESS, Budapesth, 1909, and published in *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, II., 4. *Cf.* also the rehabilitation of Sigismund Báthory's master and confessor, the Jesuit Alfonso Carillo, by Veress in the publication of his Epist. et acta (Mon. Ung. Hist., Vol. 32) Budapesth, 1906. *Cf. Hist. Jahrb.*, XXIX., 945 *seq.* Vol. 34 of the *Mon. Ung. Hist.* contains the "Cod. epist." of G. Basta (1597-1607), Budapesth, 1909.

the same time he sought to prevent the conclusion of peace between Rudolph II. and the Porte.[1]

The idea of a coalition against the Turks again occupied the attention of the Pope during the last months of his life. To this end he sought especially to bring about a rapprochement between Poland and the Emperor,[2] and dreamed of winning over not only Spain but even France to the war against Turkey.[3]

[1] See MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, liii., 192 n. 2, 223, 239, 251.

[2] *Cf.* MEYER, 9, 22, 24, 79 *seq.*, 117, and Vol. XXIV. of this work, p.

[3] See in App. No. 45 the *instructions for M. Barberini, December 4, 1604, Vatican Library.

CHAPTER VII.

Catholic Restoration in South Germany, Bavaria and Austria.

The greater part of the relations between Clement VIII. and Rudolph II. were concerned with religious conditions in the Empire, even more than with the struggle against the Turks.

On such matters the Pope took counsel with the German Congregation, which had been re-established by Innocent IX.[1] Like his predecessors, Clement VIII., from the beginning of his pontificate, was anxiously careful to protect the Catholic faith in Germany from further losses at the hands of the Protestants, who were raging with the desire to destroy it, as well as to promote the reform and Catholic restoration which had already been begun with gratifying success. In this he counted upon the support of Rudolph II.[2] His hopes

[1] According to Minucci, Cardinals Spinola, Allen, Paravicini, Borromeo and Farnese belonged to the Congregation in 1593 (Stieve, IV., 126, n. 1).

[2] In the *brief dated February 2, 1592, in which Clement VIII. informed the Emperor of his election, which he had accepted with an anxious heart, and confidence in the help of God, the Pope spoke of "tanta morum depravatio, impiorum crudelitas, rerum omnium perturbatio," and appealed for the help of Rudolph, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 63 (minute of February 1; see Schweizer, III., 450 n.), Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 102, *briefs of February 15, 1592, to Rudolph II., the Archduke Ferdinand and the Duke of Bavaria (*cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 156) exhorting them to resist the heresies which had been propagated in Styria and Carnia since the death of the Archduke Charles. *Cf.* n. 100, *brief to the Archduke Ernest, February 19, 1592, to the same effect, but also containing eulogies of his Catholic zeal, which the Pope had occasion to see for himself when a legate in 1588 (see Schweizer, III., 447). The briefs of

of this were increased by the fact that just at that time the Emperor had entrusted the chief offices under the crown of Bohemia to fervent Catholics.[1] The nuncio at the court of Prague, Camillo Caetani, who had held that position since April, 1591, had had a share in these appointments. Caetani was very cautious and wanting in initiative, and it was probably for that reason that Clement VIII. thought that the time was come to replace him.

Immediately after the election of the Pope the rumour had spread that the nunciature in Spain was destined for Caetani. A man who belonged to the school of Gregory XIII., Cesare Speciani,[2] Bishop of Cremona, was chosen to succeed him. As Speciani only left Rome on May 8th, 1592, and reached Prague on June 27th, Caetani remained at the Imperial court until July.[3] The task which fell to Speciani was not an easy one, as the stability of the Catholic Church was seriously threatened in various parts of the Empire. The destruction of the last remnants of Catholicism at Halberstadt, Osnabrück and Lübeck seemed to be only a question of time; at Jülich-Cleves Catholic interests were in grave danger; at Strasbourg they depended upon one person.[4]

February 20, 1592, were concerned with the defence of the Catholic cause in Jülich-Cleves (SCHWEIZER, III., 453; *cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 152). On February 22, 1592, letters were sent to the Bishop of Würzburg, the Archbishops of Trêves, Cologne and Mayence, Rudolph II. and the Duke of Bavaria (*cf.* as to the latter STIEVE, IV., 405, and *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 154 *seq.*) asking them to protect the Catholics of Halberstadt (SCHWEIZER, III., 460 *seq.*). To secure the election of a good abbot for the abbey of Hersfeld, which was being persecuted by the Landgrave of Hesse, Clement VIII. *wrote on August 8, 1592, to the chapter there. Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 471, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* ZÖCHBAUER, Rudolf II., Part I., 42.

[2] *Cf.* as to this Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 615.

[3] *Cf.* ZÖCHBAUER, *loc. cit.*, 43; SCHWEIZER, III., xxxvi *seq.*, 571. The *brief in which Rudolph II. was informed of the mission of Speciani is dated May 14, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 306, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] SCHWEIZER, III., xxxviii.

A special cause for anxiety was the fact that the innovators were energetically at work at the same time in the Austrian dominions. In Bohemia some of the sects had once more boldly raised their heads; the excellent Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislaus Pawlowski, found himself in a difficult position in Moravia on account of the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists and Piccardi. In Silesia and the Lausitz,[1] the state of affairs was even worse. It was therefore a matter of great regret in Rome that the hopes of the establishment of a Jesuit college in Breslau had not been realized, as an improvement had been looked for from its activities.[2]

In Upper and Lower Austria the administrator of Wiener-Neustadt, Melchior Klesl, who had been appointed by the Emperor in 1590 as director of the reform commission, and furnished with wide faculties by Sixtus V., met with serious hindrances in his efforts for restoration, both on the part of the neglected clergy, as well as of the council for the convents, which was for the most part biassed, and jealously aimed at maintaining the civil jurisdiction.[3] To this was added the fact that the friendly relations of Klesl with the Jesuits at Vienna had become changed into quite opposite sentiments "to the satisfaction of the Lutherans and our own disadvantage" says Caetani in the information drawn up for his successor.[4] In the territories of Central Austria, where, after the death of the Archduke Charles, the Archduke Ernest was governing in the name of his infant son Ferdinand, the greater part of the Protestant aristocracy refused their obedience unless they were given full liberty to propagate the religious innovations. The audacity with which the Protestants acted was shown by their claim that the Archduke Ernest should take the oath concerning the national liberties,

[1] *Cf.* information from C. Caetani to C. Speciani in SCHWEIZER, III., 583.

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 175 *seq.*

[3] See, besides the works indicated by HUBER, IV., 294 *seq.*, HAMMER, I., 52, and KERSCHBAUMER, Kelsl 26, 29 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*

[4] See SCHWEIZER, III., 585. For the questions between Klesl and the Jesuits see DUHR, I., 274 *seq.*

not in the name of God and the saints, but on the Gospel, in conformity with the formula of the new religion.[1] The still unfilled bishoprics in those parts of Hungary which had remained free from the Turkish rule, and the revenues of which fell to the Emperor, was a cause for all the more anxiety in that the innovators were very numerous in those territories.[2]

In the instructions which were drawn up at the end of April, 1592, for the new nuncio at the Imperial court, it was clearly shown that the Holy See intended to face these dangers energetically, and to carry on the work of restoration. Above all things Speciani—so these state—must interest the Emperor in the Catholic cause and bring it about that he should only appoint good Catholics to the greater offices. It also seemed to be of importance that the confessor of the Emperor should be a zealous, prudent and virtuous man. The nuncio must especially bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor for the speedy appointment of bishops for Prague and the vacant sees in Hungary. There, the instructions go on to say, it is also very necessary that the care of souls be provided for among the soldiery; in Bohemia a great point was made of the conversion of the Hussites, as well as of the carrying on of pastoral work in the Lausitz which belonged to the diocese of Meissen, suppressed by Saxony. The great importance of the representation of the Catholics in the Diet was insisted upon for the well-being of the Church in Germany. Speciani must therefore look to the consolidation and increasing of that representation, and endeavour to bring it about that no one should receive the regalia, nor a seat, nor a vote in the Diet, who had not been confirmed by the Holy See. In like manner the nuncio must see to it that the Imperial chancery has a majority of Catholic officials. It would be of great importance if he could succeed in forcing the Archbishop

[1] See HUBER, IV., 335, who remarks: "Whereas the Protestants demanded not only liberty of conscience, but absolute religious freedom for their coreligionists, they had no scruple in bringing pressure to bear on the conscience of their sovereign."

[2] See the information of Caetani in SCHWEIZER, III., 584.

of Mayence to publish the Tridentine reform decrees. In Jülich-Cleves his principal aim must be to exclude the Protestants from the government; at Strasbourg he must prevent the threatened appointment of a Protestant as bishop. As to the affairs of Aix, much would depend upon the attitude of the Emperor. It also lay with the supreme head of the Empire to prevent the threatened total loss of Halberstadt, Osnabrück, Lübeck and Bremen. In accordance with the terms of the religious peace, the instructions insisted, all these dioceses must be restored to the Catholics. It was in full accordance with the idea of Catholic restoration that this document made it clear that the nuncio was urged to support the establishment of a Jesuit college at Linz, as being the special wish of the Pope. Pressure is also to be brought to bear for the appointment of an Imperial ambassador in Rome. Finally the instructions urge Speciani to keep on close terms with all the great officials who were sincere Catholics.[1]

As early as the summer of 1593, when it seemed certain that the Turkish war would again break out, Clement VIII. urged the Emperor, through Speciani, in addition to other steps, to convoke a Diet. But Rudolph II., who was always undecided and timid, sought to avoid any such assembly, because ecclesiastical questions would also come under discussion.[2]

The Emperor also showed a like indecision with regard to his marriage and the succession. When, in October, 1592, Baron Kobenzl, who had been sent to Rome on account of the Turkish war, was in the presence of the Pope, he was obliged to listen to bitter, though not unwarranted, complaints against the Emperor. Clement VIII. said that Rudolph II. ought already to have married the Infanta of Spain, if for no other reason than that this would have ensured the aid of Philip II.

[1] See *ibid.* 589-605. In the introduction to the Instructions it is expressly stated that it is the intention of the Pope "di retaurare la religione catholica in Alemagna."

[2] See ZÖCHBAUER, Rudolf II., Pt. II., 7 *seq.*

against the Turks. The attitude of Rudolph in the matter of the succession seemed to the Pope to give even greater cause for anxiety. He openly told Kobenzl as to this that it was his opinion that Rudolph did not *wish* to provide the Empire with a successor; he ought to reflect what would have happened to his ancestors if they had acted in such a way. At that time, moreover, it was only a question of earthly considerations, whereas now the whole religious future of the Empire was at stake. If the throne were to remain vacant at this time, a Protestant would almost certainly be elected. It was enough to take the case of Strasbourg alone, the Pope rightly said; if a coadjutor had been appointed for the dead bishop there, the present disturbances would not have occurred; it would be the same with the Empire. When Kobenzl tried to excuse his sovereign by alluding to the difficulties of the times, and begged the Pope to inform Rudolph of these things, Clement VIII. replied: "We have done what we could; if we were to begin to importune him again on the subject of the succession, we should fear to be over-insistent, since he might believe that it was wished to take the Imperial dignity away from him in order to confer it upon one of his brothers, whereas we esteem them all alike." The Pope then once more strongly urged the immediate convocation of the Diet, at which the matter of Strasbourg could be settled, and pointed out that the moment was favourable, since, owing to the death of the Elector of Saxony, Christian I., and of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the Emperor had been delivered from his most dangerous enemies. This most pertinent consideration induced Kobenzl, in his report to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, to say: "I see that the Pope is better informed as to the affairs of the Empire than the Emperor himself."[1]

When, on September 12th, 1593, Clement VIII. sent the Cardinal and Archbishop of Trent, Lodovico Madruzzo, to the Emperor, in order to further the Turkish war with all energy, he at the same time charged him with the task of pointing out

[1] Letter of October 30, 1592, in HIRN, Ferdinand von Tyrol, II., 111 n.

the necessity of the Diet, and also of discussing with him the election of a King of the Romans.[1] A short time afterwards news reached Rome that the convocation of the Diet had been decided upon.[2] Madruzzo begged the Emperor to attend it in person. Rudolph II. promised to do this, but gave a very evasive answer as to the election of a King of the Romans. The hesitation of the Emperor in this matter was just at that time especially great, because the journey of the young Maximilian of Bavaria to Rome had aroused in him the suspicion that the Wittelsbach prince was aiming at that title. Rudolph's ambassador in Rome, Count Harrach, even went so far as to hint as much to the Pope.[3]

To proceed from making a decision to carrying it out was always very difficult for Rudolph II. Speciani, the nuncio at Prague, learned at the beginning of 1594 that the act of convocation of the Diet was already printed, but that it was still being held back in the Imperial cabinet. The Pope was displeased at this and only breathed freely when, on January 10th the Diet was officially summoned to Ratisbon for April 17th.[4]

Clement VIII. attached the greatest importance to this coming assembly of the states of the Empire, not only on account of the Turkish war, but also because of ecclesiastical

[1] See "Instruttione mandata al sig. card. Madrucci che d'ordine di N.S. deve andare alla corte Ces." dated Rome, September 12, 1593, in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 14. *Cf.* in App. No. 6 the *brief to Rudolph II., February 19, 1593, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 15.

[3] See STIEVE, Die Verhandlungen über die Nachfolge Kaiser Rudolfs II., in *Abh. der Hist. Kl. der bayr. Akad.*, XV., Munich, 1880, 16; the same, Briefe u. Akten, IV., 269, 545. In 1593 Harrach became the successor of the dead Veit von Dornberg; see *ibid.* 187 n. Harrach's confidant was not called Carlo Crotta, as Stieve says, but Grotta. He was the conclavist of Madruzzo.

[4] See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 18. For the displeasure of Clement VIII. *cf.* in App. No. 14 the *letter of C. Aldobrandini to Madruzzo, February 15, 1594, State Library, Trent.

conditions, the restoration of which, in his very reasonable opinion, could not be deferred any longer.[1]

The first necessity was to save the diocese of Strasbourg. On May 2nd, 1592, at the very moment when Clement VIII. was drawing the attention of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol and of Cardinal Andrew of Austria to the intrigues of the Protestant canons of Strasbourg,[2] Bishop Johann died suddenly of paralysis. The Emperor then wished to sequestrate the bishopric and decide later between the parties in the chapter. Clement VIII. consented to this, but he called upon the assistance of the neighbouring Catholic princes and exhorted the Catholic canons to elect a new bishop.[3] But, as early as May 30th, the Protestant canons elected the fifteen year old Margrave George of Brandenburg, the nephew of the Elector of the same name, as administrator of Strasbourg. The Catholic canons replied on June 9th by the election of the Bishop of Metz, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. Both parties appealed to arms. Clement VIII. at once confirmed the Cardinal of Lorraine,[4] and took up his cause energetically.[5] He would gladly have granted as well a subsidy in money, but his financial position did not allow of this.[6] On the second day of the Nativity, 1592, the Pope addressed to the Emperor, the Bishop of Würzburg and the Duke of Bavaria an urgent summons to come to the assistance of the Cardinal of Lorraine.[7] This appeal remained without effect, because the

[1] See *letter of Card. C. Aldobrandini to Card. Madruzzo, dated Rome, February 14, 1594, in Cod. Campori, Nr. 214, Este Library, Modena.

[2] Briefs in SCHWEIZER, III., 511, n. 2.

[3] See briefs of May 28, 1592, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 148.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, 409, n. 1.

[5] See briefs to the Cardinal of Austria, the Archduke Ferdinand, Card. Charles of Lorraine, and the Duke of Parma in SCHWEIZER, III., 556, n. 2.

[6] *Brief to Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, November 1, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 103, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] The brief to Duke William of Bavaria in STIEVE, IV., 446 *seq.* Similar *briefs were sent on December 26 "archiep. Colon.,

fear of becoming involved in a war with the Protestants was too great among the parties interested. The war over the election of the bishop dragged on for eight months, and ended with the pact of February, 1593, by which the diocese was divided between the Cardinal and the Protestant administrator. Clement VIII. had to condemn this expedient because it handed over Church property to the Protestants, even though only temporarily. Moreover the Pope, as well as Duke William V., knew very well that the Protestants, in all these conventions, were aiming at the removal of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.[1] Clement VIII. laboured to obtain for the Cardinal of Lorraine the complete possession of his diocese.[2]

If there was reason to fear that at the Diet the Protestants would, by means of threats, obtain concessions from the Emperor in the matter of Strasbourg, there was no less danger that they would interest themselves on behalf of the Calvinist magistracy of Aix, who had appealed against the judgment issued by the royal council on August 27th, 1593, to the Emperor better informed and to the States of the Empire. This Imperial judgment declared that all the changes in questions of religion and in the government of the city which had been introduced since 1560, were abrogated.[3]

A third danger menaced the Church in the western part of

Treveren., Mogunt., ep. Herbipol., archid. Ferdin., duci Bavariae, Imperat., duci Etruriae." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 151, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See STIEVE, IV., 71, and 446 *seq.*, the brief of June 5, 1593. Clement VIII. likewise *wrote to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 340, Papal Secret Archives. For the dispute of the bishops *cf.* also the *Beiträge zur neueren Gesch.*, I., Strasbourg, 1910, published by M. Spahn.

[2] See the *letters of June 12, 1593, to the Archbishop of Mayence and the Bishop of Würzburg, and June 23 to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Arm. 44, t. 38, pp. 352, 361, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See RITTER, II., 71. Clement VIII. had already appealed on December 19, 1592, to the protection of the Emperor for the Catholics of Aix. *Arm 44, t. 38, p. 147, Papal Secret Archives.

the Empire after the death of Duke William IV. of Jülich-Cleves, who had died without issue on January 5th, 1592. The Duchess Jacobea, the wife of the half-witted John William, who was as ambitious as she was untrustworthy, gave so little guarantee of the safeguarding of Catholic interests that Clement VIII. was filled with the gravest anxiety. His embarrassment was still further increased by the reports, which were full of contradictions, of the nuncio at Cologne, Frangipani, concerning the intrigues in Jülich. The Bishop of Ossero, Coriolano Gazzadoro, was therefore sent to Cologne on December 11th, 1593, as representative extraordinary of the Holy See; he was to deal with the affairs of Jülich as well as with the conclusion of the negotiations for the appointment of Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria as coadjutor to the Elector Ernest. As all the attempts of Clement VIII. to induce the Emperor to intervene were in vain, the only hope of Rome lay in the coming Diet. If the latter should not apply a remedy then the Holy See rightly feared that there would be a catastrophe.[1]

Clement VIII.'s choice fell upon Cardinal Madruzzo as legate to the Diet of Ratisbon, although the Duke of Bavaria, William V., and Rudolph II. as well, would rather have seen the Pope's nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini, chosen.[2] But the

[1] *Cf.* the article, packed with material, by Unkel, and making use of the Vatican Archives: Jakobe, Herzogin von Jülich, und der Jülicher Regierungsstreit, in the *Annalen des Hist. Ver. für den Niederrhein*, LIV., 123 *seq.*, 161 *seq.* There too may be found particulars of the subsequent development of the question. As to the murder of the Duchess (September 2-3, 1597) Unkel rightly remarks that Jacobea "was not sacrified to the interests of the Church, but to the politics of a people that was anything but Catholic in its sentiments." It is not therefore correct when K. Muller (Kirchengesch., II., 2, 284) speaks of Jacobea as a victim of the "counter-reformation."

[2] Madruzzo had warned the Pope by means of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini of these obstacles; see the *letter of Aldobrandini to Madruzzo, January 15, 1594, Communal Library, Trent, in App. No. 14. The Este envoy *reports on January 8, 1594,

former prince of the Church rightly seemed to the Pope to be far better fitted for the office than his nephew. Madruzzo, who had been for many years Cardinal Protector of the Empire in Rome, was far more familiar with the affairs of Germany than any other; he was himself a German, and at the same time a prince of the Empire; he was esteemed by the Catholic princes, as well as by the Emperor, while his ecclesiastical zeal promised the best results.

On February 6th, 1594, Clement VIII. addressed an autograph letter to the Cardinal, who was already advanced in years and frequently ill, in order to induce him to accept the difficult mission. In this he says that no one was better fitted than he to resist the attacks of the Protestants and influence the discussions, so that, even though there were no improvement in the religious position, at least it should not be changed for the worse. The Pope looked to the Cardinal's zeal for religion and his love for the Holy See to induce him to submit himself once more to the burden of such a task, for Madruzzo had previously been sent as legate at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582: the Pope would see to the expenses. He would have liked to have also undertaken the care of his health, but God, whose interests were at stake, would do that which he was not able to do.[1]

concerning the mission of Madruzzo: "Il Minutio fa quanto può per persuadere l'ill. S. Giorgio di accettar la carica di Legato alla dieta imperiale, cosa che non vuol fare a patto veruno. Sforza l'aiuta quanto può per tal effetto et Manruzzo dice di non poter ne voler questa carica." Sessa is working for the mission of Madruzzo; January 15, 1594, The Pope has sent a courier to Madruzzo so that he may accept the legation; January 19, 1594: To-day at the consistory the appointment of a legate to the Diet was vainly looked for; January 29, 1594: Madruzzo sent a messenger to make his excuses, but he will be forced to accept; February 2, 1594: Madruzzo will have to accept, the Pope is writing to him in his own hand. State Archives, Modena.

[1] See the text of the hitherto unknown *letter, from the minutes in the Este Library, Modena, in App. No. 15.

Clement VIII. was exceedingly gratified[1] when Cardinal Madruzzo at once declared his readiness to accept the legation. A consistory was hastily summoned for February 14th, 1594, at which, with the general approval of the Cardinals, his appointment was made. The Pope spoke of the aim of the Protestants, not only to maintain their power, but also to extend it at the expense of the Catholics; he touched especially upon the events at Strasbourg, Aix and Jülich-Cleves. He said that the situation demanded that there should be sent to the Diet a legate who was influential, learned, and prudent in every way, and that the Prince-Bishop of Trent united all these qualities in himself.[2]

In an autograph letter of February 23rd, 1594, Madruzzo assured the Pope that he would not be found wanting in zeal, in order that he might serve the Holy See with all his powers and uphold the rights of the Church at the Diet, in spite of the difficulties of the state of affairs.[3] He expressed himself in similar terms in a letter of the same date addressed to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, in which he assured him that he would employ all his skill on behalf of the Catholic cause in the three matters mentioned.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo, dated Rome, February 12, 1592, Este Library, Modena, Cod. Campori, No. 214. The Este envoy *reported on February 12, 1594, concerning the pleasure of Clement VIII. at the acceptance of the legation by Madruzzo. State Archives, Modena.

[2] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo, February 14, 1594 (sent by special messenger), Este Library, Modena, *loc. cit.* Letter of Peranda, February 15, 1594, in LÄMMER, Melet., 435, n. 1. The *briefs of March 19, 1594, to the Emperor and the princes of Germany concerning the legation of Madruzzo in Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 132 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. The brief to the Archduke Maximilian in BONELLI, III., 466. For Madruzzo's faculties as legate see SCHELHORN, De consilio de emendanda ecclesia a Paulo III. executioni non dato, Tiguri, 1748, 36 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* in App. No. 16 the *letter of Madruzzo to Clement VIII., February 23, 1594. Original in my possession.

[4] *Cf.* *letter in App. No. 17. Original in my possession.

It went without saying that the nuncio at the Imperial court would also take part in the Diet. It was, however, an innovation when Clement VIII. also sent thither the nuncio at Cologne, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, and Count Girolamo Porzia, who had been given the nunciature at Graz in the summer of 1592.[1] The Protestants, who already looked upon the increase in the nunciatures from one to three with suspicion, openly expressed their displeasure at the Pope's sending so many representatives to the assembly of the princes of the Empire.[2]

The foresight of the Pope, who also pointed out to the Elector of Trêves the importance of the Diet,[3] was amply justified, because another attempt was to be made at Ratisbon to remove the barrier which the religious peace of Augsburg had put in the way of the secularization of the principalities and ecclesiastical lordships. Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini wrote on February 19th, 1594, that the greater the difficulties were, the more necessary was the presence of the legate. The Pope, the Cardinal nephew said again on February 26th, places the greatest confidence in Madruzzo, especially for the safeguarding of the interests of the Church in Germany.[4]

Detailed instructions, sent on March 26th, 1594, again pointed out to the Cardinal legate the matters to which he was to turn his attention at the Diet, in addition to obtaining prompt help against the Turks; these were the settlement of

[1] *Cf.* SCHWEIZER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 162.

[2] See HABERLIN, XVIII., 128; STIEVE, IV., 187. From the first there had been the intention of sending the nuncio extraordinary Gazzadoro to Ratisbon; see *Annalen des Hist. Ver. für den Niederrhein*, LIV., 162.

[3] See *brief of February 11, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives. In like manner on the same date to "card. Austriae," *ibid.*

[4] Both *letters in the Este Library, Modena, *loc. cit.* In that of February 26 it is stated: "N.S. abbandona tutta la cura del negotio principale che s'ha da trattare nella dieta a Lei sola confidandosi che se debba riportare qualche avvantaggio per la religione Catholica o almeno assicurarsi d' ogni perdita."

the succession to Rudolph II., the protection of the Catholic Church in the Austrian territories as well as in the Empire, and at the same time the encouragement of reform in ecclesiastical matters.[1] Since the election of a King of the Romans was equally necessary for the welfare of the Empire and for that of the Church, Madruzzo was specially charged to urge the Diet to take steps for the succession to Rudolph, and to further these in the interests of the Holy See. If the Emperor should himself come to a decision, then the matter could be settled even without the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate, and without the Elector of Brandenburg, who probably intended to sell his vote in return for concessions in the matters of Strasbourg and Jülich-Cleves, since the three ecclesiastical Electors and Saxony would do as Rudolph wished. None of the Archdukes was put forward by name as a candidate, and only the paternal love of the Pope for the house of Austria in general was alluded to. But Madruzzo knew beyond all doubt that Clement VIII. secretly wished for the choice of the Archduke Ernest, who was both energetic and a strict Catholic, and on whose behalf Philip II. as well was sincerely interested.[2]

With regard to Catholic reform and restoration Madruzzo had already been urged to protect Catholic interests at Strasbourg, Aix and Jülich-Cleves. In the further instructions of March 26th, 1594, his attention was called to the archdiocese of Bremen, the administrator of which, Adolphus of Holstein, intended to marry. If this took place the Pope

[1] *"Alcuni avvertimenti mandati d'ordine di N.S.re al ill. card. Madruzzo legato alla dieta di Ratisbona, Cod. 468, pp. 37a-37b, of the Corsini Library, Rome, dated March 4, 1594 (from which some passages are given in LÄMMER, Melet., 435 n.); also in Borghese, Varia, I., 751-52, pp. 141-159, Papal Secret Archives, and in Cod. 2920 of the Communal Library, Trent, there dated March 26, 1594. That this date is correct is clear from the *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo of March 26, 1594, in the Este Library, Modena, with which instructions as to the various points were sent.

[2] See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 19 *seq.*

desired that one of the Archdukes should be given the diocese. An attempt should also be made, the instructions went on to say, to recover the dioceses of Lübeck, Verden, Halberstadt and Osnabrück, and in this way ensure the safety of Münster, Minden, Hildesheim and Paderborn.

As for those parts of the Empire which had remained loyal to the Catholic Church, Clement VIII. enjoyned the propagation of Catholic reform ; especially did he desire the carrying into effect of the reform decrees of Trent in the three electorates of the Rhine, a thing which had been done with such good results at Salzburg and Liège. If the metropolitans of the Rhine would gather together their suffragans, these would certainly bear witness to the need of bringing about an improvement of ecclesiastical conditions by this means. Should the Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, make any difficulties, the legate should urge the Archbishops of Cologne and Trêves to set him a good example. Madruzzo must also urge the Archbishops of Cologne and Mayence no longer to defer receiving episcopal consecration, as this was binding on them in conscience ; Ernest of Cologne could no longer excuse himself on the score of the war.[1] Moreover the legate must oblige all the bishops of the Empire to fulfil their duty of making a canonical visitation and of reforming their dioceses, and must encourage them, by founding seminaries and educating suitable youths, to remedy the lack of priests. A similar exhortation must also be addressed to the German abbots. With regard to the needs of the territory of Fulda, whose prince-abbot, Balthasar von Dernbach, was in exile, Madruzzo was directed to obtain information from the nuncio at Cologne, and to invoke the assistance of the Emperor. With the help of the latter and of the Duke of Bavaria, the Dominican convent which had been confiscated by the

[1] Ernest had put forward this excuse in his episcopal report for 1590 ; see SCHMIDLIN, 505. Clement VIII. had already in *briefs of November 21, 1592, called upon the Electors of the Rhine to make a visitation of their dioceses. Arm. 44, t. 34, nn, 10-15, Papal Secret Archives.

magistracy of Augsburg might also be recovered. Since Madruzzo, as the instructions point out, was acquainted with the needs of Germany from his own experience, they were restricted to the points mentioned.

Restoration and Catholic reform was only the programme which the instructions laid down for the Hapsburg dominions. Since Central Austria would shortly come under the government of the young Archduke Ferdinand, the legate must enkindle his zeal for the Catholic faith. In view of the abuses which had come to light on the occasion of the visitation by the Patriarch of Aquileia, Clement VIII. wished a remedy to be applied by the establishment of Jesuit colleges in Laibach and Görz. As for the reform of that part of Central Austria which belonged to Salzburg, the archbishop of that place must make provision. The Pope, who had been kept well informed by the nuncio Speciani,[1] had for a long time past wished to see the establishment of a college of the Society of Jesus in the capital of Upper Austria, which was strongly infected by the religious innovations. The instructions did not enter into details concerning the needs of Austria proper, as the legate already knew these for himself. In the Kingdom of Bohemia, Clement VIII. looked upon the reform of the University of Prague as being especially necessary, since anti-Catholic views had developed there. Madruzzo must also see what could be done in the Lausitz, as that province was very neglected and was almost entirely in the hands of the innovators. In Moravia and Silesia things were rather better, but there too it was necessary to take great care to maintain and propagate the faith. The instructions entered in detail into the exceedingly lamentable state of affairs in Hungary, in the case of which Clement VIII. insisted principally upon the appointment of bishops to the vacant sees.[2]

[1] *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 327.

[2] The sad state of affairs in Hungary is clear from the *Discorso dello satato della religione nel regno di Ungheria, probably composed by the nuncio Speciani in 1595 for Clement VIII. (Cod. 677, p. 338 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome). This states that the clergy had been deprived of their property, partly by

By the end of April, 1594, the Cardinal legate and the nuncio

the Turks and partly by the Imperial decrees; the officials of Rudolph II. were for the most part heretics: "Così il vero culto di Dio in infiniti luoghi dell' Ungeria superiore è stato ed tutto abandonato e particolarmente nel vescovato d' Agria presento che a pena vi sono vestigii della religione catholica. . . . Hora in somma della parte che possede l' Imperatore la minor parte sono catholici . . . de magnati, ch' è il primo ordine del regno, non vi è altro catholico che il sig. Palfi." Even though now, during the war, any radical improvement was impossible, it would nevertheless be possible "preparar la medicina per applicarla in quanto si potrà secondo l' opportunità del tempo." To this end the author suggests: 1. The appointment of a Catholic "Governatore"; 2. L' altro rimedio più necessario è riformar il clero e operar che S.M. ritorni tutti li suoi beni acciò si possa sustentare un buon numero di preti che attendono al culto divino, e sopratutto operar che S.M. nomini l' arcivescovo di Strigonia primate di questo regno, poichè con la sua autorità grandissima in tutte le cose potria difendere li catholici, tener a freno gli heretici, riformar il clero. . . . Saria ancor necessario che S.M^{tà} conferissi il vescovato d' Agria, il quale è grandissimo e richissimo; 3. The sending of an Apostolic Visitor and the introduction of the Capuchins and Discalced Carmelites (see this passage in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch, 173 *seq.*); 4. The erection of a large Jesuit college at Kaschau as a "seminario si sostentassero almeno cento scholari, cinquanta delli christiani soggetti all' Imperatore ed altre tanti che son sotto la tirannide del Turco" since they could not count upon the Germanicum in Rome, "perchè questa è una natione che malvolentieri esce fuor del regno." Gran had been entirely abandoned since 1593, but was again invested in 1596, as was Kalocsa, and Erlau in 1597 (see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 188, 323 *seq.*). Among the bishops there stood out especially Franz Forgacs (from 1587 at Veszprem, from 1596 at Neutra, and from 1607 at Gran) who since 1601 had had as coadjutor Peter Pázmány, who was of such great importance for Catholic restoration (*cf.* FRAKNÓI, Peter Pázmány es kora, 3 vols. Pesth, 1868, and Peter Pázmány, Budapesth, 1886); also Johann Kuthassy (from 1592 at Raab, and from 1597-1601 at Gran) and Stefan Szuhay (from 1600 at Erlau). The work of Forgacs was recognized in a *brief of August 9, 1595, in which he is exhorted

at the Imperial court had arrived in Ratisbon for the Diet ;[1] but its opening was delayed until June 2nd. Thus they had ample time to prepare the way for the carrying out of their instructions ; to their disgust, however, they were soon forced to realize that the Emperor, who only arrived on May 18th, was only really interested in obtaining the consent of the Diet to assistance against the Turks, and then wished to return as quickly as possible to Prague. For this reason there were but scanty hopes of the carrying out of the extensive programme which Clement VIII. had recommended to the Cardinal legate.

From the outset the settlement of the succession to

to further labours for the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical discipline (Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 216, Papal Secret Archives), and the labours of Stefan Szuhay in a brief of December 20, 1603 (see MEYER, 88). For the visits *ad limina* of the Hungarian bishops see Bull. X., 777 *seq.* As Rudolph II. liked to use the revenues of the vacant bishoprics for the expenses of the war, Clement VIII. had repeatedly to insist on their being filled ; see MEYER, 59, 72 (*cf. ibid.*, 104 the instructions to Ferreri). A brief of praise to Rudolph II., April 10, 1604, for having handed over the college at Cassovia to the Jesuits, *ibid.* 194. For the Jesuits in Hungary, whom Clement VIII. supported as much as possible (*cf.* Synopsis, 164 *seq.*, 176), see Litterae annuas, passim, and the monograph by L. VELIKS : Vázlatok A Magyar Jesuiták Multjából, I. (1560-1610), Budapesth, 1912, where abundant manuscript sources are indicated. The names of the alumni of the Germanicum in Fontes rerum Hungaric. Matricula et Acta Hung. in univ. Italiae student., II., 1 (Budapesth, 1917), 1 *seqq.* According to these between 1559 and 1591 there came 35 students to the German-Hungarian College in Rome, and between 1592 and 1605 32 students. *Cf.* also in general L. BALICS, Gesch. der röm.-kath. Kirche in Ungarn, 2 vols., Budapesth, 1885-90.

[1] From the reports of Speciani published by ZÖCHBAUER (II., 41 *seq.*) it is clear that it is incorrect that Madruzzo only reached Ratisbon on May 17. His arrival must have been earlier, as on May 8 Cardinal C. Aldobrandini *expresses to the Cardinal legate his joy at his safe arrival at Ratisbon. Este Library, Modena, Cod. Campori, n. 214.

Rudolph II. met with the greatest difficulties.[1] The Emperor, who was infected with melancholia and misanthropy, showed such a want of decision in this matter that Speciani, as well as the Spanish ambassador, San Clemente, soon came to the conclusion that nothing could be effected by human means. He therefore proposed on June 9th that the Pope, by holding back the subsidies against the Turks, should force the Emperor to fulfil his duty. Madruzzo, who had not been informed of this step, wished to proceed with greater moderation. But when the middle of June arrived without either he or the Spanish ambassador being granted the audience which they had asked for, the legate too gave way to his impatience, and he told Speciani that with Rudolph medicinal rather than diplomatic methods would have to be employed.

At the beginning of the fourth week of June Madruzzo at last obtained his audience with the Emperor. He pointed out to him all the reasons for the appointment of a successor. San Clemente did the same even more insistently, saying that many of the princes of the Empire intended to offer the crown to Henry IV. of France, a thing which could only be prevented by the immediate election of a King of the Romans. Rudolph listened courteously, both to the representative of the Pope and the ambassador of Philip II., and promised to begin negotiations with the Electors; he remarked, however, that the matter could not be arranged so quickly. Speciani too, who for his part exhorted the Emperor with all the warmth at his command, and alluded to the intention of the Protestants of bringing about the ruin of the house of Hapsburg by placing the Imperial power in other hands, was told that the matter must be settled by an electoral Diet, since now all the Electors were not present, and those who were there had not been summoned for that purpose. At the beginning of August Speciani and Madruzzo induced the ecclesiastical Electors once again to lay before the Emperor at a joint audience all the disadvantages which the want of a successor

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 18 the *letter of Madruzzo, May 4, 1594, Original in my possession.

to the Empire involved. Although the Electors promised to give their votes to any candidate whom the Emperor desired, and even hinted at the favourable dispositions of the administrator of the electorate of Saxony, they were unable to obtain a definite promise. Nor was anything further said about the convocation of the promised electoral Diet.[1]

An anxiety, far greater than the question of the succession to Rudolph II., was caused to the legate and the nuncios during the Diet by the efforts of the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate, Frederick IV., and of his advisers, to profit by the dangers which threatened the Empire from the dreaded attack of the Turks, in order to carry out their revolutionary projects. The audacity and want of consideration with which they acted was shown by the decision arrived at in March, 1594, at a meeting at Heilbronn, to give no further help to the Emperor against the Turks unless he first agreed to the demands of the Protestants, the very first of which was the abolition of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.

The representatives of the Palatinate at Ratisbon acted there in accordance with this decision. In a special assembly of the Protestant States they demanded the admission of reformers into all the ecclesiastical principalities, the abrogation of the Papal excommunication—since the Pope was not the head of the Church, but the Babylonian harlot—the free exercise of their religion for Protestants living in Catholic territories, and the transformation of the tribunal of the Chancery, so that it could no longer extend its protection to the Catholics.[2]

[1] See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 22 *seq.* In the Appendix, *ibid.* 41 *seq.* are published the cypher reports of Speciani of April 24, May 4, 14 and 20, June 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1594. The reports of Madruzzo are only partially preserved. A cypher *report, written about June 6 (decifrato 22 Giugno) states: "Circa l'elettione del Re de Romani dovendo Don Guglielmo [de San Clemente] prima ch'io ne faccia alcun offitio presentar al Imperatore la littera del Re di Spagna che ha in detta materia, non ne posso per hora scrivere altro se ben vedo che il studio che si mette in accelerare è contrario a quanto si potria desiderare." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 123; RITTER, II., 118 *seq.*

The power to reject these demands depended on the possession of a majority of the votes in the council of the princes. Cardinal Madruzzo had already pointed out in his letter of February 20th, 1594, to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini,[1] the great importance of this matter. In a second letter of March 2nd, 1594, Madruzzo showed how at the present time the question was even more threatening than it had been in 1582. Even at that time it had entailed much labour to induce many of the Catholic princes to resist the claim of the administrator of Magdeburg to a seat and vote at the Diet, since none of them was willing to act in opposition to a house that was so important and powerful as was that of Brandenburg. The danger of a breaking up of the Diet in 1582 had even led the Emperor to beg the legate not to raise difficulties in this matter; now, however, Brandenburg was interested, because of Halberstadt and Osnabrück, Holstein and other princely houses because of Bremen and Lübeck, and almost all the Protestant princes, because of the question of Strasbourg. It was therefore probable that the Catholic princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, would prove themselves weak and vacillating in this matter. In these circumstances Madruzzo asked for special briefs to the Emperor, the three ecclesiastical Electors, the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, as Primate of Germany. These briefs must declare that any concession on the part of the princes in the matter of admitting the administrators to the Diet was looked upon by the Pope as directly harmful to the Church in Germany, since it would lead to the loss of the Catholic dioceses of the Empire.[2]

The outcome of this matter was more favourable than the legate had dared to hope. When the Protestant administrators claimed a seat and vote at the Diet, contrary to the decrees of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*,[3] the Catholic princes offered

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 16 the *letter of Madruzzo of February 23, 1594. Original in my possession.

[2] *Cf.* *letter of Madruzzo of March 2, 1594. Original in my possession.

[3] *Cf.* STIEVE, IV., 201 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*, 230 *seq.*, 237 *seq.*

an energetic resistance, and, strongly supported by Madruzzo,[1] they succeeded in preventing it.

In this matter, as the legate had foreseen, the disagreement among the Protestants had injured their cause ; this was even more the case when it came to defending the decisions arrived at at Heilbronn. The administrator of the electorate of Saxony, Duke Frederick William of Weimar, who was a strict Lutheran, together with his supporters, refused, in accordance with the advice of their theologians, to make common cause with the Calvinist representatives of the Elector of the Palatinate.[2]

It was to this turn of events that the Emperor owed the consent given to a considerable subsidy for the war against the Turks. But with this his interest in the Diet was exhausted, and he closed it on August 19th even before the Protestants were ready with their reply to that of the Catholics.

The Cardinal legate had wished the Catholics to demand satisfaction for the acts of violence they had met with, contrary to the religious peace, but he found no support in this from Duke William V. of Bavaria. The latter was of opinion that, in view of the Turkish peril, the Catholics should for the time being let questions of religion remain as they were.[3] This, however, proved to be impossible, after the Elector Palatine had presented his demands to the Emperor on June 26th.

The reply of the Catholics, which was only concluded on July 30th, fell into two sections : a refutation of the Protestant accusations and a setting forth of their own grievances. The principal importance was attached to the fact that, in addition to the two confessions which were comprised in the religious peace, new sects had constantly been surreptitiously introduced, especially Calvinism. If, as the religious peace had laid it down, only the ancient Catholic faith and the confession

[1] *Cf.* in App. No. 19 the *letter of Madruzzo of the end of May, 1594. Original in my possession.

[2] See HABERLIN, XIX., xviii.

[3] See STIEVE, IV., 261.

of Augsburg had been tolerated, it would have been possible to live together in harmony, since the adherents of the confession of Augsburg in 1557 and 1576 had declared themselves in favour of the maintenance of the metropolitan sees and the bishoprics of the Empire. But, owing to the spread of the Calvinists and other sects, further cockle had been sowed, so that there was no longer any thought of the religious peace, either in its letter or in a just interpretation thereof, but men now aimed solely at the destruction of the Catholic religion. The bitterness that had been aroused by this was further increased by the unrestrained insults hurled at it from the Protestant pulpits. No defence, either written or spoken, that was made by the Catholics was listened to ; on the contrary, the latter had to listen, even at the Diet, to the preachers calling the Pope Antichrist and the spawn of the devil. Then abundant documentary evidence was given to show how the Protestants claimed for their co-religionists everywhere in the Catholic principalities and cities of the Empire, rights and privileges that they themselves absolutely denied to the Catholics in their own provinces and cities, and, in defiance of the religious peace, confiscated abbeys and took possession of the dioceses of the Empire. The Emperor, therefore, was begged to apply a remedy, and to see that the two confessions recognized in the Empire were treated equally, and not to allow the introduction of new sects.[1]

Thus, as far as the Catholics were concerned, they limited themselves in substance to demands for the future. They refrained from any such demand for the satisfaction for the acts of violence committed by the Protestants in defiance of the religious peace as Madruzzo and the Pope[2] had wished for ; they also refrained from any energetic opposition to the Protestants, by means of threats of acting in self-defence, in accordance with the suggestion of each of the Catholic states.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 261, 452 *seq.*

[2] See *letter of C. Aldobrandini of May 7, 1594. Original in my possession.

[3] See report of Contarini, Aug. 11, 1594, in STIEVE, IV., 256 n.

In the matter of the furtherance of Catholic reform as well, the Cardinal legate did not meet with that support which he had expected. Strongly worded remonstrances on his part were not lacking. If the Catholic Church in Germany, he declared in the Pope's name to the ecclesiastical Electors, did not wish to suffer further sensible losses, and wished to retain what was still left to her, a more rigorous application of ecclesiastical discipline was essential. In accordance with this Madruzzo exhorted the archbishops, bishops and prelates who were present, in weighty words, to inaugurate the work of reform. To this end Madruzzo especially urged the necessity of regularly summoning provincial councils and synods, of scrupulously carrying out the visitation of the dioceses, and particularly of publishing and enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent. If they did not wish to suffer the loss of yet more bishoprics they must prevent the election and postulation of unsuitable and unworthy men, and see to it that everywhere the chapters complied, in the matter of age, education and manner of life, with the prescriptions of Trent. It was the duty of the metropolitans, whenever unlawful elections occurred in the churches subject to them, to interfere at once, and in case of need to appeal to the Emperor for assistance. The legate warmly recommended all the bishops to establish seminaries and to eradicate a number of abuses which had come to the knowledge of the Pope, and which he proceeded to enumerate one by one.[1]

Although by no means all that Clement VIII. and his legate had hoped for had been attained at the Diet of Ratisbon, yet the Pope had every reason for satisfaction in what had been accomplished. Of great importance was the fact that the Protestants in the assembly had been divided into two parties, a thing which had ensured the exclusion of the

[1] See LÜNIG, Reichsarchiv, XXI., 264, and LÄMMER, Melet., 435 *seq.* The reply of the ecclesiastical states, given by STIEVE, IV., 282 *seq.*, from the State Archives, Vienna, in Reichstage n. 90, was not found there, either by myself or by Prof. Pogatscher.

Protestant administrators from a seat and vote at the Diet. The praise that was bestowed upon Madruzzo and the Catholic princes was well deserved.[1]

The state of affairs in the dioceses of Salzburg and Bamberg proves how necessary were the exhortations to reform which the Cardinal legate had addressed to the Diet of Ratisbon.

At the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had had to address severe admonitions to the Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, both on account of his neglect in the administration of his diocese and his disputes with Bavaria, and on account of his personal conduct.

Raitenau sought to excuse himself, by attributing the accusations made against him to personal jealousies. This might have been the case on several points, but the accusations against the immoral manner of life of the archbishop were certainly justified, as he was secretly living in concubinage with Salome Alt, the beautiful daughter of a merchant of Salzburg. From this union many sons were born, for whose future Raitenau carefully provided. The significant fact that to the archbishop's buildings were attached his coat-of-arms without the emblems of his ecclesiastical dignity was attributed to an intention of secularizing the archdiocese.[2] Bavaria suggested to Rome that they should proceed against the archbishop by depriving him, but such a course seemed to Clement VIII. to be too dangerous, as he knew the energy, and the violent and choleric character of Raitenau, and feared a repetition of the tragedy of Cologne.[3]

[1] The *brief to Madruzzo, September 2, 1594, in Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 268, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* n. 279 the *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand, September 9, 1594; the brief to the Elector of Cologne in BONELLI, III., 453 *seq.*, and that to William V. in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 146.

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, Kirchl. Zustande, 85 *seq.*, WIDMANN, III., 161 *seq.*, 170, 187 *seq.* *Cf.* also F. MARTIN, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Erzbischof von Salzburg, Vienna, 1925.

[3] See STIEVE, IV., 320 *seq.* WIDMANN (III., 163) is of the opinion that if no further mention was made in Rome of the

The archdiocese of Bamberg as well had the misfortune of being given an unworthy bishop in 1599. Bishop Ernest von Mengersdorf (1583-1591) had taken the first steps towards Catholic reform at Bamberg.[1] He was succeeded in 1591 by Neidhardt von Thüngen, who, although he had been lukewarm hitherto, and had led a frivolous life, underwent a complete change when he received his new dignity. Full of zeal, he henceforward devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office. By the advice of the German Congregation, the Pope in August, 1593, pointed out to him the tasks that devolved upon him: the extirpation of the religious innovations which were widespread in the city and diocese; the reform of the greater and lesser clergy; the preservation and maintenance of the seminary established by Bishop Mengersdorf, the rector of which was an alumnus of the German College, and his duty of making a visitation and holding a synod. In spite of the opposition of the cathedral chapter, Neidhardt, who was supported and encouraged by the Pope, the nuncio and the Duke of Bavaria, worked indefatigably at the renewal of his diocese, and as Protestantism had not yet taken any deep root among the people, but had only been forcibly imposed in certain places upon the inhabitants by the aristocracy, the greater part of his subjects obeyed the archbishop when they were given their choice between conversion and expatriation. Following the example of the Jesuits, Niedhardt directed his special care to the

concubinage of Raitenau "we need feel no surprise at this in view of the lax moral principles which prevailed there"; this insinuation is quite unfounded, in view of the well-known strictness of Clement VIII., about morals. Widmann displays "principles of moral laxism" when (III., 187) he passes the following judgment on the "ties of affection" of Raitenau: "Even in this we may see a man who was sure of himself, who rose superior to foolish scruples, but who at the same time displayed great tact, and inspires us with a feeling of esteem for the way in which he remained faithful to her whom he had once chosen, and faithfully provided for his children."

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 191.

young ; he introduced the catechism and personally instructed the parish-priests in it. The reform of the clergy, and above all of the chapter, proved to be very difficult. The soul of the opposition was the dean of the cathedral, Johann Philip von Gebsattel, who was living in concubinage. At last Neidhardt lost courage to such an extent that he wished to resign, and Clement VIII. had to exhort him to remain.[1]

After the death of the old bishop in 1599 the chapter elected the dean, Gebsattel. This man knew that his predecessor had obtained from Clement VIII. a brief for his deprivation, which, however, had never been carried into effect because at the last moment Gebsattel and the chapter had apparently submitted. In order that he might now obtain approbation, Gebsattel now feigned a great ecclesiastical zeal, and sent envoys with the most reassuring promises to Munich and Rome. He encountered great mistrust in both places. Clement VIII. sent the nuncio at Graz, Porzia, to Bamberg, in order to obtain information and ask for guarantees. Gebsattel showed himself ready to do anything. With Porzia he displayed the most ardent zeal for the Church, and an absolute submission to the Holy See. He again made the Tridentine profession of faith, and with his chapter promised everything that the nuncio asked : the completion of the work of Catholic restoration, the abolition of all the abuses, and the establishment of a Jesuit college in Bamberg. The greater part of these promises were never fulfilled, while the worldly bishop especially refused to hear of the Jesuits, who led such strict lives. Therefore, in the spring of 1602 Clement VIII. called upon Gebsattel to give an account of himself. When the Pope refused to be satisfied with a written reply, the vicar-general of Bamberg, Schoner, was sent to Rome. The latter pointed out how his bishop had taken energetic proceedings against the Protestants in several parts of his diocese, as well as in that part of Carinthia which was subject to his civil authority, and, quite contrary to the

[1] See STIEVE, IV., 388 *seq.*, SCHMIDLIN, 333 *seq.*, and the special literature given in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 243 n. 5.

truth, depicted the conditions in the diocese of Bamberg in the most rosy colours. Once more they were successful in deceiving the Pope and his advisers.

As for his sacerdotal and episcopal consecration, to which Clement VIII. exhorted Gebsattel in May, 1603, as well as to a change in his scandalous manner of life, he paid very little attention to the Pope's words. It is obvious that such a pastor could never reform his clergy, but he had no intention of apostatizing and secularizing the diocese, as was often said to be the case.[1]

Among the non-ecclesiastical principalities of the Empire, Bavaria again, in the time of Clement VIII. proved itself the strong supporter of the Catholic Church in Germany. An outward proof of this was to be seen in the fact that the Pope, in his letters to the Dukes of Bavaria, at the end of 1593, conferred upon them a higher title than heretofore.[2]

Duke William V., who had rightly been given the surname of "the Pious," jealously watched over the maintenance of the ancient faith within the boundaries of his duchy, and wherever he could spread Catholic reform among both clergy and people. The duke knew the importance of the Society of Jesus for the Catholic education of his subjects, and this prince who was so great a lover of the arts, and had built for the Jesuits in Munich, not only a magnificent college, but also the splendid church of St. Michael, continued to prove himself their generous benefactor. This "grand ecclesiastical building of the German renaissance" was able to be consecrated[3] on July 6th, 1597. The legal position of the Jesuit school in the state was regulated by William by a letter of exemption in 1590; its financial position was assured by three supplementary letters of endowment, of the years 1589, 1592, and 1597. At Ingolstadt the duke

[1] See STIEVE, IV., 354 *seq.*, V., 528 *seq.*, LOOSHORN, V., 278 *seq.*, 362; SCHMIDLIN, 335 *seq.* *Cf.* also the articles on Gebsattel in *Diözesan-Archiv für Schwaben*, IV. (1887), 526 *seq.*

[2] See STIEVE, IV., 545.

[3] See GMELIN, Die St. Michaelskirche zu München (*Bayr. Bibl.*, Vol. 16). DUHR, I., 526 *seq.*

made over the faculty of arts to the Jesuits in 1588, and assigned to their college there the abandoned abbey of Biburg.

In like manner the college at Munich received from him the half-deserted Benedictine abbey of Ebersberg. Clement VIII. approved this incorporation by special bulls, though the Holy See had at first hesitated, out of consideration for the ancient Orders. A third house of the Society of Jesus was founded by William V. at the celebrated and ancient sanctuary of Altötting in Upper Bavaria. The pilgrimages to this place of miracles increased in such a way that often the church was unable to contain the pilgrims, so that in 1598 it became necessary to erect a pulpit in the open air. Even people of heretical opinions went to Altötting, where in 1600 no less than sixty-two conversions took place. At the same time many were converted during the missions in the neighbouring districts; for example, in the year mentioned 1700 persons in the territory of a monastery, where a Jesuit had been labouring for four months.[1] Yet the number of conversions effected by the Jesuits at that time was not actually so great as is generally supposed. On account of the great labours that were called for by the spiritual care of the Catholics, both strength and time were lacking for winning back the Protestants in any large numbers to the catechism.[2] Not a few conversions took place among

[1] See DUHR, I., 62, 186, 376 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*, RIEZLER, VI., 263 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 485, II., 2, 66 *seq.* RÄSS (III., 296, 395, 453, IV., 89), mentions several important converts of the time of Clement VIII.; others are mentioned in the briefs of Clement VIII. (see *briefs to Dietrichstein, May 12, 1600, the Bishops of Spires and Worms, November 19, 1601, Rudolph II., February 23, 1602, and Canon Leuchtius of Frankfort, March 13, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 138; t. 45, n. 395-96; t. 46, n. 62; t. 56, p. 157b, Papal Secret Archives. An attempt by Pistorius, the administrator of the diocese of Minden, to win back Duke Christian of Lüneberg to the Church, failed at the last moment (*cf.* STIEVE, IV., 378, v. 586; *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Westfalens*, LV., 194 *seqq.*, and the *brief to the Duke of Brunswick, January

those who learned in the Catholic schools the true doctrines of the Church,[1] which had hitherto only been brought before them in a distorted form. The eloquent Klesl and above all Johann Pistorius, brought back many, especially of the Austrian aristocracy, to Catholicism, by their writings and sermons.[2]

Duke William V. also made every effort to support the work of Catholic restoration and reform in the Empire, although he was not always in a position, on account of his unfavourable financial circumstances, to comply with all the requests that were made to him. Thus, in spite of the exhortations of Clement VIII., he refused to allow himself to be induced[3] to interfere in the matter of the bishopric of Strasbourg.

23, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 16, Papal Secret Archives). In spite of this failure, Pistorius still continued to entertain exaggerated hopes of conversions in large numbers (see MEYER, 169) For plans for making conversions, even in the case of princes, see also the *Relatione* in RANKE, III., 97*. For the delusive hopes of the conversion of some of the princes of the Empire, especially the Duke of Wurtemberg, see STIEVE, V., 122, 307, 575. Only the conversion of the hereditary Prince of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm, which was already hoped for in 1600 (see *ibid.* 590) actually took place later on. A number of German converts are mentioned in the memorial of an apostate from the Church in 1604, which however contains much that is suppositious and exaggerates enormously (published in *Neues Lausitz. Magazin*, XLI., 163 *seqq.*); the author was probably the adventurer Brocardo Baronio (see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 282).

[1] Examples from Brandenburg in STEINHUBER, I., 482.

[2] See MEYER, 169, 341, 401.

[3] On account of the expense of a permanent sojourn in Rome, which he could not bear, he had at first refused the offer of the Pope to nominate a Bavarian prince as Cardinal. The young Prince Philip who was nevertheless admitted to the Sacred College on December 15, 1596, and who received the purple on February 2, 1597, in the church of St. Michael at Munich, died on May 18, 1598, in his episcopal city of Ratisbon, where he had worked zealously for Catholic reform.

On several occasions William incurred the blame of Clement VIII. on account of his excessive eagerness to obtain bishoprics and abbacies for his sons, though the duke, in these frequent requests of his, was not aiming solely at the advantage of his family, but also at the spreading of the Catholic restoration, so that the Pope repeatedly abrogated[1] the ecclesiastical ordinances which forbade the accumulation of benefices, on the strict observance of which he was as a rule so insistent. William V., for his part, also laboured on behalf of Catholic restoration in provinces where he had no inducement of personal advantage. At Eichstätt and Augsburg he tried to obtain the election of truly Catholic bishops, while he also promoted the Catholic cause at Freising, Bamberg, Würzburg and Jülich.[2]

William's intervention in Styria was of great importance for Catholicism. His cousin, the Archduke Charles, who found himself in a by no means easy position there against the Protestants, sent his twelve year old son Ferdinand to Ingolstadt in January, 1590, to be educated in purely Catholic surroundings, under the care of the Jesuits, first at their college and afterwards at the university.[3] From the autumn of 1587 to the spring of 1591, Ferdinand's cousin, Duke Maximilian, was also at the University of Ingolstadt.

In the spring of 1593 the hereditary prince of Bavaria undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where his younger brothers, Philip and Ferdinand, who were intended for an ecclesiastical career, had passed the winter.[4] While he was still on his

[1] See STIEVE, IV., 270 *seq.*, 279, 308, 374 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 655 *seq.* For Cardinal Philip of Wittelsbach see *Hist. polit. Bl.*, CXXIV., 143 *seq.*

[2] See STIEVE, IV., 35 *seq.*, 385.

[3] See HURTER, II., 231 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* STIEVE, IV., 125 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I., 300 *seq.*; DUHR, Jesuiten an Furstenhöfen, 144; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 167, XXVIII., 135* *seq.* The *Diarium P. Alaleonis states on December 11, 1592: "Papa dedit audientiam publicam duobus filiis ducis Bavariae, Philippo electo Ratisbon., et Ferdinando praeposito Argentin.; Philippus habuit elegantem orationem, Ferdinandus breviorem." Cod. Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

way Maximilian was presented with the hat and sword, blessed by the Pope on Christmas night. On his arrival in Rome he was received with great honours. The Pope assigned him a lodging in his own palace, and although he was suffering severely from gout, often received the young prince in audience. Thus Maximilian was able to discuss in detail the affairs of Germany, as well as those of his father. His piety, his intelligence and his gravity made a most favourable impression upon Clement VIII. He obtained a gracious brief in the matter of the provostship of Berchtesgaden, though the Pope thought it well to refuse the request for further tithes, as being against his principles. On April 25th, 1593, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini gave a banquet at the Castle of St. Angelo in honour of the Bavarian prince. With prudent foresight Maximilian also took pains to win the favour of the Pope's Cardinal nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini. The Pope, who knew well the importance of the house of Bavaria to the Church in Germany, shrewdly turned his thoughts to the future, and exhorted Maximilian, in a private conversation, to marry no one but a Catholic. He would also gladly have seen the other two princes, of whom he was so fond, remain longer in Rome, but William V., in his anxious care for the formation of the character of his sons, and for the purity of their morals, scrupled at leaving them too long in the cosmopolitan city on the Tiber. Therefore Maximilian, who probably became acquainted with Torquato Tasso at the house of Cinzio Aldobrandini, prepared to return with his brothers to Bavaria on May 11th, 1593. At his farewell audience the Pope gave him some precious relics, and in a brief which he addressed to Maximilian on December 11th, 1593, recalled in warm terms of praise the piety which he had shown in Rome, and his affection for the Holy See, exhorting him to remember the hopes which the Church placed in him.[1]

[1] For the journey of Maximilian to Rome see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 381 *seq.*, STIEVE, IV., 131 *seq.*, and *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, I., 479; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 133* *seq.* *Cf.* also *Diarium P. Alaleonis, April 10, 1593: "Venit dux

The set-back to reform and Catholic restoration at Salzburg and Bamberg were only isolated cases; on the whole the close of the century showed important progress on the part of the Catholics in Germany. For a long time the reason for this was attributed to the fact that the disagreements between the Lutherans and Calvinists were steadily on the increase. This weakening of the Protestants had undoubtedly helped the Catholics a great deal, especially in 1598, during the Diet of Ratisbon, at which the demand for a seat and vote on the part of the Protestant administrators of the dioceses was rejected.[1] Nevertheless the true cause of the renewed vigour and spread of the reform and Catholic restoration was more deep-seated than that, and was the result now being gradually attained of the labours of Gregory XIII., who had been so zealous on behalf of Germany.

A new era had opened when the highest offices, both in Church and State, began to be filled by that new generation which, principally in the schools of the Jesuits, had received a strictly Catholic education and solid instruction, and with it clear principles and a strength of character which enabled them to comply with the tasks of the changed times, and to maintain the inevitable struggle against their adversaries. Clear-sighted observers already realized the reasons for the change. The nuncio at the Imperial court, Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, in a report which he sent to the successor of Clement VIII., on the state of affairs in Germany,

Maximilianus, primogenitus ducis Bavariae, receptus a Papa et hospitatus in Palatio." There follow details of ceremonial. April 25: "Petrus Aldobrandinus, nepos Papae, fecit convivium Maximiliano et fratribus in Arce" (Cod. Barb. 2815, p. 294b, 302b; Vatican Library). The relics were the "corpi di S. Saturnino et S. Eufemia dalle grotte di S. Sebastiuno" (*Avviso of May 12, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). The brief to Maximilian of December 11, 1593, is in the Court Archives, Munich, publ. in German by Söltl in the *Aüg. Kirchenzsitung*, 1868, No. 37.

[1] *Cf.* Stieve, V., 372 *seq.*, 430 *seq.*; Janssen-Pastor, V., 140 *seq.*, 509 *seq.*

attributed the successes which had so far been obtained principally to the activity of the ecclesiastical institutions which had been established at the expense of the Apostolic Camera by Gregory XIII., and maintained by Clement VIII., as well as to the numerous schools of the Jesuits, which were also attended by pupils of another faith.[1]

Careful research has shown that in the renewal of the Church in Germany, an important part was played by the students of the German College, which had been established at such great sacrifice by the Holy See, and maintained by Clement VIII.[2]

The traditional wisdom of the Holy See quickly realized that radical and permanent success in the matter of Catholic reform in Germany could only be attained if the ignorant and immoral canons, from whose ranks the bishops were chosen, could be replaced by new men, who were both pious and ecclesiastical in their outlook. It was therefore decided, in making admissions to the German College, to give the preference to the nobles. Even though not all those who had been trained there had fulfilled the hopes that had been placed in them, the majority had nevertheless contributed with the greatest success to the Catholic regeneration of Germany, and there was hardly a diocese where the beneficial influence of the alumni of the Germanicum had not made itself felt. Thanks to them, at Spires, Paderborn, Breslau, Olmütz and Ratisbon, a new spirit had made its way into the cathedral chapters, which even the enemies of the Church could not forbear to praise. Trêves, Erfurt, Olmütz, Constance, Würzburg, Passau, Gurk and Brixen had obtained excellent suffragans from the German College, and Passau

[1] See MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 340 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I., 197 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 210 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 309 *seq.*; JUNGNITZ, Die Breslauer Germaniker, Breslau, 1906. The information given by Steinhuber is based principally upon the plentiful material, made accessible by him, in the Archives of the Germanicum in Rome (now in Vatican Library) and of which I made use as early as 1879.

and Raitsbon good and capable administrators of the diocese.[1] The position of the Catholics at Breslau had improved when a student of the Germanicum, Andreas Jerin, had obtained that episcopal see, which, unfortunately, he only held until 1595. His third successor, Johann Sitsch (1600-1608), proved himself the vigilant and energetic representative of the ancient Church. In his diocese he effectively resisted both Protestantism and the decay in discipline among the Catholic clergy.[2] At Olmütz, as well as at Augsburg and Mayence, the victory of Catholic restoration was due to the fact that alumni of the Germanicum were in charge of those dioceses. Another student of that college, Georg Stobäus, Bishop of Lavant, had been able to contribute in a decisive way to the restoration of the Catholic Church in Central Austria. The Archduke Ferdinand, who was carrying on the work of Catholic restoration there, had been educated by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, and had learned from them, like Maximilian of Bavaria, his entirely Catholic sentiments.

The will of the Archduke Charles, who died in July, 1590, who introduced the principle of primogeniture into Central Austria, declared that any of his sons who apostatized from the Catholic faith was excluded from the succession, and entrusted, not only to the Emperor and the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, but also to his wife Maria, a woman of strong character, and her brother, Duke William of Bavaria, the guardianship of his younger sons. In so doing Charles was guided by his desire to ensure an entirely Catholic education for his son Ferdinand, and to preevnt the Emperor from making further concessions to the Protestants during his minority, on the score of the Turkish peril.[3] Although William was seriously hampered, in fulfilling his guardianship, by the opposition of the Protestant states of Styria, and the jealous suspicions of the Hapsburg monarch, he nevertheless succeeded

[1] See STEINHUBER, I., 203.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, Die Restaurationstätigkeit der Breslauer Fürstbischöfe (privately printed, Rome), 1907, 12 *seq.*, 16 *seq.*

[3] See HURTER, II., 522 *seq.*, STIEVE, IV., 96.

in attaining his principal purpose: the education of Ferdinand in accordance with strict Catholic principles. Supported by the Archduchess Maria and the Pope, he managed to keep Ferdinand at Ingolstadt until 1595. The young prince, who continued to remain in close touch with his mother, who was both pious and filled with an affectionate care for him, zealously devoted himself to his studies under his excellent masters, while at the same time he deepened and developed the religious principles which his parents had planted in him.[1]

It was an extraordinary coincidence, and of great importance for the future course of events, that towards the end of the century, and almost at the same moment, both these princes, who were so distinguished for their piety, their strength of character and the purity of their morals, should have succeeded to the government of their countries. At the beginning of 1595 Maximilian was associated with his father William in the government, and after the abdication of the latter assumed the complete sovereignty of Bavaria. Already on December 11th, 1597, Clement VIII. had exhorted him to carry on the government in the spirit of his father, especially in the matter of maintaining the Catholic religion.[2] The Archduke Ferdinand had returned to Graz in March, 1595; at the end of the following year, when he had completed his eighteenth year, he assumed the government of the territories of Central Austria.

From the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had watched with anxiety the development of religious questions in Central Austria, and in view of the advance of Protestantism had not contented himself with exhorting to vigilance those who were charged with the guardianship of the young Ferdinand after the death of the Archduke Charles.[3] Acting

[1] See HURTER, III., 201 *seq.*; STIEVE, IV., 112; RIEZLER, IV., 665; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, Supp. 14.

[2] Original of the *brief in the Court Archives, Munich. Translated in *Allg.* (*Darmstädter*) *Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, n. 37.

[3] In a *brief of May 2, 1592, he exhorted the Archduchess Maria to resist the schemes of the heretics (Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 282,

on the sound principle that measures of defence could only produce external results, the Pope at the same time laboured to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, and thus remove the source of apostasies. He had seen with his own eyes, when he was returning from his legation in Poland in 1588,[1] how necessary reform was among the clergy of Central Austria.

Therefore the instructions given in April, 1592, to Count Girolamo Porzia, when he was appointed nuncio at Graz, attached the first importance to the reform of the clergy, to whose corruption friends and foes alike attributed the growth and spread of the religious innovations. Only after the carrying out of the more urgent ecclesiastical reforms, could the work of Catholic restoration be begun, a matter in which the nuncio must prudently remain in the background. Following the example of Bavaria, the principal offices should be filled by Catholics, and then use could be made of the right to reform granted by the religious peace of Augsburg to the princes of the Empire. The Protestant princes had successfully made use of these weapons in their own territories, while among the Catholics this had been done, not only by Bavaria, but also by Trêves and Würzburg. The same course should be adopted in Central Austria, but with caution, prudence and moderation. In the matter of ecclesiastical reform too, it would be well to act with a like consideration, while in view of the scarcity of priests it would even be well to tolerate concubinists, until such time as fit persons were available to take their place. The nuncio must encourage the establishment of seminaries, and especially of Jesuit schools, for the training of a moral clergy. He must

Papal Secret Archives). On June 13, 1592, letters were sent to the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Gurk, exhorting them to defend the Catholic religion (see SCHWEIZER, III., 555). On August 27, 1594, the Archduchess Maria and the Bishops of Gurk and Lavant were exhorted to resist the religious innovations in Styria (Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 252-254, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also STIEVE, IV., 120.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*

also examine the question of forming new dioceses in Carinthia and Gorizia. But his immediate task was to see that a general canonical visitation was made, in which, though with due caution, the civil powers should also take a part. The carrying out of this, however, was the duty of the bishops. Among the latter the Pope knew that Martin Brenner of Seckau, Christopher Spaur of Gurk, Georg Stobäus of Lavant, Johann Tautscher of Laibach and Johann von Wagenring of Trieste were pious, learned and zealous men. Of the above-named, the Bishop of Gurk, who was distinguished for his zeal for reform and his accurate knowledge of the state of affairs was the one who would be able to give the most help.[1]

At the end of 1592 Clement VIII. appointed Christopher Spaur as visitor and Papal commissary for Styria and Carinthia, in so far as these territories belonged to the diocese of Salzburg, and furnished him with wide faculties.[2] The Archduke Ernest, who was appointed by the Emperor to act as provincial regent of Central Austria, was invited by Clement VIII., at the end of 1592, to support Spaur in his work as visitor.[3] But the latter was not able to complete[4] the visitation which he had begun, on account of the opposition which he met with from the unreasonable jealousy of the

[1] See "Instruzione per procurare di ristabilire la religione catholica nelle provincie di Stiria, Carinzia e Carniola" which was published, from the copy in Borghese, Varia, I., 758, p. 208, *seq.* Vatican Library, by SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, Supp. I. *seq.* For the reports of Porzia, only partially preserved, see STARZER in the periodical *Carinthia*, LXXXIII. (Klagenfurt, 1893), 136 n.

[2] See STARZER, *loc. cit.*, 142 *seq.* The *letter mentioned there, from Christopher von Spaur to Card. C. Aldobrandini is not of September 16, but of September 26, 1592 (Borghese, III., 68b, p. 114, Papal Secret Archives). The wide faculties of Spaur escaped the notice of Mergentheim in his work Die Quinquennalfakultaten.

[3] *Brief of December 7, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 143, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* MORELLI, Istoria, I., 258 *seq.*

[4] See STARZER, *loc. cit.*, 146 *seq.*

Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau. The latter then caused the visitation to be continued by his archpriests, which was done with very small results.[1]

In 1593 the Pope charged Francesco Barbaro, the coadjutor and soon afterwards the successor of the aged Patriarch of Aquileia, Grimani, to carry out the canonical visitation in the provinces to the south of the Drave, a visitation that had not been made there for over a hundred years. Barbaro set himself to the task entrusted to him with great zeal. How difficult it was is clear from his report to the Pope, which revealed a truly horrible state of affairs. Almost everywhere Barbaro found both the secular and regular clergy steeped in immorality and ignorance, while apostacy from the Church had made alarming progress. In southern Styria half the population of the cities had been lost to the Church, while in Carinthia and Carnia the greater part had been lost; in Carinthia, moreover, the majority of the peasantry had apostatized, whereas in the other two provinces these had remained Catholic almost by a miracle. The aristocracy, with a few exceptions, had adopted the new doctrines; only in Styria was there still a considerable Catholic minority.[2]

A great obstacle to the carrying out of the reforms ordered by Barbaro lay in the fact that it was necessary to defer the holding of a provincial synod on account of the advance of the Turks. This synod, in which the Pope interested himself greatly, was to be held at San Daniele in 1596. On account of the mistrust of the Patriarch of the Aquileia that

[1] See Archiv des Hist. Ver. f. Kärnten, Annata II. and III.

[2] See Relazione della visita apost. in Carniola, Stiria e Carinzia fatta da Franc. Barbaro, patriarca elletto d'Aquileia, l'a. 1593 e presentata a P. Clemente VIII. ed. V. Ioppi, Udine, 1862 (rare pamphlet). *Cf.* besides this the information given by Barbaro in his *reports for 1598 in Schmidlin, 6 *seq.*, 11 *seq.* The report published by Joppi is dated June 29, 1594. Barbaro only treats in general of the visitation in Gorizia, which produced good results. He went first to Laibach, visited Upper and Lower Carniola, then Styria and lastly Carinthia. He took ten months over the visitation.

was prevalent in Graz, men saw in this a fresh attempt to place the administration of the diocese in the hands of the Venetian province. The disputes which sprang up on this subject with the Archduke Ferdinand, who had in the meantime assumed the reins of government, were only settled after three years, by a decision that the synod for the Italian speaking parts of the diocese should be held at Udine, and that for the Austrian districts in Gorizia.[1]

Simultaneously with the efforts to improve religious conditions in Central Austria, in which the Papal nuncio Porzia shared from 1595 onwards,[2] the Catholics also tried to eject Protestantism. The soul of this attempt was the widowed Archduchess Maria, with her brother the Duke of Bavaria. As early as 1594 Maria declared that the state of the country could not be improved until the whole nest of preachers at Graz was exterminated.[3] Her representations to the young Archduke Ferdinand became more and more urgent as the abuses tolerated by the Protestant states became greater, and the insults of the preachers more gross; among the latter Fischer at Graz with his adherents called the Pope a ferocious dog, and the worship of the Saints a cursed idolatry.[4]

[1] *Cf.* HURTER, II., 175 *seq.*, 181. The briefs of Clement VIII. as to this dated January 15, 1594, January 28, 1595, July 13 and August 17, 1596, in *Steiermark Gesch. Bl.*, I. (1880), 77 *seq.* A *brief of praise to the Patriarch of Aquileia for having made the visitation, and an exhortation to hold a provincial synod, dated December 2, 1595, in Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 337, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 42, n. 71, and t. 43, n. 342, the *briefs of praise for having held the provincial synod, February 28, 1598, and August 14, 1599. The *briefs of Clement VIII. to Ferdinand of June 15, 1601, and May 9, 1603, *loc. cit.* t. 45, n. 227; t. 47, n. 119, relate to subsequent questions as to the jurisdiction of Aquileia

[2] See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 652 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* LOSERTH, I., xxiv. *seq.* For the theoretical considerations which are there spoken of and the "Deliberatio" thereon is printed in LOSERTH, n. 208, see also HURTER, III., 255 *seq.*; SCHUSTER, 349 *seq.*

[4] See HURTER, III., 173 *seq.*, 522 *seq.*

Fischer was them temporarily forbidden to preach. On the other hand the government intervened several times on behalf of the Catholics, but for the most part its procedure was so wanting in consistency that the Catholic position became visibly worse.[1] If when Ferdinand assumed the reins of government a complete change took place, this was in part due to the sentiments and character of the youthful sovereign, and in part to the conduct of his Protestant subjects.

All concessions to the Protestants were in themselves impossible to a prince who, during his sojourn at Ingolstadt, had declared to his uncle: "I would rather leave my country, and go away with nothing but my shirt, than consent to concessions which could injure religion."[2] In accordance with this sentiment Ferdinand at once gave the Papal nuncio the fullest assurances; in December, 1596, on the occasion of the paying of homage by the states, he refused point blank to give any confirmation of the religious guarantees which had been given by his father to the Protestants.[3]

Ferdinand was spurred on to act decisively in the religious controversy, as we are told by a witness beyond suspicion, the celebrated Protestant astronomer, Johann Kepler,[4] then living at Graz, by the arrogance and abuses of the Protestants, who, relying on their majority, refused all rights to the Catholics—at Klagenfurt and Villach they had taken away from them all their churches—and openly challenged their sovereign. Thus the preacher Föchtmann, in one

[1] See HUBER, IV., 337; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 316 *seq.* The vicar-capitular of Bamberg, Joh. Georg von Stadion, worked with energy for Catholic restoration in Carintia. He therefore was sent a brief by Clement VIII., on November 26, 1594; see LOSERTH, I., 117 *seq.*

[2] See HURTER, III., 242. On December 28, 1596, Clement VIII. *congratulated the Archduke on having assumed the government (Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 453, Papal Secret Archives) and on February 7 on the homage paid by Styria (ibid. t. 41, n. 59).

[3] See HURTER, III., 378 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHUSTER, 344 *seq.*

sermon alone, called the Pope Antichrist sixteen times, and described, in unmistakable allusion to the reigning prince, all the adherents of the Pope as children of perdition, lost for all eternity, cursed and damned.[1]

After mature reflection the Archduke Ferdinand came to the determination to employ in his territories the rights of reform granted to the princes of the Empire by the religious peace of Augsburg. When he was advised, in view of the Turkish peril, to defer putting his resolve into execution until a more favourable moment, he replied: "Am I to exercise forbearance until my reputation has entirely gone, and the Catholic religion expelled from my dominions?"[2] It seemed to him to be a duty binding on his conscience to prevent this. In order to implore the help of God in the difficult task of restoring unity of faith, on April 28th, 1598, the Archduke Ferdinand set out on a pilgrimage to Loreto and Rome. On his way he visited the shrine of St. Anthony at Padua, and on his way back those of St. Catherine at Siena and St. Dominic at Bologna. Clement VIII. was at that time at Ferrara, where Ferdinand paid him homage. In bidding him farewell the Pope said to Ferdinand that he promised to become the first prince in the world: to which he replied: "Holy Father, I have no such ambition for myself; my one desire is to be able to serve always your Holiness and the Holy See." In consideration of this devotion of Ferdinand for Rome, and his fixed intention of energetically opposing the Protestants in Central Austria, the Pope assigned the coadjutorship of the diocese of Passau to the Archduke Leopold, to the great annoyance of Bavaria.[3]

Soon after his return from Italy, Ferdinand set to work to put into practice in his own territories the principle that had for a long time past rigorously enforced in the Protestant

[1] *Cf. ibid.* LOSERTH too (Akten, I., xxiii.) is obliged to admit that the insulting sermons of the preachers embittered the government at Graz.

[2] See HURTER, IV., 35.

[3] *Cf.* HURTER, III., 411 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*, STIEVE, X., 307 *seq.*, *Mitteil, des Hist. Ver. f. Steiermark*, XLVII., 3 *seqq.*

provinces : " cuius regio, eius religio." The first step towards this had already been taken by him when, before the homage of the States, he had refused to make any promise contrary to this principle. In spite of that the homage was nevertheless paid. As the Archduke Charles had only made his concessions as a personal affair, Ferdinand was not bound by any consideration for others ; he therefore had the full right, given to him by the religious peace of Augsburg, to decide upon the religion of his subjects. The method of procedure had already been decided upon in detail.[1] The Bishop of Lavant, Georg Stobäus, an energetic Prussian from Braunsberg, and a former student at the German College, who had in 1597 been appointed by Ferdinand, with the Pope's consent, as Governor of Central Austria,[2] played an important part in carrying out this plan. In a memorial which he presented in August, 1598, at the request of the Archduke, Stobäus had pronounced strongly against deferring action, as urged by faint-hearted " politicians," in view of the power of the Protestant aristocracy, and the dangers threatening on the part of the Turks. The matter must be begun, he said, without human respect, but must be carried out with prudence. Neither force of arms nor religious discourses would be of any use, but only the intervention of the authority of the sovereign. With the help of this three steps must be taken : above all the administration of the provinces and cities must be entrusted to none but Catholics ; secondly, no one must be admitted among the members of the Diet who was not a Catholic ; and lastly an order must be issued for everyone to profess himself on the side of the Catholic Church in writing, or seek for another country. If at the same time provision

[1] *Cf.* especially the " Discursus " of December, 1594, by Georg Mayr, and the " Deliberatio de modo quo religio catholica a Ferdinando archiduc sec. restitui possit " of the beginning of March, 1595, in LOSERTH, Akten, I., 120 *seq.*, 140 *seq.* Loserth considers Stobäus to be the author of this work, which was used by HURTER, III., 256 *seq.*

[2] See STOBAEI epist., 2 *seq.*, STEPISCHNEK in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 84, 90.

were made for the financial betterment of the country, subjects would readily submit; it must be understood that it would not be possible to proceed at the same time against the aristocracy, the citizens, the peasants and the preachers, but a beginning must be made with the latter, the "alarmists," and above all with those at Graz. If the latter, who were all-powerful, were removed, the citizens and peasants would return of their own accord.[1]

The carrying into effect of these counsels was done with equal firmness and certainty of success. When the repeated complaints of the parish-priest of Graz, Lorenz Sonnabenter, formerly chaplain to Ferdinand at Ingolstadt, of the usurpation of his parochial rights by the Protestant preachers, had remained without effect, the Archduke interfered himself. On September 13th, 1598, "as Catholic Archduke of Austria, as head and supreme lord of the parish of Graz, and as supreme head of all the bishoprics and ecclesiastical abbacies of his hereditary territories, and in virtue of the religious peace of Augsburg established and observed throughout the Empire," he ordered the preachers to leave, within fourteen days, the capital Graz and the other cities, and the villages and hamlets of the hereditary principality. In reply to the remonstrances made against this order, on September 23rd a decree was issued that the pastors and Protestant teachers must leave the hereditary territories within eight days. When this enactment too remained without effect, there followed on September 28th a third ordinance to the effect that the preachers must depart on that very day, "before the setting of the sun" from Graz, within eight days from Judenburg, and from Laibach in October. Further decrees followed:

[1] See HANSIZ, Germania sacra, II., 713; HURTER, IV., 44 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSERTH, Akten, I., 1 *seq.* The introduction of the Inquisition suggested by Porzia, was discouraged by Stobäus, because that institution would not be on the spot, and because a sect must be unmasked wherever it secretly insinuated itself; in the Italian districts of Central Austria the Inquisition might prove useful, but in other places it would be harmful; see STOBAEI epist., 25.

of special importance was the enactment that the lords of fiefs with an ecclesiastical benefice must within two months present Catholic priests to the bishops; when that period had elapsed the rights of the sovereign would supervene.[1] The protests which the aristocracy of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola made against this procedure of the Archduke did not make him waver. He rejected them firmly and in detail in his principal and celebrated edict of April 30th, which was issued on June 21st, 1599. In this Ferdinand justified his action by pointing to the reiterated mischievous and scandalous discourses of the preachers and Lutheran teachers, which had "to his shame and great dishonour" permitted for years in the capital, Graz, and in other cities and townships of the hereditary states. This main edict refuted at a single blow the appeal made by the Protestants to the religious peace of Augsburg, making it clear that this pact had been made only among the Electors, princes and provinces which were directly incorporated in the Empire, and therefore did not refer to the relations between the prince and his subjects. With equal certainty, any appeal to the concessions made by the Archduke Charles was refuted by pointing out the latter had absolutely refused to bind his heirs. The Archduke also clearly pointed out how far the Protestant nobles had overstepped the limits set by his father, in having forced the inhabitants of the cities and townships to assist at their religious practices, and their baptisms and marriages, by introducing preachers into the cities and their immediate neighbourhood, and in setting no bounds to the insults of these men against the Catholics; further they had allowed various acts of violence against his Catholic subjects, especially in forcing them to assist at Protestant sermons, to do servile work on Sundays and festivals, to eat meat on days of abstinence, and in preventing the appointment of Catholic parish priests. His Highness the Prince, so the edict concluded, intended to adhere to this decision "until his death."[2]

[1] See HURTER, IV., 48 *seq.*; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 371 *seq.*; LOSERTH, Akten, I., 309 *seq.*, 324, 344 *seq.*

[2] See HURTER, IV., 496 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 344 *seq.*; LOSERTH, II., 559 *seq.*

While the Protestants were still discussing their reply to this definite declaration,[1] Ferdinand acted with a resolution and severity against which all opposition seemed vain. The Protestant collegiate church at Graz was closed on October 14th, 1599. On the same day was begun the work of the so-called Commissions of religious reform, at the head of which the celebrated Bishop of Seckau, Martin Brenner, was placed in December. The Commissions were ordered to drive out the preachers from the cities and townships, to destroy the Protestant oratories or take possession of them on behalf of the Catholics, to burn all Lutheran books, to instal Catholic priests, and to bring back the citizens and peasants to Catholicism, first of all by means of instruction, and if that was not sufficient, by threats of expulsion. The nobles were for the moment allowed to retain their Protestant confession, but as the patent of November 12th ordered the exile of all the preachers who still remained in the country, they as well were obliged to send theirs away. Throughout Styria, as well as in Carinthia and Carniola, there was a repetition of the scenes which had occurred so often since the outbreak of the religious schism in those Catholic territories whose princes had become Protestants; those who refused to accept the religion of the sovereign within a definite period had to sell their property and go into exile, after having paid the emigration tax ordered and fixed by the laws.[2]

As the Commissions were armed with a military escort to

[1] The reply only arrived on February 24, 1600; in this the States appealed to the pacification and to the fact that the confession of Augsburg was not heretical! See the text in LOSERTH, Akten, II., 721 *seq.*

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 266 *seq.*, and the special literature cited there, to which may now be added: Briefe und Akten (2 vols). published by LOSERTH, Vienna, 1906 and 1907 (*Fontes rer. Austr.*, Vol. 58 and 60). For a criticism of this publication *cf.* SCHMIDLIN in *Hist-polit. Bl.*, CXLIII., 387 *seq.* For the sending of a commissary of the Roman Inquisition for the destruction of heretical books in Styria, Carnia and Carinthia see BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 237.

protect them, they met with no serious resistance. Nowhere was there any bloodshed as in England or Holland during similar action against the Catholics, though acts of violence occurred in many places, which may partly be explained by the fact that the Protestants had first destroyed the priests' houses and Catholic churches. Thus like was rendered for like, "to the sorrow of good Catholics" as a contemporary document states, "who out of Christian charity did not wish to be vindictive."[1]

In Styria the reform commissions quickly and easily attained to their immediate object, and the number of those who openly remained loyal to the Protestant religion and resolved to emigrate, was extraordinarily small, in so far as the very incomplete information at our disposal enables us to form an estimate.[2] There were greater difficulties in Carniola, and the greatest of all in Carinthia. In the latter the Bishop of Seckau was at the head of the commission, and in the former, the Bishop of Laibach, Thomas Chroën, an ardent convert; measures of violence had always to be preceded by peaceful instruction, and only when the latter were ineffectual could measures of coercion be employed.[3] Generally speaking the proceedings in Austria were far milder than in the territories of the Empire, and in many places the carrying out of the severe decrees was not in accordance with the rigour of the ordinances. Thus Protestantism still remained a power for a long time to come. In the dominions of Ferdinand its adherents in all classes of the population openly declared themselves as such, and not as crypto-Protestants.[4]

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 268.

[2] *Cf.* HUBER, IV., 348.

[3] See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 443 *seq.*, 480 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 38 *seq.*; LOSERTH in *Archiv. f. Gesch. von Karnten*, XIX. (1900). Remarkable, and as far as I am aware so far unknown, is the *brief to the Bishop of Bamberg of August 23, 1597, urging the restoration of the Catholic religion in Carinthia. Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* t. 44, n. 187 the *brief of July 8, 1600, to the Bishop of Bamberg concerning heresy in Carinthia.

[4] See LOSERTH, Akten, II., v. *seq.*

It is easily to be understood that the news of the great changes effected in Central Austria caused the Pope[1] and the German Catholics great joy, and the Protestants an equally great sorrow. In their complaints the innovators completely lost sight of the fact that it had been the Protestant German princes who, taking advantage of the dangers threatening the Empire from the French and the Turks, had extorted from Charles V. the Imperial recognition of the maxim: *cuius regio, eius religio*. In like manner they forgot that it had only been by the rigid application of this maxim that their religion had been able to take deep root in Germany. When the Catholics called their attention to these facts, the Protestants, who moreover, in Styria and elsewhere had proceeded with sentences of death against the Anabaptists, were unable to deny them. They therefore fell back upon the convenient subterfuge of blaming the Jesuits for all the measures that had been taken in Central Austria. These statements were for a long time believed blindly.

To-day, however, it is admitted, even by the most open

[1] Clement VIII. was informed of the energetic procedure of Ferdinand in October, 1598, during his stay at Ferrara, from the report of the nuncio Porzia (*cf.* the latter's letter to the Imperial ambassador dated Graz, October 5, 1598, in the appendix to the *Relazione*, ed. JOPPI, mentioned *supra* p. 349, n. 2). M. Brenner also reported on it to the Pope. On November 27, 1599, Clement addressed a brief of praise to the Archduke Ferdinand; on June 17, 1600, urged him to persevere, and on December 9 he praised his action in Carinthia; see *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 230 *seq.*, where the briefs are published. How misleading are the scientific acrobatics of Loserth may be gathered from the fact that he was unaware of the publication of the briefs in so accessible a form, and in his Akten, II., 961 only gives a synopsis of the brief of December 9, 1600, and that very incomplete. For the satisfaction of Clement VIII. see also HURTER, IV., 407. On June 3 and December 9, 1600, Brenner was sent briefs of praise (see SCHUSTER, 664 *seq.*; *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 231), and another was sent to Stobäus on November 4, 1600 (STOBAEI epist., 79 *seq.*). The *brief to Chroën, May 11, 1602, is mentioned in SCHMIDLIN, 39 n. 1.

adversaries of the Jesuits, that the latter had no part at all in the violent enforcement of the Catholic restoration in Central Austria.[1] The Jesuits only intervened in a decisive manner after the reform commissions had substantially completed their work, which had often been hastily and very far from effectually done. As this had in many cases only produced uncertain and incomplete results, it now became a question of carrying on the interior conversion of those who had perforce conformed under the pressure of circumstances. This work, as well as that of the reform of the secular and regular clergy, was a task of many years, and one calling for great labours, and devolving above all on the bishops of the country.

To the great encouragement of Clement VIII., Central Austria possessed men, such as Georg Stobäus of Lavant, Christopher Spaur of Gurk, and his successor Johann Jakob von Lamberg, and lastly Martin Brenner of Seckau, who devoted themselves with apostolic zeal to their pastoral duties.[2] The Papal nuncio Porzia assisted them in this task with all his power.[3]

In spite of this the efforts of many years were required to remove the abuses which had made their way into every department of ecclesiastical life, and once again made Central Austria a truly Catholic country. The principal difficulty was the scarcity of priests who were moral and faithful in the perfromance of their duties. The bishops, like the sovereign, realized what assistance the Jesuits could give

[1] See LOSERTH, Akten, II., xxxiii. and G. WOLF in *Mitteil. aus der hist. Lit.*, XXXVIII., 448. *Cf.* also DUHR, II., 2, 347, 349.

[2] *Cf.* especially SCHMIDLIN, 37 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, which gives a full list of special literature. A publication containing the acta of the Catholic regeneration of Central Austria, for which there is plentiful material, would be a valuable work. It is to be hoped that this may be given us by Prof. Tomek, together with the publication which he intends to make of the reports of the nunciature at Graz.

[3] See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 607 *seq.*, 653 *seq.*, 660, 665. *Cf.* LOSERTH, Akten, II., 256 *seq.*, and *Archiv. f. Gesch von Kärnten*, XVI. (1886), 88 *seq.*

them, both in the training of a better clergy, and in the actual pastoral work; accordingly they assisted the Order wherever they could, and in this they met with a ready support on the part of the Pope.[1] In the capital, the Jesuits laboured zealously at the university, the high-school and the college for poor students which had been founded by Ferdinand, and which bore his name. To this were added far-reaching spiritual labours; the annals record many conversions effected by the Jesuits, and tell of thousands of persons who once again approached the sacraments in their churches after an interval of many years.[2]

The work which the houses of the Society of Jesus at Graz did for Styria, was done in the cases of Carniola and Carinthia by the colleges established in 1597 and 1604 at Laibach and Klagenfurt. In both places their beginnings were very difficult, but tenacious perseverance and profound confidence in God led in the end to victory.[3] At first the situation at Klagenfurt seemed almost hopeless, since at the beginning of the century there were only about a dozen Catholic citizens there. Later on the historian of Catholic reform at Klagenfurt was able to declare that in forty years the Jesuits had effected so great a change in the population, that, just as it had previously been distinguished for its attachment to Protestantism, so later on it was noted for its zeal for Catholic doctrines.[4]

[1] *Cf.* SCHUSTER, 581, 586 *seq.*, and LOSERTH, II., 771; DUHR, II., 1, 343, 345. For the establishment of a Jesuit college at Laibach Clement VIII. addressed a *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand on June 23, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 190, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the information drawn from the *Litterae annuae* in SCHUSTER, 543 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* LEBINGER, Reformation u Gegenreformation in Klagenfurt (Prog. des Gymn. zu Klagenfurt, 1868), 27 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*; DIMITZ, Aus den Annalen der Jesuiten in Laibach, in *Jahrb. f. Gesch. des Protest. in Osterreich*, VI., 99 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 340 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*

[4] See *Carinthia*, 1900, 4 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Catholic Restoration in the Rhine Provinces, Bohemia and the Spanish Netherlands.

In the same year 1598 in which the Archduke Ferdinand set his hand to the restoration of unity of faith in Central Austria, the Catholics met with yet another important success.

For fifteen years past a number of Imperial ordinances had been issued to the Protestant Council of the city of Aix, in virtue of which Catholicism "was to be restored to its former position and the intruded Protestant councillors expelled." As all these ordinances had been disregarded, Rudolph II. found himself obliged (June 30th, 1598) to put a ban upon the rebellious magistracy, so as to force them to obey. After Spanish troops, with others from Jülich, had brought back the exiled Catholics, the episcopal authority of Liège, to which diocese Aix belonged, restored in the city, in which every kind of sect had established itself, the absolute authority of the Catholic religion.[1] Certain Jesuits were summoned to direct the work of instruction. They began in the autumn of 1601 with eight pupils; a year later the number had risen to 200. Later on the establishment flourished even more, and in 1603 the house of the fathers received the title of a college.[2]

[1] See Janssen-Pastor, V., 16, 711 *seq.*; Ritter, II., 155. For a criticism of the superficial work of Macco *cf.* J. Fey, Zur Gesch. Aachens im 16. Jahrh., mit Benutzung ungedruckter Archivalien, Aachen, 1905.

[2] *Cf.* besides Duhr, I., 416 *seq.* the dissertation by Fritz on the Jesuit college at Aix in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch.-Ver.*, 1906, 9 *seq.* For the bull of Clement VIII., December 7, 1604, concerning the spiritual direction of the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament see Gaspers, Die Sakramentsbruderschaft von St. Foillan in Aachen, 1921, 10, 17.

The fact that the Spanish-Dutch war extended into the territory of the Empire had an important bearing on the development of religious affairs in the Lower Rhineland and in Westphalia. Wherever the Dutch Calvinists obtained the upper hand the Catholics were made to suffer bitterly, and the same was the case with the Protestants, where the Spaniards were victorious. General Mendoza, who was a strict Catholic, showed himself especially anxious to remove the Protestant preachers from the Rhenish territories and to restore Catholic worship. At the beginning of the year 1599 he drove out the Calvinist preachers from the city of Wesel, which had become one of the principal strongholds of the new doctrines, and once again introduced Catholic worship. The nuncio at Cologne went to Wesel and preached in the church of St. Willibrord; the Jesuits too obtained a footing in the city. But the course of the war, as early as May, forced the Catholic priests to abandon the ground which they had just recovered.[1]

When the war came to an end at the beginning of the new century, the Jesuit college at Emmerich received an unexpected development. In the attempts at restoration which had been made during the last ten years of the old century in the territory of Jülich, that house had already played a large part.[2] Münster too, where the religious conditions left a great deal to be desired, proved an important field for the activities of the Jesuits. Their missionary establishment at Hildesheim, from which a house at Altona had been founded at the end of the century, was able to be made into a college in 1601.[3]

At Paderborn, after their tottering house had been transformed into a solidly established college with the assistance of

[1] See KELLER, II., 61 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.* 42; DUHR, II., 1, 64 *seq.* The attention with which Clement VIII. followed affairs in Jülich-Cleves is clear from his briefs Rudolph II. of January 9, 1599, and to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria of September 9, 1600, in KELLER, II., 213 *seq.*, 230.

[3] See DUHR, II., 1, 32 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*, 134 *seq.* For Münster *cf.* KELLER, II., 277 *seqq.*, and SCHAFFMEISTER, Herzog Ferdinand v. Bayern, Haselünne i. H., 1912, 18 *seq.*

the Prince-Bishop, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, the Jesuits were able to record splendid successes. The attendance at their sermons was crowded, and several families of the city, for the most part Protestants, were won over to the Catholic Church. In some of the classes the Jesuit school was unable to accommodate all the pupils, and even the sons of the Protestants attended them. Even the magistracy recognized the value of the Jesuits, and availed themselves of their assistance when the masses were disturbed by the freaks of a visionary.[1] But this favourable disposition was changed when, in the year 1596, the Prince-Bishop, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, began vigorously to oppose the Protestants in his principality. This was a bold undertaking, since among the nobles, only one had remained true to Catholicism ; Protestantism was widespread in the cities and country districts, and above all in the capital.[2]

It was not only ecclesiastical motives which led the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn to this course of action, but political considerations were also involved in what he did. It was a question of restoring and re-establishing his full sovereign authority when it was threatened, especially in Paderborn, by the patricians, who held the government in their hands.[3]

According to the decisions of the religious peace of Augsburg, the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn, as a sovereign prince of the Empire, had beyond all doubt the right to impose upon his diocese the Catholic religion as the religion of the place, and to prohibit any other confession. Relying upon this right, of which all the neighbouring Protestants had long availed themselves to their own advantage, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, after waiting for almost ten years, in 1596 forbade, at first in the country parishes, all public Protestant worship, and drove out the preachers. This step aroused so great excitement among the Protestants that the nobility, together with the

[1] See RICHTER, Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten, I., 36 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PIELER, Leben u. Wirken Kaspar von Fürstenburgs, Paderborn, 1873, 201.

[3] This is clearly brought out by RICHTER (Gesch. der Stadt Paderborn, II., P. 1903, 220).

representatives of the various cities, absolutely refused to pay the imposts for the Turkish war.[1]

There was still greater excitement when Dietrich set himself to bring about a change in the religious position in the capital, yet there too he was absolutely within his rights, for Paderborn was not directly subject to the Empire.[2] Therefore, on January 24th, 1599, he ordered the closure of the church in the market-place, where the parish priest Tunneken who had apostatized from the Church and married, had hitherto preached with impunity. The indignation of the Protestants

[1] See RICHTER, Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten, I., 56 *seq.*

[2] Even if they took their stand upon the so-called letter of assurance of Ferdinand II., the subjects of Paderborn of the Protestant religion had no right to public religious freedom, because apart from the fact that this assurance had been given without the knowledge of the Catholic States, and without their consent, and was not included in the laws of the Empire, and was therefore without force in law, it could not be applied to Paderborn, because at the time of the conclusion of the religious peace the citizens of Paderborn had not even the liberty of worship of the evangelical confession, since until 1566 Bishop Rembert von Kerssenbrock had been successful in keeping the Protestant religion out of his diocese. The assertion constantly made in the monograph by LÖHER: Gesch. des Kampfes um Paderborn vom Jahre 1597-1604 (Berlin, 1874), of the liberty of religion of the people of Paderborn, which was infringed by Fürstenberg, is quite untenable. The opinion of a contemporary, the advocate Johann Fichard, of Frankfort, who was a practical lawyer, confirms the view that the people of Paderborn had no right to demand, as subjects of the Prince-Bishop, the public exercise of the Protestant religion against his will; see his opinion, which escaped the notice of Löher, in JACOBSON, Gesch. der Quellen des evang. Kirchenrechts f. Rheinland u. Westfalen, 515. That in other ways the "fantastic account" of Löher "gives rise even in other things to constant and serious doubts," and that "he is absolutely lacking in the critical sense" and that he is guilty of "grave linguistic misinterpretation of the sources" has been shown with convincing proofs by the Old Catholic STIEVE (V., 708, n. 1) who is certainly not open to suspicion in this.

of Paderborn was first vented on the Jesuits, who found themselves in great danger. At the same time the syndic and the council had recourse to Maurice of Hesse, whose troops, on their way to fight the Spaniards under Mendoza, occupied Paderborn in May, 1599, and brought back Tunneken in triumph. Soon afterwards these began a struggle lasting several years for the city of Paderborn, which was carried on by both parties with the greatest bitterness. At last things reached the point when Fürstenburg, if he did not wish to lose the last remains of his sovereign rights in his capital, had to employ force. This resulted in a complete victory over the rebels in Paderborn. At the end of April, 1604, the city was reduced to subjection by Count Johann von Rietberg, and this was followed up by severe penalties. The burgomaster, Borius Wichart, who had employed his remarkable gifts to the injury of his native city, was cruelly put to death, and after the restoration of the ancient rights of the bishop, the complete supremacy of the Catholic religion was established. Two years before, Fürstenburg, in order to remove any divergence from the Catholic rite, had ordered the introduction of a new liturgical calendar, which was to pave the way for a return to the Catholic Church. The capture of Paderborn completed this work.

In Rome the greatest hopes were built upon the success of the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn. On May 22nd, 1604, the Pope addressed to him a letter of congratulation, and strove to encourage his zeal yet further.[1] Having crushed all external resistance Fürstenburg then set himself to the task of winning back the people interiorly as well. In this the Jesuits, with whom the prince, who was an arbitrary but susceptible man, had previously had misunderstandings, as with his chapter, rendered him the greatest services. But the zeal of the fathers met with but little success against the tenacity, so characteristic of the Westphalians, with which the

[1] See KELLER, II., 455 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*, 581. On May 29, 1604, the Pope asked Rudolph II. to help Fürstenberg; see MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 169 *seq.*

majority of the citizens of Paderborn clung to Protestantism. Like the people of Paderborn, those of the other cities, with the nobility, adopted so hostile an attitude towards Fürstenburg that the latter was forced for the time being to abandon his rigorous measures.[1]

It was due to the direct intervention of Clement VIII. that in the electorate of Cologne as well the way was opened to restoration and Catholic reform. It is true that the city of Cologne had maintained a strictly Catholic attitude,[2] and the Jesuit college there was an important stronghold of the ancient faith, but the archbishop, Prince Ernest of Bavaria, who was the richest in benefices of all the ecclesiastical princes in Germany, gave great scandal by his conduct, which was far from priestly, and who neglected the duties of his pastoral office in the most open way. To this was added his disastrous financial administration, and his civil litigation with the princes of the electorate and with the cathedral chapter. Sixtus V. had already expressed his disapproval to the Elector,[3] but all the remonstrances and exhortations, of which Clement VIII. in his turn was not sparing, remained without effect. At last the patience of the Holy See was exhausted, and at the end of 1593 the Pope appointed a nuncio extraordinary for Cologne, in the person of Coriolano Garzadoro, Bishop of Ossero.[4] The latter was instructed to ask the

[1] See RICHTER in the commemorative work for the tercentenary jubilee celebrations of the "Theodorianum" college at Paderborn, 1912, 39 *seq.*

[2] In a brief of April 11, 1592, Clement VIII. exhorted the council of Cologne to be on their guard against admitting Calvinists to the city. As a result of the brief of June 13, 1592, the council acted upon this exhortation; see SCHWEIZER, III., 497, n. 2, 534, n. 1. In a *brief of January 23, 1593, the Pope praised the council for having refused to elect heretics to their number, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 186, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 101.

[4] See UNKEL in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VIII., 245 *seq.*, 583; *cf.* XV., 103 *seq.* The *brief of exhortation to Ernest of November 1, 1592 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 5.

chapter of the cathedral for a coadjutor to Ernest, so as to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs. After long negotiations both Ernest and Duke William of Bavaria agreed to this proposal, which had already been made by Sixtus V. in 1589. The choice fell on April 29th, 1595, upon the young prince Ferdinand of Bavaria. This prince, who loved life, and had hitherto been but little inclined for work, and had at first had doubts as to his ecclesiastical vocation, soon adopted a more serious idea of life, and devoted himself to a strict performance of his duties.[1] He assumed the government of Cologne, while Ernest, who was to retain the electoral dignity for life, retained that of Westphalia.[2]

Clement VIII. at once exhorted Ferdinand to perform his difficult task conscientiously, and above all personally to carry out the canonical visitation of the whole of the archdiocese, taking counsel with learned and pious men.[3] The position of the coadjutor of Cologne, however, was from the first so difficult, that he was unable to discharge this duty. He had to restrict himself, for the time being, to isolated measures, and by his example to bring his influence to bear upon promoting the spirit of the Catholic Church. In this respect he left nothing to be desired.

For the moment he only developed a more far-reaching activity on behalf of Catholic restoration in the countship of Recklinghausen, whither he went in the autumn of 1597.[4] In the following year he presided at the diocesan synod, the decrees of which were a great consolation to Clement VIII.[5] In 1599 he also became the coadjutor of his uncle at the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, and in 1601 in the diocese of Liège. In order to promote the ecclesiastical reform which was urgently needed in the archdiocese of Cologne,

[1] *Cf.* STIEVE, Wittelsbacher Briefe, II., 43 *seq.*, VI., 61.

[2] On November 15, 1597, Clement VIII. wrote to Ernest concerning the establishment of a Tridentine seminary at Münster; see KELLER, II., 344 *seq.*

[3] See UNKEL, *loc. cit.*, 269 *seq.*

[4] See STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, III., 51 *seq.*

[5] See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 878.

Ferdinand established a college of ecclesiastical councillors, the presidency of which was conferred by him on July 6th, 1601, upon the successor of Frangipani, Garzadoro, who had already been appointed ordinary nuncio in April, 1596. From the latter's reports, and from the protocols which are still extant, it may clearly be seen in what a successful way the Pope's representative had discharged this office for several years.[1]

Urged by Clement VIII. the Elector Ernest caused a visitation to be made in Westphalia in 1599.[2] It was also the Pope who induced Ernest to suggest to the cathedral chapter at Münster the formation of a similar magistracy to that at Cologne, above all for the removal of abuses in the care of souls. The negotiations were prolonged, and it was only on February 10th, 1601, that the investiture of the new ecclesiastical council could take place; it met, however, with many obstacles in its reforming activity. These obstacles became even more formidable when the government began to attack the Anabaptists and Calvinism.[3]

If the state of ecclesiastical discipline in the diocese of Cologne caused the Pope much anxiety,[4] he was able on the other hand to look with all the greater satisfaction to Trêves, where the Tridentine reform decrees had been put into force by the archbishops, Jakob von Eltz and Johann von

[1] See UNKEL, Die Kölner "Congregatio ecclesiastica" für die Reform der Erzdiozese, in the work by Ehses on the occasion of the jubilee of the Campo Santo, 265 *seq.* For the parishes of Cologne, according to a report of the nunciature for 1603 see *Kölner Pastoralblatt*, 1885, 9 *seq.*

[2] See STIEVE, V., 586. For the sad condition of the diocese of Münster see the report sent by Ernest to Rome in 1599, in *Zeitschr. für westf. Gesch.*, XLV., 167 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* KELLER, II., 283 *seqq.*, 349 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*; TIBUS, Weihbischofe von Münster, M. 1862, 141.

[4] *Cf.* the *briefs to the chapter of Cologne, September 1, 1601, and October 1, 1604 (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 302, and t. 56, p. 316, Papal Secret Archives) and the *brief of August 7, 1604, to the Archbishop of Cologne (*ibid.* p. 287).

Schönenberg, the clergy having the care of souls reformed, and the populace thoroughly instructed in Catholicism.[1] As early as 1588 Minucci declared that in consequence of this, there was no province in the whole of Germany which was so little tainted by heresy as the diocese of Trêves.[2] The two colleges directed by the Jesuits, at Trêves and Coblenz, gave great assistance to the archbishops there [3] When in 1599 there occurred the death of Johann von Schönenberg, Clement VIII. took all possible care to give him a worthy successor.[4] The choice fell upon Lothaire von Metternich, to whom Clement VIII. at once addressed paternal admonitions.[5] If the work of Metternich proved successful from every point of view, he owed this above all to Fr. Wilhelm Metternich, who had been educated at the German College in Rome, and, by the help of the Exercises of St. Ignatius had changed the Elector into a new man.[6]

What had happened at Trêves in the case of the supreme pastor of the diocese, was repeated in a thousand ways in the priests and laymen of all parts of Germany. The co-operation of the Jesuits in the province of the Prince Abbot of Fulda was especially important. In the midst of the disturbances that were prevailing there, they had courageously carried on their work. A complete change in favour of the sadly tried Catholics of Fulda, on whose behalf Clement VIII. had already intervened with the Emperor and the other princes in 1595,[7] took place finally when, at the end of 1602, by a decree of the Imperial Chancery, the abbot, Balthasar von Dernbach, was able to return after an exile of twenty-six years. He

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 354-357.

[2] See STEINHUBER, I., 225.

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 97 *seq.*; II., 1, 24 *seq.*

[4] See the *brief to the chapter of the cathedral at Trêves, May 22, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 240, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *brief addressed to him, August 7, 1599, *ibid.* n. 339.

[6] See HONTHEIM, Hist. Trevir., III., 229.

[7] See the *briefs to the Archduke Maximilian, Rudolph II., the Bishop of Würzburg and the Abbot of Fulda, September 12, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 13, Papal Secret Archives.

ordered a general visitation and missions to the people, drove out all the preachers, ordered under pain of exile the return of his subjects to the Catholic faith, built two hospitals, and assisted the pontifical seminary and Jesuit college at Fulda. Clement VIII. spoke in high terms of praise of him at a consistory. When the abbot died in 1606, he had completed his task; all the inhabitants of his province had returned to the Church, and the Jesuits had taken charge of the instruction and pastoral work.[1]

The Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, who was a pious man, but weak and vacillating,[2] had already been exhorted by Sixtus V. to remove the many Protestants from his court, to hold provincial and diocesan synods, and to provide for the better religious instruction of the young.[3] In 1592 and 1594 Clement VIII. addressed exhortations to the archbishop to reform the condition of his diocese.[4] The nuncio at Cologne, Frangipani, conferred with him in person at Aschaffenburg in December 1595.[5] Wolfgang von Dalberg realized, it is true, the necessity for acting with resolution, but he had not the requisite energy. On January 31st, 1598, the Pope invited him once more to undertake the visitation of the diocese of Mayence.[6]

A change for the better only took place when, in May, 1601, Johann Adam von Bicken succeeded to the see of St. Boniface. The monitorium sent to the newly elected bishop by Clement VIII. on February 16th, 1602,[7]

[1] *Cf.* Komp in *Hist.-polit. Bl.*, LVI., 106 *seq.*, 293 *seq.*, 297; the same, Die zweite Schule Fuldas u. das päpstl. Seminar, Fulda, 1877, 28 *seq.*; Egloffstein, 38 *seq.*, 78 *seq.*; Duhr, II., 1, 158 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* H. E. Heim, Wolfgang, Erzbischof u. Kurfürst von Mainz, 1582-1601, Mayence, 1189.

[3] See Ehses, II., 411.

[4] See *briefs of November 21, 1592, and September 17, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 15b, and t. 39, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the report of Frangipani in Veit, Kirche u. Kirchenreform, 26 *seq.*

[6] See Schmidlin, 471, n. 1.

[7] *Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 60, Papal Secret Archives.

fell upon fertile soil: Adam von Bicken proved himself an energetic promoter of Catholic restoration and reform, and the religious life of Mayence, where the Jesuit college was the centre of the reform movement, developed in a way that warranted the highest hopes. The Elector himself, between 1602 and 1603, introduced into the countships of Königstein, Lohr and Rieneck the rights of reform belonging to him under the religious peace of Augsburg, and provided the principal places with zealous Catholic parish priests.[1] After the premature death of Johann von Bicken (January 10th, 1604) Protestantism once again lifted up its head, especially in Lohr. Everything now depended on the choice of a good bishop. On February 17th, 1604, this fell upon Johann Schweikart von Cronberg, and the praises which the cathedral chapter, in its report to Rome, lavished on the new archbishop, were fully deserved. Schweikart, who was an alumnus of the Germanicum, was a model pastor, full of zeal and devotion to the Holy See, and the warm friend of the Jesuits. His only fault was that he tended too much towards complaisance and compromise. For this reason the Protestants indulged in renewed hopes, which in certain places, especially in Lohr, developed into a violent agitation against the Catholics. Although Schweikart at first hesitated, in the end he was obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures to bring about the return to Catholicism of the countship of Reineck.[2] It required, however, much patience and hard work to bring back to the Catholic Church the city of Oberursel, which had been Protestant ever since 1525.[3] The provocative attitude of the Protestants there necessitated intervention, since they had erected there, in a city subject to the supreme authority of a Catholic archbishop, a press which published the most violent defamatory libels on the ancient Church.[4] On September 20th, 1604, Clement VIII.

[1] See SCHMITT, Kath. Restauration, 11 *seq.*, 14 *seq.* *Cf.* VEIT, 33.

[2] See SCHMITT, *loc. cit.* 45 *seq.*, 54 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 71 *seq.*

[4] See KELCHNER in *Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde u. Gesch.*, VII. (Wiesbaden, 1864), 265 *seq.*

was able to express to the Archbishop of Mayence his pleasure at the fact that he had put an end to this "scandal."[1]

By the intervention of the nuncio Porzia, at Eichstätt they were successful in giving the feeble archbishop, Gaspar von Seckendorf, an excellent coadjutor in the person of Johann Conrad von Gemmingen, who after the death of the archbishop in 1595 assumed the government and successfully defended himself against the hostility of the neighbouring Protestant princes, and developed an ardent zeal for restoration and reform.[2]

The discese of Augsburg, where the Jesuits of Dillingen had been working for many years, was given in 1598, in Heinrich von Knöringen, an alumnus of the Germanicum, a bishop who equalled his predecessor, Otto Truchsess, in his ecclesiastical zeal. A pious and humble man, of unstained character, he drew from the Exercises of St. Ignatius during a retreat of eight days the light and strength to fulfil the duties of his office.[3]

There was also a change for the better in the territories of the Empire. Even though the Pope and his nuncios often had reason to complain of the hostile influences at the Imperial court, and of the irresolution of the head of the Empire,[4]

[1] See *brief to Schweikart, September 20, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 313b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 268 *seq.* and the articles on Seckendorf in *Katholik*, 1914, II., 361 *seq.*, 443 *seq.* On July 15, 1592, Clement VIII. *asked the Duke of Bavaria to remind Seckendorf of his duty, and on November 21, 1592, he *exhorted the bishop and the chapter to make peace with each other. Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 438; t. 38, p. 129, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 38, p. 411; a *brief to Seckendorf of September 18, 1593, concerning the coadjutor and the episcopal office.

[3] *Cf.* besides STEINHUBER, I., 286, the detailed description by J. SPINDLER in *Jahrb. des Hist. Ver. Dillingen*, XXIV. (1911), and the monograph by SPINDLER, Freiburg, 1915.

[4] On August 15, 1596, Clement VIII. addressed an *exhortation to Wolfgang Rumpf "praes. consil. Caesaris" to be careful to exclude the heretics from the Imperial court (Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 339, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* in App. No. 22 the *brief to Rudolph II., May 20, 1595, Papal Secret Archives.

nevertheless from 1596 onwards Rudolph II. took more energetic action against the Protestants in his hereditary territories.[1] After the suppression of the rising of the peasants in Upper Austria, which was principally due to economic reasons, the practices of the Catholic religion were restored in the country districts, and later on in the cities, though at first only externally.[2] The Pope, who on May 17th, 1597, had urged the Emperor to remove the Protestants from public offices, addressed to him on February 13th, 1599, a brief of praise for his attitude towards the unbelievers at Linz.[3]

Of the greatest importance was the change which took place in the summer of 1599 at the Imperial court at Prague. The efforts of Speciani, the nuncio in that city, to remove the vice-chancellor Zelinsky, who was hostile to the Catholics, and for the rehabilitation of the Catholic Georg Lobkovic had failed, and after the death of Georg Martinic, Zelinsky had the Bohemian chancery in his own hands.[4] In view of this dangerous situation, Clement VIII. resolved, in the summer of 1597, to replace Speciani by Ferrante Farnese, Bishop of Parma.[5] It did not fall to the latter, however, but only to his successor, Filippo Spinelli, to succeed in giving another turn to the situation in Prague. Spinelli, who came from a noble Neapolitan family, united in himself the skill of a diplomatist, with the mastery of detail of a bureaucrat. He

[1] *Cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 503 *seq.*

[2] See CZERNY, Der zweite Bauernaufstand in Oberösterreich 1595-1597, Linz, 1890 ; *cf.* STIEVE, V., 311 *seq.* ; HUBER, IV., 297.

[3] See *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 196 *seq.* Cardinal Caetini was surprised in 1596, during his journey as legate to Poland, at the spread of Protestantism, especially in Linz ; *cf.* the *Diary of Mucantius, Vatican Library, mentioned in Vol XXIV. of this work, p. 112, n. 4. STEINHUBER, I., 456, n. 3 ; ZÖCHBAUER, Ein röm. Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1596, in *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Diözese Linz*, V., 75 *seq.*

[4] See STLOUKAL, Papežká Politika, 245 *seq.*

[5] See *brief to Rudolph II., June 20, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 159. The instructions for F. Farnese in Nunz. div., 239, p. 280 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

was on close terms of friendship with the all-powerful Pietro Aldobrandini, but was able as well to keep on good terms with Cinzio Aldobrandini, to whom the Imperial nunciature was subject.[1] Spinelli was quickly able to adapt himself to the life of Prague, which he reached on October 29th, 1598. He had already, on his way through Bohemia, worked zealously and successfully for Catholic restoration at Salzburg, Passau, Linz and Vienna. He succeeded in getting Franz von Dietrichstein, a man of strong ecclesiastical sentiments, appointed to the episcopal see of Olmütz.[2] But it was in Prague itself that Spinelli met with the greatest success. Within a few months he had succeeded in removing Zelinsky, and in having all the more important offices filled by Catholics. Zdenko Popel von Lobkovic was made chancellor. A further result of the remonstrances of Spinelli was the partial removal of non-Catholic Bohemians from the chancery of Bohemia, and the opening of the struggle against the Calvinists in Prague and against the Protestant pastors in the royal estates.[3] If the external impulse to these steps came from the Pope's representative, the reason for the progress of the Catholic cause lay deeper than that; as was the case in Styria and Bavaria, so in Bohemia as well the new generation trained according to strict Catholic ideas had assumed the reins of government, and now embarked upon the struggle for Catholic restoration with courage and energy.[4]

[1] See STLOUKAL, 88 *seq.*, 246.

[2] See *ibid.*, 103 *seq.*, 247.

[3] See J. F. NOVAK, Über die Bedeutung der Nuntiaturberichte für die böhm. Landtagsverhandlungen, extract from the *Mitteil. aus dem Landesarchiv des Königreichs Böhmen*, I., 2 (1906); STLOUKAL, 153 *seq.*, 247 (*cf.* 221 *seq.* the report of Spinelli to the Pope concerning his first successes, December 28, 1598). In a *brief of September 18, 1599, Clement VIII. praised the Emperor highly for having bestowed offices at the court upon Catholics. Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 367, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] This is well brought out by NOVAK (*loc. cit.*) who rightly rejects the reasons adduced by GINDELY (Rudolf II., Vol I., 67 *seq.*) and by HUBER (IV., 354, 447).

Nor must we pass over the value of the work which the Archbishop of Prague, Berka von Duba, had, with the support of Clement VIII.,[1] done since 1592, in setting bounds to Protestantism, in bringing back the Utraquists to the Church, and in restoring discipline among the secular and regular clergy. Soon after his appointment Rudolph II. had handed over to him the investiture of a hundred parishes belonging to him as King of Bohemia, of which Duba made conscientious use, conferring all the benefices which fell vacant on Catholics instead of on the Utraquists, who had hitherto been supreme there. Some Catholic landowners followed his example. Yielding to the insistent pressure of Spinelli, Rudolph II., on September 2nd, 1602, renewed and in many cases enforced the severe ordinance of King Wladislaw of the year 1508 against the Bohemian Brethren.[2] Since 1599 the archbishop had been given, in the right to censorize books, a powerful weapon for restoration. Some of the results attained were once more lost owing to the lack of priests, which was made even worse by the plague of the years 1599-1600. To this was added the opposition of the non-Catholic aristocracy. It would appear that all this discouraged Duba and the zeal which he had once shown by making the visitation in person in 1594,[3] needed a further stimulus. This he received from Rome. As discipline had become much relaxed in the archdiocese of Prague, in June, 1602, Clement VIII. ordered a searching visitation. Above all things he wished to see in the archdiocese of Prague the acceptance of the reform decrees of Trent, the establishment of a seminary for priests, and the convocation of a provincial synod. To the last named Duba could not be brought, but Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, who had gone to Prague as nuncio in April, 1604,

[1] *Brief of July 10, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 57, p. 10, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SKALA, Historie česká, I., 29; NOVAK, *loc. cit.*; STLOUKAL, 249 *seq.*

[3] See FRIND, Die Bischöfe von Prag, 193 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 153 *seq.*; GINDELY, Gesch. der Böhm. Brüder, II., 330 *seqq.* MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 14 *seq.*, 16, 19, 45, 84.

used all his influence for the holding of the synod and for the establishment of a seminary.[1] His efforts were still being continued when Clement VIII. died.

The most efficacious help in the work of Catholic restoration in Bohemia was given by the Jesuits, who in their churches in Prague preached not only in German, but also in Czech, and were especially active in the work of instruction. Their pupils, united in Marian sodalities, later on proved themselves, almost without exception, staunch upholders of the Catholic faith in public life.[2]

In Moravia too there was great progress to be recorded in Catholic restoration. The more important offices were conferred upon Catholics alone, and Protestantism was attacked in the royal cities.[3] A great impression was made by the return to the ancient Church of the wealthy chief justice of the district, Karl von Liechtenstein, which took place in 1599. The Pope himself sent his congratulations to the young nobleman,[4] who at once set to work on behalf of Catholic restoration in Moravia.[5] Karl's brothers, Maximilian

[1] See MEYER, 195, 234, 276, 280, 289, 295, 306, 310. *Cf.* NOVAK, *loc. cit.*, 4 *seq.*

[2] See J. S. SVOBODA, Katolická reformace a marianska Družina v. Královslói Ceském, Brünn, 1889. *Cf.* also KROSS, Gesch. der böhm. Provinz der Ges. Iesu, I. (1559-1619), Vienna, 1910.

[3] *Cf.* CHLUMECKY, K. v. Zierotin, I., 187 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 356 *seq.*

[4] See *briefs of September 7 and December 11, 1599. Original in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *letter of thanks to Karl von Liechtenstein to Clement VIII., November 1, 1599, in which he states: "In eodem [sc. gremio matris ecclesiae], omnes licet inferorum portae adversus me fremant, non modò vivam ego, aiutante Deo, constanter ac moriar, verum etiam ut alii, qui mihi vel sanguine vel amore coniuncti sunt, quique iurisdictione ac potestate quantulacunque mea tenentur, vivant, omnibus quibus unquam licuerit modis, quoad inter homines egero, studiose curabo." For Karl von Liechtenstein *cf.* FALKE, Gesch. des fürstl. Hauses Liechtenstein, Vienna, 1877, 127-242, spec. 130; STLOUKAL, 225.

[5] See the *brief of April 8, 1600, in DUDIK, II., 177.

and Gundakar, also returned to the Catholic Church.[1] The scion of another family belonging to the old nobility, Franz von Dietrichstein, who had once been a favourite disciple of Philip Neri in Rome, received the purple in 1599, and was made bishop of the diocese of Olmütz.[2] Dietrichstein became the soul of all Catholic undertakings in Moravia. It was due to his energy that the leader of the party of the Protestant States, Karl von Zierotin, who had attacked the provincial rights of Moravia, had to retire into private life in 1602. The influence exercised by Dietrichstein was shown by the fact that he induced even some of the Protestant nobles to contribute to the building of a house for the Jesuits at Brünn.[3]

In the Tyrol the Catholic reform inaugurated by the Archduke Ferdinand, and by the Prince-Bishops of Trent and Brixen made great progress during the pontificate of Clement VIII. When in 1600 Cardinal Madruzzo, who had laboured so zealously for the improvement of his clergy, died, he was succeeded by his nephew Carlo, who was equally zealous for the renewal of the secular and regular clergy, though in carrying out his reforms he paid more attention to

[1] See the *brief to Maximilian von Liechtenstein, January 22, 1600, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* FALKE, II., 245, 270 *seq.* The dissertation there mentioned, by Gundakar, in justification of his conversion, is not to be found in the Liechtenstein Archives, but there is there, among the papers left by Gundakar, a dissertation, *Motiva, for the Catholic religion, "cuiusdam praedicantis conversi ad fidem catholicam."

[2] STLOUKAL, 114 *seq.*, 116 *seq.* A list of the *documents in the family archives of Prince Dietrichstein at Nikolsburg, referring to Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, in *Archivalien z. neuen Gesch. Osterreichs*, I. (Vienna, 1907), 111 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* WOLNY, Kirchl. Topographie von Mähren, I., 88; GINDELY, I., 174 *seq.* HUBER, IV., 358; SCHMIDLIN, 177, n. 3, where are published the briefs addressed to Dietrichstein by Clement VIII. See also BRETHOLZ, Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Brünn, 1901. A defect of Dietrichstein, namely his desire to obtain as many possessions as he could, was known in Rome through the reports of the nuncios.

the Italian part of his diocese than to the German. It was a fortunate circumstance for Brixen, when Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who was too worldly, was succeeded in 1601 by Christopher Spaur, hitherto Bishop of Gurk, and a man who possessed all the qualities of a Catholic reformer; truly priestly sentiments, sincere piety and unwearied zeal. No less important was the fact that he had had at his side such staunch helpers as his coadjutor, Simon Feuerstein, his vicar-general, Otto Agricola and the canon, Johann Platzgumer. To these men, who had been educated by the Jesuits, he was able safely to entrust the general visitation which he caused to be made of the cities and country districts during the summer of 1602. The abuses which came to light on this occasion proved how necessary reform was. In 1603 Spaur crowned his work by holding a diocesan synod, to the decrees of which were due the fact that, in addition to the episcopal inspection which later on was made every second year, the reform decrees of Trent took deep root in the Tyrol, and that there was a consoling improvement among the clergy.[1]

In all these successes of the Church in Germany, Clement VIII. had a greater or less part; wherever he could he supported the zealous activities of his three nuncios.[2] Frequently, too, he intervened personally. If we peruse the registers of briefs of the Aldobrandini Pope, we are filled

[1] *Cf.* HIRN, Erzherzog Maximilian I., 261 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 76 *seq.* For Spaur see SINNACHER, VIII., 5 *seq.*, and the special work by FREISEISEN in *Brixener Priester-Konferenz-Blatt*, 1900. On July 30, 1604, Clement VIII. addressed to him a *brief of praise for the synod. Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 282b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The Papal legates as well, such as Cardinal Caetani on his journey to Poland in 1596, who were only passing through the Empire, took the opportunity to work for Catholic restoration; *cf.* the cypher *report of Cardinal Caetani to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, dated Vienna, May 29, 1596, for his negotiations with the Archduke Matthias, and his *report of the same date concerning his meeting with the old Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, Papal Secret Archives.

with wonder at the great number of letters addressed to Germany in connexion with purely ecclesiastical affairs. Distinguished converts were honoured with briefs of congratulation,[1] while not only the large cities, but also the smallest, and even the pious confraternities received Papal briefs of praise and encouragement, whenever they showed themselves loyal and sincere in the ancient faith.[2]

The struggle against Protestantism was as near to the Pope's heart as the reform of the Catholic clergy. In the first year of his pontificate Clement VIII. addressed urgent appeals to the Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence and Trêves to make visitations of their dioceses.[3] By his orders Cardinal Madruzzo renewed these exhortations at the Diet of 1594, and immediately after the closure of that assembly the nuncio Ottavio Frangipani received orders to bring pressure to bear upon the Elector of Mayence to make a searching visitation of his diocese. The salvation of Germany, Clement VIII. wrote at that time to the Archbishop of Mayence, when exhorting him to make this visitation, depends principally upon the reform of the clergy.[4] As his pontificate went on the Pope was never weary of insisting again and again upon the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in all the dioceses.

[1] For Liechtenstein see *supra*, p. 376. On May 26, 1601, a special *brief was sent to Baron Altan, who had been converted (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 188, Papal Secret Archives). See also in App. No. 31, the beautiful *brief to Duke Christian of Brunswick-Lüneburg, of September 4, 1599, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the *brief to the magistracy of Rottweil, dated June 23, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 363, Papal Secret Archives, and *ibid.* t. 56, p. 281, the *brief to the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament at Augsburg, dated July 30, 1604.

[3] See the *briefs of November 21, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 34, pp. 15-23b, and n. 10, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. supra*, p. 311, n. 2.

[4] *"Viri pii et prudentes existimant, et nos verum esse non dubitamus, Germaniae salutem potissimum pendere ex cleri emendatione." Brief of September 17, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

To this end he repeatedly called for the assistance of the secular princes.[1] The nuncios received orders to devote the greatest attention to the manner in which the bishops governed and to the filling of vacant sees.

The instructions sent on January 20th, 1604, to Stefano Ferreri, the successor of Filippo Spinelli as nuncio at the Imperial court, places this duty in the first place among all those that concerned the Empire. Ferreri, these state, must, whenever opportunity occurs, encourage the well intentioned bishops to defend the Catholic religion, and unite them more and more closely to the Holy See. If a diocese should become vacant the nuncio must urge the chapter to elect a fit successor of good Catholic sentiments, and bring pressure to bear on the Emperor to confer the regalia only upon those whom the Pope had confirmed.[2]

Very considerable, too, is the number of letters in which Clement VIII. promoted and upheld the important work of the Jesuits in Germany.[3] He also devoted much attention

[1] Thus Clement VIII. wrote on April 27, 1593, concerning the reform of the Cistercians of the Rhine provinces to the Dukes of Jülich-Cleves and Bavaria (Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 42, Papal Secret Archives); on January 11 and April 3, 1599, to the Emperor concerning the reform of the convents in Swabia (*ibid.* t. 43, nn. 45 and 208) and on April 13, 1602, concerning the concubinists, not only to the Archbishops of Cologne and Salzburg, the administrator of Passau and the Bishops of Augsburg and Ratisbon, but also to the Duke of Bavaria (*ibid.* t. 46, nn. 108-112 and 118).

[2] See MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 105.

[3] *Cf.* besides Bull., IX., 618 *seq.*, X., 151 *seq.*, and DUHR, I., 305, 376 *seq.*, 382, 395; II., 1, 260, 343, 345, 361, 384, 629, the documents enumerated in the *Synopsis*, *passim*, and the following *briefs, hitherto unknown: Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 285, Georgio Popelio (he must support the Jesuits with the Emperor), 1592, March 14; t. 37, p. 285, to the Archdukes Ernest and Matthias (praise for their protection of the Jesuits), May 2, 1592; t. 38, p. 74: "Ep. Paderborn" (praise for the gift of a house to the Jesuits), October 5, 1592: *ibid.* p. 96: "Archiep. Colon." (on behalf of the Jesuit College at Cologne), April 17, 1593; *ibid.* p. 375: "Henr. Ruischembergio" (on behalf of the college at

to the ancient Orders. In the summer of 1593 the excellent abbot Pietro Paolo de Benallis, of the Congregation of Monte Cassino, was sent as apostolic visitor of all the German Benedictine monasteries beyond the Alps.[1] He began his work in Bavaria, but the great project, so happily inaugurated by the Pope, of forming all the monasteries into a single Congregation, and incorporating them in the Cassinese Congregation, met with so many obstacles that it could not be carried into effect.[2] Just as he had sought to restore discipline in the religious houses of Bohemia, so did Clement VIII. devote his attention, as may be seen from the many briefs, to the reform of the Cistercians of Austria, the Rhenish provinces, Swabia and Bavaria.[3] The reform of

Aix), July 31, 1593; t. 39, p. 102: to the Archduke Ferdinand (concerning the admission of the Jesuits to Constance, February 12, 1594; *ibid.* p. 278: "Card. Austriae" (concerning the establishment of Jesuit colleges) September 9, 1594; t. 40, p. 43: "Archiep. Pragen," February 18, 1595; *ibid.* p. 187: to the Archduke Ferdinand (college in Laibach), June 23, 1595 (*cf.* p. 190); t. 44, n. 366: "Archiep. Colon," October 28, 1600, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* the *briefs addressed to the Archduke Ferdinand and many other German princes, June 29, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 265, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Studien aus dem Bened. Orden*, III., 2, 386 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, I., 500. The abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Weingarten, was honoured in 1595 by a *brief of praise of the discipline of his monastery. Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* the *briefs to the Archbishops of Cologne, Trêves and Mayence, and the nuncio at Cologne, April 27, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 41 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* p. 135: "Abbati Aulae Regiae, O Cist." February 18, 1594 (faculties to reform all the monasteries of his Order in Bohemia, Austria, etc. in accordance with the commands of his General); t. 42, 113b: "Abbati monasteri Salensis, O. Cist." June 6, 1598; t. 43, n. 268: to the Emperor, April 3, 1599. The *brief to Duke William V., January 7, 1604 (t. 56, p. 141b) is concerned with the visitation of the Bavarian Cistercians.

the Carmelites,[1] Franciscans and Poor Clares was also promoted by special enactments.[2]

It was a great satisfaction to the Pope that during his pontificate the Order of Capuchins, which he so greatly esteemed, set foot in Germany, and at once rendered great services there to the work of Catholic reform. The first impulse to the summoning of the Capuchins to Innsbruck was given by the pious Anna Caterina of Mantua, the second wife of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who had known the Capuchins in her own country. Her wish at first met with strong opposition in the General Chapter, held in Rome in June, 1593, because it was thought that the inclement climate of the northern Tyrol was incompatible with the rigour of the rule of the Order. It required the intervention of Clement VIII. to induce the Chapter to consent to the wish of the Archduchess. In September, 1593, the provincial of the Venetian province, Father Giovanni, with five Capuchins and a lay-brother, crossed the Brenner, and made their way to the capital of the Tyrol. The Archduchess provisionally assigned to them her small villa of Ruhelust, situated in the middle of the garden of the castle, and herself laid the first stone of the new convent of Saggen. On December 18th, 1594, the convent and church were ready to be blessed.[3]

The first house of the Capuchins on German soil beyond the Alps was composed entirely of Italians, but in spite of this they spread rapidly. The very rigour with which they carried on their ascetic life, fashioned under a far more clement sky, in the more severe northern climate, made a deep impression. Their simple and unassuming ways won the

[1] *Cf.* the *brief to Rudolph II., April 10, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 99, Papal Secret Archieves.

[2] See the *brief of April 18, 1603, to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the Archduke Maximilian, concerning the Franciscans at Innsbruck, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 92, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 45, in 286, to Bishop Spaur of Brixen, concerning the Poor Clares, July 28, 1601.

[3] See the work, based on the archives, by M. HETZENAUER. Das Kapuzinerkloster in Innsbruck, Innsbruck, 1893.

hearts both of the nobles and the poor, and as early as 1596 the first German novices put on the habit of St. Francis at Innsbruck.[1] In the same year Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau summoned the Capuchins to Salzburg.[2] At the beginning of the XVIIth century to the existing convents in the south of the Tyrol (Rovereto, Trent and Arco) there was added another at Borgo.[3] Thanks to Bishop Christopher Spaur the Capuchins went to Brixen in 1602: they had already begun to build a convent at Botzen in 1599.[4] The house of the Order at Innsbruck enjoyed in a special way the favour of the pious Archduke Maximilian, the successor of Ferdinand. He furnished their convent with a library, and later on himself built there a hermitage, in order that he might spend some time in the convent and devote himself to spiritual exercises.[5]

At the close of the century the Capuchins had also set foot in Bohemia.[6] Ever since 1575, Brus, then Archibishop of

[1] *Cf.* EBERL, Gesch. der bayr. Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz (1593-1902), Freiburg, 1902, 6 *seq.*, 14.

[2] See A. STEIDL, Gesch der Kapuziner in Erzbistum Salzburg, Salzburg, 1893.

[3] See HIRN, Erzherzog Maximilian I., 289.

[4] See HOHENEGGER, Gesch. der Tiroler Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz, I., Innsbruck, 1914, 16 *seq.*; EBERL, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.*

[5] See HIRN, *loc. cit.* 289 *seq.* For the hermitage of the Archduke, which is still in existence, see HETZENAUER, *loc. cit.* 38 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* for what follows FR. TISCHER, Uvendeni řádu Kapuzinů do Cech okolo r. 1600, in *Sitzungsber. der böhm. Ges. der Wissensch.*, 1907, Nr. 9, Prague, 1908. For Benedetto da Urbino, who went with P. Lorenzo to Germany, and was afterwards beatified, see the biography by EUSEBIO DA MONTE SANTO, Rome, 1867. *Cf.* also ROCCO DA CESENALE, I., 323 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*, and the important work of ED. DA ALENÇON: S. Laurentii Brundusini O. M. Cap. de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae commentarium autographum, Rome, 1910, 5 *seq.* For Lorenzo of Brindisi *cf.* also LOR. D'AOSTA, Vita di L. da Br., Rome, 1881; Sulla vita di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi dell'ordine dei Cappuccini. Omaggio dell Ordine nel solenne triduo della sua canonozzazione, Milan, 1882; F. DE AJOFRIN, L. da Br., Madrid, 1904.

Prague, had desired to have the Capuchins in his diocese, to assist the labours of the Jesuits, who had gone thither a short time before to improve the sad religious conditions. What had not then proved possible was accomplished by Berka von Duba, together with some influential nobles, and with the help of Clement VIII. In the autumn of 1599 twelve Capuchins met together in Venice; under the leadership of Lorenzo da Brindisi, who had distinguished himself as a preacher in many cities, and before the Pope himself, they passed through the Tyrol and came to Vienna. During their journey they were often exposed to affronts and insults, on account of their bare feet and the strangeness and novelty of their dress. They had to make a stay at Vienna, because an epidemic was raging in Bohemia, and some of them had become ill, not being accustomed to the climate. Six, at the request of the Archduke Matthias, remained in the Austrian capital to found a convent there, and only four of them, among them Lorenzo da Brindisi, set out for Bohemia, and reached Prague on November 13th, 1599. Their position in that city, which was so disturbed by the sectaries, was at first very difficult. Lorenzo was ill-treated in the streets, and only the intervention of the nuncio saved him from a worse fate. Even more serious for them was the fact that after a short time the good will which had first been shown for them by the Emperor was changed into the greatest dislike. The exile which was decreed against them was fortunately averted by the chancellor Lobkowic, and Rudolph, who was a lover of the arts, was placated by the gift of a picture of the Epiphany, which one of the Capuchins had painted. It was a favourable circumstance for them when Rudolph's Calvinist chamberlain, Machowski, was arrested for theft, and for having forged the signature of the Emperor. In November, 1603, it was possible to bless the church and convent of the Capuchins on the Hradschin, in the presence of the Archduke Matthias and a great crowd of people. The Capuchins established a confraternity of the Passion of Christ, which was later on confirmed by Paul V., and enriched with indulgences.[1] "Thanks be to God" the nuncio Serra reported

[1] See Bull. Capuc., IV., 177 *seq.*, 180.

at that time, "the number of the Catholics is increasing; besides the Jesuits and Klesl, the bishop-elect of Vienna, it is especially the Capuchins who reap a rich harvest."[1] Similar reports came from Vienna[2] and Graz. Lorenzo da Brindisi had also founded a convent in the capital of Styria, on his return journey in 1600.[3]

Like the houses at Prague, Vienna and Graz, to which one at Brünn was added in 1604, so also the convent which was founded in 1600 at Munich by the Archduke Maximilian became the centre of many offshoots of the Order.[4] In 1600 the Capuchins succeeded in getting a firm footing at Freiburg in Breisgau,[5] and in 1601 they went to Feldkirch and Augsburg,[6] in 1603 to Constance[7] and Ensisheim in Alsace.[8] In 1605 the Tyrol-Bavarian province was separated from that of Venice, and declared to be quite independent.[9]

In all these places the Order displayed a quiet and steady activity for the restoration of the moral and religious life. If the Jesuits were successful in winning to Catholicism, by their instructions, their sermons and their writings, for the most part the upper classes and the educated, the Capuchins, by their poverty and holy asceticism, and their activities

[1] See MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 51, 56, 70, 158.

[2] See *ibid.* 469.

[3] See Bull. Capuc., *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* EBERL, *loc. cit.*, 25 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

[5] According to the *Acta of the Communal Archives Freiburg i. Br. the negotiations for the summoning of the Capuchins had begun as early as the end of 1591, but it was only in the spring of 1600 that the matter was settled; see the original reply of P. Fabritius a Lugano, "provincialis patr. Capucin. prov. Helvetiae" dated "Friburgi Brisg. 1600, I. Kalend. Martii." In the archives of the city of Freiburg there are also to be found the acta concerning the building of the convent.

[6] See EBERL, 39 *seq.*

[7] See BOVERIUS, II., 975.

[8] See PAULUS in *Strassb. Diözesanblatt*, 1889, Archival, Beilage, Nr. 2, p. 32.

[9] See EBERL, 16.

which were specially adapted to the poorer classes, exercised a wide and similar influence upon the masses of the people. These religious were in great request, as the council of Freiburg wrote to Cardinal Andrew of Austria, because "in carrying out the sacred functions, in their sermons and visits to the sick, were not only zealous, diligent and helpful, but also gave both clergy and laity a living example and model of poverty and humility, and of contempt for all honours and pleasures."[1] "Truly moving, and reminiscent of the most beautiful days of the past," wrote Dr. Ludwig van Gennep in 1595 to a friend, "is the life and work of the Capuchins, whom I have known in Switzerland and the Tyrol. They are poor and humble, and filled with true charity towards their neighbour, as Jesus Christ, their model, was poor, humble and all charity. During their missions their confessionals are besieged, stolen property is given back, and conjugal peace restored."[2] Thus these convents, so humble in appearance, of the poorest of all the Orders, which, however, Clement VIII. encouraged with all his power,[3] became a source of great blessing.

The renewed efforts of the Pope during the second half of his pontificate to settle the succession to Rudolph II., were destined to be of use to the future of the Catholic Church in the Empire. In the autumn of 1598,[4] he interested himself in the marriage of the Emperor, and again in January of the following year, but without success.[5] There was no use in thinking any more of plans of this kind, since the state of mind of the unhappy sovereign was steadily becoming worse. The opposition to the choice of a successor, which Rudolph had shown even in the days of his good health, now increased, and took the form of blind outbursts of anger. On September 26th, 1600, the insistence of his ministers, Rumpf and

[1] *Letter of December 24, 1591, Communal Archives, Freiburg i. Br.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 220, 224.

[3] *Cf.* Bull. Capuc., *passim.*

[4] *Cf.* *letters of September 27, November 2 and 17, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See *letter of January 9, 1599, *ibid.* t. 43, n. 9.

Trautson, upon the question of the succession, drove him into such a state of fury that he dismissed them out of hand. There then commenced a period of valet-rule at the court of Prague.[1]

The dismissal of the two hitherto all-powerful ministers, which revealed to the whole world the illness of Rudolph, caused the greatest excitement in Rome, as everywhere else. Clement VIII., who received full reports from his nuncio at Prague of the grave neurasthenic state of the Emperor,[2] realized that a settlement of the question of the succession by the election of a King of the Romans was more than ever urgent in view of these changed circumstances. He would above all have been pleased by the choice of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, whom he personally knew and esteemed, and whose Catholic zeal was beyond all doubt. Next he thought of the Archduke Albert, who was also Catholic in his ideas. But he would also have accepted the choice of the Archduke Matthias, whose religious zeal and mental capacity were somewhat doubtful, for the sake of settling this important problem.[3] But fear lest his intervention should cause discord in the house of Hapsburg, which would complicate the matter even more, led the Pope to refrain from favouring any special candidate. He was under no illusion as to the difficulty which would be met with in inducing Rudolph to come to a decision, as the progress of his morbid sensitiveness had developed in him the fear of being dethroned. In November Clement VIII. had not yet come to a clear decision.[4] In December he was of the opinion that, no matter how much the Emperor might resist, they must nevertheless endeavour to obtain from him the election of a King of the Romans, and

[1] For the psycho-pathological state of Rudolph II. *cf.* GINDELY, I., 44 *seq.*, TURBA in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 354 *seq.*; MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, lxiii. *seq.*

[2] See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 355 n. 5.

[3] See STIEVE in *Abh. der Müchener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., XV., 91.

[4] *"Suo enim et opportuno tempore quid fieri cupiamus, planius ad te scribemus," says the brief to the Elector of Trêves, November 11, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 382, Papal Secret Archives.

that the best course would be to propose all the three brothers of Rudolph, together with the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria as candidates, leaving the choice to be made by the Electors themselves.[1]

One of these, the Elector of Cologne, had gone to Prague in May, 1601, at the invitation of Rudolph, but all his attempts to take the question of the succession a stage further were in vain. It was only after he had left the court that he received from the Emperor orders to interrogate on his way home the Electors of Mayence and Trêves as to the resumption of the negotiations of 1594. The result of this consultation, which the Elector Ernest then proceeded to hold, was a letter of November 23rd, 1601, addressed to the Emperor by the three ecclesiastical Electors, expressing their regret that the opportunity had not been seized in 1594 of settling the succession, but now refusing, on account of the suspicions which they would bring upon themselves from the Protestant States, to interfere in the matter. The initiative must come from the Emperor, who must decide whether he intended to deal with the matter in a Diet specially convoked for that purpose, or at the next Diet.[2]

Perhaps the autograph letter which Clement VIII. addressed to the Emperor, almost at the same time, on November 22nd, 1601, was connected with this step. In this he adjured him, for the good of Christendom, for the preservation of the Catholic faith in Germany, in the interest of his own house, and the safety of his hereditary states, to proceed to the choice of a prince of his own family as King of the Romans. Clement prudently added that, whoever the Emperor intended to choose, the Pope would interpose on his behalf with all his authority.[3] The particulars were to be dealt with by the royal and Imperial councillor, Doctor Bartholomew Pezzen,

[1] See the autograph *instructions of Clement VIII., December 1600, to the Spanish nuncio, from the register of instructions for Spain ; Borghese, IV., 162, in TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 348 n. 2.

[2] See STIEVE, *loc. cit.* 82 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswiss*, VI. (1891), 59.

[3] The text of the letter in STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 145 *seq.*

who was on his way back to Prague, and the nuncio Filippo Spinelli. But however delicately the Pope had expressed himself in making this suggestion, the Emperor received it very badly. Like the exhortations which came from Philip III., the Pope's letter only increased his suspicions, and confirmed him in his determination not to allow, at any cost, the authority which he was no longer thought capable of exercising, to be taken out of his hands. The Pope's representative, like the ambassador of Spain, although they insistently demanded it, could obtain no further audience at the court, and whoever approached the subject was certain to fall into complete disgrace.[1]

On December 29th, 1601, Clement VIII. had recourse to the Elector of Cologne, encouraging him to push forward the business.[2] On March 29th he wrote to the Elector of Trêves, expressing the hope that the Emperor would at last pay attention to the advice so often given him, and asking the Elector to support the efforts of the Holy See.[3] On June 15th, 1602, the Elector of Cologne received special praise for his insistence with Rudolph II.,[4] and when in August Ernest sent the Pope better news of the state of affairs, Clement VIII. was very pleased and exhorted him to continue his efforts, which were so important to the Holy See.[5] By the end of 1602, however, there was no longer any doubt that these joyful hopes were groundless. If the Emperor does not change his mind, Clement VIII. then wrote to the Elector of Cologne, the situation will become dangerous; unfortunately

[1] See GINDELY, Rodolfo II., Vol. I., 55.

[2] *Brief in Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 435, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 86, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *"Crescunt in dies merita tua . . . crescit et spes nostra . . . gloriosius facere nihil potes" (Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 176, Papal Secret Archives). The *letter of Ernest to the Pope, April 29, 1602, in Barb. 1992, Vatican Library.

[5] *"Tu ut soles, nullam opportunitatem praetermittas, ut ea in re bene de Ecclesia Dei et re christiana merearis." Brief of December 14, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 285, Papal Secret Archives.

Rudolph II. mistrusted the paternal sentiments of the head of the Church; therefore, as the Pope feared to make the situation worse by interfering, he begged Ernest to find out the ideas of the other Electors as to the course to be adopted; he himself would be ready to do anything; but, however desperate the situation seemed to be, they must not yet abandon hope.[1]

The Archduke Maximilian, during his stay at Prague in June and October, 1603, spoke to the Emperor with all the frankness that characterized him about the question of the succession, and tried to get him to make up his mind, either to marry at once, or at any rate to allow the election of a King of the Romans. But he was no more successful than the others.[2] At the beginning of August, 1603, the auditor of the nunciature, Sebastiano Lamberto Fornari, in whose hands the nuncio Spinelli had left the affairs of the nunciature when he returned to Italy, reported to Rome that they were making wagers in Prague as to whether the Emperor would marry or no, and that the question of the election of a King of the Romans was almost lost sight of.[3] The new nuncio, Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, thereafter adopted an attitude of waiting with regard to this delicate question. At the end of July, 1604, he was invited by San Clemente, the Spanish ambassador in Prague, to a conference, at which there were also present the representative of Ernest of Bavaria, the Elector of Cologne, and the Emperor's confessor, Johann Pistorius. All of them were agreed that it would be a catastrophe if the succession were not settled while the Emperor was still alive. San

[1] Brief of December 7, 1602 (Papal Secret Archives), text in App. No. 40 "Si conosce assai chiaro che per hora non intende venire all'elettione del re de' Romani," wrote the envoy of Lucca in his report of November 12, 1602, which gives an interesting account of the pathological state of Rudolph II. V. A. PELLEGRINI, Relazioni inedite di ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Vienna, Lucca, 1902, 20 *seq.*

[2] See HIRN in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 257.

[3] See MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 38.

Clemente maintained the opinion that the ecclesiastical Electors should take the initiative; one of the three should go to Saxony, and then in the name of the latter lay the case before Rudolph. The representative of Cologne agreed, but said that the Elector of Mayence was the suitable spokesman, though he expressed the fear that this would offend the Emperor very much, and that Rudolph would be no more disposed to discuss the question of the succession with the envoy of Saxony than with the others, and that therefore it would be better to wait until His Majesty acted of his own accord. San Clemente retorted that the Emperor was only playing with them. The envoy of Cologne remarked that the Electors ought to have some pretext for their action, as for example an order from the more important princes of Germany. Pistorius advised that the brothers of the Emperor should intervene at the same time, but that the princes should be urged to do so by the Pope; among the Electors the Elector of Cologne was the one best fitted to take the lead, but he must not act on his own account, but only in virtue of a common decision. San Clemente associated himself with this point of view. It was only then that Ferreri, who had so far listened in silence, gave his opinion. He declared that no other subject was causing the Pope so much anxiety as the question of the succession, since upon it depended the decision whether Germany was to remain united to the Catholic Church or to be lost. His Holiness had already frequently made remonstrances, both directly and indirectly, but always without result, and that though he knew no fear of any man, he would nevertheless be little disposed to issue briefs to the more important bishops and the princes of the Empire, and thus run the risk of forfeiting the confidence of the Emperor, of whom he had need in this matter, no less than in the question of the Low Countries and other matters as well. In spite of this the nuncio would not fail to report this discussion to the Pope. All of them then declared that it would be enough if the Pope would write to six bishops, to the brothers of the Emperor, and to the Duke of Bavaria; these could then exhort the Electors, without in any way revealing the

initiative of the Pope, but making a pretext of the danger threatening the religion of the Empire.[1]

In reply to this communication Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini wrote that as the matter was so full of difficulties, he would like to discuss it in detail; Clement VIII. decided to adopt the proposal. On October 9th, 1604, briefs were sent from Frascati to the Archbishop of Salzburg, the bishops of Augsburg, Würzburg, Eichstät, Spires and Strasbourg, urging them to co-operate in inducing the Emperor at last to make a declaration as to the election of a King of the Romans. On January 22nd, 1605, the Pope wrote to the Elector of Cologne that the election of a King of the Romans was causing him great anxiety; everything must be done to persuade the Emperor to this step. Disturbances were threatening on the part of the Protestants, and therefore the Pope asked the Elector to go as soon as possible to Prague, and not to rest until the Emperor had consented to everything.[2]

On February 5th, 1605, a further brief was sent to the Elector of Cologne, in which the Pope again said that he considered nothing so urgent as the election of a King of the Romans; although the Elector had already carried the matter further than could have been hoped, it was now a case of not allowing the Emperor to escape them before the purpose was attained.[3] Soon after this Clement VIII. died.

Just as had been the case with the question of the succession, so also, during the last days of his life, the Pope was filled with grave anxiety at the news which he received from the nuncio at Prague concerning the dangerous claims to religious liberty being made by the Hungarian rebels. It seemed very probable, from various signs, that the Emperor would give way; Rudolph's malady was steadily getting worse. In spite of all his efforts the nuncio Ferreri was unable to obtain an audience, while on the other hand he learned from a

[1] See the report of Ferreri to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, August 2, 1604, in MEYER, 188 *seq.*

[2] See MEYER, 234, 287.

[3] See *ibid.*, 303.

reliable source at the beginning of 1605 that the Emperor had abandoned the Catholic faith, and had expressed himself in favour of Protestantism.[1]

The effect of this was that such alarm seized upon the authorities in Rome that even the obvious successes of the Catholic cause were not appreciated at their true value. This was clearly shown by the sceptical attitude with which the end of the struggle for the diocese of Strasbourg was received by Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[2] It cannot be denied that some of the conditions of the arrangement come to in November, 1604, were hard for the Catholics, but their principal object had nevertheless been attained, namely the definite defeat of the attempt of the Protestants to obtain possession of so important a diocese.[3]

Another encouraging success was the election of Jakob Fugger, a man of extraordinary capacity, as Prince-Bishop of Constance. "Nothing will be nearer to my heart," Jakob Fugger stated in the petition which he sent to the Pope on January 30th, 1604, asking for his confirmation, "than the renewal of the diocese, which is, as it were, suffocated by the wrath of the heretics, and by debts."[4] Fugger kept his word. He was assisted by his coadjutor, Jakob Mirgel, an alumnus of the Germanicum, who became the saviour of the diocese from both the religious and the civil points of view.[5] This

[1] *Cf. ibid.* 241, 247, 250, 265 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*, 314.

[2] See letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, February 12, 1605, *ibid.*, 309.

[3] By the treaty of Hagenau, November 22, 1604, the Protestant administrator, having been appeased with a sum of money, renounced the bishopric; the Protestant canons, it is true, retained the fraternity-house and the canons' houses for fifteen years, but had to give up the other rights of the chapter to the Catholic canons. Thus was won the first great victory on the Upper Rhine; see SCHMIDLIN, 408, n. 1.

[4] See *ibid.* 377 n. 4.

[5] *Cf.* the excellent monograph by HOLL: Fürstbischof J. Fugger von Konstans u. die kath. Reform der Diözese die Erzbischöfe des 17 Jahrh., Freiburg, 1898.

was a matter of an importance that could not be overestimated, since not only a great part of Swabia, all the Breisgau and almost the whole of Wurtemberg, but also the greater part of German Switzerland belonged to the diocese of Constance.

As was the case with Switzerland, so the Spanish Netherlands, though separated from the German Empire, were in close relations with it. It was of decisive importance for the state of religion when Philip II., after the short viceroyalty of the Archduke Ernest (1593 to February 20, 1595)[1] appointed the Archduke Albert, who was also a loyal Catholic, to succeed him as lieutenant of the Spanish Low Countries.

As was the case with so many sons of princes in those days, so in that of Albert it had been external considerations rather than any interior inclination which had led him at the age of seventeen to assume the ecclesiastical dress. As early as May, 1577, he received the purple.[2] In 1579 the Cardinal Archduke received the subdiaconate, without proceeding to the higher orders. Circumstances then drove him to quite another career, with his appointment as lieutenant of Portugal,

[1] For the Catholic sentiments of the Archduke Ernest *cf.* DUHR, I., 703 *seq.* for his munificence to pious and charitable works see COREMANS, L'Archiduc Ernest, Brussels, 1847. In a *brief of September 10, 1593, Clement VIII. wrote to the Archduke Ernest: "We have just learned that the King has entrusted the Governorship to you. We hope to see an end of the long and serious disturbance of the country, in view of your ability and your relations with the King; we commend to you the faithful especially the poor and down-trodden; we also desire you to purge the army from the crimes, which have provoked the anger of God: "rapinis, caedibus, stupris" with which they afflict even their friends. You must have confidence in God, and remember His goodness, so as to abhor all that is opposed to it. You must also restrain the abuses of the soldiery from the property of the neighbouring churches and the priests. God forbids all plunder on the part of the soldiery." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 399, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See TURBA in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 326 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 223.

which took place in February, 1583. After he had worked there for ten years, he returned in the autumn of 1593 to the Spanish court, in order to relieve the sickly king from the burden of government. The king would gladly have given him the archdiocese of Toledo, which had an annual revenue of a quarter of a million, but this was opposed by Cardinal Quiroga, who held it. When at last in August, 1594, Quiroga accepted Albert as his coadjutor, his succession seemed assured. After the death of Quiroga, which took place soon afterwards, Albert was able, with the Pope's consent to take possession of the archdiocese on April 3rd, 1595, but his consecration did not take place as Philip II. decided to entrust to him the lieutenancy of the Low Countries, and also because the King of Spain from that time cherished the idea of giving his favourite daughter Isabella in marriage to Albert, and of giving her the Low Countries as her dowry.[1]

The ideas with which the Archduke Albert intended to discharge his new office was shown by his going to visit, even before his entry into Brussels (February 11th, 1596) the celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Hal. As the Low Countries were at war with Henry IV. and Maurice of Orange, Clement VIII. allowed the Archduke, although he was a cleric, to take his place armed at the head of the Spanish troops.[2] Albert was more successful in diplomatic undertakings than in military ones, and on May 2nd, 1598, peace was concluded with France at Vervins, with the co-operation of the Pope.[3] This was made easier by the fact that Philip II., in order to save the Low Countries intact for the house of Austria and the Catholic Church, had at last resolved to cede them to an Archduke of the German line. On May 6th, 1598, the deed was drawn up by which he gave his daughter Isabella as wife to Albert, and assigned the Low Countries to her by way of dowry as an hereditary principality. This document, however, and still more a secret treaty, contained important

[1] See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 329 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 331.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 212.

restrictions ensuring their union with Spain. Albert and Isabella were to bind themselves by oath to the maintenance of the Catholic religion and the suppression of Protestantism.[1] Clement VIII. gave the necessary dispensation for Albert to abandon the ecclesiastical state, and the Archduke went once more to the sanctuary at Hal, in order to lay his cardinalitial robes upon the altar of Our Lady, on July 13th, 1598.[2]

Philip II., who died on September 13th, 1598, did not live to see the marriage of his daughter. Even before the news of his death arrived, Albert had temporarily entrusted the government of the Low Countries to Cardinal Andrew of Austria, and had set out to celebrate his marriage with Isabella. The Pope himself was to bless the union. This took place on November 15th, 1598, at Ferrara, where Albert was represented by the Duke of Sessa.[3] The marriage took place at Valencia in April, 1599.[4] On September 5th, Albert and Isabella, who were enthusiastically acclaimed by the majority of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, made their entry into Brussels.[5]

Clement VIII., just as he had associated himself with the journey of the rulers of the Low Countries by his blessing,[6] continued to take an active part in their future destiny.[7]

[1] See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 367 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 300 *seq.*

[2] See DE MONTPLEINCHAMP, Hist. de l'archiduc Albert, éd. Robaulx de Soumay, 158; M. DE VILLERMONT, L'infante, Isabelle, I., 142 *seq.*; Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 149, 152 *seq.*, 154.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 402 *seq.*

[4] See GACHARD, Lettres de PHILIPPE II. à ses filles, 49 *seq.*

[5] See PIRENNE, IV., 309 *seq.* *Cf.* TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 374.

[6] *Cf.* the *briefs to Albert and Isabella, July 11, 1599, in which he expresses his sorrow that they had not come to Rome. Arm. 44, t. 43, nn. 326-327. Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Cf.* the *briefs of consolation which Clement VIII. addressed to Albert and Isabella for the unfortunate result of the war, first on July 26, 1600 (Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 207, 208, Papal Secret Archives), and again on December 7, 1602 (*ibid.* t. 46, nn. 331, 332).

The importance which the Holy See attached to the Low Countries was shown by the formation of a new nunciature at Brussels in 1595. Since September, 1594, a special nuncio had been sent to the Archduke Ernest,[1] and after his departure the nuncio at Cologne, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, resumed once more, as before, the care of affairs in the Low Countries. But the state of affairs in Germany called for so much of his attention that he was unable to devote the necessary care to the Low Countries. Clement VIII. therefore took the opportunity of the acceptance of the government by the Archduke Albert, to give orders to Frangipani on April 20th, 1596, to take up his residence for the future with the new governor at Brussels.[2] Thus the nunciature of Flanders came into being. This was an important step in the road to Catholic reform which was being followed by the Papal policy.[3] The nunciature had its natural complement in the establishment of an embassy of the government of Archduke in Rome. Hitherto there had only been a diplomatic agent there in the person of Laurus Dubliul, but on May 15th, 1600, Jean Richardot was appointed Belgian resident at the court of Rome.[4] When this distinguished man became Bishop of

[1] *Cf.* the excellent article by R. MAERE: Les origines de la Nonciature de Flandre, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII. (1906), 815, 828 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 823. V. BRANT has published in the periodical *Museon*, X. (1891), 99 *seq.* the brief to Albert about Frangipani; see also Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 385 *seq.*

[3] See MAERE *loc. cit.* 824. *Cf.* DENS-MAERE, L'organisation de la Nonciat. de Flandre, in *Annuaire de l'Univ. de Louvain*, 1898, 10 *seq.*; CAUCHIE-MAERE, Instructions aux Nonces des Pays-Bas, Louvain, 1904; the introduction and supplement to this dissertation in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, V. (1904), 17 *seq.* *Cf.* also the summary given by GOEMANS of the contents of the first ten volumes of the Nunziat. di Fiandra in the Papal Secret Archives, in the *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant*, 1906.

[4] See GOEMANS, Het Belgische Gezantschap te Rome onder de regeering der aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella, in the

Arras in 1603, his place was taken by Don Pedro de Toledo, who held the office of ambassador from April, 1603, to May, 1605.[1]

Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, who took up his new position at Brussels in the middle of September, 1596, was given no new instructions, since during his administration of the nunciature of Cologne, he had acquired a detailed knowledge of its requirements. The first letters which he received from the Cardinal Secretary of State urged him to further the conclusion of peace with France, the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its liberties, and above all the reform of the clergy.[2] The programme for this had already been laid down by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Now that a royal couple who were animated by strict Catholic views had assumed the reins of government, it seemed that the time had come to carry into effect the work of Catholic restoration and reform which had already been inaugurated in the Spanish

Bijdragen (preceding note) VI. (1907), 3 *seqq.*, 8, 10, 78, VII. (1908), 255 *seqq.*, 260 *seq.*, VIII. (1909), 89 *seqq.* *Cf.* DUFLOT, J. Richardot, Arras, 1898; J. BRANTS, J. Richardot: Note sur les origines de la légation des Pays-Bas à Rome et la nonciat. du St. Siège à Bruxelles, Louvain, 1891; the same, J. Richardot, évêque d'Arras, archévêque de Cambray (died 1614). Notes et documents, Louvain, 1902; L. VAN DER ESSEN, Les archiducs Albert et Isabelle et les origines de la légation belge auprès du Vatican, in the *Rev. latine*, V. (1922), 41 *seqq.*

[1] See *Bijdragen* (*supra* p. 397,, n. 3), VII. (1908), 350 *seqq.*

[2] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, Receuil des Instructions, xxvii, xxxviii. 3 *seq.* The correspondence of Frangipani (*cf.* GACHARD in the *Bulletin de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, IV., 1, 298; PIOT, Un registre aux corresp. de Frangipani, *ibid.* V., 3, 7 *seq*; CAUCHIE Rapport sur la corresp. d'O. M. Frangipani, cons. à la Bibl. nat. de Naples, Brussels, 1908) is to be published by the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome. So far we have the ist. vol. (Corresp. de Frangipani, I.) in excellent collaboration with L. van der Essen (Rome, 1924). See also PIOT, Un receuil des lettres adr. à F. Nipho, secrét. de la Nonciat. de Flandre, 1602 *seq.* in the *Comptes rendus de la Commiss. Roy d'hist.*, V., 19 (1897).

Low Countries. In this matter valuable assistance was given, not only by the government, but also by most of the bishops and by the Jesuits.

The task was a difficult one, as the storms of the religious schism had produced horrible abuses. The war with France, too, had lasted until May, 1598, and later on the war with the apostate northern provinces. It is possible to form some idea of the prevailing devastation if we remember that, out of the hundred and thirty churches in the diocese of Bruges, only thirty were in a good state of repair in 1600, while nothing but the crumbling walls remained of the others, which had been sacked and abandoned.[1] Fortunately the moral damage was less than the material, and the majority of the people had remained loyal to Catholicism.[2]

Thanks to the united efforts of the Pope and the government at Brussels, the Catholic Church in the Low Countries was to rise from its ruins in a surprisingly short time, and become more powerful than it had ever been in the past.[3] Clement VIII., after he had succeeded in bringing about peace between France and Spain, set himself to put an end to the war with the provinces which had separated themselves from Spain. In this matter he counted above all upon the help of the Emperor Rudolph II. On June 20th, 1603, he wrote to him saying that restoration of peace in the Low Countries was in the interests of the Catholic religion, as much as in those of the house of Austria; the Pope would do his best, but the Emperor must also bring all his authority to bear for the same purpose, and that only then could Spain co-operate in the Turkish war. Unfortunately all these efforts were in vain.[4]

Another obstacle to reform was the attitude of the Spanish

[1] See *Analectes p. servir à l'hist. ecclés.*, III., 272.

[2] *Cf.* report of Frangipani, October 12, 1596, in his Corresp., I., 228 *seq.*

[3] See PIRENNE, IV., 486.

[4] *Cf.* MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte 28, 33, 41, 47, 53, 87, 116, 168, 190, 254.

officials, who had been trained in cesaropapistical ideas, and especially of the violent Count Fuentes. The latter, who was a relative of Alba, opposed the Archbishop of Cambrai, Louis de Berlaymont, in the exercise of his ecclesiastical and civil authority, in such a way that that prince of the Church had to appeal to the intervention of the Holy See.[1] Although the Pope repeatedly had recourse to Cardinal Andrew of Austria and the Archduke Albert,[2] he was unable to obtain the restoration of their civil jurisdiction to the archbishop and his chapter.[3] In other ways, however, the government did all in its power to oppose Protestantism and to support the religious revival.

The bishops, too, displayed a praiseworthy zeal.[4] There worked in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform, Matthias Hovius at Malines (1596-1620),[5] Levinius Torrentius (died 1596), and Johann Miraeus[6] the brother of the historian,

[1] See CAUCHIE, Mission aux arch, Vatic. (1892), 46 *seq.*; Corresp. de Frangipani, I., liv. *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 386 *seq.*, 390 *seq.* 394 *seq.*, 400 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*, 410 *seq.*

[2] Besides the brief of June 29, 1596, cited by CAUCHIE-MAERE, Receuil, 5 n. 2, there also belong here the *letters of Clement VIII. to Cardinal Andrew of Austria of April 22 and September 9, 1597, and the *briefs to the Archduchess Isabella of February 15, 1602, and to the Archduke Albert of April 26, 1602, containing renewed exhortations, and in which allusion is made to certain courteous expressions of the Archduke. Arm. 44, t. 46, nn. 12 and 128, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, Receuil, 6 n.

[4] See A. PASTURE in *Annuaire de l'Univ, de Louvain*, 1908, 341 *seq.*; Corresp. de Frangipani, I., liii.

[5] See Gallia christ., V., 12.

[6] See *ibid.*, V., 131. The "Relatio status eccl. Antwerrp;" in the Archives of the Council, Rome, sent by L. Torrentius on April 29, 1591, to Rome, was printed in *Anal. per servir à l'hist. ecclés. de Belgique*, XV. (1878), 369 *seq.* For the reports "ad limina" of the bishops of the Spanish Low Countries in the time of Clement VIII. see *Bulletin de la Commiss. Roy d'hist.*, LXXXIII. (1920), 334 *seq.*

Aubert Miraeus[1] (1604-1611) at Antwerp, Charles Philippe Rodoan (1604-1616) at Bruges;[2] Jean Davé (1594-1595), Jacques Blasé (1596-1600), and François Busseret (1602-1615) at Namur;[3] Jean Vendeville (1588-1592) and Michel d'Esne (1596-1614) at Tournai;[4] Matthieu Moulard at Arras;[5] Heinrich Cuyck, under very difficult conditions, at Roermond;[6] and Gilbert Masius, the friend and follower of St. Francis of Sales (1594-1614) at Bois le Duc.[7] If the bishops found themselves in difficulties, the Pope did not fail to animate their courage.[8] At Liège Clement VIII. insisted upon measures of reform,[9] and in 1600 was able to express to the Bishop of Namur his satisfaction at the way in which the decrees of the Council of Trent were being observed in his diocese, and at the fact that ecclesiastical affairs

[1] Aubert Miraeus was first secretary to his uncle Jean, and afterwards court preacher to the Archduke Albert; *cf.* RIDDER, Aubert le Mire (1573-1640), sa vie et ses écrits, Brussels, 1863.

[2] See Gallia christ., V., 250.

[3] See *ibid.* III., 543 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.* 242 *seq.* and Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 122.

[5] See Gallia christ., III., 350.

[6] Cuyck is the author of the "Speculum concubinariorum sacerdotum, monachorum ac clericorum," Cologne, 1599, the *briefs to "quatuor fratr. comit. Vadenberghae," of the year 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 65, Papal Secret Archives, makes mention of converts to whom he had given shelter.

[7] See Gallia christ., V., 399 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 525.

[8] *Cf.* the *briefs to the Bishop of Roermond, H. Cuyck, December 24, 1604 (Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 385b, Papal Secret Archives) and the Archbishop of Malines, Matthias Hovius, of December 30, 1603 (*ibid.* t. 47, n. 78).

[9] See CHAPEAVILLE, III., 616. *Cf.* EHSES in *Festschrift del Campo Santo*, (1897), 268 n. 1. As early as 1592 Clement VIII, wrote to the Council of Liège, praising their zeal in suppressing the attempts of the innovators, and announcing the mission of the nuncio of Cologne. (*Brevia t. 36, n. 291, Papal Secret Archives). In 1592 a seminary was established at Liège; *cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 429, where we also find particulars of the religious policy of Ernest of Bavaria.

were well managed and that there were no longer any Protestants.[1]

Equally valuable work was at the same time being done in the Spanish Low Countries by the Society of Jesus.[2] Their colleges increased in the most encouraging way. Thus, a college was established in 1591 at Valenciennes, in 1592 at Lille, in 1594 in Luxemburg, in 1598 at Mons, in 1600 at Arras and Saint-Winnoc-Bergues, and in 1604 at Brussels.[3] The number of the members, which was 420 in 1595, had risen to 496 by the end of the century, to 568 in 1604, and to 600 in 1605.[4] Colleges sprang up at Louvain, Tournai, Saint Omer (with a seminary for English priests), Douai, Liège, Maastricht, Ypres, Antwerp, Bruges, Courtrai, Ghent, Valenciennes, Lille, Mons, Saint-Winnoc-Bergues, Arras, Cambrai, Luxemburg and Brussels; to these must be added the mission in Holland and the spiritual work among the soldiers. The number of military chaplains of the Society rose to 24; in 1600 there were 12. These were attached to the college at Brussels. Some of these fathers died as victims to their duty,[5] and Clement VIII. praised in a special brief the zeal shown by the Jesuits in this work.[6] Besides the Jesuits, the Capuchins as well obtained a footing in the Low Countries during the last ten years of the XVIth century.[7] Clement VIII. also furthered

[1] *Brief to J. Blasé, March 3, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 88, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf. Litt. ann. Soc. Jesu*, 1592, 95 *seq.*; 1593, 217 *seq.*; 1594-95, 291 *seq.*; 1596, 350 *seq.*; 1597, 264 *seq.*; 1600, 507 *seq.*; 1601, 707 *seq.*; 1602, 677 *seq.*; 1603, 581 *seq.*; 1604, 670 *seq.*; 1605, 834 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* IUVENCIUS, Hist. Soc. Jesu, Pars V., tom. post., passim; PIRENNE, IV., 501. For Luxemburg see DUHR, I., 418 *seq.*; for Ghent see *Messag. des sciences hist.*, 1888, 216 *seq.*

[4] See besides PIRENNE, IV., 501, who makes use of the archives at Brussels, also *Litt. ann.*, 1604, 670 *seq.*; 1605, 834.

[5] See PONCELET, Jésuites en Belgique, 28 *seq.* *Cf.* Ç. SMET, La Belgique cath., III., 188.

[6] See the *brief to "Petrus Burzelinus S. I." March 27, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, II., 474, 957 *seq.*; Chapeaville, III., 621.

the introduction of the strict reform of the Recollects among the Franciscans.[1] Both the Jesuits and the other Orders found a support in all their needs in the Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella. These two gave the people the most splendid example by their disinterested piety and their purity of life; their castles and palaces were filled with so Catholic a spirit, that, as Bentivoglio said, men might have felt that they were in a convent rather than at court.[2]

[1] See Bull., X., 301 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* I. ALBERDINGK THYM, Isabella Clara Eugenia, in his *Verspriede Verhalen*, I., Amsterdam, 1879, 119 *seq.*; BRANTS, Albert et Isabelle, Louvain, 1910; M. DE VILLERMONT, L'infante Isabelle, 2 vols., Paris, 1912; F. CALLAEY, Albert et Isabelle, in the *Bullet. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge*, III. (1924), 13 *seq.* While this work was in the press, there appeared: A. PASTURE, La restauration relig. aux Pays-Bas cath. sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596-1633), Louvain, 1925. See also A. PASTURE, La réforme des chapitres séculiers pendant le règne des archiducs (1596-1633), in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Hist. Belge de Rome*, V. (Rome, 1925), 5 *seq.*; *ibid.*, III. (Rome, 1924), 31 *seq.*; F. CALLAEY, Albert et Isabelle, Souverains de Belgique.

CHAPTER IX.

Catholic Restoration in Switzerland—The work of Francis of Sales.

In the time of Sixtus V. the nuncio Ottavio Paravicini had rendered great services in promoting the work of Catholic restoration in the Confederated States of Switzerland.[1] After his recall Gregory XIV. had appointed the Bishop of Cassano, Owen Lewis, as his successor on June 20th, 1591.[2] But the disputes over the arrears of pay of the Swiss commanders employed in France had prevented Lewis from taking possession of his office,[3] and the renewed negotiations begun by Clement VIII. led to no result. In consequence of this the Swiss nunciature remained vacant. When Lewis died in October, 1595, the former agreement was restored, and on November 13th, 1595, Clement VIII. informed the seven Cantons of the appointment of Count Giovanni Della Torre, Bishop of Veglia, as nuncio to Switzerland.[4]

In his instructions Della Torre was warned to prevent the interference of the civil authorities with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to reform the clergy, though he was ordered to proceed with great caution. The instructions praised the labours of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Switzerland, and entered in great detail into the condition of the Benedictine

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 137 *seqq.*

[2] See Biaudet, Nonciatures, 169.

[3] See Mayer, I., 328.

[4] See *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 78 *seq.* The *obedientia* of the Swiss Catholics, which had been postponed on account of the dispute about the pay (*cf. Hist.-pol. Bl.*, clxvi., 109), took place on December 23, 1593; see *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 621. *Cf.* the brief in *Archiv f. schweiz Reformationsgesch.*, II., 76.

abbeys in that country. At Einsiedeln good discipline prevailed; at St. Gall the strict abbot must be supported; at Muri steps must be taken for the appointment of a new abbot; Wettingen and St. Urban must be reformed. As a general measure the Benedictines were urged to make their studies at Dillingen. At Chur Della Torre was ordered to complete the reforms begun there a short time before by the nuncio in Germany, Porzia.[1]

Owing to the profound discontent that prevailed on account of the deferred pay, the nuncio was only able to make slow progress, but by his prudent behaviour he overcame all obstacles. After having at first stayed for a time at Stans, in 1596 he was once more able to take up his residence at Lucerne,[2] and in course of time gained the confidence and affection of the confederate authorities to such a degree that they later on repeatedly urged the Pope to elevate him to the cardinalate.[3]

The reforming activities of Della Torre were very far-reaching. By frequent visitations of the convents and parishes of the various Cantons and communal territories he obtained personal knowledge of the religious requirements, and carried out reforms where necessary. The reform of the diocese of Chur occupied his attention for a long time, but when he returned to Lucerne towards the end of 1599, he could say that he had substantially fulfilled that task.[4]

In Switzerland Clement VIII. supported by his advice, encouragement and praise, the work of restoration which the excellent Bishop of Basle, Christopher Blarer, had set before

[1] See *Instructions to the Bishop of Veglia, 1595, Barb. LVI., 53, p. 31 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and Inform. polit. X., State Library, Berlin. *Cf.* MAYER, I., 330 *seq.*; the brief of March 4, 1595, concerning the mission of Porzia, in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 77.

[2] See MAYER, I., 334 *seq.*

[3] See *Abschiede*, V., 1, 708, 721; *cf.* 920, 937.

[4] See MAYER, I., 339 *seq.*

himself in his diocese,[1] as his life's work.[2] Della Torre was indefatigable, and his work of visitation extended as far as Vintschgau and Alsace.[3] His successor, Ladislaus d'Aquino, even thought that he had been too zealous in performing and supplying the duties that pertained to the bishops.[4]

The intervention of Della Torre among the Swiss Benedictines was followed by the happiest results. Since in the case of most of the abbeys monastic discipline and order had already been introduced, he as well as others of his contemporaries, among whom was Abbot Augustine of Einsiedeln, thought that the moment was opportune for the formation of a Congregation which would assure the work of reform for the future. In July, 1602, the Abbots of Einsiedeln, St. Gall, Muri and Fischingen united in forming the Swiss Congregation, while Clement VIII. and the nuncio zealously laboured to spread this congregation. In accordance with the orders which he had received from Rome, Della Torre also revived

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 141. See also Büchi's edition of the work by KLEINERT, Der Bieler Tauschhandel, 1594-1608 (Zurich, 1914), in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1914. Büchi rightly points out, as against Kleinert, that Blarer did nothing else in his efforts for restoration, than the Protestant Cantons had long done in their own favour. Prof. Schmidlin is preparing a monograph upon the labours of Blarer on behalf of the Catholic restoration in Alsace.

[2] See the briefs published in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 74 *seq.*, and in *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 444 *seq.* *Cf. Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 274 *seq.* A similar *brief of praise as that to the Bishop of Lausanne (*Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 455) was sent on June 15, 1602, to the Bishops of Constance, Chur and Basle, Arm. 44, t. 46, nn. 178-180, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* t. 47, nn. 128 and 129, the *briefs to Freiburg and the Bishop of Lausanne, May 16, 1603. For Einsiedeln see RINGHOLZ, Einsiedeln, 42, 348. Clement VIII. to Chysat, see SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 2, 300.

[3] See MAYER, I., 342 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 28, 147, 160.

[4] *Ibid.* II., 325.

the Benedictine Congregation of Swabia.[1] The Cistercian monastery of Wettingen was reformed in 1594 by the young and energetic Peter II., who had been elected abbot. This distinguished man also insisted upon the convents of women which were subject to him observing religious discipline, and especially the enclosure. At the same time Prior Johann Eckstein reformed the Carthusian house at Ittingen in Thurgau.[2]

In his letters Della Torre often praised the labours of the Jesuits,[3] who had flourishing colleges at Lucerne, Freiburg, Porrentruy, and, after 1603, also at Constance. On December 21st, 1597, Peter Canisius died at the college of Freiburg, worn out with age and sickness ; among the religious who had devoted all their energies to the preservation and restoration of the Catholic faith in Germany, there had been none who equalled him, and friends and foes alike have long since been at one in saying that the title of the second Apostle of Germany belongs to him, while by his residence of seventeen years in Switzerland he had also become the apostle of that country.[4]

A few months before Canisius, his faithful friend, Peter Schnewlin, the Provost of Freiburg, had died in the service of the plague-stricken ; among the many fellow-labourers of

[1] *Ibid.* I., 345, II., 162 *seqq.* The *brief, hardly mentioned here, in which Clement VIII. praised his plan of forming a congregation, August 9, 1602, is in Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 237, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See MAYER, II., 174 *seq.*, 180. For the reform of the Abbey of St. Gall see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XII. (1918), 43 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* MAYER, II., 201. For the college of Lucerne *cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 141. L. VAUTREY, Hist. du Collège de Porrentruy, P., 1866, wrote the history of the Jesuit college founded at Pruntrut in 1599. In 1601 Clement VIII. granted to the Jesuits the right to visit the convents of women at Lucerne ; see *Jahrb. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XI., 173 *seq.*

[4] See BRAUNSBERGER, Canisius, 267 *seq.*, 297 *seq.* *Cf. Anal. Boll.*, XIII. (1894), 379 *seq.* ; METZLER, P. Canisius, M. Gladbach, 1925.

Canisius at Freiburg, Schnewlin was the most important. As the organizer of the whole system of scholastic instruction, as an indefatigable preacher, as vicar-general of the exiled Bishop of Lausanne, and as apostolic visitor, he had rendered the most signal services to his native land.[1]

The ecclesiastical life which had thus been restored in Catholic Switzerland had its effect also upon those adherents of the Catholic Church who were living in the midst of those of another faith, and from all parts we are told how henceforward they showed a greater firmness and a more lively interest in their religion.[2] In Appenzell the religious differences led to the division of the Canton into the Catholic Innerrhoden and the Protestant Ausserrhoden.[3] The number of those who returned to the Church in Switzerland, even though it was not as great as the nuncios had expected, was nevertheless considerable. This was especially the case in the Toggenburg, and at Klingnau in the Aargau, which was subject to the Abbot of St. Gall. In Rheinau Protestantism was almost exterminated.[4]

An important share of these successes was due to the Capuchins, who enjoyed a popularity in Switzerland which was only equalled by that which they had in Italy. To the seven already existing convents in their Swiss province, there were added during the pontificate of Clement VIII. those of Frauenfeld, Zug, Bergzabern (all three in 1595), Rheinfelden (in 1596), Freiburg im Breisgau (in 1601), Rapperswyl (in 1602), Constance and Ensisheim (both in 1603).[5] The nuncio

[1] See BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 279 *seq.*, 297. For Schnewlin and his treatise on Church and State see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXV., 244.

[2] See MAYER, II., 275.

[3] See DÄNDLIKER II³., 664 *seq.* That the Capuchin, Fra Ludwig of Saxony, did not aim at a division of the Canton see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 260, n. 1. J. WILLI, Die Reformation im Lande Appenzell, Leipzig, 1924.

[4] See MAYER, II., 279 *seq.* The brief of Clement VIII. to Basle in *Quellen z. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 448 *seq.*, shows how he made the most of every opportunity of converting the apostates.

[5] See Chronica prov. Helvet. Capucinorum, Soleure, 1884, 34 *seq.*

Della Torre had already reported to Rome in 1596 that the Capuchins were the best and most successful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, for which reason he would support and encourage them in every possible way.[1] Besides Della Torre, the Catholic Cantons defended the Capuchins against the unjust accusations and attacks made upon them, especially by the inhabitants of Zurich.[2]

In the Valais too, the Capuchins did much work for the preservation of the faith. From the middle of the XVIth century onwards the religious innovations had made great progress among the ruling classes, under the strong protection of Berne, and among a section of the very decadent clergy, and had above all become wide-spread at Sion and Sierre.[3] The position of the Catholics became worse owing to the weakness of the Bishop of Sion, Hildebrand I. von Riedmatten (1565-1604) who, in 1592, was urged by Clement VIII. to fulfil his pastoral duties.[4] Although resistance to Protestantism was a matter of life and death to the bishopric, Hildebrand I., in his kindness, could not bring himself to a determined protection of the Catholics. The Catholic Cantons repeatedly urged him to show greater vigilance, but in vain. The enactments against the Protestants which were made in 1592 remained on paper, and the necessary reform of the clergy was not carried into effect.[5]

The Protestants of the Valais were greatly assisted by French policy, which saw in their territory, so important for the command of the Alpine passes, a means of separating Savoy from Spanish Milan. A further danger for the Catholic cause arose with the negotiations which were begun in 1597 for an alliance between the Canton of Valais with the federal free-state of the Three Leagues of the Grisons, the majority of which belonged to the reformed religion. Whereas the

[1] See MAYER, II., 226.

[2] See Chronica prov. Helvet. Capucinorum, 30 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the excellent dissertation by GRÜTER in *Geschichtsfreund* (*Mittiel. des Hist.-Ver. der fünf Orte*), LII., Stans, 1897, 30 *seq.*

[4] See *Quellen z. schweizer. Gesch.*, XXI., 444 *seq.*

[5] See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.* 32 *seq.*

good-natured Bishop of Sion, deceived by the Protestants who surrounded him, saw no harm in this, the Catholic Cantons realized the danger, and did not fail to set him on his guard.[1] In May, 1600, they reminded him in insistent terms of their ancient friendship with the Valais, and of the alliance which they had entered into in 1529 with the bishop and canton of Valais for the defence of the ancient faith.[2] But all the remonstrances of the "oldest and most worthy confederates" of Valais were ignored by him, and on August 5th, 1600, they held out their hands to the Rhaetians for a permanent alliance. A further turn for the worse was brought about in the autumn of 1602 by the alliance formed between Berne and the Rhaetian confederation.[3] The Catholic Cantons now feared lest they should be surrounded and crushed; the nuncio Della Torre shared their anxiety, and said, as early as April, 1602, that these schemes had no other object than the suppression of the two bishoprics of Sion and Chur, and the utter destruction of the Catholic religion.[4]

Rightly realizing that the decline of the Catholic cause in the Valais could only be repaired by a radical reform of the clergy, the Catholic Cantons, as early as May, 1600, had addressed urgent remonstrances to the Bishop of Sion on account of his weakness in face of the excesses of the demoralized clergy and of the Protestant propaganda. They urgently advised the summoning of the Capuchins and Jesuits in order to introduce a better state of affairs.[5] From these remonstrances, as well as from other sources of information it is clear what progress had been made in the Valais by the decline of religion. The population had only remained loyally Catholic in the four upper districts (Zehnden); in the rest the old religion only survived in name, and public apostacy could only be a matter of time. In the Lower Valais many priests had married and no longer exercised their

[1] See *ibid.* 43 *seq.*
[2] See *Abschiede*, V., 1, 534.
[3] See GRÜTER, 56 *seq.*, 64.
[4] See *Abschiede*, V., 1, 532.
[5] See *ibid.* V., 1, 537 *seq.*

functions. In this their extreme necessity Clement VIII. sent them help. In the summer of 1602, by his orders two Capuchins from Savoy, Sebastiano da Moriana and Agostino d'Asti, presented themselves "once again to inculcate among the people interest in and love for the ancient faith."[1]

Fra Agostino d'Asti, known as Pelletta, has narrated in a detailed report[2] how he and his companions succeeded, in a marvellously short time, in penetrating into the valley of the Lower Rhone, in the commune (Landvogtei) of Monthey, and in restoring Catholic life, especially by a zealous campaign of preaching. The two Capuchins also made their way to St. Maurice, which had become almost entirely Calvinist, where they met with an affectionate welcome from Abbot Adrian von Riedmatten, the nephew of the Bishop of Sion, and from the head of the commune, Anton Quartery. By a fortunate coincidence, there arrived at the same time in St. Maurice the envoys of the seven Cantons, charged to receive at Sion the renewal of the oath of alliance of the Valesians. In their company the missionaries were able to penetrate into Sion. After the envoys had completed their primary task, they made a fresh attempt to induce the Catholics of the Valais to carry out ecclesiastical reforms; they again recommended the establishment of a Capuchin convent, to which the Holy See had already consented; but their advice was ignored.[3]

The Capuchins returned to St. Maurice with the envoys and continued their apostolic labours there; the success that they met with decided them to extend their work yet further. But since in the five upper districts (Zehnden), and to some

[1] *Cf.* GRÜTER, 65 *seq.*, 69. See also ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., 307 *seq.*

[2] Sincera relatione degli esserciti fatti da frati Cappuccini etc. da frate Agostino d'Asti, in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, III., 179 *seq.*, from the original in the Royal Library, Turin. Besides this report, composed in 1615, *cf.* Chronica prov. Helvet. Capuc. and the *Relatio fusior de missione Valesiana 1603-1631, Cod. C. Z. 2 in the Archives of the Capuchins of the Valais at Lucerne.

[3] See GRÜTER, 70 *seq.*

extent in Sierre and Sion as well, only German was spoken, they had to turn to Switzerland for assistance. The zeal of Fra Pelletta was so great that, in spite of the bad season, he at once crossed the Furka to Lucerne, where he laid his request before the nuncio Della Torre. Through the intervention of the latter, the chapter of the Capuchins of Baden resolved to send two German missionaries to the Upper Valais; two other fathers also came from Savoy. These at once began their missionary labours, the latter in French and the former in German; every day they preached two sermons and gave two catechetical instructions. The number of those who attended was surprising; many who were ignorant were instructed in the faith, the lukewarm were converted, and many apostates were reconciled.[1]

The successes of the Capuchins did not find their adversaries inactive. A preacher was summoned from Geneva to Sion, and advice came from Berne to drive out the Capuchins, "those impious gentry." They were successful in Sion, where the Capuchin Cherubino was threatened with death, so that the weak bishop and canons were so alarmed that, together with the civil authorities, they ordered the Capuchins to depart from the city "for the sake of peace." The banished friars again withdrew to St. Maurice, where they had a support in the abbot.[2]

But if their adversaries thought that they had attained their end, they were very much mistaken; the Catholic part of the Valais plucked up courage; the upper Zehnden adopted a threatening attitude, while the Catholic Cantons, going over the heads of the aristocratic officials of the Valais, who were for the most part Protestant in their sympathies, "appealed to the religious enthusiasm of the people" by means of a grand embassy.[3] The envoys, immediately upon their arrival in Münster, the capital of the Upper Valais, on

[1] See the report of Agostino d'Asti in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, III., 198 *seq.*; GRÜTER, 73; BOVERIUS, II., 661 *seq.*, 713 *seq.*

[2] See GRÜTER, 73.

[3] See REINHARDT, Korrespondenz Casati, xxxi.

August 10th, 1603, after the Sunday mass, explained to the people the object of their coming, namely, the restoration of unity of faith. They met with an enthusiastic reception. Those present, about six hundred in number, swore to sacrifice their lives and their property for the maintenance of their faith. In confirmation of their oath they had to pass one by one beneath a lance pointed against them; this they all did, because if any of them had refused, as one of the reports states, they would have been torn to pieces by the people. During the journey of the envoys through the seven Zehnden, similar scenes were repeated everywhere.[1]

The way in which this determined intervention of the seven Cantons, supported as it was by Clement VIII.,[2] strengthened the Catholic conscience of the people, was proved by the decrees passed in December, 1603, by the district of Goms for the maintenance of the Catholic faith.[3] In consequence of these, at the end of March, 1604, at an extraordinary Diet, convoked by the Abbot of St. Maurice, who had been appointed for the time being vicar-general in Sion, decisions of far-reaching importance were come to. Anyone who did not intend to profess "the faith of his ancestors," it was decreed, must leave the country within two months; no Protestant must hold public office; attendance at Protestant schools was forbidden, and all heretical books were to be confiscated.[4]

In spite of this the carrying into effect of Catholic restoration met with great difficulties. It was only to attain to victory when, on December 16th, 1604, the Abbot of St. Maurice, Adrian von Riedmatten, was elected Bishop of Sion in succession to the feeble Hildebrand; with the help of the Jesuits he reformed the clergy and won over the youth to the ancient faith.

There was a man who in many ways was closely connected

[1] See GRÜTER, 82 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the brief of October 25, 1603, in *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 457 *seq.*

[3] See GRÜTER, 103 *seq.*

[4] See *Abschiede*, V., 1, 686 *seq.*; GRÜTER, 107 *seq.*

with Romansch Switzerland, and was one of the most distinguished representatives of Catholic restoration; this was Francis of Sales.[1]

Francis of Sales is the antitype of Charles Borromeo, and, so to speak, his inevitable complement; together, they display before our eyes the most beautiful aspect of the Catholic renewal.[2] In Borromeo there stands out before all things the legislator who, on the groundwork of the Council of Trent, reorganized ecclesiastical discipline, and fixed it down to its smallest details. Francis, as a bishop, is the shepherd of souls; by his episcopal consecration, according to his own conception, he no longer belonged to himself, but solely to his flock. Thus he gave himself entire to all, to the Catholic as well as to the Protestant, to the noble as well as to the husbandman, to the man of education as well as to the ignorant, to the adult as well as to the child. In his countless sermons, in his catechetical instructions to the children, in the confessional, by his letters and by his literary works, he devoted himself entirely to the welfare of others; he cared nothing if this involved him in exhausting fatigue and privations, to insults and to the danger of death. Men well qualified to speak have said of him that in no one was the likeness of Christ so well displayed as in this man.

[1] Oeuvres de s. FRANÇOIS DE SALES évêque de Genève et docteur de l'Eglise, édition complete, Geneva, 1892 *seqq.*, so far 23 volumes (vols. 11 *seqq.* contain the letters). Biographies by HAMON, added to by Gonthier and Letourneau (Paris, 1909, fuller German edition by J. C. Lager, 1903), Franc. Pérennès (Paris, 1864), Amedée de Margerie (Paris, 1899); also L. MACAIRE, Déposition de la Mère Angélique Arnauld sur les vertus de s. Franc. de Sales, in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, XI. (1906), 174; FORTUNAT STROWSKI, Introduction à l' hist. du sentiment relig. en France: S. Franç. de Sales, Paris, 1898; the same, La pensée chrétienne, Textes et Études. S. Franç. de Sales, Paris, 1908. Franz von Sales, Weg zu Gott (with biographical introduction) by O. KARRER, Munich, 1922; P. BONNEVAL, St. François de Sales, Avignon, 1925.

[2] For the high opinion of the Cardinal of Milan held by Francis of Sales *cf.* DEGERT in *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, Toulouse, 1912, 153.

Francis of Sales was by nature a contemplative, and in a far higher degree than Borromeo; the true delight of his heart was to immerse himself in the doctrines of the faith, and by study and contemplation ever to raise higher his mind and heart. But he set aside this inclination whenever it was a case of serving others; it seemed as though his deep knowledge of the supernatural truths was especially directed to explaining and defending them before others, to bringing them within the comprehension of the doubting, to rendering their beauty dear to believers, but above all to encouraging their application to a Christian life, and thus to leading souls to the love of God. This was closely allied to the fact that the ordinances of Borromeo were intended primarily for the clergy, whom he wished to reform and raise up, while Francis turned by preference to those Christians who are in the ordinary paths of the world. The Cardinal of Milan, with his juridical methods, may at times give the impression of a severity which almost terrifies,[1] and later on the Jansenists made appeal to his example in defence of their rigidity. In the case of Francis, on the other hand, his outstanding characteristic is his gentleness and unalterable kindness. It is true that by nature he was vivacious, ardent and inclined to anger, and in his later years, when his gentleness still had to pass through a severe ordeal, he confessed that his anger had boiled up within him like water placed upon the fire.[2] But even in his youth he had already devoted many years to the taming of this natural tendency,[3] and from the time when he entered upon his episcopal duties there never fell from his lips a single irritable word against his dependents.[4] Everyone

[1] Francis himself said of him: Borromeo, according to his natural disposition, which he was able to transform and subdue, was a character of iron severity: "C' estoit l' esprit le plus exact, roide et austère qu' il est possible d' imaginer . . . l' homme le plus rigoureux de cet aage." To Chantal, October 14, 1604, Lettres, II., 365 *seq.*

[2] HAMON, II., 507.

[3] *Ibid.* I., 51.

[4] *Ibid.* II., 507.

who conversed with him at once felt that they were not face to face with a gentleness which sprang from weakness, but with a quality that came from his strength, and this conviction filled men with veneration for him, and ensured his influence over others.[1]

Francis, who was born in 1567 or 1566 in the Castle of Sales at Thorens in Savoy,[2] came of a family of ancient lineage. Throughout his life, he was never able to conceal the traits of his gentle birth, nor of the elegant humanistic education which he had received, first in his own country, and afterwards in the French capital, at the college of the Jesuits. The spirit of the Catholic religious revival had inspired him, so to speak, from his infancy. Geneva was very near his birthplace, so that from the first the boy's interest had been aroused by the religious disputes of the time, and very soon no Protestant who visited his father's castle was safe from his childish attempts to convert him.[3] Francis himself persuaded his father to send him to the Jesuit college at Paris,[4] and as a zealous member of the Marian Congregation in the French capital, and as a future student of jurisprudence at Padua under the spiritual direction of Possevino, he became fully acquainted with the ideas of Loyola.[5] By his father's wish he devoted himself to jurisprudence, who destined his eldest son for a career of high public office. But his own inclinations turned towards theology, and to this he devoted three hours

[1] *Ibid.* 507 *seq.*; H. B. MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, CXXII. (1898), 103.

[2] For the year of his birth see HAMON, I., 9; MACKEY, Oeuvres, I., xxxiii. For Thorens, Annecy, Chablais, Paris, etc., in the time of St. Francis of Sales *cf.* MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, 3rd. ser., XXII. (1899), 1-34; BURNOD, Souvenirs de s. Franç. de Sales à Annecy, new edition by J. F. Gonthier, Annecy (1897). For the earliest sources for his life see FR. PÉRENNÈS, Hist. de s. Franç. de Sales, I., Paris, 1864, xi *seq.*

[3] HAMON, I., 17.

[4] *Ibid.* I., 35.

[5] "Aux jésuites appartient l'honneur principal de sa formation," says Mackey (Oeuvres, I., xxxix).

a day while in Paris, and four at Padua.[1] After his return home the young doctor of law held for less than a year the post of advocate to the senate of Savoy.[2] So as to make his father more favourably inclined to his adoption of an ecclesiastical career, Francis obtained the Papal appointment as Provost of the cathedral chapter at Geneva, the highest dignity after that of the bishop, and on June 13th, 1593, Francis was ordained priest.[3] An episode that occurred during his years of study was of decisive importance for his theological future. The burning question of the day, the mystery of predestination to eternal beatitude, attacked him with all its terrible significance, and for six weeks he was unable to free himself from the thought that one day he would be numbered among the damned.[4] Throughout his life he remained always opposed to certain rigid views on this subject. That in spite of all his piety he never fell a victim to those prejudices which shield themselves behind an appearance of religion, was shown during a dangerous illness which attacked the young student, for whereas there was in general a passionate dislike of anatomy, which was then beginning to obtain a footing, Francis, on the contrary, ordered that in the event of his death his body should be given to the doctors for their researches.[5]

After his return to his native land the new Provost soon found an opportunity of putting his influence at the service of Catholic reform, and the return of the Chablais to the ancient faith was substantially his work.[6] When in 1536

[1] HAMON, 48, 70.

[2] MUGNIER, S. Franç de Sales docteur en droit, sénateur, sa correspondance inédite avec les frères Claude et Philippe de Quoek; Chambéry, 1886.

[3] HAMON, 100-114.

[4] *Ibid.*, 52 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 86.

[6] *Ibid.* 150-349; Report of the Archbishop of Tarantaise, Giov. Franc. Berlieri, November 12, 1603, in BOVERIUS, II., 619 *seqq.*; ANDRÉ PÉRATÉ, La mission de Franç. de Sales dans le Chablais. Documents, in *Mélanges d' archeol. et d' hist.*, VI., 1886, 333-415 (*cf.* Oeuvres, XI., xx).

Savoy was conquered by Francis I. of France, Berne, without the sacrifice of a single man, obtained possession of the Vaud (Waadtlandes), the province of Gex, and of the Chablais as far as the Drance.[1] Into the districts thus seized Calvinism was violently introduced, and during two generations had had time to take root. At the Peace of Câteau-Cambresis in 1559, Duke Emanuel Philibert, the true victor of the decisive battle near Saint-Quentin, recovered from France his own territories, while Berne, as a result of the treaty of Lausanne in 1564, gave up part of her stolen territory, with the condition, however, that no change was to be made in its religion. It was only after further incursions by the Bernese during the Franco-Savoyard war in 1589 that this condition lost its force; the treaty of Nyon on October 11th, 1589, only allowed Calvinism to be practised in three places in the Chablais. A fresh attack by the Bernese followed, and after the armistice of 1593, Savoy only retained in the Chablais the provinces of Thonon and the Ternier; Gex and Gaillard remained for the time being in the hands of Berne.[2]

The Bishop of Geneva, Claude Granier, who had taken up his usual residence at Annecy, immediately after the treaty of Nyon sent about fifty priests to the Chablais. Many of the inhabitants, more out of fear than from conviction, then returned to the ancient faith, but once again abandoned it after the further invasion by the Bernese.[3] After the armistice Granier again called upon his priests to make a further attempt. Francis did not require to be asked twice, and on September 16th, 1594, he set out, accompanied by his cousin Canon Louis of Sales, upon the difficult enterprise.[4]

This was during the violent period of the Huguenot wars,

[1] DIERAUER, III., 236 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 316 *seq.*; HAMON, I., 152 *seqq.*; FR. DE SALES, Lettres, I., 225 n.

[3] HAMON, I., 154; Francis to the nuncio, February 19, 1596, Lettres, I., 185.

[4] HAMON, I., 156 *seq.*, 161, 168; GONTHIER, La mission de s. Franç. de Sales en Chablais, Annecy, 1891 (also in Oeuvres hist., I., 1901, by GONTHIER).

and to penetrate into the Chablais, which was almost entirely Protestant, meant that the Catholic missionary had openly to risk his life. Francis' father, who sought with tears and prayers to keep his son back, foresaw this,[1] and soon learned secretly from Roland, Francis' companion and servant, that he was justified in his forebodings. He raised fresh objections, but this time Francis appealed to his honour as a gentleman. "If Roland had been your son" he wrote to his father,[2] "instead of your servant, he would not have been guilty of the cowardice of making such a fuss about so small a matter." The attempts were renewed on several occasions,[3] but in spite of everything the young Provost boldly made his way to Geneva, held a disputation according to the Pope's orders with Theodore Beza, and even secretly administered the sacraments;[4] later on he confessed that the hope of being able to lay down his life for the faith had given him the courage to do this.[5] Out of prudence, however, he did not pass the nights outside the Castle of Allinges.[6]

The want of result of his labours was far more irksome to the courageous missionary than any threats. He naturally made a beginning with the Catholics, but of these there were only 14 or 15 in Thonon, the principal place in the Chablais, and only about 100 in the whole province.[7] A prohibition against assisting at Catholic sermons was at once issued to the Calvinists.[8] After six months of laborious work Francis wrote[9] that the Protestants with a few exceptions, were his

[1] HAMON, I., 157 *seq.*, 172.

[2] In the middle of March, 1595, Lettres, I., 117.

[3] HAMON, I., 177 *seq.*, 187, 200, 204; Bishop Granier to the Pope in 1598, *ibid.*, 352.

[4] HAMON, I., 239 *seqq.*, 245 *seqq.*, 258 *seq.* For Beza: Francis to Clement VIII., Lettres, I., 268; *cf.* brief of October 1, 1596, *ibid.* 453.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 369.

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 168. *Cf.* Les châteaux et la chapelle des Allinges, in Oeuvres hist. I., by GONTHIER.

[7] HAMON, I., 167, 168.

[8] Francis to Granier, October 1594, Lettres, I., 94 (*cf.* 91).

[9] To Possevino, at the beginning of April, 1595, *ibid.*, 120 *seq.*

hearers, but only under the windows of the church or at the church doors; if he tried to talk to them outside the church, they replied that for the time being there was but an armistice, and that if the definite conclusion of the peace once again assigned the country to Berne, the converts would find themselves in a dangerous plight. In the villages they refused to sell food to the missionaries, or to give them shelter for the night.[1] At times Francis, after the example of his cousin Louis, even thought of abandoning the mission, which was apparently hopeless.[2]

At last, however, his perseverance brought him success. Since his spoken words could not reach the Protestants, he caused written explanations of Catholic doctrine to be copied and set up in the public squares, nor was he mistaken in his hope that curiosity would lead men to read these manifestos.[3] An even more efficacious sermon, however, than any words, was to be found in his heroic self-denial, and the self-sacrifice with which this cultured and highly educated gentleman went on foot every day, in summer and in winter, through their country in order to deliver his discourses, sometimes three or four in the day, in the smallest villages.[4] The Protestant preachers, too, lost much of their prestige with the people when they refused his invitation to defend their cause in a public disputation, or were unable to reply to him except by insults.[5] The return of a distinguished lawyer to Catholicism made a great impression.[6] The ice was broken during 1596, the opposition lasting longest at Thonon. Francis was taking a real risk when, in February, 1595, he took up his residence there at the house of a relative;[7] the erection of an

[1] HAMON, I., 176 *seq.*, 178.

[2] *Ibid.*, 193, 199.

[3] *Ibid.*, 179 *seqq.* These leaflets were afterwards collected and printed among the works of Francis (*Controverses*, in Oeuvres, I., *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, cvii *seqq.*).

[4] HAMON, I., 170, 177, 213.

[5] *Ibid.*, 214, 233.

[6] April, 1595, *ibid.*, 187 *seqq.*, 192.

[7] *Ibid.*, 185.

altar in the church of St. Hippolytus in order that he might be able to say mass there at Christmas, 1595, led, in spite of the duke's permission, almost to acts of violence.[1] On the other hand, in the following February, some of the citizens returned to Catholicism, while four or five of the communes in the district asked for a Catholic priest.[2] In December of the same year Francis was able to write of 80 converts who had been received into the Church in two or three weeks.[3] Little by little there set in a mass movement towards Catholicism. In September, 1597, it was possible to celebrate the Forty Hours with great solemnity at Annemasse, for the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and a great crowd came from all parts to assist at this devotion.[4] In October, 1598, on the occasion of this devotion at Thonon, at which the duke and the nuncio at Turin were present, a hundred Protestants were received into the Church.[5]

A perhaps even more striking manifestation occurred at the inauguration of an institute which Francis had suggested in order to consolidate the restored Catholic life. Hitherto the young men, in order to learn a trade or to devote themselves to studies, had gone for the most part to Geneva or to Protestant institutions. To meet this difficulty a house was to be established at Thonon, the so-called Sainte Maison, which was to be at the same time a college under the direction of the Jesuits and a technical school, and to afford the converts who were for the moment left unprovided for, a temporary asylum.[6] For the solemn inauguration in 1602, Clement VIII.

[1] *Ibid.*, 234 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 213.

[3] To the nuncio, December 12, 1596, Lettres, I., 219 *seq.*

[4] HAMON, I., 273 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 323, 327. [Le quaranta hore di Tonon] "colle dotte prediche del Sr Prevosto di Sales et Padre Cherubino hanno tanto operato che una infinità d' anime si sono per gratia di Iddio rimesse al grembo di s. Chiesa." Granier to the nuncio Riccardi, October 12, 1598, in PÉRATÉ, 380 *seq.*

[6] HAMON, I., 428 *seqq.*; bull of Clement VIII. of September 13, 1599, Bull. Rom., X., 488, BOVERIUS, II., 958 *seqq.*; the ducal edict of July 31, 1601, BOVERIUS, II., 965 *seqq.*

extended the Jubilee of the Holy Year of 1600 to Thonon, an act that was hailed with enthusiasm. More than 300,000 pilgrims flocked to the city, and more than 100 confessors and 16 preachers were summoned to serve their needs; more than 300 Protestants were received into the Church.[1] Before this, Gribaldi, then Archbishop of Vienne, had reported in Rome in 1599[2] that of the population of the country district 12,000 persons had returned to the Church, ten twelfths of the whole population, and that in Thonon, out of 2000 inhabitants there had been 500 Easter communions.

This extraordinary change had been substantially entirely the work of the Provost of the chapter of Geneva, though of course he had been assisted by other priests; thus, from November, 1597, onwards he had had the help of the zealous Capuchin, Cherubino of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne,[3] and from 1599 onwards of the Jesuits, who established a mission station at Thonon in that year.[4] But all these came when the principal difficulties had already been surmounted, and when Francis had asked for fellow-labourers.[5] Of greater importance than the work of these temporary missioners was the pastoral care exercised by the permanent parish priests. But Francis had his difficulties in obtaining these as well, as the

[1] HAMON, I., 435 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, II., 560.

[2] Addition to the letter of September 26, 1599, in PÉRATÉ, 397 *seqq.* The Capuchin Cherubino wrote on October 13, 1598, to the nuncio: "il vescovo Granier non fa altro et li suoi tutto il giorno che dar assolutione della heresia." *Ibid.*, 385.

[3] Lettres, I., 98 n. From January, 1597, onwards Cherubino worked at Annemasse (*ibid.*, 98 n., 236 n.), which according to Pérennès had remained Catholic. In the district of Ternier, Baron de Viry had remained a Catholic. Bishop Granier, in 1594, sent thither a Dominican and a Jesuit, who preached with great success (*ibid.*, 150 *seq.*). During the Forty Hours at Annemasse in 1597 there arrived a procession of 6000-7000 pilgrims, among them 700 converts (HAMON, I., 280).

[4] FOUQUERAY, II., 558 *seq.*

[5] Francis to the nuncio Riccardi, May 6, in September, 1596, February 21, March 2 and 25, 1597, Lettres, I., 196 *seq.*, 203, 236 *seq.*, 239, 260, *etc.*

Church property, after the cession of the territory to Berne, had been temporarily made over to the military Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, which in its turn made difficulties about restoring it. As soon as the duke had asked Francis for a report on religious conditions in the Chablais,[1] he never ceased to press his cause by petitions to the duke[2] and the nuncio.[3] For this purpose he made a special journey to Turin, where he stated before the ducal council that eight missionaries were required, as well as fifteen or sixteen parish priests for fifty-two parishes in the Chablais and nineteen in Ternier, and further suggested the establishment of a Jesuit college at Thonon, as well as an institute which should provide work for the converts who had lost their employment.[4]

So long as the final peace with Berne was not concluded, the duke had encouraged missionary work in the Chablais,[5] but afterwards he had taken but little interest in it, while his officials showed a similar indifference. Francis had to provide for his own support by means of money which his mother sent to him.[6] This state of affairs had a very favourable result for the missionaries, and the change in favour of the ancient Church was effected without recourse to any force.[7]

[1] HAMON, I., 210.

[2] On December 29, 1595, Lettres, I., 168 (*cf.* 251, 279, 319).

[3] Letters of November 14 and 29, and December 21, 1596, and of March 2 and 12, 1597. Lettres, I., 205, 212 *seq.*, 228, 242, 246, *etc.*

[4] HAMON, I., 227 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 155.

[6] *Ibid.*, 165, 199.

[7] "On ne forçoit personne, et ne faisoit on autre que se mettr' en la posture et au train auquel Votre Altesse avoit laissé les Catholiques despuys ne fut elle ici, duquel ayant esté levés par force, on ne sçauroit dire pourquoy ilz ne puyssent s' y remettre toutes les fois qu' ilz en auront comodité" (Francis to the duke, December 21, 1596, Lettres, I., 225 *seq.*). When in September, 1589, the duke took possession of the Chablais many of the inhabitants returned to the ancient Church, but apostatized again externally upon the invasion of the Bernese, "per forza

It was only when the movement was well advanced that the duke intervened. While he was at Thonon for the Forty Hours, a society from Berne made its appearance, which demanded liberty of religion for the Protestants of the Chablais. The duke's advisers were inclined to consent to this request, but Francis, who had been summoned to the council, strongly opposed it, and the duke declared, during the course of a banquet, that when Berne received the Catholic priests whom he intended to send thither, he in his turn would admit the Protestants.[1] A memorial from Francis, which, in addition to maintenance for the Catholic parish priests, asked for the removal from Thonon of the Protestant school-master, a prohibition of studying outside the country, and the filling of all official posts with Catholics, met with a favourable reception from Charles Emanuel.[2] He even went further than he had been asked to do in this document. On October 8th, 1598, he summoned before him the citizens of Thonon and the nobles of the Chablais: those who, in obedience to the commands of the sovereign, were willing to adopt the ancient religion, were to take their place on the right hand of the duke, and the rest were expelled from the country. There were but seven or eight who preferred exile for the sake of their convictions, or, as Charles Emanuel called it, of their obstinacy,[3] but as a result of their own petition, and through the mediation of Francis, these were soon allowed to return.[4] In the country districts the general return to Catholicism became more and more widespread,[5] and owing to the influence

et violentia dell' armate nemiche." Francis to the nuncio Riccardi, December 12, 1596, *ibid.*, 220). *Cf.* *Proposizioni di S. Franç. di Sales per la conversione delle provincie heretiche senz' armi. Corsini Library, Rome, Cod. 146.

[1] HAMON, I., 350 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 322 *seq.*; edict of October 12, 1598, *ibid.*, 339.

[3] *Ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*; Report of the Archbihsop of Tarantaise, Berlieri, to Clement VIII., September 12, 1603, in BOVERIUS, II., 619 *seqq.*

[4] HAMON, I., 375.

[5] *Cf.* the numbers, *ibid.*, 338 *seq.*

of the duke many of the nobles as well declared their readiness to become Catholics.[1] In 1608, towards the end of the canonical visitation, Francis was able to write to Rome that he had no longer found any Protestants, except in those places which belonged to Berne and Geneva.[2] As early as 1605 he had found in the communes of Thonon and Ternier-Gaillard only a hundred non-Catholics.[3]

In the meantime hopes were raised of being able to obtain freedom for the celebration of Catholic worship in Geneva itself, the Rome of the Calvinists. As Geneva had not been expressly named in the Peace of Vervins (1598), between France and Spain, the republic found itself still in a state of war with Spain, which was allied with Savoy, while it had lost the support of France; fear of Savoy might therefore be used to force Geneva to make concessions to the ancient religion.[4] It was therefore a disappointment for Granier, the Bishop of Geneva, when Henry IV. made it clear that in spite of everything Geneva must be included in the peace. Granier resolved to send the Provost of his chapter to Rome, in order to obtain a brief to the King of France, dissuading him from acting in this way, and at the same time to obtain the annulment of the bull by which Gregory XIII. had assigned the Church property in Savoy to the Knights of SS. Maurice and Lazarus.[5] The bishop's nephew was to accompany him on his journey, and present a third request; the aged bishop wished to have his Provost as coadjutor in the bishopric.[6] Francis, who had already been called the Apostle of the Chablais by the duke,[7] was honoured by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 343.

[2] Lettres, IV., 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 87.

[4] *Cf.* the documents in PÉRATÉ, 364, 376, 377, 399.

[5] HAMON, I., 340. Granier wished to send Francis to Rome as early as 1597, so as to fulfil by him his duty of his visit "ad limina"; Granier to the nuncio Riccardi, November 20, 1597, in PÉRATÉ, 365 *seq.*

[6] HAMON I. 352 358.

[7] *Ibid.*, 354.

Pope himself presiding at his examination for the episcopate.[1] He also obtained in substance all that he wished for for the welfare of the diocese, though certain secondary points which had been asked for were reserved to the decision of the nuncio in Savoy.[2]

After this striking recognition of his labours on the part of Rome, Francis was next to see his successes placed in jeopardy. In a new war with Henry IV. the French troops invaded the country in 1600; Berne and Geneva allied themselves with France, and asked for the extension of the Edict of Nantes to the Chablais; a Calvinist governor confiscated ecclesiastical property, and a Protestant pastor introduced other preachers at the head of armed men.[3] But the storm passed without inflicting much damage; the peace of Lyons (1601) rendered the efforts of Francis useful to the district of Gaillard, which henceforward belonged to Savoy; encouraged by the example of the Chablais, the inhabitants of Gaillard now resumed the Catholic faith, which, though it lay at the very gates of Geneva, had never been extinguished in men's hearts.[4] After the peace the formation of the more necessary parishes could at last take place; 26 were established in the Chablais and 10 in Ternier, while the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus lost its right to the parochial revenues.[5] The duke now sought to back up the religious movement in this country by sovereign enactments.[6] With such support for his work of conversion, Francis met with no difficulties, and when it had been ascertained that a certain

[1] *Ibid.*, 358 *seqq.* Clement VIII. had sent a brief of praise to Sales as early as May, 29 1597 (PÉRATÉ, 339). *Cf. Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 274.

[2] HAMON, I., 365. *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.* a summary of the requests.

[3] *Ibid.*, 386.

[4] *Ibid.*, 395, 401.

[5] *Ibid.*, 397.

[6] Edict of June 20, 1601: they must hear the sermons of the Capuchins, they must accept the Catholic faith, and send their children to Catholic schools (BOVERIUS, II., 968 *seq.*): that of July 31, 1601; in favour of the Sainte Maison (*ibid.*, 965 *seqq.*).

remnant in Thonon was still adhering to Calvinism, more from political than religious motives, he proposed to the duke that they should be banished, though in all probability this was never actually carried out.[1] When, after the peace, the Genevese imposed a Calvinist preacher on two of the villages, he himself accompanied the soldiers who had been ordered to meet violence with violence.[2]

By the Treaty of Lyons, Gex as well, a province of 12,000 inhabitants and 26 parishes, lying to the west of the southern point of the Lake of Geneva, definitely passed into the possession of France. Hitherto Geneva had had the administration of this little province in the name of France, and had driven out the Catholic parish priests and confiscated the Church property.[3] Bishop Granier now asked for the re-establishment of Catholic worship, but Geneva sought, by means of an embassy to the King of France, to retain some of the parishes for Calvinism. Francis of Sales, by the orders of the bishop, now had to go to Paris, but he did not obtain from Henry IV. and the cautious Villeroi all that he desired, and the state of affairs in Gex remained a source of anxiety to him until his death. Nevertheless, Henry IV. ordered the governor of Burgundy to restore Catholic worship in all those places where there were sufficient adherents of the ancient faith, but this was only to be done gradually, so as not to irritate the Protestants.[4]

A temporary absence of the king had prolonged the already protracted negotiations; the coadjutor had set out from Annecy on January 3rd, 1602, and it was only on October 14th, that he was able to inform the duke of his return. But his long stay in Paris became of great importance to Francis, for the work of preaching, which he zealousy exercised there, drew attention to him. Whereas only a few years before the labourers and peasants of the Chablais had thought it unseemly to assist at the discourses of this maligned Catholic

[1] HAMON, I., 400.
[2] *Ibid.*, 394 *seq.*; PÉRENNÉS, II., 11.
[3] HAMON, I., 402.
[4] *Ibid.*, 254, 400, 402 *seq.*, 427, 483.

priest, he now saw among his hearers Henry IV. and Mary de' Medici, and all the aristocratic society, who hailed him as the greatest preacher of his day The celebrity which he thus acquired opened out to him an entirely new field of work, in which perhaps he was to distinguish himself more greatly, and win for himself more fame than in any other. There were at that time among the society of Paris not a few who took Christianity very seriously, and who, in the midst of a worldly life, aimed at becoming perfect Christians, or at anyrate were such as could easily be won over to such sentiments. They flocked to this celebrated preacher, and he who had converted so many Protestants, but had had to be content if he was able to bring home to his hearers the most elementary truths of Catholicism, now became a great director of souls and a master of Christian perfection.[1]

But, being as he was in close relations with ecclesiastical circles, Francis was not the only one who gave. There was at that time a great enthusiasm for the second foundress of the Carmelite Order, the great Spaniard, Teresa, whose institute had a short time before been introduced into France.[2] Just as Francis had found the basis of his asceticism in the school of Loyola, and just as he had sought to learn yet more when he went to Rome, especially from the first disclipes of Philip Neri,[3] so his stay in Paris brought him into contact with the fascinating influence of the great Spanish teacher of the interior life.[4] On his way back from Rome to Milan he had procured a biography of Charles Borromeo,[5] and thus

[1] H. B. MACKEY in the *Rev. du clergé franc.*, XXXVII. (1904), 390-402 ; CAUSSIN, Conduite spirituelle selon l' esprit de s. Franç. de Sales, Paris, 1636 ; F. S. EGERSDORFER, Die Aszetik des hl. Franz von Sales in ihren theorotischen Grundlagen, Munich, 1909.

[2] BEN. ZIMMERMANN in the *Cath. Encyclopedia*, III., 368.

[3] Francis to Giov. Matteo Ancina November 23, 1606, Lettres, III., 234 *seq.* ; MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, CXXI. (1897), 164 *seq.* ; CAPECELATRO, St. Philip Neri, 432 *seqq.* [Engl. ed., 1926.]

[4] His first acquaintance with Teresa was perhaps through Possevino. MACKEY in Oeuvres, III., xxxv.

[5] HAMON, I., 367. *Cf. supra* p. 414.

he was in contact with, and ever sought such contact with all those great spirits whose ideas had given to Catholic restoration its original character. It was also of importance to him as the future founder of an Order, that he had come to know, in the Oblates of St. Frances of Rome,[1] who was canonized by Paul V. in 1608, a unique congregation of women who were bound by no solemn vows.[2]

While his coadjutor was still on French soil, Savoy lost its excellent Bishop Granier, who died on September 17th, 1602.[3] Hitherto Francis had undertaken the duties of supreme pastor of the Chablais, but now he became its bishop both in name and in dignity[4], and entered upon a new period of his life.[5] As a bishop Francis became the man who was called for by the needs of modern times ; he does not appear before us as the great nobleman, using the revenues in pomp and luxury outside the diocese, but otherwise caring little about it. Before all things he enforced the decrees of the Council of Trent, held diocesan synods,[6] personally made a visitation of the 590 parishes of the diocese,[7] cared for his clergy and, in accordance with the Pope's orders, sought to give new life to the decadent religious houses.[8] He heard confessions in

[1] *Cf.* Vol. I. of this work, p. 235. *seqq.*

[2] Lettres, V. 29 *seq.*

[3] HAMON, I., 438.

[4] His episcopal consecration on December 8, 1602, at Thorens (*ibid.*, 451). For the Papal briefs of appointment, July 15, 1602, see PÉRENNÈS, II., 42.

[5] J. F. GONTHIER, Fr. de Sales. Journal (in the form of a register) durant son épiscopat 1602-1622, Annecy, 1894 (also in Oeuvres, I., by GONTHIER).

[6] HAMON, I., 492 *seq.*, 562.

[7] *Ibid.*, 566 *seqq.* Statistics of the diocese in the Report in which Francis gave his account to Rome, *ibid.*, 585 *seq.*

[8] *E.g.* the abbeys of Abondance and Aulys, 1597 (HAMON, I., 253, 599), the Augustinians at Sixt, 1603 *seq.* (*ibid.*, 489 *seq.*, II., 217 *seqq.*, 263 *seqq.*), the Benedictines of Talloires, 1609 *seq.* (*ibid.*, I., 640 *seqq.*, II., 217, 270 *seqq.*), the Bernardines of St. Catherine, 1622 (*ibid.*, II., 281 *seqq.*). Francis on the state of the convents of Savoy *ibid.*, I., 587. For Abondance see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XVI. (1922), 71-75.

person, and preferably those of the poorest beggars and of the most repulsive sick ;[1] he sat down among the children to teach them the fundamental principles of Christianity,[2] he preached very frequently, sometimes several times a day,[3] he found time for all who wished to speak to him, even the most wretched beggar-woman,[4] because, in his opinion, the bishop ought to be like a public fountain, from which all were free to drink. Not content with all this, he also undertook work outside the diocese. Thus he preached the Advent and Lent at Dijon in 1604, at Chambéry in 1606 and 1612, and at Grenoble in 1616, 1617, and 1618.[5] When by the duke's orders, he had to accompany his son Maurice to Paris, in order to arrange a matrimonial alliance with the royal house of France, he made use of the year that he had to spend there[6] by preaching, and when he left, calculated that he had preached as many sermons as there were days in the year.[7] He himself stated, a short time before his death, that he had so far preached more than four thousand sermons.[8] He was indeed a master and reformer of pulpit eloquence.[9]

But it was to the secular clergy that the bishop devoted his principal care,[10] since good parish priests are as necessary as good bishops.[11] Anyone who presented himself for ordination to the priesthood, without giving proof of the necessary dispositions, might appeal in vain to nobility of birth or high recommendations, even if these came from the most exalted

[1] HAMON, I., 463 ; *cf.* II., 453.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 471 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 463 *seqq.*, 511.

[4] *Ibid.*, 463 ; MACKEY, *loc. cit.*, 397 *seq.*

[5] HAMON, I., 511 *seqq.*, 570 *seq.* ; II., 118, 192 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*

[6] October 1618 to September 1619. HAMON, II., 222 *seqq.*

[7] HAMON, II., 228.

[8] *Ibid.*, 467.

[9] MACKEY, Étude sur s. Franç. de Sales prédicateur, in Oeuvres, X., v-xcvii.

[10] HAMON, I., 499 *seqq.* ; MACKEY in the *American Eccles. Review*, XIX. (1898), 449-464.

[11] HAMON, I., 499.

personages.[1] The parishes were only conferred after a concursus, and on the most worthy candidates;[2] when necessary, the bishop, who was otherwise so gentle, could show an inflexible severity, since the only way to secure a good and numerous clergy lay in the observance of strict discipline.[3] He recommended to his priests in a special way the study of theology. He said that learning is the eighth sacrament for a priest, and that ignorance on their part involves worse consequences than even sin. The greatest evils of the Church had come from the ignorance of the priests, and it was only thanks to this, he thought, that Geneva had been able to inflict such terrible damage, when priests had been satisfied with reciting their breviaries without any care for learning, and everything would have been lost if God in His goodness had not raised up the Jesuits, who, in addition to inflexible courage, were filled with unwearied zeal, as well as profound learning.[4] In his daily horarium, Francis, even when he was a bishop, set aside two hours a day for the study of theology.[5] He also sought to encourage secular learning among Catholics by establishing an academy at Annecy, the members of which were only to be those Catholics who had distinguished themselves by some learned work, some invention or discovery. But Savoy was too small to maintain such an institute for long.[6] In other respects, however, the labours of the zealous bishop were crowned with success, and though he was not successful in obtaining the revenues for the establishment of a seminary,[7] he nevertheless found at his disposal an exemplary clergy, while the laity as well of the diocese of Geneva were deserving of every

[1] *Ibid.*, 497.

[2] *Ibid.*, 498.

[3] *Ibid.*, 505.

[4] *Ibid.*, 499 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 448. Naturally it was not always possible for him to carry this out (*ibid.*, II., 143), but he spoke of theological studies as his favourite ones (Lettres, II., 253).

[6] HAMON, I., 592-596.

[7] *Ibid.*, 496.

praise.[1] A secular professor of the college at Annecy said that when Francis took possession of the diocese it was made of bricks, but that he left it made of marble. Nowhere was there any diocese better organized; to the others it was a light along their way, and an inducement to further progress. Francis was rightly called the apostle and father of bishops.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 506.
[2] MACKEY, *loc. cit.*, 462.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book ; it had formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original ; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic*." Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . . .).

I take this opportunity to thank Professor Dr. J. Schmidlin for his extracts, so rich in notes, from the *Avvisi* in the Vatican Library, made by him in the years 1901-02, as well as for the present volumes. I am also greatly obliged to Professor E. Steinmann, director of the Hertziana Library, Rome, who with unwearied courtesy has placed at my disposal the treasures of the Institute arranged by him, and which form an indispensible auxiliary source for historical research.

1. Lists of Scrutinies at the Conclave of 1592.[1]

Primum scrutinium	11	Ianuarii	Santori	28	Aldobrandini	11		
Secundum ,,	12	,,	,,	23	,,	18		
Tertium ,,	13	,,	,,	23	,,	18		
Quartum ,,	14	,,	,,	24	,,	9		
Quintum ,,	15	,,	,,	21	,,	13		
Sextum ,,	16	,,	,,	22	,,	13		
Septimum ,,	17	,,	,,	23	,,	13		
Octavum ,,	18	,,	[not given]					
Nonum ,,	19	,,	,,	23	,,	12		
Decimum ,,	20	,,	,,	22	,,	15		
Undecimum ,,	21	,,	,,	23	,,	17		
Duodecimum ,,	22	,,	,,	23	,,	12		
Decimum tertium scrutinium	23	,,	,,	18	,,	17	Madruzzo	21
,, quartum ,,	24	,,	,,	18	,,	16	,,	16
,, quintum ,,	25	,,	,,	19	,,	19	,,	14
,, sextum ,,	26	,,	,,	18	,,	15	,,	14
,, septimum ,,	27	,,	,,	21	,,	15	,,	16
,, octavum ,,	28	,,	,,	15	,,	17	,,	15
,, nonum ,,	29	,,	,,	17	,,	16	,,	15

[From the original in *Cod.* J. 39 p. 366 *seq.* Vallicelliana Library, Rome.]

2. Giovanni Niccolini to Florence.[2]

1592, March 12, Rome.

(Cipher): . . . È tanto imprudente et pazzo Cintio che ha detto in camera di Montalto dolendosi di esser tenuto indietro dal Papa, che non guardando vi fusse venti persone, disse che S. S.tà era il maggior tristo et ingrato che nascevi mai et il suo pontificato lo farà conoscere, et che se non fusse stato la casa sua S. S.tà non sarebbe niente.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3303.]

3. Avviso di Roma of 16 September, 1592.[3]

Sabato N. S. fece intendere alli dui nepoti suoi, che si dovessero confessare come fu fatto et la matina seguente S. B. li comunicò di sua mano et poi con un sermone paterno disse loro, che voleva aiutassero a portare le fatiche della Sede, assegnando al S. Cintio la secretaria di Polonia, Germania, Venetia et del resto d'Italia, et al S. Pietro di Francia, Spagna et Savoia, dichiarandoli S. B., che sebene haveva divisi li carichi voleva che fossero ambidui uniti di officio, andando da lei a trattare l'uno in defetto dell'altro secondo le occorrenze reciprocamente, et che se si deportaranno bene, come sperava, in questi carichi, non mancarebbe di aiutarli, volendo in oltre che da S. S. istessa et non da altri cognoschino questo et

[1] See *supra*, p. 17.
[2] See *supra*, p. 47, 48.
[3] See *supra*, p. 45.

ogni altra cosa, che da lei possono sperare. Quindi si avrà appunto la promozione in Natale.

The Pope every day takes exercise on foot and on horseback like a young man, and then gives audiences indefatigably.

(Aggiunta dell'inviato urbinate): Non vi è facchino a Roma, che fatichi più di lui, et io le dissi hiersera a buone lettere grosse, che questo modo di vivere è a propositissimo perdar sodisfattione alli stregoni, che tutte l'hore stanno su queste pratiche, ma S. S. sene ride et dice che dal morire o compare non ci darebbe un fico.

[Orig. *Urb.* 1060 II., Vatican Library.]

4. Pope Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia.[1]

1592, September 30, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

Illustri Abasae potentissimo Persarum regi salutem et Spiritus veritatis illuminationem. Tam excelso et illustri loco sita est laus Tua, tanta gloria multis maximisque rebus gestis parta, ut quamquam nulla inter nos est notitia, tamen celeberrima de Te fama adducti, Tibi omnia cupiamus, contra vero Turcarum tyranni hominis omnium teterrimi nec magis Nostri quam Tui et bonorum omnium hostis intolerandam superbiam depressam et protritam optemus. Ut enim virtus absentium etiam sibi voluntates conciliat, sic vitia abalienant. Quae autem non in illo sunt vitia? Summa crudelitas, summa avaritia, summa rapacitas, inexplebilis omnia per summam iniuriam occupandi cupiditas, nulla iurisiurandi religio, nulla fides. Quos ille non vexavit? Quibus nulla re lacessitus non agros, urbes, provincias ademit? Quantum vobis iniuriarum, quantum Arabibus, Graecis, Germanis, Pannonibus, Italis cladis intulit? Fraudes vero ac periuria quibus crevit, nottssima sunt: his enim, non bellis legitime susceptis et iustis victoriis crevit. Inducias ac foedera etiam, si ita visum sit, cum finitimis facit, a quibus se laedi posse intelligit; ubi illos hac fraude obligavit, tum uni eorum, cui commodissimum esse intelligit, contra fidem, contra iusiurandum, nulla re laesus bellum movet; caeteri interea quiescunt, memores datae fidei et iurisiurandi, quod ille semper contemnendum putavit. Sic singulorum seorsum

[1] See *supra*, p. 267.

opibus ac spoliis auctus, reliquos validiore semper manu aggreditur, quoad universos conficiat. Eadem nunc arte vos eludere molitur, quae Tuam prudentiam haud latere arbitramur. Putavimus igitur in communi causa esse etiam communicanda consilia atque opes conferendas ad illam pestem opprimendam. Id vero existimamus posse fieri contraria atque ille cum caeteris agit ratione. Ille singulos adoritur; nunc illum adoriantur oportet universi, quo in negotio et tractatione hoc tempore versamur, ut iuncto foedere cum caeteris principibus Christianitatis coniunctis viribus atque armis illum adoriamur. Sed magnopere opus est, ut ipse quoque ista ex parte eum oppugnes, et quoniam dicitur adversum vos maxime valere tormentis bellicis atque ignibus e materia ad exardescendum facillima, ad ardorem retinendum tenacissima, ad res caeteras incendendas violentissima, quorum ipsi artificiorum vacui estis (nunquam enim virtute atque armis nobilitas Persica vilissimis mancipiis cederet), non patiemur vos his artificiis inferiores esse. Scitis his de rebus deque mittendis earum rerum artificibus magnopere vestro nomine cum superioribus pontificibus actum esse; in quo vobis tum satisfaciendi facultas non fuit, voluntas certe nunquam defuit. Nunc igitur, si Nobis in bellum incumbentibus, vos etiam statuetis bellum vestra ex parte instaurare et continuare, artifices conquiremus mittemusque. Certissima autem erit victoria Deo primum, a quo bona omnia exsistunt, illius scelera ulciscente, tum tantis undique exercitibus prodigium illud adorientibus. Nam si proxime a vobis quietus, tamen Christianorum virtute ad Echinadas superatus est, ingenti classe depressa, incensa, devicta, deleta, paucis aliquot tantae cladis nuntiis, navibus laceris ac semiustis elapsis, quid illi nunc fiet, et Christianorum principum et vestra etiam potentia atque armis circumvallato? Quis ei aut consistendi aut fugiendi locus ac spes relinquetur? Voluimus hoc Nostrum consilium Tibi aperire, atque hortari ut hac tanta opportunitate uti velis. Deus benedictus tum in hoc negotio, tum in omnibus cogitatis et coeptis Tuis ostendat, quid verum maxime sit, quid e re Tua atque regni Tui salute atque amplitudine. Has literas duplicari voluimus, cumque illis alteris certum hominem ad Te mittemus; is ubi pervenerit, et illas alteras reddet et nonnulla etiam mandato Nostro exponet; cupimus ut eius

verbis fidem tribuas. Dat Tusculi die ultima septembris 1592, anno I.

Ant. Buccapadulius.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Pope Clement VIII. to the Elector Ernest of Cologne.[1]

1592 November 21, Rome.

Pastoralis officii quod in ecclesia catholica . . . Etenim episcopalis cura perpetua quaedam visitatio esse debet. Semper ager Domini excolendus, semper excolendus, semper noxiae, quae succrescunt, herbae evellendae et fructuosi palmites purgandi, ut Salvator noster docuit, quo fructus uberius efferant; semper vigilandum, ne forte, nobis dormientibus, inimicus homo in medio tritici superseminet zizania. Magni sunt, frater, episcoporum labores, sed magnae propositae coronae et maxima apud Deum praemia. . . .

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris di vigesima prima novembris millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo secundo, pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

M. Vestrius Barb.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 24, Papal Secret Archives.]

6. Pope Clement VIII. to the Emperor Rudolph II.[2]

1593, February 19, Rome.

Rodulpho Romanorum Imperatori electo. Carissime in Christo fili noster salutem etc. Quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit de Ernesto fratre Tuo rege Romanorum creando, id neque meliore tempore potest fieri neque magis necessario quam in proximo conventu. Agendum enim omnino erit de bello adversus barbarum immanissimum pro vestris proque totius Christianae reipublicae rebus suscipiendo. Ei porro bello praeficiendus necessario erit universi exercitus dux, cuius praesenti virtute ac imperio tota belli ratio gubernetur. Quis autem ea in re anteponendus Ernesto esse videatur, nemo est. Illum vero Romanorum regis gradu atque honore affici necesse erit. Sic enim postulat et rei dignitas et illius virtus et perpetuus familiae vestrae splendor atque amplitudo. Ages igitur in conventu hac de re in

[1] See *supra*, p. 366.
[2] See *supra*, p. 317.

primis, in qua speramus non defutura Tuae Maiestati principum studia, atque ante omnia opem a Deo, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates atque omnium iura regnorum. Hoc quoniam Tuae Maiestati aeque ac Nobis ipsis cordi esse scimus, tantum indicare satis habemus, quam ob rem longiores non sumus. Caetera ex Nuntio Nostro cognosces. Datum ut supra [Romae apud S. Petrum etc., die 19 februarii 1593, anno 2do].

[Antonius Buccapadulius].

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives].

7. Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1593, August 21, Rome.

. . . Sono avvisato da cardli [2] et specialmente Aragona che S. Stà è travagliata grandemente per la nuova venuta questa settimana di Francia della conversione di Navarra, et il sospetto è maggiore non essendo venuto a Roma altro corriero, il che fa credere a tutta la corte che Navarra habbia maggior seguito et che si siano fatti sollevationi et spetialmente in Parigi, havendose alcune lettere da mercanti che il popolo volesse uscire fuori della città ad accettarlo per Re. Li Spagnoli si non stanno troppo contenti, ma trattengono S. Stà in speranza che Guisa sarà già pubblicato Re et che Navarra habbia fatto questa atione astretto da necessità, non havendo altro rimedio; ma essendo stato S. Stà più volte ingannato da essi in questo particolare delle cose di Francia non le crede, ma attenderà il successo, dicendomi di più li detti cardli che se vi vedesse inclinatione universale del regno per Navarra et che egli mandasse a render ubedienza alla Sede Apostolica che facilmente l'accetterebbe essendo hora le cose in altro termine che non sono state per lo passato, ma perchè sin qui non ci è risolutione alcuna, ma il tutto dipende dalli novi avisi che si haveranno, però non m'estendo più oltre, ma di quanto seguirà ne ragguaglierò al suo tempo. V. A. . . .[3]

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 77.

[2] This word is in cipher.

[3] With this is an undated letter from Carretto: . . . La Stà di N.S. sta in travaglio grande perchè in Francia le vien scritto da suoi ministri che doppoi la sospensione d'arme seguita tra il Re di Navarra et li principi de Lega s'è incominciata pratica tra loro di elleggere il detto Re alla corona di Francia, del che s'è doluto S.Stà con l'ambasciatore procuri di dar ad intendere a S.Bne che sii informata sinistramente, con tutto ciò si è insospettita grandemente, come alla presenza dell'ambasciatore Cesareo mi riferì Monsr Minutio segretario del Pontifice, soggiongendo di più che Navari publichi di voler essere catolico et ch'in breve andarà alla messa . . .

8. Giulio del Carretto to the Duke Mantua.[1]

1593, August 28, Rome.

. . . N. S. hormai è chiarito che li Spagnoli le hanno date sempre parole, et persiste nell'opinione che le scrissi con le lettere mie dell'ordinario passato d'assolvere Navarra[2] quando sii accettato per Re da quelli popoli et tra tanto si servirà del beneficio del tempo ne resta di dirle che è puoco sodisfatto di Spagna, si perchè tentano di volere che S. Stà col imporgli pensione sopra li benefici di Spagna nel modo che si è usato sempre da tempo inmemorabile in questa corte et di dividere tutte le religioni et a voler generali della natione loro spetialmente et nella congregatione de Gesuiti che vorrebbero sovertire tutti gli ordini antichi loro, come anchora perchè gli hanno intercette tutte le lettere che ultimamente venevano di Francia, perchè credde veramente che intentione loro sii stata sempre di dividere, non di volere Re in Francia, et discorendo la settimana passata con un cardlo diceva che non havevano nominato Umena dubitando che facilmente non potesse socedere, ma Ghisa sapendo che Umena non lo vuole et che perciò non potrà riuscire per dar tempo al tempo, et tra tanto dividere et dominare . . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua.[3]

1593, October 9, Rome.

. . . Quanto alla mente di N. S. circa la venuta del duca ho scoperto di novo che da Spagnoli si fanno tutti gli ufficii contrarii che si possono imaginare, ne mai passa giorno che non vi sii alcuno da S. Stà per tenerlo saldo ; un giorno vi va l'ambasciatore, l'altro il secretario dell'ambasciata, il 3° ambasciata, il 3° Sfondrato, il 4° Caetano, il 5° Dezza, il 6° Alessandrino, il 7° uno che è agente della Lega per il comre di Diou che ora è infermo, si che non vi è giorno vacuo, protestando che se il duca viene da una parte, l'ambasciatore cattolico uscirà per l'altra che dall'accettare il duca dipende la rovina di tutto il regno di Francia, et con dar speranza dall'altra parte che si mandarà per tutto il giorno vigesimo di questo mese potente esercito in Francia per fare un Re cattolico, et che Navarra è relapso non sarà men cattolico,

[1] See *supra*, p. 78.
[2] This word is in cipher.
[3] See *supra*, p. 85.

et che Navarra è relapso non sarà men buon cristiano con altre ragioni simili. Ne manchano dall'altra parte chi facino ufficii contrarii. Salviati, Toledo, il Sr Gio. Aldobrandini, Oratio Rucellai, l'ambasciatore di Toscana, alla gagliarda, il card^le Sforza, Aragona, ma assai destramente et di raro per la sua indispositione l'ambasciatore di Vineggia, et dicono alcuni di quello di Ferrara, ma io non l'affermo per vero, et questi protestano al Pontefice che non accettando il duca di Nivers si levarà quel regno dall'ubbidienza della Sede Apostolica, che potrebbero far un concilio in Francia et far un patriarcha, et questa ragione preme infinitamente al Pontefice havendo l'esempio del conciliabolo Pisano in tempo di Giulio 2° che fu forzato poi a convocare il concilio Lateranense. Se le fa toccar con mano al Pontefice che al tempo destinato non possono havere li Spagnoli esercito in essere, et che l'intento loro non tende ad altro fine che a rovinare et a dividere quel regno. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

10. Protocol of the Sittings of the Roman Inquisition of the 15, 16, 17 and 18 September, 1593.[1]

Die 15. Sept. 1593 fer. 4 ad horam 21 fuit tractatum in congreg. S^tae Inquisitionis habita in domo d. card. S. Severinae, in qua interfuerunt d^ni card^les Dezza, Pinellus, Asculanus, Sarnanus, Sfondratus et ipse S^tae Severinae.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae Henrici q. Navarrae regis, et ducis Nivernen, et praelatorum, qui assertum regem ad poenitentiam receperunt, ad S^num D. N., et aliae litterae card. legati etc.; deinde facta est disceptatio de ea re. Et conclusum referendum esse, ut dicta legatio Navarri uti regis Franciae non admittatur, neque etiam uti eius orator dux Nivernen. et alii qui cum eo veniunt etc.

Die 16. eiusd. mens. fer. 5 in congreg. S^ti Officii habita coram S^mo D. N. apud S. Marcum supradicti card. generales Inquisitores Dezza, Pinellus, Asculanus, Sarnanus, Sfondratus et S^tae Severinae et S^tas Jua tractaverunt supradictum negotium.

In ea ego plenissime disserui et conclusi ex multiplicibus rationibus non posse neque debere recipi huiusmodi legationem aut ducem Nivernensem uti oratorem q. regis Navarrae

[1] See *supra*, p. 84.

uti regis Franciae ; quae sunt compendiose notatae in meo scripto, et ita omnes concluserunt.

Et S^{tà} Sua mandavit, ut hodie intimetur congreg. generalis S^{ti} Officii et Franciae pro crastino die, quod habeatur in domo d^{ni} card. de Aragona, ut in ea legantur litterae supradictae et fiat consultatio et de hoc et de persona mittenda obviam duci Nivernensi, ut vel sistat viam duci Nivernensi, ut vel sistat aut revertatur si discessit, quae (persona) sibi placeret, ut esset religiosa vel Iesuita, et ita factum est.

Summa sententiae nostrae, quam super susceptione legationis Henrici Borbonii olim Navarrae regis et responsione ad eius et suorum asseclarum litteras, dixi in congr^{e} Rom^{ae} Inquisitionis et universalis coram S^{mo} D. N. ac ill^{mis} et r^{mis} d^{nis} card^{bus} collegis habita ad S. Marcum die XVI mens. Sept. 1593.

Et quam rursus, sed compendiosius in congr^{e} ill^{morum} et r^{morum} d^{norum} card^{lium} tam generalium Inquisitorum, quam super rebus Franciae deputatorum habita in domo ill^{mi} d^{i} card^{lis} de Aragona die XVII eiusd. mens. Sept. dixi ac repetii.

Die 17. eiusd. mensis [Sept.] fer. 6 ad horam 20 fuit tractatum in congreg^{e} habita in domo d^{ni} card^{lis} de Aragona, in qua interfuerunt omnes card^{les} tam congr^{is} Franciae quam d^{ni} card^{les} S^{tae} Inquisitionis videl. d. c. S. Sever., d. c. Dezza, d. c. Salviat., d. c. Lancelott., d. c. Caiet., d. c. Pinell., d. c. Asculan, d. c. Sarnan., d. c. Sfondrat., d. c. Matt. et d. c. de Aragona.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae praedictae Navarri et ducis Nivernen. et praelatorum, qui receperant eundem Navarrum etc. et aliae scripturae seu litterae card. Placentini legati etc. et litterae ducis Montmorancii in idem argumentum de recipiendo et reconciliando Navarro.

Et deinde oportuit me repetere et dicere omnia, quae hesterna die dixi, contra admissionem huisumodi legationis.

Et ita ab omnibus conclusum est, nullo modo illam esse recipiendam.

Quoad personam mittendam ad ducem, ut non procedat ulterius, sed sistat vel revertatur, dictum est, ut mittatur aliquis de Secretaria Ap^{ca} vel Iesuita, et a me propositus fuit r. p. Anton. Possevinus, qui ex alia causa privata ex Urbe est discessurus.

Ac etiam dictum, ut ego facerem instructionem, sed ipse me excusavi.

Deinde post solutam congr^{em} d. c. de Aragona accessit ad S^{mum} et retulit omnia, atque etiam personam patris Possevini, et S^{tas} S. omnia probavit etc.

Postmodum die sabbati, 18. eiusd., ill. d. c. S. Georgii, privatim (quia nondum susceperat galerum) ad me venit rogans nomine S^{mi} D. N., ut ego conficerem instructionem pro r. p. Possevino, prout feci etc.

[Borghese I. 28, p. 226, 227, 234, Papal Secret Archives.]

II. Protocol of the Sittings of the French Congregation and of the Inquisition on October 24, November 6, and December 5, 1593.[1]

Die dom^{co} XXIIII Octob. 1593 hora XXI in Monte Quirianli fuit congr. Franciae et Inquisitionis insimul, cui interfuerunt coram S^{mo} D. N. d. c. de Aragona, d. c. S^{tae} Severinae, d. c. Dezza, d. c. Salviat., d. c. Lancel., d. c. Caiet., d. c. Pinell., d. c. Asculan., d. c. Sarnanus, d. c. Matth., d. c. Sfondrat., d. c. Aquav. et d. c. Toletus.

In ea sunt lectae litterae patris Possevini de eius congressu et collequiis cum ill^{mo} d^{no} duce Nivernensi apud Grisones et deinde in Italiae finibus, de eius querelis etc. et quod saltem cupiebat venire nisi ut orator regis Navarrei seu Franciae, sed uti persona privata, et maior pars conclusit, postquam erat in Italia, ut admittatur ut persona privata, sed ea limitatione, ut prius de ea re praemoneatur d. c. Legatus in Francia et per eum catholici, quod non sit admittendus, sed si admittendus, non nisi ut privatus.

2° ut paucis diebus Romae commoretur et paucis audientiis a Ste Sua expediatur.

3° ut ante huiusmodi resolutionem ei significandam accersatur et veniat ad Urbem p. r. Possevinus, ut exponat nonnulla quae ipse scribit oretenus tantum et non alias posse exprimere.

Item de praelatis, episcopo Cenoman. et aliis dictum, qui veniunt rationem reddituri de eorum actione circa receptionem et sequelam Navarri, ut recipiantur, tanquam rei se defensuri.

Et quod statim expediretur tabellarius.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 86, 87.

Die sabbati VI mensis Novem. 1593 hora XVII fuit congr. Franciae et Inquisitionis insimul coram S^{mo} apud S. Petrum cui interfuerunt coram Ste Sua Ill^{mi} et r. d. e. Aragon., S. Sever., Dezza, Salviat., Lancel., Caet., Pinell., Ascul., Sarz., Matth., Acquav., et Toletus.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae scriptae nomine S^{tas} Suae a d. card. S. Georgii ad patrem Possevinum, quod S^{tas} Sua erat contenta, illum ut privatum principem, non autem ut oratorem asserti regis benigne recipere, et quod haec resolutio erat facta in congr^{e} Inquis^{is} et Franciae etc., Sed quod ipse antecederet per quatuor dies, ut et veniret in Urbem, ut S^{tas} Sua de gestis per eum informari posset etc.

Et deinde eius litterae, quod dux erat in itinere veniendi ad Urbem, et ipse Possevinus erat iam Bononiae iter facturus Florentiam.

Ex quibus collegebatur quod dux veniret certior factus, quod reciperetur ut privatus ante reditum ipsius Possevini in Urbem contra resolutionem congreg^{is} etc., et contra mandatum, ut aliquibus videbatur, licet ex litteris d^{ni} card^{lis} S. Georgii aliter videretur intelligi.

Item scribebat quod ipse conficiebat quasdam scripturas pro duce Nivernensi, quas volebat vertere in linguam Gallicam, ut posset mitti in Franciam ad docendum de causis quare S^{tas} Sua non poterat admittere Navarrum uti regem et ducem Nivernen. uti eius oratorem.

Conclusum mitti tabellarium ad Possevinum cum mandato, ut significet duci Nivern^{si}, ut privatim absque pompa et magno comitatu veniret et in Urbe non esset commoraturus nisi per decem dies etc.

Ac insuper cum inhibitione, ut nullo modo daret huiusmodi scripturas duci nec gallice nec italice, et si dedisset, ut reciperet.

Prout factum est expedito tabellario cum diligentia, quo pervenerit ad Possevinum Florentiae, et ipse inde digrediens Perusia, se contulit in Marchiam et invenit ducem in terra Muniae prope Serravallem venientem Lauretana domo, et cum illo prudenter collocutus significavit eidem mentem S^{tis} Suae etc., ut Romae non degeret nec commoraturus esset nisi per decem dies, quod ille gravissime accepit etc.

Quia vero omnia quae in proxime praecedenti congreg^{e} ordinata seu constituta fuerant, rescita et propalata fuerunt,

S^tas^ Sua de caetero tractata in hac congreg^e^ et tractanda in aliis secreta teneri et haberi [decrevit] sub poena excommunicationis latae sententiae ipso facto incurrenda, a qua card^lis^ transgressor non possit absolvi a quocunque etiam a me poenitentiario maiori, nisi a Ste Sua, praeterquam in mortis articulo.

Die dominico quinto Decemb. 1593 qui fuit dom. II Adventus, ill^mus^ d^nus^ dux Nivern, habuit quartam audientiam a S^mo^ D^no^, in qua (ut mihi deinde die 16. eiusd. retulit S^tas^ Sua) egit et tractavit eadem quae prius, et instetit valde se ad pedes S^tis^ Suae prostratus et genuflexus pro absolutione Navarraei saltem in foro conscientiae; ac voluit S^tas^ Suae legere libellum inscriptum. Ristretto degli inconvenienti che seguiranno se non si accetta et assolve Navarra, etc. Sed S^tas^ Sua illum interrupit et noluit audire. Et ipse rursus porrexit ei libellum memorialem super hoc negocio absolutionis etc., et S^tas^ S. vix aegre accepit [cuius etiam exemplum mihi idem dux misit die sequenti 6. eiusd. atque aliis quoque d^nis^ card^bus^ misit] [1] et sapienter ei respondit petitionibusque et instantiae ab eo factis prudenter satisfecit etc. Ac etiam postulavit, ut episcopus Cenoman. et eccl^ri^ alii ad oscula pedum S^tis^ Suae admitterentur. Et S^tas^ Sua expresse negavit.

[Miscell. I. 28, p. 246, s. 261, Papal Secret Archives.]

12. Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1593, November 6, Rome.

. . . Doppo havere serrate le lettere et fatto anco il piego, un sig^re^ mio amicissimo m'ha fatto sapere che nella nova congregatione de hoggi sopra le cose de Francia avanti la S^tà^ di N. S. s'è rissoluto che il s^r^ duca di Nevers venga a Roma come persona privata et non mandato da Navarra, et che non habbia a visitare ne essere visitato da card^li^ et che non debba stare in Roma più di dieci giorni. Questo cancell^re^ ha havuto l'aviso soddetto dal Papa stesso et nello istesso modo ch'io ho referito a V.A. . . .

[Original: Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] This is in the margin.
[2] See *supra*, p. 87.

13. Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1593, December 4, Rome.

. . . La domenica et il lunedì si pose l'oratione delle 40 hore nella cappella Paolina, et N. S. vi venne tutti doi li giorni et vi stette un hora et mezza per volta senza cuscino ne sorte alcuna de comodità con tanta copia di lagrime et di sospiri, con prostrarse et bacciare la terra, con percuotersi tante volte il petto, che tutti li circostanti restorono grandemente edificati in vedere devotione così grande in S. B^ne^. Di più hora fa l'Advento digiunando ogni giorno et bene spesso in pane et acqua, che se continora qualche tempo in si aspra penitenza, dubito che in breve finirà li giorni suoi, et s'assicuri V. A. che non vi è fintione, ma che fa da dovero, essendo di vita irreprensible et di sanità esemplare. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini to the Cardinal Legate Madruzzo.[2]

1594, January 15, Rome.

. . . Non so ancora cio che N. S. risolverà intorno alla legatione della dieta. Io non ho mancato di rappresentare il rispetto che devemo havere all'età et indispositione di V. S. Illma et alle fresche fatiche, ma più ancora al pensiero che conviensi havere di conservarla lungamente per li frutti che potemo cavara dalla sua molta prudenza.

N. S^re^ è stato con ansioso pensiero di far qualche officio gagliardo con questi principi d'Italia ne aspettava altro che poterli animare col tuono della dieta. Onde quando intese che già si scrivevano le lettere et era determinato il giorno et il luogo fece chiamare il vescovo di Spoleto di cui intende valersi in questa occasione insieme con D. Valerio Orsino, ma quando si pensava poterle spedire ne s'aspettava altro che l'aviso della dieta, scrive il vescovo di Cremona che le lettere della intimatione stavano già 14 giorni sopra la tavola della M^tà^ dell' Imperatore et che non si sottoscrivevano di che et egli et l'ambasciatore di Spagna si doleva in estremo. Andando dunque le cose in questo modo, noi non vedemo, come sia possibile l'infiammar altri più lontani dal pericolo

[1] See *supra*, p. 28.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 317, 320.

et dal'interesse. Per questo si sospenderà la detta deliberatione con molt'altre non meno opportune all'impresa.

[Copy. Cod. 2832, Communal Library, Trent.]

15. Pope Clement VIII. to Cardinal Madruzzo.[1]

1594, February 6, Rome.

Clemens Papa VIII.

Dilecte fili etc. V. S. è dotata di tanta prudenza che conoscerà benissimo che per l'imminente dieta imperiale non ci è persona, la qual possa in essa sostenere l'impeto degl'heretici ne guidar quel negotio di maniera che passi, se non con miglioramento, almen con non peggioramento della religione, se non la sua. Et insieme anco è ripiena di tanto zelo verso Dio et la religione et di tanto amore verso questa S. Sede che ci rendiamo sicuri ch'ella si contentarà di sottentrare un'altra volta al peso di questa legatione certificandola, che si come a Noi sarà questo di estrema consolatione, così ci sforzeremo che sia senza danno suo quanto alle spese, cosi potessimo fare che fosse senza lesione anco del corpo et della sanità. Ma quello che non è in potenza Nostra pregaremo la Maestà Divina, del servicio della qual si tratta, che l'operi con la sua infinita misericordia. Aspetteremo a publicarla sino alla risposta sua, la qual speriamo conforme al desiderio Nostro, perchè a tutte queste cose s'aggionge l'amore ch'ella ci porta, del qual viva sicura che n'è da Noi abondantissimamente ricambiata. Con il qual fine le preghiamo da Dio benedetto ogni contento et la benedictione con l'Apost. beneditione.

[Concept. Cod. Campori Nr 214, Este Library, Modena.]

16. Cardinal Madruzzo to Pope Clement VIII.[2]

1594, February 23, Trent.

Beatissime Pater. La lettera che ha piaciuto a V. S^tà^ di scrivermi di propria mano mi ha quasi rapito fori di me, considerando l'eccesso della benignità, che usa meco, et il giudicio che fa delle debol mie qualità in occasione tanto importante, et che Lei tanto stima. Et si come il debito riguardo del servicio di V. S^tà^ et di questa S. Sede in tempi

[1] See *supra*, p. 321.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 322, 331.

periculosissimi et in coniontura di negoci gravissimi et difficili hano causato che considerando le mie imperfettioni et impedimenti habbi cercato di sotrahermi da un peso così grave, così intendendo pur che V. Stà iudicava poter servirsi di me in questa occasione, non ostande li mei impedimenti et diffetti manifesti et palesi, ho conosciuto conveniente, tal qual sono, a resignarmi in tutto al obedienza che devo a V. Stà. Et perchè so che Dio benedetto con la sua santa gracia dà l'incremento a quel che la pia solecitudine di V. Stà promove per beneficio publico, confido ancho, che a me, debol et diffettoso instrumento, darà forze in questo carico che m'impone V. S. al meno da testificare la devota affettione che porto al servicio di V. B. et la riconoscenza che tengo del grand' obligo che ho a tanta benigna demostracione fatta verso di me. Pregerò ben Dio con tutto il core che li negoci di questo carico rieschino a sodisfattione di V. S. et mi affatticarò sempre di non manchar punto a quella fideltà che devo, ne alla diligenza possibile a queste mie forze deboli, quali spero che debino essere sollevate et coroborate da la santa beneditione di V. B., alla quale humil. et reverentemente bacio li s. piedi pregando la Mtà de Dio conservi la Stà V. con longa et felice prosperità a beneficio della Chiesa sua santa. Di Trento alli 23. di Febr. 1594.

D. V. Stà
humil. et devotissimo servo
Ludo card. Maddruzzo.

[Autograph letter in my possession.]

17. The Cardinal Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1]

1594, February 23, Trento.

Illmo et revmo sigor mio ossmo. Il corriere spedito da Roma giunse quà sabato passato a mezo giorno, et da lui ricevei la lettera di V. S. illma delli XIV del presente. Hebbi poi l'altra sua delli XII, et insieme quella che ha piacciuto a N. Sre scrivermi di propria mano ; et resto tra di me confuso, vendendo in che grand'obbligo mi mette il giuditio che fa S. Stà di me così vil suggetto, et l'eccesso della benignità che usa meco. Et sicome il risguardo del servizio di S. Stà et cotesta Stà Sede ha causato che conoscendo le imperfettioni

[1] See *supra*, p. 322.

et le deboli forze mie a questi tempi tanto scabrosi, habbi fuggito di sottopormi a così gran peso, così il debito dell' obedienza et la devota et humil osservanza, che devo a S. S^{tà} fanno che mi risegni tutto al volere et commandamento suo, vedendo che pur'ella giudica in questa occasione potersi servir di me tal qual mi trovo. Spero che la M^{tà} di Dia favorirà la santa et pia sollicitudine di S. B^{ne}; et se le deboli forze mie non corrispondessero come il bisogno in se ricerca a questo carico, confido che conoscendo S. S^{tà} quante difficultà si possono a questi tempi tanto pericolosi et licentiosi attraversar a le attioni, a le quali son destinato, sia per compatir con le mie imperfettioni et impedimenti, co' quali però con la gratia di Dio mi sforzerò con sincera fede et con ogni diligenza possibile almeno di testificar la devota et humil affettione che porto al servitio di S. S^{tà} et cotesta S^{tà} Sede. Spero anco che V. S. Illma sia per protegermi, come ha fatto tanto benignamente sin'hora et starò aspettando li ordini, ricordi et commandamenti suoi, quali haverò, come devo sempre, per principali indrizzi delle attioni mie.

Sono veramente importantissimi li tre punti tocchi da N. S^{re} nel concistoro, oltre il negotio principal della guerra, a quali converrà con diligente cura attender in quel modo che il bisogno ricercherà. Et di quel d'Argentina scrissi a V. S. ill^{ma} delli 29 di Decembre passato qualche cosa, et insieme dissi quel che ne giudicava il s^{nr} duca di Bavera. Ma perchè il corso della dieta, secondo anco li motivi delli adversarii, ben spesso altera li negotii et lor considerationi, non mancherò di usar ogni diligenza et star attento a tutte le occasioni, che possino rappresentare qualche avvantaggio over pericolo, per non mancar con l'aiuto di Dio al desiderio di S. S^{tà} et al servitio di Dio, come farò anco nelli altri due punti. È però bene in tutti questi negotii et simili far che li principi catolici si movino come da se per la osservanza delle constitutioni imperiali in quanto provedono a la conservatione delle ragioni et sicurezze loro; et in specie converrà che sian pronti et uniti a opponersi a la pretensione del Magdeburgese della sessione et voto tra li ecclesiastici, non essendo dubio che saranno congiunti con lui Halberstadio, Brema, Verda, Lubeca et Osnab[r]uch et altri non confirmati da la S^{tà} Sede Ap^{ca}, poi che con questo minaccian non solo di gettar a terra quanto in favor de' catolici circa le chiese

imperiali statuisce la constitutione della pace della religione; ma (se succedesse) causariano che li catolici restarebbero sempre inferiori di voti in ogni consultatione nelle diete.

Non è dubbio che Navarra mandarà suoi ambasciatori a la dieta, come hanno Franzesi fatto quasi sempre in simil occasioni, et dubito che haverà di molti fautori, che procureranno che sia trattato come re di Franza, et forse qualche catolici non vorranno pigliar la pugna ne farvi contrasto, se ben voglio creder che l'imperatore non sia per darvi cos di leggier'orecchia. Desidero però in questo particolare intender come mi habbia a governare.

Ho veduto le copie delle lettere del ser^{mo} re di Polonia, che V. S. Illma mi ha mandate, et in quel negotio a suo luogo et tempo non mancherò a quanto da V. S. Illma mi sarà commandato. Intanto resto baciando con la debita humiltà li s^{mi} piedi a N. S^{re} et a V. S. Illma le mani, pregando il Signor Dio per ogni sua prospera felicità et contentezza.

Di Trento a 23. di Febr. 1594.

There then follows an autograph postscript by Madruzzo, in which he once again repeats that he only accepts the heavy burden out of obedience to the Vicar of Christ.

[Orig. in my possession.]

18. The Cardinal Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1]

1594, May 4, Ratisbon.

La tardanza del Imp^{re} in venire alla dieta mi fa temere, che S. M^{tà} Ces. cerchi la brevità del tempo di escludere ogni trattatione dalla contribuitione in fuori, pericò dubito, che difficilmente darà orecchie alla elettione del re di Romani parendoli, che con questa possi aprire la strada a molte materie di mala digestione, al che non dimeno io non mancherò a tutto mio potere.

[Orig. in my possession.]

19. The Cardinal Legate Madruzzo to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[2]

1594, May 31, Ratisbon.

Qui si sta sin'hora travagliando per levare queste pretensioni de Brandeburgesi et altri che possono attraversar con non

[1] See *supra*, p. 329.
[2] See *supra*, p. 332.

picciol disturbi il principio della dieta, et sin'hora si ha havuto molto che fare per la pretension della sessione del pretenso Magdeburgese, quale con molta assistentia della parte contraria, veniva a esser promossa ; vi sono caduti certi incidenti, che l'hanno fatta pericolosa de novi pregiudicii ; io oltre l'haverne parlato nell'audientia a S. Mtà ho più volte raggionato di ciò con Magontia, Colonia, Trevere, Salzburg et Herbipoli, con il sermo duca Maximiliano di Bavera ne raggionai da principio et poi per media di monsr di Portia le ho fatto intendere quanto di più occorreva et anco per soi consiglieri secondo mi si è offerta l'occasione. Et in summa circa la sessione di Magdeburg, questi principi catholici tutti si sono decchiarati a S. Mtà che non conveniva darle orecchia, ma ch'era bene che Sua Mtà vedesse di divertirlo da questo pensier in ogni modo. Ne anco l'amministrator di Sassonia ha voluto adherire alle turbulentie che si trattava di movere in questa materia da Brandeburgesi et lor fautori. Et quanto a questo ponto si spera che sarà reiettato, non volendo Sua Mtà admetter preiudicio simile, stante massimamente questa resolutione de principi catholici, se bene li adversarii non cessano di convenire insieme in gran numero et dimostrarsi molto alterati. Nova difficoltà batte hora cerca Halberstadio, ch'essendo convocato alla dieta et havendo l'indulto delle regalie et ottenuto il loco et sessione nelle altre diete, fa il caso suo più difficile ; non ho mancato con Sua Mtà istessa nell'audientia, che hebbi, et con tutti questi principi più volte di mostrare l'importantia del pregiudicio, et pur heri ne feci una scrittura todesca et latina per instruttion de mei consiglieri, quali mandai a inculcar di novo a Magontia et Trevere et altri il negocio. Saltzburg ha mandato un suo da me sopra di ciò et ha voluto esser informato di molte circonstantie, dicendo di volersi sopra di ciò abbocare con Bavera et Herbipoli, et anco da lui ho mandato mio nepote a far quelli officii ch'erano necessarii. . . .

[Original in my possession.]

20. Annibale Chieppio to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1594, October 22, Rome.

The mission of Giov. Fr. Aldobrandini to Spain. " Partirà dicono fra 15 giorni premendo tanto il Papa nel fare qualche

[1] See *supra*, pp. 50, 81.

lega contro quel commune nemico [Tnrks] che adesso non pensa ad altro." In the beginning of 1595 Aldobrandini became General of the Papal troops in Hungary. "Appresso tutto questo si va scoprendo ogni di più l'amore tanto del Papa verso li nepoti[1] tanto che per commune giuditio è fatto hormai di carne affatto et non si sarà cosa che non ottengano." Cinzio Aldobrandini is abandoned, all the influence has passed more and more into the hands di "questi altri Aldobrandini."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. ANNIBALE CHIEPPIO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.[2]

1594, December 22, Rome.

. . . È opinione comune la quale tuttavia s'accresce, che il Papa voglia assolvere Navarra, ma che vorrebbe farlo con quella maggior soddisfatione del re di Spagna che sia possibile, onde molti hanno pigliato congettura che anche questo negotio sarà incaricato, come si crede senz'altro almeno per reputatione, al s^r Giov. Francesco. Al fine di questo mese si aspetta mons^r di Peron, si come mons^r Serafino mi ha accertato et all'hora si scoprirà più intimamente l'anima di S. S^tà circa ciò venendosene egli come si sa per trattare quest'assolutione, non parendo che per adesso gli Spagnoli si oppongano direttamente al Papa che Navarra non sia assoluto, ma premano più tosto nella dilatatione guadagnando voti ai card^li segretamente per tutto quello che occorrerà trattarsi in concistero et per via d'insinuatione persuadendo, vanno mostrando le forze ch'essi hanno per nutrire una perpetua guerra in Francia, et i mali effetti che possano seguire alla giornata dall'assolutione di detto re. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

22. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH II.[3]

1595, May 20, Rome.

Rudolpho Imperatori electo.

. . . Quae ad Nos Maiestas Tua . . . Praeterea arbitramur Maiestatem Tuam iam audisse quam indigna et calumniosa scriptio contra eundem Nuntium Nostrum Apostolicum ad eius ianuam ante paucos dies fuerit proiecta. Hi nimirum

[1] This is in cipher.
[2] See *supra*, p. 110.
[3] See *supra*, p. 372.

sunt fructus, qui ex haereticis ministris colliguntur, qui, non minus Tibi quam Deo infideles, nihil aliud cogitant et moliuntur, quam ut ea impediant, perturbent, retardent, quibus Dei gloria et nominis Tui amplitudo et dignitas augetur. Quare, quod saepe ex vehementi erga Te amoris affectu et divini honoris zelo egimus, nunc quoque Te summopere hortamur, ut eiusmodi fallax et infidum hominum genus a publica administratione et intimis negociis removeas, et muneribus atque officiis, quae vacantia sunt, neminem praeficias nisi catholicum, et nominatim in Tua Caesarea Cancellaria scribas et ministros et officiales omnes vere catholicos adhibeas; alioquin verendum ne ira Dei, quae hoc maxime tempore lenienda est, gravius irritetur. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die XX maii 1595, pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 245, Papal Secret Archives.]

23. Protocol of the General Congregation of August, 1595.[1]

1595, August 2.

Congreg. gener. pro absolut. Navarrei: Magna cum pietate et affectu narravit [Papa], quae ab initio sui Pontificatus acta et gesta essent in rebus regni Franciae, et quomodo favit catholicis foederatis et alienus a suscipiendo Navarrae rege, et quomodo ille misit ducem Nivern., et quomodo eius legationem reiecit, et quomodo reiecit march. Pinan. similiter ab eo missum orat., quomodo etiam admonitus per litteras card. Placentini card. Gondum, qui venerat pro eo in Ilatia, arcuit a Curia et ditione ecclesiastica et destituit per multos menses ab ea, et quomodo omnia feliciter successerunt Navarro, non obstantibus his, et quo maiores diligentiae factae sunt pro eo regno, eo magis ipse praevaluit, et obtinuit fere omnes provincias, civitates et castra minutissima et ipsum Lugdunum, Lutetiam et deinde reliquas magnas civitates, ut Aurelianum et Rotomagum, et potitur regno, et quomodo instat periculum schismatis, nisi recipiatur, ut protestatus egit et misit istum d. de Perona, qui cum Doxat eius agente hic Romae agat de sua absolutione et receptione. Quindi furono lette le lettere del re al papa. Perciò per viscera misericordiae D. N. Iesu Chr. obsecravit et obtestatus est dd.

[1] See *supra*, p. 135.

card., ut considerent haec omnia charitate mature perpendant ; essi voglian dare votum suum singuli pro conscientia tantum et pro veritate et servitio Dei liberi et alieni ab omni factione et passione et affectu humano, et quid ipsi facerent, si ipsi locum eius tenerent ; vota autem eorum non exquirit hic, sed vult, ut in camera quisque seorsum libere dicat S^ti S. quod pro conscientia sensit. . .. Singulis diebus vocavit aliquos card. ad dicenda eorum vota seu sententias, et eos benigne et patienter audivit, incipiens ab ep^is card., deinde prosequens a presb., demum a diac., per 16 ferme dies non impeditos, mane et vespere pro temporis opportunitate.

[Copy Acta consist., Barb. lat. 2871, p. 148, Vatican Library.]

24. Consistory of 30 August, 1595.[1]

1595, August 30.

The Pope said : Se iam audisse sententias et vota omnium card., et remansisse de eis contentum, et sibi satisfactum esse de eorum omnium pietate, prudentia et doctrina, in hoc negocio reconciliationis regis Navarrae, et invenisse maiorem partem, imo plus quam maiorem, inclinare et sentire, ut recipiatur, minorem vero partem et vix tertiam (sunt enim pauci) sentire contrarium, sed certe omnes pie et prudenter dixerunt et locuti sunt, et ideo esse recipiendum et nullam existimare difficultatem in hoc. Et quod S. S. egit et tractavit cum his agentibus et procuratoribus regis, et huc usque conclusit conditiones aliquas in eius reconciliatione servandas, quas illi implendas promittunt. Menzionò dieci condizioni, subiungens haec hactenus obtinuisse, quod si quid amplius poterit obtinere, melius erit, ac Deo benedicente haec acta esse. Gesualdo e Colonna chiesero se egli le adempirebbe subito ; egli disse che non poteva farlo subito.

[Copy *Acta consist., Barb. lat. 2871, p. 150, Vatican Library.]

25. Autograph Letter from Clement VIII., to the Treasurer-General Cesi.[2]

1595, October 7, Frascati.

Essendo piaciuto a Dio di dare a Giovanni Francesca Aldobrandino nostro nipote una copiosa famiglia di maschi et di femine, la quale anco va tuttavia crescendo, et consider-

[1] See *supra*, p. 128.
[2] See *supra*, p. 53.

ando Noi il debole stato in quanto alle sostanze in che egli si ritrova, havendo massimamente per l'innanzi servito a questa. Sede in più carichi con ogni fede et diligenza et servendo tuttavia nella guerra d'Ungaria per generale del nostro esercito non perdonando ne a fatica ne a spesa ne alla propria vita et sangue, ci è parso per queste cause, that we ought to take care of him and his family, especially his daughters Margherita and Elena, now grown up. Per la presente vi ordinamo che de denari de spogli et beni vacanti et mal percetti o altre compositioni, che da voi o vostri commissarii si sono fatte et non pagate in depositeria generale ovvero per l'avvenire si faranno o incameraranno, facciate pagare et porre nel banco di Francesco et Niccolò Capponi di Roma a credito di dette nostre pronipoti a dispositione di detto Giov. Francesco lor padre in una et più volte come verrà l'occasione fino alla somma di scudi trenta millia. We give them to him "inter vivos." Clauses derogative of contrary dispositions, especially the bull of Pius IV.

Dat. in Tusculano li 7 ottobre 1595.

[Orig. Private Archives of the Aldobrandini in Rome, 42 Nr. 5[1].]

26. Instruction for Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, Legate in France.[2]

1596, May 10, Rome.

. . . Li vescovi et arcivescovi, abbati et altri che hanno giurisdittione e cura d'anime sono la base et il fondamento del clero, e però da questi bisogna cominciare, et haver bene l'occhio quali siano quei che sono provisti di tali cariche, e far che non manchino al debito loro, come di mano in mano li sarà suggerito da V. S. ill^ma^ secondo quello che si intenderà; et in questo Ella farà opera li esser bene informata da huomini senza passione o interesse, per poter poi fruttuosamente ricordare a S. M^tà^ li rimedii che si potranno applicare.

Inoltre alle chiese cattedrali, che sono vacanti e che vacaranno alla giornata, converrà provedere de buoni soggetti et havere in ciò riguardo più al servitio di Dio che all'utilità,

[1] *Ibid.* n. 5, is a second *Chirografo di Clemente VIII. a Cesi, dat. "dal nostro Palazzo apost. 3 febbraio 1596: Farete pagare di denari di spogli nel banco di Capponi fino alla somma di scudi quindeci milia et li farete mettere a la dispositione di Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini nostro nepote, al quale Noi gli doniamo inter vivos per comprare un palazzo etc." Deregation clause as above.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 143, 151.

et circospettione nel nominare, e ricordarsi che questo sarà forsi il maggior carico di sua coscienza che possi havere, et il maggior conto che habbi da rendere a Dio, e che i mali succeduti nella Francia da non molto tempo in qua sono stati attribuiti in grandissima parte all'offese fatte a Dio nelle cattive distributioni de cariche spirituali, essendosi qualche volta dati i vescovati a soldati et a donne ; di dove sono nate tante e si enormi simonie e confidenze, et è proceduto di qui il mal governo delle chiese, il negletto del culto divino e della cura dell'anime, l'oppressione della giurisdittione e la dilapidatione dei beni ecclesiastici, et una estrema et infelice confusione di ogni cosa. Pregherà perciò S. M^tà^ che in questo voglia havere quella informatione che è necessaria per poter far bene il suo offitio, e potrà metterli in consideratione che, per fuggir l'importunità di chi domanda sarà bene che la M^tà^ Sua habbia una lista di huomini buoni et atti a regere e governare le chiese, e subito nominare uno di essi, ma da avvertire grandissimamente da chi piglierà informatione di loro ; et in tal proposito potrà anco soggiongere, che, procurando S. M^tà^ il buon stato delle chiese e de pastori e la conservatione de beni ecclesiastici, e di rimediare ai sudetti mali, non fa puoco servitio delle cose sue temporali, si perchè un ordine ecclesiastico di quella qualità e grandezza, quando sia conservato e favorito nel mode che conviene, può essere gran scudo alla difesa della corona con l'autorità et anco con le riccheezze, benchè quanto a queste sia meglio quando si può fare senza truovarle o almeno se non per urgentissimi bisogni.

E si potrà anco mettere in consideratione a S. M^tà^, se si potesse introdurre l'osservanza del concilio di Trento circa la vacatione delle chiese cattedrali, e levare l'abuso di dare li possessi in vigore delli biglietti, la qual cosa torna in gran danno delle chiese e del governo di esse ; e se ben questi sono punti difficili da superare, nondimeno, perchè importano al servitio di Dio N. S., è obligato di ricordare il rimedio per suo scarico. Però questa sarà la materia di andarla risvegliando e con il re e con qualcheduno di quei ministri più intelligenti e più ben affetti, e col consiglio et aiuto del sig^r^ card. Gondi, e trovandosi difficoltà insuperabile, non si violenterà il negotio, ma si attenderà all'altre cose più riuscibili, finchè piacerà a Dio mostrar migliore strada, non

lasciando però sempre di fare qualche cosa anco in questo, come dice S. Paolo, opportune et importune, talmente però che si vegga e conosca sempre che non si camina se non al bene del re e del regno.

Quel che si è detto de vescovi et arcivescovi et altri pastori ha luogo ancora nelli altri ordini e religioni dove sono molti servi di Dio, che con la sana dottrina, predicationi, amministrationi de santi sacramenti et orationi continue promovono grandemente il culto divino e la salute dell'anime; et in questa gran confusione che ora si trova nel regno delle cose sacre per i tumulti delle guerre è necessario maggior numero di operaii per supplire a tanta necessità et infinità di popoli; et in questa occasione farà toccar con mano alla M^tà^ Sua quanto sia ottimo et opportuno rimedio la publicatione et osservanza del concilio di Trento, come è stato promesso da suoi procuratori. . . .

Non può N. S. mancar di raccomandare al re efficacissimamente et in visceribus Christi tutte le chiese, gli ecclesiastici e sacerdoti secolari e regolari e veri servi di Dio, acciò voglia haverli in particolar protettione, conservarli la loro immunità e privilegii, difenderli dalle oppressioni, non permettere che li giudici laici perturbino li loro stato e la giurisditione ecclesiastica, et in somma ricordarsi che quel che si fa a loro si fa a Dio, et che essi sono mediatori per placar l'ira di Dio e per ottener venia dei peccati e per tutte le consolationi e gratie che si aspettano dalla divina misericordia; e però quando verrà a notitia di V. S. ill^ma^ qualche caso particolare, ne avvertirà Sua M^tà^ ene suggerirà i rimedii.

Spera Sua S^tà^ et aspetta ogni grand'effetto dalla bontà del re et è certo che V. S. ill^ma^ continuerà ad animarlo acciò non si raffreddi nè si ritiri dall'opere buone per qualche difficoltà che insorga di presente, perchè cosi suole avvenir quasi sempre per suggestione del demonio, ma che metta pure in effetto la sua retta intentione e ne dia quel certo e sicuro inditio e saggio, che la s^tà^ Chiesa e tutti li buoni hanno bramato et bramano, perchè, S. M^tà^ cosi, non ha da dubitare che Dio benedetto non li somministri consiglio e forze bastanti da superar tutte le difficoltà, per grandi che siano; et in questo particolare gli metterà in consideratione quanto potenti e di quanta efficacia siano gli essempii dei principi; e perciò, quando S. M^tà^ haverà buon confessore, si confesserà e comuni-

carà e frequentarà spesso i ss^{mi} sacramenti. Questa sarà una viva et continua predica per tutto il regno, attissima a ridurlo in brevissimo termine, et in ciò si potrà secondo l'occasioni mettere innanzi quanto siano stati grandi i re di Francia, che hanno havuta congionta la religione con la fortezza e peritia dell'arte militare ; e così, come nell'armi non cede a nessuno degli antichi, non la deve neanco cedere nella professione della vera religione ; et andarle continuamente insinuando di quanta gloria li sarà l'esser chiamato ristauratore della religione.

Perchè nondimeno il re è stato allevato, come si sà, et hà atteso per inclinatione propria e per gli accidenti occorsi più alle armi che ai negotii civili e molto meno alli ecclesiastici, per la loro diversità, e si può riputare che sia come una novella pianta, la quale è dovere che sia maneggiata con gran rispetto e delicatezza, sarà però bene che V. S. ill^{ma} vada con molta destrezza e piacevolezza suggerendo le cose dette di sopra e le altre che pareranno lei per infervorare et infiammare S. M^{tà} alla vera gloria di Dio e sua et ad acquistarsi con le eroiche e sante operationi l'amore e divotione, non pure de' suoi popoli, ma di tutta la Christianità, la quale si promette grandissimi benefitii dallo infinito valore della sua persona.

E perchè S. M^{tà} ha pur fatto sin qui alcune cose buone e rilevanti, come di haver levato il principino di Condé di mano degli heretici e datolo in cura al marchese di Pisani, del qual principino si sentono buone nuove, et ha anco levato la prohibitione di venir a Roma per le speditioni, et ultimamente si è presentito che si sia dato qualche principio a restituir la messa nel principato di Bearne, se bene questo non si sà certo, et anco del Delfinato, si potrà prendere di qui argomento di lodare e ringratiare S. M^{tà} ampiamente et essortarla a seguitare di dar gl'ordini necessarii acciocchè si continui et accresca l'opera, mostrando il contento che N. S^{re} ne ha sentito, e quanto lo sentirà maggiore, come intenderà che si vada innanzi a buoni passi e gagliardamente ; et in somma in questa materia cercherà di andar sempre entrando et istillando [amore] nell'animo del re verso i cattolici e la religione cattolica, et odio verso gli heretici e le eresie, mostrandogli quanto siano inquieti, infideli, incostanti e desiderosi di cose nuove, e quanto il Calvinismo sia pernicioso alli principi istessi, poichè tutta la fallace dottrina sua è di sollevatione e perturbatione di tutti li stati.

Una cosa è grandemente da avvertire e da rimostrare a S. M^{tà} vivamente, che i parlamenti del regno cercano con ogni industria d'avvanzarsi e di arrogarsi più autorità che possono, massimamente sopra gli acclesiastici : il che conturba grandemente quell'ordine e ne nascono infiniti disordini e scandali ; laonde è necessario provederli li buona sorte anco per proprio interesse di S. M^{tà}, et reprimerli, e fare che si contenghino dentro dei suoi termini, perchè altrimente in progresso di tempo ne verrà anco diminuita l'autorità regia. Ma tutto questo però haverà da essere insinuato a S. M^{tà} con gran destrezza e secretezza.

Volendo Sua S^{tà} sovvenire in ogni maniera che possa ai bisogni spirituali del regno, e considerando che per le turbolenze passate e per la mala qualità de' tempi, molti di ogni sesso e di ogni qualità devono trovarsi illaqueati in varii modi, ha perciò fatto gratia di un amplo giubileo, compartendo i tesori di s^{tà} Chiesa con paterna benignità. Onde V. S. ill^{ma} ne darà conto al re e poi lo farà publicare con la solennità solita e conveniente, invitando tutti li fedeli alla partecipatione di esso per consolatione propria e per la gloria eterna . . .

Haverà insieme a vigilare veramente la vita del re nelle cose della religione et avvisarne con ogni schiettezza e cercar sempre di scuoprir sempre più l'interno dell'animo suo da quelli che saranno meno appassionati per l'una e l'altra parte.

E però che altre volte sono seguiti delli inconvenienti per conto delle speditioni dei legati, avvertirà V. S. ill^{ma} che nelle speditioni si proceda senza sorte alcuna d'interesse, fugendo ogni pagamento di denari. Il Papa in Polonia non volse che si pagasse cosa alcuna neanco per la carta ; e per questo avvertirà tutti li ministri e tutta la sua famiglia a procedere nettissimamente, acciochè, andando per rimediare alli abusi, non dessimo noi essempio di maggiori.

E però, ricapitulando tutta questa scrittura, in somma due sono i negotii che Ella ha da trattare : l'essecutione di quanto ha promesso Sua M^{tà} per i suoi procuratori, la riforma e riordinatione della religione in quel regno, come diffusamente sta scritto di sopra, e la pace tra la corona di Francia e Spagna: negotii della gravità che Ella conosce ; dalla quale pace evidentemente ne viene la distruttione dell'Imperio Ottomano. . . .

Qui entra un punto molto essentiale, che è sopra l'editto,

della cui rivocatione e publicatione fatta dall'istesso re fu sentita molto dal Papa e da tutti li buoni. Ma sin'hora non vi si è potuto rimediare, nè anco parve tempo di trattarne nell'assolutione, riserbando questo punto alla legatione. Però N. S^re^ non può, per debito dell'offitio suo, mancar hora di mettere in consideratione a Sua M^tà^ il rimediarci in qualche modo, al meno, se non puote far altro, con non osservarlo in quello che può portar pregiuditio alla religione et a' cattolici ; e sarà bene che V. S. ill^ma^ procuri, se è possibile, la rivocatione per tener gli heretici più ristretti che si può. Ma quando, per la turbolenza del tempo o per altro, giudicasse che ciò non potesse riuscire, quando non si possi far meglio, tenti di haver parola secreta da Sua M^tà^ di questa inosservanza, acciò la concienza e fama sua non resti illesa, e procurerà che per il regno non si facci forza da altri sopra di ciò, et al Papa et ai cattolici si dia qualche honesta sodisfattione e si mostri tener conto delle gratie ricevute da questa Sede et havere il debito il debito riguardo all'honor di Dio, e non muoversi per rispetti humani. . . .

Data in Roma nel Palazzo Apostolico di Montecavallo questo di 10 di maggio 1596.

[Copy Nunz. div. 239 p. 188 s. Papal Secret Archives, also in Borghese I 616 p. 1 s. ibid.]

27. Pope Clement VIII. to Philip II., King of Spain.[1]

1596, July 18, Rome.

A great difficulty of our times is that many bishops who are good and learned, do not sufficiently fulfil their episcopal duties, do not administer the sacraments, especially Confirmation and Holy Orders, on feast days they neither celebrate nor hear mass, they do not convoke synods, above all they do not hold visitations of their dioceses, not even the principal cities, and do so only in appearance, whereas instead they should be watchful and fight against the cockle, and enforce the decrees. In this matter the Spanish bishops especially sin, not only now, but we saw it for ourselves when many years ago we dwelled for a long time in Spain.

"Ac sane iam tum animadvertimus, eiusmodi vitae genus sequi episcopos illos, ut externo potius splendore et terrenis honoribus quam divino cultu et sacrarum rerum tractatione

[1] See *supra*, p. 206.

oblectarentur, et ut planissime dicamus, potius saeculares principes quam animarum pastores et episcopi viderentur, quod institutum absurdissimum et a Christi Domini imitatione alienissimum adhuc perdurare et in tanta sacrorum canonum et concilii Tridentini luce eos adhuc in tenebris versari, qui aliorum duces et magistri esse debent, profecto acerbum et luctuosum est. Nec vero cessavimus fratres nostros episcopos exemplo nostro invitare, ut non verbis, sed operibus admonerentur, ipsos esse cultores agri Domini, ad ipsos pertinere, manum ad aratrum admovere, noxias herbas revellere, christianae pietatis et virtutum omnium sementem facere, ipsos esse pastores, qui gregem suum per se ipsos visitare et vultum pecoris sui agnoscere tenentur; quare et si pro nostro apostolicae servitutis munere in tantis christianae reipublicae tempestatibus iis curis et occupationibus, quas nemo ignorat et tu optime omnium nosti, distenti, et distracti sumus, tamen ab ipso pontificatus nostri initio episcopalem visitationem ecclesiarum et cleri huius nostrae almae Urbis indiximus eamque nos ipsi adhibitis delectis cardinalibus et praelatis obivimus et obimus, atque adhuc in eadem muneris functione versamur, et re ipsa experti sumus, quantus et quam copiosus spiritualis fructus ex eius modi visitatione consequatur. At vero quia apud Hispanos episcopus parum videtur exemplo profecisse, statuimus etiam per litteras nostras unumquemque illorum officii sui admonere, ut tandem aliquando intelligant, quid sit episcopum esse, et in quo non adumbratus, sed verus honor et dignitas episcopalis consistat." We pray you, when you propose translations to us, to see how the person suggested has governed previously, because we shall only with difficulty be able to translate anyone who has not carried out canonical visitations, or shown himself a true pastor. "Urget nos charitas Christi, urget officii nostri munus."

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 302, Papal Secret Archives.]

28. Autograph Letter from Pope Clement VIII. to Philip II. King of Spain.[1]

1596, October 15, Frascati.

Carissime in Christo fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

1 See *supra*, p. 205.

Sa la maestà Divina a cui non è occulta cosa alcuna, che desideriamo con tutto l'affetto dell'animo nostro poter apportare alla M. V. refrigerio e consolatione e non travagli e fastidii di animo, il quale desiderio è così intenso che ci ha fatto indugiare quanto abbiamo potuto a por mano alla penna, ma procedendo le cose tant'oltre per non aver a rendere conto a Dio di esser cane morto, non valens latrare, siamo stati necessitati violentar la natura nostra, e rappresentare a V. M. con nostro infinito dispiacere le oppressioni che si fanno dalli ministri della M. V. alla giurisditione ecclesiastica, talchè per quello che si vede dagli effetti poi, che abbiamo deliberato di estinguerle. Il che ci ha fatto qualche volta sospettare, che sia vicino il dì del giudicio, poichè uno de' segni, secondo Chiesa santa, è quando conculcabitur clerus, e castigando le cose di Fiandra delle quali abbiamo scritto brevi particolari a V. M., e cominciando dal regno di Napoli è intollerabile il strapazzo, che si fa ai poveri vescovi et a beni loro, pigliando ardire ogni barone ben piccolo per il fomento, che hanno dalli consegli, e Vicere di conculcarli spogliarli delli beni e ragioni loro, e sino a circondarli con violenza le cose, e poco meno, che metter mano alle persone loro. Giudichi poi V. M. in qual maniera sia trattato il clero inferiore, onde nasce, che se li superiori vogliono castigare o preti o frati malefacienti sono con il ricorso a giudici laici difesi, e levate le forze a chi governa di poter più riformare li frati e monache, come segue hora in Napoli, volendo noi levare il governo delle monache a' frati zoccolanti, necessitati da infandissime scelleratezze verificate colle diligenze fatte tre anni continui, le quali sono tali, che se Ella le sapasse non solo stupiria, ma siamo certi che il zelo dell'honor di Dio la sforzaria a lagrimare, e si dorria insino al vivo cuore, che i ministri suoi impediscano pur un'hora l'esecutione di questa nostra deliberatione, come fanno sotto pretesto, che il card. Gesualdo non habbia chiesto l'Exequatur del breve fatta da noi sopra questa materia e con quanta poca ragione lo potrà vedere V. M. dalla lettera scritta da Noi sopra ciò al conte d'Olivares, della quale mandiamo copia al Nuntio, il quale Exequatur vanno tanto dilatando, che con esso si vogliono constituire e giudici e sindicatori in un regno feudatario di santa Chiesa, dell'istessa Chiesa, annichilando ogni esenzione di persone e luoghi ecclesiastici, impe-

dendo infinite riforme e visite che si fanno in quel regno, colle quali si rimediariano infinite anime, e levariano molti peccati del clero e secolare e regolare, delle quali riuscirebbe consequentemente soavissima la riforma de'laici, e si levariano infinite offese che si fanno a Dio benedetto.

Non raccontiamo i particolari casi per due ragioni, l'una perchè è molto tempo, che Ella et i suoi consegli li sanno, essendo stati dati in nota particolarmente quando il cardinale Alessandrino venne in Spagna per le cose della Lega copiosamente capo per capo, tanto queste di Napoli, quanto quelle di Milano e Sicilia. L'altra ragione è perchè essendo ogni giorno cresciuti bisognaria che questa lettera fosse un volume; faccia V. M. conto, che pare che indictum sit bellum atrox con questa giurisditione tanto rispetto del clero come de'laici, e particolarmente quanto al clero vederà V. M. quello che si fa in Milano in parte con il veder solo il bando fatto dal governatore . . . con il qual bando si sono atterriti talmente tutti, che non è chi ardisca più comparire ai tribunali ecclesiastici dell'Inquisitione officio tanto favorito da lei; e non solo hanno fatto questo bando, ma havendo Noi scritto poco innanzi con quella paterna carità che habbiamo saputo al governatore et al senato, come Ella vedrà dalla copia delli brevi, non solo non hanno rimediata cosa alcuna, ma scritto maggiormente contro quelli, di chi hanno sospettato che fossero ricorsi da Noi, citandoli a comparire personalmente sotto pena di ribellione, come se fossero ricorsi al gran Turco e non al vicario di Christo. Ma quello che ci duole sino al vivo cuore è, che per difendere quelle attioni cominciano a seminare dottrina diabolica, seminario di eresie e scisme, negando insino che la Chiesa non abbia potestà nei laici, etiam ratione peccati, etiam in ordine ad salutem, usando ancora fondamenti con li quali percuotono non solo la giurisditione ecclesiastica, ma la secolare ancora, perchè come si dice che la difesa è de iure naturali, e che quando il suddito è aggravato dal suo superiore gl'è lecito difendersi ancora de facto, quale percuote l'una e l'altra giurisditione; quando si dice, che quando il suddito ha bisogno di difesa e la ricerca, e per la lontananza del superiore non gli viene a tempo, gli è lecito di ricorrere ad altri. Ponderi V. M. quanto lontano sono l'Indie da Napoli e Milano da Madrid, e veda se torna conto che questa dottrina così universalmente si

semini negli animi degli huomini e che effetto possono fare ne'suoi stati, quando dicono, che non facendo il prelato o suo officiale giustitia in un caso, in quello non è più prelato, e se li può resistere de facto, se questo medesimo ha luogo nei re, negli altri principi e nei loro officiali, poichè Iddio ha costituito ancora loro per reggere bene i popoli, se non facendo giustitia restano in quel caso di essere re e principi, e però se gli può resister de facto, come questi dicono. Veda la M. V. che semi di seditione e sollevamenti sono questi, le quali cose ci paiono tanto esorbitanti e pericolose che habbiamo qualche volta sospettato, che questi, come seditiosi et instrumenti del diavolo padre delle discordie, seminano questa dottrina malitiosamente mostrando di voler abbassar la giurisditione ecclesiastica per aver fumento de' principi secolari, ma l'intento presente loro sia di abbassar l'una e l' altra e ridurre ogni cosa a tumulti e popularità ; alle generali cose è necessario aver grandemente l'occhio, perchè per il mondo passano strani pensieri, e noi sappiamo ogni cosa. Ma tornando al nostro proposito è gran cosa che si sia spenta la memoria e l'imitatione di quei buoni principi che donavano alle chiese . . . provincie e stati, e che oggi non si pensi ad altro che a snervarla e nel temporale e nello spirituale, epur si sa, che quei che l'hanno espilata non hanno avuta molta prosperità, nè lungo è stato il loro imperio. È pur strana cosa, che tanti re, anco barbari, abbiano donato e ridonato alla Sede Apostolica mezza l'Italia, e che i principi d'oggi, come la Chiesa ha un castelluccio di 4 contadini nei loro stati, si faccia ogni cosa, ancor per vie indirettissime, perchè non habbia giurisditione in quelle 4 case et in 4 villani, et si faccia più conto di questo che di debellare il Turco, come hora prova la povera chiesa di Tortona nello stato di Milano. Sia certa la M. V. che come si incomincia appresso i popoli a dedurre in vilipendio la chiesa et i prelati, s'apra una grandissima porta all'heresie et a scismi et a mille mali. E degnisi considerare V. M. che quelli, che hanno questo fine, effettualmente nel fine si accordano cogli heretici, poichè il fine dell'eretico è di astringere la giurisditione et il Papato, non avendo cosa che l'abbassi, se non questo, e da qui è, che per molto, che siano fra di loro discordi et infinite sette, in questo articolo dell'abbassamento et estintione della Sede Apostolica sono tutti uniformi ; chi dunque si propone per fine a estin-

guere la giurisditione della Sede Apostolica e l'autorità di lei si conforma con il fine loro, et a questo ci s'induce pian piano con il negare l'autorità in una cosa et in un'altra, e con avvezzar li popoli alla disobbedienza di essa, et allo sprezzamento delle censure e simili cose.

Siamo necessitati a mettere in consideratione a V. M. lo scandolo che da questo bando mandato in stampa e mandato la Christianità per tutto il mondo, ne riceverà et il contento degli eretici, vedendo, che i principi cattolici resistono, detraggono e sforzano di spogliare et annichilire questa giurisditione et insieme ancora a pregarla a considerare i mali che di qui possono nascere poichè coll'esempio di principe primo cattolico si dilataranno gli altri tanto, che nelli stati loro si estinguerà questa giurisditione, so Dio benedetto non opera per la sua causa, e pur di tutto s'averà da dare conto a Dio e del male e delle occasioni del male e dei mali che hanno tratto successivo, e sa V. M. di quanto momento sono, e quello che gli soprasta.

La chiesa di Milano doveva essere quietissima, perchè tutto quello che poteva essere controverso fu fermato nel tempo del card. di S. Prassede ; perchè oggi innova il governatore ? perchè di nuovo fa un bando ? che havendolo mandato al duca d'Albuquerque fu costretto dichiararlo nullo, ne più ce ne fu memoria. È possibile, che s'abbia da temere che un'arcivescovo massimamente di tanta bontà nato vassallo di V. M. si voglia usurpare la giurisditione regia ? Ha da esser crimen laesae maiestatis, che un corriere porti una lettera di un ecclesiastico al Papa, che un notario si roghi di un'atto ecclesiastico ? Queste sono le cose che ritengono i Papi, che hanno avanti gli occhi i beni della Chiesa, e non l'interesse particolare delle loro case, dal concedere ai re et ai principi più di quello che s'habbiano, poichè la Chiesa ogni giorno ne riceve maggior nocumento e minor riconoscimento.

Preghiamo V. M. con tutto l'affetto dell'animo nostro a provvederci da dovero et in buona forma, acciò non siamo costretti a pensare a concilii o provinciali o generali, come per questi effetti ha usatici altra volta la chiesa, il che lo deve fare V. M. tanto più come qualmente si tratta in questa materia grandemente l'interesse dell'anima sua, e se fu lecito dire a S. Agostino scrivendo a Marcellino : si non audis amicum petentem, audi episcopum consulentem, quamvis

quidem christiano loquor maxime in tali casu non arroganter dixero, audire te episcopum convenit iubentem, possiamo ben noi con tutta quella modestia, ma insieme con tutta quell'efficacia maggiore, che possiamo rappresentare la necessità del remedio come più largamente dirà il Nuntio a V. M. al quale ella si contenterà dare in questo piena fede soggiungendoli, che uno de' maggiori fondamenti o una delle maggiori ritirate, che usano questi ministri di lei, è il dire negli altri stati si fa peggio. Noi non vogliamo fare questa comparazione, confessiamo che in tutti ci siano degli abusi, ma diciamo, che in niun'altro stato è stato fatto bando simile a quello che snerva tutta l'obbedienza agl'ecclesiastici, atterrisce a chiunque si ha da impacciar con la Chiesa. Diciamo ancoro che la M. V. la quale come in altre occasioni le abbiamo scritto è stata tanto favorita da Dio benedetto, è obbligata più degli altri a rendersi grato a Sua Divina Maestà e poichè ella sa quanto gl'è cara la Chiesa, che nella conversione di S. Paolo dice, ego autem dico in Christo et ecclesia, deve verso di essa esser grato riconoscitore di tali grazie ricevute da Sua Divina Maestà acciò che la Chiesa coll'esempio suo possa ridurre gli altri principi, con il qual fine benediciamo con quel maggior affetto di amore, di che è capace l'animo nostro coll'apostolica beneditione V. M. e li serenissimi figliuoli, pregandoli da Sua Divina Maestà in utroque homine ogni felicità.

Dato in Tusculano li 15 di Ottobre 1596.

[Copy, nel Barb. lat. 3369 p. 108[b] s., Biblioteca Vaticana, cited by SENTIS (Clemente VIII, p. XVII) 1879, and transcribed by me in 1879.]

29. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO HENRY IV., KING OF FRANCE.[1]

1596, December 21, Rome.

Reply concerning the death of Cardinal Toledo; a serious loss. We know his merits and his virtues from long and intimate intercourse. "Fuit in eo summa doctrina et divinarum atque humanarum rerum cognito, excellens prudentia, acre judicium, pietas et vitae integritas singularis, accedebat zelus catholicae religionis, tum insignis quidam amor erga Te et regnum istud nobilissimum," so that you

[1] See *supra*, p. 133.

justly lament him in a special way, because he adjured us so strongly in your favour, that we should grant you the absolution, and died the more calmly for having seen you received into the bosom of the Church. He has taken his flight to heaven, and we grieve for him as much as we thank God for having granted it to us to enjoy the fruits of his learning and his piety. Exhortation.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 451, Papal Secret Archives.]

30. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1599, June 5, Rome.

. . . Duoi volte mi sono abboccato col Malaspina[2] dopo che io scrissi a V.A.; nel primo ragionamento mi disse che dovessi scrivere a V.A. tre capi sostantiali. Il primo è che indubitamente la Stà S. farà un altra numerosa promotione quest' anno santo, a che non osta ne l' esservi la bolla che prefige il numero, ne esservi il numero istesso adimpito con molta povertà dei promossi. Il fondamento di ciò egli locava dal saper che N. S. studia come trovar modo di liberar il colleggio dalla servitù de Spagna et farlo libero così nell' atione del crear nuovo pontefice come anche di risolver senza timore nelle cose occorrenti et che hanno per fine la riputatione della Stà Sede. Sa di più il sodetto che per stabilir simile libertà il tutto è governato col conseglio del cardle Baronio, il quale propone non esservi mezzo più efficace del sopradetto di promotione, che li promovendi non saranno in numero minor di dieci overo dodeci soggetti, tra li quali quattro siano principi. Austria fratello del sermo arciduca Ferdinando, Toscana, Savoia, Mantova, et che a questi si unisca il sr Silvestro Aldobrandino, gli altri poi debbino essere prelati che ancora non sono in predicamento perchè alla giornata nascono nuovi soggetti et vi sono nove inclinationi. Il 2o capo circa la sua legatione che oltre al procurar l' accordo tra l' Impre et Battori contiene di più un' aperta persuasione ai medemi che debbano continuare la guerra col Turco senza venir ad alcun accordo di pace, perchè altrimente per quello che sa S. Stà ne nascerà la guerra contro cattolici, il che non seguirà mentre si manterrà viva quella. Il fondamento de questa negotiatione è cavato tutto dalla

[1] See *supra*, p. 250.
[2] This name is in cipher.

mala intentione degli eretici, li quali volendo innovar contro il solito per la creatione del novo imperatore, fomentati dalle intelligenze che hanno con Francia et Inghilterra, prevede S. Stà che questo sia il più opportuno rimedio per divertire gl' orditi loro pensieri, il quali non si effettueranno mentor collà si terrà vivo lo spirito, perchè se bene gl' istessi sono inimici de cattolici sono però più inimici del Turco, et acciò l' Imperre possa meglio fuggire et divertire gli ordimenti S. Stà piglia ispediente di persuadere nella maniera descritta. Mi disse 3° che il duca di Sessa gli ha datto che quanto alle controversie di Milano sarà data ogni sodisfatione a N. Sre. . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. Pope Clement VIII. to Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.[1]

1599, September 4, Rome.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, divini luminis incrementum usque ad perfectam conversionis diem. Multa cum spiritali voluptate et gaudio cordis Nostri legimus litteras nobilitatis Tuae, quas quarta decima superioris mensis die ad Nos dedisti, videmurque in eis agnovisse antiquam illam Germanicam ingenuitatem et candorem animi Tui, quem Tu ipse profiteris et alii de Te praedicant et praesertim ven. frater Ernestus Coloniae archiepiscopus et princeps elector, qui Te valde amat et de Tuae animae salute pio affectu est sollicitus. Illud autem Nobis in primis est iucundum, quod Te coram Deo, qui scrutatur renes et corda, in veritate ambulare ostendis, tantumque abesse ut eius vocationi et gratiae velis obicem opponere, ut eum potius assidue, ut scribis, precaturus sis, ut cor Tuum Spiritu Sancto suo collustret Teque ad veritatis lucem perducat. Studium hoc Tuum et propensionem veritatis catholicae agnoscendae valde in Domino commendamus Teque paterne hortamur, ut magis magisque in hanc curam incumbas et veritatem agnitam toto ex corde Tuo totoque animo complectaris. Confidimus siquidem in eo, qui divitias bonitatis et gratiae suae effundit in humiles et in eos, qui vere seipsos in eum proiiciunt, quod auferet velamem de corde Tuo et tenebras omnes depellet, ut multo Tuo cum gaudio et Nostro et bonorum omnium accurras ad gremium unius sanctae catholicae Ecclesiae Romanae, omnium fidelium

[1] See *supra*, p. 379.

mater [sic] et magistra [sic], quam solam agnoverunt avi et maiores Tui, principes non solum generis splendore, sed pietate et devotione clarissimi erga hanc Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, in qua Nos immeritos Deus praesidere voluit. Ad hanc praeclaram maiorum Tuorum hereditatem recuperandam Te invitamus, fili; nusquam enim salus nisi in Ecclesia catholica, ad quam, divina gratia adiutrice, Te perducere conantur Ernestus archiepiscopus elector, princeps illa gravitate, prudentia caeterisque animi ornamentis praeditus, quae Tu nosti Tuique amantissimus; hoc idem conatur vir insigniter eruditus et pius Ioannes Pistorius notarius Noster, quem merito Tuo valde amamus; hoc caeteri catholici, qui zelo honoris Dei et salutis Tuae sunt accensi, quorum catholicae doctrinae et salutatibus cohortationibus dum aures corporis et cordis faciles ac dociles praebes, recte facis et magnam in Nobis de Tua perspecta conversione spem, atque expectationem commoves. De his vero quae ad Mindensis ecclesias spiritualem gubernationem spectant, quaeque item ad eiusdem temporalis et politicae administrationis rationem pertinent, tum eitam de eo quod respicit constitutionem et deputationem dilecti fili Godeschalchi praepositi Osnabrugensis, qui Tuo et aliorum iudicio ob perspectam pietatem et prudentiam mangnopere commendatur, de his omnibus copiose scribimus ad eundem vererabilem fratrem Coloniensem, a quo cuncta uberius intelliges. Interea Deum et patrem misericordiarum precari non cessabimus, ut opus suum in Te perficiat et gaudium Nostrum de Te impleat et diem illum laetissimum et optatissimum cito Nobis adducat, quo Te plene conversum et perfecte catholicum intra viscera cordis Nostri et caritatis Christi uti filium unice dilectum recipiamus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die 4 septembris 1599, pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44 t. 43, n. 357, Papal Secret Archives.]

32. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantova.[1]

1600, February 19, Rome.

. . . Nissuna altra cosa per fin qui trovo nel particolare della lega se non confirmatione che il padre Cicala ha alle mani simile trattatione et che la S. S^tà si è compiaciuta

[1] See *supra*, p. 297.

trattare con detto padre alle volte per spatio di due hore continue, con meraviglia dei proprii familiarii che servono alla S^{tà} S., la quale per quello che tocca a se ha grande volontà di simile conchiusione, ma il ritiramento ch'hora trova dalla parte del Chris^{mo} ha intiepedito l'ardore col quale l'istessa abbracciò simile impresa con speranza di condurla al suo buon fine. Gl'imperiali qua si promettino molto di qualche buona conchiusione et fra essi si come mi dice mons^{r} Malaspina, l' ill.^{mo} Madruzzi ne spera grandemente. Dalla parte di Spagna si scopre non solo un ardore grande di simile trattatione ma è quasi incentivo ch'il trattato stia risvegliato. Et di già scrissi a V. A. che il s^{r} duca di Sessa per questo conto teneva ampia autorità, hora confermo il medemo, et soggiongo di più che mons^{r} Malaspina mi dice di sapere che l'ambas^{re} della M^{tà} predetta residente appresso la M^{tà} Ces^{ea} tiene ordine di assentire a qualunque cosa, pur che la lega si concluda. La M^{tà} dell'Imp^{re}, come anche altre volte ho scritto, desidera questa sorte d'aiuti, ma la particolare proposta che per quanto intendo si mantiene tuttaria salda nella M^{tà} Sua di voler far la pace quando le tornerà bene, ha difficoltato la prattica in maniera che quest'un rispetto ha causato la ritirata de Francesi. Per quanto io penetro tre fondamenti si sono presi in questa trattatione per vedere di conseguire con uno di essi il fine che zelantemente si mantiene nella Santità di N. S. per la guerra contro il Turco. Il primo è circa il tentativo di far la guerra congiontamente, et quando questo capo non riesca, si va ponderando per il secondo, se si possa disgiuntamente, et ultimo, come si possa fare cosa sussistente ausiliarmente, mancando per difficoltà i primi duoi fondamenti. Per guerregiare congiuntamente già è tanto si è alle mani che per le difficoltà emergenti non si ha sin qui alcuna certezza, et pure in questa prima propositione persiste più che in ogni altra. Disgiontamente si teme che l'impresa non riesca. Ausiliarmente, cioè col dar aiuto alla M^{tà} Ces^{ea} lasciandola far guerra a suo modo, si come più piacerebbe alla S. M^{tà} è un capo preso per ultimo sussidio, nel quale non inclinano gl'animi de potentati come stracchi et particolarmente della S. S^{tà} se non per rispetto di certa honorata violenza, nel quul caso pare che si debbano disperare aiuti opportuni a un impresa insigne, massime che dovrebbe toccare alla Sedia

Apostolica più che a ogn'altro potentato dar simili aiuti, la quale è tanto esausta che come pure in quest' istessa materia ho con altre mie rappresentato a V. A., non trova modo di provvedere agl'urgenti bisogni domestici, di maniera che V. A. intende brevemente, come si vada masticando questa pratica, la quale in ogni caso quando bene si terminasse con qualche buon fine non si vede però che sia per esseguirsi alcuna cosa per il presente anno.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

33. Relatione fatta all'ill^mo sig. Cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promotione, che doveva andar in Roma.[1]

In questo teatro del mondo (che così vien chiamata Roma) dove V. S. ill^ma viene a proseguire il felice corso degl'honori suoi, trovarà due gran mete da superare, cioè l'aspettatione che ha eccitata di se stessa, et l'esempio dei cardinali del suo serenissimo sangue. Ma avvenga, che V. S. ill^ma habbi valore et virtù di trapassare et lasciarsi a dietro l'una et l'altra di queste mete, non dimeno perchè a fornire più facilmente il suo corso, le sarà molto oportuno l'aura propitia della corte, non despiacerà a V. S. ill^ma forsi, per poterla, come prudente nochiero prender meglio, di lasciarsi indurre alla memoria alcune qualità, inclinationi, humori et interessi dei primi sogetti di essa corte, da quali, come da suo ponente, par che spiri quest'aura.

From these introductory words of the account which is preserved in Cod. 6619 pp. 79-125 of the National Library, Vienna,[2] in Cod. 10059 n. 4 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Cod. Vat. 10337 of the Vatican Library, its purpose is made clear: to give special instructions on the court of Rome to Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, appointed on March 3rd, 1598. Ranke, who used this report for the first time from the manuscript at Vienna, though only to a limited extent (II. 155, III. 92*) read it in great haste, for otherwise he could not possibly say that the recovery of Ferrara was passed over in silence. Actually that event is mentioned three times. As to the date when it was written, Ranke thinks that the report undoubtedly belongs to 1599.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 23, 30, 39, 49, 50.
[2] This MS. is the basis of the present publication.

The date can be fixed exactly. Since the death of Avalos de Aragona is mentioned, who died on February 20, 1600, it belongs to 1600; and as Madruzzo, who died on April 20, 1600, is still alive, the report was written between February 20 and April 20, 1600.[1]

[1. Pope Clement VIII.]

È N. S. Clemente ottavo di complession flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel modo tardo, nell' attioni circunspetto, nell'-essecutioni cuntatore, la qual cuntatione nasce parte dalla sua flemma nimica del precipitio, parte dalla bontà sua, che dubitando sempre, di non errare, usa il tardo conseglio contra il tardo pentimento. Però quando par che mastichi alcune gratie che li sono dimandate, le rumina, et quando non risolve, premedita. E perchè l'irresolutione è quella, che confonde se stessa, o nel discorrere o nell'applicarsi, è la prudenza discorre, e s'applica maturamente. Però il Papa, ch' è molto saggio et ottimo cognoscitore delle cose, per qualche sua procrastinatione deve chiamarsi propriamente non irresoluto, ma considerato; poscia che ove accade prestezza di executione, egli non lascia di usarla, è tenace del secreto, cupo ne i pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli a fine. Osserva benissimo il detto di Vespasiano imperatore, ch' el principe non dée mandar niuno da se mal sodisfatto, poscia ch' el suo ragionare è humanissimo, e par che accenni sempre alla gratia. Conosce (come da l' unghia il leone) da poche parole la persona con chi tratta, ciò che vagli e quanto pesi; è difficile ad esser ingannato, trovandosi sempre armato contra l' inganno del sospetto; è occorso [sic] ne i detti, arguto nelle risposte, nimico della loquacità, dell' apparenza, della pompa et dell' ostentatione. Aborre l' adulatione e le lodi, che non siano molto sobrie di se stesso, nelle quali s' alcuno per amplificatione in voce e in scritto pensa d' acquistar gratia, ne consegue anco il contrario. Ma havendo ciascuno alcuni gusti particulari non si può dir di qual cosa precisamente il Papa si diletti, se non si dice, che di tutte e di niuna, per ciò che quantunque in esso non si veda humor di fabriche

[1] A later marginal note in Vat. 10337 says: "Informatione al s. card. d'Este creduta del Lanfranco." In the Paris MS. the year in which this was written is given as 1599 and is in the Florentine style.

come in Sisto quinto, di guerra come in Giulio secondo, di letterati come in Paolo terzo, di conviti come in Pio quarto, di riforme come in Pio quinto, non dimeno ha genio indifferente, più tosto applicativo che molto applicato, a tutto questo perchè ha fabricato in Vaticano, in Laterano et in Monte Cavallo, guerregiato in Ungheria, in Romagna, non ischiva in ocio ne di diporto le facetie, massime di Trulla, favorisce i letterati, essendo egli di quel numero. Non fuge, quando accade la conversatione honestamente piacevole, anzi la condisce con ingeniose inventioni, banchetta lautissimamente, et nelle riforme non differisce in altro da Pio quinto, se non che l' imprende con più circunspetione e l' introdcue con manco strepito. Non s' affissa molto in casa alcuna. Non è punto amico di suoi commodi anzi espone se stesso a fatiche et usa forma di vita diversamente da quel che farebbe persona troppo amante di se stessa. È indifesso nell' audienza et ne i negotii. Legge volontieri tutte le scritture, che le sono appresentate. Ascolta patientemente ogn' uno, et attende con tale attentione anco alle cause private altrui, che quando son proposte in segnatura, spesso supplisce a i defetti della memoria o della cognitione de i referendarii, e nel segnar delle gratie è si circunspetto di non alterar la lege, massime nelle cose che possono dar scandalo, che la sua segnatura di gratia è quasi come segnatura di giustitia.

Ha mostrato sempre di amare huomini religiosi e di buona vita, così chia mando alcuni all' officii, alle dignità, non da fuori o dalle corti, ma da i chiostri e dalle celle, favorendo particolarmente i preti della Vallicella, onde avviene che la maggior parte de i prelati della corte, per secondare l'humor del Pontefice sono Vallicellioli.

Non porta però buon concetto de Frati, anzi questo nome appresso S. S^{tà} suona sempre male et attende tuttavia alla loro riforma, mà con destrezza.

Ha nobili creanze e nel mostrare alcuna parte del corpo che soglia coprirsi o far atto schivo della persona, è verecondo anco con suoi più intimi servitori.

È di vita incolpabile, di mente retto, d' eruditione universale, per che oltre le leggi, nelle quali è molto eccellente, raggiona fondatamente d' ogni cosa ; con che et con haver trattato i maggiori affari del mondo, si può dir, ch' habbi in se stesso, come in compendio tutta la theorica et la prattica della politica e ragion di stato, di cui è particolarmente intendente.

Stà l' autorità del Papa in se più che nel collegio di i cardinali, coi quali non communica se non quanto l' agrada, avvenga che con la maggior parte di loro et con tutti quelli, che se ne sono stati mostrati bisognosi, sia S. Santità stata liberale di pensioni e beneficii oltre i cento scudi il mese, che porghi del suo a molti cardinali poveri.

Non ha (doppo la morte del cardinal Toledo) persona della cui fede o del cui sapere si fidi intieramente nel consegliarsi, fuor che coi nipoti et in specie con Aldobrandino, dall' occorrenze in poi, che vanno rimesse per ordinario alle congregationi dei cardinali, le quali anco ha nuovamente tirato a Palazzo, per poter assistervi, quando li piace.

Ha Sua Sanità quattro instituti suoi proprii di grande edificatione, ciò sono confessarsi e celebrare ogni giorno e dare ogni mattina da disnare ad un numero de poveri nell' istessa stanza, nello stesso tempo et delle stesse vivande et tal'hor con l' istesse mani di S. S^{tà}, visitare come vescovo particularmente di Roma le chiese et i conventi della città et examinare i vescovi promovendi.

Dal nascimento del Papa, quanto al punto preciso non si sà cosa più distesa di quella si legge nel libro del battesmo, nella parrocchia cathedrale di Fano, con queste formali parole : . . .[1]

Nacque il Papa in esilio, essendo la sua famiglia, ch' è molto nobile et antica scacciata da Fiorenza, a tempo de i Medici sotto Clemente settimo, nè furno rimessi. perciò che questi Aldobrandini erano stati sempre difensori della libertà et il padre stesso di S. S^{tà} (si come intendo) fu secretario della republica. Orò in Napoli a Carlo quinto contra i Medici. Seguitò le parti francesi. Fu persuasore a Paolo quarto, di cui era molto favorito, della guerra del Regno et con suo figliolo, trovandosi in Port' Hercole per Francia vi lasciò la vita. Cose tutte, che possono mostrare, che se ben S. S^{tà} vincendo le proprie passioni o cedendo i suoi privati interessi alla persona publica, alla quale poi è stato assunto, si mostra padre commune a tutti, non dimeno non ha cagione di esser molto innamorato nè de Medici nè de Spagnuoli. Dicesi non dimeno. che Pio quinto, volendo promovere il cardinal Giovanni fratello di questo Pontefice assicurò il Gran Duca Cosmo, che tutta questa fameglia Aldobrandina

[1] For this point, see *supra*, p. 21, n. 3.

gli sarebbe fidelissima sempre et che mandò l' istesso Hippolito Aldobrandino, hora Papa, a render testimonio a S. Altezza, dalla quale fu molto ben visto et che d' alhora in quà siano dimenticate le cose vecchie tra i Medici et Aldobrandini.

2. Kinsmen and Confidants of Clement VIII.

Hebbe Sua Stà sei fratelli, uno morto, come si è detto in Port' Hercole, uno che fu secretario de brevi sotto Paolo quarto, l' altro il cardinal Giovanni promosso da Papa Pio quinto, uno ch' essendo discolo, non fu mai grato al Papa, uno ammogliato in Roma con una Capizucca, poco fa morta et Pietro avvocato consistoriale, padre di Aldobrandino et della moglie del sigr Gio. Francesco, che sono tutta la successione, che rimane di tanti fratelli.

Fra i servidori del Papa il più intimo et domestico è il sigr Giovan Bardi de i conti di Vernio, luogotenente delle guardie, di molta bontà, virtù e nobiltà, e però honorato et amato da S. Santità et questo è gran partiale della sermma casa di V. S. ill.ma; è anco antico e confidente servitore di Sua Santità il maestro di camera Firmano, caro anco esso come il Bardi per un rispetto, tra gl'altri, che non hanno famo d'ambitione.

3. The Nephews of Clement VIII.

Primi dopo il Papa di maneggio e di autorità nella corte sono i nepoti di S. Santità, dui cardinali, et il sigr Gio. Franco Aldobrandini, se ben questo ultimo delli carichi et expeditioni di guerra et d'ambasciarie c'ha havuto in poi poco s'ingerisce negli affari della corte o del Palazzo, forsi perchè, dovendo egli habitare con la fameglia in Roma, dove, e nello stato eccco contra il solito de gl'altri nipoti de i Papi ha comprato stabili e giurisditione non vuole haver di che render conto sotto un'altro pontificato; poi che dall'administration d'Ungheria, l'ha già reso in Camera, e gli è stato saldato. Per questo si retira più di fare offitio et molto più di dimandar cosa alcuna per altri.

Possiede, per esser generale della chiesa suprema authorità nelle cose militari, come il cardinale Aldobrandino la possiede nelle negotiali et di stato, onde par che l'uno ha sua prerogativa domi l'altro militiae, se non quando Aldobrandino per l'assoluta

preminenza ottenuta nella speditione di Ferrara si può dir supremo domi et militiae, come San Giorgio per la moderata sua autorità nec domi nec militiae. Però il manegio tutto, l'espeditioni, l'ufficii, la consulta, i favori, gli honori, le gratie dipendono dal mezo di Aldobrandino, a lui corrono i prelati, i cortegiani, gli officiali, i ministri di principi, ricorrono i negotianti et pretendenti, si che vedendosi sempre nella sua casa tutta la prelatura et tutto il baronagio di questa città, come si disse già, che il mondo era in Roma, orbis in urbe, così può dirsi hora che prima sia nel palazzo di Aldobrandino, onde nel più sicuro conseglio nelle cose gravi si è di usare la sua intercessione col Papa, perchè quella d'ogn'altro potrebbe nuocere più che giovare, poscia che urtando nell'opposizione di Aldobrandini solo, perchè se fusse creduto di poter far senza lui, non sarebbe favor si gagliardo di alcuno, che non potesse meno d'ogni semplice disfavor suo.

E per vero Aldobrandino si rende degno di questa sua autorità, per che l'usa con gran modestia, con singolar prudenza e con indefessa assiduità nei negotii, ne' quali ha capacità e destrezza indicibile, si ch'è pur meraveglia, come in si fresca età e dalla vita privata, vestendosi l'habito di principe e rubandosi alli gusti della gioventù, sia tanto immerso nel negotio che si può dire, che dal Pontefice in poi, il qual vuole pur sapere ogni cosa, il tutto ascolti per le sue orechie, si spieghi per la sua lingua et si consulti col suo parere e si deliberi con la sua opinione et si eseguisca con le sue mani.

È di natura ingenuo, verdatiero, trattabile, officioso, amico dell'amico e gran secondator dell'humor del Papa et ottimo resarcitore delle sdruscite, che S. Beat^ne^ per la dignità, è tal volta astretta di fare o co' ministri de principi et altri personagi o con principi stessi; perchè dove il Papa inasprisce Aldobrandino mitiga, dove rompe consolida, dove comanda giustizia intercede per gratia; con quali modi si rende grato a tutti, amato da tutti, se non dove tanto applauso e tanta autorità gli acquista invidia.

Ha diversi servitori cari e favoriti, ma quel che assorbì i favori di tutti è il cavalier Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a questo grado di privatissima fortuna et che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità, ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta, così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'uno della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione degli officii et delle maggiori expeditioni.

Quai siano nel collegio gli amici particolari di Aldobrandino è difficile a cognoscersi, mentre ognuno ambisce di esserli amico, et egli sà dar sodisfattione a tutti. Tra le sue creature il più confidente e del Papa et in cui sono rivolte dal canto loro i disegni del futuro pontificato, è San Marcello ; dopo lui nella confidenza si può mettere Bandino, Antoniano, Baronio ; quantunque Aldobrandino sappi così ben trattenersi con le sue creature, che non leva ad alcuna di esse l'occasione di potersi riputare ben sua favorita. Fuor delle sue creature par che si stringhi assai con Giustiniano, il quale e per essere strettissimo parente et amico del Bandino et per una sua particolar solertia et industria nell'acquistarsi l'amicitie utili, si è reso assai intimo di Aldobrandino.

Il cardinal San Giorgio, di cui si giudicò da principio che per esser di maggior età, esperienza e forsi eruditione che Aldobrandino dovesse haver la somma del manegio ; rese poi vano questo giuditio, non sò per qual causa, se non forsi perchè essendo egli (che a me par tutta bontà) riputato e forsi dal Papa stesso di natura alquanto difficile et impressionata, ha voluto Sua Santità preferire al maggior sapere la miglior dispositione, la qual facilmente com'è intravenuto a ponto ad Aldobrandino con l' uso et con la prattica s'instruisce. Può essere ancora, che il Papa conoscendo che l' authorità de nipoti divisa in due diventava minore di se stessa, habbi voluto congiungerla tutta in quel solo, ch'è più suo congionto, avvenga che ad alcuni paia, che questa disparità altro non sia che un' occulto seme di discordie fra lor due, il quale aspetti a dar fuori i suoi pestiferi frutti ne i conclavi e nell' altre occasioni subito che il Papa eschi di vita et che si vadi generando al medesmo Aldobrandino un capo di tutti i mal contenti. Però se ben da principio parve che San Giorgio per fortificare et far corpo contra la potenza d'Aldobrandino, si ristringessi in Colonna, Sforza, Sfondrato, Farnese allhor non molto congionto con Aldobrandino, dal cui mezo tutti i prelati riconoscono gl' honori, i cardinali il capello et i prencipi le gratie, che non sarà nel collegio chi ardischi di urtarlo o l' urtarlo in vano.

Hora San Giorgio accommodato l' animo alla fortuna sua, mortificate le sue pretensioni, non garreggia, non contrasta più con Aldobrandino, ma o lo seconda o non s'impaccia seco et si mostra sodisfatto dell' ottenuta segnatura di giustizia,

et non dimeno è degna di esser conservata quantunque non adoprata nè coltivata molto per non dar ombra ad Aldobrandino, l' amicitia con San Giorgio per le virtù sue, per esser nipote di Papa, partecipe di molti segreti, di molti maneggi, et perchè s' avvenisce (che Dio non vogli) caso di morte di Aldobrandino succederebbe alla sua autorità.

Servitore favorito di San Giorgio, dopo che licentiò il Stagna coppiere et mastro di camera suo favoritissimo, non si può dir qual sia, non si concedendo egli molto a suoi servitori, se non si dice, che ha Lanfranco suo segretario diligente et indefesso, il quale havendo nella sua menor fortuna pratticato et cresciuto in Monte Giordano all' ombra felice dell'Aquila d' argento, conserva verso il serenissimo sangue molta devotione.

I prelati, che cortegiano San Giorgio quando tutti per ordinario concorrono ad Aldobrandino sono Montorio, Maggio, Germonio et Garzadoro.

Nacque San Giorgio d' una sorella del Papa maritata in Sinigaglia, in casa di Passeri, da quali sarebbe il cognome e l' armi, s' el Papa non l' havesse aggregato a gl'Aldobrandini.

Quanto all' amicitie di tutti tre questi nipoti del Papa coi prencipi christiani, si può dire che l' habbino tutti per amici et niuno per padrone, poscea ch' el Papa ha veramente con molta sua lode conservato la dignità sua et la libertà loro in questo di non farli stipendiati ad alcun potentato, avvenga che con diverse gravissime occasioni havesse potuto farlo meglio d' orn' altro Pontefice, pur si parla di una lor inclinatione particolare, lasciando da canto i nuovi rispetti di parentela ch' anno to i Farnesi, par che Aldobrandino propenda a Francia, San Giorgio a Spagna, e si potria dire che il sig. Gio. Francesco a Spagna et a Tedeschi essendo stato con offitio, o con carico nell' un luoco o nell' altro, se o qua o là si fusse interessato d' obligo alcuno, San Giorgio conserva una particolar confidenza col duca di Urbino pre esser nato in Sinigaglia.

4. The College of Cardinals.

Quanto al resto de cardinali trovasi il collegio diviso in più fattioni, cioè di Spagna, di Sisto, dell'uno et dell'altro Gregorio e d'Aldobrandino e di Francia, fattione che morta già col cardinal Luigi fe. me. si è ravivicata in questa ultima

promotione con due cardinali Ossat et Sourdi oltre Gondi, Gioiosa e Giveri, a quali tornato che [sarà] s'aggregaria Lorena ancora, come parente del re, il quale par che pensi di far maggior applicatione alle cose di questa corte di ciò che s'hebbi fatto da un pezzo in quà re di Francia, se ben per non haver quella corona l'interessi in Italia ch'hanno li Spagnoli non potrà mai havervi premura uguale alla loro.

Le creature di Pio quarto, che sono tre, Gesualdo, Madruccio e Cuomo, non formano fattione alcuna non havendo capo particolare, ma si riducono sotto l'insegna di Spagna.

Il collegio che per l'ultima promotione fu ripieno di tutti i vacui che vi erano per compire il numero settuagenario della bolla di Sisto essendo in poco tempo scemato da cinque sogetti, due oltramontani, Battori et Radzivil, gl'altri Gaetano, Priuli et Aragona, contiene di Giulio terzo una creatura ch'è Simoncelli, di Pio quarto tre Gesualdo, Madruccio et Cuomo, di Pio quinto due Santa Severina e Rusticucci, di Gregorio decimo terzo nove [sic] Dezza, Fiorenza, Sinigaglia, Gioiosa, Salviati, Verona, Austria et Sforza, di Sisto quinto quindeci Pinelli, Ascoli, Gallo, Sauli, Pallotta, Gondi, Camerino, Montelbaro, Monte, Matthei, Borromeo, Montalto, Colonna, Lorena e Giustiziano, di Gregorio decimo quarto cinque Sfondrato, Paravicino, Acquaviva, Plata e Farnese, d'Innocentio nono uno S^ti^ Quattro, di Clemente ottavo ventinove Sasso, Tarugi, Bandini, Gueri, San Clemente, Borghese, Baronio, Bianchetto, Dietristan, Avila, Guivara, Mantua, Arrigone, Aldobrandino, San Giorgio, Cesis, Poretti, Bevilacqua, Toledo, Visconti, Toscho, Ossat, San Marcello, Antoniano, Bellarmino, Bonvisio, Sourdi, Este et Deci.

Tutti si divideno in quattro fattioni Spagna, Francia, Montalto e Aldobrandino, perchè il Gran Duca, che ha fatto strepito ne i conclavi, più tosto aderisce a Venetiani, e Montalto che da se stesso non ha fattione propria, non havendo altro fattionario sicuro che Monte, perchè Simoncelli non apparisce se ben si crede che sia reconciliato con S. A. et Firenze come vecchio per non pregiudicarsi nelle proprie speranze del papato, dovrà prestare molto cautamente se pur prestarà la sua sequela al Gran Duca, di cui anco si crede che per non mostrarsi più contrario al re di Spagna, col quale ha fatto ultimamente ogni demonstratione di amicitia e

servitù, non premerà, come per l'addietro d'haver banda particolare nel collegio.

Potrebbe assegnarsi una fattione a Genovesi, che hanno Giustiniano, Sauli, Pinello, e San Marcello, se quella republica premesse in haver fattione, o se questi sogetti potessero riconoscere da lei il cardinalato.

Potrebbe anco assegnarsi a Venetiani che premono alquanto più che Genovesi quantunque assai manco de Spagnoli nelle prattiche de pontificati, se essi (che per la morte del Priuli non hanno che Verona sicuro e Mantua dubioso) potessero far colpo ne i conclavi.

In tutte queste sette alcuni militano stipendiate et obligati, alcuni volontarii, alcuni sono de certa, alcuni de dubia fede; sono nella cohorte di Spagna commilitanti sicuri l'infra scritti, sicuri dico in quanto non conoschino altro stendardo, che nel resto molti di loro trattandosi di far impresa a favor d'alcun soggetto non grato loro si fan lecito il mutino, come tanti di loro s'ammutinorono nel conclave contra Santa Severina.

Per sicuri dunque di Spagna si ponno mettere Madruccio, Gesualdo, Cuomo, Santa Severina, Rusticucci, Dezza, Sini[ga]glia, Terranova, Ascoli, Sauli, Montelbara, Sfondrato, Parravicino, Plata, Avila, Guevara, Toledo, Austria, Colonna, Farnese, S^ti^ Quattro e si può dire anco Gallo et ha pensione di Spagna, quantunque sia creatura di Montalto. In tutto XXII.

A Montalto se ben compresa la sua persona restano ancora quindeci creature nondimeno nelle resegne sue non ne trova allestiti più di tre o quattro: Pallotta, Camerino e forsi Gallo oltre Peretti, che è franco di Montalto, l'altre o sono sbandate a fatto, come Colonna et Ascoli per Spagna, Gondi et Lorena per Francia, Monte per Toscana, Borromeo per se stesso, o si mostrano tuttavia di riconoscerlo per capitano si van però riducendo ancora sotto altra insegna come Sauli, Montelbaro, Matthei sotto quella di Spagna, Giustiniano forse sotto quella di Francia, Pinelli sotto quella della libertà se non quanto e detto a Rusticucci et non affatto havuto da Montalto, anzi Camerino stesso, che nel conclave d'Urbano desiderava Papa Santa Severina all'hor abborrito da Montalto et causò disparere fra esso Montalto e Sforza et è molto avverso da Spagnoli, coi quali non dimeno Montalto è hora congionto purchè non sia

per essere attaccato alla cinta di Montalto, come non vi si è mostrato attacato ne anco Gallo.

Ad Aldobrandino remosso Giveri, Sordi et Ossat che sono per Francia, Avila, Guevara e Toledo per Spagna, Peretti per Montalto, Este per se stesso, Mantua forsi per Venetiani e San Giorgio che più tosto si può temer che sia per esser contrario, vengano a rimanere (compresa la persona sua) dicinove creature, e fra questi Cesis che ha compro il cappello con la thesoreria vorrà forse conservarse fanto più libero quanto o pretende dalla sua nobiltà o rimane poco sodisfatto di vedersi levato il maneggio che haveva prima o non vorrà concedersi ad altri senza premio. Arrigone, Borghese e Bianchetto, che sono confidenti di Spagna, vorran talmente conservarsi questa confidenza che per non perderla si può credere, che non si daranno mai totalmente ad Aldobrandino, al quale però vengono a restar soli quattordici voti. Siche aggionti alli ventidue, che dicemmo di sopra di Spagna, quello di Montalto loro collegato, di Peretti, che è l'ombra, e di Pallotta, che è l'Acate di Montalto, aggionto ancora Borghese, Arrigone e Bianchetto vengono ad havere i Spagnoli da venti otto o più voti quasi sicuri, che non pur danno franca l'esclusione, ma fanno grand impeto nell'inclusione. E così resta chiaro che la maggiore e più soda fattione è quella di Spagna, alla quale reducendosi le creature di Gregorio decimo quarto, da Aquaviva in poi, il quale non dimeno professò id esser servitore ma non mancipio del re cattolico e di volerlo servire in ogni occasione ma con la dignità e libertà dovuta all'eccles^co^, non accade computar queste creature di Gregorio per fattione particolare.

Venghiamo hoggimai all'anatomia particolare de cardinali, cominciando da Alfonso cardinal Gesualdo . . . T. Galli . . .

L. Madruzzo :

Per bontà, gravità, prudenza e dottrina può chiamarsi il Caton del collegio, ma non censore perchè è modestissimo e rispettosissimo, differisce ad ogn'uno più che a se stesso accommodando l'orecchie più a sentire, che la lingua a parlare e se parla le parole li nascono nel petto non nella lingua et è breve et sommesso fuorchè nelle conversationi domestiche e nell'occasione dove bisogna favellare, perchè in quelle riesce affabilissimo, pieno di sale e di facetie, in queste facon-

dissimo. Nelle cose del mondo e di stato ha gran cognitione, gran partiti, gran recapiti et ne tratta con mirabil fondamento di dottrina, d'essempii et di giuditio, non promette che non eseguisca anzi eseguisce che non par che l'abbia promesso, così è più liberal de fatti che di parole. Non se ingerisce, non ambisce, non vaga ne col corpo, che per la gotta non ha inetto se non è portato, ne con l'animo che sta sempre col negotio di che tratta et è con la persona con cui tratta.

G. A. Santori . . . Girol. Rusticucci . . . G. Simoncelli . . .
P. Deza . . .

Alessandro Medici card. of Florence :

Arcivescovo della sua città, capo della congregatione de regolari, creatura di Gregorio decimo terzo, ma per patria e conformità di humore così avezzo al presente Pontefice che si può dir sua creatura havendolo in poco tempo accresciuto d'intrata et honorato con carichi principali dentro e fuori della corte come è stata la congregatione sudetta ch'era già di Alessandrino et per anzianita sarebbe toccata a Simoncelli, che la pretendeva, et la legation di Francia.

In somma è quello (in cui fuor delle sue creature) Aldobrandino ferma la mira più che in altri del futuro pontificato, al quale camina felicemente con le sue buone qualità, con l'aura del collegio, col favour del Gran Duca, con esser confidente ad Aldobrandino, caro a Francia, carissimo a Sforza e discaro a Montalto et all'appositione, che come Fiorentino e parente del Gran Duca potrebbe haver da Spagnoli circa d'ovviar con la memoria della pace frescamente conclusa tra loro e Francesi e con una opinione seminata appresso alcuni et nodrita ad arte ch'egli interiormente non sia sodisfatto dal Gran Duca, il quale gli contese il cardinalato e l'hebbe già per diffidente mentre serviva d'ambasciatore in Roma il Gran Duca Francesco, col quale Ferdinando all' hor cardinal de Medici haveva molti dispiaceri. Dall'altro canto molte cose argomentano hora compita inclinatione tra questo cardinale et il Gran Duca : l'haver havuto la confidenza nell'ultimi conclavi, gl'uffitii amorevoli ch'oggidi passono fra loro, il ricorso dell'ambasciatore di Toscana ha in ogni occasione a lui, il dimostrarsi egli sempre, che accade, partiale del Gran Duca, l'haverlo S. A. favorito ad ottenere

la legation di Francia, i donativi che gli fece et sopra tutto l'esser dato il primogenito di Toscana in cura di una sorella del cardinale, donna di molto valore, con tutto ciò si vede ch'el Gran Duca potendo farlo con garbo schivera volontieri la sua esaltatione per le differenze antiche, per vederlo troppo congionto con gl'Aldobrandini, per non vedersi più Fiorentini superiori et perchè questo cardinale quantunque non habbi nepoti se non un frate vescovo di Bisignano, un don Alessandro de Medici, sig^re d'Ottaiano nel regno di Napoli, figlio d'un fratello che solo hebbe esso cardinale, et un altro in Firenze, figlio d'una sua sorella, non dimeno sua parentela stretta con le prime fameglie di Firenze, dove et nel resto del stato haverebbe tanta intelligenza, che aggiontovi l'autorità Ponteficia non sarebbe se non di molta gelosia ad un principato nuovo come quello, si come anco sarebbe di gelosia a Spagnoli il nome Fiorentino e Medico, l'esclusione gl'han fatta nelli conclavi, l'aderanza ch'egli mostra a Francia, in cui servigio molto più che di Spagnoli ha conchiuso la pace, favorito la dichiaratione di nullità del matrimonio del re Christianissimo, tenutone la congr^re in casa sua, celebrato sempre quel re con chiarissime lodi et mostratosi in somma come Fiorentino e Medico molto Francese, oltre che essendo egli ne i conclavi passati et massime nell'ultimo stato particolare avversario et exclusore di Madruccio gli sarebbe difficile l'acquistar mai confidenza con questo capo della fattione Spagnola, quando anco fusse ch'el Gran Duca, la cui parte mostra il cardinal di Fiorenza di seguitare, non sia per fare più oppositione ne i futuri conclavi al re di Spagna. È questo cardinale di conflessione tra flemmatica e sanguigna, di natura placida, di spiriti anzi rimessi che elevati, di eta di 65 anni, ma sano. Ha 14^m scudi d'entrada cioè 5^m dell'arcivescovato, 8^m di patrimonio, mille d'una pensione in Toscana et da Clemente ottavo, oltre un donativo di scudi 7^m per pagare i suoi debiti e la provision che tiene di cardinal povero et havuto una badia, che fu già del cardinal Savello, di 1500 scudi d'intrata, mille scudi sopra Melfe e l'abbadia di Santo Galgano di presso 5 a^m scudi di rendita, ma carica per la meta del suo valore di provisione. È suo favoritissimo il cavalier Cima, cresciuto da giovanetto al suo servigio.

Rodrigo von Sevilla. . . Joyeuse.

Federigo cardinal Borromeo:

Imitatore nella bontà e nella mortificazione del cardinal S^tà Prassede suo zio se ben la gioventù non li concede ancora tanta perfettione ne tanta fama, la contrittione non li leva l'affabilità e dolcezza in conversatione, è dotto, studioso, prudente e di buon discorso, allievo della Vallicella, avversario di Santa Severina et del contestabile di Castiglia e per lui venuto forse in qualche diffidenza col proprio prencipe per zelo di religione e conversation della giurisditione ecc^ca, e che però il Papa dovesse difenderlo con ogni spirito non havendolo ottenuto, par che resti mal sodisfatto di Sua Santità e se ne doglia. Ha belle doti del corpo e dell'animo, o officioso efficace et in questi ultimi conclavi s'è diportato con molto valore. È bene di manegiarlo con soavità perchè ha senso molto delicato facile ad offendersi e disgustarsi. Ha 30^m scudi d'intrata fra l'arcivescovato che vale 12^m et tre abbadie resignateli una dal cardinal di Vercelli, due di Altemps, ne si trova mai senza debiti, ancor che tenghi fameglia assai modesta et facci quanto alla persona sua vita riformata. Però si crede che le sue spese consistano in elemosine grosse fatte secretamente per mezzo particolarmente de i preti della Vallicella. È giovane di 34 anni.

Camillo cardinal Borghese:

Vescovo di Iesi del quale paga mille scudi di pensioni a Baronio e egli restano quando ha le tratti de grani da 2500. Ha mille scudi di pensione sopra Campotrasi, 400 sopra Parenzo in Istria e cento il mese come cardinal povero che in tutto vengono ad essere 5800. È d'origine Senese, di nascimento e parentado Romano. Ha fratelli et sorelle casate in Roma, è intelligente, destro, flemmatico e di buona natura, si che non ha quasi altro impedimento al Papato che l'età ancor fresca. È grato al collegio et al Papa da cui mandato mentre era auditore della Camera al re Cattolico per ottenere da S. M^tà o che agiutasse l'imperatore o che ch'intrasse in lega con altri principi contro il Turco, non riportò da quella corte se non una promessa di 2^m scudi di pensione, i quali have accettati più tosto non contradicente che permittente il Papa, il quale fa professione che li sue creature non habbino intrate da altri che da S. S^tà. Tuttavia è confidente di quella corona, per il padre che servì 16 anni

in questa corte di avocato al re Cattolico, al quale anco servivono nel medesmo officio un cugino et un zio del cardinale. Di due sorelle già morte e maritate in Roma, una ne i Caffarelli, l'altra ne i Vittori, hebbe quattro nipoti, ma più diletti quelli della prima sorella, uno de quali di età di 22 anni che tiene appresso di se et è amatissimo di lui. Di dui suoi fratelli non ha nipoti alcuni. Perchè è d'origine Senese fu nominato solo all'arcivescovato di Siena dal Gran Duca, dal quale il fratello del cardinale quando comprò l'auditorato di Camera hebbe 4^{m} scudi in prestito et fece molta professione di servidore di S. Altezza. Si crede ch'el cardinale debba star bene e confidente col Gran Duca. Dall'altra banda perchè non volse accettare il detto arcivescovato et ha venduto quanto possedeva egli et i fratelli in Siena fa dubitare che questi attioni non siano piaciuti al Gran Duca, il quale anco chiese al cardinale 14^{m} scudi che haveva prestati al fratello in tempo molto incommodo ad esso cardinale.

Cesare cardinal Baronio.

Della città di Sora, scrittore degl'annali ecclesiastici, allievo della Chiesa nova, confessore del Papa, dal quale è molto amato per la dottrina, bontà et simplicità sua. Si dimostra tutto spirito, tutto resignato in Dio, che si burli del mondo et della propria esaltation di se stesso. Non prende volontieri assonto di far officio per altri con S. S^{tà}, ma s'egli li fa è per opere caritative e virtuose et li porge quando vuole con buona maniera. Ha più tosto domestichezza et confidenza che autorità con S. B^{ne}, fa professione di non haver altro interesse nel raggionare e nel oprare che del servitio di Dio et della Chiesa, però fu solo nella congregatione generale tenuta ne i mesi passati sopra le cose di Milano che si arrischiasse di palrar fuor de denti di Spagnuoli et con titoli strani. È suddito e molto congionto col duca di Sora, è stato figliolo unico onde non ha nipoti se non d'un suo cugino poco a lui grato. Questi nipoti che sono tre maschi fa instruire nelle lettere havendo monacate et maritate tre altre nipoti femine. Ha da 5^{m} scudi d'intrata. Seguita tuttavia di scrivere gl'annali, in che s'occupa una gran parte della mattina, ancor che si levi di letto sempre inanzi giorno. Fa una vita quasi monastica, perchè mangia ad una tavola con la sua famiglia ad uso de priori di frati.

Here follow the characterists of Cardinals Ávila, Guevara, Montalto, A. M. Salviati and B. Cesi.

34. Donations to Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini.[1]

1600, May 4.

Instrumento publico di donatione delli scudi 96,000 d'oro e delli scudi 45741.97 e dello spoglio di Pienza fatta dal card. camerlengo d'ordine di N. S. al S. Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini per gli atti del Calderino 4 Maggio 1600.

The following indenture of Clement VIII. mentions:

1. 1599, July 20: about "scuta 4000 auri in singul. mens. incipiendo a dicto mense Iulii per totum m. Martii subseq. anno 1600 persolvenda S. S^ti^."

2. 1599, July 24: concerning "40,000 scuta" on *spolie* in Spain.

3. 1599, July 30: concerning "20,000 scuta."

4. 1599, July 30: the Pope orders "ut exigeret ab Io. Franc. Aldobrandino scuta 20,000 quae S. Ex. Ill. in summa scutor. 40,000 ex precio civitatis Sarsinae et terrae Meldulae et illor. comitatuum ab ill. d. Rudolpho Pio emptor. erogare promiserat."

5. Indenture concerning *spolie* from Pienza.

[Orig. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42, Nr 14.]

35. Testament of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.[2]
(Drawn up on 22 September, 1600, upon beginning his legation).

He recommends himself to the divine mercy and chooses his place of burial in S. Niccolò in Carcere, or in the church which at the time of his death should be his cardinalitial title. Monumentumque mihi construi volo structura et sumptu considerabili haeredis arbitrio, et hoc quidem non ad pompam aut ullam inanem gloriam, sed ad posteros exemplo excitandos ad viam virtutum, per quam maiores nostri ad supernas dignitates evecti me quoque Dei gratia extulerunt et denique ut aspectu eiusdem memoriae iidem posteri pie admoniti reminiscantur Deo preces offerre pro salute animae meae.

Legacies: 2000 scudi to the church where he is buried for the celebration of masses for himself, his parents and his

[1] See *supra*, p. 54.
[2] See *supra*, p. 49.

relatives; to the Dominicans at S. Maria sopra Minerva, to the Servites at S. Maria in Via, and to the Oratorians at S. Maria in Vallicella 1000 scudi each; 10,000 scudi to the Confraternity of the Annunziata at the Minerva, to marry poor girls, who must pray for him. The "sacra supellectilia" and his "privata capella" are to go to his cardinalitial title, and to the church of Tre Fontane (a me semper ad gloriam Dei et dicti apostoli a fundamentis restitutae, aedificatae et exornatae).

The general heir is to be Clement VIII., not as Pope but as a private individual. If he is unwilling, or cannot be this, then his heir is to be Flaminia Aldobrandini "mea dilectissima mater," and if she is dead Olimpia Aldobrandini, his sister and the wife of Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini; if she too is dead, then the inheritance is to go to Silvestro "et filii masculi." If the general heir is Clement VIII., then his mother is to have 10,000 scudi. Then there follow small legacies to his relatives, to Girol. Agucchi (praef. domus) and his servants. As executors of the will are appointed Card. Zacchia, Cinzio Aldobrandini (Tit. S. Georgii) and Deti, as well as Gian Francesco Aldobrandini.

[Copy, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 286, n. 9.]

36. Pope Clement VIII. to Christophe de le Vallée, Bishop of Toul.[1]

1600, September 30, Rome.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Magna res est oves ratione praeditas gubernare, magnus labor spirituales agros excolere, ut iure optimo, ut fraternitas Tua novit, a sanctis patribus dictum sit artem artium esse curam animarum. Sed, si magni sunt episcoporum labores, magna etiam praemia et magna divinae gratiae adiumenta, modo nos, vocationis nostrae et officii memores, attendamus nobis ipsis et universo gregi fidei nostrae credito et custodiamus super eum vigilias noctis huius, hoc est saeculi huius et mundi tenebrosi, qui positus est in maligno, in quo princeps tenebrarum nocte circuit, iscut leo rugiens quaerens quem devoret Et Nos quidem de Tua fraternitate libenter Nobis persuademus, quod stes super super custodiam Tuam et vigiles et circumspicias et vineam istam a vepribus et spinis purgare

[1] See *supra*, p. 193.

studeas curesque, Deo iuvante, ne incultae vites silvescant et pro uvis labruscas ferant ; sed tamen dissimulare non possumus, pro Nostra omnium ecclesiarum sollicitudine, multo nostro cum dolore et molestia, ad Nos afferri, quod quamplurimi ex clero istius insignis Tuae ecclesiae, qui bonus Christi odor esse deberent ad vitam multorum, ita licenter et incontinenter vivunt, ut sint odor mortis ad mortem spiritualem multorum et offensionem bonorum omnium. Narrant etiam eos laqueis diaboli irretitos concubinas habere et in omni impuritate eos versari (de quibus scriptum est : Mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini, et sancti estote, quoniam ego sanctus sum, dicit Dominus), alea et ludis indecoris tempus conterere ac denique apostoli praecepti oblitos in cubilibus et impudicitiis, in commessationibus et ebrietatibus, quasi non sint in sortem Domini vocati et divino illius obsequio mancipati, qui est candor lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula. Quid ergo valde mirandum est, si sal infatuatum est et si lux tenebrae sunt, id est si clerus, qui populo salis et lucis instar esse debet, per operas tenebrarum et per abrupta vitiorum praeceps ruit ? Quid iterum mirum, si multi quotidie apud vos, ut audivimus, haeretici existunt et haereses convalescunt et fides catholica in ista nobili civitate in magno omnino discrimine adducitur ? Quamobrem, frater, excita zelum Tuum et ne dederis somnum oculis Tuis ; cape ventilabrum et purga aream Domini ; adhibe quidem prudentiam, adhibe caritatem, infunde oleum, sed infunde etiam et vinum, argue, obsecra, increpa et spiritu lenitatis utere et virga etiam. Dei honor agitur et salus animarum et periculum fidei non licet dissimulare, non licet procrastinare. Itaque, frater, manum serio admove ad salutarem reformationem ; visita gregem Tuum, incipe a domo Domini : nihil frequenti ecclesiae et dioecesis visitatione salutarius ; congrega synodum, clama in fortitudine et quae de clericali disciplina, praesertim de vita et honestate servanda et de impurissimo concubinatu exterminando a sacris canonibus et a sacra potissimum disciplina, praesertim de vita et honestate servanda et de impurissimo concubinatu exterminando a sacris canonibus et a sacra potissimum Tridentina synodo decreta sunt, quantum Dei gratia iuvante potes, exequere atque in morem inducito. Vide ut adiutores et operarios et magistros fideles habeas et timentes Deum ; manum nemini cito

imposueris, sed ad clericalem militiam et sacros ordines et praecipue ad presbyteratum et curam animarum ne admiseris nisi idoneos et probatos, qui non destruant, sed aedificent. Postremo praebe Te ipsum exemplar et formam bonorum operum in cultu Dei ac in divinorum officiorum frequentia in sancto altaris sacrificio, in omni nitore et decore domus Dei, ut videant omnes opera Tua bona et glorificent Patrem, qui in coelo est ; quod Te facere confidimus et hortatu nostro Te impensius etiam facturum non dubitamus. Dolemus etiam valde in eo, quod audimus, quod pueris rudimenta doctrinae christianae non traduntur et multi adulti ea ignorant quae ad salutem sunt necessaria. Scis quanti momenti res sit, huic gravi incommodo, immo gravissimo detrimento medicinam adhibe, ne prudentiores sint filii tenebrarum filiis lucis ; illi enim, ut nosti, infantibus paene suis haeresum venenum cum lacte instillant : quanto magis nos decet docere pueros doctrinam salutis ? iis praesertim in locis ubi haeretica pestis circum quaque grassatur et tantum a contagione imminet periculum ? Haec fraternitati Tuae ex magno amore scribimus, de quibus etiam coram Tecum paterne agemus, amamus enim Te et caritas Christi urget Nos.

Tu ergo sic age, ut, cum ante tribunal Christi fueris, non sanguis pereuntium animarum de manu Tua requiratur, sed cum servis fidelibus a iusto iudice mercedem sempiternam accipias. Tibi vero et clero ac populo Tuo Nostram apostolicam benedictionem amanter impartimur.

Datum Romae apud s. Apostolos etc., die ultima septembris, anno iubilei 1600, pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 320, Papal Secret Archives.]

37. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1601, March 10, Rome.

. . . Gionse alla S.S^{tà} domenica di notte un corriere dell' ill^{mo} Aldobrandino con avviso della risolutione havuto dal Catolico intorno alla capitolatione della pace, alla quale S.M^{tà} per compiacere alle persuasioni et al desiderio di N.S. presta il suo consenso, approvando in ciò tutta la negotiatione del medesimo Aldobrandino dal quale restava haver avviso della ratificatione fatta dal Ser^{mo} di Savoia. Poco dopo il sodetto corriere arrivò altro corriere di Sessa con copia della

[1] See *supra*, p. 239.

lettera scrittali della S.M^{tà} il contenuto della quale in sostanza è il sopra rappresentato, si come hieri più particolarmente m'affermò il s^{r} card^{le} Camerino, et può essere che a questa hora vi sia l'avviso della ratificatione che ancora non lo so. L'esito di tutto questo negotio . . . ha adesso confirmate tutte le considerationi che col fondamento di tutti quelle cose che si sapervano veramente et altre si speculavano che li Spagnuoli non solo desiderarano, ma procurarono per effetto di questa pace che il s^{r} card^{le} sodetto passasse in Francia, et che tutto ciò che hanno fatto in materia di preparamenti bellici, ha tutto havuto per fine la conservatione del credito et il mantenimento del timore, et obligarsi la S^{tà} S., mentre nella conchiusione si mostravano maggiormente renitenti. Il giorno dopo l'arrivo delli sodetti corrieri due volte in un istesse giorno la S^{tà} S. fece oratione alla Scala Santa et si stava aspettando qualche più probabile dimostratione di allegrezza, la quale non essendo sin qui sequita ci da chiaro testimonio che la ratificatione non si ha ancora havuta et che S.S^{tà} vorrà aspettare la total conchiusione per discorrerne poi in pubblico nel concistoro. Degli assoldati dal Catolico che per essecutione della capitulatione deveno esser licentiati fra il termine di un mese, si va penetrando che per l'instanze della S.S^{tà} siano per andrae parte d'essi nell'Ungaria, altri in servitio del ser^{mo} Ferdinando, et il resto in soccorso delli stati della Fiandra, et che l'Italia fra pochi giorni sia per restare libera da ogni sospetto di guerra. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

38. Pope Clement VIII. to the French Bishops.[1]

1601, May 25, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

. . . Christianae reipublicae universae et amplissimo Franciae regno nominatim quam multas utilitates attulerit pax optatissima inter potentissimos reges et magnos principes summo Dei beneficio conciliata, fraternitas Tua pro sua prudentia optime intelligit; sed ea certe praecipue existimanda, quod venerabilibus fratribus Nostris ecclesiarum Franciae praesulibus tanto magis licebit, omni cura et diligentia incumbere in agri dominici culturam, hoc est in fidei catholicae propagationem, disciplinae ecclesiasticae

[1] See *supra*, p. 193.

instaurationem et divini cultus incrementum, ut templa Dei et sacra altaria omni, ut par est, nitore colluceant et sacrosancti sacrificii purissima oblatio omni etiam cum decore et maiestate peragatur; nam praeter internam sanctitatem, quae potissimum exquiritur, his quoque externis rebus et Deo honor debitus a clero adhibetur et populi devotio magnopere excitatur; denique omnes pastoralis vigilantiae partes strenue nunc obeundae, ex praescripto praesertim oecumenici concilii Tridentini, cuius saluberrima decreta, Spiritu Sancto auctore edita, magnam et salutiferam episcopalis officii instructionem continent, ad cleri et populi salutarem conformationem, et nos quidem de Tuae fraternitatis virtute, prudentia et pietate omnia nobis praeclara in Domino pollicemur. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctos Apostolos sub annulo piscatoris die 25 maii 1601, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 183, Papal Secret Archives.]

39. Pope Clement VIII to the Bishops of the Province of Bordeaux.[1]

1601, July 12, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

. . . Agite igitur, fratres, quae Spiritu Sancto auctore constituta sunt, in mores inducite, synodos celebrate, episcopales visitationes instituite, ecclesias et dioeceses vestras frequenter obite, vultum pecoris vestri agnoscite, agros inspicite, vepres et spinas et noxias errorum et abusuum herbas evellite, bonum semen serite et rigate assidue verbo praedicationis et divinis sacramentis et omni pietatis cultura, ut Deus et pater misericordiarum, a quo omnis est nostra sufficientia et sine quo nihil possumus, optatum det incrementum. Videte autem etiam diligenter, quos huius spiritualis agriculturae socios et adiutores assumatis, quos sacris ordinibus initietis, praesertim prebyteros et animarum curatores. Non enim, quod absit, nullo delectu e media turba accipiendi homines rudes, inepti, illiterati et plerumque vitiis cooperti, quo nihil perniciosius, sed viri idonei deligendi, prudentes, sobrii, casti, vere digni qui in sortem et peculiarem Dei haereditatem vocentur, quorum portio sit Dominus, qui non sua quaerant, sed quae sunt Iesu Christi, qui et vitae integri-

[1] See *supra*, p. 193.

tate et doctrina etiam praestent, ne caeci caecos ducant et simul cum eis in foveam interitus aeterni cadant. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctos Apostolos, sub annulo piscatoris die XII iulii 1601, pontificatus Nostr anno decimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 281, Papal Secret Archives.]

40. Pope Clement VIII. to Ernest of Bavaria Prince-elector of Cologne.[1]

1602, December 7, Rome.

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iustus fraternitatis Tuae dolor, et alias saepe et novissimis litteris Tuis Nobis efficaciter expressus ac repraesentatus, veterem dolorem Nostrum et refricat et auget vehementer. Vere digna res est admiratione, immo stupore et commiseratione magna, filium Nostrum in Christo carissimum Rudolphum Imperatorem electum, illo rerum usu, illa prudentia principem, in hoc gravissimo successoris sui deligendi negotio usque adeo sui dissimilem esse, eiusque ingenii vim atque aciem, nescimus qua importuna suspicionum caligine impedita [sic] adeo esse et obvolutam, ut quae sibi totique domui suae, ut nunc publicas causas omittamus, in primis utilia, honorifica et salutaria sunt, non videat, immo quasi adversa et a suis rationibus aliena abhorrent et reiiciat, neque iis hac in re credat, qui eum amant maxime eiusque gloriae et felicitatis sunt cupidissimi, ut Nos praecipue et fraternitas Tua sumus ; neque Te neque Nos ullis officiis, diligentiis, laboribus pepereimus. Agnoscimus tanti momenti negotium esse, ut ad extremum usque minime sit deserendum ; pericula et detrimenta, quae imperio et reipublicae Christianae imminent, nisi seren^{mus} Caesar consilium mutet et aliam mentem induat, et te prudenter metuere fratemur, et Nos ex hac apostolica specula, in qua meritis impares excubamus, iam pridem prospicimus. Sed quid agamus, frater ? Eo usque, ut vides, hic diffidentiae morbus progressus est, ut patris amantissimi cohortationes etiam suspectae sint. Itaque haeremus prorsus, illud valde metuentes, ne, dum curationem adhibemus, morbum augeamus. Quare a Te etiam atque etiam petimus, ut de tota re attentissime Tecum consideres, sententiam etiam, si ita Tibi videtur, collegarum electorum exquiras ac Nobis significes, quanam tandem via

[1] See *supra*, p. 390.

et modo uti possemus ad Imperatoris electi animum permovendum et flectendum. Nos quidem, ut hactenus egimus, ita nunc quoque omnia agere et moliri in spiritu sincerae caritatis parati sumus, modo spes sit fructiose aliquid agendi et ne ex ipso remedio malum ingruescat, quod nimis absurdum videretur. Nemo res Germanicas fraternitate Tua melius intelligit, nemo Caesaris ingenium et naturam penitius novit; utique Nostrum idem spectamus, Dei honorem, publicam quietem, propriam etiam ipsius Caesareae M^tis^ utilitatem ne deseras, frater; hanc curam et negotium, pro quo tantopere laborasti, adhuc Tua prudentia, auctoritate, gratia sustine, quantum potes et fove. Quis scit, quae dies et tempus possit afferre? Una interdum nox magnam saepe rerum commutationem attulit, et, quod caput est, multae sunt miserationes Domini, in cuius manu est cor regis. Nullo modo desperandum, sed quoad licet Romana prudentia progrediendum. Nos Deum orare non cessamus, ut Tua et aliorum, qui eadem Tecum pro Dei ipsisus gloria sentiunt et agunt, studia et consilia sua coelesti gratia regat et secundet. Tibi meritorum Tuorum in hoc negotio certa est merces et secura apud Deum et bonos omnes, neque Te laboris et diligentiae Tua adhibitae et ad omnem numerum expletae umquam poenitebit. Interea benedictione apostolica Te toto corde benedicimus, valetudinemque Tuam Tibimetipsi ut diligenter cures rogamus, immo in Domino iubemus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 7 decembris 1602, pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 330, Papal Secret Archives.]

41. Lelio Arrigoni to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1603, December 20, Rome.

. . . Ho inteso di buon luogo che trovandosi martedì l'ambasciatore di Spagna all'audienza di S. S^tà^ per cagion del corriero che gli venne di Spagna con ordine che dovesse supplicare S. B^ne^ acciò che in gratia di S. M^tà^ si compiacesse di promovere il Doria al cardinalato, fatto ch'hebbe l'ufficio volle entrare a persuadere S. S^tà^ che essendo horamai grave d'anni dovesse scaricarsi delle fatiche et attendere a riposare, addossando il peso de negotii agli ill^mi^ s^ri^ nipoti; la qual cosa fu così mal intesa da S. B^ne^, che ella gli rispose che

[1] See *supra*, p. 256.

attendesse pure a far l'ufficio suo, et che del resto non se ne pigliasse pensiero, perchè sapeva ciò che s'haveva a fare, onde S. Ecc^{a} se ne tornò con questa nasata a casa, lasciando S. St^{à} poco bene impressa di se, la quale si trova inchiodata colla solita sua gotta che da alcuni anni in quà non la lascia intervenire alli divini officiii di Natale. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

42. Pope Clement VIII. to Philip III., King of Spain.[1]

1603, December 3, [Rome].

Carissime, il Nostro Nuntio darà conto alla M^{tà} V. d'una cosa occorsa nel arrivo del duca di Scalona con molto Nostro disgusto per le conseguenze che da simil modo di procedere possono risultare ; si come sappiamo questo esser contra la intentione della M^{tà} V., così la preghiamo efficacemente a farci quella provisione che la molta pietà et bontà sua le detterà, assecurandola in verbo Nostro che nessuna cosa è atta a sminuir ponto l'affettione, che portiamo a lei et a suoi negotii. Si contenterà V. M^{tà} dar fede al Nuntio et ordinare quello che Dio benedetto l'inspirerà ; solo vogliamo aggiunger che quando maritamo nostra nipote lo facemmo particolarmente per maritarla ad un vasallo di V. M. sperando certo che il principe di Stigliano et il figlio, di tanta lunga mano servitori suoi, dovessero havere per sempre la protettione sua meritata veramente dai padri, avi et maggiori loro con il qual fine benediciamo V. M^{tà} con l'apostolica benedittione. Dat, etc.[2]

[Copy. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.]

43. Pope Clement VIII. to the Duke of Sessa.[3]

1603, December 3, [Rome].

Se il patriarca Biondo ha mal trattato V. E. a Civitavecchia sarà stato per la natura del paese di dove ha origine, ma se ha eseguito gl'ordini dategli havrà fatto il debito suo. Ci duol fin al vivo cuore che il Marchese di Vigliena ci hab[ia] subito nel primo incontro doppo quelle carezze fatteli che hanno fatto non aggradite agli altri ambasciatori, habbia dico fattoci conoscere, il che non havevamo non solo creduto, ma ne anco

[1] See *supra*, p. 252.
[2] Similar autograph letters follow to the Conte di Miranda, the Duke of Lerma, and the confessor of Philip III.
[3] See *supra*, p. 252.

sospettato la differentia dal sig. duca di Sessa et lui et travagliatoci tanto che ci ha messo in compromesso la sanità et quasi la vita, et perchè crediamo che Zimenes ne havrà dato compito raguaglio a V. E., non entraremo a narrare la historia la quale a noi è stata quasi tragica et non meritata da ministro di re tanto cattolico. Sappiamo certo che ella ove potrà cercarà di rimediare questo inconveniente perchè se si seguiterà in questo modo, veggiamo i negotii di S. M^{tà} dover molto patire non già per difetto o colpa Nostra o perchè sia ponto scemata la buona volontà che habbiamo sempre portato a gl'interessi della M^{tà} Cattolica, ma perchè temiamo che questi modi di fare non solo non accreschino, ma alienino amici et servitori a S. M^{tà}. Non vogliamo esser più longhi perchè il card. Aldobrandino, al quale ci rimettiamo oltre alla gazzetta narreranno ogni cosa a V. E.; ci è mescolata ancor'essa perchè protesta ch'ella habbia rovinato questa ambasceria et con questo fine benediciamo V. E., la sig. duchessa et figlioli con la Apostolica benedizione. Dat. etc.

[P.S.] V. E. scusi la mala scrittura perchè la chiragra n'è cagione, la quale ci ha debilitato tanto la mano che non la possiamo rescrivere.

[Minuta), Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.]

44. Cardinal P. Aldobrandini to Domenico Ginnasio, Nuncio in Spain.[1]

1603, December 5, Rome.

Venne il duca di Scalona ambasciatore per S. M^{tà} al quale sarebbe cosa lunga se si volesse contare minutamente gli honori che le sono stati fatti nel suo ingresso in questa corte così per ordine espresso di N.S^{re} come per l'inclinatione, che la corte istessa scoperse di ciò nella S^{tà} Sua ; solo dirò a V.S. che S. B^{ne} volse che a Civitavecchia fusse servito dal suo mastro di casa et spesato per tutto il viaggio che fece in quattro giorni sino a Roma, dove entrando lo fece incontrare da uno de proprii nipoti, figliolo del sig. Giovan Francesco, non essendo solito che queste dimostrationi si fecino se non all'ambasciatori che vengono a rendere obedienza, et mandò in casa del s. card. Farnese, dove gli era destinato l'allogiamento, la signora mia sorella con tutta la nobiltà di dame di questa città per ricever sua moglie, dimostratione che non

[1] See *supra*, p. 252.

poteli far quasi maggiore S.S^{tà} se fosse venuta la regina istessa di Spagna, et fatte con qualche querela degli altri ambasciatori.

Tutte queste cose sono quelle che eccedono l'ordinario et che non si son fatte mai ad ambasciatore residente nessuno nè di S.M^{tà} nè di qualsivoglia altro re nè dell'Imperatore stesso.

Ma egli ci ha malamente corrisposto poichè da primo lancio andando il duca di Mondragone con il nipote di S. B. per honorarlo essendo anch'egli tale per haver una nipote per moglie lo trattò manco che d'Eccellenza, titolo ordinarissimo de parenti de' Papi, massime viventi, ma essendoli poi detto lo stile di ciò si mutò in questo primo et contentossi di honorar dell'Eccellenza il duca di Mondragone, ma si lasciò chiaramente intendere che non voleva far così con il principe di Stigliano suo padre, cosa sproportionatissima di trattar meglio il figlio che il padre.

The Spanish ambassador stood firm in spite of the intervention of the Pope. When the Prince of Stigliano went to visit the ambassador the latter addressed him by the title of "V^{ra} merced," a title which in Spain is ordinarily given to the most humble individuals and to country folk. The Pope intervened, but in vain. The ambassador declared that he would not give the title of "excellenza" to the Prince of Stigliano, even if the king ordered it! The Princess of Stigliano, being extremely angry, gave the ambassador in St. Peter's the title of "V^{ra} merced."

The nuncio was charged to address complaints to the king of the conduct of his ambassador. "V.S. facci questo offitio di maniera che si conosca che prema a N.S$_{re}$ sino al cuore et tanto piu quanto ha fatto questo parentado con questo principe come vasallo di S.M^{tà} con suo gusto et per mezzo del s. duca di Sessa suo ambasciatore."

[Concept. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.]

45. Instruction for Maffei Barberini, Archbishop of Nazareth, Nuncio for France.[1]

[1604, December 4], Rome.

Non ha dubio, che la Nuntiatura di Francia, alla quale la S^{tà} di N. Sig^{re} ha eletto la persona di V. S., non solo è di molta consideratione, ma di arduissimi negotii et quelli ripieni in molte difficoltà, così porta lo stato di quel regno, che per le

[1] See *supra*, pp. 174, 193, 310.

guerre passate si può dire in molte parti nobili et principalmente nella religione conquassato, poichè in esso il nomico dell'humano genere vi ha sopraseminato la zizania, che sono i spini et l'herbe velenose dell'heresia. Onde andando ella in quel regno ministro di S. B^ne^ sopra le sue spalle et nella diligenza di lei gran parte della restauratione di essa si deve appoggiare così in quello che tocca la religione come nel culto divino et politia eccl^ca^, a tale che entra V.S. in una selva grandissima et in un oceano, pieno di tempesta. Ma dall'altro canto se ella sopra due cose farà reflessione, gran contento et grand'animo in questa impresa doverà ricevere. Et prima se ella considererà la confidenza che mostra N.S^re^ nella persona di V.S. raccomandandole affare di tanta et si grande importanza alla Chiesa di Dio, che ben si conosce il concetto, che tiene di lei.

Secondariamente se ella avvertirà l'occasione, che se le porge con questa nuntiatura di meritar con Dio, con la Sede Apostolica, con Sua B^ne^ medesima infinitamente in maniera che ella può dire con S. Paolo: Ostium mihi apertum est magnum et evidens. Queste cose dalla sua prudenza considerate et unite con il talento che Dio le ha dato, la faranno più facilmente, et con minor fatiga corrispondere all'espettatione che si ha di lei, tanto maggiore di molti altri quando sono stati mandati da N.S^re^ in questa nuntiatura, quanto il talento che Dio gli ha dato di prudenza, di esperienza et di lettere è singolare, et ella nelle cose di Francia non è nuova, essendovi da S.B^ne^ altre volte stata mandata Nuntio estraordinario a tale, che già vi è introdotta, conosce le persone, sa gli humori et intende molto bene i negotii, che la lunga esperienza di questa corte gli ha fatti possedere.

Et se bene sopra la restauratione della religione et intorno al redur quel regno alla vera politia eccl^ca^, la quale hora è si fattamente diminuita, non occorre dare a V.S. altra instruttione, se non dirle che N.S^re^ le ordina che ella facci tutto quello, che humanamente potrà fare, et vi usi esattissima diligenza per quei mezzi, che alla prudenza sua pareranno necessarii, più utili et più opportuni, tuttavia si diranno alcune cose, che di quà sono giudicate non solo profitevoli a porre in essecutione il santo desiderio di S.B^ne^ et il servitio di Dio, ma che senza le quali non si vede, come ne anco si possi fare buon principio, le quali furono anco commesse a mons^or^

vescovo di Modena et ultimamente al sig^{or} card^{li} del Bufalo, predecessori di V.S., che una parte di esse non si sono per la difficoltà de'tempi potute esseguire. Si ricordano adunque a lei intorno ad esse solamente quelle circostanze che il tempo ha rese diverse.

Et prima arrivato V.S. alla corte del re Christ^{mo} et dato conto a Sua M^{tà} della causa della sua venuta nel complimento, che ella farà con la M^{tà} Sua, et in nome di N.S^{re} benedicendola prima con l'apostolica benedittione, come anco la M^{tà} della regina, visitandola in nome di N.S^{re}, procurarà di rappresentare a S.M^{tà} la tenerezza dell'amore, con il quale S.S^{tà} ama la M^{tà} Sua, et l'affetto paterno che le porta, non solo come a figliuolo primogenito di S^{tà} Chiesa, ma come a parto suo et a cosa sua propria et cara, et per questo tiene S.S^{tà} particolar conto di S.M^{tà} et fa private orationi per il suo felice stato et perchè il Sig^{re} le allarghi la mano delle sue gratie, stimando la S^{tà} Sua gl'interessi di S.M^{tà} come proprii, tenendo, che la vera reputatione sua vadi a pari passo con la reputatione et satisfattione di S.S^{tà}, et con questo et con la destrezza sua solita V.S. doverà nutrire et riverenza et confidenza dalla parte del re verso N.S^{re}, la quale potrà poi esser scala a V.S. a molte cose buone et a risolver bene molte delle sue commissioni per servitio di Dio et di questa S^{tà} Sede.

Molti saranno i negotii che passeranno per le mani di V.S., come si è accennato, perchè il regno è grande per se stesso et lo stato eccl^{co} in esso è molto amplo et numeroso di clero così socolare come regolare, et per le guerre non hanno havuto quella disciplina che converrebbe; però a V.S. starà l'indirizzarlo bene et usarà a suo luogo et tempo il vino et l'olio et valersi delle facoltà concesseli opportunamente avvertendo però alli ministri suoi che siano tali che si mostrino disinteressati, acciò non solo gli heretici non habbiano occasione di mormorare, ma i Cattolici et buoni non si scandalizzino, anzi si edifichino non solo della bontà del ministro della Sede Apostolica et di N.S^{tà} come de' suoi officiali et famiglia, la quale dovrà usar sempre ogni modestia, se bene si sà che il ricordar ciò a V.S. è superfluo per la bontà sua et professione che ella ha fatto sempre.

Et perchè di questi negotii che corrono alla giornata nella Nuntiatura non le si può dire cosa particolare, non sapendosi quel che succederà giornalmente, però le sono ricordate le

cose in generale, avvertendola di attendere all'amplificatione della riligione cattolica, alla riforma del clero et de i religiosi più che si può et introdurre buoni costumi in essi et animarli a i studii, del che s'intende esservi gran bisogno per l'ignoranza che hora si truova nelle persone ecclesiastiche, et in questo particolare avvertirà i vescovi per parte di N.S^re^ ad usare accuratezza et diligenza nelle ordinationi de i preti tanto secolari come regolari, inculcandogli nell'orecchi la vilezza de i cleri in Francia et che il debito loro è vedere di sollevarli et usare quelle diligenze, che convengono intorno alla letteratura, nobiltà, costumi et altre circostanze degli ordinandi.

Cercherà d'intendersi bene con gli arcivescovi et vescovi di quel regno, massime con quelli che ella conoscerà essere più zelanti dell'honor di Dio et di S^tà^ Chiesa et li aiutarà continuamente nelli loro bisogni et gli andarà di mano in mano ricordando et soggerendo quelle cose spirituali, che possono giovare alla riforma delle loro diocesi in tutte le cose spirituali et particolarmente nella collatione de' beneficii, nella quale materia è in quel regno molto abuso.

Procurerà la conversione de gli heretici et l'augumento della religione catt^ca^ con ogni studio et con tutte le sue forze, adoprandoci ogni mezzo opportuno. In che una cosa l'aiutarà grandemente, se ella farà con il re che egli mostri non solo di desiderare che gli heretici si convertino et tornio al grembo di S^tà^ Chiesa, ma che dopo che sono convertiti, gli aiuti et favorisca, non solo non levandoli i carichi che havevano prima, ma accrescendoli in honore et dignità, et in favore con la M^tà^ Sua. Et. ben sà ella anco quel che può l'essempio et autorità del principe et che si veda risoluto a questo quanto possi giovare. Si è in alcune parti cominciato a fare delle missioni ne i luoghi, dove o l'heresia ha estinto affatto il Cattolicismo o lo ha superato in maniera che poche reliquie ve ne restano. Così ha fatto il vicelegato d'Avignone verso il Delfinato et Linguadoca et l'istesso il Nuntio di Savoia nelle valli di essa et in quei baliaggi ambidue d'ordine di N. S^re^ et con l'aiuto particolare della S^tà^ Sua temporale et spirituale et non senza molto frutto. V. S. mossa da questo esempio, procurarà di far l'istesso dove potrà et parerà il bisogno maggiore, non lasciando indietro gli altri luoghi, che non sono tanto infetti d'heresia ; per questo, a i quali et con le prediche ordinarie et con i ricordi che V. S. darà a i vescovi,

andrà procurando che sia giovato et diviso il pane della predicatione et della verità per tutto. Con questa occasione si ordina a V. S. di tener protettione di queste due missioni così d'Avignone come di Savoia et particolarmente della casa fondata in Tunone per ricevere i convertiti dall'heresia, opera di molto frutto et conseguenza, la quale può in molte occasioni haver bisogno dell'opera di lei appresso il re, massime hora che per la pace di Lione ultima S. M^{tà} è restata padrone de i paesi vicini. Et questo è quello che si può dire a V. S. in universale delle cose spettanti a i negotii ordinarii della Nuntiatura; però passaremo a i negotii che si haveranno da trattare con il re lasciando che di questi ella si governi nelle occasioni secondo la prudenza et ne i bisogni che haverà, potrà scrivere anco quà et dimandar quei aiuti, che gli pareranno necessarii, che non si mancherà di somministrarglili prontamente.

In prima dovrà procurar V. S. di mantenere il re bene affetto alle cose della nostra s^{ta} religione cattolica, con destrezza anco et soavità instruendolo nelle cose della religione: perchè l'esercitio militare, che ha sempre fatto, non ha lasciato che ne sia instrutto in quella maniera che faria di bisogno, et lo animerà non solo a promuoverla et favorirla, acciò con il calore di S. M^{tà} si augumenti il culto divino et si estinguano l'heresie, ma anco procurare che in effetto deprima gli heretici et si mostri aperto difensore delli Cattolici et inimico de 'tristi et abominatore delle heresie, al che se bene si crede, che sia per se stessa inclinata la M^{tà} Sua per sua bontà et prudenza, nondimeno può essere che i ministri malintentionati sotto spetie di falsa ragione di stato, mantenghino in qualche tepidezza la M^{tà} Sua, con pericolo di cavarli alle volte qualche cosa di mano, poco utile et conveniente alla professione di vero et buon cattolico principe et poco profittevole al regno; et però dovrà V. S. rimostrare a S. M^{tà} el nel suo arrivo et poi secondo l'occasione, che oltre al debito di re Christianissimo et del titolo che gli hanno lasciato i suoi antecessori di difensore della fede catt^{ca} si aspetta da S. M^{tà} particolar calore et zelo alle cose della religione, si per l'obligo particolare, che tiene a Dio benedetto per le molte et estraordinarie gratie che gli ha fatto, come perchè essendo Sua Maestà vissuta molto tempo fuor del grembo di S^{tà} Chiesa (del che non ne può esser venuto se non pregiu-

ditio alla religione), è in obligo con Dio et con il mondo di fare opere tali in utile et augumento di essa et mostrarsi tanto ardente del servitio di Dio, che il mondo se ne edifichi et la Chiesa Santa sia ricompensata de i danni patiti, et deve la M^tà^ Sua far frutti degni di vera penitenza, ricordando a S. M^tà^ che per questo rispetto quello, che negli altri sarebbe giudicato tepidezza, appresso la M^tà^ Sua sarà tenuto più che freddezza et [a]ggravio, anzi questa considerata realmente et per i veri termini l'ha da spingere a ciò. Et però falsi saranno quei consigli et diabolici et i consiglieri interessati et cattivi, che anteporanno al re cose che concernono neutralità, tepidezza et favor di heretici, perchè questo è contrario all'-honor de Dio et alla riputatione et utile di S. M^tà^ et dannoso allo stato et regno, perchè cosa chiara è che omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur ; et mantenendo la diversità delle religioni, il regno in divisione, necessariamente bisogna che lo precipiti, et però non può essere questa diversità, se non pernitiosa allo stato, non permettendo che stia unito non solo al servitio di Dio, ma neanco all'obedienza di S. M^tà^ nè alla osservanza delle sue leggi, nè può la M^tà^ Sua esercitare liberamente il suo imperio, nè amministrar giustitia nè governar lo stato politico liberamente, et essendo tutte queste cose tanto necessarie in un governo di un regno si grande, massime hora che non vi è più guerra, chiara cosa è che mancando l'unione, mancherà la quiete di esso, si nutriranno sempre i cattivi humori et si starà sempre in sospetto et non potrà mai la M^tà^ Sua dar satisfattione ad una parte, che non disgusti l'altra, et così non haverà mai quella tranquillità d'animo, nè di governo che desidera et le conviene. Et cercherà d'imprimerli nell'animo, che è impossibile non solo mantenere quieto, nè mantenerlo obediente quel regno con due religioni, et dovendosi attaccare ad una, vede qual di queste è più potente in quel regno, talchè per ragione di stato, se quella si ha d'attendere, si vede quale debba abbracciare con tutto l'animo et affetto. Gli haverà in questa materia da render sospetti tutti i disegni de gli heretici, i quali non tirano se non a nuove guerre et nuovi garbugli perchè in quel tempo fanno i fatti loro.

Et il pensare di bilanciare le cose in maniera che si tenghi anniche ambe le parti, questa è una propositione vana, erronea et falsissima et l'esperienza lo mostra pur

troppo et la Germania pur troppo lo testifica, et non potrà esser soggerita a S. M^tà^ da altri che da politici et male intentionati, et da chi non ama la suprema autorità della M^tà^ Sua nel regno et vorrebbe più tosto che il re fusse servo de i sudditi, che i sudditi sottoposti alla conveniente obedienza del re; perchè nelle satisfattioni, che darà S. M^tà^ a gli heretici, oltre che farà cosa di poca sua riputatione et che nel cospetto del mondo et particolarmente in Italia sonerà sempre malissimo, è inconveniente et ingiusta: offenderà Dio, terrà sospeso sempre l'animo di N. S^re^, darà che dire agli altri principi che osservaranno le sue attioni, et se ci sarà chi desidera turbarli il regno, haverà insieme con i sudditi mal satisfatti vivo quel medesimo pretesto della religione, o poco meno che hanno havuto le guerre passate; darà poi anco disgusto et mala satisfacttione alla maggior parte et alla migliore del suo regno, poichè è chiaro che la maggior parte et la migliore della nobità et persone d'autorità, è cattolica, nè può far si poco S. M^tà^ o permettere a favore di quella maledetta setta, che non disgusti i suoi sudditi cattolici, non scandalizzi il mondo et non facci grandissimo danno a se stesso et alle cose sue et reputatione propria, et così non gli riuscirà il bilanciare; perchè un tantino di guadagno da quella banda apporterà molta et grandissima perdita da questa parte, oltre che di là non guadagnarà niente, perchè gente che non conosce Dio, che non ha disciplina nè obedienza, non solo si nutrirà sempre nel suo sospetto, ma le carezze la faranno insolente, et ogni giorno ardiranno di pretendere et dimandare qualche cosa di nuovo ne' dieci cose concesseli, saranno causa, che ricevino in buona parte la negativa di una sola, anzi più faranno i mal satisfatti, et forsi permetterà Dio, per castigo che questa piacevolezza con loro sia la prima strada alla nuova perturbatione del regno, et talvolta questi saranno i primi, che si opporranno ai disegni di Sua M^tà^ e quelli che non la vorranno vedere d'autorità nè padrone assoluto. Queste cosi non si dicono, perchè si dubiti che il solo zelo di S. M^tà^ verso la religione cattolica non habbia da operare nella M^tà^ Sua ogni buono effetto, ma per mostrare a chi le suggerirà mali consigli per ragione di stato, che non la medesima se gli può ben rispondere, et che non solo questa verità non è oscurata da altra verità, ma bugia nessuna o falso pretesto non l'adombra, et però conviene a S. M^tà^ di

procurare d'ingrandire la religione cattolica et annichilar per quanto possono le forze sue l'heresie ; onde dovrà fuggire di concedere niente o permettere a favor loro ; et V. S. inviglarà a questo punto, et quando sentirà che si tratti cosa in lor favore et in consequenza in pregiuditio de' Cattolici, dovrà risentirsi gagliardamente et opporsi, et parlare con il re et con i ministri vivamente, con i vescovi, con i Parlamenti et in somma con quelli, che giudicherà che possino profitare, in modo che non vadi inanzi niente, anzi procurare che si rimedii a gli errori, che si sono fatti in ciò per il passato, et particolarmente nella publicatione dell'Editto del 77 che ha dato tanto scandalo a i Cattolici et fatto una mescolanza in tutto il regno d'heresie et della loro maledetta setta, che Dio voglia che un giorno S. Mtà medesima se ne habbia a pentire, nè la scusa, che ella suole allegare che ha giovato alla religione cattolica, riducendola ne i luoghi dove era estinta affatto, è buona, poichè se S. Mtà havesse voluto, poteva far questo senza dar quella licenza a gli heretici, o almeno andar più moderato nelle concessioni a loro favorevoli, oltre che si è per la parte de gli heretici eseguita ne i luoghi cattolici esattamente, et per quella parte che faceva qualche servitio a i Cattolici, non si è mai potuto eseguire affatto, et si sono sfacciati gli heretici in molti luoghi ad opporsi sin con l'armi all' essecutione di essa, dove non faceva per loro, ne sono stati castigati conforme al merito, et i Cattolici che hanno voluto replicare, non solo sono stati castigati, ma è andato il re in persona a farli fare a suo modo. A queste cose instarà V. S. che il re rimedii in ogni maniera secondo i casi et l'occasione, et sentendo altre volte trattare di cose simili, ne doverà anco dar avviso quà, acciochè da questa parte ancora si possa applicare quel rimedio che si potrà secondo la qualità de i casi et del male.

Per mostrarsi tale S. Mtà quale conviene et quale si è detto di sopra di desiderare et estirpar più che si può l'heresie, non è dubio che haverà S. Mtà molti modi et Dio benedetto gli aprirà molte strade et V. S. secondo l'occasione gli anderà suggerendo quello che in ciò gli occorrerà. Ma N. Sigre non vuole lasciare di porli in consideratione una strada facile et senza che possa partorir tumulto et che si eseguisce facilmente et fa il suo effetto con il tempo da se senz' altra coltivatione, et è quella che altre volte ha S. Stà ricordato alla Mtà Sua

et addottoli l'esempio di Polonia, cioè di non dar gradi ad heretici, perchè oltre che non si pongono le armi in mano de'nemici, non se gli dà occasione di far male et di sedurre i Cattolici et di vomitare il lor veleno, si accorgono che in quello stato in che si truovano, sono esclusi da i magistralo et dal governo, et pensano a i casi loro et si ritirano dalla mala via o l'esempio loro ritiene il precipitio de gli altri; l'esempio di Polonia è chiaro, poichè osservando questo buon ricordo quel re, che N. Sig^re essendo legato là gli diede, con questo solo ha quasi ridotto quel regno affatto cattolico, talmente che molti grandi signori et grandi heretici sono tornati al grembo di S^tà Chiesa, et qui potrà anco ricordare V. S. a S. M^tà quello che si è detto di sopra di favorir quelli che tornano alla fede cattolica et honorarli, non facendo come ha fatto con qualche altro convertito, che gli ha levato il luogo et datolo ad un'altro heretico con scandolo universale.

Non vuole hora N. Sig^ri passar tant'oltre, che esorti il re espressamente a pigliar l'armi contro gli heretici, non che non lo giudicasse utile fatto con le debite circostanze, ma ricorda solo a S. M^tà di dar qualche sbarbazzata alle volte a costoro, perchè è turba rebelle et insolente, che procura sempre d'avvanzarsi per ogni strada et via anco diretta contro il particolar servitio della M^tà Sua, perè ogni ardire che gli dia, potrebbe tornare in grave suo pregiuditio.

Uno de i modi di riformare il regno et augumentare la religione cattolica è il culto divino e il far buon vescovi, et però V. S. ricorderà a Sua M^tà et nel principio in genere et poi in particolare secondo l'occasioni, di nominare a S. S^tà buoni soggetti per le chiese, persone cattoliche et lontane da ogni sospetto d'heresia et che in questa materia non habbino bisogno di dispense letterate et di buona vita et costumi et che i popoli habbiano con la loro buona fama buona opinione di essi, acciò gli portino rispetto et devotione avvertendo di non presentare persone, che sieno state heretiche o sospette, nè figlioli di heretici, perchè questi, come nati da radice infetta, fanno sospetti i suoi frutti a i sacri canoni et al mondo. Però V. S. doverà anch'essa nell'occasioni delle vacanze aprir gli ochi et avvertire che chi si tratti di nominare, et se si sentirà parlare di persona indegna, farà offitio con S. M^tà che non la nomini, et avvisarà ancor quà le sue qualità, ponendo in consideratione alla M^tà Sua, oltre

le cose predette, che è ben di fuggire le occasioni di porre in necessità N. Sig^{re} di non la compiacere. Il che sarebbe forzato a fare, quando sentisse gravarsi la coscienza sopra qualche soggetto, et così le molte negative che potrebbono occorrere in simili occasioni, darebbono causa di disgusti con poca satisfattione ricordando a S. M^{tà} quello, che ha detto a me più volte, che i vescovi di Francia hanno disogno di esser letterati et predicatori. V. S. dovrà anco dire liberamente al re, che deve fuggire economati et il dar vescovadi et badie a soldati et donne in confidenza, come si è fatto per i tempi passati, perchè queste sono state le prime cause delle ruine del regno et dell'heresie, et sono cose che N. Sig^{re} non potrebbe più comportare et sarebbono di scandalo, come è di scandalo dare li possessi per vigore de i biglietti o brevetti, come si è usato l'altre volte, il che eccede i Concordati, oltre che la forma premessa da essi è hora alterata per quanto s'intende con molto pregiuditio, et quest'hoggi hanno tanta autorità che sono preferiti alle lettere apostoliche et però è necessario che S. M^{tà} se ne astenghi et prohibisca che altri non facci ciò di propria autorità, et di questo particolare credo, che la M^{tà} Sua ne dasse particolare intentione o promessa al sig^{r} card^{le} di Fiorenza, mentre fu legato in quel regno, però V. S. lo doverà tener ricordato et lasciarsi intendere secondo le occasioni.

Haverà V. S. d'haver l'occhio anco che non si eccedino ordinariamente i Concordati, et quando vedrà che si vogli passare i termini di essi, i quali sono pur troppo larghi, senza più dilatarli a favor del regno, et restringono molto l'essecutione dell'autorità apostolica in Francia, dovrà trattarne vivamente con il re et i ministri et lasciarsi intendere tanto più che sendosi promesso ciò nelle capitolationi dell'assolutione di S. M^{tà}, la doverà aiutare. Et particolarmente si eccedono i Concordati et la forma della ragion commune nell'introduttioni et pessimo abuso degli economati, i quali contengono che mentre i vescovi et abbati nominati dal re non hanno ancora la provisione dal Papa, onde non possano usar giurisdittione alcuna, intanto il re nomina l'economo, il quale in virtù di un arresto, innanzi sia fatta la provisione apostolica amministra lo spirituale et temporale, conferisce benefioii, constituisce vicarii, che giudicano, assolvono, dispensano, come se havessero causa dal vescovo già ordinato et in legitimo

possesso overo dalla istessa Sede Ap^{ca}. Questo abuso è passato tant'oltre che non solo pregiudica alla S^{tà} Sede, ma è incomportabile, sichè V. S. ne informerà bene il re et farà ogni opera, perchè si tolga via. Haverà l'occhio ancora V. S. per l'osservanza de i Concordati, che il re non conferisca i benefitii vacanti in Curia, et conferendoli si opponga gagliardamente, procurando che si rivochi la sua collatione.

La giurisdittione eccl^{ca} è assai conculcata in quel regno, però V. S. dovrà reccomandarla al re, acciò non permetta che sia oppressa da i tribunali laici et dalla giurisdittione temporale, ricordandoli quel che disse N. S^{re} Gesù Christo: reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo, oltre che se i vescovi et ecclesiastici non hanno il braccio libero, per esercitare le loro armi et giurisdittione, non sono temuti et così non possono riformare il clero et le loro chiese, da che ne nasce la pace de i popoli et in conseguenza la quiete del regno, rappresentando anco a S.M^{tà} il biasmo che ricevono que' principi che occupano quello che è della Chiesa et la sua giurisdittione, et V. S. riduca a memoria a S. M^{tà} che la bontà de i re antecessori suoi privilegiorno la giurisdittione eccl^{ca} in quel regno sopra tutti gli altri regi, talmente che volendo (se mal non mi ricordo) Filippo re di Francia ritirarla, parendo che pregiudicasse alla giurisdittione reale, convocò i tribunali regii et molti de i Parlamenti et alcuni prelati et all fine non ostante le condittioni fu risoluto che si mantenesse la Chiesa in tutte le sue preheminenze, et hoggi si truova ancora stampato quello, che in questo congresso scrisse un buon card^{le} Bertrando, che serve per conoscere la pietà di quel buon re.

Sono al s^{or} card^{le} del Bufalo avvenuti alcuni casi sopra questa materia, nelli quali Dio gli ha fatto gratia, mediante la sua destrezza et risolutione, di superar le difficultà del Parlamento et degli altri che si opponevano a tale, che pare sia la giurisdittione alquanto sormontata et avvanzatasi di riputazione sopra gli avversarii. V. S. doverà continuare di mantenerla in questo stato et andarla sempre più avvanzando, ma con destrezza et senza che se ne accorgano, et per via della negotiatione, più che delle minacce, potendo molto più in quella corte la diligenza et in particolare con il re, prevenendo nell'informarlo et farlo bene et con efficacia che con la forza o timore, benchè talvolta il farsi liberamente intendere non sia nocivo. Ma l'occasione ne farà conoscere alla

prudenza di lei più facilmente il tempo e l'opportunità. Queste sono le cose che V. S. havrà da ricordar a S. M^{tà} prima in generale et raccomandargli l'osservanza et l'esecutione di esse caldamente, replicandoglili poi di mano in mano secondo l'opportunità del tempo et i negotii particolari che occorreranno et l'occasione.

Restano hora alcune cose particolari da trattare con S. M^{tà}, et di quelle si diedero al vescovo di Modena et al sig^{r} card^{le} del Bufalo predecessori di V. S., nelle quali ancorchè si sia durato molta fatica et usato ogni diligenza, non si sono potute spedire si per l'occupationi del trattato della pace come per la qualità de' tempi. Si fecero però molte cose buone, perciò queste et quelle che occorrono di più se gli toccano con i seguenti capi.

Preme N. Sig^{re} infinitamente in mantenere la pace nella christianità, come si può ben conoscere delle attioni passate di S. B^{ne}, et però nell'osservanza delle due paci ultime di Vervino et di Lione V. S. havrà d'invigilare particolarmente et avvisare ogni picciolo accidente che nascesse, che la potesse conturbare procurando anco per se stessa di rimediarvi, senza aspettare altro ordine potendolo fare. Vedrà di penetrar sempre in ciò l'animo del re et de'suoi ministri di maggior autorità, et tutto quello si tratti di cose di stato et avvisare in ogni capo diligentemente, sapendo ella quanto in ciò premono tutti i principi et particolarmente vi deve premere N. Sig^{re} che non desidera ciò per altro che per servitio publico et de i principi istessi et l'aiutare l'interessi loro, quando sono buoni et honesti et rimoverli et heradicarli quando sono cattivi. Però sarà bene che ella procuri di penetrare quel che si tratta con Inghilterra, con i stati di Fiandra et con i principi di Germania, quel che si facci a confini del regno, et altre cose simili. Procurarà di nutrir bene [la corrispondenza] tra le due corone di Francia et di Spagna et anco con il duca di Savoia, del quale cercherà di sapere come stia intrinsicamente con quella corona dopo l'ultima pace, invigilando tutto quello, che egli potesse trattare a quella corte, come persona che è in concetto di esser amico di cose nuove et di concetti varii et forsi inquieti.

Et qui si avvertisce V. S. che una cosa può mettere in molto pericolo la conservatione della pace, che è l'intendersi, che il re permette che li molti suoi vassalli vadino a servire i stati di

Fiandra rebelli del re Cattolico et dell'arciduca Alberto et fomenta i loro interessi. Et se bene ha publicato editti in contrario, tuttavia ho inteso io in Francia, che egli sottomano ha ordinato che vi vadino, et bene se ne vede segni, perchè tiene presso di se publicamente un ambasciator loro, come se fusse d'un principe legitimo et li dà commodità di comercio non solo nel suo regno, ma li fa godere di quello di Spagna, mediante i suoi sudditi contro l'ordine di quel re. A queste cose procurerà V. S. di opporsi gagliardamente, dicendo con occasione al re che questo non solo è contra la pace di Vervino, ma contra la parola data da'suoi ambasciatori a Sua S^{tà} più volte, et ciò però esser causa di rottura senz'altro, perchè dopo una o due o tre volte il re di Spagna havrà giusto protesto di moversi per difesa delle cose sue. Ne dovrà parer strano al re che N.S^{re} le calchi la mano adosso, poichè per l'osservanza della pace fa il simile con il re di Spagna, et in quest'ultima guerra di Savoia, si sà quello che ha operato per quella banda la S^{tà} Sua con l'autorità che tiene. Queste cose non dovrà V. S. proporle [ne]la prima audienza, ma scorrer qualche giorno, mostrando di haverne inteso parte là et essersene informato bene, come anco davrà fare veramente pigliandone nuove informationi et faverà l'occasione buona, poichè potrà anco attaccarsi all'instanza che io ne feci, quando ero legato appresso Sua M^{tà}, et ne detti scrittura in occasione et mi fu promesso l'osservanza molto prontamente della pace di Vervino. V. S. di questa materia ne havrà anco una scrittura particolare. L'esempio dell'editto del comercio può fare a V. S. strada di mostrare a S.M^{tà} quanto poricolo perti il tener questi modi indiretti di dar disgusto in principe con chi si ha pace, poichè questa quasi l'ha rotta, et poco è mancato, che non habbi causato una guerra. Et poichè per raccomodar l'inconveniente nato da esso si è durato tanta fatica quanta si sà, et essendosi finalmente quietato et accomodato questo punto con l'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re} per mezzo del sig^{r} card. del Bufalo, benchè nel proemio dell'accordo se ne sia dato l'honore al re d'Inghilterra per i rispetti che V. S. sà, dovrà ella procurare sempre l'osservanza et avvertire che continuandosi l'istesse cause non ponghino questi principi nell'istessi et talvolta maggiori inconvenienti, poichè non sempre riesce da un accidente fastidioso l'uscita senza rottura et ben spesso le picciole scintille accendono gran fuoco.

Invigilarà ancora un altro fastidiosissimo negotio, il quale è che essendosi lasciato tirare l'arciduca Alberto a contentarsi che si finischino le controversie de' confini in Francia et Fiandra nascono per quello che intendiamo fastidiose differenze, dalle quali potria nascere nuova rottura. Vederà di saperle bene, et andare mollificando con il re et con i ministri questi humori, quanto sarà possibile, usando in questo liberamente il nome del Papa.

Restano ancora da eseguirsi alcune cose che furono imposte per penitenza alla Maestà Sua, le quali si crede che Sua Maestà non dovrà fuggire di farle, poichè così prontamente le ha promesse per mezzo de' suoi procuratori et ratificate con altre tante liberalità, si che oltre l'obbligo che a ciò la spinge la coscienza, vi è anco la convenienza del cavaliero et principe tale, quale è la M^{tà} Sua, che fa tanta professione di osservator della parola, che ben si crede voglia essere simile a se stesso con Dio et la sua santa Chiesa et con gli huomini. V. S. farà la sua instanza per l'essecutione di tutte queste cose et le potrà prima ricordare a Sua M^{tà} in genere et poi andarglile ponendo inanzi ciascuna secondo l'opportunità del tempo et dell' occasione non lasciando però d'instare sin che ne veda il fine.

Può ben credere V. S. che tutte queste cose fatte con l'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re} così solennemente desideri Sua S^{tà} che sieno poste in essecutione et sortischino il suo effetto. Ma particolarmente brama sopra modo Sua S^{tà} che si eseguisca quella promessa di publicare il concilio di Trento come cosa che stima Sua S^{tà} et lo crede universalmente ognuno che debba essere l'unico mezzo della riforma della Francia, che sia per tor via gli abusi et l'ignoranza nel clero, introdurre la riforma de i costumi et estirpare le heresie. Qui V. S. ha da fare l'esperienza del suo valore, della volontà del re et dell'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re}, perchè Sua S^{tà} è risoluta di fare ogni cosa per guadagnarla et vincerla, et V. S. non ha mai da abbandonar questo negotio sino che non l'habbia ridotto in porto, ma instare appresso il re et ministri, si del consiglio come del parlamento, insomma bussare ogni porta et tentare ogni via per superare le difficoltà che ci possono essere, et dopo haver accordato a Sua Maestà tante promesse fattele per mezzo dell'assolutione del sig^{r} card^{le} di Forenza, de'tutti i suoi ambasciatori, ultimamente quando io mi licentiai da Sua M^{tà} mi promise di sua bocca di eseguirlo in termine di

due mesi et hora sono passati gli anni. Et se Sua M^{tà} si scusarà con dire che si è trattenuta l'essecutione della pace, ecco che questa è finita, ne ci è più tal scusa, faccilo hora. Oltre a questo ha mostrato Sua M^{tà} che le cose contenute nel Concilio non le dispiacciono, che conosce che son cose utilissime alla Chiesa. Potrà porre in consideratione che ha sempre sonato male negli orecchi degl'huomini, che il regno di Francia, che si vendica il nome di difensore della Chiesa, ricusi di ricevere un Concilio universale, celebrato con tanta solennità et ricevuto da tutto il mondo; che però molta gloria apportarà alla Maestà Sua il levar questa nota dal suo regno et apportargli tanto utile, quanto caverà dall'usarle in esso gli ottimi documenti et decreti che nel detto Concilio si contengono, dalli quali riceverà notabilissimo giovamento, perchè si riformarà il clero secolare et regolare, il quale riformato risplenderà tanto più se si levaranno molti abusi; et in somma sarà ciò utile alle cose di stato, perchè con questa tranquillità, che riceverà il clero, si quietaranno mediante la riforma de i buoni costumi molti humori, et le cose si ridurranno a maggior' obbedienza della M^{tà} Sua, perchè in somma, come le cose della religione vanno quiete, vanno similmente quiete quelle dello stato, ne si possono conturbar quelle, che non si rivoltino ancora queste, anzi il principio delle mutationi di stato è la mutatione della religione. Il re Filippo 2° di Spagna morto pochi anni sono, ha premuto estraordinariamente all'osservanza del Concilio, et questo perchè oltre di far opera di re cattolico, conosceva che gli rendeva i sudditi pacifici et obbedienti, et è ciò seguito con molta sua lode, anzi haveva per male che i Papi ci dispensassero. Tutta la difficoltà di questo negotio è che sono persuasi in Francia falsamente che i decreti del Concilio pregiudichino a molti privilegii, che presuppongono di havere nelle loro chiese, et consuetudini, per non dire abusi, quali non vogliono perdere, opinione che è falsa, perchè il Concilio in quasi tutti i suoi decreti, levati i canoni pertinenti ai dogmi, non tratta d'altro che della riforma del clero et s'intromette in poche altre cose che in controversie tra i vescovi et i capitoli et nella riforma particolare de i regolari et cose tutte concernenti lo spirituale mero, poco toccante anco le cose forensi di esso. Facci Sua Maestà questa nobile attione, et se tocca contradittione, la superi con l'autorità sua et sua sola sarà questa gloria.

Ben lo sa fare Sua M^{tà} quando vuole et chiude la bocca al parlamento, publichi insomma di Concilio in ogni maniera, et poi veda le gratie che vuole il regno da N. Sig^{re}, che troverà la mano di Sua S^{tà} pronta per ogni conveniente satisfattione et dissingannisi ognuno, che questa publicatione non apporta alle cose più forza di quello che hanno ne la doverebbono tanto stirarla. Qui è una congregatione del Concilio che l'interpreta quando bisogna secondo l'opportunità del tempo et qualità de i casi.

In somma bisogna che V. S. s'affatichi di levar questa opinione da gli huomini che la publicatione di questo sacro Concilio habbia da esser la destruttione de i privilegii di Francia. Finalmente istare et con le buone con pregarne instantissimamente il re, et con dolersi che non sia osservata la parola, servirsi dell'uno et dell'altro di questi mezzi, come V. S. li troverà più utili et maggiormente profitte voli, perchè Sua S^{tà} vuol vedere il fine di questa cosa in ogni modo et però non lascierà mai mentre viverà di battere questo chiodo.

Doverà V. S. mentre non segue questa publicatione nell' essercitatione che farà a i vescovi che riformino i loro cleri et diocesi essortarli particolarmente a far visite et celebrare i sinodi diocesani et provinciali et far seminarii con i quali il clero con queste nuove piante, che potriano anche esser de' nobili, facilmente torneria nel suo pristino splendore, et in essi servirsi per norma et regola di queste funtioni, et per stabilir bene le cose che ordinaranno, di valersi dico de i medesimi decreti del sacro Concilio, il quale, se mal non mi ricordo, gli stessi heretici hanno protestato di haver visto et non haverci trovato che gli offendi, et forse mons. de Diou l'ha publicamente attestato, et così tacitamente andarlo ponendo in uso più che si può, et questo lo potrà V. S. procurare destramente, acciò si facci senza che apparisca, et con i vescovi potrà trattarne oretenus et con lettere private, et prima con quelli che sono migliori ecc^{i} più riformati et più devoti della S^{tà} Sua et meglio intentionati, per mover poi gli altri con l'esempio del frutto di questi, et di questi ce ne sono esempi di vescovi che lo fanno, come quello d'Aire.

Con questa occasione si avvertisce V. S. che i predicatori in Francia entrano talvolta troppo facilmente nelle cose di stato per censurarle et riprenderle, et se bene se sono mal fatte, si devono lasciare, tuttavia l'interesse de i principi non comporta

che se ne parli sopra il pulpito, et avviene spesso che la Chiesa ne riceve degli incontri, poichè sdegnati i superiori, si cacciano dalle città et danno occasione di rottura con scandalo de'buoni. Sarà però opera della destrezza et prudenza di V. S. di moderarli in maniera che non paia che se le tolga la libertà del predicare, ne meno che si permetta, che troppo indiscretamente usino del loro zelo, et V. S., vede, che ciò in Italia si fa assai acconciamente, si che poche volte ne succede inconveniente alcuno.

Appresso il negotio del Concilio ne viene un'altro che ha premuto molto a N. Sig^{re} et è quello del ritorno de' padri Gesuiti in Francia, et questo per gratia di Dio, si è spuntato, perchè il re gli ha non solo permesso che ritornino, ma gli ha fatto et fa molte carezze, in modo tale che due cose sole restano da desiderare al presente dall'opera di V. S. in questo negotio: una è di procurare che in quei luoghi ove questi padri non sono rimessi si rimettano, l'altra che in nome di Sua Santià lodi al re questa sua buona risolutione, procurando sempre di renderlo bene affetto alla Compagnia, con rappresentare opportunamente alla Maestà Sua il frutto che questi padri fanno per tutto il mondo, in augmento della religione cattolica, et quanto siano utili per il temporale et spirituale, perchè con l'esempio della vita et con le prediche et altri esercitii ecc^{ci} sono utili allo spirituale, insegnano le buone lettere et scienze a i giovani, tengono indietro le heresie; gli eretici stessi in Germania mandano i figlioli alle schole de' Gesuiti. Che l'opere poi di questa Compagnia non siano utili al mondo non si può negare, et a V. S. che ne è ben informata per il tempo longo che è stato in Roma, non occorre dirne altro, ma saprà rappresentarle a Sua M^{tà} in confermatione et lode della resolutione presa da Sua M^{tà} nel ritorno concesso alli stessi padri, et ricordare al re che hora esperimenterà quanto sia vero quello che N. Sig^{re} tante volte gli scrisse in questa materia.

Di più, quando fu ferito S. M^{tà}, fu fatto un'arresto dalla corte di parlamento et scritto publicamente in una colonna in Parigi, che vi è ancora, con parole hereticali et contra la Chiesa et utorità di N. Sig^{re}, che pone in dubio anco l'assolutione del re; se si considera bene, questo mi ha promesso di far levare S. M.^{tà} V. S. ne procurarà et sollecitarà l'espeditione in ogni modo.

Nostro Sig^{re} ha desiderato sommamente di poter fare una

volta qualche cosa per tor via il nido, che hanno gli heretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d'Italia et è la Babilonia dell'heresie ; et se non si può convertire affatto, almeno introdurvi l'essercitio della religione cattolica. A questo può infinitamente aiutare il re di Francia, anzi se la doverebbe pigliare Sua M^tà^ per impresa particolare et propria. Sin hora vi è stata la scusa che la corona di Francia per la necessità del passo de'Suizzeri teneva la protettione di quella città, ne voleva permettere che s'innovasse da persona veruna niente ; hora questo pretesto cessa : perchè Sua M^tà^ con l'acquisto fatto con la pace di Lione ha circondato Ginevra et dilatato il confine sino a i Suizzeri, onde non ha più bisogno di passar le genti che li occorresse condurre di quel paese per il passo di Ginevra et la città confinante seco, et in mezzo delle sue fortezze sta tanto soggetta hora a Sua M^tà^, che farà sempre quello che la M^tà^ Sua vorrà. Porrà V. S. in consideratione a Sua M^tà^ che con introdurvisi la religione cattolica, non si contradice alla protettione, et si leva il pretesto ad altri di assalirla, et si farebbe un notabilissimo servitio a Dio, et grandissimo piacere à Sua S^tà^. V. S. ricordi, et promova questa cosa, et avvertisca, che dopo haver veduto quelli huomini esser così circondati da Francesi, hanna cominciato a sospettar di loro che se ne voglino impadronire, et forsi ce n'è stato qualche concetto, almeno di stringerla a poco a poco in maniera che si renda come suddita. Sarà offitio di V. S. d'invigilar tutti i motivi, che si fanno in questa materia, così de i disegni de' Francesi come de i pensieri de'Ginevrini, per avvisar continuamente N. Sig^re^ per quello potesse occorrere così alle cose di religione come di stato.

N. Sig^re^ quando si trattava della restitutione del marchesato di Saluzzo per Sua M^tà^ [chiese] che di quà da i monti non si permetterebbe esercitio alcuno d'heresia ne vi si terrebbe predicatori heretici. Nella pace di Lione è rimasto alla M^tà^ Sua Castel Delfino in Italia di qua da i monti, dove è stato posto un heretico per governatore. Sua S^tà^ non vuole comportare, che le sia mancato della parola, massime in cosa che può introdurre l'heresia in Italia ; V. S. sturi l'orecchi al re sopra di questo, et dica che non admetterà scusa nessuna. In Borgo in Bressa hanno ancora posto governatore un heretico et pur mi promise il re di porvelo cattolico. Dice il re che questo modo darà fastidio a i Cattolici, ma questa non è

buona risposta che già si sà, che non li amazzarà ne farà atti hostili, ma li uccide con l'esempio et con la conversatione et con prometter libertà di coscienza et far predicare all'Ugonotta, et in vero di queste cose ogn'uno si scandalizza grandemente et di esse V. S. ne parli con'ogni libertà sino che ella ne cavi il rimedio.

Le cose del Bearne, che è quella parte di Navarra che possiede Sua M^{tà}, hanno molto bisogno di esser aiutate per la religione cattolica. Il re nell'assolutione promise di rimettervi l'esercitio cattolico, et ne ha fatto due vescovi di buona vita per l'informatione, che io hebbi a Lione, ma le cose loro et della Chiesa sono conculcate da gli heretici et da i parlamenti. V. S. ne terrà particolar protettione, et in ogni occasione promoverà l'interessi di quei Cattolici. Et questo sarà uno de i luoghi da poter far frutto con le missioni, di ciò se le daranno alcuni ricordi a parte, secondo i quali ella dovrà far gli offitii necessarii.

S'intende anco che quelli che hebbero provisioni Apostoliche in tempo della Lega con la raccomandatione del duca d'Umena, come usava all'hora questa corte, sono stati spogliati di fatto, et che restano molti di loro privi d'ogni bene dolendosi della fede di questa S. Sede. Quando du fatta l'assolutione del re i suoi procuratori diedoro ferma intentione a N.S. che ci sarebbe havuto consideratione, et trovato temperamento. V. S. si chiarisca bene, che non siano gride di genti querule et male intentionate, ma quando trovvi che sia qualche cosa di momento, gli aiuti con il re, et procuri se le dia qualche satisfattione, et avvisi anco quà, bene informata, quello che si potesse fare in questa materia.

V. S. sa che la Sede Apostolica tiene uno stato molto bello in Francia et è quello d'Avignone et contado Venayssino, del quale è molto gelosa S.S^{tà} et desidera non solo la conservatione di esso, ma che quei popoli siano ben trattati in ogni conto. Hanno molte occorrenze alla corte di Francia, come quelli che sono nel mezzo di quel regno, et però è solito che ricorrino tal volta a chi rappresenta la persona del Papa in quel regno, sia Nuntio o Legato. V. S. pero in ogni occasione li dovrà proteggere et favorire nelle cose gluste, come sarà offitio suo invigilar quello potesse occorrere in quel stato, il quale dovrà raccomandare al re, come cosa cara a Sua S^{tà} et ricordarsi a ordinare ai suoi ministri in quei confini, che s'intendino bene con i ministri

della S^{tà} Sua et faccino a loro, et a quei popoli buona vicinanza et trattamento, et in particolare desidera Sua S^{tà}, che il re li faccia piacere di tener lontano di quel stato gli heretici, et sicome l'ha essortato a non se servir di loro, così lo prega efficacemente, a farlo in particolare in quei confini, perchè sari un porre i nimici scopertamente appresso alla Sede Apostolica, et necessitarla a spese insopportabili.

N.S^{re} tiene protettione della religione di Malta, come quella che non depende da principi, ma è immediatamente sottoposta alla Sede Apostolica. Per questo, et perchè si esercita nelle guerre contro infedeli, Sua S^{tà} gli porge volentieri ogni aiuto. Ella ha molti interessi in Francia ; se i ministri ricorreranno talvolta a V. S., li proteggerà et aiutarà, facendolo anco da se, dove vedrà il bisogno et l'opportunità.

Da quattro anni in quà, si è inteso che gli eletti all'arcivescovati nel regno di Francia stanno senza pigliare il pallio conforme alli decreti de sacri canoni, di modo che esercitando, incorrono in irregolarità. Sarà affitio di V. S. di avvertirli, et per hora gli si notificano due, che sono l'arcivescovo di Sans et il Biturícense, a quali scriverà subito giunta in Parigi, ammonendoli di questo errore, et operando che ricorrino quà, et per il pallio, et per l'assolutione dell'irregolarità, havendo essercitato Pontificalia senza di esso, et poi di mano in mano farà il medesimo con gli altri arcivescovi quando saprà che si trovino nell'istesso mancamento per levare questo abuso che veramente sarebbe grandissimo quando si lasciasse andare avanti trascuratamente.

Le cose d'Inghilterra dopo la morte della pseuda regina et ascentione del re di Scotia al regno hanno mutato faccia, massime con la pace seguita tra il re di Spagna et il medesimo re, con la quale ha sempre N. Sig^{re} sperato, et spera di fare qualche cosa a benefitio della religione cattolica in quel regno, per la quale ha procurato S.S^{tà} di far parlare a quel re con il mezzo d'ambasciatori de'principi che sono andati a rallegrarsi seco della sua essaltatione. Alcuni non hanno trovato buona la congiuntura di parlarne, altri ne hanno parlato et trovato l'animo del re assai mite et benevole verso i Cattolici et non diffidono dell'acquisto del re, se si tratterà seco con piacevolezza. S.S^{tà} intende anco il negotio per questo verso et però ha ordinato et ricordato sempre che i Cattolici vivano quieti et che i torbolenti che possono nuocere a gli altri grande-

mente o che si quietino o che si levino di là, perchè il re veda, che non se gli vuol turbare il regno, ma sibbene conservarglilo con l'acquisto della salute dell'anima, se è possibile. Però V. S. che intende qual sia l'animo di Sua B^ne^ in questi affari, si conformerà con esso in tutte le occasioni che gli si presentaranno di trattare.

Il medesimo re d'Inghilterra tiene un ambasciatore a Parigi con il quale il sig^r^ card^le^ del Bufalo, suo predecessore, haveva qualche amicitia; V. S. la continuerà et tratterà seco con dolcezza et benignità, instillando di continuo nell' animo suo la buona volontà di Sua B^ne^ verso il suo re, et che non cerca et non cercherà mai altro, come si è detto, che la salute dell'anima sua. Delle cose poi di quel regno V. S. procurerà di haverne avvisi continuamente et li communicherà quà con ogni diligenza, aprendosi la strada con essi et con tener corrispondenza con quei Cattolici, ma in modo di non dare gelosia, per poter andare promovendo la religione et aiutando i Cattolici; talvolta lo può far anco V. S. con il mezzo del re di Francia, mostrandole all'occasione qualche confidenza, benchè se vi fusse trattato secreto, bisognarebbe andare circospetta per la facilità del parlare et per l'interessi; ma ci vorrebbe molta destrezza, per non dar occasione di diffidenza, et dall'altra parte non scoprire, se bene il pregarlo spesso, et all'occasione di andar sempre per mezzo dell' ambasciatore che Sua M^tà^ tiene là, promovendo la religione et favorendo i Cattolici, sarà buono modo per tutti i rispetti et se en caverà buon frutto. Ne meno frutto caverà V. S. dalla prattica suddetta introdotta con l'ambasciatore d'Inghilterra coltivandola con destrezza et senza scandalo, nella maniera che faceva il s^s^ card^le^ del Bufalo, poichè per mezzo di essa torrà via la gelosia delle cose di stato al re d'Inghilterra, et si aprirà la strada di trattare tolvolta seco, et potrebbe venirle fatto d'introdurre tal negotiatione, che fusse poi molta sua gloria di havere incominciato, et buttato seme per riunir quel re et regno con la S^tà^ Sede, che sarebbe il maggior frutto che ella potesse cavare dalle sue fatiche.

Si è lasciato all'ultimo il negotio, che preme molto a N. S^re^, non perchè ella lo tratti dopo a gli altri o con meno calore, ricerando anzi la qualità di esso, che vi si riscaldi molto più, ma perchè è straordinario et fuor de'negotii della Nuntiatura. Ha pensiero N. S^re^ d'incaminare una lega de'prencipi christiani

contra il Turco, et pensa Sua S^{tà} che le prime colonne, che sostenghino questa macchina siano il Re Christianissimo, et il Re Cattolico, come quelli che sono stati favoriti dalla bontà de Dio di maggior forza et potenza, oltra che gli altri prencipi mirano sempre a questi et dalla mossa loro muovono anco se stessi. Ha fatto già muover parola di ciò S. S^{tà} con l'uno et con l'altro. Nel re di Francia ha trovato buoni spiriti, se bene ha mosso alcune difficoltà ; vuole però N. S^{re} che V. S. tocchi di ciò qualche cosa alla M^{tà} Sua et a quei ministri, de chi più si fida, et veda se può attaccar negotio et incaminar questa prattica, la quale prima che succedesse l'ultima guerra di Savoia, era già in piedi et si trattava qua dall'ambasciatore Sillery in nome di S. M^{tà}, et il re di Spagna haveva ordinato al suo ambasciatore che entrasse anco esso in trattato con quello di Cesare, ma l'accidente di quella guerra turbò il tutto. Io ne parlai al re in Lione et si mostrò inclinato, et come è desideroso di gloria, come se le tocca questo tasto, ne sente parlar volentieri, ma pone difficoltà et a mio giuditio con questa occasione vorrebbe fare qualche altro fatto suo. V. S. procurarà di riattaccare il trattato, dicendoli che N. S^{re} non abandona di trattare con gli altri. Et per persuadere S. M^{tà} a questo, oltre l'esempio de' suoi maggiori, che hanno in ciò acquistato tanta gloria, et fatto professione di esser non solo scudo ma braccio et la spada della Christianità contra l'infedeli, il che li giovarà molto ce lo deve anco spingere l'obligo che ha in particolare la M^{tà} Sua con Dio, et con la Chiesa di fare qualche attione segnalata per essa, et per l'augmento della s^{tà} fede, et si stima che di ciò glie ne tornerà commodo perchè sarà questa una delle vie di purgare il regno di qualche male humore che resta in esso et mantenerlo in pace, perchè essendo quei popoli per sua natura inclinati alla guerra et a cose nuove, come non hanno da essercitarsi fuori di casa, è facil cosa che turbino la publica quiete, oltre che è vergogna di re di tanto sapere et prudenza et soldato di tanto valore, non spenda il suo talento in acquistarsi tanta gloria et si gran merito, et non si segnali con la Christianità.

Alle volte rispondeva il re, che vedeva troppo vecine le armi di Spagna per la guerra d'Inghilterra et di Fiandra ; hora la prima è cessata, et la seconda cessarebbe forsi con il mezzo et autorità di Sua Maestà, se facesse quello di che

N. Sig^re^ più volte nè è stato pregato et hora s'intende che il contestabile di Castiglia habbia fatto l'istesso et sarebbe sua gloria, et V. S. dovrà procurare, oltre che talvolta può succedere che quei popoli, stanchi dal soffrir si lunga guerra, si accomodino molto facilmente con Spagnoli, et massime vedendo a ciò pronta la volontà del re d'Inghilterra, anco senza S. M^tà^ ed ecco non pur levati gli ostacoli che già diceva la M^tà^ Sua impedirgli questo pensiero, ma pacificato il re di Spagna, che non so qual cosa le possi dar più da pensare, o quella guerra o questa pace, et pur la pace è necessaria et buona et utile per la Christianità, ne si può impedire, anzi sempre procurare per ogni mezzo ; et V. S. dovrà così fare a tale che non vi resti quasi più securo modo di levar le gelosie, che il voltar la podestà del re di Spagna contra il Turco, et attaccarlo ad una guerra giusta, pia et utile, ma non meno lunga et grave da tener lontano i pensieri di quèl prencipe da qualsivoglia novità da quest'altra parte, che turbi la quiete che la Christianità hora si gode. Questo ha procurato et procura N. S^re^ tuttavia, et se Sua M^tà^ lo aiuterà, spera le venghi fatto. Ma non per questo deve lasciare V. S. di trattar la unione commune de i prencipi con la compagnia di Sua M^tà^, et quando rinscisse di concludere guesta lega, non potrà nascere tra i principi collegati molte dissentione se si fa ciò ; perchè l'animo di Sua S^tà^ è che si dividano et ogn'uno da se assalti l'inimico per la parte che gli tocca et la lega non servirà ad altro, che di farlo unitamente tutti ad un tempo, per dar maggior botta all'inimico et non si abbandonar l'uno l'altro, ma seguitare insieme sino all'-esterminio dell'avversario, se Dio ci volesse fare questa gratia. Ma perchè le difficoltà di unire questi due potentati a questa mpresa sono stimate quasi insuperabili, almeno con la prestezza che sarebbe necessaria, si è voltato N. S^re^ per adesso al re di Spagna solo, si per far puì presto, come per le cause sudette, et ha operato Dio per mezzo dell'instanza di Sua B^ne^ che il Re Cattolico habbia detto di essere disposto ad abbracciarla con le proprie forze, et con esse, et con quelle che li potrà dare Sua S^tà^ et questa Santa Sede muover la guerra al Turco. Ma vuole prima che la S^tà^ Sua facci in modo che il re di Francia non lo sturbi, cioè che mentre Sua Maestà Cattolica si truova impegnata in questa guerra, il Christianissimo non glie la rompa l'attione di modo che la

somma di tutto questo negotio, che è di tanta importanza alla Christianità, si riduca hoggi a questo assicuramento. Per il che Sua B^{ne} scrive di sua mano una lunoa lettera alla M^{tà} Christianissima, della quale le si da copia a V. S. perchè veda le ragioni che devono muovere Sua M^{tà} che se non vuole entrare in questa lega, almeno non deve sturbar gli altri che pigliano a fare una impresa che è stata sempre propria della natione francese. Et se bene dalla pietà et bontà di un tale et tanto re non si può credere che vogli levare al Christianesimo si gran beneficio, quanto è quello che si può ricevere dalla risolutione del Re Cattolico, tuttavia asserveramento ci vuole ; qual poi questo debba essere, lo consideri Sua M^{tà} con la molta prudenza sua. Sovveniva a Sua B^{ne} che havendo il Re alcune galere già in ordine, le mandasse a questa impresa et se Sua M^{tà} havesse riguardo all'amicitia che ha quella corona con il Turco, potrebbe accomodarle alla S^{tà} Sua, a spese però di Sua M^{tà}, affinchè servissero sotto nome di S. B^{ne} con quella più commodità che potesse cavare da S. M^{tà} et dal suo regno. Queste et altre ragioni si contengono nella lettera di Sua S^{tà}, delle quali V. S. si valerà per persuadere al re di dare questo assecuramento. Ne delle minori ragioni sarà quella di rappresentare a S. M^{tà} che mentre il Re Cattolico starà occupato in questa guerra, assecura il Christianissimo le cose sue, et del suo regno di tutto quello, si potesse tentare dalle forze di Spagna contro di essa. V. S. rappresenti il negotio a Sua M^{tà} con l'affetto che ricerca l'importanza sua et avvisi quello, che ritrarrà bisognando in diligenza.

Queste sono le cose, che per hora sovvengono d'incacciare a V. S. ricordandogli di nuovo d'invigilare le cose di stato et avvisarle minutamente et occorrendo non resparmi il spedir anco corrieri espressi ricordandosegli sempre il scrivere spesso. Per il che anco se le danno due cifre, una per se sola da usar con me et l'altra è comune da potersi intendere con gli altri nuncii in caso di bisogno per servitio di Sua S^{tà} et di negotii et di queste se ne potrà servire nelle cose più gravi et secrete. Il modo di trattare con il re : egli è di natura spiritosa et vivace, et ancorchè sia allevato su le guerre, sa però de negotii più che non mostra, ma si serve del sapere et del suo mostrar di vivere a caso secondo gli torna commodo. È necessario andar seco con destrezza perchè è sospettoso, et acquistarsi con la maniera (como si

suol dire) la mano, in modo che egli non si stracchi in prima vista, et tanto più in quanto il fare il fatto suo senza rompere ne porre il suo prencipe alle mani appresso di che l'uomo si truova, è sempre il più lodato modo quando si può, et è tanto più necessaria questa destrezza con i corpi infermi, con i quali è pericoloso usare i medicamenti violenti. Ma nondimeno, non bisogna al re dar la briglia sul collo, anzi più tosto stringerlo qualche volta et parlarli liberamente, poichè si rimette con chi li parla libero et mostra non temere altrimente, se egli guadagna la mano in ciò et pensa di far cagliar gli altri, se ne vale con artificio, come fa anco nell'osservanza delle cose promesse, poiché procura di scapparne sempre con qualche scusa et attacco, quando non ha volontà di fare qualche cosa.

V. S. dunque avverà di stringerlo a quello che prometterà, in maniera che non gli resti porta aperta, perchè ogni scusa gli è buona talvolta et qualche sbrigliata modestamente et con destrezza a luogo et tempo non è totalmente nociva, come è anco il lodarlo, poichè se ne compiace, ne è mal verso il mostrare che le cose che se li propongono, stanno bene al suo interesse. Insomma andar mescolando il dolce con il brusco, ma in maniera che non si offenda. Et questo si dice per dar notitia a V. S. di quello si sà di quà. Ella poi con la sua prudenza et prattica andarà pigliando quel verso che giudicherà più opportuno, lasciandosi totalmente nell' arbitrio suo questo punto del modo di trattare, si perchè è circospetta et destra, come perchè si deve deferir molto a chi è presente. Con la qual destrezza potrà ancora talvolta pigliar occasione di esortare la M^{tà} Sua a vivere christianamente, frequentare i ss^{mi} sacramenti et scostarsi da quelle cose che danno scandalo al mondo et offendono Dio, et insomma ella cercherà sempre di trattar con dolcezza, vedendo che questo è stato un corpo quasi morto et che bisogna andar ravvivando al meglio et con la maggior prudenza che si può.

Si danno a V. S. oltre i brevi per il re et la regina molti altri per diversi principi et prelati. Si rimette a V. S. il presentarli tutti o parte, secondo vedrà sia necessario far con loro complimento, et se questi sono pochi, se ne gli da in bianco ancor tutti che potranno supplire et per cavalieri, et per prelati.

Particolar complimento dovrà V. S. fare con i ministri più

principali et intrinsechi, per tenerli bene affetti verso questa Stà Sede et a se stessa per rispetto de'negotii, mostrandoli che N. Sre li ama et confida nella loro pietà et autorità. Oltre di questi il sor cardle Gondi et gli altri eccci dovranno esser trattati da lei in modo che si possino persuadere, che si habbia confidenza con loro, come con tutti quelli che ella conoscerà alla giornata dover tenere buona corrispondenza, avvertendo però di andar sempre cauta nel fidarsi, usando i Francesi di porre sotto gente et farle acquistar confidenza per penetrar l'animo altrui, non però disprezzando nissuno, anzi procurando di acquistarsi et farsi anco amorevoli quelli che non lo fussero.

V. S. dunque si spedirà quanto prima, et procurara di fare presto il viaggio, perchè Sua Stà spera molto dell'assistenza di V. S. a quei negotii, et però l'accompagna con la santa beneditione et io gli priego felice viaggio. Dat. etc.[1]

Il card. Aldobrandini.

[Min. orig. Barb. lat. 5815, p. 27 : copy from Cod. QI. 16 Chig., Vatican Library, and from Cod. LI.F. 1, p. 73 s. of the Corsini Library in Rome.]

46. A Conspectus of the Alms of Pope Clement VIII.

In codex G III-78 of the Biblioteca Chigi (Vatican Library) at p. 309 is to be found *Ragguaglio di tutte l'elemosine ordinarie et straord. dell'elmore ordo come segreto dato al card. Capponi quando era tesoriere from which I gathered the following :

Il solito è stato sempre che al principio del pontificato si distribuiscono 4000 scudi per elemosina a luoghi pii et altri poveri di Roma dall'elemre ordo ; che prima era il s. Giov. Baddei di bo. me. e doppo la sua morte in suo luogo fu deputato Paolo Morelli da P. Clemente VIII.

Questa elemosina cominciò a farsi al tempo della s. m. di Pio V in luogo di quel banchetto che si faceva ai sigri cardli nel principo del pontificato alla coronatione e così è seguito sin hoggi.

P. Innoc. IX. l'augmentò sin a 4600 scudi qual si distribuirno al principio del suo pontificato.

P. Clemente VIII. diede scudi 4000 sec. l'orde et ha con-

[1] The exact date is wanting, but the Instruction certainly belongs to the year 1604, and not as Ranke (III. 6, doc. 84) says to 1603.
[2] See *supra*, p. 34.

tinuato tutte l'altre solite elemosine, distribuite dal medesimo P. Morelli cioè scudi 400 di moneta ogni mese et scudi 500 d'oro in oro quattro volte l'anno (Natale, Pasqua, Coronatione et S. Pietro e Paolo).

Di più faceva distribuire per il suo elem^rio segreto ch'era il sig. Girolamo Abbrusca scudi 1200 d'oro in oro e 1200 di moneta ogni mese a diversi luoghi pii et de più faceva distribuire altre elemosine extraordinarie in grosse somme alla giornata come gli piaceva.

Et tutto il denaro ord^o et estraord. si paga dell'entrate dell'Dataria eccetto li primi 4000 scudi di moneta, che si pagano dalla Camera Apostolica.

47. The Aldobrandini Family Archives in Rome.

The view that all the acta of the secretariate of state of Clement VIII. went to the Borghese archives, is only true as regards the main part of them. As has already been pointed out supra (p. 57 note) some part of them is to be found in other collections, as in the Doria archives.[1] A collection of acta, in a certain sense plentiful, is also to be found in the family archives at the Palazzo Aldobrandini, Rome. When in 1901 I was able to avail myself of this collection I used the "Indice alfabetico dell'Archivio di S. E. il sig. A. Camillo de Principi Borghese, Principe Aldobrandini, redatto dall'arcivista Francesco Antonio Vannarelli" (3 folio vols. 1841).[2]

The principal part of the archivium consists of family papers, some of which relate to an earlier period in the history of the Aldobrandini. For the time of Clement VIII. of particular interest are the letters to Gian Francesco Aldobrandini and Olimpia Aldobrandini the elder, as well as the papers concerning donations made by the Pope to his nephews.[3] These family papers continue through later pontificates. Plentiful material is to be found there for the celebrated Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati,[4] though I must point out that as to this certain documents are missing. There is also

[1] See following document, No. 48.
[2] See Brom, Archivalia in Italië, Haag, 1914, xviii.
[3] See *supra*, p. 53, and documents 25, 34, 35.
[4] See Vol. XXIV. of this work, pp. 496 *seq.* Of the antiquities possessed by the Aldobrandini in the time of Clement VIII. we find information in t. 54, n. 24, "Inventaro dei mobili di Palazzo di villa Belvedere fatto per ordine del card. Negroni, amministratore deputato al patrimonio Aldobrandini da N.S 1766." This enumerates 62 statue, teste and bassorelievi, but of the 62 statues 11 numbers are missing.

missing volume 246 of Index 6, which bore the title of "Palazzo di villa Aldobrandini in Roma."

In t. 43, n. 35, there is to be found a list, unfortunately undated, of the revenues of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini, from which it appears that he, from his abbeys, which were worth 30,299,25 scudi, only received 17,433.57⅔ scudi, because each abbey had other burdens.

Thus for example the abbey of Tre Fontane had a revenue of 8000 scudi, of which the Cardinal received 3000 scudi. The same was the case with the abbey of Fossanova (2120 scudi instead of 3280)[1]; S. Maria di Castiglione in the diocese of Parma (2850 scudi instead of 4000); S. Celso at Milan (1574 scudi instead of 3250); S. Maria e S. Matteo at Imola (1630 instead of 2496).

The following accounts tell us of the domestic expenditure of the Cardinal.

Somma di tutte le entrate libere.

Entrata libera sopra l'abbatie . . .	sc.	17 433,56⅔
Pensioni sop. div. chiese in Spagna et Italia	,,	7 364,15
Segnatura de brevi	,,	1 560
Distributioni del capello	,,	300
Tratta di regno	,,	200
Monte Sisto luoghi 17	,,	175
Entrata perpetua di Carpineto	,,	2 000
	sc.	29 032,71⅔

Entrate ad tempus.

Provisioni di palazzo d'un anno .	sc.	5 040
Rocca di Perugia	,,	528
Governo et tratte di Fermo . .	,,	10 000
Legatione di Ferrara . . .	,,	14 400
Governo di Nepi et d'altri luoghi .	,,	600
	sc.	30 568

[1] Two inscriptions bear witness to the interest taken by the Cardinal in this Abbey, which have not yet been published: the first is on a pilaster in the beautiful church, and runs: "Huius aedis maiorem partem, turrim ictu fulminis delectas Petrue card. Aldobrandinus Clementis VIII P.M. fratris filius, huius monasterii perpet. commendatarius restituit A sal, MDXCV." The second is on the well in the cloister: "Petrus card. Aldobrandinus Clement VIII P.M. ex tratre nepos perpet. commendatarius restauravit Ann. sal. MDC."

Debito.

Censo	sc.	40 000
Censo sopra la Villa . . .	,,	3 700
Giardino	,,	3 500
Si devono alla Camera per grano .	,,	800
A diversi in più somme . . .	,,	1 000
	sc.	49 000

Li condotti della Vigna si possono anco mettere per debito sc. 3000.

Debiti annui.

Frutto del censo di 40^{m} sc. . .	sc.	2 800
,, del censo della Villa . .	,,	259
,, a Cecchino del Nero . .	,,	800
	sc.	3 859

Spesa annua per la casa.

Pane per bocche 140 rub. 260 et rub. 10 per straordin^{o}	sc.	1 890
Vino botte 160	,,	2 500
Companatici	,,	2 236
Salarii	,,	1 224
Provisione ordin^{a} alla S^{ra} [madre] . . .	,,	900
,, a Mgr. Agocchi	,,	720
,, alli tre fratelli Bolognesi . . .	,,	700
Tavola et tinello compreso olio et ogni altra cosa a ragione di 300 sc. il mese	,,	3 600
Banchetti	,,	500
Candele di sevo	,,	200
Legna et carbone	,,	1 200
Vestire del sig. card^{le}	,,	500
,, della famiglia	,,	2 000
Guardarobba compresovi ogni sorta di materitie	,,	500
Fieno some 1500	,,	900
Paglia some 500	,,	250
Biada rub. 500	,,	1 000
Stalla, ferramenti et sellari, cocchi et carozze .	,,	500
Razza	,,	500
Vigne et Giardini	,,	500
Mancie et donativi	,,	600
Straordinarii che occurrono alla giornata .	,,	1 000
	sc.	23 920

Ristretto.

Entrata universale deve dare alle pensione sop. l'abbatie	sc.	5 190,50
Alli pesi perpetui dell'abbatie	,,	2 638,90
Alle fabriche et elemosine	,,	5 036,28⅓
Alli debiti sodetti annui	,,	3 859
alla spesa annua della casa	,,	23 920
	sc.	40 644,68⅓
Entrata universale deve havere	,,	72 466,40
Il debito di rincontro	,,	40 644,68⅓
Avanza	sc.	31 821,71⅓

Le quali tutte, eccetto quei che parerà al sig. card. di servirsene per altro, si possono impiegare all'estintione del sodetto debito di sc. 52 000.

Denari pagati da Mazinghi in Roma dalli 17 di Nov. 1597 per tutto 1598.

Debiti al banco, a mercanti et artefici	sc.	14 126,6
Fra. l'altro:		
Fabrica di S. Oresto	,,	1 465,20
Viaggi per diversi da Roma a Ferrara	,,	310
Al Seminario per le Tre Fontane	,,	6 040,54
Chiesa di S. Nicolò titolo	,,	88
Casa delle Tre Fontane per risarcimento	,,	16,90
Mantelleta per Loreto	,,	800
Musaico delle Tre Fontane	,,	547,13
Vigna di Porta Pinciana	,,	362,29
Condotti	,,	453,66
Vigna et giardino di Monte Rosi	,,	417,78
Villa di Frascati	,,	270
	Total	73 538,75

There then follows: Denari riscossi da Mazinghi dalli 26 Nov. 1597 per tutto l'anno 1598, in all 77,129,06 sc.

Restano in conto 3,590,31 sc.

In the diplomatic papers of the Aldobrandini archives I made accessible to Dr. Horvat, a member of the Austrian Historical Institute, those which relate to the Turkish War of 1594-1601.[1]

[1] See *supra*, p. 265, n. 2.

Of the remaining material of a diplomatic nature mention may be made of : 1. T. 207 n. 5, " Lettere del Card. Aldobrandini al vescovo di Molfetta (Offredo Offredi) nunzio in Venetia " (originals after May 13, 1600) ; 2. T. 287, " Lettere originali del card. Aldobrandini all'arcivescovo di Siponto Domenico) Ginnasio) nunzio in Spagna." (Letters of the year 1603 : cf. App. n. 42, 43, 44.

48. The Doria Archives, Rome.

In 1908, by the intervention of the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See, Count Nicholas Sceczen, Dr. Oscar Pollak, one of the most active members of the Austrian Historical Institute, succeeded in obtaining access to the archives of Prince Doria,[1] still little known, for his historical and artistic researches.

On that occasion I too visited the archives, which to some extent concern the " Aldobrandini." I copied certain documents, which I have used supra.[2]

For future use I made a note of a number of volumes. When, after the war, I wanted to use these, I found that these archives had become inaccessible. I therefore have to content myself, for the use of scholars who may see them, with merely pointing out the following material :

C. 4 and 8 : Lettere de'principi a Clemente VIII.

C. 12 : Lettere del Nunzio di Polonia Msgr. Malaspina, del Bathori etc., 1595 January to June.

C. 14 : Idem 1595 June to December.

C. 15—23 : Lettere scritte al card. S. Giorgio dai Nunzii di Polonia, 1595 to 1601.

C. 25 : Minute di lettere scritte dalla Segretaria di stato a Msgr. Serra, Nunzio in Ungheria, 1603.

C. 30 : Lettere de principi al card. S. Giorgio, 1596–1602.

[1] Two original letters of Henry IV. and Clement VIII. have been published by Muzio in Saggiatore I. 1 (Rome, 1884) 56 *seq.*, who had tried to explain how these documents came to be in the Doria archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Philip II., of February 18, 1592, mentioned supra p. 60, n. 3, that of *King Sigismund, Vol. XXIV., p. 100 ; the *letter of Prince Ostrogski to Clement VIII., which have been withdrawn from the great collection of letters addressed to Clement VIII. (all originals). There is also a second part *Rescritti e memoriali di Clemente VIII., 1601-1605, arranged alphabetically ; in one part are the contents, and in the other the Pope's decision, 4 volumes.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXIII.

AARON, (Voivode of Moldavia), 274, 280.
Abbas I. (Shah of Persia), 267, 298 *seq.*, 305, 307.
Acarie [Avrillot], Barbara, 185 *seqq.*
Acarie de Villemor, Pierre, 186.
Accolti, Cardinal, 19.
Acosta, José de (S.J.), 201.
Adolphus (Prince of Holstein), 324.
Agricola, Otto (vicar-general in Brixen), 378.
Agucchio, Giovan Battista, 226.
Agucchio, Girolamo (major-domo of P. Aldobrandini), Cardinal, 52, 257.
Alaleone, Paolo (master of ceremonies), 13 *seq.*, 17, 40, 135, 144, 268.
Alamanny, Lucas (bishop of Macon), 149.
Alban, St., 279.
Albenga, Giorgio (sculptor), 32.
Albert of Austria (archduke), Cardinal, 247, 387, 394 *seqq.*, 397, 400, 403.
Albigny, *see* Simiane.
Aldobrandini, Family of the, 1, 18 *seq.*, 23, 53 *seqq.*, 56.
Aldobrandini, Bernardo, 20.
Aldobrandini [Passeri], Cinzio (nephew of Clement VIII.), Cardinal, 35, 43-48, 50 *seqq.* 56, 95, 122, 199, 268, 271, 320, 322 *seq.*, 331, 342, 374, 392 *seq.*
Aldobrandini [Carafa], Elena (duchess of Mondragone), 56.
Aldobrandini, Gian Francesco (nephew of Clement VIII.), 43, 49, 53 *seq.*, 56, 111, 118, 279, 282, 284-287, 291, 294 *seqq.*, 298, 300 *seq.*, 303.
Aldobrandini, Giorgio (Prince of Meldola), 57.
Aldobrandini, Giovanni (bishop of Imola), Cardinal, 20, 22.
Aldobrandini, Giulia (sister to Clement VIII.), 20.
Aldobrandini, Ippolito (nephew of Clement VIII), Cardinal, 21 *seqq.*, 55.
Aldobrandini [Deti], Lisa (mother of Clement VIII.), 20.
Aldobrandini [Farnese], Margherita (duchess of Parma), 55.
Aldobrandini, Olimpia (niece of Clement VIII. and mother of Giorgio Aldobrandini), 54.
Aldobrandini [Borghese], Olimpia (daughter of Georgio Aldobrandini), 56.
Aldobrandini, Ormanozzo, 20.
Aldobrandini, Pietro (brother to Clement VIII.), 21, 271.
Aldobrandini, Pietro (nephew of Clement VIII.), Cardinal, 43-46, 48 *seq.*, 50-55, 56, 58, 62, 69, 84, 95, 106, 114 *seq.*, 117, 122, 126, 142, 168, 173 *seqq.*, 219, 226, 231-240, 242, 247, 250 *seq.*, 256, 258-263, 307, 342, 374.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro, Cardinal, 54 *seq.*, 56.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro (father to Clement VIII.), 18-21.
Alfonso II. (duke of Ferrara) 19, 208.
Allen, William, Cardinal, 80, 311.
Alt, Salome, 335.
Altan, Baron, 379.
Altemps, *see* Hohenhems.
Alymes, Des, Baron, 236.

Amalteo, Acilia (commissary for war), 291.
Amboise, Jacques d' (rector of the Sorbonne), 99.
Ameyden, 49.
Andrew of Austria (bishop of Constance and Brixen), Cardinal, 247, 318, 378 *seq.*, 386, 396, 400.
Ancina, Giov. Matteo, 428.
Ange, Père (Capuchin), *see* Joyeuse.
Angelis, Cosmo de (assessor of the Inquisition), 136.
Angelita, Lodovico, 37.
Angennes de Rambouillet, Claude d' (bishop of Le Mans), 73, 79, 88, 91, 95 *seq.*, 151, 168.
Angers, Jean of (Capuchin), 187
Anguiscola, Lodovico (nuncio in Transylvania), 289.
Anisson, Ch. (abbot), 137.
Anna Caterina of Mantua (wife of Ferdinand of Tyrol), 382.
Anselmo di Monopoli (Capuchin), 233.
Antoniano, Silvio, Cardinal, 36 *seq.*, 51, 139, 250.
Aquaviva, Claudius (general of the Jesuits), 118, 129, 175, 178.
Aquaviva, Ottavio (archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 9 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 84.
Aquino, Ladislaus d' (nuncio), 406.
Aragona, Cardinal, *see* Tagliavia.
Arconati, Count, 236.
Arconius, Marius (painter), 32.
Argenti, Matteo (secretary of cyphers), 51.
Armand, Ignace (S.J.), 176.
Arnauld, Antoine, 176.
Arrigoni, Lelio, 27, 30, 36, 56, 125, 243, 256.
Arrigoni, Pompeo, Cardinal, 46, 172, 248.
Asti, Agostino d' [Pelletta] (Capuchin), 411 *seq.*
Augustine Reding (O.S.B., abbot of Einsiedeln), 406.
Avançon de St. Marcel, Guillaume d' (archbishop of Embrun), 149.
Avila, Francisco Guzman de [Davila], Cardinal, 248.
Avranches, Jean Baptiste d' (Capuchin), 187.
Azevedo, J. B. de (bishop of Valladolid), 223.

Bandini, Ottavio (bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 162, 248.
Bar, Duke of, 162, 188.
Barbaro, Francesco (patr. of Aquileia), 349.
Barberini, Maffeo (later Pope Urban VIII.), 173 *seq.* 178, 193 *seq.*, 233, 247, 263, 310.
Barbiano, Marcello Vestrio (secretary of Briefs), 37.
Bardi, Giovanni (Count of Vernio), 39.
Baronio, Brocardo, 340.
Baronius, Cesare, Cardinal, 21, 26, 28, 43, 46, 51, 118, 130, 205, 216, 240, 248, 250
Barrau, Bertr. de (bishop of Pamiers), 149.
Barrière, Jean de la (Cistercian), 183 *seq.*
Basta (leader of Imperial troops), 309.
Báthory, Andrew, Cardinal, 308 *seq.*
Báthory, Sigismund (of Transylvania), 273, 280, 284, 288 *seq.*, 292-295, 304, 307 *seq.*
Baza de Castro y Quinoñes, Pedro (archbishop of Granada), 207.
Beaune, Renaud de (archbishop of Bourges), 73, 102.
Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal, 26, 46, 51, 250.
Bellièvre, Pomponne de (French chancellor), 119, 166, 171, 174, 211, 237.
Bembo (humanist), Cardinal, 37.
Benallis, Pietro Paolo de (abbot of Monte Cassino), 381.
Bene, Alessandro del, 139, 142.

Benedetto da Urbino (Capuchin), 383.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 137.
Bentivoglio, Guido, Cardinal, 26, 31, 39, 49, 56, 237, 239.
Berlaymont, Louis de (archbishop of Cambrai), 400
Berlieri, G. F. (archbishop of Tarantaise), 417, 424,
Bermond, Françoise de (Ursuline), 185.
Berneri, Girolamo (O.P.), Cardinal, 9.
Bérulle, Madame de, 186.
Bérulle, Pierre de (later Cardinal), 186.
Béthune, Maximilian de, *see* Sully.
Béthune, Philippe de (French envoy in Rome), 175, 245 *seqq.*, 250 *seq.*, 252 *seq.*, 255, 257 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*
Bevilacqua, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 249.
Beza, Theodore, 3, 103.
Bianchetti, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 172, 248.
Bicken, Adam von (archbishop of Mayence), 370 *seq.*
Biondi, Fabio, 38.
Birague, René Horace (bishop of Lavaur), 149.
Biron, Marshal, 229.
Blandrata, Francesco di San Giorgio e (bishop of Acqui), Cardinal, 248.
Blarer, Christopher (bishop of Basle), 405 *seq.*
Blasé, Jacques (bishop of Namur), 401.
Boccapaduli, Antonio (secr. of Briefs), 36, 60.
Bochart de Champigny, Charles [Père Honoré], 187.
Bocskay, Stephen, 307.
Bonelli, Michele, Cardinal, 9, 22, 121, 135.
Bongiovanni, Tirante (Imperial envoy), 25.
Boni, Charles de (bishop of Angoulême), 149.
Boniface, St., 370.
Bonzi, Thomas de (bishop of Béziers), 149.
Bordini, Giov. Franc. (Oratorian, archbishop of Avignon), 192.
Borghese, Camillo, Cardinal (later Pope Paul V.), 172, 198, 248, 271 *seq.*, 273.
Borghese, Paolo, Cardinal, 46.
Borghese, Paolo (husband to Olimpia Ludovisi), 57.
Borromeo, Charles, St. (archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 4, 36, 162, 190, 203, 414 *seq.*, 428.
Borromeo, Frederick (archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 9 *seq.*, 164, 202 *seq.*, 311.
Bourbon, Charles de (archbishop of Rouen), Cardinal 73, 188 *seq.*
Bourbon, Henri de (marquis de Verneuil, natural son of Henry IV.), 189.
Bourgneuf, Charles de (bishop of Saint-Malo), 149.
Bozio, Tommaso (Oratorian), 81.
Braganza, Alexander de (archbishop of Evora), 223.
Brenner, Martin (bishop of Seckau), 348, 356, 359.
Brissac (governor of Paris), 98.
Brus, Anton (archbishop of Prague), 383.
Bufalo, Innocenzo (bishop of Camerino, nuncio), Cardinal, 175, 178, 193 *seq.*, 245, 256 *seq.*
Buonvisi, Buonviso (archbishop of Bari, cardinal), 38, 250, 284, 295.
Bus, César de (founder of the "Doctrinnaires"), 185.
Bussemacher, Joh. (painter), 32.
Busseret, François (bishop of Namur), 401.

CAETANI, Antonio, Cardinal, 39, 84.
Caetani, Camillo (patriarch of Alexandria), 197, 312.
Caetani, Errico, Cardinal, 13, 16, 39, 44, 85, 281, 373, 378.

Caligari, Gian Andrea, 52.
Caltagirona, Bonaventura Secusi (general of the Franciscans), 210 *seq.*, 227 *seqq.*, 231, 234, 236.
Calvin, John, 136.
Campanella, Tommaso (O.P.), 306.
Canani, Giulio, Cardinal, 9.
Canisius, Peter, St., 407.
Canobio, Giovan Battista, 51, 124.
Capponi, Fr., 22.
Carafa, The, 59.
Carafa, Antonio (duke of Mondragone), 56.
Carafa, Carlo, Cardinal, 20.
Carretto, Guilio del (Mantuan envoy), 9, 27, 41, 77, 87, 89, 94, 135, 267, 269.
Carrillo, Alfonso (S.J.), 289, 291, 309.
Casaubon, Isaac, 171.
Castello-Branco, Alfonso de (bishop of Coimbra), 223.
Castro, Agost. de (archbishop of Braga), 223.
Castro Michael de (archbishop of Lisbon), 223, 281.
Castro, Pedro de (bishop of Segovia), 223.
Castrucci, Giambattista, Cardinal, 42.
Catherine de Bourbon (duchess of Bar, sister to Henry IV.) 108, 161 *seq.*, 188.
Catherine of Siena, St., 352.
Cedulini (bishop of Lesina), 268.
Cervoni da Colle, Isabella, 138.
Cesi, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 248, 294.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 249.
Chantal, Jane Frances de, St., 185, 190.
Charlemagne, 93.
Charles V., Emperor, 254, 358,
Charles of Austria (archduke), 311, 313, 341, 345 *seq.*, 353, 355.
Charles Emanuel I. (duke of Savoy), 225, 227-239, 241 *seqq.*, 275, 423 *seqq.*
Chastel, Jean, 115 *seq.*
Cherubino (Capuchin), 412, 422.
Chieppio, Annibale (Mantuan envoy), 41, 105, 278.
Christian of Brunswick-Lüneberg, 339, 379.
Christian I. (Elector of Saxony), 316.
Chroën, Thomas (bishop of Laibach), 357.
Chrysostom, John, St., 92, 171.
Cicala, Lucrezia (mother of Sinan Pasha), 305.
Cicala, Sinan Pasha, 270, 293, 305 *seq.*
Clement VII., Pope, 10, 19, 78, 85, 138.
Clement VIII., Pope, vol. XXIII.
Clielle, Brochard de la (major-domo to Henry IV.), 79, 84, 112,
Cogarani, Claudio (engineer), 293.
Colomb, Fortunat (Barnabite), 164.
Colonna, Ascanio, Cardinal, 8, 12, 128.
Colonna, Marcantonio, Cardinal 9.
Condé, Prince of, 100, 108, 114, 132, 142, 154.
Contarini, Niccoòl, 57, 176.
Contarini, Tommaso, 59 *seq.*, 300.
Conti, Carlo (bishop of Ancona), Cardinal, 257.
Conti Poli, Lotario (duke), 277 *seq.*
Cordova, Lud. Ferd. de (bishop of Salamanca), 223.
Corgna, Monsignor della (Papal envoy), 282.
Corgna, Ascanio della (Papal general), 283.
Cornaro, Francesco (bishop of Treviso), Cardinal, 248.
Corneillan, François de (bishop of Rodez), 149.
Cospéan, Philippe (bishop of Aire), 190.
Costa, Francisco da (S.J.), 299.
Coton, Pierre (S.J.), 176, 178, 186.

Cour, Didier de la (O.S.B., founder of the Benedictine reform of St. Vannes), 183.
Cremaschi, Lod., 249.
Cusano, Agostino, Cardinal, 42, 199.
Custos (painter), 32.
Cuyck, Henry (bishop of Roermond), 401.

DALBERG, Wolfgang von (archbishop-elector of Mayence), 2, 298, 312, 315, 319, 325, 370, 372, 379, 388, 391.
Davé, Jean (bishop of Namur), 401.
Davila, Cardinal, *see* Avila.
Davila, Juan Rova, 197.
Decio, Filippo (jurist), 19.
Delfino, Flaminio, 283, 295, 302 *seq.*
Delfino, Giovanni (bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 257.
Dernbach, Balthasar von (abbot of Fulda), 325, 369 *seq.*
Deti, Giambattista, Cardinal, 250.
Deti, Lisa, *see* Aldobrandini.
Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 85, 108.
Dienheim, Eberhard von (bishop of Spires), 392.
Dietrichstein, Franz von (bishop of Almütz), Cardinal, 39, 216, 249, 374, 377.
Dinet, Gaspard (bishop of Mâcon), 149, 190.
Diou, Sieur de (ambassador of the League), 85.
Dolfin, Giovan (Venetian ambassador), 32, 48 *seq.*, 208.
Domen (painter), 32.
Domenichino [Domenico Zampieri], painter, 24, 52.
Dominic, St., 352.
Donnadieu, François de (bishop of Auxerre), 190.
Doria, Giovanni, Cardinal, 256, 275 *seq.*, 283, 287.
Dormy, Claude (bishop of Boulogne), 149, 182.
Dornberg, Veit von, 317.
Douglas, Valentine (bishop of Laon), 149.
Duba, Berka von (archbishop of Prague), 375, 384.
Dubliul, Lauris (diplomatic agent), 397.
Dujon, François de, 103.
Duns Scotus, 171.
Duodo, Pietro (Venetian ambassador), 147, 150.
Du Perron, Jacques Davy (bishop of Evreux), Cardinal, 73, 107, 109-114, 119 *seqq.*, 123 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 145, 149, 170 *seqq.*, 191, 256, 258, 262.
Du Plessis-Mornay, Philippe, 65, 111, 170 *seq.*
Dürer, Albert, 48.

ECHTER, Julius, of Mespelbrunn (bishop of Würzburg), 312, 318, 392.
Eckstein, Johann (prior of Ittingen), 407.
Eitel Friedrich, of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Cardinal, 39.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 4, 68, 173, 176.
Elizabeth, The Infanta, 279.
Eltz, Jakob von (archbishop-elector of Trêves), 312, 323, 325, 368, 388 *seq.*
Emanuel Philibert (duke of Savoy), 167, 212, 418.
Epernon, The duke of, 64.
Ernest of Austria (archduke), 71, 267, 270, 31[illegible], 313, 324, 348, 380, 394, 397.
Ernest of Bavaria (prince-elector of Cologne), 298, 312, 320, 325, 366 *seqq.*, 388 *seqq.*, 391 *seq.*, 401.
Escalona, Juan Fernandez Pacheco, duke of (marquis of Villena, Spanish ambassador in Rome), 252 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 258, 260, 262.
Escars, Anne d', Cardinal, *see* Givry.
Escoubleau, *see* Sourdis.

Esne, Michel d' (bishop of Tournai), 401.
Espinay, Charles d' (bishop of Dol), 149.
Espinay, Pierre d' (archbishop of Lyons), 149.
Este, Alessandro d', Cardinal, 249.
Este, Alfonso II., *see* Alfonso.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 30, 112.

FACCHINETTI, Cesare, Cardinal, 259.
Farnese, Family of the, 57, 259 *seq.*, 263.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 20 *seq.*, 23, 311.
Farnese, Alessandro (duke of Parma), 61, 64, 70.
Farnese, Ferrante (bishop of Parma), 373.
Farnese, Mario, 283, 287, 294.
Farnese, Odoardo, Cardinal, 247, 259 *seq.*, 262.
Farnese, Ranuccio (duke of Parma), 55, 69, 260, 262, 275.
Feodor (grand-duke of Moscow) 273.
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 364.
Ferdinand of Austria (archduke of Styria), 286, 298, 302, 311, 341, 345, 352-357, 360, 361, 387 *seq.*
Ferdinand of Austria (archduke of Tyrol), 316, 318, 326, 331, 345 *seq.*, 350 *seq.*, 377, 381 *seq.*
Ferdinand of Bavaria (son of William V., coadjutor of Cologne), 320, 341, 367 *seq.*
Feria, Duke of, 69, 71.
Ferreri, Giovanni Stefano (bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 304, 328, 343, 375, 380, 390 *seqq.*
Feuardent, François (O.S.F.), 182.
Feuerstein, Simon (co-adjutor bishop of Brixen), 378.
Fichard, Joh. (advocate), 364.
Fischer (protestant preacher in Graz), 350 *seq.*
Föchtmann (protestant preacher), 351.
Foix, Paul de, 112.
Foresti, Giulio Cesare (Mantuan envoy), 216 *seq.*, 240, 249, 259, 306.
Forgács, Franc. (bishop of Vesprim), 327.
Fornari, Sebast. Lamberto (auditor), 390.
Fourier, Peter, St., 184.
Frances of Rome, St., 429.
Franceschi, Alessandro (O.S.F.) 68.
Francis I. (King of France), 418.
Francis of Assisi, St., 383.
Francis of Sales, St., 186, 401, 414 *seqq.*, 417-432.
Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto (nuncio), 320, 323, 362, 368, 370, 379, 397 *seq.*
Fraschetta (secretary of Spanish embassy), 254.
Fremyot, André (bishop of Bourges), 190.
Frederick IV. (Elector Palatine) 330, 332.
Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor, 90.
Frederick William (duke of Weimar), 332.
Fresne-Canaye (calvinist), 171.
Fuentes, Count of (governor of Milan), 216, 233 *seq.*, 242.
Fugger, Jakob (prince-bishop of Constance), 393.
Fumée, Nicolas (bishop of Beauvais), 148.
Fürstenberg, Dietrich von (bishop of Paderborn), 363 *seqq.*

GADAGNE, Guillaume de, 104.
Galli, Ant. Marie, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 16, 251, 253.
Garzadoro, Coriolano (bishop of Ossero), 320, 323, 366, 368.
Gebsattel, Johann Philipp von (bishop of Bamberg), 337 *seq.*
Gemmingen, Johann, Conrad von (bishop of Eichstätt), 372, 392.
Gennep, Ludwig van, 386.

George of Brandenburg (Margrave), 318.
Gesualdo, Cardinal, 7, 11, 13, 51, 128, 204.
Ghislieri, Fed., 302.
Giajosi, Agostino (inter-nuncio at Paris), 246.
Ginnasio, Domenico (archbishop of Siponto, nuncio), Cardinal, 219, 220 *seq.*, 244, 256 *seq.*, 298, 307.
Giovanni (Capuchin provincial), 382.
Girolamo (confessor to Clement VIII.), 26.
Giugni, Vincenzo, 173.
Giustiniani, Cardinal, 12, 16, 172.
Giustiniani, Benedetto (Auditor of the Rota), 172.
Givry [Anne d' Escars], Cardinal, 182, 189, 190, 248, 250, 255, 262.
Gloriero, Mgr. (clerk of the Camera), 38.
Gondi, Pierre de (bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 63 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*, 71, 75, 79, 105-109, 114, 117, 121, 142, 250.
Gonzaga, Francesco (bishop of Mantua), 144, 211.
Gonzaga, Giovanni Francesco (duke of Mantua), 94, 283, 286.
Gonzaga, Luigi, *see* Nevers, duke of,
Gonzaga, V., Cardinal, 10.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo (duke of Mantua), 277 283, 286, 295, 300, 302.
Gorrevod, Ant. de (bishop of Lausanne), 408.
Granier, Claude (bishop of Geneva), 418, 421, 422, 425, 427, 429.
Graziani, Antonio Maria (bishop of Amelia, nuncio), 207, 282.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 1 *seq.*, 23, 38, 112, 152, 162, 183, 273, 312, 343 *seq*, 425.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 1, 25, 38, 59, 61, 82, 102, 112, 147, 249, 404.
Gregorio, Alf. (archbishop of Saragossa), 207.
Gribaldi, Vespasian (archbishop of Vienne), 149, 422.
Grimani (patriarch of Aquileja), 326, 349.
Grotta, Carlo, 317.
Guesle, François de (archbishop of Tours), 149, 168, 190.
Guevara, Fernando de, Cardinal, 219, 223, 248.
Guignard, Jean (S.J.), 116.
Guise, Henry of, Duke, 61, 63, 76, 243.

Hardegg, Count Ferdinand von, 276.
Harrach, Count (Imperial envoy), 270, 317.
Hassan, Pasha of Bosnia, 269.
Hausen, Wolfgang von (bishop of Ratisbon), 380.
Henry III. (King of France), 67, 90, 152, 161.
Henry IV. (King of France), 3 *seqq.*, 59, 61-64, 65-80, 81-99, 101-124, 127 *seq.*, 129-145, 150-160, 161-176, 177-181, 184, 186-190, 195, 199 *seq.*, 202, 207-213, 225, 227-232, 234-240, 241-247, 257, 262 *seq.*, 329, 395, 425-428.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 109.
Hennequin, Hieron. (bishop of Soissons), 149.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von [Altemps], Cardinal, 9, 11.
Hovius, Matthias (bishop of Malines), 400.
Hulsius, Fr. (painter) 32.

Ignatius de Bononia (Capuchin), 35.
Ignatius Loyola, St., 416, 428.
Innocent IX., Pope, 1, 6 *seqq.*, 10, 38, 52, 59 *seqq.*, 82, 311.
Isabella Clara Eugenia (wife of Albert of Austria), 71. 395 *seq.*, 403.

JACOBEA (duchess of Jülich-Cleves-Berg), 320.
James, King (I. of England, VI. of Scotland), 4, 177.
Jeannin (French envoy), 236.
Jerin, Andreas von (bishop of Breslau), 345.
John Casimir (count Palatine), 316, 324.
John George (margrave of Brandenburg), 324.
John William (duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg), 320.
Joyeuse, François, Cardinal, 16, 63, 96, 112, 142, 149, 162 *seq.*, 172, 180, 188 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*, 255, 258, 262.
Joyeuse, Henri (duke, Capuchin, "Pere Ange"), 187.
Julius II., Pope, 136.

KEPLER, Johann (astronomer), 351.
Kerssenbrock, Rembert von (bishop of Paderborn), 364.
Klesl, Melchior (bishop of Vienna), Cardinal, 313, 340, 385.
Knöringen, Heinrich von (bishop of Augsburg), 372, 392.
Kobenzl, Hans von (Imperial envoy), 268, 270, 316.
Komulowic, Alexander (abbot of Nona), 273 *seq.*, 282.
Kuthassy, Joh. (bishop of Gran), 327.

LAMBERG, Johann Jakob von (bishop of Gurk), 359.
Lancelier, Nic. (bishop of Saint-Brieuc), 149.
Lancellotti, Scipione, Cardinal, 9, 84.
Lanfranco, *see* Margotti.
Laurens, Honoré du (archbishop of Embrun), 190.
Laureo, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 9
Lemos, Count of (Viceroy of Naples), 198, 215, 217 *seq.*
Leo X., Pope, 101.
Leo XI., Pope, 57, 142.
Leo XIII., Pope, 57.
Leopold of Austria (archduke, coadjutor of Passau), 352.
Lerma, Duke of, 215, 244.
Lesdiguières (governor of Dauphiny), 153.
Lévis, Charles de (bishop of Lodève), 189.
Lewis, Owen (bishop of Cassano), 404.
Liechtenstein, Gundakar von, 377.
Liechtenstein, Karl von, 376.
Liechtenstein, Maximilian von, 376 *seq.*
Liscoet, Charles de (bishop of Quimper), 149.
Lobkowic, Georg, 373.
Lobkowic, Zdenko Popel von, 374, 384.
Lomellini, Mgr., 126.
Longueville, de, Duchess, 186.
Lorenzo da Brindisi (Capuchin), 302, 383 *seqq.*
Lorraine, Louis de (archbishop of Rheims), 189.
Lorraine, Eric of (bishop of Verdun), 193.
Lorraine, Charles, Duke of, 61, 71, 161 *seq.*
Lorraine-Vaudemont, Charles, Cardinal, 180, 183, 318 *seq.*
Louis (the Dauphin, son of Henry IV.), 246 *seq.*
Louis IX., St. (King of France), 74, 83.
Louise (Queen-dowager of France), 112.
Ludovisi, Ippolita (wife of Giorgio Aldobrandini), 57.
Ludwig of Saxony (Capuchin), 408.
Luscinati, Beg. (Papal envoy), 299.
Lusignan, Pierre (of Cyprüs), 35.
Luxembourg, François de (duke of Piney), 121, 208.

MACHAULT, Jean (rector of the Jesuit college, Rouen), 131.
Machowski (Imperial chamberlain), 384.
Maciejowski, Bernard (bishop of Wilna), Cardinal, 256.

Madruzzo, Carlo (bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 88, 256, 377.
Madruzzo, Gaudenzio, 301.
Madruzzo, Lodovico (bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 8, 10-13, 16, 17 *seq.*, 25, 44, 267, 270 *seq.*, 275, 294, 316 *seq.*, 320-335, 377, 379.
Maffei, Giovan. Pietro (S.J., historian), 38.
Maggio, Lorenzo (S.J.), 174.
Mahomet III. (Sultan of Turkey), 268, 289, 305.
Malacrida, Marzio (secretary of briefs), 38.
Malaspina, Germanico (bishop of San Severo, nuncio), 282, 309.
Malvasia (nuncio), 131.
Mandino, Benedetto (bishop of Caserta, nuncio to Poland), 289, 290.
Mansfeld, Karl von (Imperial general), 285 *seq.*
Mantica, Fr., Cardinal, 23.
Marchaumont, Clausse de (bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne), 149, 188.
Maretti, Lelio, 7, 13, 24.
Margaret of Valois (wife of Henry IV.), 109, 172.
Margotti, Lanfranco, Cardinal, 52.
Maria (wife of arch-duke Ferdinand of Tyrol), 345 *seq.*, 350.
Mark Sittich von Hohenems, *see* Hohenems.
Marquemont, Simon de, Cardinal, 39.
Martelli, Hugolin (bishop of Glandéve), 149.
Marthonie, G. de la (bishop of Amiens), 149.
Marthonie, Henri de la (bishop of Limoges), 149.
Martinic, Georg, 373.
Marzato da Sorento, Anselmo (Capuchin), Cardinal [Monopoli], 38, 257.
Masius, Gilbert (bishop of Bois-le-Duc), 401.
Masotti, Luca (camerlengo), 39.
Mateucci, 284.
Matos de Noronha, Anton de (bishop of Elvas), 223.
Mattei, Girolamo, Cardinal, 12, 84.
Matthias of Austria (arch-duke), 275 *seq.*, 286, 378, 380, 384, 387.
Maurice of Hesse, 365.
Maurice of Orange, 395.
Maurice of Savoy, 430.
Maximilian of Austria (arch-duke), 276, 292-296, 322, 369, 383, 385, 390.
Maximilian II. of Bavaria, 317, 341 *seq.*, 346.
Mayenne, Charles de (duke), 61, 63, 70 *seq.*, 98, 110, 129, 145 *seq.*
Mayr, Georg, 353.
Medici, Alessandro de', Cardinal, 122, 142, 144 *seq.*, 150, 153 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, 168, 174, 191, 209, 211 *seq.*, 247, 250.
Medici, Antonio de', 283.
Medici, Cosimo de' (grand-duke of Tuscany), 19 *seq.*
Medici, Ferdinand de' (grand-duke of Tuscany), 9, 60, 67, 70, 104, 173, 233, 260.
Medici, Giovanni de', 283, 300.
Medici, Mary de' (wife of Henry IV.), 172, 189, 232 *seq.*, 235, 428.
Mello, Martin Alfonso de (bishop of Lamego), 223.
Mendoza (General), 71, 362, 365.
Mendoza, Fernando (S.J.), 218.
Mendoza, Juan de, Cardinal, 8, 10.
Mengersdorf, Ernest von (bishop of Bamberg), 336.
Metternich, Lothair von (arch-bishop of Trêves), 298, 369.
Metternich, Wilhelm von (S.J.), 369.
Michael (Voivode of Wallachia), 274, 280, 288, 309.
Milanese, S. (sculptor), 32.
Millini, Garcia (later Cardinal secretary of state), 233.

Millino, Pietro (nuncio), 200.
Minucci, Minuccio (archbishop of Zara), 6, 51, 52, 300, 369.
Miranda, Didaco, 299.
Miraeus, Aubert (historian), 401.
Miraeus, Johann (bishop of Antwerp), 400.
Mirgel, Jacob (co-adjutor bishop of Constance), 393.
Mocenigo, Giovanni, 102.
Mondini, Ettore (Papal envoy), 282.
Monopoli, *see* Marzato.
Montalto [Alessandro Peretti], Cardinal, 6, 9 *seq.*, 12, 14, 16, 24 *seq.*, 42, 44 *seq.*, 46, 258.
Monte, Francesco del, 283, 287.
Monte, Orazio del (archbishop of Arles), 172, 174.
Montelparo, Cardinal, 251.
Montpensier, Duke of, 145.
Moriana, Sebastiano da (Capuchin), 411.
Morone, Cardinal, 12.
Morosini, Cardinal, 16, 51.
Moulard, Matthieu (bishop of Arras), 401.
Moulinet, Louis de (bishop of Séez), 73, 149.
Mucantius, Giov. (master of ceremonies), 6, 11 *seq.*, 25.
Müller, Bernhard (abbot of St. Gall), 405 *seq.*
Murad III., Sultan, 281.
Musart, Vincenzo (superior of the Third Order of St. Francis), 184.
Musotti, Alessandro, 21.

NANI, Agostino (Venetian envoy), 205, 261.
Neidhardt, *see* Thüngen.
Nemours, de, Duke, 61, 63, 145.
Neri, Philip, St., 1, 36, 91 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*, 192, 377, 428.
Nevers (Luigi Gonzaga), Duke of, 79 *seq.*, 82, 84-91, 93-96, 97, 104 *seqq.*, 109, 112, 121.
Niccolini, Giovanni (Tuscan envoy), 16, 30, 40, 47, 92, 123, 125.
Niebuhr, 169.
Nobili, Marcello de', 39, 249.
Nores, Pietro, 38.

OLIVARES, Count (Spanish envoy, viceroy of Naples), 7 *seq.*, 87, 205, 217.
Olivier, Serafino (patriarch of Alexandria), Cardinal, 23 76, 126, 251, 256, 262.
Orsini, Fabio (papal envoy), 275.
Orsini, Valerio (envoy to Tuscany), 275.
Orsini, Virginio (duke of Bracciano), 283
Ossat, Arnaud d', Cardinal, 112-115, 119 *seqq.*, 123 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 131, 136 *seq.* 153, 157, 160, 162 *seq.*, 167, 169 *seq.*, 172, 174, 182, 191, 225, 227, 231, 247, 249, 255.

PALEOTTO, Gabriele, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 16, 22, 253.
Palffy, Nicholas, 296.
Pallotta, Giov. Evangelista, Cardinal, 17.
Palmio, Benedetto (S.J.), 72, 86.
Pamfili, Giovan. Battista (Auditor of the Rota), 172.
Pamfili, Girolamo, Cardinal, 257.
Paolini, Statilio (friend of Tasso), 51.
Paparin de Chaumont, Pierre (bishop of Gap), 149.
Paravicini, Ottavio (bishop of Alessandria), Cardinal, 9, 124, 135, 311, 404.
Paruta, Paolo (Venetian ambassador), 33, 40, 48, 75, 77 *seq.*, 83, 86, 89, 90, 93, 105, 127, 130, 138, 270, 274.
Pasquier, Etienne (Calvinist), 176.
Passe, Crispin de (painter), 32.
Passeri, *see* Aldobrandini, Cinzio.

Paul III., Pope, 19.
Paul IV., Pope, 9, 20, 59, 78, 85, 215.
Paul V., Pope, 5, 52, 57, 180, 233, 384, 429.
Pawlowski, Sanislaus (archbishop of Olmütz), 313.
Pázmány, Peter (bishop of Neutra), 327.
Pelletta, *see* Asti.
Pellevé, Nicolas, Cardinal, 11, 127.
Peña, Francisco (canonist), 80 *seq.*, 86, 110, 123 *seq.*, 126, 131, 134, 165, 201.
Peranda, 41.
Peretti, *see* Montalto.
Peretti, Andrea, Cardinal, 248, 253.
Péricard, François de (bishop of Avranches), 149.
Personeni da Passero, Aurelio (brother-in-law to Clement VIII.), 20.
Personeni da Passero, Tommaso, 20.
Peter II. (abbot of Wettingen), 407.
Pezzen, Bartholomew (Imperial councillor), 388.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 8, 11, 17, 35, 59-63, 69, 71, 75, 80, 85, 100, 102, 111, 118, 134, 146, 195-202, 204-210, 212 *seqq.*, 220, 225, 247 *seq.*, 249, 254, 267, 270 *seq.*, 277, 279, 315, 324, 329, 394 *seq.*
Philip III. (King of Spain), 215, 217 *seq.*, 220 *seqq.*, 224, 230-234, 240 *seq.*, 244 *seq.*, 252, 258 *seqq.*, 297, 300, 306, 389.
Philip of Bavaria, Cardinal, 340, 341.
Piatti, Cardinal, 9, 93, 251.
Pierbenedetti, Mariano, Cardinal, 42, 46.
Pinelli, Domenico, Cardinal, 15, 42, 84, 108.
Piney, *see* Luxembourg.
Pio, Cardinal, *see* Savoia.
Pisany (ambassador), *see* Vivonne.
Pistorius, Joh. (administrator of Minden), 340, 390 *seq.*
Pithou, Pierre, 104.
Pius II., Pope, 101.
Pius IV., Pope, 21, 36, 57, 152.
Pius V., Pope, 1 *seq.*, 12, 21 *seqq.*, 29, 35 *seq.*, 143, 152, 164, 265, 272.
Pius VII., Pope, 169.
Platzgumer, Johann (canon of Brixen), 378.
Poccetti (painter), 18.
Polafei, Jayme de, 39.
Pontac, Arn. de (bishop of Bazas), 149.
Porzia, Girolamo (nuncio), 323, 337, 347, 350, 354, 358, 372, 405.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 84 *seqq.*, 88, 416, 428.
Priuli, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 248.
Provenzale, Geronimo, 135.

Quartery, Anton, 411.
Quiroga, Gaspar de (archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 395.

Radziwill, George, Cardinal, 11.
Rainaldi, Domenico, 127.
Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von (archbishop of Salzburg), 331, 335, 349, 383, 392.
Rambouillet, *see* Angennes.
Ribera, Juan de (archbishop of Valencia), 224.
Riccardi (nuncio in Turin), 234, 243, 422, 425.
Richardot, Jean (bishop of Arras), 211, 397.
Richeome, Louis (S.J.), 176.
Riedmatten, Adrian von (abbot of St. Maurice), 411, 413.
Riedmatten, Hildebrand von (bishop of Sion), 409 *seq.*, 413.
Rietberg, Johann von (count), 365.
Rivière, Jean (O.S.F.), 182.
Rochefoucauld, François de (bishop of Clermont), Cardinal, 149, 188.
Rodoan, Charles Philip (bishop of Bruges), 401.

Roland (servant to St. Francis de Sales), 419.
Romillion, Jean Bapt., 185.
Rose, Guillaume (bishop of Senlis), 149.
Rovere, Girolamo della, Cardinal, 17.
Rucellai, Annibale (papal majordomo), 38.
Rudolf II., Emperor, 11, 25, 249, 257, 260, 266-272, 274 *seq.*, 277-280, 285 *seqq.*, 290, 292, 297, 303, 305, 307 *seqq.*, 311, 315 *seqq.*, 320, 324, 329, 361, 365. 369, 373, 375, 384, 386-393, 399.
Rumpf, Wolfgang, 372, 386.
Rusticucci, Cardinal, 16, 51.
Rusworm, 304.

SADELER, Jan (painter), 32.
Sadoleto, Cardinal, 37.
Saint-Belin, Godefroi de (bishop of Poitiers), 149.
Saintes, Claude de (bishop of Evreux), 149.
Sales, Francis de, *see* Francis.
Sales, de (father of St. Francis), 416, 419 *seq.*
Sales, Louis de (brother of St. Francis), 418, 420.
Salignac, Louis de (bishop of Sarlat), 149.
Saluzzo, Marquess of, 225.
Salviati, Ant. Maria, Cardinal, 13, 42 *seq.*, 44, 46, 84 *seq.*, 247.
San Clemente (Spanish envoy), 280, 329, 330, 390 *seq.*
Sandoval, Bernardo (archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 215, 249.
Sangiorgio, Federigo (Papal general), 283.
Sannesio, Jacopo, Cardinal, 257.
Santori, Giulio Ant., Cardinal, 6-16, 51, 84, 95, 137, 188.
Sassi, Lucio, Cardinal, 51.
Sauli, Ant. Maria (archbishop of Genoa), Cardinal, 12, 13, 17.
Savelli, Lorenzo (patriarch of Constantinople), Cardinal, 248, 294.
Savoy, Carlo Emanuele Pio di, Cardinal, 257.
Scalvati, Ant. (painter), 32.
Schnewlin, Peter (provost of Freiburg), 407 *seq.*
Schönenberg, Johann von (archbishop of Trêves), 369.
Schoner (vicar-general of Bamberg), 337.
Schwarzenberg, Adolph (field-marshal), 292, 296.
Schweikart von Cronberg, Johann (archbishop of Mayence), 371
Seckendorf, Gaspar von (bishop of Eichstätt), 372, 392.
Sega, Filippo, Cardinal, 10, 53, 61 *seq.*, 67, 69 *seqq.*, 82, 92, 97 *seq.*, 106 *seq.*, 110, 124, 257.
Sega, Giovan Battista (brother to Card. Sega), 53.
Senecey, Baron, 96.
Senneterre, Ant. de (bishop of Le Puy), 149.
Serafino, *see* Olivier.
Serra, Giovanni (nuncio), 298, 304, 384.
Sessa, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 8, 10, 44, 56, 76, 81, 85, 87, 120, 126, 134, 199, 201 *seq.*, 220, 230 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 267, 270, 321, 396.
Sfondrato, Ercole (commander of Papal troops), 61.
Sfondrato, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 9, 10, 13, 55, 85, 258 *seq.*
Sforza, Francesco, Cardinal, 9, 10, 13 *seq.*, 16, 85.
Sforza, Paolo (Papal general), 283.
Shirley, Ant. (Papal envoy), 299.
Sigismund III. (King of Poland), 273, 282.
Silingardi, Gaspare (bishop of Modena, nuncio), 166 *seq.*, 172, 175, 194, 228, 245.

Sillery, Brulard de (representative of Henry IV.), 167, 211, 227, 236.
Simiane, Charles de (Lord of Albigny), 243.
Sinan Pasha, *see* Cicala.
Singeisen, Joh. Jodoc (abbot of Muri), 405 *seq.*
Sitsch, Johann (bishop of Breslau), 345.
Sixtus V., Pope, 1 *seq.*, 6, 17, 23 *seq.*, 36, 57, 67, 73, 82, 87, 102, 114, 121, 137, 152, 183, 195 *seq.*, 313, 366 *seq.*, 404.
Sonnabenter, Lorenz (parish-priest, Graz), 354.
Soranzo, Girolamo (envoy to Madrid), 218.
Soranzo, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 121.
Sorbin, Ant. (bishop of Nevers), 149.
Sosa, Francesco de (O.S.F. secretary), 212.
Sourdis, François d' Escoubleau de, Cardinal, 162, 180, 191, 193, 249, 250, 258, 262.
Sourdis, Henri d'Escoubleau de (bishop of Mende), 181.
Spaur, Christopher (bishop of Gurk), 348, 359, 378, 383.
Speciani, Cesare (nuncio), 268, 271, 280, 312, 315, 317, 326, 329, 373.
Spinelli, Filippo, Cardinal, 257 373 *seq.*, 380, 389.
Spinola, Cardinal, 311.
Stadion, J. G. von (vicar-capitular, Bamberg), 351.
Stella (Papal chamberlain), 240.
Stephen I. (King of Hungary), 308.
Stobäus, Geroge (bishop of Lavant), 345, 348, 353, 354, 359.
Stringa, Giov., 7.
Strozzi, Family of the, 19.
Sully, Maximilian (duke of Béthune), 169, 171.
Szuhay, Stefan (bishop of Erlau), 327 *seq.*
Tagliavia, Simone, de Aragona, Cardinal, 9, 43, 84 *seq.*, 124, 199.
Tarugi, Francesco Maria (archbishop of Avignon), Cardinal, 192, 248.
Tasso, Torquato, 48, 51, 58, 342.
Tassone, Ercole (papal major-domo), 38 *seq.*
Tautscher, Johann (bishop of Laibach), 348.
Taverna, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 257.
Taverna, Lodovico (nuncio), 207.
Taxis, Giov. Battista de (Spanish diplomat), 211, 238.
Tempesta, Antonio (painter), 32.
Teres, Juan (archbishop of Tarragona), 206.
Teresa of Jesus, St., 186, 428.
Thesis, Giov. Batt. (Mantuan envoy), 261.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 278.
Thou, Auguste de (French parliamentary president), 167, 171.
Thüngen, Neidhart von (bishop of Bamberg), 336 *seq.*
Toledo, Francisco de (S.J.), Cardinal, 43, 46, 51, 76, 83 *seqq.*, 86, 95, 105 *seq.*, 120, 126 *seq.*, 131, 219.
Toledo, Pedro de (Belgian resident in Rome), 398.
Tolosa, Paolo (Theatine), 233.
Torquemada, Juan (archbishop of Compostela), 207.
Torre, Giovanni della (bishop of Veglia), 404 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*, 412.
Torre, Raimondo della, 230, 255, 292.
Torrentius, Levinus (bishop of Antwerp), 400.
Torres, Lodovico de (archbishop of Monreale), 38.
Tortora, Omero (historian), 226.
Toschi, Domenico, Cardinal, 249.

Tour, Ant. de la (bishop of Tulle), 148.
Trappes, Leonard de (Capuchin, bishop of Auch), 190.
Trautson (Imperial minister), 387.
Trennbach, Urban von (bishop of Passau), 378.
Truchsess von Waldburg, Otto (bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 372.
Tünneken (parish-priest in Paderborn), 364.

Ulrich, H. (painter), 32.
Ungnad, David, 276.
Urban VII., Pope, 1, 24.
Urban VIII., Pope, 233, 306.

Vair, Pierre du (bishop of Vence), 190.
Valenti, Erminio (bishop of Faenza), Cardinal, 52, 257.
Valiero, Agostino, Cardinal, 126, 131, 138, 257.
Vallée, Christ. de la (bishop of Toul), 193.
Vannini, Tommaso (bishop of Avellino), 233.
Vaudemont, Cardinal, *see* Lorraine.
Vecchietti, Giambattista (envoy to Persia), 275.
Velasco, Juan de (governor of Milan), 203.
Vendeville, Jean (bishop of Tournai), 401.
Vendramin, Francesco (Venetian envoy), 202, 207, 255.
Ventadour, Duc de, 189.
Venier, Marco (Venetian ambassador), 40, 48 *seq.*
Verneuil, *see* Bourbon, Henri.
Verreiken (Spanish envoy), 211.
Verrue, Count of, 227 *seq.*
Vervins, Louis de (archbishop of Narbonne), 190.
Vialardo, Fr. M., 36, 210, 256, 261.
Vieux-Pont, Jean de (bishop of Meaux), 190.
Viglienna, Marchese de, 55, 169, 254.
Villars, Nic. de (bishop of Agen), 149.
Villars, Pierre de (archbishop of Vienne), 188.
Villena, *see* Escalona.
Villeroi, François (duke of Neufville), 166, 225, 235, 237, 245, 427.
Vincenzio, Giov. (O.P.), 201.
Vinta, B., 7, 76.
Viry, Baron de, 422.
Visconti, Alfonso (bishop of Cervia), Cardinal, 249, 280, 288 *seq.*, 291, 308.
Vitale, S. (bishop of Spoleto), 274 *seq.*
Vivonne, Jean de (marquis de Pisany), 67, 69, 75, 79, 108, 121.

Wagenring, Johann von (bishop of Trieste), 348.
Waumanns, C. (painter), 32.
Wichart, Borius (burgomaster of Paderborn), 365.
Wierix, Anton (painter), 32.
William IV. (duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg), 310.
William V. (duke of Bavaria), 271, 298, 311, 318 *seqq.*, 325, 331 *seq.*, 338-341, 345 *seq.*, 350, 367.
Wladislaw (King of Bohemia), 375.
Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg, 340.

Zacchia, Laudivio, 301.
Zacchia, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 39, 249.
Zappata, Antonio (archbishop of Burgos), Cardinal, 256.
Zelinsky (vice-chancellor of Bohemia), 373 *seq.*
Zierotin, Karl von, 377.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish ambassador), 22.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIV.[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii.–xx.
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xxi.
Persecution of the Catholics in Holland and in England	1–48
Persecution in Scotland and Ireland. Clement VIII. and James I.	49–80
Attempted Catholic restoration in Sweden	81–109
Progress of Catholic restoration in Poland. Reunion of the schismatic Ruthenians. The false Demetrius	110–147
Clement VIII. and the interior life of the Church. The Religious Orders. The Episcopate. The Sacred College	148–197
The Roman Inquisition. Giordano Bruno. The Index. The Vulgate	198–236
Foreign Missions. The beginnings of Propaganda	237–268
The great Jubilee of 1600	269–280
The Controversy on Grace	281–366
The Papal States. The re-acquisition of Ferrara. Death of the Pope.	367–436
Clement VIII. and learning. Torquato Tasso	437–466
Clement VIII. and Art	467–527
Appendix of unpublished documents	530–575
Index of Names	577–592

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XXIII.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIV.

CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS IN HOLLAND AND IN ENGLAND.

A.D.		PAGE
1592	The number of Catholics in Holland still considerable	1
	The Pope takes immediate steps for their assistance	1
	The Jesuits found the Dutch mission; the missionaries are exposed to the gravest dangers	2
	Description of their labours, by Johann Bargius	3
	Sasbout Vosmeer, vicar-apostolic for Holland, lives in exile at Cologne	4
1596	Frangipani assists the missions in Holland	5
	Clement VIII. renounces all hope of Spanish intervention in England	6
	This change of attitude is not immediately grasped	7
	Persons and the foundation of English Colleges in Spain	7
1592	Colleges also founded at Lisbon and Saint-Omer	8
1594	Importance of these establishments; death of Cardinal Allen	9
	This makes the lack of episcopal authority felt by the English clergy	10
1595	Disputes between supproters of Owen Lewis and Persons	11
	Disagreement between the "Spaniards" and the "Scots"	12
1597	Denunciations made on all sides—accusations made against Holt to the Archduke Alberts	13
1598	Holt's obstinacy; William Gifford and the Jesuits	14
	The Pope's attitude of coldness towards the Jesuits	15
	Troubles at the English college in Rome	16
1603	Disturbance at Valladolid; prudent moderation of Persons	16
	Disputes in Flanders; Dr. Barrett supports the Jesuits	17
1593	The prisoners at Wisbech treated with unusual leniency	18
1594	Beginning of the disputes: Weston and Bagshaw	19
1595	A reconciliation effected (Nevomber 6th)	19
1597	Disputes renewed: the seculars and the Jesuits	20
	Proposals by Persons and the secular clergy as to appointment of a bishop	21

A.D. PAGE
1598 Clement VIII. unwilling to appoint a bishop, but appoints an archpriest 22
Blackwell made archpriest (March 7th); his friendship with the Jesuits the cause of opposition . . 23
The minority bitterly attack Persons and other Jesuits 24
The dispute carried to the Pope; Bishop and Charnock go to Rome 25
1599 Requests of the appellants rejected; they take a fatal step 26
1600 Imprudence of Blackwell who exceeds his powers . 27
His accusation by 33 Wisbech priests (November 17th) 27
The Jesuit Lister begins a violent polemical controversy 28
1601 Sympathy of English statesmen with the appellants 29
Who set out on their journey to Rome . . 30
1602 The Papal brief rejects the appeal and admonishes both parties 31
Discussions before the Inquisition 32
Confidence of the appellants; joy of the Protestants 33
Judgment given (July 20th) and confirmed by Papal brief (October 5th). 34
Elizabeth's edict against the Jesuits; its purpose . 35
1603 The distinction between "priests and priests"; William Bishop on the queen's authority . 36
Garnet's circular to his subjects 37
Many seculars give proof of their friendship for the Jesuits 38
The memorial of Malvasia on the situation . . 39
The Pope never abandons hope of the conversion of England 40
1601 Question of the succession to the English throne . 41
1591 Work published by P. Wentworth, the puritan, on this subject 42
1594 Persons writes his book on the succession . . 43
Which does more harm than good . . . 44
1596 Persons persists in his hopes of Spanish help . . 44
1598 Influence of France; Henry IV. decides in favour of James 45
1600 Influence of Persons in Rome 46
1602 The Spanish claims; renunciation by the Infanta Isabella 47

CHAPTER II.

PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.—CLEMENT VIII. AND JAMES I.

1602 Persons loses prestige in Rome; efforts of James to obtain the English crown 49
Is entirely guided by the opportunism of the moment 50
His hypocrisy and astuteness 51

A.D. PAGE
1602 Catholics rally to him; his efforts to obtain the good-will of the Pope 52
1592 James sends two Jesuits to Rome 52
1595 And later John Ogilvy, who meets with no success 53
1599 Drummond arrives in Rome with a letter from James to the Pope 53
Astuteness of James with regard to Elizabeth . 54
1608 "Comedy of complicity": James and Bellarmine 54
1600 Letter from Queen Anne to Drummond; her profession of the Catholic faith and requests . 55
1602 Anne writes to the Pope and to the General of the Jesuits; the Pope replies (July 16th), and also sends two briefs 56
1603 James is no longer able to continue his double game after his succession to the English throne . 57
The Pope is "tormented day and night" by the thought of England 58
But moves with great caution; James' book—"Basilikon Doron" 59
A French translation sent to the Pope; it is put on the Index 60
1601 Lamentable state of catholics in Scotland . . 61
The memorial on affairs of Scotland drawn up by Malvasia 62
Proves that James knows how to deceive the Pope 63
And keep on good terms with him; fear of excommunication 64
1576-1597 The Scots' colleges at Douai and Paris . . 65
1600 Foundation of the college in Rome . . . 66
Numerous foundations of Irish seminaries and colleges 67
Their development largely due to Philip II. . . 67
They are a counterweight to Trinity college, Dublin 68
1601 Series of Papal briefs to confirm the Irish in their struggle; victory of O'Neill at Blackwater . 69
Spanish help comes too late; devastation of Ulster 70
1603 James continues his double-dealing . . . 70
1605 And once again sends Lindsay to Rome . . 70
But makes nothing but vague promises. . . 71
Clement VIII. still hopes to win over James . 72
Who keeps the Pope in suspense and deceives him with fair words 73
The "practical attitude" of James towards Catholics 74
Character of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton 75
"We no longer have any need of the Papists" . 75
1604 James orders that all Catholic priests must leave the country; his speech before Parliament (March 22nd) 76
Laws against Catholics made more severe (June 4th) 77
James still continues his negotiations with Rome . 78
His action against Catholics and Puritans . . 79
1605 Declares (February 10th) his detestation of the religion of Papists; effects of this declaration . 79
Rigorous enforcement of Penal Laws . . . 80

CHAPTER III.

ATTEMPTED CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN SWEDEN

A.D.		PAGE
1592	Interest of Clement VIII. in Sweden; at his first consistory sends a legate for the King's marriage (February 14th)	81
	King Sigismund's difficulties in Poland	82
	The nunciature of Malaspina to Poland	83
	On the death (November 17th) of John III. the crown of Sweden falls to the King of Poland	84
1593	Difficulties raised by Sigismund's uncle, the duke Charles	84
	Who makes religion the pretext for opposing the lawful Catholic king	84
	Radical decrees of the assembly at Upsala (February 25th)	85
	Satisfaction of Charles with these	86
	Should Sigismund undertake the journey to Sweden?	86
	The Pope sends Powsinski as special delegate to Poland (August)	87
	He points out the opportunities now offered for the restoration of Catholicism in Sweden	87
	Sigismund's fatal mistake	88
	Suggestions to the nuncio Malaspina as to his course of action	89
	Sigismund with Malaspina embarks for Sweden (September 6th)	90
	The demands of duke Charles	91
	Who deliberately encourages the suspicions of the protestants	92
1594	Difficult position of the king; Malaspina's letter to Rome	93
	The endeavour to impose conditions upon Sigismund for his coronation	94
	Firmness of the King; his Catholic attitude	95
	Opposition of Duke Charles and the protestants	96
	Who adopt a policy of annoyance and threats; danger to the nuncio; calmness of Malaspina	97
	Increasing threats; panic of Sigismund; he ends by recognizing the protestant archbishop of Upsala	98
	Sigismund crowned (February 19th) by the bishop of Vesteras	99
	Malaspina persuades the King to make adequate concessions to the Catholics	100
	Exultation of the Lutherans; disputes between Poland and Sweden; Sigismund leaves for Poland (July) and Malaspina with him	101
	Fears of the nuncio: Duke Charles is given full powers to govern	102
1595	Decrees of the Diet of Söderköping against Catholics	102
	Violence and unrelenting fury of the protestants	103
	Attachment of the country folk to the ancient faith	103

A.D. PAGE
1595 Brutal destruction of Catholic memorials . . 104
Remorse of Sigismund for his weakness. . . 105
Revived hope of recovery of Sweden for the Faith . 105
Memorial on the importance of such an event . 106
1597 Frustration by Charles of all projects for this recovery 106
Great increase of the power of duke Charles . . 107
1598 The Diets at Upsala and Vadstena support him . 107
Sigismund returns to Sweden with 5000 troops . 108
And is at first fortunate 108
But finally defeated on September 25th . . 109
1599 Charles remains victor; deposition of Sigismund (July) 109

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN POLAND.—REUNION OF THE SCHISMATIC RUTHENIANS.—THE FALSE DEMETRIUS.

1596 Consoling progress of Catholicism in Poland; Sigismund's want of energy; he yields to the influence of the nuncio 110
1592-1598 Canonization of St. Hyacinth; the task confided to Malaspina; the league against the Turks . 111
1596 A special embassy sent to Poland (April 25th) . 112
The mission of the cardinal legate Caetani . . 113
His address to the envoys of the Emperor and the King of Poland 114
Difficulties of the legate; his first interview with Sigismund (September 24th) 115
1597 He attends the Diet at Warsaw (February); the Diet does nothing; Caetani returns to Rome . 116
1598 Recall of Malaspina; his final report . . . 117
And just estimate of the conditions in Poland . 118
Labours of Komulovic; success of Malaspina's efforts 119
He is supported by the King; exemplary life of Sigismund has great effect 120
Attention by Malaspina to the interior renewal of the church 121
Flourishing state of the Jesuits in Poland . . 122
High reputation of their educational work; King Sigismund protects them in every way . . 123
They penetrate into Germany and Russia . . 124
Appreciation of the Jesuits by the Polish bishops . 125
Their activity as writers and work for conversion of the Jews 125
1581 Peter Skarga and the Ruthenians 126
Efforts of the Jesuits for the reunion of the Ruthenians 127
Who are in a state of great demoralization . . 128
1586 The action of the Patriarch of Constantinople determines the Ruthenians to turn to Rome . . 129
1590 Shrewdness of the Polish chancellor, Zamoiski . 129

A.D. PAGE
1593 Energetic action by the Polish bishops . . . 130
1595 Bishops Pociej and Terlecki deputed to go to Rome 131
Pastoral of the Polish bishops (August 27th) . . 131
Sigismund's letter to the Ruthenians (September 24th) 132
The two bishops in Rome; their audience with the Pope (November) 132
Conditions of the reunion 133
Ceremony of the accomplishment of the reunion (December 23rd) 134
Joy of the Pope; his discourse 135
1596 Firmness of Sigismund; powerful agitation against the work of reunion 136
Synod of the Uniat Ruthenian church; the declaration of the bishops on their reunion with Rome 137
Ostrogskyj leader of the opposition to union . . 138
1598–1604 Energy of Clement VIII. in defence of the Uniat Church 139
1591 Prospects of uniting Russia; Death of Ivan IV.; mysterious disappearance of his second son Demetrius 140
1598 Death of Feodor I.; Boris Godunov assumes the government as Czar; his character . . 141
1603 First appearance of the "false Demetrius" . . 142
Who meets with a great following in Poland . . 142
1604 And is eventually supported by Sigismund and by Rangoni, the Papal nuncio 143
Demetrius writes (April 24th) to the Pope declaring his adherence to the true faith . . . 144
He succeeds in raising a small army . . . 145
And keeps up a correspondence with Rangoni . 146
Clement VIII. maintains an attitude of reserve . 146

CHAPTER V.

CLEMENT VIII. AND THE INTERIOR LIFE OF THE CHURCH.—THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—THE EPISCOPATE.—THE SACRED COLLEGE.

1592 The Pope orders a general visitation of Rome (June 8th) 148
And himself makes the visitation of the Lateran . 149
Minute exactitude of his procedure . . . 150
It is continued by Clement VIII. in person . . 151
1593 And prolonged to 1596; it is repeated in 1603 . 151
1597 The Pope takes part in examination of parish-priests 151
1592 All Generals of the Orders summoned before him . 152
1596 Various measures for reform of convents . . 152
Clement VIII. and religious discipline . . . 153
He encourages the Franciscan Observants . . 154
The Congregations of reformed Benedictines . . 155
1598 The Pope on the pastoral duties of the bishops . 156
He encourages the Jesuits, Theatines and other Orders 157

A.D. PAGE
1598 Relations between Clement VIII. and the Oratorians 158
He protects Giovanni Leonardi and Joseph Calasanctius 159
Educational work of Calasanctius 162
The teachers of Christian Doctrine: M. de Sadis Cusani and César de Bus 165
1593 Clement VIII. and the Jesuits; divisions in the Society, especially in Spain: Acosta and Aquaviva 166
Struggle against the power of the General . . 170
Aquaviva defends the work and ideas of Loyola . 171
Discourse of the Pope to the Jesuits (November 3rd) 173
Intervention of Philip II.; his demands . . 174
Decisions of the General Congregation of the Order 176
1594 The Pope visits the professed house of the Jesuits (January 4th); his allocution to the fathers . 177
End of the Congregation; complete justification of Aquaviva 179
1595 Clement VIII. still thinks of abolishing the Generalship for life in the Society 180
1601 Mendoza continues the intrigues against Aquaviva . 181
And wins a temporary victory 183
1604 The death of Clement VIII. stops these intrigues for a time 184
Favours granted by the Pope to many Orders . 185
Insistence upon the duty of residence . . . 186
1595 Decree of Clement VIII. upon this matter (July 5th) 187
Who realizes the difficulty of eradicating this abuse 188
Examination of bishops prescribed . . . 189
Their careful selection; some of the most eminent reforming bishops 190
1593 Care of the Pope in creation of new Cardinals . 193
Their merits and qualifications 195
The establishment of the Congregations lessens the power of Consistories 197

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—GIORDANO BRUNO.—THE INDEX.—THE VULGATE.

Independence of the Roman Inquisition . . 198
The kind of questions that come before it . . 199
1594 Decrees of Clement VIII. concerning its procedure 200
1595 *seq.* Executions of heretics during his pontificate . 201
The case of Giordano Bruno; story of his career . 203
His published works 205
His attitude of opposition to all positive religion . 208
1592 Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition . . . 209
1593 At the Pope's request he is sent to Rome . . 210
1599 His assertions before the Roman Inquisition . . 211
1600 Put to death in the Campo di Fiori (February 17th) 212

A.D. PAGE
1600 The Venetian government and the Inquisition . 213
Calvinist propaganda in Venice 214
Clement VIII. and Paolo Sarpi 215
Vigilance of the Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index 216
1596 The Index of Clement VIII.; in what manner it differs from the Index of Sixtus V. . . 217
1593 Decrees against Talmudic and Hebrew books. . 219
Clement VIII. reverts to severe measures against Jews 220
The Pope is a firm upholder of ecclesiastical jurisdiction 221
1592 The complicated position of the Sixtine Vulgate . 222
Clement VIII. at once interests himself in the question 223
He orders the acquisition of copies; all that can be found are destroyed 224
1595 The Clementine Bible 225
1596 Clement VIII. and the correction of liturgical books 227
1602 The Reform of the Breviary. 228
1598 The collection of Decretals, the *Clementina* (July 25th) 230
Is presented to the Pope, but not published . . 231
The bull on the reform of Papal elections . . 232
Clement VIII. and Canonizations; he only celebrates two 233
And is very slow to grant indulgences . . . 235
1602 His ordinances on duelling and confessions . . 236

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN MISSIONS—THE BEGINNINGS OF PROPAGANDA.

Jesuits and Franciscans in Japan 237
1596 At first Taikosama is favourable to them, but in this year a change takes place 238
1597 The persecution and martyrdom of Christians . 238
1598 Better times return on the death of Taikosama . 239
The Franciscans and Jesuits able to resume work . 239
1593 The missions to China; the Jesuit, Matteo Ricci . 240
His remarkable work in China: "the great man of Europe" as the Chinese call him . . . 241
1601 Ricci excites the interest of the Emperor . . 242
1605 His success; the first Chinese Jesuits . . . 243
1595 Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits in the Philippines 244
The Jesuit mission to the Great Mogul . . . 245
Efforts to unite the Nestorians (Christians of St. Thomas) 245
1601 The Pope sends two Jesuits on a mission to Persia . 247
1604 And later on six Carmelites 248
1595 The Jesuits, Monserrato and Paez in Abyssiaia . 249
1603 Influence of Paez with Za-Denghel . . . 250
Missions in the Congo, Angola and Guinea . . 251
Also in Mexico, California and Peru . . . 252
Work of the Jesuits in Chili and among the Araucani 253

A.D. PAGE
1603 The Franciscan, Solano, in Peru 254
The Missions in Tucuman, Brazil and Paraguay . 255
State of the missions in Spanish and Portuguese colonies 256
1593 Negotiations with Coptic patriarch of Alexandria . 257
1594 The Copts arrive in Rome and pay homage to the Pope 257
1602 Who expresses his joy at their return to union . 257
1596 Clement VIII. sends an envoy to the Maronites . 258
And seeks the reunion of the Serbs . . . 259
1599 Also makes provision for assistance of the Archipelago 260
The Pope occupies himself with the Greeks in Italy and the Albanians 261
Who are not to be forced to adopt the Roman rite 262
1595 Instruction of Clement VIII. concerning rites and usages of the Greeks (August 31st). . . 263
Memorials on the subject of the "Propaganda Fide" 264
And its proposed constitution and work . . 265
1599 The constitution of the Congregation and its first meeting (August 11th and 16th) . . . 266
Its first title; matters discussed by it . . . 267
Clement is the first Pope to create a central control for the missions 268

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT JUBILEE OF 1600.

1599 The Pope appoints two Congregations of Cardinals for the spiritual and material preparations . 269
Bulls of May 19th and 21st announcing the Holy Year of Jubilee 269
May 22nd: letters of invitation sent to all Catholic rulers 270
Arrangements for the care of pilgrims . . . 270
The Carnival amusements prohibited . . . 271
Illness of the Pope; but he performs the function of opening the Holy Door on December 31st . 272
1600 Zeal of the Pope in fulfilling the conditions of the Jubilee Indulgence 273
His pleasure in attending the sermons . . . 273
Hears confessions and is unwearied in helping the poor pilgrims 274
Reception of Confraternities by the Pope . . 275
Some of the important personages who come to Rome 276
Amazement of Protestants 276
1600 Many of whom are converted; Justus Calvin . 277
Hospice of the Trinità de' Pellegrini alone . . 278
Cares for 500,000 pilgrims 279
Estimated total of the number of pilgrims . . 279
The Jubilee a testimony to the great change wrought by the Catholic reform 280

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONTROVERSY ON GRACE.

A.D.		PAGE
	This dispute becomes steadily embittered; Jesuits and Dominicans	281
	Skill and energy of the Jesuits in opposing the views of Luther	282
	But they use great caution in speaking of predestination	283
	The solution put forward by Molina	284
	A quite different view taken by Bañes	285
	The "kind of grace" in dispute between Jesuits and Dominicans	288
	Extreme difficulty of the question	289
	Vehemence of the discussion, intervention of the Augustinian, Luis de Leon	291
	Propositions laid before the Spanish Inquisition	292
	Luis de Leon and Montemayor reprimanded by the Grand Inquisitor	293
	In spite of opposition, Molina obtains an "imprimatur" for his book	295
	It appears with the approbation of the Castilian and Portuguese Inquisition	297
1590	Bañes leads the attack upon the theses of Molina	298
1594	The attempt to have the work put on the Index	299
	Attack upon Suarez and the works of other Jesuits	300
1594	Extreme bitterness of the dispute at Valladolid	302
	Sermon by the Dominican, Avendano; the Jesuits petition the Inquisition	304
	The superiors of both Orders receive the Pope's order prohibiting further discussion, under grave penalties	307
	The Dominicans seem less submissive than the Jesuits	309
1596	Intervention of Philip II. in Spain	310
1597	The memorial addressed by Bañes to Clement VIII.	310
	Bellarmine writes an opinion upon this	311
1598	And a "learned discussion" is allowed	312
	Both parties to send to Rome an exposition and defence of their doctrine	313
	Difference of opinion among the bishops	315
	Great reputation and influence of the Dominicans	316
	Transference of the discussion to Rome	318
	Memorial of Alvarez against Molina	319
	The inquiry confined to Molina's book; the Roman commission	321
1599	Clement VIII. cites the Generals of both Orders to appear before him	325
	The discussions in Rome	325
1602	The Jesuits present a memorial to the Pope	337
	Imprudence of the Jesuits in a discussion at Alcalá on "Infallibility"	341
	Four Jesuits imprisoned; anger of the Pope	343

A.D. PAGE
1602 The Jesuits clear themselves 344
The panegyric of Bañes on Clement VIII. . . 344
Disputations begin (March 20th) in the presence of the Pope 347
Letter from Bellarmine to the Pope . . . 350
Intention of Clement VIII. to put an end to the dispute, but he will not act hastily. . . 353
Remonstrances of Bellarmine who is removed from Rome 354
1603 Rumours as to the issue of the controversy; these are a great trial to the Jesuits 355
The Jesuit, Bastida, pours out his grievances to the Pope 356
Intervention by Spain and Bavaria . . . 357
Perseverance of the Pope in the study of the controversy 358
But he does not succeed in settling it . . . 359
1604 Death of Bañes (October 21st); his dying protestation of faith. 361
Character of Molina who died four years before Bañes 362
The struggle between the two Orders continues for a time 363
The chapters-general of both Orders exhort to mutual charity and affection (1644–1661) . . . 365

CHAPTER X.

THE PAPAL STATES.—THE RE-ACQUISITION OF FERRARA.—DEATH OF THE POPE.

1592 The Congregation for the administration of the States of the Church 367
All Italy suffers from repeatedly bad harvests . 368
1593 Efforts of the Pope to meet this scarcity in the Papal States 369
Misery in the Marches and the Romagna; who is to blame? 370
Vigilance of the Pope in preventing abuses . . 371
Regulations by the Papal Constitution of 1604 . 372
Opposition of the farmers; the popular discontent. 373
1592 Brigandage again appears; determined efforts of the Pope to combat it 374
1595 Great number of bandits are executed; the Spanish government encourages the disorder . . 377
The military weakness of the Papal States; neglect of the fortresses 378
No real armed force; the fleet in a state of decadence 379
Financial difficulties; Clement VIII. has "no idea of the value of money"; the "luoghi di Monte" 380
1595 Paruta on "the strength and weakness" of the Papal States 381

A.D. PAGE
1592 Energy of the Pope in the case of Ferrara; he confirms the bull of Pius V. on Papal fiefs . . . 382
1597 Alfonso II. endeavours to induce the Pope to change his mind; he appoints Cesare d'Este as his successor 383
But Clement VIII. remains immovable; Cesare assumes the government and sends envoys to the powers 384
Alfonso dies on November 1st; the Pope at once re-confirms the bull of Pius V 385
And gives immediate orders for large armaments . 386
Cesare determines to push the matter to extremes and sends an envoy to Rome (December 20th) 387
He is excommunicated; his endeavour to secure the assistance of Philip II.. 388
Henry IV. openly supports the Pope . . . 389
This decision practically settles the question. . 390
Reaction in Ferrara against Cesare . . . 391
The sentence of excommunication read in the cathedral 392
The Papal army under Cardinal P. Aldobrandini . 393
1598 Cesare submits and restores the duchy to the Church 394
The Pope's decision to visit Ferrara and sets out on his journey (April 13th). 396
His solemn entry into the city (May 8th) . . 398
Reorganization of the government; a fortress constructed 400
Reception of ambassadors 401
Two notable marriages celebrated 402
Return journey of the Pope; his reception in Rome (December 19th) 404
The great inundation of the Tiber. . . . 406
Causes a terrific amount of damage . . . 408
Proposed remedies and plans for regulation of the Tiber 412
Gradual decay of Ferrara 415
The administration of the States of the Church falls increasingly into the hands of ecclesiastics . 416
Disadvantages of this 417
Changed condition of the aristocracy of the Papal States 418
1596 The Roman nobles; their revenues and debts; the so-called "Bull of the Barons" . . . 419
The Cenci family; their crimes 421
1598 Beatrice; the murder of her father . . . 423
Refutation of the legend concerning Beatrice. . 425
P. Santa Croce; Troilo Savelli; the tragedy of the Massimi 427
Severe penalties enacted for many offences . . 429
Spain and the aristocracy of the Papal States . 430
Clement VIII. in subject to frequent attacks of gout 431
1603 And has attacks of arthritis. 432
1604 Over-exertion and anxieties seriously affect his health 433

A.D. PAGE
1605 He has attacks of apoplexy and dies on March 5th 434
"The best defence of the Popes is the knowledge of their lives" 435

CHAPTER XI.

CLEMENT VIII. AND LEARNING.—TORQUATO TASSO.

Predilection of Clement VIII. for scholars; examples of this 437
Toledo, Bellarmine, Baronius, Antoniano, and others 437
Intellectual activity of Bellarmine . . . 439
Clement VIII. and Baronius. 446
Measures of the Pope to increase the treasures of the Vatican library; the archives and manuscripts 447
Legacies to the Library; the Vatican Press . . 449
New buildings at the University; the chair of botany 450
Scholars and poets supported by the Aldobrandini Cardinals 451
Dedications and "discorsi" 452
The Pope's love of poetry 454
1592 Tasso comes to Rome by invitation of Clement VIII. 455
Tasso at the Vatican 456
Cinzio Aldobrandini and Tasso; the "Gerusalemme liberata" 457
1595 Projected coronation at the Capitol; but Tasso dies before this can be accomplished (April 26th). 459
Princely pomp of his burial. 461
Tasso's work is penetrated with Catholic sentiment 462
The "Gerusalemme" and the Crusades. . . 463

CHAPTER XII.

CLEMENT VIII. AND ART.

The pontificate is a period of transition in the field of art 467
Architects employed by Clement VIII.; D'Arpino is his favourite painter 467
The Pope's intention of completing the work of Sixtus V. 468
His care for the completion of St. Peter's . . 469
The dome finished; its internal decoration . . 470
1594 Work at the tomb of the Apostle; consecration of the new altar. 471
The Pope frequently visits the works . . . 473
The painters employed on the decoration . . . 474
1592–7 Work at the Lateran basilica; the "Nave Clementina" 475
Decoration of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. 476

A.D.		PAGE
	The new organ by Luca Blasio; other decorations	478
	Work of restoration at St. Mary Major's and many other churches	480
	The Aldobrandini tombs in the Minerva	481
	Foundation of new colleges: the Scots and the "Clementinum"	484
	Works at the Vatican palace	485
	New buildings at the Quirinal	486
	Decoration of the Hall of Consistories and the Sala Clementina	487
	Construction of bridges; work for protection of the coast	489
	Improvement of the harbours	490
	G. Fontana regulates the Teverone and the Velino	492
	Fondness of Clement VIII. for Frascati	493
	Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini at Frascati	495
	The Villa Aldobrandini: its description	496
	Panorama of Rome from the hall of the villa	500
	Illustrations recording the changes in Rome; guide books	502
	Descriptions by foreign travellers	503
1595	Revival of Rome; the discovery of antiquities	504
	The use of ancient materials; exportation of works of art	505
	Collections of the Cardinals; care for maintenance of the streets	507
	Development of splendour and luxury	508
	Active works of charity; confraternities and hospitals	509
	Many Cardinals great patrons of art	510
	Palaces of the Aldobrandini in Rome	512
1598–1603	The carrying out of the plans for the Capitoline palaces	513
	Magnificence of the new churches	514
	And restoration and adornment of older ones	516
	The work of Baronius at SS. Nereo and Achilleo	517
	Work at S. Gregorio, S. Maria in Via and the Tre Fontane	518
1599	Discovery of the body of St. Cecilia	521
	And of other sarcophagi	522
	The Pope presides at the solemn burial of St. Cecilia	523
	Cardinal Sfondrato restores and decorates the church	524
	The revived study of Christian antiquity	527

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1.	Diary of the master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, November 18th, 1593	531
2.	Statement from Sigismund, King of Poland, to Pope Clement VIII.	532
3.	Germanico Malaspina to Card. Cinzio Aldobrandini	534
4.	Card. Cinzio Aldobrandini to the nuncio Malaspina	537
5.	Card. C. Aldobrandini to the Card. Legate Madruzzo	537
6.	Germanico Malaspina to Card. C. Aldobrandini	538
7.	Instruction by L. Taverna for Ant. M. Graziani	540
8.	Lelio Arrigoni to the duke of Mantua	541
9.	Clement VIII. to the Inquisitor Ant. Matos de Noronha	542
10.	Avviso di Roma of July 23, 1597	542
11.	Clement VIII. to the Elector of Trêves, J. von Schönenberg	543
12.	Inscription at the portico of S. Maria in Città Castellana	544
13.	Report of G. Malaspina on the situation in Sweden	544
14.	Clement VIII. to the Clergy and People of Rome	558
15.	G. C. Foresto to the duke of Mantua	560
16.	List of prisoners of the Roman Inquisition	561
17.	Clement VIII. to Philip III., King of Spain	563
18.	G. C. Foresto to the duke of Mantua	566
19.	G. C. Foresto to the duke of Mantua	566
20.	Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia	567
21.	Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia	571
22.	Clement VIII. to Justus Calvin	574
23.	F. M. Vialardo to the duke of Mantua	575

CHAPTER I.

Persecution of the Catholics in Holland and in England.

As a result of the schism, the kingdom of Queen Elizabeth and the young republic of the Low Countries had also become missionary countries, and the prohibition of the public exercise of Catholic worship was all the more oppressive in that the number of the Catholics was still very considerable. In the greater part of the provinces of Holland, in Utrecht, Gelderland, Frisia and Oberyssel, the Catholics formed a large majority.[1] In the first years of his pontificate Clement VIII. at once took steps to provide them with spiritual assistance, and in the instructions given to the nuncio Caetani, who was sent to Spain in the autumn of 1592, it may be seen what care the Pope took to deal with the religious difficulties which had sprung up in Holland and Zeeland. Clement's idea was to provide a remedy by sending missionaries of the Society of Jesus, and the Franciscan Order. He had already had much at heart the establishment of the Franciscans in a seminary founded at Tournai in 1592. Caetani was instructed to obtain once more for this institution the subsidy which Philip II. had suspended, and at the same time to secure the continuance of the payment of

[1] This is admitted even by so inveterate an adversary of the Catholics as the author of the "Scriptum A° 1604" published in the *Neuen Lausitzschen Magazin*, XLI., 157 *seqq.* "when he had left the Popedom and had come hither from Rome," p. 169 (maximus est numerus [catholicorum] in Hollandia, Selandia, Frisia, etc.). *Cf.* also W. Knuttel, De toestand der Katholieken onder der Republiek, I., The Hague, 1892.

the contribution for the exiled priests who were living at Louvain and Douai.[1]

The idea of employing the Jesuits in the mission in Holland had been suggested to the Pope in 1592 by the Dutch priest Jan Smith. At the same time another Dutch priest had approached the provincial of the Jesuits in Belgium, Oliver Manaraeus.[2] The General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Aquaviva, welcomed the proposal, and in October two Dutch Jesuits of the Belgian province were sent to Holland,[3] and thus founded the Dutch mission. To them, and to the Franciscans who were already labouring there is due the credit for the preservation of the faith in Holland. The missionaries had no fixed abode, but travelled about the country as apostles, but as there were severe edicts against the celebration of mass, and especially a prohibition of giving hospitality to the Jesuits, the latter were exposed to the gravest dangers. They had to disguise themselves, and constantly change their place of residence. As in the days of the catacombs, the celebration of mass and the administration of the sacraments could only take place at night, while, in order to prevent a surprise, it was necessary to set guards. At dawn the missionary went on to another place.[4]

The mission would have been altogether prevented if the large number of the Catholics who still remained, and the greed for money on the part of the officials had not made it

[1] For the *instructions for Caetani (Cod. 468, p. 1 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome) see LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch. 121 *seq.*, and R. MAERE in *Bull. de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, LXXIII., Brussels, 1904, 3; there is also mention of the attempt of the Calvinists secretly to introduce Protestant writings into Spain. For the seminary at Tournai see Bull., IX., 367 *seq.*; WADDING, Annales Min., XXIII., 414.

[2] See PONCELET, Les Jésuites en Belgique, 32.

[3] See IUVENCIUS, Hist. Soc. Iesu P. V. tom. post. 414 *seq.* *Cf.* OLIV. MANARAEUS, De initiis missionis batavae, in ALLARD, Eene missiëreis door Nord-Nederland en de 17e eeuw, 's Hertogenbosch, 1883, 37 *seq.*

[4] See IUVENCIUS *loc. cit.*, 417 *seq.*; PONCELET, *loc. cit.*

possible to evade the severe ordinances. The right to public worship, which was granted in 1603 to the Mahometan ambassador,[1] was still withheld from the Catholics born in the same land, but by means of bribes it was possible to obtain from the officials entrusted with the carrying out of the edict the power to have mass said in secret.

For this reason the work of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries was very arduous. This may clearly be seen from the reports of the Jesuits, who had begun their mission there with two fathers in 1592.[2] These tell of cases where a missionary was forced to change his residence eight times in the course of twelve days. On the other hand the zeal of the Catholics to hear the word of God and receive the sacraments was very consoling, some of them having been deprived of these things for thirty or even forty years. Sometimes the fathers had to preach twice or three times in the day.[3] The head of the mission, Johann Bargius, who came from Amsterdam, describes the labours that they had to undergo. "In Frisia," he writes, "for nine weeks I had to employ the nights as well as the days; in the evening at dusk I set myself to hearing confessions and baptizing, and then preached and said mass; after this there again came to me those who wished to confess or communicate, and some whose marriages had to be regularized.[4] Thus there only remained three hours for sleep, for very early in the morning I had to set out for another place." With such labours as this, it is not surprising that Bargius died at the age of forty-eight. "The work increases from day to day," he says in a report of 1604; "if only we had greater forces at our command!"[5]

The direction of the missionaries, as appears from a brief

[1] See Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu, 1603, 646.

[2] See *Tijdschrift voor Utrecht geschied.*, IX., 236, 266 *seq.*; Brom, Archivalia in Italië, III., 's Gravenhage, 1914, xxxviii.

[3] See Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu, 1597, 283, 285; 1598, 258 *seq.*; 1599, 314; 1600, 533 *seq.*; 1602, 709; 1603, 625 *seq.*; 1604, 702 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 1600, 532 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 1604, 703.

of Clement VIII., of 1592,[1] as well as from other documents,[2] was in the hands of Sasbout Vosmeer, as vicar apostolic, who resided almost entirely at Cologne. From a report of Frangipani of April, 1592, it appears that at that date two Catholic priests were secretly giving the Dutch Catholics the consolations of their religion ; at Leyden alone they confessed about a thousand of the faithful, and brought about the conversion of several Protestants.[3] In 1594 there was an idea of appointing a bishop for Holland,[4] but this was abandoned. In 1596 the vicariate apostolic of Holland was placed under the nunciature at Brussels.[5] Vosmeer caused northern Holland to be visited every year from 1594 onwards by Albert Eggis, but when in 1601 Vosmeer appointed Eggis as vicar-general of the former diocese of Haarlem, he met with opposition from the chapter. In this way the government of the Low Countries discovered the existence of a Catholic hierarchy in their own country. It was impossible to reach Vosmeer, because he was abroad, but Eggis was arrested in March, 1602, and proceedings were taken against him, which ended in his banishment.[6] The report which

[1] See N. Broedersen, Tract. hist., I. (1729), 245. This document was missed by Friedrich ; he thought that Vosmeer had hardly become vicar-apostolic in 1602 ; see *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenechaft*, XI. (1922), 130 *seq.* ; " Holland als Weige der Missionshierarchie."

[2] On April 9, 1592, Frangipani sent Clement VIII. a letter from the " vicar-apostolic " Vosmeer ; see Brom-Hensen, Romeinsche Bronnen, The Hague, 1922, 425 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 426.

[4] See in App. No. 5 the *letter of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini to L. Madruzzo, May 2, 1594, Cod. Campori 214 of the Este Library, Modena. *Ibid.* concerning the mission of a Flemish Dominican to Holland, who had received from the Inquisition all the needful faculties.

[5] See Maere in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII. (1905), 822 ; Corresp. de Frangipani, I., xv.

[6] See Hensen in Molhuysen-Blok, Nieuw Nederlandsch Biogr. Woorden-boeck, III., Leyden, 1914, 320 *seqq.*, and the literature there cited.

Vosmeer sent to the Pope in 1602,[1] revealed the sad state of the Dutch Catholics. Vosmeer was then given the title of Archbishop of Philippi,[2] but he had to continue to live in exile at Cologne, where he made provision for the training of priests for Holland by the establishment of a college.[3]

The nuncio at Cologne, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, took the liveliest interest in, and gave every possible assistance to the Catholic missions in Holland ; after 1596 he was in charge of the nunciature at Brussels, established not long before, and was able to help yet more from there than from Cologne.[4] When disputes arose between the vicar apostolic Vosmeer and the Jesuits, in 1598 Frangipani summoned the vicar to Brussels where an agreement was come to, which, unfortunately, was not of long duration.[5]

[1] See *Archief v. geschied. v. h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XVII. (1899), 150 *seqq.* *Cf.* FRUIN, Verspriede Geschriften, III., 's Gravenhage, 1901, 249 *seq.*

[2] See Uittreksel uit Francisci Dusseldorpii Annales, 1566-1616, ed. FRUIN, 's Gravenhage, 1893, 316. *Cf. ibid.*, 284 *seq.*, the edict of Clement VIII. of May 26, 1601, extending the indulgence of the holy year to the Dutch Catholics.

[3] For the College of Cologne see *Bijdragen v. d. geschied. v. h. bisd. Haarlem*, VIII., 1 *seqq.* ; XV., 87 *seqq.* ; BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, 426, 427, 429. Eggis left the college 16,000 florins ; see HENSEN, *loc. cit.*

[4] The whole correspondence of Frangipani, his reports, and his instructions from the Secretary of State, are to be found in the National Library, Naples. In my account of my journey in 1893 made in the interests of the Nuntiaturberichte (*Hist. Jahrb.*, XV., 712 *seq.*). I once again called the attention of scholars to this material which had so long remained unnoticed. It is pleasant to record that the director of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, Mgr. Hensen, will shortly publish all Frangipani's reports concerning his own country. With regard to the publication of the reports of Frangipani by L, v.d. Essen, see Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 398, While this work was in the press there appeared : L. v. WASSENHOVEN O.M. Frangipani en de Engelsche Katholicken (1596-1606), Baasrode, 1925.

[5] See KNUTTEL, *loc. cit.*, 50 *seq.* *Cf. Archief v.d. geschied. v.h. aartbisd. Utrecht*, XXII., 406 *seq.*

Clement VIII., who prayed daily for the Dutch Catholics,[1] during his last years entertained the hope, on the conclusion of an armistice between the Archduke Albert and the revolted provinces, of obtaining facilities for Catholic worship there. He urgently begged the Archduke and his pious consort, Isabella, not to separate the cause of God from their own, for otherwise they would have reason to fear lest God should abandon them.[2]

The pontificate of Clement VIII. was destined to be of great importance for the situation in England, for the change which had been inaugurated by Sixtus V. attained to its full development under the Aldobrandini Pope. The sacking of Cadiz by the English in 1596, and the failure of the second Spanish Armada in 1597, manifested to the whole world the weakness of the vast Spanish empire. Under Clement VIII. the Papacy definitely and finally renounced all hopes of seeing the ancient religion restored in England by means of Spanish intervention or that of any other foreign power. A return to former religious conditions, or at least to liberty of conscience, could at the utmost be looked for by the Holy See from the accession to the throne of some prince who was not hostile to the Catholics ; in the meantime it limited itself henceforward to an attempt to save and maintain by the peaceful means of preaching and instruction what still remained to be saved and preserved.[3] The separation from Spain was further facilitated

[1] See the *brief to "Carolus dux Croy et Areschotii" of March 31, 1599 ; Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 198, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, n. 199 a similar *letter to Philippe de Croy, of the same date.

[2] See the *brief to Albert and Isabella, January 8, 1600, Arm. 44, n. 4, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] "With regard to these (the heretics) the Curia, since Clement VIII. had ascended the throne, had changed its policy ; it was no longer by force, but by negotiations with heretical sovereigns, and missions to the apostate peoples, that it hoped to overcome heresy." F. HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV. (1913) ; 307 *seq.* So too, POLLEN in *The Month*, XCIV. (1899), 241 ; COUZARD, Une ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV., septembre 1601–juin 1605 (Philippe de Béthune), Paris, 1901, 103 *seq.*

by the fact that after the conversion of Henry IV. the world-wide dominion of Charles V. steadily lost its name as the one Catholic power, and found a serious rival in France.

The changed attitude of the Pope was not immediately grasped and followed by the Catholics in England of Spanish sympathies. It was only gradually, and not without a temporary disagreement among the supporters of the ancient religion, that this change of front could be brought about. During the first years of the pontificate of Clement VIII. the Spanish claims to the succession to the English throne were still ardently maintained, especially by the Jesuit, Robert Persons.[1] It may perhaps be looked upon as a further sign of such sentiments that just at that time there sprang up on Spanish soil, and with the consent of Clement VIII. a number of colleges which were to be devoted to the training of English priests.

In 1589, a few months after the great disaster of the first armada, Persons, who displayed unwearied courage, went to Spain in order to obtain from Philip II., among other things, a larger subsidy for the seminary at Douai. Soon after this it seemed to him to be more advantageous to establish a new college in Spain itself after the model of that at Douai. A small party of six students was at once transferred from Allen's great seminary to Valladolid, while many generous benefactors were found in Spain, who gave abundant alms to the new institute. Philip II. too, who had been described as its "founder" by Clement VIII. in his bull of confirmation of November 3rd, 1592,[2] assigned to it an annual revenue of 1600 crowns, and on the occasion of a visit to the seminary was profoundly moved at the sight of these youths who had left their country for the sake of the faith, in order to face a life of suffering and persecution; he thereupon increased his annual contribution, and took all the debts of the seminary

According to Couzard (*ibid.*) the Pope in this was following the advice of Henry IV.

[1] For Persons *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 388 *seqq.*

[2] Bull. X., 630; *Synopsis*, 170.

upon his own shoulders. In 1592 the establishment had 75 students, though in 1598 there were only 53, the first three priests being sent to England in 1593.[1] English seminaries were also established by Persons at Seville[2] and Madrid,[3] which, however, did not prosper very much. A special position among the English foundations in the Peninsula was held by the seminary at Lisbon, which was placed in the charge of secular priests and of the vicar apostolic of England. It owed its origin to Nicholas Ashton, who in the time of Queen Elizabeth had the care of the English at Lisbon, but was only endowed with sufficient revenues in 1629 by the Portuguese, Pedro Coutinho.[4]

Even more important than the above-mentioned establishments, which all devoted themselves to the teaching of theology, was another foundation of Persons in Flanders. The English Catholics were in need of a school for the teaching of the classics and preparation for theology. Therefore in 1582 Persons founded such a school at Eu in Normandy, which at the end of 1592 was transferred to Saint-Omer, after the murder of its benefactor, the Duke of Guise. In 1595 the number of students was only 38, but in 1601 had risen to

[1] *Bellesheim*, Kard. Allen, 237-244, 289-291 (letters of recommendation of the Benedictine abbot Alphonsus and the nuncio Caetani, September 10 and November 6, 1596).

[2] *Ibid.*, 244. Bull of confirmation by Clement VIII., May 15, 1594. Bull., X., 139, *Synopsis*, 183. A *brief of February 13, 1593, to the Cardinal of Seville "founder of the college" in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 221, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] BELLESHEIM, Allen, 248. By a pontifical decree of July 7, 1599, to Cardinals Caetani and Borghese, the internal scholastic organization, which had been adopted for the English College in Rome, was declared obligatory for the other English institutes (Bull., X., 521). An ordinance of September 18, 1597 (*ibid.*, 375) removed certain abuses which had arisen in consequence of the title of doctor being attained by the English students.

[4] *Ibid.*, 250; W. CROFT, Historical account of Lisbon College, London, 1902; BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-pol. Bl.*, CXXXI. (1903), 785 *seqq.*

100, and to 120 in the following year. Philip II. granted it an annual subsidy of 1920 ducats. At first only those pupils were taken who wished to devote themselves to the priesthood, but this restriction was afterwards abandoned, so that Saint-Omer became a place of education for the English Catholic aristocracy, and in this way did an important work.[1] The largest of these establishments were witnesses to numerous conversions among the English Protestants,[2] while they were a support and centre for the Catholics.

All these establishments represented steps and attempts to place the future of the Church in England upon a secure basis. In other ways too Clement VIII. stood for a new era for the Catholics in the British Isles, in that they now attempted to abandon their indefinite position, which in course of time had become intolerable, and to establish a secure state of affairs. They were also impelled to these new methods by the death of Cardinal Allen, which took place on October 16th, 1594.[3]

Allen's piety, learning, gentleness and moderation were realized by men in Rome, who nevertheless had but a faint conception of his real powers.[4] But Allen, as Clement VIII

[1] This still survives in the great Jesuit college at Stonyhurst near Blackburn. *Cf.* L. WILLAERT in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, October, 1905, 745-758; O. BLED, Les Jésuites anglais à Saint-Omer. Difficultés avec le magistrat à l'occasion de leur premier établissement, Saint-Omer, 1890; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 251-264, 291 *seq.* (Report of the bishop of Saint-Omer, 1612), 292-294. (Report of the nuncio at Brussels Bentivoglio October 18, 1609, of the welcome given him at the college). LECHAT, 215 *seqq.*; MEYER, 148. For the dangers to which the students were exposed when they went to the Spanish seminaries *cf.* BEDE CAMM, O.S.B. in *The Month*, XCI. (1898), 375 *seqq.*; XCII. (1898), 164-177; STEVENSON, *ibid.*, 1879; II., 535; 1880, I., 44, 392; II., 395. Description of life at the college, *ibid.*, XCIV. (1899), 167-170.

[2] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 239 *seq.*, 242, 246, 254.

[3] For his death see BELLESHEIM, 199 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of October 19, 1594: On Sunday [October 17] Allen died "santamente col giuditio retto fin all'ultimo sospiro, lascia nome di religiosissimo altretanto dotto, esemplare, da bene,

informed the Archduke Ernest, was not only a "jewel" of Catholic England, but had been, as the Pope justly added, the man who had kept the English Catholics united, and one whose death had deprived his fellow-countrymen of a strong support.[1] He was indeed a man "as it were made for the salvation of England," and the centre round which the English Catholics gravitated both at home and abroad[2]; "our Moses" as the Jesuit, Holt, called him.[3] All turned their eyes to him as to a father and venerated master, and he had the gift of communicating to others his unswerving courage, and his unhesitating confidence in God, and of preventing the worst forms of discord among the Catholics of his country.

Thus, so long as he was alive, the English clergy did not feel the lack of a leader armed with episcopal authority and jurisdiction.[4] Among the Catholic priests in England, who had gradually become more numerous, there existed a relationship of subordination or superiority only in so far as they voluntarily accepted advice and instruction from men of greater spirituality. Thus it came about that the secular priests took their instructions from the Jesuit Persons, and the Jesuits from Allen.

The result of this uncertain state of affairs was that everything seemed to fall to pieces when death snatched away the

dolce et di altre belle parti, ma di leggiera armatura, et povero di partito et di consiglio, senza havere mai nociuto a veruno." Urb. lat. 1062, p. 608, Vatican Library.

[1] *Letter of October 22, 1594, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 337, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the expressions in BELLESHEIM, Allen, iii.

[3] POLLEN in *The Month*, C. (1902), 179.

[4] In 1606 the Spanish ambassador wrote of 160 priests in England. Other information at that time ranges between 400 and 900 (WILLAERT in the *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, VI. [1905], 569 *seq.*). A report of March 9, 1600, maintains that more masses were said and more frequent sacraments received than in Spain (*ibid.*, 569). In 1607 it was said that in Holy Week 600 Catholics received the sacraments at the house of the ambassador in London (*ibid.*, 570). In 1584 Persons wrote of 300 priests in England (FOLEY, I., 634).

man who had been their rallying point. Many now thought of asking Clement VIII. to give them a new "Cardinal of England." But where was the man to be found who could take the place of Allen? The Scottish party turned their thoughts to Owen Lewis, who, after he had been summoned to Rome by the Pope, had had a share in the foundation of the English College, had then become vicar-general of Charles Borromeo, and finally Bishop of Cassano.[1] The Spanish party among the exiles, on the other hand, asked for Persons The priests and seminarists took up his cause eagerly, and letters of recommendation were even obtained from Alessandro Farnese and others in high places, which paved the way for the English Jesuit with the Pope and the Cardinals. A certain Dr. Worthington collected signatures in his favour, while Philip II. and the Protector of the English nation seemed to have been won over to his cause. Persons, however, who by the rules of his Order could neither aspire to the purple nor accept it voluntarily, and who did not wish to become a Cardinal, recommended for the position the distinguished Thomas Stapleton, who, from the summer of 1596 onwards was actually invited by the Pope three times to come to Rome.

The struggle then became acute, especially between the supporters of Lewis and Persons, until at last the death of Lewis, on October 14th, 1595, and the exclusion of Persons by Clement VIII. put an end to the disgraceful disputes. In May, 1597, Persons himself had come to the conclusion that there was no one who could replace Allen, and that it was better for England to have no Cardinal at all than one who was not fitted.[2] After this the disputes among the exiles

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 381.

[2] LECHAT, 177-180; POLLEN in *The Month*, C. (1902), 180; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 202-206. A *brief to Stapleton of December 2, 1595 (thanking him for sending his "Antidota"). In Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 338, Papal Secret Archives. On January 29 Giulio Cesare Foresto *wrote to Mantua that he expected ere long the appointment of an English Cardinal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

from England, between the "Spaniards" and the "Scots" came to an end as far as this question was concerned, but only to be rekindled with even greater violence on other matters.

The Scottish group among the English exiles had been in existence from about 1580 onwards, and had at first been limited to France, which was ill-disposed towards Spain. It was only when their leaders, Mary Stuart's agents, Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan, removed in 1588 to Flanders, that the Low Countries became the principal focus of the disputes.[1] Their followers called themselves the "party of the laity and aristocracy," and spoke of their opponents as the party of the priests or of the Jesuits. As early as 1581 Allen had had to act as peacemaker between Persons and William Tresham, who declared that it was unworthy of a man of noble birth to be guided in matters of politics by priests.[2] At first the disagreement between the two parties did not seem to be insuperable: the efforts of Allen at anyrate brought about a rapprochement, though Paget and Morgan continued to receive annual subsidies from the Spaniards.[3] But Allen himself, who was Spanish in his sympathies, became a subject of dispute, and from the first the "Scots" worked strongly against his appointment as Cardinal, and sought at anyrate to oppose to him in the person of Owen Lewis, who belonged to their party, a rival in the College of Cardinals; the "Spaniards" replied by accusing Paget and Morgan of having betrayed Mary Stuart, and of having brought about her death. It was a fact that these two, by their impetuous thoughtlessness, had given assistance to the English government against the unhappy Queen of Scots[4]; it is also certain that Paget had on several occasions taken steps to secure the favour of Elizabeth.[5] In this violent dispute the Scottish party lost ground all along the line, and Allen and Lewis drew

[1] LECHAT, 157 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 164 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 158.
[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXII, of this work, p. 12.
[5] LECHAT, 158.

up a joint letter in which[1] they declared before the world that they were sincere friends and disclaimed all rivalry; in February, 1590, Morgan was arrested by Farnese and was banished from Flanders in 1592; a search of his house had revealed the fact that he was conspiring against Farnese, in order to substitute for him the Duke of Savoy.[2] Moreover, Allen himself, in spite of his moderation, had expressly asked Farnese in 1590 to banish that disturber of the peace, Morgan.[3]

After the death of the Cardinal of England the attacks of the Scottish party were directed above all against the Jesuits, because they looked upon them as the most ardent champions of the Spaniards. Persons had given grounds for this opinion by publishing, a short time before Allen's death, a work defending the Spanish rights to the English throne.[4] The Jesuits were in every way held in high esteem by the Spanish government in Flanders; Persons could be said to be the adviser of Philip II. in all English questions, while his confrère William Holt was entrusted with the administration of the Spanish subsidies to the English exiles in the Low Countries. Soon the dispute became even more embittered, and the most incredible accusations were put forward. Denunciations were made on all sides, and an attempt was made to obtain from the government and from the General of the Jesuits the removal from the Low Countries of their hated adversaries.[5] The bitter dispute reached its climax in a denunciation of the Jesuit Holt, which was presented in 1597 to the Archduke Albert, the governor of the Low Countries. In thirty-six articles he was accused of attempts upon the honour, the property, the liberty and even the lives of his adversaries! By the order of the Archduke, the vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Belgium, Oliver Manaraeus, together with John Baptist Taxis, who did his best in the cause of peace and

[1] Of May 6, 1591, *ibid.*, 162.
[2] *Ibid.*, 162-164.
[3] May 4, 1590, *ibid.*, 163.
[4] See *infra*, p. 43.
[5] LECHAT, 182 *seqq.*

reconciliation, found himself obliged to devote his attention, much against his will, to an examination of the accusations. The verdict of these two was in favour of Holt, and this should have put an end to this lamentable affair. But it was now Holt's turn to demand a discussion of the accusations before the courts, and the excitement only died down when in 1598 Holt was summoned to Spain by the superiors of the Order there, and died there in the following year.[1] One of the principal reasons for Holt's obstinacy lay in his friendship for Hugh Owen, one of the most devoted adherents of Spain among the English in Flanders, for he was unwilling to leave his friend alone to carry on the struggle against the English nobles. Things went so far that, as it would seem, to the great displeasure of Manaraeus, some of these nobles left the Low Countries.[2] The bitterness of the dispute is shown by the accusations which William Gifford, Dean of Lille, and later on a Benedictine and Archbishop of Rheims, who was usually a man of great moderation, made against the Jesuits; these included even homicide, simony, theft, arrogance and ambition.[3] Gifford for his part withdrew these and asked for pardon,[4] but then the Jesuits committed the error of publishing the withdrawal far and wide.[5]

The agitation against the Jesuits was not limited to the Low Countries. Their prestige, which had reached its height under Gregory XIII., had after that much declined throughout Europe.[6] They were driven out of Paris, while in Madrid they found adversaries in the Duke of Lerma and the Papal nuncio Malvasia. Even more to their disadvantage was the

[1] *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 189.

[3] POLLEN in *The Month*, XCIV. (1899), 246.

[4] Letter of the nuncio in Flanders, September 26, 1598, *ibid.*, 236; LECHAT, 192 *seqq.*

[5] LECHAT, 113.

[6] For this *cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 235-248. For the cause of the change of opinion on account of mistakes made by the Jesuits, *ibid.*, 242 *seqq.*; for Persons in particular 244 *seqq.*; for Creswell in Spain 349 *seqq.*

fact that the Pope himself was not well disposed towards them. It is true that Clement VIII. was convinced that the reconstruction and consolidation of the Catholic religion must be based above all on the education of youth, and he therefore favoured the Jesuit colleges, but at the same time he maintained an attitude of coldness towards the Order. His modifications of the constitutions of the Society of Jesus, even though they were only concerned with matters of secondary importance,[1] and his attitude towards the dispute concerning the doctrine of grace, made this very clear.[2] At times he was glad to see his advisers among the Jesuits anywhere else than in Rome; thus Persons was allowed to recuperate his strength at Naples, Bellarmine was made Archbishop of Capua, and the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, was often threatened with a similar promotion.[3] In Spain the Pope's dislike involved certain Jesuits of Alcalà in a severe experience of the prisons of the Inquisition.[4] The marginal notes which he added at that time to the reports of the Spanish nunciature, speak of the "pride and arrogance of those Spaniards who devise new and dangerous doctrines" and of the "need for the public humiliation of such people"; when the confessor of the Queen of Spain complained to the nuncio of the harm that was being done to his Order on all sides by unfounded attacks, Clement VIII. added the terse marginal note: "God resists the proud."[5]

Naturally such opinions in the most exalted ecclesiastical circles had its influence in the most distant places. The students of the English College in Rome once more complained of their masters and professors; they were discontented at not receiving before their return to England the same spiritual privileges as were enjoyed by the Jesuits; they were

[1] *Cf. infra*, Chapter V., pp. 167-184,

[2] *Cf. infra*, Chapter IX,

[3] *Cf. infra*, Chapter V.

[4] For all this see POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 237 *seqq.*, and *infra*, Chapter V,, pp, 167 *seqq*,

[5] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 238 *seqq.*

embittered by the book concerning the succession to the throne, which was generally attributed to Persons; as they had little love for the Spaniards, they rejoiced at their ill-success, and refused to remove their hats in the presence of the Spanish ambassador.[1] Things went so far that Aquaviva begged the Pope to release the Order from the direction of the English College.[2] A visitation by Cardinal Sega restored peace, at anyrate as far as external appearances went, though only with difficulty, but it was only in 1597, when Persons returned from Spain to Rome, that he was able, by his prudence and moderation, to win over the hearts of the students, who, under his influence, were completely changed in a few days.[3]

The seminaries in Spain were not at that time in a state to experience any such disturbances, but in 1603 the storm burst out there as well. When a disobedient student at the English College at Valladolid was being punished, all his school-fellows ran to his assistance armed with sticks. Out of seventy-one seminarists twenty-five left the college to enter a Benedictine monastery, while it became difficult for a time to provide bread for those who remained, as the benefactors, who had hitherto supported the college, stopped their donations when they heard of the occurrence. A visitation by the Jesuit, Luis de la Puente, and a decree of the Roman Inquisition on December 10th, 1608, restored peace, which had already been inaugurated by pacificatory negotiations between the two Orders. The prudent moderation of Persons also contributed greatly in Spain to the cessation of hostilities.[4]

A principal reason for the discontent among the students was the fact that neither the Spaniards nor the Italians understood the English character, and therefore did not know

[1] Henry Tichborne to Th. Darbyshire, February 2, 1598, in *Foley*, III., 723.

[2] Pollen in *The Month*, C. (1902), 182; Iuvencius, I., 13, n. 13.

[3] Pollen in *The Month*, C. (1902), 183. For the visitation by Sega see Gasquet, English College, 93.

[4] B. Camm, O.S.B. in *The Month*, XCII. (1898), 364-377; Pollen, *loc. cit.*, XCIV. (1899), 233-248, 348-365.

how to deal with them. When, by Allen's advice, those in Rome were given Englishmen as rectors, the rebellion ceased as though by magic.[1] The exasperation of the youths in Rome may also have been fostered by the hostile feelings towards the Jesuits which prevailed in Flanders, for as early as the year 1597 the Scottish party in the Low Countries was seeking to obtain from the Pope the recall of the Jesuits from England and from the seminaries on the continent.[2] The college at Douai, however, took no part in these attempts; on the contrary, Allen's successor, Dr. Barrett, went to Rome on purpose to support the continuance of the Jesuits as directors of the seminary in Rome. In September, 1596, Clement VIII. spoke to him of the complaints which had reached him from the Low Countries, and especially of the supposed tyranny and ambition of Holt. Barrett described all this as mere suspicion and jealousy. A document which was circulated in Flanders, and to which were attached many signatures, begged the Pope to pay no attention to the calumnies against the Jesuits, or at anyrate to have the matter inquired into. Barrett was not satisfied at the want of circumspection exercised in obtaining these signatures, but all the same attached his own name to a similar petition which came from the college at Douai.[3]

An even greater disturbance than that of the bitter quarrels in Flanders was occasioned by similar events on English soil, when in the so-called "stirs of Wisbech"[4] disputes broke out between the Jesuits and secular clergy, which contained the germs of even more serious occurrences.

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, XCIV. (1899), 353 *seqq.*, and C. (1902), 182.

[2] LECHAT, 195.

[3] *Ibid.*, 185 *seqq.*

[4] POLLEN The stirs of Wisbech in *The Month* CXX. (1912) 33–48 (this was the first work written independently of the biassed work of Bagshaw, and on the basis of the papers in the Westminster Archives). Description of Wisbech Castle in FOLEY II. (Ser. 4) 592 *seq.* *Cf.* IUVENCIUS, P.V. tom. post. I., 13, n. 14.

Ever since 1579 the English government had kept shut up in the Castle of Wisbech a number of priests and laymen, whom it was unwilling either to set at liberty or to put to death. At first their imprisonment was very severe, but after the appointment of a new director of prisons in 1593, it assumed a character of leniency quite unusual in England in the case of Catholic priests. The prisoners were no longer supervised at their common meals, and were allowed to visit each other, and to form a library of books which they were even able to lend to other priests outside ; they were also able to receive visits and to accept presents from their visitors. Some Catholics made long journeys in order to be able to breathe once more a purely Catholic atmosphere, as well as to seek advice and receive the sacraments. After one such visit the Jesuit Henry Garnet wrote to the "Confessors of Wisbech" that he had not enjoyed such consolation for seven years, and that during the time he had passed in their midst he had felt as though he were in heaven.

After about two years of this common and comparatively free existence, the disadvantages of this liberty began to make themselves felt. Among the thirty-three prisoners there were certain men of another way of thinking, and not all of them had that intellectual greatness which for the most part distinguished the "Confessors of Wisbech." Three of them later on apostatized, while others, while they were still in the seminaries, had given proof of having intractable and difficult characters. It may be supposed that all of them had the energy and independence which was called for by the life of a missionary in England, but an imprisonment of so many years with the same companions also produced in all of them an abnormal state of tension and nerves. Thus at their meals in common violent disputes broke out ; to those who by their natural disposition and their training were inclined to hold a strict idea of the sacerdotal life it seemed that a too great liberty of thought was creeping in, and they feared, rightly or wrongly, that this might lead in time to real scandal.

This tendency to greater freedom and the tendency to greater strictness found their champions among the prisoners

in two men of great intellect, the Jesuit William Weston and the secular priest Christopher Bagshaw. The latter, during his period of study at Oxford, Rheims and Rome, had shown himself to be possessed of a spirit of turbulence, a defect which robbed all his other good qualities of their efficacy. Weston was an austere ascetic, very severe towards himself, and not over lenient with others. After Christmas, 1594, he began to withdraw from the common meetings, and took his meals in his own room.[1] This example was followed by the majority of his fellow-prisoners, and twenty of them decided upon leading a kind of community life, for which they drew up twenty-two rules and asked Weston to be their superior. Weston declared his readiness to accept this, provided his superior, Henry Garnet, gave his consent. Garnet expressed his agreement with this plan of reform, but did not wish Weston to have the title or position of superior, nor to exercise any power of punishment ; all that he might do in the name of his nineteen companions and as their representative, was to settle certain rules. From that time onward the separation and division became more and more marked, in spite of the remonstrances of Bagshaw and his followers, and the attempt to remove the disunion by calling in a stranger to arbitrate only made the division more acute. At last on November 6th, 1595, a plan of reconciliation, which was modified more than twenty times, was accepted, and those who had hitherto been divided, embraced each other with tears and an emotion which rendered them incapable of speech. A treasurer and a steward were chosen ; fines were fixed for any excess which might lead to a renewed rupture, and a general common rule was agreed upon, even by those who had hitherto been

[1] IUVENCIUS (*loc. cit.* p. 219) says : "Mota rixa, catholicus nescio quis [Thomas Bluet] sacerdotem palam graviterque percusserat. Hunc sancita per canones sacros poena teneri, communique consortio, donec absolveretur arcendum sentiebant ceteri praesertim P. Guillelmus Westonus . . . Dissensit acriter Bagshaus et alii, principia pauci, mox plures, etc." When the majority had terminated their confederation "osores pacis primo Westonum et alios coniunctos e communi triclinis eiecere, etc."

Weston's opponents, by which act the need for some sort of rule was recognized.

In spite of certain menaces this concord lasted until the beginning of 1597, when there appeared at Wisbech, Robert Fisher, who rekindled the flames. Seven of the prisoners, who were themselves divided into parties, again withdrew from the common meals, and from that moment men took sides with one party or the other even beyond the confines of England. For the disputants it was now no longer a case of personal sympathies or antipathies, nor a question of the Jesuit Weston and his supposed arrogance, but it became a quarrel between the secular clergy and the Jesuits. In the course of the years a great deal of hatred and jealousy of the latter had rightly or wrongly grown up; their labours and their successes were looked upon as a usurpation of the rights of the secular clergy, and as an unwarranted attack upon their good name. All this now became a matter of open discussion. The Jesuits, it was said, were making their way into everything; in their eyes nothing was sacred, orthodox or lawful if it did not come from themselves; they tried to seize upon donations and alms for themselves alone; in a word, they aimed at the suppression and subjection of the secular clergy.[1] These accusations were reproduced in many pamphlets, some of which were printed and found their way as far as Rome.[2]

The ill-feeling against the Jesuits found its strongest expression in the so-called "archpriest controversy."[3]

[1] MEYER, England, 348.

[2] On October 31, 1597, Clement VIII. sent "Anglis catholicis" a *brief highly praising their perseverance in the faith, but at the same time exhorting them to the concord against which Satan was striving in a special way, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 234, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] THOMAS GRAVES LAW, The Archpriest Controversy. Documents relating to the dissensions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, 1597, 1602, Vol. 1–2, Edinburgh, 1896, 1898. MEYER, 351–396; JOHN GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIX. (1897), 37–53; BELLESHEIM in *Katholik*, 1902, II., 481–495.

That the Catholics of England had need of a leader was made clear to everyone by the disturbances which occurred after the death of Allen, while the impossibility of appointing a new English Cardinal, who should direct the affairs of his native land from Rome, lent strength to the proposal, so favourable for England, to set up a new centre of Catholic life on English soil.

In order to put an end, once and for all, to so uncertain a state of affairs, Persons brought all his influence to bear in favour of the appointment of bishops, and as a result of his representations Cardinal Caetani, the Protector of England, spoke to the Pope and the Cardinals of the Inquisition, who had been instructed to discuss the matter. But Clement VIII. refused to accept this view.[1] Persons had asked to have for his country an archbishop with his see in Flanders, who was to be assisted by a bishop living on English soil.[2] Another suggestion was put forward by the secular clergy. They sought before all things to increase their own influence, and especially over the Jseuits, by forming themselves into an association, and proposing the election of one of their number as bishop. The money that was received in alms and from foundations for the support of the English clergy was to be held by a duly appointed administration, and equitably divided, so that none should go in want of necessaries. So far each priest had been a little Pope, and there was no one who could demand an account, or make an admonition, and this state of affairs was all the more deplorable because in recent years there had come to England many priests "who were beardless youths of twenty-four," yet had to go there as priests in lay dress, to live in private houses among men and women, and thus without any of those forms of control, which elsewhere of themselves restrained priests from too great freedom of conduct.[3]

[1] Array to Blackwell, in LAW, 120. *Cf.* GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 52. For the reasons why no bishop was appointed for England, *cf.* IUVENCIUS, I., 13, n. 30.

[2] POLLEN in *The Month*, C. (1902), 183.

[3] MEYER, England, 351, 354. The youth of so many of the

But the authority possessed by a bishop in matters of jurisdiction and orders exposed anyone who had it in the England of those days to death, or at anyrate to a life of imprisonment and concealment. It was probably for this reason that Clement VIII. was unwilling to appoint a bishop for England,[1] and for ten years the nuncios in Flanders were ordered to oppose any suggestions of this kind.[2] An attempt was then made to satisfy the need in another way. Instead of the appointment, as Persons had desired, of an English archbishop in Flanders, the nuncio in Flanders was appointed as his representative by the Cardinal Protector of England, Caetani, with faculties to settle all juridical questions in England as well. Instead of a bishop on English soil, Caetani in 1598 appointed an archpriest, without episcopal consecration, in the person of George Blackwell.[3] English priests who had recently left the seminaries on the continent were to be subject to Douai, in Spain to the superiors they had had hitherto, and in Brussels to the nuncio.[4] The archpriest was given twelve priests as his counsellors; six of these were to be chosen by the Cardinal Protector, while the other six were to be appointed by Blackwell himself.

secular clergy and their youthful mistakes led to some extent to their dependence on the Jesuits, which was so bitterly resented. Some of the laity for example would have nothing to do with the seminary priests, unless they brought with them the recommendation of some Jesuit. Report of the visitation by Sega, in FOLEY, VI., 50.

[1] Array, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Perchè altre volte si è tentato di fargli [the archpriest] dare la dignità vescovile, sotto apparenti pretesti di maggior profitto della religione, non si resta di dire a lei che ciò non e stato giudicato espediente da questa Santa Sede, per ragionevolissime cause; onde se a lei ne fosse mossa nuova prattica, dovrà troncarla come negotio risoluto o rimetterlo a Roma." Instructions to the nuncio Gesualdo, October 23, 1615, in CAUCHIE-MAERE, 50 *seq. cf. ibid.*, 69, 93, the instructions of 1610 and 1635.

[3] According to Cardinal d'Ossat (Lettres, II., 390), the archpriest was sent by the advice (à la suggestion) of Persons.

[4] POLLEN, in *The Month*, C. (1902), 184.

The brief of appointment of March 7th, 1598, obviously contains allusions to the recent controversies. The reason why the office of archpriest was introduced, this states, was to promote peace and concord among the brethren, and especially with the Jesuits, who together with the other priests were labouring in the vineyard of the Lord. They had no supremacy over the secular priests, nor did they wish for it, and were therefore in no way an obstacle. The differences that had arisen, therefore, could only be attributed to the cunning and deceits of the infernal foe, who wished to destroy all that had been gained with so great labour, by making Catholics entertain and propagate feelings of jealousy against them.[1]

The same desire for harmony and the removal of all differences had also led to the choice of Blackwell as archpriest. He was a friend of the Jesuits, and the idea was perhaps entertained in Rome that if a friend of the Order was placed at the head of the secular clergy, this would guarantee the restoration and preservation of peace between the two bodies. But any such idea was greatly mistaken. It is true that the appointment of an archpriest was hailed with joy by the great majority of the about three hundred secular priests, but all the greater was the opposition of the minority, which, according to contemporary information, did not number, at anyrate at first, more than ten or twelve persons,[2] but which for that reason was all the more active. Legally, no attack was made upon the authority of the Jesuits over the priests in the seminaries, and any attempt to do so would have been in itself ridiculous, but it was feared that Persons, who was then all-powerful in Rome, had sent the complaisant Blackwell in order through him to govern indirectly the secular clergy, and to impose upon them his hated Spanish policy. This suspicion was increased by a passage in the instructions which were given to Blackwell together with his brief of appointment.

[1] MEYER, 356; IUVENCIUS, I., 13, n. 150.

[2] GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 42 *seq.*

The wish of the Pope, so the Cardinal Protector said, is that there should be the fullest concord between the Jesuits and the secular clergy in the kingdom, and as the superior of the Jesuits, by his experience of English affairs and the reputation which he enjoys among Catholics, can be of great help in all decisions to be made by the clergy, the archpriest must endeavour, in all questions of major importance, to ask for his advice and opinion.[1] A false interpretation saw in these words a formal order to follow in all matters of importance the advice of the superior of the Jesuits, Henry Garnet, so that, as that blusterer William Watson, put it, in future the Catholics would be dependent upon Blackwell, Blackwell on Garnet, Garnet on Persons, and Persons on the devil, who was the author of all the rebellions, treasons, homicides and disobediences which that cursed Jesuit had raised up against her majesty, her safety, her crown and her life.[2]

It was not all those who made up the minority who thought and spoke thus bitterly. There were among them priests of the greatest moderation and worthy of all respect, such as William Bishop, the future vicar-apostolic, Colleton, Charnock, Mush and Bluet. Some of the malcontents had suffered imprisonment, and two of them death, for their faith. But on the other hand, Watson was not the only one whose words and actions call for our attention. Bagshaw, who now, as formerly at Wisbech, took a prominent part, later on, in the conspiracy of the Gunpowder Plot, made denunciations to the government against his co-religionists; another, John Cecil, who was even entrusted with a mission to Rome, was only a tool in the hands of the English statesmen, whose duty it was to spy on the Catholics.[3] It was soon evident that even the reputable party among the minority held views on many subjects which were anything but Catholic.

Discontent against the new leader of the English Catholics led to a resolve to address complaints to Rome against the

[1] *Ibid.*, 50 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 50.
[3] *Ibid.*, 45, 46.

appointment of Blackwell, but from the first his opponents were guilty of an almost incredible mistake as to their motives and reasons for such a step. It was not only said that the appointment of the archpriest had been made by order of the Cardinal Protector, whereas such a measure required a Papal brief, but certain entirely Gallican assertions were made. It was stated that the English clergy had not been asked for their opinion before the appointment, and that this was a violation of an ancient English right; without the consent of the clergy and people, who must give their opinion in a free election, the appointment of Blackwell must be looked upon as null and void. Gallican views were also set forth in a little work by a certain John Bishop, which was printed in London about that time.[1]

The danger of such principles does not seem to have entered the minds of the malcontents, for towards the end of the summer of 1598 they sent William Bishop and Robert Charnock to Rome in order to win over the Pope to their side. The requests that they wished to lay before him privately were concerned with the appointment of a bishop for England, who was to be elected by a majority of the votes of the English clergy, and with the consent of the association of secular priests. The Pope was also to be asked to take away the English College in Rome from the Jesuits, and to make the publication of controversial writings against the queen and the English government dependent upon the approval of the ecclesiastical superiors.[2]

In the meantime the other party had naturally not remained idle. The superior of the Jesuits, Henry Garnet, also had recourse to Rome in a letter bearing the signatures of nineteen Jesuits and secular priests.[3] This asked the Pope to confirm the archpriest in his office and to address a severe admonition to the two appellants, and only to allow them to return to England if they completely changed their views.

[1] MEYER, 362.

[2] MEYER, 363.

[3] On October 30, 1598, *ibid.*, 364.

The two appellants gave yet further proof of their ingenuous confidence in the success of their undertaking when, in December, 1598, they knocked at the gates of the English College, in order to ask the hospitality of Persons, their most dangerous adversary. They very soon realized that they had found lodging in what was their prison. An order for their arrest from the Pope forbade them to leave the seminary, and in February, 1599, they had to appear before Cardinals Caetani and Borghese, the Protector and vice-Protector of England, and submit themselves to legal proceedings. With truly English tenacity Bishop set himself to defend before the Cardinals the plan for an association of priests, though later on (February 20th), he advised his friends in England to abandon this project. In April the sentence was delivered: all the requests of the appellants were rejected. Bishop was sent to live in Paris, and his colleague Charnock was sent to Lorraine; they were not to return to England, nor make their homeward journey together, nor communicate with each other in any way.[1] They had not succeeded in seeing the Pope, while a Papal brief of April 6th, 1599, which confirmed the dignity of the archpriest, removed all hopes of their obtaining from him a more favourable judgment than they had received from his representatives.

If the appellants did not wish to become open rebels, there remained no course open to them but to submit, which they accordingly did. By the summer of 1599 peace seemed to have been restored. "Thanks be to God," Persons wrote to Bishop at that time, "for now, owing to the wise measures taken by His Holiness, everything is systematized and in order."[2]

But the cure was not very deep, and secret agitations against the Jesuits still continued. The rancour against the Order now led two representatives of the extreme party to a fatal step: abandoned by the Pope, and filled with Gallican ideas they sought the support of the civil authorities. Watson

[1] *Ibid.*, 364 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid*, 366.

denounced them to the English government, and accused them before the King's Proctor of high treason, for having defended the Spanish succession. Charles Paget, Mary Stuart's former agent, got into personal touch with the English ambassador in Paris, and worked upon his feelings against the so greatly hated religious.[1]

The imprudence of Blackwell was the cause of the dispute breaking out in public. The archpriest was convinced that the malcontents were guilty of schism, and had incurred the penalties appointed by the canon law, and that they were therefore obliged to confess their fault and ask for absolution. The accused resisted this unjust supposition, and an opinion of the University of Paris, of May 3rd, 1600, was given in their favour. Blackwell, exceeding his powers, prohibited, under pain of an interdict, any sort of defence of this decision, but his adversaries paid no attention to his prohibition. Blackwell then forbade two of the clergy, who were among the eldest and most deserving, to exercise any of their sacerdotal functions. After this fresh abuse of power, the struggle broke out again all along the line.[2]

Feeling certain that this time they undoubtedly had right on their side, the adversaries of Blackwell had recourse once more to Rome, and a deed of accusation, of November 17th, 1600, summarized in an extremely objective form, and with the addition of proofs, all the accusations against the archpriest. This document was drawn up at the castle of Wisbech, and bore the signatures of thirty-three priests.[3]

While the reply of the Pope was being long awaited, an embittered literary war broke out in England, in which, even more than against the archpriest, the attacks were made upon the Jesuits, whose instrument and mouthpiece Blackwell was supposed to be. Blackwell had attempted to support his view as to the supposed schismatics by the help of a "Roman decision," that is to say by certain expressions of English

[1] *Ibid.*, 367.
[2] *Ibid.*, 368 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 371.

Jesuits,[1] one of whom, Thomas Lister, defended the view in an intemperate work, which was approved by the archpriest.[2] As Blackwell wrote on October 22nd, 1600, to Clement VIII., the Jesuits had protected him against the disturbers of the peace, and had stood by his side in his danger, both for attack and defence.[3] All the hatred of Persons and the Society of Jesus which had been accumulating in recent years now broke out in the form of numerous and violent polemical writings, which were almost equalled in the violence of their language by some of the replies of Persons.[4] This literary warfare was begun by a polemical work of Lister.

The goal at which the malcontents were aiming was the removal and recall of the Society of Jesus from England, and their quarrel with the Jesuits had gradually led them far away from those principles which hitherto had guided the attitude of the Catholics, especially towards the government. Was it necessary, so the appellants asked themselves, to attach such importance to the bull of excommunication of Pius V.? If the question was put to the martyrs: What would you do if the Pope were to send an Armada to conquer England? had it really been necessary to reply with such great caution, and by that exaggerated caution irritate and rouse the suspicions of the government? In any case was it not possible now to change their attitude, and seek for a reconciliation with the queen? "We ought to act towards her, our true and legitimate queen, and towards our country, very differently from the way adopted by so many Catholics, and above all by

[1] *Ibid.*, 368.

[2] Entitled "Adversus factiosos in Ecclesia," *ibid.*, 372.

[3] *Ibid.*, 370.

[4] It must be noted that Persons, at the same time, in letters not intended for publication, expressed himself in a conciliatory way towards his adversaries (GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 47 *seq.*). With regard to Lister, his superior, Garnet, wrote of him at the same time that he was composing his work against the schismatics, that he was suffering from mental over-excitement, which made him fear for his physical health (*ibid.*, 42, n. 1). The characteristic part of Persons' reply in MEYER, 373 *seq.*

the Jesuits," was the reply given to such questions in a work by Watson. Elizabeth, Watson insisted, had from the first treated the Catholics with kindness and favour; all good sense was on her side, and all the wrong on the side of the Catholics; if the Pope should give orders for the conferring of the crown on an enemy of the country, there would be no obligation to obey him; the bull of excommunication of Pius V., which John Bishop described as erroneous, was merely treated by Watson as surreptitious.[1]

The Jesuits formed a serious obstacle to any conclusion of peace on the basis of such opinions, and therefore the idea gained more and more ground among their adversaries of suggesting to the government that they should renounce their co-operation in England as the price of the restoration of peace and the toleration of the old religion. The laws that were still in force against the Catholics could be abrogated and changed into laws against the Jesuits.

The statesmen who governed England could not fail to rejoice that the internal quarrels of the Catholics should thus become more and more acute, and the appellants met with the greatest sympathy and ready support from them. One of the prisoners of Wisbech, the secular priest Thomas Bluet, was summoned in the summer of 1601 to present himself before the Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, to explain his views more fully; he declared that the Jesuits were a danger to the state, but that the secular clergy, on the contrary, were loyal subjects and were being unjustly persecuted.[2] Further negotiations with the royal councillors followed, and Bluet was even allowed to appear before Elizabeth herself to explain his views. Their complaisance went even further: although, according to the English law, an appeal to the Pope was looked upon as a crime deserving of the stake, Bluet even dared to present a petition that he and certain other secular priests might be allowed to go to Rome in support of the appeal already presented there, or better still to press the

[1] MEYER, 376.
[2] *Ibid.*, 377.

Pope for the recall of the Jesuits.[1] The government accepted this proposal; the prison doors were thrown open, and, furnished with English passports,[2] at the beginning of November, 1601, certain prisoners of state, who had been declared worthy of death, went to Rome in order to induce the Pope, who from every pulpit had been declared the greatest enemy of England, to enter into an alliance with England against Catholic priests. The ever astute Elizabeth even thought it well to allow a few words of adulation from her sovereign lips to come to his ears: "unlike Pius, Gregory and Sixtus, those warlike Popes" so she expressed herself to Bluet, "Clement, as his very name shows, should be a peaceful Pope."[3] So as to make the journey of Bluet and his companions less noticeable, they were "banished" from England, after they had been given the opportunity of collecting the necessary funds for their journey to Rome.[4]

When they arrived in Belgium the envoys learned that Rome had already (August 17th, 1601) given its decision on the dispute. Blackwell too had received a Papal brief, but he took the liberty of keeping this secret for several months,

[1] *Ibid.*, 378.

[2] Dated August, October and November, *ibid.*, 379, n.

[3] *Ibid.*, 379. Some further expressions of Elizabeth concerning "the Pope" (Clement VIII.?), on December 24, 1597, in PREVOST-PARADOL, Elizabeth et Henri IV., 170. He is supposed to have said to two English gentlemen that Elizabeth was indeed a heretic, but that she was in other respects the most competent sovereign in the world, and that he would have been more ready to place himself at her disposal than many other princes. On the other side the queen complained of the fables that were spread in Rome of her cruelty towards the Catholics; that she had never persecuted a Catholic, except in the case of persons who were a danger to the state. The differences between the various religious confessions were not so important after all, for there was but one Christ and one creed, and that everything else was a trifle, as to which it would be easy to come to an understanding, so long as the two principles of good will and courage existed in Christendom.

[4] LINGARD, VIII., 391.

until January, 1602, when the last of the polemical writings of Persons appeared in print.[1] This brief, which "unites in the happiest way the two-fold purpose of defending both justice and ecclesiastical discipline," rejected the appeal,[2] but admits the reasonableness of the appellants, in that it rejected the accusation of schism, and threatened with excommunication anyone that dared to make it. All further polemical writings on the matter were prohibited, as well as those which had appeared so far, among these especially the work of Lister. The brief contained a clear admonition both to Blackwell and his adversaries, and exhorted them to obedience.[3]

If the English envoys had only been sent in support of their appeal, they ought in that case to have returned home. The nuncio in Flanders, Frangipani, who informed them of the Papal brief, tried in every way to induce them to do so, but only succeeded in the case of one of their number.[4] Frangipani knew perfectly what it was that the appellants were seeking, for on August 22nd, 1602, he had already written to Rome to say that Elizabeth had given them permission to make the journey in order that she might be freed from the Jesuits.[5] But when the latter, in February, 1602, sent a commission of their own to Rome, which arrived there on April 9th,[6] it was only natural to fear a perpetuation of the quarrel, from which Frangipani feared the greatest evils for the Church in England.[7]

But all his attempts at pacification had no effect upon the appellants, who were still full of hope. "If I, poor worm

[1] *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

[2] So MEYER (381).

[3] *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 382. *Cf.* L. v. WASSENHOVEN, O. M. Frangipani, Nuntius van Flanderen, en de Engelsche Katholicken, 1596–1606, Baesrode, 1925, who gives a detailed account of the efforts of Frangipani to settle the disputes among the English Catholics, and to improve their position.

[5] *Ibid.*, 378, n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, 382.

[7] To Aldobrandini, March 8, 1602, *ibid.*, 382, n. 3.

that I am, have obtained so much from the queen," said Bluet later on in Rome,[1] "how much may not be effected by the prestige of His Holiness, added to the support of the King of France, for the relief of the English Catholics?"[2] The toleration of the Catholics was at that time a thing so greatly desired in Rome that there were some who could well believe that the sacrifice of the Jesuits would count for nothing.

Blackwell had laid his complaints against his adversaries before the Inquisition in 1601,[3] and this tribunal was given the charge of inquiring into the matter. The discussions began in April; some thought that they were safe in prophesying that they would be very protracted, as the Pope seemed determined to have the whole unpleasant affair gone into this time with all possible completeness.[4] But about a month later the rumour was spread that Clement VIII. had quickly settled the matter. Both the Pope and the Cardinals were weary of the affair, because the noisy complaints of the appellants had only been caused by unworthy motives, so that it only required the temporary absence of Persons to quiet the whole business.[5] The authors of the accusation had therefore to listen to words of severe admonition from the Pope, on account of the impatience with which they had attempted at all costs to relieve themselves of persecution, as well as on account of their relations with heretics and with Elizabeth, whom they wrongly looked upon as their queen, though she was excommunicated and dethroned, as well as on account of their hostility towards an Order which was recognized by the Church.[6] It is reported that as to this last charge the appellants refused altogether to admit in Rome that they had ever tried to get the Jesuits driven out,

[1] *Ibid.*, 387.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] MEYER, 372.

[4] "For His Holiness seemeth now to be inclined to have the matter ripped open from the bottom." Report from Rome, April 27, 1602, in FOLEY, I., 13.

[5] *Ibid.*, 14.

[6] MEYER, 384.

while they repudiated the writings of Watson and others.[1] They found a powerful supporter in the French ambassador in Rome, while the Spanish ambassador was opposed to them.[2]

But in England in the meantime matters were pursuing their course, and the appellant priests were filled with confidence in the success of their cause.[3] Bancroft, together with certain ministers of state, continued to give them support, while it was said of the queen herself that she gladly welcomed the development of the quarrel, so as thus to introduce discord into the College of Cardinals, to hold back the Pope from making any decision, and to deprive the Spaniards of any hope of finding their party strengthened by the English Catholics.[4] To the disgust expressed by the Puritans at her apparent rapprochement with the Catholics, the queen replied by increasing the persecution and by executing several priests.[5] The written attacks of the appellants on the Jesuits continued,[6] and they were not ashamed to present to the government a detailed list of the hiding places of their hated adversaries.[7] The Protestants watched with joy these disagreements among the Catholics, and the writings of the appellants found eager readers among them.[8]

[1] FOLEY, I., 14, 38. The Venetian ambassador in Rome, Francesco Vendramin, learned that the appellants wished to obtain liberty of conscience by the removal of the Jesuits. Reports of March 9 and 23, 1602, in BROWN, n. 1061, 1066.

[2] BROWN, n. 1061, 1066, 1078.

[3] Letter of the Jesuit Rivers to Persons, in FOLEY, 41.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23.

[5] *Ibid.*, 23, 30. A Puritan, who had attacked the Lord Treasurer, the Secretary of State, the Bishop of London, and others for their relations with the Catholics, was condemned to the pillory and the loss of his ears. The judge said to him that Bancroft had rendered his country a much greater service than anyone else by sowing cockle among the priests themselves. Letter of the Jesuit Richard Blount, February 14, 1602, *ibid.*, 18 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 37.

[7] FOLEY, I., 38.

[8] *Ibid.*, 39.

On July 20th, 1602, the long expected judgment of the Inquisition was delivered. By this the appellants were justified in so far that the accusation of schism was declared unfounded, while, for the sake of peace, the archpriest was forbidden to take counsel with the Jesuits about the affairs of his office, and Blackwell was advised to refer directly to the Pope or the Cardinal Protector. He was, moreover, warned not again to exceed his powers. But in all other matters the appellants met with no success. They must, when they return home, submit to the reproofs of the English Secretary of State for not having fulfilled their promises, and for not having obtained either the recall of the Jesuits or the removal of the archpriest. Moreover the Jesuits were left in possession of their English colleges on the continent, while all further negotiations with the heretics to the injury of other Catholics were prohibited. Anyone who disobeyed in this matter would *ipso facto* incur excommunication.[1]

Clement VIII. waited for another two months before he gave his final judgment on this unpleasant affair; in the meantime Persons attempted to obtain a mitigation for Blackwell and his followers, but in vain, and the brief to the archpriest, dated October 5th, 1602, was in all points in accordance with the suggestions of the Inquisition. In two respects it went even further: the faculties of the archpriest were more exactly defined, and he was compelled to appoint three of the appellants to the first three places among his counsellors, which should become vacant. The zeal and piety of the Jesuits were praised,[2] and thus scrupulous care was taken that none of the interested parties was wronged, and no one was given cause for complaint.

In the meantime Elizabeth was preparing a surprise for the appellants at home; this was her last edict against the Catholics.[3] This distinguished between the Jesuits and their

[1] MEYER, 385.

[2] *Ibid.*, 387; FOLEY I., 16–18.

[3] Of November 5 (15), 1602, in LINGARD, VIII., 391. *Cf.* ANDREAS PHILOPATER (Jos. Creswell, S.J.), Responsio ad edictum Elisabethae Reg. Angliae contra catholicos, Rome, 1593.

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adherents, and the secular clergy. The former were without exception declared guilty of high treason, because they aroused foreign princes against their country and placed the life of the queen in danger. The secular clergy were spoken of as anti-Jesuit and less perverse, but they too are disobedient and disloyal subjects, who, under a mask of conscience, steal the hearts of the simple and ingenuous people, and attach them to the Pope. The Jesuits and their adherents must therefore leave the country within thirty days, if they do not wish to incur the punishment of the law against Catholic priests. Other priests were allowed a period until January 1st, or at the latest, February 1st, 1603; if by that time they had made a formal act of obedience before the queen's court, they would then be proceeded against leniently. The edict complains in strong terms of the audacity of those priests who showed themselves in the streets in full daylight, and who brought the queen under the suspicion of intending to tolerate two religions in the country. God, who can read the hearts of men, knew well that she was not guilty of any such madness, and that none of her advisers had dared to lay any such proposal before her, which would not only disturb the peace of the Church, but would also throw the State into confusion.[1]

This edict had a two-fold purpose; it was in the first place to exonerate the queen in the eyes of the Protestants from the suspicion of favouring the Catholics, and in the second, it was to be a test as to how far the appellants had progressed along the mistaken course which they had adopted. It had seemed at first that the latter were in no hurry to obey the sentence of the Pope, yet the royal edict only brought one priest to make his act of submission, and induced another to refuse to accept the Papal briefs.[2] Even though there were still as before comings and goings of the appellants to the house of the Bishop of London, and Bluet was even lodged there for a time, there is no reason to see in this a formal act

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 392; MEYER, 389 *seq.*

[2] MEYER, 393.

of disobedience, because all relations with the heretics was not forbidden. Such conduct, however, was still a matter for suspicion, as was the fact that the appellants asked, through one of their representatives, for the support of the French government against the Jesuits; the English ambassador in Paris was kept closely informed of these negotiations. But something more than mere suspicion was aroused by the fact that polemical writings against the Jesuits still continued to appear in print.[1]

It was not, however, possible to be content with half measures if the malcontents intended to remain Catholic priests. On the other hand, the latter did not wish altogether to reject the hand held out to them by the government; if in an official edict a distinction had been drawn between priests and priests, this marked a step forward and held out a ray of hope. Moreover, a special tribunal had been set up, composed of the archbishop, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Lord Treasurer and others, who were to summon each priest before them and decide as to the question of his exile, and as to the manner and terms of its enforcement;[2] this too seemed to show a tendency to greater leniency, for it was left to the good-will of this tribunal to change, for example, the punishment of perpetual imprisonment for the lesser penalty of exile. Accordingly, on the last day before the expiration of the term allowed, thirteen priests assembled, not to make an act of submission to the government, but merely to declare their loyalty as subjects. The queen, it is stated in a work by William Bishop, has the same authority as her predecessors, and has the right to the same obedience as is paid by Catholic priests to Catholic sovereigns, and no one in this world can dispense them from this duty. In the case of a conspiracy, or of an invasion of England, even in the name of religion, they would be bound to take the part of the queen against all her enemies, and to make known to her all such attempts. The excommunication which might

[1] *Ibid.*, 391 *seq.*
[2] LINGARD, VIII., 392.

in the event be launched against her they judged to be invalid. In the Pope, however, they recognized their supreme ecclesiastical pastor and the successor of Peter. "Just as we are absolutely ready to shed our blood in the defence of her Majesty and our country, so too would we rather lose our lives than offend against the lawful authority of the Catholic Church of Christ."[1]

In spite of this last phrase there can be no mistaking the fact that these thirteen priests were placing themselves in a position with regard to the Pope, the danger of which was destined to become perfectly clear in the years to come. The attitude of the opposing party was far more logical and in conformity with Catholic principles. When the Papal decision of the question, which had been so long pending, was imminent, the superior of the Jesuits, Henry Garnet, issued a circular to his subjects, calling for a sincere and reverent obedience to the Pope, and exhorting them to peace and concord with the secular clergy.[2] At the very beginning of the dispute, on March 1st, 1598, Garnet had issued a similar document as well as a kind of declaration of loyalty, though this was not addressed to the government but to the whole of the clergy of England. "Eighteen years have gone by," he says in this, "since our Society came to your England to join you, who are labouring so generously in the vineyard of the Lord. During all this time we have experienced the greatest affection on your part towards us, and by the grace of God have lived in such a way as to take every care that every one of you shall receive the honour which is your due, and to assist every one of you with all zeal, rendering to you all the services that were in our power, and thus embracing each of you with all the fervour of charity of which the human soul is capable. Our consciences bear testimony to this, and I have no doubt that more than one of you will confirm it, and that none of you has any just ground for complaint of us. In saying this we do not venture to state that all that we have done has

[1] *Ibid.*, VIII., 393 *seq.*; MEYER, 393 *seq.*

[2] MEYER, 392.

been without blame, for we are but mortal men, and in a situation that is so full of mire, it may well be that perchance some dust has collected on our feet. But however weak and imperfect we may be, we at least desire to be better, and your affection has most certainly preserved us from the fault of having voluntarily offended against any one of you. In spite of all this there has come into our hands a passage from a memorial which was sent to the Holy Father, and which contains things than which nothing more unworthy could have come from your pen, and nothing more monstrous could have been brought against us, not even by the heretics, and this has been presented to His Holiness by two persons, the one a priest and the other a layman,[1] in the name of the English clergy. To you, therefore, priests of England, I have recourse, to you who are the nursery of our renascent Church, the ornament of the Catholic world, and the training ground of heroic martyrs. Tell us if these monstrous accusations really emanate from you."[2]

They had not, indeed, emanated from the majority of the secular clergy, and even if the minority, by reason of its polemical writings, seemed to be speaking for itself, there were not lacking the expressions of those who thought differently. Even at Wisbech, the true hot-bed of the hostility to the Jesuits, and from whence had come the denunciation of Blackwell in 1600, there gathered together in the following year a number of secular priests in order to give to their fellow labourers of the Society of Jesus a shining proof of their friendship. As at that time the old complaints of the arrogance of Weston had been sent even as far as Rome, these gave, in a collective letter to the Pope, a brilliant testimony to the accused.[3]

The minority of the secular clergy were guided by sound reason when they judged that they must not count upon

[1] This certainly is an allusion to Gifford and Paget.

[2] GERARD (*cf. supra*, p. 20, n. 3), 49.

[3] On September 29, 1601 ; extract in BARTOLI, Inghilterra, I., 5, c. 17, p. 227.

violent measures, or look to the foreign princes for any help for the old religion. In this, they coincided with the ideas of the Pope himself, and in 1596, in a memorial to Cardinal Aldobrandini, the nuncio in Flanders, Malvasia, expressed himself in the same sense.[1] The nuncio was of the opinion that it would be possible to bring pressure to bear upon Elizabeth through Henry IV.; it should be suggested to her that she should put an end to the fierce persecution of the Catholics, and, following the example of so many other princes, who tolerated various forms of religion in their countries, grant to them, at any rate in their own houses, if not in public, the right of Catholic worship. The queen would then have for the future loyal subjects in the English exiles in Flanders, who were now dependent upon the subsidies of Spain, which were hardly ever paid, and who often, in their misery, allowed themselves to be drawn into the most desperate undertakings; she would be set free from a thousand dangers, from the constant fear of conspiracies and treason, and from the endless expense of defending herself against the King of Spain.[2] Once she was set free from disturbances of the peace at home, the queen need no longer fear the slow-moving and distant foreign enemy, all the more so as jealousy of the mighty King of Spain would attract many allies to her side, once religious scruples no longer stood in the way.

Just as in this respect Malvasia partly forestalled the proposals of the appellants, so was it in another matter. The nuncio, who was not well disposed towards the Jesuits, wondered whether it would not be wise to withdraw them from England, at any rate for the time being, as they were especially hateful to and suspected by the queen. So as still

[1] The edict (with incomplete date) in BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 460--468. According to Cod. Ottob. 2510 the date is "11 gennaro, 1596." Vatican Library.

[2] Also the report of an English nobleman of the year 1595, in MEYER, 309, n. 1, says that almost all the exiles "data minima securitate religionis" and from the extreme need in which they found themselves, would leave the Spanish service and return to their country.

further to pacify Elizabeth, it might be well, under pain of ecclesiastical penalties, possibly even of excommunication, to forbid the returned exiles to make any attempts upon the crown, or to take any part in politics.[1]

Clement VIII. was less disposed to make such concessions,[2] and England was, and always remained for him, a child of sorrow. "Cut off though you are from us by space," he wrote on October 31st, 1597, to the English Catholics,[3] but united to us by faith and charity, we ever think of you and rejoice in your steadfastness. All Catholics look to you and thanks to you give praise to God. Persevere therefore in your expectation of an eternal reward."[4] The Pope never abandoned the hope that England would return to the ancient Church, and in the meantime made use of every opportunity of obtaining the mediation, little valuable though it was, of the Catholic princes, on behalf of the persecuted Catholics of England.[5]

[1] BELLESHEIM, Schottland, II., 468.

[2] *Cf. infra.*, pp. 59, 73.

[3] *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 234, Papal Secret Archives. The Pope received news from England through the agent, Giovanni degli Effetti, who had gone to England in the suite of the French ambassador, the Duke of Sully, in 1603. *Cf.* B. CAMM in *The Month*, LXXXVIII. (1896), 251–258.

[4] *Carte Strozz.* (September, 1595), I., 2, 248; *report of the Venetian ambassador, June 7, 1603. State Archives, Venice.

[5] Francesco Gonzaga wrote to Rudolph II. on July 31, 1601, concerning the joy of Clement VIII. at the mediation of the Emperor, State Archives, Vienna. A *request for the intercession of the King of Poland, August 23, 1594, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 94, p. 149, Papal Secret Archives: *to the Emperor, November 23, 1604, *ibid.*, t. 56, p. 339. The Pope also intervened many times on behalf of the English exiles in Flanders, *e.g.* on March 15, 1593, with Philip II., in order that they might be sent their monthly payments, which had not been paid to them for many months (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 260, *loc. cit.*); on January 20 and May 15, 1594, with the Archduke Ernest (*ibid.*, t. 39, n. 74, 196); On May 19, 1596, with Cardinal Archduke Albert (*ibid.*, t. 40, n. 39).

While Elizabeth, deaf to all entreaties, was working for the extermination of the old religion, the signs of her own approaching death became more and more clear. In vain she tried to deceive the world and herself as to the steady failure of her powers, and with the energy that characterized her this woman of more than sixty forced her broken body to take part in balls and hunting-parties,[1] but at the opening of Parliament in 1601, crushed under the weight and splendour of her royal attire, she fell in the arms of the knight who was standing near her ;[2] soon after this a visitor to the court found her worn to a skeleton and plunged in melancholy, an intolerable burden to herself and to those about her.[3]

But even now the queen remained obstinately determined to take no steps to settle the succession to the throne. Anxiety as to this assumed all the greater proportions in England as the whole question had been hopelessly complicated by the caprices of Henry VIII. The whole country had been forced to swear allegiance to Elizabeth when she was still an infant ; when she was three years old her own father had caused her to be declared by Parliament incapable of succeeding to the crown, and by his will he had left Mary Tudor heir to the throne. Mary Stuart, on the other hand, who was legally the next heir, had been completely passed over by Henry in his will ; after the death of Mary Tudor, she could no longer be considered the heir to the throne, because she was looked upon as the future Queen of France, and France was at war with England, and the act of Parliament which, after Elizabeth had ascended the throne, confirmed the will of Henry VIII., once more tacitly excluded her from the succession. From that moment Mary Stuart assumed the arms of England, and this tacit assertion of her rights never again fell into oblivion. After her death it was Mary's son, the King of Scots, to whom English statesmen for the most part turned their eyes, even

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 384 *seq.* *Cf.* the contemporary letters of the Jesuit Rivers in FOLEY 24, 47.

[2] LINGARD, VIII., 379.

[3] *Ibid.*, 394.

though, besides James, many other claimants to the crown were entitled to aspire to it.[1]

But besides the question of primogeniture, there was another motive which weighed heavily in the matter of the succession, according as men were Catholics or Protestants. Both parties were resolved not to give the crown to anyone who was not of their own faith. The hopes of the Catholics had been greatly raised once Henry IV. had made his abjuration, a thing which seemed to secure a preponderance in Europe to the Catholic powers. After 1591 it seemed that the Catholics were resolved to uphold the claims of Ferdinand Stanley, but he, who was Earl of Derby from 1593, definitely refused the honour, and an English exile who, it is said, had gone to him with such a proposal, was handed over by him to the government, and thus to execution, which took place on November 29th, 1593.[2]

Soon after this another step was taken by the Catholic party. Two years before (in 1591) the Puritan Peter Wentworth had dared not only to raise the question of the succession in Parliament, but also to publish a work on the subject; he had had to pay for his audacity by imprisonment in the Tower, from which he was only freed by his death in 1596.[3] The Jesuit Persons, who had not yet given up hopes of seeing ia Catholic ascend the English throne, and with him the old religion, also formed the idea of writing a work, asking for an impartial examination of the various claims to the succession, but actually emphasizing the rights of the royal house of Spain, in that Philip II. counted Edward III. among his ancestors,[4] and before the setting out of the Armada had asked

[1] *Cf.* POLLEN, The question of Queen Elizabeth's successor, in *The Month*, CI., (1903), 516–532, and especially the genealogical tree, *ibid.* 520.

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 522; LECHAT, 169 *seq.*

[3] Wentworth at first supported Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and later on, when in the Tower, James of Scotland, as the true heir. POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 523.

[4] See the genealogical tree, *ibid.*, 520. The claims of the daughter of Philip II., Isabella Clara Eugenia, are spoken on

Sixtus V. to nominate him as King of England.[1] The General of the Order, Aquaviva, learned of this intention with dismay; more far-seeing than his subject, he at once realized that Persons was exposing the whole Order to obvious peril for the sake of an impossible project. The author of the work could not remain unknown, he wrote to the English Jesuits, and if it was still possible to do so, its publication must be prevented.[2]

This advice of Aquaviva arrived too late, and even before he had received Persons' reply, what he had feared had taken place. Not all the Catholics took the part of Persons and Spain, and a party among the English exiles in the Low Countries, very hostile to the Jesuits and little scrupulous about their choice of means, had adopted the cause of James of Scotland as successor to the throne. One of their agents, Charles Paget, had been able to procure from an employé of the printers, for a sum of money, the manuscript of the book, while another member of the party, Dr. Gifford, recognized the handwriting; the greater part of the book was by Verstegan, with long additions and corrections by Persons.[3] Gifford at once laid accusations against the book before the Papal nuncio Malvasia, who reported it to Rome in accordance with Gifford's ideas; Paget denounced it to the English authorities. It would seem, however, that the government refused to take any steps, and the book, which appeared under the pseudonym of "Doleman,"[4] did no harm to anyone except its authors.

elsewhere. Essex wrote to James of Scotland that of the all-powerful party of the Earl of Nottingham, Cecil, Raleigh and Cobham would press their rights. *Cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 362, 269 *seq.*

[1] Letter to Olivares, February 11, 1587. *Cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 521.

[2] Letter to Persons, March 30, 1594, *ibid.*, 524; Persons' reply, June 4, 1594, *ibid.*

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 525 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 526, concerning the authors.

[4] A Conference about the next succession to the Throne, pub. by R. DOLEMAN, and generally entitled: The Book of Titles.

By this injudicious book, the authorship of which was only partly his, though he was entirely responsible for its publication, Persons showed that he was quite out of touch with his own country. The Spaniards had very few partisans in England, while the appearance that the Catholics were pledged to their interests gave their adversaries a welcome opportunity for attacking them. "I cannot see," wrote the Scottish Jesuit Crichton to Persons, "that this book has done the least good, though its disastrous consequences are manifest. The French have a proverb: You cannot catch a hare with a drum. The preachers are hammering incessantly upon this drum of yours, from the English as well as from the Scottish pulpits."[1]

But Persons did not even yet give up his hopes in Spain; when in June 1596 an English fleet had sacked Cadiz, Philip II. planned a new expedition against England. In the event of this proving successful Persons had obtained a promise from the King of Spain that he would leave England as an independent kingdom, or at any rate under the regency of his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia.[2] Persons even drew up a memorial[3] as to the manner in which Catholic reform should be effected in England, and went to Rome to get this accepted in accordance with Spanish ideas.

At the Vatican, however, at the beginning of April, 1597, he found a state of affairs that was but ill-disposed both to the Jesuits and the Spaniards; while France was making every effort to undermine Spanish influence. Nevertheless Persons' skill brought it about that at the end of May the Secretary of State wrote to the legate in France on the subject of the succession to the English throne in a sense that seemed

Summary of the contents in LINGARD, VIII., 332. For a partially new reprint of the book by the Puritans in 1647 *cf. The Month*, 1911, 270.

[1] POLLEN in *The Month*, CI., 528.

[2] Dispatch from the nuncio in Spain, November 6, 1596. *Cf.* POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 528 *seq.*

[3] "A memorial of the Reformation of England," *ibid.*, 529.

to reflect the ideas of Persons.[1] It is true that the suggestions were expressed in very vague terms; there was no mention of definite plans, and no word of agreements or subsidies. Evidently it was intended to await the result of the new Spanish Armada.

When in 1598 the last attack of Philip II. upon England met with an inglorious fate, Spanish prestige came to an end. It was immediately realized that the failure of the great undertaking of 1588 as well could not be attributed to chance, but to the weakness of the Spanish power. Philip II. now sought to make peace with France, and this was concluded on May 2nd, 1598, at Vervins.

Henceforward the Spanish preponderance passed to France, and even Persons began to lose his confidence in Philip II., and in the very same year, 1598, turned to Henry IV. for support for the English Catholics.[2] The question of who should obtain the crown of Elizabeth now seemed to depend upon the King of France. But Henry IV. was very far from wishing to put himself forward as the champion of the Catholic Church; rather was it his aim to subjugate the Hapsburgs by means of a league of the Protestant powers with France at their head.[3]

Once Henry IV. had decided in favour of James VI. his rights to the succession were assured, in spite of all acts of Parliament. During the years that followed they still continued to occupy themselves in Rome and Madrid with the important question of the succession to the English throne, but these negotiations were marked with but little clarity or energy.

In Rome Persons still remained the important personality in this matter, and a messenger from England with supposedly important instructions was sent on by the nuncio in Madrid to Rome, as the Pope wished to order the English Jesuit to take this matter into his own hands, notwithstanding the fact that the rules of his Order forbade him to interfere in any

[1] *Ibid.*, 530.

[2] *Ibid.*, 331 *seq.* *Cf.* MEYER, 383.

[3] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 577.

affairs of state.[1] On July 12th, 1600, the Pope sent three briefs to the nuncio in Flanders, which he was to keep until they could be made use of; one of these exhorted the English Catholics to concord, and the two others warned the archpriest and the nuncio not to support any claimant to the throne who was not a Catholic.[2] Certain letters attached to the briefs and containing instructions to the nuncio, were composed by Persons. In one letter to Persons on August 19th, 1600, the nuncio Frangipani remarked that the briefs in their indefinite form would probably make very little impression: it was necessary to decide upon a definite successor to the throne and give his name. Persons had a conversation with the Pope as to this on September 12th. It would seem that Rome would most willingly have supported the claims of the house of Farnese, which could be strengthened by a marriage with Arabella Stuart, the niece of Darnley.[3] It was necessary, however, to take Henry IV. into consideration, and the King of France replied to his Cardinal, Ossat, by whom these projects had been reported to him, with a definite refusal. He wrote that the party which the Pope and the Spaniards were supporting was so weak that the position of the English Catholics would become even worse should they have recourse to force. He added that if the Spaniards tried to obtain a footing in England, he would oppose them.[4]

In Spain the burning question of the succession to the English throne was a perpetual subject of discussion, and in

[1] *Ibid.*, 572.

[2] *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 190, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Cardinal d'Ossat to Henry IV., Nov. 26, 1601, Lettres, II., 501 *seqq.* The claims of Farnese were also maintained in the Low Countries; LECHAT, 167–169.

[4] BERGER DE XIVREY, Lettres missives de Henri IV., Vol. V., Paris, 1850, 512; POLLEN, *loc. cit.* For the position of Henry IV. *cf.* PRÉVOST-PARADOL, Elisabeth et Henri IV., 1595–1598, Paris, 1862; LAFFLEUR DE KERMAINGANT, L'ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise, 1598–1602, Paris, 1886; Mission de Christ. de Harlay, comte de Beaumont, 1602–1605, Paris, 1895.

two letters of May 11th and June 12th, 1600, the Spanish ambassador called attention to the importance of the matter. As a result of this the Spanish Privy Council decided that it would be well to put forward the claims of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, and to place 200,000 ducats at the disposal of the Spanish ambassador in Flanders. But the matter ended with this decision, and nothing further was done.[1]

It would seem, however, that the matter was dealt with a little more energetically two years later. Although the greater part of the English Catholics patiently bore the religious persecution, there were among them some who were not averse to violent measures, especially those who, like Lord Monteagle, Tresham, and Catesby, had either once been Protestants, or had been brought up among Protestants. All these names appear among those who had taken part in the rising of Essex, names which later on became so unfortunately celebrated in connexion with the Gunpowder Plot. At the beginning of 1602 Thomas Winter was sent by this group to Spain, to find out what could be hoped for from Spain in the case of a rebellion. The government at Madrid refused to allow itself to be drawn into making definite promises, though it would seem that it held out certain hopes to the envoy, and even took certain steps in the same direction. In the same year, 1602, the Infanta Isabella, now the wife of the Archduke Albert, Governor of the Low Countries, sent Captain Thomas James to Madrid with orders to say that both she and her husband were absolutely opposed to any claim being made on their behalf to the English crown. After this renunciation Philip III. gave up all further hopes of the English succession, and declared his readiness to support whatever claimant the Pope preferred.[2] When Henry IV.

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 373

[2] *Ibid.*, 581; the results of the embassy of Winter were enormously exaggerated in a report from the Jesuit Creswell, as well as in the forensic speeches of Edward Coke on the occasion of the Gunpowder Plot (*cf.* POLLEN, 578-580). Contemporary documents in the Archives of Simancas show that the Spanish government made no definite promises (*ibid.*, 580).

at last showed signs of a rapprochement with Spain, there was again much discussion of the subject in the Spanish Privy Council in February and March, and it seemed as though something really would be done in the matter of the succession, but certainly nothing was done.[1]

[1] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 582 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

Persecution in Scotland and Ireland.—Clement VIII. and James I.

Among the English Catholics in Rome as well confidence in the Spanish party had waned. This change had been greatly promoted by the embassy of the appellants, sent by the English secular clergy, which had made a stay in Rome during 1602, leaning to the support of France, and working against the interests of Spain.[1] At the same time Persons lost that prestige which he had hitherto enjoyed in high places in Rome. The appellants informed the Pope through the French ambassador, that James of Scotland would be glad to see the English Jesuit sent away from Rome. At that time Persons was ill in bed, but when on his recovery he went for a change of air to Capua, to Cardinal Bellarmine, Clement VIII. forbade him to return.[2]

It was indeed necessary to show every consideration towards the King of Scots, for he had now for some time been the only claimant to the English throne who had any serious prospect of success. He himself had spared no effort to obtain the dazzling crown of the neighbouring country, and would have accepted it from the hands of the devil himself, thought a contemporary, even though this meant the destruction of both Catholic and Protestant preachers.[3] Thus he did not hesitate to hold out to the Pope and the Catholics the hope of his return to the ancient faith, nor to make use of their money and their influence.

[1] Pollen, *loc. cit*, 581.

[2] *Ibid.* 584.

[3] Report for the year 1601 on Scotland by the Jesuit, Alexander MacQuhirrie, in Forbes-Leith, 270.

It is difficult to say definitely whether at times James really had any inclination towards the old religion; in any case he detested the Presbyterianism of his own country, and had reintroduced episcopacy there.[1] There were many Catholics among his courtiers;[2] he knew that his wife Anne had become a Catholic, and exacted no more from her than that she should keep the fact secret.[3] Archbishop James Beaton, who had for many years been his mother's ambassador in Paris, was confirmed by James in this office, as well as in the possession of his honours and titles;[4] the same was true of John Leslie, the Bishop of Ross.[5]

But whatever may be thought of the sympathetic feeling of James towards the Catholics, any energetic action, based upon a real conviction, was certainly not to be looked for from a prince of such weak character. As a report of the year 1616 describes him,[6] he was extraordinarily timorous, but at the same time had been even from his youth autocratic in the highest degree. Both his thoughts and his actions were always guided by the opportunism of the moment, and he subjected all else to this; his conscience, his religion, his friendships, his loyalty, the lives and deaths of his sons and of the aristocracy, as well as the choice of his officials and counsellors. Thus he was not really attached to any particular form of religion, but always favoured the party that was predominant for the moment; as King of Scots he had been a Calvinist, while later on in England he was an Anglican. He aimed with all his might at the suppression of the Catholic religion, and thought that he would be losing

[1] Bellesheim, Schottland, II., 208.

[2] Forbes-Leith, 266.

[3] Bellesheim, II., 200 *seqq.* and the documents 453 *seqq.* For Anne *cf.* W. Plenkers in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXV. (1888), 372–390, 494–504; W. Bliss in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1889, 110 (Paul V. spoke to the nuncio in Paris concerning his suspicions of the Catholic sentiments of Anne).

[4] Bellesheim, II., 182, 190.

[5] *Ibid.*, 182.

[6] *Ibid.*, 249 *seq.*

half his power should the Pope once more obtain ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland, which might prove to be the case if the number of the Catholics greatly increased. James was a master of deceit and hypocrisy, and it meant nothing to him to break his pledged word or to fail to keep an oath; he counted it the highest prudence to deceive the world with lies under the appearance of good faith. He was not wanting in astuteness, and as is wont to be the case with weak and timorous natures, was full of cruelty and tyranny which he vented in a horrible way upon the Catholics and upon all those whose vengeance he feared on account of the wrongs that he had done them. When he had filled himself with strong and sweet wine he poured out abominable blasphemies against the Pope, the religious, the Catholic Church, and even against God and the saints, and would not desist until his servants carried him to bed.

Already at the death of his mother in 1587 James had given proof of his want of principle. When on receipt of the news of the tragedy the Scottish nobles had thrown themselves at his feet, and with clashing arms and loud curses had demanded vengeance on Elizabeth, and when a cry of indignation had echoed through the country, it had been the only son of the victim thus disgracefully sacrificed who had readily accepted the excuses of Elizabeth, yet who, purely out of consideration for public opinion, had for a short time professed his willingness to give his assistance to the Armada of Philip II., but who, for the sake of an annual sum of five thousand pounds from England, had shown himself forgetful of the honour of Scotland and of his own crown, and had recently with the support of English gold implicated the Catholic Scottish aristocracy in a rebellion.[1] Yet once again he pretended to be favourable to the Catholics. Thus, after the above-mentioned rising of the Catholic nobles, their property was confiscated, but James refused to have the sentence carried out, as well as the law threatening with loss of property those who gave hospitality to a Catholic priest in their houses.[2]

[1] FORBES-LEITH, 215 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 221; *cf.* 228, 235.

He actually succeeded in getting the adherents of the old religion to rally to him both in Scotland and in England; his own Catholic subjects were won over by a promise of liberty of conscience, and those of England by the expectation of his conversion.[1] "There are great hopes of universal toleration" runs a letter to Persons, "and the agreement of the Catholics in recognizing the king is so complete, that it seems as though God is about to accomplish great things. All the religious parties are full of expectation and hope, and the Catholics have good reasons to look for special consideration being shown to their aspirations, for the Catholic nobles are working almost to a man on behalf of the king, and have obtained the most far-reaching promises from him."[2]

Nothing shows the duplicity of the king better than his efforts to obtain the good will of the Pope.[3] He had already raised the hopes of Gregory XIII. for his return to the ancient faith, in order to obtain subsidies from Rome.[4] Under Clement VIII. he had once again entered into negotiations, though only through secret intermediaries, who could be disavowed at any moment, and who were eventually thus disavowed.

In the year 1592, we learn that James had sent two Jeusits, the Scotsmen Gordon and Crichton, openly to Rome, to treat of nothing less than the re-establishment of the Catholic religion.[5] In 1594 Clement VIII. sent to the king an envoy with 40,000 ducats, and promised 10,000 ducats as a monthly subsidy if liberty of conscience was given to the Catholics.[6] But even before the Papal envoy Sampiretti set foot in Scotland on July 16th, 1594, James had once again turned

[1] A. O. Meyer in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, VII. (Rome, 1904), 272.

[2] Zimmermann in *Katholik*, 1889, II., 256.

[3] Meyer, *loc. cit.* 268–306; G. F. Warner in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XX. (1905), 124–127.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIX, of this work, p. 434 *seq.*; Brosch, VII., 4.

[5] Forbes-Leith, 222, 355. *Cf.* Bellesheim, II., 452, 461. See also Ranke, Engl. Gesch., I., 494.

[6] Walter Lindsay of Balgawies, Account of the present state of the Catholic religion, 1594, in Forbes-Leith, 355.

to the Protestant preachers, and by an edict of November 12th, 1593, had confronted many thousands of Catholics with the choice between apostasy and exile.[1] The papal envoy and his companions fell into the hands of the heretics, but were rescued by the Earls of Errol and Angus, while the subsidy that had been sent came into the hands of the Catholic nobles.[2] In spite of this, in 1595 and 1596 James sent a fresh envoy, the Catholic Scotsman, John Ogilvy, to Rome and to Spain; the ends for which Ogilvy was working in Rome during the summer and autumn of 1595, though probably he was going beyond his instructions, were: the appointment of a Cardinal to represent Scotland, annual subsidies for the war against the rebels in his own country, and against the heretics throughout Great Britain, and the excommunication of all the opponents of the Scottish succession in England. This intermediary, however, met with no success, because Clement VIII. did not trust the King of Scots,[3] but great hopes were raised in the Pope's mind when in 1599 Edward Drummond arrived in Rome with a letter in the address of which Clement VIII. was called "Most Holy Father," and the King of Scots signed himself as "his most devoted son."[4] Drummond was instructed to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope, as well as on the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Savoy, to obtain the red hat for a Scotsman, this time for the Bishop of Vaison, William Chisholm. Clement VIII. did not grant this request, but

[1] FORBEF-LEITH, 223.

[2] W. LINDSAY, *loc. cit.*, 355 *seq.*

[3] RANKE (Engl. Gesch., I., 494) thinks that this refers to a going beyond of the faculties; T. G. LAW (Documents illustrating Catholic policy in the reign of James VI., 1596–1598, Edinburgh, 1893, 5) refrains from making any judgment; according to A. O. MEYER (*loc. cit.*, 271) who perceives in the mission of Ogilvy "the typical features of the negotiations of James with the Catholic powers." For the negotiations of Ogilvy in Venice, Florence and Spain, *cf.* LINGARD, VIII., 345.

[4] "Beatissime Pater . . . Obsequentissimus Filius" (MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 273). For Drummond, *cf.* LINGARD VIII., 346.

he answered the king's letter with great kindness, expressing the hope that the king would yet find the way of return to the ancient Church.[1] It is possible that the Papal briefs to the English Catholics[2] were connected with the letter of the King of Scots,[3] but Clement VIII. would not consent to any direct recognition of James' right to the throne.

The object which the astute King of Scots had principally had in view in writing his letter had thus not been attained, and if he thought that his relations with Rome had been kept secret, he was equally mistaken. Queen Elizabeth heard of his letter and demanded an explanation; but he was quite able to extract himself from the difficulty; he flatly denied his relations with Rome. A letter from the king, addressed to a Scottish gentleman, James Hamilton, who was at that time in England, charged him to assure all honest people "on the word of a Christian prince" that without any vacillation he had held firmly to his faith, and would always hold firm to it, and that as King of England he would never permit any other religion.[4] James found himself in fresh difficulties again in 1608, when, in connexion with the "Test" oath, Bellarmine reminded the king of his letter and the signature he had attached to it. Thereupon James, while he himself remained hidden in an adjoining room, forced his secretary to confess that it was he who had forged his signature. This confession had scarcely left the lips of Balmerino when the king came out from his hiding-place; the secretary threw himself at his feet, but was not able to avert being condemned to death. But in spite of all this James was not able to free himself from the suspicion of having staged a comedy of complicity with the servile secretary.[5]

[1] Letter of April 13, 1600; extract in MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 278.
[2] *Cf. supra*, p.
[3] MEYER, 278.
[4] *Ibid.*, 276.
[5] *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 192.

That James, despite his emphatic denial, had indeed written to the Pope, is clear from a letter from his wife. This was a letter written in her own hand, ordering Drummond to make the excuses of the king to Clement VIII., and saying that James had not replied in person to the reply which the Pope had sent to the king's letter, because Queen Elizabeth had learned of his relations with the Pope, and had threatened him with the anger of the English Protestants, a thing which might have involved for the King of Scots the loss of the English crown.[1]

The same letter to Drummond[2] further contains orders to profess before the Pope in the queen's name, the Catholic faith in accordance with the decrees of Trent, to swear allegiance to the Apostolic See, and to recommend to the Pope's protection the royal princes, whom their mother, as far as it lay in her power, was bringing up in the Catholic faith. It was necessary, she said, for the king's safety that he should have a bodyguard, and the Pope was asked to grant a subsidy for this purpose, either on his own account or by obtaining it from the King of France, or from the Dukes of Lorraine or Tuscany. James had granted to all his subjects liberty of conscience, so that heresy would disappear of its own accord, but in order to facilitate this action of the king the French ambassador should, at the suggestion of the Pope, ask for liberty of conscience for England as well. This request, which had already been laid before the Curia on several occasions by a Scottish prelate, was renewed by Anne because in this way the quarrel between the secular clergy and the Jesuits could be healed, and in the hands of Elizabeth this

[1] "Excusato quam diligenter regem apud eundem pontificem, quod non rescripserit; siquidem regina Angliae scriptionem impedivit, quae priorum *quas scripserat* litterarum clancularia admonita nuncio, etiam per epistolas ad regem inscriptas minitata est, si cum pontifice agat, sinistra in protestantium mentibus de eo sparsa opinione, etiam ab Anglici regni spe depulsuram." Instructions for Drummond, in MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 301.

[2] MEYER, 301–303. *Cf.* MARTIN, Clément VIII. et Jacques Stuart, in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXV. (1911), 368.

had become a principal means of preventing the conversion of England. Finally, the Pope must not take it amiss if James advanced but slowly, and especially if he and the queen took part in the celebration of Protestant worship. She was writing all this with the knowledge of James and with his consent.[1]

Only a short time after her return to the old religion Anne had had recourse by letter to the Pope as well as to the General of the Jesuits, who was asked to represent her interests in Rome. The bearer of her letters, James Wood, Laird of Boniton, fell, however, into the hands of the Scottish Presbyterians and was executed. King James who, when Elizabeth had complained of the mission of Ogilvy and Drummond, had imprisoned the envoys, again on this occasion publicly boasted of having freed himself from the "archpapists." The queen's letters escaped the notice of the Presbyterians, but nevertheless, it would seem, never reached their destination.[2]

The exchange of letters between Edinburgh and Rome still continued for a time, by means of a new envoy, the Scottish Catholic, James Lindsay, and also through Lord Sanquair. One of the queen's letters, presented this time by Drummond, safely reached the hands of the Pope. Clement VIII. replied to it on July 16th, 1602,[3] expressing the hope that Anne would be able to win over her husband to the Catholic faith. He took a further step in two briefs, dated August 9th, 1602, which Lindsay took back with him from Rome;[4] in these he asked of the queen and of the king the Catholic education of the heir to the crown, Henry (died

[1] "Quo sciente et consentiente haec nos omnia praestamus et postulamus" (MEYER, 302). A *petition (of Drummond) to the Pope on the basis of Anne's instructions in Borghese II., 348: "Viva voce et scriptis apud V.S. egi, ut aliquando de rebus Scotiae serio cogitaret, etc." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Alexander MacQuhirrie, The State of Scotland, 1601, in FORBES-LEITH, 273; *cf. ibid.* 269, and POLLEN, *The Month*, CI. (1903), 272.

[3] Published in MEYER, 303.

[4] Published *ibid.* 304 (brief to James), 305 (brief to Anne).

1612). If the king would follow the Pope's advice in this, then Clement VIII., Lindsay reported orally, would be prepared to assist James with subsidies in money, and would support the king's aspirations to the English throne.

Although this step on the part of the Pope seemed logical, after all that had transpired, it nevertheless greatly embarrassed the deceitful king. He now had to take up a definite attitude, and could no longer continue his double game. James therefore sought to gain time by putting off his reply as long as possible. He was able to do this without fear, as Elizabeth's minister, Robert Cecil, who had formerly opposed the Scottish succession,[1] had now allowed himself to be won over to it, without the knowledge of his sovereign, who was growing old,[2] so that James no longer had any need of the Papists,[3] as he expressed it later on. As a matter of fact his succession to the throne after the death of Elizabeth was accomplished without the least difficulty or disturbance.

Clement VIII. naturally followed this event with great hopefulness, and he addressed to the king a letter of good wishes, in which he begged him to show himself well-disposed towards the Catholics as he had done hitherto.[4] The Pope also had recourse to the Catholic princes, whose influence might have weighed with James, and expressed his desire that they should combine in taking the part of their English co-religionists. Thus on May 31st a brief was sent to the governor of the Low Countries, the Archduke Albert, on June 6th to Duke Charles of Lorraine, and another on

[1] LINGARD, VIII., 343, 362.

[2] *Ibid*, 377 *seq*.

[3] *Ibid*., IX. 10 note.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 225; MEYER, *loc. cit*, 284. *Cf*. *"Discorso scritto lo 20 aprile 1603, in cui si tratta se si debba credere che il nuovo Re d'Inghilterra sia per esser amico del Re di Spagna e se si confederera con S. M. Catt. o col Re di Francia et sè si possa spearare che si faccia cattolico" Urb. 860, p. 272–276, Vatican Library.

December 10th, on August 23rd to the King of Poland, and on November 25th to the Emperor.[1]

Several times in these letters the request is expressed that they should induce James, kindly and gently, to join the Catholic Church.[2] As early as April 12th, 1603, the nuncio in Paris wrote that he would endeavour to obtain the mediation of Henry IV. for this purpose, and in September he sent in the Pope's name two letters of good wishes, one to the king and a special one to the queen, both of which had previously been approved by Clement VIII.[3] It certainly was not a mere stereotyped expression when the Pope wrote to the Archduke Albert that he was tormented day and night by the thought of England and its new king, and by the question whether that kingdom, once so celebrated for its defence of the faith, would return to the Roman Church, a thing for which he would willingly shed his blood.[4] On May 28th,

[1] MEYER, *loc. cit.* *"Preme grandemente ancora alla Santità Sua l'ambasciata che V. Maestà ha da mandare in Inghilterra, ne ha discorso più volte col signor cardinale S. Giorgio, dal quale io sò confidentemente questi et molti particolari." (Paravicini to Rudolph II., November 22, 1603, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorrespondenz, 10). To the Doge of Venice, M. Grimani, Clement VIII. wrote on June 7, 1603: "Magna in spe sumus . . . sub hoc novo Angliae rege res fidei catholicae meliore multo loco futuras, eumque se mitem et benignem praebiturum catholicis, qui in eius regnis sunt." State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 148, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *"Quin etiam et rex ipse, si fieri possit . . . ad catholicam religionem suscipiendam blande et leniter alliciatur" (MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 285). Meyer translates *Blande . . . alliciatur* by "schmeichelnd verlocken" *i.e.* "to allure with flatteries," but *allicere* does not mean *alletare* (*pellicere*).

[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 224. Two letters of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., of May 31 and July 14, 1603, concerning the succession to the throne, and the attitude the Pope meant to take up towards the new king, in order to bring him back to the Catholic faith, are summarized in FILLON, 2452, 2453.

[4] The *letter to Albert, May 31, 1603, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 145, Papal Secret Archives.

1603, he published a jubilee, in order that the faithful might pray to God for the restoration of the Catholic faith in England, Scotland and Ireland.[1] In Rome itself, on Apirl 27th, 1603, Clement VIII. ordered the Forty Hours to be celebrated in all the churches for England and Scotland.[2] But with all his zeal, he moved with great caution, so as not to excite the suspicions of the king, who was extraordinarily diffident. He rejected the project of the French nuncio to encourage the leaders of the Scottish Catholics by briefs to struggle for religious equality; the Scottish Catholics were told, on the contrary, to recommend themselves to the good will of their king by their humility, loyalty and peaceful behaviour.[3] When certain of the English exiles wished to avail themselves of the change in the crown in order to return home, and asked for the support of the Pope, Clement VIII. first demanded guarantees that this was not a mere case of restlessness, and he even offered to deliver the king from such folk by pontificial intervention.[4] The sad case in which two Catholic priests, the excitable Watson and Clark, had mixed themselves up in a plot against James, probably gave occasion for this offer.

Special hopes were raised in Rome by a work of the king's, printed privately in 1599, and publicly issued in 1603; this was entitled "Basilikon Doron"[5] and laid down for the heir

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 164 *seqq.*; MEYER, 284.

[2] *Avviso of May 3, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

[3] MEYER, 287.

[4] *Ibid.*, 288; A. ZIMMERMANN io *Katholik*, 1899, II., 258. Paratissimum esse . . . eos omnes (missionaries] e regno evocare, quos sua maiestas rationabiliter indicaverit, regno et statui suo noxios fore." From the instructions to Dr. Gifford, in LINGARD, IX., 21.

[5] *βασιλικὸν Δῶρον*, Divided into three bookes, Edinburgh, 1599 (only seven copies printed). The first edition which was generally obtainable, Edinburgh, 1603, and London, 1603, French translation, Paris, 1603. A critique of the work in Cod. 680, pp. 64 *seqq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 174 (it is here stated that the king was learned, but was not clear as to his principles).

to the throne, Henry, certain rules for the better government of the kingdom. This condemned in severe terms the religious divisions in Scotland; these were the result of rebellion, and were the work of men of disaffected spirit and greedy for power; every party that weakened the kingdom and threw it into confusion had encouraged them. "Be on your guard" it states, "against Puritans of this kind, who are a pest to the Church and to society, and who are not to be won over by gifts, nor feel bound by oaths and promises. They breathe treason and calumny. I profess before Almighty God that you will not find among the bandits of the mountains or of the border greater ingratitude, a greater spirit of falsehood, more brazen perjury, or more hypocritical sentiments, than among these fanatics."[1] On the other hand, in the French translation of the book, which James caused to be sent to the Pope through the French ambassador, there was not to be found a single word against the Catholics. James informed the Pope that he had purposely toned down such passages, and had desired the book to be presented to him in order to demonstrate his feeling of good will towards His Holiness. Clement VIII. was indeed "enthusiastic:" over this work, and was on the verge of shedding tears of joy when Persons informed him of some of the passages in it.[2] But his "enthusiasm" was quickly cooled when he received from London the Latin version of the book, with the passages about the Pope and the Catholic religion unaltered. This translation soon found a place on the Index of prohibited books.[3] While the King of Scots was thus encouraging the Pope by holding out constant hopes to him, the actual state of affairs in his kingdom was even worse than in the neighbour-

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 210.

[2] "His Holiness, who I assure you could scarce hold tears for comfort to hear certain passages in favour of virtue and hatred to vice which I related to him." Persons to Garnet, May 14, 1603, in TAUNTON, 283.

[3] MEYER, 288-292. *Ibid.*, 291. Comparison of certain texts of the edition of 1599 with the French and Latin translations of 1603 and 1604.

ing kingdom of England under the rule of Elizabeth. In England anyone who was not a priest, and who did not hold public office, was able to remain of the old religion, even though he had to pay heavy fines; in Scotland on the other hand, the laws only left the Catholics the choice between apostasy and banishment.[1] In the kingdom of James VI. anyone might arrest the priests of the Society of Jesus, and even kill them in case of resistance.[2] "We live," wrote the Jesuit Abercromby to the General of his Order,[3] "in cellars, hiding-holes and desolate places, always changing our abode like the gypsies, and we never sleep for two nights running in the same place." When Abercromby had gone to the house of a Catholic inn-keeper, the other Catholics did not dare to enter by the door, but climbed up through the windows at the back of the house by night by means of ladders.[4] The situation of the Scottish Catholics was only the better in that the laws were not enforced with the same rigour as in England. But even this apparent leniency had its limits, wherever any determined attachment to the old religion was detected. Among the aristocracy, who were for the most part still Catholics at heart, the three Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus openly declared themselves for the Church of their fathers, but they were persecuted and threatened until in 1597 they, externally at any rate, and so as to prevent the loss of all their property, signed the profession of faith of the Scottish Church.[5]

In a report on Scotland in 1601,[6] it is stated that the king was the true cause of this sad state of affairs. Whenever he made a speech it was to give utterance to nothing but blasphemies and heresy, and the one thing that his pride aimed at was the crown of England. He hated the Catholics except

[1] FORBES-LEITH, 223, 269.
[2] *Ibid.*, 271.
[3] On June 9, 1596, in FORBES-LEITH, 226.
[4] *Ibid.*, 228. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 204.
[5] FORBES-LEITH, 233 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.*
[6] MACQUHIRRIE, *ibid.*, 270 *seq.*

when they might prove useful to his designs upon the English throne. His fears or his hopes might perhaps one day make him a hypocrite, but nothing but a great miracle of the divine omnipotence could make him a Catholic.

In these circumstances it seems an enigma how the Catholics of Great Britain and the Roman Curia can have continued to entertain hopes of the return of James to the ancient Church, and why the king made use of so many subterfuges to win the favour of the Pope. Both these problems are answered in a memorial drawn up by the Papal nuncio in Brussels, Malvasia.[1]

Malvasia's remarks are above all a proof of the fact that in Rome they were more and more abandoning the point of view of the Catholics who were favourable to Spain. Above all things they must not seek to better the position of the Catholics by violent measures, for such things would only drive James VI. more and more into the arms of the English queen and the heretics. The Holy See could not supply its own lack of the necessary armed force even with the assistance of Spain, which would find no support in Scotland itself, but would on the contrary encounter armed opposition from the jealous foreign powers, such as England, Holland, Denmark and France. No hopes could be placed in the nobles of the Scottish kingdom; it was true that the Duke of Lennox and about a dozen earls and other great nobles were Catholics at heart, but they would never take up arms, while the three earls who were definitely Catholic, Huntly, Errol and Angus, had been banished.

Moreover, since the king had on several occasions shown his good-will towards the Catholics, it would not be opportune to employ violent measures. It had only been necessary for him to have given his consent, and they would have been exterminated, but actually James had never done so; he tolerated those who were of another religion than his own; he willingly listened to religious discussions; the Bishop of

[1] In Bellesheim, II., 460-468. *Cf.* Lämmer, Analecta, 53 and Martin in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXV., 293.

Dunblane,[1] Colonel Semple,[2] the Jesuits Holt and Morton and others had suffered imprisonment but no more. Moreover he placed confidence in Catholics, since the first president, the master of the household, the captain of the bodyguard, some of the chamberlains and others were Catholics at heart; he allowed the queen to act in a similar way in the choice of her ladies and courtiers. He had proclaimed the Duke of Lennox as the next claimant to the throne, and had allowed the Earl of Huntly to have mass said in the royal palace itself, though with closed doors.

On the other hand the king was greatly opposed to the preachers, though naturally he did not show this outwardly, because of the populace and Queen Elizabeth, whose protection made such gentry, in spite of their lowly origin, so arrogant and haughty that they tyrannized over the king himself.[3]

The arguments of Malvasia which have been given so far naturally prove nothing more than that James knew very well how to deceive the Pope and the Catholics. The reason, however, why the astute king took so much trouble to win their sympathies, is given by Malvasia as follows: James had need of the Catholics; if, after the death of Elizabeth, it became a question of ensuring his claims to the English throne, there were none upon whom he could rely except the aristocracy of his own country. But the greater and the more important part of the nobles of the kingdom were either openly Catholics, or were more inclined to Catholicism

[1] William Chisholm the younger "who renounced his episcopal see in order to become a Carthusian, and was sent by Sixtus V. to his own country, where he remained in disguise for several months, giving great edification and spiritual help, ending his life in Rome (1593) in the odour of sanctity." Walter Lindsay of Balgawies, in FORBES-LEITH, 353.

[2] Alessandro Farnese attempted by his means to secure an alliance with James; after the defeat of the Armada the king made him a prisoner, but Semple escaped the death that threatened him by flight. FORBES-LEITH, 369; BELLESHEIM, II., 282.

[3] MALVASIA. *loc. cit.*, 462.

than to any other form of religion.[1] All of them were filled with hatred and aversion for the preachers. If, after the death of Elizabeth, so Malvasia thought, James were to drive them out and declare himself a Catholic, then all the most powerful nobles would rally to his support, and since, according to Scottish usage, the vassals were very submissive to and devoted to their lords, these two would follow the example of the nobles.

According to Malvasia it was also known on the authority of James himself that he was very anxious about the intrigues of Spain. Even in the time of Sixtus V., Philip II. had sent an envoy to ask for the excommunication of James VI., and in the eyes of the Spaniards and of many others, the King of Scots was not fitted to wear either the English crown or that of Scotland. For this reason James VI. greatly feared excommunication and therefore strove to keep on good terms with the Pope.[2] As the Earl of Huntly said to Malvasia, a threat or admonition from the Pope would be well received by the king, because he would then have an excuse for favouring the Catholics, and by their means raising up a counterweight to the insolence of the preachers.[3] Huntly was of the opinion that an envoy should be sent as soon as possible to ask for toleration and liberty of conscience for the Catholics, and, should he not obtain this, to threaten the king with excommunication. Least disturbance would be caused if the Duke of Lorraine, who was James' cousin, were to send an envoy on some pretext; the envoy could speak privately to the king about his return to the ancient faith, while James, out of respect for the Pope, would hear him very willingly.[4] Besides this pressure might be brought to bear upon the king by means of the Catholic nobles, and

[1] List of the aristocracy who were still secretly Catholics (July 1, 1592) in FORBES-LEITH, 361 *seqq.*; BELLESHEIM, II., 182.

[2] "Della qual scommunica per questi respetti ha tanta paura il Re di Scotia, ch'egli farà sempre gran conto del Sommo Pontefice." BELLESHEIM, II., 464.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 466.

upon the latter by the Jesuit Gordon, who, as Huntly's uncle, had access to the nobles, and who, although he was a mere child in political matters, was learned, well-liked and respected.[1] An attempt should also be made to increase the number of the Scottish Catholics by encouraging the work of the Jesuits,[2] though they must not interfere in affairs of state, either in England or in Scotland, since, on account of their friendship with Spain, they were suspected by the King of Scots, and highly disliked by the alumni of the English College.[3] Finally, priests should be trained for Scotland by the development of the Scots College, the scanty revenues of which had hitherto only sufficed for seven or eight students.[4]

The Scots College of which Malvasia spoke had been founded in 1576 at Tournai by an exiled Scottish parish priest. During the first ten years of its existence the College was successively transferred to Pont-à-Mousson, Douai, Louvain and Antwerp, to find at length a permanent home at Douai in 1612.[5] The poverty of this institute was known in Rome, for the gifts of various Scottish priests were not sufficient, while the annual revenues assigned to it by Gregory XIII. and Mary Stuart were discontinued after the deaths of the donors. Clement VIII. therefore issued a circular in 1593 on behalf of the Scottish seminary,[6] and again, at the intercession of Malvasia, obtained by the Scottish Jesuit Crichton, the Pope had recourse to the Archduke Albert in a brief of March 8th, 1597.[7]

A second Scots College had existed in Paris since the XIVth century.[8] At the suggestion of Cardinal Allen,[9] the repre-

[1] *Ibid.*, 464, 465.
[2] *Ibid.*, 464.
[3] *Ibid.*, 466.
[4] *Ibid.*, 464.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 222.
[7] Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 80, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 223.
[8] BELLESHEIM, II., 190.
[9] *Ibid.*, 223, n. 3.

sentative of Scotland at the French court, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, together with the Bishop of Ross, resolved to restore this ancient foundation in order to meet the exigencies of the times, and to supply it with revenues for the training of Scottish priests. Clement VIII. supported this project by a brief of Henry IV.[1] The seminary at Braunsberg in East Prussia,[2] and the Scottish monasteries at Würzburg and Ratisbon also supplied several priests to the Church in Scotland.[3]

But the most important and most wealthy of these establishments was the Scots College in Rome; this owed to Clement VIII. not only the support which he likewise gave to the above-mentioned seminaries in Flanders and Paris, but also its existence and its ample endowment. On December 5th, 1600, the bull of foundation was issued,[4] and two years later it was inaugurated with ten students, who attended the lectures at the Roman College, and were dependent upon the Jesuits for their spiritual direction.[5]

None of these institutions could be compared, even distantly, with the importance of the English seminaries. The Scottish Jesuit Crichton, who was doing all in his power to supply the lack of priests in his own country, was of opinion that once the seminaries were founded, many young men would flock thither from the three universities of Scotland, which were only lacking in the matter of theological instruction, so that within two or three years there would be a number of priests at his disposal.[6] But this forecast was not realized; the enthusiasm with which the English youth flocked to the seminaries on the continent was not reproduced in the neigh-

[1] *Brief of September 1, 1601; Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 301, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 203, 456 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 223 *seq.*

[4] Bull., X., 625 *seqq.*, Synopsis, 214.

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 221; HEIMBUCHER, II., 150. To a later date there belongs a second Scottish seminary in Paris, founded in 1627. FORBES-LEITH, 370 *seq.*, BELLESHEIM, II., 282.

[6] To Cardinal Caetani, 1595, in MEYER, 459.

bouring kingdom, and the number of students in the Scottish seminaries remained relatively small, as it had been in the past.[1] Though rather later than Scotland or England, the sister island to the west also had its seminaries on the continent. About the middle of the XVIIth century there were to be found Irish Colleges for the study of philosophy and theology in Rome, Salamanca, Seville, Compostella, Madrid, Alcalà, Lisbon, Douai, Louvain, Antwerp, Paris, Bordeaux and Rouen; to these must be added the educational establishments at Tournai and Lille, and numerous colleges of religious.[2] But very few of these went back to the time of the great founders of the colleges, Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. In Spain and Flanders these institutions had their beginning when in 1588 the Irish Jesuit, Thomas White, at Valladolid, and the Irish secular priest Christopher Cusack in 1594 at Douai, gathered together the students of their race into communities.[3] Their subsequent development was due to Philip II.; at the request of White, on August 2nd, 1592, he granted the students at Valladolid a college at Salamanca, while in 1596 he assigned an annual revenue of 5,000 florins for an Irish seminary at Douai, where in 1604 a site was acquired for a new and better building.[4] The beginnings of some other Irish colleges went back further still. In 1578 there came to Paris, an exile from his country, a priest named John Lee with several students, who, however, after thirty years had hardly succeeded in establishing a permanent abode.[5] Some Irish priests had established a school for missionaries in 1573 at Lisbon; after this had been developed in 1593 under the direction of the Jesuit John Holing, it received a permanent abode in 1595, after which

[1] *Ibid.*, 98.

[2] BELLESHEIM, Irland, II., 217 *seqq.*, 314 *seqq.* 357 *seqq.*, 525, 613, 729. *Cf.* The Description of Ireland, in anno 1598, now for the first time published by E. HOGAN, Dublin, 1878.

[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 221, 223.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 217.

White assumed the direction of the establishment.[1] When the Archduke Albert supported a number of Irishmen in the seminary at Antwerp, he was eulogized by the Pope in 1604,[2] as was the King of Spain at the same time on account of his generosity towards the Spanish and Flemish Irish seminaries.[3] The Pope had already in 1597 strongly urged the Archduke Albert to care for the Irish students in Flanders.[4] The seminaries on the continent were rendered doubly necessary as a counterweight to Trinity College, which Elizabeth had established in Dublin to act as a bulwark of Protestantism, and which was endowed, both by her and by her successors, with enormous revenues and extensive privileges. All the students and officials of Trinity College had to subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles, while a third part of the students who were educated there were trained in Anglican theology, which was taught in a spirit entirely hostile to Catholicism.[5]

According to medieval ideas, Ireland was a country that had special ties and obligations towards the Holy See. When Paul IV. in 1555, at the request of Philip II. and Queen Mary, raised Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom, he expressly reserved the rights of the Apostolic See.[6] This was probably the reason why Clement VIII., in dealing with Irish affairs, departed from his customary principles. From 1590 onwards the severity and cruelty of the viceroy had goaded the Irish leaders into rebellion, and after certain successes on the part of O'Neill, Bishop Cornelius O'Melrian addressed to the Pope on November 4th, 1595, from Lisbon a request that, on the

[1] *Ibid.*, 222.

[2] *Brief of May 28, 1604, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 50, p. 213, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Brief of May 28, 1604; *ibid.*, p. 212.

[4] *Letter of September 20, 1597: "Tibi igitur catholicos Hybernos in universum et illos nominatim egreriae spei iuvenes efficaciter commendamus." Négociations de Rome, I., 1582-1597, State Archives, Brussels; Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 220, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 215.

[6] *Ibid.*, 108. *Cf.* Vol. XIV, of this work, p. 360.

strength of the bull of donation of Adrian IV., he would separate Ireland from England and nominate O'Neill as king.[1] Clement VIII. naturally refused this request, but when in 1598 O'Donnell and O'Neill had defeated the troops of Elizabeth at the battle of Blackwater, and O'Neill had applied to the Pope for assistance, Clement, by the agency of the Franciscan, Matteo d'Oviedo, who had recently been appointed Archbishop of Dublin, sent O'Neill a Papal brief, congratulating him on his victory and urging him to continue the war "so that the kingdom of Ireland may not henceforward be subject to the yoke of the heretics, nor the members of Christ any longer have the impious Elizabeth as their sovereign."[2] A brief to the commander of the army renewed the indulgences formerly granted for the crusades.[3] There then followed a series of Papal briefs. On January 20th, 1601, Clement VIII. again sent his eulogies, confirming the Irish in their struggle for religion, and promising to send a nuncio.[4] On June 5th in the same year there was a further series of briefs: to the King of Spain, to the Archduke Albert,[5] to O'Neill, to the clergy of Ireland, and to the notabilities of the kingdom.[6] The Jesuit Lodovico Mansoni, who had been chosen as nuncio, was recommended in these to the protection of the king and the archduke, but his mission was postponed in accordance with the representations of O'Neill.[7]

After the battle of Blackwater O'Neill attained to the summit of his power, and only the cities of the island still held out against him. O'Neill thought that he could easily overcome these as well if Spain would help him with troops,

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 225.

[2] *Ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 227, 228.

[4] Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 22, printed in P. F. MORAN, History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation, I., Dublin, 1864, 221. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 228.

[5] *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 221, 223. Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Ibid.*, 212-222.

[7] BELLESHEIM, II., 229. Brief of May 19, 1601, with authorization for Mansoni, see Synopsis, I., 216.

and especially with artillery. In the years that followed, however, his position changed for the worse in an alarming way, and the Spanish help, which arrived at last on September 23rd, 1601, under the command of Juan de Aguila, and occupied Kinsale, came too late. Kinsale was invested by the English, an Irish army that marched to its relief was defeated, and the Spaniards were forced to surrender on January 12th, 1602.[1] With this the capitulation of Ireland was assured; Munster and Ulster were devastated in such a way by the English that the viceroy, Mountjoy, wrote to James I. that nothing remained to his majesty in Ireland save to rule over corpses and heaps of ashes.[2]

After the King of Scots had ascended the English throne, with the name of James I., he still carried on for a time his undignified double-dealing towards the Pope. In the summer of 1603 he announced to Clement VIII. his desire to resume the negotiations.[3] At the same time he chose the zealous Catholic, Antony Standen, to be his representative in Venice and Florence, but when Standen incautiously assisted at mass in public, James had him thrown into the Tower, and sent back to Rome the sacred objects which Clement VIII. had given him for the queen; but while everyone was expecting that Standen would have to expiate his excessive zeal by death, his imprisonment was quietly changed into confinement in his own house, and he was finally set at liberty.[4]

The hopes of Clement VIII. rose high at the beginning of 1605, when James Lindsay once more made his appearance in Rome, bringing replies to the briefs which he had taken with him to London in 1602. A year before this James I. had conveyed to the nuncio in Paris the royal instructions which were to guide Lindsay's actions in Rome. As to the

[1] Bellesheim, II., 230; Kelso, 55–94.

[2] Bellesheim, *loc. cit.* Clement VIII. once again raised his voice on behalf of Ireland in the *letters to the nuncio in Spain of June 18 and September 28, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

[3] Meyer, 292.

[4] *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

principal matter, which meant most to the Pope, namely the Catholic education of the heir to the throne, and to which he had so often called the attention of the king, the latter remained definitely hostile, saying that immediately after he had received the Pope's request, James had ordered his reply to be written, and that it was only due to Lindsay's illness that it had come to the knowledge of the Pope so late. In other respects the king did no more than make vague promises, assuring the Pope of the pleasure which he felt in his friendship, and promising to treat the English Catholics who preserved the peace with justice and in accordance with his duty.

Such expressions as these naturally contained very little to cause the arrival of Lindsay to be awaited with any particular impatience. In August, 1604, the Pope's sentiments towards the King of England were on the whole unfavourable, while the great complaisance shown by Spain in making peace with England displeased him as much as her friendship with the heretics.[1] Nevertheless he still saw

[1] *"Hieri arrivò al Papa il corriero partito d' Inghilterra e passato all' arciduca Alberto con la conclusione della pace conceduta da Inghilterra a supplicanti Spagnuoli; hanno giocata di gran somma di moneta verso li deputati e de' instantissime e humili preghiere. Il Papa non l'approva così grande amistà con eretici e disse all' ambasciatore di Francia le capitolationi vergognose a Spagna, delle quali mi ricordo queste, che il Re d' Inghilterra sia per honore nominato nel primo luogo, che tenga le fortezze che ha sotto nome per li danari che vi ha spesi, che non si restituiranno mai, che Inglesi trafichino ne' paesi di Spagna pagando solamente dieci per 100, che non sieno per questo nemici a Olandesi, che il Re non mandi suoi' galioni in India, ma che non può impedire che Inglesi non vadano alla busca, che è l' istessa che prima." (Report of an anonymous agent to Mantua, August 14, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Disgust at the unfortunate terms of the peace did not prevent the joy at the conclusion of the peace itself which Clement VIII. expressed in a letter to the nuncio in Spain, of August 24, 1604. *Cf.* PH. HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV. (1913), 308, n.

in these events reasons to hope for an improvement in the religious position in England. He therefore insistently urged the Catholics there to give the king no grounds for suspicion. The French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, was instructed in December, 1604, as his predecessor Bufalo had been, to maintain friendly relations with the English ambassadors in Paris, and thus prove to James I. that the Pope had no care except the salvation of souls.[1] In this way Clement VIII. hoped in the end to win over James I., and this hope was paramount in his mind when Lindsay actually made his appearance in Rome, bearing a letter from Queen Anne,[2] which contained, it would appear, brilliant promises. According to Lindsay's report, the king was ripe for conversion, if only the Pope would renounce his authority over the princes.[3] Clement VIII. was overjoyed, and in January, 1605, replied to the queen in a letter couched in the most friendly terms, in which he praised her in the highest way,[4] while he appointed a special commission of Cardinals to discuss the English situation, which held two meetings on January 17th and 25th.[5]

The new King of England treated the English Catholics in the same way as he did the Pope, for with them too he sought to arouse constant hopes, without ever intending that they should be realized. The accession of James I. to the throne had been hailed by the Catholics of England with the highest hopes; they trusted in the promises which he had repeatedly made, since even on his way to London he had renewed his assurance that he would not exact the fines for absence from

[1] See the *Instructions in Vol, XXIII, App. n. 45, Vatican Library.

[2] So far not found.

[3] MEYER, 296.

[4] Printed copy in BELLESHEIM, II., 469. For the date (January 23 or 28) see MEYER, 296.

[5] *Avvisi of January 19 and 26, 1605. Urb. 1073, Vatican Library. The members of the commission, according to the Avviso of January 19, were Galli (president), Medici, Baronius, Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, Avila, Bandini, A. Marzato, Du Perron, Bufalo, Visconti and G. Agucchio.

Protestant worship.[1] The superior of the English Jesuits, Henry Garnet, wrote[2] "the death of the queen has brought about a great change; our anxiety was very great, but it has now become changed into confidence, and we are rejoicing in a period of unhoped for liberty." Two Papal briefs concerning the succession to the throne, which had been entrusted to Garnet, and kept by him for use in case of need, were burned by him as useless; in these the clergy and faithful of England were exhorted to support no claimant to the throne who had not sworn allegiance to the Apostolic See.[3]

These fair hopes, however, were nothing but beautiful dreams. James was playing a double game: on the one hand he hated the religion of his mother, while on the other he feared excommunication on account of its political consequences. He therefore kept Clement VIII. in suspense until 1605, deceiving him with fair words;[4] things even reached the point when the Pope offered to inflict ecclesiastical penalties on turbulent Catholics,[5] and the king put forward the proposal, though to no purpose, that the power of inflicting

[1] GARDINER, I., 100.

[2] To Persons, April 16, 1603, in SPILLMANN, IV., 5. The Catholics united as a body in supporting the rights of James to the throne (LECHAT, 194 *seq.*). *Cf.* the *report of September 29, 1604: "Progressi et augmenti de' cattolici in Inghilterra," Vallicella Library, Rome, n. 23, pp. 241-248. *Ibid.*, 150–215, many matters concerning the English martyrs. *Reports of the nuncio in France, Maffeo Barberini (Urban VIII.) concerning England, in the Barberini Library, Rome, XXXI., 75.

[3] Confessions of Garnet of March 13 and 14, 1606, in FOLEY IV., 158–159. Particulars of these briefs, of July 5 and 12, 1600, by J. DE LA SERVIÈRE in *Études*, XCIV., (1903) 645.

[4] *Cf.* GARDINER, I., 225.

[5] GARDINER, I., 140 *seq.* "S.S^tà vole e comanda che li catholici siano obbedienti al re d' Inghilterra, come a loro signore e re naturale." The nuncio in France must take care "che conforme alla volontà di N.S. obedischino al suo re e non s' intrighino in congiure, tumulti ed altri cose, per le quali possino dispiacere quella Maestà." Aldobrandini to the nuncio in France, in RANKE, Engl. Gesch., I., 531.

such penalties should be conferred on an authorized agent,[1] who naturally would use his powers in accordance with the wishes of the government. In a conversation with the French envoy-extraordinary, the future Duke of Sully, James pointed out[2] that he had not exacted the fines for failure to attend at church, and that he desired to remain on friendly terms with the Pope, if the latter would recognize him as the head of the Anglican Church.[3] After the conspiracy of Watson, the king again expressed himself unfavourably towards the Catholics to Beaumont, the French ambassador; he seemed, however, to calm down when Beaumont pointed out that the conspirators were only exceptions among a body that was otherwise loyal to the king, and that conspiracies were difficult to avoid unless liberty of conscience was allowed.[4]

The practical attitude of James towards the Catholics showed even greater unreliability than his words. His promises were no more sincere, when he was striving to obtain the English crown,[5] for they always concealed a condition or limitation which escaped the notice of the too credulous adherents of the ancient faith. "As to the Catholics," he wrote,[6] "I do not intend to persecute any of them who maintain the peace and obey the laws at any rate externally, and protection will not be denied to anyone who is worthy of it

[1] "Quanto alla facoltà di chiamare sotto pena di scommunica i turbolenti, non ci par darla per sdesso, perchè trattiamo con heretici, e corriamo pericolo di perder i securi." Reply of Clement VIII. to the dispatch of Bufalo of December 14, 1604, in GARDINER, I., 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, 115

[3] *"Adulando il Pontifice in quello che si può, nei regni suoi rovina il Pontificato" is the judgment passed on the frequent expressions of James in favour of Rome in a "Comparatione tra i trè gran Re dell' Europa l' anno 1605," State Library, Berlin, Inform. polit., XII., 450.

[4] Beaumont to Henry IV., July 23, 1603, in GARDINER, I., 115.

[5] This is shown by his correspondence with Cecil, 1602; see ZIMMERMAN in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XVI. (1902), 392 *seq.*

[6] Degli Effetti to Bufalo, June 26, 1603, in GARDINER, I., 100.

on account of his good services." So long as "at least external obedience" to the laws was demanded, the king, despite these fair words, had a free hand to do as he pleased, and in fact, in direct contradiction to the sense of the promises which he had made since his arrival in England, James caused the fines for non-attendance at divine worship to be collected; if the Catholics, he publicly declared at that time,[1] professed a different religion from his own, they could not be good subjects. When, however, on July 17th, 1603, a deputation of Catholics made complaint before the Privy Council in the presence of the king, James promised that the fines should be stopped, and that the Catholics, provided they obeyed the laws, should have access to the highest offices in the service of the state.[2] For a time the wealthy adherents of the ancient Church were no longer troubled with the fines, and those who had no means, "to the enormous loss" of the revenues of state, were excused from the confiscation of their lands.[3] Among the Catholics of high estate, the king had admitted to his entourage in a special way, Henry Howard, a man of unprincipled character, who was later on Earl of Northampton, and was a brother of the executed Duke of Norfolk; he had to serve "the royal huntsman" as a decoy, in order to cover the king's immorality.[4]

The majority of the Catholics, however, proved themselves more sound in their principles than Howard, and the apparent favour of the king did not last very long. "We no longer have any need of the Papists," the king replied, when Watson, who had hitherto been his favourite, reminded him of his promises.[5]

The fact that the number of the Catholics had considerably

[1] Degli Effetti, June 23, 1603, *ibid.*, 101.

[2] GARDINER, I., 115.

[3] "The income accruing to the Crown from this source (the two-thirds of the property of the recusants) was enormously diminished." GARDINER, I., 116.

[4] *Ibid.*, 115 *seq.* For Howard, *ibid.*, 93.

[5] "Na, na, we'll not need the Papists now." LINGARD, IX., 10 n.; GARDINER, I., 100.

increased once the laws were no longer enforced, filled the king with anxiety; by May, 1604, the number of those who had returned to the ancient religion had risen to 10,000 in the diocese of Chester alone; the number of those who did not attend Anglican worship increased from 2,400 to 3,433.[1] The fear of passing in the eyes of the public as the friend of the Catholics then drove the unprincipled monarch openly to declare himself against them.

On February 22nd, 1604, James, under pressure from the Privy Council, ordered that on March 19th, the day of the opening of Parliament, all Catholic priests must leave the country.[2] On March 22nd, in a speech before Parliament,[3] he excused himself for his leniency towards the Catholics, by saying that he had allowed himself to be guided by the hope that proposals would be laid before the Lords and Commons for the removal of certain indefinite points in the existing laws against the Catholics, in that these had led to an excessive severity which was contrary to the intention of the legislator, and to the condemnation of the innocent. Catholic priests could not be tolerated in the kingdom so long as they professed the doctrine that the Pope had temporal authority over all kings and emperors,[4] or that excommunicated princes could be killed with impunity. The laity too must be prohibited from drawing anyone to their own religion, in order that the Catholics might not acquire a power which contained within it danger to the liberties of the country and to the independence of the crown.

[1] GARDINER, I., 202, 222, 231. James I. had caused lists of the recusants to be drawn up in each county (*ibid.*, 144). "In principatu Walliae et in provinciis septentrionalibus . . . . numerus eorum non ita pridem crevit in immensum" (Discursus status religionis 1605, in RANKE, England, I., 531). *Cf.* GARDINER. I., 242. For the disturbances at Hereford see FOLEY, IV., 452.

[2] GARDINER, I., 144. In less than nine months after the death of Elizabeth it is said that 140 priests arrived in England. *Ibid.*, 143.

[3] *Ibid.*, 166.

[4] "An imperial civil power over all Kings and Emperors'

In this way James revealed himself to the whole country as a good Protestant, but the cunning monarch at the same time did not wish to irritate the Catholics too much. After his edict against the priests he told the Spanish ambassador that he had not been able to act otherwise because of the Privy Council, but that the enforcement of the law would be wanting in any kind of rigour.[1] As a matter of fact, a month afterwards, not one of the persons concerned had been banished, and a priest who had been arrested for saying mass was once again set at liberty.[2]

The Catholics, however, were under no illusion as to the continuance of such a state of affairs.[3] Good Protestants bitterly complained that Catholics enjoyed a liberty such as they had not had for years past.[4] James accordingly anticipated their wishes. On May 17th, 1604, he expressed in Parliament his disgust at the increase of the Catholics, and urged the passing of a law to set bounds to it. On June 4th a proposal to that effect was laid before the House of Lords, which was confirmed by the Commons in July.[5] In this the existing laws against the Catholics were renewed and made more severe; all the alumni of the seminaries over-seas were declared incapable of possessing land or any other property on English soil, while all professors were forbidden to set up a school without the approval of an Anglican bishop.[6] James I. rejected a petition of the Catholic priests offering to take an oath of allegiance to the king, as well as another in which the laity pledged themselves for the good behaviour of the Catholic priests whom the law should allow them to have in their own houses; he merely confirmed the law.[7]

[1] From Bufalo to Aldobrandini, March 22, 1604, in GARDINER, I., 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, 201.

[3] From Bufalo to Aldobrandini, May 31, 1604, supplement, *ibid.*, 202.

[4] *Ibid.*, 201 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 203.

[6] LINGARD., IX., 28.

[7] GARDINER, I., 203.

In spite of this the king did not wish even now altogether to cut his bridges behind him, and his negotiations with Rome still continued. In dealing with the representatives of the old Church, James I. spoke of a General Council, which should settle the question of reunion among the churches by a free discussion of their points of difference ;[1] he assured the French ambassador that for the moment he had no thought of enforcing the laws,[2] and had excused the sixteen nobles who refused to attend church the monthly fine of twenty pounds.[3] In a conversation with a representative of the Duke of Lorraine he declared his readiness to accept the Roman Church as his mother, and the Pope as universal bishop, with universal ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If the Roman Church would take one step towards the restoration of unity, he would take three. It was distasteful to him to have been forced against his will to give his assent to the new law, and he would not enforce its penalties on religious grounds.[4] In the same sense on September 24th, 1604, even the Privy Council had decided by seven votes to three that the persecuting laws should not be enforced in the case of the laity.[5]

Their enforcement, however, had already been entrusted to over-zealous officials. During the years 1604 and 1605 at least six Catholics died at the hands of the executioner on account of their faith.[6] But James I. naturally had no part in their condemnation,[7] and six other Catholics, five priests and one layman, who had been condemned to death by the courts during these same years, were pardoned by him.[8]

It was, however, easy to foresee that the leniency of the king would not last long, and that the first concessions made

[1] From Bufalo, June 12, 1604, in GARDINER, I., 202.

[2] Beaumont to Henry IV., July 18, 1604, *ibid.*, 203.

[3] *Ibid.*, 203 *seq.*

[4] From Bufalo, September 21, 1604, *ibid.*, 220 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 222, 223, n. 1.

[6] SPILLMANN, IV., 10–16.

[7] "Senza la partecipatione di quel Re" wrote Bufalo on August 24, 1604, in GARDINER, I., 222, n. 1.

[8] SPILLMAN, IV., 16.

to the Protestants must soon be followed by others. At the end of September, 1604, he caused all the Catholic priests who were incarcerated in the English prisons to be sent out of the kingdom over-seas.[1] From November 28th onwards absence from Anglican worship was again punished by heavy fines.[2] It is possible that this measure was solely due to the financial straits of the king,[3] and as the heavy fine of twenty pounds a month could only be paid by the most wealthy Catholics, it only affected thirteen gentlemen.[4] But when the action taken by James against the Puritans aroused a suspicion of his favouring the Catholics, and the public obtained some inkling of his negotiations with the Pope, the king preferred his reputation as a good Protestant to any sense of justice towards the Catholics. On February 10th, 1605, he declared at the Privy Council that he detested in the highest degree the superstitious religion of the Papists, and if he thought that his son and heir would show the slightest favour to them, he would rather see him buried before his eyes. The Lords of the Council and the other bishops must instruct the judges that the laws were to be enforced with all possible severity.[5]

The effects of this exhortation were not long in making themselves felt, for on the day after its proclamation by the Lord Mayor of London, forty-nine citations were issued in the capital and the county of Middlesex. 5,560 persons were condemned in the various districts of England for having failed to attend Protestant worship.[6] Enormous fines were once more levied upon the wealthy Catholics, while many had two-thirds of their property confiscated.[7] In October, 1605,

[1] GARDINER, I., 222.

[2] *Ibid.*, 224.

[3] Thus GARDINER (*ibid.*).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 227.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Exact details from the Receipt Books of the Exchequer, in GARDINER, 227–230, who brings out especially the relaxation

the superior of the Jesuits wrote[1] that the action taken by the government was even more severe than in the days of Elizabeth.[2]

Strict investigations in private houses were the order of the day, and every six weeks a special court of justice sat, which despoiled the Catholics of their possessions; the enforcement of the laws was entrusted to the most rigorous Puritans, who in other respects were disliked by the king. If one of the "recusants" offered to buy back his confiscated property, he exposed himself to the risk of losing the sum thus offered as well. If this process continued, said Garnet, they would have at last to be content with buying back every six months the bed in which they slept. The justices openly said that the king wanted blood; he no longer desired caresses for the Papists as of yore, but blows.[3] In the county of Hereford 409 families were reduced to beggary at a single blow.[4] The bishops were instructed to excommunicate the more wealthy Catholics; these could then be thrown into prison, and thereby lost a number of their civil rights; they could not even recover their debts, buy or sell anything, nor dispose of their property by will.[5]

Death spared Clement VIII. the sorrow of witnessing this last development.

of the severity. We here join with Gardiner against Lingard (IX., 30 *seqq.*) although it does not appear that Gardiner has removed all the difficulties.

[1] LINGARD. IX., Note C., p. 387; FOLEY, IV., 63.

[2] "The courses taken are more severe than in Queen Elizabeth's time." LINGARD, 388. In like manner an unnamed contemporary in SPILLMANN, IV., 17: "They (the Catholics) pay their two parts more roundly than ever they did in the time of the late queen, not any as I think being left out before Michaelmas." Northampton in July, 1605, in LINGARD, IX., 42 n.

[3] "That the King has hitherto stroaked the papist, but now will strike." LINGARD, IX., 388.

[4] LINGARD, IX., 41.

[5] *Ibid.*, 42.

CHAPTER III.

Attempted Catholic Restoration in Sweden.

The principal event during the life of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini had been his legation to Poland in the year 1588, and the energy that he had then displayed had contributed not a little to his elevation to the See of Peter.[1] It is no wonder, then, that he should have taken a great interest in, and shown a sincere sympathy for, the whole of the North, and especially for the immense kingdom in the north-east and its king, Sigismund III., a man of strictly Catholic sentiments.[2] Clement fully realized the supreme importance for the future of the Church in Europe of the way in which events should develop there in that kingdom which extended from the Warta to the Dnieper, and from the Baltic to the Carpathians.

The fact that the King of Poland intended to marry the Archduchess Anna, of the Styrian branch of the Hapsburgs, who was a staunch Catholic, was certain to win the sympathy of the Pope. He therefore at once, at his first consistory on February 14th, 1592, appointed Cardinal Georg Radziwill as legate for the marriage,[3] and afterwards sent the new queen the Golden Rose.[4] At the beginning of June, 1592, the nunciature in Poland was entrusted to the Bishop of San

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 23 *seq.*

[2] See Paruta, Dispacci, I., 27, 105. Paruta, Relazione, 431. See also Biaudet in the periodical *Histor. arkisto*, XIX. (Helsingissä, 1905), 187.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, February 14, 1592, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. In the suite of the legate was P. Alaleone ; for his *Diarium *cf. Arch. Rom.*, XVI., 19 *seq.*

[4] See the brief of May 28, 1592, in Theiner, Mon. Pol., III., 209 *seq.*

Severo, Germanico Malaspina,[1] who had already distinguished himself in other diplomatic missions under the predecessors of Clement VIII.[2]

Malaspina found a very difficult state of affairs in Poland. King Sigismund was engaged in disputes with his nobles, and especially in a violent altercation with the chancellor of the crown, Zamoiski. The nuncio rightly looked upon a reconciliation between these two as his first duty, and this he soon succeeded in bringing about, after the celebrated Diet of Inquisition in the autumn of 1592.[3] The Pope was alike gratified at this first success of his nuncio and with his attitude at that celebrated diet.[4] When in the following year there arose another dispute between Sigismund and Zamoiski, it was once more Malaspina who, at the Diet of Warsaw in

[1] See the brief of June 6, 1592, in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 209. The statement of Hansen (Nuntiaturberichte, I., 308 n.), that Malaspina only became nuncio in 1595, is incorrect. The reports of the nunciature of Malaspina from June 15, 1592, to April 20, 1598, in BORGHESE, III., 52 a, b; III., 66 c, d; III., 15 a; III., 91 a, b; III., 89 c; III., 89 d; III., 96 e, Papal Secret Archives, were already prepared for publication in 1892-93, by the Polish Academy of Science: *cf. Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1894, February, p. 26. Recently a scholar of Finland has announced the publication of the acta which refer to Sweden; see BIAUDET, Le St. Siège et la Suede, I., viii. *seq.* Some reports of Malaspina belonging to 1592 were published by SCHMURLO in his work, Russland u, Italien, t. II., fasc. 1, Petersburg, 1908, 172 *seq.* Free use was made of them recently by Sven Tumberg (Sigismund och Sverige, 1597-1598, Upsala, 1917). L. KARTUNNEN, Chiffres dipl. des Nonces en Pologne vers la fin du 16e siècle, Helsinki, 1911, treats both of the cypher letters of Malaspina in Cod. M. II., 56, of the Chigi Library, Rome, which Meister missed, as well as of the cypher letters of Caetani, Mandina and Rangoni. For the personality of Malaspina *cf.* HJÄRNE, Sigismundus svenska resor, 10 *seqq.*, and PÄRNÄNEN, 32 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 73, 88.

[3] F. v. WEZYK, Der Konflikt des Konigs Sigismund III. Wasa mit den poln. Ständen u. der Inquisitionsreichstag vom 7 September, 1592, Leipzig, 1869.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 27-29.

1593, succeeded in reconciling them. The nuncio enjoyed the complete confidence of both the king and the chancellor, and during the course of both Diets all important questions that were to be brought forward for discussion were first examined in private by the nuncio, so that he was able to smooth over all difficulties with the tact of a skilled diplomatist,[1] and even settled the disputes between Cardinals Radziwill and Bàthory.[2]

The most important question with which the Diet of 1593 was concerned was the journey of Sigismund III. to Sweden, his native country, which he had already planned in the previous year. At that time, on account of the difficult position of affairs in Poland, the Pope had discouraged this.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the report in *Anz. der Krak. Akad.*, 1894, February, where it is stated : " Les dépêches de Malaspina, fort longues et fort nombreuses, nous dévoilent les dessous de toutes les intrigues qui se nouèrent pendant ces deux diètes ; elles entrent dans les détails les plus minutieux de la vie parlamentaire de cette époque et nous permettent de faire au jour le jour pour ainsi dire son histoire secrète, de compendre la tactique qu'on y mettait en œuvre, en un mot jettent la plus vive lumière sur ces curieuses assemblées. On y trouve aussi quantité d'informations sur le roi et la cour, Zamoyski, le primat Karnkowski, le maréchal de la couronne Opalinski, et sur beaucoup d'autres personnes. La grande figure de Zamoyski ressort singulièrement imposante de ces correspondances. Cela est d'autant plus digne de remarque que Malaspina, loin d'être favorable au Chancelier, semble plutôt avoir une sorte d'antipathie pour lui ; il est, au moins au commencement, son adversaire déclaré et se porte avec chaleur dans le parti au roi qu'il sert de toute son influence et de tout son pouvoir. Ce n'est qu'avec le temps qu'il abandonnera ses préventions contre Zamoyski."

[2] See the *briefs to the two Cardinals of April 3 and May 1, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 282, 310, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the summary *Attioni seguite in Polonia et in Suetia dapoi l'assuntione al pontificato di N.S. Clemente VIII. in Cod. N. 34, p. 433, of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See the brief of August 28, 1592, in THEINER, II., Doc. p. 82 *seq.*

But when, on November 17th, 1592, Sigismund's father, John III., died, and the crown of Sweden fell to the King of Poland, the situation was entirely altered, but from the first the greatest difficulties stood in the way of his taking possession of his lawful inheritance. These difficulties came above all from his uncle, Charles, Duke of Södermanland, who was determined at all costs to possess himself of the Swedish crown. This unscrupulous politician. who was both far-seeing and a cold-blooded schemer, set himself to his task with unparallelled astuteness; he had an advantage in the fact that he had already during the latter days of John III., practically controlled the government of Sweden, and Sigismund III. was unable for the time being to prevent his uncle from continuing to direct the affairs of state.

On January 8th, 1593, Duke Charles obtained from the councillors of the kingdom a statement that they looked upon him as the head of the government in the absence of the king. They further bound themselves to uphold all that should be decided with the consent of Charles without distinction, "all for one and one for all." Even though this agreement did not actually do any wrong to their loyalty towards the lawful king, Sigismund, it was not only contrary to the laws, but also the greatest imaginable usurpation of his liberty of action. He found himself obliged to give his assent to a form of government set up without his knowledge, and should he disapprove of any measure taken by Charles and his councillors, this would at once have been the signal for a schism.[1]

It was easy to make use of the pretext of religion for keeping out the lawful Catholic king,[2] and this in fact Duke Charles did as soon as possible. Its religion and its freedom, he said to the councillors, were the benefits which my father bestowed upon his country, and it was in recognition of this that the States declared the crown to be hereditary in the house of Gustavus; therefore, only one who will maintain this in the

[1] Opinion of RÜHS (Gesch. Schwedens, II., 258).

[2] See BIAUDET, I., v.

kingdom, can be the true hereditary King of Sweden. As the new king was subject in conscience to the power and will of the Pope, it was all the more necessary to lay down, in the interests both of religion and liberty, the conditions which the Swedes of old had been accustomed to impose upon their kings from the earliest times.[1]

This was done at the ecclesiastical assembly held at Upsala on February 25th, 1593, at which many persons assisted, nobles, burgesses and peasants. This decided that the Holy Scriptures, understood in themselves, were to be one rule of faith; all accepted the articles of the unreformed confession of Augsburg. It also prohibited in its entirety the exercise of Catholic worship, closed to Catholics access to any office, and banished all those who had studied abroad in the Jesuit Colleges. It is obvious that these radical decrees abolished the liturgy of John III., which had never been approved by the Holy See,[2] and the Catholic usages still retained in it, such as episcopal vestments, ciboriums, candles, banners, and the blessing of dead bodies and graves. Prayers for the dead were removed from the ritual. Duke Charles was highly pleased with all this, save that he further wished for the abolition of the elevation of the host, and of the exorcisms at baptism. The Lutheran pastors, however, were determined to retain the exorcisms at baptism, as a mark of distinction from the Calvinists. It was finally agreed to retain the exorcisms in a modified form, and as a non-essential ceremony. It was harder for Charles to assent to the decree which expressly declared as heretics, not only the Catholics and Sacramentarians, but also the Calvinists and Zwinglians. But he gave way on this point, though he scornfully remarked: "You had better join on to them all those

[1] See GEIJER, II., 271.

[2] In a cypher instruction from Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Malaspina of August 1, 1593, the liturgy is described as "mescuglio," and it is remarked that John III. "hebbe però pensiero, per quanto dicono, di introdurre per quella porta il catholicismo." Borghese, II., 68, p. 469, Papal Secret Archives.

that you know of that kind, even the devil in hell, since he too is my enemy."[1]

On the whole Duke Charles had every reason to be satisfied with the ecclesiastical assembly at Upsala, during the course of which he had carefully kept in the background. He had accomplished all that he could have hoped for in the matter of making it impossible for his nephew to exercise the royal power fully, for he had induced men to look upon him, not as their king, but rather as a foreign pretender to the crown, and as an apostate against whom they must be on their guard as a danger to religion.[2]

Duke Charles would very gladly have seen Sigismund remain permanently in Poland. The king himself hesitated. It was said that he had asked the advice of the Pope, but that the latter would not take the responsibility of answering either in the affirmative or the negative.[3] This is easy to understand, as after recent events the hope of recovering Sweden had become very doubtful, and there was no small danger of losing ground in Poland. There was much to be said for those who advised Sigismund first to consolidate his position in Poland, so that he might be able to face Duke Charles and his other enemies in full strength in his attempt to recover the crown of Sweden ; on the other hand Sigismund thought that he ought not to defer his journey to his hereditary kingdom, or his taking possession of the Swedish crown which belonged

[1] *Cf.* MÜNTER, Magazin, II., 1, 69 *seq.*; RÜHS, II., 259 *seq.*; GEIJER, II., 272 *seq.* On the occasion of the third centenary of the Council of Upsala K. Hildebrand published the acta of the synod. *Cf.* K. HILDEBRAND, Upsala möte 1593, Stockholm, 1893, and *Hist. Tidskrift*, 1893, 89 *seqq.*; A. N. SUNDBERG, Om den svenska Kyrkoreformationen och Upsala möte 1593, Sundberg, the Archbishop of Upsala, makes the confession, doubly interesting from his lips, that in the Swedish "reform" inaugurated by Gustavus Wasa, *political* motives were paramount.

[2] Opinion of RANKE (Päpste, II., 248).

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 110.

to him by right. Thereupon Clement VIII. did all that he could to help him.

Immediately after the death of John III. the Pope had appointed a congregation composed of Cardinals d'Aragona, Galli, Bonelli, Salviati, Sforza and Montalto, in order to discuss what should be done in view of the new state of affairs.[1] In April, 1593, he reminded the nobles and bishops of Poland of their duty to Sigismund;[2] at the beginning of August he sent thither, in the person of Bartholomew Powsinski, a special delegate, who was furnished with instructions and a subsidy of 20,000 scudi.[3]

Powsinski was ordered to act in close conformity with Malaspina. After he had congratulated the king on the recent confinement of the queen and the successful issue of the Diet at Warsaw, he was to draw the attention of the king to the opportunity that now offered itself for the restoration of the Catholic religion in Sweden. The sum sent by the Pope was above all intended for this purpose, and Clement VIII. would willingly have made it larger if his financial circumstances had permitted. The king should avail himself of the circumstance that the archdiocese of Upsala and the bishopric of Strengnäs were vacant, in order to appoint Catholic bishops in both cases.

[1] See the reprot of Peranda, February 16, 1593, in LAEMMER, Melet., 237 n.

[2] See the brief to Zamoiski, April 10, 1593, in THEINER, II., Doc. p. 84 *seq.*; *ibid.* 86, the brief to the episcopate, May 1, 1593. In Rome there was an idea of sending a legate to Poland for the period of Sigismund's absence; see the letter of Peranda, February 16, 1593, in LAEMMER, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 286, the *brief to the King of Poland concerning the mission of Powsinski is dated July 29, 1593 (Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 373, Papal Secret Archives); the Instruction of August 1 (according to BORGHESE, I., 758 *ibid.*) in PÄRNÄNEN, L'ambassade de Bartol. Powsinski à Danzig en 1593, Helsinki, 1911, 30 *seqq.* To the manuscripts here mentioned must be added IV., 34, p. 288 *seq.* of the Vallicella Library, Rome. B. Powsinski restored a chapel in S. Maria degli Angeli; see FORCELLA, IX., 160.

In case the king should find himself in a position to fill other dioceses Powsinski gave him a list of Catholic Swedes who seemed fitted for such positions. Sigismund was especially urged to give thought to the training of Catholic priests in Sweden, who could be educated, partly at his court or with the Polish bishops, and partly in the colleges at Riga, Dorpat and Braunsberg. Mention was also made of the possibility of establishing a Jesuit college at Stockholm, and of the importance of propagating good Catholic books in the Swedish language.[1]

It was fatal when Sigismund, in order to avoid any appearance of coming as an enemy, or with any hostile intentions towards his new subjects who had thus invited him, or perhaps from a mistaken idea of economy, decided to go without any armed force to his hereditary kingdom,[2] which had been thrown into confusion by the intrigues of Charles. Malaspina had vainly urged him to take some troops with him.[3]

After the Diet of Warsaw had been brought to a happy conclusion in June 1593, and Sigismund had been reconciled with Cardinal Báthory, the king went first of all to Dantzig, where he was awaited by the loyal governor of Finland, Admiral Klas Fleming, with the fleet and some ships that had

[1] See PÄRNÄNEN, *loc. cit.* In a *memorial (Urb. 860, p. 230 *seq.* Vatican Library) which was drawn up immediately after the news of the death of Sigismund, the hope is expressed of claiming for Catholicism that liberty of religion which was so openly used by the Protestants; see LAEMMER, Analecta, 50.

[2] *Cf.* in App. No. 13 the *Relatione dello stato di Suetia (Vallicella Library, Rome) attention to which was first drawn by CIAMPI (I., 92). RANKE (Päpste, II., 250, 253; III., 90*-91*) acknowledges that in this "the first undertaking of Sigismund is described with every appearance of truth by a well-informed person" but he has made very little use of this rich source. Ranke, according to his wont, does not say where he found the report. It is to be found in Cod. H 155, of the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, and in Cod. N 33 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* the cypher *report of Malaspina to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, dated Stockholm, January 10 (Gregor. Cal.) 1594 (decif. March 10) in Borghese, III., 91 a-b, Papal Secret Archives,

been sent by Duke Charles.[1] Powsinski, who reached Dantzig on August 28th,[2] not only discharged all the tasks that had been laid upon him by the Pope, but also gave to the nuncio Malaspina a cypher letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State, dated July 27th, concerning the manner in which Sigismund should act in Sweden.[3] This letter contained no definite reply to Malaspina's question of January 28th, but only advice, as the conferences in Rome had not as yet come to a definite conclusion. It was only added that it would be well if the king deferred receiving the royal unction until a more favourable moment, as the Protestants had no chrism nor holy oils; if he found himself obliged to undergo any other civil ceremonial, he should consent to this, without however giving any interior assent to anything that was forbidden. As to his coronation, which pertained to the Archbishop of Upsala, it was the wish of Rome that Sigismund should appoint a Catholic to perform this ceremony, and it was agreed that should time be lacking to obtain the confirmation of the Holy See, the nuncio should supply what was required. During the celebrations of the obsequies of the dead king, Sigismund must take care that no polemics against Catholic doctrines found their way into the funeral oration. If the king should be asked to recognize the religious constitution of Sweden, on the lines of the Confession of Augsburg, he must temporize. If this could not be done without danger of a revolution, then he must avoid coming to any decision which would render the exercise of Catholic worship more difficult or impossible. If, however, the letter goes on to say, it should happen that he found himself forced by necessity to take an

[1] See *Ragguaglio istorico di quanto segui in Polonia quando il Re Sigismondo volle andare a prendere possesso del Regno di Suetia, con il racconto del medesimo viaggio e delle cose occorse tanto circa gli affari pratici quanto intorno agli interessi della religione cattolica, in Cod. N. 34, p. 540 *seq.* of the Vallicella Library, Rome. The author is some person closely connected with Malaspina, probably his auditor, Ruggiero Salomoni.

[2] See PÄRNÄNEN, 10.

[3] See *ibid.*, 12 *seq.*, where the letter is given for the first time

oath in this matter, then the formula which had been adopted in these sad times by the German Emperor and the King of Poland would be less blameworthy than that other "to treat Catholics and Protestants with a like affection," a formula which was impossible for an honourable prince. The text of the oath should be furnished as far as possible with saving clauses, every care being taken to avoid a formula prohibiting the exercise of the Catholic religion. Malaspina must communicate these matters to the two Jesuits, Justus Rabe of Cracow and Sigismund Ernhoffer of Bavaria, who were accompanying the king and queen as their confessors.[1]

Neither Sigismund nor Malaspina were under any illusions as to the difficulties of the situation. The appointment of a Catholic to Upsala was out of the question. The king, as well as the nuncio, were agreed that Sigismund must in any case claim the free exercise of the Catholic religion for himself in Sweden.[2]

The king embarked on September 6th, 1593. He was accompanied by the queen, his sister, the nuncio Malaspina, the two Jesuits, the vice-chancellor, and a number of Polish nobles. The military escort of the king only consisted of 400 men.[3]

Sigismund intended first of all to go to Kalmar, but serious storms prevented this, and at the end of September, after a long voyage he safely arrived at Stockholm.[4] There he was received by Duke Charles and Abraham Angermann, the Archbishop of Upsala, who had been elected in the meantime, and who was the most violent opponent of the liturgy of John III. Charles feigned, it is true, reverence and submission,[5] but soon disclosed his true sentiments by forthwith demanding the dismissal of the Papal nuncio, a thing which

[1] See HJÄRNE, Sigismunds svenska resor, 42. For the interpreter, P. I. Rabe, see *Script. Rer. Pol.*, XIV., 63 *seqq*. For Ernhoffer see DUHR, I., 680 *seq.*, 706.

[2] See PÄRNÄNEN, 13 *seq.*

[3] See *Ragguaglio (*supra*, p. 89, n. 1).

[4] See *ibid.* *Cf.* HURTER, III., 355.

[5] *Cf.* HURTER, III., 355 *seq.*

had already been demanded at Dantzig by the councillors who had been sent to meet Sigismund. The king refused this demand on the ground that Malaspina had not been sent to the kingdom of Sweden, but to himself; he had done no wrong to Sweden, but had done good service in promoting the king's journey; if the envoys of the Tartars and Muscovites were admitted, why not he as well?[1] Sigismund also refused to confirm the decrees of the ecclesiastical assembly of Upsala, as well as to recognize Angermann as archbishop. The nuncio encouraged him in this, reminding him not only of his duty as a Catholic, but also pointing out to him how much opposed it was to his royal authority that he should submit to decisions which had been arbitrarily taken during his absence.[2] It was said, however, that Sigismund was already personally pledged, in that, as a youth, together with King John, at the request of the nobles and Duke Charles, he had signed an undertaking that he would change nothing in Sweden as far as religion was concerned, and would not admit Catholics to hold public office. This undertaking, however, had been expressly revoked by King John in 1591,[3] when he realized the danger it involved to his civil authority.

[1] See GEIJER, II., 278 n. 1; HURTER, III., 358.

[2] *Non mancava il Nuntio Apost. di rappresentarli che ne per coscienza ne per dignità dovea confirmare decreti risoluti nel suo regno senza l' autorità sua ne essi havean bisogno di cotal approvatione in cosa che senza lui haveano stabilita. Ragguaglio istor. etc., *loc. cit.*, 541 b.

[3] *Ma accorgendosi Giovanni che da Carlo e da senatori in questa loro procurata esclusione de' cattolici si era mirato ad escludere anzi Sigismondo e i suoi figliuoli dal dominio e dagli ufficii del regno per tirarne tutta l' autorità in loro stessi che ad altro fine, havea nell' anno 1591 privati i senatori del grado e delle facoltà et tolto loro di mano lo scritto sudetto e lacerato fattolo riporre nella cancelleria del regno, in cui pur così squarciato tuttavia si serbava, ne da quell' hora in poi haveva permessa ne l' assoluta confessione Augustana ne l' esclusione de' cattolici (Ragguaglio ist. *loc. cit.*, 542). It is surprising that Ranke (Päpste, II.[8], 245) who had the Ragguaglio at his disposal, paid no attention to this important source.

In the meantime the seeds of suspicion of Sigismund sown by Charles were bearing fruit, and the Protestant clergy eagerly encouraged it. It seemed intolerable to them that the king should have sent a Jesuit to the Castle of Drottningholm, where he could give the Catholics of the neighbourhood the comforts of their religion.[1] One of the preachers hurled from the pulpit anathemas against all who had any relations with the Papists; when he was threatened with imprisonment, however, he declared that he did not intend to include the king in this.[2] When two Catholics of the retinue of Sigismund died, the king had to have recourse to force in order to obtain Catholic burial for them. The preachers then spread the rumour that Sigismund intended to restore all the churches of Sweden to Catholic worship by force; some 4,000 armed men gathered together and threatened the nuncio, against whom quite absurd accusations were made, as for example that he had ordered stones to be thrown from his house at some boys who were singing in church. Malaspina defended himself against the accusations, but refused the guard offered to him by Sigismund.[3]

Duke Charles did all he could to fan the excitement, and for this purpose deliberately made use of foolish fables, which, however, had their effect upon the populace. Thus he spread the story that near Linköping two dragons had been seen fighting, one with a crown and the other without; the latter had been victorious over the one that was crowned.[4] The

[1] See THEINER, II., 49.

[2] See HURTER, III., 357.

[3] See *Ragguaglio ist., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also RÜHS, II., 269, and HURTER, III., 357 *seq.*

[4] *Carlo spargeva che in Nicopia sua città fossero aparsi in aere due dragoni, l'uno con la corona in capo et l'altro senza e che essendo venuti insieme a battaglia in fine dopo molto sangue l'incoronato perditore e squarciato havesse lasciato l'altro vittorioso volendo dimostrare a popoli facili a muoversi da vane superstitioni che i cieli e gli elementi per liberare il regno di travagli promettevano a lui la corona di Sigismondo. *Ragguaglio *loc. cit.*

preachers spread the calumny that on the way to Sweden, the nuncio had been guilty of profaning the consecrated hosts. However foolish these stories were, they did not fail to produce their effect, and stirred up the people against the Catholics. Some forty men and women who had intended to return to the ancient Church, thereupon drew back.[1]

Sigismund endeavoured to calm the excitement by declaring that he would do no injury to anyone on account of his religion. He also tried to sow dissensions between the aristocracy and Charles, counting on the fact that the duke was hated by many of them on account of his greed for money. In spite of this the king's position remained very difficult; if he were to leave the government in the hands of the aristocracy, it was easy to foresee a return to an elective monarchy; if he were to hand it over to Duke Charles, it was only to be expected that his desire to be king would lead to a like result. "Of what use is it to us," wrote Malaspina to Rome, "to fathom the evil intentions of our adversaries? Our position is like to that of a ship without oars which finds itself tossed about in a storm, and unable to count upon any human help."[2] The fervour with which Sigismund fulfilled his religious duties aroused among the Protestant population partly hatred and partly contempt, while his great leniency was taken for weakness.[3] With all the greater insistence pressure was brought to bear upon him to confirm the decrees of the ecclesiastical assembly of Upsala. Duke Charles declared

[1] See the *report of Malaspina to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, dated Stockholm, January 12 (Gregor. Cal.) 1594, Borghese, III. 91, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *"Che giova a noi conoscere li fraudulenti arteficii di costoro poichè siamo a guisa di naviglio senza remi in mezzo di un tempestoso mare destituti da ogni humano auxilio, et non sapendo per cio quello che dobbiamo fare non ne resta altro rifugio se non rivoltare gli occhi al Signore." Cypher report to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, dated Stockholm, 1594, January 25. Borghese, III., 91 a-b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Ragguaglio ist., *loc. cit.*, 542b.

that if he would not do so he would not be present at the ceremonies of the coronation.[1] Against this both the nuncio and the queen pointed out that he had no right to impose laws upon the consciences of his subjects, for they too could claim liberty of conscience.[2] The nuncio also advised the few Catholics who still remained in Sweden to address complaints to the king on account of the violations of the law which were imposed upon them, but they could not find the necessary courage to take such a step.[3]

In the reply which he made to the Council in January, 1594, Sigismund expressed his surprise at their wishing to impose conditions for his coronation upon him, and hinted at the difference between an hereditary and an elective monarchy. He was the hereditary king of a kingdom which professed a different religion from his own; it was his intention to leave the Protestants undisturbed as soon as they had told him what liberty they intended to allow to his Catholic co-religionists.[4]

A decision had to be come to by the beginning of February, 1594, when the king would go to Upsala, where the States were assembled, in order to celebrate at the same time the obsequies of John III. and the coronation of King Sigismund. As this occasion might be made use of in order to extort the desired concessions, Malaspina advised the king to defer the latter ceremony, which was not absolutely necessary in the case of an hereditary king, and as Sigismund's predecessors had done on several occasions. The king, however, pointed out the difference in his own position, which obliged him to

[1] See the report of Malaspina to Card. C. Aldobrandini, dated Stockholm, 1594, January 11th, *loc. cit.*

[2] *" Il Nuntio e la Reina moglie . . . facevano ogni opera della sua riputatione a non lasciarsi da suoi sudditi mettere leggi nella propria coscienza, la quale essi tuttavia volevano libera." Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the remarks from the *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* already given by Ranke (II., 247, n. 2).

[4] See Geijer, II., 279.

return to Poland.[1] Duke Charles also attended the coronation, not as Sigismund did, with a simple body-guard, but with a retinue of 3,000 armed men, both infantry and cavalry.[2] This fact increased the boldness of the Protestants. They had demanded that Malaspina should not appear at Upsala, but Sigismund remained firm on this point, despite violent pressure that was put upon him, and in answer to the threatening attitude of the Protestants, gave Malaspina an armed escort.[3] During the obsequies of his father in the cathedral of Upsala, Sigismund tried to maintain, as far as was possible, his attitude as a Catholic. He was obliged, however, to allow Archbishop Angermann to deliver a funeral oration from the pulpit, which was not lacking in attacks upon the ancient Church. After this a Catholic delivered a Latin discourse, but not from the pulpit.[4] The nuncio was satisfied with the ceremonial observed, in so far that there was no ritual of a Protestant character.[5]

[1] *Non lasciò il Nuntio di raccordare al Re che se egli pur temeva com'era da temersi che i suoi sudditi con coronarlo volessero farlo servire a loro dishonesti voleri potrebbe per non ricevere con questa corona questa servitù differirla ad altro tempo non essendo la coronatione a principe hereditario e giurato come lui fuorche un'atto di cerimonia che di sostanza e che Gustavo istesso suo avo dopo l'elettione era stato quattro anni a coronarsi et Arrigo suo zio e Giovanni suo padre l'havevano pur differita molto tempo amministrando tuttavia ogni cosa con assoluta autorità. Replicava il Re, che a quelli che doveano continuare la stanza nel regno era stata facil cosa, ma che a lui che dovea partirne sarebbe molto difficile a conservarsi Re senza la corona Ragguaglio *loc. cit.*, 543.

[2] See GEIJER, II., 279.

[3] See the *report of Malaspina to Card. C. Aldobrandini, dated Stockholm, 1594, February 8, Borghese, III., 91 a-b, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *report of Malaspina to Card. C. Aldobrandini, dated Upsala, February 12, *ibid.*

[5] *" Quello che in questa attione si è ottenuto di buono è stato che non si è fatto atto alcuno secondo il rito heretico." Report of Malaspina of February 12, 1594, *ibid.*

Duke Charles once again declared that he would not allow the coronation unless Sigismund first gave his assent to the decrees of Upsala. Charles also declared himself opposed to the cession of a few churches to the Catholics, or even of one in Stockholm. Some of the royal councillors were in favour of this concession, but ultimately agreed with the duke. The latter declared to the States: "I will not separate myself from you; if Sigismund desires to be your king, he must assent to your demands."[1]

Sigismund was attached with all his heart to the Catholic religion; it is no wonder, then, that he resisted to the end giving his consent to demands which would not only seriously injure his royal authority, but which would also weigh heavily upon his conscience. He declared that he would rather lose his crown than condemn the Catholics to forfeit all their rights. They must at any rate be allowed the free exercise of their own religion. The Protestant States, led by Duke Charles and the Archbishop of Upsala, wished on the other hand only to allow the king to have the Catholic mass celebrated in private, in his own chapel, during his sojourn in the kingdom. At his departure he was to be accompanied by all the priests, and the two Jesuits. Subsequently the States insisted absolutely on the prohibition of all public Catholic worship; moreover, no Catholic must hold any public office in Sweden, and anyone who passed over to the Catholic religion, or caused his sons to be educated therein, was to lose his civil rights.[2] Lastly, the States declared to their king, in openly threatening terms, that if he would not agree to their demands, they would not pay him homage.[3]

One who was well informed as to the events of the time reports that Sigismund's sister, who was a zealous Protestant, and the Protestant Swedes of her household, urged their co-religionists not to desist from continuing to attack the king, to make him consent to their demands, saying that

[1] See Rühs, II., 271; Geijer, II., 279.
[2] See Rühs, II., 272; Geijer, II., 280.
[3] See Ranke, II., 249.

even though at first he showed himself resolute and firm, he would end, according to his wont, by giving way.[1] This policy of annoyance was adopted, and an attempt was further made to deprive the king of the support of the Papal nuncio. Six Swedish noblemen presented themselves before the latter and asked him to leave the country. Malaspina replied that he had come openly and had been received as the envoy of his sovereign; he could not, and did not intend to go away, as he had done nothing to deserve that the rights of nations should be violated in his case.[2] Finally the Protestants openly told the king that they would have recourse to revolution if he did not consent to their demands; they even went so far, Sigismund reported to the Pope, "as to threaten me with imprisonment, my Polish retinue with destruction, and the Swedish Catholics with death."[3] The nuncio was in obvious danger of death, as an assault by violence upon his house was in preparation.

Sigismund warned Malaspina that his life was in danger, and that there was no time to be lost, for the attack would be made within three hours. The Pope's representative calmly replied that the king must in that case wait quietly for those three hours, when it would be seen whether the threats of the Protestants were really serious. He, the nuncio, did not fear death, and would never consent to the king's giving way to the Protestant demands. The king's

[1] *Dall'infanta sua sorella estinatissima heretica e da Suetesi ch'erano dimorati appresso l'Re in Polonia, heretici anch'essi, venivano confortati i senatori e gl'altri a non cessare di battagliare il Re, il quale benche di sua natura si mostrasse a primi assalti costante e intrepido si lasciava nondimeno doppo non lunga batteria facilmente espugnare. Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.*, 543.

[2] See in App. No. 13, the *Relatione dello stato di Suetia, Vallicella Library, Rome. Malaspina refers to this episode in his *Dialogo sopra li stati spirituale e politico dell' imperio et delle provincie infette d'eresie" in Cod. N. 17, p. 31, of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See the *letter of Sigismund of March 8, 1594 (Doria Archives, Rome) in App, No. 2.

Polish councillors were of the opinion that he should give way.[1] But Malaspina remained inflexible: the king must not yield to the demands of the Protestants.

As the threats became more and more alarming, the king turned in panic to Rabe and Ernhoffer, the two Jesuits who had come with him from Poland. Rabe was of the opinion that in the circumstances, and in view of the difficulties and dangers to which Sigismund was exposing himself by his refusal, he might yield to the Protestant demands; Ernhoffer, who had hitherto been of the same opinion as Malaspina, did not dare to oppose this definite decision.[2] Sigismund made public this decision in writing, and then, without notifying Malaspina, gave the assent which the Protestants demanded as to their religion, reserving to himself, however, the right to grant later on, in accordance with the advice of the States, more favourable conditions to his own co-religionists.[3] It was only with great difficulty that Sigismund brought himself to recognize Angermann as Archbishop of Upsala, as the latter's appointment had undoubtedly been an unheard of usurpation of his royal prerogatives.[4] In the end, however, he gave way on this point as well; he only insisted that not Angermann, but the Protestant bishop of Vesteras should place the crown upon his head.

The nuncio Malaspina had reported to Rome as early as the last days of January, 1593, concerning the question of the unction and coronation. At that time Sigismund as well was resolved not to allow this ceremony to be performed by a Protestant bishop, who, as he rightly thought, was only a layman. As the Swedes, on national grounds, refused a Polish bishop, the king for a time thought of Malaspina.[5]

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Malaspina of August 15, 1594, in App. No. 6, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See in App. No. 2, the *report of Malaspina of March 8, 1594 (Papal Secret Archives) and No. 13 the *Relatione dello stato di Suetia, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See GEIJER, II., 281 n. 1.

[4] Opinion of RÜHS (II., 273).

[5] See the *report of Malaspina to Card. C. Aldobrandini of January 15, 1593, Borghese, II., 68, p. 477, Papal Secret Archives.

The point of view of the Holy See had by the Pope's orders been sent to the nuncio in a long cypher letter from Cinzio Aldobrandini of August 1st, 1593.[1] They had reason to hope in Rome that Sigismund would take these observations into account, as Malaspina again reported in September concerning the firm intentions of the king, and his unwillingness to receive the crown from the hands of an heretical archbishop.[2] But the circumstances were stronger than his good will, for Duke Charles threatened to declare any other form of coronation than this invalid.[3] On February 19th, in the magnificent cathedral of Upsala, Sigismund had the crown placed upon his head by the Bishop of Vesteras.[4] His consort did not receive the unction, for this descendant of the Hapsburgs, in her strong faith, refused to make any compromise.[5]

Malaspina was quite in agreement with her. He had threatened to enter a protest, and it was for that reason that Sigismund had concealed from him the reply of the two

[1] See *ibid.*, pp. 469-471.

[2] *Report of Malaspina, September 23, 1593, *ibid.*

[3] See *report of Malaspina of March 8, 1594 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No.

[4] THEINER (II., 348 *sq.*) has published the report of Malaspina's auditor, Ruggiero Salomoni, which makes it clear how greatly Sigismund felt himself to be threatened by Charles. Sigismund described his position to the Pope by means of the nuncio: see his *letter dated Upsala, 1594, March 8, Doria Archives, Rome, In this it is stated: "Occurrebant nonnulla quae S.V. quam secretissime significanda duximus, quae quidem ill. legatus S^tis^ V. in notam S^tis^ V. forman redegit. Mittimus igitur hac ipsa S.V. hisce inclusa." The enclosed letter of the king, which was read in consistory, in App. No. 2. A second similar *letter from Sigismund to the Pope, dated Stockholm, 1594, March 17, is also in the Doria Archives, Rome. Even before these letters reached Rome, Clement VIII. had expressed himself very leniently as to the surrender of Sigismund, which had been forced upon him by the circumstances; see in App. No. 4, the *Instruction to Malaspina of April 30, 1594, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See *report of Malaspina of March 8, 1594 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 3.

Jesuits. When two days later the nuncio learned the truth,[1] he wished to set out for Denmark, where the king had resolved to prepare for him a courteous welcome, so as to show, as he said, the barbarous Swedes, how the envoys of sovereigns should be treated. But Sigismund succeeded in holding the nuncio back. The latter sought to profit by the complaisance which the king had shown before his coronation, persuading him to put into writing a protest that the oath had been extorted from him by force, for according to the universally accepted doctrine an oath that is thus extorted is void. Taking his stand upon this, Malaspina persuaded the king to make adequate concessions to the Catholics, since, as had been the case with himself in Poland, and with the Emperor in Germany, he was bound by oath to favour the Catholic party.[2] In conformity with this, before his departure, the king conferred offices and titles upon Catholics as well, and obliged the four lieutenants, although they were Protestants, to swear to protect the Catholics and their religion. Sigismund acquired two houses in Stockholm and Upsalá, in which he established chapels for the Catholics who still remained, and installed a priest. Two other Catholic priests were sent by him to the ancient and celebrated convent of Vadstena, which had almost miraculously survived all the storms.[3]

Even before this change of attitude, of which Sigismund sent a report to the Pope,[4] had become generally known, the

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See in App. No. 13, the *Relatione dello Stato di Suetia, Vallicella Library, Rome. The text of the passage concerned was incorrectly given by RANKE, Päpste, II., 250 *seq.*, and the passage is also wrongly interpreted. It is wrong when Ranke, *loc. cit.* says: "Sigismund, in order to free himself from all the obligations which he had undertaken upon oath, took a contrary oath to the opposing party." In the opinion of Malaspina, the oath which had been extorted by force implied no obligations.

[3] See in App. No. 13 the *Relatione dello Stato di Suetia, *loc. cit.*

[4] See his *letter in App. No. 2. Doria Archives, Rome.

Lutheran preachers, exulting in the victory which they had won over the king at Upsala, had become guilty of grave excesses. They openly deplored the fact that Sigismund had allowed himself to be blinded by the tricks of Papistry, as they called it. When the king and queen, in accordance with ancient usage, had washed the feet of twelve beggars, the Lutheran pastor, Eric Schepjerus, delivered a discourse on Easter Sunday against this work of charity, and forbade anyone to give alms to those beggars, so that these unfortunates almost died of hunger.[1] Again, the circumstance that Sigismund asked the Pope to act as sponsor to his daughter,[2] who was born in May, gave rise to fresh attacks upon the king. Moreover, disgraceful disputes broke out between Poland and Sweden. We cannot wonder then that Sigismund felt the ground giving way under his feet when he saw everyone in a state of irritation against him in his Swedish kingdom.[3]

The news from Poland was such as to make the return of the king appear to be urgently necessary,[4] and when Sigismund had provided, as far as he could, for the security of his sovereignty in Sweden, he embarked once more in the middle of July, 1594.[5] Malaspina took his place in the principal ship, so that the standard of the Holy See once more floated over the waters of the Baltic. While on the high seas the nuncio wrote a report to Rome, in which he drew a retrospective picture of the events of which he had been a witness. In this the nuncio makes it appear that the complaisance shown by Sigismund towards the religious problem at the advice

[1] See RÜHS, II., 275.

[2] See the brief of February 17, 1594, in THEINER, II., Doc. p. 95. The *letter of thanks from Queen Anna to Clement VIII. dated Stockholm, 1594, June 27, in which she informs him of the death of her daughter, who had died soon after her baptism, in Doria Archives, Rome.

[3] See THEINER, II., 276 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* *Ragguaglio (*supra*, p. 89, n. 1) Vallicella Library, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* HURTER, III., 363.

of the Polish "politicians" of his retinue had not silenced the political aims of the Protestants, but had rather encouraged them. Sigismund was opposed by his powerful uncle, who was ambitious and unscrupulous, and by the undisciplined aristocracy, while the people, instigated by the Protestant preachers, only recognized the new king in word. The Polish chancellor was of the opinion that Sigismund, by residing in Poland, would be far more respected than if he remained where he was. This may be the will of God, says Malaspina, but many are of quite another opinion; Sigismund is to be counted among the optimists, but how, concludes the nuncio, can one have confidence in men who have been found wanting in their loyalty to God?[1]

This fear was only too well founded. Sigismund had given Duke Charles, who had solemnly sworn fealty to him at Upsala, full powers to govern the kingdom in conjunction with all the councillors, though he had expressly forbidden him to hold Diets or to introduce new ordinances.[2] In open defiance of this order, and in spite of the protest of the council of the kingdom, with which the aristocracy associated themselves, Charles convoked a Diet at Söderköping in the autumn of 1595, which ventured upon the greatest usurpations of the rights of Sigismund, and issued decrees for the extermination of the Catholics who still remained in Sweden. All "sectaries," so the ordinance ran, who are opposed to the Protestant religion, must leave the kingdom within six weeks.[3]

This ordinance was at once enforced with a rigour that often was indistinguishable from cruelty.[4]

This time the death knell had struck for one of the most

[1] See in App. No. 6, the *report of Malaspina, August 15, 1594, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Rühs, II., 279 *seq.*, who defends Sigismund against the accusation of having left his kingdom without having made the necessary arrangements for its government.

[3] See Baaz, Inventarium, IV., 567; Ranke, II., 151 *seq.* *Cf.* also Messenius, Secondia illustrata, VIII., Stockholm, 1702. 30.

[4] Opinion of G. Droysen, Gesch. der Gegenreformation, 221.

venerated places in Sweden. After ten years of martyrdoms, there still remained at Vadstena eleven virgins consecrated to God, who with prayer and contemplation faithfully watched over the tomb of one of the greatest of Swedish women, Saint Bridget. In the eyes of the Lutheran preachers this was an abuse that could no longer be tolerated, and the nuns were driven out, after they had been submitted to disgraceful tortures in the presence of Duke Charles, in order to make them apostatize from their religious convictions. The church of the convent was despoiled and the library dispersed. With the help of Sigismund eight of the exiled nuns found an asylum in Dantzig, while three remained in Sweden; only one was faithless to her vows and religion.[1]

After the few Catholic priests who were still carrying on their work in Sweden had been banished from the kingdom,[2] Archbishop Angermann of Upsala undertook a great visitation of the churches, in the course of which all traces of the ancient faith were destroyed with violence. "With unrelenting fury," says a Protestant historian, "all the sacred images were destroyed, and all the monuments of the past, which had for long been the objects of deep veneration, were broken down."[3] The people were forcibly compelled to assist at Protestant worship, and those who failed to do so were scourged. Angermann had this chastisement carried out under his own supervision.[4] All Catholic ceremonial which had remained in use since 1593 onwards was abolished. It was then made manifest how little the Swedish people had understood Protestant doctrines in their true significance. Above all the country folk murmured against these proceedings, and attributed the bad harvests to the abolition of the remains of the ancient faith, which had always been dear to them. How enduring was the attachment of the people to the ecclesiastical usages of their fathers was shown by the fact

[1] See Messenius, VIII., 31 *seq.*; Rühs, II., 85.

[2] See Messenius, VIII., 32.

[3] Rühs, II., 285.

[4] See Ranke, II., 252.

that even in 1602 the peasants of Svintuna remonstrated with their parish priest because he had refused to celebrate mass on the feast of St. Lawrence.[1] Highly significant too was the fact that the people would not hear above all of the abolition of the elevation of the host. One who wrote from Sweden was of the opinion that many of the country folk would once again become Catholics, if they could be allowed to have the mass in their native tongue.[2] The brutality with which the destruction of Catholic memories was carried out was bound to scandalize the minds of such people. It sounds incredible, but is vouched for by credible witnesses, that a Lutheran preacher, who had taught a crow to babble a few words, made it express its sorrow at being excluded from heaven, whereupon he baptized the bird according to the Catholic rite.[3]

Just as had been the case at Vadstena, where the splendid silver reliquaries of St. Eric, St. Bridget and St. Catherine were destroyed, no consideration was shown for the precious memorials of the early history of the country, so was it in other places as well. The statue of the saintly king, Eric of Sweden, was dragged from a parish church into the open air, and a soldier was ordered to fire his musket at it: the ball came back and killed the man, an occurrence which made a profound impression on the people.[4]

Sigismund was not blind to the attachment of the common people to the ancient faith, nor to the indignation which the despotic rule of Charles aroused among the nobles. But Sigismund could not bring himself to the point of making a fresh attempt to recover his kingdom, which his perjured uncle

[1] See GEIJER, II., 299 n. 1. In Finland as well the people wished to retain the old Catholic customs; see SCHYBERGSON, Gesch. Finnlands, Gotha, 1896, 154.

[2] See the *report of September 21, 1596, in THEINER, II., 68; *cf. ibid.*, 49.

[3] See in App. No. 13, the *Relatione dello Stato di Suetia, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[4] See *ibid.*

had stolen from him[1] by revolutionary methods, for he was temperamentally averse to any resolute action.[2] He constantly thought of returning to Sweden, and felt remorse for the weakness which he had shown in order to bring about his coronation. He once confessed to the nuncio Malaspina that he saw the chastisements of God in the various calamities which had fallen upon him since then, above all the death of his wife. For the future, he told the nuncio, he would at all costs do nothing further to burden his conscience.[3]

This news revived in Rome the hope of the recovery of Sweden for the Catholic faith.[4] A memorial which was drawn

[1] "Very rarely were any more rebellious measures employed to save the national (*sic*) monarchy! Sweden stood firm amid its glorious revolution," says DROYSEN, Gesch. der Gegensreformation, 222.

[2] See GEIJER, II., 287.

[3] See in App. No. 13, the *Relatione, etc. Vallicella Library, Rome.

[4] The first tidings, which were too optimistic, had raised great hopes in Rome, see PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 131, 152. To a letter from Sigismund to the Pope, of September 16, 1593, Clement VIII. replied on December 16 (see THEINER, II., Doc. p. 88 *seq.*) and caused it to be read to the Cardinals in consistory on December 20, 1593; see Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb., XXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library, and the *Relatio gestorum et dictorum in consist. die 20 December, 1593, in the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome, t. 55. Sigismund's ambassador for Poland and Sweden made his obedientia to the Pope on January 17, 1594 (see THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 90). In spite of the bad news contained in Sigismund's letter of March 1594 (see *supra*, pp. 97 *seq*), Clement VIII. still hoped in the autumn of 1594 for a successful issue to Sigismund's efforts on behalf of the Swedish Catholics; see the brief of October 29, 1594, in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 92 *seq.* At the consistory on December 2, 1594, information as to Sweden, which must have been unsatisfactory, was given, but on the other hand, at the consistory of June 19, 1595, Clement VIII. reported an improvement in Sweden, saying that "*quod Carolus ille dux non est adeo infestus catholicis eo quod ecclesia illa in arce N. frequentatur etaim ab haereticis." Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library.

up in the Eternal City at that time by one who was well acquainted with affairs in Sweden, brought out, among other things, the European importance of such an event.[1] Finland, in the hands of a Catholic prince, would become of decisive importance in the relations of the Church with Russia. From thence the Muscovite kingdom could be successfully attacked, and that province could also furnish the infantry which was lacking in Poland. Even if it should not come to war with Russia, the possession of Finland would always exercise a decisive pressure upon the Muscovites. The author of the memorial enlarges in detail upon the importance of the ports of Kalmar and Elfsborg in Westgothland. Anyone who held Kalmar was the master of the Baltic, and could also take possession of the Duchy of Prussia, as it might be taken for granted that the house of Brandenburg would never consent to the restoration of the ancient Church.[2] It would perhaps be of even greater importance if the beautiful harbour of Elfsborg, which had such a splendid situation, were in the hands of a Catholic. If the King of Spain were to be given a base there for his fleet, he would be in a position to cause so much annoyance to the kingdom of Elizabeth, which was only three days distant, that she would have plenty to do without attacking the West Indies. An alliance between Sigismund and Spain, on the express condition that the latter should bear the expense of garrisoning Elfsborg, would greatly consolidate the power of the king, both in Poland and in Sweden.

All these projects were frustrated by the energetic if treacherous activity of Charles, for whom Sigismund was no match.[3] From the time of his departure from Sweden, said Malaspina in August, 1597, Sigismund, for the protection of

[1] See in App. No. 13 the *Relatio, etc.; Vallicella Library, Rome, from which it is clear that the author knew of the *Ragguaglio (*supra*, p. 89, n. 1).

[2] The passage concerned, from the *Relatione di Polonia by Malaspina (Vallicella Library, Rome) was given in part, though without indication as to its source, by RANKE (II., 254).

[3] *Cf.* SVEN TUNBERG 83 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*

his rights, had confined himself to severe words, while Charles in the meantime cleverly and astutely gathered all the power into his own hands.[1] As Sigismund's adherents had no one to support them they could easily be driven out. Charles also succeeded in getting possession of Elfsborg and Kalmar, and successfully began a war against Finland.[2] One after another the important positions fell into the hands of Charles, and in proportion as the lawful king showed himself inert did the duke seek to win popularity. The preachers were already on his side, and he knew well how to win over the country folk. Many were tricked by a report that he was acting in union with Sigismund. He cleverly described the latter as not caring about the Swedes, saying that he would never leave Poland to come to Sweden.[3] Sigismund never really fathomed his uncle, and it may be seen from the negotiations which he carried on with Charles, by means of his ambassador, Samuel Lascý, how he still hoped to come to terms with him.[4]

The Diet which assembled at Arboga in February, 1597, had resolved that Sigismund must be invited by means of an embassy to visit his kingdom; but this project remained on paper. Sigismund realized that he would have to act with decision if he did not wish to lose Sweden. He then made known his resolve to go thither at once, and for that purpose summoned the fleet to Dantzig. Charles, in reply, obliged the States to enact, at two further Diets, held in February and June, 1598, at Upsala and Vadstena, that they pledged themselves, even at the cost of their lives and property to the observation of the earlier decrees, saying that they were ready to suffer anything rather than allow violence or persecution to be inflicted on the duke or any of their number on that account.[5] After Sigismund had waited in vain for the Swedish fleet, and had failed to obtain ships from the Hanseatic

[1] See report of Malaspina of August 17, 1597, *ibid.*, 146 *seqq.*

[2] See GEIJER, II., 302 *seq.*

[3] See report of Malaspina cited *supra*, n. 1.

[4] See SVEN TUNBERG, 49 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*

[5] See GEIJER, II., 303.

League,[1] he had recourse to the desperate step of forcing English merchant vessels to make the crossing, which was done from Dantzig in July, 1598. He took with him 5,000 Polish troops and a brilliant court, and on July 30th landed at Kalmar, which at once opened its gates to him.[2]

What were his prospects? Not over favourable, according to the description of the Swedish exiles, but at the same time not altogether hopeless, since many Swedes, and among them the majority of the councillors of the kingdom, even though they were Protestant in their sympathies, did not approve of Charles governing the kingdom against the express wishes of the lawful king, and who, throwing aside the mask, would have raised the banner of revolt.[3] Sigismund's principal mistake was that he had begun his enterprise too late, and with an insufficient number of troops. An adversary so determined and cunning as Charles had to be opposed by an overwhelming force.

In spite of this, the undertaking, which was followed with the greatest attention in Rome, opened favourably. A great part of Finland remained loyal to the legitimate sovereign, while Stockholm, the capital, declared for Sigismund.[4] After having parleyed for a month without any result, the army took the field. At first the fortunes of war smiled upon Sigismund, but his generosity towards Charles after his first victory and his unwillingness to shed Swedish blood, led

[1] *Cf.* J. PAUL in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXXIII., 448.

[2] See GEIJER, 304. The question whether a Papal representative should accompany Sigismund, was decided in the negative by Malaspina, since, should affairs turn out favourably, one could be sent at once; see SVEN TUNBERG, 154 *seq.*

[3] See BIAUDET, I., v.

[4] See GEIJER, II., 304; SCHÄFER, Gesch. Danemarks, V., 299. In Sigismund's retinue there was to be found his court preacher, the Jesuit Laterna, who had, however, to return to Poland for reasons of health. On his way back he fell into the hands of the soldiers of Duke Charles, who drowned him; see MESSENIUS, Secondia illustr., VIII., 68; JUVENCIUS, V., 262; J. METZLER, Martyrergestalten aus der schwed. Missionsgesch., in *Xaverius-Missionskalender*, 1923.

to this initial advantage being quickly lost, and the disastrous battle near Stängebro, not far from Linköping, which was fought on September 25th, 1598, obliged Sigismund to return to Poland.[1] He continued thence to carry on his struggle with Charles, but once again his plans, which were supported by Spain, were shipwrecked owing to the passive resistance of the Hanseatic cities.[2] Charles, who was Sigismund's superior in energy and strength of will,[3] thus remained the victor. In July, 1599, he caused Sigismund to be deposed by the Diet, and then began a bloody persecution of all those who wished to remain loyal to their lawful sovereign and the ancient religion.[4] Clement VIII.[5] lived long enough to see Charles, overbearing all opposition, place on his own head the crown,[6] which he had thus taken by violence from his nephew.

[1] A still unpublished report by N. Sergardi, an Italian who accompanied Sigismund, on his second expedition to Sweden (*Breve compendio hist. del passaggio in Suetia di Sigismondo III., 1598) is preserved in the Library at Siena, Cod. K. III., 58.

[2] See J. PAUL, *loc. cit.*, 449 *seq.*

[3] See BIAUDET, II., 1 (1912) x. *seq.*

[4] See GEIJER, II., 306 *seq.*; THEINER, II., 70 *seq.* BIAUDET (I., v.) describes the measures taken by Charles as "une série de répressions barbares." The cruelty of Charles is also brought out in the poem by Joh. Messenius "The Catholic martyrs of Sweden" in Vol. 9 of his *Secondia illustrata*, and also by ODHNER, Lärobok i Sveriges, Norges och Danmarks historia[6], Stockholm, 1886, 148 *seq.*; LEINBERG, Om finske studerande i Jesuitcollegier, in the periodical *Histor. arkisto*, XI. (Helsingissä, 1891), 196 *seq.*, 203 *seq.* BIAUDET: Om finske studerande i Jesuitcollegier, *ibid.*, XIX. (1903), 178 *seqq.* gives further information concerning the Jesuit missionaries.

[5] *Cf.* the *letter addressed to Clement VIII. by Count Eric of Visinburg, March 20, 1602, Doria Archives, Rome.

[6] BIAUDET (I., v. *seq.*, 335 *seq.*) promises to give fuller information concerning an anti-Protestant league which was projected at that time in Rome, and which was to be especially directed against Sweden. STEINHUBER (I., 360 *seq.*) shows how Sigismund endeavoured to get young Catholic Swedes to enter the Germanicum.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of Catholic Restoration in Poland.—Reunion of the Schismatic Ruthenians.—The False Demetrius.

Some compensation for the loss of Sweden was afforded by the consoling progress of the Catholic religion in the Kingdom of Poland. At first things had been by no means encouraging, for although Sigismund III. was genuinely attached to Catholicism, there were nevertheless serious restrictions upon freedom of worship in Poland in consequence of the right which the aristocracy had extorted from King Henry III. in 1572, and which had been confirmed by his successors, of deciding their own religion and that of their subjects.[1] To this was added the fact that Sigismund was in no sense a man of energy and resoluteness.[2] His weakness in the matter of distributing the offices of State degenerated into a favouring of the Protestants.[3] But little by little the Pope's representative, the nuncio Malaspina, as well as the higher Polish clergy, and especially the Archbishop of Gnesen, Karnkowski (died 1603), succeeded in leading Sigismund to a different course of action.[4] In course of time the change in the king became so complete that a well-informed correspondent was able to report to Rome in 1596 that in the whole world there was

[1] For the so-called Confederation of Warsaw see Vol. of this work. An opinion by the Jesuit Toledo " *De juramento Stephani regis Poloniae de impunitate haereticorum " (in Borghese III., 72b, pp. 460 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives) puts forward the view: " Juramentum tale multis ex partibus iniquam est. Male emissum multo tamen peius est adimplere."

[2] See Paruta, Relazione, 431; Dolfin, Relazione, 473.

[3] See E. Barwiński in: Reformacye w Polsce (ed. Kot) I. (1921).

[4] See *ibid.*

no such obedient son of the Church as Sigismund III.[1] Clement VIII. therefore always spoke of him in terms of the highest praise. In order to examine more fully the Polish question, the Pope, in the first year of his pontificate, had appointed a special congregation, composed of Cardinals Tagliavia, Galli, Caetani, Salviati, Sforza and Montalto, to whom was added Cinzio Aldobrandini. Minuccio Minucci acted as its secretary.[2]

It was a special joy to the Pope that he was able to satisfy a long-standing wish of the Poles by bringing to an end in the spring of 1594 the process of canonization of St. Hyacinth. On this occasion he recalled how greatly St. Hyacinth was venerated in Poland in 1588 when he had been there as legate.[3]

Besides the duty of watching over ecclesiastical interests, Germanico Malaspina, who was nuncio in Poland from 1592 to 1598, had been charged with the task of encouraging the war against the Turks. Clement VIII. hoped to win over Poland to the great league which he projected against the Turks, and when the king had returned from Sweden in 1594, Malaspina laboured in every possible way for this purpose; it seemed, however, that he had not reckoned sufficiently on the difficulties.[4] When, therefore, the success which the Pope so ardently desired, and even expected on the strength

[1] *Si è fatto così ossequente il sereniss. Re alla Sede Apost. che in niuna parte del mondo è in maggior authorità essa sede ne li ministri di essa ne l'ordine et giurisdittione eccles. è più difesa et aiutata da Re alcuno di quello ch'è dalla M^tà del Re di Polonia, it is stated in an account written in 1598, with the title: *Attioni seguite in Polonia et in Suetia dopo l'assontione al pontificato di N.S^re Clemente VIII. a benefitio del Re, del regno et della religione, Cod. N. 34, p. 433 *seq.*, of the Vallicella Library, Rome. Orig. in Borghese, III., 96b, p. 97 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See SIEVE, IV., 126 n. 1.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, March 31, 1594, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *infra*, Chapter VI.

[4] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 133. *Cf.* Vita di Msgr. Ces. Speciani, 181 *seqq.*

of the reports of Malaspina,[1] was not attained, it was resolved in Rome to send a special embassy. Therefore, at the beginning of 1596, the Bishop of Caserta, Benedetto Mandina, who belonged to the Theatine Order, was appointed,[2] and in April of the same year, the Cardinal legate Caetani.[3] The latter left Rome on April 25th with a large retinue and reached Vienna about a month later. The master of ceremonies, Mucantius, who accompanied the legate, wrote a very interesting description of this journey from the point of view of history and culture.[4]

[1] *Cf.* *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, December 2, 1594, and March 6, 1595, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 290. See also B. MANDINAE, congreg. cleric. regul. episc. Casertini, nuntii ad regem senatumque Polonum Apost. Oratio de foedere cum christianis contra Turcam paciscendo habita in comitiis Varsaviae, 3 Cal. April, 1596, printed at Cracow, 1596, and also ROBERTI TURNERI ORATIONES, II., 80 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *" Successo de comitii di Polonia circa la lega contra il Turco," dated Warsaw, 1596, May 14, in Cod. N. 35, p. 133 *seq.*, Vallicella Library, Rome. *Ibid.* 108 *seq.* *" Motivi ne Polachi per difficoltare la conclusione della lega contro il Turco con le risposte alli detti motivi, 1596." LÜNIG (Staatsconsilia, I., 487) makes the "reflection as to whether it is better for the Poles to break the peace with the Turks or to maintain it, and of the disputation concerning the reasons for and against held in 1597 before Pope Clement VIII."

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 291.

[4] *" Itinerario o diario di tutte le cose occorse nel tempo di Clement VII.. nella legatione del card. Gaetano al Re di Polonia libro I e II scritto da Giov. Paolo Mucante, maestro di ceremonie," in Ottob. 2623, Barb. LVI., 103, and LVII., 26, Vatican Library, and in Arm. I., vol. 82, Papal Secret Archives, the dedicatory letter, dated Ferrara, 1598, May 15, to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini. Copy in Cod. 567 of the Palatine Library, Parma. *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 157, 349 *seq.*, II., 49 *seq.*; ZÖCHBAUER, Ein röm. Reisebericht über Osterreich aus dem Jahre 1596, in *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Diöz. Linz*, V. (1909), 75 *seq.* I have not succeeded in finding the article by O. F. TENCAJOLI: Un légat du Clement VIII. en Pologne, 1596, cited in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, IV., 407. The

Cardinal Caetani received from Mandina more definite information as to the position of the league while he was at Vienna, where for eight days he enjoyed the hospitality of the Austrian court. They both expected to meet with less difficulties from Poland than from the Emperor, since the Archduke Maximilian, who was intended for the office of commander-in-chief against the Turks, still refused to renounce the title of King of Poland. What would happen, the Poles asked themselves, should the archduke, instead of marching against the Turks, turn his forces against Poland in order to vindicate his supposed claims? To this was added, as Caetani reported to Rome, the dilatoriness of the Emperor's policy, which was averse to applying the proper remedies to any evils. If Maximilian would not renounce his claims to the throne, the legate rightly pointed out, the Poles would offer such a resistance that all efforts would be in vain.[1]

*Registro di lettere scritte dal card. E. Caetano nella sua legazione di Polonia in Cod. X.-VI., 13 and 14 of the Casanatense Library, Rome. *Ibid.*, 15 other *documents pertaining to this legation.

[1] *Circa la lega Mons. di Caserta, che arrivò qui alli 27, me n'ha dato gran luce. Convenghiamo in questo, che i Polacchi siano per caminar bene, ma dubitiamo che dalla parte degli Imperiali non si zoppichi, poichè quanto al punto della renuntia del titolo, secondo che me ne scrive il vescovo di Cremona [C. Speciani], arciduca Massimiliano par che non ci venga bene attaccandosi a certe speranze che hanno più fiori che frutti e possono anzi deluderlo che aiutarlo oltre che il vederlo disegnato capo e generale di questa impresa fomenta la sospettione de Polacchi che habbiano almeno apparente ragione di dubitarne tanto più vedendolo armato e munito et atto a poter piegare l'armi e le forze communi a libito de'suoi proprii e privati interessi. S'aggionge a questo che l'espeditioni della corte Cesarea nel presente negotio vanno lente e fredde e par che si cammini a fine non di curare l'infermo, ma di sostenerlo co'fomenti e panni caldi più tosto che con remedii opportuni e gagliardi. Chiara cosa è, che senza questa cessione i Polacchi non solo staranno duri, ma ostinatissimi e sarà vana ogni fatica che s'impieghi in questa pratica se non si rimuove la pietra di quello scandalo. Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

Caetani decided to send Mandina to the Imperial court, after which he was to come to Poland to report.

On June 16th the Cardinal legate reached Cracow,[1] but it was not until August 8th that he was able to inaugurate the negotiations between the Polish delegates and those of the Emperor at the Radziwill palace. Rudolph II. had placed the distinguished Bishop of Breslau, Andreas von Jerin, at the head of his representatives.[2]

The inaugural address of Caetani to the envoys of the Emperor and the King of Poland, besides explaining the efforts which the Pope was making for a crusade, expressed a fervent hope that they would give effect to his plans by coming to an agreement as to the financial contributions and the preparations for the war. In the reply which he made in the name of the Imperialists the Bishop of Breslau praised the zeal of the Pope, and also brought out the efforts of the Hapsburgs for the protection of their hereditary territories and of the whole of Christendom against their sworn enemy, and appealed to the chivalrous sentiments and the ancient military glory of Poland, which in close alliance with the Imperialists, could destroy that dreaded foe for their own salvation and that of others. At the end the bishop called attention to an inveterate and serious defect of Polish assemblies: namely that owing to the vehemence of the speeches and the excessive character of the demands, the desired object was too often lost sight of and an alliance rendered impossible. The orator of the Polish representatives, Bishop Goslicki of Przemysl, thanked the Pope and the Emperor for their complaisance, but asked of the latter, deeds instead of words, as well as the fulfilment of the indispensable conditions.[3] These were at once put into writing. Caetani was unwearied in his efforts to reconcile the warring interests, and in turning the attention of the Poles from their just insistence upon Maximilian's oath of

[1] Detailed description in Mucantius, *Itinerario, *loc. cit.*

[2] See JERIN-GESESS, Biscof Andreas Jerin, Neisse, 1900, 84 *seq.*, and NAEGELE in *Katholik*, 1911, I., 364 *seq.*

[3] See JERIN-GESESS, *loc. cit.*

renunciation to the principal point at issue, the war against the Turks. The Bishop of Breslau had great difficulty in answering the attacks, which were to a great extent justified, upon Austrian policy, and, in order to come to a discussion of the league, in dealing with the just demand for a renunciation of all claims to the Polish throne. At length the Polish representatives gave way, on condition that the Archduke Maximilian would take an oath of renunciation within a determined period, a period which was extended until November 11th, at the proposal of Caetani. Thus, with great difficulty, an agreement was arrived at concerning the league on August 31st.[1]

The hopes expressed by the legate at the conclusion, that the still outstanding difficulties would soon be overcome, were not, however, realized, as neither the Emperor nor the King of Poland would accept the terms agreed upon.[2]

Caetani's journey to see Sigismund III. at Warsaw, which he entered on September 10th,[3] proved of no avail, and at his first audience, which he received on the 24th, the difficulties which were finally to render his mission void were brought forward. The profound distrust of the King of Poland was expressed in his opening words: that very morning he had received news that peace negotiations were being carried on between the Porte and the Emperor at Constantinople, through the mediation of the English ambassador.[4]

At the end of October the legate followed the King of Poland to Cracow, where the interment of his aunt, Queen Anna,[5] who had died on August 9th, was to take place. Caetani again laboured on behalf of the league at Cracow,

[1] See *Acta et gesta legationis Poloniae et tractionis Cracoviensis super negotio confoederationis faciendae inter Papam, Imperatorem, regem et regnum Poloniae, 1596, in Ottob. 3184, pp. 226-314, Vatican Library.

[2] See JERIN-GESESS, *loc. cit.*, 97 *seq.*, and NAEGELE, *loc. cit.*, 369.

[3] *Cf.* the report of Mucantius, *Itinerario, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Caetani, dated Warsaw, 1596, September 24, Cod. X.-VI., 14, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[5] Described in detail by Mucantius, Itinerario, *loc. cit.*

while he also interested himself in getting Imperial representatives sent to the Diet at Warsaw. The Poles pointed out that a league was very dangerous since Rudolph might die and the succession of the House of Austria to the Empire was very uncertain. In these circumstances a league against the Turks would expose Poland, as the weaker party, to grave danger.[1]

In spite of the unfavourable conditions, Caetani went in February 1597 to the Diet at Warsaw.[2] There, in the presence of the king and all the senators he delivered a discourse which lasted for three quarters of an hour, in which he urged war against the Turks, pointing out in the most emphatic way the dangers which threatened Christendom.[3] But his words fell on deaf ears. The Diet did nothing, and the laments which Skarga made in his celebrated discourse that followed were only too well justified.[4] Discouraged and unwell, the legate resolved to return to Italy. He went by way of Lowicz, Gnesen, Ostrava in Moravia, Olmütz, Nikolsburg, Vienna, Graz, Villach, Pontebba, Treviso, Padua and Ferrara,[5] to

[1] *I Polacchi dicono l'Imperatore è mortale e la successione dell'Imperio in casa d'Austria non è certa e l'esporre il regno a queste incertezze con evidentissimo pericolo non è resolutione da buon politico, atteso che le leghe possono scioglersi et all'hora chi può meno suol devenir preda da chi può più e rimaner solo alle botte ; e questi dubii si aumentano per non si veder fatta l'elettione del Re di Romani. Caetani in his *report addressed to C. Aldobrandini, dated Cracow, 1597, January 13, Cod. X.-VI., 14, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Diaria comitiorum Poloniae anni 1597, in Script. rer. Pol., XX., Cracow, 1907.

[3] *Cf.* Mucanzio, *Itinierario, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Berga, 247.

[5] See the detailed description of the return journey in the *Itinerario of Mucantius, *loc. cit.* together with a report of the impressions of the Cardinal legate of the religious conditions in the places through which he passed, and of the honour paid to the representative of the Pope. Mucantius also gives the whole of the scholastic drama performed at Graz by the " scolari della prima classe di grammatica " of the Jesuit School.

Rome, where he gave the Pope a full report. From this Clement VIII. learned with sincere satisfaction that in Poland, owing to the piety of the king, the zeal of the bishops, and the labours of the Jesuits, religion was visibly reviving.[1]

Malaspina was profoundly disturbed by this two-fold mission of special legates. Often made the subject of attacks and of severe judgments,[2] it must have seemed to him an emancipation when he was recalled from the Polish nunciature in 1598. At the beginning of 1599 Clement VIII. appointed Claudio Rangoni, Bishop of Reggio Emilia, to succeed him.[3]

In his final report Malaspina drew an interesting picture of the state of affairs in the kingdom where he had resided for eight years.[4] After he had described in the most lucid manner the peculiar constitution of Poland, where the powerful aristocracy did not permit of the development of a strong monarchical power, as well as the dangers to which the kingdom was exposed, threatened as it was on the north by

[1] In the *Relatio card. Caetani ad Papam de sua legatione (Ott. 3184, p. 143 *seq.*, Vatican Library) it is stated : " Religio catholica in Polonia, ut apostoli verbis utar, fructificat ac crescit et novis quotidie haereticorum conversionibus et animarum lucris augetur." Then follows praise of the " eximia pietas imo sanctitas " of the king, and of the zealous labours of almost all the bishops, whose greatest helpers are the Jesuits.

[2] *Cf.* PARISI, Epistolografia, I., 196 ; CIAMPI, II., 51.

[3] His *Instructions, February 22, 1599, in Nunziat. div. 239, p. 238 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives, and in Cod. H. 155. n. 2 of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. The *briefs of January 11, 1599, concerning the legation, in Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 13-29 (*cf.* n. 113 : " Regi Poloniae," dated " Cal. Mart."), Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 271 *seq.* For Claudio Rangoni see COTTAFAVI, Il seminario di Reggio nell'Emilia, Rome, 1907, 3 *seqq.*

[4] See *" Relatione di Polonia al vescovo di Caserta del 1600," Cod. N. 33, pp. 120-144, Vallicella Library, Rome ; *ibid.* Cod. N. 35, pp. 235-270, and in Urb. 837, pp. 480-512, of the Vatican Library, here with the name of Malaspina. RANKE (II., 254 ; III., 90*) made use of the report without knowing its author, and without giving the source. A Polish translation in *Relacye Nuncyuszów Aposi.*, II., 75 *seq.*

the Swedish Lutherans, on the east by the Orthodox Russians and the Cossacks, and on the south by the Turks, he could see no other hope of salvation than in an alliance with Austria and Transylvania, and in the re-establishment of unity of faith at home. As to the former, Malaspina, at the end of his mission, had witnessed the oath by which the Archduke Maximilian renounced the Polish crown (May 8th, 1598).[1] But this, as he fully realized, by no means removed all the obstacles that stood in the way of an alliance with Austria. Malaspina also formed a just estimate of the difficulties which the conditions in Poland put in the way of a Catholic revival, although he by no means despaired of the possibility of one day seeing unity of faith restored there. He gave his successor a number of valuable counsels for the realization of that purpose. Above all, the nuncio should encourage the king in his good intentions, and maintain unity among the Catholics, so that they might oppose a united front to their adversaries in the Diets. The nuncio, Malaspina pointed out, must prove himself the impartial and dispassionate servant of the Holy See, for thus he would be in a better position to maintain unity among the Catholics, clergy, laity and the sovereign. If disputes should break out, then he could more easily act as peacemaker, since the Poles would rather have a representative of the Holy See to act in that capacity than one of their own countrymen.[2]

A brief but weighty summary belonging to August 1598 shows how Malaspina had devoted all his powers to the restoration of the Church in Poland. Special credit is due to him for having induced the bishops to follow the good example set them by the Pope in visiting their dioceses and holding diocesan synods, a thing that had been neglected for a long time past.[3] Clement VIII. had encouraged these

[1] *Cf.* Hirn in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, Erg. Bd., IV., 248 *seq.*

[2] Relatione di Polonia, *loc. cit.*

[3] *" Si è indotto li ecclesiastici che a imitatione di N.S. hanno visitate le diocesi, fatto li sinodi diocesani che da molte decine d'anni si era tralasciato et hora cercano di potere celebrare un concilio nazionale o provinciale " (Attioni seguite in Polonia, etc.,

efforts in every way, and had taken a special interest in the visitation of the Polish Dominicans[1] and Carmelites.[2] The Pope's representative, Alexander Komulovič, who was labouring in eastern Europe on behalf of the anti-Turkish war, undertook by Malaspina's direction, a visitation of the great diocese of Wilna,[3] which, after the translation of Cardinal Georg Radziwill to Cracow in 1591, had been left without a bishop. In 1596 Komulovič succeeded in persuading Sigsmund to appoint Bernard Maciejowski to Wilna, thus giving that diocese a new and virtuous bishop.[4]

As far as was possible, Malaspina endeavoured to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent, which had been accepted in Poland. In this respect too his labours were crowned with much success.[5] The nuncio had also worked for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Poland in other ways as well; in many of the cities the heretics and schismatics had taken away their churches from the adherents of the old faith, and

loc. cit., Vallicella Library, Rome). For the visitation of 1596 *cf.* Script. rer. Pol., XV., 252. The brief of praise to the Archbishop of Gnesen on account of the provincial synod of July 17, 1598, in THEINER, III., 273 *seq.* Clement VIII. highly praised the Bishop of Ermland in a *brief to the King of Poland, April 26, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 57, n. 104, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *brief to the "Cancell. Poloniae," August 7, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 34, n. 53, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *ibid.*, t. 46, n. 100, the *brief to Sigismund III., April 10, 1602. Clement VIII. also intervened on behalf of the Orders, in favour of the right of investiture of the abbeys, but did not succeed in obtaining anything from Sigismund, all the more so as Malaspina had adopted the Polish point of view on this matter. See the details in the article by LÜDTKE in *Zeitschr. f. osteurop. Gesch.*, IV. (1914), 7 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, II., 359.

[4] See the *report of Cardinal Caetani, July 26, 1596, in Cod. X.-VI., 14, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[5] *"Se bene il Concilio era stato ricevuto non era tuttavia posto in essecutione onde restavano più tosto illaqueate le anime che assicurate. Si è in buona parte posto in uso la essecutione di esse." Attioni seguite in Polonia, *loc. cit.*

the number of sacred edifices which had been lost in this way was about 4,000. Malaspina encouraged the bishops to enforce their legal rights over the ecclesiastical buildings which had been erected by their labours, and often with the help of the Holy See. King Sigismund strongly supported these efforts, and when the Protestants had recourse to him, appealing to the confederation of Warsaw, which had ensured equal protection to both confessions, he remarked that this did not apply to the churches which had been usurped contrary to all rights.[1] In this way by 1598 at least half the churches had been recovered.[2]

Malaspina reported that the exemplary manner of life of the king had brought many Protestants back to the Church.[3] Great influence in this respect had been exercised by the fact that the King of Poland had in his hands the conferring of nearly all the civil offices as well as many ecclesiastical ones, in all some 20,000.[4] Before this time Hosius, Bolognetti and Clement VIII. himself, when he was Cardinal legate,[5] had advised the making use of this circumstance on behalf of the Catholic cause. This was first done in the time of Stephen Báthory,[6] and from 1592 onwards in an ever increasing degree by Sigismund III.; even to the senate, into which many Protestants had made their way, none but Catholics were now admitted. The change which was effected in this way was

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, II., 244.

[2] *"Havevano li heretici et scismatici usurpate da quattro mila parocchie; se ne sono ricuperate intorno a due mila." Attioni seguite in Polonia, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Relatione di Polonia. Cod. N. 35, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[4] *[Il Re] ha il pane in mano et lo può distribuire a chi li piace et si non i Polacchi poveri di patrimonio et senza i beni regii cioè palatinati, capitanati, castellanie et altri ufficii et dignità, che sono al numero di circa 20,000 comprese le nominationi et dignità ecclesiastiche non potrebbono vivere con splendore. Relatione di Polonia, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, App. no. 45, the instructions for M. Barberini, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 393.

so great that in a letter belonging to the latter days of Malaspina's nunciature it was stated: "If before the pontificate of Our Lord the Pope, it seemed as though heresy were driving Catholicism into its grave, it is now manifest that Catholicism is burying the said heresy."[1] There can be wonder then that Clement VIII. was highly delighted.[2]

In the same way as he had laboured for its external development, so did Malaspina devote his attention to the interior renewal and consolidation of the ancient Church. He advised his successor Rangoni above all to see to it that the Papal juridical authority suffered no usurpation in Poland, that the bishops fulfilled their duty of residence, and that they established good seminaries for the training of the secular clergy, and paid much attention to the filling of the parochial offices. He also drew the attention of Rangoni to the Catholics of Livonia, the Duchy of Prussia, Dantzig, Elbing, and the diocese of Wilna, who were oppressed by the Protestants. Mixed marriages, which were on the increase in spite of ecclesiastical prohibitions, called for special vigilance.[3]

[1] *Era il senato pieno di soggetti heretici; si è purgato di modo che appena tre sono infatti di heresia et si è indotta S. M^tà^ a non dare offitii ne dignità a persone aliene dalla nostra santa religione di modo che sicome avanti l'assontione al pontificato di N. S^re^ pareva che la heresia conducesse il cattolicismo alla sepultura, hora si vede manifestamente che il cattolicismo seppellisce detta heresia. Attioni seguite in Polonia *loc. cit.*, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[2] *"Noi restiamo sodisfatto del vostro servitio, stimiamo le vostre fatiche et ci teniamo obligati di rimunerarle," he said to Malaspina, according to the latter's report dated Ferrara, August 20, 1598, Borghese, III., 96b, p. 96, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Attioni seguite in Polonia, *loc. cit.* In 1596 Cardinal Caetani had, at the request of the Bishop of Kulm, addressed a question to the Inquisition in Rome on a similar matter. Cardinal Santori replied in a *letter of December 5, 1596, that the Congregation had discussed the matter under the presidency of the Pope: Non è parso in modo alcuno che si possa permettere ne tollerare senza peccato che li sacerdoti cattolici coniungano in matrimonio persone heretiche e benedicano le loro nozze poichè se bene tra

A great misfortune for Poland, of which Queen Anna had complained in 1594 in a letter to Clement VIII., was the great lack of priests.[1] All the more important, then, was the assistance given by the Jesuits, who had proved themselves the loyal co-operators in the work of restoration carried out by Malaspina and the king.[2]

During the pontificate of Clement VIII. the Society of Jesus flourished in Poland to an extraordinary degree, both internally and externally. If hitherto their members had been to a great extent foreigners, namely Italians, Spaniards and Germans, the number of natives now increased, among whom were numbered many of the aristocracy. During the first years of the pontificate of Clement VIII. there were thirteen houses of the Order in Poland, while by 1596 there were already seventeen. There were colleges at Posen, Braunsberg, Wilna, Poltawa, Jaroslaw, Lublin, Nieswiecz, Riga, Dorpat and Polotzk; professed houses at Cracow, Lemberg, Dantzig and Thorn, and noviciates at Cracow and Riga. To these must be added a special "station" at the royal court, which afterwards became a professed house, when Warsaw became the capital. As a single superior could not govern all these houses, about the end of the century Lithuania was formed

loro il matrimonio si tiene, non di meno i cattolici e i sacerdoti, che v'intervengono, peccano. Di più si desidera maggiore explicatione se quegli heretici tengano il matrimonio per sacramento come i primi heretici Luterani e non come i posteriori et i Calvinisti. Di più se nel dubbio [of the Bishop of Kulm] si parla quando tutti doi coniugi sono heretici o vero uno heretico et l'altro cattolico. Cod. X-VI., 14, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[1] *"Magna laboramus sacerdotum inopia." Letter of Queen Anna to Clement VIII., dated 1594, die XVII. (*sic*), copy in Doria Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows *Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu*, 1592, 67 *seq.*; 1593, 253 *seq.*; 1594-95, 318 *seq.*; 1596, 11 *seq.*; 1597, 45 *seq.*; 1598, 403 *seq.*; 1599, 445 *seq.*; 1600, 535 *seq.*; 1601, 747 *seq.*; 1602, 716 *seq.*; 1603, 647 *seq.*; 1604, 763 *seq.*; 1605, 880 *seq.*; Juvencius, III., 239, V., 399 *seq.*; Zaleski, Jesuici w Polsce, I., 2.

into a separate province, with nine houses and about two hundred members; the Polish province proper contained about the same number of members.

As before, the principal care of the Jesuits in Poland, was devoted, besides their ministry, to instruction and education, because they clearly realized that another generation would have to arise before the work of Catholic restoration could be fully effected. The greater number of the four hundred and more members whom the Society had in Poland were occupied in the education of the young, and they succeeded in imparting a sound education to their pupils besides a sincere piety and a true loyalty to the Catholic faith. The attendance at the Jesuit schools, which soon surpassed all others, was very large. Their academy at Posen, for example, had no fewer than 650 pupils in 1592, of whom the greater number belonged to the aristocracy; four years later there were 800. The Jesuit school at Wilna could boast of a similar number in 1597.[1] The effect of the Marian congregations which had been set up for the pupils was very beneficial. On festal occasions scholastic dramas in Latin were presented, a thing which was also done elsewhere.

The high reputation enjoyed by these Jesuit institutions led even those of another faith to entrust their children to them. The latter were only asked to be present at the sermons, but the fathers left everything else to their free choice, only taking care that the non-Catholic scholars were not in any way hurt in their feelings; many of these returned to the Church.[2]

King Sigismund protected the Jesuits in every way he could. It was at his expense that the beautiful Renaissance church of St. Barbara at Cracow was erected, the architect of which was a Jesuit, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni of Milan. This religious, who was distinguished for his great humility, lived for forty-three years in the Society, until his death in 1605.[3]

[1] *Litt. ann.*, 1592, 89; 1596, 19; 1597, 46.
[2] See ZALESKI, I., 2, 377.
[3] *Litt. ann.*, 1605, 881.

The Jesuits did not limit themselves to their ministry in the cities, and missions in the neighbouring and more distant districts were undertaken by almost all their houses. As far as the Carpathians and Hungary, and even beyond the actual borders of Poland, they made their way into the neighbouring territories of Germany and Russia,[1] and brought to those neglected peoples the knowledge of the true Church. They spent themselves in a special way during the epidemics which frequently broke out in Poland, and the courage which they displayed in the service of the sick and dying won the admiration even of their enemies. They showed themselves equally intrepid in the way they attacked the many heresies by means of the public disputations which were then in vogue.[2] At first the fathers found themselves in a difficult position in Polotzk, and in the largely Lutheran cities of Riga, Dantzig and Thorn,[3] but they courageously held their ground. At Thorn where they preached in German, the situation improved so greatly that it was possible in 1598 once again to hold the procession of Corpus Domini.[4] At Dantzig too they were able to point to considerable successes, but the war with the Swedes gave them great trouble at Riga.[5]

At Cracow and other places the Jesuits also visited the prisons and hospitals. In the ancient Polish city which was the coronation place of the kings, the Confraternity of the Misericordia, at whose mass the king on one occasion assisted incognito, became very wide-spread,[6] while the house of the Jesuits founded in 1598 at Warsaw attained to a special importance.[7] They preached in German, Polish and Lithuanian at Wilna, where, as at Dorpat, they established the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament for men and

[1] *Ibid.*, 1594-95, 345; 1599, 197, 453; 1601, 768.
[2] WERHER, Gesch. der polem. Lit., IV., 871 *seq.*
[3] *Litt. ann.*, 1596, 60 *seq.*; 1597, 65, 82; 1599, 479.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1598, 453.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1600, 563; 1601, 786; 1604, 729.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1594-95, 348; 1598, 423 *seq.*; 1599, 451.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1598, 403, 439, 453.

women ;[1] Livonia too, where priests were greatly lacking, was evangelized with special zeal.[2]

The Polish bishops fully appreciated the valuable collaboration of the Jesuits. Above all the Bishops of Luzk, Lemberg, Posen, Riga, Dorpat, Kulm and Wenden encouraged them in a special way. The Bishops of Posen and Luzk asked for the fathers to make visitations of their dioceses. The Bishop of Jaroslaw got them to give the exercises to his clergy, and the Bishop of Pultowa entrusted to them his seminary.[3]

The Jesuits in Poland also showed a special activity as writers, and the fathers who above all distinguished themselves in this direction, besides Peter Skarga, whose reputation had spread far beyond Poland, were Benedict Herbest, Adrian Jung and Jakob Wujek, to whom Catholic Poland was indebted for an excellent translation of the Bible.[4]

The conversion of the Jews, who were so numerous in Poland, also attracted their zeal, and in this respect they met with as notable a success as in the conversion of the heretics, and the renewal of the clergy, who had in many ways become decadent. As missionaries, preachers, writers, controversialists and educators, they kept one purpose in view: the complete recovery of Poland for the Catholic Church.

It was not only to the moral and religious renewal of the people, and their liberation from heresy, that the Jesuits devoted their labours; they also worked for the removal of the separation which since the beginning of the XVIth century had involved the Ruthenians (Little Russians) in Galicia, Podolia, Wolynia and Ukrainia as well as the natives

[1] *Ibid.*, 1594-95, 338; 1599, 437.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1597, 75.

[3] *Ibid.* 1594-95 325 *seq.* 334; 1596, 18, 25, 31, 41, 49, 57; 1597, 67, 78; 1604, 733. Light is thrown upon the state of the various dioceses by the *reports of the Bishops of Przemysl, Samogitia, Wilna, and Ermland of the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, in the Archives of the Congregation of the Council, Rome, already used by Prof. Boratyński in 1901, but not yet published.

[4] See WERNER, *loc. cit.*, 344 *seq.*

of White and Black Russia in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The famous Peter Skarga was the first and the outstanding champion of the project for the reunion of the Ruthenians who were subject to the Polish crown with the Catholic Church. After he and his fellow labourers had struggled for seventeen years in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its capital Wilna, both against the new errors of the Protestants, and the more ancient ones of the Greeks, Skarga published in 1577 his wonderful book "Of the government and unity of the Church of God under one only pastor, and of the Greek schism." The first volume of this celebrated work[1] was dedicated by him to the voivode of Ukrainia (Kiew), Prince Constantine Ostrogskyj, who, as the most important Ruthenian magnate was patron of about a thousand Ruthenian churches, and of the dioceses of Luzk and Pinsk.[2] Skarga proved to the Ruthenians in the clearest way that their church differed from the Roman Church, not only in external customs that were of no great importance, but as to the truths of faith necessary for salvation. He drew attention to the decadent state of the Ruthenian Church which was the result of the schism, to the contempt for the ecclesiastical state which prevailed there, and to the rule exercised by the laity over the house of God. No improvement could be looked for from the Greek Patriarch, who was bound to submit himself to the will of the Turks, but only from the lawful head, the Vicar of Christ. He pointed out that reunion would not be difficult, and himself guaranteed that in the event of the metropolitan being ordained by the Pope, and following the Apostolic See in questions of faith, they would be allowed to retain their rite and usages of worship, since the Church of God was clothed with variety, like a queen with the glory of many hued garments.

The idea of reunion, thus gloriously set forth by Skarga, was vigorously supported by another Jesuit, Antonio Posse-

[1] *Cf.* BERGA, 195 *seq.*

[2] See LIKOWSKI, 52 *seq.*, 68. *Cf.* SPILLMANN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI., 89; BERGA, 195.

vino, who had been sent in 1581 as ambassador to the King of Poland, Stephen Báthory, and by the nuncio Bolognetti. It was Possevino who decided Gregory XIII. to establish a seminary at Wilna for the Ruthenian and Russian youth, and to provide free places for the Ruthenians and Russians at the Greek College in Rome, and in the Jesuit schools at Olmütz, Prague and Braunsberg.[1] At the same time as Possevino, the professor of the Polish University at Cracow, the court preacher Stanislaus Sokolowski, maintained the necessity of reunion in two works.[2]

Following the example of Skarga, the Jesuits, especially those at Wilna, which was the principal centre for attempts at reunion, laboured to prepare men's minds by sermons and other forms of instruction for the process of reunion. For this purpose they appealed to the internal renewal and revival of the Catholic Church which had been effected within a comparatively short time after the Council of Trent, to which they held up by way of contrast the uninterrupted decadence of the Greek Church. These attempts to bring about conviction by means of instruction and the return of the Ruthenians to the Catholic Church by a completely free decision, produced good results, but naturally met with opposition, which principally manifested itself in the academy founded by Prince Ostrogskyj.[3] In consequence of this resistance, King Stephen Báthory did not venture to support the movement for reunion. Sigismund III. acted in a like manner at first, until the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Ruthenian episcopate morally forced him to come to a decision.[4]

The most trustworthy sources of information leave us in no doubt as to the fact that in the case of the Ruthenian Church the words of St. Cyprian were verified: that a branch

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 398, 415.

[2] See LIKOWSKI, 76 *seq.*

[3] See LIKOWSKI, 77, who shows that no one can accuse the Jesuits of ever having urged the Polish government to employ rigorous measures, or to employ violence against anyone's conscience.

[4] See LIKOWSKI, 79.

that is cut off from the living tree must wither away.[1] As the greater number of the episcopal sees were filled by unworthy men, and profaned by simony, both the secular and regular clergy were bound to fall into a state of great ignorance, and profound demoralization. Owing to decadence of the pastors, the religious life of the Ruthenian people was for the most part limited to the maintenance of external forms and the strict observance of many rigorous fasts. The educated classes, especially the aristocracy, had either embraced Protestantism or had entered the Roman and Catholic Church. Those among them who still adhered to the Ruthenian Church looked upon their depraved clergy with profound contempt. Only the religious confraternities, in which the inhabitants of the cities had banded themselves together, still showed anything of the vitality of the Ruthenian Church. These steadily acquired greater importance and power, but interfered in an ever increasing degree in matters that concerned the clergy. In the end they terrorized over the parish priests and even the bishops. Even worse was the fact that into the schools that were maintained by the confraternities masters found their way who taught errors of religion to the young, as dogmas of the Ruthenian Church. Thus no religious renewal could be looked for from that quarter.

Nor was the patriarchate of Constantinople, torn asunder by internal discord, and oppressed and humiliated by the Ottomans, in a position to render assistance to the Ruthenian Church. It was only when they found themselves embarrassed by want of money that the Patriarchs of Constantinople began to interest themselves in the Ruthenians; thus in 1586 an envoy from the Patriarch of Constantinople presented himself among them, and two years later the Patriarch himself. On his return from Moscow, where Jeremias II. had allowed himself to be induced to set up an independent Russian patriarchate, he sojourned among the Ruthenians for some

[1] *Cf.* for what follows SPILLMANN, *loc. cit.*, X., 435 *seq.*, and above all LIKOWSKI, 30-59, and 90 *seq.*, where many details are given.

time in 1589. Sigismund III. granted him full liberty for his ecclesiastical work, but it was soon seen that it was of far greater concern to the patriarch to confirm them in their already threatened schism than to reform the morals of the decadent clergy. Yet the measures which he took for this purpose proved unfortunate for the end which Jeremias II. had in view. The Ruthenian episcopate had already been divided by the appointment of an exarch, while a further misguided blow was struck by the elevation of the religious confraternities of Lemberg and Wilna to the "stauropigiac" rank; by this these lay communities were withdrawn from episcopal jurisdiction, and they were authorized to watch over the orthodoxy, not only of the lower clergy, but also of the bishops themselves![1]

As a result of the general disappointment occasioned by the action of the Patriarch Jeremias, it came about that soon after his departure the Ruthenian bishops seriously discussed the idea of separating themselves from Constantinople, and of seeking for a renewal of ecclesiastical conditions by reunion with Rome. At the same time a firm determination to detach the Ruthenian Church from its union with the patriarchate of Constantinople, and to unite it with the Holy See developed in the minds of the Polish chancellor, Zamoiski and King Sigismund. Sigismund was led to this determination principally by religious considerations, under the influence of Peter Skarga, who in 1590 dedicated to him the second edition of his book "On the Unity of the Church of God."[2] The chancellor was principally actuated by political considerations. His shrewd outlook was not blind to the danger of the Ruthenians entering into a rapprochement with Russia, a

[1] See LIKOWSKI, 63 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*, 84 *seq.* The earlier opinion that Jeremias II. had asked for large sums from the metropolitan of Lithuania for his consecration has been refuted by the publication of MILKOWICZ: Monum. Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoliens. (I., Leopoli, 1895, n. cclviii.). But as this sum was demanded by an intimate and companion of the patriarch, indignation fell upon the latter as well.

[2] *Cf.* BERGA, 223 *seq.*

people closely akin to them, in the new patriarchate established at Moscow in 1589, the titular of which called himself the Patriarch of the whole of Ruthenia. As for the Ruthenian bishops, if Gedeon Balaban of Lemberg allowed himself to be guided, in the matter of reunion, principally by private motives, Cyril Terlecki of Luzk on the other hand, was influenced by the consideration that the renewal of his Church would only become possible by detaching it from the decadent patriarchate of Constantinople, and uniting it to the Catholic Church which was then vigorously springing into new life.[1] A great influence in this matter was also exercised by the Latin Bishop of Luzk, Bernhard Maciejowski, so that later on Clement VIII. warmly thanked him for the part he had taken in bringing about the reunion.[2]

Of the greatest importance for the reunion with Rome was the fact that Terlecki found a most capable, enthusiastic and energetic collaborator in 1593 in the person of the new Bishop of Vladimir, Hypatius Pociej. Far-seeing, prompt in his decisions, energetic, outspoken without regard for persons, and yet when necessary, very cautious, he was the very man needed to attain to victory in this difficult task.[3]

On June 12th, 1595 (old style), the metropolitan of Kiev, Michael Rahoza, called together the Bishops of Vladimir, Luzk and Pinsk, together with the archimandrite of Kobryn, at Brest. There they drew up a joint letter to Clement VIII.,

[1] *Cf.* LIKOWSKI, 87 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*, who, especially against the opinion maintained by the Ruthenian and Russian historians, that the union of Brest (see further *infra*, p. 132 *seq*), was nothing but a device of the Jesuits, proves that the chief and more important part was the work of the Ruthenian bishops. Criticism has confirmed the thesis of Likowski; see *Przeglad Polski*, 1898, and *Kwartalnik Hist.*, XI., 162 *seq.*, as well as KAINDL in *Mitteil. aus der hist. Lit.*, XXXIII., 499 *seq.* *Cf.* also BERGA, 242.

[2] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 256.

[3] For Pociej, besides the earliest biography, which L. Kiszka added to the edition of the sermons of that prince of the Church (Kazania i homiliye Hipacyusza Pocieja, Suprásl, 1714), see especially LIKOWSKI, 93 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*, 110.

in which they declared that since the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as subjects of the Turks, were not in a position to do anything to restore ecclesiastical unity, in the interests of the salvation of their own souls, and those of their flocks, they wished, with the consent of their king, Sigismund, to adhere to the reunion entered into at Florence, in which their fathers had already concurred, provided that the Pope would consent to their preserving their oriental liturgy, and the whole of their ecclesiastical ritual. For the carrying out of this reunion they had resolved to send Bishops Pociej and Terlecki to Rome to the Holy Father.[1] After the two above-mentioned had persuaded the absent Ruthenian bishops to sign this document, they entered into negotiations with the Papal nuncio Malaspina and King Sigismund.[2] The latter, on August 2nd, granted them all that they asked, and by the privilege accorded to them on that date, the Ruthenian Church was to have all the rights and privileges of the Latin Church, and protection against possible reprisals on the part of the Patriarch of Constantinople; henceforward the bishoprics were only to be governed by born Ruthenians, elected from among four candidates chosen by the episcopate. The bishops were to have restored to them the property that had been taken from them, and the confraternities were once more to be subjected to their jurisdiction. They were also given seats and votes in the senate, though this matter had first to be laid before the Diet.[3]

Once the negotiations had reached this point, it became possible to reveal the secret which had hitherto been closely kept. The Bishop of Luzk, Chelm, Prezemysl and Lemberg informed their flocks, in a pastoral letter of August 27th, that the whole of the episcopate, including the metropolitan, had resolved, for the salvation of the souls entrusted to their care,

[1] See THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 237 *seq.*

[2] See LIKOWSKI, 116 *seq.*

[3] See the acta relating to the history of Western Russia published by the Archeological Commission, IV., Petersburg, 1851, N. 78-79, and LIKOWSKI, 116 *seq.*

to make their obedience to the Bishop of Rome. On September 24th King Sigismund addressed an open letter to the Ruthenians, in which he made known his will and desire that all his subjects should praise God with an united voice and heart, and that the faithful should follow the example of their pastor, whose representatives would repair to Rome in order to give effect to the reunion of the Ruthenian Church with the Apostolic See, on the condition of the maintenance of their own rite.

These words on the part of the king were rendered necessary by the fact that the timorous metropolitan Rahoza, who was unwilling to disturb his relations with the Ruthenian magnates, who were opposed to the reunion, was still hesitating.[1]

Clement VIII., who had been informed by his nuncio of the important events that were taking place in Poland, was awaiting, with an anxiety that is easy to understand, the appearance of the Ruthenain bishops in Rome. He, who had himself once been legate in Poland, fully realized the importance of that great kingdom as a bulwark of Christendom against the Turks on the east, as well as against the schismatics on the north. The reunion of millions of orthodox Ruthenians with the Church would not only strengthen that kingdom politically, but would give the Catholics an absolute preponderance over Protestantism, which was divided into so many sects.[2] It might also become a natural bridge to Russia. From the fact that the audience of the Bishop of Plock, when he came to Rome, lasted for three whole hours on November 12th, 1595,[3] it was possible to deduce that an important decision concerning Poland was imminent. A few days later Bishops Terlecki and Pociej arrived in the Eternal City. Clement VIII. assigned them lodgings in a special palace, and on November 17th they had their first audience.[4] The

[1] See LIKOWSKI, 118 *seq.*, 138.

[2] See SPILLMANN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI., 97 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of November 15, 1595, Urb. 1603, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of November 15, 1595, *ibid.*

Pope, so the bishops reported, welcomed them as a father his sons, with indescribable affection and courtesy.[1] On account of its importance, the matter was first referred for examination by Clement to the Congregation of the Inquisition.[2] The Ruthenian bishops were prepared to renounce the schism and all doctrines rejected by the Roman and Cahtolic Church, but they begged that, in conformity with the Council of Florence, the administration of the holy sacraments and the whole of the Byzantine rite should remain unchanged, nor should they undergo any change in the future. In agreement with the above-mentioned Congregation Clement VIII. granted this request, which was in absolute conformity with the principle admitted by the Council of Florence: namely, unity of faith despite diversity of rite. In his anxiety to promote the reunion the Pope desisted from his demand for the immediate introduction of obligatory celibacy, and thus gave up the apparently well-founded hope that the renewal of the decadent Ruthenian Church, thus begun with the reunion, would proceed of its own accord as time went on. Clement VIII. also gave up the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, as Terlecki and Pociej declared that this would meet with determined opposition.[3] The Pope appointed December 23rd, 1595, for the definite accomplishment of the reunion. On that day he assembled the thirty-three Cardinals who were in Rome, the whole of the court and the diplomatic corps in the Hall of Constantine at the Vatican. The historian Cesare Baronius, who had a

[1] See the letter of the two bishops of December 29, 1595, in HARASIEWICZ, Annales ecclesiae Ruthenicae, Leopoli, 1862, 198.

[2] See Bull, X., 247. The notes referring to this question in the Archives of the Roman Inquisition are still unpublished. The other acta are given by G. HOFFMANN: Ruthenica I.; Die Wiedervereinigung der Ruthenen, Sofia, 1923-24, in *Orientalia christiana*, III-2, Rome, 1924-25.

[3] SPILLMANN, *loc. cit.*, 98; LIKOWSKI, 139; see SMOLKA, Die reussische Welt, Vienna, 1916, 162.

short time before been raised to the purple, has described the accomplishment of the reunion as an eye-witness.[1]

After the two Ruthenian bishops had paid the customary homage, the canon of the cathedral of Wilna, Eustace Wollowicz, read first in Ruthenian and then in Latin the synodal letter of June 12th, 1595, addressed to the Pope, which had been signed by all the Ruthenian bishops. After this Silvio Antoniano, by the Pope's command, welcomed the Ruthenian bishops, who, for their own good and that of their country, and to the unspeakable joy of the Pope, had, after a separation of 150 years, once more returned to the rock on which Christ had founded His Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, the holy Roman Church. "Oh how great and how well deserved," he exclaimed, "is the praise which you yourselves have given to the goodness and wisdom of God, which has enlightened you to see that members divided from the head cannot remain in life, and that he who has not the Church for his mother, cannot have God for his father."[2] Then Pociej, in his own name and that of all the Ruthenian bishops read in Latin the Catholic profession of faith, according to a formula based upon those of Nicaea, Florence and Trent, and then accepted it on oath.[3] Terlecki

[1] See BARONIUS, Annales, VII., Venice, 1739, 859 *seq.* *Cf.* *Diarium P. Aleleonis on December 23, 1595, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[2] The *discourse of Antoniano in Ottob. 1088, p. 142, Vatican Library. Pichler, whose account of the union is both biassed and inaccurate, calls Antoniano (II., 95) a Cardinal, which he only became in 1599. False too is the statement of Pichler that the union took place at a consistory. P. Alaleone (*Diarium, *loc. cit.*) expressly calls the assembly *congregatio generalis.* The event is not entered in the *Acta consist card. S. Severinae (Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5 III., Vatican Library). The publication of the *Documenta de Ruthenorum unione* (1595) has been prepared by G. Hofmann.

[3] The text, omitted in Bull., X., 243, of the "Professio fide praesulum Ruthenorum" is in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 238 *seq.*

then did the same in Ruthenian, and thereupon the Pope repaired to the church to receive the Ruthenian bishops; his eyes were shining with tears of joy. "To-day," he said, "a joy fills our heart on account of your return to the Church, that cannot be expressed in words. We render special thanks to the immortal God, Who, by means of the Holy Spirit has guided your minds so as to lead you to seek a refuge in the Holy Roman Church, your mother, and the mother of all the faithful, who lovingly welcomes you once more among her sons." In significant words the Pope paternally exhorted these sons who had come back to him, to humility as the groundwork of the obedience they owed to the Church, "since, owing to her pride, Greece, which deserves our pity, and whose misfortunes we deeply deplore, has lost the light of truth, and now groans under the yoke of the most bitter slavery." With the assurance that his protection and help would never be lacking to them, and with the bestowal of the apostolic blessing, this memorable solemnity came to an end. On the vigil of Christmas the Ruthenian bishops appeared in their vestments in St. Peter's for vespers,[1] and on the following day they were appointed assistants at the pontifical throne.[2]

By a bull dated December 23rd Clement VIII. announced to the Catholic world the return of the Ruthenians to ecclesiastical unity; in this document he confirmed their rite in all particulars, with the exception of anything which might eventually prove to be contrary to the truth and the doctrines of the Catholic faith.[3] A commemorative medal[4] immortalized the important event by which, a century and a half after the Council of Florence, the bond of union between the Ruthenian Church and the Roman Church was once again formed. A similar purpose was served by a constitution of February 23rd, 1596, which granted to the metropolitan

[1] See the letter of the bishops, December 29, 1595, cited *supra*, p. 133, n. 1.

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[3] Bull., X., 239 *seq.*

[4] Reproduced in BARONIUS, *loc. cit.*

of Kiev the faculty to consecrate his bishops, but obliging him himself to obtain confirmation from the Pope.[1]

When Pociej and Terlecki made preparations, in February, 1596, for their return journey, Clement VIII. gave them letters for King Sigismund, the civil and ecclesiastical senators, the metropolitan Rahoza and the Ruthenian bishops. All were warmly urged to maintain the glorious work of reunion, the king in particular being urged to admit the Ruthenian bishops to the senate as he had promised to do, and to grant the same rights to the Ruthenian clergy as to the Latin. The Pope enjoined the metropolitan to convoke a council as soon as possible for the solemn proclamation of the union formed with the Holy See.[2]

While the feeble Rahoza delayed until the autumn in fulfilling this duty, the supporters of the schism, under the leadership of the aged Prince Ostrogskyj, in conjunction with declared heretics, raised a powerful agitation against the work of pacification.[3] Fortunately Sigismund stood firm, although every attempt was made to stir up the populace against Rome, Above all others, Cyril Lukaris, who was inclined to Calvinism. encouraged schismatical hatred, in which he was assisted by a Greek adventurer, named Nicephorus, who had been obliged to leave Constantinople on account of various thefts.

In spite of the prohibition of the king, Nicephorus repaired to Brest, while, in defiance of the royal commands, there also appeared there Prince Ostrogskyj with an armed following, together with Lukaris, who, by the command of the Patriarch of Alexandria, was working against the reunion. As the Bishops of Lemberg and Przemysl joined the party at Ostrogskyj, the hopes of the schismatics grew stronger. This party assembled in a Protestant house in Brest, and formed a kind of opposition synod, under the presidency of Nicephorus, who proclaimed himself, though quite untruly, the envoy of

[1] Bull., X., 250 *seq.*

[2] See the briefs, all dated February 7, 1596, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 250 *seqq.* *Cf.* PELESZ, II., 11 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* for what follows, the excellent description of LIKOWSKI (143 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*).

the Patriarch of Constantinople, though that see was vacant at the moment. But neither he nor his companions were able to prevent the lawful synod from taking place. In this there took part, besides the metropolitan Rahoza, the Archbishop of Polotzk, the Bishops of Vladimir, Luzk, Pinsk, and Chelm, as delegates of the Pope, the Latin Bishops of Lemberg, Luzk, and Chelm, and as theological advisers, the Jesuits Peter Skarga, Justin Rabe, Martin Laterna and Gaspar Nahaj. On October 9th (old style) the metropolitan celebrated the sacred liturgy in the church of St. Nicholas, after which the Archbishop of Polotzk, Hermogenes, read in his own name and those of the other Ruthenian bishops a declaration of their reunion with Rome. "We know well," he said, "that the sovereignty of the Church of God, according to the gospel and the words of Christ, founded upon Peter alone as the rock, must be exercised and administered by one alone, that over one body there must be but one head, over a well-ordered house but one master and administrator of the treasures of divine grace for the guidance of the flock, who must provide for the well-being of all, and that this must endure in a like manner, from the time of the Apostles through all the ages." After the reading of this declaration the Latin and Ruthenian bishops embraced each other, and then proceeded, as a sign of their brotherhood, in a single procession to the Latin church of the Mother of God, where the *Te Deum* was sung. The synod then deprived the Bishops of Lemberg and Przemysl, who had apostatized from the union, and declared Nicephorus and all who had taken part in the opposition synod excluded from ecclesiastical communion. The latter for their part retaliated by depriving all those who accepted the reunion. But King Sigismund cited Nicephorus before the courts, which sentenced him to imprisonment for life as an impostor and a Turkish spy. In a message dated December 15th, 1596, addressed to the Ruthenian nation, the king called upon the people to recognize only the bishops who were in communion with Rome. In this document, however, nothing was said of a confirmation of the promises made to the Ruthenian bishops or to the Holy See. The opposition of

the Polish bishops and senators did not make it seem an opportune moment for the king to summon the Ruthenian bishops to form part of the senate.[1]

The great dangers to which the reunion was subsequently exposed came above all from Prince Ostrogskyj, whose agents worked indefatigably against the union with Rome. Against the acceptance of the union it was principally urged that it was not legal, because it had been concluded without the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and without the agreement of the whole of the clergy, nobles and people. Although these reasons were fallacious, and were in evident contradiction of the ancient principles of the Church with regard to the episcopal office, nevertheless the agitation which was skilfully directed by Ostrogskyj and his collaborators of the protestant party, was successful in stirring up the Ruthenian clergy, both secular and regular, and with them the majority of the people and the aristocracy against the uniat bishops. The constant reiteration of the same complaints and grievances led the people in the end to adopt them, to show their sympathy for the schismatics, and to withdraw their allegiance from the uniat bishops,[2] who were described as tyrannizing over men's consciences and as disturbers of the public peace.

The union continued to be more and more severely threatened, yet the powerful Prince Ostrogskyj did not attain his true purpose, namely its complete destruction; on the contrary he was forced to witness two of his own sons become Catholics.[3] In Rome it was clearly understood how much depended upon this man, and therefore Clement VIII. sought to make the prince change his views.[4] For a long time the

[1] See LIKOWSKI, 152 *seq.*, 162 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 180 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 194. A *letter of Janus Ostrogskyj, dated March 24, 1602, vouches for his zeal for the Catholic religion in spite of the calumnies; his enemies are the heretics and the "frigidi catholici." Original in Doria Archives, Rome.

[4] See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 285.

reason why Ostrogskyj attacked the union with such fury and hatred was supposed to be his pride, but more recent research attributes it also to the heretical atmosphere which surrounded the prince, namely the learned Greek, Cyril Lukaris, the Arian Bronski and Motowila, and other religious innovators, who exercised an evil influence over him.[1]

The principal champion of the union was Hypatius Pociej, who became metropolitan of Kiev in 1599. Difficulties only increased his courage, and more descriptive of him than anything else is his own saying: "Even if I had to beg my bread, I would still continue to serve the Church of God."[2]

Clement VIII. too, continued to the end the loyal defender of the union. He repeatedly sent the Archbishops of Gnesen and Lemberg to take the part of the uniats against the machinations of the Greeks, as for example in July 1598 and March 1604.[3] The Pope had recourse to the king on April 3rd and July 10th, 1599, with the request that he would grant the Ruthenians the rights and privileges promised to them, and would protect them from the schismatics.[4] Again on March 31st, 1604, he urgently reminded Sigismund of his promise to receive the uniat bishops into the senate; at any rate the metropolitan should have a place there, so that he might reply to the attacks of the schismatics and defend the rights of the uniat Church.[5] A further proof of the long-suffering of the Pope and his pastoral care was the fact that when, owing to the efforts of Maciejowski, there was a glimmer of hope that Ostrogskyj would give up his opposition in view of his approaching death, he addressed a letter to the prince on January 15th, 1605, in which he once again refuted all the

[1]See LIKOWSKI, 198 *seq.*

[2]See *ibid.*, 244.

[3]See THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 271, 282.

[4]See *ibid.*, 272 *seq.*; PELESZ, II., 33 *seq.*

[5]See THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 283. *Cf.* also the briefs to Bishop Peter Tylicki of Ermland, of the years 1593 and 1604, in EHRENBERG, Ital. Beiträge zur Gesch. von Ostpreussen. Königsberg, 1895, 64 *seq.*

objections to the reunion, and exhorted him in paternal words to accept it.[1]

While reunion with the Ruthenians was still in the balance, there unexpectedly opened out a prospect of once again uniting Russia to the Catholic Church.

With the death of Ivan IV., which took place in 1584, there had begun in that kingdom the "period of the disturbances" which lasted until the accession of the Romanoff dynasty.[2] Under Ivan's successor, the imbecile Feodor I., the real power passed more and more into the hands of his cousin, the Tartar Boris Godunov. As Feodor had no heirs, it seemed, according to all human expectation, that the second son of Ivan, Dimitrij (Demetrius), would ascend the throne of the Czars, but this was not in accordance with the plans of the ambitious and energetic Boris, who aimed at obtaining that supreme dignity for himself. With this was evidently connected the mysterious disappearance of Demetrius in May 1591. It was said that the boy had, by pure accident, been mortally injured in a game, but the suspicion was at once aroused that he had been removed purposely. In face of the suspicion which fell upon himself, Boris caused an inquiry to be made, which, as might have been foreseen, went to show that the last male descendant of the house of Rurik had met with an accidental death. This official statement at once aroused doubts, and later on the rumour was spread that the child had been saved, and that his mother had substituted another who resembled him in his place.[3]

[1] See THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 286 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* WALISZEWSKI, Les origines de la Russie moderne. La crise révolutionnaire, 1584–1614, Paris, 1906.

[3] Among the more recent works on the false Demetrius mention must first be made of the profound researches, based on new authorities by PIERLING: Rome et Démétrius, Paris, 1878; Un manuscrit du Vatican sur le tzar Dimitri, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1894, II.; Lettre de Dimitri dit le Faux à Clément VIII., Paris, 1898, and La Russie et le St-Siège, III., Paris, 1901. The problem has also frequently been dealt with by others;

When in 1598 the Czar Feodor I. died, Boris Godunov attained the object of his ambitions, cleverly profiting by the state of affairs in the country and his friendship with the Hapsburgs.[1] With feigned reluctance he yielded to the urgent request of the Patriarch Job of Moscow, who was completely under his influence, and that of the aristocracy, and assumed the government as Czar. Far-reaching plans filled the mind of the new sovereign, who was a far-seeing and highly gifted statesman. Although he could not even read, he was nevertheless the friend of culture. At the opening of the century he tried to establish schools and a university in Moscow, and summoned thither German scholars; he had his sons taught by foreigners, and even sent Russian youths to the west to be educated. Thus this Tartar on the throne of the Czars stood out as the first "western" in the line of Russian sovereigns. In his efforts to Europeanize Russia, and by his alliance with the Protestant north of Europe, he recalled Peter the Great. But as far as the people were concerned he lacked the blood of the Ruriks, while he was too autocratic for the powerful boyars.[2]

Diplomatic complications were added to domestic difficulties. This man, who had sprung from nothing, would gladly have seen the beautiful Xenia, his only daughter, married into one of the ancient European dynasties, but his proposals were courteously rejected everywhere, both at

cf. especially HIRSCHBERG, Dymitr Samozwaniec, Leopoli, 1898; BAUDOUIN DE COURTENAY in *Rozprawy . . . z posiedzen wydz, filologieznego*, 2nd Series, XIV. (1898), 183 *seq.*; ŠČEPKIN, Wer war Pseudodemetrius? in *Archiv. f. slaw. Philol.*, XX–XXIII. (1898–1900); CAKO in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXX., 264 *seq.*; WALISZEWSKI, *loc. cit.* and also the critique of Pierling in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXXXI. (1907), 213 *seq.*; SKRIBANOWITZ, Pseudo-Demetrius I., Berlin, 1913. PANTENIUS (Der falsche Demetrius, Bielefeld, 1904), gives a number of interesting illustrations, but adds nothing new.

[1] *Cf.* KARAMSIN, X., 90 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, Österreich u. Russland, I., 541 *seq.*, 564.

[2] *Cf.* WALISZEWSKI, *loc cit.*

Stockholm, London and Prague.[1] The little court of Copenhagen at last showed itself more favourably disposed, but Prince John, the brother of King Christian IV., met with a premature death. To this domestic disappointment there was added a great national disaster; the years 1601 and 1602 brought bad harvests, which resulted in terrible famine, scarcity and disease. Brigands made their appearance, who levied contributions from the people, who credulously listened to the prophecies of the monks, foretelling a great catastrophe.[2]

In the midst of this social and economic crisis, the throne of Boris Godunov was seriously threatened when the alarming news reached the Kremlin in 1603 that a youth, who gave himself out as the son of Ivan IV., the Demetrius who had died in 1591, had met with a great following in Poland.

The claimant to the throne had first made himself known to the powerful Prince Adam Wisniowezki in Lithuania, and had won the latter, who hated Boris Godunov, to his plan for conquering the throne of the Czars which belonged to him with the help of the Cossacks and Tartars. The ambitious George Mniszek, voivode of Sandomir, who was gravely in debt, and the confidant of Sigismund III., who was an ardent supporter of the Ruthenian reunion, also put his faith in the story of Demetrius, and received him so cordially that the claimant to the throne asked him for the hand of his daughter Marina. The reply was deferred until Demetrius had presented himself before the king at Cracow. Accompanied by Mniszek and his father-in-law, Prince Adam Wisniowezki, Demetrius went at the beginning of March 1604 to the ancient capital of Poland. There the voivode of Sandomir prepared a great banquet on March 13th, at which Demetrius was the guest of honour, though, out of consideration for the still dubious senators, the latter preserved his incognito as far as possible. Even the nuncio Rangoni took part in the festivity. The mysterious pretender made a good impression upon him: his white and slender hands pointed to high birth, he was

[1] See ÜBERSBERGER, I., 564 *seq.*, 568 *seq.*; PIERLING, III., 89.
[2] See PIERLING, III., 89.

frank in his conversation, and his whole attitude and behaviour had something majestic about them.[1] Rangoni also makes mention of a large wart at the corner of his left eye, and the contraction of one of his arms,[2] which were said to be marks of the missing son of the Czar.

On March 15th Demetrius had a private audience of the King of Poland at Wawel, and this determined the attitude of Sigismund, who had at first refused to believe in the identity of the pretender. After this, however, the king made up his mind to support Demetrius, and showed this by loading him with gifts.[3] So far the nuncio Rangoni had remained completely neutral, but on March 19th he had a conversation for the first time with Demetrius, who was successful in winning over the Pope's representative.[4] Rangoni then put the claimant to the throne into touch with the Jesuit Gaspar Sawicki,[5] and in the presence of these two Demetrius expressed his desire to be received into the Catholic Church. When Sawicki had satisfied himself as to the genuineness of his intentions, he received from him, on Holy Saturday, April 17th, 1604, the Catholic profession of faith at the Jesuit college of St. Barbara.[6] All this, however, was done

[1] See *ibid.* 67 *seq.*, where there is a reproduction of the portrait of Demetrius in the Historical Museum, Msocow.

[2] See PIERLING, III., 68 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 69.

[4] See *ibid.*, 73 *seq.*

[5] This fact, which is proved for the first time by PIERLING (Rome et Démétrius, 14 *seq.*) in the light of the documents, destroys the older view, which was especially propagated by RANKE (Päpste, II., 256) in a wider field, that the intrigue was engineered by the Jesuits and the nuncio, and that it was only later on that Sigismund was won over. The contention of Ranke that the conversion was precipitate, is also false. For this Ranke depends upon the Historia di Moscovia by ALESS. CILLI (Pistoia, 1627), whom he considers worthy of all credence. Pierling has proved the contrary opinion, and has refuted the many and grave errors of Cilli. SKRIBANOWITZ too (*loc. cit.* 19, 36, 38) shows how little worthy of belief Cilli is.

[6] See PIERLING, Rome et Démétrius, 27 *seq.*, 183 *seq.*

in secret, on account of the Russian adherents of the pretender.

With the assistance of Sawicki, two days later the convert wrote a letter to the Pope in Polish, dated April 24th; this was to the following effect: "Who I am who thus venture to write to your Holiness will have been explained to you by the Polish nuncio, to whom I have made known all my resolves and the motives therefor. Having been saved by the help of God while still a child from the hands of a bloody tyrant and from death, kindly Providence has brought me to the realm of the King of Poland, whose acquaintance I have set myself to make. In Poland I came to the knowledge of the flourishing state of the Roman Catholic religion, I became more and more drawn to it, and found in it a treasure far more precious and a kingdom far more noble than that which the injustice of a tyrant had robbed me of. While I was meditating concerning the salvation of my soul I clearly saw the grave danger in which Moscow stood by reason of the schism, and how unjustly the authors and propagators of that schism had attacked the pure and ancient doctrine of the Catholic, Roman and Apostolic Church. Therefore, by the help of divine grace I have returned without delay to the unity of the Catholic and Roman faith, and by means of the sacraments have become a little sheep of your Holiness, the supreme Shepherd of all Christendom. My position constrains me still to conceal this, and to await what God, Who has saved me from so many perils, wishes to do with me. I hope that God will soon be willing to assist me, the descendant of the ancient and renowned princes of Muscovy, to recover my inheritance. If this should not prove to be the case, there still remains to me the consolation of Catholic truth, and my union with the Church which will lead me to the kingdom of heaven. If God should see fit to assist me to win back my inheritance, then I urgently implore your Holiness not to deny me your support. The almighty God may be able to make use of me, however unworthy I may be, to spread His glory, by the conversion of so many lost souls, and by the reunion of so great a country to the Church. Who knows

whether it be not for that very purpose that He has led me into the Church ? "

This letter, the author of which reveals himself as a native of Greater Russia, and not very familiar with the Polish language, ended with an assurance of his complete submission to the supreme pastor of Christendom, and with the request that he would keep silence as to its contents for a time. The document is signed : Demetrius, son of John, Czar of Greater Russia and heir to the Muscovite monarchy.[1]

When Demetrius handed his letter to the nuncio Rangoni on April 24th, he threw himself at his feet and assured him of his submission to the Holy See ; at the same time he promised, in the event of his accession to the throne of the Czars, to use all his power for the spread of the Catholic religion.[2] Henceforward Rangoni was completely won over to the cause of the pretender, whom Sigismund III. also favoured in secret, although a very strong party in Poland would not hear of any warlike undertaking against Russia. In the meantime the Czar Boris had taken up a defensive attitude ; supported by the Patriarch Job he spread the report everywhere that Demetrius was an impostor, and an apostate monk named Gregor Otrepjev,[3] who had escaped from the Tschudow monastery at Moscow.

The pretender, who had become betrothed to Marina Mniszek, was also very active. He succeeded in raising a small army of Poles and Cossacks, with which at the end of October 1604, he crossed the Dnieper, which then marked the boundary between Russia and Poland. Counting on meeting

[1] The letter of Demetrius to Clement VIII. has been published from the original in the Archives of the Roman Inquisition by Pierling in a photographic reproduction, together with a French translation, in a little work of which only 100 copies were printed (Lettre de Dimitri dit le Faux à Clément VIII., Paris, 1898). The Latin translation by Sawicki in PIERLING, Rome et Démétrius, 157 *seq.* For the style and the authorship see SKRIBANOWITZ, 46 *seq.*, and the literature cited there.

[2] See PIERLING, III., 83 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*

with support in Russia, he hoped, in spite of the small force at his disposal, to recover the throne of the Czars. Among his troops there were Jesuits who acted as military chaplains for the Catholics. Demetrius kept up a correspondence with Rangoni, who was very necessary for the attainment of his purpose, while the nuncio cherished the hope that within a short time there would be a Catholic ruler in the Kremlin, who would undertake the conversion of his great kingdom by means of Catholic missionaries.[1]

In contrast to the optimistic ideas of his representative, Clement VIII. displayed his customary prudence in the matter of Demetrius. He was perhaps confirmed in his attitude of reserve by the fact that he had by his side, as his confessor and friend, Baronius, the great historian. When the first news of the appearance of the pretender reached the Curia from Rangoni, the Pope's scepticism went so far as to attach to the letter of Rangoni a marginal note to the effect that this was probably a case of a person like the false Sebastian who had come forward in Portugal.[2] Only the conversion of Demetrius and his letter of April 24th, together with the reports of Rangoni, brought about a change of mind in the Pope. He handed over that important document to the Roman Inquisition for examination; this tribunal had to decide whether the desire expressed by Demetrius to the nuncio could be granted, namely whether on the day of his coronation as Czar he could receive communion from the hands of the Patriarch of Moscow.

While this matter was still under discussion, on May 22nd a Papal brief was addressed to "our beloved son and noble lord Demetrius" in which he was exhorted with paternal kindness to persevere in the way of piety and virtue. If Clement VIII. in this abandoned his attitude of cold reserve which he had so far maintained, he nevertheless avoided all mention of politics, nor were the great interests of Christendom

[1] See *ibid.*, 85, 114 *seq.*, 220.

[2] "Sarà un altro Re di Portogallo resuscitato." PIERLING, III., 41.

even mentioned in the brief. Demetrius had looked for a great deal more. In a letter of July 30th he treated of spiritual matters as well as political, and expressed his thanks in anticipation for the help offered to him. Clement VIII. left this letter unanswered.[1] The later developments of this affair, which ended with the murder of Demetrius, do not belong to his pontificate.

[1] See *ibid.*, 86 *seq.*, 230 *seq.* The letter of July 30 in PIERLING, Rome et Démétrius, 160 *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

Clement VIII. and the interior life of the Church.—The Religious Orders.—The Episcopate.—The Sacred College.

Filled with a conviction that the clergy of the Eternal City ought to stand out before all the world for their virtue and piety, Clement VIII., immediately after the beginning of his pontificate, proclaimed a general visitation of all the churches, religious houses, and pious institutions of Rome. In the document which was published on June 8th, 1592,[1] it was declared that just as none but a well cultivated field can produce an abundant harvest, so was it also in spiritual matters, and for that reason the Council of Trent had so strongly urged canonical visitations. To this end a commission composed of cardinals and bishops was appointed, which was to begin its labours with a visitation of the Lateran basilica. In order to obtain the divine assistance the Pope ordered the Forty Hours to be celebrated in the principal churches of Rome.

Mindful of the words of Our Divine Lord, that the good shepherd must know his sheep,[2] Clement VIII., regardless of his high dignity, took a personal share in the visitation of the greater number of the Roman churches. In this he was assisted by Cardinals Medici and Valiero, as well as by three bishops, among them the distinguished Lodovico de Torres, Archbishop of Monreale.[3] After the Pope had celebrated

[1] See Bull., IX., 562 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 564.

[3] See *Commentarius visitationis Clementis VIII. a. 1592; Urb. 837, p. 268 *seq.*, Vatican Library; Borghese, I., 869 and

high mass in the Lateran basilica on June 18th, 1592, and distributed holy communion to the clergy, he gathered them together in the sacristy, and delivered a discourse to them, in which he spoke of all the duties of their office, threatening grave punishments to those who had failed therein. Then, assisted by four Cardinals, he made a visitation of the church, and especially of the tabernacle, ordering that a place of greater honour should be assigned to it. He also demanded a more splendid reliquary for the heads of the Princes of the Apostles. The visitation was continued in the afternoon and on the following day. When the Pope visited the Lateran Hospital, he found there a sick man at the point of death, and Clement VIII. rendered him all assistance with as much fervour as though he had been a simple parish priest.[1] The Pope also carried out in person the visitation of the Lateran clergy, and of the house of the penitentiaries attached to the basilica, where he arrived quite unexpectedly. One penitentiary, in whose room he found a copy of the love-songs of Petrarch, was deprived of his office; the same fate befel another penitentiary who was found to be unfit. Clement VIII. declared that he would proceed in like manner everywhere, as he preferred to have a few well instructed priests to many who were ignorant.[2]

In the same way as the Lateran basilica, St. Mary Major's and St. Peter's[3] were subjected to a strict visitation, and after them one by one according to their rank, all the churches of the city. It was at once realized that Clement VIII. knew in every case how to observe a just mean between excessive

Arm. 7 t. 4, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* t. 3 *Decreta visit. sub Clemente VIII. See also the *report of G. Niccolini, June 19, 1592, State Archives, Florence. Med. 3303.

[1] See *Avvisi of June 17 and 20, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and the *letter of G. Niccolini of June 26, 1592, State Archives, Florence, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of June 27, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avvisi of July 4 and 8, 1592, Urb, II., Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *report of G. Niccolini, July 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence, *loc. cit.* and Collectio bull., etc. Basil. Vatic., III., 186.

severity and too great leniency.[1] However much he clung to the splendour of divine worship, he energetically protested against the exaggerated pomp displayed at processions by the Spaniards in their national church.[2] Wherever it was necessary he intervened with great severity.[3] The exactitude with which he proceeded could not have been greater, and he paid attention to the smallest details.[4] He made a very searching visitation of the Hospital of Santo Spirito,[5] and at the Aracoeli he went into the cell of every one of the friars.[6] The confessors were everywhere examined with special vigilance.[7] The Pope preferred to make his appearance without warning and quite unexpectedly,[8] and, as in the case of all his reforms, he took steps on his own initiative.[9]

[1] See *Avviso of July 8, 1592. Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of April 30, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., Vatican Library. The Pope would not make his appearance even in St. Peter's with the tiara; see *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 28.

[3] The *Avviso of November 25, 1592, reports: "Sabbato N.S. visitò la chiesa di S. Maria in Trastevere, et vi fece il solito sermone con maggiore vehementia del consueto, toccando certi tasti et minutie, che non ha costumato nell' alter chiese" (Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library). The commandant of the Hospital of S. Spirito was dismissed, according to the *Avviso of July 15, 1593 (Urb. 1061, *ibid.*).

[4] Examples are given by the *Avvisi of August 22, 1592, and June 22, 1596, Urb., 1060, II., and 1064, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 25.

[5] See *Avviso of September 23, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso of February 22, 1595, Urb. 1063, *ibid.*

[7] See *Avvisi of September 9 and November 7, 1792, Urb. 1060, II., *ibid.*

[8] See besides BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 46, the *Avvisi of September 23, 1593, February 22, 1595, and August 22, 1601, Urb. 1061, 1063, 1069, Vatican Library.

[9] *"Il card. Rusticucci afferma, che quanti editti di riforme, bandi di donne, restrittioni di camere locande et simili ha mandati fuori in questo pontificato, sono stati tutti di ordine del S.P. vivae vocis oraculo." *Avviso of November 25, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., *ibid.*

The visitation of the Roman churches in 1592 was continued by the Pope in person even after the commencement of the cold season,[1] and the Venetian ambassador reports that in this he displayed a zeal that could not have been greater if he had been a simple bishop.[2] The reforms which he prescribed were all entered in the Acta.[3]

In view of the minuteness with which the visitation was carried out, it is not surprising that it was prolonged from 1593 to 1596.[4] It proved very efficacious[5] so that it was again repeated later on.[6] In July 1603 Clement VIII. took part in the visitation of the church and convent of S. Salvatore in Lauro.[7] The Pope also insisted on taking part in the examinations, begun in 1597 onwards, of the parish-priests of Rome, which were entrusted to a commission of Cardinals, even though it was pointed out to him that in so doing he was fatiguing himself unduly.[8]

Convinced as he was of the importance of the religious

[1] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Cod. Barb. 2815 *ibid.*

[2] PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 21.

[3] See *ibid.* and *Avviso of November 28, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Acta visitationis multarum ecclesiarum Urbis sub Clemente VIII. Cod. 7, 59, Vallicella Library, Rome. See also *Borghese, II., 51a and 52 Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Avvisi of 1596, June 22 (visitation of the convent of the Minims), June 26 (convent near S. Croce in Gerusalemme), July 10 (S. Prassede). Urb. 1064, I. and II., Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the *brief to Archbishop Ernest of Cologne of November, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 34, n. 10, Papal Secret Archives (see Vol. XXIII., App. n. 5), and *Vita et gesta Clementis VIII. in Inform. polit., XXIX., State Library, Berlin.

[6] See *Avvisi of August 22, 1601, and July 2, 1603, Urb. 1069, 1071, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso of July 2, 1603, according to which the Pope found in the cell of P. Massimiliano some jewels which he at once caused to be sold. Urb. 1071, *ibid.*

[8] See *Avvisi of January 18, February 12, 15 and 22, 1597, Urb. 1065, *ibid.*

Orders to the Church,[1] Clement VIII., in the course of his visitations, devoted special attention to the state of the religious houses of Rome. As early as March 1592 he had summoned before him the generals and procurators of all the Orders, and had exhorted them, with threats of grave penalties, to lead an exemplary life.[2] This warning was repeated in the severest terms in September, when it had transpired that the enactments ordered during the visitation had to a great extent not been carried out. The Pope asked for a list of all those who failed to obey, and said that in the place of so great a number of small houses which were difficult to supervise, he would like to see in every province three or four large houses in which the reform could be carried out exactly.[3] In October 1592 all the gratings and windows in the convents of women which gave upon the street were walled up.[4] At the visitation in 1593 the Capuchins in the convent on the Quirinal had to listen to words of severe reproof.[5] In 1596[6] there were fresh measures of reform for the religious houses of Rome. Later on too the Pope took advantage of his visits to the houses of the Orders to address serious observations to them,[7] though wherever he found a satisfactory state of affairs he did not spare his praises.[8]

In December 1592 a prohibition, addressed for the time

[1] The Pope called the Orders "ossa et medullas christianismi"; see ZACHARIAE, Iter. litt., 302. The Cod. Vat. 3565 contains among the *discourses of Giov. Paolo Eustachio dedicated to Clement VIII., n. 1: "Della necessità et utilità della visita che fa N.S. alle religioni. Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso of March 14, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., *ibid.*

[3] See *Avviso of September 19, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of October 21, 1592, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of July 7, 1593, Urb. 1061, *ibid.*

[6] See *Avvisi of May 4, and November 16, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., *ibid.*

[7] See *Avviso of February 24, 1599, Urb. 1067, *ibid.*

[8] See the *brief to the General of the Carthusians, in which the Pope speaks of his visitation of S. Maria degli Angeli, November 15, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 56, n. 24, Papal Secret Archives.

being to the religious houses of Rome, was issued against the making of gifts, which did not apply, however, to alms to the poor.[1] On June 19th, 1594, this ordinance was extended to all the religious houses in the world.[2] In the same way the constitutions concerning the erection of new houses,[3] and the punishment of exempt religious who had committed some fault outside their own houses,[4] were also made universal.

Clement VIII. rendered good service to the Orders by his constitution of March 12th, 1596, and four subsequent decrees of the years 1599, 1602 and 1603, concerning the exclusion of those who had no true vocation, and the training in deep piety of young religious. These contained the most salutary prescriptions, limited for the time being to Italy, on the reception of novices.[5]

With what care Clement VIII. laboured everywhere for the re-establishment of religious discipline, where it had become relaxed, and for its maintenance, where it still existed, is shown by the visitors whom he sent,[6] by his many instructions to the nuncios,[7] and by a whole series of special enactments. These applied to the Augustinian Hermits,[8] the

[1] See *Avviso of December 26, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

[2] Gifts to individual inhabitants of religious houses were also prohibited; see Bull., X., 146 *seq.* *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 365, 485.

[3] See Bull., XI., 21, and the *declaration of August 26, 1603, copy in the Cod. 55 of the Theodoriana Library, Paderborn.

[4] See Bull., X., 348 *seq.*

[5] See Bull., X., 769 *seq.* and *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, CXI. (1911), 696 *seq.*

[6] See ZACHARIAE, Iter. litt., 302.

[7] Especially to the nuncio at Venice were instructions given to persevere in the work of reform; see in App. n. 7 the *instructions to M A. Graziani, March 30, 1596, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. Caetani devoted himself to the reform of the religious houses in Spain from the beginning of his nunciature; see *Nunziat. di Spagna, 43, Papal Secret Archives.

[8] See "Clementis P. VIII. pro reformatione fratrum ord. Eremitarum s. Augustini decreta," Pisauri, 1599.

Basilians,[1] the Camaldolese,[2] the Cistercians,[3] the Cluniacs,[4] the Order of the Holy Ghost,[5] the Hermits of the Hieronymite observance,[6] the Knights of St. John,[7] the Carthusians,[8] the Servites[9] and the Dominicans.[10] Clement VIII. introduced more strict rules in the case of the Brothers of Charity and the Fathers of a Good Death.[11] He greatly encouraged among the Franciscan Order the new reforms of the Observants, the

[1] Bull., X., 623 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 293 *seq.*

[3] See the *brief to "capit. general. ord. Cisterc.," dated March 14, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 70, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *brief of blame to "Abbas Cluniacensis," October 27, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 78, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* BRUNE, L'ordre du Saint-Esprit, Paris, 1892, 263, and E. MICHAEL in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XXIII., 210.

[6] Bull., X., 34 *seq.*

[7] See the severe *briefs to the Grand Master of Malta, May 14, 1592, June 15 and September 2, 1594, and April 30, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 304; t. 39, n. 214 and 258 *seq*; t. 46, n. 129, Papal Secret Archives. See also C. FEDELI, Carteggio dei Gran Maestri di Malta con i duchi d'Urbino, Pisa, 1912, 69 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*

[8] See the *brief to the chapter general of the Carthusians, April 15, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 217, Papal Secret Archives.

[9] See Bull., X., 658 *seq.*, 662 *seq.*, and Decreta Clementis P. VIII. pro reformatione fratr. ord. Serv. B. Mariae Virg., Rome, 1604.

[10] See Bull., IX., 561 *seq.* For the reform of the Dominicans at Naples, where there were bad relations between the secular clergy and these religious, see *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 441 *seq.*; MUTINELLI, II., 176 *seq.* *Cf.* the *brief to the Cardinal of the Dominicans, June 29, 1596, concerning the enclosure, Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 200, Papal Secret Archives. The *Avviso of June 13, 1601, states: When the Dominicans went on Saturday with their General to the Pope, "N.S. fece loro un breve ragionamento, esortando in particolare tutti alla concordia et esso Generale al giusto governo et a far osservar la lor regola, senza che sia bisogno venghino d'altronde chi la facci loro osservare." Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

[11] See Bull., X., 295 *seq.*, 635.

Riformati in Italy and the Recollects in France.[1] Francisco Sousa of Toledo who in 1600 was elected General of the Observants in Rome, presented to the Pope a memorial on the state of his Order, in which he had lived for thirty-five years, filling almost all the offices, and making visitations of almost all the provinces.[2] He described in detail the condition, to some extent not very consoling, of the convents in Germany, France, Spain and Italy, and makes suggestions for their improvement. He lays it down as a maxim for reform that it must not be universal, but adapted to the very varied needs of the different districts.[3]

In the Benedictine Order, reform had been carried out, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, both in Italy and Spain, by means of the institution of congregations; at the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. gave some salutary ordinances to the Cassinese Congregation.[4] In France, where the system of commendams had exercised a harmful influence, they did not prove of any particular importance, except in the case of the congregation of Saints Vanne and Hydulphe, established in Lorraine at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in that of the Feuillants. The former was confirmed by Clement VIII., from whom it received new and milder rules.[5] In Germany the most important congregation was that established in 1564

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 299 *seq.*; GAUDENTIUS, Beiträge, 242 *seq.*; HOLZAPFEL, 312.

[2] *"Informazione copiosa del P. Sosa ministro generale de Min. osserv. a P. Clemente VIII. sopra il modo di reformare la religione" in a miscellaneous codex of the Communal Library, Ancona, which was not yet catalogued when I made use of it in 1884.

[3] *"Che in una parte sarebbe riformatione, nell'altra causarebbe scandali et nell'altra distruttione," says Fr. Sousa in his *Informazione, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Bull., X., 28 *seq.*; Bull. Casin., I., 266 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Bull., XI., 64 *seq.*; ASCHBACH, Kirchenlex, I., 653 *seq.*; SCHMIEDER in *Studien aus dem Bened. Orden*, XII., 60 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 150 *seq.*, 242.

in Swabia, which was confirmed in 1603 with the title of the Congregation of St. Joseph.[1] The most important Benedictine monasteries in Switzerland, St. Gall, Einsiedeln, Muri and Fischingen, were united into one congregation in 1602. Clement VIII. confirmed this and also invited other Swiss monasteries to join it. Pfäfers and Rheinau did so at once, and all the others later on.[2]

In the matter of the reform of the regular and secular clergy, Clement VIII. addressed himself repeatedly to the bishops. If the latter were fulfilling their pastoral duties he expressed his satisfaction,[3] but if not, he addressed severe admonitions to the archbishops, and sometimes even to the princes.[4] Occasionally he also sent special visitors, as was the case with Sardinia in 1598.[5] His nuncios at Naples and Venice laboured incessantly for the reform, which was very much needed in many of the religious houses there.[6]

However cold Clement VIII. showed himself towards the

[1] See HEIMBUCHER, I., 149.

[2] See *Hist.-polit. Bl.*, CV., 729 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *briefs to the Bishop of Oria, June 20, 1598, and March 31, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 176; t. 43, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, t. 46, nn. 177-180 *briefs to "episc. Lausan. Constant, Curiens. Basiliens," June 15, 1602.

[4] *Cf.* Bull., IX., 541 *seq.* (to the Patriarch of Venice), X., 731 *seq.* (to the Bishops of Corsica); *brief to the Duke of Savoy, March 15, 1597 (orders the Bishop of Maurienne to reform a monastery of Cistercians) Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 83, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, t. 43, n. 45 and 208, *briefs to Rudolph II., January 30 and April 3, 1599, concerning the reform of the religious houses in Suabia. See also n. 111, *brief to the Archbishop of Crete, February 19, 1599.

[5] See Bull., X., 78 *seq.*

[6] For Venice see in App. n. 7 the *instructions to the nuncio there March 30, 1596, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. On January 29, 1605, Clement VIII. recommended to the Doge the visitor sent for the Congreg. di S. Giorgio in Alga, which was in need of reform (*Brief in State Archives, Venice). For conventual reform at Naples see Cod. L. 23, p. 172b, Vallicella Library, Rome, and *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 237, 290.

Jesuits,[1] he was not blind to their success in popular missions,[2] for which work they were especially fitted. Therefore in 1598 he induced the Jesuits in Rome to preach such missions in the Campania, the Sabines, and the Roman Campagna. The self-denial of the fathers in this work among the poor country folk, in the full heat of summer, was indeed admirable, and their success was in the highest degree consoling. The Bishops of Città Castellana and Montepulciano asked that these missions might also be extended to their dioceses.[3]

In Rome, where the Jesuits were doing very useful work,[4] above all encouraging in their churches the devotion to the sufferings of Christ,[5] they were rivalled by the Theatines and the Oratorians. Clement VIII. confirmed for the Theatines their emended rule,[6] and granted them many favours.[7] The Capuchins[8] and the Barnabites[9] who were spreading through-

[1] *Cf. supra*, p.

[2] *Cf.* Litt. ann. 1592, 13 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 1598, 14 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* "Domus ac pietatis opera quae B.P. Ignatius facienda Romae curavit quaeque societas suae curae commissa habet" (rare engraving of 1600).

[5] See *Avviso of January 1, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library The *Avviso of April 17, 1604 (Urb. 1072, *ibid.*) states: The Jesuits have made in their church a beautiful sepulchre, like that at Jerusalem; "è ben vero, ch'era ogni cosa di bianco et dentro et fuori, cosa non approbata cosi generalmente da tutti in questi tempi che là S. Chiesa va certando con le candele le cose meste et di malencolia."

[6] Bull of July 28, 1604, Theatine Archives, Rome. *Ibid.* a *brief dated "sexto Idus Augusti:" Clement VIII. grants to the Theatines the church of S. Stefano at Vicenza; also a *document concerning the grant of the church of S. Bartolomeo in Porta at Bologna (1599) and a bull of Clement VIII. "per la fundazione de Teatini nella chiesa di S. Giorgio in Rimini." The Theatines were also brought to Florence in 1592 by Clement VIII.

[7] See *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 323 *seq.*

[8] See Bull. Capuc., II., 113, 172 *seqq.*, 223, 318, 407; III., 19 *seqq.*, 62 *seqq.*, 78 *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.*, 116 *seqq.*

[9] *Cf.* PREMOLI, 335 *seq.*, 355 *seq.*, 357 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*, 388 *seq.*

out Italy, received many proofs of the good-will of the Pope. The same was the case with the Oratorians, who were very dear to the Pope, who had Baronius as his confessor. In the matter of the absolution of Henry IV. it was seen what influence that distinguished man, as well as Philip Neri, had over him. The relations between Clement VIII. and the holy founder of the Oratorians, who died on May 26th, 1595, were both cordial and intimate, as between father and son. Clement VIII., who, like all the Aldobrandini, loved cheerfulness, was well able to adapt himself to the joking and humourous methods which Philip Neri loved to adopt, and we have evidence of this in certain letters which were exchanged between them.[1] But though the Pope willingly yielded to the wishes of Philip Neri, he nevertheless preserved his independence even with him. Thus he remained immovable when the saint presented a plea on behalf of a bandit who had been condemned to death, for Clement judged it necessary that in this case the law should take its course in all its rigour.[2] Nor would he suffer himself to be moved from his intention of making the most beloved of the disciples of Philip Neri, Tarugi, Archbishop of Avignon, and though the saint did all he could to induce the Pope to change his mind, he adhered to his purpose, saying that he could not give way, because it was incumbent upon him to care for the well-being and the betterment of the whole Church.[3]

[1] See CAPECELATRO, Der hl. Philipp Neri, revised by Lager, Freiburg, 1886, 324 *seq.*, where we find corrected the interpretation which a thinker like Goethe, who otherwise so well understood the life of men, gave to these letters.

[2] Others on the other hand, who had been condemned to prison for lesser crimes, were released in 1593 at the instance of St. Philip; see *Avviso of June 30, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library. For the favour which the Oratorians enjoyed with the Cardinals, see *Avviso of December 25, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., *ibid.* A Relatione of that period tells us that the number of the Oratorians, who in turn delivered two or three sermons every day, was 40; see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 1, 393.

[3] See CAPECELATRO, *loc. cit.*, 335.

The Minorite, Angelo del Pas, was held in high esteem by Clement VIII. He had also been esteemed by his predecessors on account of his theological works and the purity of his life; he died in 1596 in the odour of sanctity.[1] The same was true of Camillus of Lellis, the founder of the Fathers of a Good Death.[2]

Two other saints also found a fervent protector in the Aldobrandini Pope: Giovanni Leonardi and Joseph Calasanctius.

Giovanni Leonardi,[3] who was born in 1543 in a village near Lucca, and who first, by the wish of his parents, became a chemist, only attained to the goal of his desires, the priesthood, later on. Although he was already twenty-six Giovanni took his place once more on the benches of a school in order to learn Latin. Ordained at the end of 1572, he devoted himself with ardent zeal in Lucca to the catechizing of poor children and the instruction of the young in their religion. The first fellow-labourers that he met with there were a hat-maker named Giorgio Arrighini and Giambattista Cioni, the scion of a noble family. Together with these he established himself in 1574 in a room near the church of the Madonna della Rosa. Among the companions who joined them there were above all two brothers, Cesare and Giulio, of the Franciotti family, and related to the della Rovere. Being asked by his companions for a written rule, Leonardi took a sheet of paper and wrote the single word: "Obedience." Although the members of this new company lived for nothing but their own sanctification and the good of their fellow-citizens, they did not lack persecution, but the Bishop of Lucca, Alessandro Guidiccioni, supported the work of these pious men.

[1] *Avviso of August 28, 1596, Urb. 1964, Vatican Library. For A. del Pas *cf.* HURTER, I., 89 *seq.*, 397.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXII,, p, 398, of this work, and M. AMICI, Mem. stor. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis, Rome, 1913; *ibid.*, p. 219, the protection given to him by Clement VIII.

[3] *Cf.* the biographies by L. MARRACCI (Venice, 1617; Rome, 1673) and CARLANTONIO ERRA (Rome, 1758). *Cf.* also BARELLI, Memorie de chierici regol. di S. Paolo, L. Bologna, 1703, 26 *seqq.*

Giovanni Leonardi drew up a catechism, and did such useful work in Lucca and the neighbourhood, that the Bishop of Lucca called him the apostle of his diocese. With unwearied activity he introduced into the cities, on the last Thursday of the Carnival, a general communion, and, following the example of Charles Borromeo, the pious exercise of the Forty Hours during the last three days of the carnival. When he was once again subjected to persecution, the holy man was not discouraged, not even when he and his companions came to lack all means, and their house was taken away from them. His firm trust in God was not in vain; in 1580, the rector of the church of S. Maria Cortelandini, made over to him, with the consent of the bishop, his presbytery, and in 1583 Leonardi and his zealous companions established there a religious congregation, under the name and patronage of the Madonna, for their own perfection and the preaching of the word of God.[1]

While on a pilgrimage to Rome Leonardi formed a friendship with Philip Neri. This proved very valuable to him when a fresh persecution at Lucca forced him to have recourse to the Holy See. On his return the inhabitants of Lucca closed the gates of the city against him. Although Sixtus V. had declared Leonardi innocent, the latter was unwilling to stir up his adversaries against him any further, and he therefore remained in Rome, in close relationship with Philip Neri, and furthering the work in the hospitals and schools. Clement VIII. esteemed his labours in the highest degree; it did not seem fitting to him that the work of a religious society, which sought for nothing but the welfare of the inhabitants of Lucca and its own members, should be any longer hampered, and accordingly, on October 13th, 1595, at Leonardi's request, he approved his congregation.[2]

In 1596 the Pope arranged that this zealous priest should be able once more to return to Lucca. Since men's minds there were not yet quite calmed, Clement VIII. for the time

[1] See Bull., IX., 227 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*

being made use of Leonardi as apostolic commissary for the introduction of reforms into the Order of Montevergine in the province of Naples. After this Leonardi also reformed certain monasteries of the Vallombrosans, and visited Monte Sennaro, the cradle of the Servite Order. Cardinal Tarugi asked for him in 1597 for the reform of his diocese,[1] and in the same year he visited his house at Lucca. In 1601 Leonardi was successful in founding a second house in Rome near the church of S. Maria in Portico.[2]

Two years later the Pope entrusted to Cardinal Baronius the protectorate of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, whose first General Leonardi became. A brief of June 24th, 1604, allowed the new congregation to establish houses everywhere, provided the diocesan bishops gave their permission. "Take care of the young," said the Pope to the founder, when he presented himself before him with Baronius.[3]

There was another saint who was likewise predestined to the priesthood, who was filled with enthusiasm for the good of his neighbour, and whose efforts were encouraged by Clement VIII.: this was Joseph Calasanctius,[4] so called from the mountainous hamlet in Aragon, near Petralta de la Sal, where he was born in 1556. After the young nobleman had studied philosophy and jurisprudence at the university of Lerida, and theology at Valencia and Alcalá de Henares, he was urged to contract matrimony after the death of his brother without issue, so that his ancient family might not

[1] See ERRA, *loc. cit.*, 63 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Storia di S. Maria in Portico, Rome, 1750.

[3] See ERRA, 81 *seq.*, Bull., X., 229 *seq.*

[4] See the biographies by ALESSIO DELLA CONCETTIONE (Rome, 1693), TOSETTI (Rome, 1767; Florence, 1917), LIPOWSKY (Munich, 1820), KELLNER (Skizzen u. Bilder aus der Erziehungsgesch., I., Essen, 1862), TIMON-DAVID (2 vols., Marseilles, 1883), HUBART (Mayence, 1862), TOMMASEO (Rome, 1898), CASANOVAS Y SANZ (Saragossa, 1904), HEIDENREICH (Vienna, 1907). *Cf.* also HEIMBUCHER, II., 272 *seq.*; *Hist. pol. Bl.*, VII., 599, XXXIII. 746, CXX., 901 *seq.*; FALOCI PULIGNANI, Notizie del ven. G.B. Vitelli da Foligno, Foligno, 1894, 49 *seq.*

die out. The young man would not hear of this, but it was only after he had been miraculously cured of a grave illness, that his father abandoned the project.

Having been ordained priest at the end of 1583 Joseph Calasanctius devoted himself for nine years to the care of souls in various parts of his native Spain. It seemed that he might confidently look forward to some great ecclesiastical office, but a secret desire drew him to Rome. He arrived there in a state of poverty in the spring of 1592, for after his father's death he had distributed the whole of his inheritance. The inhabitants of the Eternal City were still suffering at that time from the effects of the plague and famine, which had scourged them from 1590 onwards ;[1] thus there were many orphan children wandering about the streets, without clothing, food or instruction. A friend of Philip Neri, the noble and pious Giovanni Leonardo Ceruso, known as "Il Letterato," had already in the time of Gregory XIII. founded an institute for abandoned children,[2] of which, after his death on February 13th, 1595,[3] Baronius, by the order of Clement VIII. under-

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 345.

[2] See *Avvisi of September 9, 1592, and February 18, 1595, Urb. 1060, II., and 1063. According to the *Avviso of April 28, 1601, the number of the "poverelli dell'hospitale di Letterati" was at that time about 200 (Urb. 1069, Vatican Library). These children were called "i poveri letterati." See MORONI, XIV., 45. Fra Marcello Fossataro of Nicotera, a hermit of St. Francis *asked Clement VIII. for permission to found at Naples an asylum "come fece il Literato in Roma," State Archives, Florence ; see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 250). About 1600 Carlo Carafa founded a congregation "dei pii operaii" at Naples, and converted many Turkish servants there ; see *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, I², 1231 *seq.* Art. *Arbeiter*, and F. CEVA-GRIMALDI, Della città di Napoli, Naples, 1857.

[3] *Cf.* MANSIO, Vita di Giov. Leonardo Ceruso detto Letterato, Rome, 1834 ; CALENZIO, Baronio, 103 *seqq.* ; ORBAAN, Documenti, 151 n. and Rome under Clement VIII., 62 *seqq.* In the *Memoirs relating to the Congregation of the Oratory by Pompeo Pateri, a description of the influence of the "opera di Litterato" as follows : In questo tempo s'era cominciata già l'opera di Litterato

took the care.[1] But this alone could not overcome the evil. Joseph Calasanctius, who immediately after his arrival in Rome had become a member of the confraternity for teaching Christian Doctrine, saw with profound grief how many abandoned children were growing up without instruction or supervision. When he applied to the masters of the schools to be allowed to instruct the little ones gratuitously, he was referred by them to the magistracy. But he failed to obtain a hearing there as well. Then it seemed to him that he heard the words of Holy Scripture: "To thee is reserved the care of the poor, and to the orphans thou shalt be a helper." Thus there sprang up in his mind the idea of founding a special school for the poor, and of becoming its director. To this end he met with his first helper in the parish priest of the church of S. Dorotea in Trastevere, Antonio Brendani, who put a few rooms at his disposal, and promised to help him with the instruction. It was in that church that the Oratory of Divine Love had once sprung into existence, from which the work of Catholic reform and restoration had begun.[2]

(che così era chiamato il fondatore d'essa quale cominciò a radunare li poveri figliuoli di poc'età ch'andavano spersi, et li menava per le strade cantando laudi spirituali et scopando le strade dove era bisogno; poi dimandava d'elemosina per quei poveri figliuoli, quali la sera conduceva al coperto sotto le grotte del monasterio di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, che all'hora ci poteva entrare chi voleva dalla parte di S. Maria Maggiore; et così cosa nuova il card. Rusticucci m'ordinò ch'iò m'informassi dell'huomo et come governava quei figliuoli. Andai una sera all'improviso alle dette grotte et trovai che teneva quei figliuoli con quell'ordine bono che poteva in quel luogo et li governava con tanta carità ch'io ne restai con grande edificazione, vedendo che li dava tutti quelli soldi ch'haveva, senza pensare punto a se stesso: et con questa relatione si lassò seguitare. Carpegna 62 p. 58[b], Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See MORONI, L., 4. *Cf. ibid.*, IX., 203, and XIX., 247, for the asylum of S. Eufemia founded at that time. The "Letterato" was buried in S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte; see LANCIANI, IV., 68; FORCELLA, VIII., 475.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 390 *seq.*

It was a strange coincidence that now, at the moment of the highest development of that movement, a new and important institution was to spring up in the same place. As soon as some of the members of the Society of Divine Love had promised their co-operation, the first popular free school in Europe was able to come into existence.

Clement VIII. extended his protection to a work on which the blessing of God visibly rested. The number of children, of whom from the first there were about a hundred, grew from year to year. They were given the necessary books and writing materials gratuitously; they were also given clothing, since, following the example of the open-handed Pontiff, other benefactors as well provided ample alms.

In 1601 it was possible to hire a larger house near S. Andrea in Valle, in which Joseph Calasanctius began to lead a community life with his companions, who had by 1604 reached the number of twelve. Thus were laid the foundations of the Piaristi or Clerks Regular of the Pious Schools, afterwards called the Poor Clerks of the Madonna, the "Scolopi" (Scuole pie) or the Poalini. Since noble and wealthy families also sent their children to the excellent school of Calasanctius, jealousies and envy were aroused, but the Pope convinced himself that the accusations made against the school of the poor children were unfounded, and he continued as before to be their protector.

Clement VIII. founded in Rome, for the Roman nobles and foreigners, the "Collegium Clementinum" the direction of which he entrusted to the Somaschi.[1] This institution, the Protector of which was Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, soon attained great celebrity.[2]

[1] See Bull. XI., 90 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Elogio del nobile e pontificio Collegio Clementino di Roma, Rome, 1795; PALANTRINI, Notizie dei convittori illustri del Clementino di Roma, 1595-1795, Rome, 1795; DONNINO, I convittori del nobile Collegio Clementino di Roma, Rome, 1898. The inscription affixed to the building, which is situated in the

The Society of Christian Doctrine, founded in 1560 by the noble Milanese Marco de Sadis Cusani, found an ardent protector in Clement VIII. From this sprang in 1596 the Congregation of Clerks Secular of Christian Doctrine and a confraternity in connexion with it. After the death of Cusani (September 17th, 1595) the connexion between the two bodies was severed; the confraternity was given a director of its own, and the Congregation was given a provost and the church of S. Martina near the Forum. In order to confirm both young and old in Christian doctrine, the Society of Christian Doctrine established disputations in the churches, which are still in use to-day in the Eternal City.[1]

It was of importance too that the Pope confirmed[2] the French teachers of Christian Doctrine founded by César de Bus, and in 1598 charged Bellarmine himself with the composition of a catechism, which by its perfection very quickly superseded all other works of a similar nature.[3]

The attempts of certain Spanish Jesuits to modify the Constitutions, drawn up by Ignatius of Loyola, met with no success in the time of Clement VIII., although the struggle took another aspect after the confirmation of the Constitutions by Gregory XIV. In the time of Sixtus V. the two or three dozen malcontents had stormed the Inquisition and the king

Piazza Nicosia, was destroyed after the college was confiscated. For the bull for the college founded in 1596 at Aosta, see FRUTAZ in the periodical *Société acad. du duché d'Aoste*, XIX. (1905).

[1] See MORONI, XX., 246 *seq.*; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, III., 1871; HEIMBUCHER, II., 339 *seq.* The exemption of the "Congreg. clericorum doctrinae christ.," dated 1596, December 29, confirmed by Clement VIII., in Bandi, V., 15, p. 95, Papal Secret Archives. The "Confirmatio (Clementis VIII.) erectionis congreg. doctrinae christ in civitate Avenion," of December 23, 1597, in Bull., X., 411 *seq.*

[2] See HEIMBUCHER, II., 338 *seq.*

[3] See SOMMERVOGEL, I., 1182; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 295, 301. A second edition of the rare Catechismo di Don Giovan Paolo da Como, sacerd. dei chierici regol., Cremona, 1595, mentioned *ibid.*, 300, in the City Library, Frankfort a M., Ital., 24 V.

with an array of memorials, in order that with their help their own schemes might be carried into effect.[1] But in the time of Clement VIII. such memorials were but few,[2] so that it seemed that the grave penalties which Gregory XIV had threatened against all attacks on the Constitutions of the Order seemed not to have been without their effect. But the bull of Gregory had not been able to close the last resource to the malcontents; it had of necessity to leave open the way of appeal to the Pope himself, and to the general congregation of the Order.[3]

It was a strange thing that no less a man than José de Acosta adopted this course, for it was he whom Aquaviva had sent a short time before to Rome as his confidant, in order to set matters straight and who had dissuaded the King of Spain from his plan of causing a visitation of the Orders to be made by externs, and had himself carried out the visitation in two provinces.[4] Yet Acosta was no more pleasing to some of his brethren on account of his having made the visitation. It was seen that he was overcome with ambition, and was waiting until the General should confer upon him the office of provincial. The appointment did not come, and a deep despondency and hatred of Aquaviva took possession of him, though he was otherwise very capable and resolute. It seemed to him that the powers of the General ought to be limited by the General Congregation of the Order, and he persuaded King Philip to entrust his task to him, obtaining, should it prove necessary, a command from the Pope for such a restriction. He arrived in Rome on December 2nd, 1592, and through the Spanish ambassador, though without the knowledge of the General of the Order, had an audience with the Pope. He explained to Clement VIII. that the disputes among the Jesuits did not arise so much from the subordinate members, who were acting from simplicity, obedience and the love of God, as from the ambition

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 154 *seq.*

[2] Astráin, III., 417.

[3] Bull of June 28, 1591, §21, Bull., IX., 441.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 165 *seq.*

and worldly outlook of the superiors. The underlying cause of everything lay in the unrestricted power of the General, as that office had come to be in the hands of Aquaviva, and the only means of repairing the trouble was the General Congregation.[1]

At first Clement VIII. was not ill-disposed towards the Jesuits, and recognized their services to the Church, especially in the matter of missions,[2] while he had striven for their re-admission to France.[3] He was the first Pope to raise two Jesuits, Toledo and Bellarmine, to the purple. Both of these had great influence with him, and he made use from time to time of the services of Bellarmine as his spiritual father.[4] But Clement VIII. allowed himself to be influenced by the general trend of the moment.[5] Under Gregory XIII. the Jesuits counted for everything, and would have all been looked upon as saints, if certain defects, which are generally inseparable from success, had not manifested themselves among them. They certainly stood in the first rank where it was a question of the welfare of the Church, but there were those who thought that they went too far in their zeal, so as to wish to be first in everything, give their opinion on all subjects, and intrude themselves into matters which did not concern them.

Thus there sprang up in the time of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. and still more during the first years of Paul V., a reaction against the high esteem which they had formerly enjoyed. One after another occurrences took place, which were bound to affect their good name. It was certainly an act of too great severity when Sixtus V., publicly and in the full light of day, caused a Jesuit to be carried off to prison,

[1] ASTRÁIN, III., 516-525.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 157.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 174 *seq.*

[4] A warning from Bellarmine to the Pope, and the latter's replies in FULIGATTI, I., 3, c. 5, HH 2 *seqq.*; LE BACHELET, Auctarium, 513-518.

[5] What follows is based on POLLEN in The Month, XCIV. (1899), 233-248.

and ordered another to be brought from Spain to be executed at the Bridge of St. Angelo, but there could be no doubt as to the fact that at any rate one of them had allowed himself to make use of unlawful expressions. It was unjust when the Spanish Inquisition, in the time of Sixtus V., imprisoned four Jesuits on vexatious accusations, and entered upon a bitter warfare against them and their privileges,[1] though it is highly probable that the Jesuits had not been prudent in the use of these privileges, and in the way in which they spoke of them. When, after the attempt of Chastel on Henry IV., a Jesuit had been put to death in Paris as an accomplice, and the Jesuits were banished from Paris and other cities, this too was a crying injustice; but after all it was the consequence of the fact that some of them, during the struggle of the League, had meddled in politics. If during the struggle with the English appellants and the secular clergy, there had been such strong feeling against Persons and the Jesuits, part of the blame for this was due to the political writings of Persons. Clement VIII. had once clearly expressed the view that he personally blamed the Jesuits, and on the occasion of an appeal which a Jesuit, the confessor of the Queen of Spain, had made against the attacks being made from all quarters upon his Order, the Pope had drily written in the margin of this document the words: God resists the proud.[2] While on the journey which Aldobrandini had made to Poland as legate, the Cardinal was of the opinion that he had convinced himself with his own eyes that the Jesuits were too intimately mixed up with the court and the aristocracy.[3] In a word, dislike of the Jesuits had made itself felt in Rome, Spain, France and England; to this fact were added the internal disturbances of the Order itself, the rebellions in the seminaries in Rome and Valladolid, which injured their reputation as educators, and the accusations made by the Dominicans against their teaching as to grace, which damaged

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 155.

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 240.

[3] IUVENCIUS, I., 11, n. 5, p. 12.

their good name as men of learning. There can be no wonder then if even well-disposed men asked themselves whether all was well with the Order. Charles Borromeo had long before seen the storm approaching, and had sought to avert it, especially by recommending the election of his confessor, the Jesuit Adorno, as General of the Order.[1] That Clement VIII. would have something to say concerning the Order was placed beyond doubt by the remarks which he wrote with his own hand on the reports of his envoys ;[2] he was also personally annoyed with Aquaviva, because the latter had refused him the services of the skilled Possevino as his companion on his journey to Poland.[3] Nor was the learned and very influential Cardinal Toledo a friend of the General of the Order. Even in the time of Pius V., when he was preacher to the Apostolic palace, Toledo had taken up his abode there, leading almost a prelate's life,[4] and thus losing in a distressing way all contact with his Order.

Clement VIII. listened attentively to the remonstrances of Acosta ; if the General did not desire the Congregation, said the Pope, then he himself would order it. Aquaviva, with whom Acosta had recently spoken in great detail, was in fact opposed to a General Congregation. In view of the divisions in the Order, he said to Acosta, it might be that even the Congregation might not come to an agreement, and the foreigners would certainly bring pressure to bear to obtain, not what was for the good of the Order, but what would add to their own aggrandizement ; moreover deputies could not be sent either from Flanders or France.[5] But the attempts of Aquaviva to induce the Pope to change his mind were without effect. In his second audience with Acosta

[1] ASTRÁIN, III., 215 n. 1 ; VAN ORTROY in *Anal. Boll.*, 1912, 514 ; Carlo Borromeo, Lettere per la prima volta date in luce, Venice, 1762 (a work of anti-Jesuit sentiments).

[2] POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 237.

[3] IUVENCIUS, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[4] See ASTRÁIN, III., 573 ; *cf.* 652.

[5] *Ibid.*, 527, 528.

Clement VIII. expressed his firm determination that the Congregation should be held, and on December 15th Toledo had to take orders to this effect to his General.[1] Aquaviva had not been consulted throughout the affair. Alonso Sanchez, a Jesuit visitor of the Spanish provinces, who had gone to Spain four months before Acosta left that country, might perhaps have prevented the carrying out of Acosta's plans, but he was hindered by illness from speaking to the king until February. He was able during the course of his visitation to remove various abuses, and he changed the provincials, but when he had succeeded in making the king better disposed towards Aquaviva,[2] it was already too late; the General Congregation had already been promulgated.

Thus there was begun a fresh struggle against the Constitutions of the Order, that is to say against one of its fundamental points: the power of the General. When Ignatius of Loyola laid down with such exactitude the choice of the General, placing in the hands of one man the whole of the power to appoint the superiors, he was probably influenced by the wish to keep far from his institute the alarming decadence of the religious Orders of his time with which he found himself faced. His idea was that a capable General would appoint capable superiors, and that everything else would follow of itself. The very disputes in Spain had proved how important it was for the Order to be firmly governed by a single hand. The Spanish superiors were under the dominion of Philip II. and his Inquisition; they were in his power and did not dare to take energetic action. Salvation could only therefore come from Rome, and certainly was not to be found by giving the Spaniards a special superior on Spanish soil, nor in entrusting the appointment of the provincials and rectors to men who were bound to be influenced by a thousand other considerations. If Acosta's plans were to be acted upon, then the great work of Loyola was ruined, and was bound to be broken up into as many parties as there were nations; in place of an

[1] *Ibid.*, 531.
[2] *Ibid.*, 533-553.

impressive unity of action there would be division and discord. But the danger of Acosta proving victorious was by no means small; if Clement VIII. and Philip II. seriously wished to do so, they could bring pressure to bear, to which the General Congregation, whether it liked it or not, was bound to yield.

Fortunately for the work of Loyola, it found a highly intelligent and resolute defender, in the very man against whom the principal attack was directed, the General of the Order, Claudio Aquaviva. Alonso Sanchez was of the opinion that if there could be fused into one man the eight or ten most able Jesuits, both as regarded their natural and their supernatural qualities, this would not produce another Aquaviva. This was his own conviction, and all those with whom he had spoken on the subject admitted that he was right.[1] The young Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I., later on Prince-Elector, was enthusiastic on his behalf. "I cannot praise him enough" he wrote from Rome to his father,[2] "one is forced, so to speak, to fall in love with him, and to look to him alone."

Deeply penetrated with the ideas of Loyola, Aquaviva stood like a sentinel for some thirty-four years, as his champion. No attack could move him. A man of prayer, who sought his recreation in the Fathers of the Church, and who looked at everything from a supernatural point of view, he gave his decisions clearly and firmly, and without any trace of passion as though they were law incarnate. In the countless writings that came from his pen, he never even once abandoned his dignity or unalterable calm, and it is impossible to tell from these pages whether he was well or ill, or whether they were written by him in youth or old age.[3] The esteem which he thus won was added to by the nobility of his family which held a ducal title, as well as by his relations with his nephews, one of whom was a Cardinal, another Archbishop of Naples,

[1] *Ibid.*, 541 *seq.*

[2] On April 24, 1593, in ARETIN, Maximilian I., Passau, 1842, 389.

[3] Opinion of ASTRÁIN, IV., 738.

a third Bishop of Cajazzo, while a fourth, also a Jesuit, had won the martyr's palm in the Indies.[1] Of great advantage to Aquaviva was the fact that before he entered the Society of Jesus, he had been a Papal chamberlain, and thus knew exactly the conditions of the Roman Curia.[2] If, however, Philip II., by the advice of the Inquisition, and Clement VIII., by the advice of Toledo, were to impose their will upon the General Congregation, then the hand of its most skilful pilot would be rendered powerless.

In spite of the efforts of Acosta the malcontents were not successful in obtaining the election of one of their number to the General Congregation. Only in the province of the Society at Toledo was there any probability of the election of a man who, although he was a celebrated scholar, had never been able to overcome the harshness and bitterness of his haughty temperament, and who through all his life remained a burden upon his brethren. This man, who for several years had identified himself with the malcontents, was the celebrated historian Juan de Mariana.[3]

Philip II. had not interfered with the freedom of the elections, but he informed those who were elected that he had submitted certain proposals to the General Congregation.[4] By means of a letter addressed to Clement VIII.,[5] he arranged for Acosta to participate in the Congregation with the right to vote, but on the other hand the Pope would not consent to his wish that Acosta should present his suggestions to the Congregation in the king's name.[6] More troublesome to

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 168.

[2] *Cf.* as to him Iuvencius, I., 25, par. 19, n. 33 *seqq.*; p. 888 *seqq.*; Astráin, III., 211 *seqq.*, IV., 734 *seqq.*

[3] Astráin, III., 554-562. The work of Mariana against the institute of the Society of Jesus is authentic. When the papers of Mariana were confiscated in 1609 on account of his writings against the debasement of the coinage, his manuscript fell into the hands of the enemies of the Order, and was printed by them after the death of Mariana (1624); *ibid.*, 559 *seq.*

[4] Astráin, III., 565 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 567.

[6] *Ibid.* 570.

Aquaviva than the presence of Acosta at the Congregation was the fact that a short time before its commencement Toledo was appointed Cardinal,[1] since Acosta had suggested to Philip II. that he should ask for the elevation of Toledo so that he might as Cardinal preside at the Congregation, and thus act as a counterweight to the influence of Aquaviva.[2] The General of the Order succeeded, however, in inducing the Pope to abandon the much debated proposal that a Cardinal should act as president.[3]

At the beginning of the Congregation, on November 3rd 1593, Aquaviva and seven other Jesuits presented themselves before the Pope, who received them graciously. "From the beginning of my pontificate," he said, "I have heard from, men of judgment that your Society has relaxed its first zeal, and I have therefore assembled the Congregation in order that you may provide a remedy. You can do so better than anyone else; you have in your hands seven-eights of the Christian people, and thanks to your care they remain firm in the Christian faith. I am an eye-witness to this, and I know how well you are working in Poland and Germany for the Christian religion. If then your Order has anywhere weakened, you must remedy this. Inquire whether the final vows of the professed are not delayed overlong, and whether it is wise that any should hold the office of superior so long. As to learning it is my wish that you should follow Thomas Aquinas, that great master whose writings were confirmed and accepted by the Council of Trent."[4]

In this discourse Clement VIII. had clearly shown his own point of view as regards the Jesuits; he was not guided by any antipathy for them, but by anxiety on their behalf. He had not formed any definite opinion as to the complaints and accusations brought against them, and he seemed to leave it absolutely to the Congregation to arrive at a decision as to the truth of these.

[1] *Ibid.* 575.
[2] *Ibid.* 570.
[3] *Ibid.* 575 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* 580 *seq.*

Thus the first task of the assembly[1] would have to be to discuss abuses and the accusations against Aquaviva. Some of the fathers wished to abstain from any judgment upon the General, but Aquaviva insisted upon a full examination. For this purpose Clement VIII. granted all the necessary powers, and sent to the Congregation all the memorials against the Jesuits which had reached him. The examination of the charges against the General, which was carried out by a deputation of five delegates, lasted for a whole month. No blame of any impotrance was found to rest upon the person or life of Aquaviva. As to his method of government the criticism was made that he clung with too great tenacity to his own opinions, and that he had favoured some more than was fitting. Aquaviva begged to be allowed to present this document to the Pope, who was favourably impressed by it.[2]

Besides the inquiries into the matter of the General, certain points of minor importance were first dealt with. Then began the intervention of Philip II. On November 15th he presented five demands, which were principally concerned with the relations of the Order with the Inquisition ; none of these touched the really burning questions, and the assembly accepted them all without difficulty.[3] But this was far from exhausting the wishes of the Spaniards, and soon afterwards the ambassador of Philip, the Duke of Sessa, presented a memorial in the sense desired by Acosta, concerning certain changes in the Constitutions ; he said that the assembly must consider this in all freedom, but at the same time he sought to obtain from the Pope a suggestion to the Jesuits favourable to his wishes ; to this request Clement VIII. would not consent at first. From November 24th to December 3rd there were no general meetings, though discussions were held in private as to the proposals made, but between

[1] Their deliberations in the *Institutum Soc. Jesu*, II., 262-283.

[2] ASTRÁIN, III., 583.

[3] Decr. 18, 19 in *Instit. Soc. Jesu*, II., 266 ; ASTRÁIN, III., 584.

December 3rd and 8th, these were unanimously rejected by vote. Acosta, seeing himself powerless and completely isolated, voted with the rest.[1] In accordance with the renewed pressure brought to bear by Sessa, the Pope had laid down the subject of discussion for the meeting on December 8th; it must be decided whether the final vows were to be made after a fixed period of time, so that once that period had elapsed, there was a right to make them. The Congregation declared that if it considered this essential point, it was purely out of obedience to the Pope. There then followed once more a unanimous resolve to adhere in this as well to the prescriptions of Loyola.[2]

During the weeks that followed there was a discussion as to the attitude to be adopted towards the theology of Thomas Aquinas, and as to diversity of theological opinions,[3] the members of the Order were forbidden to meddle in politics,[4] and the descendants of Jews and Moors were refused admission to the Order.[5] A decisive factor in this last provision was the discovery that out of the twenty-seven writers of memorials against the Constitutions, at least twenty-five were so-called

[1] Astráin, III., 585-587. Iuvencius on several occasions puts matters erroneously, as though the malcontents had a party in the Congregation. As to this see Astráin, III., 603 n.

[2] Astráin, III., 587 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 589.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 389.

[5] Astráin, III., 588-593; *cf.* 338, 369, 493, 498. In the case of the Dominicans there was the same difficulty at anyrate in the case of Spain (Bull. ord. Praed., IV., 125; Monumenta ord. Praed. hist., X., 231), as well as in the Portuguese province of the Carmelites (Antonius a Spiritu Sancto, Consulta varia, Lyons, 1675, 360). For the Franciscans *cf.* Bull. Rom., VII., 918; VIII., 59. The doubt felt as to the neo-Christians in general is treated of by Ag. Barbosa, Votorum decisivorum, t. II., Lyons, 1723, I., 3, vot. 93, pp. 102-128. *Cf.* Clement VIII. on January 14, 1603, Bull., X., 889: In Portugal they may not receive canonries with a care of souls, and in Coimbra itself only those of the third and fourth rank.

neo-Christians.[1] On December 31st the Order addressed itself in severe words to its disloyal sons, the disturbers of its peace and the stirrers up of rebellion, as well as against the "false calumnies" which they had "without any justification" brought against the Order. It was true that their memorials bore these words: "So demands the whole of the Society of Jesus," but actually they were but few in number, and reprobate sons; they ought as soon as possible to be cut off from the Order as a "plague," and where this was not possible they should under pain of expulsion, take an oath to the institute of the Society of Jesus, and to the Papal bulls of confirmation. Anyone who should come to learn of their schemes must denounce them; the Pope should be asked for a fresh confirmation of the institute.[2]

These last words show that the assembly felt full confidence in the Pope, but it was soon to be undeceived. Clement VIII., as well as his adviser Toledo and the Duke of Sessa, could not but marvel that in spite of the many memorials on the subject of the dissension in the Order, its representatives turned as one man against the handful of innovators, and declared unreservedly for the Constitutions of Loyola.[3] To Clement VIII. this looked like a kind of defiance, which was unwilling to make any change at all. The Spanish ambassador could not feel satisfied at seeing that the exhortations of his king had had no other effect than to cause the decree against the innovators to be followed by a second, which was aimed at further enlightening the king as to the state of affairs.[4]

[1] Astráin, III., 593. Cardinal Henry of Portugal had already on the occasion of the General Congregation of 1573 asked for the intervention of the Pope in order that no neo-Christian should be received by the Order, for otherwise there was reason to fear "ne Societas ista periclitetur et destruatur" (*ib id.*, 695). Ignatius had only desired that care should be taken in the admission of neo-Christians (*Mon. Ignat.*, I., 336, V. 335, *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 1923, 589).

[2] Decr. 54, in *Instit. Soc. Jesu*, II., 279.

[3] Astráin, III., 595.

[4] Decr. 55, *ibid.*, 281.

Toledo too had expected the assembly to have recourse to himself, the great scholar, in frequent consultations, and he was annoyed when he found himself simply ignored. When, on January 3rd, 1594, a fresh decree had laid down the essential points of the Constitutions of the Order, the Duke of Sessa sent a confidant of his to Toledo. The Cardinal complained that the Congregation could not be in worse plight; he said that the Spanish demands were just, that a proof of the bad disposition of the assembly was the fact that, despite the Pope's orders, they had not asked for any advice, and that they had spoken of the sovereign of Spain as though he were a mere esquire. The Pope, however, would remedy all this on the very next day.

On January 4th, early in the morning, Clement VIII. went with six Cardinals to the professed house of the Jesuits, celebrated mass there with great recollection, and then delivered an allocution to the assembled fathers.[1] He began by bringing out the great merits of the Order, but this very thing should be an incentive to humility. After speaking of humility and pride, he blamed the meddling of the Order in politics and in matters that did not concern it, its preference for peculiar doctrines, and its censure of the doctrines of others, and further blamed them in that they had no regard for princes, king or Emperor, that they discussed whether the Pope had or had not the right to do this or that, that they despised monachism and looked upon their own constitutions as being so perfect and inalterable that there was nothing in them that could be improved; they were of the opinion that they stood in no need of visitations or reform. All this he said with great gravity, but at the same time with a manner that was altogether friendly, and he ended with a warning that they must consider a remedy, for otherwise he would himself intervene.[2]

This allocution, with its enumeration of defects, threw the

[1] Printed copy in J. WIELEWICKI S.J., Diarium domus professae Cracoviensis. *Script. rer. Pol.*, VII., Cracow, 1881, 180-183.

[2] ASTRÁIN, III., 597 *seq.*

Congregation into confusion. Decrees had already been issued concerning divergence of doctrines and adherence to St. Thomas Aquinas; but what point in the constitutions could be changed in order to impose upon the Jesuits a greater respect for the King of Spain and the monastic Orders? As far as humility was concerned, Loyola gave place to none as an apostle of that virtue, especially in the case of his own Order, the "lowliest" Society of Jesus, as he often called it, thereby going a step lower even than the friars "minor." It was decided to have recourse to the Pope himself, so that he might point out the matters that required to be changed. Cardinal Toledo, who was asked to further this request, refused in his ill-temper to present it; as he told the Spanish ambassador, he had presented to Clement VIII., the day before his visit to the Jesuits, a document naming nine points in the constitutions which called for emendation.[1]

But to the Pope it seemed dangerous to change the constitutions of the Order by force, and on January 8th he pointed to the Congregation four matters for their consideration, as to which they were to come to a free decision.[2] The acceptance of the first two points met with no difficulty; these concerned the tenure of their office for only three years by the superiors, and the account which the provincial must render at the termination of his period of office. The third point, the acceptance of the Papal reservation of certain sins, was obvious.[3] It was only the fourth suggestion, that in certain cases the assistant of the General should be given the right of decision, which met with difficulties. By a unanimous vote, with five exceptions, the assembly decided that this restriction of the supreme power was inopportune.

But very soon further demands were put forward, which had their origin in conversations between Toledo, Acosta and

[1] *Ibid.*, 599.

[2] Decr. 64, *Instit. Soc. Jesu*, II., 284; ASTRÁIN, III., 600.

[3] On May 26, 1593, Clement VIII. himself had verbally dispensed the Jesuits from his decree concerning reserved cases. Thus the dispensation was now annulled. *Synopsis*, 155.

the Duke of Sessa.[1] On January 12th Toledo informed Aquaviva that the Congregation must come to a decision as to two questions, namely whether another General Congregation should be held after six years, and whether Aquaviva's assistants ought not to be changed, with the exception of a German who had only recently been appointed. The Congregation resolved to declare to the Pope its readiness to obey, but to beg him not to press the second demand, and to be allowed to express their reasons against the recurrence of General Congregations at fixed intervals, as well as against the change of the assistants.[2] This explanation was never made, and on January 14th Toledo conveyed to the Congregation an order to accept them without more ado. In accordance with this order three new assistants were elected on January 18th, 1594.[3]

This ended the Congregation, which had brought to the malcontents the opposite of what they desired. All their aims, though not yet dead, had received a mortal blow. Aquaviva had been splendidly justified, and nothing essential had been changed in the constitutions. The order concerning the limitation of the office of superior to three years, was afterwards mitigated by Clement VIII. himself, and was later on altogether abrogated.[4] The fixed period for General Congregations also seemed to the Pope, after the six years had elapsed, to be useless, and none was held.[5] The Inquisition in Spain became reconciled with the Jesuits, while the king as well declared himself satisfied with the course of events.[6] Even Acosta realized that his procedure had been

[1] ASTRÁIN, III., 600-602.

[2] Decr. 73, *loc. cit.* 286. ASTRÁIN (III., 602) interprets the demand as meaning that "cada seis años" another General Congregation was to be held, but Decr. 73 only says: "ut post sequens sexennium congregetur denuo generalis congregatio." *Cf.* Decr. 75.

[3] Decr. 74, *loc. cit.*

[4] Alexander VII. on January 1, 1663, *Instit. Soc. Jesu*, I., 109.

[5] ASTRÁIN, III., 605.

[6] *Ibid.* 607 *seqq.*

a mistake, and he was reconciled with Aquaviva.[1] After the next General Congregation of the Order in 1608, no more was heard of the party of the malcontents,[2] and with Loyola's beatification in 1609,[3] his constitutions received a new importance.

One of the principal points which had been desired by the king at the Congregation, namely the question whether there should not be appointed a special superior for Spain and the Indies, and whether the life-long duration of the office of General should not be limited, had not even been discussed at the meetings. We learn the reason for this from Acosta, who had been charged, in a special brief to Philip II., to report to him concerning the Congregation. Acosta told the king that not only the Congregation itself, but the Pope himself had been opposed to the discussion of these matters, and that therefore neither the Duke of Sessa nor himself had made any mention of them.[4]

In spite of this Clement VIII. was still thinking in 1595 of abolishing the life-duration of the office of General of the Jesuits. According to what was written to the king at that time by the Spanish ambassador, whom the Pope had informed of his proposal, his motives were " the same as those presented at the last General Congregation by Your Majesty " Aquaviva must therefore be removed from his office and sent to Naples as archbishop. Naturally the Jesuits laid their remonstrances before the Pope, but in vain. They then turned to Cardinal Toledo, who had boasted that he held the Pope in his hand ; but in his case too all petitions were at first of no avail ; it was even bitterly said that Toledo, by getting Aquaviva removed, intended to have a free hand to interfere in the Order. But the Portuguese assistant devised

[1] *Ibid.* 611.

[2] *Ibid.* 667 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 676 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 610, *cf.* 608. The brief of Paul V. of September 4, 1606, mentions in the first place the desire of the disturbers of the peace that the duration of the office of General should be shortened. *Instit. Soc. Jesu*, I., 131.

a remedy. He said to Toledo: if Aquaviva has to be an archbishop, then the Jesuits would be very glad to see him a Cardinal; this could easily be managed by the intercession of the princes, and after that it would remain to be seen which of the two Jesuit Cardinals would have the upper hand in the Order. Aquaviva would not have been a pleasing colleague to Toledo, so he took steps to get the Pope to abandon his plan.[1]

But this did not bring the intrigues against Aquaviva to an end, Ferdinand Mendoza, one of the party of the malcontents, had already in 1592 been on the point of being expelled from the Order on account of his unseemly behaviour, but he had been treated indulgently and had been sent to the lonely college of Monforte. But this step led to a fresh dispute, in which the Pope intervened several times against Aquaviva. Mendoza, who was well versed in the ways of the world, was able by his *savoir faire* to win the high esteem of the Count of Lemos, who possessed vast properties in the neighbourhood of Monforte, and still more that of the countess, a sister of the future Duke of Lerma, who was the true king of Spain in the time of Philip III. When Lemos went to Naples as the new viceroy, Aquaviva vainly tried to prevent the rebellious Jesuit from accompanying him as his confessor. Once he was in Italy, Mendoza was very soon able to stir up against his General even the Pope, who was unwilling to annoy the viceroy. Mendoza had addressed to Aquaviva several arrogant letters, which he afterwards wished to have sent back to him. By the Pope's orders the General was forced to send them. Aquaviva had sent to Naples a man whom he could trust to obtain information as to the conduct of the viceroy's confessor. Owing to the insistence of the latter, this confidant had to be recalled, and when Mendoza spread the rumour that this had been done by the Pope's orders, Clement VIII. did not dare to deny it. The inquiries that had been begun had brought to light many

[1] ASTRÁIN, III., 629-632. Sessa to Philip II., February 18, 1596, *ibid.* 717 *seq.*

unseemly things, but Clement VIII. forbade all interference, and when further accusations had reached him, "on account of more important considerations" he refused permission even for an inquiry to be begun. After the death of the Count of Lemos in 1601, Mendoza wished to return home with the countess. The Spanish Jesuits made every effort, but in vain, to be freed of his presence; Aquaviva could only reply that if he retained Mendoza, the Pope would give orders to let him go.[1] Armed with a secret brief forbidding all superiors to make any inquiries about him, Mendoza accompanied the countess to the court at Valladolid. There he soon began to make his influence felt, for the all-powerful Duke of Lerma suddenly showed himself opposed to the Jesuits.

Aquaviva took every means to remove this dangerous man from the court. Of the two attempts he made, the first failed to attain its purpose, while the second, even before it had been begun, was rendered impossible by an intrigue.[2] The General then sought to obtain the consent of the Pope to a third attempt. Clement received the remonstrances of the Jesuits graciously, and assured them that he did not wish to hamper the steps they were taking against Mendoza. But Clement VIII. was above all anxious not to offend the Countess of Lemos, as is clear from a letter of Aldobrandini to the Spanish nuncio.[3] Aldobrandini wrote that the Pope had refused to give the Jesuits a brief against Mendoza, as he did not wish to mix himself up with the affair, and that the nunco must not pay any attention to it.

The Pope was not ill-advised in acting thus; he probably foresaw that in face of the power of Lerma, Aquaviva would not have any more success with his third attempt, and so it proved. Counting upon the Pope, Aquaviva had charged the superior of the professed house at Toledo to take steps against his presumptuous subject. When the superior threatened him with excommunication and other penalties,

[1] Astráin, III., 634-638.
[2] *Ibid.* 641-644.
[3] Of August 23, 1604, *ibid.* 645.

Mendoza promptly declared himself ready to leave the court. But while the two were still in negotiation, a visit from the nuncio Ginnasio was announced; Lerma and the Countess of Lemos had learned from him what had occurred, and both of them "spat fire." Two days later Hojeda was able indeed to repeat to Mendoza in the presence of the provincial and other Jesuits his commands, but on the same day the nuncio summoned the provincial and Mendoza to his presence, forbade Mendoza under grave ecclesiastical penalties to leave Valladolid, and ordered the provincial not to give his consent to his departure. Ginnasio wrote to Aldobrandini that this step had been taken in the interests of the Order itself, and that Aquaviva had not perhaps realized the consequences of his interference. Clement VIII. approved the action of his nuncio, and soon afterwards issued a brief to Mendoza withdrawing his correspondence and his relations with the countess from the supervision of his superiors, and permitting him to have a lay-brother and two secretaries in his service, as well as other privileges.[1]

Mendoza had thus won a brilliant victory. In order to humiliate the General yet more, and as it were display his power, there occurred to this arrogant man the strange idea of bringing Aquaviva to Spain and thus tying his hands completely. Philip III. was therefore obliged to invite the General to Spain, and a sheet attached to the king's letter gave a number of reasons for his making the journey. On November 10th, 1604, Aquaviva thanked the king for his kindness and sent to Spain by means of his assistants a refutation of the king's reasons. But Mendoza found a way out of the difficulty, and a second letter from the king asked the Pope to order the General to set out. Clement VIII. issued this order and adhered to it. Aquaviva pointed out that the summons to Spain was nothing else but an act of vengenace, but to no purpose; the assistants set forth their reasons verbally and in writing, but this too was useless. The Jesuits then succeeded in obtaining some fifty letters

[1] *Ibid.* 644-649.

on behalf of the General, from the most distinguished persons, among them the Kings of France and Poland. But Clement VIII. was unwilling to deprive the sovereign of the two worlds of the modest pleasure of a visit from the General of the Jesuits.

Thus the head of the Society of Jesus found himself faced with the danger of finding himself handed over with tied hands to his rebellious subject, and this proved too much even for the iron constitution of Aquaviva, and he fell dangerously ill. The Pope sent his private physician to ascertain if the illness was really serious, but the latter as well as seven other doctors certified that there could be no question of his thinking of the journey. When Aquaviva recovered, Clement VIII. was dead, and there was no longer any talk of the journey to Spain.[1]

Of great importance was the impulse given by Clement VIII. to the reform of the Carmelite Order,[2] inaugurated by

[1] ASTRÁIN, III., 649 *seqq.* The difficulty was not ended, even after the death of Clement VIII. The premature death of Leo XI. made his help against the Jesuits of the court inefficacious (*ibid.* 653 *seq.*); Paul V. seemed at first to wish to leave the Jesuit superiors a free hand towards their subjects, but he probably wished to make use of the work of Mendoza for a family marriage, and made him (brief of June 1, 1606, *ibid.* 655) a concession that was perhaps even greater than that of Clement VIII., namely that in the houses of his Order he must naturally be subject to his superiors, but outside of them he was allowed to live in his own way and in opposition to the will of his superiors, being subject only to the Pope, and freed moreover from his obligation to poverty and obedience. But this very excess of privilege brought its own remedy. Aquaviva succeeded in getting hold of a copy of the brief, and thus he and his assistants had the means of persuading the Pope that Mendoza would lead a better life outside the Order. Paul V. resolved to make him Bishop of Cuzco in Peru, and Mendoza was at last, whether he liked it or not, compelled to accept this unsought-for dignity. He was preconized on January 12, 1609, and Aquaviva was able once more to breathe freely (*ibid.* 654-659).

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 148.

St. Teresa. This had spread further and further, and in 1593 had reached Rome. In that year Clement VIII. allowed the reformed Carmelites to elect a General of their own, and in 1600 approved of their forming congregations independent of each other, a Spanish one with the Indies, and an Italian one called that of St. Elias, which later on included France, Germany and Poland.[1] A Spaniard, Andrea Diaz, introduced, at the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII., the discalced Augustinian Hermits into Rome, where they were treated with favour by the Pope.[2]

There were few Orders to which Clement VIII. did not extend his favour.[3] The Barnabites, whom he had once described as the best collaborators of the bishops,[4] were in several cases encouraged by him. He confirmed the privileges of the Somaschi,[5] the separation of the reformed Basilians from the unreformed,[6] the Order of Capuchin nuns,[7] the statutes of the Italian Annunziate,[8] and the reform, inaugurated in Spain, of the Orders of the Trinitarians and Mercedari,[9] whose work was the liberation of the slaves.[10]

But however much the interests of the religious Orders occupied the attention of Clement VIII., he did not neglect his care for the secular clergy. Cardinal Rusticucci, who had already been made Cardinal Vicar by Sixtus V., continued to discharge that important office.[11] To him was attached a special commission of reform, which was to carry out the

[1] See *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, III.², 971.

[2] See Bull., X., 548 *seq.*

[3] See *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 85. For the Capuchins see Bull., X., 763 *seq.*

[4] See PREMOLI, 337, 358, 366, 378, 381, 388, 393 *seq.*

[5] See Bull., X., 42 *seq.*

[6] See *Archiv f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, VIII., 82.

[7] See HEIMBUCHER, I., 362.

[8] See *ibid.* 621. *Cf. Aschbachs Kirchenlex.*², I., 224 *seq.*

[9] Bull. X., 184 *seq.*, 580 *seq.*, XI., 128 *seq.*

[10] Bull. X., 529 *seq.*

[11] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 463.

ordinances made during the visitation.[1] As he had already done in the case of the Auditors of the Rota,[2] so did Clement VIII. at the beginning of his pontificate address to the directors and students of all the pontifical colleges paternal exhortations to live and make progress in virtue.[3] In order to put an end to all abuses he issued salutary ordinances concerning indulgences.[4] Nor did the inscriptions, nor the tomb of the inamorata of Alexander VI. in S. Maria del Popolo escape his attention, and these were removed in April 1594.[5] In the same way he caused to be removed from the cathedral of Siena the image of the so-called Pope Joan which was there.[6]

From the beginning of his pontificate the Pope above all insisted, both in the case of the parish-priests[7] and of the bishops, upon their observance of the duty of residence.[8] In so doing he met with the same difficulties from the bishops as his predecessors had done. Still, as in the past, many bishops remained without necessity at the Curia in Rome. The verbal exhortations of the Pope that they should return to their diocesses only had a partial effect. One made one excuse, another another, and the requests for dispensations grew in number.[9] A new and more severe ordinance became

[1] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie 46.

[2] See *Avviso of March 21, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[3] See Bull., IX., 573 *seq.*

[4] REUSCH, Bellarmins Selbstbiographie, 134 *seq.*

[5] See *Avviso of April 19, 1594, Urb. 1062, p. 193, Vatican Library.

[6] See DÖLLINGER, Papstfabeln des Mittelalters², Munich, 1863, 18.

[7] See *Avvisi of February 5, 1592, and November 12, 1594, Urb. 1060, I., 1062, Vatican Library.

[8] See *letter of G. Niccolini of February 6, 1592, State Archives, Florence; *Avviso of February 12, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 93, 220.

[9] *S.D.N. proposuit constitutionem contra praelatos non residentes, ut non possint esse cardinales, faciendam, an per bullam an vero per decretum consistoriale. . . . Dixit canones et

inevitable ;[1] this was to include even the Cardinals, and the only diversity of opinion was whether the enactment should be made by bull or by consistorial decree.[2] After a discussion by the Congregation of the Council and Bishops,[3] on July 5th, 1595, Clement VIII. laid down a decree, which renewed all the previous enactments concerning the duty of residence, and laid it down that no one could receive the purple who had failed in this respect.[4]

There was then a sensible improvement, but rigorists like Cardinal Bellarmine were not yet satisfied. To the remonstrances made to the Pope by the Cardinal in an out-spoken memorial,[5] Clement VIII. frankly admitted that he had been

constitutiones Patrum nostrorum satis superque testari, quantum semper optatum fuerit ut episcopi in suis ecclesiis resideant et ad munia pastoralia incumbant. Hoc ipsum tam concilio Tridentino quam aliis postmodum S.P. constitutionibus sancitum esse. Verum adhuc non satis provisum, cum se plerique variis excusationibus ab ipsa residentia eximere conentur, et non levi S^tem^ S. molestia afficiant, importune instantes, ut eis ab ecclesiis suis abesse permittatur, non sine magno crediti sibi gregis compendio. He ordered them to ponder well the constitution. Acta consist. June 2, 1595, Cod. Barb. lat. 2171, III., Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 157.

[2] See *acta consist, June 5, 1595, *loc. cit.* *Cf. supra*, p. 186, n. 9.

[3] See PARUTA, *loc. cit.* 171,

[4] *S.D.N. laudavit residentiam et eius necessitatem et utilitatem, et e sinu decretum proferens, illud legit, innovans omnia decreta et constitutiones de residentia, et constituens, ne quis episcopus vel superior non residens actu in sua ecclesia vel non solitus residere possit in cardinalem assumi. Acta consist, July 5, 1595, *loc. cit.*

[5] This document, together with the "Responsiones S. Pontificis" which show how humble the Pope was, and at the same time how profoundly convinced he was of the great and difficult task of his pontificate, were immediately spread abroad by means of manuscript copies. Urb. 538, p. 1 *seqq.*, and 859, p. 504 *seqq.*, Barb. lat. 2620, p. 58 *seqq.*, Vatican Library ; Cod. X.-IV., 43, Casanatense Library, Rome ; Cod. 38 B. 1, p. 61 *seq.*,

wrong in allowing the bishops to come to Rome so easily, so that it was only with difficulty that they could be sent away again. With regard to the eleven non-resident Cardinals whom Bellarmine had named, the Pope was able to point out that in their case there were legitimate excuses, as well as for the employment of bishops as nuncios, because persons suited for that office were only to be found in limited numbers, and because the nature of their business prevented frequent changes. That the state of affairs was very much better than it had been, is clear from the fact, that in the whole of the States of the Church there was only one bishop who held a political office; another, the Bishop of Camerino, who was vice-legate of the Marches, did not count, because there he was able to go every day to his diocese.

But even Clement VIII. was obliged to realize how difficult it was to eradicate the abuse, by which bishops were absent from their dioceses, and remained without excuse in Rome. In spite of his warnings,[1] towards the end of his pontificate,

Corsini Library; Cod. 75 of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli (see LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch. 47); Cod. C. IV., 21, p. 21 *seqq*, Library at Siena; Inform. polit., II., 1 *seqq.*, State Library, Berlin; also elsewhere, *e.g.* among the Italian manuscripts of the Library at Stockholm. This document was also repeatedly reprinted, *e.g.* in ALBERICIUS, Baronii epist., III., 3 *seqq.*, HOFFMANN (Collectio, I.), BARTOLI (Opere 24, IV., 42 *seqq.*). DÖLLINGER (Beiträge, III., 83 *seqq.*), LÄMMER (Melet., 367 *seqq*), and LE BACHELET (Auct., 513 *seqq.*) from a copy revised by Bellarmine himself. From a letter of Clement VIII. of October 14, 1600 (in LE BACHELET in *Rech. de science relig.*, XIII., 444 *seq.*) it is clear that Bellarmine had presented his memorial a short time before, and that the replies are those of Clement VIII. himself and not of Baronius. A. RATTI (Opuscolo inedito e sconosciuto del card. Baronio, Perugia, 1910) has published a memorial presented by Baronius in the spring of 1595 to the Pope, concerning the government of the Church in accordance with the prescriptions of Gregory the Great.

[1] *Cf.* the *briefs of exhortation to the Bishop of Oristano (Sardinia) Ant. Canopolo, July 5, 1600, and "Episc. S. Jacobi insulae Capitis Viridi," March 22, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 198,

in 1603, there were so many bishops present in the Curia that he was obliged to take fresh steps.[1] Even then it was only with reluctance that some obeyed; but the Pope insisted upon his order being carried out. In April 1604 almost all the bishops had left Rome, and only a few who had not found the opportunity for going still remained.[2] When the Pope informed the nuncio at Madrid of this success, he urged him to do all he could to see that this example was followed in the Spanish capital as well.[3]

Gregory XIV., who had taken part in the Council of Trent as Bishop of Cremona, in order to comply with the feeling of that Council, which in its twenty-second session had required in the case of the bishops a special training in theology and canon law, had resolved to submit the candidates for the episcopate to a two-fold examination before they were confirmed. In the first place, by means of an informative process, the previous manner of life of the nominee was to be inquired into, and then they were to be examined in their knowledge of the above-mentioned sciences. His premature death had prevented Pope Gregory from carrying out this project. Clement VIII., at the very beginning of his pontificate, gave effect to this by prescribing such an examination in the case of all the bishoprics of free collation in Italy and the neighbouring islands, as well as for those of royal nomination. For this purpose he set up a Congregation, and to the Cardinals appointed to it there were added certain prelates as examiners.[4] The Congregation began its work as early

and t. 46, n. 75, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the *report of G. C. Foresto, October 14, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See *Avviso of November 12, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avvisi of March 30, April 3 and 7, 1604. Urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

[3] *Warning to D. Ginnasio, April 6, 1604, Barb. 3852, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *report of G. Niccolini, July 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence; De Luca, Rel. Cur. Rom. for. disc., 21; Moroni, XVI., 195 *seq.*; Bangen, 89 *seq.*

as July, 1592. The Pope himself assisted at the examinations. These were held with great detail and no dispensations were allowed.[1] The greater the success obtained by this method of procedure, the more firmly did the Pope adhere to it.[2] Clement VIII. also gave proofs of extraordinary rigour in the matter of granting resignations of ecclesiastical revenues.[3] He would not allow any accumulation of benefices; the only exception he made was in the case of the cardinalitial dioceses, because his predecessors since the Council of Trent had not changed the conditions of those dioceses.[4]

This careful selection of bishops, as well as the example set by the Pope, as supreme pastor of Rome, had an important effect in the improvement of the Italian episcopate,[5] and Clement VIII. had the joy of seeing how many bishops in Italy were labouring in the spirit of Catholic reform by establishing seminaries, and holding synods and visitations.[6] Thus the following acquired great merit as conscientious pastors and as reforming bishops in the fullest sense of the word: at Adria, the Carmelite Lorenzo Laureti; at Aquileia, Francesco Barbaro;[7] at Venice, Lorenzo

[1] *Cf.* *Urb. 839, p. 298 *seq.*, and *Avvisi of July 4 and 18, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 35, II., 73.

[2] *Cf.* *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand, October 25, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 232, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *report of G. del Carretto, November 31, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See LÄMMER, Melet., 377 *seq.*

[5] See ZACHARIAE Iter litt., 303.

[6] For the following list, which does not claim to be complete, *cf.* UGHELLI, Italia sacra, and MORONI, Dizionario, above all for those bishops in whose case no special works or dissertations are given.

[7] For the synod held at Udine in 1596, and the pleasure it gave to Clement VIII., see IUVENCIUS, V., 430. For the synodal activity of Barbaro see MARCUZZI, Sinodi Aquileiesi, Udine, 1910, and for his activity in visitations see, besides SCHMIDLIN, 6 *seq.*, JOPPI, Relazione d. visita apost. in Carniola Stiria e

Priuli;[1] at Belluno the learned Luigi Lollini;[2] at Ceneda, Marcantonio Mocenigo; at Treviso, Francesco Cornaro; at Verona, Cardinal Agostino Valiero,[3] well known as a Christian humanist; at Pavia and Mantua, the Franciscan Francesco Gonzaga;[4] at Cremona, Cesare Speciani;[5] at Modena, Gaspare Silingardi;[6] at Milan, the great and learned Frederick Borromeo, who was a patron of the arts;[7] at Reggio-Emilia Claudio Rangoni;[8] at Como, Feliciano Ninguarda;[9] at Pavia and Novara, the Barnabites Alessandro Sauli[10] and Carlo Bascapè,[11] imitators

Carinzia, Udine, 1862. There too the report to Clement VIII. concerning the highly necessary visitation which he had suggested. The manuscript is preserved in the parochial archives at Cremona,

[1] L. Priuli founded the seminary and held a synod in 1592; *cf.* P. Paschini, La riforma del seppelire nelle chiese nel sec. XVI., Monza, 1922, 20 *seqq.*

[2] See A. Ratti, Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio, 15.

[3] See C. Libardi, *De vita et rebus gestis episc. Veronens., Cod. DCC.-LXXXIII., pp. 253, 286 *seq.*, Capitular Library, Verona. For the magnificent Dialogue by Valiero "Philippus sive de christiana laetitia" see Kneller in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XLII., 186 *seqq.* *Cf.* Mai, Spicil., VIII., viii. *seq.*, 89 *seq.* 118 *seq.*

[4] See the monograph by Fr. M. Paolini, Rome, 1906. *Cf.* Maiocchi in *Riv. di scienze stor.* (Rome), 1907; *Arch. Veneto*, N.S. XXI. (1911), 295 *seqq.*

[5] See Vita di Mons. C. Speciani, Bergamo, 1786, 320 *seqq.*, 355 *seqq*, 366 *seqq.*, 497.

[6] See Ricci, II., 92 *seq.* 255 *seq.*, where the special literature is given.

[7] *Cf.* Mai, Spicil., VIII., 473, and more fully *infra*.

[8] *Cf.* G. Saccani, I vescovi di Reggio, R. 1902, 130 *seq.*; Cottafavi, Il Seminario di Reggio-Emilia, R-E, 1907, 3 *seq.*

[9] See Monti, Atti d. visita past. d. F. Ninguarda, 1589-1592, Part I., in *Racc. Comense*, II., Como, 1882, 94. *Cf.* *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1891, 62 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., of this work, p. 210.

[11] See J. Chiesa, Vita del ven. C. Bascapè, 2 vols., Milan, 1858. *Cf.* C. Bascapè, Scritti publ. nel governo del suo vescovato

of Charles Borromeo; at Asti the Franciscan Francesco Panigarola;[1] at Saluzzo, Giovanni Giovenale Ancina;[2] at Genoa the Benedictine Matteo Rovarola;[3] at Pisa, Carlo Antonio Pocci;[4] at Colle, Usimbardo de' Usimbardi;[5] at Volterra, Guido Servidio; at Fiesole the disciple of Philip Neri, Francesco Maria Tarugi;[6] at Bologna, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto;[7] at Imola, Alessandro Musotti; at Fossombrone, Ottavio Accoramboni;[8] at Camerino, Gentile Dolfino; at

dall'a. 1593 al 1609, Novara, 1609. The correspondence between Bascapè and Alessandro Sauli, 1591, was published by PREMOLI in *Riv. di scienze stor.* (Rome), 1907-8. See also PREMOLI, Una gloria di Novara. C. Bascapè, 1593 1615, in the single number, *L'Azione*, Novara, 1908; RATTI, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.* PREMOLI, 303 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*, 342 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 210.

[2] For this disciple of Philip Neri, who was beatified by Leo XIII. in 1890, and his fruitful labours in his diocese, *cf.* the monographs by RICHARD (Mayence, 1892) and DUVER (Rennes, 1905) and also SAVIO, Marchesato e diocesi di Saluzzo nel sec. XVII., Saluzzo, 1915.

[3] In the *brief addressed to the Duke of Mantua, July 26, 1596, the Archbishop of Genoa is described as "vir insigni vitae integritate et zelo Dei quem multis nominibus valde amamus." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] For the foundation of the seminary at Pisa (1604) see *Mem. d. accad. di Torino, Sc. mor. stor. e fil.*, 2nd series, I., 53.

[5] See Constitutiones synodales et decreta condita a rev. D. Usimbardo Usimbardio episc. Collensi primo in dioces. synodo habita A. 1594, Florence, 1595. There also the decrees published by Usimbardo in 1595 at the diocesan synod of Arezzo.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 169.

[7] For the synod of Bologna, 1594, see LOZZI, Bibl. ital., II., 49. *Cf.* Archiepiscopale Bonon. auctore card. GABR. PALEOTO, Rome, 1594, and UGHELLI, II. *Cf.* also Gabr. Paleotti *Sermones in visitat. Alb. et Salin. dioc. 1590 to 1595, Cod. 630 (1166), University Library, Bologna.

[8] *Cf.* *Memoria e rito dell'orazione della sera instituita da Msgr. vescovo Accoramboni l'anno 1591 in Fossombrone e sua diocesi. Urb. 1509 A. Vatican Library.

Urbino, Antonio Gianotti and Giuseppe Ferreri ;[1] at Gubbio, Mariano Sabelli ;[2] at Assisi, Marcello Crescenzi ; at Amelia, Antonio Maria Graziani ;[3] at Spoleto, Alfonso Visconti ;[4] at Rossano, Lucio Sanseverino ; at Sarno, Antonio de Aquino ; at Siponto, Domenico Ginnasio ;[5] at Teramo, Vincenzo de Monte Santo ; at Capua from 1602 onwards, Cardinal Bellarmine ;[6] at Matera, Giovanni de Mira ;[7] at Reggio Calabria, Annibale d' Afflitto ;[8] at Messina, Antonio Lombardi ;[9] at Monreale, Lodovico de Torres ; at Cefalù, Francesco Gonzaga, who there and later on at Pavia and Mantua rendered good service and established the first Tridentine seminary in Sicily.

Clement VIII. also displayed a salutary activity in filling the gaps which death had occasioned in the College of Cardinals. These were very considerable, for Clement VIII. witnessed the disappearance of altogether forty-five Cardinals, among them men so distinguished as Scipione Gonzaga, William Allen, Francisco Toledo, Gabriele Paleotto, Errico Caetani, Georg Radziwill, Iñigo de Avalos de Aragonia, Lodovico Madruzzo, Giulio Santori, Alfonso Gesualdo, Silvio Antoniano, Lucio Sassi, Arnauld d' Ossat and Antonio Maria Salviati.[10]

[1] *Acta of the canonical visitation of 1578, 1587, and 1597, in the Archiepiscopal Archives, Urbino.

[2] M. Sarti, De Episcopis Eugubinis, Pisauri, 1755, 225 *seqq.*

[3] See Synodus Amerina ab A. M. Gratiano episc. habita, 1595, edit. sec. cui accessit vita eiusdem, Rome, 1792. For Graziani *cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 62, 65, and Mai, Spicil., VIII., 469 *seq.* A diocesan report by Graziani in *Bull. stor. per l'Umbria*, XIII. (1907), 138 *seq.*

[4] Made a Cardinal in 1599.

[5] See C. Mezamici, Notizie d. operat. del card. Dom. Ginnasio, Rome, 1682.

[6] See Couderc, I., 367 *seq.*

[7] For the synod held at Matera in 1597 see *Arch. Napol.*, IX., 366.

[8] See the biography of D'Afflitto by Minasi (Naples, 1898) and *Roma e l'Oriente*, VII. (1914), 111 *seq.*

[9] See *Constitutiones synodales Messanen, 1591, Cod. 20, of the Library, Girgenti.

[10] See the list of all the Cardinals who died under Clement VIII.

The number of new Cardinals appointed at the seven cardinalitial creations of Clement VIII. was as great as fifty-three.[1] In these the Pope accorded hardly any influence to the Cardinals, and far less to the civil governments.[2] "Cardinals who are appointed at the request of the princes," he said, "almost always follow private interests, as I have myself experienced at the conclaves."[3]

The Cardinalitial appointments of Clement VIII. are almost

in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 354, where, however, Báthory, who was killed in 1599, is omitted. For this prince of the Church, who at the end, forgetful of the duties of his ecclesiastical state, came to a miserable end, see KOLBERG, Zur Gesch. des Kard. Andreas Báthory, and Aus dem Haushalt des Kard. A. Báthory, both Braunsberg, 1910. For the death of Cardinal S. Gonzaga see the *brief to Giulio Cesare Gonzaga, February 5, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives. For the death of Allen see BELLESHEIM, 201 *seq.* The sorrow of the court at the death of Caetani is *reported by G. C. Foresto, December 18, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For Santori see *Avviso of June 13, 1602, where it is stated: "the Cardinal did many good works, and after thirty-five years of the cardinalate left 14,000 scudi of debts" (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also DOLFIN, Relazione, 485. The tomb of Santori, with a fine bust, in his chapel in St. John Lateran, see FORCELLA, VIII., 51. At the consistory of February 19, 1603, Clement VIII. pronounced the funeral discourse for Gesualdo. See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 248; *cf.* PHILLIPS, VI., 231.

[2] See *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 269, and in App. n. 15 the *report of G. C. Foresto of February 27, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *brief to the Duke of Lorraine, June 20, 1592, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 413, Papal Secret Archives, and the autograph *letter of Charles Emanuel of Savoy, August 4, 1596, State Archives, Turin. For the most part the requests of other princes as well were not considered, especially those of Philip II.: *e.g.* at the very beginning of the pontificate the request of the King of Spain that the Pope should confer the purple on the Archbishop of Saragossa, Andrea Bobadilla; see *letter of Philip II. to Clement VIII., April 25, 1592, Doria Archives, Rome.

[3] Report of the Este envoy, June 8, 1596; see RICCI, II., 245.

without exception deserving of praise. Setting aside the too young Giovanni Battista Deti, the Cardinals appointed by Clement VIII. proved themselves men of worth; such were the learned Jesuit Toledo, the venerable Sassi, the Oratorian Francesco Maria Tarugi, whose life may be called truly apostolic, Camillo Borghese who was afterwards Paul V., the Auditors of the Rota, Lorenzo Bianchetti, Francesco Mantica and Pompeo Arigoni, the great Bonifacio Bevilacqua, the versatile Alfonso Visconti, Domenico Toschi who had sprung from the lowest ranks purely by his own merits, the disinterested d'Ossat, and lastly like three brilliant stars outshining the rest: Baronius, Silvio Antoniano and Bellarmine, who in their humility had refused to accept so great an honour, so that Clement VIII. was forced to constrain them under obedience, threatening them with excommunication.[1] These three Cardinals were assigned apartments at the Vatican,[2] since Baronius was the Pope's confessor, Silvio Antoniano his secretary of briefs, and Bellarmine, after the death of Toledo his theologian, an office which he exercised with great freedom.[3] The lofty sentiments which animated Cardinals Baronius and Tarugi is clear from a letter of the last-named belonging to the year 1598, only recently discovered, in which he unites himself to Baronius in his desire to renounce the purple, so as to return once more to the peace of the Oratory.[4]

These new Cardinals vied with the older ones, such as Valiero, Frederick Borromeo, Tagliavia, Sfondrato, Aquaviva and Alessandro de' Medici, who was to succeed Clement VIII. If among these many Cardinals there were to be found two of

[1] See Couderc, I., 260 *seq.* For Baronius see Alberici, III., 391 *seq.*; Calenzio, 419 *seq.*, 459 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Avvisi of November 29, 1595, and June 1, 1596, Urb. 1063, 1064, Vatican Library. See also the *letter of L. Arrigoni, June 8, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] Bentivoglio, Memorie, 151.

[3] *Cf.* Couderc, I., 234 *seq.*, 295 *seq.*

[4] See the text of the letter in the opusculum L'Oratorio Filippino di Firenze, al ven. Card. Cesare Baronio, Florence, 1908, 71 *seq*

worldly sentiments, like Sforza[1] and Deti, these only served, as Bentivoglio remarks, to bring out all the more brilliantly the virtues of the rest. Clement VIII. for his part, left nothing undone to bring back Deti to a better manner of life.[2] He also made use of every opportunity that offered to remind the Cardinals of their duties.[3]

However many eminent men the College of Cardinals contained under Clement VIII., its influence as a college visibly diminished. This was due in great measure to the

[1] Sforza only became a priest in the autumn of 1614; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 282.

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 85 *seq.*, 126 *seq.* The description of the Sacred College of Clement VIII. by Bentivoglio (59 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*) is completed by DOLFIN, Relazione, 479 *seq.*, 493 *seq.*, who principally discusses the political position of the Cardinals, and their hopes at a conclave. The same is the case in the *Informazione for the Marchese Vigliena spoken of in Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 254, and in the *Discorso* which is preserved in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, which was composed in view of a conclave, and contains many Roman *dicerie*, and is identical with the report published by RATTI (Opuscolo ined. di Baronio, 38 *seqq.*). The Bolognese FABIO ALBERGATI published Libri tre del cardinale, Rome, 1598. GIOV. BOTERO wrote Dell'uffitio del cardinale libri, II., Rome, 1599, where the duties of the Cardinals as against heresy are also discussed. Botero was not fairly judged by MEINECKE (Die Idee der Staatsraison in der neueren Geschichte, Munich, 1924); see *Giorn. d. lett. ital.*, LXXXVI., 176.

[3] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, March 10, 1593, March 28, 1594, and December 4, 1600, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library; *Avviso of December 29, 1593, Urb. 1061, *ibid.* Clement VIII. also tried to reintroduce the ancient custom by which the Cardinals went to the Consistory on horseback; see *Avviso of March 28, 1594, Urb. 1062, *ibid.*, and for the Holy Year (1600) BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 17 *seq.* According to the *Avviso of August 29, 1601 (Urb. 1069), special sermons were ordered for the Cardinals. Cardinal Este, who gave scandal by his behaviour (see MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 218, 220, 223), received on June 19, 1604, a *Monitorium in which the Pope disapproved of his intention "longe lateque peregrinari"; Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 250, Papal Secret Archives.

independence of Clement VIII.[1], which was much felt by the Cardinals, and to the predominant position held by his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini; it may also be attributed to the increase of the Papal authority, and to the establishment of the Congregations, by which the power of the Consistory had been considerably lessened. Although certain Cardinals, as for example Paleotto, complained of this and sought to restore the ancient order, the advantages of the new method of transacting business were nevertheless evident. The transaction of affairs by way of process, and the cumbrousness of a conciliar assembly, in which there were always to be found a diversity of opinions, had rendered the treatment of important matters by the Consistory almost impossible.[2] Once the change had been inaugurated, it was no longer possible to stop it, all the more so as it was based upon the strictly monarchical character of the ecclesiastical constitution. From this time onwards the Consistories served more and more to give to more important ecclesiastical matters a fitting conclusion.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the Este report for June, 1594, in RICCI, II., 207.

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, II.[8], 204.

[3] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 412 *seq.* The work by Cardinal Paleotto there mentioned bears the title: De sacri consistorii consultationibus, Rome, 1592. *Cf.* as to this PHILLIPS, VI., 293, 577. The opinion of DOLFIN (Relazione, 460) that the Congregations, except for the Inquisition, only functioned in appearance, is wrong. The union of the "Congregatio episcoporum" with the "Congregatio regularium," did not take place, as PHILLIPS (VI., 642) supposes, in the time of Sixtus V., but only under Clement VIII.; see PARUTA, Relazione, 374.

CHAPTER VI.

The Roman Inquisition.—Giordano Bruno.—The Index.—The Vulgate.

Of the Congregations, that of the Roman Inquisition preserved the greatest degree of independence, having entrusted to it the safeguarding and surveillance of Catholic doctrine. At the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII. it was composed of Cardinals Santori, Deza, Pinelli, Bernerio, Boccafuoco and Sfondrato,[1] with whom the Pope himself was associated as president. Toledo too, and later on Bellarmine, were placed on the Congregation after their elevation to the cardinalate;[2] it met twice in the week, once at the palace of Cardinal Santori, who was the senior in rank, and at the same time Grand Penitentiary,[3] and on the other occasion at the Vatican.

[1] See Antonius Diana, Coordinatus seu omnes resolutiones morales, V., Lyons, 1667. The "Constantius S. Petri in Monte Aureo Servanus" mentioned there is Boccafuoco; see Christofori, 193 "Quintilianus Adrianus" was at that time notary of the Inquisition; see Diana, V., 580. Clement VIII. appointed "Aug. Galaminus commissarius generalis S. Inquisitionis de Urbe," see Catalanus, De magistro s. Palatii, 144. A manuscript of Clement VIII. of 1592, which assigns the Acta of the Inquisition then kept in the Papal "guardarobba" to the Congregation, in Gori, Archivio, VI., 4 (Spoleto, 1880), 14 *seq.*

[2] See the *Notes of Santori, January 6, 1594, Papal Secret Archives, I., 28; Couderc, I., 269. In a decree of the Inquisition of February 5, 1598 (in Stieve, IV., 524 *seq.*) there are mentioned as members: L. Madruzzo, Santori, Deza, Pinelli, Bernerio, Sfrondato, Borghese and Arigoni. *Cf.* also Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 626.

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Giulio del Carretto, February 22, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Dolfin, Relazione, 462 *seq.*

The Inquisition, in addition to its principal duty of taking action against heresy, was also occupied with many other matters.[1] Thus it issued an ordinance against litanies which had not been approved by the Congregation of Rites;[2] it was also concerned with the false Demetrius,[3] and was also consulted as to whether it was lawful to form an alliance with heretics and the heterodox.[4] Of very frequent occurrence too were questions concerning relations with the heterodox, and especially about disputes with Protestants, and mixed marriages, that is between Catholics and those of another religion. There also came within its competence questions concerning Christians of Jewish origin, especially in relation to the procedure of the Inquisition in Portugal.[5] Besides

After the death of Santori, June 14, 1602) P. Aldobrandini became Grand Penitentiary; see *Avviso of July 21, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* besides the following cases mentioned the reports based on the acta in the *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 576 *seq.* 676 *seq.*, and PASTOR, Dekrete, *passim.*

[2] See Bull., X., 732 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, La Russie, III., 214 *seq.*

[4] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 232.

[5] A collection of *"Decreta s. Inquisitionis fere omnia sub Clemente VIII." drawn up in accordance with the subjects, in Barb. 1369 (copy 1370) Vatican Library. A *Monitorium of Clement VIII. to the Inquisitor of Portugal, September 19, 1596, to act juridically, in the Papal Secret Archives, App. n. 9. In Barb. 1369, p. 326 *seq.* (Vatican Library) are contained *Responsiones ad obiecta contra Inquisitores regni Portugalliae, of March 28, 1598, which were presented, when translated by Fr. Peña to the Pope. A *brief of Clement VIII. to Philip III., December 30, 1601, concerning the absolution of "christianos nuevos de Portugal" which the Pope only granted with difficulty, in the National Archives, Paris, Simancas. *Ibid. K.* 1631, a *Memorial concerning the Portuguese neo-Christians, March 24, 1602. *Cf.* also the *Tractatus de statu S. Inquisitionis in regno Portugalliae, addressed to Clement VIII. (especially concerning the neo-Christians and Jews) in Barb. XXXII., 213, Vatican Library.

grave cases of fornication, falsifiers of Papal briefs were also brought before the Inquisition.[1] With regard to those who were accused of magic, the Inquisition acted with great caution.[2]

The special tribunals of the Inquisition in the various cities were dependent upon the Roman Inquisition, by which they were directed.[3] Clement VIII. devoted the greatest attention to the Inquisition;[4] he confirmed a number of decrees concerning the preservation of secrecy in its discussions, and the improvement of its procedure.[5] The decree by which every month the names of those imprisoned were to be presented to the Congregation was directed against the often unduly prolonged imprisonment of the accused.[6] A decree of November 29th, 1594, laid it down that the jailors must not receive presents from the prisoners, even after their release;[7] another of March 14th, 1595, ordered a more humane treatment of the prisoners.[8] The decree of Sixtus V., that all briefs, bulls and other documents relating to the Inquisition must be issued gratuitously, was renewed by Clement VIII.,[9] and it was further ordered in 1601 that the

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 16, the *List of those imprisoned in the Holy Office from 1599, Borghese Archives, Rome.

[2] Opinion of SANDONNINI in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, IX., 347 *seq.*

[3] See AMABILE, Il S. Officio d. Inquisitione in Napoli, II., 19. *Cf. ibid.* I., 337 *seqq.*, 343 *seqq.* For the development of the Inquisition at Naples, and its activity in that city, see a *Report concerning an "Auto da fe celebrado en Palermo, 1596" in the Archives of the Spanish embassy, Rome, P. III. In 1595 Clement VIII. asked the Archduke Ferdinand to hand over an ex-Dominican to the Roman Inquisition; see *Steiermärk. Gesch.-Bl.*, I., 81.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 374; CIBRARIO, Lettere di Santi, Papi, etc., Turin, 1861, 243 *seq.*

[5] See PASTOR, Dekrete 51 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 52.

[7] See *ibid.* 55.

[8] See *ibid.* 55 *seq.* *Cf.* BATTISTELLA, 85.

[9] See PASTOR, Dekrete, 57. *Cf. Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, VII. (1914), 70.

bishops and their officials were not to receive the smallest emolument.[1] A decree of the same year laid it down that the consultors of the Inquisition were not to act as advocates of the accused.[2]

The strict bull of Paul IV., against those who, without being priests, dared to say mass and hear confessions, was confirmed, together with another constitution of the Carafa Pope against those who denied the Most Holy Trinity.[3] Also the bull which forbade Italians to live in countries where they were not able to fulfil their religious duties,[4] was aimed at the defence of the faith.

The first execution of heretics under Clement VIII. took place in 1595. On May 16th in that year twelve persons abjured their errors in the church of the Minerva; a relapsed Fleming, who obstinately persisted in his error, by denying the immortality of the soul, as well as an absent Spaniard, were condemned to the stake.[5] In the following month a terrible crime was committed, which deeply grieved the Pope. An Englishman attacked with a dagger the priest who was

[1] See Bull., X., 648. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 314.

[2] "Die 4 aprilis 1601 lectis litteris vicarii Januensis, ill^{mi} [et rev.^{mi} domini cardinales generales inquisitores] decreverunt ut consultores s. Officii non possent esse advocati reorum" (Decreta s. Officii, 1524-1668, p. 321, State Archives, Rome, with the further remark: "Romae tamen practicatur contrarium"). Cardinal Bernerio was entrusted in 1593 with the arrangement of the Archives of the Inquisition; see PASTOR, Dekrete, 52.

[3] These constitutions in DIANA, V., 546 *seq.*, 574, and in Bull., X., 750 *seq.*, XI., 1 *seq.*

[4] See Bull., X., 279 *seq.* *Cf.* STIEVE, V., 310; BATTISTELLA, Il S. Offizio in Bologna, B. 1905, 138. The *opinion of an Augustinian concerning this bull of Clement VIII., which was renewed and amplified by Gregory XV., in Cod. Capponi, III., 19, National Library, Florence.

[5] Besides the Lettres d'Ossat, I., 153, *cf.* the *Avvisi of May 17 and 20, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, May 16, 1595: "In Minerva abiuratio 12 in s. Officio detentorum, unus relapsus obstinatus et imago Jo^{is} Lopez, qui curiae saeculari traditi." Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

carrying the Blessed Sacrament in a procession leaving the church of S. Agata a Monte Magnanapoli, so that the Most Holy fell to the ground. He expiated his crime at the stake. It was thought that this was a case of a spy of Queen Elizabeth.[1] There were also other executions, thus five more in 1595, seven in 1596 and one in 1597.[2] A heretic who maintained his erroneous doctrines dressed as a Capuchin, was executed in September 1599.[3] There were several imprisonments of heretics in the following years,[4] and six condemnations to death.[5] One of the latter was the case of a Neapolitan, who was also a treasure-seeker.[6] Another native of southern Italy was the philosopher, Giordano Bruno.

The life of this unhappy man seems like that of a restless adventurer.[7] Born at Nola near Naples in 1548 of poor

[1] See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 153 *seq.*, the report in *N. Antologia*, XXXIV., (1877), 298, and the *Avvisi of June 17 and 21, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

[2] See Rodocanachi, Réforme, II., 433 *seqq.* For G. F. Barro, arrested by the Inquisition in 1595, *cf.* Tiraboschi, VIII., 134 *seq.*; Mazzuchelli, II., 3, 1790 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of September 14, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. According to Rodocanachi (*loc. cit.*, 433) there were two other heretics executed in November, 1599.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi of February 23, 1600 (yesterday a heretic was arrested at S. Marcello); July 21, 1601 (on Sunday at the Inquisition, the abjuration of a German Jesuit, who denies the Trinity; condemned to imprisonment for life; Bosso da Bassi, to five years in the galleys, because he invokes the devil, and practises treasure-seeking); November 6, 1604 (abjuration of an Apulian priest, who had preached errors at S. Eustachio), Urb. 1069, 1070, 1072, Vatican Library. *Cf.* in App. n. 16, the *List of the prisoners of the Holy Office on April 5, 1599, Borguese Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* in App. n. 16, extract from the *Diario, from the Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Avviso of July 9, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

[7] *Cf.* the special works by Chr. Bartholomees (2 vols., Paris, 1846-47), M. Carrière (Philos. Weltanschauung der Reforma-

parents, but a man of extraordinary intellect, he resolved as a youth to enter a religious Order. He changed the name of Philip, which he had received at baptism, to that of Giordano when at the age of seventeen he entered the celebrated Dominican convent at Naples.[1] This convent, in which at one time Thomas Aquinas had lived, was at that time in a very decadent state.[2] The young religious, who had a lively imagination and a restless spirit, studied indis-

tionszeit, Leipzig, 1847², 1887), F. J. CLEMENS (G. Bruno e Nic. di Cusa, Bonn, 1847), D. BERTI (Florence, 1868, Turin, 1889), CHR. SIGWART (Tübingen, 1880), H. BRUNNHOFER (Leipzig, 1882), L. PREVITI (Prato, 1887), J. FRITH (London, 1887), RIEHL (Leipzig, 1889², 1900), L. KUHLENBECK (Leipzig, 1890), TOCCO (in *Atti dei Lincei*, 1892), V. SPAMPANATO (G. B. e Nola, Castrovillari, 1899; concerning his country and family), TOCCO (Nuovi docum. Rome, 1902), LEWIS MACINTYRE (London, 1903), G. GENTILE (Milan, 1907), BOULTING (London, 1916). The writings of G. Bruno are edited by PAUL DE LAGARDE, 2 vols., 1888-89; Opera latine conscripta ed. Fiorentino, Imbriani, Tallarigo, Tocco et Vitelli, Naples and Florence, 1879, 1891; Opere ital. p.p. G. GENTILE, I. and II., Bari, 1907 1908; Opera ined. ed. Tocco, Florence, 1891. German translation by LASSON in *Kirchmanns Philos. Bibl.*², Berlin, 1889, and by L. KUHLENBECK, 6 vols., Jena, 1904 *seq.*; of the different phases in the development of the philosophy of Bruno, we have the best account in TOCCO: Le opere lat. di G. B. esposte e confrontate con le ital., Florence, 1889. *Cf.* also R. CHARBONNEL, La pensée ital. et le courant libertin, and L'éthique de G.B. et le deuxième dialogue du Spaccio, both Paris, 1919. A full biography of Bruno, based on the plentiful archival materials was written by V. SPAMPANATO: Vita di G.B., con docum. editi ed inediti (Messina, 1921) which also at last throws light upon Bruno's youth. *Cf.* also OLSCHI in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschr. f. Literaturwissensch. u. Geistegesch.*, II. (Halle, 1924), 1-79. For G. Bruno see also ZABUGHIN, Storia del Rinascimento cristiano in Italia, Milan, 1924, 350 *seq.*; S. CARAMELLA, G. Bruno a Genova e in Liguria, in *Giorn. stor. d. Liguria*, I., 1 (1925).

[1] On June 15, 1565; profession on June 16, 1566; see SPAMPANATO, Vita, 606, 608.

[2] See *ibid.* 136 *seqq.*

criminately the philosophers of antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In so doing he formed a profound aversion for Aristotle and scholasticism, and drifted away from God and the Christian religion. He began to feel doubts about the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as well as about the divinity of Christ. In spite of this in 1572 he was ordained priest and exercised the priestly office in various places. But his attitude of mind endured, and as he did not conceal his heretical opinions, he was threatened with a trial before the Inquisition, which he avoided bv taking to flight in February 1576.[1]

Giordano Bruno then completely burned his bridges behind him, and began a life of wandering, which in three lustrums took him half over Europe. After having travelled through north Italy, he went to Geneva, where he passed over to Calvinism,[2] so as to be able to enter the university. Punished by imprisonment in 1579 for having published a defamatory libel against a professor of Geneva, Bruno, whose nature was as impulsive as it was presumptuous, left the head-quarters of Calvinism, against which he thenceforward displayed an even greater hatred than that which he had shown for the Catholic Church. He went by way of Lyons to Toulouse, where he succeeded in obtaining a chair at the university. In his lectures on philosophy he especially attacked Aristotle, whom he later on called the most stupid of all the philosophers, whose soul after his death had passed into the body of an ass! After two years teaching, in 1581 the restless professor turned his steps towards Paris, where he devoted himself principally to the art of mnemonics. In this way he attracted the attention of Henry III., who conferred a special chair upon him. Bruno thanked him by the dedication, filled with adulation, of his work concerning the "shadows of ideas,"

[1] See *ibid.* 255 *seq.*

[2] Later on before the Inquisition at Venice G. Bruno denied his apostasy; but the documents published by DUFOUR (G. Bruno à Genève, 1579, Docum. inédits, Genoa, 1884) show that he lied. *Cf.* FIORENTINO, G. Bruno, in Napoli lett., I. (1884), n. 32.

in which could already be seen the fundamental signs of his pantheistic philosophy. As well as shorter dissertations, Bruno also published at that time (1582) a comedy "Il Candelaio" which proves how the loss of faith had also brought about his moral shipwreck. The work is full of indecencies; according to competent judges, it surpasses in its obscenities the most infamous productions of the cinquecento.[1]

As early as 1583 Bruno left France, which was in a state of ferment, and went to live in London, where he passed, according to his own statement, the happiest hours of his life in the house of the French ambassador, Michel Castelnau de Mauvissiére. Mauvissiére brought him into contact with many illustrious persons,[2] and he was even presented to Queen Elizabeth, of whom he sang as "a goddess upon earth." He bestowed similar adulation upon her courtiers and counsellors. This however did not prevent him later on from reviling the English as uncouth, savage and rustic. He wrote thus: "If an Englishman sees a stranger he becomes like a wolf or a bear, and stares at him as furiously as a hog who sees someone taking away his trough from him."

During his sojourn in England there appeared Bruno's most important works in Italian: "La cena delle ceneri"; "Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante"; and "Dell'infinito, universo e mondi." "La cena delle ceneri" contains in the form of a dialogue a popular instruction concerning the new system of the universe according to Copernicus, of which Bruno was an enthusiastic supporter, and together with this

[1] *Cf.* A. Bacelli, Il candelaio di G. Bruno, Rome, 1901, and the preface by Spampanato to the Opere ital., III., Bari, 1909.

[2] It is very uncertain whether Bruno knew Shakespeare personally. The influence of Bruno on the great dramatist, which is maintained by Tschischwitz (Shakespeare-Forschungen, Halle, 1868) and by W. König (in Shakespeare-Jahrbuch, XI., 79 *seq.*) is convincingly denied by R. Beyersdorff (G. Bruno u. Shakespeare, Oldenburg, 1889). For the harmful influence of Bruno on the English at that time, as against positive religion, see the article by Stone in *The Month*, L. 81.

there are rabid invectives against his adversaries, whom he describes as "Mad, demented, beasts and sows," and especially against the University of Oxford, which is called a "constellation of the ignorant, pedantic and obstinate, and a mass of donkey and swine." In his work, "Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante" astronomy is only quite a secondary matter; polemics and satire hold the first place. Even worse than the obscenities in which Bruno takes delight here as well, are the scandalous blasphemies which he permits himself to utter. This incendiary work, disgraceful in its title, was regarded by contemporaries as being directed against the Pope, but anyone who studies it more attentively will see that Bruno's attacks are not only directed against the doctrines of the Catholic Church, but also against those taught by Luther and Calvin. Logically enough, the pantheistic philosopher of Nola did not break only with the Catholic Church, but also with positive Christianity in general, pouring out against its doctrines such a mass of hatred that it would be difficult to go further.[1] Moreover, Bruno entertained so deep an

[1] Bruno, in the opinion of one of his admirers, Arthur Drews, broke at first with the Church and Christianity with full knowledge, and opposed both of them with marked hostility. Especially in the "Spaccio della bestia trionfante," he has poured forth such venomous scorn upon Christian dogmas, that it would be impossible to go further. Bruno did not believe in the divinity of Christ. He only looked upon Him as the noblest of men, and classes Him with Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and other wise men. But since the essence of Christianity lies in faith in the God-Man, he could not call himself a Christian, and was sincere enough to say so openly, seeing more clearly in this matter than many do to-day. As well as Catholicism, he also condemns Protestantism, and looks upon the doctrine of justification by faith as absurd. (*Beilage zur Alg. Zeitung*, 1900, n. 40). Erdmann had already in his *Gesch. der Philosophie* given the opinion: That the original part of Bruno's action was that he had "broken with the Catholic Church and with all Christianity. He professes to do so, and is the first to put himself entirely outside Christianity. . . . He himself knows that his doctrine is pagan." In accordance with this is Bruno's defence of prostitution, and his demand for

aversion for the Jews that he showed it in almost all his works by biting expressions.[1] Thus in his blasphemous satire on Christianity and its Divine Founder, who figures under the title "Ass of Cyllene," he says that the Jews have always been "a despicable, slavish, self-interested and misanthropic people, repulsive to all other races, and very properly spurned by them."[2]

When Mauvissière was recalled from his post in London in 1585, Giordano accompanied him to Paris, where he again

polygamy; see SIGWART in *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1883, II., 836 *seq.* This same scholar says that the collection of sneers against Christian dogmas made by Brunnhofer (226 *seq.*) is the best proof of the truth of the accusations brought against Bruno by the Venetian Inquisition.

[1] The German translator L. Kuhlenbeck, who on this point is of the same opinion as Bruno, brings this out in his comments with special delight (v., 289). *Cf.* also BRUNNHOFER, 219 *seq.* The freemasons and free-thinkers, to a great extent Jews, who exulted at the erection of the monument to Giordano Bruno in Rome in 1889, and hailed Bruno as the representative of liberty, equality and fraternity, knew nothing of the dislike and hatred which their hero felt for the whole of their race. The leader of political radicalism in Italy, the Jew Barzilai, seems to have been better informed when, on February 17, 1910, at the inauguration of the site of the club for Roman free-thinkers facing the Vatican (pulled down in 1925), which bore the name of Giordano Bruno, confessed that for anti-clerical democracy the name of Giordano Bruno was only a battle-cry, and that his other views had not been taken into consideration. In like manner the Protestant professor Van der Wyck, in the periodical *De Gids*, 1890, 342, was of the opinion that the monument in Rome to Giordano Bruno had not been erected on account of his learning, but because the philosopher despised Christianity: "Het monument will een kaakslag aan het pausdom zijn." *Cf.* also ZABUGHIN, who says (*loc. cit.*): "Nessuno al mondo su meno 'libero pensatore' di quest'uomo [G. Bruno] che l'infinita beozia dei politicanti innalzò a simbolo sovrano del così detto libero pensiero."

[2] See WYCK, *loc. cit.*

indulged in attacks upon Aristotle.[1] The restless man then went to Germany, and tried his fortune in no fewer than eight German cities, without, however, finding rest in any of them. At Marburg he was refused permission to deliver public lectures, which annoyed the philosopher so much that he openly insulted the rector of the university in his own house. At Halberstadt he aroused such scandal by his attitude of opposition to all positive religion, that the superintendent-general Mebes warned people from the pulpit to avoid all contact with "this wolf and assassin of souls."[2] From Wittemberg, where he extolled Luther as the new Hercules, and where his attacks upon the Roman "wolf," gave much pleasure, he was driven out by the Calvinists in 1588. At Frankfort on Maine Bruno supervised in 1591 the printing of three didactic Latin poems, which are of importance for his philosophical opinions; in the same year he accepted the invitation to go to Venice extended to him by Giovanni Mocenigo, who was on terms of close friendship with his publisher. Mocenigo wished to learn from Bruno the mnemonic art, and how to read thoughts, which had already been put forward by Raimondo Lulli in the thirteenth century, and to the perfecting of which Bruno had devoted himself all through his life. But now, whether because the Venetian gentleman thought himself deceived in this matter by Bruno, or because he felt remorse for having given hospitality to a heretic, or because the too great interest taken in his beautiful wife by the philosopher aroused his jealousy,[3] it is certainly

[1] See the new information given by AUVRAY, G. Bruno à Paris, Paris, 1901. *Cf.* Tocco in *N. Antologia*, XXXVII. (1902), September.

[2] See what is said by FR. KOLDEWEY (*Braunschw. Magazin*, Wolfenbüttel, 1897) concerning the earlier biographies.

[3] FR. ALBANESE (L'Inquisizione religiosa nella repubblica di Venezia, con docum. orig., Venice, 1875) endeavours to make this last view credible; he connects with it the circumstance that the document of accusation against Bruno contained among other charges "that he had taken great pleasure in women, as he did not consider it a sin to follow the impulses of nature."

the fact that in May 1592 the disciple made over his master into the hands of the Venetian Inquisition.

The view that Giordano Bruno presented himself before the Venetian Inquisition as the bold champion of his doctrines, and that the tribunal listened quietly to his philosophical explanations, became obviously untenable once the acta of his trial became known.[1] From these it is clear beyond all possibility of doubt that the philosopher of Nola cut but a sorry figure. In open contradiction to his own writings, and his previous discourses, he showed himself ready to abjure anything that was asked of him. "I reject," so he declared, "I detest and deplore all errors and all heresies, as well as every doubt of the doctrines of the Catholic Church." He begged that he might be "pardoned for his weakness, and be received into the bosom of the holy Church, and that he might be treated with leniency." When he was brought before the tribunal a second time, after a longer interval, he made the same declaration, adding that he had already sought for reconciliation with the Church from the nuncio in Paris, and from a Jesuit; he begged to be readmitted to her bosom, but to be allowed to live a life of study outside his convent; he condemned and deplored all the harm that he had done, and all the errors that he had thought and taught, and promised henceforward to lead a life "which would repair the scandal which he had hitherto given, and serve as an example and edification to everyone."

A report of the process at Venice was sent to the Roman

[1] Published for the first time by BERTI in 1868 in his Vita di G. Bruno; later emended copies printed in BERTI, Docum. intorno a G.B., Rome, 1880, and in PREVITI, 305 *seqq.*; German translation in KUHLENBECK, VI., 145 *seqq.* The best text is now to be found in SPAMPANATO, 687 *seqq.* BROSCH too, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LX., 187 *seq.* pronounced against the attempt of Tocco to justify the attitude of Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition. How damning the Acta were for the philosopher is above all clear from the fact that Fiorentino thought of falsifying them. SIGWART (*loc. cit.*) shows how erroneous are the statements of Brunnhofer concerning the trial by the Venetian Inquisition.

Inquisition, which, by means of Cardinal Santori, asked on September 12th, 1592, that Bruno might be handed over to it. At first the government in Venice was unwilling to grant this request, but the nuncio in Venice, Lodovico Taverna, pointed out that Bruno was not a subject of the Republic, but a Neapolitan, that he had already in the past been summoned to appear in Rome, that he was an escaped monk and an arch-heretic ; in such cases it had often happened that guilty persons were handed over to the supreme tribunal in Rome. The Great Council then sought the legal advice of its procurator Contarini. The latter replied that Bruno certainly possessed rare intellectual gifts, but that he was also accused of the most atrocious heresies ; since he was a foreigner, and as processes against him had already been commenced in Naples and Rome, it was possible to yield to the Pope's request and hand Bruno over.

Thus in 1593 Bruno was taken to Rome. In the absence of the acta of the process, we have but very insufficient information as to his conduct there during the six years of his imprisonment.[1] On February 27th, 1593, the case of Bruno

[1] A desire has been expressed in many quarters that the Roman Inquisition would make up its mind to render the acta of the Roman process accessible for historical research. Recently even Kuhlenbeck, who is otherwise an enthusiastic supporter of Bruno, has expressed himself in this sense when he says (VI., 295 *seq.*) that : " by so doing the only ones who would suffer would be the demonstrators at the monument of Bruno, who make this man of Nola their saint, without in any way having felt the breath of his spirit." It has escaped the notice of Kuhlenbeck that G. Güttler relates in 1893 in *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Philos.*, VI., 344 *seq.* that Pope Leo XIII., that enthusiast for historical truth, was prepared as early as 1882 to throw open the documents relating to Bruno, if they could be found in the archives of the Roman Inquisition. " The result, however, of the most careful research was that in those archives nothing could be found on the subject ; since, owing to upsets and revolutions, these archives have undergone many vicissitudes, it is not even now possible to say whether these acta are still preserved,

was discussed by the Inquisition.[1] But it is only for the end of 1599 and the beginning of 1600 that we have a few short protocols,[2] from which in each case it only appears that Bruno asserted again and again that he "had never set forth heretical opinions, and that the doctrines which were held by the members of the Inquisition to be heretical, had only been *misinterpreted*." If these attempts of the philosopher to escape the terrible penalties which threatened him are humanly speaking easy to understand, they do not show the smallest shadow of *the courage of his opinions*. Even his bold and haughty words at the last, when all hope of pardon had vanished: "You are perhaps pronouncing sentence upon me with a greater sense of fear than I have in hearing it," do not prove much in the light of his earlier conduct, and all the more so as they are only confirmed by a single witness who is not over worthy of belief, Gaspar Schopp.[3]

or whither they may have gone in the end." Encouraged by this information, dated October 7, 1882, Güttler went to Rome, where the archivist and commissary of the Inquisition very courteously made repeated new search, which however, like the researches of Güttler in the Papal Secret Archives and other libraries of Rome, were without result. Cardinal Rampolla too, at that time Secretary of the Inquisition, has assured me that in the Archives of the Roman Inquisition nothing was found which had not already been published by Berti in 1868 and by Martinori in 1880.

[1] *Cf.* in App. n. 16, the *list of the prisoners of the Holy Office, Borghese Archives, Rome.

[2] These extracts from the Archives of the Roman Inquisition, made by an Italian scholar during the revolution of 1849, were first printed in *Documenti* by Berti; more recently in SPAMPANATO, 771 *seqq.* *Ibid.* 780 *seqq.* the "Sentence" of the Inquisition on Bruno. For Bellarmine and the process against Bruno see the periodical *Gregorianum*, IV. (1923), 193 *seqq.* *Cf.* CARUSI, Nuovi documenti sul processo di G. Bruno in the *Giorn. crit. d. filosofia ital.*, VI. (1925), 121-130, where there is also the text of the final judgment of the Inquisition on Bruno of February 8, 1600.

[3] Isabella Oppenheim has given in her English biography of

After Bruno had been handed over on February 9th, 1600, to the secular arm for punishment, as an obstinate heretic and apostate, he was still given another eight days to recant his heresies,[1] which were directed against the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. But the theologians who were sent to him, as well as the members of the Confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, who gave the condemned man spiritual assistance in his last hours, laboured in vain. On February 17th, Giordano Bruno, impenitent to the last, suffered death at the stake in the Campo di Fiori.[2]

Bruno, under the pseudonym J. Frith, a printed and revised copy of the letter of G. Schopp (Scioppius) to Rittershaus, based on the manuscript at Breslau.

[1] BROSCH too (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, LX., 189) who is so great an admirer of Bruno, judges that the philosopher of Nola was no longer a Christian. *Cf.* also RENIER in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, L., 427.

[2] See besides the letter of G. Schopp, cited *supra*, above all the contemporary *Avvisi of February 12, 16 and 19, 1600, contanedi in Urb. 1068 (Vatican Library). (RODOCANACHI, Réforme, II., 434 *seq.*; SPAMPANATO, 784). In spite of these absolutely trustworthy witnesses, the Frenchman DESDOUITS (La légende tragique de J. Bruno, Paris, 1885) tries to prove that the death of Bruno at the stake did not take place; that the sentence was not carried out, but that Bruno was kept in prison for the remainder of his life. This strange attempt was rightly refuted by E. NARDUCCI (G. Bruno e la legenda tragica del Sig. Desdouits, Rome, 1886) and by the Jesuit PREVITI (*loc. cit.*). Kl. Bäumker too has declared against Desdouits in his valuable dissertation on Bruno, published in *Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Germania*, 1900, Nr. 7. In this he brings out the importance of Bruno as a naturalist (he is not a naturalist who analyses, but one who uses his imagination), while as a philosopher he estimates him fairly. Bäumker however missed the important work, also directed against Desdouits, by A. POGNISI: G. Bruno e l'Archivio di S. Giovanni Decollato, Turin, 1891. There, p. 62 *seq.*, we find all the information concerning the last hours of Bruno, in the "confrateria di ponte S. Angelo," which were in those archives, but now removed to the State Archives, Rome, and which remove

Although the Venetian government had handed over Giordano Bruno to the Roman Inquisition, it refused to do so when in July 1593 the latter asked the same thing in the case of the Greek Bishop of Cerigo, Massimo Marguni, saying that the many Greeks who lived in Venice and the possessions of the Republic in the Levant had never been the subjects of that authority. The Venetian government, however, offered to order the rector of Padua to demand the writings

all doubt concerning the carrying out of the sentence (16-17 February, 1600). If Kuhlenbeck calls the death of Bruno at the stake a judicial murder, a critic has remarked in the *Lit. Beilage zur Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1904 n. 15, that "from the legal point of view this act was no more a judicial murder than that of having hanged, disembowelled and quartered 142 Catholic priests in the course of twenty years, in the freest country in the world, and under the auspices of an enlightened sovereign. We make this comparison because the author does not fail to offer incense to the era of Elizabeth, and to British society which courteously welcomed this unbalanced guest, and showed that they understood the trend of his ideas. If the philosopher of Nola, who, according to what the author himself says, had every reason to be on his guard against the Calvinists, had crossed the seas, not as an apostate, but as a friar who had remained true to his vows, his tonsured head would have been insulted in Ireland, or he would have had to lay down his life at Tyburn amid tortures such as are unheard of to-day except in China. Probably in Rome, just as a generation later Galileo did, he irritated his judges exceedingly by his obstinate and contradictory behaviour, men who probably were not anxious to increase the difficulties of the time by condemning a heretic to the stake; they believed—and perhaps equally firmly as the English judges under the Virgin Queen—that they had to perform a painful duty, without heeding the consequences. In this sense we may interpret the words of the condemned man: "You are pronouncing sentence with greater fear than I feel in hearing it." KUHLENBECK says (Vol. I., p. 176) in a like sense: "Moreover the behaviour of the Roman Inquisition, which would gladly have seen Bruno saved by a recantation, does not approach the diabolical cruelty of Calvin, who delighted in assisting in person as a spectator at the death of Servetus at the stake."

of this man, and to inform him that should he cause scandal by his life and doctrines, he could no longer be allowed to remain in Padua.[1]

In the same year Clement VIII. called the attention of the Venetian ambassador to the fact that the English were carrying on Calvinist propaganda in the city of the lagoons. Paruta maintained that at that moment there were very few Englishmen living in Venice, and that the government was zealously watching over the Catholic character of the inhabitants. Clement VIII. replied that he was quite ready to believe this, but that vigilance against the Calvinists could never be sufficient.[2] Later on it was realized only too clearly how fully justified the Pope's exhortation had been. As a matter of fact numerous heretics were already establishing themselves there on various pretexts. Some were living in the palaces of the ambassadors of England and Holland, others were employed in commerce, and not a few were studying at Padua.[3] The meetings of noble Venetians at the house of the Dutch merchant Gerard Nis, who possessed many heretical books, filled Clement VIII. with anxiety.

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 256 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 265; *cf.* III., 63 *seq.*, concerning the dispute with Venice about the Inquisitor of Bergamo. With regard to the Inquisition in Venice and the position of the nuncio see in App. n. 7, the *Instruction for A. M. Graziani, March 30, 1596, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. Here belong the *acta in Barb. 5195 and 5205, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 576 *seq.*

[3] *" In Venetia et altre città del suo dominio dimorano heretici sotto diverse cause e pretesti. Alcuni vi stanno come familiari e servitori degli ambasciatori d'Inghilterra e di Olanda ivi residenti. Altri vi allogiano come soldati, molti vi tengono domicilio continuo. Altri vi capitano alla giornata per ragione di traffico e di mercantia. Alcuni ve ne sono di passagio e non pochi per occasione dello studio di Padova" (Barb. 5195, p. 83, Vatican Library). *Decrees of the Roman Inquisition "de ultramontanis haereticis praecique Paduae commorantibus" in 1595, in Barb. 1369, p. 159 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Barb. 5195, p. 56 *seq.*

There the Servite friar, Paolo Sarpi, whose father was also a merchant, formed an acquaintance for the first time with anti-Catholic literature. Clement VIII. was already well aware how dangerous this man was, and when Sarpi was suggested for a diocese in Dalmatia, he replied that friar was deserving of punishment rather than reward. Sarpi swore to be revenged.[1] In 1604 a Calvinist preacher had the effrontery to preach a sermon which caused great scandal in the house of the English ambassador.[2]

With the exception of Venice and the Waldenses in Piedmont,[3] Clement VIII. had no reason to fear any serious danger to the preservation of unity of faith in any part of Italy.[4] This happy state of affairs, which was also of value

[1] Nicoletti, who is very well informed, writes in his *Vita d'Urbano VIII. : " Questo [Sarpi] fu già un tempo accusato a Clemente ottavo di esser direttore e capo di un'accademia, che si faceva in Venetia in casa di Gherardo Nis mercatante Olandese, di setta Calvinista, e che teneva una numerosa libreria di libri proibiti. Frequentavano questa congrega molti nobili Veneziani, che si credevano poco ben'affetti alla Santa Sede apostolica ; e correva voce che non havessero sensi buoni e sinceri intorno all'immortalità dell'anima ragionevole. Mentre Clemente andava pensando di trovar qualche modo circospetto per disgregar quella pratica, fu pregato a voler promuovere Fra Paolo ad un vescovado in Dalmatia ; rispose quel saggio Pontefice, ch'egli conosceva molto bene il frate, e che meritava più tosto gastigo che premio. Alterato da questa ripulsa Fra Paolo pensò sempre di vendicarsene. Barb. LII., 7 p. 626 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report in Cod. Barb. 5195, pp. 83-86, Vatican Library.

[3] See JALLA, La riforma in Piemonte, 1595-1596, in *Bull. de la Soc. d'hist. Vaudoise*, 1924. In the *Decreta s. Inquisitionis in Barb. 1369 (Vatican Library) mention is made of other heretics in Calabria ; p. 21 *seq.* : ' De haereticis in terris dioc. Cusent. (1592, 1599, 1600).

[4] *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, I., 85. At Vicenza, where there had formerly been many heretics, in 1598 there was only one ; see SECEGNI, Le lettere a Vicenza a tempo della reazione cattolica, Vicenza, 1903, 17. Clement VIII. asked for the handing over of Giov. Batt. Angelotto, a native of Vicenza, who had escaped to

for the preservation of national unity, was due not only to the spread of the Catholic reform, and the zealous action of the Roman Inquisition, which was for the most part supported by the various governments,[1] but also to the vigilance of the Congregation of the Index of prohibited books, which was closely connected with it.[2] Sixtus V. had died before the new edition of the Index which he had ordered had been completely finished.[3] At the meetings of the Congregation of the Index which were resumed under Clement VIII. it was decided to suspend that work, and make a new list of prohibited books. When this was finished in 1593, it was found that Clement VIII. was not satisfied with the work, against which objections had also been raised by others, especially by Baronius. The Venetian ambassador Paruta profited by this circumstance, as the Index of 1593 contained in an appendix a prohibition of many books in Italian, from which he feared grave loss to the booksellers' trade in his native city. By his remonstrances Paruta succeeded in persuading Clement VIII. to withdraw the Index of 1593, and to order the Congregation to prepare a new list.[4]

Laibach, and was there stirring up trouble against the Church, in *briefs of August 21, 1593, to the Archduke Matthias, and of September 19, 1593, to the Archduke Maximilian; see Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 96; t. 38, p. 387, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* the *briefs of praise to Genoa, March 16, 1596, for the punishment of two heretics (Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 95, *loc. cit.*). By a *brief of October 20, 1601, Clement VIII. exhorted the Duke of Savoy to take action against the heretics in the valleys of the marquisate of Saluzzo, the governor there being well disposed (*ibid.* t. 45, n. 365). *Cf. ibid.* t. 46, n. 24 and 198, the *briefs of thanks to the duke of January 12 and June 28, 1602, for having heeded this request. See also Vier Dokumente aus rom. Archiven, Leipzig, 1843, 93 *seq.* For the mission of 1602 to the heretics of Saluzzo see PELISSIER in *Piccolo Arch. stor. del marchesato di Saluzzo*, II. (1903-1905).

[2] *Cf.* PASTOR, Dekrete, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55.

[3] See HILGERS, 12 *seq.*, 529, where the view of Reusch is refuted.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 296 *seq.*, 323, 332 *seq.*; II., 180, 245 *seq.*, 488; HILGERS, 13, 529 *seq.*, 531 *seq.* See also

This Index obtained the approbation of Clement VIII.; it was published on March 27th, 1596, in accordance with the instructions, and was enforced for the Curia on May 17th by an edict of the Master of the Sacred Palace.[1] On the same day is dated the brief printed in the preface to the Index, which after a short account of the origin of the new list, confirms it under threat of the penalties laid down in the past by Pius IV., and grants to the Congregation of the Index the power to pass judgment concerning any doubts and controversies that might arise.[2]

The Index of Clement VIII. differs from that of Sixtus V., especially by the absence of the appendix of Italian books. The list of prohibited books agrees in its contents almost

BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 211 *seq.* Neither Reusch nor Ottino-Fumagalli knew of the Index of the year 1593, although copies are to be found in the Vatican and Angelica Libraries. Hilgers was the first to draw attention to these. The description in Brosch is misleading (I., 305); he wrongly transfers to 1595 the Index that was definitively approved.

[1] See HILGERS, 536 *seq.* The statement of REUSCH (I., 533) that the Index was only finished in the latter part of the summer of 1596 is irreconcilable with the *Avviso of May 4, 1596, which speaks of the Index as already published (Urb. 1064, I., Vatican Library) and with the *report of L. Arrigoni of June 29, 1596 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 8. *Cf.* also VERESS, Mon. Vatic. Hung., 228, and BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 222 *seq.* For its carrying into effect in Rome see PASTOR in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXIII., 537. The strange prohibition of the book by the Capuchin Girolamo a Politio, mentioned by Hilgers (535 *seq.*) and by Baumgarten (223) is also noted in the *acta consist. card S. Severinae, December 27, 1595 (Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library). Clement VIII. issued a brief against the writings of Charles Dumoulin on August 21, 1602; see DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, Collectio iudiciorum, Paris, 1724 *seq.*, I., App. xl., III., 2, 171.

[2] See Bull., X., 53 *seq.* *Ibid.* 230 *seq.* a bull of October 17, 1596, which again confirms the Index and once more confers on the Congregation of the Index the power of passing judgment upon doubts arising therefrom.

exactly with that prepared by Sixtus V.; only Bellarmine and Francesco a Victoria are omitted; otherwise it contains almost all the writings of Catholic authors, which Sixtus V. had already declared worthy of censure. With regard to its form and division, Clement VIII. adhered to the so-called Tridentine Index issued under Pius IV. with its three classes, though Clement VIII. added to each class, and even to each letter, a considerable number by way of appendix. The Index of the Aldobrandini Pope also includes unchanged the ten Tridentine rules, to which there is added by way of appendix, an instruction to bishops, inquisitors, printers and booksellers.[1] As this instruction, compared with that drawn up under Sixtus V., was made more severe in certain points, Venice again raised opposition. Clement took into account the energetic remonstrances of the Signoria by mitigating the instructions for Venetian territory.[2] The Index of Clement VIII. was accepted without any objection by the other Catholic states, and later on its observance was made more strict by means of synods, not only in Italy, but also in France, Belgium and Germany.[3]

In the Index of Clement VIII. there are also added to the ten Tridentine rules, certain modifying decrees concerning translations of the Bible, astrological writings, the Talmud

[1] See Reusch, I., 533 *seq.*, 560 *seq.*

[2] See Parisi, II., 183 *seq.*; Cecchetti, II., 257 *seq.*; Reusch, I., 546 *seq.*

[3] See Reusch, I., 543-546. L. Arrigoni wrote on October 5, 1596, that the new Index had been accepted by all the Italian states, even Venice, and begged the Duke of Mantua to do the same (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the prohibition of books after 1596 see Reusch, I., 552, *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 318. *Cf.* Cavazzuti, Castelvetro, 35 *seq.*, Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 230 *seq.* For the prohibition of all the books of the Gallican, Charles Dumoulin see Bull., X., 858; Reusch, I., 442, 605; Hilgers, 252. Four letters from Cardinal Santori to the Inquisitor at Florence, which show that these prohibitions of the Roman Inquisition were notified to the booksellers, who had to acknowledge their receipt, in *Bibliofilo*, XI. (1890), 49 *seq.*

and other Jewish books.[1] There is also printed in it an extract from the bull of February 28th, 1593, which prohibited not only the Talmudic, cabalistic and irreligious books already condemned in its predecessors, but also all books in Hebrew or any other language, already written or printed, or to be written or printed in future, which contain heresies or errors against the Holy Scriptures, insults to Catholic doctrine, to ecclesiastical usages, to priests or neophytes, or indecent tales. All such books, it was enacted, must not be kept or propagated by the Jews, not even under the pretext that they were expurgated (nor even provisionally until they were expurgated) ; moreover the pretext must not be put forward that these works under a different title, had been reprinted with the permission of some member of the Council of Trent, or on the strength of a decree of the Index of Pius IV., or of a Papal indult, or by the permission of Cardinals, legates, nuncios, bishops, inquisitors. At the same time the Pope revoked all concessions made by his predecessors and others, authorizing the retention of such books for a fixed or an indeterminate period ; he forbade the making of such concessions, and ordered the books to be handed over in Rome within ten days, and elsewhere within two months, and that they should be burned immediately, under the threat of confiscation of goods, and under even more severe temporal penalties, including, in the case of Christians, "excommunicatio latae sententiae."[2] The Roman Inquisition also made other decrees in the same sense on August 6th, 1592, and May 10th, 1593, and ordered their carrying out by the inquisitors and nuncios.[3]

The action taken by Clement VIII. against the books of

[1] See Reusch, I., 50, 333, 339, 534.

[2] See Bull., X., 25 *seq.*, and Diana, V., 572 *seq.* (with wrong date 1599 ; *cf.* *Avviso of April 7, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). Reusch (I., 49 *seq.*) gives the bull the wrong date of 1592, as does A. Berliner, Zensur u. Konfiskation hebr. Bücher im Kirchenstaate, Frankfort on Maine, 1891, 7 *seq.*

[3] See Pastor, Dekrete, 50, 52. *Cf.* Albitius, 296, 298, and Reusch, I., 51.

the Jews, which they strongly resented,[1] was not an isolated administrative act. The lenient treatment of the Jews by Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.[2] had led to grave abuses; above all the usury which they practised had become unbearable.[3] Clement VIII. therefore resolved to revert to the severe measures of Paul IV. and Pius V. On February 25th, 1592, he renewed the ordinances of those Popes which had limited Jewish commerce at Avignon.[4] In the summer of 1592 the sermons for the conversion of the Jews were reintroduced,[5] and the inscriptions which might offend the Christians were removed from the Jewish cemetery near Porta Portese.[6] Moreover a census of the Jews in the city was ordered, and their commerce with Christians restricted by an edict.[7] As the census showed that there were 3,500 Jews in Rome, it was supposed that strict steps would be taken against them.[8] Indeed, on February 25th, 1593, the strict ordinances of Paul IV. and Pius V. were renewed, and they were forbidden to live in Papal territory, except in Rome, Ancona and Avignon.[9] On May 25th, 1593, their usurious dealings were

[1] See *Avvisi of April 7, 10 and 14, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 342.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 311; Vol. XXI., pp. 116, 197.

[3] Santori wrote a special dissertation concerning this; see Barb. lat. 4592, p. 64b, Vatican Library.

[4] See Bull., IX., 523 *seq.*

[5] The sermons took place in S. Lorenzo in Damaso; see *Avviso of July 29, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Bl.*, LVII., 515 *seq.*

[6] See the two *Avvisi of August 1, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso of May 4, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *ibid.*

[7] See *Avvisi of August 1 and 19, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., *ibid.* *Cf.* the *report of L. Arrigoni of June 29, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A prohibition of entering the synagogue, March 13, 1603, in *Editti*, V., 10, p. 53, Papal Secret Archives. Descendants of Jews were excluded from the priesthood in Spain and Portugal; see Bull., X., 414; LÄMMER, Analecta, 56.

[8] See *Avviso of August 1, 1592, *loc. cit.*

[9] Bull., X., 22 *seq.* Certain facilities, however, were granted to the Levantine Jews domiciled at Ancona; *cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci,

repressed.[1] This great strictness, however, did not prevent the Pope from repeatedly checking by means of decrees any unjust persecution of the Jews.[2]

Throughout his pontificate Clement VIII. showed himself the ardent champion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The strict ideas on this matter which he held as a jurist,[3] frequently brought him into conflict with the cesaropapalism of the Kings of Spain,[4] while conflicts with Florence and Venice became inevitable,[5] on account of the views of the governments in those places. Clement VIII. loved Venice, and valued her as a counterweight to Spain,[6] but the way in which the Republic of St. Mark put before everything else a cold calculation of her own advantage, and her national selfishness, were bound again and again to renew his annoyance. His complaints of the usurpations of episcopal jurisdiction by the

I., 204; (BROSCH, I., 306, gives this report the wrong date of May 25 instead of 15), II., 362. See also RODOCANACHI, Le St. Siège et les Juifs, 189; BERLINER, II., 24 *seq.*; BLUSTEIN, Storia degli Ebrei di Roma, Rome, 1921, 142 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Bandi, V., 10, p. 50 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. For the Jews at Ferrara see FRIZZI, V., 90, and CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 148, n. 2. *Cf.* Regesti di bandi (see title *infra*, Cap. X, 367, n. 1), I., 109 *seq.*

[1] Bull. X., 269.

[2] The first *" Bando che non si debbano molestare ne dare fastidio alli Hebraei " bears the date January 28, 1595. Similar *bandi were again issued in 1596, 1599, 1603 and 1605; see Bandi V., 10, p. 128 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Rev. juive*, II., 289; RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.*, 189 *seq.*

[3] *" El Papa Clemente fue de los mas zelosos de la jurisdicion ecclesiastica de quantos se an conocido muchos annos," say the *Instructions for the Spanish ambassador " duque de Aytona " in 1605, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 195 *seqq.*

[5] For the disputes with Florence in 1599 concerning the usurpations of ecclesiastical rights by the government there, *cf.* MUTINELLI, II., 66 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 435. See also DOLFIN, Relazione, 495.

Senate sometimes became very bitter;[1] it was these that made the situation of the nuncios in the city of the lagoons so difficult.[2] To these were also added many disputes of a secular character, but however strained relations may have become, a breach was always avoided;[3] this was not to be attributed only to such prudent diplomatists as Paruta and Dolfin, but also to the Pope, who was as prudent as he was peace-loving in character.[4]

A year and a half had elapsed since the death of Sixtus V. and the strange and complicated position into which the Sixtine Bible had fallen had not yet been cleared up. The Louvain and Paris editions of the book of books could be freely republished, and in the time of Gregory XIV. care had been taken not to interfere with their further diffusion by any express prohibition, even after the definitive Roman version had been issued. The latter edition of the Vulgate, on the other hand, to which more care had been devoted than to any other, and in which the Pope had personally taken part, was left lying in the vaults of the Vatican Press like a dangerous book, in the expectation of its being destroyed

[1] *Cf. e.g.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 118 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*

[2] See *Arch. Veneto*, XXXVII., 2 (1889), 273. *Cf.* *instructions of the nuncio Graziani in 1598 to the new nuncio, Cod. 1621, Corsini Library, Rome. Some passages in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch, 123. See also in App. n. 7, the *instructions to A. M. Graziani in 1596, Graziani Archives, Citta di Castello.

[3] In July 1595 he threatened the withdrawal of the nuncio on account of a violation of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ceneda; see *Arch. stor. ital.*, XII., xxix. Many *letters concerning this in Nunziat. di Venezia, XVII., Papal Secret Archives. In one *letter preserved there (p. 182) from Pietro Levade to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, dated Ceneda, October 27, 1601, it is stated: "Delle cose di questa giurisditione credo V.S. sia avisata da Msgr. Nuntio di Venezia andando ella ogni giorno di mal in peggio." The other side of these disputes, naturally from the Venetian point of view, was given by Paruta and Dolfin in their reports cited *supra*, p. 221, n. 6. *Cf.* also ROMANIN, VII., 14 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* DOLFIN, Relazione, 500.

and forbidden by the Pope's orders from being presented to the public.

For the new Pope it became one of his most pressing tasks to interest himself in this delicate question. Clement VIII. placed the matter in the hands of Cardinals Frederick Borromeo and Valiero, to whom was added Toledo as a collaborator. These re-examined the proposals for emendation made by the Gregorian commission, and decided upon the definitive text, which they enriched with learned notes.[1] On August 28th, 1592, they were able to present their completed work.

Cardinal Carafa had died on January 14th, 1591; the text which had been drawn up under his direction, and which had been emended in many points by Sixtus V., was no longer accepted either by the Gregorian commission nor by that of Toledo. Whereas Carafa and his collaborators had been guided in their edition of the text only by scientific motives and by consideration of the best manuscripts, other points of view now became of decisive importance, and above all, following the example of Sixtus V., both under Gregory XIV. and Clement VIII. care was taken not to depart too widely from the wording hitherto in use. Certain things, which from the purely scientific point of view called for change, were for this reason left exactly as they were, in order to avoid scandal or surprise.[2]

Not all of those who were allowed to take part in the discussions could be said to be satisfied by this method of procedure. The learned Valverde addressed an impassioned appeal to the Pope to have the text of Toledo examined once more before it was handed over to the printers. At first Clement VIII. seemed inclined to agree to this course, but

[1] Höpfl, 169. "These notes, a fine example of the learning of Toledo, are still of value to-day" (*ibid.*) According to Ghislieri, Toledo relied especially upon Agellio (*ibid.* n. 2).

[2] Höpfl, 166 *seq.* *Cf.* the preface to the Vulgate: "In hac tamen pervulgata lectione sicut nonnulla consulto mutata, ita etiam alia, quae mutanda videbantur, consulto immutata relicta sunt, etc."

was then led to an opposite decision when it was pointed out to him that the Church had already been waiting for the Roman Vulgate for some fifty years, and that it was time finally to put an end to erudite labours, and to begin with the printing.[1]

Before, however, the completed work was handed over to the printers, another ordinance against the Sixtine Vulgate was issed. In order to avoid as far as possible the scandal which was feared from this, Clement VIII., following the suggestion of Bellarmine, gave orders for the acquisition of all the copies already issued, in Venice to the Inquisitor and the nuncio, and in Germany and the countries across the Alps to the Jesuits; the Pope promised to bear all the expense. On December 22nd, 1592, the ambassador of Spain was also asked to address to Philip II. a request that he would hand over to the nuncio the copies that were still in his possession. The search went on until 1595; all the copies that were found were sent to Rome and burned, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope.[2] In spite of this more than forty Sixtine Bibles have been preserved until our own day.[3] But with this all the difficulties had not been overcome. Already, in the time of Clement VIII. the doubt had been raised as to how the errors of the Sixtine Bible could be reconciled with the doctrine of Papal infallibility in questions of faith and morals.[4] The question assumed an even greater importance in the time of Paul V.;[5] as early as 1600 the Protestants

[1] Höpfl, 173.

[2] Le Bachelet, 54 *seqq.*; Santori, Diario, *ibid.* 150 *seq.*; Prat, Recherches, V., 10 *seq.*; Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 274 *seqq.*, Amann, 79-101.

[3] Enumerated in Baumgarten, Vulgata, 65-91; Neue Kunde, 150 *seq.* If it was hoped that it would be possible to withdraw the printed copies already sold, then their number cannot have been very great.

[4] Le Bachelet, 56 *seq.*

[5] The difficulty was discussed at the University of Ingolstadt as early as 1608 (*ibid.* 58 *seqq.*). *Cf.* the letter of Gretser to Bellarmine, June 23, 1608, *ibid.* 155-158.

brought forward against that doctrine the differences between the Clementine and Sixtine Vulgates,[1] although none of the divergent texts contained any difference as to faith or morals.

The printing was begun at the beginning of September 1592, and was completed in about four months, so that the ambassador of Spain was able to send the new Bible on December 22nd.[2] As early as November 8th, 1592, a privilege was granted to the Vatican Press, which only allowed other presses to reprint it after an interval of ten years, and on condition of exact conformity with the Vatican copy.[3] Externally the Clementine Bible is altogether similar to the Sixtine; its format, and even the engravings on the frontispiece are the same,[4] the number of pages corresponds almost exactly.[5] Clement VIII. was not named on the title-page, but all the honour was left to Sixtus V. alone.[6] Indeed, to him was due the credit for the fact that the Latin Church had now at length been given its ancient Bible with an officially authorized text, and in spite of many differences[7] on various points, it was his text that had been followed. It is obvious that it did not occur to anyone, in spite of the dissatisfaction aroused by the errors in his edition, to compromise in any way the great dead Pope by the new Vulgate; the ill-luck of the

[1] THOMAS JAMES, Bellum papale, London, 1600.

[2] HÖPFL, 179 *seq.* On January 16, 1593, G. del Carretto *reports that the Pope had given him a Bible for the duke, and that the duke must send back the Bible of Sixtus V. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Bull., IX., 636 *seq.*

[4] The title page of the Sistina in AMANN, 135, that of the Clementina in HETZENAUER's edition of the Vulgate, Innsbruck, 1906; both title-pages in KAULEN-HOBERG, Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift, I.², Freiburg, 1911, 218.

[5] VERCELLONE, Variae lectiones, I., lxxiii.

[6] Clement VIII. was mentioned for the first time in the edition of Bonaventura Nugo, published by the heirs of Guglielmus Rovillius, Lyons, 1604; also in that published at Mayence and Cologne in 1609; *cf.* FALK in *Katholik*, 1899, I., 448 *seqq.*

[7] List principally in HETZENAUER, *loc. cit.*, 108*-148*. Hetzenauer estimates the number of variants at about 4900.

Sixtine Bible is mentioned and excused in the preface of Clement VIII., almost exactly in the indulgent way suggested by Bellarmine.[1]

The haste with which the Vulgate of 1592 had been printed resulted in a number of typograpical errors. In 1593 there appeared a new edition in quarto, and in 1598 another in octavo, which differ from each other and from the first in many points, but for the most part only of minor importance.[2] Many therefore cherished the hope that the work of perfecting it would be continued in Rome,[3] but it was only after the lapse of three centuries that this expectation was realized in the time of Pius X. The Clementine text is thus sufficient " for the theological use of the Vulgate, while from the critical point of view, even though it is not perfect and free from errors, is nevertheless on the whole good ; in a word a text of which the Church has no need to feel ashamed."[4]

[1] In the autobiography of Bellarmine it is said of the Sistina : " Irrepsisse aliqua errata vel typographorum *vel aliorum*," in his opinion drawn up for Gregory XIV. : " Multa emendatione digna *variis de causis* in iis bibliis irrepsisse." In the preface to the Vulgate it is only stated that Sixtus V. had understood that " non pauca in sacra Bibbia *preli vitio* irrepsisse." *Cf.* Le Bachelet, 90. It does not appear therefore that either in this or in other respects was the advice of Bellarmine entirely followed. For the rest the preface sets forth the matter, as it had been conceived by Sixtus V. ; it was not possible to put into the Pope's mouth what had only been the opinion of Bellarmine. " Preli vitio " does not mean a printer's error as it does to-day (*Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1924, 150 *seqq.*).

[2] A critical comparison of the three texts in Hetzenauer, *loc. cit.*, 72*-102*, according to his estimate the second edition differs from the first in 230 points, the third from the second and the first in 930 points ; in an index at the end of the edition of 1598, 94 are pointed out (*ibid.* 104*). For the editions of the Clementine Vulgate *cf.* Gramatica in *La Scula catt.*, 1912, I., 186 *seqq.*, 465 *seqq.* ; Kneller in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XLIII. (1919), 391 *seq.*

[3] Höpfl, 225 *seqq.*

[4] Reusch in Höpfl, 186.

Clement VIII. won enduring merit by his correction of the liturgical books. Pius V. had carried out the revision of the Breviary and the Missal demanded by the Council of Trent, and had published in 1568 the new Breviary, and two years later the new Missal. Sixtus V. ordered the Congregation of Rites which he established to revise the Pontificale, the Rituale and the Caerimoniale episcoporum.[1] These labours were energetically pushed forward under Clement VIII., and to some extent completed. The first to appear, in 1596, was a new edition of the Pontificale, that is to say, the episcopal functions, exclusive of the formularies and rubrics of the Mass. The introductory bull, dated February 10th, 1596,[2] points out what vast labours had been involved in this first edition of the Pontificale. Four years later the Pope published the Caerimoniale episcoporum, which also eliminated certain abuses which had been introduced into the churches with the use of the organ, and laid down detailed rules concerning them. Whereas the Pope, in publishing the Roman Pontificale, forbade the use of all pontificals hitherto in use, in favour of the new one issued by him, in the case of the Caerimoniale episcoporum he declared that he did not intend to abolish ancient ceremonial in so far as it corresponded with the reformed edition.[3] This was probably the result of the outspoken remonstrances of Giovan Battista Bandini against the ecclesiastical monopoly, epsecially of liturgical books, and

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of the work, p. 224; Vol. XXI., p. 254.

[2] See Bull., X., 246 *seq.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 342. With regard to the ideas of a reform of the chant under Clement VIII. see the exhaustive work of MOLITOR, Die nachtrident. Choralreform, II. and also TH. SCHMID in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXV., 33 *seq.* Clement VIII. made all steps in this matter dependent on the opinion of the Congregation of Rites. Four Roman musicians in 1595, by command of this Congregation, undertook a revision of the melodies of the chant. For the Pontificale see MOLITOR, II., 47 *seq.*

[3] Bull., X., 597 *seq.* *Cf. Freiburg. Kirchenlex.*, III², 16 *seq.*, VIII., 53 *seq.*, IX., 1049.

which were very graciously listened to by the Pope, who was as humble as he was prudent.[1]

In the year 1602 there appeared by the order of Clement VIII. a new, and emended and enlarged edition of the Breviary, together with a bull dated May 10th, which ordered, under pain of excommunication, that henceforward the Roman Breviary should only be printed with the permission of the bishop, and in exact conformity with the Vatican edition, without any additions or omissions.[2]

The reform of the Breviary had already been begun by Sixtus V., and energetically carried on by Gregory XIV., in spite of his short pontificate;[3] Clement VIII. brought it to completion.[4] The commission appointed by him for this purpose could not have been better composed. It consisted of Cardinals Baronius, Bellarmine and Silvio Antoniano, the Archbishop of Monreale, Lodovico de Torres, the Barnabite Bartolomeo Gavanti, the Theatine monk Michele Ghislieri, and Giovan Battista Bandini, canon of St. Peter's, who acted as secretary. The commission had partly to draw up new critical reports, which was done by Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine in the case of the historical lections drawn from

[1] See G. Mercati in *Rass. Greg.*, V. (1906), 12 *seq.*

[2] See Bull., X., 788 *seq.* By a *brief of October 26, 1596, Clement VIII. had granted the use of the *Proprium Salisburg.* which had been reformed by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau (Orig. in Consistorial Archives, Salzburg).

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 390.

[4] *Cf.* for what follows Bergel in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, VIII., 293 *seqq.*, and Bäumer, 492 *seq.* See also Battifol, 256 *seq.*; P. A. Kirsch, Die hist. *Brevierlektionen, Würzburg, 1902; A. Guittard in *La Croix*, 1908, July 1; G. Baudot, Il Breviario Rom. Origini e storia, Rome, 1909. The *Avviso of November 17, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library, mentions the labours of the reform commission. A *" Dissertatio de differentiis inter Breviarium Pii V. iussu editum et Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum 1604" composed by the Servite Petrus Martyr Felinus is dedicated to the Duke of Urbino, in Urb. 606, *ibid.*

the legends and lives of the saints,[1] and partly to examine the opinions previously obtained from various sources, the universities, the bishops and scholars. The report as to these was entrusted to Baronius and his assistant, Marcello Francolini. These discharged their task with the greatest exactitude. If they did not in some matters succeed in arriving at the truth, and left certain things to be corrected later on, this was due to the state of historical research at that time.

Some of the corrections suggested by Baronius and, Bellarmine did not meet with the approval of the Congregation and therefore not of the Pope. The latter had laid it down as a rule for the work of reform that only those things were to be corrected which contained a manifest error.[2] The Congregation was of the same opinion.[3] In the hymns very little was changed, but two were added, of which that for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen was composed by Bellarmine.[4] The principal changes were in the lections, by the removal of points that were historically untenable, and of expressions which seemed unfitting. Certain things in the general rubrics were altered and improved, the rank of certain feasts was raised, and with the introduction of greater doubles, a new grade of feasts was established,[5] while new feasts were extended to the whole of the western Church.

In the case of the revision of the Missal introduced by Pius V., in which the printers were not allowed to make any

[1] *Cf.* BELLARMINE, Dubia quaedam de historiis in Breviario Romano positis (LE BACHELET, Auct. Bellarm., 461 *seq.*); "quae non sunt mutata, quamvis nonnullis viderentur esse mutanda" (*ibid.* 467 *seqq.*).

[2] *"S. Pontifex declaravit, ut ea tantum mutentur, quae manifestum errorem continent." Vat. 6242, p. 54, Vatican Library.

[3] See BÄUMER, 494.

[4] Pater superni luminis. *Cf.* the autobiography of Bellarmine in LE BACHELET, 443.

[5] See BÄUMER, 495 *seq.*

changes arbitrarily, the principal work fell upon Baronius, Bellarmine and Gavanti. The new edition of the Missal was published together with the bull of July 7th, 1604.[1]

The labours begun under Gregory XIII., and continued under Sixtus V., to form an authoritative collection of the pontifical constitutions,[2] which had increased by another thousand since the appearance of the Clementina, seemed likely to be brought to a happy ending under Clement VIII., all the more so as the Pope himself had been a member of the commission engaged upon this work. This work was already well advanced. The collection of the material that was to be included, its division into five books, and its arrangement according to titles was so far advanced that the first book could be printed in 1592, and in 1593 the second to the fifth, according to the Roman usage, in forty special copies for the use of the Congregation.[3] But the whole thing had still to be submitted once more to a general discussion. This revision was completed on December 17th, 1593, and when all had agreed as to the matter to be included, Cardinal Pinelli undertook its final preparation for the press.[4] This still required some time, and it was only on July 25th, 1598, that the complete work was ready under the title S.D.N.D. Clementis Papae VIII. Decretales.[5]

[1] Bull., XI., 88 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., of this work, p. 279, and BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 242, 248 (list of the collaborators and the sessions, from the 4th to the 25th, between August 3, 1589, and April 6, 1590).

[3] See SENTIS, Clementis VIII. Decretales, vi. *seq.*; SINGER in *Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgesch.*, Kan. Abt. VI., 113 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 249 *seq.*

[4] See SENTIS, *loc. cit.*, xxvii.; LÄMMER, Kodifikation, 9 *seq.*; SINGER, *loc. cit.*

[5] S.D.N.D. Clementis Papae VIII. Decretales, Romae ex typographia Cam. Apost. 1598, only three copies of which are preserved (Casanatense Library, Vatican Library, and Theiner's copy in the Library of the University, Leipzig; see SINGER, *loc. cit.* 116; BAUMGARTEN, 249 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*

This plan for the codification of the decretals and constitutions of the Councils which were not included in the Corpus Iuris Canonici, was presented to the Pope for his approval on August 1st. But it was not carried into effect, even though Clement VIII., on account of his personal participation in the work, was interested in the work in a special way. Fagnani, who was secretary of the Congregation of the Council from 1614 onwards, gives as the only reason the prohibition of Pius IV. to write commentaries on the decrees of Trent, a prohibition which was violated by including them in the collection. But this reason was not actually the principal nor the only one which determined Clement VIII. as well as his successor, Paul V., not to publish the work.[1] As a matter of fact other doubts had arisen; the work did not altogether answer all requirements, dogmatic material was predominant, while many Papal decrees and rescripts had been passed over. To this there had to be added another circumstances in view of the attitude of many governments towards questions of state, which had been manifested with great violence, especially in Spain, France and Venice, care had to be taken to avoid serious disagreements. The Pope in his prudence did not wish to push things so far, and in the end decided to abstain from the publication of the book, which had cost so much time, money and labour.[2]

In the collection undertaken by Cardinal Pinelli there had been included a decree of Innocent IV. concerning the Papal election, which, however, had never been promulgated as law, and which had certainly never become of constitutional force. In this decree it was laid down that the vote of the person elected could never be decisive in giving the two-thirds majority.[3] This principle, however, is recalled in the draft

[1] *Cf.* SENTIS, xv.; SCHULTE, Quellen, III., I., 73: SCHERER, Kirchenrecht, I., 275; LÄMMER, Kodifikation, 21.

[2] The whole was submitted to yet another revision by a Congregation which continued its labours even under Paul V. (See proofs of 1607-1608 in SENTIS, xiv.); in the end the whole thing was abandoned.

[3] *Cf.* SINGER, *loc. cit.* 11 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*

of a new bull concerning the election of the Pope, drawn up under Clement VIII.[1] It has not yet been found possible to ascertain who drew up this draft, nor do we know the circumstances which prevented its publication; it is beyond question that the projected reform was substantially aimed at abolishing election by adoration, a form of election which had become very common in the conclaves since the time of Julius III., and at introducing the secret ballot as of obligation.[2]

Innocent IX. had already set up a Congregation for the reform of Papal elections,[3] and Clement VIII., who had been present at the confusion of the three conclaves which had succeeded one another in a short space of time, at once ordered the work to be resumed. It was already fully in hand in March, 1592,[4] and it was confidently stated that the plan of reform would be ready in August,[5] but in October an opinion of a Jesuit on the abuses in the Papal elections was submitted.[6] At length in February, 1595, the bull on the reform of the conclave had reached the point of being able to be sent to all the Cardinals for their opinion.[7] In the end, however, the opponents of a reform of the conclave obtained the victory: the party leaders in the Sacred College were unwilling to

[1] *Cf.* WAHRMUND in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, XXLII., 225 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 204, 207.

[3] See *ibid.* 203 n. 3, the opinion of Maretti.

[4] See *Avvisi of March 14 and 18, and May 13, 1592, Urb. 1060, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *report of G. Niccolini, March 9, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

[5] See *Avviso of August 22, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library. G. del Carretto in his *report dated Rome, 1593, February 13, a prohibition of all "le pratiche del pontificato" (Gonzaga Archives., Mantua).

[6] I have found the *Parere con una lettera dell'autore, Diego Ximenes S.I., dated Della casa, 1592, October 19, in the Doria Archives, Rome.

[7] See PARUTA (February 18, 1595), Dispacci, III., 60. The draft itself in WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.* 223 *seq.*

renounce their predominant and decisive position in the election of the Pope.[1]

Very remarkable was the reluctance of Clement VIII. to proceed to canonizations. Together with Philip Neri the Roman people venerated, and had done for some time, Ignatius Loyola, Charles Borromeo, and other representatives of Catholic reform, as though they were already canonized. Clement VIII. did not approve of this, and he expressly forbade pictures which represented the miracles which were attributed to these great men. Very often too ex votos were offered at the tombs of Philip Neri and Ignatius Loyola. At first Clement had made an exception in the case of Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, whom he venerated in a special way, but in the end he extended the prohibition which had been made in the case of the founder of the Jesuits to Philip as well.[2] The Pope took as his rule of action the order issued in 1170 by Pope Alexander III., that without the permission of the Church no one, even when many miracles had been worked by his intercession, might be publicly venerated as a saint.[3] The special Congregation which was consulted by Clement VIII. concerning the veneration of recent saints decided in conformity with this.[4]

The cause for the beatification of Philip Neri had been introduced a few months after his death, but as it was conducted with great minuteness, it was not brought to a

[1] See SINGER, *loc. cit.* 120. An attempt by Clement VIII. to put an end to the influence of Spain in the Papal elections, had already been frustrated a year before by the Spanish ambassador, Sessa.

[2] *Cf.* *Avvisi of September 9, 1595, June 16, 1601, and November 27, 1602, Urb. 1063, 1069, 1070, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II², 145.

[4] See *Avvisi of December 14 and 28, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library. According to the latter the Pope said that it was not a case of those who by a cultus "ab immemorabili" or in virtue of a Papal brief had been numbered among the saints, but of the moderns "Philippo, Ignacio, Philippo de Conventuali che andava gridando lodato sempre sia il nome di Jesu e Maria, cappuccino Felice, P. Marcellino, P. Angelo de Paz (scalzo) e card. Borromeo."

conclusion in the time of Clement VIII. The first steps for the canonization of the founder of the Jesuits were taken by Cardinal Farnese.[1] For the beatification of Charles Borromeo the senate of Milan,[2] as well as Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, Philip III. and the Swiss Catholics, had interested themselves. The Pope praised this,[3] but he caused the necessary inquiries to be made with all exactitude and without haste[4] by the Congregation of Rites, as well as in the case of Philip Neri. He acted in the same way with regard to the canonization of Francesca Romana, the foundress of the Oblates of Tor di Specchi,[5] which was promoted by the Romans.

In view of the extreme care of the inquiries,[6] we cannot be surprised that Clement VIII., in spite of his long pontificate, only celebrated two canonizations. On April 17th, 1594, he raised to the altars the Dominican Hyacinth,[7] the celebrated

[1] See *Avviso of July 10, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Acta consist. February 4, 1604: "Lectae litterae senatus Mediolan. pro canonizatione Caroli card. Borromaei." Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

[3] See the *briefs to those mentioned, February 15, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, Papal Secret Archives. In that to Philip III. it is stated: *"Carolum card. Borr. fecimus semper plurimi dum viveret, mortuum praecipue habuimus in honore, quod in sita nobis et quasi in animo insculpta esset magna de eius viventi integritate opinio, de mortui sanctitate maxima" (*ibid.* p. 143b).

[4] Letters concerning the veneration of Philip Neri, 1596-1597 are in *Carte Strozz.*, I., 489.

[5] See the *report of G. B. Thesis, August 26, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] For Raymond of Peñafort *cf.* *Avviso of May 15, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[7] See LUBOMLIUS, De vita, miraculis et actis canonizationis S. Hyacinthi Poloni, Rome, 1594, and Bull., X., 123 *seq.* *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 188 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*, the consistorial *acta of March 14, 24 and 31, 1594, Papal Secret Archives, the *Avvisi of March 5, April 20 and 27, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, and "*Vita et gesta Clementis VIII." in Inform. polit., XXIX., 380b *seq.*, State Library, Berlin. For Hyacinth see also B. ALTANER, Die Dominikanermissionen des 13 Jahr.. Habelschwerdt, 1924, 196 *seqq.*

apostle of the North, and on April 29th, 1604, he did so in the case of Raymond of Pennafort,[1] well known everywhere as a jurist, who also belonged to the Dominican Order. In the case of Hyacinth the Queen and King of Poland had especially interested themselves,[2] and for Raymund above all Philip III. of Spain.[3] But the Pope rightly resisted the efforts that were made for the canonization of Savonarola.[4]

Clement VIII. was very slow to grant indulgences.[5] In accordance with the spirit of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of the constitution of Pius V. of 1567, in 1593 he set up a special Congregation of Indulgences, whose duty

[1] See *Avviso of May 3, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. The "Carmen" by Mutius Ricarius "De beato Raymundo a Clemente VIII. P.M. in divorum numerum relato" in Barb. lat. XXIX., 142, and Urb. 1205, p. 31 *seq.*

[2] Sigismund III. bore the expense of the canonization; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. Queen Anna had already asked Clement VIII. for the canonization of Hyacinth in a *letter of March 20, 1594, Doria Archives, Rome. *Ibid.* a *letter from Sigismund III. to the Pope, dated Wilna, September 6, 1601, asking him to promote the cultus of St. Casimir, to insert his feast in the Missal and the Roman Breviary and to make his feast a "duplex."

[3] See *acta consist, December 16, 1600: "Advocatus petit nomine Philippi III." the canonization of Raymund; on December 22: "S.S. habuit orationem de Raymundo" (Cod. Barb, XXXVI., 5, III. Vatican Library). *Cf.* the *brief to the "deputati principatus Cataloniae" of September 26, 1602. Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 297, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] He therefore did not even wish the Vita di Savonarola by S. Razzi to be printed; see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser. XXVIII., 291. The "Epistola Clementis VIII. de stigmatibus S. Catherinae de Senis," dated 1599, November 27, was published in Rome in 1599. St. Thomas Aquinas was declared patron of Naples by Clement VIII.; see *briefs to the viceroy of Naples and to that city, dated 1603, November 22, Arm. 44, t. 56, n. 35 and 36, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See PARUTA, Relazione, 368. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 215.

it was to do away with long-standing abuses in this matter, as well as to prevent them in the future.[1]

With regard to the internal government of the Church as carried out by Clement VIII., mention must also be made of his ordinances against duelling,[2] and his condemnation of the opinion which allowed people to confess by letter or messenger, or to receive absolution from a confessor who was absent, as being erroneous, temerarious and scandalous.[3]

[1] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 256, which removes the doubts of Bangen (248).

[2] Bull., IX., 604 *seq.*

[3] See Bull., X., 855. The decree as to this, which was issued by the Inquisition on June 20, 1602, under the presidency of the Pope, was published on July 19, 1602. Original printed copy in Decreta s. Inquisitionis in Barb. 1370, Vatican Library. For the controversy connected with this decree see WILDT in *Freib, Kirchenlex.*, II., 231 *seq.*; SCORRAILLE, Suarez II., 55-116.

CHAPTER VII.

Foreign Missions.—The Beginnings of Propaganda.

An important part in the ecclesiastical activities of Clement VIII. was taken by his propagation of the missions in the countries outside Europe. During his pontificate important progress was made in this respect, even in Japan, where a persecution of the Christians had begun in 1587.[1] In March, 1591, the intrepid Jesuit Alessandro Valignani penetrated into the presence of Taikosama, as envoy of the viceroy of the Indies, and obtained permission for the Christian missionaries to remain there; only public religious functions were prohibited. The number of conversions to Christianity continued to increase. Many Christians were to be found in the army with which Taikosama attacked Corea; two religious of the Society of Jesus acted as military chaplains, who spread the first seeds of Christianity in Corea.[2]

In 1585 Gregory XIII. had forbidden all missionaries, except the Jesuits, to set foot in China and Japan,[3] but as Sixtus V., himself a Franciscan, had granted to that Order the mission "to all parts of the Indies," some Franciscans also went to Japan.[4] Others soon followed them. Into the disputes which then broke out between the two Orders, there also entered the question of nationality, as the Franciscans were Spaniards, and the Jesuits Portuguese.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 180.

[2] See Juvencius, V., 180 *seq.*; Bartoli, Del Giappone, Turin, 1829, I., 2.

[3] See *Synopsis*, 139 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 511.

[4] See H. Böhlen, Die Franziskaner in Japan, Treves, 1912, 14.

[5] *Cf.* Delplace, II., 23 *seq.*; Schmidlin, Missions geschichte 283.

Taikosama allowed both the Franciscans and the Jesuits to do as they liked. In 1596 he very courteously received the Jesuit Pedro Martinez, who had been appointed bishop, and who presented letters from the governor of the Indies. But in that same year a change took place which put the Christians of Japan, who had now reached the number of 300,000, in a very difficult position. The cause of this change is said to have been the conduct of the pilot of a stranded Spanish ship, who, in order to save his cargo from confiscation, allowed himself to be led into making the most rash statements about the power of his king. Among other things he said that Philip II. was sending his priests among the foreign nations, so as first to convert the people and thus facilitate their conquest! These words were reported to Taikosama.[1] They were enough for that monarch, who in the spread of a strange religion was every day seeing more and more danger to the national unity which he aimed at,[2] to lead him to take bloody measures. Six Franciscans, the Jesuit Paul Miki, a pupil of the seminary at Ankusiama, two Japanese catechists, and fifteen other Japanese Christians, among them three children, were arrested and condemned to be crucified. On February 5th, 1597, this sentence was carried out at Nagasaki.[3]

In the persecution which then broke out, the Jesuits acted with great prudence; being exiled they only apparently went away. When Taikosama died in September 1598,

[1] *Cf.* Juvencius, V., 595; Delplace, II., 29 *seq.*

[2] The Japanese Mitsukuri saw in this the true cause of the persecution; see *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 196.

[3] See the detailed report sent by P. Froes to the General Aquaviva, printed in *Acta Sanct.*, February 1, 742 *seq.* The acta of the beatification (1616-1627) are used by Bouix, Hist. des vingt six martyrs de Japon, Paris, 1862. The canonization took place at Pentecost, 1862, and gave rise to a number of works on the martyrs of Japan, of which I here mention those of Pagès (Paris, 1862) and Boero (Rome, 1862). A contemporary picture of the martyrs is to be found in the church of St. Michael at Munich.

and his successor Daifusama, whose succession was opposed, showed himself favourable to the missions, better days began for the Christians. The Franciscans as well as the Jesuits were able to resume their work, and the number of Christians increased considerably, even though the persecution still continued in certain provinces. In 1599 40,000 received baptism, and 50,000 in the following year. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was estimated that there were 750,000 Christians.[1] At Nagasaki in 1605 it was possible to hold the procession of Corpus Domini publicly.[2] The Jesuits, whose college was effectively subsidized by Clement VIII.,[3] developed great literary activity: they printed religious books, a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary, and a Japanese grammar with Portuguese explanations.[4] But they neglected to avail themselves of the co-operation of the native secular clergy, and it proved fatal to try and follow European methods in teaching.[5] The number of the Jesuit missionaries was by no means sufficient for their requirements, and therefore Clement VIII., suspending the privilege granted by Gregory XIII, to the Society of Jesus, on December 12th, 1600, granted faculties[6] to all the

[1] See DELPLACE, II., 129 *seqq.*; PAGÉS, Hist. de la religion chret. au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'a 1681, I., Paris, 1869, 110.

[2] *Cf.* JUVENCIUS, V., 606 *seq.*; SPILLMANN in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI., 1246 *seq.*; PAGÉS, *loc. cit.*, I.

[3] *Cf.* the *instructions to D. Ginnasio, August 31, 1601: "Assegnamento fatto da Gregorin XIII. di 4000 scudi annui sopra cotesta collectoria di Spagna da pagarli alli seminarii et chiese del Giappone et da Sisto V. accresciuti a 6000 et per le guerre d'Ungheria tralasciati di pagare S.S. ordina si seguiti di pagare e anchi li decorsi." Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* E. SATOW, The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591-1610, London, 1888, and STRASSMEIER in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVII., 219 *seq.*

[5] See HUONDER, Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenlandern, 101 *seq.*

[6] See Bull., X., 631 *seq.* *Cf.* JANN, 182 *seq.*, who well shows how in this as well the Pope had to take into account the political claims of the Portuguese.

Mendicant Orders to work as missionaries, both in Japan and China.

The entry of the Christian missions into the Chinese Empire is closely connected with the labours of the talented Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who together with his faithful companion Michele Ruggieri, had reached Tschaoking, in the province of Kwangtung, in the autumn of 1583, and was there held in high esteem, without, however, being able to make more than a few conversions.[1] At the suggestion of the far-seeing Valignani, in 1593 Ricci began to study the Chinese language. At first this was not easy for a man who was already forty, but, as he says in a touching letter, he willingly once more became a schoolboy for the love of Him who became man for the love of us.[2] In an incredibly short time, Ricci, by his determined assiduity, obtained such a mastery of Chinese that in 1595 he was able to publish in that exceedinly difficult and subtle language his book "The true doctrine of God," which later on was included in the collection of classics undertaken by Khian-lung.[3] After this Ricci continued to labour indefatigably in the field of literature. His works were not confined to religious subjects alone, but extended to all manner of subjects[4]: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 469. To the literature there mentioned may be added the article by J. ALENI in the *Rev. de l'hist. des missions*, I., 52 *seqq.*

[2] Letter to Aquaviva, December 10, 1593, in TACCHI VENTURI, II., 118.

[3] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 27; BAUMGARTNER, Weltliteratur, II., 511.

[4] Ricci worked out among other things a translation of the Gregorian Calendar into Chinese. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, XVI., 1792 *seq.*, and CORDIER, Bibl. Sinica, III. (1905), 1090 *seq.*, the information in which has been considerably added to by the edition of the *Commentarii* (Macerata, 1911) of Ricci made by Tacchi Venturi. For the importance of Ricci to geographical studies see G. CARACI in *Bollet. d. Geogr. Ital.*, V. (1918), 845 *seqq.*, *Riv. Geogr. ital.*, XXVIII. and XXIX. (1921-1922) and H. BOSMANS in the Rev. des quest. scientif., 1921; for his map of China see *Études*, CXXXI., 217 *seq.*, 220 *seqq.*

geography, music and philosophy. Even though it was only an exaggeration when a Chinese viceroy said that Ricci knew all Chinese books, it is beyond question that he was the first profound sinologist. The Chinese called him the "great man of Europe."[1] But he remained as humble as a child. Witness to this is borne by his own commentaries, in which he has described so attractively the nascent Christianization of China. An additional testimony is to be found in his letters, in which he continually repeats that the easiest way to convert his beloved Chinese was by books.[2]

Ricci was not only an academic scientist, but an eminently practical man. His keen insight did not fail to grasp that the work of the missions would always be in jeopardy owing to the caprice of the officials, unless the Imperial court at Pekin could be won over. The first attempt to penetrate there, made in 1595, came to nothing, as also did the second, in 1598. In spite of this certain important consequences ensued. Ricci succeeded, at Nantschang and Nanking, in entering into important relations with Chinese scientists, and other persons of authority, which rendered possible the establishment of mission stations in those two cities. If greater results than before were now obtained, this was above all the result of the fact that Ricci, in accordance with the prudent advice of his companion Lazzaro Cattaneo, adopted the costume of the Chinese scholars, thus putting an end to his being continually confused with the despised bonzes. The silken attire which the missionaries now adopted in place of their poor habit had also to be accompanied by a more distinguished appearance. Valignani, who was very far-seeing, gave his consent to all this, and also obtained that of the General of the Jesuits and of the Pope.[3]

It was characteristic of this new method of procedure that

[1] See CORDIER, Bibliographie des ouvrages publ. en Chine par les Européens au xviie et xviiie siècles, Paris, 1883, 33.

[2] See TACCHI VENTURI in *Civ. Catt.*, 1910, III., 47.

[3] See TACCHI VENTURI, Commentarii, I., 3, cap. 9, cap. 53. *Cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1910, II., 558 *seq.*

Ricci, in the house which he built at Nantschang avoided in every way the appearance of a building devoted to divine worship. "The house in which we preach" was the simple inscription which he chose for it. He expressly insisted upon his character of scholar, and it was in accordance with this that he resumed his earlier catechism. Though he was indefatigably devoted to the work of explaining to the Chinese scholars and grandees, hitherto unthought of ideas of mathematics and astronomy, Ricci was very cautious in dealing with religious questions. While keeping silence therefore as to the mysteries of Christianity he sought first to convince his hearers of the fundamental truths of the creation of heaven and earth by God, of the immortality of the soul, of the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good. He openly combated the doctrines of the Buddhists, but the more cultured philosophy of Confucius were treated by him with all due respect.[1]

In the midst of these labours, which produced surprising results, Ricci did not lose sight of his project of reaching the presence of the Emperor at Pekin. In May 1599 he undertook for the third time his journey to that distant capital, accompanied by the Spanish Jesuit, Diego Pantoja, and two brothers of Chinese origin. In spite of the manifold dangers and obstacles of every kind, which would have discouraged anyone else, he at last, in 1601, thanks to his indomitable energy, reached his goal. Ricci excited the interest of the Emperor Wanglié, who was enthusiastic over the gifts which he had brought, striking clocks, a universal geographical map, engravings on copper, and two paintings representing the Redeemer and the Madonna. Although the learning of this stranger, which was superior to that of the mandarins, won the admiration of the Emperor, there nevertheless arose difficulties: the tribunal set up for the surveillance of

[1] So too G. Natali (Di M. Ricci, Macerata, 1905) though anything but well-disposed towards the Jesuits, praises Ricci highly. Other opinions have been given by us in Vol. XX. of this work, p. 469 *seq.*

foreigners demanded that he should be sent away. The Emperor would not consent to this, but for the time being left unanswered the written request which Ricci had made to be allowed to remain permanently. It was only after some time had passed that he caused the learned Jesuit, who had become indispensable to him, to be informed that His Majesty would be very unwilling for him to leave the capital, where he had thought of taking up his abode. Thus Ricci saw himself rewarded in a marvellous way for his perseverance and his unshaken confidence in God.

At last the great plan for the conversion of China, which, as Francis Xavier had already realized, would be of decisive importance for the future of eastern Asia, in view of the supreme influence which that land of ancient culture exercised over Japan and the other neighbouring countries, could be begun with the hope of permanent success. Nobody seemed to be so well suited for this work as Ricci, since the fundamental traits of his character were, as his biographer tells us, courageous and unwearied zeal that was at the same time wise and patient; caution and slowness, followed by action that was equally energetic; fear of being too daring.[1]

Valignani did all he could to support Ricci. In 1604 he sent him three more fellow-workers, and in 1605 as many more. He also made him entirely independent of the rector of the college at Macao. His successes gradually increased sensibly; eminent scholars and officials were converted to Christianity with full conviction. At Nanking Father Rocca won over the great statesman and scholar Paul Siu, who became the principal support of the infant Church. In 1605 the first Chinese presented themselves for admission to the Society of Jesus. Their chapel at Pekin was found to be too small, and after a short time there was erected in the Chinese capital a public church, in which the sacred mysteries were

[1] See TACCHI VENTURI in *Civ. Catt.*, 1910, II., 39 *seq.*, who there summarizes in a beautiful article the results of his profound studies collected in the new edition of the *Commentarii*. *Cf.* also BRUCKER, in *Études*, CXXIV., 751 *seq.*

celebrated as in Rome and other parts of the Christian world. To this worship of the "Lord of Heaven" there came an ever-increasing number of converts and catechumens, and also of pagans, whose hearts had been touched by divine grace.

The work of the missions in the Philippine Islands developed[1] in a very consoling way owing to the labours of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits, all of whom were able to adapt their unwearied labours to the neds of the native population with wisdom and prudence. Clement VIII. especially supported the Jesuits and the Dominicans.[2] On August 14th, 1595, there took place the division of the diocese of Manila, established by Gregory XIII.,[3] and which had so far included the whole mission, into four bishoprics, while it was at the same time made into an archbishopric. It retained the central part of the island of Luzon while the northern part was assigned to the new diocese of Neuva Segovia, the southern part to the diocese of Nueva Cáceres, and the remaining islands of the archipelago to the diocese of Cebú. This new arrangement proved very advantageous; it consolidated Christianity in the districts already converted, and gave a vigorous unity to missionary activity in those that were still pagan. The missions prospered so well under the Dominican Michele Benavides, who was appointed Bishop of Nueva Segovia in 1595, that of the three pagan provinces in his diocese in the course of a few years two were almost entirely converted and the third to a great extent. When Domenico de Salazar died in 1602, Benavides succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see of Manila. In this important position the good metropolitan[4] continued to promote the work of the missions with

[1] See *Cath. Encyclopedia*, XII., 17, and *Schmidlin*, 261 *seqq.*, where the copious literature is given.

[2] See Bull., IX., 526 *seq.*, 529 *seq.* *Cf.* *brief to Philip II., March 11, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 277, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Vol. XX. of this work, p. 479.

[4] See *acta consist. Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library; GAMS, 113-115 and the literature there indicated; NEHER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI², 692; *American Cath. Hist Soc.*, XI. 1900), 455.

indefatigable zeal. At his death, which occurred on June 25th, 1607, he was lamented as a father by Spaniards and converts alike, and venerated as a saint.

Under Clement VIII, there revived the hope of the conversion of Akbar, the Great Mogul of the Indies.[1] In May 1595 there appeared at Lahore, Fathers Girolamo Xavier, a relative of the Apostle of Japan, and Emanuel Pinhero, where they were courteously received by the Great Mogul. Akbar gave them permission to establish missions at Lahore, Cambaia and Agra, which flourished exceedingly, in spite of the hostility of the Mahometans. At Lahore at Christmas 1599 many catechumens, with palms in their hands, went through the flower-decked streets of the city to the church of the Jesuits to receive baptism.[2] There were among the converts men of exalted station. In 1600 Akbar confirmed in writing his permission for the free preaching of the Gospel, which he had at first only granted orally, and then subsidized the building of the Jesuit church which was erected at Agra in 1602; he also caused a copy to be made of the picture of the Madonna in S. Maria del Popolo which was there, and placed it in his palace. He read with the greatest interest the life of Jesus Christ, which had been translated into Persian by Father Xavier, but could not bring himself to the point of conversion; like a real sceptic he remained until his death in 1605 in a state of hesitation.[3]

The efforts to unite the Nestorian Church (Christians of

[1] *Cf.* besides the account of Du Jarric (see vol. IX., 737, n. 3), G. B. Peruschi, Informatione del regno et stato del Gran Re di Mogor, della sua persona, etc., et congietture della sua conversione alla nostra s. fede, Rome, 1597 (lat. Mayence, 1598).

[2] This occurred for the first time in 1589, but the envoys had returned despairing of any success. This was not approved of in Rome; see Juvencius, 451; Müllbauer, 145 *seq.* On December 17, 1592, Clement VIII. addressed a letter to Akbar to recommend the Jesuits to him; see Bull., IX., 646 *seq*

[3] *Cf.* Juvencius, 451 *seq.*; *Litt. ann.*, 1597, 576 *seq.*; Müllbauer, 146 *seq.*; Gruber, Aquaviva, 181 *seq.*; Väth in *Kath. Missionen*, XLIX., 201 *seq.*

St. Thomas) to the Catholic Church, which were promoted by the Archbishop of Goa, Alessio de Menezes, with the assistance of the Jesuits, met with a happy result. This prince of the Church, who was compared to Charles Borromeo, won undying fame by his services to the Church in the Indies.[1] He at once held a visitation of the whole of the territory subject to him, so that Clement VIII. sent him well-merited praise.[2] In 1599 Alessio held a synod at Diamper, in the kingdom of Cochim, at which the reunion of the Nestorians was effected. At the same time as he confirmed the synodal decrees, Clement VIII. sent by the Jesuit Alberto Laerzio a Syriac printing press, by means of which the Roman Ritual, and some missals and breviaries were printed.[3] The Pope appointed the Jesuit Francisco Roz Bishop of Angamala, which became a suffragan diocese of Goa; the bishop by his knowledge of the Syriac and Malabar languages had laboured for many years for the reunion of the Nestorians. Roz at once made a visitation of his diocese, and held a diocesan synod, at which the errors of Nestorius were once again condemned. In spite of this the danger of a relapse into schism was not altogether destroyed, and therefore Paul V. transferred the see to Cranganor and made it into an archdiocese. Roz remained metropolitan, and was assisted by several Jesuits.[4]

Clement VIII. further showed his zeal and care for souls by making use, in the interests of the missions, of the rapproche-

[1] Opinion of DÖLLINGER (Handbuch der Kirchengesch., II., 2, 369).

[2] See *brief of praise to the Archbishop of Goa, April 1, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 206, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See RAULINUS, Hist. ecclesiae malabaricae, Rome, 1745; MÜLLBAUER, 166; *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XX., 728 *seq.*; JANN, 167 *seq.* By the *brief to "clerus e populus christianus S. Thomae prov. Serrae" of May 19, 1601, he sends congratulations on the synod, and gives deserved praise to the Jesuits. Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 147, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See MÜLLBAUER, 167 *seq.*; JANN, 169 *seq.*

ment with the European powers which had been brought about, in the interests of the war against the Turks, by the Shah of Persia, Abbas I. the Great. The Portuguese Jesuit, Francisco da Costa, informed the Pope in the autumn of 1600 that the Shah was very well disposed towards the Christians, that he wished for the presence of Catholic priests, and had sent envoys to Rome. After mature reflection Clement VIII. resolved to profit by this favourable opportunity himself to send an embassy to Persia. For this purpose he entered into communication with the King of Spain, Philip III.[1] When the latter had given his account, in February 1601, two Portuguese, the above-mentioned Francisco da Costa and Diego de Miranda, who had previously been to Persia, were sent, bearing pontifical letters to the Shah.[2] The instructions they were given naturally referred to the common war against the Turks, but above all dealt with religious questions. Costa was instructed to explain to the Shah the truths of Catholic doctrine and to urge him to enter the Church, in which matter it was thought that it would be possible to count upon the assistance of the queen. If the Shah should be unwilling to be converted to the Christian faith, then the envoys must at least obtain from him permission to preach freely, and for the free exercise of the Christian religion, which even the Sultan of Turkey permitted in his kingdom.[3]

While Costa and Miranda were on their way, there arrived in Rome, on April 5th, 1601, the two envoys of the Shah.[4] They brought good news both with regard to the participation of their sovereign in the war against the Turks, and the permission for the Christian mission in Persia. Clement VIII.

[1] Brief of September 4, 1600 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 17. A letter from Persia to the General of the Augustinians, May 24, 1599 (in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 94) also refers to the favourable dispositions of the Shah.

[2] See the *letter to the Shah, February 24, 1601 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 20.

[3] LÄMMER, Melet., 452 *seq.*

[4] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 8.

thanked the Shah on May 2nd, 1601, alluding to his own action and that of the Shah against the Turks, and announcing the sending of missionaries to Persia.[1]

When in 1602 Philip III. sent three Augustinian friars to Persia to promote the war against the Turks,[2] Clement VIII. devoted much attention to the missions there.[3] The Augustinians sent by the King of Spain, in addition to arousing interest in the war against the Turks, also laboured for the propagation of Christianity. In the summer of 1604 the Pope sent six members of the Italian Congregation of reformed Carmelites, which had been founded a few years before, to assist them. Among these there were three of the most distinguished members of the Order: Paolo di Gesù Maria, Giovanni di S. Eliseo, and Vincenzo di S. Francesco.[4] The letters to the Shah with which they were furnished indicated as the primary purpose of their missions congratulations on the victories won against the Turks; the request for permission to preach the Gospel was reserved for oral negotiation.[5] Instead of the long and dangerous sea voyage, the Carmelites chose the land route across Russia. Clement VIII. followed their journey with the greatest

[1] See more fully in Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 299. (*Brief to the Shah, May 2, 1601, Papal Secret Archives, in App. n. 21).

[2] See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich, IV., Vol. I., 276 *seq.*, and MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 186.

[3] See the *original letter of Card. C. Aldobrandini to the Archbishop of Siponto, nuncio in Spain, August 28, 1603, and November 7 and 14, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

[4] See *Dict. de théol.*, II., 1783. *Cf.* *Avviso of July 24, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library, and the *report of G. B. Thesis, August 26, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also JOH. A JESU MARIA, Hist. Missionum (Opera omnia, IV., Cologne, 1650), I., 328 *seq.*; PETRUS A S. ANDREA, Hist. generalis fratr. Carmelit. discalc. congreg. S. Eliae, I., Rome, 1668; BERTHOLD-IGNACE DE ST. ANNE, Hist. de l'établissement de la Mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes déchaussés (1604-1612), Brussels, 1885.

[5] See the briefs of June 30, 1604, in MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 177 *seq.* (*cf.* 201). See also CHARDIN, Voyages (1829), XV., 36.

interest,[1] but their great successes in the Persian kingdom came after his death.

Much more difficult than the journey to Persia, in the then existing conditions, was that to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), as the Turks were masters of the Red Sea, and were fighting the Portuguese wherever they could. In order to provide for the Portuguese Christians and the natives scattered throughout Abyssinia, who were entrusted to the sole care of Francisco Lopez, the last companion of the Patriarch Oviedo, who died in 1577, in February 1589 two Spanish Jesuits were sent, the great linguist Antonio de Monserrato and Pedro Paez, who was burning with youthful enthusiasm. They disguised themselves as Armenian merchants, but were discovered, and taken first to Terim and then to Sana'a in Arabia, where they were kept for five and a half years, two of which they passed in prison, because it was supposed that they were spies. At the end of 1595 they were taken to Mocha, where they were made to serve in the galleys, until a subject of the Indies, representing the rector of the Jesuits at Goa, rescued them. Thus, seven years after their departure, in December 1595, they returned once more to Goa, the place from which they had set out. Both the fathers were ill; Monserrato, the elder, died as a result of the sufferings he had undergone, but Paez recovered. His wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice had not grown less, and he impatiently awaited another opportunity of bringing religious help to his beloved Ethiopians.[2]

[1] See MEYER, 201, 211, 217 *seq.*, 220, 259. In a *brief to "Cancellarius Lithuaniae," on January 8, Clement VIII. thanked him for the help given to the Carmelites who were passing that way (Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 390, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* the *brief to the viceroy of Naples, January 22, 1605 (*ibid.* p. 405b). *Ibid.* p. 430b, a *brief to the Augustinian Hermits in Persia, February 4, 1605, in which Clement VIII. expresses his joy at the good results of their labours; he thought of them at the Holy Sacrifice, "lattissimum habetis campum"; he intended to send them companions in the Carmelites, and they must work in harmony with them.

[2] *Cf.* the reports of P. Paez in BECCARI, II., x. *seq.*, and X.,

During the imprisonment of the two fathers, in the summer of 1594, an Abyssinian priest, Tekla Maryam, who had joined the Catholic Church, had brought more detailed information concerning Abyssinia to Rome.[1] In the following year the Maronite, Abram de Guerguis, who had joined the Society of Jesus in Rome, was charged to go to the assistance of Lopez; he was disguised as a Mahometan, but his companion, a merchant from the Indies, betrayed him, and as he refused to adjure his faith, he was put to death.[2] More fortunate was the Jesuit Melchior da Sylva, an ex-Brahmin priest, who in 1598 reached Ma'assaua, and thence Fremona, the house of the Jesuits on the north Tigre, near Adua.[3] Lopez had died in the previous year after an apostolate of forty years, and Sylva now took his place.[4]

After a Jesuit college had been established at Diu at the beginning of the XVIIth century, at length in 1603 the hour so longed for by Paez had come. Through great perils and privations he penetrated by way of Ma'assaua to the interior of the country; at Fremona he encouraged the Catholics in their faith, and finally reached the court of the Emperor Za-Denghel, whose confidence he was all the more easily able to win, as the Portuguese had recently rendered valuable services to that monarch against his enemies. At a private audience Paez learned from the Emprtor's own lips of his intention of accepting the Roman faith, and of entering into a treaty of alliance with the King of Spain. Therefore on June 26th, 1604, Za-Denghel wrote letters to Clement VIII.

2-30, Hist. Aethiopiae by ALMEIDA. See also BECCARI, XI., 1 *seq.* For Paez see also *Civ. Catt.*, 1905, III., 562 *seqq.*

[1] See *Avvisi of June 2, 1594 (*cf.* *that of June 5, according to which a special commission was discussing the question of Abyssinia, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, as well as THOMAS A JESU in *Thesaurus theol.*, VII., 1261 *seq.*

[2] See ALMEIDA, *loc. cit.*, 35 *seq.*

[3] The ruins of the Jesuit church there are still preserved; see the *Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Aksum-Expedition*, III., 64 *seq.*

[4] See ALMEIDA, *loc. cit.*, 45 *seq.* *Cf. Litt. ann.*, 1597, 553.

and Philip III., asking for some Jesuits to be sent. In these letters, which were written in the Abyssinian language, nothing however was said for the moment of his willingness to accept the Catholic faith; Paez had to add this in Portuguese. In spite of this, in Abyssinia, where four other Jesuits had arrived in the meantime, knowledge of the Emperor's intention had got abroad. Accordingly a rebellion broke out and Za-Denghel was killed.[1] But Paez had also acquired such great influence over the new Emperor Jacob that hopes could be entertained of his conversion.[2]

Of great importance for the missions in west Africa was the establishment by Clement VIII. in 1596 of a diocese for that kingdom (San Salvador) at the request of the King of the Congo, this diocese being detached from that of São Thomé. The Franciscan Rangel was given charge of the new district.[3] This distinguished man, who was consumed with zeal for souls, succumbed prematurely in 1602 to the fatigues to which he had been exposed.

In the case of Angola, which joined the Congo on the south, fair prospects were aroused when in 1599 the king joined himself to the tribal chiefs who had already been converted. The same thing was true of Guinea where the Jesuits effected many conversions, even among the notabilities.[4]

In Mexico, in addition to the Franciscans and Augustinians, the Dominicans and Jesuits were especially active. Both these Orders directed their efforts above all to the Indians. Towards the end of the century the Dominicans had more

[1] See the report of P. Paez of July 24, 1603, in BECCARI, XI., 47 *seq.*, and VI., 49-94; ALMEIDA, Hist. Aethiopiae, where on p. 80 *seq.* is printed the letter to Clement VIII.

[2] See ALMEIDA, *loc. cit.*, 107 *seq.*

[3] See the *brief to Alvares II., King of the Congo, May 20, 1596, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Acta consist., May 20, 1596, Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; GAMS, 473; JANN, 79; ALYS DE CARAMAY-CHIMAY BORGHESE, Belges et Africains, Rome, 1916, 15 *seqq.*

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, Missionsgeschichte, 228.

than sixty houses there.[1] In 1594 the Jesuits penetrated into the north of Mexico, and in 1596 established a mission at Tepuhuanca, and later on another at Topia.[2] Of great assistance to the work of the missions was the support which Clement VIII. gave to the university established in the capital.[3] At Puebla de los Angeles he granted to the Dominican school the rights of a university.[4] Towards the end of the century some intrepid Franciscans began the missions in Lower California, New Mexico and Florida, but did not meet with any success, except in New Mexico.[5]

In the great kingdom of Peru, besides the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits, the Augustinians were labouring with fervent zeal.[6] In concert with such excellent bishops as Turibio of Lima, and Francisco de Vittoria of Cordoba (Tucumán), they sensibly raised the tone of ecclesiastical life, supported as far as possible by Clement VIII., who had expressed himself in favour of the liberty of the Indians of Peru.[7] The Peruvian province of the Jesuits, the members of which increased under Clement VIII. from 240 to 340, was repeatedly favoured by the Pope.[8] On account of its immense

[1] See *ibid.* 341.

[2] See ASTRÁIN, IV., 437 *seqq.*, 442 *seqq.* *Cf.* M. CUEVAS, Hist de la Iglesia en Mexico, II., TLÁLPAM, 1922, 371 *seq.*

[3] See Bull., X., 225 *seq.* *Cf.* CUEVAS, *loc. cit.* 284 *seqq.*

[4] See Bull., X., 415 *seq.*

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 347 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 367 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* MARGRAF, 147. Besides the literature concerning Turibio, cited in Vol. XX. of this work, p. 503, see also CARLOS GARCIA IRIGOYEN, Santo Toribio, 4 vols., Lima, 1906; LEVILLIER, Organización de la Iglesia y órdenes relig. en el virreinato del Peru en el siglo xvi., 2 parts, Madrid, 1919; *Hist. Jahrb.*, XLVI., 42 *seq.*

[8] See, besides the *Synopsis*, 198, 200, 213, the *brief of July 31, 1592, addressed to the Archbishop of Lima, Turibio (*cf.* JUVENCIUS V., 723), on the occasion of a disagreement between him and the Jesuits, in which it is stated: "Nos certe in eo ordine diligendo nullius unquam caritati concessimus." Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 454, Papal Secret Archives.

extent it was then divided into three parts: the central part under the equator remained the true province, to which were added two sub-provinces, one in the north and one in the south. The fact that the Jesuits educated the blind and the deaf and dumb in the city of Cuzco, shows how thorough they were in their mission work. At Quito, where a rebellion against Spain had broken out, the fathers restored peace. Besides this they were indefatigable in preserving the Spanish colonists from complete demoralization.[1]

In 1593 the Jesuits, under the leadership of Father Luis di Valdivia, also reached Chili, where they founded an establishment which soon became very flourishing. They displayed a most beneficial activity among the savage people of the Araucani, who were devoted to hunting and pastoral life, among whom the Franciscans had already laboured from 1541 onwards.[2] The Jesuit Gabriel de Vega, in the midst of his many occupations, found time to compose a grammar and dictionary in the Araucani tongue; in 1602 Luis di Valdivia published a catechism in the dialect of the Alentinos.[3] He and his companion of the same Order, Diego de Torres, who was justly highly praised by Clement VIII.,[4] won undying merit by their efforts for the preservation and more humane treatment of the red races; they saved the Araucani from complete extermination.[5]

[1] See *Litt. ann.*, 1594-1595, 674 *seq.*; 1596, 871 *seq.*; 1603, 199 *seq.*; 1604, 240 *seq.*; 1605, 315 *seq.* *Cf.* JUVENCIUS, V., 727; ASTRÁIN, IV., 532 *seqq.*, 560 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 312.

[2] *Cf.* M. DE OLIVARES, Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus en Chile, escrita 1736, publ. p. D. B. Ararna, Santiago, 1874; F. ENRICH, Hist. de la Comp. de Jesús en Chile, I., Barcelona, 1891; ASTRÁIN, IV., 668 *seqq.*

[3] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 79.

[4] See the *brief to the Bishop of Cuzco, Ant. de la Roya, March 7, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 27, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* the monograph by ENRICH, cited *supra* n. 2. J. T. Medina, on the basis of the Acta tells us of two valuable monographs concerning the Inquisition in South America: Historia del tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima (from 1569

The Dominicans and Franciscans vied with the Jesuits in the kingdom of the Incas. Among the Franciscans there stood out Francisco Solano, whose figure was soon made the centre of many legends. A man of prayer and mortification, burning with the love of God and his neighbour, this son of St. Francis exercised an extraordinary influence over those round him. Very soon after his death, which took place at Lima on July 14th, 1610, the people venerated him as a saint, and many cities chose him as their patron.[1]

Francisco Solano laboured as an apostle, not only in Peru among the degenerate Spanish colonists, but also among the Indians in the province of Tucumán. During many years (1589-1602) he unweariedly travelled about that plateau, as

onwards), 2 vols. Santiago di Chile, 1887, and Historia del tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion en Chile (from 1570 onwards) 2 vols., *ibid.* 1890. In a review in the *Hist. Zeitschr.* (LXVII., 371) it is stated : " A careful study of both these works makes us realize that the tribunal of the Inquisition, for all its terrors, and its power to supply for the insufficient civil legislation, did great service in the matter of customs and morals. Thus there were cited before the court of the Holy Office bigamists and priests who were leading immoral lives, and who abused the confessional for this purpose. The punishments in these cases were certainly not cruel, especially if we remember the " law " of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries which was in force everywhere, and the customary punishments for all manner of faults and crimes. For the same reason we can explain why blasphemies and outrages against the Catholic Church were more severely punished than they are to-day. Thus we only have the trials for heresy and those of baptized Jews and Mahometans who had relapsed into their former errors, and the study of which may well excite terror. It was in these cases that torture was most frequently applied, and death sentences passed."

[1] *Cf. Acta Sanct.*, Iulii V., 859 *seq.* ; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, Storia d. Miss. Francesc., VII., 2, Prato, 1891, 99 *seq.* ; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV².. 1836 ; HIRAL, Vie de St. François Solano, Lille, 1906 ; HELLINGHAUS, Der hl. Franziskus Solanus, Trêves, 1912, and with these the critique by SCHMIDLIN in the *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, III., 250.

well as the immense plain of the Gran Chaco. His companion Luis Bolaños was the author of the earliest catechism in the dialect of the Guarani, and the founder of the mission in Paraguay, properly so called.[1] The Jesuits went to Tucumán at the invitation of the Dominican bishop, Francisco de Vittoria. Another Dominican bishop, Alfonso Guerra di Assunción, had summoned them to Paraguay proper. From their house, established in 1588 in the above-mentioned city, they undertook "mobile missions" among the savage tribes of the immense surrounding territory. As these mobile missions did not prove effective, in 1602 the General of the Order Aquaviva and the visitor Paez ordered the establishment of fixed missions, avoiding as far as possible men of alien blood, a step which was approved by the Spanish government.[2]

The Jesuits too in the province of Brazil, where the celebrated Father Anchieta laboured until 1597,[3] took part in the missions in Paraguay. A law made by the King of Spain, in the year in which Anchieta died, prohibited slavery in Brazil. Thus a great hindrance to the progress of Christianity was removed, and the messengers of the faith now penetrated into the depths of the virgin forests with renewed zeal.[4]

Clement VIII. followed with the closest attention the progress of the missions in America, and furthered them by many proofs of his favour. If he heard of the discovery of

[1] For the Catechism of Bolaño see SOUTHEY, Between the Amazon and Andes, by Mulhall, London, 1881, 248 *seq.*

[2] See JUVENCIUS, V., 732 *seq.*; HUONDER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX², 1464; ASTRÁIN, IV., 614 *seqq.*; 625 *seqq.*; PFOTENHAUER, I., 87 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, Missionsgeschichte, 317 *seq.*

[3] For Anchieta *cf.* Vol. XX. of this work, p. 510.

[4] For the Jesuits in Brazil see *Litt. ann.* 1594-1595, 789 *seq.*, 1597, 492 *seq.*; JUVENCIUS, V., 731 *seq.*; F. GUERREIRO, Relaçam annal das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India oriental e no Brasil, Angola, Caboverde, Guine nos annos de 1602 e 1603, Lisbon, 1605, III., 125.

new peoples, he hastened to exhort the bishop concerned to spread Christian doctrine among them ; if he learned of abuses, he at once intervened.[1] His care also extended to civil matters ; thus he urged Philip III. not to oppress the natives by taxes.[2]

From a description of Spanish America, published in Madrid in 1601, we learn that at the beginning of the XVIIth century the success of the missions presented externally an impressive appearance ; there were five archdioceses, twenty-seven dioceses, two universities, more than four hundred convents of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercedari and Jesuits, innumerable confraternities and hospitals, parishes and mission stations for the million pagans who had been converted to Christianity.[3] In Mexico and other places the building of magnificent cathedrals had been begun.[4] Naturally there were also abuses and dark places which reacted upon these external signs of progress, a thing which continues down to our own times.[5]

While in the colonies of Spain and Portugal the Church could rejoice in the fullest support and protection of the civil authorities, in all the countries subject to the Turks it had to suffer severely from the Mohamedans and schismatics. In spite of all the efforts of the Latin missionaries of the various Orders there was a perceptible diminution of the Christian population. Clement VIII. did all in his power to remedy this. One of his first cares was to resume the question of the reunion of the Copts which had been begun by Sixtus V..[6] but which had been interrupted during the brief pontificates of Urban VII., Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX. In March 1592 Clement VIII. sent an envoy to the Patriarch Gabriel of

[1] *Cf.* Bull., X., 767 ; XI., 60 *seq.*

[2] See the *instructions to D. Ginnasio, September 18, 1600, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

[3] See A. de Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias ocidentales, Madrid, 1601, 80.

[4] *Cf.* Briggs, Barock-Architektur, 186 *seq.*

[5] See Schmidlin, Missionsgeschichte, 314 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 185.

Alexandria[1] in the person of Girolamo Vechietti. As a result of this the Patriarch sent representatives to Rome, with a letter of November 22nd, 1593, addressed to the Pope, in which he recognized the primacy. The same was done by the archpriest John of Alexandria, who in a letter dated December 18th, 1593, said that the pitiful state of the Egyptian Church and its harassing by the Turks, was in his opinion a punishment for its schism.[2]

The Coptic envoys reached Rome in June 1594. After the difficulties connected with the differences of rite had been adjusted with the help of the Jesuits,[3] on January 15th, 1595, in the presence of Clement VIII. and twenty-four Cardinals they made the Catholic act of faith, and paid homage to the Pope,[4] in the name of those who had sent them. The completion of the reunion was, however, delayed by unfortunate circumstances, and it was only on October 7th, 1602, that Clement VIII. could express to the Patriarch of Alexandria his joy at his return to Catholic unity. At the same time he informed him that he had established a Coptic college in Rome, and asked that suitable students should be sent thither; for his part he offered to further the printing of ecclesiastical books in the Coptic language.[5] The archdeacon of the Alexandrian Church, Barsum, was to take this letter with him. In the meantime, unfortunately, the Patriarch Gabriel died, and his successor Mark, to whom

[1] See *brief of March 27, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 36, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See BARONIUS, Annales, VIII., Lucca, 1741, ad an. 452, n. 23, and Append. p. 636 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of June 9, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, p. 390, Vatican Library; *Avviso of January 18, 1595, Urb. 1063, *ibid.*; BARONIUS, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *letter of October 7, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, Papal Secret Archives. This and the following documents were unknown to RENAUDOT (Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. Jacobit., 612), and to PICHLER (II., 516).

Clement VIII. addressed himself in 1604,[1] held different views from those of his predecessor.

Clement VIII. showed great affection for the Maronites, whose college in Rome he did his best to help.[2] In June 1596 he sent the Jesuit Girolamo Dandini to Lebanon,[3] where he found certain evils and abuses. In September he held a national council at the monastery of Kanobin, at which the Maronites protested at dogmatic errors being attributed to them. At this assembly certain canons were laid down concerning external worship and the administration of the sacraments; in future they were all to make use of the reformed missal[4] published in Rome by pontifical authority. In 1599 Clement VIII. granted to the new Patriarch of the Maronites the confirmation he asked for, and sent him the pallium.[5]

[1] See *brief of May 26, 1604, Arm 44, t. 56, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See ANAISSI, Bull. Maronit., 104 *seq.* The Pope supplied the college with Spanish wine; see *instructions to D. Ginnasio in Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

[3] See ANAISSI, *loc, cit.*, 106 *seq.* The instructions of the General Aquaviva for Dandini and his companion Fabio Bruno in RABBATH, Documents, I., 170 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DANDINI, Voyage du mont Liban par R.S.P. (Richard Simon), Paris, 1685, 109 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, PICHLER, II., 458 *seq.*, *Coll. Lacens.*, II., 413 *seq.* A "Missale chaldaic. iuxta ritum Maronit," dedicated to Clement VIII. and printed in 1594 at the "Tipografia Medicea," in Vat. lat. 5477, Vatican Library.

[5] See ANAISSI, Bull. Maronit., 107 *seq.* Cod. M. 8, p. 77 *seq.* of the Vallicella Library, Rome, contains an "*Epistola Simeonis patriarchae totius Iberiae et Orientis ad S.P. Clementem VIII. a. 1596, de statu religionis christianae in illis partibus," especially concerning Georgia, where some Capuchins were working at the beginning of the XVIIth century. *Cf. Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1896, n. 101, May 1. See also *briefs of April 1, 1598, to the King and Patriarch of Iberia (Georgia) in Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 75 *seq.*, 106, Papal Secret Archives. In a *brief to Philip III. of September 13, 1602, the Pope recommends "archiep. Dersinensis in Armenia" who had been sent to him by the Armenian Patriarch

In the Balkan peninsula Clement VIII. sought to bring about the reunion of the Serbs with Rome, by means of the Franciscans who were labouring there in a self-sacrificing spirit, but national jealousies prevented the success of his efforts.[1] In the principality of Moldavia, which had been reduced to a state of vassalage by the Turks, the efforts of the voivode Peter the Lame, which had been begun under Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. to reunite his subjects to the Catholic Church proved vain, since that prince, fearing that the Sultan would forcibly make his son John Stefan embrace Mohamedanism, had taken to flight.[2] Clement VIII.

Melchisedech for recognition by the Holy See; in the brief it is stated that the archbishop had told him of the oppression and persecution of the Armenians by the Turks. He complains that the Armenian Catholic uniats are treated as pagans by your representatives in the east; at Ormuz, the port in the Persian Gulf, where a tenth is paid as customs duty, they have to pay double like the pagans, whereas at Ancona they are treated by us, as by other princes, as Christians; they are excluded from trading in the East Indies. The archbishop asks you to make restitution. We recommend to you the Armenian Catholics, and the Armenian merchants, who greatly help the bishops (Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 281, Papal Secret Archives). A *brief to Philip III., October 21, 1604, recommends the Armenians, so that they may be able to return by an indirect route, as the Turks bar their way (*ibid.* t. 56, p. 326). According to the *Avviso of November 20, 1604, Stefano Sirleto, nephew of the Cardinal, of the new Order "della continua oratione," or of S. Agnese who, being very learned and pious, had preached to the Jews, was sent by the Pope to Armenia as archbishop. Urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* FABIANICH, Storia dei Frati minori in Dalmazia et Bossina, I., Zara, 1863, 315 *seq.* BALAN, La chiesa e gli Slavi, 207 *seq.*; HUDAL, Die serbisch-orthodoxe Nationalkirche, Graz, 1922, 13. For Clement VIII. and the Bulgarians *cf. Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LIX., 344 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* NILLES, Symbolae ad ill. hist. eccl. orient., II., Lisbon, 1885, 978 *seq.*, and HIRN in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VII., 434 *seq.* Documents relating to the Catholics in Moldavia, 1600 *seqq.*, in the Roumanian periodical *Colunna lui Traian*, 1876, 299 *seqq.* See

repeatedly implored the help of foreign princes for the Christians of Moldavia, Wallachia[1] and the Epirus,[2] who were gravely threatened by the Turks. At the very beginning of his pontificate he had assigned an annual subsidy to the bishop of the Latin Catholics in Moldavia, which was to be paid by the Apostolic Camera.[3]

With a like generosity the Pope made provision for the Latin bishops in the islands of Chios, Andros and Naxos, who found in their poverty an obstacle to their fulfilling their duty of residence.[4] To give spiritual assistance to the Christian inhabitants of the archipelago was all the more near to the heart of Clement VIII., in that the Greeks living there had not as yet formally detached themselves from the Roman Church.[5] For this purpose he made use by preference of the Jesuits. Bishops such as the bishop of Crete, which island still belonged at that time to the Venetians, put difficulties in the way of the fathers, on which account they received

also ABRAHAM in *Kwartalnik Hist.*, XVI. (1902), 206. JORGA in Gesch. der europ. Staaten, XXXIV., 36; KOROLEVSKIJ in *Rev. catolica*, 1915.

[1] See the *brief to the King of Poland, September 6, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 272, Papal Secret Archives, and *ibid.* the *brief of the same date to the "episc. Argensis." The report drawn up a short time after the death of Clement VIII., cited by GOTTLOB in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 54 *seq.*, shows how Protestantism, by penetrating into Transylvania, had hastened the decline of the Catholic Church in Moldavia.

[2] See the *brief to Philip III., February 14, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 10, Papal Secret Archives. The brief to the Christians of the "Cimarra" in Epirus in 1594, in *Bessarione*, XVII. (1913), 195.

[3] Bull., IX., 549 *seq.* For Bishop Vincenzo Quirini, who in 1599 sent to Clement VIII. a report that was often quite incorrect (printed in HURMUZAKI, III., 1, 545 *seq.*) *cf.* NILLES, *loc. cit.*, 1008, 1026 *seq.*

[4] See Bull., IX., 549 *seq.*

[5] The definite breach only took place at the beginning of the XVIIIth century; see PIOLET, I., 133.

severe admonitions.[1] In 1592 Clement VIII. sent to Chios the Jesuits Benedetto Muleto and Vincenzo Castanola. When three years later the latter sent to Rome a report of the sad conditions in Chios, it was decided to establish a house for the Jesuits there, for which the Pope gave the necessary funds. Their work in Chios was so beneficial that the inhabitants of the island sent a letter of thanks to Rome.[2] The inhabitants of Naxos also asked that a Jesuit might be sent to them, and Clement VIII. entrusted that mission to the learned Vincenzo Cicada, who was a relative of the owner of the island, the Count of Cicada.[3]

In a yet more comprehensive way Clement VIII. occupied himself with the condition of the Greeks, a hundred thousand in all, who lived in different parts of Italy, especially in Calabria and the island of Sicily. These consisted in part of old inhabitants, and in part of exiles, who had left their own country on account of the Turkish rule. To these were added a number of Albanians, who had sought a refuge in Italy after the death of their national hero Skanderbeg, but who had nothing in common with the Greeks but their liturgical rite.[4]

In common with all the Italian bishops, those of southern

[1] See the *brief to the Archbishop of Crete "Laurentius Victurius," February 4, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 41, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* as to this *Synopsis*, 196 *seq.*

[2] See Juvencius V., 436 *seq.*; *Synopsis*, 183 *seq.*, 194, 219.

[3] See the *briefs to V. Cicada and the Count C. Cicada, of May 5 and 8, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 127-129, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 43, n. 336, a *brief to C. Cicada, in which Clement VIII. recommends to him the faithful in the island. The direction of the Greek College in Rome, which Clement VIII. had entrusted to the Jesuits (*Synopsis*, 158) was taken from them in 1604. It is false to say that this was done on account of bad administration, as was said (see *Avviso of September 25, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library); *cf.* Korolevskij in *Stoudion*, 1929, in course of publication. *Cf.* Bull., IX., 518 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* J. Gay, Étude sur la décadence du rite grec dans l'Italie méridionale à la fin du XVI. siècle, in *Compte-rendu du IVe. Congrès Scientif. internat. des Catholiques*, Sect. I., 163 *seqq.*

Italy, encouraged by the Holy See, had again commenced to hold regular visitations of their dioceses during the period of Catholic reform. In doing this they had come to know more fully the religious conditions of the Greeks, which frequently called for improvement. Like the magistrates and some of the barons, not a few of the bishops were guilty of grave mistakes in dealing with the Greeks and Albanians; often almost force was used to compel them to adopt the Roman rite.[1] Faced with this fact, the Holy See held firmly to its ancient principle of energetically protecting the discipline and liturgy of the Greek Catholics, so long as these were not opposed to dogma. Just as Leo X. and Clement VII. had strongly admonished[2] those Latins who attacked the Greeks on account of their different discipline, so had Paul III. forbidden under grave penalties the Bishops of Cassano, Bisignano, Rossano and Anglona-Tursi to disturb the Albanians in the exercise of their liturgy. But as many abuses which affected doctrine had become introduced, especially among the Greeks of Sicily, on February 16th, 1564, Pius IV. had expressly recalled the duty of vigilance over their doctrines and worship which was incumbent on the Latin bishops.[3] But both he and Pius V. had insisted on the inviolability of the Byzantine rite. In the Greek college as in all the oriental colleges which he established, he had the students strictly educated in their own rite.[4]

[1] *Cf. ibid.*

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER in *Arch. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, VII., 179.

[3] See RODOTA, Dell'origine e stato presente del rito greco in Italia, III., Rome, 1758, 138.

[4] See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.* 179, 355. Professor H. Gelzer, who died in 1906, was occupied in 1903 with the manuscript material for a history of the Greeks and Albanians in southern Italy. For this purpose he obtained documents from the archives of the Congregation of the Council and Propaganda, and even some from that of the Holy Office in Rome, which is so jealously guarded. I have already frequently stated, and once again in 1912 in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXIII., 481 *seq.*, that not only in the interest of historical studies, but also in that of the Catholic

Clement VIII. too was guided by the principle that the Byzantine liturgy had its full rights, within the limits assigned by dogma. On August 31st, 1595, he issued a special instruction which dealt exhaustively with the controversy which had arisen concerning the rites and usages of the Greeks.[1] The publication of this document had been preceded by a detailed inquiry by a Congregation expressly intended for the reform of the Greeks.[2] Of decisive importance in this matter were the views of Cardinal Santori, who was very expert in these questions, and had collected detailed information.[3] The instruction aimed above all things at the removal of undoubted abuses, especially in the administration of the sacraments. With regard to sacerdotal ordination, it laid down that the Greeks could only receive this from a bishop of their own rite. It was expressly ordered that one of their bishops should reside in Rome. Clement VIII. at the same time renewed the edicts of Innocent IV. in 1254, and of Pius IV. in 1564, as well as the prohibition issued by Pius V.

Church, it is ardently to be desired that these may at last be made accessible. The researches of Professor Gelzer, which have not as yet been published, have confirmed this. Gelzer wrote to me from Naples on March 10, 1903, that his work would be "an honourable page for the Roman Curia and for the Holy Office itself. They did all they could on behalf of these exiles, and for the safeguarding of their liturgy and privileges. The pressure to make them accept the Latin rite always came from the local authorities, the bishops, barons and magistrates." *Cf.* Korolevskij, in *Stoudion*, IV., 82-91.

[1] Bull., X., 2, 11 *seq.*

[2] Part of the protocols to be found in Barb. 2607, Vatican Library, was published from this in the periodical *Bessarione*, XVII. (1913), 345 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Miscellanea de riti specialmente greci, from the Santori bequest, in Cod. I-B 6 of the Brancacciana Library, Naples (now at Propaganda) from which Gay, *loc. cit.*, 164 *seq.* gives information. *Cf.* also "Ant. Lombardi archiepisc. *Consultatio super abusibus Graecorum degentium Messanae ad Ioh. Ant. Santori card. s. Severinae," in Vat. 5544, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Bessarione*, XVII. (1913), 466 *seq.*

in 1566, of any fusion of the Roman and Byzantine rites.[1] The indefatigable Cardinal Santori remained the advocate of the Greeks in Rome.[2]

Several memorials presented to the Pope show how great was the interest taken at that time in the world-wide mission of the Church. One of these documents treats with great learning and knowledge of the political and religious conditions of the East, and of the principles which must be firmly adhered to in the negotiations of the Holy See with the oriental princes in the interests of a reunion of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople.[3] A second memorial makes proposals for missions to be undertaken in Denmark and Norway.[4] A third, whose author through modesty does not make himself known, urges, probably in connexion with a petition[5] from the Bishop of Tournai, Jean Vendeville, presented to Sixtus V. in 1589, the establishment of a special Congregation, which may be called the forerunner of "Propaganda fide," since its suggests to the Pope the erection of a similar institution as the best means of propagating the Catholic faith.[6] The author is of opinion that it would be

[1] See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.* 355. The edict of Innocent IV. in RAYNALDUS, 1254, n. 7.

[2] The reply of Santori to the Archbishop of Reggio, Annibale d'Afflito, concerning the Byzantine rite in his diocese: *Roma e Oriente*, VII. (1914), 106 *seq.*, 339 *seq.*

[3] *Discorso in Urb. 854, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library, used for the first time by LÄMMER, Analecta, 52.

[4] This *memorial addressed to the Pope and to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Barb. 1992, Vatican Library.

[5] See RENSENS, La première idée du collège de la Propagande ou mémoire presenté en 1589 par J. Vendville, etc., in *Mém. de la Soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai*, X. (1870). *Cf.* also GOYAU, Les initiatives Belges dans la Fondation de la Propagande, in *Revue Générale* of Brussels, July 15, 1924, p. 1 *seq.*

[6] *"Modus propagandi fidem Catholicam," an unsigned manuscript from the collection of Magliabecchi; I made use of this in 1879 in Florence in the Marucelliana Library; the manu-

necessary to employ four or five secretaries, distinguished for their knowledge of languages, their learning and their piety, who should lay proposals before the Congregation and supervise their carrying out. The first of these secretaries, who were also to draw up a list of all persons of importance for the work of the missions, was to be concerned with the spiritual needs of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Denmark and Sweden; the second with the Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Ruthenians, Hungarians and Transylvanians; the third was to be assigned Dalmatia, Bosnia, and in a special way the whole of the Balkan peninsula; the fourth Cyprus, Asia Minor, Syria, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Algeria; the fifth all the missions in the Spanish-Portuguese colonies in America and Asia.

The memorial also treats in detail of the training to be given to the missionaries in Rome. This work was to be divided between the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits. The author attaches great importance to the spread of Catholic books translated into the languages of the various peoples. He suggests that there should be interested in this work, besides the Generals of the above-mentioned Orders, the Latin Bishops of Cattaro, Ragusa, Crete and Corfù, the nobles who had remained loyal to the Church in Andros and Chios the many merchants who traded with the east, and their consuls at Pera, Alexandria and Aleppo. At the end the author remarks that if the city of Geneva alone had been able

script was at that time to be included in the National Library, then closed. The author of the manuscript was probably the distinguished Provincial of the Carmelites, Tommaso a Jesu, a friend of Santori, who in his work, "De procuranda salute omnium gentium," Antwerp, 1613 (*cf.* SCHMIDLIN, in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, III., 112) repeats almost word for word a part of the things set forth in the memorial (1. 3, c. 1, p. 103 *seq.*). Tommaso a Jesu, who relates in his introduction that he had made use of the library of Santori, probably saw the memorial there. For Tommaso a Jesu (1568-1626) *cf.* also SALAVILLE, Un théoricien de l'apostolat catholique au XVII. siècle, in *Echos d'Orient*, XX., 129-152.

in a short space of time, by means of books and writings, to win over so great a number of souls to Calvinism, how much more reason there was to hope for the winning, by the help of God, of so many immortal souls, for which Christ had shed His blood; it was only essential for attention to be drawn to this argument, while the necessary power was not wanting in Rome.

This memorial contains the germ of the great idea of Propaganda, and it is the undeniable merit of Clement VIII. that he sought to realize it. The Pope had already in 1594 established a similar Congregation for the missions in Abyssinia,[1] and in 1595 for the Italo-Greeks.[2] In continuance of the efforts of Pius V.,[3] in 1599 he established a Congregation composed of nine Cardinals, which was to concern itself principally with the propagation of the faith. The president was Cardinal Santori, together with Baronius and Bellarmine, who also formed part of the new Congregation, but he was undoubtedly the most important and zealous Cardinal of his time. Besides this indefatigable supporter and proved expert in the work of the missions, there were also added[4] Medici, Borromeo, Visconti, Antoniano, and Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini. The constitution of the Congregation took place on August 11th, 1599, in the presence of the Pope; on August 16th the members held their first meeting at the palace of the president, Santori. Unfortunately only the notes of the first ten meetings have been preserved; the last took place

[1] According to the *Avviso of June 9, 1594, there belonged to this Congregation Cardinals Galli, Paleotto, Santori, Toledo and the Camerario. Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 263.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 350.

[4] *Cf.* his *Audientiae in Arm. 52, t. 17 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. See also Castellucci in the publication (p. 162 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*) mentioned in the following note. The "Catechismo generale" drawn up by Santori concerning the treatment of catechumens and neophytes is published in the appendix of the work on the missions by Tommaso a Jesu; see *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, III., 112.

on August 14th, 1600.[1] The acta were written by a secretary, and in the margin Cardinal Santori wrote with his own hand the Pope's replies to the decisions of the Congregation. The procedure was the same as that followed by the German Congregation of Gregory XIII., and later on by Propaganda.

At its first three sessions the Congregation was called "Congregatio super negotiis sanctae fidei et religionis catholicae" and later on "De propagatione fidei" or "De propaganda fide." In this latter title its scope was concisely expressed. In accordance with a decision arrived at at the first congregation, the meetings were to be held twice a month. The questions proposed were discussed and decided. After each meeting Cardinal Santori went to the Pope to tell him of the decisions come to. The Pope's replies were communicated to the Congregation at the next meeting, and carried out in accordance with his wishes.

The matters discussed by the Congregation were very varied and related to every country; the faculties of the Archbishop of Goa, the Philippines, New Mexico, Scandinavia, Africa, the Greeks in south Italy, the Nestorian Christians in the Indies, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, and Persia. Above all a fresh impulse had to be given to the missions in the East, in which Sixtus V. had placed little

[1] For the "Acta Congreg. super negotiis s. fidei et relig. cath." contained in Cod. Misc. com. 17 of the archives of Propaganda, see SCHMIDLIN in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, XI. (1921), 232 *seq.*, where, however, the statement that I found further Acta in the Papal Secret Archives is based upon a misunderstanding. Lemmens found some Acta in a Cod. Ottob. in the Vatican Library; see LEMMENS, Acta S. Congr. de propag. fide pro terra sancta, I., 1, concerning the first session in the presence of the Pope. A. Castellucci has recently published all the Acta preserved, in *Le Conferenze al Laterano*, marzo-aprile, 1923, p. 223 *seq.* The Congregation is mentioned in the *Avvisi, hitherto unknown, of August 14 and 18, 1599, and June 10, 1600, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. Clement VIII. distinctly said in the *brief of September 4th, 1600 (Papal Secret Archives) that the Congregation was consulted because of the mission to Persia; see App. n. 17.

hopes. The colleges founded by Gregory XIII. were also placed under the Congregation, which was in all ways similar to Propaganda. There was no possibility of the Congregation being dissolved, in view of the zeal of Clement VIII. for the missions; the death of Santori, which occurred in 1602, brought about an interruption,[1] but this was of short duration, as Clement VIII. ordered the Congregation to resume its labours in 1604.[2] Thus the Aldobrandini Pope must be given the credit for having for the first time created in Rome a central control for the missions, the ends and objects of which corresponded with those of Propaganda, founded by his second successor.

[1] As the presidency, and therefore the Acta now passed into the hands of another Cardinal, this explains their disappearance. But perhaps it will still be possible to find them.

[2] See in App. n. 23, the *report of Fr. M. Vialardo of December 11, 1604, Papal Secret Archives.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Great Jubilee of 1600.

A Pope so pious as Clement VIII. was certain to have much at heart the worthy celebration of the universal Jubilee, which fell in the year 1600. The first preparations were made as early as the beginning of 1599.[1] On March 3rd the Pope appointed two Congregations, each composed of twelve Cardinals; the first, of which Santori was president, was to devote itself to the spiritual preparations; the second, presided over by Galli, to the material ones.[2] Orders were issued to all the authorities in the Papal States to provide for the maintenance and security of the roads; the hospices fn Rome received ample subsidies, so that they might get ready to receive the pilgrims.[3] Clement VIII. addressed himself to Philip III.[4] for a supply of grain from Sicily. The governor of Milan was exhorted to repair the roads and assist the pilgrims.[5] All the Cardinals were to take part in the solemnity.[6] The bulls of May 19th and 21st, 1599, announced the celebration of the Holy Year, its duration and the suspen-

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 30 and February 3, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library.

[3] See Bentivoglio, Memorie, 188 *seqq.*

[4] See *brief to "Vicerex Siciliae," asking him to carry out the promise of Philip III., September 1, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 352, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *instructions to the nuncio in Spain, D. Ginnasio in Barb. 5852, I., Vatican Library.

[5] *Brief of April 28, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 288, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Avviso of March 13, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

sion of all other indulgences.[1] On May 22nd letters of invitation were sent to the Emperor, and the kings and Catholic princes,[2] and on October 30th was published the invitation to the whole of Christendom.[3] The princes were urgently exhorted to show themselves kind and generous to the pilgrims from their own countries, and to those who should pass through them, and to provide for their safety. In November the Pope prepared a special house in the Borgo to receive the bishops and poor priests from beyond the Alps; he also provided refuges for needy layfolk, especially from the countries where Protestantism was predominant.[4] The prelates of the reform Congregation were ordered to visit the national hospices in Rome, and to assist in every way the strangers who came for the jubilee. The prelate Mona was charged with the pilgrims who came from Spain, Sorbolongo with those from France, Seneca with those from Germany, Benaglia with those from Venice, Tarugi with those of the Papal States and Urbino, and Gessi with those from Poland.[5] The Pope and the Cardinals assisted in a special way the celebrated Confraternity of the SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini.[6] Other congregations, such as that of the Stigmata of St. Francis, founded in 1594, received money for the entertainment of needy pilgrims.[7] The Pope also gave orders that the pilgrims should not be exploited by the inn-keepers in

[1] Bull., X., 504 *seq.*, 509 *seq.*

[2] See *Arm. 44, t. 43, nn. 241-255, Papal Secret Archives. The letter to Rudolph II. in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 228. Originals of the briefs to Mantua and Venice in the respective archives.

[3] Bull., X., 548 *seq.* *Cf.* Bull. indict. s. Iubilaei cum C. Schoppi annotat. Monachii, 1601.

[4] See Bentivoglio, Memorie, 188.

[5] "Inventione molto buona et santa" says of this ordinance the *Avviso of December 8, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 22.

[6] See *Avvisi of November 20 and 25, December 4 and 15, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso of December 18, 1599, *ibid.*

their greed for gain,[1] and that throughout the Holy Year Rome should display the manifestation of the greatest religious seriousness. The Carnival amusements were prohibited, and distinguished preachers and good confessors were sent to all the churches.[2] The Cardinals

[1] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 91 n. For the inns of that time see *ibid.* 426 *seq.* For the punishment of certain inn-keepers in May, 1600, for being greedy of gain see BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 23.

[2] See MANNI, Anni santi, 159. Besides this fundamental work, which also treats in detail of the coins of the jubilee, *cf.* the *Liber de anno iubilaei* 1600 dedicated to Clement VIII. by Cardinal A. Valiero (often in manuscript, *e.g.* Vat. 3792 and 5479, Vatican Library; Cod. Sess. 236, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome), printed at Verona, 1601 (a copy of this rare edition in the Vatican). Besides other works cited by MANNI (173 *seq.*) it is to be noticed that RUTIL. BENZONII de anno s. iubilaei libri VI. was printed at Venice in 1599. In Manni there are lacking: 1. GIROL. GRATIANO (Carmelite), Trattato del Giubileo dell'Anno Santo, trad. d. Spag. in Ital. da JAC. BOSIO, Rome, 1599; 2. FR. FORNER, Von Ablass und Jubeljahr, Ingolstadt, 1599; 3. "Tractatus de quibusdam observationibus circa annum iubilaei a Io. PAULO MUCANTIO" (dedicated to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, 1599, Cal. Maii), Barb. XX., 6, Vatican Library; 4. *Diarium anni iubilaei 1600 JACOBO GRIMALDO Bonon. basil. Vatic. sacrista auctore, Barb. lat. 2210, Vatican Library, and Cod. B, 111, Capitular Archives of St. Peter's. For the treatise by Bellarmine "De indulgentiis et iubilaeo" see COUDERC, I., 243 *seqq.* For C. Scioppius, who had become a Catholic by studying the Annals of Baronius, and who published on the occasion of the jubilee a "Commentarius de indulgentiis" (edition of 1601 in British Museum, London) see *Forschungen z. deutschen Gesch.*, XI., 408 *seq.*; RÄSS, Konvertiten, III., 396 *seq.* As a souvenir for the pilgrims was intended the "Deliciae Urbis Romae divinae et humanae anni sacri iubilaei 1600 Dom. Custode Aug. Vindel. 1600," 29 plates with an illustrated frontispiece and a picture of Clement VIII. by Sadeler (Venice, 1600). Another portrait of Clement VIII. engraved at that time, and adorned with medallions, representing the absolution of Henry IV., the reconciliation between Spain and France, the canonization of St. Hyacinth, the entry into Ferrara, the marriage of Philip III., the reunion of the Ruthenians, etc. See P. PERALI, Prontuario

were ordered not to wear their purple during this time of penance.[1]

According to tradition the Holy Year should have begun on the vigil of Christmas, with the opening of the Holy Door at St. Peter's, but as Clement VIII. was ill with gout, this ceremony had perforce to be postponed until the last day of December. Even then the Pope had to do violence to himself to leave his bed of suffering, and perform the function, at which eighty thousand persons were present. On the following day, after the High Mass celebrated by Cardinal Sfondrato in St. Peter's, he gave the solemn benediction *urbi et orbi*.[2]

Although after this the Pope was still very often unwell,[3] Clement VIII. displayed the greatest zeal in gaining the jubilee indulgence. Thirty visits to the churches had been

bibliografico per la storia degli Anni Santi, published in the appendix to the *Cronistoria dell'Anno Santo* MCMXXV., Rome, 1928.

[1] See Alaleone in THURSTON, 269.

[2] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, January 1, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letters of G. Moceniço of January 1 and 8, 1600, State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, Vatican Library; *Avviso of January 1, 1600, Urb. 1068, *ibid.*; *Relazione intorno alle ceremonie, in Vat. 9314, p. 889 *seq.*, *ibid.* K. Löw, Gründl. Bericht, was bei Klemens VIII. mit Eröffnung und Zuthun der goldenen Porten sich verlaufen hat, Cologne, 1601; Lettres d'Ossat, II., 282, 298; report of the architect Heinrich Schickhardt, who accompanied the Protestant Duke Frederick of Würtemberg; during the ceremony Frederick was given a place near the Pope (see the new edition of the description of the journey of H. Schickhardt published from the first in 1602, by W. HEYD, Handschriften u. Handzeichn. des Baumeisters H. Sch., Stutgardt, 1902; PRINZIVALLI, Gli anni santi 1300-1925, Rome, 1925, 92 *seq.*). The medal reproduced in MANNI, 151, represents two shepherds sounding a trumpet or horn before the throne of the Pope, evidently in reference to the "Jubilee" of the ancient Jews.

[3] See the *reports of G. C. Foresto, March 4 and 11, May 20 and December 29, 1600, and January 6, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

laid down for the Romans, and fifteen for strangers, but the Pope made sixty. He began on January 2nd, and declared that he intended every Sunday to visit the four great basilicas of St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran and St. Mary Major's. He also frequently made the visit to the Seven Churches. His deep piety edified everyone. It was exceedingly touching to see him ascend the Scala Santa, although his gout caused him great pain in his hands and feet.[1] He assisted in person[2] at the celebration of the Forty Hours in the church of the Gesù, during which Baronius preached. In spite of his sufferings he could not be restrained from repeatedly washing the feet of poor pilgrims, and waiting upon them at table, together with some of the Cardinals.[3] In Lent he was especially careful to provide good preachers,[4] and himself set a good example in this by having, in addition to the customary sermon by the Capuchin Anselmo da Monopoli, special discourses delivered in his private chapel. It gave him special pleasure to hear the word of God there from the lips of Cardinals Silvio Antoniano, Bellarmine and Baronius.[5]

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 191, whose information is confirmed by the *Avvisi (Urb. 1068, Vatican Library) and the *Diarium P. Alaleonis (Barb. 2816, *ibid.*). For the beginning of the pilgrimages see Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See DE SANTI, Quarant'ore, 286 *seq.* *Cf. Mon. hist. Soc. Iesu., Mon. Ignat.*, II. (1918), 473.

[3] See *Avvisi of February 12 and 26, and May 3, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 19.

[4] The *Avviso of February 16, 1600, mentions as the most celebrated preachers: the Spaniards P. Scalzo at St. Peter's, Acquapendente at S. Luigi, the Franciscan P. Rocca of Genoa at the Vallicella, P. Paolo da Cesena (Capuchin) at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Mazarino at the Gesù, Tolosa at S. Andrea. In 1601 (*Avviso of March 7) the best preachers were supposed to be P. Scalzo, the Franciscan Castelfidardo and the Theatine Cieco. Urb. 1068, 1069, Vatican Library.

[5] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 194. The above mentioned Cardinals, as well as Piatti, also preached at the Gesù during the Forty Hours. See *Avviso of February 19, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

In Holy Week, to the general surprise, the Pope took his place in the seat of the Grand Penitentiary in St. Peter's and confessed for hours together all who came.[1] He was unwearied in helping poor pilgrims with abundant alms.[2] He also ordered that the feasts of the Church, especially Easter, Pentecost and that of the Princes of the Apostles, should be celebrated with the greatest solemnity.[3]

As had happened before,[4] on this occasion as well the Italian pilgrims came organized in confraternities, and made their entry in solemn procession. Almost every week fresh bodies arrived on pilgrimage to the holy places, the greatest crowds coming during the months of May and June.[5] Up to July 408 confraternities were counted.[6] The entry of

[1] See *Avviso of April 8, 1600, Urb. 1068, *ibid.* This happened on May 3, 1600, see *Diarium of J. Grimaldi, Barb. lat. 2210, Vatican Library.

[2] See MANNI, 166. *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 1 (the Pope entertains many pilgrims in the Belvedere) and April 8, 1600 (the Pope daily sends extraordinary alms to the Trinità), Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Avvisi of May 25 (Easter Day; the Pope suffering, but forces himself to give the blessing), June 28 (feast of St. Peter and St. Paul), and October 11, 1600 (great procession to the Minerva), Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 209.

[5] See the *Diarium of J. Grimaldi, according to which the number of the pilgrims belonging to the confraternities during these months was 12324 and 11695. Barb. 2210, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 194; MORONI, II., 124; ORBAAN, Rome, 85 *seqq.* See also the *Avviso of May 10, 1600, for the arrival of the Confraternity "dell'Aquila" and "della Misericordia" from Foligno, and that of November 29 for the Company of the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi, who all appeared in the Franciscan habit with black crosses in their hands (Urb. 1068, Vatican Library). The *Preces d. compagnia della morte e della misericordia di Foligno fatte in Roma nel giubileo 1600, in Cod. B. II. of the seminary Library, Foligno. Interesting notes concerning the payment of travelling expenses of foreign communes in the commentary of Giac. Cohelli on the Bull. "Del

these companies, with their crosses and banners, and figurative representations of saints, made an imposing spectacle. An extraordinary impression was made on May 9th by the entry of the Confraternity della Misericordia from Foligno, which was met by the Confraternity of the Trinità. Evening had already fallen, and by the light of many torches there were to be seen, first, boys dressed as angels, with the instruments of the Passion, followed by a number of cars upon which were shown the whole of the Passion of the Redeemer.[1]

For the most part the Pope received the pilgrims in the cortile of the Belvedere.[2] The confraternities from his native city, Florence, were received with special honour, Clement himself giving communion to the members in St. Peter's, after which they were given a sumptuous repast in the Galleria Gregoriana.[3] Suitable honour was shown to the many important personages who had come for the jubilee. Among these the first place must be given to Cardinal Andrew of Austria,[4] to whom in his mortal illness the Pope himself administered the sacraments, making for him in the early hours of a cold November morning the pilgrimage to the

buon governo" (see *infra*, p. 367, n. 2); *cf.* P. PERALI, I pellegrinaggi giubilari nell'antico diritto pubblico, in *Corriere d'Italia*, October 1, 1924, reproduced in *Prontuario Bibliografico*, 1199.

[1] See CLEMENTI, 307.

[2] See *Avvisi of May 10 and November 29, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MANNI, 165.

[3] See the two *Avvisi of April 29, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MANNI, 161 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 17.

[4] See *Avviso of November 15, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Lettres d'Ossat, II., 244; *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, XVIII., 441 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Documenti, 91 n.; SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 445 *seq.*, where there is a reproduction of the tomb; *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge à Rome*, I. (1919), 299. Only the Cardinal's heart was buried in the Campo Santo de' Tedeschi, and not, as is often said, his body. Cardinal Andrew had never received major orders, and had not observed celibacy; see HIRN, Maximilian, 262.

Seven Churches.[1] Cardinal Count Dietrichstein and the Duke of Bavaria presented themselves as simple pilgrims.[2] There also came the Duke of Lorraine,[3] many German prelates and nobles,[4] the viceroy of Naples, Lemos,[5] Archbishop Sourdis of Bordeaux, accompanied by the historian Spondanus,[6] two Hungarian bishops, and one from Mexico. The noble Venetian lady, Caterina Zeno, made the pilgrimage to Rome on foot.[7] Among scholars mention must be made of Claude de Peiresc, who on that occasion formed a friendship with Bosio.[8]

It was a great consolation to the Pope to see the coming of many priests, not only from Germany,[9] but even more from France.[10] The greater part of the pilgrims had been attracted by true devotion and sincere piety, but some only by curiosity. Great was the amazement of the Protestants who came to Rome, whose preachers had again described the solemnity as a mere financial speculation,[11] when they saw with their own eyes the Pope assiduously visiting the churches, and imitating, as the true servant of God, the humble actions of the Saviour, and washing and kissing the feet of the pilgrims ;

[1] See De Waal, Das hl. Jahr in Rom, Münster, 1900, 51.

[2] See *Avviso of January 15, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avvisi of June 3 and July 15, 1600, *ibid.*

[4] See De Waal, *loc. cit.*, 50 *seq.*

[5] See *Avviso of March 22, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library *Cf.* Orbaan, Rome, 13 ; Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 17.

[6] See Räss, Konvertiten, III., 292.

[7] See Manni, 159.

[8] See Valeri, Bosio, 34.

[9] *Cf.* Browerus, Annales Trevir., II., 136 ; Eyzinger, Relat. hist., 1600, II., 49 ; Stieve, V., 587.

[10] We have some information concerning the number of foreign priests in the *Diarium of J. Grimaldi, who gives exactly the number received in the pontifical Hospice ; there were 2545 from France and Brittany, 109 from Poland, 32 from Belgium, 83 from Germany, 2 from Spain, 2 from Portugal, 1 from England, 126 Greeks and Dalmatians, 3 Serbians, 2 from Muscovy, in all 2905. Barb. lat. 2210, Vatican Library.

[11] *Cf.* Stieve, V., 587.

how he furnished the needy with money, waited upon the sick, consoled everyone, and heard the confessions of penitents like a simple priest. Such a man could not be the Antichrist, as the preachers had described the supreme head of the Catholic Church. It is not surprising then that a number of Protestants, and even some Mahometans were converted to the Catholic faith.[1] Clement VIII. showed a special interest in the conversion of the son of a German preacher, at the end of 1600, who bore the same name as the founder of Calvinism. Justus Calvin came by his invitation to Rome, and received the sacrament of confirmation on September 1st, 1602, from the hands of the Pope, while Cardinal Baronius himself was his sponsor in confirmation; the latter allowed Justus to take his name instead of that other of ill omen.[2]

As the Holy Year had begun on December 31st, 1599, its completeness demanded that its closure should take place on the same date in 1600. But a fresh attack of gout on the part of the Pope caused a further delay, and it was only on

[1] According to the *Avviso of June 17, 1600, two heretics made their abjuration on Sunday, who had first been confessed by the Pope. (Urb. 1068, Vatican Library). According to the *Avviso of August 5 (*ibid.*) the company of the SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini on that day brought 40 Protestants who had returned to the Church to the Pope, who entertained them. The number of 400 converts (MANNI, 169) must be an exaggeration, as according to the *Diarium of J. Grimaldi "122 haeretici hospitati" at the expense of the Pope, which conversions were for the most part the work of the Jesuits; "73 erano Germani, 23 Galli, et Genevenses, 12 Angli, 9 Scoti, 1 Hibernus, 1 Transilvanus, 1 Hungarus, 1 Suevus, 1 Saxo" (Barb. 2210, Vatican Library). The Calvinist preacher, Arnulph Martin, gave the reasons for his conversion in a special work; see RÄSS, III., 473 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BUSCHBELL, Zur Biographie des Iustus Calvinus (Baronius) Veterocastrensis in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXII., 298 *seqq.*, which information I have been able to complete by the *brief of December 12, 1601 (Papal Secret Archives) printed in App. n. 22. A *brief to Philip III. of May 2, 1602, recommends to him the Genevese convert "Petrus Boverus." Arm. 44, t. 46, n, 131, Papal Secret Archives.

January 13th, 1601, that he was able to carry out the solemn function.[1]

According to the testimony of all contemporaries, the number of pilgrims who went to Rome during the Holy Year was very large, especially at Easter.[2] The charitable institutions with which Rome was filled, for it possessed more than the whole of England, stood the test.[3] As before, the hospice of the Trinità de' Pellegrini, founded by Philip Neri,[4] was

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 3 and 18, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. For the extension of the jubilee to foreign countries see MANNI, 172 *seq.*, and NÖTHEN, Jubeljahre, 126.

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 128. *Cf.* *Avvisi of 1600: March 22 (so many pilgrims that the Trinità de' Pellegrini is not sufficient), April 1 (the Trinita provided for more than 6000 pilgrims), April 19, 22, 29 ("è miraculoso il concorso de' forastieri in Roma tutto il giorno"), May 13 (the number of pilgrims present here to-day is estimated at about 50,000), May 25 (15,000 pilgrims have gone, but there are still many here), May 31 (yesterday at the Trinità about 2,500 women; arrival of 13 companies; very many foreigners), June 7 (the crowds continue; every evening at the Trinità more than 13,000 persons; so far the confraternity has expended 30,000 scudi), September 16 (the arrival of companies of pilgrims is beginning anew), September 27 (2,500 persons at the Trinità), November 11 (very many pilgrims), December 12 (satisfaction of the Pope at the great number and the piety of the pilgrims), December 27 (the number of foreigners is extraordinary). Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. See also the *brief of May 12, 1600, to the "Vicerex Siciliae" (request for more grain on account of the number of the pilgrims) and the *brief of August 2 to Philip III. ("ingens peregrinorum multitudo"; request for corn) Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 137, 221, Papal Secret Archives. At St. Peter's alone 41,239 masses were celebrated during the Holy Year, and 318,900 communions given (*Diarium of J. Grimaldi, see *supra*, p. 271, n, 2. For the German pilgrims see LANG, Bruderschaftsbuch der Anima (1900), 144; SCHMIDLIN, 445 *seq.*; DE WAAL, *loc. cit.*

[3] See THURSTON, 290.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of April 1, May 31, and September 27, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

pre-eminent; the Pope, the Cardinals, the aristocracy, and above all Flaminia Aldobrandini, gave such abundant alms[1] that this institution, which hired many houses, had been able to give hospitality to 8,000 pilgrims by the end of January 1600. According to careful estimates the hospice gave lodging and food to half a million pilgrims. As many more found a welcome in the other hospices, while there were others who were received in the many convents and private houses.[2] Thus the estimate of 1,200,000 pilgrims in all is not excessive.[3] In this way the Church and her head could hail the dawn of the XVIIth century with high hopes. The past century which, by reason of the great apostacies in the

[1] In the Diario of Presutti cited in the following note, the alms are given exactly.

[2] See the work by Ag. Valiero, De iubilaei (*supra*, p. 271, n. 2); Manni, 157; Presutti, Diario e memoria delle cose avvenute et governo dell'archiconfraternita dei Pellegrini della Sant^ma Trinità a Ponte Sisto l'anno del Giubileo 1600, published from Cod. ottob. 737 in the periodical *Cosmos cath.*, Rome, 1900. The charitable work of the confraternities was all the more necessary, in that in Rome the inns were insufficient; in 1587 there were only 687 and only 350 "camere locande," see *Arch. Rom.*, VII., 523 n. 2.

[3] See Theod. a Spiritu Sancto (Ord. Carm.), Tractatus de iubilaeo, Rome, 1701, 61, and Strochi, Anni Santi, Faenza, 1824. The statement in Kraus, Kirchengesch., Treves, 1896, 576, that there were three million pilgrims, is an exaggeration. But it is quite wrong when in Herzogs Realenzyklop. it is stated that the crowds at the jubilee were only moderate. Also the statement of Brosch (I., 322) that the number of pilgrims was only moderate, is more niggardly than the former, and quite false. In the Diario of Presutti (previous note) such exact figures are given that there is no possibility of doubting them. It is there established by figures how much larger the number of pilgrims was in 1600 than it had been in 1575. The *Diarium of J. Grimaldi (*supra*, p. 271, n. 2) shows that whereas in 1575 the number of confraternities from without was about 400, this had increased in 1600 to more than 600.

north and centre of Europe had perhaps been one of the most disastrous in the long history of the Church, had also been one of the most consoling, because during its second half there had come the great change brought about by Catholic reform and restoration.

CHAPTER IX.

The Controversy on Grace.

The dispute concerning the doctrine of grace, which had arisen between the Dominican Order and the Society of Jesus, and had become steadily embittered, led in the time of Clement VIII. to very serious strife. After the celebrated book concerning freedom and grace by the Jesuit Luis Molina (died 1600) had stated the point at issue in the most exact possible form, it seemed to have become necessary to transfer the discussion to Rome, under the eye of the Pope himself, in order to arrive at an agreement. Nevertheless, the discussions lasting through many years, and conducted by the most learned doctors in the presence of the Pope himself, were unable to attain the desired end or any immediate result; the keen expectation with which Catholics and Protestants throughout Europe, and later on the princes and diplomatists awaited the issue, had to remain satisfied with seeing both opinions tolerated by the Church for the time being.[1]

[1] The manuscript material for the history of the controversy is superabundant, but consists for the most part of letters and reports which relate mere hearsay, or bear the evident impress of passion and uncertainty. The library which is richest in valuable documents on the controversy is the Angelica Library, Rome (H. Narducci, Catalogus codd. mss. praeter graecos et orientales in bibl. Angelica, Rome, 1893; *cf.* Sommervogel, Bibliothèque, V., 1170 *seq.*). The so-called Acta of the Congregations *de auxiliis*, which bear the name of Peña or of Thomas de Lemos, were declared unworthy of credence by a decree of the Inquisition of April 23, 1654 (published in Astráin, IV., x-xii) when the Jansenists sought to make use of them (*cf. Analecta iuris pontif.*, I., 1226). A description of the controversy from the Jansenist

Delight in a learned scholastic dispute was not the only reason why the Jesuits turned all their skill and energy to so thorny and obscure a problem. Grace and free will, predestination and eternal punishment, had become burning questions during the period of the Protestant schism. According to Calvin, God has predestined everyone *a priori*, even before foreseeing his good or evil works, either to eternal happiness or eternal flames. The views of Luther as to this matter were almost the same, since, as man in his opinion was not possessed of free will, it followed that not even his eternal destiny could depend upon his own will. Accordingly this, whether it were happy or unhappy, was allotted to him purely by divine predestination, without his being able to change it in the slightest degree.

To-day it will perhaps seem strange that any such doctrine can have met with so much support in the XVIth century. By way of explanation it may be remarked that the numerous priests and monks who became preachers and teachers of the people among the innovators, found some comfort in being able to attribute their own fault to an inevitable destiny. Moreover the immutable divine predestination was made use of, as a proof of the fundamental principles of the innovators concerning the denial of free will, and the uselessness of good works. But whatever may have been the reason, the fact

point of view was first given by the Dominican GIACOMO GIACINTO SERRY, under the pseudonym Augustin Le Blanc, Historiae Congregationum de auxiliis divinae gratiae sub summis Pontificibus Clemente VIII. et Paulo V., libri quattuor, Mayence, 1699, and later from the reply of LIVINUS DE MEYERE under his real name (Antwerp, 1709). The documents from the Angelica Library printed there are of value. De Meyere also first wrote under a pseudonym: Historiae controversiae de divinae gratiae auxiliis sub summis Pontificibus Sixto V, Clemente VIII. et Paulo V., libri sex, auctore Theodoro Eleutherio. A second edition, Venice, 1742, is a fresh defence against Serry (Historiae controversiae . . . ab obiectionibus R. P. Hyacinthi Serry vindicatae, libri tres, Brussels, 1715) under his real name. *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, IV., x-xvi; SCHNEEMANN, 339 *seqq.*

remains that under the influence of the Protestant preachers this terrible doctrine penetrated among every class of the people. "Who can resist the will of God?" was to be heard from the lips of quite ordinary folk. "If He wishes to save us for all eternity, then we shall be saved, but if He does not so wish, then we shall be lost. God knows our destiny from all eternity; from all eternity it has been irrevocably decreed. Why then should we take trouble and wear ourselves out, why should we do good works?"[1] Naturally the moral consequences of such opinions could not fail to be deplorable.

In the Book of the Exercises, Ignatius of Loyola points out that certain people were arriving at the above conclusion from the doctrine of predestination, and were for that reason neglecting good works. Nevertheless he urges caution in speaking of such matters; he says that ordinarily, predestination should not be dealt with, but that if, as an exception, this should be done, care must be taken to ensure that the common folk do not arrive at erroneous conclusions. In like manner the power of divine grace must not be exaggerated in such a way as to impair human freedom.[2] The disciples of Loyola had followed this warning of their master, and from the first, and long before Molina, had treated the mysteries of predestination and grace in such a way as not to infringe in the least degree on the freedom of man; they had from the first been opposed to those learned

[1] FRANC. ROMAEUS (General of the Dominicans), De libertate operum a necessitate, Lyons, 1638, 142, in SCHNEEMANN, 173 *seq.*

[2] No debemos hablar mucho de la predestinacion por via de costumbre, mas si en alguna manera y algunas vezes se hablare, asi se hable, que le pueblo menudo no venga en eror alguno, *como algunas vezes suele*, diciendo, si tengo de ser salvo o condemnado, ya está determinado, y por my bien hazer o mal no puede ser ya otra cosa, y con esto entorpeciendo se descuydan en las obras que conducen a la salud y provecho spiritual de sus animas. . . . Assimismo no debemos hablar tan largo instando tanto en la graçia que se engendre veneno para quitar la libertad etc. Ejercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola. Reproducción fototipica del original, Rome, 1908, 63 *seq.*

systems in which human freedom seemed to them to be threatened.[1] This explains how it was that, when the book and doctrine of Molina was in question, the whole Society of Jesus rallied to his side.

Before Molina had come forward as a writer, he had long taken counsel with himself and others as to the subject to which he could best devote the fruits of his scientific studies for the greater advantage of the Church. In the end he resolved upon an exhaustive treatise as to the best way to reconcile grace and liberty.[2] The main thesis and the end of his book is therefore an examination of that conclusion which was at that time so often propounded: if the divine decree which assigns to me heaven or hell is fixed and sealed from all eternity, then my free will has no influence upon my destiny. He aimed at scientifically examining this sophism which denied free will, and at refuting it.

The solution of this difficulty which Molina puts forward is fundamentally very simple. All men whom He has created or will create, or could create are present in the mind of God from all eternity. He also foresees the countless situations and different circumstances in which it is possible for each of these to find himself; he also foresees how each one will act in each of these circumstances, especially under the interior influence of grace. He foresaw, for example, that the Apostle Peter would deny the Saviour when the servant maid accosted him in the courtyard of the high priest, and that he would rise again after his fall, when, together with the interior action of grace, the look of Christ met his own. If then God wished to permit the fall of the Apostle or bring about his conversion, it would be sufficient that he should allow Peter to go to the courtyard of the high priest and that the servant maid should attack him with her provocative words; it would be sufficient that he should allow the grave and gentle look of Christ to meet that of the Apostle; if he falls the fault is his own, since according to the will of God he could

[1] SCORRAILLE, I., 357 *seqq.*; SCHNEEMANN, 161 *seqq.*
[2] SCORRAILLE, I., 425 n.

and should have resisted the temptation ; if he rises again after his fall, the merit is his ; neither the look of the God-Man, nor the interior action of grace have destroyed the freedom of his conversion.

According to Molina then, so-called efficacious grace is, it is true, infallibly united to the consent of the will, for otherwise it would no longer be efficacious grace, but this infallible efficacy comes from the foreknowledge of God, so that the will really co-operates with this determinate grace in these determinate circumstances, even though *in se* and *per se* it could resist it.[1] "God has compassion," says St. Augustine, "upon him who is called by Him in the manner which He knows will be suitable to him, so long as he does not reject His invitation."[2]

Molina's bitter adversary, Domenico Bañes (died 1604) held quite a different view of the question.[3] Whereas the

[1] This knowledge which God has of the free acts which a creature would do, if it finds itself in certain circumstances, was called "scientia media," because it stands half way between the knowledge which God has of the purely possible and of the actual.

[2] "Sic eum vocat quomodo scit ei *congruere*, ut vocantem non respuat" (Ad Simplicianum, 1. 1, q. 2, in MIGNE, Patr. lat., XL., 119). From this passage is derived the name of "congruism" in the Jesuit system. As to this *cf.* H. QUILLIET in Dict. de théologie cath., III., Paris, 1908, 1120-1138 ; concerning the doctrine of St. Augustine E. PORTALIÉ, *ibid.* I. (1903), 2386-2392 ; HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, Handbuch der allg. Kirchengesch., I.[4], Freiburg, 1902, 549.

[3] The original principles of the system of Bañes were already to be found in Francisco de Vittoria and Peter Soto (*cf.* FRINS, 470 *seqq.*) but they were not fully developed before Bañes, so that he passes for the real founder. "As the principle representative, and also probably as the champion of the Thomist system, we must name Dom. Bañes." (ATZBERGER in SCHEEBEN, Handbuch der kath. Dogmatik, IV., 1, Freiburg, 1898, 221 ; *cf.* GUTBERLET-HEINRICH, Dogmatische Theologie, VIII., Mayence, 1897, 446). While Bañes was still living not all the Dominicans were followers of his doctrine on grace (SCORRAILLE, I., 359 *seqq.* ; FRINS, 344 *seqq.*). For the earlier theologians from the time of

Jesuit theologian started with the free will of man, the Dominican fixed his attention before all else upon the power and operation of God, which embraces everything and penetrates everything, and without which the creature is absolutely helpless. And since the existence of the creature is inconceivable without the creative and conservative power of God, the same thing, according to Catholic doctrine, applies to the acts of the creature; God must co-operate in every human act, and these must also receive from Him their origin and their impetus; for every act of the creature springs from the desire for something which contains a certain good for him who aspires to it. But this tendency of the will towards its own good is implanted in it by God, and all man's actions have their origin in it; the Creator makes use of it in order to spur men on to act. Thus even the free acts of men have their origin in God, and it is God who causes the free will to embrace the object of its desires.

So far there are no differences of opinion between the Catholic schools, but in what follows they diverge. According to some, such as Molina, this divine impulse may be affected by the free action of the will, in so far as that, in contrast to the original will of God, it may receive a tendency towards illusory good. But this kind of auto-dominion on the part of the creature was emphatically attacked by Bañes. In his view, the majesty of God, his unlimited sovereignty over all created things, and the idea of divine omnipotence, demanded that every manifestation of the human will, both in its essence and its extension, down to the smallest detail, must be completely dependent upon the influx and predisposition of God. Free will makes its own decision, but is always and exclusively determined to that decision to which the influx of God has predestined and predisposed it, and it is infallibly certain from the first that it will not decide in favour of any other. But the influx of God into the will is not manifested by inspirations, warnings or attractions, that is to say by

Anselm of Canterbury *cf.* LUD. DE SAN, Tractatus de Deo Uno, I., Louvain, 1894, 426 *seqq.*, 527 *seqq.*

moral means, but by direct influx, which consists, as it is called in controversial terminology in the schools, by "physical predetermination." Despite all this, according to Bañes, free will remains, because in all things God works in conformity with the nature of things; necessary causes he makes to operate of necessity, free causes he makes to operate with freedom; thus even freedom of action is produced by Him.

What has been said holds good in the case of the purely natural actions of man, and also holds good in the case of those acts which call for a supernatural influence, that is to say the grace of God. According to Bañes, efficacious grace in the supernatural order corresponds to the physical predetermination and predisposition in the supernatural order. Lacking this efficacious grace, the will cannot bring itself to act; but where it is present, then it infallibly produces precisely that determination of the will, which is pre-ordained. In the case of inefficacious graces, Bañes naturally adheres to the term already in use among theologians, of "sufficient" grace, but these "sufficient" graces only give the will the power to act, which, however, can never be transformed into act.[1]

As we can see, the scholastic dispute here touches upon the most profound depths of the inmost life of the soul: the mysterious mingling of divine and human action in the heart of man, the infinite variety of the devices which the divine love employs for the conquest of the soul of man, the thrice incomprehensible decrees of election and reprobation, the depths of which a Paul[2] thought that he could not better honour than by a reverent silence.

[1] More fully in J. Pohle, Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, II[4]., Paderborn, 1909, 458 *seqq.*, 471 *seqq.*; Heinrich-Gutberlet, Dogmatische Theologie, VIII., Mayence, 1897, 446 *seqq.*; Morgott in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*,[2] I., 1952 *seqq.*; VIII., 1737 *seqq.* The historian cannot escape a more detailed explanation of the controverted matter, and even Ranke found himself obliged to attempt it (Päpste, II.[8], 194). This is not the place to dwell upon the many errors of Ranke.

[2] Epist. ad Rom., II., 33.

The necessary presupposition and foundation for understanding and appreciating the dispute is that doctrine of Christianity which, intimately united to the dogmas of the Most Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, offers the strongest possible contrast to every kind of rationalism and superficial naturalism, namely the doctrine of the natural and the supernatural.

According to the Catholic doctrine man is destined to a supernatural end, that is to an end to which he would have no right by his nature, and to which he is incapable of attaining, or even of imagining by his natural powers alone. This means that he is to be admitted in eternity to the direct contemplation of God, a thing to which *per se* none would have a right but the only-begotten Son of God, who by His Incarnation became the brother of man, raised him to the sonship of God, and made him his co-heir. To this sublime end there corresponds on earth a mysterious raising of the justified man in the order of grace. He is no longer only the servant of God, but by means of justifying grace he becomes His son; his soul is ennobled, as a wild tree by a noble grafting, his spiritual nature is as it were transfigured by sanctifying grace, his intellect by the infused virtue of faith, his will by the infused virtue of charity. Eternal glory therefore is not cast to the thus ennobled soul as a pure alms, but it is enabled on the contrary to gain it for itself. But since the natural powers of man are not sufficient for this purpose, God comes to his assistance with that kind of grace, concerning which the dispute between the Jesuits and the Dominicans arose: prevenient and co-operating grace, which consists in the illumination of the intelligent and the incitement of the will. This assistance of grace is an absolutely gratuitous gift of God, and all that man can do by means of his natural powers is insufficient to merit it; but once furnished with it he is in a position, not only to merit an increase of justifying grace, but also the crown of eternal glory.

These remarks show that the efficacy of this assistance of grace offers further enigmas to the keen intellect. The manifestations of the will which are developed under its influence

cannot of their nature be operated by any but God, for otherwise they would no longer be supernatural. But at the same time, according to the whole of their interior essence they must come from the free will, since the question at issue is precisely the activity of freedom. The operation of God and that of man must therefore be united, just as in red-hot iron the metal is united with the fire. but the manner in which this takes place still remains obscure. To this is added the difficulty of reconciling the rights of freedom with the supreme authority of God, which shines forth yet more in the supernatural order than in the merely natural order. God cannot be deprived of his supreme sovereignty over his creature, yet if He creates free beings, it seems that he is renouncing a part of his rights over His creature. A third and a vast difficulty is presented by the mystery of the choice of grace. As grace cannot be merited, the beginning of the supernatural life as well as the distribution of graces to individual men can only come from God. Now God in distributing His graces sincerely wills that all men should co-operate with them, and thus attain to eternal glory. But in the case of many he foresees that they will not actually attain to this by means of the graces given to them, although they could do so. Why then does He not give them other graces? In every case it is for reasons dictated by His wisdom; and who can say or imagine what those reasons may be? When it was a case of the scientific discussion of the true issue of the dispute, yet another difficulty had to be taken into consideration: the taking into account of the opinions of the Fathers of the Church and of the scholastics. This was above all the case with St. Augustine, the master of grace, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Thus both one and the other were claimed as their own by the representatives of the two opinions.

It is no matter for surprise then that differences of opinion should have arisen even among Catholic theologians over a question of such difficulty, and that neither view was able to throw light upon all its obscurities. In the view of Molina it remained an impenetrable mystery how God could foresee

the free acts of the will which were never to be realized; for this knowledge no satisfactory explanation is to be found. It would not seem at first sight that the school of Bañes felt any difficulty on this point; according to this God had *ab aeterno* predestined the free decisions of his creatures, and therefore knows them just as He knows His own will. But at once the question arises: to what purpose should God make milliards of decrees of predestination concerning milliards of possible acts? Such decrees do not seem to have been invented for any other purpose than to give the theologian a way of explaining the prescience of God on the strength of them. Other difficulties as well result from the theories of the Dominican theologian. He was naturally bound to hold firmly that man possesses free will, and that God is not the author of sin; he must admit with the Council of Trent that it is also possible to reject grace if one wills. But the explanations of this point given by the followers of Bañes seem to other theologians to be forced and artificial.[1] It was brought against them that they were teaching a sufficient grace which was not enough for anything in practice, a liberty which was tied hand and foot, a power to resist grace which could never amount to a real resistance, and therefore did not deserve the name of power. To this was added that, according to the point of view of the Dominicans, it is difficult to explain how God does not become the author of sin.

From these brief remarks it will in any case be understood that the historian cannot pass over the dispute which arose, by describing it as a mere monks' quarrel. The question concerns one of the most sublime and profound doctrines of Christianity, a question to which a man of intelligence and heart might very well devote all his powers.

The dispute between the two schools had already made itself felt in the discussions between Lessius and the theo-

[1] According to some of the followers of Bañes the infallible efficacy of grace together with liberty is "a mystery as impenetrable by human knowledge" as that of the Most Holy Trinity. MORGOTT in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, I.², 1957.

logical faculty of Louvain. A greater uproar first arose on the occasion of a disputation at Salamanca, on January 20th, 1582, at which the Jesuit Prudencio di Montemayor had to defend a series of propositions, in the course of which he was attacked by Bañes.[1] These propositions contained nothing that could have provoked the Dominicans. This is clear from the fact that a friend and disciple of Bañes, the Trinitarian Francisco Zumel, had accepted the presidency at this ecclesiastical tourney. But while the difficult question of the liberty of Christ was under discussion,[2] the matter passed at length from objection to objection, and from reply to reply on the burning question of the doctrine of grace, and went so far that Bañes and the Dominican Guzman described the replies of the Jesuit as heretical. There then intervened in the discussion the celebrated theologian and poet Luis de León of the Order of St. Augustine. Under the impression that such strong expressions were only being employed out of hatred for the Jesuits, he chivalrously took up their defence. Montemayor retired into the background and all eyes were turned on the celebrated Augustinian. Even after the closure of the theological disputation the discussion was carried on with vehemence. Names such as "Pelagian" for Luis de León, and "Lutheran" for the Dominicans, filled the air, and when several days later it was rumoured that the discussion was to be resumed in a further disputation, the hall was crowded with the curious. Once more Bañes and Luis de León battled vehemently with each other. This time the Jesuits were silent, but in justification of their theory they arranged for January 27th a disputation at their own college, at which the question was discussed why, of two men who find themselves under the influence of the same grace, one may be converted and the other remain impenitent.

[1] ASTRÁIN, 129-146. (When in future we cite Astráin without giving the volume, we are always referring to Vol. IV.). The second trial of Luis de León in Ciudad de Dios, XLI. (1896), 32 *seqq.*, 102 *seqq.*, 182 *seqq.*, 273 *seqq.*

[2] See POHLE, Lerbuch der Dogmatik, II.[4], 109, for the matter at issue.

The Hieronymite Juan de Santa Cruz then laid before the Inquisition[1] sixteen propositions as having been defended by Luis de León and Montemayor, and the licenciate Juan de Arrese at once appeared at Salamanca to open the process against four principal offenders. The Dominicans had in meantime collected signatures against the accused, and issued a warning that no one must declare himself on the side of the Jesuits as the cause was pending before the Holy Office. In spite of this, at Valladolid all the doctors of repute, with the exception of the Dominicans, took the side of the Jesuits; in Andalusia even some members of the Order of Preachers pronounced in their favour, so that it is evident from this as well as from other attestations, that at that time, at the beginning of the dispute, not all the colleagues of Bañes shared his views concerning the doctrine of grace.[2]

Arrese, who was to conduct the process, at once found himself in an impasse. The accuser, Juan de Santa Cruz, had not been present at the first disputation, and it was quite clear from the statements of Luis de León that his theses had been very incorrectly formulated. The opinions of the Spanish universities, to which Arrese had appealed, were not in agreement. At Alcalà it was held that both views, that of the Jesuits, as well as that of Bañes, were probable; one of Bañes' was, however, found fault with, but this had no bearing upon the doctrine of grace.[3] It would seem that the doctors of Salamanca were of the opposite opinion.[4] Then the Jesuits asked, in the name of justice, that their reasons should be heard before a judgment was formed; they had gone into this question much more thoroughly than the others, and their view was safe, or at least worthy

[1] Reprinted from Ciudad de Dios, XXXVI. in ASTRÁIN, 133 *seq.*, and MANDONNET, O.P. in Dict. de théologie cath., II., 143.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 133.

[3] *Ibid.* 143.

[4] Arrese at anyrate wrote on April 24, 1582: "Les calificaciones de Alcalá son muy diferentes de lo que en esta Universidad (Salamanca) se tratta" (Astráin, 143). Further particulars are not known.

of preference.[1] Luis de León even spread the report that the propositions of the Jesuits would shortly be declared safe in Rome.[2]

Almost two years elapsed before a judgment was pronounced. At last, on February 3rd, 1584, Luis de León, the principal culprit, was cited to appear before the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga, and was reprimanded for his faults, which had been confirmed in the light of the acta. He was warned to refrain from maintaining, either in public or in any other way, the propositions which, it would appear, he had defended. Montemayor too received an admonition from the Grand Inquisitor and from his Provincial; he was no longer to be employed in lecturing. Montemayor complained to his General, and among other things pointed out that he had only defended what he had been taught by his professors, among whom he named Suarez and Toledo.[3] Some years later, with the consent of Quiroga, Montemayor was again teaching theology at Toledo.[4]

The questions raised at Salamanca were only a prelude to the great struggle that was soon to follow. It was shown that the burning question of the efficacy of grace had for a long time past been eagerly discussed among the Jesuits, and that on the whole the question had been harmoniously settled, but that there still remained certain obscure matters

[1] "Porque ellos han estudiado ests materia de proposito con más cuidado que otros y darán a entender que es lo cierto, e lo menos lo que conviene lo que ellos dicen." ARRESE, *loc. cit.*, 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 144.

[3] Lo tercero, y lo que principalmente hace en mi descargo, es que la doctrina que yo defendí no fué inventada de mi cabeza, sino leída, dictada y enseñada por mis maestros. . . . Así la leyó el P. Miguel Marcos, más largamente el P. Francisco Suárez y el P. Bartolomé Pérez [de Nueros] que son los maestros que yo he tenido en mis estudios. El P. Toledo también la leyó en su primera parte. To Aquaviva, Medina del Campo, July 27, 1585, in ASTRÁIN, 145.

[4] *Ibid.* 146.

of detail, which showed that a thorough scientific examination of the difficult question was indispensable. The ground was therefore prepared for that work which for ten years held the whole of Europe in a state of suspense, the work of Molina upon the relations between grace and liberty. This was published at Lisbon at the end of 1588.[1] As far as its outward appearance was concerned it was one of the least imposing of that author's works, yet that modest quarto volume has a history such as few books in the world can boast. A few years before Bañes too had set forth his views on the same subject, not in a work specially devoted to grace, but in various parts of his commentaries on the *Summa* of St. Thomas.[2]

Three Jesuits had been charged by their Portuguese province to examine the work of Molina, among them Jorge Serrano, who was held in high esteem by the Inquisition. Molina wished that, on the strength of the favourable opinion of Serrano, a *nihil obstat* might be asked for the publication without any further censorship, because he was afraid of the Dominicans, upon whose judgement depended the permission to print the book. The other Jesuits, on the other hand, thought that the usual course should be followed, and that not the least distrust of the Dominicans ought to be shown. Molina had hardly handed over his manuscript to the censor, Bartolomeo Ferreira, when there began disputes about his book, which seemed destined to be the apple of discord between the parties.[3] Ferreira was bombarded with accusations against Molina; it was naturally supposed that the Jesuit propositions which had been found fault with at Salamanca would be found in the book; the confessor of the Grand Inquisitor, the Dominican De las Cuevas, brought

[1] Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione et reprobatione (4°, 512 pp.).

[2] Scholastica commentaria in primam partem Angelici D. Thomae usque ad sexagesimam quartam quaestionem complectentia, Salamanca, 1584.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 147-175.

forward the judgment in which those propositions had been found fault with, while other Dominicans thought that the honour of St. Dominic demanded a refusal of the permission to print. Ferreira, who was not opposed to the Jesuits, informed Molina of these accusations. The latter was not the man to stand and watch these attacks with folded hands, and he pointed out that Ferreira had not been appointed censor of the Inquisition in order to protect the interests of the Dominican Order; he had in no case taught the propositions found fault with at Salamanca, and Ferreira could satisfy himself as to this. If there were anything in his book which called for blame, in that case he himself would ask for its prohibition.[1]

The unexpected end of all this was that Ferreira was persuaded, and gave the book that was the subject of so many attacks a glowing *imprimatur*. In this he states that the work contained nothing that was not in accordance with our religion, and that many passages taken from the Councils and the Holy Scriptures were explained and elucidated therein very happily. He therefore considered the work worthy of publication, and of advantage to the whole Church. In accordance with this, in the middle of July the printing was begun, and on January 6th, 1589, Molina went to the governor, Cardinal Albert, in order to present him with the first copy.

While the book was being printed its adversaries did not remain with folded hands, and Molina was soon made to realize that their efforts had not been ineffectual. Cardinal Albert received the first copy coldly and forbade the sale of the edition until further orders. Molina then asked for a strict examination of his work, adding the request that the objections should be made only in writing, and signed with the name of the critic. He pointed out that a favourable judgment had been passed upon his book by three of his brethren in religion and by Ferreira, that he had sent it to the royal council, both

[1] On the strength of some letters from Molina to Aquaviva, January 28, 1589, in ASTRÁIN, 152 *seq.*

of Castille and Aragon, so that it might be examined there, and that the objections only sprang from the jealousy of the Dominicans.[1] At a second audience Molina was able to point out that not only Ferreira, but some of the latter's colleagues as well, who had formerly been his adversaries, had described the work as a good book, after Ferreira had enabled them to read it, comparing the printed edition with the manuscript.[2] This proved what Molina had confidently said to Ferreira, namely, that if only his book were read, there would no longer be any question of suppressing it.[3] Naturally not all the Dominicans passed a favourable judgment on Molina's volume, and some thought that they could detect in the book the theses which had been found fault with at Salamanca. The pressure they brought to bear upon De las Cuevas, the spiritual director of the governor, led to Cardinal Albert's causing Molina's book to be once more examined by the Dominican Cano. Cano thought that he discovered in it the very theses which had been found fault with in Castille, and thus it came about that Molina's work, which had already been so often examined, could not be sold for three months.[4]

But in the meantime Molina, about the end of February 1589, had been informed of the state of the affair ; he therefore hastened to come to the rescue of his child of sorrow, by an apologetic work. He confessed that he was indeed the author of some of the disputed theses, but that there was no reason at all to suspect them of being erroneous or heretical. In the majority of cases, however, he proved that opinions were being attributed to him which he would never have dreamed of defending.[5] In the meantime in Spain Molina's book had been judged by the royal council of Castille, as well as by

[1] Molina, *loc. cit.* in Astráin, 154 *seq.*

[2] "Ellos la vieron y respondieron que estaba muy buena y que habia declarado mucho." Molina, *loc. cit.* 156.

[3] Astráin, 154.

[4] De las Cuevas to Quiroga, in Norbert del Prado, O.P., De gratia et libero arbitrio, III., Freiburg, i. Ü., 1907, 579 ; Astráin, 157 *seq.*

[5] Astráin, 158.

that of Aragon, in a manner highly honourable to the author, nor were any of his theses called in question there.[1] The Archduke Albert then gave permission for the sale of the book.

So far, then, the attacks on Molina had had no other result than that his book had appeared under the protection of the Portuguese Inquisition, and with the arms and protection of the royal council of Castille and Aragon. Later on to these was added the approbation of the Castilian Inquisition.[2] Molina might be said to have been recompensed for his past troubles by the applause which he gained in far wider circles. Even during his life-time his book ran into new editions at Cuenca, Venice, Lyons and Antwerp.[3] The professor of theology at Valladolid, Garcia Coronel, said that though it was true that the fundamental idea of the book contained nothing new, and was to be found, in his opinion, clearly stated in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, Molina was nevertheless the first who had treated of the matter in detail, by solving the difficulties and building up the proofs; theologians who had to fight against the heretics were grateful for the weapon which he placed in their hands.[4] Leonhard Lessius, who was in conflict with the doctrines of Baius at Louvain, pronounced enthusiastically in favour of Molina,[5] who defended the same opinion as to efficacious grace as himself. The opinion of Lessius is also of importance for the reason that

[1] *Ibid.* 156.

[2] See *infra*, p. 300.

[3] SOMMERVOGEL, IX., 683. The Antwerp edition of 1595, apart from some minor unessential differences, is distinguished by the addition of an appendix in which Molina defends himself against misunderstandings and attacks. In the editions of Cuenca, Venice and Lyons some paragraphs are replaced by new ones in which Molina again uses the arguments which he had previously employed (SOMMERVOGEL, I.re partie, V., 1169). Between 1602 and 1876 five further editions appeared.

[4] Letter of October 17, 1600, in ASTRÁIN, 225.

[5] Letter to Bellarmine, in LE BACHELET, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, 272.

Francis of Sales, who was later on declared a doctor of the Church, declared that he shared his views on the doctrine of predestination.[1]

New ideas, however, even though they are only such from this or that point of view, are hardly ever introduced in science without serious disputes, and certainly Molina's book offered many points of attack. His opinions excited opposition both from Bellarmine[2] and from many Jesuits in Spain.[3] These differences of opinion, however, do not in any way concern the question as to how efficacious grace may be reconciled with human freedom. Besides the principal object of his book, Molina also treats of many other matters, and it seemed to some that in these secondary questions he devoted too much space to the natural powers of man in regard to supernatural things. Others again found matter for blame in the expressions he used, but not in the substance of what he said.[4]

The principal part in the struggle against Molina was undertaken in about 1590 by a scholar who has attached his name to the theory of the Dominicans on grace as inseparably as Molina has done in the case of the corresponding theory of the Jesuits: Domenico Bañes. Bañes was a distinguished theologian.[5] Among the Dominicans who, together with Francisco de Vittoria, founded the so-called neo-scholasticism, he holds an outstanding place as a shrewd dialectician, and a profound student of metaphysics. As the influential

[1] Francis of Sales to Lessius, August 26, 1613; SCHNEEMANN, 4; facsimile of the letter in CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, III., 22. The doctrine of predestination of Lessius completely excludes the physical predetermination of Bañes; see SCHNEEMANN, 325-327.

[2] LE BACHELET, Bellarmin, 292; ASTRÁIN, 163. For the attitude of Bellarmine towards Molina *cf.* LE BACHELET, Auctarium, 1-31.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 164.

[4] SCHNEEMANN, 220 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* MORGOTT in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, 1², 1951 *seqq.*; MANDONNET, in Dict. de théologie cath., II., 145; F. EHRLE in *Katholik*, 1885, I., 415-424; BELTRAN DE HEREDIA in *La Ciencia Tomista*, XIV. (1922), 64-68.

adviser of St. Teresa of Jesus, he became even more widely celebrated. By the concise and determined form which gives an impress to his intellectual originality, and by the positively fascinating influence which he exercised over those around him, he seemed destined to become the leader of a school; he became so, in spite of his assertion that he did not intend to depart by even a finger's breadth from Thomas Aquinas. In the world of learning he displayed the independence of his intellect by various paradoxical opinions.[1] When confronted with the Jesuits his determination degenerated into bitterness and rancour; when they were not of his way of thinking he described them as ignorant men, or men who, against their consciences, refused to recognize better doctrines;[2] in some respects he seems the spiritual heir of his master and fellow Dominican Melchior Cano.

During the years 1590–1594 the Spanish Inquisition was preparing a supplement to its Index of prohibited books for Spain. Bañes and his friend Zumel were among the scholars whose opinion was asked concerning more recent publications. They attempted to aim a first blow at Molina by proposing that his writings, that is his book on grace, and his commentaries on St. Thomas, should be included among the prohibited books.[3] The attempt failed, and brought down upon its authors a denunciation that was not altogether harmless. Molina had learned of the plan, and addressed a letter[4] to the Inquisition in which from the defence of his book he passed on to the attack. He said that he had turned against Bañes and Zumel because their teaching on grace and free will was not reconcilable with the Council of Trent. Starting from the principles upon which Bañes based his proofs, the Lutherans had gone on to the absolute denial of free will. In proof of this he brought forward a list of texts from Luther,

[1] MORGOTT, *loc. cit.* 1951.

[2] *Cf.* the passages from his "Relectio de merito et augmento charitatis" (1590) in ASTRÁIN, 164 *seq.*

[3] ASTRÁIN, 165 *seqq.*

[4] January, 1594, *ibid.* 166 *seq.*

Calvin and Chemnitz, together with others from Bañes and Zumel. The title of this collection is remarkable, for in it Bañes is spoken of as the first to have introduced such doctrines into Spain.[1] It was perhaps on this occasion that the Spanish Inquisition itself examined the book of Molina and expressly gave it its approval.[2]

At the same time the Dominicans Mondragón and Avendaño sought to stir up a storm against the great Jesuit theologian Suarez, who in 1590 and 1592 had published, as the first fruits of his labours, two volumes on the Incarnation which had been received with great applause.[3] When in October 1593, on the occasion of his being transferred from Alcalà to Salamanca, Suarez paid a visit to the Grand Inquisitor Quiroga, the latter spoke to him on the subject, and thus gave him an opportunity of showing the falsity of the accusations.[4] About a year later it was rumoured that the Dominicans were trying to get almost all the theological books written by Jesuits included in the list of prohibited books.[5]

In the apologetic works of the Jesuits there occurs again and again a complaint at the manifest injustice of such attacks. The reason why they were being thus persecuted could not be found in the doctrines which they had taught, since others had taught the same things without their having provoked any attack. The historian certainly cannot describe this complaint as unfounded; the passion displayed by some of the Dominicans against the new Order is too manifest to allow of any such thing. On the other hand the bitterness is easy to explain. The young and rising Society of Jesus had in several cases entered the lists against the older Order, which was already covered with renown, and had

[1] Summa de las herejias de Lutero, Calbino y Chemnitio, que hacen a este proposito, y de lo que con ellos el Maestro Bañes tiene impresa y introducido en España. ASTRÁIN, 168 n.

[2] *Ibid.* 168; *cf.* 159.

[3] SCORRAILLE, I., 251 *seqq.*

[4] In a letter to Quiroga, January 15, 1594, in ASTRÁIN, 169-173.

[5] Letter of H. de la Cerda, rector of the Jesuit college at Medina, *ibid.* 173 *seq.*

won brilliant successes, especially in the field of pastoral work and teaching. How then could it have failed to seem unjust to certain Dominicans, who for centuries had borne the heat and burden of the day, that they should be left behind by these new-comers at the eleventh hour? The Order of Preachers had jealously looked upon theological science as its privileged field. But now that the work of Molina, which had made its appearance as the first book by a Jesuit on scholastic theology, had been followed by other important works by Molina himself and by Suarez, it seemed as though the younger Order was preparing to storm the last fortress of the older. The Dominicans would not have been a body of men, if there had not been among them some of choleric temperament, who from the first looked with suspicion and jealousy upon the works of their special rivals, and who in their mistrust did not fail to find in their writings things which in reality were not there. In order to increase the tension yet further, it was only necessary for the ecclesiastical courts to pronounce in certain other juridical questions in favour of the Jesuits against the Dominicans.[1] Bañes in particular, the senior professor at Salamanca, had been obliged, in the sight of the whole university, to submit to the

[1] The visitor Gil Gonzales Davila, in the exhortations which he sent in writing to the Jesuit province in Castille, says that the doctrine and the supposed differences from St. Thomas are only a pretext for the attacks of the Dominicans, and that the true reason was to be found in the fact that at Salamanca the Jesuits had associated themselves with the Augustinians, and that at Toledo, Soria and Salamanca the Dominicans had been surpassed by the Jesuits. The fact that Miguel Marcos had attacked Bañes by name, and that some spoke in disparaging terms of the Dominicans, had served to pour oil on the flames. "Hemos de procurar" concludes Davila, "que si es posible, tengamos paz con todod" (ASTRÁIN, 174 *seq.*). Aquaviva had already written to Castille on August 12, 1585, that they must avoid disputes with the Dominicans, and should try on the contrary to treat them with great humility and keep very much on their guard. (SCORRAILLE, I., 250).

humiliation of the sentence of the Spanish nuncio on the occasion of the dispute concerning the simple vows of the Jesuits. But in spite of all this, it was not the whole of the Order of Preachers, nor even perhaps a majority of its members, as became more and more clear, who allowed themselves to be governed by hostility towards the Jesuits, although actually the over-zealous excesses of a single member attracted more attention than the moderate behaviour of a hundred others.

The ever increasing tension reached its climax at Valladolid.[1] There, at the Gregorian College of the Dominicans, the declared adversary of the Jesuits was Diego Nuño ; he set the doctrine of Molina before the students as being contrary to faith, and Molina himself as an ignorant, presumptuous and blaspheming man, and often attributed to his adversary opinions which the latter had expressly rejected and refuted. The horror aroused against the supposed heretic was manifested in the lecture halls by a general stamping of feet every time the name of Molina was mentioned.[2] A colleague of Nuño prayed for the conversion of Molina, since he might become a dragon like the one in the Apocalypse, who swept away a third part of the stars of heaven.[3] To complete the confusion, the most bitter anti-Jesuit among the Dominicans Alonzo de Avendaño, went to Valladolid to preach the Lent, and inveighed from the pulpit against the new Order, though he did not mention it by name. Gradually even the best friends of the Jesuits began to be afraid lest not all these accusations which were hurled from the pulpit and the lecturer's chair, should prove to be purely imaginary.[4]

The Jesuits then, to justify themselves, formed the idea of defending the doctrines of Molina at a public disputation,

[1] Astráin, 176-200.

[2] Gonzalo Perogila, the advocate of the Jesuits, sent it in their name to the Inquisition (Astráin, 195 *seq.*).

[3] *Ibid.* 197.

[4] *Ibid.* 177.

above all showing that he did not maintain the theses which were being attributed to him. This disputation took place on March 5th, 1594, but Nuño took care that it should not serve its purpose. Since all those who were present were allowed to bring forward objections to the theses advanced for the defence, Nuño availed himself of this right and declared certain theses which he attributed to the Jesuits to be heretical and erroneous. The Jesuit appointed to conduct the defence, and the president at the disputation, the Jesuit Antonio de Padilla, declared that the theses attacked were neither heretical nor to be found in Molina. The latter wished to prove this by reading certain passages from Molina's book, but Nuño would not allow this; he began to cry out in a loud voice that he had already adduced proofs that the passage which had been read was heretical, and continued thus to cry out when Padilla began to read another of the passages. Some of the bystanders tried to calm the angry man. "Let me be," he replied, "I am fighting for the faith." Then the Jesuit who was charged with replying to the objections lost patience, and addressed to him the contemptuous question: "Perhaps you have the keys of wisdom on your side?" To which Nuño rejoined that to speak like that was a sign of great pride.[1]

Then Diego Alvarez began to speak, and he later on gave the best explanation of grace from the Dominican point of view. The Jesuits bear witness that his attitude was modest, and that he presented his case very well.[2] But Nuño would not even now be silenced, and frequently interrupted the discussion, until at length Padilla permitted himself to remark that in scientific discussions it was not a question of strength of voice, but of strength of arguments. Nuño then rose with a clatter and said that Padilla's remark was an insult, and that he did not intend to submit to it; he was going away and would not return any more, but would hold his own disputation concerning Molina at the Dominican

[1] *Ibid.* 179 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 183.

college. Not much better than the behaviour of Nuño was that of his colleague, Jerónimo de Vallejo, the man who said that Molina reminded him of the dragon in the Apocalypse.[1] He read some passages from Molina, adding the remark that all that he had read was erroneous. He would not suffer anyone to reply to him, and went on reading and condemning.[2]

Two days after the disputation occurred the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas. Avendaño was to preach the panegyric of the saint, and if he had already on other occasions made use of the pulpit to speak against the Jesuits during those days of commotion, he now surpassed himself. He applied to them the words of the prophet: "Their face is now made blacker than coals."[3] He said that certain people had begun well, but that now they were sinners like others; then followed allusions to the disputation just held. "If God made anyone the master of the sun in the firmament, that man might say; the light is mine." Therefore, if St. Thomas, the sun of the Church, is one of our number, then too the light which he radiates is ours, just as the keys of wisdom are ours and not yours; our key is the true one, yours is but a pick-lock. You do not enter by the door, but enter as a thief, unlike us who hold firmly to clear and sound doctrine without turning aside to innovations.[4]

After his sermon Avendaño could justifiably boast of the severe blow that he had delivered against his adversaries; the Jesuits might expect another and perhaps deeper injury from the disputation which Nuño had announced before he went away. They therefore addressed themselves to the Inquisition and asked that at least a book which had received the approbation of the Portuguese Inquisition should not be described by the Dominicans as an heretical book. Once more in this petition was expressed the complaint which the Jesuits had already put forward, namely that the reason

[1] See *supra*, p. 302.
[2] Astráin, 183.
[3] Lamentations, iv., 8.
[4] Astráin, 183 *seqq.*

why they were being attacked was not to be found in questions of doctrine. The same theses had been defended at the chapter-general of the Franciscans as at their college, without the Dominicans who had been present raising any objection.[1] In a report of the disputation on March 5th, and of the attitude taken up thereat by Nuño, this complaint was set forth in even greater detail. In this it is stated that at the chapter-general of the Benedictines these theses had been defended in the presence of Dominicans without causing any scandal. Even before the time of Molina this doctrine had been taught by Mancio at Salamanca, and at Alcalá by Juan Alonso, afterwards Bishop of León. The same doctrine had been defended at Alcalá by Deza, though it had been contested by Bañes, who held a chair at that university, but he had been unable to effect anything against the prestige which Deza enjoyed there.[2]

At first the Inquisition had intended to forbid the proposed disputation altogether, but when it was approached by the Dominicans it only asked of them what had been suggested in the petition of the Jesuits, namely that the doctrine of Molina should not be called heretical. Nuño therefore restricted himself in the theses which he brought forward for the disputation to stating that some of the propositions which he was combatting were "worse than false"; thus

[1] Petition of March 28, 1594, in ASTRÁIN, 186.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 180. According to Bañes himself (see QUÉTIF-ECHARD, II., 243) the Dominican Mancio (died 1576) enjoyed so great a reputation in Salamanca "ut vel unus omnes opprimeret, tanta erat eius auctoritas." His writings have not been published (*cf.* as to this F. EHRLE in *Katholik*, 1885, I., 172-174). For Juan Alonso de Moscoso, Bishop of León, 1593-1603, *cf.* ELEUTHERIUS, 173 *seq.*; MEYER, 208. The Dominican Diego de Deza (died 1523) was indeed "a Molinist before Molina" (*cf.* CR. PESCH in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, IX., 1885, 171-177; FRINS, 465 *seqq.*), but according to Quétif-Echard *this* Deza was a professor at Salamanca; there is no mention of Alcalá. Perhaps another Deza is meant, who was a professor at Alcalá, where Bañes taught theology from 1567 to about 1572.

the word heresy was evaded, but the accusation remained substantially the same. At the disputation itself the Jesuit Padilla admitted that the propositions as now enunciated were erroneous, but he denied that they had been taught by Molina. Even this concession was turned to good purpose by Nuño and his followers, for when Padilla wished to prove from Molina's book that the latter had taught the opposite of these theses, they prevented him from reading them by making an uproar, and when the disputation was over they spread the rumour that Padilla had recanted at San Gregorio what he had upheld at the previous disputation at the Jesuit college. Naturally the Jesuits at once drew up and issued a report contradicting this,[1] and thus it seemed that the matter would drag on indefinitely.

It was time for the ecclesiastical superiors to intervene and put an end to this scandal. Alonso de Mendoza, who was administrator of the church at Valladolid as Abad Mayor, wrote on April 2nd, 1594, to the nuncio Gaetano at Madrid and complained of Avendaño, who on the previous day had again preached against the new Order, which he hated so much, as well as of the passionate behaviour of Nuño at the disputation on March 5th.[2] The Jesuits had already drawn up a letter to the Grand Inquisitor; in this they stated that they were commonly looked upon as the defenders of doctrines contrary to the faith, and that the students in the lecture halls began to stamp their feet as soon as the very name of Molina was mentioned. The rector of the college at Medina, Hernando de Lacerda, was charged to take this letter to Madrid, and to defend the cause of the accused before the Grand Inquisitor and the nuncio.[3] The nuncio referred the matter of Avendaño and Nuño to Rome, whereupon the whole affair assumed an unlooked for aspect. On June 7th,

[1] Report of the Jesuits in ASTRÁIN, 190-194.

[2] ASTRÁIN, III., 312. The letter was written on a Saturday; from the various dates (*ibid.* 312, 314 n.) we can only suppose it was on April 2, 1594.

[3] ASTRÁIN, IV., 195.

1594, Gaetano was ordered to open a process in full from against Avendaño, which ended on January 5th, 1595, with the condemnation of this infatuated man.[1] In the meantime Cardinal Aldobrandini wrote on June 28th, 1594, in the name of Clement VIII. to the nuncio, on the subject of the quarrel between the Dominicans and Jesuits. Since a question of faith was at issue, and a matter of no small importance, the decision pertained to the Roman See, and no one else must interfere. The Grand Inquisitor therefore must no longer concern himself with it; the nuncio was to summon the superiors of the two Orders to his presence, order them to lay the matter of controversy before him in writing with full proofs, and then send the two statements to Rome. The nuncio was to order both superiors, under the gravest penalties, to forbid their subjects to discuss the matter any further pending the decision of the Pope.[2] Gaetano communicated the Papal letter to the provincial of the two Orders on August 15th, 1594; anyone who dared to discuss the question of efficacious grace either in public or in private was to be excommunicated.[3]

The superiors of both Orders set themselves to calm the excited feelings of their subjects. The General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, on February 13th, 1595, urged the provincials by circular, in emphatic words, to maintain peace with the Dominicans, and to show them all charity in word and deed.[4] The Spanish provincials at once acted upon these exhortations; their replies to Aquaviva[5] constitute a justification of the Order of Preachers, in so far as they prove that it was by no means the majority of the Dominicans who were allowing themselves to be actuated by antipathy for the Jesuits.

[1] *Ibid.* 199, 201. *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 150.

[2] Published in Astráin, 811 *seq.* (*cf.* 199 *seq.*). A corresponding brief to the Grand Inquisitor in Couderc, I., 358.

[3] Astráin, 200.

[4] *Ibid.* 202.

[5] *Ibid.* 202-204.

Not long before the great quarrel between the two Orders had once again been manifested. Just as the Dominicans had previously tried to induce the Inquisition to prohibit almost all the books of the Jesuits, so once more was this the case with the programme of studies issued by the Jesuits in 1591, and with the writings of Cardinal Toledo. They were of opinion that both Aquaviva and Toledo were innovators, and that if the latter were allowed to have his own way he would destroy the Church.[1] Only the week before the condemnation of Avendaño had caused great excitement among his fellow Dominicans,[2] but the storm thus aroused had been quickly calmed, a thing to which an appeal to the truce made by the king may have not a little contributed.[3] The provincial of the Jesuits wrote from Aragon to Aquaviva that in his province they had always lived in peace and harmony with the Dominicans.[4] The provincial of Andalusia bore witness that at that time they were showing great friendship towards the new Order, everywhere inviting Jesuits to preach on the feasts of their Order, so that it seemed that they took pleasure in being on good terms with them. A Dominican Visitor at Valladolid had shown himself a great friend of the Society of Jesus.[5] In the very pulpit at Valladolid, from which in the previous year Avendaño had launched his attacks, in 1595 there stood a Jesuit on the feast of St. Thomas, who made a good impression on the Dominicans when he said that the Society of Jesus held to the doctrine of St. Thomas, and that it was bound to do so by the Statutes of the Order. A similar report came from Toledo, although a long altercation between the two Orders there had embittered men's minds.[6]

At Alcalá a Dominican and a Jesuit provincial had a

[1] Cristobal de los Cobos to Aquaviva, June 14, 1594, *ibid.* 197.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 307.

[3] February 4, 1595, ASTRÁIN, III., 345.

[4] Pedro de Villar, April 15, 1595, in ASTRÁIN, IV., 202.

[5] Cristobal Méndez to Aquaviva, April 12, 1595, *ibid.*

[6] The Jesuit provincials Avellaneda and Acosta to Aquaviva, Toledo, March 20, and Valladolid, March 20, 1595, *ibid.* 202 *seq.*

conference in order to consolidate the peace, and to consider the best means to attain that end. They decided that the members of both Orders should speak well of the other, and that if anyone forgot this duty he should be admonished by his superior in order that he might repair his fault. If doubts concerning doctrine should arise, appeal should be made to the Inquisition, if the matter pertained to that tribunal; otherwise, as became good brethren, the question should be settled amicably.[1]

If the Papal command not to discuss efficacious grace helped the maintenance of peace, in course of time the obligation of silence was resented by both parties as a heavy burden, which in the end would become unbearable. Among the Jesuits, Molina was planning an apologetic work concerning his doctrine, which had so often been attacked and falsified. Gabriel Vasquez had just completed a volume of his theological works, in which the question of grace was dealt with. To both of these it seemed hard not to be able to express their views. Vasquez therefore had recourse to the nuncio, but on April 1st and Nov. 29th, 1597, received a reply from Rome that he must not print his book. Vasquez obeyed,[2] nor on the part of the Jesuits do we know of any offence against the Papal order of silence.

The Dominicans were less submissive. Some of them who were of ardent temperament could not even now restrain their tongues; in pulpits and lecture halls and at disputations fresh attacks on the Jesuits and their doctrine occurred, as at Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Salamanca, Valencia, Saragossa and Calatayud.[3] Philip II. therefore decided to intervene once again. By his command, at the beginning of

[1] *Ibid.* 204.

[2] *Ibid.* 204 *seq.*

[3] Porres in ASTRÁIN, 205. We do not know the details. "Hanlos obedecido puntualmente los de la Compañia; pero in Calatayud, después del dicho mandato se tuvieron por los Padres Dominicos públicas conclusiones de esta materia, y lo mismo en Salamanca, en los actos públicos mayor y menor de los dichos Padres." Report of the Jesuits, in ASTRÁIN, 193.

1596, the visitor of the Jesuit province of Toledo and Castille, Garcia de Alarcón, together with the king's confessor, Diego de Yepes, and the provincial of the Dominicans, were ordered to confer as to the best means to prevent these abuses. At the suggestion of Alarcón the best means to maintain peace would be to remove the disturbers of the peace from the work of teaching.[1] Alarcón and the Dominican provincial, Juan de Villafranca, were to present themselves before the king's confessor in March, 1596, and he was to communicate their decision to Philip II. The king gave orders that only such men should occupy professorial chairs as had the doctrine of St. Thomas deeply at heart; that for the present the members of one Order should not be present at the disputations of the other; that they were not to be allowed to declare the doctrine of their adversaries heretical or erroneous, and that they should even be exhorted to speak well of the others; those who contravened these orders were to be punished. Alarcón and Villafranca added a further order to burn within eight days all writings against members of the other Order.[2] In consequence of this there were removed from the work of teaching, Nuño, Padilla, and another Jesuit, who had often disputed with Bañes; Bañes himself received a severe reprimand and admonition. The Dominicans did all they could to have the deprivation of Nuño revoked, in which they saw an insult to their Order, but the king adhered to his decision, and peace was restored for a whole year.[3]

If the Dominicans showed themselves less submissive than the Jesuits, this may perhaps be explained by the fact that they looked upon it as an injustice that they should be treated on equal terms with a younger Order. This impression was clearly expressed in a memorial which Bañes addressed to Clement VIII. on October 28th, 1597, in the name of the General of the Dominicans and the whole Order, in order to obtain the removal of the prohibition in the case of the

[1] *Ibid.* 206 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 208 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.* 210.

members of the Order of Preachers, and of them alone.[1] In this petition it was taken for granted, as quite certain, that the doctrine of grace taught by Bañes, including the controverted question, was the ancient Catholic doctrine taught by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, just as that it was most obvious that the Jesuits were introducing innovations. Following the example of the Apostle Paul, who even resisted Peter, the Thomists had always shrunk from innovations, and now prayed the Apostolic See not to condemn the true doctrine to silence, on account of the strange theory[2] that had been set up against it. Before a decision on the part of the Pope was made years might elapse, while the authors of these innovations would do all they could to make the question drag on. In the meantime the new doctrine would strike deep roots. So long as the obligation of silence held good, it would be impossible to teach the doctrine of grace and predestination, a thing that would be all the more troublesome in that that doctrine reacted upon so many other theological questions. Moreover this prohibition placed the Dominicans in the universities in various practical difficulties.

By the command of Clement VIII., Bellarmine, at that time the Pope's theological adviser, wrote an opinion on this memorial of the Dominicans.[3] He examined all the reasons set forth by Bañes, and above all pointed out that the Dominican scholar took for granted those very things which had still to be proved, namely that the Dominican doctrine could be taken as expressing ecclesiastical tradition. According to Bellarmine what was above all at issue was the question whether physical predetermination was in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, the councils and the Fathers of the Church or no. The theologians of the Society of Jesus denied this conformity, and maintained that such predetermination was especially contrary to the Council of Trent, and was

[1] Printed, together with the counter-observations of Bellarmine (see *infra*) in L. DE MEYERE, 231 *seqq.*

[2] "Curiosedad."

[3] In LE BACHELET, Auctarium 114 *seqq.*; ASTRÁIN, 214 *seq.*

therefore an innovation. If then the matter was still awaiting a decision it would be very rash to condemn the Jesuits as innovators as the memorial desired; to do this would be to anticipate the judgment of the Apostolic See, and to cry triumph before the victory was won.

On one point, however, Bellarmine was in agreement with the Dominican theologian; he too thought that it would not be wise to allow the prohibition to treat of efficacious grace to go on for years.[1] The Holy See should therefore intervene as soon as possible. Both parties could be exhorted by brief to mutual charity, and forbidden to describe the view of the opposing party as temerarious, erroneous or heretical, but that a discussion which brought forward real proofs might be allowed.[2]

Accordingly Cardinal Santori, Prefect of the Roman Inquisition, in a letter to the nuncio in Spain[3] of February 26th, 1598, allowed a learned discussion of the question, not only by the Dominicans, but also by the Jesuits. The Spanish Inquisition informed both Orders of this Papal decision,[4] without, however, giving the text of Santori's letter. The Dominicans complained of this to the Holy Office in Rome,[5] because in the extract that had been published no mention had been made of two important facts: first, that the Papal permission, and thus the equal treatment of the two Orders was only to continue until the final definition of the question, and second, that the expressions used in Santori's letter were favourable to themselves. As to this they were indeed telling the truth; the permission given to the Dominicans stated "that they might freely read and dispute as they had done in the past concerning the 'Auxiliis divinae gratiae et eorum efficacia,' in conformity with the teaching of St. Thomas." The Jesuits were given a like permission with

[1] Le Bachelet, 119; Astráin, 217.
[2] Le Bachelet, 121 *seq.*
[3] In Serry, 138.
[4] In Astráin, 219; Latin translation in Serry, 141.
[5] Serry, 143.

the addition "that they might continue to read and dispute concerning this question, always however teaching sound and Catholic doctrine."[1] In the case of both parties was added an exhortation to abstain from litigation, from innovations, and from any censure of the opposing opinion. It had to be admitted, as was clear from the letter of Santori, that the Dominicans held a predominating influence in government circles in Rome. As a matter of fact a first Roman opinion, though it was precipitate, was imminent at that time, even though the documents which would have to form the basis of the Papal decision had not as yet reached Rome.

Actually, in June and August, 1594, an invitation had been issued by Cardinal Aldobrandini and the nuncio in Spain to the opposing parties to send to Rome an exposition and defence of their doctrine of grace,[2] while the Spanish Inquisition for its part had, in a circular of July 21st of the same year, asked for the opinions of twelve bishops and of a number of scholars as to the controverted point.[3] But it took almost three years before the Spanish Inquisition sent (October 23rd, 1597) in a large chest an enormous number of papers in three great packets.[4] The Dominicans sent a folio volume of 135 pages, entitled: Apologia of the Friars Preachers in the Spanish province. The first part, dated August 28th, 1596, is signed by seven professors, among them Bañes and Nuño, and sets forth the doctrine of Molina; the second part, which was already completed on September 29th, 1595, and is therefore earlier than the other, bears the same seven signatures, together with an eighth. At the end of the whole volume sixteen other Dominicans have attached their names, among

[1] ASTRÁIN, 812 "che possino [the Dominicans] liberamente circa la materia de Auxilüs divinae gratiae et eorum efficacia conforme alle dottrina di S. Thomaso leggere e disputare, como hanno fatto per il passato . . . che possino [the Jesuits] ancor essi leggere et disputare della medesima materia, insegnando però sempre sana e cattolica dottrina."

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 307.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 227.

[4] *Ibid.* 228. *Cf.* ELEUTHERIUS, 180 *seqq.*

whom are to be found the confessors of the king and Cardinal Albert.[1]

The Spanish Jesuits naturally could not produce the signatures of the confessors of princes. The four Spanish provinces of the Order gave their opinion separately; for the province of Castille and Toledo, the speakers were Francisco Suarez and Gabriel Vasquez, who still to-day rank as the greatest dogmatic masters of the Order. Both of them in the first place combat physical predetermination, and then explain the view of the Jesuits. From certain words at the end of the exposition of Suarez, just before the signatures, it is clear that the disapproval of physical predetermination was quite general among the Jesuits, and that among them there was no doubt upon this point.[2]

Not all the bishops and scholars whose views had been asked for by the Inquisition could bring themselves to express their views. Besides the three universities of Salamanca, Alcalá and Siguenza, only five bishops and four scholars had given their views on this difficult question. Of the three universities, Salamanca could not be taken into consideration, since it limited itself to stating what all Catholics held as to the controverted matter.[3] Alcalá did not pronounce any judgment; the professors there described both opinions as probable but inclined rather towards that of the Jesuits, and did not accept that of the Dominicans except with a proviso in favour of free will.[4] Siguenza declared openly and in all things for Molina, and defended him against a censure which had been sent by the Inquisition together with its circular. According to the judgment of the University of Siguenza the three propositions which were put forward in the censure as being altogether blameworthy were not to be found in the work of the Jesuit theologian.[5]

[1] Astráin, 228 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 231 *seqq.* *Cf.* Lämmer, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 111.

[3] Astráin, 234 *seq.* The signature of the censure bears the date June 22, 1595.

[4] *Ibid.* 235 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* 236.

Of the five bishops who sent their opinion, the Bishop of Cartagena had not even read Molina's book; he relied upon the censure that had been sent to him, and took the side of Bañes. The Bishop of Mondonedo was also altogether for Bañes against Molina. Pedro Gonzales de Arevedo on the other hand was all for Molina. Pacheco of Segovia blamed Bañes as much as Molina; both of them should be corrected in the case of a new edition of their works. The Bishop of Coria emphatically defended indeed the doctrine of Molina against the suspicion of heresy, but otherwise blames it severely; his views were false and an innovation.[1]

Just as the views of the five bishops differed entirely from each other, so was it with the four scholars who sent their opinion. Two were opposed to Molina. A third, the Augustinian Miguel Salon, rejected out of hand about forty propositions of the Jesuit theologian, only to agree with him entirely on the principal point of his teaching. Then he turns against Bañes and condemns even more strongly the principles from which physical predetermination is drawn. The opinion of another Augustinian, Luis Coloma of Valladolid, is confined for the sake of brevity to the principal point, and absolutely rejects physical predetermination.[2]

All these documents reached Rome on March 28th, 1598,[3] and thus the final preparations for the great duel between the two Orders were complete; the battle could now begin.

The General of the Jesuits, Paolo Oliva, later on was of opinion, looking at the matter in retrospect, that the issue had been very beneficial, but that as long as the controversy lasted the Order had been in great danger.[4]

[1] *Ibid.* 237 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 240 *seqq.*

[3] The signature of the notary in ELEUTHERIUS, 180.

[4] "Magnos motus excitavit in Ecclesia Dei P. Molina, quando produxit novam, ut tunc videbatur, gratiae et liberi arbitrii concordiam, et quamvis tendem feliciter ii sedati fuerint cesserintque in magnam Ecclesiae utilitatem, tamen gravissimum tunc Societas adducta est in discrimen." Oliva, January 12, 1664, in PRAT-GRUBER, Ribadeneira, 414.

The young Society of Jesus indeed found itself face to face with an adversary of overwhelming power. No other body in the Church could match the scientific laurels of the Dominicans ; they had in their ranks a number of scholars of the first rank, some of whom had been adorned with the aureole of sanctity by the judgment of the Church.

The forms of learning and the defence of dogma had become to a great extent based upon their labours. Even in recent times, the restoration of scholasticism[1] had come from the Dominican convent at Salamanca, the very place where Bañes had launched his attack upon the Jesuits. The Jesuits themselves, thanks to the organizer of their studies, Toledo, had become the pupils of the Dominicans at Salamanca. At Trent, under Pius IV., about twenty-five bishops, and thirty theologians of the Dominican Order, had taken a leading part in the discussions and definition of the decrees on faith.[2] For all these reasons the Order of Preachers enjoyed throughout the Catholic world the reputation of being the custodian of true Catholic doctrine. To this had to be added the influence of the Dominicans at the Inquisition, with many secular and ecclesiastical princes, and with notabilities, whose confessors belonged to a great extent to their Order.

In all these matters the Society of Jesus, which was still young, was far from approaching the Order of Preachers. It was true that Salmeron and above all Lainez, had held a brilliant place at the Council of Trent ; Toledo enjoyed an uncontested reputation as a scholar in Rome ;[3] in the matter of polemics the Dominicans could produce nothing equal

[1] MANDONNET in Dict. de théol. cath., VI., 914. For the founder of neo-scholasticism, Francisco de Vittoria, *cf.* the articles in *La Ciencia Tomista*, I.-III. (1910-1913) ; F. EHRLE in *Katholik*, 1884, II., 497, 505-522 ; for the importance of the school of Salamanca, *ibid.* 497.

[2] MANDONNET, *loc. cit.*, 908.

[3] *Cf.* the extracts from the briefs of Gregory XIII., Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. in FRANCISCI TOLETI in Summam Theologiae

to the learned works of Bellarmine. But in the matter of the doctrine of grace it was a question of scholastic theology, and it was only now that the younger Order was preparing to make a triumphant entry into that vast realm; the first work by any Jesuit on such matters was the book of Molina on grace and liberty. The Jesuits could not rival the Dominicans in their influence in high places in Rome, nor in their knowledge of the conduct of affairs in the Curia, for the very reason that among them it was only by way of exception that men were to be found who had embarked upon a prelatical career, or even the first steps towards it. It was true that the General of their Order was one of these exceptions. Bishops filled with the spirit of asceticism and men of importance might indeed choose Jesuits as their confessors, but these were exceptional cases. When it was rumoured that Philip II. had entrusted the direction of his conscience to a Jesuit, the king wrote with his own hand: "If he intended to change his confessor, there were too many approved Orders, much older and well supplied with able men, to make it necessary to seek one in the new Order."[1] At the time of the dispute concerning grace in Rome, besides the two Dominican Cardinals, Bonelli (died 1598) and Bernerio, the influential Dean of the Rota, Francisco Peña (died 1612) was above all their declared adversary; he even laid it down in his will that the revenues of a legacy which he had made for poor students must never be given to a pupil of the Jesuits.[2]

All this explains how it was that, in the intellectual contest that was beginning, it was the Dominicans whose influence decided the place and conditions of the battle, chose the

S. Thomae Aquinatis enarration, ed. Ios. Maria Paria e S.I., I., Rome, 1869, ix. *seq.*, xii. *Cf. Synopsis*, I., 77, 160, 156; II., 526, 531.

[1] "There are many old approved religious Orders which have men fit for this, without seeking in this new one." Castagna to Bonelli, December 19, 1560, in SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., I., 422.

[2] SCORRAILLE, I., 405 *seq.*

judges of the contest, and "supplied the sun and the wind."

The standpoint of the Jesuits from the first had been that it was not of importance to defend at all costs all the theses of Molina; some of their number did not altogether agree with Molina.[1] In their opinion it was not persons or books that were primarily at stake, but a dogmatic controversy, and the critical point of the question consisted, to their way of thinking, in physical predetermination. They wished for an ecclesiastical definition as to this, and as to how it was reconcilable with the maxims of the faith and with the Council of Trent; once this was cleared up, all the rest, so they believed, would not present any further difficulties.

But the Dominicans, as far as they were concerned, wished expressly to avoid the examination of this vital point, as to which there was not full agreement even in their own Order. They looked upon physical predetermination as a dogma, which simply could not be called in question; therefore the whole discussion, according to them, must turn upon Molina's book, not restricting itself to the doctrine of the reconcilability of grace and freedom, but extending to all the theses which he had maintained. The contrary position taken up by the two Orders with regard to physical predetermination entirely governed the course of the struggle and all its vicissitudes.

Once Clement VIII. had transferred the dispute on grace to Rome in 1594, it was natural that both the Dominicans and Jesuits should send a representative to the Eternal City, to speak on behalf of his Order as occasion should arise. The General of the Jesuits thought of summoning Molina himself to Rome, but the latter replied to an invitation of February 16th, 1595, by excuses which Aquaviva had to admit were justified. Bañes too excused himself on the score of age, but in the place of the old master there came to Rome in November 1596 his disciple Diego Alvarez, a young man of great talent, who certainly did not remain idle.[2] After

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 298.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 245 *seq.*

he had for many days examined the matter together with Cardinal Bonelli, the Protector of the Order, and other friends, in June 1597 he presented a memorial to the Pope,[1] which was intended not only to hasten the beginning of the discussions, but also to set the whole question upon the lines desired by the Dominicans.[2]

When in 1594 Aldobrandini transferred the discussion to Rome,[3] no mention of Molina was made in his letter; it was rather a matter of a dogmatic question, the decision of which was withdrawn from the Inquisition and reserved to the Pope, namely the question in what the efficacy of grace consists. Alvarez, on the contrary, came forward in his memorial as the accuser of Molina; the books of Molina must form the central point of the discussion; they must be examined and condemned, and the examination must not be restricted to the principal question, as to which there were differences of opinion between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, but must extend to the whole contents of Molina's book on grace and liberty. And whereas so far it had been intended only to begin the discussions when the opinions that had been asked for had arrived from Spain, Alvarez wanted the examination to begin as soon as possible, as all delay was full of danger; the work of Molina was meeting with much applause, and the younger theologians were adopting his ideas with the enthusiasm of youth; once this opinion had taken deep root among them, it would be too difficult to bring them back to the true doctrine of grace and liberty.[4] To put it in another way: the Dominicans and Jesuits were not to meet as two parties with equal rights, but the Dominicans were to be the accusers, and the Jesuits were to sit, like poor sinners, on the bench of the accused. The attack on Molina thus had a vast field open to it, for not only would an error concerning

[1] Printed in SERRY, 149.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 245 *seq.*

[3] See *supra*, p. 313.

[4] For the historical inexactitudes of what Alvarez wrote *cf.* ASTRÁIN, 248 *seq.*

the principal question of the efficacy of grace be fatal to him, but every mistaken or equivocal thesis in his book. Moreover the Dominicans enjoyed all the advantages of the attack; the weak point of their own doctrine was for the time being outside discussion.

In addition to his own petition to the Pope, Alvarez had drawn up another document for Cardinal Bonelli, in which the scandalous propositions of Molina were pointed out and refuted.[1] Bellarmine, as Papal theologian, had to draw up an opinion which is distinguished by its calmness and its absolute objectivity,[2] as compared with the other writings which owe their existence to the violent struggle that had begun. Bellarmine rejects physical predetermination, but does not dare to condemn it absolutely,[3] as it is supported by men of eminence. He also defends the "scientia media" of Molina; the name indeed is a new one, but the thing itself is very ancient.[4] On the other hand it seemed to him that several of Molina's propositions were false, or at any rate inexactly expressed, but he will not admit that they are deserving of any real ecclesiastical censure.[5] In Bellarmine's opinion no bitter expression against the Dominicans is used; the authors of the attacks on Molina are, on the contrary, called "very pious and learned men."[6]

At that juncture the Pope was exceedingly pleased with this little production of his theologian, which he afterwards caused to be examined[7] by others as well,[8] but from the whole of its tenor he was confirmed in his intention of having the

[1] The title in Le Bachelet, Auctarium, 102.

[2] *Ibid.* 101-113.

[3] *Ibid.* 106 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 105 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 285, n. 1.

[5] *Ibid. loc. cit.*, 102 *seqq.* For the attitude of Bellarmine towards Molina, *ibid.*, 1-31.

[6] *Ibid.* 109.

[7] *Ibid.* 113 n. 6.

[8] "Quod opusculum Pontifici mire probatum est initio." Autobiography of Bellarmine, c. 45, in Le Bachelet, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, 465.

serious accusations against Molina examined. For this purpose a special commission was appointed.

The Dominicans had thus obtained what they wanted: the inquiry was confined to Molina's book. This was for the Jesuits a first defeat. The composition of the commission was a second. Not a single friend of Molina was included, although the course of affairs up to that point has shown that there were many such.

A third defeat was soon to follow. The commission held its first session on January 2nd, 1598; at its eleventh, which took place on March 13th, it was decided that the book and doctrine of Molina must be prohibited, as well as his commentaries on St. Thomas, at any rate until they were emended.[1] In the final judgment it was stated that Molina had repudiated in a haughty manner the doctrine of St. Augustine, which had been handed down by the Fathers, and more than once confirmed by the Church, and that the principles on which he based his doctrine were entirely opposed to St. Thomas, St. Augustine and the other Fathers; that they contained many things which openly conflicted with the Holy Scriptures and the Councils, but were on the contrary in agreement with Cassian and Faustus of Riez, who had been combatted by Augustine.[2]

The Roman commission could not have dreamed at that time that the discussions concerning Molina would drag on for years to come, and then end without coming to any definite conclusion. Even before the materials contained in the Spanish acta had come, they had arrived at a definite judgment, as it were in the twinkling of an eye! This was eventually explained by the fact that among the members of the commission there was not to be found a single man of any scientific weight.[3] Even Clement VIII. was surprised

[1] ASTRÁIN, 249 *seqq.*

[2] SERRY, 161.

[3] The members were the Franciscan Properzio Resta de Capelli, Bishop of Cariati and Cerenza; the Franciscan Giulio Santucci, Bishop of S. Agata dei Goti; Lelio Lando, Bishop of Nardo;

at this unexpectedly rapid solution of the question, for soon afterwards, on March 28th, 1598, when the opinions sent from Spain had at last arrived, he ordered the commission to study them, and then reconsider their judgment.[1]

Thus the members of the commission found themselves face to face with a troublesome task. In October 1597 Bañes had written to Rome that the mere reading of these Spanish opinions would take two years, and that before the whole of the material had been carefully examined more than one pontificate might elapse, and that it was for this very reason that he had asked that the prohibition of any discussion of the controverted point of the doctrine of grace might be suspended.[2]

The commission, however, once more made quick work of the task. In the eight months between April and November, in which were included the protracted vacations, all was completed, and the former judgment, namely the condemnation of Molina, was substantially confirmed. That all the Spanish opinions had actually been read by all the members seems unlikely, especially as there were not as many copies as there were members of the commission. The

Enrico Silvio, vicar-apostolic of the Carmelites; the Franciscan Francesco Brusca, later Bishop of Lettera; Giov. Battista Piombino, procurator-general of the Augustinians; the Augustinian Gregorio Nuñez Coronel, doctor of theology; Louis de Creil, doctor of the Sorbonne. Coronel had written several books on the Church, on Tradition and on the State (NIC. ANTONIO, Bibl. Hisp. nova, I., Madrid, 1783, 546). RESTA had written De vera et falsa sapientia, Rome, 1599 (JOA. A S. ANTONIO, Bibl. universa Francisc., II., Madrid, 1732, 492). Lelio Landi had been employed under Gregory XIV. on the revision of the Vulgate. Nothing else is known of the literary activities of the members of the commission. Cardinals Lodovico Madruzzi and Arigoni were the nominal presidents of the commission, but it would seem that they took no part in the sessions. The real president was Resta, and the secretary Coronel.

[1] ASTRÁIN, 252.

[2] *Ibid.* 212; DE MEYERE, 231 *seq.*

Jesuit Fernando de la Bastida was able later on in the presence of the Pope to point out a single person, who was in any case quite incapable of any such work,[1] as the author of the censure. On March 12th, 1599, the secretary of the commission, the Augustinian Coronel, presented a document which purported to be the acta of the sessions, but which was in reality a violent attack upon Molina. Whereas the universities of Alcalá and Siguenza had found nothing to censure in Molina's book, Coronel condemns more than 60 theses.[2] Inevitably, as the result of these events, the most unfavourable reports against the Jesuits at once became common. It was even said that the Papal condemnation of their doctrine had already taken place, or that at any rate it would not be long delayed.[3]

Before, however, things could reach that point, the Jesuits had to be allowed to speak. After having thus far been kept entirely in the background, and only with difficulty obtaining any information of what was being done by the commission, they now prepared themselves for their defence. In December 1598, after the second censure had been pronounced in the previous month, skilful theologians of their Order came to Rome: Cristobal de los Cobos and Ferdinando de la Bastida, followed soon afterwards by Pedro de Arrubal and Gregorio de Valencia, hitherto professors at Dillingen and Ingolstadt.[4] Molina himself addressed a letter to the Pope and asked for a hearing.[5] He said that he had been urged to write his book by the same zeal as had led others to take up their pen against the heretics; he intended to confute the errors of Luther and Calvin, and had done so by relying in all things upon the Holy Scriptures and the Councils, especially the Council of Trent, on the Fathers of the Church, and among them above all on St. Augustine. The attacks

[1] Astráin, 254.
[2] *Ibid.* 253.
[3] *Ibid.* 262.
[4] *Ibid.* 256.
[5] From Cuenca, September 22, 1598, *ibid.* 257-262.

upon him were due to the fact that he had himself attacked Bañes, whose doctrines on the controverted point he had always thought to be more than dangerous, and irreconcileable with the Council of Trent. Bañes indeed accused him of Pelagianism, but according to Luther the whole Church had fallen into that error, since it defended free will. His book, on the other hand, had met with much approval, but now, when he had thought that the dispute about the book had come to an end, it had reached his ears that he had been accused before the Pope himself. This caused him much anxiety, because he knew from experience how often things had been attributed to him by his accusers which had never entered his mind, and he therefore feared lest the same thing should have happened in Rome. He therefore asked to be allowed to speak, as was the right of the accused; let the Pope either summon him himself to Rome, or listen to the defence which he had laid before the Inquisition in Spain.

Molina had previously connected his defence of his doctrine with an attack upon his adversaries. He now did the same thing. Some of his theses, he said, had been declared to be suspect, but he too could enumerate many opinions in the works of his accusers, which seemed to him to be manifest errors of faith, Calvinistic in doctrine, and contrary to the Council of Trent. He knew that the Dominicans had great influence, being the confessors of powerful princes, and occupying posts of importance, so that their help even in worldly matters was often asked by highly-placed personages. But even though they were superior in power and influence in other matters, they must not be given a preference where a question of faith and soundness of doctrine was at issue, nor could they alone be listened to, and he himself rejected. He therefore asked His Holiness to have the theses which he had noted in their works to be examined. When these were compared with the heresies of Calvin and Luther, it would be clearly seen that they were errors of faith. Moreover, according to Molina, the discussions about grace had attracted the attention of the Protestants, and they were waiting in expectation of a decision contrary to the Council

of Trent.[1] If, finally, the Pope was unwilling to listen to any of his requests, would he at least examine the concise exposition of his doctrine which he enclosed.

Perhaps a greater impression was made upon Clement VIII. by the letters of King Philip III., the wife of the Archduke Maximilian, and the Archduke Albert, whom the Jesuits had won over to their side, than by the petition of Molina.[2] The Pope decided that the Jesuits as well must be given a hearing. On January 1st, 1599, he cited Beccaria and Aquaviva, Generals of both Orders before him, and ordered them to discuss, together with some of the theologians among their subjects, the chief points of divergent doctrine in the presence of Cardinal Madruzzo.[3]

The first meeting took place on February 22nd, 1599. The General of the Dominicans appeared accompanied by the procurator of the Order, and two theologians, Diego Alvarez and Raffaele de Ripa; Aquaviva's theologians were Pedro de Arrubal, Michele Vasquez and Cristóbal de los Cobos. In his opening discourse, Madruzzo explained the object of the discussions, namely to put an end to the struggle between the two Orders, in accordance with the wish of the Pope as well as of the King of Spain; both Beccaria and Aquaviva gave their opinion as to the way in which, to their thinking, that purpose could be attained. The General of the Dominicans declared that his Order had nothing against the Society of Jesus, and that it was only the theses of Molina which were the rock of offence; it his book were condemned and St. Thomas followed, then everything would be smoothed

[1] *Ibid.* 261.

[2] *Ibid.* 263. The Spanish nuncio also wrote on November 14, 1598, to Cardinal Aldobrandini concerning the efforts of the Dominicans and Cardinal Davila, who wished to obtain the condemnation of the book of Molina from the Spanish Inquisition. The nuncio suggested, either that such attacks should be suppressed in view of the earlier approbations of Molina's book, or that Molina and Bañes should be summoned to Rome and the writings of *both* examined (SCORRAILLE, I., 411).

[3] ELEUTHERIUS, 210; SERRY, 169; ASTRÁIN, 265.

over. Aquaviva took up quite a different position. He declared that Molina indeed was not the Society of Jesus, and that therefore his cause was not necessarily their own. The Pope might do what he liked with the works of a Spanish theologian or with the writings of any individual Jesuit, without the order offering any resistance. But there was a dispute between the two Orders, arising from their different explanation of "sufficient" and "efficacious" grace; as far as could be seen, the intention of the Pope was not to give a judgment on Molina's book, but rather to inquire into the differences of the doctrines in question, to establish the true doctrine, and to settle the questions at issue between the two great bodies.[1] The conference ended with an injunction from Madruzzo to the two Generals to prepare for the next meeting three expositions concerning the controverted point in the doctrine of grace; the first was to summarize in a few words the idea of his own Order, the second was to give the objections to the opposing theory, and the third the principal proofs in support of their own opinion.[2]

The second discussion took place on February 28th. Aquaviva presented himself with the three expositions in writing which had been asked for,[3] but Beccaria on the other hand only presented one; a further accusation of Molina divided into six points. He said that he had not thought it opportune to prepare any others, because the only point at issue was the book of Molina, and the Spanish Dominicans had not taken up arms against the Society of Jesus, but against Molina. Moreover, the Dominicans were there as the accusers, and he could not allow them, by defending their doctrine, to confess themselves as accused. To this Aquaviva replied in the sense in which he had spoken at the previous meeting, but Beccaria adhered to his opinion. Aquaviva then placed on the table the second document he

[1] Astráin, 266.

[2] *Ibid.* 267.

[3] Reprinted in Eleutherius, 214-217.

had brought with him, the objections of the Jesuits to the Dominican doctrine of grace, handing over the other two at the end of the meeting to Cardinal Madruzzo as a proof that he had obeyed him. The conference was over; it now remained to be seen what the Pope would do.

On March 5th, 1599, Clement VIII. appointed the Jesuit Bellarmine a Cardinal, and assigned him, together with the Dominican Cardinal Bernerio to act as assessors to Cardinal Madruzzo in the conduct of the conferences.

At the third meeting, which was held on March 29th, it was seen that the situation had become considerably changed in favour of the Jesuits. Bellarmine brought forward six questions, in which he asked for an explanation as to whether physical predetermination was necessary for the good acts of the will, and for its evil decisions, whether the infallible efficacy of grace was based upon physical predetermination, or upon the contact of grace with the soul in the sense of St. Augustine.[1] These questions therefore, without any evasions, were directed to the point which formed the kernel of the dispute on grace, and on the solution of which everything depended. But now the Dominicans refused to give an answer. They said that these six questions had evidently been thought out and brought forward by the Jesuits, thus arrogating to themselves a right which belonged only to the Cardinals.[2]

The Dominicans, however, were no longer able to adhere to their own standpoint, of entering into no discussion save on the book of Molina. It would seem that, soon after the questions of Bellarmine, they in their turn asked for an answer to eight points on the doctrine of grace and freewill.[3] But now it was the Jesuits who refused to give an explanation, until Clement VIII. obliged them to reply. To five of these

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 217; SERRY, 174.

[2] ELEUTHERIUS, 218; ASTRÁIN, 270 *seqq.*

[3] In ELEUTHERIUS, 218; SERRY, 174. Whether the Dominicans were the first to present their eight questions, or whether on the other hand, which is more probable, Bellarmine first proposed his six, is variously reported. *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, 272.

questions an affirmative reply could be given without more ado,[1] but these five questions did not touch the controverted point of the matter, and the others only uncertainly.

Later on they declared that this had been the real reason why they had at first refused to reply,[2] In other respects the Jesuits took all possible pains clearly to explain their view. When the Dominicans complained of a gap in the replies of their adversaries, they hastened to remedy it, though in doing so they took the opportunity thus offered them of once again alluding to physical predetermination, which, according to them, was opposed to the Holy Scriptures, the Councils, the Fathers of the Church, the scholastics and philosophers, and above all to St. Augustine and St. Thomas.[3]

The whole of April passed in these exchanges, and it would seem that a kind of impatience at these fruitless negotiations seized upon the Jesuits. They suggested to Cardinal Madruzzo, in order to make some progress, that they should briefly summarize the points as to which they had come to an agreement or a disagreement at the meetings which had been held so far.[4] Madruzzo then took three theses from among the expositions of the Dominicans, on which the Jesuits were to pronounce at the next session;[5] actually, at that meeting both parties agreed upon seven points;[6] this at anyrate made it clear that the Jesuits did not deny efficacious grace. But they at once transferred the discussion to the most critical point of the whole question by bringing forward

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 218.

[2] ASTRÁIN, 273.

[3] *Ibid.* 274.

[4] *Cf.* the memorial of the Jesuits in ELEUTHERIUS, 221 *seq.*; "Hactenus compertum est, mutuis hisce responsionibus . . . non solum quaestionis statum non attingi, sed rem ipsam fieri propemodum infinitam," etc.

[5] In SERRY, 178; ELEUTHERIUS, 222.

[6] *Ibid.* 222 *seq.* Concerning an eighth thesis, as to which, according to a manuscript in the Angelica Library, there was no agreement (and directed against Eleutherius [223]), see ASTRÁIN, 276.

the question whether, according to the Dominican view, the infallible efficacy of grace was based upon physical predetermination.[1] It might have been supposed that the answer would have been a plain Yes, and that thus the question would have been solved. But, strangely enough, the discussion of the pros and cons went on for so long that, although the Jesuits would not allow their adversaries to escape for a good three hours, they were unable in the end to get a definite reply.[2]

But a clear reply was absolutely necessary if the discussion was to go on. On May 20th, 1599, therefore, the Jesuits sent a document to Cardinal Madruzzo, divided into five points, in which they explained, from their point of view, what they meant by physical predetermination in the sense of the Dominicans,[3] and asked him to induce their adversaries to reply. The latter, on May 22nd, sent a document to the Cardinal in which they explained their view sufficiently clearly.[4] But the expression "physical predetermination" was avoided in this. The Jesuits therefore again insisted that they must pronounce as to this expression, and received as a reply that the Jesuits must express themselves clearly as to what, in their opinion, the efficacy of grace consisted, for that so far they had only said in what it did not consist.

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 223.

[2] So say the Jesuits in their memorial of June 24, 1599: Deinde ulterius progressa est disputatio, quae eo spectabat, ut eliceretur, quid tandem illud esset, quo auxilium efficax differret a sufficiente. Et quoniam Patres Dominicani nihil interrogabant, illud proposuimus, utrum ratio auxilii efficacis consisteret in physica praedeterminatione voluntatis, ut hactenus docuerunt. Dum huic propositioni respondent, tres fere horae elabuntur, nec tamen ex eorum dictis quidquam certi colligi potuit, in quo vel a nobis differrent, vel inter so convenirent. Non enim omnes videbantur velle admittere hanc physicam praedeterminationem, et eorum, qui eam admittebant, unus affirmabat, ea tolli aliquam indifferentiam, alius negabat. SERRY, 189 A.

[3] ELEUTHERIUS, 224.

[4] *Ibid.* 224 *seq.*

The Jesuits complied with this demand without any difficulty, in an explanation of May 28th, 1599.[1]

The continued insistence of the Jesuits, and the way in which they kept on returning to the weak point in their adversaries' doctrine of grace, irritated the Dominicans all the more in that in their opinion it was not they but the Jesuits who, in the whole affair, should be subjected to examination concerning their doctrine.

Their annoyance so long suppressed, found vent in a written protest of June 8th, 1599, in which they gave a resumé of the discussions, and described the behaviour of the Jesuits as intriguing and deceitful.[2] The Jesuits replied to this on June 28th.[3]

These two documents are among the most important relating to the negotiations before Cardinal Madruzzo; they complete and confirm our knowledge of what had happened on various points, while the intellectual outlook of both parties is set forth more clearly than usual. The Dominicans who took part in the discussions declared that they were not the representatives of the whole Dominican Order, and that in order to be so they would first have had to consult their universities and their most eminent theologians;[4] they only presented themselves as a deputation of Dominican theologians in Rome. They further maintained absolutely that at the discussions nothing was at issue but Molina and his book, and if they also pronounced upon the doctrine of grace, they only did so as the theological advisers of the Pope, in order to give him the benefit of their scientific opinions. But the Jesuits maintained the opposite view with equal tenacity. They asserted that the Pope had not transferred the controversy

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 225. *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, 279 *seq.*

[2] SERRY, 182 *seqq.*; ELEUTHERIUS, 226.

[3] SERRY, 185 *seqq.*; ELEUTHERIUS, 226.

[4] "In prima Congregatione . . . nobis prius semel et iterum professis, non totius Predicatoriae familiae nomine (cuius genrealia studia et theologi alii praecipui temporis opportunitate concessa fuissent consulendi), sed tantum professorum qui in Urbe essemus, congressibus illis interesse." ELEUTHERIUS, 226.

to Rome in order to pronounce judgment on Molina, as was clear from the briefs to the nuncio in Spain and to the Spanish Inquisition, and, as had been several times declared to the Dominicans by Cardinal Madruzzo, the General of the Jesuits had expressly stated that he had no interest in defending all the theses of Molina.

It is also clear from the complaints and accusations of both parties that both the Dominicans and the Jesuits refused to reply to certain definite questions. The Dominicans tried to avoid an explanation of physical predetermination; this is definitely stated several times in the memorial of the Jesuits. "The most eminent Cardinal knows" so states the document, "how we have openly said that it is our desire that the Dominicans should explain their view just as we ourselves have done and will do, but they have attempted to evade doing so on various pleas. The first time they said that they could not speak for the whole Order, and would first have to consult the theologians of the various provinces; another time they were not ready, and could not carry on the disputation without preparation; again, it did not affect the object of the discussion; lastly they openly declared that they did not intend to give their opinion, because as the accusers they did not wish to become the accused, or to admit that they should be subjected to an interrogatory. All who were present, and the most eminent President are witnesses as to this."[1] On a copy of this accusatory document, there is to be found attached to these assertions of the Jesuits a marginal note in the hand of a Dominican: "This is the simple truth, as the General of the Dominicans cannot at his pleasure prescribe a doctrine for his whole Order, nor had he time or opportunity to consult the universities of the Order on this matter."[2] This passage is of great value to the disinterested historian; what the Jesuits had several times

[1] SERRY, 186, D; ELEUTHERIUS, 227.

[2] "Verissime neque enim Magister generalis Praedicatorum doctrinam arbitratu suo toti suae religioni praescribit, neque eiusdem Ordinis universitates super his consulendi occasio et tempus ei oblata fuere." ASTRÁIN, 282 *seq.*

asserted is thus confirmed, namely that physical predetermination was not yet at that time the doctrine of the Dominican Order.

On the other hand the Jesuits refused to give an answer to the question whether the infallible efficacy of grace came only from God, or whether it derived to some extent from the free will. If a proper order was to be followed in the discussions, they remarked, first it must be established in what the efficacy of grace consists, for only then would it be possible to discuss whence it came.[1]

But on July 17th, 1599, Madruzzo proposed to both parties this question, together with others: can the free will refuse its consent to efficacious grace? Both were required to reply. Each party dealt with the question from their own point of view.[2] Further discussion at length led the theologians of the Society of Jesus in November, 1599, to summarize in eight propositions the points on which they could not agree with the Dominicans, and concerning which they desired a disputation.[3] On January 28th, 1600, they also presented to the Cardinal a number of theses which had been defended by the Benedictines, the Augustinians, the Franciscans, the Carmelites and the Minims, and which were in favour of Molina.[4] The last thing we know of the discussions in the presence of Madruzzo are certain observations of the Dominicans concerning these eight theses of the Jesuits.[5] They were presented on February 12th, and on April 20th 1600, the old Cardinal of eighty-eight breathed his last.[6] This ended the conferences in which both the Generals personally took part.

The only result which the conferences had had was that

[1] Memorial of June 28, 1599, in SERRY, 189.

[2] ELEUTHERIUS, 232.

[3] *Ibid.* 239.

[4] ASTRÁIN, 286.

[5] ELEUTHERIUS, 239.

[6] *Cf.* the *reports of Fabio Maretti and G. B. Laderchi, dated Rome, April 22, 1600, who point out what a great loss the death of the Cardinal had been. State Archives, Modena.

the views of the two rival parties had been more clearly defined, and had become better understood by their adversaries. For the moment it seemed as though a rapprochement had been brought about. On one occasion the General of the Dominicans, as the Jesuits report, had said that if Molina had admitted all that the Jesuits had conceded in the presence of Madruzzo, there would have been no reason to take action against him. But the Jesuits thought that they could prove without any difficulty that all the theses in question had been expressly taught by Molina.[1]

But a book by the Spanish Dominican Francisco Davila, which was printed in Rome in 1599, and immediately suppressed by the Pope's orders in consequence of the remonstrances of the Jesuits,[2] showed on the contrary how bitter the dispute really was, and how serious were the misunderstandings and prejudices. This book made the Jesuits appear as semi-Pelagians, and put together, without mentioning them, the most plausible accusations against their doctrine. In spite of this Davila had dared to dedicate his book to the Pope, and the imprimatur, given by a fellow Dominican, and full of encomiums, bore the signature of the General of the Order.[3]

On April 24th, 1600, the General of the Dominican Order went to the Pope, and in the name of the whole Order expressed his gratitude for a decision which gave the whole dispute, now so long drawn out, a new turn, and which, at any rate according to the statement of the adversaries of the Jesuits, "filled all good men with incredible joy."[4] This was because, after the death of Cardinal Madruzzo, Clement VIII. had thought it better not to continue the

[1] Memorial of June 28, 1599, in SERRY, 188 *seq.*

[2] De auxiliis divinae gratiae ac eorum efficatia, Rome, 1599.

[3] ELEUTHERIUS, 240 *seqq.* ASTRÁIN, 287 *seqq.* A writing in which 16 of the errors attributed by Davila to Molina are refuted as calumnies and compared with the true doctrines of the Jesuit theologian does not belong to Bellarmine, as Astráin (289) supposes. LE BACHELET, Auctarium, xxi.

[4] SERRY, 195 (according to Peña).

discussions between the Generals of the Orders, but to revert to that method by which the solution of the difficult question had first been sought, namely, that the book of Molina should once again become the central point of the discussions. A letter from Philip III., in which he expressed his desire for a speedy solution of the question,[1] perhaps contributed to giving a fresh direction to the controversy. Therefore the commission which had first pronounced judgment on Molina's book, was completed by the addition of Bishop Ippolito Masseri of Montepeloso, and the procurators of the Franciscan Observants and Conventuals, Giovanni de Rada[2] and Girolamo Palantieri. Their task was to examine the voluminous censure of Coronel, and to point out, after a careful examination, which of the objectionable theses were to be found in Molina. This work was completed on August 31st, 1600, and was presented to the Pope in the middle of October. Of the eleven consultors two had refused their signature, Piombino and Bovio, while all the others were in agreement in condemning twenty theses taken from Molina. There still exist a number of writings of that time from the individual members of the commission, all of whom pronounce against Molina,[3] with the exception of Bovio.

While the commission was still engaged upon this work,

[1] Among the "negotios que dexò pendentes el Duque de Sessa" it is noted: *El dicho 29. de Hebrero de 1600 scrivió Su M. al dicho Duque pidiese a S. S. mandar que los cardinales y otros ministros [who were treating of the controversy on grace] tomasen en este negocio con brevedad la resolucion que mas conveniese a servicio de Dios y bien universal de la cristiandad. . . . El 29. de Hebrero 1600 scrivió Su M. al dicho Duque pidiese a Su S. proveyese lo que mas conveniese sobre un libro de Molina S. J. que diz que esta censido por los cardenales a quien Su B. mando le biesen. The king wrote on the matter to the Pope on September 3, 1603. Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome, I., 9.

[2] Rada (died 1608) was really the most capable theologian on the commission; *cf.* HURTER, Nomenclator, II., Innsbruck, 1907, 396.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 291 *seqq.*

the Jesuits succeeded in getting a sight of the censure of Coronel and at once saw that it was defective in many points. In this Molina was blamed for several theses which were in common use among other theologians, or else things were attributed to the Jesuit theologian which he had never taught. The Jesuits reported these discoveries to the Pope in various expositions.[1] A special impression seems to have been made upon Clement VIII. by a writing of Aquaviva,[2] in which, so as to show the censure to be unjust, Molina's own words are compared with a number of the accusations of Coronel. To these were added the remonstrances of Bellarmine and others, so that Clement VIII. gave orders that the commission must also hear the defence of the Jesuits.[3]

Nevertheless, in spite of this concession, the position of the Jesuits still remained very unfavourable, and even apparently desperate. They had asked to be allowed to present their defence before other judges than the commission, for otherwise the censors would have been bound to pass judgment upon complaints which were directed against themselves and their judgments. But they obtained nothing by their request.[4] By the Pope's orders the commission was to hear the Jesuits, but the judgment was left to them, and the Dominicans were their advisers. The discussions were now conducted in the following way: first the censure was read, and was then defended by the Dominicans Diego Alvarez and Tommaso de Lemos, being then attacked by the Jesuits Cobos and Arrubal; at the end both Dominicans and Jesuits briefly summarized in writing what they had said orally.[5] Thus it seemed as though the last word lay with the Jesuits, but the Dominicans, in addition to the writings which were communicated to the theologians of the other party, secretly drew up others which were intended only for the

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 248 *seq.*

[2] In ELEUTHERIUS, 249 *seq.*

[3] ASTRÁIN, 293 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 295.

[5] *Ibid.* 295. Some specimens of the negotiations, *ibid.* 296 *seq.*

members of the commission, and in which they sought to refute anything that told in favour of Molina. The Jesuits learned of these intrigues, probably from their friend Bovio, and Gregorio de Valencia, who was present at the sessions together with Cobos and Arrubal, thereupon addressed his remonstrances to the Pope. Clement VIII. then gave orders that these observations of the Dominicans were also to be handed over to the defenders of Molina. This time the theologians of the Society of Jesus made use of very emphatic language in their reply. At the outset it is stated: "In this document the Dominican Fathers advance so many things which are not in accordance with the facts, that they could never have supposed that these observations which they have addressed to the censors unknown to us, would one day fall into our hands."[1]

The discussions before the commission lasted until May 7th, 1601. On August 31st of the same year the censors came to their final judgment, and, as was to be expected, this declared that the commission adhered to the censures already pronounced against Molina. Only Piombino and Bovio once again refused their signatures. On December 5th, 1601, the commission presented itself before the Pope to deliver the result of its labours.[2]

Clement VIII. was aghast at the quantity of documents and opinions that was laid before him. "A year may have been sufficient for you to write all this," he said, "but a year is not sufficient for me to read it." The commission laid the responsibility for such prolixity upon the objections and artifices of the Jesuits; the Pope, however, with his great intelligence and learning had no need to read it all. Santucci, who after the death of Resta had acted as president, then made the strange suggestion that it would be well not to inform the Jesuits of their judgments, so that the matter might not be prolonged indefinitely.[3]

[1] *Ibid.* 302 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 301.
[3] *Ibid.* 301 *seq.*

Clement VIII. at once saw that this new censure, the fourth in four years, was of no great use to him. If he was to settle the controversy personally by his supreme authority, then he must inform himself personally of all the details, and examine all these voluminous opinions. The observations of the Jesuits too could not be left unexamined; they would know how to lay their remonstrances before the Pope, even without being informed of the verdict of the commission. The suspicions which had been spread throughout the world on account of what had happened in Rome gave an opportunity for so doing. Molina, who died on October 12th, 1600, certainly knew nothing of the rumour which was spread throughout Spain that he had been condemned in Rome by a Papal sentence, and burned in effigy. On March 9th, 1601, Bellarmine had to reassure the Spanish Jesuits on this score;[1] an edict of the Spanish nuncio of September 21st, 1601, reminded men[2] of the Papal prohibition of mutual censures, and removed the grounds for such rumours.[3] But in Italy, Germany, France and Poland similar rumours did no little harm to the work of the Jesuits in the exercise of their ministry.[4]

In the meantime the Jesuits sought protection from the Pope, and on February 12th, 1602, they presented a memorial in which all the accusations which had been brought against them during the discussions in Rome were summarized under seven heads, together with a brief defence.[5]

In answer to the charge that they were exigent and would not be satisfied in their claims, they summarized the points in which their desires really consisted: 1. Since the origin of these discussions lies in the question: In what does the efficacy of grace consist, may it please Your Holiness to define what must be firmly held as to this, so that, following that infallible rule, everything that is not in accordance with that definition may be expunged from the books. 2. A judgment

[1] Letter to Padilla, in ELEUTHERIUS, 246.

[2] *Ibid.* 247.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 294.

[4] *Ibid.* 304.

[5] *Ibid.* 306-314, ELEUTHERIUS, 334-341.

should not be pronounced on the question of Molina, without his being heard. 3. That what we put forward on his behalf may be submitted, in accordance with the judgment of Your Holiness, to persons so well versed in dogma, and in such a degree specialists in scholastic theology, as such difficult questions demand; men, moreover, who have not taken sides on the question, so as to give their signature against Molina before making a careful examination, and thus staining their reputation in this respect. 4. If questions and replies are not to be carried on indefinitely, let us be allowed to reply in the last instance, as we are defending the cause of the accused, to whom that right belongs. In forming a judgment as to these questions, attention should be paid to the documents which were presented at the session; if anything has been brought forward against Molina in secret, of which we were not given a copy so that we might reply to it, such matter must not be taken into consideration until it has been communicated to us, and we have made our reply. 5. When our replies are examined, the judgment must not be restricted to generic observations as to Molina, but should state in detail which of his theses are blameworthy, so that we may know what to be on our guard against, as well as for other reasons. 6. Anything that is found deserving of censure in Molina, must also be deleted in those other theologians who hold the same doctrines.[1]

To the further reproach, that they were not satisfied with the judgment of the Roman censors, the Jesuits replied: 1. There are six on the commission who condemn the book, and two who approve it, and to each of those six we can oppose a tribunal, a university or a corporation that approves it. The Portuguese Inquisition has approved the book twice over, once by a majority of the votes of all the Qualificators, among whom were two Dominicans. The same was done by the supreme council of state of Castille and that of Aragon, who based their opinions upon those of the most eminent theologians. Moreover, the University of Alcalá, which

[1] Point 2, in Astráin, 307 *seq.*

examined the book with great care for a whole year, approved it when, by the orders of the Spanish Inquisition, the matter was discussed before that tribunal. On the same occasion the book was sent to the University of Siguenza, which is one of the four principal universities of Spain, and always has at its command persons of distinction, since canonries are attached to the professorial chairs; this university approved the book, and replied point by point to the objections. In like manner approval came from Italy, France and the Low Countries when the work was re-examined there for reprinting, and an imprimatur given. Moreover it received many approbations from prelates and doctors, to enumerate whom would take too long, besides which it is already abundantly clear from what we have said that the number of those who approve is greater than that of those who condemn. 2. Admitting that the judgment of the members of the commission was completely just, yet they had not heard us when they pronounced judgment the first time, and from that time onwards we have been compelled in our replies to make perpetual contradictions. As their reputation, it would seem, was already compromised, we cannot deny that for that very reason and from other circumstances as well,[1] we must look upon them as partizans in the question, and, in a certain sense, in an even greater degree than the Dominicans themselves. 3. The book of Molina is concerned with doctrines of faith of great importance, which are connected with the most difficult questions of scholastic theology; they demand on the one hand a most complete knowledge of the controversies with the heretics, and on the other a great familiarity with the most delicate subtleties of scholasticism. And although

[1] The "other circumstances" here alluded to, are more clearly expressed in the draft of a petition to Clement VIII. "The majority of the censors were for various reasons biassed in the matter, and had been selected by Cardinal Bonelli: two of them were his dependants and belonged to his famiglia: another belonged to the famiglia of Cardinal Ascoli (a Dominican), while there were other ties of dependence between them and the Dominicans." ASTRÁIN, 304.

we look upon the censors as very capable in their profession, and eminent for their learning, we take it for granted that they themselves would not deny that they have never before been forced to studies of this kind, either for the purpose of printing a book, or for disputations with heretics, or for teaching, outside their own Order, theses of this kind at any university. They themselves say that in their day nothing was known of such questions, and that they were not treated of; although, therefore, we look upon them as pious and learned, it is not going too far if we express our doubts as to the value of their opinions in such matters. 4. We know by experience that they have looked upon certain theses as being Molina's, which he himself looked upon quite otherwise, and that they have censured others to which they could not have attached any importance if they had sent a copy of them to us. 5. We cannot feel satisfied with their judgment because we see, for example, that they declare a thesis of Molina's to be Pelagian, which the universities of Alcalá, Bologna and Siguenza hold to be true, and which has been defended as such by the most learned men of almost all the Orders of Spain, and the contrary theses to which Bellarmine, Stapleton and Gregorio de Valencia, who have read so many of the books of the heretics, and have held disputations against them, and confuted and written against them, declare to be a Calvinist error. In like manner, nine universities in the countries bordering upon those of the heretics have passed a similar judgment on that thesis.[1]

When the Jesuits presented this memorial, Clement VIII. had already resolved to leave on one side the mass of judgments and opinions upon the dispute. He thought that the purpose would be more quickly attained if he were to allow himself to be informed verbally of the reasons in support of the two controverted opinions by those who themselves represented them. Thus began the last and most celebrated phase of the negotiations in Rome: the disputations in the presence of the Pope.

[1] Point 4, in ASTRÁIN, 309 *seq.*

The fatality which had hitherto pursued the Jesuits throughout the whole controversy, seemed destined to follow them from the opening of the new congregations. An imprudent act of theirs irritated the Pope against them exceedingly at the very moment when more than ever his good-will was so important to them. The occasion for this fresh storm was afforded by a subtle question of scholastic theology which had been defended at their college at Alcalá on March 7th, 1602.[1]

If, for example, a Pope has been canonically elected and recognized by the Church, then according to Catholic principles it must infallibly be held that he is truly Pope and successor of St. Peter ; but it is possible to go further and ask : is it only infallibly certain that such and such a Pope, for example Clement VIII., is the successor of St. Peter, or is this a truth of faith revealed by God ? If God has revealed that all men are descended from Adam, then He has also revealed that such and such a man is descended from Adam. Thus, in the phrase, which is certainly revealed : all legitimate Popes are the successors of the Prince of the Apostles, is there in like manner contained the other : in Clement VIII. is continued the true succession of Peter ? On this point theologians are of different opinions ; some reply in the affirmative, and others in the negative. The question is of no practical importance ; no theologians questioned that Clement VIII. was the true Pope, not even those who could not see in this a revealed truth in the full sense of the words.[2] Such a question was

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 333-337 ; ASTRÁIN, 315-331.

[2] This is in accordance with the expression of RANKE (Päpste, II.[6], 200 n.) ; " The doctrine which they (the Jesuits) threatened before Contarini, is that the Pope is indeed infallible, but that it is not an article of faith to hold this or that man to be the true Pope." It is not a question of the Jesuits in general but only of those of Alcalá, and there is certainly no threat to be found in their doctrine. Perhaps the passage of A. Harnack also refers to the thesis of Alcalá (or to the " threat " of a council ? *Cf. infra*, p. 353, n. 1) : " Not only did they threaten the Pope and seek to intimidate him, when it seemed that he was too favourable to

treated of in the lecture halls as an example by the help of which certain theses of the doctrine of faith could be explained.[1]

The Augustinians, for example, had, on May 7th, 1601, at Saragossa, maintained the negative view[2] without anyone being disturbed. When in the following July the same theses had been presented before the University of Alcalá by a professor, Peña called attention to this in Rome, and asked for the intervention of the Roman tribunals, without any steps being taken.[3] It was only when the Jesuits at Alcalá followed the example of the university on March 7th, 1602, at a public disputation,[4] that a veritable tempest broke out. A Dominican stated at a public disputation at Valladolid that the Jesuits had denied that Clement VIII. was truly Pope, and that if a Papal sentence was pronounced against them on the question of grace, they would maintain that they had not been condemned by a lawful Pope. It was in this sense that the matter was brought before the Pope himself.

Clement VIII. was not a theologian, and did not understand very much about the subtleties of scholasticism. Moreover, in the Eternal City suspicions were held of the Spaniards, for which their cesaropapalism and other pretensions against Rome had afforded abundant reason.[5] Clement VIII. therefore felt violent anger against the Jesuits of Alcalá. Aldobrandini was told to write at once to Ginnasio, to upbraid him for not having reported this unpleasant incident at Alcalá. If the Inquisition had not already interfered it must do so at once. The nuncio must then take the matter in hand with all speed, and he was therefore sent the censure which

the Dominicans, but even the most zealous Papalists shook the whole system to its foundations." (Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch. III., Freiburg, 1910, 739).

[1] Fuller details e.g. in CHRIST. PESCH, Praelectiones dogmaticae, VIII., Freiburg, 1910, n. 272 *seqq.*

[2] ASTRÁIN, 321 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 315.

[4] In general the Jesuits maintained the opposite thesis

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 195 *seq.*

Rome had launched "against this bestiality, not to call it a thesis."[1]

The Inquisition feared that unless it interfered at once, the process would be transferred to Rome with the loss of its own prestige; it therefore at once caused four Jesuits to be thrown into prison, namely the student who maintained the thesis at the disputation, his professor, the rector of the college, and the celebrated theologian Gabriel Vasquez.[2] The nuncio would have liked first of all to have sent to Rome, as being responsible, the three doctors of Alcalá, who were the predecessors of the Jesuits in their defence of the thesis, but on May 8th, 1602, the king intervened on their behalf.[3] Clement VIII. decided that the cause of the four Jesuits, as well as that of the three doctors, must be judged in Spain. But the form in which he wrote this order in his own hand, on the last page of the letter to Ginnasio, shows once more the anger with which the events at Alcalá had filled him. "The pride and presumption of these Spaniards in this matter —for there is no question of inculpating the Italians—is so great that they dare to write and print new and most perilous doctrines; it is therefore necessary that the Inquisition there should keep its eyes open . . . How true this is, is shown by this last act of misconduct, while another proof is to be found in the obstinacy with which they defend Molina, since in this matter as well it is not a case of more than four Spaniards, who spring from God knows what race.[4] Write to him (the nuncio) that we are satisfied, on account of the pressure brought to bear by the king, that the Inquisition there should examine, not only the cause of the Jesuits, but also that of those who have been summoned to Rome, but on condition that We are kept informed of what takes place.[5]

[1] Letter of March 30, 1602, in ASTRÁIN, 318.

[2] *Ibid.* 319.

[3] *Ibid.* 319 *seq.*

[4] De la Bastida was of Jewish origin; the same is asserted of Molina in the *Annales, composed by Paolo Emilio Santori, Vallicella Library, Rome, K. 7 *seq.*, 615.

[5] ASTRÁIN, 320.

It was not difficult for the accused Jesuits to make clear before the Spanish Inquisition the mistake of which they had been the victims. They were able to produce a number of skilled theologians who taught exactly the same thing.[1] After a month and a half Vasquez and the rector of the Jesuits were set at full liberty as being innocent; in the case of the two others the professed house of the Jesuits at Toledo was to serve as their prison.[2]

However serious the situation might be for the Jesuits there was not wanting a humorous side to the question.[3] Among the theologians whom the Jesuits had cited in their defence was no other than their old adversary Bañes, and thus the seventy-five year old scholar, after his long struggle with the Jesuits, found himself entangled in the same net as themselves. The old scholar had for a long time retired from his chair and from disputations, but on this occasion the old lion felt himself moved once more to enter the lists. On July 2nd, 1602, at Valladolid, where the court then was, he organized a public disputation, which was to be as brilliant as possible, in the Church of the Dominicans. The nuncio and many illustrious gentlemen were present. A thesis was discussed, which, though it did not recede from his previous theses, left nothing to be desired in the matter of devotion to the Roman See.[4] He would have liked Spanish to have been chosen as the language for the discussion, so that the greatest possible number of persons might be convinced of his true opinions, but the Constable of Castille to whom he expressed this wish, drily replied that he preferred Greek, because in that way even less of the question would be understood. But Bañes was able to repair the loss by delivering a panegyric on Clement VIII. after the disputation. "Before God I am speaking the truth," he began, "when I say that I have read of and seen many holy and good lives of Roman

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.* 322.
[3] *Ibid.* 323 *seqq.*
[4] Text of the thesis, *ibid.* 323.

pontiffs, from the time of the Apostles to our own day, but I have never read of greater holiness and goodness than that of this Pope, by which I mean to say that Clement VIII. always has been, and always will be a true representative of Christ, and successor of the Prince of the Apostles." He said that this to him was a dogma, that he had always taught it and looked upon the contrary view as heresy and a shameless act of effrontery.[1] Then the Constable spoke, and pointed out that such assertions were superfluous, for no one of those present had called the authority of the Pope in question. Bañes replied that this was true, but that it was necessary to consolidate those sound sentiments, and that if anyone should maintain the contrary it ought to be made plain to all that for such persons there were always judges in Spain to brand them as heretics. Bañes then wrote to the Pope that by his disputation he had stamped out a dangerous error, which on account of the reputation of its supporters might have spread throughout the world, and begged him at the same time to decide the dispute on grace by a pontifical sentence.[2] The Trinitarian Zumel also held a similar disputation with his old friend Bañes, and wrote an account of it to Rome, receiving, in accordance with the usage of the Curia, a eulogistic reply, as did Bañes himself.[3] Naturally the Jesuits could not now be left behind. On July 10th, 1602, they also prepared a disputation at Valladolid, in which they endeavoured to give satisfaction to the offended Pope; this they could do all the more easily in that probably the greater number of them did not share the opinions of their brethren at Alcalá. They allowed themselves to say, however, without

[1] "Disse di N.S. molte lodi, tra le quali la prima fu, que delante de Dios que yo diga la verdad, disse egli, che dagli Apostoli in qua ha letto e visto molte vite di Pontifici Romani sante e buone, ma maggiore santità, ne bontà di quella di questo Papa non l'ha giammai letta, ne vista, ne intesa dire." Ginnasio in ASTRÁIN, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.* 325; SCORRAILLE, I., 440.

[3] ASTRÁIN, 325 *seq.* The brief of March 10, 1603, in SERRY, 287.

naming Bañes, that the thesis recently maintained by a Dominican theologian was not altogether satisfactory.[1]

The nuncio, who was not a theologian, and had not a sufficient knowledge of the state of the question, made a report to Rome concerning the Jesuit disputation, but in rather frigid terms. On the other hand he zealously supported at the Inquisition the condemnation of the culprits of Alcalá.

The tribunal of the faith thus found itself in a position of much embarrassment; it understood perfectly well that there were no grounds for a condemnation, but on the other hand had to take into account the irritation of the Pope and the pressure of the nuncio. At length, in September, 1602, the sentenced was pronounced, which, however, was not published until the summer of 1603.[2] This was an acquittal, though an exhortation and admonition were to be addressed to the accused,[3] that is to say an exhortation to greater prudence, and an admonition for the imprudence already committed.

In the meantime the indignation of Clement VIII. had evaporated. Cardinal Aldobrandini wrote on April 12th, 1603, to the nuncio in Spain that the great accumulation of papers and opinions on the theses of Alcalá had been laid aside, together with the question itself. Clement VIII. had thus discovered that, notwithstanding the thesis of Alcalá, no one thought of calling his authority and dignity as Pope in question.

Nevertheless, all this presaged ill for the subsequent development of the controversies on grace.

The misapprehensions of the Pope had shown, clearly enough, that he had no profound dogmatic knowledge. Indeed, it is not even certain that he had ever studied dogmatics. In his youth he had attended the University of Bologna, but the students who intended to devote themselves to the service

[1] Astráin, 326.

[2] *Ibid.* 327 *seqq.*

[3] "Liberatoria, facta prius illis monitione seu correctione," *Ibid.* 331.

of the Curia studied canon law, nor is there anything to show that young Aldobrandini was an exception.[1] Yet now Clement VIII. intended to preside in person at the congregations at which the most thorny questions of dogmatic theology were to be treated of. In spite of his age he plunged eagerly into the study of theology, read far into the night, laboured and attended disputations, so that Cardinal Pierbenedetti laughingly remarked that in his old age he had changed from a jurist into a theologian.[2] He thought that in this way, and by listening to the discussions, he would attain to that clearness of view which was necessary in order to formulate a dogmatic judgment; in this matter he acted rather as a private individual who wanted thoroughly to understand a scientific question, than as a Pope who was preparing to make a dogmatic definition.

The new series of disputations began on March 20th, 1602. There were assembled in the Pope's apartments his closest advisers, Cardinals Pompeo Arigoni and Camillo Borghese, besides the members of the commission who had already four times spoken in condemnation of Molina, and who were now reinforced by four more consultors. Lastly there were the two Generals of the Orders and the theologians chosen by them; the General of the Dominicans, Girolamo Javieres, was again accompanied by Diego Alvarez; the General of the Jesuits brought with him as his theologian Gregory of Valencia.

The discussions which now began followed exactly the same course as that which had previously had so little result. This time again the first place was not given to the dogmatic thesis —in what does efficacious grace consist—but to Molina's book. This time, in examining the book, they did not even

[1] *Ibid.* 332.

[2] *Ipse (Clement VIII.) efferventissime vigiliis, laboribus et libris incubare, disputationibus adesse, quaestiones invehere, disputare, sibi non parcere, atque, ut Perbenedictus ioco dicere solebat, ex iurisperito repente in senecta theologus evaserat (Annales of P. E. Santori, Vallicella Library, Rome, K 7 *seq.*, 615b). *Cf.* COUDERC, I., 346, 352.

confine themselves to the principal question, whether Molina was right in rejecting physical predetermination, and introducing in its stead the "scientia media" of God, but it was once more asked whether there were to be found in the disputed book theses which would justify its condemnation. Moreover, in the examination of the theses of Molina, the most difficult course was followed, namely their comparison with the doctrine of St. Augustine. Undoubtedly St. Augustine is looked upon by the Catholic Church as being par excellence the master of the doctrine of grace. But he often speaks with certain presuppositions, and refers to conditions which were well known and familiar to his first readers, but which cannot be understood by posterity, except by painful scientific study. Therefore he is not easy to understand in all particulars, and in the course of the history of the Church has given rise to many misunderstandings.

It was therefore easy to see that the disputations would be very long protracted, when, a few weeks after the opening congregation the Pope proposed as the subject of the next discussions the two questions: did Augustine or Molina attribute greater force for good to the free will, and was the thesis of Molina that God gives man His grace while he is doing what is within the reach of his natural powers,[1] to be found in Augustine, or was it at anyrate in accordance with his spirit, and recognized by him as a universal law of the order of grace. The first of these theses proposed by the Pope was treated of in eight congregations. The question was discussed whether man is capable of performing by his purely natural powers, without the help of grace, things that are naturally good, and whether he can do so even in difficult circumstances, for example, if he had to choose between death and sin; also whether man is capable of assenting by his natural powers to the truths of faith, and whether he is capable by his purely natural powers of aspiring to faith and to supernatural help, of asking both from God, and of disposing himself to receive them. Then came the

[1] ELEUTHERIUS, 341; ASTRÁIN, 337.

question: what is the part taken by the free will in receiving grace and in increasing it, and whether the free will is sufficient to arouse repentance for the love of God, or in general any act of the love of God which is purely natural, or to resist temptations. At the ninth congregation, on September 30th, 1602, the second of the questions originally proposed was arrived at. So far what had been always done was to first establish the doctrine of Augustine as to all these points, then that of Molina, and then to compare the two opinions. At the tenth congregation Augustine was abandoned, and until January 1603, that is to say for seven whole months, the doctrine of Molina was compared with that of Cassian,[1] who is suspect of semi-Pelagianism without scholars having come to an agreement on the question down to the present day. Then the doctrine of Molina as to contrition and attrition, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, was examined,[2] after which a return was made to Augustine, in order to discover a contradiction between him and Molina. In this way question succeeded question, and month after month went by, without any decision being come to. It seemed as though the principal question was being almost purposely evaded. The physical predetermination of the Dominicans almost disappeared from the scene during the discussions; only three congregations concerned themselves with the "scientia media" of Molina, and these were the only ones during the whole of the year 1604 which were of any importance for the true point of the controversy. Then the matter was again allowed to lapse, and on January 4th, 1605, the question of eternal predestination was dealt with. Another congregation was fixed for February 12th, but by then Clement VIII. had already been seized by the malady from which he never recovered.

Each of these congregations lasted for several hours. At the very first Alvarez and Valencia disputed for a full four hours; the Avvisi of July 27th, 1602, relate that the dis-

[1] ASTRÁIN, 347 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 348.

putation lasted uninterruptedly for seven hours on end.[1] After the discussion by the theologians, as at first arranged, the Cardinals and consultors were at once to pronounce their judgment upon what had been said. From the eighth congregation onwards the discussions by the Cardinals and consultors were separated from the disputation by the theologians, and transferred to one of the following days. This explains how it is that the number of the congregations is differently stated. Of the meetings, 68 took place under Clement VIII.; at 37 of these the theologians disputed, while the Cardinals and consultors deliberated at the others. The total number of congregations under Clement VIII. and Paul V. was no less than 85.[2] If the method so far adopted had been continued, such congregations could have carried on for years to come without arriving at any conclusion.

That this method was a mistake was pointed out to the Pope with great frankness by Cardinal Bellarmine. He frequently told the Pope not to deceive himself, and said that, as he was not a theologian, he must not suppose that he would be able by his own studies to penetrate so obscure a question.[3] At the end of 1601 or at the beginning of 1602, Bellarmine addressed a letter to Clement VIII.[4] in which he gives him information about Pelagius, and then implores the Pope to free the Church from the scandal of the dispute about grace as soon as possible, to restore unity, and to deprive the

[1] *Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

[2] Astráin, 344. Scorraille (I., 438) counts 70 congregations under Clement VIII., 39 for disputations, and 31 for the corresponding deliberations; under Paul V. he counts 11 disputations of the theologians and 8 deliberations of the consultors, in all therefore 89 congregations.

[3] "Ipse tamen N. saepe admonuit Pontificem, ut caveret fraudem, et non putaret, se studio proprio, cum theologus non esset, posse ad intelligentiam rei obscurissimae pervenire." Autobiografia, 465.

[4] Original text in Le Bachelet, Auctarium, 143-147, and Döllinger, Beiträge, III., 83-87; extract in Serry, 271-273; Lämmer, Melet., 382.

heretics of the opportunity of rejoicing at the discord among the Catholics. "And if it be lawful for me on a matter of such importance to say what I think as a Cardinal appointed by Your Holiness, and as your faithful servant, then I pray you to consider that the way which had been adopted had been shown to be very long and very fatiguing for Your Holiness." The direct way is not that of secret discussions with a few persons, but that of public discussions, and there would be scandal if a decision were to be made without public discussion. If a public discussion by a synod of bishops, or at any rate by an assembly of the doctors of the various universities, cannot be avoided, it should be summoned before the Pope has read all that he has set himself to read. Previous Popes, in matters of dogmatic decisions, have not relied principally upon their own study of dogmatics, but upon the general conviction of the Church, and especially of the bishops and doctors; in this way, without personal fatigue, Luther, for example, was condemned by Leo X., and many errors by Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV. with the assistance of the Council of Trent. The other method, that of personal scientific study, was attempted, for example, by John XXII., but without result, and "Your Holiness is faced by the danger to which Sixtus V. exposed himself and the whole Church when he set himself to correct the Holy Scriptures in accordance with his own views; I do not know that it ever passed through a greater danger." There were two ways to put an end to the dispute on grace; either to impose silence on both parties, or to convoke a synod of bishops or of chosen scholars from all the Catholic universities. But above all Bellarmine asked that, until a definite judgment was given, the mouths of those should be closed who went about spreading the rumour that the Pope had already formed his own convictions, that he leaned towards one of the parties, and was ill-disposed towards the other, for otherwise no one would any longer dare to express his own opinion.

For a long time Bellarmine had been held in high esteem by Clement VIII., and when he was made a Cardinal[1] the

[1] ASTRÁIN, 270.

Pope said that the Church had no one to equal him in learning. As long as the influence of the Jesuit Cardinal lasted, the Pope was favourable to the doctrine of grace of the Society of Jesus, which he openly called, when talking with him "Our opinion"[1]; but not later than April, 1600, when he ordered the examination of Molina's book, Clement VIII. had become subject to other influences, and altogether took the side of the Dominicans. The whole course and result of the congregations on the doctrine of grace show this. The choice of the subject to be discussed was entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Dominicans; the Jesuits, on the other hand, were forced against their will to defend Molina's book in all its theses, and never were able to obtain their desire to see physical predetermination brought under discussion.

Clement VIII., against the advice of Bellarmine, never made a secret of his own leanings. The Roman weekly news-sheet of March 23rd, 1602, says that he declared openly against the Jesuits;[2] a few months later it reported that he had openly

[1] Autobiografia, 465: "Sententiam Societatis Papa vocabat sententiam Nostram."

[2] *Avviso of March 23, 1602 (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library): This week the Pope held a congregation of Cardinals and theologians about the controversy on grace "et ci fù gran disbattere et portare de libri hinc inde, in modo che S.S. risolve tener anco due altre congregationi, ove vuole che intervenghino anco li cardenali et prelati del Concilio, e poì sapirla, et già si vede l'inclinatione, anzi S.S. si lascia intendere apertamente, che và contra Jesuitas, ma ci è dubbio, che questi veglino et dimandino un Concilio, et che ci sarà di fare, ma in tanto il P. Monopoli la predica publicamente contro di loro." Bellarmine had actually suggested to the Pope that the convocation of a council would be the proper way to decide the controversy (Vol. XXIII., p. 358). There are, however no proofs of what certain people assert (SERRY, 270 *seq.*, and following him, RANKE, Päpste, II.[9], 200), namely that the Jesuits wished to obtain a council against the will of the Pope, and that they asked this in order to deny the infallibility of the Pope. *Cf.* L. DE. MEYERE, 289.

declared himself against them.[1] The Papal preacher of the Apostolic Palace, Anselmo Marzato of the Capuchin Order, who was one of the consultors at the congregations on the doctrine of grace, openly took the part of the Dominicans against the Jesuits in his conferences;[2] in January 1603, in the Pope's presence he expressed himself in such a way that the coming condemnation of the Jesuits seemed to be heralded.[3] In July 1602 Clement VIII. distributed large alms to obtain the assistance of God in an important matter, and the decision as to the doctrine of grace seemed to be imminent.[4] When the Pope paid a visit to the Jesuits on February 10th, 1603, he was given a present of some oil from the Indies. He asked whether Extreme Unction should be given with this to the Dominicans or the Jesuits. He then paid a visit to the Friars Preachers, and sent them some food from his own table, in order to show that the Jesuits had not affected him by their Indian oil.[5]

Clement VIII. undoubtedly had the intention of putting an end to the controversy between the two Orders by means of a dogmatic decision, but he was too conscientious to do anything hastily in the matter, and a condemnation of Molina seemed to become more and more impossible. It was reported again and again that the Papal decision was imminent, but those who looked more deeply into the question

[1] *Avviso of July 27, 1602 (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library): At the congregation of this week seven hours of uninterrupted disputation about Molina "et finalmente S.B. disse che unusquisque abundet in sensu (Rom. xiv. 5), seben per Roma si dice pubblicamente, che habbia dichiarata contra Jesuitas." The *Avviso of August 3 (*ibid.*) reports: "Si crede secundo dicono tutti che andrà contra li Jesuiti, li quali però si aiutano quanto possono, ma pur si quieteranno, come si sono quietati del decreto fatto, che non si possa confessare per epistolam, come essi tenevano."

[2] *Avvisi of March 9 and 23, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library

[3] *Avviso of January 8, 1603, Urb. 1071, *ibid.*

[4] *Avviso of July 31, 1602, Urb. 1070, *ibid.*

[5] *Avviso of February 15, 1603, Urb. 1071, *ibid.*

did not allow themselves to be deceived by such rumours. At the beginning of 1602 Bellarmine had gone so far as to tell the Pope that His Holiness would never give a dogmatic decision on the question, and he had remained fixed in his opinion, in spite of the assurances of the Pope to the contrary.[1] Clement VIII. was not a little disturbed by the apparent obstinacy of the Cardinal, and gave him a severe admonition.[2] But Bellarmine knew well enough what he was saying. Molina in his book had always connected his theses with the traditions of the past; it was impossible to condemn any of his assertions without at the same time involving a number of other illustrious theologians; the Dominicans would have to allow their own theologians to be involved if they wished to obtain the condemnation of Molina. Bellarmine had written in this sense to the Spanish Jesuits,[3] and the celebrated Jesuit theologian, Gabriel Vasquez, had spoken to the same effect.[4] The remonstrances of Bellarmine had no other effect than to cause the Pope to appoint him Archbishop of Capua, and thus remove him from Rome.[5]

[1] Autobiografia, 465: "aperte ille praedixit, a Sanctitate sua quaestionem illam non esse definiendam; et cum ille replicaret se definiturum, respondit N.: Sanctitas vestra non eam definiet."

[2] Peña, Diarium, in Astráin, 340.

[3] Bellarmine to Padilla, March 9, 1601, in Scorraille, I., 421.

[4] Vasquez to De Hojeda, Alcalá, June 20, 1601, *ibid.* 421 n.

[5] *Cf.* Couderc, 341 *seq.* We may also make mention of other motives for the tension between the Pope and the Cardinal. *Ceterum Pontifex suique in arcano infensi Bellarmino censebantur, quod cum Parmensi nuptias, quod amplissimam dotem et pauperum patrimonium inter nuptialia instrumenta distributum improbasset. . . . Aperte ambitionem atque in maritanda tam praeclare pronepte elationem animi improbavit, et crebris principem schedulis exaratis de animae salute commonuerat, Baronii misertus, quod principi a sacris confessionibus, multa reticeret,—nam ita iussum sibi fuisse mihi affirmabat—, quae ad publicam utilitatem deferri oportebat. Horum princeps haud inscius . . . dissimulata in Bellarminum iracundia, Iesuitas acriter agitare, tanto violentior Sixto, quanto honestior premendi species videbatur [in the controversy on grace]. . . . Bellar-

The view of Bellarmine and of a few others, who were especially well versed in the matter, was not, however, that of the great majority. All Europe was impatiently awaiting the issue of the controversy. Even the Protestants eagerly gave ear to the rumours that were constantly being spread that Molina had already been condemned. Scribani, the rector of the Jesuits, wrote from Antwerp,[1] "I can find no words to describe the expressions of joy with which this news has been received by the heretics of our city. Some of them have gone so far as to congratulate themselves that the view of Calvin as to free will has at last been recognized as true, and that the Papists who were formerly so proud of their unity, now find themselves at issue as to the principal dogmas of faith." Scribani does not hesitate to say that such a condemnation would be a graver blow to the Catholic religion in Flanders than the long and bloody years of the civil wars. The Catholics were living in a state of fear, and were miserably depressed by the rumours which were being spread in Holland, and which would provide an opportunity for a flood of libels against the Catholics at the coming fair.

These rumours, which continued to be spread, were a sore trial to the whole Society of Jesus; the reputation of their teaching and their schools were bound to suffer grievous injury on their account. The very fact that the Order had had to sacrifice some of its most distinguished scholars for the absolutely sterile work of the congregations on the doctrine of grace, was in itself no small loss. Gregory of Valencia,

minum Capuano archiepiscopatu demulsum specie honoris Urbe amolitus, donec in vivis egit, regredi non est passus. [the dispute on grace], totius Europae academiis in factiones distractis Apostolico Dominicanis aequiore et Iesuitarum opiniones premente. . . . Et cum in arcano odisset, illorum disciplinas atque instituta palam laudare. [In view of the attitude of John XXII. the Jesuits had no doubt as to the issue] nec aliter permissurum Deum credere, ieiuniis et precibus dediti ad averruncandam in se, quamquam occultaretur, in se principis iram. Santorii Annales, Vallicella Library, Rome, K 7 *seq.*, 615 *seq.*

[1] March 16, 1602, in SCORRAILLE, I., 441.

who was first appointed to defend their cause there, fell seriously ill after the first eight congregations. His recovery was awaited for a month, and then he was replaced by Pedro di Arrubal. Valencia died soon afterwards, on March 26th, 1603, the victim, it was supposed, of the excessive work which he had had to undergo during the hottest months of the summer, with the oppressive feeling that the whole honour of the Order depended upon him.[1] His successor, too, Arrubal, was taken ill in June 1603[2]; after four months respite in the disputations, his place was taken by Ferdinando de la Bastida. After the latter had had to carry on the disputations at three congregations in the fourteen days between November 10th and 25th, 1603, it was only on December 1st that he received information of the subject that he was to defend on December 8th, and poured out his grievance to the Pope in a letter[3] that was somewhat excited. In this he said that even if he were able to study uninterruptedly day and night he would not have time to prepare so difficult a subject, in view of this hasty procedure. Nor was the hint lacking that the Dominicans wished to wear out their adversaries and prevent them from preparing themselves as they should. The Pope should not permit him to lose his health and his life by such excessive labour.

The Dominicans too replaced the defender of their cause, immediately after the first congregation, by Tommaso de Lemos. The reasons for this change are not known; it is only known that at the end of the session silence was imposed under pain of excommunication, and that according to De Lemos the Jesuits were satisfied with the reuslt of the disputation. De Lemos, who is described as a man of great physical robustness, lasted until the end of the congregations,[4] although, in spite of all remonstrances, these were very long drawn out.

[1] Astráin, 345.
[2] *Ibid.* 348.
[3] *Ibid.* 351 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* 337.

The pressure which was brought to bear on the Pope by the Spanish government to hasten the discussions was especially importunate. Philip II. had already addressed himself to Rome for this purpose; his son, although he knew nothing about the controverted matter, signed, under the pressure of those interested, a whole series of similar letters, both to the Pope and the ambassador in Rome,[1] even before the congregations in the presence of the Pope had been begun. De la Bastida hinted, in the letter already mentioned, that the king was acting under the influence of the Dominicans, but there are also to be found edicts of the king to his ambassador which can only have been inspired by the Jesuits. Thus a royal order to the Duke of Sessa, of June 2nd, 1600, contains a command to present to the Pope, in the king's name, a request that he will first direct the examination to the question of doctrine, and only then examine in the same way, *both* the suspected books, that of Bañes equally with that of Molina.[2] The Duke of Sessa wrote on July 12th, 1601, that so far there had been no talk of the principal point, and that all that had been dealt with was the work of Molina, its correction and its condemnation. According to the assertion of the Dominicans, the whole discussion would come to an end if certain theses of Molina's were condemned; the Jesuits were defending these theses, but asserted that the controversy which the Pope should decide was not principally concerned with these.[3] Such expressions obviously revealed the point of view of the Jesuits. Duke William of Bavaria and the widow of the Emperor Maximilian II. also intervened on behalf of the Jesuits, but the Pope rather angrily replied: "We are convinced," he wrote to the Duke of Bavaria, "that your intercession can be traced to certain people who would comply better with their office and their duty if they

[1] ASTRÁIN (349 *seq.*) mentions the letters of Philip III. of the year 1600: Viso February 29, Cercedilla, June 2, Medina del Campo, July 21; in the year 1601 the letters of the Duke of Sessa of July 12 and December 3, etc. *Cf.* COUDERC, I., 360 *seq.*

[2] ASTRÁIN, 349.

[3] *Ibid.*

paid attention with humility and submission to the judgment of the Holy See, instead of seeking for such intercession."[1] He wrote in the same sense to the Archduchess Maria.[2]

Throughout the whole of this matter Clement VIII. preserved a holy gravity. When at the opening of the first congregation he recited on his knees aloud a prayer to the Holy Ghost, it was to be seen that he was deeply moved, and the tears flowed from his eyes. He celebrated mass before each congregation, or at any rate received Holy Communion if his gout did not permit of his doing so.[3] During the summer months of 1602, which were oppressively hot, he took part like the others at the wearisome sessions which lasted for hours, and not even in the October of that year would he leave Rome, so as not to be absent from the heated controversy.[4] He assured the Spanish ambassador, when the latter urged him to take more care of himself, that he was working and toiling to the best of his ability, in order to get to the bottom of the matter.[5] Some marginal notes and underlined words in a printed copy of the book of Molina, preserved at Tortosa, prove that he had at any rate attempted to make a profound study of the not easily to be understood work.[6]

[1] In SCORRAILLE, I., 422 *seq.*

[2] August 20, 1601, in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV. (1856), 233. The University of Würzburg in a letter of July 7, 1601, to the Pope regretted the report that certain Catholic theologians were teaching that physical predetermination to which the will cannot refuse its consent, and it feared that on account of this assertion the heretics would become more obstinate in their errors. (RULAND, Series professorum theologiae Wirceburgensium (1835), 258 *seq.* The Duke of Sessa also said on February 28, 1603 (in COUDERC, I., 362) that the Protestants were exploiting the controversy against the Jesuits.

[3] SCORRAILLE, I., 431 *seq.*

[4] *Avviso of October 9, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

[5] Sessa, December 3, 1602, in ASTRÁIN, 350.

[6] *Ibid.* 354 *seq.* For the small copy of Molina, belonging to Clement VIII., with autograph notes by the Pope, see *Razon y Fe*, XXIV. (1909), 183-194.

If in spite of all this he did not succeed in settling the controversy between the two Orders, the fault must be attributed to those about him. Not being himself a theologian, he had to trust to the advice of others, and he was badly advised. Above all, the way which he chose for the solution of the controversy was quite unusual, and never before attempted. Previous Popes had left the judgment on literary works either to the Inquisition or to the Congregation of the Index, and then considered their judgment with full confidence. But now an unheard of thing happened; a special congregation was appointed of which the Pope held the presidency in person. The disputations were indefinitely protracted, and all to ascertain whether a book contained heretical theses or not. For a thousand years no such unheard of honour had been accorded to any author. Peace between the Dominicans and Jesuits could be restored by the condemnation of Molina, yet the learned and careful theologian could not be convicted of heretical thesis. Certain Jesuits, for example Bellarmine, were not in agreement with Molina as to all his theses, but it is one thing to hold a thesis to be mistaken or inexact, and quite another to hold it to be heretical and deserving of theological censure, and the congregations held in the presence of Clement VIII. finally justified Molina in this respect. Moreover, it was certainly a mistake to suppose that peace would be restored between the two Orders by the condemnation of certain theses of Molina. If this end was to be attained by means of a dogmatic decision, the principal question which was dividing the Order of Preachers and the Society of Jesus would have to be directly dealt with. But this was entirely set aside. The "scientia media" of Molina was only briefly dealt with in comparison with other questions of minor importance; "physical predetermination" was hardly discussed at all. The dispute turned always on secondary questions, while the burning principal question was entirely neglected. Lastly, it may be asked whether it was fair morally to force the Jesuits to defend Molina and his book; they always clung firmly to the point of view that the whole Society of Jesus as such could not be held responsible

for every thesis of Molina. Nevertheless circumstances had worked together to embitter the quarrel in such a way that a condemnation of Molina would have been looked upon as a defeat of the whole Jesuit Order, and as a proof of its scientific incapacity. The Jesuits therefore, whether they willed or not, had to resolve upon the defence of Molina if only to prevent a mortal blow against themselves. From the beginning the two Orders were not treated on equal terms. The Dominicans were allowed to come forward as the "defenders of the doctrine of grace," and as the accusers, while the Jesuits had to take their place on the bench of the accused; thus the Pope put himself into a position which, after the end of the matter, proved a false one.

"Pope Clement" so judged his successor Paul V., "regretted that he had allowed himself to be engulfed in this business, and that after many years of disputations he could find no way of coming out of it well."[1] It could not have been otherwise, once he had allowed himself to be led into the mistake of making Molina's book the centre of the discussions. It would seem, however, that towards the end of his days, Clement VIII. regarded the opinion of the Jesuits more kindly when there came to Rome Cardinal du Perron, after Bellarmine and Stapleton the greatest controversial theologian against Protestantism, who said to him that all the Calvinists and Lutherans in France and Germany would hold jubilee over the condemnation of the opinion of the Jesuits, and would see in it an acceptance of their own doctrine of free will.[2]

[1] "Che Papa Clemente era pentito d'esseri ingolfato in questo negozio, et che dopo molti et molti anni di dispute non trovava il verso d'uscirne bene." SCHNEEMANN, 296; SCORRAILLE, I., 445.

[2] SCORRAILLE, I., 443. Bellarmine says in a reply to a letter of Du Perron of February 10, 1605: Rendo ancora a Dio Benedetto molte grazie, che abbia fatto venire a Roma in tempore della controversia de auxiliis la persona di V. S. Illma perche se bene io più volte ho fatto sapere a N. S. quanto sia vicina al Calvinismo l'opinione della fiscia predeterminatione, e come è

Thus the failure of the Pope in this difficult matter seemed to be inevitable and beyond doubt. In spite of this, from another point of view, Clement is deserving of every admiration. It is impossible not to realize his zeal to free the Church from a troublesome disunion, nor the conscientiousness and perseverance with which he took upon his own shoulders the crushing burden of personal attendance at the congregations, nor the self-control which never suffered him to take any mistaken action of importance against the Jesuits, in spite of his distrust of them, nor his sincere desire to arrive at the truth. If with all this it was not granted him to gather the harvest of his labours, he at anyrate has the credit of having smoothed the way for his successor to a happy solution of the question.

Both the scholars whose controversy had laid such a heavy burden on the head of the Church preceded Clement VIII. to the grave. Bañes died on October 21st, 1604, at Medina del Campo. It is said that a short time before he breathed his last he protested that he believed all that he had written concerning the question of grace as firmly as he believed in the unity and trinity of God, but that he submitted everything to the judgment of the Pope and the Church.[1] If Bañes really said this he has in so doing given a further proof that his undoubtedly great intellect often allowed itself to be guided more by his strong will than by the conviction of proof,

abborita dalla maggior parte delle Università cattoliche, massime da quelle, che stanno a fronte degli eretici : nondimeno la parte contraria ha procurato, che non mi sia data piena fede per essere Gesuita, e per conseguenza interessato. Ma in V. S. Ill. non si può trovare eccezione alcuna essendo noto a tutti, como Lei può giudicare meglio di qualsivoglia altro di questa controversia e non ci ha altro interesse che della verità e fede cattolica : siche Iddio l'ha mandata, acciò le passioni de molti altri e l'emulazione, che hanno colle Gesuiti, non faccia intorbidare la verità in cosa di tanto momento (Laemmer, Meletemata, 382). Du Perron was a " buona lancia " for the Jesuits, wrote later on, on September 7, Canon Gualdo to Peiresc (Prat, Coton V., 243).

[1] SCORRAILLE, I., 445 *seq.*

since neither Dominican nor Jesuit could place his view on the controversy about grace on the same level as the great truths of faith.

Four years earlier, on October 12th, 1600, there preceded him to the grave the man against whom Bañes had in life carried on a struggle so long, and as the event proved, so unjust. Molina was without doubt one of the most acute minds of his time, a time so rich in great theologians. But with all this he was not one of those who immerse themselves in the world of their own ideas without heeding the course of events around them; the star which had guided him in his scientific labours was always, in his eyes, the welfare of the Church. Just as his work on grace and liberty aimed at finding a foundation for a solid solution of a difficulty that was then very popular,[1] so the voluminous book to which he devoted the labours of his latter years aimed at providing a solid scientific basis for the decisions of the confessor and the parish priest, dealing in six volumes with the questions of canon law and justice. As they did in learning, so did Bañes and Molina stand at opposite poles in character; Bañes the head of a school, as it were predestined to gather others round him, to imbue them with his ideas, and fill them with enthusiasm for difficult undertakings; Molina, working in silence, as a man a picture of non-resistance, as a religious as submissive as a child to his superiors in spite of his great learning, yet a man according to the spirit of Thomas a Kempis, whose Imitation of Christ he read every day. In his last illness he no longer interested himself in scientific questions; when his superior asked him concerning his still unpublished books he replied that the Society of Jesus might do as it liked with them. His life was filled with disputes and attacks, but he always maintained peace of soul, in the firm conviction that he had truth on his side. A kindly star seemed to shine over his life, for however desperate his cause might have seemed, in the end it turned steadily in his favour.[2]

[1] See *supra*, p. 284.

[2] SCORRAILLE, I., 433 *seqq.*

The controversy between the two Orders did not end with the death of the two leaders, and the Roman discussions had on the contrary embittered and indefinitely prolonged the struggle; but we must be careful not to attribute this unhappy result only to the imprudent impetuosity of Bañes. The struggle between the older and the younger Order took its origin in the circumstances of the time and was difficult to avoid.

Throughout their course of action the Jesuits were inspired by the conviction that a new age had begun, and had brought with it new requirements, and that it was not enough merely to follow in all things the ways that had been trodden a thousand times. Always in contact with tradition, and no less than the others, mindful of the spirit of the Church, wherever they saw their opportunity they sought for new methods, both at home in the exercise of the ministry, and in the foreign missions, as well as in science. Even though at times this aim led to misunderstandings, yet their efforts proved of great advantage to the Church. The result of their labours in the field of learning was the development of ascetic and moral theology, of apologetics against Protestantism, a new manner of treating of the whole field of dogmatics, and of Christian philosophy in accordance with the exigencies of the times, together with vast labours on the Holy Scriptures. But it was inevitable that their whole tendency, and their attention to the needs of the times, which had been manifested during the first ten years of their Order, should arouse suspicion among those who, by the whole of their glorious past, found themselves bound to the maintenance of those forms in which they had hitherto moved, and by means of which they had acquired their reputation in the Church.

Some of this party watched with anxiety the actions of the young Order which was springing up so lustily; its proceedings seemed to them not to be free from an innovating and anti-ecclesiastical spirit, and they felt themselves called upon to apply a barrier. With his incomparable perspicacity Ignatius of Loyola had foreseen the future development of events in

this respect, exhorting his sons at every opportunity[1] carefully to try and avoid as far as possible all conflict with the friars and monks ; but it was not possible to do so altogether. Not to do so might even be of use to the Church, in that the two tendencies, that which aimed at going forward and that which sought to hold it back, it might be saved by the very struggle from remaining one-sided.

Molina did nothing more than to let loose the storm of indignation which had been gathering for a long time past. It must be admitted that in his new setting forth of the most ancient ideas he did some extraordinary things, and in subsidiary matters went a little too far, even in the opinion of Bellarmine. In his overpowering zeal and in perfect faith, such a man as Bañes might well suppose that the precious inheritance of traditional theology was threatened by him. After the question had been transferred to Rome, probably contrary to the intention or expectation of Bañes, the opposition to Molina—precisely because of the long duration of a struggle which was fought out in the highest places and in sight of all the world—became more and more a point of honour for the whole Order, and the final result was that what had never been so hitherto, as far as can be discovered, was raised to the dignity of a doctrine of the Order.

From what was said at the chapter-general, where the whole Order was officially represented, it is quite clear that not all Dominicans as a whole were animated by sentiments of hostility towards their younger colleague and rival. Immediately after the first flashes of the dispute about grace, when the incitements of an Avendaño were fresh in men's minds, such an assembly was held at Valencia in 1596. The conciliatory attempts which, at the suggestion of Aquaviva, were then undertaken by the Dominicans and Jesuits, were so to say crowned by an express order from the chapter-

[1] Ribadeneira in *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Ser. 4, Vol. I., 434. Out of consideration for the Dominicans he would not even have the Immaculate Conception included among the theses to be defended in public. *Ibid.*

general in favour of the Jesuits. This states[1] "We exhort in the Lord all the brethren of our Order to embrace in sincere and fraternal affection all those religious with whom we ought to be striving for the same end, and in particular those who are labouring without ceasing in the midst of others for the defence of the faith and salvation of souls, namely the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whom with the others we warmly recommend to you. We desire that they should have evidence in your deeds of the affection and charity of your hearts, that you should be at their disposal wherever you can, and that you should not give offence to them in any way, either in word or deed." Those who act in any other way will be punished.

This exhortation was repeated by the chapters-general in Rome in the years 1644 and 1656. In 1644 it was laid down that the Dominicans must show to individual Jesuits and to the whole Society of Jesus "service and devotion, with the greatest kindness and conscientiousness, so that they may find in us the expression of an exquisite charity and a cordial affection. Even though we may not always be in agreement with them in their opinions and ideas, we must nevertheless always be in will of one soul and one heart." The chapter of 1656 asked "that the Jesuits and all others should realize from our hospitality, confidence, cordiality and union that we are disciples of Christ." The General of the Order, Giovanni Battista de Marinis warmly recommended his subjects in a circular of March 25th, 1661, to live in harmony with the Society of Jesus: "We ought on both sides to be one heart and one soul in Our Lord; we ought both of us to prove this by our rivalry in fervent charity, while our undivided union must proclaim it."[2]

[1] Admonitiones n. 4, in Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica, tom. X. (Acta capitulorum generalium, tom. V.), Rome, 1901, 371.

[2] List of these texts in MAXIMI MANGOLD, Reflexiones in R. P. Alexandri a. s. Ioanne de Cruce Carm. excalc. continuationem historiae ecclesiasticae Claudii Fleurii Abbatis, I., Augsburg, 1783, 449. Cardinal Zigliara, one of the most illustrious

These decrees were responded to, on the part of the Jesuit by decrees of the General of the Order, Vitelleschi, and were repeated by the eight general congregation of the whole Order in 1645. The exhortation of the congregation says :[1] "All our subjects must aim everywhere at speaking, both in private conversations and in public, in favourable terms of the venerable Order of Dominicans in general as well as of its institutions, its eminent learning and its distinguished works ; they must treat its members with such respect and courtesy as to rival one another in mutual hospitality and other manifestations of affection, as is becoming to our humble Society, and as is due to an Order which is greater than ours in antiquity and dignity." The same general congregation later on in 1661, following upon the letter of the General of the Dominicans, De Marinis, renewed and confirmed this exhortation.[2]

modern theologians of the Dominican Order, writes : "Ex sententiis autem, quae libere in contrariam partem agitantur inter catholicos, tene quae magis conformis tibi rationi videtur, sed contra eos, qui a te dissentiunt, cave ab iniuriis, quas sapientia reprobat, caritas detestatur. Sequere thomistas, sequere molinistas, utrimque habes magistros doctissimos et piisssmos et noli amplecti veritatem extra caritatem, nam et ipsa caritas veritas est (Summa philosophica, II.[15], Paris, 1912, 524).

[1] Congr. VIII. decr. 12 (Institutum Societatis Iesu, II., Florence, 1892, 346).

[2] Cong. XI. decr. 19 (*loc. cit.* 381) : "ut illustrissimum natuque maiorem in Ecclesia Ordinem, sanctitate, doctrina rebusque praeclare gestis de illa optime meritum, peculiari benevolentia completantur, de illo magnifice sentiant et loquantur, aliisque venerationis significationibus et charitatis officiis prosequantur."

CHAPTER X.

The Papal States.—The Re-acquisition of Ferrara.—Death of the Pope.

The many anxieties which the Turkish peril and the religious conditions of all the countries of Europe caused Clement VIII. were yet further added to by the conditions in the States of the Church. These were administered by the cardinalitial Congregation of the Consulta, although the Pope also took a direct part in their affairs.[1] Carrying out a project of Sixtus V., Clement VIII., by a bull of October 30th, 1592, set up a special Congregation for the Administration of the States of the Church, composed of three Cardinals.[2] His

[1] *Cf.* Paruta, Dispacci, I., 288. An Urbino *Avviso of July 24, 1593 (Urb. 1061, Vatican Library) says of the Consulta "La Consulta a Roma è a punto l'Udientia nel nostro Stato." *Cf.* Paruta, Relazione, 415 *seq.*; Dolfin, Relazione, 461. Many instances of the care of Clement VIII. for Rome and for the States of the Church are now printed in the valuable publication compiled by the communal administration of Rome: Regesti di bandi, editti, notificazioni e provvedimenti diversi alla città di Roma e dello Stato Pontificio, 2 vols. (beginning with the XIIIth century and going as far as 1605), Rome, 1920-1925.

[2] See Bull., IX., 603 *seq.* The "Congregazione del Buon governo" was as it were a daughter of the Consulta. *Cf.* Jac. Cohelli, Comment. in bullam X. Clementis VIII. de bono regimine, Cologne, 1699; A. de Vecchis, Collectio constitut., chirographum et brevium Rom. Pontif. pro bono regimine universit. ac communit. status ecclesiae., 3 vols., Rome, 1732 *seq.*; Le Bret, Statistik, 224 *seq.*, 298; Moroni, XVI., 158 *seq.*; Richard in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 728 *seq.* For the benefit of the future historian of the Papal States, I would point out that the Archives of the Congregazione del Buon governo, which have

ordinance for the visitation of each of the provinces, so as to suppress the abuses in the administration of the communes, may also be traced back to Sixtus V.[1]

Like the rest of Italy, the territories of the Holy See had since 1590 repeatedly suffered from bad or quite insufficient harvests. The scarcity of bread brought in its train a crushing increase in the cost of all other necessities. Even though this calamity was not so great in the Papal States, and above all in Rome, as in the other cities of the peninsula, it was nevertheless felt there all the more severely in that much better conditions had prevailed there before.[2]

All the reports agree in saying that Clement VIII. did all he could in the first years of his pontificate to overcome this scarcity, especially in Rome.[3] The superintendence of the trade in food left nothing to be desired, but the scarcity was universal, bad methods of provisioning were deep-rooted, while very often the officials were untrustworthy and unbusinesslike.[4] The Pope was unable, as Paruta points out,

not as yet been used by anyone, were in the Vatican, and occupied no less than 16 rooms. The acta, however, only begin about the year 1630; the earlier ones are to be found in the Papal Secret Archives. This state of affairs was changed in 1918; Cardinal Gasquet, with the consent of Pope Benedict XV., who interested himself greatly in what concerned the archives, agreed to an exchange with the Italian government, as a result of which a small part of the acta of the Camera in the State Archives of Rome passed into the Papal Secret Archives, to which they obviously belonged, while the archives of the Buon governo were handed over to the State Archives, Rome. There they were re-arranged. *Cf.* the fully explanatory articles by A. Lodolini, L'amministrazione pontificia del Buon governo, in the periodical *Gli archivi Ital.*, VI. (Rome, 1919), 181 *seqq.*, VII. (1920), 3 *seq.*, 88.

[1] *Cf.* Lodolini, *loc. cit.*, VI., 214.

[2] See Paruta, Relazione, 388 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.* 389, the Avvisi in Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 23, and the *Avvisi of July 8 and 15, 1592 (Urb. 1060, II.) and of March 20, 1593 (Urb. 1061) Vatican Library.

[4] See Paruta, Dispacci, II., 388, and Relazione, 389. *Cf.* *Avviso of July 28, 1593, Urb. 1061, *loc. cit.*

to keep in touch with all the details,[1] but he sought in this respect to do all he could, and even, in April, 1593, had a report made to him by his nephew whether the city was sufficiently supplied with bread.[2] He laboured indefatigably to secure the importation of grain from outside,[3] although he met with great difficulties in this, as some of the provinces, as for example the fertile Romagna, were suffering from bad harvests.[4]

That the scarcity was general is shown by the fact that even the city of Bologna, which on account of its richness was named *la grassa*, was, from 1590 to 1592, the victim of serious scarcity,[5] and the number of the inhabitants fell from 90,000 to 70,000.[6] Clement VIII. lent the city 80,000 scudi.[7] The legation of Bologna, from October 16th, 1592, onwards, was in the hands of Cardinal Montalto.[8] This office brought him a fixed revenue of 6000 scudi,[9] but he resided in Rome.[10] The vice-legate or governor acted as his representative. The latter had but little influence in the administration because

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 389; the *Avvisi frequently refer to the steps taken by Clement VIII. against bad officials: e.g. June 28 and August 4, 1593, Urb. 1061, *loc. cit.*

[2] *"Ogni sera viene dato al Papa dalli suoi nepoti minuto ragguaglio del pane che si fa per tutta Roma, della quale se ne trova hora abbondate per ciascuno." Avviso of April 10, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Avvisi of July 8 and 15, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., *loc. cit.*; PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 28, 49, 192, 243. For the importation of grain from the Low Countries to Civitavecchia, 1593-1594, see MAERE in *An. de l'Acad. Archéol. de la Belgique*, 5th ser. VIII.

[4] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 81.

[5] *Cf.* Bull. IX., 553.

[6] See the Informazioni di Bologna in RANKE, III.[8], 107.*

[7] See Bull. IX., 553.

[8] See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library.

[9] See the Informazioni di Bologna of 1595 by Guglielmo di Montolon, Cod. D. 181 n. 8, Ambrosinian Library, Milan.

[10] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 460.

the city was very independent.[1] In an instruction of the year 1595 it is stated that the Bolognesi must be inspired with respect, and at the same time with loyalty; the first will be attained if the representative of the Papal authority devotes himself seriously to the administration of justice and the importation of food; devotion will best be inspired by impartiality and the protection of good citizens.[2]

In the Marches and the Romagna as well there had been a decrease in the population in consequence of the epidemics of 1590. A crushing state of misery was on the increase among the survivors, because the officials exacted the taxes with the utmost rigour. In these provinces, which in the past had seemed to be veritable granaries, there was now an alarming decrease in production.[3] In Umbria too there was a scarcity of food, so that there as well as in the Marches special ordinances had to be issued in order to meet the emergency.[4]

The scarcity in Rome continued even in those years when the harvest was good. The Pope was rightly incensed that when the situation had improved, the people did not reap the advantage.[5] The fault was partly due to the officials of the Camera, and partly to the speculators, whose greed it was sought to curb by special legislation.[6]

The Pope's intentions were always good, as is pointed out

[1] See RANKE, III.[8], 107.*

[2] *Instructions for a new legate at Bologna, Cod. G. 63 n. 9, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 389; BROSCH, I., 307.

[4] *Cf.* *Bando per l'Abbondanza dell'Umbria e della Marca of September, 1596, *Editti*, V.. 49, p. 195, Papal Secret Archives. Le Istruzioni segrete pel governo di Perugia ed Umbria in the *Bollet. per l'Umbria*, XXI. (1915), 375 *seq.*, shows how the Papal government endeavoured to do away with abuses, and what care it had for its subjects.

[5] See *Avvisi of July 14, 28 and 31, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library; PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 372, and Relazione, 389.

[6] See BENIGNI, Getreidpolitik, 44.

in a report from Rome of October 3rd, 1594:[1] if in spite of this he met with but little success, the reason was to be found in the extraordinary state of affairs prevailing in the Papal States. The independence of the barons and of the communes created such an opposition to the central government that not even so energetic a Pope as Sixtus V. had been able to subdue it except for a short time.[2] The conditions in the Roman Campagna, from which very little grain reached the Eternal City, were especially unfortunate for Rome. Agriculture there had not entirely disappeared, but the greed for gain on the part of the farmers, together with a type of cultivation that was without a permanent body of tenants, caused the arable land to pass more and more to pasturage.[3]

Clement VIII., like his predecessors, sought to provide for the provisioning of Rome by strict vigilance, and by a rigorous prohibition of exportation. A constitution of September 13th, 1597, forbade exportation of any kind, without special permission from the Camera or the Annonaria[4]; it also forbade the hoarding of grain in private stores, and preventing its free passage to Rome. In this document the Pope bitterly censures the tricks of the speculators who, with abominable usury, forced up the price of grain. He threatened the barons and other landlords who hoarded grain, and forbade them to keep more than a sufficient quantity for their own domestic use for a year.[5]

[1] See *Avviso of October 5, 1594, which adds that the Pope "quasi vorrebbe potersi transformare in forma del grano istesso per fare abondanza," Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

[2] Opinion of H. Sieveking in J. Wolfs, *Zeitschrift f. Sozialwissenschaft*, II., Berlin, 1899, 470.

[3] See Paruta, Relazione, 389 *seq.* A more favourable picture of the conditions in the Campagna is given in *Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani, from which Ranke (III.[8], 109) cites certain passages, without, however, saying where he found this report. I have searched in vain for it in the Roman libraries.

[4] For the *annona* see also Reumont, III., 2, 648 *seq.*

[5] See Bull. X., 373 *seq.*; Benigni, Getreidpolitik, 45; Cupis, 211 *seq.*

The Pope showed himself the sworn enemy of speculators in grain in his constitution of December 4th, 1604, which confirmed the celebrated bull of Sixtus IV. of March 1st, 1476, and the similar ordinances of Julius II., Clement VII. and Pius V.[1] for the development of agriculture in the Campagna. In this constitution he allowed the free exportation of a quarter of the harvest, provided that the price of grain in the Roman market was not more than 60 giulii a rubbio; he allowed the vassals of the barons to cultivate other land than that belonging to their feudal lords, and also decided that priests might devote themselves to agriculture without its being considered a profane trade. He also made provision to supply the lack of tillage oxen.[2] The subsidy for carrying on the work of draining the Pontine Marshes was also aimed at increasing the cultivation of grain.[3]

Measures of this kind could only effect an improvement in course of time, so that in the meanwhile the conditions remained as little satisfactory as before.[4] The opposition

[1] *Cf.* Vol. IV., of this work, p. 426; Vol. VI., p. 227; Vol. X., p. 14; Vol. XVII., p. 109.

[2] See Bull. X., 622 *seq.*; Benigni, 46; Cupis, 215 *seq.* *Privilegia pro agricultoribus Corneti, Civitatis Vetulae, Tulphae et Bledae, dated February 9, 1601, in *Editti*, V., 49, p. 31, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Tomassetti, I., 170.

[3] See Nicolai, De' bonificamenti delle Terre Pontine, Rome, 1800, 140 *seq.*; Benigni, 46.

[4] When the Pope set out with many Cardinals for Ferrara, the price of bread rose in Rome; see the *report of Fr. Maria Vialardo, Rome, April 25, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The inundation of the Tiber at the end of 1598 had destroyed many stores of grain, so that there was a considerable scarcity; see Possevino, Gonzaga, 824 *seq.* In 1598 there was also a failure in the importation of wine; see Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 24. The year of jubilee in 1600 naturally involved special requirements. Clement VIII. had to apply on January 16, 1600, to the viceroy of Naples, with a request for immediate permission to export grain to Rome; "*Roma annonae inopia laborat, Roma petit" (Brevia Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 10, Papal Secret Archives); on December 15, 1600, a similar request was again sent (*ibid.* n. 428).

which the well intentioned zeal of the Pope had to cope with proved too strong. How difficult the task was has been shown by the fact that in modern times not even the state of United Italy, armed with far greater powers and means, has been able to overcome the opposition of the farmers to the cultivation of the Campagna, or meet with any better success in carrying on the efforts of the Popes.[1]

The discontent of the people at these economic disadvantages found vent towards the end of the pontificate of Clement VIII. in biting pasquinades.[2] The authors of such libels overlooked the fact that it was not the government alone that was to blame; nor did they bear in mind that the imposts in the Papal States were on the whole very moderate, compared, not only with those parts of Italy which were subject to Spanish rule, but also with the majority of the small independent states.[3] Clement VIII. fought as much as he could against any increase in the burden of taxes,[4] and it was absolutely against his will if the subordinate officials in the Marches and the Romagna confiscated the

Cf. supra, p. 269. The Cardinals charged with the task of provisioning fulfilled their task so badly that there was a great scarcity in the summer, so that Clement VIII. intended to return once more with his court to Ferrara, in order to relieve Rome, but this did not take place as the Pope was deceived as to the real state of affairs; see the information in BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.* In 1599 Baronius called the attention of the Pope to the true state of affairs, after which Clement VIII. did not fail to express his displeasure to P. Aldobrandini. The nephew then complained to Baronius, but received from him a dignified reply which is given in CALENZIO, Baronio, 352. The scarcity of grain was very great again in 1603; see *briefs to the viceroy of Naples, February 12 and May 22, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 9 and 137, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *letters of Cardinal Aldobrandini to the nuncio in Spain, January 13, April 8, June 18, September 28, November 7, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

[1] Opinion of SIEVEKING, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of January 19, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 389; REUMONT, III., 2, 597.

[4] See *Avviso of March 10, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

agricultural implements and cattle of the peasants who could not pay. As a result of such tyranny some emigrated, while others gave themselves over to brigandage.[1] The crimes of such delinquents embittered for Clement VIII. the first lustrum of his pontificate.

Brigandage had already raised its head once more at the end of the reign of Sixtus V.[2] During the pontificates of Urban VII., Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., which had followed each other at short intervals, this plague had been able to continue and spread.[3] Clement VIII., who in Rome was the rigorous champion of peace and order,[4] determined that it must be faced energetically. As early as February, 1592, he sent troops under the supreme command of Flaminio Delfino to the Marches, where Marco Sciarra, one of the most terrible brigand chiefs, was carrying on his crimes.[5] In March bands of brigands pillaged the nearer and more distant environs of Rome, and in April they burned the castle of Subiaco.[6] Terrible stories were told of the cruelty of these

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 389 *seq.*; BROSCH, I., 307 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 88.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* pp. 359, 366.

[4] *Cf.* besides the report in *Arch. stor, Ital.*, XII., xxi., and the report of Niccolini in NAVENNE, Rome et le Palais Farnèse, I., 7, the *letter of Giulio del Carretto, February 8, 1592: N. S. si dimostra rigoroso nella giustizia et non ha voluto far gratia ad un gentilhomo Romano, che fu trovato con l'archibuggietto da rota in sede vacante, ancorche ne sii stato pregato da molti cardinali, dall' ambasciatore di Savoia suo parente et dal popolo Romano, al quale ultimamente disse che l'iscuse che proponevano a lui le proponessero alli giudici della causa che l'havrebbero in quella consideratione che si dovrebbe per giustizia. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See *Avviso of February 12, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. For the plans for fighting the bandits see *Arch. della Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 125, n. 1.

[6] See *Avvisi of March 11 and April 18, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. *Cf.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., Helsinki, 1911 92.

hordes,[1] and the Pope, who was deeply distressed, insisted upon energetic intervention.[2] He sent against them his nephew Aldobrandini with about 2000 men, and had previously enrolled 600 Corsican soldiers in his service,[3] who, however, pillaged almost more than the bandits.[4]

Marco Sciarra had entrenched himself with 500 bandits in a convent near Ascoli, but as soon as Papal troops under the command of Flaminio Delfino were sent to the rescue, he succeeded, through the intervention of Count Pietro Gabuzio, who was enlisting soldiers for the Venetian Republic against the rapacious Uscocchi, in getting himself taken, together with the flower of his band, into the service of the republic. Clement VIII. asked for the ruffians to be handed over, but in vain. In this refusal he saw a contempt for his authority, and was all the more offended at the action of the Republic in that Gabuzio had been born a Papal subject, and that the Venetians had already on other occasions permitted themselves innumerable usurpations of ecclesiastical authority.[5] In order to pacify the Pope, in June, 1592, there

[1] See the report of the Urbino envoy, April 11, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., 196, Vatican Library. Monsignor Schiaffinato at Perugia, replied with like cruelties to the cruelties of the bandits; see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3rd ser., VIII., 35.

[2] "Si consuma et afflige per provedervi," says an *Avviso of March 14, 1592 (Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.*). Another of *April 8, 1592 (*ibid.*) says: "Gran travaglio prende N. S. de banditi di questo Stato, et lo mostra a più segni et nel viso, vedendosi spesso immerso in profondissimo pensiero et ansieta, che l'occupi talvolta l'animo e con ragione."

[3] See the *report of G. del Carretto, March 28, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to the *Avviso of April 22, 1592, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini set out against the bandits with 1500 soldiers and 300 horsemen, as well as some Albanians and Corsicans. The delay was because the Pope wished first to ascertain that all the neighbouring princes were keeping a good watch on their frontiers (Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the Relazione dell'inviato di Lucca in *Studi et docum.*, XXII., 201.

[4] See the dispatch of Donato in Brosch, I., 309 n. 1.

[5] *Cf.* A. Rossi in *Arch. Veneto*, XXXVII., 2 (1889), 259 *seq.*

was once more sent to Rome Leonardo Donato, who had just returned from the embassy which had been sent to congratulate the new head of the Church.[1] We learn from the account of his journey that organized bands of assassins were rendering the country round Spoleto, Terni and Ostia insecure.[2] The diplomatic skill of Donato was unable at the time to allay the Pope's displeasure, and the incident was only closed when, on April 3rd, 1593, Marco Sciarra was killed, and his companions sent to Candia, where some died of the plague, and the others were dispersed.[3] Gian Francesco Aldobrandini then moved against the remainder of the bandits, who had taken refuge in the mountains near Ascoli.[4]

It was only then that a certain degree of peace was restored in the States of the Church, but it is impossible to speak of a disappearance of the bandits. Just as during the spring of 1593 they appeared in the Romagna[5] and the Abruzzi, so did they in the neighbourhood of Rome in July,[6] and in October near Viterbo.[7] In the summer of 1594 they again appeared in large numbers, especially near Velletri.[8] The Venetian ambassador, Poalo Paruta, wrote in 1595 that no one was safe from the bandits. According to trustworthy information the number of outlaws inscribed in the public lists was 15,000 which meant a considerable diminution in the population of the state. The rigour of justice, Paruta con-

[1] See Viaggio da Venezia a Roma di L. Donato ambasc. straord. d. Repub. Veneta al papa Clemente VIII. l'a 1592, Venice, 1866.

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., xlv. *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.* 184. The action of Clement VIII. against the bandits is also treated of in the letter of November 1592, in *Veress, Matric. et Acta Hung. in univ. Ital. student.*, I., Budapest, 1915, 246.

[5] See *Avviso of March 10, 1593, Urb. 1061, *loc. cit.*

[6] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 101, 106, 110 *seq.*, 133.

[7] See *ibid.* II., 62.

[8] See *Avviso of July 6, 1594, Urb. 1062, *loc. cit.* For the plans of that time for combatting the scourge of the bandits see ORBAAN, Documenti, 462 n.

tinues, is very great, and accomplices and abettors are being put to death. Those days are rare when there are not to be seen at the Bridge of St. Angelo the bodies and heads of those who have been executed, sometimes, four, six, ten, twenty, or even thirty. The number of those executed, from the time of Sixtus V. until now, is estimated at about 5000. But this extreme severity has been of no use, and has rather made things worse. If one is captured, others immediately take to the woods, because they recognize their accomplices. The mountainous districts on the Neapolitan frontier were especially affected, and the opinion was commonly held in Rome, as Paruta reports on July 29th, 1595, that the Spanish government was encouraging this disorder so as to bring pressure to bear on the Pope.[1]

An improvement in the situation depended above all upon a change in this state of affairs, and on the fulfilment of the duties of neighbourliness, a thing which applied also to the Florentine government. This was brought about later on, but by no means completely.[2]

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 392 *seq.*, and Dispacci, III., 235 (*cf.* 323). See also *Arch. stor. Ital.*, IX., 460. Many dangerous elements were removed from the States of the Church from 1595 onwards, with the departure of the soldiers for the Turkish war. In the army that was enrolled at the end of 1597 against Cesare d'Este there served "banditi ed altri contumaci" who were therefore pardoned. See the *Editto of June 8, 1598, in *Editti*, V., 57, p. 68, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 152 *seq.* some *"Bandi contra banditi" of 1597-1604.

[2] *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, Il brigantaggio e la corte di Roma, in *Nuova Antologia*, 2nd. ser., XXIV. (1880), 455 *seq.*, where there are further particulars of the harmful influence of the ecclesiastical right of sanctuary, which was rightly restricted by Sixtus V., and again extended by Gregory XIV., of which the bandits took advantage. *Cf.* also *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 460 *seq.* An *Avviso of May 11, 1596, testifies to the good effect of the edicts against the bandits, whose heads were exposed before the Castle of St. Angelo (Urb. 1064, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Avviso of September 17, 1597 (Urb. 1065, *ibid.*) and Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 452. An

The principal reason why it was not possible to come to grips with this terrible scourge, besides the equivocal behaviour of the Pope's neighbours, lay in the military weakness of the Papal States.[1] There the army had always been neglected. The only exception had been that warlike Pope, Julius II. This was the natural consequence of the office and position of the head of the Church, while Clement VIII. lacked all knowledge of or inclination for military matters. In the whole of the States of the Church there was not a single fortress of importance, and only the citadels of Civitavecchia and Ancona were to a certain extent sufficiently armed. At Perugia there was a small garrison, and at Bologna a hundred Swiss and fifty cavalry. Places which, by their natural position, were well suited for fortresses, such as Orvieto, Civita Castellana and Spoleto, were so neglected that the Venetian ambassador could never sufficiently express his surprise. Not even Rome could be said to be adequately defended; the fortifications had never been completed, and even the Castle of St. Angelo, the one safe refuge in case of danger, had not got the necessary armament. When in the autumn of 1592 the Huguenot Lesdiguières crossed the Alps to avenge himself on the Duke of Savoy with 4000 men, Rome trembled. Later on, after the reconciliation with Henry IV., it was felt that the Spaniards were even more to be feared, since the bandits were most numerous in the mountains on the Neapolitan frontier.[2]

The States of the Church were entirely without a paid and organized army. The soldiery on paper consisted of 30,000

*Avviso of April 1, 1598 (Urb. 1066 *loc. cit.*) also speaks of the executions of bandits. After this there is little mention of the bandits; in September 1604 more troops were enlisted; see *Avviso of September 29, 1604 (Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*), and the *report of Giov. Batt. Thesis, October 23, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] In this way large sums were spent on small engagements "instead of combatting the evil by means of a well thought out and vigorous procedure." BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 14.

[2] See PARUTA, Relazione, 384 *seq.*

men; each province had a colonel, and under him captains and lower officers. But as only the colonels had a fixed pay, it is easy to imagine the condition of the troops. A paid army was only called into existence from time to time, when it was a case of facing the bandits or fighting the Turks; in 1595 the whole of the cavalry of the Papal States was employed for this purpose, so that there only remained the Swiss Guard, 200 strong, and 1000 Corsican soldiers, afterwards reduced to 800. But these were only intended to fight against the bandits, so that it was impossible to speak of any real armed force. Even the captains of any experience were only enlisted for a period, according to necessity. The office of General of the Church, which was well paid, and held by Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, had become a mere post of honour. The fleet, too, of which Pius V. and later on Sixtus V. had taken such care, was in a state of decadence. Except the arsenal at Civitavecchia, there was no other in the Papal states. From a false economy Clement VIII. would gladly have suspended the payments for the six galleys, which had remained in that harbour since the time of Sixtus V., and it was only the necessity of protecting the coasts against the Turkish pirates which determined him to maintain them.[1]

Although the States of the Church were spared the regular cost of paid troops, such as burdened the finances of other states, the Papal finances were nevertheless in a deplorable condition, because of the enormous burden of debt, of twelve million scudi, which Clement VIII. found at the beginning of his pontificate. Of the total annual revenue, amounting to about a million and a half, more than a million scudi, that is two-thirds of the income, went to pay the interest on the debts in the offices and "luoghi di Monte."[2] With a net

[1] *Ibid.* 403 *seq.* *Cf.* DOLFIN, 466.

[2] See the summary of the Papal finances for 1592 which RANKE (III.[8], 98) has made use of from the manuscript in the Barberini Library. Bart. Cesi was still treasurer (see *Carte Strozz.*, II., 212); when he became a Cardinal he was succeeded by Tiberio Cerasa (*cf.* MORONI, LXXIV., 298), who died in 1601 (for this benefactor of the Hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione see the monograph

income of half a million, the expenses had to be met, which were estimated at 400,000 scudi, so that there remained over only a very small sum.[1] In these circumstances the very greatest economy was necessary, but this was absolutely wanting. Clement VIII. was one of those men who have no idea of the value of money, and the expenses of the administration of the palace,[2] the pageants, the building works and the endowment of his nephews,[3] devoured great sums of money. To these were added the exorbitant and manifold demands of the Christian princes.

Clement VIII. was not the man to provide the money for such extraordinary necessities. It was proposed to meet the difficulty by encroaching upon the treasure deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo by Sixtus V., which still amounted to two and a half millions, but the Pope was adverse to any such step.[4] In order to comply with the enormous demands, which were especially in connexion with the support of the war against the Turks, there remained no other course, besides the imposition of tenths upon the Italian clergy, than that taken by previous Popes, namely the raising of new state loans upon the revenues, or the so-called "luoghi di Monte." Clement VIII. found himself compelled, in order to meet the extraordinary needs, caused especially by the war against the Turks, to undertake, in seven new "luoghi di Monte" a debt to the amount of 2,893,200 scudi.[5] From an estimate of the

on that institution by PERICOLI, p. 102, 120 *seq.*). The successor of Cerasa was Laudovisio Zacchia; see MORONI, *loc. cit.*, MARTINORI, 6.

[1] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 408 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 14, 30 *seq.* *Ibid.* 32, concerning the new and costly tiara. An *Avviso of November 1, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library, tells of a reduction of some expenditure on the Pope's table.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, pp. 48, 53.

[4] See PARUTA, Relazione, 410. *Cf.* RICCI, II., 164. The confirmation of the bull of the treasure of Sixtus V., dated February 14, 1592, in Bull., X., 523 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* MORONI, XL., 155, LXXIV., 299, and MARTINORI, 5. For the acquisition of Nettuno, for which Marcantonio Colonna

year 1598 it would appear that the interest on the debt then amounted to three-quarters of the total revenue.[1] The net revenue, towards the end of the pontificate, fell from 500,000 scudi to 343,473. As the annual expenditure was 450,126 scudi, there was an annual deficit of 106,653 scudi.[2]

The expenditure of the Pope, besides the war against the Turks, had been increased in a special degree in 1598 by the acquisition of Ferrara, and by the visit paid to this new territory of the States of the Church, for which, however, 150,000 scudi were taken from the treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo.[3]

The Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta, in giving his opinion in 1595 as to the strength and weakness of the States of the Church, says that they were not preserved either by a good constitution, or by the conditions which usually confer permanence and security on other states, but rather by the fact that no one wished or dared to do anything to their injury. "Above all" Paruta explains, "this is helped by the majesty of the person of the Pope, and by respect for religion: motives which have saved this State when in great danger. There is another circumstance which contributes, namely that there are many petty princes in Italy, who, since they cannot aggrandize themselves, are desirous that the neighbouring states should as far as possible maintain a balance between each other. And since to be a protector of the Church confers a certain dignity, each one refrains from attacking the Papal State, fearing to find all the others against

received 400,000 scudi, and of Monte S. Giovanni, for which the Marchese del Vasto had 350,000 scudi, *cf.* COPPI, Sulle finanze della stato pontificio, Rome, 1855, 14 *seq.* Clement VIII, justified the acquisition of S. Giovanni by the danger of the bandits; see *Acta consist. June 12, 1595, Cod. Barb. 2871, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 171 *seq.*

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 464; RANKE, *loc. cit.* The complaints of the scarcity of money (*e.g.* in the instructions to D. Ginnasio, August 22, 1601, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library) were therefore justified.

[2] See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

[3] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 465.

him. If, however, any great change should take place in Italy, then the States of the Church, with all their elements of disorder, would run no little danger. May it not be that any advance made by the French in Savoy and Piedmont has had its echo in Rome, and aroused and encouraged thoughts of rebellion, which might be of even greater importance to the Holy See than to the other states ? "[1]

In his report, Paruta also mentions the question of the succession to the fiefs of Urbino and Ferrara, which was imminent owing to the likelihood of the extinction of the two reigning families. "Urbino" Paruta thought, "will certainly once again come under the direct government of the Church, but in the case of Ferrara this will be very difficult, and certainly will not be done without a great struggle."[2] In spite of this, to the amazement of everybody, this question was solved by the skill and energy of the Aldobrandini Pope with a "surprising facility."[3]

After the election of Clement VIII., all hopes entertained by Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara of obtaining from the new Pope, whose father had once been cordially welcomed at the court of the Este, what he had once tried to obtain from Gregory XIV., were bound to vanish : this was to obtain for his cousin Cesare the fief of Ferrara,[4] but even while he was still a Cardinal, Clement VIII. had come to the conclusion that such a step was illegal.[5] Immediately at the beginning of his pontificate he confirmed the bull of Pius V.,[6] which excluded illegitimate branches from succession to Papal fiefs.[7] The cardinalitial congregation[8] which was appointed for

[1] Paruta, Relazione, 397.

[2] *Ibid.* 401.

[3] Brosch, I., 314.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 380 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Ricci, II., 183.

[6] See the Este report in Ricci, II., 84, 231.

[7] Bull. IX., 520 *seq.*

[8] See *Acta consist. April 22, 1592, Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso of April 25, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., *ibid.* Ricci, II., 85 *seqq.*

further deliberation, was for the most part opposed to the declaration of Gregory XIV., which had still left Alfonso with some hopes.[1]

In spite of this Alfonso and Cesare, who made the *obedientia* to the Pope in the duke's name on May 18th, 1592,[2] hoped to attain their end all the more easily as the Emperor Rudolph II., who was in need of money for the Turkish war, granted in return for a repayment of 300,000 scudi, a renewal of the fiefs of Modena and Reggio, and the right of the duke to nominate his successor within a certain period (August 8th, 1594). While Alfonso's envoy was employing every means in his power in Rome to induce the Pope to change his mind, on July 17th, 1595, the old duke wrote his will, appointing Cesare d'Este as his successor.[3] But this information was conveyed to Rudolph II. so secretly that not even Cesare knew of the honour that had been done him.[4] It is evident that Alfonso did not wish the court to turn to the star that was rising on the horizon, and it was only in October, 1597, when the duke fell mortally ill, that Cesare was informed that he was the heir. The dying man said that he was leaving him a most beautiful state, and one that was strong, both by its military power,

[1] See *Acta consist, June 26, 1592, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 65; RICCI, II., 150.

[2] See FRIZZI, IV., 440 *seq.*; RICCI, II., 87 *seq.*, 147 *seq.* *Cf.* Jo. Franc. Terzanius, Ad S.D.N. Clementem VIII. P. oratio habita cum eidem nomine Alphonsi II. Est. ducis, obedientiam praestaret ill. et ex. Caesar Estensis Marchio Monticuli et eiusdem ducis patruelis, Rome, 1592 (copy in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome).

[3] See FRIZZI, IV., 44. *Cf.* RICCI, II., 96 *seq.*

[4] See the "Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la morte del duca Alfonso fino al possesso preso dal signor cardinal Aldobrandini con alcuni altri particolari spettanti a tale stato e ducato," Barb. lat. 5259, p. 80 *seq.*, Vatican Library (the relative passage in RANKE, II.[8], 177). The author of the report is "Domenico Rainaldi, mandato da Clemente VIII. a Ferrara al cardinale Aldobrandini," see Vat. 6196, p. 289, Vatican Library.

and by reason of the allies, both within and without Italy, upon whom he could count with certainty.[1]

Duke Alfonso, down to the year 1597, had made use of every expedient to obtain from the Pope the investiture of Cesare, but Clement VIII., convinced in his conscience that he could not grant it, had remained immovable.[2] In spite of this, after the death of the duke, which took place on October 27th, 1597, Cesare assumed the government, not only of the Imperial fiefs of Modena and Reggio, but also, contrary to all right, of the fiefs of Ferrara and Comacchio. The Bishop of Ferrara, Giovanni Fontana, was forcibly compelled to take part in the homage of the city.[3] Being resolved to defend his supposed right of inheritance against the Pope by force of arms, Cesare put Ferrara into a state of defence and enlisted troops.[4] At the same time envoys were sent to the Emperor, the German princes, Henry IV., Philip II. and the Italian states.[5] As both Spain and the Italian powers, especially Venice and Florence,[6] did not in any way wish for an aggrandizement of the Papal States, Cesare indulged in the most sanguine hopes. He thought that he could count with certainty upon

[1] See the *Relatione cited in previous note.

[2] *Cf.* Ricci, II., 226 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 246 *seq*, 258 *seq.*

[3] See Capilupi, ed. Prinzivalli, 76. For the festivities see fully in **Relatione.*

[4] "Il pensier di Don Cesare fu da principio di voler ritenere tutto lo Stato che possedeva Alfonso suo cugino e nel ducato di Ferrara opporsi al Papa et alla Sede Apostolica e dimostrarsi con armi alla scoperta" *Relatione, *supra.*

[5] See *"Expeditioni fatte dopo la morte del duca Alfonso a diversi principi dal sig. duca Cesare: Il conte Girardo Rangoni a Spagna. Il marchese Scandiano in Alemagna. Il conte Giulio Tassone alla sig^ria di Genova. Il Sig. Renato Cotti alla sig^ria di Venezia. Il dott. Sasso a Fiorenza. Il conte Ettore Galeazzo Tassone a Savoia. Il marchese Rangoni a Parma. Il sig. Grilenzone a Mantova." Barb. lat. 5259, p. 89, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* 81, the *Relatione, where Count Alvise Montecuccolo is mentioned as the envoy to France.

[6] *Cf.* Pellegrini, Relazione ined. di ambasciatori Lucchesi alle corti di Firenze, Genova, etc., Lucca, 1901, 130.

his cousin, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and upon the powerful Republic of Venice, and he sent Count Girolamo Giglioli to Rome to inform the Pope that he had taken possession of Ferrara, which belonged to him by right.[1]

When the news of the death of the last Duke of Ferrara reached Rome on November 1st, 1597, the Pope at once summoned a general congregation of the Cardinals for the following day, at which he informed them that the legitimate line being now extinct by the death of Duke Alfonso, Ferrara, as a vacant fief, reverted to the Holy See in accordance with the bull of Pius V., and that he now expressly reconfirmed this.[2] With the exception of Sfondrato and Lancellotti, who wished for longer time for consideration,[3] all the Cardinals were in agreement with the attitude adopted by the Pope, because the laws of feudal right were clearly in his favour.[4]

[1] See the *Relatione cited *supra*. According to this Cesare counted on the help of the Elector of Saxony and other German princes.

[2] *"Qui è venuta nuova certa della morte del sig. duca di Ferrara et per questo domattina si farà congregazione di cardinali inanzi S.Stà" (Report of Lodovico Cremaschi, Rome, November 1, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* *Acta consist, November 2, 1597, Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library, and the Avviso in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 79 n. 1.

[3] See Avviso of November 5, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library.

[4] As the bull of Pius V. expressly excluded all illegitimate branches, the advocates of Este have always tried to prove Cesare's legitimacy. Fontanini (Il dominio temporale della S. Sede sopra Comacchio, Rome, 1709, 305 *seq.*) has refuted these attempts. Against Muratori (Antiq. Est., II., 429) and other advocates of the Este, *cf.* LITTA in *Arch. stor. ital.* App. XII., 67; SUGENHEIM, 437 n. 119; BALAN, VI., 642 *seq.* In the light of more recent researches Reumont (Toscana, I., 343) admits that the feudal right was clearly with Clement VIII.; see BALDUZZI in *Atti d. Romagna*, 3rd. ser., IX., 80, 83. The last scholar to deal with this question, G. Ballardini, considers the illegitimacy of Cesare to be certain, and remarks (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser. XXXVIII., 341) that it was not only the bull of Pius V. that stood in the way of his succession, but also the contract which

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini especially defended this point of view.[1] There can be no doubt that the determined and bold stand of the Pope was also influenced by the recollection of the partly uncertain and partly openly hostile attitude which the House of Este had repeatedly taken up against the Pope, its overlord.[2]

In order to give force to his declaration Clement VIII. immediately gave orders for large armaments.[3] A congregation of nineteen Cardinals had been appointed to deal with the question of Ferrara, and this decided that a monitorium must be issued to Cesare, and that Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who was chosen to take the supreme command of the troops, should go to Bologna for the fitting out of the force. The nephew set out on November 12th. On the same day the monitorium was affixed at the cathedral of Ferrara: this gave Cesare fifteen days in which to justify himself in Rome, and to present his pretended claims.[4] As this was not done the canonical process was begun. The attempts of Cesare to turn aside the Pope from his lawful attitude by means of a letter and promises of a quit-rent, as well as of considerable advantages for his nephew Gian Francesco

Paul III. had made with Ercole II. The very efforts which Alfonso II. made, show that a new enfeoffment was wanted, "il che" Cardinal Cinzio properly says in his letter to the nuncios, "non havrebbe fatto senza bisogno et con ingiuria di D. Cesare" (*Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 257).

[1] See the *report in Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Federici in *Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 615, rightly points this out.

[3] See Capilupi, ed. Prinzivalli, 79 *seq.* *Cf. Atti per la storia Ferrarese*, XXII., 45 *seq.* The *Procura of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini to Duke Pietro Caetani to enroll 3000 infantry soldiers and 300 cavalry, is dated November 4, 1597; original in Gaetani Archives, Rome, I., 12.

[4] See the *Relatione in Cod. Barb. *supra*; *Avvisi of November 5, 8 and 12, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library; Cod. ital. 109 (*Ragioni d. chiesa sopra Ferrara, with the text of the monitorum), State Library, Munich; Capilupi, ed. Prinzivalli 79 *seq.*; Frizzi, V., 3 *seq.* The posting of the monitorium in Rome is *reported by Fr. M. Vialardo, November 7, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Aldobrandini, were of no avail.[1] The Venetian ambassador in particular worked zealously on behalf of Cesare, while certain Cardinals, such as Valiero and Sfondrato, pointed out that in view of the Turkish peril a war in Italy must be avoided. It is said that Clement VIII. hesitated for a moment in view of this great argument, but that Cinzio Aldobrandini removed all his scruples.[2] Taking his stand strictly on the legal point of view, Clement VIII. declared that as soon as Cesare had evacuated the Duchy of Ferrara his arguments could be taken into consideration, but that otherwise he would be excommunicated as an usurper. The armaments were pushed forward with unexpected energy, and at the same time prayers were ordered that God would lead Cesare to give way.[3] But he, for his part, breathed threats and redoubled his warlike preparations, as though determined to push the matter to extremes. The Cardinals, however, were of a like opinion. If the Holy See renounced its manifest rights, and tolerated the usurpation of Cesare, the most fatal consequences to its dignity and to the existence of the States of the Church were inevitable.[4] At an audience on December 20th Count Ercole Rondinelli, who had been sent by Cesare to Rome, once again advanced the claims of his sovereign, but annoyed the

[1] *Cf.* FRIZZI, V., 5. According to *statement of the Urbino envoy in the Avviso of November 12, 1597, the Ferrara envoy Giglioli tried to corrupt the Cardinal with bribes. Urb. 1065, p. 718, Vatican Library.

[2] See CAPILUPI ed. Prinzivalli, 96 *seq.*, 101 n. Contarini also tells of the opposition of Sfondrato in *Historie Venetiane, I., Cod. 6177, State Library, Venice, and Marciana Library, Venice. How hard Clement VIII. strove to maintain peace in Italy is shown by his efforts to arrange the disputes between Parma and Mantua in 1593 and 1596; see LUZIO, L'Archivio Gonzaga, II., 218.

[3] See *Avvisi of December 3 and 6, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library. The importance of getting together an army promptly is brought out in the *Relatione in the *Miscell.*, XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 481.

Pope greatly by speaking of the right of election by the people.[1]

When the canonical process had been completed, the sentence was published on December 23rd. This stated that as Cesare obstinately adhered to his usurpation, he and his adherents incurred major excommunication, and that the countries which joined him, after the determined period had elapsed, were placed under an interdict.[2]

Cesare could not conceal his alarm when he received news of the excommunication, but a ray of hope remained to him in the help of the Spaniards and Venetians. The Venetian government, though neutral, favoured his warlike preparations, and refused to furnish the Pope with arms and munitions from Brescia. It was only with great difficulty that Clement VIII. obtained these from Milan.[3] The Spaniards undoubtedly would have liked to help Cesare, and to fish in the troubled waters. Cesare trusted to such an extent in Philip II., whose assistance had been asked by Alfonso II. at the beginning of 1597,[4] that he suggested the king as arbitrator, but he hesi-

[1] See CAPILUPI ed Prinzivalli, 107 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avvisi of December 24 and 27, 1597, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Bull. X., 389 *seq.* *Arch. stor. ital.*, XII., xxx.; CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 85 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*; Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 491; *report of G. C. Foresto, December 24, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *"Nel Venetiano havendo [Cesare] amplo campo ni assoldare genti et di poter cavar arme, il che fu interdetto da quella Signoria a ministri del Papa mandati a Brescia per armi, con grosso numero de denari si come anco con grandissima difficoltà se ne hebbe per via di Milano." Report in Cod. Barb. *supra*, 383, n. 4., Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Negoziazione di Giulio Ottonelli alla Corte di Spagna (Scelta di curiosità lett. 27), Bologna, 1863. Ottonelli, who had been sent as it would seem to Spain on account of the Turkish war, received nothing but promises with regard to the question of Ferrara, which were not kept. In a *report from Madrid, on April 10, 1567, publ. p. 31 of the above Negaziazione, it is stated: "Qui cammina tutto adagio, il re e vecchio ed ammalato. Questa corte con tutta la sua grandezza per mezza morta."

tated to accept the proposal of the governor of Milan, who offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses. Philip II., in his old age, feared the outbreak of war in Italy, and only expressed himself with great caution, in spite of the ill-will which he entertained towards Clement VIII. on account of the absolution of Henry IV. Nor could Cesare look for help from Rudolph II., as the Emperor himself was dependent upon the help of the Pope in his war against the Turks.[1]

While Cesare could only find lukewarm friends, Clement VIII. found a supporter in the King of France, who openly and decidedly took his part. As he had done in the case of the Italian States and the Emperor,[2] on November 6th, 1597, Clement VIII. had sent a special envoy to Henry IV. on the matter of Ferrara.[3] Even before the envoy reached France, Henry IV. had made his decision. He realized, with the same clearness as his representative in Rome, d'Ossat, what a great advantage he could gain for France by adopting a correct attitude in this matter. Any war that broke out in Italy could not fail to be useful to the King of France, without his mixing

[1] *Cf.* CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 104 *seq.*

[2] The mission of Carlo Conti, Bishop of Ancona, is referred to in the *briefs to Rudolph II., the Doge of Venice and the Duke of Urbino, November 26, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 243 *seq.*, 251-252, Papal Secret Archives The original of the brief to the Doge in the State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*. The instructions to Conti, in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 98 n. 1.

[3] Besides Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 480 *seq.*, the *brief to Henry IV., November 6, 1597, concerning the mission of "Petrus Ursinus episc. Aversanus" in which it is stated "Agitur enim Dei honor, agitur ius et dignitas nostra et huius s. Apostoli Sedis." Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 253, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 254 *seq.* to the nobles of France; 256 "duci Parmae"; 257 "duci Sabaudiae"; 258 "duci Memorantii"; 260 "Lucensibus." It was only much later that Paolo Emilio Zacchia was sent to Philip II.; *cf.* besides HINOJOSA, 392 *seq.*, the *brief to Philip II., November 23, 1597, in which it is stated that the king will perhaps already know "quae proxime apud nos Ferrariae acciderunt et quam certa et manifesta sint iura huius S. Sedis in ea civitate et ditione optime etiam nosti." Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 265, Papal Secret Archives.

himself up in it, because it would involve the Spaniards, Florence and Savoy. If the Pope should then turn to the King of France for support, he would reap even greater advantages. In this way Henry could easily lead men to forget how, on many occasions, he had thought it his duty to act against the wishes of the Holy See. If he alone came to the assistance of the Pope, he would bind him and his successors to eternal gratitude.[1] In the clear conviction that to support Clement VIII. in the matter of Ferrara would be the best course to adopt, as he expressed himself to d'Ossat, in order to give new splendour to the fleur-de-lys in Rome, and permanently to assure to France its former position at the Curia,[2] Henry IV. forgot the former friendly relations of France with the Este, and ordered his ambassador in Rome, Piney, to offer the Pope the assistance of the kingdom of France. He was not only prepared to send an army across the Alps, but even in case of need to appear in person with the whole of his army and give his assistance.[3]

This declaration made the greatest impression in Rome, and nothing else was spoken of. D'Ossat, overcome with joy, hoped that his sovereign would once again take up the position of Pepin and Charlemagne towards the Church. He reported that if the project was carried out, the enemies of France, and above all the Spaniards, would be eaten up with envy and jealousy; there could be no better opportunity than this to give the lie to the Spanish calumnies that after his absolution Henry would show himself the greatest enemy of the Church.[4]

But Clement VIII., no matter how valuable the offer of assistance from France was, was unwilling, for the sake of universal peace, to have French troops appearing in Italy. In the case of his not being able to defend his rights by his own power, he would have preferred the assistance of the

[1] *Cf.* Lettres D'Ossat, I., 489.

[2] *Ibid.* I., 490.

[3] See Callegari in *Riv. stor.*, XII., 26.

[4] See Lettres D'Ossat, I., 490 *seq.*

Swiss.[1] He therefore breathed more freely when he saw that the mere offer of French assistance had been enough to deprive Cesare of all help. The Spaniards themselves showed themselves more accommodating to the wishes of the Pope, when even in Venice, which at first had been opposed to the acquisition of Ferrara by the Holy See, and had forbidden Gian Francisco Aldobrandini to pass with his troops or the publication of the excommunication, a change had taken place.[2]

At Ferrara the reaction showed itself in a way that no one could have dared to hope for.[3] Not only was there a display of the discontent which had been aroused by the frequently oppressive government of Alfonso II., but Cesare himself began to hesitate. He had hardly assumed the reigns of government when he showed himself unfit to cope with the complicated situation, owing to the fact that the dead duke had deliberately excluded him from all share in the government. In consequence of this, he only had a superficial knowledge of many of the members of the supreme council,[4] while to those he knew best he had, almost without exception, entrusted missions abroad.[5] Undecided by nature, without the necessary money, and quite inexperienced in military matters, Cesare saw his adherents vanish, both among the upper and the lower classes. The people openly expressed the hope that under the milder government of the Church they would be less oppressed by taxes than heretofore.[6] To

[1] See the letter of P. Aldobrandini of November 29, 1597, in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 102 n. 1.

[2] See *ibid.* 104, 113. A *brief to "Orator regis cath. apud. Caesarem," January 10, 1598, thanks him for his support in the question of Ferrara (Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 2, Papal Secret Archives). For the opposition of Venice *cf.* HORVAT, 132.

[3] See Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 494.

[4] See Nicc. Contarini in RANKE, II.[8], 180.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 385, n. 5.

[6] See the *Relatione in Cod. Barb. cited *supra*, p. 383, n. 4, Vatican Library. CALLEGARI in *Riv. stor.*, XII., 34; Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 495; BALLARDINI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser.,

all this had to be added the profound impression made by the Papal excommunication. Of the friendly governments in Italy, not one dreamed of giving any effective assistance. They restricted themselves to giving good advice, because none of the states wished to risk a serious conflict with the Holy See.

Cesare had taken all possible precautions that the bull of excommunication, which had been sent to all the bishops of Italy,[1] should not be known at Ferrara. In spite of this the Archbishop of Bologna succeeded in finding a courageous man who successfully conveyed the document to Ferrara sewn in his clothes, who handed it to the bishop there.[2] On the following day, December 31st, the obsequies of one of the canons took place; the church was draped in black and filled with a large crowd of the faithful. After the function the bishop mounted the pulpit. He spoke of death, but much worse than the death of the body, he suddenly said, is the destruction of the soul. By excommunication both are lost, and Cesare d'Este has incurred this penalty. He then had the Papal sentence read. The impression made was tremendous, and the fear of the interdict was so great that many of those present broke out into sobs, and among them the bishop.[3]

XXXVIII., 341 *seq.* For the burden of the taxes under Alfonso II. see BROSCH, I., 314.

[1] See CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 117. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 257 *seq.* Venice had tried to prevent the promulgation of the bull; see *Arch. stor.*, XII., xxxi.

[2] The name is given differently; see FRIZZI, V., 9 *seq.*, and the *Relatione in Cod. Barb. *supra*, p. 383, n. 4, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, II.[8], 181, and *Riv. stor.*, XII., 49.

[3] *La mattina sequente, che fu l'ultimo di Decembre, giornata anco della partenza della sig. duchessa d'Urbino con l'occasione delle esequie d'un canonico, donde la chiesa era di negro manto parata, fece un sermone discorrendo sopra la morte e quanto fosse grave la perdita del corpo e maggiore dell'anima, soggiunse poi che con la scomunica il corpo e l'anima si perdeva e manifestò come dalla S.S^{tà} di S^{re} era stato dichiarato escomunicato Don

The news of the excommunication and interdict at once spread through the city, and it was obvious that the majority of the citizens had no intention of running the risk of incurring material and spiritual destruction in order to adhere to Cesare. Count Francesco Villa was sent to the Pope as the envoy of the city.[1] The inhabitants hastened to approach the sacraments in the fear lest, should their envoy accomplish nothing in Rome, they might be deprived for some time of this spiritual consolation.[2]

Clement VIII., to the great surprise of everyone, had in a very short time raised a considerable army for those times, of more than 20,000 infantry and 3000 horsemen.[3] This was already encamped near Faenza, under the supreme command of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. The city of Ferrara, although it was well defended by its low position in marshy territory, was in need of the munitions of war, and even more of money. No power took any serious steps to help Cesare, while the attitude of Spain was such as to cause Cesare to fear the loss of the Imperial fiefs of Reggio and Modena.[4] The consequences that this would entail for the Venetians were so dangerous that they preferred to see Ferrara occupied by the Pope.[5]

Cesare was bound to realize that in these circumstances

Cesare e subito ordinando che si leggesse ad alta voce tutta la bolla e letta si affigesse alla porta del duomo. Restò il popolo tanto attonito che vedendosi fra poco tempo come secchi tronchi dover restare tagliati dall'arbore della spiritual vita e repudiati dal grembo di s. chiesa mandava fuori lacrime, gemiti e sospiri così gravi che il prelato piangendo anco con loro dirottamente empivano la chiesa di singulti e pianti. *Relatione in Cod. Barb. *supra*, p. 383, n, 4, Vatican Library.

[1] See the *Relatione in Cod. Barb. *loc. cit.*; FRIZZI, V., 10; CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 123.

[2] See *Relatione in Cod. Barb. *loc. cit.*

[3] See CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 79 *seq.*, 87 n. 1; *cf.* Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 125.

[4] See Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 495 *seq.*

[5] See CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 140 *seq.*

it would be madness to attempt the fortunes of war, while his confessor, the Jesuit Bartolomeo Palmio, advised him not to push things to that point.[1] In order to bring about an agreement with the Pope, Cesare had recourse to the sister of Alfonso II.; the old Duchess Lucrezia of Urbino had always been his enemy, but she was on excellent terms with Cardinal Aldobrandini.[2] Armed with full powers, Lucrezia went on December 31st to Faenza, and on January 12th, 1598, she there, in Cesare's name, came to an agreement with the legate Aldobrandini.[3] By this Cesare restored the Duchy of Ferrara to the Church, together with Cento and Pieve di Cento, and the fiefs in Romagna. He was accordingly absolved from the excommunication, together with his adherents. He retained the allodial estates, the archives, the art collections, the library, and half the artillery.[4] Clement VIII. was on a visit to Palo on the sea[5] when he received the news of the agreement come to at Faenza, and his joy was as great as it was justified. Without his army

[1] See *ibid.* 128. For Palmio *cf.* Ricci, II., 117; Balduzzi (*Atti d. Romagna*, 3rd *seq.*, IX., 83) thinks that Cesare even began at last to doubt the legitimacy of his claims.

[2] For this princess see Campori, Luigi e Lucrezia d'Este, Turin, 1888. *Cf.* Capilupi, ed. Prinzivalli, 123 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* An *Elogio to Lucrezia, dated 1598, "prid. Cal. Febr." in Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 23, Papal Secret Archives. Lucrezia died on February 12, 1598, before the conferring of the title of Duchess of Bertinoro, which had been promised to her, had taken place. She made Cardinal Aldobrandini her general heir; see Campori, *loc. cit.*

[3] By a *brief of January 10, 1598, Cardinal Aldobrandini was expressly authorized to make the negotiations. Arm. 44, t, 42, n. 1, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Theiner, Cod. dipl., III., 554 *seq.*; Balduzzi in *Atti e Mem. p. la prov. di Romagna*, 3rd ser., IX. (1891), 94 *seq.* G. Ballardini in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XXXVIII., 339 *seq.*; *ibid.* 355 *seq.*, 409 *seq.* For the commemorative inscriptions at Faenza, *cf.* also Montanari, Guida stor. di Faenza, F. 1882, 59 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 14, 21 and 24, 1598, Urb. 1066, Vatican Library.

having fired a single shot, or lost a single man, he had succeeded in enforcing his rights, and in recovering for the Church a duchy, the holders of which had hitherto often opposed the interests of their overlord. This was a matter of substantial importance[1] for the political position and the liberty of action of the Holy See.

When he had returned to Rome, Clement VIII. had a mass of thanksgiving celebrated in St. Peter's, and reported the matter to the Cardinals appointed for the affairs of Ferrara.[2] On the following day the treaty was read in consistory and approved. Cardinal Aldobrandini was given the legation of Ferrara.[3] On January 29th the nephew made his entry into Ferrara, whence Cesare had departed on the previous day.[4] The first official act of Aldobrandini was to reduce the taxes, and make other concessions. In this way he won over the

[1] See DOLFIN, Relazione, 454; *Atti p. la storia di Ferrara*, XXII., 68; BROSCH, I., 320 *seq.* *Cf.* the Orazione della signora Isabella Cervoni da Colle a P. Clemente VIII. sopra l'impresa di Ferrara con una canzona della medesima a principi christiani, Bologna, 1598. This rare work (copy in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome) treats in detail of the advantages of the undertaking against Ferrara. This "Orazione" is also in manuscript in Vat. 5566, Vatican Library.

[2] See letter of C. Aldobrandini, February 4, 1598, in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 145 n.

[3] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library; CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 137 *seq.* The ratification of the treaty concluded by Cardinal Aldobrandini, dated January 19, 1598, in Bull. X., 417 *seq.* Many *letters from Card. Aldobrandini to Clement VIII., to Cardinals, princes and nuncios concerning the recuperatione di Ferrara, in Barb. 5859-64, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Barb. 5365, *ibid.*

[4] See CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 144 *seq.*; BALLARDINI, *loc. cit.*, 343 *seq.* A *Sonnet on the handing over of Ferrara by Cesare, beginning with the words "Cesare quel che venne e vide e vinse" in *Carte Strozz.*, CXCVIII., p. 502, State Archives, Florence. Many satires from the manuscripts in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice, in PILOT, Cesare d'Este e la satira, in the *Ateneo Veneto*, XXX., 2 (1907).

populace, only the aristocracy still showing themselves to a great extent attached to the House of Este,[1] which was connected with the duchy by such ancient ties. Just as Aldobrandini took possession of Ferrara in the name of the Holy See, so did Cardinal Bandini of Comacchio, and the vice-legate of Bologna of Cento and Pieve di Cento. The Pope informed all the ambassadors of this on February 17th, 1598, and the foreign powers through the nuncios.[2] Almost all the princes hastened to send their congratulations.[3] In March the Pope received in the Hall of Constantine the oath of fealty of the four envoys from Ferrara.[4] He was then occupied with his preparations for his journey to the newly acquired province.[5]

Not only the Romans, but also the ambassadors and Cardinals, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini and his physicians, advised him, especially on the grounds of the enormous cost, to give up this journey and remain in Rome.[6] But neither for this reason, nor on account of his gout, could the Pope be induced to abandon his plan, which he thought necessary[7] in the interests of the States of the Church. Cardinal Pietro

[1] See CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 148 *seq.*, 152 *seq.*; FRIZZI, V., 19 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Lod. Cremaschi, February 7, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the letter of Cinzio Aldobrandini in *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 264.

[3] See *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 42, p. 6, 13, 21-38, 45, 48, 50, 52, 56, 71, 83, 84, 100, 104, 122, 129, 140, 150, Papal Secret Archives. The originals of the briefs of February 7, 1598, to the Duke of Mantua in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and to Venice in State Archives, Venice.

[4] THEINER, Cod. dipl., III., 571 *seq.* Renato Cato delivered the Latin discourse before the Pope; *cf.* *report of L. Cremaschi, March 21, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 498; FRIZZI, V., 22.

[6] *Cf.* *Avviso of April 8, 1598, Urb. 1066, Vatican Library; CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 153. According to the *report of L. Cremaschi, Rome, March 7, 1598, Venice tried in every possible way to prevent the journey. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See *Avviso of March 14, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

Aldobrandini, too, was in favour of the journey; it would be good for the Pope's health and for the city of Ferrara, which had suffered so much from the burdens imposed on it by the prodigal Duke Alfonso.[1] The Cardinals at length agreed to 150,000 scudi being taken from the treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo for the journey.[2] On April 3rd Cardinal d'Aragona was appointed legate for the city of Rome during the absence of the Pope from the City, while other important provisions were made, especially for the eventuality of a conclave.[3]

After Clement VIII. had celebrated mass at the tomb of the Princes of the Apostles on April 13th, he set out on his journey.[4] In his retinue were Cardinals Baronius, Monte, Arigoni and Cinzio Aldobrandini; others joined him afterwards. The officials of the Rota, and all the court, made the journey at the same time. It is no wonder that the treasurer was in despair.[5] Clement VIII. spent the first night at Castelnuovo, the second at Civita Castellana, and then at Narni, where he urged the completion of the building of the

[1] See letter of Aldobrandini, February 5, 1598, in *Atti p. la storia di Ferrara*, XXII., 76.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 381.

[3] Bull. X., 436 *seq.*, 440 *seq.*, 445 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* besides the summarized information given by BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie, 18 *seq.*) the exhaustive description of CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 160 *seq.*, and the following still unpublished reports: 1. Matteo Argenti, *Giornale del viaggio di Clemente VIII. per Ferrara, Barb. lat. 4829, and *Diario de luoghi che passa Clemente VIII. per andare a Ferrara, Barb. lat. 4834, Vatican Library. 2. I. P. Mucantii *"Iter Clementis VIII. Ferrariense," Barb. lat. 2847, also in the Corsini Library, Rome, and State Archives, Modena, printed in part in the work of Gatticus (not published) Acta caerem., II., 193 *seq.* (copy in Vatican Library). *Cf.* also *Diarium Adami Klicishii militis s. Petri ab introitu suo in Italiam" for the years 1594-1598, Barb. 2259, Vatican Library. See also *Avvisi in Urb. 1066, which are used in part both by PRINZIVALLI, 160 *seq.*, and ARGENTI. The *register of the expenses of the journey in the State Archives, Rome.

[5] See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 33.

cathedral.[1] His reception at Spoleto was very magnificent. Thence he went by way of Foligno,[2] Camerino,[3] Macerata and Loreto, where he made costly gifts to the Holy House, and, surrounded by fifteen Cardinals, gave the blessing to the people.[4] At Loreto he was joined by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who went with the Pope to Ancona, where the feast of the Ascension was kept. Here too his welcome was very magnificent.[5] The Pope took up his abode in the bishop's palace, high above the city, and adjoining the cathedral, where Pius II. had died on his crusade. At Pesaro the Duke of Urbino paid homage to the Pope.[6] On May 2nd Clement VIII. visited Fano, his native city,[7] and then at Rimini received Cesare de'Este, Duke of Modena and Reggio. He conversed with him for an hour, and entertained him at his table.[8] After a visit to Ravenna,[9] he continued his journey by Bagnacavallo[10] and Lugo[11] to Ferrara. May 8th[12] had been appointed for the solemn entry, at which an immense throng had assembled, including many strangers from Lombardy, Venice and Bologna. Clement VIII. was received at the Porta S. Giorgio by the bishop and clergy, and the magistrates delivered the keys of the city. The Pope then put on the

[1] See *Avviso of April 24, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Faloci Pulignani, I priori d. cattedrale di Foligno, F. 1914, 276 *seq.*

[3] See *Cod. A. E. XI., 74, p. 144 of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. *Cf.* Lämmer, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 45 *seq.*

[4] See Argenti in Prinzivalli, 166, n. 1.

[5] See Cascioli, Mem. stor. di Poli, Rome, 1896, 162 *seqq.*

[6] *Avviso of May 9, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* L. Masetti, Accoglienze fatte in Fano a P. Clemente VIII., Pesaro, 1881.

[8] See Argenti in Prinzivalli, 171.

[9] See Bentivoglio., Memorie, 19.

[10] See Balduzzi, *loc. cit.*, 91 *seq.*

[11] *Cf.* Vinc. Milani Lugensis In adventu S.D.N.D. Clementis VIII. P.M. oratio Lugi habita 1598 Cal. Maii, Bononiae, 1598.

[12] Not on the 9th, as Balduzzi states (*loc. cit.*, 92). The *Avviso of May 13, 1598 (Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*) expressly says that the Pope made his entry on the Friday, and the Friday fell on the 8th.

pontifical vestments and mounted the sedia gestatoria, above which a baldacchino was carried. In his retinue there were eighteen Cardinals, fifteen prelates, many dignitaries of the court, the Swiss Guard, and the ambassadors of France, Venice and Savoy.[1] The Blessed Sacrament, at the entry and throughout the journey, was carried in a precious portable tabernacle, on a white mule.[2] The streets through which the cortège passed were adorned with tapestries, inscriptions and triumphal arches. Clement VIII. went first to the cathedral, and then to the Castello, the former palace of the Este dukes, where he took up his abode.

The first and the most pressing care of Clement VIII., was to reorganize the government. For this purpose he set

[1] For the entry, the day of which is often wrongly given, even in CAPILUPI, 174, *cf.* the *Avvisi of May 9, 13 and 16, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*; Pregildo Piazza, *letter from Ferrara, May 11, 1598, to sig N. Rozza, Coll. Antonelli, n. 669, Library, Ferrara; Rocca (next note); GATTICUS, II., 193; Descrittione de gli apparati fatti in Bologna per la venuta di N.S.P. Clemente VIII. . . . co' disegni degli archi, statue et pitture, Bologna, V. Benacci, 1598 and 1599. The first edition, unknown to Brunet and Cicognara, is very rare. The text which describes the plates, includes, with the title, eight pages. See also Vero disegno dell'ordine tenuto da Clemente VIII. nel fel ingresso di S.S^tà nella città di Ferrara, 1598, Antonio Tempesta sculp. A fresco in the Palazzo Antici-Mattei in Rome, also shows the entry of the Pope into Ferrara; it is of special interest for the costumes. The inscription is only partly preserved in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 173 n. The Cod. germ. 3993 of the State Library, Munich, contains *"Pompa" and entry of Pope Clement VIII., 1598, into Ferrara, German translation by A. Rocca, with an anti-papal introduction by Girolao Parco.

[2] See ANG. ROCCA (ord. S. Agost.), De ss. Christi corpore rom. pontificibus itér conficientibus praeferendo commentarius antiquiss. ritus causam et originem, variasque ss. pontificum ss. secum hostiam in itinere deferentium profectiones itinerarium societatis ss. sacramenti Clemente VIII. Ferrariam, proficiscente, Rome, 1599. *Cf.* Lettres D'OSSAT, II., 111; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 33.

up a communal council, which was cleverly divided into three sections, nobles, burghers and artisans. Without restricting the supreme authority of the Cardinal, he gave this new council, which was to be elected every three years, certain rights and powers, such as the provision of food, the regulation of the rivers, the appointment of the judges and the podestà, and even of the professors of the university, powers which the Este had reserved to themselves. The Pope condoned many purely fiscal debts, and won over citizens of importance by conferring on them ecclesiastical dignities.[1] The inhabitants of Ferrara were delighted by the confirmation of all their ancient privileges and by the labours of the legate, Aldobrandini, to restore the finances, which had been seriously damaged by the Este.[2] On the other hand great discontent was aroused by the construction of a fortress, to make space for which many houses, and some churches and palaces had to be destroyed, among them the celebrated Belvedere, so much sung by the poets.[3] Later on Ferrara, like Bologna, was given the right to have its own ambassador in Rome,[4] as well as a tribunal of its own for the settlement of causes.[5]

During the stay of Clement VIII. at Ferarra, which lasted

[1] See Bull. X., 449 *seq.*; Frizzi, V., 25 *seq.*; Contarini in Ranke, II.[8], 183, n. 1.

[2] See Frizzi, V., 27 *seq.*

[3] See besides Frizzi, V., 37 *seq.*, Capilupi, ed. Prinzivalli, 184, and the *Avvisi of July 25 and 28, and August 1, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* Frizzi (*loc. cit.*) rejects on the strength of the Acta in the Communal Archives, Ferrara, the suggestion that the proprietors of the demolished houses were not indemnified, as Brosch (I., 321) claims. The number of 4000 houses mentioned by Brosch is a huge exaggeration; see Pardi in *Atti d. Deput. per Ferrara*, XX. (1911), 8.

[4] Brief of March 1, 1599, Bull. X., 481 *seq.* *Cf.* Cancellieri, Possessi, 209 *seq.*, 281; Moroni, V., 302, XXIV., 152. The *reports of the Ferrara envoys in Rome, preserved to 1796, are in the Communal Archives, Ferrara; *ibid.* the greater part of the correspondence of the Cardinal legate.

[5] See Bull. X., 511 *seq.* *Cf.* Moroni, XXIV., 152 *seq.*

for more than six months, the saying "ubi pontifex ibi Roma" was fully confirmed. Envoys came from all parts, and princes and princesses, some to express their devotion to the vicar of Christ, and offer him their congratulations, and some on private business. The first to come, on May 8th, was the ambassador of the Emperor, and on the following day the Archduke Ferdinand, on pilgrimage to Loreto, who was received by the Pope as a son by his father.[1] There followed the envoys of Lucca,[2] and at the beginning of June the four representatives of the Republic of St. Mark, who were received with special courtesy. At their farewell audience the Pope jokingly said to them that he still hoped to celebrate holy mass in Santa Sofia at Constantinople.[3] At the same time there came from Mantua Duke Vincenzo, his consort Eleanora and his sister Margherita, the mother of Alfonso II. They were engaged in a dispute with Cesare d'Este over a matter of inheritance. On May 29th there also appeared in Ferrara[4] Ferrante Gonzaga, Prince of Guastalla. On June 19th the Pope received Federigo Pico, Prince of Mirandola.[5] At the end of June there came the Duke of Parma, Ranuccio

[1] See *Avviso of May 20, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *reports of L. Cremaschi, Ferrara, May 11 and 15, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also HURTER, III., 411 *seqq.*; STIEVE, IV., 307; *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 325 *seq.* For the envoy sent by the Archduke Maximilian to Ferrara see HIRN, Maximilian, I., 69.

[2] See *Avviso of May 27, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Al. P. Clemente VIII. Ambasceria Veneta straordinaria in Ferrara nell'a. 1598, ed. R. FULIN, Venice, 1865. *Cf.* also *Avvisi of June 3 and 6, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* For Cesare Cremonino, who came as the envoy of Cento, and his successful negotiations see SIGHINOLFI in *Atti d. Romagna*, 3rd ser., XXV. (1907), 423 *seq.*

[4] See the *Avvisi of May 30, and June 6, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Narrazione della solenne entrata fatta in Ferrara del ser. duca di Mantova e degli ill. ambasc. di Venezia, Rome, 1598.

[5] *Avviso of June 20, 1598, *loc. cit.*

Farnese, to pay his homage.[1] He rivalled in pomp the Duke of Mantua, who appeared with a retinue of 1200 persons. Lastly there came the governor of Milan, who was treated by the Pope with a like honour as the afore-mentioned princes.[2]

At the end of September Clement VIII. undertook an expedition to Comacchio.[3] Everyone attempted to dissuade him from this, partly on the ground of the expense, and partly not to offend Venice, but he would not be moved from his purpose.[4] A month later there began the preparations for the marriage of the Archduchess Margaret of Styria to Philip III., who was represented by the Duke of Sessa.[5] The marriage of the Archduke Albert to the Infante Isabella was to take place at the same time;[6] the Pope wished to bless both these marriages in person. The future Queen of Spain made her solemn entry on November 13th, mounted on a white palfrey, and accompanied by nineteen Cardinals, and numerous archbishops, prelates and ambassadors.[7] After

[1] See Descrizione del viaggio fatto dal duca Ranuccio Farnese a Ferrara per visitare P. Clemente VIII., Ferrara, 1598. *Cf.* *report of L. Cremaschi, June 30, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Avviso of July 15, 1598, *loc. cit.*

[2] See, besides *Avviso of August 29, 1598, *loc. cit.* BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 23-26. *Cf.* also POSSEVINO, Gonzaga, 824.

[3] See *Avvisi of September 26 and 30, 1598, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 30.

[5] See *Avvisi of October 7, 10, 24 and 31, and November 4, 7 and 11, 1598, *loc. cit.* The principal hall of the palace was decorated like the Sala Regia. The expenses of the reception of the queen given by ORBAAN in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXVI., 119 *seq.*

[6] The Archduke Albert put aside his sacerdotal dress on July 13, 1598; he had never received major orders; see *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 328, 333. For his laying aside of the cardinalitial dignity see the *brief addressed to him, July 31, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 212, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; *Avviso of November 14, 1598, Urb. 1066, *ibid.*; *report of L. Cremaschi, November 14, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; La fel. entrata della ser. Regina di Spagna D. Margarita d'Austria

she had assisted at the Pope's mass on the following day, together with the Archduke Albert, who had previously renounced his cardinalate,[1] on the 15th both marriages were blessed by Clement VIII., after which the Golden Rose was conferred on Margaret.[2] The festivities which took place on the occasion recalled the most splendid days which Ferrara had witnessed in the time of the Este.[3] Margaret left the city on November 18th, accompanied by Cardinal Aldobrandini as far as the frontier of the States of the Church. After this the Pope began to prepare for his return journey, and on November 20th Cardinal Giovanni Francesco di S. Giorgio di Blandrata assumed the office of pro-legate. Giglioli was appointed ambassador of Ferrara at the Curia, and it was resolved to set up a bronze statue of Clement VIII.

nella città di Ferrara, Ferrara, 1598; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 29 *seq.*

[1] The laying aside of the purple took place at a secret consistory: "Ferrariae in Castello die ult. Iulii": *Dixit S^tas^ Sua ipsum cardinalem ac Philippum Hisp. regem summopere urgere pro admissione huius modi resignationis causamque ab ipso rege adduci optimam, nempe quia iudicat expedire conservationi relig. cath." Cod. 75, p. 254 *seq.* of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; *Avviso of November 18, 1598, Urb. 1066, *ibid.*; Relazione di Paolo Mucante dell'entrata solenne fatta in Ferrara per la ser. D. Margherita d'Austria Regina di Spagna e del consistorio publico . . . con minuto ragguaglio della messa pontificale da S.B. e delle ceremonie delli sposalizii etc., Rome, 1598. *Cf.* also CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 184 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 31 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of November 18, 1598, according to which *maschere* were also allowed "havendo nome questi Ferraresi di fare cosa vaga in questa materia, massime che queste dame in maschera fanno molto bella mostra." The ladies of Comacchio performed dances in the moats around the castello, which greatly diverted the queen. On November 17 the "tragedia di Holoferne" was performed before the queen (Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*

The Pope granted further favours to the Ferrarese, and promised them to make the Po navigable; he showed himself so magnanimous that the representatives of the city left his audience chamber with tears of joy in their eyes.[1] On November 26th Clement VIII., kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament in the cathedral, recommended the new possession to the protection of God in a touching prayer, and then set out upon his return journey.[2]

He went first from Ferrara to Bologna, where he was received with great honour. Guido Reni has preserved in an etching the decorations of the festivities. Clement VIII. remained in Bologna for three days; he said mass at S. Petronio, and visited the university, where he had once made his studies.[3] The return to Rome, where the Pope was anxiously awaited, was hastened as much as possible, and to that end the retinue was reduced.[4] On December 1st Clement VIII. reached Imola, and on the 2nd honoured Faenza and Forlimpopoli[5] with his presence; on the 3rd he met Cardinal Aldobrandini at Meldola; on the 4th Cesena we reached, and on the 5th Rimini, where, on the following day, the Second Sunday in Advent, he said mass in the cathedral. From Rimini he went to Cattolica, on the 7th by Pesaro to Fano, on the 8th to Sinigaglia, on the 9th to Ancona, and on the 10th to Loreto. After having stayed

[1] See *Avvisi of November 21 and December 5, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

[2] The *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* gives this beautiful prayer.

[3] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*; *Avvisi of December 5 and 12, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*; BELLENTANI, I papi a Bologna, B., 1857, 27 *seq.* For the festival decorations see BÖHN, G. Reni, 3 *seq.*, 30, and *Jahrb. d. Kunstsamml. d. österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 137. *Cf.* also FRATI, Opere di bibliografia Bolognese, I. (1888), 419.

[4] See *Avviso of December 12, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* We have details of the return journey in the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, *ibid.* *Cf.* also Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 610, 612 *seq.*, 614.

[5] *Cf.* BALLARDINI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XXXVIII., 362 *seq.*, 366 *seq.*

there for several days, and having ordained Cardinals Pietro Aldobrandini and Bartolomeo Cesi priests, on December 14th the journey was continued by way of Foligno, Spoleto, Narni and Civita Castellana. On the 19th the Pope reached Rome, where the whole of the clergy went to meet him at the Porta del Popolo. Accompanied by them he went in procession, through richly decorated streets, to St. Peter's. The people were filled with exultation; the Pope looked very well, and had falsified the prophecies of the astrologers that he would die on the journey.[1] On the following days the audiences at the Vatican were very numerous, and all flocked to congratulate him on the acquisition of Ferrara, which was celebrated by many poets and orators.[2] It was resolved to set

[1] See *Avvisi of December 23 and 26, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*; ODOARDO MAGLIANO, L'ordine tenuto nel ricevere il SS. Sacramento nell'entrare in Roma con la processione et apparati delle strade da S. Maria del Popolo a S. Pietro, Rome, 1598; *report of L. Cremaschi, December 25, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Commemorative inscription see CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 215 *seq.* Clement VIII. had expressed the wish that there should be no expense to celebrate his return (see the *brief to Cardinal d'Aragona, December 9, 1598) as he already knew the devotion of the city: "Romae enim aetatem egimus." Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 370, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] IOS. CASTALIONIS, Expeditio Ferrariensis et Ferraria recepta, Rome, 1598; G. B. GENARI, Rime nella venuta di Clemente VIII. a Ferrara, Ferrara, 1598; IOS. COMARINI, In S.D.N. Clementis VIII. P.O.M. Ferrariam Bononiam, Romamque adventu. Carmina, Ferrara, 1599; GIOV. PAOLO BRACCINO (of Ferrara), Rime a diversi nella venuta di Clemente VIII. (Aldobrandini) col sacro collegio et Romana Corte alla nobiliss. città di Ferrara, etc., Ferrara, 1601; D. NIZZOLI, Viaggio di S.S. Clemente VIII. a Ferrara in ottava rima, *s. l.* et *a.*; Ottavio Micheli da Lucca, *Ferrara recuperata in ottava rima (six canti), Vat. 5529, Vatican Library; FAB. PATRITIUS, Oratione a N.S. Clemente VIII. nell'allegrezza dell'acquisto di Ferrara, Venice, 1598. Other commemorative discourses in CAPILUPI, ed. Prinzivalli, 214 *seq.* For commemorative coins see BONANNI, I., and AGNELLI, Ferrara, Bergamo, 1906, 99.

up a commemorative inscription in honour of Clement VIII. at the Capitol.[1]

In the midst of these days of jubilation, there occurred a terrible disaster, owing to which the most fortunate year of the pontificate of the Aldobrandini Pope ended in sorrow.[2] The Eternal City was afflicted by an inundation, which far surpassed all previous ones. On December 21st torrential rains had fallen, owing to which the yellow and muddy waters of the Tiber were swollen in the most alarming way. On

[1] See NOVAES, IX., 38. The event was also celebrated in inscriptions, *e.g.* at the Villa Aldobrandini (see *infra*, pp. 496 *seqq.*), the castello at Spoleto, and the Palazzo del Podestà at Faenza. The banner with the device : " Ferrara ricuperata " is preserved at the Villa Aldobrandini at Anzio.

[2] In a *note in Cod. Barb. lat. 5259, p. 132, Vatican Library, it is stated of the year 1598 : Anno celebre e memorabile per la christianità, ma particolarmente per la riputatione e felicità della Sede Apost. e ni Clemente VIII. poichè in esso non solo ricuperò e ridusse sotto il dominio ecclesiastico Ferrara, et uno stato così grande suo, ma nell'istesso anno si rihebbe dalle mani de'turchi Giaverino pochi anni avanti da loro per forza occupato. Stabilissi la pace con l'autorità del medesimo Pontefice per mezzo del suo legato tra la corona di Francia e quella di Spagna dopo dieci anni di guerra, anzi si potrebbe dire cento. Quietossi con l'istessa pace il regno di Francia lacerato altretanto tempo dalle guerre civili, et essendo morto Filippo 2° Re di Spagna si congiunsero in matrimonio Filippo 3. suo figliuolo a Margherita d'Austria, facendosi solennità delle nozze in Ferrara con grandissima pompa degna di tanti principi per mano dell'istesso Pontefice ; ne questo sponsalitio fu solo ; poichè seco anche si celebrò quello dell' arciduca Alberto con l'infanta Donna Isabella di Spagna. Ne fu cosa di poca consideratione il muoversi il Papa con tutta la corte di Roma et andare a Ferrara con decoro ecclesiastico e pontificio, entrandovi solennissimamente, attioni, che bastarebbono ad illustrare un secolo, e far memorabili quattro pontificati. Ne poteva quest'anno esser più felice per quel Pontefice, se questa felicità non fosse stata alquanto temperata dall'innondatione, che fece il Tevere, nel suo ritorno a Roma, che non solo li recò non poco disturbo, benchè in esso anche havesse occasione di mostrare la sua pietà, et il card. Aldobrandini la sua diligenza.

December 23rd the river began to overflow at certain points. At first no great fears were entertained, but the waters rose from hour to hour with alarming persistence; they passed the floodmarks of 1557, and at last even those of 1530 by two palms. It was estimated that the level of the water had risen by ten metres.[1] Almost the whole city suffered in a terrible degree from the stench, which in the poetry of Horace was attributed to the vengeance of the Tiber god.[2] Only the hills and some of the higher parts of the city were spared.[3] With bewildering force the waters destroyed many houses, especially in the Borgo, on the island of S. Bartolomeo, and in the Ripetta. In many other cases the foundations were so undermined that later on they had to be supported

[1] *Cf.* v. MOLTKE, Wanderbuch[5], Berlin, 1890, 61.

[2] Already on February 2nd, 1598, there had been an inundation which had caused damage of 200,000 scudi (see *Avviso of February 4, 1598. Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*) and another on March 1 (*Avviso of March 7, 1598, *ibid.*).

[3] *Cf.* Lettres D'OSSAT, V., 5 *seq.*; report of the procurator of the Anima in SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 442 *seq.*; *Avviso of December 30, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*; *letter of Carpino Carpini, Rome, December 30, 1598, in Vat. 8259, p. 342 *seq.* Vatican Library; Lettera di Maurizio Cataneo in Idea del Segretario. Venice, 1606, 37 *seq.*; *letter of L. Cremaschi, December 26, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *report of M. Vialardo to the Archduke Ferdinand, January 2, 1599, State Archives, Vienna. Two *reports in Inform. polit., XVI., n. 15-16, State Library, Berlin. See also JUVENCIUS, V., 291 *seq.*; POSSEVINO, Gonzaga, 824 *seq.*; GROTTANELLI, Ducato di Castro, 21 *seq.*; LANCIANI, Scavi, II., 27; A. PILOT in *Riv. di Roma*, 1909. Contemporary accounts in *Archivio*, V., 3 (1879), 300 *seq.* of GORI; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 144 *seq.* Of other reports mention may be made of: the Relatione de la spaventevole inondatione fatta dal Tevere nella città di Roma e suoi contorni alli 23 decembre 1598, Milan, 1599 (copy in the Library of J. v. Görres, afterwards in the possession of Fraulein Sofia Görres at Vienna). J. CASTIGLIONE, Trattato dell'inondatione del Tevere, Rome, 1599, 5 *seq.*, 44 *seq.*, 73 *seq.*; M. COGNATUS, De Tiberis inundatione, Rome, 1599. For the inundation *cf.* also *Miscell. d. stor. ital.*, IV., 687.

by girders and beams, and new sub-structures ; older buildings, such as the professed house of the Jesuits, had to be rebuilt owing to the damage they had sustained.[1] The two outer arches of the Ponte Palatino, restored by Gregory XIII., fell before the raging waters, so that the medieval name of Ponte S. Maria was changed to that of Ponte Rotto.[2] The Ponte S. Angelo and the Ponte Molle were also damaged, and all the little shops of objects of devotion near the Ponte S. Angelo were destroyed ; three salt stores belonging to the Apostolic Camera, and nine out of the twenty corn mills on the Tiber—according to other accounts as many as twelve—were carried away with all their inhabitants. Two broke into pieces at the Ponte Sisto.

In a state of indescribable confusion there floated through the streets of Rome bales of merchandize, bundles of hay, doors, books, furniture and domestic utensils. The waters, which flowed with bewildering speed, frequently changed their course, and a terrible state of panic prevailed. At the terrified cry of "the floods" the people rushed out of their houses, and in the lack of sufficient boats, sought safety, amid terrible scenes, in the higher ground, at the Castle of St. Angelo, and in the larger houses. Others took refuge on the roofs. If the city had been carried by assault by an enemy, the terror and confusion could not have been greater. The terrible height to which the water reached may be seen with alarming clearness by the marks which are still to be seen to-day on the façade of the Minerva and in other places.[3] The inundation broke with such lightning speed that the greater number of the inhabitants were unable to provide themselves with

[1] See JUVENCIUS, V., 292, where there are particulars of the new building erected by Card. O. Farnese.

[2] As the last trace of the bridge there is still preserved a single arch in the middle of the river.

[3] See the illustrations in PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaissance, 29. List of the marks showing the height of the water in *Inventario*, I., 86, 99, 165, 237, 305, 467. Inscription relating to the inundation of the Tiber at S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, in TOTTI, 244.

food or the barest necessaries, and the Imperial ambassador reported that even Cardinals Madruzzo and Sforza nearly died of starvation.[1]

The damage done in the churches was terrible. "After the fatal floods—thus the procurator of the Anima describes the state of the German national church—had beaten strongly and for a long time against the walls of our church, throwing against them roofs, timbers from mills and ships and all manner of things that they had carried away with them from all parts, but in vain, because the architectural strength had defied their efforts, they began to rage in the interior of the church; they overthrew all the tombs, scattered bodies, ashes, filth, mingling them with the water in the wells, the drinking water, earth and air, as they would; they ruined the stalls in the choir, and in the sacristy, as well as the images of Our Lady which were near the altars; as the doors could not be torn from their hinges, they were broken, crushed and to a great extent demolished; the hangings which had been attached to the pillars and other places as decoration for the feast of the Nativity (for the water began to rise on the vigil of the Nativity) were discoloured and spoiled to half their height by filthy water; almost all the marble monuments and inscriptions were damaged, among them those of the Duke of Cleves and of Pope Adrian VI. of holy memory."[2]

The Romans passed a terrible vigil of the Nativity; no one slept, lights were burning in all the windows, and the rising of the water was anxiously watched. At last a slight subsidence of the flood could be detected. In spite of this on the following day the churches were still so immersed in water

[1] See the *report of Vialardo, January 2, 1599, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 443. The report, as far as the churches are concerned, is confirmed by the *letter of Carpino Carpini in Vat. 8259, p. 342 *seq.* (Vatican Library), who says: "Non vi si può troppo dimorare per il gran fettore e puzza che rendono li cadaveri delle sepulture sfondate dal acqua." *Cf.* also PANCIROLI, Tesori nascosti (1600), 429, 538; CAVAZZI, S. Maria in Via Lata, Rome, 1908, 128.

that mass could hardly be said anywhere. Even the solemn Papal mass had to be omitted.[1] During the night before St. Stephen's day the waters began to disappear, leaving everywhere a deep layer of mire, which could only be removed with great difficulty. For a long time the basements remained filled with water, and the lower floors were uninhabitable on account of the water which had penetrated into them.[2] It is difficult to estimate exactly the number of persons in the city and the environs who were taken by surprise and drowned by the floods. The estimates vary from 4,000 to 1,400.[3] Immense loss was caused by the destruction of cattle, grain, wine, oil, hay, merchandize and objects of every kind, which were stored for the most part in the basements. It was estimated that there was a loss of two million gold ducats.[4]

The Pope, who was afflicted with the deepest grief at the misfortunes of the inhabitants of the capital, and prayed almost without interruption, did all he could from the first to give every help that lay in his power. He had those who were in danger rescued by boats, and distributed food and money in all the parishes. By his orders Cardinal Aldobrandini supervised the salvage works, in which Cardinals Santori, Rusticucci, Sauli, Sfondrato and Sforza also took part, and among the aristocracy above all the Marchese Peretti. At the hospital of Santo Spirito, Camillus of Lellis, the founder of the "Fathers of a good death," laboured all the night with six companions in moving the sick to an upper floor.

It greatly afflicted the Pope when wicked men spread the report among the people that the opening of a canal for the

[1] *December 24, 1598, "non fuit Capella propter inundationem Tyberis." Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

[2] See *report of Carpino Carpini, *loc. cit.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 442 n. 2. The statement of Reumont here given, of 1500 drowned, is probably based on the Relatione della spaventevole inondatione, Milan, 1599, which mentions the number of 1400. The same number is to be found on the back cover of the manuscript n. 43 of the Stiftes Hohenfurth Library in Bohemia.

[4] *Avviso of December 30, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

draining of the water from the Velino, which he had permitted, had been the cause of the inundation.[1] An examination carried out on the spot later on proved the groundlessness of these rumours.[2] In another quarter the blame for the inundation was attributed to the works of the Florentine government, for the draining of the valley of the Chiana. When for this reason the Romans began to construct dykes, which led to the flooding of some of the neighbouring districts of Tuscany, there followed a bitter quarrel with Florence, which threatened to develop into a war.[3]

On January 8th, 1599, Clement VIII. had made a report to the Cardinals on the catastrophe,[4] and on the 23rd a circular was issued to the clergy and people of Rome, exhorting them to look upon the inundation as a chastisement for their sins, and to appease the anger of God[5] by leading a better life and by doing penance. To this end processions were ordered at St. Mary Major's and St. Peter's.[6] But in order to avert the recurrence of such a disaster by human means as well, a congregation of six Cardinals was ordered to discuss with experts on the subject[7] plans for the regulation of the Tiber.

[1] See *ibid.* For the works on the Velino, hardly finished in 1601 *cf.* *Avviso of July 24, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *loc. cit* CARRARA, La caduta del Velino nella Nera, Rome, 1799; NOVAES, IX., 39.

[2] *Cf.* *Avvisi of February 3 and 10, March 3 and 20, and April 3, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

[3] See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 365. "Disegni piante relazioni e visite con le transazioni fatte per le Chiane 1600" down to 1658, preserved in Cod. Chigi, P. VI., 6, Vatican Library, are by the engineer Carlo Rainaldi.

[4] See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library.

[5] See Bull. X., 467 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter to the Romans (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 14.

[6] See *Avvisi of January 27 and 30, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, *ibid.*

[7] Among them was Giov. Fontana; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., Mantua, 1884; Art. Lomb., I., 98 *seq.*, II., 5 *seq.* The Pope had already in 1596 appointed this architect, together with Giacomo della Porta and three Venetian architects to regulate

The congregation ordered that the mire should be cleared out of the streets, as if it remained there was reason to fear the outbreak of epidemics.[1] A very prudent step was the prohibition to inhabit the lower floors of the houses for a month, for these had suffered especially from the moisture. There was also a prohibition of any increase in the price of food.[2] The rebuilding works had to be hurried forward, all the more so as the jubilee would occur in the following year.

In the meantime the plans for the regulation of the Tiber were so far advanced that in June it was possible to begin

the bed of the Tiber; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Svizz., Bellinzona, 1886, 11. At that time, as well as now, all manner of plans were suggested; see Paolo Berti, *Ragionamento sul rimedio per impedire le inondazioni del Tevere (dated Padua, February 9, 1601), in Vat. 6557, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the rare work: P. BENI, Discorsi sopra l'inondazione del Tevere, Rome, 1599. See also Tarquinio Pinaoro, Discorso dell'inondatione del Tevere seguita, 1598, in Urb. 861, p. 85 *seqq.*, Vatican Library; EHRLE, Pianta di Maggi-Maupin-Losi del 1625, Rome, 1915, 8 *seqq.*; ORBAAN, Documenti, 121 n. The architect Carlo Lombardi was appointed in 1599 as deputy for the clearance of the damage caused by the inundation of the Tiber; see BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Svizz., 16. In 1593 he had already been appointed "exstimator et mensurator generalis omnium aquarum"; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 43 *seq.*; *cf.* Art. Lomb., I., 96, 218.

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi of January 3 and 6, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.* In other ways as well steps were taken in order to provide for hygienic conditions in Rome as far as possible. Thus steps were taken in the heat of the summer to prevent pestilence being introduced into the city. As to this see the *report of G. C. Foresto, July 3, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avvisi of July 7 and 28, and August 24, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.* The first states that it had been decided at the Capitol to close that part of the city which lay open (from the Porta Cavalleggieri to the Porta Settimana) so as to be able to place guards everywhere, on account of the plague. For an epidemic in the Celimontana district in 1601, see TOMASSETTI, I., 166.

[2] See *Avviso of January 13, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

the digging of a new channel across the Prati near Ponte Molle. It was feared, however, that this would not provide a really radical remedy, and that the enormous cost of 200,000 scudi would be money thrown away.[1] This plan was therefore abandoned, and it was decided to effect another deviation of the Tiber near Orte, the cost of which was estimated at 150,000 scudi.[2] In December 1600 and January 1601 there were fresh inundations, though less serious ones;[3] but the plans so far adopted were proved to be impracticable.[4] Even though it had been possible to provide the money, there were at that time no technical means equal to so difficult a task, and one on which the efforts of the Roman Emperors had already failed.[5]

The question of the regulation of floods also caused Clement VIII. anxiety in the case of Ferrara. The Pope intended to make one arm of the Po navigable, namely the Po di Primaro, and to make its right bank cultivateable; also to regulate the Reno and drain the marshes of the Romagna. The discussions[6] on this subject begun at Ferrara were continued in the following years. To the intrinsic difficulties of the matter itself were added serious disagreements with

[1] See *Avvisi of May 29, June 5 and 26, 1599, *ibid.* The two first in ORBAAN, Documenti, 121 n.

[2] See *Avviso of November 27, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Avvisi of December 23, 1600, and January 3, 1601, Urb. 1068 and 1069, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Avvisi of January 3, 19 and 23, 1602, Urb. 1070, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Giornalisti, astrologi e negromanti in Roma, Florence, 1878, 14 *seq.*

[5] J. CASTIGLIONE (Trattato dell'inondatione del Tevere, Rome, 1599, 71) foretold this.

[6] See *Avvisi of August 15 and 29, and December 5, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *"Nota delle misure prese a Ferrara e suo territorio insieme con il livello per servizio della dissecatione di paludi et navigatione del Po di Ferrara—quali sono prese per ordine di Clemente VIII. 1598," Barb. lat. 4379, p. 115 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

Venice,[1] but Clement VIII. would not abandon his plan for that reason; but it had not even begun to be carried out when he died.[2] Among the engineers to whom the problem was entrusted was Giovanni Fontana.[3]

[1] See the *briefs to the Doge, December 4, 1599, January 29, May 27 and July 15, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 418, and t. 44, n. 59, 143, 193, Papal Secret Archives (originals partly in State Archives, Venice); DOLFIN, Relazione, 501; VENIER, Relazione, 23 *seq.* *Cf.* *report of G. C. Foresto, March 25, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *" Relazione della visita degli rev. Monsignore Barberini, chierico di camera e di Msg. Agucchia, maggiordomo del ill. e rev. card. Aldobrandini sul Polesine d'Ariano d'ordine del Papa per vedere, informarli e considerare il taglio del Po, che intendevano i sig^ri Venetiani, 1599." Barb. lat. 4351, pp. 1-17, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 4343, pp. 154-273, *Negotiato del taglio del Po tra la S. Sede e Venezia sotto Clemente VIII. 1599, with original letter of Maffeo Barberini, Barb. lat. 5853 (*ibid.*) contains *43 letters of Cardinals (especially Blandrata) and prelates concerning the " negotio del taglio del Po disegnato da Venetiani 1598 sq. e ridotto a perfettura."

[2] *Cf.* FRIZZI, V., 28 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*, 50. Many *documents pertaining to this in Barb. lat. 4351, 4356, 4377, 4383, Vatican Library. An anonymous *letter to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, August 14, 1604, says: " Il Papa ha sborsato 20,000 ducati per far prova se l'ingegno del venuto di Fiandra è a proposito per lo negotio del Po, del Rone e delle lagune di Romagna." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] Barb. lat. 4351 contains, p. 48 *seq.*: *Discorso e giudizio sopra il taglio del Po, signed by Giov. Rossi, Giov. Fontana and Bartol. Crescenzio; p. 64 *seq.*: *Discorso di Giov. Fontana sopra il ritornare la navigatione a Ferrara, far la disseccatione di tanti terreni, che sono impaludati et di ritornarli nel stato che erano 40 anni sono, scritto a Roma 28 luglio 1600 e presentato al Cardinal Marcello; p. 74 *seq.*: *Opinion of Giov. Fontana for Clement VIII. concerning the " disseccatione et navigatione di Ferrara, Bologna et Romagna 1601 " (Vatican Library). *Documents concerning the measures taken against the overflowing of Lake Trasimeno, on which occasion Maffeo Barberini acted as the Pope's commissary, in Barb. lat. 4353. There too an original *brief of Clement VIII. to M. Barberini, June 13, 1602, Vatican Library.

In spite of the constant proofs of his favour which Clement VIII. continued to show Ferrara to the end of his pontificate,[1] the city greatly resented being deprived of its former brilliant court. Thousands of those who belonged there emigrated to Modena, while many of those who remained brooded regretfully over bye-gone days. "Thus passes the glory of the world"—wrote an aged retainer of the ducal house—"now there is no longer any duke in Ferrara, nor princesses, nor music nor singers."[2] Even though the city could not lose the stamp of a princely capital, it fell more and more into that silence which to-day still powerfully affects the wayfarer through its broad streets and its deserted piazzas. The diminution in the population of the city, however, has been enormously exaggerated by local chroniclers; according to careful research it did not amount to more than 1800 persons.[3] Moreover a decrease of population was to be seen everywhere, not excepting Rome itself.[4]

This was all the more painful to Clement VIII. in that he did all he could to promote the welfare of his people. The greater part of what he did, however, in this matter has been forgotten and left unrecorded.[5] But in spite of this it is

[1] See FRIZZI, V., 40 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, Cod. dipl., III., 573; MORONI, XXIV., 153; Bull. X., 591 *seq.*, 592 *seq.*, 761 *seq.*, 873.

[2] *Cronaca di Ferrara, MS. in the Albani Library, in RANKE, Päpste, II.[6], 184 *seq.* The manuscripts of the Albani Library were destroyed in 1857.

[3] See G. PARDI, Sulla Popolazione del Ferrarese dopo la devoluzione, Ferrara, 1911. How much this is exaggerated is clear from the fact that according to Agnelli (Ode Carducciane alla città di Ferrara, Bologna, 1899, 34), 20,000 Ferraresi emigrated with the duke.

[4] *Cf.* G. BELOCH, La popolazione d'Italia nei sec. XVI., XVII. a XVIII., Rome, 1888, 38. Rome had in 1600: 109,729 inhabitants; in 1601: 101,546; in 1602: 99,312; in 1603: 104,878; in 1604: 99,293; in 1605: 99,647; see CASTIGLIONE, Della popolazione di Roma, Rome, 1878, 167; *Studi e docum.*, XII., 170.

[5] Donato in 1592 reports a plan for establishing a single coinage for the whole of Italy, in BASCHET, 208. The constitution of

known that from the first years of his reign he interested himself, as Sixtus V. had already done, in the revival of the silk industry.[1] He devoted his attention to improving the harbours of Terracina and Civitavecchia.[2] If in spite of these and other praiseworthy efforts he was unable to prevent the decadence of the Papal States, this was not only the result of repeated bad harvests, scarcity, the scourge of the bandits and the burden of taxes,[3] but other factors as well must be taken into account, which are clearly pointed out by the Venetian ambassador, Paruta. The provinces of the States of the Church were governed in part by legates, and in part by presidents; the larger cities had governors and the smaller ones a podestà. Once the offices of president and governor had been attainable by laymen; thus the father of Clement VIII. had held the office of governor of Fano. But gradually, especially in the time of Sixtus V., laymen disappeared from the administration in such a way that they only held the office of podestà; all other offices were only granted to ecclesiastics, into whose hands the whole juridical, financial and political administration fell.[4] But how difficult it was bound to be, even with the best will, for those who had been educated for ecclesiastical purposes, to adapt them-

July 11, 1595: "Officinae omnes monetariae status ecclesiastici, Romàna excepta, supprimantur," in Bull. X., 202 *seq.* For the coinage of Clement VIII. see BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 34; SERAFINI, I., 106 *seq.*; MARTINORI, 7 *seqq.* *Ibid.* 35 *seqq.*, concerning the medals of Clement VIII. For measures for keeping away the plague from the Papal States see *Editti, V., 61, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the Bando of October 30, 1592, in CUPIS, 211, and the *Avviso of November 14, 1592: "N.S. per introduttione dell'arte della seta in Roma a beneficio della povertà vuole, che in ogni rubbio di terra di questo stato si sementi un arbore Celso o Moro sotto pena 10 sc. a transgressori, et che non si possino estrahere sete da questo." Urb. 1066, II., Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p.

[3] *Cf.* PARUTA, Relazione, 394.

[4] See *ibid.* 419 *seq.* *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 587 *seq.*

selves to matters that were entirely foreign to their vocation. The very mixed duties of administration also occasioned the disadvantage that it opened out a profound gulf between laity and clergy, and that the laity were filled with a jealousy of the ecclesiastics that often degenerated into definite aversion. Paruta says that he had often remarked, not without amazement and disgust, how even prelates who were leading lives that were very far from priestly, were held in high esteem and rewarded, so long as they defended the privileges of the clergy against the laity, and how sometimes a prelate was blamed because he favoured the laity. He had often heard people of eminence say, that it seemed as though the clergy and laity did not belong to the same flock, and were not to be found in the same Church.[1] Another disadvantage arose from the fact that a new Pope hardly ever carried on in the civil government the system of his predecessor.[2] This was connected with the disastrous custom by which, at every change in the pontificate, all the more important offices were filled by new individuals. Thus men of proved experience, who might have been of the greatest use, lost their office. Too often they were replaced by others who, though in themselves they were good and learned, had no experience of the matters they were called upon to administer.[3] This system of change among the officials was all the more felt in that the pontificates of the Popes, compared with the reigns of secular princes, were for the most part very short; the pontificate of a Pope was on an average nine years in duration. Of the sixteen Popes of the XVIth century, only two, Paul III. and Gregory XIII. had been granted a longer reign (15 years in one case and 12 in the other); six had reigned for less than a year.[4] Compared with the sixteen Popes whom the Church had had during the XVIth century, Germany had had five

[1] PARUTA, Relazione, 375.

[2] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, Kirche u. Kirchen, 537.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 420 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.* 539, and PRINCE Z. V. LOBKOWITZ, Statistik der Päpste, Freiburg, 1905.

Emperors, France seven kings, Spain four, and England five kings or queens.

Unsatisfactory conditions prevailed among the aristocracy of the States of the Church, for they sought to maintain themselves in their abnormal position, even after the aristocracy of other European states had become entirely subject to the power of the sovereign. They looked upon any serious enforcement of the laws as an infringement of their own rights, and therefore complained bitterly of the government of the Popes.[1] In reality the great days of the aristocracy had passed away even in the Papal States, and if in the treaty of peace concluded at Vervins in 1598 between Spain and France, the Colonna and Orsini had participated, although neither of these two houses had taken part in the war, this was only an echo of bye-gone days, and an act of courtesy towards the ancient representatives of the Guelph and Ghibelline princes.[2]

The number of the nobility in the States of the Church who devoted themselves to a military career had declined, together with the wealth and importance of the aristocratic families in general.[3] In spite of this the new families of the nephews of the Popes looked upon it as desirable to enter into matrimonial alliances with the ancient aristocracy, as had recently been seen in the time of Sixtus V., whose grand-nephews had formed such alliances with the houses of Colonna and Orsini.[4] The nearest approach to these celebrated families were the Conti and Savelli; the rest of the Roman aristocracy were for the most part of quite recent date, and were composed to a great extent of those who had made their fortunes in the Eternal City.[5] Clement VIII. too was very free in conferring titles, so that in the course of a few years the dignity of duke had been granted four times.

[1] See PARUTA, Relazione, 396.

[2] See REUMONT, Beiträge, V., 96.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 396 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 596.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 70.

[5] See PARUTA, Relazione, 395.

While men strove after high-sounding titles and a greater degree of magnificence, and disputes over rank often gave rise to grave scandals, financial conditions were going from bad to worse. Like everywhere else, so in Rome pomp and luxury had increased. Since the barons wished to live like princes, very often their large revenues proved insufficient; in 1595 they were all more or less in a state of debt. The nephew of the victor of Lepanto was obliged, in order to pay his debts, to found a Monte of 150,000 scudi in 1587, the "loughi" of which had to pay six per cent.; 9000 scudi had to be set aside for the payment of interest, and after three years another 9000 for the extinction of the capital, and since the revenues of Nettuno and Paliano were not sufficient for this, Nettuno was sold for 400,000 scudi to the Apostolic Camera.[1] Other nobles too were forced to sell castles, lands and jurisdictions. Thus Virginio Orsini sold the territory of Matrice to the brother of Cardinal Montalto for 130,000 scudi.[2]

The barons who had established Monti very often did not pay the interest, and this fact determined Clement VIII. to publish in 1596 the so-called "bull of the barons," which ordered, to satisfy the creditors of the Monti, the sale of allodial properties and jurisdictions without consideration for entail or for primogeniture.[3] The sale was secured by this measure, which at first seemed very hard.[4] It was in virtue of this bull that the Apostolic Camera acquired Castel Gandolfo from the Savelli.[5]

[1] See COPPI, Memorie Colonnesi, *passim*. *Cf.* PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 435.

[2] See PARUTA, Relazione, 396.

[3] The text of the bull, dated June 25, 1596, in Bull, X., 270 *seq.* *Cf.* B. CAPOGROSSI GUARNA, I titoli delle provincie pontificie nella seconda meta del sec. XVII., Rome, 1893, 5; FATINELLI DE FATINELLIS, Observationes ad constitutionem XLI. Clementis P. VIII. nuncupatam Bullam Baronum, Rome, 1714.

[4] See the *report of L. Arrigoni, July 13, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* DOLFIN, Relazione, 454.

[5] The cost of acquiring this was, according to the *Avviso of December 7, 1596, the sum of 150,000 scudi. Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

But the contracting of debts by the barons did not cease because of this. In 1600 the Sermoneta had 24,000 scudi of revenue as against 300,000 of debts. The heaviest burden of debt at that time lay upon the family of the Montalto.[1]

Many of the nobles gave great scandal, not only by their exaggerated prodigality, but also by their ill-regulated and immoral lives. A terrible example of this state of affairs, which was made worse by the abuse prevalent in Florence and other places, of punishing deeds of blood by pecuniary penalties, was given by the notorious story of the Cenci.[2]

[1] See the "Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani" of the time of Clement VIII. in RANKE, Päpste, III.[8], 109,* who however here as in many other cases, does not say where he found the manuscript. I have sought for it vainly in the Roman libraries. In 1605 Clement had to grant the Farnese permission to establish a Monte of 750,000 scudi, which was to pay 5½% interest; see GROTTANELLI, Il ducato di Castro, 32.

[2] *Of decisive importance for throwing light upon the legend of the Cenci, by which even Muratori allowed himself to be deceived, have been the diligent archival researches of A. BERTOLOTTI (Fr. Cenci e la sua famiglia, Florence, 1877; 2nd ed. enlarged, *ibid.* 1879). On this is based the spirited article by A. GEFFROY in *Études Ital.*, Paris, 1898. Bertolotti, however, goes too far when in his final conclusions he presents Francesco Cenci as a father of a family jealous of the honour of his house. This weak part of his account is attacked by LABRUZZI DI NEXIMA in *Nuova Antologia*, 2, Ser. XIV. (1879), 418 *seqq.*, against whom BERTOLOTTI wrote in the *Riv. Europea*, XIII. (1879), 51 *seq.* Bertolotti there skilfully defends the authenticity of his documents but his conclusions nevertheless remain rather hazardous. With regard to the attacks of Labruzzi on Clement VIII., even a writer as anti-Papal as Brosch says that it would be wrong to speak of the "excessive benignity" of Clement VIII., but that the charge that the Pope and the Aldobrandini drew advantage from the confiscation of the property of the Cenci "is unfounded." "We must also admit," BROSCH goes on to say (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, XLV., 177 *seq.*), "that the confiscation was legitimate, and was almost always done in such cases. We may also look upon it as an act of extraordinary kindness when Clement assigned to the widow of one of the condemned, Giacomo the brother of Beatrice, a sum

This noble family, whose dark palace stood not far from the Tiber, close to the Ghetto, and near the church of S. Tommaso dei Cenci,[1] had become degenerate in the second half of the XVIth century. Christofero Cenci, a cleric of the Camera, and holding a canonry at St. Peter's, but not a priest, for he had only the four minor orders, abused his office of general treasurer of the Apostolic Camera under Pius IV. in order to enrich himself unduly. Being near to death, and tortured by remorse of conscience, in 1562 he reisgned his offices and married his mistress Beatrice Arias.[2] We can hardly feel

of 100 scudi a month for her support, or when he handed over to the sons of the said Giacomo a capital sum of 80,000 scudi out of the confiscated property." Recently RINIERI (B. Cenci secondo i costituti del suo processo, Siena, 1909) has gone profoundly into the matter. Sometimes he rightly finds fault with the faulty editing of the documents by Bertolotti (p. 26 *seq.*) though he rightly looks upon the work of that scholar as very valuable. Rinieri has found in MAIOCCHI (La pretesa illibatezza di B. Cenci: *Riv. d. scienze stor.*, VII., 4 (1910) a defender against the attacks of VECCHINI in *La Letterattura*, X., 1 (1910). CHELDOWSKI (Rom. Die Menschen des Barock, II., Munich, 1912) although he is not altogether in agreement with Rinieri, calls the latter's book "the best account of the trial of the Cenci" (p. 80). At the end he remarks: "Thanks to criticism European literature has lost a tragic story. Beatrice Cenci was a common criminal, and not a tragic heroine." The large work by CORRARDO RICCI, enriched with many illustrations (Beatrice Cenci; I. Il parricidio, II. Il supplizio, Milan, 1923) says little that is substantially new, but gives the whole material as completely as possible. RINIERI in *Civ. Catt.*, 1924, I., 33 *seqq.* has rightly protested against some of the conclusions of Ricci. Other critical observations have been made by BARON V. BILDT in the Swedish periodical *Dagens Nyhetten* of March 30 and April 6, 1924.

[1] *Cf. Studi e docum.*, 1881, 155 *seqq.* The tower of the Cenci was destroyed in regulating the Tiber; see SABATINI, La torre dei Cenci e la leggenda di Beatrice, Rome, 1906. *Civilta Catt.*, 1925, September 19, 500 *seq.*

[2] That Cristoforo Cenci, though late, reformed and came to a better state of mind, is proved by his restoration of the church of S. Tommaso dei Cenci; *cf.* for this ARMELLINI, 573.

surprised that the son of this couple, Francesco, who was born in 1549, soon developed the worst qualities, great immorality and a brutal disposition. As a young man he was twice imprisoned for deeds of blood, but recovered his liberty, as was common enough in the justice of that time, in return for the payment of a large sum. In 1572 he was exiled for six months from the Papal States, for ill-treating his servants.[1]

The many sons whom Francesco Cenci had by his marriage, contracted while he was still very young, with Ersilia Santa Croce, inherited almost all the vices of their father, who was as brutal as he was sensual, and whose depravity increased as the years went by. Although Francesco, after the death of his first wife, contracted a second marriage in 1593 with Lucrezia Petroni, he had not the least idea of changing his dissolute manner of life. A criminal process brought against him in the following year for sodomy united to acts of violence, ended with the payment of a sum of 100,000 scudi, and his confinement to his own house.[2]

Owing to the payment of such enormous fines, Francesco found himself in such financial straights that he could no longer maintain himself in Rome. He therefore retired in 1597 to Rocca Petrella,[3] a castle belonging to the Colonna on the road from Rieti to Avezzano, but situated in Neapolitan territory. He took with him his two sons Paolo and Bernardo; his wife and daughter Beatrice had already been sent by him to Petrella in 1595. The other sons remained in Rome; the eldest, Giacomo, had married against his father's wishes, and so had been disinherited by him. As thoroughly degenerate as Giacomo, who had forged his father's signature to a document for 13,000 scudi, were the two other sons:

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, 16 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 53 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*

[3] Francesco Cenci intended to go to Florence as early as 1594; see the periodical *Roma*, 1926, 241 *seq.* The castle, now a ruin, is not far from the river Salto and may be reached by carriage from Rieti in three hours. *Cf.* GORI, *Archivio*, 1877.

Christoforo, who fell in a duel in 1595,[1] and Rocco, who was assassinated in Trastevere in 1598 in some amorous adventure.

Even in the solitude of Rocca Petrella terrible domestic conditions prevailed; quarrels and altercations were the order of the day. In the autumn of 1598, the two sons of Francesco made their escape; the castellan of the castle Olimpio Calvetti had facilitated their flight. Francesco's rage increased when he then discovered that his twenty-one year old daughter, Beatrice, was in love with Calvetti, a married man. The castellan was ejected, and Beatrice was punished with brutal cruelty and kept under strict surveillance, as was also her step-mother. But in spite of this Beatrice found opportunities for continuing her relations with her lover, and of planning with him and her brother Giacomo, who was also burning with the desire for revenge, the murder of her father. The horrible deed, to which Lucrezia also consented, was carried out on September 9th, 1598, by Calvetti and another assassin.

The authors of the murder were unsuccessful in concealing the traces of their deed, which was discovered. Beatrice, Lucrezia, Giacomo and Bernardo Cenci were arrested.[2] The imprisonment of the accused was not unduly rigorous, as was asserted later on; they were able to provide themselves with food and to take counsel with their defenders.[3] The trial commenced on January 14th, 1599, in the course of which, as it was a case of homicide, torture was employed in accordance with the law of the time.[4] It is clear from the minutes, that Beatrice and Giacomo were the principal culprits; Lucrezia had at first vainly tried to dissuade them, and had at last given her consent.[5] The death sentence which was

[1] *Cf.* Bruzzone in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, V. (1883), n. 23.

[2] *Cf.* Rinieri, 143 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*

[3] See Bertolotti, 113 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*, 165, 280, 283, 289.

[4] *Cf.* G. Sabatini, La teoria delle prove nel diritto giudiziario, Catanzaro, 1909; Prinzivalli in *Giorn. Arcadico*, I. (1910), 84.

[5] Rinieri (341 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*) publishes the authentic summaries of the trial, of which one was the deposition of the prosecution, the other of the defence. For the fate of the minutes of the trial used by Giuseppe Spezzi see Rinieri, 59 *seq.*

pronounced on September 11th, 1599, at the conclusion of the trial, was deserved by all three.[1] Bernardo, who was still a minor, was only guilty in that he had not denounced the crime, and his punishment was commuted to that of the galleys, though he had to assist at the execution of his relatives. This took place on September 11th on the gibbet near the Ponte S. Angelo, now the Piazza S. Angelo. Lucrezia and Beatrice were beheaded ; Giacomo was brained and quartered.[2]

Baldassare Paolucci, the agent of the Duke of Mantua, attests that the tragic fate of the young Beatrice Cenci aroused general compassion in Rome. She died with great courage, and left a number of pious bequests. The public had no real idea of the terrible facts which the trial had brought to light. If the publicity of judicial trials which we have to-day had then existed, the populace would have stoned the members of this degenerate family even before the execution, instead of paying honour to the corpse[3] of the parricide, when it was taken to S. Pietro in Montorio. As no one had any knowledge of the facts of the trial, it came about that in course of time Beatrice was transformed from a criminal into a martyr. It was stated that she had been driven into committing her crime in order to defend her honour against the infamous assault of her father. This view easily gained credence owing to the notorious depravity of Francesco, and gradually Beatrice came to be venerated as a second Roman Lucrezia. This idea was borne out by the delightful portrait of a girl, attributed to Guido Reni, with her yellow hair, and her head covered by a white veil like a turban, which is preserved in the Borghese Gallery. The tender and profound melancholy which fills the eyes of the person represented in the picture, has contributed not a little to the popularity of the legend

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, 150, 431 *seq.* *Cf.* RINIERI, 311 *seq.*

[2] See BERTOLOTTI, 135 *seq.* ; RINIERI, 316 *seq.* *Cf.* CESNOLA, I manoscritti ital. di Londra (1890), 172 *seqq.*

[3] See the review of the works of Bertolotti by FERD. V. HELLWALD under the title " The truth of the fable of the Cenci " in the supplement attached to *Allg. Zeitung*, 1899, n. 297.

of the Cenci. In reality the painting can hardly be the work of Guido Reni, who only came to Rome in 1602, while the tradition that the person represented is Beatrice is very uncertain.[1] From the trial it is clear, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the unhappy girl has been made into a symbol of outraged innocence without any reasonable grounds. The defender of Beatrice, the celebrated Prospero Farinaccio,[2] put forward in defence of his client a crime on the part of her father, who tried to lead his daughter into incest, but he gave no proofs. Nor did Beatrice herself nor her brothers appeal to any such crime on the part of Francesco; on the contrary it is clear from the minutes of the trial that not only was there immoral intercourse between the girl and the castellan of Petrella, the murderer of Cenci, but also that Beatrice co-operated in the killing of her father.[3]

Recent research has also destroyed that other part of the legend of the Cenci, which made the execution an act of judicial homicide, which had no other purpose than to secure

[1] BERTOLOTTI (143 *seq.*) rejects it as quite false, pointing out that Guido Reni did not come to Rome until 1602, and that in 1623 the picture was not yet in the possession of the Barberini, nor above all in that of the Colonna, from whom a great part of the pictures of the Barberini came, though this does not afford definite proof; see REUMONT in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1880, n. 9. *Cf.* also M. CRAWFORD in *The Century Magazine*, 1908; RODANI, 65 *seq*; KRAUSS-SAUER, III., 790; BÖHN, G. Reni, 35 *seq.*, 40; *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 174.

[2] For the portrait of Farinaccio painted by the Cavaliere d'Arpino, see ARTIOLI in *Italia moderna*, III. (Rome, 1905), 233 *seq.*; PRINZIVALLI in *Giorn. Arcadico*, I. (1910), 88 *seq.* For Farinaccio see the periodical *Roma*, 1926, 243 *seq.*

[3] Rinieri maintains that the idea of Francesco having made an attack upon his daughter's honour must be entirely rejected; Vecchini defends the opposite view, and denies that Beatrice had a son by Calvetti. The decision of this question is not of any importance for the principal issue; see PRINZIVALLI, *loc. cit.* 90. BROSCH (Kirchenstaat, I., 311) says that even if the attempt of Francesco had really taken place this would not justify the parricide.

the enrichment of the Aldobrandini by the confiscation of the family inheritance. The confiscation of property which followed upon condemnation to death, and the effects of which Clement VIII. and his successors sought to narrow down by successive acts of grace, was no exceptional case, but was in complete accordance with the penal laws of those days. The State Archives of Rome contain hundreds of examples.[1] Fundamentally, this law, in the case of homicide among relatives—in which very often the desire to obtain property was the principal motive of the crime—was very reasonable.[2] It is therefore absurd to say that Clement VIII. condemned the Cenci to the gibbet in order to give their possessions to the Aldobrandini.[3] Thus in this respect as well the legend of the Cenci, which was afterwards often made use of against the government of the Popes, falls to the ground.[4]

If Clement VIII. allowed free course to the full rigour of justice in the case of the Cenci, he was led to do so by the frequent repetition of such crimes, especially among the aristocracy. Thus, about that time, a member of another

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, 324. Against Ricci *cf.* RINIERI in *Civ. catt.*, 1924, I., 38 *seq.*

[2] So HELLWALD (*loc. cit.*) and RODANI (44) are unanimous in saying.

[3] See besides RODANI, 45 *seq.*, above all RINIERI, 329 *seq.*, and CHLEDOWSKI, II., 90. For the much discussed property of the Cenci, Terranuova, on the Via Labicana, which was for a long time offered for sale, and was at last bought by Gian Francesco Aldobrandini for a comparatively high price, see TOMASSETTI, I., 276, and ORBAAN, Documenti, 58 n.

[4] For Baronius and the condemnation of B. Cenci see A. LAURI, Il cardinal Baronio e il processo di B. Cenci, in *Arte e storia*, XXXII. (1913). HELLWALD (*loc. cit.*) says: "There can hardly be any other episode which has so unfairly filled so great a place in history, literature and art, and of which Guerazzi has made use to undermine the prestige of the civil power of the Popes, or therefore in politics, than what we may call the fable of the Cenci."

family belonging to the Roman aristocracy, Paolo Santa Croce, through greed of money, killed his own mother. The assassin escaped punishment by flight, but his brother Onofrio was later on (January, 1604)[1] beheaded at the Ponte S. Angelo for having incited him to the crime. The same penalty had been inflicted in 1592 upon a certain Troilo Savelli, who had become a criminal in his early youth.[2] There was also a horrible tragedy in the house of the Massimi during the pontificate of Clement VIII. Lelio de' Massimi, Marchese di Prassedi, had in his old age become betrothed to a Sicilian lady of doubtful fame. His four sons killed their step-mother by shooting her. They took to flight, but all perished within a short time; the second, Marcantonio, who wished to become the head of the house, got rid of his brother Luca by poison; he was condemned to death, and died repentant on January 16th, 1599; the third lost his life in the Turkish wars, while the fourth was murdered by a jealous rival.[3]

In spite of the rigour of justice, crimes continued in the

[1] *Cf.* Fr. Isoldi in *Studi stor.*, XIX. (1910), 227 *seq.*, who puts full faith in the absolutely uncritical statements of Ameyden; Isoldi could not even be sure of the date of the execution; this is clear from the *report of L. Arrigoni, January 31, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Relazione which Gori (*Archivio*, I., 358 *seq.*) published, gives 1601!

[2] *Cf.* Cancellieri, Mercato, 286, and Possessi, 214. For the large number of executions in the year 1591 see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIX., 443 *seq.*

[3] The cases cited are related and to a great extent embroidered at will in the Italian manuscripts of the XVIIth century. Le Bret (Magazin, IV., 58 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*), has translated them from the latter with all their original errors. More trustworthy data in Grottanelli, Il ducato di Castro, 28-29. *Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIX., 444 *seq.* An Italian broadsheet appeared concerning the execution of Savelli, which was translated: Discours sur la mort de Troile Savelli, Paris, 1598. An authentic description of the trials should now be given from the acta of the Archivio Criminale, now in the State Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also F. Crispolti, Un giuri d'onore a Roma nel sec. XVI., in the periodical *Roma*, 1922, 221 *seq.*

city, as we are told in a report from Rome of January, 1604.[1] Clement VIII. also had bitter experiences in his struggle against public immorality in Rome.[2] He also fought against

[1] *Avviso of January 7, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library. In other cities the state of affairs was no better; *cf. e.g.* for Bologna the *Atti e Mem. d. Romagna*, 3rd ser., VIII. (1890), 112 *seq.* See also the *instructions for a legate in Bologna in Cod. G. 63, n. 9, Vallicella Library, Rome.

[2] See the *Edict concerning prostitutes and women of ill-fame, March 26, 1592, in Editti, V., 60, p. 274, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PRINZIVALLI, Tasso, 82. Detailed information concerning the first measures as to the censorship of morals taken by Clement VIII. in the *Avvisi of February 8, 15, 19, 22, 26 and 29, March 4 and 28, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. According to the *Avviso of March 28 it was enacted that: "Poichè l'isperienza ha mostrato, che i luoghi già assegnati in Roma per tollerarvi le meretrici non sono capaci per tanto numero, se li assegna tutto il Rione di Piazza Padello, Ortaccio della Trinità de Monti, cioè dal Arco di Portogallo fino alla Piazza del Popolo, riservato 4 strade principali di essa contrada della Trinita"; this must be done within ten days, otherwise the *meretrici* must leave Rome under pain of *frusta* and confiscation of goods. According to an *Avviso of August 19, 1592 (*loc. cit.*) the Pope's vicar prohibits everywhere the letting of *camere locande* to women. An *Avviso of December 2, 1592, speaks of the introduction of special sermons for *meretrici*, at S. Rocco and S. Ambrogio (Urb. 1060, II., *loc. cit.*). Further measures followed in 1599 in connexion with the Holy Year; all women of doubtful reputation must leave the Borgo in July; *cf.* *Avvisi of June 26, July 24, and September 14, 1599 (Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*) and the *report of F. M. Vialardo, July 24, 1599, in BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni straordinarie alla prostituzione in Roma nel socolo XVI., Rome, 1887, 15. In the report *Cose occorse sotto il Pontificato di Clemente VIII. it is stated: "Dato principio alla riforma de costumi, et particolarmente contro alle cortegiane, come haveva fatto con poco frutto Pio V.; fra le cacciate di Roma fu Franceschiglia Spagnola, che doveva esser frustrata, ma fuggi" with the help of the governor, who wished to render service to Cardinal Sforza. "Il marito con la sua moglie per dar concenso che alle fusse meretrice fu messo sopra un asino, andando avanti uno che

the scourge of mendicity[1] and against extravagance in women's dress, but without any substantial success. He severely punished the spreading of false news.[2] He would have liked to have entirely forbidden the amusements of the carnival, but as this was not possible, he tried at least to restrain them.[3] and praised the efforts of the Jesuits who sought to distract the people from such dangerous amusements by means of the Forty Hours.[4] The increased severity of ecclesiastical penalties against duelling,[5] ordered by Clement VIII., and already laid down by Pius IV. and Gregory XIII., concerned not only the Papal States, but the whole of Christendom.

partava come di bufalo, fu frustato et tagliatoli il naso e gl'occhi. (Barb. lat. 4592, p. 64, Vatican Library). In spite of this severity the evil could not be eradicated. *Cf.* the statistics in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 174, according to which the number of prostitutes in Rome, even though it was not so great as is stated in the Avvisi themselves, was nevertheless increased. Out of a population of 100,000 inhabitants, the number of unfortunates who lived by vice was 604 in 1660, and had increased to 900 in 1605. In the Archivio Criminale of Rome there are to be found many denunciations of crimes against nature; see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, II., 148, where however it is erroneously asserted that immorality was only punished with difficulty under Clement VIII.

[1] See *Avviso of February 5, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avvisi of February 25, 1595, and January 22, 1597, Urb. 1063 and 1065, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* PRINZIVALLI, Tasso, 283 *seq.*; *Studi stor.*, XIX. (1910), 238.

[3] See CLEMENTI, 289 *seq.* Many *Bandi relating to the carnival, for the years 1592, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1605, in *Editti*, V., 60, p. 10 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 124. *"Ordine circa le comedie delle gelosi" of January 21, 1593. A description of the carnival in the *report of G. B. Thesis, February 28, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. La festa di Testaccio I. Orlandii formis, a rare folio of about 1600, belongs here.

[4] See *Avviso of February 24, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[5] Bull. IX., 604 *seq.* *Cf.* BONAVENTURA COLONNESI, Tractatus de prohibitione Duelli, in quo quidquid a Clemente VIII. P. M. de Duello sancitum est, Florence, 1625.

The relations between the aristocracy of the Papal States and the sovereigns of other states were an anomaly. The coats-of-arms of foreign powers on the Roman palaces, whose owners were in their service or belonged to their party, bore witness to this for a long time to come. A list of the Spanish ambassador Sessa, who left Rome in 1603, shows how many nobles were in receipt of or aspired to receive Spanish pensions. In this, besides the Colonna, we find the Orsini, Conti, Sermoneta, Frangipani, Caetani and Caffarelli.[1] The rebellion of the Farnese in August, 1604[2] showed how dangerous the relations of the Italian aristocracy with Spain might become. The events of that time caused Clement VIII. the greatest sorrow, and had a disastrous effect upon his health.

From the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had frequently suffered from gout.[3] Stone developed for the first time in 1595,[4] and again in November, 1596, causing for a time serious anxiety for his life, especially as Clement would not hear of not discharging all business in person as usual.[5] During a long relapse in the summer and autumn of 1597,

[1] See *Memorie of the "Duque de Sessa sobre algunos cavalleros Romanos," Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Cf. ibid.* the "Lista (drawn up a little later) de los barones y gentiles hombres Romanos que se muestran affecionados a el servicio de su M^d^."

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 259 *seq.*

[3] See *Avvisi of February 8 and 26, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 26. See also the *report of Giulio del Carretto, March 28, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Avvisi of May 6, 1592 (*loc. cit.*) and January 6, 1593 (Urb. 1061). *Report of A. Chieppio, May 14, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avvisi of May 11 and July 6, 1594, Urb. 1062. Report of Paruta, January 7, 1595, in Dispacci, III., 1; *Avvisi of December 6, 1595 (Urb. 1063), January 24 and May 29, 1596 (Urb. 1064).

[4] See BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *reports of L. Arrigoni, November 9, 18 and 23, and December 7, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* *Avviso of November 9, 1596, Urb. 1064, *loc. cit.* Lettres D'OSSAT, I., 358; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 28.

which confined the Pope to his bed for a long time, this was out of the question. During this year his state of health caused so much anxiety that contrary to his custom he was not able to go to Frascati.[1] When he fell ill again in January, 1598, the doctors attributed this to his having resumed work too soon.[2] The wearisome journey to Ferrara and his sojourn there benefited the Pope a good deal, but naturally his attacks of gout did not spare him even there.[3]

The Pope's health improved still more during the following years, although he was at times tortured by arthritis and nephritis.[4] In 1599 the astrologers predicted an early change in the pontificate, and their assertions sounded so convincing that they commanded a wide hearing;[5] only Clement VIII. himself paid no attention to them.[6] During the Holy Year he underwent all the fatigue like a young man,[7] although he was repeatedly obliged to keep his bed by gout. He learned with great annoyance that during his illness men had

[1] See *Avvisi of July 23, August 16, October 22 and 29, December 6, 1597, Urb. 1065. *Cf.* *report of L. Cremaschi, November 1, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *briefs to Cardinal Montalto, October 10, 1597, to Duke William of Bavaria, December 20, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 227 and 326, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the *report of L. Cremaschi, January 17, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *"Nos quidem in ipso itinere chiragra et podagra aliquantulum tentati sumus" wrote the Pope from Fano on May 2, 1598, to the Duke of Mantua (original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 28.

[4] Clement VIII. repeatedly states in his briefs that the gout prevented him from writing with his own hand; see *briefs to the Duke of Parma, March 18 and May 29, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 90 and 148, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also in Vol. XXIII. of this work, App. n. 43, the *letter to Sessa, December 3, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* *report of G. C. Foresto, May 15, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See *Avviso of March 27, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf. supra*, p. 272 *seq.*

been discussing the approaching conclave.[1] "You would like to see me dead—he said in January 1601 to one of the ambassadors—but as you see, we are still alive."[2]

In September 1601, Barga, who had been Clement VIII.'s doctor for many years, and whom he greatly esteemed, died.[3] The new Papal physician prescribed a diet, and recommended the Pope to take more liquid, which did him good,[4] and during 1602 Clement VIII. seemed better than ever.[5] In November a more serious indisposition gave rise to all manner of rumours, but when the Pope again made his appearance in public he looked so well that it was said that he would yet survive[6] Cardinals Rusticucci and Galli, who during his illness had been taking a lively interest in the coming election. If during this year and the following one there were still attacks of arthritis Clement VIII. did not feel ill and was very cheerful.[7] The year 1604 opened less hopefully, and in January an attack of gout caused all the greater anxiety in that it was accompanied by want of appetite and insomnia,[8] and also because the seventy year old Pope refused to take any care of himself.[9] In March Clement himself thought

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 27, 1601, Urb. 1069, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *report of G. C. Foresto, January 13, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso of September 12, 1601, together with the contemporary *report of the envoy of Urbino, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avvisi of October 17, 1601, and January 5, 1602, Urb. 1069, 1070, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avvisi of January 5 and August 7, 1602, Urb. 1070, *ibid.*

[6] See *Avvisi of November 13 and 19, 1602, *ibid.*

[7] For his jokes at the expense of "nano Pollacco" (named Trulla) see ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 34; *Avviso of July 26, 1603, Urb. 1071, *loc. cit.* and in Vol. XXIII., App. n. 33; for his health *cf.* the *reports of L. Arrigoni of January 4 and December 26, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] See *Avviso of January 14, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[9] "Non ricusa fatticha ove va il servitio publico," Avviso of January 17, 1604, *ibid.*

that his end was at hand,[1] but soon afterwards he was again restored to health.[2] The strictness with which he observed the fast brought about another relapse in April,[3] but during the summer he once again felt so much stronger as to be able to adhere to his custom of himself carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the procession of Corpus Domini.[4] On the vigil of the Assumption he went fasting to St. Mary Major's, kept the fast of the vigil with all strictness and did a great deal of work, but this exertion, which had never before harmed him, this time had a serious effect upon him.[5] In September he was much worried by the anxieties occasioned by the rising of the Farnese,[6] but when he returned on October 5th from his beloved Frascati he felt so much better that he spoke of making a pilgrimage to Monte Cassino, from which however he was dissuaded.[7] The winter passed fairly well, but in January, 1605, the gout returned.[8] On January 19th the Pope unexpectedly paid a visit to the tomb which he had erected to his mother at the Minerva, and remained there for a full hour.[9] His state of health was still so good that Cardinal Aldobrandini was able to go to the archbishopric of Ravenna, which had recently been conferred on him, and where he intended to hold a synod.[10]

[1] *Avviso of March 10, 1604, *ibid.*

[2] *Avviso of March 17, 1604, *ibid.*

[3] *Avviso of April 24, 1604, *ibid.* *Cf.* Bijdragen tot de geschied. v. Brabant, VII. (1908), 365.

[4] *Avviso of June 19, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Avviso of August 18, 1604, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 261, n. 3, the *reports of Vialardo (September 17) and G. B. Thesis (October 23, 1604), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See the *reports of G. B. Thesis, October 9 and 15, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Avvisi of October 6 and 9, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit*

[8] *Avvisi of January 8 and 12, 1605, Urb. 1073, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Avviso of January 19, 1605, *ibid.*

[10] *Avvisi of January 15, 19 and 22, 1605, *ibid.* For the preparations for the synod see the letter of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini

On the 21st the Pope presided at the congregation on the question of grace.[1] On January 30th Cardinal Palotta congratulated him in the name of the Sacred College on the beginning of a new year of his pontificate; the Pope replied that he would like soon to be delivered from the labours and burdens of his high office.[2]

This desire was soon to be granted. On February 10th, 1605, during a session of the Inquisition, the old man had a slight apopletic stroke,[3] and a courier was at once sent to Aldobrandini bidding him return immediately.[4] In order to prevent alarm in Rome the carnival festivities were permitted, and it was given to be understood that the Pope was only suffering from a chill.[5] Clement VIII. knew that his end was come, and had Extreme Unction administered.[6] As there was then a slight improvement, those about him once more began to hope, but this was nullified by further attacks of apoplexy during the night between the Saturday and Sunday, February 20th, 1605. In the evening of that day Cardinal Aldobrandini arrived, but the sick man had lost consciousness. The Pope then revived, and recognized his nephew with joy, but his mental faculties were completely enfeebled. His strong constitution still resisted for a time, until on March 5th, a further stroke caused his death.[7]

to Caligari, Rome, October 2, 1604, in *Scelta di curiosita lett.*, CXCVIII., 250 *seq.*

[1] *Avviso of January 2, 1605, Urb. 1073, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Avviso of February 2, 1605, *ibid.*

[3] *Avvisi of February 12 and 16, 1605, *ibid.* *Cf.* SCORRAILLE, Fr. Suarez, I., 443 *seq.*

[4] *Avviso of February 16, 1605, *ibid.*

[5] *Avviso of February 19, 1605, *ibid.*

[6] See SCORRAILLE, *loc. cit.*

[7] For the last days and death of Clement VIII. see the *Avvisi of February 19, 23, 26, March 2 and 5, 1605, Urb. 1073, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *reports of G. B. Thesis of February 19 and 26, and March 5, 1605; the *report of Giov. Magno, February 25, 1605, and the very detailed *report of G. C. Foresto, February 19, 1605, all in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *" Avvisi di Roma

In spite of a pontificate lasting thirteen years, the memory of Clement VIII., both from the ecclesiastical point of view and the political, had fallen into oblivion.[1] If he did not meet with a worthy biographer, this was partly the fault of his relatives, who for too long timorously prevented access to the acta of his government. But at last the return of these treasures to the Papal Secret Archives, due to the far-seeing

delli 21 febbraio 1605" in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. C. 20. *Ibid.* a detailed *relatione "della morte di Clemente VIII." See also the *letter of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini to the nuncio in Venice, March 5, 1605, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 207, n. 5. Among the doctors who attended Clement VIII. during his pontificate (see MARINI, I., 476 *seq.*) the most celebrated were Andrea Cesalpino (*cf. infra*, p. 450, n. 4) and Marsilio Cagnati (*cf.* ORBAAN in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 137, n. 2). See also HAESER, Gesch. der Medizin, II.[3], 12; ZAPPOLI, Medici celebri, 52. From the letter of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini, published from *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 334 *seq*, it is evident that in the choice of doctors great importance was attached to their moral and religious conduct. The fable spread by WOLF (Gesch. der Jesuiten, II., 308) that Clement VIII. was poisoned by the Jesuits, was exploded by DUHR (Jesuitenfabeln, 425 *seq.*, 735 *seq.*). Werminghoff too (in SCHIELE, Die Religion, I. [1908], 1838) rejects the poisoning as a fable unworthy of belief. The body of Clement VIII. was first buried in St. Peter's (see CIACONIUS, IV., 268). Paul V. in gratitude erected to him a splendid monument in St. Mary Major's, of which we shall speak in a future volume. The body was only translated to St. Mary Major's in 1646, see MORONI, XIV., 48.

[1] The "Vita et gesta Clementis VIII." in Inform. polit., XXXIX. of the State Library, Berlin (composed while Clement VIII. was still alive, and probably a work of Andrea Victorelli) is as unimportant as the *Dialogue by Mons. Malaspina in Cod. N. 17 of the Vallicella Library, Rome (*cf.* RANKE, III.[8], 89*, 96*). Also the *Fragments of a Biography of Clement VIII. composed by Gius. Malatesta, a summary of which is preserved in Cod. K. 25, p. 294 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* of the Vallicelliana, give little that is new. It is often quoted (*e.g.* by WALCH, Hist. der Päpste, 406). L. WADDING, Vita Clementis VIII., Rome, 1723, but this work has never been found (see CIACONIUS, IV., 272).

care of Leo XIII., has been of great service to the memory of Clement VIII. Thus in his case too is verified the saying, that the best defence of the Popes is the knowledge of their lives, a thing that is no less true of the zeal displayed by Clement VIII. in the field of science and art.

CHAPTER XI.

Clement VIII. and Learning.—Torquato Tasso.

The predilection for scholars and writers which Clement VIII. had already displayed while a Cardinal, was continued after he had become Pope. How highly he esteemed intellectual ability is shown by the preference for scholars which he displayed in conferring the highest ecclesiastical dignities. At his very first consistory the purple was conferred on Francisco Toledo, who was looked upon as the most learned man in Spain. So in subsequent creations men of learning were always taken into consideration: for example, in 1596 the Oratorian Francesco Maria Tarugi, the canonist Francesco Mantica, and the greatest historian of his time, Cesare Baronius. The most distinguished of the theologians of the day, Robert Bellarmine, received the red hat in 1599; at the same time there were admitted to the senate of the Church Silvio Antoniano and Domenico Toschi, who was well known everywhere as a canonist. In the conferring of the purple on Du Perron in 1604, a decisive factor were the scientific attainments of this man, who was called the Augustine of France.[1]

Among the men who formed the entourage of the Pope there were to be found men of distinction and great literary culture, such as Guido Bentivoglio and Giampietro Maffei. Clement VIII. liked to have scientific works read at table; thus, for example, the works of the celebrated English theologian, Thomas Stapleton, who was looked upon as one

[1] For the above-mentioned *cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, pp. 36. 46, 170, 248, and *supra*, p. 193. *Cf.* also Vol. XXIII., App. n. 29.

of the best controversialists against the reformers whom the Church possessed.[1]

Clement VIII. took a prominent part in the activities of the intellectual life of the time, and a number of theologians were honoured by him with special briefs on account of their works.[2] Writers who had returned to the Church, after having hitherto employed their talents to the injury of the Catholic religion, were invited by him to labour on her behalf.[3] The Pope showed special interest in continuing the publication of the works of the great Doctors of the Church, begun under Sixtus V. Of the edition of St. Bonaventure, the third, fifth, sixth and seventh volumes appeared in 1596. The two last volumes of the works of St. Gregory the Great had already appeared in 1593.[4] The Pope caused study of the best manuscripts to be made with a view to a complete edition of the writings of St. Athanasius.[5] He also took a keen interest in the collection of General Councils suggested by Cardinal Santori in the time of Gregory XIV.[6] By his

[1] See HURTER, Nomenclator, I., 59.

[2] See *briefs to "Florim. Remundi senat. Burdigal," May 7, 1599 (in which he praises his work, *De anticristo*, against the innovators), Arm. 44, t. 43, p. 232, Papal Secret Archives; to "Schillerius," April 14, 1601 (concerning his explanation of the psalms), *ibid.* t. 45, n. 108; to "Cornelius Scultingius theol. Colon.," February 9, 1602 (concerning his *Bibl. cath.*), t. 46, n. 54.

[3] *Brief to "Phil. Canaius," October 11, 1602, *ibid.* t. 46, n. 307.

[4] See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 329 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser. XIII., 463.

[6] See BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 333. *Cf.* also, besides the briefs of 1603 in FANTUZZI, IV., 170, the *briefs to the archbishop and chapter of Trêves (*cf. Serapeum*, 1863, 51), September 27, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, nn. 221-222, *loc. cit.* See App. n. 11. Significant of the interest taken by the Pope in learned works is the *brief to "Andr. Bacagliar, episc. Algarens," December 8, 1601, who had sent to Rome his Latin translation of the work by St. John Damascene, De fide orthodoxa, where it was compared with that of Stapleton and Billius; the Pope in consequence said that he did not consider a new translation to be required, sending it back to Bacagliar. *Ibid.* t. 45, n. 418.

command Christopher Clavius published a defence of the Gregorian Calendar.[1] The Theatine Antonio Agellio was given the bishopric of Acerno in reward of the services which he had rendered as an exegetist.[2] Antonio Maria Graziani was made nuncio at Venice, and also honoured in other ways.[3] Giovanni Francesco Bordini, who had done good service to the memory of Sixtus V., received in 1597 the archbishopric of Avignon, while the Augustinian, Angelo Rocca, the founder of the Angelica Library, was appointed Bishop of Tagasta.[4]

Among all these scholars, after Antoniano, the dearest to the Pope were Baronius and Bellarmine; they were consulted in all matters of importance, and often had to preach before him.[5] Both were shining lights in the Sacred College, and were pioneers in the world of scholarship.

Robert Bellarmine,[6] "one of the most learned and outstanding theologians of his time,"[7] and above all of modern times, was born in 1542 at Montepulciano, and in 1560 entered the Society of Jesus. It was a decisive factor in his future intellectual activities when in 1569 his superiors sent him as preacher and professor to Louvain. Bellarmine thus found himself in surroundings where the struggle against Luther

[1] See Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 259, 280.

[2] See Renazzi, III., 53; Hurter, Nomenclator, I., 366.

[3] *Cf.* I. Niccii Erythraei Pinacotheca, I., 189.

[4] See Renazzi, III., 148. *Cf.* Celani, La Bibl. Angelica, Florence, 1911.

[5] See Couderc, I., 293.

[6] Biography by Giacomo Fuligatti, trans. by Silvestro Petrasancta, Liège, 1626; Bartoli in his Opere, XXII., Turin, 1836; J. B. Couderc, Paris, 1893; X. M. Le Bachelet, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat, Paris, 1911 (there, pp. 438-466, the so-called autobiography, with note, also published by Döllinger and Reusch, 1887); the same: Auctarium Bellarminianum, Paris, 1913; J. de la Servière, La théologie de Bellarmin, Paris, 1909; Le Bachelet in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 560-599; Sommervogel, Bibliothèque, I., 1151-1254, VIII., 1798-1807; Rivière, 11-13, 316; Hurter, Nomenclator, III., 678-695.

[7] K. A. Menzel, Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, V., Breslau, 1833, 309.

and Calvin played an all important part. After his return to the Eternal City in 1576 he was recognized as a man able to give the students of the German and English Colleges the necessary training for their intellectual struggle against the heretics in their own countries. For fifteen years Bellarmine devoted himself to this work with all the thoroughness which characterized him; copies of his lectures were very soon much sought after in Germany and England, and from these there gradually grew up his great work on the religious controversies in which "the defence of the Roman Church was at the same time made use of as a weapon of attack against his adversaries, with greater power, exactitude and skill than was done by others, both before and after him. The assertions and arguments of the Protestants are used in this very fully and in their own words; to learning there is added facility of expression, order and a pleasing style; his zeal is manifested with such well-weighed moderation that the supreme disdain which the author feels for Protestantism cannot be looked upon as an instrument of passion, but only as the expression of his own convictions. His work thus afforded abundant materials for the weapons which, towards the end of the last decade of the century, were employed by the German Jesuits in their ever renewed attacks upon the Protestant Church."[1]

When Bellarmine began the publication of his "Controversies" many champions had already arisen in defence of the ancient faith. In the treatment of individual questions enough had already been done, especially in the countries bordering on Germany, by the Polish Hosius and the Netherlander Lindanus,[2] while at Louvain the Englishman Stapleton, leaving details aside, had struck at the roots of the differences between the old and the new faiths, treating of them "in a way not as yet surpassed"[3] in his masterpiece on the sources

[1] MENZEL, *loc. cit.* 309 *seq.*, 313.

[2] *Cf.* HURTER, *loc. cit.* 44 *seqq.*, 187 *seqq.*

[3] M. I. SCHEEBEN, Handbuch der Dogmatik, I., Freiburg, 1873, 447. *Cf.* HURTER, *loc. cit.*, 175 *seqq.*

and rules of faith. There was still needed, however, a work which should review all these special studies, and which should, concisely and clearly, gather together their final results. Bellarmine set himself to do this,[1] but he quickly realized that a mere collection of the works that had already been composed would not suffice, since, as he wrote later on,[2] "concerning the Word of God, the controverted points had been dealt with by many persons, but concerning the Church and the Pope by few, and concerning the remainder by hardly anyone." Many questions had therefore to be dealt with which so far had not been touched upon in controversial works. During the struggles of the XVIth century only this or that divergent doctrine had been dealt with;[3] the fundamentals had been left on one side, and thus the whole doctrine of the faith had to some extent to be brought under discussion. "Thus Bellarmine includes almost the whole field of dogma, in a manner entirely in accordance with this particular purpose."[4] It is possible to gather from the very extent of the work how much it contains that is new; in spite of its concise nature as far as details are concerned, it extends to three heavy folio volumes, the contents of which were afterwards divided into four.

Bellarmine realized well enough the difficulty of his undertaking; in his opinion it called for almost unlimited learning;[5] but he had the necessary equipment; acuteness of intellect, soundness of judgment, knowledge of languages, together with an acquaintance with the Fathers of the Church and

[1] "Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos," 3 vols., Ingolstadt, 1586, 1588, 1593. Ad Lectorem.

[2] To Greiser, October 19, 1607, Epist. familiares, 54.

[3] "Non uno aliquo errore, sed ipsa haeresum colluvione appetimur" (Dedication of the Disputationes to Sixtus V.). "Innumerabiles haereses Ecclesiam lacerant" (Preface Ad Lectorem).

[4] SCHEEBEN, *loc. cit.*

[5] Scientia prope infinita (Introductory lection of Bellarmine, 1576).

with more recent theologians, such as to excite constant wonder;[1] it seemed as though he retained indelibly in his memory everything that he had ever read.

An especially attractive characteristic of Bellarmine, both as a scholar and as a man, was his simple frankness. An episode belonging to the days of his studies is characteristic in this respect of the whole man; at one of the disputations which were customary for the intellectual training in philosophical and theological studies, he could not find an answer to a certain objection, and the professor suggested that he might get out of the difficulty by calling upon his adversary to prove a thesis for which the latter was probably not prepared. But young Bellarmine would not hear of this, and made reply that the thesis was true, and preferred to take upon himself the humiliation of not being able to reply, than to make use of a means which did not seem to him quite honest.[2] Thus the simple frankness which characterized him was shown in his relations with others.[3] It was in a like spirit that he came forward in the world of learning; he sometimes admitted that not everyone had been happy in their refutations of Calvin.[4] In no part of his great work does he look upon the struggle with his adversaries as easy;

[1] The vast learning, clearness, energy and solidity of the work is even recognized by his adversaries (SCHEEBEN, *loc. cit.*, 447). In like manner KUHN in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1844, 282 *seqq.* His talent for teaching, his lucidity of thought, and his skill in disputation were beyond question (THIERSCH-HAUCK in Realenzykl., II.[3], 550). The judgment of earlier Protestants in BARTOLI, I., 1, c. 13 (I., 115 *seq.*). MORHOF (Polyhistor., II.[4], Lübeck, 1747, 544): "Est inter Pontificios quasi Hercules quidam Rob. Bellarminus, quo atlante coelum suum fulciunt." RANKE (Päpste I.[7], 328) calls Bellarmine the greatest controversialist of the Catholic Church. HASE (Kirchengesch.,[10] Leipzig, 1874, 494) says that the "most serious" attacks on Protestantism were made by Bellarmine.

[2] FULIGATTI, I., 2, c. 5 n.

[3] Bartoli, I., 2, c. 2 (II., 23).

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 2, c. 6, p. 64.

he always quotes their own words, and admits that part of them which is true, and allows himself no rest until he has clearly shown their weakness.[1] This very fact explains the extraordinary success of the work. In 1588 men wrote to the author from Mayence that at the Frankfort fair the second volume had been bought up as soon as it was published; if the printer had had two thousand copies he would have sold them all down to the very last.[2] The three or four huge folio volumes had run through about thirty editions by the end of the XVIIth century;[3] they formed the pivot upon which the controversy with the innovators turned, in a almost incalculable number of works on either side.[4] Many Protestants, convinced by the reasoning of Bellarmine, returned to the ancient Church.[5] Cardinal Du Perron, who, like Stapleton and Bellarmine, was one of the greatest controversialists against Protestantism, called Bellarmine and Baronius the two stars of the Church in his time, and was of opinion that the articles of Bellarmine concerning the Eucharist contained all that was best that had been written on the subject for the last five hundred years.[6] Baronius, in his Annals, twice, so to speak, went out of his way to extol

[1] The accounts given by Bellarmine of the opinions of the Protestants are complete and accurate (THIERSCH-HAUCK, *loc. cit.*, 553).

[2] H. Thyräus to Bellarmine, September 29, 1588, in LE BACHELET, 219. *Cf.* Lessius to Bellarmine, December 10, 1588: The first volume was read everywhere, even by the councillors and advocates. The copies that reached Louvain were at once bought up.

[3] SOMMERVOGEL, I., 1156.

[4] Index, *ibid.* 1165-1180. "For many years afterwards, Bellarmine was held by Protestant advocates as the champion of the Papacy, and a vindication of Protestantism generally took the form of an answer to his works'." Encyclop. Brit., III., 695.

[5] Testimony of the nuncio at Cologne, Antonio Albergati, in BARTOLI, I., 1, c. 13 (I., 124); of Cardinal Dietrichstein, *ibid.* I., 4, Testimoninanze n. 8 (IV., 21), etc.

[6] Du Perron to Bellarmine, February 10, 1605, in BARTOLI, I., 1, c. 15 (I., 144 *seq.*).

his friend Bellarmine.[1] The exegetist Cornelius a Lapide, was of the opinion that from the beginning of Christianity there had been no work comparable to that of this theologian.[2] It may be added that by his defence of the Papal authority he aroused the opposition, not only of the Protestants,[3] but also of the Gallicans. His first volume was prohibited in France.

[1] Ad a. 53, c. 32 (he praises the "nobilissimum opus" of the Controversies); ad a. 968, n. 93, "vir doctissimus ac religiosissimus Robertus Bellarminus, virtutum meritis toti christiano orbi conspituus."

[2] Opera, I., Antwerp, 1697, 10 n. 38. Certain objections were raised against the work by the Jesuits; *e.g.* above all by Cardinal Toledo; they collapsed when the General of the Order had them examined by two theologians. Le Bachelet, Bellarmin, 350, 412. For its inclusion in the Index by Sixtus V., and its removal by Urban VII. see Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 197, n. 3.

[3] The doctrines of Bellarmine were also little understood by Ranke. "In these assertions (of the plenitude of the power of the Pope) the opinion that the power of the king was also based upon divine right was closely approached. . . . The Jesuits had no scruple in making the power of the king come from the people. By their doctrine of Papal power they laid the foundations of the theory of the sovereignty of the people." (Päpste, II.[6], 123). But Bellarmine, on the contrary (De membris ecclesiae, I., 3; De laicis, c. 3; Controversiae, I., Prague, 1721, 298) expressly teaches that the civil power comes from God, proving its rights from the Sacred Scriptures (Prov. viii. 15; Matt. xxii. 21; Rom. xiii. 1). Therefore according to him it is not laid down by the will of God whether the form of government is to be monarchical or republican, or an hereditary or elective monarchy, or whether the sovereign must be chosen from this or that family. The people itself must decide as to this, and since it can transmit the sovereign power to certain persons, in this sense it must inhere in the people before it can be so conferred. But after the people has once transmitted this power, it is deprived of it, and cannot resume it at pleasure. In Bellarmine's theory nothing is said of the sovereignty of the people in the sense of Rousseau, or of any right of revolution. Particulars in De la Servière, *loc. cit.* 244 *seqq.*; Scheeben in Staats lexikon, I.[3], (1908), 761; Schneemann in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, II. (1872), 375 *seqq.*

After the completion of the second volume of the Controversies, Bellarmine gave up lecturing. In 1589 Sixtus V. appointed him theological adviser to Cardinal Errico Caetani, on his mission to France. After his return, the General, Aquaviva, employed him in the government of the Order; he probably saw in him his own successor, and wished to give him an opportunity of acquiring experience in questions of administration. Thus in 1592 he was able to complete the third volume of the Controversies, but was then appointed rector of the Roman College, and soon after, in 1594, superior of the province of the Order in Naples. But Aquaviva's plans were never realized; the Holy See had cast its eyes upon the clever scholar, and employed him in the preparation of the edition of the Vulgate, and in the work of the Inquisition. When the death of Toledo had left vacant the post of a Jesuit Cardinal, Clement VIII. conferred the red hat upon him in 1599. "We have chosen him—the Pope said on that occasion—because in the Church of God there is no one equal to him in doctrine, and because he is the nephew of Marcellus II."[1] How highly Clement VIII. esteemed him at that time may be seen from a treatise on the duties of a Pope, which he allowed Bellarmine to present to him, and in which he wrote replies to certain remarks.[2] A catechism which Bellarmine had drawn up for the instruction of the people was made obligatory by Clement VIII. for the whole of the States of the Church.[3] In 1602 he was appointed Archbishop of Capua; the Pope himself consecrated him.[4] It was only natural that a Pope with such great knowledge of history as Pius XI. should

[1] BARTOLI, I., 2, c. 5 (II., 48). The mother of Bellarmine, Cinthia, was the sister of Marcellus II. In 1620 Bellarmine was given the titular church of Charles Borromeo, whom he greatly venerated (S. Prassede). *Avviso of September 2, 1620, Urb. 1088, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 187, n. 5.

[3] Brief of July 15, 1598, Institutum Soc. Iesu, I., 123.

[4] The Pope wanted to remove him from Rome, on account of the controversies about grace (see *supra*, pp. 352, 354) for their opinions were divergent as to this.

have held up Bellarmine as a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of the Church, and as one of the most energetic champions of Catholic doctrine.[1]

How dear to Clement VIII. was Cesare Baronius, may be seen from the fact of his having chosen him as his confessor. Clement took a keen and active interest in Baronius' monumental work, the Annals of the Church. He summoned the learned Benedictine, Constantino Gaetano, to Rome[2] to assist him in his laborious task. Baronius showed his gratitude for the extraordinary interest taken by the Pope, a thing which he also showed in other ways, by dedicating to him the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of his gigantic work,[3] which, drawing as it did upon an enormous treasury of documents, formed an entirely new basis for the history of the Church. The Catholic point of view was rigorously adhered to and courageously maintained against the attacks of the Protestants; at the same time, however, Baronius did not shrink from frankness and even severity in his judgments; his great work is still to-day of great value to scholars.[4] The fear which was expressed by some that his elevation to the cardinalate would hamper the great historian in his continuation of the Annals was fortunately not verified. The seventh volume appeared in 1596, which, like the eighth, published in 1599, was dedicated to Clement VIII. After the sudden death of the learned Cardinal Colonna, in May 1597, Baronius

[1] "A star of the first magnitude, and one of the most able controversialists of Catholic truth" (Allocution of April 15, 1923).

[2] *Cf.* Renazzi, III., 135.

[3] See Calenzio, Baronio, 348, 430. For the interest taken by Clement VIII. in Baronio see Baumgarten, Neue Kunde, 126, 291 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the opinions of Reuter, Reumont, Böhmer, Lämmer and Mirbt, which I have collected under the title "Giudizi tedeschi intorno al Baronio" in the special work, Per Cesare Baronio nel terzo centenario della sua morte, Rome, 1911, 15 *seq.* See also Baur, Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung (1852), 72 *seq.*

was able to thank the Pope for his appointment as head of the Vatican Library.[1]

The precious collection of manuscripts which Cardinal Sirleto had increased to a considerable number, now possessed, thanks to the care of Sixtus V., a magnificent home in the Papal palace; united to them was also a part of the Papal Secret Archives. How much importance Clement VIII. attached to increasing these treasures may be seen from the invitation which he addressed to all the bishops of the Papal States to send to the Vatican Library all the manuscripts and documents which came to their knowledge, so that a selection maight be made of those which were of value.[2] Those which were preserved at the Vatican were not to be a buried treasure. By the order of Clement VIII., and under the superintendence of Baronius, the custodians of the Library, who belonged to the Rainaldi family, laboured with unwearied and altruistic zeal to render it available, and above all Domenico Rainaldi, who in the time of Clement VIII. worked with such delight in cataloguing the manuscripts and printed books, and the material in the archives, that in this respect as well the Vatican was able to take the first place among all the collections of manuscripts in the world.[3]

At the same time Domenico Rainaldi set in order the Archives of the Castle of St. Angelo,[4] for which Clement VIII., soon after his election, prepared as a resting place a special hall on the upper floor, which was richly decorated and furnished with valuable presses. With this measure, which was immortalized in a poem by Maffeo Barberini, was con-

[1] See CALENZIO, *loc. cit.*, 471, 517; BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* 293, 299.

[2] See MERCATI, Biblioteca Apost., 22 *seq.* For the interest taken in the Acta of the Council, from the literary remains of Paleotto see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, IX., 396 *seq.*

[3] See EHRLE in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XI., 718 *seq.*; MERCATI, *loc. cit.* 9 *seqq.*, 12 *seqq.*, 65 *seqq.*

[4] See KEHR in *Nachrichten der Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1903, 509. *Cf.* also ORBAAN, Documenti, 138 n.

nected a plan for placing all the archival treasures of the Holy See in this safe place.[1] Even though this plan was not fully realized, nevertheless not a little was done to make the collection in the Castle of St. Angelo a real State Archivium. Innumerable documents were removed thither from the Guardaroba, accompanied by copies of documents on a large scale. The Papal treasurer, Bartolomeo Cesi, who was the real originator of this great and useful project, was appointed prefect. After his appointment as Cardinal, on June 5th, 1596, Domenico Rainaldi took his place, which he filled with great zeal. It is almost impossible to do justice to the importance of the collection of documents and acta on the most important questions of the day furnished by this indefatigable worker for the purposes of the Secretariate of State. They were of inestimable value, together with the memorials attached to them, in the questions of the absolution of Henry IV., the acquisition of Ferrara, the discussions concerning the Papal election, and the controversies with Spain. Again in 1604 the Pope caused documents to be brought to Rome, so that copies might be made of them.[2]

It was of highest importance for the Vatican Library that the librarian of the Farnese, Fulvio Orsini, who after the death of Muret held the first place in the

[1] The *Acta consist. on January 29, 1593, record: S.D.N. "proposuit bullam faciendam super scripturis Sedis Apost. custodiendis et adservandis in Archivio, quod mandavit extrui." Order for the drawing up of the "formula bullae et de genere scripturarum ibi servandarum et mittetur per manus ut quisque admoneat" (Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library). The bull was never published. *Cf.* MARINI, Archivi di S. Sede, Rome, 1825, 29; Cardinal Gasquet, British and allied Archives during the war, in the *Transactions of the R. Hist. Soc.*, 2, ser. II., London, 1920, 56.

[2] See MARINI, *loc. cit.*, 27. *Cf.* LAEMMER, Anal. 58, Melet. 282; CALENZIO, Baronio, 722 *seqq.*; KEHR, *loc. cit.*, 1900, 371, 375; 1903, 514 *seq.*, and especially MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 78 *seqq.* See also BAUMGARTEN Neue Kunde 119 *seq.*

world of letters, left a legacy in 1600 of his most precious collection of manuscripts and books to the library of the Pope.[1] The former custodian of the library, Tommaso Sirleto, also gave his manuscripts to that collection. The acquisition of the legacies of Aldus Manutius and the learned Dominican Alphonsus Ciaconius added to its wealth.[2] Some Persian manuscripts were also acquired.[3]

Closely connected with the Vatican Library was the Vatican Press, which was directed by Domenico Basa, and from 1596 by Bernardo Basa.[4] Sixtus V. had united several benefices for the maintenance of the correctors of this institution, the revenues of which, however, were employed in other ways by Gregory XIV. Clement VIII. therefore took steps to remedy the lack of skilled correctors of the press, by abolishing certain posts in the library, and founding in their place five posts for correctors of Latin and Greek works,[5] and on August 20th, 1593, he conferred these for life on the Benedictine Adriano Cipriano, the Florentine priest Giovanni Battista Bandini, the doctor in theology Francesco Lamata, a Spaniard, and on Gerhard Vossius of the diocese of Liège. When this scholar, who had done good service as editor of the works of the Fathers of the Church, resigned, his place was taken by Maurizio Bressio. There were also employed Federico Metio, and lastly, as unpaid corrector, the Augustinian Angelo

[1] *Cf.* BLUME, III., 39 *seq.*; *Serapeum*, VII. (1846), 318 *seq.*; BELTRAMI, I libri di F. Orsini nella Bibl. Vatic. Rome, 1886; NOLHAC, La bibliothèque de F. Orsini, Paris, 1887. There too, p. 29 *seq.*, the marks of kindness shown by Clement VIII. to this celebrated scholar.

[2] See MERCATI, *loc. cit.* 23. For the library of A. Manutius see, besides PRINZIVALLI, Tasso, 103 n., BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 145 *seq.*

[3] See HORN, Die pers. und türk. Handschriften der Vaticana in *Zeitschr. der morgenländ. Gesellsch.*, LI. (1897), 4.

[4] See BERTOLOTTI, Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei secoli XVI. e XVII., Florence, 1878, 26 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Bull. X., 81 *seqq.*

Rocca.[1] These six correctors were also to work in the library, as these two institutions were connected with each other.

Clement VIII. concerned himself in various ways with the Roman University;[2] he confirmed the union established by Sixtus V. between the rectorate and the College of Protonotaries, and carried on the new buildings of the university. In his pontificate the great hall, which was adorned with an artistic carved wooden ceiling and a magnificent pulpit, was completed.[3]

Clement VIII. did good service by summoning the celebrated botanist and physiologist Andrea Cesalpino from Pisa to the Roman University, where that scholar also held the office of principal physician to Clement VIII., an office which he held with the greatest success until his death in 1603. Giulio de Angelis, who was also summoned by Clement VIII. to the medical faculty, was less celebrated than Cesalpino, but he too was one of the Pope's physicians and accompanied him to Ferrara.[4] A disciple of Cesalpino, Michele Mercati, had been since the time of Pius V. director of the botanical

[1] See BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde 137 *seqq.* *Ibid.* 132 *seq.* for Vossius. *Cf.* also HOPPENS, Bibl. Belgica, I., Brussels, 1739, 362, and *Mededeel. v. h. Niederl. Hist. Institut.*, II. (1922), 100 *seq.*

[2] Of the *Ruoli* that of 1595 is published in RENAZZI, II., 224 *seq.* This enumerates 31 professors. In 1592 there were 29; in 1593 31, but in 1601 only 27; in 1603, 26; in 1605, 28; see the *report of Carlo Cartari in Cod. H. III. of the Chigi Library, Rome. For favours of Clement VIII. to the University of Perugia see Bull. X., 32 (*cf.* 71). For the University of Ferrara see *supra*, p. 400, for that of Würzburg see WEGELE, II., 52.

[3] See RENAZZI, III., 21 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 42 *seqq.* For A. Cesalpino *cf.* SACHS, Gesch der Botanik, 45; [AMATI] Bibliografia Rom., I., Rome, 1880, 81 *seq.*; [A. ZAPPOLI], Illustraz. ai busti dei medici celebri posti nell'attico dell'arcispedale di S. Spirito, Rome, 1868; CICONE in *Riv. di storia d. scienze mediche*, 1912, 73-92. For the efforts, though fruitless, of Clement VIII. to obtain Thomas Stapleton for the university of Rome, see Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 65, 94, 99 *seq.*, 107.

gardens of the Vatican, and professor of botany at the Roman University. In 1593 he was succeeded by Andrea Bacci, then by Castore Durante, and lastly by the celebrated German scholar Johann Fabri of Bamberg.[1] The summoning of the Platonist, Fr. Patrizi to be professor of philosophy in the spring of 1592,[2] was not a success, as he passionately attacked Aristotle as an enemy of the faith.[3] The attitude adopted by the Pope in this dispute is clearly shown by the fact that after the death of Patrizi in February, 1597, he appointed his opponent Giacomo Mazzoni to his office at the Sapienza,[4] assigning to him the large annual stipend of 1,000 gold scudi. Great patrons of Mazzoni were the two Aldobrandini Cardinals, who also generously supported scholars and poets in other ways. The best known of the poets who entered the service of Pietro Aldobrandini was Giambattista Marini.[5] Cinzio Aldobrandini established an Academy in his palace, to which belonged the most distinguished scholars, such as Antonio Quarengho, Patrizi, Giovanni Battista Raimondi, and also the composer, Luca Marenzio, who was named "the most sweet swan" and who from 1595 was organist at the Papal Chapel;[6] later on there were Battista Guarino, the author

[1] See MARINI, Archiatri, I., 459 n.; RENAZZI, III., 44; F. LADELCI, La storia d. botanica in Roma, Rome, 1884, 12 *seqq.*; ZAPPOLI, *loc. cit.*, 83 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of May 2, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. *Cf.* SOLERTI, I., 730.

[3] See TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 359 *seqq.* *Cf.* QUERRINI, Di F. Patrizi e della rarissima edizione della sua Nova Philosophia, in *Propugnatore*, XII., 1-2 (Bologna, 1879). For an autobiography of Patrizi, though it does not include the time of Clement VIII., see *Arch. stor. p. Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino*, III. (1884-1886), 275 *seqq.*

[4] See RENAZZI, III., 31 *seqq.* *Cf.* ZAZZERI, Sui codici d. Bibl. Malatest. 18 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* BORZELLI, Giambatt. Marini, Naples, 1898, 57 *seqq.*

[6] Marenzio lived at the Vatican; see *Ruolo* 19. The privat-dozent, Dr. Johann Engel, of Munich, is preparing a monograph on Marenzio.

of the celebrated pastoral drama *Il pastor fido*, Guidobaldo Bonarelli and Tasso.[1]

Just as was the case with Cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini,[2] many works were dedicated to the Pope himself. Among the prose works the greater number were religious and ecclesiastical;[3] not a few were concerned with

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 285 *seq.*, and SOLERTI, I., 736 *seqq.* It is remarkable that Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini had manuscripts sought for even in Moscow; see PIERLING, II., 375 *seq.*; *Poesie di Mgr. Ciampoli in lode de SS^ri^ Aldobrandini, in Barb. lat. 3671, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* PERSONENI, Notizie del cardinale Cinzio Personeni de Ca' Passero Aldobrandini, Bergamo, 1786, 131 *seqq.*, and Osservaz. sopra la epistolografia di Fr. Parisi, Bergamo, 1788, 54 *seqq.* For the "Nautica" dedicated by Bartolomeo Crescenzi to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini see CIAMPI, Viaggiatori Romani in *Nuova Antologia*, August-September, 1874.

[3] The greater number of the printed works are enumerated in CIACONIUS (IV., 271 *seq.*). To these may be added numerous unpublished works: *e.g.* Vat. 3565: *Sei discorsi di Giov. Paolo Eustachio (with dedication of January 1, 1597), namely: 1. Della necessità che fa N. S. alle religioni; 2. Della ragion di stato conforme alla s. scrittura; 3. Della nobiltà et in particolare della nobiltà d'Hebrei; 4. Della causa che mantien l'Hebreo in ostinatione; 5. Che de iure divino non si può negare al penitente d'esser ricevuto nel gremio di s. chiesa; 6. Quel ch'ha da fare il penitente per esser conosciuto per vero penitente; Vat. 5512: Franc. a Sosa (ord. min.), *De iurisdictione et optimo genere procedendi in causis regularium libri 6; Vat. 5452: Philippi Bocchii (Bonon.) *Diadema Dei in quo de principio, statu et fine ecclesiae et totius mundi agitur; Vat. 5490: Petri Martyris Felini de Cremona (ord. serv. B. M. V.) *Modus visitandi vel faciendi scalas sanctas (also in Urb. 1511); Vat. 5512: Scipionis Iardini (Macerat.) *Tractatus de Romano Pontificatu; Vat. 5517: Fra Arcangelo Agostino (Capuccino), *Epitalamio in forma d'oration mentale sopra la s. casa di Loreto; Vat. 6386: Petri Lombardi Hiberni *Comment. stromatic. de Hibernia insula; Vat. 6390: Frat. Chrysostomi a Visitatione (ord. Cist.) *Libri 5 de vero Mariae virg. partu contra opinionem Alf. Tostati

the Turkish peril,[1] and some of the acquisition of Ferrara.[2] The most important dedications, after the Controversies of Bellarmine,[3] was that of the Annals of Baronius. During one of his sojourns at Frascati the Pope obliged Bellarmine and Silvio Antoniano to engage in a poetical contest, in which the palm was to be given to the one who composed the most beautiful poem on the saint of that day, Mary Magdalen.

episc. Abulen.; Reg. 1597: Francesco Torina Bufalina (da Città di Castello), *Il Rosario sopra i misterii della vita di Cristo. Vatican Library.

[1] For example the discourses of G. Crispo (Rome, 1594) and of Scip. Ammirato (Florence, 1594). In the Vatican Library there are to be found the following, not yet printed: Vat. 5519: Aurelii Marinatae Ravennatae *Tre ragionamenti della S. Lega che si doveria fare tra principi christ. contra i nemici della S. Chiesa; Urb. 833, p. 509: Pompei Floriani *Relazione sopra l'antica origine dei Turchi [also concerning the forces of the Turks and an offensive war against them, to prevent their coming to Italy] (Copy in Inform. polit., XVII. of the State Library, Berlin; see RANKE, Osmanen², 452); Urb. 1492, p. 1 *seqq.* Tarquinio Pinaoro *Sopra una lega ad impresa che potriano fare i principi italiani contro il Turco in soccorso della M. Ces. e principe Transilvano l'a. 1596. Very widely spread in manuscript was a copy of the "Discorso di mons. Pietro Cedolini vescovo di Lesina fatto alla Stà di N.S. Clemente VIII. per la difesa contro il Turco 1594 (January 28)," published in *Tesoro Politico*, III. (Turnoni, 1605), 85 *seqq.*; manuscript copies in Rome: 1. Vat. 5485; 2. Urb. 836, p. 406 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. In Berlin: State Library, Inform. polit. I.; at Copenhagen: Library. Gl. K. S. fol. 523.

[2] Only some, such as ISABELLA CERVONI, Orazione a papa Clemente VIII. sopra l'impresa di Ferrara (Bologna, 1598), have been printed; most are in manuscript, *e.g.* *Relazione della città e stato di Ferrara data per informat. a Clemente VIII., in Urb. 835, p. 216 *seqq.* (*cf.* Barb. 5356), the *Discorso storico del Francese Pietro Demarchis, in Vat. 5551, and *ibid.* Comitis Alexandri Randensis *Tractatus de s. pontificis iurisdictione et ducatus Ferrariae devolutione ad Sed. Apost. Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 447 *seq.*, for the labours of D. Rainaldi.

[3] See Autobiographia card. R. Bellarmini, c. 30.

This was the origin of Bellarmine's magnificent hymn, *Pater superni luminis*, which was afterwards inserted in the Breviary.[1]

As Clement VIII. had a great liking for poetry, very many poems were dedicated to him.[2] Among these were one by Maffeo Barberini on the Pope's gout, and another on the new archivium in the Castle of St. Angelo.[3] Mention must also be made of how Orlando di Lasso, who, with Palestrina[4] and Marenzio, was the most celebrated musician of the time, had in 1597, a short time before his death, dedicated to the Aldobrandini Pope his last composition, *Le Lagrime di san Pietro*.[5] To the Jesuit Pietro Maffei, who had made a name as an historical writer, Clement VIII. assigned an apartment in the Vatican, and charged him to write the history of his ponti-

[1] See COUDERC, I., 25.

[2] The printed ones in CIACONIUS, IV., 271 *seq.*, and in Cat. Bibl. Casanat., II., 156; unpublished ones by Ant. Vallius in Vat. 5515, p. 48 *seqq.*; by Giov. Vinc. Passerino in Vat. 5502; by Girolamo Aleander in Ottob. 2431, p. 451 *seq.*; by Gerundio Liberatorio in Barb. lat. 1780, Vatican Library. A *Carmen in reconciliationem cum ecclesia catholica Henrici Galliar. regis, *ibid.* Vat. 5514, p. 56, dedicated to Clement VIII. *Versi per l'unione de principi christiani sotto Clemente VIII. in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 286, n. 2. The writer of satires, Trojano Boccalini, enjoyed the favour of Clement VIII.; see *Archiv. für neuere Sprachen*, CIII. (1899), 110. For the honours bestowed upon the Polish poet Simon Szymonowicz (1558-1629) by Clement VIII. see HANISCH, Gesch. Polens, 229. For T. Boccalini *cf.* MEINECKE, Die Idee der Staatsraison in der neueren Geschichte, Munich, 1924; A. BELLONI, T. Boccalini (1924). *Cf. Nuova Riv. storica*, 1924.

[3] See Maphaei Barberini Card. nunc. Urbani P. VIII., Poemata, Rome, 1631, 203, 222 *seq.*

[4] Palestrina died on February 2, 1594. *Cf.* A. MERCATI, Melchiorre Major, l'autore del vibrante necrologio di P. da Palestrina, Gubbio, 1924. It has not been possible to find the tomb of Palestrina in St. Peter's, in spite of the researches of Mgr. Cascioli; see *Rassegna Gregor.*, 1914.

[5] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, VI.[15-16], 172.

ficate, a task which unfortunately was never carried out, owing to the death of Maffei in 1603.[1]

The name of Clement VIII. is also connected with that of Torquato Tasso. The great poet had known the Pope as a Cardinal and had received various favours from him. From Naples, where he was then living, he had at once celebrated his election in a poem, in which he makes all the virtues from heaven descend upon him.[2] He composed an Italian sonnet for the anniversary of his coronation,[3] and a longer Latin poem in which he extols the ecclesiastical and civil power of the head of the Church.[4] In this he does not omit mention of the nephews of Clement VIII., to whom there are also addressed three other sonnets, probably composed on this occasion.[5] After this Tasso received an invitation to go to Rome, where he arrived at the beginning of May, 1592. As

[1] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 55 n.

[2] See SOLERTI, I., 700, who calls the poem "soperba." It begins as follows :

Questa fatica estrema al tardo ingegno
Concedi, o Roma, e tu, che movi e reggi
L'alto ciel, l'umil terra e'l mar profondo,
A lui, che di tue sacre eterni leggi
È vivo spirto, e del celeste regno
Sostien le chiavi e porta il grave pondo,
E quasi folce in Vaticano il mondo,
Sacra la mente, il cor, la penna e i carmi.
Questa è la meta eccelsa, a cui d'intorno
Si volge notte e giorno
Il mio pensier : nè di vittorie e d'armi
Cantate, fama eguale e pregio attende ;
Ma fine o meta a quel valor non miro
Che fiammeggia fra noi con luce eterna.

[3] "Ecco l'alba, ecco il di ch'in sè ritorna." Opere, V., 3, 2, Pisa, 1822, 208.

[4] "Magne parens pastorque patrum, cui pascere greges," Carmina latina, *ed.* A. Martinius, Rome, 1895, 39.

[5] SOLERTI (I., 723) gives one of these ; the two others (Fra. il tuo splendore and Tra Fortuna e Virtù) in VATASSO, Rime inedite, Rome, 1915.

had been the case in the time of Sixtus V., he took up his abode with his former patron, Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, in the Via della Scrofa ;[1] but as early as June he had removed to the palace of the Pope's nephew, in the Via dei Banchi, where there was an open house with scholars and poets. When in November, 1592, Cinzio Aldobrandini removed to the Vatican, Tasso was invited to follow him.[2] Then the poet took up his residence in the most beautiful palace in the world, where he was waited upon with all honour, invited to the tables of Cardinals and princes, and honoured and distinguished in every way.

If, with all this, a certain melancholy and restlessness, and a morbid desire for change did not leave him, this was an evident sign of his melancholia (periodical dementia), which, however—so closely akin are genius and madness—did not in any way interfere with his literary activity.[3] Cinzio Aldobrandini, who had a sincere veneration for the sorely tried poet, felt a sincere compassion for him. He efficaciously promoted the re-writing of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, giving him in the person of Angelo Ingegneri an amanuensis, who was able to decipher with facility the difficult handwriting of the poet.[4]

Besides his masterpiece Tasso also composed with feverish activity other poems in which he has given expression to his

[1] For the Palazzo Gonzaga, afterwards Negroni-Galitzin, see PRINZIVALLI, 46 *seqq.*, who however wrongly makes Tasso go to live with the Aldobrandini at once ; see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVII., 412.

[2] Cinzio Aldobrandini lived, as Prinzivalli shows (88-97) in the "Appartamento della contessa Matilde." Prinzivalli also tried to point out the poet's dwelling exactly, but was not successful ; see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVII., 413. ORBAAN (Documenti, 457 n.) however found a second *Ruolo* in which the situation of Tasso's three rooms is indicated.

[3] *Cf.* A. CORRADI, Le infermità di T. Tasso, in *Mem. dell'Ist. Lomb.*, XIV. (1881), 301 *seqq.* ; L. RONCORONI, Genio e pazzia di T. Tasso, Turin, 1896 ; BONFIGLI in *Arch. p. le malattie nervose*, 1887, fasc. 3.

[4] See SOLERTI, I., 741.

deep sense of religion. Thus there were written at that time the pathetic verses on the *Santa Croce* and *Le lagrime della beatissima Vergine*. The inspiration for the last named was drawn from a picture attributed to Albert Dürer, which was in the possession of Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1]

To this exalted patron Tasso dedicated the new version of the Gerusalemme liberata, which was at last completed in May, 1593, and was given the title of *Gerusalemme conquistata*. The printing was begun in July; the expenses were borne by Cinzio Aldobrandini, while the profits were all to go to the author.[2] Cinzio, who became a member of the Sacred College on September 17th, 1593, saw to it that he received the necessary privileges to protect his rights as author.[3] The first copies of the work, from which there had been removed all the tributes to the House of Este, originally in connexion with the character of Rinaldo, but which were now replaced by others to the Cardinal nephews and the Pope, were able to be issued in the early days of December. Of greater importance than these external changes were the internal ones, by which the new poetical work was intended to be distinguished from the former one, as the heavenly Jerusalem from the earthly one. In conformity with this idea the religious character of the Crusades was emphasized, by means of a dream of Godfrey de Bouillon, with the purpose of introducing a magnificent description of heaven, and unfolding a grandiose prophetic vision of the future development of Christendom. The episode of Olindo and Sophronia was omitted, but in so doing Tasso was rather influenced by literary considerations, since a long digression such as this did not seem opportune, especially at the beginning of the poem. Literary considerations also led to the curtailing of the romance of Rinaldo and Armida, as well as that of Tancred. If the work thus received unity and harmony, on the other hand it suffered by the omission of certain beautiful passages,

[1] *Ibid.* I., 752 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 760 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.* 761 *seqq.*

such as the magnificent description of the sea vogaye of the two heroes, when seeking for Rinaldo on the enchanted island. How unfortunate was such a change from the original form of this "first daring outburst of genius" was proved by the wretched success of the *Gerusalemme conquistata*, which was unable to overshadow the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which was entirely permeated by the enthusiasm of youth.[1]

Stricken once more at the beginning of 1594 by illness, Tasso resolved to seek repose at Naples, whither he was also drawn by a long-standing law-suit concerning the inheritance of his mother. He passed the summer and autumn at the Benedictine convent of S. Severino, engaged, despite his bad state of health, in constant literary activity.[2] While he was still in Rome he had already completed a long Latin poem on Clement VIII.[3] Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, to whom Tasso dedicated his *Discorsi del poema eroico*, insisted in September on his return to the Eternal City;[4] Tasso agreed to do so, but only after his law-suit had been happily terminated by means of a compromise. On November 10th he wrote from Rome: "I have returned; alive it is true, but very ill." A week later he expressed the wish that all his works might be printed at Venice, either before or after his death.[5] The poet, who was at that time once again living at the Vatican, finished during that time a religious poem on the *Creazione del Mondo*, and composed two sonnets for the

[1] See BAUMGARTNER, VI., 385 *seq.*, 416 *seq.*; SOLERTI, I., 754 *seqq.* DEJOB, 155 *seq.*, who shows that the few strophes in the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which Tasso himself described at the time as *lascive* (Lettere, *ed.* GUASTI, I., 144), and which might have scandalized a strict critic, remained in the *Gerusalemme conquistata*.

[2] See SOLERTI, I., 776 *seqq.*

[3] The poem does not commence, as was long thought, and as even Martini (Carmina lat. 35) thought, with the words: "O Deus Europae," but "O decus Europae"; see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVII., 433.

[4] See Lettere, *ed.* GUASTI, V., 184.

[5] *Cf.* SOLERTI, I., 790 *seqq.*, 796 *seqq.*

anniversary of the Pope's coronation.[1] The latter was so enthusiastic about these poems that he assigned to the author, out of his privy purse, an annual pension of 200 scudi, which was afterwards followed by other gifts of money.[2] For a long time past a special honour had been projected for him, namely his coronation at the Capitol, a thing that had not been done in the case of any poet since the time of Petrarch. The news of this had been so widely spread that it was spoken of as an accomplished fact.[3] The ceremony was probably to take place after Easter, which in 1595 fell on March 26th. In the meantime the poet was constantly harassed by the thought of death. On March 15th Cardinal Altemps died, and the sonnet which he composed on this Prince of the Church was probably the last of Tasso's poems.[4] When his health became worse after Easter he addressed a touching letter of farewell to his friend Antonio Costantini at Mantua: "What will Signor Antonio say—this states—when he hears of the death of his Tasso? I do not think that the news will be long delayed, for I feel myself at the end of my life, and have not been able to find any remedy for my wretched indisposition, which has supervened upon my many usual ailments, like a swift stream by which, without being able to find any foot-hold, I plainly find myself being carried away. There is no longer any time for me to speak of my hapless fortune, to say nothing of the ingratitude of the world, which has willed to triumph over me by bringing me to a beggar's grave, when I had thought that the glory which, despite those who do not so desire, the world will have from my writings, would not leave me in some way without guerdon. I have had myself brought

[1] The first sonnet begins: "Mentre fulmina il Trace, e i monti e i campi," in Opere, V., 3, 2, Pisa, 1822, 308; the second begins: "Ecco l'alba" (see *supra*, p 455, n. 3), *ibid.* For the poem "Mondo creato" see MAZZONI in the Opere minori (of Tasso), II., Bologna, 1892, and FLAMINI, Cinquecento, 508 *seq.*

[2] See GUASTI, Lettere di Tasso, V., Florence, 1855, n. 1526. *Cf.* SOLERTI, I., 802 n. 4; II., 260, 353 *seqq.*, 390.

[3] *Cf.* SOLERTI, I., 762, 765, 797.

[4] *Cf. ibid.* 803.

to this monastery of S. Onofrio, not only because its air is praised by the doctors above that of any other part of Rome, but as it were to begin in that sublime eminence, and helped by the conversation of these pious fathers, my own conversation in heaven. Pray to God for me, and rest assured that if I have always loved and esteemed you in this life, I will still do so in that other more true life, where veritable and not feigned charity is to be found. And I recommend you as well as myself to the divine grace."[1]

Cardinal Aldobrandini did all that lay in his power to preserve this precious life, or at anyrate to alleviate the sufferings of the poet, who was not only racked by fever, but by attacks of melancholy. The Cardinal gave him two servants and sent to him his own physician and that of the Pope, but all was in vain.[2] The few days that still remained to the sick man were passed by him in prayer and pious meditation. It is not possible to visit without deep emotion the simple room,[3] in which the poet passed his last days; later on it was transformed into the "Museo del Tasso." The poet left to the convent of S. Gregorio as well as to that of S. Onofrio money for the celebration of masses for his soul, while to the latter he left the bronze crucifix which had been given him by the Pope.[4] On April 24th he received Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction with touching piety; on hearing of this Cardinal Aldobrandini hastened to the Pope to ask for a blessing and absolution for his dying friend. Deeply grieved, Clement VIII. granted the request of his nephew, who then went in person to S. Onofrio to give the dying man, in proof of the favour of the head of the Church, this last consolation. "This is the coach—exclaimed Tasso—

[1] Lettere, *ed.* GUASTI, V., n. 1535. For S. Onofrio see CATERBI, La chiesa di S. Onofrio, Rome, 1858; CARRAROLI in *La Fanfulla*, XI. (Turin, 1887), nn. 1, 2, 4, 5; BAFFICO, *ibid.* XXII. (October, 1892), 25 *seq.*

[2] See SOLERTI, I., 806.

[3] *Cf.* PRINZIVALLI, 152 *seq.*

[4] See SOLERTI, I., 807.

in which I shall go, not as a poet to the Capitol, but as one of the blessed to heaven." Ever praying, and meditating on his last moments, the poet felt the approach of death on the morning of April 26th. Kissing the cross, he began to repeat the words of Christ: "Into Thy hands, O Lord . . ." but his words went no further, and without any agony he breathed forth his noble soul.[1]

His burial, according to Italian usage, took place the same evening. After a cast of his face had been taken in plaster,[2] his body was taken with princely pomp to the parish church of S. Spirito in Sassia, and in the cortège were to be seen the retinues of the Cardinal nephews, many members of the Papal court, the professors of the University, and many other scholars, nobles, priests and religious. All of them, after the obsequies, followed the dead poet to S. Onofrio, where the burial took place.[3] Tasso's brow was girt with the coveted laurels, while in his joined hands he held the sign of the Redemption, of which he had once sung:

> To the Cross my heart I consecrate, and hymns;
> Victory's great standard, and the sign
> In which weak men still triumph over death.[4]

Tasso died a fervent Catholic, as he had always lived. He had dedicated magnificent poems, filled with the deepest feeling, to the Queen of Heaven.[5] All the ardour of his faith found most heartfelt expression in the sonnet in which he

[1] See *ibid.* 808 *seqq.*, where the anecdotes of Manso concerning the last days of Tasso are refuted.

[2] Still preserved at S. Onofrio; see SOLERTI, III., 92. *Cf.* also *Jahrb. der kunst-hist. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXIX., 216, 218.

[3] See SOLERTI, I., 809; III., Doc. L., LI., LII. For the tomb of Tasso, with his portrait, erected by Cardinal Bevilacqua, see TOTTI, 47.

[4] "Rime spirituali del signor Torquato Tasso (sonnet to the Holy Cross), Bergamo, 1597, p. 1. See BAUMGARTNER, VI., 390.

[5] *Cf.* La Madre di Dio nella vita e negli scritti di T. Tasso, new edition, Rome, 1903.

venerated the Most Holy Sacrament.[1] His most celebrated work, *La Gerusalemme liberata*, is entirely penetrated with Catholic sentiment.[2] This was already clearly shown in the first draft of the poem, which was intended to describe the struggle between Christendom and Islam, in its most sublime chivalrous achievement :

Arms, and the chief I sing, whose righteous hands
Redeem'd the tomb of Christ from impious bands ;
Who much in council, much in field sustain'd,
Till just success his glorious labours gained ;
In vain the powers of hell opposed his course,
And Asia's arms, and Libya's mingled force ;
Heaven bless'd his standards, and beneath his care
Reduc'd his wandering partners of the war.

(Hoole's Tasso.)[3]

[1] The sonnet is little known :

"NELLA COMUNIONE."

Gia fui tronco infelice in queste sponde,
Che da radice amara ha doglia, e lutto :
M'inesta hor sacro ramo, e dolce in tutto,
Per divina virtù, ch'in se nasconde.

E del tuo sangue il santo fiume, e l'onde
Giungono al cor quasi in terreno asciutto :
Talch'egli se n'irriga, e novo frutto
Fà di giustizia, e non sol fiori, e fronde.

Era un deserto ancor l'alma dogliosa,
Hor che 'l tuo corpo è l'onbra, e 'l lume un Sole
Signor l'hai fatto un Paradiso adorno.

Ove di carità vermiglia rosa
Hà di pura humiltà bianche viole,
E di sua castitate i gigli intorno.

(*Rime Spirituali* [vedi *supra*, p. 461, n. 4], p. 17).

[2] See G. Spera, Il sentimento religioso nella Gerusalemme, in the special work, Torquato Tasso, XXV. (Rome, 1895, April), 65 *seqq.*, and Dejob, 290 *seqq.*

[3] T. Tasso, Gerusalemme liberata, critical edition, by A. Solerti, II., 3, Florence, 1895 (Baumgartner, VI., 397).

It has been rightly pointed out to what a high degree the revival of Catholic consciousness was reflected in Tasso's immortal poem.[1] Like Petrus Angelus Bargaeus,[2] he too was of the opinion that it is better "to treat of an historical event in a Christian manner, than to seek by deceit for a glory that is unchristian." Therefore he did not draw his heroes from mythology, but from Christian history. It was the great Christian epoch that attracted him; and he gave his hero the impress of a true Christian. Blameless, brave, wise, humble, generous, careless of earthly glory, filled with the true faith and a deep love for Christ and his Church, Godfrey de Bouillon is put before us almost in the guise of a saint. By placing this hero in the forefront of his poem, Tasso fulfilled in a high degree the task of composing a Christian epopee.[3] He completely turned his back on ancient pagan mythology, except for a few passages of secondary importance. In his poem he accepted prodigies in the Christian sense as an indispensable part of epic poetry, but out of deference for Italian taste adopted a prudent middle course. Entirely Christian in sentiment is the struggle of Godfrey de Bouillon with his fanatical Mohammedan adversaries, which was willed by God, for which reason the paladins of God on earth must have by their side the great spirits of heaven, though they too must experience the operations of the enemies of God and of their followers. The whole power of hell is enlisted to turn aside the crusaders from their sublime goal, and it

[1] RANKE, Päpste I.[7], 323. For the way in which these descriptions of Ranke were entirely misrepresented by Voigt and Sauer, *cf.* BAUMGARTNER, VI., 364, n. 1. In like manner what is said by HETTNER (Ital. Studien, Brunswick, 1879, 300 *seq.*) of the relations of Tasso with the counter-reformation, is faulty.

[2] For the poem on the Crusades, "Svrias" by BARGÄUS, see Vol. XXII., of this work, p. 194.

[3] *Cf.* for what follows the excellent chapters in BAUMGARTNER, VI., 408 *seq.*, 412 *seq.*; for the Christian character of the epic see also RANKE, Ital. Poesie 57 *seq.*; NORRENBERG, *loc. cit.*, II, 98 *seq.*, 114; FLAMINI, Cinquecento, 518 *seq.*

can find no better weapon than an abandoned woman, to confound the noblest heroes with the pleasures of sense, until the strength of the enemy should be so increased as to render the conquest of Jerusalem impossible. But however great is the part played in the epic by the most powerful of all the passions, Love, by which the heroic song of the holy war is to a great extent transformed into a romance of chivalry, yet it is conceived and developed in an absolutely moral way. The transgressions of Rinaldo are not extolled in a single verse, and the latter abandons the beautiful she-devil Armida, who is depicted in the most vivid colours, and cleanses his conscience by confession to Peter the Hermit :

> But think not yet, impure with many a stain,
> In his high cause to lift thy hand profane.

All the Christian combatants too prepare themselves by confession and communion for the decisive attack. The assault begins : victory follows the standards of the Christian army : Armida herself, held back from her intended suicide by Rinaldo, is converted, and the poem, suddenly cut short, concludes with the celebrated strophe of the entry into Jerusalem :

> Thus conquer'd Godfrey, and as yet the day
> Gave from the western waves the parting ray :
> Swift to the walls the glorious victor rode,
> The domes where Christ had made His blest abode ;
> In sanguine vest, with all his princely train,
> The chief of chiefs then sought the sacred fane ;
> There o'er the hallowed tomb his arms display'd,
> And there to heaven his vow'd devotions paid.

In spite of its numerous episodes, the classical unity of the epic remains inviolate, for the recovery of the Sepulchre of the Saviour shines forth throughout as the dominant idea of the poem. The strong relief into which the religious aspect of the Crusade is thrown is not indeed in accordance with

history, but rather with the new spirit of religion which had become predominant in Italy.

When the inspired poet sang his song of *Gerusalemme liberata*, founded upon a great act of Christian heroism, he bestowed the aureole of poetry upon one of the most sublime aspects of the Catholic restoration, and upon the idea fostered by all the Popes of the time, the defence of Christendom against Islam. Tasso had been living as a young man in Rome on the glorious day of Lepanto, the greatest success ever won by Christian arms, and his celebrated poem reflects the jubilee that filled the Catholic world on that day.[1] The triumph that it met with was fully deserved, for it contained immortal beauties. Few creations of secular literature equal it in depth of conception, in the intensity and variety of its episodes, in the magnificent and impressive animation of its characters, in the strength and veracity of its descriptions of scenery, in its delicate touch of true lyric life, and in irresistible charm of style. It holds an eminent place in the splendid culture of the epoch of Catholic restoration.[2] It is no longer the worldly Ariosto, but the grave Tasso, so profoundly religious, who was the chosen poet of that time. Even in the XVIIth century the *Gerusalemme liberata* became the popular epic, and was printed and sung in all the principal dialects of Italy.[3] It

[1] See CIAN in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LXXVIII., 164. For the influence of the Gerusalemme liberata of Tasso on the part taken by Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in the war against the Turks, see *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XLII. (1915), 80 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* TROELTSCH in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CX., 548 *seq.*, who says: 'It was the Catholic culture of the counter-reformation which was the basis of the modern scientific-philosophical, juridical and aesthetic-artistic development, and not Protestantism.'' This view is opposed to Ranke, who maintains that the spiritual awakening of the Church helped indeed to elevate art, but had a repressive effect upon learning (Päpste, I.[7], 321), with which view the *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XXXVI., 1019 n. may also be compared.

[3] *Cf.* SALVIONI, La Divina Commedia, l'Orlando Furioso e la Gerusalemme liberata nelle versioni e nei travestimenti dialettali Bellinzona, 1902.

also became the inspiration of the music[1] and art[2] of the time.

[1] *Cf.* D'ANGELI, La Gerusalemme liberata nel melodramma, in *La cronaca musicale*, 1909, nn. 4, 5.

[2] The drawings of Bernardo Castelli (see BAGLIONE, 384, 395 *seq.*) for Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata were engraved by Agostino Caracci and Giovanni Fontana for the edition printed in 1590 at Genoa, see THIEME, VI., 147. The Caracci, Guido Reni and Guercino had a special predilection for the work of Tasso; *cf.* SOLERTI in the periodical *Emporium*, III. (1896), n. 16, where is dealt with, and in part reproduced the interesting series of frescoes by the disciples of the Caracci, of scenes of the Gerusalemme liberata in the Palazzo Rossi at Bologna (Via Mazzini, 29). F. MALAGUZZI VALERI treats in the *Rassegna d'arte*, VIII., 10 of the paintings of Tiepolo drawn from the Gerusalemme liberata.

CHAPTER XII.

Clement VIII. and Art.

Just as was the case with religion and politics, the long pontificate of Clement VIII. was a period of transition in the field of art, during which the older tendencies gradually gave way to new ones. Clement VIII. himself was inclined to the former, and among architects, besides Giovanni Fontana, he at first employed almost exclusively Giacomo della Porta; it was only when the latter died, in the autumn of 1602, that Carlo Maderna took his place.

In painting the Pope favoured, in the person of Giuseppe Cesari, known as the Cavaliere d'Arpino, the traditional classical school, while the naturalist Caravaggio was just beginning his career.[1] D'Arpino enjoyed the Pope's favour to such an extent that the painters whom he recommended, no matter how mediocre they were, received innumerable orders. It is still a mystery why Clement VIII. neglected to avail himself of the services of Caracci, whose talent was greater than that of all the rest. It is supposed that the strained relations between the Pope and the Farnese prejudiced him in this respect.[2] A contributory factor may have been that Clement VIII., unlike Sixtus V., was not a man with much initiative, so that even in artistic matters he always took into account the predominant greatness of his predecessor.

Immediately at the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII declared his intention of completing all the constructions

[1] In 1592 Caravaggio began to paint the Contarelli Chapel in the left-hand nave of S. Luigi de' Francesi; see *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV., 90 *seq.*; Voss, Malerei, 435, 441.

[2] So thinks Orbaan (Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 206).

begun under Sixtus V.[1] Among these the first place was taken by the bridge over the Tiber near Borghetto, which was of the greatest importance for the communications of Rome with the north. It is known that in connexion with this the enemies of Domenico Fontana accused the latter of irregularity in his account of the expenses.[2] In May, 1592, it was reported that a revision of all the accounts of the celebrated and favourite architect of Sixtus V. had been ordered, and it was asserted that many of Fontana's constructions, in order to gain money, had been badly carried out.[3] Sixtus V. too was undoubtedly responsible for certain defects of construction, as he was always urging haste. It is easy to understand how it was that Fontana, who was deeply offended, retired, and then left Rome in order to go in 1596 to Naples.[4] His place, as the real architect of the new Pope, was taken by Giacomo della Porta, who in the time of Sixtus V. had successfully completed the cupola of St. Peter's, and had thus acquired a great reputation.

One of the principal cares of Clement VIII. was the completion of the basilica of St. Peter's. It was characteristic of the skilled jurist that the Pope should have set his hand to the reorganization of the commission of the Fabbrica di S.

[1] *" N.Sre ha dato parola che si finischino tutte le fabriche incominciate da Sisto V. tra le quali si finisce hora il ponte del Borghetto et certe altre strutture." Avviso of February 12, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* ORBAAN in *Bollet. d'arte*, 1915. For the bridge see *infra*, p. 489.

[3] *" Si riveggono i conti al cavalier Fontana di fabriche e strutture, che si pretende siano state malfatte di materie vili et poco utile et per avanzare spesa." Avviso of May 13, 1592, *loc. cit.*

[4] See ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 230, who corrects the account of BAGLIONE (p. 80). *Ibid.* a reproduction of the sepulchral monument to Fontana, erected in 1627, twenty years after his death, in S. Anna dei Lombardi at Naples, the inscription on which extolls him as "Summus Romae architectus—magna molitus maiora potuit."

Pietro,[1] set up by Clement VII. for the administration of the revenues of the basilica. As the clumsy system of a college of sixty members had not been found practicable, Clement VIII. dissolved it, and following the example of the Congregation created by Sixtus V., he set up a special "Congregazione della rev. Fabbrica di S. Pietro," which was given judicial powers for carrying out its duties.[2]

After the lantern of the cupola of St. Peter's had been placed in position in the time of Gregory XIV., Clement VIII., before anything else, had the whole of the immense construction covered, in order to protect it from the weather, with strips of lead, joined at the edges by bands of gilt bronze.[3]

Sebastiano Torrigiani, who from the time of Gregory XIII. had superintended the Papal foundry, was ordered to cast the colossal metal ball, in which there is room for sixteen persons, and the great cross connected with it, which, richly gilt, was to crown the summit of the cupola of St. Peter's.[4] This work was completed in the autumn of 1593. According to the original intention of the Pope, the sign of the triumph of Christianity was to have been erected on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th),[5] but in the end Clement VIII. decided upon the day of the Dedication of the basilica (November 18th). On that memorable morning the Pope, accompanied by Cardinals Gesualdo, Medici, Toledo and Cinzio Aldobrandini, went to St. Peter's. After a prayer before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, and at the Confession, he went to the Gregorian Chapel, where the bronze cross had been erected at the Gospel side of the high altar. There he first consecrated two caskets intended for the arms

[1] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 352.

[2] See Bull. bash. Vatic. III., 333. *Cf.* PHILLIPS, VI., 675; HINSCHIUS, I., 482. The bull itself has not so far been found, not even in the archives of the Fabbrica, it was already missing in the time of Benedict XIV.

[3] See ROCCA, Bibl. Vatic., App. 416; ORBAAN, Documenti, 48 n

[4] See BAGLIONE, 324. *Cf.* O. POLLAK in the supplement to the *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI. (1915), 80 *seq.*

[5] See *Avviso of September 15, 1593, Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.*

of the cross, containing relics and Agnus Dei, and then blessed the cross itself with the prayers of the ritual. He then celebrated mass. After the Pope had retired to his own apartments, the workmen set to work on erecting the cross. When towards evening the work was completed, all the bells were rung and the roar of the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo burst forth. In the piazza of St. Peter's, where the Capella Giulia intoned hymns, the canons and all the other clergy of the basilica were assembled. The singing of the Te Deum completed the ceremony.[1]

The internal decoration of the dome had at first been assigned by the members of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's to Cristofano Roncalli, but Clement VIII. entrusted it to the Cavaliere d'Arpino.[2] The latter had already been in the service of Sixtus V., and after the death of that Pope in that of Cardinal Santori. With Clement VIII. his period of celebrity began; the Pope conferred many distinctions on him and took him with him to Ferrara.[3] D'Arpino designed for the interior of the dome of St. Peter's a scheme of decoration that was as beautiful as it was suitable. The sixteen spaces of the dome, which rise in diminishing width between the great gilt ribs, were each divided into four large rectangular spaces, and two smaller round ones; these were filled with mosaic pictures on a gold ground, the subjects of which form a magnificent "Sursum corda." In the topmost ring there are beautiful heads of angels; in the next, angels in adoration; then more heads of angels, and then angels with the instruments of the Passion of Our Lord; below these, on a larger scale, are Christ, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the choir of the Apostles, and lastly half-figures of the Popes and saints whose relics are preserved in St. Peter's. In the vault of the lantern is the figure of God the Father in the act of benediction, and on the ring which completes the dome the

[1] See in App. n. 1 the *report of Alaleone. *Cf.* also *Avviso of November 20, 1593, Urb. 1061, *loc. cit.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 290.

[3] See Sobotka in THIEME, VI., 310. *Cf.* also VOSS, II., 578.

inscription: S. PETRI GLORIAE SIXTUS P.P. V. ANNO 1590, PONTIFICATUS V.[1]

It is a striking proof of the strong sense of justice of Clement VIII., that though he was as a rule keenly anxious to immortalise his own name,[2] in this case he left to his predecessor the honour that belonged to him; this he also did in another way; the ribs, which are covered with gold stars on a blue ground, end in a lion's head in bronze, the arms of Sixtus V.

Quite a large number of artists, among them Francesco Zucchi, Cesare Torelli, Paolo Rossetti, and Marcello Provenzale were employed in executing the mosaics designed by d'Arpino,[3] a work which was only completed under Paul V. Cartoons by Giovanni de'Vecchi and Cesare Nebbia served as models for the enormous mosaic pictures of the Evangelists in the angles of the four pilasters.[4] To all this there was added, as a completion of the dome, as dignified as it was huge, on the gold ground of a frieze two metres in height, and in letters of dark blue mosaic, the words of institution of the Papacy: TU ES PETRUS ET SUPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM.

Contemporaneously with the decoration of the cupola, the pavement of the new basilica was raised, thus forming the crypt, or the so-called "Grotte Vaticane."[5]

From the autumn of 1592 work was in progress on the erection of a new altar under the dome, and over the tomb of St. Peter. Giacomo della Porta employed ancient marbles for this,[6] and the consecration took place with great solemnity. This was on June 26th, 1594, after the old and the new basilica

[1] See BAGLIONE, 372; PISTOLESI, II., 256; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, I., tav. 30 (coloured); *cf.* tav. 22 and 28.

[2] *Cf.* Avviso of November 10, 1604, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 47 n.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 102, 129, 170, 349. *Cf.* POLLAK, *loc. cit.* 72 *seq.*, 75.

[4] See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.* 46 n.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 324.

[6] See LANCIANI, IV., 181. *Cf.* ORBAAN, *loc. cit.* 47 n.

had been richly adorned. All the Cardinals assisted and a great part of the Roman clergy, together with the confraternities of the city. The Pope himself consecrated the altar, in which was enclosed that erected in 1123 by Calixtus II., and granted a plenary indulgence on that occasion.[1] On the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul he celebrated high mass at the new altar.[2]

During the course of the work on the new pavement, archæological discoveries of great interest were made near the Confession. Some ancient inscriptions were found,[3] as well as some ancient Christian memorials. The vague statement of Francesco Maria Torrigio, that in 1594 the Pope and several Cardinals had seen, through an opening made by chance, the bronze tomb of St. Peter with the gold cross above it, is quite improbable.[4] But what was seen at that time was quite another matter; at the altar of Calixtus II. openings were made beyond which there was another still older altar, enclosed within it, which was ascribed to St. Sylvester. Clement VIII. had these openings closed, so reports the contemporary writer, Giacomo Grimaldi.[5]

A monument that undoubtedly belonged to the ancient Christian era came to light in October, 1597, when, under the new altar, it was intended to crect another still deeper down, in the Confession, which was to open directly upon the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. On this occasion an ancient

[1] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. lat. 2871, Vatican Library; *Liber rerum memorab. basil. Vatic.; extract in *Miscell.*, VII., 45, p. 194, Papal Secret Archives; *Avvisi of June 11 and 29, 1594, Urb. 1062, *loc. cit* The simple inscription on the altar, still preserved, in BARBIER, II., 439.

[2] See *Avviso of June 29, 1594, Urb. 1062, *loc. cit.*

[3] See LANCIANI, IV., 181 *seq.*

[4] See DUCHESNE in Mél. d'archéol., 1915, 9 *seqq.*, where however the consecration of the altar is wrongly placed on July 26. Wilpert (La tomba di san Pietro, 1922) follows (p. 30) the opinion of Duchesne.

[5] See CERRATI, Tiberii Alpharani de basil. Vatic. structura liber, p. 27 *seq.*; *cf.* DUCHESNE, *loc. cit.*

sarcophagus in Parian marble, richly adorned with sculpture, was discovered. This contained the bones of the Prefect of the City, Junius Bassus, who, according to the inscription, "went to God while still a neophyte under the consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius" namely in the year 359.[1]

Clement VIII. followed with the greatest interest the works in St. Peter's. So as to be able to visit the Confession undisturbed and pray there, a subterranean passage was excavated from the Vatican, which was afterwards walled up.[2] In the spring of 1595 he twice visited the works in St. Peter's. In June, 1598, the wood-work of the roof of the ancient basilica, which was still standing, and which threatened to fall over the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, was repaired. The Pope went to see the completion of this work in October, 1601.[3]

The large lateral chapel in the right hand nave, facing the Gregorian Chapel, was richly adorned at this time with marbles, mosaic and stucco, and given the name of Clement VIII. Giacomo della Porta superintended the work, to the satisfaction of the Pope, whose arms in mosaic appear in the vaulting of the cupola there. The mosaic figures were designed by Christofano Roncalli.[4] These works were substantially completed in the Holy Year, 1600;[5] in the mosaic of the pavement may be read the year 1601.[6]

[1] See the report of the discovery in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XVII., 77 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* XXI., 121 *seq.*, and 1914, 5 *seq.*; also GRISAR, I., 432 *seq.*, and DE WAAL, Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus in den Grotten von St. Peter, Rome, 1900. In 1597 Clement VIII. gave Torquato Conti a portrait in mosaic of his ancestor Innocent III., which was in St. Peter's, and is now in the Villa Catena near Poli; see *Arte cristiana*, 1916, 116 *seq.*

[2] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 48 n.

[3] See *ibid.* 46 n., 47 n.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 81, 290 (*cf.* 114); also D'ACHILLE, I sepolcri dei Romani Pontefici, Rome, 1867, 18, 21 *seqq.*; MIGNANTI, II., 50. *Cf.* the periodical *Roma*, 1925, 519.

[5] See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 119. *Cf.* POLLAK, *loc. cit.*, 111 *seq.*

[6] See FORCELLA, VI., 118.

Later on the Pope had the idea of translating the relics of St. Clement to the Clementine Chapel, which, like that corresponding to it, is as large as an imposing church.[1] At the beginning of 1596 he had given another precious relic to the basilica of St. Peter's, namely the head of St. Damasus.[2]

The Aldobrandini Pope, under whom the regular meetings of the Accademia of painting of St. Luke had been begun on November 14th, 1593,[3] must also be given the credit of having begun the decoration of the basilica of St. Peter's with altar-pieces. Cardinal Baronius, who appears to have been the artistic adviser of Clement VIII., suggested the subjects for these. In order to obtain works worthy of the size and dignity of the place, the various painters of Rome and central Italy were consulted. None of these, however, were able to equal the simple and grandiose art with which Muziano had discharged his task in the two gigantic paintings in the Gregorian Chapel.[4] Cristofano Roncalli depicted the punishment of Ananias, Francesco Vani the fall of Simon Magus, Domenico Passignano the crucifixion of St. Peter, Lodovico Cigoli the lame man cured by St. Peter, Bernardo Castelli St. Peter leaving the ship and adoring the Redeemer, Giovanni Baglione the raising to life of Tabitha.[5] All these pictures were later on replaced by copies in mosaic.

[1] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 47 n.

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*; *Avviso of November 3, 1596, Urb. 1064, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 116; CANCELLIERI, De secret., 1673.

[3] See MISSIRINI, Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca, Rome, 1823, 27 *seqq.*; HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden en Italie, 's Gravenhage, 1913, 61. Other associations of native artists formed the little academy of Fed. Zuccaro, in the latter's house, and the confraternity of the "Virtuosi al Pantheon," which held its meetings high up under the roof of the Pantheon; see Vol. XII. of this work, p. 574, and ORBAAN in *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.*, XXXVII. (1915), 17 *seq.*

[4] See VOSS, II., 433 *seq.*

[5] See BAGLIONE, 110 *seq.*, 153, 284, 290 *seq.* *Cf.* THIEME, II., 356; VOSS, II., 404, 514.

It was a serious loss to the Pope when in 1602 Giacomo della Porta died, the master who had opened out the way to the earliest baroque. Then Giovanni Fontana and his nephew Carlo Maderno,[1] became the architects of the basilica of St. Peter's. Maderno, who soon afterwards appears as the official state architect, did not follow the severe and rather harsh taste of his uncle and master, but continued to develop the style of Giacomo della Porta.[2]

After the basilica of St. Peter's, it was above all that of the Lateran to which Clement VIII. devoted his attention. It is a matter for congratulation that Giacomo della Porta, to whom this task was entrusted, proceeded with such careful consideration for architectural forms that these were still preserved.[3] The work was begun in the summer of 1592.[4] With this restoration was connected also a sumptuous decoration of the basilica. First of all the chapel of the Confession was constructed in 1594, the altar of which was decorated.[5] In the same year the ceiling of the transverse nave was gilt.[6] In July, 1596, still grander plans for the decoration of the basilica were under consideration, on which 40,000 scudi were to be expended.[7] In 1597 the decoration of the transverse nave with paintings, gilding and statues was begun; the appearance of that part of the church was, however, so greatly changed that it was henceforward known as the "Nave Clementina."[8] The supreme direction was in the hands of d'Arpino.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 131, 308 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 309 *seq.* *Cf.* MUÑOZ, C. Maderno, Rome, 1922.

[3] See LAUER, Latran, 326.

[4] See *Avviso of June 24, 1592, according to which the cost was divided between the Pope and the chapter, Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.*

[5] See RASPONI, 49; FORCELLA, VIII., 46.

[6] *Contract between the Apostolic Camera and the gilders Giulio di Giov. Batt. Caporali Perugino and Camillo di Bernardo Spallucci Fiorentino, dated June 28, 1594, Not. L. Calderinus, 1594, p. 478. Notarial Archives, Rome.

[7] See Avviso of July 3, 1596, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 130 n.

[8] *Cf.* LANCIANI, Wanderings through ancient Roman Churches, Boston, 1924, 210.

The view of contemporaries as to the position of this artist is characterized by an anecdote left to us by Joachim Sandrart. This states that the Pope, having once received as a gift from a Dutch merchant a barrel of beer, offered his protégé a glass of this beverage, then almost unknown in Italy. After a few sips d'Arpino refused the glass with thanks, whereupon Clement VIII. finished it at a draught.[1]

The monumental frescoes with which the transverse nave was decorated were planned in the form of tapestries, the walls below being decorated with plastic figures in small niches surmounted by a tympanum. Everywhere may be seen the name and arms of Clement VIII. D'Arpino employed very second-rate painters to execute the frescoes. Christofano Roncalli painted the Baptism of Constantine, Giovanni Baglione the Donation of that Emperor, Giovan Battista da Novara the laying of the first stone of the basilica. D'Arpino himself, in addition to other decorations and the putti with garlands of fruit near the figures between the windows, painted on the south wall of the transverse nave, on a gigantic scale, the Ascension of Jesus Christ.[2]

In the place of the doorway leading into the cloister, there was erected from the designs of Pier Paolo Olivieri, the majestic altar of the Blessed Sacrament.[3] It was in February, 1598, soon after the Te Deum in thanksgiving for the acquisition of Ferrara had been sung in the ancient basilica, that the Pope gave orders for the construction of this work of art, which was to be great and imposing.[4] He insisted on its being speedily completed. Already by the middle of March, one of the gigantic fluted columns of gilt bronze, which were to support the tympanum, which was also of metal, had been

[1] See ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 30 *seq.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 60, 89, 102, 117, 147, 149, 290, 371, 401; CIACONIUS, IV., 266; SCHUDT, Mancini, 71. More recent restorations have to some extent considerably altered the frescoes; 130, 151; ORTOLANI, *loc. cit.* 56 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS, II., 566, 586.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 60, 76. *Cf.* RASPONI, 59, 107, and the accounts in LAUER, 617 *seqq.*

[4] See *Avviso of February 7, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

erected.[1] These columns had originally stood between the apse and the high altar, and it was said that they had been erected by the Emperor Constantine. They were in any case very ancient, though the statement given in an inscription of the time of Nicolas IV., that they had been brought to Rome with the rest of the booty taken from the Holy Land by Titus, is not proved.[2]

The altar of the Blessed Sacrament is itself composed of precious marbles; the two columns at the sides are of verde antique, and the tabernacle being very richly decorated. The designer of the whole was the Roman, Pompeo Targone.[3] Clement VIII., with significant symbolism, had the niches at the sides of the altar filled with statues of Melchisedech, Moses, Aaron and Elias, as "types" of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The two first named were executed by Dutch artists,[4] and the statute of Elias, which was begun by Pier Paolo Olivieri, was completed by Camillo Mariani.[5] Above the niches were placed reliefs of scenes from the Old Testament, also relating to the Holy Eucharist.

At the beginning of 1599 all was completed, but the Pope was not entirely satisfied, a proof that he was not lacking in artistic perception. He found fault with the architectural construction, and with the fact that the altar was placed at the south end of the transverse nave, so that it was not possible to see it on entering the church. He also made other criticisms, rightly seeing that the variegated and busy background

[1] *"Il Papa sollecita che sia finita la nuova capella in S. Giovanni Laterano per il Santissimo, ove si trasferi domenica per vederne la riuscita restando sodisfatto si della architettura come delle vaghezze che già si vede con tutto che non si sia drizzata se non una di quelle colonne di bronzo tutta dorata." Avviso of March 14, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.*

[2] See GRISAR, I., 786.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 329 *seq.*

[4] Niccolò d'Arras and Egidio Fiammingo; see BAGLIONE, 67, 69. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 312 n.; LAUER, 618.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 113 *seq.* *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. Veneziani, 26.

of the marbles killed the effect of the magnificent structure of the columns.[1]

The decoration of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament was completed by placing in a niche above it a much venerated relic of the earliest times. This was a table in cedar wood, which it was believed had been used by Our Divine Redeemer at the Last Supper.[2] In front of the relic was placed a bas-relief in silver representing that event, and supported by two angels.[3] This work, in which a thousand pounds of silver were used, was completed in the April of the Holy Year, 1600.[4]

A bull of February 12th, 1600, arranged for the establishment of certain chaplaincies, the patronage of which was reserved to the Aldobrandini family.[5] Two commemorative coins recorded this foundation,[6] by which the Pope gave expression to his veneration for the Holy Eucharist.

The transverse nave of the Lateran Basilica was also furnished with a new pavement in coloured marbles by Clement VIII. In this, as in the rest of the decorations, the material was supplied by the old structure.[7]

In order to balance the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, at the other end of the transverse nave, over the entrance door, Clement VIII. caused to be built, by the Perugian Luca Blasio, a new organ, which surpassed in size and magnificence all others in Rome. The Milanese Giovan Battista Mantano executed the gallery, with artistic decorations and rich gilding.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 6, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ORTOLANI, *loc. cit.* 61.

[2] See LAUER, 326 n. *Cf.* BARBIER, II., 345 *seq.*

[3] This masterpiece, which cost 12,000 gold scudi (see CIACONIUS, IV., 266) was stolen by the French at the beginning of the XIXth century. The bas-relief is by Curzio Vanni; see MARTINELLI, 151.

[4] See *Avviso of April 22, 1600, Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*

[5] See LAUER, 639.

[6] See BONANNI, II., 464 *seq.*

[7] See RODOCANACHI, Les monuments de Rome, 75. *Cf.* *Avviso of July 23, 1597, in App. n. 10.

This rested upon two antique columns, between which was the entrance door, adorned with the arms of Clement VIII. Over the two side doors were placed half busts of David and Ezechias, executed by another Milanese artist, Ambrogio Buonvicino.[1]

The Pope contributed to all the expenses from his privy purse. The ceiling of the canons' sacristy was also adorned with frescoes by Giovanni Alberti, who endeavoured to relieve the gloomy character of that place.[2] Yet another decoration of the Lateran Basilica which was projected by Clement VIII., according to what we are told by Baglione, was prevented by the slowness with which the paintings in the transverse nave progressed.[3] The Pope showed great delight with the Ascension of Christ by d'Arpino, which was finished in the summer of 1600, and gave expression to this by the gifts which he bestowed upon the artist.[4] A gold coin and other medals immortalized the decoration of the Lateran Basilica,[5] which was further supplied with costly sacred vessels.[6] As a mark of their gratitude the canons set up a bust of the Pope in bronze, which is still preserved.[7]

[1] See BAGLIONE, 60, 111, 171. *Cf.* LAUER, 617 *seqq.*; BONANNI, II., 465; ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 123; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 344 *seq.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 60, 70. *Cf.* VOSS, II., 529; POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XI., 134. Ciampelli painted on the walls the miracle of the water and the martyrdom of Clement I. See TITI, 216. Over the entrance to the sacristy are the arms and a bronze bust of Clement VIII. *Cf.* ORTOLANI, *loc. cit.*, 62, 67.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 60, 356. The Lateran basilica was seriously damaged in May, 1602, by a thunderbolt, which necessitated costly repairs; see *Avviso of May 14, 1602, Urb. 1070, *loc. cit.* The accounts in LAUER, 617 *seq.*, cover the period from 1597 to 1601. The inscriptions on the altar of the Blessed Sacrament and the organ are of 1598 (see FORCELLA, VIII., 48).

[4] See BAGLIONE, 371.

[5] See BONANNI, II., 464 *seq.*; MARTINORI, 6. For the other works in the Lateran Basilica *cf.* also ORTOLANI, *loc. cit.*, 55.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 266.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 326. The inscription in FORCELLA, VIII., 48.

Inscriptions and coats of arms show that Clement VIII. also devoted his attention to the restoration and embellishment of the two side chapels in the Lateran Baptistery, erected by Pope Hilary, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. Fortunately the mosaics were still intact. The decoration in grotesque was carried out by Giovanni Alberti. D'Arpino supplied the two pictures for the altars, taking their subjects from the history of St. John the Evangelist.[1]

At St. Mary Major's Clement VIII. restored the mosaics in the principal nave, and the organ, and to balance this had the wall of the church, above the tomb of Nicolas IV., decorated.[2] He also gave the ancient picture of the Madonna, attributed to St. Luke, a crown of brilliants, which was placed there in his presence.[3]

In 1600 he restored to the ancient cardinalitial deaconry of S. Cesareo, called *in Palatio* from the neighbouring Baths of Caracalla, the titular dignity which had been taken away by Sixtus V.[4] This church was in such a ruinous condition that Clement VIII. had almost entirely to reconstruct it, as is attested by the inscription in an ornate frame placed over the entrance.[5] The canonical visitation of the churches of Rome,[6] and later on the Holy Year, prompted the restoration of S. Maria della Rotonda

[1] See BAGLIONE, 70, 371 (*cf.* 321); FORCELLA, VIII., 46 *seq.*; LAUER, 326.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 60; ADINOLFI, II., 162.

[3] See *Avviso of July 5, 1597, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.*

[4] See FORCELLA, XII., 253; *Inventario*, I., 258; BAGLIONE (Nove chiese, Rome, 1639, 63) mentions works executed by Clement VIII. at St. Paul's outside the Walls. For the restoration of S. Maria in Monticelli see AZZURRI, S. Maria in Monticelli, Rome, 1860, 29; for those at S. Michele in Sassia see TOTTI, 38.

[5] See FORCELLA, XII., 254. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 60; *Inventario*, I., 258; *Payments of 1597, 1601, and 1602, in Depos. gen., State Archives, Rome.

[6] *Cf.* CAVAZZI, S. Maria in Via Lata, Rome, 1908, 198.

(the Pantheon),[1] S. Angelo in Pescheria,[2] S. Nicolò de' Lorenesi,[3] and SS. Cosma e Damiano,[4] which was done at the expense of the Pope, who also provided the endowment for the monastery of the Carthusians in Rome.[5]

The church of the Dominicans, S. Maria sopra Minerva, was adorned with a beautiful work of filial piety. In the fifth chapel of the left-hand nave were buried the parents of Clement VIII., and in the spring of 1600 the Pope formed the plan of adorning this tomb more richly.[6] The direction of the work, in which were employed many coloured marbles taken from ancient monuments, was entrusted to Giacomo della Porta,[7] who also designed the beautiful monument which Clement VIII. erected at S. Maria sopra Minerva to his "old friend" Emilio Pucci, commandant of the Papal fleet, who died in 1595.[8] Painters were also employed for

[1] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 129, 130. *Cf.* *Avviso of July 23, 1597, in App. n. 10, ADINOLFI, II., 412 *seq.* In the museum of the Pantheon there is an inscription recording the restoration, with the arms of Clement VIII. and the date 1600; *ibid.* an inscription of Cardinal Aldobrandini.

[2] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 332.

[3] See *ibid.*

[4] *Payments of 1601 and 1602 in Depos. gen., State Archives, Rome. This restoration was made in order to repair the damage done by a thunderbolt; see *Avviso of December 25, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Reply to a letter of thanks from the General of the Order, August 9, 1604, which states: "Loci amoenitas multas habet delectationes: Aptae dispositae res, aedificii amplitudo, opus elegans praeclarumque animum oblectant maxime. Sed haec humana. Illud Nos christiana afficit voluptate, quod illic coetus angelorum existimamus, solitudinem esse pro frequentia, silentium instar vocum suavissimarum, ad similitudinem denique coelestis patriae prope accedere omnia" (Arm. 44, t. 46, p. 298b, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* also LANCIANI, II., 147 *seq.*

[6] See *Avviso of April 22, 1600, Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*

[7] See BAGLIONE, 81.

[8] See FORCELLA, L., 477; BERTHIER, Minerve, 147 (with wrong date 1590). An *Avviso of February 19, 1597, says:

the decoration of the family chapel: Cherubino Alberti represented in the vaulting of the ceiling the triumph of the Holy Cross,[1] while Federico Barocci painted the altar-piece, the Last Supper. In the niches at the side of the altar were placed statues of the Princes of the Apostles, executed by Camillo Mariani of Vicenza.[2]

The tombs of the Pope's parents were executed by Guglielmo della Porta, a son of the architect. These show a like composition, though without repeating each other. Four precious columns, which support an architrave adorned with figures of angels, form the frame, and in the middle the sarcophagus with the half recumbent figures of the deceased; at the base there are inscriptions inspired by filial piety, and between the columns on either side a statue symbolizing one of the virtues.[3] The figure of the Pope's mother, Luisa Deti, represents a venerable matron, holding in one hand a prayer book, and in the other a rosary. It was a sculptor from Lorraine, Nicolas Cordier, who created this masterpiece. He too was responsible for the statue of Love, with charming children. The corresponding statue, Religion, the extraordinary beauty of which is extolled by Baglione, is the work of Camillo Mariani.[4] Opposite, on the right-hand side, is the tomb of Silvestro Aldobrandini, a work of art worthy of standing beside that of his wife, together with whom he had brought up his five sons so successfully.[5] Cordier has represented him as a grave old man with a long beard, holding in

"Si è scoperto nella chiesa della Minerva un bellissimo deposito fatto fare da N.S. di finissima pietra al morto commendatore Pucci," Urb. 1065. *loc. cit.*

[1] See BAGLIONE, 132. *Cf.* BERTHIER, 110 *seqq.*; VOSS, II., 529, 530. A *payment to Cherubino Alberti, January 10, 1605, in Depos. gen. State Archives, Rome.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 113. *Cf.* SCHMERBER, Ital. Malerie, 179.

[3] See BERTHIER, 114, where there are reproductions of the sepulchral monuments. *Cf.* also LITTA, fasc. 66, and MUÑOZ, Roma barocca, 56.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 113, 115. For N. Cordier *cf.* THIEME, VII., 401.

[5] *Cf.* FORCELLA, I., 454, 455.

his right hand a written scroll, while his left arm rests upon two cushions placed upon folio volumes, in allusion to the legal attainments of Silvestro; at the sides are representations of the two virtues which distinguished the life of this hard-working man, Prudence and Fortitude. The author of these magnificent statues was probably Nicolas Cordier. The heads of the angels in the tympanum were executed by Stefano Maderno,[1] while the statue of the Pope placed in the niche on the wall, to the left of the altar, was the work of Ippolito Buzzi.[2] Clement VIII. is represented standing, with his right hand raised blessing the tombs of his dear ones; the tiara lies at his feet. This statue is balanced on the other side of the altar by that of St. Sebastian, the patron of the Aldobrandini family, also executed by Cordier.[3]

Clement VIII. took the livliest interest in the decoration of the chapel to his parents. First in June, and again in October, 1602,[4] he visited the works, which, after the death of Giacomo della Porta, were directed by Carlo Maderno. The first visit which he made, after a serious illness, in March, 1604, was to this chapel;[5] he personally gave directions for the placing of the statues,[6] which he had already inspected in Cordier's studio.[7] In December he returned once more.[8] Six weeks before his death the Pope was to be seen praying in tears for an hour at his mother's tomb,[9] which was not yet quite finished.[10]

[1] See BAGLIONE, 345; THIEME, VII., 403.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 341. Reproduction in BERTHIER, 110. For Buzzi see THIEME, V., 313.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 115; BERTHIER, 113.

[4] See *Avvisi of June 13 and October 23, 1602, Urb. 1070, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *report of Giov. Batt. Thesis, March 20, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 208 n.

[6] See *Avviso of August 7, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[7] See BAGLIONE, 116.

[8] See *Avviso of December 8, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[9] See *Avviso of January 19, 1605, Urb. 1073, *loc. cit.* The chapel was completely finished in 1611; see ORBAAN, Documenti, 187.

[10] See the inscription in FORCELLA, I., 454, according to which Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini finished the tomb, as well as that of

Two colleges in Rome owe their foundation to Clement VIII.; that of the Scots and the "Clementinum." The former, a national college for the training of priests, was established in the Holy Year, 1600.[1] The establishment of the "Collegium Clementinum" which was intended for the education of youths of the aristocracy, took place in 1595. The first rector of this institution, which was entrusted to the Somaschi, who in 1600 were given a house of their own in the Piazza Nicosia, was the Neapolitan Giulio Cesare Volpino, at that time the Pope's confessor.[2]

Of the other works carried out in Rome by the Pope, mention must also be made of the column commemorating the return of Henry IV. to the Church,[3] the restoration of the beautiful fountain in front of S. Maria in Trastevere,[4] various works at the Castle of St. Angelo,[5] the erection of a larger building for the Monte di Pietà,[6] as well as the restoration of the Ponte S. Angelo and the Ponte Molle.[7]

It was only natural that Clement VIII. should have given orders, soon after the beginning of his pontificate, for the completion of the Vatican Palace begun by Sixtus V.[8] The

Cardinal M. Bonelli (see *ibid.* 486). P. M. Felini (Trattato di cose mem. di Roma, 1610) speaks of the Aldobrandini Chapel as "unfinished"; in the edition of 1615, p. 93, it is spoken of as "just finished."

[1] The college was originally situated facing S. Maria in Costantinopoli; after 1604 in its present site facing the Palazzo Barberini; see Moroni, XIV., 212.

[2] See O. M. Paltrinieri, L'elogio del Collegio Clementino, Rome, 1795; G. Donnino, I convittori illustri del Collegio Clementino, Rome, 1898, 11 *seqq.* *Cf.* Moroni, XIV., 156. The inscription, removed since 1870, in Ciaconius, IV., 267.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 137.

[4] See Baglione, 61; Ciaconius, IV., 274.

[5] See Baglione, 325; Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 189; Lanciani. IV., 84; Orbaan, Documenti, 138 n. *Cf.* Forcella, XIII., 147,

[6] See the inscription in Forcella, XIII., 177.

[7] *Payments for this in Depos. gen. 1599, State Archives, Rome. *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 267.

[8] *Cf.* Fontana, Trasportatione, II., 11 and tav. 11. *Cf.* Ehrle, La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del tempio e palazzo

history of this imposing building can still to-day be reconstructed from its external appearance. The windows with their coats of arms recall the Pope who planned it, while under the cornice are those of the one who completed it.[1] The ceiling and the roof itself were, according to an inscription, finished in 1595.[2] Since the work of furnishing this five-storeyed edifice, which included eighty-five large halls, lasted until the end of 1596, at first the older parts of the palace had to be used to live in; of these the rooms of Pius IV. in the Belvedere were especially adorned.[3]

By the advice of his doctors, and also for the convenience of the Curia, Clement VIII. passed the first two summers of his pontificate at the palace of S. Marco, which, however, in

Vaticano, Rome, 1914, 12 *seq.* The *Conventiones super fabrica palatii Vaticani, dated August 25, 1593, in Arch. dei segret. di Camera (Protoc. 369, Anno 1593, Not. L. Carderini, Notarial Archives, Rome) covenanted between the "Thesaurarius Barth. Caesius" and the "Magister Ant. del Puteo in urbe murator."

[1] See ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 206.

[2] See TAJA, 494.

[3] *S.B. fa abbellire le stanze di Pio IV. in Belvedere per andarvi tal volta a ricreatione (Avviso of March 18, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* the accounts in ORBAAN, Documenti, 52. Near the sacristy of the Sixtine Chapel is the following inscription, adorned with the arms of the Pope:

Clemens VIII P.M.
Tria cubicula
infimum medium et superum
ambo totidemque ambulatiunculas
cochlides et otriolum
Apostolico sacrario adiecit.
F. Ang. Rocca Camerte Ep. T.
Eiusdem sacrarii praefecto
Postulante
Anno Dom. MDCIV.

The treasure chamber of the Sixtine Chapel still preserves a magnificent chasuble of Clement VIII., a gift from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the only vestment which was not looted by the French.

its neglected state, was but ill adapted for the purpose.[1] Therefore the summers of 1594 to 1596 were to a great extent passed at the Quirinal, whither the Pope had already gone to live for a time in February, 1593, so that he might rest a little.[2] He there carried on the new building, which he had adorned with paintings by Cherubino Alberti and Paul Bril.[3] In the gardens, grottos, fountains and hydraulic devices were constructed, the latter being greatly in vogue at that time, and among which an hydraulic organ especially attracted attention. Sometimes the Pope received the ambassadors and persons of distinction in the garden, and on those occasions the best musicians of the day performed their compositions.[4]

In February, 1595, Clement VIII. gave orders for the hastening of the works at the new Vatican Palace;[5] he wished to see these finished by Easter, but this did not prove possible.[6] The halls there gave him the greatest satisfaction,[7] but it was not until the end of October, 1596, that the palace could be made use of as a winter residence.[8] Since, during the

[1] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 113.

[2] See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 113. In July, 1594, Clement VIII. removed to the palace of SS. Apostoli, as the heat was overpowering even at the Quirinal; see *Avviso of July 20, 1594 Urb. 1062, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* PARUTA, II., 373.

[3] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 153; HOOGEWERFF, Nederl, Schilders, 247.

[4] *Cf.* PARUTA, I., 202; BAGLIONE, 61; LANCIANI, IV., 99; GOTHEIN, I., 314; HÜLSEN, Antikengarten, 93; ORBAAN, Documenti, 153 n., 159 n. *Mededeel. v.h. Nederl. Hist. Institut.*, II. (1922), 118. For the fountain of the Nicchione, with its fairly well preserved hydraulic organ, see DAMI, 41; BAGLIONE, edit. 1642, p. 61; MORONI, L., 233, and for its frescoes of the Old and New Testaments *cf.* also DAMI in *Bollett. d'arte* XIII. (1919), 114 *seq.* *Ibid.* for the Fontana del Nano, to be seen on Maggi's plan. *Cf.* also G. B. DE ROSSI and A. D. TANI, Le fontane di Roma, Rome, s.d.

[5] See *Avviso of February 4, 1595, Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Avviso of March 1, 1595, *ibid.*

[7] See *Avviso of July 8, 1595, *ibid.*

[8] See *Avvisi of October 30, 1596, and January 7, 1597, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 52 n.

summer of 1596 many members of the Pope's entourage had fallen seriously ill with fever, it became necessary to return once more to the palace of S. Marco during the hot weather, though, in order to enjoy the magnificent gardens, frequent visits were paid to the Quirinal.[1] In 1599 the Pope intended to spend the whole of the summer at the Vatican, but in August all those who were not living on the sunny side fell ill, among them Baronius. The Pope therefore went in September to the Quirinal, but only remained there until the end of October, which he also did in the following years, since the doctors had told him that residence at the Vatican suited him better than anywhere else.[2] The latter then became the principal palace,[3] and visits to the Lateran were only rarely made.[4]

Two of the halls in the Vatican are still preserved in the same state as when they were decorated by Clement VIII. One of these is the Hall of Consistories,[5] finished in November, 1603, which was given a richly gilded ceiling, with the arms of the Aldobrandini Pope, and paintings on the frieze. Paul Bril there represented the most celebrated hermitages of Italy, among them Camaldoli, La Verna and Monte Cassino; Giovanni Alberti painted the saints who had lived in those places.[6] The spaces between these charming landscapes are adorned with the star of the Aldobrandini.

[1] See, besides DENGEL, *loc. cit.* 114; ORBAAN, *loc. cit.* 153 n.

[2] See ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 25 *seq.*

[3] Many particulars of the Vatican under Clement VIII. are to be found collected in ORBAAN, Documenti, 50-56, among the notes. Clement VIII. spent 8000 scudi on the baldacchino, throne and decoration of the altar of the Pauline Chapel; see *Avviso of December 4, 1596, Urb. 1064, *loc. cit.*

[4] See besides the Avvisi mentioned by ORBAAN, Documenti 45 n., *that of June 25, 1597, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.* P. Bril also painted some pictures in the Lateran Palace; see HOOGEWERFF, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Avvisi of November 5 and 8, 1603, in ORBAAN, Documenti, 52 n.

[6] See BAGLIONE, 59; TAJA, 496; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, Oeuvres, II., 30.

The other, called the Sala Clementina, which still serves as the antecamera to the apartments of the head of the Church, was decorated with incomparably greater splendour. For the ornamentation of this magnificent hall, which rises through two floors as far as the roof, various painters were employed; above all Giovanni Alberti, who was assisted by his brother Cherubino, and the Netherlander, Paul Bril. A master of perspective, Giovanni Alberti was able to transform the flat vaulting into a marvellous scenic effect, the first example of this illusionary decorative art, afterwards carried to the pitch of perfection by Pietro da Cortona, the Jesuit del Pozzo, Luca Giordano and Tiepolo.[1] With masterly illusion he placed above the cornice a balustrade broken by colossal brackets, and above these graceful colonnades which uphold the vaulting, while in the middle appears the blue sky, in which, surrounded by a circle of angels, and supported on clouds, the saintly Pope Clement ascends to heaven. Resting on a plinth of half the height, highly decorated in colours, the side walls are treated in very simple architectural form, painted on two levels, broken by niches containing allegorical figures, by painted landscapes and real windows. The entrance wall is covered in all its width, and in the upper half of its height by a gigantic fresco by Paul Bril, which is made to look like a picture hanging in a broad gilt frame. This represents the martyrdom of the first Pope of the name of Clement. The spectator sees on the vast stretch of sea a ship with swelling sails, from which the Pope is being thrown into the water. The long waves of the stormy sea break upon the rocky crags of a promontory crowned by a temple, and on which are assembled many witnesses of the cruel spectacle. In the foreground the beach is filled by a magnificent group of trees, to the right of some storks. In the middle may be read the opening words of the prayer of David. Through the grey clouds with which the sky is covered, the sun breaks, illuminating the whole scene. An inscription at the bottom of the fresco tells how Clement VIII. had this painting carried

[1] See Voss, II., 131 *seq.* (*cf.* 528).

out in the year 1595. The corresponding picture, which is smaller, on the narrower side wall, represents the baptism of Constantine. Under the majestic chimney-piece there is another inscription which tells how Clement VIII. finished in 1595 the building of the palace which had been begun by Sixtus V.[1] On the walls are repeated again and again the devices and arms of the Aldobrandini,[2] balls with rays and indented bends. In the middle of the mosaic pavement, in coloured marbles, is inlaid the coat-of-arms of the family, with the inscription round it: "Clemens VIII. P.M. Pontif. Nostri anno XII." Baglione extols the whole work as one of the best productions of the art of that time.[3]

Outside Rome, too, Clement VIII. turned his attention to the completion of the works begun by Sixtus V. His first care, as we have already said, was the great bridge over the Tiber near Borghetto, the construction of which involved such vast sums that the city of Rome had to contribute towards it. On this work were employed masters who later on attained to a great reputation: Carlo Maderno, Taddeo Landini, C. Lambardi and G. Fontana, the brother of Domenico.[4] To the latter, who was an expert in hydraulic construction, was entrusted the supreme direction. Although the Pope interested himself in the completion of the construction of the

[1] See TAJA, 494. FORCELLA (VI., 116) gives the inscription inexactly. See also the description of the Sala Clementina in CHATTARD, II., 153 *seq.*; *ibid.* 174 *seq.* for the ceiling. *Cf.* also EGGER, Architektonische Handzeichnungen, 9.

[2] See BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 28 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 59, 70; LANCIANI, IV., 184 *seq.*; POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 133. See also ORBAAN, Documenti, 54 n.; MAYER, M. u. P. Brill, 44 *seq.* and tav. 23; OZZOLA in *Ausonia*, II., 308, 310. Reproductions in HOOGEWERFF Nederl. Schilders, 245 and (unfortunately too small) in VOSS, II., 527. BAGLIONE (112) mentions the paintings of Pasquale Cati, "nelle loggie non finite e nei fregi delle stanze passata la Sala Clementina." *Payments for the paintings to P. Cati in Depos. gen., State Archives, Rome.

[4] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 460 n. For Giov. Fontana *cf.* THIEME, XII., 179 *seq.*

bridge,[1] the work dragged on until the beginning of the new century.[2] A work of no less importance was the bridge over the Nera, begun in 1602.[3]

Of the towers erected for the protection of the sea-coasts, Clement VIII. completed the two that had been begun by Sixtus V.[4] He also gave orders for the continuation of the construction of the harbour at Terracina,[5] begun by Gregory XIII. and continued by Sixtus V. In 1595 the construction of a harbour at Nettuno was projected, an unfortunate scheme, as the place was not fitted for the purpose.[6] The Pope therefore decided instead to spend considerable sums on improving the harbour at Civitavecchia,[7] and went there at the end of April, 1597, accompanied by Cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, Farnese, Montalto, Baronius, Cesi and Monte, on his way to Viterbo,[8] also on that

[1] *Cf.* besides the Lettres d'Ossat, I., 452, the *Avviso of January 11, 1595: In court circles it was thought that the Pope would go to Borghetto "per vedere, in che stato si trova il lavoro di quel ponte magnificatole grandemente dall' Ill.mo di Camerino, che sarebbe memoria eterna di laudi et gloria di S.B. da tutto il mondo per commodo universale di quelli, che d'ogni stati vengono a venerar questi santi vestigi, il tirarlo a perfettione." Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also App. n. 12.

[2] See Handschriften des württemberg Baumeisters H. Schickhardt, Stuttgart, 1892, 165. *Cf.* MORONI, LXVII., 106.

[3] Completed by Paul V. in 1619.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 130.

[5] *The Pope gave orders, so it is reported, that "si facci il porto di Terracina dove già siano state incaminate calci ed altre materie per si santa et necessaria opera, poichè in detto porto farebbero scala tante mercantie et vascelli che per necessità si fermano in Genova, Livorno et altri porti di quella spiaggia." Avviso of January 13, 1593, Urb. 1061, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the reply to the memorial of Albergati cited *infra*, p. 491, n. 3.

[6] See *Avvisi of August 21, 1594, January 10, February 17 and 24, and March 2, 1596, Urb. 1062 and 1064, I., *loc. cit.*

[7] See *Avviso of March 2, 1596, *ibid.*

[8] See the valuable article by ORBAAN, Un viaggio di Clemente VIII. nel Viterbese in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 113 *seqq.*;

occasion paying a visit to the bridge over the Tiber at Borghetto. The Pope wished to see for himself the progress of the works on the harbour, which were absorbing exhorbitant sums, and were continued until the end of his pontificate.[1] Clement VIII. frequently tried to revive the trade of the beautiful and convenient harbour of Ancona, which had become greatly diminished,[2] but the measures taken by the officials were not, in the opinion of the inhabitants, sufficient. The jealous anxiety with which the Duke of Urbino and Venice followed these attempts, was therefore proved to be groundless.[3]

and Documenti, 455 *seq.* See also ORBAAN, Rome, 161 *seq.* Among the copious notes of Orbaan there is missing an *Inscription in the atrium of the church of S. Maria at Città Castellana (text in App. n. 12); at Civitavecchia Clement VIII. reviewed the Papal fleet which he had reorganized; see GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 92, 171; BONANNI, II., 151; CALISSE, Civitavecchia, 443-445. Civitavecchia also owes to Clement VIII. the fountain of S. Pietro, not far from the Lazzaretto. Mention must also be made of the care of Clement VIII. for the Apostolic Palace at Loreto, where there is an inscription concerning him at the Holy House, of 1595; see KEYSSLER, II., 425. The *Avviso of September 26, 1598, Urb. 1066, *loc. cit.* makes mention of a silver ornament intended for Loreto. The Pope also restored the Rocca at Spoleto, where an inscription with his arms records the fact.

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Squadra, 130 *seq.*; CALISSE, 443 *seq.* On the mole at Civitavecchia there are still to be seen three coats-of-arms of Clement VIII. with his name; the inscriptions in CALISSE, 445.

[2] *Cf.* Bull. X., 104 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*

[3] See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 237, 252 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*, 348 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*, 365, 381 *seq.*, 394 *seq.*; *cf. Relazione*, 386. See also *"Discorso di Fabio Albergati a P. Clemente VIII. a nome del duca d'Urbino sopra il raddirzzare il commercio d'Ancona," in Cod. G. 63, pp. 3-25, Vallicella Library, Rome. *Ibid.* pp. 25-56, *Risposta alla suddetta scrittura dell'Albergati, which completely refutes his arguments: "Si vede in effetto," says the author, "che (Albergati) ha preso a fare più tosto quella parte che potessi

In the spring of 1592 the Pope sent Giovanni Fontana to Cervia to re-establish the salt mines there, which had fallen into such a state of neglect that instead of 40,000 scudi they only brought in 10,000. With this was connected the repairing of the harbour of Cervia.[1]

After Giovanni Fontana had successfully accomplished the regulation of the Teverone near Tivoli, the Pope in 1596 appointed him his principal architect.[2] In this capacity he was entrusted with the very difficult task of regulating the Velino. This very chalky stream was constantly depositing strata of lime in its bed, which caused floods, and consequently created marshes in the valleys of Rieti and Terni. As early as the year 271 B.C. the Romans had attempted to avert this danger by means of the drain constructed by Manlius Curius Dentatus. More recently Paul III. had turned his attention to the regulation of the Velino.[3] In 1598 Clement VIII. once more opened up the drain of Dentatus. This work, which had the effect of draining 35,000 rubbi of cultivatable land, was recorded by a special commemmorative medal.[4]

The journey to the northern districts of the Papal States in the spring of 1597 was an exception; generally the Pope

farsi da un Venetiano per il suo proprio interesse, siccome è verisimile che il detto suo discorso non sia stato fatto senza participatione d'alcuno d'essi, i quali difendendo il commercio di Venetia vengono insieme a difendere l'intento del signor duca d'Urbino."

[1] See besides BAGLIONE, 130, the *Avviso of March 21, 1592: "Si è mandato l'architetto Gio. Fontana a Cervia per ridurre al pristino stato l'artificio delle saline scadute et rovinate, che di 40m sc. l'anno, che rendevano prima, hora non fruttano 10m." Urb. 1060, *loc. cit.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 130.

[3] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 591.

[4] See BONANNI, II., 497; BAGLIONE, 131; LANZI-ALTEROCCA, Guida di Terni (1899), 134. ORBAAN, Documenti, 464 n., 466 n.; Vat. 7031, p. 1 *seqq.* contains *Considerazioni sulle acque del fiume Velino dirette al card. Aldobrandini, Vatican Library.

sought his recreation in the pleasant hills of Albano, for which Gregory XIII. had been the first to show a great predilection.[1] Under Sixtus V. all this had been changed; only once, when he went to see the Acqua Felice, had that Pope spent a night at the Villa Mondragone. It was very different with Clement VIII., who stayed nowhere so gladly as at Frascati, which was so easily accessible from Rome. This opened out a new period of prosperity for the ancient Tusculum, whose pleasant heights, charming vineyards and olive-groves, and incomparable view of Rome and the wide Campagna, stretching to the silver band of the sea and the imposing range of the Sabine Hills, had long since enchanted the ancient Romans. Indeed, there were few places in the neighbourhood of the Eternal City so well fitted to refresh the mind in the clear mountain air after the bustle and suffocating heat of the dusty capital. Business, which never came to an end, could easily be discharged at Frascati by means of couriers, while it was possible there quietly to think over difficult problems. Baronius, who retired to a small villa at Frascati to devote himself undisturbed to his Annals, had already realized this. Besides the advice of Cardinal Altemps[2] and the physicians,[3] it was probably this scholar, who was so highly esteemed by Clement VIII., who decided him to seek a refuge among the heights of Tusculum. This he did for the first time in the autumn fo 1592, when, on September 26th the Pope repaired to that pleasant little city, and took up his residence at the Rocca. At first he had only intended to remain there for eight days, but as the air proved extraordinarily beneficial to him, he prolonged his stay until the middle of October, since, as he told his friends, he found more rest in a single night at Frascati, than in many in Rome. Every morning he made excursions on foot or on horseback to the churches and villas in the neighbourhood; on returning home he gave audiences with youthful vigour, and in the evening

[1] See Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 42 *seq.*

[2] See the Avviso in GROSSI-GONDI, 221.

[3] See *Avviso of October 7, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., *loc. cit.*

generally visited some church, preferably that of the Capuchins.[1]

In May, 1593, the Pope again stayed for eight days at Frascati, where he first took up his residence at the episcopal palace, and afterwards at the Villa Mondragone. The anxieties of the French question and the Turkish peril kept Clement VIII. in Rome during the whole of 1594, and it was only in the autumn of 1595 that a three weeks' holiday became possible, which was spent at the Villa Mondragone. The Pope's confessor, Baronius, Cardinal Toledo and both the nephews were also invited.[2]

A great part of October, 1596, was also devoted to a holiday at Frascati, but this was made impossible in the following autumn by the gout from which the Pope was suffering. In 1598, from May to October, the court was at Ferrara.[3] In February, 1599, the Pope spent the days of carnival at Frascati,[4] and again in May, accompanied by Cardinals Baronius, Silvio Antoniano and Bellarmine, he again went for fourteen days to this place that he loved so much, where he resided at first at the Rocca and then in the Villa Mondragone. He also stayed at the latter place, with a few breaks, during the whole of October.[5] During the Holy Year he gave up all thought of a holiday, but in May and October, 1601, the Pope again went to rest at Frascati.[6] He resided alternately at the Rocca and the Villa Mondragone, but the work on the construction of a villa of his own had already been begun.

[1] See *Avvisi of September 23, 26 and 30, October 10 and 14, 1592, Urb. 1060, *loc. cit.* partly in GROSSI-GONDI, 221 *seq.* *Cf.* also PARUTA, I., 206; III., 321, and the *reports of Giulio del Carretto of September 26 and October 10, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the reports in GROSSI-GONDI, 223 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 398 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso of February 20, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the reports in GROSSI-GONDI, 227 *seqq.*

[6] See *ibid.* 228 *seqq.*

This project had been brought forward for the first time in 1592,[1] and its carrying out was made possible when in 1598 the inheritance of Monsignor Paolo Capranica came to the Apostolic Camera. The Pope was left a small villa, called Belvedere on account of its magnificent view, situated to the west of Frascati. As a reward for what he had done in connexion with the acquisition of Ferrara, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini had assigned to him, on October 16th, the whole of the hereditaments, including many pictures and some statues.[2] But it was necessary, if the Pope was to live there, that the villa should be rebuilt. Giacomo della Potra drew the designs; this was destined to be the last work of that architect, whom Clement VIII. had always employed by preference.[3] On September 4th, 1602, the Cardinal went with the architect to see the works, but on his return Giacomo had a fit of apoplexy, which caused his death.[4] It was only in September, 1604, that the building, which had been continued

[1] See *Avviso of September 30, 1592, in GROSSI-GONDI, 222.

[2] See "*Istrumento pubblico della donazione della villa di Belvedere, case, mobili e altri beni esistenti della villa fatto da Mgr. Tesoriere di ordine di Clemente VIII. al card. Pietro Aldobrandini per gli atti di Lodovico Martini, not. di Camera," dated Ferrara, October 16, 1598. There is cited the *Chirografo (dated "nel nostro castello di Ferrara, 1598, Ottobre 14") in which it is stated: "Habbiamo deliberato di donare al card. Pietro Aldobrandini la villa detta Belvedere posta nel territorio della nostra città di Frascati compreso nello spoglio di detto Mons. Paolo Capranica," Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. *Ibid.* n. 3: "*Istrumento del possesso preso di villa Belvedere dal card. P. Aldobrandini unitamente all'inventario dei mobili di essa, 5 Novembre 1598"; "*Breve di Clemente VIII. al card. P. Aldobrandini confirmatorio dell'istrumento della donazione delle villa Aldobrandini," dated Romae up. s. Marcum, 1601, September 28 (orig.).

[3] See BAGLIONE, 82.

[4] See the report in GROSSI-GONDI, 229. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 82, and ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 59 *seqq.*

by Carlo Maderno, reached a point when the Pope could go and live there.[1]

The Villa Aldobrandini, which was extolled by the contemporary poets,[2] still enjoys to-day the reputation, although some of its beauties have disappeared, of being the queen among the villas of Frascati.[3] It covers a considerable area,[4] and is traversed by paths with high hedges,

[1] See the report in GROSSI-GONDI, 81 ; TOMASSETTI, IV., 456 *seq.* Giovannoni in his dissertation, otherwise so valuable (in *L'Arte*, XVI. [1913] 81 *seqq.*) wrongly places the death of Giacomo in 1604.

[2] The best known are the poems of Ciampoli (see BELLORI, Seicento, 54) and Marrini (printed in *Propugnatore*, N.S. I., 5-6, 1888). *Cf.* EBERING in *Anz. f. roman. Sprachen*, N.S. I. [1889] 433, and BORZELLI, Marini, 63 *seqq.*) as well as the detailed description of the beauties of the villa by Alessandro Donati, S.I. in his Tusculanum Aldobrandinum (Carmina, I., Rome, 1625, 319-370).

[3] For what follows *cf.* BARRIÈRE, Villa Aldobrandini Tusculana, Rome, 1647 ; FALDA (Rossi), Le fontane nei giardini di Frascati, II., Rome, 1691, 1-11 ; PERCIER ET FONTAINE, Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et ses environs (1809), 51-54, pl. 64-66 ; MAGNI, Barrocco a Roma tav. 12-15 ; GURLITT, 74 *seqq.* ; GOTHEIN, I., 332 *seqq.* See also DURN, Renaissance in Italien, 215 ; O. RAGGI, I Colli Albani, e Tusculani, Rome, 1879, 392 *seqq.* ; A. GUIDI, I paesi dei colli Albani, Rome, 1880, 124 *seqq.* ; NOHL, Tagebuch, 306 ; SCHRADER, Röm. Campagna, Leipzig, 1910 ; E. DE FONSECA, I castelli Romani, Florence, 1904, 104 *seqq.* ; GUIDI, Fontane, 35 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.* ; P. MISCIATELLI in *Vita d'Arte*, IX. (1912), 58 *seqq.* ; E. v. KERCKHOFF, Oud. Italienesche Villa's, Rotterdam, 1923, x-xi. ; DAMI, 27 *seq.* and clvii *seq.* ; A. COLASANTI, Le fontane d'Italia, Milan, 1926, 67 *seq.* ; WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 162 *seq.*, 176, 178.

[4] *Cf.* " *Bolla dell'affrancazione di villa Belvedere dall'abbadia di Grottaferrata in favore del card. Pietro Aldobrandini," dated Rome, 1603, September 20 ; " *Acquisto di una vigna unita alla villa Belvedere, comprata dal cardinal P. Aldobrandini," dated November 20, 1602 ; " *Compra di un pezzo di terra unito alla villa Belvedere acquistato della compagnia del S. Sacramento di Frascati," dated March 27, 1602, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 24, n. 6, 10, 13.

so as to conceal the plantations of olives, vines and other trees, thus giving the illusion of being in a park. The building, which is of the true villa type, is of three storeys, and gives a majestic impression of size, although it has little depth. Its site, half-way up the hill, is chosen with great skill. Visible even from Rome, its façade and high roof rise above a green base of oak trees. A shady avenue, and extensive terraces, which conceal the domestic offices,[1] lead to the summit. On the upper terrace, on both sides of the villa, there are small plantations of oaks, and on the right a large flower garden with a graceful basin in the shape of a boat, which was a favourite form for fountains ever since Leo X. had reproduced an ancient ship in marble on Monte Celio, in front of the church of S. Maria in Domnica.

The interior of the building gives the impression of a house much larger than the majority of edifices of the kind. Over the hearth of the great hall on the ground floor is the bust of the founder in bronze. D'Arpino painted scenes from the Old Testament on the ceilings of the lower rooms.[2]

Behind the building, Giovanni Fontana, the greatest hydraulic artist of those times, employed all his skill in creating an enchanted poetic scene,[3] combining gems of architecture, sculpture and natural sylvan beauties. From the wooded heights of the hill, against which there stands a nymphaeum in the form of a great semicircular portico with two lateral wings, there leaps a cascade breaking into smaller ones. Statues, busts and pilasters give life to this strange construction. Ionic pillars divide it into niches adorned

[1] The chimneys of the kitchens at the end of the terraces are camouflaged as ornamental towers.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 370.

[3] See *ibid.* 131. *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, IV., 458 *seq.* H. Rose says: "Aldobrandini must be given the special credit for having gathered together the experience of Roman construction of waterfalls and of having combined it in a single work, which may be said to be the culminating point of constructions of the kind (Spatbarock, 60); "in the Aldobrandini cascade this architectural style reaches its highest point" (*ibid.* 62).

with fountains and mythological statues; in the central one an Atlas with a terrestrial globe surmounts the fountain; above jets of water gush from the star of the arms of the Aldobrandini.[1] This central group is balanced above by the cascades of the waterfall which appears to gush forth from the ancient walls, and which is flanked by two columns pouring out water; at the two sides are magnificent groups of oaks which were originally surrounded by high hedges. On the frieze of the nymphaeum a Latin inscription[2] records how Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII., after he had restored peace to Christendom and re-acquired the Duchy of Ferrara for the Papal States, had erected this villa as a place of repose after the fatigues of Rome, in 1603, and that the water had been brought from Monte Agido.

The works for the hydraulic effects had proved extraordinarily difficult,[3] and had involved larger expenditure than the construction of the building itself, as it was necessary to indemnify the losses entailed upon the landowners, and to carry the water underground.[4]

[1] *Cf.* LEGHETTI, Frascate nella natura, 324; see also TOMASSETTI IV., 457.

[2] The text of the inscription was long deliberated. In the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome (174 n. 2), there are seven different texts. One reads: "*Petrus card. Aldobrandinus S.R.E. camerarius | locum prospectum coelo, collibus | ambulatione | salubrem et gratum substructione commoda gratiorem fecit." Another draft reads: "*Petrus Aldobrandinus cardinalis camerarius Aedes in Tusculano extruxit | Ut naturae bona artis ope augeretur."

[3] See LANCIANI, III., 55.

[4] "*Il Papa ha donato 50,000 scudi a Aldobrandini per la caduta dell'acqua della villa di Frascati. La villa non vale tanto quanto l'acqua," reports Fr. Maria Vialardo, January 1,,1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* "*Chirografo di Clemente VIII. diretto al Pro-Tesoriere generale col quale gli ordina di pagare non solo le spese per la conduttura dell'acqua della Molara a villa Belvedere ma ben anchi i danni che deriverranno ai particolari di tale operazione," dated Frascati, October 1, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 29 n. 31. *Ibid.* n. 2, the *document in which

In one of the lateral wings of the nymphaeum there is a chapel with frescoes representing the saints of the Aldobrandini family.[1] Another open space, the Sala del Parnasso, attained celebrity in 1608, when it had been decorated by a great master.

Here was represented in stucco the mountain of the Gods: on the summit Apollo, and before him the nine muses with musical instruments, while below was an organ worked by water power. The deeds of the god, around whom melodies seemed to echo marvellously, were illustrated by Domenichino in ten fine frescoes of exquisite workmanship, which were given, by means of borders and painted fringes, the appearance of tapestries. The backgrounds, carried out by Gian Battista Viola from the sketches of Domenichino, show landscapes harmonizing with the gay rural character of the villa. In this work Domenichino created a new idyllic style, which formed an important stage towards the development of the classical landscape painting of Poussin.[2]

Clement VIII. "concede al card. P. Aldobrandini la proprietà et il dominio dell'acqua detta Giulia" for the villa Belvedere, dated January 19, 1604; *ibid.* n. 3: "*Istrumento col quale la communità di Monte Campatri approva et conferma la donazione dell'acqua della Molara, territ. di detto comune, fatta da Clemente VIII. al card. P. Aldobrandini per motu proprio d. 19 gennaio 1604," dated August 21, 1605.

[1] The frescoes are unfortunately so damaged by the damp that it is not possible to form an opinion of them.

[2] See TIETZE, Ausgewahlte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoronski, Vienna, 1918, 71 *seq.* When the Borghese went bankrupt, there came into the possession of the Count, a connoisseur of art, by an acquisition in 1892 (see *Arch. stor. dell'arte*, 1892, 143) of the ten frescoes of Domenichino, six of which adorn the gallery of antiquities in the Lanckoronski palace, and four another place. Two others, representing Apollo killing the Python, and the picture of Orpheus have been lost, and are only preserved in the fine engravings published by La Barrière in 1647 (*cf. supra*, p. 496, n. 3). *Cf.* also SERRA, Domenichino, 17 *seqq.*; GERSTENBERG, Die ideale Landschaftsmalerei. Ihre Begründung und Vollendung in Italien, Halle, 1923, 59.

From the majestic hall which occupies the whole width of the principal building of the Villa Aldobrandini, may be seen on one side the enchanting creation of this nymphaeum, and on the other the grand panorama of the Campagna as far as the sea, with Rome enthroned in its midst.

When from this vantage point Clement VIII. looked at the capital of the world, he must have been filled with satisfaction at seeing how greatly it had developed. The Florentine painter, Antonio Tempesta,[1] the pupil of the celebrated Stradanus (Ian van Straet),[2] in his plan of the city has shown with great exactness and artistic taste the appearance of Rome at the time of the accession of Clement VIII.[3]

A glance at this panorama, which is taken from the Janiculum, is enough to show how sparsely inhabited, in spite of the efforts of Sixtus V., the district of the Monti still was. Still, as in the past the life of the city was concentrated in the level ground between the Tiber on one side, the Pincio, the Capitol and the Quirinal. The principal piazzas were all there : Campo di Fiori, the Piazza Navona, the Piazza del Duca (Farnese), the Piazza della Trinità and the Piazza Colonna ; smaller piazzas were to be found in front of the churches and some of the palaces. The central part of the old city, divided into two by the Tiber, still shows its medieval density and irregular arrangement. From this labyrinth, which had an indescribably picturesque fascination, and from the mass of the houses of the old city, there arose supreme

[1] For Tempesta *cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti lxxix *seqq.*, and Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 119 *seqq.*

[2] See ORBAAN, Stradanus te Florence, 1553-1605, Rotterdam, 1903.

[3] Preserved in a single copy at Stockholm, discovered by J. Collijn (*cf.* J. COLLIJN, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie Samling af alde Stadsoyer, Stockholm, 1915, 6 *seqq.* ; HÜLSEN, Saggio, 24) and published by H. SCHÜCK, Nagra ämmärkningar till A. Tempesta's Urbis Romae prospectus 1593, Upsala, 1917. Orbaan had already given a small reproduction of it in his Documenti. The labours of this scholar (*ibid.* lxxxvi *seq.*) have served as the basis of my own work.

the majestic Rotonda of the Pantheon, and the palaces of the Altemps, Monte Giordano, the Cancelleria, Farnese, S. Marco (Venezia), and the Capitol. The campanili which had been erected in the Middle Ages were still to a great extent preserved ; while of the towers of the palaces, besides that delle Milizie, there were the Torre Argentina and the Torre Millina, as well as the Torre del Capocci. The clock-tower on the Palazzo Orsini near the Campo di Fiori may also clearly be seen. The Gothic campanili of the Anima and S. Agostino are dwarfed by the many cupolas of the churches of the Renaissance. The columns of Trajan and Antoninus stand out clearly by reason of the gilt statues of the Princes of the Apostles which crown them. New prospects are provided by the obelisks erected by Sixtus V., while the Lateran Palace appears exactly in its present form, and that of the Quirinal substantially so.

As in the past, the Leonine City forms an ensemble of its own.[1] On its periphery there stands on one side the Castle of St. Angelo, as well as the imposing hospital and church of S. Spirito ; on the other the mass of the "Palace of the Popes," with the new Sixtine addition already covered with its roof, and in a strange medley new and old St. Peter's, with the dome now at last completed.

Special districts are formed, besides the Borgo, by Trastevere with its numerous convents, the Island with its mills, and the Ghetto, strictly enclosed within walls and gates, and indicated by Tempesta as "La Giudea."

On the plan there are also clearly shown, besides the new streets of Sixtus V., the old arteries, the so-called Via Papale and the celebrated Via Giulia.

Ever more sparsely covered with buildings as its periphery is approached, the Eternal City still shows, within the circle of the Aurelian Walls, many uninhabited spaces and vast gardens. The Villa Medici, which still ranked as the most celebrated villa of Rome, is marked on the plan as the garden

[1] *Cf.* M. Borgatti, Borgo e S. Pietro nel 1300, nel 1600 e nel 1925, Rome, 1925.

of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Viridarium magni ducis Hetruriae), while the villa of Sixtus V. has no name. The gardens of the Quirinal were still in their elementary state, and the Farnese gardens on the Palatine are clearly marked. The Palazzo de' Riarii on the Lungara adjoins a vast garden, and there is a smaller one at the Farnesina, which from its first owner bears the name of Palazzo Chigi.

While Tempesta was recording the transformation of Rome by means of a drawing, others, Netherlands and Germans, who were living there either permanently or temporarily, were also devoting themselves to that work. Drawings published in engravings show the many-coloured whirlpool of public life with its ecclesiastical and secular festivals, and its variegated street scenes. Productions of great historical interest are given us among others by Brambilla in his folio "cries of itinerary vendors in Rome," by Giacomo Franco, who depicts Clement VIII. on a journey, by Villamena with his typical Roman beggar, and lastly by Bril, with his illustrations to the "Dolce far niente." Sadeler, Willem van Nieulandt, and one of the young Breughels give us good topographical material in their engravings; Valckenborch, De Vries and Sebastian Vrancz in their paintings.[1]

The guide-books and books of travel[2] form a useful supplement to the illustrations. Among the most sought for guides for tourists and pilgrims in the Holy Year were the itineraries of Hieronymus Johanninus Campugnanus (died 1604) and Franz Schott (died 1622), which appeared in various editions after the Holy Year of 1600.[3] The *Deliciae Italiae* of Cyprian

[1] See ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 97 *seq.*; *cf.* Documenti, 475 n., and *Mededeel. v. h. Nederl. Hist. Institut*, V. (1925), 128 *seq.* The picture by F. de Vries, of about 1595, showing the Piazza of St. Peter's and the Vatican, in the possession of Count Lanckoronski at Vienna, is deserving of publication.

[2] Dr. Schudt is about to publish a collection of all the guides, as the result of prolonged research.

[3] For the Itinerarium Italiae (Antwerp, 1600) by Schott, the Baedeker of those times, see SCHLOSSER, Kunstliteratur, Vienna, 1924, 473, 493.

Eichhov was also in great demand.[1] A learned and exhaustive work was the book *Romanae Urbis topographiae et antiquitates cum tab. a Theod. de Bry in aere incisis* by the celebrated French archaeologist Jean Jacques Boissard,[2] in which he collected inscriptions with special interest.[3]

The accounts of illustrious travellers who came from the north also described the splendour of Rome and its art treasures. Besides the Netherlanders Arend van Buchel[4] and Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft,[5] mention must also be made above all of the state architect of the Duchy of Würtemberg, Heinrich Schickhardt, which is of special importance on account of his artistic appreciation of works of art.[6] All the visitors to Rome at that time, not only the many artists, among them Mander and Rubens, but the princes as well

[1] For Eichhov see A. KAUFFMANN in *Zeitschr. f. Kulturgesch.*, N.S., II., 674 *seq.*

[2] I. I. BOISSARD, Romanae Urbis topographiae et antiquitates cum tab. a Theod. de Bry in aere incisis, 6 vols., Frankfort, 1597-1602 (*ibid.* 1603, also in German).

[3] Drawings by Boissard in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; see *Kunstchonik*, N.F., XVII., 71.

[4] See Diarium van Arend van Buchell uitgegeven door G. BROM in L. A. van Langeraad, Amsterdam, 1907. *Cf.* also *Mededeel. v. h. Nederl. Hist. Institut.*, II. (1922), 113 *seq.*; IV. (1924), 153 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*

[5] Van Vloten has published the description of this journey by Hooft in the 2nd volume of Hooft's letters.

[6] The description of his journey by Schickhardt, to the importance of which LÜBKE especially draws attention (Gesch. der Renaissance in Deutschland, I., 44 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*) appeared for the first time in 1602 at Mömplegard, in 1603 at Tübingen. W. HEYD, Handschriften u. Handzeichnungen des H. Sch., Stuttgart, 1902, published a new and accurate edition of it, collated with the manuscript (Stuttgart Library, Cod. Hist. Q. 148, tasc. B.C.). HÜLSEN published in his Antikengarten (Heidelberg, 1917), p. 90, Schickhardt's description of the Quirinal Gardens, and his notes on Florence in *Mitteil. des Kunsthist. Instituts zu Florenz*, II. (1917).

showed a special interest in the gardens and incomparable villas of the Eternal City and its environs.[1]

Even in 1595 the revival of the Papal capital filled the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta, with admiration.[2] The great development in building works led to the discovery of many antiquities, and from the many accounts of excavations we learn in what abundance the inexhaustible soil of Rome continued to reveal marbles and sculptures.[3] It was especially on the Esquiline that a rich harvest was gathered.[4] There, near the Arch of Gallienus, was discovered the ancient fresco known as the Nozze Aldobrandine, which was bought

[1] *Cf.* ORBAAN, Documenti, 475 n. Ernstlingers Reisebuch (Stuttgarter Liter. Verein. nn. 134-35, 1877, deals on p. 93 *seq.* with Rome in 1593. Interesting accounts of Rome in 1597 are to be found in the letters of Conradus Baro de Bemelberg et Hohenburg Junior; see G. LUMBROSO, Viaggio di un giovane tedesco in Italia, in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, V. 3 (1896). Very interesting is the *Description of Rome in 1601 by a young Moravian nobleman of the celebrated name of Waldstein, who at Florence met Prince Ludwig von Anhalt (the description by L. von Anhalt of his journey in Italy is to be found in *Access. hist. Anhalt.*, Zerbst, 1733, 261 *seqq.*, of BECKMANN) in Regin. 666 (Vatican Library). From Waldstein's description of his travels Orbaan has published the parts relating to Holland and Belgium in *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche Kunstenaars en Geleerden*, 's Gravenhage, 1911, 170 *seqq.*, and those relating to the artistic German cities and art collections in *Museumskunde*, 1917, 43 *seqq.* For the method of travelling in those days *cf.* besides HASSEL in *Zeitschr. f. Kulturgesch.*, N.S., I., 407 *seq.*, E. S. BATES, Touring in 1600. A Study of the development of travel as a means of Education, London, 1911. Reise des Barons F. Eulenburg, published by SOMMERFELDT in *Lit. Gezellschaft zu Lotzen*, part 18 (1913).

[2] See PARUTA, Relazione, 422.

[3] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 765 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 186 *seqq.*; ORBAAN, Documenti, 129 *seqq.*, n. The *Avviso of December 11, 1602, Urb. 1070, *loc. cit.* mentions the excavations near the Colosseum.

[4] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 131.

by Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1] His brother Cardinal Pietro issued an edict as Camerlengo for the protection of antiquities in April, 1600. Ordinances of 1599 and 1604 were directed to the preservation of the catacombs, in which an ever increasing interest was being taken, thanks to Baronius, Chacon, Bosio and Philip von Winghen.[2]

The use of ancient materials for new buildings continued, as has been said, in the pontificate of Clement VIII.[3] Permission from the government, however, was required, both for excavations and for the exportation of works of art.[4] In spite of this prohibition so many antiquities were sent abroad, especially to the courts of Florence[5] and Mantua, that the representatives of the city as well as the Pope himself complained that Rome was being robbed of its best treasures.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Bartoli in FEA, Miscell. I. ccxlix; LANCIANI IV., 207 *seqq.*; NOGARA, Le Nozze Aldobrandine, Milan, 1907; HELBIG, I.[3], 267 *seq.*, where the special literature is cited. See also ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 226 *seqq.*

[2] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 131 n., 133 *seq.* n. (*cf.* 463 n.). *Cf.* also ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 229 *seqq.*; VALERI, Bosio, Rome, 1900. Not without interest is the following *Avviso of March 5, 1603, Urb. 1071, *loc. cit.*: Per le gran pioggie, che furono la passata settimana al Coliseo, caderno alquante di quelle muraglie, che stavano più sconcie, con infiniti sassi bellissimi e bonissimi et perchè alcuni andavano facendo cavare di là intorno per trovar sassi, et si dice sia il cav[r] Clemente, la Compagnia del sant[mo] Salvatore ha fatto far inhibitione, che nissuno ardischi toccar de detti sassi, et ho inteso, come detta Compagnia intra in questo, perchè ho inteso, che da Alessandro VI fu fatto dono di questo Coliseo alla sudetta Compagnia.

[3] See ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII. p. 221.

[4] LANCIANI, IV., 180

[5] See BERTOLOTTI, Esportazione di oggetti di belle arte da Roma nella Toscana, in *Riv Europ*, 1877, II., 716. BERTOLOTTI in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1876, 117 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* especially the *reports of the Mantuan envoy, G. C. Foresto. On October 14, 1600, he reports that he has bought a statue of Antinous, which Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini would have been very glad to have acquired. Foresto explains the

Among art lovers and collectors there was a veritable rivalry in acquiring antiquities; besides the Aldobrandini Cardinals, Ciriaco Mattei was especially an ardent collector.[1] As in the past, so now ancient statues were repaired and often copied in bronze.[2]

Many pictures were also exported, not a few of which went to Mantua; if the originals could not be acquired, they had perforce to be satisfied with copies, which were specially made, from works of art which hitherto had not been allowed to be copied.[3]

Like the Duke of Mantua, Rudolph II. also sought to obtain

reason why the *licenza* to export it was still being waited for on January 27 (see *report of January 20, 1601); on January 27 he says: "Può anch'esser, che il popolo Romano si sia lasciato intendere che si lascia spogliare Roma delle migliori cose che si siano et cose simili oltre che la natura di S.S^tà^ tenacissima non fa più gratia di sorte alcuna che vaglia un soldo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the difficulties which continued to arise *cf.* in App. nn. 18, 19, the *reports of December 30, 1600, and February 10, 1601. Leave to export was only granted in the case of certain of the statues acquired by Foresto (see *report of March 10, 1601). Finally on January 5, 1602, Lelio Arrigoni was able to report: "*Laudato il Signore, habbiamo ricuperato il possesso delle statue et questa sera l'hanno portato l'Antinoo a casa insieme con gli altri pezzi di più stima." From the *reports of Arrigoni of 1603 it appears that statues were once again being taken to Mantua at that time. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] *Cf.* *report of G. C. Foresto, January 27, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Beiträge, 496 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Documenti, 133 n.

[3] See, besides the reports of Arrigoni for 1601-1602 published in LUZIO, La galleria dei Gonzaga, Milan, 1913, 91 *seq.*, the further *reports of the same of March 1, 1602 "quadro della Maddalena," April 4, August 17, August 31, October 5 and 12, copies of celebrated pictures, among them "16 pezzi tutti cavati da disegni di Raffaelo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga di Mantova, Modena, 1885.

works of art from Rome, a thing in which he was not successful, owing to his want of money.[1]

The exportation of works of art was to some extent compensated by those which arrived in the Eternal City, either by way of purchase or donation.

Princes and nobles wished to show their gratitude to their hosts by giving them pictures, while others were collected by prelates who were travelling.[2]

Some of the Cardinals, as for example Sfondrato and Bonelli, had valuable collections of pictures.[3] The collection of important engravings on wood and copper, especially by Dürer, which Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga had acquired during a space of thirty years, was very celebrated.[4] In Rome almost all private men of wealth possessed antiquities, and rooms, court-yards and gardens were everywhere adorned with them.[5]

Of great importance to the Eternal City, especially from the point of view of health, was the care which Clement VIII. devoted to the maintenance of the streets. In the frescoes of the time of Sixtus V. we can see how the profitable swine, which were to be found in every country house in Italy, were pastured in the piazzas and streets of Rome. An ordinance of 1599 put an end to this abuse, and it was forbidden to keep swine in the inhabited part of the city.[6] At the same time a weekly cleansing of the streets was ordered.[7] Other edicts related to the paving of the Piazza Navona,[8] and the

[1] *Cf.* the report of Dr. Rudolf Corradus, published in *Blätter. f. Literatur. Kunst. u. Gesch.*, 1847, n. 33.

[2] *Cf.* URLICHS in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, 1870, 47 *seq.*

[3] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 489 *seqq.*

[4] See LUZIO, Galleria Gonzaga, 273 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* the report in BURCKHARDT, Beiträge, 495.

[6] See ORBAAN, Documenti, 203.

[7] See *Avviso of July 24, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[8] Editto of July 10, 1600, in *Editti*, V., 74, p. 156, Papal Secret Archives.

maintenance of the water channels and the fountains.[1] Some new streets were also constructed.[2]

The long period of peace was extremely favourable for the material development of Rome, and the consequence was that splendour and luxury increased to an extraordinary degree. The Venetian Paolo Paruta noticed this even in 1595. The sumptuous manner of life, which had hitherto been the exclusive privilege of some of the more prominent Cardinals and barons, he wrote, had spread in a surprising way; he lays special stress upon the luxury of apartments[3] and their extraordinarily sumptuous furniture. The envoy of Urbino, Battista Ceci, also mentions this development in his report of 1605. He describes how the aristocracy dressed with the greatest splendour, and kept large numbers of retainers in elaborate liveries and many horses and carriages; he tells how all the nobles lived beyond their means, and how the citizens tried to follow this bad example. He complains how the merchants dressed their wives as gentlewomen, and permitted themselves all pleasures, no matter what they cost; what wonder then that their profits, even though they sold everything at a high price, were not sufficient for their extravagant expenditure?[4] It is not surprising therefore that in these

[1] See the *Bando of January 22, 1600, concerning the Acqua Felice, in *Editti*, V., 51, p. 4, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.* p. 69, a *Bando of February 2, 1600, concerning the fountains of the Acqua Vergine.

[2] *Cf.* the inscription in the *Inventario*, I., 274, concerning the road leading to S. Onofrio. *Cf.* also *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 656. An *Editto per fare la strada fuora della Porta di S. Pancrazio al S^mo^ Crocifisso, July 27, 1601, in *Editti*, V., 74, p. 386, *loc. cit.* A list of expropriations of buildings below the Aracoeli as far as Macel de' Corvi for the construction of the principal street starting from the Capitol, in the year 1601, in DENGEL, Palast u. Basilika S. Marco, n. 55.

[3] See PARUTA, Relazione, 422.

[4] See "*Relatione delle qualità et governo della città di Roma e dello stato eccles. l'a. 1605 di Battista Ceci da Urbino," Urb. 837, p. 468b *seqq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the *Relazione

circumstances moral conditions left a great deal to be desired.[1] This state of affairs was also contributed to by the fact that foreigners of all nations flocked to the capital of the world, so that the real Romans formed a minority.[2]

Even though Ceci dwells upon these darker aspects of the times, he also clearly brings out the brighter side of the picture, and above all the rivalry in building magnificent churches, and the activity in works of charity.[3] He points out how the Pope took the lead by his example in the last-named; every month he distributed 400 scudi among the secret poor, and the convents and hospitals; at Christmas and Easter, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the anniversary of his coronation, 2,000 scudi, and another 1,000 for extraordinary alms. He also maintained the ancient custom of feeding the poor at the Campo Santo near St. Peter's every Friday. Ceci describes in detail the innumerable charitable institutions in Rome, which were all excellently organised and served by the confraternities.[4] These cared for every class and for the sick of every kind. The lepers had a special hospital outside the city, while the others were so skilfully distributed that help was nowhere lacking. Those institutions which did not enjoy ample means, like the ancient hospital

distintissima di Roma, anime [1593 altogether 99,627] entrate, chiese, palazzi, casali con molte piante di ville e altre minuzie particolari, in Cod. Strozz. 721, State Archives, Florence.

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 427.

[2] Ceci says in his *Relazione (see *supra*, p. 508, n. 4): "La città può fare 100,000 in circa anime, i due terzi e più forestieri."

[3] *Dall'altra parte se si considera ella è una città santa: gran carità e grand'opere pie vi si fanno; gran concorso si vede di chi fa quasi a gara per potere più splendidamente e con più magnificenza erigere tempii e chiese al culto di Dio e luoghi e monasteri a beneficio del prossimo et oltre all'esservi una infinità di chiese e capelle ornate con tant'oro e pietre pretiose, vi sono anche tanti spedali et si fanno giornalmente innumerabili elemosine. Urb. 837, p. 469[le], *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *relazione of Ceci, *ibid*, 470-474. *Cf.* Vol. XXIII. of this work, p. 34, for the Pope's almsgiving.

of S. Spirito, the annual revenues of which amounted to 100,000 scudi, were maintained by abundant alms. It is worthy of record that the lunatics maintained at the Madonna della Pietà were very well treated, which was not the case at that time in any other asylum of the kind.[1]

The civic hospitals were accessible to all foreigners, but besides these there had been from remote times many national hospices for foreign visitors to Rome, where pilgrims received gratuitously for three days lodging and food, and in case of illness help of other kinds. Those institutions, too, such as the Bohemian and Swedish hospices, which owing to the religious schism no longer had many coming to them, were also maintained.[2] The number of hospitals and hospices was forty in all.[3]

However worthy of condemnation the luxury was, it was very advantageous for art. Among the Cardinals who were conspicuous as lovers of art, besides Frederick Borromeo, Bonelli and Colonna, Odoardo Farnese held the first place. Not content with his magnificent family palace, which was richly adorned with profane and religious paintings, antique statues, medals and a valuable library,[4] he caused a splendid pictorial work to be carried out between the years 1595 and 1603. On the first floor, on the side facing the Tiber, the ceiling and walls of the so-called gallery were adorned with magnificent frescoes by Annibale Caracci, assisted by his brother, Agostino and Domenichino, the subjects of which were drawn exclusively

[1] *Qui si tengono tutti quelli che sono scemi di cervello e pazzi raccolti in Roma e fuor di Roma di qualunque sesso e natione di maniera che con la cura che li si fa molti tornano in buon sentimento, e se pure non possono guarire li tengono perpetuamente con carità nello spedale, ove sono custoditi, governati e proveduti di tutte le cose necessarie standovene continumente oltre a 80 con molti ufficiali e ministri che per servizio loro si tengono. Ceci, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Fanucci, Opere pie di Roma, 1601.

[4] See Navenne, Rome et le Palais Farnèse, I., 29 *seqq.*

from pagan mythology.[1] Of the three central pictures, one, the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, was intended to portray the reign of love upon the earth, the second, Aurora and Cephalus, its power in the air, and the third, a Nereid embraced by a Triton, the dominion of love in the waters, just as Guarini had sung in the prologue to his *Pastor fido*.[2] This masterpiece of the Caracci is of the highest importance in the history of culture. Men realized the paradox of a great prince of the Church, just as though he were still living in the days of Leo X., having his palace adorned with such erotic subjects, and at the same time trying to make those subjects more acceptable to the most rigid censors by means of allegories and interpretations, attempting thus to reconcile the Christian conscience with representations of scenes of loves of the gods and pagan heroes, which went beyond all due limits.[3] Moreover this is a crushing retort to the unfounded assertions that the artists of the period of the Catholic restoration were hampered in their freedom and activities ;[4] in fact they were free to select their subjects from ancient mythology as before.

[1] See the beautiful dissertation by H. TIETZE : A. Carraccis Galerie im Palazzo Farnese u. seine Werkstatte, in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 71 *seqq.* *Cf.* also SCHMERBER, Ital. Malerei (1906), 187 *seq.* ; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XI. (1919), 140 *seq.* ; MUÑOZ, Roma barocca, 22 *seqq.* ; NAVENNE, *loc. cit.* I., 65-98 ; VOSS, Malerei, 493 *seq.*

[2] See TIETZE, *loc. cit.* 94.

[3] See *ibid.* *Cf.* also VOGEL, Aus Goethes röm. Tagen, Leipzig, 1905, 223 *seq.*, and ROUCHÈS, La peinture Bolognaise 1575-1619, Paris, 1911, 175. NAVENNE (*loc. cit.* 95) thinks that O. Farnese himself had certain scruples : Comparez la Galatée parcourant les mers avec le carton en grandeur d'exécution de la National Gallery, vous noterez qu'une légère draperie se dessine dans la fresque sous la main du Triton et que le carton en est affranchie. L'adjonction fut-elle imposée au moment de l'exécution ou intervint-elle après l'achèvement des peintures ? Cela import peu. Ce qu'il faut retenir, c'est qu'il y eut correction au profit de la bienséance.

[4] See VOSS, I., 24. *Cf.* ROUCHÈS, *loc. cit.*, 176.

Even in the matter of the representation of the nude in profane art they were by no means restricted. The rigorous principles which were applied after the Council of Trent,[1] only referred to pictures in churches, as is shown by an edict of the Cardinal Vicar, Borghese, in 1603.[2] Even the man who had ordered the frescoes of Caracci conformed to these enactments; in 1595 Cardinal Odoardo Farnese had the nude figure of Justice on the tomb of Paul III. covered with a garment of thin metal.[3]

The increase of luxury was also shown in the fact that the Aldobrandini, in addition to their orginal house in the Via de' Banchi, which the Pope had given to Olimpia Aldobrandini in 1601,[4] also possessed other palaces in Rome; one in the Piazza Colonna (afterwards the Palazzo Chigi),[5] another near S. Luigi de' Francesi,[6] and a third, with a garden, on the southern slope of the Quirinal (the Villa Aldobrandini of to-day). In 1601 Clement VIII. also acquired for Olimpia the palace of the Duke of Urbino in the Corso (afterwards the Palazzo Doria), the chapel of which was decorated by Annibale

[1] See SCHLOSSER, Materialien z. Kunstgesch., VI., Vienna, 1919, 97 *seqq.* *Cf.* also A. FORATTI in the periodical *L'Archiginnasio*, IX. (Bologna, 1914), 15 *seqq.*, and *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.*, XXXVII., 36 *seq.* As early as 1582 Possevino suggested that the nude statues and images should be covered for the Russians who came to Rome; see PIERLING, La Russie, II., 202.

[2] See *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.*, XXXVII., 34 *seq.*; WEISSBACH Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation, Berlin, 1921, 12.

[3] See *Mel. d'archéol.*, IX., 68; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIX., 178, 196; NAVENNE, Rome et le Palais Farnèse, I., 564.

[4] See PRINZIVALLI, T. Tasso, 67.

[5] Constructed by Giacomo della Porta, completed by Maderno; see MUÑOZ, Maderno, 6. The frescoes of the life of Clement VIII., which adorn the frieze of the large hall on the first floor, are deserving of a closer examination; as far as I am aware they have been entirely overlooked.

[6] By C. Maderno, now the Palazzo Patrizi; see FREY, Architettura barocca, Rome, 1926, xxii; see G. ZUCCA, Gli orti pensili Aldobrandini, in the periodical *Capitolium*, I. (1927), 742 *seq.*

Caracci and his pupils, among them Albani, with frescoes of the life of the Madonna.[1]

During the pontificate of Clement VIII. there was at last undertaken, as the result of his insistence, the carrying out of Michelangelo's plans for the Capitoline palaces. A young architect, Girolamo Rinaldi, constructed the façade of the Senators, so that this was given the character of severe grandeur which distinguished the design of the great master. All this was done on the initiative of Clement VIII. so that he deserves the place of honour that is assigned to him in the great inscription of 1598, placed over the principal door and enumerating all the outstanding events of his pontificate.[2] Girolamo Rinaldi also directed the works on the third palace designed by Michelangelo on the Capitol, of which the Pope laid the first stone on June 27th, 1603.[3] He did not live to see its completion, but on the other hand was able to delight in the decoration of the Palace of the Conservatori with monumental frescoes of the ancient history of Rome. On these the president of the Academia S. Luca, Tommaso Laureti, and the Pope's favourite, d'Arpino, were employed. Among the frescoes by the latter mention must be made of the battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii as a valuable work of art.[4]

The artistic activity which prevailed during the pontificate

[1] See CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 505; PRINZIVALLI, 62; TIETZE in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 155 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Documenti, 41, 66 *seqq*, 157.

[2] See FORCELLA, I., 48. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 73; LANCIANI, II., 75 *seqq.*; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 95 *seqq.*, 99 *seqq.*; MICHAELIS in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, N.S. II., (1891), 193 *seq.*; THODE, Michelangelo, V., 193.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 261; BONANNI, I, 455; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 95. An *Avviso of June 28, 1603, reports: Yesterday the Pope went to the Capitol "per veder la nuova fabrica, che fanno o voglion fare li Conservatori dalla banda di Araceli, essendoci S.S. andata per buttar come fece il primo sasso nel fondamento, nel qual sasso non era altro motto che il nome di S.B." Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

[4] See Voss, II., 572, 585.

of Clement VIII. was of great advantage to the churches, to which greater attention was now paid, partly on account of the canonical visitations and partly because of the Holy Year. Although the number of existing churches was already very large, several new ones were built ; for example, S. Maria della Scala in Trastevere,[1] S. Niccolò da Tolentino,[2] S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case,[3] and S. Bernardo alle Terme.[4] The national church of the Florentines, S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, the masterpiece of Jacopo Sansavino, was finally completed in 1600,[5] only the façade being left unfinished. The church of the Sicilians, S. Maria in Constantinopoli, was also completed in 1593.[6]

The church of the Theatines, S. Andrea della Valle, promised to become a splendid edifice of the first rank, worthy to rival the Gesù. Cardinal Gesualdo had since 1596 expended 40,000 scuid in this church,[7] the first stone of which was laid on March 12th, 1591.[8] After his death in 1603 Cardinal Peretti undertook the expense.[9] The superintendence of the building was in the hands of Pietro Paolo Olivieri, who had also made the designs : a nave in the form of a Latin cross, with four deep chapels on either side.[10] When Olivieri died

[1] See *Avviso of February 5, 1597, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* FORCELLA, XI., 457. According to the *Avviso of July 29, 1600, Clement VIII. granted the church to the "natione Marchegiana" as their national church. Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* FORCELLA, X., 175.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, IX., 171 ; ORTOLANI, S. Bernardo alle Terme, Rome, s.d.

[5] See the hitherto unnoticed remark of BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 198.

[6] See GALLETTI, S. Maria di Costantinopoli, Rome, 1889.

[7] See *Avviso of July 17, 1596, which says : "La fabrica in vero sara non men bella di quella del Gesù." Urb. 1064, II., *loc. cit.*

[8] See [A. BONI] La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle in Roma, Rome, 1907.

[9] See *Avviso of March 1, 1603, Urb. 1071, *ibid.*

[10] See BAGLIONE, 76 *seq.*

on July 6th, 1599, his place was taken by Carlo Maderno; he carried out the tribune and the dome, the largest in Rome after St. Peter's, and drew a design for the façade.[1] This large and spacious temple, almost the only one of the Roman churches of the XVIth century which has retained its original appearance, was until 1902 a perfect example of the Renaissances.[2] The restoration undertaken in that year has greatly impaired the grave, tranquil and solemn effect of the interior, as the vaulting of the central nave was covered with stucco and paintings, the plain pilasters fluted, and the capitals gilt.

Not far from this, in the great church of the Oratorians, S. Maria in Vallicella, great activity was shown under Clement VIII. in carrying on the decoration of the interior, and a noble rivalry with the church of the Jesuits in constructing altars and chapels of a like magnificence.[3] A richly decorated chapel was prepared to receive the body of Philip Neri,[4] and another was founded by Cardinal Silvio Antoniano[5]. The solemn consecration of this third great church belonging to religious communities was made by Cardinal Medici on May 23rd, 1599.[6]

[1] See *ibid.* 308. An *Avviso of November 1, 1595, reports: Li Padri Barnabiti detti qua di S. Biagio dell'Anello, perchè li Padri Teatini di S. Andrea con la fabrica loro, che tuttavia fanno molto magnifica et bella, arriveranno al loro convento, necessitati però a cercar altro luoco, hanno comprate le case poste in faccia della Piazza Colonna, che son contigue a Pazzarelli, ove disegnano fabricar una bella chiesa et un amplo convento, il quale sopra detta Piazza farà bellissima vista. Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.*

[2] See GURLITT, 197.

[3] We have information as to the construction of the altars in the *Avviso of January 31, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Avviso of November 27, 1602, Urb. 1070, *ibid.* *Cf.* CAPECELATRO, St. Philip Neri, p. 585. [Engl. ed., 1926.]

[5] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 329.

[6] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. In 1592 Cardinal Galli ordered the building of S. Maria della Scala, whither in 1597 Clement VIII. summoned the discalced Carmelites in order to make better provision for pastoral work in the Trastevere; see TOTTI, 71.

By the command of Cardinal Rusticucci Carlo Maderno turned his attention to S. Susanna, and gave it a noble façade.[1] Other Cardinals as well restored and adorned churches, as for example, Giustiniani S. Prisca,[2] Albert of Austria S. Croce in Gerusalemme,[3] Madruzzo S. Onofrio,[4] Salviati S. Giacomo degli Incurabili and S. Gregorio in Celio,[5] Cesi S. Maria in Portico, Medici and Caetani S. Pudenziana.[6] Just as Caetani erected in the latter church a magnificent sepulchral chapel,[6]

[1] See BAGLIONE, 73, 308. *Cf.* GURLITT, 331 ; MUÑOZ, Maderno, 8.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 169 ; FORCELLA, XI., 173. For the "Amore divino ed amore profano" painted by Giov. Baglione to accompany the "Amore vincitore" of Caravaggio see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., II., 63 ; Voss in *Berliner Museen*, 1922, 60 *seq.*, and Malerei, 127, 467.

[3] *Cf.* besides ORTOLANI, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, 19, the *Reisebericht von* 1598 in *Mitteil. des Hist. Ver. f. Steiermark*, XLVIII. (1900), 64.

[4] See TIETZE in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 143. *Cf. Arch. per l'Alto Adige*, IX., 56 *seqq.*

[5] See BAGLIONE, 308 ; MUÑOZ, Maderno, 6.

[6] An *Avviso of August 16, 1597, reports that : "S. Maria in Portico è già del tutto abbelita con molta spesa di figure et altri ornamenti dalla molta pietà et zelo del card. Cesi suo titolare, et cosi anche quelle di S. Pudentiana et di S. Susanna dalli card. Caetano et Rusticucci, che veramente si scuoprono in si sant'opre molto affettuosi et zelanti" (Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* B. ODESCALCHI, Mem. d. Accad. dei Lincei, Rome, 1806, 7.

[7] The transformation of the ancient oratory, known as "Titulus Pastoris" into the richly decorated Caetani chapel, had been begun under Sixtus V. (see FORCELLA, XI., 138) ; according to the *Avviso of September 13, 1595, the works were still being carried on at that time (Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.*). On December 9, 1599, Cardinal Caetani went to see the place of his burial (see *Avviso of December 11, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*) ; he died on the 13th ; on the 14th he was buried in his "capella che ha fatto fare bellissima et sopra ogni altra bella, se bene non è ancora finita." (*Avviso of December 15, 1599, *loc. cit.*). Cardinal Radziwill, who died on January 21, 1600, was buried in front of

so did Santori in Lateran Basilica.[1] Cardinal Bernerio at S. Sabina founded a chapel to St. Hyacinth, the altar of which was consecrated on May 23rd, 1600.[2] Cardinal Domenico Pinelli restored the paintings in the upper part of the central nave of S. Maria Maggiore.[3] Some relics which were discovered at S. Bartolomeo all Isola[4] gave Cardinal Tarugi an opportunity for erecting a magnificent altar. The officials of the Curia, too, such as Gabriele Bombasio and Tiberio Cerasa, founded chapels and altars. The chapel of S. Diego, of the Spaniard Enrico d'Errera at S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, was decorated by Francesco Albani with frescoes of the life of the saint.[5]

An important work of that period was the restoration carried out by Cardinal Baronius in his titular church, which was in a very dilapidated state, of SS. Nereo and Achilleo, at a cost amounting to 7,000 scudi.[6] This learned expert and admirer of antique Christian art ordered that as far as possible the original character of the building should be preserved. In an inscription he prayed his successor to leave in its ancient condition this little church dedicated to the holy eunuchs

Cardinal Caetani; he had left a legacy of 20,000 scudi for the chapel (*Avviso of January 22, 1600, Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the *Reisebericht, loc. cit.*, p. n. 362.

[1] When Santori died on June 7, 1602, his chapel was not yet finished; see *Avviso of June 13, 1602, Urb. 1070, *loc. cit.* For the Santori Chapel built by Onorio Lunghi see BAGLIONE, 147; PASCOLI, II., 513. The tomb of Santori by Giuliano Finelli (see PASCOLI, II., 57; PASSERI, 260) has a fine bust of the dead man.

[2] See MUÑOZ, S. Sabina, Rome, 1919, 40. *Cf.* *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. lat. 2816, Vatican Library.

[3] See WILPERT, Mosaiken, 418 n. 1. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 139, 148; VOSS, I., 30. *Cf.* also EGGER, Architekten Handzeichungen, 9-10.

[4] *Avviso of August 29, 1601, Urb. 1069, *loc. cit.*

[5] See TIETZE in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 133, 134, 172 *seq.* Caterina Nobili Sforza, Contessa di S. Fiora, built S. Bernardo alle Terme between 1598 and 1600; see S. ORTOLANI, S. Bernardo alle Terme, Rome, s.d.

[6] See CALENZIO, Baronio, 467 *seq.* *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 104.

of Flavia Domitilla, a relative of the Emperor Domitian.[1] The translation by Cardinal Baronius to his titular church of the relics of these saints, which had been discovered in S. Adriano a Campo Vaccino, took place with great solemnity on May 12th, 1597.[2] Three new altars, for which C. Roncalli painted a picture, were not finished for another three years.[3]

Baronius also restored the two venerable chapels at S. Gregorio, and adorned them with paintings by Antonio Viviano and with statues of St. Gregory I., and his mother St. Sylvia, executed by Nicholas Cordier.[4] In the actual church of St. Gregory Cardinal Salviati founded a beautiful chapel and a magnificent altar, adorned with a picture by Domenichino, the Prayer of Gregory I., for the miraculous and much venerated image of the Blessed Virgin which had spoken to St. Gregory.[5] Giovan Battista Ricci of Novara represented in the vaulting of the dome the triumph of Mary.[6] A new chapel of the Madonna was erected in S. Lorenzo in Lucina,[7] one of the many proofs of the fervent veneration of the Mother of God in Rome at that time.[8] When in January, 1594, the Pope visited the church of the Gesù, he suggested to Cardinal Rusticucci that he should build a chapel to match that of the Savelli.[9] Towards the end of the pontificate of Clement VIII. we are told of the grandiose plans being entertained by Cardinals Sandoval and Peretti for S. Anastasia

[1] FORCELLA, XI., 423; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 297.

[2] See the description in the *Avviso of May 14, 1597, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FORCELLA, III., 53.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 290. The inscriptions in FORCELLA, XI., 424; ORBAAN, Rome onder Clemens VIII., n. 46.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 103, 115; FORCELLA, II., 122 *seqq.*; VOSS, II., 500 *seqq.*; GIBELLI (note 6 *infra*), 22 *seqq.* *Cf.* V. MOSCHINI, S. Gregorio al Celio, Rome, s.d. 11 *seq.*

[5] See TIETZE, *loc. cit.*, 161 *seq.*

[6] See A. GIBELLI, Mem. d. chiesa dei santi Andrea e Gregorio al Clivo Scauro, Siena, 1888, 20.

[7] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 28, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 21, 1604, Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[9] See *Avviso of January 8, 1594, Urb. 1062, *loc. cit.*

and the SS. Apostoli.[1] Cardinal Peretti had already shown his interest in art by his erection of the great sepulchral monument to his uncle Sixtus V. at St. Mary Major's[2]

We are not surprised to learn that Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini too did not allow himself to be outdone in this rivalry. At S. Maria in Via he had a chapel painted by d'Arpino;[3] at Avignon he ordered the restoration of the church of S. Chiara, which had been founded by one of his ancestors; in Rome he gave orders for the restoration and decoration of his titular church, S. Niccolò in Carcere.[4] But his principal attention was devoted to his abbey of Tre Fontane.[5] The third of the churches on that spot, S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, owed its erection to the Cardinal; this was a simple building in the form of a portico, exactly adapted to the site of the three recently discovered springs, and which stood upon the site of the more ancient church built in memory of the place where the Apostle of the Gentiles had been beheaded.[6] The façade, adorned with Doric pilasters bears the arms of the Cardinal; on the attic may be seen those of Clement VIII. Inscriptions on the façade and in the interior mention 1599

[1] See *Avviso of October 9, 1604, which states: "Il cardinal Montalto anco si va dicendo sia rissoluto di rifar la chiesa de SS^ti^ Apostoli, opra che doveva fare Sisto V., et dicono voglia spendere da 200^m^ scudi con assegnarli per la fabrica 20^m^ scudi l'anno, si che sarà una bellissima et gran fabrica, et competerà et supererà quella del Gesù." Urb. 1072, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 289.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 370.

[4] *Cf. ibid.* 359, 401; FORCELLA, IV., 115.

[5] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 283 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* GRISAR, I., 615; E. LOVATELLI in the *Nuova Antologia*, CLXXXII. (1914), 11 *seqq.* Dr. Stein reports in his *Reisebericht that the springs which had once again been enclosed in marble by Aldobrandini had the reputation of being very salutary in diseases of body and soul: "soletque populus matutino tempore nudis pedibus excurrere et ex devotione hanc aquam ad salutem animae potare corallisque vel rosariis columnam attingere." Cod. 1751, the Library, Königsburg.

as the year of the building; a third, on the pavement, mentions 1601.[1] Giacomo della Porta made the designs both for this and for the second church,[2] a rotunda, which, in accordance with a vision of St. Bernard, bears the name of S. Maria Scala Coeli; this had been begun by Cardinal Farnese.[3] Pietro Aldobrandini undertook its completion, and gave the high altar and the mosaics in the tribune, which show the Madonna being crowned by angels, surrounded by St. Bernard and other saints, and with Clement VIII. and the founder kneeling before them. This splendid work was executed by the Florentine, Francesco Zucchi, from the designs of Giovanni de' Vecchi.[4] The Pope was so greatly interested in the building of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, begun in February, 1599,[5] that he twice paid a visit to it during the following year.[6]

Clement VIII. also took an active part in the discoveries which Cardinal Sfondrato, who was living a life of strict asceticism, devoted solely to works of piety and charity,[7] had made in Trastevere during the restoration of his titular church of S. Cecilia.[8] There, on October 20th, 1599, during

[1] See FORCELLA, XII., 329 *seq.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 81.

[3] See in FORCELLA, XII., 335, the inscription in the interior of the cupola of 1584.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 102, 128.

[5] *"Il card. Aldobrandini rissolto di risarcire la chiesa della sua abbadia di tre fontane vi si trasferì la settimana passata con l'architetto per effectuarla." *Avviso of February 20, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[6] See the *Avvisi of April 12 and October 18, 1600, Urb. 1068, *ibid.*

[7] An *Avviso of July 23, 1597, reports that the Cardinal fasts and prays continually. *Cf.* an *Avviso of March 1, 1600. For the great munificence of Sfondrato see the *Avvisi in Urb. 1065, 1067, 1068, 1071, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf.* the accounts of BARONIUS (Annales ad a. 821, n. 13 *seqq.*) and BOSIO (Historia passionis S. Caeciliae, Rome, 1600, 153 *seqq.*) with which may be read the *Avvisi of October 23 and 30, November 10, 17 and 27, and December 1, 1599 (Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*). During this year there were discovered in the course

the course of the works near the high altar, two white marble sarcophagi came to light, in which the Pope, on the strength of an inscription of Paschal I. in the church, came to the conclusion that they had discovered the bones of St. Cecilia and of SS. Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus, who had been converted by that noble Roman lady and martyred with her. Sfondrato had the sarcophagi opened in the presence of witnesses. When the cover was removed, there was seen the cypress-wood casket, still in a good state of preservation, in which Paschal I. in 821 had had the virgin martyr translated from the catacomb of St. Callixtus. The Cardinal himself opened it. The mortal remains of the martyr were found in the same position in which they had been placed eight centuries before. Through the silk gauze veil there shone the dress of the saint, embroidered in gold; at her feet were the small cloths stained with blood, mentioned by Paschal I. The Cardinal resolved at once to inform the Pope, who was at Frascati, of his discovery. When he got there he found Clement VIII. confined to his bed with a bad attack of gout, so that the Pope, who would have liked to have gone at once to Rome, sent Cardinal Baronius instead. The latter's report, and that of Antonio Bosio, the indefatigable explorer of the catacombs, tell us what happened. It may be clearly seen from their accounts how deeply they were moved when Sfondrato opened the casket of cypress wood, and they saw the reverently covered body. Cecilia's stature was extraordinarily small, and as nothing could be seen of her head, it was thought that the face was turned towards the ground; but from a holy reverence no further investigations were made. Bosio expresses the opinion that the saint was found in the same position as when she had yielded her last breath, but Baronius says nothing as to this.[1]

of the repairs necessitated by the inundation of the Tiber at S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, the casket containing the bones of SS. Exuperantius and Marcellus; see *Avviso of December 30, 1600, Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*

[1] See the criticism of the accounts of the excavations by L. DE LACGER in *Bull. de litt. ecclés. p. p. l'Institut Cath. de Toulouse*, XXIV. (1923), 218 *seqq.*

The casket was taken to a chapel in the right nave used for the confessions of the adjoining convent of nuns; there the relics were quite safe, and could be seen through a window by the faithful who flocked thither from all parts of Rome. The relics were to remain exposed there, so Clement VIII. ordered, until the feast of St. Cecilia (November 22nd). As soon as his health permitted the Pope came to Rome, and immediately upon his arrival, on November 10th, he went to show his veneration for the relics of the martyr.[1] He gave further proof of this by having a silver covering placed over the cypress wood casket, at a cost of more than 4,000 gold scudi.[2] The Pope refused to allow a more detailed examination,[3] and the body was to be buried in the same place where it had been found; all that was taken out was a small piece of the gold-embroidered dress and of blood-stained linen, together with a splinter of bone from the skull, which, with the heads of SS. Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus, taken from the other sarcophagus, were preserved in precious reliquaries.[4]

In the meantime Sfondrato had made further excavations, in the course of which a third sarcophagus was discovered; it was believed, from the inscription of Paschal I., that this contained the bones of Popes Urban and Lucius.

Now it was evident what a change of sentiment had taken place. When, a century before, the body of a girl belonging to the days of antiquity, had been found on the Appian Way,

[1] See *Avvisi of November 6 and 10, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

[2] Bosio, *loc. cit.*, 168; 4392. It is entered in the *Depos. gen.* of the State Archives, Rome, on January 8: *" E scudi 2000 di moneta pagati per chirografo di Nostro Signore a Curtio Vanni orefice a sui conti, dissero che hanno da servire per la cassa d'argento per riporre il corpo di santa Cecilia ritrovato ultimamente, che fu fino a conque di novembre passato."

[3] See Baronius, *loc. cit.* n. 16.

[4] *Cf.* Bosio, *loc. cit.* 163, 180. The Archduchess Maria wrote on March 29, 1604, from Graz to Cardinal Sfondrato to ask for a relic of St. Cecilia; see letter in Cod. Chig. L. III. 66 Vatican Library.

the Romans of the Renaissance had been filled with so great enthusiasm that Innocent VIII. had thought it necessary to interfere.[1] Now Clement VIII. could not do enough to satisfy the cultus of St. Cecilia. The youthful martyr was celebrated in poetry,[2] the casket containing her relics was adorned with candles and flowers, and the Romans flocked thither incessantly to venerate Cecilia and to implore her intercession. The crowds were so great that it was necessary to call in the assistance of the Swiss Guard. Cardinal Sfondrato remained the greater part of the day in the church, where the solemn burial took place on November 22nd, 1599. So as to prevent any accident among the vast throng of people, the passage of vehicles was forbidden in the Trastevere that morning. At the appointed hour the Pope appeared, accompanied by all the dignitaries of the court and the Roman Senate. There were also present all the Cardinals, forty-two in number, as well as the diplomatic representatives of France, Venice and Savoy. The Pope went first to the chapel where the cypress wood casket was exposed and blessed the silver coffer which he had had made for the purpose, and which was adorned with a short inscription and his arms. The casket was then taken to the high altar, where Clement VIII. celebrated high mass. The burial took place after the communion. The Cardinal Deacons, Farnese, Aldobrandini and Cesi, assisted by the Pope himself, carried the casket to the small confession below.[3] There it was placed in the silver coffer, and this

[1] *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 331 *seq.*

[2] *In divam Caeciliam virginem martyremque (Barb. 2092, p. 23b, Vatican Library) dated October 31, 1601, perhaps composed by P. Angelo Galuzzi. The poem of Urban VIII. to St. Cecilia, printed in ALEX. DONATI SENEN. S.J. Carminum volumen primum, Rome, 1625, 147 *seqq.* probably belongs to this period. After the discovery of the body of St. Cecilia a "compagnia" was established in her honour at S. Andrea, which accompanied the Blessed Sacrament to the sick; the members wore the image of the saint on their hats; see TOTTI, 86.

[3] See BOSIO, *loc. cit.* 164 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *Avviso of November 27, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. lat. 2816, *ibid.*

was lowered into a new and larger sarcophagus of marble,[1] which was closed by the Pope himself. After a short prayer Clement VIII. returned to the altar, where the mass was continued. The Romans flocked thither until dusk, to pray at the new tomb, to the decoration of which, as well as to the further adornment of the church, Cardinal Sfondrato, who was so fond of art, continued to devote himself.

After the restoration of the roof, Sfondrato intended to introduce a ceiling in gilt wood, but gave up this project when the architects declared that the central nave, which was very broad but rather low, would appear too heavy. He therefore contented himself with adorning the old ceiling with paintings. The walled-up windows of the central nave were re-opened, and the frescoes which were found there were restored, their ancient and venerable character being carefully respected. On the other hand the two ancient ambos were removed, and the side naves were adorned with pictures and new marble altars, containing pictures by Roman and foreign artists.[2]

The Netherland master, Paul Bril, decorated the corridor leading to the second chapel on the right with representations of the saints: Francis, Sylvia, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Paul the Hermit, Jerome, Antony, Onofrio, Spiridion, Eulogius and Hilary. As these were shown among rocks and crags, Bril was able to introduce landscapes of romantic ruggedness, which revealed that painter's great understanding of the beauties of nature, and at the same time a change of style.[3] This elaborate decoration was chosen for this corridor, because it led to one of the most celebrated sanctuaries of Rome. Here were to be found the remains, already carefully preserved by Paschal I., of an ancient Roman bathroom, in

[1] *Cf.* CABROL, Dict. d'archéol., II., 2, 2772.

[2] See BOSIO, *loc. cit.*, 171 *seqq.* *Cf.* also BAGLIONE, 60, 93, 111, 168, and *L'Arte*, X. (1907), 305.

[3] See MAYER, M. e P. Brill, 29 *seq.* and tav. 17-22. *Cf.* GERSTENBERG, Die ideale Landschaftsmalerei in Italien, Halle, 1923, 73.

which it was supposed that St. Cecilia had triumphantly survived her first martyrdom (suffocation by hot steam). Cardinal Sfondrato carefully preserved all these remains; the pipes from which the steam came, and the leaden channels for the draining of the water and restored the ancient chapel,[1] for which Guido Reni, who came to Rome in 1602, painted as an altar-piece, the martyrdom of the saint.[2]

The Gothic marble tabernacle over the high altar of S. Cecilia, the work of Arnolfo di Cambio, was also preserved, as well as the medieval candlestick for the Paschal candle. Both of these were carefully restored. The Cardinal also sumptuously decorated the confession in front of the high altar with many-coloured marbles, onyx, lapislazuli, and ornaments in gilt bronze. The altar itself was richly decorated by Stefano Maderno with candelabra, vases, lamps, six statues of saints and two bronze angels.[3] The angels are holding up a crown over the white marble statue of St. Cecilia, which lies in a niche of black marble immediately in front of the high altar, as though in an open sarcophagus. In this Maderno created a new form of altar, which was often imitated later on.[4] The statue of the saint, carved in the finest marble, and almost transparent, is one of the most celebrated and best known of Italian works of art. The master drew his inspiration from the legend that the saint expired in her bath-room, three days after receiving the mortal blow of the axe. Maderno did not therefore represent her lying as one who was dead, but reclining on her right side, with her knees drawn up, her hands half folded, her head covered with a veil, and her face turned

[1] See Bosio, *loc. cit.* 176 *seqq.*

[2] See Passeri, 62. *Cf.* Eisler in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1905, 318, and Tietze in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 139.

[3] A. Muñoz, St. Maderno, in *Atti e Mem. d. R. Accad. di S. Luca, Annuario*, 1913-14, Rome, 1915, 6 *seqq.*

[4] *E.g.* C. Menghini for St. Martina in SS. Luca e Martina, Antonio Giorgetti at St. Sebastian's, Ercole Ferrata at S. Anastasia, and Giambattista Marini for St. Anne at S. Andrea della Fratte; *cf.* Muñoz, *loc. cit.* 9.

towards the ground, her neck showing the stroke of the executioner's axe. Cecilia lies in the noblest simplicity, a picture of virginal purity, like a flower that has been plucked.[1] If in the catacombs the spirit of the first centuries of Christianity appeals directly to the heart of the visitor, it has nowhere found a more sublime artistic expression than here.[2]

Cardinal Sfondrato, who at the end of 1600 had already expended more than 25,000 scudi on the restoration and decoration of the church of S. Cecilia,[3] visited it almost every

[1] The common view, that Maderno represented the statue in this way, because it was as he had seen the saint at the opening of the cypress-wood casket, is not probable. In his remarks on the accounts of the discovery Quentin says: "On voit par ces textes combien il serait exagéré de regarder, par example, la statue de Maderno comme un document; elle n'est qu'une artistique restitution Le Cardinal Sfondrati n'a evidemment permis à qui que se fut d'ouvrir en son absence la chasse provisoire, ou il avait enfermé et scellé le coffre de cyprès contenant le corps de sainte Cécile, et, lui présent, personne ne s'est permis de soulever les voiles qui recouvraient et peut-être même enveloppaient ce corps. Personne n'a pu se rendre compte de son état de conservation sauf dans les grandes lignes, et l'on ignore si les ossements seuls se sont conservés ou si les chairs desséchées y sont restées adhérentes." (CABROL, Dict. d'archéol., II., 2, 2736). L. DE LACGER (*loc. cit.* 221 *seqq.*) rightly agrees with this view. The view that in 1599 the body of St. Cecilia was found, quite intact with the three wounds on the neck, was expressed as quite certain in the *Reisebericht* of the abate Marchstaller in 1625, printed in *Carinthia*, LXXI. (1881), 307.

[2] *Cf.* MOLITOR-WITTMER, 155. See also CANTALAMESSA in *Arch. stor. dell'arte*, V., 200 *seq.* Observations against the article by REYMOND in the *Gaz. des beaux-arts*, 1892. The full value of Maderno's work may be seen by comparing it with the painting in which Fr. Vanni represented the finding of the saint in the "confessio" underneath; see VOSS, II., 514 (with illust.); BRINKMANN, Barockskulptur, II., 222.

[3] An *Avviso of November 25, 1600, reports that: on Wednesday the Pope said mass at S. Cecilia and greatly praised Sfondrato for having expended more than 25,000 scudi on the

day, and chose it for his place of burial.[1] Clement VIII. too, had a special predilection for it. In the latter years of his life he regularly offered the Holy Sacrifice at the tomb of the martyr on St. Cecilia's feast.[2] It is easy to understand this predilection, because among the countless tombs of the saints there is hardly any other so graceful and so touching as that of this noble Roman scion of the family of the Cecilii.

It was no mere coincidence that, at the moment when Baronius was reviving the study of Christian antiquity, and when Bosio, Philip von Winghen and Ciaconius were exploring the subterranean sepulchral city from which the universal kingdom of the Church had sprung,[3] a great-hearted Cardinal and a Pope should have set before the eyes of the faithful of the period of Christian restoration, in the revival of the cultus of one of the most noble martyrs of Christ, an idea drawn from the heroic days of Christendom, thus pointing out the way by which the Church, purified in the fires of tribulation, has ever attained to her greatest triumphs.

restoration and decoration of the church, "havendo anch'animo di volergliene spendere dell'altri per maggiore decoro." Urb. 1068, *loc. cit.*

[1] See Bosio, *loc. cit.* 182.

[2] See *Avvisi of November 22, 1603, and November 24, 1604, Urb. 1071 and 1072, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Cabrol, Dict. d'archéol., II., 1, 1085 *seqq.*; III., 2801 *seq.*

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

1. Diary of the Master of Ceremonies Paolo Alaleone of the 18th November, 1593.[1]

Feria V^a^ chè 18 novembris 1593. In festo die dedicationis basilicae SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli S.D.N.D. Clemens Papa VIII. crucem aeneam magnam auratam, quae posita et collocata est supra pallam magnam auratam in cacumine S. Petri cum sacris reliquiis et Agnis Dei intus inclusis solemni ritu benedixit intus sacellum Gregorianum praesentibus quinque dd. cardinalibus cum mantellettis et rochettis, videlicet ill^mis^ dd. Alphonso Gesualdo episcopo Ostiensi, Alexandro Medices de Florentia nuncupato tit. S. Petri ad Vincula, Francisco Toleto tit. S. Mariae Transpontinae presbyteris, Petro Aldobrandino S. Nicolai in Carcere et Cynthio Aldobrandino S. Georgii nuncupato diaconis, ac multis episcopis, praelatis et aliis sanctis caeremoniis praecedentibus. Papa a suis cameris descendit per scalas sacristiae ad sacellum Gregorianum, in quo benedicta fuit crux, indutus stola supra mozzettam, cruce praecedente, et in porta Gregoriani aspersit se et alios cardinales de aqua benedicta, de more ministrante aspersorium ill^mo^ d. cardinale Gesualdo. Deinde fecit orationem ante altare dicti sacelli Gregoriani, supra quod altare capsula argentea erat et intus reliquiae in cruce includendae et Agni Dei et duae capsalue plumbeae, quarum in una erant includendae reliquiae, in altera Agni Dei. Papa facta oratione accessit ad altare et visis omnibus supradictis in altare positis deposito bireto benedixit duas capsulas plumbeas, prout dicitur in libro Pontificali, indutus stola supra mozzettam. Benedictis capsulis inclusit reliquias intus unam ex capsulis plumbeis videlicet de ligno s^mae^ crucis D. N. Iesu Christi, de reliquiis S. Andreae Apostoli, S. Iacobi maioris Apostoli, S. Clementis Papae et Martyris, S. Callisti Papae et Martyris, S. Sixti Secundi Papae et Martyris, S. Ioannis I Papae et Martyris cum tribus granis incensi. Deinde

[1] See *supra*, p. 470.

inclusit in altera capsula Agnos Dei. Hoc confecto Papa discendens ab altare venit ante crucem collocatam extra altare a cornu Evangelii in angulo, quam benedixit, prout in libro Pontificali habetur, cum eisdem caeremoniis notatis et descriptis in dicto libro Pontificali. Benedicta cruce Papa suis manibus collocavit capsulam plumbeam cum reliquiis intus inclusis in brachio dextero crucis et capsulam plumbeam cum Agnis Dei intus inclusis in brachio sinistro crucis. Deinde Papa genuflexus adoravit crucem et illam lacrimando osculatus est. Post Papam adorarunt crucem ill^{mi} dd. cardinales supradicti, episcoli, praelati et alii. Demum Papa apud altare deposita stola ac mozzetta lavit manus et accepit paramenta pro missa lecta dicenda, quam dixit in altare dicti sacelli Gregoriani de die festo dedicationis, praesentibus omnibus supradictis. Absoluta missa oravit ante altare maius S^{ti} Petri sub quo condita sunt corpora SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Deinde ascendit superius ad suas cameras per eandem viam, qua venit. Indulgentia non fuit concessa, quia in basilica S. Petri hodie est plenaria. De libro servivit in benedictione capsularum et crucis r^{mus} d. archiepiscopus Montis Regalis et de candela episcopus Cassanensis induti mantellettis et rochettis. Crux benedicta fuit collocata supra pallam in cacumine cuppae magnae S. Petri circa horam 21 et fuerunt pulsatae campanae dictae basilicae S. Petri sonarunt tubycines et timpanistae et fuerunt exoneratae bombardae in arce S. Angeli et in platea S. Petri, et canonici et capitulum basilicae S. Petri cantarunt hymnum, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, dum superius crux ferebatur et trahebatur, et deinde hymnum, *Te Deum*, etc. Quos hymnos cantores dictae basilicae cantarunt praesente toto clero S. Petri.

[*Barb.* 2815, p. 326 ss. Vatican Library.]

2. Statement from Sigismund, King of Poland, to Pope Clement VIII.[1]

1594, March 8, Upsala.

Sedis Ap^{ae} autoritati tanto nos plus debere fatemur, quanto maioribus beneficiis prae caeteris orbis christ. principibus ab ea auctos nos esse cognoscimus ; etenim cum in turbulentum regni Poloniae statum nostri initium imperii incidisset subditisque nostris factionibus misere distractis summa rei in

[1] See *supra*, pp. 97, 98, 100.

lubrico versaretur, irritatis praesertim tot potentissimorum principum animis, id tandem Sedis Ap. beneficio, prudentia et dexteritate S^tis^ V. consecuti sumus, ut sublatis turbis atque discordiis, pacato atque tranquillo regni statu potiremur; longum vero esset recensere, quae ac quanta beneficia postmodum officia ab eadem S. Sede per legatos in nos derivata sunt.

For this reason he looks upon it as his duty to defend the Holy See and the Faith. He has not shrunk from the difficult journey, and it makes no difference to him that he has not accomplished more, and this he wishes to tell you. Quamprimum in hoc nostrum regnum appulimus, deprehendimus inter praecipuos regni ordines non dubitanter coniuratum, mortem se omnes malle appetere, quam publicum cath. religionis usum atque exercitium admittere, quod temporis progressu semper magis magisque apparuit. Cum vero rem serio essemus aggressi, non solum de regnis sed etiam de vita cepimus periclitari, enimvero aperte nobis denunciarunt, nisi eorum postulatis satisfieret, se unanimes ab obedientia et fide nostra discessuros ac nobis regressum Stockholmiam prohibituros, et si dux Carolus, quem auctorem suorum consiliorum et incensorem habuerunt omnes, nostrum Stockholmiam reditum antevertere non posset, facile tamen futurum tum propter anni tempus, tum propter religionis nostrae insectationem, nos omni commeatu prohibere, neque hic fuit modus seu meta audaciae, verum in eo processerunt perfidia, ut carceres et vincula nobis, Polonis quos nobiscum adduximus interitum, catholicis Suecis extremum supplicium minitarentur. Inter haec tamen parum regni iacturam maerebamus neque tanti aestimabamus vitae periculum, quin conscientiam nostram haberemus potiorem, sed multa ac varia animo nostro obversabantur. Explicatum nobis imprimis fuit a Polonis publicum regni Poloniae detrimentum atque vicinam cladem propter intestinas factiones et circumfusas tot barbarorum copias, consortis nostrae reginae aetate, sexu, vitae periculo non potuimus non commoveri, legati apost^ci^, quem propter S^tem^ V. et ipsius in nos merita unice diligimus, certissimum vitae discrimen ob oculos versabatur aliaque non spernendarum rerum momenta, suis quae ponderibus examinavimus, ob quae consultius videbatur tempori tantisper cedere, donec Deo volente opportunior occasio rei gerendae oblata fuerit.

Quam ob rem petimus a S^te V^a diligenter et obnixe, ut nos habeat excusatos et simul apud omnes christ. principes excuset atque defendat; remedia nonnulla quae huic malo opportune adhiberi poterunt, excogitavimus, quae iudicio et censurae S^tis V. libenter submittimus, et imprimis quidem an ea quae vi et minis totque propositis periculis extorserunt, quamprimum mare navigationi apertum fuit nec amplius propter anni tempus hic inclusi et ab omni externo auxilio exclusi erimus, revocanda sint; deinde an quod auctoritate nostra et accurata tractatione effici non potuit, id vi et armis in reditu nostro tentare debeamus, quod quidem si S^tis V^ae placuerit, obnixe petimus, ut nobis sua auctoritate et opera praesto esse velit, quo necessaria auxilia ad hoc perficiendum a regno Poloniae obtinere possimus; praeterea anne hic aliqufd moliendum, antequam denuo reversi sedem nostram atque imperium magis stabiliremus, nam interea illorum impetus facile defervescet et aditum nobis ad rem opportune gerendam muniemus. In hisce omnibus ad consilium et auctoritatem S^tis V^ae recurrimus. . .

Interea si in tractatione pacis cum Moscis ad opem et auxilium Polonorum recurrerint Sueci, quod facturi videntur, denegabitur illis omnino, nisi prius liberum atque publicum religionis exercitium se inter regnum admissuros spoponderint. Curabimus etiam summo studio et contentione, ut nemo ad regni administrationem admittatur, qui non prius sancte receperit se permissurum introduci religionis nostrae exercitium. Iuvenes praeterea aliquot e nobilitate melioris spei e regno emittemus, ut in pura fide educentur ad cath. religionis messem, quam aliquando uberem et copiosam speramus; iis vero qui iam hic sunt catholici, non modo praesidio erimus, sed etiam auxilio, ut nihil ad convenientem vitae sustentationem desiderare possint; dedimus iam illis assicurationem religionis catholicae, cuius exemplar S^ti V^ae misimus una cum exemplari protestationis, quam contra haereticos fecimus.—Egli si raccomanda al Papa.

[Orig. Doria Archives, Roma.]

3. Germanico Malaspina to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1]

1594, March 8, Upsala.[2]

Hanno finalmente li heretici estorto da S. M^tà l'assicuratione intorno al negotio della religione, et è così impia et

[1] See *supra*, p. 99.
[2] Deciphered on April 20th.

esorbitante, come V. S. ill^{ma} vederà dalla copia di essa segnata con la lettera A, che, se bene è poi seguita la coronatione, et che perciò molti giudicando che sia stabilito il dominio politico, stimano assai che per mezzo di essa coronatione si siano rotti li disegni che con le antecedenti mie insinuai a V. S. ill^{ma}, del duca Carlo et delli senatori ; et tengono per fermo che non vi era altro modo, si per evitare la libidine del dominare dell'uno e dell'altri, come anco per assicurare questo regno in persona cattolica ; et si persuadeno che confirmato che sarà l'imperio di questa Maestà, sia per essere la sollevatione del Cattolicismo tanto maggiare quanto hora è stata tal oppressione e tanto maggiore il resentimento di questo Seren^{mo} contro li heretici quanto è stata maggior la violenza e per conseguenza l'ingiuria ; et che puoco si è potuto perdere dove niente si può, et sia per aportare notabile sollevamento all'affetto et turbolento stato della Christianità. Tuttavia havendo S. M^{tà} fatta un'attione, della quale non se ne può adurre essempio alcuno, et essendo però stato lo scandalo grande et il pregiuditio della nostra santa religione non inferiore, pare a me che Sua M^{tà} non possa restar sicura di non haver irritata l'ira et indignatione di Dio contro di se et che essendo illeciti et condennati li mezzi tenuti per assicurarsi del politico, sia per essere puoco stabile et durabile un dominio confirmato di questa maniera, et che, havendo levata l'anima al corpo, sia per restare un cadavere fetente et sottoposto a corruttione . . .

There then follows a detailed account of events, which will lead to this effect ; the principal point states :

. . . Il giorno seguente poi, radunatosi insieme tutti li Ordini, mandorno due de più favoriti familiari di Sua Maestà, nobili Svedesi, ad intimare a S. M^{tà} che, se lei non si risolveva a sottoscrivere a tutte le petitioni loro, che fra tre hore sarebbono venuti tutti li Ordini a levarle la obedienza, et se bene li mandati non soggiongevano altro, tuttavia non mancavano di quelli che minacciavano a S. M^{tà} che non solamente ella non potrebbe ritonar a Stocolmo, ma che la sarebbe stata incarcerata ; per il che Sua M^{tà} chiamati li tre senatori Pollacchi, li mandò dalli padri Giesuiti, a quali proposero il caso tanto pericoloso, che, se bene il confessore della regina era sempre stato del mio parere, non dimeno, vedendo così risoluto il confessore del re, non ardi di opponersi al suo parere ; onde non solamente in viva voce il confessore di Sua M^{tà}

disse che poteva fare ciò che gli heretici dimandavano, ma diede anco in scritto il voto suo et ciò fu fatto senza mia participatione, anzi stetti due giorni senza saper cosa alcuna di quello che era seguito. Dopò il confessore del re si è scusato meco, dicendo che non gli fu dato se non tre hore di tempo a rispondere. Io, come quello che, havendo in Germania osservato il stile delli heretici, non ho conosciuto pericolo di qualità havrei desiderato che Sua M^tà^ havesse risposto alli due mandati, che Sua M^tà^ non voleva in modo alcuno fare attione così di diretto contro la sua conscienza, et che li Ordini fussero venuti a lor posta, perchè forsi non sarebbono andati, o, quando pure fussero andati, Sua Maestrà era a tempo a far pur quello che fece; ma perchè è difficile in simili casi far certo giuditio, io non ardisco di condennare nè riprendere alcuno, e mi consolo di non essere stato nè autore nè promotore nè consapevole de simili consigli. Segui poi il primo del corrente la coronatione fatta da uno di questi vescovi, insieme coll'untione fatta con il semplice balsamo ungendo il fronte et polsi di S. M^tà^; ma la seren^ma^ regina non volse esser unta. Permise S. M^tà^ d'esser coronata et unta per mano d'un ministro heretico, perchè fu avertita che Carlo voleva subito o dopo la partita, secondo li fosse tornato commodo, far dichiarare dalli ministri nullo l'atto della coronatione; ma siccome noi siamo restati afflitti, così esso è restato chiarito, perchè non si poteva mai persuadere che Sua M^tà^ fosse per accettar la corona con simili conditioni. Hora egli ha totalmente deposta ogni speranza; quelle resolutioni, che Sua M^tà^ ha prese, V. S. ill^ma^ le vedrà dalla lettera sua a N^ro^ Sig^re^, et dalle proteste et dechiarationi fatte pure dalla M^tà^ Sua, le quali perchè contengono cose di molta qualità e conseguenze per li affari di quà, essendo necessaria secretezza grande, mi ha Sua M^tà^ ricercato che io le faccia mettere in cifra, il che ho fatto volentieri. Si starà aspettando il conseglio che Nostro Signore darà a Sua M^tà^ et acciò V. S. ill^ma^ pegga le promesse che Sua M^tà^ fece, quando parti di quà per Polonia, et furono accettate et sottoscritte dalli Ordini del regno, invio la scrittura che sarà con questa alla lettera M, per la quale si potrà comprendere, che, quanto al particolare della Polonia, si è guadagnato, poichè della Estonea non se n'è fatta mentione, et d'altre cose di non poca consideratione.

[Borghese III., 91 A B, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives.]

4. Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini to the Nuncio Malaspina.[1]

1594, April 30, Rome.

" . . . Le dico che essendo S. M^tà del re stata indotta da evidente necessità alle cose seguite, N. S^re con le viscere di vero amore paterno non solo la scusa et la benedice, ma la compassiona grandemente et confida nella divina misericordia che non havendo peccato la volontà sarà facile l'ottener perdono. La costanza della ser^a regina in non volersi lasciar ungere in quella profana maniera et le lagrime sparse per dolore dell'offese che vedava fare a Dio, meritano lode grandissima et haveranno dal cielo li debiti premii."

[Copy, Borghese II., 68, Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini to the Cardinal-Legate Madruzzo.[2]

1594, May 2, Rome.

La divina misericordia va moltiplicando i servi della religione cattolica in Olanda di maniera che se ne sperano ogni di progressi maggiori, massime che già pare che gli heretici stessi, confuse nelle loro discordie et dalla christiana patienza de nostri, attentino quel rigore di persecutione che solevano usar contro sacerdoti che secretamente andavano pascendo l'anime con i santissimi sacramenti, se bene in niun tempo si è veduta quivi la fierezza che s'è provata in altre nationi può prive d'humanità.

Hora quelli che travagliano in quella vigna, tornano a ricordare il bisogno che hanno d'un vescovo che secretamente versasse fra di loro. Nè N. S. resteria di consolari purchè si trovasse soggetto a proposito, poichè D. V. Cauchio, che pareva idoneo, ricusò di sopporsi a quelle fatiche. Se a lei occorrerà consiglio o persona atta, ce ne scriva ; qua intendono il parere di mons. di Tricarico, per le cui mani sono passate quelle faccende . . .

In the meantime we send as catechist " Padre Fra Pietro Hestelio," a Fleming of the order of St. Dominic " versato nel paese et et nell'opera medesima." He displays zeal, he has received faculties from the Inquisition ; the Cardinal recommends him.

[Orig. Cod. Campori, 214, Este Library, Modena.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 99.
[2] See *supra*, p. 4.

6. Germanico Malaspina to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.[1]

1594, August 15, Di Nave.

Illmo et rev^{mo} sig$_{r}$ patron mio col^{mo}.

Le infermità di questo regno nel politico et spirituale si sono andate successivamente scoprendo tali che, come suol alle volte accadere nelli corpi ripieni di humori che il rimedio che si usa per provedere a una parte ne genera delli altri più pernitiosi et di maggior pericolo, così quelle medicine che questo ser^{mo} re è andato applicando hora per conservare il politico, hora per introdurre il spirituale, non hanno sempre fatta quella operatione in bene che il zelo et la prudenza di Sua M^{tà} ricercava, anzi quel rimedio così commendato da alcuni politici Polacchi, di concedere le cose desiderate intorno al negotio della religione, non ha sminuito, ma accresciuto li disegni dell'heretici nel politico. Onde è degno di molta lode questo Ser^{mo} havendo stabilito in assai buona forma il politico et sollevato in qualche parte l'afflitto stato della religione, come nel foglio a parte V. S. ill^{ma} intenderà. Ma è bene stato in questa trattatione cosa notabile et degna di posterità il vedere questo buon re, difeso solamente dalla maestà regia, rimanere per ogni altro rispetto esposto all'ambitione d'un zio potente et di natura temeraria et fascinato da quel condennato et seditioso seme di Calvino, et alla discretione d'una nobiltà che a guisa di fiera selvaggia usa ad essere ritenuta in un serraglio, uscitane fuori recalcitra per non ritornarvi et il resto de sudditi, se bene di natura pacati, agitati però de queste furie infernali de predicanti, non hanno mai dato argumento alcuno di ricognoscere se non in parole per loro vero signore questa Maestà, et perciò, si come quanto più è stata ardua questa negotiatione et per rispetto di questo regno hereditario, dove la massa è tutta corrotta et tutti gli ordini alieni dal loro re, et per causa dell'elettivo sottoposto a varie pratiche, il quale per haver prefisso, se bene ragione volmente, il tempo del ritorno in Polonia, ha in un certo-moda suministrato armi a questo altro, con le quali potesse offendere questo ser^{mo} re, così a questo tempo et nelle congionture che si ritrova lo stato della Christianità, niuna cosa era più preclara nè più gloriosa, quanto conservare l'elettivo et acquistare questo altro senza strepito nè tumulto, et con

[1] See *supra*, p. 98, 102.

la patienza et con la industria et particolarmente con la pietà rendere vani li conati delli adversarii. Et in vero deve essere desiderato da questa Maestà l'accrescimento della presente grandezza, che conservarà con l'aiuto di Dio volontariamente, che quella che hanno mantenuta li suoi predecessori con la violenza. Et se bene non rimangono qua gli huomini consideratori delle cose future liberi dal sospetto, che nell'absentia di Sua M^tà^ le cose si siano per mutare in peggio, tuttavia voglio sperare che la opinione del cancelliere di Polonia sia per verificarsi, cioè che Sua M^tà^ sarà più obedita et stimata resedendo in Polonia che non è stata mentre si è fermata quà, perchè, se bene sarebbe temerità il negare che simil attione non sia sottoposta a varii pericoli, nondimeno non credo che sia degna di riprensione questa Maestà, se non la ha regolata come se tutti li pericoli havessero a succedere, sperando nella Providenza Divina che non verrà innanzi tutto quello di male che può accadere, anzi teniamo per cosa indubitata che non saranno così congionti questi suditi a una ribellione manifesta, come sono stati congionti con consegli et machinationi occulte. Questo ho voluto con ogni humiltà significare a V. S. ill^ma^ acciochè lei veda avanti quello che scrivo in altra forma che Sua M^tà^ crede di haver data tal direttione al governo di questo regno et havere incominato il negotio della religione di tal maniera, et havere misurato et calculato quello che a lei conveniva quanto al temporale et spirituale, che intorno al primo tiene che la ritentione de l'uno et l'altro regno seguirà ; et nel secondo si persuade Sua M^tà^ d'havere gettati così buoni fondamenti che Sua Beat^ne^ può restare consola a per l'augumento che sotto il suo pontificato vedrà dell'honore et gloria di Dio. Io, Illmo Sig^re^, se ben conosco che si deve suspendere l'intelletto nel fare giuditio della racolta del seminato da noi insin'tanto che un'altra volta si apra il mare, essendo pericolosa cosa il fidarsi della fede di coloro che non l'hanno osservata a Dio, nondimeno non posso contenermi di non sentire molta consolatione et di non rendere alla Divina Maestà gratie infinite per il favore ricevuto d'havere, senza incorrere in tragedie, sostentata la carica di questa mia fontione aquilonare con dignità, et che nella promotione et direttione di così difficile, varia et odiosa trattatione la confidentia di queste Maestà verso di me, non solo non si sia sminuita, ma augumentata, et che li signori Polacchi habbino a conoscere

che quanto al ritorno di Sua Maestà si sia proceduto con loro bona fide, per il che, non come vittorioso di questa, dirò così, guerra d'heretici, ma come reconoscitore in qualche parte delli beneficii divini, ho eretto il vessillo di s^ta^ Chiesa et le armi di N^ro^ Sig^re^ in questo mar Baltico, acciochè, havendomi questo Ser^mo^ consignata la nave generale dell'armata, in essa risplendesse quel stendardo che meritamente in ogni, luogo deve essere preposto a tutti gli altri . . .

Di nave il giorno dell'Assuntione 15 agosto 1594.

[Address :] Al sig^r^ Card^le^ S. Giorgio. Ger^co^ vescovo di S, Severo.

[Borghese III., 91 A B, p. 152, Papal Secret Archives.]

7. Instruction by L. Taverna for his Successor in the Venetian Nuntiature, Antonio Maria Graziani.[1]

1596, March 30, Venice.

. . . Una delle più importanti cure che habbi il Nuntio qua è il tribunal della s. Inquisizione . . . Si rauna tre volte la settimana cioè il martedì, il giovedì, il sabato ; in esso sono capi et giudici il Nuntio, il Patriarca et l'Inquisitore. V'intervengono però l'auditore del Nuntio, il vicario del Patriarca et il commissario del s. Officio, ch' è frate eletto dall'Inquisitore et hanno voto consultivo. Vi assistono anche tre senatori principali nominati dall'ecc. senato per dar il braccio secolare quando bisogna fare qualche cattura o altra esecutione. Io per l'ordine espresso datomi da N. S^re^ prima che partessi di Roma non ho mai mancato d'andare a questo tribunale se non il sabato per essere quel giorno ordinariamente occupato in scrivere, se ben anco in esso si è atteso ordinariamente ad esaminare i rei o testimonii riservandosi poi il fare il decreto et le risolutioni martedì et giovedì acciò vi fossimo tutti presenti importando assai la presenza del Nuntio per l'autorità dell' offitio, per il rispetto che gl'hanno li clarissimi assistenti et per esser li Nuntii per il più di professione legale, della quale non sono il Patriarca et l'Inqusitore. Però sarà gran servitio di Dio benedetto o di S. S^tà^ che V. S. R. ci vada quanto più spesso potrà et procuri con la prudenza et destrezza sua di mantenere la giurisdittione et autorità di detto tribunale in che li bisognerà essere oculatissima. Gioverà anco assai il tenere buona intelligenza con il p. Inquisitore essendo vigilante,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 153, 156, 214, 222.

assiduo, di grande integrita, molto intelligente et prattico in questi negotii oltra la notitia che potrà dare delle cose di Venetia, delle quali è molto informato per esservi stato lungo tempo . . .

Quando s ha da sententiare diffinitivamente in qualche cosa d'importanza si sogliono chiamare quattro altri consultori, due canonisti et due theologi ch'habbino però notitia de canoni et doppo esservi uditi tutti li voti consultivi il Nuntio, il Patriarca et l'Inquisitore pronuntiano come li pare che ricerchi il giusto et l'honesto. In tempo mio non mi ricordo che sia mai stata differenza tra noi tre, mas se vi nascesse li voti di due prevaleriano . . .

Quando venni a Venetia li regolari vivevano con tanta licenza et dissolutione ch'era grandissima vergogna et scandalo. I have attempted a reform, but it is necessary to carry it on. By order of the Pope I have driven out two apostates of the "minimi conventuali, Fra Paolo della Pergola et un Fra Fabritio Napolitano," they are now living as exiles and have vainly tried to stir up the government against the Pope. Fra Paolo is still in "questi contorni," he hopes after my departure to be able to remain: the nuncio must see that Fra Paolo is punished.

There continue "differenze di giurisdittione" between the bishops and the magistrates. I have always upheld ecclestical jurisdiction.

[Copy. Istruzioni I., 11 *seq.*, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.]

8. Lelio Arrigoni to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1596, June 29, Rome.

. . . Nelle riforme che d'ordine di N. S. si vanno tuttavia facendo d'infinite cose, et particolarmente intorno alla stampa, annullando molte opere et altre sottomettendo a nuova correttione, come appare per il nuovo indice, intendo che si habbia a sospendere l'opera di Merlino[2] la quale per l'honore che apporta a cotesta città di onde è venuta et per esser anco stata fatica assai virtuosa, potrebbe forsi essere desiderata viva da V. A., et perchè in tal caso l'autorità sua appresso S. Bne et questi riformatori sarebbe potente a sostenerla che

[1] See *supra*, p. 217.
[2] "Folengo": see Reusch, Index, I., 391.

non fosse lacerata affatto, ho voluto scriverlene affine se nell' A. V. fusse pensiero che perciò se ne facesse qualche ufficio, resti servita di comandarlo . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. Pope Clement VIII. to the Inquisitor Antonio de Matos de Noronha, Bishop of Elvas.[1]

1596, September 19, Rome.

Almost every day there came to Rome Portuguese, so-called neo-Christians converted from Judaism, who witness to the diversity of these neo-Christians; some keep the faith inviolate and in its entirety, while others call themselves Christians hypocritically, but adhere to the superstitions of their forefathers; they hate the true Christians, their fellow-countrymen, and seek by calumnies to involve them in their own condemnation when they are punished by the Inquisition. The true Christians complain that besides being thus thrown into prison, and examined by the Inquisition "per interrogatoria suggestiva," being thus trapped they are compelled to admit things which they have not done. We warn you to admonish the inquisitors and the judges of the Inquisition to proceed in accordance with legitimate evidence, and not upon false depositions, and that "omnino a suggestionibus ac captiosis interrogationibus abstineant."

[Brevia, Arm. 40, t. 40, n. 379, Papal Secret Archives.]

10. Avviso di Roma of 23 July, 1597.[2]

The Pope goes almost every morning to a church, thus on Sunday to the Rotonda, where the canons showed him "le molte necessità, in che si trova quella machina et particolarmente la cuppola, la quale è talmente dall'antichità disfatta, che quando piove, tutta la chiesa si riempie d'acqua, supplicandola però a voler compatire alla lor'povertà, onde la S. S. si mostrò prontissimo a un'opra tanto pia havendovi di già destinato un'architetto, che vegga il bisogno, et in somma dicesi, che si ricoprirà la cuppola di piombo, et si abbellirà dentro de bellissime cappelle, et di fuori alla porta si farà un'cancello di ferro et molte pietre di fino marmo, che stavano sotterrate in quel porticale, son state discavate per condurle a

[1] See *supra*, p. 199.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 478, 481.

S. Gio. Laterano in servitio della nova cappella, che S. S. fa fare in quella basilica con notabilissima spesa."

(Orig. Urb. 1065, p. 439, Vatican Library.]

11. Pope Clement VIII. to the Prince-Elector of Trêves, Johann von Schönenberg.[1]

1597, September 27, Rome.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Catholicae Ecclesiae, cui divina bonitas nullis Nostris meritis infirmitatem Nostram praeesse voluit, prodesse etiam quacunque ratione, Deo iuvante, possumus, valde cupientes, hanc quoque cogitationem suscepimus ut vetera oecumenica concilia in Nostra Vaticana typographia quam emendatissime imprimantur; quorum quanta sit in eadem Ecclesia Dei auctoritas atque utilitas, fraternitas Tua non ignorat, et iam prima illa quattuor, quibus tamquam quattuor Evangeliis venerationem adhibendam esse, magnum Ecclesiae Romanae lumen, sanctus Gregorius summus pontifex et doctor egregius docuit, non mediocri piorum et literatorum hominum labore emendata sunt, undique tam graecis quam latinis conquisitis ac collatis libris, et eodem studio in aliorum eiusmodi conciliorum emendatione diligenter iussu Nostro incumbetur. Interea relatum Nobis est in bibliotheca nobilis istius metropolitanae ecclesiae vetustos aliquot conciliorum codices manuscriptos inveniri, qui magno usui esse poterunt ad hanc quam molimur editionem, in primis vero sextam synodum integram grandioribus litteris in membrana scriptam, synodum item Chalcedonensem eadem forma, volumen etiam conciliorum diversorum et decretales epistolas Romanorum Pontificum priscorum. Ex quorum sane codicum collatione multa ad publicam ultilitatem depromi posse speramus. Quare a Tua fraternitate petimus, ut eosdem libros ad Nos transmittendos cures, quod Te et dilectos filios canonicos et capitulares eiusdem metropolitanae ecclesiae, ad quos etiam litteras damus, libenter facturos confidimus, quod vestra erga hanc Sanctam Sedem perspecta pietas et devotio Nostraque erga vos paterna caritas merito postulat. Hac quidem in re quid spectemus vides: solam Dei gloriam et catholicae fidei, quam sacra concilia, rite convocata, Spiritu Sancto auctore docuerunt, propagationem quaerimus. At tam praeclarum opus

[1] See *supra*, p. 438.

et fraternitatem Tuam et canonicos convenire, vobis et ecclesiae isti honorificum est et Nobis pergratum erit, quemadmodum Tibi copiosius exponet venerabilis frater episcopus Auxerensis,[1] Nuntius Noster Apostolicus, cui ut fidem cumulate habeas a Te petimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Marcum sub annulo piscatoris, die 27 Septembris 1597, pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 22, Papal Secret Archives.]

12. Inscription at the Portico of the Cathedral of S. Maria in Civita Castellana.[2]

Clemens VIII P. O. M., qui octo praecipuis S. R. E. cardinalibus comitatus pontis molem super Tiberim inter Veyentes et Sabinos a Sixto V fe. rec. olim deliberatam modo suo iussu et aere constructam oculata fide exploraturus ad Veyos divertit et in arce a Petro Aldobrandino eiusdem Sm̃i ex frate nepote card. ampliss. eiusdem civitatis gub. splendidissime receptus semel et iterum tranquille pernoctavit; interea cum summa lenitate magistratus ad iustitiam colendam patritiosque ad rite et recte vivendum adhortatus proventibus archivi et damni dati nuncupatis officiis communitati condonatis pia loca eleemosinis fovit superque nonnullos cives carceribus et exilio in caput mancipatos paterne misertus omnes libertate facile donavit, cathedralem porro ecclesiam re sacra ad aram maiorem mira cum pietate peracta bis illustravit et plenaria indulgentia in festo d. Georgii adventus sui die auspicatissima quotannis cumulatissime ditavit, populum tandem pre [sic] illius recessu moestum et solicitum pia cum benedictione complexus itinere in pace sumpto foelix recessit a. d. 1597.

Sim. Petronio I. U. D. Io. D. Bu. et Blu. Caio conservatoribus curan.

13. Report of G. Malaspina on the situation in Sweden.[3]

Relatione dello stato spirituale e ploitico del regno di Svetia di ciò che segui quando di re andò a pigliare il possesso di esso regno, et come di nuovo vi si rimpiantò la fede cattolica del beneficio che può ricevere la Christianità della congiuntione

[1] Coriolano Garzadoro, bishop of Ossero.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 490, 491.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 88, 97, 98, 100, 104, 105, 106.

della Svetia con la Polonia, della provincia della Finlandia a'confini del Mosco, del porto di Calmar chiave del mar Baltico, del porto di Elsburg fuori dello stretto di Dania.

Gustavo che fu avo del ser^mo re di Polonia, doppo di havere con molto valore et gloria liberato il regno di Svetia, patria sua, dalla tirannide di Cristerno re di Dania, et fattosi di privato cittadino sebene d'antica et nobile famiglia, di consenso et applauso de'popoli re di Svetia, et ridotto il regno di elettivo hereditario, oscurò lo splendore delle sue gloriose operationi con una nota d'infamia perpetua, poichè mosso non tanto da depravata coscienza quanto da timore di non poter sostenere con le tenue entrate che alli re eletti di Svetia,erano assignate la dignità del grado dentro del regno et di fuori difendersi da Cristerno, emulo et inimico suo, applicò a se tutte l'entrate ecclesiastiche del suo regno, et perchè se i suoi sudditi fossero rimasti cattolici, non havrebbono permesso che havesse violato il giuramento che fece quando come cattolico fu ricevuto per re, di conservare et protegere l'ordine eccl^co et regolare, per potere esseguire questo suo depravato desiderio apostatò dalla fede catt^ca et abbracciò la dannata setta di Lutero, et con diverse diaboliche arti, indusse la semplice plebe (dalla quale dipendono in gran parte le deliberationi che in quel regno si prendono) a seguire i vestigi suoi, di modo ch'egli potè sicuramente occupare i beni ecclesiastici. Successe a Gustavo Enrico suo figlio primogenito il quale fu anch'esso infetto di heresia, ma non già di moderati costumi come Gustavo poichè fu superbo, crudele et precipitoso. Per impietà faceva un'asino carico di sale a piedi d'una montagna erta et senza via per salirvi sopra et egli era distinto con un bastone in mano che batteva il detto asino et interpretava detta sua impresa nella seguente forma, che l'asino cennò i sudditi, il sale le gravezze, la montagna significava che il suddito deve essere forzato a fare anco quello che haveva dell'impossibile per mezzo del bastone. Costui carcerò Giovanni suo fratello duca di Finlandia et stando prigione insieme con la moglie, sorella del re Sigismondo Augusto et figliuolo della regina Bona, dotata di singolar pietà et prudenza, nacque il presente re di Polonia et in povertà tale che non havendo la madre con che fasciarlo, fece di una camisa fascie. Suoleva Enrico andare alla carcere con animo di far morire Giovanni suo fratello insieme con la moglie et figlio, ma gionto ad essa carcere non solo non

effettuava la sua mala intentione, ma si raccomandava al fratello dicendo : So, che tu sarai re et io tuo prigione, habbimi per raccomandato. Et non fu falso profeta perchè Giovanni con l'aiuto di Carlo terzo fratello et duca di Sudermania uscì di carcere et fece prigione Enrico et esso fu creato re morendo poi Enrico in carcere. Fu Giovanni di natura incostante et varia, ma ingenuo et regendo esso in Svetia fu eletto il figliuolo re di Polonia, et perchè egli era in secreto cattolico sicome al Nuntio l'a affirmato il re suo figliuolo, usò ogni industria perchè il figliuolo ritornasse mentre esso viveva in Svetia, affine di dichiararsi apertamente cattolico et ridurre il regno ad abbracciare essa fede, ne inclinava che il figliuolo ritenesse la Polonia, ma stimava essere più spediente preferire l'hereditario regno all'elettivo. Et perchè quando il ser^mo re di Polonia si abbocò in Revaglia col padre, i senatori Svedesi che havevano havuto odore di questa intentione di Giovanni, furono causa che il re di Polonia non passasse in Svetia, sdegnato li privò della dignità, confiscò loro le facoltà et li mandò in esilio. Morse poi il re Giovanni et con estremo dolore del figliuolo morse hereticamente. Afferma la M^tà Sua che s'essa si fosse ritrovata presente haverebbe la M^tà di suo padre fatto fine cattolico et il regno si sarebbe ridotto alla cognitione della vera fede. Diede il ser^mo re parte alli senatori di Polonia della morte del padre, del desiderio che mostravano i sudditi che la M^tà Sua si trasferisse in Svetia, della proteste che facevano, caso che non passasse et della necessità in che era costituito di passare in quelle parti. Furono intimati i comitii et volevano alcuni che S. M^tà andasse armata, altri disarmata, ma prevalse l'opinione di coloro che consigliorno che non andasse armato, quali giudicorno che l'andarvi armato era andare come nemico et che non conveniva andare a pigliare il possesso della sua heredità con violenza et forza, tanto più che tutto il regno l'aspettava, l'invitava per mezzo di ambasciatori. Haveva inviato l'armata navale a Dansico, ove i più principali signori erano comparsi per incontrare et condurre la M^tà Sua, ma il tempo fece conoscere poi che il sopradetto consiglio non fu buono, poichè dall'essere il re comparso disarmato, ne risultò che andò a ricevere, non a dar legge, perchè gli Ordini si unirono contra la M^tà Sua sotto pretesto della religione et pretendevano che per vigore del testamento di Gustavo, i posteri di esso Gustavo, dovessero

essere heretici se volevano essere capaci della successione, dimodo che il duca Carlo, la matrigna del re et la nobiltà prosupponevano che gli Ordini non fussero tenuti di prestar giuramento di fedeltà ad un re cattolico, et Carlo nella propria persona, la matrigna del re nella persona del figliolo, fratello da lato di padre del re aspiravano alla corona, et li nobili riducendosi a memoria la libertà che godevano quando il regno era elettivo et la tirannide usata con essi dopo che è fatto hereditario, desideravano di togliersi il duro giogo da dosso. Carlo si fondava nelle clientele che haveva dentro et fuori del regno et nel favore de' Calvinisti et per facilitare maggiormente le sue pretensioni comparve armato nella dieta che si fece in Upsalia, città dove sogliono coronarsi li re, et perchè dubitava che gli Ordini non haverebbono escluso due chiamati prima di lui nella successione, cioè il re di Polonia et il fratello da lato di padre, si scoperse che disegnava di essere dichiarato governatore del fratello del re et procedessero, come già si fece in Milano in un caso non molto dissimile. Li senatore poi alienissimi di animo dalla familia di Gustavo stavano aspettando che le discorde tra il duca et il re di Polonia et la matrigna aprissero loro via di potersi estinguere. Per il che il ser^mo re, trovandosi disarmato et duca Carlo armato et li heretici uniti contra di esso et essendo il cuor dell'inverno et agghiaciato il mare non potendo pensare a ritirarsi, si trovava circondato da molte angustie, perchè da un canto gli heretici non volevano venire all'atto della coronatione et di prestarle giuramento di fedeltà se non confirmava il loro essercitio et non excludeva totalmente il cattolico et non dichiarava inhabili detti cattolici da ogni officio et dignità del regno, et dall'altra parte essendo S. M^tà di timorata coscienza, vedeva che il candore d'essa si saria grandemente denigrato se condescendeva a così inique conditioni. Si mostrò però animoso nel principio et risoluto di voler piutosto perdere il regno, che macular la coscientia et estimatione sua. Onde gli heretici attribuendo al ministro Apost^co la renitenza del re, mandarono dal Nuntio quattro nobili ad invitarlo che dovesse uscire del regno, protestando che sarebbono succeduti de' grandi inconvenienti, caso che non l'havesse fatto. A che rispose il Nuntio ch'egli era entrato publicamente nel regno et era stato ricevuto come ministro di S.S. et non poteva ne voleva uscirne, non havendo

egli commesso cosa per la quale meritasse che si violasse il ius gentium seco. Mandorno quasi nello stesso tempo ad intimare a S.M^{tà} per due suoi familiari et parenti che se la M^{tà} Sua non giurava le loro petitioni, che gli haverebbono levata l'obbedientia et messo la corona del regno in capo del duca Carlo, et che in tal caso la M^{tà} Sua haverebbe fatto esperienza delle pernitiose conseguenze che haverebbe portato seco simile loro deliberatione. Et in spetie si lasciarono intendere che il primo mestiere che disegnavano fare era di assaltare la casa del ministro del Papa, per il che S. M^{tà} mandò dal Nuntio il palatino Laschi a significarli che se la M^{tà} Sua non consentiva alle petitioni degli heretici, che nello spatio di tre hore gli heretici haverebbono ammazzato il Nuntio et la familia sua et che a Sua M^{tà} più dispiacerebbe la morte di esso Nuntio che quasi la sua propria. Al che rispose il Nuntio, che Sua M^{tà} haveva occasione buonissima di chiarirsi se le minacce degli heretici erano verbali et semplicemente per atterrire Sua M^{tà} o pure d'altra qualità con sospendere (come il Nuntio lo supplicava) di concedere alli heretici cosa alcuna per lo spatio di quelle tre hore in detrimento della religione cattolica et se in detto spatio havessero ammazzato esso Nuntio, sicome all'hora si sarebbe chiarito, che si procedeva da essi non per atterrire con parole, ma col far dei fatti, così in tal caso S. M^{tà} concedesse o non concedesse, secondo che più le fosse piaciuto; ma dato che non succedesse la morte del Nuntio, che in tal caso S. M^{tà} haverebbe conosciuto essere verbali le minacce degli heretici et che però haveva potuto astenersi di far così gran detrimento alla religione. Et perchè il Nuntio dubitò che il palatino non riferisse l'ambasciata, mandò un suo familiare ad esporla a S. M^{tà} et insieme a farle una protesta che in eterno non haveria prestato consenso alcuno che potesse denigrare quella purità, che sempre haveva conservato nelle cose della fede la Sede Apostolica et la simile protesta si fece anche con la ser^{ma} regina. Et perchè S. M^{tà} era risoluta di non volere consentire alle petitioni degli heretici senza consenso del Nuntio, che così era restato di concerto con esso Nuntio, quando lo condusse seco di Polonia. Però quando Sua M^{tà} si chiarì essere impossibile di persuadere al Nuntio di consentire, mandò alcuni senatori Polacchi da dui padri Gesuiti ch'erano venuti con la M^{tà} Sua a darli parte dello stato delle cose con le sue circostanze et conseguenze et detti

padri dichiarorno che pur supposta la necessità et pericolo nel quale era costituita la M^{tà} Sua la potesse senza offendere Dio concedere alli heretici ciò che ricercavano et la M^{tà} Sua per sua giustificatione ne volle uno scritto da detti padri. Et perchè era disposto il Nuntio di volere nelli publici comitii comparire et protestare, si tenne segreta al detto Nuntio la risposta data dalli detti padri al re, et a notitia del Nuntio non pervenne tal concessione se non doppo tre giorni che le fu concessa et subito che n'hebbe odore, volle partire del regno per la via di Dania, dove quella M^{tà} lo aspettava con desiderio, et voleva trattarlo humanissimamente per insegnare (come diceva) alli barbari Svedesi in che maniera si trattano gli ambasciatori de' principi. Ma S. M^{tà} come quella che vedeva volentieri che il Nuntio facesse le sopradette dimostrationi per quello che potesse col tempo succedere, non volle che partisse, anzi fece ordinare che non fossero dati cavalli al Nuntio, et così fu necessitato a restare. Hora fatta la coronatione et concessione, pose ogni studio il Nuntio per applicare qualche rimedio al disordine seguito, onde operò per sicurezza della coscienza di S. M^{tà} ch'ella facesse una protesta in scritto, come ella non con la volontà, ma per pura forza si era indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso. Et perchè non bastava cercare di assicurare per questo mezzo solo la coscienza, ma bisognava sollevare l'afflitto stato delle reliquie de' catolici, quali restavano et senza essercitio et privi delle dignità et uffici del regno, persuase il Nuntio al ser^{mo} re che concedesse da parte a cattolici altretanto quanto haveva conceduto alli heretici, di modo che a guisa dell'Imp^{re} et del re di Polonia restasse la M^{tà} Sua giurata utrique parti. S. M^{tà} si contentò di farlo et immediate mise in esecutione le dette concessioni, perchè avanti la sua partenza diede uffici et dignità a cattolici et lasciò in quattro luoghi l'essercitio della religione et fece giurare a quattro governat^{ri} (se bene erano heretici) quali lasciò nel regno, che haverebbero protetto la religione et li cattolici. Et il Nuntio esercitò tutte le funtioni episcopali publicamente et successe che havendo lavato li piedi a dodici poveri in chiesa con grandissimo concorso di popoli, et essendosi quei poveri dichiarati cattolici, furono poi banditi dalli heretici. Tenne anco il Nuntio in luogo publico uno stendardo alzato, da una parte del quale era una nave con l'immagine di s. Pietro sopra l'acque con tali parole : fluctuat

non mergitur, et dall'altra vi era l'arma di S.S^{tà} et a piedi di essa questo motto: fugantur tenebrae tantis irradiatae fulgoribus, et s'introdusse et mise in uso la forma di sepellire cattolicamente con candele accese, croci et con tutto il resto secondo il rito cattolico. Ma doppo la partita di S. M^{tà} il duca Carlo, quale non haveva voluto accettare il governo del regno in compagnia coi senatori et pretendea non concreta, ma suprema et assoluta autorità et che i senatori servissero per consiglieri et non havessero ne autorità ne voto, si usurpò con la forza tutto questo che gli era stato negato, levando l'esercitio cattolico et il governo alli quattro governatori et ridusse lo stato di quel regno a tale che a S. M^{tà} non rimaneva altro che il nudo titolo di re, et la licenza et insolenza sua procedette tant'oltre che S. M^{tà} giudicò havere il duca violato il giuramento prestato, onde S. M^{tà} è stata forzata a trasferirsi di nuovo in quel regno, ma in differente forma della prima volta, cioè in modo che la potesse prescrivere ad altri la legge et non ricerverla, et pensa di lasciare tali presidii che al duca non verrà fatto quello che l'altra volta fece, havendo condotto seco assai buon numero di soldati, et tanto più ha speranza che le cose siano per succedere felicemente, quantochè Carlo ha governato così tirannicamente il regno che ha alienato da se la nobiltà et con haver cercato di levare l'elevatione dell'hostia alli Luterani ha commossi contra di lui tutti li contadini, quali sono divotissimi di detta elevatione, perchè per mezzo d'essa d'idolatri si fecero cristiani. Il che passò nella seguente forma: L'arcivescovo Cantaranense in Inghilterra radunato il suo clero con li suffraganei propose la missione al regno di Svetia per ridurlo alla fede christiana, et rispondendo tutti che se voleva andare che andasse et egli si risolse di farlo, et navigando per quella volta smontò ad un'isoletta di detto regno et celebrando messa, alcuni pastori mentre facevano l'elevatione videro un bambino nell'hostia et subito chiamorno li compagni li quali havendo anch'essi veduto lo stesso, subito lo fecero sapere al governatore nella provincia, quale dopo haver riputati per pazzi detti pastori finalmente crescendo il numero di quelli che affermavano ciò essere verissimo, si dispose di chiarirsene, et ritrovò anch'egli esser vero tutto quello che da pastori gli era stato riferito; onde si risolse darne parte al re, quale trasferendosi anch'esso nel detto luogo vide il medesimo et misso dal miracolo si fece christiano

insieme con tutti li suoi sudditi. Per il che i contadini che sono quasi tutti arditissimi et inclinatissimi alla religione cattolica non hanno mai permesso che sia levata loro la detta elevatione. Però havendo il duca come Calvinista cercato di farlo, tumultuorono, et sicome si alienorno da esso, così si congiunsero d'animo col ser^mo re.

Oltra di questo successe anco un'altro caso mirabile, et ciò fu che havendo il duca ordinato che si levassero le imagini delle chiese si trovava in una chiesa parrochiale una imagine di legno del beato Enrico re di Svetia quale levata fuori di chiesa et esposta in luogo publico, un soldato voltato alla persona del detto santo disse : Enrico, Enrico, tu devi haver commesso qualche gran peccato poichè non vogliono che tu stii in chiesa et dicendo queste parole scaricò l'archibugio et la palla miracolosamente doppo di havere percossa la statua, senza lesione alcuna, ritornò indietro et ammazzò il soldato. Li sopradetti accidenti non hanno come di sopra ho detto deteriorata, ma migliorata la conditione di S. M^tà. Oltrachè le scelleratezze enormi congiunte con una grandissima ignoranza che commettono li predicanti heretici, sono tali che pare impossible che li popoli siano per sopportarli più lungo tempo, et per ogni buon rispetto il Nuntio fece cavare li processi formati contra detti predicanti atti pubblici delle communità et si lessero eccessi non uditi commessi da detti predicanti, de'quali se ne riferirà solamente uno.

Un predicante haveva insegnato a parlare ad un corvo et amando detto corvo grandemente, cominciò a dolersi ch'esso corvo fosse escluso dal paradiso, onde acciò si salvasse s'indusse a battezzarlo, servata la vera forma del battesimo. È ancor cosa degna di pervenire a notitia della posterità che dopo che l'heresia è intrata in Svetia, ne il mare ha prodotti pesci in tanta quantità come faceva prima, et la terra ha persa la sua fertilità et gli uccelli de quali era abbondanza grandissima, hanno fatta trasmigratione in altri paesi. La M^tà Sua come quella che è dotata di singolar pietà et zelo et è di timorata coscienza attribuisce alle concessioni fatte da lei agli heretici l'haverli Dio levata la moglie et mandatile altri travagli et con molta effusione di lacrime significò al Nuntio questo suo timore, dicendo ch'ella doveva piuttosto morire che concedere cosa che potesse maculare il candore della sua coscienza. Onde trovarà mons^r Nuntio buona dispositione in Sua M^tà di

sollevare l'afflitto stato della religione, ma è ben vero ch' è necessario che Sua M^tà^ stabilisca prima bene il politico dominio, et che in questo mezzo alimenti liberalmente li poveri cattolici fatti esuli dal duca.

Questo è quello che mi è occorso di dire circa la religione, non pretermettendo però di dire che si come il re Gustavo fu riputato uno de'più savi, sagaci et valorosi principi del suo tempo, così in esso più che in niun altro si scoperse quanto siano incerte le providenze et timidi li pensieri humani, poichè egli per stabilire il regno nella sua persona et posteri suoi, tenne più conto di detto stabilimento che della salute dell'anime, ma non li bastò atteso che non previde che della sua maculata radice, doveda nascere un suo descendente alieno della sua religione, quale non haverebbe potuto risiedere ne'regni ; onde fu insieme con li suoi figli più intento ad acquistare de facto et mantener con violenza ciò che si usurpava contra le leggi et in pregiuditio della nobiltà che sollecito a stabilirlo con consenso de'popoli, et perchè quando il regno di elettivo fu ridotto ad hereditario, furono ben corrette le leggi del regno in tutto quello che aspettava alla successione et altre preminenze che toccano a principi hereditarii, ma non già emendate in quella parte che concerne i privilegi, essentioni et immunità della nobiltà, però la nobiltà Svedese ricercava sapere dalla M^tà^ Sua, s'ella pretendea di reggere tirannicamente come haveano fatto i suoi antecessori overo secondo le leggi, che se doveano havere un re di aliena religione et absente, pretendeano ch'esso re havesse nel governo rispetto alle leggi, in quello che sono favorevoli alla nobiltà, petitioni che quando alli Svedesi fossero fatte buone, sarebbono stati più liberi che non sono li Polacchi, et il re più ristretto di autorità. Per il che veniva la M^tà^ Sua consigliata a conservarsi in quel possesso ch'erano i suoi maggiori, ma la M^tà^ Sua rispose, che la si contentava di osservar le leggi, purchè i sudditi anch'essi le osservassero, et che condannando le leggi ogni altro esercito eccetto il cattolico et disponendo che l'ordine ecclesiastico havesse le sue preminenze et in spetie l'arcivescovo primate, che però le cose si riducessero a quello stato qual presuppone la legge, che Sua M^tà^ nel resto haverebbe loro dato soddisfattione. A che non seppero rispondere altro se non che Gustavo, avo del re gli haveva indotti a mutar religione. Ma lasciando da parte le cose concernenti la

religione, trattaremo di cose politiche subordinate ad essa religione, cioè della utilità che alli vicini regni et a tutta la christianità può apportare il regno di Svetia.

Tre cose sono in quel regno di grandissima consideratione, prima la provincia di Finlandia, 2° il porto di Calmar, 3° quello di Elsburgo.

La Finlandia confina col Mosco, et non è dubbio che se i Polacchi seguendo la norma di Stefano applicassero l'animo a soggiogare il Mosco, che la impresa si renderebbe facile con l'aiuto di detta provincia perchè oltre al sito d'essa la Svetia abbonda di fanteria assai buona, di che la Polonia ha penuria, et se il re Stefano con solo le forze Polacche ridusse il Mosco in grandi angustie, che sarebbe se aggiungessero alle Polacche le forze Svedesi? Et quando anche la Santità di N. Sre perseverasse in quel concetto che già hebbe di unire Svedesi, Moschi et Polacchi, non fu mai migliore occasione di quella che è hora, atteso che in mano del re di Polonia stà, senz'anco muover guerra al Mosco, di levarli il commercio et nel mar Baltico et fuor di esso mare, impedendoli la navigatione allo stretto di Dania col mezzo della Finlandia et di Calmaro. Et perchè il Mosco non ha ne rendite ne miniere, et le sue entrate consistono in pelli et altre merci, ne le può smaltire se non per il mar Baltico et per terra verso Polonia, levatoli ta'commercio restarebbe povero et infelice principe.

Quanto al porto di Calmar è la chiave del mar Baltico et capace per ogni armata, et chi è padrone di esso porto, può dire di esser padrone anco del mare et di poter tenere in freno tutte le città aggiacenti ad esso mare come Danzico, Elbinga, Riga et altre per impedire che non entrino le mercantie nello stretto di Dania, et così ridurre quel re ad estrema povertà; et mentre S. Mtà possiede quel porto non è pericolo che perda la Svetia, perchè per esso può mandare di Polonia quanta gente vuole in quel regno. Vi è poi il porto di Elsburgo in Vestergotia, provintia del regno di Svetia, quale è fuori dello stretto di Dania et posto sul mare Oceano capacissimo di qualsivoglia armata, sicuro et che ha comodità di selve, dove è copia di varii legnami per fabricare ogni sorte di vascelli. Dalla parte del mar Oceano ha vicino il regno di Norovegia, quello di Inghilterra et di Scotia et delli Paesi Bassi. Non è lontano dalla Francia et ha facile navigatione alli regni di Spagna et a quello di Portogallo. Dall'altra parte ha lo

stretto di Dania, et passato esso il mar Baltico nel quale entrano di Polonia, di Russia, di Pomerania, di Livonia et di Moscovia non solo grani, ma anco tutte le cose pertinenti alla militare, et sono portate fuori di esso stretto in diverse parti. Li Svedesi stimano molto esso porto per la qualità del sito et capacità sua, et tanto più quanto che in Svetia è copia grande di periti marinari di artigliaria di ferro et d'ogni altra cosa che si ricerca per la marinaresca, et affermano che se il Cattolico havesse havuto questo porto non sarebbe andato a traverso l'armata destinata alla impresa d'Inghilterra, et che è molto opportuno per li Paesi Bassi et per tenere in officio la regina Inglese, et di più che chi tenesse armata nel detto porto, potrebbe vietare che niun vascello entrasse ne uscisse dello stretto di Dania, le quali cose se ciano vere, ognuno può far giuditio di che importanza sia esso porto et quanto importi alla Cristianità che si conservi in potere di principe cattolico, perchè essendo in mano di cattolici può apportare utilità grandissima, et essendo in potestà di persone aliene dalla nostra santa religione può apportare altrettanto detrimento, imperochè potendo impedire il transito dello stretto di Dania, può ridurre quel re et li Polacchi et altri che sono al lato del mar Baltico in estrema necessità et privare i regni fuori di esso stretto di Dania delle cose pertinenti al vitto. Il che se si usasse per reprimere la petulantia degli heretici, saria bene, ma se contra cattolici saria male. Hora si può considerare (si come quando fui in Svetia, alcune persone di qualità mi posero in consideratione) l'utile che la Maestà Cattolica et suoi regni et il ser^mo^ re di Svetia et di Polonia cavarebbono ogni volta che a S. M^tà^ Catt^ca^ fosse permesso di fabricare, mantenere et alimentare un'armata in quel porto et servirsi delle persone et di tutto quello che il detto regno di Svetia può dare pertinente alla marinaresca; perchè se bene gli Ordini di Polonia a contemplatione di S. M^tà^ Catt^ca^ destinorno ambasciatori alla reina et alli Paesi Bassi protestando loro che se non permettevano che la navigatione fosse libera haveriano fatta rappresaglia degli navigli loro, nondimeno essendo l'autorità regia ristretta et essendo parte della popolarità appresso la quale è tutta l'autorità infetta dello condannato seme d'heresia, si ritruoveranno delli intoppi per indurli a far l'essecutione reale. Et però il vero modo sarebbe di tenere una armata nel detto porto, perchè oltre le sudette

utilità, se la M^{tà} Catt^{ca} havesse esso porto, si potrebbe servire con minore suò dispendio di soldati Polacchi et Svedesi che di Tedeschi, poichè etiam si condurebbono con maggior prestezza et facilità, oltre che alla cavalleria Polacca non si paga più che sei fiorini al mese, et alla fateria Svedese si dà parimente stipendio molto tenue. Ne deve credere che la regina d'Inghilterra quando havesse un'inimico così vicino qual potrebbe pervenire nel suo regno, nello spatio di tre giornate, s'inducesse a convertire le forze sue in paesi così lontani come sono l'Indie essendo certa che allontanandosi la sua armata haverebbe nelle parti cordiali quella del re di Spagna.

Circa poi alle utilità che ne verrebbono ai re di Polonia et di Svetia sono le infrascritte. La Maestà del re di Polonia, con la sponda et amicitia del Cattolico reprimerebbe li heretici di Svetia, levarebbe loro il modo di condurre gente fuorastiera nel detto regno, come sogliono fare servendosi dell'opportunità di quel porto, chiusa del detto regno dalla parte dell' Oceano, si come il porto di Calmar è chiave di quello del mar Baltico. Et se bene gli heretici del detto regno di Svetia quando il porto di Calmar fosse in loro podestà, potrebbono impedire il disbarco delle genti Polacche, tuttavia però agevolmente potrebbe questo succedere loro, ogni volta che l'altro porto di Elsburgo fosse a dispositione della Maestà del re, atteso che privi di esterno soldato mancherebbono loro le forze. Oltra di questo col mezzo del sopradetto porto di Elsburgo potrebbe accrescere la sua autorità hora così ristretta con Polacchi, perchè sostentandosi essi col mezzo del traffico del mar Baltico ogni volta che fosse in mano di S. S^{tà} di impedire esso traffico, non è dubbio che stimarebbono la Maestà Sua, la quale conseguirebbe questo intento con via più facile che non fece il re Stefano col procurare di impadronirsi di Danzico, impresa che non gli riuscì.

Hora havendo discorso delle utilità che risultarebbono alle M^{tà} del re di Spagna et di Polonia et ai dominii loro, è necessario di proporre i mezzi per conseguire il fine. Il primo mezzo è che il re di Polonia ponga il porto in potestà di soggetto cattolico, cosa che non sarà molto difficile et giovarà per facilitare la trattatione ; che S. M^{tà} sia assicurata che entrando gente fuorastiera in quel porto non sia in loro mano il levarglielo, et però si e pensato che a spese del Cattolico si mantenga un presidio nella fortezza che guarda il porto sopra

la quale niuna superiorità habbia il Cattolico ma consegni lo stipendio per esso presidio al re di Polonia ; et quanto da assicurare il Cattolico che il porto restarà per uso della sua armata, forse assai assicuramento sarebbe il potersi ritenere l'entrate Napolitane ogni volta che venisse mancato al Cattolico. Se bene sicome della fede del re di Polonia non si deve dubitare così anco si può havere sicurezza delli sudditi suoi, per l'utile et commodo che risultava loro di smaltire ciò che produce il regno di Svetia.

Et perchè il re di Polonia dice che dubita che soprastia al porto una torre del re di Diana, la quale possa impedire non l'ingresso ad esso porto, ma far danno alle navi quando saranno entrate, et dall'altra parte i Svedesi affermano che non vi è impedimento alcuno, si potrebbe visitate il sopradetto porto, et essendo tale qual viene dipinto dalli Svedesi et quale altre volte ha riputato il re Cattolico, quando già quindici anni fa mandò in Svetia un ambasciatore per causa del detto porto, si potrà all'hora con fondamento dar principio a trattare nella forma predetta et quando anco fosse vero che il re di Dania havesse quella torre si potrebbe forse indurlo a qualche intelligenza col Cattolico et col re di Polonia et dominii suoi. Del che se ne può concepire qualche speranza si per haver egli ricusato d'entare nella lega stabilita fra la regina d'Inghilterra et li Paesi Bassi, si anco perchè havendo inteso il poco rispetto che il duca Carlo porta al re di Polonia, senza essere ricercato, si è mosso a protestarli, ch'ogni volta ch'esso non sia obediente al re, egli per vigore delli compatenti tra il regno suo et quello di Svetia, sarà forzato a risentirsene.

A Polacchi ancora non potrebbe se non piacere che il detto porto fosse in podestà del re Cattolico, perchè cessando dopo la morte del presente duca di Prussia la linea di quei marchesi Brandeburgensi che sono chiamati nella investitura della ducal Prussia, et pretendendo l'elettore per alcuni privilegi ottenuti dalli antecessori del presente re a quali il corpo della nobiltà non ha consentito di dover succedere al duca, et essendo risoluti gli Ordini di Polonia, di non volerlo permettere et il duca di voler conservare nella famiglia sua detto ducato di grandissima importanza et di rendita di 60^{m} et più talleri, si come si prevede che la cosa ha da riuscire all'armi, così alla familia elettorale Brandeburgense la quale ha collocato (per essere detta Prussia ducale così circondata dai dominii Poloni,

che non ponno venirle soldati di Germania o d'altrove) ogni speranza nel soccorso del mare per la commodità che essa Prussia ducale ha di porti nel mar Baltico, si verrebbe per mezzo d'un'armata a levarle et impedirle il suddetto soccorso marittimo, onde resterebbono essi Brandeburgensi con le sole forze della ducal Prussia, le quali non sarebbono sufficienti a resistere a quelle de Polacchi, congiunte con quelle di Svetia, per il che i Polacchi, se ben poco esperimentati nel mare, per haver fatto professione i loro maggiori che bastasse loro di haver tanta giurisditione nel mar Baltico, quanto potesse un huomo a cavallo entrarvi et camminar dentro, come quei che riputavano esser più gloriosa occupatione di militare per terra contra Turchi, Moscoviti et Tartari, formarebbono nondimeno essercito per terra, et li Svedesi con la commodità della Finlandia, assaltarebbono li Brandeburgensi con armata navale, et così bisognarebbe che quel ducato venisse totalmente sotto l'imperio della corona di Polonia.

Ma quando per li peccati medesimi le cose di Svetia camminassero di male in peggio (il che Dio non voglia per sua misericordia), niun altro rimedio si è giudicato essere più opportuno quanto che S. M^{tà} unischi et incorpori la Estonia, provincia di Livonia et la Finlandia al regno di Polonia con conditione ch'essi Polacchi siano tenuti ad eleggere sempre per re il primogenito di S. M^{tà} et di porgerli aiuto a ricuperare il resto del regno. Di questa maniera S. M^{tà} per un regno mezzo perso ne assicurarebbe due, ne ella ha tanto obligo al fratello da lato di padre o al duca Carlo, ch'essendo sicura che durante la sua posterità conservarebbe per essa posterità li dominii di detti suoi regni, che dovesse premerle molto, la consideratione che se mancasse la linea di S. M^{tà} ne restarebbono privi il fratello e lo zio, essendo massime heretici et inimici della M^{tà} Sua. Et sopra questo particolare scrisse già S. M^{tà} alla Santità ni N. S^{re} proponendoli questo pensiero, caso che le cose andassero affatto a traverso. Et acciò questo potesse in tal caso succedere sarà necessario che monsig^{r} Nuntio faccia ufficio con Sua M^{tà} che ponghi soggetti cattolici per governatori della Estonia et della Finlandia, o almeno tali che della fede loro non possa dubitare.

[Copia. Cod. N. 33, p. 144 s. of the Vallicelliana Library, Rome, Urb. 858, p. 547 ss., Vatican Library, Malaspina is here expressly mentioned as the author A 3rd copy in Cod. H 155, p. 1 s. of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.]

14. Pope Clement VIII. to the Clergy and People of Rome.[1]

Beginning of 1599.

Clemens PP. VIII.

Clero et populo almae Urbis Nostrae.

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Manus Domini, manus Patris, manus illa potens et salutaris, quae sola, dum iuste vulnerat, pie medetur, ipsa tetigit nos, filii dilectissimi. Fluvius Tiberis, extra alveum ripasque suas diffusus, tanta aquarum copia Urbem, suburbia, prata et agros inundavit, neque in planis solum, sed in editioribus etiam locis in tantam crevit altitudinem, quantum neque nos neque parentes nostri meminerunt. Quae Urbis facies, quis aspectus per hos dies fuerit, plane luctuosus et miserabilis, quae hominum, pecorum, aedificiorum et earum rerum, quae ad vitam victumque quotidianum necessariae sunt, pernicies et iactura extiterit, nec sine acerbissimo doloris sensu commemorari potest, nec certe commemorare est necesse; vos ipsi oculis vestris cuncta perspexistis et passi estis, et Nos etiam vidimus et omnium miserias paterno et miseratione complexi oculis et manibus in coelum elevatis, cum prae doloris magnitudine cor Nostrum disrumperetur et quasi cera colliquefactum esset. Sed huius tantae eluvionis et calamitatis causae non ex principiis naturalibus curiose nimis inquirendae sunt et ex eorum opinionibus, qui, dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt, tamqum si gentes essemus quas ignorant Deum, sed potius, ut christianos decet, in timore et tremore veriorem magisque intimam harum aerumnarum originem intra nosmet ipsos pervestigemus, ac nisi nos ipsos fallere et decipere velimus, peccata nostra respondebunt nobis et iniquitates nostrae, quae multiplicatae sunt nimis coram Deo. Abyssus enim peccatorum abyssum aquarum evocavit et inundatio inundationem peperit; nam maledictum et mendacium et furtum et adulterium inundaverunt et sanguis sanguinem tetigit. Ne tamen, filii, pusillo animo sitis, neve, quod absit, cor vestrum obduretis, ut indomiti et obstinati peccatores solent, qui plagis Dei deteriores fiunt, quorum miseram et miserandam conditionem exprimit Ieremias verbis illis: 'Domine, percussisti eos, et non doluerunt; attrivisti eos, et noluerunt accipere disciplinam; induraverunt facies suas supra petram, et

[1] See *supra*, p. 411.

noluerunt reverti.' Vos autem, filii, non sic, sed revertimini ad Dominum in toto corde vestro, in ieiunnio et fletu et planctu, et poenitentiae salutaris tabulam apprehendite, nec pereatis in diluvio aquarum multarum irae Des et iusti iudicii eius. Deus enim noster pius est et misericors et praestabilis super malitia, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat. Plaga haec, si sapitis, si intelligitis, si novissima providetis, non est ad mortem, sed ad salutem. Corripuit nos Dominus, sed non in furore suo, immo vero in visceribus misericordiae suae, ut pater, qui hic in hac brevi et caduca vita filiis flagella adhibet, ut in aeternum parcat. Quem enim diligit Dominus castigat, et flagellat omnem filium quem recipit. Ecce Deus noster, qui dives est in misericordia, tanquam filiis offert se vobis: surgite et vos cum filio prodigo et ite ad Patrem, qui vos vocat, qui apertis brachiis vos expectat et ad complexum et pacem et reconciliationem invitat. Clamate ad Dominum in fortitudine et ex intimo corde verba illa pronuntiate: 'Omnia quae fecisti nobis, Domine, in vero iudicio fecisti, quia peccavimus tibi et mandatis tuis non obedivimus; sed da gloriam nomini tuo et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. Denique, filii in Christo dilecti, convertatur unusquisque a vita sua mala et qui Ninivitas peccantes imitati estis, imitamini poenitentes; ite ad matrem gratiarum, ad advocatam peccatorum, ad beatissimam semper Virginem Dei genitricem Mariam et illius opem atque auxilium implorate, ite ad gloriosissimos apostolorum principes, Petrum et Paulum, qui peculiares patroni huius almae Urbis sunt, cui evangelii doctrinam cum sanguine tradiderunt; hi enim sunt gloriosi principes terrae et patres et pastores tui, o Roma, qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia per sacram beati Petri sedem, caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena . . .[1] obite, filii, in spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito sacras apostolorum basilicas et fortissimorum martyrum, quibus veluti propugnaculis cincta est; plorate coram Domino et preces cum lacrimis fundite, ut per merita et intercessionem sanctorum, qui cum Christo regnant, veniam atque indulgentiam impetremus. Pacem igitur cum fratribus habete; cessent odia et inimicitiae, ne si manus plenas sanguine

[1] Here is an omission in the MS.

extendatis, avertat Deus oculos suos a vobis ; libido, intemperantia, luxuries tollatur et caetera vitia, quibus Dei iracundia provocatur ; vigeat modestia, temperantia et misericordia in pauperes : nunc enim latissimus pietati propositus est campus, ut ii potissimum, qui ditiores sunt, peccata sua eleemosinis redimant et pauperum inopiam sua abundantia sublevent, quod ut faciant et omni cum alacritate faciant, illos quanta possumus cum efficacia hortamur. Nam propter omnium peccata haec plaga a Deo immissa est et ad omnes seu pauperes seu divites pertinere debet, sive per miseriam sive per commiserationem, ut, dum corporis nostri, quod unum est in Christo, membra quaedam patiuntur, caetera compatiantur. Sumite igitur, filii, arma militiae nostrae, non carnalia, sed potentia Dei, quibus ipse Deus exercituum fortissimus et omnipotens vincitur, poenitentiam, orationem, ieiunium et eleemosinam ; his enim placatur Deus, qui, si viderit opera vestra bona et quia conversi estis ab omni via mala in sinceritate cordis vestri, revertetur et ipse a furore irae suae, et non peribitis. Atque ut tanto ardentius ad divinorum sacramentorum medicinam accurratis, ut veterem hominem exuentes, ac mente et spiritu renovati ambuletis in novitate vitae, nos spirituales Ecclesiae thesauros, quorum dispensatores a Deo constituti sumus, ex apostolica benignitate aperientes, universis et singulis Christi fidelibus utriusque sexus in eadem alma Urbe Nostra locisque adiacentibus commorantibus etc.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 40, Papal Secret Archives.]

15. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1559, February 27, Rome.

. . . All'ufficio del sodetto s. ambas^re^ [of Savoy] N. S. rispose le seguenti parole, che li pareva cosa di meraviglia che li principi secolari li quali nel crearsi un loro consigliere vogliono così a pieno sodisfare a loro stessi, et che nella creatione de card^li^ li quali sono consiglieri de Pontefici, cerchino d'astringere gli stessi Pontefici a valersi in simile dignità di persone sopra le quali essi non disegnano. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 194.

16. List of prisoners, trials and sentences of the Roman Inquisition.[1]

1599, April 5.[2]

[Lista de carcerati nel S^to^ Officio a dì 5 Aprile 1599.]

Fra Giordano Bruni da Nola, a dì 27 di Febraro 1593: si ha da proporre la sua causa.

Ercole Rota Bolognese, a dì 29 Luglio 1597: fu risoluta la causa coram S^mo^ a dì 19 Febraro 1598: debet torqueri et retineri in carceribus; spora gli novi inditii sono stati repetiti i testimonii, dimanda la copia.

Alessandro Musculeo, a 25 Giugno 1598: ha havuto li testimonii per repetiti; si ha da deliberare, se deve farsi riconoscere dalli testimonii.

Prete Pietro Orlandini, a dì 6 Luglio 1598: la causa fu riferita a dì 4 Novembre; si hanno a vedere li testimonii esaminati a sua difesa.

Francesco Maria Calvi alias Cavvilanuus di Alessandria, a dì 26 Ottobre 1598: si ha da riferire la causa.

Prete Giovanni Solitto della Saponara, a dì 26 Ottobre 1598: sono stati repetiti li testimonii e ha fatto le difese; si hanno a vedere.

Fra Bartolomeo Vite da Cantiana, a dì 18 Novembre 1598: si ha a riferire la causa.

Orinthio Acquarelli da Riete, a dì 20 Novembre 1598: si ha a riferire la causa.

Horatio Melillo da Vitulano, a dì 14 Decembre 1598: si è scritto per la repetitione de testimonii.

Fra Giovanni Bosso, a dì 25 Gennaro 1599: fu risoluto a 16 Marzo quod torqueatur et abiuret de vehementi.

Claudio Giannardi Francese, a dì 28 Gennaro 1599: confessa di essere heretico; si ha da riferire la causa.

Prete Giovanni Tabulario Greco, a dì 9 Febraro 1599: è visto il processo et si da riferire.

Prete Claudio Gailard di Lorena mandato dall' Inquisitore di Malta, a dì 11 Febraro 1599: si ha per matto.

Francesco Antonio Cerato da Napoli, a 15 Febraro 1599: è

[1] See *supra*, pp. 200, 211. See also Spampanato, Vita di G. Bruno 774 *seq.*
[2] On January 30, 1592, 32 accused were in the prison of the Inquisition.

stata riferita la causa et ha prodotte alcune scritture in sua difesa.[1]

Guglielmo Cochelles Inglese a dì 10 Marzo 1599.

Egidio Cambi Romano, a 17 Marzo 1599: è stato esaminato et si ha da riferire la causa.

Prete Galeazzo Porta a dì 26 Marzo 1599
Francesco Bruno della Cava a 26 Marzo 1599
Fra Clemente Mancini da Napoli a 26 Marzo 1599
Frate Antonio Carrara da Napoli a 26 Marzo 1599
} complici della falsità delle lett. Apost. dispensationis.

Pompeo Florio di Radiano in Abruzzo a dì 2 Aprile 1599.

Lista de processati habilitati per Roma.

Giovanni Roa d'Avila habilitato per Roma lì 28 Nov. 1597.

Fra Tomaso da Picerno; è visto il processo et si ha da riferire la sua causa.

Fra Domenico Andreasso da Ragusa; sono venute le repetitioni et le difese; si hanno a riferire.

Frate Arcangelo da Perugia habilitato nel monast. di S. Agostino li 31 Luglio 1598.

Giovanni Santi Palombo da Terani habilitato a 16 Nov. 1598.

Giov. Angelo Santini pittore habilitato li 23 Sett. 1598.

Ginevra Pina habilitato per la parrochia li 23 Sett. 1598.

Fulginio Berti di Casacastalda habilitato li 10 Marzo 1599.

Lorenzo Ursolino da Tossignano habilitato li 24 Marzo 1599.

Fra Ignatio da Lorena
Fra Francesco Hiberno
} cappuccini habilitati al p° Aprile 1599.

Nota de condennati alle carceri nel S^to^ Offitio.

Don Giacomo Fabrone carcerato a 7 Giugno 1582.

[1] In the *Diario delle giustizie fatte in Roma di persone eretiche e religiose dall' a° 1567 fino al 1657 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 3, t. 8, p. 365 *seq.*) the following are recorded:

1591. A dì 6 Febraro 1591, in Torre di Nona fra Andrea figlio del q^m^ Giovanni Angelo Forzati da Castellaccio diocesi di Capua, Flaminio del q^m^ Girolamo Fabrio da Mediolano, Francesco Serafino figlio del q^m^ Nicolò Venetiano, sacerdote professo et apostata di San Benedetto furono tutti appiccati et abbrugiati in Campo di Fiore.

1599. A dì 9 Novembre 1599 fra Clemente Mancini e D. Galeazzo Porta ambedue Milanesi furono in Ponte decapitati sopra un palco.

1600. A dì 9 Giugno 1600 D. Francesco Moreno da Minerbino diocesi di Bari fu appiccato e brugiato in Ponte.

1601. A dì 10 Aprile 1601 furono appiccati in Ponte D. Livio Palasto Modanese e D. Marcello de Conti da Melfi, il quale doppo morte fu anche abbrugiato.

Fra Francesco Fortunato a dì 4 Nov. 1584.
Francisco Quirico a dì 18 Luglio 1593 [sic].
David Vendelio a dì 28 Agosto 1592.
Don Clemente Serafino a 23 Giugno 1593.

[Copy: Cod. II., 49 50 (Raccolta di note, studii e diligenze di P. Paolo V. mentre era cardinale in diverse materie), p. 32, Borghese Library, Rome.]

17. Pope Clement VIII. to Philip III., King of Spain.[1]

1600, September 4, Rome.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Nihil ardentius cupimus pro Nostro Apostolicae servitutis officio, quam divina adiutrice gratia animas multas Christo lucrari, neque eos solum, qui Christiani et Catholici sunt et ecclesiam unam, cui Nos immeritos Deus praeesse voluit, matrem agnoscunt, libenter hortamur et excitamus, ut quod fide profitentur, operibus comprobent, sed eos etiam qui extra Ecclesiam sunt, ad eam adducere, et gentibus quoque remotissimis, quae suave Christi iugum ignorant, evangelii veritatem annuntiare ac promulgare, avidissime expetimus. Regum autem catholicorum ea in primis insignis est laus, summorum Pontificum studia, labores, sollecitudines ad fidei propagationem omni ope et opera adiuvare ac propterea Maiestatem Tuam potissimum, tanta potentia, tantis viribus, tanta regnorum et ditionis amplitudine extulit Deus, ut lux evangelii ab hac sancta Romana ecclesia, omnium ecclesiarum matre et magistra, Te strenue adiuvante, in nationes etiam a Nobis disiunctissimas quam latissime diffundatur, neque enim dubitamus, Maiestatem Tuam pro sua prudentia intelligere et pro sua praestanti pietate velle, iure ac merito a Te Deum postulare, ut quae Tibi ipse tribuit, ut ad eius gloriam et honorem praecipue conferas et convertas. Sed quae nunc a Te petimus, nec magna nec difficilia sunt, sed quae tamen benedicente Domino, ad res plane maximas aditum aperire et viam munire facile poterunt. Audivimus saepe, quod et Maiestatem Tuam audisse arbitramur, regem Persarum multis ac non obscuris indiciis prae se ferre, se animo sane propenso esse erga Christianam religionem, sed nuper id multo certius cognovimus ex Lusitano sacerdote Francisco Costa, qui ex India per

[1] See *supra*, pp. 247, 267.

praesidem [sic] Roman venit, quem vir nobilis dux Suessae, orator Tuus, ad Nos introduxit. Is mira quaedam, et quae vias Domini cogitanti lacrimas prae gaudio elicere possint, de rege illo narrat, habere eum apud se aulicos et viros primarios complures Christianos, quos ipsemet palam per occasionem Christianos esse cum multa voluptate indicat, sacerdotes et presbyteros a Nobis et a Romana ecclesia valde expetere, eius rei causa certam ad Nos legationem misisse, seque etiam amoris et amicitae Nostrae percupidum ostendere, ecclesiam praeterea aedificari iussisse, ut ibi christiano ritu Deo serviatur. Quae et alia complura cum attentius consideraremus, adhibitis etiam in consilium dilectis filiis cardinalibus congregationi fidei propagandae a Nobis praefectis, non minus piis quam prudentibus, memores a Christo Domino dictum esse beato Petro, et Nobis in eo: Duc in altum et laxate retia vestra in capturam, et denique scientes nullum verbum esse impossibile apud Deum, statuimus tantam occasionem, divinitus oblatam nullo modo esse praetermittendam, sed litteras ad regem Persarum dare, ita accurate scriptas, quemadmodum tanti negotii gravitas requirit, ac licet eiusdem regis legati nundum ad Nos pervenerint, ac propter viae longinquitatem et varia pericula valde incertum sit, an et quando sint venturi, placet at eum nihilominus celeriter presbyteros mittere, ne qua in Nobis mora sit, quominus semen divinae gratiae in magni illius regis corde, per evangelii praedicationem, ipso Deo dante incrementum coalescat, et populis illis, qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sunt, vita et veritas, si Deo omnipotenti placuerit, illucescat et denique cum tam potenti et Turcarum tyranno tam infenso principe ea amicitia et benevolentia concilietur, quae Christianae reipublicae universae et Tuae Maiestati atque inclytae domui vestrae Austriacae, ut Tu optime intelligis, multiplices utilitates est allatura. Cum igitur de presbyteris idoneis mittendis cogitaremus, statim oculos coniecimus in societatem Jesu, quae veluti perpetuum seminarium est fortium et fidelium operariorum vineae Domini, quique huic muneri ex Nostra et Apostolicae Sedis obedientia praecipue addicti, in ipso potissimum Oriente atque India magnam evangelicae praedicationis laudem sunt consecuti, itaque mandavimus dilecto filio Claudio, eiusdem societatis praeposito generali, ut ex ipsa India Orientali atque ex ea provintia, quae

Persarum regno propinquior est, aliquot presbyteros et operarios mittat ad regem, qui, Spiritu Sancto auctore, regis ipsius et populorum illorum corda, veluti agros ratione praeditos, evangelico aratro proscindant et sementem verbi Dei faciant; potens est autem Dominus, eorum animos sic praeparare et emollire, ut non solum semen accipiant, sed fructum multum etiam ferant, quod divinae bonitatis et potentiae proprium est, et Nos certe laboris et diligentiae Nostrae numquam poenitebit; optimum autem visum est ex finitimis provintiis operarios accipere, qui praeter doctrinam et zelum salutis animarum, multis aliis ad hanc missionem necessariis adiumentis sunt instructi, nam et regionis, et notitiam habent nationum et linguarum usum et diuturnam etiam ad eiusmodi functiones obeundas exercitationem, tum ex locorum propinquitate brevi quod summopere optamus in Persidem et in ipsius Regis conspectum pervenient; summam enim quoad fieri poterit, celeritatem adhiberi cupimus, ne antiquus humani generis hostis satanas, cuius astutias non ignoramus, difficultates aliquas interponat et opus Dei impediat. Quo magis Maiestatem Tuam hortamur et efficacissime in Domino requirimus, ut ad viceregem Indiae atque ad capitaneum Ormuzii regias suas det litteras quam diligentissime scriptas, eisque serio mandet, ut huius missionis promovendae omnem curam et cogitationem suscipiant, et quae in navigiis parandis et ad iter et navigationem expediendam opportuna aut necessaria erunt, omni alacritate et celeritate curent, ut operarii illi, quos dilectus filius provincialis Societatis in India ex sui generalis praescripto delegerit, ut in Persidem proficiscantur, ipsius viceregis et capitanei auxilio subleventur, ut nave quam primum conscensa Ormuzium petant et deinde recta in Persidem atque adeo ad ipsius regis aulam tuto, commode et expedite, quantum licuerit, pergant, cum multum ommino in celeritate sit positum. Postremo sic eos accendat Maiestas Tua, ut in re gravissima quae ad Dei gloriam tantopere pertinet, se Catholici regis catholicos ministros vere esse ostendant. Mandavimus autem venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Sipontino Nostro Apostolico Nuntio, ut de pluribus litteris eodem exemplo conscribendis et ad Nos omni cum festinatione transmittendis et demum de toto hoc negotio cum Maiestate Tua sic agat ut de re, quae Nobis cordi est maxime, ut sane esse debet et Tibi quoque,

fili carissime, fore confidimus: nescit enim tarda molimina gratia Spiritus Sancti, quam Tibi copiosam a Deo precamur, et Maiestati Tuae Apostolcam Nostram benedictionem amantissime impartimur.

Dat. Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 4. septembris anno Iubilei 1600, pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 243.]

18. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1600, December 30, Rome.

. . . Hoggi mentre trattavo con l'ill^{mo} s. Giorgio, l'ill^{mo} s. Marcello che s'è trovato in compagnia et senza ch'io glie n'habbia data occasione, mi ha detto che innanzi che conceder la licenza dell'estratione delle dette statue, S. S^{tà}, la quale s'è ritenuta la lista, gl'ha ordinato che s'informi come si sono havute da diverse persone con longhezza di tempo o pure tutte da uno, et il s^{r} card^{le} S. Giorgio non aspettando ch'io rispondessi, non senza dimostrar un poco di passione, rispose che si erano havute tutte in un luogo et che è stato un colpo non più fatto in Roma da molti anni in quà, et io ho poi soggionto che le statue sono appresso di me, delle quali cose il s^{r} card^{le} S. Marcello disse che bisognava ne desse conto a S. S^{tà}, et se bene non metto difficoltà nella licenza, non vorrei però che venisse voglia a S. S^{tà} di veder parte di queste teste, perchè mi troveri in un labirinto così fatto se havessi da mandarlene a Palazzo, et particolarmente l'Antinoo, del quale il s^{r} card^{le} s. Giorgio ne parla come della più pretiosa statua che sia in Roma rispetto alla qualità della cosa, et però volontieri l'havrei veduto portar per terra sotta la condotta di persona fidata . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Manuta.]

19. Giulio Cesare Foresto to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1601, February 10, Rome.

. . . S. S^{tà} ha detto che non è conveniente che si lasci spogliar Roma di quelle cose che la fanno illustre per illustrare altre città, havendo di più saputo che queste sono delle più nobili antiquità di Roma, et tanto che non è stata senza

[1] See *supra*, p. 506.
[2] See *supra*, p. 506.

pensiero la S. Stà di voler venire a vederle, se non che intese che stanno incassate . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

20. Pope Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia.[1]

1601, February 24, Rome.

Rex potentissime et illustris salutem, et oblatum a Deo divinae gratiae lumen toto corde accipere. Magna est vis virtutis, magna efficacitas, cuius pulchritudo mirabilem in nobis amorem excitat, erga illos etiam quos nunquam vidimus; id re ipsa in Te amando experimur, nam etsi longissimo terrarum marisque intervallo a Te disiuncti simus, nec Te aliquando viderimus, tamen quia a plerisque multa et praeclara accepimus de Tua praestanti virtute, de Tui regalis animi magnitudine, de insigni fortitudine aliisque naturae ornamentis, quibus Te altissimus et bonorum omnium largitor Deus cumulavit, haec de Te a nobis saepius audita, ut Te amemus effecerunt, quin etiam ut a Te vicissim amari cupiamus, quamquam et illud Nobis relatum est, magna Nostra cum voluptate, iam Te erga Nos egregie affectum gratiam et amicitiam Nostram expetere, legationem etiam misisse ad Nos, multa cum amoris et reverentiae erga Nos significatione, quae tamen legatio si missa est, nondum ad Nos pervenit, sed illud praeterea de Te audivimus, quod Christianum nomen honorifice appelles et propensam prae Te feras voluntatem erga Christianam religionem, quae sola veram salutis et felicitatis viam docet et praestat, narrant enim et personas Tibi coniunctissimas Christianas esse, et in aula Tua regia complures esse fortes viros tibique carissimos, qui se Christo addictos esse profiteantur, idque ipsum Te iubente palam ostendant, signo salutaris et vivificae crucis quae est gloria nostra, in qua ipse salvator mundi et vitae auctor Iesus Christus, Dominus noster, aeterni patris aeternus filius, carne nostra mortali indutus, salutem nostram in medio terrae mirabiliter operatus est; quae si vera sunt, ut vera esse speramus et toto ex animo optamus, haec certe tanto gaudio cor Nostrum complent, ut eiusdem gaudii magnitudinem nullis verbis satis exprimere possimus; Nos autem scimus nullum verbum esse impossibile apud Deum omnipotentem, qui solus est rex regum, per quem reges

[1] See *supra*, p. 247.

regnant et in cuius manu corda regum sunt, et quocumque voluerit convertit illa, qui antiquissimis temporibus et in saeculis a nostra memoria valde remotis, Cyri fortissimi regis Persarum manum dexteram apprehendit et subiecit ante faciem eius gentes et dorsa regum vertit, et gloriosos ac potentes terrae humiliavit, et ipse rex Cyrus, multis victoriis Dei auxilio clarissimus, populum Dei qui erat captivus in Babilone, liberum dimisit, et divino instinctu permotus, decrevit templum Domini a Chaldaeorum rege destructum iterum aedificare in Hierusalem et vasa templi aurea atque argentea, quae asportata fuerant, restitui iussit, quemadmodum sacrarum litterarum monumentis memoriae commendatum est. Nunc autem, o rex Persarum potentissime et magni illius Cyri successor, audimus de Te, quod ecclesias rito christiano, in regno Tuo aedificari cupias, aut fortasse etiam aedificare iam ceperis, ut in eis Deus optimus assidue laudetur et sacrosancta sacrificia offerantur et sanctum Christi evangelium praedicetur in salutem omni credenti, et ob eam causam narrant Te Christianos praesbyteros et sacerdotes expetere, qui a Romana ecclesia mittantur. Magna haec sunt, o rex, et maiorum rerum exordia, et plane maximarum, ut in Dei summa clementia confidimus, cuius spiritu cor Tuum ad tam praeclaras cogitationes moveri non dubitamus, nam si Nostram, hoc est Romani Pontificis et Christianorum regum patris, amicitiam vere appetis, si Christi fidem in Tuis provintiis promulgari, ecclesias aedificari, evangelii doctores et magistros apud Te habere, denique Christi nomen et Christianam religionem in Tuo regno amplissimo vere propagari desideras, esto bono animo, nam et Deus ipse Tibi adiumento erit, et Nos quoque ipsius Dei adiutrice gratia his desideriis Tuis libenter in primis suffragabimur. Recte autem praesbyteros ad Te mitti cupis ab hac sancta Romana ecclesia, quae omnium ecclesiarum, quae toto orbe terrarum sunt, mater est et magistra, nam sicut unus est Deus, et una fides et unum baptisma, ita una est ecclesia Catholica et Apostolica, cuius caput est ecclesia Romana, magistra veritatis, firmamentum unitatis, domicilium Christianae religionis, in qua beatissimus apostolorum princeps Petrus, quem Christus dominus ovium suarum pastorem summum constituit, suam Apostolicam Sedem divino consilio collocavit, in qua Sancta Sede post tot aetatum curricula, post longam et nunquam

interruptam pontificum successionem, Nos hoc tempore, humiles licet et indigni, Spiritu Sancto ita disponente praesidemus. Ad Te vero presbyteros et sacerdotes Christi libenter admodum mittemus, qui evangelicam veritatem Tibi et populis Tuis annuntient, quam si corde humili audieris et complexus fueris, et tandem Deo Te mirabiliter vocanti perfecte obedire et Iesu Christo nostrae salutis auctori et sempiternae vitae largitori nomen dare decreveris, tum demum et ipse vere felix eris et regnis Tuis veram felicitatem paries, et ad regum Persarum veterem famam tantum Tuae gloriae cumulum adiicies, ut de Tuis meritis et laudibus nulla posteritas conticescat ; sunt autem in Oriente presbyteri et operarii Christi fideles ac strenui, filii Nostri in Christo dilecti ex ea societate, quae a dulcissimo Iesu nomine nuncupatur, quae sub Nostra et huius Sanctae Apostolicae Sedis peculiari tutela Deo militat et in remotissimis etiam Orientis Indorumque regionibus victricem Christi crucem fixit et semen evangelii in salutem credentium disseminavit, et Deo auxiliante disseminare studet, nullis parcens laboribus, ut verbo salutaris doctrinae et vitae integerrimae exemplo, et denique divino baptisimi lavacro et caelestibus sacramentis animas Christo lucrifaciat, quemadmodum Tibi non inauditum neque omnino ignotum esse arbitramur. Ex ea igitur societate et ex iis orientalibus regionibus et locis, quae ad ditionem pertinent potentissimi principis et filii Nostri in Christo carissimi Philippi regis Catholici, quaeque loca a provintiis tuis minus longe absunt, et ad commeandum opportuniorem viam praebent, praesbyteros ad Te mitti curabimus, et eo numero qui erit necessarius, et iam nunc ea de re mandata dedimus, omnia denique quae Tua populorumque Tuorum salus postulaverit, summo studio benedicente Domino praestabimus, nihilque aliud expectamus, nisi ut de Tua tota voluntate Nobis planius constet, et quae fama et multorum relatu, ut diximus, accepimus, eadem ex Te ipso, hoc est ex litteris Tuis Tuisque etiam Nuntiis multo certius multoque cumulatius cognoscamus. Interea ut amoris erga Te Nostri et desiderii sincerae amicitiae inter nos conciliandae illustrior exstet significatio, has Nostras litteras ad Te dare placuit, testes voluntatis in Te Nostrae et veluti pignus benevolentiae eas autem tibi reddent hi duo dilecti filii Nostri, quos ad Te nominatim mittimus, nimirum Franciscus Costa, religiosus

praesbyter ex eadem societate Iesu, doctrina et zelo Dei praestans, et vir industrius ac diligens Didacus de Miranda, ambo Lusitani, ambo rerum usu praediti Nobisque probati et valde grati, qui alias etiam in Perside fuerunt, Tuoque regio nomini sunt addictissimi, quin etiam Didacus Venetiis collocutus est cum Assandebechio familiari Tuo, eaque ab eo accepta de Te Nobis retulit, quae Nobis incunda valde fuerunt, ex iis igitur mentem Nostram, ubi ad Te, angelo Domini duce, incolumes pervenerint, multo apertius multoque copiosius intelliges, atque illud in primis, quam appetentes simus salutis Tuae, quam cupidi Tuae amplitudinis et gloriae. Quare a Te petimus, ut illis fidem plenissimam habeas perinde ac si Nos ipsi Tecum praesentes loqueremur; confidimus autem, quod hos nuntios Nostros et Nobis dilectos, omi cum honore et humanitate excipies, nam et Nos erga Tuos quos ad Nos miseris, parem humanitatem adhibebimus, ut Noster inter Nos amor firmiores radices agat et in dies magis coalescat; vere enim ex Nostra animorum et voluntatum coniunctione magnae et multiplices utilitates redundare poterunt, quas Te pro Tua prudentia satis perspicere non dubitamus, sed ea in primis, quae est de Tuo et Nostro et totius nominis Christiani perpetuo atque infensissimo hoste Turca coercendo, qui intolerabili superbia et insatiabili cupiditate dominandi omnia regna, omnes provintias sua tyrannide opprimere et durissimae servitutis iugo subiicere avidissime desiderat; sed speramus in Dei clementia, quod humiliabit superbum et brachium eius et dentes eius conteret in ore eius et molas leonis confringet, cuius rei non obscura indicia annis proximis dedit Deus in Ungaria, et leonem illum immanissimum superari posse ostendit; Nos vero pro Nostro pastorali officio praeter ea adiumenta, quae carissimo filio Nostro Rudolpho Imperatori electo adversus teterrimum hostem praebuimus et praebebimus, in ea cura maxime versamur, ut reges et principes Catholicos, filios Nostros in Christo carissimos, omni officii genere permoveamus, quo communem inimicum communibus studiis oppugnent, et magna spe sumus fore, ut id a divina miseracordia impetremus, quod si Tu quoque, iusta indignatione permotus, tam multas et tam graves Tibi a Turcis illatas iniurias aliquando ulcisci statueris, et avitae Persarum gloriae memor Tuaeque propriae virtutis, summa vi summoque animi ardore bellum non minus

Tibi gloriosum quam necessarium susceperis, profecto fera illa et immanis bellua undique vulneribus confecta prosternetur, quod tanto magis sperare Nobisque polliceri licet, quod divinae motionis vim in Tuo corde videmur videre, dum erga Christi nomen et Christianam religionem Te adeo propensum esse audimus ; sic Deus et pater misericordiarum opus suum, quod iam in Te incepit, ipse perficiat, ut unum Nobiscum et cum principibus Christianis corpus efficiaris, ut Tecum arctissime colligati, omnia Tua sua ducant tantoque vehementius contra communem inimicum pro communi salute et gloria exardescant. Deum autem exercituum, in cuius manu sunt victoriae et triumphi, toto ex animo precamur, ut quemadmodum olim ante Cyrum, sic eat ante Te et portas aeneas conterat et vectes ferreos confringat, Teque omnibus difficultatibus superatis, victorem et triumphatorem efficiat. Esto igitur forti et excelso animo, atque ut Te decet magna meditare et magna aggredere, ut maiorum Tuorum gloriam virtute et magnitudine animi non solum sustineas, sed etiam adaugeas et amplifices. Dat Romae etc.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 61, Papal Secret Archives.]

21. Pope Clement VIII. to the Shah of Persia.[1]

1601, May 2, Rome.

Rex potentissime et illustris, salutem et oblatum a Deo divinae gratiae lumen toto corde accipe. Pervenerunt his proximis diebus ad hanc almam Urbem nostram, arcem Christianae religionis et portum nationum, quos ad Nos, ut ipsi referunt, misisti, vir nobilis Antonius Scierleius et vir honoratus Assandebechius, quorum adventus periucundus Nobis fuit, cum a tanto rege et tantae potentiae principe, et tam multis, ut audimus, animi et corporis ornamentis praedito, ex tam longinquis et remotis regionibus ad Nos venerint, Tuasque, quemadmodum ipsi affirmant, litteras Nobis gratissimas attulerint, quas accepimus singulari cum voluptate ; ipsos, qui eas nobis Tuo nomine reddiderunt, oculis vultuque hilari aspeximus omnique cum benignitate excepimus, atque a Nostris quam humanissime tractari iussimus, quod ipsi multo uberius Tuae Celsitudini referre poterunt et denique ea benevole in primis attenteque audivimus, quae Tuo nomine Nobis retulerunt. Paria enim Tibi in amore reddimus, et

[1] See *supra*, p. 248.

quemadmodum Tu et litteris et viva Tuorum voce profiteris, Te gratiae et amicitiae Nostrae esse appetentem, ita Nos vicissim pari benevolentiae affectu Tibi respondemus, ex hac enim nostra amicitia et coniunctione, tamquam ex quodam fonte, magna bona redundare posse intell gimus, ad totius Christianae reipublicae, tum ad Tuam Tuaeque illustris coronae utilitatem et gloriam, quod Tu quoque pro Tua prudentia non ignoras, sed optime intelligis. Accedit, quod divinae potentiae et sapientiae proprium est, non secus atque ex parvo semine ingentes arbores procreantur, ita ex initiis exiguis res maximas efficere, non enim viae Dei sunt sicut viae hominum, sed omnia quaecumque vult facit in coelo et in terra. Ac sane sperandum es in summa Dei bonitate, si forti et excelso animo esse velimus, tempus advenisse, quo immanissimus Turcarum tyrannus, cuius insatiabilis dominandi libido nullis terminis continetur, non solum coerceatur, sed plane superetur, cuius rei manifesta extant argumenta, cum per hos annos magnas clades terra marique a Christianis principibus acceperit. Unde tanto magis animi Tui magnitudo excitari atque inflammari debet adversus teterrimum et superbissimum hostem, qui Te ipsum et maiores etiam Tuos gravissimis iniuriis et detrimentis affecit, et Nos sane id Tecum agimus, quod Summi Romani Pontifices praedecessores Nostri cum patre et maioribus Tuis saepius egerunt, ut scilicet iusto dolore exardescas et inimicum infensissimum regum Persarum nomine, qui omnes quidem, sed Te potissimum durissimo servitutis iugo opprimere molitur, ne inultum abire patiaris, sed ita vehementer oppugnes, ut illum aliquando audaciae et superbiae suae poeniteat. Nam quod Te cupere significas, quodque ii, quos ad Nos misisti, coram etiam narrarunt, ut reges et principes Christiani Tecum contra Turcam foedus ineant, nos idem cupimus, partesque Nostrae pontificiae auctoritatis ad id interponemus, sed res magni momenti diligenti tractatione et non modico tempore indigent. Interea non desunt ex principibus Nostris, qui eum bello exerceant atque infestent, et praesertim carissimus filius Noster Rudolphus electus Imperator, qui continenter cum eo bellum gerit et iam nunc hac ipsa aestate gesturus est, et Nos quoque illi adiumento sumus et auxiliares Nostras copias contra Turcas mittimus et Catholicos principes filios Nostros ad eidem electo Imperatori opem ferendam omni officii genere permovemus ; itaque Tuae

est prudentiae et consilii uti hac opportunitate, et dum Turca robur exercitus sui in Ungariam mittit et armis Christianis distinetur, Tu illum invade et quasi illius nudatum latus ferro aggredere, ut ille ancipiti bello distractus et pluribus in locis oppugnatus, veluti quaedam ferox bellua multorum venatorum concursu vexata, telisque coniectis saucia, tandem ad terram prosternatur ; nihil igitur procrastinandum, ne occasio praetereat, sed quod Nostros ex sua parte facere vides, Tu quoque ex Tua fac et Turcam eodem tempore oppugna quam fortissime ; sic Tu Christianis et Chrisitani Tibi vicissim adiumento erunt, et quod omnes spectamus, re ipsa efficietur, ut communis hostis genuina oppugnatione delibitatus corruat atque intereat, atque hoc ipsum ad foedus, quod desideras, conciliandum maiorem et faciliorem aditum aperiet, Nosque tanto efficacius de eo agemus, cum apud omnes constiterit, Te summo studio, summo ardore totisque viribus in illius hostis perniciem incumbere, quem ab aliis quoque invadi atque opprimi concupiscis. Quod principes Christiani complures, ut diximus, iam pro sua virili faciunt. Nos vero utilitati et rationibus Tuis et gloriae Tuae valde ex animo favemus et favebimus, quod ex eo facile perspicere potes, quod antequam Tui, quos ad Nos misisti, Romam pervenissent, iam Nos ad Te cum litteris Nostris, amantissime scriptis, duos familiares Nostros miserimus, videlicet dilectos filios Franciscum Costam, sacerdotem Christi, et Didacum Mirandam, ambos Lusitanos et nobis valde gratos, qui cum incolumes, Deo duce, in conspectum Tuum venerint, quod supra quam dici possit optamus, sane ex Nostri litteris atque ex eorum sermone intelliges copiosius, quam praeclaram de Tua virtute opinionem habeamus, et quam benevolo erga Te animo simus, et quantopere cupiamus, non solum Te omni humana felicitate esse florentissimum, sed sempiterna etiam illa in caelo felicitate et beatitudine frui, quam nemo potest adipisci, nisi qui ex aqua et spiritu regeneratus, Christianae fidei veritatem susceperit et professus fuerit. Quamobrem incredibilem voluptatem cepimus ex eo capite litterarum Tuarum et colloquio eorundem duorum praestantium virorum, quod ad Nos misisti, velle Te nimirum, ut Christianis et iis praesertim, qui a Nobis mittentur, aditus pateat in regnum et provintias Tuas, quodque Christianis et Persis libera sint commercia, ipsique Christiani non solum immunitate multisque favoribus

et privilegiis a Te ample concessis gaudeant et potiantur, sed etiam ecclesias et templa christiano ritu Deo altissimo in Tuo regno et ditione aedificent, sacerdotes et presbyteros habeant, qui divina officia persolvant, sacramenta administrent, verbum Dei praedicent et lucem ac semen evangelii Christi in salutem omni credenti ubique disseminent atque diffundant, quibus rebus nihil Nobis gratius, nihil Deo acceptius, nihil Tibi salutarius et magnifiicentius potest accidere; nam cum Tu vere et ex animo Dei gloriae servieris, ille etiam, per quem solum reges regnant, te gloriosum et de inimicis tuis Turcis victorem et triumphatorem efficiet; quare brevi ad Te presbyteros mittemus doctores veritatis et magistros salutis, quemadmodum alteris Nostris litteris solliciti sumus, quas Francisco et Didaco supradictis ad Te perferendas dedimus, quos Tibi iterum et saepius commendamus, petimusque ut eos humaniter accipias laetosque ad Nos remittas, sicut Nos Tuos accepimus et ad Te remittimus multa cum amoris significatione et litteris Nostris, quibuscum de his ipsis rebus, de quibus ad Te scribimus, copiose locuti sumus, qui etiam ex ore et oculis Nostris Nostram in Te eximiam voluntatem Tuaeque gloriae desiderium perspicere potuerunt. Deus omnipotens qui Te in magni Cyri regis solio collocavit, det Tibi cor sapiens et corroboret Te ex alto virtute et fortitudine, ut vincas hostes Tuos Turcas, et lucem evangelii Christi in regnum Persarum, ubi olim late resplenduit, restituas, omnesque reges, qui ante Te in regno isto fuerunt, ita rerum gestarum magnitudine et gloria superes, ut nulla aetas nullaque posteritas famam Tuam ignoret, nec de Tuis unquam laudibus conticescat.—Dat. Romae apud sanctos Apostolos sub annulo piscatoris die secunda Maii 1601, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 124, Papal Secret Archives.]

22. Pope Clement VIII. to Justin Calvin.[1]

1601, December 12, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Litteras Tuas et apologiam de Tuo ad gremium catholicae ecclesiae reditu, quas ad Nos misisti, libenti animo accepimus, gratumque est Nobis, quod praeclara erga Te divinae misericordiae beneficia et pie agnoscis et magnifice praedicas et ad eandem

[1] See *supra*, p. 277.

veritatis lucem, quam Spiritu Sancto auctore invenisti, alios adhuc tenebris involutos perducere studes. Non erit, ut speramus, infructuosus labor Tuus, Deo ipso sementi Tuae incrementum dante, tuum Tibi certe meritum apud patrem misericordiarum constabit ac salvum erit. Quod venerabilis frater Noster archiepiscopus et princeps elector Moguntinus, et Nostra commendatione et Tua virtute adductus, benigne, ut scribis, Tecum agat Teque foveat, id Nobis pergratum est Nostraeque expectationi consentaneum, ad quem alteras nunc quoque Tui causa commendatitias litteras damus; ut Te tanto propensius complectatur; quin etiam et decano illius insignis capituli Te commendamus, ut plura Tibi praesidia paremus. Tu vero, si Roman venire statueris, gratus Nobis advenies et libenter in primis Te videbimus et Tibi adiumento erimus; amamus enim Te in Christo paterno affectu; ipse autem, qui Te vocavit in admirabile lumen suum, dona sua in te custodiat atque adaugeat, et Nos Tibi apostolicam benedictionem Nostram ex animo impartimur.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 12 Decembris 1601, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44 t. 35, n. 421, Papal Secret Archives.]

23. Francesco Maria Vialardo to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1604, December 11, Rome.

. . . Il card^{le} di Perone sarà qui questa sera. Gioiosa è ammalato di lieve puntura, il Papa fa sborsare 50^{m} duc^{ti} per il negotio dell'acqua di Ferrara, vuole che si rimetta la congregatione de propaganda fide. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 268.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXIV.

ABBAS I. (Shah of Persia), 247 *seq.*
Abercomby, Robert (S.J.), 61.
Accoramboni, Ottavio (Bishop of Fossombrone), 192.
Acosta, José de (S.J.), 166, 169-175, 178 *seqq.*, 308.
Acquapendente (preacher), 273.
Adorno, Franc. (S.J.), 169.
Adrian IV., Pope, 69.
Adrian VI., Pope, 409.
Adrianus, Quintilianus (notary of the Inquisition), 198.
Afflito, Annibale d' (Bishop of Reggio), 193, 264.
Agellio, Antonio (Theatine, Bishop of Acerno), 223 439.
Agucchio, Girolamo (major - domo of P. Aldobrandini), Cardinal, 72, 414.
Aguila, Juan de (Spanish general), 70.
Akbar the Great (Grand Mogul) 245.
Alaleone, Paolo (master of ceremonies), 81, 151, 404, 472, 531.
Alarcon, Garcia de (S.J.), 310.
Albani, Francesco (painter), 517.
Albergati, Antonio (nuncio at Cologne), 443.
Albergati, Fabio, 491.
Albert of Austria (husband of Isabella of Spain, governor of the Low Countries), 6, 13, 40, 47, 57 *seq.*, 65, 68 *seq.*, 71, 295 *seqq.*, 325, 402 *seq.*, 406, 516.
Alberti, Cherubino (painter), 482, 486.
Alberti Giovanni (painter), 479 *seq.*, 487 *seq.*
Aldobrandini, Family of the, 158, 420, 426, 478, 483, 489, 512.
Aldobrandini [Passeri], Cinzio (nephew of Clement VIII.), Cardinal, 72, 85, 99, 111, 222, 248, 266, 386 *seq.*, 391, 396 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, 456 *seqq.*, 460, 469, 490, 505.
Aldobrandini, Flaminia, 279.
Aldobrandini, Gian Francesco, 375 *seq.*, 379, 386, 391.
Aldobrandini [Deti], Lisa (mother of Clement VIII.), 482.
Aldobrandini, Olimpia (niece of Clement VIII.), 512.
Aldobrandini, Pietro (nephew of Clement VIII.), Cardinal, 39, 72, 164, 182 *seq.*, 197, 199, 266, 307, 313, 319, 325, 342, 346 *seq.*, 373, 386, 393-396, 398, 400, 403 *seqq.*, 410, 433 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, 483, 490, 495-499, 505, 519 *seq.*, 523.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro (father of Clement VIII.), 482 *seq.*
Alexander III., Pope, 233.
Alexander VI., Pope, 186, 505.
Alfonso II. (Duke of Ferrara), 382 *seqq.*, 385, 388, 391, 394, 397, 401.
Allen, William, Cardinal, 9-13, 17, 21, 65, 193.
Alonso, Juan (Bishop of León), 305.
Alphonsus, O.S.B. (abbot of Valladolid), 8.
Altemps, Cardinal, 459, 493.
Alvares II. (King of the Congo), 251.
Alvarez, Diego (O.P.), 303, 318 *seqq.*, 325, 335, 347, 349.

Ammirato, Scipione, 453.
Anchieta, José de (S.J.), 255.
Ancina, Giovanni Giovenale (Bishop of Saluzzo), 192.
Andrew of Austria (Bishop of Constance and Brixen), Cardinal, 275.
Angelis, Giulio de (physician), 450.
Angelotto, Giov. Batt. (heretic), 215.
Angermann (Archbishop of Upsala), 90 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*, 98, 103.
Angus, Earl of, 53, 61 *seq.*
Anhalt, Ludwig von, 504.
Anna (archduchess, wife of Sigismund III.), 81, 101, 115, 122, 235.
Anne (wife of James I. of England), 50, 55 *seq.*, 72.
Anselmo da Monopoli (Capuchin), 273.
Antoniano, Silvio, Cardinal, 134, 193, 195, 228, 266, 273, 437, 439, 453, 494, 515.
Aquaviva, Claudio (general of the Jesuits), 2, 15 *seq.*, 43, 166 *seq.*, 169-174, 179-184, 238, 255, 258, 301, 307 *seq.*, 318, 325 *seq.*, 331, 335, 364 *seq.*, 445.
Aquaviva d'Aragona (Bishop of Cajazzo), 172.
Aquaviva, Ottavio (Archbishop of Naples), 171.
Aquino, Antonio de (Bishop of Sarno), 193.
Aragona, Cardinal, *see* Tagliavia.
Arevedo, Pedro González de, 315.
Arias, Beatrice, 421.
Arigoni, Pompeo, Cardinal, 195, 198, 322, 347, 397.
Ariosto, 465.
Aristotle, 204, 208.
Arpino, Cavaliere d' (painter), 467, 470 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*, 479 *seq.*, 497, 513, 519.
Arras, Niccolò (Dutch artist), 477.
Arrese, Juan de (licenciate), 292.
Arrighini, Giorgio (hat-maker), 159.
Arrigoni, Lelio, 218, 220, 427, 506.
Arrubal, Pedro de' (S.J.), 323, 325, 335 *seq.*, 356.
Ascoli (O.P.), Cardinal, 339.
Ashton, Nicolas (co-founder of the English College, Lisbon), 8.
Athanasius, St., 428.
Augustine, St., 285, 289, 297, 311, 321, 348 *seq.*
Avalos de Aragonia, Iñigo, Cardinal, 193.
Avendaño, Alonso de (O.P.), 300, 304, 306 *seqq.*, 364.
Avila, Guzman de [Davila], Cardinal, 72, 325.

Bacagliar, Andr., 438.
Bacci, Andrea (botanist), 451.
Baglione, Giovanni (painter), 474, 476, 479, 516.
Bagshaw, Christopher (secular priest), 17, 19, 24.
Baius, 297.
Balaban, Gedeon (Bishop of Lemberg), 125, 130 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 139.
Balmerino (secretary to James I. of England), 54.
Bancroft, Richard (prot. bishop of London), 29, 33.
Bandini, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 226 *seq.*, 396.
Bandini, Giovan Battista (priest), 449.
Bandini, Ottavio (Bishop of Fermo), Cardinal, 72, 396.
Bañes, Domenico (O.P.), 285 *seqq.*, 291 *seq.*, 298-301, 305, 310 *seq.*, 313, 315, 318, 323 *seq.*, 325, 344 *seqq.*
Barbaro, Francesco (Bishop of Aquileja), 190.
Barberini, Maffeo (later Pope Urban VIII.), 72, 120, 414, 447, 454.
Barga (physician to Clement VIII.), 432.
Bargäus, Petrus Angelus, 463.
Bargius, Johann, 3.
Barocci, Federico (painter), 482.

Baronius, Cesare, Cardinal, 72, 133, 158, 161, 188, 195, 216, 228 *seq.*, 273, 277, 373, 397, 437, 439, 443, 446 *seq.*, 453, 474, 487, 490, 494, 505, 517 *seq.*, 521, 527.
Barrett, Dr. (president of Douai college), 17.
Barro, G. F. (heretic), 202.
Barsum (Archdeacon of Alexandria), 257.
Basa, Bernardo (printer), 449.
Basa, Domenico (printer), 449.
Bascapé, Carlo (Bishop of Novara), 191.
Bassus, Junius, 473.
Bastida, Ferdinando de la (S.J.), 323, 343, 356.
Báthory, Andreas, Cardinal, 83, 88, 194.
Báthory, Stephen (King of Poland), 120, 127.
Beaton, James (Archbishop of Glasgow), 50, 66.
Beaumont (French envoy in England), 74.
Beccaria, Ippolito Maria (general of the Dominicans), 325 *seq.*, 331.
Bellarmine, Cynthia (mother of the Cardinal), 445.
Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal, 15, 49, 54, 167, 187 *seq.*, 193, 195, 211, 218, 224, 226, 228 *seq.*, 230, 273, 311 *seq.*, 317, 320, 327, 333, 335, 337, 340, 350 *seqq.*, 359 *seq.*, 437, 439-446, 453, 494.
Benaglia (prelate), 270.
Benavides, Michael (O.P., Archbishop of Manila), 244.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 469.
Benedict XV., Pope, 368.
Bentivoglio, Guido, Cardinal, 397, 437.
Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 520.
Bernardoni, Giovanni Maria (S.J.), 123.
Bernerio, Girolamo (O.P.), Cardinal, 198, 317, 327, 517.
Béthune, Maximilian de, *see* Sully.
Bevilacqua, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 195.
Bianchetti, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 195.
Billius (theologian), 438.
Bishop, John, 25, 29.
Bishop, William (vicar-apostolic), 24 *seqq.*, 36.
Blackwell, George (arch-priest), 21, 22-25, 27 *seq.*, 30 *seqq.*, 34, 38.
Blandrata, Francesco (Bishop of Acqui), Cardinal, 403, 414.
Blasio, Luca (organ builder), 478.
Blount, Richard (S.J.), 33.
Bluet, Thomas (secular priest), 19, 24, 29, 32, 35.
Bobadilla, Andrea (Archbishop of Saragossa), 194.
Boccafusco, Costanzo (O.F.M.), Cardinal, 198.
Boccalini, Torojano (satirist), 454.
Boissard, Jean Jacques (archeologist), 503.
Bolaños, Luis (O.F.M.), 255.
Bolognetti, Alberti (nuncio), Cardinal, 120, 127.
Bombasio, Gabriele, 517.
Bonarelli, Guidobaldo (poet), 452.
Bonaventure, St., 438.
Bonelli, Michele, Cardinal, 87, 317, 319 *seq.*, 339, 484, 507, 510.
Bonitor, James Wood, Lord of, 56.
Bordini, Giovanni Francesco (Archbishop of Avignon), 439.
Borghese, Camillo (later Pope Paul V.), Cardinal, 8, 26, 195, 198, 347, 512.
Borromeo, Charles, St., Cardinal, 11, 160, 169, 192, 233 *seq.*, 246
Borromeo, Frederick (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 191, 195, 223, 234, 266, 510.
Bosio, Antonio (archeologist), 505, 521, 527.

Bosso da Bassi (heretic), 202.
Botero, Giov., 196.
Bovio (theologian), 334, 336.
Bozio, Tomaso (oratorian), 276.
Brambilla (painter), 502.
Brendani, Antonio (p.p. of S. Dorotea), 163.
Bressio, Maurizio (scholar), 449.
Bridget of Sweden, St., 104.
Bril, Paul (painter), 486, 488, 502, 524.
Bronski (Arian), 139.
Bruno, Fabio (S.J.), 258.
Bruno, Giordano, 202 213.
Brusca, Francesco (O.F.M., Bishop of Lettera), 322.
Buchel, Arend van, 503.
Bufalo, Innocenzo (Bishop of Camerino, nuncio), 72, 74, 78.
Buonvicino, Ambrogio (sculptor), 479.
Bus, César de (founder of the "Doctrinnaires"), 165.
Buzzi, Ippolito (sculptor), 483.

Caetani, Family of the, 430.
Caetani, Camillo (patriarch of Alexandria), 82.
Caetani, Errico, Cardinal, 1, 8, 21 *seq.*, 26, 111, 112 *seq.*, 114 *seqq.*, 121, 153, 193, 445, 516.
Caetani, Pietro (Duke of Ferrara), 386.
Caffarelli, Family of the, 430.
Cagnati, Marsilio (physician to Clement VIII.), 435.
Calasanctius, Joseph, St., 159, 161-164.
Calixtus II., Pope, 472.
Calvetti, Olimpio, 423, 425.
Calvin, John, 206, 213, 282, 324.
Calvin, Justus, 277, 300, 440.
Cambio, Arnolfo di (artist), 525
Camillus of Lellis, St., 159, 410.
Campugnanus, Hieron. Joanninus, 502.
Cano, Melchior (O.P.), 296, 299.
Caporali, Guilio di Giov. Batt. (gilder), 475.
Capranico, Paolo, Mgr., 495.
Caracci, The (painters), 466, 467, 511.
Caracci, Agostino (artist), 466, 510.
Caracci, Annibale (painter), 510, 512 *seq.*
Carafa, Carlo, Cardinal, 162, 223.
Caravaggio [Amerighi], Michelangelo (painter), 467, 516.
Carretto, Giulio del (Mantuan envoy), 198, 225, 232, 374, 494.
Casimir, St., 235.
Cassian, 321.
Castanola, Vincenzo (S.J.), 261.
Castelfidardo (Franciscan), 273.
Castelli, Bernardo (painter), 466.
Castelnau de Mauvissière Michel, 205, 207.
Catesby (conspirator), 47.
Catherine of Siena, St., 235.
Catherine of Sweden, St., 104.
Cati, Pasquale (painter), 489.
Cato, Renato (orator), 396.
Cattaneo, Lazzaro (S.J.), 241.
Ceci, Battista (envoy from Urbino), 508 *seq.*
Cecil, John (spy), 24.
Cecil, Robert, 43, 57.
Cecilia, St., 520 *seqq.*
Cedolini, Pietro (Bishop of Lesina), 453.
Cenci, Family of the, 420 *seq.*
Cenci, Beatrice, 420 *seq.*, 422-426.
Cenci, Bernardo (son of Francesco), 422 *seqq.*
Cenci, Cristoforo (clerk of the Chamber), 421.
Cenci, Cristoforo (son of Francesco), 423.
Cenci, Francesco, 420, 422-425.
Cenci, Giacomo, 420, 422 *seqq.*
Cenci, Lucrezia (second wife of Francesco), 422 *seqq.*
Cenci, Paolo (son of Francesco), 422.
Cenci, Rocco (son of Francesco), 423.
Cerasa, Tiberio (Papal treasurer), 379, 517.

Ceruso, Giovanni Leonardo ("Il Letterato"), 162.
Cervoni da Colle, Isabella, 395.
Cesalpino, Andrea (physician to Clement VIII.), 435, 450.
Cesari, Guiseppe (painter), 467.
Cesi, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 379, 405, 448, 490, 516, 523.
Chacon, *see* Ciaconius.
Charlemagne, 390.
Charles V., Emperor, 7.
Charles of Sweden, *see* Södermanland.
Charnock, Robert (English (priest), 24 *seqq.*
Chastel, Jean, 168.
Chemnitz, Martin (Lutheran theologian), 300.
Chisholm, William (Bishop of Vaison), 53.
Chisholm, William (the younger, Bishop of Dunblane), 63.
Christian IV. (King of Denmark), 142.
Ciaconius, Alfonsus (O.P.), 449, 505.
Ciampelli (painter), 479.
Ciampoli (poet), 452, 496.
Cicada, C. (ruler of Crete), 261.
Cicada, Vincenzo (S.J.), 261.
Cieco (Theatine), 273.
Cigoli, Lodovico (painter), 474.
Cioni, Giambattista, 159.
Cipriano, Adriano (O.S.B.), 449.
Clark (English priest), 59.
Clavius, Christopher, 439.
Clement I., St., Pope, 479.
Clement VII., Pope, 262, 372, 469.
Clement VIII., Pope, Vol. XXIV.
Cobos, Cristobal de los (S.J.), 323, 325, 335 *seq.*
Colleton (English priest), 24.
Coloma, Luis, (O.S.A.), 315.
Colonna, Family of the, 418, 430.
Colonna, Ascanio, Cardinal, 446, 510.
Colonna, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 380.
Como, Giovan Paolo da (Barnabite), 165.
Confucius, 242.
Contarini, Niccolò, 210.
Contarini, Thomas (Archbishop of Crete), 156.
Conti, Family of the, 418, 430.
Conti, Carlo (Bishop of Ancona) Cardinal, 389.
Conti, Torquato, 473.
Copernicus, 205.
Cordier, Nicolas (architect), 482 *seq.*, 518.
Cornaro, Francesco (Bishop of Treviso), Cardinal, 191.
Cornelius a Lapide (S.J.), 444.
Coronel, Garcia (theologian), 297.
Coronel, Gregorio Nuñez (O.S.A.), 322 *seq.*, 334 *seq.*
Corradus, Rudolf, 507.
Cortona, Pietro da (painter), 488.
Costa, Francisco da (S.J.), 247.
Costantini, Antonio (friend of Tasso), 459.
Cotti, Renato, 384.
Coutinho, Pedro (benefactor to the English College, Lisbon), 8.
Creil, Louis de (Sorbonnist), 322.
Cremonino, Cesare (envoy), 401.
Crescenzi, Marcello (Bishop of Assisi), 193.
Crescenzio, Bartol. (architect), 414, 452.
Creswell, Joseph (S.J.), 34, 47.
Crichton, (Jesuit), 44, 52, 65 *seq.*
Crispo, G., 453.
Croy, Philippe de, 6.
Cuevas, De las (O.P.), 294, 296.
Cusake, Christopher (Irish secular priest), 67.
Cusani, Marco de Sadis, 165.
Cyprian, St., 127.

Daifusama (Japanese ruler), 239.
Damasus, St., Pope, 474.
Dandini, Girolamo (S.J.), 258.
Darnley, 46.

Davila, Francisco (O.F.M.), 333.
Davila, Gil Gonzalez (S.J.), 301.
De Bry, Theodore (engraver), 503.
Delfino, Flaminio, 374 *seq.*
Demetrius, The false, 140, 142-147.
Deti, Giambattista, Cardinal, 195, 196.
Deti, Lisa, *see* Aldobrandini.
Deza, Diego de (O.P.), 305.
Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 198.
Diaz, Andrea (Augustinian hermit), 185.
Dietrichstein, F. von (Bishop of Olmütz), Cardinal, 276, 443.
Dimitry [Demetrius], son of Ivan IV., 140, 142.
Dolfin, Giovan (Venetian ambassador), 196, 222.
Dolfino, Gentile (Bishop of Camerino), 188, 192.
Domitian, Emperor, 518.
Donati, Alessandro (S.J.), 496.
Donato, Leonardo (Venetian envoy), 376.
Domenichino [Zampieri], Domenico (painter), 499, 510.
Dominic, St. 295.
Drummond, Edward, 53, 55, 56.
Dumoulin, Charles (Gallican theologian), 217, 218.
Du Perron, Jacques Davy (Bishop of Evreux), Cardinal, 72, 360, 437, 443.
Durante, Castore (botanist), 451.
Dürer, Albert, 457, 507.

Edward III. (King of England), 42.
Effetti, Giovanni degli, 40, 74.
Eggis, Albert (vicar-general of Haarlem), 4.
Eichhov, Cyprian, 503.
Eleanora (wite of Vincenzo, Duke of Mantua), 401.
Eleutherius, *see* Meyere.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 1, 8, 12, 29 *seqq.*, 34, 40 *seq.*, 51, 54 *seq.*, 57, 61, 63 *seq.*, 68, 80, 106, 202, 213.
Emanuel, Philibert (Duke of Savoy), 53, 216, 378.
Ercole II. (Duke of Ferrara), 386.
Eric, St., 104.
Ernhoffer, Sigismund (S.J.), 90, 98.
Ernest of Bavaria (Elector of Cologne), 10, 40, 151.
Errera, Enrico d', 517.
Errol, Earl of 53, 61 *seq.*
Escalona, Juan Fernandez Pacheco, Duke of (Marquis of Vigliena, Spanish ambassador in Rome), 196.
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, 47.
Este, Family of the, 386, 390, 396, 400, 457.
Este, Alessandro d', Cardinal, 196.
Este, Alfonso d', *see* Alfonso.
Este, Cesare d' (cousin to Alfonso II.), 377, 382 *seqq.*, 385-389, 391-395, 398, 401.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 196.
Eulogius, St., 524.
Eustachio, Giov. Paolo, 452.
Exuperantius, St., 521.

Fabri, Johann (botanist), 451.
Fabritio Napolitano (Minorite), 541.
Fagnani (secretary to the Congr. of the Council), 231.
Farinaccio, Prospero, 425.
Farnese, Family of the, 46, 420, 430, 448.
Farnese, Alessandro, 11, 13, 63.
Farnese, Odoardo, Cardinal, 234, 408, 467, 490, 510 *seqq.*, 520, 523.
Farnese, Ranuccio (Duke of Parma), 401, 431.
Faustus of Riez, 321.
Felinus, Petrus Martyr (Servite) 228, 452.
Feodor, Czar, 140 *seq.*
Ferdinand (Archduke of Styria) 200, 401.
Ferrata, Ercole (sculptor), 525.
Ferreira, Bartolomeo, 294 *seqq.*
Ferreri, Guiseppe (Archbishop of Urbino), 193.

Fiammingo, Egidio (artist), 477.
Finelli, Giuliano (sculptor), 517.
Fisher, Robert (S.J.), 20.
Flavia, Domitilla, St., 518.
Fleming, Klas (admiral, governor of Finland), 88.
Fontana, Domenico (architect), 468, 489.
Fontana, Giovanni (architect), 414, 466, 467, 475, 489, 492, 497.
Fontana, Giovanni (Bishop of Ferrara), 384, 398.
Foresto, Giulio Cesare (Mantuan envoy), 11, 194, 272, 431, 434, 505.
Fossataro, Marcello (Franciscan hermit), 162.
Francesca Romana, St., 234.
Franciotti, Cesare, 159.
Franciotti, Giulio, 159.
Francis of Assisi, St., 254, 524.
Francis de Sales, St., 298.
Francis Xavier, St., 243.
Franco, Giacomo (painter), 502.
Francolini, Marcello, 229.
Frangipani, Family of the, 430.
Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto (nuncio), 4 *seq.*, 31, 46.
Frederick (Duke of Würtemberg), 272.
Froes (Jesuit), 238.

Gabriel (patriarch of Alexandria), 256 *seq.*
Gabuzio, Pietro, 375.
Gaetano (nuncio), 306 *seq.*
Gaetano, Costantino (O.S.B.), 446.
Galaminus, Aug. (commissary of the Inquisition), 198.
Galarza, Pedro Garcia (Bishop of Coria), 315.
Galilei, Galileo, 213.
Galli, Ant. Maria, Cardinal, 72, 87, 111, 266, 269, 432, 515.
Galuzzi, P. Angelo, 523.
Garnet, Henry (S.J.), 18 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 28, 37, 73.
Gasquet, Aidan, Cardinal, 368, 448.
Gavanti, Bartolomeo (Barnabite), 228, 230.
Gessi (prelate), 270.
Gesualdo, Alfonso, Cardinal, 193, 469, 514.
Ghislieri, Michele (Theatine), 223, 228.
Gianotti, Antonio (Archbishop of Urbino), 193.
Gifford, William (Archbishop of Rheims), 14, 38, 43.
Giglioli, Girolamo (envoy from Cesare d'Este), 385, 387.
Ginnasio, Domenico (Archbishop of Siponto, nuncio), 183, 189, 193, 239, 342 *seq.*, 381.
Giordano, Luca (painter), 488.
Giorgetti, Antonio (sculptor), 525.
Giovanni, Paolo Eustachio, P., 152.
Giovanni, di Sant 'Eliseo (Carmelite), 248.
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 516.
Godunow, Boris, 140 *seq.*, 142, 145.
Gonzaga, Ferrante (Prince of Guastalla), 401.
Gonzaga, Francesco (Bishop of Cefalu and Mantua), 191, 193.
Gonzaga, Giovanni Francesco II. (Duke of Mantua), 192.
Gonzaga, Scipione, Cardinal, 193, 194, 456, 507.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo (Duke of Mantua), 218, 401 *seq.*, 431, 465, 506.
Gordon (Jesuit), 52, 65.
Goslicki, Laurentius (Bishop of Przemysl), 114, 125, 136 *seq.*
Graziani, Antonio Maria, (Bishop of Amelia, nuncio), 153, 156, 193, 222, 439.
Gregory the Great, Pope, 188, 438, 518.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 14, 30, 52, 65, 67, 127, 166, 220, 237, 239, 244, 259, 267 *seq.*, 408, 417, 429, 469, 493.

Gregory XIV., Pope, 165, 166, 189, 222 *seq.*, 226, 228, 256, 374, 377, 382, 438, 449, 469.
Gregory XV., Pope, 201.
Grilenzone, 384.
Gretzer, J. (S.J.), 224.
Grimaldi, Giacomo, 274, 472.
Grimani, M. (Doge of Venice), 58, 156, 389.
Gualdo (canon), 361.
Guarini (poet), 511.
Guarino, Battista (organist), 451.
Guercino [Barbieri], Giov. Francesco (painter), 466.
Guerguis, Abram de (Maronite, S.J.), 250.
Guerra, Alfonso (O.P., Bishop of Assunciòn), 255.
Guidiccioni, Alessandro (Bishop of Lucca), 159 *seq.*
Guise, Henri de, Duke, 8.
Gustavus Wasa, 84.
Guzman, (O.P.), 291.

HAMILTON, James, 54.
Henry (son of James I.), 56.
Henry III. (King of France), 110, 204.
Henry IV. (King of France), 7, 32, 42, 45 *seqq.*, 55, 58, 66, 158, 168, 184, 271, 378, 384, 389 *seq.*, 448.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 40.
Henry of Portugal, Cardinal, 176.
Herbest, Benedict (S.J.), 125.
Hermogenes (Archibshop of Polotzk), 137.
Hilary, St., Pope, 480, 524.
Hojeda (Jesuit), 183.
Holing, John (S.J.), 67.
Holt, William, (S.J.), 10, 13 *seq.*, 17, 63.
Hooft, Pieter Corneliszoon, 503.
Hosius, Stanislas, Cardinal, 120, 440.
Howard, Henry (Earl of Northampton), 75, 80.
Huntly, Earl of, 62 *seqq.*, 65.
Hyacinth, St., 111, 234 *seq.*, 271, 517.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA, St., 165, 170, *seq.*, 175, 178, 233, 283, 363.
Innocent III., Pope, 473.
Innocent IV., Pope, 231, 263.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 523.
Innocent IX., Pope, 232, 256, 374.
Isabella, Clara Eugenia (wife of Albert of Austria), 42, 44, 47, 402, 406.
Ivan IV., Czar, 140, 142.

JACOB (Emperor of Abyssinia), 251.
James, King (I. of England, VI. of Scotland), 41, 43, 45, 49-64, 65, 70-80.
James, Thomas (envoy to Madrid), 47.
Javieres, Girolamo (O.P.), 347.
Jeremias II. (patriarch of Constantinople), 127 *seq.*, 129, 131, 137.
Jerin, Andreas von (Bishop of Breslau), 114 *seq.*
Job (patriarch of Moscow), 141, 145.
John (brother to Christian IV. of Denmark), 142.
John III. (King of Sweden), 84 *seq.*, 87, 90 *seq.*, 94.
John XXII., Pope, 351.
John Stephen (son of the Voivode Peter) 259.
John of Alexandria (archpriest), 257.
John Damascene, St., 438.
Juan de Santa Cruz (Hieronymite), 292.
Julius II., Pope, 372, 378.
Julius III., Pope, 232, 351.
Jung, Adrian (S.J.), 125.

KARNKOWSKI (Archbishop of Gnesen), 83, 110, 119, 139.
Khian-lung, 240.
Komulowič, Alexander (abbot of Nona), 119.

LACERDA, Hernando de (S.J.), 300, 306.
Laerzio, Alberto (S.J.), 246.
Lainez (general of the Jesuits), 316.
Lamata, Francesco (theologian), 449.
Lambardi, Carlo (architect), 489.
Lancellotti, Scipione, Cardinal, 385.
Landini, Taddeo (architect), 489.
Lando, Lelio (Bishop of Nardi), 321.
Lapide, Cornelius a (S.J.), 444.
Lascy, Samuel (envoy of Sigismund III.), 107.
Laterna, Martin (S.J.), 108, 137.
Laureti, Lorenzo (Carmelite. Bishop of Adria), 190.
Laureti, Tommaso (president of Academy of St. Luke), 513.
Le Blanc, Aug., *see* Serry.
Lee, John (secular priest), 67.
Lemos, Count (Viceroy of Naples), 181 *seq.*, 235, 276.
Lemos, Countess, 182, *seq.*
Lemos, Tommaso de (O.P.), 335, 356.
Lennox, Duke of, 62 *seq.*
Leo X., Pope, 262, 351, 497, 511.
Leo XI., Pope, 184.
Leo XIII., Pope, 210, 436.
Léon, Luis de (O.S.A.), 291 *seqq.*
Leonardi, Giovanni, St., 159 *seqq.*
Lerma, Duke of, 14, 181 *seqq.*
Lesdiguières (Governor of Dauphiny), 378.
Lesley, John (Bishop of Ross), 50, 66.
Lessius, Leonard (S.J.), 290, 297, 443.
Lewis, Owen (Bishop of Cassano), 11 *seq.*
Lindanus (theologian), 440.
Lindsay, James, 56 *seq.*, 70 *seqq.*
Lindsay, Walter, 52, 63.
Lister, Thomas (S.J.), 28, 31.
Lollini, Luigi (Bishop of Belluno), 191.
Lombardi, Antonio (Archbishop of Messina), 193, 263.
Longhi, Andreas (Bishop of Civita Castellana), 157.
Lopez, Francisco (S.J.), 249 *seq.*
Lorraine, Charles, Duke of, 55, 57, 64, 78, 194, 276.
Lucius, Pope, 522.
Lucrezia (Duchess of Urbino), 394.
Lukaris, Cyril, 136, 139.
Lulli, Raimondo, 208.
Lunghi, Onorio (architect), 517.
Luther, Martin, 206, 208, 282, 299, 324, 351, 439.

MACIEJOWSKI, Bernhard (Bishop of Wilna), Cardinal, 119, 130, 139.
MacQuhirrie, Alexander (S.J.), 49, 56.
Maderno, Carlo (architect), 467, 475, 496, 512, 515 *seq.*
Maderno, Stefano (sculptor), 483, 489, 525 *seq.*
Madruzzo, Lodoviso (Bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 193, 198, 322, 325-333, 409, 516.
Maffei, Giampietro (S.J.), 437, 454.
Malaspina, Germanico (Bishop of San Severo, nuncio), 82 *seq.*, 85, 87-95. 97-102, 105 *seq.*, 110 *seqq.*, 117-122, 131, 435.
Malatesta, Gius. (biographer), 435.
Malvasia (nunico), 14, 39, 43, 62 *seqq.*, 65.
Manareus, Oliver (S.J.), 2, 13 *seq.*
Mancio (Dominican), 305.
Mander, Karel van (painter), 503.
Mandina, Benedetto (Bishop of Caserta), 82, 112 *seqq.*

Manlius Curius Dentatus, 492.
Mansoni, Lod. (S.J.), 69.
Mantano, Giov. Batt. (artist), 478.
Mantica, Francesco, Cardinal, 195, 437.
Manutius, Aldus (printer), 449.
Marcellus, St., 521.
Marcellus II., Pope, 445.
Marchstaller (abate), 526.
Marcos, Miguel (S.J.), 293, 301.
Marenzio, Luca (organist), 451, 454.
Margaret (Archduchess of Styria, wife of Philip III.), 402, 403.
Margherita (sister of Duke Vincenzo of Mantua), 401.
Marguni, Massimo (Bishop of Cerigo), 213.
Maria of Austria (archduchess), 358, 522.
Maria (wife of the Emperor Maximilian II.), 325, 357.
Mariana, Juan de (S.J., historian), 172.
Mariani, Camillo (sculptor), 477, 482.
Marini, Giambattista (poet), 451, 496, 525.
Marinis, Giovanni Baptista de (general of the Dominicans), 365 *seq.*
Mark (patriarch of Alexandria), 257.
Mark Sittich of Hohenems, *see* Hohenems.
Martinez, Pedro (bishop in Japan), 238.
Mary of Egypt, St., 524.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 12, 27, 41, 65.
Mary Tudor (Queen of England), 41, 68.
Marzato da Sorento, Anselmo (Capuchin), Cardinal, 72, 353.
Masseri, Ippolito (Bishop of Montepeloso), 334.
Massimi, Family of the, 427.
Massimo, Lelio de (Marquis of Prassedi), 427.
Massimo, Luca, 427.
Massimo, Marçantonio, 427.
Mattei, Ciriaco, 506.
Matthias of Austria (archduke), 216.
Mauvissière, *see* Castelnau de Mauvissière.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 357.
Maximilian of Austria (archduke), 113 *seq.*, 118, 216, 325, 401, 406.
Maximilian I. of Bavaria, 171.
Maximus, St., 521.
Mazarino (preacher), 273.
Mazzoni, Giacomo (philosopher) 451.
Mebes, 208.
Medici, Alessandro de', Cardinal, 72, 148, 195, 266, 469, 515 *seq.*
Medici, Cosimo de' (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 502.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 53, 55, 385, 485.
Melchisedech (patriarch of Armenia), 259.
Mendoza, Alonso de, 306.
Mendoza, Ferdinand (S.J.), 181 *seqq.*, 184.
Menezes, Alessio de (Archbishop of Goa), 246.
Menghini, C. (sculptor), 525.
Mercati, Michele (botanist), 450.
Metio, Federigo, 449.
Meyere, Livinus de [Theodorus Eleutherius], 282.
Michelangelo, 513.
Miki, Paul (S.J.), 238.
Minucci, Minuccio (Archbishop of Zara), 111.
Mira, Giovanni de (Bishop of Matera), 193.
Miranda, Diego de (S.J.), 247.
Mirandola, Federigo Pico della, 401.
Mitsukuri (Japanese), 238.
Mniszek, George (Voivode of Sandomir), 142.
Mniszek, Marina, 142, 145.
Mocenigo, Giovanni, 208.
Mocenigo, Marcantonio (Bishop of Ceneda), 191, 222.

Molina, Luis (S.J.), 281, 283-286, 294-303, 305 *seq.*, 309, 313 *seqq.*, 317-326, 333 *seqq.*, 337-340, 343, 347 *seqq.*, 352-355, 357-360, 362, 364.
Molineus, Carolus, *see* Dumoulin.
Mona (prelate), 270.
Mondragôn (Dominican), 300.
Monserrato, Antonio de (S.J.), 249.
Montalto, Family of the, 420.
Montalto [Alessandro Peretti], Cardinal, 87, 111, 369, 419, 490, 514, 518 *seq.*
Monte, Francesco Maria del, Cardinal, 397, 490.
Monteagle, Lord, 47.
Montecuccoli, Alvise (count), 384.
Montemayor, Prudencio de (S.J.), 291 *seqq.*
Monte Santo, Vincenzo de (Bishop of Teramo), 193.
Montolon, Guglielmo, di, 369.
Morgan, Thomas (agent for Mary Stuart), 12 *seq.*
Morton (Jesuit), 63.
Moscoso, Juan Alonso (Bishop of Leôn), 305.
Motowila, 139.
Mountjoy (Viceroy of Ireland), 70.
Mucantius, Giov. (master of ceremonies), 112, 115, 116.
Muleto, Benedetto (S.J.), 261.
Muret, Antoine (humanist), 448.
Mush (English priest), 24.
Musotti, Alessandro (Bishop of Imola), 192.
Muziano, Girolamo (painter), 494.

NAHAJ, Gaspar (S.J.), 137.
Nebbia, Cesare (artist), 471.
Neri, Philip, St., 158, 160, 162, 192, 233, 278, 515.
Niccolini, Giovanni (Tuscan envoy), 149, 186, 232.
Nicephorus (adventurer), 136 *seq.*
Nieulandt, Willem van (painter), 502.
Nicolas IV., Pope, 477, 480.
Ninguarda, Feliciano (bishop of Como), 191.
Nis, Gerard, 214.
Norfolk, Duke of, 75.
Noronha, Antonio de Matos de (Bishop of Elvas, Inquisitor), 542.
Novara, Giov. Batt. da (painter), 476.
Nottingham, Earl of, 43.
Nuño, Diego (O.P.), 302-306, 310, 313.

O'DONELL (Irish out-law), 69.
Ogilvy, John, 53, 56.
Oliva, Paolo (general of the Jesuits), 315.
Olivieri, Pier Paolo (sculptor), 476 *seq.*, 514.
O'Melrian, Cornelius (Irish bishop), 68.
O'Neill (Irish out-law), 68 *seq.*
Onofrio, St., 524.
Opalinski (Polish noble), 83.
Orlando di Lasso (musician), 545.
Orsini, Family of the, 418, 430.
Orsini, Fulvio, 448.
Orsini, Pietro (bishop of Aversa), 389.
Orsini, Virginio (Duke of Bracciano), 419.
Ossat, Arnaud d', Cardinal, 46, 193, 195, 389 *seq.*
Ostrogskyj, Constantine (Voivode of Ukrania), 126 *seq.*, 136, 138 *seq.*
Otrepjew, Gregor, 145.
Ottonelli, Guilio (envoy to Spain), 388.
Oviedo, Andreas de (S.J., patriarch of Abyssinia), 249.
Oviedo, Matteo d' (Archbishop of Dublin), 69.
Owen, Hugh, 14.

PACHECO, Andreas de (Bishop of Segovia), 315.
Padilla, Antonio de (S.J.), 303, 306, 310.

Paez, Pedro (S.J.), 249 *seqq.*, 255.
Paget, Charles (agent for Mary Stuart), 12, 27, 38, 43.
Palantieri, Girolamo (procurator of the Conventual Franciscans), 334.
Paleotto, Alfonso (Archbishop of Bologna), 392.
Paleotto, Gabriele, Cardinal, 192, 193, 197, 266.
Palestrina, Giov. Pierluigi, 154.
Pallotta, Giov. Evangelista, Cardinal, 434.
Palmio, Bartolomeo (S.J.), 394.
Panigarola, Francesco (Bishop of Asti), 192.
Pantoja, Diego (S.J.), 242.
Paravicini, 58.
Paolo di Gesu Maria (Carmelite), 248.
Paola da Cesena (Capuchin), 273.
Paolucci, Baldassare (Mantuan agent), 424.
Paruta, Paolo (Venetian ambassador), 151, 214, 216, 222, 376 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*, 416, 504, 508.
Pas, Angelo del (Minorite), 159, 233.
Paschal I. (Pope), 521 *seq.*, 524.
Passeri, *see* Aldobrandini, Cinzio.
Passignano, Domenico (painter) 474.
Patrizi, Francesco (Platonist), 451.
Paul III., Pope, 262, 351, 386, 417, 492, 512.
Paul IV., Pope, 68, 201, 220.
Paul V., Pope, 50, 180, 184, 231, 246, 350, 360, 435, 471.
Peiresc, Claude Fabri de, 276, 361.
Peña, Francisco (canonist), 281, 317, 342.
Peretti, Cardinal, *see* Montalto.
Peretti, Marchese, 410, 419.
Perez, Bartolomé (S.J.), 293.
Pergola, Paolo della (Minorite), 541.
Perogila, Gonzalo, 302.
Persons, Robert (S.J.), 7 *seq.*, 10 *seqq.*, 13, 15 *seq.*, 21-24, 26, 28, 31, 34, 42-46, 49, 52.
Peter the lame (Voivode of Moldavia), 259.
Petrarch, 149, 459.
Petroni, Lucrezia, *see* Cenci.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 1, 7, 9 *seq.*, 13, 39, 42, 44 *seq.*, 51, 64, 67 *seq.*, 106, 166, 170 *seqq.*, 173 *seq.*, 178, 180, 224, 238, 309 *seq.*, 317, 357, 388 *seq.*, 406.
Philip III. (King of Spain), 47, 181, 183, 199, 234 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*, 251, 256, 269, 271, 325, 334, 384, 402, 406.
Piatti, Flaminio, Cardinal, 273.
Pierbenedetti, Mariano, Cardinal, 347.
Pinelli, Domenico, Cardinal, 198, 230 *seq.*, 517.
Piney, de (Duke, French ambassador in Rome), 390.
Pinhero, Emanuel (S.J.), 245.
Piombino, Giov. Batt. (procurator-general of the Augustinians), 322, 334, 336.
Pius II., Pope, 398.
Pius IV., Pope, 267 *seqq.*, 231, 262, 316, 351, 421, 429, 485.
Pius V., Pope, 28 *seq.*, 30, 169, 220, 227, 229, 235, 262, 266, 372, 379, 382, 385, 428, 450.
Pius X., Pope, 226.
Pius XI., Pope, 445.
Pocci, Carlo Antonio (Archbishop of Pisa), 192.
Pociej, Hypatius (Bishop of Vladimir), 130-134, 136 *seq.*, 139.
Politio, Girolamo a (Capuchin), 217.
Pollacco (a dwarf), 432.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 411, 467 *seq.*, 471, 473, 475, 481, 483, 495, 512, 520.

Porta, Guglielmo (son of the above), 482.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 126 *seq.*, 169, 512.
Poussin, Nicolas (painter), 499.
Powsinski, Barthol. (Polish envoy), 87 *seqq.*
Pozzo (Jesuit and painter), 488.
Priuli, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 191.
Provenzale, Marcello (artist), 471.
Pucci, Emilio (commander of the Papal fleet), 481.
Puente, Luis de la (S.J.), 16.

QUARENGHO, Antonio, 451.
Quirini, Vincenzo (Bishop in Moldavia), 260.
Quiroga, Gaspar de (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 293, 300.

RABE, Justus (S.J.), 90, 98, 137.
Rada, Giovanni de (procurator of the Franciscan Observants), 334.
Radziwill, Georg, Cardinal, 81, 83, 119, 193, 516.
Rahoza, Michael (metropolitan of Kiev), 130, 136 *seq.*
Raimondi, Giovanni Battista (scholar). 451.
Rainaldi, Family of the, 447.
Rainaldi, Domenico, 383, 447 *seq.*, 453.
Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von (Archbishop of Salzburg), 228.
Raleigh, Walter, Sir, 43.
Rangel, (O.S.F., Bishop of San Salvador), 251.
Rangoni (marchese), 384.
Rangoni, Claudio (Bishop of Reggio), 82, 117, 121, 142 *seq.*, 145 *seq.*, 191.
Rangoni, Girardo (count), 384.
Raymund of Pennafort (O.P.), St. 235.
Reni, Guido (painter), 404, 424 *seq.*, 466, 525.
Resta de Capelli, Properzio (O.S.F., Bishop of Cariati and Cerenza), 321 *seq.*, 336.
Ricci, Giovan Battista (painter) 518.
Ricci, Matteo (S.J.), 240-243.
Rinaldi, Girolamo (architect), 513.
Ripa, Raffaele (O.P.), 325.
Rocca (Franciscan), 273.
Rocca (Jesuit), 243.
Rocca, Angelo (O.S.A.), 439, 450.
Roncalli, Cristofano (artist), 470, 473 *seq.*, 476, 518.
Rondinelli, Ercole (envoy from Cesare d'Este), 387.
Rossetti, Paolo (artist), 471.
Rossi, Giovanni, 414.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 444.
Rovarola, Matteo (Archbishop of Genoa), 192.
Roz, Francisco (S.J., Bishop of Angamala), 246.
Rubens, Peter Paul (painter), 503.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 40, 58, 100, 113 *seq.*, 116, 270, 383, 389, 506.
Ruggieri, Michele (S.J.), 240.
Rusticucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 150, 185, 410, 432, 516, 518.

SADELER, Jan (painter), 271, 502.
Sadis, *see* Cusano, Marco de.
Salazar, Domingo de (Archbishop of Manila), 244.
Salmeron, Alfonso (S.J.), 316.
Salomoni, Ruggiero (auditor to Malaspina), 99.
Salon, Miguel (O.S.A.), 315.
Salviati, Ant. Maria, Cardinal, 87, 111, 193, 516, 518.
Sampiretti (Papal envoy to Scotland), 52.
Sanchez, Alonso (S.J.), 170 *seq.*
Sandoval, Bernardo (Archbishop of Toledo), 518.
Sandrart, Joachim, 476.
San Giorgio, *see* Blandrata.
Sanquair, Lord, 56.
Sanseverino, Lucio (Archbishop of Rossano), 193.
Sansovino, Jacopo (architect), 514.

Santa Croce, Ersilia (first wife of Franc. Cenci), 422.
Santa Croce, Onofrio, 427.
Santa Croce, Paolo, 427.
Santori, Giulio Ant., Cardinal, 121, 193, 194, 198, 210, 218, 263 *seq.*, 266 *seqq.*, 269, 312 *seq.*, 411, 438, 517.
Santucci, Guilio (O.S.F., Bishop of Sant 'Agata de' Goti), 321, 336.
Sarpi, Paolo (Servite), 215.
Sassi, Lucio, Cardinal, 193, 195.
Sasso, Dr., 384.
Sauli, Alessandro (Bishop of Pavia), 191, 410.
Savelli, Family of the, 418.
Savelli, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 318.
Savelli, Troilo, 427.
Savelli, Mariano (Bishop of Gubbio), 193.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 235.
Sawicki, Gaspar (S.J.), 143 *seq.*
Scalzo (preacher), 273.
Scandiano, Marchese, 384.
Schepjerus, Eric (Lutheran pastor), 101.
Schiaffinato, Mgr., 375.
Schickhardt, Heinr. (architect), 272, 503.
Schönenberg, Johann von (Archbishop of Trêves), 543.
Schopp, Gaspar, 211.
Schott, Franz (author), 502.
Sciarra, Marco (bandit), 374 *seqq.*
Scioppius, C., 271.
Scribani, Charles (rector of Jesuit College, Antwerp), 355.
Sega, Filippo, Cardinal, 16, 22.
Semple, Colonel, 63.
Sergardi, N., 109.
Sermoneta, Family of the, 420, 430.
Serrano, Jorge (S.J.), 294.
Serry, Jac. Hyacinth [Aug. Le Blanc], O.P., 282.
Servidio, Guido (Bishop of Volterra), 192.
Sessa, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 174 *seq*, 176 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*, 334, 357 *seq.*, 402, 430.
Seymour, Edward (Lord Beauchamp), 42.
Sfondrato, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 195, 198, 272, 385, 387, 410, 507, 520-526.
Sforza, Caterina Nobili (Contessa di S. Fiora), 517.
Sforza, Francesco, Cardinal, 87, 111, 196, 409, 410, 428.
Shakespeare, 205.
Sigismund III. (King of Poland), 58, 81-96, 97-109, 110 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 119, 120, 123, 127, 129, 131 *seq.*, 136, 142 *seq.*, 145, 184, 235.
Silingardi, Gaspare (Bishop of Modena, nuncio), 191.
Silvio, Enrico (apostolic vicar of the Carmelites), 322.
Simeon (Maronite patriarch), 258.
Sirleto, Guglielmo, Cardinal, 259.
Sirleto, Stefano (Archbishop in Armenia), 259.
Sirleto, Tommaso (custodian of the Vat. Libr.), 449.
Siu, Paul (Chinese statesman), 243.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 372.
Sixtus V., Pope, 6, 30, 43, 64, 165, 167 *seq.*, 185, 200, 216 *seqq.*, 220, 222 *seq.*, 225 *seq.*, 228, 237, 256, 259, 264, 267, 351, 367 *seq.*, 371, 374, 377, 379 *seq.*, 416, 418, 438 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 447, 449 *seq.*, 456, 467, 469 *seqq.*, 480, 484, 489 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 502, 507, 519.
Skanderberg, 261.
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 116, 125 *seqq.*, 129, 137.
Smith, Jan (Dutch priest), 2.
Södermanland, Charles, Duke of, 84 *seqq.*, 88-93, 95 *seq.*, 102-109.
Sokolowski, Stanislaus, 127.
Solano, Francisco (O.S.F.), 254.
Solikowski, Joh. Demetrius (Archbishop of Lemberg), 137.

Sorbolongo (prelate), 270.
Soto, Peter, 285.
Sourdis, Henri d'Escoubleau de (Archbishop of Bordeaux), 276.
Sousa, Francisco (general of the Observants), 155.
Spallucci, Camillo di Bernardo (gilder), 475.
Speciani Cesare (nuncio), 113, 189, 191.
Spiridion, St., 524.
Spondanus (historian), 276.
Standen, Anthony (English envoy to Venice), 70.
Stanley, F., Earl of Derby, 42.
Stapleton, Thomas, 11, 340, 360, 437, 438, 440, 443, 450.
Stradanus [Jan van Straet], painter, 500.
Stuart, Arabella, 46.
Suarez, Francesco (S.J.), 293, 300 *seq.*, 314.
Sully, Maximilian de Béthune (duke), 40, 74.
Sundberg (Archbishop of Upsala), 86.
Sylva, Melchior da (S.J.), 250.
Sylvia, St. (mother of St. Gregory), 518, 524.
Sylvester, St., Pope, 472.
Szymonowicz, Simon (Polish poet), 454.

TAGLIAVIA, Simone, de Aragona, Cardinal, 87, 111, 195, 397.
Taikosama (Japanese king), 237 *seqq.*
Targone, Pompeo (artist), 477.
Tarugi, Francesco Maria (Archbishop of Avignon), Cardinal, 158, 161, 192, 195, 270, 437, 517.
Tarugi, Salustius (Bishop of Montepulciano), 157.
Tasso, Torquato, 452, 455-466.
Tassone, Ettore Galeazzo (count), 384.
Tassone, Giulio (count), 384.
Taverna, Lodovico (nuncio), 210, 540.
Taxis, John Baptist (Spanish diplomat), 13.
Tekla Maryam (Abyssinian priest), 250.
Tempesta, Antonio (painter), 399, 500, 502.
Teresa of Jesus, St., 185, 299.
Terlecki, Cyril (Bishop of Luzk), 125, 130-134, 136 *seq.*
Thomas Aquinas, St., 175, 203, 235, 289, 297, 304, 311, 321.
Thomas a Kempis, 362.
Tiburtius, St., 521.
Tiepolo, Giov. Battista (painter), 466, 488.
Titus (Roman Emperor), 477.
Toledo, Francisco de (S.J.), Cardinal, 110, 167, 169 *seq.*, 172 *seq.*, 176-182, 193, 195, 223, 266, 293, 308, 316, 344, 437, 444 *seq.*, 469, 494.
Toledo, Francisco Sousa de (General of Observantines), 155.
Tolosa, Paolo (Theatine), 273.
Tommaso a Jesu (Provincial of the Carmelites), 265 *seq.*
Torelli, Cesare (artist), 471.
Torres, Diego de (S.J.), 253.
Torres, Lodovico de (Archbishop of Monreale), 148, 193, 228.
Torrigiani, Sebastiano, 469.
Torrigio, Francesco Maria, 472.
Toschi, Domenico, Cardinal, 195, 437.
Tresham, William, 12, 47.
Turibio, St. (Bishop of Lima), 252.
Tylicki, Peter (Bishop of Ermland and Kulm), 119, 121 *seq.*, 125, 139.

URBAN I., St., Pope, 522.
Urban VIII., Pope, 256, 374, 444.
Urban VIII., Pope, 523.
Usimbardi, Usimbardo de' (Bishop of Colle), 192.

VALCKENBORCH (painter), 502.
Valdivia, Luis de (S.J.), 253.

Valencia, Gregorio de (S.J.), 323, 336, 340, 349, 356.
Valerian, St., 521.
Valiero, Agostino (Bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 148, 191, 195, 223, 271, 279, 387.
Valignani, Alessandro (S.J.), 237, 240 *seq.*, 243.
Vallejo, Jerônimo de, 304.
Valverde, 223.
Vani, Francesco (painter), 474.
Vanni, Curzio (artist), 478, 522, 526.
Vasto, Marchese del, 381.
Vazquez, Gabriel (S.J.), 309, 314, 343 *seq.*
Vazquez, Michele (S.J.), 325.
Vecchi, Giovanni de' (artist), 471, 520.
Vecchietti, Girolamo, 257.
Vega, Gabriel de (S.J.), 253.
Vendeville, Jean (Bishop of Tournai), 264.
Vendramin, Francesco (Venetian envoy), 33.
Vialardo, Francesco Maria (Mantuan envoy), 372, 433, 498.
Victorelli, Andrea, 435.
Victoria, Francesco a, 218.
Victurius, Laurentius (Archbishop of Crete), 260 *seq.*
Villa, Francesco (count), 393.
Villafranca, Juan de (Dominican provincial), 310.
Villamena (painter), 502.
Villena, *see* Escalona.
Vincenzo di S. Francesco (Carmelite), 248.
Viola, Gian Battista (painter), 499.
Visconti, Alfonso (Bishop of Cervia and Spoleto), Cardinal, 72, 193, 195, 266.
Vitelleschi (General of the Jesuits), 366.
Vittoria, Francisco de (Bishop of Cordoba [Tucumán]), 252, 255, 285, 298, 316.
Viviano, Antonio (painter), 518.
Volpino, Giulio Cesare (confessor to Clement VIII.), 484.
Vosmeer, Sasbout (Archbishop of Philippi), 4 *seq.*
Vossius, Gerhard, 449.
Vrancz, Sebastian (painter), 502.
Vries, Fr. de (painter), 502.

WALDSTEIN (Moravian noble), 504.
Wang-Lié (Emperor of China), 242.
Watson, William (English priest), 24, 29, 33, 59, 74 *seq.*
Wentworth, Peter, 42.
Weston, William (S.J.), 19 *seq.*, 38.
White, Thomas (S.J.), 67.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 276, 357, 431.
Winghen, Philip von, 505, 527.
Winter, Thomas, 47.
Wisniowézki, Adam, 142.
Wollowicz, Eustace (Canon of Wilna), 134.
Worthington, Dr., 11.
Wujek, Jacob (S.J.), 125.

XAVIER, Girolamo (S.J.), 245.
Ximenes, Diego (S.J.), 232.
Xenia (daughter of Godunov), 141.

YEPES, Diego de (confessor to Philip II.), 310.

ZACCHIA, Laudovisio (Papal treasurer), 380.
Zacchia, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 389.
Za-Denghel (Emperor of Abyssina), 250 *seq.*
Zamoiski, Johann (Polish chancellor), 82, 129.
Zbirniski, Dionys (Bishop of Chelm), 131, 137.
Zeno, Caterina, 276.
Zuccaro, Federigo (painter), 474.
Zucchi, Francesco (artist), 471, 520.
Zumel, Francesco (Trinitarian), 291, 299, 345.

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VOL. XXV.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

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MY DEAR WIFE
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Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere.

Horace, *Ars poeta*, 10.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXV.

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXV. and XXVI.	ix
Complete Titles of Books quoted in Volumes XXV. and XXVI.	xii
Table of Contents	xxx
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xliii
The Conclaves in the Spring of 1605—Leo XI. and Paul V.	1
Antecedents, Character, and Environment of Paul V.—The Borghese	39
Paul V. as Ruler of the Papal States—Papal Finance	73
Ecclesiastico-political struggle with Venice and Proclamation of the Interdict	111
Sarpi's Political Theories and his Attempt to Protestantize Venice	184
Paul V.'s Reforming Activity within the Church—Suspension of the Thomist and Molinist Controversy—Canonizations	217
Paul V. Fosters the Religious Orders—Galileo and the Roman Inquisition—Nomination of Cardinals	269
Spread of Christianity in Missionary Countries	344
Paul V.'s Efforts for the Pacification of Western Europe and Italy—Religious Conditions in Switzerland and Disturbances in the Grisons	387
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	447
Index of Names	465

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BERLIN—State Library.
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——— University Library.
BRUSSELS—Burgundian Library.

CHUR—Episcopal Archives.

DIEBURG (Hesse)—Library of the Capuchins.

FERRARA—Bentivoglio Archives.
FLORENCE—State Archives.
——— National Library.
FOLIGNO—Library of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani.
FRANKFURT A. M.—City Library.
FREIBURG I. BR.—University Library.

GENOA—Municipal Library.

INNSBRUCK—Provincial Archives.

KÖNIGSBERG—Library.

LEMBERG—Ossoliniana Library.

MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
MASSA CARRARA—State Archives.
METZ—City Library.
MILAN—Gonzaga Archives.
MODENA—State Archives.
MUNICH—Government Archives.
——— State Archives.
——— State Library.

NAPLES—Library of the *Società di Storia Patria.*

PADUA—Library of St. Antonio.
PARIS—National Archives.
——— National Library.

RAVENNA—Archiepiscopal Archives.
RIMINI—Gambalunga Library.
ROME—

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Costaguti.
St. Maria Maggiore.
Orsini.
Papal Secret.
St. Peter's.
Propaganda.
Ruspoli.
Spanish Embassy.
State Archives.
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Angelica.
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Borghese.
Casanatense.
Chigi (now at the Vatican).
Corsini.
Corvisieri.
S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
Manzoni.
S. Paolo fuori le Mira.
Pastor.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

SALERNO—Archiepiscopal Archives.
SIENA—State Archives.
——— Library.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
SPOLETO—Archiepiscopal Archives.
STUTTGART—Library.

TRENT—City Library.

UPSALA—Library.

VENICE—Archives of the Capuchins.
——— State Archives.
——— St. Mark's Library.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXV.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVES IN THE SPRING OF 1605—LEO XI AND PAUL V.

A.D.		PAGE
1605	French candidates for the Papacy	1
	The Spanish preferences	2
	Composition of the Sacred College at the death of Clement VIII.	4
	The parties within the Sacred College	5
	The following of Aldobrandini	6
	Discussions before the Conclave. Twenty-one *Papabili*	7
	Spanish exclusion of Baronius and	8
	Personal attack upon the integrity of his writings	9
	Forged letters quoted against him. He rebuts the attack	10
	Final diplomatic activities	11
	The Conclave	12
	Varying votes	13
	Baronius leads at first but	14
	Fails to obtain a two-thirds majority	15
	Further scrutinies—Medici in the ascendant	16
	Medici elected as Pope Leo XI.	17
	Antecedents of Pope Leo XI.	18
	Summary of his career	19
	His character	22
	His first measures in support of Hungarian Imperialists	24
	Leo XI. crowned on April 10th, Easter Sunday, 1605	25
	His death on April 27th	26
	His burial and tomb in St. Peter's	27
	The conclave of May, 1605	28
	Cardinals and parties in the Conclave	29
	Candidature of Cardinal Sauli	30
	Other *Papabili*	31
	Attempted elevation of Baronius	32
	Open exclusion of Sauli	33
	Tosco proposed and opposed	34
	And ultimately defeated	36
	The election of Cardinal Borghese as Paul V.	37

CHAPTER II.

ANTECEDENTS, CHARACTER AND ENVIRONMENT OF PAUL V.—THE BORGHESE.

A.D.		PAGE
1605	The Borghese family	39
	Birth and education of Camillo Borghese	40
	His career	41
	Characteristics and personality	42–5
	His piety and interest in learning	46–7
	His participation in religious functions and	48
	Personal liberality to the poor	49
	For his charities he limits all personal expenditure	50
	The routine of his life	51
	His appointments to important posts	54
	Management of affairs nominally entrusted to Scipione Caffarelli	55
	Who becomes Cardinal Borghese and Papal Secretary	56
	The fall of Aldobrandini	57–8
	The tact of Cardinal Scipione and his devotion to the Pope is	59–60
	Rewarded with a wealth of favours	61
	His enormous income—generosity to the poor and	62
	Patronage of art	63
	The Relations of Paul V.	64
	His brothers largely provided for	65–6
	The Pope's affection for his family leads to	68
	Charge of nepotism	69–70
	The Borghese family finally destroyed in 1891	71

CHAPTER III.

PAUL V. AS RULER OF THE PAPAL STATES.—PAPAL FINANCE.

1605	The Papal States	74
	Their contrasting features and fertility	75
	Fauna and mineral products	76
	Their declining prosperity	77
	Banditry rife	78
	The rigour of Paul V.'s rule results in	79
	Suppression of banditry	80
	And tranquillity and security throughout the States	81
1608	Reform of the judicature	82
1608	Cardinal Caetani's administration in Romagna	83
1608	Cardinal Giustiniani's severity in Bologna	85
	Financial measures	86

A.D.		PAGE
	Papal instructions to provincial Governors	87
	Inefficiency of the *Annona*	88
1606	Solicitude of the Pope during famine	89
1607	His provisions for the poor	90
1611	New Congregation founded for that purpose	91
	Its enactments and control of pawnshops	92
	Papal generosity successful	93
	Methods of transit improved	94
	Harbours—lighthouses and fortifications	95
	Also drainage of Marshes inspected	96
	The water problem and flooding of Tiber	97
	Lead to construction of Acqua Paola	98
	Collection of Papal Secret Archives	99
1611	Housed in the Vatican under direction of Cardinal Sedi	100
1616	Baldassare Ansidei made Custodian	101
	The military position of the Papal States	102
1606	Fortifications prove inadequate	103
	Capponi, Serra, Patrizi, successive Treasurers	104
	Embarrassment of debt and taxation	105
1606	Discussion of methods of financial reform	106
	New drastic measures refused—old system continues	109
	Death of Paul V. prevents the reform he desired	110

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICO-POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH VENICE AND PROCLAMATION OF THE INTERDICT.

1606	Venice—its contact with East and West	111
	Its reputation for orthodoxy but	112
	Tendency to indifference and free thinking	113
	The Liberty of the Church impeded and	114
	Episcopal jurisdiction violated	115
	Decrees against Papal authority passed	116
	Clerical immunities disputed by Republic	117
	The Pope's remonstrances to the Ambassador Nani	119
	This proving fruitless	120
1605	Two condemnatory briefs published	121
	The Signoria procrastinates	122
	Its envoys prove impotent	123
	The embittered attitude in Venice	124
	Temporizing policy suggested to the Pope	125
1606	An Interdict pronounced	126
	Precautionary measures of the Republic	127
	A State divine appointed—Paolo Sarpi	128
	Sarpi's previous history	129
	His heretical beliefs	132
	His evil influence on the Republic	133

A.D. PAGE

Defiance of the Papal Authority 134
Excommunication of Venice 135
Disloyalty of the clergy and 136
Their efforts to evade the interdict 137
Their demoralization, both religious and secular . 138
Submission of clergy led by Jesuits 139
1606 Penalties inflicted by the State for . . . 139
Obedience to interdict 140
Results of the Interdict in Venice 141
In Brescia 142
In other Venetian cities 143
Defiant orders of the Senate 144
1607 Theological pamphleteers—headed by Sarpi . . 145
His Treatise on the Interdict 146
Provokes replies from Cardinals Bellarmine, Caetani, and Baronius 147
The controversy dealt with in other countries . . 148
Arousing Catholic as well as Protestant excitement . 149
Sarpi's insidious reasoning did its evil work in . . 150
Advocating an Anti-Catholic conception of the State . 151
James I. of England adopts his ideas . . . 152
Increasing fear that Venice should become Protestant 153
English propaganda in favour of Calvinism . . 154
1607 Effect of Interdict misjudged by Paul V. . . . 155
Anxiety aroused in neighbouring States . . . 156
Attempt of Henry IV. to act as mediator . . 157
His envoy fails in impartiality 158
Thus Spain intervenes 159
Peace proposals made in vain 160
A European war threatening 161
Mobilization in Spain, and France, and Venice . . 162
Papal expedition reinforced by the Emperor . . 163
1607 Venice forced to treat 164–5
Humiliation of Venetian Envoys at Prague . . 166
Madrid and Warsaw 166
Attempts of Venice to influence France . . . 167
Joyeuse sent to inquire and report 168
His discretion to be doubted 169
The discussions of the Senate 170
An agreement to be presented to the two envoys . 171
By which the Jesuits were not to benefit . . . 172
Joyeuse, claiming a settlement had been reached, goes to Rome to report to the Pope . . . 173
French terms considered humiliating in Rome . . 174
Conciliatory documents drawn up 175
Further difficulties raised in Venice . . . 176
Revocation of Interdict ungraciously received . . 177
The Jesuits refused permission to return to Venice with the other Religious Orders . . . 178

A.D. PAGE

Every possible hindrance offered by Senate to Joyeuse 179
Thus venting its spite against the Pope . . . 180
Disastrous results of Interdict felt by Rome . . 181
And likewise by the Republic 182

CHAPTER V.

Sarpi's political theories and his attempts to protestantize Venice.

1607 Resumption of diplomatic relations between Rome and Venice 184
Papal Nuncio instructed to show a conciliatory spirit 185
Yet discipline must be restored and . . . 186
Objects of controversy rectified 187
Efforts on behalf of the Jesuits 188
The Republic's disingenuousness shown by its support of Sarpi 189
1607 An attack on Sarpi, in which he was wounded, is laid to the charge of the Pope and Jesuits . . 190
This false accusation denied by the French Nuncio . 191
And Borghese, Secretary of State 192
The moderation of Paul, desirous of Sarpi's conversion not death 193
The attitude of Venice still most disloyal . . 194
Heretical writings publicly sold—priests banished . 195
Thus paving the way for Calvinism . . . 196
Protestant propaganda freely carried on . . . 197
An attempt to found a Protestant community in Venice 198
1608 And to unite Protestant princes in a League . . 199
Failure of these attempts but 200
Continued intrigues involving a widespread . . 201
Conflagration among the nations 202
1609 Protestantism preached by Fulgenzio Micanzio 203–4
1610 Other agents of Protestant States come to Venice . 205
But opinion gradually veers in favour of the Pope . 206
The Protestant intrigues revealed by the action of the King of France 207
Sarpi thus unmasked and Fulgenzio silenced . . 208
The gentleness of the Pope wins over the Venetians . 209
Final effort to provoke a Protestant rising fails . . 210
1619 The publication of Sarpi's book against the Papacy . 211
Creates great sensation—and is still quoted though . 212
His sources, when verifiable, are frequently distorted 213
Or even forgeries 214
1623 He dies, detested and shunned and unreconciled with the Church 215
His books published in the eighteenth century and a monument raised to him in the nineteenth . 216

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER VI.

PAUL V.'S REFORMING ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—SUSPENSION OF THE THOMIST AND MOLINIST CONTROVERSY—CANONIZATIONS.

1605 The activity of Pope Paul V. within the Church . 217
His first measure to enforce on Cardinals the duty of residence in their dioceses 218
In this he permitted no evasion 219
Great benefits gained thereby. The example of . 220
1608 Cardinal Barberini—and other Cardinals—most edifying 221
In Rome the Forty Hours and other Devotions promoted 222
1607 The Commission of reform is convoked anew . . 223
The particular care of Paul V. in appointments. . 224
1607–8 Compilation of a new collection of decretals. . 225
1612 The reform of the Liturgy 226–7
Parochial census books increasingly used. . . . 228
1605 The Papal action in controversy concerning the efficacy of divine grace 229
Jesuit and Dominican differences of opinion . 230–2
1605 Roman Congregation convened to deliberate on the question 233–4
The Holy Father personally assisting at its sessions . 235
1606 The consultors fail to reach an agreement . . 236
The answer of the dissentient consultor to four questions 237–9
The opinions sought of Cardinal Du Perron and Francis de Sales 240
And of the University of Paris 241
The opinion of the Roman Consultors at fault. . 242
Cardinal Baronius joins the controversy . . . 243
1607 The Pope asks the final verdict of nine Cardinals . 244
Their answer is indecisive 245–6
Ultimatum of the Pope 247
The Papal decision communicated to Jesu ts and Dominicans 248
Who had both failed to obtain a definite judgment . 249
The controversy does not at once abate . . . 250
1611 The Inquisition forbids the publication of further writings 251
1614 Papal decision invoked on dogma of Immaculate Conception 252
1614 A Bull forbids discussion of the question . . . 253
The Pope refuses a definition 254
Devotion of the Holy Father to the Saints. . 255–6
Canonization of Francesca Romana and . . . 257
Of Carol Borromeo—in whose honour . 258–9

A.D. PAGE
Three Churches were built in Rome 260
Further canonizations 261
Scrupulously scrutinized by Paul V. before assent . 262
Veneration of St. Philip Neri 263
1610–15 Canonical process of Francis Borgia . . . 264
1614 Beatification of Teresa of Jesus, Magdalen di Pazzi . 265
1618 And Aloysius Conzaga 266
The spread of the Forty Hours devotion under the Capuchins 267–8

CHAPTER VII.

PAUL V FOSTERS THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—GALILEO AND THE ROMAN INQUISITION.—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS.

1606 Revision and restatement of Indulgences . . 270
1612 Reorganization in various Orders
The Oratorians 271
1608–1610 Theatines and Barnabites—special support for . 272
1611 and 1617 The Orders and Congregations devoted to the care of the sick 273
1586–1605 The Institute founded by Camillo de Lellis divided afresh 274–5
1617 The Society of Calasanza is declared autonomous . 276
1607 Papal solicitude for Christian education . . . 277
Two decrees in favour of the Capuchins . . . 278
1608–1619 Notable members of that Order at this period 279
Jerome of Narni, Mathias Bellintani . . . 280
1619 Laurence of Brindisi 281
The Jesuits equally famous—under the . . . 282
Generalship of Father Claude Aquaviva . . 283–4
The teaching of Copernicus and Galileo Galilei . . 285
1609 The latter invents the telescope anew . . . 286
His astronomical discoveries widely applauded . . 287
His endorsement of the Copernican system lead to . 288
Difficulties he could not solve 289
1613 Which involve theological objections . . . 290
His theories are attacked from the pulpit . . . 291
The publication of "Considerations upon the opinion of Copernicus" 292
Brings Galileo directly against the Inquisition . . 293
His indiscreet behaviour while discussions were pending 294
1616 The finding of the Inquisition on point one— . . 295
"Erroneous and heretical"—on point two—"to be rejected" 296
Other decisions left to the Congregation of the Index 297
Further theories on the subject lead to . . . 298
The prohibition of Copernicus' books . . . 299

A.D. PAGE

And of all writings in support of the new system of the universe 300
And the Academia dei Lincei lays down fresh disciplinary measures 301
Other Italian savants dealt with by the Inquisition 302
Caesar Cremonini and Marcantonio de Dominis . 303
The latter apostatizes and escapes to London . . 304
1617 Whence he puts forth a book denying Papal Primacy 305
Leniency of penalty for heresy and witchcraft . . 306
Recent investigations show that accusations . . 307
Of cruelty in the methods of the Inquisition are unfounded 308
Thus the Inquisition was upheld by the Pope . . 309
1613 Ecclesiastico-political difference between the Pope and 310
Secular powers—Spain—Naples and Sicily . 311–13
Also in Milan and Portugal which latter . . . 314
1615 Is laid under an Interdict 315
Spanish ambitions revealed 316
The Pope greatly increases the power of the Nuncios 317
He deals rigorously with the Cardinals . . . 318
1606 Creation of eight new members of the Sacred College 319
Their characteristics 320–2
1607 Final labours, illness, and death of Cardinal Baronius 323
His last hours and burial 324
Universal mourning for him 325
His correspondence with important men and his . 326
Friendship with Paul V., Federigo Borromeo and Bellarmine 327
Who was also greatly revered for his exemplary life . 328
1607 Another nomination of Cardinals 329
A further, unexpected proclamation of five more Cardinals 330
And a review of their credentials 331
1611 Eleven new Cardinals 332
The majority of them in close alliance with the Borghese 333
1615 Eleven Cardinals having died, ten new ones are nominated 334
Their names and previous careers . . . 335–6
1616 A name, previously reserved *in petto*, now published with 337
1618 Six other nominations and then two more—including Ferdinando, son of King of Spain, aged 10. . 338
1621 Ten more Cardinals proclaimed 339
Of whom Cennini and Scaglia are most notable . . 340
And Guido Bentivoglio orator, writer and diplomat . 341
His Memoirs, brilliantly written and containing valuable information 342
1644 Published after his death during the Conclave . . 343

A.D. PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN MISSIONARY COUNTRIES

1605 Spread of Christianity in the Far East, at first in peace 344
1613 Danger arising through misrepresentation, persecution breaks out 345
Luis Sotelo, at first arrested, is released and sent as envoy 346
1615 To Spain, asking for Spanish protection. Then . . 347
He goes to Rome. Received in state but he . . 348
Returns to Japan with his demands remaining unsatisfied 349
Justification of the Pope's procedure—when persecution began 350
1614 The era of Martyrs in the Japanese Church . . 351
Jesuits and Mendicants alike share the trials and triumphs 352
The Holy Father alone supports them . . . 353
Persecution breaks out in China . . . 354
Matteo Ricci—his work—his death 355
1617 Further persecution—Formation of native ministry To which great concessions are made . . . 357
1606 In India the methods of Roberto de' Nobili, S.J. 358–9
His wisdom demonstrated but 360
1615 Being misrepresented, he undergoes heavy trials . 361
1606–1612 The Pope's action in the dioceses of Goa and Cochin 362
Baptism of the sons of Djehangir . . . 363
Relations with the Shah of Persia—Carmelite activities 364
Envoys sent to Rome—one of them Sir Robert Sherley 365
The Shah extends his protection to Christianity . . 366
The Pope furthers the work of the Carmelites, by founding a seminary and a school . . . 367
Successful missionary work in the Congo. Its envoy 368
1608 Dies in Rome—assisted personally by the Pope . . 369
Developments of the Abyssinian mission by . . 370
1622 Father Paez, S.J., who receives the Negus into the Church 371
The Armenian Christians through their Nestorianism 372
Cannot be united with Rome 373–5
The Pope commends the fidelity of the Maronites . 376
He recommends the monastery of Mt. Sion to Spain and France 377
1622 The Jesuits' work in Constantinople and in . . 378
Bosnia and Serbia, in conjunction with the Franciscans 379
Albania and Serbia threatened by Moslem propaganda 380
Flourishing condition of the Church in the New World 381–2

A.D. PAGE
1611 In Canada the French Jesuits inaugurated a Mission 383
It being destroyed by English Protestants, French Recollects take up the work—The Jesuits colonizing Paraguay 384
Where they found their first "Reductions" . . 385
1615 Peter Claver's heroic care of slaves. . . . 386

CHAPTER IX.

PAUL V.'S EFFORTS FOR THE PACIFICATION OF WESTERN EUROPE AND ITALY.—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND AND DISTURBANCES IN THE GRISONS.

The Pope's impartiality in preservation of peace . 387
1605 Jealousy between Spain and France . . . 388
Political position in Europe 389
Neither party can secure the Pope's concurrence . 390
1607 Suggested matrimonial alliance between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons 391
Carrying with it territorial readjustment . . 392
1608 Pedro de Toledo sent as envoy to Paris by Philip III. 393
Attempts to sever the alliance of Henry IV. with the Dutch Calvinists 394
The failure of Toledo's mission in France. . . 395
The Pope strives for better understanding between France and Spain 396
But is frustrated by the trickery of Henry IV. . . 397
1609 And further annoyed by a 12 years' truce concluded between Spain and Holland—with humiliating conditions for Philip III. 398
1609 Death of Duke of Jülich-Cleve-Berg makes fresh complication 399
Strife for his possessions between Brandenburg and Archduke Leopold 400
Franco-Spanish marriage again proposed to prevent war 401
Between France and Spain and to save the Lower . 402
Rhinelands from passing into Protestant hands . 403
Further hopes of amicable settlement frustrated . 404
By criminal intrigues of Henry IV. . . . 405
1610 The efforts of the Pope for conciliation . . . 406
The Catholic League is formed in Germany . . 407
Seeks for Papal support 408
The cautious policy of the Pope . . . 409–410
Papal Nuncios sent to France and Spain . . . 411
Continuance of efforts for peace 412
Henry's determination to break with Spain . . 413
1610 Is only frustrated by his death . . 414–15
Which brings peace 416

A.D.		PAGE
1612	Renewal of marriage negotiations which	417
	Are warmly approved by the Pope	418
	Grave anxiety arises for the peace of Italy	419
1612	The death of the Duke of Mantua	420
	Is followed by disputes for right of succession	421
1615	War between Venice and Austria but peace	421
1617	Re-established by treaty	423
	The nuntiate of Ladislao d'Aquino in Switzerland	424
	Where out of 13 Cantons 7 had remained Catholic	425
	The counsel of d'Aquino to his successor	426–9
	He strongly commends the Jesuits	430
	The old Orders in Switzerland and	431
	The excellent bishops in the Catholic Cantons	432
	The bishop of Bâle reclaims lapsed Catholics	433
1620	The anxiety of the Holy See over affairs in Wallis	434
	Swiss jealousy for liberty leads to	435
	Risk of hostilities between Catholics and Protestants	436
	Failure of attempted reform of the clergy	437
	The career of Flugi, bishop of Chur	438
1617	Protestant propaganda leads to revolt in the Engadine	439
	The insurgents depose Flugi and sentence him to death	440
	The "massacre of the Valtellina"	441
	The Pope's refusal to express approval	442
	He remains aloof, although	443
	Ready to mediate	444

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	Berlingherio Gessi, Nuncio in Venice, to Cardinal Borghese, April 18th, 1609	448
2	Berlingherio Gessi, to Cardinal Borghese, November 9th, 1609	450
3	Pope Paul V. to Henry IV. King of France, 22nd January, 1610	452
4	Pope Paul V. to the General Assembly of the French Clergy, January 31st, 1615	453
5	Pope Paul V. to Philip III. King of Spain, 22nd March, 1617	456
6	Pope Paul V. to Christians in Japan, 8th February, 1619	457
7	Pope Paul V. to Aloysius Lollin, Bishop of Belluno, 12th March, 1620	458
8	From the Registers of Paul V., 1611 and 1620 . .	459
9	Writings dedicated to Paul V	460

CHAPTER I.

The Conclaves in the Spring of 1605—Leo XI. and Paul V.

"The French Cardinals could not have appeared at a better moment," reported Henry IV.'s ambassador Béthune, to his king, overjoyed when the necessity for a conclave arose on March 4th, 1605.[1] The instructions given by the French king, with this eventuality in view, five months before, to Cardinal Joyeuse on his return to Rome, were then opened. They were drafted with his usual clearness and precision. The French Cardinals Joyeuse, Givry, Sourdis, Olivier and Du Perron were instructed to remain united and always to remember their duty as good priests and good Frenchmen. Henry gave them to understand that no one must be elected Pope whose views were very strong or partial, that is to say, no partisan of the Spaniards. From this point of view the king indicated Cardinals Galli, Montelparo, Bianchetti and Bernerio as unacceptable to him. Provided that they were kept well out of the pontificate, they were not to be formally excluded, since the king did not wish to make any enemies. He also considered uncongenial Zacchia and the able but independent Blandrata. As regards the others, such as Camillo Borghese, who modestly kept in the background, Henry IV. was indifferent; they were neither to favour nor oppose them. Among the Cardinals whom he would like to see raised to the See of Peter, there stood in the front rank his friend and kinsman Alessandro Medici and the famous Church historian Cesare Baronius, both of whom had proved faithful friends of France.[2]

In a later instruction of March 7th, 1605, to Joyeuse the desirability of the adherence of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini

[1] See Couzard, *Ambassade*, 347.

[2] Instruction of October 28, 1604. *Lettres Missives*, VI., 315 *seq.*

was especially taken into consideration. "If we can win him over with money," Henry IV. decided, "it will be well invested, and I do not think he will despise it; because though he has more abundant wealth than any other Cardinal before him, nevertheless I imagine that he will gladly increase it. For all that he will not refrain from favouring the cause of Spain, but he will do so less openly and will be on our side in one matter or another." [1]

The Spanish Government was even more keenly concerned than Henry IV. in the possibility of a pontifical election. It has been calculated that during the thirteen years of the reign of Clement VIII. the Spanish Cabinet had considered this possibility and formed opinions about it at least twenty-six times.[2] At Clement's death there were still in force the proposals, confirmed by Philip III., of a consultation in August, 1601, which had been concerned with the next conclave.[3] According to these, three members of the Sacred College, Valiero, Medici and Arigoni, ought to be absolutely excluded by the Spanish Cardinals. Although the learning and piety of Valiero were generally recognized, his Venetian origin and sentiments constituted, in the eyes of the Spaniards, an insurmountable obstacle to his obtaining the tiara. Medici's French sympathies and his close connection with the Grand Duke of Tuscany were enough to decide his exclusion; as regards Arigoni, whose learning and ability were unquestioned, the obstacle was his age, fifty-three, since, in the opinion of the Spanish statesmen, a weak, aged man, easy to influence,[4] was the best Pope.

Altogether unwelcome to the Spaniards was the choice of either Cardinals Baronius or Bellarmine, both were distinguished by their learning and strict conscientiousness.

[1] See *Lettres Miss.*, VI., 363 *seq.*

[2] See GINDELY in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, XXXVIII., 265.

[3] *La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Valladolid, August, 1601; the date is missing though the document has its complement of signatures. Original in the Archives, Simancas, 1870–23.

[4] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 266, 269 *seq.*

If, in 1601, they had not been among those excluded by name, it was solely because it was thought that they stood no chance if being elected. A remarkable instance of the lack of comprehension on the part of Spanish diplomacy [1] when confronted with the moral greatness of these shining lights of the Church is the summing up of their character. "Baronius is a man," it was drily said, "who is only good at writing history." [2]

Like Baronius, Bellarmine also was distinguished by piety and unselfishness as well as by learning, and was content to possess nothing beyond the allowance granted to him by the Pope. Such was the extreme simplicity of his life that he did not require this annual income, amounting to the comparatively small sum of eight thousand ducats, but distributed almost all of it among the poor. Bellarmine undoubtedly possessed all the virtues to recommend him for the highest position in the Church.[3] The Spanish and other diplomats [4] questioned, rightly or wrongly, his capacity to govern. They were also of the opinion that his belonging to the Order of the Jesuits would not help him.[5]

Of what sort then were the Cardinals for one of whom the Spanish Government intended to secure the tiara? The memorandum of 1601 mentions six names. In order to realize the strong preference for old men, it is worthy of note that three of them, Santori, Rusticucci and Salviati, were already dead in 1605. The extreme age of Rusticucci had reached such a stage in 1601 that the Spanish memorandum spoke

[1] It was admittedly not alone in this; see the *Discorso on the Cardinals, November, 1603, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *"Baronio es reputado por hombre que no vale mas que para escrivir historias." La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[3] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 270 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Discorso on the Cardinals, 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] "Bellarmino en quanto a la sufficiencia para el govierno esta en la misma opinion [as Baronius] y no tiene ninguna platica de aquella corte y no le ayude aver sido de la compania de Jesus." La Junta en materia de Pontificado, Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

of him as if he were already considered a complete dotard.[1] Yet this was the man whom the king of Spain and his advisers thought suitable to rule the Church in such difficult and stern times! Of the other candidates favoured by the Spaniards, Tolomeo Galli, besides his pro-Spanish sentiments, had what was in their eyes the supreme advantage of being seventy-nine years old; Sauli was considered irresolute and though Piatti was indeed a good scholar he seemed to be, in other respects, a person of little importance.[2]

In these circumstances it must be considered fortunate for the Church that the influence of Spain had much decreased in Rome, and that the management of Philip III.'s policy in the Curia was in the hands of a man as incompetent as the Duke of Escalona. It was also fortunate that national and political differences had abated in the College of Cardinals to such a degree that few of them could be called wholeheartedly Spanish or French in sympathy.[3]

The Sacred College at the death of Clement VIII. was composed of sixty-nine members (fifty-six Italians, six French, four Spaniards, two Germans and one Pole). Nine of them were absent: Ascanio Colonna, Fernando de Guevara, Bernardo de Sandoval, Antonio Zappata and the nuncio Domenico Ginnasio were in Spain; Pietro Gondi and Charles of Lorraine were in France, Bernard Maciejowski in Poland, and Francis von Dietrichstein in Austria.[4] Only the last named could possibly arrive before the end of the conclave.

[1] *"Rusticucci le reputan totalmente per ydiota." Archives, Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the *Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *Discorso of November, 1603, *ibid.*

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 270 *seq.* The controversy as to whether Cardinal Conti, for whom the ceremony of "opening the mouth" had not yet been performed, could take part in the election, was decided in the affirmative; see *Relatione della morte di P. Clemente VIII., Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20; *cf. ibid.* *Parere di Tarquinio Pinaoro sopra la difficultà che il card. Conti si dice havere nel prossimo conclave per il voto suo nel elettione del pontefice diretto al card. Farnese.

Of the Cardinals present in Rome only one, Tolomeo Galli, owed his creation to Pius IV.; six: Medici, Pinelli, Joyeuse, Bernerio, Sforza and Valiero, had been created by Gregory XIII.; nine: Antonio Maria Galli, Sauli, Pallotta, Pierbenedetti, Montelparo, Giustiniani, Monte, Borromeo and Montalto by Sixtus V.; five: Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Piatti, Paravicini and Farnese by Gregory XIV.; one, Facchinetti, by Innocent IX.; thirty-eight: Pietro Aldobrandini, Tarugi, Bandini, Givry, Blandrata, Borghese, Bianchetti, Baronius, Ávila, Mantica, Arigoni, Bevilacqua, Visconti, Tosco, Zacchia, Bellarmine, Sourdis, Olivier, Spinelli, Conti, Madruzzo, Du Perron, Bufalo, Delfino, Sannesio, Valenti, Agucchio, Pamfili, Taverna, Marzato, Cinzio Aldobrandini, Cesi, Peretti, Este, Deti, Silvestro Aldobrandini, Doria and Pio owed their elevation to Clement VIII.

The state of the parties was substantially the same as in 1603.[1] The Cardinals of longer standing, viz. those created by Pius IV. and Gregory XIII., formed one group, the four chosen by Gregory XIV., led by Sfondrato, another. In direct opposition were the adherents of Montalto and those of Aldobrandini.

Several men of saintly life, who had always kept aloof from outside influence and who were firmly determined to consider no interests other than religious ones in the election of the Pope, formed a distinct group. None of them thought of his own elevation. This group of whom contemporaries said that they would follow nothing but their own conscience [2] in the election, was composed of four men who were generally regarded as ornaments of the Sacred College. They were the Oratorians Baronius and Tarugi, the Jesuit Bellarmine and Federico Borromeo, the nephew and spiritual heir of St. Charles.

The strongest party was that of Pietro Aldobrandini; of

[1] *Cf.* the treatise by A. Ratti,* *Opuscolo ined. di C. Baronio*, 36.
*Achille Ratti = Pope Pius XI. (Translator's note.)

[2] See *ibid.*

the thirty-eight Cardinals of Clement VIII. twenty-two followed him,[1] and according to some authorities, as many as twenty-eight.[2] Aldobrandini had assembled the Cardinals created by his uncle, on the eve of Clement VIII.'s death, and exhorted them to unity. It was an unusual meeting, which the other Cardinals viewed with displeasure.[3] Montalto had only eight votes at his disposal, the Spaniards thirteen at the most.[4] But since Montalto and the Spaniards stuck together, they too had a sufficient number of votes to secure an exclusion. Neither of the other parties had the required two-thirds majority. Thus there was no change even when Aldobrandini, forgetful of his previous promises to the Spaniards,[5] when he saw that his opponents Montalto, Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Sforza and Facchinetti had joined them, even before the conclave went over to the French

[1] See the names in a *"Relatione" entitled "Discorso nella sede vacante". Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the full *Report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *report of a Mantuan agent, March, 1605, (*ibid.*) enumerates 24 adherents of Aldobrandini, and of them only 19 as certain.

[3] See the *"Relatione della morte di P. Clemente VIII." in Cod. C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also *Avviso of March 5, 1605, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *"Relatione" *supra*, n. 18. When G. C. Foresto gives the number of Spanish votes as 20 (*report of March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), he includes Montalto's party. The *report of a Mantuan agent (see *supra*, n. 2) gives 15 Spanish adherents, including Dietrichstein.

[5] See Couzard, 349. In the *Discorso al card. Aldobrandino, come si debba governare nel conclave di attendere alla creatione del nuovo Papa, (dated) di casa li 6 di marzo 1605, the following were named as the principal opponents of the nephew: Sforza, Montalto, Colonna, Sfondrato, Farnese and Este. The writer counts as belonging to the Spanish party: "la fattione di Sfondrato, parte delle creature di Montalto et parte della nostra, se bene voi, che sete capo di quella, siate tenuto per Francese, come è stato vostro zio." *Cod.* 6750, 211 *seq.*, State Library, Vienna.

side.[1] This party was eight strong, since besides the French Cardinals they could also count on Medici, Valiero and Monte.[2] Such being the situation, it is easy to understand the popular opinion that a long and animated conclave might be expected.[3]

According to the agreement with the French initiated by Joyeuse, Aldobrandini had to make the concession of abandoning Galli, whom he had previously supported as being an opponent of Montalto, and also Bianchetti; but in return the nephew of Clement VIII. demanded from the French that they should drop the candidature of Bernerio and Montelparo. But this hardly driven bargain was in danger of being immediately wrecked, because the Spaniards were spreading the rumour that the French had decided to exclude not only Blandrata but also Zacchia, Aldobrandini's chief but secret candidate. There ensued a weighty discussion between Aldobrandini and Joyeuse, but they ended by agreeing that the French would accept Blandrata and Zacchia, on condition that Aldobrandini would support Cardinal Medici.[4]

Not only the divisions among the Cardinals, but also the great number of eligible candidates (papabili) promised a long conclave. A contemporary account gives no less than twenty-one names: Galli, Medici, Valiero, Bernerio, Sauli, Pallotta, Pierbenedetti, Montelparo, Piatti, Tarugi, Blandrata, Baronius, Bianchetti, Mantica, Arigoni, Tosco, Zacchia, Olivier, Ginnasio, Pamfili and Pinelli.[5] There was no serious

[1] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 262 *seq.* and COUZARD, 349 *seq.*

[2] See also the *" Relatione ", p. 6, n. 1. A Mantuan agent (see p. 6, n. 2) also counted Delfino on the French side.

[3] See the *Discorso, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, the *Avviso of March 2, 1605, Vatican Library, and the *report of Girolamo Giglioli, March 9, 1605, State Archives, Modena.

[4] See the description by COUZARD (*Ambassade*, 350 *seq.*) based on French information, and the *report of a Mantuan agent, March, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See both the *reports in *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome (the first bears the title " Discorso nella sede vacante di

discussion in the conclave about any of the above mentioned except Baronius and Medici, who, being both favoured by France, were not at all desired by the Spaniards. Medici was one of those already excluded in 1601. But the long standing aversion of the Spaniards to Baronius had developed into real hatred ever since, in the eleventh volume of his great historical work, the *Ecclesiastical Annals*,[1] which appeared in 1605, he had submitted to severe criticism the alleged privilege of the legates of Urban II., on which the Spanish Government based its exorbitant pretensions in ecclesiastical matters, collected in the so-called *Monarchia Sicula*. To discredit the important grounds on which the Cardinal based his attack on the integrity, and thus, indirectly, on the authenticity of this pontifical document, the Government of Madrid not only set its learned men to work, but prohibited that particular volume of the *Annals* in all the dominions subject to the Spanish rule. Booksellers who sold the work were severely punished, at Naples even by condemnation to the galleys.[2] The Spanish Government thenceforward

P. Clemente VIII." ; the other, without title, begins with the words : "Quattro sono le fattioni"). *Cf.* also the *Avviso, March 2, 1605, Vatican Library. In 1602 the number of *papabili* was not more than 12 ; see RATTI, *loc. cit.*, 50. The author of the *Discorso al card. Aldobrandini, referred to *supra*, p. 6, n. 5, says with regard to them : "Li sogetti dunque al mio parere sono otto : Como, Fiorenza, Verona, Sauli, Montelparo Pallotta, Tosco et Bianchetti, se bene Francesi vorrano Serafino [Olivier], quale già era stato publicato Papa, ma scoperta la trama dell'ambasciatore di Spagna è stato troncata questa prattica." (*Cod.* 6750, p. 211 *seq.*, State Library, Vienna. PIETRO CAIMO, *Lettere inedite, Nozze* Publication, Venice, 1863, mentions in a letter to his brother Eusebio, March 19, 1605 (p. 8) only Baronius, Olivier and Medici as *papabili*.

[1] BARONIUS, *Annales eccl.*, XI., *an.* 1097, n. 18 *seq.* In this connection see SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, 25 *seq.*, 33 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*, 53 *seq.* ; E. CASPAR, *Die Legatengewalt der normannisch. sizilischen Herrscher im* 12. *Jahrhundert*, in *Quellen und Forsch. aus ital. Archiven und Bibl. VII.* (1904), p. 189 *seq.*

[2] See COUZARD, 351.

decided that a man like Baronius was not to become Pope, as it considered even the slightest questioning of the ecclesiastical claims of the Catholic king as impious treason.[1] However, not all the Cardinals of the Spanish party in Rome approved of the exclusion of one of the most learned, respected and devout members of the Sacred College. Spinelli openly showed his contempt for this policy, and Sforza and Borromeo were also thought to be of the same opinion.[2] Baronius knew very well what hostility and persecution he would draw upon himself from the Spaniards when he treated of the document of Urban II. in his great historical work. But his contempt of human favour and his love of truth regardless of consequences did not allow any scruples to arise in him. He was well aware of the discussions which had taken place under Pius V. and Gregory XIII. about the *Monarchia Sicula* and also of their inconclusiveness.[3] As the question had to be treated in his historical work, and as it was also of great importance for the Church, he applied himself to it with all the enthusiasm of a conscientious student. When he repeatedly used expressions of great severity, he did so on purpose, because he was of the opinion that a Cardinal above all ought not to show weakness in a matter of such importance for the Church; nevertheless, on the advice of some friends, he modified several passages, so as not to be lacking in the respect due to the King of Spain. When the work was finished, he presented it to Clement VIII., who read it attentively and decided that Baronius ought to have it printed without alteration. Several other Cardinals whom the Pope consulted were of the same opinion. Baronius in

[1] Opinion of GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 271. Gindely's supposition, adopted by WAHRMUND, that "Baronius had expressed doubts as to the legality of the Spanish possessions in South Italy", is erroneous; see RUFFINI, *Perchè C. Baronio non fu Papa*, Perugia, 1910 (also in collection: *Per Ces. Baronio*, Rome, 1910, 355 *seq.*), with which FALCO agrees in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIV., 547.

[2] See *Avviso of February 23, 1605, Vatican Library.

[3] This is apparent from the manuscripts in the Vallicella Library, Rome. *Cf.* SENTIS, 33.

a private letter expressed his joy at the result, as he hoped that it would be no small assistance towards his remaining in his present condition; for the treatise would give the Spaniards the opportunity of showing themselves his opponents during the election of a Pope.[1] Such being his sentiments Baronius bore with equal patience the fact that even two Cardinals, Anselmo Marzato and Ascanio Colonna censured his work.[2]

An incident which took place before the conclave showed to what kind of means the Spanish Government had recourse in order to oppose the candidature of Baronius. On March 9th, 1605, Cardinal Ávila laid before the Cardinals assembled in Congregation two letters from the Viceroy of Naples, one addressed to the dead Pope, the other to Sacred College. The contents of both constituted a violent attack on Baronius, who was accused of having drawn up his treatise on the *Monarchia Sicula* from French sources. The Viceroy asked for the prohibition of Baronius' work! Cinzio Aldobrandini at once raised doubts as to the authenticity of the letters. Baronius thought he ought not to keep silent about their contents, since the *Monarchia Sicula* was not a personal matter but one that concerned the Church. Calmly but firmly he made it clear that he had used sources from the Vatican Library alone, and that none had come from France. Moreover he had submitted his work to the censorship of the Pope, who had read it and consigned it for examination to three Cardinals, who in turn had entirely approved of it before it was printed. He was not taking part *against* the King of Spain, but acting in his real interests. In addition, he had used no expressions beyond what the subject demanded. His speech created a profound impression. On the proposal of Medici it was resolved to leave the decision to the new Pope. The confusion of the Spanish party was further

[1] See the letter to Talpa, November 7, 1604, BARONII, *Epist.*, 3, 133. *Cf.* BARNABEO, *Vita Baronii*, lib. 2, c. 5; ALBERICI, III., 133 *seqq.*; CALENZIO, *Baronio*, 651 *seqq.*

[2] See *Avviso of February 12, 1605, Vatican Library.

increased when it transpired that the letters were a forgery. If the election had taken place at once, Baronius would probably have been raised to the Chair of Peter.[1]

The days which elapsed before the opening of the conclave were diligently used by the diplomats. The French ambassador Béthune was hopeful enough of the issue. "Now we are sure," he wrote to Villeroi on March 11th, "that none of our enemies will be elected, and not without hope that one of our friends will be promoted." With even more certainty he wrote the same day to Henry IV.: "The Spaniards are driven on to the defensive, but we have not yet reached the goal."[2] When the conclave was closed late at night on March 14th, the activity of Béthune, like that of the other diplomats, came to an end. Then came the Cardinals' turn. Those favouring the Spaniards still[3] directed all their energies to obtaining by every possible means the exclusion of Baronius, whose humility was thereby delighted.[4] Cardinal Ávila acted in

[1] See CALENZIO, 664 *seq.*, COUZARD, 352 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., March 12, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39–238.

[2] COUZARD, 353. *Cf.* also the pessimistic report of the opposite party, from the pen of the Belgian agent, Pedro de Toledo, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 96.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of February 23, 1605, Vatican Library.

[4] The reports of the Italian diplomats on the conclave of Leo XI., in a French translation, often inaccurate, in PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, II., 413 *seq.* It does not, however, include the very detailed and interesting *reports of G. C. Foresto (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which are utilized for the first time in the present work. The descriptions of GINDELY in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, XXXVIII., 274 *seq.* and *Rudolf II.*, vol. I., 104 *seq.*, are based on the Spanish reports. The French reports in DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, *Lettres* 292 *seq.*, and COUZARD, 355 *seq.*; the report of Joyeuse, Du Perron and Béthune, published by COUZARD (410 *seq.*), with some variants in *Fonds franç.*, 3848, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the *report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., Rome, April 2, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39–248; the report of Baronius in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 359 *seq.* Valuable also is the frequently used report of

the matter with more zeal than discretion. He loaded Aldobrandini with reproaches for deserting the Spanish cause, and declared that he would prefer to remain in conclave for a year rather than allow anything to be done to the detriment of his king. Aldobrandini replied that he would not mind remaining two years, since he was determined to endure anything rather than confer the tiara on anyone not among the number of his own favoured Cardinals.[1]

On March 19th it was rumoured that Baronius had obtained thirty-nine votes. The news proved false. In fact the well-informed thenceforward doubted whether Aldobrandini really desired the elevation of the great historian to the pontificate, since he had hindered his being elected by *adoration*. It was thought that Aldobrandini favoured rather the election of Tosco, who, besides Baronius, had received a number of votes at the beginning.[2] In reality the candidate secretly favoured by the late Pope's nephew was still Zacchia, of whom, however, Joyeuse would not hear.[3] A decision was hoped for when the absent Cardinals would have arrived.

a member of the conclave in *Conclavi*, I., 305 *seq.*, obviously coming from an opponent of P. Aldobrandini, and no longer reliable in many details. The number of votes given there corresponds to the statements of DU PERRON; see SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 237. The most accurate description of outside events is given by Mucanzio, whose communications are for the most part printed in GATTICUS, 343 *seq.* and part also in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 326 *seq.* Ruffini has recently made use of some new matter, including Savoyard reports, in his work mentioned *supra*, p. 9, n. 1. Names of members of the conclave in *Bull.*, XI., 212. Giov. Fontana and Carlo Maderno were architects of the conclave; see BERTOLETTI, *Bollet. d. Svizzera ital.*, VII., 108. Plans of the conclave (with small illustrations) by Nicc. van Aelst and Giov. Maggi in the collection of plans of conclaves in the Vatican library. Two pasquinades on the conclave in RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 35 *seq.*

[1] See *Conclavi*, I., 314 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* COUZARD, 360.

The Spaniards cherished the hope that it might still be possible for Guevara, Colonna and Zappata to arrive in time. Aldobrandini was waiting for Ginnasio.[1] But none of these appeared. Instead, Dietrichstein arrived on March 19th.[2] The opponents of Spain reminded him of the favours which Clement VIII. had bestowed on him, and represented to him that he ought to entertain the highest esteem for the person of Baronius.

With anxious tension everybody wondered on which side the German Cardinal would range himself. Dietrichstein certainly wavered between his own inclinations and his obligations to the House of Hapsburg, but eventually he was persuaded by Madruzzo, Doria and Farnese, who were all on the Spanish side, to withhold his support from Baronius.[3] The Spaniards now commanded at least twenty-three votes for the latter's exclusion. But the opposite party did not give up the struggle. On March 24th Baronius had twenty-three votes. The rumour actually spread in Rome that he was elected, but a little later it became known that his election had been wrecked by the opposition of the Spaniards.[4] These even had the effrontery to appeal to St. Thomas Aquinas, who taught that unsuitable persons, even if virtuous, ought not to be raised to high dignity, as they might occasion wars and scandal! They recalled that Baronius had not only written against the *Monarchia Sicula*, but had even questioned the sojourn of St. James in Spain.[5] It is not difficult to understand that the great historian's adherents did not change their opinion on such grounds.

[1] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Mucanzio in GATTICUS, 345.

[3] See the description by GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, vol. I., 108, based on Spanish reports. According to the *Avviso of March 26, 1605, when the Spaniards spoke to Dietrichstein about the exclusion of Baronius, he dismissed the suggestion in the first instance. *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See *Avviso of March 26, 1605, *ibid.*

[5] See *Conclavi*, I., 327.

Foresto, the Mantuan envoy, wrote on March 26th that Baronius, who had received twenty-seven votes on the preceding day, would probably obtain the tiara, if no change took place during the following days. Of all the candidates he had the fewest obstacles to overcome. Foresto added that Baronius did nothing towards his own election, on the contrary he even took pains to spoil his chances in every way. He dissuaded the Cardinals, reminding them of his humble origin and his coming from a long-lived family. All Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, continued Foresto, are favourable to this blameless man, especially Borromeo, Paravicini and Bandini, besides Giustiniani; even some of Montalto's Cardinals, such as Pinelli and Pierbenedetti, showed themselves not averse. Notwithstanding, Foresto was not yet entirely sure of Baronius' success. Not all on his side, he thought, were as sure and faithful supporters as were Borromeo and Paravicini. As regards both Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, Foresto entertained serious doubts, since during the pontificate of Clement VIII. Baronius in his frankness had repeatedly criticized the actions of the papal nephews. Foresto hinted that he knew from a reliable source that Pietro Aldobrandini did not wish for the election of Baronius, because he thought him too independent and also because he did not think it prudent to break altogether with the Spaniards. The envoy believed that Aldobrandini really wished to secure the tiara for another candidate, preferably Zacchia, or, failing him, Ginnasio, Tosco or Blandrata, thus making use of the candidature of Baronius only in order to obtain the election of one of these.[1]

Meanwhile during the next few days the votes for Baronius

[1] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, March 26, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the report in PETRUCELLI, II., 437. What Baronius himself said with regard to his reluctance (see LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 360 *seq.*) is completely confirmed by Foresto. The motive assigned by RUFFINI (*Perchè C. Baronio non fu papa*, Perugia, 1910) that Baronius did not want to become Pope in order to remain devoted to his historical work, will not hold; see FALCO in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIV., 548.

increased, to the utmost alarm of the Spaniards. He had thirty-one on March 27th, and thirty-two on the 30th.[1] But he obviously could not obtain the further eight votes necessary for the two-thirds majority, since the Spaniards held firm.

In the meantime an important change took place, which provided well-grounded hope for a speedy end to the wearisome electoral contest.

During the days immediately before the election the name of Cardinal Medici had often been mentioned; but in the first week of the conclave it was only rarely spoken of, although in the scrutinies he always secured a certain number of votes.[2] Joyeuse never lost sight of Medici's candidature for a single moment. Assisted by Du Perron, he displayed an indefatigable activity for this end, without however finding in Aldobrandini the support on which he had counted. Arigoni and Visconti also exerted themselves upon Clement VIII.'s nephew; but it was in vain, for he still had in mind the elevation of Zacchia.[3]

The more evident it became that Baronius would not obtain the two-thirds majority, the more must Medici's star be in the ascendant. The Spaniards, of course, opposed his candidature now as before, but there were hopes of overcoming their opposition, since several of the more important Cardinals of the Spanish party, such as Aquaviva, Farnese and his friend Sfondrato[4] were bound to Medici by the closest ties. Baronius, entirely unselfish, openly declared himself for Medici throughout the whole conclave.[5] While Aldobrandini still hesitated in coming to a decision, Joyeuse succeeded at the end of March in gaining Montalto for Medici. This was of the greatest importance. At that very moment Viglienna, the Catholic king's ambassador, committed one of

[1] See *Conclavi*, I., 330, 337 (at the beginning, for 21, read 27).

[2] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* Couzard, 357, 360.

[4] *Cf.* the *Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See Baronius' own report in Lämmer, *Melet.*, 360. *Cf.* Calenzio, 676 *seq.*

his usual follies. In the night of March 31st–April 1st he appeared at the door of the conclave, where the greatest excitement and tension prevailed. He informed the Cardinals that a group of English students from Padua, disguised as pilgrims, intended to rob the treasury of the sanctuary at Loreto. But this news had already been known for three weeks and all precautions had long ago been taken against any such attempt. This solemn communication to the Cardinals made the Spaniards ridiculous and discredited their cause.[1]

The scrutiny on the following day, April 1st, yielded no result; Baronius had only twenty-eight votes and Medici thirteen.[2] After this Joyeuse decided to carry his candidate's cause to a conclusion. He went to Aldobrandini and explained to him all the reasons for the election of Medici. Aldobrandini still hesitated. Joyeuse only gave him a little time to decide. Meanwhile Visconti, Borromeo and Bernerio left no stone unturned to persuade the nephew to accept Medici's candidature, for which they had also gained some of Ávila's party.[3]

Cardinal Ávila, who had not yet officially published the Spanish exclusion,[4] did not pay proper attention to these events. Though informed by Doria and Madruzzo of the danger which threatened, he thought the election of Medici impossible and did not allow his tranquillity to be perturbed. He evidently thought that the election would be no more than just another regular taking of votes. In this he was completely mistaken. Like the other friends of Spain, Dietrichstein also decided to support the election of Medici, after the latter had allayed his anxiety by assuring him that he would always be attached to the Emperor Rudolph and King Philip, and would protect both of them as pillars of the Church.[5] Aldobrandini, still reluctant, was urged

[1] See COUZARD, 361, 362 *seq.*

[2] *Conclavi*, I., 340.

[3] *Cf.* COUZARD, 364.

[4] See SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 238 *seq.* *Cf.* RUFFINI, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *report of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., April 2, 1605, State Archives, Vienna, 39–248. *Cf.* GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 109.

by his own adherents to decide at once. After Baronius had once more spoken in favour of Medici and urged his immediate election, Aldobrandini finally yielded. When he went to Medici's room, more than two-thirds of the electors were found to be assembled there, and they had elected him Pope without any further scrutiny. Not till this was announced did the scales fall from the eyes of Ávila. He hurried along the corridors of the conclave to call together his former adherents for a formal exclusion, and all the time he uttered vehement protests; but it was too late. Ávila renewed his protest in the Pauline Chapel, where the Cardinals had gone for the adoration of the new Pope, calling out at the top of his voice that the Catholic king did not want Cardinal de Medici as Pope. But his own adherents rejoined that any kind of protest was useless against one who was already elected Pope.[1] Simply as a matter of customary form an open scrutiny was then held for Medici, who chose the name of Leo XI.[2] The night being already well advanced, the conclave was not thrown open, in order to avoid any disorder, and the election was only announced to the public on the following morning, April 2nd.[3]

The election of Medici was an event of the greatest importance, since it had taken place with open disregard for the wishes of the King of Spain.[4] From the Spanish side an

[1] See GINDELY, I., 110, following the Spanish reports. *Cf.* also the French reports of du Perron, *Ambassades*, *loc. cit.* SÄGMÜLLER (*Papstwahlbullen*, 240) as opposed to WAHRMUND (207 *seq.*) sees in these proceedings the exercise of exclusion in full form. He holds firmly to this in *Archiv. f. kathol. Kirchenrecht*, LXXIII., 198 *seq.* against WAHRMUND (*ibid.*, LXXII., 205 *seq.*). HERRE (651) remarks: "For the development of the right of exclusion I attach a different value to the occurrence than Wahrmund; for the rest the nature of my work makes it a matter of course that I should not enter further into this juridical question." RUFFINI (*loc. cit.*) and EISLER (Veto, 61 *seq.*) have recently given their decision against Sägmüller.

[2] See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 347.

[3] See *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* HERRE, 651.

impudent calumny was started that the Cardinals had been bribed by France.[1] In contrast to the discontent at Philip III.'s court was the joy in Paris. Henry IV. wrote to Joyeuse that he had secured for him the greatest triumph which he had gained since his elevation to the throne.[2] In Rome unanimity prevailed[3] as to the admirable qualities of the new Pope. Giovanni Battista Marini in one of his poems expressed the hope that a long life would be granted him.[4]

Alessandro de' Medici was descended from a collateral line of the celebrated Florentine family. Born on June 2nd, 1535, the son of Ottavio de' Medici and Francesca Salviati, a niece of Leo X., he gave proof even from earliest infancy of extraordinary gifts of mind and heart. He was an exemplary son and sincerely pious. His close connection with the Dominicans at San Marco led his relations to suspect that he intended to enter their Order.[5] But this was not the case;

[1] *Cf.* COUZARD, 369, who speaks of "perfidie calomnieuse". As a matter of fact the suggestion, unquestioningly accepted by PHILIPPSON (*Heinrich IV. und Philipp III.*, Vol. I., 353) that the election of Leo XI. had cost Henry IV. 300,000 scudi, is due to an authority as unreliable as was Du Plessis-Mornay.

[2] *Lettres miss.*, VI., 401. *Cf.* also DESJARDINS, V., 552. Cardinal B. Maciejowski wrote on April 17, 1605, to Cardinal Givry: *"Dolorem quem obitus optimi parentis nostri Papae Clementis VIII. atque absentia ab electione novi Pontificis mea maximum mihi obtulerat, mitigat iam et lenit voluptas ingens quam ex electione S.D.N.P. Leonis XI. duplicatam capio, tum quod utilissimum illum fore Christianitati perspiciam, tum quod ab ill. dom. vestra desideratum existimem." (*Cod.* 219, p. 59, City Library, Metz.) Leo XI. himself speaks of his friendly relations with Venice in his *brief to the Doge, M. Grimani, dated 1605, XV. Kal. Maii. Original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

[3] *Cf. Lettere inedite di* P. CAIMO, Venice, 1863, 10.

[4] *Il Tebro festante nella elezione di Leone XI.*; see BORZELLI, *Marino*, 12.

[5] See **Vita del cardinale di Firenze* che fu P. Leone XI. scritta da un suo famigliare insino al tempo che fu mandato in Francia da Clemente VIII., *Cod.* 4201, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome. This manuscript, out of the Corvisieri Library, and not utilized hitherto, gives many interesting details.

the youth, who had a poetic temperament, dreamed rather of a career in the world, and not till he was in his twenties did he decide to become a priest.[1] His first priestly charge was in a quiet rural district, until Cosimo de' Medici in 1569 entrusted to his gifted kinsman the important post of ambassador in Rome. Alessandro filled it to the satisfaction of his patron as well as of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.[2] In Rome he won the friendship of Cardinals Pacheco and Morone, and also of Philip Neri. In a short time he became one of the Saint's favourite disciples. It was Medici who, in 1595, solemnly laid the foundation stone of the magnificent Oratorian church, S. Maria in Vallicella ; later, when the church was opened for worship, it was he who sang the first High Mass.[3]

Cosimo was full of praise for the way in which Alessandro de Medici discharged his duties. In 1573 he obtained the diocese of Pistoia, whilst he retained his post as ambassador. As a conscientious man he took care that the decrees of the Council of Trent were enforced in his diocese through his representative.[4] When the Archbishop of Florence, Antonio Altoviti, died towards the end of 1573, Medici succeeded him.[5] But not even then was he allowed to rule his diocese in person, since he seemed indispensable in Rome. It was to Medici's credit that he nevertheless did everything possible to introduce the necessary ecclesiastical reforms among secular and regular clergy alike. In this he proceeded with such prudence and firmness that it seemed as if he had been employed for years in nothing but diocesan affairs.[6] In

[1] *Cf.* GUASTI, *Lettere di santa Caterina de' Ricci*, Prato, 1861, LXXXII. *seq.* and *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XIV., 250.

[2] Many of his *reports can be found in the State Archives, Florence.

[3] See CAPECELATRO, St. Philip Neri [Engl. ed., 1926], p. 281.

[4] See *Vita del card. di Firenze, *loc. cit.*

[5] * Mi ha più volte detto che hebbe di questo maggior contento che quando fu fatto cardinale, says the author of the *Vita, *loc. cit.*

[6] *In assentia non mancò di fare tutto il suo potere per riformare et ridurre in buon termine il culto divino, la residenza,

Rome he enjoyed the highest reputation. A report of the year 1574 heaped praises upon him.[1] Ten years later Gregory XIII. admitted him to the Sacred College (December 12th, 1583).[2] The nomination took him completely by surprise; he welcomed it chiefly because it freed him from the almost insupportable burden of the Embassy, which he had borne for fifteen years.[3] To distinguish him from Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, Alessandro became now generally known as the Cardinal of Florence. Even as a Cardinal he still remained closely associated with Philip Neri. The fact that Medici did not share Philip Neri's veneration for Savonarola,[4] which on the Saint's part was based on insufficient knowledge of the man, in no way interfered with their friendship. The Cardinal often hastened to the room of the founder of the Oratorians, which he is said to have called his Paradise.[5]

During the eventful pontificate of Clement VIII., Medici and Philip Neri were entirely at one in their opinion of the

l'habito, gl'ordini, l'esame di confessori et le monache per le quali a monastero di monastero faceva instruttioni di sua mano a MS. Bastiano de Medici suo vicario, quale da Pistoia haveva tirato a Firenze, che pareva che fusse stato arcivescovo venti anni. *Vita, *loc. cit.*, where the reforms and the difficulties which he had to overcome to introduce them, are described in full. The *Synodus Florentina* of 1589, printed, 1589. To this day the following inscription can be seen on the façade of the Archbishop's palace in the piazza of the cathedral: Leoni XI. P.M. ob merita in ecc. | Flor. quam XXXII | an. rexit et has | aedes restitutas.

[1] See the report of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* this work, Vol. XIX., 569 *seqq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, Vol. XIX., 230 *seq.*; *cf.* 602 *seq.* Medici was immediately regarded as "papabile". See Avviso of January 7, 1584, in *Bull. de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, LXXXIX. (1926), 402.

[3] See the detailed account in the *Vita, *loc. cit.*

[4] See in this connection Guasti, *L'Officio proprio per Fra G. Savonarola e li suoi compagni scritto nel sec. XVI. con un proemio*, Prato, 1863.

[5] See Capecelatro, *loc. cit.*

French situation. Both had great influence [1] on the decision in favour of Henry IV. Medici's grief was profound when, on May 26th, 1595, death removed his friend and spiritual father; his sweetest consolation in this grievous loss was still to show him all the affection and veneration possible. Having learned that the Oratorians, from humility and poverty, had buried the body of their beloved Father in the common burying-place, he and Federico Borromeo together prepared a special tomb for him; when the Saint's body was found quite intact four years later, he placed on the head with his own hands a crown made of gold and precious stones at his own expense, and took a costly ring from his own finger to put on the hand of the beloved dead.[2]

When Pope Clement VIII., in 1596, entrusted to Alessandro de' Medici the important legation to France, d'Ossat gave the following description of him: "The Cardinal, now sixty years old, has the reputation of being an excellent, prudent, moderate, and upright man in whom there is no guile. The Pope loves and esteems him. He was always in favour of the absolution of our king. Wholly devoted though he is to the Holy See, he is nevertheless closely associated with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his kinsman, whose ambassador in Rome he was for many years and to whom he owes in part his admission to the Sacred College." [3]

Cardinal Medici spent two whole years in France. When he returned to Rome in the autumn of 1598 [4] he had completely won the friendship of Henry IV. Although he was thoroughly disliked by the Spaniards for his French sympathies, yet he was thenceforward considered a serious candidate for the tiara. In a report of the year 1600, it was said that his prospects in this respect were excellent.[5] Medici, according

[1] See this work, Vol. XXIII, 130 *seq.*

[2] See Capecelatro [Engl. Ed. 1926], p. 584.

[3] *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 239. *Cf.* also the eulogy of Clement VIII. in the brief addressed at the time to Henry IV., *Arm.* 44, t. 40, p. 164b, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* this work, Vol. XXIII., 142 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 159.

[5] See *ibid.*, 483 *seq.*

to a statement made at the time by Dolfin, the Venetian ambassador, was much esteemed and also considered a good ecclesiastic. He had many friends and no avowed enemy. Montalto's party would certainly put him forward as their candidate in case of an election. Gregory XIII.'s Cardinals also supported him and Pietro Aldobrandini, after striving in vain for his own candidates, would prefer him to any other.[1]

The aversion of the Spaniards for Cardinal Medici, whose sympathies were French, was further increased by his close relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Cardinal did not mind. He complained with great frankness of the interference of Spanish statesmen in the internal affairs of the Church. Not they, he remarked on one occasion, had received the stole and the keys.[2] This remark gave the lie to the reproach levelled against Medici by the Spanish party that he was very timid in dealing with public affairs. Equally questionable was the opinion, due to the same party, that he had a hasty temper.[3] It is true that as a genuine Florentine he loved delicate wit, but he always kept within the limits of courtesy. In his private letters [4] he shows himself a typical Tuscan, distinguished, highly gifted, modest and pious.

Medici's generosity, especially towards writers, was widely admired as well as his interest in art. The latter greatly

[1] See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 492, 494. A *letter of Cardinal A. de' Medici to the abate Bandini in 1598 gives him instructions to arrange with Madame de Nemours with regard to the prompt execution of the will, which her sister, the Duchess of Urbino, had made in favour of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini. Original, with seal and signature : " Cardinal di Firenze Legato," in the Manzoni Library, Rome, until 1894, when that collection was scattered to the winds.

[2] See DESJARDINS, V., 237.

[3] So Girol. Fraschetto in his memoir of 1602 written to the Duke of Escalona, in RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 40.

[4] See A. DEL VITA, *Di alcune lettere di Leone XI.* (to Pietro Vasari, from 1570 to 1593), in the *Riv. d. bibl. ed archivi*, 1924, II, 220 *seq.*

proved very beneficial to S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Martino ai Monti.[1] In 1574 Medici already possessed a fine collection of statues, which he placed in his villa near S. Francesca Romana.[2] Later he also acquired the villa on the Pincio which bears his name.

The hostility of the Spaniards towards the Cardinal did not cease throughout the pontificate of Clement VIII. On the Pope's death they were sure that the Catholic king would demand his exclusion. In order to discredit him, it was given out from the Spanish side that he was unsuited to govern; but that he was an admirable man could not be denied even by his enemies.[3]

Leo XI., according to the accounts of his contemporaries, was a handsome man, of imposing stature, spotless and pure in his conduct, and deeply imbued with a sense of the great obligations of the Papacy.[4] He appointed as Secretary of

[1] *Cf.* TOTTI, *Roma Moderna*, 67, 213; CARDELLA, V., 181 *seq.* The Cardinal also had his titular churches, SS. Quirico & Giulitta and S. Prassede, decorated; see PLATNER, III., 2, 237, 246, 254.

[2] *Cf.* LANCIANI, II., 212 *seq.* With regard to the triptych of Mary Stuart, belonging to Cardinal Medici, presented to the Bavarian court, now in the Reichen Kapelle, Munich, see ENGLER-STOCKBAUER-ZETTLER, *Kunstwerke der Reichen Kapelle*, plate 20, and P. COLONNA, *El Santo Cristo de Maria Stuart*, Madrid, 1901.

[3] See the two *Discorsi of 1605, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20.

[4] *Cf.* the contemporaries mentioned by CIACONIUS (IV., 371). The figure of Leo XI., portrayed on his monument by Algardi (*cf. infra*, p. 27). Another statue of the Pope in the Cathedral of Pistoia, on the right of the entrance, with the Medici coat of arms and the inscription: Leoni XI. Pont. Max. | antea ep̄o. Pistorien. | ut eius mem. diocesani | religiosius venerentur | Alex. Caccia | in ep̄atu success. A. 1618. A portrait in oils by Ant. Scalvati (see BAGLIONE, 172) in the second chapel on the left in S. Agnese fuori le mura in Rome, in which church the Pope, when Cardinal, had restorations made; see CIACONIUS, IV., 372; FORCELLA, XI., 351. *Cf.* *Avviso of November 5, 1605, Vatican Library.

State his able great-nephew Roberto Ubaldini [1]; his Treasurer was the Florentine Luigi Capponi,[2] his Secretary for Briefs another fellow countryman, Pietro Strozzi.[3] At the head of the Consulta he placed Pietro Aldobrandini.[4] Of all the Cardinals the learned and pious Sfondrato had the greatest influence.[5]

One of the first matters upon which Leo XI. was engaged was the support of the Imperialists in Hungary against the Turks,[6] which had been agreed to in the terms of election. He declared his immediate readiness to help to the utmost of his ability, although the Camera Apostolica was burdened with debts.[7] This was decided in a Congregation of Cardinals for Hungarian affairs on April 13th, 1605, on which occasion the new Pope expressed his intentions regarding the government of the Church in a way calculated to raise the highest

[1] See MORONI, LXXXI., 491 *seq.* *Cf.* CIACONIUS IV., 434. Pietro Giacomo Cima, the Pope's maestro di camera, was regarded as influential; see MUTINELLI, III., 20; Forcella XI., 351.

[2] See MORONI, LXXIV., 300. A *letter of Leo XI. to the *tesoriere generale*, Capponi, of April 16, 1605, was preserved until 1894, in the Manzoni Library, Rome. Even this very rare document (seeing that the Pope only reigned twenty-six days) was sold. No authentic coins of Leo XI. are extant; see MARTINELLI, 67 *seq.* *Ibid.* with regard to his medals. *Cf.* also *Boll. di numismatica ital.*, III.

[3] See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 404 and BONAMICUS, *De claris. pontif. epist. script.*, Rome, 1753, 276.

[4] See the autograph *letter of Aldobrandini, April 16, 1605, to the nuncio in Venice, *Barb.* 4697, p. 527, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, C. 20.

[6] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, April 23, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the terms of the election-capitulation, see the article by H. ORTENBERG in the *Innsbrucker Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1896, 190. *Cf.* MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 326; LULVÈS in *Quellen u. Forschungen des preuss.* Instituts, XII., 228, and *infra*, p. 25, n. 3.

[7] See the letter of Cardinal Madruzzo to Rudolph II. of April 2, 1605, in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 332.

hopes.[1] Very generous help was sent [2] to the hard pressed Emperor. In conformity with the terms of election, Leo XI. convoked a Congregation of Cardinals without delay for the reform of the conclave. The method then in use of electing the Pope by means of general homage (adoration) was to be abolished, and that of secret voting substituted. Du Perron remarks that Aldobrandini's opponents would agree to this, since he would thus lose his control over Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, and that those opposed to the Spaniards would be even better pleased, since then everyone would be able to give his vote freely and without the pressure of their tyranny.[3] Further, Leo XI. did not show any undue favouritism to France, as the Spaniards had feared. When Joyeuse asked a favour of him in the name of Henry IV., he roundly rejected the petition, saying that his duty was to rule justly and rightly and not to be complaisant to anyone.[4] Leo XI. won over the Romans by abolishing some oppressive taxes. April 10th, Easter Sunday, on which the coronation of the new Head of the Church took place, was a double holiday for the city.[5] It was characteristic of the Pope's strictness with regard to his relations that none of

[1] See *ibid.*, 337 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 652.

[3] Du Perron, *Ambassades*, 308. *Cf.* Wahrmund in *Archiv. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII., 204 *seq.*, where the text of the terms of the election is given (pp. 219 *seq.*).

[4] See Thuanus, I., 134; Philippson, *Heinrich* IV., Vol. I., 353. The fears of an anti-Spanish policy on the part of Leo XI., expressed by the Duke of Escalona in harsh terms, were only justified inasmuch as the Pope was not willing to be made a tool for Spanish schemes. Even Gindely, who at first (I., 110 *seq.*) seemed inclined to regard the Duke's fears as justified, nevertheless added at the end: "Allein es war ihm nicht vergönnt seiner antispanischen Politik, *wenn er dies überhaupt je tun wollte*, eine folgenreiche Wirksamkeit zu geben."

[5] See Mucantius in Gatticus, 402. A *poem on the coronation in Cl. VII., n. 425, National Library, Florence.

them were allowed to be present when he took possession of the Lateran.[1]

On the occasion of this function, which took place on April 17th,[2] the old man of seventy caught a chill which led to his death on April 27th.[3] While the Pope lay on his death-bed at the Quirinal, he was assailed with requests from various quarters, especially from the Spaniards, to confer the purple on his nephew Ottaviano de Medici. Leo XI. would not hear of it,[4] thereby showing himself to the very end a worthy disciple of Philip Neri, who, so it was said, had predicted not only that the tiara would be conferred on him but also the short duration of his pontificate.[5] The mourning for the death of this noble Pope extended to all circles in Rome [6]; in Florence also the grief was profound.[7]

[1] See Couzard, 370.

[2] See Mucantius in Gatticus, 402 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist., Vatican Library. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *Barb.*, 2816, Vatican Library. Mucantius in Gatticus, 456. *Cf.* the detailed *report of Giov. Batt. Thesis, April 30, 1605, regarding the cause of death, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The story that Leo XI. was killed by a poisoned rose is not worth contradicting; grounds for suspicion recently alleged by Fusai (*Vinta*, 96) prove nothing. Muñoz (see p. 27, n. 2) on p. 53 of the article referred to, is also of this opinion.

[4] He says: *Nunquam feci rem indignam nec aliquid quod posset vitam maculare neque nunc volo in fine vitae aliquid contra meam bonam famam facere. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*, p. 235b; Mucantius, *loc. cit.* and Baronius, Annals XII., ad an. 1187. *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 369.

[6] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, April 30, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the letter of Cesi to Giov. Eckio, April 30, 1601, in Gabrieli, *Il carteggio fra i primi Lincei*, Rome, 1925, 165.

[7] *Cf. Dell'esequie di P. Leone XI. celebrate nel duomo di Firenze*, Florence, 1605. Fr. Venturi, *Oratio habita in maiori ecclesia Florent. in solemni funere Leonis XI. P.M.*, Florence, 1605. See also Cutinii, *Oratio funebris de laudibus Leonis XI. P.M.*, Florence, 1605.

The sorrow in France was as great as the rejoicing had been a little before.[1]

The mortal remains of Leo XI. were buried in St. Peter's. His nephew, Roberto Ubaldini, who had received the purple under Paul V., had a marble monument erected there in the left aisle, the execution of which was entrusted to Francesco Algardi,[2] who had a reputation as a restorer of ancient remains. The work was stopped by the death of Ubaldini (1635) and so the tomb was not completed until about the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. The material is white marble and the work is distinguished by its simplicity and unity. As with the famous monument which Bernini erected to Urban VIII., so there too the Pope is represented enthroned above the sarcophagus and as giving his blessing, while beside him stand the figures of Wisdom, represented by Minerva, and Munificence, pouring gold and jewels from a cornucopia. But what a contrast to the celebrated work of Bernini! Instead of a vast recess, ornamented with variegated stones, Algardi was content with a slight excavation of the walls which only serves as a dull background to the principal figure, so that the contour seems cramped. Beauty cannot be denied to the figures at the side, which Algardi carved with the help of his pupils Giuseppe Peroni and Ercole Ferrata,[3] but they are not organically related to the monument. The sarcophagus, decorated with a relief (representing the completion by Cardinal Medici of Henry IV.'s reconciliation to the Church) gives an impression of heaviness. The pedestal is gracefully ornamented with the heraldic rose of the Pope, which was interpreted by the allegorical taste of the time as an allusion to the extreme shortness of his

[1] *Cf.* COUZARD, 370.

[2] For the rest see the admirable study by H. POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXVI., 188 *seqq.* *Cf.* also BERGNER, *Das barocke Rom.*, 102 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 255 *seq.*; FERRARI, Tomba, 134 *seq.*; MUÑOZ in *Annuario d. Accad. di S. Luca*, 1912 (Rome, 1913), 52 *seq.*; *La scultura barocca*, V.: *Le tombe papali*, Milan, 1918, 13 *seq.*

[3] See PASSERI, 206.

reign.[1] The best part of the whole work is the simple statue, which portrays very well the tired old man, his right hand only half raised in benediction.[2]

On May 8th, 1605, fifty-nine Cardinals entered the conclave.[3] Zacchia and Madruzzo were ill[4]; Agucchio had died on

[1] The inscription says twice: "Sic florui."

[2] See Posse, *loc. cit.*, where there is a good reproduction. The epitaph in Forcella, VI., 119.

[3] See *Avviso of May 11, 1605, Vatican Library.

[4] Some of the Italian reports, such as those of the Venetian, Agost. Nani, are printed in Mutinelli, III., 16 and 97, the rest, not faultlessly translated, in Petrucelli, II., 454 *seqq.*, but not in a complete form, since they do not include the long and important *letters of the Mantuan envoys in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which are utilized for the first time in this work. Of the French reports the most valuable are the dispatches of du Perron (*Ambassades*, 344 *seqq.*, 347 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*), and a very detailed report of Cardinal Joyeuse, May 21, 1605 (*ibid.*, 451 *seq.*), in addition to the dispatches of the French ambassador Béthune, included in Couzard, 375 *seqq.*, and a report, May 19, 1605, in Denis, *Nouvelles de Rome*, I., Paris, 1913, 3 *seq.* The *letter of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., May 21, 1605 (State Archives, Vienna), and also the *reports of the Spanish ambassador Viglienna (Archives, Simancas, 1870—128) are utilized by Gindely (*Rudolf* II., Vol. I., 113 *seq.*). New evidence is provided by the report of Ávila to Philip III.: *Relacion de lo que passo en el conclave que se hizo por muerte de Leon XI., en el que se ento a 8 de Maio 1605, discovered by me in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome (III., 9), unfortunately much damaged in various places. The account is strictly chronological and almost always objective. Three conclavists have described the election of Paul V.; one of these reports is printed in *Conclavi*, 347 *seq.*, the other two are in the Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Bruzzone in *La Stampa*, Turin, 1900, September 3. To the new sources used here for the first time are to be added a *letter of Federigo Cornaro, May 21, 1605 (*Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome); some reports in the State Archives, Modena, and a detailed *letter of Pietro Federighi to Maffeo Barberini, archbishop of Nazaret, Rome, May 31, 1605. Original in *Barb.*, 4648, pp. 290–293, Vatican Library; on the back is an autograph note by M. Barberini.

April 27th. This time the discussions were even more violent than after the death of Clement VIII., a natural consequence of the disorganization of parties as the result of recent events. Aldobrandini's attitude during the conclave which elected Leo XI., had considerably increased the number of his opponents; twenty-one of them were entirely in accord, including twelve of Montalto's party and five of Sfondrato's adherents. The French and the Spaniards were independent with five votes each, as also the Venetians with three. Aldobrandini's party had twenty-six votes.[1] Immediately after Leo XI.'s death, Clement VIII.'s nephew had tried to effect a rapprochement with the Spaniards. He was ready to unite with them, if this time his ardent desire, the elevation of a Cardinal of his own party, could be satisfied. In his interviews with Philip III.'s ambassador, Aldobrandini strove before all else to win over the Spaniards to the candidature of Ginnasio or else for that of Zacchia, Tosco or Blandrata; only if they met with insurmountable obstacles would he support Galli. These negotiations were specially directed against Montalto, who had fallen so far short of the Spaniards' expectations, and for whom the elevation of Galli would be a terrible blow. On April 30th the Mantuan envoy reported that if Aldobrandini's plans failed, Sauli would have a considerable chance of success.[2]

Cardinal Sauli had the reputation of being a statesman of importance.[3] He drew a pension from Philip III.[4] and was definitely favoured by the Spaniards. Sfondrato's party, comprising seven votes, also supported him.[5] Even during the conclave which elected Clement VIII. the French were

[1] See the *letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.*, p. 290. Foresto gives slightly different figures in his *report, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, April 30, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 484.

[4] See the *report on the College of Cardinals in 1606, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome.

[5] See the *report of Foresto, April 30, 1605, *loc. cit.*

not averse to this combination. Sauli was now regarded as their candidate also.[1] But Aldobrandini showed himself his determined opponent, not only because Cardinal Sauli owed his elevation to Sixtus V. but for many other reasons also; above all, he could not forget that at the time of the election of Clement VIII. Sauli had worked against him. He knew, moreover, that one of Sauli's partisans had suggested that a Pope ought to be elected who would punish Clement VIII.'s nephew.[2] The danger became the more grave for Aldobrandini, who moreover had suffered from fever[3] since the end of April, when some of his Cardinals, such as Visconti and Bandini, gave their support to Sauli.[4] Thanks to the efforts of Visconti and Giustiniani, the negotiations on Sauli's behalf seemed to have made such progress, that it was calculated, at a meeting held in Sfondrato's room, that they

[1] *Cf.* COUZARD, 373.

[2] See *Conclavi*, I., 349.

[3] Sta gravemente infermo e forse ha poco speranza di vita —vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas, wrote P. Caimo to his brother, April 31, 1605, *Lettere inedite*, Venice, 1863, 12.

[4] Besides *Conclavi*, I., 349, *cf.* the *report of G. C. Foresto, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Count Massimiliano Montecuccoli wrote to G. B. Laderchi, May 4, 1605: *Per Sauli si fanno gran cose, ancorchè l'haver nemico dichiarato Aldobrandini fa che si dubita gagliardamente del fatto suo. È però desiderato da tutti et ha l'aura del maggior parte del collegio, della nobilità e del popolo. Spagnuoli e Franzesi sono uniti a suo favore. Montalto, Este, Sforza, S. Cecilia [Sfondrato], Aquaviva e Visconti con tutti dipendenti stanno saldo et dicono di non voler altro che lui. Dall'altra parte Aldobrandini non lo vole a patto che sia et lo dice apertamente. Sauli ha 37 voti sicuri, Aldobrandini ne ha 24 per l'esclusione. Si spera non di meno col valore di chi favorisce le cose di Sauli con un poco di tempo rubar le 4 creature di Aldobrandini, che su la lista ch'io mando a V. S. ill. hanno la croce [Bufalo, Taverna, Arigoni, Pamfili], et quelle appunto levano l'esclusione ad Aldobrandini et includono Sauli. Il negotio non è però in sicuro, anzi ch'è più s'accordano che non si possa fare il Papa senza che Aldobrandini vi consenta. State Archives, Modena.

could rely on thirty-five votes.[1] But every effort to win over Aldobrandini was met by him with a decided refusal.[2] In these circumstances there could be no hope of an agreement with the Spaniards.

Pierbenedetti, though emphatically rejected by the Spaniards as well as Baronius and Valiero, was considered as a rival to Sauli. When it was discovered that the Spaniards would not have any of Aldobrandini's Cardinals, instead of the desired agreement violent opposition arose; the conclave was hardly over before the nephew complained of the perfidy of the Spaniards, who had completely disregarded him and, partly through malice and partly through stupidity, had tried to injure him as much as they could.[3] The position of the French in regard to Sauli's candidature, which they could not abandon without acting directly contrary to the orders of Henry IV., was difficult; on the other hand they realized that to support him meant a break with Aldobrandini.[4]

In addition to Sauli, there was much talk on the eve of the conclave of Baronius and more particularly of Tosco; the latter was supported especially by Bevilacqua, Cesi, Delfino, Este and even Aldobrandini, although in his inmost heart he adhered to his old candidates, Zacchia, Ginnasio or else Blandrata.[5] Next to Tosco came Bianchetti, but like Galli, Montelparo and all the Cardinals belonging to Religious Orders, except the Capuchin Marzato, he too was rejected by the French. For these reasons it seemed quite possible that the majority would agree upon Valiero, who was an excellent man and much more acceptable to the Sacred College than Galli. Aldobrandini and Montalto had absolute faith in Valiero. The only obstacle which presented itself

[1] See the *report of Foresto, May 7, 1605, *loc. cit.* The *Avviso of May 11, 1605, says that 40 votes were given per l'inclusione di Sauli. Vatican Library.

[2] See *Conclavi*, I., 349.

[3] See the *letter of Aldobrandini, May 21, 1605, *Barb.*, 4697, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* COUZARD, 375.

[5] *Cf. Conclavi*, I., 350; COUZARD, 376.

was the opposition of Spain, but it was thought possible to overcome that through the fear of Baronius' election, in comparison with which Valiero's seemed a less evil.[1]

During the first days of the conclave the attempt was made, especially by Cardinals Baronius, Sfondrato, Aquaviva, Farnese, Sforza and Piatti and their adherents, to obtain the tiara for the famous Jesuit Bellarmine.[2] Bellarmine himself desired his election so little that he said that he would not so much as pick up a straw if that alone would obtain it.[3] Cardinal Dietrichstein relates that when he revealed to Bellarmine what was intended for him, the latter replied that he even had it in mind to renounce the dignity of Cardinal.[4] After the conclave Bellarmine wrote to a friend that, realizing his own weakness, he had prayed to God with his whole heart not to allow him to attain so perilous a height.[5]

The elevation of Bellarmine failed. The Capuchin Marzato made capital of the position which the famous theologian had taken up on the question of grace.[6] Aldobrandini employed passive resistance to his candidature. Ávila informed Bellarmine that he was openly excluded by the Spanish king, without waiting for instructions on the point.[7] Whereupon Montalto proposed Cardinal Pierbenedetti, who

[1] See the *report of G. C. Foresto, May 7, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *Avviso of May 7, 1605, gives the strength of the Spanish party as 32 votes, and that of Aldobrandini as 26. Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of Ávila, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome, III., 9. *Cf.* Couderc, II., 35 and the *report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Petrucelli, II., 465 *seq.*

[3] See the *Vita* of Bellarmine in Reusch, 43.

[4] See Bartoli, *Bellarmino*, 200.

[5] *Epist. fam.*, n. 40.

[6] See *Avviso of May 14, 1605, Vatican Library.

[7] This appears from the *Protocol of the session of the Spanish Council of State, June 28, 1605. Original in Archives, Simancas, 870—129.

was positively hated [1] by the Spaniards, and especially by the ambassador, the Duke of Escalona. Aldobrandini made no objection, but meanwhile Sfondrato revealed the matter to Cardinal Ávila, who frustrated Montalto's project.[2] Then on May 14th, when Aldobrandini came forward with the candidature of Blandrata, Montalto and other opponents of Aldobrandini's schemes, such as Sfondrato, Farnese, Este and Visconti, met in Aquaviva's cell to proclaim emphatically the exclusion of Blandrata. The young Cardinals, Carlo Pio and Silvestro Aldobrandini, whom Pietro Aldobrandini had sent to the meeting, were thus unwilling witnesses of an occurrence so humiliating [3] for their leader. Aldobrandini retaliated the following day by the open exclusion of Sauli, obtaining thirty-two votes against him. At the same time the nephew's party decided to give their votes to none but to one of his Cardinals and to exclude all whom their leader excluded.[4]

While violent discussions [5] arose between Cardinals Ávila, Aquaviva and Sauli, on the night of May 15th–16th the candidature of Tosco came to the fore.[6] On May 14th it was already rumoured in Rome that Tosco's election to the Papacy was imminent.[7] Aldobrandini had drawn attention

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Conclavi*, I., 353 *seq.* *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, II., 467 and *Avviso of May 14, 1605, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of Ávila, Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome, and the *letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *report of Ávila, *loc. cit.* *P. Federighi (*loc. cit.*) gives the number of votes secured by Aldobrandini as 34. The *Discorso of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, emphasizes Delfino's share in the exclusion of Sauli.

[5] Ávila refers to this in detail in his *report, *loc. cit.*

[6] "Hor quanto la pratica di Sauli svanisce," was the opinion of Count M. Montecuccoli as early as May 4 in his *letter to G. B. Laderchi, "io crederei che Tosco havesse meglio di tutti gli altri." State Archives, Modena.

[7] See *Lettere inedite di* P. CAIMO, Venice, 1863, 13.

to this Cardinal, who was favoured by the Spaniards and Sfondrato and his party, and for whom the French also showed an inclination, as they did not wish to fall foul of Clement VIII.'s nephew. Even Montalto showed favour to this candidate, though not very willingly. Este, Cesi, Bevilacqua and Monte exerted themselves energetically for Tosco. Pio, who had had disputes with Tosco, was pacified by Bevilacqua. Only three of the Cardinals appointed by Clement VIII. who, like the saintly religious that they were, proceeded with the utmost conscientiousness, opposed the candidature of Tosco,[1] namely the Oratorians Baronius and Tarugi and the Jesuit Bellarmine; Cardinals Taverna, Pio and Olivier also showed disinclination.[2]

The opposition to Tosco's elevation was not without foundation. Tosco, though a notable jurist, had only become a priest late in life, and had retained from his early military career such rough manners that, although seventy years of age, he did not seem suited to the dignity of Sovereign Pontiff. In particular he was reproached for his free use of coarse and offensive expressions, such as the people employed, and which his friends tried to excuse as Lombardisms.[3] On May 16th Tosco's adherents tried to make him Pope by adoration. At this critical moment Baronius threw the whole weight of his authority into the scales. While Aldobrandini and Montalto were going with their adherents to elect Tosco, they met Baronius and Tarugi in the Sala Ducale. Aldobrandini and Aquaviva invited Baronius to join them. But he loudly declared that the election of a man whose manners

[1] Besides *Conclavi*, I., 357 *seq.*, see the *letter of F. Cornaro, May 21, 1605, *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* also the *letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, Vatican Library, Rome.

[2] See the *report of Foresto, May 14, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Conclavi*, I., 358. *Cf.* Ratti, *Opuscolo*, 46, and the *report of Foresto, March 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the report in Calenzio, 937 *seqq.* Wahrmund (120) is quite mistaken when he says that only "a handful of specially religious Spaniards" considered Tosco too worldly.

and speech so plainly disclosed the old soldier, would cause grave scandal on all sides; he, Tarugi and Bellarmine had no intention of causing a schism, but they would be the last to consent to such a decision.[1] This courageous declaration proved decisive. Montalto withdrew his support from Tosco, remarking that it would be better to elect the holy old man who had spoken so fearlessly and so much to the point. Thereupon Giustiniani called out loudly: "Let us elect Baronius!" Plinio, Montalto's conclavist, raised the cry: "Long live Baronius!" Whilst some Cardinals acquiesced, others loudly declared for Tosco. A regular tumult ensued; in the confusion some of the Cardinals had their rochets torn. In this way the Sala Regia was reached.[2] From there the opponents of Tosco and the adherents of Baronius withdrew to the Pauline Chapel, and the supporters of Tosco to the Sistine. Among the latter were five Frenchmen who, however, deserted Tosco. Baronius' party, which counted more than twenty-two votes, wanted to proclaim the famous historian Pope, but Baronius opposed this with such force that they had to give up the attempt.[3] Thirty-eight Cardinals still stood firm for Tosco, and Madruzzo, now recovered from his illness, joined them.[4]

A contemporary, who was in the neighbourhood of the conclave, thus relates what he was able to hear through the

[1] Besides Du Perron, *loc. cit.*, *cf.* the French report in Denis, *loc. cit.*, 3; Nani in Mutinelli, III., 97; Paravicini in Gindely, I., 113; the *report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of G. Magni, May 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.*

[2] Besides the *report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.*, see the *letter of G. Magni, May 25, 1605 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which rightly emphasizes the importance of Montalto's conduct.

[3] Du Perron relates that Baronius resisted with hands and feet. *Cf.* Ruffini, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* the *report of F. Cornaro, May 21, 1605, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. With regard to Madruzzo see also the reference to Mucantius in Meyer, 326, n. 1. *Cf.* also the *reports of Ercole Rondinelli, May 11 and 17, 1605, State Archives, Modena.

tumult which reigned there. He distinctly heard Aldobrandini call out: "I tell you he is Pope!" With equal distinctness he heard the answer of some others: "He is not and he never will be!" There was already a fear that a schism might occur; the number of the guards was doubled.[1] Rumours spread in Rome that Tosco, or alternatively Valiero was elected; a great crowd collected in front of the houses of both.[2]

In spite of all the efforts of Tosco's supporters, they could not obtain the two votes still lacking for the two-thirds majority. Baronius' candidature,[3] which the Spaniards opposed with the utmost violence, seemed equally hopeless. Finally, after seven hours of fruitless negotiations, the senior Cardinals of Clement VIII. and Sixtus V. realized that a compromise was imperative. Aldobrandini and Montalto then met in the Sala Regia for an interview. Clement VIII.'s nephew would have liked to impose Blandrata. Montalto allowed himself to be won over, but Farnese opposed the candidature so vehemently that it could not possibly succeed.

In the course of the subsequent negotiations between Aldobrandini and Montalto, the conversation turned unexpectedly upon Camillo Borghese, one of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, who enjoyed the esteem of all and had no particular enemy. Aldobrandini and Montalto agreed on him in a very short time. Both informed their friends, who likewise approved. Borghese, who had hitherto kept modestly in the background, would not believe at first that he was being seriously considered. But he found himself greeted on all sides as Pope. Aldobrandini himself conducted him to the

[1] See the *report of F. Cornaro, *loc. cit.* Ercole Rondinelli in his *report, May 17, 1605 (*loc. cit.*), and Thesis in his *report, May 21, 1605 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), emphasize the danger of a schism. *Cf.* the *letter of Magni, May 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Avviso of May 18, 1605, Vatican Library, and the *report of E. Rondinelli, May 17, 1605, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Giulio del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Pauline Chapel, where his election took place by open ballot the same evening.[1]

When Borghese's name was pronounced, the storm of the electoral contest was suddenly and unexpectedly calmed. The change was so instantaneous that even contemporaries attributed it to divine Providence; some of the Cardinals had implored the help of heaven during the critical period in which the two contending parties wrestled with each other. While the others negotiated and disputed these knelt in prayer.[2]

Even well informed diplomats did not know for certain whether it was Montalto or Aldobrandini who first proposed Borghese. It is certain, however, and it was also the opinion of the majority of the electors, that the greater credit for loosing the knot belonged to Montalto, inasmuch as he prevented Tosco's success.[3]

The election of Cardinal Borghese, only fifty-two years of age, who, in gratitude to the Farnese Pope, his father's patron,[4] took the name of Paul V., was a surprise to the whole world. If at the last conclave an aged invalid had been elected, this time the youngest and most robust of all the candidates was chosen.[5] As the new Head of the Church had been born in Rome, where he had many relations, the inhabitants of the Eternal City showed as much joy [6] as those of Siena, the home of the Borghese.[7] To the French Paul V. was not as welcome

[1] Cf. the *letter of Cornaro, May 21, 1605, *loc. cit.*, the *reports of Magni, May 18 and 25, and the *report of Thesis, May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of Magni, May 18, 1605, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the Mantuan *reports, especially that of Magni, May 25, 1605, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the report of the Venetian ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I, 59. Paul V. took as his motto the words: "Spiritus ubi vult spirat." See PITRA, *Analecta noviss.*, I. (1885), 312.

[5] See the report of Ag. Nani in MUTINELLI, III., 18.

[6] See *Avviso of May 18, 1605, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso of May 29, 1605, *ibid.* Regarding the Grand Duke of Tuscany see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 354.

as Leo XI., since he enjoyed a pension of 2,000 scudi from the Spaniards. Nevertheless Henry IV. was not displeased with the election, since the Pope's father had emigrated from Siena when the city was conquered by the Spaniards. It is quite comprehensible that the Bourbon king should have exclaimed, when he first heard the news: "God be praised; the French Cardinals have shown that I have some power in Rome and in the conclave." In comparison with the result of previous elections, the present event might certainly be considered very favourable to France.[1] On the other hand the Spaniards had found no more favour for their candidates with the majority of the Cardinals in the second conclave of 1605 than they had obtained in the first. Their annoyance at their defeat in a sphere which they had dominated for so long was all the greater, inasmuch as what they had lost, the French had gained.[2]

[1] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. I., 357. *Cf.* PERRENS, *L'Église et l'État,* I., 290. Henry IV. wrote on June 3, 1605, to Cardinal Givry: "Mon cousin. Vous m'avez faict service tres agreable d'avoir constamment assisté mon cousin le card. de Joyeuse en la creation du pape Paul avec mes autres serviteurs ainsy que le d. cardinal m'a ecrit, car j'augure et espere toute felicite pour l'Église de Dieu et le bien universel de la Chrestienté d'une si digne election." *Cod.* 219, p. 63, City Library, Metz.

[2] *Cf.* the *Relazioni di Francia* of Fr. Priuli in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Francia,* I., 387 *seq.*; *cf.* 407. It is noteworthy for the impression received in Rome, as Béthune related, May 18, 1605 (see COUZARD, 388), that, according to what was said there, the French were responsible for the election of Paul.

CHAPTER II.

Antecedents, Character and Environment of Paul V.—The Borghese.

The Borghese family had its origin in Siena, where its members had distinguished themselves from the second half of the thirteenth century as municipal officials, envoys, military leaders and especially as lawyers.[1] Agostino Borghese had been entrusted with missions to Venice, to Rome and to the Emperor Sigismund, from whom he received a knighthood and the right to bear an eagle in the family arms; Pius II. raised him to the rank of a Count. Galgano Borghese represented Siena in Rome at the end of the pontificate of Nicholas V. and went as envoy to Naples in 1456.[2]

Several Borghese held offices in the States of the Church. Under Leo X. one of the family, called Pietro, was a senator

[1] For the earlier history of the family, see Girol. Gigli, in the *Diario Sanese*, I., Lucca, 1723, 123 *seq.*, 162 *seq.* *Cf.* Giambattista Chiodino, *La Nobiltà Borghesi Romana*, Macerata, 1619. See also, Moroni, VI., 37 *seq.*; Reumont, *Beiträge*, V., 243 *seq.*; T. Ameyden, *Storie di Famiglie Romane*, con note di C. A. Bertini, I., Roma, 1910, 171 *seqq.* In regard to a Brescian legend, according to which the Borghese were descended from the Bordigo family, see *Brixia Sacra*, I. (1910), 337. The *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta* (*Barb.*, XXXIII., 190, Vatican Library) says: "eoque in genere triginta amplius iuris peritissimos, quorum plerumque responsa servantur." "Ludovicus Borghesius, filius Simonis Burghesii," (*ibid.*), was famous as a jurist. He published the *Repetitio super legem primam de iudiciis*, Siena, 1516, dedicated to the archbishop of Siena, Giovanni Piccolomini.

[2] See the present work, Vol. II., p. 363, 374, n. 2, 403, n. 1. and Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 1.

in Rome. Giambattista Borghese under Clement VII. took part in the defence of Rome against the troops of Charles V. Nicolò Borghese wrote a life of St. Catharine of Siena, who was said to be a relation of the family.[1] But the greatness of the house of Borghese only began with the famous jurist Marcantonio, who moved to Rome about the middle of the sixteenth century. He was moved to take this step on account of the warlike disturbances in which his native city lost its freedom. Like a good son, he arranged for his mother and sister to join him in Rome in 1554.[2] There he acquired the highest reputation in the service of eight Popes and ultimately became dean of the consistorial advocates.[3] Under Paul IV. he defended Cardinal Morone in his trial before the Inquisition.[4] He died in 1574 and was buried in Santissima Trinità dei Monti.[5]

By his marriage with Flaminia Astalli, who belonged to an ancient Roman family, Marcantonio Borghese had five sons (Girolamo, Orazio, Camillo, Giovanni Battista and Francesco) and two daughters, one of whom married into the family of the Caffarelli, the other into that of the Vittori.[6]

Camillo Borghese, born in Rome on September 17th, 1552, received from his pious mother a careful and thoroughly religious education. At first, as his father had done, he devoted himself to the study of law. For this purpose he attended the university of Perugia, where he was a model student. He returned to Rome with a doctor's degree, became a priest, and then went through the usual career of a prelate. After being at first assistant, then successor to his father as

[1] On this see GIGLI, *op. cit.*, II., 111 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* L. PASSARINI, *Lettere di donne illustre a illustri uomini*, Roma, 1879 (only a few copies printed for the Borghese-Ruffo wedding), p. 2.

[3] See CARTARI, *Sillabo degli avvocati concistor.*, Roma, 1656. *Cf.* GARAMPI, *Del valore*, 279.

[4] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XIV., 305, 473 *seq.* See also *Avviso of May 21, 1605. Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the inscription on the tomb given in FORCELLA, III., 131.

[6] *Cf.* B. Ceci in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 159.

consistorial advocate, he soon became an assessor of both *Segnatura's* and later a chaplain of St. Mary Major's. In 1588 Sixtus V. sent him as vice-legate to Bologna, where he acted for five years as Cardinal Montalto's deputy and distinguished himself in a difficult position as much as in his previous career. In 1590 his brother Orazio, for whom his father had bought a post as auditor of the Camera for 70,000 scudi, died. The premature death of Orazio was a great blow for the Borghese family, since, according to law, the vacant post should have reverted to the Camera Apostolica; but Cardinal Montalto persuaded Gregory XIV. to allow Camillo to acquire it on very favourable terms.[1]

In Rome under Clement VIII. Camillo Borghese quickly revealed himself as one of the most prominent, pious and capable prelates of the Curia, and he soon won the confidence of the Pope.[2] There was no great surprise when in 1593 he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Philip II.[3] The admirable way in which he fulfilled his mission made his promotion certain. On June 15th, 1596, Clement VIII. conferred on him the purple.[4] From 1597 to 1599 Camillo was bishop of Iesi. When Cardinal Rusticucci died in June, 1603, Clement VIII. appointed Borghese vicar of Rome. He discharged this office with great prudence. The Cardinal also became a member of the Roman Inquisition and Protector

[1] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, 3 *seq.*; De Perugini, *Auditori di S. Rota Romana*, Perugia, 1786, 112, 132; O. Pio Conti, *Origine, fasti e privilegi degli avvocati concist.*, Roma, 1898, 35. *Cf.* the report of the Venetian envoys in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 58.

[2] *"Camillo Borghese, il quale è il primo prelato della corte, persona di valore e in cui S.Stà confida," Giulio del Carretto to the Duke of Mantua, September 25, 1593. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Orbaan, *Documenti*, 5, n. 3.

[3] See the present work, Vol. XXIII., 271 *seq.* *Cf.* Paruta, *Dispacci*, II., 26, 32, 40, 61, 122.

[4] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXIII., 248; the *letter of thanks from C. Borghese to Siena for congratulations on the occasion of his being made Cardinal, Rome, June 22, 1596, State Archives, Siena.

of Scotland. His dispassionateness in connection with the English disputes was the subject of praise.[1]

Like his father, Cardinal Camillo preserved great impartiality in the midst of political currents; he lived quietly, devoted only to the duties of his ecclesiastical offices and to his study of canon law, without involving himself in party schemes.[2] As a result of his legation in Spain, he had many friends in that country[3]; with the Pope's permission he received an annual pension from Philip III., but this did not make him a partisan of Spain.[4]

The Venetian ambassador Paruta in his reports testifies to the high esteem in which Cardinal Borghese was held as early as 1598. He was regarded as a scholar, and it was already thought that as the result of his notable qualities and lack of enemies he might attain to the tiara.[5] The Spanish council of state, which was opposed to young Cardinals on principle, considered in 1601 that Borghese was the most eminent of them.[6] Girolamo Fraschetta on the other hand did not consider him a genius, though, in a

[1] See the *report of G. B. Thesis, May 21, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 6; Couzard, 386. In regard to Iesi, *cf.* Ughelli, I., 285 and the report in Vol. XXIII., 485 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the report of the Venetian envoys sent to pay homage in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 58.

[3] *Cf.* the *briefs to *Alvarus Carvajal, regis cath. mai. cappellanus*, VIII., Id. Mart., 1606, and to *Petrus Franchesius, comes Villaelongae, regis cath. secret.*, IX. Cal. Iulii, 1605, to the Count and Countess of Miranda, VIII. Cal. Iulii, 1605, to the Count and Countess Olivarez, the same date. *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Mutinelli, III., 20; Couzard, *loc. cit.* D'Ossat wrote on the occasion of Camillo's appointment as Cardinal: "Borghese . . . personnage de grande integrité et probité en qui ne peut tomber soupçon d'aucune faction espagnole, si on ne voulait dire, que pour avoir fait un voyage en Espagne par le commandement du Papa, environ deux ans y a, il fut devenu Espagnol." *Lettres*, I., 266.

[5] Paruta, *Relazione*, 488 *seq.*

[6] See **La Junta en materia del pontificado*, 1601, Agosto. Archives at Simancas, 1870–23.

memorial composed for the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Escalona, he praised his knowledge of canon law, his irreproachable life and his gentle disposition.[1] When the conclave met after the death of Clement VIII., it was thought that he stood a good chance, as he was much liked both within and without the Sacred College, and was a man of outstanding ability.[2] Later, when on the death of Leo XI. he was in the front rank, the diplomats were especially appreciative of his knowledge of canon law,[3] though some doubted if he possessed the qualities requisite for governing. It was thought, wrote the Duke of Urbino's representative, that he would make a good rather than a great Pope.[4]

Paul V. was tall, his heavy body was inclined to stoutness, and it was apparent that he was short-sighted. In accordance with the custom of the period [5] he had a small beard and pointed moustache. His face showed hard but very regular lines.[6] All his contemporaries admired the nobility of his

[1] See RATTI, *Opuscolo*, 44.

[2] See the *Discorso in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *Report of Magni, of May 21, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] B. Ceci's opinion in his report of October 31, 1605, **Relazione di Roma, Urb.* 837, Vatican Library. The passage is given in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, XLVI, but without any mention of the concluding restriction: "Pure il tempo sarà egli il giudice."

[5] From Clement VII. to Clement VIII. the Popes wore full beards; from Clement XI. onwards no Pope wore a beard; see *Anal. iuris pontif*, 1895, 1031.

[6] *Cf. Gigli* in FRASCHETTI, *Bernini*, 8. *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta* (*Barb.*, XXXIII., 190, p. 12) thus describes Paul V.'s appearance: "Fuit Paulus excelsa staturae proceritate, grandibus membris et elegantibus, colore candido et flavo, caeruleis oculis, . . . gravi simul et placido oris aspectu, in quo dignitas venustati, hilaritas severitati miscentur" (Vatican Library). The Pope's Majordomo, G. B. Costaguti, remarks: "Fu alto di persona e di bella presenza, piacevole con gravità, diligente, accurato, integro, clemente, giusto. Non facile a credere, rispettoso, parco nel vivere, vestire" (COSTAGUTI, *Alcune attioni di Paolo V.*, ch. 1, Costaguti Archives, Rome, n. 11).

appearance. His whole deportment was restrained, dignified as became his high rank.[1] It was related in Rome that the Pope had made such an impression upon an Englishman as to induce him to abjure his religious errors forthwith.[2] Many busts, statues, oil paintings and engravings have preserved the likeness of Paul V. Among the most celebrated busts is one in marble by Bernini which adorns the Borghese Gallery.[3]

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95.

[2] See BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 55.

[3] *Cf.* FRASCHETTI, 16; MUÑOZ in *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 99 *seq.* and MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 54, 66 *seq.* The bust in the sculpture gallery in Copenhagen, section 3[a], no. 827, is of the school of Bernini. *Cf.* on this fine work, *L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 51 *seq.* Good bronze busts of Paul V. can be seen in the great hall of the Vatican Library, above the entrance to the Papal secret archives; in the sacristy of the Lateran (by Niccolò Cordieri; see TITI, 216; inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 391) and in the private collection of Prince Boncompagni, at Rome. A bronze statue of Paul V. by Paolo Sanquirico adorns the main sacristy of St. Mary Major's (inscription in FORCELLA, XI., 64). The fine bronze statue at Rimini cast by Sebastiano di Recanati in 1614 after a model by Niccolò Cordieri (see BAGLIONE, 115; KEYSSLER, II., 459 *seq.*; THIEME, VII., 402; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 197; *cf. ibid.*, 206, on the statue in Fano) was transformed in 1797, under the Cisalpine Republic, into a St. Gaudentius and for this the keys and inscription were destroyed. On the statue in Ferrara see FRIZZI, V., 39; on that in Siena, by Fulvio Signorini, and on the bust in the Saraceni Palace see *Historisch-politische Blätter*, LXXXIV., 52. The marble statue on the tomb is by Silla da Viggiù; see ch. V. of Vol. XXVI. A portrait of Paul V. in mosaic, made by Marcello Provenzale in 1621, is in the Borghese Gallery (reproduced in FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, *Ambasciate dei Giapponesi*, LXIV.). Also in the Boncompagni Gallery is the oil painting by Pier Francesco Mola. There are other oil paintings of Paul V. in the Vatican picture gallery (reproduction in L. GUALINO, *L'apoplessia di Paolo V.*, Genoa, 1926, 8) and in the sacristy of San Carlo in Corso in Rome. At Prince Scipione Borghese's, I saw a good portrait of Paul V., larger than life size (*cf.* MORONI, C. 232); it is wrongly attributed to Caravaggio. MATTEO MARANSONI, *Il Caravaggio*, Florence, 1922, 52) also denies that it is by

Paul V. enjoyed extremely good health. Throughout his life he had never been seriously ill.[1] In order to preserve his health, he was assiduous in taking exercise, even when Pope.[2]

The Pope had a calm and reflective temperament; he was a man of few words, though he was ever genial and affable

Caravaggio, while Lionello Venturi maintains that it is; see *L'Arte*, XIII (1910), 276–9 (including a reproduction) and *Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, 1st and 2nd editions. A. VENTURI (*Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, Roma, 1893, 725) wants to ascribe P. F. Mola's portrait to a "rozzo frescante"; to me it looks like a mediocre copy of the picture belonging to the Prince Sc. Borghese. On the medallions and coins, see MARTINORI, 73 *seq.* *Cf.* also O. VITALINI, *Alcune monete di Paolo V. nuovamente acquistate da S.E. il principe Borghese*, Camerino, 1883. Among the extraordinarily numerous engravings showing Paul V.'s features may be mentioned those of Peter de Jode, F. von Hülsen ("*Hulsius*"), Jacob ab Heyden, Raphael Sadeler (Munich, 1605) and Crispin de Passe (1605, reproduced by PHILIPPSON, *Westeuropa*, I., 467 and WINTER, *Gesch. des Dreiszigjährigen Krieges*, 77).

[1] See the *report of G. B. Thesis of October 2, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 95, and FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87. An *Avviso of May 21, 1605, describes Paul V. "sanissimo", in continued good health for thirty years, "si spera un pontificato lunghissimo." There is much talk of the Pope being unwell, said an *Avviso of October 10, 1607, but he is fundamentally healthy (Vatican Library). The preservation of this good health is attested by the author of **Conclave per la morte di Paolo V.*, in *Barb.*, 4676, p. 1, Vatican Library. The Figdor Collection in Vienna contains Paul V.'s domestic medicine chest, made in Augsburg.

[2] Every morning, says an *Avviso of August 10, 1605, the Pope takes exercise (*un buon essercitio*). In the autumn he went for a ride every day; see the *Avviso of October 12, 1605, Vatican Library. In spite of the Pope's good health, the astrologers spread rumours of his approaching death. Hence arose a fear of poisoning; even the Pope himself was concerned about it, and ordered precautionary measures in regard to his food; see AG. NANI, in MUTINELLI, III., 20; *cf.* the report in STIEVE, V., 772, n. 3.

as well as frank and candid. Extremely hard-working, he had always lived for duty alone. His knowledge of the Roman Curia was exhaustive, but of foreign countries he only knew Spain. He had held aloof from high politics; if as Pope he succeeded in entering this sphere, he never became a politician properly so called.[1] His moral conduct was always exemplary and above the least suspicion; it was generally believed that he had preserved his baptismal innocence.[2] He rivalled Pius V. in piety. He said Mass every day; having first made his confession. When celebrating he was the personification, it was said, of the ideal of the priesthood. He prayed much and with the greatest devotion; he never let an hour of the day pass without invoking God. He also had a fervent devotion to Mary and the Saints.[3] His favourite meditation was the one on death. His love of spiritual treatises is attested by the large number which he kept in his bedroom.[4] Also characteristic of the thoroughly religious bent of Paul V. is the fact that, except for a few poems and Justus Lipsius' edition of Seneca, the works

[1] See Ag. Nani, in Mutinelli, III., 19; Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 95 *seq.*; Fr. Contarini, *Relazione*, 87. *Cf.* the *Avviso of May 28, 1605. Vatican Library.

[2] See the *reports of G. Magni, of May 18, 1605, of G. B. Thesis, May 21, 1605, and of G. C. Foresto, of May 21, 1605, all in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. Conclave per la morte di Paolo V., Barb.*, 4676, p. 2, Vatican Library; Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 96, and Amayden-Bertini, I., 175. Bitter enemies of Paul V. said "Si tiene per inabile nelle cose di Venere (Ritter, *Akten*, II., 86). Nevertheless Paul V. had to witness the appearance in Paris, in 1608, of an impostor, who claimed to be his son. The man was found out and brought to justice, November 22, 1608; *cf.* Goujet, II., 1 *seq.* and Perrens, *Un procès criminel sous le règne de Henri IV.*, Paris, 1867. The venomous epigrams which issued from Protestant quarters on this occasion are raked up anew by Schelhorn (*Amoenit.* V.), 'avec une sorte de complaisance,' as Goujet (II., 8) remarks.

[3] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 15. In confirmation *cf.* the report of G. Soranzo in Mutinelli, III., 92.

[4] See Bzovius, ch. 53.

dedicated to him dealt almost exclusively with ecclesiastical matters.[1] It should not be inferred, however, that the Borghese Pope was indifferent to learning; the contrary is shown by his care for the Vatican Library [2] and for the continuation of the building of the Roman University.[3] But,

[1] *Cf.* Appendix No. 9.

[2] Paul V. enlarged and embellished the Vatican Library (see BAGLIONE, 96); he also considerably enriched it with MSS. coming from Bobbio (*cf.* DE ROSSI in the introduction to *Cod. Palat. lat. Bibl. Vatic.*, I., Romae, 1886, cxii., and SEEBAS, in the *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, XIII. (1896), 57 *seq.*). The letter of thanks to the Abbot of Bobbio is now published in *Spicil. Vatic.*, Romae, 1890, 96, from the Library of Sirleto (see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XI., 725 *seq.*, and from Grottaferrata (see MÜNTZ, *La Vaticane*, Paris, 1890, 96 *seq.*). See also *Bull.*, XI., 431 *seq.*; BLUME, III., 69, IV., 273, 277; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 75 *seq.*; *Cat. Cod. graec. Ottob.*, Romae, 1893, xlix; *Mitteil. des Oesterr. Hist. Instit.* XXV., 303; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 263; *ibid.*, 279, on the purchase of Card. Serafino Olivier's library; *Vat.* 5480: **Nota delli libri donati dalla S^tà^ di N.S. Paolo V. alla libreria Vaticana (libri 1906, parte stampati et parte manoscritti cioè libri 1564 stampati et libri 342 manoscritti pagati agli heredi d'Aldo Manutio scudi 500)*. Vatican Library. On the purchase of books belonging to Peña after his death, see *Avviso, October 6, 1612, *ibid.* Other results of Paul V.'s efforts in all directions for the enrichment of the Vatican Library, were the *Briefs to Cardinal B. Sandoval, dated sept. Cal. Iun. 1609 (he was to send to Rome the Arabic books found at Granada), and to the archbp. of Granada, dated XVII. Cal. Octob. 1609 (he was to give the Arabic books to the nuncio), *Epist.*, IV., V., Papal Secret Archives. See also Appendix, No. 7, the *Brief to Aloysius Lollin, March 12, 1620. Papal Secret Archives. After Baronius' death, Cardinal de Torres became librarian (see *Avviso of July 4, 1607, Vatican Library). When he died in 1609, Scipione Borghese became librarian; and was succeeded in 1618 by Scip. Cobelluzzi; see DENIS, *Nouvelles de Rome*, CXV. On Paul V.'s private library see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, XLV, n. 1.

[3] See RENAZZI, III., 64 *seq.* *Ibid.*, also on Paul V.'s enactments in favour of the professors of the Sapienza. On Paul V.'s solicitude for the University of Louvain, see P. WIRTZ in the *Wissenschaftl.*

for him, ecclesiastical interests were pre-eminent, so that the promotion of secular sciences was quite a secondary consideration.[1] Practical considerations inspired the promotion of the study of Oriental languages, the printing of religious books in Arabic [2] and the foundation of special new secret archives for the Holy See—a measure by which Paul V. has put historians under an immense obligation to him.[3]

The pre-eminence of ecclesiastical interests for Paul V. appeared also in his indefatigable participation in public religious functions.[4] In the Corpus Christi procession, in which, when at all possible, he took part on foot, he himself carried the Blessed Sacrament.[5] He frequently visited the seven churches of Rome.[6] He was regularly present at the forty hours devotion in the church of the Jesuits, and nearly

Beil. of *Germania*, 1905, No. 6. At Bologna Paul V. confirmed the privileges of the German nation; see *Atti d. Romagna*, II., 230 *seq.*

[1] In point of fact, Ant. Querengo was assisted in his studies by Paul V.; the famous orientalist G. B. Raimondi received an annual pension of 800 scudi from him; see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 285, 187. According to RENAZZI (III., 116) the Pope also helped the controversialist John Barclay (d. 1621). L. Allaci, who subsequently acquired great fame, was a copyist at the Vatican Library under Paul V. The famous edition of the Councils (*Concilia generalia ecclesiae catholicae Paul V. auctoritae edita*, Romae ex tipogr. Vatic. 1608–1612, 4 vols.) owes its origin principally to Clement VIII.; see BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 333.

[2] See BERTOLETTI, *Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei sec. XVI. e XVII.*, Firenze, 1878, 34 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.* The *Congregazione sopra la stamperia* consisted in 1605 of Cardinals Baronius, Du Perron, Arigoni and Cesi; see **Relazione di Roma* by *C. Ceci, Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

[3] More detailed information on the point in the next chapter.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi of April 5, 1608, April 10, 1610, December 28, 1611, April 25, 1612, and March 30, 1619, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avviso of June 20, 1615, *ibid.*

[6] See the *Avvisi of April 2 and 5 and November 15, 1608; April 2, 1614; April 19, 1615, and March 30, 1619, *ibid.*

every year on that occasion he said Mass there.[1] He did the same at S. Maria Nuova on the feast of St. Frances of Rome.[2] Like Clement VIII., Paul V. sometimes heard confessions for hours on end.[3]

Into his immediate entourage the Pope only admitted men distinguished by piety, industry, prudence, modesty, peacefulness and disinterestedness. His servants were allowed to wear nothing more showy than wool.[4] He was by nature extremely economical[5]; the low state of finances induced him to limit his court to a minimum,[6] yet he always found money for the needy. From the first he continued the alms given by his predecessor.[7] Six poor men were given food in his palace every day; later the number was increased to thirteen.[8] The Pope spent large sums every year on dowries for girls without means, on foundlings and to help with bread, clothes or money those who were ashamed to own their poverty. When he went out—which was often—he gave alms freely.[9] His fatherly solicitude for the poor in

[1] See besides, **Diarium P. Alaleonis* (*Barb.* 2816, Vatican Library), the *Avvisi of March 7, 1609, February 24, 1610, and February 12, 1620, Vatican Library.

[2] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis, loc. cit.*

[3] See *Avviso of April 1, 1606, Vatican Library.

[4] See the notes of G. B. Costaguti, ch. 1. Costaguti Archives, Rome. (Cf. Appendix Vol. XXVI. No. 14).

[5] See Ag. Nani in Mutinelli, III., 19; Stieve, VI., 103, 222, 309, 492, 515, 722; *Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library. It is characteristic that at first Paul V. even wanted to retain the pension conferred on him as Cardinal, by Philip III! The satisfaction of the Spanish Council of State and the king over this appears in the *Protocol of the session of the Spanish Council, June 28, 1605, original in Archives at Simancas, 1870—129.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Magni, May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; and the *Avvisi, March 21 and September 9, 1606, June 16 and December 25, 1607, January 5 and 19, 1608, June 3, 1609, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Avviso of June 22, 1605, *ibid.*

[8] See *Avviso of November 27, 1610, *ibid.*

[9] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 45.

the city was shown also by the fact that he endeavoured to procure the best flour for them at a low price.[1] He was also anxious for the liberation of the unfortunate prisoners in Turkey [2] as also for the generous support of needy Greeks, and of the English, Scots and Irish, who had been driven out of their countries and had sought a refuge in Rome.[3] Regular subsidies also went to the colleges for the training of clergy in Rome and elsewhere; to missionaries, Religious orders and various charitable institutions in the Eternal City. Giovan Battista Costaguti, who was majordomo from 1618 to 1621, has recorded the subsidies granted by Paul V.; the sum which he spent on the objects mentioned amounts to 82,710 scudi a year.[4] To this must be added occasional relief distributed by the Pope or his officials. In this way the expenditure on charity each year came to 120,000 scudi. Paul V. himself mentioned this figure in 1619 to the imperial envoy.[5] The alms which came to the knowledge of Costaguti amounted to 1,300,000 scudi for the whole pontificate.[6]

In order always to have money for these charitable objects, Paul V. insisted on limiting as much as possible his personal expenditure. For this reason he wished to curtail his visits to Frascati, his only recreation. At first he even thought of dispensing altogether with such stays in the country, for the sake of economy,[7] but reasons of health compelled him to give up the idea. His constitution and the fatigue resulting from the work of government obliged him several times in

[1] See *Avviso of December 29, 1607, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the next chapter.

[2] **Brevia*, II., 10, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 46, the statements of which are confirmed by Paul V.'s Majordomo, G. B. Costaguti (**Alcune attioni di Paolo V.*, ch. 1, Costaguti Archives, Rome). *Cf.* Appendix Vol. XXVII. n. 14. See also *Vat.* 7956, p. 25, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *notes of Costaguti in Appendix No. 14, Vol. XXVI.

[5] See the *report of Max von Trautmansdorf to Ferdinand II., October 24, 1619, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See the *notes of Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, in Appendix No. 14, Vol. XXVI.

[7] As says the *Avviso of September 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

the year, mostly in spring and autumn, to leave the heavy, oppressive air of Rome for the hills, where, free from all ceremony, he could take the exercise, so necessary for him, more easily[1] than in the Eternal City. Nevertheless he hardly ever prolonged for more than a week[2] his stay at the Villa Mondragone, purchased in 1614 from the Duke of Altemps.[3] During these periods he said Mass, sometimes in the domestic chapel of the villa, sometimes at the Capuchins', at Grottaferrata, Monte Porzio, Monte Compatri[4] and at Camaldoli, where he had founded a magnificently situated hermitage for the sons of St. Romuald.[5] In Rome during the first years of his pontificate he only spent the winter months at the Vatican; for the summer and autumn of 1605 and 1606 he lived at the Quirinal Palace.[6] In 1607 we find him there by the end of April, in 1608 in June, in 1609 on July 8th, in 1611 and 1612 in May, remaining there continuously until

[1] See *Avviso of June 20, 1607, *ibid.* Cf. Vol. XXVI. n. 14.

[2] This information is derived from the **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2816, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of April 21, 1614, in the *Studi e docum.* XV., 269. *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, IV. (1926), 469.

[4] See *Avviso of June 11, 1614, Vatican Library.

[5] According to the inscription over the entrance, from 1611 to 1614; *cf.* ORBAAN, 81, 305 *seq.* In the chapel adjoining the church there is the following inscription on a tomb:—

D. O. M.
HORTENSIA SANTA CRUCIA FABII FILIA
FRANC. BURGHESII S. D. N.
PAULI PP. V. FRATRIS DILECTISS.
CONIUX EXSTRUCTO SACELLO HOC TUMULATA
SEPULCRO CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM EXPECTAT,
OBIIT V. CAL. IUNII
A. D. 1616.

[6] When Dengel asserts in his work on the Palazzo di Venezia (p. 114): "None of the successors of Clement VIII. resided at S. Marco" he is correct, although in *Bull.*, XI. and XII. there are numerous *Bulls* dated "*apud S. Marcum*"; for this mention of the basilica nearest the Quirinal was only replaced in 1614 by "*apud S. Mariam Majorem*"; see NOVAES, IX., 126.

October. After the extensive building operations at the Quirinal were completed in 1613, he lived practically all the year in the spacious apartments of that splendid palace.[1]

The self-sacrificing devotion of Paul V. to the duties of his position could not have been greater. To an excellent memory he added indefatigable industry. His instructions to his envoys were revised and altered by him down to the last detail.[2] He himself composed many letters to nuncios.[3] But, since he wished to deal with everything himself and at the same time was very meticulous, conscientious and deliberate in all his doings, and averse from anything hasty, the whole world soon complained of his slowness.[4] When these mutterings reached the Pope's ears, he remarked that

[1] *Cf. Bull.*, XI. and XII., *passim*. In 1607, Paul V. went in the middle of May (see *Bull.*, XI., 421), to St. Peter's, intending to remain there till Corpus Christi, June 14 (see *Avviso, May 26, 1607, Vat. Libr.); but as early as June 6, his *acta* are again dated "apud S. Marcum" (*Bull.*, XI., 428 *seq.*). In other years also the Pope lived in the Vatican, but for the most part only for a short time.

[2] *Liturae cernuntur Pauli manu appositae in exemplaribus mandatorum, quae illius iussu tradebantur viris in externum negocium proficiscentibus earumque loco reposita verba longe diversa a priore scripto et ab his, quae Pontifex coram iis egerat iam a se dimissis. Pauli V. P.M. Vita, etc., *Barb.* 2670, p. 9[b], Vatican Library.

[3] See Borghese, I., 582; *cf. ibid.*, XI., 55, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of G. B. Thesis of May 21, 1605; *that of F. M. Vialardo, of June 4, 1605, and the *letter of Giulio del Carretto, of October 22, 1605, all in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the report of Castiglione in Stieve, V., 772, n. 2.; the *Avvisi of May 25, 1605 (Pasquino's satire), June 15 (the Pope wants to know everything) and June 22 (no precipitancy), Vatican Library; and the letter from *Pietro Federighi to Maffei Barberini, of May 31, 1605, *Cod. Barb.* 4648, p. 290 *seq.*, *ibid.* *"Paolo V. prima di far risoluzione di cosa alcuna s'informava di quello se ne diceva in banchi," says the note in *Cod. Hist.*, 181 (Folio), p. 45[b] of the Stuttgart Library.

it was no wonder if he did not from the first make great changes as other Popes had done, for these had had time to work out a scheme of government in advance, while he had been raised to the chair of Peter unexpectedly, and so he must be allowed time for reflection.[1] In these circumstances it was not surprising that the granting of numerous favours, as was customary at the beginning of a new reign, did not take place. The Pope thought that in these concessions there might be requested and granted things that should not be ; he meant to proceed with the strictest conscientiousness and to weigh diligently what might be granted.[2]

In spite of the taciturnity and majestic dignity which were characteristic of Paul V., his contemporaries spoke highly of the kindness and patience which he showed at audiences. He knew just how to temper his distinguished reserve with affability in conversation. While still a Cardinal he possessed these qualities in so high a degree that his courtesy was proverbial.[3] He listened to reports and requests with such goodwill that even those who were embarrassed took heart and came away with the impression that every reasonable request would easily meet with success from such a Pope.[4] For the first few years Paul V. rather was too liberal in granting audiences [5] ; subsequently he had to limit their number.[6] In order to obtain the exercise which he so greatly

[1] See *Avviso of June 11, 1605, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of G. Magni, May 18 and 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys, in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 62.

[4] See Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 95 and Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 47. *Cf.* the *report of G. Magni, of May 21, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] The Pope, it is said in *Avviso of June 11, 1605, gives audiences " a che ne vuole et quasi a che non ne vuole ". *Cf.* the *Avviso of July 19, 1606, Vatican Library, and the *report of G. del Carretto of October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See Avviso of January 24, 1609, Vatican Library. Towards the end of the pontificate, when the Pope was old, the diplomats

needed, Paul V. gave audiences whilst walking up and down the corridors of the palace.[1]

The appointments to the more important posts were only made at the end of May, 1605.[2] Cardinal Pompeo Arigoni continued as Datary.[3] Cinzio Aldobrandini as Grand Penitentiary, Montalto as Vice-Chancellor, Pietro Aldobrandini as *camerlengo*, Luigi Capponi as *tesoriere generale*,[4] and Favio Biondi as major domo,[5] while Girolamo Pamfili was made Cardinal Vicar of Rome,[6] Roberto Ubaldini, nephew of Leo XI., *maestro di camera*, and Settimio Ruberti *coppiere*.[7] The important office of Secretary of Briefs to princes, i.e. Secretary of State, was given to Cardinal Erminio Valenti.[8] He conducted the correspondence with the nuncios until the end of August, 1605; but at the beginning of

were received only in the afternoon, and one week was fixed for the envoys, another for the residents; see BIJDRAGENTOT DE GESCHIEDENIS V. H. HERTOGDOM BRABANT VII. (1908), 192.

[1] See AG. NANI, in MUTINELLI, III., 19.

[2] See the *letter of Pietro Federighi to Maffei Barberini, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.* and *Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vat. Libr. Paul V.'s taking possession did not occur until November 6, 1605; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 169 *seq.*

[3] In the spring of 1607, Arigoni became archbishop of Benevento. Michelangelo Tonti succeeded him, but was soon replaced by Aurelio Maraldi; see MORONI, XIX., 135.

[4] See MORONI, LXXIV., 300. Alessandro Ruspoli was made *tesoriere segreto*, by a brief of September 22, 1605 (Ruspoli Archives, Rome).

[5] See MORONI, XLI., 263. On Costaguti, afterwards majordomo and his *notes in the Costaguti Archives, Rome, see Appendix Vol. XXVI. n. 14.

[6] When Pamfili died in 1610, Cardinal Giangarzia Millini succeeded him; see MORONI, XCIX, 95.

[7] See the *letter of P. Federighi, May 31, 1605, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 203, where for "Pietro" read "Roberto". See also MORONI, LXXXI., 491. On Paul V.'s "scalco", see Serrano Trissino, see MUTINELLI, III., 98.

[8] *Cf.* Valenti's letter to Rudolph II., June 3, 1605, in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 372. On Valenti, *cf.* the present work, Vol. XXIII., 52.

September the management of affairs passed, nominally at least, to Paul V.'s nephew Scipione Caffarelli, his sister's son.[1]

Scipione Caffarelli had begun by studying philosophy at the Roman College founded by the Jesuits; later on he read for the law at the University of Perugia. His extant manuscripts [2] show that in these subjects he was both industrious and keen. The expenses of his education were paid by his uncle. When the latter, soon after his elevation to the papacy, summoned him to Rome, it was thought in court circles that he would marry, as Paul V.'s brother, Giovan Battista, and his son were both invalids.[3] But by the beginning of July, 1605, a rumour arose that Scipione was destined to be Cardinal nephew.[4] Sooner than was expected, on July 18th, his admission to the Sacred College took place.[5] The young man of twenty-seven [6] received, at the same time as the purple, the name and arms of the Borghese.[7]

[1] See MEYER, XLIII., 489 *seq.* *Cf.* RICHARD in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 732.

[2] See the **Compendium philosophiae* in *Borghese*, I., 664, Papal Secret Archives, and **Notabilium super Institutionibus libri*, V., *ibid.*, I., 658–662, to which MEYER (*Nuntiaturberichte*, XLIV.) was the first to draw attention.

[3] See *Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of July 9, 1605, *ibid.*

[5] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library; *report of G. Magni of July 18, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On June 24, 1605, Paul V. replied to Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy's exhortation to confer the purple on a nephew, that he had not yet had time to do so. *Epist.*, I., 17, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] CIACONIUS' statement (IV., 399), that he was 33, can safely be regarded as erroneous, since according to the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys (BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62) he was 26 in 1605; according to MOCENIGO (*Relazione*, 96) he was 27; with which the statement of the *Relacion del s. colegio del a.º 1606*, that he was 28, agrees (Spanish Embassy Archives, Rome). The *Avviso of July 23, 1605, gives too low a figure when it says that the nephew was hardly 25. Vatican Library.

[7] According to the *Avviso of July 23, 1605, Paul V. assigned to the new Cardinal "parte per 25 bocche e 5,000 scudi d'entrata". Vatican Library.

Cardinal Scipione Borghese was a stately man; he possessed an attractive manner, uncommon versatility and ability and a vivacious if not a profound mentality.[1] His unusually genial, obliging and cheerful manner soon won him great favour. He was specially adapted for the important position of Cardinal nephew. Towards the Pope and his relations the nephew behaved from the first with the greatest discretion and reserve.[2]

Immediately after Borghese was made a Cardinal, when the apartments in the pontifical palace, which had formerly been those of Aldobrandini, were assigned to him, it was rumoured in Rome that he would be entrusted with the important affairs of state in place of Valenti.[3] After Scipione had been placed, in August, 1605, at the head of the Consulta, which was responsible for the government of the States of the Church,[4] he soon took Valenti's place. This was not surprising since Valenti, formerly secretary to Pietro Aldobrandini and nominated on his recommendation, was on the closest terms with Clement VIII.'s nephew.[5] His position became intolerable, as it was impossible for good relations to be maintained between the Pope and the arrogant Pietro Aldobrandini,[6] although Paul V., in order not to appear

[1] *Cf.* the *report of G. Magni, July 23, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of August 24, 1605. In the *Avviso of June 17, 1605, it is said that "Borghese camina con molto riguardo", so much so that he did not even dare to ask permission to summon his father from Nepi to Rome. Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of July 20 and 23, 1605, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi of August 13 and 20, 1605. According to the latter Borghese, before taking possession of the Consulta, said his first Mass in S. Andrea di Monte Cavallo. Vatican Library.

[5] See the *reports of G. Magni, May 25 and 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *report of Castiglione in STIEVE, V., 772, n. 2.

[6] *Cf.* the *reports of Foresto, May 21 and 25, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Avvisi of August 17 and 20, 1605, Vatican Library. B. Ceci of Urbino in his **Relazione di Roma al principio del Pontificato di Paolo V.* calls Aldobrandini "*superbo quanto si può*", *Urb.* 837, p. 422, *ibid.*

ungrateful, attached great importance to their being kept up.[1]

Clement VIII.'s nephew, at one time so influential, had made many enemies during the thirteen years of his uncle's pontificate. His wavering, unreliable and selfish conduct in the recent conclaves had been a fatal blow to his prestige. Aldobrandini foolishly made immediate petitions to the new Pope for a quite excessive number of favours.[2] Finally, one circumstance in particular had a damaging effect. Aldobrandini, as legate to Ferrara, archbishop of Ravenna and camerlengo, was in a position which was bound to bring him into conflict with the Pope's nephew, especially in view of his own ambition. Aldobrandini was so little able to adapt himself to changed conditions that he tried to make a big political move on his own authority by negotiating with the representatives of France and Savoy for an alliance of the Italian powers against Spain.[3] The dismissal of Valenti was a great blow to Aldobrandini; soon afterwards it was apparent how strained relations had become between him and Scipione Borghese.[4]

In December, 1605, an open dispute arose about a valuable collection of books, which Clement VIII.'s nephew maintained had been given to him by his late uncle by word of mouth whereas Cardinal Borghese could produce a written deed of gift from Paul V.[5] Other measures of the reigning Pope annoyed

[1] *Cf.* *Avvisi of May 28 and July 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of G. Magni, May 25, 1605, and *that of F. del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. III., 259 *seq.*; RITTER, *Akten*, II., 302. Cecchini in his *Memoirs (see RANKE, III., Appendix 121) relates that the Advocate-General of the Treasury, Cirocchi, employed false testimony against Prince Aldobrandini in the suit for the acquisition of Montefortino. The use made of this assertion by BÖHN, in his book on Bernini, against Paul V.—whom Cecchini does not mention at all, is refuted by J. BRAUN, in the *Lit. Beiträge* of the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1912, No. 50.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of September 28, 1605, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of December 17 and 31, 1605, *ibid.*

Aldobrandini even more. It was already a great disappointment to him that his relinquishing of the office of camerlengo in favour of the young Ippolito Aldobrandini was not accepted [1]; then came the strict application of the obligation of residence, which compelled him either to give up the large revenues of the archbishopric of Ravenna, or by leaving Rome to lose his position in the Curia.[2] When in April, 1606, Paul V. took the Ferrara legation away from Aldobrandini and transferred it until further notice to Cardinal Spinola, a formal breach ensued. Aldobrandini left Rome on May 21st, 1606, and retired to his see of Ravenna.[3] Two years later he had a sharp quarrel with Cardinal Caetani, who had been sent there as the Pope's legate, and in consequence went to Savoy for the winter.[4] The excellent work which he did in reforming the archdiocese of Ravenna subsequently effected a reconciliation with Cardinal Caetani and the Pope.[5] In February, 1610, Aldobrandini returned to Rome,[6] where he received many tokens of favour from

[1] *Cf.* *Avisso of December 31, 1605, and January 14, 1606, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 61.

[3] *Cf.* *Avvisi of April 1, May 17, 20 and 24, 1606, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of August 2 and October 22, 1608, *ibid.*, and the *report in RITTER, *Akten*, II., 86. *Cf.* BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I (Torino), 98, 184.

[5] See *Avvisi of April 11 and October 3, 1609, and February 2, 1610, Vatican Library. On the activities of Aldobrandini at Ravenna, *cf.* UGHELLI, II., 395. G. FABRI, *Sagre Memorie di Ravenna*, Venetia, 1664; BOZZELLI, *Marino*, 74; Aldobrandini held four diocesan synods (1607, 1609, 1613, 1617); see *Synodus dioec. Ravennat. a.* 1790, Romae, 1791, xxvii. The new seminary for priests was erected at Ravenna on October 12, 1609, and was entrusted to the Somaschi; see **Atti* 32, p. 385, Archiepiscopal Archives, Ravenna. *Ibid.*, *Prot.*, 51, p. 366, the first *Pastoral of Cardinal Aldobrandini, October 28, 1604. A large volume without any signature contains **Acta et decreta card. Aldobrandini in prima eius ecclesiae visitatione 1606–1609.*

[6] See *Avviso of February 13, 1610, Vatican Library.

Paul V.[1] Better relations with Scipione Borghese began to appear in the autumn of 1612,[2] but their mutual jealousy continued even afterwards.[3]

While Aldobrandini's relations with Paul V. underwent many vicissitudes, Cardinal Scipione on the other hand remained continuously in his uncle's favour. The clever and worldly-wise nephew knew exactly how to accommodate himself to the Pope's character. Realizing that the Pontiff meant to rule with complete independence,[4] Cardinal Scipione at first acted with great reserve [5] and with such caution that the Venetian envoys, who had come to pay homage, thought that he had not the slightest influence and hardly dared to open his mouth. All the honours due to a nephew in charge of affairs were paid to him; the envoys, after their audience with the Pope, had to visit him; but they never received any definite answer, not even an assurance of his support of their interests.[6] Cardinal Scipione persistently continued

[1] See *Avviso of January 7 and 22, 1611, *ibid.*, and the Venetian report in CERESOLE, *Relazioni tra la casa Aldobrandini e Venezia*, Venezia, 1880, 43. By way of thanking the Pope Aldobrandini dedicated to him the book: *Silvestri Aldobrandini consiliorum liber secundus*, Romae, 1617; *cf.* L. PASSARINI, *Aggiunte alle memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini*, Roma, 1879, 73 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of September 29, 1612. According to the *Avviso of November 19, 1611, the relations between Aldobrandini and Borghese were then very strained. Vatican Library.

[3] See the reports in CERESOLE, *loc. cit.*, 45 *seq.*

[4] Besides the *Avvisi of June 11 and September 10, 1605 (Vatican Library), *cf.* the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 60. See also the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso of August 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *report of the Venetian envoys in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62. Since subsequently MOCENIGO also (*Relazione*, 96) was of the same opinion, it is difficult to understand how RANKE, whose narrative is based principally on the Venetian reports, could write "Cardinal Scipione Cafarello Borghese exercised over Paul V. as much influence as P. Aldobrandini had over Clement VIII." (*Päpste*, III[6]., 13).

this prudent reserve, which was likewise observed by other persons entrusted with the most important business, such as the Datary, Cardinal Arigoni, and the Secretaries of State, Martino Malacrida and Lanfranco Margotti.[1]

[1] See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 96. On L. Margotti, whose letters were regarded as models of style (see CIACONIUS, IV., 419 *seq.*). On L. MARGOTTI, *Lettere scritte per lo più nei tempi di Paolo V. a nome del sig. card. Borghese, raccolte e pubblic. da Pietro de Magistris de Caldirola*, Roma, 1627, Venetia, 1633, new and enlarged edition, Bologna, 1661—unfortunately only letters of courtesy, undated). *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, V., 57; MORONI, XLII., 299, XLIII., 248, 255, 257, 269. According to Moroni, L. Margotti was also "segretario delle cifre", a post vacant after the dismissal of Matteo Argenti (June 15, 1605; see MEISTER, *Geheimschrift*, 51). *Cf.* also RICHARD, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 732, where on the subject of the secretary Porfirio Feliciani there is no reference to the fact that he wrote the Italian letters to the nuncios and other eminent persons for Scipione Borghese; Letters in *Cod.* S. 6, 7–18, and S. 7, 1–13 of the Angelica Library, Rome. *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 75 *seqq.*, and *Melet*, 255 *seq.*; *Atti d. Lincei*, 4 serie, RENDICONTI, III., 157. P. Feliciani, who in 1612 became bishop of Foligno (see MORONI, XXV., 141) had held, after the death of Card. Lanfranco Margotti in 1611, "gran parte della segretaria di N.S^re^"; see the letter of Bentivoglio to him of May 12, 1612, in the *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio, ed. Biagioli*, I., Napoli, 1833, 24. The "segretari delle lettere latine del card. Borghese", were Niccolò Alemanni (until December, 1614) and then Gregorio Porzio; see *Studi e documenti*, XV., 284. The **Epist. Pauli V. ad principes et alios*, of 1605–1617, in *Arm.* 45, t. 1–12, Papal Secret Archives, are written by "*secretarius Petrus Strozza*"; *ibid.*, *Arm.* 45, t. 15. *"Brevia sub anulo," by *Secretarius Cobellutius*, who became a Cardinal in 1616. *Arm.* 44, t. 56, p. 435 *seq.* contains, **Brevia quae scripsit Mart. Malacrida, secret. Clementis VIII., iussu Pauli V.* On the secretaries, *cf.* also BONAMICUS, *De claris pontif. epist. script.*, Romae, 1753, 276 *seqq.* Appendix No. 8 (those in charge in 1611 and 1620), and the following note of the period of Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 4592: Paul V., like Clement VIII., had two secretaries of state, Malacrida and Lanfranco; 'chiasch'un haveva parimente suoi negotii separati. Ma promosso Lanfranco al cardinalato,

The respect and devotion shown by Cardinal Borghese to the Pope could not have been greater. In politics also, especially in regard to the neutrality of France and Spain, he worked in close conjunction with the Pope.[1] Although all who had causes to plead in Curia paid great respect to the Cardinal and begged for his support, he took care not to forestall the Pope in the slightest degree, but did everything to help him in his work and to satisfy everyone, at least with pleasant words.[2] This was often very difficult, as Paul V. was very firm once he had made up his mind.[3]

The energy, patience and fidelity with which Scipione Borghese served the Pope brought him a wealth of favours. In 1607 he obtained the legation to Avignon in place of Cinzio Aldobrandini.[4] In the year 1608 alone he became archpriest of the Lateran,[5] prefect of the Congregation of the Council[6] and abbot of San Gregorio on the Coelian,[7] and in 1609 he

Lanfranco rimase capo di tutta la segretaria e Malacrida si licentiò Morto Lanfranco la segretaria fu divisa di nuovo, cioè nell'abbate Felitiani, fatto poi vescovo di Foligno, et nel sig. Giov. Batt. Perugini, che doppo tre anni morì et la segretaria fu tutta riccommandata al vescovo di Foligno, a cui fu dato per aiutante in prender gli ordini dal Papa il sig. Decio Meruoli, che in ristretto haveva li negotii del Perugino. I sudetti segretarii di stato havevano in due divisi pro aequali portione i medesimi emolumenti che ha un segretario solo. Trattavano i negotii col Papa, l'uno la mattina et l'altro la sera, et il tutto per non cumular tanto le fatiche del Papa in una volta et acciò i negotii si digessero meglio. Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 98.

[2] See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 97. But what is said there in regard to Borghese in the *Avviso of January 2, 1605: "da cui hora dipende ogni cosa," must be modified considerably. Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the report of Vinta in FUSAI, *Vinta*, 98.

[4] See MORONI, III., 157.

[5] See *Avvisi of May 24 and 28, 1608, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso of October 18, 1608, *ibid.*

[7] See *Avviso of November 8, 1608, *ibid.*

was made librarian of the Roman Church.[1] After the death of Cinzio Aldobrandini he also obtained, in 1610, the office of Grand Penitentiary [2] and, two years later, following the resignation of Pietro Aldobrandini, that of camerlengo and prefect of Briefs.[3] In addition Cardinal Borghese became prefect of the Segnatura di Grazia, protector of several Orders and of the Swiss Guard, and from 1610 to 1612 he held the archiepiscopal see of Bologna.[4] In the last year of his uncle's pontificate he also became protector of the Holy House of Loreto [5] and archpriest of St. Peter's.[6]

The annual income of Scipione Borghese in 1609 amounted to from 80,000 to 90,000 scudi [7]; three years later it had increased to 140,000.[8] The Pope's generous allowances enabled Cardinal Borghese to buy up the best property in Latium, the owners of which allowed themselves to be induced by the high prices which they obtained to part with their ancestral estates. Thus in 1614 the nephew obtained from Pier Francesco Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, the villages of Montefortino, Olevano and other property for 280,000 scudi.[9] The Borghese gradually succeeded to the position of the Colonna and Orsini, who from the early middle ages onwards had been owners of the environs of Rome. To this day on the dull walls of the massive and spacious country houses of

[1] See CARINI, *La Biblioteca Vaticana*, 78.

[2] See *Avviso of January 9, 1610. According to the *Avvisi of April 7, 1610, and April 15 and 19, 1615, Cardinal Borghese punctiliously fulfilled his duties as Grand Penitentiary, hearing confessions in person during Holy Week. Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of September 29, 1612, *ibid.*

[4] See CARDELLA, VI., 119. *Cf.* UGHELLI, II., 52. On the protectorate of the Swiss Guard, *cf. Studi e documenti*, XV., 269.

[5] See *Avviso of April 4, 1620, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso of November 4, 1620, *ibid.*

[7] See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87.

[8] See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 98. The **Discorso* of 1618 (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) gives the figure as 130,000.

[9] See COPPI, *Memorie Colonnesi*, 365 and *Studi e documenti*, XV., 273.

Latium can be seen the family portraits of the new owners, and among them that of Scipione Borghese. [1] One becomes reconciled, to some extent, with the great wealth of Cardinal Borghese, when one reads of the generous use he made of it. He was always open-handed with the poor; writers [2] and artists were given the greatest help. The Cardinal, whose somewhat corpulent features have been preserved in two marble busts by Bernini,[3] possessed knowledge as well as love of art. We shall speak later, in the chapter dealing with art, of the splendid activity which he displayed in this connection, traces of which are encountered to this day in so many places in Rome.

Scipione Borghese's patronage of art brought him great popularity in Rome. This was further increased by his magnificent scale of living, which was more that of a great personage of the world than of a prince of the Church. The banquets which he gave to the envoys and Cardinals were extraordinarily sumptuous. These festivities, which sometimes took place in the Cardinal's splendid villa outside the

[1] See GREGOROVIUS, *Wanderjahre*, II., 21 *seq.* AMEYDEN (*Relazione di Roma*, in *Li Tesori della Corte Romana*, Brussels, 1672, 114), says that the Borghese bought "forse 80 casali, pagandoli più di quello valevano".

[2] A list, albeit by no means complete, of works dedicated to Cardinal Borghese, in CIACONIUS, IV., 400. Italian writings especially are omitted and among them one from a member of the family: "*Scipione Borghese dell'ordine di S. Spirito, Specchio della miseria humana, all'Illmo. Cardinale Borghese*, Bracciano, 1621." How writers showed their gratitude can be seen in J. BRANCONDIUS, *Panegyricus illustriss. et reverendiss. D. Scipionis Burghesii S.R.E. Card., totius Status Ecclesiastici superintendentis generalis, S. Pauli V. Nepotis carissimi*, Maceratae, 1615. (There was a copy in the Borghese Library, now dispersed.)

[3] Both the busts, now in the Casino Borghese in Rome, dating from no earlier than 1632–1633, are speaking likenesses; see FRASCHETTI, 107 *seq.*; BRINKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, 233; BENKARD, *Bernini*, 43.

Porta Pinciana,[1] were the talk of the town.[2] When on one occasion the nephew had arranged such entertainments just before Easter, when not only the Pope but large numbers of the people devoted themselves entirely to spiritual exercises, he was justly rebuked.[3] He has also been accused of frivolity.[4] But no certain proofs of immorality have yet been adduced. In any case grave transgressions would have caused him to forfeit his position with the Pope, who was very strict in such matters.

Of Paul V.'s brothers, who were described as very good men, the elder, Francesco, very pious and generous, had married a Santa Croce[6] but was childless. The younger, Giovan Battista, had by his marriage with Virginia Lante only one little son, Marcantonio, four years old, on whom therefore the future of the family depended.[7] At the very beginning of the pontificate Francesco was made governor of the Borgo and captain of the pontifical guard, and Giovan Battista keeper of Castel Sant' Angelo.[8] When in November, 1605, Francesco became general of the Church, the Pope made him hand over the governorship of the Borgo to his brother. By

[1] See *Avvisi of July 19 and August 4, 1614, in *Studi e documenti*, XV., 277, 278.

[2] *Cf.* numerous *Avvisi, especially of June 2, 1606, April 14, 1607, November 3, 1610, February 11, 1612, February 9, 1613, Vatican Library. On the banquet given on May 20, 1607, by Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish envoys for the *obbedienza*, see *Regin.*, 804, p. 12 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of April 14, 1607, *ibid.*

[4] See the anonymous report in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, XLIV., note 4.

[5] See the report of the envoy from Lucca for the *obbedienza* in *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 202.

[6] For the inscription see *supra*, p. 51, n. 5.

[7] *Cf.* the report of the Venetian ambassadors for the *obbedienza* in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 57.

[8] See the *letter of P. Federighi to M. Barberini, May 31, 1605, *Barb.* 4648, and the *Avviso of June 8, 1605, both in the Vatican Library.

this means Paul V. thought to assuage their mutual jealousy.[1] He gave them the palace in which he had lived as a Cardinal, and the patrimonial rights, which were subsequently to devolve upon Giovan Battista's son.[2] The brothers, of whom Giovan Battista was particularly dear to the Pope, had an audience every evening, but were not allowed to interfere in matters which did not concern their official duties, since Paul V. would not tolerate outside influences.[3] The brothers were compensated by receiving gifts, as varied as they were valuable, and large sums of money.[4] Giovan Battista in particular was abundantly provided for as the one who had to carry on the family. These subsidies were so large that by 1609 Giovan Battista had invested about 300,000 ducats in landed property.[5] In the autumn of 1607 a splendidly furnished apartment in the new Vatican palace was assigned to him[6]; in the winter of the following year he took up residence in the Borgo, in the palace where Cardinal Galli

[1] See *Avvisi of November 23 and 26, 1605, *ibid.*

[2] See *Avviso, of December 14, 1605, *ibid.*

[3] See the report of the Venetian envoys for the *obbedienza*, in BAROCCHI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 62.

[4] The gifts (precious stones, silver plate, magnificent tapestry, glass, arms and especially currency, amounting up to the year 1621, to 629,727 *scudi* 31 *baj.* in currency; in "*Luoghi di Monte*" 24,600 *sc.* nominal value; in official posts, reckoned by the sum which it would cost to buy them, 268,176 *sc.*) are enumerated in the "*Nota di denari, offici e mobili donati da P. Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli.*", mentioned by *Ranke* (*Päpste*, III[6]., 13, 110* *seqq.*). Whilst I have succeeded in finding almost all the MSS. referred to by Ranke, vaguely and without exact description, I have unfortunately not been able to trace this one. Some of the relevant details may be found in the *Avvisi; in one of October 24, 1609, it is said that if the Pope lives for another five years, the income of Giov. Battista Borghese will come to 400,000 *scudi*. Vatican Library.

[5] See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 87. On the purchase of Rignano see ORBAAN, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXVI., 124, n. 2. *Cf.* also *Avviso, of November 8, 1608, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* *Avviso of September 22, 1607, *ibid.*

had previously lived.[1] Moreover a family palace was also to be built.[2]

Cardinal Borghese was very careless in money matters. When the Pope once asked him what he did with his large income, he replied with a shrug of the shoulders that his brother Giovan Battista managed it. Small wonder then that the revenue was insufficient and the brothers got into debt.[3] Cardinal Scipione's father, Francesco Caffarelli, who first lived at Nepi and who was eventually permitted to come to Rome, had previously found himself in financial straits.[4] The Pope's nephews of the Vittori family also had heavy debts.[5] In this case, however, the Pope showed no desire to intervene.[6] In fact his relations were not always a source of joy to him. The quarrels between the two brothers were a special cause of great distress.[7] Giovan Battista died on December 24th, 1609. The Pope bore the sad loss as the will of God with great calmness and truly Christian resignation.[8]

One cause of contention between the brothers was the marriage of Diana Vittori. Giovan Battista wanted this niece of the Pope to marry into the Lante family.[9] But

[1] See *Avviso of September 13, 1608, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXVI., ch. V.

[3] *Cf* *Avviso of October 24, 1607, Vatican Library. See also Fr. Contarini, *Relazioni*, 88.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 3, 1607, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of December 20, 1608, *ibid.*

[6] See Gigli in *Fraschetti*, 18, note.

[7] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of February 21, March 21, and October 7, 1606, and July 11, 1607, Vatican Library.

[8] It was thought that his death further advanced the position of Card. Scipione Borghese. *Cf.* *Avvisi of December 5, 26, and 30, 1609, Vatican Library. (See Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 160.) According to these G. B. Borghese was temporarily buried in S. Maria Maggiore, in the chapel near the new sacristy, to be subsequently moved to the Pauline Chapel, erected by Paul V. On the Christian resignation of Paul V. at the death of his brother, see also **Pauli V. P.M. Vita, etc., Barb.* 2670, p. 106, Vatican Library.

[9] See *Avvisi of April 14 and July 11, 1607, Vatican Library.

Diana was opposed to the match. Then there was talk of her marrying the Prince of Roccella, a member of the Carafa family, who was not only without means, but actually in debt.[1] This marriage took place in November, 1607.[2] In this affair also the Pope was to experience more than one annoyance.[3]

After the death of her husband, Giovan Battista's widow entered the convent of Poor Clares at San Lorenzo in Panisperna. The education of her son, Marcantonio, was undertaken by the Pope.[4] He was exceptionally fond of the boy; during the visits to Frascati,[5] besides Cardinal Borghese, Marcantonio, on whom rested all the hopes of the house of Borghese, was always to be seen in Paul V.'s company. "While His Holiness," said the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo in 1612, "loaded Cardinal Borghese with ecclesiastical offices and revenues, he heaped secular benefits upon Marcantonio, who already bore the title of Prince of Sulmona."[6] This fine property in the kingdom of Naples had been acquired by Paul V. two years earlier for his nephew.[7] Later he bought Morlupo, near Nepi, for him.[8] Great plans were also laid for his marriage. Just as under Clement VIII. the house of Aldobrandini was allied to the Farnese of Parma, so Paul V. would gladly have brought

[1] See *Avviso of July 25, 1607, *ibid.*

[2] See *Avvisi of November 14, 17, and 21, 1607, *ibid.*

[3] See *Avvisi of July 2 and December 20, 1608, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avvisi of January 2 and 9, 1610, *ibid.*

[5] This appears from several passages in the *Avvisi, Vatican Library.

[6] Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 96.

[7] The taking possession of Sulmona by the secretary of Marcantonio Borghese is announced in the *Avviso of June 26, 1610, Vatican Library.

[8] This purchase was made already in 1611, according to the *Avviso of October 15, 1611; but it is dated two years later in the *Avviso of April 27, 1613. The amount of the price, quoted in the two documents, differs considerably. Vatican Library.

about a similar union between the Borghese and the Medici.[1] But there were obstacles in the way; eventually Camilla Orsini, of the Bracciano family, was chosen as a wife for the eighteen-year-old nephew. The orginal idea was that the wedding should be celebrated at Frascati, in the Villa Mondragone.[2] But it actually took place in Rome. Camilla Orsini arrived there on October 19th, 1619, and the marriage was celebrated the following day in the new Pauline Chapel of the Quirinal palace. The Pope himself said the Mass, at which the bridegroom acted as server. The couple received Holy Communion from his hands.[3] When Francesco, the Pope's elder brother, died in the following year [4] the Prince of Sulmona was made general of the Church.[5]

Paul V'.s great affection for his family acted as an inducement for Princes and Cardinals to honour it as much as possible. As early as 1605 Cardinal Aquaviva presented his beautiful villa at Frascati to the Borghese.[6] When the Duke of Mantua stayed in Rome in the autumn of 1605, he made a present to Cardinal Borghese of a diamond worth 4,000 scudi.[7] At the same time Venice made the nephews honorary citizens.[8] The republic of Genoa did the same in 1606.[9] The French envoys made repeated gifts to Cardinal Borghese.[10] Philip III.

[1] See MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 107.

[2] See *Avviso of August 10, 1619, Vatican Library.

[3] See the **Diarium P. Alaleonis* of October 19 and 20, 1619, *Barb.* 2817, and the *Avviso of October 23, 1619, Vatican Library.

[4] Francesco Borghese died on June 20, 1620, at Frascati; he was buried in S. Maria Maggiore. *Avviso of 24th June, 1620, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avviso of July 18, 1620, *loc. cit.* The taking of the oath was on July 11; see **Diarium P. Alaleonis, loc. cit.*

[6] See *Avviso of September 28, 1605, in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 63. For the later destinies of the Villa see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 274.

[7] See *Avviso of September 10, 1605, Vatican Library.

[8] See besides MUTINELLI, III., 39 *seq.*, also the *Avviso of September 24, 1605, Vatican Library.

[9] See the *Brief of thanks to Genua, dated March 25, 1606, *Epist.*, I., 467, Secret Papal Archives.

[10] *Cf.* *Avviso in *Studi e documenti*, XV., 275.

likewise showed himself very anxious to win over the nephews and to obtain the Pope's favour by the bestowal upon them of pensions and honours.[1] As early as 1605 he conferred upon the Prince of Sulmona the title of a Grandee of Spain.[2]

Since nepotism was the one failing of Paul V., it was to it that his opponents directed their attacks.[3] Where his nephews are concerned the conduct of the Pope, in other respects so admirable, certainly deserves severe blame. He probably did not fully realize how much he failed in this respect, for, in face of a frank remonstrance on the subject from Cardinal Bellarmine, he defended himself by saying that his presents to his relations had only been given with moderation and not out of ecclesiastical revenues ![4] Unlike the Popes of the Renaissance, Paul V. kept aloof from the worldly conduct of his nephews. To form a fair judgment it is also necessary to bear in mind that neither of the Pope's nephews had any real influence on important decisions or on the direction of policy. This applies even to the Cardinal Secretary of State. Paul V. also refrained from establishing his relatives as independent princes, as the Popes of the Renaissance had done. He never for a moment thought of nepotism on the grand scale of times past, although there

[1] See the *letter of Philip II. to the Marquis Aytona, December 6, 1606; March 2, 1607 (a pension of 3,000 ducats for Card. Borghese); March 8 and September 12. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

[2] *Cf.* MORONI, VI., 39; LXXI., 37 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* especially the hostile opinion of a Venetian, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, II., 320 and the *Lettere di Sarpi*, ed. *Polidori*, I., 281; II., 237. For TASSONI's scoffing see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLIX., 407. Extraordinarily violent attacks against Paul V. and the papacy in general are found in *Supplicatio ad Imperatorem, Reges, Principes super causis generalis concilii convocandi contra Paulum V*, printed in London, 1613. DÖLLINGER-REUSCH (*Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 548 *seq.*) believe that the document was "quite certainly drawn up in Rome". My opinion, on the contrary, is, that it proceeded from Sarpi's milieu, for he was in close touch with England.

[4] See LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 535.

were again and again opportunities for this, especially when there was great dissatisfaction in the kingdom of Naples with the harsh rule of the viceroy Ossuna. It was enough for him that the Borghese should take their places among the Roman princes and equal in wealth the Colonna and Orsini or, if possible, surpass them.[1] Paul V. did not live long enough to see Marcantonio's son, Paolo, increase his fortune by marrying in 1640 Olympia Aldobrandini, the heiress of that family.[2]

[1] The Venetian Ambassador, *G. Soranzo*, wrote on January 26, 1619, "(Il Papa) ha fisso il suo pensiero di lasciar nella sua casa gran richezze, sta pero risolutissimo di non entrar in pretenzioni di stati ne di principati, ma dissegna lasciar li suoi grandi et richissimi privati et che possino uguagliarsi et avanzar li Colonnesi et Orsini ne si scopre sin hora che tenghi la mira piu alta." How a man may be blinded by hatred, appears in the case of M. Brosch (*Kirchenstaat*, I., 369), who was thoroughly versed in Italian through his long residence in Venice, yet translates this passage quite contrary to its sense. Thus, "The Pope did not trouble himself with the affairs of state and court," and again (p. 370) comments on the passage, saying that Paul V., "entirely absorbed in his family interests had quite lost all sense for the interests of the state." It is clear from Soranzo's final judgment, in his document of January 28, 1621, that the passage cannot be interpreted in the sense attributed to it by Brosch. This judgment has long been printed by Mutinelli, II., 93, but Brosch is careful not to quote it: from this we may gather what value to set upon Brosch's assurances in the Preface to his work (I., v.): "I will only add that the factual and underlying basis of my account, even where it is borrowed from the exchange of despatches of the Republic's Ambassador, has been ascertained by deliberate consideration of all the circumstances which testify for or against the credibility of any piece of news. I have always tried to hold a proper balance between scepticism and confidence with regard to these diplomatic documents, and where I have failed to do so, it has not been for want of honest endeavour."

[2] See Ceresole, *loc. cit.*, 71; Novaes, IX., 83 *seq.*, and Moroni, VI., 39 *seq.*, where the subsequent history of the family up to the middle of the nineteenth century, will be found.

The historic splendour and rank of the Borghese family was destroyed by the great bankruptcy of the year 1891.[1] Its

[1] A Roman correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (April 5, 1895) considers that, "When the catastrophe overtook the family, there were not wanting people who welcomed the sensational event with undisguised rejoicing. Some individuals triumphed in the fall of a member of a family which was the most irreconcilable opponent of the new régime and the equally enthusiastic champion of papal claims. Others hoped that the ruined fortunes of the princely house might prove a fruitful source of profit for a host of proletarians. Gradually, however, it became clear that it made little difference to the papacy whether the house of Borghese lived in its former pomp or its present penury. Others, too, realized that the breakdown of the fortune belonging to the noble house had had no social repercussions, but had only brought about a change of ownership. The Borghese fortune served to increase the property of the new aristocracy, which had, perhaps, all the faults and none of the advantages of the older order. For speculators, apt in making profit out of everything, whether a national revolution or a building swindle, were vulgar people, lacking in ideals and quite untouched by the artistic interests which were the traditional inheritance of the older families. They turned the lovely palace of Paul V. into a second-hand emporium and thought they had accomplished a marvellous act of liberalism in establishing a Freemason's Lodge in a corner of the ancient papal residence. This act was interpreted as the triumph of liberalism over clericalism, though everyone knows that liberalism can scarcely build its hopes on that very dubious institution which Italian freemasonry has become, under the ægis of the well-known tobacco merchant Lemmi. The glorious Villa Borghese with the Casino in its grounds, was faced with a like act of vandalism. It was chosen for the site of innumerable popular festivities, which were to celebrate the twenty-fifth jubilee of Rome as the capital of Italy. The noble villa which has already been outraged by being made the scene of all sorts of races, is, for the space of some months, to be transformed into a kind of amusement park. The reign of bad taste has already been inaugurated in the proud marble halls of the Casino, adorned with masterpieces of antique sculpture, where from time to time, the municipal band has been

private art collections, including much that recalled Paul V., and the exceptionally valuable library, started by Paul V. and considerably increased by Cardinal Scipione,[1] were unfortunately dispersed by public auction. The manuscripts, some of which are of great value, and the priceless family archives were saved from this fate by Leo XIII., who again showed himself a great promoter of historical studies by buying them for 300,000 francs and placing them in the Papal Secret Archives.[2]

allowed to function." In 1902, the Villa Borghese was bought by the Italian State and given over to the city of Rome as a popular park. In the previous year the State had also acquired the collection of sculptures of the Borghese Casino, and the magnificent paintings, which were formerly housed in the Palazzo Borghese.

[1] *Cf.* the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de S.E.D. Paolo Borghèse, Prince de Sulmona*, 2 vols., Rome, 1892–3; published by the bookseller Vincenzo Menozzi. Also see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XIX., 463.

[2] The MSS., about 300, went to the Vatican Library; the family archives, which contain the bulk of the archives of the Cardinals Secretaries of State of Clement VIII. and Paul V., constitute, under the name of *Fondo Borghese*, a part of the Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* QUIDDES, *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswiss.*, VI., 402; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LXXXV. See further, EHRLE, *Bibl. Pontif.*; CALENZIO, *Dei MSS. Borghesiani ora Vaticani, in omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana nel giubileo episcopale di Leone XIII.*, Rome, 1893. A. PASTURE published in *Bullet. de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, LXXIX (1910), an *Inventaire du Fonds Borghèse au point de vue de l'histoire des Pays-Bas.*

CHAPTER III.

Paul V. as Ruler of the Papal States.—Papal Finance.

At the very beginning of the pontificate of Paul V. the opinion was expressed that his reign would be very similar to that of Clement VIII.[1] This opinion was to be verified in connection with the administration of both ecclesiastical and secular affairs.

The political economist and statistician, Giovanni Botero,[2] sometime secretary to Charles Borromeo, writing in the first quarter of Paul V'.s reign, has left an extremely interesting account of the Papal States,[3] the boundaries of which had been considerably extended with the acquisition of Ferrara under Clement VIII. Every division of property was prevented by the decree of Pius V., settling the inviolability of the entire possessions of the Holy See, which Paul V. at once confirmed.[4]

The area of the Papal States was somewhat more extensive than that of the Venetian Republic, while the population, owing to the sparseness of Central Italy, was about the

[1] See the report of G. Magni for May 28, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* the monographs of Pozzi (Casale, 1881), Orsi (Mondovi, 1882) and Gioda (Milan, 1895).

[3] *Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa preso dalla parte dell' ufficio del Cardinale che non è stampato,* in *Relationi del Sig. Giov. Botero,* " Parte sesta " (Venice, 1618), 30 *seq.*; it was, however, completed and published separately in Venice as early as 1612. *Cf.* also " Parte seconda ", 122 *seq.* For the *Relazione della corte di Roma,* written also in 1611 by Lunadori and first published at Padua with letters from Cardinal Lanfranco, see *Giorn. d. Arch. Toscani,* IV., 264.

[4] Constitution of December 30, 1605, *Bull.*, XI., 267 *seq.*

same[1]; Botero estimated it at one and a half million souls.[2] The Papal States possessed only two large cities: Rome, the capital, with 115,000 inhabitants, and Bologna with over 80,000.[3] After these came Ferrara with 60,000, a number which was rapidly declining owing to the cessation of the ducal residence there. All the other places had considerably smaller populations, as, for example, Viterbo and Civitavecchia in the Patrimony, Rieti and Tivoli in Sabina, Velletri, Anagni and Terracina in the Roman Campagna proper, Perugia, Assisi, Foligno, Spoleto, Terni, Narni and Orvieto in Umbria, Ancona, Fermo, Macerata and Ascoli in the Marches, Ravenna, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena and Rimini in Romagna. There were

[1] The Papal States surpassed in extent and population all the states in upper Italy and were in this respect only second to Naples; see FUETER, *Gesch. des europäischen Staatensystems*, Munich, 1919, 215.

[2] See BOTERO, *Relationi*, VI., 30 *seq.* BELOCH (in *Zeitschr. f. Sozialwiss.* (Berlin, 1900), 769) was only acquainted with the census of 1656, which gave 1,180,000 souls.

[3] BOTERO, *Relationi*, II, 123. According to the *report of A. Possevino for May 22, 1621, the population of Rome must have risen to 135,000 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). But this must be an exaggeration. According to CERASOLI (in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 174) the number in 1605 was 99,647, which increased to 118,356 in 1621; only by adding to this as high a figure for the number of Jews as that given for 1608, namely 4,500 (*loc. cit.*, 170), can one arrive at the figure of 122,856. The statement of RANKE (III[6], 45) that Rome had in 1614 115,643 inhabitants (i.e. Christians) is inaccurate, for the *register in Cod. *Barb.* 5074 (Vatican Library), to which Ranke refers, gives 115,413, agreeing with Cerasoli's source. The *Relatione di Bologna sotto la legatione dell ill. s. card. Barberini (1611–1614) in *Barb.* 5105 gives the population of Bologna as 70,000 (300,000 in tutto il contado" with 280 "communità"). The *Descrizione delle anime e case della città e diocesi di Bologna for December, 1617, gives: for the città 67,871 souls (preti regol. 110, monaci e fratri 873, monache 2631) and 8,643 houses; for the Suburbio 17,093 souls in 2,839 houses and for the diocese 174,884 souls in 25,814 houses. Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

also smaller places with episcopal sees, amounting to about fifty in number.[1]

The nature of the soil of this State, crossed by the chain of the Apennines, presented great contrasts: next to extremely fertile districts there were rough, mountainous areas and extensive tracts of unhealthy lowlands like the Pontine Marshes, the Maremme, which reached from the mouth of the Tiber to the borders of Tuscany, and the swamps, which stretched along the Adriatic coast from the banks of the Po in the direction of Rimini, in the middle of which lay Comacchia. These districts were infested with malaria, as was also practically the whole of the Roman Campagna. These regions apart, the remaining lands were blessed with a splendid climate and with great natural resources and plants and animals abounded and prospered everywhere.

Botero praises as being particularly fertile the Umbrian valley of the Tiber, the smiling plains of Rieti, the country surrounding Bologna and the whole of Romagna and the Marches, where fertility was enhanced by a charming landscape. The rich harvests of corn, oil and wine allowed of considerable exportation, notably to Venice.[2] Certain districts were renowned for their special produce as, for example, Faenza and Lugo for flax, Cento and Perugia for hemp, Bologna and Forlì for woad, Sant' Arcangelo, Norcia and Terni for their rape of remarkable size, San Lorenzo for its manna and the famous woods of Ravenna for their pine-cones. The vineyards prospered exceedingly in the whole of Romagna, in the Marches, Umbria, the Patrimony, the Sabina and in the Lazio. Besides the world-famed muscatel of Montefiascone, the wines of Orvieto, Todi, Albano, Cesena, Faenza and Rimini were also highly esteemed. In the plains as well as in the hills there were numerous olive yards and chestnut groves. Many woods still held a great wealth of timber.[3]

[1] See Botero, *Relationi, loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 123, VI. 37. *Cf.* Gritti, *Relazione*, in Albèri II., 4, 336.

[3] See Botero, VI., 31.

The animal kingdom in the Papal States was no less favoured than the vegetable. Large herds of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats and horses grazed freely and half-wild in the uninhabited parts of the Roman Campagna, the Pontine Marshes and the Maremme. Outside the Roman Campagna, the Romagna in particular produced magnificent oxen; the horses of the Agro Romano were scarcely inferior to those of Naples. Of the pigs, which abounded everywhere, those of the mountainous districts were considered the best. There was also no dearth of animals of the chase. The Pontine Marshes in particular harboured many wild boars. Excellent hunting country was to be found in the Lazio in the neighbourhood of Sermoneta, Terracina and Nettuno. After the sea itself, the lagoons of Comacchio were pre-eminently abundant in fish and the eels from there passed for the best in the whole of Italy. The mineral kingdom offered splendid marbles, peperino and the famous Travertine. The excellent alum from the Tolfa district near Cerveteri was a state monopoly, as were also the famous saltworks of Comacchio. The sulphur baths of Poretta in the legation of Bologna and those of Viterbo, where Nicholas V. had laid out a bathing establishment, were the most esteemed of all the numerous mineral springs. The warm sulphur-springs of Vicarello, not far from the lake of Bracciano, which the ancient Romans had used, and the medicinal waters of Anticoli, a picturesque mountain village near Subiaco, were also much frequented.[1]

Notwithstanding all these natural advantages, the trade and commerce of the Papal States, apart from Rome itself,[2]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Gottlob, in his important review of Rodocanachi, *Les Corporations ouvrières à Rome* (2 vols., Paris, 1894) in *Hist. Jahrb.* XVI., 127, describes the industrial conditions in Rome as brilliant. "Parallel with the growth of luxury and the improvement in the city's fortunes, there was a remarkable and an ever wider-reaching division of labour and, in consequence, an increase of specialization in manual workers' corporations, this being brought about by the division of ancient guilds and the formation of new ones. At the time of Gregory XV. (1621–1623), that is

had scarcely been developed at all beyond the immediate requirements and the general prosperity as well as the number of the population was on the decline.[1] The efforts of several Popes of the XVIth century to bring about an improvement in this matter had not attained the desired end. There were many different factors which were unfavourable to success. The elective character of the State robbed its secular administration of the necessary stability, for there were no fixed rules here as there were in ecclesiastical affairs. Almost every pontificate brought with it a change of system. Added to this was the increasing elimination of the lay element from the administrative personnel of the Papal States; the ecclesiastics, who took their places, had not the requisite training for secular business and were often also unsuitable in other ways. The weak character of the people was also prejudicial to progress; they lacked energy and organizing ability and expected everything to be done by the government. To all this must be added the general mis-

immediately after Paul V., there were in Rome 5,578 shops with 6,609 masters and 11,584 assistants. More than half of these businesses were concentrated in the northern quarters, Ponte, Parione, Regola and Campo Marzio, while the centre of the city, previously so rich in industries, was almost deserted. The 'Monti' still numbered about 569 owners, easily surpassing gardeners, rope-makers and tanners. It is the period in which the industrial life of Rome put in the shade all the other great Italian cities, the most important of which had fallen under foreign domination." Botero laments the increase of luxury in the other towns of Lazio as well. (*Relazioni*, VI., 42.) A *"Pragmatica sopra l'immoderato uso del vestire degli huomini e delle donne di Perugia", dated October 30, 1617, in *Editti*, V., 60, p. 230 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* Botero, *loc. cit.*, 41. As regards the "mercantia" Botero remarks, *ibid.*, 36: "Non si può negare che lo stato della Chiesa non ne sia molto povero." The lowering of the general prosperity even after all the efforts of Paul V. is attested in the Venetian *obbedienza* for 1621 (in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I, 118 *seq.*), which gives as a cause the "qualità del governo" and the meagre trade.

fortunes, which visited Italy at the end of the XVIth century: pestilence, bad harvests, famines, uneconomic taxation and the evils consequent on banditry.

The scourge of banditry had increased to such an extent in the Papal States that many districts were abandoned by their populations and lay uncultivated. Botero specially mentions the widespread occurrence of malaria as a cause of the decline in the population of the Papal States and he suggests as a remedy not merely drainage but also the systematic colonization of the Roman Campagna. Botero also draws attention to the fact that everybody thought that organized recruiting of mercenaries was permissible in the Papal States, which were regarded as a sort of common property.[1] The temptation was particularly strong as the people of Romagna and the Marches were reputed to make very efficient soldiers.

Paul V. intervened repeatedly against the abuse of foreign recruiting on the lands of the Church, but his immediate and especial efforts were directed to the fight against banditry, which his predecessors, Clement VIII. and Sixtus V., had carried on with varying results.[2] Even the most embittered enemies of the Borghese Pope are compelled to recognize the undeniable success which attended his efforts to establish public safety,[3] although it was just here that his initial difficulties were particularly great, owing to the fact that the Holy See had recently been twice vacant.

As an example of the rigour with which Paul V. inaugurated his reign, one can cite in particular the execution of a man of letters, Piccinardi, a native of Cremona, amongst whose possessions was found a Life of Clement VIII., in which that excellent Pope was placed on a par with the emperor Tiberius.[4] Although Paul V. at first expressed himself in

[1] See Botero, VI., 34, 37, 41.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 77 *seqq.* and Vol. XXIV., p. 374 *seqq.*

[3] See Brosch, I., 370.

[4] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 61.

favour of a light punishment in consideration of the fact that the lampoon was only shown by the author to quite a small number of persons,[1] he nevertheless finally let the law, under which Piccinardi was accounted guilty of high treason, take its course, and this notwithstanding the representations of influential personages. This inflexibility made all Rome tremble.[2] The Pope also proved very stern towards his own household.[3] The papal steward and his deputy, who had sold favours, were dismissed, although Giovan Battista, Paul V.'s brother, had pleaded on their behalf.[4] The officials realized, and with terror, how strictly they were being controlled. Even the aged master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, received a reproof for courting too much the favour of Cardinal Scipione Borghese.[5]

Paul V. was also eager to improve the administration of justice. He saw to it that only those officials were chosen, whom he knew to be the best in the Curia. He similarly took care that the settlement of lawsuits was not unnecessarily protracted and that no attention was paid to any representations from outsiders. Justice must follow its course with vigour not least in the case of the powerful.[6] The immunities, claimed by ambassadors and cardinals, such as Farnese, were to be no let to the course of justice.[7] The French ambassador, the Marquis of Coeuvres, was so unwilling

[1] See *Avviso of September 3, 1605, Vatican Library.

[2] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza*, *loc. cit.*, 61 *seq.* In 1614 Roberto Fidele was executed on account of "libelli famosi in materia del Papa e de cardinali"; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 279.

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of June 11, 1605, and June 23, 1607, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso of May 13, 1606, *ibid.*

[5] *Avviso, of June 17, 1606, *ibid.*

[6] See *Costaguti's notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

[7] *Cf.* *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta, p. 10: "Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis Romae primariis ex aedium nobilissimarum non dicam atriis sed aditis penetralibus nocentes ad supplicium armato satellitio educabantur." *Barb.* 2670, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, III., 99*.

to comply with this that an action had to be brought in Paris.[1]

In the struggle against banditry, which was the plague of the countryside, the discontinuation of one of its causes, namely, the large number of soldiers accustomed to the profession of arms, came to the aid of the Borghese Pope; that banditry died of its own accord, as some people have thought,[2] was far from being the case. It required the repeated exertions of the Pope as well as a fair lapse of time before the desired end was finally attained.[3] When Paul V.

[1] *Cf.* ZELLER, *Richelieu et les ministres de Louis XIII.*, Paris, 1880, 52.

[2] BROSCH, I., 370.

[3] The general observations in *Pauli V. P.M. Vita compendio scripta: "dominatum excepit factiosis, sicariis, grassatoribus tumultuosum; nihil ejus dominatu pacatius potuit excogitari; agrestes vias crebris antea latrociniis infames salubriter depurgavit" (*Barb.* 2670, p. 10) are entirely confirmed from other sources. On December 24, 1605, Paul V. *asked the viceroy of Naples "ut mandet capi quendam Ioannem vulgo il Marchese della Villa, proscriptum ac mitti vinctum ad Urbem hominem nefarium, rustico genere natum", *etc.* (*Epist.*, I., 395, in Papal Secret Archives). In the summer of 1606 troops were sent against the bandits appearing near Ascoli (*Avvisi of June 28 and July 12, 1606, Vatican Library), and in the following year the Marches were visited by bandits, against whom were sent Corsican troops in the pay of the Pope (see *Avvisi of April 7, 1608, Vatican Library). On April 25, 1608, were sent out very strong *"Bandi generali contro banditi"; see *Editti*, V., 57, p. 70, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, p. 71. *"Bando delle nominationi e taglie contro banditi" of June 26, 1608. *Cf.* *Avvisi of May 15 and August 26, 1608, *loc. cit.* In the autumn of 1611 the notorious robber, Giovanni di Norcia, was brought to Rome from the Maremme (*Avvisi of September 28 and October 1, 1611, *ibid.*) Guarinoni, who made a pilgrimage to Rome in Lent of the year 1613, tried to cover the distance from Ancona to Loreto in one day as this district was rendered unsafe by reason of bandits; see Stampfer in *Zeitschr. des Innsbr. Ferdinandeums*, XXIII. (1879), 71, 74 *seq.* For the intervention of Cardinal Barberini in this district see NICOLETTI, *Vita di Urbano VIII., *Barb.* 4730, Vatican Library.

died, perfect tranquillity and security reigned in his States.[1] In these matters the Pope had not the slightest regard for high-placed personages, who had any connection with evil-doers.[2] In 1608, the Marquis of Rignano, who had sheltered a bandit in his castle, was in danger of being executed. He had to consider himself lucky to be let off with a fine and a five years' banishment.[3] The fiscal attorney and auditor-general, Farinacci, well known on account of the Cenci case, was also implicated in the affair of the Marquis ; in 1611 he forfeited his various positions.[4] The heads of three Corsican guardsmen, who had killed two French noblemen at the beginning of 1608, fell under the executioner's axe.[5] The Pope opposed the shedding of blood, which occurred so frequently in Rome, by repeatedly forbidding the carrying of arms.[6] Rome's beggars and vagabonds,[7] those who broadcast false news,[8] avaricious innkeepers[9] and dissolute women,[10] all felt the strong hand of the Pope.

[1] "Et è da notare che con quattro esserciti in Italia per lo stato della Chiesa si andava sicuramente a mezza notte con l'oro in mano e le città e terre sembravano monasteri de'regolari," said Costaguti in his *Notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avviso of August 10, 1605, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 12, 19, 29 and 30, and August 2, 6, 9, 16, 20 and 30, and September 6, 13, 17, 24 and 27, and October 1 and 4, 1609, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of April 16, 1611, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of February 16, 1608, *ibid.*

[6] See the *Avvisi of March 23 and September 14, 1611, *ibid.*

[7] *"Editto contro gli otiosi e vagabondi," dated September 6, 1608, in the *Editti*, V., 66, p. 152, Papal Secret Archives. See the *Avvisi of July 8, 1609, September 15, and December 10, Vatican Library.

[8] See *Avvisi of March 1, 1608, *ibid.*

[9] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 27 and August 3, 1605, and of July 14, 1607, *ibid.*

[10] See the *Avvisi of August 3, 1605, and February 2, 1606, *ibid.* *Cf.* also the *Avviso, undated but relating to September 8, 1607, concerning impending measures against adulterous women, etc., such as were taken by Sixtus V., *ibid.*

At the beginning of the year 1608, Paul V. embarked on a radical reform of the entire judicature. With this end in view, he instituted a special Congregation, which sat every Friday under the presidency of Cardinal Borghese.[1] A reform of this kind was sure to meet with great difficulties, hence it was at first believed that the plan would come to nothing; but the Pope would not rest,[2] until success was attained. On March 1st, 1612, a consistorial bull was issued. The very format of the document, with its Italian-gothic, small-print type, showed the importance which the Pope attached to the matter; the severe regularity and beauty of the writing was well in keeping with the significance of the content.[3]

The reform, laid down in the bull of March 1st, 1612, embraced the Segnatura di Grazia e Giustizia, the Camera Apostolica, the tribunals of the Governor of the City and of the Auditors of the Chamber, the Rota, the municipal magistracy, the contentions between the Jews and the whole system of civil and criminal law. Special attention was paid to the protection of the poor and to the prison system. All prisons were to be inspected at least once a month, in order to prevent the illegal detention of prisoners; the Pope also provided for their bodily and spiritual needs. Severe penalties were fixed for all contraventions of the bull. Supplementary measures fixed the taxes to be paid to municipal notaries and to other officials.[4] The execution of these measures, which were still further explained in a special declaration,[5] was very closely watched.[6]

[1] See *Avviso of March 20, 1608, *ibid.* The *" Resolutiones factae in congregatione super reformatione tribunalium Romanae Curiae sub Paulo V. a die 14 Martii manu Franc. Peniae Rotae auditoris" (*Miscel.*, XI., 90, in the Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf* *Avviso of March 27, 1610, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* P. M. Baumgarten in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1909, 29 *seq.*

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 58 *seqq.*, 111 *sqq.* *Cf.* Goujet, II., 212 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso of August 15, 1612, Vatican Library. For the prison system *cf.* Bertolotti, *Le prigioni di Roma nei secoli XVI., XVII. e XVIII.*, Rome, 1890, 20 *seq.*

[6] *Bull.*, XII., 160 *seq.*

The legates in the provinces, following the Pope's example, also worked hard for the maintenance of peace and order. Cardinal Bonifacio Caetani, who was appointed legate of Romagna in 1608, sought to obtain this end by the exercise of sagacity and gentleness.

Caetani, in whose honour the grateful people of Ravenna erected in 1609 a granite column adorned with an eagle—his coat of arms—was in every respect an outstanding personality.[1] A blameless priest, he preached many times in Ravenna, particularly in the Church of the Theatines for whom he cherished a special affection.[2] He devoted himself to his secular business with such zeal, facility and pleasure that his work appeared to serve as his recreation. He dealt with every memorial with great despatch, often settling the matter personally. Only persons of irreproachable reputation found employment with him. In his immediate entourage he strongly insisted on order and discipline; his household had to assist at Mass daily and on feast days at the sermon as well. The Cardinal was an enemy of all superfluities. He had drawn up a strict time-table. When giving audience, he was courteous but brief. He rigorously insisted that his officials should keep to their own business and not meddle in affairs foreign to them. His demeanour was always grave and dignified. He knew well how to keep himself informed about everything and to alternate sternness with mildness, for he realized how ill the people can stand unmitigated rigour. He who wishes to rule well, he used to say, must be reliable, moderate and just.[3] The people of the Romagna had a reputation for turbulence. They were, indeed, still so divided into factions that Caetani used to say that there were two different peoples in the province, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

[1] The column, which originally stood in front of S. Sebastiano, was overthrown by an earthquake in 1673. It was then erected in the Piazzetta dell'Acquila, which has recently been renamed Piazza Alighieri.

[2] See CARDELLA, VI., 130.

[3] According to **Descrizione della Romagna* in Cod. XIV., b–3, of the Altieri Library in Rome, which is an account made in 1615 by a very well-informed authority.

For all that he praised the people of Romagna, declaring that if one dealt with them with gentleness and friendliness they were easily managed and pacified, and that they were obedient to their superiors and appreciative of acts of kindness.[1]

[1] " *Diceva che il Legato di Romagna doveva reggere doi popoli, uno Guelfo e l'altro Gibellino per natura turbolenti et alterabili per la commodità de confini et egli haveva con tutto ciò ne' Romagnoli trovato quattro cose buone, cioè che erano facili con la dolcezza e cortesia ridursi a qualsivoglia cosa, anco a quietarsi con il nemico mentre l'ingiuria non fosse troppo trascorsa; secondo che erano osseguiosi verso li superiori; terzo ch'erano molto liberali del suo; quarto ch'erano ricordevoli de' benefici ricevuti et non mai ingrati " (*Descrizione della Romagna*, Altieri Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*). The successor of Caetani, Cardinal Rivarola, who was sent as legate to the Romagna in 1611, earned great merit by the steps which he took against banditry; see MORONI, LVIII., 58. The beautiful fountains in Faenza bear witness even to-day to the great care which he showed for the welfare of the people; *cf. La Torre dell'Orologio e il Fonte Pubblico di Faenza per* GIAN MARCELLO VALGIMIGLI, Faenza, 1873. The bronze eagle and dragon on the fountain, which was completed in 1621, to the design of the Dominican, Domenico Paganelli, are an allusion to the arms of the Pope, whom the following inscription also recalls:—

PAULO V. PONT. MAX.
FELICISSIME REGNANTE
POST LATRONES PROFLIGATOS
PRESSUM INUNDANTEM PADUM
POPULOS IUSTITIA, PACE, ANNONA
SERVATOS
NE ET HOC MAGNUM DESIDERARETUR
ORNAMENTO AQUARUM URBEM ADAUXIT
D. CARD. RIVAROLA
LEGAT. SUAE ANNO NONO
AERE PUBL.

*The *Hôtel des Monnaies* erected under Paul V. by the vice-legate Stefano Dulci at Avignon serves at this time as a barracks. Of the inscription only the following remains: " Paulus V. Pontif. Maximus | has aedes | auro argento . . . | curante . . . | Aven. | Anno 1619."

It was, however, rather with iron rigour that the Genoese Benedetto Giustiniani, who was sent as legate to Bologna in November, 1608, sought to carry out his task. Giustiniani insisted the more on his orders being obeyed in that he knew the old proverb, that in Bologna an ordinance is observed for a month—less twenty-nine days. He would gain information at first-hand and it was related that he often went about in disguise, in order to get at the truth.[1]

Giustiniani succeeded in restoring order, in spite of the unfavourable conditions which confronted him. His severity often carried him too far, and this was, indeed, the cause of his recall in the summer of 1611.[2] His successor was the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini.[3] During his three years of office, this exceptional man provided admirably for the economic conditions of the city ; he also reformed the coinage, settled some territorial disputes with the Duke of Modena and preserved the peace in the territory of his legation during the war between Savoy and Mantua.[4]

In 1605 Paul V. extended the jurisdiction of the "Congregazione del buon governo", which had been instituted by

[1] See *Relazione sopra la legazione e governo del ill. card. Benedetto Giustiniano, 1606–1611, in Cod. K. 11, 21 in the Municipal Library of Bologna, and L. Frati in *Giorn. Ligustico*, XIV. (1887), 112 *seq.* *Cf.* also Ciaconius, IV., 169.

[2] See L. Frati, *loc. cit.*, 120 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. of August 31, 1611, Vatican Library.

[4] See A. N. Nicoletti, *Vita di Urbano VIII., t. I., 1, 2, c. 6–12, *Barb.* 4730, pp. 395–530, Vatican Library. *Cf. loc. cit.*, *Relatione di Bologna sotto la legatione dell'ill. card. Barberini, where Barberini's prudence is especially praised ; 5,660 *Emolumento del sig. card. M. Barberini nella legatione di Bologna ; 4148, p. 117 *seq.* "*Sulle zecche d'Italia con un discorso, editti e lettere sull'abolizione dei Sesini, moneta ch'era in corso nelle provincie di Bologna, Ferrara e Romagna, l'anno 1612." In August, 1614, Cardinal Capponi succeeded M. Barberini in the Bologna legation ; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 279. *Cf.* *Interessi della legazione di Bologna esposti alla corte di Roma 1609–1615 in Cod. E 54, Boncompagni Archives in Rome.

Clement VIII. to deal with the economic conditions of the Papal States.[1] The Congregation did much towards the liquidation of the debts of the various communes. These debts, which amounted to 1,745,600 scudi at the beginning of Paul V.'s pontificate, were reduced to 445,600.[2] A tax on meat and a reduction of the interest charged by the Monti was used for the extinction of the debt of the City of Rome.[3] The care which he took to avoid these taxes falling on the poor was characteristic of the Pope's humanity.[4]

[1] See *Bull.*, XI., 451 *seq.* *Cf. Collez. d. disposizioni su li censimenti dello Stato pontificio*, I., Rome, 1845 *seqq.*; *Gli Archivi Italiani*, VI. (1919), 200.

[2] See the survey of 1611: *Effeti della bolla "de bono regimine", original in the Costaguti Archives in Rome. *Cf. loc. cit.*, also the *notes of Costaguti, c. 1 and 2. The "debito della Communità" gives the amount for the different provinces:—

Umbria	sc.	337,300
Patrimonio	,,	355,500
Marca	,,	526,000
Romagna	,,	323,000
Campagna	,,	203,800
	sc.	1,745,600

Debito estinto:

Umbria	sc.	217,600
Patrimonio	,,	21,940
Marca	,,	553,000
Romagna	,,	230,000
Campagna	,,	80,000
	sc.	1,300,000

[3] "*Entrata accresciute al Populo Romano:—

Dalla gabella della carne	sc.	35,800
Dalla reduttione de Monti	,,	129,950

La sudetta entrata fu assegnata all'estintione de debiti di esso Popolo Romano." Notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 2, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* for the wine tax *Avvisi of May 3 and 28, 1608, Vatican Library.

The demands which Paul V. made on the governors of the provinces of the Papal States can be seen from one of his instructions. He made it clear that their first duty was to show the people love and benevolence, and thus to convince them that the government had their well-being at heart. The governor must treat his subjects as a father treats his sons. When he has to punish anyone, he must do so in such a way that the people can see that correction is the only motive. The officials, so ran the instruction, must always have clean hands. The governor must give audience once a week, in which women and the poor should be given precedence. If a punishment is commuted to a money payment, the judges must derive no personal gain from the transaction ; as had already been ruled by Pius IV. Every fortnight the prisons must be visited, so that the prisoners can lodge what complaints they may have. Heavy punishments must be meted out to those who help bandits with information, money, provisions or munitions. The governors must also see to it that important documents are carefully preserved. The economic conditions must receive their closest attention and they must above all take care that throughout the year the people have bread of just weight and good quality. For this purpose, the weights and measures in the shops should be inspected from time to time. The instruction then summarizes the duties of a governor : he is to provide an absolutely impartial administration of justice, to preserve peace and order, and to see to it that there is an abundance of provisions.[1] In this last respect, the Pope displayed the greatest zeal in Rome itself, his solicitude being directed towards meat, vegetables and oil,[2] but above all towards bread.[3]

[1] See *Istruzione per un governatore di provincia nello Stato ecclesiatico, *Borghese*, IV., 174, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 6 and 13, August 3 and December 3, 1605, February 15, 1606, August 11, 1607, and February 30, 1608, for the measures against those who charged exorbitant prices. The export of slaughter cattle and oil from the Papal States, which had a very successful result, is mentioned in the *Avviso

In spite of all the efforts of the Popes of the XVIth century, the productivity of the Campagna had dwindled. Already, at the end of 1605, grain had to be imported from Sicily to make up for Rome's deficiency.[1] It was necessary to re-issue and enforce with greater strictness the edicts of previous Popes since Pius IV., which forbade the exportation of provisions from the Papal States.[2] Besides the Congregation of Cardinals *sopra l'abbondanza dello Stato pontificio*, founded by Sixtus V., it was the duty of the Prefect of the *annona* to provide for the importation of grain and that of the President of *grascia* to procure cattle for slaughter, oil and other provisions. The *annona* depended partly on the municipality and partly on the Camera Apostolica.[3] It fixed the price of grain, actually purchasing it in order to resell it to the bakers. It was a source of considerable annoyance to the Pope that the treasury often lost much money in this way. The bakers were very discontented with the scale of prices for 1606, at which they had to buy grain.[4] This discontent only grew when Paul V. opposed a reduction of the weight of bread, although in that year, 1606,

of August 18, 1607; the obtaining of oil, notably from Provence, is mentioned in the *Avvisi of November 24, 1607, and of January 12, 1608. Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* besides the *Avvisi the remarks of G. B. Costaguti: he played a leading part in the affair and he is instructive about the matter in general; for his *notes (Costaguti Archives in Rome) see Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

[1] See the *brief to the "vicerex Siciliae", the Duke of Feria, of November 11, 1605, "laudat eum quod alacris fuerit in procuranda expeditione 15,000 salmarum tritici, quae extrahi debebant ex Siciliae regno ad sullevandam Urbis annonae caritatem", *Epist.*, I., 312. Secret Papal Archives.

[2] Constitution of December 23, 1605, *Bull.*, XI., 260 *seq.*

[3] At the head of the *annona* stood first Serra, then Mgr. Rucellai, who was replaced on July 1, 1614, by Mgr. Biscia; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 275.

[4] See Nicolai, II., 57; Benigni, *Getreidepolitik*, 48. *Cf. Il sistema della Tariffa annonaria sul pane in Roma*, Florence, 1866.

the harvest had been poor.[1] Some Jews, who tried to turn the general scarcity to their advantage by profiteering in wheat ended their lives on the gallows. Proceedings were also taken against others, who transgressed in this respect, regardless of the fact that they were Christians.[2] During the month of August in 1606 the Pope daily sent his palafrenieri into Rome to ascertain whether there was sufficient bread of good quality. Giacomo Serra, an expert financier, was sent into the Marches to buy up grain.[3] An edict forbidding exportation was also issued. The selfishness of the bakers and corn-merchants was restrained as far as it was possible. The Pope at this time spent in all 160,000 scudi, particularly large quantities of corn coming from Provence.[4] In January, 1607, Serra returned from the Marches and reported that he had found there sufficient supplies to hand.[5] Shortly afterwards, a consignment arrived from Civitavecchia. In spite of this, the prices remained high.[6] An edict of June, 1607, forbade profiteering in corn under pain of death.[7] Fortunately there was a good harvest. But in spite of this, the bread question was still to cause the Pope great trouble. The Camera did not want to give up selling the old stock of corn, although its quality was poor. Only when it was finally decided to mix the old corn with the new did the situation improve.[8] Throughout the whole affair the Pope showed the

[1] See the *Avviso of July 19, 1606, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Gigli in FRASCHETTI, 18, note.

[2] See the *Avviso of August 23, 1606, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Avvisi of August 12, 19, 23 and 26, 1606, *ibid.* *Cf.* Costaguti's *notes in Costaguti Archives in Rome ; see Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14. For Serra, see Vol. XXIII., pp. 297 and 303 of this work and p. 100, also Meyer, XXLV. *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of September 2, 9, 16, 23 and 27, and of October 7, 1606, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso of January 6, 1607, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* the *Avviso of February 14, 1607, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* the *Avviso of June 2, 1607, *ibid.*

[8] *Cf.* about this the *Avvisi of June 23 and 30, and July 7, 17, 18, 21 and 25, 1607, *ibid.*

greatest watchfulness. He had bread sent in from various bakers in order that he might himself test it. When he discovered fraud, the guilty were sent to prison. Malvasia, the Prefect of the *annona*, having been found wanting in energy in this matter, was relieved from his post at the end of July.[1] The difficulties, however, were not yet over. Only by placing a bounty on imports and by procuring grain from Sicily was all want finally averted.[2]

With what goodwill the Pope was animated is seen in the plans, which he now made, for the erection of a granary for the poor of Rome. An edict of the Prefect of the *annona*, issued in the name of the Cardinal-President of the Camera on December 19th, 1607, made it known that with the new year a store would be opened at the expense of the State, in which the poor would always be able to buy flour of good quality at a moderate price. The regulations declared: That the store will be stocked with the best meal. It is forbidden to purchase there more than 50 pounds (about 34 English pounds). The price must always be 8 quattrini a pound (about 2*d.* a pound). This meal may only be bought by the poor. The rich, the corn merchants and all those who have no need of this privilege, if they either buy direct or through another will have it confiscated and will, in addition, have to pay a fine of 25 scudi.[3]

This new storehouse for corn, which can only be described as a truly providential institution for the poor,[4] was erected near the baths of Diocletian, where it was secure from flooding.[5] The Pope had it enlarged in 1609,[6] and he visited it

[1] See the *Avviso of July 25, 1607, *ibid.*

[2] See the *Avvisi of September 18 and December 26, 1607, *ibid.* *Cf.* the brief to the "vicerex Siciliae, dux Escalonae", of March 11, 1607, *Epist.*, II., 368, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 49.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] See *Costaguti's notes, Costaguti Archives in Rome; *cf.* Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

[6] See the *Avviso of February 7, 1609, Vatican Library.

repeatedly.[1] The supplies proved particularly useful to the people when the unusually hot summer of 1611 caused a bad harvest.[2]

Until 1611 the corn trade was regulated by long-standing dispositions which laid it down that corn was to be either consumed at its place of origin or else to be transported to Rome. However, on October 19th, 1611, Paul V. cancelled a prohibition of Clement VIII. and allowed a fifth of the harvest to be exported so long as the price did not exceed 55 giulii (about 28*s.*) a rubbio (about 188 lbs.).[3]

By a similar decree issued on October 19th, 1611, Paul V. instituted alongside the Congregation of the *annona*, founded by Sixtus V., a new Congregation, whose special work was to procure victuals for the Papal States and for Rome in particular.[4] The members had to meet twice a month, in the Papal palace, so that Paul V. could take part personally in their deliberations, when he thought it necessary. The Congregation was composed of the Treasurer-General Serra and four other officials, and the Pope had to be regularly furnished with its decisions, which he read through carefully, adding remarks and instructions of his own.[5]

The Constitution of October 19th, 1611, contained special orders for the advancement of agriculture in the Roman Campagna. It renewed the prohibition of the sale of plough oxen for slaughter; it confirmed the obligation of cattle-merchants to offer for sale every year 25 per cent of their oxen for agricultural labour and also the right of vassals to

[1] See the *Avvisi of February 7 and November 14, 1609, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avviso of July 9, 1611, *ibid.*

[3] *Bull.*, XII., 17; Benigni, *loc. cit.*, 47.

[4] *Bull.*, XII., 15 *seq.*

[5] See, in Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14, the *notes of G. B. Costaguti (Costaguti Archives in Rome), where the names of the members of the Congregation are given. The *Libro delle risoluzioni della Congregazione sopra l'annona e grascia di Roma, from October 30 to November 17, 1617, in Cod. *Barb.* 4862, pp. 30–131, Vatican Library.

cultivate land outside their feudal property, as also all the other privileges granted by previous Popes for the promotion of agriculture. The pawnshops (Monte di Pietà) of Rome were, moreover, ordered to lend sums of money up to 1,000 scudi at the rate of 2 per cent to the farmers of the country round Rome and of the Lazio, the Marittima and the Campagna.[1] Unfortunately Paul V. damaged his own designs by making it possible for his nephews to acquire in the Campagna those large estates which were later on to prove so great an obstacle to the advancement of agriculture.[2]

Notwithstanding the bad harvest of 1611, the Pope opposed to his utmost any alteration in the price of bread. He threatened to have corn imported from abroad; he is reported to have said that he would rather resign the tiara than give way in this matter.[3] He felt his burden of cares lightened, however, when the harvest of 1612 turned out well.[4] In July of this year he made a personal inspection of the grain stored for the poor, in order to assure himself that there was a sufficient stock in hand. He repeated his visit in February, 1614.[5]

However much Paul V. desired that his people should be supplied with the largest possible loaves, the thing proved

[1] See *Bull.*, XII., 16 *seq.* *Cf.* BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 50; DECUPIS, *Per gli usi civici nell'Agro Romano*, Rome, 1906, 25 *seq.* See also TAMILIA, *Il s. Monte di Pietà di Roma*, Rome, 1900, 78 *seq.* A *motu proprio* of Paul V.: "Concessio privilegiorum exercentibus agriculturam in territ. et districtu Urbis ac Latii, Campaniae Maritimaeque provinciis," dated April 19, 1611, in the *Editti*, V., 49, p. 13 *seq.* *Ibid.*, a *motu proprio*: "Confirmatio capitulorum et concessio plurium privilegiorum pro consecratione et augmento agriculturae in territ. Cornetano," dated October 6, 1608. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* SISMONDI, *Historia des rép. ital.*, vol. XVI. (Paris, 1818), p. 254. BROSCH, II., 128.

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of January 21 and February 18, 1612, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avviso of June 13, 1612, *ibid.*

[5] *Avviso of July 11, 1612, *ibid.*

unattainable. The views of the Congregation were divided. Serra, who was made a Cardinal on August 17th, 1611, and Rucellai, his successor as Prefect of the *annona*, shared the Pope's views, but the commissioner of the Camera and Giovanni Battista Costaguti declared that a diminution of weight was unavoidable. They pointed out that the quality was more important than the quantity. Paul V. ended by coming round to this view. In the year 1613 he entrusted the management of the matter to Costaguti; he had no reason to regret this step and soon found himself free from what had been a grave worry.[1]

When the harvest was bad, as in the year 1617, the grain store tided matters over until new supplies could arrive from Sicily.[2] Thanks to the great sums which Paul V. spent on provisioning Rome,[3] there was never a scarcity of food during the whole of his long pontificate; nor was the population crushed by excessive prices, as was the case in most of the neighbouring states.[4]

In order to assure for the future the importation of grain into Rome by sea, in April, 1613, the Pope ordered extensive works to be undertaken to facilitate shipping in the Tiber. It had been observed that south and south-westerly winds were a great hindrance to shipping entering the mouth of the river. In order to obviate this, Paul V. continued the work

[1] See the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, Costaguti Archives in Rome; *cf.* Appendix vol. XXVI., n. 14.

[2] *Cf.* Costaguti's *statements, *loc. cit.* *Briefs to the viceroy of Sicily, the Duke of Ossuna, about the relief of the shortage of grain in Rome with grain from Sicily, of March 28, 1615, in *Epist.*, XV.; *ibid.*, a similar *Brief of March 24, 1618. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] According to the *notes of G. B. Costaguti (*loc. cit.*) they amounted to 200,000 scudi. The statement of Bzovius (*Vita Pauli V.*, *c.* 41): "DCCC nummum aureorum," must be an exaggeration. *In a correct. in the 7th Germ. edit. Pastor says Bzovius may be right because the account book (see Appendix, vol. XXVI., n. 13, p. 481) mentions 744,054.

[4] See Costaguti's *statement, *loc. cit.*

begun under Gregory XIII. of embanking the right mouth of the Tiber.[1] With a view to facilitating the importation of grain and to promote commerce generally the Pope also ordered the repair of the principal roads leading into Rome. The care of the roads leading into the Marches was in 1608 entrusted to Cardinal Pierbenedetti, while that of the road to Florence was given to Cardinal Bandini. Cardinal Cesi was made responsible for the repair of the highway to Naples [2]; this included restoration of the bridge over the Liris near Ceprano.[3] These works were protracted until 1620.[4] Paul V. had the Ponte Salario restored [5]; he also laid down new roads in the Alban hills [6] to Gavignano,[7] the birthplace of Innocent III., lying on the picturesque hills near Segni. The building of harbours was likewise undertaken to promote commerce. In Civitavecchia he continued through the agency of Pompeo Targone the improvements in the harbour begun under

[1] *Cf.* Bzovius, *loc. cit.* See further Orbaan, *Documenti*, 99 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*; "Bando et ordine per la conservatione del nuovo alveo et palificata di Fiumicino a Porto," dated September 17, 1611, in the *Editti*, V., 51, p. 186 *seq.*: "Pauli P. V. Constitutio super novi alvei et palif. Fiumicin. ac thesaurarii gener. in perpetuum operis protectorem et conservatorem deputatione cum instructione," dated March 20, 1614; p. 197 *seq.*: "Editto per l'aggiunta della nova palificata da farsi a Fiumicino," dated March 29, 1616, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also Fea, *Considerazioni*, Rome, 1827, 31, 161 *seq.*; Benigni, *Getreidepolitik*, 49.

[2] *Avviso of March 22, 1608, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 204.

[3] See *Avviso of December 12, 1612, *ibid.* *Cf.* the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, c. 2. The coinage of 1616 bore a picture of the bridge. *Cf.* L. Allatius, *De aedificiis Pauli V., in *Barb.*, 3060, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of April 25, 1620, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Costaguti's *notes, *loc. cit.*

[5] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., c. 41. *Cf.* Fea, *Considerazioni*, 30.

[6] See Bzovius, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Fea, *Acque*, 269.

[7] *Avviso of March 20, 1619, in Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 258.

Clement VII.,[1] a new lighthouse [2] and a large warehouse [3] being constructed. Targone was also charged by the Pope with the inspection of the cities on the Adriatic as regards harbours and fortifications.[4] Paul V. decided to construct a new harbour at Fano, where the road leading from the Furlo pass terminated. In spite of much opposition to this plan,[5] the work was taken in hand in 1613.[6] The new harbour, which received the name of Porto Borghesiano, acquired

[1] See the *Avvisi, *loc. cit.*, 65, 76, 95 *seq.*, 99, 197, 202 (*cf.* 314).

[2] There is a medal of 1608 relating to this.

[3] *Cf.* the inscription in ANNOVAZZI, 275.

[4] *Cf.* ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 82 and the *report of Pompeo Targone addressed to Paul V. "Sopra le città, fortezza e porti da lui visitati d'Ancona, Fano, Rimini, Cervia, Ravenna e Ferrara," *Barb.* 4340, pp. 25–37, Vatican Library.

[5] RANKE (III[6]., 112*) quotes in this connection, "Tarq. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima 17 ottobre 1612 *Vallic.*," the statements of which he believed without question. The document was no longer to be found in the Vallicelliana in Rome in 1879. The author's name is written incorrectly by Ranke; it should run: "Tarquinio Pinaoro." Many *dissertations of this "Anconitano", who belonged to the "Confraternita Marchigiana" in Rome (see his *Discorsi in *Vat.* 7850, p. 352 *seq.*, Vatican Library) addressed to Paul V. are to be found in the Roman libraries and also in the Gambalunga Library at Rimini, but I have not come across the above one. The composition of the work is evidently connected with the sending (announced in the Avviso of October 20, 1612) of the "architetto del popolo Romano" to Fano "per restaurare quel porto" in one year, for 38,000 scudi to be paid by the city (ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 207). The architect was Girolamo Rainaldi; see BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga*, 23.

[6] See the *Avviso of December 21, 1613, Vatican Library The medal mentioned here, portraying the "Portus Borghesius a fundamentis exstruct. Col. Iul. Fanestris 1613" is reproduced in CIACONIUS, IV., 397–8. The Avviso praises the harbour as easily accessible, sheltered from all winds, spacious and useful to the Papal States, which agrees with the statements which Ranke (*loc. cit.*) takes from Pinaoro.

considerable importance, especially for the Marches, Umbria and Romagna.[1]

The Pope took up repeatedly the question of the draining of the marshy regions and the regulation of rivers in the Papal States.[2] At first he concentrated on the northerly provinces, Ferrara and Romagna, but Central Italy was also in prospect.[3] Two extraordinary congregations were occupied with this question of water in the district of Ferrara and in the Chiana valley.[4] How difficult the task was is apparent from the evidence of numerous experts, amongst them being Giovanni Fontana and Targone.[5] In addition to Cardinal

[1] *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 42.

[2] *Cf.* the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome. See also *Vita Pauli V. compendio scripta in *Barb.* 2670, p. 8[b], Vatican Library. For the draining of a marsh near Castelgandolfo see Cancellieri, *Tarantismo*, 105; A. Guidi, *Colli Albani*, Rome, 1880, 58 *seq.*; Celli, *Malaria*, 281; Tomassetti, II., 188; Orbaan, *Documenti*, 156, No. 2.

[3] See the Avvisi in Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 57, 77, 81. Mention is also made here of the "*Editto sopra la disiccatione del laghetto di Castelgandolfo et sopra la condotta dell'acqua di Malafitto a detto Castello", dated January 12, 1610, *Editti*, V., 51, p. 312; *ibid.*, p. 315, "*Editto per la conservatione della cava del lago Trasimeno," dated May 30, 1615. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the **Relazione di Roma* of B. Ceci of 1605 in *Urb.*, 837, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* "*Relatione et parere di Pompeo Targone sopra la bonificatione delle scoli delli valli di Ferrara, Comachio et altri luoghi alla S[tà] di Paulo V.", *Vat.* 6344, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library; "*Discorso sopra la modificatione del Po di Ferrara" (composed at the time of Paul V.), *Barb.* 4383; *Informazione del P. Agostino [Spernazzati] a P. Paolo V. 1605 about the "bonificazione di Ferrara", *Barb.* 4356, pp. 39–46; *ibid.*, pp. 46–97: "Informazione del P. Agostino a P. Paolo V. sopra la bonificazione del paese sommerso dal Po di Ferrara," etc., composed in 1606 (*cf. Barb.* 4340, pp. 1–23); "Risposta del Fontana alla scrittura fatta dal P. Agostino Spernazzati per conto della bonificazione," *Barb.* 4379, p. 101–185; *ibid.*, p. 105–114: "Risposta di Giov. Fontana alla scrittura dei signori Ferraresi per la bonificazione data a Msgr. ill. Vicelegato 10 Agosto, 1606." Vatican Library.

Piatti, who was well acquainted with conditions in Ferrara, Mgr. Centurione and later Cardinal Caetani were consulted as regards the Romagna, and the legate, Cardinal Luigi Cappone, as regards Bologna.[1] The water problem also played an important part in the settlement, made in 1607, of the boundary between the papal city of Città della Pieve and the Tuscan city of Chiusi.[2] Three years later, Paul V. regulated the boundary between Rieti and the Neapolitan Civita Ducale.[3] In the same year the Pope ratified the agreement made by the Bolognese with Modena concerning the boundary and various questions relating to the water supply.[4]

Floodings of the Tiber at the end of 1607 and the beginning of 1608 [5] once again gave cogency to the question of providing against this calamity, and once more there was no dearth of suggestions of the most varying kinds as to how to set about it [6]; it was, however, rather the question of raising

[1] *Cf.* " *Relatione del ill. card. Piatti a P. Paolo V." about the " acque di Ferrara e di Romagna ", *Barb.* 4356, pp. 106–128; *ibid.*, pp. 194–222: " *Scrittura delle ragioni della città intorno al metter Reno alla Stellata con le risposte del card. Capponi e repliche della città "; p. 226–232: " *Risposta de Ferraresi alle ragioni de sig. Bolognesi " (*cf. Barb.* 4340, pp. 55–67: "*Parere del sig. card. Gaetano sopra le acque del Reno "). Vatican Library. The " *Visita di Msgr. Centurione dell'acque di Romagna nel 1605 e del card. Gaetano del 1610 " in Cod. H., III., 67 in the *Chigiana*, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Bull.*, XI., 445 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III., No. 449. The " Confirmatio concordiae inter universitates terrarum Citerni et Monterchi, status eccles. et magni ducis Hetruriae respective pro reparandis alluvionibus fluminum Cerfonis et Rivianelli initae " in *Bull.*, XII., 249 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Pauli V., Vita compendio scripta in *Barb.* 2670, p. 8, Vatican Library, where the draining works near Sezze are also mentioned.

[3] THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III., No. 450.

[4] *Bull.*, XII., 225 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the Avvisi in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 87 *seq.*, 92.

[6] BOTERO (*cf. supra*, p. 73, n. 3) suggested the diverting of the course of the Anio. *Cf.* further Pompeo Targone, *Sopra il rimedio da darsi all'inondationi del Tevere (addressed to Paul V.),

the necessarily large sum of money [1] as well as the difficulties inherent in an undertaking of this kind, which prevented the remedying of an evil which was a constant menace.[2]

During the flooding of the Tiber in January, 1608, Cardinal Borghese and the Pope's brother had done all in their power for the people.[3] In other ways also they vied with Paul V. in their undertakings for the general good, which were specially beneficial to the Eternal City. The construction of the famous conduit, Acqua Paola,[4] was a very great boon to the Trastevere and the Borgo. Castelgandolfo [5] and Loreto [6]

Barb. 4340, pp. 47–53; *ibid.*, pp. 55–62: "*Discorso sopra l'inondazione del Tevere et il modo da rimediarvi di Paolo Sanquirico" (similarly addressed to Paul V., Vatican Library. There is printed and dedicated to Paul V. the *Discorso del ingegnere* Nic. Galli *sopra l'inondazione del Tevere*, Rome, 1609 (a copy of this very rare dissertation is in *Barb.* 4343). Four *memorials about the freeing of Rome from flooding and a *dissertation in Spanish addressed to Cardinal Capponi were composed by Joseph Fortan, in *Barb.* 3560, p. 140–251. *Cf.* also the *Avvisi of August 20 and October 29, 1608, and the *Avviso of July 25, 1609, about the plans of a Venetian engineer. Vatican Library. A discussion in the consistory took place on November 30, 1612; see *Avviso of December 1, 1612 (*ibid.*).

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of January 26, March 1, May 28, and July 30, 1608, *ibid.*

[2] The *Avviso of May 14, 1614, reports a fresh flooding of the Tiber. *Cf. Studi e docum.*, XV., 270. For a flooding in Comacchio, *cf.* the *Avviso of March 4, 1606, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of January 12, 1608, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 3, Costaguti Archives in Rome. For the measures for the protection of Rome against the plague, in addition to the *Avvisi of September 5 and 12, 1607 (Vatican Library), see the **Editti*, V., 61, p. 38 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. For the Banco di S. Spirito instituted on December 13, 1605, see *Bull.*, XI., 251; *Atti dell'Accad.* "Arcadia", 1917, I., 162.

[5] See Tomassetti, *Campagna*, II., 188.

[6] See Keyssler, II., 413, 439. Loreto obtained two new bridges under Paul V.; see Colasanti, *Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910, 62, 64; *cf.* Ricci, *Architettura*. The arms of Paul V. are to be seen on the bronze doors of the Casa Santa; see Colasanti, 82.

also acquired aqueducts through the energy of Paul V. The extensive building enterprises of Paul V. in Rome were intended to give able-bodied labourers a chance to earn a livelihood. The Pope rightly regarded this as the best kind of almsgiving.[1]

Of great importance for the administration of the Papal States as also for the transaction of ecclesiastical and political affairs was the collection of all the documental treasures of the Church into one uniform secret archivium, which Paul V. carried out.[2] With him there begins a new epoch for these collections, which, in spite of all losses, were still as voluminous as they were valuable. Paul V. could see this for himself when, in February, 1609, he visited the archivium in St. Angelo, which had been founded by Sixtus IV., for housing the more valuable "of the privileges of the Roman Church".[3] A good canonist himself, he was well able to appreciate the great importance of such documents; it was only by the decision to bring together all the scattered collections and to preserve them more securely could further losses be prevented and what still remained be utilized to good purpose.

The new papal secret archives were housed near the Vatican Library in the long wing of the papal palace, overlooking the Vatican gardens. The rooms were adorned with paintings, illustrative of the donations made to the Church,[4] and

[1] See the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 1, *loc. cit.* More particularly about the buildings of Paul V. in Rome, vol. xxvi, c. v.

[2] *Cf.* for the later history MARINI, *Memorie degli archivi della S. Sede*, Rome, 1825, 26 *seq.*, 45; GASPAROLO, *Constituzione dell' Archivo Vaticano e suo primo indice sotto il pontificato di Paolo V.* Manoscritto inedito di Michele Lonigo, in *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 3 *seqq.* See also V. SICKEL, *Römische Berichte*, in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., Hist. Kl.* CXXXIII. (9 *Abh.*, Vienna, 1895), 87 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of February 14, 1609, Vatican Library. For the archives of St. Angelo see Vol. IV., p. 436 *seq.*, of this work.

[4] *Cf.* TAJA, 478 *seq.*, PISTOLESI, III., 276 *seq.*, and BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 177 *seq.* The frescoes are well preserved but almost unknown, for until recently entrance was confined to

furnished with presses.[1] The first transfer of archival material to the new quarters took place under the supreme direction of Cardinal Cesi at the end of 1611, and lasted during the following year. Next took place the transfer of 258 volumes of papal registers and other important documents from the secret library, which had also been founded by Sixtus IV.[2]; the volumes were repaired and re-bound where necessary. There were also transferred a number of historical manuscripts, which the Pope had received as a present. The archives of the administrative offices of the Camera Apostolica yielded a considerable consignment. Amongst these were also, since the time of Sixtus V., the majority of those registers and briefs, acts and manuscripts, which had of old been preserved in the papal wardrobe. The wardrobe was situated on the third floor of the court of St. Damasus over the papal apartments[3] since it served to house those acts which might be wanted for reference at any moment. In addition to this, the famous collection of manuscripts of Cardinal Vitelli was also removed from the archives of the Camera Apostolica. In May, 1614, the archivium in St. Angelo, of which at the request of Paul V. an inventory had been made by Silvio de Paulis,[4] had to yield some of its Acta to the new secret archives. All these consignments were put in order, numbered and indexed. A brief of December 2nd, 1614, contained rigorous measures for the security of this treasure.[5]

The foundation of the new secret archives of the papacy

officials of the archives. Pope Benedict XV. rescinded this antiquated rule. On May 16, 1921, for the first time for centuries I was able to visit all the rooms of the archives.

[1] They still bear the arms of Paul V.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. IV., p. 436 *seq.* of this work.

[3] See *Ruolo degli appartamenti e delle stanze nel palazzo Vaticano dell'anno 1594*, p.p. F. C. Colnabrini, Rome, 1895, and V. Sickel, *loc. cit.*, 88 n., according to whom the "Guardarobba" was put in the same rooms as those in which the archives of the Secretary of State are now.

[4] *Cf.* Sickel, *loc. cit.*, 115 *seq.*

[5] See *Arch. Rom.*, II., 196 *seq.*

was laid not merely through the collecting of scattered archives [1] and the assigning of special quarters for them: special officials were also appointed. On January 30th, 1616, Baldassare Ansidei was made custodian. At his death he was succeeded by Nicola Alemanni.[2]

A bronze bust of Paul V. over the entrance from the Vatican Library into the secret papal archives recalls even to-day the memory of their creator,[3] who here called into being a safe home for a vast quantity of ancient documents and precious correspondence. Thus came into existence a collection of archives, which, if it is not the largest in Europe and the most important in every possible respect, is nevertheless unrivalled in its significance.[4]

[1] Paul V. searched for the conciliar acts of Massarelli with great energy; see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XI., 397 *seq.* Cardinal Aless. Ludovisi (later Gregory XV.) took pains to secure the manuscripts of Cardinal G. Paleotto about the Council of Trent for the new archivium; see the "*Lettere del card. Ludovisi al Ludovico Ludovisi", dated Bologna, March 11 and 25 and April 25, 1620, in Cod. E. 67 of the Boncompagni Archives in Rome.

[2] See PALMIERI, *Ad Vaticani Archivi Rom. Pontif. Regesta manuductio*, Romae, 1884, XXVI.; GASPAROLO, *loc. cit.*, 17, where it reads 1612 instead of 1616. Ansidei remained at the same time first custodian of the library (see Appendix No. 8); the complete separation of the archives from the library was first accomplished under Urban VIII.

[3] The inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 135. It may be permissible to mention here that in January, 1879, the writer of these lines received for purposes of study in the Vatican Library the very first Acta allowed out from the hitherto almost hermetically sealed Papal Secret Archives, thus inaugurating the unrestricted access of scholars to these documents; *cf.* my communication in "*Hochland*", 1904.

[4] See P. KEHR, *Das Vaticanische Archiv*, in *Hinnebergs Internat. Wochenschrift f. Wissensch.*, 1907, I., 429 *seq.*, who says that an entirely new epoch in historical science begins with the bold decision of Leo XIII. to break with a thousand-year-old tradition and to throw the archives open to students of history. "Who is there now who either will or can resist such an example?

The major-domo of Paul V., Giovan Battista Costaguti, observed in connection with the foundation of the papal secret archives that the ancient documents were juridical weapons for the preservation of what has been acquired.[1] What was the state of the material weapons at this time?

The army was always a weak point in the Papal States. Giovanni Botero thought it an advantage for the worldly possessions of the Church that, apart from the great prestige of the Pope, they were so well protected by nature that it was unnecessary to spend a single quattrino on military projects. The country possessed no large harbour and its coasts were so constituted that it could only be attacked with great difficulty and then not with a large fighting force. There was also the marshiness of the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea, which alone sufficed to render a hostile landing impossible. The people of the Marches and the Romagna were good soldiers, well able to ward off an aggressor. The land frontiers also presented no danger, for the Papal States were larger than Tuscany and only slightly smaller than the kingdom of Naples. Orvieto, Civita Castellana, Paliano and Spoleto were advantageously situated, Umbria was a natural fortress and Rome seemed safe enough with the Castle of St. Angelo and the fortifications of the Borgo. According to Botero, it would have sufficed to fortify in addition Ascoli and Rieti, and in the south Frosinone and Anagni. He regarded the

When the Roman Church proffered her documents, for centuries so jealously and mysteriously guarded, all the other numerous ecclesiastical archives could no longer keep their treasures closed. Twenty years ago the archives of all the Roman churches were practically inaccessible; nor was entrance easy to gain to the archives of the bishoprics, capitals and corporations of Italy; to-day—after the lead given by the Vatican—almost all are open. The example of Rome was followed in all the other countries: only the Spanish archives remain closed. A new notion has irresistibly penetrated public life: the right of science to make use of archives."

[1] "Le scritture sono armi civili nel conservare l'acquisitato." Costaguti's *notes, c. 3, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

Tuscan frontier as the weakest spot: the Pope should therefore keep on good terms with the Grand Duke. Of the outlying parts in the north, Ferrara and Bologna would have to be considered first. As regards Bologna, Paul V. had made a good beginning with the fortification of Castelfranco, while Clement VIII. had started the construction of a citadel at Ferrara.[1] Paul V. brought this work to completion [2] and, in addition, gave security to the coasts of the Papal States, notably by means of fortified towers as against the Turkish corsairs [3] and by restoring the works at Ancona.[4] He thought that he could let the matter rest there, for Clement VIII. had been able to raise 22,000 men in a month against Ferrara—an achievement which, according to Botero, could have been equalled by very few princes in Europe.[5] Nevertheless, when in 1606 a serious conflict broke out with Venice, this number proved to be as little equal to the occasion as the available funds. Paul V. had at that time erected two arsenals in Rome

[1] Botero, *Relationi*, VI., 32 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

[2] See Orbaan, *Documenti*, 109, 111, 113 *seq.*, 119 *seq.*, 142 *seq.* "Minute di lettere scritte dal sig. Mario Farnese, locotenente generale de s. Chiesa per servitio della fortezza di Ferrara dal 1608–1611" in *Cod. ital.* 223 in the Munich municipal archives. The *Vita Pauli V. compendio scripta (*Barb.* 2670, p. 8[b], Vatican Library) calls the citadel of Ferrara "opus sane amplum, sed in quo amplitudinem superat opportunitas".

[3] *Cf.* the *notes of G. B. Costaguti, c. 3, Costaguti Archives, in Rome. *Cf.* also the *Avvisi of August 3, 1611 (fortification of Fiumicino) and of December 13, 1617 (fortification of the coasts of Romagna), Vatican Library. *Cf.* further Bzovius, c. 34; *Studi e docum.*, XV., 272; Fea, *Considerazioni*, 167; Guglielmotti, *Fortificazioni*, 431, 470, 483, 493. Botero (*Relationi*, VI., 41) suggests the foundation of an order of knights to have its seat in Ponza, to combat the pirates. Concerning the papal fleet of which Francesco Centurione was given command, towards the end of 1609, see additions to Guglielmotti in a paper by Orbaan in the periodical *Roma*, IV. (1926), 500 *seq.*

[4] See the *notes of Costaguti, c. 4, *loc. cit.*

[5] Botero, *Relationi*, VI., 33.

and had started a munitions factory at Tivoli.[1] Even after the special congregation for military affairs was constituted and, after the end of 1609, began to meet weekly,[2] the decline in military strength was far from being stemmed. In 1612 the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, reported that the 650 light horse, previously kept for withstanding banditry, were sent into Hungary to help the Emperor against the Turks without any other troops taking their place. Nor did the Pope have in his pay any general officers, and Ferrara and Ancona alone possessed garrison troops.[3] Money was saved wherever possible, for the financial circumstances of Paul V. were anything but easy.

The treasurer-general, Luigi Capponi, who had been appointed by Leo XI., was confirmed in office by the Borghese Pope, and he continued to hold it until he was made a Cardinal on November 24th, 1608. He was followed by the Genoese Giacomo Serra, an extremely conscientious man, who on August 17th, 1611, was also raised to the purple though he retained, for a time, as pro-treasurer, the supervision of the papal finances. When Serra went to France as legate in September, 1615, Mgr. Patrizi became Treasurer.[4]

The task of these men was fraught with difficulties. When

[1] See the *notes of Costaguti, *loc. cit.*, and the statements in *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 50.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avviso of November 15, 1611, Vatican Library. The names of the members of the Congregatione "per la militia" in Costaguti's *notes, *loc. cit.* (see Appendix n. 14, vol. xxvi).

[3] *Cf.* Fr. Contarini, *Relazione*, 90; Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 100 *seq.*, 119.

[4] See Moroni, LXXIV., 300. Here also more details about the Pope's "Tesoriere segreto", Roberto Pietro, who died in 1619 and was buried in S. Maria della Scala. Mgr. Patrizio, whom Costaguti (vol. xxvi, n. 14) mentions as "Tesoriere generale", received this position on September 22, 1615; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 292. For the character of Serra, see Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, XXVII. For the coinage of Paul V., see Serafino, Le monete del Museo Vaticano, II., Rome, 1912, 131 *seq.*

Paul V., at the beginning of his reign, lamented in a letter to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria that his coffers were empty and that he was crushed by heavy debts,[1] he was stating the bare truth.[2] The chief evil was that the subscribers of the loans (monti) were entitled to certain of the taxes, so that a considerable part of the revenue was entirely lost to the State. The Venetian *obbedienza* reported in 1605 that only 70,000 scudi of the taxes paid to the Camera were not accounted for by payment of interest.[3] Through the selling of offices, fees and perquisites were likewise lost to the State treasury. From the autumn of 1605 a special congregation tried to find a remedy for this sorry condition.[4] The conflict with Venice, which broke out in April, 1606, rendered new taxes necessary for a time and occasioned yet further deliberations.[5] Of the many different suggestions, which were

[1] *"Aerarium S. Sedis adeo exhaustum reperimus, et quod deterius est, cum cura maxima aeris alieni magnitudine, ut nisi . . . eius clementia consolaremur, qui d. Petrum redarguit, animo prorsus deficeremus." Brief of June 23, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 16, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avviso of May 25, 1605, Vatican Library. See also MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 611 *seq.*

[3] BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 63. *Cf.* also the *Relazione di Roma of B. Ceci of 1605, *Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avvisi of October 5 and December 21, 1605, Vatican Library.

[5] *"E per pagare la soldatesca e provisioni non parve bene toccare li denari di castello sì per non privarsene così di subito come per riputatione e mostrar che si poteva fare la guerra e non metter mano al denaro reposto. Spinto però dalla necessità messe alcune gravezze a populi, ma hebbe consideratione che li poveri ne patissero manco d'ogni altro e che tanto fosse pagato dalli essenti quanto da non essenti e tanto da terrazzani quanto da forastieri. Fu però augmentato tanto il prezzo della carta, dal sale e della carne e sopra essi assegnamenti prese alcuna somma di denari ad interesse. Si accomodorno poi li rumori e Sua Stà levò l'impositioni sopra la carta e sale e lasciò quella della carne per due cause. L'una acciò con questo assegnamento si estinguesse il debito fatto per le sudette occasioni. L'altra

forthcoming in the autumn of that year, a detailed plan drawn up specially for Paul V. by Malvasia, an expert of the Camera, is of particular interest.[1]

At the outset the author showed how entirely justified was the determination of the Pope to put the finances in order, for the interest, which the Holy See had to pay, swallowed up practically the whole of the income, so that it was a constant embarrassment to find enough money even to cover running expenses; and when an extraordinary necessity arose, one did not know where to turn.[2]

Malvasia discussed four possible ways of effecting a financial reform: new taxes, economies, reducing the rates of interest on the state loans and removing gold from the treasure in St. Angelo. He declared that the imposition of new taxes

acciò si estinguessero anche gli altri debiti e l'entrate, che avanzavano, potessero supplire alli bisogni futuri per non havere a gravare la città di nove impositioni." (Costaguti, *notes, c. 1, Costaguti Archives in Rome). The suppression of the tax on paper took place at the beginning of May, 1607; see the *Avviso of May 5, 1607, Vatican Library. In order to balance the tottering finances, Paul V. had on December 23, 1605, abolished a series of privileges and immunities, which his predecessors had granted for the benefit of the income of the papal Camera; see MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LIV.

[1] See *Per sollevare la Camera Apostolica. Discorso di mons. Malvasia, 1606, used by Ranke (IIIe., 9, and 109* *seq.*), but quoted without giving references. I have found it in the report addressed to Paul V. in *Cod.*, 39 B, 13, pp. 122–7 in the Corsini Library in Rome. The time of composition is given in the *Avviso of September 23, 1606, Vatican Library. Malvasia, a native of Bologna, was under Clement VIII. "foriere" (see MORONI, XXIV., 146) and, according to Costaguti, was under Clement VIII. a member of the "Congregazioni per la militia" and "del saldo de conti"; see Appendix, vol. xxvi, n. 14. According to the *Avviso of January 11, 1606 (Vatican Library) he was also prefect of the prisons of Rome.

[2] It is expressed in the same way in a memorandum to Paul V., which G. B. Costaguti includes in his *notes (c. 2). Costaguti Archives in Rome.

was impossible, quite apart from the fact that such a method was entirely against the wishes of the Pope. And in view of the large debts and the pressing demands it was useless to attempt any economies. Thus there only remained the two last methods, which would have to be combined. Malvasia sought to remedy the parlous state of affairs, in which the income of the state was ear-marked for creditors, by a complete alteration in the prevailing system of loans and the sale of offices. He suggested the creation of one single *monte papale* at 6 per cent, or 5 per cent at the highest, in place of the many existing *monti* with their varying rates of interest ; to do this, they must redeem all the outstanding obligations with a million in gold from the treasure in St. Angelo ; this could easily be paid back later with the saving effected. The redemption of the *luoghi di monte* should be based on the nominal value of the loans : Paul V. would be entirely justified in doing this as previous Popes, such as Paul III., Pius IV., Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. had all reduced the rates of interest, although their financial difficulties were not nearly so serious. The governments of Spain and Venice had acted in a like manner ; it was in this way that Venice had in a few years paid off the debt of nine millions, which she had been forced to contract during the last Turkish war.

In his memorandum Malvasia sought to meet every possible objection. In particular he took pains to point out that the owners of the *luoghi di monti* had no right to complain if they only obtained the face-value of the loans under the Pope's redemption scheme, for in most cases this had been expressly reserved by the Apostolic Camera ; and even if it had not been so, the justification lay in the very nature of the case. Malvasia recalls in this connection that previous Popes, as for example Paul IV., had been forced to sell the *luoghi* in the *monti vacabili* at 50 ; and quite recently Clement VIII. had been forced to sell the *luoghi* of the *monti di pace* at 96½. For the rest, one could indemnify those who had acquired the *luoghi* above par.

Malvasia also pointed to the general economic interests which would benefit by the adoption of his scheme. It could

the notes of major-domo Costaguti, amounted to 1,375,000 scudi, it was only possible to make ends meet by relying on uncertain and variable revenues which, according to the same authority, amounted to 435,000 scudi.[1] That these variable sources of revenue were great is likewise attested by Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador. He lays stress on the fact that the Popes were still able to collect large sums of money, through tithes and subsidies, not only in the Papal States but in other countries as well.[2] For the rest Costaguti assures us that towards the end of his reign, Paul V. thought seriously about the establishment of an ordered economy and the reduction of the burden of debts: only death prevented him from carrying out this work.[3]

l'elemosina ordinaria passa cento et venti mille scuti l'anno, il sostenere li confini, la corte (le spese della quale habbiamo molto ritirato) consume il resto della nostra entrata, di alcuni di nostri vicini habbiamo cause di sospettare"; said Paul V. himself to the ambassador of Ferdinand II., Max von Trautmansdorf; see *Report, dated October 24, 1619, State Archives in Vienna.

[1] See the *notes of Costaguti, Appendix, vol. xxvi, n. 14, Costaguti Archives in Rome.

[2] Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 101.

[3] *Notes of Costaguti, c. 1, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER IV.

Ecclesiastico-Political Struggle with Venice and Proclamation of the Interdict.

Venice has always been the point of contact between East and West; in many respects it may be described as a bit of the East in the midst of the West. To begin with the church of St. Mark, the heart and symbol of the republic, gives the impression of having been brought over from Byzantium. The East is called to mind by the Venetian administration of justice with its arbitrary verdicts [1] and its secret condemnations and executions. The whole constitution bears an eastern stamp [2] in that it jealously checks one branch of the executive by another and allows even the doge to be sent to the block. In Venice, says an account written towards the end of the XVIth century,[3] there are not many monuments of the great men of bygone centuries; the republic sees even in the outstanding worth of her captains and statesmen a danger against which it guards itself. Andrea Contarini, the conqueror of Genoa, deemed it expedient to leave

[1] An orderly study of jurisprudence, an observer remarks, is not to be found in Venice; to arrive at a verdict, they follow an alleged natural sense of justice, but in reality they are swayed by passion. The judges "sono per lo più huomini ignoranti d'ogni cosa, o delle legge almeno". The "nobili ad ogni altra scienza attendono che a quella delle legge con infinito danno de' poveri litiganti". **Relatione della Ser. Republica di Venetia dell'anno* 1590, Corsini Library, Rome, 35 F, 29, f. 223.

[2] *Cf.* Muther, I., 40.

[3] *Relatione, loc. cit., seq.* 216. *Cf.* Ranke, *Zur venez. Geschichte*: *Werke*, XLII., 62.

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[3] *Relatione, loc. cit., seq.* 216. *Cf.* Ranke, *Zur venez. Geschichte*: *Werke*, XLII., 62.

instructions that not even his name should appear on his tomb. Even as regards manners Venice was the most oriental city of Europe. There was a counterpart to the joyous sensuality and the delight in splendour and display which Titian and other Venetian artists paint with such glowing colours. Venice was the abode of luxurious, self-indulgent frivolity and the rendezvous of pleasure-seeking, dissipated foreigners. Above all relations with the Church, in Venice, seem to have been modelled on a Byzantine pattern.[1]

The republic set store by a reputation for orthodoxy and its frequent boast was that of being an obedient daughter of the Roman Church and a bulwark of Christendom against Islam. The numerous churches and pious foundations of the city as well as the splendour of the liturgical functions might well convey an impression that here religion flourished greatly. However, at least among the upper classes, there prevailed much religious indifference which was being steadily fostered by constant business relations with the Greeks and Mohammedans. The philosophy of Averroes, with its denial of the immortality of the individual soul, flourished at the Venetian university of Padua. As late as the beginning of the XVIIth century one of the masters there, Cremonini, was able to propagate such ideas with impunity. Free-thinkers such as Aretino and Giordano Bruno sought refuge precisely at Venice

[1] Concerning Church and State in Venice see our account in Vol. IV, p. 92 *seqq.*; V. 335 *seq.*; R. BATTISTELLA, La politica ecclesiastica della Repubblica Veneta, in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XVI., p. 2 (1898); BART. CECHETTI, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*, Venice, 1874; P. M. OLMENTI, *Venezia e il clero*, in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, LX., 1900–1901), II., 678–684 (also in *Nuova Antologia*, 4 series, XCIV., Rome, 1901, 94–104); F. ALBANESE, *L'inquisizione religiosa nella repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1875; ANDREAS, *Relationen*, 22 *seqq.*; NÜRNBERGER, in *Hist. Jahrb.* (1883), 201 *seqq.*; GOTHEIN, *Ignatius*, 533 *seq.*; KRETCHMAYR, II., 478.

and nowhere in Italy did protestantism meet with so much success as in that city.[1]

If in private life, seemingly at least, religion meant everything, little room was left for it in political life. "We are Venetians first, and Christians after that," was the motto of the leaders of the State. True there was then elsewhere also a party which held that the interests of the State take precedence over everything, religion included; that all religions should be tolerated and that the State should claim sovereignty over the Church. But, in the opinion of a contemporary, Venice was perhaps the birthplace of these principles which there had passed into the political system.[2]

[1] *Cf.* our statements, Vol. X., 306 *seq.*, 529 *seqq.*; XII., 491 *seq.*; XIII., 210 *seq.*; BONNET, *in Bulletin hist. et littér. de la Société de l'hist. du protestantisme français*, XV. (1866), 440; K. BENRATH, *Gesch. der Reformation in Venedig*, Halle, 1886; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XL. (1843), 130; *cf.* MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 680. * "Il vescovo di Padua ha detto a N.S. che verranno costì persone di quella città a deporre contro il Cremonino, che tiene la mortalità dell' anima e la persuade e insegna ad altri, non ostante l'esquisite diligenze che si fanno dalli Rettori a favor suo; ne avertisco V.S. affinchè comparendo, faccia che si pigli le loro depositioni e non s'alteri in ciò la solita forma; onde non si possa mai dire che non si sia proceduto con tutta la schietezza che è propria del tribunale del sant'Officio. Dovrà bene V.S. dare animo a quelli che deporranno del sudetto Cremonino, onde sgravino le proprie coscienze. (Borghese to Gessi, August 9, 1608, *Nunciat. div.*, 186 *seq.*, 417 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.)

[2] In regard to the party of the so-called *politici cf.* ADAM CONTZEN *Politicorum libri*, X., Mayence, 1628, l.2., c.14, § 1: "Nè so io se i politici l'abbiano presa (the principle of the precedence of the temporal) dalla Repubblica di Venezia, perchè ab antiquo, come s'è veduto, i Venetiani hanno patito di questo morbo, ed ora si sono dichiarati per pubblici scritti, che l'hanno, come si dice, nell'osso, fatti dare in luce in nome dell dottore Giovanni Marsilio." Thus also ANT. PERSIO in a pamphlet of the troubled period about to be described, in FIORENTINO, in *Revista Europea, Anno* VIII., vol. 3 (1877), 390. "Dicono esser

No more than her captains or her statesmen was the Church allowed to gain such prestige as might stand in the way of the men in power. For this reason the Signoria went so far as to foster the deplorable decadence observable in the ranks of the clergy, and jealously protected both priests and monasteries against the Pope and the bishops who in the nature of things should have reformed them.[1] Moreover the liberty of the Church was impeded by laws against the right of ownership of "mortmain"; by the surveillance of churches and monasteries; by the putting of the clergy on the same footing as the laity before the law; by the stringent exercise of *placet* and *exequatur*; by the Signoria's right of nomination of the patriarch and the bishops, and by the exclusion of clerics, even if they belonged to the ranks of the nobility, from all

christiani cattolici, chiamano il Papa santissimo, e poi con parole ignominiose ed insolenti lo vituperano, e co' fatti gli negano ogni ubbidienza, ed invitano, anzi sforzano altri a negargliela." *Ibid.*, 393.

[1] MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 680; HORTIG-DÖLLINGER, *Handbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte*, II., 2, Landshut, 1882, 730. Towards the end of the pontificate of Clement VIII., the scandals in a convent of nuns had called for the intervention of the *provveditori*. When they perceived that certain members of the Venetian nobility were involved, the Council of Ten called the affair before its own court and acquitted the nuns (NÜRNBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 203). As late as the year 1767 the Belgian, Rapedius of Berg, writes that Venice protects bad monks from their ecclesiastical superiors (FRIEDBERG, *Grenzen*, II., 703). "In consequence of the corruption of the clergy," Friedberg writes (704), "secular society became infected and the anarchy of social conditions attacked the State also and led to its ruin." The above mentioned pamphlet of A. Persio relates, as characterizing the Venetians, that they erected at great cost a theatre and that the *nobili* who resorted thither in great numbers, with their wives and daughters, required from the actors "che dicessero le più grasse, per non dir più sporche cose, che mai sapessero" (*Fiorentino, loc. cit.*, 394, *cf.* below, p. 155.

public offices.[1] All these dispositions the Republic justified by an appeal either to established custom or to papal concessions.

The years immediately preceding the accession of Paul V. had been particularly rich in such encroachments on the rights of the Church. Clement VIII. repeatedly had occasion to complain of the violation of episcopal jurisdiction by the Senate of Venice.[2] In 1603 a dispute arose at Brescia between the town and its clergy about the latter's obligation to contribute towards the repairing of the city walls.[3] The Signoria decided against the clergy, and because in consequence of the dispute many citizens had been refused absolution in confession, it was resolved to issue a legal summons against those who had instigated this line of action.[4] The clergy of Brescia refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Signoria in such a matter. They complained to the Pope that they were made to pay twice as much as the laity and asked him to proceed with ecclesiastical censures against their oppressors. Thereupon the Signoria, in support of its right, appealed to a century-old custom,[5] but the Holy See instructed the bishop of Brescia to protest against the execution of the decrees of the government. The bishop, however, did not dare to carry out his orders.[6]

[1] MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 681 ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 129–135 ; REIN, 1–9. "The most remarkable thing in the history of Venice, as Ruskin remarked, is that religion was so very much alive in private life and so dead in public life." KRETSCHMAYR, I., 154 ; *cf.* 242 *seq.*, 445, 462 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 249 *seq.*

[3] **Cod. Ottob.*, 1941, Pars 2, *seq.* 297 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] April 3, 1604 : *Decreto del Senato, che si formi processo contro quelli che sono stati autori di negar l'assolutione alli cittadini, che hanno acconsentito al far pagar il clero. *Ibid.*

[5] *Reply of the Senate to the nuncio, February 19, 1604 : "Disse il papa non si poteva sententiar il clero di Brescia senza parlar con lui." *Ibid.*

[6] *January 29, 1604 (1605), *ibid.*

Rome was even more perturbed by two decrees passed at Venice in the last years before the election of Paul V. which were intended not only for the city but for the whole territory of the Republic.[1] Anyone erecting a monastery, a church, a hospital or similar buildings without leave of the Senate was to be punished, in virtue of one of these laws,[2] with perpetual banishment or, should he return, with perpetual imprisonment; the buildings were to be pulled down, the site on which they stood was forfeit and was to be divided between the official who carried out the sentence and him who denounced the delinquent. Remissness in the execution of the law was punishable with a fine of 500 ducats. The second law ordained [3] that immovable property could not be handed over to ecclesiastical persons either by purchase or by a free

[1] For what follows *cf.* besides ROMANIN, VII., 19 *seq.* and BALAN, VI., 657 *seq.*; P. SARPI, *Storia particolare delle cose passate tra'l SS. Pontefice Paolo V. e la ser. rep. di Venezia negli anni* 1605, 1606, 1607. Lyons (Venice), 1624, MIRANDOLA (Geneva) 1624 (*Opere varie*, I., 1–144); Gius. MALATESTA, *Istoria dell' Interdetto sotto Paolo V., MSS.* (*cf.* NÜRNBERGER in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, LXIV. (1882), 446–465); GAETANO CAPASSO, *Fra Paolo Sarpi e l'Interdetto di Venezia*, Firenze, 1880, reprint from the *Revista Europea*, XIV–XVII (1879–1880); *ibid.*, VIII., 3 (1877), 385 on the MSS. of A. Persio; F. DIEHL, *Streit zwischen Venedig und Paul V.* (Progr.), Marienwerder, 1876; MUTINELLI, III., 93 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, *Eretici*, III., 174; REUMONT, *Bibliographia*, 172 *seq.*, 186, 222 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, *Storie vecchie*, Venezia, 1882; CIAMPI, III., 26 *seq.*; Philippson, *Heinrich* IV., III, 382 *seq.*; BROSCH, I., 351 *seq.*; CARLO PIO DE-MAGISTRIS, *Primordi della contesa fra la repubblica Veneta e Paolo V., Mediazione di Germania*, Torino, 1907; NÜRNBERGER in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, LV. (1883), 189 *seq.*, 473 *seq.* For MSS. sources *cf.* NÜRNBERGER in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1881, 756 seq.; A. GADALETA (*Paolo V. e l'Interdetto di Venezia*), Trani, 1901, gives nothing new. *G. Malatesta's *Storia, etc.*, is also in *Cod.* 836 of the Bibl. Ossolissiana at Lemberg.

[2] January 10, 1603 (*viz.* 1604, since at Venice the year began on March 25), see CORNET, 68.

[3] March 26, 1605, *ibid.*, 265.

gift, or in any other way, without leave of the State, under pain of confiscation for the benefit of the Republic, the officials who carried out the law and the informer ; as regards granting such permissions, the Senate should make as many difficulties as if it were a question of the alienation of State property.

Such ordinances could not be justified by any papal concessions ; they were, in fact, an interference with the existing law as it had grown up in the course of more than a thousand years. In addition to this the republic violated the immunity which the clergy had enjoyed from time immemorial though, of course, not in order that culprits might go unpunished, but because men wished to see the dignity of the clerical state respected even in its unworthiest members. One Saraceni, a canon of Vicenza and a man of ill repute, and who, as a matter of fact, had not received major orders,[1] was accused of having defiled, by night, out of revenge, the door of a lady of the town.[2] The woman would not endure the humiliation and the affair ended by being brought before the Council of Ten. Cardinal Delfino, himself a Venetian, advised the authorities to have nothing to do with the case. "To defile a door was no crime against the State," he said ; "papal concessions would not avail to justify a secular tribunal in taking proceedings in such a matter ; should the Pope hear of it there might be trouble." The answer for the Republic was that the papal concessions included not only the city, but the whole territory of Venice ; that, moreover, every day fresh crimes of Saraceni's were being brought to light. Rome was not satisfied with these explanations. On December 24th Delfino wrote that much dissatisfaction obtained there on account of Saraceni whom the Ten had summoned to appear before their tribunal on October 21st, and that he found it difficult to restrain the Pope from intervening.[3]

[1] CORNET, 3, note, *cf.* on Saraceni the decrees of the Ten of 12, 14, and 21 December in Arch. Venet. (1873), 44–9.

[2] In the end it turned out that someone else was the culprit ; see Nürnberger in *Hist. Jarhb.*, LV., 514 *seq.*

[3] CORNET, 266 *seq.*

At about the same time a lawsuit was pending against another most unworthy priest, one Brandolino, abbot of Nervesa, who was actually suspected of homicide. In September the Ten commissioned the Podestà of Treviso to take action against him; a month later they called the case before their own tribunal.[1] The Council of Trent had already stressed the fact that the liberty and immunity of the Church were no mere demand of Canon Law, but were based on a divine ordinance [2]: as a matter of fact they have their roots in the divine origin of the Church. Moreover the interference of the secular power in spiritual affairs proved one of the main causes of clerical decadence and the chief hindrance to its reform [3]: hence the attitude to be taken in regard to these usurpations was a most delicate as it was a most awkward problem for the protagonists of Church reform, the Fathers of the Council of Trent, Pius V. and Charles Borromeo.[4] Paul V. had been brought up from his youth in the spirit of the existing law,[5] and he was exceedingly keen on the reform; hence it was natural that he should strongly resent the arbitrariness of the Signoria.

It is, therefore, easy to understand, notwithstanding some show of friendliness towards the new Pope on the part of the Republic,[6] that Paul V., particularly from the end of October,

[1] *Ibid.*, 267 *seq.*, *cf. Arch. Venet.*, *loc. cit.*, 48 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*; Brosch, I., 355; Molmenti, *La fine dell'Abbate Brandolini*, in *Rassegna settimanale*, 1878, n. 58, 1879, n. 99.

[2] "Ecclesiae et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitatem Dei ordinatione et canonicis sanctionibus constitutam." (Sess. 25, 20, de ref.)

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XV., 345 *seq.*; XX., 114.

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XV, 340.

[5] "Che da giovanetto et per il corso de molti anni era in simili cose e che come auditor della Camera I'haveva spesso havute per le mani e ne poteva parlare con fondamento (Paul. V. to Nani, in Cornet, note 7, 3). "Come è possibile che'l principe laico voglia ingerir si in giudicare un canonico" (*ibid.*, n. 3).

[6] Brief of thanks of September 25, 1605, to doge Grimani for the admission of Cardinal Borghese and the Pope's brothers among the Venetian *nobili*. *Brevia*, XLV., 1, f. 501, Papal Secret Archives.

1605, should have made earnest remonstrances to the Venetian ambassador, Agostino Nani : " With indescribable ardour and incredible emotion," [1] he declared at the end of one of these discussions, that his duty as Pope demanded the defence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; with all the energy of which he was capable he affirmed that he would maintain it, " with all zeal, with all his strength, even to the shedding of his blood." [2] As an experienced lawyer the Pope was of course but little impressed by the arguments of the ambassador who sought to defend the Venetian legislation and to justify the action of the Signoria against the clergy by papal privileges the existence of which he was unable to prove [3] ; or when he excused its despotism with the hyperbolic assertion that if donations to the Church were not checked, she would soon own all the land right up to the walls of the cities, for even now more than a fourth part of the ground was in her possession.[4] Paul V.

[1] " Con ardore infinito e con commotione incredibile (Cornet, n. 9). Borghese *wrote to the Venetian nuncio, Offredo de'Offredi (d. November 11, 1606) : " Ogni resentimento che si faccia o si sia fatto per quella parte (the law) tanto detestabile e tanto dannosa alle cose ecclesiastiche è inferiore all'occasione ; onde non se haverebono da dolere costi che V.S. ne habbia parlato vivamente. Borghese, 1, 908, f. 46 (50), Papal Secret Archives.

[2] CORNET, n. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 9 and 10, 1. If there were such privileges " saranno corruttele, usurpationi et abusi, a i quali bisognerà in fine che S. Beatitudine proveda con sommo rigore ". *Borghese to Offredi on November 19, 1605, BORGHESE, i, 908, f. 55 (59), Papal Secret Archives.

[4] CORNET, n. 8. The historian might be tempted to take such data as a proof of the survival, up to the seventeenth century, of munificence on the grand scale. However, a pamphlet of the period remarks that if during the preceding twelve centuries a fourth of the landed property had passed into the hands of the Church, in another twelve, or even ten centuries, " che solo e rare volte si fa qualche legato pio, e si eregge qualche capella," only another twelfth, at most, would pass into their hands (LELIO MEDICI, *Discorso sopra i Fondamenti e le ragioni delli Signori*

insisted on the repeal of the laws against the liberty of the Church as well as on the Republic handing over for punishment the two guilty ecclesiastics, if not to their own bishops, then to himself, otherwise measures would have to be taken which would not be agreeable to the signori in Venice.[1] Similar representations were made to the Signoria, but without success, by the none-too-worldly-wise nuncio Orazio Mattei.[2] The Senate decided not to alter the two laws and not to give up the two ecclesiastics.[3]

Paul V. now judged that the time had come when he must carry out his threats. A few years earlier the Interdict which Clement VIII. had pronounced against Ferrara in 1597, had met with prompt and complete success.[4] Other States also, such as the republics of Genoa and Lucca, had ended by yielding in similar conflicts.[5] Paul V. hoped for a like result in Venice. The republic had repeatedly been laid under interdict and excommunication ; as recently as the pontificate of Julius II. the scorn with which such punishments were at first looked upon in the city of the lagoons was not kept up

Veneziani, Bologna, 1606, 25). The wealth of the Church in Venice is especially insisted upon in a pamphlet of the Senator Quirini, in the course of the dispute that was about to begin. According to him the wealth of the Venetian clergy amounted to thirty million ducats (in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, iii, 314). The rejoinder was that these were exaggerations, as the whole of Christendom knew ; in Venice the clergy certainly owned no more than at Milan, in Sicily, Castile, where laws such as those of Venice were, however, not thought necessary (BOVIO, 39).

[1] CORNET, 2, 7, ii.

[2] On Mattei, *ibid.*, 272 *seq.*

[3] *Deliberazione* of the Senate of November 3, 1605, in CAPASSO, App. iii, see *Consulta* of Sarpi on the subject, *ibid.*, p. vii *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV, 391 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* BAROZZI-BERCHET, I, 67 *seq.*, the *Lettera d. Republica di Genova alla Republica di Venezia*, July 28, 1606, recently printed by L. PEIRANO (Genova, 1868) is a forgery ; see *Riv. Europ.*, v. (1878), 690.

for very long.[1] On December 10th, 1605, therefore, Paul V. published two briefs, one of which condemned the two Venetian laws and the other the procedure against the two ecclesiastics. In the event of further obstinacy, the briefs threatened with ecclesiastical penalties.[2]

At this juncture the Signoria sought above all things to gain time. As the day drew near on which the briefs might be expected in Venice, a fresh envoy was appointed with a view to further negotiations[3]; he seemed, however, in no hurry to set out for Rome. It is significant that in the selection of an envoy, the choice should have fallen on Lunardo Donato, a man who maintained that his Venetian birth took precedence over his Christian baptism, and that his first duty was not to the Church, but to his country.[4] Whilst Donato delayed his departure the briefs arrived, but the nuncio was persuaded to keep them back for a time, in view of the alleged good dispositions of the Senate. Mattei allowed himself to be taken in; on the other hand when Rome rebuked him for his conduct and ordered him to deliver the briefs at once, he took the command too literally for he handed them in on the morning of Christmas day, whilst the doge Grimani lay dying and the Senators were in the act of going to High Mass.[5] After Grimani's death the briefs remained unopened until a new doge was elected. When they were opened at last, another untoward event occurred; by

[1] **Collectanea scripturarum spectantium ad interdictum reipublicae Venetae inflictum a variis S. Pontificibus, nempe Clemente V, Pio II., Sixto IV., Julio II., Paulo V.* (on its author see *Theol. Quartalsch.*, LXIV. (1882), 457, Bibl. Vallicell., Rome, 4–27, *cf.* our acc. Vol. III., 379 *seq.*; VI., ch. 10.

[2] Translation of both briefs in CORNET, 18 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.* In the consistory of December 12, Paul V. informed the Cardinals of his decision (De Magistris, 1–5).

[3] On December 16, 1605 (CORNET, 13).

[4] Nürnberger in *Hist. Jahrb.*, IV., 197.

[5] Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 196; Cornet, 17; *cf.* *Borghese to Mattei, December 21 and 24, 1605, *Borghese*, I, 908, Papal Secret Archives.

an oversight the drafts only of the briefs, not the originals, had been despatched from Rome. In the Senate's reply all this was duly pointed out to the Pope in mordant fashion, reproaches being but thinly veiled by gushing professions of respect.[1] As a matter of fact by that time all hope of an amicable settlement of the dispute had practically vanished for the choice of a new doge fell on none other than Donato, the avowed enemy of the Church. Pietro Duodo [2] took Donato's place as envoy to Rome, but he too delayed his departure for as long as possible.

However, the Signoria failed in its attempt at an indefinite procrastination of the affair. So far from this being the case, on February 20th, 1606, the Pope had to take exception to yet another law directed against the Church,[3] by which clerics or religious associations who had let to laymen immovable property on a long lease were debarred from ever again claiming it for their own personal use. The Pope declared [4] he would wait another ten or twelve days for the arrival of Duodo but after that he would proceed against the republic. The second brief of December 10th also, which through an oversight had not been despatched, he caused to be subsequently delivered, on February 25th by the nuncio Mattei.[5] On March 11th the Senate categorically declined to accept it, declaring that all explanations would be given by the extra-

[1] January 28, 1606. Transl. in CORNET, 23 *seqq.*

[2] January 10, 1606, in CORNET, 18, 22. Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 196.

[3] Of May 23, 1602, in CORNET, 269. *This law, *come più esorbitante dell'altra, si sarebbe posta nei brevi in primo luogo, se prima se n'havesse havuta notitia.* Borghese to Mattei, February 4, 1606, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 90 (94), Papal Secret Archives.

[4] On February 20, 1606; see Lämmer, *Meletemata*, 241; De Magistris, 13.

[5] CORNET, 33. The order was given by Borghese on February 4 and 18, 1606, *loc. cit.*, 90 (94), 93 (97), Papal Secret Archives. The reply of the republic to the first brief the nuncio should not refute since it is harmless, let him content himself with once more exhorting them to give satisfaction to the Pope (*ibid.*).

ordinary envoy.[1] On the same day, March 11th, information came at last from Venice that Duodo had set out on his journey,[2] but that he would travel by slow stages and that he had no powers to conclude anything. The envoy arrived on Monday in Holy Week so that the discussion was naturally deferred until after Easter. Needless to say Duodo achieved nothing.[3]

Moreover, at that very time, another dispute was pending between the Curia and the Signoria. Clement VIII. had given a ruling that the Italian bishops would not receive papal confirmation until they had come to Rome for an examination. The Venetians would have liked to see their Patriarch exempt from this obligation. The embassy, which came to pay homage to the newly-elected Paul V., was instructed to secure this exemption. But the Pope would not hear of it. Nor was the embassy more successful with regard to two other requests, viz. that Paul V. should settle the long-standing dispute over the town of Ceneda [4] and impose on the Venetian clergy the payment of a tenth.[5]

[1] CORNET, 36 *seq.*

[2] *" Farà il viaggio agiatamente. Non so qual frutto sia per fare la sua missione, poichè intende che viene altretanto nudo d'autorità quanto ben fornito d'essempi d'altri luoghi (CORNET, 41) che quadrono la materia di che si tratta." Tommaso Palmegiani to Borghese, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 238, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Nani and Duodo on March 25 and 29, in DE MAGISTRIS, 14, 19–29 ; CORNET, 39 *seqq.* ; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Roma, I, 83 *seq.** Borghese to Mattei, April 1 and 15, 1606, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 99–101 (103–105), Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 222, n. 3.

[5] CORNET, 5 *seq.* ; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5, series XIII (1894), 208 *seq.* The *obbedienza* embassy did not discuss the laws in dispute, or the matter of the two prisoners, but in every audience the Pope told them " che non è per tolerare che la sua giurisditione resti offesa nè ristretta la libertà ecclesiastica in alcun modo ". As for the " tenth " which was demanded of him, the Pope gave no decision ; he instructed the nuncio " si finissero le concessioni vecchie, ella non permetta che se proceda a nuove esigenze

Whilst the Curia was still awaiting Duodo's arrival it received sufficiently disquieting information from Venice without him. Extreme embitterment, dating as far back as the reign of Clement VIII, prevailed in that city against Rome. There had been a feeling that in his defence of the rights of the Church Clement allowed himself to be led by interested advisers and that he was bent on treating the republic like a stubborn donkey out of whom nothing was to be got except with the stick.[1] The action of Paul V. could not soothe this unfortunate mood. When the nuncio to Venice was taken ill his secretary Tommaso Palmegiani, with many excuses for the boldness of his speech, sent repeated and earnest warnings to Rome. The Signoria is determined, so he wrote on February 4th, 1606, not to yield an inch; as a matter of fact there prevails an incredible exasperation.[2] If the Pope were to show some consideration and if a man experienced in debate were here, these gentlemen, he thought, might be brought to reason, to the advantage, perhaps, of the Apostolic See. But the threats on the one side, and the obstinacy on the other, are surely fraught with evil consequences, in fact they will be so disastrous that I wonder if this aspect of the case is sufficiently realized.[3] The Govern-

delle predette decime, se non avvisata di quà della rinnovatione" *Borghese to Offredi, November 12, 1605, *Borghese*, I, 908, f. 50 *seqq.* (54 *seq.*), Papal Secret Archives.

[1] The Venetian nuncio, Graziani, to Aldobrandini, April 6, 1596, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 166.

[2] *"È una ferma resolutione di non cedere. . . . Sono in somma essacerbati stranamente." *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 733 (374), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Si crede che quando il Papa volesse procedere con qualche piacevolezza e che ci fosse qui ch'avesse una certa maniera di portar e metter innanzi partiti, si potriano ridur questi Signori a segno ragionevole e forsi con vantaggio della Sede Apostolica; ma mentre da una banda si minaccia e dall'altra si sta fermo sulla sua opinione, non si deve aspettare se non effetti cativi, i quali tirano seco tante male conseguenze, che non so se ci si pensa a bastanza. *Ibid.*

ment would rather see Venice in ruins than give way.[1] Minds had been still further inflamed by the delivery of the second brief on February 25th. If the Pope insists on the repeal of the two laws he will be compelled to take extraordinary measures. But if he merely demands the surrender of the two prisoners and the examination of the Patriarch, he may well succeed ; the Signoria would send the Patriarch to Rome and in time an opportunity would present itself for settling the matter of the two laws. If the affair were to take a bad turn, a conflagration would break out in Italy which would be put out only God knows when. Either the Pope remains firm, and it will mean the end of ecclesiastical liberty if he loses, or he gives way and the prestige of the Apostolic See suffers.[2]

Even in Rome there was no unwillingness to make concessions,[3] but it was felt that the Pope must obtain some

[1] To Borghese, February 25, 1606, *ibid.*, 235.

[2] *Le cose di qua sono assai sconcertate e la presentatione dei nuovo Breve ha alterato gli animi di maniera che ci sono concettl stravagantissimi. Sia detta a V. S. Ill. solamente et in confidenza, che si N. S. starà fermo in volere che si rivochino le parti, sarà anco necessario che faccia deliberationi straordinarie, perchè sono risoluti di non farlo e di aspettare ogni rovina, come ho già scritto ; ma se si voltasse al particolare dei prigioni, havrà la sodisfattione che desidera e quando S. S. volesse mostrar di premere in questo solo e vi aggiongesse il negotio del Patriarcha, che al sicuro lo mandaranno, crederei che potesse venire in un certo modo sù la sua, senza anco mostrar di cedere nell'altro capo delle parti, ma metterlo in negotio, perchè col tempo non mancano mai nodi ed occasioni al Papa d'indurre i Vinitiani al suo volere, ma bisogna flemma e, come si dice, pigliar la lepre col carro. . . . Se il negotio aiutato dalla divina mano non piglia buono piega, ha da capitare a uno di questi due passi, ò s'ha da mettere un foco in Italia, che non s'estinguerà Dio sà quando, ò N. S. stando fermo e perdendo, sarà la rovina della giurisdittione et immunità ecclesiastica, ò cedendo, ci mette la sua reputatione e della Sede Apostolica. To Borghese, March 4, 1606, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.* (380 *seq.*).

[3] Cornet, 29, 38, 40, n. 3, and espec. 42.

satisfaction from the republic.[1] Venice, however, would concede nothing,[2] consequently, on April 17th, 1606, a decisive step was taken. In the Consistory the Pope announced that he intended to excommunicate the Senate and to lay the whole territory of Venice under an interdict if the three laws were not repealed and the prisoners surrendered within twenty-four days, with an additional three days' grace. With the exception of the two Venetian Cardinals, Valiero of Verona and Delfino of Vionga, the thirty-seven Cardinals expressed their approval. Immediately after the consistory the edict, which was already in print, was published in due legal form [3]

[1] " Il Papa disse, che non è necessario venire a qualche effeto, che non voleva stare sopra li rigori che se le dia qualche soddisfatione, e si trovi qualche compositione (CORNET, 41 ; *cf.* 31, 38.) Many Cardinals were equally anxious for an accommodation (*ibid.*, 46, 48, n. 1).

[2] CORNET, 53, n. 4. At Venice, Paul V. was also considered as a friend of the hated Spaniards who, so it was believed, roused him against Venice. *Cf.* PAPASSO, 41 *seq.* ; *Atti dei Lincei*, 1916–17, 197.

[3] *Cf.* DE MAGISTRIS, 32–6 ; *Votum* of Cardinal Valiero, *ibid.*, 37 ; Cornet, 54, 63 ; Nürnberger, in *Hist. Jahrb.* (1883), 201 ; Lämmer, *Meletemata*, 242 ; PITRA, *Anal. noviss.*, I. (1885), 621 *seq.* Copy of decree of Interdict in Lünig, II, 2013. The *votum* of Baronius (see Lämmer, *loc. cit.*, 363 *seq.*) gave rise to a controversy ; attack of J. MARSILIUS ; defence by the Augustinian FELIX MILENSIUS, Mayence, 1607, and GERARD LORPERSIUS, Rome, 1607 ; *cf.* CALENZIO, 982*, *Votum* of the Cardinal of Verona in *Vat.* 8638, p. 369, *Vatic. lib.* ; *Corsini lib.*, Rome, 722, f. 18. The reports of the Venetian envoys in Rome, Contarini (1609) and Renier Zeno (1623), seem to assert that Paul V. had not consulted the Cardinals before pronouncing the interdict (BAROZZI-BERCHET, I, 88, 157). In any case, as early as March 29, Paul V. declared that the Cardinals were urging him to proceed (CORNET, 39). According to a letter of Cardinal Delfino, dated May 27, 1606, the Pope complained " de'cardinali furibondi nell'attizarlo contro i Veneti " (*ibid.*). *Cf.* also BERN. GIUSTI, Avvocato nella Corte Romana, *Difesa della libertà ecclesiastica. Contra alcuni detractori di Venetia*, Roma, 1606, p. 5 : S.S. ' se bene haveva primo inteso

The departure of the Venetian envoys from Rome and that of the nuncio from Venice sealed the breach between the Curia and the Signoria.[1]

The republic had long ago taken measures for the coming struggle. Even before the delivery of the first papal brief it had appealed, through its representatives, to the emperor, the kings of England and France as well as to Florence and Milan. The Signoria felt assured of the approval of the princes, so long as it kept representing its case as the common cause of all the secular potentates.[2] But since in the conditions then obtaining excommunication might easily prove a pretext for armed intervention on the part of neighbouring States, the military captains and commanders were summoned to Venice, a precaution which, as we know on the authority of Palmegiani, was not meant to be taken too seriously.[3] The most important measure taken by the republic was the preparation for a big-scale paper war against Rome by means of learned consultations and pamphlets in the vernacular. As

il parere di molti ill. cardinali, il di 17 Aprile, proposto il caso nel concistorio (con tutto che F. Paolo con poco rispetto dica il contrario), fu dalla viva voce de i cardinali risoluto ". Likewise Bovio (86). True Sarpi says (*Considerazioni sopra le censure* : *Opere varie*, I, 210 : " ed e venuta S.S. a cosi fatta risoluzione con darne solo notizia e cardinali, e senza ricercar il parer loro " ; but this refers probably to the briefs of December 10, 1605. *Cf. Storia particolare* in the *Opere varie*, I, 10.

[1] Cornet, 65 *seq.*, 71, 74 *seq.* De Magistris, 42 *seq.*, 44 *seq.* *Borghese, order to Mattei to set out, May 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 908, f. 106 (110), Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Cornet, 15. " Potendosi riputar commune con tutti principi (*ibid.*). Queste novità grandemente pregiudiciali non solo al nostro, ma al utile e buon governo di tutti i principi laici " (*ibid.*, 38 ; *cf.* 69). As regards Venice's efforts with Rudolph II. see De Magistris, *loc. cit.*, and Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 620, 642.

[3] " Hanno chiamati i generali dell'armi a Venetia e molti colonelli," but that this was more for " ostentatione ch'altro ". Palmegiani to Borghese, March 11, 1606, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 238, Papal Secret Archives.

early as January, 1606, the Collegio resolved to submit all the documents relevant to the controversy to the judgment of the celebrated lawyer Giacomo Mennocchio (died 1607) who had declared his readiness to act in defence of the republic.[1] Already on January 15th, 1606, a jurist of Padua of the name of Pellegrini had prepared a memoir and on March 26th an order was given to have three of his pamphlets translated into Italian as soon as possible.[2]

Even more significant was the fact that the Signoria, so that it might be ready for every eventuality, decided to hire an extraordinary State divine of its own. The choice fell on Paolo Sarpi, a Servite, who had already rendered good service to the republic [3] in its numerous quarrels with Clement VIII.[4] and who, in the dispute with Paul V. had also several times stated his opinion by word of mouth. When on January 14th, 1606, the Senate had guaranteed its protection to the defenders of the rights of the State [5] Sarpi felt bold enough to give public utterance to his views. His very first memoir convinced the Senate they had found the man they needed in their struggle with Rome. As soon as his pamphlet had been publicly read Sarpi received his appointment as State theologian with a salary of 200 ducats.[6] On February 25th Palmegiani writes that Sarpi was at work on a pamphlet on the invalidity of the impending excommunication.[7] Thereafter Sarpi became the real protagonist of the republic in its struggle with the Pope; his learned memoirs were decisive

[1] For his opinions, which did not satisfy Venice, *cf.* R. PUTELLI in *N. Arch. Veneto*, XXVIII. (1914), 483.

[2] CORNET, 23, n. 2. Permission to print dates only from September 22 (Putelli, *loc. cit.*).

[3] GRISELINI, 29.

[4] Especially with respect to the quarrel about the binding force of the Index at Venice.

[5] CORNET, 23, n. 2, 274.

[6] *Ibid.*, 27. The decree of appointment, dated January 28, 1606, in Griselini, 35.

[7] *To Borghese, *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, p. 235, Papal Secret Archives.

factors in the conduct of the Signoria and it was owing to his intervention that the struggle round particular rights and laws developed into a fight for principles, a battle for the relationship between Church and State.

Sarpi was born at Venice in 1552, of poor parents, and in 1575 he entered the Servite Order in his native city. He was an extraordinarily gifted man.[1] From childhood he was consumed by an ardent thirst for knowledge; mathematics, Hebrew, botany, Canon law, ecclesiastical history, medicine, especially anatomy, all attracted him alike. He succeeded in acquiring considerable knowledge in all these branches

[1] Biographies by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, Leiden, 1646, printed in Sarpi's *Opere varie*, I., 1–143 (on authenticity, see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4, series IX. (1882), 153 app.); GRISELINI, Lausanne, 1760, reprinted from *Sarpi's Opere*, I., Helmstat, 1761; also G. FONTANINI, *Storia arcana della vita di Fra P. Sarpi*, Venice, 1803 (for rea lauthor see F. STEFANI, in the *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, 1892; Vitt, Lazzarini, *ibid.*, LXV., p. 2; M. BUTTURINI, *La verità circa la scoperta di un documento inedito*, etc., Salò, 1895); A. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, Zürich, 1836 and 1846 *seq.*; Bâle, 1847; Florence-Turin, 1849 *seq.*; Brussels, 1863; MUTINELLI, III., 43 *seqq.*; ARABELLA GEORGINA CAMPBELL, Florence, 1875; A. ROBERTSON, *Fra P. Sarpi, the greatest of the Venetians*[2], London, 1894; ALESSANDRO PASCOLATI, Milan, 1893; *cf.* (Steccanella) in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 6 series, XI. (1867), 53 *seqq.*, XII., 649 *seqq.*; BALAN, *Fra P. Sarpi*, Venice, 1887; GAMBINO RAMPOLLA, *Fra P. Sarpi*, Palermo, 1919. Extracts from Sarpi's letters in PALLAVICINI, *Storia del Conc., Trid.*, I., preface, II., preface. Collection of letters: Verona (*viz.* Geneva), 1673; F. L. Polidori, 2 vols. Florence, 1863. Particulars published by Lebret's magazine, I–IV. (1771 *seqq.*); Böhmer's *Magazin für Kirchenrecht*, 1787; BIANCHI-GIOVINI (Capolago, 1833, and Lugano, 1847); C. CASTELLANI (Letters to Contarini, 1615, Venice, 1892); K. BENRATH, Leipzig, 1909; *cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, CII., 566–573). The authenticity of the letters was questioned (because of heretical assertions and suchlike by Giusto Nave, *viz.* Bergantinio (*Paolo Sarpi giustificato*[3], Cologne, 1756), BIANCHI-GIOVINI, *etc.* *Cf.* on the other hand, REIN, 177 *seqq.* P. Sarpi, *Scritti philosofici inediti*, edit. by G. Papini. Lanciano, 1910.

owing to an amazing memory which enabled him, as a boy, to repeat thirty lines of Virgil after but one hearing. Only one branch of knowledge was not to his liking: he hated scholastic theology.[1] Had he had constancy enough to apply the full power of his keen intellect to his favourite subject, the new science of physics, which was then gathering force, he might have secured a place among the pioneers in this field, for Galileo, Porta and Acquapendente speak highly of his ability and perspicacity.[2] But it could hardly have been conducive to a really deep and thorough formation, especially could it not have been favourable to his religious life that, when only eighteen years of age and after a brilliant disputation, he should have been summoned to the court of Mantua in the capacity of theologian. There he was frequently

[1] REIN, 196.

[2] *Cf.* P. CASSANI in the *Ateneo Veneto, Riv. scient.*, III. (1882), 295. A. Heller (*Gesch. der Physik*, Stuttgart, 1882, 390) mentions him for the purpose of calling in doubt the invention of the thermometer which has been attributed to him, though he ascribes "important anatomical discoveries" to him. F. Rosenberger (*Gesch. der Physik*, Braunschweig, 1882) does not mention his name. Poggendorf (*Handwörterbuch zur Gesch. der exacten Wissenschaften*) mentions him (II., Leipzig, 1863, 751), and says that he is wrongly styled one of the inventors of the thermometer. Gurlt-Hirsch (*Lexicon der hervorragenden Ärtzte*, V. (1887), 180) repeats the assertion and finds him deserving of mention because (though mistakenly) the knowledge of circulation was attributed to him, probably because he knew of the vein valves. E. Gerland (*Gesch. der Physik*[2], München–Berlin, 1913, 321, 376) mentions him only as a witness for the discovery by Galileo of the laws of a falling body. Recently G. de Toni discussed the value of Sarpi in the field of the natural and exact sciences in a paper published by the *Ateneo Veneto*, on the occasion of the third centenary of the death of the Servite: *P. Sarpi ed i suoi tempi*, Venice, 1923. *Cf.* also, Wohlwill, *Galilei*, 165–9; A. Favaro, in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze*, etc., 6 series, I. Letters of Sarpi to Galileo in the *Opere di Galilei*, ed. Favaro, X., 91, 114, to Lechassier, *ibid.*, 290; Galileo to Sarpi, *ibid.*, XI., 46.

made to shine before visitors and to display his dialectical skill in the defence of the most daring theses. At the same time the bishop appointed him professor of dogmatic theology. In 1579, when not yet twenty-seven, he became provincial and in 1585 he went to Rome in the capacity of Procurator-General of his Order. There he appears to have made a not unfavourable impression. In 1593, Cardinal Santori proposed him for the See of Milopotamo, in Crete.[1] However, not many years later the Curia thought differently, for when in 1600 and 1601 Sarpi applied successively for the sees of Caorle and Nona, he met with a refusal each time, notwithstanding the backing of the Signoria : his dealings with heretics as well as other circumstances were giving offence.[3]

Thereafter Sarpi became increasingly estranged from the Church. It is impossible to say how far he strayed. The British envoy in Venice, Wotton, in his report to his Sovereign, described Sarpi as a true Protestant in a monk's habit and Wotton's information was derived from his chaplain Bedell

[1] BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 35 *seq.*, 74 ; FULGENTIO, in the *Opere varie*, I., 47. According to other information, Santori had already then read his character : " Sanctorius ordinis olim protector ingenium hominis et meditamenta introspexerat, et nocitura reipublicae quandoque praedixerat," and for that reason he had tried to keep him in Rome. (E. Krauss in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1902), 18.

[2] Sarpi's petition for Nona and the Senate's recommendation in GRISELINI, in the *Opere Varie*, I., 26 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV, 213 *seq.* The nuncio Zacchia, in 1623, said to the doge : " Quanto poi alla vita di fra Paolo, che altrove era tenuto in concetto molto differente " (at Venice they talked of him as a Saint) " e particolarmente in Roma, dove . . . non potè perciò ottenere le prelature che pretendeva : oltre le sopra accennate prattiche con gli eretici, e le altre cose che non volevo, per allora, esprimere più innanzi ; sapendo che S. Ser^tà m'intendeva meglio che non gli averei potuto esplicare ". PLONCHER, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, LX. (1883), 158 *seq.* Sarpi is described as a frugal scholar (BIANCCHI-GIOVINI, 371). He is blamed for his pride, *un très suffisant personnage*, Christian of Anhalt calls him, see GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 121.

who was wont to spend half a day every week with the Servite friar.[1] On these occasions he made it his business to ascertain the friar's religious opinions. To the French envoy, Bruslart, Sarpi was represented as a man without religion, without faith, without conscience and as one who denied the immortality of the soul.[2] The Church which venerates the Pope as its visible head, Sarpi invariably describes in his letters in terms and with the apocalyptic imagery which were current among the Protestants [3]; he did all he could to bring about her destruction and to introduce Protestantism into Italy.[4]

On the other hand [5] he also declared he could see no difference between Calvinism and Lutheranism.[6] He owed allegiance to none of the existing religious bodies; as a matter of fact he had been excommunicated since January, 1607.[7]

[1] Wotton to Salisbury, September 13, 1607, in *Athenæum*, No. 4062, of September 2, 1905, p. 305.

[2] SIRI, I., 437. He is considered a free-thinker by Gindely, *loc. cit.*, 123, and by F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, II., 2, 729.

[3] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 397. According to Hase (*Vorlesungen*, 377) Sarpi wanted a Catholic Church without the Pope. Gindely's judgment is that "the only purpose in life for Sarpi was the destruction of papal authority". *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, *Phil-hist. Kl.*, XXXIX. (1862), 6. *Cf.* even now, L. EMERY, *Religione e politica di fra Sarpi* in the *Nuova Riv. stor.*, VIII. (1924).

[4] See below, p. 153 *seq.*

[5] In GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 121.

[6] "In regard to dogma," says RANKE (II[6]., 222), "his Protestantism scarcely went beyond the first elementary clauses of the confession of Augsburg, if he even held these. . . . It is impossible to know what he believed interiorly." It is amusing to see a recent German admirer of Sarpi, v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (*Venedig als Weltmacht und Weltstadt*[2], Bielefeld, 1906, 157 *seq.*) describing him as "a convinced Catholic of deepest piety", who "never swerved by a hair's breadth from the teaching which, all his life, he acknowledged as the only saving one".

[7] *Cf.* below, note 148, n. 3.

This did not prevent him from frequently saying Mass and, for instance, from beginning one of his pamphlets [1] with these words: "The republic of Venice has always held that the chief foundation of the State is true religion and piety and it has always seen a special favour of God in the fact that it was born and reared and has grown up in the true service of God." In point of fact in his memoirs on behalf of the republic he was constrained to keep up a Catholic appearance [2]; he was a chameleon, he says in a letter, and had to wear a mask like everyone else in Italy.[3]

After his appointment as State theologian the influence of Sarpi was promptly felt in the changed attitude of the republic. Until then the Senate had justified its action against criminal ecclesiastics by an appeal to papal privileges and concessions, thus acknowledging that it possessed no real jurisdiction over the clergy.[4] From the moment of Sarpi's appointment it adopted the view that God Himself had

[1] *Considerazioni sopra le censure di Paolo V.* in the *Opere varie*, I., 182.

[2] The attempt of B. CECCHETTI (*Le consulte di Fra P. Sarpi*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, II series, I. (1887), 232 *seqq.*) to prove Sarpi's orthodoxy from his reports fails for that reason. REIN, 193 *seq.*

[3] REIN, n. 1; cf. 193, n. 4. According to Rein (201) "the fairly universal opinion (recently also defended by CASTELLANI (*Lettere di Sarpi*, XXI.)) that Sarpi was indeed an enemy of the Pope, but that as regards dogma he was a sincere adherent of the Catholic Church, cannot be maintained since in regard to several dogmas he either adopts a sceptical attitude, or allows his sympathies with the Protestant view to be seen." *Cf. ibid.*, 170–206, a detailed investigation of Sarpi's religious opinions. See also PUTELLI in *Arch. Veneto*, N.S., XI., 21 (1911), 240.

[4] "Quanto poi alla retentione d'Ecclesiastici . . . ha commesso la loro retentione, facendo questo in virtù di molte Bolle et Indulti concessi da Sommi Pontefici" (the Senate to the imperial ambassador at Prague, December 20, 1605, in CORNETI, 16). Donato's address to Mattei on February 10, 1606 (1605 according to Venet. style), *ibid.*, 270. Reprint of the alleged privileges of Sixtus V., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Paul III. in NICOMACO FILALITEO, 20.

immediately conferred on it all power over the subjects of the State.[1] Sarpi suggested this line of conduct from the first. The question as to how the republic was to defend itself against the papal excommunication he had already answered in the memoir which had secured him his post of official theologian. In this work he explained that it would be best not to appeal from the Pope to a general council but to treat the excommunication as invalid and non-existent and to forbid its publication.[2] The republic followed this advice when, on April 17th, 1606, a courier brought word that the Pope was resolved to proceed against Venice. The religious Orders were at once forbidden, under pain of death, to publish the sentence of excommunication.[3] On the same day, in the Senate, the doge represented to the Spanish envoy that in all this the Pope was actuated by no other motive than a desire of securing unlimited authority over the princes even in temporal affairs.[4]

[1] "Questa libertà, beatissimo padre, l'abbiamo dalla clemenza Divina che l'ha concessa alli nostri maggiori . . ." (the Senate to Paul V., on March 11, 1606, CORNET, 37). Hence the measures which the Pope had taken were of a nature "di sovvertir li giusti ordini nostri et impedir quel Dominio ch'è dato a noi, e a tutti li prencipi dal Signor Iddio *solo* nel governo delli proprii stati". (Reply of Senate to the envoy of Savoy, March 18, 1606, *ibid.*, 38.)

[2] BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 144; CAPASSO, App. XVIII. *seq.*; GRISELINI, 36 *seqq.*

[3] *Palmegiani to Aldobrandini on April 22, 1606, *Nuntiat. di Venetia*, 17, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] CORNET, 57. *"Intendiamo che si sia sparsa una voce costì che N.S. pretenda di riformare la Republica, non solo nello spirituale, ma nel temporale e che di più pensi a turbare la pace d'Italia, e la passi di concerto con qualche altro principe grande. Non crediamo che nissuna cosa fosse mai divulgata e detta più malignamente di questa." In the brief itself "si protesta che S.S. non intende di toccar la giurisditione temporale, e vuole la pace publica". B. Borghese to Mattei, January 7, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 908, f. 82 (86), Papal Secret Archives.

When on April 20th news arrived that the excommunication had actually been pronounced further measures were taken. Through the foreign envoys in Venice, as well as through its own representatives abroad, the republic sought to win over the princes.[1] From the vicar of the Patriarch the parish priests received instructions to give up unopened all documents they might receive from Rome and not to have them posted up in the churches.[2] Troops were recruited, and though excommunicated, the Senate did not forget to give public proof of its piety by dividing 500 ducats among the hospitals to the end that prayers be offered there for the unjustly persecuted republic.[3] The doge, in a full assembly of the Collegio, told the nuncio to his face that the Pope, inexperienced as he was, knew nothing of the management of the world; he even hinted pretty bluntly that Venice might go so far as to cut itself off from the Church and draw others along with it.[4] On May 5th the monasteries were reminded of the previous injunction, with its accompanying threat of the death penalty; those who proved pliant could feel assured of the protection of the republic; those who withdrew themselves from its authority, by leaving its territory, would never be permitted to return.[5]

On May 6th the doge issued to the whole body of the clergy an instruction which was posted up everywhere.[6] In this document, in accordance with the opinion of the theologians and lawyers whose signatures were appended, solemn protest was made against the papal censures. In temporal matters, the doge declared, he acknowledged no superior except the

[1] CORNET, 59 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 55, 63 *seq.* *Cf.* the decrees of the Council of Ten of April 18, 1606, in *Arch. Veneto*, V. (1873), 55–60, and the decree of the Senate, April 17, in CAPASSO, App. XXXVI *seq.*

[3] Decree of April 20, 1606, in CAPASSO, App. XXXVIII.

[4] CORNET, 66 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 71.

[6] Reprint, *ibid.*, 7 *seq.*; Lünig, II., 2015, CAPASSO, App. XXXVIII *seq.*

divine Majesty.[1] He solemnly attested before God and man that he had had recourse to every imaginable means in order to make His Holiness see the strong and incontrovertible grounds of the justice of his claims, but he had preached to deaf ears. Hence he was applying the means which their forbears had used whenever the Pope went beyond his bounds. A similar edict was issued, in the name of the Senate, to all the towns and communes.[2]

Notwithstanding every precaution, on the night of May 2nd to 3rd, 1606, the brief containing the threat of excommunication was nailed up in five churches in Venice itself,[3] though, as elsewhere, it was promptly torn down.[4] However the substance of the brief, if not the brief itself, soon became generally known, as may be gathered from the very conduct of the Senate. The effect of the Brief was slight. "If the bishops and the greater part of the regular clergy had fearlessly protested their loyalty to their highest Superior," so we read in a pamphlet of the period,[5] "there can be no doubt

[1] He was compelled, "mantenere l'autorità di Prencipe, che non riconosce nelle cose temporali alcun Superiore sotto la Divina Maestà." CORNET, 72.

[2] Reprint in Lünig, II., 2017. *Cf.* Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 206. Subsequently, at the time of the accommodation, the Senate refused to recognize the piece as its own (see CORNET, 238, n. 1, 241, 247), but at the same time it would not declare expressly that it was spurious (*ibid.*, 238, n. 1, 255, n. 1). Joyeuse at first looked on it as authentic (*ibid.*, 233); later on he declared: *Delle lettere ducali non si sa quello che sieno* (*ibid.*, 243).

[3] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 139.

[4] An anonymous diary, in CADALETA in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII., 100.

[5] BELLARMINO, *Risposta*, 20; *cf.* Nürnberger, *loc. cit.* "Ma oh miseria de'nostri tempi! I vescovi di quel dominio, da pochissimi infuora che sene sono fuggiti, hanno si può dire, riconosciuto per loro sommo Pontifice Leonardo Donato, Doge di Venezia. Quella Republica vuol esser cattolica solamente di nome, poichè in effetti è un altra Cartagine." Similarly the above mentioned paper of Persio, *Riv. Europea*, 1877, 394.

that the doge would have been impressed." As things were they pleaded that obedience to the Pope was punishable by death, so they strove to convince themselves that in such circumstances a human law was not binding, even though it was an open secret that the threatened death penalty was meant to be no more than a mere threat, to enable the priests to cover their disobedience with the thin cloak of fear; for the rest everybody knew that they would not have observed the interdict even had there been no pressure.[1]

The Pope was so dissatisfied with the Venetian bishops that he thought of taking action against them and of deposing every one of them.[2] True, the bishop of Brescia seemed at first disposed to obey the Pope, but when the Senate threatened to deprive his aged parents of their property and their title of nobility, he too gave up all further resistance.[3]

Generally speaking no resistance was to be expected from

[1] BELLARMINO, *loc. cit.*, 19.

[2] See extracts from letters of July 22 and August 5, 1606, in CORNET, 325 *seq.*; *cf.* n. 5 and CAPASSO, 91; *Ascanii S.R.E. Card. Columnae Episcopi Praenestini Sententia contra reipublicae Venetae episcopos SS. D.N. Pauli PP. V. Interdicto non obtemperantes*, Rome and Ferrara, 1606. Colonna counsels proceeding with excommunication, loss of income and secular dignities; see CORNET, 31 *seqq.* The Franciscan Conventual Lud. Mosso, of Mantua, should be made to influence the bishops in the name of the Pope; the Senate rendered his work impossible. CORNET, 122, n. 1.

[3] See information in *Brixia sacra*, I. (1915), 229; CORNET, 80 *seq.*; CAPASSO, 99; subsequently the bishop earned the praise of the Senate (CORNET, 141, n. 1). The bishop of Treviso, who at first made a show of doing his duty and after a while wished to resign, on the plea of health, was reduced to submission by threats against his two brothers (*ibid.*, 91, 140 *seq.*). The newly appointed bishop of Verona was strictly enjoined to hold a solemn function on September 17, otherwise both he and his brothers would have their property confiscated (*ibid.*, 136). With few exceptions the clergy of Istria did not observe the interdict; see *Atti d. Soc. Istr. di stor. patr.*, XV. (1898).

the lower clergy in Venice. As a consequence of the interference of the State in the affairs of the Church, there was a good deal of demoralization in its ranks. No one from among the better classes in Venice ever becomes a priest, says a pamphlet of the period [1]; the parish priests are chosen by the people, and in these elections considerations of friendship and various intrigues are the decisive factors, so that it is invariably the most ignorant and the least qualified that are appointed; the priests are despised; towards the rich their attitude is that of mere lacqueys. The condition of the monks was even worse. At the time of Paul V. they were deemed the dregs and the scum of all the Orders [2] and it was they who furnished the republic with its keenest champions in the quarrel over the interdict. The convents of nuns were to a large extent little more than asylums for the daughters of nobles. But that the decadence of the Venetian clergy was far from universal was presently to be shown in the struggle over the interdict.[3]

The first to declare their submission to the interdict were the Jesuits.[4] To them also the doge represented that the threatened death penalty was sufficient ground for regarding the Pope's command as not binding. However the General of the Order, Aquaviva, had directed them in the name of the Pope to submit to the Bull and if obedience was impossible

[1] Molmenti in the *Atti del. R. Istituto Veneto*, LX. (1900 *seq.*, 679 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 679.

[3] *Cf.* also *Caes. Baronii Paraenesis ad Rempublicam Venetam*, Roma, 1606, 39: generalizations were unjust, *cum sint ex iis (ecclesiasticis) complures, quos certum est digne in evangelio laborare, ad Deum pro populo puras levare manus.*

[4] Juvencius, I., 12, n. 98 *seqq.*; I., 25, n. 56, p. 90, 910; *Litt. ann.*, 1607, p. 47 *seqq.*; Cornet, 74, 76 *seq.*; circular in the name of the General, Aquaviva, on the banishment, in Prat, II., 483 *seq.*; G. Govi, *La partenza dei Gesuiti dal dominio Veneto*, in *Accad. dei Lincei*, 1886; Capasso, 96; Buss, II., 972 *seq.*; G. Cappelletti, I., *Gesuiti e la repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1873; **Cod. Barb.*, 4192, Vatic. Lib.

to leave Venice. If they were prevented from leaving they were rather to die than to offend God.[1] The government of Venice had no love for the Jesuits; Sarpi, its chief adviser, cherished a deadly hatred of them.[2] The occasion was now seized to get rid of them; if possible, for good. They were banished from the entire territory of the republic.[3] When the Capuchins and the Theatines also indicated their willingness to obey, they were forbidden, under pain of death, even to leave the city. However, they remained firm and were allowed to depart.[4] A special law affecting the Jesuits alone was passed on June 14th, 1606, by which they were permanently banished from Venice[5]; their return was made dependent on conditions which would hardly ever be fulfilled. Under threat of being sent into exile, or to the galleys, all citizens were commended on August 17th, to refrain from all epistolary intercourse with the Jesuits and to withdraw any members of their families from their colleges.[6] The revenues of those thus banished were conferred on more pliant religious.[7]

Not a few ecclesiastics, besides the above named, were found ready to go to prison rather than disobey the Pope[8];

[1] JUVENCIUS, 104.

[2] "the confraternity of the Jesuits against which he wages a passionate warfare at all times, one might say, in every line of his letters" (REIN, 176). *Cf.* BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 333 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*

[3] CORNET, 79, 277, 279.

[4] *Ibid.*, 80, 85, 88, n. 2; CAPASSO, 98; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 139. The *Reformati* were also thinking of withdrawing, "pero non fecero altro moto." CORNET, 85 *seq.*

[5] CORNET, 105 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 130. Even in Constantinople the Venetian ambassador sought to create difficulties for the Jesuits. Brèves to Villeroi, November 29, 1609, in PRAT, V., 262 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 495, and TH. DE GONTAUT BIRON, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac*, 1605–1610, Paris, 1889.

[7] CORNET, 128, 154.

[8] "Chi vede oggi, che con occasione del servare l'interdetto i sacerdoti sono carcerati e puniti come rei . . . non può negare

a considerable number were even secretly executed for having laid on their penitents the duty of observing the interdict.[1] Many took to flight, disguised as peasants or soldiers and even as women, thereby forfeiting all their possessions but escaping from an intolerable pressure on their conscience.[2] Even where the clergy gave way, it was apparent that they only yielded to violence and against their convictions.

More detailed information about the period of the interdict is available from Brescia.[3] There the publication of a decree of the Senate against the interdict on May 10th was followed, on the next day, by a proclamation of the Rectors forbidding the priests to leave the city and ordering them to carry out

etc." (Bellarmino, *Risposta*, 24). "Furono posti molti religiosi pregioni si secolari come regolari, molti sono stati banditi, ad alcuni è stata confiscata la roba." Diary in GADALETA in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII. (1896), 102.

[1] MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 142; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 357.

[2] "Si dà forse a credere cotesto Senato, che non siano disgustati i sudditi dal vedere ogni giorno scemarsi il numero de religiosi, che non ostante gli stretissimi ordini e provisioni, se ne fuggono. (BERTOLOTTI, *Filotropia*, Bologna, 1606, 12.) "Ogni giorno ne (of the priests) fuggivano molti stravestiti da contadini, da soldati, fino in habito di donna facendo strade fastidiosissime." (Diary in GADALETA, *loc. cit.*, 101.) *"Non s'intende altro che delli religiosi che parteno da quella città per obedire al Papa, e di quelli che non si parteno per obedire al Senato et ogni giorno stanno alla mano, et il Doge ogni giorno commanda et imprigiona ogni sorte di religiosi, non perdonando nè a vescovi nè a patriarchi nè a qualsivoglia altro sacerdoti, et vole che tutti dicano la messa a porte aperte come prima, e li Zoccolanti si sonno protestati che si partiranno ogni volta che gli siano dati luoghi dove possano vivere." (Vinc. Americi to Fr. Caffarelli, June 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I., 251–3, f. 79, Papal Secret Archives.) The people sympathized with the banished religious and cried *Viva Papa Paolo*! the same correspondent reports (*ibid.*, 95). At Verona: *Viva il Papa*! was scribbled on the walls (CAPASSO, 95). Even Capasso admits that the republic's claim was not justified, viz. that the whole of the clergy were on its side.

[3] See *Brixia sacra*, I. (1915), 224 *seq.*

the Church services as before. The penalty for disobedience was death, and to a confidential representative of the clergy the Podestà declared that he would have strung up in front of his church any priest who spoke of leaving the town.[1] Nevertheless on May 13th, Whitsun Eve, and the day on which the interdict came into force, no church services were held. However, the Rectors visited the various churches, gave orders for Mass to be said everywhere, set up sentries to prevent the posting up of the sentence of excommunication and had the gates guarded in order to detain the religious who one after another were trying to flee from the city. Nevertheless very many made good their escape. The Capuchins declared they would rather die than disobey the Pope. They were banished, to the great sorrow of the people, and replaced by more pliant Capuchins from Drugolo. Some priests yielded to the ceaseless demands, warnings and threats of the Rectors and resumed the practice of saying Mass; others, who had failed in their attempted flight, preferred to go to prison. Amongst those who fled were the archpriest, who was subsequently banished; one canon; the Abbots of St. Faustino and St. Euphemia and many others, so that in July the government set a prize of 500 berlingotti on the capture of every fugitive priest.[2] The Olivetans of Rodengo made good their escape in August, though their movements were watched by fifteen policemen; their flight had been favoured by an officer formerly in the service of Venice and now in that of Mantua. Far greater than the monks' was the embarrassment of the nuns. On learning that Mass was not being said in their chapels the governors, on November 9th, cut off their supplies of necessaries,[3] a weapon similarly adopted against the Bernardine Sisters at Murano.[4] When the

[1] *Ibid.*, 228 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 230. [3] *Ibid.*, 231.

[4] *Cf.* the documents from February to April, 1607, in CORNET, in *Arch. Veneto*, VI. (1873), 83 *seqq.*, 108, 115 *seqq.* With regard to three Capuchin nuns who were threatened for observing the interdict, see *Borghese to Cardinal Spinola, February 21, 1607, *Borghese*, I, 251–3, Papal Secret Archives.

nuns of Brescia gave the excuse that their chaplain had fled other priests were appointed in their place.

In many churches in Brescia, notwithstanding the interdict, the services suffered no interruptions and were attended by the people. The bulk of the ordinary people did not understand the nature of the quarrel; they grumbled at the interdict and applauded the monks who went on with the performance of the wonted services. Those who did not side with the government would flock together, in great numbers, and then walk in procession to a holy image which stood over the fountain in the market place, where they prayed for the cessation of the interdict; in consequence the governors forbade these processions. Many consciences were gravely perturbed by the action of the bishop when, on Rosary Sunday, in October, he celebrated a pontifical High Mass in memory of the battle of Lepanto.[1] Vast crowds passed over into the territory of Cremona, or that of Mantua, in order to attend the offices of the Church. During the night lampoons against the republic and the Podestà [2] were stuck on the walls whilst satirical inscriptions against those clergy who were in sympathy with Venice, were scribbled on the walls of the churches; however their author was discovered and suffered for his action on the gallows. But this did not put a stop to the epidemic of satirical writings.[3] Whilst the bulk of the common people stood by the authorities, the greater part of the nobles, since the proclamation of the interdict, ceased to attend church and, to safeguard their freedom, retired to their country houses outside the city. Small wonder that the Podestà declared [4] that the administration of Brescia, always a difficult business, became an almost unbearable burden; he complained of great difficulties with the religious Orders; had he not on occasion proceeded with severity Brescia and its surrounding territory would have been almost without

[1] CAPRETTI, 231 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 233
[3] *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.*
[4] In a report to the Senate of May 18, 1607, in CORNET, 319.

priests; even those of the laity who were loyal to the government failed to show the keenness he could have wished for.[1]

In other Venetian cities the position was more favourable to the government than at Brescia. At Cividal di Belluno only the Capuchins, and even they only for a time, made any attempt to observe the interdict. At Crema only a few priests were banished; at Feltre a few Reformati and at Legnago only one priest took to flight. At Orzi-Novi the archpriest and a few others at first observed the interdict but by the end of December they had been brought round by the Podestà. Treviso and Udine were praised by their respective Podestàs.[2] Serious opposition only came from Padua and Verona. According to the Podestà it was due to the influence of the Jesuits that the people of Verona, always so loyal to the government, "failed on this occasion to show their wonted readiness and zeal." For this reason he observed a studied moderation.[3] According to official reports from Padua [4] priests in that city 'upset' people's consciences under pretext of religion. Hence many religious who were not natives of Padua were banished; others were forced to lie in hiding or to flee in disguise. Special difficulties arose in the convents of nuns from the attitude of the confessors who insisted on observing the interdict. The Podestà deemed it within his power to compel them to say Mass. He forced them to do so at times in his own presence, at the palace, at other times in some of the churches; but not all complied. The Provveditore of Legnago boasts of a similar abuse of authority. It seemed to him that the archpriest of the place no longer said Mass as

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 319 *seq.* About Bergamo, *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 322. An order was still issued on February 10, 1606, to take the Rector of the convent of S. Nazzaro to Venice as soon as he should recover from the illness into which he had fallen. He had published the interdict (*ibid.*, 213). For measures against some writings on the interdict which were being distributed in Verona and Terraferma, *ibid.*, 216, n. 1.

[4] Of August 21, 1606, *ibid.*, 321; *cf.* 94, n. 3. 96.

often as he used to do; so, having first closed every avenue of escape, he ordered him to obey punctually the commandments of the republic.[1] The monasteries were daily visited by a layman whose duty it was to ascertain whether the offices were being celebrated.[2] By order of the Senate[3] the governors of the ten largest cities were to see to it that preaching was not stopped and that the task was entrusted to priests loyal to the State. Towards the end of September, as the time drew near when the faithful were in the habit of going to confession, the public officials of Padua were instructed to summon the confessors before them in order that they might ascertain their attitude towards the interdict and inflict suitable penalties on those who proved loyal to the Pope. They were likewise to bring pressure to bear on the bishops, to the end that, in confession, consciences might not be 'troubled'[4]. These measures throw light on the way in which, under Sarpi's influence, the republic interpreted the relationship between Church and State and what it understood by the alleged encroachments of the Pope on the temporal domain. The domain of the Church, according to this theory, is exclusively constituted by what concerns the inner life of the soul; whatever is external comes within the competence of the State, even such functions as saying Mass, hearing confessions and preaching.

One wonders whether it was possible to humiliate the Church still further. Yet even more galling indignities were in store for her. The intention of the government was not to remain content with isolated encroachments, on the contrary, violence was to be given a permanent status by being put as a logical basis. It was for this that the republic had its Paolo Sarpi with his two hundred ducats a year, an honorarium

[1] In CORNET, 330, *cf.* a decree of the Senate of February 23, 1607, against observance of the interdict by priests and religious, *ibid.*, 216, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 94.

[3] Of September 6, 1606, *ibid.*, 137 n.

[4] Decree of the Senate of September 26, 1606, *ibid.*, 141 n.

which was doubled on September 28th, 1606,[1] and trebled the year after.[2] It was precisely the writings of Sarpi and his sympathizers that imparted to the struggle between the Pope and the Signoria its bitterness and its special significance in the history of the Church.

Long before the proclamation of the interdict the republic had seen to its own defence in the theological field. As early as January and February, 1606, certain lawyers of Padua had drawn up three reports which were published there in September, in the name of the whole university.[3] As a matter of fact the author of the most important of these three pamphlets, Pellegrini, contradicts therein his own earlier writings.[4] More sensational, however, were the pamphlets of the ex-Jesuit Giovanni Marsiglio, the Senator Marcantonio Quirini,[5] and the Franciscan-Conventual Capello. But they were all surpassed by Sarpi whose ideas these others endeavoured to make their own. He began by printing, with an introduction, but without his signature, a translation of two small works of Jean Gerson in which the great chancellor, in the midst of the troubles of his time, had said many things con-

[1] *Ibid.*, 142, n. 1. In other ways also the Signoria showed itself grateful to those who served it with their pen. On May 16, 1606, 100 ducats were voted to the Vicar-General (*ibid.*, 82); and on October 7, 600 ducats to its theologians and jurists (*ibid.*, 142, n. 1); its French ambassador was praised for having secured pens for the service of the republic and he was sent a gold chain worth 300 scudi to give to the royal advocate Servin, in order to get him to write on the nullity of the interdict (*ibid.*, 126 n.). Sarpi's amanuensis, Fulgenzio Micanzio, received 100 ducats, and eventually 400 ducats a year, for having written a pamphlet in defence of his master. (GRISELINI, 47, n. *a*).

[2] BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 169, 203.

[3] Reprint by GOLDAST, 340, 367; *cf.* above, p. 128.

[4] *Archiv. f. Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1902), 28.

[5] Reprint in GOLDAST, 312, 374. The republic sent it to its representatives abroad; see CORNET, 110, n. 2. A few notes about Marsiglio are found in Persio's essay (above, p. 114; *Riv. Europea, loc. cit.*, 392).

cerning resistance to the abuse of the papal power and to unjust excommunication which, later on, proved greatly to the taste of the Gallicans. This was followed, under Sarpi's name, by "Considerations on the Censures of Paul V. against the Republic of Venice". In a tone devoid of all respect the pamphlet claims to show the injustice of almost every assertion and every sentence of the brief of excommunication of April 17th. But Sarpi's chief effort in his quarrel with Paul V. is his "Treatise on the Interdict". It is Sarpi's work although it is published in the name also of six other divines of the republic. The brief of the interdict, it is asserted, cannot create an obligation inasmuch as it was not properly promulgated and from its observance grave disadvantages would ensue for the mass of the people and for the priests who obeyed it. If the Venetians, before accepting the brief, submitted it to an examination, they were within their rights, for both the Pope's power and the obedience due to him have their limits and blind obedience is immoral. Examination of the brief shows that the Pope had exceeded his powers; that it is contrary to God's law and is therefore not binding. What then is to be thought of the excommunication under threat of which the brief promulgates its orders? It is null and void; the Pope has misused his power; he must be resisted and to obey him is a sin.[1]

Sarpi's assertions caused an enormous sensation throughout Europe and started a controversy which, in the years immediately following, seemed likely to go on indefinitely. Gretser, who entered the lists in 1607, in the opening pages of his pamphlet, enumerates twenty-eight works in support of Venice and thirty-eight in favour of Paul V.[2] In 1607, seventeen such writings for and against the Pope were gathered into

[1] *Trattato dell'Interdetto della Santità di Papa Paolo V. composta* da F. Paolo, dell'ordine de'Servi e da'sotto nominati teologi . . . (*Opere varie*, I., 145–168). Originally the name of the Vicar-General of Venice headed the list of the seven divines.

[2] *Considerationum ad theologos Venetos libri tres*, Ingolstadt, 1607, in GRETSER, *Opera omnia*, VII., 425–7.

one volume and published at Chur, and we are told in that same year that this was only a tenth part of all that had appeared.[1] Moreover some of these documents won the honour of being several times reprinted and translated into various languages! The most important replies to the Venetian divines came from Bellarmine who, in point of fact, excused himself for taking part, he a Cardinal, in such a controversy. Cardinal Caetani, though under an assumed name, likewise wrote [2] a defence of the Pope, and Cardinal Baronius wrote at least an "admonition" to the republic.[3] Among the universities, Padua sided

[1] Reusch, *Index*, II., 322. The Bibl. Angelica in Rome preserves a collection (to-day no longer complete) of forty-four pamphlets in defence of papal claims belonging to the years 1606 and 1607; *cf.* Krauss in *Archiv. f. Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXII. (1882), 19–21); Nürnberger, 209. Many writings of this kind are in the Bibl. Barberini in Rome, especially 2539, 2713, 4568, 4576, 4932, 5096, 5297, 5298, 5421, 5498, Vat. Lib.; *cf.* Bibl. Corsini Cod. 163, Bibl. Vallecelliana L 27, 34, 35; Cod. Vat. 5425, 5547, 6540. Goldast in his *Monarchia* prints, I., 674–716, III., 282–564; twenty-four papal writings in all; a catalogue of anti-papal writings on the interdict also in FRESNE, *Lettres et ambassades*, III., introd. n. 141–4; much material also in the library of Franckfort, *Cod.* Th. U. 6, 1, *MSS. Glauburg*, 43. An anti-papal poem originating from Venice is published by E. Teza in *Arch. Rom.*, IX., 615 *seq.*, *cf.* VII., 578. See also Andrea Maschetti, *Il Gobbo di Rialto e le sue relazioni con Pasquino*, in *Arch. Ven.*, 1893. Fiorentino discusses a pamphlet by Ant. Persio, which is friendly towards the Pope, in the *Riv. Europea. Anno* VIII., 111 (1877), 385–402.

[2] He wrote first against Marsiglio, then against Sarpi-Gerson. Both papers were then published together and saw three editions in 1606 in Rome, two at Ferrara, one respectively in Milan, Bologna, Viterbo, Florence, one Latin and German translation, one reprint in a collection (Chur, 1607), which was translated into French and Latin (see below). Bellarmine's reply to the pamphlet of the seven divines and his answer to Sarpi did not get as many editions; see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1208 *seqq.*

[3] On Baronius' pamphlet, see CALENZIO, 752 *seqq.*; *Per Ces. Baronio*, 17 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*; A. CAUCHIE, *Témoignages d'estime*

with the republic, Bologna with the Pope. The most noted theologians of the time, such as Francesco Suarez and Adam Tanner devoted special treatises to the questions then so hotly controverted.[1] In France, where the Gallicans, in Germany and Holland, where the Protestants applauded Venice, translations were published of more than one pamphlet; even in Spain a defence of the Pope saw the light.[2] Marsiglio and Sarpi were summoned to Rome, to explain their conduct, and when they failed to put in an appearance they were excommunicated and their writings fell under the ban of the Roman Inquisition.[3]

rendus en Belgique au card. Baronius spécialement à l'occasion du conflit de Paul V. avec Venise, in the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire eccl. de Belgique*, XXXIV.; *Brief of November 16 to Cardinal Doria, who had prompted the essay of Beltram Guevara, in *Epist.*, XLV., 2, f. 267, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, VII., 1847, f. 1682. Suarez' paper was praised in a papal brief of October 2, 1607, but it was not printed at the time, the dispute having meanwhile come to an end; see R. de SCORAILLE, *Suarez*, II., 121 *seqq.* The writings of the Jesuits Fern. de la Bastida, Bellarmine, Comitoli, Ben. Giustiniani, Gretser, Henriques and Possevino, on the dispute, are catalogued by Sommervogel (I. 1006, 1208–1210, II. 1342, III. 1490, 1777, IV. 276, VI. 1085). Catalogue of writings on the dispute in the *Bibliothek von seltenenen und sehr seltenen Büchern*, 9, Stück, Nürnberg, 1780, 316–380.

[2] Pièces du mémorable procès esmeu l'an 1606 entre le Pape Paul V et les Seigneurs de Venise, touchant l'excommunication du Pape publiée contre iceux Venitiens, trad. de Latin et d'Italien, à S. Vincent, 1607. Some Gallican writings in Goldast, I., 674 *seqq.*, III., 405 *seqq.*, 430 *seqq.*; de Backer mentions a few German and Dutch writings, *Biblioth.*, I., 519 *seq.* Reprint of the pamphlet of Bastida, Léon, 1607.

[3] With them was also cited the Franciscan Manfredi for his sermon. See Sarpi, *Opere varie*, 169–181; BIANCHI-GIOVANI, 156, 162; Reusch, *Index*, II, 321. The excommunication of Sarpi, January 5, 1607, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, IX. (1882), 154; CICOGNA, *Iscrizioni Veneziani*, VI., 878; CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, IX.

It is easy to understand the excitement of the Catholic as well as the Protestant world. On the one hand there was fear, on the other hope, that in Italy also another Luther had arisen who, in the very heart of the Catholic world, would promote apostacy from Rome.[1] Prompted by Sarpi, the republic had made the acceptance of papal briefs dependent on a previous examination ; in other words, on its own caprice. From this to a complete denial of papal jurisdiction it was but one step. Moreover, by his views on the relation between Church and State, Sarpi took up a position which was at variance with the conception hitherto maintained by scholars ; in fact he challenged the whole traditional teaching in this respect. In the opinion of his admirers the merit of Sarpi's writings lies precisely in this that by their means he became a pioneer and one of the founders of modern statecraft. So we must submit Sarpi's writings to a brief examination from just this point of view.

The Catholic conception of the relationship between Church and State starts from the fact that Christ founded the Church ; that as God-man all power was given to Him in heaven and on earth, and that in virtue of this power He bestowed on His Church, in the person of the Apostles, all the rights and powers that she needs for the fulfilment of the task entrusted to her. The authority of the Church is, therefore, not limited to the interior life of the soul. Christ sends forth His Apostles to teach and to administer the Sacraments ; hence, they and their followers are free to take up their abode anywhere on earth, even though the secular princes may banish them ; they may

[1] *Hinc eorum opuscula* (the Venetian divines) *cudunt et recudunt* (*haeretici*) *et in germanicam linguam vertunt, ut Germani videant, in Italia quoque Saxonico evangelio aliquam januam patefactam esse.* (Gretser, *Considerationes*, I., i., c. 5 : *Opera*, VII., 449). The Huguenots Scaliger and Casaubonus praised the 'great Paul' (Prat, II., 489, 499), whereas others were of opinion, in respect of the seven State divines, that a counterpart to the seven wise men of Greece had appeared in the persons of the seven fools of Venice (*ibid.*, 487).

convene assemblies, build churches, acquire property and in none of these things has any secular power a juridical right to interfere with them. Were it otherwise the Church could never have struck roots on earth, for from the first the State was ill disposed towards her so that any obligation in conscience to obey its laws of proscription would have made her existence impossible from the very outset.

Sarpi does not openly deny these principles but he observes a complete silence in their regard. In other ways also it would not do for him to oppose Catholic convictions openly; Venice was still too religious for that. Even during the time of the interdict a pamphlet by the Calvinist Nicholas Viguier which was hostile to the papacy was banned by the Senate[1] and the republic boasted to the French ambassador that it had never tolerated any abusive writings against the Pope.[2] Accordingly, Sarpi did not openly deny the jurisdiction of the Pope or his infallibility: in principle at least he even recognized the immunity of Church property; his claim was that the laws of the republic were not at variance with this immunity.

However, when viewed in the light of the code then obtaining, the laws to which the Pope objected could not be defended and, when he undertook to defend them in the name of Canon Law, Sarpi condemned himself to the rôle of a sophist and pamphleteer. Thus, for example, the prohibition of the free erection of churches is, according to him, no more than a decision concerning the ground on which the church was to be raised; now questions of ground or land are within the competence of the State so that ecclesiastical interests are not in any way affected by the prohibition.[3] The obvious answer to such reasoning was that the republic might with equal right forbid millers and bakers to grind corn and to bake bread for the priests, and then pretend that it had merely given its orders to millers and bakers without in any way interfering

[1] Cornet, 112, n.
[2] *Ibid.*, 125, n. 3.
[3] *Considerationes*: *Opere varie*, I., 188.

with the clergy.[1] In defence of the same law Sarpi further argued that any private citizen might prevent the erection of a church on his own property, hence a similar right belonged to the State within the whole of its territory, since the soil of the whole State was the private property of the prince![2] Apart from this there can be no serious doubt that the better type of pamphlet written against Sarpi far surpassed his as regards objectivity and thoroughness. True, Sarpi's knowledge ranged over an immense field but he was no specialist. His numerous references to legal sources were shown to be inaccurate and inadequate[3]; he had the mortification of being told that often enough he made long-winded attacks against positions which no one defended,[4] and it will scarcely be denied that he frequently talked against his own better knowledge.[5]

It remains, nevertheless, that Sarpi's writings did their work. They are clever, seasoned with witty sallies, and they drown the reader in a flood of arguments and texts which only a few are able to put to the test; moreover, in literature of this kind boldness in the attack invariably puts the defence at a disadvantage. Most of the ideas of Sarpi and his followers are already found in Marsilius of Padua, Wyclif, Hus and Luther[6]; Gretser went to the trouble of furnishing detailed proof in

[1] *Nicomaco Filaliteo*, 35.

[2] Sarpi, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* say Giov. Ant. Bovio, *Risposta alle Considerationi del P. Maestro Paolo de Venetia*, Roma, 1606, 67 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 35, 45, 82.

[5] As when, for instance, he reproaches the Pope with having decided, with unseemly haste, to excommunicate at one blow three million people! (*Considerazioni, loc. cit.*, 210). He knew quite well that only the doge and the Senate were excommunicated and not the whole people of Venice. In like manner when he affirms that under Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., religious had been hanged in Rome in their habits: "neither then nor *a memoria hominum* did such a thing happen," Bovio rejoins (84).

[6] Bovio, *loc. cit.*, 21.

every single instance.[1] On the other hand the significance of these writings lies precisely in the fact that they advocate an anti-Catholic conception of the State at the very gates of Rome. In his writings James I. of England adopted Sarpi's ideas. From the point of view of Church history Sarpi, by allying himself with the Protestants, was the first, on the Catholic side, to start an evolutionary process which, through Richer, Barclay, the Gallicans, Febronius, leads up to Josephism. From the standpoint of secular history it must be said that he helped to loosen the subordination of the secular to the spiritual authority and thus paved the way for absolutism which in its turn led up to the revolution with its incalculable consequences.[2] In the story of his native city Sarpi also has his place; through him Venice already in decay became for a last time the centre of world politics and once more riveted all eyes on itself. There was but little need of any polemical writings to raise the excitement of the Venetians against the Pope to fever heat. Such was its embitterment, Tommaso Palmegiani wrote to Borghese,[3] that the republic was capable of extreme measures; there was reason to fear a catastrophe that might well prove irreparable; not everything could be entrusted to writing but if the Secretary of State could hear

[1] In his *Considerationes* on the pamphlet of Marcantonio Capello (*Opera*, VII., 421–546).

[2] Sarpi is sharply condemned by MONTALEMBERT (*Du vandalisme et du catholicisme dans l'art*, Paris, 1839, 130–1; *cf.* K. Werner, *Gesch. der polemischen und apologetischen Literatur*, IV., 394 *seq.*, 398 *seq.* Admirers of Sarpi are Franc. Scaduto (*Stato e chiesa secondo fra P. Sarpi e la coscienza pubblica durante l'interdetto di Venezia del* 1606–7, Florence, 1885), and Friedberg (*Grenzen*, II., 696 *seqq.*).

[3] *"Per il che son tanto essacerbati che precipitariano in ogni strana risolutione, e se non s'interpongono mezi potentissimi, prevedo una rovina così grande che non avrà nissuno o poco riparo; e se V.S. ill. sentesse il parlar e straparlare di questo popolo, non potrebbe a bastanza stupirsi: nè si può in questo particolare fidar ogni cosa alla penna." *Nuntiat. di Venezia*, 17, f. 239 (384), Papal Secret Archives.

what was being said at Venice he would have a surprise. It is well known, Bellarmine wrote, that at Venice many who formerly were but seldom at Mass now hear it daily, just to display their rebelliousness.[1] The Corpus Christi procession of 1606 was more gorgeous than it had been for years and the ornaments in gold and silver which were displayed at it were valued at three to four millions.[2]

Fresne writes [3] that on all feast days sermons were preached all over the city to proclaim that the excommunication was null and void; that the people looked on the Pope as the enemy of their spiritual welfare; the Jesuits, and their conduct in the confessional, were hotly discussed in the public houses; the Inquisition was despised and the booksellers scattered broadcast all kinds of writings. The sermons of Fulgenzio Manfredi, a friar minor, in particular were remarkable for their abuse of the Pope.[4]

In these circumstances the fear lest Venice should end by going over to Protestantism took an ever more concrete shape. Already in the reign of Clement VIII. it was known in Rome that English agents were making propaganda in favour of Calvinism.[5] At the time of England's apostasy from the Church, diplomatic relations between London and Venice were broken off; they were only resumed in the last year of Elizabeth. James I. had sent as his representative in Venice Sir Henry Wotton who caused his chaplain to hold Protestant services.[6] True, Wotton had given a pledge that no one, beside his own household, was to be admitted to the Protestant sermons,[7] but on one occasion he himself declared that "an

[1] *Risposta al trattato de i sette teologi*, 23.

[2] Vinc. Americi to Franc. Caffarelli on June 3, 1606, *Borghese*, I. (251)-253, f. 79 (72), Papal Secret Archives.

[3] To Villeroi on July 11, 1606, in Crétineau-Joly, III., 79.

[4] Rein, 64.

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 217.

[6] Rein, II. For Wotton *cf.* besides the older biographies by J. Walton and A. W. Ward (1898), especially Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, Oxford, 1907.

[7] Rein, 13.

ambassador was a gentleman sent abroad to tell lies for reasons of State" ![1] For Wotton this definition was a joke only in its wording. Soon news reached Rome that the Anglican sermons at Wotton's house were much frequented and that "dreadful things" were said in them.[2] When the nuncios Offredo and Orazio Mattei lodged a protest both Wotton and the Signoria met them with a complete denial.[3]

As soon as the struggle with the Pope had begun Protestantism began to rear its head still higher in Venice. Wotton got in touch with Geneva in order to secure from there a Calvinist preacher for the city of the lagoons [4]; Protestant writings in vast quantities were smuggled into the city and into the very chamber of the doge [5]; from Catholic pulpits friends of Sarpi began to preach thinly disguised Protestant doctrines [6]; the doge himself, whom Paul V. would have liked to summon before the Inquisition, notwithstanding many assurances of orthodoxy, let fall on occasion mysterious threats [7]; in June, 1606, a printed sheet which openly advocated apostacy from the Pope was publicly posted up at Vicenza though, as a matter of fact, the government suppressed it.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 133. He wrote this sentence in an album, at Augsburg, in 1604. It led him into a controversy with Kaspar Schopp and called forth James I.'s displeasure; *cf. Dict. of National Biography*, LXIII, 51 *seq.*

[2] See **Barb. lat.*, 5195, f. 83–6, *Vatic. Lib.* (*cf. Annal. juris Pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 583). In this MSS. there is much information about heretics in Venice. *Cf.* on the subject A. Pilot, *Del Protestantismo in Venezia e delle poesie religiose di Celio Magno*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, XXXII., 1, 2 (1909); Mohnicke in *Mitteil. der deutschen Gesellsch. zu Königsberg*, II., 115–208; Reumont, Bibliographia, 172.

[3] Rein, 15 *seq.*; *Anal. juris pontif.*, XXVI (1886), 584.

[4] Rein, 26.

[5] *Ibid.*, 28, 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, 43.

[7] *Ibid.*, 34 *seqq.*

[8] Cornet, 112.

There can be no doubt that Paul V. seriously misjudged the effect of the interdict. A century earlier the Signoria had at least made an attempt to have the ecclesiastical censures raised, but within the last decades a change had come over the city. Since the last war against the Turks, so we read in a memoir of 1590,[1] eighteen years of age was deemed sufficient for membership of the Council. The result was that youths outnumbered the older and experienced men. Venerable old men could be seen courting the favour of these youths for the distribution of all offices lay with them. This brought about a change in the moral as well as the political condition of the republic. The Council of Ten saw its power curtailed to the advantage of the Senate [2] in which the young people were in the majority. The spirit of parsimony and frugality of former times vanished [3]; levity and immorality became rampant; only a few years previous to the interdict a preacher had the courage to proclaim that if the city did not amend in this respect, he himself feared lest God should punish Venice by taking from it the light of faith.[4] Not many months after the interdict it became apparent that things could not go on in this strain: either Venice must openly secede from the Church or, by mutual concessions, a reconciliation with Rome must be brought about. Paul V. showed an early readiness to parley; all he insisted on was

[1] **Relatione della Ser. Republica di Venetia*, in *Cod.*, 35, F. 29, f. 221, Corsini Lib., Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Ranke, *Zur venezianischen Geschichte*: *Werke*, XLII, 64 *seqq.* Also our account, Vol. XXI, 233, n. 3.

[3] "La gioventù ha introdotto nelle mense altra sorte di lusso con non picciolo ramarico de'vecchi" (**Relatione*, *Cod.*, 35, F. 29, f. 221, Corsini Lib., Rome). "Un certo habito d'incontinenza, con che si allevano i giovani di quella republica, i quali abbandonati in ogni sorta d'intemperanza e d'impudicitia, fa che quegli anni, che si devrebbono dare all'apprendere delle buone discipline . . ., restino vilmente a perdersi nelle sensualità, etc." Their excuse is that "la carnalità è proprio difetto di Venezia" (*ibid.*, f. 220).

[4] Giov. Bertolotti, *Filoprotropia*, Bologna, 1606, 4.

that he should be given some kind of satisfaction.[1] The Senate, however, seemed unwilling to relent; with unbending obstinacy it sought to humiliate the Pope by insisting on an unconditional surrender on his part.

However, since some time already the final decision no longer lay exclusively with the Senate. The strife had had its repercussion as far as England and Denmark. The immediate neighbours of the republic especially could not be indifferent to the formation of a Protestant State in Venice; such an eventuality could easily lead to civil war in Italy and would constitute a danger for the whole of Europe. The leading ministers of France and Spain, Villeroi and Lerma, were the first, at any early date, to tackle the Venetian problem. The head of the German empire would have had good ground for similar action but only in the beginning and at the end of the struggle did the impotent Rudolph II. rouse himself sufficiently to take a few measures.[2] As for the smaller Italian States, they only saw in the quarrel an opportunity, by means of the double-faced flatteries with which they encouraged the two principals, to acquire yet another strip of territory.[3] Charles Emmanuel of Savoy was seemingly prompted by loftier motives when he strove for a league between the Pope, Tuscany and Mantua, with a view to keeping Spain and France out of these purely Italian questions. Yet at the same time he entered into negotiations with Spain in the hope of securing Montferrat, and with France in order to get possession of Milan.[4] The duke of Mantua earned the thanks

[1] *Cf.* the extracts from the letters of the Cardinal of Vicenza in CORNET, 323.

[2] DE MAGISTRIS, 50 *seqq.* The marquis of Castiglione had purposely journeyed to Prague in order to get the emperor to appoint him as mediator (*ibid.*, 66 *seqq.*, 77 *seqq.*). The Pope would have been agreeable; see Brief of November 4, 1606, *ibid.* *Cf.* Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 620 *seqq.*

[3] R. PUTELLI in *Arch. Ven.*, XXVIII (1914), 31.

[4] DE MAGISTRIS, *Carlo Emmanuele I e la contesa fra la repubblica di Veneta e Paolo V.*, 1605–7. *Documenti* (*Miscell. di stor. Veneta*, 2 series, X.), Venezia, 1906. *Cf.* Erdmannsdörffer, 60; Gindely, Rudolf II., Vol. I., 124; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXX., 821.

of the Venetian Senate for informing it of his refusal to listen to the Spanish solicitations. For all that the duke engineered a conspiracy among the Venetian troops, supplied the papal army with officers and courted the friendship of Spain and the Spanish governor of Milan. But even this friendship did not prevent the duke from working for an alliance with France and Venice.[1] The dukes of Mantua, Savoy, and Florence also declared their willingness to act as mediators between Rome and Venice, but their proposals were of little importance. A decisive change in the situation could only be brought about by the great powers, France and Spain, inasmuch as the Venetian complications furnished each of them with an opportunity of cutting out the other in their mutual struggle for preponderance in the Italian peninsula.

Henry IV. had expressed the opinion that in this contest he would be both for the Pope and for Venice ; for the Pope against all comers ; for Venice against all, with the sole exception of the Pope.[2] Of all the powers Venice had been the first to recognize him as king, hence he felt under some obligation to the republic. On the other hand he durst not offend the Pope for fear of making his reception into the Church suspect. So the king decided to take sides for neither party [3]

[1] R. PUTELLI, *Il duca Vincenzo Gonzaga e l'interdetto di Paolo V.*, Venice, 1913. Reprint from *N. Arch. Ven.*, XXI. and XXII. (1911–12).

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 474. In accordance with his instructions, Alincourt, the French ambassador in 1605, was to make representations in Rome to the effect that during the last six or seven years religion had made more progress by peaceful means than it had done previously by force of arms. *Cf.* MERCIER DE LA COMBE, 34 ; **Discorso d'un cavalier francese incognito al suo re, nel quale s'esorta a convocare un concilio*, 1607 (*Barb.*, LVII., 6, Vatic. Lib.) ; *Henry IV. to Cardinal Givry, July 19 and 25, 1606. *Villeroi to Givry, May 5 and June 30, 1606 (Lib. at Metz, 219, p. 105–7). On Henry's attitude, *cf.* also ROTT, 2, 368 *seqq.*

[3] Rome was not without anxiety as regards his attitude and sought information from P. Coton through Aquaviva ; *cf.* PRAT,

in order not to forfeit their confidence in him as a mediator. His envoy to Venice, Philippe Canaye, Seigneur de Fresne, showed himself less impartial than the king and his sympathy with the republic frequently set him at variance with the instructions given him by Henry.[1]

At the first threat of the interdict Henry IV. took a preliminary step, which aimed at securing a prolongation of the truce of twenty-four days which had been granted. But since the Venetians showed no desire for it the Pope could not consider the request of the king.[2]

The disappointment of the French owing to this first ill-success, gave the Spaniards a chance to intervene. On July 5th the Spanish envoy in Rome, the Duke of Escalona, presented a letter of Philip III.[3] in which the king expressed

II., 492 *seq.* "Out of consideration for Henry IV. he had told his ambassadors that he would do anything that was compatible with his dignity," Paul V. *wrote on May 26, 1606. *Epist. ad princip.*, XLV., 1, f. 357, Papal Secret Archives. As regards Villeroi's friendly remarks about Rome, the nuncio Barberini wrote on December 26, 1606: *"Mi parve che dicesse seriamente queste parole, perchè soggionse che S.M. Crist. desidera questa compositione et accordo grandemente e che non ha voluto dar orecchia a consiglieri che gli anteponevan, che per ragion di stato il tener distratte con le di Signori d'Italia le forze Spagnuole era espediente per questo reame massime non havendo S.M. che perdere in Italia. Voglio credere c'habbia parlato con sincerità. *Barb.* 5868, p. 896 *seq.*, Vatic. Lib.

[1] *Lettres et Ambassade de Messire Ph. Canaye, Seigneur de Fresne*, III., Paris, 1635; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI. (1843), 137 *seqq.*, 193 *seqq.*; PRAT, II., 480 *seq.*, 497 *seqq.*

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 475 *seq.*

[3] Of June 14, 1606: *Ha me dado mucho cuidado el estado en que sea puesto el negotio con Veneçianos y como quiera que quisiera que no estuviera tan adelante por todas las raçones que se dexan considerar, pero siendo tam empeñada en el (como esta) la autoridad de V. S. y de la Sede Apostolica me he resuelto de acudir a V. S. y a la Sede Apostolica, como el hijo verdaderamente obediente della, con mi persona y fuerzas, y no quiero

his determination to throw his person and his power into the scales on the Pope's side. The king said that he had spoken in that sense to the Venetian envoy at Madrid and had caused the viceroys and other officials in Italy to be informed of his attitude. A covering letter to Escalona mentions the orders given to the latter to be ready for every emergency with the necessary forces on land and sea as well as the instructions to the governor of Milan who was commanded under no circumstances to permit the passage of troops.[1]

Thus, to the great joy of the Spanish sympathizers in Rome, Philip III. appeared to be in earnest. However, he himself weakened the value of his letter by the explanations given in Venice. When he expressed his devotion to the Pope, he explained the king had merely sought to win the Pontiff's confidence to the end that he might the more readily be accepted as mediator.

An attempt at mediation was made before the Senate on July 13th by Iñigo de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, but in the circumstances there was all the less hope of success as the English envoy, on May 16th, had held out to the republic the prospect of a secret alliance with the Protestant powers.[2] For the time being, therefore, there was no hope of a reconciliation. To the pressing demands of the French envoy, Alincourt, that he would raise the censures at least for a time, the Pope had replied, with the consent of nearly

contentarme con menos que con declararlo desde luego a l'embaxada que la Republica de Venecia tiene cerca de mi persona y juntamente se ha mandado escribir a los virreyes y ministros que me sirven en Italia con orden que por su medio lo entiendan los potentados que penden de mi, como mas particularmente se lo dira a V. S. el duque de Escalona y esté cierto V. S. de que en todo lo que le tocare me tendra a su lado etc. Arch. of Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 10. Ital. transl. in CORNET, 285, together with another letter of the king dated April 1, 1606, in which he exhorts to peace.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 476 *seq.*; Wotton's mission in CORNET, 87.

all the Cardinals, that before he could do anything it was the duty of the republic to take at least the first step to meet him half-way. To the representative of France who handed over this answer, as well as to the Spanish intermediary, the Senate declared on September 14th that unless the censures were first raised there could be no question of reconciliation. Nevertheless, under the impression of the king's letter, the Senate decided, not without many reservations, to agree to the proposal that the King of Spain should ask for the raising of the censures and that the request might also be made in the name of Venice.[1]

The Spanish peace proposal was followed by two similar ones by France, in August and November. The first was submitted by Henry IV.,[2] the second came from the French Cardinals in Rome.[3] Spain then re-appeared on the scene with a great show of energy. The king decided to send an envoy extraordinary; his choice fell on no less a personage than the former viceroy of Naples, Francisco de Castro, nephew of the duke of Lerma.[4] After the grand duke of Tuscany had likewise made peace proposals the Pope made known his terms.[5] All was in vain. The republic would not have been unwilling to deliver the prisoners to the Pope, or to the King of France, but it was not prepared to repeal the laws concerning Church property, nor would it even go so far as to consent to their provisional repeal.[6] In these transactions a sinister rôle was played by Fresne who repeatedly spoke of papal concessions; he was not empowered to do so and he thereby put the Pope in an unfavourable light.[7]

Outside Venice and Protestant or Gallican circles the attitude of the republic caused but little surprise. Cardinal

[1] Nürnberger, 477 *seq.*; Cornet, 118.
[2] Cornet, 128 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 158 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 168 *seqq.*
[5] Nürnberger, 483 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 479–487.
[7] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 483, 484, 486.

Du Perron wrote as follows to Henry IV. "What risk would Venice have run if, out of regard for your Majesty, it had suspended the application of the laws whilst peaceful negotiations were proceeding, as between Prince and Prince, seeing that the Church took exception to them? But Venice is no longer the shrewd republic of former times and the most weighty affairs of State are in the hands of a band of young people."[1] The Pope had long been under the impression that the tension caused by the Venetian situation would lead to a European war and he ordered preparations to be made which were to be under the direction of a commission of thirteen Cardinals. A Spanish memoir counselled that Venice should be threatened[2] with war; fear would make more impression on them than all the arguments of St. Paul and all the eloquence of Cicero; these people worshipped no other god than their personal advantage and their independence.[3] Philip III. wrote in the same sense to his

[1] *Ibid.*, 488.

[2] *Ibid.*, 481. Numerous *briefs in praise of zeal for the defence of the Church and requesting not to permit the levying of troops or their passage through territory, etc., in *Epist. ad princ.*, XLV., 2, Papal Secret Archives; to the governor of Milan on July 12, 1606, January 6 and April 26, 1607; to the viceroy of Naples on July 21, 1606, January 12 and April 26, 1607; to Ferdinand of Austria on February 15, 1607; to Charles of Lorraine on January 5 and 13 and February 6, 1607; to Caspar von Altemps on July 29, 1606; to Solothurn on August 13, 1606; to Lucerne on September 9, 1606; to the duke of Lerma on January 1 and May 1, 1607; to Maximilian of Bavaria on March 5, 1607; to Switzerland on June 17 and September 9, 1606, January 6 and February 3, 1607. **Coactum duritia Venetorum armis prosequi Ecclesiae jus, decrevisse scribere* 2,000 *peditum Walonorum ac* 300 *equites, postquam omnia alia consilia nihil profuerunt, ne nova haeresis in Italia oriatur.* (To Ernest of Louvain, January 6, 1607), *ibid.*, 295. **Decrevisse scribere* 3,000 *Helvetiorum.* (To Catholic Switzerland, on January 6, 1607), *ibid.*, 297.

[3] *Porque el temor de que estas prevenciones han de llover sobre si en caso que no se acordasen con el Papa, havia mas obra i efecto en ellos que las raçones de S. Pablo i eloquencia

new ambassador in Rome, the Marquis de Aytona[1]: "Since the Venetians, so far from humbling themselves before the Apostolic See, have scattered abroad writings against it which teem with harmful and anti-religious teaching, and since to defend their erroneous principles they have asked for the help not only of the Catholic princes, but even for that of heretical ones, thus at one and the same time jeopardizing both religion and the peace of the world, he felt compelled to take his stand beside the Pope. He therefore orders the governor of Milan, Conde de Fuentes, to levy an armed force of 26,000 foot and 4,000 horse." Fuentes was an able soldier and a decided opponent of the Venetians. For some time already he had been urging both the Pope and the king to go to war for, so he urged, the Venetians would not yield to persuasion and there was a danger that if they could get help from the Grisons, Switzerland and France, they would invade the territory of Milan.[2] Thereupon, as was to be expected, Venice pushed forward her armaments with greater energy than ever. France also mobilized 24,000 foot and 4,000 horse, as a counterpoise to Spain.[3] Rudolph IV. put at the Pope's

de Ciceron, porque es gente que no adoran otro Dios que su interes i libertad (Relacion de las diferencias que si penden entre S. S. i Venecianos). Archiv. der span. Botschaft zu Rom, III., 10. S. S. i Venecianos). Arch. of Span. Embassy, Rome, III., 10.

[1] Viendo que Venecianos en vez de humillarse in obediencia a S. S. y a la Sede Apostolica permiten que se escrivan i publiquen papeles en ofensa de la autoridad de S. S. y de la Sede Apostolica de doctrina perniciosa y contraria a nuestra s. religion, y que para defender sus erradas opiniones y sustentarlas conmueven los principes del mundo para su ayuda no contentandose a los que professan nuestra s. religion sino a los que professan la contraria aventurando juntamente la religion i la paz universal de la Christianidad y de Italia . . . no puede faltar al Papa ni dexar de estar a su lado para su defensa i de la Sede Apostolica y de su patrimonio . . . De Pardo, November 30, 1606, *ibid.*

[2] Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 478 *seq.*, 487.

[3] *Ibid.* A Venetian war council, under the Provveditore of the Terraferma, Benedetto Moro, held at Verona, at the beginning

disposal 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.[1] The Pope himself also prepared for a military expedition [2] since the republic clung so obstinately to its "diabolical writings", and he did not want Venice to become another Geneva.[3]

Great was now the embarrassment of Venice for the Senate knew perfectly well—and even said so—that the republic could not long resist unaided the combined forces of Spain and the Pope.[4] About that time Cardinal Du Perron expressed the opinion that there remained now for the Signoria only one way out of its difficulties, that is, to give satisfaction to the Pope and then, leagued with France, to turn its whole strength against Spain.[5]

In these circumstances, on January 8th, 1607, Castro was in a position to renew his offer with a better prospect of success. The republic, he asked, should pledge itself not to apply the laws in dispute during the discussion; otherwise

of November, decided to attack the Pope in the Polesina, Spain in Lombardy, Austria in Friuli; 24,000 men were to be levied. *Cf.* the minutes in E. CELANI in *Arch. N. Ven.*, XVII. (1899).

[1] CORNET, 332.

[2] **Instruttione a Msgr. l'arciv. di Damasco di quello che haverà da trattare col ser. arciduca Alberto e con altri in materia delle genti da guerra, che si desiderano per servitio di N. S. Paolo V. per li rumori di Venezia*, January 8, 1607, *Cod.*, 468, f. 151, of Corsini Lib., Rome. *Cf.* **Parere dato a Paolo V. circa il muovere la guerra a Venetia* (BOLOGNETTI, 214); **Discorso di Tarq, Pinaoro del modo da tenersi da Paolo V. per vincere i Veneziani per via d'assedio. Bibl. Gambalungo*, Rimini, D. IV., 314, n. 20. A **Discorso of T. Pinaoro* on the reconciliation, in the library of Upsala, H. 327, and in the Corsini Lib., Rome, 717 (= 34 F. 6), p. 143 *seq.*: **Del modo di rendere i Veneziani più osequiosi alla Sede Apost.* See also the acc. of Malatesta in *Brosch*, I., 360 *seq.* On the new taxes see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII., 106.

[3] Letter of the Cardinal of Vicenza of January 9, 1607, in CORNET, 332.

[4] Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*, 489. This was likewise the opinion of Henry IV., see CORNET, 198, n. 1.

[5] Nürnberger, 488.

he would take his leave. On January 13th Fresne demanded a similar promise.[1] Nothing throws a clearer light on the situation as the fact that now the doge himself strove for the suspension of the laws so hotly fought for until then. In his speech on the proposal[2] he openly conceded the greatness of the peril, the inadequateness of Venice's armed forces and the lack of reliable allies, for the unwarlike James I. was too far away and Henry IV. was content with good advice. Once again the national pride of the Venetians[3] reared itself against the humiliation; once again the old slogan about the intangible freedom and autonomy of the republic proved effective at the sittings of the Senate,[4] and the doge's proposal fell through. Nevertheless, in a subsequent vote, he secured a majority of two, though this was insufficient in affairs of State and Castro was put off with the excuse that for the time being no one knew what exactly were the demands of the Pope.[5] More and more the conviction gathered strength that a compromise must be arrived at. The common people had long ago wearied of the strife. When, in August, 1606, the mediation of Henry IV. was invited, even Fresne wrote that the Jews had not more impatiently longed for the Messias than people now awaited the reply of the King of France.[6] A speaker in the Senate insisted on the fact that, however much Venetian polemists might seek to put the Pope in the wrong, the views of the Pope were bound to have the greater weight with the faithful since

[1] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 489.

[2] Printed by CORNET, 297 *seqq.*

[3] GOTHEIN, *Ignatius*, 539.

[4] *Cf.* the speeches of Zorzi and Contarini in CORNET, 299 *seqq.*, 301 *seqq.* *Il trattare ad instanza d'altri, ma che dico ad instanza d'altri? necessitati et astretti da altri, di sospendere una legge, non sara pregiudicare alla libertà publica?* Thus Zorzi (299), Contarini (301) thought that this was probably the last time that he spoke as a free citizen: *trattandosi d'imporre alla Republica giogo (voglio dire liberamente) di vera et patientissima servitù.*

[5] CORNET, 199–202.

[6] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 194. *Cf.* CORNET, 139, n. 1.

by common consent he was the judge in all disputed questions.[1] Moreover many internal disadvantages had ensued from the quarrel. Since a whole year, so the same speaker pointed out, the republic was as it were on a war footing. Every day, so it is said, inflicts some fresh damage; those of the princes who are friendly with Venice hesitate; the undecided fall away and the enemies grow stronger; trade suffers; taxes remain unpaid and revenue decreases in a thousand ways by reason of the huge sums swallowed by war preparations. Moreover the citizens are divided in their opinions, troubled in conscience, weary of existing conditions, and all the time a superstitious populace sees in their calamities the effects of the excommunication. And who can tell what will happen if the Pope takes yet sterner measures? If he insists on punishing the disobedience of bishops and priests and inflicts severer censures? On the part of Venice so many fresh and shocking excesses have taken place that the original cause of the quarrel is almost forgotten; there have been so many extravagant sermons and pamphlets, confiscations of Church property, banishments, persecutions; the prisons are full of religious whose only crime is their submission to the interdict which is treated with greater contempt and is scoffed at in worse fashion than it would be in a heretical land. Add to this the external difficulties. Does anyone believe the republic capable of maintaining three armies of 16,000 men each, in Lombardy, in Friuli and Polesina?[2] Can we rely on the subjects? We have taken possession of their land, hence there prevail amongst us luxury and an intolerable arrogance in stark contrast with the manners of our forbears, whilst among the people there is poverty, discontent and a longing for a change.[3] Add to this that we have no ally whom we could really trust.[4]

The attitude of the foreign countries also was sufficiently humiliating for the republic. The interdict was published in Savoy and the Venetian envoy was forbidden to enter

[1] In Cornet, 308.
[2] *Ibid.*, 310 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 313.
[4] *Ibid.*, 313 *seq.*

the churches[1]; in Venice the envoy of Savoy refused to attend services forbidden by the Pope and in order to avoid contact with the excommunicated Senate he retired to a country house outside the city, alleging the example of the Imperial and the Spanish Court.[2] At the court of Rudolph II., at Prague, the nuncio Ferreri broke off all relations with the envoy of the Signoria and forbade him to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi; the Emperor himself would not give him audience and his ministers openly avoided him.[3] The Spanish nuncio declared at Madrid that he would not take part in the services in the chapel royal if the Venetian representative was present. With a view to avoiding a decisive step the king ceased to attend his own chapel[4] till at last, in January, 1607, he yielded to the pressure of the Pope and decided to exclude the envoy.[5] At Warsaw the ambassador of the Signoria had the mortification of seeing some gentlemen of his suite excluded from church by order of the nuncio, though in this matter the archbishop did not agree with the action of the nuncio and whilst the envoy remained in Poland the king withheld the publication of the interdict.[6] Henry IV., notwithstanding his efforts at media-

[1] CORNET, 119, n. 1. *Laudatory brief of October 6, 1606, in the *Epist. ad princip.*, XLV., 2, 213, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] CORNET, 117, n. 3.

[3] Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LXII., 775 de 778, f. 785d; CORNET, 97, 315 *seqq*; DE MAGISTRIS, 68, 73. In the opinion of the Senate here also the nuncio went beyond his rights for, it was claimed, the envoy was subject only to the emperor and the Signoria; see CORNET, 105, Maximilian I. of Bavaria exhorted to obedience to the Pope (*ibid.*, 104), but declined to offer his services to the latter (Stieve, V., 59).

[4] CORNET, 113.

[5] *Ibid.*, 186, n. 1. *Philip III. to Aytona on January 19, 1607, Arch. of Spanish Embassy, at Rome, III., 10.

[6] CORNET, 114 *seq.* *Cf.* *instruction for Simonetta, November, 1606 (*Brera Lib.*, at Milan): the nuncio is instructed to explain to the Poles the true nature of the dispute between the Pope and Venice, the best books on which were those of Bellarmine,

tion, would not allow the Venetian ambassador to be present at the christening of his children.[1]

The best hopes of the Senate rested on the King of France. At the end of December, 1606, Fresne had counselled getting the Grisons to make an irruption into Milanese territory; in such an eventuality France would surely side with Venice.[2] Towards the end of January the Venetian envoy in Paris vainly besought Henry IV. to come to the assistance of the republic. Heated discussions ensued; not long after the envoy had a stroke of apoplexy which was thought to have been caused by the controversy.[3] An alliance which Fresne had suggested the Venetians should ask for, Henry flatly refused.[4] As a matter of fact, notwithstanding all these warlike preparations, the king had not yet given up hope of a peaceful settlement. At this very time he informed his ambassador of an important arrangement he had just concluded with the Pope. Seeing how difficult Venice found it to promise suspension of the laws in dispute, the king was prepared to make the promise in its name, only the republic must give him some token which would win for his word respect and trust.[5]

The king took a step fraught with even graver consequences when at the end of 1606 he commissioned his kinsman, Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was eager to go to Italy, to inquire, whilst there, into the state of the quarrel and, should reports be favourable, to betake himself to the city of the lagoons with a view to acting as a mediator.[6]

Baronius and Bovio, and to use his influence against the presence in Poland of an envoy from Venice. The bishop of Chur also refused to say Mass in the presence of the Venetian representative. The levying of troops against the Pope he declared to be unlawful: so he was banished; see Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 553 *seq.*, II., 264.

[1] PRAT, II., 501. [2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 488.

[3] Nürnberger, 490. On similar proposals of the king see: Coton to Aquaviva on November 18, 1606, in PRAT, II., 502 *seq.*

[4] Nürnberger, 490, 494.

[5] On February 1, 1607; see Nürnberger, 490; *cf.* Cornet, 207.

[6] Nürnberger, 487; CORNET, 207, 210.

When he had entered Italian territory, Joyeuse made a show of journeying Romewards; in reality he set out for Papozze, a village on the Po, where he spent the whole of January and part of February at the country house of a nobleman, a friend of his. There he had several conferences with Fresne. On February 2nd, 1607, the King ordered him to proceed to Venice and on February 10th de Joyeuse informed Rome of his impending departure.[1]

Though Paul V. had not summoned the French Cardinal he was not displeased to see him, for he hoped that here at last there might be a chance to settle the tiresome quarrel. In his instructions to Joyeuse the Pope insisted on the strict observance of the interdict; the promise of the republic not to apply the contentious laws must not be limited to a determined period; to this the Pope would never consent, the promise to be made by the Signoria under the guaranty of the French king, must be perfectly clear and defined in its smallest detail. Rome would be greatly gratified if the King of Spain also pledged his word. As a matter of fact it had been the wish of the Pope that Spain and France should settle the dispute by a joint action; however the rivalry between the two courts allowed but little hope of such an eventuality.[2]

Joyeuse reached Venice on February 15th. He met with a hearty welcome for the arrival of the Frenchman was held as a guarantee that Henry IV. would fall in with the republic's proposals for a league with France. It was only when the king's reply of February 20th and March 3rd had destroyed this hope that a beginning could be made of the discussions which, it was hoped, would lead to an amicable solution of the quarrel.[3]

It is open to reasonable doubt whether Joyeuse was the best exponent of Rome's point of view. Henry IV. had no

[1] *Cf.* the report of Malatesta, printed by Nürnberger, in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II. (1888), 248 *seqq.*

[2] Nürnberger, 491 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 493 *seqq.*

intention to draw the sword on behalf of the Pope, but he cherished the ambition of being considered the great pacifier of Italy; hence his envoy strove for peace at all costs, the Spaniards and all others being excluded from the discussions. In these endeavours the Cardinal more than once exceeded the instructions he had received from Rome. The cunning statesmen on the Rialto soon saw that not only did France not seriously threaten them, but that on the contrary she averted the storm that threatened them from Spain. Hence they took up a position as follows: as regards concessions to the Pope, only a bare minimum must be agreed to, so as to get their necks out of the noose; this minimum must be granted with as little publicity as possible, so that it would be easier, later on, to deny that a promise was ever made; throughout the transaction they must display towards the Pope as much disrespect and arrogance as was possible without compromising the continuation of the discussion. As a matter of fact, even after the arrival of the Cardinal, the excommunicated Franciscan, Fulgenzio Manfredi, was allowed to renew from the pulpit his extravagant denunciations of the Pope. True, Joyeuse succeeded in getting Manfredi removed from Venice, though only for a time.[1] As late as February 26th, the Senate instructed the governors of Padua and those of nine other large towns to see to it that there were frequent services and that those who obstinately submitted to the interdict were banished. They were particularly to keep an eye on the confessors.[2] Cardinal Borghese even writes that after the arrival of the peace-maker, contempt for all things ecclesiastical and divine became more pronounced; the protest of the doge against the excommunication, as well as the proclamation of the Senate to the citizens, was once more posted up on the church doors; by shutting them off from the outer world, nuns were made to choose between death by starvation and breaking the interdict; one noble lady was

[1] Nürnberger, *Inderdikt*, 493, 498. On Manfredi see some notes by Mercati in the *Miscell. di stor. eccl.*, V., 4 (1907).

[2] Cornet, 217; *cf.* 193, n. 1.

cast into prison for refusing to hear Mass and blasphemous publications were once more broadcast.[1]

The discussions with Joyeuse started from the concessions consented by the Senate in the preceding November, though in a somewhat altered form. Accordingly, France and Spain were to pray the Pope for the revocation of the censures; out of regard for the King of France, the two prisoners were to be delivered into the hands of a prelate who would take charge of them in the name of the Pope, without prejudice, however, to the right of the republic to judge these ecclesiastics. With the raising of the censures, Venice's protest against them would cease, and with regard to the polemical writings published at Venice, the republic would deal with them as Rome deals with those published in Rome. After the removal of the censures an envoy would go to Rome to thank the Pope for having paved the way for an amicable discussion. The republic persisted, however, in its refusal to suspend the laws, but promised that in the application of them it would not depart from its traditional piety.[2]

In the last mentioned condition lay the chief difficulty, hence Joyeuse took the greatest pains to make it easy for the Senate to grant some concession on this point. The Pope, he explained, demanded a promise of non-application of the laws; King Henry was prepared to give it to the Pope; but there was no need for the republic to issue a written declaration or to pass a special act in the matter; all that was required was that the king should have a guarantee that his word would not be dishonoured. Moreover the required non-application of the laws meant very little, inasmuch as they were only prohibitions; therefore, as long as they remain, the erection of churches, for instance, which they forbade,

[1] *Borghese to the French nuncio, Barberini, on March 6, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 65, Vat. Lib. *(Scritture) *escono tuttavia molte da Venezia e hieri appunto ne capitano quattro alle mani*; a pamphlet in favour of Rome was printed in Paris. Borghese to Barberini on March 17, 1606, *ibid.*, p. 103.

[2] CORNET 218, n. 2; *cf.* 222 and Nürnberger, 482.

would not be practicable and this state would continue so even if they were suspended; there was really question of no more than an act of courtesy towards the Pope,[1] a "false coin" as Fresne put it.[2] Joyeuse had likewise endeavoured to secure a certain concession on the part of the Pope, but in this he had been so far unsuccessful: it was that the Church agreed on looking upon everything as in suspense, and in consequence no new church building would take place. In this way the Venetian law would be purposeless and would fall into abeyance.[3]

After an inconclusive vote on March 9th,[4] the Senate on the 14th reached an agreement on the text of an explanation to be presented to Joyeuse and Castro. Since the republic, it was stated, did not wish to depart from its traditional piety and religious spirit in the application of the laws, in that declaration the two kings had enough to go on with to justify them in settling the whole affair for they could rest assured of the republic's straightforwardness and the purity of its motives. The republic prayed for such good offices of the two monarchs as could be expected from their prudence and kindly disposition.[5] Joyeuse, on being informed of the decision on the following day, declared himself satisfied, whereas Castro remarked that he understood the decision to mean no more than that the laws would not be applied whilst further deliberation was in progress. To the query implied in this remark the doge gave an evasive answer though in the letter in which Castro and Cardenas, on the same day, prayed in the name of Venice for the removal of the censures, both spoke as if a definite promise had been made. Yet another point in the letter of the two Spaniards demands attention: they give an assurance that the priests and religious who had fled by reason of the interdict, would

[1] Nürnberger, 494; CORNET, 219.
[2] CORNET, 219, n. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, and Nürnberger, *loc. cit.*
[4] CORNET, 222 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 224.

be allowed to come back, though with one exception: thereafter the city of the lagoons would be closed to the Jesuits.[1]

The Society of Jesus had bitter enemies in Venice of whom Sarpi was not the least dangerous. From the first the decree which banished them had been so worded that they could not benefit by the city's reconciliation with Rome, for it was not the interdict that was alleged in the decree of expulsion as the ground of their banishment, but the evil dispositions towards the republic with which they were credited.[2] The polemical writings of Bellarmine and other Jesuits against Sarpi and his associates, and their exhortations to observe the interdict, were not likely to lessen the existing hatred for them. Notwithstanding the intervention of Henry IV.[3] both the doge and the Senate repeatedly declared that they would never again be admitted.[4] On the other hand Paul V. felt in honour bound to exert himself on their behalf and he reasserted his determination in this matter in his last instructions to Joyeuse.[5] Hence the French peace-maker was faced with a difficulty which for a time seemed destined to wreck every attempt to settle the quarrel.

However, by the time the question of the Jesuits threatened to become acute the scene of the peace parleys had been transferred from Venice to Rome. This is what had happened. In March, 1607, the emperor Rudolph II., through the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Castiglione, had made a show of

[1] Nürnberger, 495.

[2] The Senate obstinately maintained that the decree against them (in Cornet, 106) had been issued *per gravissime colpe commesse così innanzi come dopo l'Interdetto* (*ibid.*, 224). As against this Paul V. affirms *che contro le padri non sarà portata cosa, che giustifichi la loro esclusione* (Nürnberger, Dokumente, 362). Henry IV. asked for accurate details of their transgressions, but the Senate begged to be excused. (Prat, II., 494, 496.)

[3] Crétineau-Joly, III., 140 *seqq.*; Prat, II., 494, 496; Cornet, 220.

[4] Cornet, 125, n. 1, 130, 133, 198, n. 2, 219, etc. For Joyeuse's efforts in their behalf *cf.* Crétineau-Joly, III., 143 *seqq.*

[5] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 492, 493.

throwing his weight into the scales in favour of peace. To preclude so undesirable an intervention, Joyeuse now made out that a settlement had already been reached and he forthwith set out for Rome: all that the marquis could do was to follow him thither.[1]

It was an arduous task that awaited the peace-maker in Rome. In their mortification the Spaniards had already seen to it that the Pope was well informed as regarded the not very brilliant success achieved at Venice. The marquis expressed surprise that Joyeuse should dare to approach the Holy See,[2] when he had but such slender concessions to offer. The Cardinal needs must begin by trying to obtain a brief which would grant him full power to absolve the Venetians without a demand for the return of the Jesuits. He reached Rome on the evening of March 22nd, took counsel all that night with the friends of France and only presented himself to Paul V. on the evening of the next day. He expatiated on the impending danger of Venice turning Protestant and the difficulty of an accommodation, but made no reference to the Jesuits. Only as he was about to leave he casually remarked that on the following day he would suggest a means by which a satisfactory settlement of their affairs could be reached.[3]

The whole of that night Paul V. racked his brains as to the nature of the mysterious way out which the Frenchman claimed he had been ingenious enough to discover. Early in the morning he sent a messenger to Joyeuse asking for details of the secret. The Pope must have been not a little disappointed when the Cardinal came in person to inform him that discussions led nowhere but that he would be able to achieve something if the Pope would first give him a brief with full powers to pronounce absolution. Paul V. would not allow the longed-for brief to be wrung from him in such a fashion. He replied that the whole quarrel had started

[1] *Ibid.*, 495 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 496.
[3] *Ibid.*, 496 *seq.*

because of two priests; he could not end it by sacrificing an entire religious Order. Joyeuse had to leave without having obtained anything.[1] Where he had failed, Du Perron was now expected to succeed. The latter represented to the Pope that he could assuredly not risk a war because of the Jesuits. Meanwhile Joyeuse got in touch with Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, who expressed his readiness for peace to be concluded regardless of his Order.[2] On April 1st the Pope dropped the question not indeed of the Jesuits' return, but of their immediate return.[3]

Even so they were very far from having cleared the ground of all obstacles. Everybody in Rome deemed the French terms of settlement humiliating. It was felt that if the French had acted in Venice in concert with the Spaniards and if jointly with the latter they had brought to bear on the Senate the pressure they were now applying to the Pope, affairs would be in a very different state. A compromise like the French one, Castro wrote, he could have secured himself without the aid of Joyeuse, and if the latter had not stood in his way either he or Fuentes would have succeeded in getting the objectionable laws repealed. Moreover on April 3rd it became known that on the occasion of the handing over of the two priests the Venetians were determined to make an express declaration that they meant to uphold their pretension that the two clerics were justiciable to their city. Hence arose fresh difficulties. Late at night Du Perron called once more on the Pope to give him a solemn assurance that Joyeuse would not make use of his powers of absolution unless the prisoners were surrendered without reservation. For the time being Joyeuse would absolve the bishops and prelates only in so far as their individual conscience was concerned, but not publicly.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 497; Delfino on March 29, in CORNET, 336.

[2] JUVENCIUS, P. V., I, 12, n. 119, p. 103.

[3] Nürnberger, 499; Circular of Aquaviva to his subjects of May 29, in PRAT, II., 514.

[4] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 498 *seq.*

At last, on April 1st, Joyeuse, in conjunction with the French envoy Alincourt, was able to draw up two documents.[1] In the first it was stated that Alincourt, in the name of his king and in that of the republic, prayed for the repeal of the censures. It gave expression to the republic's deep regret for all that had happened, its eagerness to recover the Pope's goodwill and its readiness to give him every satisfaction. In the second document Joyeuse and Alincourt, in the name of Henry IV., pledged themselves as follows: The two prisoners shall be handed over to the Pope; Venice agrees not to apply the laws in dispute whilst the discussions are in progress; the protest against the interdict and the doge's letter shall be withdrawn simultaneously with the repeal of the censures; religious who fled because of the interdict are free to return; any proceedings taken against persons, or property by reason of the observance of the interdict, are declared null and void and compensation will be made. On March 10th Castro and Cardenas had pledged their king's word in respect to these same points and with the consent of the republic had prayed, in the king's name, for the removal of the censures.[2] An instruction to Joyeuse enumerates the conditions under which he is empowered to absolve the Senate. In addition to the non-application of the laws and the above mentioned promises, the Pope now demands the immediate despatch of an envoy to Rome.[3] In the event of no settlement ensuing the Pope was resolved to stiffen the existing censures.[4]

In point of fact fresh difficulties arose at once at Venice. Joyeuse had reached the city on Monday in Holy Week; by

[1] *Ibid.*, 499. *Cf.* Borghese to Barberini, April 4, 1607, in Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 262.

[2] Borghese, *ibid.*, 69.

[3] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 498 *seq.* Brief for the absolution of April 4, 1607, in *Bull.*, XII., 388. The Spaniards in Rome *hanno fatto grandissimo rumore* when the settlement of the affair was put into the hands of Joyeuse (Borghese to Barberini on April 4, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 13, Vat. Lib.). *Cf.* also Rinieri, *Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala*, Rome, 1898, 209 *seq.*

[4] Borghese to Barberini, in Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 265.

Easter, so he thought, everything could be settled. However, whilst under this impression, the Cardinal had forgotten that beside the doge, the Senate and the Counsel of Ten there was yet another power in Venice, namely Sarpi, for whose hatred of Rome a settlement was most unwelcome. On his advice the Senate would not hear of a public absolution and of a public recantation of the former protest against the censures. This led to a further lengthy discussion and it was with the greatest difficulty that an agreement was come to at last. Saturday after Easter, April 21st, was fixed upon for the reconciliation.[1] Castro had been previously informed by the Senate of the terms of the settlement.[2]

No one can maintain that in this affair of the reconciliation the Senate showed the faintest trace of either dignity or magnanimity; on the contrary, no trick or artifice was too petty if by using it it was possible to whittle down and to lessen the value of what it could not help agreeing to. To begin with, early in the morning the two prisoners were handed over to the French envoy, at the Cardinal's lodgings. It was explained that this was done out of regard for the King of France and without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the republic over the two ecclesiastics. After that a deputation called upon the Cardinal to whom Fresne handed the prisoners; at this ceremony no mention was made of the jurisdiction of the republic.[3] Thereupon Joyeuse proceeded to the assembly hall of the Collegio where he absolved from

[1] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 500 *seq.*

[2] Cornet, 25 *seq.*

[3] The Venetian notary on the surrender of the prisoners, in Cornet, 305 *seq.*, *cf.* 253; Joyeuse, on the subject in Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 76 *seq.* Joyeuse was able to report to Rome that the prisoners had been handed over to him *libere nullaque interposita neque in verbo neque in scriptis protestatione, conditione vel reservatione de facto* (Nürnberger, *ibid.*, 77). Only the Senate could also say the opposite and Joyeuse had made this possible (see Cornet, 246); on April 18 *restava* (*S. Signoria*) *contenta* in regard to the prisoners though he knew quite well what the Senate's conditions were (*ibid.*, 236, 237, 239, 241, 243).

their censures both the doge and the Senate represented by sixteen of its members. Thus the republic permitted an act by which it acknowledged the existence both of the excommunication and the interdict,[1] but, as was seen at once, it did so only with the intention of subsequently denying everything. In order that all might see that the interdict was at an end, the Cardinal resolved, immediately after the absolution, to say Mass with all possible solemnity, for until then, to the keen chagrin of the Senate, he had strictly observed the interdict.[2] To add to the annoyance of the Senate a vast concourse of people had assembled in the piazza of San Marco to await the arrival of the Cardinal. The Senate now ordered the main door to be closed. When Joyeuse was about to set out for St. Mark's he was told that the key could not be found; so he had to make his exit through a narrow postern gate. However, a dense mass of worshippers assisted at his Mass.[3] Finally the wording of the Senate's statement concerning the recall of its 'protestations' caused general indignation in Rome, for its most important paragraph was couched in these terms: 'Since both sides have done all that was required and the censures have been removed, the protest is likewise revoked.'[4] Obviously if the Pope no longer insisted on the censures Venice's protest was purposeless and the fact was disguised that an absolution had taken place and that the recall of the protest had preceded it. The document, in this form, was then broadcast by means of the printing press.[5] When the Pope complained, the Senate declared itself

[1] The proofs that Venice "had received a formal absolution from the papal legate" (Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, V., 537), in Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 503, 505 *seq.*; *Dokumente*, II., 356 *seq.*, 360.

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 491, 493.

[3] *Ibid.*, 501 *seq.* *J'ai eu de la peine à me guarantir d'estre foulé*, Joyeuse wrote to Henry IV. on April 23, 1607. PRAT, II., 512.

[4] CORNET, 252; Lünig, II., 2019.

[5] *L'istessa sera comparve una scrittura stampata piena d'un arrogante e simulata humiltà, la quale offese gli animi di tutti a la corte. . . . The Pope non si sarai mai aspettata una cosa

ready for further explanations, but opinion in Rome was that it was best not to insist. So it was deemed that enough had been done when Fresne and Joyeuse attested by an official written document that the protest had been revoked *previous* to the absolution.[1] Rome had likewise demanded the recall of a circular dealing with the interdict which the doge had addressed to the subjects of the republic. However, the Pope declared himself satisfied with an attestation of the Senate that it was not responsible for its publication.[2] In the letters of April 6th and 21st, Joyeuse had been instructed to exert himself on behalf of the Jesuits, but in this respect his efforts proved in vain. The Senate would inform the Pope, he was told, why it insisted on the continuation of the banishment of the Society.[3] The other Orders were allowed to return,[4] but they were to do so unostentatiously.[5] The Senate refused to draw up a formal document concerning the settlement; to do so would be against the laws of the republic, it was said, and a thing attested by a Cardinal and the envoys of two such great kings needed no further guaranty.[6] As a

tale. . . . The Venetians hanno proceduto con manifesto inganno. . . . Noi per ora procureremo che la verità si sappia, et a tale effeto si mandano a V. S. ill. le copie sudette. (Borghese to Barberini on May 1, 1606, *Barb. lat.*, 5913, p. 115, Vatic. Lib.) *Per quella scrittura in stampa . . . e per altre dimostrationi di poco rispetto e di una impenitenza espressa, ne andavano di mezzo la riputatione di N. S. On his complaining Joyeuse returned to Venice from the Abbey of Candidiana and from there he sent his secretary con una fede authentica che si era fatta la rivocazione del Manifesto prima che si venisse all' atto dell' assolutione e che la scrittura in stampa era una diligenza aliena del negotio, che alla Republica era parso di fare con gl'Ecclesiastici del suo dominio. (Borghese to Barberini on May 29, 1607, *ibid.*, p. 144 *seq.*)

[1] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 504, 507; *Dokumente*, II., 358–367.

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 500, 501, 507.

[3] *Ibid.*, 501, 504.

[4] *Ibid.*, 506.

[5] Cornet, 255, n. 3.

[6] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 504.

matter of fact both kings confirmed by special letters all that their envoys had promised and performed and guaranteed the non-execution of the laws to which Rome took exception.[1] Nevertheless when in the consistory of 30th April Paul V. gave an account to the Cardinals of what had taken place in Venice they were not given an opportunity to expres their opinion for the Pope was afraid lest they should signify their disapproval.[2] The Senate had refused to observe the interdict for two or three days previous to the absolution [3] and just before the solemn Mass of Cardinal de Joyeuse several priests had been compelled to say Mass.[4] For two whole days the waiting rooms of the Cardinal were encumbered with priests and religious who flocked to him in order to get absolution from the censures they had incurred by their non-observance of the interdict, so that Joyeuse saw himself compelled to delegate his powers to ten suitable priests and these also found themselves surrounded by an extraordinary concourse. In this respect also the republic took counter measures lest the pressure it had exercised on consciences should become too evident. However, many priests refrained from saying Mass until they had received absolution and in this way the interdict was after all observed.[5] Joyeuse

[1] *Ibid.*, 507. *Letter of Henry IV., Fontainebleau, May 3, 1607, in *Borghese*, I., 129, Papal Secret Archives; reply of Paul V., of May 29 (with recommendation of the affair of the Jesuits) in Prat V., 240 *seq.* *Cf.* * brief of May 25, 1607, in the *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 508, XLV., 1, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 505. Protocol of the Consistory, *ibid.* According to an anonymous diary the Pope said: che la Chiesa e la dignità ecclesiastica non haveva perso niente ma guadagnato molto, but havendo osservato circa l'essentiale tutte le cose più principali per non mettere in Italia una ruina così grande, haveva lasciato passare certe cose di poco momento. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XVIII., 502.

[3] *Borghese to Barberini on April 18, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 112, Vatic. Lib.; Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 501.

[4] Nürnberger, *ibid.*, 501, 502.

[5] *Ibid.*, 505 *seq.*; *Dokumente*, 355.

informed the bishops and prelates by letter that they were absolved, though with certain limitations.[1] This letter made things awkward for the Senate, since it stated the fact that the republic had been absolved, and consequently, that absolution had been needed; accordingly the *locum tenens* of the bishop of Padua [2] received orders not to publish the document without the Senate's leave for it was enough that the censures no longer existed *de facto*; moreover he was to take care not to grant to any priest or religious power to absolve from the consequences of their non-observance of the interdict; let him soothe anxious consciences with this assurance, all the more as in Venice absolution was neither needed nor demanded by the Senate. Thus, by every means imaginable, did the republic vent its spite against the Pope.

At the time of the death of Cardinal Valier of Verona, who had always counselled peace with Venice, Villeroi had written to Cardinal Givry [3] that he regretted both the death of the Cardinal and the prolongation of the quarrel; that the latter would cause more injury to the Holy See and grief to the Pope than is realized by those who oppose the reconciliation. The successor of Paul V., Gregory XV., begins his instructions to the new nuncio of Venice [4] with these words: "The best results had been hoped for from the use of spiritual weapons which Paul V. took up for the defence of the Church's freedom, not for destruction but for building up; however, the existing evil dispositions towards them, the influence of persons who, by reason of their age and discretion were not entitled to as

[1] On May 2, 1607, in CORNET, 307.

[2] Letter of May 9, *ibid.*, 258, n. 2.

[3] On June 30, 1606: Nous regrettons la mort du bon cardinal de Verone comme nous faisons la continuation du differend du Pape avec les Venetiens jugeans s'il dure qu'il preiudiciera plus au St. Siege et apportera plus de desplaisir à S. S. que ne s'imaginent ceulx qui s'opposent à l'accommodement d'iceluy. MS. 219, p. 107, of Metz Lib. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 105, 106, the *letters of Henry IV. of June 19 and July 25, 1606; of Villeroi, May 5, 1606.

[4] Of June 1, 1621, published by ACHILLE GENNARELLI in *Archiv. stor. ital. N. Ser.* VII., 1 (1858), 13–35.

much authority as they exercised, the inspiration of a man of genius for evil who exerted greater influence through his tongue and his friends than by reason of his position—all these things produced as many evils as would have been the case had these weapons been used at the worst periods of history. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, respect for the Pope and the Apostolic See suffered such damage—to the no small danger of the Catholic religion—that instead of gain and recovery no small loss had to be registered." Such an admission suggests a comparison with the action of Pius V.: like his successor that Pope had had difficulties with Venice of a similar nature,[1] yet notwithstanding his great zeal he could not make up his mind to take steps such as were taken by Paul V. If Paul V. had made a miscalculation, so had Venice.[2] The Senate imagined that it stood for the cause of all the princes as against the Pope, so that all the European powers would range themselves by its side. In this the Senate, or its advisor Sarpi, was mistaken: in the end the republic was forced to yield to the combined pressure of Spain and France. The very fact that it strove to deny, or to whittle down by unseemly tricks, the concessions it was finally compelled to make to the Pope, was the surest proof that the republic only yielded because it could not help itself. At the beginning, as a speaker in the Senate remarked, they were not afraid of the censures, on the contrary, they welcomed them, for if they now became an object of contempt, the power of Venice would be confirmed for all time.[3] But our republic, he adds, is more powerful in name than in reality.[4] A contemporary writer declares that Venice would

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVIII, 363 *seq.*

[2] Ranke (II.[6], 231) sums up thus: 'As a matter of fact it is easy to see that the points in dispute had been settled not quite as much to the advantage of the Venetians as is generally asserted.'

[3] Le quali ragioni sono state di tanto peso presso di noi, che facevano desiderabili non che temute le minaccie delle censure credendo che sprezzate questa volta, fermassimo per sempre le cose nostre. In CORNET, 308.

[4] CORNET, 310.

never have allowed things to go as far as a war had the Pope seriously contemplated taking up arms.[1] At the close of his history of the interdict the Senator Antonio Quirini sets down the following twelve conclusions.[2] The event, he writes, has shown that the republic begins everything eagerly but fails to hold out; that wars in which religion enters are exceedingly dangerous; that in all contests with the Pope the latter has an enormous advantage over his opponents. Fourthly that nothing so jeopardizes the independence of the State as a misunderstanding with the Pope. Our forbears were well aware of the necessity of not rousing the Turk; of being on good terms with the Pope, of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. These things, in their opinion, were the four wheels which must carry forward on the right road the chariot of a republic. The ship of our republic will be secure when, by means of a good understanding, it is anchored to the Church! In the ninth place Quirini points out to the merchants on the Rialto the losses incurred by them as a result of the quarrel, namely two millions in gold for armaments, the losses resulting from irregularities in the collection of taxes and the sixty thousand ducats annually paid to the army, and all to no purpose. His eleventh point is that all the calculations of the republic were wrong from the beginning. At first people thought the Pope would not really make use of the weapon of excommunication; then they imagined that no secular prince would take sides against Venice; lastly they fancied that at least the king of France would surely come down with his whole weight on the side of Venice as soon as Spain had decided to support the Pope. They were mistaken. Again people deceived themselves when, after the statement made by Spain, it was thought that the main purpose both of the Spaniards and the Pope was the oppression of the republic. Neither France nor Spain sought a real compromise; if they did, the attempt of the one must nullify that of the other; in a word, if in the end things did

[1] In Nürnberger, *Interdikt*, 510.

[2] In Cornet, 337–9.

not go badly, it was all due not to the action of men, but to the kindly intervention of Providence. Quirini ends with an attack on the party of the youths who, during the struggle, had arrogated to themselves a preponderant rôle. Venice must maintain itself by prudence rather than by force of arms, hence the republic honours age and its maturity of judgment—at least it used to do so once upon a time.

CHAPTER V.

Sarpi's Political Theories and his Attempts to Protestantize Venice.

The reconciliation between Rome and Venice was followed by an immediate resumption of diplomatic relations. On the very day of the absolution the Senate appointed Francesco Contarini as its representative in Rome.[1] The Pope received him in a most friendly way, embraced him, spoke of his affection and regard for the republic, declaring how the independence of Italy depended on an understanding between Venice and the Holy See; he would not remember the past; let everything be new and let the past be forgotten.[2] On his part the Pope also appointed a nuncio to Venice in the person of Berlingherio Gessi, bishop of Rimini. In his instruction the new nuncio [3] was bidden to display zeal and

[1] Cornet, 255; *cf.* 258. *Brief with announcement of his arrival, of June 8, 1607, in the *Epist. ad princ.*, XLV., 3, Papal Secret Archives. *Brief of the same day to Donato on despatch of nuncio, *ibid.*

[2] Cornet, 261. Already on November 3, 1606, Paul V. had said to Alincourt: che conosce benissimo i disordini che possono succedere e quanto convenga al servitio di tutta la Christianità il conservarsi in amorevole confidenza la S. Sede con la Republica (*ibid.*, 158). *Cf.* Girolamo Cordoni, **Allegrezze della Chiesa cattolica nella riconciliazione del ser. senato di Venezia con la S. Sede Apostolica,* 1607, Bibl. Corvisieri in Rome; Magnus Perneus, **Opusculum super reversione Venetorum* (dedicated to Paul V., written June–September, 1607), *Barb.*, 3260, Vat. Lib.

[3] **Instruttione al vesc. di Rimini*, dated June 4, 1607, often found in MS.; I found it in Berlin, *Staatsbibl. Inform. polit.*, 10; Naples, *Lib. of Soc. di stor. patr.*, XXXIII, B 7505; Rome, *Bibl. Casanat.*, X., iv., 58, p. 149–169, *Cod. Barb.*, 5527, Ottob., I., 426, 427 *seqq.*, *Urb.*, 867, p. 362 *seqq.*; Venice, *Lib.*

manly courage as well as a gentle and conciliatory spirit. Venice was still under the impression of the distress the city experienced at the time of the censures inflicted by Sixtus V. and Julius II.[1]; consequently anyone with a glib tongue would easily persuade the people that the Popes sought to oppress the secular power by all the means they disposed of. As against these ideas the nuncio should stress the love of peace cherished by the Apostlic See. To peace the papacy owed its existence and increase; the Pope demanded no more than what was due to him, and he embraced the Venetians with fatherly affection. We all learn by experience, hence the nuncio must defend with impartiality and courage the interests of the Church in the face of too worldly-minded prelates, and the prelates themselves in the face of secular officials. At all times the Pope wished to see the Church's authority and power manfully defended by the nuncio; on the other hand he may not, without solid justification in law, meddle with things over which controversy might arise, for it may very well be a less evil not to start a controversy than to be defeated in it.[2] In particular Gessi must see to it that the Venetians carry out the promises made previous to the reconciliation and endeavour to secure the recall of the Jesuits.

As regards the reform in Venice the nuncio should particularly keep an eye on the bishops and the religious.

of St. Mark, CL, VII., *Cod.* DCCCLXXVI; Salzburg, *Studienbibl.*, V., F 94; Vienna, *Staatsbibl. Cod.* 6582, *Staatsarchiv, Handschr. Abt.* I quote according to the codex of the *Bibl. Casanatense.* Ranke (III.[6], App., n. 79) used a copy of the *Bibl. Albani* which no longer exists.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. III, 379 *seq.*; VI., ch. 10.

[2] *di non abbracciare causa, che possa venire in contesa, dove non habbia ragione, perchè forse è minor male il non contendere, che il perdere (*Cod. Casanat.*, 166). The passage does not necessarily refer to the latest events of the period just passed (Ranke, III.[6], 102*), since it is also found in the instruction of the Venetian nuncio, Graziani, for his successor, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, in 1598. *Cf.* Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 123.

For the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline at Venice the Patriarch Vendramin is the most important factor: he must present himself for examination in Rome. In Dalmatia, where the prelates have but slender revenues and but little standing in public opinion, the bishops were themselves at times the occasion of irregularities. The bishops of the Terra Ferma (the mainland) were more prudent. They were usually chosen from among the nobles and for that reason they were treated with greater respect by the officials. Gessi's instructions reproach the ecclesiastical judges with the same vice of which the secular judges were accused, namely that in Venice the study of the law was neglected and that the verdicts of the judges were arrived at through a mere instinctive sense of what was right, so that much arbitrariness prevailed. If then there is an appeal from episcopal judgments of this kind and if the bishops take sides against the appellant, the nuncio should, as a rule, favour the party which is in danger of suffering violence.

As regards the religious in Venice, the storm that recently broke out against them was due to the fact that they still refuse to accept the reform and for that reason seek the protection of the secular power. Examples of this have been seen even since peace was re-established, at Bassano and Bergamo, and the monks were still in the habit of appealing to the secular power. Both the regular and secular clergy of Venice are in sore need of reform for the city offers every occasion for sin as well as a large measure of impunity for the guilty.[1] But since strictness in dealing with the religious would be interpreted as revenge for their rebellion, the nuncio, as occasion may arise, should deal sharply rather with such as kept themselves free from such conduct. As for Sarpi and Marsiglio, let him see to it that they are handed over to the Inquisition.

It goes without saying that the Pope once more draws Gessi's attention to certain points which had long been objects

[1] *Venetia somministra insieme e commodità grande ai delitti, e grande impunità (*loc. cit.*, 164 *seq.*).

of controversy between Venice and Rome: for instance, certain grievances in respect of he freedom of shipping in the Adriatic, the city of Ceneda, and the regulation of rivers which Venice had taken it on itself to carry out in the territory of Ferrara with a view to preventing the silting up of the lagoons.

It was no easy task to carry out these instructions. Only under duress had the republic agreed to a compromise. Now that by yielding it had averted the danger of war, the republic redoubled its arrogant attitude towards the Pope with a view to avenging itself for its humiliation. As it had done before, so now also it stuck to its contention that the censures had been invalid and that absolution had been neither needed nor imparted.[1] Accordingly the Venetian envoy in Paris zealously scattered copies of a pamphlet which appeared to prove that the Senate had not revoked the decree in which it protested against the interdict. In a letter, the contents of which his brother broadcast all over Paris, Cardinal Du Perron also seems to assert that the Pope gave his assent to the compromise simply because he was driven to it. Hence great joy among the Huguenots and all those who were ill disposed towards the Pope.[2] However, public opinion underwent a change when the nuncio published the text of the requests for absolution. In Rome itself an account was drawn up of the course of the discussions and the absolution.[3] This was sent to the nuncio for his information and for use in private conversation. Naturally the republic felt bound to issue a refutation of the account; to this end Sarpi had to put his ever ready pen at its disposal.[4] In that document the

[1] See above, p. 180.

[2] Ubaldini to Borghese, May 29, 1607, in Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, 66, 364.

[3] In Nürnberger, *ibid.*, 68–79. That the Roman presentment agrees with the acts, see *ibid.*, 78–80, 248–276, 354–367.

[4] *Informazione particolare dell'Accomodamento: Opere varie*, I., 137–144. In this work, Sarpi's obvious aim is to deceive the reader; his arguments are sophisms. The presentment of Sarpi

undesirable fact that absolution had been given is passed over in silence, just as it is in the protocols of the sittings of the Senate.[1]

In addition to commissioning him to press for a real execution of the settlement, Gessi's instructions contain a prominent paragraph in which he is bidden to exert himself in behalf of the return of the Jesuits to Venice.[2] The Pope did not cease to look on it as a point of honour not to abandon an Order that had sacrificed itself for him. In that spirit he earnestly represented to Contarini, the Venetian envoy, the injustice of an indiscriminate expulsion of all Jesuits.[3] Rumour had it that other princes were disposed to follow the example of Venice. In particular it was feared that Rudolph II. was about to banish the Jesuits, an act which in the opinion of Cardinal Borghese, would lead to the utter disruption of Catholicism in Germany. For this reason the French nuncio, Barberini, was instructed to urge Henry IV. to intervene on behalf of the threatened religious.[4] According to a letter of Ubaldini, who succeeded Barberini,[5] Henry IV. was very favourably disposed towards the Jesuits and on their account greatly irritated against Venice. Yet not even he met with any success: the Jesuits were destined to be banished from Venice for nearly fifty years. Another task laid on Gessi, one which it was not possible to carry out, was in regard to "those seducers, styled theologians", especially

has been followed many times until our own time; it is enough to mention: SCADUTO, 75 *seqq.*; Friedberg, *Grenzen*, II., 699; BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 183, etc.

[1] CORNET, 253 *seq.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*, f. 152.

[3] *Borghese to Gessi on August 25, 1607, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 79, Papal Secret Archives. About Jesuit property in Venice **ibid.*, August 18 and September 8 and 22, 1607.

[4] È l'Imperatore quello che disegna venire a questa espulsione con la quale si distruggerebbe affatto la religione cattolica in Germania. Borghese to Card. Barberini, May 1, 1607, *Barb. lat.*, 5913, p. 118, Vat. Lib.

[5] To Borghese on February 5, 1608, in REIN, 113.

Sarpi and Marsiglio. The opinion in Rome was that after the reconciliation their being handed over to the Inquisition would meet with no difficulty and the new nuncio had been given verbal instructions in that sense.[1] However, only two days after the reconciliation, the republic had assigned to the State divines annual pensions of 100–200 ducats each.[2] It gave them its support now as in the past so that Gessi finally hit on the plan of seizing one or other of their number by force and taking him by sea into papal territory.[3] Authorities in Rome informed the nuncio that it would doubtless be impossible to get hold of the theologians or to compel them to flee without the act of force which he suggested, but they wished to know what would be the effect in Venice of violent measures seeing that the Senate protected and favoured its divines. The Pope would gladly cite them before the Inquisition, but what was to be done if, following the example of Sarpi, Fulgenzio and Marsiglio, they refused to obey? Would it not be a less evil to let things be rather than provoke a fresh rupture?[4]

However, an act of violence, far greater than the one here

[1] *Instruction, *loc. cit.*, 156. [2] Cornet, 255, n. 4.

[3] Gessi to Borghese, August, 4, 1607, in Rein, 54.

[4] *Io credo bene che difficilmente s'havranno nelle mani nè si metteranno in fuga i falsi teologi di Venetia, se non si viene all'atto delle forze, che V. S. propone; ma essendo nel Senato la resolutione presupposta da lei stessa di favorirli e sostenerli, desidero d'intendere che effetto ella giudichi che possa partorire la violenza quando s'usi. Del chiamare li sudetti teologi al Sant' Ufficio, N. S. seria resoluto; nondimeno perchè furono chiamati fra Paolo, fra Fulgentio et il Marsilio, li quali se ne stanno nella loro contumacia con scandalo publico del mondo, intenderia volontieri S. B. da V. S., che consiglio si potesse pigliare, se non obediranno, e se sia minor male il procedere con dissimulatione finchè il tempo consigli altrimenti, per non venire a rottura o pur rompere doppo l'essersi disarmato, per non tolerare l'inobbedienza e il dispreggio. Conosce forsi V. S. stando in fatti che questi estremi hanno li loro mezzi. (Borghese to Gessi, August 11, 1607; *Nuntiat. Liv.*, 186, f. 56v, Papal Secret Archives.

declined by the Pope, was now about to occur. Whilst Cardinal Du Perron, acting on instructions from Rome, was making a move for a reconciliation of the State divines with the Pope,[1] on 5th October, 1607, Sarpi was the object of a murderous attack in which he received three dagger wounds in the head.[2] Even if Rome had been ignorant of the consequences of force in any form, events were now to speak loud enough. Forthwith there arose in Venice such an outcry against the crime as if the doge himself had been attacked. The plot, it was said, had been hatched in Rome and by the Pope himself; the Collegio deliberated as to whether or not the nuncio should be arrested and his papers confiscated.[3] Sarpi himself, in a well-known pun, threw the blame on Rome when he said that the stiletto that had struck him was in the style of the Roman curia. Together with the text of the sentence pronounced against the culprits the Signoria sent an account of the attempt to Paris. In this story suspicion was thrown on the Pope and the Jesuits as having instigated the deed. The Venetian envoy in Paris, Foscarini, was a bitter enemy of the Holy See; consequently he did his best to spread this version especially among the Huguenots.[4]

[1] *Borghese to Gessi, October 13 and 20, 1607, *ibid.*, f. 146^{v}, 152^{v}.

[2] Bianchi-Giovini, 205–229; V. Steccanella, in the *Civilità Catt.*, 6 series, XII. (1867, 648–668). Declarations of witnesses in the trial of the assassins are published by A. Bazzoni in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3 series, XII. (1870), 8–36.

[3] *Se ne fa quel rumore che se ne faria, se il caso fosse successo nella persona del Doge. Ma quello che dà fastidio a noi è l'essersi sparsa malignamente una voce che la cosa venga da Roma e da N. S. istesso, e fino trattato in Collegio di far violenza al Nuntio e cercarli e levarli le scritture di che S. B. si sente molto offesa. (Borghese to the French nuncio Ubaldini, October 16, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 3, Vatic. Lib.) That the murderers fled to the palace of the nuncio and that the people gathered in front of the house in a threatening mood (Bianchi-Giovini, 209) is an invention of Fulgenzio. (Steccanella, *loc. cit.*, 654.)

[4] G. degli Effetti to Borghese, November 12, 1607, in Steccanella, *loc. cit.*, 658. *Cf.* Prat, Coton, III., 130.

The French nuncio, Ubaldini, saw himself compelled to give a positive assurance that it was very far from the Pope's mind to inflict on Sarpi the punishment he justly deserved by any other means than by a regular judicial procedure of the tribunal of the Inquisition; that the Pope desired his conversion rather than his punishment and would have granted him his pardon had Sarpi made it possible.[1] True, the assassins had not been molested after their escape into the Pontifical States, but then the same liberty is left to all who have committed no crime in the territory; the Venetian ambassador had not demanded their extradition, whereas even notorious highwaymen, notwithstanding the excesses committed by them in the Pontifical States, find a refuge in Venice.[2] Cardinal Pinelli remarked to the secretary of the

[1] *A fra Paolo si saria dato il castigo che merita per li sui eccessi, quando fosse venuto in mano del S. Officio, a procurarglielo per altra via tanto è lontano che S. S. habbia pur pensato, che anzi ha desiderato più tosto la sua emendatione che la pena, e con quella paterna benignità che è ben nota a V. S., l'havria ricevuto in grazia si egli se ne fosse reso habile. Il che si come è verissimo, così vedra V. S. diluere ogn'opinione in contrario, che, o gl'ambasciatori di Venetia o altri havessero cercato d'imprimere in Francia, dove viene per resiedervi quel Foscarini che era podestà di Chiozza e si mostra acerbissimo nemico della Sede Apost. in tempo dell'Interdetto (*Barb. lat.* 5914, *loc. cit.*, 4 *seq.*). *Per l'accidente di fra Paolo avvertirà V. S. che non esca cosa da lei che habbia nè forma nè senso di giustificatione, anzi, se in publico o in privato si scuoprisse alcun rumore della voce popolare che correva di haver sospetto sopra di noi, dolgasi vivamente del sinistro giuditio mostrando che fra Paolo si saria ben punito severamente, se fosse venuto in potere dell'Inquisitione, ma che non siamo huomini sanguinarii, e che N. S. ha desiderato che si riduca a penitenza (Borghese to Gessi, October 13, 1607, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 150, Papal Secret Archives). STECCANELLA, 667. *Cf.* *Borghese to Barberini's representative in Paris, Calgaroli, on October 16, 1607, *Barb.* 5913; 263 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. On Foscarini, see REIN, 74.

[2] *Borghese to Ubaldini, November 26, 1607, *loc. cit.*, p. 35: *Borghese to Gessi, October 20 and November 3, 1607, pp. 153, 162.

Venetian envoy in Rome that at no time could an instance be found of the Church having acted in so crooked and diabolical a fashion and only the lowest among the populace could entertain such a suspicion.[1] Paul V. himself declared to the Venetian envoy that if the attempt was the act of a zealot such zeal was ill-inspired and insane.[2] However, at Venice they obstinately stuck to their suspicion.[3] The Secretary of State, Borghese, sent explanations concerning the suspicions to which the attempt on Sarpi gave rise, not only to the French nuncio, but to other envoys as well.[4] That this should have been necessary was humiliating enough for the Holy See, but it need not surprise us too much. The

[1] In STECCANELLA, 663.

[2] *Ibid.*, 666, n. 5. In view of a rumour to this effect, Cardinal Bellarmine had had Sarpi warned. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, LX. (1882), 156.

[3] *Questi Signori continuano nella opinione che il fatto habbia origine da Roma, ancorchè li più prudenti lo vanno dissimulando. Ma nella mente loro è fisso nè gli rimoverà. (Tommaso Palmegiani, secretary of the Venetian nuncio, to Aldobrandini, on October 27, 1607, *Nuntiat. di Venetia*, 17, 245 (393), Papal Secret Archives). *Molti senatori hanno grande sospetto che la cosa venghi da Roma et ne mormorano con brutte parole, e così anche il popolo ne resta grandemente alterato et mormorano di Roma. It is to be desired that on their entering the Papal States the assassins be arrested—that would stop the talk. Non ho dubbio che questo successo ha così inaspriti gli animi che per l'avvenire nelle negotiationi si otterrà qui poco (the same on October 6, 1607, *ibid.*, 246 (394)). The assertion of Brosch (I., 364) that the attempt originated with Cardinal Borghese, is not proven as the *Revue Critique*, 1880, 327, has already emphasized. Bertarelli (*Guida d'Italia dal Touring Club. Le tre Venezie*, I., Milano, 1920, 477) is very bold when he says that the assassins "came from the court of Rome".

[4] *Se di fra Paolo fosse parlato con lei, sostenga la verità senza uscire dalli termini già prescritti e procuri di penetrare nell'istesso tempo come se ne parli alle persone publiche e se ne scriva all'ambasciatore. Borghese to Gessi, October 20, 1607, *Nunziat. div.*, 186, p. 153, Papal Secret Archives.

Venetian envoys to the various courts belonged for the most part to the school of Sarpi and in the spirit of their teacher they all worked against the Pope.[1] Moreover it was precisely the rulers of Venice who had accustomed the world to secret condemnations and executions, without any legal formalities[2]; hence it need not be matter for surprise if some people were disposed to believe that even the Pope would act in this fashion and in virtue of his supreme authority would declare Sarpi without the law. The fact is that, disgusted by Sarpi's deceitful conduct, more than one offer was made to the Pope to rid the world from such a "pest". But Paul V. always rejected such proposals with horror; he desired Sarpi's conversion, he was wont to say, not his death.[3] None the less in 1609, Sarpi's friends once more spread all over Italy

[1] *L'arte dei ministri che stanno appresso li principi e sono della schola di fra Paolo e del, Doge. Borghese to Ubaldini, July 7, 1609, *Barb. lat.* 5914, f. 634, Vat. Lib.

[2] In the sentence on the assassins of Sarpi we read: Chi prenderà e condurrà nelle forze ovvero ammazzera in alcun luoco suddito Ridolfo Poma, abbia ducati quattro mille (Steccanella, 665, n. 1).

[3] *Ha parlato e replicato V. S. al re con gran verità e gran prudenza nelle materie di Venetia, dove si sono ben fabricate altre imposture e malignità insigni, ma non già la maggiore di quella che ha riferita Sua Maestà a lei et hanno fatto correre per tutta Italia gl' amici e protettori di fra Paolo, contro la vita del quale tanto è lontano che si sia machinato con saputa di N. S., nè per mezo di alcun servitore o ministro, ma detestò sempre Sua Beatitudine simili vie, et a diversi che si essibivano di levare quella peste dal mondo, non ha prestato orecchie, facendo loro rispondere che desiderava la sua conversione, non la sua morte, e per quello che a noi costa dell' ultimo accidente non si trattò nè di ferro nè di veleno contro fra Paolo, come si è divulgato per rendere odiosa S. S. e qualche cardinale e Roma istessa, ma di guadagnare un fraticello suo scrittore, che partendo da lui portasse con sè le sue scritture; e chi fece la diligenza la fece spontaneamente, e, come dice, per zelo. Borghese to Ubaldini on June 9, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 598 *seqq.*

rumours of fresh attempts on the part of the Pope against the life of the Servite friar.[1]

In general the letters of the Roman Secretary of State are full of complaints against the attitude of Venice. The conduct of the republic, he writes, is little better than it was previous to the compromise; the publication of blasphemous writings and speeches against the Holy See goes on and the people are given to understand that all the wrongs in the quarrel were on the Pope's side. Those who had written against the interdict are still in the pay of the Signoria [2] and Fra Fulgenzio, perhaps the worst of them all, occupies, with other members of his Order of a like stamp, the place of the Jesuits, both in their church and in their college.[3] Since the reconciliation, in many monasteries, new superiors have been appointed under the protection of the republic; however, the religious and the former superiors who during the interdict had been tools of the Signoria, refused to acknowledge their authority. Priests true to their conscience were prevented from returning to their churches and according to reliable rumours many ecclesiastics still lingered in gaol.[4] The Venetian envoys, for instance Contarini in Rome, spread the belief that the terms of the reconciliation were wholly in favour of the

[1] See n. 3. *Cf.* Bianchi-Giovini, 239; Rein, 103. According to the *report of Gessi, April 18, 1609, the instigators of the attempt of that time against Sarpi's life were two Servites; see *Nunziat. di Venetia*, 40, p. 119[b]. *Ibid.*, 40A, p. 203 *seq.*; an interesting *report of Gessi, dated November 7, 1609, on Sarpi, Fra Fulgenzio, and other adherents. Papal Secret Archives (see App., n. 1 and 2).

[2] *Borghese to the French nuncio Barberini on May 15, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 130, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Borghese, *ibid.*; Joyeuse to Henry IV., May 3, 1607, in Crétineau-Joly, III., 138.

[4] *Borghese to Barberini, June 11, 1607, *loc. cit.*, 158 *seq.* As regards priests who were not allowed to return to their posts, see Cornet in *Arch. Ven.*, VI., 128 *seq.*

republic.[1] In the following year Borghese had again to complain of the favour shown to the State theologians by the government as well as the public sale of heretical writings and the banishment of priests and religious on the smallest pretext. Venice no longer showed any regard for ecclesiastical immunity,[2] though this had been the occasion of the quarrel with Rome; it even happened that priests were banished for their decisions in the confessional.[3] Religious whose rule obliged them to live on charity received such scanty alms that they often lacked necessaries, and that solely because they were loyal to the Apostolic See. In addition to all this the Senate defended many of its violent measures against the religious by alleging certain concessions granted by Cardinal Joyeuse; under this pretext, for instance, the Capuchin Paolo of Cesena had been prevented from holding a visitation of the monasteries of his Order.[4] There was no doubt about it, Joyeuse had exceeded his instructions.[5]

Henry IV., for whose ears these complaints were intended, and whose intervention was hinted at by the French envoy in Rome,[6] did at least this much that he sent as his envoy

[1] *Ma io tengo che pochi prencipi e pochi huomini posti nella luce del mondo manchino della vera notitia di quello che è passato in tutto il negotio; is Borghese's comment, *loc. cit.*, 161.

[2] *Borghese to Ubaldini, Barberini's successor, on March 4, 1608, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 104 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. As against that in other respects the republic was most considerate. In no heretical city, so the Pope is informed, would anyone be allowed to pass from heresy to Judaism as it is done at Venice. *Borghese to Gessi on June 14, 1608, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 365, f. 370, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Borghese gives an instance, *October 14, 1608, *ibid.*, f. 372.

[4] *Borghese to Barberini, July 24, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, f. 212, Vat. Lib.

[5] *Borghese to Barberini, May 15, 1607, *ibid.*, f. 131, and Nürnberger, *Dokumente*, II., 361.

[6] * "N. S. . . . conosce che nessuno cosa è più necessaria della costanza del re in voler che sia adempita da i Venetiani ogni conditione dell'accordo e rispettata quella S. Sede, in che ci assicura il Sign. d'Alincourt che S. Maestà starà salda, anzi ci

to Venice Champigny, a man devoted to the Holy See.[1] But to Champigny's representations the Senate replied with a series of reproaches against the Pope which in turn were stigmatized by the papal government as quite unjustified.[2] First among these grievances was this that, contrary to established custom, the tenth part of ecclesiastical revenues was not conceded to the Signoria. On this point Paul V. would not yield; he declared that he would not grant the tenth; the whole world would be astonished if he were to do so before the State divines had obeyed the summons to Rome.[3]

The keenest sorrow of the Pope was, however, the knowledge that now as before the friends of the Protestants were busy paving the way for Calvinism in Venice and, as a consequence, in the whole of Italy.[4] As a means to this end the English envoy Wotton was eager for a war with the Pope,[5] hence the compromise proved most unwelcome to him though in public, before the Collegio, he expressed the

ha fatto vedere una lettera della Maestà Sua, dove si riferiscono certi nuovi offitii, che haveva passati con l'ambasciatore della Repubblica." Borghese to Barberini, September 18, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5913, p. 255, Vat. Lib.

[1] The Pope, so *Borghese writes to Cardinal Spinola on October 31, 1607, had received relationi assai buone about him, *et in particolare che sia buon cattolico*; so it is hoped that he will show *migliori sensi* than his predecessor, il quale fu assolutamente Venetiano dal principio delle controversie sino al fine, et tale l'hanno giudicato i ministri più principali di quel re. Borghese, I., 251–3, f. 52 (46), Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Barberini to Ubaldini, November 26, 1607, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 32 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Borghese to Gessi, May 10, 1608, *Nuntiat. div.*, 186, f. 316, Papal Secret Archives. *Borghese on September 1 and 15, 1607, on Contarini's request for the *tenth*, *ibid.*

[4] *Se conosce specialmente che i Venetiani vogliono aprire un'adito patente all'heresia da sovvertire tutta l'Italia. Borghese to Ubaldini on January 8, 1608, *Barb. lat.* 5914, p. 64, Vat. Lib.

[5] Wotton to Salisbury, June 8, 1606, in REIN, 49.

opposite view.[1] William Bedell, chaplain to Wotton since 1606, was of opinion that if the dispute had gone on for a few years longer, Venice would have broken with the Pope for ever; however, there was no need to despair of the future seeing that outstanding men, such as Sarpi and Fulgenzio, were at heart wholly bound to the new teaching.[2] The secret intrigues of the two Servites which constituted Bedell's hope were the nuncio's constant and heavy anxiety.[3] So far Protestantism could not be openly preached in Venice. On one occasion, when Gessi complained that some of the nobles frequented Wotton's house, the doge replied that if that was so he would have their heads cut off [4]; none the less Flemish and German merchants were in the habit of holding meetings in the house of the Zechinelli which were attended by Wotton and the State divines.

On these occasions hatred for the Pope and enthusiasm for the teaching of Calvin were freely expressed.[5] Moreover sermons were preached at Wotton's house,[6] though, owing to the indifference in matters of religion of the upper classes in Venice, these were but sparsely attended. For this reason Wotton made arrangements for some public lectures on political science which he hoped would prove more injurious to Catholicism.[7] Heretical books also were smuggled into the city, Wotton himself getting two cases of such works. When the Venetian envoy in Paris, Pietro Priuli, a friend of Sarpi's, returned from France, Protestant writings were discovered in four bundles of his luggage. These had been collected by Biondi, Priuli's secretary.[8] Gessi protested in

[1] April 4, 1607, *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 55. According to Wotton, Sarpi had taken the preacher Bedell to his heart and confided his innermost thoughts to him (*ibid.*, 56, n. 1; *cf.* 30, n. 2).

[3] Rein, 58, 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, 57, 59.

[6] *Ibid.*, 61.

[7] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 73. *Cf.* Prat, III., 131 *seq.*

vain; when he complained to the Senate of the Protestant sermons of Bedell, some of the senators merely laughed and wagged their heads [1]; the doge declared that permission had been given for these lectures on political science.[2] The doge would not listen to the nuncio's complaint concerning Priuli's "secretary" Biondi and his Protestant books on the plea that there was no "secretary" of the name of Biondi! The explanation is that Biondi had not been officially appointed by the republic but had been employed by Priuli at his own expense! [3]

In the spring of 1608, Wotton judged the time favourable for an attempt to found a Protestant community in Venice.[4] However, the undertaking proved abortive. Diodati, who had translated the Bible into Italian and whom Wotton had summoned to Venice in the capacity of preacher, deemed it expedient to make an early departure before he had accomplished anything.[5] However, his journey was not altogether without result for it established fresh contact between Sarpi, the really leading statesman of the republic of San Marco and the two heads of the Calvinistic revolutionary party, namely Philippe du Plessis Mornay and Christian of Anhalt, men who both nursed far-reaching plans.

Mornay, the "Huguenot Pope", was wholly taken up with the idea of linking all the Calvinist powers in one universal federation and by means of a military campaign of such a league to destroy the papacy in its very seat, Rome. Christian of Anhalt, in the interests of Protestantism, worked for the downfall of the house of Habsburg; he had already succeeded in uniting many Protestant princes in a separate league, the so-called Union of 1608, with a view to the execution of his

[1] Rein, 59.
[2] *Ibid.*, 68.
[3] *Ibid.*, 73.
[4] *Ibid.*, 75.
[5] Diodati to Christian of Anhalt on November 22, 1608, in Ritter, *Union*, 130 *seqq.*; to Mornay on January 8, 1609, in the latter's *Mémoires*, X., 268–276. *Cf.* Prat, III, 139 *seqq.*

designs. By its position, in the rear of the Habsburgs and facing Rome, a Protestant Venice would have been an invaluable asset for Mornay and Anhalt alike, hence they were both urged by Diodati to ascertain how matters stood with regard to the Protestant leanings of the Venetians. A letter of Diodati to Achatius von Dohna prompted Anhalt, in 1608, to despatch Christopher von Dohna to Venice for the purpose of gathering information, especially through Sarpi, concerning the religious situation there. Diodati's request that a French ecclesiastic should accompany him on his journey to Venice was agreed to and Mornay assigned to him not a priest, but the young French nobleman, David Siques; at Venice the indefatigable enemy of Rome would be able to bring pressure upon King James through Wotton and on the Signoria through Sarpi for the realization of his great plan. A letter of Mornay [1] charges Siques to work for an alliance with England and Holland, which France would perhaps join. The object of the alliance was to break the tyranny of Rome and to undermine superstition and idolatry. A letter of Mornay to Wotton is couched in most hopeful language; the fall of Babylon, which had been foretold by the Angel of the Apocalypse, was at hand; then, like the old man Simeon, he too would gladly depart from this world.[2]

Dohna and Siques achieved as little in the political sphere as Diodati had done in the religious life of Venice; nevertheless their reports give us a good insight into the plans and intrigues of the friends of Protestantism in that city. Sarpi proved extremely disappointing to Diodati. On his arrival in the city of the lagoons he still hoped for everything from the famous Servite; but when he conferred with him all his hopes vanished. Sarpi, without doubt, was a good hater; but that which actuated him was the icy hate of a cool scholar; he lacked the impassioned fire which makes the popular leader and sways the masses. To Diodati's adjura-

[1] Of August 1, 1608, in MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 236 *seq.*

[2] REIN, 88 *seq.*

tion to come out in the open and to enter upon a struggle with Rome Sarpi only replied with tears; he could not, so he explained, show himself before the whole world as a friend of the Protestants; as advisor of the government, and under his friar's cowl, he could more effectively undermine the Pope's authority; God, he added, only looked to the heart, hence an open avowal was not required.[1] Burrowing, not daring, was Sarpi's forte. To Dohna[2] he lamented the fact of his being forced to do many things against his will, such as saying Mass; he did so as rarely as possible, but since Rome had excommunicated him he could not leave off, lest he should give the impression that he recognized the excommunication; besides, he had orders from the government to do so.[3] Sarpi, as he remarked to Dohna, thought it desirable for the German princes to maintain agents with the Signoria with a view to their making propaganda in favour of Protestantism both in private conversations and by means of printed sheets.[4] Each month some fifty copies of a broadsheet should be printed by the British envoy in which a covert attack would be made on some point of Catholic teaching or practice. Sarpi himself volunteered to write an essay of this kind every fortnight. After a while people would surely say: 'All these errors have the Pope for their author, hence we must free ourselves from his authority.'[5] No one could prevent the German merchants in Venice from maintaining a preacher of their own,

[1] *Ibid.*, 95. Bedell (see above, p. 197) had hoped, as a result of the attempt on Sarpi, that it would wake him up and "put some more spirit into him, which is his only want". *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV., 106.

[2] In Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV.* (*Briefe und Akten*, II), 78; *cf.* 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, 78. According to Diodati's report, Sarpi and his associates omitted in the Canon of the Mass *alcuni più intollerabili parole e parti*, heard confessions, but used the sacrament for their purposes (*ibid.*, 131). Sarpi was never relieved from the special excommunication, by name, which had been pronounced against him.

[4] Ritter, 79, 80.

[5] *Ibid.*, 87.

for the Inquisition was powerless against foreigners. At first let the sermon be in German, the rest will follow of its own accord [1] and the time will come when a common profession of faith will have to be drawn up for the churches of England, Switzerland, the Palatinate and Geneva.[2] For the rest Diodati confirms Gessi's report to Rome concerning the attitude of the Signoria: according to what Sarpi had told him more priests had been executed since the settlement than in any previous twenty-five years.

At Naples, the republic of St. Mark was represented by a friend of Sarpi, who was doing his utmost to increase the tension between Venice and the Holy See.[3] The Roman authorities were accurately informed of these intrigues. Through the nuncio at Naples they sought to bring pressure to bear on the viceroy, by pointing out how the encroachment of the government of Naples on the province of the Church was calculated to encourage Venice to act in like manner [4] and that it would be fatal for Spain and the loyalty

[1] *Ibid.*, 81.

[2] To Christian von Anhalt, November 22, 1608, *ibid.*, 132.

[3] *Il segretario che risiede costì per li Venetiani scrive a Venetia lettere piene di veneno per nudrire le differenze tra la republica e questa Santa Sede e fa altre male opere in altri modi. Dicalo però V. S. al Sig. Vicere per suo avvertimento, specificandoli d'haver ordine da me, anzi da S. Beatitudine istessa, e che l'avviso è sicurissimo se bene conviene forsi non publicarlo, e dica di più che l'istesso segretario è della scuola di fra Paolo Servita che non solo come nemico della predetta Santa Sede, ma come heretico procura d'introdurre l'heresia in Venetia. Borghese to the bishop of Città di Castello, nuncio in Naples, on February 6, 1609. Libr. of Stuttgart, 181. *Exhortation to the nuncio to watch the secretary unostentatiously; February 14, 1609, *ibid.*

[4] *Quanto al secretario di Venetia non lasci già V. S. di dire al predetto Signore (the viceroy) in buona congiontura che gli esempii delle violenze che patisce la giurisditione ecclesiastica in regno, rendono più audaci i Venetiani e che per questa causa hanno non minor scrupulo nel commettere tante loro esorbitanze. Borghese on February 20, 1609, Bibl. of Stuttgart, 181.

of its Italian subjects if heresy were to find acceptance in Italy.[1]

Although, in view of the circumstances, Sarpi put his hopes in his underground efforts, he nevertheless did not lose sight of the possibility of a sudden and complete rupture between the republic and the papacy. A war, so he fancied, might bring about such an eventuality and, as is seen from his remarks to Dohna, he did not shrink from the thought of causing a general war and, with the help of the Turks, from causing a wholesale conflagration of Christendom if thereby he could advance his pet scheme. Let the Turkish fleet show itself before Granada; the Moriscos, whose numbers exceeded a million, would surely revolt. A fresh dispute between the Pope and Venice may be expected; Spain would side with the Pope, France and England with the republic and the struggle for Milan would break out anew; Holland was still at war with Spain; Savoy and, through the mediation of the Swiss cantons, the German Protestant princes, would be drawn into a league with Venice.[2] From Sarpi's correspondence it becomes clear that the man who was reputed to have the welfare of Italy so very much at heart, actually wished its territory to become the scene of war, for in that event heretical soldiery would sweep over the peninsula and two years would suffice to wipe out the papacy.[3]

[1] * trattandosi dell'interesse commune di tutt'i prencipi catholici e più strettamente di quello del re che ha tanti Stati in Italia ne i quali occorre dubitare che non perdesse o se gli diminuisse l'obedienza quando fossero contaminati dall'heresie, sarà conforme non meno alla prudenza che alla pietà di S. Eccellenza che ne scriva in Spagna di dove può venire il remedio più efficace che da ogni altre parte. Borghese, March 13, 1609, *ibid.*

[2] Ritter, *Die Union und Heinrich IV.* (*Briefe u. Akten*, II.), 85. Diodati too saw in an Italian war the means of introducing the gospel; see PRAT, III., 156. Giovanni Battista Padavino stayed at Zürich, 1606–7 on a commission from Venice, but he failed to bring about a formal alliance; see *Dierauer*, III., 453.

[3] REIN, 190. The letters published by Benrath (on the whole they are unimportant) which Sarpi wrote to Dohna from September 5, 1608, onwards, are full of warlike rumours, wishes and

However, so far there was but little prospect of a war on Italian territory. For the year 1609, those Venetians who favoured Protestantism set their hopes on Sarpi's pupil and brother in religion, Fulgenzio Micanzio. A man of immoral life and secretly an apostate from the Catholic faith,[1] Fulgenzio possessed the daring and passion which were wanting in his master whose foxy nature led him to work underground rather than in the open.[2] From Fulgenzio's Lenten sermons Bedell, who had read them before they were delivered, expected decisive results.[3] Fulgenzio was well known in Rome; he had gone on preaching during the interdict and since then he had not changed his conduct in the slightest degree. His audacity, Cardinal Borghese writes in 1607, is beyond all bounds [4] and a year later he describes him as a

proposals. However, to Sarpi's annoyance, Spain stood on the side of the Pope (Benrath, 21); from James I. there are only promises (*ibid.*, 38, 53; *cf.* 24; see also the subsequently satirical comments on James I. in CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, 26, 45, 61); and Henry IV. does not want to see Protestantism established in Venice (Benrath, 53). One comfort for Sarpi is the Protestant Union in Germany (sento grandissima allegrezza che l'Unione dei Protestanti sta bene, on July 7, 1609, *ibid.*, 38). When the death of Duke Francesco of Mantua, in 1612, threatened to become the signal for warlike complications, Sarpi wrote on May 3, 1613 (*ibid.*, 62): A Roma questi successi appena si sanno et non ci si pensa punto, con tutto che forse a loro tocca più che ad altri, portando la guerra pericolo grande d'introdurre la religione riformata.

[1] He complains that "he needs must stick in the superstitious, idolatrous Church". He would have escaped to Geneva had not Sarpi restrained him (Dohna, in Ritter, *Union*, 82). On Fulgenzio's immorality—he had *filios et filias* (SIRI, I., 439)—see the note from *Cod.* CL., n. 6189, of the *Collezione Foscarini* in *Tom Gar* in *Arch. stor. ital.*, V. (1843), 414; other notes about him: BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 449; A. FAVARO in *N. Arch. Veneto*, XIII. (1907), 25.

[2] See REUMONT, *Beitrage*, II., 170 *seq.*

[3] REIN, 106 *seq.*

[4] *Borghese to Gessi, *loc. cit.*, f. 293, Vat. Lib.

formal heretic.[1] During his stay in Rome the Patriarch of Venice, Vendramin, was pressed to forbid Fulgenzio to preach, but in his terror of the Signoria all he found it in his heart to say was that it was a long time till next Lent and that a way out would be found.[2] The way out was not discovered and in Lent, 1609, that Calvinist in a friar's habit went into the pulpit and there expounded to his hearers his own Calvinistic tenets as if they were the teaching of the Catholic Church. In doing so he acted in full accord with his master: "This is the line we take," Sarpi observed to Dohna,[3] "we expound the truth of the gospel but without saying that the Catholic Church teaches the opposite. In this way only Protestants understand us whilst the others feel satisfied with our preaching." As a matter of fact Fulgenzio's praises were sounded throughout Venice: he was extolled as a man of great merit, one who preached Catholic doctrine and who deserved every commendation and reward.[4] At that time Paul V. feared the worst on the part of the republic; in fact he was debating whether the welfare of Italy required that the power of Venice should be broken with the help of the Spanish arms, for it had become evident that nothing would be achieved by censures alone.[5] On his part, and in his

[1] *Fra Fulgentio compagno e allievo di fra Paolo, che se bene manca della dichiaratione di Roma, lo dichiarono nondimeno heretico formale i suoi scritti, i quali sono forsi peggio in alcune parti di quelli del suo maestro. Borghese to Gessi, July 12, 1608, *loc. cit.*, f. 386.

[2] *Borghese to Gessi, August 16, 1608, *loc. cit.*, f. 421; *cf.* REIN, 106 *seq.*

[3] Ritter, 79.

[4] *Borghese to Ubaldini, March 31, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 503, Vat. Lib. List of propositions of Fulgenzio which the Roman Inquisition, in 1610, declared either to be heretical or blameworthy, in REIN, 218 *seqq.* *Borghese, March 21, 1609, prays Cardinal Spinola to have the sermons of Fulgenzio accurately taken down in writing (*Borghese*, I., 251–3, f. 43, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] Aytona to Philip III. on March 31, 1609, in Gindely, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 276 note; **Relacion del Marques de Aytona al Conde de Castro de cosas de estado de su tiempo*, of June, 1609, Arch. of Spanish Embass., Rome, I., 28.

capacity as a statesman, Sarpi also played a double game. Thus the Signoria was not allowed to know that if, for instance, he advocated a league with Holland it was with the secret desire of thereby paving the way for the reformed teaching, or that a similar plan had prompted his wish for the presence in Venice of agents of the German princes.[1]

Such tortuous means may have served to prepare the way, they could not of themselves bring about decisive success. The bulk of the people did not understand Fulgenzio's sermons, or they attached a Catholic meaning to them. Agents, however, of the Protestant powers appeared in Venice; thus in 1609 and 1610, John Baptist Lenck represented several German princes and since 1609, Cornelius van der Myle was the envoy of the States General. In 1620, a treaty of commerce was concluded between Holland and Venice; nothing, however, transpired as regards any success of the two agents in the religious sphere.[2] Greater zeal was being shown since 1608 by Biondi, the former secretary of the Venetian ambassador in France. Biondi had gone to England for the express purpose of offering his services to the English king. He is probably the author of a memorial advocating the formation of a league of all Protestants, under the leadership of James I., for the purpose of fighting the papacy chiefly in Italy itself. The king was asked to provide stipends for preachers in Venice and to found seminaries for the training of such men in England and in the Valtellina. These plans, which never got beyond the stage of mere plans, must probably be traced back to Sarpi himself.[3]

As a matter of fact Sarpi's hopes of a Protestant Venice were pretty well at an end about this time. Opinion had gradually veered round in favour of the Pope. Immediately after the reconciliation with the Holy See, Marcantonio Capello, one of the seven divines who had jointly worked against the interdict, had fled to Rome for the purpose of

[1] Rein, 191 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 115–124, 168; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 358 *seqq.*

[3] Rein, 72 *seq.*, 97, 150.

making his peace with the Pope. In the following year the Franciscan, Fulgenzio Manfredi, who had shouted louder than any one of them against the Curia, took a similar step and towards the close of the year he was followed by the Vicar General, Ribetti, another of the seven signatories of the pamphlet against the interdict.[1] In 1609, the Venetian envoy in Rome, Contarini, a partisan of Sarpi, was recalled and his place taken by Giovanni Mocenigo, a man well disposed towards the Pope and who had successfully worked for a compromise in the dispute between Paul V. and the republic over the abbey of Vagandizza.[2] On the representations of Henry IV. and at the request of Mocenigo, the Pope now granted Venice the tenth which he had refused until then.[3]

That same year the King of France rendered a signal service to the Curia. To one of his colleagues Diodati had given a glowing account of his journey to Venice.[4] There existed in Venice, so he wrote, a strong leaning towards the new teaching; the sermons of Fulgenzio were a blow to

[1] *Ibid.*, 64 *seqq.*, 67. Capello now dedicated to the Pope his essay **Nuovo et corretto parere delle controversie fra il S.P. Paolo V. e la repubblica di Venezia*, Vat. Lib. 7089. On the efforts of Paul of Sulmona, in November, 1606, to reconcile the State divines to Rome, see CORNET in *Arch. Ven.*, V. (1873), 265 *seqq.* As a matter of fact Fulgenzio Manfredi did not persevere and on July 5, 1610, he was hanged and burnt as a relapsed heretic, after one more recantation, *cf.* R. GIBBINGS, *A Report of the Proceedings in the Roman Inquisition against Fulgentio Manfredi*, London, 1852; RULE, II., 218 *seq.*; G. MERCATI in *Miscellanea di storia e cultura ecclesiastica*, V. (1907), 441 *seqq.* The verdicts of the Inquisition against him, of December 13, 1608, and July 4, 1610, in GIBBINGS, *loc. cit.*

[2] Borghese to Ubaldini, June 23, 1609, *loc. cit.*, p. 614, Vat. Lib., and September 14, 1609, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 77. *Cf.* BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 242, 253; *Notices et extraits des MSS. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 303 *seqq.*; PRAT, III., 157 *seq.*

[3] Borghese to Ubaldini, November 10, 1609, and January 5, 1610, in Lämmer, *Melet.*, 265 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*; to the Spanish nuncio, November 13 in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 82 *seq.*

[4] On May 8 (1609), printed by REIN, 226.

the Pope which it will be impossible to make good; if Fulgenzio could preach every Sunday, the battle would soon be won; the greatest freedom of speech obtained in Venice; the Calvinistic books were read and the Pope's conduct and teaching were the objects of universal condemnation. This letter came into the hands of Henry IV. Now the French King was a friend of the republic. He frequently warned Rome not to drive Venice, by harsh measures, into the path taken by England. A Protestant Venice, however, did not fit into his political scheme for he did not wish the French Hugenots to derive new strength from a league with a Calvinistic Signoria.[1] Hence this letter greatly annoyed the king and he ordered Champigny, his envoy, to read it to the assembled Senate of Venice. Nothing could be worse for Sarpi and Fulgenzio than their being so completely unmasked by their talkative friend and things becoming public property of whose success silence was the first condition. The effect of the letter was immediate, during the reading one of the Senators turned deadly pale whilst another strove in vain to prove that the document was a forgery. The Senators who were favourable to the Pope now waxed more bold. Fulgenzio was forbidden to preach and Sarpi's prestige suffered a first set-back.[2] Paul V. thanked the King of France in an autograph letter.[3] From this time onwards forebodings of the approaching fall of the learned Servite increased. Many of his letters to Huguenots came into the hands of the French nuncio [4]; they contained clear proof of the writer's heretical sentiments.[5] However, neither Gessi nor the Curia

[1] *Ibid.*, 112.

[2] Ubaldini to Borghese, October 13, 1609, Lämmer, *Melet.*, 226, n. 1. *Cf.* PRAT, III., 159–171; G. DANIEL, *Hist. de France*, XIV., Amsterdam, 1742, 465 *seqq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 363 *seqq.*; REIN, 135–141. An inaccurate account by Lenck (from the lips of Sarpi) in Ritter, *Union*, 463, n. 2.

[3] PRAT, III., 167 *seq.*

[4] REIN, 159 *seqq.*

[5] *È eretico formale.* Borghese to Ubaldini, January 23, 1610, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 78. *Cf.* BALAN, VI., 669 *seqq.*

judged it opportune to show these documents in Venice[1] for the republic was still unwilling to dispense with the services of the clever friar.[2]

None the less the unlimited freedom he had hitherto enjoyed in the use of the State archives was now limited to ecclesiastical documents[3] and he himself felt the need of greater reserve in his intercourse with the Protestants.[4] His epistolary correspondence with the French Huguenots, of which until then the Venetian envoy in Paris, Foscarini, had been the intermediary, was rendered exceedingly difficult after the latter's recall.[5] His correspondence with Mornay ended about the year 1612.[6] As early as 1609, his patron Wotton had been on the point of leaving Venice when the Signoria banned the book in which James I. defended the oath of allegiance.[7] At the close of 1610, Wotton was recalled by his King.[8] He returned indeed twice to Venice, as ambassador,[9] but Bedell no longer accompanied him and it

[1] Rein, 160, 164. Borghese to Ubaldini, January 31, 1612, Lämmer, *Melet.*, 309. Efforts to get Bruslart, the French envoy in Venice, to take steps, see Rein, 165 *seq.* *Cf.* Ubaldini on September 11, 1612, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 308, n. 1; Letter of Brèves, the French ambassador in Rome, of April 14, 1613, in Prat, V., 316; Villeroi to the French ambassador De Léon (of January 5, 1613 ?), *ibid.*, 313 *seq.* On Sarpi, 1612, see *Atti di Romagna*, XVIII. (1900), 89 *seqq.*

[2] Prat, III., 422, V. 316. When the nuncio requested the Inquisition of Venice to publish a list of forbidden books drawn up by the Roman Inquisition, the Senate first asked for Sarpi's opinion. The Senate to its Roman envoy on December 10, 1616, *Cal. of State Papers*, Venice, XIV., 374.

[3] Rein, 163.

[4] *Ibid.*, 167.

[5] *Ibid.*, 161. On Foscarini and his tragic fate see Reumont, *Beiträge*, II., 155–184.

[6] Rein, 167.

[7] *Ibid.*, 162 *seqq.* Sarpi feared in 1609 that James might replace Wotton by a Catholic; see Prat, III., 144.

[8] Rein, 148.

[9] In the years 1616–1619 and 1621–3. Smith, I., 144 *seqq.*, 176 *seqq.*

does not appear that at that time he took any great interest in the Calvinists of the city.[1]

In the meantime Paul V. did all he could in order to win over the republic of St. Mark by kindness. His gentleness increasingly impressed the Venetians.[2] True, the violence of the republic against priests that remained loyal to the papacy from time to time revived the hopes of the friends of Protestantism that yet another break with Rome might occur. However, to the bitter chagrin of Sarpi, Paul V. acted with wisdom and restraint.[3] By degrees the friends of the papacy secured the ascendancy in the Senate [4] and Sarpi himself thought it advisable to hide his hatred of the Pope.[5] The doge Donato remained obstinate, but in 1612 he was carried off by death.[6]

Once again the hopes of those who favoured Protestantism even in Venice rose high as Henry IV., now leagued with the Calvinists of Germany, was preparing to deal a mortal blow to the house of Habsburg. However, when the dagger of an assassin put a sudden end to the French king's life Sarpi wrote that "the only hope of Christian freedom" had vanished.[7]

Even now Mornay refused to give up hope. The disputes of Rudolph II. with his brothers and his Protestant subjects, so he fancied, might yet prove useful to the Protestants of Venice.[8] With this in mind he commissioned the Pole,

[1] REIN, 167.

[2] Borghese to Ubaldini on September 14, 1609, Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 77. Complaint that the Pope's kindness is abused: Borghese to Ubaldini, January 23, 1610, *ibid.*, 78 *seq.*; TARQ. PINAORO, *Modo che Paolo haveria da tenere perchè Venetiani fossero più ossequenti*, *Riv. di biblioteche*, XXV., 78.

[3] Wotton to Mornay, March 17, 1609, *Mémoires*, X., 294. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 397; PRAT, III., 156 *seq.*

[4] REIN, 142.

[5] BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 355 *seq.*

[6] REIN, 165.

[7] *Ibid.*, 144.

[8] As early as December 8, 1609, Sarpi wrote to Mornay: *Si Stiria libertatem religionis adipisceretur, vulnus esset meretrici gravissimum*; see MORNAY, *Mémoires*, X., 450.

Rey, to visit Venice and Sarpi and then also Germany.[1] However, the governor of Moravia, Charles von Zierotin, a keen Protestant on whom Mornay relied, found himself compelled to explain that the archduke had made a Protestant rising impossible so that even the bravest in the land would not dare to forward the designs of Mornay.[2]

The next few years brought fresh disappointments. Sarpi's wish to see Protestant soldiery in Italy was fulfilled when in the war of the Uscocchi against central Austria, the republic entered into an alliance with the States General (Holland). Even Sarpi could not wish for fiercer enemies of the Papacy than the Dutch mercenaries. When the league with the republic of St. Mark was concluded, the Dutch Protestants boasted that now they would drive the Pope from Rome and depose him; that this and the introduction of their tenets, would be the fruit of the war in Italy. Bibles in Italian and copies of the Catechism of Heidelberg were already being printed in Holland for distribution in Venetian territory.[3] However, in the end even Sarpi had to confess that the presence of Dutch troops had been of little advantage to the spread of Calvinism in Italy.[4] Sarpi was assuredly mistaken when on occasion he claimed that there were 10,000, or even more, Protestants in Venice [5]; as a matter of fact apostacy from the ancient Church ended more often in complete infidelity than in Protestantism.[6] Be this as it may,

[1] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 395 *seq.*; REIN, 151.

[2] CHLUMECKY, I., 795 *seq.*

[3] Reports of the Brussels nuncio, Gesualdi, to Borghese, December 3 and 17, 1616, and February 18, 1617, in BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 2, 945 *seq.*, 948.

[4] REIN, 168.

[5] Ritter, 77, 82. Lenck spoke of 300 nobles and 15,000 other Protestants in Venice; see REIN, 120.

[6] REIN, 79. "Au lieu d'esclaircir les ignorants, il (the 'pure' gospel) les a entretenus davantage en leur ignorance . . . et la plus grande part des clairvoyans, abandonnant tout à fait les superstitions, se sont laisser glisser en pur athéisme." ASSELINEAU to Mornay, August 16, 1611, *Mémoires*, XI., 267. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XI., 396; PRAT, III., 411.

Sarpi's efforts to found a Calvinist community in Venice proved a complete failure. For all that this grim hater of the Holy See was very far from the thought of making his peace with the Pope ; quite the contrary. " I shall fight him more fiercely after my death than during my life," he had written [1] ; and he kept his word ; in the solitude of his study he now prepared to deal the Catholic Church his heaviest blow.

It would seem that Sarpi had begun at an early date to collect information about the Council of Trent, and in his capacity as a consultor to the republic, the State archives were open to him so that he was in a position to add constantly to his knowledge. Wotton, who went to Germany in 1611, as well as other enemies of the Pope, supplied him with fresh documents. With so much material in hand Sarpi set himself the task of writing a great history of the assembly of Trent.[2] The apostate archbishop of Spalato, Marcantonio de Dominis, made a copy of the work during a stay in Venice in 1615 and published it in London in 1619, under the pseudonym of Pietro Soave Polano, an anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto. Against the advice of the shrewd Sarpi, de Dominis betrayed the scope of the publication by the very title he gave it : *A History of the Council of Trent ; an exposition of the artifices used by the Roman Curia for the purpose of preventing the divergences in its dogmatic teaching to be made manifest and the reform of the papacy and the Church from being discussed.*[3] " The Popes," so the editor declares in his dedication of the work to James I., " fearing precisely lest the councils should show them in their true colour, and seek to recall them to a sense of their duty, have, by diabolical instigation, taken no notice of the ancient councils and stultified the recent ones to the holding of which they have been compelled to

[1] On June 6, 1609, to De l'Isle Groslot.

[2] *Cf.* the notes in BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 391 *seqq.*

[3] In later editions the title and dedication were omitted. Apart from a few expressions the text of the edition agrees with Sarpi's autograph. *Cf.* BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 387 *seq.* ; TEZA in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto,* 1892.

consent, for by trickery and intimidation they brought it about that these assemblies were not only unable to investigate the truth, but were even compelled to exalt still further the worldly power of the papacy and to destroy the last vestiges of the Church's liberty."

The author of the book, de Dominis declares, wished to destroy his work but he now laid it in the arms of the king as another Moses saved from the water, to the end that it may help to rescue God's people from the tyranny of the new Pharaoh who by means of the fetters of a most illegal and treacherous council oppresses it by a cruel slavery.

Sarpi's book created a sensation from the first and its effect has not spent itself even now. Within a decade it could be read in Italian, Latin, German, French and English; the Latin translation alone reached a fourth edition by 1622.[1] This phenomenal success is explained by the universal wish for further information on a Council which for Catholics was a pillar of the ecclesiastical order and for Protestants a stumbling block. Already Cardinal Cervini and Pius IV. had entertained the idea of publishing the Acts of the Council, and Massarelli's preparatory work on the subject was well forward, hence de Dominis' assertion is false when he affirms, in his dedication, that Rome was anxious to keep the Acts of the Council from the eyes of the world.[2] However, the projected publication did not take place, so that Sarpi's book is the first detailed story of the assembly. Moreover it was largely based on unpublished documents [3] and written with undeniable skill

[1] Bianchi-Giovini, 455 *seq.* German translation by Rambach, Halle, 1761 *seqq.*, by Winterer, Mergentheim, 1839. On the French translation by Amelot de la Houssaye, see Gust. Wolf in *Deutschen Geschichtsblättern*, XVIII. (1917), 244; on the one by Le Courayer, an excommunicated French Canon, *ibid.*, 248; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII., 328.

[2] St. Ehses in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVI. (1902), 296–307; Derf. in *Conc. Trid.*, V., XXVI. *seqq.*; Merkle, *ibid.*, I., XIV.

[3] Among printed works the following have been used: Jovius, Guicciardini, De Thou, Adriani and especially Sleidan (Ranke, *Päpste*, III[6]., 27*).

and vigour.[1] The Protestants could not fail to derive particular enjoyment from the spiteful sallies against the Roman Curia with which the story is seasoned, for in those pages that which to Catholics was an inviolable sanctuary of holiest origin, was ascribed to very human motives and dragged in the dust. As history Sarpi's work does not attain a high level. Hate guided his pen. Where his sources, which he seldom quotes, can be verified, we frequently detect " the most arbitrary distortions and misrepresentations which cause persons and things to appear in the wrong place and in a false light ".[2] Until quite recently [3] it was believed that for many of his statements Sarpi must have disposed of manu-

[1] According to FUETER (273) Sarpi is with Guicciardini " the greatest historical artist of the sixteenth century ". *Cf. ibid.* : " His history is good party-literature, precisely because it has none of the air of such writings." Fueter thus sums up his impression (272) : " Sarpi's history is . . . not only biassed writing, it is the partisan expression of opinion of a lawyer, a historical apology of the particularistic ecclesiastical policy of Venice." That Sarpi's work, from the point of view of style and history, is far from being the masterpiece which Ranke still imagined it to be, is shown by the testimony of competent judges in Baumgartner, *Weltliteratur*, VI., 479.

[2] Ehses in *Jahresber. der Görresgesellschaft für 1919*, Köln, 1920, 39. On the way in which Sarpi uses and alters Contarini's instruction for the diet of 1541, *cf.* also Ranke, III [6]., 31 *seqq.* Ranke agrees that Sarpi's remarks " are full of bitterness and gall " (*ibid.*, 29) ; to the worldly influence of the papacy he devoted " a decisive, irreconcilable hatred " (*ibid.*, II., 222). REIN (195) says of Sarpi's historical work that in its pages " he discharges so bitter a hatred of the Popes and the Roman Curia, that in this respect no Protestant could go further. In the actions of the Popes he invariably discovers selfish motives and he puts an unfavourable construction upon all their measures. In this matter he openly sympathizes with their opponents, the Protestants ". P. Tschackert also says of Sarpi's history that in it " he airs his hatred against his deadly enemy (the papacy) " (Herzog-Hauck, *Real enzyklopädie*, XVII., 488).

[3] Thus according to Merkle in *Conc. Trid.*, I., 487, n. 3.

script documents which are lost to us. But the most recent research has shown that such details as cannot be verified by documentary evidence are simply forgeries.[1]

[1] Thus in the very first congregation of the theologians of the Council, on February 20, 1546, he introduces four speakers: Lunellus, Marinarius, Cardinal Pole, who was president of the Council, and Louis of Catania. Of these Catania was not even at the Council at the time; the three other speeches are made up from speeches delivered at the Congregation of the *bishops* of February 18 and 26. It is in accordance with Sarpi's bias to represent the bishops as ignorant men by attributing their opinions to the theologians. (Ehses in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI. (1905), 299–313. A list of heresies on original sin which had been drawn up for the Council but which, owing to lack of time, was used neither by the bishops nor the theologians, is made by him the cardinal point of wholly imaginary discussions in which he parades his biblical and patristic knowledge. In these discussions he also introduces the celebrated Dominican De Soto who had left Trent shortly before (Ehses, *ibid.*, XXVII. (1906), 69–73). On the alleged diary of Chieregato see *ibid.*, 67–9. In a report of Visconti, who had only just arrived in Trent, Sarpi finds the erroneous remark that Foscarari exercised a censorship of public discussions at the Council. On the occasion of the first general Congregation under Pius IV., on January 15, 1562, Sarpi relates how Foscarari was formally entrusted with that office so that freedom of speech was limited (Ehses in *Jahresbericht der Görresgesellschaft für 1919*, 40–5). The safe-conduct which the Council gave to the Protestants in 1562, is grossly travestied by Sarpi, who then goes on to accuse the Council of having broken its pledged word (*ibid.*, 45–51). In the discussions of the duty of residence he puts in the mouth of the younger Paul Jovius a speech against that duty together with the anti-papal sally that the Popes had always resided in Rome without Rome being for that reason better than all other cities. This speech was never delivered and is made up from a most becoming *votum* of Th. Stella (*ibid.*, 51–8). To bishop Draskowich, Sarpi attributes a defence of court bishops although that bishop's *votum* is to the exact contrary effect: Sarpi the State divine must have seen his own justification in such a defence. But in order that Draskowich should have occasion to make such representations,

Sarpi did not long survive the last and most influential of his literary achievements. He died on January 15th, 1623, unreconciled with the Church,[1] detested, in his last years, by the nobility and shunned by the people.[2] The Signoria, however, and the more intimate circles of his followers continued loyal to him. Three weeks after his death the Senate decreed the erection of a monument in his honour. However, consideration for the Roman Curia prevented the execution of the plan.[3] He was given a pompous funeral in which all the religious Orders took part, though many walked but reluctantly in the funeral cortège.[4] An account was published, signed by all the inmates of the Servite

he makes the previous speaker, the bishop of Ajaccio, speak in defence of the bishops' attendance at courts (*ibid.*, 58–63). When the question of ordination to the title of personal patrimony came up for discussion, the State theologian saw in it an interference with the rights of the secular power. So he invented a speech against it and put it in the mouth of Gabriel le Veneur, bishop of Viviers. As a matter of fact le Veneur was bishop of Evreux. From a similar motive Sarpi makes the bishop of Paris speak *against* the demand that, when new parishes were erected, the parishioners should be put under obligation to provide for the maintenance of the new parish priests. Now the bishop of Paris was *in favour* of this demand and in the discussions on the question he never spoke at all. *Cf.* Ehses' examination of Sarpi's credibility in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXXI. (1923), 150 *seq.*, where more instances are given of the way in which Sarpi falsifies speeches and puts them in the mouth of people who were not even present.

[1] Report of nuncio Zacchia to Cardinals Ludovisi and Barberini, edited by A. Ploncher in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, IX. (1882), 145–160. *Cf.* Siri, V., 520 *seq.*

[2] . . . nobili che l'odiano, come fa universalmente il popolo, che lo schifa, e fugge di stare alla sua messa, tenedolo per cagione ed autore di quanti infortuni e gravezze ha questo stato (Ploncher, *loc. cit.*, 151).

[3] *Ibid.*, 148. Letter of Cardinal Ludovisi of October 28, 1623, to the French nuncio, in *Carte Strozz*, 1, series II. (1891), 83.

[4] Ploncher, *loc. cit.*, 148.

Convent, according to which his end had been almost like that of a Saint, but not all the friars had signed the document of their own free will.[1] It was only in the eighteenth century, when the anti-christian spirit was describing ever widening circles, that editions of the complete works of Sarpi began to appear[2] and that his reputation grew more and more.[3] It was reserved to the nineteenth century to raise a monument to the enemy of the Popes.[4] That he deserved no such honour is sufficiently proved by the fact that his character betrays some very despicable features. Sarpi defied the thunder of Rome though he had no cause to fear it whilst he enjoyed the protection of the Venetian government; but for fear of compromising himself he refused, in 1622, a legacy left him by Antonio Foscarini who had been innocently sentenced to death and whom, in happier days, he had called his friend. Foscarini had left 100 ducats to Sarpi, with a request for his prayers; Sarpi refused the gift on the plea that duty and loyalty forbade him to have anything to do, be it in life, be it in death, with a man who had rendered himself unworthy of the favour of the government.[5]

[1] *Ibid.* Copy of the report in CICOGNA, *Iscrittioni*, V., 603.

[2] BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 454 *seqq.*

[3] On the finding of his body in 1722 see U. BALZANI in the *Rendi conti dell'Accad. dei Lincei*, 5 series, IV. (1895); K. Benrath in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1876, *Beil.* 274. Translation of his remains to San Michele di Murano, on November 15, 1828, BIANCHI-GIOVINI, 451.

[4] That the erection of a monument in his honour at Venice was intended as an 'anticlerical demonstration', see E. GUGLIA in the *Allg. Zeitung* of September 21, 1892, *Beil.* 221.

[5] See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, II., 175 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

Paul V.'s Reforming Activity within the Church—Suspension of the Thomist and Molinist Controversy—Canonizations.

In consequence of the stir created by the dispute with Venice the idea has taken root that that conflict was the chief event of the pontificate of the Borghese Pope. This view, which confines itself too exclusively to externals, has caused not a few historians increasingly to overlook the widespread activity of the Pope within the Church. As against such a conception impartial students acknowledge that precisely this side of Paul V.'s activity was as extensive as it was successful.[1]

A man of such deep piety and glowing zeal for souls, of such strong will and firm character as Paul V., was not likely to allow himself to lose heart because of the difficulties of the situation. In the midst of the manifold cares which the burden of the supreme pontificate laid upon him, he put all his trust in Him who, without any co-operation on his part, had raised him to the most exalted dignity in the world.[2] In all the offices which he had previously held the Pope had most strictly complied with existing laws. Now he was

[1] See Reumont, III., 2, 607.

[2] *" Nam cum experiamur cum hac suprema dignitate tantam sollicitudinem ac tantas curas esse coniunctos, nisi hoc solatio consolaremur, nunquam vid. nos pro sua misericordia deserturum esse eum, qui tantum miseratione sua, non nostris meritis voluit, ut huic s. Sedi praesideremus, lugendum nobiscum potius quam gratulandum nobis existimaremus." Brief to archbishop Sbynek of Prague, July 2, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 41 ; *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 193, the *Brief to Caterina de Bragantia : " Incidit hic noster pontificatus in saevissima tempora."

more determined than ever to carry out his duties as Supreme Head of the Church with the utmost conscientiousness. When replying to letters of congratulation he invariably begged for the help of fervent prayers.[1] In this spirit he proclaimed, on June 28th, 1605, a universal jubilee.[2]

One of the first measures of Paul V. in the internal government of the Church was to inculcate anew, in an ordinance published on October 19th, 1605, the duty of residence laid upon all ecclesiastics by the Council of Trent, and for which Clement VIII. had recently striven. No one enjoying a benefice could be exempt from this obligation.[3] In a consistory of November 7th, 1605, the Pope announced that he had instructed his vicar in Rome, Cardinal Pamfili, to ask all bishops then in the Curia, to return to their dioceses; even Cardinals with dioceses were bound by this law. There could be no question of a dispensation; anyone refusing to observe the duty of residence must resign his see; if nevertheless he appropriated the revenues of his charge he was guilty of mortal sin.[4] It was thought in Rome that Cardinal Bellarmine had persuaded the Pope to take this step.[5] When, in November, 1605, Cardinal Aldobrandini asked for a dispensation from residence for a certain bishop he was unable to obtain anything. At this same time all bishops still in Rome without leave were informed not to presume to show themselves in the papal chapel.[6]

Towards the end of November, 1605, Cardinal Valenti left for his diocese of Faenza and at Christmas Cardinal Sannesi repaired to his bishopric of Orvieto.[7] Some Cardinals resigned their sees or made preparations for their departure

[1] *Cf.* the *letter to Joh. Valentinus, Patriarch of Antioch, September 30, 1605. *Epist.*, I., 226, *Arm.*, 45, and other *Briefs in the same place. Secret Papal Archives.

[2] *Bull.*, XI., 197 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of October 19, 1605, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* **Acta consist.* for November 7, 1605, *ibid.*

[5] *Avvisi of November 16 and 26, 1605, *ibid.*

[6] *Avviso of November 26, 1605, *ibid.*

[7] *Avvisi of November 26 and December 21, 1605, *ibid.*

as soon as the cold season would be over. In the judgment of the Pope only those engaged in some legation in the Pontifical States were exempt from the duty of residence.[1]

In this respect all expostulations proved in vain.[2] The rigid Cardinal Bellarmine wished the Pope to go still further and not to bestow bishoprics at all upon the Cardinals since they found residence difficult. However, Paul V. pointed out to the Cardinal that such a procedure was contrary to the spirit of the Tridentine decrees and as regards the exemptions granted to the Cardinals he appealed to the opinion of the celebrated Gregory of Valencia.[3]

Although he refrained from excessive rigorism, Paul V. never lost sight of this question of residence. An edict of October, 1607, based on the prescriptions of Trent, decrees that all bishops would forfeit their revenues if they had not repaired to their dioceses within a fortnight. Simultaneously with this order another decree laid down that no bishop was to come to Rome without leave of the Pope. Beneficed ecclesiastics were to be in residence within nine days.[4] Though in the sequel opposition was not lacking, the Pope remained firm. From time to time fresh edicts were issued inculcating again and again the duty of residence for all beneficed ecclesiastics.[5]

What advantages flowed from the bishops' presence in their dioceses is shown by the example of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. That prelate was appointed to the see of Spoleto on October 17th, 1608, with the obligation, however, of resigning

[1] See the report of the Venetian *obedienza* ambassadors in Barrozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 60.

[2] See the despatch of du Perron of May 17, 1606, *Ambassades*, 476, and the *Avvisi of October 11, 1606, and June 2, 1607, Vatican Library.

[3] See Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 533, 535.

[4] See the *Avvisi of September 1 and 8 and October 6, 1607, Vatican Library.

[5] See Cardella, VI., 157 and the *Avvisi of March 7, 1609, March 9, 1611, and November 21, 1617, Vatican Library.

the bishopric of Nazaret, in Southern Italy.[1] On finding himself detained in Rome by his duties as Prefect of the Segnatura di Grazia with which the Pope had entrusted him, he began by having the diocese visited by his Vicar General.[2] As soon as he was able to do so, the Cardinal left Rome, to take possession of his diocese (1610). A Dominican, a Friar Minor and two Jesuits accompanied him.[3] He now displayed an activity truly in accord with the spirit of Trent. A visitation of the whole diocese was announced; it started with the episcopal city. Whilst suppressing abuses Barberini made special provision for the religious instruction of the young. Every evening the parish priests were convoked to the episcopal palace there to receive the necessary instructions. Barberini, whose personal life was very simple, made immediate and generous provision for the poor of the city. At the conclusion of the visitation of Spoleto he undertook the inspection of every part of his diocese. On this journey his only companions were his Vicar General and a few familiars. The Cardinal penetrated even into the lonely mountain districts of Norcia and Leonessa. At times he

[1] See *Avviso of October 25, 1608, *ibid.*

[2] See **Spoletinae dioecesis locorum visitatio a vicario generali dom. card. Barberini, episc. Spoletini* (*Barb.*, 2352, Vatican Library), beginning with October 6, 1609.

[3] For what follows, compare the account of NICOLETTI (*Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, I., 385 *seq.*, Vatican Library), with *Barb.*, 2417: **Editti del card. M. Barberini, vescovo di Spoleto* (the first five are in print); 2829, 73: **Ordinationes card. Barberini editae in visitatione suae eccles. cathedr. de s. Eucharistia*; L., 89: **Ordinationi per le monache di Spoleto, date* 18 *Agosto*, 1611, *essendo vescovo il card. M. Barberini*; L., 152, p. 210 *seq.*: **Ordini per gli eremiti di Monte Luco date dal card. M. Barberini, vesc. di Spoleto*; p. 214 *seq.*; *Articles which the parish priests had to answer at the diocesan visitation, 1610. In *Barb.*, 2585, there is also, p. 153 *seq.*, **Relatio ecclesiae Spolet. et illius status facta a me M. card. Barberini*, Vatican Library. The *Acts of Visitations of Barberini, are in the Archiepisc. Archives, Spoleto. *Cf.* G. SORDINI, *Alla ricerca della tomba di un uomo celebre, Spoleto*, 1903, X.

himself imparted religious instruction to the country people. Everywhere he insisted on an exemplary life being led by the clergy as well as on regular preaching and catechizing. He likewise took action against banditry. The Cardinal also suitably endowed the ecclesiastical seminary founded by his predecessor in the See of Spoleto. In addition to this he erected two smaller seminaries at Spello and Visso. He founded a special association for the purpose of forming priests for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance; those who would not join were refused posts. The Cardinal also interested himself in the reform of the convents of nuns. The hermits who dwelt on the picturesque heights of Monte Luco and whom Michelangelo visited on one occasion likewise felt the touch of his reforming hand.

The sick, no less than the poor, were the objects of the solicitude of the indefatigable prelate. He often personally attended the dying. To crown his reforming activities, Cardinal Barberini, after the pattern of Charles Boromeo, convoked a diocesan synod at Spoleto. The decrees of this assembly were published on September 13th, 1616.[1]

The admirable activity of Maffeo Barberini at Spoleto was imitated by other Cardinals in their respective dioceses: as, for instance, by Giustiniani in the Sabine country [2]; Ludovisi at Bologna [3]; Aldobrandini at Ravenna [4]; Federigo

[1] See *Barb.*, 2830: **Indictio dioc. synodi habendae Spoleti a Maph. card. Barberini*, September 1, 2 and 3, 1615; *Barb.*, 2831: **M. card. Barberini Spolet. synodus promulgata*, September 13, 1616. *Cf. Regin.* 2044, p. 41 *seq.*: **Ragionamento che fece Urbano VIII. (in minorib.) al sinodo, che fece a Spoleto.* Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf. Ottob.* 1075: **Sabinen. ecclesiae visitatio A.°* 1615 *a card. B. Iustiniano, episc. Sabin. peracta*, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 468 and ACCARISIUS, *Vita Gregorii XV.*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 58, note 5. Aldobrandini's successor to the archbishopric of Ravenna (1621), Cardinal Capponi, also carried out reforms there: see CARDELLA, VI., 151, and *Cod. Vat.* 6705: **Lettere pastorali, orazioni e prediche del card. Capponi, arcivesc. di Ravenna*, Vatican Library.

Borromeo at Milan [1]; Valenti at Faenza [2]; Bichi at Siena [3]; Lante at Todi [4]; Galamina at Recanati and Loreto [5]; Muti at Viterbo [6]; Carafa at Naples [7]; Caraccioli at Tropea [8]; Centini at Mileto and Macerata [9]; Scaglia at Melfi [10]; Doria at Palermo.[11] Many bishops vied with these Cardinals. For their benefit a disciple of Philippo Neri, Antonio Talpa, wrote an instruction to guide them in a careful administration of their dioceses. This document was much esteemed by Paul V.[12]

In Rome, supported by his Vicars General, Pamfili and Millini,[13] Paul V. promoted the cure of souls,[14] the frequent reception of the Eucharist, the Forty Hours' prayer and the pilgrimage to the seven churches. The great processions and the solemn general Communions instituted for those occasions

[1] See the biographies of ROBERTI (Milan, 1870) and QUESNEL (Lille, 1890).

[2] See MORONI, LXXXVII., 244.

[3] See CARDELLA, VI., 160.

[4] See ROSSI, *Vita del card. Lante*, Rome, 1653.

[5] See CARDELLA, VI., 166 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 179.

[7] *Ibid.*, 154 *seq.*

[8] For the seminary founded at Tropea in 1615, *cf. Bollettino pel XVI. Centenario di S. Domenica vergine et martire in Tropea 1903*, No. 11.

[9] See CARDELLA, VI., 173.

[10] *Ibid.*, 215.

[11] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 363 and BOGLINO, 54 *seq.* See also TACCHI VENTURI, I., 148.

[12] *Della curia e vigilanza de'vescovi, etc.*, 1607. *Cf.* CAPECELATRO, *F. Neri*, II.,[3] 700; Engl. transl. (1882), Vol. II., 340 *seq.* Paul V. expressed his special satisfaction with the archbishop of Salerno, Giov. Beltramini; see the *briefs addressed to him, on February 7 ("laudat eius diligentiam in visit. dioc.") and December 22, 1609, *Epist.*, IV., 329, V., 247. *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives.

[13] *Cf.* MORONI, XCIX., 95 and MEMMOLI, *Vita card. Millini*, 34 *seq.*

[14] See *Avviso of June 29, 1613, Vatican Library.

were soon copied in many cities of Italy.[1] The Roman Seminary enjoyed the Pope's support.[2] In 1611 he caused seven parish churches to be erected in the Roman campagna.[3]

The commission of reform, whose activities had begun under Clement VIII., was convoked anew in November, 1607,[4] for, as Cardinal Bellarmine remarked, human frailty makes constant correction a necessity.[5] To this end the great theologian could think of nothing better than a strict execution of the reform decrees of Trent. This view was likewise advocated by the author of a memorandum which demanded for the whole Church the literal application of these decrees. In the work of the reform, the memorandum declares, the first thing to do is to seek the glory of God before all else, then to amend one's own life so as to encourage others to do in like manner; this procedure is greatly to be preferred to compulsion. For the purpose of ascertaining the true nature of existing evils, and with a view to applying appropriate remedies, the writer suggests that the Pope should convoke in Rome special synods presided over by himself. These synods should be composed, at first, of the bishops of Italy, and hereafter those of Spain, France, Germany and other countries should also be convened. The agenda of these Roman synods should be provided by previous provincial synods. Everywhere the reform should begin with the higher clergy and then to extend itself to all ranks, down to the lowest order. Special attention should be paid to the formation of the clergy; for this purpose seminaries should be erected everywhere or suitable provision made for the existing ones. The seminaries, as well as the monasteries, should be examined by the Apostolic Visitors. The arduousness of the task should not deter the Pope, all the more as he

[1] *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16. For the raising of the Roman "*Confraternità del ss. Sacramento*", to an "*Arciconfraternità*", see Moroni, II., 305.

[2] See *Avviso of October 25, 1608, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of June 4, 1611, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of November 17, 1607, *ibid.*

[5] Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 533, note 3.

had ascended the Apostolic See whilst still in full physical vigour; the necessary time to carry out the work would not be wanting.[1]

Although Paul V. did not carry out all these suggestions his intervention in ecclesiastical affairs of every Catholic country proves that he was honestly determined to give force everywhere to the reform decrees of Trent.[2] He was particularly careful in his appointment of new bishops. In this respect his preferences were for religious; from the Order of St. Dominic he chose nearly sixty bishops.[3] In the spring of 1618, through the consistory of Cardinals, he introduced certain improvements in the method of nominations to bishoprics and monasteries.[4]

Soon after his elevation it was rumoured that Paul V. would carry through a reform of the procedure of papal elections which his premature death had prevented Leo XI. from realizing.[5] In effect the Cardinalitial Congregation appointed by the late Pope was strengthened by the addition of new members and was once more charged with the examination of the draft of a Bull concerning the conclave which had been drawn up under Clement VIII. But, as Paul V. informed the Cardinals on November 7th, 1605, he was unwilling to move in the matter without first ascertaining the personal opinion of every member of the Sacred College.[6] By

[1] **Pro universali totius Ecclesiae reformatione*, *Borghese*, IV., 56, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* further on, especially Vol. XXVI, Chs. I and IV. As to Portugal, see the references in the **Instruttione* for the collector Accoramboni, of June 1, 1614, *Cod.*, X., IV., 38, p. 30, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[3] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 21.

[4] See **Acta consist.*, of April 2, 1618, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso of June 11, 1605. Vatican Library. Tarquinio Pinaoro dedicated to Paul V. his "*Discorso sopra la riforma del conclave da farsi per la sicurezza, libertà e unione eccles.*," *Cod.* D., IV., 202, of the Gambalunga Library, Rimini.

[6] See **Acta Consist.*, of November 7, 1605. *Cf.* also the *Avviso of November 16, 1605, Vatican Library.

December this had been done,[1] yet the Bull of Reform did not appear. According to hints thrown out by well-informed people, it was in all probability the Cardinals heading various parties who, for fear of losing their influence, once again delayed the completion of the work.[2]

Like his predecessors, Gregory XIII., Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., Paul V. also interested himself in the compilation of a new collection of decretals. The draft already printed in 1598, for the benefit of the Commission of Cardinals, was revised in 1607 and 1608, but no publication ensued. The explanation is probably to be sought in the unsatisfactory lay-out of the whole scheme and in the politico-ecclesiastical situation of the time.[3]

Greater success marked Paul V.'s continuation of the reform of the liturgical books which he brought to completion with the publication of the *Rituale Romanum*. The Popes of the period of the Catholic restoration had already corrected the Breviary, the Missal and the Roman Pontifical.[4] The

[1] See *Avviso of December 10, 1605, Vatican Library. From this the exact date may be ascertained for the *votum* of Bellarmine printed by WAHRMUND in the *Archiv. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII., 221 *seq.*, and again by LE BACHELET (*Auct. Bellarm.*, 526). On p. 528, *ibid.*, a further memorandum of the Cardinal: *An forma eligendi S. Pontificem debeat tolli per adorationem.*

[2] See WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 206. *Ibid.*, 223 *seq.*, the changes which Paul V. wished to make in Clement VIII.'s plans. *Cf.* also LUZIO, *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, II., 177.

[3] See SENTIS, *Clementis P. VIII. Decretales Proleg.*, XV. *seq.*, and Lämmer, *Zur Kodifikation des kanon. Rechtes*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 21. *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIV., 229 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XVII, 193 *seq.*; XXIV., 227 *seq.* A *brief of Paul V. for "electus, canonici ac capit. eccles. Sedunensis hortatur ad recipiendum Breviarium atque Calend. Romanum," December 2, 1605, *Epist.* I., 356. *Ibid.*, 475, a *brief to Adrian II. of Riedmatten, bishop of Sitten: "laudat eius pastoralem diligentiam et hortatur ad introductionem generalem apud suos Brevarii Pii V. et Calend. Gregorii XIII." dated March 3, 1606, in *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives. For the amended Breviary of Paul V. printed in 1608, see DELAPORTE in the *Rassegna Gregor.*, *VII.* (1908), 244 *seq.*

Borghese Pope now carried out a similar work on the liturgical book which contains the formularies of the functions appertaining to the cure of souls. In this instance there was no question of producing a revised and improved edition of an existing volume but rather of compiling a new set of formularies for use by the pastoral clergy in the administration of the sacraments (Baptism, Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony), and for various blessings, especially those distinct from the Office, as at funerals, processions and other extra-liturgical services. At one time priests themselves were wont to compile such books. It was only in the course of the twelfth century that a fixed type of ritual books for such purposes took shape and at first chiefly for monasteries. Since the invention of the printing press many such manuals had been published.[1] Samples of private collections of this kind, which contain the formularies in use in the Roman Church, were the *Sacerdotale* of the Dominican Alberto Castellani and that of Francesco Samarino, a prebendary of the Lateran.[2] To these must be added a similar work by Cardinal Santori, undertaken at the instigation of Gregory XIII. and printed during his pontificate and that of Gregory XIV. at the expense of the Holy See. However, the book was never published owing to the death of the Cardinal in 1602.[3] Paul V. took up the task once more. Baronius'

[1] A summary may be found in the monumental work of A. Franz: *Die kirchl. Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, I., Freiburg, 1909, XXX *seq.* *Cf.* Franz, *Zur Gesch. der gedruckten Passauer Ritualien*, in the *Theol-Prakt. Monatschrift*, IX. (Passau, 1899), 75 *seq.*; Jungnitz, *Die Breslauer Ritualien*, Breslau, 1892; Franz, *Das Rituale von St Florian aus dem* 12. *Jahrh.*, Freiburg, 1904; Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der kath. Liturgik*, I. (1912), 83 *seq.*

[2] See Zaccaria, *Biblioteca ritualis*, I., Romae, 1776, 144; Bäumer, 500.

[3] See Santori, *Autobiografia*, in *Arch. Rom.*, XII., 154 *seq.*, 157, 197, and with this the explanation of G. Mercati, in the *Rassegna Gregor. V.* (Rome, 1906), 269, 443 *seq.* *Cf.* now also Baumgarten, *Neue Kunde*, 52 *seq.*

counsel was to be asked for,[1] but the Cardinal died on June 30th, 1607.[2] In 1612 the Pope appointed a commission of Cardinals and scholars [3] which made great use of the excellent work of Santori, a fact expressly mentioned in the brief of June 20th, 1614, concerning the new Ritual.[4] A wise self-restraint prompted the Pope to refrain both from enforcing the universal adoption of the new Ritual under threat of penalties as well as from abrogating the existing Rituals peculiar to certain dioceses and religious Orders; he contented himself with the expression of a keen desire to see the new book made use of by all bishops, parish priests and abbots.

The excellence of the *Rituale Romanum* is sufficiently proved by its rapid diffusion.[5] It has remained unsurpassed to this day. By its means many abuses, more particularly certain superstitious practices, were removed and in the administration of the sacraments, in the blessings and consecrations which are the province of priests, as well as in a number of ecclesiastical functions, processions and other services, greater uniformity and dignity as well as a noble simplicity were realized.[6] A prescription of the *Rituale*

[1] See CALENZIO, 735.

[2] *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 57–8.

[3] See MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 443 *seq.*

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 266 *seq.* In the older collections of *Bulls* the brief is dated June 17.

[5] *Cf.* ZACCARIA, *Bibl. rit.*, I., 147. The oldest editions of 1614 and 1615 are very rare; see BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 65.

[6] See BÄUMER, 500. *Cf.* GUÉRANGER, *Inst. lit.*, I., 2, 508 *seqq.* For the abuses in the blessings, which the authorities had difficulty in remedying, as they arose from private collections of formulae which were disseminated in MSS., see A. FRANZ, *Die kirchl. Benediktionen im Mitellalter*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1909. Paul V., who was a great lover of music (see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, LIII., for the contemporary singers of the papal chapel, *cf.* CELANI in the *Riv. music.*, XIV. (1907), 768 *seq.*), adopted in 1608 a plan for reform of liturgical choral music which had been considered by Clement VIII. It was a new edition of the

Romanum, which binds every parish priest to make a census of the faithful entrusted to his care, indicating those who had received the sacraments of the Eucharist and Confirmation, had been previously observed in Rome. At Milan it had been enforced by Carlo Borromeo.[1] These census books, which henceforth came increasingly into use, supply valuable information as regards statistics and in large cities, such as Rome, even about family history and topographical details. These catalogues are not only important for the history of civilization in general, they also give us more than one interesting glimpse into the administration of a parish in those days. If a parish priest conscientiously kept these registers he had perforce to visit every household at least once a year. In this way an opportunity offered itself of getting to know every member of his parish and their different needs. Thus the prescriptions of the *Rituale Romanum* met one of the most strongly felt needs of our own time—that is, contact as extensive and as intensive as possible between the priest and individual households.[2] An extraordinary

melodies of the liturgical chants, see MOLITOR, *Choralreform*, II., Leipzig, 1902, 71 *seq.*, who first pointed out how this whole undertaking finally came to nothing. The Pope had very good reasons for withholding, at the last moment, his approval of the edition of the *Graduale de tempore*, Romae ex typographia Medicaea, 1614, so that it appeared on the sole responsibility of the publisher Raimondi, with a mere *superiorum permissu* (see MOLITOR, 117 *seq.*). Among these, as Molitor has shown (*loc. cit.*), was the blameworthy misuse which Iginio Palestrina had made of his father's name which was held in the highest esteem. *Cf.* H. NIEMANN in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1905, 824 *seq.*, with whom Molitor entirely agrees.

[1] *Cf. Acta eccles. Mediol.*, IV., 790 *seq.*

[2] See W. BURGER, *Die Status-animarum Berichte der Pfarrei S. Maria in Cosmedin zu Rom während des* 17. *Jahrhunderts* in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 166 *seq.* The eight volumes referred to are housed in the Vatican Library. It must not be deduced from the gaps they show that the *Status animarum* was not kept up during the missing years. BURGER (*loc. cit.*, 167)

Congregation of Cardinals undertook the examination of all indulgences. It consisted of Cardinals Baronius, Arigoni, Bellarmine and Pamfili.[1]

During the last years of the pontificate of Clement VIII. the controversy concerning the efficacy of divine grace had dragged on without leading to a peaceful solution. Paul V. must have been all the more inclined to end, by a papal decision, discussions which so laboriously succeeded one another because, whilst still a Cardinal, he had been obliged to be present at nearly every congregation which dealt with the question of grace and at his election he had been pressed to issue a decision in the matter.[2] The Spanish envoy, at the bidding of his sovereign, urged the Pope in this direction, but he did not immediately succeed in persuading the Pope to overcome his hesitation. It was one thing, Paul V. insisted, to take part in the sessions as a Cardinal and another, to feel justified, as Pope, in pronouncing a final judgment.[3]

It would seem that soon after Paul V.'s accession, both parties to the dispute sought to influence the Pope in their favour. The Dominican Lemos relates that on August 4th, 1605, he was summoned before Paul V. who commissioned him to draw up a list of those propositions in this difficult matter which he deemed to be heretical and those which he held to be Catholic. On August 10th Lemos handed in the desired list as well as a memorandum in which he enlarges upon the necessity and antiquity of the expression "physical

would not have drawn this conclusion, if he had not overlooked the MSS. quoted by Cerasoli in the *Studi e documenti*, XII., 169 *seqq*. belonging to the Collegio Romano (now Library Vittorio Emanuele) and those of the Barberini, Casatanense and Corsini Libraries. From these MSS. it is evident that, since 1600, the registers of the *status animarum* have been accurately kept in Rome.

[1] See **Relazione di Roma* of B. Ceci, *Urb.* 837, Vatican Library.

[2] Scorraille, I., 450. "Il Papa lascia intendere che in tre congregationi vuol finire il negotio de auxiliis," writes F. M. Vialardo to Mantua on June 4, 1605. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] The Duke of Escalona to Philip III. on July 3, 1605. Scorraille, I., 451.

predetermination" ; as for the thing itself, he thought there was no need of further discussion for there was no longer any doubt about it. But during three months Lemos endeavoured all the more energetically to convince, by word of mouth, the Pope, the Cardinals and the bishops of the truth of the Dominican view.[1] As for the Jesuits, towards whom Clement VIII. had shown himself so unfavourable in this matter, they felt a new confidence under his successor. Not long after his election Paul V. gave them a token of his good-will when he consented to the introduction of the Apostolic process for the beatification of their founder and by recalling Cardinal Bellarmine to Rome as one of his advisors. Another favourable omen for them was the fact that Cardinal Du Perron, one of the most respected theologians of his time and an ardent adversary of Protestantism, was in residence in Rome since several months. In the question of the doctrine of grace Du Perron stood wholeheartedly on the side of the Jesuits.[2]

A survey of the points in dispute similar to that which Paul V. had demanded from Lemos was presented to the Pope by the other side. The points on which Dominicans and Jesuits agreed and those on which they differed were set out in two columns ; a third list recorded the propositions rejected by both parties, but which, the Jesuits complained, were quite wrongly ascribed to Molina.[3]

Another memorial presented to the Pope on June 26th and drawn up by Fernando de la Bastida, who had been the mouthpiece of the Jesuits in the last discussions in presence of Clement VIII., summed up under twelve headings the reasons for which the champions of Molina felt justified in protesting against the censures to which he had been subjected by the Roman congregation.[4] Bastida's objections to the

[1] Astráin, IV., 361. For rumours which were disseminated to the discredit of the Jesuits, see Scorraille, I., 450.

[2] Astráin, IV., 360.

[3] A copy of the three lists is in Astráin, IV., 799–804.

[4] *Ibid.*, 254–6.

competence of the members of the commission as well as to their procedure had been, to a large extent, urged before. He now begs the Pope to have inquiries made whether or not it was true that the first censure was pronounced against Molina without his having been heard in his own defence, or someone else having spoken in his defence; whether it was true that the commission discovered more than sixty erroneous propositions in a book in which men of great learning and even whole universities failed to find as much as a single one; whether it was true that the censure of the whole work was drawn up in less than two months, a hardly long enough period in which to read the book, whereas the ensuing discussions, though spread over several years, had not led to a conclusive judgment on even a fraction of the questions that arise from the book. Likewise, in the form of a petition for an inquiry, further grievances were brought forward, namely that erroneous propositions were ascribed to Molina which he had never taught; that theses were styled erroneous which are universally accepted by theologians; that the commission had been entrusted with the examination of its own censures and thus was judge in its own cause.[1]

Besides these grievances and accusations, which had been raised before, this document tells us much that is new and surprising. The Pope should cause an inquiry to be made, so we read, whether the whole censure was not the work of one individual who never held a chair of scholastic theology and never wrote a thing that would show the expert; and whether it was true that in the country of his birth, Spain, he would not be thought capable of dealing even with such things as suits of the Inquisition, or that according to common law, he would not be allowed to appear, were it only as a witness, in a civil process.[2] The last three points of the memorandum throw fresh light on Clement VIII.'s judgment on the commission and on his attitude towards the Jesuits. It is also stated that Clement VIII. expressed his dis-

[1] *Cf.* the points 1–3, 5–9 in that document.

[2] *Ibid.*, Point 4.

pleasure with the dishonest procedure of the commission with such vigour that there were those who saw a connection between the Pope's dissatisfaction and the death of the chairman of the commission, the bishop of Cariati.[1] For these and "for other considerations on which it is difficult to dwell here but which we could communicate by word of mouth should your Holiness wish it", so the memorandum proceeds, "we have often protested in the life-time of our holy Father Clement VIII. both in writing and orally, against the aforesaid censors; we warned his Holiness, and we now renew our protest, that in a matter of such importance we do not consider these men to be judges possessed of the necessary knowledge and impartiality; rather do we hold them to be more biased than the Dominicans themselves, and men who obstinately cling to their opinions as they have done in the past."[2] De la Bastida winds up with a request that Paul V. would order an immediate inquiry in order to ascertain whether it was true that Clement VIII. "gave us an assurance, not once but many times, that these people would not be allowed to judge this question and that the decision would not be based on their memorandum—that in this matter we could trust him. This we did in the sure expectation that the discussions would lay bare the arguments on which both parties build up their system; these would then be submitted to persons possessed of the necessary competence and impartiality."[3] These sharp accusations de la

[1] "Si en el modo de tratar esta causa usaban con nosotros de tanta infidelidad, contra espresa orden de la buena memoria del Papa Clemente, que obligaron a Su Santidad a hacer tantas demonstraciones de sentimiento, que fué fama haber sido ésta la ocasión de la muerte del obispo de Cariati, que era la cabeza de esta congregación." (*Ibid.*, n. 10.) Resta, bishop of Cariati, died in 1602.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 11.

[3] "Si Su Santidad el Papa Clemente VIII. nos aseguró uno y muchas veces, diciéndonos que no serían ellos los jueces de esta causa, ni se tomaría la resolución de ella por su parecer, y que en esto nos fiásemos de su palabra. . . ." *Ibid.*, No. 12.

Bastida declares to be "true, down to the smallest detail"[1] and he offers to substantiate them by documentary evidence.

The Jesuits were unsuccessful in their demand for the removal of those who had hitherto acted as their judges. On September 2nd, 1605, Paul V. convened the former Roman Congregation as well as a few Cardinals in his presence in order to deliberate on the means of settling the dispute once for all. It was resolved to pick up the thread where it had been allowed to drop under Clement VIII. There still existed an ordinance of that Pope concerning the dispute, but his death had prevented its being given effect. In fifteen theses the document summed up St. Augustine's teaching on grace. Paul V. ordered this exposition to be examined at the next disputation which was to be held on September 14th, 1605.[2]

On the appointed day a meeting took place of the members of the Roman Congregation and a few Cardinals, among whom were Du Perron and Bellarmine, the Pope himself presiding. However, no sooner had the document of the fifteen propositions been read than the old difficulties raised their heads. Bellarmine granted that most of these propositions were indeed in harmony with the teaching of St. Augustine, but some of them needed further elucidation and, considered as a whole, they did not fully represent the views of the great Doctor of the Church. He himself then submitted another paper which, in his opinion, was free from the blemishes he had pointed out.[3] In the next Congregation, on September 20th, the identical difficulty reappeared. The speaker for the Jesuits, Fernando de la Bastida, unreservedly adopted the view of Bellarmine; in his opinion it was necessary to complete and elucidate the fifteen points. However, on the representation of the Dominican, Thomas de Lemos, these self-same fifteen points

[1] "Lo que en ellos digo es puntual verdad." ASTRÁIN, IV., 256.

[2] ASTRÁIN, IV., 362. The document with the fifteen points is in ELEUTHERIUS, 552; ASTRÁIN, 364.

[3] Copy in ELEUTHERIUS, 553; ASTRÁIN, IV., 365 *seq.*

were an irreproachable presentment of the teaching of the great African. Thus there appeared no way out of the impasse and they needs must once again plunge headlong into a wearisome discussion of the texts of St. Augustine.[1]

However, one thing at least was clearly established: if they were going to tread anew the path by which Clement VIII. had sought a solution of this most complicated question they were faced by the prospect of endless discussions. If on a previous occasion, the examination of the teaching of Cassian had occupied seven whole months, how many months would it take before they could hope to arrive at a clear understanding of the opinions of St. Augustine? Paul V. may well have quailed before the prospect. So he left St. Augustine alone and gave orders to turn to the main point of the controversy, the one on which minds were divided, the question, that is, whether grace moves us to free good acts not only by a moral influence, as if exhorting or prompting us, but also by an immediate influence, and whether this influence may properly be called physical predetermination.[2]

Thus a decisive turn in the controversy seemed to be at hand. Until then the influence of the Dominicans had exclusively determined the progress of the discussions; but the Jesuits had now obtained what they had so long prayed for and insisted upon, viz. the discussion of physical predetermination. Accordingly, in the very next Congregation, on October 12th, 1605, Fernando de la Bastida prefaced his dissertation with an expression of his satisfaction that at last, after forty sittings, they had reached the very heart of the controversy. But it must be admitted that this was the view of the Jesuits only. In the opinion of the Dominicans, the situation was quite different; it was merely a matter of form, they thought, that physical predetermination should be discussed at all, seeing that for years the commission had acknowledged that doctrine as part of the deposit of the faith.[3]

[1] Astráin, IV., 366.

[2] *Ibid.*, 367; Scorraille, I., 452.

[3] Astráin, IV., 367.

In eight congregations[1] Bastida then expounded the question in detail.[2] In the first session he sought to define the nature of physical predetermination; at the next two meetings he refuted it with scriptural arguments. This he followed up, in three sessions, with reasons drawn from the Councils, St. Augustine and the rest of the Fathers. He seems to have taken particular care, in the session of January 12th, 1606, to set side by side quotations from the writings of the defenders of the thesis he was attacking and from those of Calvin, with a view to showing their resemblance. The last two sittings were devoted to a discussion of the opinions of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Scholastics and the more recent theologians. In the session of February 22nd, 1606, which was the last disputation between Dominicans and Jesuits, the latter submitted a short account of their teaching as well as testimonials from universities and individual scholars who had pronounced in their favour. By order of the Pope copies of this exposition were distributed to the Cardinals, one copy being filed with the Acts.[3] Paul V. assisted in person at the disputations; everybody praised the patience and attention with which he followed the interminable dissertations.[4] What is more, the Pope even found time for a personal study of the intricate question.[5]

[1] On October 12 and 26, November 9 and 22, Decemer 14, 1605, January 12 and February 15 and 22, 1606.

[2] ASTRÁIN, IV., 367. Paul V. is said to have declared, in the Congregation of November 22, that he would end the transactions: the Jesuits were dissatisfied with this (*Avviso of November 23, 1605, Vatican Library). Apart from the Disputations other Congregations were held, in which only votes were taken, e.g January 3, 1606 (*Avviso of January 4, *ibid.*), or, where only Cardinals were present, e.g. March 8, 1606 (*Avviso, March 11, 1606, *ibid.*).

[3] ASTRÁIN, IV., 368.

[4] *Avviso of January 11, 1606 (about the Congregation of 10th inst.), Vatican Library.

[5] They said in Rome that in good weather he went driving and in bad he studied the dispute about grace. *Avviso of October 19, 1605, *ibid.*

The Commission then received the following command from the Pope: each of its members was to give an answer in writing to the following four questions: which questions concerning grace should be defined and which should be condemned? In what do the Catholic and the heretical views differ? Lastly was it expedient to publish a Bull on the subject, and if so, what form should it take?

The consultors were at work from March to September, 1606. Some of them knew how to compress their opinions, others were so diffuse that the memorandums made a volume of five hundred pages in folio.[1]

There could be no question of the Pope perusing all this literary output. So the whole pile went to join the stock which had accumulated in the course of the dispute and which reposed, unread, in the dust of the archives. The consultors were then commissioned to take counsel among themselves and to present a joint memorandum. Between October 5th and November 23rd, nine deliberations were held, with the result that forty-two propositions from the writings of Molina were submitted to the Pope for condemnation.[2]

Three of four of the consultors did not at once agree with their companions,[3] but in the end only one clung obstinately to his divergent opinion, namely the Carmelite Antonio Bovio, who had recently been preconized as bishop of Molfetta.[4] His answer to the four questions of the Pope point to the path which Paul V. eventually took and for that reason it deserves special notice.[5]

[1] Astráin, IV., 369. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Pinelli, in Schneemann, 285; *cf.* 281.

[4] It appears that he was only raised to the episcopate subsequently to delivering his opinion (*ibid.*, 281).

[5] Reproduced (with omissions) in Serry, App. 141–156. An extract from the complete text in Astráin, IV., 370 *seq.* In the title of the "Opinion" Serry calls Bovio a quondam Jesuit, and on p. 163 (*cf.* 213) he adds: "Quem mihi quondam olim Iesuitam narrant viri Carmelitae primae notae." Astráin (IV., 373, note 1) failed to discover any information on the point.

Bovio roundly declares that he cannot see in what way the doctrine of physical predetermination differs from the heresy of Calvin. Nevertheless he does not venture to advise the Pope to condemn that opinion, for it may be that there are those who are able to see in what it differs from Calvinism. As a general rule, one should not too quickly condemn an opinion which is defended by learned Catholics. In this respect St. Thomas Aquinas gave them an example of modesty; it was regrettable that at this time, especially in Spain, there was so marked a departure from his example.[1] Accordingly, to the first two questions of the Pope, namely which propositions should be defined and which condemned, Bovio's answer is that in respect to the main point in the dispute the Pope should neither define nor condemn anything, for all the universities and the majority of scholars had decided in favour of either the one or the other opinion. The prestige of Catholic divines would be grievously injured if a definition were to show that nearly one-half of them were in error. In addition to this the honour of the two contending Orders must be considered. The Dominicans are usually consulted in the affairs of the Inquisition and whenever there is question of points of the faith, whilst in northern countries the Jesuits are the chief opponents of heresy. What would be the impression, for instance, in England, if the Jesuits were condemned for holding the opinion which they have hitherto defended, because it is directly opposed to the chief error about human free-will? If errors are to be found everywhere, so the heretics would say, it is better to err in company with one's own king and one's own countrymen than with foreigners, and that at the risk of life and goods.[2] If on the other hand physical predetermination is proclaimed as a dogma of the faith, however much that doctrine may really

[1] "Ut certe et miranda et dolenda sit nostrorum temporum, praecipue in Hispaniis, licentia, qua sibi quisque praesumit aliorum catholicorum sententiis temeritatis aut haeresis notam inurere." (In SERRY, 142.)

[2] SERRY, 143.

differ from the teaching of Calvin, in their ears it sounds very much like it and at best only scholars would discover the difference. The heretics would raise a shout of triumph over such a definition and spread it abroad that the Pope has revoked the mistaken pronouncement of Trent and has himself gone over to the enemy.[1] It is no answer to say that where there is question of an error in a matter of faith all other considerations must be brushed aside, for this only applies when there is question of a proven error; now, whatever the consultors may say, there is here no question of an error of this kind. Men of distinction as well as entire universities disagree with the consultors on this matter.[2] Already twenty years ago, in his controversies, Bellarmine had rejected physical predetermination and had maintained the teaching to which the name of Molina was subsequently affixed, yet it entered into nobody's head to see pelagianism there, though it was surely unthinkable that such an error would have remained undetected for twenty years. Since the days of St. Augustine many Fathers of the Church and many scholastics have treated of efficacious grace but previous to Bañes no one hit on the idea of physical predetermination. St. Augustine treats of the working of grace in a hundred different ways: how can it be explained that not as much as once does he say that efficacious grace implies a predetermination of the will?[3]

Moreover, the question was not ripe for definition. The Church only defines what is taught by Holy Scripture, Tradition and the Fathers, and then only when theologians agree that the proposition is taught by these three authorities. Physical predetermination derives from none of these sources. Its only foundations are metaphysical considerations which even from a philosophical point of view appear very doubtful and which almost drive us to the conclusion that God is the author of sin. If God predetermined the will of Judas to the betrayal whilst he hovered between treason and

[1] *Ibid.*, 143 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Astráin, IV., 371.

loyalty to his Master, then surely God did not merely permit the traitor's sin. A unanimous opinion of scholars that a predetermination of this kind derives from the above-named sources of the faith, is most certainly non-existent.[1]

Bovio's advice was that the Pope should leave the question for further discussion by the theological schools whilst laying on scholars the duty of moderation. In this way, he hoped, the heat of the dispute would abate, truth would gradually gain ground and the schools would reach a conclusion with which all might agree. Then would the hour for a definition have struck.[2] Bovio also wished to see the secondary questions which had arisen during the discussions to be treated in the same way as the main thesis, for not one proposition of Molina had been attacked which had not, previous to him, found its defenders among theologians of repute.[3]

Bovio's reply to the Pope's first two questions is exhaustive. He is more concise in his answer to the third question, that is, as to how the opinions of the two contending schools differed from the tenets of the heretics? The Dominican teaching differs from that of Calvin in that the former admit the existence of free-will whereas Calvin denies it. However, Bovio confesses himself unable to understand how free-will can be saved in the Dominican conception of it, whereas it was easy to point out in what way the opinion of the Jesuits differed from pelagianism.[4]

The fourth point on which Paul V. had sought information was in reference to the Bull to be issued on the subject. Bovio had previously presented a draft of such a Bull.[5] He suggested the definition of such propositions only as were held by all Catholics. On the present occasion he advised the Pope [6] to leave all mention both of Dominicans and

[1] SERRY, 144 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 146 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 147.
[4] *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*
[5] Reproduction, *ibid.*, 152.
[6] *Ibid.*, 151.

Jesuits out of the Bull, and to make no allusion to Molina: "let us do all we can to blot out the memory of a strife which all well-disposed persons wish it had never arisen."

Bovio's memorial was in the hands of the Pope about the end of 1606, that is, simultaneously with the verdicts of the other consultors. The final decision was delayed for another eight months, though in the meantime there was no abatement of the dispute. Cardinals Arigoni and Marzato were detained in Rome until the affair should be settled.[1] The Pope attached particular importance to the verdict of Cardinal Du Perron. By his command the Acts of the Council of Trent were taken from the castle of Saint Angelo to the house of the Cardinal, though illness prevented Du Perron from making much use of them.[2] Anastasio Germonio wrote to Francis de Sales, to ask him for his view as to what should be done. The brief answer of the bishop of Geneva gave the Pope such satisfaction that he asked for a fuller statement of his views. In his memorandum Francis de Sales declared that on the whole he shared the view of the Jesuits[3]; he added that he had made an exhaustive study of the subject and that he saw considerable difficulties in either opinion. He did not think the time had come for deciding a question on which so many able scholars were unable to agree. He felt it would be better for Dominicans and Jesuits to join forces and to labour in mutual harmony for the good of the Church instead of allowing themselves to be divided by quarrels. The learned and so eminently successful champion of the unity of the Church wrote in a like strain to the nuncio of Savoy.[4] His counsels could only

[1] *Avviso of March 14, 1607, Vatican Library.

[2] Du Perron to Henry IV. on July 11, 1606, in ELEUTHERIUS, 702 (*cf.* 723); SCHNEEMANN, 286 *seq.*; SCORRAILLE, I., 455.

[3] In his *Theotimus* (II., ch. 10, 12; IV., ch. 5) Francis of Sales teaches the same doctrine. SCHNEEMANN, 325 *seqq.*

[4] M. HAMON, *Vie de St. François de Sales*, I., nouv. éd., Paris, 1909, 590. The letters referred to are only known through the extracts which Charles-Auguste de Sales quoted in the life of his uncle; a vain search was made for the originals. ASTRÁIN, IV.,

strengthen the impression which Bovio's moderate and balanced statement had apparently made upon the Pope.

Paul V. was likewise desirous of ascertaining the views of the university of Paris. To this end the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII., was instructed to seek information on the subject, though in complete secrecy. Accordingly the nuncio called on Duval, the most famous among the theologians of Paris of that period, and, as it were, casually turned the conversation on to the controversy on grace. Duval told him that personally he felt inclined to side with the Jesuits; others also, and they were not the least distinguished, shared his view. But two doctors of the faculty—viz. the members of the Roman Commission, Le Bossu and Creil—sided with the Dominicans and they warned their Parisian colleagues against hasty expressions of opinion seeing that the Pope was expected to give a decision. In Spain some excellent theologians favoured the Dominicans, but in France, where they had to deal with heretics who denied the existence of free-will, they were inclined to take their stand by the side of the Jesuits. Two months later Barberini wrote that, at his request, Duval had made further inquiries and that everywhere he had met with uncertainty. If the faculty were asked for a decision it was possible that, owing to the influence of the dean who was suspected of Lutheran leanings, it would pronounce in favour of the Dominicans. Of the two principal Colleges, the Sorbonne was for the Jesuits, that of Navarre for the Dominicans; a

373; *Œuvres de St. François de Sales*, XIII., Annecy, 1904, 417. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the letters seem still to have been known; see MICHAEL A PORTILLA, *Vida del glorioso S. Fr. de Sales*, Madrid, 1695, 427 *seq.*; *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XVII. (1877), 388. The reply of Germonio to de Sales is in the Acts of Canonization of the latter: "Lessi la lettera ch'ella mi scrisse alla Santità di N. S., e la gustò di maniera che mi ordinò doverla mostrare al sig. card. Pinelli come capo della S. Congregazione del S. Ufficio ed in conseguenza di quella De Auxiliis, e di più che le ne dessi copia volendo la far leggere alla Congregazione sudetta. . . " (*ibid.*, 388).

Jesuit had written from Rome that under the new pontificate things looked well for his Order.[1]

In these circumstances Barberini gave the same advice as Francis de Sales,[2] and according to the biographer of Urban VIII., Barberini's report had a decisive influence upon Paul V.'s subsequent action.[3]

It would seem, seeing that he looked for information in so many quarters outside Rome, that Paul V. did not rely over much on the opinion of the Roman Consultors. Their finding, as a matter of fact, was not calculated to lead to a definitive result. It so happened that in the very first of the forty-two propositions condemned by them they found fault with Molina on a point in which the Jesuit merely sums up the teaching of St. Thomas ; still worse for them was it that in this they unwittingly took the same point of view as Bajus.[4] In a memorandum on the last pronouncement of the Commission, Cardinal Pinelli remarked [5] that he did not profess to be a theologian, hence others must judge whether or no the forty-two condemned propositions were to be found in Molina, but in his judgment the course of the dis-

[1] The letter of Barberini of November 24, 1605, and January 24, 1606, in SCORRAILLE, I., 456 *seq.*

[2] *Questa è una questione inestricabile, da non risolverla se non con la risposta : O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei (Rom. 11, 33). E se Sua Santità se ne sbrigasse come fu fatto circa alla disputa della concettione della beatissima Vergine, questa sarebbe la più sicura. To Borghese, January 24, 1606, in NICOLETTI, **Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, I., ch. 20, p. 329, Vatican Library.

[3] *Questa relatione di Maffeo fece tale impressione nella mente di Papa Paolo, ch'essendosi già terminate tutte le dispute deliberò nel concistoro delli 28 d'agosto, giorno dedicato al gran dottore della chiesa s. Agostino, nell'anno 1606 [*sic*] . . . con un decreto provisionale di terminar la controversia, pronuntiando che la dottrina dell'una e dell'altra religione de'Domenicani e di Giesuiti . . . si potesse liberamente leggere etc. *Ibid.*, 329 *seq.*

[4] SCHNEEMANN, 282 *seq.* *Cf.* ELEUTHERIUS, 708 *seqq.*

[5] SCHNEEMANN, 285.

putation had brought to light the fact that the consultors were not scholars of such outstanding ability that the whole affair might be safely left to their judgment. Hence the opinion of theologians and universities should be sought, secretly and without attracting attention; as for the consultors, they might as well go home. In the meantime the reading of Molina's work should be forbidden until it had been amended.

Against the latter proposal Aquaviva urged the oft-repeated argument [1] that Molina's book had the approval of the experts; that many propositions were wrongfully ascribed to him whilst some of them were equally held by other theologians; in the given circumstances a condemnation of Molina would be construed into a condemnation of the entire Society of Jesus. The result was that thereafter Pinelli never again proposed the condemnation of Molina.[2]

At this time another name famous in the story of the controversy on grace appears beside those of Francis de Sales, Bellarmine and Du Perron. As early as the beginning of 1603, Cardinal Baronius had taken sides in the controversy in two documents [3] which ever since had been passing from hand to hand in Rome. In them the great theologian declared himself a friend of the Jesuits but a decided opponent of Molina; no less than fifty-five propositions in the latter's writings seemed to him to deserve condemnation. Baronius had been Clement VIII.'s confessor, so it may well be that he confirmed the Pope in his opposition to Molina. However, his writings could have but little bearing on the issue of the dispute for Baronius had never specialized in scholastic theology.[4] Even his historical data about the origin of

[1] SCHNEEMANN, 286.

[2] In his advice of August 28, 1607; see below, p. 245.

[3] To DR. LOMATA (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 384) and to Pierre de Villars, bishop of Vienne (SERRY, 75; *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XXVII. (1887–8), 1162 *seq.*); Italian translation in CALENZIO, *C. Baronio*, 592 *seqq.* *Cf.* SCHNEEMANN, 276; ASTRÁIN, IV., 373.

[4] To his father's request that he should study scholasticism the young Baronius answered, January 7, 1562: *"Son già al

the quarrel were quite wrong, a fact that seems almost incredible.[1]

If the end of the strife appeared at last to be in sight, credit for it was given, in Rome, to the King of Spain who pressed for a decision and assured the Pope that he would see to its strict execution.[2]

On the feast of St. Augustine, August 28th, 1607, the day came which was to see the end of discussions that had dragged their weary course through so many years. When the following nine Cardinals, Pinelli, Bernerio, Givry, Bianchetti, Arigoni, Bellarmine, Du Perron, Bufalo de Cancellieri and Taverna were gathered in his presence, the Pope asked for their opinion as to what should be done.[3]

tutto risoluto di starmene con queste lettere ch'io ho, quali mi bastano ad sobrietatem (*Romans*, 12, 3) et per me e altri, che qui addit scientiam, addit dolorem (*Eccles.*, I. 18) Bastami veder la scrittura positivamente, cioè, le cose di santi dottori, senza travagliarmi nella philosophia et nella theologia speculativa, sicchè non ne habbiate piccolo pensiero." (*Cod.*, Q. 46, f. 19, Vallicelliana Library, Rome.) *Cf.* CALENZIO, 59.

[1] According to him, Molina's work was first printed in Spain and immediately condemned by the Cardinal of Toledo; nevertheless it was at once published afresh in Portugal; the conflict spread from Spain to France, where the Sorbonne decided against Molina; in 1596 the Pope called the litigants before his judgment seat.

[2] *Avviso of September 1, 1607, Vatican Library.

[3] We are informed about the meeting of August 28 through a memorandum drawn by Paul with his own hand, in SCHNEEMANN, 287 *seqq.* Facsimiles of this important document, *ibid.* For the suggestion by the author of a dissertation published at Berne (1921) that Schneemann had forged the document, as he did not give its description, *cf.* W. HENTRICH in the periodical, *Scholastik*, I. (1926), 263–7. The description is: *Borghese*, sez. I., No. 370A, *carta* 94. SCORRAILLE, I., 457. For the cardinals present *cf.* CORONIL, who adds to Du Perron's name: "cum D.D. cardinalibus generalibus Inquisitoribus specialiter vocatus" (in SERRY, 586). Marzato, who would probably have spoken at length against the Jesuits, had died on August 18, 1607 (*ibid.*, 586).

Of the nine opinions which were now given two were not likely to influence the papal decision. Taverna opined that if one of the two views was erroneous, a papal condemnation should ensue; if not, no decision should be taken. Bufalo wanted a papal decision in any case; either the one or the other opinion should be condemned or both should be declared probable. He was against a continuation of the disputations for they could only create universal confusion nor were they in keeping with the dignity of the Apostolic See.

On the other hand, four of the nine Cardinals expressed themselves in favour of further discussions. Pinelli repeated his advice that to this end scholars should be summoned from France, Spain, and Germany, and the universities also should be consulted, for though some of the members of the Roman Commission were men of ability and learning, the others did not inspire confidence. For the time being the main question might be left in abeyance; they might be content with the definition of a few points about which no doubt existed. Further discussions were also favoured by Givry, Bianchetti and Arigoni. Givry and Bianchetti leaned towards the opinion of the Dominicans, the former because in this view greater power was attributed to God, whereas the latter founded his preference on the declaration of the Council of Trent that without God we are incapable of a good act. He added that further investigation should be conducted by a new commission of Cardinals and consultors and the censors should make sure whether or no Molina really taught the forty-two condemned propositions. Cardinal Arigoni supported Bianchetti; he deprecated, however, the suggested prohibition of Molina's book, pending its revision. He did not wish that any definite, clearly outlined propositions should be laid down by papal sentence; there would be no corresponding advantage in this and the heretics would be given a pretext for writing against them.

The memorials of Cardinals Bernerio, Bellarmine and Du Perron alone express a clear and definite judgment on the central question of the long-drawn controversy.

Bernerio is decidedly in favour of a papal definition and that

in the sense of the Roman Congregation and the condemnation by it of the forty-two propositions. The propositions should be expressly described and condemned as the teaching of Molina. A special Bull should be issued on the subject of physical predetermination; to safeguard the honour of the Society of Jesus its name should not be mentioned in its pages. That is how Pius II. acted when a controversy arose between Dominicans and Franciscans concerning the precious Blood of Christ. Though all the Cardinals were in favour of the Friars Preachers, the Pope refused to pronounce against the Franciscans whose services were required for preaching the crusade against the Turks.[1]

If the Dominican Bernerio pronounced himself most decidedly in favour of the opinion held by his Order, Bellarmine and Du Perron defended the opposite view with no less energy. Physical predetermination, Bellarmine observed, was the opinion of Calvin and Luther. The Dominicans may be excused inasmuch as they do not read the works of the heretics. Bañes' language was worse than that of Molina for he found fault with St. Augustine's view on reprobation. Molina's work had received the approval of two universities. A few indubitable propositions, on which both parties agreed, might be defined in a Bull but the more difficult points should be left alone.

Du Perron spoke in the same strain. The innovators would gladly accept and subscribe to the doctrine of physical predetermination. Calvin had taught it, precisely in the sense here in question and in this sense it had been condemned by the Council of Trent when that assembly declared that it was possible for man to reject grace. The opinion of the Jesuits differed widely from that of Pelagius. The book of Molina should not be prohibited, but rather that of Bañes. Du Perron does not desire a solution of the dispute by papal definition. The best is to let the affair drag on and die a natural death. Maybe Providence will bring the two parties together in a mutual understanding.

[1] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. II, 186 *seq.*

The Pope was thus left without adequate data on which to base a definitive pronouncement. He could not lean on the verdict of his Roman Commission; with the exception of Bernerio, not one of the nine Cardinals attached particular significance to its report; in fact some of them openly expressed their misgivings. Nor did the memorials of the Cardinals provide him with a firmer basis. These documents advocate the most contradictory proposals: they advise the Pope to define and not to define; to prohibit Molina's work and not to prohibit it. As regards the central point of the whole controversy, six out of the nine Cardinals, notwithstanding interminable discussions, had not yet got a clear idea of the question, and when two of their number showed a leaning towards the Dominican theory, the arguments brought forward by them made it plain that they had no real grasp of the problem. Of the remaining Cardinals, Bernerio on the one hand, Bellarmine and Du Perron on the other, stood in sharpest opposition. It was therefore impossible to decide the question by a majority of votes. Were Paul V. to weigh the votes, instead of counting them, either Bellarmine or Du Perron would outweigh, singly, all the others taken together; however, as a Jesuit, Bellarmine was just as much liable to be suspected of partiality in the affair as was the Dominican Bernerio and on two votes only, however great their weight, it was utterly impossible to base a definition in a question of faith.

Without allowing the strife of parties to trouble his judgment, with wonderful calm and serenity of mind, Paul V. summed up his own ideas in a final review of the memorials of the nine Cardinals: Since the Council of Trent declared that our free-will can only take decisions tending unto salvation if God acts on it, a controversy has arisen as to whether this action is a physical or a moral one. From controversy to error it is but a short step, hence it is most desirable that the question should be clarified. However, there is no immediate need of a definition for the Dominican opinion differs widely from the teaching of Calvin, since in their view grace does not take away freedom but perfects it,

and thus enables man to act in a human way, that is, freely. On the other hand, the Jesuits differ from the Pelagians; the latter attribute the first step towards salvation to ourselves whereas the former maintain the exact opposite. Hence a definition is not needed for the moment and the affair may be put off so as to give time a chance to do its work. There was no need for a Bull which would deal with matters that were not controverted; it would only give the innovators an opportunity for a display of their sophistry; it was the province of the Inquisition to take action against people who disseminated really false theories. Many points may be left for further discussion and the universities as well as individual scholars may be consulted. Accordingly the congregations dealing with the controversy on grace are dissolved and their members bound to keep the strictest secrecy about the discussions; all they were to say was that the Pope would decide the affair at some future date.

A few days later the Pope's decision was communicated to the Dominicans and to the Jesuits. His Holiness, so the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, wrote on September 3rd, 1607, to the Provincials of his Order,[1] has informed both the theologians and the consultors that they may go home; at the appropriate time he would make known his view and his decision concerning the matter in dispute. Until then no one must presume, when the subject is discussed, to pass any strictures on those who hold a different opinion. If anyone either of the party of the Jesuits or of that of the Dominicans contravenes this command, let him be severely punished: the present ordinance is to be held inviolable.

When the Jesuit historian of the controversy on grace published his account of the matter as against that of the Dominican Serry, he headed each section of his voluminous work with characteristic illustrations. The wide head-piece shows Christ carrying His cross and saying to St. Ignatius of Loyala: "I will be favourable to you in Rome!"[2] As a

[1] In SCHNEEMANN, 292. Another copy in ASTRÁIN, IV., 380, bears the date September 18.

[2] MEYERE, I., 113, 240.

matter of fact the Society was about to tread once more the *Via Dolorosa* portended by the vision of its holy founder. The Jesuits had failed to secure a definitive judgment; so had the Dominicans; but apart from this the issue had been as favourable to them as could be expected in the circumstances. Every attempt had been made to call down upon Molina's work a sentence of condemnation by the highest authority in the Church,[1] yet all these efforts had failed. During the discussions the entire Society of Jesus had been, as it were, arraigned; now it was acquitted. The opposition had constantly represented the Jesuit teaching as contrary to the faith; henceforth no one was to presume to bring forward charges of this kind. The Dominicans held that physical predetermination was alone true and a proven article of the faith; it was now clear to all that they were mistaken in that claim.

The protracted strain from which the Jesuits had suffered whilst the controversy lasted, sufficiently accounts for the strange ways in which joy over the outcome expressed itself in many places in Spain. Thus, at Salamanca, posters were stuck on the walls with the legend: Molina triumphs! Elsewhere there were masques and displays of fireworks; at Villagarcia, in typical Spanish fashion, they went so far as to get up a bull fight for which, however, Aquaviva insisted that the Rector of the College should be severely reprimanded in presence of all his subjects and punished with temporary suspension from his office.[2] On the other hand the Vice-

[1] A Bull to condemn the Jesuit's opinion was already drawn up; the document was declared to be spurious by a decree of the Inquisition of April 23, 1654; *cf.* ASTRÁIN, IV., X., 381; SCORRAILLE, I., 461; LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 107; *Reusch*, II., 306 *seq.*, *cf.* 301.

[2] Letter to the Provincial of Castille of December 11, 1607, in ASTRÁIN, IV., 382. *Cf.* SERRY, 596 *seqq.*: At other times, too, in Spain the unfortunate horned beasts had not infrequently to bear the cost of scientific triumphs; the moral theologian Azpilcueta, known as DOCTOR NAVARRUS, one of the best known specialists in his subject, and the reformer of the canonical

Provincial of Toledo was able to report that in his province no outward manifestations of joy had marked the favourable termination of the dispute.[1] From a petition in which the Dominicans of Valladolid invoked the Pope's protection, we gather that at the termination of the controversy a number of scholars openly took the part of the Jesuits and that public opinion turned against those who until then had played the rôle of accusers.[2]

In view of the high tension of spirits on both sides it was to be expected that the controversy would not abate at once. On the part of the Jesuits, Acquaviva, with characteristic moderation, instructed his subjects to refrain from any reference to the burning topic. A book in which Lessius dealt with the matter and which had been completed and approved already in 1608, was only allowed to appear in 1610, at Antwerp,[3] subsequently to the publication, in the same year, of a voluminous work in which Diego Alvares gave a defence of the Dominican view which was to remain classical for years to come.

studies at Salamanca, could not prevent the customary bullfight from being held in celebration of his promotion to the degree of Doctor; he only succeeded in obtaining that the horns of the creatures should be sawn off so that the fight might be less dangerous. EHRLE, in *Katholik*, 1884, II., 517.

[1] SCORRAILLE, I., 463.

[2] Ex quo ingens scandalum in ecclesia pullulat, multique ex fidelibus turbari incipiunt. Nos etiam rubore suffundimur, et intra privatos parietes delitescere cogimur, plurimique catholici sapientissimi deficientes animo ab incoepto tramite defendendi veram salubremque doctrinam pedem avertunt. Petition from the Dominican College at Valladolid, November 26, 1607, in SERRY, 598. *Cf.* SCHNEEMANN, 294.

[3] SCHNEEMANN, 293. For the objections made in Rome against the treatise and its connection with Aquaviva's Decree of December 14, 1613, *cf.* LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 27 *seqq.*, 185 *seqq.*, and in the *Recherches de science religieuse*, XIV. (Paris, 1924), 46–60, 134–159. See further, B. LEMMENS, *Schreiben von Lessius an Paul V.* of August 25, 1611, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIII. (1899), 373.

Lest by a reopening of the controversy spirits should be still further excited the Inquisition published a decree on December 1st, 1611, which forbade the publication of further writings on the doctrine of grace unless they had received the special approbation of the Holy Office.

For all that, Lessius' book was not without effect. It prompted Philip III. to instruct his Roman envoy, in agreement with the Roman Dominicans, to press for a definite settlement of the dispute. On its part also the General Chapter of the Friars Preachers, held in 1612, petitioned the Pope in the same sense.[1] However, Paul V. persisted in his opinion that there was no need of a papal definition of the question. In a memorandum drawn up for his own personal use,[2] the Pope briefly recapitulated the grounds for this attitude of his. He writes that he would keep the affair in mind and he records his keen displeasure at the heat which both sides displayed in debate. Aquaviva, whose opinion Paul V. sought, answered that he thought it would be premature to make a pronouncement on the question; the issue of the Congregations was there to prove it.[3]

[1] SCHNEEMANN, 293 *seq.* The decree of the Inquisition is in SERRY, 615; ELEUTHERIUS, 729. The memorial of the General Chapter, in SERRY, 625. An *essay by Thomas de Lemos of April 12, 1612: "que sea necesario determinar la causa de auxiliis," in *Vat.* 6532, p. 127 *seq.*, of Vatican Library.

[2] In SCHNEEMANN, 295 *seqq.* A Spanish theologian, Rua, was actually imprisoned, for publishing a treatise on the question of grace, and that although Clement VIII. had had the treatise sent to him in Rome. *Avviso of August 1, 1615, Vatican Library.

[3] In SCHNEEMANN, 294 *seq.* The *reply of Paul V. to the Dominican Aloysius Aliaga, Philip III.'s Confessor, of June 22, 1612, speaks of the king's keenness for the decision of the matter, which the Pope praises. "Sed Regiae maiestati persuasum esse cupimus, quod sicut nemini magis quam Nobis negotium hoc curae esse debet," we therefore pray for enlightenment on it, and take counsel with wise and unprejudiced men." "Nihilominus difficultates non cessant. Sollicitat quidem Nos vehementer et assidue haec cura." *Pauli V. epist. anno* 8, Papal Secret Archives.

The book of Lessius had yet further repercussions. Bellarmine and other Jesuits in Rome thought that some of its assertions went too far and that they gave ground for the opponents' objection that in the Jesuit conception efficacious grace and sufficient grace differed only in their effect, inasmuch as the free-will corresponds with the one but not with the other—hence the difference is due solely to the free-will. For this reason, on 14th December, 1613, Aquaviva drew the attention of his subjects to the fact that a grace with which, in God's prevision, the assent of the free-will is linked, was precisely for that reason a special favour, one more precious than any other ; that such was the teaching of the Order and by it all should stand. As against Lessius' view that predestination to salvation was consequent on the prevision of our good works the decree takes the opposite view, but this was subsequently revoked by another General, Vitelleschi. Lessius lived to see Francis de Sales come round to his opinion.[1]

A papal decision was similarly invoked, and likewise in vain, in yet another theological problem of several centuries' standing.[2] At Christmas time, 1614, when according to custom the people of Spain sing hymns and religious rhymes in honour of the feast, three priests of Seville conceived a plan for honouring the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God in like manner. In the following year, 1615, they successfully taught the children and the grown-ups suitable hymns and rhymes. A protest by the Dominicans only met with an increase of enthusiasm. True, exception could at times be taken to some of these outbursts of fervour. Now already by 1613, devotion to the Immaculate Mother as well as opposition to it, had reached a certain liveliness. These divergent feelings now grew to such proportions [3] that the hard-pressed Dominicans,

[1] SCHNEEMANN, 303 ; ASTRÁIN, IV., 383 ; LE BACHELET, in the *Recherches de science religieuse*, XIV., 155 *seqq.* ; FR. DE SALES, *Œuvres*, XVIII., 372.

[2] *Cf.* L. FRÍAS in *Razón y Fe X* (1904), 28 *seqq.*, and ASTRÁIN, V., 127 *seqq.* See too THOMAS DE LEMOS, **De immaculata concepcione, Barb.*, 1079, Vatican Library.

[3] Details in *Frías*, 27 *seqq.*

as well as the archbishop, appealed to the king begging him to obtain a papal decision on the disputed point with a view to putting an end to the scandalous strife.[1] The nuncio in Madrid, on the other hand, desired no more than a fresh confirmation and enforcement of the edicts by which Sixtus IV. and Pius V., whilst avoiding a final decision, had previously endeavoured to allay the dispute. In effect a Bull in this sense was published on 6th July, 1616. It forbade once more all mutual accusations of heresy as well as the discussion of the question before the people, additional penalties being laid down for such as proved recalcitrant.[2]

Now Philip III., on the advice of an extraordinary Junta, had already decided to send to Rome a former Abbot-General of the Benedictines with mission to obtain a definition of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of the faith, or at least a prohibition for anyone to maintain the opposite view in public. When the Bull arrived it was decided not to open it for the time being but to await the issue of the embassy.[3] The king had written [4] in support of the efforts of his envoy. However, Paul V. was not disposed to listen favourably to the request. Scandal, he declared, must of course be stayed, seeing that the Dominicans have gone the length of accusing of heresy those who maintained a view which was not theirs. His predecessors had refrained from issuing a dogmatic definition; neither orthodoxy nor the salvation of souls necessitated it; the Protestants desired it in order that they

[1] The archbishop was also so very keen in the matter because he thought the lead tablets, found at Granada, in 1595, in Arabic writing and apparently dating back to primitive Christian times, to be genuine (*cf.* on this STROZZI, S. J., *Controversia della conceptione della B.V.M. descritta istoricamente*, Palermo, 1700, 1, 8, ch. 15). The Immaculate Conception was described therein in scholastic terms (!); see FRÍAS, 145. Innocent XI. declared the tablets to be spurious.

[2] *Bull.*, XII., 356 *seq.* For Sixtus IV. and Pius V. *cf.* our notes, Vol. III, 394 *seq.*, XVII., 205.

[3] FRÍAS, 151–3.

[4] May, 1617, *ibid.*, 229 *seq.*

might have fresh grounds for an attack on the Church. When a congregation of Cardinals had expressed similar views, a decree of the Inquisition was issued by which all public attacks against this pious opinion were forbidden, but for the rest it left the situation unchanged.[1] In Spain the decree was hailed with loud manifestations of joy,[2] for it surely meant a big step forward.

The king, however, was not satisfied. Even before the decree reached Spain he had decided to send yet another envoy to Rome in the person of a distinguished prelate, the bishop of Osma, who was to push with greatest energy this affair of the "pious opinion".[3] Notwithstanding the representations of the nuncio and though Paul V., in an autograph letter, had deprecated the despatch of a further embassy,[4] Philip III. believed the Pope was insufficiently informed; hence, after the demise of the bishop of Osma, he appointed a third envoy in the person of the former General of the Franciscans who was now bishop of Cartagena.[5]

All these efforts were in vain. The ceaseless pressure on the part of Spain in this and other matters ended by causing great annoyance to Paul V. The Pope went so far as to declare that he would sooner resign than allow himself to be treated in this fashion.[6] In April, 1620, the bishop of Cartagena was ordered to return to Spain.[7]

Of all the princes the archdukes of Austria alone supported the efforts of Philip III. Even the Spanish viceroys displayed but little keenness.[8] Philip's ambassador to France wrote that not much was to be expected from that country, were it only by reason of France's dislike of Spain; besides that,

[1] *Ibid.*, 301–5. The decree of August 31, published on September 12, 1617, in *Bull.*, XII., 396 *seq.*

[2] FRÍAS, 307 *seq.*

[3] FRÍAS, XI. (1905), 181 *seqq.*

[4] November 24, 1617, *ibid.*, 195.

[5] *Ibid.*, 198; XII. (1905), 323.

[6] The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Borgia, to Philip III. on March 12, 1616, in FRÍAS, XIII. (1905), 66.

[7] *Ibid.*, 71.

[8] *Ibid.*, 63 *seq.*

their Gallican views led the French to maintain that only a General Council would be competent to decide such a matter; they would refuse to accept a definition by the Pope. The theological schools did, indeed, teach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but if freedom of discussion in this matter were interfered with, it was to be feared lest opinion should swing round in the opposite direction, out of hatred for the Pope's authority and for Spain.[1]

Strangely enough the Spanish Dominicans, at the suggestion of the king, and whilst the pourparlers were still in progress, sent a petition to Rome,[2] to beg the Pope that he would lay a command on them to preach the Immaculate Conception and to honour it in the liturgy, according to the universal practice of the Church.

Paul V. was of a strictly ecclesiastical bent of mind. A characteristic manifestation of this disposition can be seen in his great zeal for the honour of the Saints. Not only did he raise the rank of certain existing feasts, or extend them to the universal Church,[3] he likewise added new and illustrious

[1] January 30, 1619, *ibid.*, 64.

[2] June 24, 1618, *ibid.*, XII. (1905), 324 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Bull.*, XI., 238 *seq.*, XII., 428 *seq.*; NOVAES, IX., 106; BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16; GAVANTUS, *Thesaur. ss. Rituum*, II., Aug. Vindel. 1763, 224; BÄUMER, 500. The feast of St. Louis was made universal for all France by Paul V.; see GOUJET, II., 207 *seq.* The claim frequently made that Paul V. canonized Pope Gregory VII. (REUSCH, II., 788) is false, for the archbishop of Salerno, Giov. Beltramini, obtained a Brief from Paul V., July 28, 1609, in which the office of this Pope is prescribed for Salerno *only*, *sub ritu duplici*, see *Acta SS. Maii*, VI., 103. The veneration of Gregory VII. at Salerno, dates back to the Middle Ages; his name appears in the Roman Martyrology of 1584. Devotion to the great Pope took new life when his grave was opened under Gregory XIII. The *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, say this occurred in 1577. This, however, is contradicted not only by the inscription preserved in the Cathedral of Salerno, but also the deposition of the opening of the tomb. As this is of the greatest interest, it is reproduced here. It is as follows: *In nome di Dio e così sia. Per mezzo di questo testimoniale istru-

names to the list of those who were to be honoured everywhere; however, he did this only after a conscientious and

mento sia a tutti noto che l'anno dalla Natività del Signore millesimo quingentesimo settuagesimo ottavo, e nel giorno di lunedì, trigesimo del mese di giugno, sesta Indizione, entro la chiesa metropolitana di Salerno, ed essendo Pontefice Massimo Gregorio per divina provvidenza Papa decimoterzo, nell'anno suo settimo, e scoccata l'ora sedicesima, verificati i testimonii da me infrascritto notaio, presente l'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Marco Antonio Marsilio Colonna per grazia di Dio e della Sede Apostolica arcivescovo Salernitano e Regio Consigliere: Acciò per cura dell'Illustrissimo Signore la memoria ed il sepolcro della felice ricordanza di Gregorio Papa VII, che, defunto in Salerno, rimaneva seppellito al coro sinistro della superiore basilica, presso alla cappella che dicesi della Crociata, fosse costituito più degnamente in maggiore ampiezza ed in più ferma testimonianza di tanto Pontefice, il prefato illustrissimo signore comandò che il detto sepolcro alla presenza dei cennati testimonii fosse aperto. Esso era marmoreo, ed essendo stato diligentemente ispezionato tanto dal predetto Illustrissimo Signore quanto dai testimonii e da me ancora notaro infrascritto, fu ivi ritrovato il corpo del predetto Pontefice quale era, del tutto integro, con il naso, i denti e le altre membra del corpo. Aveva una mitra semplice pontificale alle cui bende erano apposte delle croci. Parimenti avea una stola serica tessuta di oro, con ornamenti aurei, nei quali erano iscritte delle lettere, cioè PAX NOSTRA. Aveva guanti serici, tessuti con mirabile bellezza di oro e perle con una croce sopra, e nel dito anulare aveva un anello di oro senza gemma. Portava pianeta rossa tessuta in oro, una tunicella serica, i calzari corrosi, tessuti anch'essi dis oro e seta con croce sopra i piedi, giungevano presso alle ginocchia. Aveva cingolo di oro, ed al viso sopra posto un velo. Apparivano ancora vestigi del pallio, e molti croci erano apposte alli vestimenta, di guisa che niente, di quanto era necessario agli indumenti pontificii, mancasse. Le quali cose tutte osservate diligentemente e lasciate al loro proprio posto, di modo che niente ne fosse trasportato altrove, l'Illustrissimo Signore ordinò che si chiudesse il selpolcro. In fede della qual cosa lo stesso Illustrissimo arcivescovo volle sottoscrivere con le sue proprie mani." Archiepiscopal Archives. Salerno.

searching inquiry and with most scrupulous regard for existing rules.[1] Eugene IV. and Nicholas V., in their time, had taken up the preliminary work for the canonization of Francesca Romana, one of Rome's noblest women,[2] and whom the voice of the people had proclaimed a Saint as soon as she was dead. In 1604, Clement VIII. took up the process once more. Paul V. gave it close attention from the first year of his accession. His first act was to order an accurate review of the process up to date. On 11th April, 1606, Francisco Peña, dean of the Rota, reported favourably.[3] The Romans undertook to defray the not inconsiderable expenses connected with a canonization.[4] As soon as the Congregation of Rites had given its consent, the question was discussed and concluded, as prescribed, in three consistories held on 28th April and 6th and 21st May, 1608.[5]

Cardinal Bellarmine supplemented his favourable vote by pointing out that, forasmuch as she had begun by practising virginity, and then lived for many years in chaste matrimony, had subsequently borne the burdens of widowhood and finally led a life of perfection in the cloister, Francesca Romana was all the more deserving of the honours of the altar as she could be set up as a pattern of virtue for every age, sex and condition.[6]

[1] The *transactions of the *Constantini Caetani congregat. Casin. decani de sanctorum canonizatione assertio ad S.D.N.* was dedicated to Paul V., V. Non. Aug. 1611, *Barb.*, XVII., 17, Vatican Library.

[2] For Francesca Romana, see our notes, Vol. I, 5–7, 248 *seq.* For the earlier efforts to promote canonization, see RABORY, *Vie de Ste Françoise Romaine.*

[3] See *Acta SS. IX., Martii*, II., 212* *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of September 7, 1605, August 2, 1606, and April 30, 1608. Vatican Library. The summary of the account of costs are in *Arch. Rom.*, XVI., 236 *seq.*

[5] See **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DUDIK, *Iter Rom.*, I., 187. The *votes of the cardinals and others questioned are in *Cod.*, S. 4, 16, of the Angelica Library, Rome. *Cf.* NARDUCCI, 483 *seq.*

[6] See LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 477.

Paul V. fixed on the anniversary of his own coronation (29th May, 1608), as the date of the solemn function. It was carried out in St. Peter's, amid the jubilation of the Roman people.[1] In the Bull of canonization the Pope extols the power of grace in a weak creature and congratulates Rome, the city of his birth, for in it more than in all the other cities of the earth, has this power been shown forth. Rome, the Bull declares, was like a queen crowned with a diadem sparkling with many jewels, not only because of a host of Martyrs adorned with the purple of their own blood, and of blessed lines of venerable pontiffs, but also by reason of its choirs of chaste virgins and a multitude of matrons adorned with every heavenly grace.[2] During the days following the function in St. Peter's, great processions escorting the image of the new Saint wended their way to the Convent of Tor di Specchi, to her tomb in St. Maria Nuova and to St. Maria in Ara Coeli as being the church of the Roman Senate.[3] The Pope himself paid several visits to the tomb of Francesca and said Mass there.[4] He repeated his visit in the following year, on 8th March, the Saint's feast day.[5] In 1616, the Trinitarians erected a new church in her honour in the via Felice.[6]

If the memory of Frances of Rome lived thus in the hearts of the Romans, that of Carlo Borromeo was no less alive in those of the people of Milan. They looked on him not only as an ideal bishop, but likewise as a pattern of every virtue. On 4th May, 1604, a deputation of the clergy and people of Milan had petitioned Clement VIII. for Borromeo's canonization. The Pope referred the matter to the Congregation of Rites, from whence it went on to the Rota. Owing to the fact that

[1] *Cf.* **Acta consist.* of May 29, 1608; *Avvisi of May 28 and 31, 1608. After the *Avviso of April 19, 1608, the preparations in St. Peter's had already been begun, Vatican Library.

[2] *Bull.*, XI., 491 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of June 4, 1608, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avvisi of June 14 and 18, 1608, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of March 11, 1609, *ibid.*

[6] See ARMELLINI, *Chiese*, 242.

the inquiries at Milan had been held without a mandate from the Holy See, Paul V. ordered a fresh investigation.[1] The thoroughness with which the Pope insisted that they should be carried out is shown by the fact that more than three hundred witnesses were examined.[2] Petitions were presented to the Pope by all manner of persons; among others by Philip III.[3] and by the whole College of Cardinals.[4] To the same end the seventh provincial council of Milan sent bishops Bascapè of Novara and Carretto of Casale as its special delegates to Rome. However, the Pope insisted on a most rigorous inquiry lest anyone should suspect the least shadow of partiality in an affair in which there was question of honouring a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Three auditors discussed the matter in no less than eight sessions. After the presentation to the Pope of their favourable vote, on 7th December, 1609,[5] the affair came before the Congregation of Rites on 12th December. Although that Congregation had already expressed its assent in the spring of 1610,[6] Paul V. had the report of the Rota controlled by twelve Cardinals, Bellarmine being one of them. Only when this had been done in eleven sittings, between 26th January and 26th June, 1610, was the discussion concluded in the consistories of 30th August, 14th and 20th September.[7] On 1st November,

[1] *Cf.* SALA, *Biografia di S. Carlo*, 225.

[2] See the *Acts of Canonization in *Cod.*, I., 132, of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, used by SYLVAIN, III., 382 *seq.* The **Oratio legatorum Mediolan. ad Paulum V. pro canonisat. C. Borromaei* is in *Urb.* 1028, p. 526 *seq.*, of the Vatican Library.

[3] The *reply of Paul V. to Philip III., dated December 10, 1607 " (mandasse ut examen sanctitatis C. Borromaei card. expediretur) ", in *Epist.*, III., 304; *Arm.*, 45. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See **Acta consist.*, of April 28, 1608. *Cf.* *Avviso of May 17, 1608. Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso of December 12, 1609. Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avvisi of February 20 and March 3, 1610, *ibid.*

[7] See **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SALA, *loc. cit.*, 227, and NARDUCCI, 484 *seq.* The vote of Bellarmine of September 20, 1610, in LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 477 *seq.*

1610, the apostolic bishop in whom, together with Pius V., the spirit of the Catholic reform shines most brightly, was numbered among the Saints.[1] Three churches were erected in his honour in the Eternal City, during the life-time of Paul V.: the magnificent church of San Carlo ai Catinari, by the Barnabites; that of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, by the discalced Trinitarians, and that of San Carlo al Corso, by the Lombards.[2] On the occasion of the translation of the Saint's heart into the last-named church, on 22nd June, 1614, twenty-five Cardinals and nearly a hundred bishops took part in the solemn function.[3] Guido Reni honoured the new Saint with the magnificent Pietà which adorns the gallery of Bologna.[4]

Paul V. carried out a number of canonizations in which he paid homage to the most diverse conditions. Besides the admirable archbishop of Valencia, Thomas of Villanova, who died

[1] *Bull.*, XI., 643 *seq.* *Cf.* the *Relation de la canonisation de S. Charles Borromée*, Paris, 1615; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 165. For the considerable expenses of the Bull, see *Gli Archivi ital.*, IV. (1917), 27.

[2] An *Avviso of November 25, 1609, records that Cardinal F. Borromeo was seeking to buy a site, so that, if his uncle should be canonized, he might build him a church in Rome. As to the church of S. Carlo "alle Quattro Fontane", consecrated on June 8, 1612, see the archivist's note in SYLVAIN, *Charles Borromée*, III., 391, note. He is, however, mistaken in thinking that this was the first church dedicated to St. Charles in Rome, for an *Avviso of November 5, 1611, about the celebration of the feast of the holy archbishop of Milan, mentions that Cardinal Joyeuse said the first Mass in the new oratory of the Barnabites, whither the Presbyteral title of S. Biagio dell'Annello had been transferred. But this is S. Carlo ai Catinari, though it was completed at a later date. The preparations for the building of S. Carlo al Corso are treated in an *Avviso of December 17, 1611. Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso of June 28, 1614, Vatican Library. *Cf. Studi e documenti*, XV., 273, and FATTORIO PATRITIO, *Amplia e diligente relatione degli honori fatti al cuore di S. Carlo*, Rome, 1614.

[4] See BÖHN, *G. Reni*, 76 *seq.*

in 1555,[1] and Cardinal bishop Albert of Liège, who had been murdered in 1192 by some adherents of the emperor Henry IV.,[2] he beatified two Spaniards of whom the world had never heard until then. One of them, Isidore (died 1305),[3] for whom Philip III. cherished a special regard, was a simple husbandman; the other, Pascal Baylon, had spent his whole life as a lay-brother in the Order of the discalced Friars Minor of the strict observance.[4] The Servites were given a new Beato in the person of Joachim Piccolomini (died 1305).[5] For the Silvestrins the Pope approved the *cultus* of their founder, Silvestro Gozzolini,[6] and for the Dominicans that of Louis Bertrand (Beltram), whose burning zeal had spread Christianity in New Granada between the years 1562 and 1569.[7]

[1] *Cf. Acta SS. Sept.*, V., 799 *seq.* The *Relatio Bapt. Coccini, S. Rotae decani*, to Paul V. is printed in F. CONTELORIUS, *Tract de Canonizat. Sanctorum*, Lugduni, 1634, in the Appendix.

[2] See NOVAES, IX., 105, where the documents are given which appeared in the Netherlands in 1613, by the authority of the Archduke Albert, on the occasion of the translation of the new Beato.

[3] See *Acta SS. Maii*, III., 512 *seq.* *Cf.* the *Briefs to Philip III., July 6 and October 15, 1618 (*Epist.*, XV., 295), and *that to the Governor of Madrid, January 13, 1621 (*Epist.*, XVI., 295), *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. According to the *Avviso of October 14, 1620, the process had then been concluded. The *report of the Rota to Paul V. *de sanctitate Isidori agricolae*, is in *Barb.*, 2776, Vatican Library. *Cf.*, too, F. FITA, in *Boletìn de la hist.*, IX. (1886), 99 *seq.*

[4] *Cf. Acta SS. Maii*, IV., 48 *seq.*; A. GROETEKEN, *P. Baylon*, Einsiedeln, 1909, where the *Acta beatificationis* are used. The *report of the Rota addressed to Paul V. is in *Barb.*, 2768, Vatican Library. In 1897, Pope Leo XIII. declared Pascal Baylon, who had a special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, patron of all Eucharistic sodalities.

[5] *Cf. Anal. Boll.*, XIII. (1894), 383 *seq.*

[6] *Bull.*, XII., 400 *seq.*

[7] See *Bull.*, XI., 534, and the *Avviso of October 19, 1611, Vatican Library. According to the *Avviso of July 27, 1616 (*ibid.*), the Dominicans were then pressing for the beatification of Beltram.

With what circumspection Paul V. proceeded before assenting to the public cult of any servant of God is shown by his action in regard to several of the heroes of the Catholic Restoration who had long been the objects of popular veneration. In the very first year of his pontificate urgent requests reached the Pope from various quarters for the beatification of Ignatius Loyola for whom the diocesan processes had already been completed in 1595.[1] Clement VIII. had not given effect to a request for the introduction of the Apostolic process; Paul V., on the other hand, made no difficulties. The discussions terminated in 1609; December 3rd of that year witnessed the beatification of the founder of the Jesuits. Bellarmine had done yeoman's service to bring this about.[2] Thereafter the canonization of Loyola was repeatedly mooted. However, even when on 3rd March, 1617, the three auditors of the Rota who were in charge of the preliminary inquiry presented their report, Paul V. answered as before, that an affair of this kind demanded a thorough investigation and mature consideration.[3]

[1] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Henry IV. of France, September 1, 1605; to Duke William of Bavaria, November 25, 1605; to the Viceroy Duke Feria, December 9, 1605. *Epist.*, I., 169, 346, 371, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See ASTRÁIN, III., 676 *seq.* The Decrees of the Congregation of Rites and Paul V.'s are in *Acta SS. Iuli* VII., 618, 620. The **Relatio Rotae ad Paulum V. super vita et miraculis Ignatii de Loyola* in *Cod.* H. 3 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in *Barb.*, 2786, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 1709. *Poems of Jesuits in honour of the beautification of their Founder. Here belongs, too, the rare work, *Brieve relatione delle feste fatte nella città di Sassari ad honor del B. Ignazio a'31 di Luglio 1610*, Napoli, 1610.

[3] See the *Briefs to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, March 27, 1610; to Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Strassbourg, December 27, 1614; to Genoa, April 20, 1617; to King Ferdinand of Bohemia, August 11, 1617, in *Epist.*, I., 353, X., 229, XI., 251, XIII., 107, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., *Dokumente*, p. 353, and *Zeitschr. f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, XV., 277 *seq.*

Information about the life of Francis Xavier had been gathered in India as early as 1556.[1] In 1614, the process was taken up once more,[2] but the beatification of the apostle of India only ensued on 25th October, 1619.[3] The cause of his canonization, though introduced in 1617,[4] only concluded under Gregory XV.

In Rome none of the great reformers of the sixteenth century enjoyed, after his death, a veneration at all comparable to that of which Philip Neri was the object.[5] In 1609, the Romans resolved to offer annually on the tomb of the apostle of their city a chalice and paten of gold, together with wax candles, as was done for the other Saints.[6] Paul V. still maintained his reserve. A document has come down to us which prays the Pope not to forbid the private veneration of Neri.[7] All obstacles in this respect were only removed when the founder of the Oratorians was beatified on 25th May, 1615.[8]

Even in regard to the canonization of his great predecessor, Pius V., which was especially urged by the Dominicans,

[1] Inquiries were instituted in Goa, Bazain and Malacca in 1556, in Cochin in 1557, in virtue of a royal letter; see *Monum. Xavier*, II., 175 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*

[2] For the process in Pamplona, 1614, see *ibid.*, 643 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 449 *seq.*, for the Indian process.

[3] *Ibid.*, 680 *seq.*

[4] See the *Brief to the Duke of Lerma, April 20, 1617, in the *Epist.*, XI., 252, Papal Secret Archives. *The report of the Rota *ad Paulum V. de sanctitate F. Xavier* (in *Barb.*, 2774) was, according to *Avviso of July 10, 1619, delivered to the Pope on July 6, Vatican Library.

[5] See CAPELCELATRO, *F. Neri*, II.[3], 671 *seq.* (Engl. transl. [1882], Vol. II.)

[6] *Avviso of February 28, 1609, Vatican Library.

[7] **De Veneratione privata b. Philippo Nerio (nondum canonizato) non prohibenda discursus ad Paulum V.*, *Barb.*, 1015, No. 2, *ibid.*

[8] See *Avviso of May 27, 1615, *ibid.* *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 334. The *report of the Rota, *ad Paulum V. de canonizat. Ph. Neri*, is in *Barb.*, 2790, Vatican Library.

Paul V. proceeded with extreme caution. He granted leave for the introduction of the cause but would give no more than verbal permission for the setting up in the churches of the likeness of the holy Pontiff by the side of votive tablets.[1]

Permission for the opening of the canonical process of Francis Borgia had been granted by the nuncio Decio Carafa and this was proceeding since 1610, in Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, and Saragossa. The acts reached Rome in 1615, and in August of the same year the Congregation of Rites declared that the documents could be handed over to the Rota.[2] Paul V. came to no decision. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy presented a petition in behalf of his ancestor, duke Amadeus IX., who had died in 1472. Paul V., in 1613, entrusted the affairs to a committee which discussed it for a considerable time and on 15th June, 1615, ordered further inquiries to be made in Savoy.[3] In 1610, the Grand Duke of Tuscany took steps for the canonization of Andrew Corsini who had been beatified by Eugene IV[4]; however, during the pontificate of Paul V. the matter did not get beyond the report of the Rota.[5] The request of the Commander of the Swiss Guard for the beatification of Nicholas von der Flüe the Pope met with the remark that an affair of such importance demanded time and mature deliberation.[6]

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of July 27 and October 12, 1616, Vatican Library. According to the latter, the Dominicans brought the *Sommario* after the process was concluded, to the Pope at Frascati. The *report of the Rota to Paul V. *de sanctitate Pii V.* is in *Barb.*, 2780, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 16.

[2] See *Acta SS. Oct.*, XV., 229.

[3] See *Acta SS Mart.*, III., 889. *Cf.* the *Brief to the Duke of Savoy, of July 4, 1615, *Epist.*, XI., 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Brief to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, November 6, 1610, *Epist.*, VI., 170, *ibid.*

[5] The *report of the Rota to Paul V. is preserved in *Barb.*, 2769, Vatican Library.

[6] See the instruction to the Swiss nuncio of March 15, 1614, in *Bollet. stor. per la Suizzera*, 1903, 72

The process of beatification of Teresa of Jesus had been initiated, in 1604, by Clement VIII. Paul V. ordered its continuation,[1] but even in the case of so outstanding a personality nothing was rushed, however pressed the Pope may have been even by princely clients of Teresa.[2] It was only on 24th April, 1614, that he beatified the extraordinarily favoured reformer of Carmel.[3] On 25th May, 1607, the death occurred at Florence of the Carmelite, Magdalen di' Pazzi, whose motto had been 'To suffer, not to die'! The process of her beatification opened as early as 1610.[4] Some time later Paul V. wrote to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, reporting progress,[5] but he came to no final judgment, just as he refused to decide anything in the question of the beatification of the Theatine, Andrew Avellino, who died in 1608, and the examination of whose cause the Congregation of Rites had begun in 1612.[6]

In addition to the Jesuits, the beatification of Aloysius Gonzagoa was also strongly urged by the Saint's family. Paul V. gave leave to Cardinal Dietrichstein to put over Aloysius' tomb a picture of the holy youth, surrounded by votive tablets, and on the termination of the diocesan process

[1] See *Acta SS. Oct.*, VII., 351–2. The **Relatio trium Rotae auditorum* (Fr. Sacrati, I. B. Coccini, and Alph. Manzanedo de Quiñones) *deput. a Paulo V.*, in *Borghese*, I., 309, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Borghese to Ubaldini, of December 7, 1611, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 306 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta SS. Oct.*, VII., 352. Paul V. *informed the Spanish king on the very day of the beatification. *Epist.*, XV., *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See *Acta SS. Maii*, VI., 312. For Maddalena *cf.* REUMONT, *Briefe heiliger Italiener*, Freiburg, 1877, 263 *seq.*, and *La Santa di Firenze*, Florence, 1906. For the memorandum addressed by Maddalena de Pazzi to the Cardinals on church reform, see *Rev. ascét. myst.*, 1924.

[5] See the *Brief of May 2, 1614, *Epist.*, IX., 320, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See the *Avviso of January 21, 1602, Vatican Library.

the acts were passed on to the Congregation of Rites.[1] In consequence of further pleadings [2] the Pope, having previously consulted the Cardinals, by a Brief of 10th October, 1605, allowed Cepari's life of Aloysius, with the title of 'Blessed', to be published in print.[3] A Brief of 31st August, 1607, instructed the Congregation of Rites to inquire into the life and miracles of Aloysius. When this was done the Congregation expressed the opinion, in 1612, that an Office and Mass in honour of Aloysius might be granted to the Jesuits. To this the Pope would not consent because he wished to avoid the semblance that his approval was given out of consideration for Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga who had assisted at the sitting of the Congregation. By decree of the Congregation of Rites dated 20th May, 1613, the process was submitted to the control of the Rota.[4] The tribunal discussed the subject during several years. Meanwhile new petitions came in, praying for a formal beatification of Aloysius.[5] Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga renewed his request in respect to the Mass in Aloysius' honour. On 27th December, 1617, the Pope told him he would speed up the affair.[6] The discussions were protracted until the following spring. Only in March, 1618, would the Pope at last grant such a Mass for the territory of the Gonzagas, and at the request of Bellarmine, also for his mortuary chapel in Rome. The further request of the Cardinal,

[1] See *Acta SS. Iunii* V., 745 *seq.* On May 13, 1605, the translation of the relics of Aloysius to another chapel had taken place; see *ibid.*, 746.

[2] *Cf.* the *Briefs in reply to Margherita Gonzaga, the widowed Duchess of Ferrara, and to Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma, September 17, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 200, 202. Papal Secret Archives. For Rudolph II.'s recommendation, see MEYER, 534.

[3] See *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, 748 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 753 *seq.*, 757 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Duke of Mantua, of March 17, 1617, to Genoa of April 20, 1617, and to Pázmány, archbishop of Gran, of August 17, 1617, *Epist.*, XI., 237, 251; XV., 199, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Acta SS.*, *loc. cit.*, 759.

that he would concede it to the whole Jesuit Order, Paul refused to grant. Nevertheless he allowed the Congregation of Rites to take a vote on the matter and to report to him on the result. Although this was favourable, Paul V., on 30th April, 1618, gave leave for the celebration of Masses in honour of Aloysius only for the Jesuit houses in Rome.[1]

The spread of the Forty Hours' Prayer, an exercise introduced in Rome by Clement VIII., was greatly furthered by a Brief of 10th May, 1606, which eased the conditions for gaining the indulgences attached to it. These indulgences Paul V. also granted, on a generous scale, to people living outside the Eternal City.[2] The Capuchins, more than anyone else, deserved well of this devotion, above all the famous popular preacher, Giacinto da Casale, whose Lenten sermons at Milan, in 1613, daily drew a crowd of twenty thousand persons.[3]

Five years earlier another Capuchin, Fedele da San Germano had preached with extraordinary success in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso both during Lent and during the Forty Hours' Prayer. In 1614, Giacinto da Casale preached in the same church. Numerous conversions and reconciliations were the fruit of his discourses.[4]

A splendid example of the renewal of piety in the Eternal City may be seen in the *Oratorio della communione generale* founded in 1609, by the Jesuit Pietro Gravita and furthered

[1] See *ibid.* Paul V. answered the Duke of Mantua, who renewed Bellarmine's request, in a *brief of June 15, 1619, that he would consider the matter further. (*Epist.*, XIV., 167, Papal Secret Archives.) Paul V. maintained the same precaution with regard to the petition which reached him from Poland for the beatification of the Jesuit Stanislaus Kostka; see D. Bartoli, *De vita et miraculis St. Kostkae* (lat. by J. Juvencius, Romae, 1855), 165 *seq.*; *Anal. Boll.*, IX., 360 *seq.*, XV., 291 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, Lämmer, *Melet.*, 336, note 1.

[2] See De Santi, *L'orazione delle quarant'ore*, 261 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Venanzio da Lagosanto, *Apostolo e diplomatico o il p. Giacinto dei Conti Natta da Casale Monferrato*, Milan, 1886.

[4] See De Santi, 279 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.*

by Paul V.[1] With a view to withdrawing the people from the noisy amusements of the carnival, the scene of which was the Corso, close to the *Oratorio*, a custom was introduced there which the Capuchins had spread elsewhere, for instance at Milan. This consisted of transforming the chancel of the church into a real *Teatro Sacro* by means of painted architectural *motifs* and pictorial representations. In the centre of this décor, and surrounded by hundreds of burning tapers, the Blessed Sacrament was exposed.[2] The Guild of the Blessed Sacrament attached to St. Peter's obtained from Paul V. fresh indulgences for the Eucharistic Triduum which this confraternity was one of the first to hold during the carnival.[3]

[1] See MEMMI, *Notizie stor. dell'Oratorio della ss. communione generale*, Roma, 1730, and *L. Ponzileone, Della communione generale detta volgarmente del Gravita*, Roma, 1822. For Paul V.'s furtherance of the custom of monthly general communion, see SYNOPSIS, II., 268, 275; DUHR, II., 2, 49.

[2] See DE SANTI, 288 *seqq.*, where there are several reproductions of sketches of these *Teatri sacri*, often by celebrated artists, such as Bernini and Pozzo. These would hardly be sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority to-day. *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, *Vita relig.*, I., 206, note 1.

[3] See DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VII.

Paul V Fosters the Religious Orders.—Galileo and the Roman Inquisition.—Nomination of Cardinals.

The religious Orders were the object of Paul V.'s constant solicitude and the care he bestowed on them bore abundant fruit. That which he had especially at heart was the appointment of good Superiors and the preservation of discipline.[1] A papal decree of 4th December, 1605, stressed anew an ordinance already passed by the Council of Trent and renewed by Clement VIII., by which monasteries were forbidden to admit more members than their revenues could support.[2] Another general ordinance of 1st September, 1608, laid great

[1] See Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 23, whose facts are substantiated by numerous documents. A number of them are printed in *Bull.*, XI., 437 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 510 *seq.*; XII., 202 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*, 289 *seq.*, 314 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 450 *seq.*, 470 *seq.* For the reform of the Celestines see *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XII., 70. In the **Epistolae Clementis VIII.*, many items are found that belong here; we mention: I., 394, **Chrysostomo abbati Montis sancti O.S.B.* (he praises his activity; he is to exhort his monks, *ut veluti luminaria in domo Domini accensa quotidie magis bonorum operum splendore fulgere studeant*), December 24, 1605; III., 555: **Duci Ascalonae, Siciliae proregi* (he praises his zeal against bad monks), May 23, 1608; XV.: **A de Wignacourt, hospit. s. Ioannis de Hierusal. magno magistro* (he is to proceed against "*abusus et scandala*" in the Order), July 17, 1618. Papal Secret Archives. *Letter of the Minister-General of the Franciscans Conventual, Giov. Giacomo Montanari da Bagnacavallo; to Paul V. on his visitation of the Order, 1618, in *Cod.*, E. 55, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Further references on this subject in the Bullaria of the Orders; see especially, Ripoll, *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, V., 678 *seq.*; *Bull. Capuc.*, I., 59.

[2] *Bull.*, XI., 249 *seq.*

stress on the rule of enclosure, especially as regards convents of nuns.[1] A Bull of 23rd May, 1606, revoked all particular indulgences which, up to that time, had been granted to individual Orders and Congregations. It gave an accurate list of the indulgences which members of Religious Orders properly so called, that is Orders with solemn vows and strict enclosure, might gain from that time onwards.[2] Between 1608–1612, the Pope appointed a special commission for the purpose of revising the Benedictine Breviary. By a Brief of 1st October, 1612, the entire Benedictine Order was granted permission to use the reformed Breviary, and in 1616 the Congregation of Rites changed the permission into a command.[3]

For the better preservation of discipline, the Benedictine Congregation of Monte Cassino, which held so important a position in the monasticism of Italy, was divided by Paul V. into seven Provinces, namely the Roman, Tuscan, Neapolitan, Sicilian, Venetian, Lombardic, and Ligurian provinces. For their government new statutes were laid down and these were repeatedly altered in subsequent years.[4]

[1] *Bull.*, XI., 548 *seq.* A second decree, belonging to this place, of July 10, 1612 (*ibid.*, XII., 184 *seq.*), was sent by Mgr. Aurelio Recordati in his *letter of August 4, 1612, to Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the execution of the obligation of enclosure in all the convents of nuns in Foligno, 1615–1618, see L. Jacobilli, **Croniche di Foligno*, MSS. in the possession of *Msgr. Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.*

[2] *Bull.*, XI., 315 *seq.* *Cf. Collectio indulgentiarum theologice, canonice et historice digesta auctore P. Petro Mocchegiani a Monsano*, Quaracchi, 1897, 579 *seqq.* For the resistance of the Portuguese Carmelites to Paul V.'s decree, see Novaes, IX., 101 *seq.*, where the special literature is given. Paul V. proceeded at other times against abuses respecting indulgences, see Reusch, *Selbstbiographie Bellarmins*, 136 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 228 *seq.*

[3] See Bäumer, 500; D. Buenner, in *La vie et les arts litt.*, XI. (1924–5), 492 *seqq.*, 538 *seqq.* Bellarmine had informed the Pope of the results of the Commission's findings. See *Avviso, of April 4, 1612, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Bull. Casin.*, I., 278 *seq.*; *Heimbucher*, II., 390 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*

Paul V. approved the union of the Basilians of Italy which had been effected by Gregory XIII. The Spanish branch of the Order was authorized to make five new foundations, one of them at Madrid.[1] On 19th April, 1616, the Cistercian monasteries of the provinces of Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, Catalonia, and Navarre were united in a new congregation which was to be subject in all things to the General of the Order though it was also to have a Vicar-General of its own. Distance and other obstacles had prevented the Cistercian Abbots from holding regular visitations. By the appointment of a Vicar-General it was hoped to remedy this disadvantage.[2] Similar considerations led to the separation of the reformed Congregation of Dominicans founded at Toulouse, in 1596, from the other provinces of the Order.[3]

Paul V. watched with particular care over the Institute founded by Philip Neri. On 24th February, 1612, he solemnly approved the Constitutions of the Oratorians. Shortly afterwards a decree was published which forbade the issue of further statutes under the name of the great apostle of Rome and the foundation, in the Eternal City, of other Oratories, without the leave of the Superior of the Roman Oratory.[4] The new foundations, in Italy, which marked the pontificate of Paul V. were those of Aquila, Casale, Bologna, Perugia, Ripatransone, and Fossombrone.[5] For the Congregation of the reformed Camaldolese hermits of Montecorona Paul V. founded a house near Frascati.[6]

To the Theatines Paul V. not only granted the confirmation of all their privileges, but he also helped them to make new foundations at Ravenna and Bergamo.[7] The Pope shared

[1] *Bull.*, XI., 294 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, XII., 347 *seq.*

[3] See NOVAES, IX., 108.

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 36 *seq.*, 58 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* CAPECELATRO, *F. Neri*, II³., 701 *seq.* [Engl. transl. [1882], Vol. II., 492.]

[6] See NOVAES, IX., 143.

[7] *Cf.* the *acta in the general archives of the Theatines at Rome, especially CASSETTA, 43. According to this the foundation at Ravenna took place in 1607, that at Bergamo in 1608.

the grief of the Order at the death, on 10th November, 1608, of one of its most deserving members, Andrew Avellino, who for half a century had been indefatigable in the confessional, in visiting the sick, and in his efforts for the reform of the clergy and the spread of his own Institute.[1] Lorenzo Scupoli, a disciple of Avellino, died two years after his master. Scupoli is the author of one of the most famous ascetical works of the period, the 'Spiritual Combat' (*Il Combattimento spirituale*). In the original Italian this golden book was published in innumerable editions and it has been translated into many languages. St. Francis of Sales ranked it with a Kempis' 'Imitation of Christ'.[2]

In 1610, Barnabites, whom Henry IV. had summoned into Béarn, in 1608, to labour for the conversion of the Huguenots, were authorized by Paul V. to found colleges everywhere with the consent of the ordinaries. Subsequently the Pope eased the conditions for the reception of new candidates into this Congregation of regular Clerics.[3] In 1608, the Institute possessed twenty-six colleges in Italy so that a division into three provinces became necessary.[4] The privileges of the

The Theatines settled in Modena in 1613. *Ibid.*, a *brief of Paul V. of 1609, *Che li Gesuiti non possino fabricare collegi nelle vicinanze di S. Siro at Genoa.*

[1] *Cf.* STELLA, *Oraz. in lode di A. Avellino*, Napoli, 1621; G. MARIA, *Vita di s. A. Avellino*, Venezia, 1714; EDELWERK, *Leben des heiligen A. Avellino*, aus dem Italien., München, 1765; *Acta Sanct.* Nov. VI., 609–622. Avellino's grave is in the Theatine church at Naples; *cf. Notizie del soccorpo di S. Gaetano e dei primi Teatini ivi sepolti con un cenno della morte del s. A. Avellino*, Napoli, 1871.

[2] See VEZZOSI, *I scrittori dei Chierici Reg.*, II., Roma, 1780, 276 *seqq.* (*ibid.*, 280–301, there are 258 editions of the *Combattimento* published before 1775); HURTER, *Nomenclator*, III [3]., 616; STEINER, in the *Stud. u. Mitteil. aus dem Bened. u. Zisterz.-Orden*, 1896, 444–462; PAULUS in *Der Katholik*, 1897, I., 390; S. BONGI, *Annali di G. Giolito*, II., Roma, 1897, 438–442.

[3] See *Litt. et constit. s. pontif. pro congreg. cleric. S. Pauli Apost.*, Romae, 1853, 62 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

[4] See PREMOLI, *Barnabiti*, 394.

Somaschans were also confirmed anew.[1] Papal approbation was likewise bestowed upon the Spanish Recollects, the Italian Congregation of the *Fratelli Ambrosiani*, the Regular Clerics Minor, the *Annunziate*, founded in the neighbourhood of Geneva by Maria Vittoria Fornari (died 1617), and the monastery of Hermits of St. Augustine of the Strict Observance, founded by Andrea del Guasto, at Centorbi.[2] The Italian Servites were also the objects of various favours.[3] Paul V. likewise supported the generous efforts of Anna Juliana Caterina of Gonzaga, widow of the archduke Ferdinand, to introduce into Innsbruck first the Servite nuns and later on the friars.[4] The reformed Congregation of Spanish Trinitarians, founded in 1594 by John Baptist de la Conceptión, was erected into a regular Order divided into two provinces but with only one provincial.[5]

The Borghese Pope bestowed particular care upon the new Orders and Congregations which devoted themselves to teaching and to the care of the sick. The Congregation of nursing Brothers founded in Spain by John of God received divers privileges from Paul V.[6] and was by him erected into a canonical Order under the rule of St. Augustine, a fourth vow, concerning the care of the sick, being added to the three essential vows of religion. The ordinances laid down, in 1611, for the Spanish houses, were extended, in 1617, to the German, French and Polish foundations.[7] In 1617, the Pope approved the Constitutions which a General Chapter, held in the Roman house of San Giovanni Calabita, had drawn up for this, the most important of all male nursing

[1] See *Bull.*, XI., 449 *seq.*

[2] See HEIMBUCHER, I., 453, 466, 489, 521; II., 269.

[3] See *Bull.*, XII., 191 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*

[4] See HIRN, *Maximilian*, I., p. 306 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, **Barb.*, 4455 (*Regole et vita delle suore Servite a Innsbruck*) Vatican Library; *Catalogus fratr. Ord. S.B.M.V. almae prov. Tirolens. praemissis notis hist.*, Oeniponte, 1884, 8 *seq.*

[5] *Bull.*, XI., 608 *seq.*, 611 *seq.*

[6] *Cf. ibid.*, 570.

[7] *Ibid.*, XII., 3 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*, 385 *seq.* *Cf.* GOUJET, II., 174 *seq.*

Orders.[1] In 1605, the philanthropic Order was introduced into Austria by Prince Eusebius of Liechtenstein; its first hospital and Convent were erected at Feldsberg.[2]

A no less noble fruit of the Church's vitality in the period of the Catholic restoration was the Institute founded by Camillo de Lellis, who proved a pioneer in the nursing field. Sixtus V. approved it in 1586; five years later Gregory XIV. formally erected it into an Order.[3] In 1605, Paul V. divided it into five provinces, those of Rome, Milan, Naples, Bologna, and Sicily.[4]

Camillo de Lellis lived to see his institute attain to a membership of three hundred religious. Paul V. greatly esteemed the saintly man and was always ready to fall in with his wishes.[5] However, the strength of the indefatigable labourer was exhausted. The growth of his Order had been rapid and it was now spread over the whole of Italy: in addition to the house at Rome there were other establishments at Naples, Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Messina, Palermo and at various places in the Abruzzi. All this had required numerous and exhausting journeys, which had undermined the health of Camillo who had never been a robust man. For this reason, and with the consent of Paul V., he resigned his office of Superior General on 2nd October, 1607, at the residence of the Cardinal Protector Ginnasio. But even then he would not rest. In 1609, he visited the hospitals at Naples, Milan, and Genoa, and the year 1612 was spent in the Abruzzi where he assisted in practical and energetic fashion the people of his native place, Bucchianico, during a period of famine. In 1613 he accompanied the Superior General on a visitation of the houses of Lombardy. A serious illness contracted at Genoa forced him to return to Rome. There he

[1] See *Bull.*, XII., 385 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* FALKE, *Gesch. des fürstl. Hauses Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1868.

[3] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXII, 399.

[4] See HEIMBUCHER, II., 266.

[5] *Cf. Bull.*, XI., 314.

died, in the Mother house of the Order, near St. Mary Magdalen's church, on 14th July, 1614, at the age of sixty-four. Paul V. sent him, through his secretary, the apostolic blessing and a plenary indulgence. Camillo was buried near the high altar of the church of St. Magdalen. A plain cross of bricks marked the spot for a time. After his beatification by Benedict XIV., the precious remains of the servant of God were given a resting place in a specially erected chapel on the right hand side of the church.[1] Not long afterwards Sanzio Cicatelli, a disciple of Camillo, published a life [2] of the founder of " the Fathers of a good death ", as the sons of Camillo were called because, whilst they cared for the bodies of the sick, they also strove to help their souls.[3] The biography was dedicated to Paul V. who thereafter continued to favour an Order in which the spirit of Christian charity and self-sacrifice was ever kept alive as the most precious inheritance bequeathed by the holy founder to his children.[4] The Romans could never forget what Camillo de Lellis had done in the hospitals and how, during the very last days of his life, he had dragged himself from bed to bed to make quite sure that nothing was wanting to the sick. Together with Philip Neri he was revered as a Patron of the Eternal City.

Other contemporaries of Camillo de Lellis were the saintly and learned John of Jesus and Mary, of the Order of Discalced

[1] *Cf.* A. Amici, *S. Camillo e la Chiesa d. Maddalena a Roma*, Rome, 1913; J. Graustück, *Die Grabstätten des hl. Kamillus*, in the *Kamillusblatt*, Jubiläumsnummer, Aachen, 1914, p. 163 *seq.*, in which the different translations and the actual tomb are described. *Cf.*, too, M. Amici, *Mem. stor. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis*, Rome, 1913, 33 *seq.*, 42 *seq.*, 53.

[2] S. Cicatelli, *Vita del P. Camillo de Lellis*, Viterbo, 1615. For other biographies, see Vol. XXI, 140, note 1.

[3] *Cf.* M. Endrizzi, *Bibliografia Camilliana ovvero memorie degli scrittori dell'ordine dei Ministri degli infermi.* Verona, 1910.

[4] See **Pauli V. approbatio et confirmatio decreti cardinalium negot. regul. clericor. ministr. infirmis*, 1620, *Bandi*, V., 15, p. 337. Papal Secret Archives.

Carmelites,[1] who lived at Frascati, and Joseph of Calasanza, who laboured in Rome.[2] Following the example of Clement VIII., the Borghese Pope assisted with an annual gift of two hundred scudi the school founded by that friend of the people, which, because it was a gratuitous one, proved an immense boon for the Eternal City.[3] With the assistance of several Cardinals and other benefactors, Calasanza, in 1611, secured the Palazzo Torres for his establishment. The fusion of Calasanza's foundation with the Congregation of the Clerics Regula of Mary, of Lucca, which had taken place in 1614, proved unsuccessful.[4] Paul V. suspended it on 6th March, 1617, at the same time declaring the Society of Calasanza an autonomous, independent Congregation whose scope it was to give gratuitous instruction to children, especially to the children of the poorer classes.[5] Calasanza became the Superior of the new "Congregation of the Poor Clerics of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools", also called, after the Pope, the Pauline Congregation. He now changed his name into Joseph *a Matre Dei*; his companions likewise assumed new names. To the usual simple vows they added a fourth, namely, gratuitously to instruct the young, more especially the children of the poor. Paul V. founded a house of the new Congregation at Moricone, in the Sabine country, a property of the Borghese. Their church in Rome was that of San Pantaleone, near the Palazzo Torres, which had been bestowed on Calasanza in 1614, and was subsequently restored by him.[6]

[1] The ven. Giov. di Gesù e Maria, a native of Spain, died at San Silvestro in 1615, where many memories of him are still preserved. He well deserves a monograph.

[2] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIV., 161 *seq.*

[3] See in the Appendix Vol. XXVI, n. 14, the *memoranda of *Costaguti*, Costaguti Archives, Rome. *Cf.*, too, Grossi-Gondi, 97 *seqq.*

[4] *Bull.*, XII., 243 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 383 *seq.*

[6] See Moroni, LXII., 92, 97. The assigning of S. Pantaleone in *Bull.*, XII., 226 *seq.* For Pietrasanta's visitation see the references in Sommervogel, *Bibl.*, I., 1573, IV., 1373, VI, 742.

In many other ways also Paul V. gave proof of his solicitude for the Christian education of youth in Rome [1]; thus he assisted the Congregation of Christian Doctrine with an annual alms of two hundred scudi,[2] and approved their privileges and constitutions.[3] In 1607, he raised the Association into an archconfraternity with its seat at St. Peter's.[4] For the purpose of combating Calvinism by means of solid instruction, César de Bus, a Canon of Avignon, founded in that city, in 1592, a special Society whose untiring Superior he remained until his death in 1607. His successor, Père Vigier, greatly desired to transform the Society into a formal and regular Congregation with solemn vows. This Paul V. granted in 1616, but only on condition that the Society amalgamated with the Somaschans.[5]

After the long-drawn party strife of Huguenots and Leaguists, France was enjoying the blessings of tranquillity. Many new religious associations sprang up in that country, most of which devoted themselves to education or to tending the sick. To all these institutes Paul V. showed himself a generous patron and supporter. However, their action is so closely linked with the Catholic revival in France that it must be described when the story of this great movement comes to be told. In like manner the activity of the two principal Orders of the period, the Jesuits and the Capuchins, both in France and in Germany, will be duly appraised when certain developments of the Church in these two countries come to be described.

Two decrees of the Borghese Pope contributed greatly to the consolidation and to the spread of the Capuchin Order, which, besides Cardinal Anselm Marzato, included a great

[1] *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 24.

[2] See in Appendix, Vol. XXVI., n. 14, the *memoranda of Costaguti, Costaguti Archives, Rome.

[3] **Pauli V. confirmatio et approbatio privilegiorum et constitut. congreg. PP. Doctrinae christianae*, May 20, 1606. Bandi, V., 15, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See *Bull.*, XI., 442 *seq.*

[5] See *Ibid.*, 353 *seq.* *Cf.* Heimbucher, II., 340. For C. de Bus, *cf.* Vol. XXV., ch. 1.

many distinguished men in its ranks.[1] In the first decree, dated 17th October, 1608, the Pope declared the Capuchins to be true and authentic members of the Order of St. Francis and that their rule was in harmony with that of the Saint of Assisi. The second decree, dated 23rd January, 1619, made them completely independent of the Conventuals. The Society was raised to the rank of an autonomous Order, with its own General, who was to be styled *Minister Generalis fratrum minorum Sancti Francisci Capucinorum.*[2] Paul V. also furthered, by means of many privileges, the spread of the Capuchins and their activity in the home mission.[3] The missionary activity in heathen lands on which they then entered, was furthered by an authorization granted to them on September 5th, 1606, whereby they were empowered, due regard being had to the ordinances of the Council of Trent, to make new foundations throughout Spain.[4] The story of the Church of Spain, and in no less a degree that of France, Switzerland, and the holy Roman empire, bears witness to the amazing activity displayed by the Capuchins in assisting the pastoral clergy by means of missions and retreats, by the introduction of the Forty Hours' Prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, by tending the sick during epidemics, and lastly by bringing heretics back to the fold. What heroic spirit animated the Order of the Capuchins at that time is best shown by the fact that the Church has raised to her altars no less than six of its members all belonging to that period,

[1] See BOVERIUS, II., 502. *Cf. Bonifazio da Nigra Cappuccino, Ritratto degli uomini illustri dell' Istituto de Minori Cappuccini promossi o destinati a dignità ecclesiastiche*, Roma, 1804. For Marzato, I., see Vol. XXIII., 257 and SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 491.

[2] *Bull. Cappuc.*, I., 57 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, I., 52 *seq.*, 54, 55 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, 61 *seq.*, 63 *seq.*; II., 24 *seq.*, 27, 117 *seq.*, 180, 226 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*, 288 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*, 350 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*; III., 23 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 122, 179, 208, 238; IV., *passim. Cf.*, too, SISTO DA PISA, *Storia d. Cappuccini Toscani*, Firenze, 1906. By a *Brief of June 6, 1615, Paul V. advises the bishop and chapter of Sitten to call in the Capuchins, *Epist.*. XI–XII., 4, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Bull.*, XI., 351 *seq.*

namely Joseph of Leonissa (d. 1622), Laurence of Brindisi (d. 1619), Fidelis of Sigmaringen (d. 1622), Benedict of Urbino (d. 1625), Agathangelus of Vendôme (d. 1638), and Cassian of Nantes (d. 1638).[1] It was precisely during the pontificate of Paul V. that the Capuchins were extraordinarily successful as popular preachers. In this respect the following were especially famous: Melchior of Orihuela (d. 1614), Francis of Seville (d. 1615), and Angelicus of Tudela (d. 1633) in Spain, John of Angers (d. 1620) and John Baptist of Avranches (d. 1629) in France; in Austria Thomas of Bergamo (d. 1631) and Father Valerian, known as the "tall monk" (d. 1661).[2]

But the most renowned preachers were sons of Italy. One of these, Giambattista Aguggiari, of Monza, was the inspirer of a religious work of art of extraordinary originality. Whilst he held the office of preacher at the famous shrine of the Madonna del Monte, near Varese, in upper Italy, he suggested that the mountain track leading up to the sanctuary should be embellished with fourteen chapels adorned with frescoes and painted stucco statues representing the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary. As in the *Sacro Monte*, near Varallo, which was embellished in this fashion in the life time of St. Charles Borromeo, in the lay-out of the road nature and art form an admirable blend, expressive of a common religious inspiration.[3] In 1614, the Franciscan Agostino Cassandra, a famous preacher, was appointed by the Pope to the see of Gravina.[4] The Pope also greatly esteemed the Capuchin,

[1] *Cf.* LECHNER, *Leben der Heiligen aus dem Kapuzinerorden*, München, 1863.

[2] Compare with the historians of the Order, ILG, *Geist des hl. Franziskus Seraphicus, dargestellt in Lebensbildern aus der Geschichte des Kapuzinerordens*, 2 vols., Augsburg, 1876 and 1879.

[3] *Cf.* the description of J. GRAUS, in the *Grazer "Kirchenschmück"*, XXVII. (1896), 65 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* UGHELLI, VII., 124 *seq. A. Cassandra's* treatises, *"*Modo di comporre le prediche e lezioni 31 sopra il salmo Dixit Dominus,"* in *Cod.*, 434, of S. Antony's Library, Padua. *"*Sermoni di Magno Perneo in varie chiese di Roma"* (Advent, 1592 to 1629), in *Barb.*, XLI., 29 and 30, Vatican Library.

Hyacinth of Casale.[1] He was likewise on terms of special intimacy with yet another Friar, Jerome of Narni.[2] This scion of a noble family had been a member of the Capuchin Order since 1578. He was a pupil, and inherited the eloquence of Mathias Bellintani whom Charles Borromeo had extolled as a truly apostolic preacher.[3] No less a personage than Cardinal Bellarmine passed the following judgment on Jerome of Narni: "If the Apostle Paul were to come back to preach the Lenten sermons at the same time as Father Jerome, I should listen to the Apostle on one day and on the other to the Capuchin." Paul V. confirmed this judgment when he appointed Jerome of Narni preacher of the Apostolic palace.[4] The devout Capuchin discharged his office with the utmost freedom. "When this mighty trumpet of the word of God resounded from the pulpit of the Vatican," a chronicler wrote, "the Cardinals were seen to tremble." After a sermon by Jerome on the duty of residence, Paul. V. could not cope with the requests of the Princes of the Church for farewell audiences, so bent were they on returning to their sees. The Pope wished to make him a Cardinal but Jerome declared he preferred his poor Capuchin habit to the purple. "It

[1] For Giacinto's sermons see *Bollet. stor. Piacentino IX.* (1914), and *Riv. di storia d. prov. d'Alessandria*, 3, series I. (1917). For Giacinto's other activities, see Vol. XXVI., ch. IV.

[2] *Cf.* MARCELLINO DE PISA, *Vita fr. Hieronymi Narniensis*, Rome, 1647, and *Annales*, III., *Trento*, 1708 *seq.*; BERTANI, *Annal. Capuc.*, 118; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, II., 240. *Letters of Lelio Guidiccioni to Girol. da Narni, in *Barb.*, XXXVII., 27, Vatican Library; *Inscriptions and poems in praise of Girol. da Narni, in *Barb.* 4508, p. 17 *seq.*, *ibid.*

[3] For M. Bellintani (d. 1611) *cf.* M. FALOCCI PULIGNANI, *Miscell. Francisc.*, III. (1888), 22, 39, 85, and VITELLI, 59 *seq.*

[4] **Prediche fatte nel Palazzo Ap. dal P. Girol. da Narni in tre avventi e due quaresime, Vat.*, 7020; **Predica del Fra Girol. da Narni* in *Vaticano*, Marzo, 1609, preached in the hall of Constantine before the Pope, *Barb.*, L., 51; *ibid.*, L., 72; **La settimana grande del mondo redento*, by *Girol. da Narni*, Vatican Library.

grieves me," Paul V. said, "that the Sacred College should be deprived of such a man, but I rejoice at such an example of humility."[1] Laurence of Brindisi similarly enjoyed a wide reputation as a preacher.[2] By his influence the Capuchins were enabled to enter Austria whilst the imperial army owes to him its victory before Stuhlweissenberg, in 1601. In 1602 he was made General of his Order. He invariably journeyed on foot when making the canonical visitations of the Capuchin houses in Italy, Spain, France and Germany, and everywhere he was revered as "the holy General". On the completion of his term of office, shortly after the elevation of Paul V., the saintly man was at once entrusted with a fresh and difficult mission in Germany. In 1612 there was question of his reappointment as General but the lowly son of St. Francis succeeded in persuading the electors to bestow their votes on Paul of Cesena. But he could not escape being appointed Definitor-General. In 1617 Laurence mediated, on behalf of the Pope, between Savoy and Mantua and in the following year he was once more named Definitor-General. The people of Naples ardently longed to have their crushing taxation eased. Such was their confidence in the old man that, though his health was beginning to fail, they sent him on a deputation to the court of Philip III., in October, 1618.[3] His mission was crowned with success but Laurence was unable to return to his own country. He died in Lisbon, July 22nd, 1619. Already under Urban VIII. the rulers of Austria and Bavaria pressed for his beatification and

[1] See MARCELLINO DA PISA, *loc. cit.*, 173 *seq.*, 176. *Cf.* the **Schreiben eines Ungenannten aus Rom an den Bishof von Novara*, of March 21, 1611, in *Barb.* 4508, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII, 383 *seq.* The **Remains of Lorenzo of Brindisi*, in the Capuchin Archives, Venice, deserve detailed study.

[3] *Cf.* RANKE's monograph about the conspiracy at Venice in 1618: *Werke*, XLII. (*Zur venez. Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1878), 225 *seq.*, and BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, *Il cappuccino S. Lorenzo da Brindisi al cospetto di Napoli e dei Napoletani*, Sorrento, 1881.

Cardinal Borghese had displayed special activity in the matter.[1]

Whilst the term of office of the Superiors of the Capuchins was at first limited to three years, to five after 1608, and after 1618 to six years, the General of the Jesuits was appointed for life. The Society of Jesus was particularly fortunate in that at this period the generalship was held by a man who was eminently equal to his task, viz. Father Claude Aquaviva.[2] Despite all attacks from within and without, his tenure of office during close on thirty-four years, was a period of wonderful development for the Society of Jesus. This is shown, even if we leave on one side its missionaries and ascetics, by the great number of scholars and writers which it counted in its ranks at that period. Only the names of outstanding men can be mentioned here. They include Gabriel Vasquez (d. 1604), Nicolas Orlandino (d. 1606), Thomas Sanchez (1610), Possevino (d. 1611), Skarga (d. 1612), Christopher Clavio (d. 1612), Francis Suarez (d. 1617), Lessius (d. 1623), Becanus (d. 1624), Gretser, Tanner, Layman and, towering above them all, Bellarmine. The geographical expansion of the Order was likewise amazing. According to a survey of 1616, during the sixty years that had elapsed since the founder's death, the Society had spread over the whole world. It numbered thirty-two provinces, viz. five in Italy and as many in France; in Spain four; three in Germany (the Upper-German, the Rhenish and the Austrian provinces); two in Flanders and one in Portugal, Poland, and Lithuania. To the Portuguese province four others were adjoined, namely those of Goa, Malabar, Japan and Brazil, whilst six provinces were united to that of Spain, namely those of Sardinia, Peru, Paraguay, New Granada, Mexico and the Philippine Islands. These thirty-two provinces counted twenty-three

[1] The beatification did not take place until 1783, and the canonization in 1881 under Leo XIII.

[2] What significance Sarpi, that most embittered enemy of the Jesuits, attached to Aquaviva is shown in his comments, in CASTELLANI, *Lettere*, II, 37.

professed houses, three hundred and seventy-two colleges, forty-one noviciate houses, one hundred and twenty-three residences and a personnel of 13,112 members.[1]

It is easy to realize the slight significance, among such a crowd, of the band of about thirty discontented men of whom there is frequent mention in the story of the generalship of Aquaviva.[2] If these people were able to kick up so much dust, it was due solely to the backing of Philip II. and the Spanish Inquisition, and because their everlasting complaints and memorials ended by making some impression on Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.

The disturbance was only superficial—that is why it disappeared so rapidly and without leaving any traces behind. The fifth General Congregation of the Order, though it was occasioned by the discontented, did more than disappoint them, for it greatly helped to put a stop to their machinations,[3] and even more so in that it was crowned by yet another approbation by the Holy See. It had been the intention of the Congregation to petition Clement VIII. for such a confirmation [4]; it was Paul V. that granted it. The papal brief begins as follows: "What great things the Society of Jesus has achieved in the service of the Church, by spreading the faith, piety and religion, and what it still daily accomplishes with ever growing success, is known to us and to the whole of Christendom." [5] "Hence the devil" the Pope goes on, "daily strives to sow discord within it. However, the Popes have made it their business to further and assist the Society in every way, to the end that it may ever retain the purity and the primitive splendour of its institute." The purpose of the Brief is sufficiently shown in the preamble itself: the

[1] Iuvencius, P. V., 2, 351 *seq.*; L. Carrez, *Catalogi sociorum et officiorum provinciae Campaniae Societatis Iesu ab a. 1616 ad a. 1773*, IX. (1692–1703), X., (1703–1714), Châlons-sur-Marne, 1911, 1914.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXI., 151 *seq.*; XXIV., 169 *seq*

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIV., 172 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] September 4, 1606. *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 131 *seqq*

machinations of the agitators are not from the good Spirit; the well-being of the Order, or as the Pope goes on to say, "the strength and the growth of this holy Society—which it is impossible to praise sufficiently, depend wholly on the maintenance of the constitution given by Ignatius of Loyola, and on the decrees of the General Congregations." Three ordinances of the fifth General Congregation are then textually quoted, viz. the one dealing with the agitators; that which forbids meddling with secular business and politics, and the decision that Superiors should remain in office for an unlimited period. By his confirmation of these decrees, the Pope annuls Clement VIII.'s ordinance which limited the tenure of office to three years. The Brief concludes with an approbation of the entire Institute and all its privileges and spiritual powers or faculties. Stress is laid on the life-tenure of office by the General; in fact the opening paragraphs of the document had already condemned the machinations of the discontented against this point of the Constitutions.

The Brief addressed to the General admonished him to proceed with energy against the disturbers of the peace. With this injunction Aquaviva complied in an allocution at the next General Congregation. As he had declared at the opening of the Congregation of 1608,[1] the assembly had been convened for the purpose of renewing the interior spirit and religious discipline.[2] The decrees that had been drawn up had no other aim. The provincials must deal energetically with all agitators. Like his predecessor Clement VIII., Paul V. in his turn exhorted the assembled Fathers to practise humility and, following in this also the example of his predecessor, he insisted on the election of new Assistants of the General.[3]

For the rest Paul V. showed himself well-disposed towards the Jesuits.[4] The whole Order rejoiced and deemed it a very

[1] Astráin, III., 667 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 666.

[3] *Ibid.*, 666, 668.

[4] *Avviso of June 13, 1607, Vatican Library; a papal visit to the Jesuits, *ibid.*, June 9, 1607.

signal favour when, at the very outset of his pontificate, the new Pope gave leave for the opening of the process of the beatification of its founder and when, in 1609, he placed him in the ranks of the Blessed.[1]

The pontificate of Paul V. is memorable by reason of the first, much discussed collision, between the Roman divines and the spokesmen of the new natural sciences then in process of formation.

Just as the beginnings of modern astronomy are linked with the name of Copernicus, so were the foundations of modern physics chiefly laid down by Galileo Galilei. Galileo was born at Pisa, in 1564. From 1589 he taught in his native city until the year 1592, when he went to Padua.[2] Whilst the belief prevailed that all the subjects discussed in Galileo's works were his own exclusive intellectual patrimony, the Pisan genius was simply hailed as the sole creator of the new science of nature, as one who had, so to speak, created it out of nothing. However, in the light of modern research, his position is not quite so brilliant. Galileo had been anticipated; he made use of the labours of those that had gone before him, though he fails, for the most part, to acknowledge his sources. On the other hand, if he took up a thing, it seemed to grow and mature under his fingers. In the story of the discovery of the thermometer and the pendulum clock, the telescope and the microscope, his name must always be mentioned though his share in their invention cannot be accurately ascertained in every instance. His highest and

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 262 *seq.* For the festivities on the occasion of the beatification, see above, p. 262, note 1, and *Litt. ann.*, 1609.

[2] A. Favaro, *Opere di Galileo Galilei*, ediz. naz., Firenze, 1890–1913; Hartmann Grisar, *Galileistudien. Historisch-theologische Untersuchungen über die Urteile der Kongregationen im Galilei-Prozess*, Regensburg, 1882; Adolf Müller, *Galileo, Galilei und das Kopernikanische Weltsystem*, Freiburg, 1909; Willems, *Die Galileifrage* (1919); Emil Wohlwill, *Galilei und sein Kampf für die Kopernikanische Lehre*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1909, 1926; Carli-Favaro, *Bibliografia Galileana*, 1568–1895, Roma, 1896.

unquestioned claim to fame is the impetus he gave to physical mechanics. The laws to which a falling body, or one propelled into space, are subject, as well as those of the pendulum, were definitely formulated by him. One notable fruit of his observations was an accurate conception of the so-called law of inertia. It was only in 1638, when already advanced in years, that he published the results of his observations in the most mature of all his works. The book was the fruit of the labours of a life-time, for these things had profoundly roused his interest whilst he still lived in Pisa and Padua. Galileo established for all time the axiom that only by observation and experiment may we trace the phenomena of nature to their causes. Within these limits Galileo may deservedly be called the creator of modern physics.[1]

In 1609, news reached Italy that a Dutchman had constructed an optic glass by means of which it was possible to see distant objects as distinctly as if they were in immediate proximity. Thereupon, so he himself relates, Galileo invented the telescope anew, constructed one that surpassed all similar instruments of the period and forthwith pointed it to the starry heavens. From now onwards discovery after discovery, so to speak, fell into his lap; the radiant sun, so he was able to inform an astonished world, has its spots; the moon is not a flat orb, on the contrary, it is covered with mountains; the Milky Way and the nebulæ are clusters of numberless stars; as for the planets, Jupiter is accompanied by four moons; Mars appears now larger, now smaller; like our own moon, Venus is seen at one time sickle-shaped, at another as a full disc. He also saw the ring of Saturn even though he failed to identify it as a ring.[2]

[1] GERLAND, 312 *seqq.*; E. WOHLWILL, *Galileistudien*, in the *Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medezin u. Naturwissenschaften*, IV. (1905) and V. (1906).

[2] For his priority conflict with *Marius* concerning the moons of Jupiter, see OUDEMANS ET BOSSCHA, in *Archives Néerlandaises*, 2. série, VIII., 1903 (against Galileo); KLUG in the *Abhandl. der bayr. Akad. der Wissen.*, 2. Kl., XXII., 2 Abt., 1904, (for Galileo). For a similar conflict with SCHEINER on sunspots, see MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 106 *seqq.*

These discoveries proved decisive factors in the subsequent career of Galileo. What he had written until then could only be understood by scholars, but as a result of those unheard of discoveries in the sky the name of Galileo was on everybody's lips. Kepler spoke enthusiastically; Clavius expressed high esteem.[1] The Grand Duke of Florence, whom Galileo had informed of his successes, bestowed on him the title of ducal philosopher and mathematician, with an income of 1,000 gold florins.[2] On the occasion of a visit to Rome in 1611, the savant, who was becoming universally famous, had the highest honours lavished on him. People of repute in the world of learning, or in the State, all clustered round Galileo.[3] This was notably the case at the villa of Cardinal Bandini and at the palace of Federigo Cesi, the founder of the flourishing Academia dei Linci, of which Galileo was made a member on 25th April, 1611.[4] The Jesuits organized a solemn *accademia* in his honour; it was attended by "a number of the most distinguished people of Rome, by counts and dukes, and by a great many prelates, among whom there were at least three Cardinals".[5] The Pope received Galileo in audience and showed him the utmost favour.[6] True, there were those who refused to believe in the new discoveries; thus a student of Bologna, one Martini Horky and a Florentine nobleman, Francesco Sizzi, wrote against him, but intelligent people paid no attention to them.[7]

[1] MÜLLER, 66 *seqq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 60.

[3] WOHLWILL, 378. *Cf.* ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 283.

[4] MÜLLER, 59 *seq.*, 63 *seq.* *Cf.* B. ODESCALCHI, *Mem. d. Accad. dei Lincei*, Roma, 1806, 100. See also G. GABRIELI, *Il carteggio scientifico ed accademico fra i primi Lincei*, Roma, 1925, 178. Letters of *Cesi of* 1611 *seq.*, in the *Atti dei Lincei*, 4 series, *Rendiconti*, 38 (1884–5), 846 *seq.* For Cesi see also P. G. POSSENTI, *Sul rinvenimento di una maschera in cera del principe F. Cesi*, Rome, 1912.

[5] WOHLWILL, 365 *seq.* *Cf.* ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 284.

[6] *Ibid.*, 379; *Galileo* on April 22, 1611, in FAVARO, XI., 89.

[7] MÜLLER, 58 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.* In SIZZI's treatise the seven planets are compared to the seven-branched candlestick; beyond this it does not give any Scriptural reference as proof (*ibid.*, 64). Clavius scoffs at Sizzi's proofs (*ibid.*).

Galileo had gone to the Eternal City for the purpose of expounding his discoveries before the highest Roman authorities and in order to win them over to the teaching of Copernicus. At first, astronomy had only been incidentally mentioned in his lectures, and even in the first years of the seventeenth century Galileo still taught it according to the system of Ptolemy.[1] But when his discoveries in the sky had brought him fame, he strove to retain and still further to strengthen the reputation he had won, by proving the validity of the Copernican system. He imagined that the elucidation of his own discoveries in the sky would be proof enough. Copernicus had already dealt with the objection that in his system Venus must, from time to time, be seen in crescent shape. He had sought a way out of the difficulty by certain ingenious hypotheses.[2] Galileo's discovery showed that this sickle shape was a fact and the change in Venus' appearance proved beyond controversy that the sun was the centre of the orbit of at least that one planet, as well as of Mercury.[3] Copernicus had seen himself compelled to change the earth's moon from an autonomous planet into a satellite of a planet. For the first time Galileo now demonstrated the fact that planets may have moons. The consequence was that if Ptolemy needed an intricate series of cycles and epicycles in order to account for the orbits of the planets, Galileo's system, as even Clavius admitted,[4] was bound to become even more complicated since the planets also had their own dependent planets. The old assumption that the stars consisted of a peculiar, incorruptible matter was thus confuted, for the change in the appearance of Venus showed that, like the earth, it was a dark body that received its light from the sun.

[1] This at the time when he had already adopted the Copernican system; see A. Favaro, *Gal. Galilei e lo studio di Padova*, I., Firenze, 1883, 154.

[2] Wohlwill, 351.

[3] This received immediate recognition. "Venerem circa solem verti manifeste demonstravimus non absque philosophorum murmure," wrote *Gregory of St. Vincent S.J.* to *Huygens* (*Civ. Catt.*, 1923, III., 488).

[4] In Müller, 71.

It might have been better for science, as well as for Galileo, if after these first astronomical discoveries he had turned once more to his own special department, that of physics. In this field also—for he mastered it completely—he might have deserved well of Copernicus. He did so, as a matter of fact, at a later date, when he cleared away, in large measure, the objection made in the name of physics against the earth's movement in space.[1] However, the arguments in support of a new system of the universe, which he deduced from his discoveries in the sky, are valueless for the reason alone that everything he discovered can be made to fit harmoniously into the system of Tycho Brahe, whilst his personal contribution went either wholly astray or failed to get beyond Copernicus and lagged behind Kepler. It was only in 1686 that mathematical astronomy chanced upon a real proof, when Newton demonstrated that according to the law of gravitation it was impossible for the mighty ball of the sun to revolve round the diminutive earth as its centre. A decisive proof based on astronomical observation was delayed until 1725, when Bradley showed that all the fixed stars described small ellipses within exactly the duration of a terrestrial year, that the ellipses described by the stars situate towards the celestial poles approach increasingly to the figure of a circle, whereas the stars situate in the neighbourhood of the celestial equator increasingly resolve into a simple straight line, and that this phenomenon is inexplicable except as an effect of the earth's orbit round the sun. Of these real proofs Galileo remained in complete ignorance all his life. The magnificent, yet exceedingly simple way, in which Copernicus accounted for the seemingly intricate motions of the planets, as well as his own observations, no doubt convinced Galileo personally of the truth of the new system, but the provocative manner with which he defended it against its opponents, and that without solid proofs of his own, was bound to lead to grave and disastrous collisions.

[1] A. LINSMEIER in *Natur u. Offenbarung*, XXXVI. (1890), 129 *seqq.*, 212 *seqq.*, 283 *seqq.*, and *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1913, 55–75.

As regards Copernicus' great work, by means of a surreptitiously inserted preface, an impression had been created, and had spread widely, that the book did not represent the new system of the universe as a description of real occurrences in the stellar world but as a mere hypothesis for the purpose of facilitating astronomical calculations.[1] When, on the ground of his own discoveries, Galileo began to maintain the truth of the Copernican system, many people asked themselves how such assertions tallied with certain texts of Holy Scripture, for instance, the words of psalm ciii: "Thou hast founded the earth upon its own bases," whilst of Josue it is related that he commanded the sun to stand still. A dissertation by Lodovico delle Colombe,[2] which only circulated in manuscript and which, in point of fact, speaks of Galileo in terms of high praise, also stresses these theological objections in its concluding paragraphs.[3] Even at the grand duke's table, on 12th December, 1613, the matter was discussed from this angle for two whole hours when the Benedictine Castelli, a pupil of Galileo, took the defence of his master's views. Thereupon Galileo, who could not afford to incur the disfavour of the court, wrote a long letter to Castelli,[4] copies of which were widely circulated. Holy Scripture cannot err, he declared, but its exponents may; it is therefore their duty to bring their explanations into harmony with the indubitably ascertained facts of natural science. It was an abuse to begin by dragging in Holy Scripture in questions of purely natural truths and which touched the faith but very remotely.

Opinions like these are to be found in St. Augustine and other Fathers of the Church[5]; for all that theologians could hardly feel flattered when a layman sought to teach them how to expound Holy Writ, all the more so as the teaching of Luther had met with so much success in Germany precisely because

[1] MÜLLER, *N. Kopernikus*, 109 *seqq.*

[2] FAVARO, III., 251–290.

[3] MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 81 *seqq.*

[4] December 21, 1613, in FAVARO, V., 279–288; MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 89 *seq.*

[5] *Civ. Catt.*, 1923, IV., 128.

everybody was granted the right to interpret Holy Scripture as seemed best to himself. There was a danger of similar conditions arising in Italy—hence it was desirable not to allow a man of Galileo's reputation to indulge in theological dissertations. At Florence the Dominican, Tommaso Caccini, made an attack on Galileo from the pulpit when, in the course of his lectures on the book of Josue, he came to the well-known passage about the sun standing still.[1] The tactlessness and rashness of Caccini was indeed disapproved by his friends as well as by his brethren in religion, none the less, other Florentine Dominicans began to press for a condemnation by Rome both of the book and of the teaching of Copernicus.[2] Such a turn of events was a serious matter for Galileo ; but, notwithstanding repeated warnings to leave the theological question alone and to confine himself to physical proofs in support of the new system of the universe,[3] he wrote yet another dissertation on the relation between theology and natural science in which he repeated his former assertions.[4] Similar views were expressed by the Carmelite, Paolo Antonio Foscarini. In his pamphlet he hints at the possibility that the opinion of Copernicus may one day be demonstrated as correct. For this reason he insists on the necessity of making a timely compromise with the Scriptural objections.[5]

The grand ducal court preacher, the Dominican Lorini, had at first refrained from expressing an opinion, in the pulpit,

[1] MÜLLER, 91. The fable that Caccini used the text, *Acts*, I., 11, to make mock of Galileo : "Viri Galilei, quid statis aspicientes in coelum ?" is first found in the *Lettere inedite di uomini illustri*, Firenze, 1783, 47, note 1. *Cf.* WOHLWILL, 517, note 1.

[2] MÜLLER, 94.

[3] The successor of the deceased Clavius, Griegenberger, advised this course ; see *ibid.*, 95 ; DINI, 97.

[4] *Lettere a Mad. Cristina di Lorena, granduchessa di Toscana* in FAVARO, V., 307–348 ; MÜLLER, 100 *seqq.*

[5] Printed in the *Opere di G. Galilei*, pub. by E. Alberi, Florence, 1842, V., 455–494. *Cf.* MÜLLER, 98.

on the new system of the world.[1] He now deemed it his duty to bring Galileo's letter to Castelli to the notice of the Congregation of the Index, without, however, lodging a formal accusation.[2] Thereupon the Roman Inquisition examined the document, its judgment upon it being, on the whole, a favourable one.[3] There was nothing in the letter to necessitate a pronouncement on the new system and its bearing on Holy Writ.

In this way the dangers conjured up by Galileo's incursions into the theological field seemed happily averted; however, besides the letter to Castelli, other pronouncements of the troublesome savant very soon claimed attention. These were certain "Considerations upon the opinion of Copernicus".[4] The pamphlet was couched in popular form and bound, from its very nature, to challenge the theologians. Galileo there categorically affirmed that Copernicus had not, in fact, advanced his opinion of the universe as a mere hypothesis, and he proceeded to lay down instructions concerning the interpretation of Holy Scripture, the authority of the Fathers, and the meaning of the Council of Trent. He admonished the theologians not to expose Holy Scripture to the peril of being suspected of falsehood by making it to assent to things which the physical sciences may one day show to be inaccurate.[5] Besides, in 1612, he had published three letters dealing with the sunspots. In these he claims that he first discovered their existence and, incidentally, he defends anew the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun.[6]

Caccini, who came to Rome in 1615, in order to give an account of his Advent sermons of the previous year, drew

[1] His letter to Galileo in FAVARO, XI., 427.

[2] MÜLLER, 138 *seq.*

[3] *A semitis tamen catholicae loquutionis non deviat* (in FAVARO, XIX., 305).

[4] FAVARO, V., 349–371.

[5] MÜLLER, 140 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 106–133. *Cf.* A. MÜLLER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LII. (1897), 361.

attention to the book on the sunspots. Galileo, he reported, had dealings with people of ill repute, especially with Sarpi of Venice, and it was a fact that one of the pupils of the Florentine court astronomer maintained opinions which were positively heretical and these he supported with an appeal to the book on sunspots.[1] Thus it came about that the latter work was subjected to an examination and the two propositions concerning the fixity of the sun and the daily revolution of the earth were submitted to the consultors of the Inquisition.[2]

With what preconceptions the theologians of the Inquisition set to work on the two propositions submitted to them may perhaps be gathered from Bellarmine's reply to Foscarini who had presented to the learned Cardinal the book in which he advocated the new system of the universe. It would be a good thing, Bellarmine wrote,[3] to defend the Copernican opinion as a mere hypothesis. It it were maintained as a proven fact it would not only provoke the philosophers and the theologians, but an injury might be done to the faith itself, for it would appear as if one attributed errors to Holy Scripture. Foscarini must surely grant that his interpretation of Scripture texts in a Copernican sense was at variance with all previous exegesis ; yet the Council of Trent forbade such interpretations of the Scripture as would run counter to the unanimous opinion of the Fathers of the Church. If he objected that the motion of the sun and the earth was no article of the faith and that according to the Council, the authority of the Fathers was paramount only in matters of faith and morals, it was nevertheless an article of faith that Holy Scripture cannot assert what is false. If, however, a real proof of the new system were forthcoming, it would be necessary to proceed very cautiously in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and to suggest this explanation, for

[1] MÜLLER, 141 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 142.

[3] April 12, 1615, in FAVARO, XII., 171 *seq.* ; MÜLLER, 104 *seq.* For Bellarmine's relations with Galileo see *Civ. Catt.*, 1923, III., 481 *seq.* ; IV., 118 *seqq.*, 415 *seqq.*

choice, namely that we have failed to grasp its meaning. To him it seemed more than doubtful that the opinion of Copernicus was the only correct one and whilst there was so much uncertainty it was not right to give up the traditional interpretation of the Fathers.

Some time before Cardinal Conti had written to Galileo [1] that it was quite possible that when the Bible speaks of the motion of the sun and of the vault of heaven, it was merely using the ordinary language of the people; none the less such an interpretation could not be admitted unless necessity demanded it. Since Galileo's letter to Castelli met with such lenient treatment at the hands of the Inquisition,[2] it was easy to see that similiar ideas were not foreign to its members. Everything goes to show that the theologians of the Inquisition were determined to abide by the interpretation of the disputed Scripture texts which had been handed down from the Fathers, until a decisive proof would be brought forward to demonstrate that the new system was the only correct one.

For a proof of this kind the world had to wait for Newton and Bradley. On the other hand it is possible that the manifestly inadequate arguments by which Galileo endeavoured to support his theories may have convinced the theologians that there was no real proof and that none was to be expected at any future time.[3]

Whilst the discussions were pending Galileo behaved with exceeding indiscretion. He over-estimated the reputation he had won for himself and, in the words of the Tuscan envoy,[4] he seemed to have got the notion into his head that he must needs "break the obstinacy of the Friars and wage a war in which he could only be the loser". The envoy did all he could to bring the matter to a happy issue but, "with

[1] July 7, 1612, in FAVARO, XI., 354; MÜLLER, 86.

[2] See above, p. 292.

[3] For his proof by ebb and flood, see A. MÜLLER in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVI. (1899), 534 *seqq.*

[4] May 13, 1616, in FAVARO, XII., 259.

his blustering ways," he writes, Galileo spoilt everything.[1] The very Cardinals of the Holy Office told Galileo that he was free to hold any opinions he liked, only let him refrain from trying to force them on others. It is certain that even in Rome there were those who admired the skill with which Galileo defended his views. He could marshal a whole row of plausible proofs in support of any opinion; if his hearers agreed he would knock down the whole structure with another set of arguments, thereby exposing to ridicule those who had previously fallen in with his views.[2] But the theologians of the Inquisition were not to be impressed by such tricks. Thus, when in a private conversation, Galileo had lightly thrown off the suggestion that the motion of the earth could be proved by the phenomenon of the tides, Cardinal Orsini, who was very well disposed towards him, requested him to set down his statement on paper, with the obvious intention of thereby influencing the discussions of the Inquisition. Galileo's memorandum has been preserved; it is, however, quite unworthy of such a mind as his and altogether inconclusive.[3] To all this must be added the fact that Galileo shocked people by his extravagance. The Tuscan envoy complained of the heavy expenses which his sovereign had ordered him to meet; he begged that Galileo be recalled to Florence as soon as possible, otherwise things might take a bad turn.[4]

The bad turn did come. At a sitting of February 24th, 1616, the consultors of the Inquisition began by expounding their opinion in the matter. Two propositions had been submitted to their consideration: the first of these, namely that the sun was immovable,[5] they qualified as absurd and

[1] March 4, 1616, *ibid.*, 242.

[2] MÜLLER, 151.

[3] *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

[5] *i.e.*, that neither a daily movement round the earth nor a yearly one in the zodiac, is to be ascribed to it. There is no question of the sun's revolution on its own axis. (MÜLLER, 154.)

erroneous from the point of view of philosophy, and as formally heretical, inasmuch as it directly contradicted the literal meaning of many texts of Holy Writ and the interpretation given of them by the Fathers and the theologians. As regards the second proposition, namely that which ascribes to the earth a twofold motion, one round its own axis and another round the sun, their unanimous verdict was that, on philosophical grounds it was to be rejected like the first, and judged from the theological standpoint, the least they could say was that it erred in the faith.[1]

However, for the moment this was only the verdict of the consultors of the Inquisition. On the following day a meeting took place, under the presidency of the Pope, of the Cardinals of the Inquisition whose province it was to give a decisive judgment. We do not know whether they shared the views of the consultors in every detail. At any rate on this occasion the Inquisition did not issue a dogmatic decree concerning the system of the universe. "Though for the time being they wanted to be lenient towards the person of Galileo," Cardinal Bellarmine was nevertheless commissioned to induce him to give up the Copernican theory. To this end the Cardinal invited Galileo to his house where he at first tried to apply gentle persuasion. This proved unsuccessful. Thereupon Seghizzi of Lodi, a commissary of the Inquisition who was present at the interview, communicated to him, in presence of the Cardinal and several other witnesses, a formal injunction not to hold, teach or defend in future, in any way whatsoever, the doctrine of the fixity of the sun and the motion of the earth; if he were to act otherwise, the Holy Office would proceed against him.[2]

[1] MÜLLER, 155.

[2] MÜLLER, 156. Wohlwill tried to prove that the document with this prohibition, which was the basis of the second Galileo trial of 1632, was spurious. *Cf.* on this, GRISAR, 40 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 48 on this point, that the absence of signature proves nothing. H. LUDENDORFF, also, who considers the second volume of Wohlwill (Leipzig, 1926) in the *Deutschen Lit.-Zeitung*, 1926, No. 25, is not convinced of its spuriousness.

Other decisions only dealt with the prohibition of certain books, and this the Inquisition left to the Congregation of the Index. The decree of the Index of March 5th, 1616, states that the Congregation had received information concerning "the Pythagorean doctrine, which is erroneous and wholly at variance with Holy Writ, of the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun". "Lest a doctrine of this kind should spread further, to the injury of Catholic truth" three books were now prohibited; viz. the book of Copernicus and the commentary on Job by Stunica,[1] but only temporarily, that is, until they should have undergone certain emendations. On the other hand the book of Foscarini was unconditionally prohibited. Moreover the prohibition effected all such books as were written in defence of the Copernican system. Subsequent editions of the Index of forbidden books, from 1624 to 1757, contain a general prohibition of all books of this kind.[2] None of Galileo's writings were expressly prohibited, neither his dissertation on the sunspots, nor his letter to Castelli.

As late as 1605, Kepler expressed his admiration for the wisdom of the Roman Church which, he wrote, condemned the superstition of astrology but allowed a free discussion of the view of Copernicus.[3] As a matter of fact theological misgivings in regard to the new system of the universe were first publicly expressed in the Protestant camp. Luther began it in his Table Talk[4]; in 1541, Osiander followed him in his preface to the first printed edition of Copernicus' book; in 1549, Melanchton took the field with the Scripture texts which could not be harmonized with the new teaching, and Tycho Brahe followed them in 1578. On the Catholic side the motion of the earth round its axis had been defended in Paris as early as the middle of the fourteenth century.

[1] Stunica's book appeared in 1584, and has not since been placed on the Index.

[2] Reusch, *Index*, II., 395.

[3] Müller, 168.

[4] June 4, 1539; see Grisar, *Luther*, III., 533.

In that century, Nicholas Oresme pointed out that in the texts which seemed to bar the way to the new theory, Holy Scripture spoke as ordinary people do. Nicholas of Cusa also allows the earth to revolve round its own axis and the Protonotary Apostolic, Calcagnini, taught even before Copernicus that the sun stood still whereas the earth moved. Christopher Clavius [1] was the first Catholic scholar who, in 1581, urged against Copernicus certain texts of Holy Scripture, though he did so with moderation. The future Cardinal Pázmány, when still a lecturer at Graz, taught that no conclusion unfavourable to Copernicus could be deduced from the well known texts of Holy Scripture.[2] It was the decree of 1616 that changed the face of things. To quote Kepler once more, owing to the ill-advised importunity of some persons, who propounded the teachings of astronomy in the wrong places and in the wrong way, things came to such a pass that the reading of Copernicus' books, which for eighty years had been freely allowed to anyone, was now

[1] Pierre Duhem in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1911, 7, "il semble bien," says Duhem (*ibid.*, 4), ". . . que les congrégations romaines aient été fort lentes à s'émouvoir des hypothèses copernicaines ; il ne paraît pas que la moindre menace fût venue, au cours du XVIe siècle, gêner, à cet égard, la liberté de pensée des savants catholiques. L'hésitation de ces derniers à admettre le mouvement de la terre, hésitation que n'éprouvaient pas moins vivement la plupart des protestants, trouve une explication suffisante dans la crainte de ruiner la Physique d'Aristote avant d'avoir rien trouvé qui en pût tenir lieu." *Ibid.*, 8, Duhem thinks : "Il nous paraît donc certain que la lutte menée au nom de la Bible contre l'Astronomie copernicaine fut inaugurée non pas par l'Église catholique, mais par l'Église luthérienne." For Oresme *cf.* Duhem, in *Rev. gén. des sciences pures et appliquées* of November 15, 1909.

[2] In Müller, *Kopernikus*, 106. By the statutes of the University of Salamanca the books of Ptolemy, Geber or Copernicus were prescribed in 1561, but in 1594 Copernicus and the Pruthenic tables only : "En el secundo cuadrienio léase a Nicolao Copernico y las tablas Pluternicas en la forma dada." (Getino, O. P., *Historia de un convento*, Vegara, 1904 ; *cf. Theol. u. Glaube*, III., (1911), 311 *seq.*)

forbidden until they should have been revised.[1] The blame for this must be laid at Galileo's door. His persistence forced the Roman Congregations to issue a decision in a matter which was not as yet ripe for a definition, and his indiscreet and excessive ardour is responsible, in the first instance, for the regrettable consequences.

For the time being these consequences did not affect him personally to any great extent. His prestige, even in ecclesiastical circles, suffered no eclipse and nothing had happened to him as far as the great public was concerned. Paul V. personally comforted the disappointed savant. For the space of nearly an hour the two men walked up and down together and all the time the Pope kept assuring the famous scientist that both he himself and the Congregation thought so highly of him that they would not readily lend an ear to calumny. Whilst he himself was alive, the Pope declared, Galileo could rest assured on that score.[2] However, when unfavourable reports begun to be bruited about, Cardinal Bellarmine gave Galileo an attestation [3] to the effect that he had not been compelled to recant or to undergo any kind of penance whatever. He was not forbidden to continue his researches, even in the sphere of astronomy. If an end was put to his irruptions into the theological arena, the measure was in reality a blessing for Galileo.

It is a matter for deep regret that the book of Copernicus should have been the object of a prohibition. There was, however, no question of destroying the work. The report of the Congregation of the Index on the revision of the book opens with the statement that it was absolutely necessary to guard and preserve the work for the benefit of the whole Christian commonwealth,[4] all the more so as in the correction

[1] In MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, 159. Galileo to Picchena, March 12, 1616, in FAVARO, XII., 248; WOHLWILL, 632 *seq.*

[3] May 26, 1616, in MÜLLER, *Galilei*, 160; FAVARO, XIX, 384.

[4] "Praedictos libros Copernici omnino pro utilitate Reipublicae christianae conservandos et sustinendos esse" (in HILGERS, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Freiburg, 1894, 541).

of the Calendar under Gregory XIII., use had been made of the so-called Pruthenic Tables, the reckoning of which was based on the Copernican system.[1] The corrections to which the work of the astronomer of Thorn was to be subjected did not effect the scientific contents of the book; only those passages were to be struck out, or toned down, in which the new system was put forward as an established fact.[2] Hence even persons who had no authorization to read forbidden books need only take pen and ink and alter these particular passages, when Copernicus' work would be no longer a prohibited book for them. Small importance attaches, therefore, to the fact that only since 1835, when a new edition of the Index was published, the name of Copernicus no longer figures in that list, since his system had long ago prevailed even in Catholic schools.[3]

Far more momentous than the measures thus taken against Galileo and the work of Copernicus was the general prohibition of all writings in support of the new system of the universe. This prohibition remained in the volume of the Index until 1758. It may be that in Catholic countries it damped ardour for the study of astronomy[4]; however, in France the Gallicans, on the plea of the alleged liberties of the French Church, refused to consider the decrees of the Index and the Inquisition as binding, and if no second Galileo, or a Newton, or a Bradley arose in Italy, the blame cannot fairly be ascribed to the decree against Copernicus.

It must be added that even devout Catholics considered these decrees of the Index and the Inquisition as ordinances that must be obeyed, but not as infallible papal decrees. In any case it was always open to astronomers to look for proofs in support of the Copernican system. The decree of the Inquisition against Copernicus at once led the Accademia

[1] GERLAND, 261.

[2] Index of corrections in MÜLLER, *Kopernikus*, 133 *seq.*

[3] MÜLLER, 145.

[4] For the Spanish Netherlands, *cf.* on this G. MONCHAMP, *Galilée et la Belgique. Essai historique sur les vicissitudes du système de Copernic en Belgique*, St.-Trond, 1892.

dei Lincei to lay down fresh disciplinary measures. One of its members, the mathematician Luca Valerio, whom Galileo had styled the Archimedes of his time, had publicly asserted that Galileo taught the motion of the earth precisely because he belonged to the Accademia dei Lincei and that he maintained it not as a hypothesis, but as a fact. In consequence of the sentence against Copernicus the academy was afraid of becoming involved in Galileo's fate. Accordingly on March 24th, Luca Valerio was formally reprimanded and deprived of his seat and vote. Nevertheless his name was not struck off the register of the Academy, "though he had merited this punishment and even a severer one." [1]

[1] *Essendo egli per altro ascritto all'Accademia dei Lincei, ed in amicizia strettissima unito col principe e con molti membri della medesima, non viddero senza molto inquietudine quegli Accademici le persecuzioni a cui soggiaceva il Galilei, e temendo di essere involti essi pure nelle sue disgrazie, le più forti diligenze adoperarono, per allontanare da se lo stesso pericolo. Perciò nell'adunanza tenuta il dì 24 di marzo, alla presenza del principe, del Galilei, dello Stelluti, d'Angelo de Filiis, e di Giovanni Fabri, fu condannato Luca Valerio, ed i termini del decreto contro di lui emanato, furono appresso a poco i seguenti. "Che non si cancellava il suo nome dal catalogo dei Lincei, nel quale si era egli di propria mano sottoscritto, sebbene avesse questo e molto di più meritato, ma che bensì venia egli privato della voce attiva et passiva, e della facoltà di sedere nell'Accademia. E ciò per tre ragioni: Primo, perchè si era egli, senza alcun motivo, assentato dall'Accademia. Secondo, perchè avea egli detto pubblicamente che il Galilei sosteneva l'opinione del moto della terra, appunto perchè era Linceo, come se quella fosse l'opinione generale dell'Accademia. Terzo, perchè essendosi egli sempre mostrato amico del Galilei, lo avea incolpato di sostenere l'opinione che la terra si muova, non come una semplice ipotesi, ma come una vera tesi." Dal qual decreto rilevasi la condotta, per verità, molto imprudente del Valerio, ed il timore grande che aveano i Lincei di essere inviluppati nelle traversie del Galilei, quante volte dai più si credesse, che i Lincei, per loro istituto, seguissero l'opinione del Copernico. B. Odescalchi, Memorie istorico-critiche dell'Accademia de'Lincei, Roma, 1806, 129.

The Congregation of the Index was the only one of all the congregations to preserve its individual importance.[1] During the pontificate of Paul V. it had to deal, not with Galileo alone, but also with two other Italian savants, though in the latter instance its proceedings were amply justified. *Cæsar Cremonini*, born at Cento, in 1550, is known as the last exponent of averroistic Aristoteleanism. He taught philosophy first at Ferrara and after 1591, at Padua.[2] As early as 1611, the Roman Inquisition had to busy itself with his exposition of Aristotle. The opinions which he expressed in a book published at Venice in 1613, under the title of *De Coelo*, brought Cremonini in conflict with the local Inquisition of Padua, and eventually with the Roman Inquisition. When, in 1614, that tribunal started proceedings against Cremonini, the Venetian envoy in Rome lodged a protest.[3] As for Cremonini himself, he gave an undertaking to take into account, in a new book, the criticisms passed on the work *De Coelo* by the authorities in Rome. Thus the matter was

[1] Of the Congregations, says B. Ceci, in his **Relatione di Roma nel principio del pontificato di Paolo V.* only that of the Inquisition was held "*in quel decoro di prima*", while the other Congregations waned in importance since the time of Clement VIII., as the Pope decided everything (*Urb.*, 837, p. 440). Ceci names, as being members of the Holy Office: Pinelli, Bernerio, Sfondrato, Aldobrandini, Arigoni (*cf.* *Avviso, May 21, 1605), Bellarmine, Bufalo, Ávila, Taverna, Givry, and Marzato. The Congregation of the Index was composed of the following Cardinals, according to Ceci: Valier, Borromeo, Colonna, Bernerio, Sfondrato, Arigoni, Camerino, Ávila, Baronius, Olivier, and Pamfili (Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Synopsis*, 250 *seq.*, 276, 281 *seq.* As to Millini's zeal as a member of the Inquisition, see MEMMOLI, *Vita*, 33. For the Index during the time of Paul V. *cf.* REUSCH, I., *passim*, and also Bellarmine's *Autobiography*, 244 *seq.*, also HILGERS, 549, and BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 233 *seq.*

[2] ÜBERWEG-HEINZE, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie*, III[6]., 18. *Cf.* CANTÙ, III., 146 *seq.*; BERTI, *Di Cesare Cremonini e della sua controversia con l'Inquisizione di Padova e di Roma*, Rome, 1878.

[3] See CECCHETTI, II., 259.

apparently settled. However, when the new book came out in 1616, it was seen that not only had Cremonini not kept his promise, but that he had formulated fresh and equally dangerous theses. Discussions led to no result, hence on January 18th, 1622, the Congregation of the Index prohibited the book *De Coelo* until such time as the author had revised it. The decree added that if this was not done within a year, the book was to be considered as forbidden without further formality.[1] Though Cremonini may have thought that his teaching was not at variance with that of the Church, there can be no doubt that it denied some of the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic faith.[2]

Incomparably greater anxiety than that caused to the Holy See by the philosopher of Padua, was occasioned by Marcantonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato.[3] Pride and vanity were the curse of the life of this gifted and learned man. Even the archiepiscopal see of Spalato, to which was joined the dignity of primate of Dalmatia, failed to satisfy the unquiet man. Men who are the slaves of vanity and who lack strength of character, are only too prone to take a line of conduct totally at variance with the principles they may have previously held, if they see a chance that in so doing they may realize the fondest desire of their hearts, namely to acquire world-wide fame. This was all the more easily verified in de Dominis as he was devoid of strong and

[1] See BERTI, *loc. cit.*; REUSCH, II., 408 *seq.*

[2] See GRUBE in *Freib. Kirchenlex.* III., 1185. *Cf.* RITTER, *Gesch. der Philosophie*, IX., 726 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* for the following, BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 32; VEITH, *E. Richeri systema. Ed. nova, access. discursus de vita et scriptis M.A. de Dominis*, Mechlin, 1825; ERNESTI, *Das Recht der Hierarchie auf Zensur nebst Lebensgeschichte des M.A. de Dominis*, Leipzig, 1829; CANTÙ, III., 191 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXIV., 537 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, VI., 315 *seq.*; LJUBIČ, *O Marcantonio Dominici*, 2 vols., Zagreb, 1870; RULE, II., 248 *seq.*; NEWLAND, *Life of M.A. de Dominis*, Oxford, 1877; REUSCH, II., 401 *seq.*; HERZOGS, *Realenzyklop.*, IV.[3], 781 *seq.*; *Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain*, 1908, 291 *seq.*

definite religious convictions. In 1612, the Venetian envoy, Gessi, in a personal interview, sought to restrain him from publishing a treatise against papal authority.[1] His efforts were in vain. In 1614 de Dominis became involved in a controversy with the Bishop of Trau which ended in his passing a sentence of suspension on the latter. De Dominis had hoped for the support of the Holy See in this quarrel. Rome, however, refused to take his side. In his disappointment the passionate man announced his intention to resign his archbishopric. On Gessi's advice, the Holy See agreed, with the proviso that de Dominis should come to Rome to tender his resignation in person. The archbishop's refusal to comply with this demand was obviously inspired by fear of the Inquisition. Whilst the affair was still pending he decided on an open rupture with the Church. Under date of September 20th he caused to be printed at Venice a violent manifesto in which he enumerated the grounds for his apostasy. He then made his escape into the Grisons.[2] At Chur he told two Venetian agents that he intended to go to England, for after the publication of his manifesto he had cause to fear for his personal safety. For all that he meant to remain a practising Catholic. How de Dominis understood this was soon to be seen. When he reached London he met with a hearty reception from James I. He made a public profession of anglicanism at St. Paul's,[3] whereupon the king bestowed several fat prebends on him.[4] As is the usual practice of apostates, the wretched man now made the most virulent attacks upon the Church, the mother he had forsaken. In

[1] *Cf.* CICOGNA, *Iscrizioni Venez.*, V., 608 *seq.*

[2] The Spaniards sought to exploit his flight to their advantage as against Venice; see *Letter of Philipp III. to Cardinal Borgia, dat. Madrid, December 29, 1616: "En buen ocasion deys a entender a Su S^d el poco respecto con que proceden en aquella republica." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 32.

[3] A number of English noblemen were present, of whom many did not understand a word of Italian; see REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 319.

[4] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziat. di Francia*, I., No. 62, 215.

1617 he published, in London, the first part of a book on the Constitution of the Church, in which he denies the Pope's primacy. An anonymous publication of de Dominis, which appeared simultaneously with this book, testifies to a similar mentality. These writings were followed, in 1619, by the publication of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, together with a dedication to James I., in which the most outrageous charges are made against the Catholic Church.[1] All these writings fell under the ban of the Index,[2] and the papal nuncios were instructed to prevent their diffusion.[3]

Only a very small number of executions for heresy occurred under Paul V. and in almost every instance the people concerned were either obstinate recidivists [4] or persons guilty of sacrilege, especially sacrilege against the most holy Sacrament of the altar.[5] As regards the death sentence, it should be

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 211 *seq.*

[2] See REUSCH, II., 402 *seq.* *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 235.

[3] See CAUCHIE, *Instructions*, 70; BENTIVOGLIO, *loc. cit.*, No. 32, 363, 364, 680. *Cf. ibid.*, No. 2144, 2166, the evidence how greatly Rome feared that de Dominis might go to France and spread his ideas there. A literary opponent appeared in the person of the Capuchin, ZACH. BOVERIUS: *Censura paraenetica in IV. libros de republica ecclesiast. M. Ant. de Dominis, nuper archiep. Spalat., nunc vero S.R.E. apostatae et haereticii*, Mediol., 1621.

[4] The burning of a relapsed renegade in April, 1609, is noted by REUSCH, *Selbstbiographie Bellarmins*, 232 *seq.* *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, *Réforme*, II., 439 *seq.* The *Avviso of July 30, 1611, mentions the burning of a relapsed Jew of Pavia. (Vatican Library.) The Roman Jews were repeatedly protected by edicts of Paul V. against oppression (see GORI, *Archivio An. V.*, Spoleto, 1879, 279); but punishment was meted out in cases of cheating (see *Avviso of September 24, 1605) and of usury (18 per cent! see *Avviso of February 18, 1612, Vatican Library) and other misdemeanours (**Editto contra Hebrei et altri afferenti alle vendite de pegni in Piazza Giudea*, of December 22, 1615, in the *Editti*, V., 10, p. 121, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.*, too, RODOCANACHI, *Le St.-Siège et les Juifs*, Paris, 1891, 54 *seq.*, 190.

[5] A similar case in ORANO, *Liberi pensatori brucciati in Roma*, Roma, 1904, 94 *seq.*

borne in mind that the secular judges often inflicted the extreme penalty for far less grievous offences. In the sixteenth century, in Lombardy, it was no rare occurrence for a man to suffer death simply for taking a piece of bread with violence or for kissing a female in public. Anyone who dared to speak against the government ran the risk of death.[1] Persons who abjured their errors before the Inquisition escaped with a more or less lengthy term of imprisonment, or the galleys.[2] The majority of the cases dealt with by the Inquisition were crimes against morality,[3] profanations of

[1] Examples in *Arch. stor. ital.*, III., 223, 550, 551. *Cf.* FUMI, *L'Inquisizione Romana*, 301.

[2] Besides BERTOLETTI, *Martiri del libero pensiero e vittime della s. Inquisizione*, Roma, 1891, 117 *seq.*, and RODOCANACHI, *Réforme*, II., 439 *seq.*, *cf.* the *Avviso of September 30, 1617 (Sunday, abjuration of six *carcerati*, three *condannati a carcere perpetuo*, two *galera di 5 anni*, one for 10 years), Vatican Library, and **Summarium processus Francisci Mariae Sagri Ragusin.* (denounced December 22, 1607, at Naples, for declaring, "episcopos sola electione facta a clero absque alia confirmatione habere auctoritatem in sua diocesi," Sagri recanted), *Cod.*, II., 56 and 57, of the Borghese Library, Rome. In 1621 there were forty-three persons in the prisons of the Inquisition at Rome; see *Studie documenti*, XII., 193. For Abbé Dubois, arrested in November, 1611, on suspicion of heresy (*cf.* vol. xxvi, p. 55, note 4) see the essay of PERRENS in the *Rev. hist.*, LXV. *Cf.* too SPAMPANATO, *Docum. intorno i negozi e processi dell'Inquisizione*, 1603/24, in *Giorn. crit. di filosofia ital.*, V. (1924).

[3] *Cf.* *Istoria di Suor Giulia di Marco (Napoletana, del Terzo Ord. di S. Francesco) e della falsa dottrina insegnata da lei, dal P. Aniello Arcieri (Napoletano, sacerdote professo della Congr. dei ministri degli infermi nel Convento della Maddalena in Roma) e da Giuseppe de Vicariis (Napoletano, dottore in legge), con il reassunto del processo contra di essi, e con la loro abiurazione seguita in Roma a'12 del mese di luglio 1615. *Cod.*, X., B. 55, of the Library of the *Soc. di stor. patr.* at Naples. (*Cf. Barb.* 3221, Vatican Library, and *Amabile*, II., 23 *seq.*) All three received sentences of perpetual imprisonment; see *Avviso of June 15, 1615, Vatican Library.

graves,[1] and similar offences. There is no known instance of a prosecution for witchcraft in Rome during the reign of Paul V., but at Milan this form of madness had assumed alarming proportions. It is worth noting that the Milanese Inquisitors contented themselves with punishing with banishment or imprisonment persons accused of witchcraft and refused to hand them over to the secular arm, with a view to their execution.[2] In consequence of this conduct the Governor of Lombardy, Velasco, lodged a complaint with the Roman authorities, but Paul V. decided against the application of the capital sentence.[3] The Governor's complaint caused the Pope to send to the Inquisitors of the whole of Italy instructions "inspired by a sense of justice and understanding". These instructions are proof of an earnest resolve to do all that was possible to prevent the injustices and cruelties committed by the judges, and to eliminate precisely the more grievous abuses that had crept in where there was question of a prosecution for witchcraft.[4]

Recent investigation of the methods of the Italian Inquisition has shown that, generally speaking, the current accusations of partiality and cruelty are unfounded.[5] As a

[1] See *Avviso of April 15, 1609, *ibid.*

[2] See L. Fumi, *L'Inquisizione Romana*, 115 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 118.

[4] Judgment of Hinschius (VI., 423 *seq.*). Riezler (*Gesch. der Hexensprozesse in Bayern*, Stuttgart, 1896, 268) emphasizes "how much earlier a reaction of reason and humanity appeared in Rome than in the Catholic and Protestant territories of Germany". This opinion gains force from the fact that the Instruction was not dated 1657, as this scholar thought, but was disseminated in MSS. twenty years earlier among the courts of the Inquisition in Italy. See Carena, *Tractatus de officio S. Inquisitionis*, Cremonae, 1641, 246 *seq.*). The date (1620) is ascertained from Fumi, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[5] A. Battistella (*Notizie sparse del S. Officio in Lombardia duranti i secoli XVI. e XVII.*, in *Arch. stor. Lombar.*, 3 ser., XVII. (1902), 121 *seq.*) writes after quoting a case: Valga quest'esempio a persuaderci quanto poco fondamento abbiano, in generale, i biasimi e le invettive di cui si suole involgere l'opera

matter of fact the inquisitorial tribunals of the various Italian States which, in 1613 and 1614, were put under obligation of giving an annual account of their activities,[1] had to deal less and less frequently with real heretics,[2] particularly since the failure of the attempt to establish Calvinism in Venice.[3] Thus, by degrees, the Inquisition came to assume the form of a kind of police force, whose object it was to deal with books contrary to the Catholic faith and with pamphlets libelling the Church. In this field also its proceedings were frequently characterized by extreme mildness.[4] Paul V. upheld in every way the rights of the Inquisition.[5] When the republic of Lucca attempted to

del S. Officio (mi restringo di parlare della sola Italia), raffigurandola viziata, ab origine, di crudeltà, di parzialità, di fanatismo cieco e stupido. Certo, i concetti da cui esso moveva sono molto diversi da quelli dei tempi in cui noi viviamo; certo, sono da biasimare gli eccessi derivati dal sospetto elevato morbosamente a sistema regolatore del pensiero e dell'azione; ma io non esito a dire che raramente allora si sarebbe potuto trovare nei tribunali laici un maggior zelo di giustizia, una maggiore onestà di convinzioni, una più scrupulosa diligenza di procedimento.

[1] See BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, Bologna, 1905, 65.

[2] It was chiefly a matter of strangers. Thus, on November 4, 1618, a German from the diocese of Münster was executed at Bologna, see (M. GUALANDI), *Un Auto-da-fè in Bologna*. Docum. orig. Bologna, 1860. *Cf.* RULE, II., 223 *seq.* and BATTISTELLA, *loc. cit.*, 107 *seq.* The heretics of Avignon were Huguenots, on whose behalf Paul V. sent a special courier, according to the *report of RECORDATI of October 27, 1612 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 196 *seq.*

[4] Thus, a Fra Evangelista da Bologna of the Order of the Observants, who had written sonnets hostile to the Church, was only condemned by the Inquisitor to fasting on bread and water and to the saying of prayers on certain festivals; see *Riv. stor.*, 1900, 490.

[5] See the *Revocatio facult. superioribus quorumcunque ordin. regul. concessar. cognoscendi causas suor. subditor. ad officium s. Inquisit. pertinentes*, of September 1, 1606, in *Bull.*, XI., 346 *seq.*

establish an Inquisition of its own, he condemned the action, in 1606, as an intolerable usurpation and declared null and void the ordinances emanated from Lucca in respect to forbidden books and the repression of heresy.[1] In spite of opposition on the part of Florence, he insisted, in 1608, on the arrest of a man as distinguished as was Alidosi, even though he had been selected for the post of envoy to the emperor, because he was under accusation of holding heretical opinions. In the end an agreement was come to according to the terms of which the affair was to be settled by a Roman commissary and a Florentine Inquisitor.[2] Elsewhere also similar conflicts were occasioned when inquisitorial causes were called to Rome.

Ecclesiastical affairs of another kind led to far more serious conflicts between the spiritual and the secular power. Like Clement VIII., Paul V. showed himself a rigid guardian of the rights of the Church.[3] In this matter his knowledge of the law stood him in good stead; it enabled him, among other things, to take into account the just complaints of the secular power, especially in regard to the right of sanctuary of churches and monasteries, without in any way tampering with principles.[4] It was, however, imperative that the Pope should

For the Bull of 1615 (*ibid.*, XII., 309) *cf.* HINSCHIUS, V., 682. A *Brief of Paul V. with indulgences for the *Crucesignati Inquisitionis*, of July 29, 1611, is in *Editti*, V., 31, p. 73, Papal Secret Archives. Decrees of the Inquisition of the time of Paul V. are in *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 676 *seq.* A **Synopsis decret. s. Congreg. Inquisit. Romanae*, beginning with the year 1617, is in *Cod.*, 980, of the University Library, Bologna.

[1] See *Bull.*, XI., 369 *seq.*, 376 *seq.* *Cf.* REUSCH, I., 194.

[2] See the **Relazione di Fr. Morosini* of December 5, 1608, in A. SEGARIZZI, *Relaz. degli ambasc. Veneti*, III., 2, 141 *seq.*

[3] See *"Relacion general de algunas cosas que el arzobispo de Burgos llevo a España al govierno de Roma y otros particulares de que conviene estar advertido Marques de Aitona" (1606) in Archives of the Spanish Embassy. Rome, III., 9.

[4] *Cf.* REUMONT, *Carafa*, II., 295 and REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 514 *seq.*

resist the universal and ever growing tendency of the State to encroach on the sphere of the Church.

Paul V. became engaged on numerous ecclesiastico-political conflicts with Charles Emmanuel I., duke of Savoy, who showed as little regard for the rights of the Church, 'as if', according to the mot of the Venetian envoy, Vincenzo Gussoni, in 1613, 'he were lord of the whole world!'[1] The growth of Spanish cæsaro-papalism occasioned the Pope even graver anxiety. True, Madrid complacently fancied that it could obtain from Rome anything it really wished for by just keeping up the good relations that had obtained between Spain and the Pope when the latter was only a Cardinal and by acting on the Pope's nephews and the Cardinals by means of pensions. Outwardly, the Spaniards made a great show of regard for the Pope. Again and again he was assured of their determination to defend both him and the interests of the Church.[2] For all that, they would not renounce any one of their cæsaro-papistic pretensions.[3] This

[1] See Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 534. The advance of Protestantism was the object of the journey which Christoph von Dohna made with the eldest son of Christian of Anhalt in the late summer of 1617 to the Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy; *cf.* Regel, *Christians II. von Anhalt Gesandtschaftsreise nach Savoyen* (Progr.), Bernburg, 1892.

[2] The banishment of all Moriscos, following on a command of Philip III., 1609–1611, was based on their alliance with Mohammedan princes; see Ranke, *Osmanen*, 113; Philippson, *Heinrich IV. und Philipp III.*, Vol. II., 121 *seq.*; Pfandl, *Spanische Kultur*, 12 *seq.*, 264; Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsion*, 2 vols., Valencia, 1901. Paul V. had taken trouble to promote the conversion of the Moriscos by pastoral care and teaching. See *Bull.*, XI., 284 *seq.*, 336 *seq.* For Protestant propaganda in Spain at the time of Paul V., see *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVIII., 373 *seq.*

[3] See the accounts of Fr. Priuli (1608), Girol. Soranzo (1611) and P. Contarini (1621) in Barozzi-Berchet, *Spagna*, I., 358 *seq.*, 471, 585. *Cf.*, too, A. Pellegrini, *Relaz. ined. di ambasc. Lucchesi alla corte di Madrid*, Lucca, 1903, 26, 36 *seq.* For Paul V.'s relations with Spain as a Cardinal, see our account, Vol. XXIII. 197, 271 *seq.*

became perfectly clear in the decrees of Philip III. of May 3rd, 1605, and December 10th, 1607, by which the nuncio of Madrid was excluded from the discussions in connection with American affairs.[1] If, in this instance, Paul V. yielded to the inevitable,[2] he did not fail to offer resistance on other points. In November, 1605, he expressed his profound displeasure at the outrageous violation of Canon Law practised in Spain by means of the so-called *Recurso de fuerza* (*Appel comme d'abus*).[3] In June of the same year the Pope had found himself compelled to excommunicate a Spanish official at Naples.[4]

In the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, where a discontented population must be kept under at all costs, Spanish cæsaro-papalism showed itself at its worst. It culminated in the pretensions contained in the privileges of the so-called *Monarchia Sicula* which Paul V. also had refused to recognize.[5] It was to be feared that a similar situation would arise in

[1] See SOLÓRZANO, *Politica indiana* (1647 ed.), 722 *seq.*; LETURIA, *Der Heilige Stuhl u. das Patronat in Amerika*, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XLVI., 30.

[2] *Cf.* LETURIA, *loc. cit.*, 52.

[3] See the *report of Franc. Maria Vialardo, November 19, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.*, too, the account of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 67.

[4] See COUZARD, *Une ambassade*, 392. *Cf. Studi e docum.*, VIII., 20. In the *instructions for the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Aytona, drawn up at the beginning of the reign of Paul V., the regular payment of the Cardinals' pensions is sharply emphasized. It is noted, too, that there must always be troops at the Paliano fortress so that, if necessary, the ambassador may bring military pressure to bear on the Pope. "El Duque de Sermoneta tiene en el mismo lugar una fuerza de importancia que es tambien cerca di Roma." He may also count on this fortress "a las puertas de la ciudad (Roma)". *Cod.*, III., 9, Archives of the Embassy, Rome.

[5] See GIROL. SORANZO in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Spagna*, I., 452. *Cf.*, too, G. OLIVA, *Le contese giurisdiz. d. chiesa Liparitana*, in *Arch. stor. Messinese*, V., and VI. (1904–5).

Naples itself inasmuch as the nobility, the freemen and the clergy supported the government's attempt to curtail the rights of the Holy See; indeed, things came to such a pass that the one remaining privilege of the Pope was to be presented with a white palfrey on St. Peter's day.[1] All this made the position of the nuncios at Naples an exceedingly thorny one.[2] They had to complain of endless interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the authorities.[3] Paul V. left nothing undone in the hope of bringing about an improvement. Towards Philip III. he showed himself liberal with all manner of favours.[4] It was all in vain. Politico-

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, *Osmanen*[4], 233 *seq.*

[2] *Giacomo Aldobrandini*, who had been nuncio since 1592, begged Paul V. for his recall (see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 355 *seq.*); in his place Guglielmo Bastoni was sent in 1606, Valeriano Muti, 1609, Adeotato Gentile, 1611, and after the latter's sudden death in the same year, Paolo Emilio Filonardo. See NIC. CAPECE GALEOTA, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii Apost. di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877, 46 *seq.*

[3] See *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 451 *seq.* *Cf.* RANKE, *loc. cit.*; GALEOTA, 4[8], 49. There was no lack of secular quarrels as well; *cf.* the *Brief of 1609 to the Neapolitan Viceroy, "de nonnullis in praeiuditium eccl. ditionis patratis a regiis ministris in finibus Beneventi." *Epist.*, IV., 463, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] The *Cruzada*, the *Subsidio di 420,000 Scudi* and the *Excusado*, were granted by Paul V. for six years each, on June 22, 1605, September 7, 1611, November 12, 1614, and October 21, 1619; see *"*Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado"*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. *Cf.* PEREZ DE LARA, *Compendio de las tre gracias de la s. cruzada, subsidio y escusado, que Su Sant. concede a la S. Cat. R.M. del Rey Don Felipe III.*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1610. Other favours are recorded in *Bull.*, XI., 224 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*, 574 *seq.*, 590 *seq.*, XII., 280 *seq.* *Ibid.*, XI., 568 *seq.*, on April 7, 1609, the confirmation of the right of nomination of Neapolitan dioceses granted by Clement VII. to the Emperor Charles V. (see our account, Vol. IX, 437). On July 17, 1618, **Philippus princeps Hispaniae* and *Isabella principessa Hispaniae* received honours; the Prince received *ensis and pileus*, the Princess, the *Golden Rose*. *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

ecclesiastical conditions in Naples grew worse rather than better.[1] In Spain itself the customary policy in regard to the Church was tenaciously pursued. An edict of Philip III., of October 3rd, 1610, and published on December 17th in Sicily, and in February, 1611, in Portugal and at Naples, was nothing less than a challenge to the Pope. The decree forbade the sale of the eleventh volume of the *Annals* of Cardinal Baronius, which contains an examination of the *Monarchia Sicula*, under penalty of a fine of 500 florins ; in case of a second offence, nobles were threatened with five years' banishment and the rest with the galleys.[2] Paul V. vainly sought, through Philip III.'s confessor, the nuncio in Madrid and Cardinal Sandoval of Toledo, to procure the repeal of the decree.[3] The post of nuncio to Spain was at that time held by Decio Carafa, archbishop of Damascus, who in May, 1607, had succeeded Giangarzia Millini when the latter was raised to the cardinalate.[4] When Antonio Caetani,

[1] *Cf.* the account of Borghese to the Nuncio at Naples, January 22 and November 28, 1614, and March 12, 1616, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 327, 332 *seq.*, 338.

[2] See REUSCH, *Index*, II., 380. For the veto of the eleventh vol. in 1605, *cf.* above, p. 9 *seq.*

[3] Besides the letter of Paul V. to Philip III.'s confessor, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 300 *seq.*, *cf.* too the Brief to Cardinal Bernard Sandoval, archbishop of Toledo, of March 29, 1611. "Exponet tibi Decius archiepiscopus, nuntius ; ex ipsius rei gravitate facile tibi perspectum, quantopere negotium hoc nobis cordi . . . dignitati S. Rom. ecclesiae, de qua agitur, satisfacies," (*Epist.*, VI., 340, Papal Secret Archives). In a *Brief to Philip III.'s confessor, of July 12, 1611, Paul V. begged "ut sibi cordi sit, quid ad XI. Annalium tomum pertinere significabit ei nuncius apostolicus" (*Epist.*, VIII., 348, *ibid.*).

[4] The *Brief of the nomination of Millini is in the *Epist.*, I., 413, Papal Secret Archives. His *reports are in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 333, *ibid.* *Cf.* **Torbidi insorti in Spagna con Mgr. nuntio Millini*, in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 165, *ibid.* The *Brief to Philip III. with regard to the sending of Decio Carafa, is in *Epist.*, II., 490, *ibid.*

archbishop of Capua, was sent to Madrid as nuncio, in 1611,[1] he also took up the affair but with similar ill-success.[2]

In Milan conflicts between Church and State arose as early as 1605.[3] In 1615 and 1617, certain agreements were come to between the spiritual and the secular power which eased the situation at least for a time.[4]

In 1607, Paul V. praised the archbishop of Compostella for his zeal in the defence of the Church's rights.[5] In this respect conditions were particularly bad in the kingdom of Portugal, which was at that time subject to Spain. There the violation of the Church's immunity by the secular authorities was the order of the day. The Pope was grievously hurt by an edict of August, 1610, which made the acquisition of monastic or ecclesiastical property dependent on the assent of the royal authorities. The decree stipulated, moreover, that persons who had acquired such property were to alienate it once more within a year and a month, under pain of confiscation. The nuncio at Madrid made energetic remonstrances and he ended by securing at least a temporary suspension of the ordinance. Ottavio Accoramboni, bishop of Fossombrone, who went to Portugal in 1614, in the capacity of a Collector, was instructed to press for a complete repeal of the decree,[6] and to oppose all further attempts on the

[1] Caetani's nomination is announced in an *Avviso of August 27, 1611, Vatican Library. The Brief accrediting him was not sent until October 27, 1611. In July, 1618, Franc. Cennini, Bishop of Amelia, was sent instead of Caetani.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Borghese of April 25, 1612, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 316 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Bull.*, XI., 226 *seq.*

[4] See GALANTE, *Diritto di placitazione*, 81 *seq.*, and *Bull.*, XII., 407 *seq.*

[5] *Brief of May 1, 1607, in *Epist.*, II., 436, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cf.* **Instruttione a Mons. Accoramboni, vescovo di Fossombrone, destinato collettore nel regno di Portogallo della Sta di N.S.^e^ Paolo V.*, June 1, 1614, in *Cod.*, 33 B., 15, p. 120 *seq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and in *Cod.*, X., IV., 38, p. 13 *seq.*, of the Casanatense Library, Rome. A passage thereof is in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 338 *seq.*

part of the authorities to meddle with the affairs of the Church. In the summer of 1614, the archbishop of Lisbon lodged a strong complaint with Philip III. against the excesses committed by his officials in Portugal, who cast priests into prison as if they were competent to judge the clergy.[1] The position of Accoramboni became very difficult. On November 8th, Paul V. saw himself compelled to point out to the king of Spain the perils that must ensue from the pretensions of his officials in Portugal.[2] In the following year, Accoramboni found himself constrained to lay Lisbon under an interdict in punishment of certain acts of open violation of ecclesiastical immunity. It was due to Philip III.'s intervention that the dispute, in which Paul V. had taken Accoramboni's part, was settled the year after.[3] In this instance, as in many others, Philip III., for whose personal piety the Pope felt real esteem,[4] showed far better dispositions than his servants. The Pope, in consequence, repeatedly appealed directly to the king, as, for instance, in the spring of 1617, on the occasion of an act of violence by the Spanish governor of Sardinia against the Inquisition of that island.[5]

A typical instance of the mentality of the Spanish bureaucracy may be seen in the instruction given to Francisco de Castro,[6] who was expected to raise the somewhat lowered

[1] *Cf.* Borghese letter to the Spanish nuncio of August 14, 1614, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 89.

[2] **Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] For the Lisbon Interdict, a matter very inadequately described by the Portuguese historians, see the *documents in *Barb.* 4613, and *Vat.* 5856 of the Vatican Library, and SCORRAILLE, *Suarez*, II., 332 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, *Bull.*, XII., 405 *seq.*, 415 *seq.* For the relations with Portugal, which continued to be very unsatisfactory, see the original letters of Accoramboni, from 1620–2, in *Ottob.* 3258 of the Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* the *Brief of Philip III.'s confessor, October 19, 1605, in *Epist.*, I., 261, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* in *App.* No. 5, the *Brief of March 22, 1617, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cf.* PELLEGRINI in the publication mentioned above, p. 37; on p. 310, n. 5.

prestige of Spain, on his appointment, in the summer of 1609, to the Rome embassy, in succession to the Marquis de Aytona who is best known through the great equestrian painting of him by Van Dyck.[1]

To the Italians of to-day, the document declares, the words of Tiberius are applicable: they are born to be slaves! As for his line of conduct in regard to the papal government, de Castro is enjoined to see to it that the Pope, as an ecclesiastic, does not meddle with temporal matters and that, as a temporal prince, he does not disturb the tranquillity of the Church![2] Here we see plainly revealed Spain's ambition to get the whole of Italy into her power. Is it to be wondered at if a member of the College of Cardinals raised the question whether the moment had not come to drive the Spaniards out of Italy? Paul V. would not go so far; however, he looked with favour on Henry IV. as the only one who knew how to stand up to the Spaniards, and whenever the Spanish envoy represented some of his own wishes as the demands of the whole Catholic world, the Pope would carefully examine whether they were justified and if he found that they were not, he was firm in his refusal.[3]

In view of the difficult conditions of the period, Paul V. was even more strongly convinced than his predecessors of the absolute necessity of an energetic and uniform government of the Church. He gave effect to this conviction by greatly enlarging the powers of his nuncios.[4] The Pope was

[1] Fr. de Castro made his triumphal entry into Rome on June 16, 1609; see *Avviso of June 6, 1609, Vatican Library.

[2] See **Instruttione a D. Francisco di Castro, amb. del Re catt. circa il modo come si deve governare nella città di Roma, Barb.*, 5335, p. 101 *seq.* Vatican Library. In the **Memoria de las personas que el Marques de Aitona propone al S. Don Francisco de Castro para informarse de las cosas de Roma*, at the head is placed Franc. Pena, the Auditor and Deacon of the Rota, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

[3] *Cf.* CHLUMECKY, *Karl von Zierotin*, I., 530 *seq.*

[4] The nuncios were now, as FRIEDENSBURG (*Das Preuss. Hist. Institut*, Berlin, 1903) rightly points out, no longer mere diplomatic representatives, but as delegates, with both juridical and

determined to keep the reins of government in his own hands. He suffered neither his nephew Scipio Borghese, nor any of the Cardinals, unduly to influence either his internal or his external policy.[1] That this absolutism was justified is granted even by the Venetian envoys who were by no means favourably disposed towards the Pope.[2] The chief reason of this policy, they explain, is the dependence of the Cardinals on the princes by whose intervention they had been created and from whom they accepted pensions.[3] Moreover, those among the Cardinals who aspired after the tiara, allowed this

administrative power, they were the highest authority in regard to the supervision of all ecclesiastical affairs. Paul V., moreover, no longer appointed his nuncios to local sees, for he held that *ordinaries* should remain in residence in their diocese (*cf.* above, p. 218 *seq.*), but made them bishops *in partibus*, 'compensant, says Biaudet (p. 46 *seq.*), la diminution du prestige, qui aurait pu résulter de ce fait, par un grade plus élevé de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique. Au lieu d'être évêques italiens, les grands nonces seront désormais archevêques ou patriarches *in partibus*.' This neutral title helped to diminish the reproach frequently directed against papal diplomats, namely their too exclusively Italian character. In time this policy was also applied to the lesser nunciatures in which, nowadays, the nuncios are all bishops *in partibus*. In a survey made towards the end of 1615 in *Barb.*, 4592, *seq.*, *Nuntiature che si proveggono di N.S. in tempo di Paolo V.*, the nunciatures are described as follows: *Praga per la qualità del principe, appresso di cui il Nuntio resiede è in dignità la prima*; *Spagna*: rich incomes; *Carinthia* (Graz): not desirable; then follows: *Colonia, Savoia, Firenze, Venezia, Francia* (Vatican Library). *Cf.* Vol. XXVI, c. 1.

[1] Characteristics of the older Cardinals by B. Ceci, in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 169, A. 1.

[2] See FR. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 88–9; MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 102. Compare RANKE, *Popes*, III.[6], 104*. The contrast between the attitude adopted towards the Cardinals by Paul V. and that of Gregory XV. is emphasized by A. Possevino in his Report on May 28, 1621, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[3] How widespread this practice had become is seen in **Relacion del s. colegio del a.* 1606, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

ambition to hamper their conduct. Even on this ground alone Paul V. would have nothing to do with an electoral capitulation.[1]

Not only in respect to the duty of residence, but in other matters also, the Pope showed himself strict with the Cardinals. At the very beginning of his pontificate he earnestly reminded them that no member of the Sacred College could leave the Pontifical States without his permission.[2]

In 1609 he greatly curtailed the indults granted to the Cardinals in respect to the collation of benefices.[3]

In these circumstances it is not surprising that Paul V. acted with complete independence in the appointment of Cardinals. Sigismund III., King of Poland, was one of those who experienced how little the Pope allowed himself to be influenced by the princes when there was question of filling the ranks of the Sacred College. The king had warmly pleaded for the bestowal of the purple on the former nuncio, Rangoni. Paul V. held Sigismund in high regard because of his Catholic sentiments, and readily complied with his wishes but, in this instance, he refused even though the request was made repeatedly and with great earnestness. The grounds for the Pope's action are laid down in the instructions to the nuncio Diotallevi. The cardinalate, so we read, is no mere honorific title; on the contrary, on his admission into the Sacred College, the person so chosen becomes a confidential adviser of the Pope. In the choice of such men the Head of the Church must have complete freedom.[4]

In the first year of Paul V.'s reign the Sacred College lost five of its members.[5] On September 11th, 1606, the Pope

[1] See Mocenigo, *loc. cit.*, 89.

[2] See *Acta Consist.*, December 12, 1605, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Bull.*, XI., 586 *seq.*

[4] See the **Instruttione per Mr Diotalevi vesc. di S. Angelo, destinato da N.S. per suo nuntio al re di Polonia* (1614), *Ottob.* 2434, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the later pronouncements of Paul V. in Siri, III., 406.

[5] Zacchia, Blandrata, Ávila, Facchinetti, and Valier; see Ciaconius, IV., 463.

made his first large-scale creation of Cardinals.[1] It had been wholly unexpected. The ambassadors had had no previous intelligence of the event.[2] Of the eight new Cardinals, five were natives of Rome, viz. Lodovico Torres, Giangarzia Millini, Bonifazio Caetani, Marcello Lante and Orazio Maffei.

Lodovico Torres had rendered distinguished service at the time of the revision of the new *Pontificale* and the new Martyrology. In 1588 he had been made archbishop of Monreale: there he fulfilled his duties admirably. He visited his diocese in person year by year; he founded a seminary to which he bequeathed his rich library, embellished the magnificent Cathedral and made himself the father of the poor. The Cardinal, who had been a friend of Tasso, and to whom Baronius dedicated the eleventh volume of his *Annals*, was appointed librarian of the Roman Church in 1607.[3]

Bonifazio Caetani had attracted attention to himself by the splendid way in which he discharged the functions of legate in the Romagna.[4] Marcello Lante, whose whole time was given to the pursuit of ecclesiastical interests, was a man

[1] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf* CIACONIUS, IV., 401 *seq.*, and CARDELLA, VI., 120 *seq.*, where further biographical details are found which were utilized for what follows: The special literature is given under the Cardinals named above.

[2] See *Avviso of September 23, 1606; the writer thinks that only Gian Battista Borghese was initiated (Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the communication from *Gravius* to Archduke Maximilian of September 11, 1606, *Landesregierungsarchiv zu Innsbruck, Gemeine Missiven.*

[3] *Cf.* BOGLINO, 55 *seq.* Torres is celebrated as a "gran letterato" by BENTIVOGLIO (*Memorie*, 115). When, in 1902, I instituted researches in the *Dragonetti Archives at Aquila*, the owner showed me in his palazzo three portraits of Cardinal Torres belonging to him, one of which represents the Cardinal receiving the red biretta from Paul V. Another portrait of the Cardinal is in the Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* our notes above, p. 62 *seq.* Paul V.'s *reply to Cardinal Caetani *ad grat. actionem de cardinalitia dignitate* in the *Epist.*, II., 196, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives.

of great merit. He reformed his diocese of Todi and subsequently made a name for himself in Rome by restoring numerous churches, hospitals and monasteries. Out of humility and imitating in this St. Charles Borromeo, he would not have the memory of his achievements perpetuated by means of any of the inscriptions which were the fashion of the time. His liberality was proverbial.[1]

Orazio Maffei, a scion of the famous Roman family of that name, did not come up to the Pope's expectations. It is not possible for us to decide whether or no the accusations against his conduct are founded in fact.[2] What is certain is that though an apartment was assigned to him in the Pope's palace, as was done for Torres and Lante,[3] he eventually incurred the displeasure of Paul V. It was generally believed that he died of grief in 1609.

The fifth among the Romans who received the purple in 1606, Giangarzia Millini.[4] was an eminent and distinguished man in many respects. He had grown to maturity under the patronage of Cardinal Castagna who was to occupy Peter's chair under the name of Urban VII. His career might have been even more rapid had not the pontificate of his patron been cut short. However, Urban's successor knew how to appreciate so gifted a man. Gregory XIV. made him an auditor of the Rota, and Millini soon became the most important member of that tribunal. He accompanied Clement VIII. on his journey to Ferrara, and when the Pope's nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, went to Florence to bless the marriage of Henry IV., Millini was in his cortège.

[1] See GIANJACOBO ROSSI, *Vita del Card. Lante*, Rome, 1613 (in the Bibl. Casanatense). *Cf.* CARDELLA, VI., 133, GARAMPI, *Del Valore*, 329 and the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See CARDELLA, VI., 133.

[3] See *Avviso of October 27, 1606, Vatican Library.

[4] For what follows see the statements of *Decio Memmoli*, who was Millini's secretary for over twenty years: *Vita dell'em. sig. card. Gio. Garzia Mellino Romano*, Rome, 1644. *Cf.* also the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

He likewise accompanied Cardinal Caetani on his legation to Poland. It would seem that Clement VIII. had thought of bestowing the purple on him, but he only received it from Paul V., at the time of his nunciature in Spain. He was only thirty-four years of age at the time. His titular church was that of *Santi Quattro Coronati*. The relics of these Saints were found in the course of the restoration of the church initiated by the Cardinal. Paul V. kept Millini in Spain for two more years, after which he dispatched him on an important mission to Germany. On his return to Rome he was appointed Vicar of the Pope and a member of the Inquisition as well as of the Congregations of Rites, of Bishops, and of the Council. He was also the protector of numerous religious Orders. In these offices the Cardinal had ever at heart the cause of the reform. In this respect he had made a start with himself when, in 1611, he spontaneously resigned his diocese of Imola, owing to the impossibility for him to observe canonical residence. The high esteem in which Millini stood with Paul V.[1] made him many enemies; this did not disconcert him; whenever requested to do so by the Pope he gave such advice as in his conscience he deemed best. By his extraordinary industry, his sincere piety, the purity of his life and his liberality towards the poor and the sick, Millini was an ornament of the Sacred College for the space of thirty-eight years. He died in 1644. His resting place is in the second chapel of the left transept of Santa Maria del Popolo, a church he had richly decorated. An excellent and distinctive bust of him by Algardi adorns his tomb.[2] Of the three non-Roman Cardinals created in 1606, the sixty-nine year old Bartolomeo Ferratino was given the purple as a reward for loyal service rendered to nine Popes. He was a dignified personage who had spent his strength in self-

[1] "Il Card. Millini," says the **Relatione di Roma* of 1624, exaggerating, "governò Papa Paolo, e Pignatelli e Campora governavono Borghese," Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, n. 3.

[2] *Cf.* Posse in *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlung*, XXVI., 185. Here, on p. 183, there is a reproduction of the bust. The inscription is in CIACONIUS, IV., 405.

sacrificing toil.[1] He died two months after his nomination. His name was kept alive in Rome by the *Strada Ferratina*, which owed its name to the Cardinal's beautiful palazzo.

Orazio Spinola, a native of Genoa, had likewise held the most diverse posts. As Legate of Ferrara he completed the construction of the citadel. Later on he withdrew to his diocese of Genoa where, as previously at Ferrara, his great severity inspired fear. Like Torres and Caetani, Spinola was believed to be a supporter of Spain. His importance is sufficiently shown by the fact that as soon as he had been created a Cardinal he, as well as Millini, was considered *papabile*.[2]

The most gifted of all those raised to the purple in 1606 was the French nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, who was destined to ascend the papal throne under the name of Urban VIII.[3]

As early as December, 1606, it was rumoured in Rome that a fresh creation of Cardinals was at hand.[4] In the spring of the following year the Spanish envoy drew attention to the gap caused by the death of Ávila and, acting under Philip III.'s instructions, he urged once more that the purple should be bestowed on the king's confessor, Jeronimo Xavier, General of the Dominicans.[5]

Of all the losses suffered by the Sacred College in 1607,

[1] *Cf.* Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, 144.

[2] See the **Relacion del s. colegio* of 1606, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] See Nicoletti, **Vita di P. Urbano VIII.*, II., ch. 1 and 2, p. 351 *seq.*, 368, *Cod. Barb.*, 4730, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* *Avvisi, December 9 and 16, 1606, Vatican Library.

[5] The ambassador Aytona delivered a *letter from Philip III. to Paul V. dated S. Lorenzo, July 25, 1607, in which the king taking note of his correspondent's communication of May 29, regarding the Pope's goodwill in this matter, expressed his thanks. In a *letter to Aytona, dispatched the same day, Philip III. voices his astonishment that, after the death of Ávila, the Pope had not yet granted his request for a Spanish Cardinal and once more recommends for this honour J. Xavier. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

the heaviest was assuredly the death of Baronius, which occurred on June 30th.[1] Through his stern application to study and his hard and mortified mode of life, the great historian had contracted a disease of the stomach of which the first symptoms showed themselves in an alarming fashion at the beginning of 1606.[2] Nevertheless he was still able to see through the press the twelfth volume of his *Annals*, which he dedicated to Paul V.[3] At the close of the same year he had a copy presented to all the Cardinals of the Curia.[4] The volume contained an attack on the authenticity of the Constantinian donation.[5] At that time many canonists and even historians such as Abraham Bzovius still maintained the authenticity of that document.[6] Paul V. shared the opinion and had discussed the matter with Bellarmine. The learned Jesuit made no secret of his being on the side of Baronius. When the Pope had personally read the relevant passages in the *Annals*, he expressed no displeasure. On April 9th, 1607, Bellarmine informed his friend of the fact and advised him to make no change.[7] By that time Baronius was already grievously stricken. Some people connected his illness with the renewed opposition of the Spaniards to his treatment of the *Monarchia Sicula*; others with his having dared to contest Constantine's donation in the *Annals*.[8] The latter surmise was surely false for Bellarmine's letter could not fail to set the Cardinal's mind completely at rest. More-

[1] The veteran Galli, died on February 3, 1607; Marzato, on August 31; see CIACONIUS, IV., 463, in which, strangely enough, Baronius has been omitted.

[2] *Cf.* *Avvisi, January 11 and 21, 1606, Vatican Library.

[3] See CALENZIO, 814.

[4] See *Avviso, December 30, 1606, Vatican Library.

[5] Ad a. 1191, n. 52 and 1192, n. 73. *Cf.*, moreover, also ad a. 324, n. 108–110.

[6] *Cf.* PICHLER, II., 690; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche und Staat*, 371.

[7] *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 364 *seq.*; CALENZIO, *Baronio*, 802; LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 567 *seq.*

[8] See *Avvisi, May 5 and June 6, 1607, Vatican Library.

over, at that time, Baronius only thought of preparing himself for death, for he realized full well the seriousness of his condition. His physician suggested a visit to Frascati. Though he felt that a change of air could no longer do him any good, Baronius was ready to submit. He made only one request, viz. that his confessor should accompany him.[1] At Frascati, where he took up residence once more in his modest little house near the Villa Piccolomini, his condition grew so much worse that on June 17th it was rumoured in Rome that he was dead.[2] The rumour proved premature, but the condition of the aged scholar was hopeless.[3] He bore with utmost patience the terrible pain which the disease caused him; the serenity of his soul was undimmed; with great joy he looked forward to the dissolution which would unite him with Christ. For him, as for St. Francis, "Brother Death" was a dear friend with whom he had been on familiar terms, every day, for many years.[4] Only one wish did he still cherish: he longed to die among his beloved Oratorians. In this spirit he had long ago applied to himself the words of Job: "I would fain die in my little nest," (Job. xxix, 18) and he had begged the Oratorians to give him a room in their house in which he had spent the happiest days of his life. On June 19th, therefore, Baronius had himself taken back to Rome. In those moments it was not the objections to his *Annals* that hurt him, but rather a feeling that he was unworthy of the purple and the regret that it had not been granted to him to end his days as a simple priest. Repeatedly fortified with the Holy Viaticum he died on the evening of June 30th, 1607, amid the prayers of his Oratorians. His wish had been to be buried very simply, like a poor man, in his titular church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. However, the Oratorians could not bear the thought of parting with

[1] See BARNABEUS, *Vita C. Baronii*, 111 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso, June 20, 1607, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Avvisi, June 23 and 30, 1607, *loc. cit.* In the latter we read that: "Il card. Baronio ancor vive et è miracolo che campi essendosi ridotto a niente."

[4] See BARNABEUS, 112.

his mortal remains, so they buried him in their church, in their common burial place to the left of the high altar.[1] A year later, when Cardinal Tarugi died, the two friends were given a joint resting place to the right of the high altar.[2]

Grief in Rome was universal, for the piety and goodness of the Cardinal had won him all hearts. Not a few among the twenty-one Cardinals who took part in the obsequies were unable to restrain their tears.[3] Of opposition to the *Annals* there was no longer any question. The twelfth volume was put on the market,[4] and before long even the defenders of the authenticity of the Constantinian donation held their peace.[5] It is a remarkable thing that even the representative of Venice, Francesco Contarini, could not hide his admiration for the dead Cardinal: he extolled him as "the eye of the Church".[6] Almost the whole of the manuscript material left by "the father of modern Church history", went into the library of the Oratorians, near S. Maria in Vallicella. Here one may still admire to-day the gigantic work which stands alone in the story of ecclesiastical historiography.[7] The same library also houses his sermon plans, his youthful

[1] See BARNABEUS, 113 *seq.*; CALENZIO, 807 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *Avvisi, July 4 and 7, 1607, Vatican Library.

[2] See CALENZIO, 813. The sarcophagus in the lower church bears the simple words: *Ossa Caesaris card. Baronii hic reposita a. sal. 1607; see A. GROSSI-GONDI in the periodical *San Filippo Neri III.* (1923), No. 8, who advocates the introduction of the canonical process on the heroic virtues of Baronius.

[3] See *Avviso, July 7, 1607. "Veramente specchio di bontà et religione et amato di tutti," it is here stated. Vatican Library.

[4] See the second *Avviso, July 7, 1607, *loc. cit.*

[5] See DÖLLINGER, *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*[2], München, 1863, 106.

[6] See MUTINELLI, III., 32. In Germany also, the death of Baronius was at once much regretted; see RATTI, *Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio*, 33.

[7] The manuscript of the Annals is preserved in the Vatican Library. (*Cf.* our notes, Vol. XIX, 182 *seq.*, and P. GUILDAY, *Church Historians*, New York, 1926, 168 *seqq.*) *Vat.* 5684–5695; see CALENZIO, 966 *seqq.*

correspondence with his parents and relations, as well as his extensive correspondence with the most important men of his age, with Saints such as Giovenale Ancina, Antonio Maria Tarugi, Giovan Battista Vitelli; with scholars like Guglielmo Sirleto, Justus Lipsius, Stanislaus Rescius, Isaac Casaubonus, Guglielmo Lindanus, Antonio Possevino, Matthaeus Rader, Dioysius Petavius and with Cardinals Bellarmine and Federigo Borromeo. Besides many other Cardinals, princes such as Henry IV. of France, the emperor Rudolph II., Sigismund III. of Poland and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, likewise figure in this correspondence in which the genius that wrote the *Annals* stands out in a most attractive light, not only as a scholar but as a man and an ascetic.

The library also preserves Baronius' handy edition of Eusebius' *History of the Church*, as well as his Bible, which contains proofs of the Cardinal's devotion to the Mother of God.[1] For a number of years one could see in a small study attached to the library, and over the desk at which Odorico Rainaldi wrote his continuation of the *Annals*,[2] a portrait of Baronius with the beautiful distich :—

> Learning and godliness, this twofold flame,
> Casts mingled splendour round Baronius' name.[3]

Two eminent members of the Sacred College were on terms of closest friendship both with Baronius and with Paul V. They were Federigo Borromeo and Bellarmine. Federigo was archbishop of Milan since 1595, and in the discharge of

[1] See LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 65 *seq.*, and *De C. Baronii litterarum commercio*, Freiburg, Breisg. 1903., *Cf.* also CALENZIO, LXIII. *seqq.*

[2] Only in these modern times, in which so many Roman memorials have been ruthlessly destroyed, this sacred spot also has suffered desecration. Here no less a man than Joh. Friedrich Böhmer shed tears of pious reverence in 1850; see JANSSEN, *Leben Böhmers*, I., 326. I, too, was privileged to work at Rainaldi's desk in 1879.

[3] Historia et pietate micat Baronius: Alter
Lumen ab alterius lumine sumit honos.

the duties of his office he successfully modelled himself on his famous predecessor and kinsman, Charles Borromeo, in whose honour he also erected the well-known colossal statue near Arona. Besides a provincial council, Federigo held fourteen diocesan synods. He seemed insensible to fatigue, spending himself on behalf of his vast diocese, especially in the pulpit, the administration of the sacraments, education, and in works of charity. None the less the government of his diocese and the preservation of ecclesiastical authority and immunity involved him in many conflicts with the caesaro-papalism of the Spanish authorities. If these complications led him at times too far, right was, in most instances, on his side and his task it was to defend it against politicians who were always suspicious and who had become familiarized with tyrannical power in their native land. One wonders how a man whose time was so fully taken up by his pastoral duties, could still find leisure for an extensive literary activity embracing biblical studies, dogmatic and moral theology, Canon law, and Church history. The Ambrosian Library, which he founded and inaugurated in 1609, is an eloquent witness to his love of knowledge. To the library he added a printing press as well as a college of doctors, a picture gallery, and an academy of the fine arts.[1]

By his piety and learning the great controversialist, Bellarmine, was a rival of Borromeo and Baronius. After the two conclaves of the year 1605; in which the tiara had come within his reach, Paul V. kept him in Rome where, to the day of his death (September 17th, 1621) he exercised considerable influence in the cardinalitial Congregations.

[1] Contrast the older biography by Fr. Rivola (Milan, 1656), with the more recent ones by Roberti (Milan, 1870), and Piedagnel-Quesnel (Lille, 1890). See also Reumont in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, II².,1125 *seq.* The decrees of Paul V. concerning the Ambrosiana in *Bull.*, XI., 279 *seq.*, 511 *seq.* With regard to the Museum see Borromeo, *Il museo del card. F. Borromeo*, Milan, 1909, and Beltrami in *Emporium*, 1918, 3 *seq.* For the literary activities of F. Borromeo see also Ratti, *Opuscolo*, 53 *seq.*

Besides the polemical writings, especially those against Sarpi and James I., which he composed by order of the Pope,[1] the most important literary fruit of his mature years is a catechism for the young. This book has had an almost infinite number of editions; it has been translated into a dozen different languages, has been recommended by the Popes, and is in use to this day.[2]

In what esteem Bellarmine was held by the common people was shown at his funeral, which became a triumph. The crowds that surged round his bier knew nothing of his learned writings. But they knew his charity to the poor, and revered him as a real Saint. "I have known, at various times," says Cardinal Valier, "men of high standing as regards learning, goodness, and an exemplary conduct, nay, even men who died with a reputation for holiness, but in all of them together I have not found so many virtues, and those in so high a degree, as in this great soldier of Christ. The humility, kindness, piety, purity, meekness, liberality, contempt of the world, sincerity, obedience to superiors, which had distinguished him as a simple religious, he preserved as a Cardinal, to the end of his life."[3] The judgment passed on him by all Rome, from the Cardinals down to the beggars, was ratified by the highest authority when it ranked him among the Blessed.[4]

The prudent circumspection with which Paul V. was wont to proceed in all things caused the creation of new Cardinals, which had been expected for some time,[5] to be delayed until

[1] *Cf.* Couderc, II., 109 *seq.*, 146 *seq.* See too, above, p. 147, and vol. XXVI., ch. III.

[2] See Sommervogel, I., 1182–1204.

[3] See Bartoli, I., 4 (IV., 22).

[4] Bellarmine was canonized and declared a Doctor of the Church by Pius XI. in June, 1933. [Transl. note.]

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso, September 12, 1607, Vatican Library. The Pope had promised to please the Spanish king by hastening the creation of cardinals. *Brief to Philip III., dated September 12, 1607 (*Epist.*, III., 164, *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives).

December 10th, 1607.[1] This nomination was intended to give satisfaction to the wishes of the princes.[2] Out of regard for the emperor, the aged archbishop of Gran, Francis Forgács, primate and grand chancellor of Hungary, was raised to the purple. He was an excellent man and had done good service to the Church. François de Rochefoucauld, bishop of Clermont, had likewise shown great zeal for the Catholic reform, but that humble prelate whose learning equalled his piety, regretted the efforts made on his behalf by Henry IV.[3] On December 10th, Philip III. and his minister, the Duke of Lerma, had at last the satisfaction of seeing the fulfilment of their wishes in regard to Jeronimo Xavier.[4] In addition to these, two Italian princes were likewise admitted into the Senate of the Church: they were Ferdinand Gonzaga, the barely twenty-year-old brother of the reigning Duke of Mantua,[5] and Maurice of Savoy, fourth son of Duke Charles Emmanuel. This prince was only fourteen years old at the time; later on he brilliantly acted the part of a Maecenas towards writers and artists.[6]

[1] See **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. Compare the *report of the Mantuan Ambassador of December 10, 1607, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MUTINELLI, III., 276 *seq.* With regard to those nominated see CIACONIUS, IV., 410 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 134 *seq.*; *cf.* also the *Briefs to the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, *Epist.*, III., 302–323, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso, December 12, 1607, Vatican Library.

[3] See the biographies of Rochefoucauld by ROUVIÈRE (Paris, 1645), P. DE LA MORNIÈRE (Paris, 1646), and FR. DE ROCHEFOUCAULD (Paris, 1926). *Cf.* also the **Discorso* of 1618 in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] In a *Brief of October 18, 1607, Paul V. promised the Duke of Lerma to hasten the creation, *Epist.*, III., 166, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] A letter of thanks from the Duchess to Paul V. is printed in PASSARINI, "Lettere di Donne Illustri" (*Publication for Nozze Borghese-Ruffo*), Rome, 1870, 39 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 415 *seq.* and *Appendix* (Romae, 1791), 1 *seq.*; *Curios. e ricerche di stor. subalp.*, II., 511 *seq.*; *Mem. d. vita e tempi di Mgr. Giov. Secondo Ferrero-Ponziglione, primo*

In the course of the year 1608, in which five Cardinals died,[1] a new promotion was repeatedly mooted, even in the Pope's entourage.[2] Though the ambassadors were importunate, they failed to get definite information.[3] Once again, when no one expected it, five new Cardinals were proclaimed, on November 24th, 1608.[4] Two of their number, Fabrizio Verallo and Giambattista Leni, were natives of Rome.

Verallo owed his promotion to his successful nunciature in Switzerland as well as to the recommendation of his kinsman Millini. His was an exemplary life, and he was one of the most rigid of the set of men who were truly animated by the spirit of their state.[5] Since his duties as a member of the Congregations of the Index, of Bishops and of Rites, prevented him from complying with the law of residence, he spontaneously resigned his see of San Severo. In Rome, in his capacity as commendatory abbot of Sant' Agnese, he embellished the church and monastery of that Saint, at whose tomb he ordered eight lamps to be kept burning day and night. During repairs to the floor of Sant' Agnese, eight charming reliefs were found, representing scenes from Greek mythology and legend. These are to-day one of the treasures of the palazzo Spada alla Regola.[6] In the church of St. Augustine, where

consigli e audit. generale del princ. Card. Maurizio di Savoia, racc. p. G. B. ADRIANI, Torino, 1856; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1858, I., 241 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. ital., N.S.V.*, 2, 75 *seq.*, 81; F. RANDI, *Card. Maurizio di Savoia mecenate dei letterati e degli artisti*, Turin, 1891. *Cf.* also J. DELLA GIOVANNA, *Agos. Mascardi e Maurizio card. di Savoia*, in the *Racc. dedic. ad A d'Ancona*, Florence, 1901, 117 *seq.*

[1] See the names in CIACONIUS, IV., 463.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi, March 29, April 26, September 13, 1608, Vatican Library.

[3] It was thought that the Consistory would not be held until Christmas; see *Avviso, November 12, 1608, Vatican Library.

[4] See **Acta Consist., loc. cit.* *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 416 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 145 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] See HELBIG, II.[3], 382 *seq.*

Verallo was buried, in the chapel belonging to his family, there is still seen on the adjoining pilaster a beautiful bust of this noble prince of the Church.[1]

Giambattista Leni had been a fellow student, at Perugia, of his cousin Scipio Borghese, to whom, even physically, he bore a striking resemblance. They always remained close friends.[2] In 1611 Leni became bishop of Ferrara: he there held a synod and introduced the Theatines. By his instructions Giovan Battista Soria adorned the church of the Barnabites, San Carlo ai Catinari, in Rome, with a magnificent façade.[3]

Luigi Capponi and Lanfranco Margotti were worthy colleagues of these two Cardinals. The former had earned the red hat by acting as treasurer to Paul V., whereas Lanfranco had been his trusted private secretary.[4]

Michelangelo Tonti, the fifth among the appointments of November 24th, 1608, sprang from a very poor family of Rimini. He began by studying for the law, at Bologna. From there he went to Rome where he saw himself compelled, for a time, to earn his livelihood by officiating as organist in the church of St. Roch. However, he had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of Francesco Borghese, and through him that of Cardinal Camillo Borghese who took him into his service. When Camillo Borghese became Pope he made Tonti, who had proved his loyalty, general auditor to his nephew Scipio. In 1607 he named him *datarius*, in place of Arigoni, and in 1608 he conferred on him the archbishopric of Nazaret. Tonti had succeeded in acquiring immense influence over Cardinal Scipio Borghese. He had likewise won the friendship of the powerful Lanfranco Margotti. For all that, in the autumn of 1611, a serious disagreement arose between the two men. Tonti saw himself forced to withdraw into his diocese of Cesena which had been conferred on him in 1609.

[1] The epitaph is in Ciaconius, IV., 418.

[2] *Cf.* the **Discorso* of 1618, *loc. cit.*

[3] The inscription is in Ciaconius, IV., 419.

[4] See above, p. 60 *seq.*

He remained there during the whole of Paul V.'s pontificate, for besides Lanfranco there were other Cardinals having the ear of the Pope who were unfavourably disposed towards him, such as Millini, Capponi, Leni and Rivarola, and on the other hand Cardinal Scipio Borghese did not dare to take any steps on behalf of his protégé.[1] At Cesena, Tonti applied himself wholeheartedly to the duties of his office. In his will he bequeathed his house in Rome to his intimate friend, Joseph of Calasanza, to be turned into an educational establishment for destitute youths. Thus originated the Collegio Nazareno which, in course of time, became a flourishing institution.[2]

Tonti's disgrace was connected with his jealousy of Domenico Rivarola,[3] a Genoese, who enjoyed the favour of Cardinal Borghese and Paul V., and who was raised to the purple on August 17th, 1611. The promotion of that day,[4] which also came as a complete surprise,[5] created an entirely new situation in the Sacred College, for no less than eleven

[1] *Cf.* the **Discorso* of 1608, *loc. cit.* See also the *Relazione di Roma* of 1624 in Papal Secret Archives II., 150, No. 3.

[2] *Cf.* MORONI, XIV., 178 *seq.* and A. LEONETTI, *Memorie del Collegio Nazareno eretto in Roma da S. Gius. Calasanzio per volontà e per opera di M Tonti, card. di Nazaret,* Bologna, 1882.

[3] See CARDELLA, VI., 155 *seq.* *Cf.* BRANCONDIUS DE ULPHIDA, *Oratio de laudibus ill. et rev. Dom. Rivarolae S.R.E. Cardinalis,* Firmi, 1611.

[4] See **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; *Avviso, August 20, 1611, *ibid.*, *cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 421 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 152 *seq.*

[5] As early as the summer of 1609 there had been talk of a promotion; see *Avviso, August 26, 1609. An *Avviso, April 17, 1610, mentions that it would certainly take place at Whitsuntide. An *Avviso May 22, 1610, names several Cardinals and gives reasons for hastening the appointments. An *Avviso, December 4, 1610, says opinion at court was that Carlo de' Medici, not Francesco, would be made Cardinal (Vatican Library). Philip III., in his *letter to Aytona, mentions a wish of the Duke of Urbino, for the next creation of Cardinals. January 14, 1609. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

new members were appointed.[1] The majority of them were in close alliance with the Borghese and all were excellent men who had done good work in difficult circumstances.

The Neapolitan, Decio Carafa, had been nuncio in Flanders and Spain. Rivarola happened to be acting as nuncio extraordinary in France during the critical period that followed the assassination of Henry IV. Subsequently he happily composed a dangerous quarrel between the people of Rieti and Cantalice, in the Sabine country. The Siennese, Metello Bichi, had long been a confidant of the Pope who had employed him in a number of difficult affairs. As for Giacopo Serra, he had carried out the delicate task of treasurer so successfully that he retained it for a time even as Cardinal.

Among the Cardinals created in 1611, two were natives of Rome, viz. Crescenzi and Lancelloti. Pietro Paolo Crescenzi was a disciple of Philip Neri and his piety as well as his strong sense of justice had won him the favour of Paul V. Orazio Lancellotti, a nephew of Cardinal Scipio, had so proved his worth as an auditor of the Rota [2] that Tonti met with no difficulty when he suggested his elevation to the Pope, though it was precisely this that eventually led to the breach between him and Millini.[3] It was likewise Tonti who drew Paul V.'s attention to Filippo Filonardi who had been successively bishop of Aquino, governor of Fermo, and lastly, vice-legate at Avignon. The Florentine, Giambattista Bonsi, owed his nomination both to his splendid work as bishop of Béziers

[1] See **Acta Consist., ibid.*; *cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 421 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 152 *seqq.*, and the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The great number of nominations is explained partly by the fact that since November, 1608, eleven Cardinals had died (see CIACONIUS, IV., 463); they were: Guevara, O. Maffei, Serafino Olivier, Torres, Cinzio Aldobrandini, Bufalo, Pamfili, Pierbenedetti (*cf.* FORCELLA, XI., 60), Paravicini, Bernerio and Pinelli. The *Index librorum bibliothecae D. card. Pinelli*, dated January 1, 1603, in *Barb.*, XXXIX., 94, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* the *Avviso of August 20, 1611, Vatican Library.

and to the recommendation of the Queen of France.[1] The Spaniard, Gaspar Borja, owed his hat to the prayers of Philip III. It is symptomatic of the return to greater seriousness of life at that period that Borja found it difficult to make people forget his descent from the family of Alexander VI.[2]

In compliance with the disposition made by Sixtus V. in respect to the representation of the religious Orders in the Sacred College, the Pope added to the above-named the Franciscan Conventual, Felice Centini, and the General of the Dominicans, Agostino Galamina, a man of strict life and ardent zeal for the reform.[3]

More than four years elapsed before a fresh creation followed the numerous one of August, 1611, which had called forth the displeasure of the Spanish government.[4] In the meantime no less than eleven Cardinals had died, among them the faithful Lanfranco Margotti,[5] hence ten nominations were made on December 2nd, 1615.[6] France was represented by

[1] *Cf.* the **Discorso* of 1618, *ibid.* Joyeuse had been instructed in April to work for the nomination of Bonsi; see SIRI, II., 512.

[2] The suspicion with which Cardinal Borgia was watched transpires in the *Report of RECORDATI, December 1, 1612, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The **Discorso* of 1618 (*ibid.*) insists on the Cardinal's exemplary moral life. Borgia became Viceroy of Naples in 1620; see BALAN, VI., 698.

[3] *Cf.* I. CATALANUS, *De magistro s. palatii apost.*, Rome, 1751, 145 *seq.*; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Rome, I., 242 *seq.*; MORONI, XXVIII., 111 *seq.*; *Testamento del F. Agostino card. d'Araceli*, Rome, 1639.

[4] Eight, out of the nine Italian Cardinals, were considered as favouring France. See PERRENS, *L'Église*, I., 511.

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 463 *seq.* It is stated there that Lanfranco died on November 30, 1612. It must have been 1611, as appears from the inscription on the tombstone, given by CIACONIUS, IV., 422. The *Avviso, November 30, 1611, reports that Cardinal Borghese and Paul V. also visited the dying Cardinal and that the Pope deeply regretted the loss of this faithful and wise man. (Vatican Library.)

[6] See **Acta Consist.*, *ibid.* *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 432 *seq.*, CARDELLA, VI., 174 *seq.*, and the **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Louis de Guise, who was chosen out of consideration for Louis XIII,[1] but who was soon to give proofs of his utter unworthiness; Spain was represented by Gabriello Trejo Paniaqua and by the devout Baldassare Sandoval[2]; Venice by Francesco Vendramin.[3] The Florentine, Uberto Ubaldini, was justly entitled to the purple by reason of the splendid way in which he had carried out his duties as nuncio in France. The Roman, Tiberio Muti,[4] a distant relative of Paul V., and who had served the Pope for a number of years, justified his election by his magnificent work in the diocese of Viterbo,[5] which had been granted to him in 1605, and which he never left. Giulio Savelli, likewise a Roman, had distinguished himself by his prudence and zeal as nuncio in Savoy. To gratify the Grand Duke of Florence, the purple was bestowed not only upon his pleasure-loving son, Carlo de' Medici, but on another relative as well, the Roman, Alessandro Orsini, of the line of Bracciano, a great friend of the Jesuits.[6] The

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIII., dated December 29, 1615, *Epist.*, XV., *Arm.*, 45, Papal Secret Archives. France urgently requested a second Cardinal, just as Spain had been granted two, but Paul V. would not allow his rights of free choice to be influenced. See Siri, III., 406.

[2] In *Brief of July 1, 1615, Paul V. informed the Spanish king that he would meet his wishes as to the creation of Cardinals.

[3] It was thought that Paul V. would never nominate a Venetian; see **Discorso* of 1618, *ibid.* The question of the nomination of new Venetian Cardinals had been discussed for some years before; see **Discorso se il Papa doveva nell'ultima promotione fatta l'a. 1612* (sic) *far cardinali Veneziani, Urb.* 860, p. 185 *seq.*, Vatican Library. A relief by Michael Ongaro in S. Pietro di Castello, Venice, represents the nomination of Cardinal Vendramin.

[4] See the *Relazione di Roma*, 1624, *loc. cit.*, above, p. 332, A. 3, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] He restored the episcopal palace in that place as the inscriptions there record.

[6] For Carlo de Medici see G. Pieraccini, *La stirpe de Medici di Cafaggiolo*, II., 411 *seq.* A *Letter of congratulations on his elevation from archduke Albert to Cardinal Orsini. Dated Brussels, January 9, 1616, in the Orsini Archives, Rome.

elevation of Vincenzo Gonzaga was due to his brother having laid aside the purple on November 16th, 1615, to enable him to assume the government of the duchy of Mantua with a view to preventing the line from becoming extinct. Cardinal Ferdinando, as in duty bound, had asked the Pope's consent to his renunciation; it was readily granted.[1] Morally the two Gonzagas had sunk to a very low level; their degenerate life foreshadowed the doom of the ancient princely house. When Vincenzo contracted a secret marriage with Isabella Gonzaga, the widow of Ferrante Gonzaga, prince of Bozzolo, the Cardinals, in a consistory of September 5th, 1616, decreed that he had forfeited his dignity. The Pope confirmed their sentence.[2] Since that time no Gonzaga had been in a position to aspire to the purple.

[1] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. As to the permission for Ferdinand's marriage, "poichè non era initiato d'alcun ordine," see SIRI, III., 538.

[2] See **Acta Consist.*, September 5, 1616, *loc. cit.* *Cf. also* the report of September, 1616, ADEMOLLO, *La Bell'Adriana*, Città di Castello, 1888, 215 A. 1. It is characteristic of Vincenzo that he soon wished to separate from Isabella, to which end he sought to deceive Paul V. with false witnesses. Ferdinando Gonzaga also busied himself to obtain from the Pope an annulment of his brother's marriage, so that the latter might become a Cardinal again! Paul V. had the matter investigated, and it was proved that the secret marriage was valid and therefore could not be annulled. With regard to these disgraceful transactions, in which the Pope always behaved most honourably, *cf.* a study which corrects in many respects some of the statements of INTRA (Isabella Gonzaga di Bozzoli, Milan, 1897), by G. ERRANTE which rests on sound archival research: *Il processo per l'annullamente del matrim. tra Vincenzo II. duca di Mantova e Isabella Gonzaga di Novellara*, 1616–1617, in Historical Archives of Lombardy, 1916, 645 *seq.* *Cf.* also LUZIO, *Galleria Gonzaga* (1913), 53 *seq.* and *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, II., 176. For the matrimonial transactions of Ferdinand Gonzaga, who tried in vain, in Rome, to obtain the annulment of his secret marriage with Camilla Faà in February, 1616, see F. SORBELLI-BONFÀ, *Camilla Gonzaga Faà* (Bologna, 1918).

In the creation of December 2nd, 1615, Paul V. had reserved one name *in petto*. It was published on April 11th, 1616; it was that of the bishop of Vienna, Melchior Klesl, on whose behalf the emperor had intervened.[1]

On September 19th of the same year the Sacred College received an increase of six new members, all men of merit. They were: Alessandro Ludovisi, since 1612 archbishop of Bologna and mediator of the peace between Spain and Savoy; Ladislao d'Aquino, nuncio in Switzerland and subsequently governor of Perugia; Ottavio Belmosto, vice-legate of the Romagna and subsequently a member of the *Consulta*; Pietro Campori, major-domo to Cardinal Scipio Borghese; Matteo Priuli, son of the doge of Venice, and Scipio Cobelluzio, Secretary for Latin briefs.[2]

Two smaller promotions gave satisfaction to the pressing demands of the French and Spanish governments. On March 26th, 1618, the purple was bestowed upon the all-powerful minister of Philip III., the duke of Lerma, then a widower,[3] and on the excellent bishop of Paris, Henri de Gondi.[4] On July 29th, 1619, the son of the king of Spain,

[1] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the letter of Philip III. to Cardinal Borgia, dated May 29, 1616, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 32. See also KERSCHBAUMER, 218 *seq.*

[2] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.*, *Avviso, September 21, 1616, *ibid.* For the nominees see CIACONIUS, IV., 442 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 188 *seq.*; G. FERRARI, *Elogio del card. P. Campori, vesc. di Cremona*, Modena, 1878; **Discorso* of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For Sc. Cobelluzio see above, p. 60, note, and BLUME, II., 248, and G. DELL'AQUILA-VISCONTI, *Del prelato abbreviato de Curia*, Rome, 1870, 48 *seq.*

[3] See **Acta Consist.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 448 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 195 *seq.* The preliminary negotiations with the French government transpire from the reports of Bentivoglio. *Cf.* also *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, IV., 476.

[4] *Cf.* RANKE, *Osmanen*,[4] 164 *seq.* The bronze statue of Lerma in the church at Lerma; see JUSTI, *Spanische Reisebriefe*, Bonn, 1923, 329.

Ferdinando, only ten years old, became a member of the Sacred College.[1] In 1620, the Cardinal-Infante was appointed administrator of the archdiocese of Toledo and in that capacity he distinguished himself both as an able administrator and as a defender of ecclesiastical immunity. At a later date he won great popularity for himself as regent of the Low Countries.[2] Soon after the arrival of the new viceroy in Brussels, Van Dyck painted his portrait, in the magnificent robes which he wore at his solemn entry into the capital.[3]

The elevation of the Infante of Spain occasioned a good deal of worry and jealousy in France.[4] Since it was necessary to fill the many gaps made by death in the ranks of the Sacred College in 1618 and 1619,[5] the French ambassador, Coeuvres, began a vigorous campaign in view of the impending nomination. This creation, in which the decisive factor was the prospect of the conclave which, in view of Paul V.'s age,

[1] See **Acta Consist.*, *ibid.* *Cf.* the letters of Philip III. to Cardinal Borgia, dated Lisbon, February 22 and July 2, 1619; in Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28. *Ibid.*, the letter to Philip III. of January 21, 1619, in which Paul V., in view of the extreme youth of the Prince, expressed a desire to defer. Here belongs also the *Breve* to *Henricus, Dux Lotharingiae*, dated September 17, 1619, with respect to his request that the purple should be conferred on the bishop of Verdun; this is said to be impossible as no creations were planned for the present. (*Epist.*, XIV., 249, Papal Secret Archives.) For the French wishes see SIRI, V., 47 *seq.*, 59.

[2] CIACONIUS, IV., 449 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 197 *seq.*; PIRENNE, *Gesch. Belgiens*, IV., 377 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*

[3] The portrait is now in the *Prado* Museum, Madrid; see KNACKFUSS, *Rubens*, 94 *seq.*, in which there is also a reproduction of the magnificent picture. *Cf.* also JUSTI, *Missellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten*, II., Berlin, 1908, 275 *seq.*, for the relations between the Infante and Rubens.

[4] See SIRI, V., 34 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 464. Cardinal Valenti died on August 22, 1618. I here draw the attention of art historians to his superb tomb in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime.

could not be very distant,[1] took place on January 11th, 1621, only a few months before the death of the Borghese Pope. Coeuvres had done his utmost to secure the nomination of the bishop of Luçon, Richelieu, and to prevent that of Pignatelli, which was also opposed by a court clique supported by Farnese and Montalto.[2] Even at the last hour, on January 10th, 1621, the envoy remonstrated with the Pope with such insistence that a violent scene ensued.[3] However, Coeuvres failed to get his wish. The only concession that France managed to secure was the nomination of Louis de Nogaret de Lavalette, a warrior rather than an ecclesiastic and one who never took orders. As against these, the other princes of the Church proved worthy of their elevation. They were: Eitel Frederick, count of Hohenzollern; the Venetian, Pietro Valier; the Milanese, Giulio Roma; the Genoese, Agostino Spinola, and the loyal assistants of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, namely, Cesare Gherardi and Stefano Pignatelli. To these the Pope adjoined three other men of the very first rank: Francesco Cennini, Desiderio Scaglia, and Guido Bentivoglio.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Siri, V., 238 *seq.* and the *Report of Fabrizio Aragona of January 13, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Not merely at Rome was there much criticism of the last promotion (*cf.* the *Report of Aragona of January 27, 1621, *ibid.*), but also in Vienna. The Florentine ambassador Altoviti reported from there on January 27, 1621: *"Questa corte resta maravigliata che essendovi inclusi i Nuntii che sono in Spagna e in Francia sia stato escluso questo che è qua." State Archives, Florence.

[2] See Siri, V., 238 *seq.*, 249. *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 461.

[3] See Siri, V., 242 *seq.*

[4] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library; Ciaconius, IV., 453 *seq.* A rare, large broadsheet contains "*Insignia, nomina, cognomina et dignitates cardinalium a Paulo V. creatorum die 11. Januarii 1621*". For C. Gherardi *cf.* A. Alfieri, *Fossato di Vico*, Rome, 1900, 88 *seq.* Cardinal Roma was a strict, ecclesiastically minded man, whose qualities were so excellent that at the time of Urban VIII. he was counted one of the "*papabili*". Only one thing went against him, namely that he was a "creatura di Borghese" (**Notes on the Cardinals of Urban VIII.*; Original in my possession.) For Cardinal von Zollern, *cf.* Forst in *Mitteil. des Ver.*

Francesco Cennini, a scion of a noble family of Sienna, was endowed with an extraordinary capacity for work and this he put unreservedly at the disposal of Paul V. At the time of his nomination he held the post of nuncio at the Spanish court. For the Borghese Pope he cherished an attachment so constant and so strong that shortly before his death, in 1645, he made arrangements for his body to be laid to rest at the feet of Paul V. At San Marcello, in the Corso, on the right hand side of the entrance, the monument of Cennini may be seen adorned with his statue, which his nephews erected in his honour.[1]

Desiderio Scaglia likewise sprang from an aristocratic family. At an early age he entered the Order of St. Dominic. His active career began in his native city of Cremona; subsequently he also worked in other parts of Lombardy. In view of his piety and learning, Clement VIII. made him Inquisitor in Upper Italy. Paul V. called him to Rome and entrusted to him the important charge of Commissary General of the Roman Inquisition.

Guido Bentivoglio, born in 1579, at Ferrara, was a man of

f. Gesch. von Hohenzollern, 1893–4, and *ibid.*, 1897 *seq.*, B. ALBERS. See also *Mitteil. des Hist. Ver. f. Osnabruck*, XIX. (1894); DUHR, II., 1, 84; HEBEISEN, 41 *seq.*, 91 *seq.* In a **Relatione dei cardinali* of 1623 it is said of Zollern: "Sotto Clemente (VIII.) fu cameriero d'onore irreprensible nei costumi, honoratissimo nel trattare, amato di tutta la corte, liberale, giocondo, senza niun arteficio, di giudicio molto sano e prudente; conosce le furbarie degli Italiani, ma non le sa fare, dipende assolutamente dell'Imperatore suo fautore e della corona di Spagna" (*Cod.*, CCCCXI. of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome). Here we must also mention the *report in cipher of the ABBATE ALFONSO PICO to King Ferdinand II., dated Rome, December 26, 1620: "Il Card Mellino m'ha detto esserci bolle di pontifici rigorosissime, perchè non si promovano al cardinalato ad istanza de principi quelli sogietti che siano stati nuntii alli principi che li domandono." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] The inscription on the tomb is in FORCELLA, II., 315. A bust of the Cardinal shows his ascetic features.

outstanding ability. He began his career as *Cameriere Segreto* of Clement VIII. Under Paul V. he held the nunciature of the Low Countries from 1607 until 1615, and that of France from 1616 till 1621; in all those charges he gave proof of an uncommon aptitude for diplomacy.[1] The famous portrait by Van Dyck, which now adorns the Palazzo Pitti, is a speaking likeness of the shrewd statesman. His features appear small but they are distinguished; the forehead is lofty; the beard thin and pointed; the slender fingers loosely hold a sheet of paper. The portrait may well be described as the world's noblest painting of a Cardinal.[2] The painter Claude Lorrain also found a patron in the art-loving Bentivoglio. His contemporaries vie with one another in their praise of this shrewd and talented man[3] who cast an extraordinary spell on all who came in contact with him. Bentivoglio was a brilliant orator as well as a very able writer.[4] His history of the war

[1] *Cf.* ch. IX. and vol. XXVI, I. Bentivoglio was to have gone as nuncio to Spain in 1605, but the mission never came off. The **Instruttione al arcivescovo di Rodi* (Bentivoglio) *alla M^ta^ Catt^ca^*, dated June 21, 1605, drawn up at that time by Cardinal Valenti, is in the Papal Secret Archives in a codex not as yet filed.

[2] *Cf.* KNACKGUSS, *A. van Dyck*, 32 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, *Beiträge*, 333, and *Vorträge*, 327 *seq.* Two coloured oil sketches, representing the handing of the decree and the imposition of the red hat by Gregory XV., now in private possession in Berlin, are probably from the brush of Van Dyck, according to the kind information given by Regierungsrat Max Friedeberg (Unter den Linden, 42). They have been inherited from the well-known Ulrike von Levetzow (d. 1899), who had inherited them from the collection of her stepfather, Graf Klebelsberg; see *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, LX., 8 (1926).

[3] For an account of the frescoes in his palace at Rome, see *Kunstchronik N.F.*, XXIII., 238.

[4] For what follows *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 323 *seq.*; WACHLER, *Gesch. der hist. Wissenschaften*, I., Göttingen, 1813, 496 *seq.*; RANKE, *Popes*, III., 91; REUMONT, III., 2, 700, and in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VII., 255; FUETER, *Gesch. der neueren Historiographie* (1911), 129, 287; BAUMGARTNER, *Gesch. der Weltliteratur*, VI.,

in the Low Countries, his diplomatic reports, above all, his letters, which were in part published during his lifetime, won him a name in the literary world. Every page of this correspondence reveals the skilled diplomatist, polished by constant intercourse with the most refined society, as well as the mature observer.[1] The history of the defection of the Low Countries which Bentivoglio wrote under Urban VIII., owes its beginning to his prolonged sojourn at the court of Brussels. The same subject was also being treated at that time by the Jesuit Famiano Strado. The intrinsic value of the latter's work far surpasses that of Bentivoglio, though the Cardinal's book met with much greater success. This he owed to his pleasing style more than to anything else, though he did not escape the propensity towards affectation and artificiality of style which were so prevalent at the time. Skilfully written, brilliant and full of interest are the personal *Memoirs* of Bentivoglio; these, however, only appeared after his death. He began them in his sixty-third year and they were planned to cover the whole of his career. Unfortunately, the Cardinal, whose health had never been robust, died before he had completed even the first part, which only reaches the year 1601.

The detailed and attractive account of the court of Clement VIII. and of his Cardinals, of the Jubilee of 1600,

487 *seq.* For the nunciature reports of Bentivoglio *cf.* below, ch. IX and ch. I of vol. XXVI. *Dodici lettere inedite di Bentivoglio ed una di Fulvio Testi con notazioni* (Ferrara, 1869, only 100 copies printed contain documents of the years 1621–1637. The new edition of Bentivoglio's *Memorie*, which appeared in 3 vols., Milan, 1864, contains fifty-eight unpublished pieces. In *Ottob.* 2742 (Vatican Library) is *Alcune lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, especially of the year 1622. I quote the following distich :—

Bentivolus calamo celebris super aethera vivit,
Unde alios calamos serpere cernit humi.

[1] See WACHLER, *loc. cit. Cf.*, also, the essay in the periodical, *Katholische Bewegung*, ed. by Dr. Rody, XVII., Würzburg, 1880, 536 *seq.* For Bentivoglio's controversy with Chapelain about his history of the war in Flanders, *cf.* COCHIN, *H. Arnauld*, Paris, 1921, 25 *seq.*

and of Cardinal Aldobrandini's embassy to France, contains a quantity of very reliable information. The discretion which his position as a Cardinal imposed on Bentivoglio prevented him from relating a great many things which the ambassadors, on their part, were free to report in their secret dispatches. Nevertheless he did not hesitate freely to blame the nepotism of Clement VIII., and he made no mystery of his opinion of Cardinals Aldobrandini, Sforza, and Deti. On the whole, however, Bentivoglio prefers soft to glaring colours. The calm and tranquillity of the last years of his life, which had not been without its fair share of bitter hours, are clearly reflected in his *Memoirs*. It is impossible to read without emotion the preface in which the Cardinal describes the contradictory feelings that fill him as he looks back upon his life. Worn out by the labours of a long life, the old man sings the praises of divine grace which called him to the ecclesiastical state, brought him, as a young man, into the entourage of Clement VIII., and led him, under Paul V., to the courts of Brussels and Paris, and finally into the Sacred College. "When I consider," he adds, "that in spite of the many graces I have received from God, I have not always rendered to the Church proportionate services, I am overcome by a sharp feeling of compunction. By offering to God the sacrifice of a contrite heart I hope to receive pardon in the short time which may still be granted to me." The presentiment of his death was soon to be realized: Bentivoglio died on September 7th, during the conclave of 1644, at the moment when the tiara, for which he had so long striven, was actually hovering over his head. He found a resting place in San Silvestro al Quirinale, but until 1771 no monument, not even as much as an inscription, recalled the memory of a man who had been so long one of the most eminent members of the Sacred College.

CHAPTER VIII.

Spread of Christianity in Missionary Countries.

One of the most striking features of the government of Paul V. is the support he gave to the world-wide activity of the men who were preaching the Gospel in Japan, in China, in India, in the uplands of Ethiopia and the lowlands of the Congo, in Persia, and on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. No persecution, however bloody, could induce them to give up their apostolic undertakings and the Pope on his part considered it as one of his most sacred duties to give them all the support he could.[1] Of this the events in Japan furnished the most splendid proof.

Of all the princes who, in the island empire of the Far East, were striving for supremacy, the no less ambitious than energetic Tjejasu, who was also the founder of the house of Tokugawa which reigned until 1868, had succeeded in crushing his opponents and in securing from the emperor the title of Shogun. In 1605, Tjejasu passed the title on to his son, though he retained all power in his own hands. Under him the Christian missions enjoyed at first a measure of tranquillity of which full advantage was taken by the Jesuits, the Franciscans, who, in Clement VIII.'s pontificate had come over from the Philippines, by the Dominicans and by the Augustinians. The statistics of the Jesuits for the years 1606–1607 record the conversion of 15,000 adults. Nagasaki was the most important Christian centre. There, in addition to five parishes served by Japanese priests, the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians had their own churches, so that Nagasaki came to be surnamed "little Rome".[2] The number of the missionaries from the Mendicant

[1] *Cf.* the communication of Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish Nuncio. Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 86.

[2] See Delplace, II., 64.

Orders increased when, on June 11th, 1608, at the request of Philip III., Paul V. revoked the prescription of Clement VIII. which obliged missionaries to travel by way of Lisbon and Goa.[1] But by that time a fearful storm was gathering against the Christian communities. Dutch and English sailors and merchants contributed to its outbreak. The merchants were not concerned with the spread of the "pure Gospel"; all they aimed at was to capture a lucrative trade and to give vent to their hatred of Catholicism. They represented to Tjejasu that the Catholic missionaries were a danger to the State, inasmuch as they were but the agents of the king of Spain who disguised his intention to turn Japan into a Spanish colony under the cloak of Christianity.[2] Insinuations of this kind were all the more readily listened to inasmuch as Tjejasu, who was a convinced adherent of Buddhism, saw in the profession of a new faith, to which the bulk of his people were strangers, an obstacle to his effort at unifying Japan. The trade which the country needed could be secured by dealing with the English and the Dutch who, unlike the Spaniards and the Portuguese, did not demand liberty for their religion.[3] The persecution broke out in 1613. In the month of August, twenty-nine Christians, and the Franciscan, Luis Sotelo, were arrested at Ieddo (Tokio). The former suffered death, whilst Sotelo was set at liberty through the intervention of Date Masamune, the powerful prince of Osiu, in the North-East of the Island of Nippon.[4] Masamune, an ambitious and enterprising man, bore with reluctance his dependence on the aged Tjejasu. He aimed at making use of the commercial relations with Spain to which Tjejasu could not object, for the purpose of making himself master of the whole of

[1] *Bull.*, XI., 501 *seq.* *Cf.* JANN, 187 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 80, 85 *seq.*

[3] This is the opinion of the Japanese G. MITSUKURI in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXXVII., 208. There were many other causes for the outbreak of the persecution besides the agitation fostered by the English and Dutch. This is pointed out also by L. PEREZ in *Arch. Francisc.*, II. (1209), 57 *seq.*

[4] See MITSUKURI, *ibid.*, 197.

Japan, with the combined assistance of the Japanese Christians, the king of Spain and the Pope. The fiery and eloquent Luis Sotelo, a native of southern Spain, was to be another tool of the prince. Sotelo had the imprudence to fall in with the plan; more than that, he took it up with the utmost enthusiasm and already he saw himself as archbishop of all Japan. Together with Sotelo, Masamune put at the head of the embassy which was to visit the courts of Madrid and Rome, his own vassal, Hasekura Rokuyëmon.[1]

[1] For a long time we were exclusively dependent for the history of this embassy on information proceeding from *L. Sotelo* which SCIPIONE AMATI made public in his book: *Historia del regno di Voxu del Giappone, dell'antichità, nobilità e valore, del suo re Idate Masamune . . . e dell'ambasciata che ha inviato alla S^tà di N.S.P. Paolo V.* (Roma, 1615). This was reprinted by MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA (*Storia d. miss. francesc. VII., Appendice al II. parte*, Prato, 1891). For Scipione Amati see (TACCHI VENTURI in *Civ. Catt.*, 1904, III., 400 *seq.*). A number of new documents were brought to light by L. PAGÈS (*Hist. de la religion chrétienne au Japon I. and II.*, Paris, 1869–1870) and BERCHET (*Le antiche ambasciate giapponesi in Italia*, Venice, 1877, 97 *seqq.*). The English biographer of Masamune, C. MERIWELTHER (*A Sketch of the Life of Masamune and an Account of his Embassy to Rome: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XXI., 1893) gives some fresh documents but they are spoilt by omissions and errors. This was proved by the Japanese G. MITSUKURI, *Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der japanischen Christen im 17. Jahrh.*, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII. (1901), 193 *seq.* This writer has discovered more material in archives and produced the best account of the embassy. Unfortunately it escaped the notice of both HOLZAPFEL (*Gesch. des Franziskanerordens*, 538) and FR. BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI (*Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi a Roma*, LXV., *seq.*), and also DELPLACE (II., 190 *seq.*), though the latter produced much valuable new material. The work of L. TASSO, *Vita del B. L. Sotelo* (S. Maria degli Angeli, 1892) is uncritical in its unconditional glorification of Sotelo; *cf.* DELPLACE, II., 104, 170. To all this there has now been added a publication of documents by the Japanese: DAI NIPPON SHIRYO (*Japanese Historical Materials*), compiled by the Institute of Historical Compilation, College of Literature, Imperial Univer-

The ambassadors took boat in October, 1613, their plan being to go to Spain by way of Mexico. On January 30th, 1615, Hasekura handed to the king of Spain a letter from his overlord in which the latter prayed for the dispatch of Franciscan missionaries and for the conclusion of an alliance. By word of mouth the envoy conveyed the information that it was Masamune's intention to put both his person and his territory under the protectorate of Philip III. The cabinet of Madrid was too shrewd to allow itself to become involved in so adventurous a proposal. The envoys, of whom several received baptism,[1] Hasekura among them, were entertained with the utmost courtesy, but when, nine months later, they took their departure they had completely failed to achieve their real purpose.[2] From Spain they journeyed to Rome by way of Genoa. The Pope assigned lodgings to them in the Franciscan convent of *Ara coeli*. On October 25th, 1615, Paul V. received them in private audience. On 29th October they made a solemn entry,[3] and on November 3rd they were received in public audience, in presence of many Cardinals.[4]

sity of Tokyo, Part XII., Vol. 12, Tokyo, 1909. For Sotelo, compare also PEREZ in *Arch. Ibero-Americano*, XXI. (1924), 327 *seq.*, XXII. (1925), 59 *seq.*

[1] Portrait of Hasekura in H. BÖHLEN (*Die Franziskaner in Japan einst und jetzt*), Trèves, 1912, 89.

[2] See MITSUKURI, *loc. cit.*, 202 *seq.*, who rightly emphasizes that the real reason for the persecution of Christians lay in the policy of unity, which at that time was the guiding principle of the Japanese authorities. M. VON BRANDT (in *Helmot's Weltgesch.*, II., 25 *seq.*) makes too much of the unwise behaviour of the missionaries ; this only is correct, namely, that the Mendicant Orders did not proceed with the same caution as the Jesuits, and thus made easier for the opponents of Christianity the attainment of their purpose.

[3] Compare the report of ALALEONE in *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, App., p. 50 and ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 239 *seq.*, with the rare print : *Relatione della solenne entrata in Roma di Franc. Faxicura con il padre fra L. Sotelo*, Rome, 1615, now printed, with many other documents, in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 198–239.

[4] All sources for this in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 239–267.

In this assembly a Latin translation of Masamune's letter was read, some further elucidations of the document being given by the Franciscan Gregorio Petrocha. In his letter—now one of the treasures of the Sala Sistina, in the Vatican library—the Japanese prince hinted at his eventual conversion to Christianity; in the meantime, however, and until certain obstacles were removed, he prayed that Paul V. would send Franciscan missionaries, appoint an archbishop, and further his alliance with the "great emperor" of Spain.[1] According to the report of the Venetian envoy, Simone Contarini, Sotelo assured the Pope that Masamune would soon win "the supreme crown", when not only himself would become a son of the Roman Church, but he would also see to it that all his subjects embraced Christianity.[2] In a petition which some Japanese Christians presented to the Pope at this time, they declared: "We expect Masamune will be emperor before long."[3]

The Japanese envoys tarried in Rome until January 7th, 1616. Their presents had been appropriately acknowledged by a return of gifts; in other ways also the Pope had not been niggardly with his attentions, and he bore the expenses of their stay.[4] For all that, as the Venetian envoy clearly

[1] The reception was not at a Consistory, but as the **Acta consist.* expressly state, in a *Congregatio semiplena*; *cf.* ALALEONE, *loc. cit.*, and *Acta audientiae publicae a S.D.N. Paulo V. P.O.M. regis Voxu Iaponi legatis Romae die III. Nov. 1615 in Palatio apost. apud S. Petrum exhibitae*, Romae, *1615*. See also the letter of Masamune to Paul V.; reprint in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 50 *seq.*, and in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 257 *seq.*, the Japanese text is given in the appendix.

[2] See BERCHET, *loc. cit.*; *Documenti*, n. LXIII. and MITSUKURI, 204.

[3] MITSUKURI first published the text of the petition, preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (210 *seq.*); recently it has been reprinted in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 276 *seqq.*

[4] Besides the reprints of BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 43 *seq.*, *cf.* also the notes of COSTAGUTI, Costaguti Archives, Rome, and the communications drawn from the State Archives, Rome, quoted in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 324 *seq.* The gifts of Paul V.

perceived, they went away dissatisfied.[1] The Pope had fully considered his line of conduct ; he had even sought the advice of the Congregation of the Inquisition.[2] The granting of the demand that the Pope should extend his protection to Masamune as to a sovereign prince, and that he should grant him the same privileges as were enjoyed by Catholic princes—among them being the authorization to found Orders of chivalry and episcopal sees—Paul V. made dependent on the conversion of the prince. As for the preliminaries of a treaty of commerce with Spain, the Pope undertook to recommend the matter to Philip III. In like manner, in respect to the dispatch of Franciscans, the envoys were told to apply to the king of Spain. The reply to the Japanese Christians was to the same effect : the only thing they obtained was the Indulgences and the relics they had asked for. The appointment of an archbishop was flatly refused—before such a nomination could be made there must be several bishops in Japan—and the canonization of the Franciscan Martyrs could only be granted after an inquiry by the Congregation of Rites.[3]

which Hasekura (who also had himself enrolled in the Brotherhood book of the *Anima* (see SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 487), and was made an honorary citizen of Rome) (*cf.* BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 44) brought back to Prince Masamune, are still in an excellent state of preservation and are in the possession of the former princely house of Sendai. Among them are a miniature (The Assumption of Our Lady), crucifixes, rosaries, and a portrait of the Pope ; see J. DAHLMANN in *Cölnische Volkszeitung*, 1914, No. 646. *Ibid.*, the original of the nomination as honorary citizen of Rome and a picture representing Hasekura in the garb of a Roman Patrician, in prayer before a crucifix. The reproduction of the letter of honorary citizenship is in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 298.

[1] BERCHET, *loc. cit.*, *Documenti*, n. XLVI.

[2] *Cf.* DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 305 *seqq.*

[3] *Mitsukuri*, 206 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*, who first published the reply of Paul V. to the Japanese Christians. The reply of Paul V. to Masamune in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, App., p. 55 *seq.* In the same place the letter of introduction to Philip III. Mitsukuri

Paul V.'s caution and reserve in respect to the far-reaching schemes of Masamune and Sotelo were fully justified by events, for it soon became apparent, as the Jesuits had seen from the first, that Masamune's intentions were purely worldly ones. The heart of the licentious pagan had in no way been touched by the grace of faith. The disappointment of the credulous Sotelo was very great. The extreme imprudence of the Franciscan in trusting the astute Japanese is shown by what followed. The ambitious designs of Masamune could not escape so acute an observer as Tjejasu. With a view to diverting all suspicion from himself, the ruler of Osiu decided to expel the Christians from his domain. However, he delayed the execution of this plan until the return of his envoy, Hasekura, in 1620. From that time Masamune openly concurred with the persecution of the Christians which Tjejasu had inaugurated in 1614, and to which, in the end, Sotelo himself fell a victim.[1] As early as 1613, a census of all Christians was taken, and in the following year an open persecution was begun. The death of the chief pastor of the Church in Japan, which at that time numbered about a million adherents,[2] coincided with the crisis. The bishop of Funai, Luis de Cerqueira, died on February 20th, 1614. Before he expired the prelate committed his flock to the care of the vice-provincial of the

and all other writers on the embassy have missed the instructions of Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish Nuncio, dated December 9, 1615, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 336 *seq.*, now newly reproduced in DAI NIPPON SHIRYO, 301, with a second letter of December 30, 1615 (*ibid.*, 303 *seq.*), In this Japanese publication also see the replies of Paul V. to Masamune (p. 313 *seq.*) and to the Japanese Christians, both of December 27, 1616.

[1] *Cf.* PAGÈS, I., 443 *seq.*; MITSUKURI, 208 *seq.*; DELPLACE, II., 103 *seq.* and 107 *seq.*

[2] This total, mainly based on the year books of the Jesuits, is arrived at by STEICHEN (*Les Daimyo chrétiens*, Hongkong, 1904) and DELPLACE (II., 129 *seq.*). The Jesuits possessed in 1614, in different parts of Japan, eleven colleges, sixty-four residences, two novitiates, and two seminaries. See PAGÈS, II., 428.

Jesuits, an arrangement which was subsequently ratified by Paul V.[1]

The era of Martyrs, which opened, in 1614, for the Japanese Church, whose future seemed so full of promise, is in many ways reminiscent of the persecutions of the early centuries of Christianity.[2] Now, as then, the majority of the recent converts displayed wonderful constancy. At Arima a special confraternity of Martyrs was formed, the members of which prepared themselves by prayer and penitential exercises to endure even the most cruel tortures. "All churches and convents are being destroyed," a Jesuit writes in 1614, "our Fathers are banished, but a score of them are in hiding, in order to assist the faithful. Every effort is being made to cause these to apostatize, but all in vain. Already eighty-five persons have shed their blood for Christ."[3]

Tjejasu died in 1616. However, conditions did not improve, for Hidetada, who succeeded him, followed in all things in the steps of his fathers. The persecution constantly grew in violence. The missionaries needed all their ingenuity to evade pursuit. They disguised themselves as Japanese, or as European merchants. Some of them sought hiding places which they only left at night for fear their fair complexion should betray them.

[1] See BULL., *Patron. Portug.*, II., 28; DELPLACE, II., 112. For the schism, which was brought about after the death of Cerqueira by some passionate Spanish monks, see COLIN-PASTELLS, *Labor evangélica*, III., 384, note. The accusation against Cerqueira, that he did not proceed quickly enough with the ordination of native priests, has been sufficiently disproved by HUONDER, 116 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Gioda, Botero*, III., 289, 306. In a document drawn up by a Jesuit, in 1610: **Relatione delle provincie orientali* (*Ottob.* 2416, p. 911 *seq.*) it is stated: "É la miglior Christianità che habbi l'Oriente per la buona capacità di Giapponesi che hanno abbraciata la nostra s. fede et già molti di loro per la difesa di quella hanno sparso il sangue." (Vatican Library.) See also DAHLMANN, *Neue Urkunde über die Martyrerkirche Japans*, in the *Kath. Missionen*, 1922–3, No. 4.

[3] See DELPLACE, II., 126 *seq.*, 134. *Cf.* ÉTUDES, 1922, 74 *seq.*

Such an existence, as one of the missionaries wrote, demanded a body of iron and a spirit like that of St. Paul.[1] One of their consolations was that almost every year they were able to baptize a great number of neophytes. This went on even when, in 1618, the persecution spread almost to the whole of Japan.[2]

Jesuits and Mendicants alike had their share in the triumphs and trials of that time. As early as the summer of 1616, the Franciscans, Peter of the Ascension and John of St. Martha; the Jesuit, John Baptist Machado y Tavora; the Dominican, Alonso Navarrete and the Augustinian Hernando de S. José, suffered the Martyrs' death. Many Japanese Christians shared a similar fate.[3] From 1619 onwards, mass executions were resorted to. The cruelties which accompanied these butcheries revolted even Captain Richard Cocks, an Englishman, though in other respects the expulsion of the missionaries gave him great joy. In 1619, at Meako (Kioto), Cocks was an eye-witness when fifty-five Christians were burnt alive, among them children from five years of age. "These," he writes, "died in the arms of their mothers who were crying with a loud voice: 'Jesus, receive their souls!'" "A great number," Cocks goes on to say, "are awaiting death in prison, for only a very few return to paganism."[4] The sufferings of these prisoners were indescribable. The Jesuit, Carlo Spinola, who has left us a sketch-plan and description of the prison of Omura, was of opinion that a prison of this kind was worse than death.[5]

[1] See DELPLACE, II., 141 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*

[2] The *Litterae annuae Soc. Iesu* (gathered as *Rerum memorabilium in regno Iapaniae gestarum* (Litterae), printed at Antwerp, 1625, give these figures for the numbers of baptized: 1619, 1,800; 1620, 1,300; 1621, 1,943. *Cf.* too *Synopsis*, II., 276.

[3] See PAGÈS, *Hist. de la religion chrétienne au Japon.*, Paris, 1869–1870, and DELPLACE, II., 182 *seq.* *Cf.* PROFILET, *Le Martyrologe de l'Église du Japon*, 1549–1649, 3 vols., Paris, 1897.

[4] *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 148. According to *Litt. annuae, loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*, one of the children was only two years old.

[5] See PAGÈS, II., 200 *seq.* and DELPLACE, II., 149 *seq.*, where there is a picture of the prison at Omura. *Cf.* F. A. SPINOLA,

None of the European Powers showed the slightest concern for the victims of the persecution; the Pope alone strove repeatedly to encourage them by various tokens of his goodwill, as well as by letters of sympathy and consolation.[1] He also appointed a new bishop; however, that prelate vainly attempted to enter Japan through Macao.[2] In the land of the Rising Sun, according to the report of a Jesuit, in 1621, hell seemed to have been let loose. "Day and night the persecution rages, but the Martyrs," the Jesuit writes, "set an example which strengthens those even who had grown weak. If Almighty God grants an abatement of the persecution, conversions will be innumerable. Send us more missionaries, but let them be men of small stature, so that our Christians may find it easier to hide them."[3]

In China also a persecution broke out during the pontificate of Paul V., but it only interfered for a short time with the activities of the Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits owed their strong position to the prudence of Matteo Ricci, who sought to obtain his end by adapting himself as perfectly as possible to Chinese dress and manners, feeling and speech; by frequent intercourse with the learned class as well as by

Vita del p. Carlo Spinola, Rome, 1671. A letter of Spinola about the persecution, dated Nagasaki, November 12, 1618, has been published by SFORZA in *Atti d. Soc. Ligure*, XXIII.

[1] *Cf. Synopsis*, II., 255, 277. In the *brief for *Valent. Cavaglio, praeposit. Soc. Iesu*, dated November 11, 1617, we find: "Tribulationes audivimus quas assidue sustinetis et persecutiones ab infidelibus exposuerunt procuratores Soc. Iesu. Deo gratias, quod fiat cum tribulat. proventus." Words of praise and comfort follow (*Epist.*, XIII., 153). A *brief to the Japanese Christians of February 8, 1619, expresses the Pope's sorrow for their oppression, but also his joy at their fortitude: "You are chosen witnesses, as were the early Christians," Papal Secret Archives. See the text in the App., No. 6. The letter of Paul V. to the Christians in Japan, December 27, 1616, is printed in the *Annal. Minorum*, XXV. (Quaracchi, 1886).

[2] See *Synopsis*, II., 281, 317; DELPLACE, II., 160.

[3] See DELPLACE, II., 167.

popular, catechetical instructions.[1] He was by no means discouraged by the fact that not all his brethren agreed with this method of adaptation [2] and that after twenty-five years of toil, the number of Christians did not exceed two thousand souls. Ricci was well aware that his task must of necessity be limited to breaking the ground, to scattering the seed of Christian teaching, whereas the time of the harvest would only come at a later period.[3] As a matter of fact, two thousand converts was a goodly number, not only when we allow for the natural difficulty of imparting Christian doctrine to the Chinese mind, but in other respects also. The social status of the neophytes was as distinguished as was their constancy in the newly found faith ; in the subsequent persecutions most of them stood firm.[4] Full of hope for the future, Ricci reported the above numbers in a letter to his General, in 1609, and added : " Regard for us grows day by day, especially at the two courts of Peking and Nanking." [5]

In addition to the government of the mission, Ricci had to cope with other exacting tasks. Among these was the erection of a new church at Peking and the ceremonious relations with Chinese officials and savants which took up a vast amount of valuable time. Even so the indefatigable man still found leisure for a detailed record, in writing, of his experiences. But even he could not stand the strain indefinitely. He had inherited the spirit and the virtues of Francis Xavier and, like him, he died prematurely, on May 11th, 1610. The year before

[1] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIV, 240 *seq.* An example of lay instruction is the Chinese Catechism of 1619, discovered by DAHLMANN in the University Library at Tokyo ; see *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXI., 509 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HUONDER, 8, and K. PIEPER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft*, XIV. (1924), 3 *seq.*

[3] Letter to P. Girol. Costa, dated Nanking, August 14, 1599 ; see TACCHI VENTURI, *Opere storiche del P.M. Ricci*, II. (*Le lettere della China*), Macerata, 1913, 243 *seq.*

[4] See BRUCKER, in *Études*, CXXIV., 776.

[5] Ricci to Cl. Acquaviva, dated Peking, March 8, 1608 ; see TACCHI VENTURI, *loc. cit.*, II., 339 *seq.*

his death he had erected, in Peking, the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. On one occasion, some time before he was taken ill, Ricci remarked to his companions that when he pondered by what means he might best spread the faith among the Chinese, he could not think of a more effective one than his own death. The Jesuits remembered his words when the emperor Vanglie bestowed upon the dead missionary the extraordinary distinction of presenting a place for his burial, a thing that was only done for men who had rendered outstanding service to the State.[1]

On his death-bed Ricci had told his colleagues that he left them before an open door that led to great merits, though not without great toil and danger.[2] These words characterized the future of a mission for the government of which Ricci had laid down certain guiding principles and for which he had won the rights of citizenship in the Empire of the Middle.[3] The esteem which the Jesuits enjoyed at the imperial court grew still further when, in 1610, they foretold the date of an eclipse of the moon with greater accuracy than the native astronomers. In the following year they consecrated their church at Nanking. An inscription in the church recorded the

[1] See Nic. Trigantius, "De christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Soc. Iesu ex P. Matth. Ricci eiusdem societatis commentariis libri V. ad S.D.N. Paulum V.," Aug. Vindelicor, 1615. *Cf.* P. M. Ricci, S.J., *Relação escripta pelo seu companheiro P. Sabatino de Ursis S.J.*, Roma, 1910, 50 *seq.*

[2] See Trigantius, 613. *Cf.* Spillmann, *Durch Asien*, II., Freiburg, 1898, in which, on p. 215, is a picture of the grave of Ricci in Peking. Better reproductions are in Tacchi Venturi, *Comment. della Cina I.* and Riccardi, *M. Ricci*, Florence, 1910. With regard to the inscription on the tomb, see Brucker in *Études*, CXXXI., 220. *Cf.*, too, Vitale, *La Tomba del p. M. Ricci*, in *Atti e memorie del Convegno di Geografi-Orientalisti tenuti in Macerata, 1910*, Macerata, 1911, 170 *seq.*

[3] So much so was this the case that the **Relatione delle provincie orientali* (*Ottob.* 2416, p. 911 *seq.*, Vatican Library) could say that the thirty Jesuits working in China were: "tenuti già come naturali del paese."

fact of its erection by the Society of Jesus.[1] Ricci's successor, Nicholas Longobardo, was able to make three other Jesuit foundations. However, in consequence of some indiscreet remarks in the sermons of the Piedmontese, Antonio Vagnoni,[2] a reaction occurred and hatred of the foreigners was aroused. In 1617, the young Chinese Church had much to endure, especially in Peking and Nanking. Nevertheless a number of Jesuits and a few Chinese Brothers managed to remain at their posts notwithstanding the difficult situation created by the edict of banishment of February 4th, 1617. If the storm soon blew over, it was mainly owing to an invasion of the Manchus which diverted the attention of the government into other channels. In their report for 1620–1, the Jesuits state that they had successfully evaded the danger that had threatened them and that their fears had been excessive.[3]

Even before the outbreak of the persecution of 1617, the Jesuits had considered how, in the event of the Europeans being banished, the Chinese missions could be maintained. They came to the conclusion that it could only be done if they looked for candidates for the priesthood in the ranks of the educated Chinese and thus prepared the ground for the formation of a native clergy. To realize this plan the substitution of Chinese for Latin as the language of the liturgy seemed to them imperative. It was a bold idea ; for all that the concession of so extraordinary a dispensation did not appear altogether out of the question when it was remembered that in order to bring about the conversion of the Slavs, the Popes had granted to them the privilege of using their own language

[1] *Cf.* IUVENCIUS, V., 553 *seq.*, 555.

[2] *Cf.* C. SFORZA, *Un missionario e sinologo Piemontese in Cina nel sec. 17*, in the *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, 3 series, XI.

[3] RANKE quoted, for this view, a MSS. *Relatione della Cina dell' anno 1621* (*Popes*, II[6]., 324, note 1). But the text quoted by him has long been in print in *Rerum memorabilium in regno Sinae gestarum, Litterae annuae Soc. Iesu*, Antwerp, 1625, 48–9. *Cf.* for this situation, the letter written by N. TRIGAULT (Trigantius), *Lettera della Cina dell'a. 1621* (*sin. loc.*).

in the liturgy.[1] The Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault,[2] a native of Douai, who had laboured in China since 1610, undertook, with the consent of his superiors, to see the affair through in Rome. In the petition which he presented to Paul V., he begged the Pope to allow the Bible and the Roman Missal, Ritual and Breviary to be translated into Chinese, and to permit the Chinese to use their own language in the liturgy and in the administration of the sacraments. Simultaneously with this petition Trigault handed to the Pope a History of the Jesuit Missions in China. The book—written by Trigault and dedicated to Paul V.—brings the story up to the death of Ricci and is mainly based upon the latter's notes.[3]

Paul V., who took a lively interest in the Jesuit missions in China,[4] did not meet the unusual request with a flat refusal but handed it to the Congregation of the Inquisition for examination ; and since, in the discussion, no less a personage than Bellarmine spoke in favour of the concession, the Congregation passed a favourable verdict, on March 26th, 1615.[5] Basing himself on this resolution, by a decree of June 27th, 1615, Paul V. gave permission for the translation of the Bible and the use of Chinese in the Breviary, at Mass, and in the administration of the Sacraments. The Pope stipulated, however, that the language adopted should not be the ordinary speech of the people but the language of the learned classes, which enjoyed the highest respect throughout the empire and was less liable to change and, though only the cultivated

[1] See HUONDER, 158.

[2] See DEHAISNES, *Vie de N. Trigault*, Tournai, 1864.

[3] *Cf.* above p. 355, n. 2. For the compilation of the *Notes* see TACCHI VENTURI, *Comment. della Cina*, I., Introd.

[4] *Cf.* SYNOPSIS, II., 243, 247, 249, 254 *seq.*, 260, 266, 276 *seq.*, 286. The Bishop of Cochin, *Andreas de S. Maria* (*O.S. Fr.*) was censured in a *Brief, dated IV. Id. Oct., 1609, for persecuting the Jesuits. *Epist.*, V., No. 153, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Meanwhile the clause had been added : " Si unquam contigit in illis partibus constitui episcopum, ex hac permissione non censeatur praeiudicatum iurisdictioni episcopali." *Synopsis*, II., 271.

classes were fully acquainted with it, the masses would, nevertheless, be able to understand the ordinary prayers in it. At the same time, in consideration of the fact that, according to Chinese conceptions, solemn functions may not be carried out with head uncovered, the Pope allowed the missionaries to wear at Mass a head-dress resembling the biretta worn by the Chinese literati.[1]

Armed with these weighty concessions and accompanied by new missionaries, Trigault was back in China in 1619. However, the only privilege of which the missionaries availed themselves was that of saying Mass with head covered. To this day it has not been possible to throw adequate light on the circumstances which prevented the carrying into effect of the other concessions.[2]

In India, the Jesuit, Roberto de'Nobili, made an even more remarkable attempt to introduce Christianity to the people of one of the richest countries of the world—people tenaciously attached to their own peculiar usages—by the greatest possible adaptation to the manners and ideas of the natives.[3]

[1] See *ibid.*, 271–2. *Cf.* HUONDER, 159 *seq.*, where the picture of a Chinese biretta will be found (Tsin-Kin).

[2] *Cf.* PAPEBROCH in *Acta SS. Propyl. Maii Dissert.*, XIII; HUONDER, 150 *seqq.*; H. BOSMANS in *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXIII. (1914), 274 *seq.* For the Jesuit mission in the Philippines, which prospered so greatly that, in 1606, it was possible to erect it into a new province of the Order, see the great, well-documented work of FR. COLIN S.J., *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús en las islas Filipinas*, nueva edic. por el P. P. Pastells S.J., 3 vols., Barcelona, 1904. The Dominicans vied with the Jesuits and founded the University of S. Thomas in Manila, in 1611.

[3] For what follows *cf.* IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 493 *seqq.*; BERTRAND, *La mission de Madure d'après des doc. inédits*, II., Paris, 1848; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, s.v.; MÜLLBAUER, 171 *seq.*, 186 *seq.*; *Die Katholische Missionen*, 1875, 13 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*, 79 *seq.* See also DAHLMANN, *Sprachkunde*, 11 *seq.*, 17 *seq.*; *Dublin Review*, 1889, No. 44, p. 297 *seq.*; SCHWAGER, *Heidenmission*, IV., 328 *seq.*, 332 *seq.*, which throws the light of criticism upon the present-

Until then Christianity had been preached almost exclusively along the coast and in the wake of the Portuguese. These strangers, who ate flesh meat, drank wine and consorted with people of the lowest castes, were considered as *Pranguis*, that is, as the refuse of humanity, by the inhabitants of the interior who had not yet come in contact with Europeans. This prejudice prevailed especially among the upper classes, who rigidly upheld the caste system. Christianity itself was included in this condemnation, all the more so as the Portuguese missionaries strictly forbade their neophytes to observe the differences of caste. When, in 1606, Roberto de'Nobili arrived in Madura,[1] he realized that these circumstances accounted for the almost complete barrenness of the fourteen years of missionary labour which the Portuguese Jesuit Fernandez had endured. In Madura the situation was aggravated by the fact that the neighbouring Paravanese fisherfolk, one of the most despised castes, were adherents of the Christian religion. With the approval of the archbishop of Cranganor, Fr. Roz, and that of his provincial, Laerzio, the shrewd Italian decided to adopt an entirely new course of action. He parted with Fr. Fernandez so that he might devote all his energies to the conversion of the higher castes, and just as he severed every connection with Fr. Fernandez, the apostle of the pariahs, so he avoided contact with the Portuguese who were hateful to the natives. To become a Hindu to the Hindus and to expound the Gospel to them in the language and according to the method of presentment of the Brahmins, became the ideal for which de'Nobili strove. To this end he adopted the dress of the noble Brahmins, subjected himself to the mode of life—one that was almost unbearable for a European—of the so-called Saniassi—a sect of Hindu ascetics whom the

ment of *Warneck and J. Richter*. To this must now be added the excellent monograph of DAHMEN (Münster, 1924); also, in French, *Un jésuite Brahmane*, Paris, 1925. **Letters* of NOBILI to his cousin Costanza Sforza, Duchess of Sora, during the years 1606-1615, in *Cod.*, E 6, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] Recent research has shown that Nobili was no relation of Bellarmine; see *Civ. Catt.*, October 4, 1924, p. 67.

people held in great esteem—and presented himself as a Guru (teacher) and a rajah (prince) from the North. In a short time he assimilated three native dialects as well as Sanskrit. He succeeded in penetrating very far into the inner world of Hindu speculation. Once the mysterious hermit had attracted general attention, he at last consented to discuss scientific problems with the Brahmins. Starting from philosophical and mathematical truths, he gradually led discussions on to the truths of religion. He showed that the dogmas of Christianity were the necessary development of Hindu speculation, and all the time he adjusted his demands, as nearly he could, to national prejudices. Of the native customs and practices he only rejected those that were incompatible with Christianity, such as the worship of idols and polygamy; on the other hand he suffered many things to stand, particularly the differences of castes, as being purely civil institutions. Accordingly he allowed the neophytes to wear the insignia and ornaments of the higher castes and he himself wore at times the Brahmin's cord.

The wisdom of the method adopted by de'Nobili was demonstrated by his amazing success which stood in glaring contrast to the results attained by other means. The young Christian community of Madura withstood several squalls occasioned by the jealousy of the pagan priests, and de'Nobili was already in a position to plan the establishment of missionary stations in the neighbouring kingdoms when his activity was paralysed for a whole ten years. The peculiar path on which he had entered meant a breach with the procedure hitherto favoured by the missionaries. Nor was it devoid of risks. This explains how certain Fathers, scrupulous, as well as slaves to national prejudices, came to question the lawfulness as well as the usefulness of the new method of work.[1] A dispute arose over the "Malabar practices".

[1] Archbishop Roz of Cranganor often says in his letters to Rome that enmity towards Nobili arose from wounded national feeling (DAHMEN, *Un Jésuite Brahmane*, 60). The Portuguese did not want to be treated by Nobili almost as pariahs (*ibid.*).

Misunderstood by his own brethren in religion and by his superiors, and accused of mixing paganism and Christianity, de'Nobili had to undergo an exceedingly severe trial. Humbly trusting in divine Providence, he bore the heavy trial as an exemplary religious, without so much as a momentary hesitation in his obedience. The hardest trial of all was when, by means of the grossest misrepresentations, his enemies succeeded in creating an impression in Rome that he had renounced the faith! He owed it solely to the archbishops of Goa and Cranganor, who were acquainted with the true state of affairs, that in 1615 the baselessness of these accusations came to be recognized. Paul V. entrusted the affair to the bishops of Goa and Cranganor and to the Goanese Inquisition.[1] However, by then the archiepiscopal chair of Goa was no longer occupied by Alexius de Menezes, who had been well disposed towards de'Nobili, but by the Hieronymite, Christopher da Sà, who was hostile to him. De'Nobili's opponents once more got the upper hand. To fill the cup of his tribulation, calumnies were spread against him by a Brahmin whom he had excommunicated. All these things together induced his provincial to transfer him to Cranganor. Whilst there the sorely tried priest wrote an exhaustive apologia[2] which, together with the relevant documents, was sent to Rome where the dispute was pending.[3] But before this an assembly convened at Goa, which at first had been opposed to de'Nobili, ended by coming to a decision favourable to him.[4] The Holy See submitted the whole question to a searching examination; its decision, given by Paul V.'s successor, was in the main favourable to de'Nobili. It granted to the Brahmins and to other neophytes permission to wear the insignia of their castes and contented itself with laying down certain precautionary measures destined to eliminate pagan superstitions.[5]

[1] See *Synopsis*, II., 274.
[2] See BERTRAND, II., 151 *seq.* *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 191 *seq.*
[3] *Cf. Synopsis*, II., 281.
[4] DAHMEN, 66 *seqq.*
[5] See *Bull. de Propag.*, I., 15. *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 195 *seq.*

Other matters connected with the dioceses of Goa and Cochin, which formed the centre of the mission of East India, also claimed the attention of Paul V. In view of the extent of the diocese of Cochin, which was far too great under existing circumstances, and at the request of Philip III., the Pope, in 1606, proceeded to a partition. Meliapur, the presumed resting place of the Apostle St. Thomas, was made the episcopal see of a new diocese.[1] To satisfy the grievances of the so-called Christians of St. Thomas, Paul V. revoked the decisions of Clement VIII. and detached the diocese of Angamale from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Goa and raised it to the dignity of an archdiocese.[2] In 1609 the episcopal see was transferred to Cranganor. Owing to the fact that that city had at one time been part of the diocese of Cochin, the bishop of that place opposed the plan. When the controversy was submitted to the arbitration of the Pope the latter insisted on the execution of a measure which had been taken in his name by Alexius de Menezes, a man highly esteemed throughout India.[3] In 1612, with a view to a systematic evangelization of the country, and in pursuance of the proposals of Philip III., Paul V. cut off the Portuguese possessions in East Africa from the province of Goa and, together with the vicariate of Mozambique, united them in a separate ecclesiastical province.[4]

The missionary countries assigned to the archdiocese of Goa included the empire of the Great Mogul. Here the highly gifted Akbar had been succeeded, in 1605, by his son Djehangir. That capricious prince at first showed but little goodwill towards the Jesuits; later on, however, he restored his good graces to them; he even went so far as to have the three sons

[1] See *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., Olisipone, 1870, 4. *Cf.* JANN, 130 *seq.*

[2] See *Bull.*, XI., 558 *seq.*; *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 8 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 10 *seq.*; *Synopsis*, II., 275; JANN, 172 *seq.* A *Letter of praise to A. de Menezes, dated 1612. Non. Ian., in *Epist.*, VII, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Bull.*, XII., 20 *seq.*; *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 19 *seq.*; JANN., 117.

of his brother, whom he had adopted, brought up by them in the Christian religion. The solemn baptism of the princes (1610), to which they came riding on white elephants, was an occasion of unprecedented splendour for the mission in the empire of the Great Mogul.[1] The conversion of the viceroy of Cambodia occurred also at this time.[2] In 1616, as is the way with Asiatic despots, Djehangir's attitude underwent yet another change. As a consequence the situation of the mission became so difficult that the Jesuits thought of giving it up. This step was, however, prevented by an order of their prudent General. In 1612, they were in a position to found a college at Agra and a new house of the Order at Patna.[3]

From the outset of his pontificate Paul V. sought to consolidate the relations which had been established in the reign of Clement VIII. with the Shah of Persia, Abbas the Great. By this means the Pope hoped to further the war against the Turks as well as the Christian mission in Persia.[4] That mission was under the care of the Italian Discalced Carmelites.[5]

[1] See IARRICUS, *Thesaurus rer. Indicar.*, Coloniae Agripp., 1615, 147 *seq.*; IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 466 *seq.*

[2] See **Relatione delle provincie orientali* (drawn up by a Jesuit, about 1610) in *Ottob.* 2416, p. 911 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See CORDARA, VI., 59 *seq.*, 257, 315; MÜLLBAUER, 282 *seq.*

[4] The *Epistolae* of Paul V. contains many briefs relating to this subject. Thus, I., 79: **Regi Persarum*, dated July 20, 1605, (Recommendation of the Carmelites sent by Clement VIII.; the Pope praises the Shah, as being "inimicis nostris communibus formidabilis"); I., 240: **Regi Persarum*, October 8, 1605 ("respondit ad litteras quas Bastae Colibech oratori suo ad Clementem VIII. dederat; ostendit se cupidum amicitiae et benevolentiae suae; dolet Bastam morte praeventum ad Urbem accedere non potuisse"; *cf.*, I., 464, the same letter again, with the date February 24, 1606); III., 224: **Regi Persarum*, March 11, 1607 ("commendat Matth. Erasmum archiepiscopum Haxinanensem in Armenia"); IV., 173: **Regi Persarum*, October 16, 1608 (rejoices at his good disposition), Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.*, also, MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 552.

[5] See *Historia generalis fratr. discalceat. Ord. B. Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmelo congreg. S. Eliae I. & II.*, Romae, 1668–1671,

Fr. Giovanni Taddeo of St. Eliseus, who had received his commission from Clement VIII., found himself in Poland at the time of the Pope's death. Paul V. ordered him to proceed on his journey, but the war between Poland and Russia delayed him so long that he only reached Ispahan at the end of 1607. He then discharged the commission with which the Pope had charged him for the Shah and exerted himself in various ways for the development of the mission.[1]

Besides the Carmelites, members of other Orders, such as the Dominicans and Augustinians, also repaired to a field of labour which held out so rich a promise. The Shah selected a Portuguese Augustinian and a noble Persian as his envoys. Their mission was to congratulate the Pope on his election and to discuss matters that concerned the Church. The embassy was detained in Russia and only reached Rome on August 27th, 1605. They were met at the Porta del Popolo by the Swiss Guard, to the sound of drums, and papal representatives escorted the visitors to the palazzo Borghese. On August 30th the Pope received them in public audience. To their account of the successes of the Persians over the Turks and the request for the Pope's blessing, Paul V. replied by declaring that he held the Shah in affection and that

and BERTHOLD-IGNACE DE STE-ANNE, *Hist. de la Mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes-Déchaussés, 1604–1612*, Brussels, 1882. *Cf. Zeitschr. f. Missionswissensch.*, V., 208, and STREIT, Bibl., I., 269 *seq.* See also BACHELET, *Anal. Boll.*, 619 *seq.* and *Memorie delle Missione di Persia, 1609–1614*, in *Cod.*, E 24, of Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] The above is according to the **Relatione data alla S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide della Missione dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Persia dal P. Giov. Taddeo di S. Eliseo* in the Archives of Propaganda, Rome, *Visite*, 9, p. 1 *seq.* The Carmelites were also responsible, in part, for the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Persia; see the *Brief for the Carmelites John and Vincent, dated October 13, 1608 (The Pope sends them his answer "ad ea quae scripsit rex Persarum per Paulum Simonem eiusdem ord."), *Epist.*, IV., 170, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Bull.*, Carmelit., III., 370.

he prayed God to enlighten him. Thereupon the Persian envoy repaired to St. Peter's. After a prayer at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, he climbed into the cupola in order to contemplate from there the panorama of eternal Rome. Not only did Paul V. bear the cost of the envoy's entertainment, he also had 1,300 scudi handed to him for his travelling expenses. Cardinal Borghese also made various presents to the Shah's representative who left Rome on September 12th, 1605.[1] A papal letter to the Persian ruler, dated September 9th, 1605, testified to Paul's gratification at the embassy.[2]

Shortly afterwards a second envoy of the Shah arrived in Rome, one who, though he had set out much later, completed the journey more rapidly. He was an Englishman, Sir Robert Sherley, and he discussed not only the dispatch of missionaries, but likewise the Turkish war. On both questions he met with a ready hearing.[3]

[1] *Cf.* beside the report of the French Ambassador, De Brèves, of September 2, 1609, in *Goujet*, II., 77 *seq.*, the detailed information of the *Avvisi in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 148 *seq.* (*cf.* 8). The **Discorso* of the Persian ambassador before Paul V., in *Barb.*, LVI., 56, p. 60 *seq.*, *ibid.* For the rare print : *Ambasciata Persiana a Roma*, 1603, see AUSONIA, II. (1908), 298 *seq.* *Cf. also* **Cod.* S. 6, 6, p. 90, of Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] **Epist.*, V., 105, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 8 *seq.* and the *Avvisi of October 3, 10, 14, and 21, 1609 (Vatican Library), according to which Sherley was converted to Catholicism. *Cf.* about him, SHIRLEY, *The Sherley Brothers* (1848) and *Encyclop. Brit.*, XXIV., II. (11th edit.), 990 *seq.* Paul V. wrote to the Shah on October 9, 1609 : " Discesserat paucis ante diebus Ahali Guli Beig orator, cum Anglus Robertus Sherley alter orator pervenit. Magna populi celebritate ingressus alteraque die deductus ad Nos praesentibus nonnullis cardinalibus eum excepimus." He delivered your letter. " Postea privato colloquio fusius declaravit," etc. (*Epist.*, V., 136, Papal Secret Archives). The same day Paul V. wrote to the emperor Rudolph : " Omni benevolentia excepimus Robertum Sherleium Anglum, regis persarum oratorem," recommended by the emperor, " Is peracta sua apud Nos legatione proficiscitur in Hispaniam ad Philippum. . . . Et dum in Urbe

Enjoying as they did the Shah's favour, the Carmelites were able freely to preach the Gospel in Ispahan.[1] Paul V. supported a mission which was developing so gratifyingly by the dispatch, in 1610, of fresh workers.[2] In the following year he gave the Persian Christians a bishop who was likewise to act as papal envoy to the Shah.[3]

The protection which Abbas I extended to the Christian religion throughout his empire [4] raised high hopes in the Pope's breast. In a letter of June 25th, 1619, he expressed his joy that the most powerful ruler of Asia should seek the friendship of the Holy See and extend his protection to the Christian missionaries. "We pray God," the Pope wrote, "to multiply your Majesty's victories over the Turks, and to cause the seed of the Christian faith to spring up in your

mansit, curavimus ut intelligeret, quanti faciamus regis amicitiam" (*ibid.*, 137). *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 141, the *Letter of introduction for Sherley to the Duke of Savoy. On July 24, 1610, Paul V. wrote to the Shah that Sherley had been in Spain as ambassador, but since he was a Catholic, he could not go to England: he begs the Shah to excuse this (*Epist.*, VI., *loc. cit.*).

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief of thanks to the Shah of July 22, 1610, in *Bull. Carmelit.*, III., 418.

[2] See the *Brief of praise for *Presbyt. clero et populo ecclesiae s. Dei genetricis Aspahani*, June 22, 1610, in the *Epist.*, VI., 43, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* GIODA, *Botero*, III., 298. A Letter of the *Armeni Christiani della parochia di S. Maria in Ispahan* to Paul V., dated *il dì dell'Annunciata 1609*, in which they beg that an Italian priest and an envoy may be sent to them. In Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[3] See the *Brief of September 12, 1611, to "*Antonio episc. Cyrenensi quod creaverit ipsum episcopum, ut apud regem Persarum oratoris munere fungatur et curam habeat fidelium in illis partibus,*" *Epist.*, VII., 115, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 116 and 276, *Note to the Patriarch of India and to the Shah of Persia, of the same date. *Ibid.*, VIII., 167, a *Brief of praise to the Carmelites at Ispahan, dated November 3, 1612.

[4] For the Shah's ferman for the Carmelites Giovanni and Melchiore of June 5, 1615, see *Riv. illustr. d. esposizione Missionaria Vaticana* (1924), 31.

heart."[1] On June 16th, 1620, the Carmelites were urged to go on with their missionary work.[2] The reports from Persia which came in from the Franciscans spoke of the sustained favour of Abbas I who had long discussions with the Fathers, not only on the Turkish war, but likewise on such points of Catholic teaching as were contested by the Protestants.[3]

For the purpose of supporting and consolidating the apostolic work of the Discalced Carmelites, Paul V., in 1608, founded a seminary in their Roman Convent near Santa Susanna. To the seminary he added, in 1612, a special higher school for missionaries which he put under the protection of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. In this school, and under the banner of St. Teresa, a picked body of soldiers of Christ was to receive special training. They dedicated themselves to their task by a special oath which they took in the hands of the General. The course of studies included two capital branches, viz. languages and controversy or missionary methods. In the whole Order no one surpassed the missionary fervour of Thomas of Jesus who did yeoman service in developing the school. In 1621 he founded at Louvain yet another similar seminary for the training of the heralds of the faith.[4] The men who came out of the Carmelite schools were possessed of the authentic missionary spirit. During

[1] *Epist.*, XIV., 197, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Epist.*, XVI., 141, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* the very interesting report of the Visitor-General of "Persia and India", on his audience with Abbas I. on June 5, 1621, in *Spicil. Vatican*, I., 99 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Kilger's excellent study: *Eine alte Hochschule missionarischer Fachbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift. f. Missionswissensch.*, V., 208 *seq.*, where further details will be found about the short-lived *Congregatio S. Pauli.* As to the Seminary for Missionaries, *cf.* STREIT, *Bibl.*, I., 129, 145, and also the *Avviso, December 13, 1608, in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 131 (*cf.* 286). In *Barb.*, L., 151, p. 110, there is a *study by GIOV. BATT. VECCHIETTI, *alla Sta di N.S. Paolo V. sopra la stampa della Bibia in lingua Persiana*, Vatican Library.

the pontificate of Paul V. they did an enormous amount of good not only in Persia but in other countries as well. In 1597, Clement VIII. had established a bishopric at São Salvador, for the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The first bishop was the Franciscan Rangel who, assisted by the powerful support of the king of Congo, Alvarus II, laboured with great success, but succumbed at an early date to the hardships he had had to undergo as well as to the unaccustomed climate.[1] One of the objects of an embassy which Alvarus II. dispatched to Rome in 1604, was the nomination of a new bishop.[2] The king chose for his envoy a kinsman of his, one Antonio Emmanuele, who spoke Portuguese and Spanish. The voyage from Brazil to Spain proved an arduous undertaking. The envoy fell ill at Lisbon. From there he journeyed to Madrid where he made a lengthy stay.[3] He only reached Civitavecchia at the beginning of 1608. In the course of the journey, Antonio Nigrito—so his dark complexion caused him to be surnamed—had lost all his companions by death. Arrangements had been made for his solemn entry into the Eternal City on the feast of the Epiphany, but in consequence of the unaccustomed climate he too was ailing and he had to be carried to Rome in a litter. The Pope assigned him a lodging in the Vatican,[4] and as his condition grew worse, Paul V. not only visited him repeatedly, but assisted him at the moment of death which occurred on the vigil of the Epiphany. A fresco in the Vatican Library records the scene. The funeral of the envoy, in St. Mary Major, assumed the

[1] *Cf.* V. Baesten in the *Précis Hist.*, III., 4 (1895), 473.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Alvarus II., July 13, 1604, addressed to Clement VIII., in the essay of F. Colonna in the periodical *Roma*, III. (1925), 118.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 119.

[4] See the *Avvisi of January 5 and 9, 1608, Vatican Library; Mucantius, *Diarium*, in *Borghese*, t. 721, Papal Secret Archives and the letters of the Jesuits, painted by Baesten, *loc. cit.*, 474 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, Orbaan, *Documenti*, 6 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*; Alys de Caramay-Chimay-Borghese, *Belges et Africains*, Rome, 1916, 17 *seq.*, and the essay of F. Colonna, *loc. cit.*, 156 *seq.*

proportions of a solemn function,[1] and in the same church the Pope erected a monument to his memory which faithfully reproduces the envoy's features.[2]

Notice of this issue of the Congolese embassy was conveyed to Alvarus II. by the bishop of São Salvador [3] who, in 1609, transferred his episcopal see to Loanda. His letters give a picture of the state of affairs with which he was faced. Before all else he complains of the bad example of the Portuguese slave traders, but he also criticizes King Alvarus II., who, he says, was indeed well-meaning but inconstant.[4]

Paul V. did not lose sight of the Congolese realm. Under Gregory XIII., four Spanish Carmelites had worked in that country, but they soon succumbed to the climate.[5] In 1608, Paul V. urged the General of the Spanish Carmelites to send a fresh batch of missionaries to that country.[6] When two

[1] See, besides the sources mentioned above, *i.e.* Baesten, *loc. cit.*, Alys de Caramay-Chimay-Borghese (*loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*), and F. Colonna (159 *seq.*), the detailed *Avviso of January 9, 1608, according to which the ambassador was to have been buried later in the Capella Borghese *ad perpetuum honorem* (Vatican Library). According to this source, the Congregation of Rites had determined to receive the ambassador in a public Consistory, notwithstanding the opposition of Spain which held that the kingdom of Congo as well as Portugal owed them tribute.

[2] See A. Muñoz in *L'Arte*, 1909, 178, and *La Scultura barocca a Roma : L'esotismo*, in the *Rass. d'arte*, 1919, March–April, as well as the detailed account by Alys de Caramay-Chimay-Borghese, *loc. cit.*, 19 *seq.* Here we find also a reproduction of the medal commemorating the embassy and a reference to the poem by the Belgian, Justus Ryckius, addressed to Paul V., on the same subject. See, too, F. Colonna, *loc. cit.*, 162 *seq.*

[3] The *Brief to the Rex Congii, October 13, 1608, giving news of the death of the ambassador is in *Epist.*, IV., 168, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See De Païva-Manso, *Hist. do Congo*, Lisbon, 1877, 158. Alvarus on his side was complaining of the new bishop ; see F. Colonna, *loc. cit.*, 165 *seq.*

[5] See De Païva-Manso, 129 ; Baesten, *loc. cit.*, 471 *seq.*

[6] *Brief of December 19, 1608, in *Bull. Carmelit.*, III., 397.

years later these set out for their destination, the Pope recommended them to the king of Spain, to the bishop of São Salvador and to the new ruler of the kingdom, Alvarus III., who had come into power in 1614.[1] The new king appointed as his Roman envoy the referendary Giovan Battista Vives, and prayed that Capuchin Friars might be sent to him.[2] On January 13th, 1621, Paul V. was able to inform the king that twelve members of that Order were coming, and that more would follow.[3]

Extraordinarily gratifying developments were reported from the mission which the Jesuit, Pedro Paez, had founded in Abyssinia, in 1603. Notwithstanding a war of succession, thanks to his tact and perseverance, the distinguished Spaniard, who preached in the Abyssinian tongue, succeeded in ushering in a new era of progress for the Christian faith in the ancient land of Ethiopia.[4] A decisive factor in this gratifying result was the goodwill of the Negus, Seltan Segued, who had come into power in 1607, and to whom Paez made himself indispensable by his knowledge of medicine and architecture. To this day the magnificent ruins of the castle of Gondar, which Paez built for the Negus, bear witness to the many-sidedness of the gifted Jesuit. More important still was the fact that Paez was able to act as intermediary in the difficult epistolary correspondence of the Negus with the king of Spain and the Pope [5]; for from Philip III. Seltan Segued hoped for military assistance in his endless wars. He was well aware that a papal inter-

[1] See *ibid.*, 419 *seq.*

[2] See *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 192.

[3] See *Ibid.*, 193. *Cf.* G. A. Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione de'tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola e delle Missioni esercitatevi da Religiosi Cappuccini, trad. dal F. Alamandini*, Milan, 1690.

[4] See Almeida, *Historia de Ethiopia*, ed. Beccari in *Rer. Aethiop. Script.*, VI., 183 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, I., 122 *seq.*; XI., 60 *seq.*, the reports of the Jesuits of 1607–1620.

[5] B. Tellez has already published several notes of Paul V. to the Negus (*Hist. dell'Ethiopia*, Coimbra, 1660). These have been completed by Beccari (I., 255 *seq.*; *cf.* XI., 306).

vention, in this sense, in Spain would considerably further his plans and this was for him yet another incentive to favour Christianity. Paul V. entered into the Negus' plans and repeatedly intervened on his behalf with Philip III.[1] Nor did he forget to send his congratulations to Abyssinia after the defeat by the Negus of the savage Galla tribes.[2]

Prospects for Christianity rose still higher when the brother of the Negus, who was greatly esteemed by reason of his bravery, embraced the Catholic faith. Repeated disputations were held at court with the head of the Abyssinian church and its monks, the chief subject of which was the question of the divine and human nature of Christ. In these discussions the spokesmen of the monophysite heresy were no match for the vastly superior knowledge of the Jesuits. Not only the learning of Fr. Paez and his companions, but their virtuous life also and the dignity of Catholic worship, led to a great many conversions. Mission stations multiplied and the missionaries were beginning to devote their attention to the conversion of the pagan frontier tribes. Successes like these frequently raised counter currents of such violence that at times the Negus himself became hesitant. But at last, after nearly twenty years of toil, the indefatigable Paez saw his wishes fulfilled, for at the close of 1621, the Negus openly declared himself for the Catholic faith and in May, 1622, Paez received him into the Church.[3] With the prayer of the old man Simeon on his lips, the apostle of Ethiopia died at Gorgora, on May 20th, 1622, at the early age of fifty-seven.[4] Paul V. did not live to receive the news of the conversion of the Negus to which he had contributed by means of several letters.

[1] Compare the note 9f Cardinal Borghese to the Spanish nuncio, November 9, 1615, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 89. This has been missed by Beccari in his collection which is on the whole complete.

[2] See the *Brief of February 1, 1614, in *Bull. Patron. Portug.*, II., 23.

[3] See ALMEIDA, *loc. cit.*, VI., 353 *seq.*; 359 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 360.

The condition of the Armenian Catholics had been in Paul V.'s mind at the time of his dealings with the Shah of Persia.[1] Armenians visiting Rome were always kindly received by the Pope.[2] Missionaries labouring in the Persian empire got in touch with Melchisedech, patriarch of Greater Armenia, and induced him to make overtures to the Holy See.[3] In 1610, the Patriarch dispatched an envoy to Rome in the person of Zacharias Vartabied. The latter presented to the Pope a letter written in the Armenian tongue for the translation of which recourse was had to the rector of the Armenian national church in Rome, which was dedicated to St. Mary of Egypt. In emphatic words, such as Orientals love, the letter condemned the errors of Eutyches and Nestorius, hymned the primacy of the Roman Pontiff as the sun in the Church, and ended by expressing a desire for reunion with Rome.[4] In his reply, dated April 28th, 1612, notwithstanding his joy at the step which the Patriarch had taken, Paul V. did not conceal the fact that, if a real reunion was to be brought about, the Armenians must give up two points which separated them from the Church and to which they had hitherto clung with great obstinacy. It had transpired that the Armenians did not mingle water with the wine at Mass and that to the hymn of praise to the Blessed Trinity—to the *trisagium* that is—they added the words: "crucified for us." The Pope also pointed out that, besides the first council, the three subsequent general councils were unknown in Armenia; for this reason he was sending him a document on the subject written during the pontificate of Clement VIII. He expressly demanded the recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the elimination of the heretical clause of the *trisagium*. In return for the valuable gift of

[1] See Meyer, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 272, 317.

[2] See Steph. Azarian, *Ecclesiae Armeniae traditio de Rom. Pontificis Primatu*, Rome, 1870, 141.

[3] *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 25.

[4] See *ibid.*, ch. 27, where the whole of Melchisedech's letter, May 15, 1610, is translated into Latin.

which Zacharias Vartabied had been the bearer, Paul V. presented the Patriarch with a gold cross containing a fragment of the true cross and some ecclesiastical vestments. In addition he recommended the Armenian Christians to the goodwill of the Shah of Persia.[1]

In 1613 Zacharias Vartabied left Rome for Constantinople and from there he forwarded the Pope's letter to the Patriarch Melchisedech.[2] Two years passed, but no reply came. On May 28th, 1615, Paul V., in a reasoned letter to the Patriarch, stated the theological grounds which compelled him to insist on the suppression of the two above-mentioned peculiarities.[3] At the same time he also wrote to Vartabied, praising him for his efforts to bring about the reunion of the Armenian patriarchate.[4] According to Bzovius this did actually take place,[5] but we have no documentary evidence for the statement.[6] Elias, the Patriarch of the Chaldean Nestorians of

[1] See *Epist.*, Pauli V., VII, 361, in *Arm.*, 45, of Papal Secret Archives. The gifts for the ambassadors of Armenia are mentioned in *Avviso of January 7, 1612, Vatican Library.

[2] This appears from the *Brief to *Zach. Vartabied*, of October 20, 1613, in which Paul V. insists again upon the necessity of a "correctio duorum errorum". *Epist.*, IX., 123, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Epist.*, X., 352 *ibid.*

[4] *Brief *Zachariae praelato Armenorum Perae Constantin. commoranti*: "affectum esse ingenti laetitia ex his, quae significavit de eius progressu pro correctione Trisagii et caeterorum errorum apud Armenos suos," dated V., Cal. Iun., 1615, *Epist.*, X., Papal Secret Archives. The Pope recommended Vartabied to the Rector of the Jesuits and to the French Ambassador at Constantinople; see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 89, and *Melet.*, 335.

[5] BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 27.

[6] In the *Epist.*, Pauli V., the following enclosed documents are found here: *Brief for *Paulo Maria Cittadino, vic. general fratr. s. Dominici in Armenia maiori commoranti* (since 1615; *cf. Epist.*, X., 334) ("hortatur ut perseveret in eius ministerio"), dat. May 29, 1618 (XV., 321, *ibid.*, 322 for *moderno archiep. Goano: commendat Christifideles Armeniae mai*, d. ut s.); *Brief

Babylon, whose residence was at Mossul, seemed also resolved to establish contact with Paul V. At the beginning of September, 1610, there came to Rome, as the Patriarch's representative, the archdeacon and archimandrite of the Chaldean monks, Adam.[1] He submitted to the Pope a confession of faith together with a covering letter in which the Patriarch prayed that if the confession contained any error or deviation from the Roman Mother Church, the Pope would correct it. "Teach us, and we shall obey," he wrote. Adam submitted yet another special document in which he endeavoured to show that the divergences between the Chaldean Christians and the Catholics were only apparent ones. Paul V. passed on this exposition, as well as the confession of faith, for examination by his secretary, Pietro Strozzi, a learned theologian. In his answer the latter discussed in detail the errors of the Nestorians and showed that, contrary to Adam's claim, the differences were more than mere verbal ones. Nevertheless, given goodwill, Strozzi thought that an agreement could be reached. Paul V. entrusted the further examination of the matter to the commissary of the Roman Inquisition, the Dominican Andrea Giustiniani.[2] The Congregation proceeded with such thoroughness that Adam's stay in Rome lasted three years. During that time

for *Zach. Vartabied eccl. Armen. Constant. commoranti Praelato*, dat. March 6, 1617 ("has received his letter of October 7 and therefrom perceives his ardour for the Catholic Faith; remain faithful and carry out what you have in mind; we approve your wish to found 'Armenorum collegia' in Rome and Constantinople, but there is no opportunity for this now," Papal Secret Archives, XIV., 46).

[1] *Cf.* **Acta legationis Babylonicae* in *Barb.*, 2690 (with the arms of Paul V.), p. 3 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.*, also, *Annal. Minorum*, XXV., *Quarachi*, 1886, 157 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*; PETR. STROZZA, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum disputatio*, Romae, 1617; ASSEMANI, *Bibl. orient.*, I., Romae, 1719, 543 *seq.*; S. GIAMIL, *Genuinae relationes inter Sedem Apost. et Assyriorum orient. seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam*, Romae, 1902, 108 *seq.*, 525 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 26.

all the dogmas about which there was a divergence were subjected to exhaustive discussions,[1] especially those of the Primacy, the divine Motherhood, the two natures, the two wills and activities in Christ, the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the objections of Adam were examined and refuted. In the spring of 1614, a happy issue seemed to have been reached. Paul V. entrusted Adam with a letter to the patriarch in which, after praising Adam, the Pope described the discussions that had taken place between him and the Congregation. The Pontiff specified the dogmatic demands of the Holy See and stressed the fact that the divergences of the Chaldeans consisted not in words only but in facts. This letter was translated into Syrian ; so was Strozzi's dissertation which Adam took with him. He was also given presents for the Patriarch, viz. a gold cross set with jewels and containing a particle of the true cross, a translation of the Gospels in Arabic, a gold chalice, a tiara and liturgical vestments and, lastly, some medical books in Arabic.[2] To make the conclusion of reunion even more certain, two Jesuits were assigned as companions to Adam.[3] In March, 1616, the Chaldean Patriarch convened his suffragans in a synod of which we have an account from the pen of Tommaso Obicini, guardian of the Franciscan Monastery of Aleppo.[4]

Meanwhile the two Jesuits who had returned to Rome towards the end of 1616 brought with them very bad news concerning the unreliability of the archimandrite Adam. There was good reason to fear that they had all been taken

[1] *Cf.* STROZZA, *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

[2] See the Note of Paul V. of March 25, 1614, in GIAMIL, 123 *seqq.*

[3] See the *credentials for the two Jesuits to the patriarch Elias, dated March 25, 1614, in the *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.*, too, *Synopsis*, II., 227, 267, and **Ragguaglio della missione fatta per ordine di N.S. Paolo V. da due sacerdoti d. Compagnia di Gesù al patriarca Elia di Babilonia*, in *Barb.*, LVI., 71, p. 127 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Synodalia Chaldaeorum*, Romae, 1617. *Cf.* GIAMIL, 147 *seqq.*

in by the wily Oriental.[1] Fresh deliberations took place in which Cardinal Bellarmine also took part. In his memorandum he insisted on the necessity of making sure that no Nestorian views lurked behind Catholic-sounding expressions.[2] Accordingly, on June 29th, 1617, Paul V. demanded the acceptance of a fresh profession of faith, the wording of which was as accurate as possible and which contained an explicit rejection of the errors of Nestorius.[3] How justified the Pope's caution was is shown by the fact that Elias' successor in the patriarchal chair openly declared himself a Nestorian.[4]

These embassies from the East were no doubt contributory causes of a decree in which Paul V. once again drew attention to an ordinance of Clement VIII. concerning the study of languages, especially that of Arabic, in the educational establishments of Regulars.[5] In May, 1613, a polyglot meeting was held in San Lorenzo in Lucina at which, in the presence of many Cardinals, pupils of the Regulars preached in various Oriental languages.[6] In the same year, with the encouragement of Paul V., the learned French ambassador, Savary de Brèves, published in Rome a translation in Arabic of the psalms of David and the Roman Catechism.[7]

With the brave mountain folk of Lebanon, the Maronites, Paul V. was on the best of terms for, as he wrote to them, they faithfully kept the Catholic faith, as a rose among thorns. Again and again the Pope sent gifts and spiritual favours to

[1] *Cf.* Iuvencius, V., 2, 425 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of *Bellarmin* in Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 570 *seq.*

[3] See Giamil, 160 *seqq.*

[4] See the *diary of their journey by the Friars Minor, Francesco and Tommaso, 1629 in *Otiob.* 2536, p. 114 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Lämmer has utilized this source, *Anelecta*, 43 *seq.*

[5] *Bull.*, XI., 625 *seq.*

[6] See *Avviso, May 29, 1613, Vatican Library.

[7] See *Bibliofilo*, XI. (1890), 33.

this people,[1] and made it possible for young Maronites to pursue their studies in Rome.[2]

In 1606, by the hands of Capuchin missionaries, the Pope sent to the Coptic Patriarch, whose residence was in Cairo, a chalice and sacred vestments.[3] In 1614, a representative of the famous monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, did homage to the Pope in Rome.[4] Thereupon Paul V. recommended the monastery to the king of Spain [5] and, at a later date, also to Henry IV., at a time when the monastery was hard pressed by its wild neighbours.[6] France took a prominent part in the reopening, in 1609, of the Jesuit foundation in

[1] *Cf.* ANAISSI, *Bull. Maronit.*, 114 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*, 119 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, 123, 124, 125, 127.

[2] *Cf.*, besides BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 30, the *notes *cf.* Costaguti (Costaguti Archives, Rome ; see Appendix Vol. XXVI., n. 14), and the **Tabella in Tempo di Paolo V. per le paghe da farsi dal Depositario della Camera 1619*, *Varia* 362, p. 16, in Propaganda Archives, Rome. *Vat.* 7413 contains : **Victorii Scalach Accurensis Maronitae Quattuor Iesu Christi Evangel. ex Chaldeo idiom. in lat. interpretatio iussu Pauli V. expleta 1617* ; *Vat.* 7414 (*ibid.*) : *Ritualis catholici Maronit. ex Chaldeo idiom. in lat. interpretatio iussu Pauli V.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Brief to *Marcus, patr. Alex. nat. Cophtarum*, dat. April 3, 1606. *Cf.* the *Brief to the *Vicarius* and *Secretarius patr. Alexand. Alcairi commor.*, dated April 3, 1606 (he sends his blessing by *Fr. Hieron. a Castroferretto, Felix Macerat. et Bernardin. de Appignano, ord. S. Franc. Cappuccin.*). *Epist.*, I., 505, 506, 508, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Brief to the *Archiepisc. et Abbas Montis Sinay* ("accepisse eius obedientiam sibi eius nomine per Ioachimum monachum praestitam"), dated July 26, 1614, *Epist.*, X., 61, *ibid.*

[5] *Briefs to Philip III., dat. August 8, 1614, *Epist.*, X., 98. *Cf.* XV., B : to **Laurentius archiep. et abbas Sinay in Arabia*, August 8, 1614 (he regrets the persecution, praises their fidelity and exhorts them to perseverance), Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Brief to Louis XIII., dat. July 9, 1620 (he recommends *Monachos Montis Sinay, cum inter immanis. nationes incursionibus expositi* ; they are lost without money for endless ransom), *Epist.*, XVI., 135. *Ibid.*, 136. *Brief to *Iosaphat ep. et abb. Montis Sinay* (he has received his messengers and promises help), date as above, *ibid.*

Constantinople which had been destroyed by the plague during the pontificate of Sixtus V. After the death of Henry IV., Paul V. prayed the French government to hold a protecting hand over the missionaries in the Turkish capital.[1] The Jesuits of Constantinople devoted themselves not only to the Christians of the Latin Rite, but to those also who followed the Greek Rite. They also endeavoured, however difficult the thing was, to bring spiritual comfort to the unhappy Christian prisoners condemned to the galleys. At Constantinople, as everywhere, they opened a school in which they taught partly in Latin, partly in Greek. In time the Fathers directed their eyes towards the East. They opened a mission in Mingrelia and in Georgia where they won over one of the princes. At the time when the Armenians were praying for Jesuit missionaries, the Patriarch of Jerusalem also offered them a house in Jerusalem, on condition that they united with the Franciscans. "Thus we have a hope of establishing ourselves all over the East," we read in a report of the year 1619. With the Turks alone were the Fathers unsuccessful. Only by a great miracle could that people be converted, and if it pleased God to change the heart of the Sultan.[2] Paul V. repeatedly acknowledged in laudatory Briefs the good services rendered to the Catholics in Constantinople by the French embassy,[3] and he supported

[1] *Cf.* besides PRAT, III., 98 *seq.*, 674 *seq.*, the essays by DE MUN in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXIV., 1903), 163 *seqq.*, and FOUQUERAY in *Études*, CXIII. (1907), 70 *seqq.*; also FOUQUERAY, *Hist. d. Jésuites*, III., 200 *seq.*, 606 *seq.* *Some details concerning the years 1609–1616 is also found in *Cod.* E 24, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. For the Jesuit mission in the Ægean Isles (1613–1615) see IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 437. In a *Brief of December 2, 1617, to *Gaspar Gratianus dux Naxiae*, the latter is praised for his zeal in spreading the Faith (*Epist.*, XV.). *Ibid.*, other, similar *Brief to the same, January 30, and March 21, 1618, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, in *Études*, CIII., 73 *seq.*

[3] See the *Brief to Henry IV., March 20, 1607 (*Epist.*, II., 378), and to the ambassador Baron Salignac, March 28, 1608, and February 7, 1609 (*Epist.*, III., 443; IV., 827; *cf.* X., 46), Papal Secret Archives.

the Jesuit establishment in that city not only with spiritual favours,[1] but likewise with an annual contribution of 600 scudi.[2]

With the support of Paul V.[3] Jesuit missionaries laboured in the island of Chios. In Bosnia and Serbia they worked jointly with the Franciscans.[4] The bishop of the Uniat Serbs, Simeon Vratanja, received his confirmation from Paul V.[5] The Pope also extended his solicitude to the Christians of Moldavia and Walachia.[6] Catholics were still very numerous in Albania. In 1611, the archbishop of

[1] See *Synopsis*, II., 250; *cf.* 267.

[2] **Al padre generale d. Comp. di Gesù per sovent. delli padri della missione di Constantinopoli scudi* 600 *moneta l'anno* (*Tabella* of 1609 in *Varia*, 362, p. 16, of Propaganda Archives, Rome). See also the *notes of Costaguti (*cf.* App. Vol. XXVI., n. 14), Costaguti Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* **Notes of Costaguti, loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf. Mon. Slavor. merid.*, XXIII., Zagrabiae, 1892, 342 *seq.* For Paul V.'s relations with Serbia see BALAN, *La Chiesa e gli Slavi*, 208, 246 *seq.* See also HUDAL, *Die serbischorthodoxe Nationalkirche*, Graz, 1922, 14 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* NILLES, *Kalendarium eccl. orient.*, III., Oeniponte, 1885, and *Arch. Francisc. hist.*, XVII., 498 *seq.*

[6] See the *Brief to the *Princeps Moldaviae and Walachiae*, November 15 and May 2 in *Epist.*, X., 150, 340, Papal Secret Archives. Rome first received more detailed news of the ecclesiastical conditions in Moldavia and Wallachia from Bernardino Quirini, then in Candia, who, having been appointed bishop of Argesch as early as 1590, was not able, owing to political conditions, to proceed to Moldavia until 1597. He settled there, in the Franciscan Monastery at Bacau, and now called himself "*episcopus Argensis et Bachoviensis*". After his death, in 1607, the bishopric of Bacau came into separate existence. Quirinis' vicar, Jerome Arsengo, became bishop. He was succeeded, in 1611, by the Pole, Valerian Lubieniecki, who had had a chequered past. Thereafter all bishops of Bacau came from Poland; see EUBEL in the *Röm. Quartalschrift.*, XII., 113 *seq.* and R. CANDEA, *Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern*, Leipzig, 1917, 53 *seq.*; *cf.* 61 as to the scarcity of priests in Moldavia.

Antivari, Marino Bizzi, reported to Paul V. that there still were 350,000 Catholics among a population of 400,000. He praised their fervour but did not hide the dangers which there, as in Serbia, became increasingly threatening as a result of Mohammedan propaganda. In several districts whole villages went over to Islam, in order to escape the poll-tax.[1] Similar developments occurred also in Bosnia, though there the Turks were still in a minority, and notwithstanding the self-sacrificing efforts of Pietro Salinate, bishop of Sofia.[2] Pressure on the part of the civil power, and other circumstances, particularly the lack of suitable priests, resulted in a general retrogression of the Christian population.[3]

It would be impossible to conceive a sharper contrast to the oppression of Christianity in the Ottoman empire than the situation of the Church in the colonies of the New World.

[1] See **Relazione della visita fatta da me, Marino Bizzi, arcivescovo d'Antivari nelle parti della Turchia, Albania e Servia alla S. di N.S. Paolo V.*, January 30, 1611, in *Barb.*, LVIII., 13, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, *Serbien und die Turkei, im* 19. *Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 1879, 539 *seq.*, and RACKI in the periodical *Starine*, 1888.

[2] *Cf.* the "Relazione (drawn up in 1611), de le cose operate in servitio di Dio e della S. fede cattolica da fra Pietro Salinate, vescovo di Sofia, visitatore apost.," in *Ottob.* 2416, p. 927 *seq.* Pietro Salinate reports that he has been in places in Bosnia where no bishop had been before for fear of the Turks, and has confirmed many; he has converted many Paulicians at Tarnovo and built numerous churches. "Ho quietato molte e pericolose liti fra quelli popoli. Ho levato molti abusi et abominevoli usanze fra quelli genti. Ho tenuto più volte li sacri e altri ordini secondo il s. concilio di Trento et de la S. Romana Chiesa." He visited his diocese and suffered much from Turks and schismatics, more particularly from the Greek schismatic archbishop of Sofia, Vatican Library.

[3] See GIOV. BATT. MONTEALBANO, *Relazione a 22 di Maggio 1625 del suo viaggio in Constantinopoli con la descrittione di mille cose mirabili*, in *Cod.*, 6190, p. 132–167, State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* RANKE, *Die serbische Revolution*, Hamburg, 1829, 233 *seq.*

In 1611, Giovanni Botero estimated the number of Catholics in those countries at ten millions.[1] In Mexico, in Central and Southern America, the Church was solidly established and enjoyed the support of the State. Her wealth, which was due to the liberal donations of the Hispano-Portuguese patrons [2] and which made possible the erection of numerous sumptuous baroque churches,[3] was in many instances so great that abuses began to creep in thus early. Among the missionaries who sailed for the New World there were those who were not impelled by the loftiest motives. With many of them a desire for adventure, liberty, or lucre, outweighed zeal for the salvation of souls. Among the religious there were not a few who, on the interesting voyage to the West Indies, stopped without necessity on the way, or deviated from the direct route. In consequence, on July 8th, 1609, Paul V. issued an ordinance by which all regulars were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to keep to the direct route to the destination assigned to them by their Superiors.[4] On December 7th, 1610, the Pope felt compelled to proceed against certain bishops who had been named by the Spanish crown for West Indian sees but who delayed their departure without adequate grounds though they claimed their revenues whilst they were still in Spain.[5] The existence of grave abuses is hinted at by a decree of May 7th, 1607, which forbids the clergy of the West Indies to indulge in any kind of trade.[6] It was likewise a wholesome measure of Paul V.'s, when he

[1] See GIODA, BOTERO, III., 324.

[2] *Cf.* A. DE HERRERA, *Descripcion de las Indias ocidentales*, Madrid, 1601, 80 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.*, besides Gabelentz, Die mexikanischen Barockkirchen, in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, LX. (1926–7), 112 *seq.*, especially CUEVAS, *Hist. de la Iglesia en México*, III., 36 *seq.*

[4] See *Bull.*, XI., 571 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, 657 *seq.*

[6] See P. FRASSO, *De regio patronatu Indiarum II.*, Matriti, 1775, 331 *seq.*; C. MOREL, *Fasti novi Orbis ed ordinat. apost.*, Venetiis, 1776, 349 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XI., 405 *seq.*, 500 *seq.* *Cf.* also LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 330 *seq.*

decided to suppress all convents in America which could not support at least eight religious.[1]

The interests of the pastoral ministry were served by an ordinance affecting the secular clergy of Mexico,[2] as well as by the numerous alterations which Paul V. effected in the organization of the American hierarchy. To Truxillo, Arequipa, Guamanga, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Durango and Pernambuco he gave their own bishops, whilst La Plata became an archbishopric.[3] Among the American bishops appointed by Paul V. there were many men of outstanding virtue and zeal for souls. Among them must be mentioned Bartolomeo Lobo Guerrero, who having succeeded, in 1609, the saintly Turibius in the archiepiscopal see of Lima, battled indefatigably against pagan superstitions and, in 1613, held a diocesan synod; Domingo de Valderrama, a Dominican who founded a seminary after the Tridentine pattern in his residence of La Paz[4]; Alonso de Peralta, bishop of La Plata, who died in the odour of sanctity[5]; Alonso de la Mota, since 1607 bishop of Pueblo de los Angeles, whom the natives also held in the highest esteem[6] and the bishop of Merida, Gonzalo de Salazar, of the Order of St. Augustine, famous for the holiness of his life.[7] The archbishop of Mexico, Juan Perez de la Serra, received several laudatory letters from Paul V.[8] Among the missionaries engaged in evangelizing

[1] See C. Morel, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[2] See *Bull.*, XII., 294 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*

[3] See Gams, 139, 145, 150, 159, 160, 165, 510; C. Morel, 353, 356, 365. *Cf.* Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, ch. 25; *Bull.*, XII., 9 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*; Cuevas, *Hist. de la Iglesia en México*, III., 107 seq.

[4] See the interesting *report, "*Status rei ecclesiasticae diocesis Limensis ac Pacensis in Indiis occidentalibus de Peru,"* in Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* Gams, 160.

[6] See *ibid.*, 163. *Cf.* Ranke, *Osmanen und spanische Monarchie*, 351.

[7] See Gams, 166.

[8] *Cf.* the *Briefs of 1615 (*Epist.*, X., 328) and 1618, May 11 (*Epist.*, XV.), Papal Secret Archives. The *Briefs with regard to the introduction of the *Caeremoniale Romanum* in Mexico are in *Bull.*, XII., 471 *seq.*

the New World, the Pope supported in a particular manner those of the Dominican [1] Franciscan [2] and Jesuit Orders.[3] In 1612 these were joined by the Capuchins. In that year the first four members of that Order left Paris for Brazil; in 1614 more Fathers set out for America, and in 1618, the ruler of Congo also made a request for some Capuchin Fathers.[4] The American missionaries by no means confined their labours to the territories which were already Christian; they were indefatigable in their efforts to carry the banner of the Gospel further afield. Boldly they penetrated into unknown regions in order to bring to the savage natives the blessings of Christian civilization. In their eagerness they shrank from no privation, not even from the Martyrs' death, which as a matter of fact a number of them underwent.[5]

In Canada, in 1611, the French Jesuits Biard and Massé inaugurated a mission among the savage Indian tribe of the

[1] *Cf.* Ripoli, *Bull.* ord. Praed. V., *passim.*

[2] *Cf.* Izeguirre, *Hist. de las Misiones Franciscanas en oriente del Peru, 1610–1921,* Lima, 1921.

[3] *Cf. Synopsis,* II., 243, 249, 260, 266; *Brief to Philip III., May 1, 1607 (*commendat seminarium Salmanticense Soc. Iesu,* as numbers are insufficient for India), *Epist.,* II., 431; *Brief to *archiepisc. Limens. et Platens. in Indiis,* June 27, 1608 ("commendat patres Soc. Iesu"); *Brief to *episc. Cilae, Cuzetti et Pacis in Indiis, d. ut s.* (same content); **Consil. regis cath. in Quito & in Panama, d. ut s.* (praises their protection of the Jesuits); **Comiti de Govera, gubernat. prov. Chiquites, d. ut s.* (Praise of the Jesuits); to **Didacus de Velasco, gub. Cartaginis in Indiis d. ut s.* (praise of the Jesuits). *Epist.,* IV., 29, 30, 32, 33, 41, 42, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Marcellinus de Pisa, *Annal. hist. ord. min. S. Francisci qui Capucini nuncupantur,* III., Lugduni, 1676, 3 *seq.,* 27 *seq.,* 232. Detailed notes, mostly from letters in **Narratione delle cose della India (America merid.) occorse alli padri Capuccini della provincia di Parigi mandati per convertire i poveri selvatici infedeli nella terra et provincia Brasiliana,* in *Borghese,* I., 28, p. 424 *seq.,* Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* Astráin, V., 326 *seq.*

Hurons, but it was soon destroyed by English Protestants.[1] In 1615 French Recollects took up the work once more. Among them Father le Caron particularly distinguished himself by his zeal for souls as well as by his linguistic studies. Since 1619, French Franciscans were devoting themselves to the arduous task of evangelizing the Abnakis of Nova Scotia.[2] The foundation of the Jesuit Colonies in Paraguay, the peculiarities of which have been the object of such lengthy discussions, likewise falls into the pontificate of Paul V. The system hitherto followed of mobile missionaries, had not proved successful in those parts. For this reason, when Aquaviva erected the new Province of Paraguay,[3] the far-seeing General of the Society urged the foundation of strong and stable missionary centres after the model of similar essays in Brazil.[4]

The permanent settlement, freedom and isolation of the Indians who had up till then es aped enslavement was the essential idea of the new system, and as such it was in direct opposition to the system of *commendas*, hitherto followed by the Spaniards, with its consequent oppression of the natives. Philip III.'s guarantee of support made it possible to break the resistance of the selfish colonists. The king ceded to the Jesuits the strip of territory east of the Paraguay, as far as the Uruguay. Here they founded the first of their famous

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, III., 106 *seq.*; DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jesuites de la nouvelle France*, I., 57 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, II., 372 *seq.*; HUGHES, *Hist. of the Soc. of Jesus in N. America*, II., London, 1917, p. 213; FOUQUERAY, III., 584 *seq.*; *cf.* W. HANNS, *Die Verdienste der Jesuitenmissionare um die Erforschung Kanadas, Ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte*, 1611–1759 (Diss.), Jena, 1916, printed also in the Mitteil der geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena, XXXIII–XXXIV (1915–16).

[2] See HOLZAPFEL, 527; JOUVE, *Les Franciscains et le Canada*. I.: *L'établissement de la foi 1615–1629*, Quebec, 1915.

[3] *Cf.* IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 737 *seq.*; PASTELLS, *Hist. de la Comp de Jésus en prov. del Paraguay*, I., Madrid, 1912, 120 *seq.*; ASTRÁIN, IV., 631 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* HANDELMANN, *Gesch. von Brasilien*, Berlin, 1860, 78 *seq.*

Reductions, that is, agricultural colonies of convert Indians, exclusively and independently administered by the missionaries, who were themselves immediately subject to the crown. For some time this original creation had to contend with numerous obstacles, of which the greatest were the predatory irruptions of the slave hunters, the so-called Mameluks. In course of time, however, the Reductions developed into an institution of world-wide renown.[1]

As in their struggle for the freedom of the Indians, so did the Jesuits win imperishable renown by their efforts for the mitigation of the cruel lot of the negro slaves. Two resplendent patterns of Christian self-sacrifice on behalf of these unfortunates shed lustre on the reign of Paul V.; namely Alonso de Sandoval and Peter Claver. Burning with heroic charity, these two Spaniards, the latter of whom was sprung from an ancient noble family of Catalonia, had devoted themselves since 1615, with admirable constancy, at Cartagena in New Granada (the Colombia of to-day) to the service of the unhappy negroes who were annually sold in thousands in the great slave market of that town for work in the mines and in the plantations. As soon as a ship arrived, they would hasten to the harbour, accompanied by an interpreter, in order to provide the blacks who, as a rule, were in a most pitiable condition, with food and raiment. The sick were their special care, but they also assisted those that were whole, comforted them and endeavoured to win them over to Christianity. Claver, who had dedicated himself to the service

[1] See PASTELLS, I., 157 *seq.*; HUONDER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 1464 *seq.* With regard to the monograph of GOTHEIN: *Der christlich-soziale Staat der Jesuiten in Paraguay* (Leipzig, 1883), *cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXV., 439 *seq.* We shall return later to this greatly misunderstood creation of Catholic missionary zeal, for which, conclusive information has now been supplied in the works of P. HERNANDEZ (*Missiones de Paraguay. Organización social de las doctrinas guaranies de la Compañia de Jesús*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1913), and ASTRÁIN (V., 519 *seq.*). See, too, M. FASSBINDER, *Der "Jesuitenstaat" in Paraguay*, Halle, 1926.

of the negroes by a special vow, in many respects even surpassed his master Sandoval who had exercised his apostolate of charity at Cartagena since 1607.[1] Claver's love and tenderness towards the poor slaves knew no bounds. He personally cleansed and bandaged the dreadful sores with which many of them were covered, procured medicaments and stood by their sick bed with words of comfort on his lips. Whilst, like an angel of compassion, he did all he could to induce the negroes to lead a moral and Christian life, he likewise did his utmost to induce their hard-hearted masters to exercise greater mildness in the treatment of their slaves. Claver stuck to his wearisome task at Cartagena for a period of forty years, all the time waging an unending war against cruelty and selfishness on the one hand, and ignorance and degradation on the other. When, in 1654, he succumbed to his exertions, the number of those he had baptized with his own hand was computed as exceeding three hundred thousand. What was done by this one man, who was truly justified in styling himself "the perpetual slave of the negroes", to mitigate the worst of all social evils, is written in letters of gold in the history of mankind.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the reports in ASTRÁIN, IV., 597 *seqq.*

[2] Sommervogel has abridged the older biographers of Claver; among the more recent, *cf.* HOLZWARTH (Tübingen, 1885); FLEURIAU (Paris, 1751; in German, SCHELKLE, Augsburg, 1st ed., 1833, 2nd, 1873); SOLÀ (Barcelona, 1888); VAN AKEN (Gand, 1888); HÖVER (Dülmen, 1888, [2]1905); ASTRÁIN (V., 479 *seq.*), and G. LEDOS (Paris, 1923).

CHAPTER IX.

Paul V.'s Efforts for the Pacification of Western Europe and Italy.—Religious Conditions in Switzerland and Disturbances in the Grisons.

Henry IV. entertained great hopes that the election of Paul V. would help him to realize his ambitious schemes. They were no more destined to be fulfilled than were the fears with which the elevation of the Borghese Cardinal filled the cabinet of Madrid.[1]

The French efforts to win over the new Pope to a neutrality hostile to Spain, in fact to an even closer adhesion to France's anti-Habsburg manœuvres, could not make an impression on a man like Paul V., for the Pope was resolved—a fact that did not escape the French ambassador—to govern solely for the good of Christendom, without seeking his own advantage, and with absolute impartiality.[2] To this end peace between the Catholic Powers was indispensable, and Paul V. considered it a sacred duty to collaborate with all who worked for its maintenance.[3] If Henry IV. nevertheless hoped that the Pope would support his plans, his expectation was based, on the one hand, on the political inexperience of the new pontiff, and, on the other, on the prestige which France had recovered in Rome. The last conclaves had

[1] See above, p. 38. *Cf.*, also, the report of Fr. M. Vialardo, Rome, June 4, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* Couzard, *Ambassade*, 392.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to *Petrus comes de Fuentes, status Mediol. gubernat. ac capit. gener.*, August 6, 1605, which says: "Hortamur te, ut in posterum omnem suspicionem omnemque timorem rerum novandarum in Italia ex hominum animis evellere . . . studeas," as we "Italiae pacem prae omnibus rebus desideramus", *Epist.*, I., 117, Papal Secret Archives.

shown the enormous change that had taken place in this respect.

The general favour which Henry's astute envoy, Béthune, had won in Rome was clearly revealed at the latter's departure (June 6th, 1605), for the event became a triumph for France.[1] The Pope, who had learned to esteem Béthune whilst still a Cardinal,[2] showed him extraordinary honour at his departure.[3] Although he also gave tokens of his favour to the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Escalona, at this very time, and granted him, for Philip III., an extension of the heavy ecclesiastical revenues deriving from the *Cruzada*, the *Subsidio* and the *Excusado*,[4] the Spaniards were nevertheless very jealous for they could not help feeling that their ascendancy in Rome had declined enormously. For this result their ambassador, the duke of Escalona, a man of no capacity, was not a little to blame. In 1606 Escalona was superseded by the marquis of Aytona.[5]

With a view to maintaining and increasing France's prestige in Rome, Béthune's successor, Charles de Neufville, *seigneur* of Alincourt and son of the minister Villeroi, made magnificent and sumptuous preparations, such as had never been witnessed

[1] *Cf.* Couzard, *Ambassade*, 405.

[2] See the *Brief to *Béthune*, December 11, 1605 ("dum cardinalem gerebamus" and as Pope "dexteritatem tuam abunde cognovimus"), *Epist.*, I., 381, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Every town in the Papal States through which Béthune came, had instructions to show him the greatest honour; *cf.* Goujet, I., 26. The French Nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, was ordered to make use of the advice of this statesman, who was truly devoted to the Holy See; see the *Brief to *Béthune*, December 11, 1605, *loc. cit.*

[4] June 22, 1605; see **Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9.

[5] For the incapacity of the duke of Escalona *cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 155 *seq.*; for his hostility towards the Spanish Cardinals see the *Report of Giulio del Carretto, October 22, 1605, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

on similar occasions. He announced his intention to spend forty thousand écus over and above the money put at his disposal by the king.[1] By displaying the utmost pomp, Alincourt hoped to promote a happy solution of the difficult problems which Henry IV. had set him. Among other things there was question of paving the way for an alliance between the smaller Italian States and the Pope, which would be aimed against the Spaniards.[2] Whilst these plans of Henry IV. were maturing, the struggle between Paul V. and Venice broke out which, at one time, threatened to lead to an alliance between Rome and Madrid. As a consequence of the selfish and untrustworthy attitude of the Spaniards, Henry IV. escaped that peril; in fact it became even possible for him to play the rôle of a mediator. Nevertheless, the compromise of June, 1607, which was due to the skill of Cardinal de Joyeuse, was of a kind that satisfied neither Venice nor the Pope.[3] If his mediation in the struggle with Venice added to Henry's prestige, he also lost many sympathies thereby. In Rome this became very evident; it was generally believed that Paul V. had begun to lean rather more towards the Spanish side.[4] None the less, since Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, seemed to draw ever closer to him, Henry IV. hoped that the anti-Habsburg league of the Italian States, which he had fathered, would be further strengthened by the Pope's adhesion. However, it soon became apparent that neither Paul V. nor the republic of St. Mark could be induced to enter into any definite agreement. In September, 1608, the French envoy in Venice reported the existence of a possibility of a close alliance with Spain of the Pope, Venice and Tuscany.[5] Even so when a month later Henry

[1] See PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. I, 357. For the Instruction to Alincourt, see MERCIER-LACOMBE, *Henri IV. et sa politique*, 34.

[2] *Cf.* GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 116.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 172 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*

[4] See PHILIPPSON, III., 55, 271, 276.

[5] See Letters and documents for the history of the Thirty Years War, II., 567.

tentatively suggested to Venice the formation of a French-Italian offensive alliance, with a view to an attack on Spanish Lombardy, he imagined that he could secure the Pope's concurrence by the promise of a principality for the Borghese family.[1] Calculations of this kind were based on a complete misunderstanding of Paul V.'s character. The duke of Escalona knew by experience how little the Pope was susceptible to wiles of this kind. In 1605, when he wished to secure a certain marriage dispensation, the duke made a promise of territorial possessions for the Pope's nephew. To this suggestion the Pope indignantly replied that he was not prepared to sell the Supreme Pontificate.[2] Nor was there any foundation for the opinion which prevailed at the French court, namely, that Paul V.s feelings were wholly pro-Spanish. The Borghese Pope was very far from considering the resumption of the political game in which so many of his predecessors of the Renaissance period had become involved. Though politically inexperienced, it nevertheless never entered his mind still further to strengthen the Spanish preponderance in Italy with which all Italians bore most reluctantly, and which the Holy See itself had cause to resent, owing to the constant encroachment of Spain on the sphere of the Church. But if the idea of a complete surrender to Philip III. was far from his mind, that of falling in with the dangerous political aspirations of Henry IV. was no less so. For Paul V., the fulfilment of his duty to the Church and the protection of Christendom stood in the front line, and to this end he sought to eliminate with complete impartiality, the differences between the two chief Catholic Powers which had so long warred against each other, to the very great injury of the Church.[3] Like Clement VIII. he too hoped for a reconciliation of France and Spain by means of a matrimonial alliance. Already by the end of 1605 he took tentative steps towards

[1] *Cf.* A. Foscarini in Barozzi-Berchet, *Francia*, I., 308; Philippson, III., 567.

[2] See Couzard, *Ambassade*, 391.

[3] *Cf.* Gindely, I., 114.

this end. Owing to the jealousy with which both cabinets watched the conduct of the Holy See, he had to act with the utmost caution, lest he should appear to each of the two Powers as an agent of the opposite party.

In April, 1606, the Jesuit, Père Coton, for whom Henry IV. cherished a high regard, suggested a double alliance between the houses of Habsburg and Bourbon; namely, that of the Dauphin with the eldest daughter of Philip III., and that of the Spanish heir with the eldest daughter of Henry IV.; the latter would have for dowry the succession to Navarre, and the Spanish Infanta the provinces of Flanders. However the Spanish cabinet could not be induced to approve an arrangement the realization of which was greatly desired by the king of France. The discussions came to an end in July, 1607. Nevertheless Paul V. went on making propaganda in favour of an understanding between Paris and Madrid by means of matrimonial alliances.[1] Cardinal Barberini who, during his term of office as nuncio in Paris, had devoted his energy to the elimination of the Franco-Spanish rivalry,[2] rightly interpreted the feelings of Paul V. by making a supreme attempt towards that end shortly before his departure. In September, 1607, on the occasion of the recent birth of Don Carlos, Barberini suggested a matrimonial alliance between that prince and Christina, third daughter of Henry IV. The shrewd French monarch fell in with the proposal with remarkable alacrity even though he modified it somewhat in his own interest. Don Carlos and Christina were to receive from Spain the Low Countries as an hereditary fief, though in practice with complete independence, whilst the northern Provinces of the Netherlands were once more to be united to the southern ones. There is no need to explain in detail

[1] *Cf.* the valuable study of HILTEBRANDT: *Rom. Preussen und Jülich-Cleve*, in the *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV. (1913), 312 *seq.*, where for the first time the reports of the nunciature are fully made use of.

[2] *Cf.* NICOLETTI, *Vita di Urbano VIII.*, tom I., *Barb.*, 4753, p. 195 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

the advantages for France of a combination of this kind. To render the plan acceptable to the Pope, Henry IV. pointed to the advantages that would result from it for Christendom. The sole cause of France's jealousy of Spain was the latter's presence in Flanders; if this obstacle were removed the king's only interest would be to defend, in conjunction with the ruler of Spain, the heritage of the young couple, and to fight the Dutch Calvinists who, even in the interior of France, gave Henry trouble enough.[1] All this Villeroi explained in detail to Roberto Ubaldini who, in 1607, succeeded Barberini in the French nunciature. An alliance without a territorial dowry, as had so often been demonstrated, would have no tangible effect, whereas the marriage of Don Carlos and Christina, with Flanders as dowry, would lead to a strong and lasting friendship between France and Spain.[2] In order to win over to his plan the childless Governor-General of the Low Countries, the archduke Charles, Henry IV. held out to him the perspective of his support in a question which, in view of the peace pourparlers with the Dutch, that fervent Catholic prince had particularly at heart, namely, complete freedom for the Catholics of Holland to practise their religion. In reality, however, the king of France, whose aims were purely political, had no intention whatever to tackle that difficult question. Notwithstanding the pressing exhortations of the Pope, the French delegates at the peace conference definitely took the side of the intolerant Dutchmen.[3] The grave misgivings with which the Holy See viewed the latest proposals of Henry IV. were fully justified. The worth of his promise to help the Spaniards, at a later date, to overthrow Holland, was shown by the conclusion, in January, 1608, of

[1] See PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, Vol. III., 126 *seq.*, who shows clearly, against PERRENS (*Les mariages espagnoles*, 40 *seq.*) that Barberini was merely the originator of the idea of the marriage, whereas the plan of erecting a Flemish "secondogeniture" proceeded from Henry IV.

[2] See the Report of UBALDINI, January 20, 1608, in PERRENS, *Mariages*, 63 *seq.*

[3] See PHILIPPSON, III., 132 *seq.*, 137 *seq.*

an offensive and defensive alliance between France and the United States of the Netherlands. At Madrid this double-dealing roused such indignation that the Spanish envoy in Rome was instructed to lodge a strong protest with the Pope against the conduct of Henry.[1] For all that, the Spanish cabinet was resolved to go on with the marriage treaty. On March 30th, the Spanish Privy Council examined the French proposals which had been transmitted to it from Rome at the beginning of February, and, on the advice of Lerma, decided to send as envoy to Paris a person of eminence and distinction. The choice fell on a Grandee of Spain who was also a distant relation of the French king, namely the Marquis of Villafranca, Don Pedro de Toledo. It was thought that this haughty and rough warrior, with his bluff speech and manner, was best qualified to force the king to bow to Spain's conditions of a marriage which, as was generally known, Henry was most anxious to be arranged. Toledo was instructed to open the discussions with a strongly worded protest against the Franco-Dutch alliance and only to mention the marriage plan if Henry himself broached it. Preparations on a purposely grand scale were made for the embassy and the presents which Toledo was to offer to the French king were ostentatiously displayed; they were magnificent Andalusian horses, together with costly harness. In order to draw general attention to the embassy, its dispatch was purposely delayed. The idea was to raise a suspicion in the minds of Henry's confederates that the king of France was irrevocably resolved to become reconciled to Spain, even though it meant abandoning his Dutch allies. The extent to which the scheme proved successful is shown by the anxiety which seized the duke of Savoy, the German Protestants, the English, and, most of all, the Dutch. To a Dutch protest the French envoys replied that marriages of this kind could take place between the children of powerful kings; none the less they were empowered to assure them that their ruler would not enter into an alliance with any

[1] See HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 322 *seq.*, 324 *seq.*

prince in the wide world if by so doing he would injure the Dutch State and his long-standing friendship with its people.[1] This assurance was honestly meant, but it by no means allayed the fears of the Dutch. Not for a moment did Henry contemplate a loosening of his alliance with Holland seeing that it was for him a guarantee of the effective conclusion of the marriages and the separation of Flanders from Spain.[2]

All the efforts of Paul V., through Ubaldini, to induce the French king to renounce his alliance with the Dutch Calvinists proved in vain.[3] Whereas at the beginning of March, 1608, Henry still acknowledged the promise made by him to help the Spaniards to subjugate the Dutch, and excused its withdrawal by pleading that Rome had failed to send him a reply, at the end of the same month he openly told the nuncio that under no circumstances would he go to war with the powerful Dutchmen.[4] The Bourbon fancied that somehow he would induce the Spaniards to fall in with his ideas, notwithstanding his dealings with Holland. He sought to allay the fears of the Madrid cabinet by every means in his power. Once the two dynasties were allied by double marriage ties, and the separation of Flanders from Spain was effected, everything else would follow of its own accord, for then the ruler of France would of necessity greatly desire that the Dutch should be subject to his daughter and son-in-law; in this way, too, the Catholic religion would be re-established in those provinces.[5] It would seem that, as a matter of fact, Henry was prepared to promise, by a secret clause, to assist Spain

[1] See PHILIPPSON, III., 146 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; PERRENS, 113 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 325 *seq.*

[2] HILTEBRANDT, 326.

[3] *Cf.* HILTEBRANDT, 326 *seq.*, who rightly contradicts PHILIPPSON (III., 144, 150), and shows that Paul V. and Ubaldini did not thereupon take sides because they were Spanish-minded; "they simply represented the proper self-interest of the Curia in attempting to restrain the 'most Christian king' from supporting the heretical Dutch."

[4] See SIRI, I., 468 *seq.*; PERRENS, 48, 94; HILTEBRANDT, 327.

[5] *Cf.* SIRI, I., 482 *seq.*; PERRENS, 95.

in the conquest of Holland as soon as he could feel assured on the one point which, in his mind, outweighed everything else, namely the separation of Flanders from Spain.[1] As early as March 4th, 1608, Ubaldini had reported to Cardinal Borghese as follows: "I perceive that though Villeroi refuses to say so openly, he nevertheless wishes it to be understood that the king would accept the marriages and the separation of Flanders even with the condition attached to them of an alliance against Holland."[2] Consequently the logical policy of papal diplomacy in Madrid should have been to press for an abandonment of the demand for an immediate rupture with Holland. If Paul V. failed to do so, it was because in his anxiety to remain neutral he was afraid lest he should give the Spaniards an impression that he was a champion of the French if, in addition to the partition of Flanders, he also suggested to them the shelving of the resolve to subdue the Dutch Calvinists.[3]

Meanwhile, on July 19th, 1608, Toledo arrived at Fontainebleau, the summer residence of the king of France. He was escorted by a numerous suite. This fact confirmed Henry in his opinion that the Spaniards were in earnest and sincerely meant to accept his proposals. His very first confidential talk with Toledo, on July 21st, completely disillusioned him. Toledo was a complete novice in the diplomatic craft. With soldierly directness he made straight for the main point, viz. the rupture of the Franco-Dutch alliance. There ensued some very painful and heated discussions. When Henry sought to give a friendlier turn to the conversation by inquiring which marriages Toledo was empowered to negotiate, the latter answered that though the Pope's proposals in this matter had met with a favourable reception in Spain, he himself was neither commissioned nor empowered to negotiate any marriage whatever! Ubaldini could scarcely fail to realize that after such a beginning there was little prospect of a

[1] See HILTEBRANDT, 330 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 331, A. 1.

[3] See *ibid.*, 332.

successful mission. None the less he decided to play the part of an intermediary.[1]

When Paul V. learned of the turn affairs had taken, his surprise was all the greater as he had entertained high hopes for the success of the matrimonial transactions.[2] To these hopes he had given expression on the occasion of the first audience of the marquis de Brèves, the successor of Alincourt, July 21st, 1608.[3] His surprise was as great as his annoyance when, on August 5th, Brèves informed him of the rough manner in which Toledo had begun a mission fraught with such possibilities for the good of Christendom. The Pope showed very great excitement. Toledo's statement that it was Henry who had proposed the marriage he qualified as nothing less than impudent, since he was in a position to testify before the whole world that Cardinal Barberini and he, the Pope, for the good of Christendom, had suggested the discussions in question. For the rest, Paul V. expressed a hope that his skilful Parisian envoy would succeed in steering Toledo into different channels as well as in pacifying the king, whose irritation was fully justified. He trusted the ruler of France and promised to urge Philip III. and the archduke Albert to make peace with the Dutch as speedily as possible, so long as they guaranteed the free practice of the Catholic religion.[4]

With a view to giving a better turn to the pourparlers between Spain and France, Paul V., on August 22nd, 1608, proposed to the French envoy to transfer the discussions to Rome where Brèves and Aytona would be able to conduct them under his own eyes and with better prospects of success. Henry IV., however, mistrusted Paul V. and would not agree

[1] See PHILIPPSON, III., 165 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 150.

[3] See SIRI, I., 514 *seq.* By *Briefs of July 22, 1608, Paul V. expressed to the French king his satisfaction at the dispatch of Brèves (*Epist.*, IV., 72, Papal Secret Archives). The instructions for Brèves, in *Notices et extraits de la Bibl. du Roi VII.*, 2 (Paris, 1804), 288 *seq.*

[4] See SIRI, I., 516 *seq.*; PERRENS, 43, 64, 135, 142.

to the suggestion. Ubaldini's efforts yielded no result though he applied all his diplomatic skill to the discovery of a middle course between the French and Spanish proposals.[1] Paul V., who until then had entertained a strong hope of a happy solution of the question, now begun to fear that his desire of a rapprochement between France and Spain would be thwarted by the resistance of Henry IV. and that French support would strengthen the Dutchmen's determination to reject the Spanish demand for the free practice of the Catholic religion in the territory of the federated Netherlands. In order to allay the misgivings and the annoyance of the Pope, and for fear of forfeiting his goodwill, the French king had recourse to all the petty tricks of which he was a consummate exponent. Thus the nuncio in Paris was overwhelmed with attentions.[2] For the same reason Cardinal Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, was dispatched to Rome as the king's special envoy. His mission was to do homage to the Pope in Henry's name. The ceremony was carried out with great pomp on November 27th, 1608.[3] It came as a bitter disappointment to Paul V. that the proposed marriages, from which he hoped for a close rapprochement between France and Spain, had no better result than to drive those two countries still further apart.[4]

[1] *Cf.* SIRI, I., 531 *seq.*; PERRENS, 134, 147 *seq.*, 153, 163; PHILIPPSON, III., 188 *seq.*, 190 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 332.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, III., 216 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GOUJET, I., 215 *seq.*, 220; M. ROUVET, *Entrée à Rome de Charles de Gonzague*, Nevers, 1895, and *Une ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV.*, Nevers, 1900; *Maur. Bressii nobilis Delphinati, regii ad Paulum V. oratoris oratio habita a.* 1608, *die* 27 *Nov.*, published in Rome, 1608. At Gonzaga's return, Paul V. gave him a *Brief for Henry IV., December 15, 1608 (*Epist.*, IV., 270, Papal Secret Archives). For the duke's stay in Rome and the gifts given him by the Pope, *cf.* the *Avvisi of November 19, December 6, 12, and 26, 1608. On his return journey from Naples, the Duke halted again at Rome; see *Avviso of January 10, 1609, Vatican Library.

[4] For the vain efforts of the indefatigable Ubaldini, to bring about a reconciliation between France and Spain, see PHILIPPSON, III., 195 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 332.

The Pope's annoyance was increased by a fresh dispute with Venice in which the Spanish and the French ambassadors sought to mediate, each in his own way and for his own selfish end.[1] To all this must be added the circumstance that the twelve years' truce which, with the help of French mediation, was concluded between Spain and Holland, on April 9th, 1609, at Antwerp, contained no clause in regard to freedom for the practice of the Catholic religion. Thus the Catholics of Holland, who constituted more than half the population of the country, were left a prey to further persecution by the Calvinists. In the treaty, Spain not only renounced all claims to protect the Dutch Catholics, but recognized the independence of the united provinces of Holland and granted them the right to trade with all overseas countries which were not immediately under Spanish suzerainty.

This shameful truce with Holland was a deep humiliation for Philip III.: it was a revelation of the decline of Spain as a world power—a decline which thereafter nothing could check. This fact was at last realized even by the politically inexperienced Pope whom Henry IV., with his wonted duplicity, had deceived in regard to the rôle played by him in the transaction. Time and again the king succeeded in dispelling Paul V.'s misgivings by a semblance of agreement with Rome's intentions.[2] The excessive optimism of the beginning vanished completely. "At one time," the Pope remarked in September, 1609, "the Spaniards maintained their position by arrogance. At present they have lost that manner. They are the object of universal contempt and what respect they still commanded has been completely forfeited through the Dutch armistice by which they themselves owned to their helplessness."[3]

[1] *Cf.* GOUJET, I., 239 *seq.*, 245; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, p. 430 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, III., 227 *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 239 *seq.*, 245; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, p. 430 *seq.*

[3] See the report of the French ambassador Brèves, in Rome, September 16, 1609, in PERRENS, 207.

Meanwhile, in consequence of the death, on March 25th, 1609, of the childless John William of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, political tension became so acute that the most perilous complications were to be feared. Once again war threatened between France and Spain, as well as a most grievous injury to the cause of Catholicism in the North-West of Germany and in the Low Countries.

A number of claimants competed for the inheritance of the Lower-Rhine duchy, the possession of which was of the utmost importance from the political, strategic and ecclesiastical point of view. In accordance with the constitution of the empire, Rudolph II. decreed that until the question of succession had been decided, the government of the territories should be carried on by the widowed duchess and her counsellors, under the supreme direction of imperial plenipotentiaries. Heedless of this decree, two of the Lutheran competitors, viz. the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuberg, seized the principality which, at least outwardly, was still Catholic though in matters of religion it had long been undermined by the new teaching which the weak-minded John George had allowed to penetrate into his territory.[1] The Elector of Brandenburg hoped for foreign help—for the assistance, that is, of Holland, England, and France. He claimed British assistance in the name of the interests of the Netherlands, the Protestant religion and common liberty. This "German" prince begged the French king for "effective help" inasmuch as none of the other claimants "could compare with the house of Brandenburg as regards traditional affection for France."[2] Henry IV. was only too glad of such an opportunity for meddling in the internal affairs of Germany as well as for leaguing himself with its Protestant princes for the purpose of preventing this territory on the Lower Rhine

[1] *Cf.* the judgment of Cardinal Paravincini in his Note to Rudolph II., Rome, November 29, 1608, in Briefen und Akten, VI., 524.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 231 *seq.*

from getting into the power of the House of Habsburg. He promptly assured the Elector of Brandenburg of his assistance, advising him at the same time to begin by placating the count of Neuburg. As early as June, 1609, Brandenburg and Neuburg came to terms as to a provisional joint government of the territories they had seized. Thereupon the emperor threatened Brandenburg and Neuburg, the so-called "princes in possession", with the ban of empire, at the same time charging the archduke Leopold to occupy the territories in his name. These the emperor intended to bestow upon the Elector of Saxony who also had a claim to them. On July 23rd, the archduke Leopold succeeded in occupying Jülich, the chief fortified place, but in view of the small forces at his disposal, it was very doubtful whether he would be able to hold the position.[1] The decision of the whole question lay so completely with Henry IV. that the Cardinal Secretary of State, Borghese, could write to the nuncio in Paris that peace and war were in the hands of the King of France.[2]

As soon as he had learnt of the death of the duke of Cleve, Paul V. had sent an urgent request to the Emperor Leopold II., to the Elector of Mayence and to duke Maximilian of Bavaria, not to suffer the territories, temporarily without a head, to fall into Protestant hands.[3] When it transpired that the French king favoured the settlement of non-Catholic princes on the Lower Rhine, the Paris nuncio, Ubaldini, was instructed to deter the king from such a policy, and to press on him the interests of Catholicism.[4] Ubaldini preached to deaf ears.

[1] *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 625 *seq.*

[2] Note of September 1, 1609, published by HILTEBRANDT, in the *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XVI. (1914), Heft 2, S. 71 *seq.*, who overlooked the fact that the letter had already been printed in full in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 76 *seq.*

[3] The *Briefs of April 18, 1609, in REINDL, *Der Anfang des Streites über die Jülicher Erbfolge*, Munich, 1896, 81 *seq.* *Cf.* V. KYBAL, *Jindřich IV. a Europa v letech, 1609 a 1610*, Prague, 1911, 57 *seq.*

[4] See the instructions of Borghese in HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, XV., 334, A. 3.

If he pointed to the strengthening of the French Huguenots which must inevitably result from Henry's conduct, he was told that it would be even more dangerous if the duchy of Jülich were to fall into the power of the Spaniards.[1] If he dwelt on the injury which would surely be inflicted on Catholicism in the duchy itself if Brandenburg and Neuburg were to get it into their hands the king would tax the nuncio with exaggeration; besides, he alleged, the princes in question had promised not to introduce any changes in religion; that he, the king, would not prevent the emperor from looking after Catholic interests, but he was determined not to allow religion to be used as a cloak for the political aims of the house of Habsburg.[2] The attitude of his counsellors did not differ from that of the king. When Ubaldini complained of the assistance which France gave to the Protestant pretenders, Villeroi made counter-accusations against the action of the nuncio of Cologne who was said to have exhorted the Estates of Jülich and Cleve to remain loyal to the house of Habsburg. Ubaldini replied that all that the nuncio had done was to stand up for Catholic rule in Jülich and Cleve; the Holy See had the concord of the Catholic Powers quite as much at heart as the extirpation of heresies. The chief source of all evils, Ubaldini declared, was the jealousy of the Catholic Powers which blinded them to such a degree that they would rather have a whole province fall into Protestant hands than allow even one town to get into the power of a rival. France would be the very first to experience the harm caused by every fresh innovation in matters of religion. Eventually Villeroi came back to his earlier proposal, that of an amicable settlement of the Jülich dispute by means of a Franco-Spanish marriage.[3]

Such a solution was in complete harmony with the views of Paul V. who, from the first, had but one aim in mind in

[1] See the Report of Ubaldini of April 14, 1609, *ibid.*, 334.

[2] See the Report of UBALDINI, of July 7, 1609, *ibid.*, XVI., 63 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, of July 21, 1609, *ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

the whole affair, namely the well-being of the Church. To this end it was just as imperative to prevent the outbreak of a fresh war between the two chief Catholic Powers as it was to save the duchies of the Lower Rhine from passing into Protestant hands. The Pope was indifferent as to which of the various claimants the rich inheritance might eventually fall to: his one anxiety was that he should be a Catholic.[1] In his eagerness for a happy settlement, the Pope had more than once spoken in this strain to Brèves, the French envoy in Rome,[2] and he had also sent instructions to this effect to the Paris nuncio.[3] If at first Paul V. favoured a decision of the dispute by the emperor whose intention it was to bestow the duchies on a Catholic prince, though not one of the house of Habsburg, it was because he hoped to preserve those territories from Protestantizing influences and at the same time to satisfy Henry IV. In this respect his calculations miscarried for the Protestant princes acted promptly and seized the territory. As for the emperor, he had neither the power nor the will to take a decisive measure. Maximilian of Bavaria also hesitated. The French king turned a deaf ear to all the representations of the Pope whilst he jealously watched lest there should be any increase of the power of the emperor or the Spaniards. If he could not secure the heritage of the Lower Rhine for France, he unhesitatingly preferred its passing into the hands of the Protestants rather than those of a Habsburg claimant.[4]

Notwithstanding the studied impartiality of the Pope, Henry was for ever afraid lest the Curia should swerve towards his opponents. To prevent this he spared neither astute

[1] See HILDEBRANDT, XV., 336, 347, to whom belongs the credit of being the first to bring out this circumstance.

[2] *Cf.* the report of Brèves, in *Briefen und Akten*, II., 573 *seq.*, 575 *seq.*, 585 *seq.* The editor, M. RITTER, has overlooked the fact that most of the letters had been published by GOUJET, I., 262 *seq.*, 270 *seq.* (In the last reference, read "September 14" instead of "August 14".)

[3] See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347, A. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, 348.

representations, nor offensive and threatening remarks. Brèves, the French ambassador in Rome, roundly told Paul V. that he ough to look for nuncios who depended wholly on him and not such as served the king of Spain better even than his own envoys.[1] Brèves even endeavoured to make the Pope believe that the policy of France, in the Jülich question, was really in the interests of the Church's liberty, for the union of the duchies to Spain would increase that State's power to such a degree that the Popes would be reduced to being no more than the chaplains of the Spanish king.[2] When in the autumn of 1609 Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld set out for Rome, to receive the red hat, he was commissioned to remind the Pope, in energetic terms, "of his duties as the impartial and common father of all Christians," and to tell him quite unequivocally that even if he were eventually to favour the Spanish plans in regard to Jülich, that action would not prevent the king of France from supporting the interests of the two princes in possession. If the Pope mentioned the injury that would accrue to the Church, the Cardinal was to point out that the Elector of Saxony, whose claims had the support of the emperor, was also a Protestant. There was no question whatever of religion; the whole thing was an attempt to secure the triumph of those who were least entitled to it over those whose claim was the strongest. The king was not at all averse to peaceful means, but when an attempt was made to turn these purely worldly disputes into a war of religion, His Majesty would be compelled to take risks in common with his friends, and he would do so with as much magnanimity and determination as he had shown on former occasions.[3] A month later the

[1] See *Briefen und Akten*, II., 592.

[2] *Ibid.*, 575 *seq.*

[3] **Instruction pour le card. de la Rochefoucauld*, October 16, 1609, in *Cod.*, 10, 450, of the Bourgogne Library, Brussels; an extract in PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, III., 359 *seq.*; and in MERCIER DE LACOMBE, *Henri IV.*, p. 514 *seq.* The imposition of the red hat followed on January 23; the "closing of the mouth"

French ambassador in Rome received similar instructions: If the Pope, so he was told, turned the conversation to the question of Jülich, he was to bring pressure to bear on him by insisting, in the most forceful manner, on the king's will in this matter. "If I find," so the instructions dated November 29th declared, "that people are not straight with me, or that they seek to deceive me, I shall act on behalf of my friends and allies and in defence of their righteous cause, with as much energy as I have ever shown, since, thanks be to God! I possess the courage and the strength as well as the means to give them adequate support.[1]

In the given situation there seemed to remain but one way, one that the tireless Ubaldini had pursued for some time already, namely that of settling the question of Jülich amicably by means of a Franco-Spanish marriage. A fresh proposal by the indefatigable nuncio, about the middle of November, was to the effect that the French king, with the consent of Spain as well as that of the emperor, should buy a strip of the Jülich inheritance bordering on the Spanish Netherlands and bestow it as her dowry upon his daughter Christina whom it was proposed to marry to Don Carlos. This plan met with so favourable a reception not only in Paris but in Madrid also, that there seemed to be every prospect, through the mediation of the Pope, of settling the dispute by this means.[2] However, a fresh complication occurred before the Pope could do anything in the matter.

A criminal passion of the almost sexagenarian French king for the fifteen year old wife of the prince de Condé threatened

on January 27, 1610; the "opening of the month" on February 1. (**Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library.) For the Cardinal's negotiations *cf.* G. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, *Le card. François de La Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1926, 103 *seq.*

[1] *Letteres missives*, VII., 798 *seq.*

[2] See *Briefen u. Akten*, II., 482 *seq.*; PHILIPPSSON, III., 394 *seq.* *Cf.*, for the marriage plans, the detailed evidence of HILTEBRANDT, which bears out the statements of RITTER, *loc. cit.*, XV., 337–345.

" to set the war ball rolling ". In order to shelter the princess from Henry's ceaseless pursuit, Condé took her to Brussels, on November 29th, 1609.[1] The affair now assumed great political importance inasmuch as Henry feared lest his nephew, Condé, should put himself at the head of all the discontented elements in France and that Spain should use him as a tool against himself, for the prince was the next heir to the throne after Henry's sons by his marriage with Marie de Medicis and the legitimacy of these was called in question by many people. To the frenzy of love, to which fuel was added by the sentimental letters of the light-headed and vain princess whom the governor, archduke Albert, refused to surrender, there were now added political and dynastic interests, all of which combined to inflame the warlike disposition of the king. When Prince Christian of Anhalt, the real founder of the Protestant Separate League of the Union, and the most determined opponent of the Habsburgs, came to Paris in December, as ambassador of the Palatinate, he found Henry prepared to turn the little war for Jülich into a mighty struggle against the power of the house of Habsburg. On January 22nd, 1610, the king explained his plan to the Dutch ambassador: it was to make a sudden attack on Spain from three different points. Henry conducted similar negotiations with the German Protestant princes and with the ambitious duke of Savoy. However, these discussions, owing to mutual distrust, proved exceedingly arduous and failed to yield really satisfactory results. The alliance concluded with the crafty Savoyard in April, 1610, " was not fully worked out in all its details and stood in need of expansion through the adhesion of other Italian States." As to the use of the modest offer of the Protestant Union, Henry would only announce his decision after he had assured himself of the concurrence of Holland. Here also his hope of a definite alliance proved abortive; as for England and Venice, in that quarter Henry met with a lukewarmness that

[1] *Cf. D'Aumale, Hist. d. princes de Condé II.*, Paris, 1864; HENRARD, *Henri IV. et la princesse de Condé*, Bruxelles, 1885.

must have given him food for much thought.[1] None the less, the danger of the outbreak of a big war was growing, for the extensive warlike preparations of Henry were met with counter-armaments by the emperor, by Spain and by the Catholic princes of Germany.[2]

Henry IV. did not fail to realize the risks he was taking both for himself and for his beloved France. Consequently, even in the midst of his preparations, he was still undecided, whether or no to attempt the venture. In April the duke of Epernon summed up the state of the king's mind in these words: "We want it and we want it not; we do it and we do it not." Henry's uncertainty was increased by the weakness of the archduke Albert who, in order to avoid war, granted a free passage to the army whose object it was to drive his brother out of Jülich. In these circumstances the French king might well cherish the hope that he would succeed in compelling the Spaniards, by diplomatic pressure alone, to comply with his demands.[3]

Ever since the appearance of these complications Paul V. had been indefatigable in his efforts to prevent a conflict between the two principal Catholic Powers. Even though, for reasons we can understand, he refrained from examining the details of Henry's unworthy love intrigue, he nevertheless did his utmost to bring about a reconciliation between Condé and the king. In his endeavours for a peaceful solution of the Jülich-Cleve question, he went as far as he could go. War, he was convinced, was the greatest of evils; hence he was prepared to consent to a temporary occupation of the duchy by the Protestants if thereby a peaceful settlement could be arrived at.[4] Above all the Pope sought to use his influence

[1] See RITTER, II., 329, and PHILIPPSON, III., 432 *seq.* With regard to Venice see especially the researches in archives by HÖFLER, *Heinrichs IV. Plan, dem Hause Habsburg Italien zu entreissen*, Prague, 1859.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, III., 451 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*; RITTER, II., 330 *seq.*

[3] See CORNELIUS, in *Münchner Hist. Jahrbuch für 1866*, S. 64, and HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347.

[4] See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 349 *seqq.*

on Henry himself. In a Brief of January 22nd, 1610, he urgently pressed him to preserve the peace by pointing to the dangers of war.[1] The tireless Ubaldini made similar representations. The task was not a light one. Again and again Henry insisted that the affair of the Jülich heritage was a political, not a religious question; did not the emperor himself favour the claims of the Lutheran Elector of Saxony? The concessions for the protection of the Catholics on the Lower Rhine, which Rudolph II. might obtain from that pretender, he himself could secure just as easily from Brandenburg and Neuburg—on this point he could give the Pope his word as a king. Ubaldini countered this reasoning by pointing out that even if such was not his intention, Henry would still injure the Catholic religion, because his support would give to the Protestant princes the power and the opportunity to proceed not only against the neighbouring principalities but also to oppress the Catholics of the duchies. How could the king prevent these things, seeing that experience was there to show that no Protestant prince tolerated the Catholic religion in his territory? For these reasons the Pope could do no other than to approve and to praise the Catholic League which was being formed in Germany.[2]

The French Cabinet did its utmost to restrain Paul V. from extending his support to the archduke Leopold and from participating in the Catholic League. It greatly dreaded such an intervention of the Pope, all the more as already in August, 1609, when the Spanish ambassador had depicted to him, in the most vivid colours, the plight of the Catholics of Austria, the Pope had gone so far as to declare that he would help with all the money he possessed if there was question of using steel against the heretics.[3] On mature reflection,

[1] See the *Text in Appendix No. 3, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the Note of Ubaldini of February 16, 1610, published by HILTEBRANDT, XVI., 2, 73 *seq.*

[3] See the report of Castro of August 9, 1609, in GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. II, 53. *Cf.* the *Brief to the archbishop of Trier, of August 30, 1609, in the *Epist.*, V., 95, Papal Secret Archives.

however, the Pope could not help seeing that, in view of the weakness of the Catholic party in Germany, a war of religion would be a desperate risk, one which the Jülich heritage was not worth.[1] Towards the end of November, Paul V. assured the French ambassador, Brèves, of his eagerness for a peaceable solution of the affair of Jülich. Brèves rejoined that this statement was contradicted by information he had to the effect that His Holiness was working for an entente against the princes in possession, in conjunction with the emperor, Spain, the archduke Albert and the Catholic Electors, and that he had promised half a million scudi to archduke Albert who had been chosen as head of the league. Paul V. gave the envoy to understand that he was not so liberal as that with the goods of the Church; all that was true in the report was that the ecclesiastical princes of Germany did discuss the creation of a league; this he could not dissuade them from doing, but the only contribution he would make would be his prayers.[2] However, the Pope's waiting policy became more difficult when, at the close of 1609, an embassy from the three ecclesiastical Electors and a representative of Maximilian of Bavaria, Giulio Cesari Crivelli, earnestly begged for financial assistance for the league.[3] When the Spanish envoy, Francisco de Castro, added his prayers to the request, the Pope promised an annual contribution of 200,000 ducats.[4] For all that, the negotiations of the deputies of the league did not prosper in accordance with their wishes; in the end all they obtained was some indefinite promises.[5] Though he praised their intentions, Paul V. made no secret of his fear of the emperor's jealousy when the latter discovered that he had been left out of the Catholic league; as for monetary

[1] See HILTEBRANDT, XV., 347 *seq.*

[2] See the Report of Brèves in the *Briefen und Akten*, II., 596.

[3] *Cf.* WOLF, *Gesch. Maximilians*, I., Bd. II., 487 *seq.*; *Briefen und Akten*, VII., 183, 252.

[4] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 64.

[5] See the report in *Briefen und Akten*, VII., 281 *seq.*, 371, 404, 410; VIII., 415 *seq.* *Cf.* also KYBAL, *Jindrich IV. a Europa v letech 1609 a 1610*, p. 156 *seq.*

assistance, the exhaustion of the papal finances made it very difficult. The clever counter-action of the French ambassador clinched the matter, for he successfully instilled the suspicion into the mind of the careful and parsimonious Pontiff that under the cloak of religion, the league, as well as Maximilian, were pursuing selfish interests. Brèves began by representing to the influential Cardinal Lanfranco that the Spaniards were anxious to see the Pope at the head of the league in order to make of him a tool of their ambitious plans, and, in the event of his committing himself still further, to empty his treasury, notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary. The French envoy made similar representations to the Pope who retorted that he had no thought of putting himself at the head of the league; however, should a war of religion break out, he would come to the rescue of the German Cathloics by levying a tenth from the Italian clergy.[1] At the same time Brèves sought to win over the Cardinal Secretary of State, Borghese, who was in receipt of an annual pension from France, for the concurrence, by the Holy See, in his king's anti-Spanish intrigues in Italy, by pointing out how favourable the occasion was for securing the kingdom of Naples for the house of Borghese.[2] Brèves even dared to make similar insinuations to the Pope himself. The occasion was propitious, he explained in the first days of February, 1610, for the people of Naples were stretching out their hands towards someone who would rescue them and the Italian princes eagerly longed to shake off the foreign yoke; yet the Pope was not doing as much as he might. He ought to give more thought to his posthumous reputation![3]

As a matter of fact the ferment in Naples was strong enough. And as in that city, so over all Italy, resentment against the Spaniards was rising. In Rome itself there prevailed strong resentment because of their usurpations in

[1] See *Briefe und Akten*, III., 497 *seq.*, 509. *Cf.* GOUJET, I., 181.

[2] See *Briefe und Akten*, III., 498.

[3] *Ibid.*, 502.

the Church's own domain.[1] Hence it was not altogether impossible that the French instigations would get a hearing. The Spanish envoy, Castro, was so much afraid of such a result that he counselled his sovereign to keep the Pope in check by giving him cause to fear Spain's entering into a league with the Roman princes.[2] Nevertheless, in spite of all Brèves' efforts to induce the cautious Pontiff to swerve from the path of neutrality, his hopes in this respect were frustrated. Even though Cardinal Borghese lent an ear to the French insinuations, at least for a time, he lacked sufficient influence to force a decision of any kind. In his higher policy Paul V. acted with complete independence; he had no intention whatever to fall in with France's anti-Spanish plans in Italy, for he was fully aware that the interests of the Church imperatively demanded the maintenance of peace.[3] Hence nothing was to be feared as much as warlike complications of any kind. On the other hand, what the Calvinists and the revolutionary agitators hoped to win by means of a war is revealed by their confidential statements. "Our

[1] We hear of the Spaniards in **Animadversiones circa electionem regis Rom. a.* 1619, 26 *Maii conscriptae*, that they had, "giurisdittione ecclesiastica tanto debilitata che li vescovi et prelati vengono stimati et rapazzati come lor cappellani," *Cod.*, X., VI., 30, p. 153, of Casanat. Library, Rome.

[2] See the *report of Castro, used by GINDELY (*Rudolf II.*), February 4, 1610, Archives, Simanca, 993. Probably Castro drew up the *"Lista de los barones y gentiles hombres Romanos que se muestran affecionados a el servicio de S. M^d y otros que se pueden gañar". According to this, the following were in receipt of Spanish pensions: "el condestabile de Napoli de casa Colonna, Don Virginio Ursino duque de Brachano, el duque de Sermoneta, el Marques Pereti, el duque de Poli de casa Conti, Maria Frangipani, Phelippe Caetano, and Juan Pedro Cafarelo." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

[3] PHILIPPSON, who can hardly be said to be favourable to Paul V. (in his *Rudolf II.*, Vol. III., 479 *seq.*) judges, nevertheless, that "there is nowhere any trace that the Pope acquiesced in the ambitious, though quite passing, anti-Spanish ideas of Cardinal Borghese".

hope," Sarpi wrote, "is in war alone; from it alone can come our salvation." By this the sacrilegious priest meant not only the downfall of the house of Habsburg, but likewise the end of the papacy. The imagination of one of his accomplices already pictured "the Roman See, that great beast, nearing its end in Italy". Du Plessis-Mornay, too, cherished an assured confidence that the impending war would bring about "the destruction of that Babylon". "A single spark," he boasted, "will set all Europe on fire".[1]

Paul V., fully conscious of the seriousness of the situation, most earnestly remonstrated with the French ambassador against a war the consequence of which would be a fresh menace to Christendom on the part of the Turks as well as an increase of protestantism. All his nuncios, he declared, had been instructed to work for peace with the emperor, the king of Spain, and the archduke Albrecht. Let Henry wait for the result of these efforts. Brèves replied that his sovereign could not abandon the rightful heirs of Jülich, nor could he suffer that, under the protection of the Spaniards, Condé should give himself out as the legitimate heir to the crown. The Pope ought to intervene in this affair and bring the Spaniards to reason; it should, however, be done at once, for Henry would not put off the war and so give his enemies time to prepare.[2]

On April 24th, 1610, Paul V. thoroughly discussed with Cardinals Lanfranco, Borghese, Millini and Barberini both the situation and the measures with which they might cope with it. It was decided to send two extraordinary nuncios to the kings of France and Spain respectively, with mission to dissuade the two monarchs from opening hostilities, so as to give the Pope time for a friendly mediation. The next day the decision was submitted to a consistory of the Cardinals. Brèves had instructed Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld to oppose the dispatch of a nuncio to France; but to Spain, as the aggressor, a nuncio should be sent with mission to induce

[1] See Janssen-Pastor, V., 635.

[2] See *Briefen und Akten*, III., 525, 528.

her to make reparation for her misdeeds. After the consistory, Brèves made representation in this sense to the Pope himself, and that in the most pressing manner. At the very least let him dispatch the nuncio destined for Spain fourteen days before the French one, so that the latter may find the Spanish answer on his arrival. Paul V. replied that though he had no firm assurance from the cabinet of Madrid, he nevertheless felt sure that he would obtain from it such concessions as would ensure peace; in particular he hoped for the extradition of Condé. Besides this Brèves demanded that the archduke Leopold should evacuate Jülich, that the dispute over the succession to the inheritance be submitted to arbitration, and that negotiations be started with a view to reimbursing his sovereign for his expenditure on armaments.[1]

Whilst the Pope, by the dispatch to France of the archbishop of Nazaret, Domenico Rivarola, and of the archbishop of Chieti, Ulpiano Volpi, to Spain [2] was working for a peaceable settlement of the quarrel between the two chief Catholic Powers which was taking an increasingly threatening turn, Ubaldini exerted himself to the same end in Paris. From Henry he always had to hear the identical assertions; that the question of Jülich was one of politics; that religion had nothing to do with it. It so happened that at this very moment the king was in a position to make capital out of a statement of Rudolph II. which had given great pain to the Pope. Henry also laid stress on the commission with which he had charged his envoys to Schwäbisch Hall; they were instructed to demand from Brandenburg and Neuburg a promise not to molest the Catholics of Jülich-Cleve. Though by these means Henry sought to convince the nuncio that his support of the two Protestant princes would secure rather

[1] See *ibid.*, 528.

[2] See Siri, *Memorie*, II., 228 *seq.*, where the Instruction for Rivarola is printed. *Cf.* Kybal, *loc. cit.*, 263 *seq.* The *Brief concerning the sending of Rivarola to Cardinal Joyeuse is dated April 29, 1610 (*Epist.*, V., 386, Papal Secret Archives). The monograph of A. Politis (*Lettere*, Venezia, 1624, 305) shows how highly the Pope thought of U. Volpi.

than injure Catholic interests, Ubaldini let him see that he was by no means reassured; the history of the last thirty years had proved only too clearly what efforts and promises of this kind were worth. Ubaldini also pointed out that if the king expected the Curia to believe that he really had at heart the best interests of the Catholic religion, he must credit the Pope with similar intentions and not look upon the protection which the Holy See extended to the German Catholics as a favour shown to the house of Habsburg. As on former occasions, Ubaldini strove once again to make an impression on Henry by pointing to the dangerous repercussions of a war on the internal condition of France where a good deal of discontent still subsisted among the nobility and where the Huguenots were only waiting for an opportunity to extort further concessions, and thus to bring about the creation of a State within the State. All was in vain: Henry repeated that he was irrevocably resolved to join his army on May 15th.[1] After this audience, which took place on April 14th, Ubaldini presented himself once more before the king, on the twenty-seventh, in order to hand to him a Brief in which the Pope again exhorted Henry to refrain from war. When the king reaffirmed his pacific intentions, Ubaldini replied that his majesty was joking, for the facts betrayed all too clearly his determination to break with Spain. To a fresh recital of the grounds which made for the preservation of peace, the king gave the cynical answer that there was no way out except the immediate surrender of the princess of Condé, the submission of her husband, or his expulsion from Spanish territory. To leave nothing undone, Ubaldini strove in this audience to induce a change in the king's mind by considerations of high politics. Even if Henry's experience in the art of war, as well as his good fortune, so Ubaldini

[1] See the report of *Ubaldini* of April 14, 1610, partly published by SIRI (*Memorie*, II., 183 *seq.*) and in its entirety by HILTEBRANDT (XVI., 2, 77 *seq.*). For Henry IV.'s demand at Schwäbisch Hall as to the safeguarding of Catholics in Jülich-Cleve, see SIRI, II., 73 *seq.*

argued, were to give him the victory over the well-known valour of the Spanish infantry, it would be a barren victory inasmuch as his own allies, namely, the Dutch and the English, would eventually prefer to see Flanders under Spanish rather than under French domination. In a supreme appeal to the political sense of the king, Ubaldini uttered the prophetic words: "The common interests of the European Powers demand the maintenance of equilibrium between France and Spain to such a degree that they would never suffer the destruction of one of these two States, and they would always ally themselves with the weaker of the two." [1]

On May 7th, 1610, the nuncio handed to the king yet another letter from the Pope, explained the purpose of the mission of Barberini and Rivarola, and made a supreme effort to turn Henry from his purpose of proceeding against Jülich by marching through Belgium.

Henry once again denied that this would lead to a rupture with the archduke Albert as well as with Spain. As a proof of his pacific disposition he allowed Ubaldini to see the text of the request to archduke Albert for free transit through Jülich. The king raised no objection to the mission of Rivarola though he roundly declared that after May 20th the envoy would find him in camp, for the forward march of his army could be no longer postponed. None the less another delay did occur and Ubaldini hoped that Rivarola would find Henry still in Paris.[2] However, on May 14th the dagger of Ravaillac put an end to the life of the fifty-seven year old king, the most popular ruler that France ever had. Thus were all schemes upset.[3]

[1] See the report of *Ubaldini* of April 27, 1610, *ibid.*, 81 *seq.* See, too, the communication of Ubaldini and Coton to PECQUINS in the latter's note of April 28, 1610, in D'AUMALE, *Condé*, II., 542.

[2] See *Ubaldini's* report of May 12, 1610, in HILTEBRANDT, XVI., 86 *seq.* *Cf.* SIRI, II., 240 *seq.*

[3] The assassination was the deed of a semi-madman. That it did not proceed from French or Spanish nobles is clear from PHILIPPSON, III., 483 *seqq.*; see also *Forsch. u. Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols*, II., 65. Equally there are no solid proofs that

At Brussels and at Madrid the news of the death of Henry IV. was felt like the lifting of a heavy weight. "The

"fanatical priests" as RANKE still thought (*Franz. Gesch.*, II., 143) were responsible. Nor had the Society of Jesus any share in the crime, as the Huguenots and other enemies of the Jesuits made out. *Cf.* the detailed examination of DÜHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 409 *seqq.*; and FOUQUERAY, III., 238. Moreover, even Voltaire defended the Jesuits against such a suspicion, and so outspoken an enemy of the Society as J. HÜBER (*Der Jesuitenorden*, 161) is of opinion that "it cannot be shewn that the Jesuits were involved in the plot and it is not even likely". A critical examination of the facts has discredited, as fiction, the account handed down by Sully of Henry IV.'s great plan completely to rearrange the map of Europe in the French interests; to annihilate the power of the house of Habsburg, and to build up a league of the Christian nations against the Turks. *Cf.* CORNELIUS in the *Münchner Hist. Jahrb.*, 1866, 1 *seqq.*; RITTER, in the *Abhandl. der Münchner Akademie Hist. Kl.*, XI., 3, 1 *seqq.*; PHILIPPSON, III., 348 *seqq.*; *Westeuropa*, II., 482 *seq.*; ROTT, *Henri IV.*, s. 448 *seq.* KÜKELHAUS (*Der Ursprung des Planes vom Ewigem Frieden in den Memoiren des Herzogs von Sully*, Berlin, 1893) shows in his very instructive investigation, how historical tradition came to believe in the idea that such fantastic plans, on the part of Henry IV., existed; and how they rested on a tissue of lies, by which the ambitious Sully, who had been set aside from the Regency, desired to establish clearly, for the benefit of posterity, his own merits and importance. This view, which is borne out, on the whole, by CH. PFISTER, who submitted to a critical examination the different versions of Sully's Memoirs (see *Rev. Hist.*, LVI., 337 *seqq.*). H. PRUTZ (*Die Friedensidee*, Munich, 1917), completes the data of Kükelhaus and shows the probability that Sully or his secretary, knew the ideas which Jean Bodin, the first protagonist of a Peace Policy, developed in his six books *De la République* (*universelle*), published 1577. *Cf.* also W. SOBIESKI, *Henry IV. wobec Polski e Sweczyi, 1602–1610*, Krakow, 1907, 189 *seq.* PLATZHOFF also (*Ludwig*, XIV., p. 8) describes the "great plan" of Henry IV. as "an invention and falsehood". "The sober political realist on the French throne did not give himself up to such fantastic dreams; he pursued a policy of uncompromising French nationalism."

news," so Cabrera wrote in his diary, "is looked upon as a miracle wrought by Heaven itself, seeing that it occurred at a time when on all sides one saw nothing but armaments and everybody wondered where the king and his army would strike the first blow. I trust that this death will give Christendom a prolonged period of peace."[1] Paul V. spoke in similar terms to the Belgian envoy.[2] On the other hand, in the consistory of May 26th, he lamented the fact that so richly endowed a ruler should have met with such an end, and recommended the soul of the deceased to the prayers of all. "May God grant to his successor," the Pope concluded, "to resemble the holy king St. Louis, not in name only but in conduct also."[3] The nuncio was at once instructed to see to it that Louis XIII. was given a Catholic education and was preserved from all contact with the religious innovators.[4] To the French hierarchy the Pope recommended the preservation of tranquillity within the realm, for this was of the greatest importance for the progress of the restoration of religion.[5]

[1] See PHILIPPSON, III., 487 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 486 *seq.*

[3] See **Acta Consist.*, Vatican Library. For the funeral ceremonies in Rome, see the report of Brèves, in the *Notices et extr. des MSS. de B. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 327 *seq.*; and the *Avviso of May 29, 1610, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the account of Borghese to Ubaldini, May 28, 1610, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 80. NARDUCCI (*Corrisp. dipl. d. corte di Roma per la morte di Enrico IV.*, in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei* 4. *Serie*, Rendiconti III., 1 (1887), 157 *seq.*), published the accounts of Borghese to Ubaldini and to the nuncios in Spain and Prague, without noticing that a part had already been published by LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 80 and *Melet.*, 285). *Ibid.*, 284–5 for Borghese's letters of condolence to Louis XIII. and M. of Medici.

[4] See preceding note for the account of Borghese of May 28, 1610.

[5] *Letter to all the bishops and archbishops of France, May 29, 1610, in *Epist.*, VI., 7 and 8, Papal Secret Archives. In the *letter of Paul V. of May 29, 1610, to Cardinal Givry, it is said: "Interim regni istius nobilissimi pacem et quietem cum religionis

The Pope had no wish to see the power of France diminished, for in such an eventuality the Spaniards would have been in a position to do what they liked in Italy. Hence the regent, Marie de Medicis, could count on the strong support of Paul V.[1] The Pope, who was always anxious for the preservation of peace, must have been extraordinarily gratified by the change which now occurred in France's foreign policy. True, the request so strongly urged by the nuncio, Ubaldini, and by the extraordinary envoy, Rivarola, who had arrived meanwhile, namely, that the enterprise against Jülich should be dropped, was not to be fulfilled.[2] However, there could be no question of a big war against Spain at a time when the king was a child and the regent a foreigner. As a matter of fact the daughter of the Medici had always been of the opinion that the mutual hostility between the two chief Catholic powers had not only done grievous harm to religion, but to the interests of her family as well. So it became possible, in that same year, 1610, through the intervention of the Florentine ambassador and the papal nuncio, to begin negotiations with a view to a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Bourbon and Habsburg; and, notwithstanding manifold obstacles, they progressed favourably. On April 30th, 1611, an agreement was signed at Fontainebleau, by the terms of which Louis XIII. was to become affianced

catholicae incremento conservare ex animo desideramus. Et quia id assequi speramus, si regni ordines in regis et reginae matris eius obedentia constantes permanserint, in hunc scopum consilia nostra omnia dirigimus." Givry was to work towards the same goal. The nuncio, ROBERTUS EP. MONTEPULCIAMI, would give him further information. *Cod.*, 219, p. 403, Municipal Library, Metz.

[1] *Cf.* MOCENIGO, *Relazione*, 104 *seq.* Cardinal Lanfranco was an opponent of Spain. A remark of his about the king of Spain came to the ears of Count de Castro, who accordingly, in his *letter to Philip III., of September 27, 1611, pressed for the withdrawal of the yearly Spanish pension which the Cardinal enjoyed. Archives of Simanca.

[2] *Cf.* SIRI, II., 260 *seq.*

to the daughter of Philip III., the Infanta Anna Maria, and the Infante Philip engaged to Isabella of France, Henry IV.'s eldest daughter. At the same time, "for the welfare of Christendom and for the preservation of the Catholic faith" both Powers entered into a ten years' defensive league directed against all enemies, both foreign and domestic.[1] On account of the Huguenots these conventions were kept secret for a time; they were only made known to the Grandees of the Court on January 26th, 1612; on March 25th they were published officially and celebrated with pomp, in Paris, at the beginning of April.[2]

Nothing could have given the Pope keener satisfaction than an alliance of this kind, which would give a fresh turn to French policy. Towards the close of April, 1612, the French ambassador in Rome solicited a special audience in which he prayed for the Pope's blessing for the engaged people. Paul V. had never appeared so radiant as on that day.[3] He hoped that a further result of the marriage would be an accretion of strength to the Catholic party in France as against the Gallicans.[4]

[1] See Siri, II., 528 *seq.* *Cf.* F. Silvela de Le Viellenze, *Matrimonios de España y Francia*, Madrid, 1901.

[2] See Bazin, I., 190 *seq.*

[3] See Siri, II., 678. *Cf.* *Avviso of January 7, 1612, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Siri, II., 669. After the contract of marriage had been signed at Madrid, August 22, 1612, and at Paris, August 25 (Bazin, I., 208 *seq*), Paul V. congratulated the French king in a *Brief of September 26, 1612, *Epist.*, VIII., 130. *Ibid.*, 139, a *Brief to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, September 26, 1612, praising his collaboration in the transaction. When the marriage took place, in November, 1615, Paul V. sent the French king, in a *Brief of November 30, 1615, "*ensis et pileus*," and to his wife Anna, by a *Brief of the same date, the Golden Rose (*Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives). The King came of age in September, 1614; on April 30, 1615, he was granted by Paul V. "ad vitam", an "Indultum nominandi ad ecclesias et monasteria Britanniae et provinciae Provinciae" (*Bull.*, XII., 301 *seq.*). In the autumn of 1615 Louis sent to Rome duke Alexander of Vendôme to

The months immediately following were to cause Paul V. grave anxiety for the peace of Italy, to the preservation of which he attached the utmost importance. Close upon the death of Henry IV. warlike disturbances began to menace in the peninsula when the governor of Milan, Fuentes, threatened to punish duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy for entering into a league with the King of France. On this occasion the Pope's exhortations to peace were assisted by the death of Fuentes.[1] In the following year the restless Savoyard planned an attack on Geneva and the canton of Vaud, but in view of the attitude of the Bernese he did not dare to carry his design into execution.[2] Paul V. had emphatically dissuaded him from the dangerous undertaking, because, in the first instance, he rightly mistrusted the Savoyard; and, on the other hand, because he did not wish to see the peace disturbed in any way. From a similar motive, he had done all in his power to prevent a rupture between the courts of Turin and Madrid.[3]

do homage to the Pope (*cf.* *Avviso, October 7, 1615, Vatican Library). The rendering of homage took place on October 6 (see **Acta consist., ibid.*). *Cf.* F. Lecharron, *Oratio ad S.D.N. Paulum V. P.O.M. pro Ludovico XIII. Franciae et Navarrae rege christ. habita a. 1615, cum ill. princeps Alex. Vind. . . . regis nomine obedientiam S.D.N. praestaret*, Romae, 1615.

[1] *Cf.* Siri, II., 335 *seq.*, 382 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*, 428 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 735.

[3] See Mocenigo, *Relazione*, 107. The nuncio in Turin had already reported to Rome, October 10, 1609: *Li padri Cappuccini venuti da Tonone mi hanno participato essere stato detto loro che facilmente la città di Ginevra si metterebbe sotto la protettione della Sede Apostolica, parendo che in quella città sieno molti cattolici che lo desiderano, et che gli altri poi vi potessero concorrere per assicurarsi di essere difesi dalla sogettione d'altri principi, come V.S. ill^ma^ potrà meglio intendere dal padre fra Paolo da Cesena cappuccino alla sua venuta costì; al quale io ho preso ardire di soggiungere che ricordi a N. Sig^re^ et a V. S. ill^ma^ da mia parte, più tosto per satisfare all'obligo del carico mio che per bisogno ch'io conosca nella somma prudenza di N^ro^ Signore e di V.S. ill^ma^ di alcun avvertimento, che io non giudico a proposito che si entri in questi laberinti, poichè, per l'esperienza

On December 21st, 1612, Francesco IV., duke of Mantua, died, at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving an only daughter, Maria, as yet an infant. When the news reached Rome the college of Cardinals had just assembled for the Mass of Christmas day. Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga communicated it at once to the Pope and forthwith hastened to Mantua to take up the reins of government.[1] The grave fears which the ambitious duke of Savoy occasioned him were soon to be realized. Charles Emmanuel put forward some long-standing claims, in particular, he demanded for his

ch'io ho del paese, tengo l'impresa non solamente per difficile, ma per impossibile che possa riuscire. Il sig^r duca si è ritirato dal pensiero, che, come scrissi a V.S. ill^ma alli 26 del passato, haveva di procurare la chiesa di Sion per il card. suo figlio, così persuaso dal padre Peletta cappuccino, et ancho per qualche diligenza usatavi da me, che gli ho fatto penetrare, con destrezza e senza scoprirmi però, non essermi stato participato il detto negotio da Sua Altezza, che tal'impresa poteva più tosto nocere che giovare alla religione cattolica et agl'interessi non solo dell'Alt^za Sua, ma anco degli Spagnoli. Qua si ritiene per concluso da molte persone principali il matrimonio di questo principe con la figliola primogenita del re di Francia, et che fra le altre conditioni prometta di non impedire a quest'Alt^za l'impresa di Ginevra; di che V.S. ill^ma potrà havere maggior certezza di Francia (Borghese, I., 28, p. 221, Papal Secret Archives). A *Discorso fatto dal card. Lanfranco a Paolo V. dissuades him from attacking Geneva (*Nunziat. div.*, 240, p. 85 f., *ibid.*). It here reads: Il proporre che per quietare questi moti d'arme, che passano fra Spagnuoli e Savoia si dovesse muover prattica da V^ra Beat^ne di voltar l'armi dell'uno e l'altro essercito contro Ginevra per acquistarla al Duca e debellare quegli eretici, per isnidare da quella città il ridotto di pessimi huomini inimici della nostra santa religione, non si può negare che non sia consiglio pieno di pietà e di zelo e che per questa parte non meriti lode. Ma, se si vuol considerare bene addentro il negozio, vi si scorgeranno tante difficoltà, per non dire impossibilità, che si conoscerà apertamente che il trattar di questa impresa sarebbe opera vana e forsi causa di danni maggiori all'istessa religione cattolica et a tutta l'Italia. . . .

[1] See DIERAUER, III., 449. *Cf.* SIRI, II., 466, 481 *seq.*, 509.

niece, Maria, the right of succession to the marquisate of Montferrat, which was famous for its fertility. He failed in this effort; in consequence, in the last week of April, 1613, he seized the greater part of the marquisate, with the exception of Casale, the important capital city. That stronghold remained in the power of the Gonzagas, and Carlo Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, garrisoned it with French troops.[1]

Tuscany and Venice took the part of the duke of Mantua. Like France, they too believed in the existence of an understanding between the Savoyard and Spain. The above-named Powers did all they could to win over the Pope to their side and to induce him to put himself at the head of an Italian league. However, Paul V. confined himself to exhortations to peace and the dispatch of Innocenzo de Massimis to Milan and Turin. He rejected the request of the Venetians and the duke of Mantua to allow them to raise recruits in the pontifical states.[2] All the eloquence of Brèves, the French ambassador, proved unavailing with Paul V. who retained vivid memories of all that had happened at the time of his struggle with Venice.[3]

When Philip III. also declared himself against the Savoyard, the latter was forced to give way. For a moment peace seemed secure. However, whilst the duke of Mantua was demobilizing in earnest, Charles Emmanuel had recourse to subterfuges.[4] When Spain threatened an armed attack, he accepted the uneven struggle (September, 1614). In official documents, as well as in poetical effusions, he had it described as a war for Italy's liberation from the dictatorship of Spain.[5] France, Venice, and the Pope all strove for an accommodation,

[1] A synopsis of the literature of the Montferrat War is in *Bollett. stor. Pavese*, VI., 409 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. Notices et extraits des MSS. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 388; Siri, III., 76, 81; Bzovius, *Vita Pauli V.*, C. 35.

[3] *Cf.* Siri, III., 95 *seqq.*, 167 *seqq.*, 170 *seqq.*

[4] See Carutti, II., 124. *Cf. Rev. hist.*, CV., 67 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf. Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LIV., 1 *seq.*

but in vain. The peace signed at Asti, on June 21st, 1615, as a result of French intervention, remained a dead letter.[1]

To this war in Upper Italy another came to be added at the close of 1615, when Venice, whose relations with Austria had become increasingly strained, more particularly by reason of certain pirates—the Uskoks, who had settled on the Dalmatian coast—took up arms against the archduke Ferdinand of Stiria. The superiority of power lay with the republic of St. Mark, but the Austrian offered an obstinate resistance.[2] After a two years' struggle, peace was at last re-established thanks to the efforts of Paul V., who contributed to the happy issue by the dispatch to Upper Italy of the archbishop of Bologna, Ludovisi,[3] as well as to the action of the nuncios of Madrid and Paris.[4, 5] The treaty concluded at Madrid on September 26th, 1617, re-established peace between Spain and Savoy on the one hand, and on the other

[1] See CARUTTI, II., 133 *seq.* *Cf.* GALIANI, *Carlo Emanuele e il trattato d'Asti 1614–1615*, Bologna, 1915. See also *Cal. of State Papers*, XIV., London, 1908, XIII *seq.* On a plan for poisoning Carlo Emanuele, see the letter of Paul V. to Ferdinando Gonzaga of March 1, 1616, in CURTI, *Carlo Emanuele*, Milan, 1894, 125, who believes that the plan was devised by the Spaniards.

[2] *Cf.* HURTER, VI., 530–622; VII., 76–195; HUBER, V., 81 *seq.*; A. GNIRS, *Oesterreichs Kampf für sein Südland am Isonzo, 1615–1617*, Vienna, 1917.

[3] *Cf.* SIRI, III., 508 *seqq.*; IV., 7 *seqq.*, 20 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 207, 272 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*; BZOVIUS, *Vita Pauli V.*, c. 35; I. ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, 1, 3, ch. 11, in *Cod.* B 7 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, *Cod.* E 63–5, **Pendenze della corte di Savoia composte per la mediazione di Paolo V.* (Letters of Borghese to Ludovisi, 1616 to 1618).

[4] *Cf.* the account of Bentivoglio in Vol. I. of his nunciature reports, ed. by L. de Steffani, Florence, 1863. See also BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 283 *seq.* The bishop of Trieste, Orsino Berti, in *letters to Borghese, June 27, 1616, applied to the Pope for help towards settling the Austro-Venetian conflict, which was very detrimental to his diocese. Archives of Massa.

[5] See SIRI, IV., 417.

between Ferdinand, the emperor, and Venice. The archduke undertook to expel the Uskoks whose business was piracy, and to hand over to Venice the conquered territory; but the controversy in regard to free navigation in the Adriatic remained in suspense. Charles Emmanuel, on his part, was compelled to restore his conquests, whilst his claims to Montferrat were indefinitely adjourned by being referred to the judgment of the emperor.[1] The Pope actively promoted the execution of the peace, the conclusion of which had not been generally expected.[2, 3] For all that the situation in Upper Italy remained insecure and it was to be still further complicated by the troubles in the Grisons.

The change of nuncios undertaken by Paul V., in 1606, had also affected Switzerland. Count Giovanni della Torre, who had completed ten years as nuncio in Lucerne, was given a successor on June 7th, 1606, in the person of the bishop of San Severo, Fabrizio Verallo [4] who, however, was himself recalled two years later in consequence of his elevation to cardinalate.[5] His immediate successor was Ladislao d'Aquino, bishop of Venafro,[6] who in his turn was replaced, in 1613, by Lodovico di Sarego, bishop of Adria.[7]

Ladislao d'Aquino's official report at the conclusion of his

[1] *Ibid.*, 260 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Cal. of State Papers*, XV., London, 1909, XI.

[3] Tarquinio Pinaoro compiled a treatise dedicated to Paul V., end of 1616: **Danni e rovine sovrastanti alla Chiesa cattolica Romana nel spirituale e temporale per le due guerre che si fanno in Italia e lor opportuni rimedii, Barb.*, LVI., 107, p. 10 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Brief of June 7, 1606, in the *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 467 *seq.* The *Instruction for F. Verallo in *Borghese*, I., 899, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 330.

[6] See the *Brief of June 23, 1608, in the *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 479 *seq.* The *Instruction for L. d'Aquino in *Barb.*, LVII., 7, p. 95 *seq.* (*cf. Ottob.* 2707), Vatican Library.

[7] See *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 483. *Cf.* P. R. Steiner, *Die päpstl. Gesandten in der Schweiz.*, 1073–1873, Stans, 1907.

term of office,[1] and a memorandum which he drew up for the information of his successor [2] give an interesting picture not only of his work, plans and intentions, but also of ecclesiastical conditions in the country as well as of the importance of the post he was about to vacate. The importance of the Swiss nunciature was due to its vast extent and to the geography of the country. It included not only all the Catholic parts of Switzerland, but, since the bishoprics of Bâle and Constance were likewise joined to it, it also embraced Upper Alsace, Breisgau and part of Suabia. It extended, moreover, as far as the Vintschgau, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chur, and to the Tessin and the Valtellina which were respectively parts of the dioceses of Milan and Como.

[1] **Relazione della Nunziatura de' Suizzeri* (1613), MSS. in many places, in Berlin, State Library, *Inform. polit.*, IX., 1 *seq.*; Paris, National Library (*cf.* MARSAUD, I., 371 *seq.*), and Rome, Corsini Library, *Cod.*, 40, F. 30. A faulty and inaccurate translation is in SCHREIBER'S *Taschenbuch für Gesch.*, II. (1840), 280 *seq.*; III., 289 *seq.*; IV., 31 *seq.*, with wrong date of 1612; MAYER (II., 301 *seq.*) gives good extracts with some original documents. RANKE (*Päpste*, III.[6], 106) with his unqualified praise of the "report", must be discounted at many points. See HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 21, 51, 116, 119 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*, 238.

[2] **Informazione mandata dal sig. card. d'Aquino a mons. Feliciano, vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Svizzeri e Grisoni*, in the *Inform. Polit.*, IX., 145 *seq.* of the State Library, Berlin, transl. by J. Burckhardt in SCHREIBER'S *Taschenbuch*, V., 31 *seq.* RANKE (*Päpste*, III.[6], 104*) calls the bishop, Feliciano Silva, which he is not in the MSS.; he was Porfirio Feliciani and in Paul V.'s time was *Segretario delle lettere a' principi* (see MORONI, XXV., 141), but not the successor in office to Aquino, as Burckhardt thought. The *Informazione* and the *Relazione* (*sup.*, note 1) are the chief sources for the account that follows. Compare with this the instructions to the Swiss nuncios, in *Barb.*, 5920 (*al vesc. di Venafro*, 1609–1613) and 5921 (*al arcivesc. d'Adria, 1613–1614*), Vatican Library. Copies also are in the Stuttgart Library, No. 181, and fuller one in the Bibl. Angelica, Rome. German extracts in LE BRET, *Magazin*, VII., 445 *seq.* Registers for the years 1609–1615 in *Bollett. d. Svizz. ital.*, 1901–3.

Since Switzerland was contiguous to Italy, and its mountain passes commanded the communications with Germany, the Holy See was exceedingly concerned for the preservation of the Catholic faith in that country. In this respect the nuncios had been so successful, chiefly owing to the self-sacrificing labours of the bishops, the Capuchins and the Jesuits, during the reign of Pius V., that out of the thirteen cantons properly so called seven, that is Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Solothurn and Fribourg, had remained loyal to the ancient Church. In the cantons of Glarus and Appenzell the Catholics had maintained themselves in considerable numbers; in Wallis the Catholic restoration was as yet only beginning and in the Grisons a majority of the population had accepted the new religion; Bern, Zurich, Bâle and Schaffhausen had become entirely Protestant. The hope at one time entertained of winning these four cantons back to the Church had completely vanished when Aquino relinquished his nunciature in 1613. Generally speaking, Protestants and Catholics were about equally strong in Switzerland. The numerical majority of the Catholic cantons was neutralized by the greater extension of the territory of the Protestant ones, as well as by their superiority in population and natural resources, and even in their military strength, for the warlike valour of the Catholic cantons had sunk to a low level. The Catholics were aware of their peril, hence they sought to make up for what they lacked in strength by extraordinary activity and great willingness to make sacrifices.[1] The nuncios, who encouraged them by every means in their power, gladly paid tribute to their zeal. The testimony which Ladislao d'Aquino gives to the Swiss Catholics in his report of 1613, is as honourable as could be imagined: "They frequent church and the sacraments," he writes, "and they honour the priest sin all sorts of ways, far more than is done anywhere else." [2] Aquino enumerates with profound satisfaction the adherents of the

[1] *Cf.* DIERAUER, IV., 421; DÄNDLIKER, II.[3], 738 *seq.*

[2] Aquino's opinion is confirmed by other witnesses; see DUHR, II., 1, 286.

Holy See in Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Fribourg. Almost all personages of mark, who were for the most part adherents also of the Spanish party, were fervent Catholics and in close contact with the nuncios. In Solothurn alone the representatives of the Holy See had failed to establish intimate contact with the leading personalities. The cause was, here as elsewhere, that the adherents of the French party took up an unfriendly attitude towards the nuncios. In the Catholic part of Appenzell-Innerhoden, where none of the important people cherished French sympathies, all gave proof of loyal attachment to the Holy See.

Aquino specially impressed on his successor the necessity of cultivating good relations with the Catholic Swiss. He counselled him to make as much allowance as possible for the love of liberty and for the self-confidence of the Swiss, as well as for their other characteristics. Among these was the bad habit—one not exclusively peculiar to the Swiss—of having pensions and gifts bestowed upon them by foreign Powers. Aquino was of opinion that such a means of exercising influence, of which Spain and France especially made use, should not be neglected by the nuncio if he would attain his end, at least when there was question of important affairs.

Aquino's further counsels are evidence of the shrewd Italian's anxiety to fall in, as much as possible, with local manners and customs. The nuncio, he insists, must show courtesy towards the Swiss, shake hands as the custom of their country demands, and see to it that the personnel of the nunciature behave politely towards all and sundry, especially when walking through the town, when they should salute people, raise their hats and so forth. Special courtesy should be shown to persons of a more exalted position. These people have a mistaken notion that the Italians look down with contempt on the Swiss and that they have but little respect and esteem for their senators. This urbanity must not be artificial. The nuncio must always preserve his personal dignity. With regard to the slowness and formality with which business is transacted in Switzerland, no sign of annoyance should escape him ; on the contrary, he ought to

manifest his delight at such local customs; in this way the goodwill of the Swiss is secured and they settle down to business. Aquino counsels a study of Swiss history; the nuncio should allude to, and praise, their victories and their battles, quoting from their own historians; in this way confidence is won and they begin to look upon the representative of the Holy See as almost one of their own.

Though the nuncio has his private chapel, it is advisable that he should frequently assist at Mass and at sermons in church. On great feasts, and at processions, this is indispensable. Let him carefully watch over the conduct of his servants. The Swiss are pious people and are easily shocked even by slight faults of the servants, for they watch them closely, and what in others they would deem but little sins, that in them they judge to be grievous ones. Much drinking and frequent meals, Aquino continues, is a common practice with all northern peoples, in fact it is quite natural, owing to the cold of the climate. Hence frequent banquets and feastings are part of Swiss life also. The nuncio cannot escape the abuse already introduced by his predecessors in office of inviting a few of the gentlemen every week, more especially on feast days. He should do this especially at the beginning of his nunciature; he must of necessity invite to his table, by degrees, all the gentlemen of the Lesser Council, and after them those of the Great Council. Many courses and divers wines must be served, according to Swiss taste. On the occasion of the meeting of the Diet all the deputies must be invited, a few at a time. On these occasions it is imperative to make a great display, else the gentlemen would not feel honoured, and on no account must the nuncio rise from table before three hours have gone by. The first toast goes to the person who holds the highest rank; when this has been drunk, the others follow, in due order, in honour of every one of the guests. Aquino advises the nuncio to entertain in like manner the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Canons, and other clergy of some position, so as to win their goodwill; at table many things may be learnt which he would not get to know by any other means. If individual representatives

of any of the Cantons happen to be in the city, they should be given an invitation. The gentlemen are most anxious to ascertain whether the privileges granted to them by the Holy See are to be in any way curtailed. Hence the nuncio should be most careful of what he says and show an inclination to extend them still further. Let him praise the Swiss, but with discretion. It is particularly useful to praise their good government and to prophesy for them both greatness and eternal endurance. Written answers must always be courteous. If a letter remains unanswered, it is taken as a grievous insult. When the nuncio is approached on matters of business, he must not forthwith give a negative answer, nor unduly raise the hopes of the client, if he is not very sure of his affair. The Swiss are prone to take a courteous answer for a promise.

On the occasion of the marriages of people of position, Aquino goes on, the nuncio's presence is invited, but as a rule he does not put in an appearance. On the other hand, he is bound to send the bride a gift, usually a ring. There are other occasions, and they are of frequent occurrence, when the nuncio is bound to make gifts. "For some gentlemen I have obtained a knighthood of the Golden Spur," Aquino relates. "This gives them great pleasure, especially if one adds the further gift of a gold chain, or a gold medal. However if the distinction is bestowed on too many people it loses its value."

Though he pays tribute to the religious feelings displayed by the Swiss Catholics, Aquino was by no means blind to the shadows in his picture of the condition of the country. One of the darkest was the unwarrantable meddling of the secular power with affairs that appertained to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. However, in this respect Aquino thought he could see some improvement since he had pointed out to the Swiss, with charity and kindliness, the wrongfulness of their conduct as well as the risk they ran of incurring ecclesiastical penalties. "They justify their claims," Aquino adds, "by the numberless papal privileges which were granted to them at a time when they defended the Catholic faith of their country, sword in

hand, at a time also when they were lacking the assistance of their bishops and other prelates. At that period things had come to such a pass that the various governments submitted a formula of faith (*professio fidei*) to the priests which they had to swear to. In this way they secured numberless rights of collation, and as for the appointment to canonries, it was an ancient right of theirs. In addition they are the patrons of all churches and convents, as the successors, so they declare, of the house of Austria. Now patronage, as understood by them, means tutelage and usufruct. On this point I have done all I could to make them see what genuine patrons of churches and monasteries may do and are bound to do, and my efforts have not been fruitless. The fact that their forbears have frequently punished members of the clergy I have shown to have been a usurpation consequent on the inability or unwillingness of the bishops to take action, because they were themselves hard pressed by the heretics and because there were no nuncios in the country; in a word, owing to circumstances that no longer exist. At present the governments are in the habit of turning to me when it is necessary to punish a cleric." [1]

Violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were all too common in other countries also, but what was wholly peculiar to Switzerland was that in certain cantons, such as Schwyz and Appenzell, an idea prevailed that parish priests could be removed *ad nutum*.[2]

The moral conduct of the Swiss parochial clergy could be considered as very satisfactory on the whole; the only thing that Aquino would have liked to see abolished was the habit of the priests to visit public houses, owing to the manifolds inconveniences of this custom of the country. All the nuncios are loud in their praise of the eminent services rendered by the Jesuits and Capuchins. "The Jesuits," Aquino writes, "have vast and imposing colleges at Constance, Lucerne,

[1] For this matter see the explanations of HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 40, who quotes the points which may be cited in exculpation of the Catholic Cantons.

[2] *Cf.* MAYER, II., 104.

Fribourg, and Pruntrut. They combine the work of educating youth, preaching, and the administration of the sacraments with an exemplary conduct. I can only testify that they display the same activity as in Italy and in other countries, and that they are indeed the staunchest support that poor Germany still has. But for their unfailing zeal, that country would be in an even more serious plight than it is at the moment." [1] At Lucerne the Jesuits displayed heroic charity during the great epidemics of 1611 and 1616.[2] Among the many friends of the Fathers in that city an outstanding figure was that of the town clerk, Renward Cysat, to whose pen are due almost all the more important official documents of that period.[3]

With regard to the execution of the religious restoration of Switzerland, the Capuchins attained an importance greater even than that of the Jesuits. Their Province continued to spread in Switzerland as in Swabia and Breisgau. Thus foundations arose at Sursee (1606), Biberach (1606), Freiburg (1609), Neuenburg on the Rhine, Kienzisheim (1613), Thann (1613), Engen (1616), Rottenburg (1616), Bremgarten (1617), Altkirch (1617), Radolfzell (1617), Überlingen (1618).[4] In all these places the lowly sons of St. Francis worked with wonderful results for the renewal of the Christian life, the strengthening of the ancient faith and the repression of innovations in matters of religion. The latter point was the special care of the missionary Province which Paul V. founded at the very gates of Geneva, by separating it from the

[1] A Jesuit, *Fr. Emeran Welser*, started in 1614, the so-called "Golden Alms" for the purpose of distributing at a low cost good books; this greatly furthered the Catholic revival. See the essays of ZWERGER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CLXIX (1922), Heft 6–7.

[2] See DUHR, II., 1, 282 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 294.

[3] For R. CYSAT, who died March 25, 1614, *cf.* HIDBER, in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 161 *seq.*; XIV., *passim*; DIERAUER, II., 368, 374; DUHR, II., 1, 287 *seq.*

[4] See *Chronica prov. Helv. Capuc.*, 44 *seq.*, 60 *seq.* As for *Unterwald*, see LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 328.

Province of Lyons. The convents of Gex, Roche, Thonon and Saint-Julien also formed part of the new Province.[1]

As regards the old Orders, the union of the reformed Benedictine Abbeys, which had already been effected under Clement VIII.,[2] had proved successful. At its head stood the Abbey of St. Gall, whose abbot, Bernard Müller, distinguished himself by his attachment to the Holy See. Under his guidance the monastery gained fresh lustre.[3] The monasteries of Muri [4] Rheinau, Engelberg and Einsiedeln [5] were likewise presided over by excellent superiors who were learned, pious and charitable and spent themselves in labouring for the service of God and the well-being of their flock. The affluence of pilgrims to the miraculous image of Einsiedeln Aquino could only compare to what took place at Loreto. The nuncio also did all he could to bring about the affiliation to the Swiss Benedictine Congregation of the Abbey of Dissentis which had become relaxed.

Paul V. failed in his endeavours to unite the Swiss Cistercians in a reformed Congregation because the monks feared to offend their General who resided in France. As a matter of fact in these monasteries discipline was sound, in some it was even very strict. In this respect Wettingen, which since 1594 possessed an excellent abbot in the person of Peter Schmied,[6] was not excelled by any Benedictine monastery. St. Urban and Altenryf were reformed by Aquino. The Premonstratensians gave the nuncio but little to do; they lived retired lives, in accordance with their Rule. But things were all the worse with the Franciscans Conventual. Aquino gave it as his opinion that it would be better if these had not

[1] See Rocco da Cesinale, I., *passim*; Ilg, II., 77, 102, 109 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 183.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief addressed to him, August 12, 1606, in the *Epist.*, II., 103, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Kiem, *Gesch. der Abtei Muri-Gries*, Stans., 1888–1891.

[5] *Cf.* Hürbin, 254. *Ibid.*, too, for the history of the restoration of the Swiss Cistercian monasteries, p. 255.

[6] *Cf.* A. Müller, *Peter II. Schmied, Abt von Wettingen. Ein Lebensbild*, Zug, 1918.

so many convents, for all had departed from their Rule and were an occasion of scandal. It was more difficult to reform one of their monasteries than a hundred abbeys. Aquino took from them the supervision of the convents of nuns of their Order because they tolerated too many abuses. The convents of nuns, which failed especially in the observance of the enclosure, gave the nuncio much trouble, but in this quarter also he had many consolations. A particularly inspiring spectacle was the reform carried through by Elizabeth Spitzlin in the convent of Pfanneregg, near Watwil, in Toggenburg. From there the reform soon spread to other convents, encouraged as it was by Ladislao d'Aquino. The above-named nun, who strongly recalls the personality of Charitas Pirkheimer, occupies an honourable rank among the leading figures of the Catholic restoration in Switzerland.[1]

It was the good fortune of Catholic Switzerland that its dioceses were without exception presided over by excellent bishops. Here foremost mention must be made of the bishopric of Bâle, so sorely tried by the religious divisions. Its bishop saw himself compelled to reside at Pruntrut whilst his Chapter was at Freiburg, in Breisgau. At the death of the distinguished bishop of Bâle, Jacob Christoph Blarer (April 18th, 1608) Paul V. urged the election of a successor no less zealous for the salvation of souls.[2] He had his wish, for Wilhelm Rink von Baldenstein, who was elected on May 19th, was in every respect a worthy successor.[3] He displayed so much energy in carrying into effect the ecclesiastical reform that the Pope repeatedly expressed his highest satisfaction.[4] But in Alsace the zealous bishop saw

[1] See SCHWEILER in the *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XI., 204 *seqq.*, 279 *seq.*

[2] See *Epist.*, III., 563, Papal Secret Archives. For *Blarer cf.* our notes, Vol. XX., 137 *seq.*, XXII., 137.

[3] *Cf.* VAUTREY, *Hist. des évêques de Bâle*, II., 177 *seq.*; SCHMIEDLIN, *Zustände*, 430 *seq.*

[4] Besides the Brief quoted by SCHMIEDLIN, *loc. cit.*, of October 17, 1609, see the *Brief of December 22, 1609, praising the activity of RINK VON BALDENSTEIN in making visitations, *Epist.*, V., 246, Papal Secret Archives.

his efforts grievously hindered by the cæsaro-papalism of the Austrian authorities as well as by other disturbances.[1] The nuncio Aquino speaks of Rink von Baldenstein as an excellent prelate, remarkable, in particular, by the fact that he visited his diocese in person. Paul V. gave 11,000 florins for the seminary which the bishop founded at Pruntrut.[2] The bishop of Bâle had under him a number of parishes in districts which had become Protestant. He took much trouble in order to bring these back to the true faith, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Bernese, he was able to register some splendid successes. Aquino, too, did all he could to foster conversions, but he counselled prudence, for many went under instruction and accepted alms, only to withdraw again. "At Lucerne," he reports, "I have maintained many converts at my own expense, and have had them instructed by the Jesuits; others I recommended to the abbeys, when my means proved inadequate. The foundation at Thonon,[3] on the lake of Geneva, renders good service and many converts repair thither." Aquino planned the erection of similar houses in other localities also, but the outbreak of the plague prevented his doing so. He very earnestly recommended this work to his successor and advised him to set aside a fund for the support of converts from the contributions of the monasteries.

Aquino took particular interest in the bishopric of Lausanne which, in consequence of the religious divisions, was now confined within the boundaries of the Canton Fribourg. He appointed as its vicar-general the excellent Anton von der Weyd who accomplished an immense amount of good. At the suggestion of the nuncio, Weyd visited the contiguous parts of the Canton Solothurn where, for 150 years, no visitation had been held. "The visitation produced

[1] Professor Schmiedlin will give further details in his monograph on the Catholic revival in Alsace, to be included in the *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen* of JANSSEN's *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes.*

[2] See MAYER, II., 55. For the visitations in Solothurn, see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 131 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV, 307 *seq.*

immense results," Aquino reported to Rome. He urged that the restoration of the bishopric of Lausanne should be the first care of his successor. In 1615, the bishop of Lausanne, Johann von Watteville, held a visitation of the city of Solothurn.[1]

The Holy See was not a little anxious over the turn of affairs in Wallis where the determination of the bishop of Sitten, Adrian von Riedmatten, to carry through the Catholic reform and restoration, met with every imaginable opposition. Sitten and Leuk, in particular, opposed the restoration of religious unity and in this they were strongly backed by Bern. One of the greatest difficulties of the bishop was the shortage of priests. This want was yet further increased when he had to remove priests living in concubinage. A measure of assistance was rendered by several self-sacrificing parish priests and chaplains of Lucerne, but their own country could not spare them for an indefinite length of time.[2] For this reason the Holy See and the nuncio did all they could in order to secure the dispatch of the Jesuits to Wallis. To Paul V.'s great joy these efforts proved successful[3]; in 1610, two residences were founded, each with two Fathers, one in Ärnen and another in Siders.[4] Opposition was not lacking. As early as 1605, a pamphlet, crammed with the vilest calumnies, was published at Leuk against the Jesuits and the Capuchins. Most opportune for the Protestants was the support of the French ambassador, Eustache de Roche (1607–1611), who definitely took the part of the innovators. He even went so far as to threaten with death the two Capuchins whom bishop Adrian had summoned to Sitten. When Adrian, who after all was the lord of Sitten, announced his intention of getting a Jesuit to preach at the first Mass of one of the Canons, the magistrates forbade assistance at

[1] See *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 128 *seq.*

[2] See GRÜTER, in *Geschichtsfreund*, LII., Stans, 1897, 130 *seqq.*, 153 *seq.*

[3] See JOLLER, in *Blättern aus der Walliser Gesch.*, I., 209.

[4] See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 159 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 299 *seq.*

the sermon under pain of forfeiture of civil rights.[1] But the heretics could not prevent the growth of the Jesuit schools at Ärnen and Siders: by 1613 the former numbered 180 pupils. The reform of the clergy also progressed. Again and again Paul V. expressed to bishop Adrian his recognition and praised the pastoral zeal displayed by him.[2] As a matter of fact the bishop could lay himself down to die with the consciousness that he had laid a strong foundation for ecclesiastical reform (October 7th, 1613). This was all the more important as in the struggle for the secular power, which broke out under his successor, Hildebrand II. Jost, the Catholics sided with the Protestants against the bishop. The Pope did all he could to support the bishop of Sitten and praised him for the favour he showed to the Capuchins and the Jesuits who, since 1615, had extended their preaching activities as far as Sitten. In 1620, Paul V. suggested the holding of a diocesan synod.[3]

The anxiety of the Swiss for their freedom resulted in their invariably taking up an unfriendly attitude towards the bishop of Constance who was also a prince of the German empire. In every one of his rulings they saw an infringement of their rights and privileges.[4] When the efforts of Lucerne to obtain a bishop of its own had proved unavailing, a special commission was set up in that city in 1605, for the purpose of carrying through the reform decrees of Trent.[5] However, the unfriendly dispositions towards the bishop of Constance remained. All the efforts of bishop Jacob Fugger to induce the Swiss to accept the decisions agreed upon at the reform synod held at Constance in 1609, proved unavailing.[6] Full

[1] See GRÜTER, 163 *seq.*

[2] See *Quellen zur schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 481, 482.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXI., 487 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*, 493 *seq.*, 499 *seq.*, 501. *Cf.* MAYER, II., 214; LE BRET, *Magazin*, VII., 496 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* HOLL, *J. Fugger*, 38.

[5] *Cf.* A. HENGGLER, *Die Wiedereinführung des kanonischen Rechts in Luzern zur Zeit der Gegenreformation* (*das Kommissariat zu Luzern, 1605–1798*), Luzern, 1909.

[6] See HOLL, 170 *seq.*

concord between the Catholic localities was, however, secured when Fugger re-established Catholic worship at a place called Mühlheim, which came under the jurisdiction of the episcopal court of Frauenfeld. Fugger displayed similar zeal in other localities of the Thurgau. His example was followed in their territories by the abbots of St. Gall and Rheinau.[1] Zürich showed great resentment at these proceedings and strove to induce its co-religionists to enter into a closer alliance against the Catholics, so much so that the latter were forced to arm in self-defence. The risk of open hostilities between Protestants and Catholics in Switzerland, which threatened again and again, largely owing to Spanish and anti-Spanish alliances, became imminent, not in the Confederacy itself, but in the mountain district adjoining its south-eastern frontier, the republic of Rhätia.[2]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century only the Romance population of the inhabitants of the Grisons were still true to the ancient faith, whereas the major part of the population of the Gotteshausbund, especially those of the Engadine and the Zehn-Gerichtenbund, had embraced Protestantism. In the so-called Untertanenlanden, viz. the Valtellina and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, by far the greatest part of the population had remained Catholic, but the innovators were making great efforts to spread their errors. In the episcopal city of Chur no Catholics were left except such as lived at the episcopal Curia.

The religious contrasts in the Grisons were further sharpened by the agitation of local political parties and the interference of neighbouring Powers, which aimed at the domination of the valleys and passes which, in the North, led to the Tirol,

[1] See *ibid.*, 178 *seq.* The *Brief of Paul V. of July 14, 1607, refers to Mühlheim. *Quellen zur schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 475.

[2] See DIERAUER, II., 456. For the notorious Gachnang affair, which in 1610 almost led to war, see *Abschiede*, VI., 987 *seq.*, 1002 *seq.*, 1014 *seq.*, 1033 *seq.*, 1044 *seq.*; DÄNDLIKER, II.[3], 739 *seq.* In 1596, too, it was feared that a war of religion might break out; see the *Brief of Clement VIII. in *Anzeiger f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXII., 222.

and, in the South, to Italy. Spain and Austria on the one hand, France and Venice on the other, competed for predominance in the mountains of Rhätia. The former Powers were supported by the Catholics, the latter by the Protestants.[1] Conditions such as these greatly hindered the action of John V. Flugi, bishop of Chur since 1601, a man sincerely attached to the Church, and who, to the joy of Clement VIII. and Paul V.,[2] was determined to undertake the ecclesiastical reform of his diocese. His ordinances for the clergy of his diocese published on June 7th, 1605, were an earnest of the energy with which he was resolved to proceed.[3]

However, the bishop of Chur soon found that it was utterly impossible to carry out his plans for a reform which included the foundation of an ecclesiastical seminary and the celebration of a diocesan synod, because the preachers succeeded in rendering him so odious, as an alleged partisan of Spain, that in 1607 he was forced to flee to Feldkirch. Paul V. and his nuncios did all they could for him, but his enemies persisted, for their aim was to bring about a final expulsion of the energetic bishop.[4] Better days only dawned for him when the nuncio Aquino took up his cause. Aquino succeeded in inducing the French envoy to change his mind and to become reconciled to Flugi whom, until then, he had persecuted as a partisan of Spain.[5] In 1610 Flugi was able to return to his episcopal residence, but the persecution by the preachers abated only for a short time. At their instigation the city council of Chur forbade all citizens to take part in Catholic

[1] See DIERAUER, II., 458 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, 360 *seq.*

[2] See MAYER, *Gesch. des Bistums Chur*, II., 236. *Cf. Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 475 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* MAYER, *loc. cit.*, 377 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 243 *seq.*

[5] See *Aquino's* report, in MAYER, *Konzil von Trient*, II., 310. The *Instruction for Aquino deals exhaustively with the affairs of Chur (*Barb.*, LVII., 7, Vatican Library). Numerous letters of Aquino and his successor, Feliciani, are published in *Bollett. stor. d. Suizzera*, 1902, 35 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*; and 1903, 28 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

worship in the cathedral. At Christmas, 1611, detectives were appointed for the purpose of discovering whether among the worshippers at the cathedral there were not some burghers of Chur in female attire!

Whilst no Catholic burgher was tolerated in the bishop's own city, the Protestants, by the use of force, founded communities of their own wherever a few "reformed" inhabitants were found among a Catholic population.[1] When Flugi sought to defend the Catholics, his enemies decided on his arrest; he prevented capture by flight, May 27th, 1612. Once again the episcopal residence at Chur was seized and plundered. A decree of the Three Leagues forbade, under pain of death, attendance at the Jesuit schools. Only in the autumn of 1614 was the bishop enabled to return to Chur; but he saw himself so hampered in his work that he resolved either to resign his office or to take a coadjutor. However, nothing came of these plans, though Rome had approved them. Flugi, whose position in Chur was exceedingly precarious, now as before, was resolved to work for a renewal of the religious life at least in the other parts of his diocese. In this spirit he visited the Sargans, the Wahlgau and Feldkirch. In the latter place, as well as at Meran, he helped the Capuchin foundations.[2] Gladly would he have called the Jesuits into his diocese,[3] but the Protestant pressure made this impossible. Religious conditions in the Grisons grew steadily worse. Only the handful of priests from the Swiss College at Milan could be truthfully called shepherds of souls; the others led a definitely scandalous life. In 1620 archduke Leopold reported to the papal nuncio that the first official act of those parish priests who were chosen by the people, without the concurrence of the bishop, was to take wives unto themselves.[4] In such conditions the Catholic laity were bound to lose the faith in ever increasing numbers. The Protestant propaganda,

[1] See MAYER, *Chur*, II., 355.

[2] *Cf.* P. AGAPIT, *Das Kapuzinerkloster in Meran*, 11.

[3] *Cf.* FLUGI's letter to the Rector of the Innsbruck College, of October 8, 1618, Episcopal Archives, Chur.

[4] See *Quellen zur Schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 622 *seq.*

fed by Geneva, made capital of so deplorable a state of things.[1] Already in 1617, Bishop Flugi had written to his brother Andrea that in the territory of the Three Leagues the last state was apparently getting worse than the first.[2] In the following year, at the same time as the revolution in Bohemia led to the outbreak of the great war within the empire, catastrophe befell the land of Rhätia.

In 1617 the Spanish party, under the leadership of the energetic Rudolph Planta, had succeeded in preventing the renewal of the alliance with Venice and in compelling the Venetian envoy, Padavino, to leave the country. Informal tribunals inflicted severe penalties on the leaders of the Venetian-Protestant party. At the beginning of 1618, the latter succeeded in bringing about a popular rising against the "Hispanophils". The agitation was headed by the preachers who were indefatigable in exciting the populace, both by the spoken and the written word. "The papal lords must be destroyed by fire and sword," Vulpius declared. Instigated by him and by another preacher, the passionate George Tenatsch, of Samaden, the inhabitants of the Lower Engadine rose in the summer of 1618 and plundered Rudolph Planta's castle at Zernetz. Wild bands threw themselves upon the "traitors" in the Valtellina, in Chiavenna and Bergell. At Bergell they seized the aged landamman, Zambra, and at Sondrio the learned archpriest, Nicholas Rusca, and dragged them both to Thusis.[3] In the words of a contemporary Italian, the criminal court which sat there from August, 1618, until January, 1619, "condemned, proscribed, robbed, banished without legal form or proof, and solely according to the caprice or suggestion of the preachers."[4] Zambra was executed and Rusca, on a simple

[1] *Cf.* BASERGA, *Il movimento per la riforma protestante in Valtellina e le sue relazioni con Ginevra*, in *Period. di Soc. stor. p. la dioc. di Como*, fasc. 83 and 85 (1914–1915).

[2] See MAYER, *Chur*, II., 256 *seq.*, 259.

[3] *Cf.* HAFFTER, *G. Jenatsch*, 46 *seq.*; MAYER, *Chur.* II., 261.

[4] See the report, published in translation, by BURCKHARDT, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VIII., 215. The passage in the

suspicion, was tortured to death. On Bishop Flugi a sentence of deposition and death was pronounced. At the end of October, 1619, at Davos, another tribunal which is sufficiently characterized when we say that it entered into epistolary correspondence with Frederic V., the rebel king of Bohemia, inflicted yet more fines and decreed the expulsion from the Valtellina of the Capuchins and all foreign priests.[1]

This government by terror,[2] and even more so the murder of Rusca, who was held in veneration as one of the pillars of the ancient faith,[3] raised the indignation of the Catholics of the Valtellina to the highest pitch. They were in a majority, and had long been chafing under the oppression, the arbitrariness and the religious tyranny of the federal government.[4] In these circumstances it was not difficult for Feria,

original is as follows: *In somma tutti li buoni dotti et utili rettori di chiese nella Valletellina et in Chiavenna come anco tutti li buoni et principali cattolici secolari, quelli che hanno potuto tutti hanno abbandonato il paese et cercato di salvarsi dalla crudeltà et barbarie di quello Straffgericht di Tosanna che non fa altro che citare, condennare, proscrivere, spoliare, bandire, perseguitare nullo iuris ordine servato nulloque delicto probato, questo e quello a capriccio et a suggestione di predicanti purchè sia cattolico di qualche conto o adherente a Spagna ancor che heretico. Contra questi si procede indifferentemente con rigore nè per altro hanno condennato mons. vescovo di Coira se non per reputarlo troppo Spagnolo essendo per altro huomo da bene irreprensibille et prelato degno et utile. *Inform. polit.*, IV., 190b, State Library, Berlin.

[1] See HAFFTER, 55 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*; MAYER, *Chur*, II., 270. *Cf.* also CLEMENTE DA TERZORIO, *Istoria d. missioni dei Cappuccini*, 497 *seq.*; P. ALBUIN, *Kompass für die Reformationsgesch. Graubündens*, Innsbruck, 1910, 15; P. BUZZETTI, *Nicola Rusca*, Como, 1913.

[2] This is DIERAUER's view (II., 467).

[3] See Aquino's report in MAYER, II., 323. *Cf.* also the judgment of the compiler of the report of the Valtinella murder, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 246.

[4] BOTERO (*Relaz. univ. Parte terza*, I., Brescia, 1599, 20 *seq.*) proves this for as early as 1596. Many examples of the harsh

the governor of Milan, through the intermediary of a knight of the name of Jacob Robustelli, a kinsman of Planta, and other exiles, to induce the people of the Valtellina, who were by language and race always in sympathy with Milan and who now feared the worst for their religious future—to massacre nearly all the Protestants in Tirano, Teglio, and Sondrio (July 19th–23rd, 1620).[1]

In this dreadful "Massacre of the Valtellina" the Spaniards disguised their purely political aims under the cloak of religion. The fact that the shortest as well as the most commodious road from Milan to the Tirol led through the Valtellina made it supremely important for Spain to make sure of the magnificent valley of the Adda. As long as the duke of Lerma wielded paramount influence in Madrid, warlike projects of this kind stood but little chance of realization.[2] But when the favourite was compelled to withdraw from court, in the autumn of 1618, the military party in Madrid gained the upper hand. It could point out that the

oppression, which BROSCH disputes (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXII., 109) are in BALAN, VI., 700. There is a summary of the complaints, as a justification of the Catholics' uprising, in the monograph: *Ragione della revoluzione ultimamente fatta in Valtelina contra la tirrannide de Grigioni et heretici, Ottob.*, 2335, p. 63 *seq.*, Vatican Library. A few Jesuits were expelled in 1613, although they were native of the Valtellina. See DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 554 *seq.*, II., 264 *seq.*

[1] For the way in which the instigator of the murder, Jacob Robustelli, shamefully misused the name of the Pope, see the report of an eye-witness, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 250. The number of the victims was about 400, according to DIERAUER (II., 470). Others say 500 (see BALAN, VI., 704, with an extensive bibliography). Some Catholics were murdered, too, who roused the anger of their passionate fellow believers either by not taking part in the butchery, or by protesting openly against the disgraceful horrors. Avarice and lust of wealth impelled not a few to take part in the slaughter; see HAFFTER, 82 *seq.* For discussion of Feria as the instigator of the massacre, see BROSCH, in the *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XXII., 110 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* ROTT, *Philippe III. et le duc de Lerme*, Paris, 1887, 27.

impending termination of the truce with the Netherlands made it imperative to get hold of the Adda valley at any price, so as to establish a military link between the Spanish possessions in Italy with the German-Habsburg lands, and thereby secure an uninterrupted line of operations. If the plan succeeded, the republic of St. Mark, that determined and irreconcilable enemy of the Habsburgs, would be cut off from all communication with the Protestants in Switzerland and Germany.[1] Spanish diplomacy cherished the hope of winning over Paul V. to its plans in view of the constant tension in the relations between the Pope and the republic. It was thought that the Holy See could not but ardently desire to see the suppression of heresy at the very gates of Italy. But Paul V. saw through the Spanish schemes.

However much Philip III.'s ambassador in Rome protested that the purpose of the warlike project against the Grisons was the deliverance of the Catholics of the Valtellina and the preservation of Upper Italy from the contamination of heresy, the Pope detected the political motives; from the first he took up a negative attitude towards Spain's demands for his co-operation in the undertaking.[2] After the massacre, he avoided any expression that could have been construed into an approval of the most recent events in the Valtellina. When the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland begged the Pope for money to help them to bar with armed troops the passes by which the Protestants were hastening to the assistance of the Grisons, they obtained nothing, even though the nuncio Sarego supported their request.[3] In like manner, when the

[1] *Cf.* ROTT, *Hist. de la représentation dipl. de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses*, III., 1, Berne, 1906, 312 *seq.* *Cf.* also RANKE, *Osmanen*, 173 *seq.*

[2] See BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 112 *seq.*, who first used the dispatches of the Venetian Ambassador in Rome. *Cf.*, too, BALAN, VI., 704, *note* 1, and NIK. VON SALIS-SOGLIO, *Gesch. der Familie Salis*, Lindau, 1891, 167 *seq.*

[3] See BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 114 *seq.* For Sarego's sanction of the massacre, see REINHARDT, *Der Veltliner Mord*, Einsiedeln, 1885, 172.

French diplomats joined their efforts to those of the Venetians, in the hope of inducing the Holy See to assist the Valtellina and to take steps hostile to Spain, their efforts proved futile. Paul V. declared to the Venetian ambassador that, however much he regretted Spain's intervention, he could nevertheless take no action since in that case it would seem as if the Holy See wished to take the Protestant Leagues under its protection; that he took no part in the transaction either by sympathy or counsel, and still less by any monetary contribution. To the French nuncio Bentivoglio, the Secretary of State wrote as early as August 8th, 1620, that on numerous grounds the Pope was firmly resolved not to meddle with the Valtellina question.[1] Paul V.'s circumspection in this matter is shown by the fact that when, in September, 1620, a Capuchin came to Rome, in the name of the people of the Valtellina, to beg for a few thousand scudi for the purpose of procuring chalices and vestments, all he got was indulgences and spiritual favours, but never a scudo in cash.[2]

Paul also frowned on a project which had been mooted at an early date, namely that of handing over the strong places of the Grisons to the Pope as to a disinterested party, and to man them with pontifical troops, for the leading principle of his policy was rigid abstention from any interference that might sow the seeds of conflict.[3] His prudence was justified inasmuch as owing to the invasion by Spanish-Austrian troops, the affair of the Valtellina quickly assumed a most alarming character.[4] Should France and Venice unite for war on Spain, there was reason to fear the repercussion of such an occurrence in Germany, for in that event the emperor

[1] "S.S.ta e risolutissima di non volersene ingerire per molti rispetti e in particolare perche, se lo facesse, si accenderebbero piu i Grigioni e gli altri eretici contra quei cattoloci." BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziatura di Francia*, ed. L. de Steffani IV., n. 2461, p. 405.

[2] See BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 115.

[3] *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, 3 Serie, XII., 2, 172.

[4] *Cf.* v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 112, Hürbin, 365 *seq.*

was bound to lose the support of Spain. Paul V. was ready to mediate both in Paris and in Venice, with a view to preventing the outbreak of hostilities. He was, however, doubtful whether he would succeed in restraining the French government from a hostile move against Spain.[1] He did not live to see the further development of the affair.

[1] See the reports of Savelli to Ferdinand II. of October 20 and November 7, 1620, in SCHNITZER, *Politik des Heiligen Stuhles*, 159 *seq.*

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book ; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original ; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word *sic*. Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . . .).

The extracts from the *Avvisi Urbinati*, addressed to Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino in Pesaro, which were recently discussed by H. van Houtte in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, lxxxix (Brussels, 1926), 359 *seq.*, I owe to the kindness of Professor Schmidlin. To avoid repetitions when quoting the Avvisi in the footnotes of the text, the corresponding *Cod. Urb.* is not indicated ; instead I subjoin a list showing in which *Codices* the Avvisi of each year of pontificate may be found. (*Cf.* STORNAJOLI, *Codices Urbin.*, Rome, 1921, 97 f.)

Urb.	1073 : 1605	*Urb.*	1079 : 1611	*Urb.*	1085 : 1617
	1074 : 1606		1080 : 1612		1086 : 1618
	1075 : 1607		1081 : 1613		1087 : 1619
	1076 : 1608		1082 : 1614		1088 : 1620
	1077 : 1609		1083 : 1615		1089 : 1621
	1078 : 1610		1084 : 1616		

I here repeat the expression of my gratitude to Professor E. Steinmann, the director of the Hertziana, as I have done in the preceding volume.

1. Berlingherio Gessi, nuncio in Venice, to Cardinal Borghese.[1]

Venice, April 18th, 1609.

. . . Non manco con ogni buon modo di cercare secretamente di sapere quel che passa nella causa de' frati Serviti prigioni, i quali, non ostante quello che di già mi fu riferto, hora intendo, che ambidui sono vivi, et che contra di loro in processo si ha, che fra Gio. Francesco Perugino baccelliero, che stava in Padova, per lettere che gli scriveva un altro frate Perugino da Roma con participatione di persone grandi et cardinali, s'era indotto di procurare di dar morte a f^re^ Paolo di Venetia, et confidato il negotio con un frate Antonio di Viterbo, giovane amatissimo di detto f^re^ Paolo et suo intrinseco e famigliare, l'indusse con promesse d'esser largamente premiato a dargli parola, che l'havrebbe ammazzato al sicuro, et fatto insieme questo concerto secretamente in Venezia nella camera propria di f^re^ Antonio, dove f^re^ Gio. Francesco fu ricercato di nascosto e trattenuto alcuni pochi giorni, non s'aspettava altro per dargli compimento che l'opportunità ; ma passando molto tempo e non vedendosi effetto alcuno, f^re^ Gio. Francesco non mancava di tener sollecitato con lettere f^re^ Antonio, et di fargli animo, servendosi del mezo d'un hebreo, che ricapitava le lettere in mano propria, senza però esser consapevole del fatto ; finalmente f^re^ Antonio gli scrisse liberamente che non gli bastava l'animo di mettergli le mani addosso, et assalirlo co'l ferro ; ma che se gli havesse mandato qualche veleno buono, che più tosto havria cercato di darglilo, et di privarlo di vita con esso. Così applicatosi il pensiero a questa via, frate Gio. Francesco procurava da Roma il veleno, e di mano in mano teneva avvisato frate Antonio di quello che passava, scrivendo, se non in modo, che altri non potessero intendere il loro gergo, finchè una volta, come la disgratia, volle l'hebreo mezano portava secondo il solito una lettera di f^re^ Gio. Francesco

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 194.

alla chiesa de' Servi per darla in mano a f^re^ Antonio, benchè il soprascritto dicesse ad un hebreo, non ritrovò in casa f^re^ Antonio, et la lasciò in mano al P. Socio, che promise di recapitarla, ma perchè nell'interrogare, che fece al portatore, esso venne in sospetto, et tanto più, che la lettera haveva un soprascritto finto et mentito, si risolvè d'aprirla, et apertala, se gli accrebbe maggiormente il sospetto dal contenuto d'essa, di maniera che conferì il tutto a f^re^ Antonio il quale titubando e variando assai nel dire, scoperse poi il trattato, affermando che f^re^ Giovanni Francesco lo stimolava continuamente a conspirare contra la sua persona, et gli narro tutto il fatto, fuorchè quello che poteva pregiudicare a lui; sbigottito f^re^ Paolo del pericolo, in che si trovava incorso, pensando subito al rimedio et alla punitione di chi gli machinava contro, fece, che f^re^ Antonio scrivesse a f^re^ Gio. Francesco ch'egli era preparato e risoluto per effettuare, quanto sapeva in questo modo, cioè che pigliarebbe l'impronto della chiave della camera di f^re^ Paolo et che una notte entrarebbe dentro et l'ammazzerebbe, ma che bisognava, ch'esso f^re^ Gio. Francesco venisse a Venetia, et che portasse qualche materia atta a pigliare detto impronto e facesse fare la chiave egli stesso. Così f^re^ Gio. Francesco se ne venne a Venetia, et portò una cera attissima per quello che si cercava, et la diede a f^re^ Antonio dentro ad un invoglio di carte, fra le quali per errore erano tre o quattro lettere scritte sopra questo trattato, una delle quali diceva, che se gli manderia la tonica fina e benissimo cuscita (cioè il veleno), et un'altra diceva, che si procuraria havere quel quadragesimale, se gli sarebbero dati tanti denari, cioè s'havesse procurata la morte di f^re^ Paolo. Di esse lettere dicono che alcune erano scritte dal f^re^ Perugino, che sta in Roma, et furono consegnate subito da f^re^ Antonio in mano di f^re^ Paolo, et con un stratagemma f^re^ Gio. Francesco fu trattenuto tanto, che i signori capi di X lo mandorno a pigliare, et fu fatto prigione et condennato dopo molti essamini et constituti alla forca, con conditione però, che se egli rivelava i complici et tutto il fatto, come stava, gli fosse commutata la forca in 4 anni di prigionia. Onde il Perugino accettò quest'ultimo partito, et rivelò l'intendimento che haveva in Roma, e tutto quello che era passato poi con f^re^ Antonio, et immediatamente fu fatto prigione detto f^re^ Antonio, il quale non è anco sententiato; ma si dubita assai, che sia per essere

impiccato o annegato, se bene f^re^ Paolo lo favorisce et protegge gagliardamente per l'affettione più che ordinaria che gli porta. Ho inteso che f^re^ Paolo ha composto un libro, et che poco tempo fa lo faceva copiare, et mi è stato detto, che si tratta in esso dell'autorità di N. S^re^; ma è impossibile sapere in individuo quello che contenga, si come anco tengo per impossibile sapere, se l'habbia mandato in Francia, poichè sarà cosa nota a poche persone, e suoi confidenti, et niuno di quelli, con chi posso parlare, ardisce di dimandarne; quando però ne scoprissi altro, ne darò conto a V. S. ill^ma^.

Nunziat. di Venezia, 40, pp. 119–122, Papal Secret Archives.

2. Berlingherio Gessi, nuncio in Venice, to Cardinal Borghese.[1]

Venice, November 9th, 1609.

Fra Paolo Servita cerca in ogni sua attione mostrarsi estrinsecamente al popolo buono et essemplare, et celebra frequentemente la messa; ha però da certo tempo in quà tralasciato di andare in choro, et non confessa in chiesa, ma confessa in camera qualche suo amorevole, ha ancotralasciato di andare alla mensa commune et mangia solo o con fr. Fulgentio; studia assai, et per quanto si dice compone un libro intorno all'autorità del Sommo Pontefice Romano con pensiero di farlo stampare fuori di quà. Va spesso in colloquio come consultore della ser^ma^. Republica per li negotii che si consultano con lui, nel che questi signori gli hanno tanto credito che più non si potria dire. Si trattiene quasi ogni giorno per molto spatio nella bottega di certi mercanti fiamenghi detti li Cecchinelli appresso il ponte di berettari in merciaria, et conversa con molti oltramontani, che sentono male delle cose della religione, et similmente con li nobili male affetti verso la Sede Apostolica; quando va per Venetia porta il giacco et la manopola, et si può credere anco di altre armi, si come pure vanno bene armati tre frati che si conduce dietro. Fr. Fulgentio Servita è compagno continuo di fr. Paolo et tiene l'istessa vita che egli fa nello studio et nelle conversationi, solo di più osserva di andare spesso in choro et di confessare

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 194.

in chiesa, et anco per lo più va alla mensa in refettorio, se bene talhora mangia con fr. Paolo separatamente da gli altri.

Prete Gio. Marsilio tiene una casa in un vicolo presso alle monache di Santa Caterina insieme con una sua femina detta Cicilia, celebra qualche altra volta, conversa con gran numero di nobiltà, et cerca quanto più può intrinsicarsi con li nobili che sono del collegio o del consiglio di X ; prattica continuamente per il palazzo et per piazza, cercando con isquisita diligenza scoprire et sapere tutto quello che si fa et dice, et studia proporre alli capi di X tutte le cose che si può imaginare essere contrarie al senso di N. S^re^ et all'autorità apostolica.

Non è in buon concetto, ma è diffeso et protetto più per ragione di stato che per buona opinione che si habbia di lui. Attende esattamente ad instruire in cose di politica li gioveni nobili con chi prattica, et in questo fa pessimo effetto, cercando rendergli odiosi et nemici di Roma.

Fr. Bernardo Giordano zoccolante celebra di continuo nella chiesa di S. Francesco della Vigna, va spesso in choro, et attende con grandissima diligenza a confessare gran numero di penitenti, fra quali vi è molta nobiltà, et studia di essere tenuto in buon concetto et havuto per divoto ; fa vita separata dalli altri frati, prevalendosi della provisione di 350 ducati che ha dalla Republica, et mostra gran timore per le cose passate di essere oppresso, o offeso da altri frati, et con questo pretesto impedisce il buon governo et riforma che voglia fare ogni superiore nel convento, ricorrendo subito alli capi di X a dire che questo si fa per opprimere lui per le cose passate. È maligno et pessimo huomo, et col mezo delle confessioni ha nociuto grandissimamente alle cose di Roma.

Fra Michelangelo zoccolante è huomo di buon tempo, che ha per fine il mangiare et bevere bene, et si dice che attende alle femine et in queste cose pone le sue felicità. Non va in choro, celebra poco, fa vita separata dalli altri frati con la provisione sua delli ducati 350 ; era già unito con il Giordano, ma adesso sono in discordia, non è tanto maligno quanto esso Giordano, et ha qualche volta habuto pensiero di venire a Roma, ma poi se ne retirò per l'augumento della provisione, et perchè non si assicura di potere fare costì la vita libera et licentiosa, che fa in Venetia . . .

[*Nunziat. di Venezia,* 40 A, pp. 203–4, Papal Secret Archives.]

3. Pope Paul V. to Henry IV., King of France.[1]

Rome, January 22nd, 1610.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro
Henrico Francorum regi Christianissimo.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Gravissima animi afflictione coacti, sed tamen in Maiestatis Tuae praestanti pietate atque prudentia confisi, nunc ad Te scribimus. Religio catholica in Germania inferiori ad extremum fere periculum redacta videtur, ut accepimus ; haeretici, viribus et opibus aucti, quotidie magis nostris insultant. Nos omnia officia, quae hactenus potuimus, sedulo praestitimus ; quidquid ulterius cum Domino poterimus, alacri animo facturi. Verum, carissime fili, nihil opitulari potest huic causae aeque ac auctoritas et prudentia Tua. Mandavimus itaque venerabili fratri Roberto episcopo Montispolitiani Nuncio Nostro Apostolico, ut de hoc negocio cum Maiestate Tua diligenter agat, sollicitudinem Nostram et necessitatem, quam catholica religio habet, tutelae Tuae in illis partibus Tibi exponat. Multa et gravia perpessae sunt retroactis temporibus ab haereticis duce Iuliacensium et Cliviensium principe catholico tunc superstite adiacentes ecclesiae. Actum plane esset, si ditiones illae in potestatem redigerentur alienorum a religione catholica. Summam Tibi laudem comparavit apud omnes catholicos studium, quod adhibes in instauranda antiqua pietate in florentissimo Galliarum regno Tuo ; verum augebitur nominis Tui fama, si idipsum etiam apud exteros efficere curaveris. Apparebit quidem tanto magis Tua virtus nullis terminis circumscripta, si laudabiles operationes Tuae intra limites amplissimi istius regni contentae non fuerint. Nos certe cum omni Nostri cordis affectu postulamus a Maiestate Tua, ut velis efficaciter succurrere filiis Nostris catholicis in Germania inferiori, nec aliud solatium habemus in tantis Nostris curis atque molestiis, quibus hoc tempore affligimur hac de causa, nisi spem, quam in Tua religione atque virtute collocavimus. Pro Tua igitur erga Nos filiali pietate fiduciam Nostram confirma, Nosque a tam gravi anxietate subleva. Sed quia plura de his Nuncius

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 407.

Noster, petimus a Te, ut illi consuetam fidem adhibeas, et benedictionem Nostram apostolicam Maiestati Tuae ex intimis Nostri cordis visceribus impartimur, Deum iugiter precantes, ut dona suae sanctae gratiae benignus in Te semper augeat ac Te continua protectione custodiat ad Ecclesiae sanctae praesidium et christinae reipublicae firmamentum. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris XI calendas Februarii MDCX, pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

Petrus Stroza.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 5, n. 288. Papal Secret Archives.]

4. Pope Paul V. to the General Assembly of the French Clergy.[1]

Rome, January 31st, 1615.

Venerabili fratri Nostro dilectisque filiis Nostris ac pariter venerabilibus fratribus dilectisque filiis cardinalibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus caeterisque ecclesiastici ordinis regni Galliae in comitiis generalibus congregatis.

Paulus Papa quintus.

Venerabilis frater Noster dilectique filii Nostri ac pariter venerabiles fratres dilectique filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Perturbavit adeo animum Nostrum excessus audaciae, qua, sicut accepimus, nonnulli publico conventu istic IV nonas Ianuarii habito violare sacrosanctam auctoritatem Apostolicae Sedis conati sunt, ut, nisi Nos consolaretur fiducia, quam habemus firmam in Nostrorum carissimorum filiorum Ludovici regis et Mariae reginae eius matris eximia pietate atque prudentia, quos curavisse hactenus reprimere conatus tam nefarios intelleximus, et in zelo admirabili, quo Vos incensos non minus constanter ac generose quam sapienter et pie tantae impudentiae restitistis, plane dolor intolerabilis Nos occupavisset. Et quidem fuisset hoc horrendum indicium, cum non immerito timere possemus evolaveritne in Galliam flamma ex miserabili Anglicano incendio ad conflagrationem atque destructionem in isto christianissimo regno totius verae pietatis et religionis, quam divino auxilio freti confidimus semper auctum iri patrocinio

tam pii regis, a religiosissima matre vereque christianissima ad hoc potissimum summa vigilantia educati, ac Vobis praeterea sedulo adnitentibus, ut laudabiliter semper fecistis. Caeterum quamvis recreet Nos non mediocriter eiusmodi spes, non ob id tamen immunes ac vacui sumus ab afflictione ac molestia, imo vehementer angimur, recogitantes Nobiscum, quam adversa tempestate et quam procellosa beati Petri naviculam occulta Dei dispensatione regendam suscepimus, ancipites ac dubii, ne Nostra forte negligentia augeatur sentina vitiorum et ob id periculosa magis atque difficilior semper evadat praesens navigatio. Propterea ad implorandum auxilium Illius iugiter confugimus, qui, ut nullis Nostris meritis, ita quoque Nobis nihilm inus cogitantibus, in puppi sedere Nos atque clavum tenere voluit: quem oramus, ne, dum ex adverso fluctus irruunt et ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescunt et a tergo tempestas insequitur, permittat ullam fieri iacturam ex tam valida vehementique navis concussione. Interim eius immensae bonitati gratias summas agimus, quod in graviori discrimine, quo fortasse hactenus versati unquam fuerimus, subsidio opportunissimo, Vestra scilicet praestantissima virtute, Nobis subvenit ac saluti regni Galliae Nobis, dilectissimi, consilio, opera religiosaque fortitudine ecclesiastici ordinis eiusdem regni prospexit. Et ex altera parte valde Vobiscum gratulamur ac pariter Vos maxime laudamus, quod in Vobis non modo Vestra Gallia reflorescentem videat zelum, pietatem, doctrinam animique magnitudinem sanctorum patrum suorum Dionysii, Hilarii, Martini, Bernardi caeterorumque, quorum memoria in benedictione est ob studium divini honoris et ecclesiasticae dignitatis, sed et Ecclesia sancta Dei universa agnoscere possit cardinales ex coetu Vestro, ea praestantia, quae decet, tam digna membra huius Sanctae Apostolicae Sedis et antistites ac praelatos rectoresque animarum, qui servi boni et fideles ac Domino suo digni vere sint, cum amare magis eius gloriam quam se ipsos re ipsa ostenderint, vere pastores ovicularum Christi, qui pro salute gregis propriam animam ponere non dubitaverint, cum effusione proprii sanguinis, ut accepimus, paratos tueri ovilis Dominici septa, ecclesiastica nempe iura, tanto animi ardore se exhibuerint. Summopere igitur Vos laudamus atque iterum Vobis gratulamur. Etenim quid laudabilius, quid gloriosius quam, omnis humani

commodi ratione posthabita, sacerdotes Dei dignitatem Ecclesiae sanctae constanter defendisse ac veritatis catholicae tuendae zelo propriam vitam neglexisse, sicuti felicitati quoque maxime adscribendum est contigisse fieri hoc praeclarissimum sacerdotalis Vestrae virtutis periculum regnante in rege Vestro non minus pietate ac religione sancti Ludovici progenitoris sui, quam reflorescat in ipso eius gloriosi nominis memoria. Propterea eo magis hortamur Vos, ut acrius semper insistatis. Perficiet utique Dominus opus, quod in Vobis incepit; manum eius iam agnoscite, corda regum, quae continet mirabiliter, moventem. Interim unanimes adnitimini adversus impetum feri maris, concitati aestu humanae superbiae atque saecularis prudentiae a timore Dei disiunctae turbine. Plane exortas tempestates ipse sedabit, qui fluctuantibus discipulis suis non defuit. Tentari quidem permittit, sed facit cum tentatione proventum. Igitur bono animo estote, scientes quod speculator adstat desuper atque suorum agones intuetur, ut unicuique dignam proprio labore mercedem retribuat. Qui vero fortiter certaverit, digne coronabitur. Nos autem, qui Vos semper summa in Domino caritate prosecuti sumus et ut vehementer Vos diligimus, ita maximi facimus praestantissimam Vestram virtutem, Vobis amantissime deferimus, quicquid cum Domino praestare auxilii atque solatii Vobis occasione hac possumus, mirifice devincti tam specioso tamque admirabili Vestro facinore. Cum interea non praetermittamus iugiter orare Deum misericordiarum patrem, ut incremento suae sanctae gratiae Vos in suo sancto servitio conservare semper atque confortare dignetur. Et quia non possumus hunc amantem in Vos Nostri cordis affectum pro Nostro desiderio Vobis scribendo sufficienter declarare, iussimus venerabili fratri Roberto episcopo Montispolitiani Nostro Apostolico Nuncio, ut quod in mandatis a Nobis de hoc fusius accepit, diligenter suis verbis apud Vos prosequeretur: qui pariter Vobis exponet ulterius, quid opportunum existimemus, ut negocium perfecte absolvatur. Illi igitur eandem fidem adhibebitis, quam Nobis ipsis loquentibus haberetis. Confirmet Vos Deus in omni opere bono; consilia atque opera Vestra in suo sancto beneplacito semper dirigat; et Nos ex intimis Nostrae caritatis visceribus apostolicam benedictionem Nostram Vobis impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris pridie calendas Februarii MDCXV, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

Petrus Stroza.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 10, n. 262, Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Pope Paul V. to Phillip III. of Spain.[1]

Rome, March 22nd, 1617.

Sorrow and lament for "talia praesumpta" against the Inquisition "in regnis Tuis, ubi fidei catholicae tutissimum domicilium esse praedicatur. In regno Sardiniae Inquisitor quoniam absolvere duas personas a se excommunicatas nolebat, citatus ad regium tribunal de regiae audientiae consilio, exilio damnatus, ad tubarum et timbanorum sonitum in Calaritana civitate et aliis locis publicis banno subiicitur. Cum non pareret, Gubernator civitatis armata manu non solum militum, sed populi in domum s. Officii effractis ostiis irrumpit et abire iussis ecclesiasticis ad Inquisitorem accedit, eumque aut excommunicatione absolvere aut ad Flandrorum navem illi merito suspectam abire iubet, recusantem tanta cum violentia trahit, ut pene exanimem relinqueret. A prandio reversus Inquisitorem in lectulo febri laborantem consurgere et ad navem cogere frustra conatus cum militum custodia reliquit, et cum nocte per fenestram fune demissus ad ecclesiam Praedicatorum confugisset, mane dum ad altare sacris vestibus missam acturus accedit, per vim ecclesiam ingressus aggreditur"; and when, in order to protect himself, the Inquisitor took the Blessed Sacrament, "custodia militum circumseptum multas horas jejunum stare compulit"; monks and priests were wounded, "ut Inquisitor, mortis metu, cum fideijuss. mult. 1,000 scutorum infra triduum navem conscendere promitteret, qui denique excommunicatione absolvit." Let scandal be buried; the evil is great. We have "principales delinquentes" cited before our tribunal and wish to hold an inquiry. They must give an example of repentance. You will take care lest your ministers "officium s. Inquisitionis perturbent". Dat. March 22nd, 1617.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 15, p. 186a, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] *Cf.* p. 315.

6. Pope Paul V. to the Christians of Japan.[1]

Rome, February 8th, 1619.

Dilectis filiis Christifidelibus in Iaponia commorantibus. Paulus Papa quintus.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoties de vestro praesenti statu cogitamus, contrario plane doloris et laetitiae sensu simul Noster animus afficitur ; cum enim vos in visceribus Christi unice dilectos filios tot aerumnis oppressos, tot christiani nominis hostibus, qui sanguinem vestrum sitiunt, circumventos consideramus, ingemiscimus et paterno affectu vestris malis, tanquam eorum participes effecti, vehementer commovemur : verum inter has doloris tenebras eximii Nobis gaudii lux affulget, dum ea, quae pro Christi gloria sustinetis adversa, forti prorsus animo ac maxime prompto tolerare vos intelligimus ; gratiae profecto immortales benignissimo Deo agendae sunt, cuius praestanti munere vobis concessum est, ut in illum credatis, sed etiam ut pro illo libenter patiamini. Noluit vos Dominus velut ignavos milites otio torpentes delitescere, sed in campum et aciem produxit ad strenue confligendum cum suo atque humani generis hoste, ut proprio etiam sanguine, si opus sit, illustriorem in istis regionibus reddatis evangelii veritatem et virtutem atque ipsius quoque evangelii hostes aperta Christi confessione provocantes, invicto animi robore clametis : Quis nos separabit a caritate Dei, tribulatio an angustia, an persequutio, an gladius ? Certi sumus, quod neque mors, neque vita, neque ulla creatura poterit vos separare a caritate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu. Spectaculum facti estis, dilecti filii, Deo, angelis, hominibus ; diligenter providendum vobis est, ne in isto tam nobili virtutis vestrae theatro aliquid timidum vel infirmum in vobis aspiciatur. Aemulos vos posuit Dominus virorum illorum, qui nascentem olim Ecclesiam liberaliter suo sanguine irrigaverunt, quorum sanguine effuso tanquam seminata seges Ecclesiae fertilius pullulavit. Par sine dubio vestri sanguinis fructus in ista Iaponis ecclesia colligetur ; modicum nunc si oportet vos contristari in variis tentationibus, exultabitis postea laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata, reportantes finem certaminis vestri salutem innumerabilium animarum. Magna quidem de vobis pollicetur

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 353.

sibi Dominus, sed maiora procul dubio pollicetur, coronam videlicet incorruptibilem, incontaminatam et immarcescibilem in coelis: alacres ad illam festinate; nihil vos fluxa haec atque caduca mundi detineant, quae, velint nolint homines, statim relinquere necesse habent. Quid vobis cum hac luce, quibus lux aeterna promissa est? quid cum hoc vitae commercio, quos coeli amplitudo deposcit? Toto affectu currite in amplexum eius, qui vester amantissimus pater est et iustissimus remunerator; de ipsius manu stolam iucunditatis et coronam pulchritudinis accipietis, in cuius beatissimo sinu in aeternum quiescentes has laetitiae plenas voces illi dabitis: "Transivimus per ignem et aquam et eduxisti nos in refrigerium." Nolumus autem, dilecti filii, vos existimare haec Nos ideo scripsisse, quod de vestra constantia quicquam dubitemus: confidimus, quemadmodum coepistis, ita, divina adiutrice gratia, ad extremum usque spiritum in christianae fidei professione vos perseveraturos, sed Nostro muneri et magnae sollicitudini, quam de omnium Christi fidelium salute habemus, aliqua ex parte satisfacere voluimus. A vobis autem summo studio contendimus, ut pro Nobis atque universa Ecclesia assiduas preces ad Deum fundere velitis, quas ipsum, utpote ab optime meritis filiis profectas, benigne auditurum speramus. Nos vicissim pro vobis orare et salutem vestram Deo commendare non deerimus et iterum toto cum animi affectu apostolicam benedictionem impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die octava Februarii 1619, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo quarto.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 13, p. 34, Papal Secret Archives.]

7. Pope Paul V. to Aloysius Lollin, Bishop of Belluno.[1]

Rome, March 12th, 1620.

Venerabili fratri Aloisio episcopo Bellunensi.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Venerabilis frater, salutem. Dionysius Areopagita, qui in antiquo codice doctissimis commentariis illustrato fraternitatis Tuae munere ad Nos pervenit, tanti apud Nos est, quantum et doni ipsius dignitas et eius qui donavit egregia

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 47.

virtus ac merita requirunt. Exornabit in posterum nobile hoc opus bibliothecam Nostram Vaticanam, sed non exiguo cum fraternitatis Tuae ornamento; quotquot enim eruditi viri ex variis mundi partibus ad hanc ipsam bibliothecam invisendam et perscrutandam unquam accedent, procul dubio tui memoriam debita cum laude usurpabunt tuamque liberalitatem commendare non desistent, quippe qui communi studiosorum bono benigne prospiciens, quae res prius Tuo tantum privato usui deserviebat, eam deinceps ad publicum commodum celeberrimo in loco exponendam dederis. Nos equidem sicut accepti doni magnitudinem aequa lance pensamus et Tuum maxime promptum animum in re Tibi carissima largienda plurimi facimus, ita, cum usus venerit, perspicue demonstrare conabimur, quantus sit Noster in te paterni animi affectus, et quam grato semper alacrique animo quae ad tua commoda pertinere unquam intelligemus, exequi studeamus. Dominus fraternitatem Tuam coelestibus donis quotidie magis augeat, et Nos iterum Tibi apostolicam benedictionem toto ex animo impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariàm etc. 12 martii 1620 anno XV.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 14, p. 42, Papal Secret Archives.]

8. From the Registers of Paul V., 1611 and 1620.[1]

Rolo per il dì 1 Gennaio 1611.

Secretarii.

Mons. Cobellucci secr° de' Brevi.
Mons. Hortensi secr° della Congregatione de' vescovi.
Sig^r Pietro Strozzi secr° de' Brevi de' principi.
Sig^r Francesco Fagnano secr° della Congregatione del Concilio.
Sig^r Giovanni Antonio Fuccioli secr° della Consulta.
Sig^r Odoardo Santarello secr° de bono regimine.
Sig^r Mario Diglio secr° delle Cifre.
Mons. Seneca secr° della Riforma.
Paolo Mocanse secr° della Congregatione de' Riti.

Offitiali della Libreria.

Baldassari Ansidei custode di Libreria.
Alessandro Rinaldi suo compagno.
Luca Valerii correttore.

[1] *Cf. sup.*, p. 60.

Mons. Acatio scrittore in greco.
Giovanni Santamaura scrittore in greco.
Luigi Mercati scrittore in latino.
Emilio Florio scrittore in latino.
Prefetto del Registro in Libreria.

Rolo del 1 Decembre 1620.

Secretarii.

Illmo Cobellucci secro de' Brevi.
Sigr Gaspero Pallonio secro de' Brevi de' principi.
Monsr Felitiani secro de' Stati.
Monsr Vulpio secro della Congregatione de' vescovi.
Monsr Zazzera secro della Consulta.
Sigr Prospero Bonis secro della Congregatione del Concilio.
Monsr Jacomo Bulgarino secro della Congregatione de bono regimine.
Sigr Mario Dilio secro delle Cifre.
Sigr Pietro Ciammariconi secro della Congregatione de' Riti.

Offitiali di Libreria.

Sigr Nicolò Alemanni custode.
Detto Prefetto del Registro di Libreria.
Alessandro Rinaldi secondo custode.
Leone Allazio scrittore greco.
Gregorio Porzio scrittore greco.
Bartolomeo Bertini scrittore latino.
Andronico Spinelli scrittore latino.
Baldassare Sorresino ligatore di libri.
Jeremia Guelfi stampatore.
Scopatore di Libreria.

[*Vat.* 7956, pp. 23, 24, 30, 33, Vatican Library.]

9. Writings Dedicated to Paul V.[1]

Ciaconius (IV., 391) presents a fairly complete survey of writings dedicated to Pope Paul V.[2] so far as they have appeared in print. Besides this he also gives a large number of manuscript writings the dedication of which the Borghese

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 47.

[2] Here also the twelfth volume of the Annals of Baronius (*cf.* 323) holds the first place. Next to them, the four-volume edition of the Roman Councils published in the years 1608 to 1612, deserves mention. This edition surpasses all the others and is of fundamental importance, chiefly because of the inclusion of Greek original texts (*cf.* Pitra, *Anal. noviss.*, I, [1885] 306: Reusch, Bellarmine's Autobiography, 226 *seq.*; Le Bachelet, 568). On Bellarmine's explanation of the Psalms which

Pope accepted.[1] Of their number I have noted the following [2] :—

I. Papal Secret Archives. *Borghese* :

97 : Carmina et gratiarum actio in disputationibus philosophicis S° D. N. D. Paulo V a Francisco Passardo seminarii Rom. clerico dicatis (Orig.).

379 : Magnus Perneus, Gloria Pauli V. (Orig.).

379ª : Magnus Perneus, De promotione Pauli V.[3]

386 : Ad Paulum V. declaratio contra Agarenos seu Israelitas auctore Lucio Caccianemico Bonon. Domenicano (Orig.).

420 : Compendium tractatus eorum quae praecipue spectant ad veriorem statum utriusque opinionis de sanctificatione B. V. Mariae, by Lucas Castellinus, 1618 (copy with Paul V.'s arms).

475 : De 7 spiritualibus temporibus . . . per Bernard. Castellum Salentinum Speclensem phil. et med. doct. (Orig.).

496 : Propugnaculum inexpugnabile ecclesiarum pro sibi eintegrandis bonis . . . illegitime alienatis auctore Alph. Vilagut, abb. monast. S. Severini a Neapoli (Orig.).

497 : De breviario et missali Pii PP. V iussu editis . . . libri duo fr. Petri Martyris Felini Cremonen. ord. Servit. (Orig.).

526*bis* : Cepari, Vita di S. Luigi Gonzaga (Orig.).

677 : De Christi liberatoris excessu ad Paulum V. oratio Tarq. Gallutii S. J. (copy with arms of Cardinal Borghese).

729 : Illacrimatio ad . . . Paulum V., by Marcus Zubenicus Arben. S. Hieronymi Illyricor. canonicus (Orig.).

he dedicated to the Pope, see Reusch, *loc. cit.*, 179 *seq.* On H. Sedulius' *Prescriptiones adversus haereses*, which were also dedicated to Paul V., see *Hist.-Polit. Bl.*, CXIII, 429. The two-volume work of Cardinal Mantica which Orbaan, *Documenti*, 147, mentions without explanation, is quoted by Ciaconius, *loc. cit.* On a document not mentioned by Ciaconius, *cf.* Moroni, VIII., 313. The Arabic Grammar printed in 1610 by the Medicean printing press is dedicated to Paul V. ; see *Giorn. degli Arch. Tosc.*, IV., 287 *seq.* One of the many poems dedicated to the Pope may be found in the *Carmina ill. poet.*, II., 55. Marini dedicated his *Discorsi* to Paul V. in 1614 ; see Borzelli, G. B. Marino, Naples, 1898, 110.

[1] The opinion of Agost. Mascardi, that Paul V. did not favour the poets and literati (see *Atti Ligupri*, XLII., 84), needs qualification.

[2] *Cf.* also above, p. 163, n. 2 ; 184, n. 2 ; 257, n. 1 ; 263, n. 7 ; 355, n. 1.

[3] 381 : *Sermo super translatione corporis Pauli V.*, January 30, 1622, dedicated to Cardinal Borghese.

730 : Pauli V. assumptio ad pontificatum. Pauli Zacchiae Rom. carmen, ad ipsum pontificem (Orig.).[1]

II. Barberini Library, now Vatican Library :

922 : Theolog. disputationes in materiam de gratia, visione Dei et eius scientia auctore D. Hippolyto Burghesio abbate Olivetano.

938 : Tractatus de amore cultuque reginae coeli per fr. Ioannem Carmelit. discalc. Calaguritanum ad S. D. N. Paulum V.

939 : Enchiridion de divinae gratiae auxiliis et lib. arbitrii viribus a fr. Lelio Balleoneo de Florentia ord. servor. in almo Pisar. gymnasio profess.

941 : De praedestinatione et reprobatione by Aloysius Albertus Patavinus, Eremit.

976 : De immac. conceptione Mariae a Petro Thoma Pitealis Carmelit.

987 : Barnabae Riccoboni Rhodigini, abbatis Olivetani " Liberum arbitrium ".

999 : Considerat. on the decretum Pauli V de immac. concept.

1001 : Tractatus de modo quo auxiliis div. gratiae ad bonum supernaturale movetur humana voluntas, Rutilii Benzonii Romani episc. Lauret. ac Recanat, ad Paulum V.

1699 : Brevis tractatus de iustitia Romana Romanorumque pontif. et praecipue Pauli V eius promotoris atque cultoris auctore Leonardo Novello Reatino.

2106 : La pastorale di M. Gualterio vesc. di Borgo S. Sepolcro scritta a se stesso 6 Dec. 1615.

3077 : Dom. card. Pinellus : (1) Causae, casus et tempora in quibus S. Pontifices processerunt contra imperatores, reges, principes, pp. 1–8 ; (2) De iure Rom. pontif. in reges Gallor., pp. 12–27.

3266 : Ad S. D. N. Paulum V Magnus Perneus Anagninus theologus : opusculum de Christi potestate in temporalibus.

3267 : Magnus Perneus : de potestate papali.

3282–3289 : Magnus Perneus : de gloria Pauli V ex iis quae supra ipsum sunt et ex iis quae in ipso sunt ad extra.

[1] Borghese, IV, 119 : **Bessarionis patr. Const. Ep. Tuscul*, etc. De ea parte evangelii Joannis ubi dicitur : sic eum volo manere donec veniam, quid ad te ? (At the head is the dedication : *Scipioni Burghesio card. ampl. Petrus Arcudius.*) On a writing of Trojano Boccalini (d. 1613) dedicated to Cardinal Borghese, see *Archiv. f. neuere Sprachen*, CIII (1899), 120.

3863 : Sonetti spirituali sopra gli Evangeli dedicati dall'autore Rotilio Gracco a Paolo V.

4056, pp. 76–81 : Panegirico di Paolo V scritto in ottava rima da Lelio Guidiccioni (Orig., differs somewhat from printed text).

4781 : Il Maomettano di Giov. Batt. Gigli alla S. di N. S. Paolo V, 1613.

5042 : Capito Roberto Ellyatta, gentilhuomo inglese, Descriz. del regno di Tunisi (1615).

5366, pp. 1–13 : Del combatter contra il Turco.

Vat. 5451 : Marci Ant.[1] Neapolit, episcopi Montis Marani Tractatus contra impedientes litteras apostolicas sive discursus super Placet sive Exequatur principum temporal. ad Paulum V.

Vat. 5459 : Giov. Batt. della Rosa (canonico di Palermo), Discorso con molti ragioni, atti et scritture date alla Stà di N. S. Paolo V per la giurisditione della Sede Apost. nelli canonicati della Metropolitana di detta città.

Vat. 5554 : Barnabae Riccoboni Rhodigini abb. Olivetani "Liberum arbitrium" sive hominis liberae facultatis dilucidatio (Praef. ad Paulum V).

Vat. 5703 : Fr. Thomae de Lemos Hispani (ord. Praed.). Quaestio qua certitudine tenendum sit hunc vel illum electum Rom. Pontificem esse verum ac legit. pontificem Petri success. et Christi Domini vicarium in terris ad Paulum V.

Vat. 6369–6372 : Iohannis Roa Davila (ord. Can. reg. s. August.) Controversiae auxiliorum Dei resolutio catholica et media depulsis extremis ad Paulum V, 4 voll.

Ottob. 2424 I, pp. 510–514 : Ad sanct. D. Paulum V de rebus ab eo praeclare gestis et aliis deinceps B. Virg. praesidio feliciter gerendis paraenetica gratulatio. Ex Ms. Iuvenalis Ancinae Saluciar. episc. collecta et praesenti tempori accommodata (a poem which begins thus : Paule pater pastorque gregis vere optime salve).

Ottob. 2341 : Decretorum Congregationis sacrorum Rituum liber secundus a Io. Paulo Mucantio presbytero Romano I. U. D. sacrarum caerimoniarum magistro et eiusdem Congregationis secre ario compilatus, in quo continentur omina decreta in eadem sacra Congregatione expedita, et subscripta ab antiquiore cardinali in eadem Congregatione praefecto.

[1] M. A. Genovesi.

A die X mensis Iunii 1602, quo tempore idem Io. Paulus secretarii munus subire coepit, usque ad totum et integrum annum 1610 cum postillis in margine et indice causarum omnium expeditarum in principio et repertorio omnium et singularum rerum et materiarum, quae in eo continentur, in fine voluminis, ordine alphabetico ab eoden auctore compilatis et conscriptis, ut facilius omnia, quae in hoc volumine continentur, reperiri valeant.

Urb. 551 : Barnabae Riccoboni Rhodigini (abbatis Olivet.) de libero arbitrio ad Paulum V.

III. Bibl. Angelica :

Cod., S. 6, 6, pp. 141–143 : Disticha et anagrammata ad Paulum V.

Cod., V. 2, 12 : Alphabetum f. Felicis Milensis de nonnullis Teutoniae Sarmatiaeque citerioris monachis et monasteriis ordinis S. Augustini ad Paulum PP. V. (Differs from the text printed at Prague in 1614.)

IV. : The Bibl. Borghese sold in 1891 contained the foll. MSS. : Oratio de Christi passione habita a P. Francisco Herrera Soc. Jesu in sacello Pontificio ad Paulum V. Pont Opt. Max. Anno 1611. (Original copy.)

Also two very rare publications in the same library :—

1. S. D. N. Paulo V Pont. Opt. Max. D. Francisci Suriani in basilica Vaticana musicae praefecti missarum liber primus Romae apud Joh. Bapt. Robblettum a 1609. (The front page, a copperplate by Philippe Thomasin, shows Paul V. seated on the throne and receiving the book from the hands of the kneeling composer.)

2. C. Curtii Mancini Romani sanctae domus Lauretanae capellae magistri liber primus Motectorum, quae partim quatuor vocibus, partim quinis, partim senis et septenis, denique octonis concinantur, cum basso ad organum. S. D. N. PP. Paulo V dicatus. Romae apud Barthol. Lanettum, 1608. (Fétis did not know of this publication.)

V. Rimini. Bibl. Gambalunga (Communale) :

D. IV : (1) Paolo Dinaoro, Discorso per condurre la pace in Italia ; (2) G. B. Avogadri, Relazione dei moti della Valtellina a Paolo V ; (3) Martino Dabranio (capitano illirico), Discorso per la guerra contro i Turchi a Paolo V.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXV.

Abbas I. The Great (Shah of Persia), 363, 366 *seq.*
Accoramboni, Ottavio (bishop of Fossombrone), 224 n., 314 *seq.*
Acquapendente (preacher), 130.
Adam, the monk (Chaldean envoy in Rome), 374 *seqq.*
Aelst, Nic. van, 12 n.
Agathangelus of Vendôme (Capuchin), 279.
Aguacchio (Cardinal), 5–28.
Aguggiari, Giambattista (preacher), 279.
Akbar, The Great Mogul, 362.
Alaleone, Paolo (master of ceremonies), 79.
Albert (archduke, governor of the Netherlands), 261 n., 396, 405 *seq.*, 408, 411, 414.
Albert, St. (bishop of Liège), 261.
Aldobrandini [Passeri], Cinzio, Cardinal, 5, 10, 14, 54, 61 *seq.*, 333 n.
Aldobrandini, Giacomo (nuncio), 312 n.
Aldobrandini, Ippolito, 58.
Aldobrandini, Olimpia, 70.
Aldobrandini, Pietro, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7, 12–25, 29–37, 56, 62, 218, 221, 302 n., 320, 343.
Aldobrandini, Silvestro, Cardinal, 5, 33.
Alemanni, Niccolò (secretary), 60 n., 101.
Alexander VI., Pope, 334.
Algardi, Francesco (sculptor), 23, 27, 331.
Aliaga, Luis de (O.P., confessor to Philip III.), 25 n.
Alidosi (Florentine envoy), 309.
Alincourt, Charles d' (French envoy in Rome), 157 n., 159, 175, 388 *seq.*, 396.
Allacci, L. (scriptor at the Vaticana), 48 n.
Altamiro, *see* Torres.
Altovito, Ant. (archbishop of Florence), 19, 339 n.
Alvares, Diego (O.P.), 250.
Alvarus II. (ruler of the Congo), 368 *seq.*
Alvarus III. (ruler of the Congo), 370.
Amandeus IX. (duke of Savoy), 264.
Ancina, Giovenale, Bl. (bishop of Saluzzo), 326.
Andrea de S. Maria (O.F.M., bishop of Cochin), 357 n.
Angelico of Tudela (Capuchin), 279.
Anna Maria (daughter of Philip III.), 418.
Ansidei, Baldassare (archivist), 101.
Aquapendente (scientist), 130.
Aquaviva, Claudius (general of the Jesuits), 138, 174, 243, 248–252, 282 *seqq.*, 384.
Aquaviva, Ottavio (archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 5, 6, 15, 33–4.
Aquino, Ladislao d' (bishop of Venafro), Cardinal, 337, 423–434.
Aretino, Pietro (poet), 113.
Argenti, Matteo (secretary), 60.
Arigoni, Pompeo, Cardinal, 2, 5, 7, 15, 48 n., 54, 60, 229, 240, 244 *seq.*, 302 n., 331.
Arsengo, Hieronymus (bishop of Bacau), 379 n.

Astalli, Flaminia, *see* Borghese.
Augustine, St., 233 *seqq.*, 290.
Avellino, Andrea (Theatine), 265, 272.
Averroes, 112.
Avila, Guzman de, Cardinal, 5, 10, 11, 16, 17, 32, 33, 302 n. 318 n., 332.
Aytona, Marquis de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 162, 311 n., 316, 388, 396.
Azpilcueta [Dr. Navarro] (Spanish theologian), 249 n.

BALDESTEIN, *see* Rink.
Bandini, Abate, 22 n.
Bandini, Giov. Batt., Cardinal, 5, 14, 30, 94, 287.
Bañes, Domingo (O.P)., 238, 246.
Bajus, 242.
Barberini, Maffeo (Nuncio, later Urban VIII.). 80 n., 85, 188, 219 *seqq.*, 241 *seq.*, 322, 388 n., 391, 396, 411, 414.
Barclay, John, 48 n., 152.
Baronius, Cesare, Cardinal, 1–17, 31–6, 47 n., 48 n., 147, 226, 229, 243, 302 n., 313, 323–7.
Bascapé, Carolus (bishop of Novara), 259.
Bastida, Fernando de la (S.J.), 230, 32–5.
Bastoni, Guglielmo (nuncio), 312 n.
Baylon, Pascal, St., 261.
Becanus, S.J., 282.
Bedell, William (chaplain to the English envoy in Venice), 131, 197 *seq.*, 203, 208.
Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal, 2, 3, 5, 32, 34 *seq.*, 69, 147, 153, 172, 218 *seq.*, 223, 229 *seq.*, 233, 238, 243–7, 257, 259, 262, 266, 280, 282, 293, 296, 299, 302 n., 323, 326 *seqq.*, 357, 376.
Bellay, Eustache du (bishop of Paris), 214, n.
Bellintani, Mattia (Capuchin), 280.
Belmosto, Ottavio, Cardinal, 337.
Beltramini, Giovanni (archbishop of Salerno), 222 n., 255 n.
Beltram, Bertrand St., 261.
Benedetto d'Urbino, 279.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 275.
Benedict XV., Pope, 100 n.
Bentivoglio, Guido, Cardinal, 339–343, 443.
Berg, Rapedius von (author), 114.
Bernerio, Girolamo, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7, 16, 244 *seqq.*, 302 n., 333 n.
Bernini, Pietro (architect and sculptor), 27, 44, 63, 268 n.
Berti, Orsino (bishop of Trieste), 422 n.
Béthune, Philippe de (French envoy in Rome), 1, 11, 388.
Bevilacqua, Bonifacio, Cardinal, 5, 31, 34.
Bianchetti, Lorenzo, Cardinal 1, 5, 7, 31, 244 *seq.*
Biard (S.J., missionary), 383.
Bichi, Metello (archbishop of Siena), Cardinal, 222, 333.
Biondi (secretary to the Venetian ambassador in Paris), 197 *seq.*, 205.
Biondi, Fabio (majordomo to Paul V.), 54.
Bizzi, Marino (archbishop of Antivari), 380.
Blandrata, Francesco, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7, 14, 29–31, 33, 36, 318 n.
Blarer, Jakob Christoph (bishop of Basle), 432.
Bonsi, Giambattista (bishop of Béziers), Cardinal, 333, 334 n.
Borghese, Family of the, 39 *seq.*, 64–72, 390.
Borghese, Austino (envoy), 39.

Borghese, Camillo, Cardinal (later, Paul V., q.v.), 1, 5, 36 *seqq.*, 331.
Borghese [Astalli], Flaminia (mother of Paul V.), 40.
Borghese, Francesco (brother to Paul V.), 40, 64, 68, 331.
Borghese, Galgano (envoy), 39.
Borghese, Giov. Batt. (brother to Paul V.), 40, 55, 64, *seqq.*, 79, 98, 319 n.
Borghese, Giov. Batt. (brother to Scipione Borghese), 66.
Borghese, Marcantonio (father of Paul V.), 40.
Borghese, Marcantonio (Prince of Sulmona, nephew to Paul V.), 64, 67 *seqq.*
Borghese, Niccolò (biographer of St. Catherine of Siena), 40.
Borghese, Orazio (brother to Paul V.), 40 *seq.*
Borghese, Paolo (nephew to Paul V.), 70.
Borghese, Pietro (senator of Rome), 39.
Borghese [Caffarelli], Scipione (nephew to Paul V.), Cardinal, 55–63, 68 *seqq.*, 82, 98, 169, 188, 192, 195, 317, 331, 365, 395, 400, 409 *seqq.*
Borgia, Francis, St. (general of the Jesuits), 264.
Borgia, Gaspar, Cardinal, 334.
Borromeo, Charles, St., 73, 118, 221, 228, 258–260.
Borromeo, Frederick (archbishop of Milan), 5, 14, 16, 21, 302 n., 326 *seq.*
Botero, Giovanni, 73 *seqq.*, 78, 102 *seq.*, 381.
Bourbon, House of, 391, 417.
Boverius, Zacharias (Capuchin), 305 n.
Bovio (Carmelite, bishop of Molfetta), 236–241.
Bradley James (astronomer), 289–294.
Brandenburg (Elector of), 399, 400 *seq.*, 407, 412.
Brandolino (abbot of Nervesa), 118.
Brèves, Savary de (French envoy in Rome), 376, 396, 402 *seq.*, 408–412.
Bruno, Giordano, 113.
Bruslart (French envoy in Venice), 132, 208 n.
Bufalo de' Cancellieri (bishop of Camerino), Cardinal, 5, 244, 302 n., 333.
Bus, César de, 277.
Bzovius, Abraham (historian), 323, 373.

CABRERA, 416.
Caccini, Tommaso (O.P.), 291 *seq.*
Caetani, Antonio (archbishop of Capua), Cardinal, 313.
Caetani, Bonifazio, Cardinal, 58, 83, 97, 147, 319, 321.
Caffarelli, Family of the, 32.
Caffarelli, Fransesco (father of Card. Scipione Borghese), 66.
Caffarelli, Scipione, Cardinal, *see* Borghese.
Calabita, Giovanni St., 273.
Calasanctius, Joseph, St., 276, 332.
Calcagnini (protonotary), 298.
Calvin, John, 197, 235, 237 *seqq.*, 246 *seq.*
Camerino, Cardinal, 302 n.
Camillus of Lellis, 274 *seq.*
Campori, Pietro (majordomo to Scipione Borghese), 321 n., 337.
Canaye, Philippe, *see* Fresne.
Capelli, Resta, 232.
Capello, Marcantonio (O.F.M.), 145, 205.
Capponi, Luigi, Cardinal, 24, 54, 85 n., 97, 104, 221 n., 331 *seq.*
Carafa, Decio (archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 222, 264, 313, 333.

Caravaggio [Amerighi], Michelangelo (painter), 44 n.
Cardenas, Iñigo de (Spanish envoy in Venice), 159, 171, 175.
Carlos, Don (son of Philip III.), 391 *seq.*, 404.
Carracciolo, Fabr. (bishop of Tropea), Cardinal, 222.
Carretto, Giulio del (bishop of Casale), 259.
Casale, Giacinto da (Capuchin), 267, 280.
Casaubonus, Isaac (Huguenot), 149 n., 326.
Cassandra, Agostino (O.F.M., bishop of Gravina), 279.
Cassian, 234.
Cassianus of Nantes, 279.
Castagna, Giambattista, Cardinal, 320.
Castellani, Alberto (O.P.), 226.
Castelli (O.S.B., astronomer), 290, 292, 294.
Castiglione, 156 n., 172.
Castro, *see* Lerma.
Catherine of Siena, St., 40.
Cenci, Family of the, 81.
Cennini, Francesco (bishop of Amelia, nuncio), 314 n., 339 *seq.*
Centini, Felice (bishop of Macerata), Cardinal, 222, 334.
Centurione, Francesco, Mgr., 97, 103 n.
Cepari, Virgil (S.J.), 266.
Cerqueira, Luis (bishop of Funai), 350 *seq.* n.
Cervini, Cardinal, 212.
Cesi, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 5, 31, 34, 48.
Cesi, Federigo (Founder of the *Accademia dei Lincei*), 287.
Champney, 106, 207.
Charles (governor of Low Countries), 392.
Charles V. (emperor), 312 n.
Charles Emmanuel I. (Duke of Savoy), 156 *seq.*, 172, 310, 326, 389, 419, 420 *seqq.*, 423.
Christian II. of Anhalt, 198 *seq.*, 405.
Christina (daughter of Henry IV.), 391 *seq.*, 404.
Cicatelli, Sanzio (disciple of St. Camillus of Lellis), 275.
Cicero, 161.
Cima, Pietro Giacomo (Maestro di camera to Leo XI.), 24 n.
Cirocchi, 57 n.
Claver, Peter, St., 285 *seq.*
Clavius, Christopher (astronomer), 282, 287 *seq.*, 291 n., 298.
Clement VII., Pope, 43 n., 312 n.
Clement VIII., Pope, 2, 4, 6, 9, 20, 23, 41, 78, 103, 107, 108 n., 115, 120, 123 *seqq.*, 218, 223 *seqq.*, 229–234, 257 *seq.*, 262–5–7–9, 283 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*
Clement XI., Pope, 2, 43 n.
Cleve (Duke of), see John William.
Cobelluzzi Scipione, Cardinal, 47 n., 337.
Cocks, Richard, 352.
Coeuvres, de (French ambassador), 79, 338 *seq.*
Colombe, Lodovies delle, 290.
Colonna, Ascanio, Cardinal, 4, 10, 13, 137 *n.*, 302 *n.*
Colonna, Pier Francesco (duke of Zagarolo), 62.
Condé (Prince of), 404 *seqq.*, 411 *seq.*
Condé (Princess of), 404, 413.
Contarini, Simone (Venetian envoy), 126 n., 184, 348.
Contarini, Andrea (Venetian general), 112, 188, 194, 206, 325.
Conti, Carlo (bishop of Ancona), Cardinal, 4 n., 5, 294.
Copernicus, Nicholas (astronomer), 285–301.
Cordieri, Niccolò (sculptor), 44 n.

Corsini, Andrew, St., 264.
Costaguti, Giov. Batt. (majordomo to Paul V.), 50, 93, 102.
Coton, Pierre (S.J.), 157 n., 391.
Creil, 241.
Cremonini, Cesare, 113, 302 *seq.*
Crescenzi, Pietro Paolo, Cardinal, 333.
Cusa, Nicholas of, 298.
Cysat, Renward, 430.

Delfino, Giovanni (bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 5, 31, 47, 126.
Deti, Giambattista, Cardinal, 5, 343.
Dietrichstein, Franz von (bishop of Olmütz), Cardinal, 4, 13, 16, 32, 265.
Diodati, 198 *seqq.*, 206.
Diotallevi, Francesco (auditor), 318.
Dohna, Achatius von, 199.
Dohna, Christoph von, 199 *seq.*, 204, 310 *n.*
Dolfin, Giov. (Venetian ambassador), 22.
Dominis, Marcantonio de (archbishop of Spalato), 211 *seq.*, 303 *seqq.*
Donato, Lunardo (Venetian ambassador, Doge), 121 *seq.*, 136 n., 209.
Doria, Giovanni (bishop of Palermo), Cardinal, 5, 13, 16, 222.
Draskowich, 214 n.
Djehangir (son of Akbar), 362.
Dubois, Jean (Abbé), 306 n.
Duodo, Pietro (Venetian ambassador), 122 *seqq.*
Du Perron, Jacques Davy (bishop of Evreux), Cardinal, 1, 5, 15, 25, 48, 161, 163, 174, 187, 190, 230, 233, 240, 243–7.
Du Plessis Mornay, Philippe, 198 *seq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 411.
Duval, 241.

Elias (Nestorian patriarch), 373.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 153.
Epernon, Duc d', 406.
Escalona, Juan Fernandez Pacheco, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 4, 33, 158, 388, 390.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 5, 31, 33 *seq.*
Eugenius IV., Pope, 257, 264.
Eusebius of Liechtenstein (Prince), 274.
Eutyches (heresiarch), 372.
Evangelista da Bologna, Fra (Observant). 308.

Faà, Camilla (wife of Ferd, Gonzaga), 336.
Fabri Giovanni, 301 n.
Facchinetti, Cesare, Cardinal, 5, 6, 318 n.
Farinacci (auditor), 81.
Farnese, Family of the, 67.
Farnese, Odoardo, Cardinal, 5, 13, 15, 32 *seq.*, 36, 339.
Farnese, Ranuccio (Duke of Parma), 226 n.
Febronius, 152.
Feliciani, Porfirio (bishop, Papal secretary), 60 n., 4.
Ferdinand II. (archduke of Styria), Emperor, 105, 422 *seq.*
Ferdinand (Infant of Spain), Cardinal, 338.
Feria, Duke of (governor of Milan), 440.
Fernandez (Jesuit), 359.
Ferrata, Ercole (architect and sculptor), 27.
Ferratino, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 321.
Ferreri, Giov. Stefano (bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 166.
Fidele, Roberto, 79 n.
Fidelis of Sigmaringen, St., 279.
Filiis, Angelo de, 301 n.

Filonardi, Filippo (bishop of Aquino), Cardinal, 333.
Filonardi, Paolo Emilio (nuncio), 312 n.
Florence, Duke of, 157.
Flugi, Andreas, 439.
Flugi-Aspermont, Johann V. (bishop of Chur), 437 *seqq.*, 440.
Fontana, Giov. (architect), 12 n., 96.
Foresto, Giulio Cesare (Mantuan envoy), 14.
Forgács, Franc. (archbishop of Gran), Cardinal, 329.
Fornari, Maria Vittoria (Foundress of the Annunciades), 273.
Foscarari, 214 n.
Foscarini, Antonio (Venetian envoy in Paris), 190, 208.
Foscarini, Paolo Antonio (Carmelite), 216, 291, 293, 297.
Francesca Romana, St., 257.
Francis of Sales, St., 240, 242 *seq.*, 252, 272.
Francis of Seville (Capuchin), 279.
Francis Xavier, St., 263, 354.
Francis of Assisi, St., 278.
Fraschetta, Girolamo, 42.
Frederick V., King of Bohemia, 440.
Fresne, Philippe Canaye du, 153, 158, 160, 164, 167 *seq.*, 171, 176, 178.
Fuentes, Count de (governor of Milan), 162, 174, 419.
Fugger von Kirchberg-Weissenhorn, Jacob (bishop of Constance), 435 *seq.*
Fulgenzio, *see* Micanzio.

Galamina, Agostino (O.P., bishop of Loreto), Cardinal, 222, 334.
Galilei, Galileo, 130, 285–302.
Galli, Antonio M., Cardinal, 5, 7, 29, 31, 65.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal, 1, 45, 323 n.
Geber (astronomer), 298 n.
Gentile, Adeodato (nuncio), 312 n.
Gherardi Cesare, Cardinal, 339.
Germonio, Anastasio, 240 *seq.* n.
Gerson, Jean, 145.
Gessi, Berlingherio (bishop of Rimini, nuncio), 184–9, 197, 201, 207, 304.
Gesualdo, Filippo (bishop of Cariati), 210 n.
Ginnasio, Domenico (archbishop of Siponto), Cardinal, 4, 14, 29, 31, 274.
Giovanni Taddeo di S. Eliseo (Carmelite), 364.
Giustiniani, Andrea (O.P.), 374.
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 5, 14, 30, 85, 221.
Givry [Anne d'Escars], Cardinal, 1, 5, 224 *seq.*, 302 n.
Gondi, Pietro (bishop of Paris), Cardinal, 4, 337.
Gonzaga, Family of the, 265.
Gonzaga, Aloysius, 265 *seqq.*
Gonzaga, Charles (Duke of Nevers), 397, 421.
Gonzaga, Ferdinando (Cardinal), 266, 329, 336, 420, 422 n.
Gonzaga, Ferrante (Prince of Bozzolo), 336.
Gonzaga, Francesco IV. (Duke of Mantua), 68, 156 *seq.*, 203 n., 420.
Gonzaga, Giovanni Francesco II. (Duke of Mantua), 420 *seq.*
Gonzaga Isabella, 336.
Gonzaga Juliana Caterina (widow of archduke Ferdinand), 273.
Gonzaga, Luigi (Duke of Nevers), Cardinal, 397.
Gonzaga, Margherita (Duchess of Ferrara), 266 n.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 336.
Gozzolini, Silvestro, Bl. (Founder of the Silvestrines), 261.
Gravita, Pietro (S.J.), 267.

Graziani, Antonio Maria (nuncio), 124, n.; 185, n.
Gregory of Valencio, 219.
Gregory VII., Pope, 255 n.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 5, 9, 19, 20, 94, 107, 225 *seq.*, 255 n., 271, 300, 369.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 5, 14, 226, 274, 320.
Gregory XV., Pope, 76 n., 180, 263, 315 n.
Gretser, Jacob (S.J.), 146, 151, 282.
Grienberger (astronomer), 291 n.
Grimani, Marino (Doge of Venice), 121.
Guarinoni (pilgrim to Rome), 80.
Guasto, Andrea del (O.S.A. hermit), 273.
Guerrero, Bartol. Lobo (archbishop of Lima), 382.
Guevara, Fernando de, Cardinal, 4, 13, 333 n.
Guise, Louis, Cardinal, 335.
Gussoni, Vincenzo (Venetian envoy), 310.

HABSBURGS, The, House of, 391, 400, 402, 417.
Hasekura Rokuyēmon, 346 *seq.*, 349 n. *seq.*
Henry IV. (King of France), 1 *seq.*, 21, 31, 38, 157 *seq.*, 160–1–4–8, 170 *seq.*, 188, 195, 207–9, 272, 316, 320, 326, 377 *seq.*, 389–407, 411–415, 419.
Hernando de S. José (O.S.A.), 352.
Heyden, Jakob ab (engraver), 45 n.
Hidetada (Japanese governor), 351.
Hohenzollern, Eitel Friedrich, Cardinal, 339.
Horky (Bolognese student), 287.
Hülsen, F. van (engraver), 45 n.
Hus, John, 151.

IGNATIUS of Loyola, St., 262, 284.
Innocent III., Pope, 94.
Innocent IX., Pope, 5.
Innocent XI., Pope, 253.
Isabella (daughter of Henry IV.), 418.
Isabella, wife of Philip III., 312 n.
Isidore, St., 261.

JAMES, St., 13.
James I. (King of England), 152 *seq.*, 154 n., 164, 199, 205, 304 *seq.*, 328.
Jejasu (Japanese governor), *see* Tjegasu.
Jode, Peter de (engraver), 45 n.
John of Angers (Capuchin), 279.
John Baptist of Avranches (Capuchin), 279.
John of God, St., 273.
John of Jesus and Mary O.D.C., 275.
John Baptist of the Conception, 273.
John George (Duke of Jülich-Cleve-Berg), 399.
John Sigismund (Elector of Brandenburg), 399 *seq.*, 400 *seq.*, 407, 412.
John William (Duke of Jülich-Cleve-Berg), 399 *seqq.*
John of St. Martha (O.F.M.), 352.
Joseph Calasanctius, St., *see* Calasanctius.
Joseph of Leonissa (Capuchin), 276.
Jost, Hildebrand II. (bishop of Sion), 435.
Jovius, Paul (the younger), 214 n.
Joyeuse, François de, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7, 12, 15 *seq.*, 18, 25, 167–179, 195, 260 n., 389.
Julius II., Pope, 185.

KEPLER, John (astronomer), 287, 289, 297 *seq.*

Klebelsberg, Count, 341.
Klesl, Melchior (bishop of Vienna), Cardinal, 337.
Kostka Stanislaus St., 267 n.

LADERCHI, G. B., 30 n.
Laerzio (Jesuit provincial), 359.
Lancellotti, Orazio, Cardinal, 333.
Lante, Family of the, 66.
Lante, Marcello (bishop of Todi), Cardinal, 222, 319,
Lante, Virginia, *see* Borghese.
Laurence of Brindisi (Capuchin), 279, 281.
Lavalette, *see* Nogaret.
Layman, (S.J.), 282.
Le Blanc, *see* Serry.
Le Bossu, 241.
Le Caron (Jesuit missionary), 384.
Lemos, Thomas de (O.P.), 229 *seq.*, 233.
Lenck, Johann Baptist, 205, 210 n.
Leni Giambattista, Cardinal, 330 *seqq.*
Leo X., Pope, 18, 39.
Leo XI., Pope, 17–29, 43, 104, 224.
Leo XIII., Pope, 101 n., 261 n.,
Leopold II (Emperor), 400.
Leopold, Archduke (bishop of Passau and Strasburg), 400, 407, 412, 438.
Lerma, Francisco de Castro (Duke), Cardinal, 156, 160, 163 *seq.*, 171, 174 *seqq.*, 315 *seq.*, 329, 337, 393, 408, 410, 417 n., 441.
Lessius, Leonard (S.J.), 250 *seqq.*, 282.
Le Veneur, Gabriel (bishop of Evreux), 215 n.
Levetzow, Ulrich von, 341.
Lindanus, William, 326.
Lipsius, Justus, 326.
Longobardus, Nicholas (S.J.), 356.
Lorinus (O.P.), 291.
Lorrain, Claude (painter), 341.
Lorraine, Charles of [Vaudemont], Cardinal, 4.
Lubieniecki, Valerian (bishop of Bacau), 379 n.
Ludovisi, Alessandro, Cardinal, 221, 337, 422.
Louis, St. (King of France), 255 n.
Louis XIII. (King of France), 335, 416 *seqq.*
Louis of Catania, 214 n.
Lunellus (orator at the Council of Trent), 214 n.
Luther, Martin, 151, 246, 290, 297.

MACHADO Y TAVORA, Joh. Bapt. (S.J.), 352.
Maciejowski, Bernhard (archbishop of Gnesen), Cardinal, 4.
Maderno, Carlo (architect), 12 n.
Madruzzo, Lodovico (bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 5, 13, 16, 28, 35.
Maffei, Orazio, Cardinal, 319 *seq.*, 333 n.
Maggi, Gian Paolo (architect), 12 n.
Malacrida, Martino (secretary of state), 60.
Manfredi, Fulgenzio (O.F.M.), 153, 169, 206.
Malvasia, 90, 106 *seqq.*
Mantica, Fr., Cardinal, 5, 7.
Maraldi, Aurelio, 54 n.
Margotti, Lanfranco, Cardinal, 60, 331 *seq.*, 334, 409, 411.
Maria of Savoy (grand-daughter of Charles Emanuel), 420 *seq.*
Marinarius (orator at the Council of Trent), 214 n.
Marini, Giov. Battista, 18.
Marsarelli, 212.
Marsiglio, Giovanni (ex-Jesuit), 145, 148, 189.
Marsilius of Padua, 151.

Marzato da Sorento, Anselmo, Cardinal [Monopoli], 5, 10, 31 *seq.*, 240, 244 n., 277, 302 n., 323 n.
Masamune, Date, Prince of Osiu (Japan), 345–350.
Massarelli, 212.
Massé (Jesuit missionary), 383.
Massimis, Innocenzo de' (envoy to Milan and Turin), 421.
Mattei, Offredo (nuncio), 154.
Mattei Orazio (nuncio), 120 *seqq.*, 154.
Maurice of Savoy, Cardinal, 264, 329.
Maximilian I. (Duke of Bavaria), 400, 402, 408.
Medici, Family of the, 18.
Medici, Alessandro de', Cardinal (Pope Leo XI.), 1 *seq.* 5, 7 *seq.*, 15–29.
Medici, Carlo de', 332 n., 335.
Medici, Cosimo II. de' (grand-duke of Tuscany), 19, 22.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal, 20.
Medici [Salviati], Francesca de' (mother of Leo XI.), 18.
Medici, Francesco de', 332 n.
Medici, Maria de' (Queen of France), 405, 417.
Medici, Ottaviano de' (nephew of Leo XI.), 26.
Medici, Ottavio de' (father of Leo XI.), 18.
Melanchton, Philip, 297.
Melchior of Orihuela (Capuchin), 279.
Melchisedech (patriarch of Armenia), 372 *seq.*
Memmoli, Decio (secretary to Card. Millini), 320 n.
Menezes, Alexius de (archbishop of Goa), 361 *seq.*
Mennocchio, Giacomo (jurist), 128.
Meruoli Decio, 61 n.
Micanzio, Fulgenzio (Sarpi's amenuensis), 145, 189, 194, 197, 203, 207.
Michelangelo, 221.
Millini, Giangarzia, Cardinal, 54 n., 222, 313, 319 *seqq.*, 330, 332 *seq.*, 340 n., 411.
Mocenigo, Giovanni (Venetian ambassador), 67, 104, 110, 206.
Modena, the Duke of, 85.
Mola, Pier Francesco (painter), 44 n., *seq.* n.
Molina (Jesuit), 230, 242–9.
Monopoli, *see* Marzato.
Montalto [Ales. Peretti], Cardinal, 5–7, 15, 29–37, 41, 54, 339.
Monte Francesco Maria del, Cardinal, 5, 7, 34.
Montecuccoli, Massimiliano, Count, 30 n.
Montelparo, Cardinal, 1, 5–7, 31.
Mornay, *see* Du Plessis.
Moro, Benedetto, 162 n.
Morone, Cardinal, 19, 40.
Mosso, L. (Observant), 137 n.
Mota, Alfonso de la (bishop of Puebla de los Angeles), 382.
Müller, Bernhard (abbot of St. Gall), 431.
Muti, Tiberio (bishop of Viterbo), Cardinal, 222, 335.
Muti, Valeriano (nuncio), 312 n.
Myle, Cornelius van der (envoy) 205.

Nani Agostino (Venetian envoy), 28, 191.
Narni, Girolano da (Capuchin), 280.
Navarrete, Alonso (O.F.), 352.
Nemours, Madame de, 22 n.
Neri, Philip, St., 19, 26, 263, 275.
Nestorius (heresiarch), 372.
Nevers, Duke of, *see* Gonzaga, Carlo and Luigi.
Nicholas V. (Pope), 39, 76, 257.
Newton, Isaac (astronomer), 289, 294.
Nicholas of Flüe, St., 264.

Nigrito, Ant. Emanuel, 368.
Nobili, Roberto (S.J.), 358 *seqq.*
Nogaret de Lavalette, Louis de, Cardinal, 339.
Norcia, Giovanni di (brigand), 80.

Obicini, Tommaso (O.F.M. Guardian in Aleppo), 375.
Olivier, Serafino, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7, 34, 302 n., 333 n.
Ongaro, Mich. (sculptor), 335 n.
Oresme, Nicholas, 298.
Orlandino, Nicholas, S.J., 282.
Orivelli, Giulio Cesari, 408.
Orsini, Alessandro, Cardinal, 295, 335.
Orsini, Camilla (wife of Marcantonio Borghese), 68.
Osiander, Luke, 297.
Ossat, Arnaud d', Cardinal, 21.
Ossuna (Viceroy of Naples), 70, 93.

Pacheco, Cardinal, 19.
Padavino, Giov. Batt., 202 n., 439.
Paez, Pedro (S.J., apostle of Ethiopia), 370 *seq.*
Paganelli, Domenico (O.P.), 84 n.
Palestrina, Iginio (musician), 228 n.
Pallotta, Giov. Ev., Cardinal, 5, 7, 8 n.
Palmegiani, Tommaso (secretary to the nuncio Mattei), 124, 128, 152.
Pamfili, Girolamo, Cardinal, 5, 7, 54, 218, 222, 229, 302 n., 333 n.
Paniaqua, Gabriello Trejo, Cardinal, 335.
Paolo of Cesena (Capuchin), 195, 281, 419 n.
Paravicini, Ottavio (bishop of Alessandria), Cardinal, 5, 14, 333 n.
Paruta, Paolo (Venetian ambassador), 42.
Passe, Crispin de (engraver), 45.
Patrizi, Mgr. (Papal treasurer), 104.
Paul III., Pope, 107.
Paul IV., Pope, 40, 107.
Paul V., Pope, Vol. xxv.
Paulis, Silvio de (archivist), 100.
Pázmány, Peter (S.J., archbp. of Gran), Cardinal, 266 n., 298.
Pazzi, Mary Magdalen de', St., 265.
Pellegrini (jurist), 128, 145.
Peña, Francisco (canonist), 257, 316 n.
Pelagius, 246.
Peralta, Alfonso de (bishop of La Plata), 382.
Peretti, *see* Montalto.
Peretti, Andrea Baroni, Cardinal, 5.
Peroni, Giuseppe (sculptor), 27.
Perugini, Giov. Batt. (secretary), 61 n.
Petavius, Dionysius, 326.
Petrocha Gregorio, 348.
Peter of the Ascension (O.F.M.), 352.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 41, 283.
Philip III. (King of Spain), 2, 16, 68, 158 *seq.*, 161, 251–261, 281, 311 *seqq.*, 315, 322, 329, 345, 349, 362, 384, 388, 390 *seq.*, 396, 398, 411, 418, 421, 442.
Philip (son of Philip III.), 418.
Philip Louis (Count-palatine of Neuburg), 399 *seqq.*, 407, 412.
Piatti Flaminio, Cardinal, 5–7, 32, 97.
Piccinardi (author), 78 *seq.*
Piccolomini, Gioacchino (Servite), 261.
Pierbenedetti, Mariano, Cardinal, 5, 7, 14, 31 *seq.*, 94, 333 n.

Pietro, Roberto (Papal treasurer), 104 n.
Pignatelli, Stefano, 321 n., 339.
Pinaoro, Tarquinio, 4 n., 224 n., 423 n.
Pinelli, Domenico, Cardinal, 5, 7, 14, 191, 242 *seqq.*, 302 n., 333 n.
Pio di Savoia, Carlo Emanuele, Cardinal, 5, 33 *seq.*
Pirkheimer, Charitas, 432.
Pius II., Pope, 39, 246.
Pius IV., Pope, 5, 87, 107, 212, 214 n.
Pius V., Pope, 9, 19, 46, 73, 118, 263.
Planta, Rudolf, 439.
Plinio (conclavist of Card, Montalto), 35.
Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, 24 n.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 130.
Porzio, Gregorio (poet), 60 n.
Possevino, Ant. (S.J.), 282, 326.
Pozzo, Andrea (S.J., architect and painter), 268 n.
Priuli, Matteo, Cardinal, 337.
Priuli, Pietro (Doge, Venetian ambassador in Paris), 197 *seq.*
Provenzale, Marcello (artist), 44 n.
Ptolemy (astronomer), 288, 298 n.

Querengo, Ant., 48 n.
Quirini, Bernardino (bishop of Argesch.), 379 n.
Quirini, Marc Ant. (Venetian senator), 145, 182 *seq.*

Rader, Matthew, 326.
Raimondi (publisher), 228 n.
Raimondi, Giov. Batt. (orientalist), 48 n.
Rainaldi, Girolamo (architect), 95.
Rainaldi, Odorico (annalist), 326.
Rangel (O.F.M., bishop of San Salvador), 368.
Rangoni, Claudio (bishop of Reggio), 318.
Ravaillac, 414.
Recanati, Sebastiano da (sculptor), 44 n.
Recordati, Aurelio, 270 n.
Reni, Guido (painter), 260.
Rescius, Stanislaus (scholar), 326.
Rey (Polish diplomat), 210.
Ribetti (Vicar-general of Venice), 206.
Ricci, Matteo (S.J.), 353–7.
Richelieu (bishop of Luçon), 339,
Richer, Edmond (Syndic of the Sorbonne), 152.
Riedmatter, Adrian von (Bp. of Sitten), 434 *seq.*
Rignano, 81.
Rink von Baldenstein, Wilhelm (bishop of Basle), 432 *seq.*
Rivarola, Domenico (archbishop of Nazaret), Cardinal, 84 n., 332 *seq.*, 412, 414, 417.
Robustelli, Ritter Jakob, 441.
Roccella, della, Prince, 67.
Roche, Eustache de (French envoy), 434.
Rochefoucauld, François de (bishop of Clermont), 329, 403, 411.
Roma, Giulio, Cardinal, 339.
Roz (Jesuit, archbishop of Cranganor), 359, 360 n.
Rua (Spanish theologian), 251 n.
Rubens, Peter Paul, 338 n.
Ruberti, Settimio, 54.
Rucellai, Annibale, 93.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 16, 156, 162, 166, 172, 188, 209, 326, 399, 412.
Rusca, Nic. (arch-priest), 439 *seq.*
Rusticucci, Girolamo, Cardinal, 3, 41.
Ruspoli Alessandro, 54 n.
Ryckius Justus (poet), 369 n.

Sà, Christoph da (archbishop of Goa), 361.
Sadeler, Raphael (engraver), 45 n.
Salazar, Gonzalo de (O.S.A., bishop of Merida), 382.
Sales, Charles Auguste de, 240, n. 4.
Sales, *see* Francis of Sales.
Salinate, Pietro (bishop of Sofia), 380.
Salviati, Ant. M., Cardinal, 3.
Salviati, Francesca, *see* Medici.
Samarino, Francesco (prebendary of the Lateran), 226.
Sanchez, Thomas (S.J.), 282.
Sandoval, Alonso de (S.J.), 385 *seq.*
Sandoval, Baldassare, Cardinal, 47 n., 335.
Sandoval, Bernardo (archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 4, 313.
San Gennaro da Fidele (Capuchin), 267.
Sannesio, Jacopo (bishop of Orvieto), Cardinal, 5, 218.
Sanquirico, Paolo (sculptor), 44 n.
Santori, Giulio Ant., Cardinal, 3, 131, 226 *seq.*
Saraceni (canon of Vicenza), 117.
Sarego, Lodovico di (bishop of Adria), 423, 442.
Sarpi, Paolo (Servite), 69 n., 128–134, 139, 144–154, 172, 176, 186–216, 282 n., 293, 305, 328, 411.
Sauli, Ant. M. (archbishop of Genoa), Cardinal, 4, 5, 7, 29, 333.
Savelli, Giulio, Cardinal, 335.
Savonarola, 20.
Scaglia, Desiderio (bishop of Melfi), Cardinal, 222, 339 *seq.*
Scaliger, Jul. Cesar (Huguenot), 149.
Scalvati, Ant. (artist), 23 n.
Schopp, Kaspar, 154.
Schmied, Abbot, O.S.B., 431.
Scupoli, Lorenzo, 272.
Seghizzi a Lodi, (commissary of the Inquisition), 296.
Seltan, Segued (Negus of Abyssinia), 370 *seq.*
Serra, Giacomo, Cardinal, 88 n. *seq.*, 91, 93, 104, 333.
Serra, Juan Perez de la (archbishop of Mexico), 382.
Serry, J. H. [Le Blanc], 248.
Servin (royal advocate), 145.
Sfondrato, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 5, 6, 15, 24, 29–34, 302 n.
Sforza, Francesco, Cardinal, 5, 6, 32, 343.
Sherley, Robert, 365, *seq.*, n.
Sigismund III. (King of Poland), 39, 318, 326.
Signorini, Fulvio (sculptor), 44 n.
Silva, Feliciano (bishop), 424 n.
Sirleto, Guglielmo, 326.
Siques David (French gentleman), 199.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 3, 99 *seq.*
Sixtus V., Pope, 36, 41, 88, 91, 100, 185, 225, 274, 283, 334, 374.
Sizzi, Francesco (Florentine noble), 287.
Skarga (S.J.), 282.
Soranzo, G. (Venetian ambassador), 70 n.
Soria, Giov. Batt. (sculptor), 331.
Sotelo, Louis (O.F.M.), 345 *seq.*, 348, 350.
Soto, D. (O.P.), 214 n.
Sourdis, François d'Escoubleau de, Cardinal, 1, 5.
Spinelli, Filippo, Cardinal, 5, 9.
Spinola, Carlo (S.J.), 352.
Spinola Agostino (Cardinal), 339.
Spinola, Orazio (Cardinal), 58, 332, 339.
Spitzlin, Elisabeth (nun), 432.
Stelluti, 301.

Strado, Famiano (S.J.), 342.
Strozzi, Pietro (secretary of Briefs), 24, 374 *seq.*
Stunica, 297.
Suarez, Francesco (theologian), 148, 282.
Sully, Max (Duke de Béthune), 415.
Sulmona, *see* Borghese Marcantonio.

TALPA, Antonio (Oratorian), 222.
Tanner, Adam (S.J.), 148, 282.
Targone, Pompeo (architect), 94 *seqq.*
Tarugi, Ant. Maria, 326.
Tarugi, Franc. Maria, Cardinal, 5, 7, 34 *seq.*, 325.
Tasso, Torquato, 319.
Taverna, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 5, 34, 244 *seq.*
Teresa of Jesus, St., 265.
Tenatsch, George, 439.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 13, 235 *seq.*
Thomas of Bergamo (Capuchin), 279.
Thomas of Jesus (Carmelite), 367.
Thomas a Kempis, 272.
Titian (artist), 112.
Tiberius (emperor), 316.
Tjegasu (Japanese Shogun), 344 *seq.*, 350 *seq.*
Toledo, Francesco de (S.J.), Cardinal, 244 n.
Toledo, Pedro de (Marquis of Villafranca), 393–5 *seq.*
Tonti, Michelangelo, Cardinal, 54 n., 331 *seqq.*
Torre, Giovanni della, 423.
Torres, Lodovico de (archbishop of Monreale), Cardinal, 47 n., 319, 322, 333 n.
Tosco, Domenico, Cardinal, 5, 12, 14, 29–36.
Trauttmansdorff, Max von (Imperial envoy in Rome), 50, n., 109 n.
Trigault, Nicholas (S.J.), 357 *seq.*
Turibio (archbishop of Lima), 382.
Tycho Brahe (astronomer), 289, 297.

UBALDINI, Roberto (nuncio in Paris), 24, 27, 54, 188, 191, 335, 392, 394 *seqq.*, 400 *seq.*, 404, 407, 412 *seqq.*, 417.
Urban II., Pope, 8 *seq.*
Urban VII., Pope, 320.
Urban VIII., Pope, 27, 101, 281, 322, 339 n.
Urbino, Duchess of, 22 n.

VAGNONI, Antonio (S.J.), 356.
Valderrama, Domingo de (bishop of La Paz), 382.
Valenti, Erminio (bishop of Faenza), Cardinal, 5, 54, 56 *seq.*, 218, 222, 338 n.
Valerian (Capuchin), 279.
Valerio, Luca (mathematician), 301.
Valier, Pietro, Cardinal, 302 n., 318 n., 328, 339.
Valiero, Agostino (bishop of Verona), Cardinal, 2, 5, 7, 31, 36, 126, 180.
Van Dyck, Anton (painter), 316, 338, 341, 342 n.
Vanglie (emperor of China), 355.
Vartabied, Zacharias (Armenian envoy), 372 *seq.*
Velasco (governor of Lombardy), 307.
Vasquez, Gabriel (S.J.), 282.
Vendramin, Francesco (patriarch of Venice), 186, 204, 335.
Vendome, Alexander, Duke, envoy of Louis XIII, 418.
Verallo, Fabrizio (bishop of San Severo), Cardinal, 330 *seq.*, 423.
Viggiù, Silla da (architect, sculptor), 44 n.
Vigier (Somaschi), 277.

Viglienna, *see* Escalona, 15.
Viguier, Nicholas (Calvinist), 150.
Villafranca, *see* Toledo.
Villanova, Thomas of (archbishop of Valencia), 260.
Villeroi, François (Duke of Neufville), 156, 180, 392, 395, 401.
Visconti, Alfonso (bishop of Cervia), Cardinal, 5, 15 *seq.*, 30, 33.
Vitelli, Giov. Batt., Cardinal, 100, 326.
Vittori, Family of the, 66.
Vittori, Diana, 66 *seq.*
Vives, Giov. Batt. (Papal envoy), 370.
Volpi, Ulpiano (archbishop of Chieti), 412.
Voltaire, 415 n.
Von Zollern, Cardinal, 339 n., *seq.* n.
Vratanja, Simeon (bishop of Uniate Serbs), 379.
Vulpius, 439.

WATTEVILLE, Johann von (bishop of Lausanne), 434.
Welser, Emeran (S.J.), 430 n.
Weyd, Anton von der (vicar-general of Lausanne), 433.
Wyclif, 151.
Wotton (English envoy in Venice), 131, 153 *seq.*, 196–9, 208, 211.

XAVIER, Jeronimo (General of Dominicans), 322, 329.

ZACCHIA, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 1, 5, 7–14, 28 *seq.*, 31, 318 n.
Zambra, 439.
Zappata, Ant. (archbishop of Burgos), Cardinal, 4, 13.
Zeno, Renier (Venetian envoy), 126 n.
Zierotin, Karl von, 210.
Zorzi, Marino (bishop of Brescia), 115.

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VOL. XXVI.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVI.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii–xii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . .	xiii
Catholic Reform and Restoration in France—Bérulle and his Oratory—The Ursulines and the Visitation—Francis de Sales and Frances de Chantal—Revival of Catholicism in the Spanish Netherlands	1–116
The Position of Catholics in the German Diaspora, in the Republic of the Netherlands, and in Great Britain and Ireland—The Gunpowder Plot and the Oath of Allegiance. Paul V. and James I.'s Plans for a Spanish Marriage	117–217
Russia and Poland—The End of the False Demetrius—Catholic Restoration under Sigismund III, King of Poland—The Union of the Ruthenians . .	218–254
Relations of Paul V. with the Emperors Rudolph II, Matthias and Ferdinand II.—Good Results of the Catholic Restoration in Germany—The Bohemian Revolution and the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War	255–376
Paul V. as a Patron of the Arts—Completion of St. Peter's—The Pauline Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore—The Palace of the Quirinal—Streets and Fountains—The Borghese Palace and Villa—Transformation of the Eternal City	377–460
Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . .	463–497
Index of Names	499–512

For Bibliography, see Volume XXV.

70949

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVI.

CHAPTER I.

CATHOLIC REFORM AND RESTORATION IN FRANCE—BERULLE AND HIS ORATORY—THE URSULINES AND THE VISITATION—FRANCIS DE SALES AND FRANCES DE CHANTAL—REVIVAL OF CATHOLICISM IN THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Interest of Paul V. in Catholic Revival in France	1
	Instruction to Cardinal Barberini, Nuncio	2
	His action thereupon	5
1605	Brief for reform of Clergy	7
1607	Ubaldini succeeds to the French Nunciature	9
	His endeavours for reform	11
1608	Attitude of Henry IV.	12
	Position after his assassination	15
	Attack upon the Jesuits	16
	The designs of the Huguenots	18
	Cardinal Bellarmine attacked by Parliament	19
1611	Libellous pamphlets and books put forth	21
	Richer's advocacy of Gallicanism	23
1612	Cardinal Du Perron's opposition to him	25
	Richer compelled to resign	26
	Further agitation against the Jesuits headed by Servin	27
1614	Unanimous acceptance of decrees of Trent, in spite of	29
	schismatical tendencies of the Third Estate	30
	Opposition to the publication of the decrees	32
1615	Marriage of Louis XIII	34
1616	Benlivoglio succeeds Ubaldini as nuncio	35
	His first difficulties	36
1620	The union of Navarre and Béarn with the French crown	39
	Serious difficulties between France and the Netherlands	40
	The indifference of Henry IV. towards Catholic concerns	41
	The devotion of the nobility and bourgeoisie	42
	Widespread activity for education	43
	Increase of the Society of Jesus	44
	Their controversial writers	47
	And those of the Capuchins	48

A.D. PAGE

Capuchin foundations and zeal 49
Reform and extension of the older Orders . . 50
Splendid members of the French hierarchy and . 53
1612–17 Priests, such as Vincent de Paul . . . 55
1611 Pierre de Bérulle founds the French Oratory . . 57
1604 Spanish Carmelites in France 60
Italian Ursulines under Mme Acarie . . . 63
1612 Are approved and established in Paris . . . 64
1615–18–19 Extending thence throughout France . . 66
1618 The Order of the Visitation founded by St. Francis de Sales 67
1604 Under Mme de Chantal. 68
The Catholic revival in the Netherlands . . . 84
1607 Bentivoglio's nunciature 86
The work of the "Recollects" and the Ursulines . 91
1616 Immense progress of the Society of Jesus . . 92
Zeal of the Archduke Albert 97
Revival in religious art 100
The works of Rubens and 101
Van Dyck, his pupil 110
Contrast in Catholic and protestant philosophy of life 115

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN THE GERMAN DIASPORA, IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE NETHERLANDS, AND IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—THE GUNPOWDER PLOT AND THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—PAUL V. AND JAMES I.'S PLANS FOR A SPANISH MARRIAGE.

1607 Catholic position in the German diaspora . . 117
The gloomy situation 118
1609 Martin Stricker's mission 119
Condition of things in S. Germany . . . 120
And in the Netherlands where 121
Catholics alone were refused religious . . . 123
Liberty and subjected to persecution . . . 128
1603 The statecraft of James I. of England . . . 129
1604 Drives Catholics to desperate measures . . . 130
1605 The Gunpowder Plot 131
1606 Brings terrible retribution on Catholics . . . 159
The oath of allegiance 162
Catholic repudiation of it 166
1606–7 The Briefs of Paul V. 167
1608 James I. himself attempts to write a refutation . 170
Bellarmine's reply to his book 171
Further controversy 172

A.D.		PAGE
	In which James finds support in Henry IV. of France	177
	Cruel persecution of Catholics in the North . .	181
1613	Coke becomes Lord Chief Justice	183
	Enforcing the Oath with great severity . . .	184
	James I.'s matrimonial plans for his children . .	188
1612	Death of Prince Henry	191
	Further negotiations with Spain	192
	Alternating with France	196
	Final failure of the schemes	200
	Internal development of Catholic affairs . .	202
1612	Return of the Benedictines to England . . .	203
1618	Restoration of the Franciscan Province . .	204
	Catholicism in Scotland	206
	Severe penalties for hearing Mass	207
	The Scottish nobles remain Catholic . . .	208
1605	Illegal measures in Ireland against Catholics . .	209
	Severe persecution in Munster	213
	Sympathy of Paul V. with Ireland . . .	216

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIA AND POLAND—THE END OF THE FALSE DEMETRIUS — CATHOLIC RESTORATION UNDER SIGISMUND III., KING OF POLAND—THE UNION OF THE RUTHENIANS.

1605	Affairs in Russia	218
1605	Death of Czar Boris. Accession of Demetrius .	219
	The usurper. His relations with Rome . . .	220
1606	Murder of Demetrius	227
	Civil war in Russia	230
1613	Michael Romanov ascends the throne . . .	231
	Poland.	232
1607	Insurrection quelled, amnesty granted . . .	233
	Catholic restoration under Cardinal Maciejowski .	235
	Relations between Sigismund III. and the Holy See	237
	Reform of the Clergy	240
	Spread of religious Institutes	241
	Opposition to the Jesuits	243
	Bishops who preserved and renewed the Polish Church	246
	Building activities	247
1605	Attempt to unite the Ruthenians with the Church .	248
	Final achievement after much difficulty . . .	252
	Alliance between Schismatics and Cossacks . .	253
	Martyrdom of Josaphat Kuncewicz . . .	254

CHAPTER IV.

RELATION OF PAUL V. WITH THE EMPERORS RUDOLPH II., MATTHIAS AND FERDINAND II—GOOD RESULTS OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN GERMANY—THE BOHEMIAN REVOLUTION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

A.D.		PAGE
	Relations of Paul V. with Germany	255
	Question of the succession to the empire	256
	The war in Hungary against the Turks	259
1606	Peace of Vienna signed	261
1606	Agreement concluded with the Porte	262
1609	Diet of Ratisbon	263
	Religious strife	267
	Dissensions threatening the House of Habsburg	272
	Cardinal Millino sent to mediate	274
	His zeal in the task	280
1608	Matthias elected King of Hungary	282
	His action threatens the Catholic religion	285
1609	Rudolph II. sanctions the "Letter of Majesty"	286
	The Protestant Union leads to Catholic Defence	287
	The League—Its purpose	289
1609	The three Electors give their adherence to the League	291
	Compromise between League and Union	293
	Enmity between Rudolph and Matthias continues	294
1612	Death of Rudolph II.	295
	The Interregnum	296
1612	Election of Matthias	301
	Klesl—Minister to Matthias	303
	Klesl at first strongly Catholic in sympathy	304
	Gradual change in his conduct	306
	His policy condemned by the Pope	309
	Results in failure of policy of moderation	313
	Agreement with Calvinist party proves impossible	314
	Reconstruction of the League	315
	Discord and intrigues therein	316
	Anxiety as to the succession	318
	Klesl made a Cardinal	320
1617	Ferdinand accepted as King of Bohemia	323
	Klesl's continued intrigues	325
	His arrest and subsequent imprisonment	326
1614	Count Palatine Wolfgang von Neuburg becomes a Catholic	327
	Ferdinand of Bavaria succeeds as Elector of Cologne	329
	His measures for Catholic restoration	330
	The work of the Jesuits in Cologne	331
	The Faith restored in Aachen	331
	Church reform under Johann Schweikart	334
	Paul V. urges on the work of reform	336
	In the diocese of Spire-Bamberg	337

A.D.		PAGE
	Eichstätt and Ratisbon	338
	Activities of Archduke Leopold Bishop of Passau and Strasburg	339
	Further reforms,	340
	Under Maximilian I.	345
1617	The old Orders awake to new life	347
	Support of Catholicism in Bohemia, but	352
	Increasing animosity of the Protestants	353
1619	Death of Emperor Matthias	355
	Anxiety in Rome over the Imperial Election	356
	Ferdinand elected Roman Emperor only to by	357
	Deposed in favour of Frederick V. as King of Bohemia	358
1619	Ferdinand demands help from Rome	360
	Likewise Maximilian and the League	363
	France saves the situation for the Catholic cause	367
	Defeat of Frederick V.	368
	Decisive significance of the Victory in Bohemia	369
	Universal thanksgivings	371
1620	Death of Paul V.	373
	Brief summary of his career	375

CHAPTER V.

PAUL V. AS A PATRON OF THE ARTS—COMPLETION OF ST. PETER'S—THE PAULINE CHAPEL IN S. MARIA MAGGIORE—THE PALACE OF THE QUIRINAL—STREETS AND FOUNTAINS—THE BORGHESE PALACE AND VILLA—TRANSFORMATION OF THE ETERNAL CITY.

	Paul V. as patron of the arts	377
	He rebuilds St. Peter's	380
1605	Demolishing the previous building	383
1607	Appointing Maderno as Architect	389
	Reconstructing night and day	391
1617	The work is completed in twelve years	395
	Criticisms and appreciation of the basilica	396
	Further work of Paul V. in St. Mary Major	403
	The lavish generosity of the Pope	404
	Description of the Borghese Chapel	405
	Marble column erected in front of St. Mary Major	411
	Further gifts to other Roman churches	412
	The Pope's example stimulates others	414
	St. Andrea della Valle	416
	St. Andrea delle Frate and other churches built	418
	Quirinal palace greatly enlarged and beautified	419
	The Vatican altered and embellished	425

A.D. PAGE

1616–17 Acqua Trajana restored as Acqua Paola . . 427
The streets of Rome improved 432
The benefactions of the Pope 435
Recorded in monographs and Guides to Rome . 437
Travellers and Envoys to Rome are full of admiration 438
The Borghese palace nearly doubled in size . . 444
Cardinal Scipio Borghese buys and beautifies . 446
Two more palaces, in the Borgo and on the Quirinal 447
Filling them with art treasures and pictures . . 448
Papal residences outside Rome 450
Bear witness to Borghese munificence . . . 460

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	Pope Paul V. to Matthias, King of Hungary. Rome April 4th, 1609	463
2	A Memorial to Pope Paul V. on the State of the Diocese of Metz. (End of 1609.)	464
3	Pope Paul V. to Marie de Medici, Queen of France. Rome, August 17th, 1611	464
4	Pope Paul V. to Ferdinand, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Rome, July 12th, 1614	466
5	Pope Paul V. to Louis XIII., King of France. Rome, January 22nd, 1615	467
6	Pope Paul V. to Archbishop Schweikart, Elector of Mayence. Rome, June 28th, 1615	468
7	Pope Paul V. to Archbishop Schweikart, Elector of Mayence. Rome, October 27th, 1615	469
8	Pope Paul V. to Cardinal Klesl. Rome, May 6th, 1616	469
9	Pope Paul V. to the Emperor Matthias. Rome, December 16th, 1616	470
10	Paul V. to Cardinal Klesl. Rome, December 16th, 1616	471
11	Poem of Ludovico Leporeo on the Villa Borghese	472
12	Pope Paul V. and the Church of St. Peter	475
13	From the Register of Expenses of Pope Paul V.	476
14	Biographies of Paul V. and the Notes of Giovan Battista Costaguti	481

CHAPTER I.

Catholic Reform and Restoration in France—Berulle and his Oratory—The Ursulines and the Visitation—Francis de Sales and Frances de Chantal—Revival of Catholicism in the Spanish Netherlands.

One of the things which Paul V. had most at heart was to further the revival of Catholic life in France which followed Henry IV.'s reconciliation with the Church. An immense effort was required to undo the harm of the last thirty troublous years.[1] Rome was well aware of the fact, hence, when Paul V. confirmed Maffeo Barberini in his post of nuncio at the French Court to which Clement VIII. had appointed him at the close of 1604, he also confirmed the instructions which Barberini had then received. These were lucidly summarized in the instruction which Cardinal Aldobrandini drew up for the guidance of the papal representative and they are a remarkable statement of the aims of the policy for a Catholic restoration which the Holy See pursued in France.[2]

[1] In the "Drey Reisen nach Cistertz", which the Cistercian, Fr. Joh. Konrad Tachler made to the General Chapters, in 1605, 1609, 1615 (published at Bregenz, 1893), we find remarkable evidence of this state of things; a dearth of sermons, neglect of the churches, desecration of the Sunday, and a light and frivolous tone. Vincenzo Scamozzi, in the journey he undertook in 1606, from Paris to Venice, saw with horror the desolation to which the Huguenots had reduced the churches; see Morsolin, *Viaggio inedito di V. Scamozzi da Parigi a Venezia*, Venezia, 1881, 25.

[2] See the text from the original in the Barberini Library, Rome, in the appendix to Vol. XXXIII, No. 45. According to Nicoletti (*Vita di Urbano VIII.*, t. I., l. 1, ch. 11 and 12) the question had been raised under Leo XI. as to whether Barberini should

The instruction rightly starts from the fundamental principle that the religious unity which France had at one time enjoyed, could only be restored by means of a complete reform of ecclesiastical conditions. This idea should guide the nuncio in his attitude towards the hierarchy as well as towards the Crown. For this reason the instruction enjoins the greatest circumspection and a due regard for the character of Henry IV. Personal experience obviously inspired the writer of the instruction when he warned the nuncio to give no credence to the shrewd Béarnais when he gave himself the air of understanding but little of the art of diplomacy, seeing that he was but a soldier; the exact opposite was the truth; the gifted and vivacious monarch was endowed with far greater knowledge even in those things than he deemed it expedient to display. Barberini was especially exhorted to be very cautious because Henry IV. was extremely suspicious as well as very elusive. Sharp measures would be out of place in his case, but this did not preclude frank remonstrances; but on no account must he be offended. In treating with him it was best to alternate the soft with the loud tone.

The task of the nuncio was both comprehensive and arduous. He was to try to induce the frivolous monarch not only to lead a religious and moral life in his own person, but to win him over, as a ruler, to the aims of the policy for a Catholic restoration. In this matter the nuncio must always bear in mind that Henry IV. was above all things a soldier and a politician. As a man of arms he had but little understanding of religious matters, hence he must be enlightened on the subject. As a politician, all he thought of was his own

be continued in France; Cardinal Arigoni secured his confirmation, " *da cui consigli servivasi Paolo V. i primi anni del pontificato " (Barb. 4730, Vatican Library). The *reports of Barberini on his French nunciature are in (Barb. 7834, 7867–7872, and papers belonging to them in Barb. 3622, specially pages 72 *seq.*, 177 *seq.*, being statistical and geographical details), Vatican Library, and *Nunziat. di Francia*, 50, Papal Secret Archives.

advantage, hence he must be made to see that his interests would best be served if he fell in with the plans of the Pope. To this end the nuncio was instructed to point out to the king how greatly it was in his interest, as king of France, to follow even in the religious sphere the tradition of a most Christian king and how greatly his political plans would benefit if he were to restore religious unity in his kingdom. The nuncio should not neglect to point out what the loss of this blessing meant for Germany.

Before all else Henry IV. must be prevented from granting further concessions to the Huguenots who had already derived far too many advantages from the Edict of Nantes.[1] Out of the many means by which the king could repress the Huguenots, the easiest and the least likely to provoke trouble would be to pursue the policy adopted in Poland, that is, not to give heretics any office in the State but, on the contrary, to favour those who returned to the Church. The Huguenots were the enemies of peace and order; no weapons should be put into their hands.

Besides these more negative means many others, of a positive kind, are also mentioned. In the first place, stress is rightly laid on the importance of episcopal appointments. Only worthy and blameless persons must be put forward as candidates for bishoprics; none other could hope to secure the approval of Rome. The misuse of the privileges conceded by the Concordate had been the real cause of every evil; it had led to soldiers and women obtaining bishoprics and abbeys; the Pope would no longer suffer such abuses. In regard to this matter the king himself had given Cardinal Medici promises for the future. Nor would the Holy See hear of any further extension of the concordatory privileges which the Instruction describes as excessive. Here the writer had chiefly in view the so-called royal prerogative in

[1] The truth of this opinion is confirmed by RANKE's remark (*Päpste*, II.[6], 279) that Henry IV. had, by the Edict of Nantes, "granted the Huguenots an independence such as to justify the question whether it was compatible with the idea of the State."

virtue of which the Crown took it on itself to appoint an administrator of every vacant diocese until the papal confirmation of the nominee to the See, and that official disposed of the revenues and the lower ecclesiastical offices as if he were a real bishop. This pretension the Instruction qualifies as intolerable. The nuncio should be no less careful to prevent any infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the secular power. In this respect the nuncio Bufalo had already achieved a measure of success; it was necessary to pursue this path, but by means of prudent discussion rather than with threats, otherwise the bishops would be unable to carry out the work of reform, a thing which was also of considerable importance. It was rightly thought in Rome that in order to bring about a reform of ecclesiastical conditions in France the best, nay the only means, was the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Instruction recalls the promises to this effect which Henry IV. had made on the occasion of his reconciliation with the Church. Let the nuncio strongly insist on their execution. Barberini was instructed to make strong representation on this point both to the king and to the ministers and the Parliament, and not to desist until he had achieved his purpose. In this respect Henry IV. had given the best assurances to Cardinals Medici and Aldobrandini; to the latter the king had promised, on the occasion of his farewell audience, to carry the affair through within two months, and now years had gone by, notwithstanding the fact that the king had himself recognized the utility of the decrees. It was intolerable that France alone should resist the decrees of a General Council. The difficulties that were put forward could not stand inasmuch as the decrees dealt almost exclusively with the reform of the clergy and hardly touched the secular sphere. If the king was so minded he could easily bend Parliament to his will. The nuncio is further instructed to remove the prejudice that the decrees of the Council would injure the privileges enjoyed by France and to show how, on the contrary, the bettering of ecclesiastical conditions was closely linked to the preservation of the political order. The Pope had made up his mind to see this

affair finally settled and he would never desist from his demands in this respect. Until the publication, the nuncio was to direct individual bishops to carry out the necessary reforms, to visit their dioceses, to erect seminaries and to hold diocesan and provincial synods. Among the indispensable reforms one was emphasized which was bound to give pleasure to Henry IV., namely a warning to preachers not to let their zeal carry them into the political sphere.

Besides these, the chief demands, the Instruction contained a number of special wishes of the Holy See. These were concerned with the position of the Jesuits, the problem of Calvinism in Château-Dauphin, near Monte Viso, the continued support of the Catholic restoration in Béarn, the neglect of the French bishops to come to Rome for the pallium and, lastly, military measures by Henry IV. against Geneva.

What was desired for the Jesuits had been happily obtained by Barberini whilst Clement VIII. was still alive.[1] The realization of his other plans, such as the execution of his extensive programme of reform, would have required a much longer term of office than that which was granted to Barberini. There was no lack of zeal on his part. He did not find it difficult to persuade Henry IV. to forbid the profession of Calvinism in Château-Dauphin, seeing that this prohibition had already been enforced by a royal edict of the year 1598.[2] In other ways also Barberini influenced the king

[1] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIII, pp. 174 *seqq.*

[2] *Havevano in questo tempo gli heretici nel borgo di Chianale della valle di Castel Delfino sottoposta alla Corona di Francia e situata di qua dall'Alpi nella diocesi di Torino, introdotte le prediche et altri ministerii della lor setta contro un editto publicato da Enrigo l'anno 1598, nel quale si prohibisce di qua da monti ogni esercitio di heresia ; e ciò havevano fatto sotto finto pretesto d'haverne da lui ottenuta licenza ; di che dolendosi i Cattolici, i quali già altre volte si erano opposti a questi tentativi e ricorrendo per aiuto al Nuntio di Torino, fecero ch'egli si adoprasse con Maffeo, acciocchè dal Christianissimo s'impetrasse espresso comandamento per l'osservanza del suo editto. Abbracciò volentieri Maffeo tanto giusta protettione, e con vive ragioni dimostrate al re le fraudi, con le quali davano quegli heretici falsamente

against the Calvinists. Among other things he suggested measures against the publication of heretical writings. These proposals were under discussion at the time of his recall by Paul V. to Rome.[1] By means of friendly discussions Barberini also endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to bring back to the Church the influential minister Sully and the learned philologist Isaac Casaubonus.[2] He was instrumental in securing the appointment of the devout Pierre de Berulle as tutor to the Dauphin.[3] Through Barberini also the see of Apt was given a good bishop to replace one who had been utterly unfit.[4] He took energetic action against an anti-papal pamphlet of Louis Servin, the advocate-general, whose opposition to the Jesuits was well known, as well as against those who spread forged papal indulgences.[5] To the efforts

ad intendere che Sua Maestà havesse acconsentito a quelle ingiuste dimande, lo indusse a comandar loro, che si astenessero per l'avvenire da tali esercitii, consolando in un tempo i Cattolici di quel contorno, e tenendo lontano dall'Italia il pericolo di così abominevole infettione. NICOLETTI, *Vita di Urbano*, VIII., t. I, in Barb. 4730, p. 102, Vatican Library.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 222 *seq.*

[2] See NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 223. Paul V. also urged Sully's conversion; see the *Brief of October 3, 1605, in the *Epist.*, I., 229, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Goujet*, I., 26 *seq.*

[3] See NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 225.

[4] The unworthy behaviour of the bishop of Apt, Pompey de Perille, and his removal through Barberini are described in more detail by NICOLETTI (*loc. cit.*, pp. 219–222).

[5] See NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, pp. 219 and 222: Et in quanto agli heretici sicome Maffeo mostrossi generalmente nimico della lor setta, nondimeno maggior odio mostrò verso di quelli, ch'esso chiamava libertini, persone non heretiche di nome, ma ne tampoco cattoliche, ond'erano li più perversi di ogni altra setta. Fra questi si teneva il principale il Servino altre volte nominato, al cui libro intitolato il Gallo Franco, che conteneva diversi errori, fece rispondere da Federico Salice; et egli medesimo con versi latini lo improbò, dove alludendo al nome di Servino, dicevasi ch'egli servilmente vendesse l'opera sua a quelli che erano contrarii al Papa et alla Sede Apostolica. For *Servin cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 285, 345, 349, 359.

of the nuncio it was likewise due that the Sorbonne passed a censure on the opinions, as strange as they were dogmatically untenable, which Pierre Victor Calvert Palma Cayet, a convert, had propounded in an historical work.[1] Barberini exerted himself on behalf of the reform of the clergy especially in the assembly of the clergy of France which met in Paris towards the end of 1605 and which made the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline one of the chief points of its debates.[2] On this occasion the spokesman of the clergy paid tribute to the improvement in the appointment of bishops but he could not refrain from lamenting, with the utmost freedom, the fact that in this respect abuses were still of frequent occurrence. Henry IV. replied that the praise thus bestowed on him would encourage him to do even better in the future, but that as regards the removal of abuses, the higher clergy should make a beginning with their own body. With respect to this Barberini rightly pointed out that if the bishops were to take measures to bring about a reform, they must also possess the necessary authority; moreover it was imperative that the king should himself set a good example. Henry did not resent these frank remarks since they had been made both courteously and discreetly. So great was his regard for Barberini that he took steps for his elevation to the College of Cardinals.[3]

The nuncio's remark that the bishops must have the necessary authority if they were to reform the clergy, had for its aim the publication, in France, of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to this end Barberini exerted himself to the utmost. It was he who determined Paul V. to press energetically for a solution of this weighty question by means of a series of Briefs. In the summer of 1605, papal Briefs, nicely adapted to the character and position of their

[1] See NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 216, and SERBAT, *Assemblées*, 397 *seq.* This refers to CAYET'S *Chronologie septennaire*, 1604; *cf.* REUSCH, *loc. cit.*, 191.

[2] *Cf.* SERBAT, *loc. cit.*, 317.

[3] The above from the detailed description of NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, pp. 266 *seqq.*, 280 *seq.*, 331–351.

respective recipients,[1] were addressed to Henry IV.[2] as well as to Cardinals Joyeuse, Gondi and Sourdis. To these princes of the Church the Pope wrote that he had called upon the French hierarchy to carry through a reform of the clergy; the best means to this end, as was seen in Spain and elsewhere, was the execution of the Tridentine decrees, and for this they should press the king and the bishops with all their power.[3] Through Barberini as his intermediary, the Pope also appealed in this affair to two of the most prominent members of the royal council, viz. Nicolas Brulart de Sillery [4] and Chancellor Pomponne de Bellièvre.[5] Previously to this the Pope had addressed an earnest appeal to all the French bishops urging them to work for the reform of the clergy, as this was one of Paul V.'s greatest anxieties.[6] At the same time Paul V. begged the king to assist him in this matter.[7] Repeatedly he urged him to take action against the Huguenots of the South of France.[8]

[1] See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 334 *seq.*

[2] *Brief of August 18, 1605, *Epist.*, I., 132.

[3] See the *Briefs to Cardinal Joyeuse, Gondi, and Sourdis, August 18, 1605, which all agree as to their contents. In that to Joyeuse, it is stated: "Cogitamus assidue de reformatione istius cleri, quam etiam plerosque ex episcopis Gallicanis desiderare intelligimus. Ad hanc rem nihil utilius arbitramur quam introductionem constitutionum sacrosancti concilii Trid. Nam quantum profuerint correctioni ecclesiasticorum tum in Italia tum in Hispania, optime nosti. . . . Multae difficultates sese offerunt." By your influence, "multi ex ecclesiast. disponantur. Scripsimus de hac eadem re Henrico regi," on whom we count. *Epist.*, I., 133, 134, 135, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Brief of August 18, 1605, *ibid.*, 140.

[5] *Brief of August 18, 1605, *ibid.*, 138.

[6] *Brief July 15, 1605, *ibid.*, 72.

[7] *Brief of July 15, 1605, *ibid.*, 73.

[8] *Brief of June 19, 1605: "Haereticos habuisse conciliabula atque conventus in finibus comitatus Avinionensis; . . . inita ab eis fuisse consilia invadendi Aurangii oppidum; . . . petit, ut prudentia et auctoritate sua eorum consilia vana reddat; . . . Nuncius de his omnibus aget" (*Epist.*, I., 12). *Ibid.*, 149.

This time also resistance to the reform decrees of Trent proceeded from the cathedral chapters and more particularly from the various Parliaments. Against these Barberini deployed all the resources of his diplomatic skill. Above all he sought to influence the king himself through the Jesuit Père Coton. Fully aware as he was of the difficulties of the situation the nuncio was of opinion that it was enough, for the time being, to keep alive, before all else, the question of the publication of the Council. But Paul V. was anxious for an early decision and for the convocation of the clergy. However, the obstacles to these measures proved too strong. Henry IV. protested his good intentions but for the moment there was nothing to be done.[1] Thereupon Barberini drew up a plan according to which a Congregation of the Council was to be erected in Paris itself of which Cardinals de Joyeuse and Du Perron and some of the outstanding bishops were to be members.[2] He was not to see the realization of so original a plan inasmuch as in consequence of his elevation to the cardinalate, on September 11th, 1606, he had to leave France in order to take his place in the Sacred College.

As a successor to Barberini Paul V. chose his *Maestro di camera*, Robert Ubaldini, who was known to be a sincere friend of France.[3] The gifted and energetic Florentine was

*Brief of August 22, 1605 : " Curet ne oppidum Aurangii tradatur gubernatori haeretico (civitat. nostram Avinionem et comit. Venaysinum laedere possit)," Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 335 *seqq*. *Cf*. SERBAT, *Assemblées*, 317.

[2] *Cf*. MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 333 *seq.*, who draws special attention to the merit of Barberini in having seized the initiative in this important matter.

[3] *Cf*. DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, 305. As the ambassador of Mantua wrote from Rome, June 13, 1607, the nomination of Ubaldini was already fixed then (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Paul V. did not willingly give up his Maestro di camera. As to the statement of CARDELLA (VI., 177) that the nephews of the Pope urged him to send away Ubaldini, out of jealousy, there is no source for such an assertion. On the other hand we know

to hold the French nunciature for the space of nine years. Under Ubaldini the Hôtel Cluny, which had been the residence of the papal representative since 1601, became the heart of Catholic life in France: from this central point the nuncio kept up active relations with all convinced Catholics of some importance, thereby rendering the most signal services to the Holy See.[1] His influence over the queen-regent and the French clergy was as important as it was salutary. As regards

for certain that Ubaldini was chosen instead of Joseph Ferrier, whom Henry IV. had asked for, because he was the candidate who, failing the king's own choice, would have been the most welcome. See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 352, note i. The *Briefs to Henry IV. and the Admiral of France concerning the nomination of Ubaldini are dated September 20, 1607. *Epist.*, III., 168, 187, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] The *reports of Ubaldini during the time of his nunciature, as interesting as they are important, addressed mostly to Cardinal Borghese, but also to other nuncios and princes, are in the original in the Papal Secret Archives, *Borghese*, II., 251, and *Francia*, 53, 54, 55; there are also copies in *Bolognetti*, 149–153. How much these reports were appreciated by his contemporaries is shown by the numerous copies extant. They are to be found, in Rome, in the Altieri Library, in 6 vols.; the Barberini Section, viz. 5873–9, 5898–5903; in the Chigi Library, M., I., 15 and 16; in the Corsini Library, *Cod.* 512–517 (= 33 G., 14–19) for the years 1608–1615 (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 167 *seq.*), and finally, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*cf.* MARSAND, I., 245 *seq.*). The *Instructions of Borghese to Ubaldini are in the Papal Secret Archives, *Borghese* I., 928, 929, 931, and *Francia*, 294, 295. *Cf.* also Barb. 5914–5915, Vatican Library, and *Cod.* S. 6, 7, and 8 of the Angelica Library, Rome (see NARDUCCI, *Bibl.*, 501 *seq.*; LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 76 *seq.*). Single excerpts of Ubaldini's reports were published by SIRI (*Mémorie*, I., *seq.*); many others by LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, and MELET (*cf.* below, p.14 *seq.*); RITTER, *Briefe und Akten*, II.; PERRENS, *Mariages espan.* and *L'Église et l'État*, I–II; PRAT, *Coton*; lastly, quite recently, by HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch. des Preuss. Instit.*, XV. and XVI., and in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 352 *seqq.* A critical edition of all the reports, in which those already published should be indexed, would be a most welcome piece of work.

the rôle played by him in the internal policy of the realm, we can only regret, in the interests of France, that his intervention could not go further because of the religious questions which absorbed the best part of the nuncio's energy.[1]

Ubaldini reached Paris towards the end of the autumn of 1607. He lost no time in establishing contact with such persons as stood highest in the consideration of Henry IV. Chief among these were the Chancellor Sillery, the Secretary of State Villeroi, President Jeannin, the Jesuit Coton and Cardinal Du Perron.[2] Ubaldini played a decisive part in the appointment, in 1608, of Coton as confessor to the King and tutor to the Dauphin [3]; on the other hand he failed in his attempt to set up the Inquisition in France [4]; even his efforts to get the reform decrees of the Council of Trent accepted proved in vain. For the moment, so he was compelled to report to Rome in August 19th, 1608, the thing was impossible.[5] On the other hand he was able to announce that Henry IV. favoured the return of the Calvinists to the Church.[6] In other respects also the king occasionally took measures favourable to the Catholic restoration [7] though he refused to adopt a definitely Catholic policy which would have arrayed against him the Protestant forces, both domestic and foreign, whose worth he had learned to

[1] Opinion of MARTIN (*loc. cit.*, 352).

[2] *Cf.* PERRENS, *L'Église et l'État*, I., 283 *seq.*

[3] See PRAT, III., 2 *seq.*, 17 *seq.*

[4] See the report of Ubaldini of January 20, 1608, used by PERRENS, I., 299.

[5] See Ubaldini's report of August 19, 1608, used as above, 299 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* PERRENS, I., 301 *seq.*; PRAT, II., 566 *seq.*, 626 *seq.* *Cf.* Y. DE LA BRIÈRE in *Études*, XCIX., 57 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* PHILIPPSON, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 125 *seq.* The edict of Henry IV. of December, 1606, on the non-collection of royalties from churches long exempt from them was vetoed by the Parliament; see PHILLIPPS, *Das Regalienrecht in Frankreich*, Halle, 1873, 130 *seqq.*

appreciate at an earlier period, when they were still at his service.[1]

Just as Henry IV. kept up his old relations with the foreign Protestant Powers, so was he unwilling to break with the French Huguenots and the Gallicans.[2] When in May, 1608, Ubaldini suggested to the king to deprive the Huguenots of their strongholds the answer he received was very unsatisfactory.[3] Henry took up a similar attitude towards the efforts which the Gallicans were renewing just then to bring about a separation, or at least an estrangement between the Pope and the Church of France. The focus of these endeavours was the Parliament of Paris whose first president, Achille de Harley, in conjunction with the Advocate-General Louis Servin and the Second President, Auguste de Thou, a friend of the Huguenots, formed a clique which together with prominent Calvinists such as Groslot de Lisle and Du Plessis Mornay, was filled with the same hatred for the papacy as that kindred spirit of theirs, Paolo Sarpi.[4] Gallican pamphlets and satirical writings against the Pope and the Jesuits, which originated in these circles, caused Ubaldini much

[1] See CORNELIUS, in the *Münchner Hist. Jahrb.* for 1866, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 100; PHILIPPSON, in the *Hist Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 128 *seq.* The transference of the Calvinist chapel to Charenton, near Paris, mentioned here, carried out in defiance of the Edict of Nantes, was still made a grievance against Henry IV., by Philip III., when writing to Paul V. in 1609; see the *king's letter to Aytona, November 30, 1609, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

[3] See PERRENS, I., 304.

[4] See PRAT, III., 122 *seq.* For the divergent opinion expressed by PERRENS in his work, *L'Église et l'État*, *cf.* the detailed criticism of H. DE L'EPINOIS in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XV., 587 *seq.*, who remarks very appropriately, "Les doctrines gallicanes sont l'arche sainte à laquelle on ne peut toucher sans encourir le blâme de M. Perrens." Earlier, PHILIPPSON, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 97, note 2, took Perrens to task for "relying exclusively, in his characterization of Paul V., on the descriptions, often very contradictory, of such an intolerant Gallican as Brèves." *Cf.* also RANCÉ, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XXXVII. (1885), 608.

anxiety; his efforts to induce the government to intervene were as good as fruitless.[1] Besides his propagandist literature, the historical work of De Thou, who was as highly gifted as he was hostile to the papacy, was considered no less dangerous by the Roman authorities. When his first volume appeared in 1604, Bufalo, who was nuncio at the time, complained to Henry IV. and he did so not without success.[2] A decree of the Index of November, 1609, prohibited the book, as well as some other publications; among the latter was a discourse delivered in 1595, in which the attorney of the Paris university, Antoine Arnauld, bitterly attacked the Jesuits after the attempt by Chastel against Henry IV., as well as the parliamentary resolution then passed by which Chastel was condemned to death and the Jesuits, as his accomplices, to banishment.[3] The censure passed on this resolution was a mistake for, though it contained objectionable clauses which had already met with the disapproval of Clement VIII., it was nevertheless to be foreseen that evil-minded persons would interpret the censure as meaning that either Rome approved Chastel's attempt or disapproved his condemnation. As a matter of fact capital was made out of the incident in just this sense. Louis Servin moved in Parliament that the decree be burnt by the public executioner. Henry IV., on Ubaldini's representations, deferred indeed a decision in the matter, but he caused a protest to be lodged in Rome and demanded satisfaction. Paul V. at once refrained from further measures. In a fresh decree of January 30th, 1610, drawn up in accordance with Ubaldini's suggestions, there was no mention of Arnauld's discourse and the resolution of the Parliament

[1] See PERRENS, I., 317 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*; PRAT, III., 132. For Henry IV.'s action in the quarrel over James I.'s book, see below, Chapter II.

[2] *Cf. Lettres miss. Suppl.*, 902; PRAT, II., 471 *seq.*; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XXV., 671. For THOU and his work *cf.* the monographs of DUNTZER (Darmstadt, 1837) and HARISSE (Paris, 1905), see also J. RANCÉ, *De Thou, son hist. univ. et ses démêlés avec Rome*, Paris, 1881.

[3] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIII., 115 *seqq.*

of Paris, but the prohibition of De Thou's history was maintained.[1] Ubaldini made an unsuccessful attempt to induce Thou himself to revise his work. In Rome any such attempt was considered from the beginning as quite hopeless because, as Cardinal Borghese declared, the whole presentment of the facts was inadmissible.[2] As a matter of fact Thou's history is characterized by as much prevention and hostility towards the papacy as by consideration for, and sympathy with, the Huguenots. The danger of his work, which is not without many good qualities, was pointed out by the Jesuit Jean Machault in a refutation of Thou, published in 1614, which has for its motto the following quotation from St. Bernard: "A bad Catholic does far more harm than a declared heretic."[3]

Whilst Ubaldini had to deal with these internal agitations in France, the warlike policy of Henry IV., which was fraught with peril, increasingly claimed his attention.[4] When the violent death of the king abruptly ended all such plans, France was faced with an entirely new situation. Instead of a strong man, a weak and by no means gifted woman found herself at the head of the realm, and though her religion and her devotion to the Holy See were sincere, she was quite

[1] *Cf.* Siri, II., 76 *seqq.*; Goujet, I., 314 *seq.*; Lämmer, *Melet.*, 273 *seq.*; Reusch, II., 192 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*; Martin, *Gallicanisme*, 351.

[2] See the letter of Borghese to Ubaldini of February 2, 1610, in Lämmer, *loc. cit.*, 278.

[3] "Longe plus nocet falsus catholicus, quam si verus appareret haereticus" (in I. A. Thuani, *Hist. libros notationes . . . auctore* Io. Bapt. Gallo Machault; [see Sommervogel, V., 256 *seq.*], Ingoldstadii, 1614). Thou, as Fueter also considers (*Historiographie*, 147), "entertained extreme Gallican opinions, and while he liked to attribute bad motives to the Guises, he treated the Protestants with undeniable leniency. The acts of violence and atrocity, of which the Catholics were guilty towards the Huguenots, are described in detail, not without ulterior purpose." *Cf.* too, De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 121.

[4] *Cf.* above, vol. XXV., 402 *seq.*

unequal to the situation.[1] The parties began to stir at once, the Gallican politicans among them, under the leadership of Harley and Servin. These men hated the Jesuits quite as much as their friends the Huguenots did. They were not going to miss the chance of exploiting against the Society the attempt of Ravaillac ; though the trial yielded not a shred of evidence of any conspiracy on the part of the Jesuits, and though Ravaillac himself both before, during and after torture persisted in his assertion that he had no accomplices and that he had not discussed his plan with anyone, not even in confession,[2] the Huguenots and their friends in Parliament, who still called themselves Catholics, would not desist from throwing the responsibility for the crime upon the Jesuits. The accusation was as unlikely as it was absurd since Henry had been a great benefactor to the Order ; but the calumny was advanced with such assurance that it ended by obtaining credence. The Parliament based itself upon the work of the Spanish Jesuit Juan Mariana, published at Toledo in 1599, under the title : *On the King and the education of a King.* In the Middle Ages some theologians of repute had defended the thesis that it was a meritorious act to kill *a usurper* in order to liberate one's country, if no higher authority existed that could pass sentence on a tyrant. Mariana extended this doctrine so as to include even a *legitimate ruler* who grossly abused his position and thus brought ruin upon the State and who defied public law and religion. In the opinion of Mariana it was lawful for a private citizen to remove a sovereign of this kind, provided he was sure of the consent of the bulk of the people.[3] Mariana expressly stated that this opinion

[1] *Cf.* MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

[2] See " Procès de Ravaillac ", in *Arch. curieuses*, XV., 113 *seq*,. new, English edition, *The Trial of Fr. Ravaillac*, ed. by E. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1885. *Cf.* too, vol. XXV., 414, n 2.

[3] MARIANA, *De rege et regis institutione*, ed. 1599, 75 *seq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 592 *seq.*, and MICHAEL in the *Insbrucker Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XVI., 561. See also PILATUS, *Jesuitismus* (1905), 191 *seq.*, and *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Philos.*, XXI. (1908), 305 *seqq.*

on the murder of a tyrant was his own personal one.[1] When in 1599 the Superior of the French Province drew the attention of the General of the Order, Aquaviva, to this opinion of Mariana, which was assuredly worthy of condemnation even though its author had hedged it in with various restricting clauses, he expressed his sorrow that the visitor of the province of Toledo should have allowed such a book to be printed without his permission and he ordered the work to be destroyed.[2] The enemies of the Jesuits, who wielded great power in the Parliament of Paris, completely ignored the Jesuit General's disapproval of Mariana's theory. That body, which only two decades earlier had pronounced the deposition of Henry III. and had justified and approved the assassination of a tyrant, and in particular the removal of that king, now professed to see a great danger lurking in the theory of Mariana. It therefore instructed the Sorbonne to renew the condemnation it had pronounced in 1413 against the teaching of the Dominican Jean Petit on the subject of tyrannicide. When the Sorbonne had complied with their request, the Parliament included the book of Mariana in the decree of June 8th and ordered it to be burnt. With a view to exciting the French people still further they went so far as to order the parish priests to read the decree from the pulpit![3]

On the initiative of Ubaldini the prelates then in Paris lodged a protest with the queen-regent, Marie de Medici, against a procedure of this kind. The queen demanded a modification of the decree. To this request the president of the Parliament demurred, alleging that the decree aimed

[1] See Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln* [3], 689 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.* for the partially erroneous presentation of Mariana's teaching, by Ranke, *Zur Geseh. der polit. Theorien: Ges Werke*, XXIV., 236 *seq.*, 244. *Cf. Päpste*, II.[6], 124 *seq.* Nevertheless Ranke admits: "The doctrine of Mariana could not be regarded as that of his Order, still less as that of the Catholic Church."

[2] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, 1924 *seq.*, and Iuvencius, V., 1, 12, n. 86–7. *Cf.* Prat, III., 246.

[3] See Prat, III., 249; Féret in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXVIII. (1900), 402 *seq.*; Fouqueray, III., 242 *seq.*

solely at the welfare of the State. They justified their action by pointing to the great peril with which the teaching and practice of the Jesuits were fraught. Marie de Medici replied that the teaching of the Jesuits was none other than that of the Church and that their only aim was the salvation of souls; they could not make the Order pay in France for the writings of the Spaniard Mariana, seeing that it had always been loyal to the Crown and had enjoyed the particular esteem of the late king; if a member of Parliament were to transgress in any way it would not be fair to make the whole body suffer for his misdemeanour.[1]

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of such representations, Harley and his associates pursued their intrigues. The scandal which they had provoked was further intensified when some priests were found, such as the extravagant and restless Jean Dubois, who desecrated the pulpit by defamation of the Jesuits.[2] In order to cut short all further agitations, the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, in a circular of July 6th, 1610, forbade under pain of excommunication to all the members of the Order to maintain either in public or in private, either as teachers or as advisers, or in writing, that a private person, of whatsoever condition, could, on any

[1] See Ubaldini's report, translated by PRAT, III., 251 *seq.* *Cf.* FOUQUERAY, III., 244.

[2] *Cf.* PRAT, III., 256 *seq.* Recently, PERRENS, in *Rev. hist.*, LXXIV., 241 *seq.*, LXXV., 1 *seq.*, has treated in great detail but not impartially as regards Ubaldini, the adventures of that strange figure, Abbé Dubois. Ubaldini tried in vain to bring Dubois to better sentiments. Marie de Medici sent the recalcitrant Abbé to Rome, in September, 1611, ostensibly on business, in reality she wished him to be delivered to the Inquisition. As Dubois made challenging speeches against the Pope and Marie de Medici, as well as against religion, and as his private life was not blameless, he was sent to the prison of the Inquisition in November, 1611, and later to the Castle of S. Angelo. Only in 1621, under Gregory XV., was he allowed a certain liberty; he was eventually released, but not until the beginning of the reign of Urban VIII.

plea whatsoever of tyranny, either kill kings and princes or make an attempt on their life.[1] In a second circular of August 14th, 1610, Aquaviva strictly forbade all discussions, whether favourable or unfavourable, of Mariana's book.[2] Paul V. also expressly pronounced against the book in a conversation with de Brèves, the French ambassador, though the Pope at the same time insisted that it belonged to the ecclesiastical authorities to take steps against it and that the parish priests could not be compelled to read the decree of Parliament from the pulpit.[3]

The real purpose of these efforts of the enemies of the Jesuits was betrayed by the spiritual head of the Huguenots, Du Plessis Mornay, in a memorial he addressed at that time to the Parliament: the Order must be put into a condition of complete helplessness as regards any form of activity in France; in fact it must be banished once more.[4] The first step was to bring about the fall of Père Coton who was highly esteemed at court. This was the purpose of numerous pamphlets, especially an anonymous compilation entitled: "*Anti-Coton*, a book whose author endeavours to demonstrate that the Jesuits were guilty and were the instigators of the execrable murder which was perpetrated on the person of the most Christian King Henry IV. . . . of blessed memory." Every imaginable infamy, even the vilest, are here ascribed to the Jesuits without a shadow of proof.[5]

Ubaldini was well aware that the agitation of the Huguenots and their friends, who still styled themselves Catholics, was

[1] See Iuvencius, V., l. 12, n. 157; Duhr, *loc. cit.*, 387. *Cf.* Scorraille, *Suarez*, II., 184.

[2] *Monum. Germaniae Paedag.*, IX., 48.

[3] Reports of Brèves of July 8 and 22, 1610, in Perrens, I., 414 *seq.*, only in part, published in whole by Gaillard, in the *Notices et extraits de la Bibl. du Roi* VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 331 *seqq.*

[4] See Prat, III., 282 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, 285 *seq.* The author of this libel has not yet been ascertained. See Perrens, I., 448 *seq.* For the agitation against the Jesuits, *cf.* the report of Ubaldini of September 14, 1610, in Lämmer, *Melet.*, 291, note 1.

ultimately directed against the Holy See: hence he did all in his power to protect the Jesuits.[1] The nuncio could only be strengthened in his conviction that the attack was directed against the Holy See when, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary, the Parliament accepted, on November 26th, a motion of Servin to forbid under pain of high treason a treatise of Cardinal Bellarmine on the Pope's power in temporal matters. In this work the Cardinal defended the opinions laid down by him in his *Controversies* as against the attacks of the Scottish jurist William Barclay, whose book was put on the Index as soon as it appeared in November, 1609. Whilst this work was allowed to circulate freely in France, the Parliament sought to prohibit the defence by a Cardinal who was famous throughout the world, for the reason—so it was boldly asserted—that the views propounded in its pages advocated the overthrow of the divinely appointed authority of the State and the revolt of the people against their Sovereign![2] In reality Bellarmine, basing himself on theologians of renown, had made a temperate statement of the relation between Church and State and, in opposition to many theologians, he claimed for the Pope not a direct, but only an indirect authority over the princes and peoples in regard to temporal affairs.[3] The blow which the Parliament dealt to one of the most deserving and most learned among the Cardinals, who on two occasions had very nearly obtained the tiara, was directly aimed at the Holy See.[4] Hence Ubaldini did not fail to protest with all his energy and even to threaten to leave France. On the nuncio's representations the regent, Marie de Medici, suspended the publication of the

[1] See PRAT, III., 292 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Ubaldini's report in LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 298, note 1; GOUJET, I., 331 *seq.*; PRAT, III., 310 *seq.*; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 331 *seq.*, 345.

[3] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche und Staat*, 421 *seq.*; J. DE LA SERVIÈRE, *La Théologie de Bellarmin*, Beauchesne, 1908.

[4] See BAZIN, *Hist. de France sous Louis XIII.*, I., 104. *Cf.* RANKE, *Franz Gesch.*, II., 177.

ordinance of the Parliament of Paris.[1] For this she received the thanks of Paul V. in a letter of December 22nd, 1610, though the Pope remarked that he had expected an even fuller satisfaction, namely the complete repeal of the decree and the suppression of Servin's speech.[2] Bellarmine himself wrote a dignified letter to the regent in which he pointed out that in his dissertation against Barclay he taught nothing that was not found in his *Controversies* which freely circulated everywhere, even in France, and that the Parliament attributed to him views which he had never maintained.[3] "If the French government," Cardinal Borghese wrote to Ubaldini on February 2nd, "does not soon put a stop to the licence of writers, as it has often promised, new difficulties will arise every day." The Cardinal then referred to two recently published books, one of which was directed against Cardinal Bellarmine and the other against the Jesuits. The Pope, the letter went on to say, would speak to the French ambassador, whilst the nuncio was to go on making representations to the queen-regent.[4] In a letter under the same date Cardinal Borghese demanded that steps should be taken against several priests who had abused the occasion of the Advent sermons in order to attack papal authority and to calumniate the Jesuits.[5] The lines had scarcely been written when Ubaldini saw himself obliged to protest against a new libellous pamphlet from the pen of the Huguenot Vigner, the title of which,—"Theatre of Antichrist,"—was a clear sign of what the writer felt he could offer to the Catholics of France. The nuncio represented to the regent that just as

[1] See LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 293 *seq.*; PRAT, III., 311 *seq.*; PERRENS, I., 476 *seq.*; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 394 *seq.*; MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 355 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, III., 259 *seq.*

[2] LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 294 *seq.* PERRENS (I., 507 *seq.*) and MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 357 *seqq.*, show how the attempts to gain fuller satisfaction were unsuccessful.

[3] See PRAT, III., 317 *seq.*

[4] See LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 299.

[5] See *ibid.*, 299 *seq.*

the Pope would not tolerate in his States any attack on the king of France, so was he entitled to expect that the French Government would protect him from calumny. However, Marie de Medici was so intimidated by the Huguenots, who threatened to revolt, that for the time being she did not dare to do anything.[1] Paul V. complained to the French ambassador and instructed Ubaldini not to slacken in his remonstrances.[2] An attempt was made to pacify the Pope by proceeding against the Advent preachers.[3] The "Theatre of Antichrist" was not prohibited till May, and then only by word of mouth, and its author was not molested.[4] Such weakness and indecision made it possible for Du Plessis Mornay to publish in that same year a book entitled *The Mystery of Wickedness, or, A History of the Papacy*, in Latin and French, in which he attacked the Holy See in unprecedented fashion and practically described Paul V. as the beast of the Apocalypse. This work Du Plessis dedicated to the youthful Louis XIII! Only when Ubaldini pointed out to the queen that if the Pope was antichrist, the legitimacy of her marriage might also be called in question, was the pamphlet submitted to the Sorbonne and condemned by it in the severest terms, on August 22nd, 1611.[5]

In March, 1611, Ubaldini had been able to report to Rome an occurrence which he considered as an important achievement; he had at last succeeded in bringing about the appointment of the president of the Parliament of Toulouse, Nicolas de Verdun, on whose Catholic attitude he thought he could rely, as first president of the Parliament of Paris instead of the Gallican Harley. Thereupon Harley's sympathizer, Thou, resigned in high dudgeon. Ubaldini hoped that Servin would take a similar course. "The determination which the Pope showed on the occasion of the decree against Bellarmine," the nuncio reported to Rome, "has now yielded

[1] See PERRENS, II., 13 *seq.*

[2] See LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 301; PERRENS, II., 17 *seq.*

[3] See LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*

[4] See PERRENS, II., 18.

[5] *Cf.* GOUJET, II., 27 *seq.*; PERRENS, II., 19 *seq.*

valuable results and we may look to the future with confidence."[1] However, Ubaldini was destined to be disappointed in his trust in Servin.[2] But even this disappointment did not discourage the indefatigable nuncio's ardour in the defence of Catholic interest. After the disappointment which he suffered in February, 1612, through the weak and unwise attitude of the Jesuits who trembled for their existence before the Parliament,[3] he achieved an important success in the autumn of the same year when he brought about the removal of Edmund Richer from the post of syndic of the Sorbonne, a position he had held since 1608, and of which he took advantage to spread anti-papal theories.

The son of poor country-people in Champagne, Richer[4] had gone through a course of studies in Paris under conditions of extreme difficulty. Grim determination and a strong constitution which had made it possible for him to do with only three hours' sleep, at last led him to his goal—in 1592 he became a doctor of the Sorbonne. He began as an ardent adherent of the League, but his attitude soon underwent a serious change and he ended by becoming a passionate

[1] See LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 302, note 1; PERRENS, I., 514 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* PERRENS, II., 27 *seq.*; PRAT, III., 369 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* herewith the detailed account of FOUQUERAY (III., 289 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*), of the declaration given on February 22, 1612, by the French Provincial, Christoph. Baltazar, and six other Jesuits: "de se conformer à la doctrine de l'École de Sorbonne même en ce qui concernait la personne sacrée des rois, le maintien de leur autorité royale et les libertés gallicanes de tout temps gardées dans le royaume." Fouqueray remarks: "S'ils ne souscrivirent à aucune proposition contraire à la doctrine de l'Eglise, l'acte de condescendance auquel ils se soumirent n'en était pas moins opposé à la dignité du St. Siège et de la Compagnie." Fouqueray also adds the sharp reproof written by Aquaviva to Fr. Baltazar, after an interview with Paul V.; he was forbidden to make any declarations in future without the General's consent (FOUQUERAY, 291 *seq.*).

[4] *Cf.* PUYOL, *Edm. Richer. Étude sur la renovation du gallicanisme du XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1876. *Cf.* the critical review in *Études*, 1877, I., 910 *seq.*

advocate of Gallicanism. Already Barberini, when nuncio, found himself in conflict with him,[1] and Ubaldini watched with ever-growing disquiet the ardour which Richer put into spreading his views and in combating the Jesuits.[2]

During the civil wars and the wars of religion, the Gallican theories had increasingly fallen into abeyance at the theological faculty of Paris and at the opening of the new century, thanks to the influence of Bellarmine and Maldonatus, the famous university seemed in a fair way towards a return to a sound, sincerely ecclesiastical teaching.[3] With a view to preventing such an evolution and in order to breathe fresh life into the Gallicanism of the faculty, Richer put forth all his energy and outstanding ability as well as the influence he had acquired as syndic of the Sorbonne.

What risky paths Richer was prepared to tread is shown by a dissertation, small in bulk but of grave import, which was published anonymously in Paris in 1611, though the author's name was soon detected.[4] In this pamphlet Richer maintained exceedingly dangerous propositions. According to him the Church's government has only the outward appearance of a monarchy; in reality it is aristocratic. Legislative power as well as infallibility are not the attributes of the Pope but belong to the hierarchy composed of the bishops and the priests, which functions in its totality at a general council. The Pope is absolutely subject to the council. The episcopate is an essential element of the constitution of the Church, the papacy only an accessory. Christ gave to His Church only spiritual means for the attainment of her object, Richer further taught, hence the Pope may only make use of spiritual means, but never of material force. Forcible

[1] *Cf.* Reusch, *Index*, II., 355.

[2] See Perrens, I., 410, 438, 458 *seq.*, II., 62 *seq.*; Prat, III., 365 *seq.*

[3] See Lassberg, in *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, X., 1190 *seq.*

[4] *De potestate ecclesiastica et politica*, at first printed privately with only 300 copies for distribution, but reprinted in 1611, nominally at Paris, but really abroad and later reprinted several times; see Reusch, *Index*, II., 356.

means are the exclusive prerogative of the secular power. As the natural guardian of his domains the prince has both the right and the duty to decide whether the executive ministers of the Church proceed according to the Canons, and for such judgments he is responsible to God alone.[1]

Though Richer's dissertation had but slender scientific value, for it neither contained anything new nor produced any fresh arguments in support of the theories it asserted,[2] the daring with which the rights of the Pope were challenged did not fail to create a good deal of stir.[3] The joy of the Church's deadly enemies knew no bounds. Of this we have a proof in the correspondence of Sarpi with his French sympathizers.[4] But on the Catholic side a gratifying and determined resistance became apparent. Among the first to oppose Richer were his colleagues Durand and Duval. The latter's dissertation on "The Pope's supreme authority in the Church" was remarkable both for its learning and its moderation. Burning indignation characterized Pelletier's treatise on "The Monarchy of the Church". To these writings must be added refutations by the Jesuits Eudæmon Joannes, Gautier and Sirmond. Moreover, in the Sorbonne itself, in addition to Durand, Jean Filesac and Harley's own son pressed for the condemnation of Richer's theories since they were bound to provoke a schism in the Church. The Parliament, however, defended these opinions and forbade all further discussion of them by the Sorbonne.

The indignation with which these proceedings filled Paul V. appears from the reports of Brèves, the French ambassador, and from those of Cardinals Joyeuse and Rochefoucauld.

[1] See PUYOL, *Richer*, I., 234 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*; and LASSBERG, *loc. cit.*, 1191. *Cf.* BAUER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV., 22 *seq.*; and HERGENRÖTHER, III.[5], 721, 789, where a further bibliography is given. "Le livret (de Richer) reduisait la papauté à n'être plus dans l'Eglise qu'une sorte d'accessoire," says GOYAU most pertinently (*Hist. relig.*, 392).

[2] This is SCHULTE's opinion (III., 577).

[3] *Cf.* Ubaldini's report in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 311, note 1.

[4] See PRAT, III., 420 *seq.*

The latter pointed out to Marie de Medici that Richer's attack on the monarchical power of the Pope was likewise a threat to that of the State.[1]

Ubaldini was particularly gratified by the prudence and determination with which Cardinal Du Perron dealt with Richer's treatise. To this prince of the Church, a splendid man in every respect, it was chiefly due that the French episcopate also took the field, although the Parliament of Paris did its utmost to prevent such a manifestation. In March, 1612, Cardinal Du Perron, as archbishop of Sens, convened a provincial council of his suffragans, the bishops of Paris, Auxerre, Meaux, Orléans, Troyes, Nevers and Chartres. This assembly condemned the opinions of Richer, without mentioning his name, since his book had appeared anonymously, declaring them to be erroneous, schismatical and heretical, "without prejudice to the rights of the King, the French crown and the immunities and liberties of the Gallican Church." The bishop had these condemnations read from the pulpits of all the churches. In May the archbishop of Aix, Hurault de L'Hôpital held a provincial council of his suffragans, viz. the bishops of Fréjus, Sisteron and Riez, in which the condemnation was repeated but without the clause which Sens had added to its decree out of consideration for the Parliament of Paris.[2] The Pope also would have been glad of the omission of so ambiguous an adjunct [3]; nevertheless in a Brief of May 2nd, 1612, he praised the suffragans of Sens for their condemnation of a book which was full of dangerous doctrines and erroneous assertions.[4] To this was

[1] See *Notices et extr. de la Bibl. du Roi*, VII., 2, Paris, 1804, 362 *seqq.*; PRAT, III., 373 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*; PUYOL, I., 289 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*, 326 *seq.* The Brief which Paul V. addressed to the prelates of France and to Marie de Medici, at the first news of Richer's book, on March 2, 1612, is printed in the *Hist. du syndicat de Richer*, II., 95.

[2] See PUYOL, I., 354 *seq.*, 366 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PERRENS, II., 152 *seq.*; PRAT, III., 380 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, III., 299.

[4] See DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 187; PUYOL, I., 364 *seq.*

added, in May, 1613, a condemnatory decree of the Congregation of the Index.[1]

Richer had appealed to the Paris Parliament against his condemnation by the bishops, urging that they had exceeded their authority, but Marie de Medici did not allow the appeal and forbade all proceedings against the bishops. She likewise stopped other measures contemplated by the Parliament, such as, for instance, the publication of the Acts of the schismatical council of Pisa. Both the queen-regent and Ubaldini were convinced that Parliament was heading for a schism.[2] For that reason Parliament tried to uphold Richer for as long as possible, though its efforts proved in vain. In September, 1612, Richer found himself compelled to lay aside his office of Syndic of the Sorbonne, a post he had so shamefully misused in order to lead the faculty into the path of schism and heresy. All his attempts to regain that important dignity were foiled by the counter-measures of the nuncio.[3]

After such a defeat, the enemies of the Holy See deemed it more prudent to concentrate their attacks once more on the Jesuits. In this resolve they were guided by the principle which their friend Sarpi had formulated with his wonted exaggeration: "The most important thing is to destroy the Jesuits; if they are defeated, Rome is lost and if they are out of the way, religion will 'reform' itself of its own accord."[4]

[1] See Reusch, *Index*, II., 357.

[2] See Ubaldini's report of April 24, 1612, translated in Prat, III., 383.

[3] See Puyol, I., 390 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*, 404 *seq.*; Fouqueray, III., 299. Brief, praising the Prince of Condé and the Count of Soissons for their assistance in the deposition of Richer, dated September 26, 1612, are in Du Plessis d'Argentré, III., 2, 188.

[4] See the letter of Sarpi to Groslot of July 5, 1611, in Fontanini, *Storia arcana*, 366, quoted by Prat, III., 413. For the further conflict with the Jesuits *cf.* especially Prat, III., 577 *seq.*, 593 *seq.* A *Brief of Paul V. of January 20, 1612, to Marie de Medici, thanks her for all she has done for the protection of Catholics. *Epist.*, VIII., 228, Papal Secret Archives.

In the Paris Parliament Servin showed himself now as before both adroit and indefatigable in every kind of agitation and intrigue against the Jesuits. Thanks to the weakness of President Verdun he secured, in June, 1614, a decree in virtue of which the "Defence of the Catholic Faith against the errors of the Anglican Sect" written by the Jesuit, Francis Suarez, was to be burnt by the public executioner. The judgment of the Parliament was a crying injustice, as Bellarmine pointed out in a special report.[1] Doctrines antagonistic to the State could only be discovered in Suarez's book by taking out isolated sentences, as Servin had done, sentences that could only be rightly appraised when seen in their context.[2] Surely Suarez should have been the last man whom anyone would suspect of attempting to interfere with the sovereignty of monarchs and statesmen, for in that case a ruler so absolute and so extraordinarily jealous of his rights as Philip II. would certainly not have suffered him to occupy the chair of Coimbra. Philip III. also had given his full approval to Suarez's work. How far that divine was from any whittling down of the autonomy of the State is shown by the fact that in his classical work on Law published in 1612, he expressly states that "the Pope has not received from Christ any secular ruling power by right divine, neither over the whole world, nor over the whole of Christendom or any part of it".[3]

Paul V. had himself encouraged the publication of the *Defence of the Catholic Faith* of Suarez, the most noted theologian of the time,[4] which the Paris Parliament now took upon itself to condemn, and on September 10th, 1613, the Pope praised the book in a special laudatory brief. The

[1] See Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 536 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Prat, III., 578 *seq.*; Scorraille, II., 176 *seq.*; Fouqueray, III., 305 *seq.*

[3] *De legibus ac Deo legislatore*, Coimbrae, 1612, l. 3, ch. 8, § 10. *Cf.* Reichmann, *F. Suarez, ein Vertreter des Naturrechtes im 17. Jahrhundert*, in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, XCIV. (1917), 275 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Werner, I., 90; Scheeben, *Dogmatik*, I., § 1094, and the opinion of Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I., 139 *seq.* See also R. de Scorraille, *Fr. Suarez*, 2 vols., Paris, 1912.

decree of that secular body was a twofold provocation of the Pope. To this must be added that the resolution of the Parliament also implied a rejection of the indirect power of the Holy See in temporal matters. Small wonder, then, if Paul V. put up a strong resistance. Through Ubaldini he lodged a protest, insisting that whereas in France nothing was allowed to be published in defence of the Holy See, the grossest calumnies, such as those of Du Plessis Mornay, who had called the Pope antichrist,[1] went unpunished. However, the French government seemed at first more afraid of the anger of Parliament than of that of the Pope. Tension became so acute that at one time there was reason to fear an open breach between Paris and Rome. But Paul V. precipitated nothing. In the wearisome discussions that ensued, for all his insistence on his authority and his solicitude for the unjustly attacked Suarez, he showed, as even the French ambassador, the Marquis de Tresnel, had to admit, the utmost goodwill towards France. It was due to the Pope's moderation that the painful incident was at last got out of the way, for he declared himself satisfied with a simple suspension of the parliamentary decree.[2]

In the meantime the three Estates of the realm had assembled in Paris at the end of October, 1614. In this assembly the Church was splendidly represented; with absolute unanimity the French clergy pronounced for the

[1] See FOUQUERAY, III., 313 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the treatise of RANCE, *L'arrêt contre Suarez*, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XXXVII (1885), 597 *seq.*, and the detailed presentation of SCORRAILLE (II., 197 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*). Scorraille shows that when Suarez, in his work, discussed the question of tyrannicide, he did so against the prohibition of Aquaviva (*cf.* above, p. 17), but that no blame can be attached to him for this, as the decree had not been published in his province. Aquaviva renewed the veto on August 1, 1614, deploring that it had not been effective everywhere. The letter of Cardinal Borghese "in nome di Nostro Signore", on this matter, addressed to Marie de Medici on July 30, 1614, is printed in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 88 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, *Melet.*, 328 *seq.*

acceptance of the decrees of Trent. This decision was all the more important inasmuch as a majority of the Third Estate, which included the wealthy burghers and the State officials, favoured the schismatical tendencies of the Parliament of Paris and put forward questions the discussion of which could only be disastrous.[1] This was clearly shown by the almost unanimous agreement with the proposal of the deputies of Paris, that in imitation of schismatical England, the assembly should lay it down as a fundamental law of the State that the king holds his crown from God alone and that for no reason whatsoever could any power of any kind, be it temporal or *spiritual*, have competence to depose him or to release his subjects from their oath of allegiance. All the Estates, and thereafter all officials and priests, were to swear, without reservation, that this proposition was a holy, inviolable law and one in accordance with the word of God. If anyone advanced a contrary opinion, especially the theory that the king may be murdered or deposed, he was to be punished as one guilty of high treason against the State and the king. An additional clause declared that all religious Orders in France were bound to combat, without regard to persons, and without equivocation, any opinion directly or indirectly opposed to this teaching, by whomsoever propounded; otherwise they rendered themselves liable to punishment as favouring the enemies of the State.[2]

Claude Le Prêtre, councillor to the Paris Parliament, was the author of this resolution of the Third Estate, the aim of which was disguised under the thin veil of seeming concern for the rights and the person of the king. Those who saw more clearly could be in no doubt as to what was intended, viz. approval of the schismatical ends which the Parliament of Paris had pursued for years, and proscription of all those who defended the rights of the Holy See, whether or no they

[1] See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 365 *seq.*

[2] See FLORIMOND RAPINE, *Recueil . . . de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé . . . en l'Assemblée gén. des États tenus à Paris en l'année 1614*, Paris, 1651, 205 *seq.* *Cf.* PUYOL, I., ch. 9, and MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 368 *seqq.*

belonged to the Society of Jesus.[1] This was made perfectly plain by Cardinal Du Perron when, on January 2nd, 1615, accompanied by a number of bishops and sixty representatives of the nobility, he presented himself in the assembly of the Third Estate. His brilliant speech of three hours duration was calculated to open the eyes of those deputies who had failed to realize the import of the proposed measure and who imagined that by assenting to it they were proving their loyalty to the king. The Cardinal began by questioning the competence of a lay assembly to pronounce on such purely ecclesiastical questions. Clearly, and with strict logic, he then examined each separate paragraph of the resolution. With regard to the independence of kings in temporal matters and any attempt on their lives, there could be no controversy at all; everybody would agree with the statements on the subject made by the Third Estate. But it was otherwise in a case thus stated by Du Perron: if it should happen that rulers, who themselves, or whose forbears, had promised on oath, to God or to their peoples, that they would live and die in the Catholic faith, break their oath, openly fall into apostasy, do violence to the consciences of their subjects and endeavour to introduce either Arianism or Mohamedanism in their States, may not their subjects in such circumstances be released from their oath of allegiance? And if so, who is qualified to declare them thus freed? The Cardinal emphasized the fact that the answer was not beyond dispute. It could not be made an article of faith; in things of this kind the Church alone had authority to decide, nor could the people be compelled to take an oath in the matter. Hence the clergy would undergo martyrdom rather than attack the Pope's authority or provoke a schism by giving their adhesion to the resolution put forward by the Third Estate.[2] Robert Miron, who acted as spokesman of the Third Estate and as representative of

[1] See Prat, III., 624. *Cf.* De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 127.

[2] See Rapine, *loc. cit.*, 296 *seq.* *Cf.* De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 128 *seq.*; Hergenröther, *Kirche u. Staat*, 446. See also Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 680 *seq.*

Paris, sought to weaken the Cardinal's speech by denying the aims of the resolution which the latter had so clearly exposed. In his reply Du Perron once again emphatically declared that laymen had no right to decide ecclesiastical questions of this kind.

The surest proof that Du Perron had clearly discerned the true purpose of the resolution was provided by the Parliament of Paris when, on that same day, and on a motion of Servin's, it sanctioned once more all the measures which had been previously passed against the Jesuits and other defenders of the Holy See, and expressly declared that the Pope could neither excommunicate nor depose a king, even if he became a heretic. The next day the clergy protested against the pressure which it was sought to apply by these measures. Du Perron spoke once more: he roundly declared that the Pope had full and direct power in things spiritual and indirect power in things temporal; whosoever thought otherwise was a schismatic and a heretic. This applied also to the Parliament of Paris. Unless the king rejected its resolution, it would become necessary to excommunicate that body.[1]

In order to avoid giving their adversaries the slightest pretext for accusing the clergy or the Jesuits of condoning murderous attempts against kings, the representatives of the clergy confirmed anew the decree of the Council of Constance against the Dominican Petit; on the other hand it insisted on the repeal of the Parliamentary resolution. The government sought to smooth down difficulties by forbidding the continuation of the controversy and by reserving any decision to itself. This was all the more unacceptable to the clergy as the printed text of the resolution in dispute was already being circulated, as if there were no question of its legality. By their firmness—they threatened to suspend their deliberations—the clergy, who had the support of the majority of the nobility, succeeded in inducing the crown to punish the printer of the parliamentary decree, to repeal the decree itself and to order the resolution of the Third Estate to be expunged

[1] See Rapine, *loc. cit.*, 356 *seq.*

from the *Cahier*.[1] In this way a most important victory was won. The Pope, who had been exceedingly anxious about the issue, expressed his thanks to all who had contributed to this triumph and exhorted them to display a like constancy in the time to come.[2]

On the other hand all efforts of the French clergy proved fruitless in another matter, one to which Paul V. attached the greatest importance.[3] This was the solemn publication of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. This time opposition seemed all the more out of place as in the memorial to the king it had been said, in as many words, that the act would take place as soon as the Pope should have given an assurance that such a publication would not curtail the rights of the crown, compromise the peace of the State, or infringe the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the privileges of the cathedral and collegiate churches and the clergy of France.[4]

Indefatigable, as always, Ubaldini gave of his best in this affair. He asked the Jesuit Coton to write a refutation of the various objections which had been raised against the publication of the decrees and to dedicate his work to the three Estates. The hostility of the Huguenots, Coton explained,

[1] See PRAT, III., 629 *seq.*; PICOT, *Hist. des États gén.*, III., 367 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 132 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the Briefs, dated *prid. cal. Febr.*, 1615, to the Cardinals and other members of the assembly of the clergy (see Vol. XXV, App. No. 4) to Cardinal Joyeuse ("expectavimus pacem et ecce turbatio"; he is to help); to Cardinal Sourdis ("tribulationes cordis Nostri multiplicatae sunt super numerum"; he praises him and continues to hope); to Cardinal Du Perron ("exacerbatur quotidie animi Nostri molestia;" heartfelt thanks for which no words suffice); to Cardinal Rochefoucauld (praises him); to Cardinal Bonsi ("novis semper atque gravioribus afflictionibus afficimur"), "Nobilibus viris ordinis nobilium regni Franciae in conciliis general. congreg." (he praises them). *Epist.*, X., 261–8, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* in the App. No. 5 the Brief to Louis XIII. of January 22, 1615, Papal Secret Archives. See also MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 371.

[4] See PHILIPPSON in the *Hist Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 114 *seq.*

was nothing to be wondered at, but surely in a matter of this kind, Catholics should not allow themselves to be led astray either by heretics or by false brethren whose schismatical dispositions and hostility to the Holy See were such that they refused to have anything to do with the Pope or with Rome.[1] Men of this type formed the majority in the assembly of the Third Estate. René Potier, bishop of Beauvais, preached to deaf ears when he earnestly represented to the assembly that even if the decrees were published they need have no fear that the Inquisition would be set up, or that the privileges of the king and those of the Gallican Church would be in any way curtailed.

Although the Third Estate had strongly insisted on the necessity of removing abuses in the Church, it nevertheless definitely rejected the only means to that end. It was ready to accept the dogmatic decrees, Robert Miron explained, but not the disciplinary ones; no General Council had ever been published in France and no exception could be made for that of Trent. With biting sarcasm he added that the clergy might quite well carry out the decrees of the Council of their own accord by suppressing the pluralism of benefices and other abuses which had been condemned at Trent![2]

Though the nobility sided with the clergy, the obstruction of the Third Estate proved insurmountable. In his famous speech of February 23rd, 1615, the bishop of Luçon, Richelieu, renewed the demand for publication and pointed in eloquent words to the example of the other Catholic States and to Henry IV's. own promise. However, for fear of internal disturbances, the government did not dare to do anything.[3] For the rest the French clergy took Miron at his word. Regardless of the agitation of the Gallicans and the Huguenots, they decreed in the assembly of July 7th, 1615, without prejudice to the liberties of the Gallican Church, the observance of the

[1] See PRAT, III., 645 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Ubaldini of December 18, 1614, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 303, note 1.

[2] See RAPINE, *Recueil*, 436; DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 136.

[3] See MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 309. *Cf.* MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 375 *seq.*

reform decrees of Trent and their publication by provincial synods which were to be held in every diocese within the next six months. Forty-seven archbishops and bishops swore to obey this decision. The nuncio was jubilant; in Rome also joy was great. True, the royal assent was still wanting, but the leaders of the Church had spoken and all true Catholics in France now knew their duty. It goes without saying that bitter attacks on the part of the Gallicans were not wanting. Soon, however, universal attention was drawn elsewhere, for Condé's rising had taken place.[1] A section of the Huguenots also took to arms: but they could prevent neither the king's journey to the Spanish frontier nor his marriage. On November 25th, at Bordeaux, Louis XIII. led the Spanish princess, Anne of Austria, to the altar. A month later peace negotiations with Condé were initiated. The peace congress opened on February 10th, 1616. Among other stipulations arrived at was the confirmation of the decrees previously passed in favour of the Huguenots as well as some further concessions. The Third Estate also achieved a notable success when the government promised not to give effect to the demand of the clergy for the publication of the Tridentine decrees.[2]

At one moment there was real danger lest the proposal for a new constitution of the French State which, thanks to Du Perron's efforts, had been defeated in the General Assembly of the Estates, should be accepted. Ubaldini displayed as much ability as zeal in frustrating these designs. It was due to him that Marie de Medici pledged her royal word to the Pope that the question would never again come up for dis-

[1] *Cf.* PERRENS, II., 334; MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 381; and PRUNEL, 14 *seq.*, where the reports of Ubaldini, especially the important ones of July 15 and August 11 and 27, and October 17, 1615, are used. SERBAT (*Assemblées*, 394 *seq.*) published Ubaldini's reports of August 10 and 16, 1615, *in extenso*. *Cf.*, too, the *Briefs to Du Perron and other French Cardinals, of April 8, 1616. *Epist.*, XI., 231, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See PICOT, *Hist. des États gén.*, III., 468.

cussion.[1] By that time the indefatigable nuncio had been raised to the purple; the presentation by the king of the red biretta had taken place at the beginning of February, 1616,[2] but Ubaldini remained in France until the arrival of his successor. The prelate appointed by Paul V. was Guido Bentivoglio, of Ferrara, who had been nuncio at Brussels from 1607 until 1615.[3] The choice was arrived at about the middle of July, 1616,[4] but the Brief of nomination was not published until September 8th, 1616.[5] Repeated bouts of illness still further delayed the nuncio's departure and not until the end of November did Bentivoglio reach Lyons. On December 15th, 1616, he arrived in Paris. Eight days later Ubaldini left the capital.[6]

The task that awaited the new nuncio at the French court is thus summed up in his Instruction, viz. the consolidation of a good understanding between France and Spain; watchfulness with regard to the nomination of suitable bishops; the furthering of the Catholic reform by the convocation of provincial and diocesan synods and other similar measures; the abolition of the appeal to secular judges under pretext of abuse of the spiritual power; lastly the termination of the paper war against the Catholic faith and the papal

[1] See *Ubaldini's report of March 26, 1616, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* Although RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II ², 198 *seq.*) had referred to this important document, PERRENS overlooked it completely.

[2] See *Ubaldini's report of February 9, 1616, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* The nomination of Cardinals had taken place on December 2, 1615; see Vol. XXV., 340 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, xxiv *seqq.* See also below, 85 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*

[4] See *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, ed. G. Biagioli, I., Napoli, 1833, 43.

[5] See the *Brief to Louis XIII., dated September 8, 1616, *Epist.*, XI., 128. *Ibid.*, 239, for the recall of Ubaldini. Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, I., 45, 48, 59.

authority.[1] The Instruction exhorts Bentivoglio to adopt an attitude of the greatest friendliness towards the Sorbonne and, to this end, to give only private support to the plan of the Jesuits for the opening of courses at their Collège de Clermont, in Paris, and to advise the Fathers to put off the settlement of this question which, at present, would only create fresh enemies for them, until the king should have attained his majority.

In view of the prudence and moderation of Bentivoglio such admonitions fell on good soil. In this respect the new nuncio was the exact opposite of Ubaldini who was by nature a fighter. And since Rome too was anxious to avoid all conflicts as much as possible, Bentivoglio did not find it difficult to settle, by means of a compromise, the conflict provoked at the very beginning of his nunciature by the conduct of the unworthy bishop of Boulogne, Claude Dormy, who had got mixed up in the conspiracy of the Prince of Condé.[2] As for Louis Servin, who remained obstinate in his

[1] The Instruction for Cardinal Bentivoglio is in the Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 468, p. 410 *seq.* Prat, as well as Perrens, would have judged differently of Bentivoglio if they had known the instructions given to him. H. DE L'ÉPINOIS, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XV. (1874), 588, has already shown how inadequate is Perrens' account of Bentivoglio. The edition of the French nunciature reports of the clever Bentivoglio, invaluable documents for the intimate history of the French court, was undertaken by L. SCARABELLI (*Lettere diplom. di G.B.*, 2 vols., Torino, 1852–3). It was based on a copy in the Municipal Library at Genoa. This edition, faulty in other respects also, is now out of date since that of L. DE STEFFANI, *La Nunciatura di Francia del card. G.B. Lettere a S. Borghese, tratte dagli originali*, Firenze, 1863. These are housed in the Archives of the Counts of Bentivoglio at Ferrara. De Steffani also gives the more important instructions of the Secretary of State. The *Lettere* of Bentivoglio of the period of his French nunciature are also in *Barb.*, 5880–5888, Vatican Library.

[2] See Bentivoglio's report of April 11, and Borghese's letter of May 9 and July 25, 1617. *Cf.* DE STEFFANI, *Nunziatura*, I., II. 171, 304, 528.

Gallican opinions, Bentivoglio sought to win him over by kindness [1] and he also encouraged the efforts of Cardinal Retz to bring Richer to better sentiments.[2]

Differences of character and other circumstances resulted in the relations of Bentivoglio with the Jesuit Coton, the king's confessor and the trusted collaborator of Ubaldini, becoming somewhat strained. This also led to the termination of the close relations which under Ubaldini had obtained between the nunciature and the Jesuits.[3] Happily the awkward situation developed no further. With the Jesuit, Jean Arnoux, who became confessor to Louis XIII. in the summer of 1617, in succession to Coton, Bentivoglio stood on excellent terms. When the Huguenots published a violent pamphlet in answer to the sharply anti-Calvinistic sermons of Jean Arnoux, and dedicated it to Louis XIII. with a prayer that God would open the king's eyes, Bentivoglio lodged so strong a protest with the government, that he obtained the suppression of the publication.[4] How highly the nuncio valued the work of the Jesuits in France was shown when at last, after immense difficulties had been surmounted, a royal decree of February, 1618, authorized the Jesuits to inaugurate courses of study in their Collegè de Clermont, in Paris. Bentivoglio at once sought an audience with Louis XIII. in order to express his thanks; in its course he spoke of the Jesuits in the highest terms. To Cardinal Borghese he suggested that a laudatory Brief be sent to the king, for, he added, our enemies themselves confess that the only reason why they oppose the Jesuits is that they are such keen supporters of the authority of the Holy See. The duke of Luynes also should receive a laudatory Brief, the nuncio thought, for the powerful support he had given to the Jesuits on this occasion.[5]

[1] See Bentivoglio's letter of July 5, 1617, *ibid.*, no. 407.

[2] See Bentivoglio's letter, *ibid.*, II., no. 678, 728, 831, 887.

[3] *Cf.* PRAT, III., 734 *seq.*, 756 *seq.* Instead of Coton, Bérulle became Bentivoglio's confidant; see *ibid.*, 752 *seq.*

[4] See PRAT, IV., 41 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*; *cf.* 297 *seq.*

[5] See Bentivoglio's letter of February 14, 1618, in DE STEFFANI, *loc. cit.*, II., no. 961.

It is characteristic of Paul V's. caution that he did not fall in with these suggestions. Bentivoglio received a formal command to observe the greatest caution in this affair and not to rouse the Sorbonne.[1]

A triumph was in store for Bentivoglio at the assembly of notables which opened at Rouen on December 4th, 1617. He shared Père Arnoux' fear lest the notables should allow themselves to be influenced by the ideas of the Paris Parliament and take up once more the dangerous motion concerning a new constitution[2] which the Third Estate had introduced in 1614.[3] However, nothing happened, but another danger arose instead. In view, without any doubt, of the understanding of the Huguenots with foreign Protestant princes, the government had proposed that all Frenchmen should be forbidden, under pain of severe punishment, to hold any intercourse whatsoever with the representatives of foreign powers. One section of the Assembly was for inserting the clause: "even with the nuncio of the Pope." But this was opposed by the clergy and a majority of the nobles who insisted that the Pope, as the Head of the Church and the Father of all the faithful, could not be regarded as a foreign prince. In consequence of the energetic protests of Bentivoglio, who threatened to take his departure, the attempt failed.[4]

A critical moment in Bentivoglio's nunciature arose when in August, 1619, the French ambassador in Rome, the Marquis de Cœuvres, came in conflict with the Roman police. The quarrel became so acute that at one time a rupture between Rome and Paris seemed imminent. When the satisfaction which Cœuvres demanded was denied him, he ceased to put in an appearance at the office of the Cardinal Secretary of State. Bentivoglio's position became all the more precarious

[1] See De Steffani, II., no. 1041.

[2] See the reports of October 11 and November 8, 1617, *ibid.*, no. 641, 722; *cf.* 830.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 28 *seq.*

[4] See Bentivoglio's report of December 22, 1617, in De Steffani, II., no. 817.

as he took the Pope's part with the greatest determination. The nuncio had made up his mind to leave the court of Paris when Père Coton, who happened to be in Rome at the time (December, 1619) succeeded in finding a peaceful solution of the dispute.[1]

An event of importance, especially from the ecclesiastical point of view, was the union of Navarre and Béarn with the French crown which was effected in October, 1620, by Louis XIII. who had gone to Pau at the head of an army. By this act the Edict of Nantes became operative in those provinces also. The resistance of the Huguenots, who wished to be sole masters of Béarn, was broken by force and the re-establishment of Catholic worship and the restoration of property of which the Catholics had been robbed, were similarly enforced. Henry IV. had already pledged himself to do this on the occasion of his reconciliation with Clement VIII., but he had failed to keep his word to the full.[2] The measure taken by Louis XIII., with which Bentivoglio and Paul V. fully concurred, could not be called unfair, for the king merely restored to the Catholics that of which Jeanne d'Albret had unjustly deprived them. For the rest Louis XIII. indemnified the Huguenots by assigning to them, out of his own purse, the same revenues which until then they had derived from the Catholic Church property.[3] However,

[1] See PRAT, IV., 191 *seqq.* A brief to Louis XIII., referring to this quarrel, dated Tusculum, October 4, 1619, is in FILLON, 2454.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., p. 131 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. Relatione del restabilimento de' vescovi e persone ecclesiastiche del Béarn ne' lor' honori, funtioni, carichi, e godimenti de' beneficii usurpati da gli heretici, et successo del felice viaggio in quel paese di S.M. Christianissima.* In Bologna, e ristampata in Viterbo, MDCXXI. ad instanza di Lodovico Dozza Bolognese (1621); DE MEAUX, 341 *seq.*; KLOPP, II., 31; HANOTAUX, in the *Rev. d. Deux Mondes*, January, 1902, p. 486 *seq.*; PUYOL, *Louis XIII. et le Béarn ou rétablissement du Catholicisme en Béarn et réunion du Béarn et de la Navarre à la France*, Paris, 1872. Paul V.'s contribution is said to have amounted to 200,000 scudi. See *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1895, 80 (according to *Coppi*).

it soon became apparent that the followers of Calvin had no mind to cease from oppressing the Catholics and they were resolved to carry matters to the last extremity. In the face of the king's prohibition they met at La Rochelle, in October, for the purpose of organizing armed resistance. Bentivoglio gave it as his opinion that France would have no peace as long as the Huguenot party remained in existence.[1]

As a reward for his labours, the nuncio was raised to the purple on January 11th, 1621.[2] The letter of thanks which he addressed to Paul V. on January 31st,[3] no longer found the Pope among the living. The Cardinal set out at once for Rome, to attend the conclave, but by the time he got as far as the neighbourhood of Lyons news reached him of the election of Gregory XV.[4]

(2.)

Bentivoglio's French nunciature had coincided with a period of grave upheaval. It did not take him long to understand the great difference that existed between France and the Spanish Netherlands: "The first month of my stay in Brussels," he wrote at the time to a friend, "taught me all that I was to learn by experience during the next nine years of my nunciature. Here every day yields something fresh. In the Netherlands there is uniformity, in France constant change. If there they fail through slowness, they do so here by excessive ardour." [5]

However, though conditions in France, on which Bentivoglio's reports tell us so much that is of interest, were extremely unstable, the renewal of Catholic life was nevertheless steadily on the increase, both in extent and in depth, throughout the realm.

It was a matter of the greatest importance that the govern-

[1] *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, I., 173 *seq.*; *cf.* 193.
[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXV., p. 340.
[3] *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, I., 97 *seq.*
[4] See *ibid.*, 107, 109.
[5] *Ibid.*, 51.

ment favoured the Catholic effort. In this respect Catherine de Medici and Louis XIII. showed far more zeal than Henry IV.; they also allowed the papal nuncio to exercise a far wider influence. The rise of the duke of Luynes led to no change in this respect.[1]

Paul V. and his nuncio sought to stir the Catholic zeal of the queen regent by every possible means, even though they met with the opposition of counsellors who, from considerations of statecraft, deemed it necessary to show the greatest possible leniency to the Huguenots.[2] But however important a factor the favourable disposition of the government may have been, it would have availed nothing had it not been accompanied by the internal regeneration of the Church in France.[3] Paul V. kept in very close touch with the protagonists of this movement. The following incident is characteristic of this attitude: in the summer of 1607, Cardinal Joyeuse had reported to the Pope on the condition of religion in France, on its needs, and on the keenness with which the regent supported every effort for reform. Thereupon Ubaldini was instructed to thank the queen and to beg her and her advisers, Villeroi and Jeannin, to persevere in their efforts on behalf

[1] See Mariéjol, VI., 2, 204; De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 79.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Ubaldini to Cardinal Borghese, of October 29, 1610, in which he says: "Io mi ci affatigherò per ogni via, come è necessario, che S. Stà tenga spesso proposito con breve di questa materia, perchè egli spesso lo rappresenti qua, dove l'interesse della religione ha hora gran bisogno di chi li assista di continuo con zelo e con autorità, ancorchè nella materia della regina non sia da desiderare un'ottima mente e santissima e purissima intentione verso il servitio di Dio e l'augmento della religione cattolica, della quale è zelantissima; ma il male è che quelli, ai quali ella ragionevolmente è tenuta a credere, hanno per massima che bisogni per qualsivoglia mezzo procurare di tener gl'Ugonotti lontani dall'armi ed andarli comportando sino che dura la minorità del re: consiglio, che fu già dato et eseguito dalla fu già regina madre e con molto danno della religione." *Nunziat. div.*, 37, p. 208 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Ranke (*Päpste*, II.[6], 282) also notes this.

of ecclesiastical discipline, but at the same time to take counsel with the leading spirits of the Catholic restoration. As such the following were singled out: the archbishops of Embrun and Aix, Honoré du Laurens and Paul Hurault; the bishops of Paris, Angers and Nantes, Henri de Gondi, Charles Miron and Charles de Bourgneuf, and lastly, Cardinal Du Perron.[1] Like Cardinals Joyeuse and La Rochefoucauld, Du Perron, who had become archbishop of Sens in 1606, laboured unceasingly on behalf of the Catholic restoration and reform. The death of this splendid Prince of the Church, which took place on September 5th, 1618, was a grievous loss to the movement for a Catholic revival. Bentivoglio styled the dead Cardinal the Augustine of France.[2]

In addition to the energetic action of Du Perron and Ubaldini, a strong contributory cause to the defeat of the anti-papal efforts of the Third Estate was the fact that the section of the nobility which had kept its Catholic faith had been steeled and refined by the fight it had been compelled to wage for its preservation.[3] Not a few among the bourgeoisie who toyed with heretical tendencies, did so simply because they failed to recognize their danger and not for a moment did they entertain the idea of a schism or of apostacy from the Church's teaching.[4] At that time instances of apostacy were extremely rare in France.[5] The great mass of the people,

[1] LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 303 *seq.*

[2] *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, 64.

[3] *Cf.* DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 79.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 95.

[5] The Neapolitan, Giulio Cesare Vanini was condemned to death for heresy in February, 1619, by the Toulouse Parliament. The naturalistic poet Théophile de Vau, imprisoned by the Paris Parliament, only escaped the same fate through the intercession of powerful friends; see MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 204; PRAT, IV., 470 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 40 *seq.* For Vanini, see TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 135 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Bibliografia*, 78; K. FISCHER, *Descartes*, I³., 106 *seq.*; CHRIESTIEN, in the *Engl. Hist. Review*, X., April issue; PALUMBO, in the *Riv. Stor. Salentina*, VI., Lecce, 1909, 9 *seq.*

above all the peasantry, were resolved to remain true to the ancient Church.[1] The immense majority of the French people clung firmly to the Catholic faith. In his report of 1605, the Venetian ambassador, Angelo Badoer, states that for a hundred Catholics there was one Calvinist and that since the restoration of peace the proportion was constantly growing in favour of the Catholics,[2] and it would be even more favourable if during the civil wars the people's instruction by sermon and catechism had not been grievously neglected. However, in this respect also, a sensible improvement was gradually taking place.

With a view to a thorough religious training of the lower classes, Jean Baptiste Romillion (died 1622) and César de Bus (died 1607) had founded the Congregation of the secular clerics of Christian Doctrine. Between 1599 and 1600, the female teaching Order of the Ursulines had also taken root in France.[3] The Jesuits, on their part, displayed a widespread and comprehensive activity on behalf of the education of the children of the nobility and the bourgeoisie, as well as for the religious needs of the upper classes. The war which the Parliament of Paris waged against the Order, only helped to strengthen its position. So happy a result the church in France owed to one man more than to any other, the same who prevailed on Henry IV. to recall the Jesuits to France—Pierre Coton.[4] A scion of a royalist family, this noble youth entered the Society of Jesus at Arona, in 1583, notwithstanding the

[1] See Mariéjol, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Barozzi-Berchet, *Francia*, I., 94. According to Bentivoglio (*Relationi degli Ugonotti di Francia*, in *Relationi*, pubbl. da Erycio Puteano, Colonia, 1632, 183) the number of the Huguenots in 1619, only amounted to a million out of a total population of 15 millions. According to Boerot in 1611 the proportion had been less favourable (see Gioda, *Botero*, III., Milano, 1895, 277).

[3] *Cf.* p. 63 *seq.*

[4] For the following *cf.* the great work of Prat (Paris, 1876), and also De Meaux' warm appreciation of Coton (*Réforme*, II., 25 *seq.*).

opposition of his father. He pursued his studies at Milan, where he assisted at the last Mass of the dying Carlo Borromeo, and at the Roman College in the Eternal City, where he was ordained priest in 1591. On his return to France, Coton displayed, at a difficult time, a fruitful activity as a preacher of mark, an able controversialist, a popular confessor and a wise administrator of a college. He succeeded in gaining the confidence of Henry IV. to such an extent as to be appointed confessor to the king and tutor to the Dauphin. In these difficult posts he remained what he had always been—a model religious who combined in wonderful fashion meekness with severity. He never failed to stand up manfully for the interests of the Church and his Order. The enemies of the Holy See knew why they made him the chief butt of their slanderous attacks.[1] "If the efforts to secure the removal of Coton from Court succeed," wrote Ubaldini to Aquaviva a few months after the death of Henry IV., "the Society of Jesus will succumb in France."[2] By good fortune Coton acted as confessor to Louis XIII. until 1617, and he was succeeded by another Jesuit, Père Arnoux. To this circumstance France chiefly owes it that the conduct of Henry IV.'s son was far more blameless than that of any ruler of France since the days of St. Louis.[3]

The spread of the Society of Jesus on French soil is shown by the fact that in 1616 it counted five Provinces with 1,676 members.[4] In the Province of France, the Jesuits had in Paris, besides the Collège de Clermont, a professed and a noviciate house, a residence at Pontoise and colleges at

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 18. BAYLE'S *Dictionnaire* (Loyole note C.) energetically refuted the slander against Coton.

[2] See PRAT, V., *Pièces justif.*, No. 92.

[3] See DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 45 *seq.* For Louis XIII.'s favourable disposition towards the Jesuits *cf.* the essay of E. GRISELLE, in the *Rev. du monde catholique*, XXIII., 5. See also DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[3], 632 *seq.*, and FOUQUERAY, III., 435 *seq.*

[4] See IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 354. In the French Provinces of the Order, as indeed in other places, the extent was not conterminous with political boundaries.

La Flèche, Bourges, Nevers, Eu, Moulin, Amiens, Caen and Rouen ; in the latter town they also had a noviciate house. In the Province of Aquitania they had a college and a house of probation at Bordeaux, and colleges at Agen, Perigueux, Limoges, Poitiers, Saintes and Rennes, and a residence at Saint-Macaire. The Province of Lyons possessed a college and noviciate both at Lyons and at Avignon ; there were likewise colleges at Tournon, Chambéry, Dôle, Besançon, Vienne, Embrun, Carpentras, Roanne, Vesoul and Sisteron. In the Province of Toulouse there was a college and a house of probation in the episcopal city : furthermore, there were colleges at Billom, Mauriac, Rodez, Auch, Le Puy, Véziers, Cahors, Aubenas, and Carcassone. In the Province of Champagne, the chief residence was at Nancy, with a college and a house of probation ; there were colleges at Reims, Verdun, Pont-à-Mousson, Dijon, Charleville, Autun, Châlons-sur-Marne and Bar-le-Duc.[1]

As everywhere else so in France, the Jesuits devoted themselves with particular ardour to the education of youth. Their teaching method proved itself in brilliant fashion, their success being due to the *Ratio Studiorum* of the year 1599, which Aquaviva had drawn up for general use, as well as to the efficiency of the teachers who devoted themselves wholeheartedly to their task.

The religious life was fostered by means of sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Coton, who had learnt the value of these associations during his stay in Rome, took particular

[1] There are good monographs on some of these foundations, thus, L. Puysieux, *Les Jésuites à Caen* (since 1606), Caen, 1846 (*cf.* Prentout, *L'université de Caen à la fin du 16e siècle. Contre-Réforme catholique et réformes parlementaires*, Caen, 1908) ; Ed. de Barthélémy, *Origine du collège de Rheims* (1608) in the *Rev. de Champagne et Brie*, 1876, Avril ; De Charmasse, *Les Jésuites au Collège d'Autun*, Autun, 1884 ; Boissonade et Bernard, *Hist. du Collège d'Angoulême, ibid.*, 1895 ; Chossat, *Les Jésuites à Avignon*, Avignon, 1896 ; J. Delfour, *Les Jésuites à Poitiers*, Paris, 1901. A general account has now been compiled by Fouqueray (III., 96 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*, 363 *seq.*, 488 *seq.*).

care to spread them in France. The members, who were carefully selected from among the best students, did not limit their zeal to their own sanctification but worked for the moral uplifting of others also, by example, word and deed. Coton describes the fruits that came to maturity by this means in a book which he entitled: *A Spiritual Nosegay gathered in the Garden of the heavenly Queen of the Sodalists.*[1]

Out of the student sodalities, which were divided into greater and smaller ones according to school classes, grew the men's sodalities of the Blessed Virgin. The action of these associations proved a not inconsiderable factor in the Catholic restoration. Nor was the zeal of the Jesuits confined to the young. They were no less keen on the reform of relaxed Convents and on the holding of spiritual exercises for the secular clergy,[2] than on the practice of the works of mercy on behalf of the sick, the needy and those in prison. Above all they were active as confessors and preachers. This side of their work was no less decisive than their enterprise in the educational field. At Court and in monasteries, in big towns and in small ones, everywhere they displayed a spirit of self-sacrifice without parallel.[3]

When we consider the incredible energy which the Jesuits put into their pastoral work on behalf of Catholics, we cannot but wonder how they still found time to combat the Calvinists. This work was all the more imperative as the followers of the religious innovation were once more making a very active

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, I., 87 *seq.*, IV., 417 *seq.*, 420 *seq.* There are many details about the Congregations in *Litt. Annuae*, 1605 *seq.* As to their influence in spreading devotion to our Lady, which increased greatly in France at this time, see CH. FLACHAIRE, *La dévotion à la Vierge dans la littérature catholique du commencement du 17ème siècle*, in the *Rev. de l'hist. des réligions*, LXXII., Paris, 1915, 311 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Litt. annuae*, 1607, 618; 1608, 268; 1609, 117.

[3] Numerous accounts are contained in *Litt. annuae, 1605 seq.*, in the bibliographies mentioned above, p. 45, note 1, dealing with the colleges of the Jesuits in France, and FOUQUERAY, III., 153 *seq.*, 386 *seq.*, 557 *seq.*

propaganda at the beginning of the seventeenth century, more particularly in the South of France.[1] However, their efforts met with the most determined opposition on the part of the Jesuits who, heedless of the fact that by so doing they were drawing on themselves the full weight of the hatred of the Protestant party, showed themselves in France also the staunchest champions of the Church and the papacy. They were also the most successful. The writings of such men as Jean Gontery, François Veron, Jean de Bordes, Fronton du Duc, and Louis Richeôme are among the best productions which French controversial literature of the period has to show.[2] Coton and Arnoux also distinguished themselves in this field. Like Du Perron at the celebrated conference of Fontainebleau, Coton and Gontery met outstanding Calvinist preachers in victorious disputations.[3] Coton's chief work, published in 1610, contains an exhaustive defence of Catholic doctrine and of every individual dogma against the attacks of the Huguenots. He subsequently published, in 1617, a larger work on the falsifications of Holy Writ in the Geneva Bible.[4]

These controversial publications and more particularly the public disputations led many souls to return to the Catholic faith.[5] The movement had begun in the last years of the reign of Clement VIII.; under Paul V. it gathered further strength. Among the numerous personages who, fully

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, I., 259.

[2] See besides, WERNER, *Gesch. der polem. Literatur*, IV., 585 *seq.*, 647 *seq.*, also PRAT, I., 517 *seq.*; II., 566 *seq.*, 569 *seq.*, 637 *seq.*; III., 727 *seq.*; IV., 53 *seq.* For Veron *cf.* P. FÉRÉT, *Un curé de Charenton au XVIIe. siècle*, Paris, 1881. For Richeôme, see H. BREMOND, *Hist. litt. du sentiment religieux en France*, I., Paris, 1916, 17 *seq.*, 23 *seq.*

[3] Further details in PRAT, I., 276 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*, 474 *seq.*, 525 *seq.*, 542 *seq.*; II., 601 *seq.*, 635 *seq.*, 646 *seq.*; III., 456 *seq.*, 517 *seq.*; IV., 103 *seq.* *Cf.* BREMOND, *loc. cit.*, II. (1916), 75 *seq.*

[4] See PRAT, II., 655 *seq.*; IV., 33 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* PRAT, I., 621 *seq.*

convinced by reflection and instruction, came back to the bosom of the one, indivisible Church, from the Calvinistic heresy, besides savants such as Henri Sponde, to whom Paul V. assigned a post in Rome, and the orientalist Jean Morin, there were also statesmen such as Nicolas de Harley and Philippe de Fresne de Canaye, Henry IV's. ambassador at Venice. Calvinist preachers also returned to the Church in great numbers.[1] In order to follow their convictions many of these sacrificed their means of livelihood. For the purpose of providing for them the clergy of France started a fund which received the support of Paul V., Henry IV., and Marie de Medici. The annual sum set aside for this end was eventually raised to 30,000 livres.[2]

Several Capuchins likewise applied themselves to the defence of Catholic truth by means of controversial writings. Of their number mention may be made of Andeolus, Angelicus Tresulensis and Daniel of St. Severus.[3] Others sought to convert the Calvinists by their preaching, for instance, Edonard Mole, brother to the famous attorney general and known by his religious name of Athanasius. He did much to combat public immorality and founded a house where loose women could find a refuge on their conversion.[4] Both Henry IV. and Marie de Medici showed much favour to the Capuchins [5] and several bishops, Richelieu among them, introduced them in their dioceses.[6]

[1] Together with PICOT, I., 45 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, and PRAT, IV., 59 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 91, 95 *seq.*, *cf.* RÄSZ, *Konvertiten*, Bd. III.–V.

[2] See PRAT, II., 672 *seq.*; RÄSZ, III., 270 *seq.*; SERBAT, *Assemblées*, 328 *seq.*, 399 *seq.* The Brief mentioned here addressed to the French clergy respecting converts, is seconded by Paul V.'s *letter to Cardinal Sourdis, of August 5, 1608, in *Epist.*, IV., 93, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 316, for the *Brief to Henry IV.

[3] See WERNER, IV., 647. *Cf.* also BREMOND, *loc. cit.*, II., 151 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, concerning Benoit de Canfeld.

[4] See PICOT, I., 98. *Cf.* also RÄSZ, IV., 338.

[5] *Cf.* POIRSON, *Henri IV.*, III., 749; CHARPENNE, *Hist. des réunions temporaires d'Avignon*, I., Paris, 1886, 247 *seq.*

[6] See HANOTAUX, *Richelieu*, I², 94.

The chief strongholds of Calvinism, apart from the very extensive district of Languedoc, were Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis. The Catholic restoration boldly penetrated even into this territory which their opponents claimed for their very own. The Jesuits had made a foundation at Poitiers as early as 1604.[1] At a later date the Capuchin Joseph du Tremblay, who was destined for so much fame, by means of popular missions, did all he could to bring back to the Church the Calvinists of Poitou; his efforts were crowned with considerable success. In 1611 he laid the first stone of a monastery of his Order at Saumur where the Calvinist Academy founded by Du Plessis Mornay constituted a focus of Protestantism.[2] In the following year the Capuchins made foundations at Niort, north of La Rochelle, the chief Calvinist citadel, and at Saint-Maixent, and in 1620 at Thonars.[3] In the South they established themselves at Montpellier in 1609, at Oranges in 1610, at Gap in 1613, at Aigues-Mortes in 1623.[4] Everywhere they preached not only in the churches but in the open as well. Their processions of the Blessed Sacrament, which in most places were something quite unheard of, were soon attended by crowds of worshippers. Numerous conversions rewarded these labours.[5] Everybody admired the devotion to the sick which the Fathers displayed

[1] *Cf.* PRAT, II., 317 *seq.*, and J. DELFOUR, *Les Jésuites à Poitiers*, Paris, 1901.

[2] See FAGNIEZ, *P. Joseph*, I., 288, Paris, 1894. *Cf.* DEDOUVRES, *Le P. Joseph, ses charges, ses prédications de 1604 à 1613*, Angers, 1915.

[3] See MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 208.

[4] For these establishments see more detailed information in *Cod.* 636, p. 563 *seq.*, 569 *seq.* of the Méjanes Library at Aix (Provence). For the monastery at Montpellier, see the periodical, *La Controverse*, CXXXVI., 396 *seq.*, 407.

[5] See **Description des missions, conversions et autres fruits faits par les Capucins en la province St. Louis appellée de Provence*, in *Cod.* 636, p. 559 *seq.*, of the Méjanes Library, at Aix (Provence). *Cf.* too, MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 208, who rightly questions the accuracy of the figure of 50,000 converts.

in times of epidemic.[1] It is characteristic of the zeal which animated the Capuchins and Jesuits of France that, notwithstanding that they were overburdened with labours of every kind, they still undertook missionary work in pagan countries.[2]

The general revival which the Church experienced in France, affected the old orders also.[3] True, the reform of these institutions, which had for the most part sunk to a very low level, was a slow process and at times a most difficult one. Thus the reform of the Dominicans, which Sebastian Michaelis had begun at Toulouse, in 1580, and which Paul V. had confirmed, took indeed root in Paris,[4] but all the efforts of the excellent General of the Order, Agostino Galamina, failed to win over the other French convents to this new orientation.[5] The reform of the famous abbey of Montmartre, in Paris, undertaken by Marie de Beauvilliers, met with incredible resistance on the part of the utterly degenerate nuns so that progress was exceedingly slow.[6] The distinguished Marquise de Belle-Isle, Antoinette d'Orléans, who on the death of her husband had entered the convent of the Feuillantes, at Toulouse, and who, through pressure on the part of Paul V., had become Abbess of the Benedictine Convent of Fontevrault, met with so many obstacles in her attempts to

[1] *Cf.* Bouverius, II., 779; Picot, I., 95; Irenée d'Aulon, *Nécrologe des Frères min. Capucins de l'anc. prov. d'Aquitaine*, 1582–1790, Carcassonne, 1904.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXV., p. 378 *seq.*

[3] Numerous details in Picot, I., 91 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*, 421 *seq.* *Cf.* also De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 6 *seq.*; *Anal. Francisc.*, I., 359 *seq.* For the reform of the Discalced Augustinian Hermits, furthered by Paul V., see Goujet, II., 167 *seq.* For the restoration of the ancient discipline in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Symphorian, at Metz, by Karl Hellot, see Lager, *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Symphorian in Metz*, Brünn, 1892, 34 *seq.*

[4] See Picot, I., 420.

[5] *Cf.* Moroni, XXVIII., 111, and the *Instruction for the nuncio Corsini of April 4, 1621, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cod.* 472, p. 10 *seq.*

[6] See De Meaux, *Réforme*, I., 7 *seq.* *Cf.* Bremond, II., 442 *seq.*

reform her community, that together with the better-disposed nuns, she withdrew to the Priory of Lencloître from whence she spread her new institute, the strict Congregation of our Lady of Calvary. With the help of the Capuchin, Joseph du Tremblay, she founded, in 1617, a new monastery at Poitiers, in which the rule of St. Benedict was observed in all its primitive rigour. After the premature death of the foundress (1618), Père Joseph completed the work she had begun by effecting a reform in Paris and Angers and by obtaining for it the papal confirmation.[1]

The decree of the Council of Trent, by the terms of which all monasteries directly subject to the Holy See were compelled to form Congregations and to hold General Chapters at regular intervals, proved very advantageous to the Benedictine Order on French soil. The Congregation of St. Vannes, in Lorraine, founded by Didier de la Cour and confirmed by Clement VIII. has already been mentioned.[2] On July 23rd, 1605, Paul V. granted to it all the privileges and faculties enjoyed by the Abbot of Monte Cassino; at the same time he gave orders for the reform of all the monasteries within the legation of Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. For this purpose the Superior General of the Cassinese Congregation, Lorenzo Lucalberti, was dispatched to Lorraine.[3] Noël Mars, a Benedictine of the ancient abbey of Marmoutier, in Lower Alsace, founded the Congregation of Brittany which was approved by Paul V. in 1606.[4] In the following year the abbey of Saint

[1] *Cf. Vie de la mère Antoinette d'Orléans, fondatrice de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame du Calvaire, par un réligieux feuillant*, publ. avec une introduction par l'abbé Petit, Paris, 1880.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., p. 183.

[3] *Cf.* HAUDIQUIER, *Hist. du vén. Dom Didier de la Cour*, Paris, 1772. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CV., 105, 275 *seq.* The *Brief of Paul V., *Pro reformatione monasteriorum legationis ill. Caroli card. Lotharingiae "Ex iniuncto"*, September 27, 1605, is in facsimile in the National Archives, Paris. L. 357.

[4] See PICOT, I., 418; SCHMIEDER, in the *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XII., 75 *seq.*; *Rev. Bénédict.*, XI. (1894), 97 *seq.*

Denis, once famous throughout Europe, put itself at the head of a new Congregation of nine other monasteries. It was approved by Paul V. in 1614.[1] Adverse circumstances, however, chief of which was the abuse of the *commenda*, impeded the work of these Congregations.[2] The difficulties which stood in the way of a reform in the Benedictine Order had been described as early as 1607 in an impressive report of the Visitor of the Province of Aquitania to Cardinal Givry, the protector of the Order, in Rome.[3] The efficiency of the Congregation of Lorraine to which an ever growing number of French monasteries affiliated themselves (St. Augustine, at Limoges, in 1613, St. Faron, near Meaux, St. Junian, at Noailles, St. Pierre of Jumièges in 1615) ; was impeded by one outstanding obstacle—viz. the fact that the French government greatly disliked to see foreign Superiors at the head of French monasteries. In consequence of this the General Chapter of the Congregation of Lorraine, held at Toul in 1618, decreed that the French monasteries should form a Congregation of their own, with its own statutes, Superiors and visitors. The prompt execution of this resolution was mainly due to the influence of the excellent Prior of the Cluniac priory of Paris, Laurent Bénard, who won the support of Louis XIII. and other influential persons for the plan. In this way it became possible to give effect to the decision of the General Chapter of Toul before the end of 1618 in the monastery of Blancsmanteaux, in Paris, which until then had belonged to the Guillaumites.

[1] See *Gallia christ.*, VII., 332 ; Félibien, *Hist. de l'abbaye de St.-Denis*, Paris, 1706 ; F. d'Ayzac, *Hist. de l'abbaye de St.-Denis*, 2 vols., Paris, 1861. The *letter of the abbey of St.-Denis, to Cardinal Givry, with the request to ask Paul V. to confirm their reform, dated October 6, 1607, is in *Cod.* 219, p. 199 *seq.*, of the City Library at Metz.

[2] See Schmieder, *loc. cit.*, 74. On the abuse of benefices *cf.* Avenel, in the *Rev. hist.*, XXXIII., 2 *seq.*

[3] The account " de flebili ac moestissima Benedictini instituti eversione in Galliis ", dated Bordeaux, June 2, 1607, is in Givry's collection of letters in *Cod.* 219, p. 139 of the City Library, Metz.

In order not to offend any of the greater monasteries of France, the new Congregation called itself by the name of St. Maurus, the first disciple of St. Benedict.[1] Didier de la Cour, who died in 1623,[2] lived long enough to see the Maurist Congregation approved by the successor of Paul V. Already at that time it counted among its members Dom Hugh Ménard. That venerable man directed the Maurists to the study of the Christian past, a field in which the Congregation was destined to render imperishable service to scholarship.[3]

Any survey of the renewal of the French Church would be incomplete if it did not include its hierarchy. The episcopate was debarred from taking a leading rôle in that movement inasmuch as in consequence of the abuse of the Concordat on the part of the government, it still counted too many unworthy elements in its ranks, though some improvement had taken place since the reign of Henry IV. During the last years of that prince the French hierarchy had been given several splendid members, among them two friends of Francis de Sales, viz. Pierre Fenouillet, bishop of Montpellier, and Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley. Men of a similiar type were Philippe Cospeau, who was named to the See of Aire in 1607; the Carthusian Bruno Ruade, bishop of Conserans since 1624; and Simon de Marquemont, who became bishop of Lyons in 1612.[4] Jean Bertaut, poet and courtier, who obtained the bishopric of Séez from Henry IV. in 1606, took his duties seriously and became a good bishop.[5]

[1] See BRAUNMÜLLER, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1059; SCHMIEDER, in the *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XII., 256 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 151. For the reform of the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Près, at Paris, 1618, see FÉLIBIEN, *Hist. de Paris*, II., 1352.

[2] For Didier's grave see the essay of L. GERMAIN in the *Journal de la Soc. Arch. Lorraine*, XL., 193 *seq.*

[3] For Ménard *cf.* HURTER, *Nomenclator*, I., 477; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1243 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DE MEAUX, *Luttes*, 377 *seq.*, 379, and *Réforme*, II., 92, 93.

[5] *Cf.* the detailed monograph of G. GRENTE, *Jean Bertaut*, Paris, 1903, 69 *seqq.*

His successor, Jacques Suarez, inherited his spirit.[1] In 1607, the excellent bishop of Narbonne, Louis de Vervins, held a provincial synod in that city, the canons of which proved most beneficial.[2] An extraordinarily fruitful activity had been displayed, since 1607, by the barely twenty-two year old Richelieu in his diocese of Luçon, which he visited in all its parts and whose religious condition he greatly improved by means of missions and sermons and an excellent catechism composed by himself.[3] Like François de la Rochefoucauld, bishop of Senlis since 1610,[4] the bishops of Metz, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine and Cardinal Givry, gave ample proof of their zeal for the reform of the clergy and the religious Orders [5]; Givry was strongly supported by Paul V. in all his efforts.[6] In 1617

[1] See *Gallia christ.*, XI.

[2] *Cf.* Picot, I., 102.

[3] *Cf.* Perraud, *Le card. Richelieu, évêque, théologien* (1882); Lacroix, *Richelieu à Luçon, sa jeunesse, son épiscopat*, Paris, 1890; De Meaux, *Réforme*, II., 80 *seq.*; Hanotaux, *Hist. du card. Richelieu*, I.[2] (1896), 94 *seq.*, 106 *seq.* In the *Rev. du Bas-Poitou*, IV. (1892), 333 *seq.*, Lacroix tries to prove that Richelieu deceived Pope Paul V., when, in order to obtain the necessary dispensation for his consecration as priest and bishop, owing to his being only in his 21st year, he produced the baptismal certificate of his elder brother, two years older than himself.

[4] See P. Roverius, *De Vita F. de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1645; Cardella, VI., 137; *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XXIII. (1878), 114 *seq.*; G. de la Rochefoucauld, *Le card. Fr. de la Rochefoucauld*, 127 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, 187 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*

[5] See Meurisse, *Hist. des évêques de Metz*, Metz, 1634, 640 *seq.*; Schmidlin, 436. *Cf.* Appendix No. 2, the description of the bad condition of the Metz diocese, sent by Givry to Rome in 1609. City Library, Metz, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* the *Briefs concerning the reform of the Convents in Metz, of November 28, 1608, and June 5, 1610, in *Cod.* 219, p. 376 and 404 of the Town Library, Metz. *Ibid.*, a *Motuproprio, of October 21, 1608, which empowers Cardinal Givry, who was also co-adjutor of Langres, to visit all religious establishments of the diocese. *Cf.* now J. B. Kaiser, *Urkunden zur Gesch. des Zisterzienserordens im Anfang des* 17. *Jahrh.*, in the *Zisterzienser-*

the Dominican, Nicolas Coeffeteau, famous for his literary work, was appointed to the See of Marseilles.[1] Henri and Raimond de la Marthonie were also excellent bishops.[2]

After the death of Henry IV., Rome took every precaution to ensure that only deserving men were appointed to bishoprics. In 1611, the Pope exhorted Marie de Medici to propose for bishoprics such men as conformed to the prescriptions of Canon Law. He pointed out that this was in the interest also of the State.[3] That in this respect there was ground for serious complaint appears from the laments of Ubaldini [4] and from the fact that, in 1614, the clergy demanded the creation of a supreme council to assist the king in the execution of "the most dangerous of all his prerogatives." [5] In a report of 1617, Bentivoglio expressly states that better nominations to episcopal sees were a crying need.[6] These circumstances sufficiently account for the decadence of discipline among the clergy in a number of dioceses. Splendid priests could indeed be found, such as Vincent de Paul, whose labours were crowned with astonishing success first at Clichy, near Paris (in 1612), and subsequently (1617) at Châtillon-les-Dombes, in the diocese of

Chronik, XXIX. (1917). There, on p. 216 *seq.*, is printed the *Brief of Paul V. of March 2, 1606, concerning the nomination of Cardinal Givry as Protector of the Cistercian Order.

[1] *Cf.* CH. URBAIN, *Nicolas Coëffeteau*, Paris, 1894.

[2] As to their activity see AULAGNE, *La réforme catholique du XVII.e siècle dans le diocèse de Limoges*, Paris, 1906.

[3] *Brief of August 17, 1611, *Epist.*, VII. 43, Papal Secret Archives, see Appendix No. 3.

[4] *Cf.* Ubaldini's reports used by PERRENS (II., 2 *seq.*). Villeroi attempted to defend the nomination of unsuitable bishops on account of the circumstances; see Ubaldini's *reports for July 7 and August 5, 1611, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* ABBÉ OLIVIER DUBOIS, in his letter to Paul V. of September 13, 1610, complained that Rome was frequently too lenient in granting dispensations for age too easily, see *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (1905), 225.

[5] See AVENEL, in the *Rev. hist.*, XXXII., 320 *seq.*

[6] Letter of Bentivoglio, of January 17, 1617, in DE STEFFANI, I., no. 34.

Lyons [1]; Michel le Nobletz, the apostle of Brittany [2]; Bernard Bardon de Brun, at Limoges [3]; the magnificent parish priest of Mattaincourt, Pierre Fourier [4] and lastly, the saintly Adrien Bourdoise.[5] If in many dioceses there was a dearth of men of this calibre, the reason was that the formation of the clergy was grievously neglected.

Notwithstanding that provincial synods had repeatedly decreed the erection of seminaries for priests of the kind prescribed by the Council of Trent, France as yet possessed but a small number of such institutions. This was the result not only of the troubles of the religious and civil wars and other causes, but of the negligence also of many bishops,[6] though in this connection it must be borne in mind that the bishops had the disposal of only about one-half of the benefices in their diocese.[7] This pitiful condition was about to be substantially relieved by the work of a man who could be counted among the most zealous priests of whom France was able to boast at that time.

Pierre de Bérulle [8] was sprung from an ancient noble

[1] *Cf.* Broglie, *Vincent de Paul*, Paris, 1898, 31 *seq.*, 48 *seq.* *Cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1917, IV., 536 *seq.* We shall revert to the activities of St. Vincent de Paul, in the next volume.

[2] See (P. Verjus), *Vie de M. Le Nobletz*, Paris, 1666; Picot, I., 140 *seq.*; Le Gouvello, *Le ven. M. Le Nobletz*, Paris, 1898; Bremond, *Hist. du sentiment relig.*, V. (1920), 82 *seq.*

[3] See Petiot, *Vie de B. Bardon de Brun*, Paris, 1636; Picot, I., 148 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* about Fourier, our account, Vol. XXXIII., 184. The Congregation of Our Lady founded by Fourier, was confirmed by Paul V. in 1615; see Heimbucher, I., 440 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Darche, *Le saint Abbé Bourdoise*, 2 vols., nouv. éd., Paris, 1884. *Cf.*, further, G. Letourneau, *Les saints prêtres français du 17e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1887.

[6] See, on this point, Dudon, in *Études*, CXXXI. (1912), 586 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* Letourneau, *La mission de J.-J. Olier*, Paris, 1906, 28–9.

[8] For the following, *cf.* Habert, *Vie du card. de Bérulle*, Paris, 1646; Attichy, *De vita card. Berullii*, Paris, 1649; Tabaraud, *Hist. de P. Bérulle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1817; Nourrisson, *Le card.*

family. He was born in the château of Sérilly, in Champagne, in 1575. The plan of his family and that of his father, whom he lost in his early years and who had been counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, was that he should enter the service of the State. However, Bérulle's precocious maturity and deep piety found but little satisfaction in the study of the law. On the other hand he felt wholly in his element when, at the age of twenty, he was able to give himself wholeheartedly to the study of theology at the Sorbonne. Previous to his ordination, which he received in 1599, Bérulle spontaneously withdrew into a convent of Capuchins, for the space of forty days, in order to prepare himself for the reception of the priesthood. The exemplary priest who always wore the soutane—a rare thing in those days—soon found himself in great request as a spiritual guide and ever wider circles took an increasing interest in him. Astonishment was general when he steadfastly refused every post that was offered him, as, for instance, several abbeys and bishoprics to which Henry IV. wished to nominate him, and, finally even the post of tutor to the Dauphin. Bérulle was resolved to labour in obscurity, as a simple priest. That which was nearest his heart was the conversion of the Huguenots. He played a prominent part in the establishment in France of the Carmelite Nuns who devoted their lives to prayer, contemplation and penance. He was to have the happiness of

de Bérulle, Paris, 1856, [3]1866; HOUSSAYE, *N. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France*, 1575–1611, Paris, 1872; *Ibid.*, *Le Père de Bérulle et l'Oratoire de Jésus*, 1611–1625, Paris, 1874; INGOLD, *Bibl. Oratorienne, Généralats du card. de Bérulle et du P. de Condren. Première Partie du Recueil des Vies de quelques Prêtres de l'Oratoire* de P. CLOYSEAULT, Paris, 1880; *Mémoires domestiques pour servir à l'hist. de l'Oratoire; les Pères qui ont vécu sous le card. de Bérulle*, par L. BATTEREL, publ. par Ingold, Paris, 1902. We have also used the fine essays in the *Correspondant*, 1855, Janvier and Févr. (by NOURRISSON) and in the *Katholik*, XVI. (1875), 248 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*, 469 *seq.*, as well as HEIMBUCHER, II., 347 *seq.* See also LALLEMAND, *Hist. de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France*, Paris, 1887, and GOYAU, *Hist. rélig.*, 405 *seq.*

admitting his own mother, a woman of uncommon piety, into the Order.

During a stay in Paris in 1602, Francis de Sales made Bérulle's acquaintance. Ever after the two men remained close friends. Francis frequently sent those who sought his advice to Bérulle; for instance the newly-appointed Bishop of Dol, to whom he wrote: "Bérulle is wholly what I should like to be myself. I have not often found his like." At that time Bérulle already busied himself with the plan of founding a Congregation of secular priests, on the model of that of Philip Neri, with a view to the revival of discipline and learning among the French clergy. Only a delicate consideration for the Jesuits, who had been banned since 1595, restrained him for a time. He feared lest their recall should be deemed superfluous since there was a possibility that it might seem that his own foundation sufficiently provided for the needs of the Church in France. But when, in 1603, the sentence of banishment of the Jesuits was repealed, he judged that he need no longer delay the execution of his plan. His humility, however, made him desirous that someone else should be the head of the new Institute, so he undertook a journey to Annecy, in 1606, to visit Francis de Sales. But the holy bishop could not and would not forsake his flock. On the return journey Bérulle called on César de Bus, at Avignon, but he too, in view of his own foundation, saw himself compelled to decline the offer. Both men, however, urged Bérulle to proceed with his plan and promised their support. On his return to Paris, Bérulle saw himself pressed by the most diverse people to put himself at the head of the undertaking he had conceived and of which there was so great a need. Marie de Medici promised her support and the Marquise de Maignelay besought Bérulle on her knees to make no further difficulties but to undertake the government of the Congregation. When all seemed unavailing, the Marquise had recourse to her brother, Henri de Gondi, bishop of Paris, beseeching him to use his authority. Thereupon Gondi commanded Bérulle, under obedience, to comply with the wishes of so many people. There could be no question of further

resistance. Bérulle rented a house in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques and on December 10th, 1611, he took possession with five companions. On the following day they said Mass, in the presence of a few devout women, among them the above-mentioned Marquise and Marie Acarie. Thus was inaugurated, very quietly, the French Oratory whose foundation was hailed with joy by Cardinal Joyeuse, the Jesuit Coton and other outstanding personalities. Authorization by the secular power was promptly obtained. It proved much more difficult to secure the papal approval, for the Cardinals charged with the examination of the plan submitted by Bérulle, raised objections to some points, such as, for instance, the clause that the members of the Oratory were to be subject to the bishops in all things, for in that case any bishop might change the statutes of the Congregation as he pleased. In like manner the stipulation that the Oratorians should not conduct colleges in which the liberal arts were taught was not favourably viewed in Rome. Bérulle was far removed from obstinate insistence on his original plan and submitted in everything to the decision of the Pope.[1] The Constitution by which Paul V. approved the "Congregation of the Oratory of our Lord Jesus Christ" bears the date of May 10th, 1613.[2] It restricts episcopal authority to the pastoral activities of the Oratorians and leaves the prohibition of the conducting of colleges untouched. Bérulle was named Superior of the new Society of secular priests living in community.

The opportuneness of the French Oratory, which Paul V. and Marie de Medici were most anxious to promote,[3] is shown by its rapid spread. As early as 1614, there were foundations at Dieppe and La Rochelle, in 1615 at Orléans and Tours, in

[1] See Ubaldini's report of April 11, 1613, translated in PRAT, III., 548. For the Cardinal's commission *cf.* Borghese's letter of December 6, 1612, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 331.

[2] *Bull.*, XII., 205 *seq.*

[3] See Borghese's letter of August 2, 1613, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 324.

1616 at Langres, in 1617 at Rouen, Montmorency and Clermont, in 1618 at Riom, Nancy, Troyes and Nevers, in 1619 at Limoges, Saumur, Toulouse and Angers, in 1620 at Joyeuse and Amiens. In 1619 the community of priests of the famous sanctuary of Notre-Dame-des-Grâces, in the diocese of Fréjus, which had received the approval of Clement VIII., as well as a section of the *Doctrinaires*, founded by César de Bus, joined forces with the Oratory.[1] In 1616, Bérulle concluded an agreement with the bishop of Langres, Sebastien Zamet, in consequence of which the Oratorians undertook the direction of his diocesan seminary. Here the beginnings were as humble as at the seminary of St. Magloire, in Paris, which the bishop of the capital, Henri de Gondi, entrusted to Bérulle's Society in 1620.[2] These attempts were of the same kind as the foundation of Adrien Bourdoise, at St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, in Paris. These forerunners of the real Tridentine Seminaries must not be undervalued because of their restricted field; they prepared the ground for the eminently successful work of Bérulle, Eudes, Bourdoise, Vincent de Paul and Olier for the training of good priests.[3]

The Oratory did not cause Bérulle to forget the reformed Spanish Carmelites who came to France in 1604. They spread very rapidly. In 1611, seven years after the foundation of the first Convent in Paris, they had houses at Pontoise, Dijon, Amiens, Tours, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Châlons-sur-Marne. In 1614 they settled at Besançon. By 1620 the number of their convents had risen to thirty-four. The Spanish nuns who had introduced the reform, either died or returned to their own

[1] *Cf.* PERRAUD, *L'Oratoire* [2], 51.

[2] See PRUNEL, "Les premiers Séminaires en France," in *Études*, CXVIII. (1909), 346 *seq.* In Rome, Bérulle's companions with the permission of Louis XIII., undertook the reform of the national establishment of St.-Louis, which had fallen into decay.

[3] *Cf.* LETOURNEAU, *La mission de J.-J. Olier*, Paris, 1906, 34 *seqq.* For St.-Magloire see PRUNEL, *Renaissance cath.*, 54 *seq.* For St.-Nicolas du Chardonnet, see the monograph by SCHOENHER (Paris, 1909).

country, hence the new branch assumed a wholly French character. Its members were recruited from the most diverse social strata. By the side of Madame Acarie's maid, and the daughters of the bourgeoisie, the Order counted a Marquise of Bréauté and the daughter of Marshal Charles de Cossé, duc of Brissac, the same who had opened the gates of Paris to Henry IV. Whereas in former times the convents of nuns had been degraded into being no more than places of refuge for girls without fortune, now only those sought admission who strove for the heights of perfection. Nothing bears more eloquent testimony to the religious fervour of the period than the fact that the strictest of all female Orders was also the most popular.[1] In 1616 the Duchess of Longueville founded another Carmelite convent in Paris to which a third was soon added.[2] The first French Prioress was Madeleine de Fontaines-Marans who, as Mère Madeleine de St. Joseph, exercised a very powerful influence.[3] In 1614, Paul V. appointed Bérulle perpetual Visitor of all the French Carmels. The office occasioned him many annoyances, for some convents demanded to be governed by the discalced reformed Carmelite Fathers.[4] With the encouragement of Paul V., the latter had

[1] See HOUSSAYE, *M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites en France*, 493 *seqq.* DE MEAUX, *Luttes*, 353 *seq.* For the convent at Amiens, see CH. SALMON, *L'Établissement des Carmélites à Amiens*, 1606–1608, Amiens, 1881, and *Études*, LXIX., 413 *seq.* BREMOND (*Hist. litt. du sentiment réligieux en France*, II., 263 *seq.*) ascribes the chief part in the spread of the Reformed Carmelites in France to Jean de Quintandoine de Brétigny, as is noted on his tombstone in Rouen (d. 1634); Jean was the first to translate the writings of St. Teresa into French.

[2] PRUNEL, *Renaissance catholique*, 77.

[3] *Cf.* ERIAU, *Essai sur la vie et les lettres inédites de la ven. Madeleine de St.-Joseph, 1578–1637*, Paris, 1921.

[4] *Cf.* GOUJET, II., 163 *seq.* Originally Paul V. had commissioned the then nuncio to nominate, every three years, a secular priest for the visitation of the French Carmelites; see the Constitution of September 9, 1606, in *Bull.*, XI., 352 *seq.*; HOUSSAYE, *loc. cit.*, 547 *seqq.*

come to Paris in 1611 [1] and two years later Marie de Medici laid the foundation stone of their new church.[2]

Just as the Church in France received the Carmelites from Spain so did Italy give her the Ursulines, in addition to the Brothers Hospitallers [3] whom Marie de Medici had introduced in the first years of the seventeenth century. It is an inspiring spectacle to see how God had secretly prepared a number of generous souls for a Society whose scope, viz. the instruction and education of young girls—was of supreme importance. The simultaneous rise of these Societies was to shed extraordinary lustre upon the Catholic restoration of France.

The foundation of the first Ursuline convent in France had been laid at l'Isle de Venise, in the comté of Venaissin, during the pontificate of Clement VIII. by a spiritual daughter of the founder of the *Doctrinaires*, César de Bus, namely the devout and gifted Françoise de Bermond.[4] The opening years of the seventeenth century witnessed the establishment of a house at Aix and at Marseilles.[5] Reports of the excellent training which girls were given in these establishments soon spread beyond the boundaries of southern France. In Paris there

[1] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Henry IV. and Cardinal Joyeuse, April 20, 1610, *Epist.*, V., 364, 365, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* FÉLIBIEN, *Hist. de Paris*, IV., 55; GOUJET, II., 164.

[2] See DUPLESSY, *Paris réligieux*, Paris, 1900, 338 *seq.* *Cf.* PISANI, *La maison des Carmes à Paris*, Paris, 1895. For the establishment of the Discalced Carmelites at Limoges, 1618, *cf.* *Bull. de la soc. arch. du Limousin*, LVI. (1917–1918), 397 *seq.* The reform of the Calced Carmelites, supported by Clement VIII., had already begun at Rennes in 1604. It was consolidated by the Prior Philip Thibaut, elected in 1608, and the mystic, John of St. Samson; *cf.* *Vie du vén. fr. Jean de St.-Samson par le P. Sernin Marie de St.-André*, Paris, 1881.

[3] See PICOT, I., 101; DE MEAUX, *Réforme*, II., 14 *seq.*; *cf.* MAXIME DU CAMP, *La charité privée à Paris* [3], Paris, 1887, 80; PRUNEL, *Renaissance cath.*, 110 *seq.*; see the same authority for the founding of hospitals by Henry IV. and Louis XIII. (112 *seq.*), and for private philanthropy (118 *seq.*).

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII, 184.

[5] *Cf.* *Chroniques de l'ordre des Ursulines*, I., Paris, 1676, 316, 352.

was much talk of summoning the " provençal nuns ", as they were called, to the capital, especially in the circle of which Madame Acarie was the heart and centre. Her cousin undertook to carry the plan into effect. Madeleine Lhuillier had been married to Claude de Sainte-Beuve at the age of nineteen. Soon after, in the presence of the coffin of her husband, she realized the instability of human happiness and from that moment she devoted herself exclusively to her own sanctification and to the welfare of others.[1] Madame de Sainte-Beuve, as may be seen from her portrait, possessed a truly virile character which commanded the respect of no less a man than Henry IV. himself. When the noble woman manifested to the Jesuit, Lancelot Marin, her desire to undertake some work appropriate to the needs of the times, for the renewal of the religious spirit, the latter mentioned the education of female youth which would be the most effective means of the regeneration of the family and of society. Madame Acarie also was of opinion that the best use her rich cousin could make of her wealth was to found an educational establishment for the management of which none were more suitable than the provençal Ursulines. Madame de Sainte-Beuve, having taken counsel with her confessor, the Jesuit Gontery, agreed with the suggestion and supplied the material means for a foundation in the faubourg Saint-Jacques. The establishment was inaugurated in the spring of 1608, by Françoise de Bermond and one companion who had been called to Paris. The personnel was recruited from those among the young women under Madame Acarie's guidance who had not felt a call to Carmel.

It was also Gontery who suggested that, besides papal approval, they should also pray for the establishment of strict enclosure and the privilege of solemn vows. Madame Acarie did not agree with this suggestion for she had some misgivings

[1] *Cf.* for the following, H. DE LEYMONT, *Madame de St.-Beuve, et les Ursulines de Paris, 1562–1630* [2]; LYON, 1889 (with a plate of Mad. Lhuillier de Sainte-Beuve); *Vie de Françoise de Bermond par une Ursuline* (1896).

about departing from the lines laid down by the foundress of the Ursulines, Angela Merici, whom she held in the highest veneration. However, Madame de Sainte-Beuve stuck to the plan of her experienced confessor, a plan which, if properly carried into effect, would put the finishing touches to the original form of the Society. That which clinched the matter was the fact that the Ursulines of Paris, whom the Jesuits Gontery and Coton consulted, decided in favour of the enclosure, though they made a few reservations, by means of which the spirit of the foundress and the particular purpose of the Society were to be secured, especially as regards the education of youth.

The handling of the question at the Curia was undertaken by De Soulfour, a nobleman who subsequently joined the French Oratory. He accompanied Cardinal La Rochefoucauld when the latter journeyed to Rome, to do homage in the name of Louis XIII., in 1610, when he also pressed for the approval of Bérulle's foundation. His task proved by no means a light one for not a few people at the Curia were of opinion that, in view of the troubles and quarrels within the Orders, it would be better to suppress some of them altogether rather than to approve new ones.[1] Another difficulty arose in France itself. The Ursulines of Provence opposed the new plan because they could not see how it could be made to fit in with the intentions of Angela de Merici. In consequence of these objections Françoise de Bermond had to leave Paris and return to Provence without having accomplished anything.

Meanwhile Rome had given its decision. Paul V.'s enthusiasm for the object of the new Institute had silenced every objection.[2] On June 13th, 1612, the Pope had a letter issued from Frascati to Henri de Gondi, bishop of Paris, by which he approved the house founded by Madame Acarie in Paris. The convent was to be subject to the bishop of Paris and governed in his name by three doctors of divinity. The

[1] *Cf.* De Leymont, *loc. cit.*, 189.
[2] See De Leymont, *loc. cit.*, 194.

inmates were authorized to establish strict enclosure and to take solemn vows according to the Rule of St. Augustin. A fourth vow was to be added to the usual three, viz. to devote themselves to the education of young girls as their chief work.[1] To the Ursuline convent founded at Toulouse in 1604, Paul V. likewise granted the privilege of solemn vows.[2] A similiar permission was granted by the Pope, in 1618, to the house founded twelve years earlier at Bordeaux, by Françoise de Cazères with the support of Cardinal Sourdis [3]; to the foundation of Dijon in 1619, and to the six communities which had been established in the archdiocese of Lyons, then governed by De Marquemont, viz. Lyons, Saint-Bonnet, Chaumont, Montbrison-en-Forest, Roanne and Bourg.[4] The papal constitutions for the convents of Bordeaux and Lyons laid down very detailed rules for their internal administration. Especially remarkable are the wise ordinances by which the enclosure is made to harmonize with the chief object of the Institute. The pupils were forbidden to live in the same house as the nuns; in consequence, a special building had to be erected beside the church but connected with the convent whose inmates, though strictly enclosed, would nevertheless be allowed to enter this school building. In view of their duties as teachers, the Ursulines were relieved from the burden of the Canonical Office; in its place they were to recite daily the Little Office of our Lady and the entire rosary of fifteen decades.

Like the convent of Paris, the establishments of Toulouse, Bordeaux and Lyons became mother-houses of extensive Congregations in the course of 1615, 1618 and 1619, for various towns competed with each other in their eagerness to secure such excellent teachers. The Ursulines spread with

[1] Text of Paul V.'s letter, *ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Poyre, *Chroniques des Réligieuses Ursulines de la Congrégation de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1680; Heimbucher, I., 517.

[3] *Bull.*, of February 5, 1618, in Salvatori, 223 *seq.*

[4] Letter to the archbishop of Lyons, April 10, 1619, in *Bull.*, XII., 445 *seq.* The permission for Dijon is of May 23, 1619; see *Chroniques de l'ordre des Ursulines*, I., 165.

extraordinary rapidity over the whole of France; thus convents arose in 1615 at Abbeville: in 1616 at Pontoise and Amiens: in 1617 at Rennes; in 1618 at Eu, Laval, Libourne, Poitiers and Saint-Macaire; in 1619 at Angers, Rouen, Châtillon-sur-Mer, Chaumont, Saumur and Langres; in 1620 at Ambert, Autun, Brive, Limoges, Macon, Moulins-en-Bourbonnais; in 1621 at Clermont in Auvergne, at Dinant in Brittany and at Gisors.[1]

Nor did the Ursulines suffer any loss from the fact that yet another teaching Society for young girls was formed at this time, namely the Congregation of Benedictine Nuns of our Lady, founded at Bordeaux by Jeanne de Lestonnac, a niece of Montaigne. The Congregation was approved by Paul V. in 1617.[2]

The Ursulines of Spanish Burgundy differed from their French sisters chiefly in that they only took simple vows and did not accept the enclosure. The first foundation in that province was made at Dôle, by Anne de Xaintonge, in 1606, after almost insuperable difficulties.[3] Filiations were founded in 1615 at Vesoul, in 1617 at Arbois, in 1618 at Saint-Hippolyte-sur-le-Doubs, in 1619 at Besançon and at Pruntrut.

The Burgundian Ursulines were under the special care of the Jesuits. This direction and the measures of prudence prescribed by the Constitutions, especially the ordinance that they were only to go out in twos, were calculated to forestall any abuse of the liberty the Sisters enjoyed. This twofold

[1] See *Chroniques de l'ordre des Ursulines*, I., 138–189; *cf.* 475 *seq.* See also, for the Ursulines of Angers, *Mém. de la soc. nat. d'Angers*, 5. series XII. (1900), and RENEAULT, *Les Ursulines de Rouen*, Fécamp, 1919.

[2] See V. MERCIER, *La bienh. Jeanne de Lestonnac*, Poitiers, 1900, and COUZARD, *La bienh. Jeanne de Lestonnac*, Paris, 1904. (*Cf.* the criticism on this work in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXVII., 312.)

[3] *Cf.* the work of J. MOREY, based on exhaustive research including manuscripts: *Anne de Xainctonge et la Compagnie de St.-Ursule en Bourgogne*, 2 vols., Paris (1891); German abridged edition by L. Arens, Freiburg i. Br. 1903. See further A. DE NITRAY, *Une éducatrice du 17e siècle*, Paris, 1919.

guidance proved wholly successful. The Burgundian Ursulines devoted themselves to the religious reform of female youth with no less zeal and success than their French sisters. Thus they too helped towards that efflorescence of Christian life which distinguishes the first half of the seventeenth century. Their successes are to be attributed to the fact that the daughters of Angela Merici, in France and Burgundy, were deeply penetrated by the spirit of the foundress. This spirit was enshrined in the celebrated testament and the moving exhortation of the dying Saint. Therein Angela bequeathed to her Institute a precious inheritance of enlightened experience and motherly love.[1] "In your striving after perfection," she said in her last exhortation, "keep to the ordinary path which the Church points out and which has been smoothed by the feet of so many Saints who have trodden it under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. As for the new opinions in matters of religion which arise at this time, or may yet arise, leave them alone, you have nothing to do with them. But pray and get others to pray that God may not abandon His Church but may reform her according to His good pleasure and as He deems best for us and most conducive to His own glory. In these dangerous times, when so many run to their destruction, you will find no safety except at the foot of the cross. If Jesus is your guide and your teacher, you will be well taught, according to the words of the royal prophet: 'Blessed is the man whom thou shalt instruct, O Lord.'"[2]

In 1618, Paul V. erected into an Order another religious body whose importance was destined to rival that of the Ursulines. This was the Salesian Sisters, or the Sisters of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They owe their origin to the famous bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales and to the baroness Frances de Chantal. The spirit of the Catholic restoration in the seventeenth century finds so characteristic

[1] The *Testamento* of A. MERICI and her *Ricordi* were published by SALVATORI (198 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*); good translation in J. SCHULER, *Gesch. der hl. A. Merici*, Innsbruck, 1893, 897 *seq.*, 905 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SALVATORI, 213 *seq.*

an expression in the life and work of these two divinely enlightened souls, especially in that of the bishop of Geneva, that a fuller study is in order.

(3.)

Both as a bishop,[1] and as a founder of an Order, Francis de Sales belongs wholly to the new age. His creation, the Order of the Sisters of the Visitation, bears the imprint, both in its purpose and its peculiar spirituality, of the Catholic restoration: it is wholly devoted to that movement in the seventeenth century, and greatly forwards the new development in the Orders of women in the spirit which the age demands.

The first beginnings of the new Order are connected with the Lenten sermons which Francis preached at Dijon in 1604. On that occasion the Saint became acquainted with the magnificent woman who was destined to become, under his direction, one of the most significant personalities of the period of the Catholic restoration. Jeanne Françoise, daughter of Bénigne Fremyot, president of the tribunal of Dijon, widow of Christophe Rabutin, baron de Chantal, was distinguished not only by the nobility of her mind and the maturity of her judgment, hers was also a nature of truly virile strength, full of determination, decision, endurance and capable of the highest aspirations as well as the tenderest emotions.[2] Her mother died too soon to influence her formation, so she became all the more the image of her father, a nobleman in the fullest sense of the word. During the troubles of the League, when his sense of duty and justice caused him to take the part of the king, he saw his house plundered and he had to listen to the threat that unless he yielded, the head of his son, then a prisoner, would be sent to him. "It is better that the son die innocent than that the father should live in guilt," was his answer.[3] Moreover, he was a convinced

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 416 *seqq.*

[2] Biography by Emile Bougaud, French edit. (4th), Paris, 1866, 2 vols.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., ch. 1.

Catholic; if Henry IV. had not come back to the Church, so he told the king to his face, he would never have raised the cry: "Long live Henry IV."[1] The father's attachment to the Church grew into a passionate love in the daughter. This burning love was no doubt fanned by the troubles of the Huguenot wars which had raged even around her cradle (she was born in 1572) and the consequences of which she could observe in the ruined churches and monasteries which she saw on her journey through the heart of France, on her way to Poitou where she was to rejoin an elder sister for the purpose of completing her education. Not long after, when only sixteen, she cut short the wooing of a Huguenot with the words: "I would rather spend all my life in prison than in the house of a heretic."[1]

In her twentieth year, Frances gave her hand to the twenty-seven year old baron de Chantal. She was now given the opportunity to display, and still further to develop, her considerable administrative talent. The ancestral home of her husband was the manor of Bourbilly, near Semur. The estate had become utterly dilapidated, but she worked it up to such a degree of prosperity that it not only provided for the needs of her household, but also for the large-scale charities of the châtelaine. Her concern for the poor and the sick went to the extent of personal service, so that even then she earned for herself the title of "the holy baroness".[1]

However, her married happiness was short-lived. Baron de Chantal died in 1601, in consequence of a shooting accident. Frances felt the loss most deeply, for she was exceedingly sensitive where family affections were concerned. At a later period, when universally revered as a Saint, she would be so moved on hearing the news of the death of one of her children, as to fall into a swoon. Such was her grief at the death of her husband that she wasted away. She made a vow not to marry again, cut down her wardrobe, reduced her style of living and resolved to give herself wholly to God.

The brilliant days when the châtelaine, beloved by her husband

[1] *Ibid.*, I., ch. I.

and her servants and worshipped by the poor, issued orders and instructions, were now to be followed by seven long years which, no doubt, were of the greatest value as a preparation for her future vocation, but which in the meantime, condemned her to a state of deepest humiliation and abasement. The father of her husband summoned her to his château of Monthelon. She needs must obey for unless she did so, her four children would be disinherited by their grandfather. Now the old baron lived with one of the maids who, in consequence, deemed herself the mistress of the house and took special delight in making the noble lady feel her power by every manner of means. Frances might have freed herself from so humiliating a situation by just informing her father, but in the hope of being able to do something for the soul of her father-in-law, as well as by reason of a desire to daunt her own nature which was of a domineering kind, she resolved to suffer in silence.[1]

In 1604, the bishop of Geneva preached the Lenten sermons at Dijon. President Fremyot invited his daughter to assist at them and by this means these two souls, which were predestined to carry out a joint task, first came in contact with each other. Whilst striving after perfection, Madame de Chantal had become painfully aware of the indispensable need of an experienced and learned guide ; so she entrusted herself unhesitatingly to the direction of the bishop of Geneva who, she felt, had been sent to her by heaven itself. On his part Francis soon perceived that he had to deal with no ordinary woman ; his esteem for her grew steadily and he realized that in her he had found the corner stone of the new Order,[2] the foundation of which he had been studying for some years already.

The era of the Catholic revival had a problem to solve in respect also to the Orders of women. The medieval Orders of

[1] Bougaud, I., ch. iv, v, and viii.

[2] Francis to N. Polliens, May 24, 1610, *Lettres*, IV., 307. For the friendship between the two, see Michael Müller, *Die Freundschaft des hl. Franz von Sales mit der hl. Joh. Franziska von Chantal*, München, 1923.

women were contemplative and their rules laid great stress on bodily austerities. Now there were many persons whose health was unequal to severe fasts and night watches, whilst others were indeed able to appreciate a life consecrated to God and spent in nursing the sick or teaching the young, but a purely contemplative life did not satisfy their need of activity. The traditional forms of the religious life catered for none of these. The great obstacle to any change in this state of affairs lay in the enclosure which seemed practically incompatible with teaching or nursing, but which the Council of Trent had re-imposed, with renewed strictness, on the Orders of women properly so called and which, as a matter of fact, public opinion demanded from all religious communities of women. The expansion of the religious life in the sixteenth century soon led to the formation of communities of women which, whilst leaning, as it were, on Orders of men still in process of development, sought to secure for themselves a share in their external activities. The first results were doubtful. St. Ignatius expressly rejected, from the first, any connection of this kind [1]; with a community of women, which aimed at helping the Barnabites in their pastoral work, bitter experiences had been made—the community saw itself compelled to accept enclosure and thus their external activities were at an end [2]; the Capuchin nuns,[3] like the Theatine nuns whom we first meet in 1618,[4] devoted themselves to contemplation from the beginning. Angela of Merici alone attempted to attract women to the service of the Church without linking them to an Order of men, but her Institute, the Ursulines, was destined to remain in an unfinished state through the whole of the sixteenth century.[5]

A decisive turn came only in the reign of Paul V. French-speaking countries then witnessed the rise of a whole series of

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XII., 51 *seq.*

[2] Heimbucher, II.[2], 287.

[3] Moroni, IX., 201. Cardinal Baronius tried to enlist them in the service of orphans (*ibid.*, 203).

[4] Heimbucher, III.[2], 268 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XI., 525 *seqq.*

female Institutes of an entirely new type. The Carmelites of St. Teresa had come to France in 1604, not without the help of Francis de Sales, the then coadjutor of Geneva,[1] and had been received with enthusiasm: but they were exclusively given to contemplation. In 1607, Paul V. gave his approval to a community devoted to the education of girls, which had been founded in the previous year at Bordeaux by Jeanne Lestonnac.[2] In 1615, Nancy got its Sisters of Christian Doctrine.[3] After 1612, several communities of French Ursulines gradually transformed themselves from isolated associations into Orders properly so-called [4]; in this they were followed, in 1617, by the teaching Sisters whom Pierre Fourier, in 1598, had gathered around him in Lorraine.[5]

The activity of religious Institutes of women, which to-day is so wide spread and so beneficial, has its source in these new foundations. The new Order which honours Saint Francis de Sales as its founder, is an important milestone in the story of their rise and growth.

In the opening paragraphs of the Constitutions of the Order, Francis speaks with exceeding modesty of his creation. He was anxious, he declares, to create a haven of refuge for the many who, though they felt a call to the religious life, did not possess the bodily strength demanded by the exterior austerities of the existing reformed Orders. It should be possible to receive even widows and women of weak health, without, however, excluding those who are strong and in robust health.[6] Now it is precisely this modest aim which

[1] Francis to Clement VIII., November, 1602, *Lettres*, II., 131 *seqq.*; *cf.* 118 note; III., 117 note, 153 note.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 66.

[3] Heimbucher, III.², 543.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 65 *seq.*

[5] Confirmation was granted by the bishop under Papal authority on May 9, 1617; solemn vows on December 2, 1618. Paul V. had granted leave to receive boarders, on February 1, 1615, and day scholars, on October 6 (Heimbucher, II.², 85 *seqq.*).

[6] *Règles de S. Augustin, Constitutions et Direc oire pour les sœurs réligieuses de la Visitation*, Lyon, 1835, 120.

constitutes the peculiar character of the new Order and which was to be of paramount importance in time to come. Since it was necessary greatly to restrict physical austerity, Francis insisted all the more on the training of the heart in humility, obedience, uprightness, meekness and in that which he considered the basis and stay of everything else, viz. the practice of meditation and contemplation, in favour of which he greatly curtailed the Office said in common. Francis allowed for the spirit of the time which was all for active works of charity; but unlike the majority of the Congregations of the period, his nuns were not to devote themselves to the education of youth, but to the care of the sick and the poor. And since they were to be followers of our Lady, who went into the mountains in order to render service to her cousin Elizabeth, the new Institute was given the name of "The Visitation of St. Mary". For the sake of nursing the sick, Francis was prepared to forego the enclosure which had formed part of his first plan, though this meant that there could be no longer question of an Order strictly so called, but only of a Congregation. The Sisters were to exercise their influence on the outside world by giving private retreats to ladies within their convents. For all that, the Order of the Visitation was from the first mainly contemplative and only two Sisters at a time were to devote themselves to visiting the sick.[1] It may be that the idea of his peculiar creation first came to him when, in 1602, he witnessed in Paris the popularity of the purely contemplative Order of the Spanish Carmelites, but he saw the obstacles which would prevent the general spread of a Rule of such extraordinary strictness.

The original plan of the founder underwent a not inconsiderable alteration when the new Institute was preparing to cross the frontier of France. The archbishop of Lyons, Denis de Marquemont, would not hear of an uncloistered community of women and Francis ended by yielding to the archbishop's pressure. On April 23rd, 1618, Paul V. approved

[1] See A. DE BECDELIÈVRE, in *Études*, CXXX. (1912), 821–7; *Saint François de Sales étudié dans ses lettres*, Annecy, 1926.

the Institute of the Visitation as a true Order.[1] By degrees, nursing was replaced by the education of girls in the numerous schools of the Order.[2]

During the founder's lifetime, Madame de Chantal was his right hand and by subsequently putting the finishing touches to the internal structure of the Order, she so completed his work as fully to deserve to be called its co-foundress. She was endowed with just the qualities required if an Order of so novel a complexion was to make headway in the face of a hundred obstacles. At the beginning of 1611 Francis wrote that he was of opinion that God would make of her another St. Paula, Angela, or Catherine of Genoa [3]; it was impossible to find such intelligence and good sense allied with greater humility; when there was question of some holy undertaking she gave proof of a courage which is not usually found in her sex.[4] These remarkable qualities were still further enhanced by the prestige she enjoyed as a lady of the great world and by a charm of manner which had made her the centre of every social gathering at her husband's château.[5]

Madame de Chantal, then, would have possessed all the requisite qualities to begin at once a successful apostolic action in the devout circles, say, of Paris. However, for the time being, Francis left her where she was. All he did was to subject her inner life to a rigorous training. As regards the exterior, he did not demand from her, as he did not demand from anyone else, anything out of the ordinary, or anything that might have annoyed those around her; on the contrary, he bade her strive daily to show greater humility and meekness

[1] Bougaud, II., ch. 19. Bellarmine (writing to Francis of Sales on December 29, 1616) advised him to adhere to the original plan (*Lettres*, VII., 418; Bellarmine's *Epistulae familiares*, Rome, 1650, 314 *seqq.*). For the foundation of the Visitation at Lyons, *cf. Lettres*, XVI., App. III.

[2] Bougaud, II., ch. 29 *seqq.*

[3] *Lettres*, V., 20.

[4] In Bougaud, II., ch. 33.

[5] *Ibid.*

towards her father and her father-in-law.[1] Within her own heart she was to avoid all haste, sadness and timidity, as well as everything forced or violent.[2] But she was to strive with all her strength to give herself wholly to God [3]; for whatever is not of God, is nothing, or worse than nothing.[4] Without allowing herself to be perturbed by trials and temptations and without caring whether or no she experienced any delight in serving God,[5] let her do all things for love of God, and deny herself at all times amid the thousand opportunities which daily life creates.[6] From the very first Francis took this matter of self-denial very seriously. Owing to her great love for her husband, Madame de Chantal could scarcely think of the unfortunate nobleman who had been the innocent cause of his death, without an upheaval of her whole interior, and without the horror she had been through at the time of the accident, crushing her heart afresh. An emotion of this kind could hardly be accounted a fault; assuredly it was no more than a natural revulsion over which the will had no control and which was, accordingly, quite blameless. For all that, Francis never ceased to bring pressure to bear upon her until the time came, five years later, when she felt able to make up her mind not only to take up friendly relations with that gentleman, but even to act as godmother to his child.[7] Francis even took advantage of his last meeting with the greatest of his disciples to demand a heavy sacrifice from her. She had not seen her spiritual father for three years so that she naturally longed to consult him on the state of her soul. Francis forbade her to utter a word on the subject—he would only let her speak of business matters.[8] Never, perhaps, did a soul acquire a more virile character as a result

[1] October 14, 1604; *ibid.*, cap. 28 *seq.*
[2] *Lettres*, II., 288, 359.
[3] Early in August, 1606, *ibid.*, III., 200.
[4] January, 1611; *ibid.*, ch. 28.
[5] *Ibid.*, II., 386. (*Lettres* de S. Francis de Sales.)
[6] *Ibid.*, 368.
[7] *Lettres*, III., 67, 122, 357; BOUGAUD, I., ch. 6.
[8] BOUGAUD, II., ch. 21.

of the guidance of a director, than Madame de Chantal did at the hands of the gentle Saint of Geneva.

In 1617, when he deemed his willing pupil sufficiently schooled, Francis discussed with her the plan of his new Order. After providing for the education of her children, Madame de Chantal, with five companions, took possession, on June 6th, 1610, of the first small convent of the Visitation, at Annecy.[1] The new Institute speedily assumed vast proportions. At the time of the founder's death, in 1621, the Order counted about thirteen establishments, and about eighty at the time of the death of Madame de Chantal, in 1641.[2] The reputation for holiness which clung to the foundress no less than to Francis de Sales, contributed not a little to this amazing success. Even before Frances' death, her arrival in a town was hailed as an outstanding event: people cut off pieces from her dress in order to keep them as relics.[3]

In the course of the seventeenth century the new Order recruited a considerable number of members from the ranks of the French nobility and, owing to its relations with the highest circles of society, it found itself in a position to exercise upon it no small influence as regards religion. St. Francis' original plan, namely, that of establishing an Institute without either enclosure or solemn vows, was taken up, at a later date, by St. Vincent de Paul, except that he made the work of nursing the sick the real scope of his Society, whereas in Francis' scheme it was only a secondary point. On one occasion Vincent de Paul went so far as to call his foundation "Madame de Chantal's Heritage". After the death of the bishop of Geneva, Vincent had some dealings with her.[4] All the more recent nursing and teaching Orders of women found a prototype in the Constitutions and the Rule of the Visitation in which a man of Francis de Sales' authority lucidly describes the true nature of a perfect Christian life and shows the way that leads to the heights even

[1] *Ibid.*, I., chapters 2, 9, 11, 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, II., 21, 23, 27, 31.
[3] *Ibid.*, II., chapters 21, 22, 30.
[4] *Ibid.*, ch. 25.

without extraordinary austerities.[1] If the constitution of his Order show Francis de Sales as a teacher of religious communities, his other writings make of him a master of asceticism, revered as such by the whole Catholic world. True, his ascetical writings are not his only ones, nor his first.[2] He began as a controversialist, though he did not at first intend for publication the loose sheets in which he discussed various controverted points.[3] Subsequently there came a larger work, on the veneration due to the crucifix, which was also aimed at the Protestants.[4] It was only after his visit to Paris, in 1602, that the Saint took the first step in a field in which he was to reap so rich a harvest. Attracted by his preaching, many persons in the devout circles in Paris, sought his advice and put themselves under his guidance. They were all people in the world. Now Francis soon discovered that there existed no books for the guidance of just such people. He began, therefore, to set down in writing explanations of various points of the spiritual life and these were passed from hand to hand.[5] He also replied by letter to the numerous questions that were put to him. By degrees this correspondence assumed

[1] Even in the East, the Congregation of Melchite nuns of the Visitation of Mary, approved by Clement XIII. in 1762, follows in part, almost literally, the rules of the Visitation nuns. (R. LÜBECK, in the *1st Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellsch.* [1921], 34.) Francis of Sales had hoped to found a Congregation of men on the lines of the Visitation (*Lettres*, V., 334).

[2] Index of his complete works, in *Œuvres*, I., lxxix. *seqq.*

[3] The first edition of 1672 is mutilated (*Œuvres*, I., cxxx. *seqq.*). One place in which the Pope was called " confirmateur infaillible ", was much discussed during the Vatican Council (*ibid.*, cxiii., cxxxi.).

[4] " Défense de l'Estandard de la Sainte Croix de N.S. Jésus-Christ," Lyon, 1600 (*Œuvres*, II.). *Cf.* HAMON, I., 286, 376; EUG. RITTER, " Recherches sur un ouvrage de Fr. de Sales," in *Bull de l'Institut national Genevois*, XXVI. (1884); ED. THAMIREY, *La méthode d'influence de s. Fr. de Sales*, Paris, 1922. For his polemic explanation of the Creed, see HAMON, I., 284.

[5] *Cf. Lettres*, II., 265, 266, 357, *etc.*

unlooked for dimensions; according to his servant Favre there were few days on which he had not from twenty to twenty-five letters to seal, and we even learn that on a single morning as many as forty or even fifty letters would be lying on his table, all ready for dispatch.[1] It goes without saying that in these letters Francis could not attend to mere style; they had to be rapidly jotted down, at odd moments, whilst "a whole world of quite different affairs", as he himself said,[2] claimed his attention. For all that, there is in these letters, of which many have been preserved,[3] not a trace of haste or carelessness, a fact which proves that the writer is always perfectly master of himself, is always ready, without long deliberation, to draw from the rich store of his knowledge and experience the advice which the situation demands.

When a great mass of counsels and directions had thus accumulated, Francis, at Easter of the year 1607, set himself the task of putting together in a volume all that was more important. This he did, in the first instance, for the benefit of his kinswoman, Madame de Charmoisy.[4] By the summer of 1608, the work was done. The Rector of the Jesuit College

[1] *Lettres*, I., xix.; B. MACKEY, "Saint François de Sales directeur spirituel," in the *Rev. du clergé français*, XXXVII. (1904), 390–402. FR. VINCENT, *Saint Fr. de Sales directeur d'âmes*, Paris, 1924.

[2] "Un monde d'affaires" (*Lettres*, III., 26, 113). "Ce ne sont pas des eaux, ce sont des torrens que les affaires de ce diocèse" (*ibid.*, 139). *Cf. ibid.*, II., 288 ("charge intolérable"), 381, ("pressé de mes affaires"), *etc.*

[3] *Lettres*, I–VIII. The first edition was published under the care of Madame de Chantal. In the course of the seventeenth century the letters appeared in about forty editions (*Lettres*, I., viii. *seqq.*). ÉMILE FAGUET, "Les Lettres spirituelles de s. Fr. de Sales," in the *Revue latine*, III. (1904), 513–540.

[4] Concerning her, see H. BORDEAUX, "La Philothée de s. Fr. de Sales," in the *Correspondant*, CCXXX. (1908), 833–867. *Cf.* also E. RITTER, in the *Revue Savoisienne*, XLIX–L, Annecy, 1908–9.

of Chambéry, Jean Fourier, pressed him to have it printed.[1] Such was the origin of the famous *Introduction to a Devout Life*[2] which obtained a diffusion and an importance in the field of ascetical literature only equalled by the *Imitation of Christ*. Francis himself wrote, in 1620, that the little book had been found very helpful in France, Flanders and England and that the French text had been published more than forty times in various places. By 1656, there existed seventeen translations and to-day there is even a Chinese and an Armenian one.[3] There was not a house of the more cultivated classes, even in Protestant Geneva, in which the little book was not to be found. Marie de Medici sent a copy, encrusted with precious stones, to James I. How widely the *Introduction* was disseminated in England appears from the fact that, with a view to removing a suspicion that he had leanings towards the Catholic religion, Charles I. issued a decree ordering all copies of the book to be seized and burnt. Nevertheless the work retained its popularity with Anglicans.[4]

[1] To De Villars, archbishop of Vienne, February, 1609; to Possevin, December 10, 1609 (*Lettres*, IV., 125, 225). For the second edition he asked Madame de Chantal to send his earlier instructions given by letter (*ibid.*, 131).

[2] *Introduction à la vie dévote*, Lyon, 1609. Copy of the 1619 edition and of the Editio Princeps in *Œuvres*, III., 1–366, and 1–184. Facsimile of the title-page of the 1609 edition is also in A. VINGTRINIER, *Hist. de l'Imprimerie à Lyon*, Lyon, 1894, 300 (*cf.* 341). Later the "Introduction" was also entitled "Philothea" because Francis calls the soul whom he addresses by this name. For the origin of the little book *cf. Œuvres*, III., vi. *seqq.*; FR. VINCENT, *Le travail du style de s. Fr. de Sales d'après les corrections faites sur l'Introduction à la vie dévote*, Paris, 1923 (on 200 pages, similar to those of the 1609 and 1619 editions, 1,037 corrections are found); BREMOND, I. (1916).

[3] *Œuvres*, III., xxvii. On April 26, 1610, Francis writes that it had been reprinted six times in two years (*Lettres*, IV., 292).

[4] *Œuvres*, III., xxviii. *seq.* Fénelon admired especially this trait in Francis, that a man with such profound insight could speak so simply. "Son style naïf montre une simplicité aimable, qui est au-dessus de toutes les grâces de l'esprit profane. Vous

The ascetical principles of the *Introduction* are, of course, nothing new. In the course of his exposition Francis frequently appeals to the acknowledged masters of Catholic theology [1]; in particular the link with the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola—which Francis made on several occasions even as a bishop [2]—appears very clearly. What is new is his teaching that these ideals may be realized in the lives of people in the world, amid the rush and noise of the daily task, and in every condition or calling, whereas the existing ascetical writings were intended, for the most part or even exclusively, for persons in religion.

The principles laid down by Francis in his *Introduction* as well as in his spiritual letters are the same as those on which he based his guidance of Madame de Chantal.[3] In order to live wholly for God there is no need to do anything extraordinary or singular; holiness of life consists in the love of God under the impulse of which we do that which is good, fervently, frequently, and readily.[4] Now the love of God consists in doing everything for God,[5] not even excepting

voyez un homme qui, avec une grande pénétration et une parfaite délicatesse pour juger du fond des choses et pour connaître le cœur humain, ne songeoit qu'à parler en bon homme, pour consoler, pour éclairer, pour perfectionner son prochain. Personne ne connoissait mieux que lui la plus haute perfection; mais il se rapetissoit pour les petits et ne dédaignoit jamais rien. Il se faisoit tout à tous, non pour plaire à tous mais pour les gagner tous et pour les gagner à Jésus-Christ et non à soi." (To the Countess of Montberon, January 29, 1700, *Œuvres*, VIII., Paris, 1851, 616.) *Cf.* DELPLANQUE, *St. Fr. de Sales, humaniste et écrivain latin*, Lille, 1907. See also the comments by C. GALASSI PALUZZI in the *Corriere d'Italia* of August 22, 1924, directed against C. RICCI (*Visioni e figure*, Roma, 1924).

[1] *Œuvres*, III., xxxiii. *seqq.*

[2] HAMON, I., 441, 570; *cf.* 449. There is an English adaptation of this biography (Burns Oates and Washbourne).

[3] See present work, p. 74 *seq.*

[4] *Introduction*, I., 1.

[5] *Lettres*, V., 101.

such things as eating and drinking.[1] Hence Christian perfection is compatible with every state of life.[2] Francis demands that everybody should be made to feel its charm and attractiveness; the poor should feel its power by being given more generous alms, the home because it is better looked after, the husband because he receives more loving attention.[3] Where devotion is concerned, pleasant feelings are of no account,[4] it will be all the more solid the less we live according to our personal likes and tastes [5]; and in general we should go forward on the path traced out for us by God without indulging in trivial subtleties, generously and large-heartedly, though with all humility, meekness and interior recollection.[6]

A second ascetical volume, *The Treatise on The Love of God*, completes the instruction of Philotea.[7] In this new treatise he addresses the soul by the name of Theotimus, lest people should think that he only wrote for women.[8] The book owes its origin to the conferences he gave to the Sisters of the Visitation; it is, therefore, addressed to more advanced souls [9]; it even touches on mysticism, though only lightly. For the rest, after some introductory discussion of psychological principles, the book explains the origin and growth of the love of God; how it may be hindered, and what are its symptoms, qualities, advantages and prerogatives.

The significance of these ascetical writings [10] partly lies

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 368.

[2] *Introduction*, I., 3.

[3] *Lettres*, II., 270; *cf.* 345 *seqq.*

[4] *Introduction*, II., 9.

[5] *Lettres*, III., 226.

[6] *Lettres*, III., 392*e*. *Cf.* Pius XI.'s Encyclical of January 26, 1923, in the *Acta Apost. Sedis*, XV. (1923), 55 *seq.*

[7] "Traicté de l'Amour de Dieu," Lyon, 1616 (*Œuvres*, IV.–V.).

[8] Préface, *Œuvres*, IV., xii.

[9] *Ibid.*, xx.

[10] A brilliant art historian, who died before his time, describes the "Philotea" as "a work full of the wisdom of experience, united with the most delicate psychological counsels by which

in the fact that they were a powerful antidote to the influence which Calvinism might have exercised on Catholics. Basing himself on laws and punishments, Calvin demanded, with appalling rigour, an external moral correctness to which even the lawful aspirations of the heart had to be sacrificed. On the other hand, he had nothing to offer by way of compensation, for in his view these sacrifices have no value in the sight of God, nor have they power to render man intrinsically better since, according to him, grace does not heal man's essential corruption ; all it can do is to cover it up. As against this rigorism, Francis condemns nothing that is naturally good and noble, provided it is sanctified by an interior intention. What he stresses before all else is the discipline of the heart, and as a reward of constant self-denial he promises us a true interior transformation, by which we draw ever nearer to God in this life, only to possess Him in a far superior manner in the next. Calvin crushes man, drives him to despair and ends by stifling in him any desire for ethical improvement. Francis raises him up, gives him courage and opens the road to the heights. The contrast is unconscious, but it is there.[1] In another respect there exists a further unintentional contrast between the two men. Calvin's chief work is concerned with the doctrine of faith ; in the most detailed of all his writings Francis treats of charity. Calvin achieved success, in great part, because he published his principal work in the vernacular.[2] Francis imitated him in

men may awake in their souls a state of beatitude in God, sublimate their lives in the direction of eternal values and within the framework of social life enable them to enjoy that order of feeling which, according to Montaigne, made up abundantly to the Catholic Church of the day for the numbers that had fallen away ". M. Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, München, 1924, 271 *seq.*

[1] Pierre de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, at once perceived the apologetical value of the " Introduction " ; *cf.* his letter to Francis de Sales of January 25, 1609, in the *Lettres*, IV., 410 ; Desjardins, in *Études*, 5, Serie XII. (1877), 670 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* F. Brunetière, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 15, 1900, 907.

this ; in his treatise on charity he too discusses a theological subject in a French of such purity and a language of such grace and sweetness that his place in French literature is assured for all time.[1]

Francis was so safe a guide in the ways of the spiritual life because of the width and precision of his own theological knowledge. Cardinal Du Perron who, with Bellarmine and Stapleton, was the most celebrated controversialist of his time, declared that Francis de Sales was the most learned theologian of the century.[2] Bellarmine too entertained the highest esteem for the learning of the bishop of Geneva. For years the controversy about grace between the Dominicans and the Jesuits had dragged on in Rome without leading to any result. Paul V. sought Francis' advice as to the attitude he ought to adopt in the matter. He passed on the reply of the bishop of Geneva to the Congregation concerned and when the Pope finally came to a decision, it was on the lines suggested by him.[3]

In the writings of the great guide of souls, theological knowledge allies itself with the result of experience gained by contact with souls. When we read him we feel that we are

[1] GODEFROY, *Hist. de la litt. française*, I., 374 ; SAINTE-BEUVE, *Causeries du Lundi*, VII., 220 *seq.* ; A. BAUMGARTNER, *Gesch. der Weltliteratur*, V. (1905), 285 *seqq.* ; RAYMOND, "Fr. de Sales comme écrivain," in the *Mém. de l'Acad. de Savoie*, II. ; A. DELPLANQUE, "S. Fr. de Sales, humaniste et écrivain latin," in the *Mém. et Travaux des facultés cath. de Lille*, fasc. 2, Lille, 1907 ; P. KADEN, *Die Sprache des St. Fr. de Sales* (Diss.), Leipzig, 1908 ; RÉNÉ DOUMIC, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1894, Mars–Avril, 925–936 ("François de Sales parle la plus pure langue française et la plus moderne," *ibid.*, 928) ; same author, *ibid.*, 1906, October 15, 924–935 ; BREMOND, I., 68 *seq.*, II., 419 *seq.*, 536 *seq.*

[2] *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XVII., 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, 146, 156, 165, 168 ; Anastasio Germonio to Francis, 1607, in *Lettres*, III., 407. *Cf.* Vol. XXV., 240. The controversy was, according to Francis, "di importantissima conseguenza in queste nostre bande afflitte di heresia" (Francis to the Nuncio Costa at Turin, October 12, 1607, *ibid.*, 327 ; HAMON, I., 589 *seq.*).

face to face with real life. What Francis says is not the laboured result of study; the reader feels that on every page he answers difficulties which were really felt by live men and women and that his solutions have stood the test of experience.

In the teaching of the bishop of Geneva, the Catholic Church recognizes her own teaching. At the Vatican Council 452 authorized spokesmen of the Catholic universe moved that he should be given the highest title that a theologian can receive; that is, that he should be claimed a Doctor of the Church.[1] Pius IV. complied with the request.[2]

(4.)

During the reign of Paul V. the Catholic Church experienced in the Spanish Netherlands an efflorescence similar to that which was taking place in France. In those parts the work of restoration and reform, initiated under Sixtus V., had made considerable progress during the pontificate of Clement VIII., thanks to the zeal of the bishops, the regent, archduke Albert, the nuncios and the Jesuits.[3] It was to be Paul V's. good fortune to witness the happy consummation of their combined efforts.

The Holy See was in receipt of regular and accurate information concerning ecclesiastical affairs of the Spanish Catholic Netherlands through the nuncio in Brussels as well as through the legation which the archducal government maintained in Rome from 1600.[4] The nuncio Frangipani, whose arduous

[1] *Acta et decreta ss. Conciliorum recentiorum collectio Lacensis*, VII., Freiburg, 1890, 897. *Cf. Civiltà Catt.*, 10, Series V. (1878), 131.

[2] Decrees of July 19 and November 16, 1877, *Œuvres*, I., xi. *seqq.*, xv. *seqq.*; *Acta S. Sedis*, X. (1877), 362–5, 411–415. Judgment of the Congregation of Rites, *ibid.*, 332–361. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, in *Études*, 5, Series XII. (1877), 305 *seqq.*, 531 *seqq.*, 670 *seqq.*, 807 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., p. 400 *seq.*

[4] After the departure of Don Pedro of Toledo, the Auditor of the Rota, Hermann von Ortenberg occupied the embassy of the

labours had been rewarded in September, 1605, with his nomination to the archiepiscopal see of Taranto, was naturally anxious, after so prolonged a sojourn abroad, to devote himself at long last to his diocese. However, archduke Albert, who held Frangipani in high esteem, took steps in Rome with a view to retaining him at Brussels, hence a whole year elapsed before Paul V. yielded to the entreaties of Frangipani.[1] He was succeeded by the Neapolitan Decio Carafa, a sincerely devout man.[2] In his Instruction, dated July 2nd, 1605, the preservation of the Catholic religion, the liberty of the Church and the maintenance of friendly relations with the regents, Albert and Isabella, are singled out as the objectives which he was at all times to aim at.

As regards the religious situation in the Spanish Netherlands, the Instruction remarks that, thanks to the watchfulness of the bishops and the Catholic spirit both of the population and the regents, the future looked most hopeful, notwithstanding that the war with the rebellious provinces was not yet at an end. It must be the nuncio's immediate task to repair the damage inflicted by the war, to restore the destroyed churches, to reform the clergy, more particularly the ancient Orders which were in great need of reform, to establish seminaries and, lastly, to assist the persecuted Catholics of England and Holland.[3]

As early as May, 1607, Carafa was transferred to the Spanish nunciature, but on June 5th, 1607, his successor, Guido Bentivoglio, received similiar instructions.[4] Even before his arrival, events showed that Paul V's. reliance on the bishops of the Netherlands was fully justified,[5] for in June,

Netherlands for a time before it was given to Filips Maes. In April, 1618, John Baptist Vivès succeeded him, see GOEMANS, *Het Belgische Gesantschap*, VI., 10.

[1] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, xxvii.

[2] See *ibid.*, xxviii.

[3] CAUCHIE-MAERE (*loc. cit.*, 9–26) published the text of the Instruction for Carafa.

[4] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, 27 *seq.* *Cf.* BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 245.

[5] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, 25.

1607, the splendid archbishop of Malines, Matthias van den Hove, convened a provincial council in his metropolitan city, and this meeting was subsequently followed by a number of diocesan synods. The purpose of all these assemblies was the full and universal execution of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent ; their observance was assured by the fact that the government gave to the greater number of them force of law.[1] The synod of Malines passed an excellent resolution with regard to the religious teaching of children. Instead of the catechism of Canisius, which was chiefly intended to meet the situation in Germany and which had been in exclusive use until then, a new catechism was to be introduced and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the Spanish Netherlands. The new catechism, whose author was the Jesuit Louis Makeblyde, was published at Antwerp in 1609.[2] Charles Borremeo had been the first to institute "Sunday schools", which were to be held in every parish for the benefit of the children who were at work all the week. Similar classes were now extended to the Spanish Netherlands. Archduke Albert and his wife gave their support to this most beneficial work in an edict of 1608, commanding all civil officials to assist the bishops in forwarding the movement. A synod, held at Antwerp in 1610, made it an obligation for all children between six and fifteen years of age to attend these instructions.[3] Though conflicts between the spiritual and secular powers were not wanting,[4] there was nevertheless complete agreement on essentials. Perfect co-operation obtained where there was question of eliminating the effects

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 486 *seq.* ; DE RAM, *Synodicon Belgicum*, I. *seq.* ; MALINES, 1827 *seq.* ; PASTURE, *Restauration*, vi. *seq.*, 30 *seq.*

[2] See DE RAM, *loc. cit.*, I., 381 ; PIRENNE, IV., 489, and now especially PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seq.*

[3] PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 368 *seq.*, where will be found further details on the authorship of the work, which perhaps proceeds from Bishop Henry Cuyck, of Roermond.

[4] *Cf.* the account in detail in PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 15 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

of Protestantism and the regeneration of the ecclesiastical and moral life.[1]

One of the most important incidents of Bentivoglio's nunciature was the conclusion, on April 9th, 1609, of a twelve years' truce between archduke Albert and the seditious provinces. Each side now sought to profit by the re-establishment of communications between North and South. The Dutch Calvinists started a fresh propaganda in Flanders and Brabant.[2] However, this drawback was more than counterbalanced by the possibilities for the restoration of orderly ecclesiastical conditions which the cessation of hostilities now offered. It is no exaggeration to say that the tranquillity which followed the armistice of 1609 was a decisive factor in the revival of Catholicism in the Spanish Netherlands.[3] Year by year the Church made immense progress. The churches and monasteries which had been destroyed were rebuilt,[4] and those that had escaped damage were given fresh artistic beauty, in keeping with the taste of the period; above all, and this was of incomparably greater importance, in every sphere of life an intensive religious renewal was set in motion. A number of diocesan synods were held, as in 1609 at Malines, Ghent and Ypres, in 1610 at Antwerp, in 1612 at Hertogenbosch, in 1617 at Cambrai. These assemblies did much for the reform of the secular and regular clergy and for the religious instruction of the people.[5]

Paul V. had a big share in this revival inasmuch as his

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 456 *seq.*, 466, 491; *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, V., 37 *seq.* *Cf.* PASTURE, *Le placard d'hérésie du Décembre*, 1609, and *Mel. d'hist. Charles Moeller*, II., 301.

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 465 *seq.*, where there is further information on the counter-measures of the Brussels government.

[3] See PASTURE, *Restauration*, 30 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* P. SAINTENOY, "L'art et la contreréforme sous Albert et Isabelle," in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Roy. l'archéol. de Belgique*, 1919, III., 18.

[5] *Cf.* PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 344 *seq.* He offers a wealth of details on the best authorities.

nuncios concurred energetically with all that was being done. Moreover, thanks to the obligation which Sixtus V. had laid on all bishops to send in regular reports, the Holy See was in a position to exercise an effective watchfulness over ecclesiastical affairs. The nuncios, above all the shrewd Bentivoglio, were indefatigable. Before all else, they saw to it that only men worthy of the office were appointed to episcopal Sees.[1] In this respect the Catholic restoration benefited enormously by the excellent way in which the secular power used the right of nomination which had been conceded to it at the time of the erection of the new dioceses.[2] When we look into the history of the various dioceses of the Spanish Netherlands, we meet everywhere with none but devoted and conscientious men who never ceased to labour, with the utmost zeal, for the improvement of ecclesiastical conditions. Besides the archbishop of Malines, Matthias van den Hove, who has already been mentioned, the nuncios single out Jean Richardot who died in 1614 as archbishop of Cambrai, Jean Lemire of Antwerp, Gisbert Mais of Hertogenbosch, and Denis Christophori of Bruges.[3] In the diocese of Liège, whose bishops ranked as princes, Paul V. gave strong support to the reforming activity of bishops Ernest and Ferdinand, both scions of the House of Bavaria.[4]

The shrewd Guido Bentivoglio, during the eight years (1607–1615) in which he held the Brussels nunciature, became

[1] See PASTURE, 71 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*, 92. *Cf. ibid.*, 104 *seq.*, on the stimulus to zeal effected by the nuncios' visitations. On the reports of the bishops of the Netherlands in their *ad limina* visits, see PASTURE, in *Bullét. de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, LXXXIII. (1920), 281 *seq.*, 334 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*

[2] See PASTURE, *Restauration*, 11 *seq.*, 24, 155 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 166 *seq.*

[4] See CHAPEAVILLE, III., 645 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XII., 211 *seq.* For the conferences of priests introduced at Liège by the efforts of the Cologne nuncio, Albergati, in 1613, see MANIGART, *Praxis pastoralis*, III., 551. On the conflict of the Vicar General of Liège with the nuncio of Cologne and the consideration which Rome showed for Ernest, see MERGENTHEIM, I., 201 *seq.*

so acclimatized there that when he was recalled he remarked that he had become half a Fleming.[1] He recorded his observations and experiences in a celebrated report in which he also draws an interesting picture of the state of the Church.[2] In compliance with the intentions of Paul V.[3] he paid great attention to the diocesan seminaries whose organization had been either impeded or completely destroyed in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. The establishment of an institution of this kind in every diocese, which the Council of Trent demanded, met with peculiar difficulties in Spanish Flanders inasmuch as, with the exception of Cambrai, Tournai and Arras, all the other dioceses had but slender revenues. But here also the impetus given by the Provincial Council of Malines in 1607, and by the diocesan synods, brought about a gratifying change.[4] In the dioceses of Bruges and Ypres, Bentivoglio observes, the unity of faith had been completely restored though there were still some hidden Calvinists. The towns of Hertogenbosch and Roermond were wholly Catholic though not the dioceses of the same name. The city of Malines bore an exclusively Catholic stamp, but the same could not be said of Brussels. The bulk of the population of the dioceses of Cambrai, Arras, St. Omer and Valenciennes remained staunchly loyal to the ancient Church.

[1] "Mi son partito di costà quasi più Fiammingo che Italiano," he wrote on April 10, 1616, from Rome to the Dominican Franc. Bivero. *Lettere del card. Bentivoglio*, p.p. Biagioli, Napoli, 1835, 40.

[2] *Relationi*, 142 *seq.* For the abundant MSS. material of the Brussels nunciature of Bentivoglio, contained in the Papal Secret Archives and in the MSS. of the Barberini Library, Rome, and for personal details *cf.* GACHARD, *Le card. Bentivoglio. Sa Nonciature à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, 1874; V.d. ESSEN, in the *Bullét. de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, LXXVIII. (1900), 270 (*cf. ibid.*, 98, the account of the Bentivoglio-acta in Genoa, Ferrara, and in the Bibl. Casatenense, Rome); BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 2, 940; III., 5 *seq.*; PASTURE, *Restauration*, xviii. For his departure see CAUCHIE, in the *Mél. P. Fredericq*, 1904, 319 *seq.*

[3] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 21.

[4] PASTURE, *Restauration*, 31, 172 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*

Traces of Calvinism still lingered at Tournai and Valenciennes, but both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities took every precaution with a view to preventing the religious innovators from showing themselves in public.

To the secular clergy of the Spanish Netherlands Bentivoglio gives a good character. He complains of a shortage of priests in Brabant, Flanders, and Gelder, a fact in part explained by the circumstance that in those districts only Flemish-speaking priests could be employed. The French language predominated in the other provinces so that the various dioceses were in a position to lend help to one another. Moreover the religious cleavage between the southern and the northern provinces was not along the racial one between the low-German Flemings and the Gallicized Walloons.

The university of Douai constituted the intellectual centre of the Walloon districts, whilst that of Louvain served the Flemish portion of the people. Bentivoglio notes with satisfaction that the spirit of both universities was strictly Catholic and that the decrees of the Council of Trent were scrupulously observed.[1] The trouble stirred up at Louvain by Baius [2] seemed at an end. The new constitution which the government and Paul V. had given to the university in 1617,[3] was meant to safeguard it against the infiltration of religious innovations. Great lustre was shed upon the university of Louvain at that time by the famous antiquarian Justus Lipsius who, in 1590, unexpectedly resigned his chair at Leiden in order to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church.[4] The university of Douai, which in 1598, had lost the controversialist Thomas Stapleton whom Clement VIII. had deservedly held in high esteem, possessed in the exegetist

[1] *Relationi*, 145 *seq*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXI., 186 *seq.*

[3] See *Bull.*, XII., 412 *seq.* *Cf.* Brants, *La faculté de droit de Louvain à travers cinq siècles*, Louvain, 1906, 19.

[4] *Cf.* the monographs of Galesloot (Bruges, 1877) and Amiel (Paris, 1884).

William Estius (died 1613) and in Francis Sylvius who succeeded him, scholars of the highest repute.[1]

As regards the secular clergy, Bentivoglio finds that, thanks to the zeal of the bishops, the reform decrees of the Council of Trent had been carried into effect throughout Spanish Flanders. The parochial clergy, he writes, carry out their duties so conscientiously that there is little to be desired.[2] It was otherwise with the regular clergy. Bentivoglio complains in particular that the enclosure was not being enforced in abbeys situated in rural districts. If scandals occurred but seldom, the fact was to be ascribed to the high morality of the people; with some races a naturally sound disposition yields better results than the sternest laws.[3]

Bentivoglio was satisfied with the state of discipline among the Dominicans and the Franciscans Observants. Truly exemplary were the newly reformed Orders, such as the Recollects,[4] introduced under Clement VIII., the discalced Carmelites whom the archducal pair had summoned from Italy,[5] the Ursulines,[6] and lastly, the Capuchins and the Jesuits. "These two Orders," Bentivoglio writes, "have been received in all the larger towns and everywhere they do an immense amount of good." [7]

The rapid spread of the Capuchins,[8] as well as racial contrasts, necessitated the partition of the Province of the

[1] *Cf. Freiburg. Kirchenlexikon*, IV.², 930 *seq.*, XI.², 1042 *seq.*; HURTER, I., 58 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*, 392 *seq.*

[2] See *Relationi*, 145, 146.

[3] *Ibid.*, 146–7.

[4] See PASTURE, *Restauration*, 301.

[5] *Ibid.*, 113, 305. *Ibid.*, 303 *seq.*, for the reform of the Discalced Carmelites.

[6] *Cf. Chroniques de l'ordre des Ursulines*, Paris, 1676, 203; PIRENNE, IV., 442.

[7] See *Relationi*, 148.

[8] See *Annuarium prov. SS. Trinitatis hollando-belgicae fratr. min. Capucin.*, I., Bruxelles, 1870, 19 *seq.*; PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 300; *cf.* APPOLLINAIRE DE VALENCE, *Hist. des Capucins de Flandre*, I., Paris, 1878.

Netherlands into a Flemish and a Walloon one. The matter had been discussed already in 1612, and on September 15th, 1615, Paul V. granted the necessary powers. Père Honoré, of Paris, carried out the measure in 1616. To the Flemish Province were assigned the Convents of Antwerp, Alost, Oudenaarde, Brussels, Bruges, Bergues, Courtrai, Furnes, Ghent, Ypres, Louvain, Malines, Menin, Ostend, Hertogenbosch, Termond, Maastricht, and St. Tron. The Walloon Province consisted of the monasteries at Aires, Armentières, Ath, Arras, St. Omer, Béthune, Cambrai, Condé, Dinant, Douai, Enghien, Huy, Lille, Liège, Maubeuge, Malmedy, Mons, Namur, Orchies, Soignies, Tournai and Valenciennes.[1] In the Netherlands the Capuchins, who in 1616 admitted into their Order a member of the illustrious house of Arenberg,[2] devoted themselves, in addition to pastoral work, to visiting prisoners, nursing the sick, caring for the insane, nay, in some towns they even undertook works of public utility such as the organization of fire brigades.[3]

The progress which the Society of Jesus had made in the Spanish Netherlands during the pontificate of Clement VIII. continued during that of Paul V. In view of the ever-growing number of colleges and new members,[4] the General of the Society, Aquaviva, judged it expedient to divide the Province of the Netherlands into two. Very wisely this partition was based on the language frontier. The Flemish-speaking district of the Netherlands and the principality of Liège constituted the Flandro-Belgian Province, whilst the Franco-Belgian

[1] *Annuarium* (see p.91, n.8) I., 21–2; MAZELIN, *Hist. du P. Honoré de Paris*, Paris, 1882, 203; PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 301; P. FRÉDÉGAND D'ANVERS, *Étude sur le P. Charles d'Arenberg, frère mineur, 1593–1669*, Paris, 1919, 132 *seqq.*; A. DE NÖUE, *Étude hist. sur Stavelot et Malmédy*, Liège, 1848, 392 *seq.*

[2] See FRÉDÉGAND D'ANVERS, in the work quoted, note 1, p. 120 *seqq.*

[3] See GOBERT, *Les rues de Liège*, I., 202; REMBRY-BARTH, *Hist. de Menin*, I., Bruges, 1881, 285; PIRENNE, IV., 515.

[4] 788, according to the *Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu* of 1611, p. 246, as against 448 in the year 1597. *Cf.* PARENT, 63.

Province included the Walloon country to which were likewise added the German parts of Luxemburg. In 1616, the former Province numbered fourteen houses (viz. Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Courtrai, Ghent, Ypres, Louvain, Lier, Malines, Roermond, Hertogenbosch, Maastricht, Bergues and Cassel), and the latter fifteen (viz. Douai, St. Omer, Tournai, Liège, Lille, Mons, Valenciennes, Arras, Cambrai, Luxemburg, Namur, Dinant, Hesdin, Aire and Huy).[1] In 1616 the personnel of the Flandro-Belgian Province consisted of 617 members and that of Franco-Belgian of 653.[2] The principal house of the latter was at Douai where there was likewise a Scottish seminary. The houses of probation were at Tournai and Liège. The Flandro-Belgian Province had a college at Louvain as well as a seminary for English students. The houses of probation were at Malines and Lier. In September, 1616, John Berchmans entered at Malines. Together with Stanislaus Kostka and Aloysius Gonzaga, he constitutes the Society's trinity of holy youths.[3] In 1607, a professed house was added to the college of Antwerp. Eight years later a beginning was made with the erection of a new church which was destined to become a magnificent and much-admired building.[4] It consists of three aisles of equal height, in the baroque style, though that particular style has not been systematically followed in its construction. The opinion which prevailed at one time, that the Jesuits made baroque popular because it seemed to them the only ecclesiastical style, is as erroneous as the notion that baroque was a product of the reform movement within the Church.[5] The new art

[1] See IUVENCIUS, P. V. tom. post. 317, 355. *Cf.* PONCELET, *Jésuites en Belgique*, 3 *seq.*, 14 *seq.*; *Anal p. serv. à l'hist. éccles. de la Belgique*, XXXIII. (1907), 278.

[2] See IUVENCIUS, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[3] *Cf.* the monographs of VANDERSPEETEN (Bruxelles, 1868) and F. GOLDIE (London, 1873).

[4] "Templum Iesuitarum stupendum . . . non augustius nec Belgium nec Gallia habet," says GASPAR STEIN, in his **Peregrinus seu peregrinatio terrestris*, *Cod.* 1751 of the Königsberg Library.

[5] For the reasons given why the baroque style is supposed

would have made headway independently of the movement in question. The Church at no time stood in the way of the changing fashion in the world of arts, hence she would certainly not have impeded the triumphant progress of baroque.[1] Although the Jesuits have indeed erected some important buildings in that style, they were very far from considering it the only one suitable for ecclesiastical edifices. Hence in the churches they erected they everywhere kept to the style of the country, viz. late Gothic,[2] both in western Germany (Münster, Coblenz, Cologne, Molsheim) and in the Spanish Netherlands. This is only another proof of the

to be specifically "Jesuit", see BRAUN, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII. (1914), 545 *seq.* Just as there is a tendency to interpret the sumptuousness of baroque churches generally, as intended to give a strong stimulus to the emotions of the masses, without considering at the same time all the other numerous and contributory causes belonging to general culture, this style also has been especially laid at the door of the Jesuits. Many baroque churches of the Catholic Renaissance together with many Jesuit churches do indeed display an excess of decorative ornament. Nevertheless a universal tendency cannot be proved. Moreover, exaggerated decoration, such as that of the Gesù at Rome, as well as of many other Jesuit churches, belongs to a much later date. It is most remarkable that the best authority on these matters, J. BRAUN (*loc. cit.*, 547 *seq.*) demonstrates that the exaggeratedly ornamental Jesuit churches, not only in Germany, the Netherlands, and France, but also in Italy and Spain, constitute a definite minority in relation to the total number of the churches of the Society in those countries. *Cf.* also B. CROCE, *Der Begriff des Barocks und die Gegenreformation*, Zurich, 1926, 29.

[1] See M. FÜRST, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLV., 516; J. BRAUN, *Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten*, I., Freiburg, 1908, II., *ibid.*, 1909 (pseudo-Gothic churches in northern Germany are not numerous).

[2] J. BRAUN (*Die Belgischen Jesuitenkirchen*, Freiburg, 1907) shows on quite exhaustive investigation, that almost half of the Belgian Jesuit churches (13), even as late as about the middle of the seventeenth century, were in late-Gothic style. *Cf.* also PARENT, 121 *seq.*

Society's power of adaptability to, and regard for, national peculiarities and historical tradition in all things in which no fundamental principle of the Order was at stake. The Jesuits had no other aim than to build churches that were both beautiful and devotional. But for all their respect for what was indigenous and long-established, they did not reject the claims of the new; the result frequently was a mixture of styles. An accurate examination of existing monuments of the period shows that the style of the Jesuit churches is the one that prevailed at the time in the particular country. Where people built in the Gothic style, they built in Gothic and where the Renaissance or baroque prevailed, they too used the new style.[1]

If in questions of art the authorities allowed the fullest freedom, there was uniformity of method and purpose in all that concerned the cure of souls, the missions and the education of youth. In Spanish Flanders no less than in other countries, the Jesuits devoted themselves with such zeal to the formation of the rising generation, that they were everywhere looked upon as model teachers.[2] Even Protestants admitted the fact.[3] Almost the whole of the nobility and the well-to-do middle classes sent their sons to the schools of the Jesuits, in the firm conviction that "nowhere were they more likely to acquire the literary equipment necessary to a man moving in polite society and one desirous to practise the liberal arts".[4] And since schools were gratuitous, talented

[1] See BRAUN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII., 548 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 502. *Cf.* PASTURE, *Restauration*, 311 *seq.*

[3] See v. BUCHELS, *Diarium*, ed. Brom, and L. A. v. LANGERAAD, *Amsterdam*, 1907, 99; PIRENNE, IV., 503.

[4] This is the opinion of PIRENNE (IV., 503), who is not friendly towards the Jesuits. This passage contains further detailed information. The College at Douai numbered in 1600, 400 scholars in arts, 600 in philosophy, 100 in theology; see PONCELET, 17. Besides the Jesuits the Augustinian Hermits also successfully devoted themselves to the education of youth. See PASTURE, *Restauration*, 306. *Cf.* also BETS, *Hist. de Tirlemont*, II., 35 *seq.*

but destitute youths were also able to get their education there. In every college there existed at least four sodalities of our Lady, one for the pupils, a second for the youths, a third for men, and a fourth for young children. These sodalities, or "Guilds" as they were called in Belgium, included an immense number of members who devoted themselves to the most diverse works of mercy; the poor, the sick, the prisoners and the unlearned—all received innumerable tokens of their charity.[1]

As pastors of souls the Jesuits attached supreme importance to preaching and the frequent reception of the sacraments. It is related that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the Flandro-Belgian Province, no less than 15,206 sermons were delivered in the course of a single year.[2] The Jesuits showed particular zeal in the teaching of the catechism throughout the Netherlands. This apostolate, which Paul V. did all he could to encourage, was of the simplest kind.[3] They strove to impress the usual prayers and the fundamental truths of the Church as deeply as possible on the children's minds. Teaching was based on the catechism of Canisius which Francis Coster had translated in 1566. In order to arouse interest there were competitions, prizes, theatrical representations and questions and answers set to music and sung in chorus.[4] This method, which had already received the encomiums of Clement VIII., yielded excellent results and the religious and secular authorities encouraged and supported it, with the result that it spread ever more and more. Some colleges conducted as many as thirty or forty children's classes. The confraternity of St. Charles Borromeo, founded

[1] *Cf.* PONCELET, 26 *seq.* The four congregations at Louvain comprised 800 members (*Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu*, 1611, 250). The total in the Flandro-Belgian Province, in 1626, came to 13,727 persons (*Imago primi saeculi*, 774).

[2] See *Imago primi saeculi*, 781.

[3] See *Synopsis*, II., 245.

[4] *Cf.* PERRENS, IV., 506 *seq.* Many details are to be found in *Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu*, 1611, 250 *seq.*; 1613–1614, 287 *seq.*, 342 *seqq.*

in Antwerp in 1618, by one of the Fathers, was soon copied in a great number of towns.[1]

The southern districts of the Netherlands were still exposed to the danger of Calvinist propaganda, hence Paul V. learnt with the greatest joy of the establishment of Jesuit colleges near the frontier. This undertaking was due to the initiative of the nuncio.[2] For the purpose of stemming the flood of Calvinist writings which attacked the Catholic faith in every possible way, Cardinal Bellarmine created a fund the revenue of which was to be applied to the training and supporting of controversialists. Among the scholars who met the Calvinist attack with counter-attack, the Jesuits were in the foremost rank. It is enough to mention Francis Coster (d. 1619), Leonard Lessius (d. 1623), Thomas Saillius (d. 1623), Martin Becanus (d. 1624), Charles Scribianus (d. 1629), Hermann Hugo (d. 1629), Herbert Rosweidus (d. 1629). Together with them, the Franciscan Matthiew Hauzeur also greatly distinguished himself as a controversialist.[3]

The activities of the new Orders as well as the whole movement of religious reaction found strong supporters in the regents Albert and Isabella. By the strength of their faith and the purity of their lives these princes set their subjects a splendid example.[4] The liberality with which they supported the Church could not have been surpassed. Churches, monasteries, seminaries, charitable institutions were either founded, enlarged, adorned or enriched by them. Innumerable are the works of religious art of which they were the originators. Miräus reckons at 300 the number of the churches which were erected under the auspices and by order of the

[1] See PONCELET, 23 *seq.* Here also is the proof that the custom, begun in Tournai in 1645, of celebrating the solemn corporate First Communion of children, was instituted by the Jesuits.

[2] See LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 84.

[3] See PONCELET, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, 34 ; WERNER, *Gesch. der apolog. Literatur*, IV., 640 *seq.* ; HURTER, I., 161, 245, 293, 295, 347.

[4] See FRÉDÉGAND CALLAEY, in *Bull. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome*, III. (1924), 40 *seq.*

archducal pair.[1] The numerous yellow and red-tinted baroque churches which are so distinctive a feature of the physiognomy of many Belgian towns, owe their origin to this period. On his return from Rome, 1604, the official architect of the archduke, Wenceslaus Coeberger, built the churches of the Carmelites and the Augustinians in Brussels.[2] In the former, in 1606, the archduke and archduchess had themselves solemnly invested with the scapular. In 1609, Coeberger also built the sanctuary of Montaigu to which Albert and Isabella were wont to withdraw every year for the purpose of making the spiritual exercises for the space of nine days. There they also founded the Rotonda, a place of pilgrimage to this day.[3] In 1609 the office and title of court painter was bestowed on a man of genius, Peter Paul Rubens, who had then just returned from Italy.[4]

One of the archduke Albert's most anxious cares was to make of the churches of his domains worthy shrines for the relics which had escaped the destruction of the churches by the Protestants of Holland and Germany. When the reliquary of St. Albert arrived, the archduke carried it on his own shoulders through the streets of Mons to the church of the Carmelite nuns.[5] Every year, on Maundy Thursday, the archducal pair washed the feet of the poor in the chapel of the palace.

The example of the regents made a powerful impression on the people. All classes were eager to take part in the public processions and in the exercises prescribed for gaining the Indulgences which Paul V. granted repeatedly. Numerous

[1] See MIRAEUS, *De Vita Alberti pii*, Antwerpie, 1612; DE MONTPLEIMCHAMP, *Hist. de l'archiduc Albert*, Bruxelles, 1870, 524 *seq.*, 528 *seq.*, 530 *seq.* *Cf.* PASTURE, *Restauration*, 6 *seq.* See also the life of *Mary Ward*, I., *seq.* 128.

[2] See SCHAYES, *Hist. de l'architecture en Belgique*, IV., 181 *seq.*; SAINTENOY, *loc. cit.*, 26. PARENT, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* KRONEN, *Marias Heerlykheid en Nederland*, VII., Amsterdam, 191, 1911.

[4] See SAINTENOY, *loc. cit.*, 21.

[5] See PIRENNE, IV., 522 *seq.*

confraternities arose, devotion to the Holy Eucharist grew steadily, as well as devotion to the Mother of God, whose sanctuaries were annually visited by thousands of pilgrims. The most famous among these pilgrimages were those of Hal and Montaigu.[1] Justus Lipsius, a man of immense learning, was so impressed by the sight of the ex-votos in the sanctuary of Hal, which bear witness to the power and the goodness of the Mother of God, that he set himself the task of writing the story of this pilgrimage in classical Latin. This work has been many times reprinted and translated into several languages, German being among them. As the great scholar lay dying in 1606, he asked that the Litany of Loreto be read to him and he declared that his greatest comfort was that he had honoured Mary from the days of his childhood.[2] Like Lipsius, other personages of intellectual or social standing were members of the sodality of our Lady. In the registers of these sodalities, which have come down to us, we find, besides the names of bishops, abbots and nuncios, those of the leading figures of the nobility and the highest authorities, as well as those of artists such as David Teniers, Van Dyck and Rubens.[3] How powerfully the religious revival had got hold of all classes is shown by the fact that a number of devout young women of the burgher families banded themselves together for the purpose of attending to the tidiness and decoration of the churches, teaching the catechism, nursing the sick and burying the dead. The life of people in the world became increasingly impregnated with "that active yet tender piety", the accomplished expression of which is seen in the classical book of St. Francis de Sales, *Introduction to a Devout Life*.[4]

It must have been a great comfort to Paul V. to see how in Spain and Italy and now across the Alps also, in the southern and eastern provinces of the Netherlands, the ancient faith was

[1] See PASTURE, *loc. cit.*, 330 *seq.* *Cf.* A. VAN WEDDINGEN, *Notre-Dame de Montaigu*[3], Bruxelles, 1880.

[2] See the work of KRONEN, quoted above note 3, p. 98.

[3] See PONCELET, 28.

[4] Judgment of PIRENNE (IV., 525).

striking ever deeper roots in the life and thought of the people. If at a later period it was possible to say that " to be a Catholic is part of the Belgian character ", the foundations of such a state of things were being laid during those years. Paul V.'s keenness for the furthering and strengthening of the religious restoration in the Spanish Netherlands is clearly seen in the Instructions issued to Bentivoglio's successors. All were instructed to co-operate with the bishops for the elimination of certain abuses which still lingered, such as, especially, the non-observance of the enclosure in monasteries; to prevent the infiltration of Protestant elements, to defend the rights of the Church, to enforce the Tridentine decrees, in a word, to consolidate the work of the reform by every means in their power.[1] The reports of the nuncios as well as other sources bear witness both to the zeal and to the success with which the representatives of the Holy See everywhere promoted the work of the Catholic restoration. In this respect both Bentivoglio and his successor, Gesualdo, deserved well of the Church.[2]

The religious revival in those parts of the Netherlands which had remained Catholic found expression in the arts also. Architecture, painting and sculpture experienced a new efflorescence, in fact their splendour throws lustre upon the whole epoch. The magnificent churches which arose at that time at Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Namur, Ghent and Malines call forth admiration even to-day; they display especially a marvellous wealth of decoration, consisting chiefly in marble altars, choir stalls, pulpits, but above all in paintings,[3] for then, as in the fifteenth century, the most

[1] See the Instruction for Ascanio Gesualdo of October 23, 1615, Lucio Morra of June 27, 1617, and Lucio San Severino, of January 2, 1619, in CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 42 *seq.*, 44, 61 *seq.*, 65, 66, 79, 80, 82 *seq.* The Briefs for the nuncios are in BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 247 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PASTURE, *Restauration*, 31, 89 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DESTRÉE ET MÜLLER DE KETELBOETERE, *L'art Belge au XVIIe siècle*, Louvain, 1910; BRIGGS, *Barockarchitektur* (1914), 196 *seq.*; ROUSSEAU, *La sculpture Belge au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Bruxelles, 1913.

eminent artists devoted themselves to painting. To the renewed vigour of ecclesiastical life is due the abundance of commissions given to artists; the wealthy corporations, the ever-growing religious confraternities, the Orders, the Jesuits above all others, but likewise the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites, deemed it a point of honour as well as an indispensable means by which to fan the piety of the people, to provide the house of God with as rich a decoration as possible. Thus the old cathedrals, which had been ravaged by the iconoclasts, as well as the enormous number of new churches built in the peculiar Belgian baroque style, were restored and furnished in most splendid fashion.[1]

However, the greatest as well as the most influential among the artists who put their talent at the service of the Church, Peter Paul Rubens, was not an exclusively religious painter. With astonishing versatility he frequently took his subjects from classical mythology, from history, or himself created allegorico-historical compositions, portraits, genre-paintings, pictures of animals and landscapes. Nevertheless, the number of his religious paintings is extremely great. Rubens was a convinced and practising Catholic. Every morning he heard Mass, before starting work, and his private life was blameless. For all that, from an exaggerated passion for realism, and out of excessive consideration for the wishes of many clients who demanded grossly sensuous representations, in many of his pictures Rubens overstepped those laws of morality which apply also to profane art.[2] Though we pay full homage to his wonderful achievement, it is beyond dispute that in a number of his pictures, the theme of which is taken from the religious sphere, the spiritual or supernatural character is not sufficiently stressed. However frequently he may have

[1] *Cf.* on church architecture, BRIGGS, *loc. cit.*, 194 *seq.*; P. PARENT, *L'architecture des Pays-Bas méridionaux au 16e–18e. siècles*, Paris, 1926, 46 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*; J. BRAUN, *cf.* above, p. 93, n. 5; J. H. PLATENGA, *L'Architecture réligieuse dans l'ancien duché de Brabant*, 1598–1713, La Haye, 1926.

[2] On this aspect of the art of Rubens, *cf.* G. VANZYPE, *P. P. Rubens*, Bruxelles, 1926, 47 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*

painted the Madonna, he never succeeded in doing justice to the deep religious significance of the Mother of God. In like manner many of his figures of Saints fail to come up to what we are entitled to expect from a church painting: they lack all higher inspiration.[1]

In the same way in his many representations of the *Last Judgment*, the religious conception and tone are very much in the background. Like Michelangelo, he conceives the subject exclusively as a penal judgment. He feels himself wholly in his element when he can depict the divine vengeance in the most terrible and awe-inspiring colours. In his picture *Cast into Hell*,[2] which, technically, is of the highest order, the reprobate are, as it were, caught in a whirlwind; they are cast into the dark furnace of the bottomless pit, tumbling head over heels as they fall, screaming, vainly clutching at the empty air. The same theme receives a less violent, or more orderly and academic treatment, in the so-called *Great Last Judgment*[3] for which a German admirer of the master, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm, gave Rubens a commission in the year 1615.[4] Here also there is a mass movement of naked bodies: on the left the ponderous bodies eddy upwards, towards heaven; on the right they fall

[1] See Kuhn, III., 903 *seq.*, and Keppler, in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, XCV., 291 *seq.* J. Burckhardt also, in other respects an almost unlimited admirer of the master, says (*Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, 192): "Rubens appears unsatisfactory at all times with regard to the Madonna, not in his style, if we admit that as good, but in relation to spiritual values and to the categories of great art." As a matter of fact Schnaase (*Niederländische Briefe*, Stuttgart, 1834, 363) has already pointed out that those forms which appear to us as less devotional, are not due to a lack of religious feeling, but to a different direction of taste and sense of form.

[2] Reproduction in Rosenberg, no. 87.

[3] Reproduction, *ibid*, no. 107.

[4] Kreitmaier (in *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XL. (1917), 247 *seq.*) shows that the picture was painted in 1616, or at latest in the first half of 1617, not at the beginning of 1618, as L. Burchard (*Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXIII., 259) surmised.

in tangled knots into hell, where the devil is seen dragging two women into the pit. As in all Rubens' representations of the Last Judgment, here also the unclothed bodies of gross, massive men and women, on which a strong light throws a hard glare, appear for the most part in the foreground and in unseemly attitudes. The impression made by the gigantic canvas commissioned by the Count Palatine of Neuburg, is all the more unpleasant as the figures are above life size. How greatly the views of that period differed from our own, as regards the boundaries of what is objectionable on moral grounds, may be gathered from the fact that the painting was intended for the high altar of the Jesuit church at Neuburg, on the Danube. Only in 1653 was it replaced, "as somewhat unsuitable for the house of God," by another painting,[1] and in 1691 it was taken to Düsseldorf from whence it subsequently went to Munich.

The taste of the period may excuse the transgressions of the boundaries of seemliness in Rubens' scenes of martyrdom in which his passion for realism indulges in an orgy of violence. The maximum of horror of this kind is reached in a picture destined for the high altar of the Jesuit church at Ghent—*The Martyrdom of St. Liévin*, whose excised tongue is held out to a dog which snaps at it. The *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in St. Peter's church, at Cologne, also displays the most horrible realism. In the scene of the martyrdom of St. Liévin the realism is softened by the vision of angels proclaiming from on high the Saint's triumph in heaven.[2]

Numerous as are the works of the greatest master of northern baroque painting which fail to comply with the requirements of an altar-piece, many more are the creations of his brush to which even the most exacting criticism cannot deny a religious character. His *Christ and the Four Penitent*

[1] See BRAUN, *Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten*, II., 187, note 1. *Cf. Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XL., 249 *seq.* In Dresden there is an autographed sketch, with differences in many respects.

[2] *Cf.* R. VISCHER, *Rubens*, 50; ROOSES, 578 *seq.*, 583 *seq.*; VOLL, *Malerei*, 20 *seq.*

Sinners is a deeply felt piece of work,[1] and his *Apostles* in the Prado Museum of Madrid [2] and his *Ambrose* forbidding the blood-stained emperor Theodosius to enter the door of the basilica,[3] are imposing figures; and who can behold without emotion his *St. Francis* all aflame with love as he worships Christ crucified? [4] A genuinely religious atmosphere likewise breathes in the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, the *Carrying of the Cross*,[5] and in a picture destined for the church of the Carmelite nuns of Antwerp, representing St. Teresa prostrate at the feet of Christ and pleading for the release of the Souls in Purgatory which angels are already in the act of assisting out of the flames.[6]

Among the three paintings which Rubens executed for the church of the Franciscans at Antwerp, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assissi* is distinguished not only by the glow of its colouring but likewise by a deeply religious conception. In this picture the Flemish master rivals his Italian contemporaries Agostino Caracci and Domenichino who also treated the same theme. The feeling of unbounded faith has rarely been expressed so perfectly, so movingly and so intimately as it is here depicted by Rubens in the attitude of the Saint bowing before the Most Holy Sacrament and in that of his brethren eagerly crowding round him.[7]

Rubens took a prominent part in the decoration of the new

[1] The Pinakothek at Munich, reproduction in ROSENBERG, no. 95. *Cf.* VISCHER, *Rubens*, 41.

[2] See ROSENBERG, no. 10–15.

[3] Vienna Gallery, see ROSENBERG, no. 186.

[4] Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna; see ROSENBERG, no. 45.

[5] For the *Assumption of Our Lady*, preserved in the Düsseldorf Gallery, see VISCHER, *Rubens*, 41; for the *Carrying of the Cross*, in the Brussels Museum, *cf.* VOLL, *Malerei*, 23 *seq.*

[6] See KEPPLER, *loc. cit.*, 302. *Cf.* ROOSES, 242, where there is a good reproduction.

[7] OLDENBOURG (*Rubens*, 16) considers that this picture, now in the Museum of Antwerp, is the most moving of all the religious pictures of the master. *Cf.* also ROOSES, 225 *seq.*, and BURCKHARDT, *Erinnerungen*, 117.

church of the Jesuit professed house at Antwerp. On March 29th, 1620, he signed a contract by the terms of which he bound himself to provide the sketches for thirty-nine subjects for the vaults of the lateral aisles and the tribunes. These were to be executed by Antony van Dyck and others of his pupils.[1] In 1718 these paintings were destroyed by fire, but three large altar-pieces painted by Rubens previous to 1620 were saved; they are *The Assumption of our Lady*, and the *Miracles of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier*. Rubens took particular delight in labouring for the glorification of these heroes of the Catholic restoration on whom Paul V. had bestowed the honours of our altars. The two paintings are among the most splendid of the master's works. The figure of the great founder and that of his no less glorious disciple stand out powerfully and dominate the whole scene by their impressive dignity and majesty.[2] The feeling of confidence with which the sick and others in need press round and, as it were, mob the Saints, is most happily rendered. In Ignatius the great Flemish master extols the share of the Society of Jesus in the Catholic restoration and in Xavier the powerful impulse which the new Order gave to the spread of the gospel even as far as the extreme Far East. Both pictures were intended for the high altar which they adorned in turns; by reason of the painted architectural features and the colour effects, they constitute a harmonious climax for the interior of the church.

Utterly different in character is the majestic votive picture commissioned in 1630 by the widow of archduke Albert, the Infanta Isabella, for the high altar of the church of St. James on the Coudenberg, at Brussels, a church belonging to the confraternity of the Saint of that name. Though artistically dazzling by reason of the compactness of the composition and the strong, warm tone of the colouring, this canvas does not bear comparison with the infinite charm and strength of the great altar-pieces of the Jesuit church. The

[1] See Rooses, 237 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Kuhn, III., 2, 907, and Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*, 136, 161.

dazzling splendour of form and colour destroys the religious atmosphere ; religious emotion is indeed movingly depicted in the features of St. Ildephonsus who kisses, with deep emotion, the chasuble which the Mother of God presents to him, but the Madonna lacks the maidenly grace of the Queen of heaven, and as for the female figures around her, they recall far too realistically the court of the regent to create the impression of figures of Saints.[1]

On the other hand another work executed by Rubens to a commission of the archduchess Isabella, namely his sketches for carpets destined for the adornment of the church of the Poor Clares of Madrid,[2] is distinguished by its deeply religious character. Since St. Clare is known for her special devotion to the sacrament of the altar, the theme chosen was the glorification of this mystery. Four sketches deal with the prototypes of the Eucharist ; viz. Melchisedech handing bread and wine to Abraham, the manna in the desert, the sacrifice of the Old Law and Elias fed by an angel. Four other sketches exhibit the witnesses and protagonists of the Catholic teaching on the Eucharist : viz. the Evangelists, the four Doctors of the Latin Church together with Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and St. Clare, certain Popes, finally some great men both clerical and lay, especially members of the house of Habsburg.[3] There follow four scenes of triumph which

[1] See Kuhn, III., 2, 907. *Cf.* for the Ildefonso-altar the monograph of G. Glück, in the series, *Meisterwerke in Wien*, Wien, 1921.

[2] See *Descripción de los Tapices de Rubens que se colocan en el claustro del monasterio de las Señoras religiosas descalzas reales*, Madrid, 1881. There are sketches in the Museum at Cambridge, Madrid, and the Louvre ; see Rooses, 462 *seq.* *Cf.* Rosenberg, no. 282–8. There are magnificent large engravings by Schelte a Bolswert, Nic. Lauwers, Adrian and Conrad Lommelin and Joseph Neefs. The explanations of these representations until now have been frequently erroneous, and even W. Rothes (*Monatschrift f. Kunstwissenschaft*, VI. (1913), 448) has not treated the matter quite satisfactorily ; I hope I have hit on the right interpretation.

[3] Reproduction in Rooses, 428.

gave the picture its name. In rich and profound allegories Rubens depicts the triumph of the Eucharistic mystery over paganism, ignorance and wilful blindness and the errors of Luther and Calvin, and, lastly, the triumph of divine love in the Sacrament of the Altar. The first two allegories, which are widely known through excellent engravings, are rightly ranked among the sublimest creations of the master. The victory of the Eucharist over idolatry is symbolized by the interruption of a pagan sacrifice : a luminous angel holding a chalice and host is seen descending from heaven and his apparition troubles and terrifies the priest and his assistant as they prepare to offer sacrifice. A comparison with Raphael's sacrifice of Lystra points to immensely heightened feeling as well as far greater technical resources.

A mighty *Tantum ergo* seems to resound through the *Triumph of the Eucharist over Ignorance and Blindness.* Led by figures symbolizing faith, hope and charity, four horses, the foremost being ridden by a genius with the insignia of the papacy, draw a magnificent triumphal chariot whose wheels crush a writhing devil whilst a pagan in fetters is being driven by the side of it. The Church sits majestically enthroned on the chariot whilst genii hover around her. The wonderful figure, over whose head an angel holds a tiara, has in both hands a monstrance from which flash dazzling rays of light. An eminent connoisseur rightly judges that, as regards artistic effect, none of the numerous allegorical representations of the Church's glory, inspired by the period of Catholic restoration, can stand beside this triumphal picture.[1]

These representations, in which Rubens makes a most eloquent profession of faith in the power and greatness of the mystery of mysteries, bear witness to his truly Catholic sentiments as well as to the deep piety with which he plunges into the contemplation of the Saviour's Passion.[2] His *Pietàs* are most moving. The palm probably belongs to a picture destined to adorn the tomb of a merchant of Antwerp, the central panel of which shows the dead body of Christ lying

[1] See BURCKHARDT, *Erinnerungen*, 259.

[2] See ROSENBERG, XXVIII.

on a stone bench strewn with straw.[1] Mary looks sorrowfully towards heaven as she prepares to cover the pale countenance of her Son with a veil. John supports the body whilst Mary Magdalen looks on, trembling with emotion—"a silent, solemn lament full of tender melancholy." The two wings show St. John the Evangelist looking upwards, towards his eagle, and Mary with her Child whose eyes, expressive of terror, are directed towards the central scene—a hint as ingenious as it is effective that even as a child the God-man foresaw His Passion.[2]

Very characteristic of Rubens are two other pictures of his representing the lament over the dead Christ: in one, now in Vienna, the sorrowful Mother draws a thorn from the head of her dead Son; in the other, now preserved at Antwerp, she closes His eyes dimmed by death.[3]

Very often Rubens represents the dead Christ upon the cross, either alone or as surrounded by His lieges. He is seen alone in the much copied picture of the Antwerp Gallery. The half-open lips utter the words: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" whilst the half-closed eyes, which, by a supreme effort the dying Man has raised on high, seem to ask a similiar question of heaven. The figure of the crucified of the Pinakothek of Munich also shows Him alone and forsaken on the gibbet: the pale, white body looks ghostly against the gloom of the evening sky.[4]

The last scenes of the drama of Calvary are depicted in the famous altar pieces of Antwerp. The highly dramatic *Raising of the Cross*, which was subsequently transferred to the cathedral, had been painted in 1610 for the church of St. Walburge, at Antwerp. By the enormous display of energy on the part of the herculean executioners who plant their feet against the rock in order to raise the cross, the master sought to give a symbolic expression to the idea that He who was

[1] Hence the name, *Le Christ à la paille*; Museum of Antwerp, reproduction in Rosenberg, no. 148.

[2] See Keppler, in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, XCV., 300.

[3] Reproduction in Rosenberg, nos. 80 and 81.

[4] See Keppler, *loc. cit.*, 301. *Cf.* Rosenberg, nos. 45 and 46.

nailed to the cross bore the burden of the sins of all mankind.[1] The meek resignation of the Saviour appears in vivid contrast with the roughness and the grim hatred of His tormentors.[2] This incomparably forceful work of art,[3] in which one detects the influence of the manner of Caravaggio, makes an overwhelming impression. Whilst brute force is given full play in this picture, the silent grief of our Lord's friends finds a moving expression in another altar piece also of colossal proportions which now adorns the cathedral of Antwerp: the *Descent from the Cross*, completed in 1612. Two men standing on ladders lean over the cross-beam of the gibbet and so allow the dead body to slip down on a linen sheet. Below, the body is received by John, Joseph of Arimathaea, Nicodemus and the holy women. A dazzling stream of unearthly light falls on the body of the Saviour, which is the centre of the looks, feelings, thoughts and activity of those present. By the admirable compactness of his composition as well as by the happy arrangement of his groups, Rubens surpasses all his predecessors. It is easy to understand that this representation, which glows with the liveliest faith, should have set a fashion for years to come.[4]

These stupendous works, in which Rubens created "for the Netherlands the definitive form of the painted baroque

[1] See WAAGEN, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, 253.

[2] See ROOSES, 131 *seq.*; OLDENBOURG, *Rubens*, 73 *seq.*; FROMENTIN, 84 *seq.*

[3] See OLDENBOURG, in the *Jahrbuch der österr. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIV. (1918), 174.

[4] See ROOSES, 166 *seq.*; KEPPLER, *loc. cit.*, 295 *seq.*, who rightly refutes the unjust criticism of CARTIER (*La renaissance italienne et son influence en Europe: Lettres chrétiennes*, Lille, 1880, 364). *Cf.* also WAAGEN, *loc. cit.*, 256; BURCKHARDT, *Erinnerungen*, 115, 132 *seq.*; OLDENBOURG, 8, 88; FROMENTIN, 75 *seq.*; PRINCE GEORGE OF SAXONY (*Die Kunst im slavischen Osten*, Köln, 1919, 29) points out a "Descent from the Cross" of Rubens in the church of St. Nicholas at Kalisz, in Poland. The picture was a gift from the Secretary of State of Sigismund III., Peter Zermoski; a copy is at Arras; see *Kunstchronik N.F.*, XXIII., 271.

altar",[1] were followed by another masterpiece of religious art, *Christ on the cross between the two thieves*, destined for the high altar of the church of the Recollects at Antwerp.[2] The divine Sufferer's head has sunk on His breast, and He has expired. The thief on His right hand is at his last gasp but looks with confidence towards heaven, whilst the legs of the other robber are being broken and he himself writhes in an agony of despair. Longinus approaches from the right in order to pierce the side of our Lord with his lance. Mary and John turn aside with a shudder whilst the Magdalen, the embodiment of deepest grief, instinctively spreads out her arms as if to ward off the stroke of the lance.

Rubens' productiveness in the field of religious painting was emulated by his numerous pupils whom the master himself had extensively employed in his own creations. An outstanding figure in this crowd is Anton Van Dyck. Van Dyck's artistic temperament differed widely from that of Rubens and he gives proof of a more tender, sensitive, idyllic, and at times, an almost sentimental disposition which reveals itself even in his colouring. Even more than his colouring, the conception of his subjects comes close to that of his Italian contemporaries, such as Domenichino and Reni. His art, like that of his teachers, is the fruit of the Catholic restoration.[3] Anton Van Dyck painted religious subjects for choice, even when he worked without any special purpose and for the sheer love of painting.[4] His numerous Madonnas betray deeper feeling and tenderness than those of Rubens. Like the most famous of these pictures, *The Repose of the Holy*

[1] See CLEMEN, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, II., München, 1923, 181 *seq.*

[2] The picture known as *Le coup de lance*, is now in the Antwerp Museum (ROSENBERG, no. 203). See KEPPLER, *loc. cit.*, 299 *seq.*; ROOSES, 235 *seq.* *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 106, 146, who describes the picture as "unique of its kind".

[3] See W. ROTHES, *Die kirchliche Kunst des A. van Dyck*, in the *Wissensch. Beilage der Germania*, 1912, no. 38; by the same also *A. Van Dyck*, München, 1919, 16 *seq.*

[4] See KNACKFUSS, *A van Dyck*, Bielefeld, 1910, 56.

Family on the Flight to Egypt, now in the picture gallery of Petrograd, his other works bear too many characteristics of genre painting to be ranked as religious pictures.[1] Many of Van Dyck's themes are taken from the lives of the Saints. When only twenty-two he produced a St. Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar—a perfectly mature masterpiece. Later on he repeatedly painted St. Jerome, Mary Magdalen, St. Sebastian and above all St. Francis of Assisi. However, not a few among these paintings, as for instance the *St. Sebastian*, of the Pinakothek of Munich, betray a certain shallowness in the conception of the theme.[2] For the "Confraternity of the unmarried", which the Jesuits directed at Antwerp, he painted the Blessed Hermann Joseph absorbed in prayer at the feet of the Blessed Virgin. The same gravity and the same sincerity of feeling are shown by the picture representing St. Antony contemplating the Child Jesus.[3] As a religious painter Van Dyck is at his best in the works which have for their theme the sufferings of our Lord. His *Lament for Christ* in the Munich Gallery,[4] *The Arrest of Christ*, in the Prado Museum at Madrid,[5] and *The Carrying of the Cross*, in the church of St. Paul at Antwerp,[6] make a profound impression on the beholder. Our Lord shedding His blood upon the cross for the salvation of mankind has been so often and so impressively painted by the master, that it is precisely the mastery of this theme which sums up his creative work in the field of religious art.[7] Van Dyck's representations of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 16 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 58 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 58. A copy of the picture now in the Vienna Gallery, is reproduced in SCHAEFFER, 113.

[4] Copy in SCHAEFFER, 28.

[5] Copy *ibid.*, 37. For other pictures of the "Taking of Jesus" see ROTHES, *loc. cit.*

[6] The deathly, weary look of pain with which the Saviour, quite broken beneath the weight of the Cross, looks towards His Mother, is rightly described by ROTHES, *loc. cit.*, as overwhelming.

[7] See ROTHES, *loc. cit.*

crucifixion show no trace of the stormy violence of his master Rubens. He brings home to the beholder the sufferings of Christ by a different method, namely by depicting the heart-felt grief of Mary and other personages. Here, as in all his religious works, Van Dyck gives proof of great warmth and tenderness of feeling.[1]

The most beautiful and most moving of Van Dyck's justly famous large-scale representations of the crucifixion is that in the church of our Lady at Dendermonde. In addition to the Mother of Jesus, who looks up to the cross with unspeakable grief, Mary Magdalen and John are seen on one side, and on the other Longinus and the magnificent figure of St. Francis of Assisi holding the foot of the cross in a loving embrace.[2] The *Crucifixion* in the Museum of Antwerp has been called "a miracle of feeling in colours of utmost impressiveness". All the usual gospel personages are absent, their place being taken by St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine is on her knees and embraces the cross and the feet of the superbly drawn Christ—"one of the most moving representations of a nun in all art." The stone in front of the cross bears the inscription: "That the earth may be light for his father Anton Van Dyck has rolled this stone towards the cross and made a gift of it."[3] The *Crucifixion* in the church of St. Michael, at Ghent, is another admirable composition: it represents the moment when the sponge full of vinegar and myrrh was offered to our Lord.[4]

Van Dyck shows extraordinary skill in the expression of the soul's anguish when, after Christ's body has been taken down from the cross, he depicts the grief of His friends lamenting Him. Some of these scenes are remarkable works of religious art, for instance the two paintings in Paris and

[1] See J. Sorenson, in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CXXIV., 693 *seq.* *Cf.*, too, Burckhardt, *Vorträge*, 327.

[2] See Woltmann, III., 1, 448; reproduced in Schaeffer, 108.

[3] A copy of the picture, now in the Antwerp Museum, is in Schaeffer, 106. For other pictures of the Crucifixion by Van Dyck, see Rothes, *loc. cit.*, and Burckhardt, *Vorträge*, 328.

[4] Reproduced in Schaeffer, 110.

Munich which represent the sorrowful Mother alone with the dead body of her Son whilst two splendid angels worship Him.[1] In the *Pietà* of the Antwerp Museum, painted for the church of the Béguines in which the artist desired to be buried, the varying intensity of grief of the bystanders is superbly expressed: Mary Magdalen, in tears, kisses the hand of her Lord; John turns a fixed, frightened gaze towards the dead Christ, whereas Mary, in an eloquent gesture, hints at the sea of bitterness which fills her soul at sight of her cruelly misused Child.[2] As art, another *Lament of Christ* ranks even higher. From the Franciscan church at Antwerp the picture came into the museum of the town: it shows Mary leaning against the wall of the Sepulchre and holding on her lap the idealized form of her lifeless Son. In an agony of grief she spreads out both arms whilst St. John, with the forefinger of his left hand, points out to two weeping angels the wound in the left hand of Jesus.[3]

Van Dyck is probably most inspiring when he depicts the Crucified by Himself, alone and forsaken and bleeding to death, suspended between heaven and earth. According to Bellori, Van Dyck painted a picture of this kind for his patron, Cardinal Bentivoglio. The original has been lost but the artist repeated the composition more than once. Imitators and copyists appropriated it so that it is frequently met with.[4] Whilst one representation, now in the museum in Antwerp, depicts the moment when Jesus said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit!"[5] another fixes the moment described in the Gospel: "There was darkness." The whiteness of the sacred body shines with wonderful luminousness in the gloom which envelops the surrounding country. A crescent moon is seen in the sky; the parchment on which the sentence is written and the loin cloth of our Lord flutter in the wind;

[1] Reproduced by SCHAEFFER, 97, 98.

[2] *Ibid.*, 94.

[3] *Ibid.*, 124 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHNAASE, *Niederländische Briefe*, 280; ROTHES, *loc. cit.*

[4] See SCHAEFFER, 499.

[5] Copy in KNACKFUSS, *loc. cit.*, 41.

the countenance of the divine Sufferer, whose eyelids are stained with blood, inspires tender sympathy and reverence.[1] "In all these pictures," says one of the foremost students of the history of art, "religious pathos and a noble expression of grief attain astonishing heights. We have excellent things of this kind from the school of the Caracci and powerful ones from the Spanish school, but the former leave something to be desired in the colouring and the latter in the purity and finish of form, whereas Van Dyck combines all these qualities. He is, and remains, one of the princes of religious painting."[2] As popular and greatly admired creators of altar-pieces, Rubens and Van Dyck left their mark on the art of the Catholic Netherlands in the seventeenth century, whilst at the same time they rendered valuable service to the cause of the Catholic restoration. No one could escape the enormous impressiveness of their works. Added to preaching and catechizing, their paintings were a powerful help towards the understanding of the dogmas of the Catholic faith. The monumental creations of Rubens had power to enthral every section of the people, even those whose artistic feelings were of a more elementary kind; on the other hand, Van Dyck worked more especially for those circles which would be influenced without the same forcible appeal.

The influence which Rubens chiefly exercised by means of his altar-pieces, which sparkle with light and colour, was not confined to the Netherlands and it was soon felt by the whole of Catholic South Germany. The pupils and successors of the great Master vied with one another in their eagerness to adorn churches with rich altar-pieces, as was done in Italy and Spain. The most recent biographer of Rubens aptly remarks that this great genius was the Catholic painter *par excellence* not only in his own century but in the next also and well into the nineteenth century.[3]

[1] Copy of the picture, now preserved in Munich, in SCHAEFFER, 85.

[2] BURCKHARDT, *Vorträge*, 329.

[3] ROOSES, 182. BURCKHARDT (*Erinnerungen*, 82) says: "It was a wonderful piece of good fortune for Catholicism throughout

The sacred edifices embellished by copies or reproductions of his works must be reckoned by hundreds. And since he himself had most of his creations multiplied by excellent engravers, whom he trained himself, his influence spread even into the Romance countries. Rubens may well be called the greatest of all the painters who put their talent at the service of the Catholic restoration. With his glowing colours and the dramatic power of his compositions, he glorified the Saints of the period, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Teresa, and proved an effective advocate of the dogmas of the ancient faith which were most fiercely attacked by the religious innovators, viz. Purgatory, the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

The enormous contrast between the Catholic and the Protestant philosophy of life and culture is strikingly brought home to the traveller in the northern parts of the Netherlands, geographically so near, and so much more richly endowed with material wealth, when he visits the sacred edifices which the Gueux stripped bare of their ancient religious ornaments. The effect of these empty churches, with their bare, whitewashed walls, is as depressing as the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Here one looks in vain for the symphonies in colour of a Rubens or the moving crucifixion scenes of a Van Dyck, which adorn the lavishly furnished, resplendent yet harmoniously coloured churches of the southern Netherlands. Protestantism drove art from the house of God ; the Catholic Church lovingly protected it and gave so many commissions for works of monumental size to the great masters, that even their incredible capacity for work could hardly cope with them. How different, in consequence, was the fate of a Rubens and a Van Dyck from that of Rembrandt and Ruysdels who died in misery ! The difference between Calvinist and Catholic culture is perhaps nowhere more drastically illustrated than it is by the contrast of these churches.

the North, to have an interpreter, so great, gifted and generous, and who was able to feel such enthusiasm for all aspects of religious art."

Though Luther did not go as far as Calvin, his teaching was nevertheless disastrous for the arts. When he rejected all material forms of worship, the veneration of the Saints and the meritoriousness of good works, "he choked the springs of ecclesiastical art in the ideal as well as in the material sense; he pronounced the death sentence of the religious picture or work of art as far as the churches are concerned, and changed the house of God into a bare, chill assembly-room. Together with alleged abuses he uprooted the whole tree on which, for many centuries, the fairest and sweetest fruits had matured, for the refreshment of millions of wayfarers towards their everlasting goal, mankind's fairest achievement rich in infinite revelations." [1]

[1] This is the opinion of J. SAUER, *Reformation und Kunst*, Freiburg, 1919, 4 *seq.*, 9. *Cf.* also DEHIO, in *Archiv. f. Kulturgesch.*, XII. (1914), 1 *seq.*, who shows that besides the obstruction of art caused by the Reformation, it was also forced into profane and realistic channels by the same movement.

CHAPTER II.

The Position of Catholics in the German Diaspora, in the Republic of the Netherlands, and in Great Britain and Ireland.—The Gunpowder Plot and the Oath of Allegiance.—Paul V. and James I.'s Plans for a Spanish Marriage.

(1.)

It was in North Germany, where so many magnificent cathedrals still recall the memory of a Catholic past, that the storm provoked by the religious innovations, inflicted the most grievous losses to the ancient Church. Like the whole of the North of Europe, this district also came within the jurisdiction of the Cologne nuncio [1] though in the circumstances that dignitary could do but little, for the creation of purely territorial Churches had been done with such thoroughness that no more than faint vestiges seemed to remain of the once flourishing North German Church. The handful of canons and religious who remained true to the ancient faith saw themselves doomed to extinction and the Catholic laity were almost completely deprived of all religious succour, all the more as the Catholic territories, where they might have fulfilled their religious duties, did not lie within easy reach. The most pressing need was to get information on the state of affairs in the North German diaspora.[2] In this way, in 1607, at the

[1] *Cf.* Ehses-Meister, *Kölner Nuntiatur*, I. (1895), xliv., II. (1899), xvii. Naturally, the nuncios at the Imperial Court had also to concern themselves often with the ecclesiastical affairs of North Germany. *Cf.* below, ch. iv.

[2] *Diaspora, cf.* 1 Pet. I., i., German-speaking Catholics use the word to describe small Catholic communities or minorities scattered among Prot. majorities The word is a useful and simple one and it has seemed best to retain it. (Trsl. note.)

instigation of the nuncio Attilio Amalteo, a memorandum was drawn up by a Jesuit on the condition of the Church in North Germany which gives some interesting details on the existing situation.[1] It was an exceedingly gloomy one. As regards the dioceses of Münster and Paderborn, the danger of a triumph for the innovators had been staved off for the time being, but in the two other Westphalian dioceses, Osnabrück and Minden, the position was precarious. At Osnabrück, though the bishops had all been Protestants, the canons, as a body, had remained true to the Catholic faith. The following establishments in the town itself had also been saved for the ancient faith: one monastery of Canons, one convent of Dominicans, two almost empty convents of nuns, a convent of Benedictine nuns on the Gertrudenberg and, elsewhere in the diocese, one Benedictine abbey, one collegiate church of which the choir was in Catholic hands and the nave in Protestant ones, and five convents of nuns. At Minden, in 1607, there were left only five Catholic canons, and in the two collegiate churches of the town the Catholics formed likewise only a minority. One Benedictine monastery as well as a convent of nuns in Minden itself and two convents of nuns in the surrounding country had preserved the faith. In the districts of Brandenburg and Saxony, Catholicism was wholly extinct. In the dioceses of Verden, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Bremen and Lübeck the new teaching had prevailed almost everywhere and only here and there could there be found an isolated Catholic canon or a religious house. The inmates of some of these—this applies especially to convents of nuns—clung to the ancient faith with wonderful constancy.

[1] The report, originating from *Cod. Ottob.* 2421, of the Vatican Library, was published by SAUERLAND in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIV. (1900), 384 *seq.* For other sources which are unfortunately very rare, see SCHMIDLIN, "Die Anfänge der norddeutschen Diaspora," in the *Akad. Bonifatius-Korrespondenz*, 1910, nos. 4 and 5. *Cf.* also SCHMIDLIN, *Kirchl. Zustände*, 573 *seq.* See also E. SCHWARZ, *Die Lage der Bistümer West- und Norddeutschlands um die Wende des 16. Jahrh.*, in the supplement to the Berlin *Germania*, 1911, no. 4.

Here as elsewhere[1] the monasteries remained centres of Catholic life.[2] A priest trained in the seminary of Braunsberg, Martin Stricker,[3] did much to procure the consolations of religion for the nuns. In 1609 the nuncio of Cologne, Antonio Albergati, who had succeeded Amalteo, appointed this zealous priest as his representative for the diaspora of North Germany[4] in which the greatly shrunken diocese of Hildesheim and Eichsfeld, which the archbishop of Mayence had recovered for Catholicism, constituted as it were two oases in a vast desert. Henceforth Stricker deemed it his life's task to bring spiritual help to the numerous Catholics scattered in those parts, more particularly in Lower Saxony. In 1611, Albergati commissioned the Franciscan Buselius to undertake a visitation of the North German diaspora. Buselius met Stricker in the Benedictine convent at Buxtehude and sent back a glowing account of the latter's piety, learning and zeal for the Catholic cause. Stricker acted, for a time, as Superior of the convent. In 1612, when the Jesuits saw themselves compelled to give up their station at Altona,[5] he undertook to

[1] In Brunswick the convent of S. Ludger held its ground, and its abbot, Conrad vonWerden, a strong Catholic, had re-established the enclosure since 1601 ; see WOKER, *Gesch. der norddeutschen Franziskanermissionen*, 372 *seq.* On the borders of Brunswick a few convents maintained themselves ; see WOKER, *Gesch. der kathol. Kirche in Hannover*, 12 ; SCHMIDLIN, *Anfänge der Diaspora, loc. cit.*, no. 4.

[2] *Cf.* SILLERN, "Hamburgs Beziehungen zum Neukloster bei Buxtehude," in the *Zeitschr. f. hamburgische Geschichte*, IX. (1890), 80, in which are very interesting particulars of all the religious houses in the district of Hamburg.

[3] *Cf.* PIEPER, *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und die nordischen Missionen*, Köln (1886), 26 *seq.*

[4] See *Annuae missionis Hamburgensis a. 1589 ad 1781*, Friburgi Brisg., 1867, 33 *seq.*, and METZLER, *Die Apostol. Vikariate des Nordens*, Paderborn, 1919, 10.

[5] See *Nord-Albingische Studien*, in the *Neues Archiv* of the *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft f. Gesch.*, V., Kiel, 1850, 136.

look after the Catholics at Hamburg.[1] For the support of such as returned to the bosom of the Church the Cologne nuncio, Albergati, formed an association which he attached to the church of the Capuchins in Cologne: this institution received the support of Paul V.[2]

The losses of the Church in South Germany were far less severe than those in the North. However, here also there was a diaspora because the duchy of Württemberg, the marquisates of Ansbach, Baden-Durlach, the county of Hanau-Lichtenberg, the Palatinate, Pfalz-Zweibrücken, by 1613 also Pfalz-Neuburg and a number of cities of empire, had either wholly, or, as regards some cities of empire, only partially gone over to Protestantism. Nevertheless, in many wholly Protestant towns there still existed prebends and houses of the Teutonic Knights of Malta, as, for instance, at Nuremberg, Nördlingen, Frankfort, Strassburg, Heilbronn; in some other towns there still existed collegiate churches of noble ladies, as at Lindau and Buchau. The Catholics still enjoyed the free use of all these churches.[3] The situation of the Catholics of the South German diaspora was also more favourable from another point of view. Unlike their brethren in the North, they were not so completely cut off from all communication with Catholic territories. Plans were discussed as to means by which the Catholic faith might be preserved and even spread in those parts of South Germany. A memorandum addressed to the Holy See contains a number of proposals on the subject, in particular it suggests that what was being done for the religious needs of the faithful in Holland and England, should serve as a model for Germany. The writer, however, does not shut his eyes to the far greater difficulties to be overcome in the latter country, for in the Protestant territories Catholics enjoyed no toleration whatever, so that there no longer existed any considerable groups of Catholics, as was the case in the Netherlands and in England.[4]

[1] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 27 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* METZLER, *loc. cit.*, 10 *seq.*

[3] See the memoir quoted in foll. note.

[4] *De Missionibus Germanicis*, in DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 390 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 662 *seq.*

Every account of conditions in the Republic of the Netherlands confirms the existence there of a considerable Catholic body. Well-informed people even thought that in five out of the seven united Provinces, namely Gelders, Friesland, Overijsel, Groningen and Utrecht, the majority of the population, with characteristic Dutch tenacity, still clung to the Catholic religion.[1] However, the Calvinists were determined not to allow them the free exercise of their religion, as was made clear during the negotiations for a truce with Spain. Paul V. was no less anxious than his predecessors that the opportunity should be seized to secure religious freedom for the Catholics of the Netherlands. On June 5th, 1607, Guido Bentivoglio, the new nuncio of Brussels, was instructed to give his most earnest attention to the matter.[2] That same year Paul V. also appealed to Philip III. who promised to do his best but who met with the most determined opposition.[3] His efforts proved in vain even when he declared his readiness to recognize the sovereignty of the Provinces, on condition that they granted to the Catholics freedom to practice their religion.[4] In view of her very unsound financial condition it was imperative for Spain to yield. Hence, on April 9th, 1609, a twelve years' truce was signed between the rebel provinces and the regent of Belgium, archduke Albert, by which the independence of the Dutch republic was recognized.

Up to the last moment the French envoy made earnest representations to the States General in favour of the rights of the Catholics. He particularly insisted on the fact that they too had borne arms against Spain. In recognition of their conduct all public offices should surely be open to them ; in any case, they should be granted that for which the Protestants themselves had fought, namely religious liberty. The States

[1] See PHILIPPSON, *Henrich IV. und Philipp III.*, vol. III., 185.

[2] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 34.

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Philip III. to his Roman ambassador, Marquis de Aytona, dated S. Lorenzo, July 14, 1607. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

[4] See PHILIPPSON, III., 186 *seq.*

General curtly rejected this proposal; more than that, the French intervention was kept dark; but they promised a measure of moderation.[1] When, at the Pope's request, Henry IV. endeavoured to secure for the Catholics at least the right to worship in private, he was given satisfactory assurances on the point.[2] In this way it became possible for a number of priests to return to the Netherlands.[3] For the time being no severe measures were taken against private Catholic worship.[4] Soon, however, a fresh agitation broke out, which led to another set-back. In 1612, the States General issued several decrees against the activities of Catholic priests and the practice of sending children abroad to Catholic or Jesuit schools.[5] But the ancient Church withstood this fresh outbreak also; its adherents had been chastened by their previous trials and the zealous ministrations of the Jesuits, the Franciscans and other priests had so strengthened them, that their destruction, for which the Calvinists had still hoped in the reign of Gregory XIII., was not to be thought of. Their numbers remained such that a strict application of the laws against them was out of question. In this way at least private worship was rendered possible.[6] An Italian priest,

[1] See Blok, IV., 143.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Borghese to the French nuncio, of November 27, 1609, and February 17, 1610, in Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 78, 79.

[3] See Knuttel, I., 97.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Marcantonio Correr of 1611 in the *Relazioni Veneziane*, published by Blok, 87.

[5] See Blok, IV., 144. *Cf. Fr. Dusseldorpii Annales*, ed. Fruin, 's Gravenhage, 1893, 373, 393, 423, 431.

[6] See Blok, IV., 144, 152. *Cf.* Hubert, 101. In a *report, preserved in H. 179, p. 140 *seq.*, of the Ambrosian Library, in Milan. "Media quibus placuit divinae gratiae hoc turbulento statu catholicos Hollandiae septentrionalis in fide ac religione conservare aut aberratos reducere," is reported by a peasant, thirty years of age, who became a priest. "Huius zelo alii sacerdotes incitati easdem et alias derelictas ecclesias coeperunt visitare, populum ad confessionem et s. communionem adhortari caeteraque sacramenta ad salutem necessaria impartiri. Solent

one Vincenzo Laurefici, who visited Amsterdam in 1613, in disguise, and from there journeyed to Haarlem, Leiden, the Hague, Delft, and Flushing, gives us some exceedingly interesting details concerning the moderation of the Dutch authorities in regard to private Catholic worship—a state of affairs which, in the opinion of the Belgian nuncio, Bentivoglio,[1] was due to personal and commercial contacts and interests. "Calvinists, Anabaptists, Lutherans, Anglicans and other sects are all allowed to hold their services in public at Amsterdam. Catholics alone are debarred from such freedom. They are permitted to meet for worship in their own houses, but even there they are forbidden to have either Mass or sermon, though, as a matter of fact, the government does not care what anyone does in his own home. Thus my own host was present, every morning, at Mass which was said secretly in his house. In all the other Provinces many act in the same way. If they are denounced, they, or the priest, has to pay a fine of 200 florins. Priests are fairly numerous everywhere. Though they are well known, they are not molested, unless they draw attention to themselves—for this reason they wear lay attire.[2]

In these circumstances, when Philip Rovenius [3] succeeded

autem sub noctem convocare coetum et primam illius partem insumere concionando, alteram confessiones audiendo, tertiam sacrificando et s. eucharistiam administrando, quartam pueros baptizando et adultos matrimonio coniungendo. . . . Instante luce singuli remeabant ad propria, ut conventus lateret haereticos." Priests used to put in lay readers during their absence, to read the Holy Scriptures on Sundays, they also selected gifted lads and instructed them on points of controversy, so as to enable them to meet the heretics in discussion.

[1] See *Relationi del card. Bentivoglio*, publ. da Erycio Puteano, Colonia, 1632, 152.

[2] See *Archiv f. Kulturgesch.*, I. (1903), 421. *Cf.* too, the instruction for Gesualdo, of 1615, in Cauchie-Maere, *Recueil*, 46, and the Venetian report of 1618, in the *Relaz. Venez.*, ed. Blok, 122.

[3] See v. Lommel in the *Archief v. d. geschied. v. h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, IV., 32 *seq.*, XIV., 120 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*, XX., 353 *seq.* *Cf.* W. L. Kuif and J. de Jong, *ibid.*, L., 410 *seq.* Rovenius

Sasbold Vosmeer, the Vicar Apostolic of the seven provinces, who died in October, 1614, the Pope could well cherish the hope that Catholicism would maintain itself in Holland. This expectation was all the more justified as no real persecution was to be feared from the regent, Maurice of Orange, who in matters of religion was extremely moderate, not to say indifferent.[1]

Conditions varied greatly from province to province. Where the number of Catholics had become much reduced, as, for instance, in Zeeland, the ministrations of the clergy were rendered exceedingly difficult. No priest was allowed to take up permanent residence in Zeeland. In the county of Holland and in Utrecht, where there still existed a large Catholic population, the penal laws were mildly interpreted and there was a fair number of priests.[2] Owing to the fact that all Church property had been confiscated, the Dutch Catholics themselves had to support their priests, about two hundred in number [3]; the foreign missionaries, Jesuits, Franciscans [4] and Dominicans, received support from abroad. These missionaries received great help from the noble Nicholas Wiggers who, since the reign of Gregory XIII., had repeatedly visited Zeeland, Holland and Friesland, for the purpose of strengthening the scattered Catholics in their faith. Even when, in 1603, he entered the Order of the Observants, at Cologne, he did not forget his persecuted countrymen. In that city, where the Vicar Apostolic also saw himself compelled to reside, a seminary supported by the Catholics of the

only became Titular archbishop of Philippi during the last year of Paul V.'s rule; see C. FRIEDRICH, in the *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, XI. (1921), 134.

[1] See BLOK, IV., 143.

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Relationi*, 152 *seq.*

[3] See the *Relatio* of ROVENIUS of 1622, in *Archief. v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XX., 354.

[4] In a *brief to *Ioh. Heynus, commiss. gen. ord. min. de observ. in Belgio*, of November 20, 1607, Paul V. praises his advice on Catholic restoration *apud Batavos, Epist.*, III., 283, Papal Secret Archives.

Netherlands, was established for the formation of Dutch priests. To this establishment, to which another was added at Louvain,[1] the Holy See attached the greatest importance.[2] Nearly every year Wiggers visited the old mission stations. On May 23rd, 1611, the nuncio of Cologne, Antonio Albergati, charged him with the visitation of the Netherlands and the adjoining territories, giving him at the same time extensive faculties for the reception of heretics into the Church. Dressed as a layman, Wiggers set out on his arduous journey, one result of which was the decision to entrust to the Franciscans of the Province of Cologne the administration of the previously founded Dutch mission station. The first administrator was Arnold von Witt. From 1613 onwards this man—whom men called the "universal providence", journeyed from place to place, amid great perils, saying Mass and administering the sacraments at night. In 1617 he was joined by Antony Verweg who had been working at Amsterdam, Haarlem and Northern Friesland. In 1621 they were given the assistance of two other Fathers.[3]

The Jesuits also prosecuted their missionary task. By 1606 their numbers had risen from three to six; in 1611 there were fourteen, and in 1622 no less than twenty-two Fathers were at work in the various provinces of the Netherlands. Theirs was an arduous, wandering existence, but their labours were frequently rewarded with splendid results. Thus we read of one Father converting 200 Anabaptists and another 300.[4]

[1] See Bentivoglio, *Relationi*, 153, and *Archief. v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XX., 355. *Cf. Fr. Dusseldorpii Annales*, ed. Fruin, (1893), 321 *seq.*, 397, 441, 469; *Bijdrag v.d. geschied. v.h. bisd. Haarlem*, I. (1873), 435 *seq.*, VIII. (1880), 1 *seq.*

[2] See De Ram, in *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1875; *Archief. v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XXXII. (1907), 382 *seqq.*; *Bijdrag v.h. bisd. Haarlem*, VIII. (1880), 12 *seq.*

[3] See *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXXVI., 812 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* besides Iuvencius, *P. V.* tom. post., 216 *seq.*, and Poncelet, *Jésuites en Belgique*, 33, the special reports in the *Litt. annuae Soc. Iesu*, 1606, p. 393 *seq.*; 1608, p. 657 *seq.*; 1609, p. 257 *seq.*; 1611, p. 335 *seq.*; 1612, p. 387 *seq.*; 1613–

The numerous disputes between the native clergy and the Jesuit missionaries were settled with the help of Paul V.[1] though by no means for good and all. This was all the more regrettable as the situation of the Catholics in the Netherlands remained painful enough. In his report of 1617, Rovenius gives some details of the persecution to which they were subjected. If Catholics do not have their marriages blessed by a preacher, they are looked upon as living in concubinage, and if their children are not christened in a Calvinist church, the parents have to pay a fine. The Jews and Mohammedans are better off in Holland than the Catholics: the Jews have their synagogues, the Mohammedans are free to hold their meetings, Dutch tolerance embraces all sects and heresies—Catholics alone are excluded.[2]

Almost everywhere Catholics were debarred from public offices, and even the privilege of private worship had to be bought with heavy fines.[3] The courage of the Catholics was only equalled by their spirit of self-sacrifice. To raise the sums they had to pay for the privilege of private worship, they refused to appeal to foreign Catholics, for they deemed it a privilege to contribute with their own resources to the preservation of the ancient faith. At Amsterdam, in particular, certain spirited citizens fitted out rooms in private houses, or in warehouses, for the holding of religious services. Thus it came about that to this day certain churches bear the names

1614, p. 331 *seq.* A list of the Superiors of the Jesuits is in **Notizia delle missioni dei PP. Gesuiti nell'Olanda* (*Fondo Gesuit.*, *n.* 1263 of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome); see BLOK, *Verslag van onderzoekingen naar Archivalia in Italië*, 's Gravenhage, 1901, 66. *Cf.*, too, *Archief v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, VI., 8 *seq.* For the missionary journey of P. Joh. Ryser, see ALLARD, *Eene missiereis door Noord-Nederland in de 17e eeuw* (1616–1617), 's Hertogenbosch, 1883.

[1] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Relationi*, 155. *Cf.* CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 47, 67 *seq.*; *Archief v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XXXII (1907), 412 *seq.*

[2] See the report of ROVENIUS in *Archief v.h. aartsbisd. Utrecht*, XVII., 456; HUBERT, 64.

[3] See ROVENIUS, *loc. cit.*, XX., 356; *cf.* 362.

of old warehouses, for instance," de Krijtberg." A striking picture of the situation of Catholics at Amsterdam at that time is found in an account written in 1617 by the Jesuit, John Ryser, a native of that city. He points out that in that city, now a world emporium, all religions were tolerated; Catholics alone were subjected to penal laws. "Day and night," so he reports, "the 'Schouten' (officials) with their spies are on the alert, with a view to disturbing the assemblies of the faithful. Women, too, are hired whose duty it is to keep an eye on all streets and houses where Catholics live; at times these women go so far as to pretend they are Catholics, in order to facilitate their treason. Quite recently we were compelled to pay 5,000 florins in order to free ourselves from further molestation on the part of the 'Schouten' and to make possible the escape of some priests who were on the point of being arrested. In the course of this year one of our Fathers escaped on no less than ten separate occasions when his pursuers were hot on his heels; but at last his enemies had the satisfaction of venting their rage on the Church furniture which fell into their hands." [1]

The nuncio of Brussels, Bentivoglio, entertained the hope that it was precisely these persecutions that would eventually lead to a great revival of religion in the Netherlands.[2] Another consoling fact was the growing number of conversions [3] which were due in no small measure to the disputes between the Gomarists and the Arminians and of which the Calvinist preachers were the cause. These controversies were still further embittered by political divisions. The regent, Maurice of Orange, was keen on being sole master of the country. He thought it would be to his advantage to league himself with the Gomarists, who were very numerous, and thus to

[1] See H. J. ALLARD, *De St. Franciscus Xaverius-Kerk of de Krijtberg*, Maastricht, 1883, 19 *seq.*

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Relationi*, 155.

[3] See KNUTTEL, I., 83 *seq.*; ALLARD, *loc. cit.*, 23; CAUCHIE MAERE, *Recueil*, 67, 87 *seq.* A college erected in Cologne, by Paul V., for the "eretici convertiti", is mentioned in the *Visite*, LI., p. 22 *seq.* of the Propaganda Archives, Rome.

crush the Arminians as well as the more important republicans. The aged Oldenbarneveldt, on a false accusation that he showed Catholic leanings, was beheaded; the famous Hugo Grotius was thrown into prison. The Synod of Dortrecht proclaimed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination in its most extreme form and deposed 200 preachers who were known to be holding Arminian opinions; others were sent into banishment, among whom were the famous scholars, John Vossius, Caspar Barlæus, and Peter Bertius. The philologist and archeologist Bertius found an asylum in France and it was there that, on July 25th, 1620, he came back to the Catholic Church.[1] Quite apart from the erroneousness of the doctrine proclaimed as a dogma by the Synod of Dortrecht,[2] according to which the grace of God and justification can co-exist with the most shameful crimes, the assembly showed up the inherent weakness of Protestantism. On the other hand "it formally appealed to the promise made by Christ to His Church, that He would be with her until the end of time, whilst according to Protestant assertion He had forsaken her for a thousand years and abandoned her to the grossest errors".[3] The consequences of the victory of the Calvinist extremists at the Synod of Dortrecht were all the more serious for the Dutch Catholics as, with the expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, (A.D. 1621), a stricter surveillance came in force. A decree of February 26th, 1622, forbade all foreign priests to enter Dutch territory and prohibited the exercise of Catholic worship even in private houses, under threat of heavy fines.[4] Nevertheless, even so, there

[1] See RASZ, IV., 500 *seq.* *Cf.* H. J. ALLARD, *Petrus Bertius*, 's Hertogenbosch, 1870. Macaulay, Fruin, and others rightly condemn the execution of Oldenbarneveldt as a judicial murder. See BLOK, IV., 249.

[2] *Cf.* KAAJAN, *De groote Synode v. Dortrecht, 1618-1619*, Amsterdam, 1918.

[3] This is DÖLLINGER's view (*Kirchengesch.*, 916). *Cf.* POHLE, in the *Freiburg Kirchenlex.*, III.², 1987.

[4] See HUBERT, 66 *seqq.* *Cf.* KNUTTEL, I., 89 *seq.*; CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 114.

appeared no symptom anywhere that the government would attain its end which was nothing less than the uprooting of Catholicism. The Catholics, who, as Oldenbarneveldt assured the British ambassador in 1618, constituted the wealthiest as well as the most sterling section of the population,[1] clung tenaciously to their faith. The persecution which they had to endure was all the more unjust since, as the same Oldenbarneveldt pointed out in his defence, a large section of the Papists had at all times shown themselves true patriots.[2]

(2.)

James I., since 1603 King of England, Scotland and Ireland,[3] fancied himself as a master in the art of governing. The double-dealing, shilly-shallying policy with which he sought to take in the adherents of the old faith as well as those of the new, in the first years of his reign, may, as a matter of fact, have appeared in his eyes as a particularly good exhibition of statecraft. In reality, however, and not least by his attitude towards Catholics, he justified Macaulay's saying that the "Solomon of the North" the "Master of the art of governing" seemed specially predestined to call up everywhere the powers of disruption.[4] The peaceful opening of his reign was rightly considered to be due to his explicit declarations. Hence, when he reopened the war, though there had been no provocation, he drew universal odium on himself by reason of his duplicity,[5] and when he vacillated for a while,

[1] "Het rijkste en deftigste deel der natie," see FRUIN, *Tien jaren uit den tachtigjarigen oorlog*, Haag, 1889, 237.

[2] See FRUIN, *Verspreide geschriften*, III., 342.

[3] He seems to have had a good mind to assume the Imperial title. (A. O. MEYER, in *Quellen u. Forsch. aus ital. Archiven*, X. (1907), 231–7).

[4] "One of those kings whom God seems to send for the express purpose of hastening revolutions" (*Critical and Historical Essays*, II., Leipzig, 1850, 27).

[5] "The King is so odious to all sorts," said Lord Mounteagle to Garnet ("Garnet's Declaration," March 9, 1606, in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, III. (1888), 511).

those able to see below the surface were no longer deceived by his double-dealing. Nevertheless, the Superior of the Jesuits, Henry Garnet, wrote in August, 1605, that he thought he could guarantee in general that the Catholics, trusting the king, or his successors, would persevere in their wonted endurance.[1] As late as October of that year he repeated his statement, at least so far as the better sort of Catholics were concerned,[2] but he now added that it was not possible to answer for individuals whom the tyrannical procedure of harsh officials might well drive to some desperate deed: he hoped that, in his wisdom, the king would prevent such a contingency.

Desperate deeds had in fact been preparing for some time. Daring foolhardiness and reckless violence lay in the blood of the contemporaries of Drake and Hawkins, so that it would have been strange indeed if none of the English Catholics of the period had never asked themselves whether they were really bound in conscience to suffer themselves to be robbed and slain without offering resistance, and whether to meet the violence of the king and Parliament with violence could not be considered as an act of legitimate self-defence.[3] Robert Catesby, a wealthy and distinguished nobleman, who had been heavily fined for being a Catholic, in conversation with Garnet, gave it as his opinion, barely six months after James I.'s accession, that by breaking his word the king had sown the seeds of trouble. The Jesuit replied that the Pope was opposed to violent measures and that his own General, Aquaviva, had communicated to him, in July, an instruction of Clement VIII. to that effect. Garnet begged Catesby and his friend Winter to have nothing to do with a violent coup, were it only that their known relations with the Jesuits

[1] Foley, IV., 62.

[2] "I am assured, notwithstanding, that the best sort of Catholics will bear all their losses with patience," (*ibid.*, 63).

[3] "It would be strange if there were not some amongst them who would be driven to meet wrong with violence," is also Gardiner's opinion (I., 234.)

would cause the latter to be suspected of having instigated it. Thereupon Catesby promised to proceed no further.[1]

However, his resolution did not last. Garnet had, at the proper time, informed Catesby and Winter of the two Briefs of Clement VIII., in which the Pope instructed English Catholics to give their support only to a sincerely Catholic pretender to the throne.[2] Catesby now referred to these Briefs. If in midsummer of 1604 it was lawful to do one's best to prevent a non-Catholic from securing the crown, it was surely permissible to try and make him lose it? This reasoning Garnet met with the new papal instruction and once again he successfully stayed Catesby's hand[3]; at four different times, as he subsequently wrote to his General, he had succeeded in preventing a deed of violence.[4]

However Garnet did not delude himself: he knew that he would not be able to restrain for ever the exasperation and despair of men like Catesby. The prestige of the priests was no longer what it had been; it was bound to sink to an even lower level, since, during the disputes at the time of the appointment of an archpriest, a controversy had arisen in their own ranks as to the attitude they should adopt towards the government.[5] The question was freely discussed whether priests, who were for ever concerned with the hereafter and the supernatural, were really the right persons to issue final decisions on the concerns of this world. "Everybody is in despair," Garnet wrote to Rome on May 8th, 1605, "and many Catholics are hostile to the Jesuits; they say that the Jesuits oppose and prevent the use of force in any shape. I dare not attempt to ascertain what their future plans are since the General has forbidden us to meddle with such things."[6] One day, whilst Garnet was at table with Catesby,

[1] Garnet's trial, March 13, 1606, in Foley, IV., 157.

[2] See our notes, Vol. XXIV., p. 40.

[3] Garnet's trial, March 14, 1606, in Foley, IV., 159.

[4] "Et quidem pro mea parte quater hactenus tumultum impedivi." Garnet to Aquaviva, July 24, 1605, *ibid.*, 61.

[5] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIV., p. 27 *seqq.*

[6] Foley, IV., 60.

he spoke of the duty of enduring the persecution with patience. Thereupon Catesby got very angry: "It is principles like these that are responsible for the misfortunes of English Catholics," he exclaimed, "neither priests nor Popes can take away the right to meet wrong with violence."[1] As a matter of fact, at the time of Clement VIII.'s prohibition of all violent measures, many Catholics had taken the liberty to ask whether the Pope could forbid them to defend their lives?[2]

Nonetheless Catesby would have welcomed a word from a priest which might be interpreted as an approval of his scheme. To this end, and without a hint as to his ulterior intention, on June 9th, 1605, Catesby had with Garnet the fateful conversation which the latter was destined to expiate by death at the executioner's hand. Catesby's insidious question was thus formulated: "Supposing that it is lawful, in a given instance, to kill one or more persons, if the attempt on their lives would also cause the death of some innocent persons, would there be any obligation to consider the latter?" Garnet replied that in every just war it was lawful to destroy houses, fortifications, castles without considering the innocent, if it was necessary for victory.[3] When he gave this answer Garnet never dreamt that Catesby could use it

[1] SPILLMANN, IV., 27.

[2] Garnet to Aquaviva, July 24, 1605, in FOLEY, IV., 61.

[3] "Whether, in case it were lawfull to kill a person or persons, it were necessary to regard the innocents which were present lest they also should perish withall. I answered that in all just warres it is practised & held lawfull to beate down houses & walles & castells, notwithstanding innocents were in danger . . ." (Garnet's Declaration, March 9, 1606, published by GARDINER, in the *English Hist. Review*, III. (1888), 510). According to Coke, Garnet's accuser in his trial, Catesby's question had been: "Whether for the good & promotion of the catholic cause against heretics, it be lawful or not among so many nocents to destroy some innocents also." Thus also GARDINER (I., 274). However, Coke could not substantiate his accusation; see LINGARD, VII., 48, note.

to forward his own designs. Before long, however, the Jesuit's suspicion was roused. Consequently, at their next meeting, Garnet supplemented his solution of the case with the statement that the action which would entail the death of the innocent parties must be lawful in itself, and the innocent people in question must not be persons whose lives were necessary to the general good.[1]

Catesby's own actions now convinced Garnet that something was in the air. In conformity with the direction of his General, he made no effort to ascertain what it was, for even mere cognizance of such things was fraught with extreme danger. According to English law he should have denounced Catesby on mere suspicion, but Garnet was anxious to use gentler means at first, and in doing so he had in mind an express papal prohibition of rebellion. In conversation with Lord Mounteagle, Catesby and his associate Francis Tresham, he obtained from all three a formal admission of the fact that an armed rising was hopeless. Thereupon Garnet remarked that this showed how unjust it was to blame the Jesuits if the Catholics did not fight for their rights; as a matter of fact, in view of the circumstances, the only possible course was calm resignation; it was in this sense that he would report to the Pope through his General.[2]

Even before Garnet had time to act on this decision he and Blackwell received, through Aquaviva, a papal command to oppose with the utmost energy any attempt to cause a rising on the part of Catholics. He lost no time in laying the papal document before Catesby. "If the Pope knew what is at stake he would not try to stop me," was Catesby's answer. Garnet then urged that the papal prohibition was a formal command. Catesby replied that he was under no obligation to accept Garnet as interpreter of the Pope's wishes. In that case, Garnet said, let him personally tell the Pope what he was aiming at. Catesby would not hear of this, because of the risk of discovery, but in the end he

[1] GARDINER, in the *English Hist. Review*, III. (1888), 511.
[2] *Ibid.*, 511 *seq.*

promised not to attempt anything until the Pope should have been informed of everything by special messenger. For this mission Garnet then proposed a certain Bainham who was going to Flanders in any case.[1]

Garnet thought he had won the day for nothing would happen before the Pope's decision, and it was not difficult to foresee what this decision would be. For all that, in a report to his General, dated July 24th, 1605, he painted the situation in sombre colours.[2] The Jesuits, he said, would be able to prevent a general rising of Catholics—they still wielded sufficient authority to do that much. But should there be a rising in any part of the country, or should a few hotheads have recourse to violence, it was possible that by degrees all the Catholics would be dragged into the current. A papal prohibition couched in general terms would not be effectual with all Catholics ; the Pope, therefore, should state in detail what may be done and what must be avoided, and enforce his command with a threat of excommunication and other penalties. The letter alludes to Bainham's mission to Rome. Because of the distrust which some felt of the priests, more especially the Jesuits, they had been advised, in order to gain time, to apply to the Pope directly. Bainham's departure was delayed until September and Garnet's reasons for a more severe prohibition of any form of agitation were not found convincing in Rome. The fact was that he could not say all he already knew at that moment about the plot. Twice Catesby had offered to reveal his plans ; twice Garnet declined the dangerous knowledge. At last he learned the secret, *against his will and to his great horror*. Eight noblemen had conceived the plan, on the occasion of the opening of Parliament, on November 5th, to blow up the king and the whole house of Parliament, after which they would provoke a general rising of the whole country, put one of the king's sons on the throne and establish a regency. The Jesuit Greenway had come to know everything, *in confession*,

[1] *Ibid.*, 512 *seq.*

[2] Foley, IV., 61. *Cf.* Garnet's confession, of March 8, 1606, *loc. cit.*, 514.

through Catesby, the organizer and instigator of the plot, and with Catesby's permission and likewise *under the seal of confession*, he had informed Garnet, his Superior, for the purpose of getting his advice. We may well believe Garnet when he assures us that he was never more upset in his whole life and that the knowledge kept him awake at night.[1] There was question here, not only of a monstrous crime, but also of a piece of folly which could only have disastrous consequences for the Catholics of England in general, and for the Jesuits in particular, and he had to keep silence whilst the catastrophe was approaching, *nor could he move a finger to prevent it, for according to Catholic discipline, the seal of confession is utterly inviolable and precludes any use whatever of the secret information thus obtained.*

Thus the fatal fifth of November drew near, a dreadful day, not for the king and the government, but for the Catholics. At an early hour in the morning the awful news spread through the city that an enormous quantity of gunpowder had been discovered under the assembly hall of parliament, in the basement of the building, and that in the night a desperado had been arrested there who was making the final preparations for setting fire to the powder. The plot had been discovered and foiled at the last moment. Horror of the ruthless attempt, detestation of the old religion, the proud conviction that a kindly Providence had watched over the Protestants and taken their part as against the criminal Catholics—such were the feelings which, in the course of the ensuing weeks, grew ever stronger in the Protestant mass of the people. On the night of November 5th, all the bells of the city rang out and the sky was red with the reflection of the bonfires which were lit in every street.[2] Parliament alone seemed but little effected by the general excitement. Though it had only just escaped death, it nevertheless met in that same

[1] "Now I remained in the greatest perplexity that ever I was in my life, & could not sleepe nights. . . . Every day I did offer up all my devotions & Masses, that God . . . would dispose all for the best. . . . (Confession of March 8, 1605, *loc. cit.*, 515).

[2] GARDINER, I., 250 *seq.*, 265.

building from the basement of which it would hardly have been possible to remove by then so enormous a quantity of powder, supposing it to have been there. Coolly, as if nothing had happened, the house discussed various measures in regard to commercial relations with Spain as well as the letter of one of its members who excused his absence by pleading an attack of gout.[1]

The conspirators had fled on the morning of the day and attempted to bring about a rising of the Catholics. Everywhere they preached to deaf ears and all doors were closed to them.[2] On November 8th, they were rounded up at Holbeche. In the affray Catesby and three others were shot dead, the rest, together with their servants, were made prisoners.[3] It would seem that Catesby and those who fell with him at Holbeche, expressed regret for what they had done before they expired.[4] Sentence was pronounced on the survivors on January 27th, amid an immense concourse of people, and on January 31st and February 1st, 1606, they died at the executioner's hand. One of the conspirators, Francis Tresham, had died in prison, on December 22nd. When his associates fled he remained in London and the government treated him with surprising leniency.

During the next few days, following the discovery of the criminal plot, London remained in complete uncertainty as to its details. At the moment only one of the culprits was in the hands of justice, Guy Fawkes, who had been caught at the entrance of the house of Parliament, on the night before the fifth of November. The numerous interrogatories to which he had been subjected had yielded no result of any value, when the government received, from an unknown source, a list of all the conspirators. This list was promptly published, though with the omission of Tresham's name. An account dated November 7th, to which further additions were

[1] *Ibid.*, 285.

[2] "Not a soul was willing to share their fate," (*ibid.*, 261).

[3] *Ibid.*, 257–263.

[4] *Ibid.*, 264.

made two days later, was supposed to give full information to the foreign princes of all that had occurred. For the populace a "True and perfect relation" was published. In March, an address delivered by James I. on November 9th, to the house of Parliament, on the subject of the plot, and the two most important admissions of the conspirators, were put together in a volume which became the famous *King's Book*.[1] According to this information the original plan was to undermine the house of Parliament. To this end a nearby house was rented and, though the conspirators were not used to the rough work of the miner, since they were all gentlemen of rank, they nevertheless set themselves the task of piercing through the foundations of the house and to dig a tunnel. They were already half-way through the thick foundation of the house of Parliament when it suddenly dawned upon the clumsy toilers that their exertions were unnecessary. They could achieve their purpose in a much simpler manner by just hiring the room beneath the assembly hall of Parliament which was used to store coal, wood and other odds and ends. So it was done and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, about 9,000 pounds in all, were gradually accumulated in the vault.

However, as the date of the execution of the dreadful plot drew near, some of the conspirators became increasingly uneasy at the thought that among so many members of Parliament several Catholic peers would also meet their death. One of Catesby's chief associates, Thomas Percy, was in the service of the Earl of Northumberland; Francis Tresham was related by marriage to Lord Stourton and Lord Mounteagle, whilst Lord Montague and the young Earl of Arundel enjoyed the esteem of all their Catholic correligionists.[2] So it came about that one of the conspirators—

[1] The studies of DAVID JARDINE, in the *Criminal Trials*, II., London, 1832, and *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, London, 1857, are essential to a scientific study of the situation.

[2] GARDINER, I., 246. Mounteagle, moreover, wrote to the king not later than 1605, that he wished to become a Protestant (*ibid.*, 254). He did indeed apostatize later on.

Tresham, without a doubt,[1] wrote a letter to Lord Mounteagle, couched in mysterious phrases, warning him not to take part in the opening of Parliament. Mounteagle communicated the letter to the Earl of Salisbury who, in his turn, showed it to other peers and eventually to the king himself. The cryptic turn of the letter sufficiently hinted that there was question of a murderous attempt to be brought off by means of gunpowder. There followed a search of the house of Parliament, the discovery of the powder hidden under bundles of sticks and piles of wood and, eventually, the arrest of Fawkes.

The three official accounts contain more than one contradiction [2] and, quite apart from this fact, it cannot be denied that they are full of improbabilities. It is difficult to understand how it was possible to remove unnoticed the mass of earth, and the stones of the walls that had to be breached, whilst the tunnel was being dug.[3] When, at a later period, the foundation walls of the house of Parliament were laid bare, there was no sign of the alleged breach. When we are further informed that about four tons of powder, in over thirty casks, were bought and conveyed first to a house on the left bank of the Thames, and from there across the river, to the house they had rented, and from there finally to the house of Parliament, all without attracting attention or

[1] *Ibid.*, 251.

[2] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII. (1895), 487 *seq.*; XC. (1897), 238 *seq.*, 363. A. JESSOPP, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX., 283, considers that: "In the confused tangle of testimony and contradiction, of confession under torture, hearsay reports and dexterous prevarication on which the story of the Gunpowder Plot is based, it is difficult to unravel the thread of a narrative which is told in so many different ways."

Cf. GERARD for the documents of the Gunpowder Plot, *The Month*, XC. (1897), 356.

[3] The plan of the conspirators, to break through the walls of the foundations, is called even by RANKE (*Engl. Gesch.*, I., 538), "a plan which testifies more to their zeal than to their commonsense, & one which they would hardly have been able to carry out."

suspicion, we do not think the tale a convincing one. As for the story of the letter to Mounteagle, its particulars are so peculiar that it is generally rejected.[1]

It is highly probable that the government had long known all about the conspiracy and that it had purposely allowed it to mature in order to exploit it, at the right moment, for its own purposes.[2] Nevertheless the main features of the traditional account appear to correspond with facts. A plan for the blowing up of Parliament was decided upon[3] and preparations were made for its execution ; how far they got will never be known.[4]

[1] Jardine is of opinion that Mounteagle was informed by Tresham of all the details of the conspiracy, and handed them on to Salisbury ; the letter was, he thinks, a pure forgery of the government, in order to cover the true course of events when the plot was revealed. GARDINER (I., 252 *seq.*) contradicts these statements ; according to him the government received the first news of the conspiracy through the letter ; he thinks Tresham and Mounteagle agreed to frustrate and betray the plot, but in such a way that the conspirators should have time to flee. The letter was designed for this purpose and its wording agreed upon by both before its transmission to Mounteagle.

[2] SALISBURY wrote on November 9, 1605, in his *Despatch* to the ambassador in Spain : " Not but that I had sufficient advertisement, that most of those that now are fled (being all notorious Recusants) with many other of that kind, had a practice in hand for some stirre this Parliament " (in GERARD, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIII. (1895), 491 ; LXXXIV. (1895), 34 *seq.* ; XC. (1897), 357 ; PRAMPAIN, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XL. (1886), 428 *seq.* Many Catholics were of opinion that Salisbury had been the instigator and secret head of the conspiracy (PRAMPAIN, 429 note).

[3] This transpires from Garnet's trial and confession ; see below, p. 149 *seq.*

[4] The Gunpowder Plot and the question of the credibility of the reports and documents on it, were the subject of a controversy between John Gerard and S. R. Gardiner. *Cf.* J. GERARD, *What was the Gunpowder Plot ?*, London, 1897 ; GARDINER, *What Gunpowder Plot was, ibid.*, 1897 ; GERARD, *The Gunpowder Plot and the Gunpowder Plotters. In reply to Professor Gardiner, ibid.*, 1897 ; *Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot. ibid.*,

The official reports, the aim of which was to influence public opinion in a certain direction, are adorned with exaggerated and arresting details, with a view to arousing the passions of the populace and exploiting the whole affair so as to serve the designs of the leading politicians. The intention was that the man in the street should be seized with horror and indignation at the mere thought of the sect which was known to shun the light and which was busy undermining the ground beneath the home of the honest citizen, and even beneath the State itself.[1] These accounts were spread not in England alone, they were also dispatched to the ambassadors at foreign courts and translated into different languages and thus they found their way all over Europe.[2] As late as the time of the Titus Oates conspiracy (1679) a new edition of the so-called *King's Book* was published to add fuel to popular excitement.[3]

Catesby's mad attempt came most opportunely for the government. The king's honour was tainted by perjury: for after giving to the adherents of the old religion grounds

1898. Gerard may be said to have demonstrated that the Government had information about the conspiracy, long before the Mounteagle letter, that it exploited the discovered plot most unscrupulously for the annihilation of the Catholics, and that the details of the traditional account sound very unlikely. On the other hand he may have gone too far in attacking the main points of the accepted story. *Cf.* PFÜLF, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LIV. (1899), 41 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 286 *seqq.*

[1] JARDINE (*Gunpowder Plot*, viii. and 214, in GERARD, *The Month*, LXXXIII. (1895), 12) describes the "True & perfect relation", of the Government as entirely untrustworthy and dishonest, showing that some of the depositions were deliberately falsified; that everything not supported by other documents, must be regarded with suspicion; fables were mingled with undeniable truths, so that the whole account might appear credible, etc., *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, XII. (1910), 720, also states that the "True & perfect relation", is, "a neither true nor complete narrative however, now superseded as an authority."

[2] GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 24.

[3] *Ibid.*, 25.

to hope for toleration, he had cruelly disappointed them. But he would be safe from reproach, the new persecution would be justified and the lingering respect for the ancient Church would be profoundly shaken, if this unfortunate deed could be represented as the act of Catholics and if people could be made to believe it. Salisbury desired the destruction of Catholicism [1]; moreover, up to that moment, he had not been popular, nor was he sure of the favour of his Sovereign.[2] The plot provided him with an occasion to prove to king and people alike how indispensable he was.[3]

A popular proverb of the period, "Property lost, reason lost!" [4] may help us to understand to some extent how the most elementary moral principles came to be lost sight of by men such as Catesby and his associates. An even greater confusion of ideas is revealed in the efforts for the destruction of Catholicism on which the leading English statesmen were now about to enter. All regard for truth and justice was cast aside by them with almost incredible callousness; deliberate lying, cheating, falsification, were deemed legitimate means when there was question of dealing a blow to the greatly hated Church.

In this respect the king himself gave the example. Not long after the discovery of the plot the archpriest Blackwell, in a circular, had condemned the plot in severest terms.[5] On his part the Pope had repeatedly forbidden every form of rebellion or violence.[6] As soon as the attempt became known,

[1] WILLAERT, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VIII. (1907), 94.

[2] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 2 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, LXXXIV., 51 *seqq.*

[4] "Qu'il n'y peult avoir seurté tandis que les catholicques seront rudement traittés et qu'on continuera a leur prendre leurs biens, n'estant que trop véritable ce qu'on dict en commung proverbe, que qui perdt son bien, perdt son sens." The regents Albert and Isabella, to their ambassador Hoboken, in London, March 18, 1606, in WILLAERT, *loc. cit.*

[5] He called it "an intolerable, uncharitable, scandalous & desperate fact", "a detestable device" (GERARD, *loc. cit.*).

[6] *Cf.* present work, p. 130.

Paul V., through the French ambassador in London, assured the king that he abhorred and condemned the authors of the dastardly attempt more than any man; if it is proved, as has been mooted, that some of the Jesuits played a part in it, they must be punished with the rest; the Pope's only desire was that the innocent should not be lumped together with the guilty and that the former should not be made to suffer instead of the criminals.[1]

Even before this declaration James I. was well acquainted with the views of the Roman court. For all that, in an address to Parliament, on November 9th, 1605, he threw the responsibility for the plot on the papacy and its teaching. Neither Turks, nor Jews, nor idolaters, the king said, no, not even the pagans of Calicut who worshipped the devil, in a word, no sect of any kind had ever affirmed, on grounds of its own religion, that it was lawful, or, as the Catholics say, meritorious, to kill princes or to work for the subversion of the State. No doubt there were honourable men, even among

[1] La Boderie, *Ambassades*, I. (*sine loco*), 1750, 25, in Gerard, *loc. cit.*, 6. A Brief, in Bellesheim, *Scotland*, III., 420 *seqq.*; to James I. of July 11, 1606, as follows: As Cardinal & former Protector of the Scotch Catholics, he had seen with joy the son of Mary Stuart, whose relationship to Clement VIII. he knew well, ascend the throne. The expression of his sentiments was delayed by the "nuntius molestissimus coniurationis", especially as some Catholics were reported to be involved in it. Now that We hear that a Catholic revealed the plot, We congratulate You & beg, "ne innocentibus catholicis regni tui aliena flagitia noceant." He hoped for the return of James to the Church to which all his ancestors had belonged. He was sending Jean Maillane of Lorraine to plead for the Catholics before the king, but he was not to let them know his mission. We desire their obedience. "Non vestra quaerimus, sed vos." He hoped that the king, in view of the great number of religious opinions, would inquire earnestly into the truth, & offered him the assistance of theologians. On the same date Paul V. *wrote to Philip III. of Spain, who had urged the Pope to write to James I.; he informed Philip of the contents of his letter. *Epist.*, II., 75. Papal Secret Archives.

the Popes, who either did not know or did not believe in, the horrible and accursed doctrines of the papacy, that true "mystery of iniquity"[1]; hence not all the papists of past times were to be thought of as excluded from eternal life; but no man who has adopted the principles of that superstition with full knowledge, and who clings to them with obstinate tenacity, may lay claim to be a true Christian or a good citizen.[2] In his letters, James I. spoke even more bitterly: "I learn from his Majesty's messengers," writes John Harrington, "that these attempts were not engineered by a few persons only, but the whole legion of Catholics was called to counsel; the priests soothed their consciences and the Pope granted a general absolution for this splendid undertaking from which so much glory would accrue to God and to His holy religion."[3] Politicians also talked of machinations which proceeded from Rome and from Satan.[4] In February, 1606, Salisbury explained to Hoboken, the Flemish envoy, that the Pope had instigated the plot which was itself but the outcome of Catholic teaching.[5]

In the interrogation of the conspirators the government did its best to obtain evidence of the complicity of the priests.[6]

[1] 2 Thess. ii, 7.

[2] "Quamobrem et Papistas maiores nostros, si qui sub vitae finem in unius Christi crucifixi merito spem fidemque collocarunt, fatemur aeternae vitae factos compotes, et Puritanorum crudelitatem, qui omnes Papistas citra exceptionem ignibus adiudicant, flammis censemus expiandam. . . . At nemo certa cognitione eius superstitionis principia intelligit, iisque constanti fiducia adhaeret, qui veri christiani vel boni civis nomen tueri queat" (IACOBI REGIS, *Opera*, 235).

[3] GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 5.

[4] "Abominable practice of Rome and Satan" (Chichester to Salisbury on receiving notice of the discovery of the plot, in GERARD, *loc. cit.*).

[5] "Entra en long discours sur la dite trahison, disant entre autres propos que le pape estoit autheur d'icelle . . ." (WILLAERT, *loc. cit.*, 91).

[6] "The great object of the Government now was to obtain evidence against the priests (GARDINER, I., 267). *Cf.* LINGARD, VII., 58.

Fawkes was made to undergo torture as early as May 9th,[1] for a long time all efforts were in vain. Eventually he confessed [2] that he had confided his plans to Hugh Owen, but he was not a priest but a soldier.[3] The conspirators, he further confessed, took an oath of secrecy and, with a view to confirming it, received Holy Communion in an adjoining room; he insisted, however, that Gerard was wholly ignorant of the plot.[4] Another conspirator, Thomas Winter, swore that no priest was among the conspirators,[5] whilst a third, Digby, declared that but for the opposition of the priests, trouble would have broken out long ago for the purpose of liberating the Catholics.[6] When Tresham was questioned in his turn, it was soon seen that he knew nothing of the alleged complicity of the priests.[7] So they questioned him on the mission which was sent to Madrid in 1602, for the purpose of securing Spain's help for the Catholics of England. He admitted that the Jesuits, Garnet and Greenway, knew of it, but later on, on his death-bed, he added that Garnet had nothing to do with the discussions.[8] Garnet imagined that the

[1] GARDINER, I., 266.

[2] November 9, 1605 (*ibid.*).

[3] Thus RANKE and rightly; *Engl. Gesch.*, I., 535. *Cf.* LECHAT, 143; PRAMPAIN, in the *Rév. d. quest. hist.*, XL. (1886), 414; GERARD, in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 559; WILLAERT, *loc. cit.*, IX. (1908), 57 *seq.*, and the contemporary documents in LECHAT, 237 and 239. Gardiner and many others, call Owen a Jesuit; even in the *Calendar of State Papers* he is always designated as "*Father Hugh Owen, the Jesuit*". The English ambassador at Brussels considered Catesby also as a Jesuit (WILLAERT, *loc. cit.*, VII. (1906), 597).

[4] GARDINER, I., 266; *cf.* 238.

[5] PRAMPAIN, *loc. cit.*, 440.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] "Of their (the priests') connection with the great conspiracy it soon became evident that Tresham knew nothing" (GARDINER, I., 267).

[8] *Ibid.*, 267, 268. He adds (FOLEY, IV., 189): "that he had not seen him in fourteen years before" (read "sixteen"). That may mean that he had "not seen him during the last sixteen

journey was for the purpose of collecting alms for the English Catholics.[1]

The accused, who were all of gentle birth, stuck to these declarations to the end; in fact they displayed such courage and constancy that one can only regret that they were not used in the service of a better cause.[2] However, one of their servants, a man of the name of Bates, had been let into the secret and he, on December 4th, was induced to make a deposition against the Jesuit Greenway. We have no means at this date to ascertain the nature of his deposition. In a later statement he pretended that all he meant was that he thought Greenway knew of the affair; that he regretted his former statement, but trusted God would forgive him, for he had made it not through ill-will but to save his life. On its part the government exhibited a confession of Bates in which he was made to assert that he had discussed the plot with Greenway in confession and that the latter had given it his approval. Father Greenway himself declared, on his salvation, that Bates had never breathed a word about the

years"; and it was interpreted thus at Garnet's trial without contradiction on the part of the much surprised Garnet (*loc. cit.*). Gardiner takes that view (I., 268: "that he had neither seen nor heard from him for sixteen years"), and he therefore regards Tresham as a shameless and quite untrustworthy liar. But it may also mean that he had not seen Garnet during the sixteen years previous to 1602. (Garnet came to England in 1586, so that exactly sixteen years had elapsed by 1602); ZIMMERMAN accepts this interpretation (in *Katholik*, 1889, II., 276) and PRAMPAIN too (p. 458); and this supports Garnet's statement, March 23, 1606 (FOLEY, IV., 163), that he first met Tresham about eighteen years before, but then saw no more of him until between Essex's rising (1601) and the death of the Queen (1603). The context justifies the second interpretation.

[1] Garnet to Anne Vaux, March 2, 1606; Conversation with Oldcorne, February 25, 1606, in FOLEY, IV., 84, 150 *seq.*; T. G. LAW, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXII., 217.

[2] *Cf.* GARDINER, I., 264: "There was at least nothing mean or selfish about them."

plot, neither in confession nor out of it.[1] In a further statement by Bates, on January 13th, Garnet's name also appears; Bates confessed that after the discovery of the plot and the escape of the conspirators, he took a letter of their's to Garnet.[2] Thus the names of at least three Jesuits were mentioned in the depositions of the witnesses and against two of them there were grounds for suspicion which justified a summons. From this time onward, in official documents, the government spoke as if the complicity of the Pope and the priests were a proven fact about which there could be no controversy.[3] On January 15th, 1606, a proclamation was issued for the arrest of the three Jesuits, Gerard, Greenway and Garnet, as the special instigators of the plot,[4] and though there was no charge against him, Gerard's name headed the list. On January 21st, 1606, Parliament ordered a special service of thanksgiving for its escape.[5] In the preamble of the ordinance "the Jesuits, the Seminarists and the Roman Priests" are described as the instigators of the plot. From that time the following rubric was inserted in the calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer* under November 5th: "Papists' Conspiracy,"[6] and in the official prayers of the day[7] thanks were returned "for the wonderful and mighty salvation" of the royal family, the peers, the clergy and the commons who had been "by popish treachery appointed as sheep to

[1] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 10 *seq.* Gerard tries to establish that before Bates' death, the confession brought forward by the government did not yet exist (p. 12 *seqq.*). GARDINER (I., 243, 270) agrees with Jardine that Greenway's guilt is proven. *Cf.* GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 360 *seq.*

[2] GARDINER, I., 260, 270.

[3] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 15 *seqq.*

[4] It states that it was "plain & evident from the examinations that all three had been peculiarly practisers in the plot, & therefore no less pernicious than the actors & counsellors of the treason." (Cf. LINGARD, VII., 76 *seq.*)

[5] It was observed for 250 years. GARDINER, I., 286.

[6] *Papists Conspiracy.*

[7] A. H. DANIEL, *Codex Liturgicus*, III., Leipzig, 1851, 550 6.

the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages ".[1] The indictment on the ground of which the instigators of the plot were tried on January 27th, 1606, does not show any more regard for truth. It asserts that Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond (Greenway), John Gerard, and other Jesuits had traitorously met together, and had maliciously, cunningly and traitorously alleged that the king, the peers, the clergy and the Commons were all heretics and excommunicated and had thereby incited the accused and their accomplices, now no longer living, to murder them.[2] The speeches of the attorneys are couched in similiar terms.

The accusations against the Jesuits did not remain unanswered. Gerard had handbills scattered in the streets of London in which he condemned the plot and denied his having had any knowledge of it. In a letter to Salisbury and to members of the Privy Council he likewise protested his innocence.[3] Garnet also wrote in a similiar strain to the Privy Council, on November 30th, 1605.[4] But these protests carried no weight with the masses. The definite charges contained in official documents were bound to prejudice public opinion against the accused. Thus, by means of bold lies, the government successfully got public opinion on its side. When in the course of the sitting of January 27th, one of the accused, Digby, alluded to the promises which the king had made to the Catholics and which he had not kept, Northampton boldly denied that James had ever given such assurances previous to his arrival in England.[5] Salisbury added

[1] *Ibid.*, 552.

[2] *State Trials*, I. (1809), 160, in GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, 15.

[4] Printed by FOLEY, IV., 67 *seqq.*

[5] " An assertion which was certainly untrue," says GARDINER, I., 269. Notwithstanding these falsehoods, Northampton did not win the confidence of the Protestants. After he had published his speech at Garnet's trial, it was commonly reported that he had secretly written to Bellarmine, begging him to attach no

that in July, 1603, the king had merely promised the remission of unpaid fines.[1]

Two of the three Jesuits thus publicly accused, viz. Greenway and Gerard, made good their escape over sea. Garnet, their Superior, made no attempt to flee, but lay in hiding in the old castle of Hindlip. There on January 30th, 1606, together with his brother in religion, Oldcorne, he fell into the hands of the pursuivants.

The name of the hated Superior of the Jesuits was known throughout England. His arrest was an event. When he was taken to Whitehall, on February 13th, to be questioned, the streets were thronged with people all eager to see the "provincial", the "Young Pope".[2] The government plan was to exploit their catch in order to brand in his person the whole Jesuit Order, but even more so the whole Catholic Church, and to ruin it in public opinion. In the words of the "True and perfect Relation", the trial was an opportunity "whereby there might be made visible an anatomy of popish doctrine, from whence these treasons have their source and support".[3]

On the very next day after Garnet's arrest the last of the conspirators were executed. The authorities were thus ready to forego the possibility of extorting any further charges against the Jesuit, but they did all they could, by threats and by snares, to entrap him by means of his own statements,

weight to his utterances; he was obliged to speak in this way merely to please the king and the people (*ibid.*, II., 159 *seq.*).

[1] Thereby stating, GARDINER writes, "what he must have known to be untrue" (I., 249).

[2] "There goes a young Pope," i.e. probably "one of the papal brood". Garnet to Anne Vaux, March 2, 1606, in FOLEY, IX., 82.

[3] "When this opportunitie was put into his (Salisbury's) hands, wherby there might be made so visible an anatome of popish doctrine, from whence these treasons have their source & support" (*True & Perfect Relation*, Y. in GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 22). *Cf.* Salisbury, in the law proceedings of March 28, 1606: "Wee shall see such an anatomy of the Popish doctrine, that I trust hereafter it will not have so manie followers" (in FOLEY, IV., 183).

for, as Salisbury wrote, "wee are forced, after soe long a suffering, to run a course more violent than standeth either with the ordinary rules of morall policy, or with the moderation of his Maties (Majesty's) mind."[1] When the interrogatories failed to yield any results, the governor of the prison was instructed to induce Garnet, by pretending interest and sympathy, to enter into epistolary relations with his friends. When his letters also failed to yield anything of consequence, the governor pointed out to Garnet a chink in the door of the next cell, in which Oldcorne was confined; hidden listeners then reported the conversation of the two Jesuits.[2] Garnet and Oldcorne had had ample opportunity, at Hindlip, to exchange views concerning the plot; for all that they dropped several remarks which could be used as pointers at the interrogatories.

A treatise on a question of moral theology, which was found in the house of Tresham, furnished a pretext, in the

[1] Salisbury, to Bruncard, March 3, 1606, in GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 21.

[2] Copies of their depositions in FOLEY, IV., 148–153. Oldcorne's report on these talks of March 25, 1606, *ibid.*, 228–232. Basing himself on one of these conversations (*ibid.*, 149), RANKE affirms (*Engl. Gesch.*, I., 537), that already in the time of Elisabeth, a plan existed for blowing up Parliament, and that Garnet had admitted this to be legitimate. . . . But just at this point, the spies remark that they had not quite understood ("his words *we conceived* tended to this purpose"); this testimony is therefore of no value. Not even Oldcorne himself understood everything clearly (FOLEY, IV., 228). GARNET denied on March 10, 1605 (*Engl. Hist. Review*, III. (1888), 517) that such a plan had existed under Elisabeth. As early as March 3, he writes to Anne Vaux (FOLEY, IV., 108): "M. Catesby did me much wrong, & hath confessed that he tould them that he said he asked me a question in Q. Eliz. time of the powder action, and that I said it was lawful . . . *All which is most untrue.*" According to Fawkes' confession a bag of gunpowder was to have been placed under Elizabeth's bed and set alight in the night (!). GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXVIII. (1896), 406.

absence of other evidence, to represent Garnet as an arch-rogue to whose deposition no credence could be given. The treatise was on what is called "equivocation", and it bore corrections in Garnet's own hand so that it could be taken as expressing his ideas. A few explanatory remarks on "equivocation" are in order here,[1] for in those days it played a rôle not at Garnet's trial only.

It is related that on one occasion, when St. Athanasius was escaping upstream, his boat was overtaken by the barque of the imperial police. Thereupon the patriarch of Alexandria had his boat turned round and when his pursuers inquired where Athanasius was, he himself replied: "He is not far from here." Everyone will agree that such an answer is not a lie and no fault can be found with it. If we grant this much, we must also admit that a statement is not a lie because it misleads another, even though the mistake is foreseen or permitted by the speaker. The wrongfulness of a lie consists in that the speaker thinks one thing and says another, though he wishes his words to be taken as the true expression of his thought. Now there was no such opposition between St. Athanasius' thought and speech for his words truly represented his thought, though they also bore another meaning which, in fact, was the one in which the police took them; it was the only one they could think of. So we must allow that "equivocations" of this kind are lawful, when there is reasonable ground for their use and if the words can also be taken as a statement of fact.

However, it is necessary to go a step further. The presence of mind which enabled St. Athanasius to answer as he did, is not the gift of everybody and at every moment; there are a hundred cases when, in practice, a secret can only be effectually kept from unauthorized questioners if it is lawful to put them off with a decided "No!" A denial of this kind has always been held to be lawful whenever, in view of the circumstances of time, place, and so forth, it could be taken

[1] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, V. Cathrein, *Moralphilosophie*, II.[3], Freiburg, 1899, 86-8.

in two senses. If, for instance, a criminal is asked by the judge, previous to any evidence against him, whether he is guilty, he can reply in the negative for in the circumstances his " No " can be taken as meaning that no one can be compelled to be his own accuser and that the accused leaves the onus of proving his guilt to his judges.[1]

Garnet thought he could adopt the latter course at his own trial. To the question whether he had any knowledge of the plot, or whether he conversed with Oldcorne through the chink in the door, he at first replied in a decided negative. But eventually, when driven into a corner, he had to retreat step by step, and to make more than one admission. In an ordinary accused, this would have called forth no surprise, but in a priest it created a painful impression, all the more so as the average Englishman's entire mental outfit would probably lead him to admire a Guy Fawkes who, when arrested, smilingly admitted a deed which, he knew well, would lead to his being quartered, but who scorned every form of trickery or subterfuge. Garnet soon realized his mistake ; he now gave an explanation of the line of conduct adopted by him up till then, and since a plain statement of the facts could not hurt anyone, for the conspirators were all dead, he decided, on March 9th, to make a full con-

[1] A certain John Ward, when arrested on January 16, 1606, is said to have attempted to save himself by giving evidence on oath ; after his identification by witnesses he explained his oath as follows : he had said he was not a priest, i.e. not a priest of Apollo ; that he had never been beyond the seas, i.e. not beyond the Indian seas ; that he did not know the witness, i.e. not scientifically ; that he had not seen him, i.e. not in the beatific vision (W. H. FRERE, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, London, 1904, 328. This may be a preposterous invention, and certainly such " equivocations " cannot be disinguished from decided lies, for the words used in no way express the intended meaning. For Garnet's remarks about cases when an equivocation is not permissible, see FOLEY, IV., 190, 192 ; for Protestant judgments on the lawfulness of equivocations see *The Month*, LXXXIII., 358.

fession.[1] On the following day he added a few complementary details.[2] He admitted that he had a vague knowledge that some violent attempt was preparing, which he did his utmost to prevent, but that the real nature of the plot came to his knowledge solely under the seal of confession. However, Catesby had given him permission to make use even of the knowledge thus acquired.

That the interrogatories had yielded but scant material is shown by the embarrassment of the judges to find, for the final examination on March 28th, 1606, an accusation which would sufficiently compromise Garnet, and in his person, the Catholic Church. They were unwilling to condemn him for being a priest or for keeping the secret of confession, for they wanted him to die as a traitor, amid the execration of the populace.[3] His not having denounced Catesby and thereby handed him over to the executioner, as soon as he came by some vague knowledge of the former's schemes, might seem too slight an offence. In consequence, the indictment formally asserted that on June 9th, Garnet conspired with Catesby to kill the king and the heir to the crown, and that for this purpose he had had powder conveyed under the house of Parliament.[4] It was on June 9th, that Garnet had with Catesby a conversation in which he gave it as his opinion that in a just war it was lawful to kill the guilty even though

[1] Printed by GARDINER, in the *English Hist. Review*, III. (1888), 510–16. The document bears a superscription in Salisbury's hand, "This was forbidden by the king to be given in evidence."

[2] Reproduced by FOLEY, IV., 155 *seqq.*

[3] "It is expedient," wrote Salisbury, March 9, 1606, to the Earl of Mar, "to make it manifest to the world how farre these men's doctrine & practise trencheth into the bowells of treson. And so for ever after stopp the mouths of their calumniation that preach & print our laws to be executed for difference in point of conscience" (in GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 21).

[4] ". . . (that) hee had conspired with Rob. Catesby . . . the death of our sovereigne lord ye king, and of his sonne. . . . And for better accomplishment of his dyvellish practice, had caused closely to be conveyed a certaine quantity of powder under the Parliamenthouse" (in FOLEY, IV., 164 *seq.*).

the innocent perished with them.[1] If, when he gave this decision, Garnet knew that Catesby was thinking of an attempt on the life of the king, he would, without any doubt, be an accomplice in the conspiracy, hence some sort of evidence would have to be produced at least for the first part of the indictment.[2]

Evidence in support of the assertion was not to be thought of,[3] but this consideration did not greatly trouble the judges or the people.[4] When there was question of a political crime, the accused could scarcely ever hope for an acquittal in the England of those days. If the government of the time imagined that its tranquillity and security were being undermined by some dark power, its one thought was to destroy the secret plotter at one blow; whether this entailed an infringement of justice or the sacrifice of an innocent life was a secondary consideration. If this applied to any judicial procedure, how much more so in the case of a trial in which the Pope, the Catholic clergy, the seminarists, and the priests could be branded for ever?

Nothing was left undone to make Garnet's condemnation an important political event. The royal commission was made up of the highest officials and peers of the realm, the Lord Mayor of London, the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Northampton and Salisbury, the Lord Chief Justice, the first Lord of the Treasury together with Justice Selwyn.[5] There could have been no greater display had there been question of a Roman Cardinal, was Lord Salisbury's comment.[6] Consequently the sitting of March 28th, caused an immense

[1] See present work, p. 132.

[2] GARDINER, I., 277.

[3] Of this knowledge there was no legal proof whatever," says GARDINER (I., 278).

[4] For the system of administrative justice in force in England at the time of Raleigh's trial, see the long and detailed account in GARDINER (Vol. I., Cap. III.): "Change in the view taken of treason" (pp. 124–5); "System of criminal procedure" (pp. 125–6); "The law of treason" (pp. 126–7).

[5] Reprint of the *Arraignment*, in FOLEY, IV., 164.

[6] *Ibid.*, 186.

stir; from all sides people pressed into the Guildhall and the king himself listened to the trial from a secret hiding place. The examination of evidence against the accused and his conviction were a mockery of all justice. The Attorney-General, Edward Coke, who was in the habit of playing the rôle of accuser in every important political trial, and who was none too punctilious in regard to truth,[1] appeared on this occasion also. His marshalling of evidence was extremely weak[2]; he talked of all sorts of things which had nothing to do with the case; when he came to the point on which everything depended,[3] he had nothing to submit except a few probabilities strung together at haphazard.[4] Sallies against the doctrine of equivocation had to fill the gaps.[5] By means of interruptions and exclamations an attempt was made to lessen the effect of Garnet's defence.[6] But most worthy of

[1] GARDINER (I., 127), in describing Raleigh's trial, attributes to Coke not only "habitual violence" in stating the accusation, but also "his usual carelessness" as to the value of evidence: "the charges against the prisoner (Raleigh) were brought forward by Coke, with his usual violence, & with his no less usual carelessness as to the value of the evidence upon which he based his assertions."

[2] The speech is in FOLEY, IV., 165–180.

[3] Namely the conversation with Catesby, of June 9, 1605 (see present work, p. 132 *seq.*).

[4] An accusation often brought forward is to the effect that when Garnet, in the Office of All Saints' day, 1605, made use of the words of the verse: "Auferte gentem perfidam, Credentium de finibus, Ut Christo laudes debitas, Persolvamus alacriter," he interpreted them as a prayer for the extirpation of heresy by means of the gunpowder plot! These lines formed, together with Psalm 78 (79), a prayer for the restoration of Church unity in England and had been indulgenced by the Pope at Cardinal Allen's request; they were therefore certain to have been in frequent use (*Oldcorne*, in FOLEY, IV., 231). The words referred to, from the Office of All Saints', date from the tenth century at the very latest; see CLEM. BLUME, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, LI., 151.

[5] FOLEY, IV., 178.

[6] *Ibid.*, 180–190.

condemnation is the fact that the government did not shrink from manifest falsifications of the minutes of the interrogatories. Thus the two conspirators, Fawkes and Winter, had unanimously attested that after binding themselves by oath to secrecy, they received Holy Communion from the hand of Gerard, but added that the priest knew nothing of their oath. When the minutes of the interrogatories were read, this clause was omitted by order of Coke, and in the text of the speech of the Attorney-General, as given by the *True and Perfect Relation*, we read: "At the same time the Jesuit Gerard tendered this oath to Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright and Thomas Winter, and on another occasion it was tendered by the Jesuit Greenway to Bates and the rest.[1] Garnet's confession of March 9th, which contains the fullest account of his relations with the conspirators, was not read at all, by order of the king,[2] and in the admissions which the jury were allowed to hear, Coke ordered the omission of the passages in which Garnet expresses his disapproval of the plot.[3] However, these are not the only forgeries committed on this occasion.[4]

[1] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 9–10. *This* falsification is condemned by GARDINER also (I., 281).

[2] Present work, p. 152, note 1.

[3] The passages here printed in italics, were suppressed. They occurred in the confession of March 13, 1606 (FOLEY, IV., 157 *seq.*): "About Michaelmas . . . Mr. Catesby told me there would be some stirring, seeing the king kept not promise. *And I greatly misliked it, saying it was against the Pope's express commandment. . . . Therefore I earnestly desired him that he and Mr. Thomas Winter would not join with any such tumults. . . . He assured me he would not. But neither he told, nor I asked any particulars.* Long after this, about Midsummer was twelvemonth, either Mr. Catesby alone, or he & Thos. Winter together, insinuated that they had somewhat in hand, and that they would sure prevail. *I still reproved them: but they entered into no particulars.* Soon after came Mr. Greenwell to me, and told me as much. *I greatly misliked any stirring, and said: etc.*" *Cf.* GERARD, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seq.*; LINGARD, VII., 78 *seq.*

[4] See GERARD, in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 352 *seqq.* (*Cf.*

Even after Garnet had been sentenced, an attempt was made, by means of repeated interrogatories, to extract further information from him.[1] During the last days of his life, the condemned man grievously reproached himself for one point of his conduct ; he now thought that he should have informed the government that he knew that some violent attempt was preparing. In an explanation dated April 4th, 1606, and addressed to the king, he confessed this fault and begged forgiveness.[2] On the other hand he protested, even on the scaffold, that he only knew of the plot through confession.[3]

LXXXVIII. (1896), 400 *seqq.* ; FORBES, in *Études*, LXXVI. (1898), 324 *seq.*) For Th. Winter's Confession, see *Thomas Winter's Confession and the Gunpowder Plot*, by JOHN GERARD, London and New York, 1898 ; *cf. The Month*, XCII. (1898), 99–101 ; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XII. (1910), 729.

[1] Garnet's replies are in FOLEY, IV., 190 *seqq.*

[2] Published by GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 349.

[3] Gardiner, too, who is no friend of Garnet's, writes (I., 282) : ' On the scaffold he persisted in his denial that he had had any positive information of the plot except in confession, though he allowed . . . that he had had a general & confused knowledge from Catesby. In all probability, this is the exact truth." Gardiner's judgment on Garnet's trial is as follows (I., 277) : " In fact, the scene at Guildhall was a political rather than a judicial spectacle. Neither those who were the principal actors, nor the multitude who thronged every approach to the hall, regarded it as the sole or even as the chief question, whether the old man who stood hopeless but undaunted at the bar, and who, even by his own confession, had been acquainted with the recent conspiracy, had looked upon it with favour or with abhorrence. It was to them rather an opportunity which had at last been gained, of striking a blow against that impalpable system which seemed to meet them at every turn, and which was the more terrible to the imagination because it contained elements with which the sword and the axe were found to be incapable of dealing. . . . The Pope was still too much dreaded to make it possible that fair play should be granted to the supporters of his influence. . . . His power was, to Burghley and Salisbury, a power which was only a little less, and which might any day become greater, than their own. They thought that if they could

It is said that 20,000 spectators witnessed Garnet's execution on May 3rd. The sight of his person inspired reverence, and his dignified manner silenced the jeers of the scoffers; the crowd would not suffer him to be quartered before he was quite dead, and there was no answer when the executioner held up his heart as that of a traitor.[1]

However this mood did not last. In the official account of the execution the government made the ambiguous statement that on the scaffold Garnet had confessed his guilt[2]: this the people naturally construed into an admission of complicity in the gunpowder plot, which he had emphatically denied. Whereas the Catholics, even immediately after the arrest of the conspirators, felt convinced that Salisbury was "playing false", and that the Privy Council "had spun the web in order to entangle these poor gentlemen in its meshes",[3] in Protestant opinion Garnet became, for centuries to come, an arch-conspirator, "the rotten roote of this corrupted tree of treason."[4] Official accounts and the yearly celebration of Guy Fawkes' day, on November 5th, when a caricature of the Pope was dragged through the streets and finally burnt, were effective means by which to keep the Gunpowder plot alive in the memory of the public as "the Jesuits' treason"

get the wolf by the ears, it was the wisest policy, as well as the strictest justice, to hold it fast." JESSOPP (*Dictionary of National Biography*, IX., 283), admits that among the established facts of the history of the Gunpowder Plot this is certain, namely, "that it was not revealed to any Roman priest except under the seal of confession", and that the two Jesuits Garnet & Gerard, who were far too sharp & quick-witted not to see the monstrous stupidity of such an undertaking, shrank from such an atrocity & foreseeing the certainty of its unhappy issue, did their best to prevent it.

[1] In FOLEY, IV., 113–119. *Cf. Relatio martyrii P. Henrici Garneti S.J.*, Chigi Library, Rome, Printed *Miscell.*, vol. 48, no. 3, p. 30–6.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 81.

[3] GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXIII., 481 *seq.*; PRAMPAIN, *loc. cit.*, 429; FOLEY, IV., 119.

[4] Introductory words of Garnet's trial, in FOLEY, IV., 165.

and the "Popish Conspiracy".[1, 2, 3] In 1606, Vincenzo Giuliani saw in all the streets of London caricatures of the Pope and of Catholic priests.[4] The Gunpowder plot came as a handle for Salisbury to use against various persons that failed to please him. Thus his greatly feared rival, the Earl of Northumberland, lost his liberty, his offices and a large part of his possessions because of his relations with Percy, one of the conspirators.[5] Three Catholic peers were condemned to heavy fines on trivial grounds.[6] Hugh Owen, the officer in the Netherlands, had long ago incurred the displeasure of the government; hence Coke was instructed, in the course of the interrogatories in connection with the plot, to make the heaviest accusations possible against Owen.[7] The attempt seems to have failed badly. True, the printed text of Fawkes' confession of November 17th, 1605, contains an allusion to Owen, but in the original text that particular sentence is missing.[8] Long negotiations now began with the regent of the Netherlands for the extradition of Owen; their issue was that, in 1611, Owen was compelled to leave Flanders.[9] Likewise on the plea of his having had cognizance of the plot, the expulsion from the Netherlands of the Jesuit Baudouin was demanded by the government and acceded to by the regent. Whilst travelling in the Palatinate, Baudouin was

[1] Coke branded it, in his speech for the Prosecution, at Garnet's trial, as "the Jesuits' treson" (*ibid.*, 166).

[2] Present work, p. 146.

[3] Even in the literary controversy which began around Garnet, falsification of evidence was practised at his expense. *Cf.* for Andrews, LINGARD, VII., 546 *seq.*, and for Robert Abbot, *ibid.*, 548, and GERARD, in *The Month*, LXXXVIII., 400, 404, XC., 353.

[4] RODOCANACHI, *Aventures d'un grand Seigneur Italien à travers l'Europe 1606*, Paris (*undated*), 131 *seq.*

[5] LINGARD, VII., 82, 83 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 82 *seq.*

[7] "You must remember to lay Owen as fowle in this as yow may" (FOLEY, IV., 361; GERARD, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIII., 18).

[8] FOLEY, IV., 397. *Cf.* GERARD, *loc. cit.*, XC., 359 *seq.*

[9] WILLAERT, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, IX. (1908), 57-61, 736-742.

recognized by the elector Frederic V. who had him taken to England. Though he could not be convicted of complicity, he remained shut up in the Tower for eight years until he was exchanged for an English prisoner of the Roman Inquisition.[1] The elector of the Palatinate made the Gunpowder plot a pretext for a display of his anti-Catholic feelings. By his orders, on the last three Sundays of the year, thanksgiving was " offered in all the churches for deliverance from the blood-thirsty and inhuman attempts of antichrist and the conspiracy of his idolatrous band ", and the preachers were instructed to expatiate on the idolatry and blood lust of the Pope.[2]

On account of the Gunpowder plot, Parliament had been adjourned from November 9th, 1605, until January 21st, of the following year.[3] On May 27th, 1606, it passed fresh laws against Catholics. The king had already been warned not to drive those who professed the old religion to despair by inhuman severity. Henry IV. instructed his ambassador to make similiar representations.[4] All was in vain ; the government seemed determined to make the best of so favourable an opportunity and to make further acts of desperation impossible by stamping out Catholicism itself. The penalties imposed on Catholics by the new laws covered almost every imaginable situation. Husbands and wives, unless they had been married by a Protestant minister, forfeited every benefit to which he or she might be entitled from the property of the other. If they did not have their children baptized by a Protestant minister, or if they did not have their dead buried in the Protestant cemetery, they were fined £100 in the former case and £20 in the latter. A child sent beyond the sea to be educated was debarred from any inheritance or gift, in favour of the Protestant next-of-kin, until it should return to the national church. A whole series of fresh molestations and fines was devised against those who refused to attend

[1] *Ibid.*, 742 *seq.* = FOLEY, III., 509.

[2] MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 831 ; *cf.* 681.

[3] GARDINER, I., 285.

[4] LINGARD, VII., 86. [Edit. of 1902, John Grant, Edinburgh.]

Anglican worship. Without the written permission of four of the nearest magistrates, Catholics could not journey beyond a radius of five miles from their residence; they could not appear at court nor within the boundaries, or within ten miles of the boundaries, of the capital. Whoever did not assist at Anglican worship was incapable of practising surgery or the law and he was treated as if he had been excommunicated formally and by name. His house could be searched, his religious books or objects might be burnt and his horses and arms taken from him at any time, by order of the nearest magistrate. As regards unpaid fines for non-attendance at Church, it was now left open to the king whether to raise the fine of £20 per lunar month, or to confiscate in its place the whole of the movable property, or the immovable property up to two-thirds. Every householder, of whatever religion, receiving Catholic visitors, or keeping Catholic servants, was liable to a fine of £10 per lunar month.[1]

Thus did Parliament reply to the wretched crime of a few men by the enactment of an unjust and barbarous statute,[2] and thousands were to suffer for centuries to come for the insane plans once conceived by a Catesby. Nor was this all.

[1] LINGARD, VII., 87 *seq.*

[2] "It had replied to the miserable crime of a few fanatics by the enactment of an unjust & barbarous statute," says GARDINER (I., 289). That the conspiracy did not originate from the Catholics as a body, and was not approved by them, Gardiner admits elsewhere too: "No candid person can feel surprise that any English Roman Catholic . . . should feel anxious to wipe away the reproach which the plot has brought upon those that share his faith. Not merely were his spiritual predecessors subjected to a persecution borne with the noblest & least self-assertive constancy in consequence of what is now known to all historical students to have been the entirely false charge that the Plot emanated from, or was approved of by the English Roman Catholics as a body, but this false belief prevailed so widely, that it must have hindered, to no slight extent, the spread of that organization, which he regards as having been set forth by divine institution for the salvation of mankind" (GARDINER, *What Gunpowder Plot was*, London, 1897, 2).

The government took pleasure in representing the Gunpowder plot as the fruit of Catholic teaching; hence, lest fresh disastrous floods should spring from such a source, it must. be choked. To this effect a special oath was tendered to the adherents of the old religion, the refusal of which would entail confiscation of property and perpetual imprisonment. Every Catholic had to swear that he believed James I. to be his rightful sovereign, that the Pope had no power to depose him, or to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. The juror, therefore, promised loyalty and obedience to his sovereign, without attending to any papal excommunication, to defend him against conspiracies and attempts against his life, and to give information of them; he swore that he rejected the impious, heretical and damnable doctrine that sovereigns excommunicated by the Pope or deprived of their realms could be deposed and put to death by their subjects; that he believed it to be of faith and a dictate of conscience that neither the Pope nor anyone else had power to absolve from this oath; that all this he swore according to the natural meaning of the words, without equivocation; that he promised it from his heart, freely and sincerely, on the faith and loyalty of a Christian.

If we bear in mind the story of the Stuarts from James I. to James II., the formula is not without a smack of tragedy. On the plea of fear for his throne and life, the monarch of England entrenches himself against the ancient Church, yet it was precisely this passion for unlimited independence that led to the deposition and death on the scaffold of James' son, and to the loss of the crown for his whole House under his grandson; it was this that, in the terms of Logan's epigram, opened an era which learnt precisely from the story of Charles I. not to spare sovereigns; an age in which the assassination of princes ended by becoming a sinister epidemic and in which the papacy appeared as the bulwark of law and order. It sounds like a mockery of the wisdom of the British Solomon, when we are told that out of the 500 gentlemen who bled for the cause of his son, no less than 200 came from the ranks of the down-trodden Catholics.[1]

[1] O. Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, I., Wien, 1875, 26.

Owing to its wording, James I.'s oath was a formidable weapon against Catholics. It branded their Church as an enemy of the State and of civilization and provided the further advantage, in case of refusal, of covering religious persecution with a political cloak. It looked as if the times of Nero had come back when the mere fact of being a Christian made a man " an enemy of mankind ". Moreover the formula had been disguised as a snare for the guileless and a wedge by which to split the unity of the Catholics. Every one of its clauses betrays the hand of its author, an apostate priest,[1] who took advantage of his familiarity with things Catholic to cause his former correligionists the worst embarrassment and to sow discord and division in their ranks. It was impossible to take the oath without denying Catholic principles. The very first words of the formula were offensive. They styled James, " Our sovereign lord," that is, in the literal sense of the words, supreme also in things spiritual. At the conclusion it stated that the oath was tendered " by competent and rightful authority ". Now in the oath of allegiance there was question not of temporal things but of affairs of conscience ; hence to attribute to the king full authority in this sphere was practically the same thing as rejecting the Pope and taking a disguised oath of supremacy. As regards the kernel of the formula, the overwhelming majority of theologians of the period maintained the Pope's right to depose princes. Popes and councils, and quite recently Pius V., had claimed it ; and since in the opinion of the Middle Ages, an excommunicated prince could not rule over Christians, deposition was deemed a natural consequence of the Pope's right to exclude from the Church, a right no Catholic could deny. It was not, therefore, lawful for an individual Catholic to decide, on his own authority, between the Gallicans and all the other theologians and thereby to arrogate to himself a power which belonged exclusively to the Church. Still less was he justified in rejecting the universal teaching of theologians as impious, heretical and damnable, if he was not also prepared to maintain that for centuries

[1] The ex-Jesuit Christopher Perkins.

the Church had tolerated an impious and heretical doctrine. Least of all could he concede to a Protestant king the right to decide what was orthodox and what was not, and thus to attribute to him the power to introduce new dogmas into the Church.[1] Even the Gallicans, who denied the Pope's deposing power, could not take the oath, since they did not defend their particular opinions as certain but as merely probable; hence they could not swear that the contrary view was erroneous.[2] Above all, the formula was cunningly made to look perfectly harmless. Nowhere is an uncontroverted dogma or an expressly defined opinion directly attacked. Whatever was calculated to perplex is placed amid propositions which could not be attacked, and is so worded that a moderate explanation did not seem excluded. Thus, for instance, it is not the doctrine that the Pope may depose an excommunicated prince that is styled "impious and heretical", but the claim that the subjects had such a right, and even here there was not simply question of deposition only, but of "deposition and assassination". It was, therefore, doubtful whether the epithets, "impious and heretical," referred to the deposition alone, or to deposition and assassination. Before taking the oath, the juror could take the more moderate view, but once he had sworn it was open to the government to give prominence to the stricter interpretation. This applies also to the clauses which ascribe to the king supreme authority, in fact it is true of the whole formula. Why take the worst meaning as the only possible one? many a one would say to himself. Why attach so much importance to inaccuracies in the wording of the oath? The government knows nothing of theological subtleties; it imagines that it is possible to draw from Catholic dogmas conclusions that might endanger the

[1] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirch und Staat*, 686 *seqq.*; SERVIÈRE, 12.

[2] This is BOSSUET's opinion: "A Romana sententia abhorrere, perspectis melius rebus, uti nos Franci facimus, erat licitum et bonum; damnare ut haereticam absque Ecclesiae auctoritate, nimium et temerarium videbatur" (*Defensio Declarationis*, cap. 23, in SERVIÈRE, 13).

State and it is in this sense that it demands their rejection. Very well, we will swear just in that sense; we swear to be loyal to the king as our temporal lord, and we also attest on oath that our Catholic faith does not make of us either traitors or regicides.

As a matter of fact differences of opinion on the oath and its lawfulness soon arose among Catholics. Only a few years earlier, thirteen priests from the party of the Appellants, had made an offer to Queen Elizabeth to take an oath which, in many of its clauses, was not unlike the formula of James I.[1] At this time, Blackwell, the archpriest, had among his counsellors priests drawn from the ranks of the Appellants and these exercised considerable influence over him. In a proclamation of July 10th, 1606, the king had reverted to his old plan of banishing the priests, yet at the same time he assured the laymen that he would only consider those as disloyal who, "under plea of zeal really aimed at preaching rebellion and at bringing about the subversion of the Church and society."[2] In his polemical writings, James repeatedly asserts that his formula demands no more than what is demanded by the ordinary loyalty to the king and by civil obedience.[3]

For all that, Blackwell's first thought had been publicly to condemn the oath. On the occasion of a deliberation with three of his ordinary advisers and the Superiors of the Jesuits and the Benedictines, the two religious and one of the secular priests pronounced against the oath whereas the two other secular priests sided with Blackwell. It was decided to consult Rome in the matter and meanwhile to let each individual Catholic decide for himself. Nearly all the laity took the oath but the greater part of the secular clergy and the Jesuits and Benedictines condemned it and refused to take it.[4]

In the meantime Blackwell's agent in Rome, Singleton,

[1] On January 31, 1602; see A. O. Meyer, *England und die kath. Kirche*, 393 *seq.*

[2] Gardiner, II., 15 *seq.*

[3] Servière, 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, 15 *seq.*

did all he could to defend the oath, but, as was to be foreseen, he failed to win over a single Cardinal to his view. Nor was the opposition idle. The English Jesuits in Flanders had dispatched two of their number to the eternal City.[1] On the other hand the French ambassador, de Brèves, begged the Pope not to irritate James; in time his own master would no doubt succeed in bringing him round to better sentiments. Paul V. fell in with this view; he even sent one of his chamberlains, the Baron de Magdelène, on a secret visit to London, to congratulate the king on his escape from the Gunpowder plot, to plead on behalf of the Catholics of his realm and to assure him of their loyalty and of the goodwill of the Holy See.[2] The French ambassador in London, Lefèvre de la Boderie, worked in the same sense.[3]

All these efforts having proved in vain, on September 22nd, 1606, a papal Brief was published which, after giving the full text of the oath, went on to declare that there were many things in it which were contrary to the faith and to the welfare of souls, hence it was not lawful to take it. The Pope expressed his conviction that the Catholics of England would courageously prefer the most cruel tortures and death itself to an outrage against God's majesty. In conclusion the Brief exhorts them to preserve concord and charity, as Clement VIII. had exhorted them on October 5th, 1602, on the occasion of the question of the archpriest. Let the Brief of his predecessor be observed literally and without cavilling.[4] This warning refers to the unsuccessful attempt of the party of the Appellant priests, who, through their emissaries Cecil and Champney, sought to obtain from Paul V. what Clement VIII. had refused. The matter was not again to be brought up in future.[5] The papal Brief was sent from Rome

[1] *Ibid.*, 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18 *seq.*

[4] Copy of the Brief in JAMES I's controversial works (*Opera*, 113 *seq.*) and in BELLARMINE's reply (*Opera*, V., Venice, 1721, 158 *seq.*).

[5] IUVENCIUS P., IV., 1, 13, no. 34, p. 151 *seq.* Both of them

to the Superior of the English Jesuits, Holtby, through whom it came into the hands of Blackwell. However, Blackwell would not publish it: the Brief, he declared, had not been delivered to him with the formalities prescribed by Canon Law and he was surely not bound voluntarily to put the rope round his neck.

The government obtained early information of the Brief. An order was issued for Blackwell's arrest at any cost. On June 24th, 1606, the archpriest fell into the hands of the pursuivants, and with him the whole of the correspondence with Rome.[1] At the residence of the archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, he declared before a deputation of bishops and doctors that, notwithstanding the papal Brief, he still believed that the oath was lawful. In that case, Bancroft urged, let him take it! Blackwell did so, appealing at the same time to the explanation of the oath given by the king himself. In a circular of July 7th, 1607, he exhorted the clergy to follow his example and to urge the laity in this sense. Bancroft hastened to make the best of his triumph by broadcasting Blackwell's letter over the whole of England.[2] During thirty years of persecution, the Jesuits wrote in their annual reports,[3] no heavier blow had ever befallen the Church in England.

However, Blackwell's prestige was not such as to render a papal Brief nugatory. As Singleton wrote to Paul V. from Brussels, the interrogatories of the Jesuit, William Wright, a fellow prisoner of Blackwell's in the archiepiscopal palace, greatly helped to open the eyes of many to the real significance of the oath.[4] Others, it is true, sheltered themselves behind the assertion that the Pope had been ill-informed when he published the Brief which represented the views of the Jesuits

had left England at the beginning of May, 1606 (TAUNTON, 366). *Cf.* CARDINAL BORGHESE to the Flemish nuncio, February 20, 1610, in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 279.

[1] SERVIÈRE, 21.

[2] SERVIÈRE, 22 *seq.*

[3] FOLEY, VII., 982.

[4] SERVIÈRE, 23.

alone.[1] In consequence, on August 22nd, 1607, Paul issued a second Brief in which he protests against such interpretations; his judgment, he wrote, sprang from his own decision, from personal knowledge, and was the fruit of long and mature deliberation.[2] Through Persons and more particularly through Bellarmine, Paul V. sent an earnest exhortation to Blackwell. In his letter, Bellarmine [3] describes the subtle devices by which it was sought to attenuate the formula of the oath as a cunning attempt by which the devil endeavoured to attack, overtly or covertly, the Catholic dogma of the primacy of the Apostolic See; the oath tended, in reality, to put at the head of the Church not the successor of St. Peter but the successor of Henry VIII. It was idle pretence to say that the king's life would be in danger if the Pope wielded in England the authority which he has everywhere. At no time in the Church's history had a Pope ordered the assassination of a prince, or approved the deed when it had been committed. The whole formula, with its mixture of harmless and erroneous assertions, was a reminder of the tricks of Julian the Apostate who ordered the statues of the idols to be placed beside his own, so that a Christian could neither pay, nor refuse to pay, the customary homage to the imperial likeness without being accounted either an idolater, or an enemy of the emperor. Many may be tempted to imagine that in the formula there was question only of trifles and theological subtleties, but where the interests of God are concerned, not a syllable may be sacrificed. Let Blackwell rise from his fall with renewed vigour. In a matter of such gravity he must not rely too much on his own judgment, lest his splendid career should be spoilt by an end which would cause grief to his friends and joy to his enemies.

Blackwell still maintained that Rome had not properly understood the oath of allegiance. In his reply to Bellarmine [4] he explains that, in the received opinion of theologians, the Pope was not the judge of princes, in virtue of his office;

[1] *Ibid.*, 23 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* p. 165, n. 4.

[3] September 28, 1607, *ibid.*

[4] November 13, 1607, in SERVIÈRE, 27.

only in extraordinary cases could he interfere with their temporal power, and more than this the oath did not affirm. The error of this explanation was soon to be brought home to him. His reply to Bellarmine was intercepted ; once more face to face with his judges, the archpriest had to explain his interpretation of the oath. The weakness of the unhappy old man now became apparent. Under the ever-increasing pressure of the judges he ended by signing a document to the effect that the Pope had no power whatever to depose princes, not even when it was question of the needs of the Church and the spread of Christianity. With this new clause, and in this sense, they made him take the oath once more.[1] Blackwell's removal from office could no longer be put off. On February 1st, 1608, a papal decree named George Birkhead as his successor. On August 16th, 1611, Birkhead found himself in the necessity of proclaiming that his predecessor, as well as all priests who had taken the oath, had incurred the penalties of excommunication and suspension. Notwithstanding his subservience to the government, Blackwell did not escape life-long imprisonment—that is, precisely the penalty for the refusal of the oath. He died shortly after his deposition, as Bancroft's prisoner, protesting that he wished to end his life as a true son of the Catholic Church. But he had not submitted to the papal decisions.[2] He boasted of the approval of the Sorbonne ; as a matter of fact, several doctors of Paris secretly defended the lawfulness of the oath.[3] Not a few English priests continued to share Blackwell's view, even after publication of the papal decrees. Among them was the Superior of the English Benedictines, Preston, who had at first rejected the oath as unlawful. Under Preston's influence and inspiration, Roger Widdrington wrote in defence of the oath but when his writings were condemned he submitted to the sentence.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 28 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 30 *seqq.*

[3] *Ubaldini*, June 24, 1608, *ibid.*, note 33.

[4] LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 318 note ; FOLEY, VII., 2, 1061 ; CAUCHIE-MAERE, 171, 238. TAUNTON shows that Widdrington was not merely an *alias*. *Engl. Hist. Review*, XVIII. (1903), 119.

James I. was greatly perturbed by the Briefs of Paul V., notwithstanding Blackwell's pitiful exhibition of weakness. The king still feared a sentence of excommunication, and, in fact, a papal intervention of any kind. It would seem that he had tried to take advantage of previous dealings with the Curia to prevent a papal expression of opinion on the oath. Through the mediation of the Belgian envoy it was hinted in Rome that James was prepared to acknowledge the Pope as the first sovereign in Europe if Paul V. would issue a declaration that it would never be lawful, not even on the plea of religion, for subjects to refuse obedience to their sovereign, or to lay hands on his person. But Rome was not to be taken in; Paul V. briefly answered that the Holy See would never direct Catholics to lay hands on the king.[1]

Thus secret diplomacy had not succeeded in preventing a papal manifestation on the oath of allegiance. Nevertheless, not long after publication of the second Brief, the government felt anxious to effect a reconciliation with Rome. To this end they almost completely dropped the various clauses of the oath. In Ireland, the Earl of Tyrone was suspected of a secret understanding with Spain. Tyrone forestalled the attempt to lure him over to England, with a view to his arrest, by escaping to the continent, together with the Earl of Tyrconel and other noblemen. The news raised great alarm in England; for a moment it was feared that the two earls would return at the head of a new Armada, and the tension became so acute that a general rising of the Catholics of England, Scotland and Ireland was being talked of. Before

[1] "SS^mus censuit nihil faciendum, catholicis non mandabitur ab hac S. Sede inferre manus in regem. Fuit etiam dictum, modernum regem Angliae maxime timere, ne in ipsum proferatur excommunicatio" (Inquisition decree of April 20, 1606, printed from a MS. of the Corsini Library, Rome, in the *Anal. Iuris pontif.*, Series 26, Rome–Paris, 1886 *seq.*, 678). All the same, a year later James writes: "quamquam autem inter me et R. Pontificem, alterius videlicet religionis caput, religio ipsa literarum et internuntiorum omne sustulerit commercium" (*Triplici nodo triplex cuneus: Opera*, 113).

the end of October, through the Spanish ambassador, Zúñiga, Salisbury, apparently by order of the king, laid the following proposals before the Pope: not only should his Holiness use the threat of excommunication, in order to prevent the Catholics from rising against the king, he should, on the contrary, command them to defend him with arms in hand. In that eventuality all fines would be remitted and the government would no longer forbid Catholics to have priests in their houses.[1] Rome did not think the proposal worthy of an answer.[2] As late as October, 1608, there prevailed so great a fear of the Irish and the Spaniards, that the Spanish ambassador was assured that Tyrone's pardon and toleration of the Catholic religion were being seriously considered.[3]

In these circumstances it was all-important for the government to nullify the effect of the Pope's condemnation of the oath by representing it as harmless and its condemnation as unjust. Here was a task for theologians. James himself took up his pen in an attempt to refute the two Briefs, and above all Bellarmine's letter to Blackwell.

In vain his ministers pointed out to him that it was not seemly for a crowned head to enter the lists against learned controversialists: James stuck to his resolution. He fancied himself as Europe's first theologian and he was particularly keen to have a tilt at Bellarmine, the most renowned opponent of the new doctrines. In 1607, the king was closeted with his divines, reading and writing for days on end. Even affairs of State had to take second place and only now and again would he indulge in his favourite pastime, the chase.[4] At last, on February 27th, 1608, James was able to send a copy of his work [5] to the French ambassador, together with an assurance

[1] Zúñiga to Philip III., November 10, 1607, in GARDINER, II., 23.

[2] GARDINER, II., 27.

[3] Borghese to the Spanish nuncio, November 11, 1608, *ibid.*, 30.

[4] SERVIÈRE, 34. *Cf.* LINGARD, VII., 95.

[5] "Triplici nodo triplex cuneūs, sive apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis, adversus duo brevia Pauli PP. Quinti et epistulam cardinalis Bellarmini ad G. Blackwellum archipresbyterum nuper scriptam," London, 1607 (*Opera*, 112–132).

that it contained nothing for which the Gallican Church did not likewise contend, and the boast that he had given Cardinal Bellarmine a sound thrashing.[1] The book appeared without the author's name but with the royal coat of arms on the title page, and copies were presented to the foreign ambassadors, so that the king's part in its compilation was an open secret. In its pages James repeatedly states that the oath of allegiance demanded no more than civil obedience. He then endeavours to prove from the Scriptures and the Fathers that no human authority has power to release subjects from their duty to their sovereign, even if the prince is an unworthy and criminal personage. Occasionally James does not take the burden of proof very seriously. As against Bellarmine's statement that the Pope had never commissioned any man to murder a prince, he points to the Emperors Henry IV., Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick II., whom fear of papal assassins alone caused to humble themselves before the Popes. For the rest the book shows proof of not a little reading of the Fathers and the Councils.[2] The effect on Catholics was that many accepted the royal explanation of the oath of allegiance and took it.[3] The answer to the royal apology was not long in coming: Persons replied in English, Bellarmine in Latin. Since the king's book bore no author's name, Bellarmine published his refutation under the name of his chaplain, Matteo Torto.[4]

James I. was greatly roused by Bellarmine's reply. His opponent had not only subjected the oath of allegiance to a searching analysis, in consequence of which many Catholics either refused to take it, or retracted it if they had already sworn, but he had also pointed to the king's grave errors

[1] "Le roi m'assura qu'il n'y avait rien dans son livre qui traitât de la foi, ni qui fût contraire à ce que l'Église gallicane a toujours tenu. Il ne parla quasi jamais d'autre chose, montrant de croire qu'il avait donné des étrivières au cardinal Bellarmin," La Boderie, in Servière, 35.

[2] Servière 36–7.

[3] La Boderie, April 24, 1608, *ibid.*, 45.

[4] *Matthaei Torti responsio ad librum inscriptum: Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1608 (*Opera*, V., 155–188).

and mistaken interpretations of texts from the Bible and the Fathers and in the places where James speaks of his own relations with the Catholics, he reproaches him with a distortion of the facts and deliberate falsehood.[1] The royal controversialist was exceedingly angry. Once again he shut himself in with his divines for the purpose of crushing Bellarmine. In vain did his wife beg, and the kings of France and Denmark exhort him to desist from a task which so ill became him. The king of Denmark was told to remember his youth and to blush for his folly at offering advice to a prince so much older and wiser than himself. Nevertheless a few weeks later James deemed it wiser not to give to the public the fruit of his arduous labours.[2] He stopped the sale of the previous book and ordered all the printed copies to be called in, "in order," he said, "to amend the errors which, through the fault of the copyists and printers, had crept into the texts adduced in the arguments."[3] Four bishops toiled many days correcting texts.[4] At length, in February, 1609, the French envoy was able to announce that the king's amended work was in the press and that, enriched with a long preface and an appendix addressed to the rulers of Europe, it would soon see the light. The king had the book so much at heart that, to the great annoyance of the court, notwithstanding the lure of spring and the plague which raged in London, he refused to leave the capital until the printed volume was in his own hands. This time the book appeared under his name.[5] In the preface James repeats his assertion that the oath demanded from Catholics no more than civil obedience,[6] and he adduces a few fresh proofs for his previous assertions. He then endeavours to shift the controversy into

[1] SERVIÈRE, 66; *cf.* 47–65. [2] LINGARD, VII., 96 *seq.*

[3] SERVIÈRE, 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, 66.

[5] SERVIÈRE, 67. Copy of the preface in *Iacobi I., Opera*, 133–165.

[6] He said it contained nothing but "praeter fidelitatis illius civilisque et temporalis obedientiae professionem, quam ipsa natura omnibus sub regno nascentibus praescribit, etc." (*Opera*, 135; *cf.* 137).

a sphere which had nothing whatever to do with the oath of allegiance. To prove that Bellarmine was politically dangerous, he discusses in detail the Cardinal's teaching on the immunity of the clergy from the secular power, and on the origin of the State [1]; then, in a lengthy profession of faith, he states his views on the motives of faith, the veneration of Saints, relics and images, Purgatory, the authority of bishops and the Pope [2] and ends with a special effort to prove that the Pope is antichrist.[3]

Thus the preface dealt for the most part with things that had nothing to do with the question in dispute. The French envoy gave it as his opinion that the book was the maddest and the most pernicious that had ever been written on such a subject; everybody regretted its publication.[4] Henry IV. advised the Pope to make no reply and even, by his apostolic authority, to forbid any answer whatever.[5] However, in view of the fact that James I. had sent his work to every court, Paul V. was anxious that the refutation also should be read. At his bidding Bellarmine took up his pen once more. To his refutation of the preface [6] he added, this time under his own name, a reprint of his former book against James. At one moment the Pope thought of sending a copy of Bellarmine's refutation to every Christian prince [7]; he desisted eventually in order not to irritate the king uselessly.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 140–4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 144–156.

[4] "Le plus fou, s'il m'est loisible d'ainsi parler, et le plus pernicieux qui se soit jamais fait sur un tel sujet," La Boderie, April 23, 1609, in Servière, 89.

[5] Servière, 114.

[6] *Opera*, V., 99–154. A copy of the *Apologia* against James, with Bellarmine's notes in the margin, in his own hand, is in *Barb.* 1156, Vatican Library.

[7] *Avviso of September 19, 1609, *Urb.* 1077, Vatican Library.

[8] *Avviso of November 11, 1609, *ibid.* On January 9, 1609 (read 1610), the nuncio Ubaldini at Paris was told: "Per non dare occasione a nuovi irritamenti non voleva N.S. che si publicasse

From the Catholic princes the king earned but scant recognition of his literary labours. In Spain, the British ambassador was advised that it would be better not to present the book to the king—he would certainly refuse to accept it. In Flanders, Savoy, Milan and Florence, the book was also declined [1] James thought, however, that Venice and France

(the book of Bellarmine) da suoi ministri, con tutto ciò, è mente di S.B. che per insegnare detta risposta vera e soda dottrina, non si deve tener per occulta, ma segretamente aiutare la divulgatione, e si lasci correre, se alcuno volesse ristamparla." Library, Stuttgart, MS. 181.

[1] SERVIÈRE, 112. *A warning to the archduke Maximilian of Austria, August 14, 1609, not to accept the English king's pernicious book, in the *Epist.*, V., 74, Papal Secret Archives. *Praise of the Viceroy of Sicily for prohibiting the book, *ibid.* For the refusal of the book in Savoy, see MUTINELLI, III., 290 *seq.*, 375 *seq.* Cardinal Borghese *writes to the nuncio at Rudolph II.'s court, July 11, 1609, telling him to prevent the emperor's accepting the book: "È necessario per ciò dare l'avviso a tempo non solo del tentativo, che si farà per occupare le mani e gli occhi de la Maestà Sua in si infame abominatione, ma di far anco officio con tutto lo spirito, che non sia accettato come prohibito per se stesso et dal Santo Officio espressamente, il che seguirà tra pochi giorni." An enclosed note contains James I.' chief errors: "A theologian may write against the book but his work must be submitted to Rome before printing" (Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., VI., 22, p. 34 *seqq.*). To the Swiss nuncio, the bishop of Venafro, August 22, 1609, as follows: "Non essendo ancora pervenuto nè alli mani nè alle orecchie delli Signori catholici d'Elvetia il pernitioso libro del re d'Inghilterra pieno di propositioni heretiche, haverà V.S. facilmente potuto disporre gli animi loro che quando li capitassse o gli fosse offerto, non debbano in alcun modo accettarlo, nel qual proposito N.S. scrive a detti signori l'alligato breve e loda gli uffitii, che in questa materia V.S. ha già fatti insieme col pensiero che ha d'indurre il padre Gretsero Giesuita famoso in materia di confutar eretici ad abbracciare l'impresa di rispondere all'heresie del detto libro, ma dovrà V.S. avvertire che avanti publicare cos'alcuna se ne mandi qua copia" (Stuttgart Library, 181). For the prevention by the nuncio of the book's dissemination in Poland, and for the

would show more interest. In point of fact in the city of the lagoons the Doge at first accepted the book, but at the instance of the Inquisition an edict soon came forth forbidding the printing and selling of James I.' book within the territory of the republic. Thereupon the British envoy, Wotton, judged it helpful to threaten with his departure, but by doing so he embarrassed his master not a little, for when Venice enquired whether London approved the attitude of Wotton, the king, on the one hand, could not very well disavow his representative, nor on the other, forfeit the friendship of the republic. The matter was settled with difficulty but the prohibition of the book, which had given rise to the misunderstanding, remained in force.[1]

In France also the king's book was strictly prohibited. Nevertheless, at the instigation of James, it was secretly translated and printed. Henry IV. similarly forbade Bellarmine's two refutations.[2] This attitude of the French king was due to the rôle of mediator which he had taken up from the outbreak of the quarrel. Of the way in which James I. had tried to make game of the Holy See at the time when he was only king of Scotland, Henry knew nothing, or very little. He was of opinion that, owing to his not being acquainted with conditions in the North, the Pope's manner towards James was too stern, to the harm of English Catholics. Hence, just as he sought to bridle James' anti-Roman ardour, so did he dissuade the Curia from condemning the oath of allegiance and after the condemnation he made no secret of his annoyance.[3] Henry IV. may have been strengthened in his view when Paul V. acknowledged his expostulations with the polite reply that in future, on occasions of this kind, he would first ask the advice of the king of France.[4] James I.'s

refutation issued by the Jesuits in Vilna, see the *reports of Fr. Simonetta to Borghese of November 7 and 21, 1609, State Archives at Massa Carrara.

[1] Servière, 112 *seq.*; Rein, 126–134.

[2] Servière, 121; Prat, *Coton*, III., 148–154.

[3] Servière, 113 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 114, note 1.

polemical writings still further confirmed Henry IV. in his opinion. In opposition to Ubaldini's advice, he accepted the book and caused it to be examined by Cardinals du Perron and La Rochefoucauld and the Jesuits Coton and Fronton du Duc. When the examiners gave it as their opinion that James was more moderate in his opinions than other Protestants, Henry conceived the hope that it might be possible to bring the crowned theologian back into the Catholic Church. Once again the nuncio was asked to discuss with the above-mentioned Cardinals and Jesuits appropriate ways and means towards this end. Even Du Perron was of opinion that the Roman theologians were harsh; it would be a good thing to let a Frenchman reply to the king. The nuncio, who was justifiably suspicious of the Gallican ideas of many Frenchmen, suggested that it would be far better to send a theologian to London, for an oral discussion; that Du Perron was the right man for that, and that, in point of fact, the Popes had shown great leniency to James I. The condemnation of the oath of allegiance was unavoidable. However, Du Perron did not go to England. On being sounded on the point, James replied that he would be very glad to listen to a theologian, provided he was not a Cardinal. Paul V. also would not hear of a Cardinal being despatched to a heretical court.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, 117 *seqq.* For the later literature concerning the oath of allegiance see *ibid.* For Barclay and his controversy with Bellarmine, see *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXVIII. (1900), 408; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 538 *seqq.* **Defensio litterarum apostolicarum Pauli V. contra iuramentum Angl. fidelitatis dictum* (directed against a treatise by the English Catholic Howard) in *Cod. Barb.* XXXII., 175, Vatican Library. KASPAR SCHOPP also wrote against James I. (*Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, XI., 428 *seq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, *X.*², 2123). Even then opinion in Rome was not very favourable to Schopp: "Di questo huomo credo che V.S. habbia già havuta qualche cognitione. Ma tuttavia è ben che sappia, che fra le altre parti, ch'egli ha, è di cervello assai inquieto, pieno di chimere et di metter in campo ogni giorno nuove cose. Si è mostrato poco ben affetto in diverse occasioni sparlando malamente di questa

Henry IV's. friendly attitude was most opportune for James I.; it enabled him to influence Rome through Paris, with a view to keeping the Pope in suspense as to his real feelings, and, notwithstanding his polemical writings, to restrain him in case he should be inclined to pronounce against him the dreaded sentence of excommunication. To the French envoy the astute monarch explained once again that he was ready to acknowledge the Pope as the first among bishops and the Head of the Church in spiritual things, on condition that Paul V. renounced his claim that he could depose kings. This news was bound promptly to reach Rome by way of Paris.[1] The Pope declared to the French ambassador that if he were to make such a concession he would himself be considered a heretic.[2]

James I. could safely risk the above mentioned information by the round-about way of Paris, though his earlier relations

Corte, con tutto che n'abbia ricevuti molti beneficii et particolarmente da S.S^{tà}, la quale li fa pagare ogni mese etiam in sua assenza da Roma certa provisione. Si è mostrato in oltre mal affetto anco ai P. Gesuiti, i quali sapendo, quando egli sia potente di lingua e di penna, hanno fatto instanza che se ne scriva a V.S. Sarà però bene, che li tenga l'occhio adesso, et procuri d'andarlo moderando." Cardinal Borghese to the Vienna nuncio Melfi, March 28, 1615, Casanatense, Lib., Rome, X., VI., 22, no. 19.

[1] Puysieux to the French ambassador at Rome, De Brèves, July 22, 1609, in *Notices et extraits*, I., 309.

[2] "Lorsque j'ai parlé à sa Saincteté de ce que le dict roy avait dit à M. de la Boderie, vouloir reconnoistre le Pape pour le premier evesque et chef de l'Église en ce qui est du spirituel, pourvu qu'il se départe de la pretention qu'il a de pouvoir déposer les roys, Elle me dict ne pouvoir faire ceste déclaration qu'elle ne fust au mesme temps Elle-même tenue pour hérétique" (Brèves to Puysieux, August 18, 1609, in SERVIÈRE, 115). *Cf.* GIESELER, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengesch.*, III., 2, Bonn, 1853, 640 *seq.* DÖLLINGER, in his time, accepted this declaration of James I. on its face value and sought to make capital of it against the papacy (*Allgemein, Zeitung*, March 12, 1869, and March 31, 1870, *suppl.* 90, p. 1400). *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXIV. (1869), 322; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche u. Staat*, 690.

with the Pope had caused him the greatest embarrassment only a short while ago, for in his first pamphlet Cardinal Bellarmine had revealed the fact that on a previous occasion James had written in friendly fashion to Pope Clement VIII., as well as to Cardinals Aldobrandini and Bellarmine; that he had suggested the nomination of a Scottish Cardinal and that, through his ambassador, he had even hinted at his own return to the Catholic Church.[1] That the letter in question was written in James' name, and with his knowledge and approval, was attested not long after by his own wife Anne.[2] But just as on a previous occasion he had denied having written to the Pope when questioned by Elizabeth, so did he now play a fresh comedy in order to whitewash himself in the eyes of his people. His former private secretary, Lord Balmerino, who happened to be in London at the moment, was summoned before the king and questioned on the subject of the letter. As previously arranged between them, the secretary, falling on his knees, confessed that none other than he himself wrote the letter and laid it before the king together with divers other documents, and that the king signed it together with these documents, without acquainting himself with their contents. Some witnesses were in hiding in another room from which they overheard this avowal.[3] James submitted the whole affair to his Privy Council. "Ye were born strangers to the country where this was done," he wrote to the councillors, "yet are ye no strangers to the king thereof;

[1] "Quibus verbis (Clement VIII.'s in the Briefs of 1600; see Vol. XXIV., 53 *seq.*) non solum Iacobum Scotiae rex non excludebatur, sed includebatur potius, quoniam ministri eius maximam spem fecerant, eum non abhorrere a fide catholica suscipienda, praesertim cum rex ipse ad Pontificem ipsum necnon ad cardinales Aldobrandinum et Bellarminum litteras scripsisset plenas humanitatis, quibus praeter caetera petebat, ut aliquis e gente Scotorum cardinalis S.R.E. crearetur, ut haberet Romae, per quem facilius et tutius cum Pontifice negotia sua tractaret" (*Opera*, V., 166).

[2] A. O. Meyer, in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VII. (1904), 301 *seq.*

[3] Gardiner, II., 31 *seq.*

and ye know, if the king of Scotland prove a knave, the king of England can never be an honest man. Work so, therefore, in this as having interest in your king's reputation."[1] Balmerino pleaded guilty both before the Council and subsequently before a Scottish court at St. Andrew's. He was condemned to death but the king commuted the sentence into imprisonment for life within his own house. The whole pre-arranged plot, as well as Balmerino's condemnation, was looked upon for what it was—a piece of bluff—even in James' lifetime.[2] In his replies to Bellarmine's pamphlet James carefully avoided all reference to his letter to the Pope, but the two letters to Cardinals Aldobrandini and Bellarmine he never attempted to deny.

James I.'s repeated statement in his writings against Bellarmine and on other occasions as well, that the oath of allegiance demanded submission in civil matters only, was accepted by not a few Catholics so that they took the oath as thus interpreted.[3] The Catholic members of the Upper Chamber, of whom there were more than twenty, accepted the condition, with the sole exception of Lord Teynham who, in order to elude an act that would have weighed on his conscience, had recourse to the expedient of not taking his seat on more than one day during each session.[4] In so far

[1] *Ibid.*, 32.

[2] MEYER (*loc. cit.*, 280) is of opinion that the document first published by him (p. 301 *seq.*) makes clear: "1°.—that king James lied when he denied the authorship of his letter to the Pope. 2°.—that he fostered the hopes for his conversion on purpose" GARDINER (II., 31–4) believes in James' innocence; LINGARD (VII., 550) had sufficiently demonstrated the inherent unlikeliness of the whole story.

[3] "Qu'aleuns prestent soubs l'interprétation que le roy leur donne de ce qu'il ne contient rien de ce qui touche le spirituel, quoyque les mots portent visiblement le temporel meslé avecq le spirituel qui tient plusieurs en grande angustie." Thus the secretary of the Flemish ambassador, 1611, in WILLAERT, in the *Rev. d'hist. écclés.*, VI. (1905), 576.

[4] LINGARD, VII., 98.

as the oath was understood as an oath of civil obedience and not in its literal meaning, it did not, in the opinion of those who took it, imply a denial of Catholic principles. For all that it was and remained a heavy blow for the faithful remainder of the ancient Church. In 1613, the nuncio Bentivoglio wrote that the government had two things in view when it demanded the oath: they wanted a fresh pretext for a more intense persecution of Catholics, and a new wedge with which to split the concord of the Catholic clergy. In both these respects the enemies of the Church achieved considerable success. Many Catholics had been punished with fines and imprisonment for refusing the oath and every day a great number were incurring these penalties. With regard to the clergy, it was true that some priests and religious had been induced to take the oath—when they had gone so far, these men strayed even further from the right path, for they did not hesitate to assert that it was not against the Catholic faith. However, only a very small minority was thus subservient to the government and this minority was recruited from among the least fervent and the least respected. The rest of the clergy, with one accord, opposed the oath, and the bulk of the religious were similarly determined, nay, many among the secular and regular clergy have publicly refuted it with ability and with not a little courage, in view of the fact that they are surrounded by dangers and threats of death.[1]

The oath of allegiance remained James I.'s chief weapon in his war against the ancient Church, though, on the whole, his persecution was less bloody than that of Elizabeth.[2] In the years 1609, 1611, 1613–1615, 1618–1625, no Catholic blood flowed for the sake of the faith; in the other years, sixteen priests and two laymen were executed for the sake of religion. It is generally believed that they could have saved themselves by taking the oath.[3] Though less bloody,

[1] Bentivoglio, *Relationi*, II., 181 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 182.

[3] Challoner, *Memoirs*, etc., ed. J. H. Pollen, London, 1924, pp. 299, 323, 339, 359 *seq.*; Spillmann, IV., 115–203.

the persecution was not less dangerous; by using milder means it was thought that the remainder of the ancient Church would be destroyed all the more surely, though more slowly.[1] The prisons were crowded with Catholics. In 1622, the number of priests confined in various prisons was reckoned at 400.[2] When in 1606, in order to gain Spain's good will, the victims of the penal laws were set at liberty, the Puritans complained that 4,000 idolaters were now let loose, to pollute the soil purified by the true doctrines of the gospel.[3]

In Yorkshire and the North, so we read in 1607, Catholics were being most cruelly treated: their cattle was driven away, their houses were plundered, their walls pulled down, chests and secret drawers broken open and searched. "On all sides we only hear of violence and severity on the part of the authorities." It was possible to escape ill treatment by taking the oath of allegiance. "The officials of the authorities are not content to plunder; they seize those whom they have robbed, summon them and again let them off on bail. If on the expiration of their bail they present themselves in court, they are thrown into prison unless they pay a heavy ransom; if they fail to appear they are condemned to pay heavy fines. Thus condemnation succeeds condemnation and violence violence. Moreover the minions of the law take more than they are entitled to."[4] In order to squeeze out of the non-jurors all they wanted, it was enough to threaten legal proceedings. From a royal proclamation against these abuses we gather that silver and jewelry were seized without further formality,

[1] "Hora in tempo di questo re si procura principalmente di macerargli quanto più sia possibile con lunghissime prigionie, e di consummare più al vivo, che mai si sia fatto i Cattolici secolari, co'l privargli de beni, cercandosi a questo modo che quelli, e questi vadano a poco a poco, quasi di lenta incurabile infirmità con miserabil fine mancando." BENTIVOGLIO, *loc. cit.*, 182.

[2] LINGARD, VII., 189. *Cf.* the Jesuit's report in FOLEY, VII., 1033.

[3] LINGARD, VII., 190 *seq.*

[4] Jesuit's report of 1607, in FOLEY, VII., 981.

on the pretext that they were serving superstitious purposes or that they belonged to the Jesuits and other priests.[1] Thus the oath became "a mere contrivance for filling the pockets of the courtiers".[2] The Catholics of Yorkshire, by the king's order, suffered much at the hands of the bishop of Bristol. This man was in the habit of first depriving his victims of their flocks and of subsequently allowing them to buy back what was their own, only to seize it once more. In this way it came about that a certain Catholic bought back his own property on seven separate occasions. In the end parliament put a stop to these exactions.[3] The chief instigators of the persecution were the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London.[4]

The assassination of Henry IV. of France brought fresh troubles on the heads of the Catholics of England. An act was passed by Parliament that every Englishman, without exception, must take the oath of allegiance on reaching his 18th year. For the first time also a law was passed in regard to married women who did not attend Protestant worship. They must either receive the sacrament in church or go to prison, unless their husbands redeemed them with a monthly fine of £10.[5] The persecutors of the Catholics were given a fresh opportunity to satisfy their rapacity; "neither pot nor pan, nor bedding, neither rings nor jewels or anything else escapes their rapacity," we read in a letter of the time.[6] Another contemporary letter[7] states that the Catholics hide themselves from their persecutors in holes and caves or flee the country.

[1] LINGARD, VII., 191; Jesuit's report of 1614, FOLEY, VII., 1034.

[2] GARDINER, II., 164.

[3] Jesuit's report for 1608, in FOLEY, VII., 989 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 989; *cf.* 1017.

[5] LINGARD, VII., 118; GARDINER, II., 72 *seq.* *Cf.* FOLEY, VII., 1008 *seq.*, 1015; WILLAERT, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccl.*, VIII. (1907), 90; LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 288.

[6] From George Lambton, November 2, 1610, in FOLEY, IV., 391.

[7] From Edward Coffin, November 28, 1611, FOLEY, I., 70.

The year 1613 had another surprise in store for Catholics when Edward Coke became Lord Chief Justice. This man's hatred for the ancient Church was sufficiently known to them ever since the trial of Garnet. Coke used his extensive knowledge of English law to dig up all the old enactments against Catholics, many of which had fallen into abeyance, and began to apply them in all their rigour. No marriage was valid unless it had been contracted before a Protestant minister, no baptism was recognized unless it was administered by him, and in consequence of all the fines they had to pay, there remained to the adherents of the old religion less than a third of their income for the support of their household. Even poor people and domestic servants were condemned to fines.[1] "Thank God, at last I have a house from which I cannot be evicted," a poor old man said on his deathbed on hearing that his grave was ready. After the death of his wife, at a time when he had several daughters to support, the poor man had found himself compelled to sell the copper pan on his hearth in order to satisfy his oppressors and for a time, much against his conscience, he had attended the parish church.[2]

On the subject of the oath Coke was unbending. Four times a year the justices of the peace had to send all Catholics of every age and sex before his court in London. Neither sickness nor age or poverty, neither distance nor the inclemency of the season, or sickness of wife and children could be pleaded in excuse. It was said that from one county alone, out of England's fifty, 400 persons were thus summoned.[3] An old woman of eighty having been thus compelled to undertake a journey of over eighty miles, in the depth of winter, refused the oath, had all her property confiscated and saw herself condemned to prison for life.[4] Even when he had taken the

[1] Jesuit's report for 1614, FOLEY, VII., 1036 *seqq.*; UBALDINI to Cardinal Borghese, January 28, 1614, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 325 *seq.*

[2] FOLEY, VII., 1038.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1039.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1040.

oath, a Catholic could not feel safe. Coke was well aware that it was only taken outwardly; hence he demanded its renewal four times a year. For many this meant a journey of anything from two hundred to six hundred miles, at all seasons of the year.[1] It is said that up to 1615, no less than 16,000 Catholics were summoned by Coke in connection with the oath.[2] None the less, at the beginning of 1614, James spoke once more of his wish that a general council, convened by the Pope, and at which England would be represented, would re-establish the unity of the Church.[3] But Rome was not to be taken in.[4]

Since several priests, notwithstanding the papal Briefs, declared the oath lawful, many Catholics came to the conclusion that, though the Pope had forbidden it, one might likewise assist at Protestant services [5]; hence Paul V. issued yet another Brief, prohibiting attendance at Anglican services.[6] As a matter of fact the Pope never lost sight of England; he seized every opportunity to help its oppressed Catholics or at least to get persons of influence to exert themselves on their behalf.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 1040 *seq.*

[2] Letter from Alexander Fayrecliffe, *ibid.*, 1096.

[3] *Avviso di Londra*, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 326 note.

[4] "*Ha letto N.S. l'avviso mandato a V.S. dal suo amico d'Inghilterra intorno al pensiero che mostra havere quel re che si convocasse un concilio generale per il fine avvisuto, ma crede S.S. che sia tutt' arte e da lui si possa sperare molto poco, massime che come ella dice perseguita più che mai li poveri catolici, a favori de' quali è piaciuto a S.B. che V.S. habbia procurato costi, che si ordini all'ambasciadore residente in Londra che interponga i suoi uffitii affinchè non siano tanti angustiati." To the nuncio Ubaldini in Paris, February 27, 1614, Stuttgart Library, *Cod.* 181.

[5] Letter of Richard Blount, July 14, 1606, in FOLEY, I., 64; *cf.* VII., 2, 1003, 1019.

[6] IUVENCIUS P., V., 1, 13, no. 84, p. 187.

[7] This appears from several *Briefs of Paul V. On September 17, 1605, *he praises the viceroy of Sicily, the duke of Feria, for his zeal for the restoration of the faith in England. When he heard that Count François de Vaudemont was travelling to

In 1608 the Pope had a memorandum drawn up on the ways and means by which something could be done for religion in England.[1] The suggestions of its compiler are remarkable for many reasons. It has come home to him that by reason of its geographical situation the island is out of reach of a hostile attack, whilst it is itself in a position to stir up all Europe, as well as the Indies.[2] Hence England is also a danger to religion ; a new Calvinistic Church, with an anti-Pope at its head, is in the act of rising there, and both the spiritual and temporal power is in the hands of the king.[3] The danger can no longer be conjured by means of armed intervention by the Catholic king. The very extent of its territories is a handicap for the Spanish world-empire, more than anything else, and the war in Flanders has ended by

England, *he commissioned the archbishop of Nazaret, on August 26, 1607, to send him further information about the position of the English Catholics. A *Brief of April 1, 1608, praises queen Margaret of Navarre for favouring the English Catholics. For the mysterious embassy of Robert Sherley, the Englishman who was overwhelmed with honours at Rome, out of respect for his king and then journeyed on to Philip III., *cf.* the *Brief of October 9, 1609. A *Brief of February 5, 1615, recommends the English Catholics to archduke Albert. *Epist.*, X., 271, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Relazione e parere dato al Papa Paolo V. intorno alla religione in Inghilterra, e ai rimedii da usarsi, etc., forse del Padre Generale dei Gesuiti, e probabilmente del P.B. Giustiniani," in *Archiv. Borghese*, 4 Series, n. 47, Papal Secret Archives. The author has consulted in Spain, " più volte," with " persone delle più gravi di Spagna " (p. 139[b]) and also there, with " quelli capitani che vennero con l'Amirante d'Inghilterra in Spagna " (p. 143) ; this does not fit in with Aquaviva or Giustiniani, but possibly with Persons. The date of the note can be established from the fact that the Hereford rising of 1697 (Foley, IV., 452) is stated on p. 140 to have taken place " l'anno passato ".

[2] *" Quelle isole tanto inespugnabili per natura et per il sito loro disposte a inquietare tutta l'Europa et ancora l'Indie " (f. 139).

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 139.

paralysing it altogether.[1] It is even a good thing, the memorandum suggests, that, at the peace, Spain omitted to make religious freedom for English Catholics one of the conditions of the treaty—one that it was easy to secure—for now the Protestants can no longer accuse the Catholics that their conduct is dictated by political considerations for Spain.[2] In view of this accusation it would be a good thing if the victims of English judicial murders were solemnly declared to be true Martyrs who underwent condemnation and death for the sake of religion, not on political grounds.[3] It would seem that the hope of bringing back England as a whole to the Church was pretty well given up. The writer has only two suggestions to make; the first is to go on sending to England learned and irreproachable priests, both secular and regular. In order to raise the necessary funds for their training, the Pope should urge the Catholic princes to support the seminaries. If, by this means, the old religion revives among the people of England, it may be possible, in the end, to win over the king himself, as was done in France.[4] The second means by which the Catholics of England might be assisted is direct action on the king. One might try to obtain for them the free exercise of their religion at least within the four walls of their own houses.[5] Unlawfully acquired Church property should be left to the ministers and Anglican bishops. The king of France, the grand duke of Tuscany and the other

[1] *" Li molti regni che già possiede gli sono più presto d'impiccio che d'altro " (f. 142); " il re cattolico di tal maniera intrigato in quella guerra che non può attendere ad altro " (*ibid.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 139.

[3] " *Pare che adesso sarebbe occasione opportuna di fare la dichiarazione, che molte persone gravi hanno desiderato in altri tempi . . . della causa per la quale moiano li cattolici d'Inghilterra, . . . et si potrebbe deputare doi giorni, uno per li martiri ch'hanno patiti la morte per la fede cattolica et per l'autorità di questa santa Sede sotto il re Henrico ottavo, et l'altro per quelli che sono stati martirizzati per la sua figliuola Elizabetha et di poi, celebrando la Chiesa catolica la memoria d'essi " (f. 140).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, f. 141.

princes to whom James, as king of Scotland, had promised his conversion, should press for the fulfilment of the promise, in the same way as the king of Spain has done and is still doing.[1] The princes are bound, under grave sin, to intervene with James I., with a view to making him leave his Catholic subjects in lawful possession of the religion they have inherited, for it was only on this condition, and because they relied on his pledged word, that they had consented to promise him obedience[2]; let the Pope remind the princes of their duty in this matter. After weighing the pros and cons, the writer is of opinion that James I.'s return to the ancient Church is not altogether hopeless[3]; in order to promote it,

[1] " *Et sarà diligenza molt'utile ch'il detto re et il gran duca di Fiorenza et gli altri principi alli quali il re d'Inghilterra, quando era re di Scotia haveva dato parola che si farebbe cattolico, gli ricercassero adesso i compimento di essa, come ha fatto et fa dalla sua parte il re di Spagna " (*ibid.*).

[2] " *che li lasciasse nella giusta possessione della sua antiqua religione et delli suoi antipassati, poi che non consentirono di rendergli obedienza si non con questa condizione et speranza sotto la parola che lui haveva dato a questa S. Sede et ad altri principi (come si è detto) mentre era re di Scotia " (*Ibid.*)

[3] " *Non pare che stiamo fuora di tutta speranza, ch'il re si possa ridurre " (*ibid.*). The future Pope Urban VIII., when nuncio in France, kept the conversion of James always before him as his aim. A correspondent in England, with whom he kept in touch for that purpose, told him nevertheless, " *In quanto all'inclinatione del re, di cui ella mi fa si viva istanza, io non saprei dir cosa fondata sul vero, vedendosi tanta variatione in un momento, che non più presto si prende speranza, ch'egli voglia tornare al grembo della Chiesa, che immantinente si perde. . . . Se ho da dire il vero, ho perso la buona speranza, che io havevo dapoi che domandandone l'opinione sua al primo presidente di Scotia . . . me ne parlò molto liberamente con ferma credenza, che non dovesse succedere il bene che si desidera, fondato principalmente in conoscere l'humore del re, che si presuma di sapere più di quanti santi hanno scritto, e che perciò difficilmente si potrà mai disporre di credere ad altri, e che se alle volte si vedono apparenze in contrario, sono artificii suoi fatti con disegno," *Cod. Barb.*, p. 227 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

he should be assured that the loyalty of his Catholic subjects will not be wanting if he treats them as a king should treat his subjects: if he acts otherwise he would have to fear the Holy See. True, the Pope was "without hands, feet or strength" by reason of the discord among Christian princes,[1] but that was just why every nerve should be strained to re-establish concord between them. The writer then explains in detail how so happy a result might be brought about.[2] He makes more than one reference to the Gunpowder plot; he thinks it was the work of a handful of laymen who would listen to no advice from any priest and that it was provoked, or at least promoted, by the government which carefully saw to it that the chief witnesses should meet a premature end and which, thereupon, against all probability, charged three Jesuits with the crime.[3]

After so many collisions with the Pope, James I.'s matrimonial plans for his children brought him once more in touch with Rome. The king was being pressed on all sides to conclude a family alliance with some reigning Catholic

[1] "*Mentre che lui (James I.) vede (the powerlessness of Spain), et V.S. senza mani, piedi et forze per stare in discordia li principi christiani, delli quelli V.S. se potrebbe agiutare per rifrenare et mettere alla raggione li heretici, quelli d'Inghilterra et il loro re non fanno nè faranno conto della S.V." (f. 142).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "*Dio volesse che la indiscretione de'alcuni pochi cattolici secolari (per non pigliar consiglio con chi devevano) trasportati dal sentimento dell'ingiurie esorbitanti fattegli dagli heretici per irritarli a fare qualche disordine, non havesse oscurato questa gloria di patire con titolo della religione. . . . Chi non vede l'ingiustitia . . . in volere estendere la colpa de alcuni pochi al corpo delli cattolici innocenti? per il quale giachè havevano morto a quelli che potevano testificare la verità hanno publicato . . . questa nuova calumnia contra tre religiosi della Compagnia, che non può haver apparentia alcuna di verità (f. 139). E molto probabile, che ci ha havuto qualche partecipatione d'alcuni delli medesimi, si no nel principio, al manco nella prosecutione di questa ultima congiura," of the kind that happened in Babington's conspiracy (f. 140).

house, for among the princes who shared his own Calvinist creed the choice was really too limited; the petty Lutheran potentates of Germany and the kings of Sweden and Denmark could hardly stand comparison, as regards splendour and wealth, even with the dukes of Savoy and Florence, not to speak of the sovereign houses of Spain, Austria and France. Besides, James viewed himself not a little complacently in the rôle of a great mediator, for by allying himself with a Catholic power, he would be able to initiate a reconciliation between the Catholic and Protestant peoples.[1] His always empty purse would best be served by the rich dowry of a Catholic daughter-in-law.[2] An influential party at Court and one that was still Catholic at heart, headed by the earl of Northampton, seconded these plans; these men saw in the restoration of the old religion the surest bulwark against puritanism, hence they were anxious for the heir to the crown to marry a Catholic princess.[3]

However, to enable him to form an alliance with a Catholic ruling family the king of England needed the consent of the Pope. He was to have an unpleasant reminder of the fact as early as 1608. At that time James was using his influence in Madrid with a view to the betrothal of his daughter Elizabeth to the nephew of Philip III., the son of the Duke of Savoy. The king of Spain was not unfavourably disposed, but the plan came to nought owing to the objections of Paul V.[4] In 1611, the Duke of Savoy took it up once more; Elizabeth, he hinted this time, might become a Catholic.[5] However, the discussions led to no better result than did the efforts of even a far more distinguished suitor for Elizabeth's hand, namely the king of Spain himself, a widower since 1611.[6] On February 14th, 1613, with great pomp and amid the

[1] GARDINER, II., 138.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 137.

[4] Cardinal Millini to Paul V., July 4, 1614, in GARDINER, II., 27.

[5] GARDINER, II., 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, 151.

jubilations of the Protestants, the English princess was married to the leader of the Calvinist party in Germany, Frederick V., elector Palatine, subsequently known as "the Winter King".[1] Though James I. protested—but only after the failure of his efforts for a Spanish alliance—that nothing would persuade him to give his daughter to a Papist,[2] he nevertheless did not relax his efforts to secure a Catholic bride for Henry, the heir to the crown. In 1611, the Duke of Savoy had proposed the marriage of his son with Elizabeth, and that of his daughter with the Prince of Wales.[3] Not long after that, at the instigation of the Spanish envoy, Velasco, James I. thought of betrothing his son, in the first instance, to the Spanish Infanta Anne, then to Anne's sister Mary, then a child of six years old,[4] and finally to a sister of the grand duke of Tuscany. Salisbury, who had been in charge of the negotiations with Florence since 1611, did not fail to make discreet inquiries about the amount of the dowry that might be expected.[5] The grand duke laid the matter before the Pope who declared that he could not sanction the proposal.[6] The duke of Savoy felt fewer scruples than

[1] *Ibid.*, 152, 160 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 152.

[3] *Ibid.*, 137. "*Instructione per il P. Fra Paolo da Cesena Cappuccino di quello che haverà da trattare col Sigr. Duca di Savoia per impedire il matrimonio del principe di Piemonte con la Principessa d'Inghilterra," August 13, 1619 (*sic!*), in the *Instruzioni politiche sopra varie materie*, Vol. II., *Cod.* 468, f. 456 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome. (*Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 127 *seq.*). The date is wrong as the crown prince of Savoy had already married Christina of France on February 10, 1619. According to SIRI, II., 559, the date of the Instruction is August 13, 1605. *Cf. ibid.*, 585, 712 for the nuncio's efforts in 1611 and 1612.

[4] GARDINER, II., 138 *seq.* Mary was born in 1606.

[5] *Ibid.*, 139 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 153. "*Summarium rationum, ob quas ill. cardinales a SS. D.N. ad id deputati censuerunt, omnino denegandam esse dispensationem a S. Magno Etruriae duce petitam collocandi in matrimonium unam ex sororibus suis Angliae principi haere-

the Medici, for he saw the advantages of having England for an ally against Spain. He promised a dowry of 700,000 ducats; as for the rest, he declared himself satisfied if the future queen could practise her religion in secret.[1] Marie de Medici, the regent of France, was even less troubled by religious scruples when James I., at the prompting of the duke de Bouillon, proposed to her to marry the Prince of Wales to her daughter Christina, then only six years old. She was prepared to let the child be taken to England in the following year when she would certainly have been brought up as a Protestant.[2]

All these plans were rudely upset by the death, on November 6th, 1612, of prince Henry. Thereupon, James' second son, Charles, was to step into his brother's place, even as the future husband of Christina. In France, in November, 1613, the affair was considered as settled. The more moderate Protestant elements, and the Scottish favourites of the king of England, had been won over to the plan.[3]

However, the friends of Spain at the English Court were not idle. Since 1613 the Spanish ambassador in London was Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondomar,[4] a clever diplomat who had been purposely chosen with a view to restraining James from entering into an alliance with France and the Protestant

tico," in *Borghese*, II., 56, 57, p. 292, Papal Secret Archives; *Tarq. Pinaoro, "Risolutioni di un politico detto il cattolico scritte l'a. 1612 sopra il corrente dubbio, se N.S. Paolo V. P.M. deve ammettere il matrimonio fra la sorella del gran duca di Toscana e il figlio del re d'Inghilterra eretico e ciò tanto per la ragion di stato quanto di religione, lasciata però la questione teologale a chi tocca," *Urb.*, 860, f. 281–297 (*cf.* 861, f. 360–8), Vatican Library.

[1] Gardiner, II., 153.

[2] *Ibid.*, 154–7.

[3] Gardiner, II., 223 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 165; F. H. Lyon, *Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar*, Oxford, 1910. *Cf.* Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Marques de Villa-Urrutia, *La embajada de conde de Gondomar a Inglaterra en 1613*, Madrid, 1913.

Powers.[1] Gondomar gained such an ascendancy over the weak king that soon he came to hold the first place in James' entourage and to make the king his willing tool.[2] Among the royal counsellors Northampton, to whom James' all-powerful favourite, Somerset, was wholly devoted, supported the interests of Spain.[3] Queen Anne also entertained Spanish sympathies, for though she accompanied her husband to Protestant sermons, she never took the Anglican Communion and heard Mass in secret.[4] But when Philip III. made it known that he would never give his hand to a Protestant, the Spanish party in London turned its attention to one of the daughters of the Duke of Savoy.[5]

In the following year, however, the king of Spain tried to resume negotiations.[6] James assured Sarmiento that he would

[1] GARDINER, II., 218.

[2] "No other ambassador, before or since, succeeded so completely in making a tool of an English king" (GARDINER, IV., 335). Paul V., in two Briefs of 1614, praised Sarmiento for his zeal for the Catholic Church in England. *Epist.*, IX., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] GARDINER, II., 218, 225, 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, 225. That Anne was a Catholic is fairly certain; see PLENKERS, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXV. (1888), 491 *seqq.*; BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 348 *seqq.* Meanwhile Paul V. wrote to the nuncio Ubaldini, that no reliance could be placed on Anne as she was very changeable and her husband was becoming increasingly cruel towards the Catholics. (W. BLISS, in the *English Hist. Review*, 1889, 110).

[5] GARDINER, II., 225.

[6] *Ibid.*, 247. *Cf.* FRANCISCO DE JESUS, *El hecho de los tratados del matrimonio pretendido por el principe de Gales con la ser. infante de España Maria, tomado desde sus principios*, ed. S. R. Gardiner (Camden Society), London, 1869; S. R. GARDINER, *Prince Charles & the Spanish Marriage*, London, 1869; LUIGI AREZIO, *L'azione diplomatica del Vaticano nella questione del matrimonio Spagnuolo di Carlo Stuart, principe de Galles (a. 1623)*, Palermo, 1896 (from documents of January 24, to November 1, 1623, at Palermo); LINGARD, VII., 238 *seqq.*; F. KUNX, *Oesterreich und der spanisch-englische Heiratsplan vom Jahre 1623*, Wien,

gladly give up the French marriage provided Philip did not make impossible conditions.[1] Thereupon the envoy advised his master not to insist on the royal heir becoming a Catholic previous to the marriage, nor on the repeal of the anti-Catholic laws; the first of these conditions might cost the king his life; the second was beyond his power without the consent of Parliament. Let him press the king to liberate the priests from prison; not to exact fines, and to refrain from supporting the Protestant powers; then the old religion would once more triumph of its own accord, Protestantism would collapse on the Continent and the king of England would see the necessity of returning to the Church.[2]

Philip III., decided to lay the matter before the Pope. As was to be expected, Paul V.'s decision was unfavourable.[3] He praised the king's first reply to England in which he had stipulated for the heir's conversion to the Catholic faith and informed the king of England that he would never betroth his daughter to a non-Catholic. Philip III. should abide by this decision; unless the royal prince returned to the Church, the Pope could only disapprove and exceedingly abhor such a betrothal [4] since he had successfully maintained, both by written exhortations and by personal envoys, a

1895; A. GINDELY, in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXIX (1901), 59–76, and in the *Zeitschr. f. allgem. Gesch.*, I (1884), 481–497, 607–629; **Discorso sobre el casamiento que se trata entre el principe de Gales y la ser. Ynfanta de España del conde D. Ant. Xerley dirigido al conde Olivares, Barb.*, 3453, Vatican Library; **Varie scritture che mostrano che la Ynfanta Maria deve darsi in matrimonio al princ. de Gales, Cod. Ottob.* 3077, *ibid.*

[1] GARDINER, II., 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, 255.

[3] Original draft of Paul V.'s letter, printed in BELLESHEIM, II., *seqq.*; the Count of Castro to Philip III., July 14, 1614, in GARDINER, II., 255. *Cf.* an unfavourable opinion of Bellarmine on the Spanish marriage in LE BACHELET, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 541–3.

[4] "Senza la quale non potria S. Santità se non improvare et detestare grandemente questo accasamento" (in BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*).

similiar attitude towards other princes. His reasons were many: there was the Church's prohibition of mixed marriages; the scandal for Catholics and the encouragement of the Protestants; the danger to which the faith of a young princess would be exposed through daily intercourse with heretics, more particularly because of certain delicate points in the oath of allegiance which the less instructed might deem irrelevant from the standpoint of orthodoxy.[1] Moreover the children would be brought up in heresy; the consequent intercourse with heretical countries would be fraught with disastrous results; divorce was allowed in England; a very bad example would be set to other Catholic countries. In view of the prevailing conditions in England and the unsatisfactory character of the king, no good result could be expected, hence it was essential that the royal prince should first become a Catholic. The promised concessions were inadequate; the danger of the future queen being drawn into heresy and of her children being brought up as Protestants still subsisted, even if she was permitted to practise her religion in secret and was promised liberty of conscience. A tacit concession of freedom of conscience was worthless because it by no means excluded the possibility that the queen and her children would be driven into the arms of heresy; the mere word of the king was no guarantee of this concession; since he would not explicitly grant religious freedom, he would always be able either to break his promise, or arbitrarily to interpret it. If the tacit concession were equivalent to an express one, he would not confine himself to the former; hence it is clear that he is not honest. To talk of liberty of conscience, without the free exercise of Catholic worship, would not greatly benefit Catholics.

Philip III. refused to be satisfied with this answer. He called a council of theologians and asked for their opinion on James I's proposals, without, however, laying the papal letter before them. The prospect of freedom of conscience for the

[1] "Massime in certi punti sottili che si contengono nel giuramento del Re d'Inghilterra, i quali a chi non è informato non par che tocchino i dogmi della fede" (*ibid.*).

Catholics of England so impressed the meeting that it pronounced in favour of the marriage, subject to the Pope's assent. Thereupon the Privy Council determined the conditions of the match: a change of religion on the part of the heir to the throne was no longer a necessary preliminary, and the remission of the fines by a mere act of grace on the part of the king was approved, on the plea that the Puritans would likewise benefit if the laws were repealed.[1] Meanwhile Paul V. was of opinion that his previous decision was in no way altered by the opinion of the theologians; so he merely pigeon-holed their memorandum. In London and Madrid the exchange of opinions on the marriage pursued an uninterrupted course.[2] Digby, who was in charge of the negotiations at Madrid, bluntly told the king that a Protestant princess was preferable to a Catholic one, notwithstanding the Infanta's rich dowry. A Catholic princess would provoke trouble in the country; Catholics would so increase that stern measures would be needed to repress them. However, if they insisted on a Catholic princess for the heir to the throne, it was, of course, best to look to Spain for there they found the purest royal blood in conjunction with the greatest quantity of the best ducats.[3]

However, at that very time James I. was undecided whether, after all, he should not prefer France to Spain. Just then the French stood high in James' estimation. The famous Spanish theologian, Suarez, had written a refutation of the king's book on the oath of allegiance, and to James' boundless joy, Suarez's book, owing to its incompatibility with Gallican principles, had been burnt in Paris by the hand of the public executioner.[4] So the envoy, Edmondes, was instructed to return to the French capital with fresh proposals for a marriage

[1] GARDINER, II., 256.

[2] GINDELY, in the *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, I., 488.

[3] GARDINER, II., 257.

[4] *Cf.* RANCE, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XXXVII. (1885), 594–608; LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 88. The French nuncio Ubaldini was commissioned on March 15, 1614, "Quando V.S. senta chè da qualche maligno si parli più del libro del P. Suarez,

settlement, different from those he had made in February However, Marie de Medici had no wish for an alliance with England, so that James needs must turn to Spain once more.[1] Sarmiento thought he might indulge in a little jubilation. If the conditions of the contract in favour of the Catholics are carried out at once, he wrote in December, 1614, and if the Infanta delays her journey to England for a few years, the Catholic religion would have had time to make good progress. Circumstances might be such that the Prince of Wales would be married in Spain and assist at Mass and a sermon in the church of our Lady of Atocha.[2]

At one moment it looked as if Sarmiento had judged the situation aright. Digby set out for Spain and behind his back, Somerset, the king's favourite, also entered into negotiations with Philip III.[3] At the beginning of May, James was acquainted with Spain's conditions. All the children of the future queen were to be baptized Catholics and brought up as such by their mother, and if they wished to remain Catholics that fact was not to be a bar to the succession. All the servants of the Infanta were to be of her faith, and the adherents of the old religion who lived at court were to be assigned a public church, or chapel, to which anyone might have free access; the clergy of that church should be permitted to appear in clerical attire in the open street, and in the meantime the penal laws were to be suspended.[4]

At the moment when these conditions came to his knowledge, James I. was in anything but a friendly mood towards Spain. Because of the remark of a certain Owen, that excommunicated princes might be killed, the naturally timorous monarch lived in constant dread of assassins. He slept in a bed which was protected by a barricade of three other beds;

sarà carissimo che ella con la sua solita accuratezza veda di rimediare con suoi offitii afinchè non ne nasca scandalo ed inconveniente," Stuttgart Library. *Cod.* 181.

[1] GARDINER, II., 314 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 316.

[3] *Ibid.*, 316, 321 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 323 *seq.*

whenever he showed himself in public he was surrounded by a troop of soldiers so that no one could get near him and the whole cortège had to march as fast as possible. James' excited imagination conjured up before his eyes a vision of his own son using the Spanish alliance in order to bring about —with the help of the Catholics—a rebellion against his own father ; he already saw himself, as an old man, spending his days behind prison bars or even ending them by the hand of a hired assassin. Hence his fear of getting in closer touch with Spain[1]; hence also the annotations on the back of the document containing the Spanish conditions, which he wrote with his own hand, are for the most part in the negative.[2]

However, this mood did not last. By the end of May the negotiations for a French princess of Wales appeared pretty hopeless, so once again an alliance with the king of Spain appeared in rosiest hues.[3] About the middle of June, 1615, he was prepared, subject to a few minor modifications, to accept the Spanish conditions as a basis for further negotiations.[4] "He was mad with delight," he said, "at having been made the channel of such a communication." "At last," he added, "a prospect was opened of his being able to live and die a professed Catholic, as his ancestors had done before him." Sir Robert Cotton, destined, later on, to become famous as an archæologist, communicated the news to the Spanish envoy by James' command.[5]

In March, 1616, James' envoy, Digby, was back from Madrid. He had succeeded in obtaining some modifications of the conditions. Lerma had agreed that in the marriage settlement nothing should be said of the Catholic baptism and upbringing of the children, nor of a mitigation of the penal laws, and as for the domestic staff of the future queen, the only thing agreed upon was that the king of Spain should select its members.[6] Nevertheless Digby counselled the king

[1] GARDINER, II., 325 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 324 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 326.
[4] *Ibid.*, 326.
[5] *Ibid.*, 326 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 392.

rather to choose a German princess as a future queen, for the king of Spain could do nothing without the Pope's approval, hence he was not in a position to dispose of the hand of his own daughter.[1]

In the course of the year, James made a last attempt to secure the hand of a French princess for his son. Notwithstanding the low level of his exchequer, which induced the king to sell the peerage for gold, his agent, Lord Hay, entered Paris in great state. Legend has it that the horses' silver shoes had been purposely fastened so loosely that they were bound to come off as the cortège trotted along. For all that the English proposals and conditions, chief among which was once more the guarantee of a dowry, were declined by Paris and thus an end was put to the prospect of a French marriage.[2]

With regard to the negotiations with Spain, which had been resumed a few weeks after Digby's return, a preliminary difficulty had to be solved. James had had inquiries made in Madrid whether the Pope would refuse to sanction the marriage *a priori* and in principle, even if he made reasonable concessions? Philip III.'s reply was that it would be an insult to the Pope to ask him whether he would give his sanction to conditions which had not even been laid before him.[3] Nevertheless, through Cardinal Borja, the king of Spain sounded Paul V. who happened to be at Frascati. After a somewhat lengthy delay the answer came, in October, 1616, that the Pope would only give his consent to the match if the Prince of Wales became a Catholic and if English Catholics were granted religious freedom.[4]

In accordance with this decision the Spaniards now strove for a marriage contract with which the Pope could be satisfied. The religion of the heir to the crown must be left to his own choice, hence this point was only lightly touched upon in the discussions between Digby and Luis de Aliaga, the king's confessor. On the other hand, the Spaniards were all the

[1] *Ibid.*, 390.
[2] *Ibid.*, 391–6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 391.
[4] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 488.

more insistent that, until they came to the age of maturity, the royal children should remain in the care of their mother. As regards English Catholics, Digby was willing to promise toleration, but only a tacit toleration. On the other hand he insisted that Philip III. should pay immediately an advance of half a million ducats on the dowry; to this the Spaniards would not agree.[1]

In 1618 the British agent returned to England. His return was the signal for lengthy discussions of the Privy Council. When Gondomar returned to Spain that year, they were far from having reached a decision, and they were no nearer two years later, when he was back in London. Nevertheless James I. did not fail to impress on the returned traveller how much he had at heart the two million ducats, a fact which caused Gondomar to complain to Buckingham in forceful language. Thereupon James summoned the Spaniard into his presence, assured him that henceforth Catholics might practise their religion, and, with his hand on his breast, swore that no man loved the king of Spain more than he did.[2]

As a matter of fact just then James I. had a special reason to court Spain's friendship. His thoughtless son-in-law, Frederick, Elector Palatine, had accepted the crown of Bohemia at the hands of rebels and was now in danger of losing not only Bohemia, but even his own hereditary State. Spain, by reason of her geographical position in the Netherlands, exercised a real influence over affairs in Germany and could intervene decisively for or against the elector. However the concessions to which James agreed under pressure of circumstances did not yet satisfy Spain. True, he had promised that henceforth no Catholic priest would be executed solely for carrying out his ecclesiastical functions, and that he himself was resolved to extend the utmost consideration to the Catholic recusants.[3] But these promises only implied a modification, not a repeal, of the penal laws, and as for the

[1] *Ibid.*, 490.

[2] *Ibid.*, 490 *seq.*

[3] April 27, 1620; see LINGARD, VII., 239 *seqq.*; GARDINER, III., 346.

Infanta, he had conceded free Catholic worship only within the walls of the palace, but not a public church. Nevertheless, by degrees, opinion in Madrid veered round in favour of James. Gondomar pleaded that the king had given proof of good will and that he had already directed that the penal laws should be suspended; once the Spanish marriage was settled he could be relied upon to do still more. Thereupon the Spanish royal council advised Philip first to obtain from Rome the desired permission for the marriage and then only to demand full religious freedom for Catholics.[1]

Accordingly, at the beginning of 1621, Diego de la Fuente was dispatched from Madrid to Rome, whilst in May George Gage, a Catholic, also came to Rome from London, but Paul V. died before they had had time to get in touch with him and before his successor, Gregory XV. could attend to their proposals, Philip III. also died—March 21st, 1621.[2] It is said that, on his deathbed, he counselled his son and successor to win the imperial crown for the head of the much-wooed Infanta. Six months earlier Philip III. had, in effect, promised the hand of his daughter to the future emperor Ferdinand III.[3] The Infanta's ducats seemed definitely lost to James I.

Though under Paul V. relations with James I. had become very close, they nevertheless failed to exercise on the position of English Catholics the favourable influence that might have been expected and which was even taken for granted, especially in Spain.[4] English Protestants would not hear

[1] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 491 *seq.*

[2] GARDINER, IV., 230.

[3] *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.* *Cf.* CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil*, 118.

[4] Annual report of the English Jesuits, 1619, in FOLEY, V., 987. The priest Vincent Laurefici, who visited England in 1613 (*Archiv für Kulturgesch.*, I. (1903), 412) found indeed indulgence for Catholic books at the hands of customs officials; these books could also be bought at the booksellers'; in eating houses, mine host took care to provide for Catholics abstinence food on Fridays and Saturdays. This, however, does not betoken any indulgence on behalf of the government. Though English Catholics attended Catholic worship in the embassy chapels, this was allowed as

of a Spanish marriage and the prospect that they might possibly have a Catholic successor to the throne only added fuel to their hatred for Catholics, and just as the expectation of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Spanish princess kept the whole country in suspense, so was the marriage already concluded by his elder sister with the elector Frederick a source of scarcely less trouble. England was overjoyed when Frederick accepted the crown of Bohemia at the hands of rebels. "It is marvellous," we read in an English report of 1619, "what new hopes the disturbances in Bohemia have excited in the minds of the people, and how much is made of the Prince Palatine by all classes. He is regarded as one raised up for the destruction of the Papists, for the advance of the gospel, and the conquest of Rome. These vauntings are used by high and low, the children have songs about them, they enter into every sermon and conversation. False reports of the Prince's achievements add fuel to the fire, and the mischief is that public feeling is daily more and more incensed against Catholics, with a strong desire to oppress them, as though they were opposed to the general interests of the country."[1] Instigated by the Privy Council, local authorities subjected Catholics to fresh acts of violence. Especially was the oath of allegiance insisted upon.[2] Thus at one and the same time Protestants could exult that the Bohemians had deposed their lawful sovereign whilst Catholics were treated as guilty of high treason if they refused to swear that princes could not be deposed. The irony with which history forces the hypocrite to condemn himself out of his own mouth is not always so clear-cut, even under James the double-faced, as it appears in this instance.

an exception and out of respect for the ambassadors. Moreover, in the time of Elizabeth, three weekly abstinence days were kept by Protestants (for the purpose of encouraging the fisheries; see FRERE, 101) and in November, 1606, for example, all who came from Mass at the Belgian Embassy chapel, were arrested. *Cf.* WILLAERT, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccl.*, VIII. (1907), 82.

[1] Annual report, in FOLEY, V., 987 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 988, 989.

When the hopes which had been placed on the elector abruptly collapsed at the battle of the Weissen Berg, the anger and embitterment of English Protestants flared up as never before. His death spared Paul V. the spectacle of the further developments of these events.

However threatening, and at times wellnigh desperate, the condition of Catholics under James I. may have appeared, they themselves never lost sight of the internal development of their affairs which had begun under Clement VIII.[1] The efforts to secure a bishop for England were renewed under Paul V.[2] For this purpose, shortly before his death in 1621,

[1] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIV., ch. I. *passim.*

[2] Thus in the year 1610 (FOLEY, VII., 2, 1005, 1018, 1022) and in 1612 (LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 319). Maffeo Barberini, the nuncio in France since 1604, supported the nomination of bishops for England: "*Il Generale dei Giesuiti in quell'acerbità di tempi non havendo persona alcuna in Inghilterra, che potesse confortare i suoi religiosi, si raccomandava frequentemente al patrocinio di Maffeo, il quale ricevendo gli avvisi e le lettere, che loro scriveva il medesimo Generale, le faceva poi penetrare in quel regno per mezzo di Gio. Svitto Cattolico e suo corrispondente. Pensò ancora il Nuntio ad un altro ripiego, che fosse atto a porgere aiuto e reggere e consolare quegli afflitti Cattolici e questo sarebbe stato il creare alcuni vescovi in quel regno; onde ne scrisse sensatamente al Papa, con rappresentarli però che dovendosi far questa elettione, si scegliessero soggetti, in cui non potesse cadere sospetto, che fossero per ingerirsi in cose di stato e che non fossero nè del partito de' Gesuiti nè degli appellanti, che erano le due fattioni contrarie poco prima insorte fra i Cattolici di quel regno" (*Nicoletti, Vita di Urbano VIII.*, Barb. 4730, f. 238 *seq.*, Vatican Library). A *letter from the English Benedictines at Douai, of August 18, 1607, to Cardinal Givry, assigns as the reason for this desire for bishops, the quarrels among the clergy. "Cum clerus Anglicanus divisus fuerit per multos annos periculosissima simultate sic ut una pars patribus Iesuitis omnia deferat, altera pars pertinacissime repugnat," therefore unprejudiced men should be chosen as bishops. Rumour mentioned as candidates the President of the Douai Seminary, Th. Worthington; the dean of Courtrai, Wright; the priest Th. Fitzherbert; the layman George Talbot. As for the latter: "omnino ab illis

the archpriest, Harrison, under pretext of asking for a dispensation for the Spanish marriage of the Prince of Wales, dispatched the priest John Bennet, to the Eternal City.[1] The death of Paul V. prevented the settlement of the affair.

An event of importance for the Church in England was the return of the Benedictines to a country which owes its Christianity to their Order. Many natives of England, for the most part pupils of the English seminaries abroad, had become monks in various monasteries. The request that some of their number, on the completion of their studies, might be sent as missionaries to England, was granted by a decree of the Inquisition of December 5th, 1602. This led to a powerful influx of vocations into the Benedictine monasteries in Spain, both from England itself and from the seminary of Valladolid, which was under the direction of the Jesuits. In 1603, in consequence of internal troubles, no less than twenty-five students of the seminary sought admission with the Benedictines.[2] The incident gave rise to some friction between the two Orders which had to be smoothed down by a decree of the Inquisition on December 10th, 1608.[3]

clericis reicitur, qui ad sedem Romanam contra Iesuitas appellarunt." The three former were wholly in favour of the Jesuits (Municipal Library, Metz, MS. 219, p. 157). In the same document are further complaints against the Jesuits: "Haeremus adhuc in iisdem salebris, quoniam per quorundam patrum Iesuitarum consilia nondum obtinuimus facultatem monasterium erigendi, quae sola facultas nobis deest et si adesset a principe, habemus reliqua omnia parata" (*ibid.*, p. 156).

[1] BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 238 *seqq.*; LINGARD, VII., 240.

[2] CAMM, in *The Month*, XCII. (1898), 374.

[3] Printed in *The English Review*, IV. (1889), 737 *seq.* For the quarrel *cf.* CAMM, *loc. cit.*, 364–377; POLLEN, *ibid.*, XCIV. (1899), 233–248, 348–365; LAW, in *The Engl. Hist. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*, 730–8; LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 278. *Cf.* in the **Lettres et Mémoires du card. Givry*, some letters addressed to him by the Benedictines: The Prior and Community of Douai beg him on June 10, 1607, to take their cloister under his protection (p. 107); on August 28, 1607, they put forward suggestions for putting an end to the strife (p. 156 *seq.*); Letters from the English Benedictine Anselm

There was still living at the time a member of the ancient abbey of Westminster, which had been restored in the reign of Queen Mary, namely Dom Sigebert Buckley, who had lingered in prison during forty years for the sake of the faith. In 1607 a few English monks of the Cassinese Congregation joined him, Paul V. subsequently ratifying all that had been done. In this way all the rights of the former abbey of Westminster passed, through Buckley (d. 1610) to the new body and the connection with the old pre-reformation Benedictines remained unbroken. In 1612 Paul V. approved the confederation of the English Benedictines formed from members of the Spanish and Italian monasteries, and on August 23rd, 1619, he approved the English Missionary Congregation which had come into being at a conference held in Paris under the presidency of the nuncio Bentivoglio. In 1615 there were seventy English members of the Spanish, and twelve of the Cassinese, Congregation. There were many splendid missionary priests among them and not a few gave their lives for the faith.[1] On the Continent they had monasteries at Douai, at Dieulouard in Lorraine, and at Paris,[2] to which others were added at a later date.

The year 1618 also witnessed the restoration of the English Franciscan Province, for in that year John Genning established a convent of Observants at Douai.[3] Henry Garnet had done much for the internal consolidation of the English Jesuit

about the quarrel, Rome, January 25, 1609, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 333 *seq.*); Letter from the Prior of Douai, February 23, 1609, *Cod.* 219 of the Municipal Lib., Metz. *Cf.* CLEM. REYNER, *Apostolatus Benedictorum in Anglia*, Douai, 1626, 242 *seqq.*, and Appendix of documents, 1–40.

[1] P. SCHMIEDER in *Studien u. Mitteil. aus dem Benediktiner-u.-Zisterzienserorden*, XII. (1891), 86–8; E. TAUNTON, *English Black Monks of St. Benedict*, London, 1897; *American Catholic Encyclopædia*, II., 447; POLLEN, in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 581–600.

[2] Founded in 1605, 1606, 1611.

[3] *Annales Minorum continuati a Stanislao Melchiorri de Cereto*, XXV., Quaracchi, 1886, *ad a.* 1618, n. 8, p. 293.

mission. In 1619 it was given the status of a vice-Province and in 1623 that of a Province.[1] Though there is frequent mention of the Jesuits in the last years of Elizabeth, their number was very small. In 1593 there were only eight Jesuits in England. In 1598 there were fourteen at liberty and four in various prisons.[2] The erection of a vice-Province gave the impulse to rapid growth.[3] By 1625 the youthful foundation counted 115 members in Flanders, 152 in England and a total of 366 in 1634, though from that year numbers began to fall off.[4]

Convents of Nuns for English ladies were likewise founded on the Continent.[5] It was precisely in the sphere of female religious associations that an original foundation occurred which was destined to have considerable bearing on the future of these communities: this was when, in 1609, Mary Ward, with a few companions from England, founded a convent in Flanders. The scope of the community, viz. the education of girls, was nothing new; what was original was that with the "English ladies" (as they are called in Germany) the whole organization of the Institute was, for the first time, closely adapted to that scope, chiefly by means of the appointment of a Superior General for the whole Institute, the absence of enclosure and choir and various other details.

The English Seminary in Rome received from Paul V. a fresh confirmation of its privileges [6] and more than once the

[1] FOLEY, VII., 1, lxx. *seqq.* A separate noviciate for the English Jesuits was opened at Watten in Flanders; see WILLAERT in the *Rev. d'hist. éccl*és. IX. (1908), 55. *Cf.* *Paul V. to the bishop of St. Omer, February 17, 1607 (instructing him that the provost's residence at Watten should be given to them), *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] FOLEY, VII., 1, lxvi *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the Jesuit's report for 1619, *ibid.*, V., 988.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII., 1, lxxv. *seqq.*

[5] MORRIS, 2. *Cf.* STEELE, *The Convents of Great Britain*, London, 1902; POLLEN, in *The Month*, XC. (1897), 583; A. PASTURE, in *Annuaire de l'Université cath. de Louvain*, 1913, 449 *seqq.*

[6] September 3, 1607, *Synopsis*, 241.

Pope appealed to princes and magnates on behalf of the English Colleges on the Continent.[1]

(3.)

The Catholics of Scotland were so hard pressed that the French envoy wrote they were even more deserving of pity than their correligionists in England. Thus it was strictly forbidden to let a house to anyone who was merely suspected of being a Catholic. To give lodging to a Papist was to be suspected of heresy. Three citizens of Edinburgh, who had given hospitality to a priest, saw themselves condemned to death, though the sentence was not carried out. John Logan had to expiate the "crime" of having been present at Mass with a fine of £1,000 Scots (£5,000 sterling); others were punished with banishment, and one John Due, who consented to apostatize, had to do penance in sackcloth and ashes for the space of eight days.[2] In 1609, the papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Borghese, was informed that permission to leave Scotland had to be asked of the king, and it was only granted on the traveller promising not to become a Catholic whilst abroad. Catholics leaving the country could only take part of their property and had to leave their children behind; these were then brought up in England, in the Protestant religion. Whosoever was present at Mass, whilst abroad, forfeited his whole property for himself and his heirs, in favour of the crown. The same penalty befell those who were excommunicated by the preachers because of their obstinate adherence to popery.[3]

The death penalty against Catholics was but seldom carried

[1] *Brief to the duke of Lerma, May 7, 1605, to the king of Spain, May 5, 1606; *The Pope recommends the English Seminary at Madrid to the Spanish king in 1611, and *to his confessor, Luis de Aliaga, November 9, 1611 (*Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives). *Cf. Bull.*, XII., 182 *seq.*

[2] BELLESHEIM, Vol. III., p. 401, of Hunter Blair's Engl. transl. (Will. Blackwood, Edinburgh).

[3] Ottavio Mancini to Borghese, April 29, 1609, in BELLESHEIM, II., 470 *seq.*

out in Scotland. An exception was the execution of the Jesuit, John Ogilvie, which was carried out at Glasgow in 1615.[1] By this execution the new bishops, whom James I. had forced upon presbyterian Scotland, hoped to clear themselves of any suspicion that their episcopal office had anything in common with the old religion.[2] Nor were there in Scotland any fines for not attending church. For all that, as a contemporary relates, the persecution was no less severe there.[3] If it had been possible, in Scotland, to buy off the persecution with money, few, if any, among the more distinguished members of the aristocracy would not gladly have given a third of their fortune for the sake of liberty to live openly as Catholics. At present people were made to hope for milder treatment if they attended heretical services ; soon, however, they were pressed to sign an heretical creed ; if they refused, they were punished with confiscation of their property, inprisonment for life, or banishment. In the opinion of the informant, imprisonment was more cruel than death itself ; if they were given the option of an heroic death for the faith, there would not be enough prisons and executioners. Conditions such as these accounted for the apostacy of many and for the prevailing opinion that English Catholics were stauncher in the faith than the Scots. This opinion was an erroneous one for many members of the aristocracy were in exile for the faith, whereas this was not true to the same extent of the nobility of England.

[1] James Forbes, *L'Église catholique en Écosse à la fin du XVIe siècle. Martyre de Jean Ogilvie*, Paris, 1885 ; W. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, 296–316 ; Spillmann, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XV. (1878), 1 *seqq.*, 155 *seqq.*, 389 *seqq.*, XVI. (1879), 139 *seqq.*, 242 *seqq.* ; W. E. Brown, *J. Ogilvie*, London, 1925. *Cf.* Bibl. Casanatense, Rome. *N. 23, p. 354–6 ; *ibid.*, p. 348–354, **Relazione delle cose di Scozia al card. Aldobrandini.*

[2] Bellesheim, III., p. 414 *seq.* ; Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, 296 *seq.*

[3] "Narratio de statu religionis apud Scotos et de rationibus fidei catholicae in magna Britannia restituendae," *Barb.* 2696, Vatican Library, compiled about 1617–1619, according to Bellesheim, who quotes a section, III., Appendix No. XIX, p. 497.

On the whole the nobles of Scotland remained Catholics at heart and it was precisely the chief aim of the Protestants to induce them to forsake the ancient faith.[1] On the other hand the writer of the report quoted above chiefly based his hopes for Scotland's return to the Church on the country gentry. The Scottish nobles, he explains, whose country houses are scattered over all the land, enjoy such power and influence, that the common people pay to them almost greater regard than to the king himself; on the other hand, the nobles of the same family stick together and show greater readiness to obey the head of the clan than the sovereign. The cause of the people's attachment to the aristocracy is an economic one. Whereas the English landlord leases his land for a term of fifty years and thereafter has practically no power over either tenant or land, so long as the former regularly pays his rent, the Scottish landlord may evict his tenant at any time; besides he ties him down, beforehand, to all manner of services, especially to military service in the army of his lord. This fact explains how it was possible for the nobles so often to offer armed resistance to their king. Moreover, in Scotland, rent is paid, not in cash, but in kind, the tenant surrendering part of his crops. Thus owner and tenant are incomparably more dependent on each other than they are in England where the rent has to be paid in cash. Hence the English landlord has far more ready money than his Scottish colleague, but the Scottish aristocracy has far greater authority over its dependents than the English, and it never lacks cattle, corn or coal. The compiler of the report, obviously a Scotsman, ends with the suggestion that a beginning should be made with Scotland rather than with England if it was resolved to win back the northern island kingdom to the Catholic faith. Moreover nearly all English harbours are held by government troops who exercise a strict control over all travellers, whereas in Scotland the harbours are in the power of the nearest nobleman.[2]

[1] Bellesheim, III., 402 *seq.*

[2] "Ex his colligitur necessario inchoandum religionis catholicae restitutionem opera Scotorum et non Anglorum, primum

Paul V., during his cardinalate, had been in charge of Scottish affairs. In acknowledging an address of congratulation from the Scots' college at Douai, the Pope declared that, for the above reason, he still cherished a special affection for Scotland,[1] and he proved his interest by recommending the college to archduke Albert.[2] For the rest, neither the above memorandum nor any other pressure succeeded in persuading him to intervene in Scotland. The draft of the special Bull against the oath of allegiance for which a request had come from Scotland, was indeed written but the Bull was never published.[3]

From Ireland also complaints of a fresh "terrible and unheard of blow against Catholics" came to the ears of Paul V. almost as soon as he had succeeded to Peter's throne.[4] On July 4th, 1605, James I. had had an order published which made attendance at Anglican worship compulsory for all and which ordered the forcible expulsion from the country of all priests who would be discovered after December 10th.[5]

The measure, in so far as it concerned the priests, was undoubtedly illegal for no act of Parliament having force of law in Ireland permitted such a penalty. For that reason alone the royal edict was bound to meet with resistance. When the apostate bishop Miler Magrath, convoked in the market-place, to the sound of the bugle, the counsellors and burgesses

ob appulsos et locorum commoditatem, secundo ob nobilium Scotorum authoritatem et vires, tertium ob catholicorum unanimem in coeundo audaciam et voluntatem, quarto ob commeatus opportunitatem et copiam, et denique ob ardentissima vota catholicorum suspirantium ut esse possit auxilium se a persequentium iugo liberandi." *Barb.* 2696, Vatican Library.

[1] *Brief to the students of the Scots College at Douai, July 27, 1605, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] November 28, 1609, *ibid.*

[3] By Bellarmine; see Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 530.

[4] James White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford, to Card. Baronius, October 7, 1605, in Bellesheim, *Irland*, II., 272 (German text.)

[5] Gardiner, I., 391; Bellesheim, II., 270, 274.

of Cashel, that they might listen to the proclamation of the edict, not a soul obeyed the summons and every door and window was closed.[1] The expulsion of all priests proved unfeasible. In order to compel people to go to church, recourse had to be had to illegal means, for the law of Ireland did not impose a fine exceeding one shilling for every absence from church. Though for the poor even such a charge was an intolerable burden, the well-to-do were not greatly inconvenienced. Consequently, Chichester, the viceroy, took it on himself to go beyond the law and to impose penalties on his own authority. In October, 1615, he summoned the alderman and the more important burgesses of Dublin into his presence. He had no wish whatever, so he explained, to do violence to their consciences; as a matter of fact, what he wanted them to do was not a matter of conscience at all. All that was asked of them was that, on a given day, and at an appointed time, they should take a seat in church. They would then have to listen to a sermon though they need not agree with its subject matter—the whole thing amounted to no more than a gesture of submission to the law.[2]

However, the Irish were not yet ripe for such moral finessing. Chichester's audience unanimously declared that their conscience would not allow them to do such a thing. The viceroy's answer was an order, on November 13th, for all to be in church on the following Sunday. When none put in appearance, sixteen of their number received a summons to appear before the magistrates, on November 22nd, when one of them lectured them on their duty. Can the king appoint bishops and give them their episcopal power, he argued, and not demand the people's obedience to an authority which he has himself established? Can he order a bishop to give a living to a minister, and at the same time refrain from commanding the parishioners to come to his sermons? Can the

[1] *Ibid.*, 271.

[2] GARDINER, I., 392. For Chichester's policy see A. ZIMMERMANN, in the *Katholik*, 1888, II., 582 *seqq.* *Cf.* MACCAFFREY, in the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, X. (1915), 319 *seqq.*, XI. (1916), 62–75.

king impose on his subjects the duty to serve the State but not that of serving God? The proceedings ended with the submission of one of the sixteen and in the condemnation of nine of their number to a fine of from £50 to £100; all the others were similarly punished.[1] Further acts of violence followed. Before sentence was pronounced the principal peers and burgesses of the country round Dublin presented a petition to the royal Council. They asked for a stay of execution of the royal ordinances until they had had time to bring to the king's notice the unjust proceedings of the Council.[2] Chichester, who had waxed bolder because his first steps against Catholics had yielded an increased attendance at church, threw those who had prompted the petition into prison, though most of them were soon set at liberty after they had prayed for the government's pardon.[3] The fines ordered by the tribunal were not paid and the officials who attempted to collect them found all doors shut against them. In two instances the authorities had the doors opened by force but the consequence was that all Dublin resounded with complaints against such violations of justice.[4]

Nevertheless Chichester, for the time being, went on with the policy he had inaugurated. Juries were selected for the purpose of assessing the value of properties which it was intended to seize instead of the fines that had not been paid. Thereupon the owners, seeing themselves threatened with confiscation of their goods, transferred their property to third persons by means of conveyances ante-dated six months; so great was the general embitterment that the juries did not dare to declare these transactions invalid; on the contrary, they stated that there was nowhere any property for the government to seize, and in the end the Supreme Court had to give a special decision declaring all these fictitious conveyances null and void.[5]

Chichester then took yet another step; he resolved to claim even from those less well off the fine of one shilling for every

[1] GARDINER, I., 393.
[2] *Ibid.*, 393.
[3] *Ibid.*, 394.
[4] *Ibid.*, 394.
[5] *Ibid.*, 395.

absence from church. Four hundred persons received an official summons in Dublin; eighty-eight complied, 149 were sentenced, the rest did not put in an appearance. Similiar proceedings took place in the county of Munster.[1]

Certain subordinate government officials already cherished the hope that Ireland would soon be for the most part Protestant.[2] Chichester knew better. He had his spies all over the country and received early information to the effect that his measures would have already provoked a rising if the horrors of the last civil war were not still vividly present to the minds of all. On the other hand, the viceroy's military effectives—880 foot and 234 cavalry—were far too small to deal with a revolt.[3] So Chichester sought to obtain his end by milder means. On June 3rd, 1603, he wrote to the Privy Council that little could be done with those of the Irish who were of a certain age and fairly prosperous; they should try the young people and the poorer classes. The best prospect of success lay in the education of the young.[4] In the circumstances even the Privy Council in London disapproved the coercive measures that had been applied. On July 3rd, 1616, the Irish Council was called upon to justify its illegal action. It delayed its reply until December 1st: it is a tissue of sophisms and shows the embarrassment of the Irish government.[5] However the English bench, whose opinion had been sought, found the document satisfactory. Even so the authorities in Ireland did not dare to go on with the policy on which they had embarked. On the very day on which the Irish Privy Council wrote its apologia, Chichester stated his own views in a private letter to Salisbury; he declared himself opposed to violent measures and gave it as his opinion

[1] *Ibid.*, 395.
[2] *Ibid.*, 396.
[3] *Ibid.*, 396.
[4] *Ibid.*, 396.
[5] *Ibid.*, 396–8. They even denied that Catholics were in danger of becoming guilty of hypocrisy through the law about attending the established church. For it was the case that God's law commanded attendance at church, and it was impossible to assume that Parliament would order anything contrary to God's law, etc.

that an improvement in the situation could only be looked for from the education of the young. In consequence of a protest by Lord Buttevant against the proceedings in Munster, the English Privy Council on July 26th, 1609, advised a milder treatment of the Catholics of Ireland.[1]

It was precisely in Munster, where Henry Brounker, a decided enemy of Catholicism, was in power, that the persecution was particularly severe. Notwithstanding all exhortations to mildness, priests were being hunted day and night, so we read in a letter of James White to Baronius, written in 1606.[2] One priest who, at the moment of his arrest, made known his profession, was hanged on the spot and three other prisoners were also put to death on the suspicion that they were priests. Fines and terms of imprisonment reduced layfolk to the utmost poverty. The oath of allegiance, which was being enforced in Ireland also, provided a fresh opportunity for cruelty and extortions. In 1607, some priests met in Dublin and reported to the Holy See [3] that a reward of 2,000 florins was offered for the denunciation of a Jesuit and one of a thousand for that of a secular priest. If a servant of a priest fell into the hands of the pursuivants, he was whipped until he revealed his master's hiding-place. Soldiers scoured the whole country for priests and bandits, and when caught they were hanged out of hand, as if the country were under martial law. Lay folk, too, ran the risk of being arbitrarily condemned to death or of having their houses looted. One bishop, one vicar-general, several religious and secular priests and a great number of lay folk languished in prison.[4]

Another calamity befell the Catholics of Ireland when, in 1607, the two powerful earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who owned vast tracts of land in the north of the island, saw themselves forced to flee the country, inasmuch as their emphatic

[1] GARDINER, I., 398 *seq.*

[2] BELLESHEIM, *Irland*, II., 278.

[3] *Ibid.*, 278 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 279; ZIMMERMANN, *loc. cit.*, 586 *seqq.*

protests against a series of illegalities and the oppression of religion would have brought on them a sentence of imprisonment for life. It would seem that archbishop Lombard of Armagh, who resided in Rome, had led the two earls to hope that the Pope would help them to restore religious liberty in Ireland. True, the nuncio of Brussels, Bentivoglio, pointed out to the two noblemen that such help was beyond the power of the Pope, and Cardinal Borghese subsequently denied that Paul V. had ever given them ground for such expectations. Nevertheless, on the advice of archduke Albert and the Spanish ambassador, they went to Rome where Paul V. gave them a solemn reception, just as Catholics in general had given them a great welcome on their arrival on the Continent. However, the air of Rome did not agree with the men from the North: Tyrconnel died in the Eternal City as early as 1608, and Tyrone in 1616.

The government's own fear and the hope of the Catholics that the two earls would obtain help in Spain for their oppressed countrymen led to a temporary abatement of the persecution immediately after their flight, as well as to a fresh influx of priests.[1] On the other hand, Catholics in Northern Ireland suffered a loss the consequences of which no one could calculate, for with the two fugitives they had lost their mainstay, the formers' possessions being confiscated by the crown and leased to English colonists. Henceforth only those who had taken the oath of supremacy were employed on these extensive estates, or were allowed to acquire some of the land, but neither of these possibilities were open to natives of Ireland.[2] In 1609, archbishop Kearney, of Cashel, wrote to the Holy See as follows: "Day by day colonists come over from England who oppress the Catholics with servitude, fear and terror. Yet hardly one Irishman in a thousand suffers himself to be infected by heresy.[3] It is

[1] Bellesheim, II., 286; *cf.* this Vol., p. 169.

[2] Bellesheim, II., 280 *seq.* A letter of Chichester of September 17, 1607, about the estates of the two earls, in Zimmermann, *loc. cit.*, 584 *seqq.*

[3] Bellesheim, II., 290 *seq.*

calculated that the lands confiscated at divers times by James I. constituted an area of 4,279,000 acres.[1]

Soon after the flight of Tyrconnell, as we learn from archbishop Kearney, the priest-hunters got busy once more.[2] Before returning to his native land, Eugene Matthews, whom Paul V. had appointed to the see of Dublin on May 2nd, 1611, asked for the privilege of the portable altar for Mass inasmuch as all the churches of Ireland had been either ruined or desecrated.[3] In 1617, the government set a price of £500 on the head of archbishop Matthews.[4] Bishop Cornelius O'Devany, a Franciscan, fell into the hands of the government and was publicly executed in 1612.[5] In 1616 the viceroy, Chichester, was indeed recalled, but his successor persecuted the Church with no less violence.[6]

Catholics were not a little excited when in 1613, after a prorogation of twenty-seven years, Lord Chichester once more convoked the Irish Parliament. There were rumours of fresh penal laws. In the Upper House, owing to the presence of Protestant bishops, the enemies of the Catholics were in the majority and in the Lower House the king helped them to secure a like ascendency by creating over thirty new constituencies. In consequence, differences broke out already at the election of the Speaker when the Catholics walked out of the House. Thereupon the viceroy found himself compelled to promise that there would be no fresh penal laws against

[1] *Ibid.*, 290.

[2] *Ibid.*, 291.

[3] *Ibid.*, 292.

[4] *Ibid.*, 292.

[5] *Ibid.*, 294–7; ZIMMERMANN, *loc. cit.*, 590 *seqq.* A *Brief of March 20, 1609 (*Synopsis*, 254), tells of the Jesuits "in regno Iberniae pro conservatione et propagatione fidei catholicae summis cum vitae periculis versantibus nec certum domicilium habentibus". Among the faculties, which the Jesuits could also impart to other priests, is mentioned "recitandi in periculo pro brevario aliquot psalmos memoriter" (*ibid.*, 232).

[6] BELLESHEIM, II., 302 *seqq.* *Cf.* for the sufferings of the Catholics, 1612 *seqq.*; *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I., 123 *seqq.*, and the annual report of the Jesuits, *ibid.*, 115 *seqq.*

the adherents of the old religion. The Catholics consequently returned to their places in the house and assented to Tyrone and Tyrconnell being declared traitors and to the confiscation of their property by the Crown.[1] The spoliation of Catholics was still further extended by various illegal means.[2]

Paul V. did what he could for the unfortunate island; repeatedly he addressed to the Vicar Apostolic, James White, and to the Irish people, words of comfort and encouragement.[3] Day and night, he said in one of his letters, the fate of Ireland lay heavy on his mind; if he could put an end to the persecution by shedding his own blood, gladly would he do it.[4] On several occasions he recommended the Irish seminaries to the generosity of the Christian princes.[5] On September 22nd,

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 299–301. *Cf.*, GARDINER, II., 283–303.

[2] *Ibid.*, 302, 303.

[3] *To White, May 19, 1605, and July 10, 1606; *to the nobility, clergy and people of Ireland, February 26, 1607. According to the latter, there were congregations of the Annunciation of Our Lady, at Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny and "Jaderdensi", to which indulgences were granted. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *"Dies noctesque cogitamus. Utinam crudelitatis ardorem ad delendam Ecclesiam Dei in septentrionalibus istis partibus proprio sanguine extinguere possemus." To White, May 19, 1605, *ibid.*

[5] Thus the Seminary of Douai to *general Spinola, February 23, 1607; *to the archduke Albert, September 12, 1608; *to the king of Spain, July 22, 1608, and on the same day, *to the duke of Lerma. *Briefs for the Irish College at Bordeaux were issued on November 11, 1609, to the duke of Joyeuse, and on March 16, 1614, to the king of France. *Briefs of October 10, 1605, and February 21, 1607, to the Spanish king plead for the Irish colleges at Douai and Antwerp, and the latter was assisted by the Irish soldiers out of their pay (*Epist.*, IV. *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives). A *Brief of September 9, 1619, permits that fishermen be allowed to fish on six Sundays, for the support of the Irish College at Seville; see *Synopsis*, 287. Ordination privileges were issued for the Irish Seminaries in Spain on January 24, 1619, *ibid.*, 285. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 721, 729 *seq.* See also *Bull.*, XII., 204

1606, he condemned the oath of allegiance which was being enforced in Ireland.[1]

For the Irish Seminaries see also L. BERTRAND, *Hist. des Séminaires de Bordeaux* (founded in 1603 by the Irishman McCarthy) *et de Bazas*, Bordeaux, 1894 ; LAENEN, "Het Iersch college te Antwerpen," in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, XVII., Antwerpen, 1922, 39–61. The Irish College at Lille was built in 1610 by the Irish Capuchin, Francis Nugety (? Nugent). (Report of December, 1689, in the Archives of Propaganda, Rome.) For the Irish Colleges on the Continent in general, *cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 218–223, 316–322, 357–361.

[1] *Ibid.*, 278.

CHAPTER III.

Russia and Poland—The End of the False Demetrius—Catholic Restoration under Sigismund III., King of Poland—The Union of the Ruthenians.

(1.)

Whilst Paul V. was as yet only a Cardinal, he had to deal, as a member of the Inquisition, with the case of Demetrius, who claimed to be the son of Ivan IV., and whose conduct gave grounds for a hope of Russia's return to the unity of the Church.[1] Less cautious than the late Clement VIII., the Polish nuncio Rangoni took wholeheartedly the part of the new pretender, who did not stint his promises and of whose genuineness he had no doubt. Since the day on which Demetrius had thrown himself at the feet of Rangoni, he had won the heart of the nuncio. Rangoni set the highest hopes on him, and followed his progress in Russia with keenest attention. Two Jesuits, Fathers Sawicki and Czyrzowski, who acted as chaplains in Demetrius' army, kept him informed of the latter's progress, and the nuncio promptly forwarded their letters to Rome for the information of Paul V.[2]

Though the events in the then but little known East of Europe greatly impressed Paul V., in this affair, as in all else, he did not at once depart from his wonted circumspection. Not many weeks after his election, on June 4th, 1605, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Valenti, requested the Polish nuncio to send in a report, as complete as possible, concerning Demetrius: "the more accurate the report is," Valenti added to the letter in his own hand, "the more it

[1] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIV., 143 *seq.*

[2] See Pierling, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LVI. (1894), 542.

will please the Pope." At the same time he also asked for a report on the attitude of the King of Poland, and on the state of public opinion in regard to the Russian pretender.[1]

Meanwhile events succeeded each other with bewildering rapidity in Russia. On April 13th, 1605, Czar Boris Godunov died suddenly and his son Feodor was proclaimed his successor in the Kremlin. Whilst the greater number of the provinces recognized Feodor, the bulk of the army supported Demetrius who, on May 25th, began his triumphal march upon Moscow. At the entrance of every village he was welcomed by the inhabitants, who offered to him bread and salt, and his progress was everywhere accompanied by the solemn pealing of church bells. On June 10th Czar Feodor was strangled, and ten days later Demetrius made his solemn entry into the capitol of Russia, amid the acclamations of the populace.[2]

In due time news of these events reached Rome where an accurate report from Rangoni was anxiously awaited. In his impatience Cardinal Valenti instructed him, on July 16th, in cypher, to report at once what should be done in order to strengthen the Catholic leanings which Demetrius had until then manifested, in case the whole empire were to declare in his favour.[3]

In view of the slowness of the means of communication, Paul V. deemed all further delay dangerous, hence, with a haste which was most unusual with him, he gave orders, on July 12th, 1605, for a letter to be sent to Demetrius, congratulating him on his accession to the throne and exhorting him to hold fast to the Catholic faith.[4]

July, 1605, was nearing its close when Rangoni's full account under date of July 2nd, reached Rome at last. On twenty-seven folio sheets all was set down that spoke in favour of

[1] See *ibid.*, p. 343.

[2] See SKRIBANOWITZ, *Pseudo-Démétrius*, I., 97 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, *Rome et Démétrius*, 195.

[4] TURGENJEW, *Hist. Russiae Monum.*, II. (1842), n. XXXVII.

Demetrius.[1] Every line shows how cleverly and successfully the pretender had won Rangoni's confidence. The early story and the first emergence of Demetrius are described in the light of the report which Adam Wisniowezki had at one time drawn up for Sigismund III. The further events since 1604, Demetrius' audience with Sigismund III., and the conversion of the pretender to the Catholic Church, Rangoni was able to describe from personal knowledge. As regards his account of Demetrius' successes in Russia, he had made use of the reports which he had received from the Jesuits who were with the army. Opinion in Poland was described by the nuncio as far more favourable than it really was, though he could not disguise the fact that the Senate was divided into two parties, one of which was led by Zamoisky, an opponent of Demetrius, and the other by Zebrzydowski who favoured his cause. Sigismund's attitude towards Demetrius was likewise far too optimistically painted by Rangoni. He even hinted that the king of Poland would lend military assistance to the pretender.

At the end of the lengthy document, the nuncio expresses once more the far too favourable opinion which he had formed of Demetrius, and the prospect which now opened for the union of Russia with Rome and the war against the Turks, through the new czar. The nuncio is full of praise for the lofty character of the pretender, his gifts, his courage, and his devotion to religion. Demetrius, the nuncio reported, had been very gratified when he told him that, by bringing about the reunion of Russia with the Catholic Church, he would win world-wide fame, and that this feat would be recorded for ever by means of a painting to be placed by the side of similar ones in the Vatican.[2]

Rangoni's report of July 23rd, 1605, proved decisive for the Pope's line of conduct. This account of a seemingly well-

[1] The report of Rangoni, long believed to have been lost (see *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LVI, 543), was found by Pierling in the Archives of the Inquisition in Rome and published in *La Russie*, III., 431 *seqq.*

[2] Evidently a fresco for the Sala Regia was being thought of.

informed diplomat who had been a witness of the events, but who was both too credulous and an incorrigible optimist, led Paul to think that here was the very ideal of a Christian prince ; that Demetrius would procure for the Church and for Christendom the most splendid triumph, if he was supported as effectively as possible. Consequently, at the beginning of August, a number of measures were taken with a view to encouraging the pretender who seemed to justify such great expectations. Briefs were sent to Sigismund III., to Cardinal Maciejowski, and to the latter's cousin George Mniszek who had great influence with the Polish king. All these personages were exhorted to take advantage of their influence with Demetrius in order to confirm him in his good intentions with regard to the Catholic Church. "We doubt not," the Pope says, "that if Demetrius perseveres in the dispositions in which he has been up till now, he will be able to bring the Muscovites back to the Church inasmuch as that people follows in all things the lead of their rulers."[1] Inspired by his whole-hearted trust in the new czar, Paul V. had also earnestly recommended to him some Carmelite missionaries who were on their way to Persia.[2] More than that, on August 5th there was question of sending Rangoni's nephew, Count Alessandro, to Moscow, and letters accrediting him were drafted.[3] Meanwhile Rangoni had despatched his private secretary, Luigi Pratissoli, on a confidential mission to Moscow, where, on July 31st, 1605, Demetrius had been solemnly crowned as Czar. The letter which Pratissoli was charged to deliver to Demetrius reminded the emperor of his promise to reunite Russia with the Church. The presents for the czar were in keeping with the letter—they were a Latin Bible, a Crucifix, a picture of Our Lady and a Rosary.[4]

Rangoni's confidence seemed justified by the cordial reception of his nephew who reached Moscow in October, 1605.

[1] See TURGENJEW, II., n. XLI, XLII., XLIII.

[2] See *ibid.*, n. XXXVIII.

[3] See *ibid.*, n. LXIV. *Cf.* PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 220.

[4] See PIERLING, *Rome et Démétrius*, 92 *seq.*, 162 *seq.* ; *La Russie*, III., 220 *seq.*

Provided with presents, he left Moscow again on December 22nd.[1] An intimate of the Czar, John Buczynski, had been previously despatched to the nuncio, to negotiate two affairs which Demetrius had very much at heart, namely the recognition of his imperial title by the king of Poland, and a papal dispensation which would allow Marina, the daughter of George Mniszek who had been married to him by proxy by Cardinal Maciejowski, on November 12th, 1605, to receive Holy Communion from the hand of the schismatical patriarch on the day of her coronation, and to assist at the orthodox service.[2]

As a matter of fact Demetrius had already established direct diplomatic contact with the Pope who, on September 11th, 1605, had congratulated him on his coronation and exhorted him to bring about the reunion of Russia with the Church.[3] The emperor's plenipotentiary was Andrew Lawicki, one of the two Jesuits who had come to Moscow with the imperial army. The Jesuit, who wore the dress of a Russian priest and had grown a beard and long hair, was the bearer of two letters of the emperor to the Pope. In the first, dated November 30th, 1605, Demetrius unfolded a plan for a joint crusade of himself, the emperor and the king of Poland against the Turks; the other, written in December, gave an assurance of protection for the Carmelite missionaries for which the Pope had pleaded. Lawicki was instructed, independently of the war planned against the Turks, to press the Pope with a view to the recognition of his imperial title by the king of Poland and the elevation of Rangoni to the cardinalate.[4] On January 7th, 1606, Marina wrote a submissive letter to the Pope, promising to help in

[1] See PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 222.

[2] See *ibid.*, *Rome et Démétrius*, 165 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*

[3] See TURGENJEW, II., n. XLIX.

[4] The instruction for Lawicki, of December 18, 1605, in PIERLING, *Rome et Démétrius*, 186 *seq.* *Cf.* also for his mission, TURGENJEW, II., n. LXXVI.; WIELEWICKI, in the *Script. rer. Pol.*, X., 104, 111, 113, 121 *seq.*, 140; PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 226 *seq.*

the reunion with the Church.[1] This assurance, and still more so the optimistic reports of Cardinal Maciejowski [2] and the communications of the infatuated Lawicki, confirmed Paul V. in his expectation that the Russian autocrat was about to carry out the reunion of his empire with the Church. With a view to making the best use of so favourable an occasion, Lawicki was sent back to Moscow from Rome on April 10th, 1606. He was the bearer of a letter of the same date, in which Paul V. gives unequivocal expression to his hopes. "Since you are all-powerful with your people," the Pope wrote, "command them to acknowledge the Vicar of Christ on earth." [3] In the Pope's letters to Marina's father, and to Marina herself, he recommended the Jesuits to them, especially Lawicki, and exhorted them to see to it that the Protestants got no influence over Demetrius.[4] Lawicki's instructions were concerned with the war against the Turks for which the Pope promised help. For the success of the undertaking, the Pope declared, it was greatly to be desired that Demetrius and Sigismund should sink their differences; for the rest the Pope would do his best to promote the prestige of the Czar.[5] Characteristically enough, Rangoni's cardinalate was passed over in silence. What impression the request had made on the Pope, who was jealous of his independence, may be gauged from the fact that on June 3rd, 1606, Rangoni was recalled from his nunciature.[6]

Nor was there any prospect of Demetrius's prayer for a dispensation for his wife being granted. On that point there already existed an unfavourable decision of the Roman Inquisition, which had been unanimously passed at a sitting of March 2nd, 1600, under the presidency of the Pope himself.[7]

[1] The original of the letter in BORGHESE, II., 449, Papal Secret Archives; see PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 228.

[2] *Cf.* PIERLING, *ibid.*, 263.

[3] See TURGENJEW, II., n. LXXVI, p. 90.

[4] See PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 231.

[5] See WIELEWICKI, *loc. cit.*, 122 *seq.*

[6] See PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 230.

[7] See *ibid.*, 248.

In this instance, as on a former occasion, when there was question of Sigismund III.'s coronation as king of Sweden [1] the Holy See refused to swerve by a hair's breadth from Catholic principles, however great the seeming gain might be. So the prohibition of all participation in a non-Catholic religious service was rigidly upheld.[2]

Lawicki's stay in Rome synchronized with that of Count Alessandro Rangoni at Moscow whither he had gone in the capacity of papal envoy. His reception, and the promises made to him, had so completely won him over to the Czar, that he remained content with a purely passive rôle instead of bringing pressure to bear on Demetrius in the matter of reunion, as the Pope wanted him to do. Rangoni merely noted the Czar's demands.[3] They were as follows: the Pope should send to Moscow a few men who would be able to act as secretaries and chancellors as well as experts in the art of war; he should also help the emperor to establish relations with France and Spain and persuade the rulers of these countries to join him in the war against the Turks.[4] In order to disguise these selfish ambitions, Rangoni was handed, at his departure, a submissive letter of the Czar to Paul V., dated March 5th, 1606, in which Demetrius assured the Pope of his strong attachment to the Pontiff and to the Catholic Church. But of any sort of promise in regard to reunion, which was after all the main point, the letter breathed not a word.[5]

On March 29th, 1609, Alessandro Rangoni met at Mir, near Novogrodek, the bride of the Czar, Marina Mniszek, then on her way to Moscow. Her numerous retinue included, besides her father, five Bernardine Monks and the Jesuit Lawicki who in 1604 had received Demetrius into the Catholic

[1] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIV., p. 89 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* on this point the Briefs of Paul V. to the English Catholics, on September 22, 1606, and September 22, 1607, see above, p. 165 *seq.*

[3] See SKRIBANOWITZ, *Pseudo-Démétrius*, I., 138, who appositely remarks: "The hammer became an anvil."

[4] See PIERLING, *Rome et Démétrius*, 169 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, 127, 171 *seq.* *Cf.* SKRIBANOWITZ, *Pseudo-Démétrius*, I., 133, 139.

Church. The Jesuit was now to act as the emperor's confessor, supposing that his change of religion was the fruit of genuine conviction.[1] The Pope and the Jesuits, blinded by their optimistic hopes of Russia's return to the Church, took this for granted, for they gave unqualified credence to the numerous favourable reports about Demetrius who seemed to be firmly established on the throne.

In reality the situation was very different. The fresh nuptial blessing of Marina, and her coronation on May 18th, 1606, were performed according to the Greek rite by the schismatical patriarch. However, the imperial couple did not receive Holy Communion.[2] Apart from this detail, there was nothing to show for Demetrius' oft-repeated assurances of his devotion to the Holy See. All he sought was to exploit the friendliness of Paul V. to his own advantage, and all the time he kept putting off the question of reunion with Rome. However, even this intercourse with the Pope was enough to make the orthodox Muscovites exceedingly suspicious of the czar. Not only were they shocked by the presence of the two Jesuits, they were likewise hurt by the fact that several Protestants were in the immediate entourage of the new czar, and that Protestant as well as Catholic services were held in the Kremlin for the benefit of the imperial bodyguard. Discontent was further fanned by Demetrius' marked departure from the sacrosanct old Russian traditions in regard to dress, conduct and ceremonial. Indignation was roused in particular by the czar's love of music at table—a practice abhorred by the orthodox—and by the fact that he ate beef. However, the schismatical clergy were not the only grumblers; everybody was indignant at the conduct of the numerous Poles who had come with Marina and who behaved as if they were in a conquered land. To this must be added the defects which Demetrius betrayed since an unheard-of stroke of good luck

[1] See SKRIBANOWITZ, *loc. cit.*, 139. For the reception of Demetrius into the Church by Lawicki, see present work, Vol. XXIV, 143.

[2] *Cf.* PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 304; SKRIBANOWITZ, *loc. cit.*, 147.

had raised him to the throne of the czars. Far superior as he was to the Russians as regards ability and culture, he offended them not only by his boundless pride and by the impudence which led him to taunt the nobles with their ignorance, and to exalt the merits of the West to the disparagement of Russia, but also by his prodigality and immoral life.[1]

It was characteristic of Demetrius' presumption that he would heed no warning. Already in February the Jesuit Czyrzowski besought him to be on his guard, inasmuch as a conspiracy was afoot among the popes and the *boyars*, and the people were being roused on the pretext of various innovations.[2] The thoughtlessness of the Czar is shown in a conversation he had with the Jesuit Lawicki shortly before the catastrophe. The latter's report is as follows: "Two days before his death, the Czar sent for me. . . . I found him alone in his bedroom and congratulated him on his coming into his paternal inheritance . . . The Czar thanked me and accepted my presents. He then got out of his chair and we began to walk up and down the room. I turned the conversation to the subject of religion and the various plans of the Czar, this being the reason why my Superiors had sent me to Moscow. . . . Thereupon, Demetrius said he was thinking of erecting a Jesuit college for the purpose of training teachers for the future schools. . . . I took it on myself neither to approve nor to condemn the project. . . . The Czar also spoke of his war plans. He dropped the remark that he was as yet uncertain against whom he would send his army of 100,000 men, whether against the Turks or against someone else. In connection with this he expressed his indignation against the king of Poland for refusing him his proper title. I replied that God's Providence would not permit such an enmity between two powerful rulers. The audience ended after an hour, when Demetrius said he wished to visit his mother."[3]

[1] See PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 313 seq.; SKRIBANOWITZ, *loc. cit.*, 154.

[2] See PIERLING, *Rome et Démétrius*, 115 *seq.*

[3] See WALIEWICKI, *loc. cit.*, X., 145 *seq.*

At all times autocracy and revolt have dwelt side by side in Russia, for the Slav nature is exceedingly passionate and prone to extremes. Demetrius also was destined to experience this in his own person. On the morning of May 27th, 1606, a revolt broke out which had been skilfully prepared by the ambitious *boyar* Wassilij Schujskij. The Czar was surprised and murdered in the Kremlin. Then the *boyars* rushed into the city, calling the people to arms against the foreign "heathens" who had placed an impostor on the throne. Nearly five hundred Poles fell victims to the popular fury. Mniszek and the two Jesuits managed to escape and subsequently succeeded in reaching their own country. After that day of terror, the horribly mutilated body of Demetrius was summarily buried in unhallowed ground. However, the ghost of the murdered man would not leave the conspirators in peace. The corpse was dug up and burnt, then the ashes were rammed into a cannon and blown to the four winds of heaven. The crown was seized by Wassilij Schujskij, the ringleader of the revolt and the representative of ancient orthodox Russia.[1]

Even to-day the question of the identity of the murdered czar cannot be considered as finally settled, though a small library of books on the "false Demetrius" has gradually accumulated. That the man overthrown with such suddenness had nothing in common with the son of Ivan IV. may be considered as certain. In like manner the official Russian tradition which identified him with Gregory Otrepjew, an escaped monk, has been almost universally abandoned. The only thing certain is the Russian origin of the usurper. Documentary evidence has also completely disposed of the suggestion that the whole intrigue had been engineered by the Pope and the Jesuits. If it is asked whose creature Demetrius was, the most credible opinion is that he was the tool of a party among the *boyars* hostile to Boris.[2]

[1] See PIERLING, *La Russie*, III., 321 *seq.*; SKRIBANOWITZ, *Démétrius*, I., 159 *seq.*

[2] As against KARAMSIN (X., 259), a pupil of Ranke, F. L. NOWAKOWSKI (*De Demetrio I. magno Russiae duce* (Berol., 1840, 62 *seqq.*) maintained with conviction the view that Demetrius

How inadequately informed Western Europe was concerning events in Russia is shown by the contradictory account of the catastrophe which was spread abroad. According to some, Demetrius had escaped; according to others he was dead. The first news reached Rome at the end of August,

was really the son of Ivan IV. At first PIERLING was inclined to this view, though he realized that definite evidence was not forthcoming (*Rome et Démétrius*, xxii.). After Pierling had devoted many years to further research and had secured fresh material, he subjected the question to a new and exacting analysis (*La Russie*, III., 397 *seqq.*). He decided for the view that Demetrius was identical with Gregory Otrepjew. He has adhered to this against WALISZEWSKI (*La crise révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1906); see *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LXXXI. (1907), 213 *seqq.* Nevertheless he does not disguise the fact that there is no final evidence as to who Demetrius really was. He only feels certain that he was definitely not the son of Ivan IV. R. STÜBE (in a discussion of WALISZEWSKI in the *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1907, no. 199) thinks that the pretender may not have been a deceiver, for he himself felt sure of his pedigree. "He certainly escaped from Russia. Presumably he was somehow connected with the house of Ivan IV., as a bastard. He may have been put forward by a party acting against Boris Godunow, with the help of Poland. But to establish his identity with Prince Demetrius, it would be necessary to prove that the young prince escaped from the massacre in Uglitsch, which actually occurred, & that in his place another boy was murdered. The official reports, after the inquiry, are an incredible tissue of lies. Nevertheless they take it for granted that the Prince lost his life. He is said to have fallen, while at play, upon a knife which cut his throat. Furthermore the body was subsequently buried next to that of Ivan IV. The chief criminal, the subsequent Czar Wassilij Schuiskij, on his accession to the crown, formally declared that Boris Godunow had had the Prince murdered. Everything points to the fact that the murder did take place. What the course of events was must be decided from other reports. Yet there is a quite different tradition, from which it is not impossible to assume that the Prince was rescued. Nevertheless it is almost impossible to distinguish light from darkness in the matter." SKRIBANOWITZ (*Démétrius*, I., 162 *seqq.*) is of opinion that "the

1606; a month later it was generally believed that the Czar was dead. Cardinal Borghese wrote these characteristic words at the time: "The unhappy end of Demetrius is a fresh proof of the instability of all things human. May God have mercy on his soul!" Subsequently further contradictory

subsequent czar Demetrius was without doubt not genuine". He sums up his view in four points: (1) "Prince Demetrius was killed on May 15, 1591, at Uglič. (2) Gregory Otrepjew escaped from Russia after the usurper, and was at best no more than his assistant. (3) The usurper was of Russian origin, and (4) he was the tool of a *boyar* party working against Boris Godunow." As to the originator of the intrigue, SKRIBANOWITZ considers (I., 178) that: "From Massa & Patterson to Solowjew & Karamsin, many have tried to put the blame on the Jesuits. They say that the S.J. & the Curia behind them, wanted to bring about the long desired union in this way, i.e. to make Moscow dependent on Rome. Only recently has Pierling succeeded in clearing his Order from this grave suspicion." Since the old view that Demetrius had been "chosen by the Jesuits for a great rôle & educated by them for it" (thus WITKOWSKI, in his "*historisch-kritische*" edition of the complete works of SCHILLER, VIII., 149), has not even now ceased to be voiced. I quote the words of PIERLING, in which he sums up the results of his researches (*Rome et Démétrius*, 149–150):—

"Les historiens qui affirment que Démétrius a été soudoyé soit par le Pape, soit par le nonce Rangoni, soit par les Jésuites, ne peuvent citer aucun document, ni donner aucune preuve qui supporte la critique. Rome et les Jésuites ne sont entrés en rapports avec Démétrius qu'au mois de mars 1604, lorsqu'il passait déjà à la cour de Pologne pour le vrai fils de Jean IV. et qu'il était entouré de ses compatriotes.

"Rome et les Jésuites ont fait des efforts consciencieux pour découvrir la vérité et se sont laissés guider de bonne foi par le roi de Pologne, qu'ils croyaient plus à même de pénétrer le mystère.

"Démétrius a réellement adjuré le schisme et embrassé la foi catholique. Tous ceux qui ont pris part à sa conversion se sont réglés sur des principes de saine théologie et de charité, que l'Église Russe ne saurait mettre en question sans condamner ses procédés envers les Raskolniks.

"Dans les rapports ultérieurs avec Démétrius, Rome n'a cherché

news arrived. Even at the end of 1607, Simonetta, the new Polish nuncio, was assured that Demetrius was alive. The sons of Mniszek, who came to Rome about that time, made a similar declaration.[1]

The death of Demetrius did not put an end to Russia's troubles. Civil war broke out with all its horrors. Another Demetrius arose and advanced as far as Tula, when he was defeated and executed. He was at once succeeded by a third adventurer who claimed to be the real Demetrius. In these circumstances Sigismund III. judged the moment had come

que le bonheur de la Russie, qu'elle voulait éclairer par la lumière de la vérité et faire entrer dans l'alliance européenne contre les Turcs. Les Jésuites sont restés dans les limites de leur vocation, exerçant leur ministère et se montrant prêts à accepter des collèges pour l'instruction de la jeunesse. Démétrius a fait des promesses parfaitement libres et spontanées en faveur de la religion catholique, que les Papes ne pouvaient et ne devaient pas repousser.

"Dans le développement moral de Démétrius il faut distinguer trois périodes : 1.° à Cracovie, il a tout le zèle d'un néophyte et sa piété est exemplaire ; 2.° pendant la campagne, c'est la raison d'État qui prédomine et l'amour de la religion lui est subordonné ; 3.° parvenu au trône et mal entouré, il s'adonne a l'impiété et au désordre en y joignant l'hypocrisie envers le Pape et Sigismond III. Vouloir prouver par le seul fait de ces changements, que la conversion de Démétrius n'a pu être sincère, c'est nier du même coup la mutabilité de la volonté humaine, hélas ! trop souvent constatée.

"Nous nous flattons d'avoir poursuivi dans ce travail une œuvre de conciliation. La part que les Papes ont prise dans l'affaire de Démétrius a toujours été un des principaux griefs historiques de la Russie contre Rome. A la lueur de nos documents, le lecteur impartial aura pu apprécier la sagesse et la prudence du S. Siège et réduire à néant les calomnies élevées contre lui. Un brillant avenir s'ouvrait à la Russie dans la voie que lui indiquaient les Pontifes romains. En y entrant elle aurait échappé a bien des désastres et peutêtre à l'heure qu'il est, aurait-elle été maitresse de l'Orient pacifié par ses efforts, christianisé par ses apôtres."

[1] See PIERLING, in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, LVI. (1894), 545 *seq.*; and *La Russie*, III., 330 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, 357 *seq.*

to settle accounts with Poland's old enemies. He decided on war against the Muscovites. The struggle was to be protracted until 1618. In Rome he represented it as a crusade for the spread of the Catholic faith. Nevertheless his hopes of pecuniary assistance did not materialize at once.[1] Only in 1613, when Paul Wolucki, bishop of Luzk, came to Rome with mission to do homage to the Pope in the king's name, did Paul V. grant 40,000 scudi, on August 10th,[2] and these were subsequently supplemented by another 20,000.[3] The permission to raise money for the purpose from the Polish clergy, which was first granted on June 1st, 1612, was renewed on May 14th, 1613, and again on March 7th, 1614.[4] Nevertheless a real tension arose between Paul V. and Sigismund III. because the Pope persisted in his refusal of the red hat to Rangoni, a favour which the king of Poland greatly desired.

During the struggle with Poland a new dynasty came into power in Russia. The manifesto which, in 1613, announced to the people the elevation to the throne of Michael Romanov, a son of a nephew of Anastasia, the wife of Ivan IV., was full of resentment and contempt for all Latins.[5] Although the new sovereign saw himself forced to buy peace from Sweden in 1617, and a year later from Poland, by ceding territory, the attempt of Sigismund III. to reduce Russia into a Polish province failed in the same way as his efforts to recover his hereditary kingdom of Sweden proved in vain.[6]

[1] See *ibid.*, III., 363 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 356 *seq.* The act of homage took place on January 31, 1613; see *Acta Consist.*, *Barb.*, 2926, Vatican Library. For Wolucki's journey to Rome see WALIEWICKI, in the *Script. rer. Pol.*, XIV., 88, and *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1893, 110.

[3] See notes in BORGHESE, I., 554, p. 10: "Aiuto dato al re di Polonia 60,000 scudi di moneta pagati al depositario generale sotto li 16 Novembre 1614," Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 169 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*

[5] See BRÜCKNER, *Gesch. Russlands*, I., Gotha, 1896, 550 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* DROYSEN, *Gustav Adolf*, I., Leipzig, 1869, 92 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 95, about the Catholic adherents of Sigismund in Sweden. Two

Russian historians exalt the maintenance of national independence. This is both justifiable as well as comprehensible. The same cannot be said of the way in which the separation (from Rome) was prosecuted and enforced by the Romanows during 300 years, for it was only accomplished by the most blameworthy means. One look at the state of the gigantic empire supplies the answer to the question whether it was a good or an ill fortune for the happiness of the Russian people that it was not permitted, as the Pope desired, to become united with the life-giving spiritual forces of the Catholic Church.

(2.)

At the time of the Russian troubles, serious disturbances had also occurred in Poland which, for a time, threatened to interfere with the progress of the Catholic restoration.

The marriage of Sigismund III. with the sister of his first wife, Constance, of the Stirian line of the Hapsburgs, which he contracted in 1605, against the will of the diet, had provoked great resentment in anti-Austrian circles. One section of the nobility felt aggrieved in the matter of the distribution of lucrative offices. The contrast between the cold Scandinavian nature of Sigismund and the mobile character

Jesuits, former students of the Germanicum, had been cruelly executed as late as the time of Charles IX., on the pretext that they had corresponded with Poland; see *Hist. Arkisto XI.*, Helsinginä, 1891, 220. Even under Charles' successor, Gustav Adolf, executions of Catholics took place (*cf.* GFRÖRER, *Gustav Adolf*, 158; CORNELIUS, *Gesch. der schwedischen Kirche nach der Reformation*, Upssala, 1886). Joh. Messenius, the famous historian, was kept a prisoner for his Catholic opinions for twenty years, until his death in 1637; see SCHÜCK, *J. Messenius* (1920). Similar hostility to everything Catholic reigned in Denmark, then belonging to Norway; see A. BRANDRUD, *Klosterlasse. Ei Bidrag til den jesuitiske Propagandas Historie i Norden*, Kristiania, 1895; L. DAAE, in the *Hist. Tidskrift*, III., 3, Kristiania, 1895; For attempts at missionising Denmark itself see also DUHR, II., 2, 75; PIEPER, *Propaganda-Kongregation*, 6 *seq.*

of his Polish subjects became increasingly apparent. A dangerous political opposition arose headed by Nicholas Zebrydowski, the Count Palatine of Cracow, with whom the Polish Protestants and the Ruthenian schismatics allied themselves for the purpose of armed opposition. To this end they had recourse to the so-called *Rokosz*, a form of insurrection which they tried to justify by appealing to the Polish Constitution. The attack on the king was so violent that at the diet of Warsaw, May, 1607, Sigismund saw himself forced to make a number of concessions. The schismatics were granted liberty of worship, whereupon they parted company with the Protestants. The diet declared the continuation of the Rokosz to be high treason and summoned its members to lay down their arms. The proposal was rejected and war ensued. It ended with the victory of the royal troops. In 1608 the Count Palatine of Cracow was forced to surrender. Sigismund thereupon granted a general amnesty.[1] The consequences of the defeat fell, in the first instance, on the Protestants. Owing to the vivacious temperament of the Poles, violent collisions between Protestants and Catholics had occurred before this time. They now became more frequent. Since the Protestants had made the cause of the rebels their own, it was not surprising that the king refused to protect them from the violence of their opponents.[2]

The Papal nuncio, Rangoni, who since the first outbreak of these internal troubles had given strong support to the king, had been replaced in September, 1606, by Francesco

[1] *Cf.* besides Aless. Cilli, *Storia delle sollevazioni notabili seguite in Poloniagli anni del Signore 1606–8*, Pistoia, 1627 (see for the author of this rare document, Ciampi, *Notizie di medici, musici, etc., italiani in Polonia*, Lucca, 1830, 49 *seq.*, and Ciampi, *Bibliografia*, I., 84, 271, 354 *seq.*). *Cf.* also the interesting account of the Jesuit Wielwicki in the *Script. rer. Pol.*, X., 122 *seq.* A collection of political tracts of the time of the Civil War, 1606–8, was published by J. Czubek, *Pisma polityczne z czasow rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego, 1606–8*, I., Kraków, 1916.

[2] A detailed account of these events from the Protestant point of view by Krasinski, *Gesch. der Reformation in Polen*, 236 *seq.*

Simonetta, bishop of Foligno.[1] The instructions [2] of the new representative of the Holy See were to the effect that he should keep in closest touch with the king and to cultivate good relations with Cardinal Maciejowski, Primate and archbishop of Gnesen; with the Grand Chancellor, Matthias Pstrokónski, the Vice-Chancellor, Stanislaus Miński, with the bishop of Leslau (since 1617 bishop of Cracow), Peter Tylicki, and with the Jesuits. He should press for the rejection of the old demands of the Protestants which they had renewed during the late troubles. These tended to the suppression of appeals to Rome in spiritual affairs, the withholding of the annates from the Curia, and the curtailment of the action of the papal representative at court and in the diet.

As regards the promotion of the Catholic restoration, which Paul V. had pursued with the greatest attention from the beginning of his reign, the instructions contain some interesting directions.

Before all else, the nuncio should work for the establishment everywhere of seminaries for the formation of a capable

[1] See *Epist.*, II., 161 (*cf.* 180), Papal Secret Archives. Simonetta arrived at Cracow on June 20, 1607, Rangoni left on June 29, see *Script. rer. Pol.*, X., 232.

[2] See **Istruzione a Msgr. Simonetta vescovo di Foligno, nunzio in Polonia*, dated November 11, 1606, in *Cod. A. E.*, IX., n. 13, of the Brera Library at Milan. In *Borghese*, I., 311, p. 457 (Papal Secret Archives) the instruction is dated November 16. A Polish translation of the instruction, which is also to be found copied in *Inform. polit.*, X., 721 *seq.*, of the Berlin State Library, in *Relacye Nuncynszow Apost.*, II., 97 *seq.* The *reports of Simonetta 1607–9, in *Borghese*, II., 224, 230, 237, IV., 79, the reports of July, 1609–1610, in the *Nunz. Pol.*, 37A, Papal Secret Archives, and in *Cod. E.*, 34–8, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The *instructions of Cardinal Borghese up to July, 1609, are in *Nunz. Pol.*, 173, *loc. cit.*, for October and November, 1609, in *Barb.*, 5932, and of 1611–1612, in *Barb.* 6575, Vatican Library. *Cf. Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1893, 109 *seq.*, where emphasis is laid on the importance of the reports with regard to the war with Russia.

clergy, as prescribed by the Council of Trent, and for the introduction, in monasteries, of strict discipline. Simonetta's attention is also directed to the establishment in Poland of the more recent and strict Orders, such as the Discalced Carmelites. The nuncio was to take great care that in the appointment of bishops and parish priests, unsuitable persons should be barred. He should encourage the king in his determination to exclude Protestants from public offices. On queen Constance the Pope bestowed the Golden Rose.[1] On the subject of the representation of Catholic interests at the diet, Paul V., on May 1st, 1607, wrote specially to the archbishop of Lemberg, John Zamoiski.[2] On May 19th, 1607, the Pope begged the king's protection for the Jesuits who rendered such signal services to the Catholics, from the attacks which, it was feared, would be made against them at the diet.[3]

The Pope watched with particular satisfaction the work of Cardinal Maciejowski. On August 3rd he praised him for his manly attitude at the diet.[4] In the autumn of 1607 the Cardinal held a provincial synod at Piotrków, which passed several useful measures for the reform of clergy and laity.[5] Efforts for the religious instruction of the people were encouraged by a special Indulgence.[6] The decrees of the synod were confirmed by the Congregation of the Council on April 12th, 1608.[7] In 1611, the Pope praised the zeal with which Cardinal Maciejowski strove to carry out the visitation of his diocese of Gnesen which the Holy See had charged him to undertake.[8] On November 7th, 1609, the Pope had begged

[1] THEINER, III., 294.

[2] **Epist.*, II., 412, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See THEINER, III., 295. [4] See **Epist.*, III., 122, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Concilium Provinciale regni Poloniae, quod Paulo V. Pontifice Bernardus Maciejowski, card. tit. S. Joannis ante portam Latinam, archiep. Gnesnens, eccl. habuit Petricoviae*, A° 1617, Cracoviae, 1617. *Cf.* FABISZA, 204 *seq.*

[6] See FABISZA, 203.

[7] See **Epist.*, III., 264, IV., 161, Papal Secret Archives.

[8] See **Epist.*, IV., 298, Papal Secret Archives.

king Sigismund to assist in the reform of the Polish Premonstratensians.[1] In the following year the Polish sovereign was honoured with the gift of a sword blessed by the Pope.[2]

The king of Poland rendered a distinguished service to the Church in 1611, when, on the occasion of the investiture of the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, with the duchy of Prussia, he secured for the Catholics of that country better conditions than those under which they had lived until then. The elector was made to guarantee to them freedom of worship and the right of admission to all offices of State and the exercise of the right of patronage. Moreover, John Sigismund bound himself to build in a suburb of Königsberg, within three years, and at his own expense, a Catholic church, and presbytery, and to endow them with an annual income of 1,000 florins. The Elector was accorded the right of presentation of the parish priest, who was to be invested by the bishop of Ermland, under whose jurisdiction he was placed.[3]

Simonetta lived long enough to see these successes of the Catholic cause; his death at Warsaw on January 19th, 1612, put a premature end to his career. The business of the nunciature was carried on for a time by Cesare Baroffio, Simonetta's *uditore*,[4] until the appointment as nuncio of Lelio Ruini, of Bologna, in September, 1612.[5] The new representative of the Holy See was instructed [6] to look on the

[1] **Ibid.*, V., 180.

[2] Brief of February 22, 1610, in THEINER, III., 327.

[3] See DITTRICH, *Gesch. des Katholizismus in Altpreussen*, I., Braunsberg, 1901, 91 *seq.* The conversion of the Elector to Calvinism (1613) was not without one good result, inasmuch as John Sigismund had to show even more tolerance towards his Catholic subjects in order to achieve the support of the king of Poland against the attacks of the Lutherans.

[4] *Reports from BAROFFIO, in *Barb.* 6577, Vatican Library, and in *Cod. E.*, 39, of Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See the Brief of September 13, 1612, in THEINER, III., 353. Ruini arrived at Cracow on January 14, 1613; see WIELEWICKI, *loc. cit.*, XIV., 95.

[6] **Instruttione per Mgr. Ruini destinato Nuncio da Paolo V.*

establishment of seminaries ordered by Trent, and the reform of the monasteries, as his first task. Like his predecessor, Ruini was exhorted to cultivate good relations with the king, the pious queen, and the Polish episcopate; especially should he do his utmost to keep alive the bishops' zeal for Church reform.

The excellent relations between Sigismund III. and the Holy See, which found expression on the Pope's part in a money contribution towards the war against Russia during Ruini's nunciature, were only strained in some degree, by the unseasonable eagerness with which the king demanded the red hat for Rangoni.[1] Paul V. did not want to see candidates for this high dignity recommended by princes, hence he offered a decided opposition to the king's request. Francesco Diotallevi, who succeeded Ruini in the summer of 1614 [2] was instructed to cut short all expectation in this respect.[3]

al re di Polonia, dated September 26, 1612, in *Cod.* 468, p. 254 *seq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome, in the *Inform. polit.*, X., 673 *seq.*, of the State Library, Berlin, and in *Ottob.* 1066, p. 614 *seq.*, Vatican Library, also in part in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 126 (*cf. Melet.*, 335, note 1); a Polish translation is in *Relacye Nunc. Apost.*, II., 109 *seq.* Ruini's reports of 1612–1613, in *Barb.* 6578, Vatican Library; those of 1614 in *Borghese*, I., 855, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* XXV., 318.

[2] See the *Avviso of July 30, 1614, in the *Studi e docum.*, XV., 278. The letter of recommendation to the Polish king, of September 4, 1614, is in THEINER, III., 358.

[3] "*Instruttione per M^r. Diotallevi, vescovo di S. Angelo, destinato da N.S. per suo Nuntio al re di Polonia*, September 3, 1614, in *Cod.* 6600, p. 439 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna; a copy is in *Ottob.*, 2434, p. 829 *seq.*, Vatican Library. RANKE (III.[6], Appendix no. 83) does not give the source. The reports of Diotallevi, the importance of which is rightly noted by LEVINSON (*Polnisch-Preussisches aus der Bibl. Borghesiana* in the Vatican Archives, in the *Zeitschrift der Westpreuss. Geschichtsvereins*, XLVIII., 86) examine in detail the question of the nomination of Rangoni as Cardinal; they are to be found in *Borghese*, II., 221 and 227 for 1615; for 1616, *ibid.*, 219 and 220; for 1617,

The nuncio was likewise to decline a further subsidy. This was done not for lack of goodwill, the Instruction stated, but owing to the financial position of the Holy See. For the rest Diotallevi's instructions were similar to those of his predecessors; the execution of the Tridentine decrees, especially as regards seminaries, the nomination of good bishops and the appointment of good parish priests were particularly emphasized. At the sittings of the diet, the nuncio was to watch lest the slightest concession be made to the Protestants, for even a slender concession to their insatiable appetite would all too easily lead to the worst consequences. Among the personalities with whom the nuncio was instructed to keep in touch the following are singled out on this occasion; besides the king and queen, the heir to the crown, Ladislaus, and among the bishops, Albert Baranowski, Maciejowski's successor at Gnesen, and the bishop of Luzk, Paul Wolucki. During Diotallevi's nunciature (1614–1621), the king's persistent demand of the purple for Rangoni also reacted unfavourably on the relations between Pope and king, inasmuch as for weighty reasons, Paul V. was not inclined to listen to the request.[1] Fortunately this tension did not affect the progress of the Catholic reform. The king's real zeal for the good cause was in no way diminished in consequence, so that Paul V. successor could

ibid., 225 and 227; for 1618, *ibid.*, 185; for 1619, *ibid.*, 235; for 1620, *ibid.*, 231. Papal Secret Archives. Those from December, 1620, to December, 1621, in *Barb.* 6579, Vatican Library. *Cf. Script. rer. Pol.*, XII., 83, and *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1893, 108. The *instructions of Borghese of 1615, 1616 and 1619 in the Library of S. Paolo fuori le Mura Rome (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 336, note 1). The *instructions from January, 1615, to October 28, 1617, are also in BORGHESE, II., 358, *loc. cit.*; see *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1894, 26.

[1] See PIERLING, III., 39. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 359. When the emperor Ferdinand II., also supported the request of Sigismund III., Paul V. seemed prepared at last to bestow the red hat on Rangoni. See the *Brief to Ferdinand II., of December 19, 1620, in **Epist.*, XVI., 274, Papal Secret Archives. Nevertheless at the nomination on January 11, 1621, Rangoni was passed over.

only thank God from his heart for the change that had been wrought in Poland.[1]

The reports to Rome of Cosmo de Torres, Diotallevi's immediate successor, on the state of the Catholic Church in Poland, gave a most gratifying account of the progress of the Catholic cause in Poland proper and in Mazuria.[2] In 1611 it was calculated that out of a total population of fourteen to fifteen millions, one-fourth belonged to the ancient Church.[3] At a later date the proportion shifted in favour of the Catholics. Catholics were also on the increase in Lithuania. Though there were many schismatics and Protestants there, the power of the latter was weakened owing to their having split up into the most divers sects. In the duchy of Prussia, which was a Polish fief, the majority of the people had adopted partly the Lutheran, partly the Calvinist tenets, but on the occasion of a new enfeoffment, Poland successfully insisted on the construction and upkeep of a Catholic church at Königsberg. The bishopric of Ermland constituted a Catholic oasis in East Prussia and the Jesuits had a flourishing establishment at Braunsberg.[4] At Danzig and Thorn their action was greatly hampered by the relentless hostility of the Protestants. Nevertheless, they were able to found a house at Graudenz, in 1619, and missions at Marienburg (1619) and Bromberg (1621).[5] But in Poland proper the Society of Jesus displayed a wonderful activity. Opposition was not wanting there either, but king Sigismund proved a powerful protector.

[1] *Cf.* **instruttione a Mgr. Torres, arcivescovo d'Adrianopoli, Nuntio designato da N.S. in Polonia*, May 30, 1621, Casanatense Library, Rome, X., V., 15, p. 382.

[2] See *Relayce Nunc. Apost.*, II., 139 *seq.* Minio points out the piety of the Poles in his *report of 1620, see *Notizenblatt zum Archiv f. osterr. Geschichtsquellen*, 1854, 247.

[3] See Gioda, III., 280.

[4] *Cf.* Duhr, I., 179 *seqq.*; II., 1, 375 *seq.*

[5] See *ibid.*, II., 1, 381 *seq.* For the Jesuit mission to Danzig *cf.* also Freytag, in the *Altpreuss. Monatsschrift*, XXVI. (1889), 521 *seq.*, and Levinson, in the *Zeitschrift des Westpreuss. Geschichtsvereins*, XLII.

It was also greatly to the advantage of the Order and the Catholic cause generally, that lucrative posts were only given to Catholics. The higher as well as the lower nobility, who were at all times the mainstay of Protestantism in Poland, returned to the Church in large numbers and the seats in the Senate of Lithuania and Poland were once more almost exclusively held by Catholics.[1] In the royal cities Protestant worship was being increasingly restricted; however, on the estates of the nobles who enjoyed immunity, measures of this kind could not be applied.

The chief means for the revival and expansion of the ancient Church in Torres' eyes was the reform of the secular and regular clergy, and the spread of the new religious Institutes, the Jesuits, the Discalced Carmelites and the Capuchins.[2] The reformed Carmelite nuns and some nursing Brothers also came to Poland during the pontificate of Paul V.[3] To the Pope's great joy Sigismund III. desired also a Capuchin foundation,[4] but the project came to nought. Thus the Jesuits remained the main pillar of the Church and they did great things for her increase in Poland.[5]

The Polish Province which had grown out of the Austrian Province in 1575, had made such progress that in 1608 it had

[1] *Cf.* VÖLKER, *Der Protestantismus in Polen*, Leipzig, 1910, 87, 216.

[2] See *Relayce Nunc. Apost.*, II., 147 *seq.*

[3] See *Script. rer. Pol.*, XIV., 68; FABISZA, 203.

[4] See **Epist.*, XI., 300, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* for what follows, *Litterae Annuae*, for 1605, p. 884 *seq.*; 1606, p. 687 *seq.*; 1607, p. 395 *seq.*; 1608, p. 662 *seq.*; 1609, p. 405 *seqq.*; 1610, p. 402 *seq.*; 1611, p. 589 *seqq.*; 1612, p. 449 *seq.*; 1613–1614, p. 361 *seq.*; I. ARGENTI, *Ad Sigismundum III. de statu Soc. Iesu in prov. Poloniae et Lithuaniae liber*, ed. altera, Ingoldstadii, 1616; J. WIELWICKI, *Historici diarii domus prof. Soc. Iesu Cracoviae, 1600–1629*, in the *Script. rer. Pol.* X., XIV., XVII., Cracoviae, 1886–9; ST. ZALEDKI, *Jesuici w Polsce*, I., II. w IV., 1–3, Kraków, 1904. See also a study by CHOTKOWSKI, *Szkoly jesuickie w Poznazin*, Kraków, 1893; this is important because of the manuscript material used.

to be divided into two, a Polish and a Lithuanian one.[1] A survey of the year 1616 shows that foundations had been made in almost every important town of the realm. The number of members was no less than 795.[2] At Cracow, the ancient city where Poland's kings used to be crowned, they had a novitiate and a professed house. There were colleges at Kalisz, Poznań, Thorn, Yaroslaw, Leopolis, Sandomir, Kamieniec, Lublin and Luzk; residences were at Przemysl, Rawa, Krasrolrod and Danzig. The most important establishment was that of Poznań. The Order would have liked to see its college in that city erected into a university. Sigismund III. was favourable, but the university of Cracow, fearing its competition, successfully prevented a papal approval of the project.[3]

The heart and centre of the Lithuanian Province was at Vilna. Already Gregory XIII had raised the college to the dignity of a university.[4] The Jesuits had at Vilna a novitiate and a professed house, as well as a second house of probation at Warsaw. In 1616 the Province of Lithuania had colleges at Pultusk, Płock, Nieśwież, Lomża, Orsza, Polock, Smolensk,

[1] At that time Petrus Fabricus came to be the first Polish Provincial; before him only Italians, with the exception of one Spaniard, had been appointed. See WIELEWICKI, in the *Script. rer. Pol.*, X., 247, 271. *Cf. Litt. ann.*, 1608, p. 662.

[2] See IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 355.

[3] *Cf.* the paper of L. SCHERMANN, in the *Zeitschr. der Hist. Gesellsch. für die Provinz Posen*, IV., Posen, 1888, 70 *seq.* For the quarrels which afterwards arose between the university of Cracow and the Jesuits, *cf.* WIELEWICKI, in the *Script. rer. Pol.*, XVII. Wielewicki, a Jesuit himself, attributes them to the ill-considered policy of Fr. Lancicius. The conflict damaged the reputation of the Society not a little. That the Jesuits committed serious faults against the Cracow university, appears from the account given with praiseworthy impartiality by the Jesuit ST. ZALESKI, who published a short account of his larger work (1904) mentioned on p. 240, note 5; *Jesuici w Polsce. W skróceniu, 5 tomów w zednym, z dwoma mapami*, Kraków, 1908.

[4] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIV., 122 *seq.*

Riga and Dorpat. Braunsberg also belonged to the Province of Lithuania.

Of the greatest importance were the flourishing educational establishments of the Jesuits in which the sons of the nobility were educated in a thoroughly Catholic spirit. By this means the functionaries and the higher clergy came to be recruited from among men who were permeated with the spirit of the Catholic reform. Only this new generation could be depended upon to carry out the Tridentine reform decrees.

The Jesuits displayed a no less untiring activity in the pastoral ministry. In this they confined themselves by no means to the towns in which they had residences. On the contrary, they established missions both far and near. They penetrated into the Carpathians and into the Ukraine; they even extended their action beyond the boundaries of Poland, into Silesia and Hungary.[1] In 1615 there was even question of founding a college at Kiew.[2] For many provinces where there was a marked shortage of priests, in particular in Livonia and White Russia, these missions were of incalculable importance.[3]

The Jesuits' successes in the pastoral ministry were no less remarkable than their achievements in the educational sphere. John Argenti, who held a visitation of the Polish and Lithuanian Provinces, was able to report to Sigismund III. in 1615, that a complete change had taken place everywhere in the religious sphere.[4] Besides the return of many heretics to the Church, Argenti lays stress on the renewal of the religious spirit among Catholics, which showed itself in the frequentation of the sacraments. This was due to the zeal with which the Jesuits preached the word of God, not only in Polish, but likewise in German and in Ruthenian, where this was required.[5] The Jesuits bestowed much care on

[1] *Cf. Litt. Ann.*, 1605, p. 884 *seq.*, 886 *seq.*, 891 *seq.*; 1611, p. 635 *seq.*; 1613–1614, p. 459 *seq.*; Wielewicki, *loc. cit.*, X., 83 *seq.*, XIV, 87, 106, 189, 203.

[2] See Argenti, 31.

[3] *Cf. Litt. ann.*, 1613–1614, p. 461; Argenti, 28.

[4] Argenti, 37.

[5] *Cf. Litt. ann.*, 1607, p. 472; 1608, p 705.

catechetical teaching and the explanation of the elements of the faith. They also vied with the other Orders in the care of the sick and the poor and in times of epidemics they showed a devotion which wrung admiration even from their enemies.[1]

In Poland also there were not wanting enemies of the Society of Jesus. The boldness of these was seen already in 1606. Among the many demands which the party of the *Rokosz* presented to Sigismund III. was this, that the Jesuits, inasmuch as they meddled with secular and political affairs, advocated absolutism, opposed all liberal tendencies and urged the subjects to revolt, should be removed at once from court; all non-Polish members should be driven from the country and the houses at Craców, Warsaw, Sandomir, Leopolis, Thorn, Danzig, Połock, Riga and Dorpat should be suppressed.[2] Thereupon, no less a personage than Peter Skarga, the court preacher of Sigismund III., rose up to defend his Order thus threatened and shamefully slandered. To the many services which this splendid man rendered to the Church and to his country, he added a fresh one by his magnificent justification of the Society of Jesus in a sermon preached by him at Wislica, on September 17th, 1606, in presence of the king and a number of Senators. The demand of the *Rokosz* having been rejected by the king and the Senate, Skarga was able to write to Aquaviva that he need have no further anxiety; though their adversaries had not laid down their arms, the position of the Jesuits in Poland was nevertheless assured.[3]

As a matter of fact, in December, 1606, a royal decree ordered the return of the Jesuits who had been driven from Thorn by the Protestant council of the town.[4] The greatness

[1] *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 1605, p. 899 *seq.*; 1606, p. 779; 1607, p. 413; WIELEWICKI, XIV., 112, 153.

[2] See WIELEWICKI, X., 197.

[3] See *ibid.*, 208 *seq.*; BERGA, 256.

[4] See WIELEWICKI, X., 228 *seq.* *Cf.* WERNICKE, *Gesch. Thorns* (1824), 96 *seq.*; E. KESTNER, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Stadt Thorn* (1882), 225 *seq.* See also LEVINSON, *Polnisch-Preussisches*, in the *Zeitschr. des Westpreuss. Geschichtsvereins*, XLII.

of the change which had come about was seen at the diet of 1607, for that assembly was decisively in favour of the Jesuits and assured the continuation of their work. Notwithstanding all the efforts of their enemies, this decision was again confirmed in 1609 and 1611.[1] However, the old accusations were not silenced. As against the assertion that the Jesuits troubled the peace of the realm, the parish priest Caspar Cichochi showed that the roots of all the troubles lay in the Confederation of Warsaw.[2] Among the writings by which the Jesuits defended themselves, a high place belongs to the report on the state of the Order in Poland and Lithuania which the visitor, John Argenti, addressed to Sigismund III.[3] This document, which was first published in 1615 and disseminated in several editions,[4] refutes in detail the accusations against the Jesuits, especially as regards their alleged meddling with political matters, their stirring up of revolt, and their piling up of wealth. In his Apologia, Argenti also protests against a pamphlet circulated at first in manuscript, and published in 1614 at Cracow, under a false date and indicating a false place of impression. The pamphlet bore the title: "*Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu*—Secret Orders of the Jesuits." He rightly styles this document a monstrous forgery. The author was a Polish ex-Jesuit of the name of Zahorowski, who sought to revenge himself for his dismissal from the Society by publishing this libel. In view of the fact that many people took the satire seriously, Gretser, at the bidding of the General, Muzio Vitelleschi, wrote a refutation which appeared in 1618.[5]

[1] *Cf.*, too, LENGNICH, *Gesch. der Lande Preussen*, V. (1727), 151 *seq.*; WIELEWICKI, X., 245 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 387.

[2] See VÖLKER, *Der Protestantismus in Polen*, 88.

[3] See the title given above, p. 240, note 5.

[4] See SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 536 *seqq.*

[5] For the *Monita Secreta*, rejected also by serious Protestant students, and the replies to them, see DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 76 *seqq.*, the same, *Gesch. der Jesuiten*, II., 2, 675 *seq.* *Cf.* too, v. AKEN, in the *Préc. hist.*, 1881, 261 *seqq.*, 344 *seqq.*, 432 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 1890, 83 *seq.*, an essay by SOMMERVOGEL; J. REIBER,

However, at that time the Polish Jesuits were far more grievously affected by many gaps in their ranks caused by death, than by forgeries and pasquinades. One after another the old pioneers died within a short time of each other : first, in 1611, the great Possevino ; then, in 1612, Caspar Petowski and Justus Rabe. These were followed, on September 27th of the same year, by Peter Skarga, and in 1613 by the apostle of Lithuania, Stanislaus Grodziki and in 1615 by Martin Laski.[1] The whole of Poland lamented the death of Skarga.[2] In him the nation lost not only its greatest preacher, but likewise one of its most devoted sons.[3] The Dominican Birkowski, who preached his funeral eulogy, styled him another Elias. As a matter of fact, in his famous sermons at the various diets,[4] before the king and the Polish nobles, this simple religious had exposed, with admirable courage and rare perspicacity, the existing political and social evils, and he predicted, should they be allowed to go on, the ruin of the powerful State : " If you do not amend, the countries united with the kingdom will fall away, and your realm will be conquered. No longer will you have a king of your own blood, on the contrary, you will be driven from your own country to become the objects of the mockery of the enemies whose slaves you will be." In the exhortation to repentance, published in 1610,[5] the " Polish Chrysostom " sums up once more in stirring fashion the warnings he had given to his beloved people. When, two years later, at his repeated request,

Monita secreta, Augsburg, 1902 ; Fr. Rodriguez, *Os Jesuitas e a Monita secreta*, Roma, 1912 ; Brou, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, I., Paris, 1906, 275 *seq.* ; Albers, in *Studiën*, 1916, 136 *seq.*

[1] See Wielewicki, XIV., 40, 58, 63, 72, 98, 148. For him and other literary men of the Polish Jesuits, see Hurter, I., 174.

[2] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XX., note 2, for the special literature.

[3] See Berga, 259.

[4] Berga writes of Skarga as a preacher both fully and without partisanship (263–272).

[5] " Invitatio ad poenitentiam incolarum regni Poloniae et Magni ducatus Lituaniae," see Rosentreter, in the *Freiburg Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 393 *seq.*

he was relieved from the office of court preacher and confessor to Sigismund III., both of which duties he had fulfilled in exemplary fashion during twenty-four years, he retired to Cracow where he soon died at the age of seventy-six. The memory of this man, distinguished as a preacher, a missionary, a writer and a patriot, lives to this day in the memory of the Polish people. His importance at a time when the Church of Poland was in great peril, is comparable to that of Canisius in Germany and that of Coton in France.

Besides Sigismund III., whom Rubens glorifies in one of his paintings as the conqueror of heresy,[1] the Jesuits and the episcopate had a substantial share in the preservation and renewal of the Catholic faith in Poland, for in the nomination of bishops by the king, the nuncios had successfully pressed for the choice of truly religious men. Thus when the primatial See of Gnesen became vacant through the death, in 1608, of Cardinal Maciejowski, it was in turn occupied by the excellent Albert Baranowski, and, at his death in 1615, by Laurence Gembicki.[2] The excellent bishop of Cracow, Peter Tylicki, was succeeded, in 1616, by Martin Szyszkowski, a man of similar character.[3] The following prelates were likewise known for their pastoral zeal: John Zomoiski, of Leopolis, Matthias Pstrokoński, at Przemysl until 1609, then at Wladýslawów (d. 1609), and Paul Wolucki, who laboured in the spirit of the Catholic reform first at Kamieniec, until 1609, then at Luzk, until 1616, and lastly at Leslau. At Luzk he founded a Jesuit College.[4] The bishop of Samogitia,

[1] *Cf. Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1905, 16.

[2] Gembicki held a diocesan synod at Lowicz in 1620 and a provincial synod at Petrikau in 1621. *Cf.* for him and his predecessors, the special literature mentioned in the *Freiburg. Kirchenlexikon*, V.², 764 *seq.*

[3] For P. Tylicki, see Wielewicki, XIV., 179, 196 *seq.* M. Szyszkowski had promulgated, since 1621, his "Reformationes generales ad clerum et populum Cracoviens. pertinentes", and had held a synod; see *Frei. Kirchenlex.*, VII.², 1031. For Szyszkowski, *cf.* also Bzovius, *Vita Pauli*, V., ch. 33.

[4] See Wielewicki, XIV., 7 *seq.*

Melchior Gedroye, brought back to the Church almost the whole of the Lithuanian population of that district.[1]

The significance of the Jesuit Order as well as the religious efflorescence in Poland, found their visible expression in the erection of numerous churches, monasteries and chapels. Foremost among these is the Jesuit church of SS. Peter and Paul at Cracow, erected in 1597, by the art-loving Sigismund III., in the style of the Gesù at Rome, the magnificently gilt dome of which was crowned with a cross in 1619.[2] The construction was superintended first by the Jesuit Giovanni Maria Bernardono, of Como, and after his death by Giovanni Gislenio, of Rome. Specially worthy of attention are the façade of free stone adorned with sculptures and incrusted with marble, and the beautiful forecourt which is shut off from the street by a balustrade adorned with statues of the twelve Apostles. The magnificent church, in which Skarga found a resting place, with its green copper domes, constitutes a characteristic feature of the panorama of the city. In 1610 archbishop John Zamoiski laid the first stone of the Jesuit church there, which, with the help of the Polish aristocracy and especially through the lavish contributions of Elizabeth Gostomska-Siemiawska, became one of the largest of the whole city. The building, probably planned by a Jesuit, with tribunes erected over the aisles, provided room for many thousands of worshippers.[3] At Vilna the Jesuits began by transforming Jagiello's church of St. John and subsequently raised a fine tower by its side. The interior, a model of late Gothic spaciousness, remained untouched. In addition to this—the university church—there arose another Jesuit church, St. Casimir. It was their principal church and was built in the new style. Soon a number of baroque churches rose up in Vilna so that the silhouette of the town reminds one of Salzburg and Würzburg. The Bernardines, who had formed a new Congregation in

[1] See Gams, 357.

[2] See Wielewicki, XIV., 303.

[3] The Church is 41 metres long, 22 m. wide, and 26 m. high; see J. Piotrowski, *Lemberg*, 94.

1580, erected many new churches all over Poland.[1] All are examples of the baroque style which, under the grey skies of the North, evoked the azure dome of Italy's sunlit firmament.

The care with which Paul V. watched over the religious future of Poland showed itself also in his efforts to bring about the union of the Ruthenians with the Roman Church which had been discussed at Brest in 1596. On May 29th, 1605, he confirmed the faculty to consecrate the Ruthenian bishops which his predecessor had granted to Hypatius Pociej, metropolitan of Kiew.[2] In the letter in which Paul V. thanked Pociej for his congratulations on his elevation to the Apostolic See, the Pope paid tribute to the Metropolitan's great zeal in the past and exhorts him in future also to defend, consolidate and extend the union.[3] Pociej's situation was difficult in the extreme; the schismatics were masters of Kiew, so that he was compelled to take up residence at Vilna, and since the former had seized the possessions of his metropolitan See, he retained his diocese of Wladimir.

Realizing these difficulties, the Pope on June 9th, 1606, prayed the Chancellor of Lithuania, Leo Sapieha to do all he could for the metropolitan.[4] In his Instruction, on November, 1606,[5] the new nuncio Simonetta, was directed to do his utmost for the preservation of the union and to co-operate effectively with those who sought to remove the obstacles that stood in its way. After the death of the chief opponent of the union, Prince Ostrožskyj, a turn for the better seemed at hand. His son became a Catholic, introduced the Catholic religion on his estates and founded a convent of Dominicans to provide teachers and preachers of the faith.

[1] Woiwode Nikolaus Zebrzydowski, of Cracow, built the Bernardine Convent and church at Kalwarya in 1603–9. The church is a famous place of pilgrimage.

[2] See Bull., XI., 194 *seq.*

[3] Briefs of December 13, 1605, in Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 288 *seqq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 293.

[5] *Cf.* present work, p. 234, note 2.

In 1624 Anna Ostrožska, with whom the line died out, founded a Jesuit College at Ostrog.[1]

Though the most powerful enemy of the union was thus out of the way, the schismatical agitation was not at an end. On January 6th, 1608, the Pope wrote to comfort Pociej.[2] The praise bestowed on that much tried man seems fully deserved, for Pociej laboured unceasingly in the defence of the union, both by the spoken and the written word. The obstacles which he encountered in his demand for judicial recognition of his episcopal office were such that they explain, even if they do not justify, the violence of many of his utterances.[3] It was particularly galling for him that the government for the most part gave him but slender support and that the Polish Latin bishops kept the Uniates at arm's length. It was a particularly bitter disappointment to him that the promise to admit the Ruthenian bishops into the Senate was not fulfilled, though Paul V., in 1611, expressly recalled it to the king's mind.[4]

In consequence of the hostility of the schismatics, Pociej saw his loftiest intentions misjudged and suspected. If he proceeded against the recalcitrants, they lodged exaggerated complaints against his alleged violence. The defeat which they suffered in 1609, in consequence of the measures taken by the king at Vilna, they avenged by attacking and wounding the aged metropolitan in the open street, August 12, 1609.[5] Notwithstanding all the opposition and the dangers which Pociej had to encounter everywhere at Kiew, at Minsk and at Leopolis, whenever he sought to assert his authority,[6] the gallant bishop never relaxed his efforts for the judicial recognition of the union. When he died, July 13th, 1613, he was succeeded by his coadjutor, Wilamin Rutski, who shared his spirit.

Rutski, the scion of an old noble Ruthenian family, had been

[1] *Cf.* Pichler, II., 107 *seq.*

[2] See Theiner, III., 297.

[3] *Cf.* Likowski, 251 *seq.*

[4] Theiner, III., 348.

[5] See Likowski, 255 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, 258.

brought up as a Calvinist but had become a Catholic whilst pursuing his studies at Prague. He completed his education at the Greek College at Rome, under the Jesuits, and after a period of uncertainty entered the Basilian monastery of the Holy Trinity at Vilna, in 1609. There a small but fervent religious family had gathered round the person of Josaphat Kuncewicz, another pupil of the Jesuits and well known for his deep piety, stern asceticism and exhaustive knowledge of the Greek Fathers. The monks' work on behalf of the union drew on them so fierce a persecution on the part of the schismatics that the Basilians of Vilna would have been lost but for the protection of Sigismund III. In 1609 Rutski became archimandrite of the monastery. In 1614 he entrusted the office to his friend Josaphat Kuncewicz [1] who, in the previous year, had erected Basilian monasteries at Byten and Zyrowicz, and who spent all his energy in forwarding the union. In view of the immense influence which Josaphat enjoyed with the Ruthenian people, Rutski, with the consent of the king, raised him in 1617 to the office of coadjutor with right of succession to the nonogenarian bishop of Polozk. On the decease of the bishop, Josaphat took up the task of reforming the sadly neglected diocese. His activity took all forms—visitations, synods, sermons, the composition of a catechism, with the result that at the end of three years almost the whole population of White Russia declared itself in favour of the union.[2]

When Rutski came to Rome in 1615, to give an account of his work as a bishop, he gave the Pope a detailed description of the situation of the Uniates. He explained that the chief weapon of the schismatics was the lie that the union was directed against the Ruthenian rite and served only as a bridge for the introduction of the Latin rite. To cut short this calumny, at Rutski's suggestion, Paul V. published a solemn

[1] *Cf.* A. Guépin, *St. Josaphat, archévêque de Polock*, 2 vols., Poitiers, 1874 ; G. Hofmann, *Roma* (1923) ; Likowski, 263 *seq.*, 303 *seq.* ; G. Hofmann, in *Orientalia Christiana*, I. (Romae, 1923), 297 *seq.* ; III. (1925), 173 *seq.*

[2] See Likowski, 313 *seqq.*

declaration, on December 10th, 1615, in which he emphatically stated that it was not the intention of the Holy See to alter the Ruthenian rite even in the smallest detail, still less to suppress it or to replace it by the Latin rite.[1] At the same time, in view of the great distances, the Pope granted that Ruthenians might receive episcopal consecration from Latins and Latins from Ruthenians. Moreover, the Pope provided four burses for Uniat Ruthenians at the Greek College in Rome.[2] However, this was too slender a help to raise the Ruthenian clergy, whose members had sunk to a low level, and who, owing to the absence of the law of celibacy, were far too much involved in the affairs of everyday life.

In these circumstances, Rutski turned his attention to the ancient and venerable Basilian Order which had been rescued from decadence and filled with fresh vitality by the new archimandrite Josaphat. Foundations similar to those of Byten and Zyrowic were made at Krasnobród and Grodno; the spirit which quickened the monastery of the Holy Trinity of Vilna also penetrated into the ancient houses of Minsk and Novgorod near Vilna. In 1616, a general noviciate for the Order was founded at Byten and placed under the direction of two Jesuits.[3]

In the following year Rutski convened a General Chapter at the castle of Ruta which laid down new rules, adapted to the needs of the time.[4] A protoarchimandrite, elected for life by the members of the Order and approved by the Metropolitan, was to govern the whole Order, appoint or depose local Superiors, hold an annual visitation of all the monasteries and watch over the observance of the reformed Rule. Only the bishops were bound by the law of celibacy. Rutski decreed that henceforth only reformed Basilians were to be raised to the episcopal dignity. At the same time, to forestall every ambition, he made the monks bind themselves

[1] See *Bull.*, XII., 341.

[2] *Ibid.*, 340, 342.

[3] See Likowski, 267.

[4] *Cf. Regole del S.P. Basilio M. ed osservaz. ed instruzioni raccolte da* G. Walamin, Roma, 1854 (*Prop. Fide*).

by vow not to aspire to bishoprics. At first only eight monasteries adopted a reform which was to prove so important for the Ruthenian Church. Seven years later Rutski was able to inform Rome that over twenty monasteries had joined the reform.[1] For the training of the secular clergy, he erected, with the consent of Paul V., two colleges in connection with the Basilian monasteries of Zyrowic, Wladimir and Borun.[2]

All these gratifying developments, as well as the existence of the union, were threatened, in 1620, by a storm of which Cyril Lukaris was the origin. This Cretan, who had been the evil genius of the duke of Ostrożskyj,[3] entertained towards the Catholic Church and the papacy a hatred which was unsurpassed by any of his fellow schismatics or by the Dutch Calvinists with whom he entertained relations. With his accurate knowledge of conditions in Poland, Lukaris understood, perhaps he was the first to do so, the significance of the question of the Cossacks as a means of conjuring up for the kingdom a most serious danger in the political field, as well as helping the schismatical Church, of which he had become the head, to victory over the hated union.[4]

In the spring of the same year, 1620, in which Cyril reached the goal of his ambition, namely the patriarchal see of Constantinople, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanos, on his return journey from Moscow, presented himself at Kiew as his plenipotentiary. The enemies of the union received the high dignitary of the oriental-schismatic Church with enthusiasm. When the astute Greek had sufficiently prepared the ground for his plans, he took, in August, behind closed doors and windows, a step of the utmost significance. On the ground of special powers which he claimed to have received from the Greek Patriarch for the Ruthenian Church, Theophanos pronounced the deposition of Rutski and all the

[1] See Likowski, 268.

[2] *Ibid.*, 269.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., p. 136 *seqq.*

[4] Opinion of Smolka, *Die Reussische Welt*, 277. For the previous career of C. Lukaris, whom we shall hear of again in the next volume, see Ph. Meyer in *Herzogs Realenzykl.*, XI.[3], 682 *seq.*

Uniate Ruthenian bishops, replaced them by schismatics, viz. one Metropolitan and six suffragans and assigned to them the Sees of the deposed prelates. In taking this step Theophanos looked to the support of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, whose hetmann, Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyi, swore at the consecration of the orthodox bishops, to guard and defend the newly erected schismatical hierarchy with the whole might of his warlike bands.[1]

The alliance between the schismatics and the Cossacks took place at a moment when the Sultan threatened the Polish kingdom with a large army. As a condition of their assistance, the Cossacks demanded the recognition of the schismatical hierarchy by the diet which opened at Warsaw at the beginning of 1621. Besides the two archbishops, Rutski and Josaphat, who hastened in person to Warsaw, the Papal nuncio Diotallevi also rendered signal service in conjuring this peril. Like his predecessor Ruini, Diotallevi had been instructed to do his utmost for the preservation of the union.[2] Though ailing, and notwithstanding the cold of winter, the nuncio hastened to the side of the king, the Latin bishops and the Senators, and to all he made the most pressing representations.[3]

Though the worst was avoided, Sigismund found himself nevertheless in so strained a position that he could not think of proceeding against the schismatics who had violated his royal prerogatives, as he had at first intended. In like manner, in view of the more than lukewarm attitude of the Senators both ecclesiastical and lay, towards the union, the importance of which they failed to realize, the Polish king was compelled to adopt humiliating half-measures and to defer a decision concerning the schismatical bishops.[4] Among these were several energetic men, such as the archimandrite of the famous Cave monastery at Kiew, Job Boretskyj, who

[1] See Likowski, 216 *seq.*, 271; Smolka, 277 *seq.*

[2] **Instruction for Diotallevi*, State Library, Vienna, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Likowski, 221, 273 *seq.*

[4] See Smolka, 280 *seq.*

succeeded in winning over a large section of the Ruthenian people. Soon the union saw itself exposed on all sides to grievous attacks which were to reach their climax in the death as a martyr of Josaphat Kuncewicz, the splendid archbishop of Polozk.

CHAPTER IV.

Relations of Paul V. with the Emperors Rudolph II., Matthias and Ferdinand II—Good Results of the Catholic Restoration in Germany—The Bohemian Revolution and the Beginning of the Thirty Years War.

Paul V.'s policy with regard to the emperor and the empire differed in no respect from that of Clement VIII. The aims of the Holy See remained the same, viz. assuring the succession of Rudolph in the empire; the support of the emperor in the war against the Turks; the defeat of the Protestant demand for "religious liberty" and the promotion of the Catholic reform and restoration.

All these problems were most closely interconnected, but their solution had been rendered extraordinarily difficult already in the days of Clement VIII. by the disordered mind of the weak-willed emperor whose half-heartedness and indecision produced a highly dangerous situation. The peril became daily more acute owing to the insurrection of the Hungarians whose leader, Stephen Bocskay, did not scruple to ally himself with the hereditary enemy, the Turk.

Whilst bands of insurgents, supported by Turkish flying-columns, repeatedly appeared on the banks of the March and the Drave, and the badly paid imperial army ravaged its own territory, the Austrian aristocracy impatiently pressed its demand for "religious liberty". All this seemed to leave Rudolph unmoved: he remained entirely inactive. This state of affairs induced the archdukes Matthias, Maximilian, Ferdinand of Stiria and his brother, Maximilian Ernest, to swift intervention. On April 30th, 1605, they bound themselves to act as one man on behalf of their House

and to make joint representations to the emperor on the dangers that threatened unless provision were speedily made against them. They then betook themselves to Prague, and there obtained from Rudolph II., for his brother Maximilian, full powers for the conduct of the Hungarian war, as well as for the negotiations for an understanding with Bocskay.[1]

The ticklish question of the succession to the empire had only been lightly touched upon at the conference of the archdukes.[2] It was Paul V. who, as the Father of Christendom and the friend of the House of Habsburg, resolved to raise this urgent business which had occupied the Curia for the last twenty years, and to prepare the way for a final settlement. It was clearly recognized, in Rome as well as in Madrid,[3] that a vital interest not only of the House of Habsburg but of the ancient Church also was here at stake, for if Rudolph died, there was the menace of a Protestant imperial vicariate and, eventually, of a Protestant emperor. On June 24th, 1605, Paul V. informed the emperor that the nuncio of Prague, Ferreri, had been commissioned to confer with him on the choice of a king of the Romans. At the same time the Pope asked the chief advisers of Rudolph to assist the nuncio in every way.[4] Already on June 11th, Paul V. had urged Ernest, the Elector of Cologne, to repair to Prague and to press the emperor for a decision on questions in a definite settlement of which Rome saw the only means

[1] *Cf.* GINDELY, I., 71 ; STIEVE, V., 764 ; J. FISCHER, *Der Linzer Tag von* 1695 (Progr.), Feldkirch, 1898. FISCHER proves that it was not the archduke Matthias who was the originator of the diet of Linz, but his brother Maximilian, the then governor of Tirol and the Vorlanden.

[2] *Cf.* FISCHER, *loc. cit.*, 37.

[3] *Cf.* the **Instrucion del Marques de Villena al de Aytona*, dated November 9, 1606, which discusses in detail the dangers which must threaten at the death of the emperor if there were no king of the Romans. Here it is stated : " El negocio de la elecion del Rey de Romanos es oi el mayor i de mas gravidad que pende en el mundo," Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome, I., 28.

[4] *Cf.* MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 392, 396 *seq.*

of saving the Church in Germany.[1] The indecision and morbid susceptibility of the emperor, as also his aversion to the regulation of the question of the succession, were at that time greater than ever. However, Paul V.'s pressure was unremitting. On August 22nd, 1605, he wrote again to admonish the emperor not to put off any longer the choice of a king of the Romans. Danger threatened from the plots of the Protestants who had no more ardent wish than to wrest the empire from the House of Austria; the election of a king of the Romans would avert this peril.

A document of similar purport was issued on October 5th, 1605,[2] and a memorandum to the same effect was handed to Rudolph II. by Ferreri at the beginning of November. Against all expectations these admonitions were not ill received by the emperor although, at his audience, the nuncio received only the non-committal answer that the matter would be considered.[3] The Elector Ernest also, from whose visit to Prague Paul V. looked for a clarification of the situation, obtained nothing at his repeated audiences.[4] Ferreri began to despair. On the other hand the Pope persevered in his efforts. A new Brief, dated January 6th, 1606, insisted on a settlement of the affair. Ferreri hesitated to present the document and did so only after repeated orders and censures.[5] Paul V. now clung to the hope that the ecclesiastical Electors would force a decision at the forthcoming Diet of empire.[6]

Together with the settlement of the imperial succession, Paul V. had no less at heart a happy termination of the war against the Turks. To this end, only a fortnight after his

[1] *Ibid.*, 382.

[2] *Ibid.*, 472, 582.

[3] *Ibid.*, 580, 582. On October 5, 1605, Paul V. wrote to the Elector of Mayence in connection with the question of the succession. He had already written to him on the same subject on July 15; *cf.* STIEVE, V., 753.

[4] *Cf.* MEYER, 583 *seq.*, 585, 623, 635–8.

[5] *Cf.* MEYER, 651 *seq.*, 661, 689.

[6] *Ibid.*, 735 *seq.*, 772, 798. *Cf.* STIEVE, V., 857, note.

election, he dispatched his chamberlain, Giacomo Serra, to Hungary, with funds to raise troops.[1] This step was inspired not only by the traditional policy of the Holy See, which aimed at guarding Christendom from the attacks of the infidels, but also by the hope of restraining the emperor from granting concessions in the religious sphere to the Protestants of Austria and Hungary.[2]

It is easy enough to understand how the clamour for freedom of belief and conscience which became ever louder in those countries, had power to alarm the Pope to the utmost, for experience had shown what such a concession entailed for the Catholics. Wherever it had been granted, the sequel was the complete oppression of the Catholics, the deprivation of their churches and possessions and the prohibition of the practice of the Catholic religion.[3] Hence it is not to be wondered at if the Pope and his nuncios condemned with

[1] *Cf.* MEYER, 372, 407, 421, 629 *seq.* According to the report of the *obbedienza* embassy of Lucca, Paul V. had thought of sending a Cardinal to Germany with a view to preventing yet another squandering of his subsidy against the Turks; *cf. Studi e docum.*, XXII., 203.

[2] *Cf.* MEYER, XLVIII.

[3] This fact, which had already been emphasized by contemporaries such as STOBAEUS (see *Epist. ad diversos, Venet.*, 1794, 81, transl. by DUHR, II., 2, 325) is conceded even by a writer as hostile to Catholics as A. KLUCKHOHN (*Zur Vorgeschichte des Dreissigjähr. Krieges*, in the Suppl. to *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1876, no. 14). How Protestants abhorred the very idea of toleration towards Catholics is shown by the utter rejection of Paul V's. suggestion that one of the many churches and chapels of Nuremberg should be surrendered to the Catholics. For that reason also the diet was not to be held at Nuremberg for "thereby the ordinary man might get the scruple into his head that the Catholic religion cannot be so bad as the preachers make out"; *cf.* CHROUST, X., 85 *seq.*, 298, 424, 740. That Rudolph II. was in any way convinced of the necessity of freedom of conscience or worship, as MEYER (LXVII) supposes, is very doubtful; see *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CXIV, 124 *seq.*

the utmost severity[1] the aspirations of the time towards toleration and withstood them by every available means. However, Paul V. was only partially successful, though the subsidy for the war against the Turks which he and the Spaniards contributed, proved decisive for the rejection, in July, 1605, by the local Diet of Vienna, of religious freedom which the Protestants demanded as the price of their assistance against the Turks.[2] But this relieved the Pope only of part of his anxiety, for the Hungarian rebels also noisily demanded religious freedom, and in view of their close connection with the Porte, much depended on the issue of the Turkish campaign.

The truly pitiful course of the war in Hungary is well known. In the autumn of 1605 the Turks conquered Visegrad and the important town of Gran. The Pope, who at that very time was doing his best to induce the grand duke of Tuscany to lend help to the emperor,[3] was deeply grieved by these losses. His sorrow was further increased when he learnt that the shameful issue of the war was due to the systematic demoralization of the imperial military administration: "Write that we refuse to give further help, for it is clear that all is thrown away," was the sharp remark of the usually calm Paul V. to Ottavio Paravicini, the Cardinal protector of Germany.[4] In his letter of sympathy, dated October 31st, 1605, the Pope spoke to Rudolph in a manner which could not be misunderstood: if there was no improvement, worse was to be expected; as a friend and ally he felt bound to warn him that the bad system must be changed.[5] But of this there was no question: armaments, equipment, and commissariat remained as inadequate as before. In like manner the Pope's attempt to fight the Turk by leaguing together the land and sea forces of Spain, the Italian States,

[1] See Meyer, XLIX.

[2] See Meyer, XL., 434, 442, 446.

[3] *Cf.* the reports in Rinieri, *Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassa Cicala, Roma,* 1898,125 *seq.*, 187 *seq.*

[4] Meyer, 563.

[5] *Ibid.*, 555 *seq.*

the Catholic parts of Germany and the Slavonic and Croatian princes, failed owing to the indifference of Spain and the opposition of the selfish Venetians.[1]

The total sum spent by the Papal Chamber for Rudolph II.'s Turkish war amounted already then to two million gold scudi; hence the most that Paul V. was still prepared to do at the close of 1605 was a slight delay of the payment of the Papal troops. As a matter of fact in order to re-establish to some extent his financial condition, which was deplorable, he had been obliged, on December 23rd, 1605, to abolish, for the benefit of the income of the Papal chamber, a number of privileges and immunities granted by his predecessors.[2]

Since the emperor was resolved to come to terms with the Hungarian rebels, it was necessary to see to it that the Catholic faith suffered no injury.[3] The danger was great, for the Hungarians demanded not only the confession of Augsburg, but also the Swiss confession, that is Calvinism. The Pope made the most serious representations to the imperial envoy,[4] and in several Briefs besought the archduke Matthias, who was charged with the peace negotiations, not to allow any clause to creep in which would be detrimental to the Church and the true faith.[5]

The Prague nuncio, Ferreri, worked energetically for the same end, and bishop Klesl, whose advice had been sought, urged the necessity of taking this course. He declared, amongst other things, that the queen of England had told the Sultan, through her ambassador, that Calvinism and the Koran did not greatly differ, that, in fact they agreed on most points, and that the Dutch had recently made similar statements at Constantinople. Klesl further pointed out

[1] *Ibid.*, LII. *seq.*, 560.

[2] *Ibid.*, LIV., 611.

[3] See the letter of Cardinal Borghese to Serra, November 19, 1605, in MEYER, 577.

[4] *Cf.* the report in *Archiv des Ver. f. siebenbürgische Landeskunde N.F.*, XIX, (1884), 604 *seq.*

[5] See MEYER, 672, 698. The originals of both Briefs in *Staatsarchiv* at Vienna, *Urkunden.*

that if the Hungarian demands were granted not only would the political consequences be disastrous, but the act would be interpreted as confirming the religious concessions granted in Austria, and other countries would feel encouraged to make similar demands. Lastly he appealed to the coronation oath of the emperor whose person the archduke represented. The emperor had bound himself by a personal oath to maintain and protect the one, universal Church in Hungary and to this end to sacrifice life and goods, if necessary. Therefore let the archduke tell the rebels that it was not in his power to tolerate another religion.[1]

These representations were not without effect. Matthias began by resisting the demands of the rebels, though he ended by allowing himself to be persuaded by the Hungarian magnate, Stephen Illésházy. In this way, after five months of discussion, the fateful peace of Vienna was signed with Hungary on June 23rd, 1606. It expressly revoked Rudolph's supplementary article of 1604 concerning the fresh confirmation of decrees published by previous kings in favour of the Church and, though Calvinism was not mentioned, it also granted freedom to practise their religion to the Estates of Hungary, that is, to the magnates, the nobles, the free cities, and the boroughs immediately subject to the king, though no prejudice was to accrue to the Catholic Church, and her clergy were not to be interfered with.[2]

Whilst the negotiations were still pending, the nuncio of Prague, Ferreri, had urged the emperor that, with a view to saving his conscience, he should except from confirmation, when ratifying the agreement, whatever was against religion.[3] In the end Ferreri even went so far as to threaten to break

[1] See HAMMER, *Klesl*, II., *Beil* no. 186.

[2] See KATONA, XXVIII., 545 *seq.* *Cf.* STIEVE, V., 804, note 3, and GEZA LENCZ, *Der Aufstand Boskays und der Wiener Friede* (in Hungarian), DEBRECZEN, 1917, whose account, however, is not altogether unexceptionable (*cf.* *Wiener Zeitschr. f. Gesch.*, I., 624), for as STEINACKER justly remarks (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXVII., 116 *seq.*) his presentment of facts is one-sided.

[3] MEYER, 691.

off diplomatic relations if the opposite were to take place. However, this sharp procedure, which was bound to lead to the gravest complications, was not approved by the Holy See.[1] When Rudolph, after much hesitation, allowed himself to be persuaded to sign the peace of Vienna, on August 6th, 1606, he had recourse to a subterfuge, for in a secret document he protested that he had acted under compulsion and that he did not consider himself bound by the articles which conflicted with his oath as a Catholic king.[2] However, even so the peace of Vienna was a heavy blow to the Church, for the prosecution of the Catholic restoration in Hungary was now no longer to be thought of.[3]

The emperor had obviously sought to attenuate the consequences of the peace of Vienna, out of consideration for the Pope who, notwithstanding his financial straits, decided, in 1606 to grant yet another subsidy of no less than 130,000 scudi for the war against the Turks.[4] However, this sacrifice was also made in vain. The peace of Vienna was succeeded by an agreement with the Porte, concluded on November 11th, 1606, at Komorn, a place where the river Zsitva enters the Danube. Paul V. himself had ended by counselling an agreement for at this time the Pope was fully taken up with his struggle with mighty Venice.[5] On the Turkish side, the scales in favour of an agreement were heavily weighted by the peril which threatened from Persia, with whose ruler Paul V. had had relations in 1605.[6] In view of the emperor's lofty conception of his dignity, he must have deeply felt the

[1] *Ibid.*, 692, 711.

[2] See SCHMIDT, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, VIII., 159. The fable dished up by HUBER (*Der Jesuitenorden*, 137) of the advice of a Jesuit in this matter is also rejected by STIEVE (V., 808, n. 2.).

[3] MEYER, LVII., 787.

[4] *Ibid.*, LIV.

[5] *Cf.* STIEVE, V., 810, 828.

[6] *Cf.* **Relazione del negotiato fatto da un padre Carmelitano scalzo mandato da Paolo V. al Re di Persia l'a. 1605 per unire i principi cattolici contro il Turco* (in Spanish), Cod. 35, B. 9, p. 96-101, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, *cf.* Vol. XXV., p. 363 *seqq.* of this work.

humiliation of the unfavourable peace treaty with the Hungarian rebels and the Turks. He was by no means minded to acquiesce for ever, though for a long time he was unable to come to a decision. However, from the summer of 1607 onwards he was not afraid to infringe the peace of Vienna and he gave unmistakable proofs of his intention to renew the war against the Turks. The necessary money for a struggle against the Turks, on which Paul V. was once more keen [1] and for which he was willing to grant a subsidy,[2] was to be provided by the Diet of Ratisbon.

To the great annoyance of the Protestants, Rudolph appointed the rigidly Catholic archduke Ferdinand to represent him at that assembly. On October 3rd, 1607, Paul V. informed the emperor that the archbishop of Capua, Antonio Caetani, who in June had succeeded Ferreri as nuncio at Prague, was delegated to represent the Holy See at the Diet.[3] Briefs were handed to Caetani for the Catholic princes

[1] As soon as the compromise with Venice had been arranged Paul V. resumed his efforts with a view to fighting the Turks; *cf.* the reports of Mantuanese envoy from Rome of April 7, May 19, and July 21, 1607, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[2] See STIEVE, V., 841. On Paul V.'s support of the fleet of Ferdinand I. of Tuscany and the Order of St. Stephen, in their enterprises against the Turks, see LE BRET, VIII., 467 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 351 *seq.*; JORGA, III., 393 *seq.*; UZIELLI, *Cenni s. imprese scient. maritt. e coloniali di Ferdinando I.*, Firenze, 1901 (publ. Nozze). *Cf.* also the letter to ALY GIAMPULAT, *princip. et protect. regni Syriae*, dated February 2, 1607, praising him for resisting the Turkish tyranny and for liberating the people of that country, *Epist.*, III., 375, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Brief to Rudolph II., dated 1607, *V. Non. Oct.*, *Epist.*, III., 227, *ibid.* The Instruction for Caetani, dated October 20, 1607, in EGLOFFSTEIN, 114 *seq.*; on Caetani's arrival in Prague, see STIEVE, V., 481, n. 3. The statement that the Pope had at first been inclined to send Cardinal Carlo Madruzzo to the Diet as legate (*cf. Instrucion del Marq. de Villena al de Aytona*, dated November 9, 1606, Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome, I., 28) is incorrect. In the *Brief to Philip III. of September 22, 1606, the Pope says that in order to hasten the election of a king of

of empire which, besides accrediting himself, contained an exhortation to oppose the Protestant designs, to interest themselves in the spread of the Catholic faith, and above all to secure the restitution of the confiscated monasteries and other Church property. The emperor, who was informed of the existence of these letters, imagined that they dealt with the question of the succession—a matter which was odious to him—but Caetani was able to allay his suspicion at once.[1]

Rudolph II. was strongly opposed to Caetani's presence at Ratisbon for he feared that the Protestants, who were already greatly annoyed by the nomination of the archduke Ferdinand as his personal representative, would be still further incensed by the nuncio's presence. The imperial counsellors urged Caetani not to go to Ratisbon. They pointed out that the Diet was convened solely for the purpose of raising money for the Turkish war and that it was not customary for nuncios to be present at such assemblies in the absence of the emperor; the nuncio would do better service to religion if he remained with the emperor at Prague.[2] In the circumstances Paul V. decided to cancel the mission he had given to Caetani: he did so in a Brief of November 24th, 1607, which Caetani communicated to the emperor. At the same time Caetani presented a memorial in which the emperor was exhorted not to grant to Protestant administrators of dioceses any indult or privilege unfavourable to the Church, not to admit to the Diet the administrator of Magdeburg and all other usurpers and not to interfere any longer with the rights of Catholics in respect of Church property. In a covering letter the nuncio added that though the Pope

the Romans, he would send a prudent person to Germany, as the king recommends, but a Cardinal only after the diet should have been convoked. *Epist.*, II., 199, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] STIEVE, V., 903, and PIEPER, "Der Augustiner F. Milensio," in *Römish. Quartalschr.*, V. (1891), 58, n. 1. A general survey of Caetani's nunciature may be found in *Vita del card. Ant. Caetani di Msgr. Christoforo Caetani vesc. di Foligno*, Barb. 6030, p. 21, Vatican Library.

[2] PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 59, n. 1.

had agreed that he should stay away from the Diet, he had commanded him to repair to Ratisbon and to carry out his first instructions in the eventuality of the emperor refusing to give complete satisfaction on the above-mentioned questions. Therefore let the emperor forthwith give precise instructions to the archduke Ferdinand. On his part Caetani dispatched his *uditore* to Ratisbon with the task of explaining more fully the Pope's wishes to the archduke.[1]

In addition to these precautions for the safety of the interests of the Church, Caetani deemed it necessary to send a confidential messenger to Ratisbon with mission to report on the proceedings of the Diet. He intended to entrust the task to his *uditore*, but Rome feared to offend the emperor.[2] In the end Caetani's choice fell on the Neapolitan Augustinian Friar, Felice Milensio, who had been engaged, since 1602, in the visitation of the German and Bohemian monasteries of his Order.[3] Since the emperor was resolved himself to see to the interests of religion, it was said in Milensio's instructions, the Pope wished the nuncio to remain at Prague. He had, however, instructed him to send a confidential representative to Ratisbon whose task it would be to keep him and Cardinal Borghese informed of what took place at the Diet. As for himself he must show the greatest caution and reserve and treat with the archduke through the latter's confessor, Father Miller: only a very few people must know of his presence.[4] Milensio's duty as a mere reporter was not extended by Rome during the whole course of the Diet; only on one occasion, on March 8th, 1608, was he commissioned to deliver Briefs to the archduke and to the bishop of Ratisbon, and to encourage the Catholic commissaries and prelates in their determination not to consent to any decision prejudicial to the Catholic religion. During the

[1] Stieve, V., 897, 903 *seq.*; Pieper, 59.

[2] Stieve, VI., 108.

[3] Pieper, 61, 151 *seq.* On Milensio *cf.* Ossinger, *Bibl. August., Ingolstadii*, 1768, 590 *seq.* See also Wiedemann, II., 189, and Bertolotti, in the *Bibliofilo* of Bologna (1885), no. 10–11.

[4] See Egloffstein, 110; Pieper, 152.

Diet, Milensio confined his activity strictly within these limits. At Ratisbon he lived at the monastery of his Order, hence only a very few people were aware of his presence and he exercised no influence whatever on the discussions.[1]

[1] This is made quite clear by Milensio's reports which were first published by PIEPER (153 *seq.*) from the originals in the Papal Secret Archives, as well as by the directions sent to him by the secretariate of State, which are also preserved there (the latter are also in MSS. 181 of the *Stadtbibl.* of Stuttgart). RANKE (*Päpste*, II.[6], 270 *seq.*, III., 102 *seq.*) based his assertion of the opposite ("this nameless Augustinian friar defeated, at the decisive moment, an imperial concession which would probably have satisfied the Protestants") on a report of Milensio (*Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona, etc.*); RANKE does not indicate his source but it is evident that he used Barb. 5137. Though Ranke acknowledges that this report "was drawn up many years later", he did not subject it to a critical examination. This was first done by GINDELY (*Rudolf II.*, Bd. I., 163, note) when he came to the conclusion that Milensio attributes to himself more than he was entitled to. Gindely's proof is a negative one in that he demonstrates that neither he, nor Hammer or Hurter, in their researches on the year 1608, discovered anything in the Vienna *Staatsarchiv* which would bear out Milensio's report; as a matter of fact the very opposite is shown by the correspondence of archduke Ferdinand with his mother during the Diet of Ratisbon (full text in HURTER, *Ferdinand II.*, Bd. V.); and Ferdinand's silence in the detailed report of April 28, 1608, which does not mention the matter, is decisive. In the subsequent editions of his history of the Popes, Ranke ignored this important correction; in his book, *Zur Deutschen Geschichte*, he repeats (p. 165) Milensio's assertion and remarks as against Gindely, though without mentioning him, that "so definite a testimony as that of Milensio could not be shaken by the arguments adduced against it". STIEVE (*Ursprung des Dreissigjähr. Krieges*, 238, note 3, and EGLOFFSTEIN (97 *seqq.*) took the side of Gindely. PIEPER (*loc. cit.*, 57 *seq.*), basing himself on Milensio's correspondence, which has been preserved in its entirety, has finally clinched the matter against Ranke (*cf.* STIEVE), VI., 156, 243 *seq.*). Pieper shows that Milensio was not a papal *chargé d'affaires*, as Ranke assumes, that the account of the imaginative Neapolitan

Wholly against the intentions of Rudolph II., and to the great distress of Paul V.,[1] religious strife soon began to occupy the foreground at Ratisbon. The fact was intimately connected with an occurrence of little significance in itself but which had greatly roused Protestant resentment, namely the putting under the ban of empire of the small Suabian town of Donauwörth.[2]

Donauwörth was one of those towns in which, in accordance with the agreement of Augsburg, Catholics and Lutherans were to preserve their rights and to live in peace and tranquillity whilst both parties followed their own religion and customs. However, there, as everywhere else, tolerable relations between the two confessions did not last for as soon as the Protestants had secured a majority in the council, that body, regardless of the peace settlement, began to oppress the Catholics in every possible way. Not only were they excluded from all public offices, they were even denied the public practice of their religion. With what harshness the authorities proceeded is shown by the fact that when one of the townswomen was dying in hospital, she was denied the last consolations of the Catholic religion. The complaints of the ordinary, the bishop of Augsburg, and, at a later date, those of the Catholic Estates at the Diet of 1594, had not led to an improvement, but rather to a further deterioration in the state of affairs. The Catholics, who had melted down to a mere handful, would have been utterly crushed at Donauwörth had they not found support in the nearby Benedictine

of his decisive intervention is a fable and that the account of the *Ragguaglio* (printed by EGLOFFSTEIN, 105 *seq.*), to which Ranke attached so much importance, "in view of the many errors contained in it is of no value whatever for historical research."

[1] *Cf.* *the directions to Milensio of March 1 and 8, 1608, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows, LOSSEN, *Die Reichstadt Donauwörth und Herzog Maximilian*, Munich, 1866; STIEVE, *Der Ursprung des Dreissigjährig. Krieges*, 1. Buch, München, 1875; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 292 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 2, 334 *seq.* See also STRENGER, *Verfassung und Verwaltung der Reichstadt Donauwörth* (1909).

monastery of *Heilig Kreuz*. When the monks, most of whom had been pupils of the Jesuits of Dillingen, wished to revive the public processions, with cross and banners, which had long been in abeyance, the Council forbade the function. The bishop of Augsburg, Heinrich von Knäringen, protested to the imperial court council against this and other curtailments of the privileges of the Catholics of Donauwörth. The only result of a decree issued by that body for the protection of the Catholic religion was that, in April 1606, a Rogation procession which had started from the monastery of *Heilig Kreuz*, was assaulted and scattered by the populace at the instigation of the preachers.

The Council refused to punish the sacriligious attack, in the course of which a crucifix had been thrown to the ground, and ended by offering to the crown council the excuse that they were no longer masters of the fanatical populace. In consequence of this admission the emperor, without heeding the authorities of the Suabian League, in March, 1607, instructed the archduke Maximilian of Bavaria to protect the Catholics of Donauwörth from further vexations. When the commissaries of the duke were threatened in their own persons, the ban was pronounced upon Donauwörth which had been threatened for a long time because of the violation of the religious and territorial peace, and since the measure proved inadequate by itself, it was put into execution in December, 1607, by means of Bavarian troops. On December 17th the soldiery occupied the town from which the preachers and most of the ringleaders had already fled. Maximilian at once gave orders for the ecclesiastical restoration, summoned some Jesuits and restored to the Catholics the parish church abandoned by the preachers. But for the rest he proceeded with great caution.[1]

In a letter to the Pope, Maximilian expressed the hope that by the prompt execution of the ban against Donauwörth the prestige of the emperor had been not a little enhanced and that the Catholic religion had been given " a considerable

[1] *Cf.* STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 216 *seq.*, 448 *seq.*, and DUHR, II., 2, 335.

impulse and help", a fact which would prove "comfortable and profitable" in other places also.[1] These hopes, which Paul V. shared,[2] were not fulfilled. The proceedings against Donauwörth benefited neither the Catholic religion nor the imperial prestige, on the contrary, they turned to the advantage of the revolutionary party of the Palatinate.

The Diet had scarcely been opened on January 12, 1608, when the most sensational rumours began to circulate. The Pope, it was rumoured, had 10,000 men under arms who, under the leadership of Jesuits disguised as officers, were about to march into the empire; that the king of Spain had secretly set aside 100,000 ducats and was now enrolling soldiers; that the duke of Bavaria also had 15,000 men in readiness; that a cruel sea of blood was about to burst upon the hapless followers of the gospel.[3] In view of the deep impression which the proceedings against Donauwörth had created, rumours of this kind were readily believed, all the more so as the Protestants thought archduke Ferdinand capable of the worst, ever since he had made a prompt and decisive use of the right of reform and had carried out the ecclesiastical restoration in his territory. In these circumstances the disagreement which had existed until then between the

[1] See Wolf, II., 255. *Cf.* Stieve, *loc. cit.*, *Quellenbericht*, 80.

[2] See the *letter of Cardinal Paravicini to Rudolph II., dated Rome, January 12, 1608, in which we read: "Mandò il duca di Baviera quà relatione a S.S^{tà} del seguito di Dannevert et il suo agente la pubblicò poi alli altri, et è stata di grandissima allegrezza et consolatione; S.S^{tà} ne giubilava, et il Collegio ancora, come cosa di gran conseguenza per la religione cattolica et per il magior rispetto, che habbiano da portare li heretici per l'avenire; io oltre a tutte queste cause ne rendo grazie al Signore con vero affetto et me ne rallegro con V.M^{tà} humilmente perchè vedo che tanto più sarà riverita e stimata la M^{tà} S. quanto che mostrarà riosa sua risolutione contra ribelli de Dio et suoi" (State Archives at Vienna, MS. n. 595, t. XII., 39). *Cf.* also Paul V.'s laudatory *Brief to Maximilian I. of January 10, 1608, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Janssen-Pastor, V., 304 *seq.*

Lutheran States of the empire and the Calvinists of the Palatinate sank into the background: the latter became the leaders of the Protestants.

What this meant was seen at the Diet of Ratisbon, to the horror of Paul V.[1] Even the Elector of Saxony now made his promise of help against the Turks dependent on satisfaction being given to Protestant claims. The religious peace should be both confirmed and amplified, in the sense that the Catholics renounced all Church property of which they had been robbed since 1555. The Catholic Electors were willing to agree to this so long as the opponents would give a guarantee that thereafter they would not infringe the settlement. This the Elector Palatine refused: in the future also Protestants were to have a free hand to confiscate Church property.

Any right-minded man was bound to ask himself what advantage could the Catholics derive from any agreement if their opponents could declare in one breath: What we have taken from you, that we keep, and what we may be able to take from you, in the future, that we shall take.[2] On the motion of archduke Ferdinand, the Catholic members of the Council of Princes, to whom the ecclesiastical Electors now joined themselves, decided that the religious peace should be ratified with the addition of the following clause: Whatever has been appropriated by either party in defiance of this agreement, must be restored. The implied threat failed of its purpose, hence, in view of the emperor's precarious position, the archduke proposed a compromise, on March 16th, 1608. It consisted in a renewal of the religious peace without the proposed clause, but its omission was not to prejudice anyone. But even such large concessions to the demands of the Protestant minority failed to satisfy the people of the Palatinate; they demanded the express suppression of the proposed reservation. This would have gravely prejudiced

[1] *Cf.* the *Instruction to Milensio of March 29, April 5, 19, 26, and May 3, 1608, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Opinion of GINDELY (*Rudolf*, II., Vol. I., 159 *seq.*).

Catholic interests.[1] For fear lest the Diet should get completely off the track, the Elector of Saxony was unwilling to drive the opposition to extremes. However, the archduke Matthias' revolt against the emperor encouraged the party of the Palatinate to break up the Diet at the end of April by their own withdrawal from it.

When the last vital organ of the constitution of the empire had thus been paralysed [2] the plan of a Protestant separate league became a reality; this Henry IV. of France had proposed and worked for during the last ten years. On May 15th and 16th, 1608, at Ahausen, a village of Ansbach, the Elector Palatine, the duke of Württemberg, the Palatine of Neuburg, the rulers of Baden-Durlach, Brandenburg-Ansbach, and Kulmbach, formed a league, ostensibly for the sole purpose of defending the "evangelical" faith, but in reality with a view to defending by force of arms all that had been illegally acquired since the religious peace of Augsburg, as well as all further demands of the Protestants.[3]

That which the Protestant Estates of Empire undertook against the constitution of the Empire was likewise attempted, on a smaller scale, by the Estates of the Austrian Crown lands who, under the cloak of the new gospel, in reality worked for the establishment of oligarchic, aristocratic republics. When a few dozen princes and counts in Germany had imposed their unlimited domination on the consciences of the people of their territories, all in the name of "the liberty of the gospel", and had thereby even won a rich booty of Church property, a few hundred heads of aristocratic houses in Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia were anxious to imitate so alluring an example. Everywhere, of course, the cry was solely for freedom of conscience and protection against religious compulsion, but the real aim was to subtract the subjects from the authority of the Church and to hand

[1] See Ritter, *Briefe u. Akten*, II., 227 *seq.* *Cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXVI., 75 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Döberl, *Gesch. Bayerns*, I.[3] (1916), 535.

[3] See Janssen-Pastor, V., 336 *seq.* *Cf.* Klopp, *Dreissigjähr Krieg.*, I., 49 *seq.*; Gindely, *Rudolf*, II., I., 140.

them over to the arbitrary domination of the heads of aristocratic Houses. "Real liberty of conscience presupposed social conditions such as did not exist in the seventeenth century."[1] Moreover in those days, when Church and State were closely linked together, no ruler in Europe could be sure of his throne if his subjects gave up the Catholic faith. Wherever the ancient dynasties had remained faithful to the Church the religious innovations invariably took the form of political revolutions. This was especially the case in the various Austrian territories.[2] There the leaders were in very close contact with the anti-imperial party of the empire, especially with the Elector of the Palatinate, Frederic IV., a notorious drunkard, and with the intriguer, Christian of Anhalt-Bernburg. With a view to the complete oppression of the Catholics, these "heads and leaders" of the revolutionary party in the empire, cast their nets in every direction, from Paris to Venice and Constantinople. And in order that nothing might be wanting to misfortune, a dissension now broke out in the House of Habsburg which threatened the very existence of the dynasty.

Already in April, 1606, the archdukes, in a secret family council, had declared Rudolph II. incapable to govern "by reason of a certain malady of the mind", and they had chosen Matthias as head of the House. Two years later, the latter, who nursed a profound personal resentment against the emperor, took the desperate decision of leaguing himself with the almost wholly Protestant Estates of the various territories in order to put an end to the misrule of the head of the empire by means of a revolutionary rising. He began by making sure of the support of Hungary and Austria at the Diet of Pressburg. The recalcitrants were compelled by threats to join with the others.[3] The Moravian magnates who were openly aiming at an unlimited aristocratic government, joined the movement which Rudolph II. met only with half measures. About the middle of April, 1608, Matthias,

[1] GINDELY rightly emphasizes this (*loc. cit.*, 307).

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] See *Mon. Hung. dipl.*, III., 252.

who was increasingly becoming a mere tool of the heads of the Calvinist party—viz. the Hungarian Illésházy, the Austrian Tschernembl and the Moravian Zierotin—advanced from Hungary against Prague at the head of a considerable army recruited from the Hungarian and Austrian Estates, in order to force a decision between himself and his brother. Christian of Anhalt was already hoping that the last hour of the House of Habsburg, which he hated with a deadly hatred, had struck. His plan [1] was for the Electors—Spain and the Pope being excluded—to undertake to mediate between the two hostile brothers. The Estates of Hungary and Austria were to be guaranteed full religious freedom for any subject "whosoever he may be"; Matthias was to have the government of Hungary and Austria, but in Bohemia the emperor was to appoint his brother Maximilian as his lieutenant. From the dissension which was sure to arise between Matthias and Maximilian, as a result of such an arrangement, Anhalt hoped for complications which would be bound to bring about the downfall of the House of Austria.[2]

However, the execution of these plans proved impossible. The mediation was undertaken not by the Electors but by the representatives of precisely those Powers which Anhalt wished to see excluded, viz. the envoy of Philip III., San Clemente, and the papal nuncio, Caetani. The negotiations proved exceedingly arduous but neither the Spanish envoy nor the papal nuncio allowed themselves to be discouraged.[3] That which decided the issue was the fact that the Bohemian Estates refused to join the rebels. Rudolph won them over by meeting their political aspirations, by postponing the settlement of ecclesiastical questions until a new Diet which

[1] RITTER, *loc. cit.*, I., 687 *seq.*

[2] On the *terminus fatalis domus Austriacae* see GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 210. According to a *letter of the prince of Anhalt to the Elector Palatine, July 29, 1609, Tschernembl too thought that in view of the incapacity of Rudolph II. and Matthias, the *terminus fatalis domus Austriacae* had arrived. Archives at Bernburg. Reg., VI., B. 4, p. 24.

[3] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 211; HUBER, IV., 506 *seq.*

was to be held in November, and by promising religious freedom until the time when that assembly should meet. The agreement concluded on June 25th, 1608, at Lieben, gave Matthias only half a victory. Rudolph ceded to him Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, but retained Bohemia, Silesia, and Lausitz, of which Matthias only secured the eventual succession.

Such was the situation at the moment of the arrival in Prague of Cardinal Giangarzia Millini who had been appointed legate to the emperor at a consistory held on May 5th, 1608.[1] The Pope, who was most reluctant to meddle with political questions, had been obliged to take this step because the strife between the two Habsburg brothers threatened to inflict grievous injury on the Church.[2] All the written exhortations of the Pope [3] and the efforts of his nuncio having yielded no result, a member of the Sacred College, who had been tried in several diplomatic missions, was now to attempt to mediate between the two brothers. That his task would be fraught with the greatest difficulties was very well realized in Rome.[4]

[1] See **Acta consist.* (of the vice-chancellor), Barb. 2926, Vatican Library. The faculties for Millini in *Bull.*, XI., 477 *seq.*

[2] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 250. On March 1, 1608, the Provincial of the Jesuits had written from Vienna to Cardinal Borghese: *Le cose qui sono in cativissimo termine poichè da quello si può congetturare non potrano terminarsi senza grandissima ruina del Christianismo. The Pope must put an end to the brothers' quarrel, BORGHESE, II., 163, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See **Epist.*, III., *ibid.*

[4] The *Avvertimenti dati al card. Millini*, dated May 12, 1608, as published by M. KOCH in the *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie* (I., 2, Vienna, 1850, 14*k seqq.*) are so incomplete, so full of mistakes, and so erroneously explained that one can only wonder how such nonsense came to be printed by a learned body. The mistakes of Koch, who obviously was ignorant of the very elements of Italian, are discussed by PIEPER in a publication on the occasion of the jubilee of the German *Campo Santo* in Rome (Freiburg, 1897), 264 *seqq.* In the same work there is an authentic reprint (p. 267 *seq.*) of the Instruction from *Nunziat. di Germania*, XVIII.

One great difficulty came at once from the emperor himself, for he surmised, and rightly so, that Millini was also charged to press for the choice of a king of the Romans and that the Pope, however much he condemned Matthias' revolt, would not unconditionally take the emperor's side.[1] So he sought to prevent Millini's mission, alleging that if a special envoy of the Pope were to arrive now, a suspicion would be created that there was question of a league against the Protestant Estates of the empire.[2] For this reason, on June 6, 1608, Rudolph dispatched a messenger to the Cardinal in the person of Matthias Renzi, with mission to beg him to delay his journey long enough to enable the Pope to send him fresh instructions.[3]

Cardinal Millini had only left Rome on May 20th, 1608. The cause of the delay had been the Pope's wish to await the report of the Prague nuncio who had gone to see the emperor.[4] Meanwhile Millini dispatched before him an Augustinian, one Peter Mander, of Neuhausen, who was well acquainted with Austrian conditions.[5] On May 31st

(Papal Secret Archives). A copy of the *Avvertimenti* is in the Stadtbibl. of Stuttgart, MS. 181.

[1] *Cf.* STIEVE, VI., 372, 398.

[2] *Ibid.*, 403.

[3] See the letter of Rudolph II. to Cardinal Millini, June 4, 1608, in PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 265, n. 1.

[4] See Cardinal Paravicini's report to the emperor in STIEVE, VI., 372, n. 2. *Cf.* the *Instruction to Millini, of May 17, 1608 (Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *Cf. Relatione di me Pietro Mandero di Neuhausen mandato di Roma la 17 Maggio 1608 e dell' operato in Germania, Bohemia, Austria, Ungaria sin alli 2 Settembre che tornai d'Innsbruck per Roma dove son gionto li 12 detto*, Borghese, I., 28, p. 19 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives). In this diffuse report, addressed to Paul V., Mander describes his journey, his transactions and his impressions. He reached Innsbruck on May 27; from there he journeyed to Linz viâ Ratisbon (July 1); on July 4 he was at Prague which he left on August 14 to go to Vienna. On August 6 he arrived at Salzburg, having come from Vienna, and on August 14 he was back at Innsbruck.

Millini was at Bologna; on June 9th he had reached Trent.[1] There he waited for the answer of Paul V. This was to the effect that the Pope and the Congregation for German affairs judged that the misgivings of the emperor were groundless, hence he was to start for Prague without any more ado.[2] Thereupon the Cardinal set out at once with a small retinue. He reached Prague as early as the evening of July 9th.[3] The emperor, who was failing more and more both in mind and body,[4] gave unmistakable tokens of his displeasure at the arrival of the legate. He put off the reception of the papal representative for the space of three days—in fact he would have preferred not to receive him at all. When at last he granted him an audience, in the afternoon of July 12th,

[1] See the original *Letters of Millini on his journey in *Borghese*, II., 154 (Papal Secret Archives). According to them, Millini was at Bologna on May 31 (from there he wrote: "Io ho risoluto di menar meco in Germania con licenza di suo generale fr. Baldassare Bolognetti dell' Ord. de Servi, padre di molte lettere et integrità," who also enjoyed the esteem of the Pope), on June 4 in Mantua, on June 9 at Trent.

[2] See the Instruction of June 21 in PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 265, n. 2. The Brief to Rudolph II., dated June 21, 1608, here mentioned ("necessario progrediendum ulterius legat. apost. cum jam Oenipontem pervenerit nec amplius esse locum revocationis") in the *Epist.*, IV., 16, Papal Secret Archives. The discussions of the German Congregation are mentioned in *Avviso of June 18, 1608, Vatican Library.

[3] On June 28, 1608, Millini writes from Ala (Hall near Innsbruck) where he took ship on the Inn; see *Borghese*, II., 154, Papal Secret Archives. On his arrival at Prague see STIEVE, VI., 434, n. 2, where, however, a reference is omitted to a report of Gaspar Paluzzi from Prague, dated July 14, 1609, printed in SAGGIATORE, III., 5 (1846), 140.

[4] "*Attende alla alchemia più che mai," Mander reports, "di giorno in giorno va calando di sanità et crescendo in malinconia": he cannot write all he hears. At the conclusion of his report Mander paints in darkest colours the intellectual and moral decadence of the emperor. *Borghese*, I., 28, Papal Secret Archives.

he did it with as little grace as possible. He barely walked half-way across the hall to meet the Cardinal legate. Those in the ante-room observed that when the emperor uncovered his head, he greeted the Cardinal with only a slight bow, whereas Millini made a profound obeisance.[1] The audience lasted barely a quarter of an hour.

The task of the legate, who found himself in the rôle of an unwanted mentor, was only seemingly eased by the compromise between the two warring brothers of which Millini had received news on his way to Prague, for though the treaty of Lieben had averted the peril of open war between Rudolph II. and Matthias, tolerable relations between the two had not been established. In view of Rudolph's character it was not to be expected that he would ever forget that his brother had robbed him of the greater part of his territories. To this must be added that the treaty did not stay the revolutionary movement which had broken out in the Estates. Both brothers had to expect that, as their reward, the Estates would demand far-reaching concessions, both political and religious. The Cardinal legate clearly discerned the germs of further disorders and grave dangers for the Church which lurked in the treaty of Lieben.[2] In compliance with his instructions he began by advising the emperor to cultivate good relations with Matthias and to resist the demands which the Protestants were sure to make.[3] The ticklish question of the imperial succession he put off until the end of the audience.

[1] See the reports in STIEVE, VI., 434 *seq.*, 439. The legate reports in his first letter to Borghese, dated July 14, 1608, on the emperor's unwillingness to give him an audience and the sad state of the court (*Borghese*, II., 163, p. 11, Papal Secret Archives). To this must be added three more letters of the same date (p. 7 *seq.*, 9 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*) of which GINDELY used only the one dealing with the election of a king, after a copy in the Archives of Simancas (*Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 252 *seq.*); PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 275, first gave the more important passages of the other letters.

[2] *Cf.* Millini's Relatione in PIEPER, 273. [3] PIEPER, 272.

To the first two points the emperor's answer, according to the legate's report of July 14th, 1608, was spoken in so low a voice that Millini could scarcely understand him.[1] Rudolph thanked the Pope for showing so much solicitude to act as mediator in the quarrel with his brother who had behaved very badly. The conduct of Matthias had encouraged the Bohemians to demand religious freedom; but he was determined to protect the Catholic religion in the future as he had done in the past; as for particular measures he intended to take, he would inform the legate of them later on. In support of his urgent request that the emperor would not put off any longer a decision in the matter of the imperial succession, Millini pointed to the dangers which threatened the welfare of the House of Habsburg and of religion itself if this affair was further shirked. If the emperor were to die to-day without an heir, the empire would become the plaything of the heretics; they would be joined not only by their foreign sympathizers, but by all the enemies of the House of Austria, and it could scarcely be doubted that in view of the division of the Electors into a Catholic and a Protestant party, the result of the election of a successor would not be to the advantage of the Habsburgs.

During these representations the emperor did not seek to disguise how much allusion to this question annoyed him, for the humiliation which Matthias had so recently inflicted on him had still further complicated it. His answer was spoken in an even lower tone than before, so that Millini had to approach as close to him as possible in order to hear him. Rudolph explained that he had made up his mind to take up seriously the question of the election of a king of the Romans—which had been so often discussed, when he was prevented by recent events: for the rest the real

[1] In view of the letter of Vischere to Fleckhammer of July 12, 1608, published by STIEVE (VI., 434 *seq.*), the reliability of which is attested by its origin and intrinsic probability, it is not unlikely that Millini failed to understand all the emperor said. *Cf.* PIEPER, 275, n.

decision lay with the Electors; he would inform the legate of his further decisions.

Millini replied that a great ruler should surely think more of the welfare of religion, the State, and his own dynasty than of his personal grievances, all the more so as everything depended on the emperor's personal decision, for he would not find it difficult to get the Electors to fall in with his views. Rudolph made no reply to these representations and put an end to the audience. In his report of the conversation which Millini dispatched to Rome on July 14th, 1608, he relates that Rudolph told his private secretary, Barvitius,[1] that the Cardinal was quite right when he exhorted him to think only of the welfare of Christendom, but that his resentment against his brother was still too great. Subsequently Millini made further unsuccessful attempts to induce the emperor, through his counsellors, to make up his mind in the matter of a king of the Romans, for the monarch was more unapproachable than ever. In view of existing conditions Millini doubted not that only Matthias could succeed to the empire, but that the emperor would never, of his own accord, take a step in that direction, unless he had reason to fear the worst, viz. his own deposition; but the Cardinal thought that it would be too big a risk to give to this fear a greater semblance of certainty.[2]

At the same time Millini worked zealously upon the imperial counsellors and others in order to make sure that, at the forthcoming Diet, no religious liberty should be conceded to the Bohemian Estates.[3] In the midst of his efforts he was alarmed by information that the Silesians made similar demands and threatened to secede from Matthias. Millini thereupon addressed to the emperor a counter-remonstrance

[1] The nuncio A. Caetani, in a report to Cardinal Borghese, of July 14, 1608 (*Borghese*, II., 163, p. 14, Papal Secret Archives), describes Barvitius as *ministro timido e pieno d'infiniti rispetti*. *Cf.* in this connection MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, LXX. *seq.*

[2] See Millini's report of July 14, 1608, translated by GINDELY, I., 253.

[3] See Millini's report of July 14, translated by Gindely.

in writing which, he was told, successfully prevented Rudolph at the last moment from making a concession of this kind.[1]

In the meantime, the new envoy of Philip III., Baltasar de Zúñiga, had arrived in Prague. The emperor was very indignant at his appearance on the scene and kept him waiting for an audience even longer than the legate.[2] It goes without saying that in the question of the succession Zúñiga fared no better than Millini. The envoy, who had not seen the emperor for two years, found him much altered. He agreed with Millini and Caetani that the unhappy monarch had not long to live.[3] Nevertheless Millini took endless trouble with a view to bringing about a reconciliation between Rudolph and Matthias, and to prevent concessions being made to the Protestants. In this last respect he thought he had achieved some success.[4]

On August 18th, 1608, Millini had another audience with

[1] See Millini's reports of July 18 and 21, 1608, in PIEPER, 276, n. 1.

[2] *"Zúñiga arrived three days ago. Egli sta aspettando di havere la prima audienza et prevedendo quanto havrà da penare per la seconda, ha risoluto di trattare in questa de negotio et particolarmente del principale dell' elettione del Re de Romani" (report of Mellini on July 28, 1608, *Borghese*, II., 163, Papal Secret Archives). On August 4, 1608, Millini *reports that he has not yet had his second audience and the Spanish envoy not yet his first. "L'aspettar li par molto duro. Si dorme profondamente in tutte le risolutioni." A *second report of August 4 states: Pensano alcuni per ottimo rimedio che S. M^tà^ armi vedendo che sono armati gl'heretici. . . . L'imperatore va pensando di fuggirsene." A third *letter of August 4 reports: S. M^tà^ parla di volersi ritirare. Non crede il Nuntio (A. Caetani che S. M^tà^ sia per far mai tal risolutione" (*ibid.*).

[3] See Zúñiga's letter of August 9, 1608, in STIEVE, VI., 460, and Millini's report of August 11, 1608, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* Millini's *reports of August 4 and the two *letters of August 11, 1608. In the second of these he says: "Continua S. M^tà^, per quanto dice ne la resolutione di non concedere cosa alcuna pregiudiciale a la s. religione," Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

the emperor. He thanked him for his intention firmly to resist the Protestants and then turned the conversation once more to the question of the election of a king of the Romans. In doing so the legate put the religious interests in the foreground and once more counselled a reconciliation with Matthias. The emperor's answer was brief, very low, and scarcely audible. He would treat with the Electors, convene a Diet in the near future and settle the affair as soon as possible. The words of his Majesty, Millini said in his report, could not have been more gratifying ; but similar assurances have been given often, and as far as my knowledge of this court goes, no hope can be based on them.[1] A third audience on August 25th, 1608, in which Millini took his farewell, yielded nothing new.[2]

On the very next day the Cardinal Legate left the capital of Bohemia. At the last moment the emperor honoured him with the gift of valuable presents.[3] He went on to Vienna in order to inform archduke Matthias how matters stood with regard to the question of the succession, to exhort him to make his peace with Rudolph II., and to restrain him from making any concessions in matters of religion which would injure the Catholic Church.[4] On the last point he thought he could hope for a measure of success inasmuch as Mander had reported very favourably on Matthias' Catholic sentiments.[5]

Millini reached Vienna on September 3rd and there awaited Matthias' return from Moravia. Matthias had given a general promise to the Diet of that country that no one should be

[1] See Millini's four reports of August 18, 1608, *Borghese*, II., 163, p. 158 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives., from which PIEPER extracted the answer of Rudolph II.

[2] See Millini's *report of July 25, 1608, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[3] See STIEVE, VI., 463, n. 3.

[4] See Instruction to Millini dated July 25, 1608, in PIEPER, 265, n. 3.

[5] He was *religioso cattolico* and went to Mass daily ; *cf.* Mander's *report in *Borghese*, I., 28, p. 57*b*, Papal Secret Archives.

persecuted for his religion, but on the other hand, he had refused to grant unconditional freedom of conscience.[1] Millini exhorted Matthias to show a like firmness against the Estates of Austria and Hungary. Warnings of this kind were very necessary. In Upper Austria, under the influence of Tschernembl, a Calvinist as energetic as he was ambitious, the Estates sought to establish the principle that previous to the oath of loyalty, sovereignty lay with the regional administration. Accordingly the free practice of the Protestant religion, as it had existed under Maximilian II., was re-established and on August 31st Protestant worship was inaugurated at Linz, Steyr and Gmunden. In Lower Austria only one of the gentlemen, one Adam Geyer, of Inzersdorf, near Vienna, had the courage to follow this example. At Millini's suggestion, Matthias had the church closed and Geyer arrested. Thereupon the Protestant Estates left Vienna, betook themselves to Horn and prepared to extort by armed force their demand for freedom of religion. The Catholic Estates broke with those of Horn and did homage to Matthias.[2] Matthias was not strong enough to crush the men of Horn, so he sought to isolate them by coming to terms with the Hungarians.

Matthias succeeded in getting himself elected king of Hungary, whereupon, on November 19th, 1608, he was crowned by the archbishop of Gran, Cardinal Forgács. But he was made to pay a heavy price for his triumph; not only was his political power confined within such narrow boundaries as to make him but the shadow of a king, in the religious sphere also the weak prince made concessions against which the bishops, pressed by Paul V., lodged a protest. Besides the noble and royal free cities all the other towns and villages were granted religious liberty. The Jesuits were debarred

[1] See CHLUMECKY, I., 516 *seq.*

[2] See HUBER, IV., 518 *seq.* He recounts Millini's intervention in his *Relatione* in PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 278. Millini left Vienna on September 12 (see STIEVE, VI., 463, n. 1); his reception in the consistory in Rome took place on November 8, 1608; *cf.* **Acta Consist.*, *Barb.*, 2926, Papal Secret Archives.

from the ownership of immovable possessions, and the previous safeguards of the Catholics were simply brushed aside.[1]

Paul V. had never really trusted Matthias. When therefore on August 22nd, 1608, he begged the Pope to support his election as king of the Romans, the latter replied on September 6th by merely referring to the report which Matthias was to receive from Millini; at the same time he admonished him to make no concessions to the Estates which would be detrimental to the Catholic religion.[2] Already on August 23rd, at the suggestion of Klesl,[3] the Pope had despatched the bishop of Melfi, Placido de Marra, who was in Mellini's suite, to Matthias with mission to congratulate the archduke on his nomination as king of Hungary, and to admonish him to make no concessions to the Protestants that would injure the Catholic religion.[4] The anxiety with which the Pope watched developments in Austria and Hungary is shown by the fact that on August 27th he proclaimed a jubilee in order to implore the divine assistance.[5] He still hoped that on the question of religion Matthias would pursue the policy of refusal which he had followed in Austria. For this reason he commissioned de Marra to congratulate the arch-

[1] See HUBER, IV., 529 *seq.* On Paul V' exhortation to the Hungarian bishops, see HERGENRÖTHER, III., 671, n. 1.

[2] See STIEVE, VI., 458, n. 1.

[3] On August 4, 1608, Millini wrote from Prague to Cardinal Borghese, transmitting a letter of Klesl's in which the latter insisted on the necessity of sending a special nuncio to Matthias. Millini seizes the opportunity to draw attention to de Marra on whom he bestows great praise. *Borghese*, II., 163, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Instructions of the Secretary of State to P. de Marra of August 23 and 26, 1608, MSS. 181 of *Stadtbibl.* at Stuttgart. On the Briefs see STIEVE, VI., 464, n. 1. *Cf.* also the Relation of Millini in PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 279. The *inventory of the nunciatures in Barb. 4141 (Vatican Library) describes de Marra as *Huomo di dolce tratto.*

[5] See **Acta Consist.*, *loc. cit.*; the suggestion of the Jubilee in Millini's *letter of August 4, 1608, Papal Secret Archives.

duke on his having secured the crown of Hungary.[1] But when the protests of Cardinal Forgács against the concessions granted to the Protestants by Matthias reached Rome,[2] soon to be followed by the news of the expulsion of the Jesuits,[3] the Pope felt justified in having refused the subsidy which he had asked for, and for which Spain had also warmly pleaded, to enable him to repress the Protestants by force. Paul V.'s reply at the time had been that he would only grant such a subsidy if a league were formed including Matthias, the emperor and all the Catholic princes of Germany. The Pope's reserve sprang by no means, as has been suggested, from ill-advised economy, still less from avarice, but from a clear and accurate observation of the situation. A subsidy of money could only yield fruit if unity among the Catholic princes gave some hope that the measures taken had some prospects of success. A distribution of money to this prince and to that would only scatter and diminish the resources of the Holy See without achieving anything. The experience which the Holy See had had with the big sums granted to Rudolph II. militated against money being given to so inconstant and weak a ruler as Matthias.[4] Nevertheless, how much allowance

[1] See the Instruction to de Marra of November 15, 1608, in the *Denkschrift der Wiener Akad.*, I., 2, Vienna, 1850, 145.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Cardinal Forgács to Paul V., dated Posonii, 1608, November 1, *Borghese*, II., 163, p. 352; *ibid.*, p. 353, *a letter of the Cardinal to Paul V., dat. Posonii, 1608, December 5: *Liquefacta est anima.* To the Pope's exhortation that he should do something to meet the Church's losses in Hungary, the Cardinal replies: "Nunquam Vest S^tas^ credat, quales Ungari, antea ab ubere s. matris ecclesiae lactati, catholica pietate celebres, ubi venena haeresum hauserunt, evaserint, quanto furore ad destructionem religionis catholicae, ad diripiendum praedandumque patrimonium Christi," Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Cardinal Forgács announced this to the Pope in a *letter dated Tyrnaviae, 1608, December 30, in which he says: "Inter has dictae Ungariae tempestates obruta propemodum haec ecclesia nostra catholica," *ibid.*, 355.

[4] This is the opinion of CHLUMECKY, who is none too friendly to the papacy (*Zierotin*, I., 564).

was made in Rome for Matthias' difficult position in Hungary is shown by the fact that Paul V. was extremely moderate in the expression of his displeasure; he took into account the circumstance that, in substance, only the existing state of affairs had been sanctioned.[1]

But things were very different when Matthias, after much hesitation, and in order to safeguard his sovereignty, granted to the Estates of Horn, in March, 1609, much more than Maximilian II. had at one time conceded, so much so that, as the bishops pointed out at once in their protest, the Catholic religion was bound to perish.[2]

This time Paul V. addressed to Matthias a Brief of severe blame.[3] When the king wished to fulfil his Easter duty, bishop Klesl declared that he could not be admitted to the sacraments since all those who had taken a share in this affair had incurred the excommunication pronounced by the Bull *In Coena Domini*. Thereupon the scruples which the king had already previously felt in consequence of his conduct awakened anew, and with such force that he sought absolution in Rome.

To obtain it those counsellors who had advised Matthias to yield were compelled publicly to declare that the articles which had been granted were erroneous and null, and to pray the king to revoke them at the first opportunity.[4]

The successes of the Protestant party in the countries which had seceded from the emperor had an immediate and powerful

[1] See GINDELY, *Rudolf* II., Vol. L., 308.

[2] See HURTER, *Ferdinand* II., Vol. VI., 186 *seq.*; HUBER, LV., 541 *seq.*; *cf.* BIBL. in *Jahrbuch des Verb. f. Landeskunde von Nieder. Österreich*, 1903, 28 *seq.*, and in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, CIX., 433.

[3] Text of *letter dated April 4, 1609, in Appendix No. 1 (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] See report of Bodenius to Maximilian I., dated April 23, 1609 (*Reichsarchiv* at Munich) used by CHLUMECKY, I., 561–2, and Klesl's letter to Zúñiga in GINDELY, I., 308, note. On the legal question *cf.* the memorial of Bellarmine of 1608 in *Le Bachelet, Bellarmin avant son cardinalat*, 595 *seq.*

repercussion on the Bohemian Estates. A contemporary aptly sums up the situation when he says that it was intended at Prague to stage " a Bohemian Horn ". The movement was controlled by the spiritual head of the " Union of Brethren ", Wencelaus Budowec of Budowa. The aim of this eloquent and energetic man, who was thoroughly steeped in the teaching of Calvinistic statecraft, was the establishment of an unlimited Czecho-Protestant aristocratic government on the ruins of the ancient Church and the royal throne. This plan was opposed, in conjunction with the Papal nuncio Caetani and the Spanish envoy Zúñiga, by the archbishop of Prague, Karl von Lamberg, by the high chancellor Popel of Lobkowic, by William Slawata and Jaroslaw of Martinitz. The emperor, broken in mind and body and thinking only of revenging himself against Matthias, was unable to arrive at a decision.

The struggle lasted from January till July and during its progress the majority of the Estates, which were composed of Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren, did not shrink from threats of open secession. In the end nothing was left to the emperor but the alternative between abdication in favour of his brother or unconditional acceptance of the Protestant demands. In his hatred for Matthias he was all the more willing to choose the latter course as his allegiance to the Catholic faith had wavered for a long time.

On July 9th, 1609, Rudolph II. gave his sanction to that " sheet of parchment which was to set half the world on fire ", the so-called " Letter of Majesty ". This was followed by a compromise, sanctioned by the emperor, between the Catholic and the Protestant Estates, which went still further. Both documents granted full liberty to all the inhabitants of Bohemia, irrespective of class, to embrace the Bohemian Confession of 1575, which is a mixture of Hussite, Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines. The " Letter of Majesty " granted the right to build churches only to the three upper Estates, viz. the nobles, the knights and the royal Estates; the " Compromise " extended it also to the inhabitants of the royal domains. In view of the fact that the Protestants

included the ecclesiastical domains among these, a point which the Catholics contested, further disputes were inevitable.[1]

At Rome it was fully realized that since Rudolph II. had failed to obtain even now from the Protestant Estates the disbandment of their troops, his authority was almost completely undermined.[2]

He soon saw himself under the necessity of issuing a "Letter of Majesty" to the Silesians, the Bohemians' allies, which granted to the subjects the right to build churches in even more emphatic terms than had been done in the "letter" to the Bohemians.[3]

Through the weakness and indecision of the two Habsburg brothers of Prague and Vienna, who were also mortal enemies, Protestantism had made enormous strides in the Austrian territories where archduke Ferdinand alone still upheld the unity of the faith. The reaction on ecclesiastical conditions in the empire was inevitable. Since the formation, there, of the Protestant *Separate League*, the so-called "Union"—the decision of Germany's destiny rested on the point of the sword. The *Union* was bound to provoke a Catholic defence organization, viz. the *League*.

It is in the nature of the defensive to be less quick to act than the offensive. Thus the Catholic League has a long pre-history. The plan of a vast Catholic defensive association against the aggressive Protestant party had been frequently discussed ever since the first impulse had been given towards a Catholic restoration; but the most varied causes, chief among them being the jealousy between Bavaria and Austria and the timidity of the ecclesiastical Princes, had hitherto nullified all efforts, though the Protestants already represented

[1] GINDELY, *Gesch. der Erteilung des Böhm. Majestätsbriefes*, Prague, 1868, and *Rudolf*, II., Vol. I., 309 *seq.*; CHLUMECKY, *Zierotin*, I., 575 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 615 *seq.*; HUBER, LV., 544 *seq.*; KRÖSS, in *Zeitschrift f. kath. Theol.*, XXXI., 474 *seq.*

[2] See Borghese's letter to the nuncio at Prague, dated August 8, 1609, in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 82.

[3] See GRÜNHAGEN, II., 140 *seq.*

it as an accomplished fact and made capital out of it for controversial purposes.[1]

Soon after Paul V.'s election, in June, 1605, the nuncio at the imperial court had been instructed, in view of the situation in Germany, which was fraught with danger for the Church, to press for the formation, in the hereditary States of the Habsburgs, of a league of the ecclesiastical and other good Catholic princes.[2] In July, 1605, the nuncio of Gran, Girolamo Porzia, suggested to Maximilian I., duke of Bavaria, the formation of a Catholic Defence League. The duke, who at that moment was fully taken up with the ordering of his own internal affairs, observed as always, a cautious reserve; in fact he did not take the hint.[3] But the events of Donauwörth [4] brought about a change in his policy [5] for he now clearly perceived that the Protestants aimed at the destruction of the Church and the subversion of the empire.[6] In his own resolute and energetic way, Maximilian decided on strong counter-measures. In June, 1607, he caused representations to be made to the Elector of Cologne on the need of a Catholic defence league. The weakness of Rudolph II., the dissolution of the Diet of Ratisbon through the machinations of the party of the Elector Palatine, and, lastly, the quarrel between the two Habsburg brothers,

[1] Cardinal Otto Truchsess, 1561–2, was the first to point to the necessity of a Catholic federation in the empire; in 1569 Albrecht IX. of Bavaria planned an extension of the league of Landsberg (see RIEZLER, IV., 587 *seq.*). The new impulse which came from the papal legate Madruzzo in 1582 (see our notes in Vol. XX., 271 *seqq.*) led to the plans for a federation of William V. which were, however, doomed to failure owing to the jealousy between Bavaria and Austria; *cf.* RITTER, II., 13 *seq.* For later developments see BURGER, *Ligapolitik Joh. Schweikarts* (1908), 11 *seq.*

[2] See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 396.

[3] See STIEVE, V., 781 *seq.*

[4] See above, p. 267 *seq.*

[5] For what follows see RIEZLER, V., 60, who gives the literature on the subject.

[6] DÖBERL, *Gesch. Bayerns*, I., 536.

drove the duke of Bavaria ever further. Without heeding the emperor, who was quite unfit to rule, non-Austrian Catholic Germany was to be united in a defensive league. To remove every appearance of selfish views, Maximilian thought of leaving the initiative to the three ecclesiastical Electors as to the most distinguished as well as the most threatened Catholic Estates. However, fear of their Protestant neighbours caused these to hesitate ; their eyes were only opened when the " Union " became an accomplished fact. In July, 1608, they declared their approval in principle of a counter-league and even agreed on details. Subsequently they adopted a waiting policy [1] so that six months went by before the foundation stone of the Catholic League could be laid. That which eventually clinched the matter was the attack by the Elector Palatine on the possessions of the bishop of Spire, in April, 1609. Under the impression which this attack made on the minds of the ecclesiastical Estates, an alliance was signed at Munich, on June 10th, 1609, between Bavaria, the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Ratisbon, the archduke Leopold in his capacity as bishop of Passau and Strassburg, the Provost of Ellwangen and the abbot of Kempten.

This alliance, subsequently styled " The League ", was to serve only one purpose, viz. the defence and preservation of the Catholic religion, and the protection of religious peace and the laws of the empire.[2] The misgivings of the three Electors of the Rhineland, on account of the exclusion of Austria, were finally overcome. Under pressure of the peril threatening their dioceses by reason of the burning question of the succession of Jülich,[3] they joined the League on August 30th, 1609, and on this occasion, in addition to the duke of Bavaria, the Elector of Mayence was likewise appointed supreme head of the League.

[1] *Cf.* Bürger, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*

[2] See Döberl, *loc. cit. Cf.* Hefele, *Der Würzburger Fürstbischof Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn und die Liga*, Würzburg, 1912, 31 *seq.*

[3] See Bürger, *loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*

Just as the Union leaned on France, so did the League seek the support of Spain and the Pope. Here also Maximilian appears as the moving and guiding force. In a secret memorial of June, 1608, on the subject of a Catholic federation, Maximilian insisted on the necessity of support by the Holy See with the legate Millini who was expected at Munich about that time.[1] In the autumn the duke had some confidential discussions, through his envoy, Forstenhauser, with the nuncio of Prague, Caetani, on the question of a papal subsidy for the League. In November Paul V. replied that it was necessary to ascertain first whether the Protestants had really decided to form a general league against the Catholics, otherwise it would not be advisable to form a Catholic league, because this would only force the opponents to federate themselves and to rouse other Powers as well. This view, which events showed to have been erroneous, so annoyed Maximilian that he ordered the negotiations with Caetani to be broken off.[2] In the following year, however, immediately before the formation of the League, he renewed his attempt, but this time, on June 22nd, 1609, he wrote a pressing letter direct to the Pope himself. He suggested that the Pope, and, at his instigation, the king of Spain, the grand duke of Tuscany and other foreign princes should assist the German Catholics either with money or with troops.[3] Meanwhile there arrived at Munich the famous Capuchin, Lorenzo da Brindisi, whom Zúñiga, the Spanish ambassador, with the concurrence of the nuncio Caetani, charged with a special mission to Madrid. Maximilian handed him a memorial for Philip III. in which he begged for the latter's support of the German Catholics. The courier who was to take the letter of June 22nd to Rome, was entrusted with a second letter for the Pope, dated June 25th, which prayed His

[1] See Stieve, VI., 418 *seq.*

[2] See Wolf, II., 464, note; Stieve, VI., 418 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*, 489 *seq.*

[3] See Cornelius, in *Münchner Hist. Jahrb.*, 1865–6, 162 *seq.* *Cf.* Stieve, VI., 711 *seq.*

Holiness to give his support to the Capuchin's entreaties with Philip III. Paul V. answered by return, on July 3rd, 1609, that he had at once done his utmost to second Maximilian's request with Philip III., and that on his own part he would do all he could.[1]

After the three ecclesiastical Electors had given their adhesion to the League, on August 30th, a deputation was sent, in November, 1609, to the Pope and to the Italian princes, with mission to secure their assistance. Maximilian despatched his counsellor, Giulio Cesare Crivelli, to Rome for the same purpose. The negotiations seemed at first to hold some promise, for Paul V. evinced the greatest interest in the League and gave repeated assurances that he meant to help, not only with money, but with troops also. The Pope was particularly strengthened in this view by Cardinal Bellarmine, who offered to put at his disposal part of his own revenues should it be necessary.[2]

Nevertheless, the envoys of the League were unable to conclude a definite pact, and after a three month's stay they had to depart with no more than general assurances. This surprising attitude of Paul V. is explained, not only by his consideration for the House of Austria,[3] but likewise by the clever opposition of the French ambassador, Brèves, who, as soon as the Pope showed signs of willingness to support the League, always knew how to turn him from his purpose by his insinuations.[4] Paul V. imagined that he ought to show the greatest consideration for the powerful French ruler, and he feared lest a too open support of the League, which was

[1] See STIEVE, VI., 719 *seq.*; *cf.* CORNELIUS, *loc. cit.*, 163.

[2] See MAYR, VII., 53, 157 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*, 215, 260, 264 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, 361 *seq.*, 369 *seq.*, 371, 392, 403 *seq.*; VIII., 24, 201 *seq.*, 414 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, VII., 317 *seq.*, VIII., 343, note. RIEZLER (V., 70) is of opinion that a contributory cause may have been the fact that "Paul V. was completely taken up with his struggle with Venice"; but when he wrote thus he overlooked the fact that the quarrel with Venice had been settled already in April, 1607.

[4] See GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, vol. II., 64 *seq.*

allied with Spain, should lead to strained relations with France. Moreover, he was little inclined to reinforce still further the Spanish preponderance, which was already great enough in itself, and which, in Italy, made itself heavily felt by the Holy See.

To this must be added the fact that the exceedingly cautious Pontiff was afraid, as he had been in the contemporary question of Jülich-Cleve, to take any step in the matter of the League which might lead to a war between Catholics and Protestants. A risk of this kind he deemed far too dangerous in view of the relative strength of the parties at that moment. However much his personal sympathies may have been with the League, he was nevertheless unwilling to cause a war in Germany for the sake of religion. If, however, things should come to that extremity, then, so he openly declared to the French ambassador in January, 1610, he would give his support to the League.[1]

The assassination of Henry IV. removed the danger of war on a big scale, but in its place, in consequence of the acts of violence of the people of the Union in the dioceses of central Germany, there was a threat of a collision with the League. It was greatly to the disadvantage of the League that it had not given a different turn to its relations with Austria. Like Spain, the Pope made his support of the League dependent on Austria being given the supreme direction of the federation. Thereupon Maximilian threatened to withdraw from it, a threat which led Spain to moderate its former demands. On August 14th, 1610, an agreement was reached by which Philip III. bound himself to make a monthly payment of 30,000 ducats on the sole condition that archduke Ferdinand was to be no more than vice-protector, with the title of co-director of the League, and its chief in the place of the king, and that he would take part in all the deliberations on those terms. At the same time the nuncio of Prague promised in the name of the Pope an annual contribution of 66,000 scudi to the

[1] See *Letters and Acts*, III., 499; HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instituts*, XV., 347 *seq.*, 353 *seq.*

chest of the League for as long as it would have to be under arms for the defence of Catholicism.[1]

The warlike preparations of Maximilian[2] and his allies alarmed the members of the Union to such a degree that they lost heart. On October 24th a compromise was reached between them and the League by the terms of which both parties laid down their arms. Meanwhile the discord between the two brothers, Rudolph and Matthias was not at an end. Like all the other friends of the House of Habsburg, Paul V. saw in this quarrel one of the chief sources of every misfortune and a constant danger to the interests of the Church. In order to re-establish tolerable relations between the two disputants it was decided to take up once more the plan of a meeting of all the archdukes which had been suggested from the first, but which had failed owing to the mistrust of Rudolph. More than anyone else Klesl, Matthias' first counsellor, advocated the idea of restoring peace within the House of Habsburg by this means.[3]

In the hope of inducing his brother to restore the lands which he had taken from him, Rudolph II. allowed himself, in January, 1610, to be persuaded by the Elector of Cologne to convene a meeting of this kind. The congress did eventually come together, but not as a family council, as Matthias wished, but as an assembly of princes. In September, 1610, a com-

[1] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 68 *seq.*; MAYR, VIII., 528 (*cf.* 24, note 2).

[2] In a Brief of March 29, 1610 (original in *Staatsarchiv*, Munich, transl. in *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, XLVII. (1868), no. 37), Paul V. had exhorted the bishops and abbots of Bavaria to furnish horses and men to Maximilian for his war against the heretics, at the same time as Maximilian received absolution for any censures he might have incurred whilst taking measures towards this end. In the eventuality of war with the Union, Maximilian prayed that the Capuchin Laurence of Brindisi might be with his army, a request which the Pope granted on October 10, 1610. The Brief quoted by MAYR (VIII., 569) has long been in print.

[3] See KERSCHBAUMER, *Klesl*, 163.

promise between Rudolph and Matthias was arrived at.[1] In view of the emperor's inconstancy and the powerful efforts of the Protestants to fan the discord anew, Rome feared from the first for the stability of the compromise; hence the bishop of Sarzana, Giovan Battista Salvago,[2] who had been appointed to succeed Caetani as nuncio at Prague in November, 1610, was instructed to watch with the utmost care that the enemies of the Church and the House of Habsburg did not rekindle the domestic quarrel; to this end he should secure the assistance of the nuncio at Vienna and the Spanish envoy.[3]

That the fears of the Holy See that the reconciliation between the two brothers was only an apparent one were but too well founded, was soon seen. Filled with bitter resentment against Matthias, Rudolph was forging desperate plans with the ambitious archduke Leopold who had arrived in Prague with a view to recovering his lost power. In this enterprise

[1] See GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. II., 127 *seq.*; MAYR, VIII., 125 *seq.*, 598.

[2] See the *Brief of November 12, 1610, to Rudolph II., *Epist.*, VI., 184, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *"Ma perchè i medesimi heretici et altri mali affetti alla casa d'Austria procureranno per loro interesse di disunire con nove arti gli animi di queste M^tà^ et indurle a nuove scissure, appartenera a V.S. stare vigilantissimo per la sua parte acciò che s'impedischino tutti li tentativi di ridurre le cose a discordie peggiori delle prime in che deverà anco invigilare Monsig^re^ Nuntio in Vienna et insieme con V.S. Don Baldassar de Zunica, ambasciator cattolico in Praga, desiderando il suo re che la riconciliatione sudetta sia stabile per i buoni effetti che ne possono seguire a beneficio dell'Imperio, della casa d'Austria e della religione cattolica in Germania (*Instruttione a Msgr. vescovo di Sarzana*, etc., of October 23, 1610. *Cod.* 468, p. 215 of Corsini Library, Rome; other copies of the Instruction in *Ottob.*, 1066, p. 178 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and in *Nunziat. div.*, 240, p. 43 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives). Salvaggo's *reports of 1611, in Vat. 9611–9615; those of 1612, in Barb. 6915, Vatican Library. The instruction of the Secretary of State to him from 1610–1612 in Barb. 5928, *ibid.*

he was to have the help of the Passau troops which had been unemployed since the pitiful issue of Leopold's campaign against Jülich. The appearance of these troops in Bohemia precipitated the catastrophe. Heedless of the warnings of the papal nuncio, Giovan Battista Salvago, and those of the Spanish envoy, Zúñiga, archduke Leopold laid aside the clerical garb and assumed the supreme command of these undisciplined bands. When they reached Prague, Rudolph, whose appalling hatred for his brother was described with surprising accuracy by his alchemist, Hauser,[1] openly took their side. After their withdrawal Matthias, for whose protection against Rudolph the Bohemian Estates had prayed, appeared at the head of an army. On March 24th, 1611, he made his solemn entrance into Prague ; on May 23rd he received the Bohemian crown which the helpless emperor had had to resign. For a last time the mortally offended man hoped to regain what he had lost. To overthrow his brother he was willing to ask for the help of the bitterest enemies of his House, the Protestant Union. By his death, on January 20th, 1612, he was spared further humiliations and disappointments.[2]

It was with great anxiety and "boundless grief" that Paul V. saw the quarrel between the two brothers flare up anew. In vain he had sought to "calm the storm", and to induce Rudolph II., as well as the archdukes Matthias and Leopold, to conclude an amicable arrangement. The mentally enfeebled emperor was under the delusion that the Pope was his worst enemy, whereas the truth was that Paul V. did all he could to bring about a compromise, and when the fall of the unhappy monarch could be arrested no longer, he had sought to soften the blow through the intervention of his nuncios, Salvago and de Marra.[3] When the Pope was informed

[1] See Mayr, IX., 517 *seq.*

[2] See Gindely, *loc. cit.*, II., 164 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 279 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Mayr, IX., 99, 208 *seq.*, 308 ; Gindely, II., 196 ; Bohm, *Landtagsverhandl.*, XV., 73, 84, 226 *seq.*, 228, 490, 545, 614 *seq.*, 635, 706, 751, 755 *seq.*, 757 *seq.* On the high value of the nuncia-

of Rudolph's death he paid tribute to his memory at the consistory of February 6th, 1612,[1] and since news arrived at the same time that the emperor had made his confession before the end came, the usual obsequies were held for him on the following day in the Sistine Chapel, in the presence of Paul V. Later on, however, the Pope learnt with sorrow that Rudolph had refused to make his confession and had died unrepentant. Consequently the Prague nuncio was instructed to keep the impenitence of the mentally stricken monarch as secret as possible. The secret was kept so successfully that only the most recent research has brought to light the true state of things.[2]

The death of Rudolph II. brought about once more in Germany, for the first time in a hundred years, the dangerous condition of an interregnum [3] during which the Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony, who were both Protestants, assumed the administration of the empire in the capacity of Vicars. It was natural that this circumstance should give rise to grave anxiety in Rome lest fresh injury should be done to Catholic interests ; hence Paul V., as early as February 4th, 1612, directed his nuncios to do their utmost to speed up the

ture reports of that year for the history of Bohemia *cf.* Novak, in *Mitteil. des böhm. Landesarchivs*, I.

[1] See **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2926, Vatican Library.

[2] See Cardinal Borghese's letter to the Prague nuncio, dated Rome, February 11, 1612, in *Nunzial. div.*, 8, p. 463*b* *seq.*, given by Turba in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI. (1899), 357, note 1. Chroust (X., 243 *seq.*), in discussing the question whether or no the emperor made his confession, has overlooked decisive evidence ; this suffices even without the reports of the Prague nunciature (which have not been found until now) on the last months of Rudolph II.'s life. *Cf.* also the attestation of the Mantuan envoy in Luzio, *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, II., 97. On the funeral solemnities in the Sistine chapel, see *Avviso of February 8, 1612, Vatican Library, and on those in the *Anima*, see Schmidlin, 451 ; on those in the *Campo Santo*, De Waal, *Campo Santo*, 165 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Mander's report in *Borghese*, I., 28, p. 44*b*, Papal Secret Archives.

election.[1] In a consistory of February 6th, 1612, public prayers for a happy issue of the imperial election were ordered.[2] So great was the Pope's anxiety that he decided to send a legate to the ecclesiastical Electors,[3] though there were already six representatives of the Holy See on German soil, viz. Giovan Battista Salvago at Prague, Placido de Marra with king Matthias, Pietro Antonio da Ponte at Graz, Antonio Albergati at Cologne, Antonio Diaz at Salzburg, and Guido Bentivoglio at Brussels. A suitable person for this legation was found in Ottavio Mirto Frangipani who was familiar with existing conditions through having held the nunciatures of Cologne and Brussels. Salvago, who had been consulted, sent a detailed report on the situation from Prague, under date of February 27th, 1612. He began by pointing out that, to his knowledge, no legate had ever been sent to an imperial election, and he stated with emphasis that the occasion rather demanded a nuncio. A legate would not accomplish more than one of the ordinary representatives of the Holy See. Nor would he be able to appear as became his dignity, for, according to the *Golden Bull*, the Electors were permitted to bring only small retinues with them to Frankfort, and there were several Protestants among them.[4] To a subsequent question of the Cologne nuncio to the Elector of Mayence, the latter replied that were it only for the suspicion to which the mission of a legate would give rise in the mind of the heterodox Electors, such a step was not advisable.[5] Thereupon Rome dropped the matter.[6]

[1] *Cf.* CHROUST, X., 277 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of February 11, 1612, Vatican Library. On the prayers offered at the *Anima* see SCHMIDLIN, 451.

[3] See the dissertation *Se il Papa debba mandare o no persona in Germania a procurare d'un Imperatore Cattolico, se debba mandare un cardinale legato o pure nuntio et a chi persona più opportuna commettere questo carico*, in Cod. 6621, p. 725 *seq.*, of the Staatsbibl., Vienna.

[4] See *Salvago's report of February 27, 1612, Corsini Library, Rome, 35, B. 6, p. 270.

[5] CHROUST, X., 280.

[6] The examination of the consistorial acts, which is mentioned in an undated *Avviso, probably of February (Vatican Library),

The Pope, consequently, sought to influence the Electors through his nuncios, his principal agent being the nuncio of Cologne, Antonio Albergati. In 1611, Albergati had been instructed to press for the election of a king of the Romans. On February 8th, 1612, he presented a Brief to that effect, dated December 16th, 1611,[1] to the Elector of Mayence, Johann Schweikhart, at Ashaffenburg. He told the latter, in confidence, that the Pope no longer favoured the election of Matthias inasmuch as the latter's dependence on the Protestant Estates had shown that his election would not be to the advantage of Catholic interests. At the same time the nuncio cautiously hinted at the election of archduke Albert. The Elector's reply was no less cautious, though, as a matter of fact, he fully agreed with the suggestion and had already won the Elector of Saxony for the election of Albert.[2]

Rudolph's death had created an entirely new situation. There was no longer question of electing a king of the Romans but an emperor. Notwithstanding the opposition of the ecclesiastical Electors, Matthias' prospects were good: Spain and France likewise supported his candidature. The Elector Palatine worked energetically on his behalf, moving heaven and earth to prevent Albert's election.[3] The attitude of Rome was greatly influenced by the fact that Albert's elevation threatened not only to provoke a dispute in the House of Habsburg, but also to trouble once more the good relations between Spain and France, a fact which could not fail grievously to injure Catholic interests. In consequence of this Paul V., on the death of Rudolph II., reverted to his first plan of supporting Matthias' candidature.[4] He worked in

is no doubt connected with the discussions on the question of the dispatch of a legate.

[1] The original of the *Brief to the Elector of Mayence, of December, 1611, is kept in the Staatsarchiv of Vienna, *cf.* CHROUST, X., 296, n. 1.

[2] See the protocol in CHROUST, X., 294 *seq.*

[3] L. WILZ, *Die Wahl des Kaisers Matthias*, Leipzig, 1911, 62 *seq.*

[4] See the report of Mander von Neuhausen, dated February 4, 1612, Rome, in CHROUST, X., 278 *seq.*

this sense everywhere, even with Albert at Brussels.[1] His first care was to speed up the election for only thus could those of the Palatinate be prevented from exploiting the interregnum. Briefs were sent in all directions, pressing for a speedy and a good election.[2] On February 25th, Paul V. wrote to the Elector of Mayence that the existing condition of Germany during the interregnum left him no peace; he could never lose sight of the dangers for the Catholic Church and the empire which would be still further increased by any delay of the election; hence he urged him and his ecclesiastical fellow princes to hasten it as much as possible.[3] The death of the Elector of Cologne, Ernest, which occurred on February 17th, 1612, greatly grieved Paul V., for he had set great hopes on him for the imperial election.[4] By the middle of March diplomatic circles in Rome considered Matthias' election as good as assured.[5] On May 4th a fresh exhortation to make haste was addressed to the Elector of Mayence. In a covering letter the nuncio, Marra, spoke of the Pope's great anxiety for the speedy election and elevation of a candidate who would have at heart the honour of the empire and the protection of the Church.[6] This letter also expressed anxiety lest the Protestant Electors should endeavour to alter the traditional form of the oath, as they had done at Rudolph II.'s election, in the sense that the Pope would be styled the "lieutenant" of the Roman emperor. A further letter, dated June 1st, 1612, instructs the Elector of Mayence to get the emperor to

[1] *Cf. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis v. Brabant*, VII. (1908), 508.

[2] *Cf.* the letter to the nuncio in Venice of February 11, 1612, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 310 *seq.*

[3] CHROUST, X., 352 *seq.* The nuncio whom Chroust describes as "bishop of Vigiliae" without further explanation, is Antonio Albergati who had been bishop of Bisceglia (Vigilia) since 1609.

[4] See the *dispatch of Tommaso Contarini, dated March 3, 1612, in CL., VII., Cod. MXIII. of the Library of St Mark at Venice.

[5] See the *letter of Mgr. Aurelio Recordati, dated Rome, March 14, 1612, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[6] See CHROUST, X., 500 *seq.*

abrogate all decrees detrimental to the Catholic cause.[1] Hopes of this kind were in vain inasmuch as the election of Matthias, on June 13th, 1612, was the fruit of a compromise between Catholics and Protestants. The decisive factor was that, to the joy of the members of the Union and the astonishment of the ecclesiastical Electors, the Elector of Saxony went over to Matthias; thus they too could but join the majority.[2] Hence they were merely polite when they wrote to the Pope that nothing but the influence of His Holiness could have induced them to vote for Matthias.[3] But they were right when

[1] *Ibid.*, 513 *seq.*

[2] See WILZ, *loc. cit.*, 91 *seq.*

[3] The text of the report drawn up immediately after the election by the ecclesiastical Electors is in CHROUST, X., 544 *seq.*, according to a rough draft of the *Staatsarchiv* of Vienna; but Chroust overlooks the fact that the piece had already been published in a German translation based upon Cod. 851, p. 65 *seq.* of the Corsini library, Rome, by SCHMID, in *Hist. Jahrbücher*, VI., 195 *seq.* The demands of the ecclesiastical Electors, for the realization of which the Pope was requested to press the newly elected monarch, are as follows: (1) Before all else he was to use his authority in order to compel the enemies of the Catholic Church to restore the Church property they had seized. (2) The emperor must not himself take a measure, or sanction, or permit one, which would in any way injure the rights, statutes, customs, goods and revenues of the Church. (3) He must revoke, by an authentic document, any promises he may have made, either freely or under compulsion, which would be prejudicial either to religion in general or to some particular church. (4) Within a year, without delay or tergiversation, he must consent to have a king of the Romans elected. (5) Should it be necessary to take arms in self-defence, the emperor should favour, support, and defend the Catholic party with his imperial majesty. (6) That which has been done until now for the common good by the Electors or in their name, the emperor should not misinterpret nor take any special proceedings against any of their number, under any pretext whatsoever. (7) Let him throw the mantle of brotherly affection over the conduct of the archduke Leopold and not make it a pretext for any action against his person, his possessions or his subjects. . . . Should some step have been

they pointed out that, at the election, the ecclesiastical Electors had overcome some great dangers which threatened the Church, for when the terms of the election were settled, they had successfully prevented the changes favourable to the Protestants which the Palatine and Brandenburg had sought to introduce.[1] On the very day of his elevation the emperor wrote a most deferential letter to the Pope. He expressed the hope that he would have his Holiness' further support and announced the early dispatch of an embassy of homage.[2]

At Rome the news of the election of the emperor was received with the usual demonstrations of joy. It was generally believed that Matthias was sincerely Catholic-minded.[3] Even Paul V. showed no sign of the anxiety which Matthias' policy of compromise had formerly aroused in him. His letter of congratulation, dated June 23, 1612, bears witness to this attitude.[4] A month later Marra was appointed nuncio at the imperial court.[5] He was to insist that the papal confirmation of the election must formally be asked for, and that in its address the embassy should use the word obedience (*obedientia*). As regards the oath, Paul V. would be satisfied if the formula of Frankfort was sent in. The emperor's secretary, Barvitius, declared to the nuncio that there was no documentary evidence in the imperial chancellery that confirmation had ever been asked for. As regards the profession

decided upon, let him revoke it and restore everything to the *statu quo*. (8) Let him in general, do his very utmost to promote the glory of God, the exaltation of the Church and her peace and tranquillity. When the nuncio handed in Paul V.'s reply, dated June 23, 1612, in CHROUST, X., 546, note), he expressed the wish of the Pope to have a copy of the coronation oath sent to him, a request which met with immediate compliance (*ibid.*).

[1] See WILZ, *loc. cit.*, 76 *seq.*

[2] See SCHMID, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 194 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Msgr. Aurelio Recordati, dated Rome, June 23, 1612, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. *Cf.* also *Bijdragen tot de geschied. v. Brabant*, VII. (1908), 508.

[4] See **Epist.*, VIII., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Brief of July 21, 1612, *Epist.*, VIII., 62, *ibid.*

of obedience, Matthias would allow himself to be styled a most obedient son of His Holiness and of the Church.[1] A promise was also given that copies of the instrument of the election and the oath would be sent in. With these promises Paul V. declared himself content.[2]

The imperial mission of homage set out in November, 1612. It was headed by the excellent bishop of Bamberg, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen.[3] The bishop was commissioned by the League to do his best to get an extension of the subsidy granted in 1610 for the support of the Catholic alliance at the level of 20,000 ducats.[4] He reached Rome shortly before Christmas and was received with the usual honours. The bishop lodged at the palace of Cardinal Madruzzo. He was welcomed there by the Secretary of State, Cardinal Borghese, accompanied by seven other Cardinals, who then escorted him into the presence of the Pope. Aschhausen presented his credentials which, like the address, substantially conformed to the model of Maximilian II.[5] When the copies of the instruments of the election and the emperor's oath had been examined, the Pope, in a consistory of January 7th, 1613, made to the Cardinals appropriate communications and confirmed the election.[6] On the following day, in the Sala

[1] Obedientissimus (instead of observantissimus) filius Suae S^tis^ sanctaeque matris Ecclesiae; see SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 197.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* besides HÄUTLE, *Des Bamberger Fürstbischofs J. Gottfried von Aschhausen Gesandschaftsreise nach Rom und Italien 1612 u. 1613* (*Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins*, Vol. 155), Tübingen, 1881, also ZWIEDINECK, in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 1888 *seq.*; CHROUST, X., 750; SCHMIDLIN, 451 *seq.*

[4] CHROUST, X., 736 *seq.*

[5] See *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 190 *seq.*; SCHMID in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 197. On the arrival of Aschhausen, see *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, IV., 2, 154 *seq.*; *Avviso of December 22, 1612, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 451, n. 6, though there the date of the arrival is wrongly given as December 30, and the *report of Msgr. Aurelio Recordati, dated Rome, December 22, 1612, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See **Acta consist.*, 2926, Vatican Library.

Regia, the bishop of Bamberg made a solemn act of obedience. The function was carried out in the usual way. Fenzoni, the *uditore* of Cardinal Borghese, proposed to Aschhausen the drawing up of a Bull of confirmation, and in so doing he appealed to the evidence of the Secretary of Briefs, Scipione Cobelluzio, who testified that it was an ancient custom to draw up such Bulls. Aschhausen replied that they had never been accepted, but promised to report the matter to the emperor.[1]

(2.)

Though only fifty-five years old, the emperor Matthias was a decrepit old man. Now that he had at last reached the goal of his ambitions, the easy-going and genial old gentleman wished before all else to enjoy his exalted dignity and to be troubled as little as possible with affairs of state. Consequently power fell into the hands of his counsellors, the most distinguished of whom was Melchior Klesl.[2]

Born in 1553, this gifted man, whose father was a Protestant master baker of Vienna, returned to the Catholic Church during his student years. His ability, application and irreproachable conduct won for him rapid promotion. In 1579 he was Provost of the Chapter of St. Stephen at Vienna

[1] See **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, and SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 197 *seq.*

[2] The story of Klesl has still to be written. The large work of HAMMER is only valuable as a collection of documents and even as such it is by no means complete. The very meritorious monograph of KERSCHBAUMER is not critical enough and since its publication in 1865 as well as since the publication of the very valuable article by RITTER in the *Allg. Deutschen Biogr.*, XVI., much new material has been brought to light on the person of Klesl, particularly in the letters and acts published by the *Hist. Kommission* of Munich. But much material still lies in the Austrian and Roman archives. The former would help towards an appreciation of Klesl's influence in the internal government of Austria under Matthias; from the latter, Professor DENGEL is about to publish fresh information, more particularly on Klesl's trial.

and chancellor of the University; in 1581 he was vicar-general of the bishop of Passau for the part of the diocese situate in Lower Austria; in 1588 he became bishop of Wiener-Neustadt; in 1590 chairman of the religious commission for Lower Austria, and in 1598 he was raised to the see of Vienna. In all these posts he showed great activity, defended the liberty of the Church against the Commission dealing with the convents, and fought Protestantism with such determination that he could rightly be styled the leader of the Catholic restoration in Lower Austria. From the time of his taking up the government of the small diocese of Vienna, Klesl got into ever closer relations with archduke Matthias, then lieutenant of Lower Austria and Hungary and completely won his confidence. From that time onwards he also intervened increasingly in political affairs.

How keenly Klesl at first fought for the aims of the Catholic restoration and reform is shown by a memorandum drawn up by him in 1596 for the bishop of Passau, in which he utterly condemned every form of temporizing, yielding and accommodation.[1] In 1604, in a memorial which the archduke Matthias presented to the emperor as his own composition, he demanded that the assurances which Maximilian II. had made to the Protestants should be revoked.[2] In 1606 and 1608 he begged of Matthias, in most earnest fashion, not to make concessions of any kind to those who had left the Church.[3] How strongly Klesl still maintained this standpoint in 1609 is shown by his bold action at Easter of that year, when Matthias had yielded to the rebels of Horn.[4] Nevertheless not only through Maximilian, duke of Bavaria,[5] but likewise through the nuncios, who very likely felt hurt by Klesl's

[1] See HAMMER, *Urk.*, 131. *Cf.* KERSCHBAUMER, 79 *seq.*

[2] In so doing Klesl pointed to Ferdinand as to a "living example"; see KHEVENHULLER, V., 2781 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 355 *seq.*

[3] See the opinions in HAMMER, *Urk.*, 186 and 240. *Cf.* HAMMER, II., 95; STIEVE, V., 803 *seq.*, 907 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 285.

[5] *Cf.* HAMMER, *Urk.*, 266.

somewhat sharp and brusque manner, reports reached Rome which were anything but favourable to him. In the Instruction of May, 1607, for the papal nuncio, Caetani, Klesl's excellent work on behalf of the Church is indeed recognized, but he is also represented as self-willed and presumptuous and as not having opposed with the zeal one expected from him, the concessions which were granted to the Protestants on the occasion of the peace treaty lately concluded with the Hungarians.[1] In the autumn of 1608, Klesl himself felt that the Pope did not hold the best opinion of him.[2] In the spring of 1609 the nuncio of Graz reported the rumour that Klesl had had a hand in the concessions made to the Protestants.[3] In August the nuncio of Vienna drew the Curia's attention to the fact that, though he had been named a bishop a good while ago, he had not yet been consecrated.[4] Thereupon the nuncio was instructed to urge the consecration; for all that Klesl put it off for several years longer.[5] When, in October, 1609, the nuncio reported to Cardinal Borghese a communication he had from Klesl, to the effect that Matthias was thinking of asking for his elevation to the cardinalate, he added the remark that this communication had not been made without clever calculation, for the idea was that it should be passed on to Rome.[6] Yet in July, 1610, the same nuncio was compelled to admit that Klesl was the only defender of the Church in those parts.[7] A Brief of Paul V. of May, 1611, praised Klesl's efforts in defence of the

[1] See the passage in the Instruction in KERSCHBAUMER, 213. *Cf.* also our data, Vol. XXIII., p. 313, on Klesl's disputes with the Jesuits.

[2] See Borghese's letter to de Marra, of October 29, 1608, in the *Denkschr. der Wiener Akad.*, I., 2, Vienna, 1850, 145.

[3] Report of April 11, 1609, in KERSCHBAUMER, 142.

[4] Report of August 22, 1609, *ibid.*, 213, n. 2.

[5] Letter dated July 10, 1610, *ibid.*, 217. On Klesl and the Catholic restoration in Vienna see *Gesch. der Stadt Wien*, IV., 125 *seq.*

[6] Report of October 31, 1609, in HAMMER, *Urk.*, 260.

[7] *Cf.* KERSCHBAUMER, 203.

Catholic religion. A Brief of August 1st in the same year is to the same effect, except for a warning to steadfastness against the attempts of the Protestants.[1] The letters of Cardinal Borghese to the nuncio of Vienna in June and July, 1611, concerning Klesl's equivocal attitude towards the Protestants, are much more explicit; there we read that it was regrettable that such a man should have so much influence; may God's grace enlighten him.[2] The hostility to which Klesl found himself exposed on many sides led him, towards the end of 1609, to entertain the idea of retiring from the political arena. Twice, in fact, viz. in 1610 and 1611, he asked to be released, but Matthias was unwilling to lose a trusty favourite and a counsellor who had become indispensable. Nor did he have cause to regret his action, for Klesl rendered him exceedingly valuable service at the time of his elevation to the kingdom of Bohemia and to the imperial throne.[3]

The more Matthias, now raised to the most exalted dignity, got entangled in a labyrinth of difficulties, the less able was he to do without the help of Klesl. As president of the Privy Council the indefatigable and ambitious man became "the emperor's manager" and his veritable *factotum* during the whole of his reign. His influence was all the greater as he was able to supply considerable sums to a man who was for ever in need of money. If, on occasion, Klesl would profess to be no more than a humble and faithful servant of his master, he was at times imprudent enough to boast that Matthias owed him everything and that he had helped him to his crowns. In a satirical dialogue of the time on existing political conditions, we read that Klesl was universally styled the "vice-emperor", and that though he was indeed a "Papist" he knew how to trim his sails according to the wind and that he had one foot in each camp.[4]

Judgments of this kind became intelligible in view of the

[1] See HAMMER, *Urk.*, 309, 343. *Cf.* KERSCHBAUMER, 211.

[2] See KERSCHBAUMER, 214, n. 2.

[3] See *ibid.*, 143 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 180 *seq.*, 185 *seq.*

[4] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 679 *seq.*

change which had come over Klesl since the coldly calculating politician in him had pushed the prince of the Church into the background. He who had until now sternly rejected every form of temporizing and compromising in religious matters, now, under pressure of the grave weakening of the Catholic and monarchical principle, caused by the quarrel of the two Habsburg brothers, weakly advocated a policy of accommodation by which he hoped to save the authority of the House of Austria. Now as before, it is true, he resisted the demands of the Protestants in the Austrian hereditary States and promoted the Catholic reform movement there, but the aim of his imperial policy was to win over the Protestants, by means of concessions, to the common cause and by reconstructing the Catholic League, to subject it to his imperial master. How far Klesl was prepared to yield is shown by his conduct in the most important of all the questions then pending between Catholics and Protestants —the question, namely, of the imperial dioceses which the latter had illegally seized. To the demand of the Protestant administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg for investiture, or a corresponding indult, as well as the grant of a seat and a vote at the Diet, Klesl was so far willing to accede as to consider the grant of an indult for a few years, subject to certain conditions.[1] This meant nothing else but the temporary legalizing of the robbery of Church property and a breach in the ecclesiastical *Reservation* which was so closely linked to the religious peace of Augsburg.

The earliest as well as the most decided opponent of these plans of Klesl's was duke Maximilian of Bavaria who took the field against him on the occasion of the Diet convened at Ratisbon for the summer of 1613. He rejected every concession to the Protestant administrators of dioceses, whether it consisted in an indult of investiture or in the grant of a seat and vote at the Diet which was so frequently demanded ; for these men could not be considered as having any legal right. If the Protestant administrators of dioceses were given

[1] *Cf.* Ritter, II., 380.

seat and vote at the Diet, Maximilian insisted, the Protestants would have in the council of princes the majority they already possessed in the councils of the cities, and would not fail to use it for the complete oppression of the Catholics.[1] Maximilian was equally opposed to any change in the constitution of the Catholic Defence League which was his very own creation and of the leadership of which he would allow no one to deprive him. It was to be expected that the duke of Bavaria would seek to make his influence felt in Rome on these questions as against the designs of Klesl.[2]

Already then, as later on, it was said that Paul V., together with the Jesuits and the Catholic Estates of empire, were determined to abrogate the religious peace of Augsburg and to open a war of extermination against the adherents of the new faith. There never was question of this.[3] However strongly the Holy See, the Jesuits and the rest of the Catholic polemists protested in point of fact, against the numerous violations of the rights of the Church which were implied in the religious settlement of Augsburg, they never questioned the validity of the agreement as a political and civil treaty of peace. It is true that the Holy See had not positively sanctioned the agreement of 1555, but tolerated it in practice as the less of two evils.[4] For the same reason Paul V.

[1] See WOLF, III., 340 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* CHROUST, XI., 20 *seq.*

[3] "The opinion is commonly held," says STIEVE (*Abhandl.*, 175 *seq.*) "that since the rise of the movement of restoration the Estates of empire felt increasingly inclined to revoke the religious peace and to destroy Protestantism altogether; that the Jesuits in particular agitated in this sense and that the thirty years' war broke out because they and their sympathizers thought that the right moment had come to carry out the long cherished plan. However, this opinion mainly sprang from the imagination of contemporary Protestants, by which historians have allowed themselves to be influenced up to our own days because they were in ignorance of the *Acts* of the Catholic Estates."

[4] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 457 *seq.*, 471 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 456 *seq.*

even went a step further when he counselled its maintenance. Repeatedly, especially in the years 1610 and 1611, he expressed himself in the sense that "in these times, which were already sufficiently troubled and difficult, the religious and the civil peace should not be jeopardized, nor should any cause or occasion be given for open war and rebellion within the holy empire".[1] For the year 1612 we have several proofs that Paul V. directed the electors to preserve the religious peace.[2] Nothing was further from the circumspect and cautious Pontiff than a desire to provoke warlike complications, for he was well aware that the Catholics were the weaker party in the empire, so that it would have been most imprudent to tamper with the religious peace of Augsburg. The Pope shrank from the responsibility of giving the signal for the outbreak of a war of the issue of which he was afraid. This, and consideration for the House of Habsburg, were the decisive factors in the attitude of reserve which the Pope adopted towards the League. However much he approved of a Catholic Defence League as such, he gave it his support hesitatingly and cautiously,[3] and in 1611 he roundly declared he would not contribute a penny if the Catholics were to undertake anything against the Protestants which would be at variance with the religious peace.[4] However, this peace should have been observed not alone by the Catholics but likewise by the Protestants. For this reason the Pope condemned those concessions which broke the ecclesiastical Reservation [5]; hence also

[1] See MAYR, VII., 340, and CHROUST, IX., 312 ("Dixit nuncius quod Sua Sanctitas cupiat religionem augustanae confessionis et talia compactata illassa et si quid contra statuatur, quod non velit contribuere praemissa"). MERKLE (in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1905, Beil., n. 4) proposes to read *promissa* instead of *praemissa*.

[2] See CHROUST, X., 299, n. 1, and 419.

[3] See above, p. 290.

[4] See CHROUST, IX., 79.

[5] Already the nuncio Caetani had opposed, in the name of Paul V., the grant of an Indult of investiture or of the regalia to the Protestant administrator of Magdeburg. His successor, de Marra, received orders to pursue the same policy. In his

he utterly condemned Klesl's policy of compromise. Cardinal Carlo Madruzzo, who was appointed apostolic legate for the Diet of Ratisbon,[1] was directed in his instruction of March, 1613, to exert himself to the utmost so as to prevent the grave damage to the Catholic cause which was bound to arise from such a policy. In this Instruction Klesl's policy is subjected

*Instruction, dated October 23, 1610, we read: "In questo proposito si dice che Regali o indulti non si devono concedere da S.M.tà ad alcuno, se prima non è confirmato dalla Sede Apost., et ogni volta che senza la detta confirmatione si tratterà di queste materie, V.S. doverà contradire atteso che questi tali dimandano simili concessioni dall'Imperatore per potere fondare con titulo colorato le violenze loro, imperochè in virtù di Regali gli eletti acquistano giurisdizione nei sudditi, voto e sessione nelle diete e collatione de canonicati, la qual collatione appartiene a N.Sre conforme ai concordati di Germania et ne è fino oggi in possesso non solo ne'vescovati cattolici, ma anco ne gli usurpati dell'heretici come Brema, Brandeburgh, Alberstadio et simili, et poichè V.S. sa che senza confirmatione di qua i vescovi eletti non sono vescovi, deve stare molto attenta, che non abbiano luogo nelle diete imperiali e non si introduca, come si studia d'introdurre che gli heretici sieno non meno che i Cattolici capaci della dignità et beneficii ecclesiastici contro loro costitutione della pace stabilita l'anno [15]55, in Augusta (Cod. 468 of the Corsini Library, Rome). As against Ranke's contentions it must be borne in mind that there was not merely question of Church property but of the uprooting of the Catholic faith in the imperial dioceses.

[1] C. Madruzzo had been appointed legate to the diet of Ratisbon at the consistory of February 25, 1613; see **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2926, Vatican Library. The Pope announced Madruzzo's appointment to the emperor in a *Brief of April 3, 1613; see *Epist.*, VIII., 307, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 327, to the German abbots on Madruzzo's mission, April 3 (*cf.* Bonelli, III., 467 *seq.*). The Brief of the same date to Klesl in Hammer, *Urk.*, 395. Cardinal Madruzzo went to Ratisbon, accompanied by his nephew, Giovanni Gaudenzio, and with a suite of 200 persons: see the **Vita* of the Cardinal in Cod. Mazzetti, LX. of the city Library of Trent. Paul V. assigned to the Cardinal the Capuchin Giacinto as his theologian; see *Venanzio da Lago Santo, il P. Giacinto*, Milano, 1886, 74. On the auditor of the Rota, Giov. Batt. Rimboldi,

to the severest criticism. The emperor's counsellors, it says, think of political conditions and the advantage of the moment rather than of the glory of God, the preservation of the Catholic religion and the true welfare of the State. From worldly motives and through thinking only of the present moment, they devise various political schemes which they then seek to force upon other Catholics. They flatter themselves that by so doing they deprive the Catholics of nothing, whilst they satisfy their opponents, and thus assure the longed-for peace. Anyone who sees deeper, the Instruction goes on, knows from experience that no one has done more grievous harm to all Catholics and to the Catholic religion than those politicians who want to stand well with all parties. Hence, at the coming Diet, the legate's duty will be to oppose

who was also at the Diet, see *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis v. Brabant*, VI. (1904), 277. From the *Letters of Madruzzo to Cardinal Borghese, partly found in the *Registro del negotio della legatione Imperiale 1613* (*Barb.* 5912, Vatican Library) we learn that he received his first Instruction on the *negotii publici* at Trent, on April 29, 1613; then another on the *feudi d'Asti* and yet a third about Salzburg, on May 6. On May 20 the Cardinal expresses his satisfaction that P. Giacinto had been given to him as his theologian. Madruzzo left Trent on June 20. On the 23rd he writes from Brixen; on the 28th from Hall; on 29th from Kufstein (discussion with archduke Maximilian who is unable to set out before August 22). On July 8 he reports from Ratisbon that he had met P. Giacinto at Landshut and that he had told him there was great danger that the indult would be granted to the administrator of Magdeburg. On the further information of the Father that the duke of Bavaria intended to put in an appearance at the Diet only towards the end of August, he had written to the duke a *lettera efficace* praying him to be present when the emperor should arrive, *poichè i pericoli più importanti s'hanno a temere degli heretici nell-ingresso della dieta.* On July 9 Madruzzo also urged the archbishop of Salzburg to be present at the arrival of the emperor. The Cardinal had reached Ratisbon on July 5; see **Relatione della dieta Imperiale data dal card. Madruzzo legato a 6 Novembre 1613*, BORGHESE, I., 115–116. Papal Secret Archives.

by every means the plans of Klesl which consider only the passing moment, and which, though seemingly acceptable, are in reality most injurious. The legate should get the Catholics to oppose a united resistance.[1] On the Catholic side no one bestirred himself more than Maximilian of Bavaria. He besought the emperor, the nuncio Marra [2] and the legate Madruzzo, not to yield in the matter of the grant of an indult to the administrator of Magdeburg. Were they to yield on this point they would never be able to answer for it to the Pope whose still existing rights in Germany would be most grievously injured, nor to the Catholics who would be threatened with the direst disaster.[3] When the nuncio ascertained that some Catholic Estates took up a completely negative attitude on the matter, he set down all the arguments against it in a memorial addressed to the emperor.[4] At one time Klesl hoped to win over to his view the Elector of Mayence, and even the legate himself, to whom he tried to represent the whole thing as a purely political question and one in which no danger lurked for religion. But Madruzzo was not to be taken in.[5] He replied to Klesl, on July 24th,

[1] Chroust (XI., 177 *seq.*) gives a German translation of the Instruction from a copy in the *Staatsarchiv*, Munich. Another copy, also undated, in Ottob. 1066, p. 257 *seq.*, Vatican Library. A third copy of the Instruction is in the Bibl. Nationale of Paris, MSS. espagnols, 441, I., p. 256 *seq.* *Ibid.*, p. 248 *seq.*, 252 *seq.*, further *Instructions for Madruzzo of April 13 and 27, the first dealing with the affairs of Salzburg.

[2] See Chroust, XI., 506, note.

[3] See *ibid.*, 499, note.

[4] See *ibid.*, 490.

[5] Madruzzo reports in his *Relatione: "Il negotio del indulto si era in pericolo per concedere all'intruso Magdeburgense sotto alcune concessioni che parevano di prima faccia admissibili et avvantaggiose che venivano per tali stimate da Msgr. Cleselio. . . . Furono perciò le predette conditioni addotte dal medesimo Monsignor considerate et accortosi che sub mele latebat venenum perchè concedendosi qualunque indulto benchè conditionato si veniva ad approvare un heretico intruso per legitimo e davasi occasione ad altri di pretendere il medesimo con grave et irreparabile danno de cattolici." Papal Secret Archives.

that the grant of an indult of investiture to the Protestant administrator of Magdeburg was contrary to Canon Law, to the laws of empire, and in particular, to the religious peace, and that it would encourage Protestants to seize yet more bishoprics and monasteries and other Church property. He could not sanction concessions of this kind, all the more as on this point the Pope had marked down a clear line of conduct for him.[1] When the indult, against the grant of which Madruzzo worked with all his might,[2] was eventually refused, Klesl made futile efforts to soothe the Catholics who were still irritated against him. From Bavaria he had to listen to bitter reproaches ; but what was of far greater importance was that the annoyance of the Catholics brought about a revulsion of feeling against the whole imperial policy of moderation. That policy failed utterly at the Diet of Ratisbon,[3] for, notwithstanding all the advances on the

[1] See CHROUST, XI., 506, note.

[2] See his explanation in the **Relatione* just quoted.

[3] At the diet Madruzzo strove before all else for unity among the Catholics ; it was he too who urged the Catholic Estates to urge their grievances ; see his above quoted **Relatione* in which these further details about the legate's activities are found : " Nella causa d'Alberstadio non ha mancato il card. Legato di affaticarsi molto, si perchè venghi levato il decreto fatto già da quel capitolo pregiuditiale a cattolici, come perchè quella chiesa cada in sogetto cattolico, et in questo effetto ha non solo inviato un breve di N^ro^ Sig^re^ a quel decano promesso espresso, ma accompagnatolo ancora con ogni conveniente e caldo uffitio. . . . Non ha lasciato intentato alcun offitio per far levare la concessione estorta dalli Stati di Slesia sotto l'Imperatore passato, non solo per ordine espresso di S.S^tà^ ma ancora sollecitato dal sigr. arciduca Carlo, et con tutto che più volte habbia rinovato l'instanza, nondimeno non ha per questo potuto ottenere altro che una buona volontà di Sua Maestà. Perchè venghino soppressi i libri famosi pestiferi pubblicati contra la Sta Sede et la Chiesa cattolica, non ha mancato destramente di rappresentare quanto ha stimato bene, ma per esser le cose di Germania confuse, et sotto il dominio di diversi principi, non vede che si possa darvi quel compenso che sarebbe necessario per assicurare la Christi-

imperial side, an agreement could not even be reached with the Calvinist party of the Palatinate. With the declaration, which was a mockery of every principle of constitutional law and right, that they refused to bow to majority decisions, not only in matters of religion, but in all other questions also, the Calvinist party formally refused obedience to the constitutions of the empire. The party finally protested against a decision of the Diet of empire granting a subsidy of thirty months for the war against the Turks which had been passed by the Estates which still remained loyal to the emperor and which, besides the Catholics, included Saxony and Darmstadt from the Lutheran party.[1] The Palatine Calvinist party could dare to behave thus because, through the Union's alliances with England (April 7th, 1612) and Holland (May 6th, 1613) they had strong foreign support.[2] How blinded Klesl must have been when he hoped to bring about a compromise with such a people!

Paul had left Klesl in no uncertainty as to how much he condemned his policy of compromise. Cardinal Madruzzo was commissioned to inform him that the Pope did not merely disapprove any concession in the matter of the Protestant administrator of Magdeburg, but that he forbade it in virtue of his supreme authority: Klesl's arguments were futile nor could questions of religion be handled according to the principles of *raison d'état*.[3] When Klesl attempted

anità da veneno così pestifero." On the discovery of a case of plague in the household of the Elector of Cologne, the latter left the Diet; his action was imitated, on October 9, by the Elector of Mayence who, however, left his commissary at Ratisbon; "et il suo esempio seguì poi alli 12 l'illustr. legato con poco gusto di S.M^tà^," the nuncio Marra says in his **Relatione della Dieta Imperiale di Ratisbona dell'a 1613*, in Borghese, I., 115-116, p. 25*b*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Ritter, II., 382 *seq.* *Cf.* K. A. Menzel, VI., 49 *seq.*, 53; Huber, V., 48 *seq.*; Janssen-Pastor, V., 694 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Ranke, *Zur deutsch. Gesch.*, 231. Ritter, II., 361, 491.

[3] See Borghese's *letter of August 10, 1613, Cod. X., VI., 22, n. 11, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, in part given by Kerschbaumer, 215.

to plead the concessions of former emperors, he was told through Cardinal Borghese, that these clearly proved the exact opposite inasmuch as every concession hitherto granted had done extraordinary harm to religion ; if worse were not to follow all further concessions must be avoided as much as possible.[1] Out of regard for the person of the influential minister, Paul V. allowed him almost at the same date to retain all the benefices he had held until then, viz. the dioceses of Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt, the post of provost of the Chapter of St. Stephen at Vienna, and the parish of Oberhollabrunn.[2]

Whilst the agreement with the Protestants, at which Klesl had aimed, was thus utterly wrecked, his plan for a reconstruction of the League which was directed against the growing influence of Bavaria and which had the support of Schweikart, the Elector of Mayence, made a great step forward at a League meeting of the time, for on that occasion it definitely came under the influence of the emperor.[3]

Paul V., in his anxiety to avoid offending either the emperor or the League,[4] had always viewed with displeasure Austria's exclusion from the Catholic federation, and as early as 1609, at the request of the Spanish ambassador, he had taken steps for the admission of the Habsburgs into the League.[5] His efforts to settle the disputes between Maximilian and the Elector of Mayence, Schweikart, had, however, been

[1] See Borghese's *letter of September 7, 1613, in part *ibid.*, 215. *Cf.* also CHROUST, XI., 786.

[2] *Brief of August 31, 1613, in HAMMER, *Urk.*, 399. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 397, the Brief of July 13, 1613 ; also *Borghese's letter to the nuncio of Vienna, of July 20, 1613, which points out that the Brief was composed "nella più favorevole forma ch'è stata possibile et si è ordinato che passi ogni cosa gratis," Cod. X., VI., 22, n. 22, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[3] See RIEZLER, V., 108 *seq.* ; DÖBERL, I., 541.

[4] See the report of J. G. ASCHHAUSEN, in CHROUST, XI., 51.

[5] See the *report of the marquis de Aytona to Philip III., dated Rome, April 26, 1609, original in arch. at Simancas, 990/20.

in vain.[1] How greatly the Pope regretted this discord was seen at the beginning of 1613, in the discussions with the archbishop of Bamberg, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen, who had come to Rome to do homage in the emperor's name. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the Austrian party, the envoy obtained a promise from Paul V. that he would continue, and that for a period of three years, the subsidy which he had previously guaranteed.[2] However, the suspicion spread by the same party, to the effect that Maximilian had other views than the safeguarding of religion and the interests of the emperor, continued to make a strong impression upon the Pope and the Roman Cardinals.

In October, 1613, before he had learnt of the reconstruction of the League at its latest assembly, Paul V. had informed the Count of Collalto, whom the emperor had dispatched to Rome, that he was prepared to co-operate in any effort which would induce the Catholic League to obey the emperor and which would guarantee that the subsidy he had promised to it would be spent on the war against the Turks.[3] On the part of Rome, therefore, Klesl had nothing to fear as regards the League, except that it did not approve the eligibility of Protestants for membership which had been agreed to at its last meeting. Eventually he succeeded in completely conciliating the Pope. In pursuance of his policy of conciliation, and notwithstanding his failure at the Diet of Ratisbon, he now began to make propaganda for it in Rome. His letter of September 1st, 1614, to Cardinal Borghese shows how cleverly he proceeded: "If I were in Rome," he wrote, "and could describe the situation in Germany, His Holiness and the Sacred College would be far better informed. The nuncios are often mistaken for they have no access to State secrets". For the rest he was ready to

[1] See CHROUST, X., No. 11; BURGER, *Ligapolitik*, 71; SETTERL, *Die Ligapolitik des Bamberger Fürstbischofs J. G. von Aschhausen*, Bamberg, 1915, 72, 136.

[2] On Aschhausen's negotiations with Paul V. in January and February, 1613, see SETTERL, *loc. cit.*, 72 *seq.*, 78.

[3] See CHROUST, XI., 811, 989.

do the will of His Holiness in all things, as he had repeatedly declared.[1]

These assurances, however, were belied by Klesl's attitude with regard to the appointment of a successor to Matthias, a question which was coming more and more into the foreground, since the emperor had no children. The uncertainty of the succession gravely jeopardized not only the interests of the House of Habsburg and those of the empire, but the welfare also of the Catholic Church, for the Union was planning, not only the exclusion of the Habsburgs, but the utter extirpation of the Catholics of Germany, even if the whole constitution of the empire were to crumble in the process.[2] Consequently, ever since the day of the emperor's election, Paul V., the Austrian archdukes and, subsequently to the Diet of Ratisbon the ecclesiastical Electors also, had insisted on some decisive measure with regard to the succession. All the above-named had in view, as their candidate for the Habsburg Hereditary States as well as for the empire, the archduke Ferdinand who was head of the line of Stiria and in the flower of his age. The papal nuncio favoured this candidature, which was not only strongly opposed by most of the Protestants, but, to the painful surprise of many, by Spain also, for the reason that Philip III. imagined that he had some hereditary claims to Bohemia and Hungary.[3] A further delay was caused by Klesl's insistence on the necessity of first concluding an agreement —a "Composition", that is—between the religious parties which opposed each other with such bitter hostility, an issue which he hoped to arrive at through his diplomatic skill and his little tricks.[4] However, he lacked the necessary resolution which might have caused his policy of conciliation

[1] See KERSCHBAUMER, 216.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 734.

[3] *Cf.* GINDELY, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg*, I., 7 *seq.*; A. WAHL, *Kompositions-u. Sukzessionsbestrebungen unter Kaiser Matthias, 1613–1615*, Bonn, 1895.

[4] *Cf.* J. MÜLLER, in *Ergänzungsband zu den Mitt. des österr. Inst.*, V., 619.

to triumph; nor did he wholly belong to any one party. Hence, in view of his hesitation and indecision, it was inevitable that sooner or later he should lose control of events.[1]

Archduke Maximilian, in his great anxiety for the future of the House of Habsburg, insisted with the utmost determination on a prompt settlement of the succession. The slackness with which Klesl proceeded in this all-important affair roused him to fierce indignation, so much so that he accused him of being actuated by the lowest motives. More and more the idea took root in the fiery archduke's mind that Klesl was a traitor and an enemy of the dynasty. There can be no doubt that Maximilian went too far in his interpretation of the very tortuous paths and the somewhat obscure policy of Klesl. Not a few of Klesl's arguments for a delay of a settlement of the succession were not without solid grounds. Thus it was sound reasoning when he insisted on the necessity of first arriving at an understanding with Spain, and of preparing the ground in Germany and Bohemia.[2]

It would be difficult to prove that Klesl's slackness in so important a matter, which his habitual energy makes all the more astounding, had its roots in a traitorous disposition of mind. Nor does it seem just to imagine that he allowed himself to be prompted by the fear that an early settlement of the succession would rob him of the unlimited influence which up till then he had exercised over the emperor Matthias. It would rather seem that, from patriotic motives, Klesl wanted an agreement between the various parties to take

[1] See W. Meier, *Kompositions-u. Sukzessionsverhandlungen unter Kaiser Matthias während der Jahre 1615–1618*, Bonn, 1895 (Continuation of A. Wahl's work, also of 1895, on the period 1613–1615), p. 66 *seq.*

[2] See Huber, V., 89 *seq.* W. Meier, in the above-mentioned work, also reproaches Klesl with "utter selfishness, which made him fear a too early election of a successor and a wish to concentrate in his own hands the management of all the business of the hereditary lands as well as those of the empire, a task to which his capacity for work, and as regards the latter, his competence, were inadequate".

precedence over all else, an attitude that does credit rather to his heart than to his political sense.[1]

Already in 1614 Rome had failed to find in Klesl's attitude to the question of the succession the necessary clarity, and had warned him not to yield in the matter of granting a vote to the Protestant administrator of the diocese of Magdeburg, for no evil may be done for the sake of a good result.[2]

In July, 1614, and in June, 1615, Paul V. had urged the ecclesiastical Electors to hasten the election of a king of the Romans.[3] In August, 1615, through the nuncio, he exhorted Klesl, now that peace had been made with the Turks and affairs had been settled in Bohemia, to add to his fame by settling the question of the succession.[4] A Brief to the same purport was despatched to the ecclesiastical Electors on October 27th, 1615.[5]

Whilst the number of the opponents of Klesl, whose blunt and rough manner hurt many and whose tongue spared no one, grew even at the imperial court, the weak and indolent Matthias remained unshaken in his confidence in him. To this circumstance Klesl owed it that, though the gravest accusations and the worst suspicions had been voiced against him in his capacity as leader of the imperial policy, especially by archduke Maximilian, Paul V., in a consistory of April 11th, 1616, proclaimed his elevation to the cardinalate

[1] *Cf.* J. Müller, *loc. cit.*, 605 *seq.* C. Magini (*La guerra de'eretici in Germania*, Siena, 1907) sees in Klesl (p. 23) a real traitor to the House of Habsburg. In arriving at this judgment he attaches great weight to the impartial statement of Cardinal Medici.

[2] See Borghese's *letter to the nuncio of Vienna of September 20, 1614, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, *loc. cit.*, n. 35 (*non sunt facienda mala, ut inde veniant bona*).

[3] See the hitherto unknown *Briefs of July 12, 1614, and June 28, 1615, *Epist.*, X. and XI., Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* Appendix, Nos. 4 and 6).

[4] See the *Instruction to the nuncio, dated August 19, 1615 (Papal Secret Archives). In part, in Kerschbaumer, 250.

[5] See *text in Appendix, No. 7; Papal Secret Archives.

which, at the emperor's intervention, had already taken place in secret on December 2nd, 1615.[1] The chamberlain Ludovico Ridolfi was charged with the presentation of the red biretta; he also brought the Golden Rose to the empress.[2] In the same consistory Klesl was given the office of Protector of Germany.[3]

Thus did the son of the Viennese baker attain the highest degree of ecclesiastical honours. He had now reached the peak of his fortune and occupied a position similar to that once held by Wolsey in England and, later on, by Richelieu in France. As in the case of those two men so in him also, the Statesman overshadowed the Churchman. The letter he wrote to the emperor as soon as his elevation was made public, is characteristic evidence of this change: "Early this morning," he wrote on April 20th, 1616, "the Rome courier brought me letters of congratulation from Cardinal Borghese and many other Cardinals in as much as their Lord had proclaimed me a Cardinal on the 11th April. God knows that this gives me no pleasure. But in order to conform with your Majesty's will, and because the evil tongues of wicked people drive me to it, it has to be; for it is impossible for a Roman emperor to show greater favour to a Churchman. But your Majesty's favour, affection, and true confidence are worth more to me than the papacy itself."[4]

Paul V. had charged Ridolfi to urge Klesl by word of mouth in the matter of the succession. This anxiety for a speedy settlement of the question also found expression in a Brief dated May 6th, 1616, of which Ridolfi was the bearer.[5] On

[1] See Vol. XXV., p. 337.

[2] See Paul V. *Brief to the emperor Matthias of April 27, 1616, *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Ridolfi's letter of April 30, 1616, in Hammer, *Urk.*, 630.

[3] See **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2926, Vatican Library.

[4] Hammer, *Urk.*, 624. In other letters of the same period Klesl writes in a very different strain: *cf.* Janssen-Pastor, 702, note 2.

[5] See *text of this piece in Appendix No. 8. It is missing in Hammer, Papal Secret Archives.

the same day similar Briefs were likewise dispatched to the ecclesiastical Electors.[1]

On June 19th, 1616, Klesl wrote to the Pope in answer to the Brief of May 6th, and the message of Ridolfi. "Though the whole College of Cardinals," he writes, "especially those named by Paul V., were greatly beholden to the Pope, none were more so than he himself, whom His Holiness had singled out from among all men for so great an honour, and on whom his fatherly affection had bestowed so many graces and favours. There was not a man living who was more anxious to live and die according to the wishes and desires of the Pope than himself, seeing that he had more grounds for it than any other man." Klesl then goes on to state, in emphatic terms, his wish to satisfy the Pope in the question of the succession. There follows an exhaustive account of the various stages of the affair. He ends by saying that as much as in him lay, and as far as the parties would follow his lead, he would work day and night in order to satisfy the Pope. But as long as Spain refused to desist from its demands, little could be hoped for, inasmuch as the emperor would never go against Philip III., since such action would upset the whole House of Habsburg. "There is, therefore, no other remedy," he says in conclusion, "but your Holiness' personal authority and intervention. But there is no time to lose, for the emperor is old and often ailing. Your Holiness will gather from this report where the difficulty lies, and what it is that ties my hands; hence I am not to blame. But if I get the necessary support I shall not fail, with God's grace, to do my best in order to fulfil your Holiness' will." [2]

This letter crossed a Brief of June 25th,[3] which once more urged the speeding up of the business. At the same time

[1] See *Epist.*, XI., 264, *ibid.*

[2] See HAMMER, *Urk.*, 647.

[3] This *piece also is missing in HAMMER; it is in *Epist.*, XII., 18, Papal Secret Archives. The Brief of June 11, 1616, alluded to by HURTER (VII., 50, note 128) is not addressed to Klesl, as that writer thinks.

the Pope wrote to Maximilian.[1] On December 16th, 1616, Paul V. sent yet another exhortation to the emperor and to Klesl.[2] Despite the Pope's insistence, Klesl nevertheless set to work in this question of the succession with almost pedantic caution and easy-going deliberation.[3] Again and again he insisted that his efforts for the election of a king of the Romans would yield no result without the compromise—the so-called "Composition"—with the Protestants.[4] The irritation, not to say the despair, of the impetuous Maximilian was steadily growing. In the autumn he dispatched to Klesl Eustace von Westernach, Knight-Commander of the Teutonic Order, with instructions roundly to tell the Cardinal that he must set to work and execute what he promised by word of mouth and in writing, even on his eternal salvation; if he refused, the archduke would be compelled to look on him as the worst enemy, nay, as the destroyer of the House of Habsburg, and to take every possible means to defend it against such a danger.[5]

Until then Klesl had shown himself a master in the art of evading a solution of the question of the succession. It was a heavy blow for him when, in the spring of 1617, an agreement with Spain became a certainty.[6] By this means the archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand thought they would force the cunning fox from his last hiding-place. When Klesl attempted further evasion they threatened to remove him by force. On his part the Spanish ambassador told the Cardinal that he would complain to the Pope. At last Klesl saw himself

[1] The Brief, dated *XV. Cal. Julii* (June 17, 1616), is in the *Epist.*, XII., 5, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See text in Appendix Nos. 9 and 10.

[3] Opinion of KERSCHBAUMER, who is very partial to Klesl.

[4] *Cf.* W. MEIER, *Kompositions-u. Sukzessionsverhandlungen unter Kaiser Matthias während der Jahre 1615–1618*, Bonn, 1895.

[5] See HURTER, VII., 59 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, 74: GINDELY, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg.*, I., 53 *seq.* RANKE's presentment, *Zur deutschen Gesch.*, 248, is in part erroneous. Ferdinand's secret obligation there mentioned is dated January 31, not June, 1617.

compelled to yield, at least to the extent of convoking the Bohemian Diet for August, 1617. The two archdukes had made up their minds to seize Klesl by force should he fail to abide by this time limit which was still further reduced when the emperor fell seriously ill at the end of April, 1617. In consequence Klesl was forced to give his consent to the convocation of the Bohemian Estates for June 5th.[1] The emperor's proposal was to the effect, that in view of his approaching old age as well as the renunciation of his brothers Maximilian and Albert, the succession in Bohemia should be settled in such wise that his adopted son, the archduke Ferdinand, should be "accepted (not elected), proclaimed and crowned". When the Protestant opposition had been sufficiently intimidated, Ferdinand was almost unanimously accepted as king of Bohemia on June 6th. Paul V. hailed the event with the greatest joy.[2] Ferdinand, having promised to ratify, after the emperor's death, the rights and privileges of Bohemia, among which was the "Letter of Majesty", was crowned on June 19th.[3] Shortly before these events Paul V. had once more pressed Klesl in the matter of the succession in the empire.[4] The affair was carried a step further when, at the beginning of August, the emperor journeyed to Dresden, to visit the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg, in company with Ferdinand, his brother Maximilian and Klesl. On this occasion the Elector promised to attend, anywhere and at any time, a Diet of the Electors to be convoked by Matthias, and to take part in the election of a king of the Romans.[5] Candlemas-day, 1618, was agreed upon as the date of the Diet. Klesl had succeeded in getting the "Composition", or compromise with the Protestants, placed

[1] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 55 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *the Brief of June 22, 1617, to the emperor Matthias, *Epist.*, XIII., 32, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] GINDELY, I., 159 *seq.*

[4] See *Briefs to Klesl, May 13 and 21, 1617, in *Epist.*, XII., 289 and 293, Papal Secret Archives; not given by HAMMER.

[5] GINDELY, I., 189 *seq.*

on the agenda of the Diet, for the Cardinal clung to his idea of the necessity of concessions to the latter.

That Klesl was chiefly guided by political consideration and gave but little evidence of having any solid principles where religious questions were concerned, is shown by his efforts to bring about a marriage between the archduke Ferdinand and the Protestant widow of the former Elector of Saxony. The Cardinal, who in this matter also acted merely as a politician, hoped to win the support of the Protestants as soon as it became known that the princess was free to follow her religion at court and to have her preacher with her. However, a man like Ferdinand was not to be won over by a scheme which did not square with the laws of the Church and which would endanger his life's work—the Catholic restoration in Stiria.[1]

The election of Ferdinand as king of Bohemia was a heavy blow for the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., who, in his suit for the hand of the daughter of the king of England, had spoken of the crown of Wenceslaus as his own future possession.[2] The Union now decided that at any rate Ferdinand, whom the Protestants detested because of his strict Catholic attitude in Central Austria, should not ascend the imperial throne; in their desperation they even went the length of inviting their bitterest opponent, viz. Maximilian of Bavaria, to accept that dignity. However, at Munich this was seen to be "A Calvinist trap" the aim of which was to stir up enmity between Bavaria and Austria and the Catholic Powers, and, by delaying the election of Ferdinand, which could scarcely be prevented, to secure a long imperial vicariate for the Palatine.[3] In the spring of 1618, Ferdinand's chances were favourable. The meeting of the electoral Diet seemed assured and his election, for which five votes had been made sure of, could not be prevented even by the Palatine and Brandenburg, when all of a sudden new difficulties arose. Curiously enough they originated at the court. Their

[1] Gindely, I., 183 *seq.*; Ritter, II., 444.

[2] Gindely, I., 186.

[3] See Riezler, V., 118 *seq.*; Döberl, I.[3], 544.

author was Klesl, the man of "impenetrable craft", of which the Vienna nuncio had spoken already in 1610.[1]

Once again Klesl showed himself a master in the art of temporizing and of postponing a decision. In view of a declaration of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Diet of princes convoked at Ratisbon for Candlemas-day was postponed till May 28th. Then it was given out that the travelling expenses of the emperor to Ratisbon must first be provided by means of a Spanish subsidy. For a while discussions on this point sank into the background in consequence of the meeting of the Hungarian Diet, at which, as a sequel to a compromise between the government and the Estates, Peter Pázmány, since May 16th, 1616, archbishop of Gran and primate, secured, on May 16th, 1618, the proclamation of Ferdinand as king of Hungary.[2] Meanwhile, Klesl, despite Paul V.'s earnest warnings,[3] went on intriguing against the princes' Diet, and in so doing, he did not shrink from deceit. That the Cardinal, as was maintained by archduke Maximilian and by many people in Bavaria, was actually a traitor and in collusion with the Hungarian opposition, is neither likely, nor has any proof been discovered up to the present time.[4] But it is a fact that, by his intrigues, he succeeded in delaying the opening of the electoral Diet for which the archduke Maximilian was pressing with the utmost zeal, long enough to make its assembly impossible owing to the outbreak of revolution in Bohemia. Ferdinand and Maximilian were now obliged to concentrate their attention on the preservation of the crown of Bohemia rather than on obtaining that of Germany.[5]

In view of the fact that even in regard to the Bohemian rebels Klesl stood for a policy of temporizing, and thus

[1] See KERSCHBAUMER, 390, note 1.

[2] GINDELY, I., 184 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*; FRAKNOI, I., 299 *seq.*, 623 *seq.*

[3] See the Brief of February 10, 1618, in HAMMER, *Urk.*, 826. In his reply of April 30, 1618 (*ibid.*, 846) Klesl asserts that the letter only came into his hands on April 25, which is very surprising and cannot be correct.

[4] GINDELY, I., 229–231.

[5] *Ibid.*, 236.

rendered joint energetic action impossible, Ferdinand and Maximilian decided to put a stop to the "impenetrable intrigues" of the Cardinal-minister by having him arrested and taken into the Tyrol, on July 20th, 1618.[1] In Rome such an issue had been feared for some time. In April the Pope had adjured Klesl not to put off any longer the opening of the Diet of the Electors inasmuch as the delay might lead to the worst consequences for his own person.[2]

In a secret consistory of August 6th, 1618, Paul V. communicated to the Cardinals the report of the Vienna nuncio on the arrest of Klesl, at the same time expressing his regret that violent hands should have been laid on a Cardinal and a bishop in his own residence. A commission of Cardinals was appointed to devise on the measures to be taken in this matter.[3] Obviously the injury done to the dignity of a Cardinal could not be condoned, but neither could king Ferdinand be offended, for on him all Catholic hopes were centred. In consequence Paul V. proceeded with great caution and mildness.[4] He acknowledged the report of the emperor Matthias in a Brief of August 13th in which he refers the emperor to an oral message of the nuncio. A no less carefully worded Brief addressed to Ferdinand and Maximilian was to the same effect.[5] The nuncio demanded that the archdukes should seek absolution of the censures they had

[1] Kerschbaumer, 280 *seq.*; Klopp, I., 273 *seq.*; Duhr, II., 2, 215 *seq.*

[2] Kerschbaumer, 255.

[3] See *Acta consist.* in Kerschbaumer, 300. The letters of the archdukes were read at a consistory on August 20 (see **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2926, Vatican Library). Bellarmine was also a member of the Cardinalitial Congregation; see his report in Le Bachelet, *Auct. Bellarm.*, 540 *seq.* Cardinal Giustiniani, also a member of the commission, was the recipient of the **Ragionamento di Tarquinio Pinaoro sopra la rettentione del card. Cleselio*, dated Rome, August 25, 1618, *Coll. Cam.*, 44, p. 257 *seq.*, *Staatsbibl.* of Munich and *Vat.* 6344, p. 221 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Siri, IV., 530.

[5] Briefs in Hammer, *Urk.*, 906, 907.

incurred by arresting Klesl and to state their grievances against him.[1] When this demand elicited no reply, Fabrizio Verospi was dispatched to Vienna as nuncio extraordinary, in February, 1619. He was also charged to hear what Klesl had to say.[2] Thereupon Ferdinand yielded. He not only sought absolution from the censures, he also handed over Klesl to the papal envoy. Under the most stringent safeguards, Verospi escorted the Cardinal to the monastery of St. Georgenberg near Schwaz, in the Tyrol, where he was kept in close confinement.[3] Klesl, nevertheless, felt greatly relieved. In a letter of October 7th, 1619, he thanked the Pope for sending Verospi and surrendered himself wholly to the will of His Holiness.[4]

(3.)

Whilst in consequence of the quarrel between the Habsburg brothers the Catholic cause suffered heavy losses in Austria and several dioceses in North Germany were likewise lost to the Church, in other parts of the empire the Catholic restoration was able to register considerable successes which promised to compensate the Church for the loss of several extensive territories.[5] One splendid triumph for the ancient Church was the profession of the Catholic faith, first privately in July, 1613, and publicly in the following year, of the Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg.[6] Paul V. had

[1] KERSCHBAUMER, 302.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 302 *seq.* Ferdinand's absolution from censures, dated October 25, 1619, in *Bull.*, XII., 455 *seq.*

[4] See HAMMER, *Urk.*, 929.

[5] In 1611 G. BOTERO reckoned the number of *Cattolici professi* in Germany at seven millions out of a total population of 27 millions; in Italy, including the islands, at 10 millions; in Spain, at 8½ millions; in France, at 12½ millions; see GIODA, *Botero*, III., 278.

[6] *Cf.* in addition to the literature mentioned in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 710, also SPERL, *Gesch. der Gegenreformation in den pfalz-*

encouraged the intentions of the Neuburger with the grant of ecclesiastical revenues.[1] After his reception, he expressed his thanks and obligation to Maximilian I. for his share in the conversion, at the same time as he granted the necessary dispensation, owing to kinship, for the marriage of the convert with Magdalen, the sister of the duke of Bavaria.[2] As early as January, 1614, the Pope instructed the nuncio of Cologne to confer with Wolfgang Wilhelm on the subject of the Catholic restoration in his territory.[3] The latter, at the death of his father, availed himself of his right of reform, slowly at first, but later on with increasing determination. In 1617, the Catholic faith was proclaimed as the religion of the country and the activities of all preachers were terminated.[4] Already at the close of 1613 the first Jesuits had been called to Neuburg, and before long the grammar school and the court church were handed over to them.[5] Owing to the shortage of priests, the Jesuits, to whom Paul V. assigned, in 1617, the monastery of Eschenbrunn which the Protestants had seized, and the Capuchins, had to do most of the work of the restoration of the Catholic religion in all the remaining districts of the territory of Pfalz-Neuburg. To this end they employed the means then universally in use: a general invitation to come back to the Church, adequate instruction, and, as a last remedy in regard to the obstinate, expulsion from the country.[6] The conversion of the

sulzbachischen und hipoltsteinischen Landen, I., Rothenburg, 1889, 9 *seq.*, and RIEZLER, V., 96 *seq.* The report sent to Rome on the conversion of Wolfgang Wilhelm in WOLF, III., 497 *seq.*

[1] See KIEWNING, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 290.

[2] See WOLF, III., 535 *seq.*

[3] *Brief to Wolfgang Wilhelm of January 31, 1614, in the *Epist.*, IX., 233, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 164, the *Brief of December 13, 1613, on the conversion.

[4] See MENZEL, VI., 68 *seq.*; RIEZLER, V., 101; *cf.* the report on the state of his diocese by the bishop of Augsburg for the year 1616 in MERKLE'S *Archiv*, I. (1848), 555 *seq.*

[5] See DUHR, II., 1, 239 *seq.*

[6] See LIPOWSKY, *Gesch. der Landstände von Pfalz-Neuberg* (1827); DUHR, II., 1, 239; II., 2, 236 *seq.* On the difficulties

Count Palatine, Wolfgang Wilhelm, was all the more important for the repression of Protestantism in the empire, inasmuch as he drove a wedge into the Union and prevented the duchies of the Lower Rhine from passing completely into the hands of the Protestants.[1] The Protestant attempt to destroy the ancient Church in the territory of the Lower Rhine had failed.

It was of no less consequence for North-Western Germany that, at the death of the Elector of Cologne, Ernest (February 17th, 1612) he was succeeded by his nephew, the strictly Catholic-minded Ferdinand of Bavaria, at Cologne in March, and at Münster in April. It was due to the prudence and energy of this man that the restoration of religious unity, which his predecessor had begun, was completed in the diocese of Münster. Where Protestantism had struck deeper roots obstinate resistance was, of course, not wanting, but in many localities, where the majority of the people were sunk in ignorance rather than in heresy, it was not difficult to bring whole parishes back to the Church. Owing to the scarcity of good priests, men, that is, of irreproachable conduct, it proved much more difficult to bring about the internal restoration of the Church which was being pursued at the same time. In addition to his vicar-general, Johann Hartmann, a man full of circumspection and a former pupil at the Germanicum, Ferdinand had chiefly recourse to the services of the Jesuits whose school at Münster was gaining an increasing influence in the more cultivated circles. Like the Jesuits, the Capuchins, who had come to Münster in 1612, also enjoyed the bishop's support. In the following year

with which Wolfgang Wilhelm had to contend in his endeavours to introduce Catholicism in Neuberg, see SCHNITZER, in *Jahresber. des Hist. Ver. Dillingen*, XXVIII., 117 *seq.*

[1] See DÖBERL, I., 539; KELLER, III., 74 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 81 *seq.*; *the Brief of November 21, 1620, in which Paul V. exhorts Wolfgang Wilhelm to protect the interests of the Church in Jülich (original in *Staatsarchiv*, Munich) is translated in the *Allg. Darmstädter Kirchenzeitung*, XLVII. (1868), no. 37.

Ferdinand also founded at Münster a convent of the Franciscans of the strict observance.[1]

In Paderborn also it was of supreme consequence that, with the help of Paul V., it had become possible, in 1612, to give to the aged Dietrich von Fürstenberg, in the person of Ferdinand, a coadjutor who had both the power and the will successfully to carry through the Catholic restoration without heeding the protests of his Protestant neighbours.[2] Fürstenberg, who had hoped that his nephew would be chosen, had needed repeated warnings from the Pope[3] before he became reconciled with Ferdinand's appointment. But once the election had become an accomplished fact he passed, in conjunction with his coadjutor, all the necessary measures for carrying out the Catholic reform and restoration. In this respect great services were rendered by the Capuchins who had come to Paderborn in 1612, and even more so by the Jesuits who were indefatigable in their efforts to revive the Catholic spirit by means of sermons, devotions, processions and confraternities.[4] The school of philosophy and

[1] See KELLER, III., 279 *seq.*, 287 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*, 323 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 52, 56 *seq.* *Schafmeister, Herzog Ferdinand von Bayern u. Erzbischof von Köln als Fürstbischof von Münster* (1612 to 1650), Haselünne, 1912, 70 *seq.* In his capacity as administrator of the monastery of Berchtesgaden, Ferdinand bestirred himself there also as a reformer; see LINSENMAYER, in the *Forsch. zur Gesch. Bayerns*, VIII., 117 *seq.* On J. HARTMANN, see TIBUS, *Weihbischöfe von Münster*, 144 *seq.* On the valuable writing desk which Ferdinand ordered for Cardinal Borghese in 1612, see *Zeitschrift f. Schwaben*, VIII., 10 *seq.*

[2] See KELLER, III., 611 *seq.*, 618 *seq.*, 644 *seq.*, 646 *seq.*, 652 *seq.* *Cf.* LEINEWEBER, in the *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Westfalens*, LXVII., 200.

[3] See KELLER, III., 653 *seq.*, 666, 686 *seq.* The Brief of July 23, 1611, which is here given in part only, has long ago been published in its entirety, *Bull.*, XII., 7 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* RICHTER, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, I., 107 *seq.* and *Festschrift zur Feier des 300 jährigen Jubiläums des Gymnasium Theodosianum in Paderborn*, 1912, 42 *seqq*; KELLER, III., 627. A Chronicle of the Capuchins of Paderborn, begun in 1612, is preserved, in MSS., at the Capuchin convent of Dieburg in Hessen; *Liber annal. conv. Capuc. Paderb.*

theology founded by Dietrich at Paderborn in 1614, and enriched with the usual privileges by Paul V.,[1] was opened two years later and entrusted to the Jesuits. It was destined to become an intellectual centre and a seed plot of the Catholic faith for the diocese, as well as a strong point from which apostles could sally forth to reconquer the surrounding territories.[2]

In the archdiocese of Cologne also the Jesuits and the Capuchins were the chief agents of the Catholic reform. A proof of the Elector Ferdinand's support of the Jesuits at Cologne may be seen in the magnificent church of the Assumption, an edifice still completely on Gothic lines, of which the nuncio Albergati laid the foundation stone in 1618.[3] The city council of Cologne gave powerful support to the Catholic cause generally [4] and to the Jesuits in particular, for its members realized that their work had not only a religious value, but a social and civic one as well.[5] In 1613 a few Jesuits of Cologne went to Essen. At Neuss, in 1615, Ferdinand assigned to them the Franciscan convent, but in this matter he proceeded with so much violence that Paul V. had to rebuke him. In like manner the seminary of Cologne, erected in 1615, for the establishment of which the Pope had already urgently pressed in 1611, was confided by the Elector

[1] See *Bull.*, XII., 299 *seq.*

[2] See KELLER, III., 627. *Cf.* RICHTER, I., 127 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*; FREISEN, *Die Universität Paderborn*, I., 3 *seq.*, 12 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 586 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BRAUN, *Kirchenbauten*, I., 64 *seq.* / *Stimmen aus Maria Lauch*, 1909, I., 282 *seq.*; CLEMEN, *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, II., Cologne (1911), 125 *seq.*

[4] To the congratulations of the council, Paul V. *replied on September 25, 1605, praising them for their support of the university of Cologne "hisce calamitosis temporibus tam necessarium opus"; you will best serve the interests of religion, "si vestri homines ut instituantur curaveritis," *Epist.*, I., 219, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See DUHR, II., 1, 20 *seq.*; *cf.* A. MÜLLER, *Die Kölner Bürger-Sodalität, 1608–1908*, Paderborn, 1909.

to the sons of St. Ignatius.[1] At the suggestion of Paul V. the Capuchins came to Cologne in 1611; in 1615 they made a foundation at Essen, and in 1618 another at Bonn.[2]

The Catholic reform was in some measure hindered in consequence of the conflicts which Ferdinand had had with the nuncio Coriolano Garzadoro being repeated under his successor, Attilio Amalteo.[3] Antonio Albergati, who succeeded Amalteo in 1610,[4] also had many difficulties with the archiepiscopal curia. Nevertheless during his eleven years' tenure of the nunciature, he was able to display so fruitful an activity that the rapid and vigorous rise of Catholic life in the archdiocese of Cologne was in a large part due to him.[5] Albergati's friend, the indefatigable Franciscan Nicholas Wiggers, like-

[1] See Duhr, II., 1, 23, 106 *seq.*, 644 *seq.* The nuncio Albergati had been commissioned by Paul V., in a *Brief dated May 21, 1611, to press the archbishop to found a seminary at Cologne. *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Binterim-Mooren, *Die alte und neue Erzdiözese Köln*, I., 125 *seq.*; Clemen, *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, III., Bonn (1905), 120 *seq.* In 1614 Paul V. laboured for the introduction of the Carmelites in Cologne; see *Brief to the senate, *Epist.*, IX., 2, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Unkel, "Der erste Kölner Nuntiaturstreit," in *Hist Jahrb.*, XVI., 786 *seq.* A. Amalteo had been appointed nuncio on September 1, 1606 (**Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives). His *Instruction, dated September 3, 1606 (in Ottob. 2415, II., 294 *seq.*, Vatican Library) shows how very much the Pope had at heart the progress of the Catholic restoration. Paul V.'s confirmation of the archbishop's decrees for the reform of the religious Orders in Cologne, dated June 6, 1607, in *Bull.*, XI., 424 *seq.* Amalteo's reports of 1606–1610 in *Barb.*, LXIV., 22–5, Vatican Library.

[4] On April 26 (**Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives); *cf. ibid.*, *the credentials to the archbishop of Mayence, of May 27, 1610.

[5] See Unkel, *loc. cit.*, 791. Albergati's *Instruction, dated Rome, May 12, 1610, in *Ottob.*, 2476, p. 415 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Hess has published (*Urkunden des Pfarrarchivs von St. Severin*, Köln, 1901) the ordinances of archbishop Ferdinand of 1615 and 1620 for the execution of the decrees of Trent in the parish of St. Severin.

wise accomplished a vast amount of good; he established at Cologne the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament which was confirmed by Paul V. in 1611.[1]

In 1611 the Protestants caused a rising in the wealthy and powerful imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle. They stormed the Jesuit college. The Catholic population found itself in such straits that, in 1612, the Elector Ferdinand appealed to the Pope on their behalf. A complete revulsion occurred in 1614 when Spinola the Spanish general enforced the penalties inflicted by the emperor and restored the Catholic city council. By this means the old imperial city was saved for the Church. In 1615 the Jesuits began the erection there of a new college, and soon after, that of a fair-sized church.[2] The Capuchins had been accommodated in the old monastery of St. Servatius.[3]

In the diocese of Trèves Lothar von Metternich pursued with undiminished zeal his work for ecclesiastical regeneration. Outstanding features of his activity were his visitation of parishes,[4] the reform of the Benedictine abbey of St. Maximin,[5] and the Capuchin foundation at Trèves.[6] As "founder and a most lavish benefactor of the Capuchin Fathers",[7] the Elector laid the foundation, in 1617, of their church there. His help enabled them at a later date to found

[1] See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XII.², 1572.

[2] *Cf.* NOPPIUS, *Aachener Chronik*, II. (1632), 217 *seq.*; MEYER, *Aachensche Gesch.*, I. (1781), 549 *seq.*; PELTZER, in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, XXV. (1903), 198 *seq.*; CLASSEN, *ibid.*, XXVIII.; WESSLING, *Konfessionelle Unruhen in Aachen* (1905); FRITZ, *Das Aachener Jesuitengymnasium, Aachen*, 1906, 37 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 76 *seq.* On the church of the Jesuits at Aachen see besides BRAUN, I., 105, also SCHEINS, *Gesch. der Jesuitenkirche in Aachen* (1884).

[3] See PICK, *Aus Aachens Vergangenheit*, Aachen, 1895, 77 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* A. SCHÜLLER, *Pfarrvisitationen in der Diözese Trier*, 1609, *seq.*, in *Trierischen Archiv*, XVI. (1910).

[5] See *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XVI. (1895), 193 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*

[6] See MARX, *Gesch. des Erzstiftes Trier*, II., Trier, 1862, 385 *seq.*

[7] Metternich is thus described on a sandstone tablet found in

a house also at Cochem, on the Moselle.[1] Paul V. did not fail to support Metternich's efforts for the reform.[2] He styled him the pattern of a bishop.[3]

As regards Church reform, the Elector of Mayence, Johann Schweikart, was completely in line with the Council of Trent. The reform, which ended by triumphing over very great difficulties, found expression in the Church ordinance of 1615 and its supplementary articles of 1617.[4] At this time the property of the Catholic Church in the archdiocese was fairly secure. At the very outset of Paul V.'s pontificate Schweikart had successfully carried out the Catholic restoration in the domain of Königstein.[5] The Pope repeatedly praised his zeal in special Briefs.[6] But it was only by degrees

1908, near the city theatre of Trèves, which gives the date of the laying of the foundation stone as June 2, 1617.

[1] See the periodical *Pastor Bonus*, 1900, 85.

[2] See the *Brief to the canons of Trèves, asking them to support the visitation then being held by the nuncio; dated August 4, 1612, in the *Epist.*, VIII., 77, Papal Secret Archives. In a *letter of 1612 Santeul writes to Cardinal Givry, bishop of Metz: "Monsieur l'archévêsque de Trèves recognoissant le grand besoing que son diocèse et ceulx de ses suffragants ont d'un concile provincial pour remedier aux grands abus qui s'y commettent, il le desiroit intimer. Mais par ce qu'il craint que messieurs de Metz, Verdun et Toul ne refusent de s'y trouver comme pretendants avoir quelque exemption ou pour ne l'oser faire sans en avoir la permession du roy, il en a escrit a Ms. le nonce lequel vous supplie luy mander," etc. The last provincial council of Trèves had been held in 1549. Cod. 219, p. 487, of Stadtbibl. of Metz.

[3] See the *Instruction for A. Amalteo quoted above, p. 332, n. 3.

[4] See A. L. Veit, *Kirche u. Kirchenreform in der Erzdiözese Mainz in Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung und der beginnenden tridentinischen Reformation* (*Erl. und Erg. zu Janssens Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, von L. Frh. v. Pastor, X., 3), Freiburg, 1920, 35 *seq.*, 93 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Katholik*, 1850, I., 227 *seq.*

[5] See Schmidt, *Kathol. Restauration*, 98 *seq.*

[6] A *Brief of August 5, 1605, praises Schweikart's zeal on behalf of the Jesuits on the Eichsfeld. **Epist.*, I., 114, Papal

that he overcame the difficulties he had to encounter when he undertook to bring back to the Catholic Church the various localities of the county of Rieneck which were the joint property of the Elector of Mayence and the lord of Hanau.[1] Even more arduous was the Catholic restoration of the Eichsfeld, partly owing to its distance from the archiepiscopal residence ; but there also the goal was eventually reached by means of frequent visitations, the appointment of sound Catholic officials, and through the Jesuits, who had a college and a school at Heiligenstadt.[2] In other parts also of the diocese Schweikart made use of the Jesuits for the internal strengthening of the ancient Church. At Mayence he built a large school for them ; in 1612 he established them in his winter residence at Aschaffenburg, and at Erfurt he protected the Fathers from hostile attacks.[3] The Elector enabled the Capuchins to found a convent at Mayence in 1612, and another at Aschaffenburg in 1620.[4]

Paul V. resolved to take advantage of a rising at Frankfort on the Main, and the fear of the impending imperial punishment, to recover for the Church a town which had for the most part gone over to Protestantism. With this purpose in mind he requested, in 1615, the Elector of Mayence, who had been appointed imperial commissary for the purpose of

Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, II., 503, a general *laudatory Brief of 1616. *Cf.* also the expressions of praise in the *Instruction for the nuncio to Cologne, A. Amalteo (September 3, 1606), in *Ottob.*, 2415, p. 300, Vatican Library.

[1] SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 108 *seq.*

[2] KNIEB, *Reformation und Gegenreformation auf dem Eichsfeld*, 266 *seq.* ; SCHMIDLIN, *Zustände*, 476.

[3] DUHR, II., 1148 *seq.* ; II., 2, 685 *seq.*

[4] See ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., 375 *seq.*, and the " Festschrift " : *Die Kapuziner in Mainz*, 1901, 8 *seq.* ; *a Relatio eccles. Mogunt.* (about 1620), published by FALK, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXI., 140 *seq.* In 1620 the Capuchins likewise obtained the pilgrimage place of Nothgottes in the Rheingau ; see D. DIEFENBACH, in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1903, no. 898, and P. KILIAN (MULLER), *Die Aufhebung der Wallfahrt Nothgottes*, Mayence, 1907.

quelling the rising, to take steps that the practice of the Catholic religion, which had been unduly circumscribed, should enjoy complete freedom and that the Jesuits should be allowed to open a college in the city.[1] The Pope also wished to make it possible for the Capuchins to make a foundation in the old imperial city.[2] The Jesuits did not succeed in establishing themselves at Frankfort and the Capuchins were only able to do so in 1626. With regard to the convocation of a provincial council by the archbishop of Mayence, the Holy See, in view of the troubled times, requested the Cologne nuncio, in 1609, to send in a report.[3] In 1614 Albergati was instructed to hold visitations at Mayence, Cologne and Bamberg.[4]

The newly-appointed bishop of Spire, Philip Christoph von Sötern, was early pressed by Paul V. to reform his cathedral chapter.[5] Subsequently he supported Sötern's labours in the cause of the restoration with so much energy that the bishop was able to write that the Pope's memory would remain for ever in benediction in the diocese.[6] In 1606 the zealous bishop of Worms, Wilhelm von Effern, called a few Jesuits into his diocese. The Cologne nuncio

[1] See the Brief of November 25, 1615, in *Archiv. f. Frankfurts Gesch.*, VI. (1854), 128. Paul V.' letter to Schweikart: **Breve credent. in nunt. de catholicis in Frankfurt*, dated August 31, 1612, refers to previous efforts on the part of the Pope (*Epist.*, VIII., 95, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] See the Brief to Schweikart **Breve credent. in nunt. de erigendo monast. Capuccinor. Francofurti*, dated July 24, 1615, *Epist.*, XI., 33, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Borghese's letter in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 81.

[4] Albergati's faculties in *Bull.*, XII., 278 *seq.* *Cf.* the *Brief to the chapter of Mayence of October 18, 1614; the *Briefs to the archbishops of Mayence and Cologne and the bishop of Bamberg of January 10, 1615, in *Epist.*, XV., *ibid.*, XVI., a *Brief to the archbishop of Cologne dated August 9, 1619, begging him to support Albergati's efforts for the reform of the Carmelites of the city and province of Cologne, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Brief of December 11, 1610, *ibid.*, VI., 232.

[6] SCHMIDLIN, 453.

praised their work and protected them against the violent attacks which they had to encounter.[1] Johann Friedrich von Schwalbach, who had been elected abbot of Fulda in 1606, enjoyed the strong support of Paul V. in his plans for a reform.[2] In 1608 an extremely laudatory Brief was sent to the aged, highly deserving bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn.[3] In the following year the Pope commissioned him to watch over the interests of the Church on the occasion of the election of a bishop for the vacant see of Bamberg.[4] Owing to the fact that duke Maximilian also gave his attention to the matter, and with the help of the dean of the chapter, Johann Christoph von Neustetter, a former pupil of the Germanicum,[5] the choice fell, on July 23rd, 1609, on the excellent Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen.

The new bishop of Bamberg undertook at once, with burning zeal, the internal as well as the external renewal of his diocese which had been utterly neglected by his unworthy predecessor, Gebsattel,[6] so that already in 1610 [7] Paul V. sent him an expression of his highest satisfaction. In the spring of 1611, Johann Gottfried ordered a general visitation

[1] See Duhr, II., 1, 174 *seq.* To the literature indicated by him must be added a paper in *Archiv f. hess. Gesch.*, II., 3, 473 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Briefs to the abbot of Fulda of March 15, 1608, October 17, 1609, October 22, 1611, and March 7, 1619, in the *Epist.*, III., 430, VI, 58, VII, 147, XIV, 54, Papal Secret Archives. On the splendid parish priest of Salmünster, Joh. Haal (1603–1609), see Richter, *Quellen zur Gesch. der Abtei Fulda*, IV. (1907), 45 *seq.*

[3] *Brief of May 9, 1608, *Epist.*, III., 494, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Brief of August 1, 1609, *Epist.*, III., 494; original in the catalogue of the auction of *Kubasta*, Vienna, 1899, no. 655.

[5] *Cf.* Steinhuber, 12, 384.

[6] *Cf.* Joh. Weber, *Joh. Gottfried von Aschhausen, Fürstbischof von Bamberg*, Würzburg, 1889; Looshorn, V. (1903), 391 *seq.*; Schmidlin, *Zustände*, 155 *seq.*; Riedler, in *Bericht des Hist. Vereins von Bamberg*, LX., 57 *seq.*, LXI., 2 *seq.*

[7] Schmidlin, 155, note 1.

of the diocese which was carried out with great circumspection under the personal supervision of Friedrich Forner, his vicar-general. In the same year the bishop called the Jesuits to Bamberg.[1] On the occasion of his journey to Rome, as imperial envoy for the purpose of doing homage to the Pope (at the close of 1612), he seized the opportunity to give an account of his diocese. As efficacious remedies against prevailing evils he mentioned the following: the celebration of diocesan synods, the revival of rural deaneries and the establishment of confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin. All these ideals Johann Gottfried carried into effect. Himself the pattern of what a priest ought to be, he gave to his court an almost monastic character. He personally visited a large part of his diocese, built several churches, one large hospital and a seminary for poor students. As the Rhenish Jesuit Provincial reported to the Pope in 1615,[2] ecclesiastical conditions in the diocese of Bamberg had undergone a complete transformation. When on September 13th, 1617, Julius Echter closed his tired eyes, Johann Gottfried was put at the head of the diocese of Würzburg also. He presided over both dioceses until 1622, and during that time he reformed the Benedictine monasteries in them.[3]

In 1612 the splendid bishop of Eichstätt, Konrad von Gemmingen, was given a successor of like character. In the teeth of the opposition of the cathedral chapter, he summoned the Jesuits to Eichstätt. They took charge of the seminary and, together with the Capuchins, zealously devoted themselves also to pastoral work outside the city.[4]

The diocese of Ratisbon also underwent a complete renewal

[1] See Duhr, II., 1, 164 *seq.*

[2] See Schmidlin, 351 *seq.*

[3] See Weber, *Aschhausen*, 56 *seq.*, 70. The faculty granted by Paul V. to the nuncio Albergati to hold a visitation of the diocese of Bamberg, in *Bull.*, XII., 417 *seq.*

[4] Besides Duhr, II., 1236 *seq.*, *cf.* the excellent essay which my friend provost J. G. Suttner (died 1888) devoted to bishop Wetterstein in the *Kathol. Blättern aus Franken*, 1852, nos. 17–28.

at the hands of the excellent bishop Wolfgang von Hausen (1600-1613) who zealously visited his diocese and arranged for missions to be given by Jesuits and Capuchins. He was no less keen on the improvement of public worship than on the reform of the monasteries. His successor, Albert, Freiherr von Törring, continued his work in the same spirit.[1]

Among the promoters of the Catholic restoration mention must be made of archduke Leopold who, though he allowed political questions to distract him from his pastoral duties, nevertheless did much for Church reform during the time he occupied the see of Passau, and later on also at Strassburg. For the purpose of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, he instituted a diocesan council in both bishoprics. At Passau he encouraged a Capuchin foundation and built a magnificent college for the Jesuits.[2] His activity in the diocese of Strassburg was repeatedly acknowledged by Paul V. Later on, when he neglected his ecclesiastical duties for the pursuit of politics, he was sharply reprimanded in a Papal Brief.[3] Subsequently Leopold applied himself exclusively to the government of his dioceses and from that time onwards Paul V. had every reason to be satisfied with his work. In 1614 the archduke ordered a general visitation which led to a sensible improvement in the religious condition of Alsace.[4] In 1614 the Jesuits were given a college at Hagenau and in 1615 a residence at Schlettstatt.[5] Above all Leopold furthered the principal Jesuit establishment at Molsheim.

[1] See LIPF, *Gesch. der Bischöfe von Regensburg*, 216 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 115 *seq.* Paul V.'s *Brief to W. v. Hausen, with the *facultas reformandi monast. S. Jacobi Scotorum* is dated May 8, 1615, *Epist.*, X., 343, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] SCHMIDLIN, 205 *seq.*; SCHÖLLER, *Bischöfe von Passau* (1844), 206 *seq.*

[3] SCHÖLLER, 411–412, note.

[4] See *ibid.*, 412 *seq.* A study by Professor SCHMIDLIN on the Catholic restoration in Alsace, to appear in *Erl. und Erg. zu Janssens Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes*, will supply further information on this subject.

[5] DUHR, II., 1, 190 *seq.*

The church adjoining the college, which was consecrated in 1618, is a splendid proof of his liberality; next to the Jesuit church in Cologne it is the largest and most important Gothic edifice of the seventeenth century on German soil.[1] Simultaneously with the consecration of this imposing edifice, the college, with Paul V.'s consent, was given the status of an academy.[2]

In the extensive diocese of Constance the devout bishop Johann Georg von Hallweil had energetically striven, in the first years of the seventeenth century, to raise ecclesiastical discipline, but his reign was too brief (1601–1603) to enable him to remove the numerous abuses which had crept in under his predecessor.[3] This was the task which the noble Jakob

[1] *Cf.* BRAUN, *Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten*, I., 49 *seq.*; POLACZEK, *Denkmale der Baukunst im Elsass* (1906), 94 *seq.*

[2] DUHR, II., 1, 188 *seq.*, 592. In 1618, when archduke Leopold, at the death of the Grand-master, Maximilian, became regent of the Tyrol and the Vorlanden, he promoted there also the ecclesiastical renewal. We shall have to say more about this in the next volume for only a very small fraction of it falls into the pontificate of Paul V.; but the introduction of the Jesuits at Freiburg im Breisgau, due to Leopold, still falls into the reign of the Borghese Pope; *cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 268 *seq.*

[3] On the bad conditions there, *cf.* the protocols of visitations in the *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, XXV., 129 *seq.*, XXVIII., 489 *seqq.* Against the widely spread concubinage J. Lorichius, in particular, raised his voice (see on this splendid scholar EHSES, *Festschrift des Campo Santo* (1897), 242), *Contra incontinentiam et concubinatum clericorum lectiones Iod. Lorichii, theol. doct. et prof. in acad. Brisg*, a treatise beginning with these words: "In foeda, ignominiosa ac damanabili vitiorum seu peccatorum colluvie nullum est quo se nostri ordinis viri, proh dolor, frequentius, obstinatius, detestabilius, polluant quam incontinentia." C. 1–5 treat *de damnis incontinentiae*; c. 6, *de causis*; c. 7, *de remediis incontinentiae*; c. 8, *diluuntur argumenta concubinariorum obstinatorum* (Cod. 262 of the Freiburg University Library). In the same volume a treatise by Lorichius: *De templis christianorum* (1598) with an Appendix *de abusibus spectaculorum in festo Corporis Christi.*

Fugger set himself. He was elected on January 27th, 1604, and his reforming zeal was repeatedly encouraged by Paul V.[1] He clearly saw that the spread of heresy could only be stopped by means of a thorough reform of the clergy, hence in the autumn of 1609, he held a diocesan synod the statutes of which were put into the hands of the clergy, in book form, in the following year. Here excellent rules were laid down for the pastoral ministry, preaching, catechizing, and clerical life generally. The synod divided the diocese into four districts each of which, in addition to the deans, was to have its own visitor who, as well as the deans themselves, was to be subject to two visitors general residing at Constance. The bishop took a personal share in the work of visitation and he was assisted by his coadjutor, Jakob Mirgel, a former pupil of the Germanicum.[2]

Owing to the fact that most of the monasteries of the old Orders had lost sight of their original purpose—Weingarten alone, under its excellent abbot, Georg Wegelin, forming an exception—the new reformed Orders stepped into the breach in the diocese of Constance also. To the college which the Jesuits already possessed at Constance another was added in 1620, at Freiburg in Breisgau. Bishop Fugger favoured the Jesuits wherever he could, but he had perhaps even closer relations with the Capuchins in whose church at Constance he chose his last resting place. During his reign the number of Capuchin convents in the different parts of the diocese rose to twenty-one. Jesuits and Capuchins distinguished themselves especially during the plague of 1611, when they devoted themselves with the utmost zeal, day and night, to the bodily and spiritual welfare of the sick.[3]

It is strange that so zealous a bishop as Fugger was in all Church matters, should have refused to comply with the duty

[1] *Cf.*, on what follows, the excellent monograph of HOLL: *Fürstbischof Jakob Fugger von Konstanz* (1604–1626), Freiburg, 1898.

[2] See HOLL, 117, 133 *seq.*, 189 *seq.* SCHMIDLIN, 379 *seq.*

[3] HOLL, 98 *seq.*, 112.

of personally reporting in Rome. The Swiss nuncio, Ladislao d'Aquino, suspected that this was due to national antipathy towards the Italians. It may have been so; but a no less weighty reason was the heavy expense of such a journey and the dangers which an absence of some length entailed for the diocese in such troublous times. For the rest Fugger repeatedly sent delegates to report in his place, and Rome refrained from blaming his conduct.[1]

The Curia found itself greatly embarrassed when the long-standing quarrel of the hot-headed archbishop of Salzburg, Wolfgang Dietrich von Raitenau, with Maximilian of Bavaria, became so acute that in the autumn of 1613 the duke overthrew his opponent by violent measures.[2] The excitement caused in Rome by Maximilian's action was at first very great. The older Cardinals were for stern measures against the duke of Bavaria who, nevertheless, found a keen defender in the person of Cardinal Millini.[3] On Millini's proposal, Antonio Diaz was dispatched to Salzburg as nuncio extraordinary, with mission to inquire into the affair, the first reports of which had borne a strong party colour. Diaz prevailed on Maximilian to hand over to him the captive bishop, but he himself treated him with the utmost harshness, compelled him on March 7th, 1612, to resign his see, and forthwith had him taken back to prison. Whilst in prison Raitenau wrote a detailed account of the harsh treatment he had been subjected to, declared that the accusations of his enemies, with the exception of his unlawful liaison with Salome Alt, were calumnies, complained bitterly of Diaz, and demanded a fresh inquiry by the bishops of Seckau and Lavant. However the document was intercepted and given to the

[1] HOLL, 126 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 387 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* for what follows the well documented work of F. MARTIN, *Des Erzbischofs Wolf Dietrich letzte Lebensjahre*, in *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. f. Salzburger Landeskunde*, L. (1910), 157 *seqq.* See also F. MARTIN's monograph of *Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau*, Vienna, 1925.

[3] *Cf.* MEMMOLI, *Vita del card. Millino*, Roma, 1644, 28 *seq.*

nuncio.[1] Before his departure, the latter handed over the prisoner to Mark Sittich von Hohenems who had been elected archbishop in the meantime. Though the brothers of Wolf Dietrich strove desperately to get him set at liberty, all their efforts failed owing to the opposition of Mark Sittich who feared for his position and who, contrary to what had been agreed, detained his unhappy predecessor in strict confinement at Hohensalzburg until the day of his death, January 16th, 1617.

The archbishop began his reign with a general visitation which brought to light deplorable conditions among the clergy.[2] Improvement was bound to be slow, and Mark Sittich, who proceeded with great harshness, obtained no more than an outward conversion of the Protestants in the archdiocese. The latter were particularly numerous in the Pongau.[3] With a view to carrying out the Tridentine decrees, Mark Sittich published, in 1616, a number of excellent ordinances and, in order to make stricter vigilance over the clergy practicable, he divided the archidiaconate of Salzburg into seven deaneries. The archbishop himself set a good example to the clergy for he said Mass almost daily and preached frequently. He also sought to strengthen the spiritual life by the introduction of the Forty Hours' Prayer and the Roman Rite, by the establishment of numerous confraternities, by favouring the Capuchins and by means of pilgrimages and processions. For the formation of good priests Mark Sittich built a college which, later on, in keeping with his plan, developed into a university and was entrusted to the Benedictines.[4] Thus from the ecclesiastical standpoint, Mark Sittich was the very antithesis of his predecessor though he resembled him in his love of magnificence and building

[1] See ZAUNER, *Chronik von Zalzburg*, VII., 204 *seq.* *Cf.* MARTIN, *Letzte Lebensjahre*, 188.

[2] SCHMIDLIN, 91.

[3] See WOLF, *Geschichtl. Bilder aus Österreich*, I. (1878), 187 *seq.*; LOSERTH, in *Mitteil. des österr. Instituts*, XIX., 676 *seq.*

[4] See WIDMANN, III., 263 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XI., 64 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1910, 614 *seq.*

on the big scale; to the latter passion the castle and park of Heilbrunn and the cathedral of Salzburg owe their origin. This magnificent church, which at the time of Raitenau's fall was hardly begun, and of which Mark Sittich laid the foundation stone for a second time in 1614, was now built, not as a rotunda, as had been planned by the celebrated pupil of Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, but with a nave, on the model of the Gesù in Rome. The mighty structure erected by the Lombard, Santino Solari, which is wholly instinct with the spirit of the Roman baroque, was roofed in by the time of Sittich's death in 1619, and the façade had reached half its height.[1] To Sittich, who found his last resting place in the cathedral, belongs the glory of having created Germany's most remarkable sacred edifice of the first half of the seventeenth century.[2] Probably the most important and most deserving bishop of Germany of that period was, besides Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen of Bamberg and the aged Echter von Mespelbrunn, the bishop of Augsburg, Henry V. von Knöringen. Richly endowed, energetic, deeply pious, conscientious, an indefatigable worker and burning with zeal for the Catholic cause, Henry devoted all his energy to establishing religious unity in his vast diocese and recalling clergy and people alike to discipline and order. He started his work of restoration in the second year of his reign by publishing a strong mandate on the subject of religion, and his efforts culminated in the reform decrees promulgated at the diocesan synod of 1610. He went on building on the foundation thus laid, by regular visitations of the parishes and by numerous ordinances for the secular and regular clergy and the people. In all this he was effectively assisted by the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Franciscans, to all of whom he was a generous benefactor.

[1] See TIETZE, in *Österr. Kunsttopographie*, IX. (1912), 1 *seqq.*; WIDMANN, III., 362 *seqq.*; MÜHLMANN, *Der Dom zu Salzburg*, Vienna, 1925; J. WEINGARTNER, in the periodical, *Das neue Reich*, VIII. (1925), no. 10.

[2] Opinion of WACKERNAGEL, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den germanischen Ländern.*, 44.

The bishop, who had made his studies with the Jesuits of Dillingen, is the founder of their university in that town. He also contributed to the erection of a new church, which in its lay-out and structure resembles the church of St. Michael at Munich. He consecrated it in 1617. In 1614 he had established a Tridentine seminary and confided its direction to the Jesuits. The statutes breathe the same spirit as those of the papal seminary of Dillingen.[1] The praise which Paul V., in 1612, bestowed on his pastoral solicitude [2] was all the more deserved as he had proved the first and most loyal supporter of Maximilian in the latter's efforts for the formation of the Catholic Defence League.

Maximilian I., the greatest of all Bavaria's rulers, had the defence of Catholic interests in the empire quite as much at heart as the promotion of the Catholic reform in his own territory. For this Paul V. rewarded him with valuable privileges, heaped ecclesiastical dignities and revenues upon his brother Ferdinand, and overlooked many things in the internal ecclesiastical policy of the duke. However much, as a practical politician, he may have studied his own advantage, Maximilian's Catholic sentiments nevertheless sprang from a most genuine conviction. In his recommendation to his son he states that the first and noblest duty of a ruler is to promote the glory of God, the Catholic religion, and the salvation of the souls of the subjects whom God has committed to him and for whom he will have to give an account at the last day. Maximilian's ecclesiastical policy, which was both detailed and comprehensive, was dictated

[1] J. SPINDLER devotes an excellent monograph to Heinrich von Knöringen, in the *Jahrb. des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, XXIV. (1911), 1–138. *Cf.* SPECHT, *Gesch. der Universität Dillingen* (1902); LOCHNER, *Die Jesuitenkirche in Dillingen*, Stuttgart, 1895; BRAUN, *Jesuitenkirchen*, II., 133 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 288 *seq.*, 570 *seq.* See ROTTENKOLLER, in *Allgäuer Geschichtsfreund* on the visitations held by the prince abbot of Kempten, Heinrich von Ulm, whom Paul V., on the occasion of his confirmation, on March 3, 1608, exhorted to see to the preservation of the faith within his domain.

[2] Brief of November 24, 1612, in STEICHELE, *Beiträge*, I., 324 *seq.*

by his lively sense of duty. The purpose for which he strove, namely the preservation of the unity of the faith and the promotion of the religious and moral life of his subjects was, in the main, fully realized. On the other hand the duke was on dangerous ground when he enforced compliance with the laws of the Church by police measures and even appointed special spies to that effect. It was also a serious matter that Maximilian claimed for the State sovereign rights in Church matters which went far beyond the concessions of the Concordat, and when he at times seriously encroached on the jurisdiction of the bishops. If here there is question of very debatable government measures, Maximilian's merits in respect to the moral improvement of a sadly neglected clergy and people stand out all the more conspicuously. In this respect the most important measure was the introduction all over the country of a systematic teaching of religion for which the excellent catechisms of Canisius were used.[1]

The duke himself set his subjects the very best example. In contrast to the repulsive spectacle presented by most Protestant princely courts of the time, the conduct of the court of Munich was exemplary. It reacted on the capital, of which it has been said that it sheltered, at that time, one of the most strictly moral populations of Christendom.[2]

The religious life, of which the congregations of our Lady and splendid processions were characteristic manifestations, was fostered with indefatigable zeal by the Jesuits. Their colleges at Ingolstadt and Munich reached the apex of their splendour at that time.[3] The Capuchins devoted themselves to the great mass of the population. They, like the Jesuits, stood in close relation with the court. The Jesuit Buslidius was the duke's confessor.[4] The duke also held in high regard

[1] See STIEVE, *Das kirchliche Polizeiregiment in Vayern unter Maximilian*, I., Munich, 1876; *Zeitschr. f. Kirchenrecht*, XIII., 375 *seq.*; XIV., 63 *seq.*; RIEZLER, VI., 242 *seq.*; DÖBERL, I., 489 *seq.*, 492 *seq.*

[2] Opinion of RIEZLER (VI., 253).

[3] DUHR, II., 1, 202 *seq.*, 204 *seq.*.

[4] DUHR, *Jesuiten an den Fürstenhofen*, 137.

the Capuchin Lorenzo of Brindisi, who rendered valuable service to him in matters connected with the League. More than once the duke served Lorenzo's mass.[1] Yet another Capuchin, Giacinto of Casale, was destined to play an important rôle in the life of Maximilian. This remarkable man, together with Lorenzo of Brindisi,[2] had been appointed a missioner in Germany by Paul V. He laboured there in 1606 and 1607 and thus came into relations with the imperial House of Habsburg. In 1613 he was again despatched to Germany in the suite of the Cardinal legate, Madruzzo, when he made the acquaintance of Maximilian and introduced the Capuchins at Ratisbon.[3] The latter had already settled at Rosenheim in 1606. Maximilian founded a convent for them at Landshut in 1610, and at Straubing in 1614. Other convents were founded at Würzburg in 1615, and at Günzburg in 1616.[4] In 1609 a convent of the Jesuit Sisters founded by Mary Ward for the education of girls was established at Munich. They eventually became known as "the English Ladies".[5]

The old Orders also awoke to a new life. In 1617 Paul V. appealed to Maximilian with regard to the reform of the Bavarian Augustinians.[6] In 1620, on the initiative of the Holy See, the Bavarian Franciscans were subjected to a

[1] *Cf.* Bon. de Cocallio et Erardo da Radkersburgo, *Vita del b. Lorenzo da Brindisi*, Roma, 1783; Stieve, *Briefe u. Akten*, VI.; Mayr, *Briefe u. Akten*, VII. and VIII.

[2] See the papal faculties for Lorenzo, dated May 12 and 28, 1606, in *Bull. Capuc.*, I., 51.

[3] See *Venanzio da Lago Santo*, 74; W. Goetz, *P. Hyacinth*, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CIX., 103 *seq.* Goetz justly laments the absence of all references to sources in Venanzio, but he himself has overlooked one of the most important of them all, viz. the *Bull. Capuc.*, III., 238–289.

[4] See Eberl, 46 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 51 *seq.*

[5] See Reimbucher, II., 316.

[6] *Brief of February 12, 1617, *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives.

thorough reform.[1] In a Brief of February 23rd, 1620, to Maximilian, the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the result.[2]

In the Tyrol also the religious life underwent a renewal similar to that which had taken place in Bavaria. Here also besides the prince bishops of Brixen and Trent, Andreas von Spaur and Carlo Madruzzo,[3] it was the ruling prince, Maximilian, Grand-master of the Teutonic Order, who assured the triumph of the Catholic reform and restoration.[4] All the reports that reached Rome about Maximilian's life and dispositions could but justify the highest hopes. The Augustinian, Mander, who visited him in 1608, described him as the true ideal of a Catholic prince.[5] Such praise was not undeserved. Though many a measure of Maximilian's may not have been compatible with the letter of Canon Law, there can be no doubt that he strove for the best both for the Church and for his subjects.[6] Hence Paul V. repeatedly praised the Grand-master's zeal for the progress of religion in his territory.[7] As in Bavaria, so in the Tyrol, the encroachments of the State on the sphere of the Church, which were largely the result of circumstances, were attenuated by the devout sense of the prince who did not content himself with the enjoyment of the dignity and the revenues of a Grand-master but who lived accordingly, and even composed a prayer-book.[8]

[1] See MINGES, *Gesch. der Franziskaner in Bayern* (1896), 106 *seq.* *Cf.* LINS, *Gesch. der bayr. Franziskanerprovinz 1620–1802*, Munich, 1926.

[2] **Epist.*, XVI., 246, *loc. cit.*

[3] See further on p. 351.

[4] *Cf.* for what follows the exhaustive presentment by HIRN, *Maximilian I.*, 212 to 340.

[5] *Della natura et qualità del ser. Massimiliano*, in Mander's report quoted above, p. 275, n. 5, BORGHESE, I., 28, p. 67, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] This is rightly emphasized by FR. M. STRAGANZ, in his essay on Maximilian (*Tirol. Stimmen*, 1918, no. 247).

[7] *See the Briefs of December, 1609, and March 4, 1613 (*Epist.*, V., 232, VIII., 248, Papal Secret Archives), of which the latter deals with the establishment of the Capuchins at Meran.

[8] HIRN, *Maximilian*, I., 216.

A remarkable characteristic of Maximilian, and one altogether singular in view of the acute religious feeling of the time, was a certain toleration towards heretics. Thus, in the year before his death, he appointed an anabaptist as his surgeon. He also protested against a decree of the synod of Brixen which would have forbidden the sick to call in a physician who did not profess Catholicism.[1] Hence in dealing with heretics Maximilian would use external pressure only as a secondary means. Solid instruction and the example of good priests he considered to be the noblest, as well as the most effective means, for bringing about a Catholic renewal. His rule, so far as the Tyrol is concerned, proved decisive as regards that revival. The change in the clergy is shown by the reports of visitations which took place regularly after the reform synod of 1603. Year by year these documents bear witness to increasing improvement. Among the people that spirit now asserted itself to which the Tyrol owes its world-wide reputation as a staunch Catholic country. On all sides churches and chapels were either being erected or restored; the Easter Sepulchre, the crib at Christmas came into use in churches and private houses; after 1615 the custom spread of ringing a second bell after the evening *Angelus* to summon the people to pray for the departed; attendance at sermons and catechetical instructions and participation in confraternities, pilgrimages and processions became general; the recitation of the rosary established itself as a household practice; and the reception of the sacraments increased.[2]

The newly reformed Orders took a prominent part in this transformation. Maximilian's biographers justly praise the Jesuits for their incredible zeal in the sphere of education as well as in the pastoral ministry.[3] The higher education was almost exclusively in their hands. The Grand-master built a fine Grammar school for the fathers at Innsbruck, and heaped all manner of favours on the college. He likewise

[1] Hirn, I., 338.

[2] *Ibid.*, 255 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 308.

[3] *Ibid.*, 307. On the work of the Jesuits in the Valley of the Adige, in 1614, see Kropf, VIII., n. 618.

made every effort to settle the Society at Hagenau, Ensisheim, Freiburg in Breisgau and at Trent.[1] The widow of archduke Ferdinand, Anna Catharina, received sympathetic support from Paul V. for her religious foundations in the capital of the Tyrol. Close to the convent of the Servite Nuns she erected the so-called " Regelhaus ". Thither she withdrew in company with her younger daughter, in order to live the life of the Servite Tertiaries under the name of Anna Juliana. In 1614, she founded a monastery of Servite Friars in the new part of the town of Innsbruck. In recent years a suitable monument has been erected over her tomb in the church of the convent. In 1621, the Innsbruck Servites took charge of the famous place of pilgrimage of Waldrast. From the Tyrol they spread over almost all the crown lands of the Habsburg Hereditary States and from there they penetrated as far as the Rhine. Three Provinces of the Order, with nearly thirty monasteries, sprang from the foundation of the pious archduchess.[2]

Maximilian kept up such close relations with the Capuchins of Innsbruck that he almost looked upon himself as one of them. His energy and liberality enabled him, notwithstanding all kinds of difficulties, to found a Capuchin convent at Meran, in 1616. There the Fathers took complete charge of religious instruction ; they also introduced the Good-Friday night procession, which had been established at Brixen in 1609, and which was soon imitated in other places. In conjunction with the bishop of Chur, Johann Flugi von Aspermont, Maximilian charged the Capuchins with the care of the people of the Vintschgau whose faith was in danger.[3] Maximilian likewise lent help at the foundation of the Capuchin convent of Neumarkt, in the valley of the Adige.[4] At Ala the Order had already established itself in 1606.

Notwithstanding the numerous religious communities which

[1] Duhr, II., 1, 210 *seq.* ; II., 2, 237, 289.

[2] See besides Hirn, I., 304 *seq.*, also Heimbucher, I., 476, and the literature mentioned by him.

[3] See Agapit Hohenegger, *Das Kapuzinerkloster zu Meran*, Innsbruck, 1889.

[4] See Eberl, 64 *seq.*

established themselves in these various places, other localities also suffered from a crying need of priests ; thus, for instance, in 1607 Bruneck had as yet no priest of its own. This state of affairs moved Spaur, bishop of Brixen, in 1607 to found a seminary for priests.[1] In 1618 the bishop of Trent, Carlo Madruzzo, in whose diocese the dearth of priests was likewise keenly felt, confided his recently restored seminary to the Somaschi whom he had summoned from Pavia, and at a later date he also called the Capuchins into his episcopal city.[2] The bishop of Brixen repeatedly begged for good priests from the papal seminaries of Rome, Dillingen and Graz. Paul V. showed himself a generous supporter of these and similar institutions. German ecclesiastical history records with gratitude the regular subsidies granted by him to the seminaries of Braunsberg, Fulda, Prague, Vienna and Olmütz.[3] Paul V.'s aims in regard to Germany are defined in the Instruction of the nuncio Caetani, under date October 20th, 1607 ; viz. publication of the reform decrees of Trent by the bishops or by provincial councils, such as had been held in 1569 at Salzburg and Liège ; restoration of clerical discipline, chiefly by means of visitations and the granting of benefices to worthy candidates only ; the training of such men in the seminaries ; removal of abuses in cathedral chapters ; observance of the concordat ; abolition of pluralism ; removal of Protestants from the courts of Catholic princes ; prohibition for the subjects of bishops (prince-bishops) to send their children to non-Catholic schools ; assiduous teaching of religion to the people.[4] Though so comprehensive a pro-

[1] *Cf.* the monograph by FREISEISEN, Brixen, 1908.

[2] The Somaschans were given the church of St. Maria Maddalena, the Capuchins Santa Croce ; see **Cod. Mazzetti*, LX., 22 *seq.*, of *Stadtbibl. Trier*. On Madruzzo's efforts, which only bore fruit at a later period, to get the Jesuits to Trent, see PROBST, *Gesch. der Gymnasien in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1858, 105 *seq.* *Cf* **Ambraser Akten*, VI., 60, in *Landesregierungsarchiv*, at Innsbruck.

[3] *Cf.* the information in Costaguti's notes in Appendix No. 14, Costaguti Archives, in Rome.

[4] See EGLOFFSTEIN, *Reichstag zu Regensburg*, 114 *seq.*

gramme was not by any means everywhere carried out in its fullness, one may nevertheless say, on looking back, that during the reign of the Borghese Pope, very considerable progress was realized in respect of the ecclesiastical and religious renewal of Germany.[1]

(4.)

Whereas within the empire the government of the emperor Matthias showed a willingness for wide concessions to the Protestants, in Bohemia, on the contrary, it endeavoured to protect the ancient Church from the encroachments of the religious innovators. In the dispute on the interpretation of the "Letter of Majesty" and the "Compromise" of 1609, the government withstood the Protestants and promoted, slowly but consecutively, the Catholic reform and restoration,[2]

[1] Already in 1613 Paul V. received gratifying information on this subject in the following letter written by a member of Madruzzo's suite: ". . . Si desidera principalmente che Monsignore rappresenti alla Santità Sua per particolare consolatione lo stato buono de' prelati et clero di Germania, il quale è molto diverso da quello che altre volte fu osservato nella dieta di Augusta e nell' altra di Ratisbona, poichè, non solo nell' habito esteriore, ma nell'interiore ancora si è visto un grande acquisto in pochi anni, havendo i prelati celebrato spessissimo et communicate le famiglie loro con molta edificatione di tutti. Onde in così buona congiuntura non si stima difficile il ridurli ad una riforma et disporli alle visite et alle funtioni sinodali, si come alcuni di loro, coi quali n'ha trattato il cardinale Legato, se ne sono mostrati desiderosi. Et quando si risolvesse Sua Beat^ne^ a così sant' opera, bisogneria pensare a deputare persona intelligente et destra e che habbia qualche cognitione delle cose di Germania et passar in oltre offitio con Sua Maestà Cesarea che volesse farvi assistere commissarii delle medesime conditioni, et se cadesse l'elettione in persona ecclesiastica, si potrebbe sperare maggiore satisfattione et frutto. Di Trento li 6 di novembre 1613, in Borghese, I., 115–16, p. 9*b*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows Gindely, I., 59 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 237 *seq.*; Klopp, I., 246 *seq.*; Huber, V., 54 *seq.*, 84 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*; Ritter, II., 393 *seq.*, 453 *seq.* On the legal question see, besides Ritter's

which had also the fervent support of the excellent archbishop of Prague, Johann Lohelius,[1] the provost of Leitmeritz, Johann Sixt von Lerchenfels,[2] the Jesuits and the Capuchins.[3] The stronger the Catholic defence became the more violent also became the Protestant attack. Wherever the adherents of the ancient faith were in a minority, as, for instance, at Braunan, they saw themselves exposed to insults and rowdy demonstrations of every kind, so that many families migrated elsewhere.[4] The Protestants grew bolder because a small but resolute party of nobles, led by count Heinrich Matthias

remarks in Reusch's *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1870, 865, also SWOBODA, "Die Kirchenschliessung zu Klostergrab und Braunau," in the *Innsbr. Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, X., 396 *seq.*; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*,[4] 167 *seq.*; KNOLL, in the *Mitteil des Vereins. f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XLV. (1907), 48 *seq.* The actual facts are excellently discussed by L. WINTERA, who bases himself on the evidence of the archives, in his *Gesch. der protest., Bewegung in Braunau*, Prague, 1894 (reprint from the *Mitteil. des Vereins f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen* XXXI. and XXXII.), and *Braunau und der Dreissigjährige Krieg*[2], Warnsdorf, 1905. The view here opposed is the oft-asserted claim that the closing of the Protestant church in Braunau was the immediate cause of the thirty years' war. Wintera proves beyond dispute that the assertion which is even repeated by GINDELY (I., 75), is untenable, since the Protestant church in Braunau was closed neither in 1614 nor in 1618, whereas the frequently mentioned Protestant church at Klostergrab was pulled down by the Protestants themselves.

[1] *Cf.* FRIND, *Gesch. der Bischöfe u. Erzbischöfe von Prag*, 200 *seq.*; GINDELY, *Gegenreformation in Böhmen*, 86; SCHMIDLIN, *Zustände*, 159 *seq.*, *cf. ibid.*, 178 *seq.*, on the successful work for Catholic restoration by the bishop of Olmütz, Cardinal Dietrichstein, whom Paul V. eulogized repeatedly.

[2] *Cf.* SCHLENZ, in *Mitteil des Vereins f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XLVIII., 384 *seq.*, XLIX., 1 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*

[3] For the Jesuits, see KRÖSS, *Gesch. der böhm. Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, I., Vienna, 1910, and *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, XX., 186 *seq.* On the Capuchins see *Mitteil. des Vereins f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XLVII. (1909), 248 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* WINTERA, *Braunau*, 17 *seq.*, 33.

von Thurn, stood by them and they also enjoyed the support of the Calvinists of the empire.[1] This assistance was prompted less by religious motives than by political ones, for Thurn and his followers, as well as the German Calvinists, aimed before all else at the downfall of the House of Habsburg.

In view of the Bohemian disputes, the calculated vagueness of Rudolph II.'s religious legislation was simply disastrous. When at the end of 1617 and the beginning of 1618, both the government and the archbishop of Prague showed a determination to put an end to the propaganda of the heretics by the way in which they tackled the question of the erection of a Protestant church at Braunau and Klostergrab, which had remained undecided for six years, Thurn and his confederates saw their aim, viz. the setting up of a Calvinistic aristocratic republic, seriously threatened; hence they judged they could wait no longer. The count's scheme was to drive the Estates to a step which must necessarily lead to open revolt.[2] Thus came about, on May 23rd, 1618, the murderous attempt on the Catholic lieutenants of the emperor Matthias known as the defenestration of Prague—(Prager Fenstersturz)—an attempt which failed as such but which fully accomplished its purpose, which was to create an irreparable breach. The Protestants of Silesia and Austria at once showed their sympathy with the outbreak in Bohemia. The head of the Union, the Calvinist Elector Palatine, Frederick V., judged the moment favourable for seizing the crown of St. Wenceslaus and for turning the Bohemian rising into the starting point of a great war of annihilation against the House of Habsburg. To this end allies were sought even abroad, but owing to France and England adopting a policy of neutrality, the Dutch States General thus left to themselves could do nothing. Negotiations with the ambitious Carlo Emmanuele, duke of Savoy, who had long meditated the destruction of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 24 *seq.*

[2] That the defenestration was a premeditated act is also admitted by F. Macháček, who studies the occurrence in the most recent number of *Český Casopis hist.*, XIV., 197 *seq.*, 297 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*

Habsburg-Spanish Power, yielded at first no result.[1] For all that, the action of the rebels had gravely jeopardized Catholic interests. What their aims were was quickly shown by the expulsion of the archbishop of Prague and the abbot of Braunau, and that of the Jesuits from Bohemia and Moravia.[2] Thus, from the very outset, the struggle took on the character of a war of religion.[3] Consequently, despite the adverse state of his finances, Paul V. granted the emperor Matthias' request, which had the very warm support of Cardinal Borja, for a monthly war subsidy of 10,000 florins for a period of six months.[4] Even more important was the action of Paul V. when he used his influence with Louis XIII. to prevent the French government from exploiting the revolt in Bohemia to the emperor's disadvantage.[5]

With the death of the emperor Matthias, on March 20th, 1619, the last barrier fell before the Bohemian rebels and their friends.[6] Ferdinand's declaration, by which he bound himself to maintain all privileges and prescriptions of former kings, hence also the "Letter of Majesty", was answered by Thurn's invasion of Moravia: the revolt spread rapidly. Because of the declaration, the Estates of Upper Austria and the Protestants of Lower Austria refused to do homage to

[1] *Cf.* ERDMANNSDÖRFER, *Karl Emmanuel*, 131 *seq.*, 152 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* PESCHECK, I., 340 *seq.*; KRÓSS, I., 907 *seq.*; DUHR, III., 9 *seq.*, 393; II., 2, 687 *seq.*; an *Apologia pro Societ. Iesu ex Boemia proscripta*, 1618, in CL., VII., Cod. 1221 of the Library of St. Mark, Venice.

[3] *Cf. Vorschlag zur successiven Ausrottung der römisch-katholischen Religion in Deutschland und an andern Orten de anno 1618*, in LÜNIG, I., 977 *seq.* This document was composed shortly after the defenestration of Prague.

[4] Besides GINDELY, II., 397, see the report of L. Ridolfi, from Rome, July 7, 1618, in SCHNITZER, 154, note 1. *Cf.* v. ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 42, 275.

[5] *Cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziatura*, III., 132, 137, and GINDELY, I., 359.

[6] *Cf.* the report of the envoys of Lucca in A. PELLEGRINI, *Relaz. inedite di ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Vienna*, Lucca, 1902, 25.

Ferdinand. At the beginning of June, Thurn stood before Vienna. He was too late, however, to take the city and the successes of Buquoy and Ferdinand's defence measures [1] compelled him to beat a hasty retreat into Bohemia. Thereupon Ferdinand, with quick decision, hastened to Frankfort to secure the imperial crown. The party of the Palatine did its utmost to prevent it or at least to obtain a prorogation of the day of the election which had been fixed for July 20th.

How much depended on prompt action was quickly recognized in Rome also. Hence on April 6th, 1619, Paul V. wrote to the ecclesiastical Electors urging them to speed up the imperial election.[2] He repeated his request in August [3] and at the same requested the Elector of Mayence to take immediate counsel with the newly elected emperor on the means of defending the severely threatened Church of Germany.[4] The Pope's piety had prompted him before this to have recourse to prayer. Public prayers were recited in Rome. On April 23rd Paul prayed at the tomb of St. Peter for help for Germany.[5] Great was his joy, therefore, when, on August 28th, news reached Rome that Ferdinand had been elected Roman emperor of the German nation. When he announced the event to the Cardinals he said that the extra-

[1] See HUBER, V., 126. On the part played by the soldiers of Florence in the defence of Vienna, see now G. BANDINI, *Un episodio mediceo della guerra dei trenta anni*, Firenze, 1901, and C. MAGINI, *La guerra de' trent'anni in Germania dal 23 Maggio 1618 all' 11 Giugno 1619 secondo i documenti Fiorentini*, Siena, 1907, 47–55.

[2] See the *Briefs to the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves of April 6, 1619, in *Epist.*, XII., 73, Papal Secret Archives. On August 8, 1619, the Pope announced in a consistory the death of the emperor Matthias and expressed his hope for a good election; see **Act. consist.*, Barb. 2926, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Briefs to the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves of August 23, 1619, exhorting them to make a good and speedy election, *Epist.*, XIV–XV., 215, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Brief of August 24, 1619, *ibid.*, 19.

[5] **Pregando Dio per la quiete delli correnti motivi di Germania*, Avviso of April 27, 1619, Vatican Library.

ordinary piety of the emperor elect and his outstanding devotion to the Apostolic See, justified the highest hopes for the Catholic Church.[1] In a Brief to Philip III. of Spain, the Pope also gave vent to his satisfaction.[2] The long letter of congratulation which he wrote to the new emperor was couched in the most cordial terms.[3] On the same day the Pope held a service of thanksgiving for the happy issue of the election in the Pauline chapel of the Quirinal, in presence of the Cardinals. Cardinal Borghese,[4] as protector of Germany, was the celebrant of the Mass. The German colony celebrated the event with loud demonstrations of joy.[5]

However, the immediate future brought to the emperor days of heavy anxiety. His election was scarcely an accomplished fact when news reached Frankfort that the Estates of Bohemia had formally deposed him "as a pupil of the Jesuits and an arch-enemy of the religion of the gospel",

[1] See **Acta consist., loc. cit.* Already in his first *Brief to archduke Ferdinand, on June 23, 1605, Paul V. praised his Catholic zeal (*Epist.*, I., 16, Papal Secret Archives). In a Brief of November 22, 1605, the Pope assured the widowed archduchess Mary of his affection for her son and for her House; see *Steierische Geschichtsblätter*, I., Graz, 1880, 89 *seq.* In 1617 Paul V. presented archduke Ferdinand with two precious reliquaries; *cf.* GRAUS, *Die zwei Reliquienschreine in Dom zu Graz*, Graz, 1882. The archducal court was constantly and closely in touch with Rome through the nuncios; *cf.* in this connection the details given by STARZER, in the *Mitteil. des Hist. Vereins f. Steiermark*, XLI., (1893), 119 *seq.*, and BIAUDET, 184 *seq.* See also LOSERTH, in *Fontes rer. Austr.*, LX., 461 *seq.*, and especially LANG, *Beitr. zur Kirchengesch. der Steirmark* (*Veröffentlichungen der Hist. Landeskommission f. Steiermark*, XVIII.), Graz, 1903, where there is a portrait of the nuncio of Graz, Erasmo Paravicini, whom DUHR (II., 2, 696) describes as a pessimist.

[2] *Brief to Philip III., of Spain, of September 9, 1619, *Epist.*, XIV.–XV., 230, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Brief to *Ferdinandus in Imperat. elect.* of September 11, 1619, *ibid.*

[4] See *Avviso of September 11, 1619, Vatican Library.

[5] SCHMIDLIN, 452.

and that they had chosen the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., as King of Bohemia.[1] Ferdinand's position grew rapidly more and more critical; the representatives of the territories adjacent to Bohemia approved his deposition; in Moravia a regular persecution of Catholics set in and the Protestants of Upper Hungary threw in their lot with the grand-duke of Transylvania, Bethlen Gábor, who, relying on the help of the Turks, and supported by the Protestants of Austria, was advancing on Vienna at the head of an army.[2]

Beset as he was by so many dangers, Ferdinand had early looked for allies. Besides the assistance of the king of Spain,[3] it was of the utmost consequence for the emperor that Maximilian of Bavaria, fully realizing that the existence of the Danubian State of the Habsburgs as well as the future of the Catholic Church in the empire were at stake, decided to go to the assistance of Ferdinand.[4] The decision was taken in October, 1619, during the emperor's stay at Munich on his return journey from Frankfort. In the covenant into which they entered on that occasion, the emperor guaranteed to Maximilian the absolute and supreme direction of the League which had become disintegrated in 1616, but which now rose to a new life. Ferdinand further promised to the duke of Bavaria, in return for military aid, full compensation for his expenses and for any losses of men or goods that he might incur, by means of the cession of Austrian territory. An oral agreement also held out to Maximilian the prospect

[1] See LUNDORP, I., 712 *seq.*

[2] HUBER, V., 142 *seq.* On the persecution of the Catholics in Moravia, *cf.* the chronicle of the city of Olmütz for the years 1619 and 1620, in the publications of the *Mährisch-Schlesische Gesellsch.*, 1851, where there is further information about the inhuman tortures with which Canon Johannes Sarkander was put to death. See also *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXI., 215 *seq.*, and *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X.², 1718 *seq.*

[3] GINDELY, II., 66 *seq.*, 368 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*; HURTER, VIII., 264 *seq.*

[4] RIEZLER, V., 124 *seq.*, 368 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*; GINDELY, II., 381 *seq.*

of the Palatinate.[1] With his wonted decision Maximilian at once saw to the necessary military and financial preparations for the struggle. This he did at two assemblies of the League at Würzburg, in December, 1619, and February, 1620. The rejuvenated League included, from among the ecclesiastical Estates, the occupants of the three Rhenish archbishoprics, Mayence, Trèves and Cologne, likewise, the dioceses of Bamberg, Würzburg, Worms, Spire, Strassburg, Eichstätt, Salzburg, Augsburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Münster, Liège, Constance, Freising and Passau; the abbeys of Fulda, Ellwangen, Salmansweiler and Odenheim, and four Swabian prelates, and among the secular Estates, besides Bavaria, Pfalz-Neuburg, Leuchtenberg, the imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, and Burgundy. Meanwhile Bavarian diplomats were busily engaged in Paris, Madrid and Rome in raising troops or money.[2]

Already in December, 1618, Paul V. had spontaneously promised to the League a subsidy of 200,000 florins, payable within three years, as well as the revenue of ecclesiastical tithes. Not long after, when Cardinal Borja requested the Pope, in the name of the king of Spain, to raise the monthly subsidy which he had granted to emperor Matthias, Paul V. declared that in view of his adverse financial position he was unable to do this and he clung to this decision even though the Cardinal gave full vent to his impetuous temperament to his face. When Borja referred to the treasure of the Church which lay in the vaults of the castle of St. Angelo and which could be touched when there was question of an emergency of this kind, Paul V. replied that the present case was not one in which these monies could be touched.[3] These and other expressions of opinion [4] show that Rome considerably under-

[1] Döberl, I., 547 *seq.*

[2] Döberl, I., 549.

[3] Gindely, II., 397 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Mayence of May 2 and July 20, 1619, *Epist.*, XIV.-XV., 88, and 196, Papal Secret Archives. On July 4, 1619, Paul V. wrote to the bishops of Würzburg and Augsburg urging them to bring about a confederation of the

estimated the gravity of the situation.[1] However, Maximilian and Ferdinand did not weary of imploring the Pope's help with so much insistence, that before long the Curia grew so seriously alarmed about the future [2] that it was decided to drop a plan for a big enterprise against the Turks which had been contemplated at the beginning of 1618.[3]

Catholic princes, *ibid.* The Brussels nuncio was instructed, on June 2, 1619, to urge Albert and Isabella to support the ecclesiastical Electors; see CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Recueil.* 98.

[1] See RIEZLER, V., 126.

[2] *Cf.* WOLF, IV., 175, note; GINDELY, II., 399. *Cf.* *the Briefs to Mayence of October 18 and 26 and to Cologne of December 27, 1619, *Epist.*, XIV.–XV., 265, 268, 336, Papal Secret Archives. What hopes the Pope set on Maximilian are made clear in the Briefs addressed to him on November 22, December 13, and 31, 1619 (originals in *Staatsarchiv*, Munich), translated in the *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, XLVII. (1868), no. 37, though the *Brief of October 30, 1619, is missing here; *Epist.* XIV.–XV., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also WOLF, IV., 354, note, and HURTER, VIII., 194 (Brief to Mayence of December 21, 1619).

[3] See JORGA, III., 342 *seq.* Paul V.'s lively realization of the duty of defending Christendom against the Turks is shown in the classical expositions of Mocenigo (107 *seq.*). At the beginning of 1818 the Pope was still busily engaged on a scheme for a great league against the Turks even though he doubted the possibility of its realization; see BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziatura*, II., 246, 263, 294, 322, and the *Brief of February 3, 1618, to Ferdinand II., *Epist.*, XV., 264, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* KLOPP, I., 236 *seq.*; FAGNIEZ, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, le projet de croisade* (1616–1625), in the *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, XLVI. (1889), 461 *seq.*; FAGNIEZ, *P. Joseph*, I., 135 *seq.*, 152 *seq.* There exist innumerable writings about Paul V.'s action with regard to the war against the Turks. Besides that of Marcello Marchesi (see MEYER, 366, note 2; it is also found in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris; see M. D'AYALA, *Bibliogr. milit.*, Torino, 1848, 39) and GIROLAMO VECCHIETTI (print. in *Beccar.*, XI., 176 *seq.*), also *Relazione del Conto Rob. Shirley Inglese, ambasc. del re di Persia a Paolo V. circa la lega contro il Turco* (1609), in *Ottob.*, 2682, p. 168 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and *Raggionamento di Tarquinio*

The emperor also prayed for help from Rome. At the beginning of October, 1619, Ferdinand dispatched Freiherr Max von Trauttmansdorff to Rome to represent to the Pope the difficulty and danger of his position. The attack of the Calvinists, the envoy explained, was directed against the Church; they openly proclaimed that as soon as they should have defeated the Catholics in Germany, they would turn against Italy, to put an end to the papacy. For these reasons he prayed that Paul V. would grant him, for the duration of the war, a monthly subsidy of 100,000 florins instead of the 10,000 he had contributed until then and that he would also grant him a loan of 1,000,000 kronen from the treasury in the castle of St. Angelo. Trauttmansdorff was further bidden to press the Pope to induce the Italian princes to lend help and to call into being a league of all the Catholic princes of Europe. The envoy was instructed to proceed in all these questions according to the advice of Cardinal Borja, the Protector of Germany and in the eventuality of Paul V. taking up a negative attitude, he was to ask to be heard by the College of Cardinals. Lastly Trauttmansdorff was instructed to ask the Pope whether, in view of the desperate state of affairs, it would not be permissible to depart slightly from the strictness of the law and to grant to the Austrian Estates the "right of reform" in order to withdraw them from their alliance with the rebels and so to save the Catholics of that country from utter extinction.[1]

In the audience of an hour and a half which Trauttmansdorff had with the Pope on his arrival, the latter declared that as Supreme Head of the Church he could not give his assent to a concession of that kind, but that he would exercise discretion in the matter. As for raising the monthly subsidy from 10,000 to 100,000 florins, Paul V. answered that his

Pinaoro intorno agli apparati di guerra marittima e terrestre che fa il Turco contro all'Italia, Urb. 1492, p. 37 *seq.*, *ibid.*

[1] See HURTER, VIII., 130 *seq.*, who, like SCHNITZER, 155, has overlooked the fact that the whole Instruction has long been in print in HAEBERLIN and SENKENBERG in *Neuere Teutsche Reichsgeschichte*, XXIV., Halle, 1793, xlviii *seq.*

debts amounted to 18,000,000 scudi. Though the expenses for the maintenance of the court had been considerably cut down, the usual alms nevertheless demanded 120,000 scudi annually, and he had promised 200,000 to the League. The treasure in St. Angelo, according to existing laws, he could only touch in the eventuality of the Pontifical States being directly threatened, nor was it so considerable as people imagined. To bring about a union of the Catholic princes, particularly those of Spain, France and Poland in a vast League, would demand lengthy preliminary negotiations; for the rest, if the emperor requested her help, Spain would do as much as if she belonged to a league; as for France, she thought she was doing a great deal if she remained neutral, and from her it would hardly be possible to get anything more.[1]

Though Trauttmansdorff failed in his immediate purpose, he had hopes for the future. On his advice, on December 24th, 1619, Ferdinand made another appeal to the Pope and in so doing he was able to point to the renewed threat to his capital on the part of the rebels.[2] Thereupon the Pope decided, at the beginning of 1620, besides proclaiming a universal jubilee to obtain God's help "against the enemies of the Catholic faith in Germany"[3] to levy, for a period of three years, a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in Italy, which was calculated to yield a sum of 200,000 scudi, and to double the monthly subsidy of 10,000 scudi as from March.[4] On

[1] See HURTER, VIII., 256 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXI., 281 *seq.*; SCHNITZER, 155 *seq.*

[2] HURTER, VIII., 258.

[3] See **Acta consist.*, for June 13, 1620, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *Avvisi of January 21, 1620, "Sunday, publication of the Jubilee Bull; to-day opening of the Jubilee; the Pope, accompanied by all the Cardinals and prelates, went from S. Maria degli Angeli to S. Maria Maggiore)" and February 5, 1620 ("affissa in publico l'estensione del giubileo per tutta questa settimana a quelli che non havessero potuto nelle due settimane preced."), *ibid.*

[4] See HURTER, VIII., 259. The proclamation of the tenth was not made by a Brief of July 13, 1620, as one might be led

February 7th, 1620, Paul V. informed the emperor that the nuncios in Spain and France had received appropriate instructions with regard to promoting a general league, though these were to be kept as secret as possible. Meanwhile, the Pope prayed, let the emperor apply himself with all his might to beating down the insurrection.[1]

At the very time when Paul V. was being thus pressed for help by Ferdinand II., baron Giulio Cesare Crivelli and the dean of the chapter of Augsburg, Zacharias von Furtenbach, arrived in Rome on April 11th, 1620, as envoys of Maximilian and the League, for a like purpose.[2] Although Paul V. saw in the League one of the chief means for the preservation of the Catholic religion in Germany [3] and placed great hopes on the duke of Bavaria, since he had thrown in his lot with

to think from HURTER (*loc. cit.*), but by a Bull of January 13, 1620; see *Bull.*, XII., 459 *seq.*

[1] *Brief of February 7, 1620, original in *Staatsarchiv* of Vienna. *Ibid.*, a *Brief of July 18, 1620, in which Paul V. makes excuses for his inability to send any subsidies notwithstanding the bad news from Transylvania and Hungary. On the act of obedience by Ferdinand II. through prince Paolo Savelli, who had been specially dispatched for this purpose and who made his entrance into Rome on May 1, 1620 (see ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 32 *seq.*), *cf.* besides ZWIEDINECK, in his paper on the embassies of homage of the German emperors in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 196 *seq.*, also SCHMID, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 199 *seq.* The dates missing both here and in Zwiedineck, are gathered from the **Acta consist.* of Vatican Library. According to them the confirmation of Ferdinand's election took place on May 4 and the *obedienza* on May 5, 1620. The Bull. of confirmation is dated May 5, 1620; see *Bull.*, XII., 467 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 472 *seq.*, under date of June 4, 1620, an indult for Ferdinand *nominandi ad beneficia primo vacatura* (*primariae preces*). Paul V.'s *letter of thanks to Ferdinand II. of May 7, 1620, in the *Epist.*, XV.–XVI., 67, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The Instruction for the envoys is dated February 20, 1620; see WOLF, IV., 353, and HURTER, VIII., 202. *Cf.* SCHNITZER, 157; RIEZLER, V., 141.

[3] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Nunziatura*, III., 256.

the emperor,[1] his financial situation, and the fact that he had just promised to double the subsidy guaranteed to Ferdinand II., made it exceedingly difficult for the Pope to listen to this new request. He therefore sought to gain time by making the grant of help dependent on the opening of hostilities.[2] In the end the representatives of the League succeeded in obtaining from the Pope a subsidy which far exceeded that promised to the emperor. This was owing to an assurance of considerable sums which the king of Spain had given to Ferdinand II. Crivelli was given 100,000 scudi, the result of the tenth imposed on twelve religious Orders of men and which the court of Vienna had confidently hoped to get. Finally the Pope gave leave to all German bishops to impose a tenth on all benefices, a tax which was expected to yield 1,500,000 florins. It was the Pope's intention that the big sums granted to the League should likewise benefit the emperor. This was realized at least indirectly in that the League exerted itself to the upmost for its own safety as well as for the cause of Ferdinand.[3]

To these considerable subsidies of the Pope [4] must also be

[1] See above, p. 360, note 2.

[2] This greatly annoyed Maximilian ; see WOLF, IV., 355 *seq.*

[3] See besides HURTER, VIII., 259, especially SCHNITZER, 157 *seq.* and *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins Dilligen*, XXVIII., 10. The Bull. on the taxation of the Orders of men in *Bull. Casin.*, I., 297 *seq.* The Bull on the *Impositio decimae in Germania pro religionis defensione ab omnibus eccles. uno tantum anno persolvendae*, of July 31, 1620, in *Bull.*, XII., 478 *seq.* In the anonymous dissertation **Se dalla Sede Ap^ca^ debba mandarsi prelato et qual sia più a proposito per assistere nelli conventi, compositioni, accomodomenti et speditioni militari della sacra lega cattolica di Germania* (Cod. X., VI., 30, p. 142 *seq.*, of the Lib. Casanatense, Rome), the Spaniard, Antonio Diaz, who had been nuncio extraordinary at Salzburg, is recommended for this delicate post. Concerning the League we read here : *la qual si può dirsi essere l'unico mezzo di salvare la Germania.*

[4] *Cf.* SIRI, V., 168 *seq.* HURTER's opinion is very just (VIII., 260 *seq.*) : " If we consider the sums which the Popes spent on the uninterrupted wars against the Turks ; and if we also

added the very great help which his nuncios gave in Madrid and in Paris, and that with such success that both Spain and France held out the prospect of military assistance against the insurgents.

What had Frederick V. and his friends to oppose to these forces? The most disastrous thing of all for them was the pitiable attitude of the Union, rich in words but poor in deeds; its hesitation made it so much easier for the Dutch States General and for cautious James I. of England to refuse immediate help. The republic of St. Mark also met the rebellious Bohemians' urgent requests for help with a refusal.[1] It was a no less heavy blow to them that the hope of joint support by all Protestants was dashed by the irreconcilable opposition between Calvinists and Lutherans. Satisfactory reassurances with regard to the retention of confiscated Church property and the pledge of the Lausitz won over even the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg, to the support of the emperor. The negotiations on these questions had

bear in mind that already at the time of Sixtus V. less than 180,000 scudi flowed into the Apostolic Chamber, the grants made both to the League and to the emperor must still appear considerable, though it is not to be wondered at if they did not always flow as regularly as the needs of the recipient demanded." The sums actually paid cannot be accurately indicated owing to the discrepancies in the various accounts. According to Götz ("Die Kriegskosten Bayerns," in *Forsch. zur Gesch. Bayerns*, XII., 114) the Pope's contribution in 1620 amounted to 98,385 florins, whereas Spain only gave 57,520 florins. According to *Costaguti* (Appendix No. 14), the emperor received 228,000 scudi. According to a note in Borghese, I., 554, p. 11, the *aiuto dato al Imperatore et alla lega l'anni 1619–1620*, amounted to 156,115 scudi, to which must be added the *denari delle sei decime et quello che hanno contribuito le 11 congregationi et regolari* (Papal Secret Archives). The latter amounted to 100,000 scudi; see *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., 213, p. 182 (*ibid.*).

[1] See v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 101 *seq.*; on the motives for Venice's attitude, see *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 368 *seq.*

been conducted by the landgrave Louis V. of Hessen-Darmstadt who had fallen out with the Calvinist line of Kassel. During a visit to Rome, in March, 1619, the prudent conduct of Paul V. had not indeed won Louis back to the ancient faith, as many Protestants feared, but it had nevertheless freed him from the worst prejudices against the papacy.[1] Thus Frederick V. was mainly thrown upon the Calvinist grand-duke of Transylvania, Bethlen Gábor, who, in August 25th, 1620, had had himself elected rival king of Hungary, and upon the Turks and the Bohemians. In Bohemia, however, very bad conditions prevailed in every respect, especially militarily and financially, and these deteriorated still further owing to the mistakes of the personally incompetent king who was totally ignorant of the language and customs of the country. Already in December, 1619, on the advice of his court preacher Scultetus, Frederick V. had abandoned the cathedral of St. Vitus, at Prague, a sanctuary adorned with the art of two centuries, to the Calvinist iconoclasts.[2] By his subsequent measures for the establishment of the reformed confession, he incurred the odium not only of the Catholics but also that of the Utraquists and the Lutherans of the empire. The feudal aristocracy of Bohemia, which had provoked the insurrection, saw its hopes unfulfilled and grumbled at seeing the most important posts going to foreigners.[3]

Heedless of the perils threatening from outside and the anarchical conditions which had made headway in Prague itself, the pleasure-loving Palatine spent the winter in riotous living.[4] His fate was decided on the day on which the

[1] *Cf.*, in addition to K. A. Menzel, VI., 442, a paper by Baur on the journey of the landgrave Louis V., in *Archiv. f. hess. Gesch.*, IV., 2, Darmstadt, 1845, 19 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Schlenz, in *Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, LVIII. (1920), 155 *seq.*

[3] Ritter, III., 73 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*

[4] *Solstitialis rex* is the name already given him by L. Pappus, the *Tacitus* of the Thirty Years' War, in his *Epitome rer. Germanic.*, ed. L. Arndts., I., Vienna, 1856, 160.

shrewd duke of Bavaria succeeded in severing the Union from him. The French government rendered substantial service at this juncture. At the close of 1619, the emperor dispatched count Wradislav von Fürstenberg to France to beg for armed assistance against a danger that threatened all princes, in view of the republican tendencies of the Calvinists.[1]

At the moment, not only the fate of the House of Habsburg, but that of the ancient Church depended, in large measure, on the attitude adopted by France. In the final decision, which turned out to be in favour of the Catholic cause, the papal nuncio Bentivoglio saw a true miracle and a manifest intervention of Providence. In conjunction with the confessor of Louis XIII., the Jesuit Arnould and the Catholic party, he had done his utmost to win over the son of Henry IV. It is true that armed help such as Spain gave, was not guaranteed, but France nevertheless declared her opposition to the Bohemian pretender. Letters were written to the princely members of the Union, with a view to inducing them to leave that body, and a great embassy was dispatched to Germany to make propaganda for the cause of the emperor. The Calvinists were not prepared for a blow of this kind and from such a quarter.[2] The embassy, which was headed by the duke of Angoulême, intimidated the Union to such an extent that by an agreement with the League signed at Ulm on July 3rd, 1620, it completely broke with Bohemia. Thus was a brilliant victory won before a shot was fired and Frederick defeated even before battle was joined. With his rear thus guarded, Maximilian was able, at the end of July, to proceed against the rebels in Austria, to compel them to do homage, and from thence to set out on his march against Bohemia. The army, whose principal standard was decorated with a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary, included among

[1] Siri, V., 66 *seq.* *Cf. Mercure Français*, IX., 342 *seq.*

[2] Siri, V., 86 *seq.*; Gindely, III., 3 *seq.*; Klopp, I., 532 *seq.*; Hanotaux, in *Rev. d. deux Mondes*, 1902, VII., 28 *seq.* On Bentivoglio's work see his *Nunziatura*, IV., 22, 60, 66, 86, 90, 134, 198, 218, 296.

other princely personages the young duke Virginio Orsini, of Rome.[1] A number of Jesuits and Capuchins and the Spanish Carmelite Dominic a Jesu Maria accompanied the army as chaplains.[2]

In the autumn of 1620 destruction threatened the rebels from three sides. Whilst the Spanish-Netherlandish army under Spinola invaded the Palatinate and the Elector of Saxony penetrated into the Lausitz, the armies of the emperor and the League advanced jointly against Bohemia. On November 8th a decisive battle was fought on the Weissenberg, West of Prague. The decision of the war council to attack the fortified positions of the Bohemians was, to a great extent, the result of the eloquence of Dominic a Jesu Maria whom everybody venerated as a Saint. Exhibiting an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which the Calvinists had mutilated, he spoke in burning accents in support of Maximilian's and Tilly's proposal to attack at once, promising the protection of all the Saints whose octave was being kept that day.[3] Within an hour the defeat of the rebels was complete and Frederick V. in full flight.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of February 12, 1620, Vatican Library.

[2] REIZLER, V., 151, and *Abhandl. der. Münchner Akad.*, XXIII., 1, 105 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, II., 2, 302 *seq.*

[3] The influence exercised by Fr. Dominic a Jesu Maria on the council of war which KREBS, in his otherwise excellent work, *Die Schlacht am Weissen Berge*, rejects as a fable, is established as a fact by the testimony of Maximilian I. himself; see GINDELY, in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXV., 1 (1883), 137 *seq.* *Cf.* also RIEZLER, in *Sitzungsber. der Münchner Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1897, 423 *seq.* On November 28, 1620, the Florentine envoy, Altoviti, reports from Vienna: "È stata una segnalata vittoria qual s'attribuisce a Dio et alla giustizia della causa come è dovere et multa parte ve n'hanno l'esortazioni d'un padre degli Scalzi di vita esemplarissima, che assiste a Baviera, il qual confortò mentre si stava in ambiguità la battaglia et assicurò la vittoria." (State Archives of Florence). Dr. Anschutz, of Munich, possesses a portrait of Fr. Dominic a Jesu Maria by Rubens; see *Münchner Jahrb. f. bild. Kunst*, XI., 58; OLDENBOURG, *Rubens*, 140 *seq.*

Immediately after the battle, even before Prague had opened its gates, the handful of Catholics still remaining in the city hastened out into the camp in order to congratulate the duke of Bavaria and Buquoy and to beg them to occupy Prague and restore the old religion. "Such was their joy that some of them spent the whole of the following night in prayer." When the army entered the town, the Catholics almost fought among themselves as to who should be the first to greet the duke of Bavaria. Whereas only a short while ago the Catholic faith was regarded as the religion of the lowest classes and one that a nobleman should be ashamed to belong to, many Calvinists and Lutherans now walked about with a Breviary or a rosary in their hands, or sought safety in some convent, both for their persons and their goods. The preachers lay in hiding; they no longer dared openly to stand up for their tenets [1]; on the contrary, by abject submissiveness to the authorities, they sought to obliterate the memory of their share in the rebellion. The pastor of the church of the Tein and administrator of the "lower consistory", Dikastus, who had crowned the winter king, now declared him an enemy of the country and prayed for the emperor's victory, and these sentiments he expressed in all his sermons.[2]

Not only in Prague but elsewhere also the victory of the Weissen Berg was rightly interpreted as a victory of the old religion and a defeat of Protestantism. As a matter of fact, here there was question not merely of preserving the Bohemian crown for Ferdinand, but also of the future of the Catholic Church in the territories of the Habsburgs and in the empire.[3]

How keenly the Catholic party realized the decisive significance of the war in Bohemia was evidenced by the public prayers which had been ordered all over Germany at the opening of the campaign, and by the fervour with which the people took part in them. At Augsburg all the churches were frequented by such crowds, and the devotion

[1] Carafa, *Comment.*, 105–6.

[2] Gindely, *Gegenreformation*, 105.

[3] Döberl, I., 552.

of the worshippers was so great, that the Protestants were struck with astonishment. In the Society of Jesus several thousand Masses and many prayers were offered every week for a happy issue of the war.[1] If the whole Catholic world thus celebrated the downfall of "the Calvinist monarchy" in Bohemia,[2] joy was particularly great in Rome. Maximilian, who had contributed more than anyone else to the triumph, announced it to Paul V. by a special courier who arrived in the Eternal City on December 1st, 1620: "I myself came indeed and saw, but God conquered," wrote the noble duke.[3]

Paul V. who, on January 24th, 1620, had headed, on foot, a procession of intercession from St. Maria sopra Minerva to the German national church,[4] had followed the Bavarian duke's progress with tense interest.[5] He fully realized that the defeat of the Bohemian rebels meant "an incalculable weakening of the power of the Protestants in Germany".[6] As soon as the first news was confirmed by the arrival of Maximilian's courier, Paul hastened to his favourite church of Sta. Maria Maggiore where he prayed for a whole hour before the miraculous picture of the Cappella Paolina, giving thanks to God for so signal a victory which could not fail to prove of the utmost advantage to the Catholic religion in Germany.[7]

[1] Reiffenberg, 514, 525.

[2] *Cf.* besides Carafa, 110, also *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXI., 829, *Script. rer. Pol.*, XVII., 33, 36, and on the celebration in Vienna, Gindely, III., 359.

[3] See Adlzreiter, 79.

[4] Schmidlin, 452.

[5] In a *Brief of September 16, 1620, to Fr. Dominic a Jesu Maria, he gave expression to his satisfaction at the conquest of Linz, *Epist.*, XV.-XVI., 200, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] This is Ritter's opinion in his review of Gindely's "Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges," in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1879, Beil., no. 85.

[7] **Dopo la qual nuova*, the Pope hastened to S. Maria Maggiore, *dove stette nella capella della Madonna circa un buon' hora ringratiando di vittoria così segnalata e di tante buone consequenze per*

The public thanksgiving was fixed for December 3rd. Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather the Pope again took part in the procession from the Minerva to the Anima. There the joyful psalm *Exaudiat te Dominus* was sung, prayers were recited and at the conclusion, Paul V. said the Mass of thanksgiving at the high altar, in the presence of all the Cardinals, even those being present who might have been excused either by age or infirmities, of all the prelates and officials of the court, the governor of the city, the envoys of the emperor and those of France, Venice and Savoy. At the conclusion of the ceremony the Pope granted a plenary Indulgence. At night a *feu de joie* was fired from the castle of St. Angelo and the houses of ambassadors and Cardinals were illuminated.[1]

The date of December 3rd likewise appears on the letters of congratulation addressed to Maximilian [2] and to the emperor. In these the Pope points out the importance of the victory for the spread of the Catholic faith. "Even as the rebellion of Bohemia," the Pope writes, "was at one time a source of many troubles in Germany, so will the subjugation of the Bohemians bring back the other insurgents to obedience." [3] In another letter to the emperor, dated December 19th, 1620, the Pope said he could not find words with which to express his joy.[4] At the same time, through the imperial envoy,

la religione cattolica. Avviso of December 2, 1620, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Avviso of December 5, 1620, Vatican Library. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 452.

[2] *Epist.*, XV.–XVI., 259 (Papal Secret Archives), printed in ADLZREITER, *Annal.*, III., 84 *seq.*, and after a copy in DUDIK, *Drei Urkunden aus der Vallicella zu Rom*, Munich, 1857, 9 *seq.*; here also the letter of Maximilian to Cardinal Borghese, dated Prague, November 13, 1610.

[3] See SCHNITZER, 160.

[4] **Epist.*, XV.–XVI., 275. *Ibid.*, 273, also a laudatory *Brief of the same date to Buquoy for his share in the victory (Papal Secret Archives). A *report of Savelli, dated January 9, 1621, shows Paul V.'s great concern for the emperor.

Prince Savelli, he urged Ferdinand to exploit his success to the utmost, to the advantage of the Catholic religion. This aim he should keep before his eyes during the forthcoming discussions at Prague with the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. In view of the fact that the Elector Johann Georg had shown signs of an inclination to return to the Church, Ferdinand should do his best to encourage him. If difficulties arose because of confiscated Church property, the Pope would try to find ways and means to overcome them. As regards the Palatinate, he was wholly in favour of its being bestowed on the duke of Bavaria.[1] A suggestion of Paul V. that advantage should be taken of Spinola's successes in the Palatinate, Ferdinand II. deemed inopportune and he refused to act on it,[2] so that, for the time being, the Catholic restoration was limited to the localities conquered by the Spanish General.[3]

There is an element of tragedy in the fact that Paul V., whose iron constitution had been equal, until then, to every exertion,[4] should suddenly feel his strength waning at the moment when he had reached the climax of his pontificate. Towards the end of 1620, in his sixty-ninth year, the infirmities of age made themselves felt,[5] though this did not hinder him

[1] See HURTER, IX., 157; SCHNITZER, 160–1; Cardinal Bellarmine had already written to Maximilian in September, 1620, on the subject of the Elector of Saxony's return to the Church, a task in which Fr. Dominic a Jesu Maria should assist; see *Bellarmini Epist. famil.*, Romae, 1650, 384, 386.

[2] The passage in question, in Carafa's *Instruction of April 12, 1621 (Bibl. Corsini, Rome, 38, A 11) was first published by RANKE (III.[6], App. No. 96).

[3] The Franciscans returned to Kreuznach at that time and did much for the Catholic restoration, see *Pastor Bonus*, XV., 367 *seq.*

[4] *" Il cui corso d'anni fu così felice che non hebbe mai un dolor di testa o altro male che gli facesse tralasciare funtione alcuna," says Cardinal Orsini in his report entitled *Conclave per la morte di Paolo V.*, Barb. 4676, p. 1, Vatican Library.

[5] According to NICOLETTI (*Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, I., 539, Vatican Library) Paul V. suffered from senile gangrene. To Ranke's

from carrying out the duties of his office. On January 11th, 1621, he created a number of cardinals,[1] and on the 16th he imposed the red hat on five of the new members of the Sacred College.[2]

Now, as before, the Pope paid frequent visits to the churches both within and without the city; thus he visited St. Sebastian's on January 20th, and on the 21st St. Agnes' without the walls.[3] On the occasion of the latter visit he suffered a slight stroke. He sought to allay the anxiety of his suite by holding himself erect by sheer will-power,[4] but a fresh stroke which he suffered on Sunday, the 24th, whilst saying Mass, led to his death four days later.[5] At the

assertion (II.,[6] 296), made without any proof to support it, that Paul V. had a stroke during the procession at the celebration of the battle of the Weissenberg, *Gröne* (II., 390) contradicts the evidence of the well-informed Bzovius (c. 57). Nevertheless the statement has been repeatedly made, by Schnitzer also (161). There is no confirmation in the *Avvisi and other sources. When recording the death at the Quirinal of Paul V., on January 28, 1620, the **Acta consist.* says: "Qui ante exitum superioris anni vexari morbo ceperat, cum illum videretur negligere et functionibus adesset et populo se praeberet videndum, subito veterno gravi correptus post dies quattuor interiit" (Barb. 2926, Vatican Library). On January 28, 1621, Cardinal Borghese wrote to Ferdinand II. that his uncle, the Pope, had died *doppo una breve indispositione di pochi giorni* (*Staatsarchiv*, Vienna).

[1] See Vol. XXV., p. 339.

[2] See **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. The *Avviso of January 13, 1621, announces that the Pope had attended *alle divotioni di S. Maria Maggiore*, S. Croce in *Gerusalemme et S. Giovanni Laterano*, Vatican Library.

[3] See Bzovius, c. 57. An *Avviso of January 20, 1621, gives the information that on the Sunday Paul V. went from the Quirinal to the Vatican and from there to St. Peter's, where he held a *capella* on the feast of St. Peter's Chair, Vatican Library.

[4] See Agost. Mascardi, **Scrittura intorno all'elettione in s. pontifice del card. Ludovisio*, Cod. C. 20 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf. Conclavi*, I., 378.

[5] The *Avviso of January 30, 1621, reports that on the evening of the 25th Paul V. "cominciò ad esser travagliato da humori

obsequies Gasparo Palloni pronounced the funeral oration.[1] The mortal remains of the Pope were temporarily laid to rest in St. Peter's.[2] A year later they were transferred, at the expense of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, to the magnificent Cappella Paolina in St. Maria Maggiore[3] where Paul V. had

soporifici o vero lethargo, onde subito li furno applicati diversi rimedii di bottoni di fuoco, vessicatorii et simili con che la natura si è alquanto rihavuta sendo subito state poste l'orationi delle 40 hore in molti luoghi pii della città". On the 28th "su le 23 hore rese lo spirito et la sera fu portato a S. Pietro et corpo esposto al luogo dell'adoratione e già il collegio ha cominciato le solite esequie" (Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the *report of Fabrizio Aragona of January 27, 1621, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. Aragona gives some details about the death in a *report of January 30, 1621, *ibid.* See also GATTICUS, I., 457. On Paul V.'s physicians, *cf.* HAESER, II.[3], 123.

[1] See *Avviso of February 10, 1621, Vatican Library. Gasparo Palloni was secretary of secret Briefs. In the **Elogii delli Pontifici Romani in ottava rima composte da Giacinto Gigli Romano* we read :—

"Porta il tempio di Pietro il nome in fronte
Del Quinto Paolo, e l' suo splendor dimostra
L'Esquilie e l'Quirinale e l'nobile Fonte
Che con l'antica maestà ben giostra.
La pace e la giustizia ognun' racconte
E l'abbondanza data al età nostra."

Cod. Sessor., 359, p. 126*b*, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome. ACCARISIUS (*Vita Gregorii*, XV., 1, 2, c. 14, says of Paul V.: "Cuius in morte haec passim ab omnibus ferebantur, Paulum V. singulari iustitia populum rexisse, opportunaque omni moderatione enascentes bellorum faces compressisse, quae causa deinde fuit, ut urbem toto sui principatus tempore frugum ubertate exhilarare potuerit" . . . (Cod. B. 7 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[2] *"Sepolto in una nichia della navata incontro alla Capella Gregoriana." Avviso of February 3, 1621, Vatican Library.

[3] *Racconto della trasportatione del corpo di Paolo V. a S. Maria Maggiore con l'orazione recitata nelle sue esequie di Lelio Guidiccioni*, Roma, 1623.

erected a sepulchral monument for himself in his own lifetime.

There was universal recognition in Rome of the unwearying zeal and activity of the Borghese Pope, of his spotless moral conduct, his strict justice, his splendid care for the provisioning of Rome and the magnificent buildings with which he had enriched the City. But the long pontificate of fifteen years and eight months had none the less given rise, in the widest circles, to a desire for a change. This wish was all the stronger as the favours and the liberality of the Pope had been almost wholly limited to his own family. The whole world, says Cardinal Orsini, was weary of the amiable but empty promises of the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Borghese, and dislike for the latter had still further increased since the last promotion of Cardinals.[1] The radiance which the victory of the Weissenberg shed on the last days of Paul V. came as a compensation for the many anxieties which the situation in Germany had caused him during his long pontificate. There was nothing the Borghese Pope feared so much as the issue of an armed conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants of Germany, for since the unsatisfactory termination of his own struggle with Venice he had grown exceedingly timorous. He displayed the greatest caution and did his utmost to avoid a collision of this kind, and only reluctantly did he consent to support the emperor and the League. When the course of events compelled him to intervene, an almost miraculous concatenation of events brought about a complete change in a short time. Splendid vistas opened for the Catholic restoration which Paul V. had always systematically promoted, according as he was able, in Germany as much as in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Poland. His sepulchral monument was already completed, hence the most important and most pregnant event of his pontificate could no longer be recorded on it. The reliefs and inscriptions of the monument pay a just tribute to Paul V.'s labours on behalf of peace, for by

[1] See CARD. ORSINI, "Conclave per la morte di Paolo V.," in Barb. 4676, p. 2 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

the neutrality which he successfully observed between the Habsburg and the Bourbons he rendered a permanent service to Catholic interests. Very appropriately also the inscriptions praise Paul V.'s solicitude for the Church and its temporal possessions, for his share in safeguarding Hungary against the Turks and for the works of art with which he enriched eternal Rome.

CHAPTER V.

PAUL V. AS A PATRON OF THE ARTS—COMPLETION OF ST. PETER'S—THE PAULINE CHAPEL IN S. MARIA MAGGIORE—THE PALACE OF THE QUIRINAL—STREETS AND FOUNTAINS—THE BORGHESE PALACE AND VILLA —TRANSFORMATION OF THE ETERNAL CITY.

Fond of building as few of his predecessors had been, and a true Roman, Paul V. was the right man to continue, on a large and magnificent scale, the Popes' traditional patronage of the arts. "The Holy Father," so we read in an ambassador's letter of September 23rd, 1605, "meditates building-plans such as befit a prince who to the highest spiritual power unites also the temporal." [1]

Like Sixtus V., Paul V. thought before all else of the completion of St. Peter's. This gigantic work, whose dome was looked upon as one of the world's wonders, was at the very heart of all his artistic interests during the whole of his long reign.[2]

Whatever concerned the *fabbrica di San Pietro* had hitherto been dealt with by a college of prelates which Clement VIII.

[1] See the *report of FR. M. VIALARDO, dat. Rome, September 23, 1605.

[2] A pamphlet probably composed by Paul de Angelis from material in c. 42 of BZOVIUS, **Magnificentia Pauli V. Pont. Max. seu publicae utilitatis et splendoris opera a Paulo V. P.M. vel in urbe vel alibi instituta*, says: "Publica urbana opera maximo operum illo concludens quod inter orbis terrae miracula non immerito connumerandum multi censuerunt, id est d. Petri Vaticani templum, quod quanquam a solo Paulo pontifice extructum nequaquam sit, cum in eo pontifices amplius septemdecem a Julio II. usque ad Paulum V. vires pecuniasque contulerint, unius tamen Pauli iussu impensisque constructa eius templi pars cum reliquis ab omnibus retro pontificibus extructis partibus merito conferri potest." *Barb.*, 2353, Vatican Library.

had reorganized—the *Congregazione della Rev. Fabbrica de San Pietro.* Paul V. confirmed these arrangements and appointed as additional members the following Cardinals, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, Bernardo Giustiniani, Francesco Maria de' Monti, Pompeo Arigoni, Alfonso Visconti, Bartolomeo Cesi, Pietro Paulo Crescenzi and Jacopo Serra. On the demise of Visconti (September 19th, 1608) Maffeo Barberini took his place and when Arigoni died (April 4th, 1616) Marcello Lante succeeded him.[1] Giovanni Fontana and Carlo Maderno were retained as architects.[2] Born at Capolago, in the Canton Tessin, Maderno had come to the Eternal City before Sixtus V.'s time and had worked for a time with his uncle. In 1603, he had created the lovely façade of St. Susanna, but now tasks of the highest importance were about to be entrusted to him as to the most talented of all contemporary architects.[3]

At the beginning of Paul V.'s pontificate, there still stood untouched a considerable portion of the nave of the Constantinian basilica. It was separated from the new church by a wall put up by Paul III.[4] There likewise remained the extensive buildings situate in front of the basilica. The forecourt, flanked on the right by the house of the archpriest and on the right by the benediction loggia of three bays and the old belfry,[5] formed an oblong square which had originally

[1] See Grimaldi's *account in Barb. 2733, p. 34, Vatican Library, partly printed by EHRLE, *Veduta Maggi-Mascardi*, 10, note 4, where, however, the number of Cardinals is wrongly given as eleven. Grimaldi gives a biography of Pallotta in *Miscellanea Arm.*, 7, t. 45, p. 188 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See ORBAAN, *Abbruch von Alt-St. Peter*, 4 *seq.*, 35. On Maderno *cf.* the details given by BERTOLOTTI, in *Bollet. d. Suizz. ital.*, VII., 109 *seq.*

[3] Opinion of WÖLFFLIN (316).

[4] Reproduction in *Grimaldi*, *Barb. 2733, p. 116, together with the entrance gate bearing the inscription, *Paulus III., P.M.*, Vatican Library.

[5] The belfry rose on the spot where now stands the colossal statue of St. Paul, by the steps of the new basilica. The metal cock which crowned the top is preserved in the sacristy of Pius VI.

been surrounded by porticoes of Corinthian columns. The lateral porticos, however, had had to make room for other buildings—those on the left for the oratory of the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament built under Gregory XIII., and the house of the Cappella Giulia and the lower ministers of the church, and those on the right for the spacious palace of Innocent VIII.[1] In the middle of this square, at a small distance from the façade of the present basilica, stood the fountain (cantharus) erected either by Constantine or by his son Constantius, under a small dome supported by eight columns and surmounted by a colossal bronze cone which was believed to have been taken from the mausoleum of Hadrian. From this court the eye contemplated the façade of old St. Peter's, resplendent with gold and vivid colours and completely covered with mosaics which had been restored in the sixteenth century, and crowned, in the centre, by a figure of Christ enthroned and giving His blessing. To this image millions of devout pilgrims had gazed up during the centuries. Internally the five-aisled basilica, with its forest of precious columns, was adorned with a wealth of altars, shrines and monuments of Popes and other ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries of every century. The roof consisted of open woodwork. The walls of the central nave, from the architrave upwards, displayed both in colour and in mosaic, scenes from Holy Scripture and the portraits of all the Popes.

It is easy to understand Paul V.'s hesitation to lay hands on a basilica so venerable by reason of the memories of a history of more than a thousand years, and endowed with so immense a wealth of sacred shrines and precious monuments. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of two utterly heterogeneous buildings, the curious effect of which may be observed in the sketches of Marten van Heemskerk,[2] could not be tolerated for ever. To this must be added the ruinous condition, already ascertained at the time of Nicholas V.

[1] See GRISAR, *Anal.*, I., 488, 505 *seq.*, and *tav.* 11–12. Better reproductions of the design of Grimaldi-Tasselli, in PASTOR, *Rom.*, 19, and in ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 12 *seq.*

[2] See PASTOR, *Rom.*, 21, 24; ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 3, 29 *seq.*

and Julius V., of the fourth century basilica,[1] a condition of which Paul V. himself speaks in some of his inscriptions as a notorious fact.[2] A most trustworthy contemporary, Jacopo Grimaldi, attests that the paintings on the South wall were almost unrecognizable owing to the crust of dust which stuck to them, whilst the opposite wall was leaning inwards.[3] Elsewhere also, even in the woodwork of the open roof, many damaged places were apparent.[4] An earthquake could not have failed to turn the whole church into a heap of ruins. An alarming occurrence came as a further warning to make haste. During a severe storm, in September, 1605, a huge marble block fell from a window near the altar of the Madonna della Colonna. Mass was being said at that altar at the time so that it seemed a miracle that no one was hurt.[5] Cardinal Pallotta, the archpriest of St. Peter's, pointed to this occurrence in the consistory of September 26th, 1605, in which he reported on the dilapidated condition of the basilica, basing himself on the reports of the experts. As a sequel to a decision by the cardinalitial commission of September 17th,[6] the Pope resolved to demolish the remaining part of the old basilica. At the same time he decreed that the various monuments and the relics of the Saints should be removed and preserved with the greatest care.[7] These injunctions were no doubt prompted by the strong opposition raised by the learned historian of the Church, Cardinal Baronius, against the demolition of a building which enshrined so many sacred and inspiring monuments of the

[1] See our account, Vol. II., p. 179 *seq.*; VI., 471 *seq.*

[2] See Forcella, VI., 121.

[3] See Müntz, *Les arts*, I., 118, also other places in Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 2, note 3.

[4] See Avviso of March 4, 1606, in Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 47.

[5] See Pallotta's account of the occurrence in Grimaldi, Barb. 2733, Vatican Library.

[6] See Avviso in Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 35. Mignanti (II., 53) erroneously speaks of a consistorial decision.

[7] The all too brief account of the *Acta consist.* in Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 35.

history of the papacy.[1] To Cardinal Pallotta was allotted the task of superintending the work of demolition.[2]

Sestilio Mazucca, bishop of Alessano and Paolo Bizoni, both canons of St. Peter's, received pressing recommendations from Paul V. to watch over the monuments of the venerable sanctuary and to see to it that everything was accurately preserved for posterity by means of pictures and written accounts, especially the Lady Chapel of John VII., at the entrance to the basilica, which was entirely covered with mosaics, the ciborium with Veronica's handkerchief, the mosaics of Gregory XI. on the façade and other ancient monuments. On the occasion of the translation of the sacred bodies and relics of Saints, protocols were to be drawn up

[1] "Actum in senatu de veteris Vaticanae basilicae demolitione utque ad normam et architecturam Michaelis Angeli Bonarotae, eminentissimi quondam ingenii et egregii molitionum opificis reduceretur, sicut magno Julio placuerat omnibus assentientibus ; nam necessitas exprimebatur, prout volebant Pallotta et Arigonius in gratiam Maderni tantum opus foedare ausi. Baronius acriter et religiose repugnavit, et sapientes ac pii parietum illorum miserebantur, illos esse memorantes, quos magnus Constantinus excelsissimae pietatis vel egesta humeris effossaque manu humo construxerat in honorem principis Apostolorum, quos Theodosius magnus, Honorius, Valentinianus, quos Caroli, Ludovici, Othones aliique Caesares et Summi Divorum nutantes firmarant, quos tot reges, antistites, duces praesulesque spectavissent, in queis depictae imagines quae defunctis ob veritatem testimonium exhibuerant ; proclinatis capitibus spectabantur altaria illa verenda, in quibus sanctissimi viri et omni praecinio celebratissimi litarant, sanctimoniam ac religionem spirantia, illi lateres, illae columnae, illa marmora tot sanctorum vestigiis calcata, sepulchrales moles veterum Divorum ac Caesarum tumuli ac reliquiae tantae molis proruendae, in miserationem, tristitiam ac gemitum animos omnium converterant : et ea tunc basilica manibus nostris excindebatur " (*Hist. Pauli Aemilii Santorii*, 1, 14, Barb. 2580, p. 2, Vatican Library). Hence ORBAAN is mistaken when he says (*Abbruch*, 1) " that no party among the contemporaries defended the preservation of the edifice ".

[2] See *Acta consist., loc. cit.*

and graves were only to be opened in presence of the clergy of the basilica. The bishop of Alessano was charged to superintend everything.[1]

It must be regarded as a piece of particularly good fortune that in Jacopo Grimaldi (died January 7th, 1623) canon and keeper of the archives of the Chapter of St. Peter's, a man was found who thoroughly understood the past and who also possessed extensive technical knowledge. He made accurate drawings and sketches of the various monuments doomed to destruction.[2]

The plan of the work of demolition, as drawn up in the architect's office, probably under Maderno's direction, comprised three tasks: viz. the opening of the Popes' graves and other sepulchral monuments as well as the reliquaries, and the

[1] The **Iussio Pauli V. canonicis basilicae S. Petri vivae vocis oraculo de veteribus templi Vaticani memoriis servandis* of October 30, 1605, is textually given by GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 112*b*, Vatican Library.

[2] The notes of Grimaldi, which unfortunately have not yet been published in their entirety and which are one of the chief sources for the study of the history of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, have been examined by MÜNTZ, in *Bibl. de Rome*, I., 235 *seqq.*, and in *Mel. d'archéol.*, VIII., 119 *seqq.*, and by KIRSCH, in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, II., 114 *seq.* Both writers were acquainted with the following MSS. of them: (1) Archives of St. Peter's, *Cod.* G. 13; (2) Vatican Library, Barb. 2732 and 2733 (with many drawings in colour); (3) Corsini Library, Rome, Cod. 276 (copy). To this must be added a codex of Grimaldi formerly kept in Papal Secret Archives, and now in Vatican Library, *Miscell. Arm.* 7, t. 45. BONANNI already gave some of Grimaldi's notes (*Numismata templi Vatic.*, 82 *seqq.*) and after him especially MÜNTZ and ORBAAN; but, as KIRSCH remarks, *loc. cit.*, they were but little used by some of the more recent historians of the basilica. The detailed account of MIGNANTI, II., 54 *seqq.*, must surely be based on these sources though he gives no references. GRISAR (*Anal.*, I., 484 *seqq.*) was the first to draw attention to the valuable collection of drawings of old St. Peter's by Domenico Tasselli, enriched with notes by Grimaldi and executed under his direction. They are kept in the Archives of St. Peter's.

translation of their contents; then the demolition itself, in which every precaution was to be taken against a possible catastrophe; thirdly, the preservation of all those objects which, out of reverence, were to be housed in the crypt—the so-called Vatican Grottos—or which were to be utilized in one way or another in the new structure.[1]

As soon as the demolition had been decided upon, the work began.[2] On September 28th, Cardinal Pallotta transferred the Blessed Sacrament in solemn procession, accompanied by all the clergy of the basilica, into the new building where it was placed in the Cappella Gregoriana. Next the altar of the Apostles SS. Simon and Jude was deprived of its consecration with the ceremonies prescribed by the ritual; the relics it had contained were translated into the new church, after which the altar was taken down. On October 11th, the tomb of Boniface VIII. was opened and on the 20th that of Boniface IV., close to the adjoining altar. The following day witnessed the taking up of the bodies of SS. Processus and Martinianus. On October 30th, Paul V. inspected the work of demolition of the altars and ordered the erection of new ones so that the number of the seven privileged altars might be preserved.[3]

On December 29th, 1605, the mortal remains of St. Gregory the Great were taken up with special solemnity, and on January 8th, 1606, they were translated into the Cappella Clementina. The same month also witnessed the demolition of the altar under which rested the bones of Leo IX., and that of the altar of the Holy Cross under which Paul I. had laid the body of St. Petronilla, in the year 757. Great pomp marked the translation of all these relics[4]; similar solemnity was observed on January 26th, at the translation of Veronica's

[1] See ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 8.

[2] For what follows *cf.* the careful *notes of GRIMALDI, *loc. cit.*, and the accounts and notices of the Avvisi published by ORBAAN (*Abbruch*, 33 *seq.*).

[3] See *GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 15, Vatican Library; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 63 *seq.*; *cf.* BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 418, 423.

[4] *Cf.* KIRSCH, in *Festgabe für Schlecht*, 1917, 181 *seq.*

handkerchief, the head of St. Andrew and the holy lance. These relics were temporarily kept, for greater safety, in the last room of the Chapter archives.[1] So many graves had now been opened in the floor that it became necessary to remove the earth to the rapidly growing rubbish heap near the Porta Angelica.[2]

On February 8th, 1606, the dismantling of the roof began and on February 16th the great marble cross of the façade was taken down. Work proceeded with the utmost speed; the Pope came down in person to urge the workmen to make haste. These visits convinced him of the decay of the venerable old basilica whose collapse had been predicted for the year 1609. The work proceeded with feverish rapidity—the labourers toiled even at night, by candle light.[3]

The demolition of the walls began on March 29th; their utter dilapidation now became apparent. The cause of this condition was subsequently ascertained; the South wall and the columns that supported it, had been erected on the remains of Nero's race-course which were unable to bear indefinitely so heavy a weight.[4]

In July, 1606, a committee was appointed which also included Jacopo Grimaldi. It was charged by the cardinalitial commission with the task of seeing to the preservation of the monuments of the Popes situate in the lateral aisles and in the central nave of the basilica.[5] The grave of Innocent VIII. was opened on September 5th, after which the bones of Nicholas V., Urban VI., Innocent VII. and IX., Marcellus II. and Hadrian IV. were similarly raised and translated.[6]

[1] See ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 43, 46 *seq.*

[4] See GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 205*b*–206*b*, Vatican Library; MIGNANTI, II., 69; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 70 *seq.* *Cf.* HÜLSEN, *Il Circo di Nerone*, in the *Miscell. Ceriani, Milano*, 1910, 258 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* MÜNTZ, in the *Bibl. de Rome*, I., 250 *seq.*; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 67 *seq.*, 71.

[6] See GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 178 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

In May, 1607, the body of Leo the Great was found. Subsequently the remains of the second, third and fourth Leo were likewise found; they were all enclosed in a magnificent marble sarcophagus. Paul V. came down on May 30th to venerate the relics of his holy predecessors.[1]

Meanwhile the discussions of the commission of Cardinals on the completion of the new building had also been concluded. They had last nearly two years.[2] This is not at all surprising, for the commission had to solve some exceedingly knotty problems, such as the joining up of the new façade with the Vatican palace and the plan of the façade and the benediction loggia, and opinions were greatly divided. Some were of opinion that the plans of Bramante and Michelangelo should be strictly adhered to, according to which the façade would be immediately connected with the new building, but others were in favour of adding a nave to the rotunda. Nearly every architect of mark whom Italy then possessed was invited to send in plans, before all others Flaminio Ponzio, Carlo Maderno and Giovanni Fontana; then Girolamo Rainaldi, Niccolò Braconio, Ottavio Turriani, all residents in Rome. Among outsiders, Domenico Fontana, of Naples, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, the painter Ludovico Cigoli of Florence, and many others were likewise consulted.[3]

During the reign of Gregory XIII., Tiberio Alfarano had counselled the erection of a nave and in that of Sixtus V., Domenico Fontana had drawn up a plan allowing for a nave divided into three aisles, its breadth equalling the width of the pillars supporting the dome, which would have produced the effect of a vestibule leading up to the rotunda. Fontana still retained Michelangelo's façade.[4] However, on the

[1] See MIGNANTI, II., 64 *seq.*; ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 59 *seq.*; *Documenti*, 81.

[2] See GRIMALDI, in EHRLE, *Veduta Maggi-Mascardi*, 10, note 5.

[3] See *ibid.*, CIGOLI's plan for the façade published in *I disegni d. Galleria degli Uffizi*, 2 series, *Portafoglio* 1, Firenze, 1913, *tav.* 4; in reduced size in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 52.

[4] The ground plan of D. Fontana is preserved in the collection of hand drawings of the Uffizi, reproduced in BONANNI, *Historia*,

occasion of the consecration of the high altar, in 1595, under Clement VIII., the papal Master of Ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio, pointed out that the rotunda, as planned by Bramante and Michelangelo, departed too much from the traditional idea of a church which was supposed to represent the body of Christ on the cross and that it was ill adapted to ecclesiastical functions.[1] A further argument was also urged; it almost amounted to a sacrilege if the whole of the ground covered by the old basilica were not included in the new one.

But the opposite view also found staunch advocates. We still possess two detailed reports of Gian Paolo Maggi and Paolo Rughesi, both determined opponents of a nave. In pleading for the retention of Michelangelo's rotunda, Gian Paolo Maggi stressed above all else the fact that here the great master had conceived something so beautiful and so perfect in every respect, that any alteration would spoil, nay, destroy its artistic value.[2] Paolo Rughesi defended the retention of Michelangelo's rotunda no less warmly; the whole world admired it as something unique; the addition of a nave would cost enormous sums, probably half as much as had already been spent; it would prevent a full view of the dome and destroy the light effects. If they wished to add anything, let them create a vast forecourt which would thus include all the hallowed space covered by the old basilica. In this way space would be provided for the holding of processions

table 27, p. 103. *Cf.* Wölfflin, *Renaissance u. Barock*, 4th edit., by H. Rose, Munich, 1926, 313 *seq.*

[1] See Cerrati, *Tib. Alpharani de basil. Vatic. structura liber 24*, n. 2. On the medieval symbolism which was at that time experiencing a revival in consequence of the study of scholasticism, see Schlosser, *Materialien zur Quellenkunde*, IV., 36, and Wölfflin, *loc. cit.*, 311 *seq.*

[2] *Consideratione sopra la pianta di Giov. Paolo Maggi architetto fatta per la fabrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano et Sacro Palazzo*, Barb. 4344, p. 18 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Extracts in Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII.*, Rome, 1915, 9 *seq.*

and the reading of Bulls of excommunication and other important documents.[1]

Of all the architects consulted, Carlo Maderno was the most ardent advocate of the abandonment of the plan of a Greek cross in favour of lengthening the fourth arm of the cross into a nave. Only in this way, he insisted, would the hallowed site of the old basilica be preserved from profanation and those spaces be created, the absence of which in Michelangelo's plan the cardinalitial Congregation had criticized from the beginning, namely, a choir for the canons, a sacristy, a baptistery, a spacious vestibule and a loggia for the ceremony of the papal blessing.[2]

In view of the importance of the solemn functions at which the Pope officiates as head of a Church which embraces all peoples and countries, a good solution of the problem of space by lengthening Michelangelo's rotunda into a nave, was bound to weigh decisively in the scales.[3] It was chiefly for this reason, without doubt, that not only Cardinals Pallotta, Arigoni and Cesi,[4] but the Pope himself, were all inclined to support Maderno's idea.

Paul V. refused to swerve from this decision even when it was opposed by a man of such artistic feeling as Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. Herrera's life of Urban VIII. alone gives some account of the discussions of that time, in the course of

[1] The *Consideratione* of P. Rughesi completely in CERRATI, 203 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 48, fig. 3, a plan for the lengthening of St. Peter's in keeping with the memorandum, in the Archives of the Chapter of the basilica.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Maderno to Paul V., dated May 30, 1613, in BONANNI, *Numismata templi Vatic.*, 104–5, in BOTTARI-TICOZZI, *Lett.*, VI., 44, and again in ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 125 *seq.*

[3] This is the opinion of BRINCKMANN (*Baukunst*, 1920) and WÖLFFLIN (*loc. cit.*, 312 *seq.*).

[4] This appears from the *report of Paolo Emilio Santori, quoted above, p. 381, n. 1. HERRERA (**Memorie intorno la vita d'Urbano VIII.*) says: "C. Maderno era portato dalli cardinali Cesi et Arigone . . . ; lo favorivano perchè serviva loro nelle fabriche," Barb. 4901, p. 49, Vatican Library.

which the Cardinal suggested that the missing choir of the canons should be put into a crypt near the Confession.[1] One can only rejoice that the Pope refused to entertain such a project.

On March 8th, 1607, in presence of the architects of St. Peter's and the Governor of Rome, the work was begun on the foundations for the extension of the basilica, under the present chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.[2] Work was pushed on so rapidly that already on May 7th, after he had said Mass in the Cappella Gregoriana, Cardinal Pallotta was able to perform the solemn laying of the foundation stone which the Pope had previously blessed at the Quirinal.[3] In the meantime, Giuseppe Bianchi had completed a model in wood of Maderno's plan which showed every detail of the scheme. On September 15th, the Pope came to St. Peter's from the Quirinal, to study the model. He was extraordinarily pleased with it and gave orders for the completion of the vestibule within six years; at the same time he supplied the sums required to meet the considerable cost of the work.[4]

It is wholly in keeping with the spirit of the baroque age that Paul V. commanded that work should begin with the façade, for this was deemed the most important part. On November 5th, 1607, work was begun on the foundations of the façade and the portico, to the joy of the pilgrims and the Romans who had begun to despair of St. Peter's ever being completed.[5] February 10th, 1608, was fixed for the laying of the first stone of the façade. The Pope blessed it after his Mass in the Quirinal and on the same day it was fixed in the foundation with appropriate ceremony.[6] Soon after, on *Laetare*

[1] See **Memorie intorno la vita d'Urbano VIII. cavate dall'orig. di Msgr. Herrera, Barb.*, p. 47*b seq.* (Vatican Library), see Appendix No. 12.

[2] See ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 57.

[3] GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 190, Vatican Library; BONANNI, *Numismata*, 83.

[4] See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 57, 63 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

[6] See GRIMALDI, in BONANNI, *loc. cit.*, 83.

Sunday (March 16th) the Pope bestowed the Golden Rose on the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.[1]

So far no final decision had been arrived at as to whether Maderno's plan for St. Peter's should be carried out also in respect to its breadth, in consequence of the inability of the commission of Cardinals to agree ; but unanimity was hoped for as soon as Cardinal Arigoni should have arrived in Rome. The decisive meeting took place on June 16th, 1608. The result was communicated to the Pope on the following day. Maderno's plan had prevailed at last.[2]

On June 15th, 1608, the first travertine block of the new façade appeared above ground ; all the bells of St. Peter's were rung to hail the event. People recalled to mind that on the same day Sixtus V. had begun the completion of the dome.[3]

Demolition and new construction now intermingled more than ever. On November 13th, 1608, the graves of Pius II., Pius III., and Julius III. were opened.[4] The Pope had at first thought of transferring the great marble monuments of the two Piccolomini Popes to the new St. Peter's,[5] but eventually, in 1614, they were taken to St. Andrea della Valle.[6] At the beginning of 1609, work began on the demolition, in front of the slowly rising façade, of the great

[1] See GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 214, Vatican Library.

[2] See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 67. A copper medal of Paul V. of 1609 still shows St. Peter's as a rotunda ; on a small silver medal, without date, the façade of Maderno is seen with the corner tower ; see D. FREY, *Bramante Studien*, 118 *seq.*

[3] See GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 215, Vatican Library.

[4] GRIMALDI, in MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des Papes Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Pius III.*, Paris, 1898, 277 *seq.*

[5] See the *Brief to Sienna of June 1, 1606, in which Paul V. says : "Senam semper valde dileximus, nam ab ea oriundi." *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives, original in State Archives, Siena, *Cassa della Lupa.*

[6] CERRATI, 85. The bishop of Suana, Metello Bichi, wrote from Rome to Lelio Piccolomini, on March 27, 1610, that the Theatines had taken fresh steps to obtain the monuments of Pius II. and Pius III., *B.V.*, 8, p. 106, of Siena Library.

palace of Innocent VIII. which had housed the Rota and other administrative offices. Nearly three hundred labourers were continuously at work. Cart after cart of tufa was arriving from the quarries near Porta Portese and whole forests of wood were dragged to the site for the scaffolding. Such masses of travertine from the quarries of Tivoli were landed near St. Angelo, that the road from Santo Spirito to St. Peter's had to be repaired.[1]

In the floor of the old church the remains of Nero's race-course and numerous graves were laid bare, among the latter the tomb of the German Pope, Gregory V., on January 15th, 1609.[2] When the summer heat set in, the workmen were protected by a huge tent. In July the construction of the portico was so far advanced that the clamps for the travertine facing could be inserted. On the twenty-fourth of that month, the Pope inspected the work. He also studied with admiration an antique sarcophagus bearing representations of the rape of Helen, which had been brought to light in the course of the excavations. Three days later, Paul V. repeated his visit in order to look at some newly discovered graves; on August 31st, the Persian envoy, who had visited the Vatican the day before, came to St. Peter's where the organ restored by Giuseppe Bianchi was played in his honour. On September 19th, the Pope again stood in admiration before the rapidly rising façade.[3]

Soon nothing remained of the old church except Sixtus IV.'s choir. On November 15th, 1609, Mario Altieri celebrated the last Mass in it. On the following day the altar was deprived of its consecration and its demolition begun. Parts of Perugino's paintings, which adorned the sanctuary, were given to Cardinals Borghese and Montalto. The magnificent bronze monument of Sixtus IV., beneath which Julius II. likewise reposed, was removed for safety to the sacristy in 1610, as well as Michelangelo's Pietà which Gregory XIII.

[1] See ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 14 *seq.*

[2] See CERRATI, 84; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 136.

[3] ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 75 *seq.*

had placed in the choir of Sixtus IV. : · both were subsequently destined to adorn the new basilica of St. Peter.[1]

As the demolition of the buildings which still stood in front of the new façade approached, Paul V., as at every other decisive moment, arrived on the site on July 27th, 1610. He was received by Cardinals Pallotta and Cesi and other members of the *fabbrica*. On this occasion he ordered that Giotto's mosaic, known as the *Navicella*, which Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi had had executed at the end of the thirteenth century, should be taken down with every precaution from the archpriest's palace adjoining the forecourt. The Pope at the same time gave orders for the demolition of the aforesaid palace and the benediction loggia. He confirmed this order on August 30th and once more urged all concerned to speed up the construction of the façade.[2]

The columns of the benediction loggia were set aside by the Pope for the adornment of the *Acqua Paola*, but he had to pay the *fabbrica*, like everyone else who obtained fragments of the old basilica.[3]

The taking down of Giotto's famous mosaic of the *Navicella* began on October 20th ; after a none too successful restoration by Matteo Provenzale it was placed near the entrance to the Vatican, in 1618.[4] October, 1610, witnessed the opening of the grave of the Emperor Otto II. and the beginning of the demolition of the belfry, the remains of which collapsed of themselves.[5]

Work on St. Peter's was pushed forward with greater ardour than ever. More than seven hundred workmen were employed day and night in filling in the foundations, piling

[1] *Ibid.*, 78 *seq.*, 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, 86, 88. *Cf.* G. Cascioli, *La Navicella di Giotto a S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma, 1916. See also Venturi, *La Navicella*, in *L'Arte*, XXV. (1922).

[3] Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 15, 56.

[4] See Cascioli, *loc. cit.*, 17. *Cf.* Zimmermann, *Giotto*, I., 390 *seq.*, and Muñoz, " I ristauri della Navicella di Giotto," in *Bollet. d'Arte*, IV. (1925), 433 *seq.*

[5] Cerrati, 111 *seq.* ; Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 26, 92, 95.

up blocks of travertine, and demolishing the old façade. At the beginning of 1611, all that remained of the old church was a heap of stones.[1] This feverish activity went on also during the following years so that the immense building advanced with giant strides towards its completion.

About Lady-day, 1612, the mosaics of the great dome, which had been executed from the cartoons of Cesare d'Arpino, were completed amid the jubilation of the artists who had been at work on them since 1598 [2] and on 29th of the same month the façade also could be considered as completed.[3] Already in May, Cardinal Cesi had given a commission for the thirteen colossal statues (Christ, John the Baptist and eleven Apostles) which were to be placed on its upper balustrade; however, this fresh adornment could only be unveiled two years later.[4] The cardinalitial commission took care to have plaster models erected on the balustrade, by way of trial, so as to make sure that they were of the right proportions. In like manner, the Congregation had submitted to it a model of the huge papal coat of arms for the façade as well as the design of the inscription which it was to bear.[5] The inscription was thus worded: In honour of the Prince of the Apostles Paul V., Sovereign Pontiff, of the Roman family

[1] ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 18.

[2] *A. 1612 in vigilia Annunciationis beatae Virginis absolvitur opus musivum tubi Vaticani inchoatum a 1598 magno tunc pictorum plausu et clamoribus in laetitiae signum ardui et laboriosi operis. S. Johannes Evangelista et Lucas a Io. de Vecchis a Burgo Sepulcri, S. Matthaeus et Marcus a Cesare Nebula Urbevet., Angeli in triangulis Evangelistarum a Christoph. Pomerancio, caetera omnia ipsius tubi a Iosepho Arpinate egregiis pictoribus acta sunt," says GRIMALDI, Barb. 2733, p. 246*b*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 120. The cartoons for the Apostles are in the refectory of the abbey of Monte Cassino.

[3] GRIMALDI, in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 112.

[4] ORBAAN, 112 *seq.*, 132.

[5] *Ibid.*, 22. The marble for the coat of arms was taken from the Forum of Nerva; this is one of the few instances of ancient material being used for the new construction.

of Borghese, in the seventh year of his reign. (*In honorem Principis Apostolorum Paulus V. Borghesius Romanus Pont. Max. Anno Domini MDCXII Pont. VII.*)

The considerable sums of money which the Pope once more contributed,[1] showed how much he had at heart the completion of the basilica. On September 2nd, 1612, after a fresh inspection of the façade, he gave definite instructions for the erection of a belfry on either side.[2] These corner structures, designed by Maderno, were mainly intended to bring into relief the longitudinal arm, to make it stand out at least when beheld from the piazza of St. Peter's and so to eliminate, as regards the external appearance, the disturbing disproportion between the rotunda and the nave. The towers are indispensable if we are to grasp the artistic purpose of the master, for only by their means " is the grouping of the structure made clear, the silhouette enlivened, the dome artistically pushed back, the breadth attenuated, the preponderance of the attic diminished and a new artistic harmony generated ".[3]

Notwithstanding that work went on day and night [4] the

[1] Not 200,000 scudi, as indicated by the Avviso of July 7, 1612 (ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 111), but 100,000; see Appendix No. 13 (Papal Secret Archives). The sum of 600,000 scudi which the last prince of Bisignano had left to the Pope, was assigned by him to the *fabbrica* of St. Peter's in November, 1610; see ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 96. In 1608 Paul V. set aside 10,000 scudi of the Spanish Cruzada for St. Peter's (*Bull.*, XI., 557 *seq.*; *cf.* 610 *seq.*). The ever growing expenses for St. Peter's were repeatedly pointed out in the instructions given to the nuncio at Naples, Guigl. Bastoni, who was urged to find funds, as, for instance, in the letters of January 18, February 1, April 4, and July 18, 1608. MS. in *Stadtbibl.*, Stuttgart. See also POLLAK, " Akten zur Gesch. der Peterskirche," in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI., *Beiheft* 78 *seq.*, and *Studi e docum.*, XV., 278.

[2] ORBAAN, *Abbruch*, 114.

[3] See GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 338, where there is also a view of St. Peter's with the towers planned by Maderno.

[4] This is mentioned by Grimaldi in his report, *De Fundamento campanilis Vaticani ad meridiem inchoati 1 Aug, 1618, Miscell., loc. cit.*, p. 165, Papal Secret Archives.

towers did not rise above the attics in Maderno's lifetime.[1] It was nevertheless granted to him to bring the gigantic work of the nave to completion within a relatively short time. In the summer of 1613, the structure had reached the spring of the arches of the chapels [2]; a year later, when Giovanni Fontana died,[3] the wooden framework of the vaulting already spanned the central nave. In September, 1614, at a sitting of the cardinalitial Congregation, Maderno promised to complete the whole colossal tunnel vault within a year.[4] Not only was the promise kept, but the time limit was even considerably shortened. Jacopo Grimaldi attests that the inner side of the wonderful, richly gilt tunnel vault, the caissons of which were decorated with roses, was completed by November 22nd, and the outer side by December 12th, 1614. The ringing of bells and the thunder of cannon from the castle of St. Angelo celebrated the achievement.[5] In February, 1615, a start could be made with the removal of the wall erected by Paul III., which still separated the two buildings; with it fell the last bit of old St. Peter's.[6] On Palm Sunday, April 12th, it was possible, for the first time, to behold the whole length of the greatest and most magnificent church of the Eternal City,[7] which reflects in unique fashion the

[1] In his letter to Paul V. of May 30, 1613, Maderno speaks "degli altissimi campanili de quali al presente si fanno li fondamenti" (Bonanni, *Numismata templi Vatic.*, 85); in a letter to Cardinal Barberini of June 30, 1613, he reports that the right tower "è alto sino alli primi capitelli" (Pollak, "Künstlerbriefe," in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI. (1913), 28). The left tower was begun in 1618; see Orbaan, *Documenti*, 254. Accounts for work on the foundations of the South tower of the façade in Pollak, *Akten*, 100 *seq.* *Cf.* also De Waal, *Campo Santo*, 156 *seq.*

[2] See letter of June 30, 1613, quoted in preceding note.

[3] See *Diario* in *Studi e documenti*, XV., 278.

[4] Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 133–4.

[5] Grimaldi, Barb. 2733, p. 247, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[6] See the account in Pollak, *Akten*, 105.

[7] See Grimaldi, in Orbaan, *loc. cit.*, 139.

world power of the Church now renewed by the Catholic reformation. With justifiable pride the Romans gazed at the wonderful work which a Pope, whose cradle had stood in their city, had at last brought to completion. The inscription within the basilica, which records the fact, gives the year 1615 [1]; however, the work was only completely terminated in 1617, when new steps were laid down and the statues of the Princes of the Apostles dating from the time of Pius II., were re-erected by their side.[2]

It needed a personality like Paul V. to call into being, within a space of ten years, such gigantic creations. But not alone the name of Paul V., but that also of Maderno is linked for all time with the most colossal building of Christendom. Yet the architect's work has been rewarded with more blame than praise.[3] However, he does not bear alone the responsibility for the departure from Michelangelo's plan; that burden is shared by the Congregation of Cardinals and by Paul V. That which decided it was the exigencies of the liturgy and ecclesiastical tradition.

After all the blame so long heaped upon Maderno's head, his work has been more justly appraised in recent times. Unprejudiced critics recognize that he solved with great ability the exceedingly difficult problem set to him.[4] It is, of course, regrettable that in consequence of the addition of the nave, the dome is not completely visible from outside,

[1] See Bonanni, *Numismata*, 86, where there is also mention of the subsequent alteration of the inscription by Urban VIII.

[2] See the inscription in Forcella, VI., 143.

[3] Milizia styled Maderno "il più gran reo di lesa architettura!"

[4] See especially Gurlitt, *Barockstil*, 333 *seq.*; M. G. Zimmermann, *Kunstgesch. des Barock, Rokoko und der Neuzeit*, Bielefeld, 1903, 24 *seq.*; Muñoz, *Roma Barocca*, 64 *seqq.*; the same, C. Maderno, Roma, 10 *seqq.*; Brinckmann (*Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, I., Berlin, 51) says that "Maderno solved the problem of space not only as well as he could, but as well as it was possible to solve it at all." *Cf.* also Riegl, *Barockkunst*, 136 *seq.*

except from a distance,[1] and that within the building the full majesty of the edifice is not revealed as soon as one enters. But Maderno did his best to remedy these unavoidable defects by introducing variety as well as movement into the vast structure. The piercing of the tunnel vault by great upper windows—an attempt none too happy in itself—has resulted in an illumination which greatly contributes to the effect of the interior; in conformity with the principle applied at the Gesù, the moderately illuminated anterior part of the nave is followed by a dark section which stands in sharpest contrast with the flood of radiant light which falls in streams from the dome into the central space and so redoubles the impressiveness of Michelangelo's masterpiece.

The façade comes in for most blame, and to a large extent deservedly so. Three hundred and fifty-seven feet broad and one hundred and forty feet high, it is adorned with eight magnificent columns, four pilasters, six half-pilasters of the Corinthian order, and surmounted by a balustrade. To appraise it aright it is necessary to bear in mind the belfries planned for the two corners, the absence of which causes the attics to appear excessively heavy and increases the contrast between the division into two storeys with an intermediary half-storey and the colossal masses. However, here Maderno was in a tight corner for he had to allow for a benediction loggia which Michelangelo had left out of his plan.[2]

[1] Cardinal Barberini had already made this objection to Maderno; see Maderno's letter of August 10, 1613, in POLLAK, *Künstlerbriefe*, 28 *seq.*; also HERRERA, in his *Life of Urban VIII.* (see above, p. 388, note 1), who says: "Stando il cardinale in Bologna, Carlo Maderno gli mandò la stampa grande del disegno di San Pietro, dove sopra la facciata si fa veder tutta la cuppola grande. Gli rispose che quel disegno era falsissimo, perchè da nessuna parte del piano, diceva, si può vedere tanta cuppola quanta in esso si vuole, nè anche da luoghi alti come da Montecavallo, e che egli per questo era falsario publicando un disegno falso," Barb. 4901, p. 49*b*, Vatican Library.

[2] See BERGNER, *Barockes Rom.*, 46. For a criticism of the façade also BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, I., 65; ROSE, *Spätbarock*, 88, and

The portico is universally recognized as a masterpiece. It is 468 feet in length, 50 feet wide and 66 feet in height. Five entrances lead into it just as the same number of doors give access from it into the basilica. The three largest outer entrances are each adorned with four antique columns; the two columns of the central gate, of pavonazzetto and African breccia, formerly stood at the entrance to the principal nave of the old basilica. Two antique columns of pavonazzetto were likewise set apart to adorn three of the doors leading from the porch into the church. For the main entrance, the bronze doors of old St. Peter's made by Filarete, in the reign of Eugene IV., were used, though it was necessary to add to them at top and bottom. On the wall, between the doors that bear his name, Paul V. caused to be affixed three venerable inscriptions from old St. Peter's: viz. the Jubilee Bull of Boniface VIII., Charlemagne's funeral inscription for Hadrian I., and an act of donation of the year 720 for the upkeep of the lamps at the tomb of the Prince of Apostles.[1]

Owing to its imposing majesty and magnificent perspective the portico is one of the most solemn and inspiring architectural creations of modern times. It forms a worthy preparation for the interior of St. Peter's. No modern building in Rome equals it.[2]

The splendid stucco ornamentations with which the vault of the portico, like that of the nave, was decorated, according to the drawings of Giovan Battista Ricci, of Novara—dull

RIEGL, *Barockkunst*, 138 *seq.*, who points out that in this instance Maderno was faced with the most arduous problem with which modern church-building has ever been confronted. WÖLFFLIN, after enumerating all the defects of the façade, ends by saying that, when all is said, Maderno "has preserved from Michelangelo's plan all that was best, namely its vastness, that is, just as much as it was possible to save under the circumstances," 9, p. 322). See even now, MUÑOZ, *S. Pietro*, 28 *seq.*, and D. FREY, *L'architectura barocca*, Roma, 1927, 20 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* CERRATI, 117.

[2] See EBE, *Spät-Renaissance*, I. (1886), 320; ZIMMERMANN, *loc. cit.*, 25.

gold on a white ground—show, besides arabesques and other ornamentations, the coat-of-arms of the Borghese Pope and scenes from the lives of the Apostles.[1] In the tunnel vaulting of the nave, the coat-of-arms of Paul V., made in mosaic by Marcello Provenzale, was similarly affixed.[2] The pictorial decoration of the great benediction loggia situate above the portico, which the Pope intended to entrust to Lanfranco, was not carried out in consequence of the dilatoriness of the Congregation *della Fabbrica*.[3]

In addition to the mosaics of the dome, the completion of which is due to the Borghese Pope and in which his coat-of-arms appears once more, the basilica of St. Peter also owes to him the *Confessio* and the Grottos.

There are two kinds of grottos: the *grotte vecchie*, a name which designates the crypt constructed in 1594 by Clement VIII., between the old and the new floor, and the *grotte nuove*, which consist of the crypt properly so called and already adorned by the Aldobrandini Pope, of a corridor in the shape of a horse shoe and of several other chapels. Into these underground vaults Paul V., between 1606 and 1617, transferred the most important monuments of Popes, Cardinals and Bishops, as well as various altars, ciboria, statues, mosaics and inscriptions of old St. Peter's. As early

[1] See MIGNANTI, II., 83. Illustrations of *Stucchi* of the *Portico di S. Pietro* in MUÑOZ, M. FERABOSCO, in *Vita d'Arte*, IV. (1911), 98, 99, and in RICCI, *Architettura barocca in Italia*, Bergamo, 1912, 60. P. M. FELINI (*Trattato nuovo*, ed. 1615) writes (p. 15): "La volta del restante del tempio è già fatta insieme con tutto il corpo delle cappelle da ciascun lato restandovi hora solamente da intonacare le muraglie con aggiungervi tutti gli ornamenti." *Cf.* also POLLAK, *Akten*, 106, 117. On the magnificent stucco work carried out between 1620-1, by Martino Ferrabosco in the chapels of the choir and the Blessed Sacrament, see G. BELTRAMI, in *L'Arte*, XXIX. (1926), 31, 34 *seq.*

[2] See BAGLIONE, 350; FORCELLA, VI., 141. At the time of the restoration under Pius VI., the coat of arms was replaced by that of the latter Pope.

[3] See BELLORI, II., 108.

as 1618, Francesco Maria Torrigio composed a guide for pilgrims and visitors through this underground city of the dead which contains more historic monuments than any other cemetery in the world.[1] Torrigio gives some account, unfortunately only a brief one, of excavations carried out in 1615 near the *Confessio*.[2] The entrance to the crypt, to which women were at one time only admitted on Whit Monday, was near the Colonna Santa where the altar of St. Helen stands to-day.[3]

In the case of the greater number of the pieces transferred into the grottos, their meaning and the year of their translation were fixed by means of inscription. Inscriptions drew attention to objects of special interest, as, for instance, to the polyandrium marked with the monogram of Christ, in which were collected all the bones found in the course of the excavations then in progress.[4] Unfortunately not by any means all the monuments of the old basilica were saved. Not a few pieces, some of them valuable ones, came into the churches of Rome [5] or were even sent away, for instance to Poli, Assisi, Florence and other places. Quite recently some valuable relics of old St. Peter's were discovered in the small town of Bauco (Boville Ernica) which the bishop of the place, Giovan Battista Simoncelli, had secured for the adornment of his oratory. The altar of the chapel is surmounted

[1] F. M. Torrigio, *Le sacre gotte Vaticane*, Viterbo, 1618, and since then many times reprinted in augmented editions. *Cf.* also Dionysius, *Sacrarum Vatic. Basil. Cryptarum monumenta, ed. alt. Romae 1828* (*App. auctor. St. Sarto et I. Settele*, Romae, 1840); Barbier de Montault, *Les Souterrains de St. Pierre à Rome*, Rome, 1866; Dufresne, *Les Cryptes Vaticanes*, Rome, 1902, and the charming essay of E. Steinmann, in *Pilgerfahrten in Italien*, 4, Leipzig, 1922, 320 *seq.*

[2] See De Rossi, *Inscript. christ.*, II., 1, 235 *seq.*, and Leitzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom.*, Bonn, 1915, 142 *seq.*

[3] Forcella, VI., 144.

[4] *Cf.* K. M. Kaufmann, in *Katholik*, 1901, II., 322.

[5] Part of the mosaic, "The Adoration of the Magi," of the Lady chapel of John VII. (*cf.* above, p. 387) is kept in the sacristy of St. Maria in Cosmedin.

by a large mosaic medallion designed by Giotto and representing the half-bust of an angel, which was part of the *Navicella*. Other relics also of the Constantinian basilica, such as a cross of porphyry, a large bas-relief and two marble statues of the Princes of the Apostles were secured by bishop Simoncelli for the adornment of his domestic chapel.[1]

However much one must regret such a dispersion, so much has been safely bestowed in the hallowed gloom of the grottos, especially of the great monuments of the fifteenth century, even though it may be scattered and fragmentary, that these may well be styled the most splendid museum of the early Renaissance. Paul V.'s merit in connection with this museum can only be fully appraised when one considers the indifference and lack of reverence with which, under Julius II., Bramante, "in the full consciousness of his own creative genius," dealt with the monuments of antiquity.[2] It will always remain a remarkable thing that a Pope of the baroque epoch gave proof of more understanding and reverence for them than the leading lights of the Renaissance at its height, who mercilessly buried even valuable pieces in the foundations.[3] True, it is most regrettable that even under Paul V. the necessary caution and care were not brought to the task of removing the monuments from old St. Peter's into the grottos, but this

[1] See Muñoz, in *Bollet. d'arte*, V., 161 *seqq.*, VI., 239 *seqq.*, VII., 264 *seqq.*; Orbaan, *Abbruch*, 49, 61, 66; Cerrati, 20, 109; *Arte christiana*, 1916, 116 *seq.*; Lanciani, *Wanderings through ancient Roman Churches*, Boston, 1924, 106 *seq.* On the great mosaic representing Mary interceding with God on behalf of men, which had been over the Holy Door and which Paul V. presented to the Florentine Antonio Ricci (bishop of Arezzo since 1612) which he in turn gave to the church of St. Mark in Florence, see L. Ferretti, in the periodical *Roma Aeterna*, VI. (1926), 232 *seq.* The museum of the German Campo Santo also preserves relics of the old Confessio and two front pieces of sarcophagi which came to light when the floor of St. Peter's was restored. They had been simply turned round and used as paving-stones.

[2] See Steinmann, *loc. cit.*, 323. *Cf.* our data, Vol. VI, 477 *seqq.*

[3] See Escher, *Barock*, 17. *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1911, 165.

can be explained by the fact that the protection and care of monuments are the achievement of a much later epoch.[1]

In view of the fact that the underground chapel near the tomb of the Apostles could not be opened to the general public, Paul V., for the purpose of facilitating approach to the shrine [2] resolved, in 1611, to build a *Confessio* [3] before the high altar, under the dome, which would communicate immediately with that chapel, as had been done at the Lateran and in the Sistine chapel of St. Mary Major. Martino Ferabosco and Carlo Maderno submitted plans for the scheme. The Pope chose that of Maderno in which the sunken chapel was not circular but in the shape of a horse shoe.[4]

An open balustrade of coloured marble encloses the holy spot to which one descends from the church by a double staircase of white marble. Below, the central niche (the *Confessio* properly so called) which is embellished with an ancient mosaic of Christ, is closed by a perforated bronze door adorned with scenes from the martyrdom of the Princes of the Apostles as well as their busts; behind this door there is yet another door of the same metal made under Innocent III. Above the niche, on a tablet of black marble, we read the following inscription :—

> *Sacra B. Petri Confessio a Paulo Papa V. eius servo exornata Ann. Dom. MDCXV. Pontif. XI.*

The pavement with the great papal altar forms the roof of the niche. The vault of the niche is adorned with three frescos of Giovan Battista Ricci representing the oratory of Pope Anacletus I., Pope Silvester I.'s altar of St. Peter, and Paul V. in prayer before the new *Confessio*. In the inscription, the Pope exalts the power of the intercession of the Princes

[1] Recently some of the monuments in the grottos have been transferred to the new museum of St. Peter; see *Guida del Museo di S. Pietro* (1925).

[2] See the *Avviso* in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 184.

[3] On the name *Confessio* see BARBIER DE MONTAULT, *Œuvres*, XI., 311.

[4] See BONANNI, *Numismata templi Vatic.*, 123 *seq.*

of the Apostles, which he and his predecessors had so often experienced.[1]

On either side of the central niche are two precious alabaster columns whilst the adjoining niches are adorned with the gilt bronze statues of SS. Peter and Paul. For the pavement and the walls of the *Confessio* everything possible was done in order to give splendour to the holy spot. Wherever one looks, an abundance of precious, many-coloured marbles meets the eye; the large coat-of-arms of the Borghese Pope shines against the sides, and the background, between the alabaster columns, shows the keys and cross of Peter. To the right and the left, iron gates admit to the new grottos, the roof of which is adorned with stucco decorations. In 1618 and 1619, Giovan Battista Ricci executed frescos on the walls depicting favours granted by St. Peter to people who had recourse to him.[2]

To the lamps which had burnt at the tomb of St. Peter from time immemorial and which still further enhance the solemnity of the spot, Paul V. added a seven-branched silver candlestick weighing seventy pounds.[3]

The cost of the decoration of the *Confessio*, of which the principal elements were only completed by Christmas, 1615, amounted to 12,000 scudi. The bronze statues of the Princes of the Apostles, the work of Ambrogio Bonvicino, were only put up on October 16th, 1616, whilst the bronze door of the niche, the work of a pupil of Sebastiano Torrigiano, was fixed on February 17th, 1617.[4]

[1] FORCELLA, VI., 142.

[2] *Cf.* besides the details given by GRIMALDI, I., Miscell. A., VII., 145, p. 162 *seq.*, Vatican Library) and TORRIGIO (*Grotte*, 23 *seqq.*), the still but little known work of D'ACHILLE, *I sepolchri dei Romani Pontefici*, Roma, 1867, 22 *seq.*, who gives a better description of the Confession than any other writer. Reproductions in COSTAGUTI, *Architettura di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1620 (new edit. 1684), *tav.* 26.

[3] See TORRIGIO, 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23–4. That by 1615 the decoration was practically finished appears from the inscription (*ibid.*, 24) and the *Avviso* in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 239.

The memory of Paul V. is kept alive by yet another great church in the Eternal City. The Pope cherished a special devotion to the Mother of God. Whilst still attached to the church of St. Mary Major he had had an opportunity, day by day, to watch the progress of the sumptuous chapel of Sixtus V. As soon as he himself was raised to the supreme dignity, he resolved, as early as June 6th, 1605, to create a counterpart to the Sistine chapel in the left transept of the basilica.[1] It was to be the shrine of the greatly revered picture of the Madonna ascribed to St. Luke, which had been carried in solemn procession through the streets of Rome already in the days of St. Gregory the Great whilst the plague was raging [2]; there also he wished to prepare a tomb both for his predecessor Clement VIII. and for himself.

At the beginning of August, 1605, the Pope himself laid the first stone of the building for which a plan had been drawn up by his domestic architect, the Lombard Flaminio Ponzio.[3] As in the chapel of Sixtus V., the dome rises from a short Greek cross, but all else is on a broader and more massive scale. Here also two smaller chapels flank the entrance on either side. They are dedicated to the two heroes of the Church canonized by Paul V., Charles Borromeo and Francesca Romana. The lateral walls were to receive the two sepulchral monuments, the altar, however, was not placed in the middle but against the back wall. No less than 150,000 scudi were set apart for the church—for the proportions of the chapel are those of a church,[4] but by the autumn of 1618, twice that amount had been spent.[5] The Pope took the

[1] See the *Avviso* in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 49. RIEGL's data in his edition of the *Vita* of Bernini by Baldinucci are erroneous (Vienna, 1912, p. 21).

[2] *Cf.* FR. DE CONTI FABI MONTANI, *Dell'antica immagine di Maria santiss. nella basilica Liberiana*, Roma, 1861; WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, II., 1134 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso* in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 57. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 135, LAVAGNINO E MOSCHINO, *S. Maria Maggiore*, 77 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso* in ORBAAN, 58; *cf.* 60, 64.

[5] *Cf* Appendix No. 13*a*, Papal Secret Archives.

greatest interest in the building. From the start he closely followed the work which was under the direction of Giovan Battista Crescenzi [1] and he assured himself of its progress by repeated visits.[2]

By 1611 the shell was finished,[3] but the internal decoration took still a long time to complete. The Pope's wish to say Mass in the chapel on Ascension Day, 1611, could not be realized.[4] Much time was taken up in executing the metal work [5] and in procuring the various kinds of precious marbles. To this end not only were the ancient monuments of Rome and its neighbourhood ransacked, but, as we learn from the account books, marble was also procured from Ravenna, from Lake Garda, and even from Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica.[6] Lucca furnished precious jasper columns.[7] Their fluting was decorated with metal. This new kind of decoration which, as the contemporaries admiringly relate, had remained unknown even to the ancients,[8] was a discovery of the Roman Pompeo Targone whom Paul V. had summoned from Flanders.[9] The Pope took so much interest in everything that on one occasion he even paid a visit to Targone's workshop. Nicolas Cordier, who carved four statues for the chapel, was likewise honoured by a visit of Paul V.[10]

On January 27th, 1613, with much solemnity, St. Luke's picture was transferred to the sumptuous altar of the new

[1] See Baglione, 367.

[2] See *Avvisi*, in Orbaan, 75, 120, 176, 180, 184, 203, 204.

[3] The inscriptions on the floor, in the lantern of the dome and on the outside of the chapel give the year 1611.

[4] See *Avviso* in Orbaan, 183.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso*, *ibid.*, 205.

[6] See the accounts, *ibid.*, 186 note.

[7] See the *letter of thanks to Lucca, dated 1609 *XVII. Cal. Febr.*, *Epist.*, IV., 296, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, VI., 377, a *letter of thanks to the same effect to the *Princeps Castilionis*, dated 1611 *Prid. Cal. Maii.*

[8] See the *Avviso*, in Orbaan, 204.

[9] See Baglione, 330.

[10] See the *Avviso* in Orbaan, 193, and Baglione, 116.

chapel,[1] but the Pope had to wait until the feast of Our Lady's Nativity (September 8th) for the happiness of saying Mass at the new altar.[2] Even then the rich decoration around the image was not yet completed; it was only unveiled at the beginning of December, 1616.[3] A whole crowd of poets sang the praises of the new sanctuary in the most exuberant language.[4]

It is characteristic of the taste of the period that Baglione, in his *Lives of Artists*, should say that in the opinion of most people the chapel of Paul V. far surpassed that of Sixtus V.[5] No doubt in the chapel of the Borghese Pope the colour scheme is far more brilliant, the decoration richer and more precious, yet one gets the impression that the general effect suffers from an excess of good things. Above all, the high altar, executed by Pompeo Targone to a design of the Roman Girolamo Rainaldi, displays a superabundance of dazzling splendour [6] and its ornamentation in gold forms a brilliant

[1] See *Diarium* of Fr. Alaleone in Orbaan, 12. *Cf.* Severano, *Sette Chiese*, I., 710. See also the *notice of Giuseppe Maria Bargi in Arch. of St. Mary Major, in Rome.

[2] Orbaan, 13.

[3] *Avviso* of December 7, 1616, *ibid.*, 246.

[4] Ciaconius, IV., 391, names most of these poets. *Cf.* *Borghese, IV., 100, Papal Secret Archives, and *Vat. 6785, p. 185*b seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[5] Baglione, 94.

[6] See *ibid.*, 326–7, 330. Detailed descriptions both of the altar and of the whole chapel have been given by the following: Brunelli, *De ampliss. aede in basil. S. Mariae Mai. aedificata*, Romae, 1613; A. Vittorelli, *Gloriose memorie della B.V. Madre di Dio . . . nella Cappella Borghesia*, Roma, 1616, 52 *seqq.*; Paulus de Angelis, *Basil. S. Mariae Mai. de Urbe descriptio et delineatio*, Romae, 1621; Gerardi, *La Basilica Liberiana*, Roma, 1839; Severano, I., 701 *seq.*; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti* (1615), 254 *seqq.*; L. Portelli, *Descrizione della Borghesiana Cappella*, Roma, 1849; Felli, *Guida alla Cappella Borghese in S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1893; Taccone Gallucci, *S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1911, 123; Lavagnino e Moschini, *loc. cit.*, *Evelyn's Diary* (p. 103) describes the Capella Borghese as beyond all imagination glorious and beyond description.

contrast to the background of brown marble. Plinths of green Sicilian marble, covered with precious agate, support four mighty jasper columns of the colour of blood with ledges in their fluting and composite capitals of gilt bronze. Between the pillars the image of the Madonna, supported by five angels and surmounted by a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost, is seen in a small niche set with amethysts and other precious stones, against a background of lapis lazuli. The niche is generally kept closed. Both this decoration as well as the two large and three small angels on the pinnacle are of gilt bronze; they were cast by the Roman Domenico Ferrerio to the design of Camillo Mariani of Vicenza.[1] The same workshop was responsible for the bronze relief of the pinnacle, designed by Stefano Maderno,[2] representing the miracle of the snow to which legend attributes the origin of the basilica.[3]

The niches by the two sides of the altar were filled with large marble statues; on the right that of St. John the Evangelist, by Camillo Mariani, on the left that of St. Joseph, by Ambrogio Bonvicino.[4] Along the lateral walls rise the huge marble monuments of Clement VIII. and Paul V. They are so exactly copied from those in the Sistine chapel that here Clement VIII. is seated just as Pius V. is seated there, whilst the attitude of Paul V. reproduces that of the kneeling Sixtus V. Both statues were erected in December, 1611.[5]

The reliefs of these two mural sepulchres refer to the achievements of the dead men. The upper part of Clement VIII.'s monument represents the conclusion of peace between France and Spain; it is the work of Ippolito Buzzi; also the canonization of SS. Raymond and Hyacinth,

[1] See BAGLIONE, 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, 345.

[3] Reproduction of altar in MUÑOZ, *Roma Barocca*, 58; *ibid.*, 59, the dome and p. 60, a view of the interior of the chapel. See also MAGNI, *Il barocco a Roma*, I., *tav.* 88–9.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 114, 171.

[5] See ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 195.

by Antonio Balsoldo, and, in the centre, the Pope's coronation —a work remarkable for its naturalism. It is due to the chisel of Pietro Bernini.[1] The reliefs by the side of the central niche which is occupied by the statue of Clement VIII., by Silla da Viggiù, celebrate the conquest of Ferrara and the part played in the Turkish war in Hungary by Gian Francisco Aldobrandini — the former is the work of Ambrogio Bonvicino, the latter that of Camillo Mariani.[2]

The upper part of the central relief on Paul V.'s tomb also represents his coronation, whilst the lateral reliefs recall the canonization of St. Frances of Rome and St. Charles Borromeo and the reception of some Asiatic envoys. The reliefs about the statue of the Pope perpetuate the memory of the support he gave to Rudolph II. in his war against the Turks and the construction of the citadel of Ferrara.[3]

The statues of Paul V. and Clement VIII. are both the work of Silla da Viggiù, whilst Stefano Maderno is responsible for the reliefs representing the Pope's coronation and his support of Rudolph II. The remaining reliefs are the work of Giovan Antonio Valsoldo, Cristoforo Stati, Ambrogio Bonvicino and Francesco Mochi. To these artists from upper Italy must be added the highly gifted Nicolà Cordieri (Cordier), a Lorrainer, who carved the beautiful statues for the niches near the monuments; they represent Aaron and St. Bernard near Clement VIII.'s tomb and David and St. Denis near that of Paul V.[4]

[1] See FRASCHETTI, 4–5, and especially SOBOTKA, in *L'Arte*, XII. (1909), 416 *seqq.* *Cf.* BALDINUCCI, *Bernini*, ed. RIEGL (1902), 27.

[2] The inscriptions in CIACONIUS, IV., 271. Criticism of relief in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 60.

[3] Inscriptions in CIACONIUS, IV., 387. The relief of the reception of the envoys is reproduced in MUÑOZ, *loc. cit.*, 67.

[4] Nomi de Scultori [delle statue di S. Maria Maggiore]: David, Aron, Santo Bernardo e S^to^ Dionisio sono opere del Franciosino [Cordier]; see BAGLIONE, 115 *seq.* San Giovanni del Vicentino [Camillo Mariani]; San Gioseppe del'Amroscino [Bonvicino]; le

It is worthy of notice that the female caryatids [1] on both monuments are draped. Here we have a proof that Paul V.'s decree of 1603, in his capacity as Cardinal Vicar, in regard to the application of the strict injunctions of the Council of Trent concerning pictorial representations in churches, was then operative. As a matter of fact the decree was published anew in 1610 and 1619.[2]

The marble decoration of the chapel, which is closed by a magnificent grate of gilt bronze,[3] was completed by paintings and gilt stucco ornamentation on the ceiling: here a pupil of Prospero Bresciani, the Milanese Ambrogio Bonvicino, Cristoforo and Francesco Stati and Prospero Ferrucci [4] have executed some noble work.[5]

The Mother of God is the theme of all the paintings; their

due statue delli Papi del Silla; l'Incoronatione della Stà Vra del Butio [BAGLIONE, 341]; la Canonizatione del Valsoldo; l'Imbasciaria del Braccianese [Christoforo Stati; see BAGLIONE, 162]; il Soccorso del'Imperatore del Maderno; la Fortificatione di Ferrara del'Ambroscino [BONVICINO, see BAGLIONE, 305, who mentions yet other works]; la Pace del Butio; la Canonizatione del Valsoldo; la Ricuperatione di Ferrara del'Ambroscino; la Presa di Strigonia del Mochi (BORGHESE, II., 27–8, p. 115, Papal Secret Archives). For payments see BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, II., 113 *seqq.*; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 96, note, 296 *seq.*, and in *Bollet. d. Suizz. ital.*, VII., 161. See also BRINKMANN, *Barocksculptur*, II., 217 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* SOBOTKA, *P. Bernini*, in *L'Arte*, XII. (1909), 417, and MUÑOZ, *La scultura barocca a Roma, V.: Le tombe Papali*, Milano, 1918, 6.

[2] *Editto del card. vic. gen. Millini* of August 24, 1619. *Bandi*, V., 7, p. 6, Papal Secret Archives. The Avvisi (ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 181) speak of a renewal of the decree in 1610. An unsuitable picture by Caravaggio was removed from St. Peter's and presented to Cardinal Borghese; see VENTURI, *Cat. d. Gall.*, BORGHESE, 106.

[3] Reproduction in JOZZI, *Storia di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, *tav.* 9–10.

[4] See RICCI, *Architettura barocca*, 67.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 171.

artistic value is very unequal.[1] Ludovico Cigoli's frescos in the dome, representing Mary's glory in heaven, are the weakest [2]; much better are the frescos of D'Arpino; the figures of the four prophets, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel and Daniel, with which he adorned the pendentives of the dome, are distinguished by gravity and grandeur. The fresco in the principal lunette above the altar, which shows St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, is an able piece of work,[3] and yet, how far from the frescos of Guido Reni whom D'Arpino himself is said to have summoned to Rome as a counterpoise to the naturalistic tendency of Caravaggio! [4]

In the right-hand lunette, divided by a window, above the monument of Clement VIII., Guido Reni glorifies two miracles: at Mary's prayers an angel restores to St. John Damascene [5] his amputated right hand and St. Ildephonsus is rewarded for his defence of the Mother of God by the gift, at her hand, of a chasuble. In the left lunette, above the monument of Paul V., the gifted pupil of the Caracci perpetuates the confidence which two captains, viz. the emperor Heraclius in his struggle with the Persians, and Narses, Italy's deliverer from the Goths, placed in the protection of the Queen of heaven. The circle of the arches on both sides of the lunettes Reni likewise decorated with pictures of Fathers of the Church and Saints, as well as the

[1] The scheme of the pictures, obviously the work of theologians, among them probably Andrea Vittorelli (*cf.* his paper dedicated to Paul V., quoted on p. 405, n. 6) and Baronius (see CALENZIO, 993 *seqq.*) appears from the inscriptions given in the descriptions mentioned above, p. 405, n. 6. An Avviso of January 15, 1611 (in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 183–4) states that Paul V. had engaged the services of D'Arpino, Baglione, Cigoli and Giov. Alberti for the decoration of the Cappella Paolina; however, there is proof of payments not only to Cigoli but likewise to G. Reni from the year 1611; see BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bolognesi*, 141.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 154. Payment to CIGOLI, 1610, in BERTOLOTTI, *loc. cit.*, *ibid.*, also for G. RENI.

[3] See VOSS, II., 586. *Cf.* THIEME, VI., 310.

[4] *Cf.* the opinion of MANCINI, *Viaggio*, ed. Schudt, 77.

[5] Not John Chrysostom, as v. BÖHM (Reni) has it.

vaulting of the arches themselves. On the epistle side the Holy Ghost is seen, on the gospel side God the Father to whom the great founders of Orders, Francis and Dominic—both magnificent figures and full of expression—offer supplication.[1]

Though they are not seen in a good light, Guido Reni's frescos—which well deserved to be celebrated in a poem by Maffeo Barberini, the future Urban VIII.[2]—constitute the most beautiful and valuable ornament of the Cappella Paolina, as the new sanctuary was named, after its founder, and which, like the chapel of Sixtus V., gives an idea of the great magnificence of the churches of the period of the Catholic restoration. Paul V. gave proof of true artistic understanding when he refused to be deprived of Reni's co-operation in the pictorial decoration of his chapel. The irritable master—it is related—having fallen out with the Pope's treasurer, dropped his work and returned post haste to Bologna, his native town, where, in San Domenico, he painted the half-dome of the mortuary chapel of St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominicans, and, in 1616, created a monumental work of deep religious conception in the great Pietà with the five Patron Saints of Bologna (SS. Petronius, Dominic, Francis of Assisi, Proculus and Charles Borromeo). Paul V., however, would not rest until he had succeeded in persuading the artist to come back to Rome.[3]

Besides the above-mentioned painters, Lanfranco[4] and Domenico Passignano were also employed by Paul V. at S. Maria Maggiore. Passignano adorned both the *small* sacristy of the Pauline chapel and the *great* sacristy which the Pope had newly erected—the most beautiful of all Roman sacristies[5]—with frescos from the life of Our Lady.[6]

[1] See PASSERI, 72 *seqq.* A good copy of St. Francis in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 61. [2] See *Poemata Urbani*, VIII., p. 194.

[3] See MALVASIA, *Vite*, II. (1841), 14 *seq.*; O. POLLAK, *Künstlerbriefe*, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIV. (1913), 43.

[4] BELLORI, II., 108.

[5] G. V. IMPERIALE thus described it as early as 1609; see *Atti Ligure*, XXIX., 67.

[6] BAGLIONE, 95, 332; FELLI, *loc. cit.*, 89 *seqq.*; VOSS, II., 402. (with reproduction). *Cf.* LAVAGNINO E MOSCHINI, *loc. cit.*, 97 *seq.*

The Pope seemed unable to do enough for the glorification of the heavenly Queen. In 1613, news was spread that the magnificent column of white marble which still stood on the site of the basilica erected by Maxentius—the so-called temple of Peace—was to be erected in front of the main entrance of St. Mary Major.[1] To Carlo Maderno was entrusted the execution of a task which was far from easy, in view of the technical resources of the time.[2] Maderno followed the course already adopted by Fontana for the erection of the obelisk of Sixtus V. In October the gigantic column was laid low; in April, 1614, it was successfully re-erected in its new position.[3] The Pope crowned it with a bronze statue of the Most Blessed Virgin. The sculptor Guillaume Berthelot had been summoned from Paris for the purpose of making a model of the statue; the casting was carried out by two Romans, Domenico Ferrerio and Orazio Censore.[4]

The statue, richly gilt, was erected on July 18th, 1614.[5] The inscription affixed to the pedestal, which bears the Borghese coat-of-arms in bronze,[6] shows that Paul V.'s action was inspired by the same thought as that which had prompted Sixtus V.: a monument of paganism was to serve Christian worship; for this reason an exorcism was first pronounced over the column, as had been done on a former occasion, over the obelisks.[7]

To the munificence of Paul V. the church of Our Lady on

[1] Avviso in ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 210.

[2] BAGLIONE, 95, 308. *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, II., 213, and *Art. Suizz.*, Bellinzona, 1886, 34.

[3] See the Avvisi in ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 212, 217–18.

[4] BAGLIONE, 325, 338–9; BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 188.

[5] See *Alaleone*, in ORBAAN, 13 (*cf.* 223). On the cost see FEA, *Miscell. filolog.*, II. (1839), 12.

[6] FORCELLA, XIII., 130–1.

[7] See the *Diarium P. Alaleonis* under date July 18, 1614, Vatican Library. RANKE (III.[6], 50) failed to understand the Pope's intention; he also wrongly asserts that "at that time the basilica of Maxentius was still in a fair state of preservation"; see HOFLER, in the *Annali di scienze relig.*, VI. (1838), 413.

the Esquiline also owes a big new bell [1] and a house for the canons who serve it.[2] The Lady altar of the Pauline chapel was endowed with rich indulgences [3] and for the worthy discharge of the divine service, chaplaincies were erected which were to be in the gift of the Borghese family.[4] The members of that family were to find their lasting resting place in the crypt of the chapel.[5] In token of their gratitude for all the benefits lavished on the Liberian basilica, the canons erected a large bronze statue of the Pope; it is the work of Paolo San Quirico and was put up in the new sacristy in 1621.[6]

Other Roman churches also testify to the munificence and the passion for building of Paul V., in which he was emulated by his Cardinals, especially by his art-loving nephew, Scipio Borghese.

Shortly after his election, Paul V. remembered his former titular church of St. Crisogono in the Trastevere. At his prompting, Cardinal Scipio Borghese had the venerable old basilica adorned with paintings, a new high altar, and a ceiling

On a *Madrigale di Giov. Batt. Basile per la colonna drizzata nel Esquilino da Paolo V.*, see ADEMOLLO, *La bell' Adriana*, Città di Castello, 1888, 244, note 1. A poem of *Gregorius Portius Anconitanus, De Columna in Exqiliis erecta ac Deiparae Virg. a Paulo V. dicata*, in Barb. 1825, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Magnificentia Pauli V.*, Barb. 2353, *ibid.*; CIACONIUS, IV., 380; BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 187.

[2] BAGLIONE, 95. An inscription mentions 1605 as the year of the construction.

[3] FORCELLA, XI., 61, 63.

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 315 *seq.* In accordance with the decrees of the new Codex juris Canonici prince Scipio Borghese freely renounced the patronage on July 22, 1924, in favour of Pope Pius XI., a deed which the latter confirmed by a Brief of August 5, 1925. The Pope left the use of the chapel to the Chapter whilst retaining the right of ownership for the Holy See.

[5] *Cf.* AMAYDEN-BERTINI, *Storia delle famiglie Romane*, I., Roma, 1910, 174, 176.

[6] BAGLIONE, 323; ORBAAN *Documenti*, 259; BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 217. The inscription in FORCELLA, XI., 64; copy in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 68.

decorated with richly gilt carvings. The new façade, designed by Gianbattista Soria, was only completed after the Pope's death.[1] The Pope likewise gave the first impulse to the restoration of St. Gregory's on the Coelian hill. Soria was commissioned by Scipio Borghese to build the flight of steps which lead up to the church, the forecourt and the noble façade which also was only completed under Urban VIII.[2]

In the chapels east of S. Gregorio, on which Cardinal Baronius had bestowed his solicitude,[3] Scipio Borghese continued the work of the learned historian of the Church when, after his death on June 30th, 1607, he succeeded him as commendatory abbot. In the middle chapel, that of St. Andrew, the cardinal had executed in 1608 the two famous frescos in which Domenichino and Guido Reni competed for the palm.[4] To the right of the entrance, Domenichino painted the martyrdom of St. Andrew who, stripped and tied with ropes to a bench, is about to be scourged by the rough executioners; in well arranged groups, deeply moved spectators stand around the realistic scene of horror. Reni's corresponding picture on the left shows the Saint on his way to the place of execution, to which he gave a beautiful rural background. It is a more refined and deeply felt painting. Nothing could be more profoundly moving than the figure of the aged Saint, surrounded by his executioners, falling upon his knees to thank God for the grace of martyrdom as soon as he beholds on a hill-top the cross on which he is to die.[5]

[1] Baglione, 97; Panciroli, *Tes. nasc.* (1625), 601 (Soffito, 1620); Forcella, II., 186 (Inscriptions of 1623 and 1626).

[2] Baglione, 97; Forcella, II., 129 (Inscription of 1633); A. Gibelli, *Mem. stor. d. chiesa dei ss. Andrea e Gregorio al clivo di Scauro*, Siena, 1888, 31 *seq.*

[3] See our data in Vol. XXIV., p. 518.

[4] Forcella, II., 124; Orbaan, *Documenti*, 124; Passeri, 15 *seqq.*, 64.

[5] See Philippi, *Kunst der Nachblüte in Italien und Spanien*, Leipzig, 1900, 74; Böhn, *G. Reni*, 56; Schmerber, *Ital. Malerei* (1906), 12; Friedländer, *N. Poussin* (1914), 18; Serra,

Unfortunately both frescos have been very much restored. In the apse of the chapel of St. Silvia, the colouring of the graceful concert of angels over whose joyous group the heavenly Father spreads His hands from on high in a gesture of blessing, is almost completely destroyed. This glorification of Church music, instinct with the spirit and beauty of Melozzo da Forlì, was painted by Guido in 1609, also by commission of Cardinal Scipio.[1] To this Prince of the Church, possessed of so much understanding of art, are likewise due the roofs of the chapels, the beauty of which lies in their simplicity.

Not alone here, but at St. Sebastian's outside the Walls also, Scipio Borghese's name appears repeatedly. The Cardinal entrusted the restoration of this sanctuary, which had become ruinous, to Flaminio Ponzio, and, after the latter's death, to Jan van Santen. He completely modernized the church; unfortunately in the course of the work many ancient remains of great value were destroyed.[2] The same happened when, in 1620, Cardinal Millini undertook the restoration of the venerable old church of SS. Quattro Coronati, on the Coelian.[3] Cardinal Torres restored

Domenichino, 26 *seqq.*; Voss, *Malerei*, 193, 507. Sauer justly remarks in *Kraus' Kunstgesch.*, II., 2, 790: "As against parallel representations of Domenichino which are distinguished by the harmonious arrangement of the figures, their greater clarity of outline and extraordinary beauty, Reni's pictures exhibit a finer and more imposing characterization as well as a remarkable feeling for landscape motifs."

[1] Forcella, II., 124; Böhn, *G. Reni*, 13, 56; Muñoz, *loc. cit.*, 269 *seqq.*; Moschini, *S. Gregorio al Celio*, Roma, 12.

[2] Baglione, 135, 175 (*cf.* 115 on works of Cordier); Forcella, XII., 151 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1915, fasc. 15, p. 299, 304; *Civ. Catt.*, 1919, III., 146 *seqq.* In April, 1608, Paul V. inspected the work carried out by Scipio Borghese at St. Paul's outside the walls; *cf.* Orbaan, *Documenti*, 100; *cf.* Totti, 117.

[3] Forcella, VIII., 292; Memmoli, *Vita, chiesa e reliquie dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, Roma, 1628, and *Vita del card. Millini*, Roma, 1644; Muñoz, *Il ristauro d. chiesa dei S.S. Quattro Coronati*, Roma, 1914, 52 *seq.*, 77 *seqq.*

S. Pancrazio before the Gate of the same name [1]; Cardinal Lena, S. Giorgio in Velabro,[2] and Cardinal Lancellotti, S. Simeone.[3]

In 1617, the richly gilt ceiling of S. Maria in Trastevere, the gift of Cardinal Aldobrandini, was unveiled. It had been designed by Domenichino. An oil painting by the master, in the centre of the ceiling, represents Mary's Assumption.[4] For the same Cardinal, Domenichino painted the "Communion of St. Jerome" a picture famous throughout the world which is now in the Vatican gallery. St. Ephrem gives the holy Viaticum to the dying Saint. Its virtue revives for the last time the former energy of the old man. This picture "in which by the side of human frailty the greatness of God appears growing into infinitude" adorned at one time the high altar of S. Girolamo della Carità.[5]

In St. Agnes' outside the Walls, Leo XI., when still a Cardinal, had done much for the restoration and adornment of the church. Cardinal Sfondrato continued the work with all the more zeal as in its course the relics of the titular Saint and those of St. Emerentiana, had been found. Paul V. had a large silver reliquary made, and he himself officiated when the shrine was placed beneath the high altar. Nicolas Cordier was commissioned by Sfondrato to make the statue of St. Agnes which stands above the high altar of oriental alabaster.[6]

[1] ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 79; FORCELLA, VI., 371, 383.

[2] FORCELLA, XI., 385.

[3] TOTTI, 252.

[4] BAGLIONE, 383; BELLORI, II., 48, 49; PASSERI, 21; ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 252; SCHMERBER, *Ital. Malerie*, 13; SERRA, *Domenichino*, 58; RICCI, *Baukunst*, 59; Reni's picture has been replaced by a copy.

[5] PASSERI, 16 *seq.*; ORBAAN, 227; SERRA, *loc. cit.*, 42 *seqq*; THIEME, IX., 401; VOSS, *Malerei*, 450.

[6] BAGLIONE, 97; ORBAAN, 64; CIACONIUS, IV., 384; C. CECCHETTI, *S. Agnese fuori le Mura*, 15; FORCELLA, XI., 351 *seq.*; *Magnificentia Pauli V.*, Barb. 2353, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Paul V.'s register of expenses in Appendix, n. 13a, Papal Secret Archives.

Paul V. likewise carried out restorations and embellishments in the basilica of the Lateran,[1] Sant'Angelo in Pescaria,[2] S. Marta,[3] Santi Quirico e Giulitta,[4] San Niccolo de' Lorenesi [5] and San Sisto on the Via Appia.[6] The convent of St. Magdalen, for penitents, on the Corso, was rebuilt at the Pope's expense.[7] Paul V. also contributed to the erection of the convent of Santa Susanna.[8]

Work on the great new churches went on throughout the pontificate of the Borghese Pope. Cardinal Montalto was especially keen on completing Sant Andrea della Valle on which he spent considerable sums of money. At the time of the Pope's death Maderno's magnificent dome of that church, the most beautiful after that of St. Peter's, was nearly completed.[9] In the years 1611–1614, the tribune and the high altar of Santa Maria della Pace underwent alterations and the ceiling of the tribune was adorned with

During the restoration of 1901 (see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XVI., 58) the silver coffin, 4 feet long and nearly 1½ feet in height and breadth, was rediscovered by Mgr. Wilpert. The front and back are adorned with the rich coat-of-arms of Paul V. and the top with a crown and two crossed palms, all gilt, even the inscription.

[1] See LAUER, 639; ORBAAN, 125; the sacristy possesses a bust of Paul V. by Cordier; see BAGLIONE, 96.

[2] ORBAAN, 332.

[3] FORCELLA, VIII., 297.

[4] See PLATNER-BUNSEN, III., 2, 237; ORBAAN, 298; Inventario, 31; FORCELLA, VIII., 297.

[5] ORBAAN, 336, note.

[6] Paul V.'s coat-of-arms are on the portal and the ceiling; see ANGELI, *Chiese*, 564.

[7] BAGLIONE, 97; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 252; FORCELLA, XII., 467. *Cf.*, in Appendix, No. 13, Register of expenses of Paul V., Papal Secret Archives.

[8] ORBAAN, 297; FORCELLA, IX., 537.

[9] ORBAAN, 107, 119, 193 *seqq.*, 216; PASSERI, 135; BONI, *S. Andrea della Valle* (1907), 10. *Cf.* REYMOND, *De Michelange à Tiepolo*, Paris, 1912, 147.

paintings by Francesco Albani.[1] Between 1616–1617, Domenichino painted his scenes from the legend of St. Cecilia for San Luigi de' Francesi.[2] In 1620, Faustolo Rughesi completed the façade of the church of the Oratorians, Santa Maria della Vallicella, to the designs of Martino Longhi.[3] In 1608, Rubens had adorned the high altar of this church with three magnificent pictures.[4]

New churches were still rising. Thus in 1605, Giovanni Guerra, of Modena, began Sant'Andrea delle Fratte.[5] The same year witnessed the consecration of the national church of the Lombards, del Santo Sudario,[6] and in 1612 the foundation stone was laid of the church of the Barnabites, San Carlo ai Catinari.[7] The plan of this perfectly homogeneous building was drawn up by Rosato Rosati [8] after motifs from Bramante's plan for St. Peter's. The interior, a Greek cross with a lofty cupola, makes a powerful impression by reason of its spaciousness. In 1612, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato laid the first stone of the new national church of the Lombards, San Carlo al Corso,[9] the construction of which was supervised by Onorio Longhi, and, when he died (1619), by his son Martino.[10] The plan differs substantially from that of the Gesù : the wide central nave is flanked by two lateral aisles so that, in consequence, the transepts also are wider and a spacious ambulatory

[1] FORCELLA, V., 487 ; THIEME, I., 174.

[2] THIEME, IX., 401.

[3] GURLITT, *Barock*, 192.

[4] See ROSENBERG, in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, 1896, 111 *seq.*, and OLDENBOURG, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII. (1916), 278 *seq.* ; Rubens lived in the Via della Croce ; see BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Belgi*, 25 ; *cf. Buonarotti*, 3, series III., 34 *seq.*

[5] GURLITT, *loc. cit.*, 364.

[6] ORBAAN, 49.

[7] ORBAAN, 194, 201 ; PREMOLI, *Posa della prima pietra della chiesa di S. Carlo a'Catinari*, Roma, 1912.

[8] BAGLIONE, V., 331.

[9] ORBAAN, 195, 199. *Cf.* FORCELLA, V., 331.

[10] BAGLIONE, 157. *Cf.* inscription in Forcella, V., 352.

surrounds the semi-circular main choir. Paul V. contributed to the building fund. By 1614, part of the nave was completed.[1] A small church of St. Charles arose near Quattro Fontane, in 1612, in honour of the recently canonized Saint. Cardinal Bandini helped the building.[2] In 1612, San Salvatore in Cacaberis underwent alterations and was thereafter known by the name of Santa Maria del Pianto.[3] A year earlier, San Niccolò de Calcarario had undergone a similar process.[4] In 1618, the new chapel near the Monte di Pietà was opened.[5] In 1615, through the liberality of Cardinal Sfondrato, the church of St. Frances of Rome, near the Forum, received a richly gilt ceiling and a new façade, designed by Carlo Lombardo of Arezzo, the first façade in Rome to have pilasters.[6]

In 1614, the Trinitarians erected a small church, dedicated to Francesca Romana, in the Via Sistina.[7] In 1615, the people of Lucca resolved to build a church and hospital on the Lungara [8]; the church of the confraternity of Santa Maria del Suffragio arose in 1616, in the Via Giulia [9]; in 1617, Santa Maria Liberatrice, in the Forum, underwent a process of alteration and rebuilding at the hands of Onorio Longhi,[10] and San Dionisio delle Quattro Fontane was erected in 1619.[11]

Splendid chapels were likewise erected in the Pope's summer palace on the Quirinal [12] which, in view of the fact that the

[1] See B. Nogara, *S. Ambrogio e S. Carlo al Corso*, 7 *seq.*

[2] Orbaan, 203. *Cf.* Hempel, *Borromini*, Vienna, 1924, 33.

[3] Armellini, *Chiese*², 570; *La Chiesa di S. Maria del Pianto*, Roma, 1907.

[4] Armellini, *Chiese*, 493.

[5] Tamilia, *Il s. Monte di Pietà di Roma*, Roma, 1900, 104.

[6] Orbaan, 231; P. Lugano, *S. Maria Nova*, Roma (1923), text accompanying reproduction no. 3; *cf.* Brinckmann, 66.

[7] Armellini, *Chiese*, 304.

[8] Orbaan, 235.

[9] Armellini, 358.

[10] Baglione, 156; Gurlitt, *Barock*, 202.

[11] Titi, 284; Armellini, 187.

[12] There exists no monograph of the Quirinal. The account of M. de Benedetti (*I Palazzi e Ville Reali d'Italia*, I., Firenze,

Vatican was very much exposed to malaria, was more and more frequently chosen by the Pope for his residence during the hot season.[1] In May, 1605, Paul V. gave orders for the prosecution of the constructions which his predecessor had begun. At the same time he ordered the erection of a spacious chapel to enable him to carry out there, with the Cardinals, all the solemn functions, during the hot season.[2] The work was directed by the Lombard Flaminio Ponzio and, after his early death, by Carlo Maderno [3] who, since the completion of St. Peter's, had become the most famous artist of Rome. He drew up the plans for the great chapel and the new portal of the Quirinal.[4]

To gain space for the enlargement of the Quirinal palace, it became necessary to pull down the small church of San Saturnino and to acquire the adjoining summer residence of the Benedictines.[5] In course of time a small Capuchin church

1911) is inadequate. Until 1897 the main portal of the palace, beneath the balcony, was surmounted by the arms of Paul V. which were removed under pretext of repairs and replaced by those of Savoy. The inscription on the Via XX. Settembre was also destroyed (FORCELLA, XIII., 159). In the Sala Paolina the cross of Savoy has been stuck over the large coat of arms of Paul V. in the middle of the room! It was, however, impossible to remove every trace of the former owners of the palace, which was forcibly seized on October 8, 1870, by General Alf. La Marmora, for in that case it would have been necessary to destroy the magnificent ceilings on which the papal arms are everywhere the main decorative motif. Paul V.'s inscriptions in the Quirinal are found in their entirety in CIACONIUS, IV., 393.

[1] *Cf.* CELLI, 280 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*, 355 *seq.*, 361.

[2] ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 73.

[3] BAGLIONE, 95, 135, 308. On PONZIO's death, see GROSSI-GONDI, *Ville Tusc.*, 105; on his charming little house in the Via Alessandrina (No. 7) now doomed to be demolished, see ORBAAN, 207, note. *Cf.* also *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII., 40.

[4] MUÑOZ, *Maderno*, 14.

[5] ORBAAN, 86, 94, 98; *cf.* 231; see also *Studi e docum.*, XV., 289; *Moroni*, L., 233.

and many houses had to make room for the new building.[1] The Pope often visited it and never failed to urge everyone concerned to make haste.[2] In 1609, it was said that 200,000 scudi were to be spent on the work.[3] To secure tranquillity during the summer sojourn, orders were given that work on the Quirinal should be done only in winter, and on the Vatican in summer.[4] For the laying out of a more commodious approach to the Quirinal, which had been contemplated since 1610, more houses had to be bought.[5] Medals of the years 1611 and 1612 record the extension of the palace,[6] in the great hall of which it was possible to hold a consistory, by August, 1611.[7] However, the work was only comparatively completed by 1618. The cost amounted to 364,142 scudi.[8]

The new residence on the Quirinal was worthy, in the words of a contemporary, of a sovereign whose dominion spread over the whole world.[9] The main portal, facing the piazza of the Quirinal, which, according to its inscription, was completed in 1615,[10] must certainly be attributed to Ponzio.[11] It was adorned with two columns of cipollin marble and the statues of the Apostles Peter and Paul by Guillaume Berthelot and Stefano Maderno [12]; between them stood the Madonna with

[1] Orbaan, 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, 134, 136, 159, 180, 182, 184, 187.

[3] *Ibid.*, 132.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 168, 189; *cf.* 297.

[6] Bonanni, II., 509. *Cf.* inscriptions in Forcella, XIII., 157 *seq.*; P. M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo di cose mem. di Roma* (1610), 218; *Hora Paolo V. attende a finire il Palazzo et corregere l'architettura ove peccava.*

[7] See *Alalcone* in Orbaan, 10.

[8] See the register of Paul V.'s expenses in Appendix 13, Papal Secret Archives.

[9] Baglione, 308.

[10] Forcella, XIII., 159, no. 298.

[11] Bricarelli, in *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, II., 426.

[12] Baglione, 339, 345; Bertolotti, *Art. Francesi* (1886), 163; Thieme, III., 492. Reproduction in M. de Benedetti.

the Child by Pompeo Ferrucei, which was subsequently used by Bernini to crown the benediction loggia built by him.[1]

The gems of the palace are the gorgeous rooms facing the Via Pia of which the one was to serve for secular, the other for religious festivities.

The Sala Paolina [2] vied with the Sala Clementina in the Vatican both in size and splendour, and like the latter it provided accommodation for the Swiss Guard. The floor is of many-coloured marbles. The richly gilt, magnificent wooden ceiling exhibits three times a huge coat-of-arms of the Borghese Pope whose heraldic animals, the eagle and the dragon, appear repeatedly as a decorative motif.[3] A painted frieze with allegorical figures and biblical scenes runs along beneath the ceiling. This richly coloured and sumptuous decoration [4] was the work of Giovanni Lanfranco,[5] Carlo Saraceni, Agostino Tassi and Orazio Gentileschi.[6] Over the great entrance door of the Cappella Paolina, Paul V. placed Taddeo Landini's marble relief which was not in a good light in the Cappella Gregoriana.[7]

The scene "Christ washing the feet of the disciples" was most appropriate in the palace of the Popes who style themselves the servants of the servants of God. The pinnacle above the relief is adorned with two angels holding the papal coat-

[1] BAGLIONE, 347; BRICARELLI, *loc. cit.*

[2] Reproduced in M. DE BENEDETTI, 25, and RICCI, *Baukunst*, 193.

[3] Reproduced in M. DE BENEDETTI, 31.

[4] *Cf.* POSSE, in *Jahrb. der preuss Kunstsamml.*, XL., 136 *seq.*

[5] Copy in M. DE BENEDETTI, 29, and VOSS, *Malerei*, 95 (*cf.* 450). Also BAGLIONE, 146 *seq.*; PASSERI, 106, 131; BELLORI, II., 107.

[6] TITI (305) only mentions A. Tassi and Gentileschi, but BAGLIONE and other sources establish the part of Lanfranco and Saraceni. In the *Mandati delle fabriche* there are payments, from August, 1611, onwards to A. Tassi, C. Saraceni and Giov. Lanfranco (State Archives, Rome). *Cf.* also BERTOLOTTI, *A. Tassi*, 27.

[7] Copy in M. DE BENEDETTI, 33.

of-arms ; the one on the right is the work of Pietro Bernini, the one on the left that of Guillaume Berthelot.[1]

The Cappella Paolina, which in size and appearance resembles the Sistine in the Vatican, is justly famous[2] especially for its ceiling of gilt stucco which, according to the account books, was designed and carried out by Martino Ferabosco, between 1616–1618.[3] The magnificent work in which religious subjects (in the centre an angel holds a monstrance) alternate with the arms of Paul V., is an excellent example of the transition from the cinque-cento to pure baroque. In the corners of the vault views of Paul V.'s chief constructions are shown in gilt stucco reliefs.[4] The sanctuary was divided from the body of the building by eight columns of Pietra Santa. These rose from white marble pedestals and carried an entablature on which stood eight candelabra of gilt metal. The singers were accommodated in a special tribune.[5] On the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, January 25th, 1617, the Pope himself consecrated the new shrine of the Mother of God for whom he cherished so tender a devotion.[6] Whereas former Popes were accustomed to date the Bulls and Briefs issued from the Quirinal either as from this hill or as from " near S. Marco ", Paul V., in 1614, began

[1] Baglione, 305, 339. Muñoz, in the *Vita d'Arte*, IV., (1909), 447 ; Sobotka, P. Bernini, in *L'Arte*, XII. (1909), 419, 422. Paul V.'s coat of arms in the centre of the ceiling was pasted over after the confiscation of the Quirinal by the Italian government and the frieze has been disfigured by the arms of the Italian towns.

[2] Totti, 276.

[3] Muñoz, " M. Ferabosco," in the *Vita d'Arte*, IV., (1909), 93 *seqq.*, 97, with excellent reproductions. *Cf.* also Ricci, *Baukunst*, 61, 62 ; Magni, *Il barocco*, II., 67 ; G. Beltrami, in *L'Arte*, 1926, 28 *seq.* The Cappella Paolina, first plundered by the French in 1798, served until 1923—it may seem incredible yet it is a fact—as a lumber-room of the royal palace !

[4] Muñoz, *loc. cit.*, 97.

[5] Moroni, VIII., 139.

[6] See *Alaleone* in Orbaan, 15. The inscriptions in Forcella, XIII., 160 *seq.* indicate the year 1616.

to date them as from "near Saint Mary Major".[1] Each of the three great patriarchal basilicas now had its respective palace.

Since the Cappella Paolina was only meant for the greater solemnities, Paul V. had another chapel prepared, on the West side of the palace, facing the garden, which, though much smaller, was just as sumptuously decorated. This chapel of the Annunciata, erected in 1610, forms a Greek cross surmounted by a cupola.[2] The most famous artist of the time, Guido Reni, was commissioned to decorate the sacred edifice. He had already painted for the Pope "The Descent of the Holy Ghost", the "Transfiguration" and the "Ascension", and for Cardinal Scipio Borghese three scenes from the life of Samson.[3] To these he added the famous "Annunciation", which Paul V. destined for the marble altar of his private chapel.[4] In the chapel itself Guido Reni depicted, on the arc of triumph, God the Father surrounded by angels; in the cupola, the Assumption of the most holy Virgin, in the corners, Moses, David, Solomon, and Daniel; in the lunettes, scenes from the life of Our Lady, in a genre-like manner, and on the arches, on the inner side of the pilasters, the ancestors of Mary. Besides Guido Reni, Francesco Albani also worked in the chapel; his best known picture is "Mary's presentation in the Temple".[5]

For the Cardinals and prelates living at the palace, Paul V. erected the Cappella del Presepio which was also richly decorated with stucco and frescos. The altar piece showed the adoration of the shepherds; it was flanked by a representation

[1] See MORONI, L., 234.

[2] See the inscription in FORCELLA, XIII., 158.

[3] PASSERI, 69 *seqq.* *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 140.

[4] Reproduction in M. DE BENEDETTI, 38.

[5] See TITI, 310 and 481, and SOBOTKA, *G. Reni*, in the periodical *Daheim*, 1913. Final payment to G. Reni in 1612, for the paintings in the Cappella di Monte Cavallo, in BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 142. *Cf.* M. DE BENEDETTI, 40. Three distichs "de picturis Guidonis Rheni in aedibus Quirinalibus card. Burghesii," in Vat. 6967, p. 215, Vatican Library.

of the slaughter of the Innocents and the adoration of the Magi. The dome was adorned with angels in glory and the lunettes with the four evangelists.[1] Yet another chapel was fitted up beneath the Pauline chapel [2]; it was no doubt here that Baldassare Croce executed the frescos mentioned by Baglione.[3] Other painters, such as Pasquale Cati and Antonio Caracci, were also employed in decoration work in the various rooms of the palace.[4]

Paul V. paid particular attention to the garden of the Quirinal for which Cement VIII. had already done much but which owes to him its finished beauty and its rounding off as a complete whole.[5] An engraving by Giovanni Maggi, of 1612, gives a vivid picture of the state of this place of recreation at that time, with its fountains, water jets, flower beds, orange trees and three small groves in the part facing the Via Pia.[6] Paul V., who took special delight in the palace, derived no less pleasure from the garden,[7] from which the visitor enjoys one of the most magnificent views of Rome.

Several poets vied with one another in exalting all that the Borghese Pope had accomplished on the Quirinal Hill.[8] It

[1] Moroni, IX., 161.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Baglione, 299, and Titi, 311.

[4] Baglione, 113, 151. *Cf.* Venuti, *Roma moderna*, Rome, 1767, 234.

[5] See Avviso, in Orbaan, *Documenti*, 146.

[6] See L. Dami, "Il giardino del Quirinale," in *Bollet. d'arte*, 1919, 113 *seqq.* (with copy of plan). *Cf.* Moroni, L., 234; A. Kaufmann, *Der Gartenbau im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1892, 55; Hülsen, *Antikengarten*, Heidelberg, 1917, VIII., 90; Guidi, *Fontane*, 30; L. Dami, *Il giardino Italiano*, Milano, 1924, 41; Colasanti, *Fontane*, 181.

[7] See Avviso of June 26, 1610, in Staatsarchiv, Vienna.

[8] See the poem, *Mons Quirinalis Nicolai Tassi*," dedicated to Paul V., in Barb. 1951, Vatican Library. *Cf. Horti Quirinales Pontificii* by Alex. Donati, S.J., in *Parnassus Soc. Jesu*, I., Francofurti, 1654, 152 *seqq.*, and the poem *De colle Quirinali*, in Borghese, II., 27–8, p. 68, Papal Secret Archives. An epigram by Silos in Fea, *Notizie sui conclavi*, 71.

was thought that here the famous Villa Medici was left far behind.[1] The extensions of the Quirinal destined to accommodate the Court were chiefly towards the old city.[2] Hence it was there also that the new building of the Dataria arose in 1611. Its construction was necessitated by the demolition of the palace of Pope Innocent VIII.[3]

In the Vatican, Paul V. also carried out several works of restoration and embellishment, in particular the frieze in the hall of consistories was beautifully decorated with landscapes.[4] Part of the old palace of Innocent VIII., facing St. Peter's, still remained, together with its entrance gate. But in view of the fact that this remainder as it were crushed the new façade of St. Peter's, and was not in harmony with the adjoining palace, Paul V., in 1617 [5] reduced the entrance and eliminated the irregularity by the construction of a corridor destined for the Swiss Guard, the external wall of which was adorned with a fountain and the mosaic of the Navicella.[6] The so-called *Porta di Bronzo* with its lovely marble columns, by which one enters the Vatican to this day, represents the last remnant of the palace of Innocent VIII. Paul V.'s additions, his coat-of-arms and the inscription,[7]

[1] Thus G. V. IMPERIALE, 1609; see *Atti Ligure*, XXIX., 63.

[2] See the inscriptions in *Magnificentia Pauli V., loc. cit.*, Vatican Library.

[3] BAGLIONE, 95. The inscription in MORONI, XXIX., 112. *Cf.* EHRLE, *Veduta Maggi-Mascardi*, 12. The Rota and the Camera Apostolica which had likewise been housed in the palace of Innocent VIII. were transferred by Paul V. into the new Vatican Palace.

[4] See BZOVIUS, c. 42; CHATTARD, II., 167; COSTAGUTI, in Appendix 14, in Costaguti Archives, Rome. To this day numerous coats-of-arms and inscriptions bear witness to the work of Paul V.; see CIACONIUS, IV., 393 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VI., 123 *seqq.* Over the death chamber of Leo XIII. one reads: "Paulus P.M.V." and a frieze painted *al fresco* is also to be seen in the ante-room of the Secretary of State on the first floor.

[5] ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 25 *seq.*

[6] TOTTI, 19; EHRLE, *Veduta Maggi-Mascardi* (1615), 15.

[7] FORCELLA, VI., 146.

have disappeared, but there still remains, in the centre, the image of the Mother of God with the two Princes of the Apostles which had been executed in mosaic to a design of Giuseppe Cesare d'Arpino.[1] To this day the bronze door shows the Borghese coat-of-arms. However, a tower-like structure, with a clock and a graceful, open belfry surmounted by a cross, at one time erected by Paul V., were removed at a later period.[2] The whole scheme was carried out between 1616–1617, after the plans of Martino Ferabosco, assisted by Giovanni Vasanzio.[3] The Vatican was given another monumental entrance behind St. Peter's [4]; it is known to all Rome pilgrims as the present day entrance to the archives, the library and the museum.

New offices were prepared in the Vatican for the Apostolic Secretariate.[5] The rooms of the Pope and those of his nephews were embellished with paintings among which those by Guido Reni were the most admired.[6]

Two new rooms were added to the Vatican library. The Pope had the adjoining corridors embellished with decorative paintings, whilst the pictures of his buildings and other important events of his reign, were to be seen in the lunettes.[7] Additions to the library in the form of valuable manuscripts and the assignment of new revenues are here perpetuated by means of inscriptions.[8]

A newly constructed staircase enabled the Pope freely to

[1] Bertolotti, *Art. subalp.*, 200 *seq.*

[2] See reproduction in Ehrle, *loc. cit.*, 14.

[3] Baglione, 96, 176; G. B. Costaguti, *Architettura di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1620; *tav.* 12 and 30; Egger, *Rom. Veduten*, I., 26–7; Id., *Architekt. Handzeichnungen*, table 21–3; Muñoz, in the *Vita d'Arte*, IV. (1909), 86; Voss, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 2 *seq.*

[4] Inventario, 313.

[5] Forcella, VI., 125.

[6] See Taja, 95 *seqq.*, 279 *seqq.*

[7] These representations, which Taja (456 *seqq.*) describes in detail, have not all been preserved; *cf.* Forcella, VI., 127 *seq.*

[8] Forcella, VI., 124; Barbier de Montault, II., 181 *seq.*

enter the Vatican gardens.[1] By his order Carlo Maderno built there three magnificent fountains: the small *Fontana degli Specchi*, surrounded by water jets, and the great *Fontana delle Torri*, so called because it is flanked by two towers, and lastly the extraordinarily picturesque *Fontana dello Scoglio* (the cliff fountain), which consists of three rocky caves built round a semi-circular basin and surmounted by an eagle.[2] The spectacle of the water tumbling all over the piled up rockery is described by Bzovius as unique.[3] In 1609, the court of the Belvedere was also adorned with a large fountain for which use was made of an enormous basin which Julius II. had removed from the baths of Titus.[4] Other fountains besides these were erected in the Vatican.[5] Paul V. also commissioned Maderno to restore the graceful fountain near Bramante's steps, called *La Galera*, because the basin carried a ship dressed all over.[6] In September 1611, the Pope purposely came from the Quirinal to the Vatican to judge for himself of the impression created by the waters of the fountain in the court of the Belvedere which had been carried thither by the new conduit of the *Acqua Paola*.[7]

Acqua Paola was the name given in honour of its restorer to the ancient aqueduct of the emperor Trajan which carried the water collected near the lake of Bracciano as far as the Trastevere. The *Acqua Trajana* had become utterly

[1] EHRLE, *Veduta Maggi-Mascardi*, 16, 17, 19.

[2] BONANNI, *Numismata*, 174 *seq.* The inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 126. FALDA, *Giardini*, *tav.* 3 and 4; FORCELLA, VI., 125; GUIDI, *Fontane*, 34 and *tav.* VIII. *Cf.* BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 85; WÖLFFLIN, *Renaissance u. Barock*, 174 *seq.*; L. DAMI, *Il giardino italiano*, 37; COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 185, 188.

[3] BZOVIUS, c. 42.

[4] FALDA, *Fontane*, I. (1669), 4 *seq.* The inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 126. *Cf.* STEINMANN, *Sixtin. Kapelle*, II., 56, note 2. EHRLE, *loc. cit.*, 18; COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 180.

[5] BAGLIONE, 96, 176; GUIDI, 34, 40. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 189; EHRLE, 16, 17.

[6] MUÑOZ, *Maderno*, 14; COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 183.

[7] ORBAAN. *Documenti*, 193.

dilapidated. As early as November, 1605, Paul V. conceived the project of repairing it,[1] though work only began in 1607,[2] under the supervision of two eminent architects, Giovanni Fontana and Pompeo Targone.[3] In August, 1608, the Pope bought the springs which were the property of Virginio Orsini, duke of Bracciano.[4] It soon became evident that the restoration would demand sums far larger than those the experts had foreseen, for most of the ancient arches could not be put to any use.[5]

Since here there was question of a work of public utility, the Pope was justified in demanding the co-operation of the Roman municipality[6]; he was, nevertheless, obliged to contribute 400,000 scudi of his own,[7] which were only

[1] *Ibid.*, 65.

[2] *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Editti*, V., 51, p. 47: "Editto sopra li appalti de lavori da farsi per la condotta dell'acque di Bracciano a Roma," date February 15, 1608; p. 48: "Prorogatione dell'offerte alli lavori di Bracciano," February 29, 1608; p. 49: "Editto contro quelli che hanno guastato li condotti vecchi dell'acque di Bracciano," March 1, 1608 (*cf.* ORBAAN, 99); p. 50: Editto per gli scarpellini," March 6, 1608; p. 107: "Editto contro quelli che non hanno fatto fare li ristauri alle loro fonti," June 5, 1608; further edicts addressed to Galeazzo Sanvitale, arcivesc. di Bari e chierico di Camera, Aless. Monti et Paolo Millini deputati sopra l'opera de'condotti dell'Acqua Paola, of August 31, 1609, May 6, 1610, September 3, 1611; p. 54–6*b*: "Pauli P.V erectio congregationis ac deputationis officialium super Aquae Paulae et illius Aqueductis curae et administratione," November 29, 1612 (in *Bull.*, XII., 185 *seq.*, dated September 13, 1612); p. 57 *seqq.*: edicts of the commission, dated May 23, 1614, and September 23, 1616, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* FEA, 143 *seq.*; ORBAAN, 99, note 1.

[3] BAGLIONE, 96, 131; ORBAAN, 80, on *Targone.* GURLITT (213) and GUIDI (*Fontane*, 68) suppose that C. Maderno also participated in the work.

[4] See FEA, *Storia delle Acque*, Roma, 1832, 41, 135 *seqq.*

[5] ORBAAN, 140, 168.

[6] *Ibid.*, 82 *seqq.*

[7] See Appendix No. 13, Papal Secret Archives.

partially recovered from the sale of the water—200 scudi the uncia—owing to the fact that the Pope largely renounced his claim to compensation.[1]

The conduit, in part underground, is extolled by a contemporary as an undertaking comparable to the works of the imperial epoch.[2] The poet Tarquinius Gallutius wrote a poem in praise of the blessing which Paul V. had conferred upon his native city,[3] and medals were struck in commemoration of the event.[4]

In 1611, the first trial of the new aqueduct was made near S. Pietro in Montorio.[5] A little above this church, at a spot where the spectator gets one of the finest views of the city and the hills, Paul V., in 1612, caused Giovanni Fontana and Carlo Maderno to construct in travertine the splendid water castle of the Fontana dell' Acqua Paola of whose charm Göthe and Platen have left inimitable descriptions. The inscription states that the Pope had brought the water from the excellent springs near the lake of Bracciano, over a distance of thirty-five miglias (about 50 km.) by repairing the ancient aqueduct and adding a new conduit.[6] The

[1] FEA, *loc. cit.*, 41, 45. *A memorial of Pompeo Targone *sopra i profitti da cavarsi dell'acqua di Bracciano* in Barb., p. 43 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] "Aquae penuria tota Transtiberina regio mirum in modum laborabat; opus ergo molis immensae Paulus aggressus incredibilem aquae copiam ex agro Braccianensi deductam et quinti et trigesimo milliario, partim subterraneo specu, partim arcuato opere in summum Janiculum perduxit. Rem profecto Caesarum opibus comparabilem." *Magnificentia Pauli V.*, Barb. 2353, Vatican Library.

[3] **Tarquinii Gallutii carmen de novo fonte ex agro Sabatino in urbem a Paulo V. P.M. corrivato, Vat.* 5557, Vatican Library.

[4] See ARTIOLI in the work mentioned on p. 430, note 4, pp. 9 and 10. Paul V.'s inscriptions on the aqueduct in CIACONIUS, IV., 394. Reproduction of the *Arco dell'Acquedotto d. Acqua Paola* in the Villa Pamfili with an inscription of the year 1609, in MAGNI, *Il barocco*, II., Turin, 1911, 22. [5] ORBAAN, 191.

[6] FEA, *loc. cit.*, 42; FORCELLA, XII., 107. Both inscriptions on the aqueduct outside Porta S. Pancrazio in FORCELLA, XIII., 63.

decorative structure of monumental proportions, with six granite columns of the Ionian order standing on a lofty base, is the first of Rome's fountains in which a huge volume of water gushes forth with a roaring noise and in a cloud of spray. The granite columns, which derive from old St. Peter's, form a framework for three large, semi-circular vaulted niches and for two small niches at the sides. The pediment is surmounted by a colossal inscription and the whole is finished off by Paul V.'s coat-of-arms supported by two angels, above which rises a cross. The corners are adorned with the heraldic animals of the Borghese, the eagle and the dragon. Originally the water fell in rushing cascades from the three central niches into as many basins in which huge dragons spat up powerful jets of water.[1] These heraldic animals were removed under Alexander VIII. and replaced by a large basin of white marble.[2]

The new aqueduct was intended, in the first instance, to relieve the shortage of water in the Trastevere and the Borgo, but by means of leaden pipes laid across the Ponte Sisto, the water was also made to serve the districts on the other side of the Tiber. Hence, between 1612–1613, Paul V. commanded Giovanni Fontana and Jan van Santen to erect, at the spot where the Via Giulia joins the Ponte Sisto, and adjoining the home of the poor erected by Sixtus V., a second arch, on the model of a triumphal arch, but with only one niche. The water falls from above into a first basin from which it rushes into a lower one in which two dragons shoot up water jets that cross each other.[3]

[1] The water spat forth by the dragons beneath the small arcades also flowed into separate basins.

[2] Moroni, XXV., 172. The original aspect of the *Aqua Paola* in Artioli on page 25 of the monograph quoted in the next note. For a discussion of the work see Gurlitt, 213 *seq.*; Riegl, 131; Guidi, 24, 69.

[3] See Baglione, 96, 131; Bonanni, II., 536, Orbaan, 212, and especially R. Artioli, *Il Fontane di Ponte Sisto in Roma*, Roma, 1899, 14 *seqq.*, 30 *seqq.*, 46 *seqq.*, with reproduction of the structure which was unfortunately demolished in 1879 and re-erected in 1897–8, though in a somewhat altered form, in the Piazza di Ponte Sisto on the other side of the Tiber.

The restoration and extension of Hadrian's aqueduct, the upkeep and administration of which was entrusted to a special Congregation under the presidency of Cardinal Borghese,[1] made it possible to provide water for the many new fountains with which Paul V. enriched his residence. The most beautiful of them all adorns the piazza of St. Peter's beside the Vatican.[2] Here Maderno has created a work of magnificent simplicity which splendidly realizes a bold conception. In a pyramid about 25 feet high, the water is shot upwards in powerful jets; then, hitting the mushroom-like body of the spout, it falls back into a gracefully shaped granite shell from which it overflows into the octagonal basin. The mass of water powerfully shot upwards only to glide down from basin to basin, like an enfolding veil, imparts to the whole work its fascination and materially helps to give life to the piazza.[3] "From the topmost point," Fontana writes, "the waters rise in thick masses into the air; then they rush down like rivers from the shells into the basins, with such a roar that they call forth the greatest admiration. The mass of water appears even more magnificent when powerful winds sweep it beyond the basins so that it spreads like clouds on which the sun paints the colours of the rainbow: such a spectacle provokes wonder and admiration."[4]

[1] *Cf.* Constitution of September 13, 1612, in FEA, *Acque*, 141 *seq.*

[2] BAGLIONE, 96; FALDA, I., 3; BONANNI, *Numismata*, 161; GUIDI, *Fontane*, 65 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* DURM, *Renaissance in Italien*, 375; H. SEMPER, *Monumentalbrunnen*, in the *Zeitschr. des. bayr. Kunstgewerbevereins*, 1891, 57; MACKOWSKY, "Röm. Brunnen," in *Museum*, III., 35; RIEGL, 142; "In the rhythmic gradation of basins, cups and shaft," Voss writes (*Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXI., 104), "this fountain is probably unique of its kind." *Cf.* also WEISBACH, *Die Kunst des Barock in Italien*, Berlin, 1924, 30 *seq.*; good reproductions in FRIEDLÄNDER, *Römische Barockbrunnen*, Leipzig, 1922, 6, and in COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 189. *Cf.* INVENTARIO, 322.

[4] FONTANA, *Il tempio Vaticano*, Roma, 1694, 199. *Cf.* the poem of GIROLAMO PRETI, in his *Poesie*, Perugia, 1632, 57.

In 1614, the Pope commissioned Carlo Maderno to erect two more isolated fountains, in the centre of the Piazza Scossa Cavalli and the Piazza di Castello.[1] To these must be added a number of small, graceful fountains built into walls, as in the Borgo, in the Via de' Banchi and the Lungara, as well as a fountain in the convent of San Francesco a Ripa.[2] The piazza of S. Maria Maggiore [3] and that of the Lateran, were also adorned with fountains.[4] A fountain was erected in the Via Cernaia, "for the thirsty country people and the dust-covered carriers." [5]

The Pope's solicitude extended itself also to the Jews who lacked good water in the Ghetto; they were given a fountain in the piazza of the synagogue; its decoration includes, in addition to the customary dragon, the seven-branched candlestick.[6]

To Paul V. the Romans also owe the restoration of the salubrious well of the *Acqua Acetosa*, and the baths of the *Acqua Santa*, near the Via Appia Nuova.[7]

Not content with having given to the Eternal City her foaming fountains and her gushing wells which constitute an embellishment as attractive and distinctive as it is useful, Paul V. also improved the network of Rome's streets, by

[1] Baglione, 96; Orbaan, 215. The fountain in the Piazza Scossa Cavalli in Falda, *Fontane di Roma*, I (1669), 30, and Colasanti, 187; the fountain in Piazza di Castello was destroyed by the revolution of 1849. See Moroni, LI., 135. *Cf.* Fea, *Acque*, 45.

[2] See **Magnificentia Pauli V.*, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library; Inventario, 302; Forcella, XIII., 107; H. Semper, *loc. cit.*, 65 *seq.*; Guidi, *Fontane*, 28. *Cf.* reproductions in Ricci, *Archit. barocca in Italia*, 266; Friedländer, *loc. cit.*, 16; *Architetture minori in Italia*, I., Rome, Turin, 1926, 163.

[3] Orbaan, 230. *Cf.* Falda, *Fontane*, I., 9; Inventario, 343; Colasanti, 191 *seq.*

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 257 *seq.*; Falda, I., 10; *cf.* Inventario, 15.

[5] Inventario, 339.

[6] Forcella, XIII., 109.

[7] Orbaan, 215; Forcella, XIII., 108.

paving existing roadways and creating new ones.[1] The Trastevere, thanks to the work done there, developed in a most gratifying degree.[2] By the correction of the street from San Benedetto towards San Francesco a Ripa and beyond, towards the Porta Portese, the Pope wished to foster devotion towards the Poverello of Assisi and at the same time create a better perspective.[3] Religious as well as æsthetic motives prompted the drawing of a rectilineal street between the newly erected column of the Madonna in front of St. Mary Major and the Lateran,[4] thereby creating a beautiful perspective which gladdens the eye to this day. The via della Scrofa underwent improvements because the envoys who came in by the Porta del Popolo, rode over it as they went to the Vatican.[5] The Pope took extraordinary trouble to create better roads of approach to the Quirinal; but he saw to it that the owners of expropriated houses were given a just compensation.[6] The street leading towards San Giuseppe a Capo le Case also owes its origin to Paul V.[7] The difficult ascent of the Aventine was likewise corrected.[8] The City's well-being was also served by the maintenance of the aqueducts[9] and public fountains,[10] the establishment

[1] Bzovius, c. 42; L. Allatius, **De aedificiis Pauli V.* (*cf.* p. 434, note 3): *Via a foro Boario ad amphitheatrum Vespasiani et aliae lapidibus stratae. Via a Porta Flumentana* (sic !) *ad pontem Milvium aliaeque dilapidantur* (Vatican Library). *Cf.* also Orbaan, 57.

[2] Baglione, 96; Orbaan, 101.

[3] Bzovius, c. 42; *cf.* Totti, 58, 63.

[4] Orbaan, 212.

[5] *Ibid.*, 173. Forcella, XIII., 89; L. Allatius, *loc. cit.*

[6] Orbaan, 140, 172, 188 *seqq.*, 195, 214; Forcella, XIII., 88; *Inventario*, 51, and Allatius' dissertation mentioned in note 1.

[7] Orbaan, 253.

[8] See *L. Allatius' dissertation, note 1.

[9] Bzovius, c. 42; Fea, *Acque*, 106–110. *Cf.* also *Bull.*, XI., 437 *seq.*

[10] See **Editto che Piazza Navona e le fonte pubbliche si conservino nette* of June 15, 1607, in the *Editti*, V., 74, p. 157, Papal Secret Archives.

of a special timber-yard near the harbour of Ripetta,[1] the restoration of the bridge of the Quattro Capi [2] and the bridges of the Anio,[3] the cleaning and improvement of the sewers,[4] the removal of the filthy stalls near the Portico of the Pantheon [5] and the enlargement of the grain stores.[6]

The difficult problem of the correction of the Tiber, which had left its banks anew on January 25th, 1606, caused the Pope much anxiety.[7] Discussions on the subject began in February, 1606,[8] and a number of memorials with old and new suggestions, were sent in.[9] Maderno and Ponzio gave their opinion on one of these schemes which had been submitted by Giovanni Paolo Maggi.[10] Not alone the difficulty of the task, but the enormous cost and the Roman engineers' jealousy of Pompeo Targone, also proved serious hindrances.[11] Fresh inundations at the end of December,

[1] BAGLIONE, 96; ORBAAN, 216, 222, 223.

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 55.

[3] *Pontes Salarius et Mammolus in Anione nutantes reficiuntur. Alii item ponticuli.* L. ALLATIUS, **De aedificiis Pauli V. curatore aquarum ac viarum Laelio Biscia*, in Barb. 3060[8], Vatican Library.

[4] L. ALLATIUS, **De aedificiis, Pauli V., loc. cit.*; BZOVIUS, c. 42.

[5] *L. ALLATIUS, *loc. cit.*

[6] BZOVIUS, c. 42; **Magnificentia Pauli V., loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. *ALLATIUS, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ORBAAN, 137, 158; FORCELLA, XIII., 177 *seq.*; INVENTARIO, 339, 349 *seq.* Paul V. executed some small repairs of the city walls (see NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma*, Rome, 1820, 355) on the Villa Giulia (ORBAAN, 97, 99). Inscription about restoration of the Capitol in CIACONIUS, IV., 396. An inscription of Paul V.' now in the garden of the Castle St. Angelo, also refers to some work of restoration.

[7] Inscription in FORCELLA, XIII., 220.

[8] ORBAAN, 69 *seqq.*, 72.

[9] Two such *memorials in Borghese, II., 27–28, p. 235 *seqq.*, 240 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[10] See **Cod.* H., II, 43, of Chigi Library, Rome, p. 166 *seqq.*: *Proposta fatta da Giov. Fontana*, May 14, 1606; p. 168 *seq.*: *Proposta di Giov. Paolo Maggi.* *Cf.* EHRLE, *Pianta di Maggi-Maupin-Losi*, Rome, 9; 5, 9.

[11] ORBAAN, 87, 92.

1607, and in the beginning of 1608[1] demonstrated the urgency of the work, but once again the high cost and the opposition of the Romans to further taxation prevented anything being done.[2] For the time being an attempt was made to stem the evil by forbidding to build on the banks of the Tiber and to throw rubbish into the stream, and by dredging its bed. After 1610 this was all that was done except that an effort was made at one moment to alter the course of some of the tributary rivers, a work for which a Spanish architect was called in.[3]

In an inscription of 1611, which may be seen to this day on the outer wall of San Francisco a Ripa, the Senate and people of Rome recount how Paul V. had adorned the Eternal City with new churches and other buildings; how he had provided the Trastevere with a plentiful supply of water, made it healthier and more prosperous, and enriched it with new streets; how he had repaired the Ponte Fabricio and provided it with steps leading down to the edge of the stream.[4] There still exists a number of similar inscriptions recording Paul V.'s works of public utility, though many of them have disappeared, as may be gathered from a comparison with old collections.[5]

The contemporaries cannot sufficiently praise, in verse and prose, that which Paul V. did for Rome.[6] "All over the city," we read in a contemporary biography of the Pope, "he has lowered the hills; where there were corners and twists in the streets, he opened wide vistas, laid out extensive squares,

[1] *Ibid.*, 7, 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, 112, 118, 120. *Cf.* **Relatione del negotiato del popolo Romano circa il negotio di trovar denari per la reparatione del Tevere*, in Borghese II., 27–8, p. 220 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Orbaan, 121, 144. *Cf.* Bzovius, c. 42.

[4] Forcella, LV.; Inventario, 270.

[5] The complete collection in **Magnificentia Pauli V. seu publicae utilitatis et splendoris opera*, Barb. 2335, Vatican Library.

[6] *Ibid.* and the **Vita Pauli V.* mentioned in next footnote. Also Francesco della Valle, Le nuove fabbriche di Roma sotto Paolo V., in the *Lirici marinisti*, ed. B. Croce, Bari, 1910, 44.

and further enhanced their beauty by the erection of new buildings; the water which he brought into the town is no longer subject to the whim of a pipe, it bursts forth like a stream. The splendour of his palaces is contrasted and emulated by the gardens laid out by him. The interior of his private chapels sparkle with gold and silver; they are not so much adorned, as filled, with jewels." The biographer concludes on a note of that admiration for the splendid and the colossal which characterizes the period: "The public chapels rise like basilicas, the basilicas like temples, the temples like mountains of marble." [1]

How extensive were the alterations and new constructions of the Borghese Pope may be gathered from a letter of Bentivoglio. When, in 1616, he returned to Rome from Flanders where he had lived since 1607, the Cardinal not only found the entire court altered, but the city itself completely transformed in its buildings and streets.[2] The Pope's passion for building [3] had communicated itself to the cardinals, the nobles and the private citizens, so that the city had grown in size and the general prosperity had risen to an extraordinary degree.[4] The population grew steadily. At the beginning of Paul V.'s reign, Rome numbered 99,647 inhabitants; in the year of his death there were 118,356.[5]

The Venetian envoys who came to Rome in 1621, to do

[1] *Vita Pauli V. (Barb. 2670, p. 8[b], 9[a], Vatican Library). German translation in RANKE, III.[6] Latin text in MAES, *Villa Borghese*, Rome, 1885, 58.

[2] BENTIVOGLIO, *Lettere*, ed. Biagiolio, I., 59.

[3] *Cf.* Avviso, in ORBAAN, 183.

[4] BZOVIUS, c. 42. *Cf.* TOMASSETTI, IV., 415, and above, vol. XXV., p. 76, n. 2.

[5] See above, vol. XXV., p. 74, n. 3. As regards the composition of the population of Rome, ample materials, until now almost wholly untouched, are found in the parish archives of the city which have now all been collected in the *Archivio generale del Vicariato di Roma*, which, thanks to the solicitude of Pope Pius XI., has found a home in the left wing of the colonnade of St. Peter's. For the parishes see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 197 *seq.*

homage to Gregory XV., could scarcely find words with which to describe the splendour of the papal residence. Paul V had adorned it with marvels, they write, which challenge those of the ancients. These works of art and the palace itself, they justly remark, constitute an incomparable whole.[1] How much the city, over which lay the spell of the centuries, still bore that unique, soul-stirring character which it only lost in the seventies of the nineteenth century, appears from the views, plans and descriptions of the city dating from that period.

In the "views", the remains of antiquity play a most important rôle. The artists of the seventeenth century reproduced them with greater realism than their predecessors. In this respect the *vedutas* of Alò Giovannoli, 146 sheets of which were published between 1615–1619, together with a plan of the city, are justly famous. Though roughly executed they are nevertheless most accurately drawn so that they constitute a real treasure-house of information on the monuments of Rome at the time of Paul V.[2] This was followed up, in 1618, by a series of copper plate reproductions, by the Roman Giovanni Maggi, of the buildings and ruins of Rome. This work is entirely devoted to the antiquities, with the exception of views of the Castle St. Angelo, the island of the Tiber and S. Stefano Rotondo.[3] In the same year this artist also published a set of views of the chief fountains of Rome.[4] To him we likewise owe the magnificent copper plates in which he perpetuated, in 1612, the splendour of

[1] BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Relazioni*, I., Rome, 119 *seq.*

[2] *Roma antica di Alo Giovannoli*, 10, 15–19. *Cf.* BARTOLI, *Cento vedute di Roma antica*, Firenze, 1911, 31.

[3] *Aedificiorum et ruinarum Romae ex antiquis atque hodiernis monumentis . . . incisus et delineatus a Io. Maggio Romano . . . Ioseph de Rubeis Mediolanensis D.D.* 1618 (CICOGNARA, IV., 3768), in the *Staatsbibl.* of Munich—the only complete copy. *Cf.* BARTOLI, *loc. cit.*, 32; EHRLE, *La pianta di Roma Maggi-Maupin-Losi*, Rome, 1915, 14, where there is also some information about the author.

[4] *Le Fontane di Roma* (1618), *cf. Repert f. Kunstwiss.*, 1909, 406, and the periodical *Capitolium*, 1926, 356.

the new Quirinal palace,[1] and in 1615 that of St. Peter's and the Vatican.[2]

Paul V.'s activity in the sphere of art prompted the publication of monographs on St. Mary Major[3] and St. Peter's.[4] In 1615, the Servite Pietro Martire Felini, published his treatise on the marvels of the Eternal City. This book, which marks a further development of the Guide to Rome of Franzini published in the years 1588 and 1600, was likewise printed by the house of Franzini, by then the leading firm in the production of Guide Books. In the preface of his pioneer publication, the author justly criticizes the inaccuracies that disfigured the previous Guide Books. He adopted the material collected by his predecessors and gave it a new shape which was destined to become classical. Interest in monuments, which until then had been sporadic, comes definitely to the surface in his book which, by its numerous new data rendered all the old guides obsolete.[5]

Giulio Mancini, a native of Siena, who worked for a number of years as a physician at the hospital of Santo Spirito, produced an entirely original work.[6] His *Viaggio di Roma*, begun under Paul V. and completed in 1626, is utterly different from the usual Rome guides, though the writer confines his

[1] This print, of which there exist only a few copies (see *Cat. of the printed Maps, Plans and Charts in the British Museum*, II., London, 1882, 3556) is to be republished and explained by Mgr. St. Le Grelle from the plate preserved in the archives of St. Mary Major.

[2] See Ehrle, *La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del Tempio e del Palazzo Vaticano*, Rome, 1914.

[3] Vittorelli (1616) and de Angelis (1621).

[4] G. B. Costaguti (*Maggiordomo di Paolo V.*), *Architettura d. basilica di S. Pietro con tavole da Martino Ferrabosco*, 1620 (a very rare edition). A new edition, of 1684, was dedicated to Innocent XI.

[5] See Schudt, *Mancini*, 30 *seq.*, 121. A very summary Guide through Rome, of 1613, to enable the visitor to see the chief places of interest in three days, is mentioned in the travel notes of bishop von Aschhausen, referred to on p. 440.

[6] Schudt, 8 *seq.*, 10 *seq.*

attention to paintings. This work, which has only recently become known, constitutes a source of the first rank for the history of art and one in every way unique by reason of the abundance of the material examined. Mancini's chief interest lies in the churches of which he describes nearly a hundred, whereas the palaces, about fifteen in number, and the villas, are very much kept in the background. Mancini is the first writer to neglect completely, in his description of churches, that on which other Guides had until then laid the greatest stress, namely, the relics, Indulgences, and legendary accounts of their foundation, in order to concentrate exclusively on their monuments, and in so doing, he confines himself to paintings, in keeping with the limits he had laid down for himself. But here he supplies an astonishing amount of information though in concisest form. Whereas previous Guides concern themselves exclusively with "more recent painters", that is, with the art of the Renaissance, starting with Giotto, he includes many of the more important monuments of early Christian and medieval art. The number of works described by him and the artists mentioned by name, is so considerable, that he surpasses all his predecessors. For the first time an attempt is made in these pages to give a survey of all existing works of art. Mancini is so reliable an authority that although a number of mistakes have crept into his book, most of his data stand the test of modern criticism.[1]

How greatly Mancini, who observed with the eye of the sensitive connoisseur and who sought exact information, excelled his contemporaries is best seen by a comparison with the descriptions supplied by Rome pilgrims of the period. One is astonished to see how little the greatness and beauty of the Eternal City was appreciated both by Italians and non-Italians. A classical proof of the fact is furnished by the travel notes of Gian Vincenzo Imperiale, of 1609,[2] on the

[1] SCHUDT, 38 *seq.*, to whom we owe a masterly edition of the *Viaggio di Roma.*

[2] Published by A. G. BARRILI, in the *Atti Ligure di stor. patria,* XXIX., 62 *seqq.*

one hand, and, on the other, by the account of the journey of the prince-bishop of Bamberg, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen, 1612–13, drawn up by his travelling companions.[1] A much higher standard is attained in the still unpublished travel notes of Dr. Kaspar Stein, a physician of Königsberg, who, though by no means an unconditional admirer of Italy, was nevertheless powerfully impressed by this "paradise".[2] What most surprised him in Rome was the vast number of churches (over a hundred) and the excellent hospitals and hospices. He praises the wonderful attention which the poor and the sick received in them, whether Romans or strangers. He also mentions the numerous orphanages.[3]

[1] *Des Bamberger Fürstbischofs Joh. Gottfried von Aschhausen Gesandtschaftsreise nach Italien und Rom. 1612 und 1613*, publ. by CHR. HÄUTLE, Tübingen, 1881. *Cf.* NOACK, *Deutsches Leben in Rom.*, Stuttgart, 1907, 19 *seq.* The notes of GUARINONI, who went to Rome in 1613, in the *Zeitschr. des Innsbrucker Ferdinandeums, 3 Folge*, XXIII. (1878), 77 *seq.* Of AG. GELENIUS, who was in Rome in 1619, we only have a description of his return journey; see *Hist. Annalen für den Niederrhein*, XXIII., 7 *seq.* The notes of an Englishman who visited Rome in 1622 are also very jejune; see *Papers of the British School*, VI. (1913), 482 *seq.*

[2] **Peregrinus sive peregrinatio terrestris et coelestis a Casparo Stein Regiomontano, Borusso, medicinae licentiato et historico scriptus*, MS. No. 1751 of Königsberg Library. Dr. Stein (*cf.* on him *Acta Borussica*, I., 195) here characterizes the Italians as revengeful and envious and remarks among other things that *multae vigiliae, ieiunia et dies festi non sine molestia celebrantur*; he also complains of the charlatans and begging friars and, like Nicolai, of the plague of fleas in Italy; food cooked in oil did not agree with him, but he nevertheless says that *Italia ob amoenitatem orbis paradisus vocatur.* The insecurity, of which other travellers complain (see the periodical *Roma*, 1926, 244 *seq.*) is not alluded to by Stein. Yet another North German traveller's notes may here be referred to: **Journal d'un voyage à Rome de Johann Georgius a Born, gentilhomme Brandenburgue*, 1609, in *Ottob.*, 2659, Vatican Library.

[3] *"Hospitalia et xenodochia tanta magnificentia extructa, ut inter recentia urbis Romae monumenta nihil fere praedicationis dignius, in qua inquilini et peregrini pauperes ac infirmi recipiuntur

Among the sights of the city, Dr. Stein assigns the first place to the new St. Peter's in the sacristy of which, besides the gifts formerly presented by Henry VIII. of England and the king of Portugal to Gregory XIII., he greatly admired those which the duke of Tuscany had recently bestowed on Paul V. In the Vatican, besides the Sala Regia, the frescos of Raphael and Michelangelo and the collection of antique statues, the traveller from Königsberg likewise admired the Pope's private apartments decorated with royal magnificence, and the garden which, he says, was famous throughout the world. The Swiss Guard, according to Stein, was usually 200, and at times 300 men strong. In the summer palace of the Quirinal the traveller was able to visit all the rooms; he describes the splendour of their furniture,[1] nor does he forget to add that, after the election of the emperor Ferdinand II., Paul V. himself said the Mass of thanksgiving in the Cappella Paolina. In the garden of the Quirinal, Stein, as on a previous occasion Heinrich Schickhardt, the companion of the duke of Württemberg, was struck by the clever hydraulic works, especially by the hydraulic organ and by the aquatic practical jokes which would give the guileless visitor an unexpected soaking. In his description of the Castle of St. Angelo, he mentions the magnificent display of fireworks which took place there on the great feasts, such as Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi and St. Michael.

et a medicis, chirurgis, pharmacopoecis et ministris ordinariis magna diligentia curantur." *S. Spirito*, he says, has 200,000 *coroni* of annual income. Among national hospices he mentions: (1) *Anima* (*Belgorum et Germanorum*), (2) *S. Luigi* (*Gallorum*), (3) *S. Jacopo* (*Hispan.*), (4) *S. Toma* (*Anglorum*), (5) *S. Pietro* (*Ungaror.*), (6) *S. Brigitta* (*Svecor.*), (7) *S. Andrea* (*prope Argentinam Flandror.*), (8) *S. Giov. Battista prope rip. Tib.* (*Genuen.*). On S. Spirito see also the above quoted travel journal of the bishop of Bamberg, J. G. von Aschhausen, p. 104.

[1] *"Cubiculum pontificis hybernum cum lecto et culcitris ex byssino rubro aureo fulgente. Cubiculum pontificis aestivum cum lecto et culcitris ex byssino albo et molli, auro et argenteo artificiose intertexto et speculo magno pellucidissimo."

The Königsberg physician saw the Pope on his way to the Villa Borghese, when he travelled in a sedan-chair covered with red silk and drawn by two mules. The solemn cortège, at whose approach everybody fell on their knees, made a deep impression on him too. The Cardinals, of whom nearly forty were then in Rome, seemed like kings to Stein.

Besides the churches, Dr. Stein did not fail to visit the palaces. He examined all the principal ones, especially the newly erected Palazzo Mattei,[1] the palazzo Farnese with the gigantic statue of the Farnese bull which happened to be boarded off just then, and the two Borghese palaces of whose artistic treasures he writes with enthusiasm. The stranger from the North was particularly delighted with the magnificence of the gardens attached to the villas. He singles out, in particular, the villa of Sixtus V., that of the grand-duke of Tuscany on the Pincio, where the youth of Rome was wont to play in those days, the gardens of the Farnese on the Palatine and, lastly, the new Villa Borghese. Stein also visited the Catacombs on the Via Appia. Here a monk acted as his guide, but everywhere else he had for guide a certain Johann Hoch, of Lucerne, with whom he had fallen in at the Sword Inn : *Albergo della Spada*, at which, as well as the old *Albergo dell'Orso*, most Germans were wont to put up at that time.[2]

We can best realize the immense building activity which marked the reign of Paul V., by comparing two great contemporary plans of the city which have been preserved to this day. The one, by the Florentine Antonio Tempesta, dates from the year 1601 [3] ; the other is the work of Matthäus Greuter, of Strassburg, and dates from the year 1618.[4]

[1] On the palace built by Maderno between 1595–1610 for Asdrubale Mattei, see Muñoz, *Maderno*, 7.

[2] On the inns of Rome at that time see Orbaan, 88 *seqq.*

[3] This plan is to be published by Cardinal Ehrle.

[4] *Disegno nuovo di Roma moderna . . . disegnata et data in luce da Matteo Greuter tedesco nell'anno* 1618 (see Hülsen, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXVIII., 81 *seqq.*), published by Orbaan, *Documenti, tav.* IV–VII ; *cf. ibid.*, p. CXV *seqq.*

Greuter's perspective plan of Rome, which served as a model for Falda's masterpiece, gives, as it were, an account of the stupendous activity of Paul V., which reached its climax in the completion of St. Peter's. "The considerable aggrandizement of Rome," Greuter writes, "by means of so many and such large buildings, especially by the construction, now nearly completed, of St. Peter's, and that of the magnificent Chapel of Paul V. at S. Maria Maggiore, the levelling of the hills and their enrichment with commodious dwellings, the laying out of new streets near the Quirinal, Via Felice (Sistina), Capo le Case, Arco de'Patani, in the quarter de' Monti, in the Suburra, in the Borgo, in the Trastevere and in many other places, as well as the many new churches, have prompted me to undertake this work, in order to place the new Rome before the eyes of the world. Since this City rose anew, so to speak, under Paul V., it gives me particular satisfaction that my work sees the light during the reign of that Pope."

Greuter's plan of Rome, the artistic finish of which is most pleasing, is dedicated to Cardinal Medici. It shows the Eternal City at a moment when the efflorescence of a characteristically Roman art, due to the Borghese pontificate, had begun to assume definite form. The plan exhibits, on the upper left hand margin, together with the arms of Paul V., the figure of Rome, flanked by the Prince of the Apostles, whilst the lower, right-hand margin shows the seven principal churches. The Strassburg artist has succeeded in fixing with greatest accuracy and with fine artistic feeling the image of Rome as transformed by Paul V., with its churches, its palaces, most of them two-storied, its houses, squares and fountains. One gets a bird's-eye view of the labyrinth of Rome's streets and alleys where History sits at every corner with well-covered tablets in her hand. One sees how the sinuous course of the Tiber was framed by numerous, picturesque houses which have all been sacrificed to the correction of the river banks, and one observes how many remains from the times of the old Romans—the aqueducts, the temple of Minerva Medica, the *amphitheatrum castrense*, the baths of Diocletian and Caracalla, were then

in a far better state of preservation than they are to-day. One specially attractive feature of a former Rome, the breath of the rural Campagna wafted into the city from all sides, is most admirably suggested by Greuter's plan.

Many exceedingly picturesque features enliven the plan, as for instance the mills at anchor near San Giovanni de' Fiorentini and near the island of San Bartolomeo, and the charming garden of the palazzo Bentivoglio (Mazarin-Rospigliosi), and similar striking details. Behind St. Peter's may be seen the yard for the work of demolition of the old basilica and the construction of the new, the stacks of materials near Santa Marta and the still smoking lime kilns of the *fabbrica* of St. Peter's. Greuter shows the basilica of St. Peter completed, the great palaces of the Borghese also finished and the Villa Borghese in its original aspect.

The Borghese palace, in the low-lying part of the field of Mars, had been built by Martino Longhi for Cardinal Deza. After the death of that prince of the Church, Cardinal Camillo Borghese bought it, in February, 1605, for the sum of 42,000 scudi.[1] When shortly afterwards he became Pope, Paul V. bestowed it on his brothers and had it completed by Flaminio Ponzio and Maderno, on a truly Roman scale.[2]

[1] BAGLIONE, 68; *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 299.

[2] BAGLIONE, 135, 308; ORBAAN, 66, 70, 174. Work was still in progress in 1610; see FELINI, *Trattato nuovo delle cose mem. di Roma* (1610). In 1613 Paul V. presented the palace with its magnificent appointments to Marcantonio Borghese, prince of Sulmona, the eldest son of his brother Giambattista. In July, 1614, the Pope dined in the *Stanze nove* of the palace; see the DIARIO in *Studi e docum.*, XV., 276. On the palace see INVENTARIO, 81; LETAROUILLY, *Édif.*, II., 175 *seq.*; MAGNI, *Il barocco a Roma*, II., Turin, 1911, 17 *seq.*; GURLITT, 197; RIEGL, 144; BERGNER, 27 *seq.*; ROSE, *Spätbarock*, 165 *seq.*, 189 *seq.* The mementos of the time of Paul V., which were enshrined in the palace, were sold by auction and scattered to the winds at the time of the financial crash of the house of Borghese in 1892. Majolicas from the Sala di Bagno went into the Castle St. Angelo. Six gold reliefs with scenes from ancient mythology forming part of a jewelbox of the Borghese collection, and which tradition

Longhi had created the courtyard, magnificent in its severity, encircled on the ground and the first floor with a portico, the arcades of which are supported by close on a hundred antique granite columns. Ponzio, who was the family architect of the Borghese, nearly doubled the size of the palace by lengthening it in the direction of the Ripetto.[1] In this way it acquired an irregular shape, the ground plan of which was not unlike a piano—hence it came to be popularly called *il clavicembalo Borghese*.[2]

has it that Paul V. had had executed in his youth by Benvenuto Cellini, came into the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum of Berlin; see *Kunstchronik*, XVI. (1904–5), 301.

[1] The Ripetta is rounded off by an exceptionally picturesque corner façade with an ornamental balcony and a hanging garden designed by Carlo Rainaldi in 1690 (see HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 95 *seq.*). The magnificent view which one formerly enjoyed from this beautifully conceived building on the green plain on the other side of the Tiber, with St. Peter's, surpassed even the famous vista of the garden through the open arcades at the back of the court. To this was added a third, most original view: To prolong the line which cuts the suite of rooms on the ground floor of the opposite wing, a labyrinth of small rooms was built which continued over the Ripetta street in the direction of the Tiber as a kind of tunnel under a neighbouring building; in it a number of thin jets of water were continually crossing each other. A fountain which sent up a powerful jet of water closed up this vista. All this, when seen through a suite of several rooms, made a fairy-like spectacle, all the more so as the play of the water jets was still further enhanced by the green of the trees on the other side of the Tiber. See *Seb. Brunner, Italien*, II., 155. *Cf.* GURLITT, 205.

[2] *Cf.* the Roman proverb quoted by BROSSE (*Reisen*, II., 412):

"Il cembalo di Borghese
Il Dado di Farnese
Il Portone di Carboniani
E la Scala dei Gaetani
Sono i quattro maravigli Romani."

"The cymbal of the Borghese
The dice of the Farnese
The gate of the Carboniani
The stairs of the Gaetani
Are the four marvels of Rome."

The exterior of the Borghese palace, with its long façade, presents a severe and sober appearance [1]; the decoration of the portal and the windows is sternly restricted; but when the visitor enters the splendid courts surrounded by rows of columns and from there goes up the broad stairs to the upper rooms, he feels that he enters a building which can stand comparison with many a royal castle. The rooms, decorated with frescos and stucco,[2] with the Borghese arms on the ceiling, have a spaciousness such as is only found in Rome; thus the State room could easily accommodate a small house.[3]

So as to be within easy reach of the Pope during the latter's stay at the Vatican, Cardinal Scipio Borghese bought from the Campeggi the palace which Bramante had erected for Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, in the Borgo. From there a wooden passage was erected to link up with the corridor which connects the Castle of St. Angelo with the Vatican.[4] However, it was also necessary for the Cardinal nephew to be by the side of the Pope during the Pontiff's stay at the Quirinal, in the hot season. Hence Flaminio Ponzio, and after his death, Jan van Santen and Maderno were commissioned by Scipio Borghese to construct for him, facing the papal residence, a new palace, complete with garden and *casino*, or summer house. This work entailed the removal of the ruins of the baths of Constantine and those of Aurelius' temple of the Sun.[5]

[1] According to the Avvisi, in ORBAAN, 117, 124, the Pope was by no means satisfied with the building.

[2] The frieze of several rooms was painted by the Capuchin Cosimo of Venice; see BAGLIONE, 161.

[3] A library was also begun in the palace and the space before it widened; see ORBAAN, 173, 175, 181; *cf.* 255; inspection of the *Pitture et paramenti nuovi* in the palace by the Pope (August 1, 1618).

[4] See ORBAAN, 145, 178.

[5] BAGLIONE, 135, 176, 308; EISLER, in *Burlington Magazine*, VII. (1905), 313 *seq.*; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Topographie von Rom.*, I., 3, 439.

The third Borghese palace in Rome, which was bought in 1621 from Cardinal Bentivoglio, and at a later period passed into the hands of Mazarin, until it finally became the property of the Rospigliosi, was richly adorned with frescos. Lodovico Cigoli, Antonio Tempesta, Paul Bril and Guido Reni, were all engaged on the work. Their creations, such as the statues and fountains of the garden, with its myrtles, hyacinths and narcissi, were extolled by the poet Gregorius Portius.[1] In the graceful garden house, the entrance to which is adorned with four antique pillars—two of them of rosso antico, the only ones of the kind in Rome—Guido Reni painted, in 1609, his masterpiece, the world-renowned, highly poetical "Aurora". The goddess advances scattering flowers before the chariot of the sun god which is surrounded by the dancing hours; four dappled horses draw the chariot over which hovers winged Hesperus, torch in hand. Far below the first streaks of dawn fall upon the still slumbering earth.[2] An exacting critic has given it as his opinion that this wonderful fresco is the most perfect Italian picture of the last two centuries.[3] Guido's "Aurora" retains all its fame. The "incomparable charm of the picture is largely due to its warm colour of gold".[4] Close by, Guido was busy carrying out yet another commission of Scipio, in a small

[1] *Horti Quirinalis ill. card*[lis] *Burghesii carmen Gregorii Portii Anconitani*, original in *Borghese*, IV., 50, Papal Secret Archives, beginning thus:—

"O decus et sydus sacri venerande senatus
Scipio Burghesie gentis et urbis honor."

Cf. Vat. Lat. 6967, f. 215 (Vatican Library): **De picturis Guidonis Rheni in aedibus Quirinalibus cardinalis Burghesii*:—

"Ut trahit, ut retinet defixaque lumina fallit
Quod Rhenus celso fornice pinxit opus!
Pictorem celebras, haeres immotus et anceps,
Ambigis an scultor sit vel uterque simul.
Sculpta putas quae picta vides: sic undique pulchre
Prominet eximia perlitus arte color."

[2] Baglione, 154, 297, 315; Passeri, 68; Böhn, 6.

[3] Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, II.[2], 770.

[4] Böhn, 61 *seq.*

loggia, on the frieze of which Antonio Tempesta painted the triumph of Love and Fame, according to Petrarch's well-known poem. Paul Bril filled the lunettes with landscapes representing the four seasons; he also gave a most graceful decoration to the ceiling; the spectator beholds an arbour thickly festooned with vine branches and enlivened by all manner of creatures—birds, butterflies, bees and rich, luscious bunches of grapes. The charming *putti* who also give life to the bower, are by Guido Reni—they display all the grace of the Master.[1] Another garden house, which was sacrificed when the Via Nazionale was widened, contained a cycle of frescos with four scenes from the story of Amor and Psyche which Cigoli executed in the year of his death—1613. These frescos, to which Francesco Bracciolini refers in the introduction to his *Psiche*, where he ascribes to Cigoli the credit of having inspired the poet, were transferred to the gallery on the Capitol. For a long time they were erroneously described as the work of Annibale Caracci.[2] These frescos were only part of the decoration of Cardinal Scipio Borghese's palaces; he also lavishly enriched them with paintings by old and new masters, antique and modern statues, bronzes, gobelins, majolicas and other smaller works of art.[3]

Not for a long time had Rome seen so sensitive and so liberal a patron of the Arts as this papal nephew. He was no less enthusiastic for music [4] than he was for the plastic arts. Like the Pope who, in 1609, bought the famous collection of statues of the sculptor Tommaso della Porta,[5] the nephew collected, both unwearyingly and with exquisite taste, all

[1] MAYER, *Brill*, 46 *seq.*, 51 *seq.*; EISLER, "An unknown fresco work by G. Reni," in *Burlington Magazine*, VII. (1905), 313 *seqq.*

[2] BAGLIONE, 154; A. SACCHETTI SASSETTI, in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 307 *seq.* In another *loggietta nel giardino* Orazio Gentileschi painted the nine Muses; BAGLIONE, 359.

[3] Avviso in ORBAAN, 244.

[4] *Cf.* HABERL's *Jahrb. für Musik*, 1887, 72. Paul V. also was extremely fond of music. ORBAAN, *Documenti*, LIII.

[5] *Cf.* *the deed of purchase of October 2, 1609, with the catalogue of statues, in *Borghese*, II., 517, Papal Secret Archives.

over Italy, works of art which reached him from all sides, either as gifts or as purchases.[1] He had excavations made both within and without the city. From Paris and Brussels he obtained, with the assistance of the nuncios, a number of valuable gobelins [2] which were considered as the essential foundations of a sumptuous, truly princely decoration of a house. Mosaics, among them the picture of his uncle, were made for him by Marcello Provenzale.[3] Besides Christian and classical antiques,[4] the Cardinal was above all bent on acquiring valuable pictures, so much so that his gallery rivalled that of the emperor Rudolph II. Among his pictures were works by masters of the first rank. Great was the joy of the art-loving prelate when he succeeded, in 1608, in acquiring for his collection the "Burial of Christ" which Raphael had painted in his twenty-fifth year for Atalante Baglioni, at San Francesco in Perugia.[5] This picture became henceforth the jewel of his collection in which one also admired a "St. John" by Raphael, a Madonna by Fra Bartolomeo, Domenichini's "Sibyl of Cumae" and "Diana's Chase", "The Burning of Troy", by Barocci, a "Roma" by D'Arpino, a "Nativity of Christ" by Salviati, a "Judith"

[1] A *Brief for the benefit of Borghese (undated) contains an absolution "a censuris et poenis incursis ob acquisitionem statuarum pretiosarum et columnarum marmor. et operum divers. insign. tam sculpt. quam pictuar. ad ornamentum palatinorum et villarum suarum tam urbis quam extra cum facultate alias acquirendi absque licentiae requisitione," *Arm.* 42, t. 57, p. 25, and 108, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See BENTIVOGLIO, *Lettere*, I. *passim*. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, *La tapisserie en Italie*, I., 38; ORBAAN, 203; BROM, *Archivalia*, III., 5; *Mededeelingen v. h. Nederlandsch. Hist. Institut te Rome*, I. (1921), 141 *seq.*, III. (1923), 209 *seq.*; IV. (1925), 137 *seq.*

[3] BAGLIONE, 350; the mosaic portrait of Paul V. is in the Galleria Borghese; it bears the inscription, *Paulus P.M.A. 1621.*

[4] See BOSIO, *Roma Sotterranea*, 287.

[5] On the peculiar manner with which Borghese proceeded in his passion for collecting objects of art, a manner that is incomprehensible to us to-day, see J. SAUER, *Wie Raffaels "Grablegung" in den Besitz der Borghese kam*, Rome, 1924.

by Baglioni, a "David with the head of Goliath" by Caravaggio, Titian's "Venus recumbent", as well as pictures by Cigoli, Lavinio Fontana, Pordenone, Paolo Veronese, Passignano and Bril. The enthusiastic art collector overlooked the fact that representations of Venus were hardly suitable for the rooms of a Cardinal. Scipio Borghese admired these scenes inspired by ancient mythology with the unembarrassed enjoyment of the man of the Renaissance. Among modern sculptures, his collection included works by Cordier, Berthelot, Prospero Bresciano, Guidotti and the young Bernini. Mention is also made of a piece by Michelangelo.[1]

These treasures, which he loved to show to distinguished visitors, as, for instance, in 1613 to the ambassador of the emperor,[2] the Cardinal distributed between his Roman palaces; a large part also went to his country house outside the Porta Pinciana and some he took to his villa amid the hills of Frascati.

In the Tusculum of antiquity Paul V. had begun by buying for his nephew the villa of Cardinal Galli, and there he resided during the summer months between 1607–1614. In 1613, he acquired, together with the possessions of duke Gian Angelo Altemps, the Villa Mondragone, and to this he soon after-

[1] List in ORBAAN, 110–115. *Cf.* also VENTURI, *Note sulla Galleria Borghese, in L'Arte*, XII. (1909), 31 *seqq.*; the poem mentioned by ORBAAN is not by Fantuzzi but by Scipione Francucci: *La galleria del ill. Scipione card. Borghese cantata*, 1613 (*Borghese*, IV., 102, Papal Secret Archives, original text). VENTURI mentions an impression of it at Arezzo, 1647. In Manilli's description (60 *seqq.*; see below, p. 450, n. 7) it is not clear what the Borghese acquired after the death of Scipione. Purchases of statues are mentioned in the following Avvisi in ORBAAN: 90, 155, 190. Notwithstanding Borghese's passion for collecting, many antique pieces went abroad now as before, especially to Florence; see BERTOLOTTI, *Esportazioni di oggetti di belle arti nella Toscana*, in the *Riv. Europea*, 1877, II., 717 *seqq.*

[2] ORBAAN, 207.

wards added the Villa Taverna.[1] In view of the fact that from 1614 until the end of his life, the Pope resided for a considerable period at the Villa Mondragone, both in spring and in the autumn, it became necessary considerably to enlarge and embellish that country house.[2] It was thus that the immense terrace came to be built, as well as the great fountain, with three basins supported underneath by four dragons and above by four eagles.[3] The alterations at the Villa Mondragone were directed by Jan van Santen,[4] a native of the Netherlands, who since the death, in 1613, of Ponzio, had become architect of the pontifical palaces.[5] To him also fell the task of erecting the garden house of the town villa which Cardinal Scipio planned for himself on the North side, just outside the gates of Rome. In 1606,[6] he began buying the hilly stretch of country between the Porta Flaminia and the Porta Pinciana on which subsequently arose the garden house and the park of three miles circumference. Succeeding centuries have so profoundly altered this estate that its primitive aspect can only be visualized by means of old prints and travellers' descriptions.[7]

[1] GROSSI-GONDI, *Le Ville Tusculane* (1901), 89 *seqq.*; *cf.* TOMASSETTI, IV., 447, 449.

[2] GROSSI-GONDI, 93 *seqq.*, 100.

[3] COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 157.

[4] Grossi-Gondi has proved this from the accounts (105 *seqq.*). It was only under Urban VIII. that Carlo Rainaldi made the magnificent main portal (*ibid.*, 107 *seqq.*).

[5] BAGLIONE, 175; *cf.* ORBAAN, 310. July 27, 1613, first, February 19, 1621, last payment to Jan van Santen (see BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Belgi ed Olandesi* (1880), 38 *seqq.*), who appears in 1611 as *architetto delle fontane*; see ORBAAN, *Bescheiden in Italiē*, I., 66.

[6] ORBAAN, 75.

[7] For what follows see *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1644), 106; JACOMO MANILLI, *Villa Borghese fuori di porta Pincia descritta da J.M.*, Roma, 1650 (detailed description *da servire alla curiosità de' forastieri e particolarmente de' signori oltramontani, divotissimi, per così dire, delle antichità nostre*); D. MONTELATICI, *Villa Borghese*, Roma, 1700; KEYSSLER, *Reisen*, II., 118 *seq.*; MORONI, C., 214 *seqq.*; FALDA, *Giardini*, see COLASANTI, *Fontane*, 194 *seq.*;

The park, laid out by Domenico Savino and Girolamo Rainaldi, included about three-fifths of the present shady recreation ground known to every visitor to Rome. Entirely enclosed by a double wall, it was adorned with pyramids, summer houses and towers, so that, when seen from a distance, it presented the appearance "of a small town in itself".[1]

The main entrance, "a gunshot" north of the Porta Pinciana, the cardinal adorned with his own and the Pope's coat-of-arms and the inscription *Villa Burghesia*.[2] By it one

L. VICCHI, *Villa Borghese nella storia e nelle tradizioni del popolo Romano*, Roma, 1885; JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II.[2], 19 *seq.*; DURM, *Renaissance in Italien*, 214 *seq.*; RODANI, *B. Cenci*, Rome, 1899, 53 *seqq.*; BERGNER, in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, *N.F.*, XXV. (1914), 15 *seq.*; A. VENTURI, *Il Museo e la Galeria Borghese, con 157 illustrazioni*, Bergamo, 1906; M. GOTHEIN, I., 346 *seq.*; O. v. GERSTFELDT u. E. STEINMANN, *Pilgerfahrten in Italien*,[4] Leipzig, 1922, 344 *seq.*; E. v. KERKHOFF, *Oud Italiansche Villa's*, Rotterdam, 1923, XL. *seq.*, 46 *seq.* Cardinal Borghese had yet another villa which the Pope visited on several occasions (see *Alaleone* in ORBAAN, 18, 29), namely Cecchignola, situated most picturesquely on the Acqua Ferentina but which remained incomplete and which in its present state of desolation is almost completely forgotten. The last Pope to make repeated stays there was Leo XII.

[1] This was EVELYN's impression when he visited the villa on November 17, 1644 (*Diary*, 106). TOTTI had already expressed himself in similar terms (*Roma moderna* (1638), 341.

[2] This entrance still remains but is always closed (reproduction in RUSCONI, 87). The present approach near the Porta Pinciana stands on ground subsequently acquired. The part near Porta del Popolo, where the villa Giustiniani stood, was only bought at the beginning of the nineteenth century by prince Camillo Borghese. As early as the eighteenth century prince Marcantonio had altered the old park "into an English park showing strong classical tendencies" and so changed the original character as to make it almost unrecognizable. It was then that the Giardino del Lago, the Hippodrome, the medieval castle, etc., were built; the summer house was also altered in 1782. In 1902 the family sold the whole estate to the Italian government which gave it to the city of Rome for a public park.

entered the first section of the villa, the so-called Giardino Boscareccio.[1] At the end of a long, gently rising and shady avenue of elm trees, the visitor beheld a fountain in a rocky cave surmounted by an eagle and flanked by four lofty plane trees.[2] This entrance way, by the side of which ran three lateral walks, was crossed, in the middle, by the main avenue to which again corresponded two lateral ones. Only at the crossing did one get the first glimpse of the garden house of the Villa.

The Giardino Boscareccio was divided into square bosquets surrounded by hedges and planted with laurels, cypresses, planes, pines and oaks. On both sides of the main alley, at the points where it crossed the lateral alleys, plain yet beautiful fountains were erected in circular spaces and surrounded with circular seats and a great many statues: the whole of Olympus was represented here.[3] Near the enclosure wall, but completely hidden, a small round temple of the Doric order rose above an ivy-clad cave which served as a wine cellar. In the summer heat this temple was used as a dining room, as, for instance in July, 1614, on the occasion of the Spanish ambassador's visit to the villa.[4]

Behind the garden house the second section of the villa, nearly as large as the first, which it rivalled with its babbling fountains and its statues, stretched away in an eastern direction. In the centre stood an obelisk surmounted by the Borghese eagle. In the southern section stood a building with stables, coach-houses and rooms for the domestic staff. The northern enclosure wall was decorated like a stage and its columns, statues of gods, and ancient inscriptions presented a

[1] The old division is already given in the earliest guide book, that of MANILLI (p. 2). *Cf.* the plan engraved by Simone Felice in FALDA, *Giardini*, 16, and on a smaller scale in GOTHEIN, I., 345.

[2] This spot is now occupied by the beautiful fountain of the sea horses.

[3] MANILLI, 11; GUIDI, 33. The fountains still remain; reproductions in FRIEDLÄNDER, 3.

[4] See Avviso in ORBAAN, 223.

most picturesque spectacle.[1] In the centre, on a marble tablet, the visitor read the much discussed inscription: "Whoever thou art, so long as thou art a free man, fear not here the bonds of the laws! Go where thou wilt, ask whatever thou desirest, go away whenever thou wishest. More is here provided for the stranger than for the owner. In this golden age, which holds the promise of universal security, the master of the house wishes to lay no iron laws upon the well-bred. Let seemly enjoyment be the guest's only law. But let him who with malice aforethought offends against the golden law of urbanity fear lest the irate custodian burn for him the sacred emblems of hospitality."[2] From two windows one had a view of the adjoining open hunting grounds which, owing to the fact that they had been left in their natural state, constituted a most effective contrast to these lavishly ornamental pleasure grounds.

The third section of the villa consisted of a large animal preserve. Here meadow land, valleys and forest-clad hills joined together all the beauties of a natural landscape and a

[1] Still standing, though in a ruinous condition.

[2] For the correct text, which was already wrongly given by MANILLI (159) and more recently by GOTHEIN (I., 350), and which disappeared in 1848, see VICCHI (288), who rejects the idea that the villa was open to the public at that time. This view has been recently defended by MAES (*La questione di Villa Borghese*, Roma, 1885. *Cf.* also *Il diritto del popolo Romano sulla Villa Borghese*, Roma, 1885). The documents here given speak in favour of Maes' view. It is certain that at first admission was granted to strangers, even to foreigners. But when a visitor from a country north of the Alps had been shocked by some of the pictures to be seen at the summer house, Paul V. forbade admission to it. RECORDATI reports this on December 8, 1612, in the following terms: "De ordini santissimi s'è dato ordine al guardarobba di Borghese che non mostri più il casino di Borghese a persona veruna, perchè un Fiamengo ch'ha veduto certe pitture dentro un puoco lascive, onde ha detto cose da fuoco, che resapute dal Papa ha dato questa commissione," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

southern vegetation. All over the varied ground and harmonizing with it, there were scattered special small shelters for ostriches, peacocks, tortoises, a lake with two tiny islands and enlivened by swans, ducks and other aquatic creatures, thickets for deer and doe, cages for a lion and a leopard which a merchant of Tunis had presented to the Cardinal together with two camels.[1] There were also to be found bird-decoys, small summer-houses, tiny ornamental gardens and fountains. The eye was charmed by a shady wood of majestic pines, long alleys of ilexes and elms, groups of decorative cypresses, evergreen hedges of rare shrubs, broad-leaved fig trees and miniature vineyards. In the direction of the *muro torto* a garden was laid out with rare flowers, fruit trees, fountains and statues. A fairly large garden house adjoined it. This part was approached from the first by a gateway bearing the Borghese arms surmounted by two dragons and an eagle. A long alley of ilexes opened here. The other gateway, towards the *muro torto*, though much altered, remains to this day.

This magnificent park, in which nature and art joined forces and by which Scipio Borghese and the Pope, who provided the funds, vied, as genuine Romans, with their forefathers, soon became the theme of the poets' songs,[2] was described by all travellers,[3] and admired as one of the world's wonders.[4] It constituted a worthy setting for Jan van Santen's

[1] See ORBAAN, 269 *seq.*; K. Stein mentions, besides the camel, *alia animalia ac res rarae ex India et America aliisque orbis terrarum partibus nuper allatae, loc. cit.*, Königsberg Library.

[2] See the poem of F. FRANCUCCI, referred to above, p. 450, note 1; L. LEPOREO, *Villa Borghese* (*cf.* Appendix No. 11); A. BRIGENTIUS, *Villa Burghesia*, Romae, 1716.

[3] See especially the above quoted travel notes of K. Stein, of the year 1619 (p. 440, n. 2), Library of Königsberg.

[4] TOTTI, *Roma moderna* (1638), 341 *seq.*; P. ROSSINI, *Il Mercurio errante II.* (1704), 91; EVELYN (1644) calls the villa a paradise.

garden house,[1] a typical baroque building [2] which was not intended for a dwelling place, but solely as a resort where the Cardinal could retire, mostly for short periods, for the purpose of recreation or to receive his visitors.

A picture by Johann Wilhelm Baur (1610–1640), shows the original appearance of the subsequently greatly altered two-storied house, the centre of which was adorned with two towers.[3] Here one sees with what ingenuity the Dutch master turned the front of the house into a stone tablet, which one had never done reading [4]: the niches are occupied by great ancient statues, the wall space is systematically covered with a mass of antique fragments, so as completely to hide the heavy structural lines of the building; busts of emperors alternate with reliefs, architectural fragments, festoons, garlands and inscriptions.

Baur's picture also shows the busy life of which the spacious, quadrangular court in front of the garden house was the

[1] BAGLIONE, 97, 176, and BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Suizz.*, 58. The Flemish master's name was not Hans von Xanten, as stated by BERGNER (37), nor Zans, as given by GROSSI-GONDI (106), but Jan van Santen; he was a native of Utrecht, and is mentioned, after 1596, in the Deeds of the archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano. In 1606 he was camerlengo of the confraternity there; see HOOGEWERFF, *Nederlandsche Schilders in Italië*, Utrecht, 1912, 261. The first payment to him is dated July, 1613, the last April, 1621, in BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Belgi et Oland*, 38 *seq.*; the engravings mentioned above (p. 437, n. 3) of the *aedif. et ruinar. Romae* are dedicated *Ioanni van Santeen Flandro Ultraiect., Pauli V. architecto.* For an exhaustive account of his life and work *cf.* HOOGEWERFF, "Een Nederlandsch 'Monument' te Rome en zijn boumeester Jan van Santen," in *Bullet. van den Ned. Oudheidk. Bond*, 1914, 205 *seqq.* The artist died on August 25, 1621.

[2] WÖLFFLIN, *Renaissance und Barock*, 1587.

[3] The picture (see catalogue Venturi, 221) with other paintings by Baur (Quirinal, Capitol, etc.) adorns the Galleria Borghese; reproduction in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 73. On *J. Baur* see THIEME, III., 89.

[4] JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II.², 19.

scene. The drive is framed by a splendid travertine parapet with seats, at the crossings pedestals support antique statues, the lower ones being skilfully made to serve as fountains. In the somewhat smaller court, at the back of the house, there are splendid hermæ [1] and antique statues surrounded by laurel and oleander bushes; the centre is occupied by the basin of a fountain with a statue of Narcissus.

In keeping with the usual custom, small gardens (*giardini segreti*) were laid out on either side of the house, in which the fragrance of orange blossom mingled with that of rare flowers and plants. Bentivoglio had procured the tulips from Holland.[2] The North garden is adorned with two aviaries richly decorated with statues, busts and stucco,[3] similar to those in the Farnese gardens on the Palatine. On the pedestals of the statues and everywhere else the dragon of the Borghese appears as a decorative motif.

A beautiful vestibule leads into the interior of the house. Here three doors open into the great central reception hall; by the side of it are two smaller rooms; at the back there is a gallery connected with two rooms, a large and a small one.[4] By a modest winding staircase the visitor reaches the upper storey which is similarly divided. Here also all the rooms are inter-connected, spacious, and designed from the beginning for the display of valuable works of art and, accordingly, richly adorned, especially the gallery, which is a masterpiece of marble incrustation.[5] To this must be added bright-hued frescos on the ceilings and in the loggia of the upper storey by Lanfranco.[6] The contemporaries cannot find words to express

[1] Reproduction in Rusconi, 77, and Ferrari, *Lo stucco nell'arte ital.*, 101 *seq.*

[2] See Hensen, in the *Mededeelingen v. h. Nederl. Hist. Instituut. te Rome*, III. (1923), 205 *seq.*

[3] Reproduced in Rusconi, 73, 77.

[4] Gurlitt, 99; Rose, *Spätbarock*, 141 *seq.*, 177, 188.

[5] Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, II.[4], 277; Hoogewerff, *Een Nederlandsch Monument*, 225.

[6] Passeri, 131; Bellori, II., 122; Manilli, 95; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 144; Rose, 215.

their admiration of the art treasures preserved in the garden house.[1] The antique pieces, in part displayed in niches, the pillars of oriental alabaster and other kinds of valuable stone adorned with statuettes, the tables of porphyry and Florentine mosaics of semi-precious stones, were rivalled by a number of expensive and valuable pictures, among them being works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, Pordenone, Pomarancio, D'Arpino and Palma Vecchio.[2] Mention is also made of an ingenious musical instrument, a rare set of chessmen and a surprise chair which held fast the person who sat in it.[3]

Not content with the masterpieces of ancient sculpture (the "Wrestler" of Agasias of Ephesus,[4] the dying Seneca, a Venus and a Hermaphrodite), Cardinal Borghese had a scene from Virgil carved in marble by Pietro Bernini and his son Lorenzo. The group represents Aeneas rescuing his aged father Anchises, who holds his domestic gods (*Penates*) in his hands, from the sea of flames which devour Troy. The genius of the young artist which here still appears fettered by the mannerism of his father, reached its full development in the statue of "David with the sling" which was finished in 1619. Even more famous than this work, which was exposed in the South lateral corridor of the ground floor, is another and later group which also owes its origin to a commission of Scipio Borghese. It represents Daphne, pursued by Apollo, metamorphosed into a laurel tree, in such wise that her feet grow into the ground as roots and laurel leaves sprout from the

[1] The first accurate description was given by the *guardaroba* of the villa, MANILLI (53–115).

[2] *Cf.* in Appendix No. 11 the poem of L. LEPOREO, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] K. STEIN, besides the four antique statues, mentions also "*instrumentum musicum artificiosissimum; ludus scaccarum rarissimus; mensae marmoreae pretiosissimae; sella admirabilis, quae insidentes ita concludit, ut se movere non possint*" (Library of Königsberg). *Cf.* EVELYN's *Diary, loc. cit.*

[4] Now in the Louvre, Paris.

hair of her head and from the hands which she rings in her mortal anguish.[1]

Pope and Cardinal frequently sought an escape from the tumult of affairs among these works of art. They found refreshment in the summer house and the garden which, in the words of an English traveller, had not their equal in the whole world.[2] The Eternal City, with its never ceasing traffic, seemed far away, for one could neither see nor hear it. From the windows one could look out over the green park into the silent campagna and contemplate the incomparable ring of blue mountains, from jagged Soracte to the lofty chain of the Apennines and the smiling Alban hills.

Lorenzo Bernini has immortalized his patron in two wonderful portrait busts. Baldinucci tells a charming anecdote in connection with the work. He relates that before the first bust was completed the artist discovered, on the forehead and temples, a disfiguring vein in the marble which gave the countenance an unpleasing expression. Bernini, who wanted above all things to gratify his noble patron, decided to make a new bust, which he completed within a fortnight of feverish work. When the Cardinal came to the studio, Bernini began by showing him the first bust, at the sight of which Scipio Borghese only hid his disappointment with difficulty. His pleasure was all the greater when Bernini uncovered the second bust. All the same, from the artistic point of view and notwithstanding the flaw in the marble, the first bust is by far the most successful and the most characteristic. Here Scipio Borghese appears extraordinarily life-like, in all the vigour of his mature manhood, his countenance expressive of energy and enterprise and radiating joy in the possession of his art treasures, so much so that the beholder almost imagines

[1] BALDINUCCI, *Bernini*, 63 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*, 73 *seq.* *Cf.* MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 76 *seq.* VENTURI, in *L'Arte*, XII., 50, has ascertained the date of the "David" by means of a payment to the artist. On the position of David see MANILLI, 61; *ibid.*, 69, on the groups of the Aeneas and Daphne in the *terza stanza* of the ground floor.

[2] See *Pap. of the British School*, VI. (1913), 485.

he lives and breathes—the bust is an instantaneous photograph in marble.[1]

After many wanderings, both busts have once more found in the summer house a most appropriate home. In conjunction with Bernini's [2] small bust of Paul V., they remind the visitor that the Cardinal's patronage of the arts attained its climax in the sumptuous villa outside the Porta del Popolo, in the same way as that of the Pope in the completion of the basilica of St. Peter. Whilst the art lover admires these masterpieces, they remind the historian that nepotism which, from the ecclesiastical standpoint was so blameworthy, substantially helped to uphold the best tradition of the Renaissance, viz. the fostering of the arts.

No other family, perhaps, has left so many splendid and lasting monuments of itself in Rome, as the Borghese: churches, chapels, palaces, aqueducts, fountains, streets, villas and gardens loudly proclaim what the Borghese have done for the arts and for the common good. The Pope and his nephew deemed it one of their most weighty duties to embellish the Eternal City. They acted thus, as true Romans, not only for the good of their native city, but they likewise sought to shed still greater lustre upon the papacy.[3] Their names, like those of Julius II. and Sixtus V., are written for all time in letters of gold in the annals of art and civilization.

[1] Baldinucci, *Bernini*, ed. Riegl, 56 *seqq.*; Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, 87 *seq.* According to the accounts of January, 1633, referred to by Fraschetti, both busts were made to an order of Urban VIII., in which case Baldinucci's anecdote is disposed of.

[2] See vol. XXV, 44, n. 3

[3] *Cf.* the remarks of Giovanni Tommasi, in his *Tractatus de cardinalibus* (Cod., X., VI., 18, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome), quoted by Maes, *Villa Borghese*, 59 *seq.* "Paul V.," says Escher (*Barock*, 16), "by reason of his energy and determination, was the right man to reshape Rome in the spirit of Julius II. and Sixtus V.; as a matter of fact not only did he endeavour to vie with the latter, he even sought to surpass him by the number, greatness and magnificence of his undertakings."

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

1. Pope Paul V. to Matthias, King of Hungary.[1]

Rome, April 4th, 1609.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Matthiae Ungariae regi illustri.
Paulus Papa V.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Gravissima animi molestia affecti sumus ex his quae accepimus de compositione inter Maiestatem Tuam et Austriae haereticos nuper facta. Dolemus enim vehementer id tanto cum divini honoris et catholicae religionis atque communis boni detrimento transactum fuisse, et Tua etiam causa valde dolemus, qui de Tua tranquillitate atque honore, ut patrem amantissimum decet, semper solliciti, videmus quam timere debeas Dei iram, cuius misericordiam propitiam Tibi reddere iugiter studuimus. Fili carissime, Deus est per quem reges regnant et hominum cogitationes vanae sunt. Divinum igitur auxilium nobis conciliemus inprimis oportet, et humana consilia, quae alio respiciunt, perniciem afferunt, non securitatem ; sed hoc assequi non potest, quicunque Dei honorem negligit et apparentis fallacisque commoditatis rationem illi praeponit. Nos quidem versamur in magna afflictione et venerabilis frater Placidus episcopus Melphiensis Apostolicus Nuncius Noster significabit Maiestati Tuae Nostram hanc vehementem sollicitudinem multaque simul ad negocium pertinentia Tibi renunciabit, cui fidem consuetam adhibeas cupimus. Dirigat Dominus cogitationes et opera Tua in beneplacito suo, et Nos Maiestati Tuae apostolicam benedictionem Nostram tribuimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris pridie nonas Aprilis MDCIX., pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

Petrus Stroza.

[*Arm.* 44, t. 4, n. 384, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See above, p. 285.

2. A Memorial to Pope Paul V. on the State of the Diocese of Metz.[1]

[End of 1609.]

Beatissimo Padre.

La chiesa di Metz, della quale hoggidì si trova vescovo il cardinale di Givry, è insigne e principale in quei contorni, posta ai confini di Lorena, Germania e Flandria, ha qualche infettione di heresia e se ne può sperare bene si sarà aiutata da chi deve. Ma il clero di quella è molto corrotto et tutto camina al peggio sendo in possesso di usar della lubricità della carne li ecclesiastici et in specie il capitolo et canonici della cathedrale con pretensione che il vescovo non possa supra di loro havere iurisdittione alcuna, et havendo detto cardinale et vescovo dato principio a voler correggere et emendare tal inconveniente, detto capitolo et canonici si sono opposti et con cavilationi et appellationi vanno turbando ogni cosa, onde si vede che si V. S. motu proprio non provede a tal inconveniente col dare Breve delegatorio amplissimo di correggere, punire et castigare simil corrutela in buona forma procedendo avanti ad ogni atto rigoroso tanto nelle cause comminciate et pendenti quanto in quelle che a suo tempo si comminceranno auctoritate apostolica al detto cardinale vescovo commandandoli di impiegarsi in tal funtione, si vede che detta chiesa corre pericolo di roinare in tutto, poichè dalla vita del clero nasce lo scandalo publico, si contrastano i catholici, li heretici pigliano piede et tutti insieme tendono a tal ruina si come el medesimo et per l'istesse cause ruinò già del trenta sei la chiesa di Geneva, come si vede con tanto danno essere sucesso, et quella di Bisanzone archivescovato camina a gran passo al medesimo, si Vostra Beatitudine non provede ; et chi acenna questo è molto bene informato et è stato poco fa sul luogo et basti che si sia scarricato la coscienza col sommo pastor della Chiesa.

[*Cod.* 219, p. 379 *seq.*, Stadtbibl. at Metz.]

3. Pope Paul V. to Marie de Medici, Queen of France.[2]

Rome, August 17th, 1611.

Carissimae in Christo filiae Nostrae Mariae Francorum reginae christianissimae regenti.

Paulus Papa quintus.

Carissima in Christo filia Nostra, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Universalis Ecclesiae cura humilitati Nostrae

[1] See above, p. 54. [2] See above, p. 55.

divina dispensatione commissa exigit a Nobis, ut quantum praestare possumus, singularum ecclesiarum statui et conservationi iuxta apostolicam disciplinam prospiciamus. Ideo mentis oculos intenta cogitatione ad omnes christiani orbis partes circumferimus diligentique investigatione vineam Domini et operarios culturae illius praepositos ubique locorum, quatenus permissum est, lustrare atque recognoscere sedulo curamus, piorum atque prudentum virorum fidem atque diligentiam in hoc tam gravi negocio adhibentes. Et vero non leve solatium Nobis attulerunt, quae de statu multarum atque insignium ecclesiarum in amplissimo florentissimoque Galliarum regno accepimus, in quibus episcopi, zelo Dei et gregis sibi commissi caritate incensi, ministerium suum adimplere ex apostolico praecepto student. Quo nomine Maiestati Tuae plurimum gratulamur, cum nihil sit quod aeque conducat ad regni felicem facilemque gubernationem ac sacerdotii probitas. Duo enim sunt, carissima in Christo filia, quibus regia auctoritas maxime fulcitur: divina nempe gratia et subiectorum obedientia; utraque sacerdotalis virtus et bonitas praestat. Haec propitium regi reddit divinum auxilium assiduitate precum et puritate sacrificiorum, haec populos divino timore instruit, legibus obtemperare assuefacit; facile enim leges observant, qui, ne in Deum peccent, non solum iniquas operationes, sed pravas quoque cogitationes vitant. Sic enim de timore Domini scriptum legimus, quod dilectio illius custodia legum est. Contra verum, ubi, sacerdotum socordia atque negligentia, pretiosus iste thesaurus omnium virtutum amittitur, cuncta ruunt, nec tantum ecclesiasticus ordo, sed totius regni quies atque tranquillitas confunditur. Experimentis nimis frequentibus res comprobata est. Propterea in eligendis episcopis maxima cura atque diligentia est adhibenda, debent enim doctrina scientiaque rerum divinarum atque prudentia esse veluti sal, quo caeteri sacerdotes condiantur, eisque exemplo integritatis suae vitae et caritatis ardore lucem praeferre, ut per semitam rectam Deo servientes et animarum saluti consulentes gradiantur. Quare Maiestatem Tuam hortamur atque paternae caritatis affectu admonemus, ut pro Tuo pietatis zelo, quem summum esse cognoscimus, satagas, quotiescunque occasio tulerit, ut alicui ecclesiae in Galliarum regno novus episcopus sit praeficiendus, is Nobis proponatur, qui zelum, prudentiam, doctrinam, caritatem, eam demum

virtutis atque probitatis commendationem habeat, quam sacri canones in sacerdotibus ad tantum munus digne assumendis exigunt. Mandavimus venerabili fratri Roberto episcopo Montispolitiani Nuncio Nostro Apostolico, ut plura adhuc in hoc gravissimo negocio Maiestati Tuae exponeret. Illi consuetam fidem adhiberi abs Te cupimus. Deum oramus, continua Te protectione custodiat, et Maiestati Tuae peramanter benedicimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo piscatoris XVI. calendas Septembris MDCXI., pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

[*Arm.* 44, t. 7, n. 43, Papal Secret Archives.]

4. Pope Paul V. to Ferdinand, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne.[1]

Rome, July 12th, 1614.

Venerabili fratri Ferdinando archiepiscopo Coloniensi, sacri Romani imperii principi electori.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Neque fraternitati Tuae pluribus exponamus necesse est sollicitudinem Nostram de regis Romanorum electione quamprimum facienda, ut hoc obstaculo irrita reddamus studia illorum, qui ex filiorum Nostrorum discordia vires acquirunt in detrimentum Ecclesiae sanctae catholicae. Nam periculum, quod ab eius dilatione imminet, et Nostrum de communi quiete zelum non ignoras. Itaque longa oratione minime utemur, ut Tibi persuadeamus, quam gratum Nobis praestiteris officium, si, ut confidimus atque postulamus, dabis operam, ut electio ista maturetur. Nam ab anxietate animi, qua Nos sublevabis, ut Tibi renunciabit venerabilis frater Antonius episcopus Vigiliensis Noster Apostolicus Nuncius, satis hoc intelligere poteris. Qui Noster Nuncius habet a Nobis in mandatis, ut de hoc negocio Tecum sedulo agat Nostroque nomine Te efficaciter requirat, ut quibuscunque modis ac rationibus, quae opportuniores Tibi videbuntur, studeas accelerare hanc electionem, ac simul certiorem Te faciat de fiducia, quam habemus in Tua singulari prudentia, et quam Nobis polliceamur de Tua in Nos observantia atque studiosa voluntate. Illi igitur fidem

[1] See above, p. 319.

in omnibus indubitatam adhibebis et Nos benedictionem Nostram apostolicam fraternitati Tuae peramanter impartimur.

Datum ut supra [apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris IV. idus Iulii MDCXIV., pontificatus Nostri anno decimo].

Petrus Stroza.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 10, n. 57, Papal Secret Archives.]

5. Pope Paul V. to Louis XIII., King of France.[1]

Rome, January 22nd, 1615.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Ludovico Francorum regi christianissimo.

Paulus Papa quintus.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Occasione conventus causa status nuper habiti retulisse ad Maiestatem Tuam accepimus praelatos et ordinem universum ecclesiasticum amplissimi istius regni Tui quam gravibus necessitatibus, quam multis incommodis ac perturbationibus eorum ecclesiae sint implicitae, atque generatim clerus omnis in Gallia, et insuper quam expediret, ut sacrosancti concilii Tridentini decreta istic reciperentur. Etsi facile Nobis persuadeamus, confisi in Tua ingenita pietate, religione optimaque voluntate, fore ut iustas hac de causa postulationes ordinis ecclesiastici regni Tui non modo humaniter audias, sed benigne quoque exaudias, tamen voluimus, zelo officii Nostri pastoralis commoti, quo indemnitati studere debemus cunctarum ecclesiarum, atque paterno affectu, quo propitiam Maiestati Tuae magis semper cupimus reddere divinam bonitatem, revocare Tibi in mentem Nostris hisce litteris obligationem, qua teneris ob innumera beneficia a misericordiarum patre Deo accepta Ecclesiae sanctae suae utilitatem curare, Christianissimorum regum maiorum Tuorum laudabilissimo exemplo, tueri ac defendere. Etenim, si Ecclesiae eiusque auctoritati faveris, ut confidimus, sperare poteris regiam Tuam auctoritatem praesidio divinae gratiae maius semper incrementum accepturam esse, ut optamus. Venerabilis frater Robertus episcopus Montispolitiani Nuncius Noster Apostolicus adhuc uberius aget mandato Nostro cum Maiestate Tua de hoc negocio, et quam Nobis cordi sit, qui

[1] See above, p. 32.

pariter Nostrum desiderium de Tua vera felicitate et quam ex animo oremus pro Te divinam clementiam, Tibi significabit, cui consuetam fidem in omnibus adhiberi abs Te cupimus, et ex intimis Nostrae paternae caritatis visceribus benedictionem Nostram apostolicam Maiestati Tuae impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris XI. calendas Februarii MDCXV., pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

Petrus Stroza.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 10, n. 252, Papal Secret Archives.]

6. Pope Paul V. to Archbishop Schweikart, Elector of Mayence.[1]

Rome, June 28th, 1615.

Venerabili fratri Ioanni Suicardo archiepiscopo Moguntino sacri Romani imperii principi electori.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Eadem animi sollicitudine de communi christianae reipublicae tranquillitate, potissimum autem de Germaniae utilitate atque commodo, ut alias fraternitati Tuae significavimus, vehementer cupimus maturationem electionis regis Romanorum, eoque vehementius, quo magis in dies apparet ex dilatione illius necessitas perfectionis huius tam gravis negocii. Cum autem tantopere confidamus in Tua prudentia atque auctoritate, ut optime nosti, mandamus venerabili fratri Antonio episcopo Vigiliensi Nuncio Nostro Apostolico, ut denuo Tibi exponat Nostrum hoc tam necessarium desiderium et quae opportuna existimemus, ut commodius et celerius perficiatur, sicut praesens rerum Germanicarum status maxime exigere videtur Nuncio igitur Nostro Apostolico eandem plane fidem adhibebis, quam Nobis haberes, si Te alloqueremur. Dirigat Dominus cogitationes et opera Tua in eius sancto beneplacito Tuosque pastorales labores aura suae sanctae gratiae clementer sublevet.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris IV. cal. Iulii MDCXV., pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 11, n. 8, Papal Secret Archives.]

[1] See above, p. 319.

7. Pope Paul V. to Archbishop Schweikart, Elector of Mayence.[1]

Rome, October 27th, 1615.

Venerabili fratri Ioanni Suicardo archiepiscopo Moguntino sacri Romani imperii principi electori.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Hactenus fraternitati Tuae perspectam esse sollicitudinem Nostram scimus de maturanda electione regis Romanorum, neque dubitamus eam Tibi maxime cordi esse, conscii prudentiae et pietatis Tuae, qua semper communis pacis et quietis conservationem studuisti instaurationi catholicae religionis et imperii bono. Nihilomius facere non possumus, quin, etsi minime dubii de Tua voluntate, iterum Te efficacissime hortemur, ut studia conatusque Tuos in hoc gravissimo negocio iteres, et si fieri potest etiam augeas. Dilatio quippe huius electionis nimis periculosa est, ut nosti, et Nos communi utilitati prospicere sedulo debemus. Minime Te Nostris exhortationibus egere plane novimus; verum iterum Tibi confirmamus tanto arctiori vinculo caritatem Nostram Tibi obstricturum, quanto magis celeriter Nostrum animum hac sollicitudine levabis, perfectione huius desideratissimi negocii. Exaudiat Dominus petitiones Tuas et omne Tuum consilium confirmet.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris pridie calendas Novembris MDCXV., pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 11, n. 118, Papal Secret Archives.]

8. Pope Paul V. to Cardinal Klesl.[2]

Rome, May 6th, 1616.

Dilecto filio Nostro Melchiori S. R. E. presbytero cardinali Cleselio nuncupato.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Dilecte fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quam necessaria sit conservationi cum Romani imperii tum catholicae religionis regis Romanorum electio, prudentiam

[1] See above, p. 319.
[2] See above, p. 320.

Tuam non latet, imo vero nemo hoc fortasse melius intelligit, qui tantopere praestas rerum Germanicarum peritia atque experimento. Propterea haud necessarium existimamus, ut enitamur declaratione huius necessitatis Tibi suadere, ut ad communem imperii Romani et catholicae religionis utilitatem studeas adiuvare accelerationem huius electionis. Verum, cum absolutio huius gravissimi negocii potissimum pendeat a voluntate Caesaris, Tuque apud ipsum spectatae Tuae in eum fidei ac eximiae prudentiae merito, gratia et auctoritate maxime polleas, efficaciter petere a Te voluimus, ut sedulo serioque electioni regis Romanorum faveas, ita ut quam primum, sicut omnes boni desiderant et reipublicae tranquillitas maxime exigit et Nos ad Dei gloriam et Ecclesiae sanctae catholicae tutelam maxime cupimus, absolvatur. Satis Tibi declarare non possumus, quantopere Tibi devincturus sis occasione hac Nostram paternam caritatem. Sed ex gravitate sollicitudinis, qua Nos sublevabis, facile coniicere poteris, qui pro singulari prudentia Tua optime intelligis, quam anxie curare debeamus hanc electionem vel hac potissimum una da causa, ne haereticorum vires et audacia magis augeantur pari cum detrimento Ecclesiae catholicae, Romani imperii et augustae Austriacae familiae Nobis tantopere dilectae. Omnipotens ac misericors Deus Te in suo sancto servitio confortare et conservare dignetur, et Nos Tibi peramanter benedicimus.

Datum ut supra [Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris pridie nonas Maii MDCXVI., pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo].

[*Arm.* 45, t. 11, n. 263, Papal Secret Archives.]

9. Pope Paul V. to the Emperor Matthias.[1]

Rome, December 16th, 1616.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Matthiae Hungariae et Bohemiae regi illustri in Rom. imperatorem electo.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Paternae caritatis zelo, quo de tranquillitate ac pace christianae reipublicae solliciti sumus, cogimur

[1] See above, p. 322.

renovare petitiones adhortationesque, quibus toties iam a Maiestate Tua efficacissime postulavimus absolutionem gravissimi negocii successionis. Ea Nobis hactenus renunciata fuerunt de propensa ad hoc voluntate Tua, ut firmam spem concepissemus desiderati solatii. Valde quidem afficit animum Nostrum haec sollicitudo, carissime fili ; nam tametsi diuturnam speremus et precemur Maiestati Tuae vitam, nihilominus ambiguitas haec tam nostris est periculosa quam adversariis opportuna : quod nemo melius Te novit. Igitur ut uno eodemque tempore, una eademque re communi utilitati, peculiari augustae familiae Tuae bono eximiaeque Tuae prudentiae laudi ac propriae Nostrae consolationi consulas, a Te etiam atque etiam petimus, sicut uberius frater Vitalianus archiepiscopus Adrianopolitanus Noster Apostolicus Nuncius Tibi significabit, et Maiestati Tuae ex intimis Nostrae caritatis visceribus benedictionem Nostram apostolicam impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris XVII. calendas Ianuarii MDCXVI., pontificatus Nostri anno duodecimo.

[*Arm.* 45, t. 11, n. 183, Papal Secret Archives.]

10. Paul V. to Cardinal Klesl.[1]

Rome, December 16th, 1616.

Dilecto filio Nostro Melchiori S. R. E. card. Cleselio nuncupato.
Paulus Papa quintus.

Dilecte fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Conquiescebamus ea spe, quam excitaverant in Nobis absolutionis gravissimi negocii successioni litterae Tuae prudenter et accurate ad Nos iamdudum scriptae. Sed cum imperfectum adhuc illud videamus, multo sane maiori animi molestia atque sollicitudine afficimur, tantoque magis, quanto de voluntate deque diligentia Tua minus dubitare possumus. De impedimentis itaque atque difficultatibus dubii, sed de Tua auctoritate et gratia apud Caesarem certi, ad quem hac de causa sane quam efficaciter scribimus, significare Tibi non modo Nostris hisce litteris, sed per venerabilem quoque fratrem Vitalianum archiepiscopum Adrianopolitanum sollicitudinem Nostram voluimus atque etiam enixe a Te petere, ut omnibus

[1] See above, p. 322.

rationibus ac modis, qui praestanti prudentiae Tuae opportuniores videbuntur, velis Nos a cura tam gravi, qua diu noctuque premimur, sublevare et una communi christianae reipublicae bono et catholicae religionis conservationi prospicere. Diligimus Te quidem ex animo, sed Noster paternus in Te amor plurimum augebitur ex solatio, quod Nobis pollicemur ex opera Tua, sicut latius Tibi Noster Apostolicus Nuncius exponet, quem non secus ac Nos loquentes audies, et Nos cum omni caritatis affectu Nostram Tibi apostolicam benedictionem impartimur.

Datum ut supra [Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris XVII. calendas Ianuarii MDCXVI., pontificatus Nostri anno duodecimo].

[*Arm.* 45, t. 11, n. 184, Papal Secret Archives.]

11. Poem of Ludovico Leporeo on the Villa Borghese.[1]

Villa Borghese
cantata da Lodovico Leporeo
all'ill^mo et rev^mo sig^r card. padrone.

Sestina 1^a.

O famose di Pindo habitatrici,
Meco cangiate le magioni antiche,
E venite a goder de più felici
Selve, prati, antri, fonti e piagge apriche ;
Tutte accorrete a vagheggiare il sito
De la Borghese Villa, ove io v'invito.

7^a.

Scipion di nome e d'animo Romano,
Illustrator del fosco secol nostro,
Che l'alto impero ha della Chiesa in mano
Non men splendente di valor che d'ostro,
Degnissimo che 'l mondo honori et ami
E semideo de' porporati il chiami.

. . . . . .

[1] See above, p. 458.

65ª.

Illustri statue e lucide colonne
Splendono intorno gli angoli leggiadri
E di famosi eroi, d'eroiche donne
Sono i bei volti effigiati in quadri :
Hor qui mirate imagini più belle
Che mai pingesse col pennello Apelle

66ª.

Delle città la gigantessa altera
In ampio quadro par che parli e dica :
Hoggi rinasco a degnità primiera.
Hoggi racquisto la mia gloria antica,
Mentre novo Scipion mi rinovella,
Risorgo più che pria famosa e bella.

67ª.

Cedan le penne e cedano gl'inchiostri
D'almi poeti e nobili oratori,
O sien d'antichi o pur de' tempi nostri,
E i vaghi altrui pennelli e bei colori
Ch'illuminar od ombreggiar simile
Indarno s'affatica ogn'altro stile.

68ª.

Opra mirate qui del gran Titiano,
Dell'opre sue la più famosa e diva
Che figurò con maestrevol mano
De l'humanato Dio l'imagin viva,
Fanciullo testè nato in grembo a quella
Che sola madre e vergine s'appella.

69ª.

L'impicciolito Creator del mondo
Sotto mortali e tenerelle membra,
Agli occhi altrui severo, altrui giocondo,
Tanto l'arte potè, dubbio rassembra,
E tal splendor dai lumi suoi traluce
Che ad adorar sua Deità n'induce.

70ª.

Quivi la bella madre il suo bel figlio,
Che per noi partorì, dimostra in seno,
A lei simile, candido e vermiglio,
D'ogni giocondità del ciel ripieno;
Vergin beata e madre semidea
Che col beato suo fanciul ne bea.

71ª.

Ma, s'io non erro, voi voi sete Muse,
Le vergini antichissime Sibille,
Che del presente alto mistero infuse
Lo prediceste già mille anni e mille,
Onde tropp'oltre sorvolò mia penna,
Se questa vi spiegò, l'altre v'accenna.

72ª.

Emuli di Titian la coppia egregia,
Pordenon, Buonaroti e Raffaello,
Per cui l'andato secolo si pregia
Colorir con angelico pennello
Sacrate istorie quei, questi profane,
Che colman di stupor le menti humane.

73ª.

Qui pure esercitaro i lor pennelli
Pasignan, Pomarancio, Arpino e Palma,
De la moderna età viventi Apelli,
Nè dir saprei chi la vittoria impalma;
Ditelo voi, vergini saggie e vaghe,
Qual di quell'opre sia che più v'appaghe.

74ª.

Con vago e distint'ordine ristretti
Per artificio inimitabil rari
Mirate in angustissimi quadretti
Spatiose campagne, immensi mari;
Qui l'ampia varietà de la natura
Similissima a lei l'arte figura.

[*Borghese*, I., 425, pp. 1–2, 12ᵇ–13ᵇ, Papal Secret Archives.]

12. Pope Paul V. and the Church of St. Peter.[1]

. . . Papa Paolo faceva obiettione che Michelangelo non haveva fatto sacristia. Rispondeva egli [2] che nel vano di due lumache grandi si potevano cavar due sacristie, lasciandovi due altre lumache delle quattro che vi sono, e che vicino alla tribuna erano due stanze capaci con altre di sopra che potevano servire a questo effetto, e che in Fiorenza nella chiesa principale sono anco due sacristie, ciascuna di mediocre capacità. Diceva di più Papa Paolo che nel disegno di Michelangelo mancava il coro per li canonici. Rispondeva egli che il coro si poteva fare sotto, attorno alli corpi delli Apostoli, dove hoggi è la Confessione, dando ad esso lume da più bande, ma particolarmente dalla faccia orientale dell'altare grande, che si poteva vacar sotto per questo effetto, aggiuntandovi però altrettanto verso oriente [sic], per fare che relassi [sic] in mezzo della cuppola, come hebbe pensiero Michelangelo. Soggiunse di più Papa Paolo, che mancava il campanile; rispose egli che vi erano quattro campanili bellissimi, cioè le quattro cupole picciole che circondano la cuppola grande. Finalmente disse che era inconveniente che restasse scoperta parte alcuna della chiesa di prima, il che sarebbe . . .[3] col disegno di Michelangelo; rispose che ne anco questo seguiva, perchè il sudetto Michelangelo faceva il portico avanti overo antetempio, come hoggi si vede nella chiesa della Ritonda, il quale veniva a coprire il luogo di detta chiesa vecchia. Sopra la parte di mezzo del tempio di Michelangelo si poteva cavar spatio sufficiente con bella ringhiera per le benedittioni et il Papa sarebbe stato sotto il portico et una buona parte del popolo, e l'altro, che non capiva dentro ad esso, sarebbe rimasto fuori: cosa che dava grandezza. Disse a Papa Paolo che un altro Papa haverebbe demolito il nuovo disegno del Maderno per restituire quello di Michelangelo. Rispose Paolo quinto che vi haverebbe fatto tale spesa attorno che ogni Papa haverebbe pensato a demolirlo. Quando vello [sic] attaccorno la nave fatta dal Maderno alla fabrica di Michelangelo, si vidde che quella era più alta di molti palmi della volta e nel pavimento era più depressa. Papa Paolo entrò in collera grande contra il Maderno; ma il card. Barberino lo difese, dicendo che non era sua la colpa, che in tal luogo

[1] See above, p. 388.
[2] Cardinal Barberini.
[3] Here there is a gap in the MSS.

facesse un coro . . .[1] et in un altro una sacristia di altezza e grandezza tale che per ubedire queste fabriche lo havevano portato a quello inconveniente ; soggiunse come si poteva in qualche modo rappezzare che non facesse si brutta volta, cioè nella volta cornici e nel pavimento scalini che facessero unione il più che si poteva con il restante. Dolendosi il medesimo Paolo che Michelangelo havea fatto una gran gofferia, con porre l'altare delli Apostoli non in mezzo della cuppola, rispose che, se questo era errore, non era di Michelangelo, ma di Bramante che haveva fatto li fondamenti e parte dell'alzato ; ma che non era errore, perchè secondo il disegno di Michelangelo all'altare delli Apostoli ne va aggiunto altretanto dalla banda di oriente e così il tutto resta in mezzo e da quattro lati delle tribune fa . . .[1] di quadrato. Portò una volta Carlo Maderno un modello di un pezzo di colonna col capitello che doveva farsi nella facciata di San Pietro, il quale, mostrando di essere di ordine Ionico per le volute, haveva nel mezzo il fiore dell'acanto che appartiene solo all'ordine Corintio. Dimandò il card. Barberino con che regola haveva fatto quel capitello. Rispose Carlo che l'haveva cavato da quel maestro ch'egli tanto stimava, cioè da Michelangelo nel palazzo di Campidoglio, ma che in luogo di maschera haveva fatto il fiore. Replicò il cardinale che haveva fatto male, perchè il fiore è solo dell'ordine Corintio, e che in cambio di maschera, per esser chiesa, si poteva fare un cherubino e si fece in alcune ; in altre volsero porre il fiore. Carlo Maderno era portato dalli card^li Cesi et Avignone, senza haver essi intelligenza proportionata al mestiero, nè essi sapevano di architettura, ma lo favorivano perchè serviva loro nelle fabriche.

Memorie intorno la vita d'Urbano VIII. cavate dall'originale di Msgr. Herrera.

[*Barb.* 4901, pp. 47^b–49^b, Vatican Library.]

13. From the Register of Expenses of Pope Paul V.[2]

Denari che N^ro Sig^re ha dato contanti alla fabrica di San Pietro.

A dì . . .[1] febraro 1612 scudi 100 000, retratti in più somma de luoghi del Monte delle Lumiere,

[1] Here there is a gap in the MSS. [2] See above pp. 393, 403, 415, 416, 420, 428.

luoghi 258⅓ del Monte Novennale e luoghi 300 della Fede	sc.	100 000.—
A dì . . .[1] maggio 1614 sc. 50 241.66, retratti da luoghi 420 del Monte della Fede	sc.	50 241.66
A dì 23 ottobre 1614 sc. 70 800, retratti da luoghi 600 del Monte della Fede	sc.	70 800.—
A dì . . .[1] luglio 1618 sc. 70 467 moneta havuti dal re di Francia per la concordia fatta con S. M^{tà} per li Monti che haveva in Roma la già Lionora Concina, compresovi li frutti decorsi per tutto aprile 1618	sc.	70 467.—
	sc.	291 508.66

Cappella e sacristia di Sta Maria Maggiore con la colonna.

Nella fabrica della cappella che la Santità di N. S^{re} Papa Paolo V. ha fatta in Sta Maria Maggiore, compresavi la sacristia di detta cappella, le cappellette due di S. Carlo et Sta Francesca, dentro a detta cappella l'altare fatto di metallo e pietre dure et il nicchio dove si è messa la santissima Madonna, et li depositi, statue e pitture, come anco la sacristia grande della chiesa con il coro, che sta congionto a detta sacristia, si trova che si è speso in muratori, scarpellini, pittori, scultori, ferraro, ottonaro et altri, dal principio di detta fabrica per tutto l'ultimo d'ottobre 1618	sc.	306 987.76
E più si è speso nella colonna, che N. S^{re} ha fatto drizzare sopra la piazza della chiesa di Sta Maria Maggiore, come si vede nel conto a parte tenuto per la detta colonna	sc.	13 232.41
	sc.	320 220.17

Le sudette spese sono oltre l'argentaria et altri addobamenti et mobili di bellezza e valore grandissimo.

[1] Gap in the MSS.

Palazzo Vaticano.

Nel palazzo di S. Pietro, trovato da N. S^re^, quando fu assonto al pontificato, in stato che haveva di bisogno di riparatione necessaria in molti luoghi et tutto conquassato per le due sede vacanti precedenti, vi ha speso in accomodare il portone vecchio di esso Palazzo dentro e fuori, il cortile del teatro, levar terra, far chiaviche, fortificare, coprire et restaurare la galaria [sic] Gregoriana, le stanze et soffitte nell'appartamento nuovo, li forni e tutte le case contigue ad essi, li fenili, stalle et il torron grande della lanterna, il muro della spaliera de' Merlangoli, il muro del giardino di Paolo III., le stanze della stampa, con il bastione sotto la galleria scoperta verso il giardino de' Merlangoli, la galleria bianca coperta e sua volta, rimesse delle carozze, granari, stanze della biada, munitione della legna, galinaro, scale del giardino, delle statue, corritoro scoperto sopra il corritoro longo, stanze della sacristia, armaria, condotti dell'Acqua vecchia de S^to^ Antonio, le fontane e palazzina di Pio IV., stanze del Maestro del S^o^ Palazzo, fatto di nuovo le stanze et portone sopra la Panattaria con le scale, terrapieno et salita a cordoni, stradone che va alla stampa, molti muri del giardino, dov'erano fatti condotti di S. Antonio a diverse fontane dell'Acqua Paola per tutto il giardino, le stanze dell'archivio a canto della libraria, accomodato le stanze per la Rota, la Segretaria de brevi, li statiolini per l'inverno, e risarcito il Palazzo per li danni fatti nelle dette due sede vacanti passate, ristaurato la guardia delli cavalli leggieri, Svizzari, campanile di Sta Maria Maggiore, vigna di Papa Giulio, e fatto li condotti e fontane per Borgo, in tutto sc. 200 613.50

Nel porton nuovo con la fortificatione et accomodamento delle facciate contigue ad esso, si è speso sc. 33 997.38

sc. 234 610.88

Monte Cavallo.

Nella fabrica di Monte Cavallo, cioè nelle quattro stanze contigue al Palazzo vecchio, nella sala e scale, Dataria, cucine e nel Palazzo di Verselli, nel giardino, stalle, strade, piazza et anche nel riquadramento di detto palazzo di Montecavallo con la capella, che N^ro S^re ha fatto fare in esso Palazzo, si trova essersi speso in muratori, scarpellini, falegnami, ferrari, stagnari, pittori, vetrari et altri artisti, dal principio di detta fabrica a tutto l'ottobre 1618 sc. 330 370 24

E più sc. 14 000 pagati al sig^r Roberto Primi, il quale ne diede credito alla Camera in un conto a parte per pagarne il prezzo delle case che si presero alla salita di Montecavallo e son retratti de Monti Novennali eretti da maggio 1611 sopra l'avanzo che si fece quando s'estinse li luoghi 350 del Monte delle Galere sc. 14 000.—

E più sc. 13 920, che importa luoghi 130 del Monte della Fede a sc. 156 per luogo, dati al sig^r Bernardino Maffei per il prezzo del suo Palazzo dove si è messa la Dataria sc. 13 920.—

E più sc. 3300 che importa luoghi 33 del Monte della Pace del Giustiniani a sc. 100 per luogo, dati, cioè sc. 2300. a Francesco Moroni Bergamasco per il prezzo di una casa posta nella salita di Monte Cavallo e sc. 1000 al sig^r Tiberio Lancilotto per il canone che haveva sopra detta casa sc. 3 300.—

E più sc. 2552, che importa il prezzo de luoghi 22 del Monte della Fede a sc. 116 assignati alla capella dei sig^ri Lancelotti in San Giovanni Laterno in loco delle due case poste nella salita di Montecavallo destinato per detta capella sc. 2 552.—

sc. 364 142.24

Acqua Paola.

Nella fabrica delli condotto dell'Acqua Paola, ch'è stata condotta da Bracciano alla mostra

vicina a S. Pietro Montorio, si trova essersi speso per mezo del Banco di S^to^ Spirito sc. 152 532.11, ritratti de luoghi 1416⅔ del Monte di S. Spirito con alcuni frutti decorsi sc. 152 532.11

E più sc. 198 944.50 per mezo dell'istesso Banco di S. Spirito, retratto de luoghi 1772 del Monte della Carne, con alcuni frutti decorsi sc. 198 944.50

E più sc. 25 000 pagati a D. Virginio Orsino per l'acqua che s'è havuta da lui e per tutti li danni patiti da S. E. nello stato di Bracciano per li condotti di detta Acqua sc. 25 000.—

E più sc. 20 000 per luoghi 200 dell'istesso Monte di S^to^ Spirito eretti quando si ridusse detto Monte, li frutti de quali servirono per dote e mantenimento delli condotti di detta Acqua sc. 20 000.—

sc. 396 476.61

Convertite.

Aiuto dato alle monache convertite per ristaurare il loro convento che per accidente s'abbrugiò, sc. 12 000, retratti da luoghi 100 del Monte di S. Bonaventura eretti a questo effetto sopra l'avanzo della ridutione del Monte Pio sc. 12 000.—

Sant'Agnese.

Nella tribuna et altare di Sta Agnese, opera di muro e scarpelle s'è speso sc. 1 440.47

Per la cassa d'argento sc. 3 440.35

sc. 4 880.82

Debito lasciato da N. S^re^ Papa Paolo V., dedutto l'estintioni fatte de danari lasciati contanti alla sua morte scudi un milione ottanta tre mila duecento cinquanta sc. 1 083 250.85

E più nelli Monti del Popolo Romano scudi diciassette milla e cento sc. 17 100.—

sc. 1 100 350.85

Sommario dell'esito di P. Paolo V.

Denari dati all' Abbundanza	sc.	744 054.60
Spesi al porto di Civita Vecchia	sc.	78 042.17
Nella palificata di Fiumicino	sc.	80 291.—
Nel porto d'Ancona	sc.	15 050.52
Aiuti dati a principi	sc.	335 029.54
Fortezza di Ferrara	sc.	560 874.—
Cappella di Sta Maria Maggiore	sc.	320 220.17
Fabrica della chiesa di S. Pietro	sc.	291 508.66
Palazzo Vaticano	sc.	234 610.88
Palazzo di Monte Cavallo	sc.	364 142.24
Acqua Paola	sc.	396 475.61
Aiuto delle Convertite	sc.	12 000.—
Nella tribuna e cassa di Sta Agnese	sc.	4 800.—
	sc.	3 437 099.39

Questo è l'esito delle cose straordinarie del tempo dalla felice memoria di N^ro^ S^re^ Papa Paolo V., oltre le spese fatte nel tempo delli rumori di Venetia, de' quali non s'è fatto mentione in questo libro.

Come anco delli mobili che detto Paolo V. fece fare per servitio delli palazzi di S. Pietro e di Monte Cavallo, che ascendono a scudi cinquantamila.

[*Borghese*, I., 554 and *Biblioteca Pia*, 265, p. 64^b^ *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.]

14. Biographies of Paul V. and the Notes of Giovan Battista Costaguti.

Soon after the death of Paul V. the Polish Dominican Abraham Bzovius [1] composed a biography of the Pope which he dedicated to Urban VIII.[2] His work is based on good sources, both written and oral, and supplies much valuable information as well as a number of important official documents. Bzovius was under great obligation to Paul V., hence

[1] *Cf.* Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I., 338 *seq.*

[2] Paulus V. Burghesius P.O.M.F. Abrahami Bzovii Poloni S.T., magistri, Ord. Praed. Romae, 1626, with the motto: In memoria aeterna erit justus, ab auditione mala non timebit. Psalm CXI.

his gratitude has influenced his pen to such an extent that in places his biography becomes a sheer panegyric.[1]

The same feature characterizes an anonymous publication : *Pauli V. Pont. Max. Vita compendio scripta* (Barb. 2670, Vatican Library), to which RANKE (III.[6], 99) refers briefly, though without drawing from it to any considerable extent.

In 1765 there was published at Amsterdam an anonymous *Histoire de Paul V.* (in two volumes), the author of which was the Abbé Cl. P. Goujet, a keen adherent of the party of the *Appellants* (*cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 768). Goujet seems to have been in no way shocked by the Pope's nepotism. His party spirit caused him to be interested in quite another matter, and he makes no mystery of its nature : this was, opposition to the Jesuits who had just been expelled from France, opposition also to all *prétentions ultramontaines* and to Molinism (*cf.* vol. XXV., p. 249, note 1). Nevertheless he quotes a number of useful passages which he extracted from the reports of Savary de Brèves, Henry IV.'s envoy in Rome, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, though these must be used with caution. PERRENS, in the *Revue hist.*, LXXIV., 242 *seq.*, points out Goujet's partisanship, but, as has been explained in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 95, Perrens himself makes the mistake of relying, for his characterization of Paul V., on the unfair and frequently self-contradictory reports of so intolerant a Gallican as Brèves. Of incomparably greater value are the notes of GIOVAN BATTISTA COSTAGUTI, which were not even meant for publication. They are based all through on his own personal observation for which, as Bzovius remarks (c. 42), he was well placed owing to his office of " Forriere maggiore " and eventually of " Maggiordomo " of Paul V.[2] The title of these notes is

[1] *Cf.* especially chapters 20 and 56 on the nephews and the comparison with other Popes in chapter 59.

[2] According to MORONI (XLI., 263) he held this post from 1618 to 1621. To complete Moroni's data we may add that, according to the original documents of the Costaguti Archives, Giov. Battista was named a Protonotary on July 19, 1608, having received the first Tonsure on July 17. In December, 1614, he became a Canon of St. Mary Major ; see *Studi e docum.*, XV., 284. Here he is already styled *maestro di casa del Papa*. See also RENAZZI, *Maggiordomi Pontifici*, Roma, 1785, 112 ; also in Costaguti Archives a document on "Allogio preparato per commandamento di Paolo V. per la venuta a Roma dell'Altezza di Mantova da G. B. Costaguta foriere maggiore di S.S. nel mese di Dicembre 1618 ".

as follows: *Alcune attioni di Paolo V. raccolte da Giovan Battista Costaguta* (sic!) *suo maggiordomo e foriere maggiore di quello e pervenuto a sua notitia o per haverle trattate o per haverle S.S^tà con lui conferite.* I had the good fortune to find them in the year 1904 in the private archives of the Costaguti family; so far they have not been used at all by historians (Cod. No. 11).

Costaguti praises the good intentions of Paul V. as regards the Papal State, viz. the upholding of justice and the establishment of public tranquillity, his solicitude for the welfare of the people, security of the State from external attacks, and lastly, the improvement and embellishment of his residence, Rome. His work is divided into four chapters or parts. It is not easy to give a concise account of the contents for there is but little sequence in the entries. Costaguti is exceedingly sparing of chronological data. It is clear that his work is a first draft which he intended to retouch at a later date. The writer is chiefly interested in matters of finance on which all four sections furnish us with valuable information. The first part consists mainly of a survey of the Pope's activities with special reference to his expenditure. The second section begins with a memorial: *Donde nasca il mancamento della Sede Apostolica.* There follow data on the Pope's buildings. The latter are discussed in even greater detail in the third and most important section. In this part the author speaks also of the subsidies to Catholic princes. The fourth part deals with embassies sent to Paul V., indicates the personnel of some of the Congregation established by him and once more gives some information on expenditure, the most interesting being details of the expenditure on St. Peter's and other constructions of the Pope.[1] Some of the most important passages I herewith quote textually:—

[Chapter I.]

Abondanza.

Hebbe a cuore l'Abondanza, e nel suo stato mai si patì di vittoaglie, ne di prezzo eccessivo, come è successo ne luoghi convicini.

[1] Vol. XXV. pp. 49 *seqq.*, 53, 78, 86 *seqq.*, 96, 99 *seqq.*, 104, 105, 109, 110, 275. Vol. XXVI., 351, 365.

Ha provista di roba anco di fuori dello stato, quando è occorso il bisogno senza guardare ne a spesa, ne ad interesse.

Per mantenimento delle vittoaglie ha fabricato granari e farinari, dove faceva conservare molta quantità di grano e farina. E la farina particolarmente contro la malitia de fornari et inondatione del fiume.

Ha procurato l'accrescimento dell'arte del campo, e dati privilegi agli agricoltori tanto di Roma quanto di Corneto.

All'Abondanza di Roma ha lasciato grosso corpo di denari.

Deputò una Congregatione di prelati per il governo di essa, e volse che si facesse in Palazzo contigua alle sue stanze per potervi intervenire a suo piacere o sentire de vicino quello che in essa si discorreva e li pareri d'ognuno de congregati.

Le risolutioni faceva annotare a un libro et a Sua Santità se ne mandava copia et in margine annotava quello approvava, reprovava, raccordava o commandava si havesse ad esseguire.

Da principio hebbe pensiero, che l'Abondanza consistesse principalmente nel fare le pagnotte grosse. Questa opinione era fomentata da alcuni della Congregatione o fosse per aderire alla volontà del principe o perchè così credevano et essendo state alcune bone raccolte agiutarono questa opinione.

Cominciò poi la terra a non rendere il frutto così abondante. Li mercati perciò a lasciare di sementare, poichè non potevano dare il grano al prezzo, che era necessario al fornaro per fare il peso del pane, come voleva il prefetto dell'Annona. Li fornari facevano pane cattivo per poterne cavare il denaro e pagare il prezzo del grano a quei mercanti che restavano.

Il principe rimetteva di borsa in far venire i grani di fuori a grave prezzo per potere supplire al mancamento di quello che non nasceva nel territorio di Roma.

Da questo disordine volse Sua Santità che nella Congregatione si facesse discorso di quello si havesse da fare. E li pareri furono diversi, quali si dettero in iscritto a Sua Santità e si notorno nel libro delle resolutioni. Fu il cardinale Serra di parere, che si mantenesse il pane grosso. Monsignor Rucellai prefetto dell'Annona disse, che li dava l'animo di mantenere il pane al peso, che si trovava, se così commandava Sua Santità. Il Commissario della Camera et il Costaguta affermorno, che si dovea calare il peso, valendo più al popolo il pane di manco peso e buono, che grosso e cattivo, e che oltre al servitio del popolo era utile del principe, che non vi rimetteva di borsa,

e si sariano mantenuti i mercanti, che haveriano potuto lavorar il terreno.

In ogni modo era tanto il zelo di Sua Santità verso li poveri, che volse seguitare il parere di lasciare il pane di peso grave. Ma verso la fine dell'anno accortosi del pan cattivo, che si faceva et accertatosene con mandarlo a comprare da parafranieri, e da alcune false accuse, che vennero dati contro i mercanti de grani che le cose violenti non sono durabili, fece dal Costaguta fare discorso di quello le paresse circa il modo di governar l'Abondanza. Glielo detti in scritto l'anno 1613.[1] E nell'anni seguenti si governò conforme alle stagioni con gran facilità. E quando le raccolte eran triste, come fu l'anno 1617, con la quantità de grani che teneva ne granari, havea tempo di fare le provisioni di fuori, si come fece di gran somma, e quello che perdeva ne grani forastieri in tempo di strettezza, lo guadagnava in quelli che haveva già provisti ne tempi di larghezza.

Mantenimento dello stato.

Sapeva Sua Santità lo stato ricuperato da Giulio II. a santa Chiesa, la prohibitione di non alienarlo fatta da Pio V. e 'l tesoro messo in Castello da Sisto V. Ma non giudicando Sua Santità bastanti queste provisioni lo ha assicurato :

Con fortezze.

Finì quella di Ferrara cominciata da Clemente VIII., risarcì quelle del mare Adriatico, quelle del Mar Tirreno e fabricò nove torri per scoperta dell'incursioni de Corsari. Volse, che fussero munite d'armi e di vittoaglie.

Con l'armi.

Fece due armarie in Roma, in Castel S. Angelo l'una, e l'altra in Vaticano. Una in Ancona, una in Bologna, et una in Ferrara, et fondere molte artiglierie.

E volse, che dal Costaguta si procurassero inventari di tutte l'armi offensive e difensive, che sono nell'armerie, fortezze, città, terre e luoghi dello stato provisti da Sua Santità e da

[1] The *Discorso di G. B. Costaguta sopra il governo dell'Abbondanza di Roma data alla s. mem. di Paolo V. l'anno 1614 (*sic* !) is kept in Costaguti Archives in Rome.

suoi predecessori. De quali fu fatto libro, e lasciato l'esemplare in Camera non più per l'adietro usato.

Introdusse in Tivoli la fabrica d'ogni sorte d'armi offensive e difensive per la soldatesca non più stata per l'adietro in altro luogo del stato ecclesiastico.

Con le militie.

Instituì le militie a piede et a cavallo per tutto lo stato, le fece armare a certo numero, e le nobilitò con privilegi, sapendo che non basta al principe haver li popoli ben affetti, se in tempo di bisogno non sono armati ed essercitati.

Con denari.

There follows a general survey of activity in this sphere.

Conservatione delle Scritture.

Per conservatione delle scritture della Sede Apostolica ha fatto nel Vaticano archivii, perchè non siano strabalzate, come per li tempi passati. Levò però la stampa del Palazzo Vaticano, ancorchè utile, quando se li fosse atteso, acciochè li poco amorevoli della Sede Apostolica non potessero far comento sopra i libri stampati con qualche errore o per inavertenza del stampatore o poca cura del correttore.

Accrebbe la libraria di stanze e di libri e la ornò.

Roma.

A Roma città dominante e sua patria hebbe amore particolare ne tralasciò cosa che potesse credere utile alla città o particolari.

Agiutò la povertà, quelli non atti a lavorare con l'elemosine manuali, nelle quali si distribuiva grossa somma a monasteri, luoghi pii, persone vergognose, povere zitelle, che o si monacavano o si maritavano, poveri infermi et altri d'ogni sorte. A quelli che erano atti a lavorare dava il modo di guadagnare con le fabriche, che ha fatto principalmente per trattenimento de poveri della città, che in conseguenza hanno causato bellezza ad essa città, commodo a Pontefici et honore al Signore Idio et alla sua santissima Madre. Ha però fatta condurre l'Acqua Paola, fabricato il Palazzo di Monte Cavallo con la cappella,

ristaurato il Palazzo Vaticano, fornita la chiesa di S. Pietro con la loggia della benedittione et Confessione, la cappella di Santa Maria Maggiore e sacristia, la sacristia di detta chiesa, eretta la colonna che stava al tempio della Pace avanti a detta chiesa, et a Santa Agnese fatto il ciborio sopra l'altare et in esso altare riposti li corpi di detta Santa e di santa Emerenziana in una cassa d'argento, ristaurato il monasterio delle Convertite, et altro. Quali fabriche et elemosine, che mantenevano molta quantità di persone, hanno dato occasione d'augumento alla città. . . .

[Chapter II.]

Porti e strade fatte e raccomodate.

Porto di Fano.
Porto di Civitavecchia.
Porto d'Ancona.
Ponte di Ciprano et altri accomodati e risarciti.
La bocca della Fiumara di Roma.
La strada di Campagna per Napoli . . .

Fabriche in servitio dell'Abondanza.

Granari a Termini oltre un farinaio. Un cortile grande per commodità d'asciugar i grani, che fossero in qualche modo offesi.

Fontana per commodità delli bestiami, che portano il grano.

Accomodato il Palazzo di S. Giovanni Laterano a uso di granaro.

Risarciti li granari di Ripa Grande.

Fatto granaro nel Palazzo Vaticano per servitio del Palazzo e di Borgo . . .

[Chapter III.]

Fabriche per servitio dello stato.

Fortezza di Ferrara.

Torre di Badino appresso Terracina. Torri di Valdalga e Marangone appresso a Civitavecchia.

Ristaurato la fortezza e città d'Ancona e la Santa Casa et altri luoghi maritimi tanto del Mar Adriatico come dal Mar Tirreno . . .

Fabrica dell'armi in Tivoli.

Sua Santità dette molti privilegi a quest'arte con facoltà d'estraere fuor del stato la roba fabricata, e dette intentione, avviata che fosse la fabrica, di prohibire l'introdurre nel stato simili opere forestiere . . .

Elemosine

continoate e fatte fare dalla santa memoria di Paolo V.

A sette collegi oltramontani [1] e case de poveri, e sono l'infrascritte :

Il Collegio di Braunsperga, Fulda, Velna, Praga, Vienna [2] . . ., Olmus e . . .,[2] Case de proveri di Fulda e Praga	sc.	11 190
Collegio di Remes in Francia	sc.	2 100
Collegio delli Inglesi in Roma	sc.	600
Collegio de Maroniti di Roma	sc.	600
Collegio di Scio	sc.	520
Al P. Generale de Gesuiti per sovvenitione della missione di Costantinopoli	sc.	600
Al detto per sovvenitione d'alcuni padri che sono in Altena	sc.	100
Alla Casa del Rifugio di Roma	sc.	1 000
Al Collegio Scozzese di Roma	sc.	600
Penitentieri di S. Pietro	sc.	1 000
Penitentieri di S. Giovanni Laterano	sc.	160
Alle Scuole Pie	sc.	200
Alla Dottrina Christiana	sc.	200
Alle coltre delle Catedrali	sc.	500
Vestiti d'infedeli che venivano al santissimo battesimo	sc.	3 000
Alla Santissima Nuntiata per il maritaggio delle zitelle sc. 1500 d'oro per	sc.	1 950
Al Confalone per il maritaggio delle zitelle sc. 300 d'oro per	sc.	390
All'elemosiniero publico e segreto per distribuir a luoghi pii, a poveri religiosi, e zitelle che si monacavano o maritavano. Pelegrini et oltramontani, che		

[1] *Cf.* the *Tabella per le paghe da farsi dal depositario della Camera in 1619. *Cod.* 362, p. 16 of Archivio di Propaganda, in Rome.

[2] Name illegible.

venivano a Roma. Poveri vergognosi, et infermi della Città e simili sc. 42 000

Al decano de parafrenieri per dar a poveri mendichi ogn'anno in Camera sc. 1 000

A luoghi pii per lo stato sc. 5 000

Elemosine di Palazzo, cioè in Campo Santo pane e vino due giorni la settimana a 1000 poveri. Si dava a mangiare a 27 poveri ogni giorno. Elemosine a diversi luoghi pii di Roma una volta la settimana. Alla casa delli Indiani e loro interprete e capellano. All'ospedale di Santa Marta quello bisogna. Alli prigioni. A molte persone nobili venute in povertà. A molti venuti alla fede. Il tutto si calcola possa importare sc. 10 000

sc. 82,710

Oltre alle sudette se ne facevano
Dal Datario.
Da Monsignor Tesoriere.
Da tribunali.
Da doganieri per l'esentione.
Dalli appaltatori di sale in sale.
Da Sua Santità di sua mano.

Acqua Paola.

L'Acqua Paola condotta da Bracciano fa capo in due luoghi, cioè nel Janicolo a S. Pietro Montorio e nel Vaticano in Belvedere.

Da S. Pietro Montorio si riparte a Ponte Sisto, a Savelli, a Orsini, in Trastevere et altri luoghi. Da Belvedere si riparte dentro al Palazzo alli torrioni, a piede alle scale, dentro al giardino, alla fontana Isolata, alla Musaica, alla Palazzina, alle statue d'Innocentio, alla Cleopatra, alla Peschiera grande, sopra la Galleria, alla Vignola, alla libraria, nel teatro, alla Panattaria, alli Svizzeri, Fuor del Palazzo : sotto il Porticale di S. Pietro, nella Piazza di S. Pietro, alla Piazza del signor cardinale Borghese, alla Traspontina vecchia, per Borgo novo, per Borgo vecchio, a S. Spirito per l'ospedale, per Borgo S. Spirito, alla Lungara et altri luoghi.

Il condurre l'acqua e far cisterne publiche è peso del principe a spese de popoli, che ne sentono il benefitio, la necessità dell'acqua è cosa naturale et il popolo e particolamente i poveri la possono havere solo per mezzo delli acquedotti e cisterne publiche, non havendo essi ne modo ne commodità di farne. Che in Trastevere e Borgo, per quali luoghi è stata condotta principalmente quest'acqua ve ne fosse bisogno, si vede chiaramente, e già vi fu condotta l'Acqua Felice dalla santa memoria di Clemente VIII., che poi per la rottura del Ponte Santa Maria non potè continuare. È utile perchè cresce la città d'habitatori per la commodità dell'acqua e li datii publici.

Monte Cavallo.

Aperta et indolcita la strada. Allargata la piazza. Fabricata la guardia de cavalli a Vercelli, le stalle per il Palazzo con le commodità delle fontane. Comprò il Palazzo della Dataria. Et attaccato al Palazzo molta quantità di case per la commodità della Corte con cortili grandi. Il giardino nobilitato di fontane e di piante, fabricato nella galleria del Palazzo un salotto con due camerini, capella et altre commodità per l'inverno ottime.

Verso il giardino.

Fabricar le scale ample, alte e chiare, un salone con due sale. Quattro stanze, et una capella privata belle et ornate di pitture con altre commodità sopra. Riquadrato il cortile e selciato.

Verso strada Pia.

Una sala con sei stanze belle. Un salone con la capella nobilissima per funtioni publiche. Sotto stanze nobili per li tribunali della Ruota e Camera e per li ministri della capella. Sopra molte commodità per la famiglia.

È stato necessario fabricare questo palazzo per havere il principe luogo, dove ritirarsi massime l'estate per fuggire la mal aria del Vaticano, conforme all'esempio degli antecessori, che molti sono anche andati fuor di Roma. E da Gregorio XIII. ultimamente fu preso questo luogo, dove per serie continoata hanno habitato tutti i Papi, ma con molto incommodo loro e della famiglia e di tutta la Corte, danno di molte migliaia

di scudi alla Camera per le pigioni delle case che si pagavano e roba che si strapazzava in portarla e riportarla da un luogo all'altro, gridi d'habitatori convicini, ch'erano cacciati di casa, lamenti de padroni di esse case, che non trovavano a locarle, e che da cortigiani gli erano lasciate in cattivi termini, e che era più la spesa che facevano in accomodarle, che il provento di esse pigioni.

Palazzo Vaticano.

Accomodato il portone vecchio di esso Palazzo dentro e fuori. Il cortile del Teatro. Levata terra. Fatte chiaviche. Fortificata, coperta e ristaurata la galeria Gregoriana. Le stanze e soffitte dell'appartamento nuovo. Li forni e tutte le case contigue ad essi. Le fenili, stalle. Il torron grande della lanterna. Il muro della spalliera de Melangoli. Il muro del giardino di Paolo III. Le stanze della stampa con il bastone sotto la galeria scoperta, e sua volta. Rimesse delle carrozze, granari, stanze della biada. Munitione della legna. Gallinaro, scale del giardino delle statue. Corritore scoperto sopra il corritore longo. Stanze della sacristia. Armeria. Condotti dell'Acqua vecchia di S. Antonio. Le fontane e palazzina di Pio IV., stanze del Maestro del Sacro Palazzo. Fatte di novo le stanze, e portone sopra la panataria con le scale, terrapieno e salita a cordone. Stradone, che va alla stampa. Molti muri del giardino, dove erano fratte. Condotti di S. Antonio, e diverse fontane del l'Acqua Paolo per tutto il giardino. Le stanze dell'Archivio acanto alla libraria. Accomodato nel palazzo novo la Dataria con tutti gli offitiali. Dato luogo alli registri di tutti gli offitii della Corte, le stanze per la Ruota. La Segreteria de brevi. Li stanziolini per l'inverno. Risarcito il Palazzo per li danni fatti nelle due sedi vacanti passate. Ristaurata la guardia de cavalli legieri et svizzeri. Li bastioni di Borgo. In Castello molti luoghi. Il Corridore che dal Palazzo Vaticano va in Castello. Rifatto l'albero di Castello abbrugiato dalla saetta.

Due sono state le necessità di fabricare in questo palazzo. L'una causata dall'antichità di esso Palazzo che in questo tempo era venuto a termine d'haver bisogno di molto risarcimento essendovi in esso molte parti, che minacciavano rovina, oltre il ristauramento de danni, che furono fatti grandi nelle due sedi vacanti antecedenti. La seconda causata dall'haver

atterrata molta parte di esso Palazzo per dar luogo alla fabrica della Chiesa di S. Pietro, che è bisognato risarcire quella parte che è restata e trovar nuovo luogo alla Dataria, Camera, Ruota et altri offitii della Corte necessarii et utili per grandezza della Sede Apostolica.

Chiesa di S. Pietro.

La Chiesa di S. Pietro fornita. Il porticale. La loggia della benedittione. La sacristia. Il choro. La Confessione di S. Pietro con pietre belle, statue di metallo indorato di molto valore. Una lampada d'argento bella per l'artifitio, e di valore per il peso. Entrata per il mantenimento de lumi e per la custodia di essi.

Questa fabrica era in stato di manifesta ruina, come fu considerato da molti architetti. Da Nostro Signore col consiglio del sacro Collegio de cardinali in un concistoro segreto fu risoluto, che si buttasse a terra e quanto prima si rifacesse, e con molta ragione essendovi quel santo corpo, che tutto il mondo riverisce, capo di santa Chiesa, e dal quale Roma riceve gloria e la Sede Apostolica veneratione.

Per dar luogo a questa fabrica fu necessario buttar a terra gran parte del Palazzo ad essa contiguo, dove eran stanze e molte commodità per li Pontifici, loro corte e famiglia. E dovendo Giov. Battista Costaguta come forier maggiore trovarli nuovo luogo, fece fare la pianta del restante Palazzo con tutte le parti adiacenti, inclusa la detta basilica et essendole parsa oltre al suo bisogno cosa curiosa, essortò Martino Ferrabosco valente architetto a far l'intagliare in rame, et insieme l'alzata, prospetto et altre parti della basilica vecchia e nova, e darla al mondo si per memoria di esse, come per gusto delli intelligenti della professione.

Accettò volentieri l'impresa et in vita di esso Paolo V. havendone finite alcune tavole li furono mostrate. E vistole Sua Santità lodò talmente l'opera, che commandò si attendesse alla fine, e che le tavole si facessero vestite d'historia. Fu però chiamato Ferrante Carlo scelto fra primi letterati della Corte et eminente in ogni professione, et a questo effetto gli furono assegnate stanze in Palazzo vicino alla libraria e provisto il suo bisogno, acciò potesse con più facilità attendere all'opera.[1]

[1] See above, p. 426, n. 2.

Santa Maria Maggiore.

Da fondamenti fatta la sacristia per li canonici et altra per li beneficiati con palazzo per habitatione de canonici e ministri della chiesa, stanze per far il Capitolo et il choro per uso del clero.

Ristaurato il tetto del sudetto palazzo abbrugiato per inavvertenza di un ministro, che dormiva in una stanza sotto a esso tetto.

Accomodato il campanile tocco due volte dalla saetta e copertolo di piombo.

Rifatta la campana grossa.

Drizzata la colonna, levata dal tempio della Pace e messavi sopra la Madonna Santissima col putto in braccio in metallo indorato. Condotta l'acqua alla detta colonna et alla guglia situata dall'altra parte di essa chiesa. Aperte molte strade. Da fondamenti eretta la nobilissima capella ornata di marmi bellissimi con statue di marmo et in essa postovi il deposito di Clemente e sue imprese. Il telaro dell'altare di essa capella ornato di diaspro con colonne e basi dell'istesso, e sopra di esso angeli di tutto rilievo di metallo indorato. La luce del quadro di esso altare, di lapislazaro con angiolini di mezzo rilievo di metallo indorato et il telari in faccia alla santissima imagine di amatista con un altro telaro a torno pieno di diverse gioie. Il legno, dov'è dipinta la santissima imagine, è posto dentro a una cassa di metallo in un solo pezzo indorato, coperto con ornamento d'argento con oro, adornata con una bellissima collana, e corona di gioie diverse legate in oro et argento, et una croce d'oro con belli diamanti con catena d'oro.

Contigoa alla capella ha fabricata la sacristia per servitio di essa molto bella con abitatione per il sacristano e protettore pro tempore.

Ha ornata detta capella e sacristia, e così quella de canonici di molto belle e vaghe pitture, descritte in libro da Andrea Vittorelli l'anno 1616. Per servitio di questa capella Sua Santità a fatto una molto bella, ricca e vaga supellettile. Sei candelieri e croce d'argento per l'altar maggiore di vago lavoro e molto peso. Due torchieroni grandi pure d'argento, et una lampada, et altre simili d'ottone.

Per le capellette candalieri, croce e lampada d'argento, oltre quelle d'ottone per li giorni ordinarii. Teste molto grandi.

Apostoli in statue di rilevo, reliquiari belli. Vasi per fiori tutti d'argento.

Di questi vasi ve ne sono anco d'ottone e di christallo ornati d'argento.

Molti calici con loro patene. Profumieri grandi. Ostensori, bacili d'oro, e di essi due con gioie, piviali, tonicelle, paramenti d'altare di ricamo d'oro, di damasco con trine d'oro et altri in gran quantità.

Biancheria per tutto il bisogno in gran copia e con lavori belli assai. Tutto quello, che è necessario per la consacratione de vescovi, tanto per il consacrato, quanto per il consacrante.

Data entrata per mantenere i ministri, la fabrica e la supellettile.

I canonici di detta basilica per gratitudine di animo di tanti benefitii fatti a detta chiesa, gli hanno eretta una statua maggiore del naturale di metallo.

Sua Santità era particolarmente divoto della santissima Vergine e da lei riconosceva ogni sua grandezza e bene.

Altre fabriche pie.

A Santa Agnese ha fatto il ciborio. Una cassa d'argento, dove è stato riposto il corpo di essa Santa e di sant'Emerenziana.

Alla fabrica del monasterio delle Convertite abrugiato casualmente ha dato grosso agiuto.

Al Seminario Romano comprò il palazzo.

A Frascati ha fatta la chiesa de Camaldoli, da Sua Santità introdotti a quel luogo.

Fabriche publiche.

A Ripa Grande le scale per commodità del scarico delle barche. A Ripetta luogo capace per le legna, che publicamente si vendono.

Aperte strade a S. Francesco in Trastevere.

Allargata e ridrizzata la strada a Ponte quattro capi.

Alla Scrofa et altre intorno a Monte Cavallo selciata la strada del Popolo sino a Ponte Molle . . .

[Chapter IV.]

Congregationi instituite da Paolo V.

Congregatione per la militia.

Signor cardinale De Cesis.
Monsignor Cappone tesoriere generale [1] e poi cardinale.
Signor Mario Farnese luogotenente generale.
Monsignor Malvasia chierico di Camera.
Monsignor [Giulio] Monterentio commissario della Camera.[2]
Giovan Battista Costaguta.

Congregatione del saldo de conti.

Monsignor Cappone tesoriere generale.
Monsignor Malvasia chierico di Camera.
Monsignor Monterentio commissario della Camera.
Giovan Battista Costaguta.
Antonio Fracasso
Fantino Benzi
Matteo Pini
Giov. Carlo Claratio
} computisti della Camera.

Congregatione delle fabriche.

Monsignor Cappone tesoriere generale.
Giovan Battista Costaguta.
Giov. Angelo Formento.
Flaminio Ponsi architetto di Sua Santità.
Carlo Maderno architetto della fabbrica di S. Pietro.

Congregatione dell'Abondanza.

Monsignor Serra tesoriere generale e poi cardinale.[3]
Monsignor [Girolamo] Serlupi chierico di Camera e presidente della Grascia.
Monsignor Rucellai chierico di Camera e prefetto dell'-Annona.
Signor Ortensio de Rossi commissario della Camera.
Giov. Battista Costaguta.

[1] See above, vol. XXV., 54.
[2] Cf. Moroni, XCIX., 140.
[3] Above, XXV., p. 333.

Congregatione per l'interessi della Camera.

Monsignor Patritio tesoriere generale.
Signor Ortensio de Rossi commissario della Camera.
Giov. Battista Costaguta.

Fabriche in Roma e per il stato.

Fortezza di Ferrara c[a]	sc.	600 000
Porto di Civitavecchia	sc.	82 000
Fiumicino c[a]	sc.	62 000
Investiti nel Monte delle Communità seconda erettione per mantenimento di essa c[a]	sc.	18 000
Laghetto in Castel Gandolfo c[a]	sc.	3 600
Porto d'Ancona	sc.	15 000
Palazzo Vaticano	sc.	240 000
Monte Cavallo c[a]	sc.	365 000
Acqua Paola c[a]	sc.	400 000
Granari di Termini	sc.	25 000
	sc.	1 810 600

Fabrica di S. Pietro.

Ha donato per servitio di dessa fabrica : A dì . . . Febraro 1612 sc. 100[m], ritratti in più somma da luoghi 300 del Monte delle Lumiere. Luoghi 258⅓ del Monte Novenale e luoghi 300 della Fede eretti sopra li detti 2000 delli pescivendoli di Roma. E scudi 3000 dell'avanzo della reduttione del Monte Sisto	sc.	100 000
A dì . . . Maggio 1614 sc. 50241, ritratti da luoghi 420 del Monte della Fede eretti sopra l'avanzo della riduttione del Monte della Fede	sc.	50 241
A dì 23 Ottobre 1614 sc. 70 800, ritratti da luoghi 600 del Monte della Fede eretti sopra l'apalto del Banco di Pescaria	sc.	70 800
A dì . . . Luglio 1618 sc. 70 467 moneta, havuti dal re di Francia per la concordia fatta con Sua Maestà per li Monti, che doveva in Roma la già Leonora Concina compresivi li frutti decorsi per tutto Aprile 1618	sc.	70 467
	sc.	291 508

Li sudetti Monti sono compresi nel debito fatto da esso Paolo V. di sopra descritto.

Entrate donate da Paolo V. alla fabrica di S. Pietro oltre alla retroscritta somma de denari.

In Napoli.

Gabella del grano a rotolo detti 7243, tari 2 e grani 7.
Gabella de frutti et agrumi detti 5096, tari 1 e grani 9.
Gabella del 2° grano a rotolo detti 4999, tari 4 e grani 18.

In Portogallo.

Assegnamento sopra la Crociata di Portogallo detti 10^{m} de reais, sc. 500 ogn'anno . . .

Fabriche de luoghi pii.

A Santa Maria Maggiore in fabrica c^{a}	sc.	330 000
Nella capella in mobili c^{a}	sc.	50 000
Alle convertite c^{a}	sc.	12 000
Palazzo comprà per il Seminario Romano c^{a}	sc.	18 300
Santa Agnese c^{a}	sc.	5 000
A Frascati a Camaldoli c^{a}	sc.	6 000
	sc.	421 300

Agiuto dato a' principi.

All'imperator Rodolpho l'anno 1606 circa	sc.	130 000
Al re di Polonia l'anno 1613 c^{a}	sc.	40 000
Al principe di Nemburgh l'anno 1614 c^{a}	sc.	10 000
All'imperator Ferdinando fiorini 380^{m} che sono in c^{a}	sc.	228 000
	sc.	408 000

Alla lega di Germania li denari cavati dalle decime del clero d'Italia.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXVI.

ACARIE, Madame [Mary of The Incarnation, Carmelite], 59–63 *seq.*
Adrian I., Pope, 379.
Adrian IV., Pope, 384.
Albani, Francesco (painter), 417, 423.
Albergati, Antonio (nuncio), 88 n., 119 *seq.*, 125, 297 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*, 336
Albert, Archduke (governor of the Netherlands), 84–7, 97 *seq.*, 121, 185 n., 209, 214, 298 *seq.*, 233, 260 n.
Alberti, Giov. (painter), 409 n.
Albert, St. (bishop of Liège), 98.
Aldobrandini, Gian Francesco, 407.
Aldobrandini, Pietro, Cardinal, 1–4, 178–9, 415.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 430.
Alfarano, Tiberio (architect), 385.
Aliaga, Luis de (O.P., confessor to Philip III.), 198.
Aloysius, St., 93.
Alt, Salome (concubine of Raitenau), 342.
Altemps, Gian Angelo (duke), 450.
Altieri, Mario, 390.
Amalteo, Attilio (nuncio), 118 *seq.*, 332.
Ambrose, St., 104.
Anacletus I., Pope, 401.
Anastasia (wife of Ivan IV.), 231.
Andeolus (Capuchin), 48.
Angela Merici, St., 64, 67, 71, 74.
Angelis, Paul de, 377 n.
Angoulême, Duke of, 367.
Anne (wife of James I.), 178.
Anne of Austria (1st wife of Sigismund III.), 34.
Anne Catherine (widow of archduke Ferdinand), 350.
Anne Maria (daughter of Philip III.), 190.
Aquaviva, Claud (General of the Jesuits), 16 *seqq.*, 22 n., 28 n., 44 *seq.*, 92, 102–3, 185 n., 243.
Aquino, Ladislao d' (bishop of Venafro), Cardinal, 342.
Arenberg, Family of, 92.
Argenti, Giov. (S.J.), 243 *seq.*
Arigoni, Pompeo, Cardinal, 2 n.
Arnauld, Antoine, 13.
Arnoux (Arnould, S.J., Confessor of Louis XIII.), 37 *seq.*, 44, 47, 367.
Arpino, Cesare d' (painter), 392, 409, 426, 458.
Arundel, Earl of, 137.
Aschausen, Johann Gottfried von (prince-bishop of Bamberg), 302 *seq.*, 316, 337 *seq.*, 344, 440.
Athanasius, St., 150.
Averulino, *see* Filarete.

BADOER, Angelo (Venetian ambassador), 43.
Baglione, Giovanni (art critic), 405, 424.
Baglioni, Atalante, 449.
Bainham, 134.
Baius, 90.
Baldinucci (art critic), 459.
Baltazar, Christ. (Jesuit provincial), 22 n.
Balmerino, Lord, 178 *seq.*
Bancroft (archbishop of Canterbury), 166, 168.
Bandini, Giov., Batt., Cardinal, 418.

Baranowski, Albert (archbishop of Gnesen), 238, 246.
Barberini, Maffeo (nuncio, later Pope Urban VIII.), 1 *seq.*, 4 *seqq.*, 23, 202 n., 378, 387, 410.
Barclay, William (Scottish jurist), 19 *seq.*, 176 n.
Bardon de Brun, Bernard, 56.
Barocci, Federigo (painter), 449 n.
Baroffio, Cesare (auditor), 236.
Baronius, Cesare, Cardinal, 71 n., 213, 380, 413.
Bartolomeo, Fra (painter), 449 n.
Barvitius, 274, 301.
Bastoni, Guglielmo (nuncio), 393 n.
Bates, Thomas, 145 *seq.*, 155.
Baudouin (Jesuit), 158.
Baur, Johann Wilhelm, 456.
Beauvilliers, Marie de, 50.
Becanus, Martin, (S.J.), 97.
Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal, 19 *seqq.*, 27, 83, 97, 167 *seq.*, 170–9, 291.
Bellisle, *see* Orleans.
Bellièvre, Pomponne de (French chancellor), 8.
Bellori, G. P. (art-historian), 113.
Bénard. Laurent. (Cluniac prior), 52.
Bennett, John, 203.
Bentivoglio, Cardinal, 35–42, 55, 85–91, 100, 113, 121, 123, 127, 180, 204, 214, 297, 367, 436, 447.
Berchmans, John, St., 93.
Bermond, Françoise de, 62 *seq.*
Bernardona, J. M. (S.J.), 247.
Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 14.
Bernini, Lorenzo (sculptor), 450, 458–460.
Bernini, Pietro (architect and sculptor), 407, 421 *seq.*, 458.
Bertaut, Jean (bishop of Séez, poet), 53.
Berthelot, Guillaume (sculptor), 410, 420, 422, 450.
Bertius, Peter (philologist), 128.
Bérulle, Pierre de (French Oratorian), 6, 56–61, 64.
Bethlen, Gábor, 258, 366.
Bianchi, Giuseppe (organ builder), 388, 390.
Bichi, Metello (archbishop of Siena), Cardinal, 389 n.
Birkhead, George (English archpriest), 168.
Birkowski (Dominican), 245.
Bisignano, Prince of, 393 n.
Bizoni, Paolo (canon of St. Peter's), 381
Blackwell (English archpriest), 133, 144, 164–170
Boeskay, Stephan (a notable Hungarian), 255 *seq.*
Bolswert, Schelte a (engraver), 106 n.
Boniface IV., Pope, 383.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 383.
Bonsi, Giambattista (bishop of Béziers), Cardinal, 32 n.
Bonvicino, Ambrogio (sculptor), 401, 406–8.
Bordes, Jean de (S.J.), 47.
Borecki, J. (archimandrite), 253.
Borghese, Family of, 444 n.
Borghese, Camillo, Prince, 444.
Borghese, Giov. Batt. (brother to Paul V.), 444 n.
Borghese, Marcantonio (nephew to Paul V., prince of Sulmona), 444 n.
Borghese, Marcantonio, Prince, 452 n.
Borghese [Caffarelli], Scipione (nephew to Paul V.), Cardinal, 14, 20, 37, 174 n., 206, 214, 229, 265, 302, 305 *seq.*, 315 *seq.*, 320, 357, 374 *seqq.*, 390, 412 *seq.*, 423, 431, 446–451, 455, 458–9.
Borghese, Scipione, Prince, 342 n.

Borja, Gaspar, Cardinal, 198, 355, 359, 361.
Born, John. Georg von, 440 n.
Borromeo, Charles, St., 44, 86, 403, 407.
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne (bishop of Meaux), 163 n.
Botero, Giovanni, 327 n.
Bouillon, Duke of, 191.
Bourdoise, Adrien, 56–60.
Bourgneuf, Charles de (bishop of Nantes), 42.
Bracciano, *see* Orsini, Virginio.
Bracciolini, Francesco (poet), 448.
Braconio, Niccolò (architect), 385.
Bramante (architect), 385 *seq.*, 400, 417, 446.
Bréauté, Marquise de, 61.
Brenner, Martin (bishop of Seckau), 342 n.
Bresciano, Prospero (sculptor), 450.
Breslay, Ren. de (bishop of Troyes), 25.
Brétigny, *see* Quintandoine.
Brèves, Savary de (French envoy in Rome), 18, 24, 165, 291.
Bril, Paul (painter), 447 *seq.*, 450.
Brissac, *see* Cossé.
Brouncker, Henry, 213.
Brulart de Sillery, Nicolas, 8, 11.
Brun, *see* Bardon.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 199.
Buckley, Sigebert (O.S.B.), 204.
Buczynski, Johann, 222.
Budowec, Wenzel, 286.
Bufalo de'Cancellieri, Innocenzo (bishop of Camrino), Cardinal, 13.
Buquoy, Charles, Count of, 356, 359.
Burghley, William Cecil (Lord), 156 n.
Bus, César de, 42, 58, 60, 62.
Buselius (Franciscan), 119.
Buzzi, Ippolito (architect), 406.
Bzovius, Abraham (chronicler), 427.

Caetani, Antonio (archbishop of Capua), Cardinal, 263–5, 273, 280, 286, 290, 294, 305, 309 n., 351.
Caffarelli, Scipione, Cardinal, *see* Borghese.
Calvin, John, 40, 82, 116.
Camelin, Bart. de (bishop of Fréjus), 25.
Camus, Pierre (bishop of Belley), 53.
Canisius, Peter, St., 86, 96, 246.
Caracci, Family of the, 114.
Caracci, Agostino (painter), 104.
Caracci, Annibale (painter), 448.
Caracci, Antonio (painter), 424.
Carafa, Decio (archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 85.
Caravaggio [Amerighi], Michelangelo (painter), 109, 409, 450 n.
Casale, Giacento da (Capuchin), 347.
Casaubon, Isaac, 6.
Castellesi, Adriano, Cardinal, 446.
Castro, *see* Lerma.
Catesby, Robert, 130–7, 140 *seq.*, 152 *seqq.*, 160.
Catherine of Genoa, St., 74.
Cati, Pasquale (painter), 424.
Cayet, Pierre Victor Palma, 7.
Cazères, François de, 65.
Cecil (English priest), 165.
Cellini, Benvenuto (artist), 445 n.
Censore, Orazio (sculptor), 411.
Cesi, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 378, 387, 391 *seq.*
Champigny (English priest), 165.
Chantal, Baron, *see* Rabutin.

Chantal, Jane Frances de, St., 67–70, 74 *seqq.*, 80.
Charmoisy, Madame de, 78.
Chastel, Jean, 13.
Chichester (viceroy of Ireland), 210 *seqq.*, 215.
Charles (son of James I., King of England),
Charles I. (King of England), 79, 161, 191.
Charles IX. (King of Sweden), 232 n.
Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, 354.
Christina (daughter of Henry IV.), 190 n., 191.
Christophori, Denis (bishop of Bruges), 88.
Cichochi, Kaspar, 244.
Cigoli, Lodovico (painter), 385, 409, 447 *seq.*
Clare, St., 106.
Clement VIII., Pope, 1, 5, 13, 39, 47, 51, 60, 84, 90, 92, 96, 130 *seqq.*, 165, 178, 202, 218, 255, 378, 386, 398, 403.
Coeberger, Menzel (architect), 98.
Coëffeteau, Nicolas (O.P.), 55.
Coeuvres, De (French ambassador), 38.
Coke, Edward, 154 *seq.*, 158, 182, 184.
Collalto, Count of (envoy), 316.
Condé, Prince de, 26 n., 34, 36.
Constance (2nd wife of Sigismund III.), 232, 235.
Constans, The Emperor, 379.
Constantine the Great, 379.
Cordieri, Niccolò (sculptor), 404, 407, 415, 450.
Cosino (Capuchin, painter), 446 n.
Cospeau, Philip (bishop of Aire), 53.
Cossé, Charles de (Duke of Brissac), 61.
Coster, Francis (S.J.), 96 *seq.*
Coton, Pierre (S.J.), 9, 11, 18, 32, 367, 39, 43–7, 59, 64, 176, 246.
Cotton, Robert, Sir, 197.
Crescenzi, Pietro Paolo, Cardinal, 378.
Crivelli, Giulio Cesare (envoy), 291, 363 *seq.*
Croce, Baldassare (painter), 424.
Czyrzowski (Jesuit), 218, 226.

Daniel a S. Severo (Capuchin), 48.
Demetrius (adventurer), 230.
Demetrius (son of Ivan IV.), 228 n., *seq.*
Demetrius, "The False," 218–230.
Deza, Pedro, Cardinal, 444.
Diaz, Antonio (nuncio), 297, 342.
Dietrichstein, Franz von (bishop of Olmütz), Cardinal, 353 n.
Digby, 144–7, 195–9.
Digby (English envoy), 195–9.
Dikastus (pastor in Prague), 369.
Diotallevi, Francesco (auditor), 237 *seqq.*, 253.
Domenichino [Zampieri, Domenico], (painter), 104, 110, 413, 415, 417.
Dominic a Jesu Maria (Carmelite), 368.
Donadieu, François de (bishop of Auxerre), 25.
Dormy, Claude (bishop of Boulogne), 36.
Dosio, Giov. Ant. (architect), 385.
Drake, Francis, 130.
Dubois, Jean, 17.
Duc, Franton du (Jesuit), 47, 176.
Due, James, 206.
Du Perron, Jacques Davy (bishop of Evreux), Cardinal, 9, 11, 25, 30 *seq.*, 34, 42, 47, 83, 186.

Du Plessis Mornay, Philippe, 12, 18, 21, 28, 49.
Durand, 24.
Duval (theologian), 24.

ECHTER, Julius, von Mespelbrunn (archbishop of Würzburg), 337 *seq.*
Edmondes (French envoy), 195.
Effern, Wilhelm von (bishop of Worms), 336.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 149 n., 169, 178, 180–186 n., 301 n.
Elizabeth (daughter of James I.), 189 *seq.*
Ernest of Bavaria (elector of Cologne, etc.), 256 *seq.*, 299, 329.
Essex, Earl of, 145 n.
Estius, William, 91.
Eudämon, Joannes (S.J.), 24.
Eudes, Jean, Bl., 60.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 397.
Evelyn, John (diarist), 451 n., *seq.* n.

FABRICIUS, Peter (S.J.), 241 n.
Favre (servant to St. Francis of Sales), 78.
Fawkes, Guy (conspirator), 136, 138, 144, 151, 155, 158.
Felice, Simone (engraver), 453, n. 1.
Felini, Pietro Martire (Servite), 438.
Fenouillet, Pierre (bishop of Montpelier), 53.
Fenzoni (auditor to Card. Borghese), 303.
Feodor (Tsar), 219.
Ferrabosco, Martino (sculptor), 401, 422, 426.
Ferdinand I. (grand-duke of Tuscany), 263.
Ferdinand II. (duke of Styria), Emperor, 238 n., 255, 263, 265, 269, 317, 322–7, 355–8, 360–4, 372, 441.
Ferdinand III., Emperor, 200.
Ferdinand of Bavaria (elector of Cologne), etc., 88, 329–333, 345, 356, *seqq.*
Feria, Duke of (governor of Milan, Viceroy of Sicily), 184 n.
Ferreri, Giov. Stefano (bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 256 *seq.*, 260–3.
Ferrerio, Domenico (sculptor), 406, 410.
Ferrier, Joseph, 10 n.
Ferrucci, Pompeo (sculptor), 421.
Ferrucci, Prospero (sculptor), 408.
Filarete (Antonio Francesco Averulino, painter and sculptor), 397.
Filesac, Jean, 24.
Fitzherbert, Thomas (English priest), 202 n.
Flugi-d'Aspermont, Johannes V. (bishop of Chur), 350.
Fontaines-Marans, Madeleine de [Mother Madeleine de St. Joseph, carmelite], 61.
Fontana, Domenico (architect), 385.
Fontana, Giovanni (architect), 378, 385, 394, 411, 428–431.
Fontana, Lavinia (painter), 450.
Forgács, Francis (archbishop of Gran), Cardinal, 282, 284.
Forner, Friedrich (Vicar-general of Bamberg), 338.
Fourier, Jean (S.J.), 79.
Fourier, Peter, St., 57, 72.
Francesca Romana, St., 403, 407.
Francesco Maria II. (duke of Urbino),
Francis de Sales, St., 53, 58, 67–84, 90.
Francucci, Scipione (poet), 450 n.
Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto (nuncio), 84 *seq.*, 297.

Franzini, 438.
Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor, 171.
Frederick II., Emperor, 171.
Frederick IV. (Elector Palatine), 199, 202, 272.
Frederick V. (Elector Palatine), 159, 190, 325, 354–7, 364, 366 *seqq.*
Frémyot, Bénigne, 68, 70.
Fuente, Diego de la (Spanish envoy), 200.
Fugger von Kirchberg-Weissenhorn, Jacob (bishop of Constance), 341–2.
Fürstenberg, Dietrich von (bishop of Paderborn), 330 *seq.*
Fürstenberg, Wradislaw von, 367.
Furtenbach, Zacharias (Dean of Augsburg), 363.

Galamina, Agostino (general of the Dominicans), Cardinal, 50.
Galli, Ant. M., Cardinal, 450.
Gallutius, Tarquinius (poet), 429.
Gandèves de Cuyes, Touss. de (bishop of Sisteron), 25.
Garnet, Henry (S.J.), 130–5, 144–157, 183, 204.
Garzadoro, Girolamo (nuncio), 332.
Gautier (Jesuit), 24.
Gedroye, Melchior (bishop of Samogitia), 247.
Gelenius, Egid. (pilgrim to Rome), 440 n.
Gembicki, Laurentius (archbishop of Gnesen), 246.
Gemmingen, Conrad von (bishop of Eichstätt), 338.
Gennings, John (Franciscan), 204.
Gentileschi, Orazio (painter), 448 n.
Gerard, John (S.J.), 144, 146–8, 155.
Gesualdo, Ascanio (nuncio), 100.
Geyer, Adam, 282.
Giotto [Ambrogio di Bordone], painter, 391–400.
Giovannoli, Alò (artist), 437.
Gislenius, J. (S.J.), 247.
Giuliani, Vinsenzo, 158.
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 185 n 3.
Giustiniani, Bernardo, Cardinal, 378.
Givry [Anne d'Escars], Cardinal, 52, 54.
Godunow, Boris (Tsar), 219, 227, 228 n.
Gondi, (bishop of Paris, Cardinal Henri), 8, 42, 58, 60, 64.
Gondomar, *see* Sarmiento.
Gontery, Jean (S.J.), 47, 64.
Gostomska-Sieniawska, Elizabeth, 247.
Goethe, 429.
Greenway [Oswald Tesmond, S.J.], 134, 144–48, 155.
Greenwell (Jesuit), 155.
Gregory the Great, St. Pope, 283, 403.
Gregory V., Pope, 390.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 122, 124, 241, 379, 385, 390, 441.
Gregory XV, Pope, 17 n., 40, 200, 437.
Gretser, Jacob (S.J.), 244.
Greuter, Matthew, 442 *seq.*
Grimaldi, Jacopo, 380, 382, 384, 394.
Grodicius, Stanislaus (S.J.), 245.
Groslot de Lisle (Huguenot), 12.
Grotius, Hugo, 128.
Guerra, Giovanni (architect), 417.
Guidotti (painter), 450.
Guise, Family of the, 14 n.
Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 232 n.

HABSBURGS, The, 293 *seq.*, 309, 315 *seqq.*, 347, 354, 367.
Hadrian, The Emperor, 379.
Hallweil, Johann Georg von (bishop of Constance), 340.
Harington, John, 143.
Harley, Achille de (president of the Paris parliament), 12, 15, 17, 21, 24.
Harley (son of the above), 24.
Harley, Nicolas de, 48.
Harrison (English arch-priest), 203.
Hartmann, Johann (vicar-general of Münster), 329.
Hausen, Wolfgang von (bishop of Ratisbon), 339.
Hauser (alchimist), 295.
Hay, Lord, 198.
Heemskerk, Marten van (painter), 379.
Henry (son of James I.), 190 *seq.*
Henry IV. (emperor), 171.
Henry III. (king of France), 16.
Henry IV. (king of France), 1–18, 33, 39, 41, 43 *seq.*, 48, 53, 57, 63, 69, 122, 159, 173–7, 182, 271, 292.
Henry VIII. (king of England), 167, 184 n., 441.
Hellot, Charles (O.S.B.), 50.
Herrera (biographer of Urban VIII.), 387.
Hoboken (Flemish envoy), 143.
Hoch, Johann, 442.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von (archbishop of Salzburg), 343 *seq.*
Honoré, P. (Capuchin), 92.
Hove, Matthias van den (archbishop of Malines), 86, 88.
Hugo, Hermann (S.J.), 97.
Hurault, Philippe (bishop of Chartres), 25.
Hurault de L'Hôpital, Paul (archbishop of Aix), 25, 42.
Hyacinth, St., 406.

IGNATIUS of Loyola, St., 71–80, 105, 115.
Ildefonso, St., 106.
Illésházy, Stephan (Hungarian magnate), 261, 273.
Imperiale, Gian Vincenzo, 439.
Innocent III., Pope, 401.
Innocent VII., Pope, 384.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 379, 384, 390.
Innocent IX., Pope, 384.
Innocent XI., Pope, 348 n.
Insulensis, Angelicus (Capuchin), 48.
Isabella Clara Eugenia (wife of Albert of Austria), 85, 97 *seq.*, 105 *seq.*, 360 n.
Ivan IV. (Tsar), 218, 227, 231.

JAMES I. (King of England), 13 n., 79, 129 *seq.*, 137, 142 *seq.*, 161–180, 184, 187–202, 207, 209, 215, 365.
James II. (King of England), 161.
Jeannin, The President, 11, 41.
John Frederick (duke of Württemberg), 414.
John George (elector of Saxony), 323, 365, 372.
John Sigismund (elector of Brandenburg), 325.
John of St. Samson (Carmelite), 62 n.
Joyeuse, Duke of, 216 n.
Joyeuse, François, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 24, 41 *seq.*, 59.
Julian the Apostate, 167.
Julius II., Pope, 390, 400.
Julius III., Pope, 389.

KEARNEY, David (archbishop of Cashel), 214 *seq.*
Klesl, Melchoir (bishop of Vienna), Cardinal, 260, 282, 285, 293, 303–327.
Knöringen, Heinrich von (bishop of Augsburg), 268, 344.

Konaschewytsch - Sahajdatschnyi (hetman of Cossacks) 253.
Kuncewicz, Josaphat (archbishop of Polosk), 250 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*

LAMBERG, Karl von (archbishop of Prague), 286.
Lancellotti, Orazio Cardinal, 415.
Landini, Taddeo (sculptor), 421.
Lanfranco, Giovanni (painter), 398, 410, 421, 457.
Lante, Marcello (bishop of Todi), Cardinal, 378.
Lascius, Martin (S.J.), 245.
Laurefici, Vincenzo, 123, 200.
Laurens, Honoré du (archbishop of Embrun), 42.
Lauwers, Nicolas (engraver), 106.
Lawicki, Andreas (S.J.), 222–6.
Lefèvre de la Boderie (French envoy in England), 165.
Lemire, Jean (bishop of Antwerp), 88.
Le Nobletz, Michel (curate), 56.
Leo I., St., Pope, 385.
Leo IX., Pope, 383.
Leo XI., Pope, 415.
Leo XII., Pope, 452 n.
Leopold (archduke, bishop of Passau and Strasburg), 289, 294 *seq.*, 339.
Leporeo, Lodovico (poet), 458 n.
Le Prêtre, Claude, 28.
Lerchenfels, Johann Sixt von (provost of Leitmeritz), 353.
Lerma, Francisco de Castro (Duke, Spanish ambassador), Cardinal, 197.
Lessius, Leonard (S.J.), 97.
Lestonnac, Jeanne de (O.S.B.), 66, 72.
Lhullier, Madeleine, 63 *seq.*
Lipsius, Justus, 90, 99.
Lis, Eustache du (bishop of Nevers), 25.
Lisle, *see* Groslot.
Livinus, St., 105.
Lobkowic, Popel von, 286.
Lodron, Paris von (archbishop of Salzburg), 311 n.
Logan, John, 161, 206.
Lohelius, Johann (archbishop of Prague), 353.
Lombard (archbishop of Armagh), 214.
Lommelin, Adrian (engraver), 106.
Lommelin, Conrad (engraver), 106.
Longhi, Martino (architect), 417, 444 *seq.*
Longhi, Onorio (architect), 417 *seq.*
Longueville, Duchess of, 61.
Lorenzo da Brindisi, St. (Capuchin), 290, 293 n., 347.
Lorraine, Charles de [Vaudemont], Cardinal, 51, 54.
Lucalberti, Lorenzo (O.S.B.), 51.
Louis V. (Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt), 366.
Louis XIII. (King of France), 21, 37, 39, 41, 44, 52, 62 n., 64, 355, 367.
Lukaris, Cyril (patriarch of Constantinople), 252.
Luther, Martin, 116.
Luynes, de (Duke), 37, 41.

MACAULAY, Lord, 129.
Machault, Jean (S.J.), 14.
Maciejowski, Bernhard (archbishop of Gnesen, etc.), Cardinal, 221 *seqq.*, 234 *seq.*, 246.
Madeleine de St. Joseph, *see* Fontaines-Marans.
Maderno, Carlo (architect), 37 *seq.*, 82, 85.
Maderno, Stefano (sculptor), 406 *seq.*, 420, 87 *seqq.*, 93–

96, 401, 411, 416, 419, 427, 429, 431 *seqq.*, 444, 446.
Madruzzo, Carlo, Cardinal, 288 n., 302, 310, 314, 347 *seq.*, 351.
Madruzzo, Giovanni Gaudenzio (nephew of Card. C. Madruzzo), 310 n.
Magdalena (sister to Maximilian I. of Bavaria), 328.
Magdelène, Baron de, 165.
Maggi, Gian Paolo (architect), 386, 424, 434, 437.
Magrath, Miler (bishop), 209.
Maignelay, Marquise de, 58 *seq.*
Maillane, Jean, 142.
Mais, Gisbert (bishop of Bois-le-duc), 88.
Makeblyde, Louis (S.J.), 86.
Maldonatus (Jesuit), 23.
Mancini, Giulio (physician), 438 *seq.*
Mander, P. (Augustinian), 275, 281, 348.
Marcellus II., Pope, 384.
Margaret (Queen of Navarre), 185 n.
Maria (Infanta of Spain), 190.
Mary the Catholic (Queen of England), 204.
Mary Stuart, 142.
Mariana, Juan (S.J.), 15–18.
Mariani, Camillo (painter), 406 *seq.*
Marin, Lancelot (S.J.), 63.
Marguemont, Simon de (archbishop of Lyons), 53, 60, 73.
Marra, Placido de (bishop of Melfi, nuncio), 283, 295, 297, 299, 302, 304.
Mars, Noel (O.S.B.), 51.
Marthonie, Henri de la (bishop of Limoges), 55.
Marthonie, Raimond de la (bishop of Limoges), 55.
Martinian, St., 283.
Martinitz, Jaroslav von, 286.
Mattei, Asdrubale, 422 n.
Matthews, Eugenius (archbishop of Dublin), 215.
Matthias (archduke), Emperor, 255 *seq.* n., 260 *seq.*, 271–286, 293–306, 318 *seq.*, 323, 326, 352, 355, 359.
Maurice of Orange, 124–7.
Maxentius, 411.
Maximilian I. (duke of Bavaria), 174 n., 268 *seq.*, 288–293, 307, 312, 323–6, 342, 345 *seq.*, 358, 360, 363–7 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*
Maximilian II., Emperor, 282, 285, 302, 304.
Maximilian of Tyrol (grand-master of the Teutonic Order), 340 n., 348 *seqq.*
Maximilian Ernest (brother of archduke Ferdinand of Styria), 255, 318–325.
Mazarin, Jules, 447.
Mazucca, Sestilio (bishop of Alessano), 381.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal, 3 *seq.*, 443.
Medici, Maria de' (Queen of France), 16 *seq.*, 19, 21, 25 *seq.*, 34, 48, 55, 58 *seq.*, 61, 79, 190, 196.
Melozzo da Forli (painter), 414.
Ménard, Hugo (O.S.B.), 53.
Messenius, Joh. (chronicler), 232 n.
Metternich, Lothaire von (elector of Trêves), 333 *seq.*
Michaelis, Sebastian (O.P.), 50.
Michelangelo, 102, 385 *seqq.*, 390, 395 *seq.*, 450, 458.
Milensio, Felice (O.S.A.), 265 *seq.*
Miller, Fr. (confessor to Rudolph II.), 265.
Millini, Giangarzia, Cardinal, 274–282, 290, 342, 414.
Minski, Stanislaus (Polish vice-chancellor), 234.
Miraeus, 97.
Mirgel, Jacob (co-adjutor of Constance), 341.
Miron, Charles (bishop of Angers), 42.

Miron, Robert (orator of the Tiers-État), 30, 33.
Mniszek, George (cousin to Card. Maciejowski), 221 *seqq.*, 227.
Mniszek, Marina (wife of the False Demetrius), 222, 224 *seq.*
Mocchi, Francesco (sculptor), 407.
Molé, Edward (Capuchin), 48.
Montaigne, Michel de, 66.
Montague, Lord, 137.
Montalto, Cardinal, 390, 416.
Monte, Francesco Maria del, Cardinal, 378.
Monteagle, Lord, 133, 137 *seqq.*
Morin, Jean (orientalist), 48.
Mornay, *see* Du Plessis.
Mucantius, J. P. (Papal master of ceremonies), 386.

Neefs, Jacob (engraver), 106.
Neustetter, Joh. Christoph von (dean of Bemberg), 337.
Nicolai, 440 n.
Nicolas V., Pope, 379, 384.
Northampton, Earl of, 147, 153, 189, 192.
Northumberland, Duke of, 137, 158.
Nugety [Nugent], Francis (Capuchin), 217 n.

Oates, Titus, 140.
O'Devany, Cornelius (bishop), 215.
Ogilvie, John (S.J.), 207.
Oldcorne (Jesuit), 148 *seq.*, 151.
Oldenbarneveldt, Jan van, 127 *seq.*
Orléans Antoinette d' (Marquize de Belle-Isle), 50.
Orsini, Alessandro, Cardinal, 375.
Orsini, Virginio (duke of Bracciano), 368, 428.
Ortenberg, Hermann von (auditor of the Rota), 84 n.
Ostrogski, Anna, 249.
Ostrogski, Constantine, Prince, 248, 252.
Ostrogski, Count (son of the above), 248.
Otrepjew, Gregory (monk), 227.
Otto II., Emperor, 391.
Owen, Hugh, 144, 158, 196.

Palloni, Gasparo (secretary), 374.
Pallotta, Giov. Ev., Cardinal, 378, 380 *seqq.*, 387 *seq.*, 391.
Palma Vecchio (painter), 458.
Paluzzi, Gaspare, 276 n
Paravicini, Erasmo (nuncio), 357 n.
Paravicini, Ottavio (bishop of Alessandria), Cardinal, 259.
Passignano, Domenico (painter), 410, 450.
Paul I., Pope, 383.
Paul III., Pope, 378, 394.
Paula, St., 74.
Pázmány, Petrus (S.J., archbishop of Gran), Cardinal, 325.
Pelissier, Jean (bishop of Apt), 6.
Percy, Thomas, 137, 155, 158.
Perille, Pompey de (bishop of Apt), 6 n.
Perkins, Christopher (ex-Jesuit), 162 n.
Persons, Robert (S.J.), 167, 171, 185 n.
Perugino, Pietro (painter), 390.
Petit, Jean (O.P.), 16, 31.
Petkowski, Kaspar (S.J.), 245.
Petrarch, 448.
Petronilla, St., 383.
Philip III. (King of Spain), 27, 121, 142 n., 189, 192–200, 290 *seqq.*, 317, 321, 357.
Piccolomini, Lelio, 389.
Pierling, Paul (S.J.), 229 n.
Pius II., Pope, 389, 395.
Pius III., Pope, 389.

Pius V., Pope, 162.
Pius XI., Pope, 412 n.
Pociej, Hypatius (metropolitan of Kiev), 248 *seq.*
Pomarancio (painter), 458.
Ponte, Pietro Antonio da (nuncio), 297.
Ponzio, Flaminio (architect), 385, 403, 414, 419, 434, 444 *seqq.*, 451.
Pordenone, Giov. Ant. da (painter), 450–8.
Porta, Tommaso della (sculptor), 448.
Porzia, Girolamo (nuncio), 288.
Porzio, Gregorio [Greg. Portius] (secretary, poet), 447.
Possevino, Ant. (S.J.), 245.
Potier, René (bishop of Beauvais), 33.
Pratissoli, Luigi (private secretary), 221.
Preston (English Benedictine), 168.
Processus, St., 383.
Provenzale, Marcello (artist), 398, 449.
Provenzale, Matteo (artist), 391.
Pstrokoniski, Matthias (chancellor of Poland, bishop of Przemysl), 234, 246.

Quintandoine de Brétigny, Jean de, 61 n.

Rabe, Justus (S.J.), 245.
Rabutin, Christopher (Baron de Chantal), 68 seq.
Rainaldi, Carlo (architect), 445, 451 n.
Rainaldi, Girolamo (architect), 385, 405, 452.
Raitenau, Wolfgang Dietrich von (archbishop of Salzburg), 342 *seqq.*
Raleigh, Walter, Sir, 154 n.
Rangoni, Alessandro (nephew of Claudio Rangoni), 221, 224.
Rangoni, Claudio (bishop of Reggio, nuncio), 218–223, 231, 233, 237 *seq.*
Raphael, 107; 449, 458.
Ravaillac, François (murderer of Henry IV.), 15.
Raymund of Pennafort, St., 406.
Recordati, Aurelio, 454 n.
Rembrandt (painter), 115.
Reni, Guido (painter), 110, 409 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*, 423, 426, 447 *seq.*
Renzi, Matthias, 275.
Retz, Cardinal, 37.
Révol, Ant. de (bishop of Dol), 58.
Ricci, Antonio (bishop of Arezzo), 400 n., 401.
Ricci, Giov. Batt. (painter), 397, 401 *seq.*
Richardot, Jean (archbishop of Cambrai), 88.
Richelieu (bishop of Luçon), Cardinal, 33, 48, 54, 320.
Richeome, Louis (S.J.), 47.
Richer, Edmond (syndic of the Sorbonne), 21–6, 37.
Ridolfi, Lodovico (Papal chamberlain), 320 *seq.*
Rimboldi, Giov. Batt. (auditor), 310 n.
Rivarola, Domenico (archbishop of Nazaret), Cardinal, 185 n.
Rochefoucauld, François de (bishop of Clermont), 24, 42, 54, 64, 176.
Romanov, Michael (Tsar), 231.
Romillon, Jean Baptiste (missioner), 43.
Rosati, Rosato (architect), 417.
Rospigliosi, Family of the, 447.
Rosweyde, Heribert (S.J.), 97.
Rovenius, Philip (Vicar Apostolic), 123, 126.
Ruade, Bruno (Carthusian, bishop of Conserans), 53.
Rubens, Peter Paul (painter), 98–115, 246, 417.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 255 *seqq.*,

259 *seq.*, 260–4, 269, 272–281, 284–8, 293–9, 354, 407.
Rughesi, Faustolo (architect), 417.
Rughesi, Paulo (architect), 386.
Ruini, Lelio (auditor), 236 *seq.*, 253.
Rutski, Welamin (metropolitan of Kiev), 249–253.
Ruysdael, Joh. van (painter), 115.
Ryser, Johann (S.J.), 127.

SAILLIUS, Thomas (S.J.), 97.
Sainte-Beuve, Claude, 63 *seq.*
Saint-Sixte, Charles de (bishop of Riez), 25.
Salice Federico, 6 n.
Salisbury, Earl of, 138 *seq.* n., 141, 143, 147, 149, 153, 156 n., 157 *seq.*, 170, 190, 212.
Salvago, Giov. Batt. (bishop of Sarzana, nuncio), 294 *seq.*, 297.
Salviati (painter), 449 n.
Sanquirico Paolo (sculptor), 412.
Santen, Juan van (architect), 414, 430, 446, 451, 455, 456 n.
Sapieha, Leo (chancellor of Lithuania), 248.
Saraceni, Carlo (painter), 421.
Sarkander, Johannes (Dean of Olmütz), 358 n.
Sarmiento de Acuña, Diego (Earl of Gondomar), 191 *seq.*, 196, 199 *seq.*
Sarpi, Paolo (Servite), 12, 24, 26
Savelli, Paolo (Prince), 363 n., 372.
Savino, Domenico (architect), 452.
Sawicki (Jesuit), 218.
Scamozzi, Vincenzo (traveller), 1 n., 344.
Schickhardt, Heinrich, 441.
Schweikhart, Johann, Elector of Mayence, 298, 315, 334 *seq.*
Schuiskij, Wassilij (Russian boiar), 227, *seq.* n.
Schwalbach, John. Friedrich von (abbot of Fulda), 337.
Scribianus, Charles (S.J.), 97.
Selwyn (English judge), 153.
Serra, Giacomo, Papal Chamberlain, 258.
Serra, Jacopo, Cardinal, 378.
Servin, Louis (advocate-general), 6, 12, 13, 15, 19 *seqq.*, 27, 31, 36.
Sfondrato, Paolo Emilio, Cardinal, 415, 417 *seq.*
Sherley, Robert, 185 n.
Sigismund III. (King of Poland), 220 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 230–247, 253.
Sillery, *see* Brulart.
Silvester I., Pope, 401.
Simoncelli, Giov. Batt. (bishop of Bauco), 399 *seq.*
Simonetta, Francesco (bishop of Foligno, nuncio), 230, 234 *seqq.*, 248.
Singleton (agent of the archpriest Blackwell), 164, 166.
Sirmond (Jesuit), 24.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 390 *seq.*
Sixtus V., Pope, 84, 88, 377, 385, 403.
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 243, 245 *seqq*
Slawata, William, 286.
Solari, Santo (architect), 344.
Somerset, Earl of, 192, 196.
Soria, Giov. Batt. (sculptor), 413.
Sötern, Philip Christoph von (bishop of Speier), 336.
Soulfoux, De (Oratorian), 64.
Sourdis, François d'Escoubleau de, Cardinal, 8, 65.
Spaur, Andreas von (prince-bishop of Brixen), 348, 351.
Spinola (Spanish general), 333, 368, 372.

Sponde, Henri, 48.
Stanislaus Kostka, St., 93.
Stapleton, Thomas, 83, 90.
Stati, Cristoforo (sculptor), 407 *seq.*
Stati, Francesco (sculptor), 408.
Stefaneschi, Giacomo Gaetano, Cardinal, 391.
Stein, Kaspar (physician), 440 *seqq.*
Stobäus, George (bishop of Lavant), 342.
Stricker, Martin, 119.
Stuart, Family of the, 161.
Suarez, Francis (S.J.), 27 *seq.*
Suarez, James (bishop of Séez), 54.
Sully, Maximilian, 6.
Sulmona, *see* Borghese, Marcantonio.
Sylvius, Francis, 91.
Szyszkowski, Martin (bishop of Cracow), 246.

Tachler, Joh. Conrad (Cistercian), 1 n.
Talbot, George, 202 n.
Targone, Pompeo (architect), 404 *seq.*, 428, 434.
Tasselli Domenico, 382 n.
Tassi, Agostino (painter), 421.
Tempesta, Antonio, 442, 447 *seq.*
Teniers, David (painter), 99.
Teresa of Jesus, St., 104, 115.
Tesmond, *see* Greenway.
Teynham, Lord, 179.
Theodosius the Great, Emperor, 104.
Theophanos (patriarch of Jerusalem), 252 *seq.*
Thibaut, Philippe (Carmelite), 62 n.
Thou, Auguste de (president of Paris, Parlament), 12 *seqq.*, 21.
Thurn, Heinrich Matthias von (count), 354 *seqq.*
Tilly (Fieldmarshal), 368.
Titian (painter), 458.
Toledo, Pedro de (marquis of Villafranca), 84 n.
Torres, Cosmo de (auditor), 239 *seq.*
Torres, Lodovico de (archbishop of Monreale), Cardinal, 414.
Torrigiano, Sebastian (sculptor), 402.
Torrigio, Franc. Maria, 399.
Törring, Albert von (bishop of Ratisbon), 339.
Tortus, Matthew (chaplain to Card. Bellarmin), 171.
Trajan, Emperor, 427.
Trauttmansdorff, Max von (Imperial envoy in Rome), 361 *seq.*
Tremblay, Joseph du (Capuchin), 491, 51.
Tresham, Francis, 133, 136–9 n. 144, 150.
Tresnel, Marquis de (French ambassador), 28.
Truchsess, Otto, Cardinal, 288.
Tschernembl (calvinist), 273, 282.
Turriani, Ottavio (architect), 385.
Tylicki, Peter (bishop of Cracow), 234, 256.
Tyrconnel, Earl of, 169, 213 *seq.*, 216.
Tyrone, Earl of, 169 *seq.*, 213 *seq.*, 216.

Ubaldini, Roberto (nuncio in Paris), 9–28, 32, 34 *seq.*, 37, 41 *seqq.*, 55, 176, 195 n.
Ulm, Heinrich von (prince-abbot of Kempten), 345 n.
Urban VI., Pope, 384.
Urban VIII., Pope, 17 n., 187 n., 387.

Valenti, Erminio (bishop of Faenza), Cardinal, 218 *seq.*
Valsoldo, Giov. Ant. (sculptor), 407.

Van Dyck, Ant. (painter), 99, 105, 110–115.
Vanini, Giulio Cesare (heretic), 42 n.
Vasanzio, Giovanni (sculptor), 424.
Vaudemont, François de, 184 n.
Velasco (Spanish envoy), 190.
Verdun, Nicolas, 21, 27.
Veron, François (S.J.), 47.
Veronese, Paolo (painter), 450.
Verospi, Fabrizio (nuncio), 327.
Verweg, Ant. (missionary), 125.
Viau, Théophile de (poet), 42 n.
Vieupont, Jean de (bishop of Meaux), 25.
Viggiù, Silla da (sculptor, architect), 407.
Vignier, Nicolas (Calvinist), 20.
Villafranca, *see* Toledo.
Villars, Pierre de (archbishop of Vienne), 82 n.
Villeroi (duke of Neufville), 11, 41.
Vincent de Paul, St., 55.
Visconti, Alfonso (bishop of Cervia), Cardinal, 378.
Vitelleschi, Nuzio (general of the Jesuits), 244.
Vittorelli, Andrea (theologian), 409 n.
Vives, Giov. Batt. (Referendary, Papal envoy), 85 n.
Vosmeer, Sasbold (Vicar-Apostolic), 124.
Vossius, Johann, 128.

Ward, John, 151 n.
Ward, Mary, 205, 347.
Wegelin, George (abbot of Weingarten), 341.
Werden, Conrad von, 119 n.
Westernach, Eustachius, 322.
White, Jacob, 213, 216.
Widdrington, Roger, 168.
Wiggers, Nicolas (O.F.M.), 124 *seq.*, 332.
William V. of Bavaria, 288 n.
Winter, Thomas, 130 *seq.*, 144, 155.
Wisniowezki, Adam, 220.
Witt, Arnold von (missionary), 125.
Wolfgang William (Count-palatine of Neuburg), 102 *seq.*
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 320.
Wolucki, Paul (bishop of Lusk), 231, 238, 246.
Worthington, Thomas (president of Douai seminary), 203 n.
Wotton (English envoy in Venice), 175.
Wright (dean of Courtrai), 203 n.
Wright, Christopher, 155.
Wright, William (S.J.), 166.

Xainctonge, Anne de (Ursuline), 66 n.
Xavier, St. Francis, 105, 115.

Zaleski, S. (Jesuit), 241 n.
Zahorowski (ex-Jesuit), 244.
Zamet, Sebastian (bishop of Langres), 60.
Zamoiski (Polish senator), 220
Zamoiski, John (archbishop of Lemberg), 235.
Zebrzydowski, Nicolas (palatine of Cracow), 220, 233, 248 n.
Zermoski, Peter (secretary to Sigismund III.), 109 n.
Zierotin, Karl von, 273.
Zuñiga, Baltasar de (Spanish envoy), 170, 280, 286, 290.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy), 170.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVII.

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXVII., XXVIII. and XXIX	vi
Complete Titles of Books quoted in Volumes XXVII., XXVIII. and XXIX	viii
Table of Contents	xxxv
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xxxix
Gregory XV. 1621–3—Introduction	1
Election, Antecedents, and Character of Gregory XV. the Ludovisi	29
Gregory XV.'s Activity within the Church—Creations of Cardinals—Bull on Papal Election—Canonization—Furthering of the Orders	86
Foundation of Propaganda and State of the Missions—Position of Catholics in Holland and England	129
Progress of the Catholic Reformation and Restoration in France, Switzerland and the German Empire	197
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	297
Index of Names	331

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVII.

INTRODUCTION.

A.D.		PAGE
	Era of Paul III.	1
	Movements of reform	2
	Pontificates of Pius IV.	4
	Pius V.	5
	Gregory XIII. and	7
	Sixtus V.	8
	Solution of French problems	9
	Clement VIII.	10
	Paul V.	12
	Baroque Art	13
	European position	15
	Gregory XV.	16
	Urban VIII.	18
	Cardinal Richelieu	19
	Protestantism threatened	20
	The Thirty Years' War	21
	Policy of Richelieu and of	24
	Urban VIII.	25

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF GREGORY XV.—THE LUDOVISI.

1621	Cardinals concerned in the election of Gregory XV.	29
	Discussions in the Conclave	32
	Conflict of parties	34
	Agreement on Ludovisi	39
	Election of Gregory XV.	41
	Character of the new Pope	42
	His previous career as	43
	Referendary of the Segnatura and	44
	Archbishop of Bologna	45
	His personal characteristics	47
	Cardinal Ludovisi—	51
	His tact and ability	54
	Nepotism of Gregory XV.	55
	The Nephew's Villas	57
	Cardinal Ludovisi as patron of Art	60
	His charities	64
	The relatives of the Pope	65

A.D. PAGE
Foundation of the *Accademia dei virtuosi* . . 69
Giovan Battista Agucchi 70
Attacks on the Pope and the Nephews . . . 72
Gregory XV.'s admonitions to Ludovisi . . . 74

CHAPTER II.

GREGORY XV.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—BULL ON PAPAL ELECTIONS—CANONIZATIONS—FURTHERING OF THE ORDER.

1621 Creation of Cardinals 86
Their names and characteristics 87
Further creations 88
The Pope's relations with his Cardinals . . . 91
The death of Bellarmine 92
Papal efforts for the release of Klesl . . . 93
Which was obtained 95
Imprisonment of Lerma 96
Remonstrances of the Pope 97
Situation in Spain 98
Antagonism of Venice 101
Instruction to Venetian Nunzio 103
Action of the Inquisition 105
Reconciliation of de Dominis 106
Extension of the Inquisition's powers . . . 107
Reform of Papal Elections 108
The Bull promulgating new regulations . . . 115
A second Bull 118
Devotion of Gregory XV. to the Saints . . . 119
Canonizations 120
Observance of festivals 123
Foundation of Religious Institutes . . . 125
Cardinal Ludovisi's esteem for Jesuits and Capuchins 127

CHAPTER III.

FOUNDATION OF PROPAGANDA AND STATE OF THE MISSIONS—POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN HOLLAND AND ENGLAND.

1622 Foundation and Origin of Propaganda . . . 129
Its scope and 133
Finance 134
The division of its work and 135
Its ministry 137
Canonical visitations 138
The Jesuits in the East and 142

A.D. PAGE
In Africa 145
The Franciscans in India 146
Jesuit missions there and 147
In China 149
Mission work in Japan 150
In America and 151
In Northern Europe 153
Oppression in Holland 154
Difficulties in England 156
1621 Suggested Spanish marriage 159
Anti-Catholic excitement in Parliament . . . 161
Violent speeches 164
Dissolution of Parliament 166
The Spanish marriage again 167
More exacting conditions imposed by Rome . . 168
Character of the Infanta Maria 171
Her reluctance to the match 173
Further negotiations 174
1623 Prince Charles in Madrid 176
The efforts of Olivares 179
Are defeated. 180
The Pope's anxiety for the match 181
To bring amelioration to English Catholics . . 182
Thus the Dispensation was granted 183
Further difficulties and delays 187
Gregory's letter to Prince Charles 189
Its reception with "utmost reverence" . . . 190
Further letter to King James 191
James I.'s difficulties 193
Antagonism in England 195
Marriage treaty signed in vain 196

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION AND RESTORATION IN FRANCE, SWITZERLAND AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE—DEATH OF GREGORY XV.

1621 The struggle for Catholic Restoration 196
The Valtellina dispute 197
1621 The Mission of Corona in Turin 206
And in Paris— 207
Its failure— 209
The Articles of Milan 211
1622 The Murder of St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen . . 212
Subjugation of the Grisons 213
1623 The League of Lyons 215
1623 Papal troops enter the Valtellina 218
Final settlement still under discussion . . . 219

A.D.		PAGE
	When Gregory XV.'s death supervened	220
	Instruction to French Nunzio	221
	Stressing reform of Clergy and	222
	Supervision of literary publications	223
	Conversion of the Duke de Lesdiguières	225
	Church reform in France and Netherlands	227
	Briefs sent to German Princes	228
	Instruction to the Nunzio Carafa	231
	Papal subsidies to the Emperor	235
	Methods of raising the necessary money	237
	Activities of Maximilian of Bavaria	238
	Further Papal subsidies	241
	Capitulations in the Rhine Palatinate	243
	The Palatine Library is	244
1622	Presented to the Holy See	245
	Transport of the Library	247
	Controversy over the Electorate	249
	Papal support of Maximilian	251
	Secret transfer of the Electorate	255
	Brief of December, 1621, to the Emperor	257
	Giacinto da Casale's failure at Madrid	259
	Carafa more successful in Vienna	260
	Opposition of Elector of Mayence	261
1623	Maximilian becomes an Elector	263
	Satisfaction of the Holy See	265
	Papal congratulations—	266
	Action of Gregory XV. in Bohemia	267
	Lamormaini's Report on that country	269
	Suggestions for Catholic Restoration therein	273
	Carafa's policy as Nuncio	275
	The great work of the Jesuits	282
	Fifteen Missions founded by them	283
	Their devotion to works of charity and education	285
	Catholic Restoration in the Palatinate	287
	Ill-health of Gregory XV.	288
	His death on July 8th, 1623	289
	Criticism of his Government	290
	Significance of his Pontificate	292
	Revival of Religious sentiment	293

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	On the Policy of Urban VIII. during the Thirty Years' War	300
2	The Papabili before the Opening of the Conclave of 1621	316
3	Programme for the Reform of the Church in Germany presented to Gregory XV. by the Nuncio of Cologne, Ant. Albergati	317
4	Giunti's Life of Cardinal Ludovisi	320
5	Jacopo Accarisi's Biography of Gregory XV	326
6	Antonio Possevino to the Duke of Mantua. July 16th, 1621	327
7	Antonio Possevino to the Duke of Mantua. August 14th, 1621	327

GREGORY XV. 1621–1623.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two niches which flank the altar of the apse of St. Peter's, are filled by the magnificent monuments of Paul III. and Urban VIII. whose unusually long pontificates are like milestones in the story of the Popes.[1] The monument of the Farnese Pope, the work of Guglielmo della Porta, is a valuable creation of the late renaissance, whereas that of Urban VIII., a masterpiece from the chisel of Bernini, belongs to the baroque period. The century between the election of Paul III. and the death of Urban VIII. (1534–1644), is one of the most important and most brilliant epochs in the history of the papacy, the Catholic reformation and restoration forming its outstanding characteristics.

The era which opened with Paul III. was one of internal renewal as well as of resistance to Protestantism which was then raising its head in threatening fashion in every European country, Italy not excepted. In view of the ever increasing apostasy of the Germanic peoples, a like action was to be feared on the part of the Romance and Slavonic nations. A peculiar light is thrown upon the situation by the inscription which John Oldecop, a genuinely Catholic chronicler, had affixed to his house at Hildesheim in the year 1549: "Virtue perishes, the Church is shaken, the clergy err, the devil rules, simony prevails, God's word endures for ever."[2] As a matter of fact, once again the promise was verified which was made to the first Pope, and which sparkles in letters of gold from the dome of St. Peter's. By the wondrous leading of Providence

[1] The length of Paul III.'s reign was 15 years, that of Urban VIII. 20 years and 11 months. Of all the successors of Peter until now, only nine have lived longer than the Barberini Pope; see v. LOBKOWITZ, *Statistik der Päpste*, Freiburg, 1905, 69.

[2] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII. [13–14], 427.

this fresh and heavy trial proved, in the end, of great benefit to the Church. Though bleeding from a thousand wounds and bewailing the loss of some of her noblest members, the Church not only withstood the storm of the religious revolution, she also found the way to an internal renewal. The heavy struggle renewed her strength, and her adversaries could not but be astonished at her wonderful spiritual vigour and incomparable powers of recuperation.

The regeneration of the Church came from within. As so often happens when great changes occur, here also the beginnings were most humble. The movement of reform, at first wholly unconnected with the perils that threatened from without by reason of the rise of Protestantism, had begun in most unobtrusive fashion with the "Oratories of divine love" at Vicenza, Genoa and Rome. The first impulse came, not from the Holy See, but from men animated by the Spirit of God, who, tenacious of the treasure of the ancient faith and inspired by obedience to lawfully constituted ecclesiastical authority, first sought their own personal sanctification and only then thought of the amendment of their contemporaries. The occupants of Peter's chair approved and confirmed the aims of Carafa, Giberti and Ignatius and thus made it possible for the efforts of these men to gain strength and efficacy within the Church. In the end the Popes took the lead in the movement, so much so that the history of the reform almost coincides with that of the Holy See. By degrees the Catholic reform, which had displaced the renaissance, also permeated the social, literary, scientific and artistic life.

By a special dispensation of Providence, at a time when Peter's barque was battered by tempestuous seas, the helm was entrusted to men of such excellent character as no other princely throne could boast.[1] Though they differed greatly as regards birth, age, temperament and character, every one of them devoted himself wholeheartedly and intelligently to the solution of the fresh problems raised by the new age.

[1] This is the opinion of L. v. Ranke in a letter to his brother Henry on February 2, 1827; see DOVE, *Zur eigenen Lebensgeschichte von L. v. Ranke*, ed. by Dove, Leipzig, 1890, 164.

Paul III., whose reign of fifteen years (1534–1549) marks the transition from the renaissance to the Catholic reform, remained to a large extent the child of the worldly period in which he had grown up, especially as regards nepotism ; but for all that, he discharged his ecclesiastical duties in a way that differed greatly from that of the Medici Popes. The opening of the General Council for which the whole of Christendom longed so ardently and prayed so insistently, the suppression of numerous abuses, the elevation of many excellent men to the College of Cardinals, the checking of apostasy from the faith, chiefly in Italy, by the creation of the Roman Inquisition, the fostering of foreign missions and the new Orders, such as the Theatines, the Barnabites, the Somaschans, the Ursulines, the Capuchins and the Jesuits—all this was due to him. If to some extent, as a consequence of his worldly tendencies, he was not the right man to secure decisive results, nevertheless, under his pontificate certain useful preparatory tasks were realized without which there could not have been any improvement of conditions within the Church.

The election, on April 9th, 1555, of Cardinal Cervini, meant a considerable triumph for the party which aimed at a strict reform within the Church, but a cruel fate seemed to have shown Marcellus II. to the world, only to withdraw him immediately in the same way as, at one time, Adrian VI. In the person of the seventy-nine year old Cardinal Carafa, the joint founder of the Theatines, a Pope took up the reins who was, in the fullest sense of the word, a man of the Catholic reform. Paul IV., a man of burning zeal, pursued, as head of the Church (1555–9), the same purpose to which he had up till then devoted his whole mind and energy. With iron determination, regardless of persons, and with the utmost vigour, he was resolved to labour for the restoration of the honour and power, the purity and dignity of the Church at that time so hard pressed by its enemies both within and without. In his idealism he sought to impose the authority of the Holy See even on the Christian princes, as had been possible during the great centuries of the Middle Ages. In this respect he failed to take note of the fact that times had changed. The Pope's policy

led to disastrous conflicts, the sharpest being with Philip II. In his inexperience of the world, and from motives both ecclesiastical and national, Paul IV. risked a struggle with the Spanish world power which ended in his utter discomfiture. When he saw his political plans shattered, the Carafa Pope once more devoted all his energy to the reform within the Church and to the uprooting of heresy. If in this action he proceeded with unmeasured severity, and if his conduct bore all the marks of an inexorable repression, which caused him often enough to exceed all bounds, it is nevertheless his merit to have furthered and quickened into life the reform initiated by Paul III. and the enforcement of strict ecclesiastical principles. Thus successive Popes of the age of restoration were able to build successfully on foundations so solidly laid down.

The pontificate of Pius IV. (1559–1565), who was personally of a more worldly bent, but who had by his side an incomparable counsellor in the person of his nephew, Charles Borromeo, was one of decisive importance by reason of the reopening of the Council of Trent, notwithstanding every imaginable opposition, as well as its happy termination. Though the Council proved unable to realize the unity of the faith for the re-establishment of which it had been originally convened, it nevertheless brought into the religious situation a clarification which had long been sadly wanting. Henceforth there could be no doubt as to what was and what was not Catholic. In addition to giving to the Church a comprehensive and systematic statement of Catholic dogma, by its reform decrees the Council likewise laid down a solid foundation for the spiritual regeneration of her children.

The founder of the Jesuits once expressed himself to the effect that it was his belief that a Pope who would reform himself, the Roman Court, and the city of Rome, would also reform the world.[1] Pius V. (1566–1572) was such a man.

[1] "que tres cousas pareciam necessarias e sufficientes para qualquer papa reformar o mundo, scilicet: a reformaçao de sua mesma pessoa, a reformaçao de sua casa e a reformaçao da corte e cidade de Roma" (*Memoriale P. Consalvii*, n. 94: *Mon. Ignat. Ser.*, 4, vol. I, p. 199, *cf.* n. 343, p. 316).

He concludes the first, and marks the transition to the second line of great Popes who carried the Catholic reform and restoration to victory. Venerated by his very contemporaries as a Saint, this son of St. Dominic, by the asceticism of his life, atoned for all the shortcomings of the Popes of the renaissance. A kindred spirit to Paul IV., but without the latter's weaknesses and mistakes, this man of steel in all matters of principle, withstood the omnipotence of the Spanish State with the same undaunted courage with which he fought the still rising flood of the religious revolt. But before all else he was determined to carry through in their totality the decrees of the Council, and to exterminate abuses which had struck deep roots during the period of the renaissance.

In the person of Pius V. the Holy See became the leader and protagonist of the Catholic reform, of which the Pope himself was the purest embodiment. Only now did the new movement gain the necessary strength in the countries which had remained true to the ancient faith. It is wonderful to see how wide-spread was the holy Pontiff's solicitude. He reformed the Roman Court, the Dataria, the Penitentiaria, the College of Cardinals and the clergy of Rome. In every Catholic country he likewise pressed for the execution of the decrees of Trent which he still further supplemented and completed. Clerical seminaries, synods, visitations, enforcement of the duty of residence, were to be the means of creating a blameless secular clergy and of counteracting every form of simony. The Orders also were subjected to a reform in strict conformity with the decrees of the Council. Thus was life breathed into the dead letter of these ordinances and the countenance of the Church rejuvenated. In his efforts for the preservation of the religious, hence also of the national unity of Italy, Pius V. was wholly successful, but his attempt to overthrow that irreconcilable enemy of the Catholic faith, Elizabeth of England, by means of a Bull of excommunication, miscarried and led to a fierce persecution of English Catholics, of whom there remained a great number. In France, in Germany, in Switzerland and in Poland, the Pope also saw the Catholic faith most grievously threatened, whilst there were not wanting most hopeful

beginnings of a reawakening of religious vitality. At the close of his reign, after protracted and wearisome negotiations, Pius V. had the satisfaction of entering into a league with Venice and Spain, whose joint armed forces destroyed the Turkish fleet at the battle of Lepanto, October 7th, 1571. Though the mutual jealousy of Venice and Spain frustrated an exploitation of so great a victory, that day nevertheless marked the beginning of the decline of the Turks' sea power, southern Europe was freed from the danger of being swept by an Islamic flood, and the legend of Ottoman invincibility shattered. It is easy to understand the wave of indescribable joy which swept over the whole of Christendom under the first impression of such an event. With this glorious triumph over the Crescent the Pope's task was accomplished. He died on May 1st of the following year, deeply regretted by the Roman people and by all the friends of the Church.

If Pius V. was unable to carry every one of his undertakings to a successful termination, were it only by reason of the shortness of his pontificate, his successors were able to reap where he had sown. This is particularly true of Gregory XIII., who enjoyed a fairly long reign (1572–1585). Equally remarkable as a jurist, a diplomatist and an organizer, that Pope gave a practical turn to the reforms so happily initiated by his predecessor. His chief care was the training of a well-educated and blameless clergy. The real significance of his pontificate lies, however, in the fact that besides continuing the ecclesiastical revival, he lent support to the efforts for the recovery of large tracts of territory in northern, central and eastern Europe which had fallen away from the Church. Together with the Catholic reform he also strove for a Catholic restoration. Both movements were forwarded by Gregory XIII. with decision, energy, and on the big scale. In this task he made use of nuncios trained in the school of Borromeo and Pius V., as well as of the new Orders then in all their youthful vigour, more particularly the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Oratorians of Philip Neri. Just then Loyola's foundation was enjoying a period of great splendour. In every Catholic country of southern, central and eastern Europe, Ignatius' sons

devoted themselves indefatigably to the education of youth, the formation of the clergy, the cure of souls; and the recall of those who had strayed from the faith. By command of the Pope they undertook the most arduous diplomatic missions and penetrated as far north as Stockholm and Moscow. At the same time they were the pioneers both of Christianity and of civilization in Japan, China, India, Ethiopia and Constantinople, whilst in Spanish America their missions rivalled those of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Their devotion, prudence and adaptability to existing conditions were rewarded almost everywhere with magnificent results.

Whilst in this way the countries across seas offered a compensation for the losses caused by apostasy, Gregory XIII. by no means despaired of restoring in Europe the priceless heirloom of the past, viz. the unity of faith. In the end, however, he failed to achieve this lofty purpose, notwithstanding unceasing and truly heroic exertions. In vain the Pope sought to reunite Sweden and Russia with the Church ; in vain also he strove to render Elizabeth harmless. In France, too, the struggle between Catholics and Calvinists remained undecided so that, notwithstanding the preservation of Spain and Italy from apostasy, it was still uncertain whether the third among the Latin nations would remain faithful to the religion of its fathers.

On the other hand Gregory XIII. had the satisfaction of witnessing the success of his efforts to help the Catholic cause to victory in the western and southern parts of the Low Countries, whilst in the vast Polish kingdom a stop was put to apostasy, and former Catholic territory was recovered. Gregory's activity on behalf of Germany truly marks an epoch. Internal dissensions had already weakened the force of the Protestant offensive. With great caution the Pope now sought to exploit so favourable a situation with a view to the preservation of the territories which had remained loyal to the Catholic Church. He sought to instil fresh vigour into them by applying the reforms of Trent, by putting a stop to further apostasies, and by recovering what had been lost. In these endeavours, in addition to the Jesuits, the Pope had the support of the two

Wittelsbachs, Albrecht V., and William V., whose energetic championship of the Catholic restoration gave to the little duchy of Bavaria almost the importance of a great Power. Among the ecclesiastical princes, the pontiff was likewise assisted by the Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar von Dernbach, the Bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, the Elector of Mayence, Daniel Brendel, the Bishop of Paderborn, Theodor von Fürstenberg, and after the accession of Rudolph II. (1576) by the Habsburgs also. These efforts for a restoration could be justified by an appeal to the so-called " right of reform " (*cujus regio, ejus religio*) which had been granted to the Estates of Empire by the religious peace of Augsburg, but which had until then only been made use of by the Protestants. That right proved a two-edged sword. It was William V. who, with the support of Gregory XIII., saved the Catholic Church on the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia in the war caused by the apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard Truchsess. In this way the progress of Protestantism in north-west Germany was checked once for all. In order to provide a rallying centre for the Catholic reform and restoration for the future also, nunciatures were established at Cologne, Vienna and in South-Germany. It is amazing to see the Pope, notwithstanding such wide and diverse activities, still able to think of repressing the Turks, reforming the calendar and promoting science and the arts.

For the space of nearly thirteen years Gregory XIII. steered the barque of Peter with no less prudence than energy. Only five years were granted to his successor (1585–1590). If the figure of the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus V., has nevertheless impressed posterity far more powerfully than that of his predecessor, the reason is that in him a man of unique greatness had obtained the tiara. His gifted personality exercised so powerful a fascination over his contemporaries that achievements were ascribed to him which were really the work of Gregory XIII., and legend busied itself with him. Grandeur characterized all the plans and undertakings of Sixtus V. By a pitiless repression of banditry he established public security in the Papal States, brought order into the finances, began

the draining of the Pontine Marshes and promoted learning and the arts. He created a new Rome. To this day his fame is proclaimed by the magnificent halls of the Vatican library, the palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran, by aqueducts and new streets, by obelisks adorned with the emblem of the cross, the statues of the Princes of the Apostles on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the dome of St. Peter's which he nearly completed. The Pope also showed himself an organizer on a big scale. By demanding that Bishops should pay regular visits to Rome he paved the way for a closer contact of the hierarchy with the centre of ecclesiastical unity, whilst by giving to the College of Cardinals its definitive constitution, and by the establishment of the various Congregations, he founded that world-wide, uniform, calm and smoothly running government of the Holy See, the grandeur of which wrings admiration even from the Church's bitterest foes. The reform of the administration was of the utmost importance for the Catholic reform and restoration in the German Empire, in the Spanish Netherlands and in Switzerland, and Sixtus V. did all he could to promote both these movements.

Even so we have not exhausted the importance of this brief pontificate. Sixtus V.'s attitude in the crisis which France was then undergoing, was destined to influence the history of the whole world. This man of genius, the width of whose political outlook contrasts so strangely with his humble origin, in a grim struggle with Spanish imperialism, saved the political autonomy of France, made it possible for the Church to live on in that kingdom, and preserved the Holy See and Europe itself from the evils of Spanish Cæsaro-papalism.

The solution of the French problem, namely the reconciliation of Henry IV. with the Church, which Sixtus V. had initiated, was reached under Clement VIII., (1592–1605) who, in contrast with the reckless energy and bold initiative of his gifted predecessor, showed himself an exceedingly prudent and cautious politician. His prudence and moderation enabled him to discover, slowly but surely, a satisfactory compromise which secured the autonomy of France against

Spanish appetites and preserved that kingdom from the religious disintegration which had befallen Germany. It became now possible to initiate a religious renewal in a country so long devastated by wars of religion. Clement furthered the movement in every way so that it soon affected the widest circles. The era of reforming Bishops now opened and new Orders arose, chiefly devoted to practical purposes, viz. education and the care of the sick. The preservation of France for the Catholic faith secured at the same time the existence of the Church in the adjoining Spanish Netherlands and in the districts on the Lower Rhine.

The reconciliation of Henry IV. entailed a further consequence, one that Sixtus V. had also aimed at. The re-establishment of equilibrium between the two great Catholic Powers relieved the Holy See of the weight of Spain's patronage and restored to it that international pre-eminence which had enabled it to arbitrate between the nations of Europe throughout the Middle Ages. In this way Clement VIII., assisted by his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, was enabled to bring about peace between France and Spain in 1598, and in 1601 between France and Savoy. Fully realizing the importance for the Catholic restoration of concord between Paris and Madrid, the Pope longed for a family alliance between the two Courts.

One of the aims of the peace policy of the Holy See was the protection of the Christian religion and civilization from the attacks of the Turks who were pressing westward. In order to avert the peril that threatened from Islam, Clement VIII. sought to form a great coalition and his efforts to this end reached as far as Russia and Persia. One of the most glorious pages in the history of his pontificate is the part played by him in the defence of Hungary. Notwithstanding the deplorable condition of his finances, he contributed considerable sums of money, and on three separate occasions sent papal troops into that country. However, success was only partial, and in the end, owing to the disorders in Hungary and Transilvania, the situation became more perilous than ever.

Clement VIII. was likewise to experience bitter disappointments in Holland, England, Scotland and Ireland, where

Catholics were being most grievously oppressed. The failure of the attempt to restore religion in Sweden was likewise most painful to him. As against these failures it was possible to register decisive progress of the Church in Poland. " If at the beginning of the reign of Clement VIII., it looked as if Protestantism would exterminate the Catholic religion in that kingdom, now the ancient Church is in the act of burying heresy "—thus the Polish nuncio Malaspina in the year 1598. Great hopes could likewise be founded on the return to the Church of the schismatic Ruthenians which came about in 1595, as well as the first stirrings of a new Catholic vitality in Germany, the Spanish Netherlands and Switzerland. In the latter country the Pope found choice instruments for his efforts on behalf of a reform in the persons of Peter Canisius and Francis de Sales.

The great change which had taken place within the Catholic world in the second half of the sixteenth century was splendidly revealed during the universal jubilee of the year 1600. A hundred years earlier the Rome of Alexander VI. had given a tremendous shock to pilgrims. Now they beheld the Pope imitating the humility of the Saviour by washing the feet of pilgrims and hearing confessions like an ordinary priest. A million pilgrims who came to Rome for the jubilee, returned to their homes edified and full of enthusiasm for the faith. No less than the success of the jubilee, the news which the Pope received from missionary countries also raised the highest hopes. The Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, a man of genius, had opened the Kingdom of the Middle for the Gospel, and the Church made progress in the Philippines, in Persia, Abyssinia, western Africa and in Central and South America. Thereupon Clement VIII. took a step wholly in keeping with the universal character of the Church when he established in Rome a centre for this world mission. This he did by founding a special Congregation, the forerunner of Propaganda.

Like most of the Popes of the reform period—Paul IV. and Pius V. being the only exceptions—Clement VIII. also showed himself a keen patron of learning and art. He did much for the development of the Vatican library and the Roman university, and whenever there was question of promotions.

scholars were given the preference. The clearest proof of his interest in learning is the elevation by him to the sacred College of Bellarmine and Baronius, the two greatest scholars of the period.[1] The name of the Aldobrandini Pope is also connected with Torquato Tasso in whose poem, *Gerusalemme liberata*, the revival of Christian sentiment may be clearly felt.

It is a rare occurrence in history to meet with a continuous line of rulers pursuing a common aim with so much energy and determination as that of the great Popes of the period of the Catholic restoration. The uniform aim of recovering the lost Catholic ground which inspired the action of the occupants of the See of Peter, especially from the reign of Gregory XIII. onwards, is a marked peculiarity of the long pontificate of Paul V. (1605–1621); it reaches its climax in that of Paul's successor, Gregory XV. The Borghese Pope, whose one weakness was his excessive concern for his relatives, was, like his predecessors, tireless in promoting both the spread of Christianity in missionary countries and the Catholic revival in the various countries of Europe. Paul V., who completed St. Peter's, the mightiest architectural achievement of the period of the Catholic reform, was nowhere more successful than in France and in the Spanish Netherlands, where Catholic life experienced a wonderful revival and expansion, which, in the former country were rendered possible by the re-establishment of internal peace, and in the latter by the armistice of 1609 with the Northern Low Countries. Various factors contributed to the powerful revival of the Church in France, the foremost being the papal nuncios, the Jesuits, Bérulle, the founder of the Oratory of France, and lastly Francis de Sales and Frances de Chantal who between them inaugurated a new epoch in the history of female religious Institutes.

In the Spanish Netherlands the fresh vigour of Catholic life

[1] GOTHEIN (*Reformation und Gegenreformation*, II., Munich, 1924, 100), considers that "Protestantism has nothing to place side by side with Bellarmine's controversial writings". The same may be said of the Annals of Baronius which earned for him the title of "Father of Modern Church History".

was characterized by the extraordinary development of religious painting in the persons of Rubens and Van Dyck. In other Catholic countries also the religious regeneration was reflected in the arts. Just as in music Palestrina opened a way which led to the production of exquisite works, such as impressed even those who did not profess the faith, so did El Greco in Spain, the Caracci, Domenichino, Guido Reni, Sassoferrato, Bernini, Pietro da Cortona and countless others in Italy, express in their wonderful creations the religious ideals of the era of the restoration.[1] Baroque art, which only of late has met with adequate appreciation, emerged very gradually from the art of the renaissance. It embodies the new vigour of ecclesiastical life, and the glow of genuine religious enthusiasm which animated the great Saints of that period. To understand baroque art we must rightly appraise the peculiarities of the religious sense of those days, which in Ignatius and Francis Xavier resolved itself in an eager desire—sustained by the certainty of victory—to fight for Christ and the Church; in Philip Neri and Francis de Sales in quiet joy; in Teresa of Jesus in mystic ardour. The more deeply one penetrates into baroque art the more clearly one becomes aware of the powerful religious energy with which it is charged.[2] One of the most eloquent apologists of the new orientation thus concludes his pregnant remarks on the spirit of this art: "The baroque period took for granted a belief in a future perfection and transfiguration of life, and this faith, instinct with hope, so far from damping in any way its enjoyment of the natural life, precisely gave to that life its value and price. Hence the joyousness, the splendour, the flood of light

[1] Besides RANKE, *Päpste*, I.[6], 322 *seq.*, *cf.* HASE, *Vorlesungen*, III., 397 *seq.*; KREITMAIER, in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, CX. (1925/6), 456 *seq.*, 461 *seq.* With regard to Rubens and Van Dyck *cf.* besides our Notes, Vol. XXVI., p. 101 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*, the Essay by R. GROSCHE, "Der Katholische Rubens," in *Hochland*, XXIV. (1926/7), 258 *seq.*

[2] See WEINGARTNER, *Der Geist des Barock*, Augsburg, 1925, 13, 18. *Cf.* KREITMAIER, *loc. cit.*, 453 *seq.*, and GROSCHE, *loc. cit*, 253 *seq.*

in which baroque art clothes even this earthly existence; hence the cheerful affirmation of all reality, including that of matter; hence the ease with which every natural means of expression was pressed into the service of religious art; hence the disappearance of all strict boundaries between the world above and that below, since everyone was convinced that there was no gap between spirit and matter, between nature and the supernatural, between heaven and earth; that, on the contrary, the one builds on the other, that, in fact, they complete each other. And the result was that all the positive forces of the civilization of that period, whether of a material, spiritual or a religious kind, worked together for the building up of this art, thus making of it a mirror of the harmonious culture of a whole period."[1]

The decay of religious art in Protestant countries clearly showed how much they had lost when they lost the ancient faith. In the north of Scandinavia, Catholicism was wholly extinct. In Holland, Great Britain and Ireland, Catholics still formed an important minority in the time of Paul V., though, like the Christians of the catacombs, they lived in constant danger and had to hear or say Mass in secret. Even in North-Germany the ancient Church was by no means dead; there was grouped round the monasteries and isolated priests a diaspora which had not as yet fallen a victim to the violence of territorial ecclesiasticism. In South-Germany also there existed a diaspora, though there the situation was somewhat more favourable because Catholics were not so completely deprived of all contact with Catholic territories as were their North-German brethren. Here the Catholic restoration, furthered by Paul V., made satisfactory progress in many places. On the Rhine also and in Westphalia as well as in Bohemia the restoration progressed, though the outbreak, in 1618, of the Bohemian revolt seriously endangered it. Paul V. was very distressed when the revolt assumed the character of a war of religion, for everywhere the first aim of the Pope's action was the maintenance of peace.

[1] See WEINGARTNER, *loc. cit.*, 24. *Cf.* also DVOŘÁK, *Entwicklungsgesch. der barocken Deckenmalerei in Wien*, 5 *seq.*

From the first years of his pontificate Paul V. had worked for a reconciliation between the two great Catholic Powers, France and Spain, by means of a matrimonial alliance. Unfortunately, to his deep chagrin, negotiations to that effect yielded no other result except to strain still further the relations between the two Powers. In consequence of the struggle for the succession of Jülich (1609), the situation became so acute that there was reason to fear the outbreak of war between France and Spain. Paul V. did his utmost to prevent such a catastrophe. The assassination of Henry IV. gave a new turn to French policy. During the regency of Marie de Medici, the Pope's efforts for peace were crowned with success and a double Franco-Spanish alliance was successfully negotiated. The removal of the long-standing rivalry between the Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg was of decisive importance for the fate of the Catholic restoration in Austria and Germany.

The ecclesiastico-political conditions in those countries had become increasingly strained. Whilst under Rudolph II. and Matthias, Austria had to undergo an endless crisis, in the Empire all those who were still conscious of their Catholicism grouped themselves round the person of Maximilian of Bavaria. This was all the more important as Calvinist Protestantism, under the leadership of another member of the Wittelbachs, the Count Palatine, Frederick V., threatened to pull down all that the Catholic restoration had succeeded in building up. Against the Protestant Union of 1608, whose aim it was to decide the fate of Germany by the sword, a Catholic League was formed in the following year, under the leadership of Maximilian I. of Bavaria. However much Paul V.'s sympathies may have been with this defence league, he nevertheless adopted in its regard a cautious waiting policy. He would not commit himself to any step calculated to precipitate a war of religion. That catastrophe was provoked by the other side, when the Palatine allied himself with the Bohemian rebels. What these aimed at was sufficiently shown by the expulsion of the Archbishop of Prague and the banishment of the Jesuits from Bohemia and Moravia. Thereupon,

and notwithstanding the bad state of his finances, Paul V. granted considerable subsidies to the Emperor and to the League. But it was of far greater consequence that he secured from Louis XIII. France's benevolent neutrality, with a view to the crushing of the Bohemian rising.

The victory of the combined army of the League and the Emperor, at the battle of the White Mountain, not only destroyed in one hour the "Calvinist Monarchy" of Bohemia, but also saved the Catholic Church in the east and west of the Empire, perhaps in the whole of Germany. The seventy-nine years old Pontiff lived long enough to witness "this immeasurable weakening of Protestantism in Germany" and he celebrated the tremendous turn of events with a joy that was all the greater as the sceptre of the Habsburg territories had passed into the hands of Ferdinand II. on whose solid Catholicism he could rely unreservedly. Thus, when the Borghese Pope died on January 28th, 1621, his pontificate had reached its zenith.

His successor, Gregory XV. (1621–3), a member of the Ludovisi family, was all eagerness to help the Catholics towards complete victory in the war which broke out in Germany after the Bohemian revolt. In this respect it was of great advantage to the aged Pontiff that in the person of his youthful nephew, Cardinal Ludovisi, he had at his side one who, like himself, had been a pupil of the Jesuits, one also who had but one purpose in view, viz., the spread and exaltation of the Church. To this end the Congregation of Propaganda was founded, so that the hitherto autonomous Catholic missions for the conversion of infidels and heretics were now placed under a central authority in Rome. This magnificent institution gave to Catholic missionary enterprise that solid and powerful unity which distinguished it so favourably from the divisions of the Protestant missions.[1] Propaganda's field of action was the whole world—the new world, discovered less than a century before, where a rich field offered itself to the

[1] WARNECK recognizes this (*Gesch. der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*[10], Berlin, 1910).

missionaries; and the old world, in part torn away from Rome, which required even greater solicitude.

Gregory XV. gave strong support to the Emperor Ferdinand II., to Maximilian and to the League, and he exploited their victories systematically and in every direction, for the benefit of the Catholic restoration. To the Bavarian Duke the Pope gave both financial and diplomatic support. It was largely owing to his efforts that, notwithstanding Spanish machinations, Maximilian obtained the dignity of Elector Palatine. To mark his gratitude the latter presented the Pope with the valuable library of Heidelberg. The Duke of Bavaria had to put up a hard fight for his new dignity, for from Denmark and Sweden as far south as Venice, and from France to Transilvania and Constantinople, the most strenuous efforts were afoot for the formation of a vast coalition whose aim it would be to restore Frederick V. now under the ban of Empire. Once again events took a favourable turn for the Catholic cause, and the proposed coalition never came into being. To the astonishment of the whole world Frederick's brother-in-law, the Prince of Wales, was about to set sail for Spain with a view to a matrimonial alliance. England seemed on the point of contracting a close bond with Catholic Spain. It was of no less consequence that Gregory XV. succeeded in preventing a war between France and Spain which threatened in consequence of the question of the Valtellina. The Pope brought about an understanding between Paris and Madrid by the terms of which the strong places occupied by Spain were to be in part put under papal sequestration and in part evacuated until a final decision of the question should have been arrived at. In view of a situation so profoundly altered neither the King of Denmark nor the Estates of Lower Saxony dared to move. Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, who took up arms on behalf of the banned Palatine, Frederick, were defeated by the League. The Catholic restoration was inaugurated in the re-conquered Palatinate of the right bank of the Rhine. Tilly pursued Christian into Lower Saxony and destroyed his wild hordes in the battle of Stadtlohn (August 6th, 1623), thus making

Maximilian the military master of the north-west of Germany. Gregory XV., who died on July 8th, 1623, did not live to see this triumph of the Catholic cause. The movement of restoration, of the enthusiasm and strength of which his Briefs speak in such burning terms, was now nearing its climax.

The new Pope, Urban VIII. (1623–1644), was only 56 years old. He was a scion of the house of Barberini on which he heaped countless favours. This highly cultured man had very much at heart the continuation of the protection which the Holy See had always bestowed on science and art. The good fortune which for his artistic plans gave him Bernini, the most gifted exponent of baroque, left him completely in the lurch in the political sphere. He was indeed full of goodwill and anxious to promote peace between the rival Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg with a view to opposing their combined strength to the Protestants and the Turks, but from the very beginning of his pontificate fresh clouds rose on the political horizon, the harbingers of a great war.

The question of the Valtellina threatened to lead to a conflict between Spain and Austria on the one hand and France on the other. The frustration of the hope of an alliance between England and Spain came as a further disappointment. The ill-success of the Prince of Wales' wooing caused England to break with the Habsburgs and to seek to win the help of Holland, the Estates of the circle of Lower Saxony, Denmark and Sweden for a proposed restoration of the Elector Palatine.

But an even more fateful turn of events took place in Paris where, in April, 1624, Cardinal Richelieu was entrusted with the conduct of the affairs of State. In his person one of the most ominous figures of modern history makes its appearance on the stage of the world. In his ardent patriotism and insatiable ambition Richelieu shrank from no means if thereby he might make of France the leading European Power in place of the House of Habsburg. The circumstance that his action threatened to destroy the unity of the Catholic world which was so essential for the prosecution of the Catholic restoration and the protection of Christendom from Turkish attacks, troubled him as little as the fact that his purpose could only be achieved

with the help of the Protestant Powers. The Machiavellian guide of France's fortunes, who rejected no means however reprehensible, was determined to sacrifice the highest interests of the Church to the momentary advantages of his country. The attack on the Hispano-Austrian Power planned by him was more comprehensive than anything that had ever been attempted. To this end he leagued himself with Savoy and Venice, forcibly drove the papal troops from the Valtellina, and concluded alliances with Calvinist Holland and Protestant England. With a view to the restoration of the Palatine Frederick, who constituted the centre of European Protestantism, he secretly supplied Christian IV. of Denmark and the freebooter Mansfeld with money and troops. Thus a victory over the Habsburgs which would have rendered nugatory all the triumphs of the Catholic restoration seemed assured.

However the Cardinal had presumed to much. Whilst the Pope, and not the Pope alone but the whole of Catholic France as well, protested against his policy, Richelieu saw himself simultaneously threatened by a fresh Huguenot rising. Nothing so characterizes the Cardinal's unscrupulousness as the way in which he extricated himself from his perilous plight. He prevailed on Holland and England to lend their help against their own co-religionists ; but when they had done him this service, he abandoned them without remorse. Even the cautious Venetians were completely deceived. To the amazement of everyone, in March, 1626, France and Spain came to terms over the Valtellina affair by the treaty of Monzon. The Cardinal had excluded the Pope from the conference, but the latter had cause to be all the more satisfied with its result, inasmuch as by its terms security was also guaranteed to the Catholics of the Valtellina. Simultaneously with this *rapprochement* between the great Catholic Powers, relations between France and England grew worse, so much so that a rupture seemed imminent. Such an eventuality would mean the failure of the conditions agreed upon for the enterprise of Christian IV. and Mansfeld. The latter were but inadequately supported. with the result that they were defeated in 1626 by the strategy of Tilly and Wallenstein. In the following year the imperial

and leaguist troops made themselves complete masters of northern and north-eastern Germany. Whilst it thus became possible to extend the Catholic restoration also to those parts of the Empire, prospects for the Catholic cause also improved in yet another direction.

Soon after the outbreak of war between France and England, Urban VIII. succeeded in winning over the great Catholic Powers for a combined attack on the Island Kingdom. In 1628 the project was the subject of lively discussion between Paris and Madrid. Once Louis XIII. had taken the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle, in October of that year, it lay in his power to restore complete religious unity in his kingdom. Rome expected it. Even greater hopes were raised by the defeat of Protestantism in North-Germany. It looked as if the moment had come, by one great stroke, to bring to a conclusion the Catholic restoration which, owing to the energetic co-operation of the nuncios of Cologne and Vienna, had made very considerable progress both in the Austrian territories and within the Empire. The feeling that victory had been achieved prompted the edict of restitution which enjoined the restoration to the Catholics of whatever the Protestants had illegally deprived them since the treaty of Passau.

Thus in 1628 was Protestantism grievously threatened in France, England and Germany. It owed its escape, not to its own strength, but to the circumstance that the Catholic world failed to remain united.[1] Above all, the *entente* between France and Spain should not have been troubled. However, its preservation would have entailed the abandonment by Richelieu of his plans for the destruction of the Habsburgs; but of this the Cardinal would not hear, for now, as before, he was bent on the prosecution of his imperialistic aims. In order to assure himself of a free hand for this policy he contented himself with the defeat of the Huguenots as a

[1] See RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 328, who thinks that if Catholicism had remained united, one cannot see how North-Germany could have withstood it in the long run. MAYNARD (IV., 4) is of the same opinion.

political party—he did not interfere with their religious liberty. In 1629 he concluded a treaty of peace with England in which he expressly bound himself not to intervene on behalf of English Catholics. But the adherents of the ancient faith in Germany were destined to suffer even more bitterly from the unscrupulous policy of the Cardinal who did all he could to prevent the war from coming to an end.

There can be no doubt that the man who allied himself with Gustavus Adolphus, and who urged even the Turks to attack the Emperor, must bear the chief responsibility for the failure of the complete Catholic restoration in Germany, and for the fact that the northern parts of the Empire remained for the most part Protestant. One of the most eminent of German historians justly observes that of all non-Protestants no man did greater service to Protestantism than the great French realist politician in Rome's own purple.[1]

Whilst on this point historians are of one mind, opinion is still very much divided as to whether Urban VIII. always adopted the right attitude towards the rival Catholic Powers amid the ever increasing political troubles caused by the storms of the Thirty Years' War. Must we blame him for not having, in effect, brought sufficient pressure to bear on Richelieu with a view to restraining him in his dealings with

[1] See RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, II.[2], 514 *seq.* *Cf.* as well STIEVE, *Abhandlungen*, 207; VOSSLER, *Racine*, München, 1926, 43 *seq.*; MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 33, and SCHNITZER, 249, who justly remarks: "Even if Richelieu and P. Joseph did not desire the strengthening of German Protestantism, they nevertheless became responsible for it." KASER ("Das Zeitalter de Reformation und Gegenreformation von 1517 bis 1660," in L. M. HARTMANN'S *Weltgesch.*, VI., 1, Stuttgart-Gotha, 1922) writes, p. 197: "The statesman in Richelieu was stronger than the priest. He strove to rouse the whole of the Protestant world against the Habsburgs; and he has done far more harm to that first line of defence of the Papacy than any Protestant ruler." MAYNARD, among French historians, has expressed himself very strongly on the injury done to the Catholic restoration through the Machiavellian policy of Richelieu (IV., 2 *seq*) *Cf* also DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, II., 373 *seq.*, and 416.

the Protestants, and for giving but inadequate financial support to the Emperor and the League, and for having injured the Habsburgs quite as much as he played into the hands of France's policy ? [1]

Light can only be thrown on these questions, which indeed received varying answers from contemporaries, by a detailed account of the whole of his pontificate. Meanwhile recent research has clarified certain points and exposed the main lines of his policy as well as corrected not a few erroneous views. The Spanish assertion that the Pope looked with indifference on the ruin of the Catholic religion in Germany, has been shown to be a calumny. Of all Gustavus Adolphus' enemies Urban VIII. was the most irreconcilable, if not the most dangerous. Notwithstanding his French preferences he was by no means pleased with Richelieu's Protestant alliances ; on the contrary, as soon as he had information of these agreements, he condemned them and worked for their dissolution.

In 1632 he mobilized all his diplomatists in order to prevent the raising of Gustavus Adolphus to the throne of Poland.[2] Nor can it be called in question that, in the full consciousness of his duty as the common Father of Christendom, he strove to pursue an impartial attitude towards the rival Great Catholic Powers and did all he could to bring about a general pacification. Notwithstanding many disappointments papal diplomacy never wearied in its efforts for a conference which would lead to a compromise on the diverging interests of France and the Habsburgs and in this endeavour it never allowed itself to be discouraged.[3]

True, for these offices the Holy See received nobody's thanks. On the contrary, because the Pope always kept in view the common interest, and took pains, as became his high position

[1] G. Wolf, in his critique of Leman's work, *Urbain VIII, et la rivalité de la France et de la maison d'Autriche de 1631 à. 1635* (Lille, 1920), in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XLIV. (1925), 139 *seq.*, says that this was indeed the result of Urban VIII.'s policy but certainly not its aim.

[2] *Cf.* Leman, 122 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, v–vi. *Cf.* our notes in Appendix I.

to hold himself above parties, he was viewed with suspicion by all of them. What was wanted was not an impartial mediator, but an ally who would obey unconditionally. Discontent with the Pope was all the greater at Madrid and Vienna inasmuch as there people had counted on a continuation of the plentiful subsidies which had been granted with particular lavishness by Gregory XV. However the situation was changed, for though the religious motives, which during the first period of the Thirty Years' War had given it the character of a struggle against Protestantism, were still strongly operative, they were nevertheless gradually falling into the background. If from the beginning, the faith was not the chief motive for which the mercenaries fought, so that in every army Catholics and Protestants fought side by side, in course of time the Catholic commanders enrolled an ever growing number of Protestant officers and men under their banners.[1] The war, in which from the first, questions of property and power had been mixed up with the interests of religion, put on, in the course of its progress, mainly a political character and transformed itself into a struggle of European high politics on the grandest scale.[2]

Richelieu was anxious to represent the war purely as a struggle for the interests of the State, and here he was in a position to complain that notwithstanding a great show of zeal for religion, the Spaniards were giving support to the Huguenots in France.[3] Philip IV. and Ferdinand II. claimed that the struggle was purely a war of religion. Urban declined to accept such a differentiation. In order to induce the Pope to support the Catholic princes of Germany, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Barberini, wrote to the nuncio in Vienna, in the spring of 1632, that it was enough to know that the Catholic religion was in danger, and that it mattered little whether the

[1] See KLOPP, *Gesch. Ostfrieslands*, II., 441, and *Das Restitutionsedikt im Nordwestlichen Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1860, 84. *Cf.* HURTER, *Zur Gesch. Wallensteins*, 69.

[2] *Cf.* STEGEMANN, *Der Kampf um den Rhein*, Berlin, 1925, 214.

[3] See the *Relation of the Secretariate of State of 1631, in *Vat.* 6929, Vatican Library; *cf.* LÄMMER. *Analecta*, 38 *seq.*

war sprang from religious rather than from political causes.[1] However, in view of the inextricable intermingling of political and ecclesiastical interests, every political change was bound to work itself out in the religious sphere. Urban VIII. was not unaware of the fact, but there can be no doubt that he, like many Catholics in Germany, greatly underestimated the danger which threatened from the fact of the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus. He was also mistaken when he encouraged the alliance of Bavaria with France, for this reason, among others, that he hoped thereby to detach Richelieu from his league with the German Protestants.

The French Cardinal knew only too well how to entangle the Pope in his net, to deceive him with regard to his schemes and to feed him with illusions; above all he knew how to revive ever anew the fear which existed in Rome, of encirclement and oppression by Spain.

The Pope had always instinctively tended to support the small Powers against the great ones. Owing to the fact that he owned more than one-half of Italy, the King of Spain had, in some measure, come to occupy towards the Holy See, both in secular and ecclesiastical matters, the position held by the Emperors of the twelfth and thirteenth century. In view of the overwhelming preponderance of the territorial possessions and the far-reaching civil and ecclesiastical pretensions of Spain, the Pope was compelled to look for a counterpoise by which to ensure his freedom and autonomy as Head of the Church. This situation Richelieu exploited to the full. Against his skill was pitted the clumsiness of the imperial statesmen and their offensive attitude towards the Holy See, which they irritated repeatedly in sundry petty ways. The disputes to which this gave rise, the very unsatisfactory state of the papal finances, and the squandering of money on the part of the imperialists [2] account for the reserve with which Urban VIII.

[1] **Cifra*, of April 24, 1632, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 123, p. 124, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PIEPER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 476.

[2] Complaints arose about this as early as 1634; see DUHR, II., 2, 699.

met the Emperor's constant demands for subsidies. There can be no doubt that papal assistance was not equal to the immense need; it was however larger than is generally admitted.[1] If the Pope granted no more he could justly say that, in addition to famine and plague, the defensive measures which he had been compelled to take in view of the Mantuan war of succession had drained his exchequer.

It was nothing short of a disaster that Ferdinand II. allowed himself to be drawn by Philip IV. into the warlike confusion of Upper Italy, which brought the great Catholic Powers into sharpest opposition to each other at the very moment when the Catholic restoration in Germany was within an ace of complete success.[2] A further extension of the Habsburg sphere of influence and power in Italy, which was the object of the contest, was deemed intolerable by France as well as by the Italian States, more particularly by the Holy See. The splendid military triumphs of the Emperor in Germany, and certain threats uttered in the imperial camp, had fanned afresh in Rome the fear of Hispano-imperial Cæsaro-papalism which was never allayed, but was kept alive by various intrusions into the ecclesiastical sphere. It was this fear which, in the first instance, decided Urban VIII.'s line of conduct; the States of the Church were only a secondary concern. It is false to say that the Pope put temporal interests before spiritual ones. Assuredly Urban VIII. attached great weight to the preservation of the States of the Church and the freedom of Italy, but these worldly considerations were closely connected with his legitimate efforts for the preservation of the freedom of the Holy See, which the Papal States were meant to ensure.[3]

The experience of his predecessors had made clear to

[1] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 480.

[2] *Cf.* RUSSO, *La politica del Vaticano*, 28, and P. NEGRI, *La guerra per la successione di Mantova*, Prato, 1924, 2.

[3] *Cf.* DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, II., 427. Also NEGRI, who strongly emphasizes the "preoccupazioni d'indole temporale e perciò strettamente nazionali o italiane", yet adds that they influenced Urban VIII. "più o meno inconsciamente"; see *Nuova Riv. stor.*, V. (1922), 185.

Urban VIII. the great danger for the Church of a Spanish preponderance in the Italian Peninsula, hence his attitude towards the occupation of Mantua by the imperialists was a foregone conclusion. The danger that threatened from the Spanish-Habsburg power was so evident that in February, 1632, in a conversation with the French envoy, the Marquis de Brézé, Gustavus Adolphus made the remark that, but for his intervention, the Pope would be reduced to the rôle of chaplain to the Spaniards.[1] But—and herein lay the seriousness of the situation—precisely at the moment of acute tension between the Holy See and the Habsburgs, the King of Sweden, who was by far the most dangerous enemy of both, threatened in very alarming fashion not only the Emperor's interests in Germany but those of religion as well. Rome did not fail to grasp this fact. Both in the lifetime of Gustavus Adolphus and after his death, the most pressing exhortations were sent to the Paris cabinet in the hope of obtaining the dissolution of the Franco-Swedish alliance. These requests fell on deaf ears. As for Spain's demand that Urban VIII. should excommunicate the King of France for having entered into an alliance with heretics, the Pope would not entertain the idea in view of bitter experiences with England and more recently with Venice, all the more so as he was aware of Richelieu's threat, uttered as early as June, 1628, which was to the effect that if the Pope lowered himself so far as to be no more than Spain's chaplain, France would break with Rome. This threat was a contributory cause to Urban's refusal to join in a league of all the Catholic States which the Emperor and Spain had planned together. That which finally decided the Pope in this question was the fact that the league was to be used not only to stem the progress of the Protestant King of Sweden, but likewise to further the political aims of the Habsburgs against France. As Head of the Church and common Father, the Pope would not have anything to do with such a scheme.[2]

[1] See the message from M. de Brézé of February 14, 1632, in LAUGEL, *Gustav-Adolphe et Richelieu*, 408. *Cf.* also PUFENDORF, *De rebus Suecicis*, II., 62.

[2] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 481.

From a like motive he had refused to join a league planned by France in 1629.

When death removed Gustavus Adolphus, by far the most dangerous enemy of the Catholic cause, Richelieu nevertheless adhered to his alliance with Sweden. All the Pope's efforts to detach him from it proved in vain; Paris deemed it more advantageous to prosecute the war by means of its allies, the Swedes and the German Protestants. But this did not discourage Urban VIII. in his endeavour to put an end to the struggle. When, in view of the successes of the Emperor in 1635, Richelieu changed into an open war the covert attacks which his Protestant allies, at his instigation, had been making on the Austro-Hispanic power, the Pope redoubled his efforts on behalf of a reconciliation of the great Catholic Powers. More insistently than ever his nuncios cried: Peace! Peace![1] However, heedless of the injury they were doing to the Catholic restoration, both Richelieu and his successor, Mazarin, went on fanning the flames of war, and keeping open the religious breach in blood-drenched Germany.

It is a tremendous tragedy that two Cardinals of the Roman Church should have decisively helped to wrest from her the final triumph for which she had fought for nearly a hundred years, and that so momentous an event in the history of the world should have been brought about by France, so dear to Urban VIII., and for whose well-being Sixtus V. had offered his life.

The consequences of a policy of force, unrestrained by any religious consideration, were much more than a mere paralysis and the eventual failure of the Catholic restoration in Germany. Until now the Holy See had maintained, in some measure at least, the commanding position which it had held throughout the Middle Ages, and which made of it a unifying centre for the nations, not only in moral and religious questions, but also in political and diplomatic ones. This historic rôle, which the religious upheaval had already severely shaken, was finally upset by the clever and crafty statesman who made of France

[1] See SCHNITZER, 250.

the leading European power and the seat of absolutism. He found many docile pupils : henceforth purely secular considerations were to inspire the policy of the other great Catholic Powers.

If we consider the manifold failures of Urban VIII. it is not surprising that he should have been described as one of the most unfortunate Popes. But a comprehensive view of his pontificate shows that he also achieved considerable triumphs. These he won, not in his capacity as a diplomatist, nor as a secular ruler, but as the Father of Christendom.[1] Though fated to witness the failure of the Catholic restoration in Germany, he was able to forward the movement of religious renewal in other Catholic countries. The strength of that movement was far from spent. In France it produced a Vincent de Paul, and in other countries similar selfless apostles, more particularly such as proclaimed the religion of the Cross to the furthest ends of the earth. It is a comforting spectacle to see how, whilst Christianity in Europe, in the reign of Urban VIII., was being torn and laid waste by cruel wars, the Church's mission to the world, which the Pope promoted with the utmost zeal and perseverance, extended its influence over an ever wider area.

[1] *Ott*, in the *Catholic Encyclop.*, XV., 220, draws attention to this.

CHAPTER I.

Election, Antecedents and Character of Gregory XV.—The Ludovisi.

In the course of the sixteen years of Paul V.'s pontificate the composition of the Sacred College had undergone a substantial change. Among the older Cardinals those appointed by Sixtus V. were only represented by five survivors [1] and Clement VIII.'s Cardinals had shrunk to seventeen, whereas the number of those created by Paul V. amounted to forty-six. However only fifty-two of the seventy members of the Church's Senate were able to reach Rome in time. Of the five French

[1] Besides these, there remained one Cardinal of Gregory XIII. (Fr. Sforza) and one of Gregory XIV. (Od. Farnese); see "*Informatione distinta dello stato, numero e qualità de cardinali che si trovano nel s. collegio sino questo giorno 28 Gennaio 1621 fatta da Msgr. Ab. Cornaro, chierico di Camera in Roma" (in 1623 Fed. Cornaro was made Bishop of Bergamo and Cardinal in 1626), *Cod.* C. 20, of the Boncompagni Archives at Rome. From the *Risposta dell'oracolo cortegiano a signori cardinali nella sede vacante di Paolo V., in *Cod.* CCCCXI. in the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, which is also to be found in *Cod.* I.[b], 55, p. 291 *seq.* of the Servite Library at Innsbruck, Lämmer (*Zur Kirchengesch.* 21) has given five specimen verses on Bellarmine, Dietrichstein, Borromeo, Barberini, and Medici. The following may also be noticed :—

Aldobrandino — fu troppo imperioso il tuo dominio.
Delfino — non vuol S. Pietro a Marco star vicino.
Zapata — la nation ti toglie la giornata.
Doria — tu sei mezzo Spagnuolo s'hai memoria.
Araceli — ne Scipio ne i Spagnuoli hai tra fedeli.
Rochefaucauld — Monsieur sei francese e non si puo.
Rivarola — Romagna fa che non ne sia parola.
Borgia — non che alcun duca Valentino risorga.
Camporeo — domandane a Pasquino et a Marforio.
Roma — io so che Roma non conosce Roma.

Cardinals not one took part in the election, of the four Germans only Madruzzo [1] and none of the Spaniards, except Zappata and Borgia.[2]

In these circumstances the influence of the great Catholic Powers was bound to be greatly diminished. The Spanish cabinet, whose interests coincided with those of the Emperor, hoped to benefit greatly from its relations with Cardinal Borghese which Cardinal Cennini had originated. Borghese's intimate friend, Cardinal Pietro Campori who, together with Cesare Speciani, had at one time made a stay in Spain and Germany, was entirely acceptable to the cabinets of Vienna and Madrid. Ludovisi, Aquino, Cobelluzio and Millini, all of them Spain's nominees, belonged to the party of Paul V.'s nephew. Ginnasio and Galamina were excluded by the Catholic King.[3] Aquino was France's candidate.[4] In view of the fact that it was necessary to reckon with the early demise of that Prince of the Church, Marshal d'Estrées, known as Marquis de Cœuvres, in conjunction with the representative of Savoy, did his utmost to bring about the election of Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, an election which Pietro Aldobrandini

[1] Ferdinand II., immediately upon first news of Paul V.'s sickness, ordered Cardinals Dietrichstein and Zollern to Rome, and commissioned the former to represent the necessity for the continuance of papal subsidies; however, neither of the two Cardinals arrived at Rome in time; but the Emperor's representative in Rome, Prince Savelli, knew the position sufficiently to take up, even without precise orders, the Borghese party interests with the Spanish ambassador Albuquerque, and to remind Madruzzo that the interests of the Emperor and those of his Catholic Majesty demanded that they should support Campori; see WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 122, 270 *seq.*

[2] At first, sixty electors were expected; see the *dissertation on the College of Cardinals in *Cod.* I.[b], 55, p. 303, of the Servite Library, Innsbruck. The "Informatione" of Cornaro of January 28, 1621, quoted above (note 1), only reckons fifty-five.

[3] *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, III., 9, 36.

[4] This is reported by ESTRÉES in his *Relation du conclave, où fut élu Grégoire XV.* (s. l. et a.), reprinted in PETITOT, *Mém.* 2, Series XVI., 362.

desired and towards which a young Roman, Domenico Cechini, rendered important services.[1]

Whilst Cardinals Sforza, Farnese, Medici and Este maintained at first an independent attitude, the others formed three parties.[2] The smallest was that of Montalto, disposing as it did at most of six votes, and even these were not altogether reliable.[3] Nor could Cardinal Aldobrandini, the leader of the second group, depend definitely on the thirteen Cardinals of Clement VIII., his uncle. Only nine stood firmly by him, namely Bandini, Cesi, Bevilacqua, Bellarmine, Deti, Ginnasio, Delfino, Sannesio and Pio.[4]

The strongest group was that of Borghese. It included Barberini, Millini, Lante, Leni, Tonti, Verallo, Carafa, Rivarola, Filonardi, Serra, Galamina, Centini, Crescenzi, Ubaldini, Muti, Savelli, Ludovisi, Aquino, Campori, Bentivoglio, Priuli, Cobelluzio, Valiero, Roma, Ghirardi, Scaglia, Pignatelli, Capponi and Orsini. However the Cardinal nephew of the late Pope was by no means sure of these twenty-nine votes for there were not wanting in his party such as were dissatisfied.[5] Besides Zappata and Borja, Madruzzo, Sforza,

[1] See **Vita e successi del card. Cecchini descritta da lui medesimo*, in *Cod.* 39 D, 17, p. 31 *seq.* Corsini Library in Rome. *Cf.* SIRI V., 253.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows see Note 1 of p. 29 for the previously quoted **Informatione*, of Cornaro, and the relation in the *Conclavi*, I., 375.

[3] Among them there were, as Cornaro points out in his *Informatione, *loc. cit.*, "*tre pretendenti al papato*" who would only proceed with caution. Besides this, Cornaro believed that Borromeo would not declare himself against the Spaniards, especially as he also was "*in qualche predicamento*".

[4] Concerning the other Cardinals of Aldobrandini's party, CORNARO remarks in the **Informatione*: "Zappata, Madruccio e Doria vanno con la fattione Spagnola. Peretti con Montalto et Este vuol esser libero all'inclusione et esclusione di chi piacerà a lui." (*loc. cit.*).

[5] See *Conclavi*, I., 375; CORNARO, **Informatione*, *loc. cit.*, and concerning the "malcontenti", see the next note. Servite Library, Innsbruck.

Sauli, Doria, Este, Carafa, Aquino, Tonti, Roma and Orsini were reputed to have Spanish leanings. The Florentines (Medici, Monte, Barberini, Capponi, Ubaldini and Bandini) constituted a group of their own, and yet another party was made up of men holding strict principles in all that concerned the Church, Borromeo Dietrichstein and Sourdis being among those who were absent, whereas among those of the group who were in Rome there were Bellarmine, Galamina, Orsini and Cobelluzio.[1]

As usual many names of likely candidates for the supreme dignity were discussed, for instance from among the Cardinals of Sixtus V., those of Sauli, Giustiniani and Monte ; from those of Clement VIII., Bandini, Ginnasio and Madruzzo and, lastly, those of Millini, Carafa, Galamina, Centini, Ludovisi, Aquino, Campori and Cobelluzio.[2] However a closer examination soon showed that in reality only a very few among them had any prospect of success.[3] Among Paul V.'s Cardinals Ludovisi and Aquino were the only ones who had a real chance.

[1] " *Vi sono alcuni che nelli passati conclavi si sono chiamati li spirituali : Borromeo, Bellarmino, Dietrichstein, Sourdi, Araceli, Orsino, S. Susanna. Questi sono gli cardinali, che in qualchemodo s'uniscono in fattioni. Hora si devono notare in genere gli contrarii loro et prima si dice che alla fattione nova per propria imputatione suol essere contrario il collegio vecchio. Alla fattione di Montalto sarà tam poco amica l'Aldobrandina. All'Aldobrandina poco amorevole la di Montalto et inimica la di Borghese. Alla Borghese sarà contraria l'Aldobrandina et forsi anco non saranno totalmente sott'una squadra gli cardinali che di Borghesi si chiamano malcontenti : Tonti, Serra, Crescentio, Ubaldino, Filonardi, Capponi, Orsino ne tam poco la Fiorentina gli sarà molt'amico." *Cod.* I.[b], 55, p. 304, of the Servite Library, Innsbruck.

[2] See CORNARO, **Informatione, loc. cit.*, and the *Avvisi of January 30 and February 1, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, Vatican Library.

[3] See CORNARO's **Informatione* of January 28, 1621, *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and the *report, printed in Appendix I. from the Servite Library. Innsbruck. In a MS. in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, *Cod.* C. 20, a **Discorso de cardinali papabili nella sede vacante di Paolo V l'a. 1621*, discusses the Cardinals singly, and much gossip that cannot be

Ludovisi's was the name most frequently mentioned.[1] Paul V.'s favourite, Cardinal Campori, though strongly supported by Spain, was unpopular with many of the supporters of the nephew, as well as with those of strict ecclesiastical feeling; and he had to reckon with the opposition of Orsini. To this must be added that the French ambassador and Aldobrandini had agreed on his exclusion.[2] The prospects of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals were almost equally hopeless in view of the determined opposition of Borghese; at most it was deemed possible that, out of regard for Spain Paul V.'s nephew might decide in favour of Madruzzo. It was much more likely that Borghese would adopt one of Sixtus V.'s Cardinals if none of his own set succeeded in coming to the top. In that eventuality, it was

verified, is reported. The following only is of interest: The unknown author, though no friend of the Jesuits, remarks about Bellarmine that he would have a chance if he were not deaf and a Jesuit, "se non fosse sordo e Giesuita. È anco tanto semplice e buono che si dubitarebbe d'un Papa Celestino." As to Ludovisi, it is said here: "Ludovisio non crede che resti altro che Ludovisio, al quale s'oppone che non sia conosciuto e che li suoi pensieri non si penetrino bene, forse vogliono dire che sia Bolognese, ma del certo l'esser vissuto tant'anni in questa corte et nella minor fortuna, nella quale si scoprono meglio li costumi e li vitii, ha dato saggio di contrario. Vi è chi dice che sia da pucco; questo ancora non ha molto bon fondamento, perchè l'auditorato di Rota esercitò con molta esperienza et il negotio di Savoia ha fatto conoscere che sa trattare co'principi ancora. . . . Una sol cosa li potrà dar fastidio: il riveder Roma piena di Bolognesi superbi, imperiosi et sopra modo insolenti. Questi machierono il pontificato santissimo di Gregorio XIII."

[1] "*Ludovisio è in concetto di signore molto buono e piacevole. I Spagnuoli lo portano e Borghese non ha occasione alcuna di difidar di lui, anzi mostra d'inclinarsi assai et per esser vecchio et non molto sano, si crede sia soggetto molto facile a riuscire et la corte sin adesso ne parla più di nessun altro." *Informatione* of CORNARO, in *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] The author of the *Biografia del card. Campori* (Modena, 1878), 19, 29 *seqq.*, shows that violent accusations directed against Campori by his political opponents, were unfounded.

thought, he might feel inclined to give his support to Giustiniani, rather than to Sauli or Monte.[1] However, Giustiniani, though the object of the encomiums of the Spanish ambassador and the support of Montalto, was unacceptable to Sauli and to a number of Cardinals, especially the two Genoese, Rivarola and Serra. In a report of January 30th, 1621, the Mantuan envoy expresses the opinion that however unusual it may be to choose a Pope from the Cardinals of his immediate predecessors, the elevation of Ludovisi was nevertheless possible inasmuch as he possessed many, not to say all the necessary qualifications.[2] According to a report of the same envoy dated February 6th, the same papabili were still in the foreground in court circles.[3] In a letter of the same day Jacomo Cohelli states that out of all the personalities that could be considered, Ludovisi's prospects of securing the tiara stood the highest.[4]

Campori remained Borghese's real candidate, notwithstanding much opposition among the Cardinals of his party.[5] For his elevation, which was also favoured by Albuquerque, the Spanish ambassador, he secured the support of Zappata, Este, Montalto, Farnese, and Medici. But this candidature met with the opposition of Orsini, Ubaldini, Pio, Bevilacqua,

[1] See CORNARO, **Informatione*, *loc. cit.*, and in *App.* no. II the report about the "papabili", Servite Library, Innsbruck.

[2] See the *Letter of FABRIZIO ARAGONA, January 30, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the *report of F. ARAGONA, of February 6, 1621, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Arch. Rom.*, X., 293.

[5] CORNARO remarks in the **Informatione*, of January 28, 1621: "Campori è il prediletto di Borghese e se fosse possibile vorrebbe far ogni cosa per lui, ma con questa ultima promotione (*cf.* the present work, Vol. XXV, Ch. VII., p. 338 *seq.*) nella quale sono entrati molti soggetti protetti di lui e si può dire fatta a posta per lui, invece di giovarle gli ha pregiudicato assai, perchè essendosi scoperto la intentione e la mira di Borghese, molte creature del med^mo^. Borghese si dichiaravano di non volerlo in alcuna maniera e credesi che li sarà fatta l'esclusione a posta da Orsino, da Aldobrandino e dalli Francesi." *Cod.* C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

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Tonti, Crescenzi, and Filonardi, as well as that of Aldobrandini who desired the elevation of Ludovisi, and that of the French ambassador who was joined by Cardinal Bonsi.[1] All this simplified the relative position of the parties. On the one side was Borghese allied with the Spanish ambassador, Este, Medici and Farnese, and on the other Aldobrandini supported by the French ambassador together with Ubaldini and Orsini.[2] Borghese's party was without a doubt the strongest; without it an election seemed impossible. Many people were of opinion that Borghese disposed of a few votes in excess of the necessary two-thirds majority.[3] In effect Borghese felt at first so sure of success that he troubled but little about the counter-manœuvres of the opponents of Campori.[4]

[1] *Cf.* besides the *report of F. ARAGONA of February 6, 1621 (*loc. cit.*), *that of B. PAOLUCCI, of February 10, 1621, State Archives, Modena, and above all, "**Conclave per la morte di Paolo V. nel quale fu eletto Gregorio XV., scritto del card. Barberini,*" in *Barb.* 4676, pp. 1–22, and *Ottob.* 2481, p. 366 *seq.* (Vatican Library), hereafter quoted as the report of Card. Orsini. A fine bust of Cardinal Orsini, dated 1621, is to be found in the courtyard of S. Salvatore in Lauro.

[2] "*Erano dunque due le fattioni principali: Borghese, Montalto, Spagnuoli, Farnese, Este, Medici formavano con le loro seguaci la prima e più potente, Aldobrandini, Francesi, Orsini, Ubaldino con le creature di Clemente (VIII.) constituivano la seconda più debile." AG. MASCARDI, *Scrittura intorno all'elettione in S. Pontefice del card. Ludovisio, Cod.* C. 20 (continued in *Cod.* C. 13) of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Copies of this document also in *Barb.* 4680, p. 26 *seq.*, and 4695, p. 148 *seq.*; Vatican Library; also in *Cod.* 6581, p. 152 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna, and in the State Archives, Modena. The reprint of FR. L. MANNUCCI, in the *Atti d. Soc. Lig.* XLII., 542 *seqq.*, is from the latter MSS. See *ibid.*, 93 *seq.*, for the provenance of this document.

[3] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma I.*, 115. *Cf.* SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 230, note 4.

[4] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the opinion of A. Tassoni in the relation published by STORNAJOLI (*Miscell. Ceriani*, Milano, 1910).

Nothing could have surpassed the ardour with which Orsini worked for the exclusion of Campori. In him he saw an old enemy of his family who had deeply offended him personally by some biting remarks. He could be sure of Aldobrandini's Cardinals who were as opposed to Borghese as he could have wished, and he could likewise hope to bring over to his side some of Borghese's own adherents.[1]

When on the morning of February 8th, 1621, after the customary discourse on the papal election delivered by Agostino Mascardi, a man who enjoyed a great reputation as a preacher, the fifty-eight electors[2] entered the conclave prepared in the Vatican, Orsini thought he would easily succeed in excluding Campori.[3] To prevent this Borghese did all that lay in his power. His efforts were energetically seconded by his friends, especially by Savelli and Pignatelli, by Zappata also and Este, and by the representative of the Emperor, Prince Savelli, and the Spanish ambassador, Albuquerque. The above named were indefatigable in their efforts to keep the adherents of Campori together and to win new friends for him. The task was an arduous one because Campori was very unpopular and many felt that a continuation of the paramount position of Borghese, which would follow on Campori's election, was more than they could stand. Este endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to win over for Campori both Bevilacqua and Pio. Pignatelli sought to convince Bellarmine that he was bound in conscience to give his vote to so deserving a man. If that was really the case, Bellarmine replied, it should hardly be necessary to set up so unusual an agitation, even before the Bulls of the conclave had been read, as prescribed by law. Pignatelli was equally unsuccessful with Ubaldini. Zappata and the Spanish ambassador sought to influence Sforza and Madruzzo by threatening them with the displeasure of Philip IV. should they oppose Campori's elevation. However all these efforts were in vain. On the other hand the attempts of Orsini, seconded by Ubaldini, Pio and Bevilacqua, to win

[1] See the *report of Card. Orsini, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Biografia del card. Campori*, Modena, 1878, 25.

[3] See the *report of Card Orsini, *loc. cit.*

Montalto, Medici and Farnese for Campori's exclusion, were equally unsuccessful.[1]

The struggle of the parties grew in tenseness as the day wore on. At one time the scales seemed to turn in favour of Campori True, the attempts of the party of Borghese to induce Orsini to change his mind proved in vain, but the number of those who were for the exclusion of Campori fell from twenty-four, of whom Orsini imagined he could be sure, to sixteen.[2] However, eighteen votes were required for exclusion. As for Campori he felt so sure of his election that he made plans for his pontificate. An attempt by Delfino at that moment to win his countrymen, Priuli and Valiero, for Campori's exclusion failed, owing to the Venetian envoy, so it was thought, having left the conclave too soon. Instead, the French ambassador, the Marquis de Cœuvres, stayed all the longer. Though the governor of the conclave summoned him to depart, he only left the place of the election as a new day was breaking.[3]

That which had detained the French ambassador so long was the discussion with Cardinal Aldobrandini. The health of that prince of the Church had become so much worse that he had to keep to his bed. He was thus prevented from taking the lead in Campori's exclusion, as had been planned. Aldobrandini then advised Cœuvres to spring upon the assembled electors, in the name of the French King, the exclusion which would put an abrupt end to Campori's candidature. However, the

[1] *Cf.* the *report of CARD. ORSINI, *loc. cit.*, and the *relation of TASSONI, *loc. cit.*, 348 *seq.* MASCARDI says in connection with the opposition against Campori: "*Campori non era amato et alcuni non volevano vedere la continuatione del dominio in casa Borghese. Altri lo tenevano troppo inclinato all'accrescimento delle facoltà private, altri ascrivevano a lui solo tutti li disgusti havuti a Palazzo sotto Paolo V." Boncompagni Archives, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[2] See ORSINI's *report, *loc. cit.*, *B. Paolucci (*cf.* above, p. 35, note 1) gives the number of those excluded as seventeen. *Cf.* also C. CATANEO's report in COUDERC, *Bellarmin*, II., 304.

[3] See *ORSINI's report, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Conclavi* I., 384 *seq.*; SIRI, V., 255.

ambassador deemed this too dangerous a step, but he ended by obtaining from Aldobrandini, and the remaining Cardinals of Clement VIII., a promise in writing by which they bound themselves to exclude Campori and to vote for the elevation of Aquino or Ludovisi.[1]

The determined opposition which Campori's elevation encountered, especially Madruzzo's refusal to give him his vote, had made a profound impression on Borghese. Nor did it escape him that some of his most trusted followers were beginning to waver.[2] Hence he was afraid to attempt to bring off an election by adoration on the opening day. Even at the first scrutiny, on the morning of February 9th, he deemed it best not to come out into the open with his own candidate. On this occasion most of the votes—fifteen in all—fell to Bellarmine. The scrutiny was barely over when Orsini left the room. "Now we need no longer fear the elevation of Campori", he said to one of his intimates, "before the day is over another shall have the tiara."[3]

The conviction that Borghese would not be able to realize his scheme made way even with his own adherents. One of the first to perceive it was Cardinal Giustiniani and the idea took shape in his mind that with the help of Zappata and Madruzzo he might himself become Pope. But his hopes were promptly dashed for he was shown a letter of the King of Spain which expressly stated that he was not acceptable. Spain also

[1] See the *report of the French ambassador in PETITOT, 2nd Series, XVI., 369 *seq.*, and SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 232 *seq.* *Cf.* M. D'ESTRÉES, *Mémoires*, p.p. Bonnefon, Paris, 1910, 345 *seq.* On account of illness, Aldobrandini was one of the first to leave the conclave, as reported in an Avviso of February 13, 1621; on reaching home, he died so soon as "alle 2½ hore di notte". He had caught a chill on the hurried journey from Ravenna to Rome, which he accomplished in three days. *Urb.* 1089 B, Vatican Library.

[2] See *PAOLUCCI's report of February 10, 1621, State Archives, Modena.

[3] See *ORSINI's report (Vatican Library), which is also the chief source for that which follows.

excluded Cardinal Monte because of his dealings with the Grand Duke of Florence and with Venice. For all that, Medici now pushed the latter's candidature, for Borghese also had promised to give it his support if that of Campori should prove hopeless. All Campori's opponents expressed their readiness to vote for Monte, as well as Farnese, Este and the Florentine Cardinals of Borghese's party.[1]

Zappata informed Paul V.'s nephew of the danger of the situation and at the same time represented to him that he must make up his mind to exclude Monte if he wished to avoid a rupture with the Spaniards. Borghese happened to be in the cell of Cardinal Capponi at the moment when Zappata made this communication, which put him in a difficult position. If he opposed Monte, Medici could reproach him with disloyalty [2] and if he hesitated any longer there was a danger that the choice would fall on a man whose elevation might be extremely disagreeable to him. Of his own candidates, now that Campori's elevation had failed, there remained only Aquino and Ludovisi. Of the two, Borghese would have preferred the former had he not been laid low by a mortal sickness.[3] So there was nothing for it but to decide in favour of Ludovisi who had only come to Rome from Bologna on February 8th and who was very well aware of his prospects of the tiara.[4] Este, who also happened to be in Capponi's cell, likewise advocated this candidature.[5] As a matter of fact, by reason of his peaceable character, his blameless life and

[1] *Cf.* *Orsini's report and that of *Paolucci, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Paolucci's report, *loc. cit.*

[3] Aquino died on February 12, 1621. Ciaconius, IV., 492.

[4] How certainly Ludovisi counted on success, and how little he feared the candidature of Aquino, but only that of Campori, is apparent from the account of Domenico Cecchini, printed in *Arch. Rom.*, X., 291 *seq.*

[5] According to *Paolucci's account, Este, supported by Capponi, induced Borghese to vote for Ludovisi. Mascardi (*Scrittura, etc.*, *Cod.* C. 13 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome) says he did not know who first proposed Ludovisi, whether it was Este who boasted of it, or Borghese: "Dell'uno e dell'altro è

his knowledge of the law, Ludovisi enjoyed universal esteem, the Spaniards wanted him, the French did not exclude him and he was popular with most of the Cardinals.[1] Borghese arranged with Zappata, Capponi and Este, forthwith to bring about the elevation of Ludovisi. Whilst Zappata informed the Spaniards of their resolution and Este similarly broke the news to Pio, Capponi called on the opponents of Campori and Borghese on Orsini who willingly fell in with his proposal. Together the erstwhile opponents, now reconciled, hastened to Ludovisi's cell, to inform him of his forthcoming elevation to the papacy. The remaining Cardinals soon foregathered in Ludovisi's room, except such of them as were impeded by ill health.[2]

The decision had been arrived at with surprising rapidity.[3] Though Borghese had failed to push through his favourite candidate he had reason, nevertheless, to be satisfied that the election had fallen on one of the late Pope's Cardinal's and one he had had in view from the beginning, even though only as a third candidate. None the less everybody was surprised that Paul V.'s nephew, commanding as he did, so many adherents, had not made a serious effort to get his favourite through when the opponents of Campori were short of two votes to enable them to exclude him. Some ascribed his conduct to Borghese's weakness and inexperience, others to the circumstance that he did not feel quite sure of his followers.[4]

credibile perchè in ambeduoi concorrevano motivi efficaci di tal nominatione." Later accounts name Borghese; see GINDELY, *Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, IV., 349.

[1] See PAOLUCCI's report, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *ORSINI's report and that of PAOLUCCI, which was written immediately after the election.

[3] "In termine poco più d'un quarto d'hora," is F. Aragona's assertion in his *report of February 10, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also MAGNI PERNEI, *De efficacia divinæ gratiæ ex electione Gregorii XV.*, dedicated to the Pope, *Barb.* 3271/72, Vatican Library.

[4] See *ORSINI's report. According to the *report in the State Archives at Simancas, which was used by GINDELY (*Gesch. des*

The shadows of night had already fallen upon the Vatican when the two senior Cardinals' Deacons escorted Ludovisi to the Cappella Paolina where his election and the first homage of the Sacred College took place.

The news called forth extraordinary joy in Rome. An immense concourse of people flocked to St. Peter's. Many penetrated into the conclave itself and only by the threat of severest penalties could they be persuaded to withdraw.

The Pope spent the night in Borghese's cell, the conclavists, as the custom was, having plundered his own. On the following morning (February 10th, 1621) Gregory XV.—Ludovisi took the name in memory of his countryman, Gregory XIII.—said Mass in the Sistine Chapel and only then was the newly-elected Pope escorted to St. Peter's where the people hailed him with joyous acclamations.[1] He was not unknown in Rome and by his agreeable manner he had made many friends there. The Sacred College also expressed its satisfaction for not only the Cardinals of Paul V. but those also of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., took into account that those Popes had had a share in the rise of Gregory XV.[2]

Dreissigjährigen Krieges, IV., 349 *seq.*), Borghese, who only lacked two votes for a two-thirds majority (thirty-five), had contemplated, at the very beginning of the conclave, to secure the tiara for Campori by adoration; but this plan fell through, chiefly because too many others pressed into the election hall, and the rows of Cardinals were broken through, so that, when they finally remained alone, the late Pope's nephew no longer felt sufficiently determined to carry out this device, though even now it was not too late to do so. The Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors affirm that Borghese commanded at first six and later three votes above the two-thirds majority, but could not make up his mind to act, as he was not sure enough of his supporters. BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 115.

[1] See *Conclavi*, I., 395; *Report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 116; *Avviso of February 10, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, Vatican Library. For the names of the conclavists in **Bull.* XII., 497 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GIUNTI, **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome; see appendix no. IV. Numerous letters of congratulation to

The man who had thus risen to the highest dignity after a Cardinalate of only four years, sprang from a Florentine family which had settled at Bologna in the twelfth century and which could boast a great many distinguished men.[1] Gregory XV.'s mother, Camilla Bianchini, wife of Count Pompeo Ludovisi, also belonged to an old Bolognese family. Alessandro Ludovisi, as the new Pope was called, was born at Bologna on January 9th, 1554.[2] He came to Rome at the beginning of the reign of Pius V., in the autumn of 1567, to enter the Collegium Germanicum conducted by the Jesuits. That establishment, which enjoyed a high reputation, was at that time attended by a number of Italian noble youths. Ludovisi remained two years as a *convictor* and during that time studied humanities at the Roman College. In this way his classical studies were made in a Christian atmosphere. Besides the pagan authors the young Bolognese was a keen student of the Fathers of the Church. His favourite author was St. Jerome and he knew by heart numerous passages of the Saint's writings.[3] As one of the best students it fell to the lot of Ludovisi to deliver a panegyric of the great Apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, in presence of

Gregory XV., especially from Bologna, are in *Cod.* E. 70. 71, of Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The election of Gregory XV. was celebrated with special festivities at Mantua ; see ADEMOLLO, *La bell'Adriana*, Città di Castello, 1888, 267 *seqq.*

[1] See P. SC. DOLFI, *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna*, Bologna, 1670, 461 ; MORONI, XL., 104 *seq.*

[2] See ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.* This work based on good authorities (see appendix no. V), the original MS. of which I found in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, supplements considerably the meagre information obtainable until then on the antecedents of the Ludovisi Pope ; it is the source of the statements made hereafter.

[3] Ludovisi's tutor, Hieronymus Crucius, wrote in a *letter quoted by ACCARISIUS (*loc. cit.*) from the archives of the Collegium Romanum : " Comiti Alexandro Ludovisio meo in humanioribus litteris discipulo proprium hoc est, ut s. Hieronymi epistolas memoria promptas habeat earumque verba ac sententias saepius pro re nata, quod mirum est, fidelissime experteque subiiciat."

the Cardinal Protector of the college. Alessandro's delicate health, of which the paleness of his face was a symptom [1], was not equal to his ardour for study, hence the physicians sent him back to Bologna to recuperate. Though only barely restored to health, Ludovisi was soon back in Rome. From 1569 to 1571 he read philosophy and theology at the Roman College. During that time he became thoroughly acquainted with Protestant controversy. Here also he distinguished himself in a public disputation, in presence of the Cardinal Protectors, when he skilfully defended a number of theses. On the completion of his theological studies Alessandro returned to his native city in order to attend the lectures on law at the university there. He showed equal keenness in this branch of learning in which more than one of his ancestors had earned great renown. The Doctor's hat and licence to teach rewarded his application in 1575. Only now, and after consulting with some older friends, he made up his mind to become a priest, and since meanwhile his countryman Ugo Boncompagni had become Pope, he returned to Rome. Gregory XIII. made him chairman of the College of judges on the Capitol. Nor did the gifted young priest escape the attention of Sixtus V. When Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini went as legate to Poland, in 1588, the Pope's choice of a companion fell on Alessandro Ludovisi though an attack of illness prevented his making the journey.[2]

In view of Ludovisi's extensive knowledge of the law, Gregory XIV. named him a member of the commission for the examination of the escheat of Ferrara.[3] When the papal commissary general in France, Girolamo Matteucci, fell ill, Clement VIII., who as a Cardinal had taken Ludovisi under his patronage, thought of appointing in Matteucci's place the Bolognese priest who was as learned as he was pious. However Matteucci recovered, whereupon the Pope appointed Ludovisi referendary

[1] "Modicus enim virium fereque semper suppallida facie apparebat." *Accarisius, lib. I., c. 2, *loc. cit.*

[2] *See *Accarisius, lib. I., c. 5, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Accarisius (*loc. cit.*) saw Ludovisi's report in the Papal Secret Archives.

of the *Segnatura di giustizia e grazia*, and, later on a substitute of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome in civil questions.[1]

As referendary of the *Segnatura*, Alessandro Ludovisi was entrusted with the most difficult cases and his skill in solving them soon became proverbial.[2] When in 1595 the Pope was called upon to appoint a fresh occupant of the see of Toledo, a problem which had been greatly complicated by the testamentary dispositions of the deceased Cardinal Quiroga, and by the demands of Philip II., Clement VIII. had recourse to Ludovisi's services and on his advice he appointed Cardinal the Archduke Albert as Primate of the Church in Spain.[3] If on this occasion Alessandro Ludovisi rendered an important service to the house of Habsburg, he also put the Bourbon dynasty under obligation by what he did for the absolution of Henry IV.[4] These excellent relations stood him in good stead in his efforts to compose a scandalous dispute between the ambassadors of France and Spain, when he relieved Clement VIII. of no small anxiety. Ludovisi showed like prudence and moderation when the Pope charged him, together with Maffeo Barberini, with the duty of settling with the Viceroy of Naples the conflict over Benevento. On this occasion he dissuaded the Pope from inflicting the penalty of excommunication and in the end he composed the dispute in amicable fashion.[5]

Ludovisi's action as mediator and peacemaker was even more important on the occasion of the troubles caused by the Farnese in August, 1604.[6] It was he who soothed Clement VIII.

[1] See Moroni, XCIX., 173; Ciaconius, IV., 442.

[2] "Si nodus inexplicabilis accidit, enimvero is soli Alexandro nostro, ut calamo, non gladio dissolvat, reliquendus," Clement VIII. is reported to have said. *Accarisius, lib. I., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[3] According to *Accarisius, lib. I., ch. 7, Domenico Tosco and Franc. Mantica also belonged to the commission for the affair of Toledo.

[4] "Benignum oportet esse Pontificem Maximum, cum ecclesiae catholicae benignae fidelium matris sit sponsus," Ludovisi is reported to have said; see *Accarisius, lib. I., ch. 8, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Accarisius, lib. II., c. 1.

[6] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXIII, 259 *seq.*

and secured a hearing for Duke Ranuccio Farnese and pardon for Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.[1] The Pope's confidence,[2] which had already been shown by Ludovisi's appointment as auditor of the Rota for Bologna,[3] now rose so high that his elevation to the Sacred College was believed to be imminent. However the death of the Aldobrandini Pope destroyed that prospect.

In other ways also fortune refused to smile on Ludovisi. Paul V.'s intention to entrust him with a mission to the Emperor was again frustrated by the bad state of his health. However, the Pope was unwilling to be wholly deprived of the services of so excellent a man, so he named him vicegerent of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. In this position Ludovisi gave further proof of his skill as a mediator and peacemaker, especially in the disputes between Bishops and Regulars, which were frequent in those days.[4] In Paul V.'s conflict with Venice Ludovisi also worked in the direction of an amicable understanding.[5] Proof of the Pope's esteem was his appointment to the see of Bologna, on March 12th, 1612. Ludovisi signalled his taking of possession by a beautiful pastoral letter.[6] However, he was unable, at first, to devote much attention to his diocese owing to the fact that the Pope had

[1] See *Accarisius, lib. II., ch. 4.

[2] " *Hinc Pontifex Maximus familiarius cum Alexandro versari, arcana pectoris ei fidentius aperire, immo vero obstrusiores deliberationes cum eo familiarissime communicare. Accarisius, *loc. cit.*

[3] A. Ludovisi was considered one of the most distinguished members who had ever belonged to the Rota; see Moroni, LXXXII, 272 *seq.* *Cf. Decisiones S. Rotae Rom. coram Al. Ludovisio nunc Gregorio XV. cum annot. Ol. Beltramini*, Romae, 1622, and Venetiis, 1638, and Cerchiari, *S. Romana Rota*, II., Romae, 1920, 130. A *" Repertorium utriusque iuris ab Alex. Ludovisio exaratum dum S.R. Rotae auditoris munus obibat," in *Cod.* H. 15–17, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See *Accarisius, lib. II., c. 8.

[5] See *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 468.

pressing need of his services. In the difficult question of Montferrat, which caused Paul V. grave anxiety, he thought that he could not do without Ludovisi's assistance as a peacemaker between Duke Charles Emmanuel I. of Savoy and Philip III. By the zeal he displayed in this matter, both in Milan and in Turin, Ludovisi won the highest regard of the parties to the dispute as well as that of the Pope.[1] On September 19th, 1616, the purple rewarded his exertions.[2] Both the court of Madrid and that of Paris thanked the Pope for the appointment: an act which represented a most exceptional agreement![3]

Towards the close of 1618 Ludovisi came to Rome where in the consistory of November 20th, he received the red hat and in that of December 3rd, the title of the church of Santa Maria in Transpontina.[4] He remained in Rome until the end of 1619. It was generally believed that he would succeed Paul V., so much so that the Venetian envoy courted his good will in conspicuous fashion.[5] The remainder of Paul V.'s pontificate was spent by Ludovisi in his native city of Bologna, discharging his duties as Archbishop in the spirit of the Tridentine reform, and applying himself in particular to the formation of a model clergy.[6]

[1] See *Accarisius, lib. II., ch. 11. *Cf.* present work, XXV. Ch. IX., p. 422.

[2] See present work, Vol. XXV., Ch. VII., p. 337.

[3] See *Accarisius, lib. II., ch. 12.

[4] See Ciaconius, IV., 443.

[5] See Barozzi-Berchet, Roma I., 129.

[6] Quippe solitum dicere accepimus, nihil tam populis perniciosum quam clericorum licentiam (*Accarisius, lib. II., ch. 10). *Cf.* Tomba, *Arcivescovi di Bologna*, Bologna, 1788; Cassani, *L'espiscopato Bolognese, ibid.*, 1859; Tarozzi, *De archiepisc. eccles. Bonon., ibid.*, 1885. Aless. Ludovisi wrote from Bologna on December 21, 1619, to his nephew Ludovico: "La corte è piena di malignità e li Romaneschi oltre la buona qualità della corte hanno quella del paese; nelle cincie di Bologna bisogna far puocha riflessione (original in *Cod.* E. 67, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome). As a sign of his affection, Gregory XV. later

His love of the arts is revealed by the extraordinary interest he took in his famous countryman, Domenichino, whose financial condition was deplorable. On one occasion he urged his nephew Ludovico, who lived in Rome, to support the master's demand for payment by the Apostolic Camera.[1]

In political questions Cardinal Ludovisi had always remained strictly neutral, first of all because he disliked disputes and party intrigues, and secondly because he was aware that, ever since his elevation to the archbishopric of Bologna, there was question of his election to the papacy.[2] The following incident is a characteristic example of his prudence. After his successful mediation between Spain and Savoy the Spanish Government offered him a pension of fifteen hundred scudi. However, he hesitated to accept it inasmuch as he did not wish to antagonize the French. On the other hand, to refuse would have deeply offended the Spaniards. At last he saw a happy way out. Through his confidant Domenico Cecchini he so successfully dispelled every suspicion from the mind of the French ambassador that he was able to accept the pension. Contact thus established with the representative of France

sent the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church at Bologna " imagini d'argento " which had been used during the last Canonization, see " **Lettera d'Agucchi alli canonici e capitolo della Metropolit. di Bologna*, on May 16, 1622, *Cod.* X., V. 31, Casanat. Library, Rome.

[1] On April 11, 1620, Cardinal A. Lodovisi wrote from Bologna to his nephew: " *Il Domenichino vi si raccomanda; è mal trattato costi e qui; ha bisogno che il tesoriere e la Camera lo spedischino o dentro o fuori; raccomandatelo caldamente a questi sig^ri camerali per la speditione a nome mio." On April 14 to the same: " *Il Domenichino sta molto travagliato per la causa sua; bisogna pregare il tesoriere che vogli spedirlo o dentro o fuori." On April 25: " *È stato bene a cominciare di raccomandare alli chierici di Camera la causa di Domenichino; a mi piace che habbiasi scorta in essi buona voluntà di favorirlo per giustitia." Original in *Cod.* E. 67, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See **Vita e successi del card. Cecchini*, *Cod.* 39, D. 17, p. 30, Corsini Library, Rome.

proved of great consequence because the latter kept his eye on him as a likely candidate for the papacy.[1] It was of the utmost importance that plans of this kind should have the support of Montalto and Aldobrandini. With the latter Ludovisi came into close contact, because Domenico Cecchini was a distant relative of the Aldobrandini. True, Ludovisi's opponents objected that he lacked independence, that he was ignorant of politics and that his great goodness degenerated into weakness. But this did not prevent the fact that, as early as 1618, Ludovisi was one of those who might hope for the papacy. Though at Bologna feelings were in favour of France rather than Spain, the Cardinal showed no preference for either Power.[2]

Such reserve was in keeping with the quiet, placid nature of the new Pope who, whilst he was a man of few words, showed the greatest cordiality to all and sundry. The great skill displayed by him in the conduct of affairs and his prudence

[1] " *Volendo li Spagnuoli per la sodisfattione che mostravano havere havuta nel suo negotiato fare seco qualche dimostratione gli havevano costituita una provisione di ducati 1500 stava irresoluto il cardinale se dovesse pigliarla o piutosto ricusarla dubitando in pigliarla di dispiacere ai Francesi, mentre riceveva beneficio da Spagnuoli, et in ricusarla dispiacere alli stessi Spagnuoli, è deliberato alla fine che fosse meglio pigliarla e procurare di fare capaci li Francesi che questa era una mercede se li dava per la nuntiatura e secondo lo stile che si era usato con altri cardinali ; pensò che io mi valessi di Mons. Bunozetto, auditore di Rota Francese, che ne'negotii dell'ambasceria di Francia nella corte di Roma haveva grandissima parte et era amicissimo di marchese di Covere ambasciatore sapendo quanto grande fosse l'amicitia che passava tra di me e detto Monsignore e quanto di lui mi poteva promettere ; nè fu anche vano il pensare poichè Mons. Bunozetto fece l'officio in tal maniera che non solo i Francesi deposero ogni sospetto, ma il marchese di Covere quando venne l'occasione del conclave fu uno di quelli che per quanto pote promosse l'esaltatione del cardinale al pontificato. *Vita e successi del card. Cecchini*, p. 30[b], *loc. cit.*

[2] See **Discorso de cardinali*, of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

had enabled him to obtain what he wanted quietly and without attracting undue attention.[1] His was an upright nature and he abhorred every form of duplicity—nothing could have induced him to utter an untruth.[2] His mode of life was abstemious and ordered by a strict rule: he was fond of exercise. [3] The outward appearance of Gregory XV., which the youthful Bernini perpetuated in a magnificent bronze bust,[4] had nothing of the imposing figure of his predecessor.

[1] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 117.

[2] See ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., ch. 21.

[3] See the report of the Venetian ambassadors, *loc. cit.*

[4] Preserved in the Stroganoff Collection, Rome. See *Pièces de choix de la Collection du Comte Grégoire Stroganoff à Rome par L. Pollak et A. Muñoz*, II., Rome, 1912, 138, and plate XIV. Cf. MUÑOZ in *Vita d'arte*, VIII. (1911), 183; *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 104. The Pope's hair is very thin, his beard is cut short, his face expresses fatigue; whereas on his tombstone he seems quite strong. Poor copies of this masterpiece, which was rewarded with the Order of Christ (see FRASCHETTI, *Bernini*, 32), in which the young artist already shows his full powers, are in the Museo Civico, Bologna, in the Palace of Prince Doria, Rome, at Sangiorgi's and Simonetti's, in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (derived from the Borghese family), and finally a small one in the Palazzo Massimi, Rome. The whereabouts of a seventh copy which was sold from the Bandini Collection, 1899, and went to London, is unknown; see KROHN's essay on a bust in the Museum of Sculpture at Copenhagen, in the *Tidskrift för Konstvetenschap*, Copenhagen, 1916. Other busts of Gregory XV. are in the church of Propaganda (see FORCELLA XI., 455). The bust in the collection Barsanti, Rome, differs from these (see POLLAK, *Bronzi ital.*, Rome, 1922, 149, and plate 49). In 1913 a bronze bust of Gregory XV. was bought by L. Pollak from the Ludovisi Collection; it is a Roman contemporary piece of work: the Pope is represented in ordinary indoor dress with the biretta on his head, his brow is deeply furrowed and his beard sparse. For Algardi's bust of Gregory XV. see POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI., 194. The two marble busts of Gregory XV., both modelled by Bernini, have disappeared (see BALDINUCCI, ed. Riegl 74). With regard to the miniature bust of Gregory XV. in the Chiesa

Short and slender of stature, he had a deeply furrowed brow and thin beard. His blond hair became prematurely white so that he looked older than he was. This impression was further heightened by his pale and sickly complexion.[1]

Strenuous exertions and repeated illnesses [2] had tried the strength of Gregory XV. to such an extent that he felt compelled to look for someone who would help him to cope with affairs. This assistance he found in the eldest son of his brother whom he raised to the Cardinalate as early as February 15th, 1621, one day after his own coronation,[3] and whom he

Nuova see MUÑOZ in the *Atti d. Accad. di S. Luca*, II. (1911), 44. There is also a bust of Gregory XV. in the cathedral at Bologna. Likenesses of the Pope are to be found in the engravings of *Lukas Kilian and Peter Isselburg*, see *Portrait Index*, ed. by W. COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 616; a copy of the engraving by Isselburg is in WINTER, *Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (1893), 259. An engraving by Chris. Greuter, of Augsburg, is in the collection of the Munich Pinakothek. Statues of Gregory XV. on his tomb by Le Gros and in the Collegium Romanum; see *La Canonizzazione*, 33; *ibid.*, 31, also a copy of the oil painting of Gregory XV. in the Villa Aurora, Rome, in the possession of the Prince of Piombino. For the characteristic portrait of Gregory XV. in the Seminario Romano Maggiore, see CASTELUCCI, 169. *Cf. Il Pontif. Seminario Romano*, Rome, 1914, 23. For the miniatures of Gregory XV., see MARTINORI, *Zecca di Roma*, 1621–1644, Rome, 1919, 12 *seq.* Here also, page 7 *seq.*, information on the papal coins. *Cf.* also SERAFINI, *Le Monete del Museo Vatic.*, II., Rome, 1912, 175 *seq.*

[1] "In vultu color gilvus quique ad mellis similitudinem maxime vergebat fere semper apparuit" (*ACCARISIUS, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* the *report of A. POSSEVINO of August 13, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 43. In the letters to his nephew, Ludovico, mentioned on p. 52, n. 2 (Boncompagni Archives, Rome), Cardinal A. Ludovisi often speaks of his gout.

[3] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2985, Vatican Library. For the Majordomoship under Gregory XV., see MORONI, XLI., 264; "**Ruolo di famiglia di Gregorio XV.* in *Cod.* H., II., 42, of the Chigi Library, Rome.

now entrusted with the management of the most important affairs, both spiritual and secular. The appointment created a good impression because it was known that the nephew was animated by the same gentle and humane spirit which had always been admired in the Pope himself.[1]

Ludovico Ludovisi,[2] the son of Count Orazio and Lavinia Albergati, was born at Bologna on October 27th, 1595, but had come to Rome in his childhood with his parents.[3] One of his uncles was an auditor of the Rota at that time. The promising lad received an excellent education at the hands of the Jesuits, in the Roman College. In the dramatic representations which form part of the customary school curriculum of the Jesuits, he shone by his eloquence and his excellent memory. Notwithstanding repeated illnesses and a disease of the eyes he completed his studies in the prescribed time. When Ludovico's uncle became Archbishop of Bologna in 1612, his nephew betook himself thither in order to study for the bar at the university. He pursued his studies with such ardour that he was able to take his doctorate in February, 1615.[4] In the autumn of the following year he became arch-

[1] "In quanto al presente pontificato s'aspetta ognuno uno ottimo governo si per la bontà e somma prudenza di S. B^ne nota a tutti come del nipote, l'un l'altro di natura molto mite e piacevole." *Report of F. ARAGONA on February 17, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For what follows see the *Biography of the Cardinal by L. A. GIUNTI, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* Appendix no. IV.

[3] GIUNTI (*loc. cit.*) says: *A pena fuori delle fascie uscito da suoi genitori fu condotto in Roma, dove dimoravano molt'anni con Mons. Ludovisi all'hora auditore di Ruota.

[4] "A 15 febraro 1615 sostenne le sue publiche conclusioni, le quali furono da lui dedicate al card. Borghese et in lode del suo valore furono fatti gl'infrascripti versi." These end with the words:—

"Ludovice domus Ludovisiae nobile germen,
Spes patriae, Themidis lux nova fatidicae,
Dum patrum unanimi consensu insignia sumis
Virtutis, per te crescit honoris honos.

A 25 dell'istesso mese di febraro 1615 riportò il conte Ludovisio

priest of the metropolitan church of Bologna. Afterwards he accompanied his uncle in his diplomatic missions to Turin and Milan, in the course of which he rendered him such splendid service as to earn the Legate's fullest satisfaction and confidence. In the summer of 1618, illness brought Ludovico to the verge of the grave.[1] At the close of 1619 he entered the Roman prelature. He maintained his former good relations with the Jesuits, worked with the greatest application in the Congregation of the *Segnatura di giustizia e grazia* and from the beginning of December, 1620, in that of *del buon governo* as well. With his uncle in Bologna Ludovico was in constant and lively epistolary correspondence,[2] and he did all he could to further the latter's prospects of the tiara.[3]

On the death of Monsignor Guevara, Ludovico Ludovisi took his place in the *Consulta*—January 5th, 1621. A little over a month later, in consequence of the change in the occupancy of the Apostolic See, which put his uncle on the throne of Peter, he became head of that Congregation and a member of the Sacred College. The youthful Cardinal gave proof of a truly ecclesiastical spirit—for which, as a matter

il grado di dottorato e l'aggregazione al collegio dei giudici, prerogativa, che si concede a quelli solamente che per nobiltà e scienza se ne rendono degni. Non molto doppo fu honorato d'una pubblica lettura nell'istessa sua patria potendosi raccogliere da un volume di lezioni fatte da lui, che si conserva fra suoi manoscritti." *GIUNTI, *loc. cit.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[1] " *A 18 d'Agosto 1618 cadde infermo in Milano, dove pati una lunga e pericolosa malatia, nella quale ricadde poi anche in Bologna in maniera che si tenne morto" (GIUNTI, *loc. cit.*). Cesare Egnatio, the physician who treated Ludovisi at the time, wrote him a *letter of congratulation on the election of his uncle to the Papacy, dated Todi February 10, 1621; original in *Cod.* E. 70, Number 10, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] The originals of these very numerous but not very important letters, of the years 1619 and 1620, are in *Cod.* E. 67, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. On May 27, 1620, Cardinal Ludovisi wrote to his nephew from Bologna " *Mi rallegro, che il card. Barberini vi favorisca proteger nella maniera che scrivete."

[3] See *GIUNTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

of fact, his education by the Jesuits had prepared the ground—by immediately taking priest's orders and by the choice of the Jesuit Giacomo Minutoli for his confessor. It was universally remarked that his rapid rise had not altered his genial manner. Now, as before, he was considerate to everybody, his servants included, and ever ready to render service. This is the character given to him by Lucantonio Giunti, a familiar of long standing and his subsequent biographer.[1]

Giunti cannot say enough in praise of the Cardinal nephew. The Cardinal, he relates, was so indefatigable in giving audiences that he would rather have foregone his meals than refuse to listen to anyone who might be waiting in his antechamber. The ambassadors were delighted to deal with so skilful and cautious a statesman. His outward appearance was imposing,[2] and though the nephew displayed the splendour that befitted his rank, he did not become haughty. When distinguished personages had to be entertained, the luxury of the period was not wanting, but when the Cardinal took his meals alone, his table was quite plain. At no time was he carried away by passion; never did he shock anyone. If someone happened to upset him, he was easily calmed; even those who offended him deliberately found him ready to forgive, for he was himself the first to seek a reconciliation. But the Cardinal had a special horror of double-dealing and deception. He loved to speak frankly and freely, without ostentation and boasting.[3]

Even though it may be necessary to deduct somewhat from these encomiums so lavishly bestowed by a loyal and grateful retainer, there remains enough that deserves praise and to which other observers also bear witness. The Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors admired Ludovisi's distinction, pru-

[1] See GIUNTI, "**Vita e fatti di L. card. Ludovisi*, in *Cod.* 39, D. 8, of the Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* Appendix IV.

[2] There is a very fine full-length picture of the Cardinal in the possession of the Prince of Piombino in the Villa Aurora, Rome, reproduced in *La Canonizzazione*, 83.

[3] See *GIUNTI, *loc. cit.*, 10b *seq.*

dence, and indefatigable application to work.[1] Even his declared enemies, such as Renier Zeno, who was as quarrelsome as he was unscrupulous, were compelled to acknowledge Ludovisi's ability in the conduct of government affairs: his talents, his energy, and his general aptitude which enabled him to find a way out of the most involved situations.[2] Already, on May 28th, 1621, Antonio Possevino of Mantua remarked that the youthful, amiable Cardinal nephew was endowed with a natural gift for political questions.[3]

No wonder, then, that Ludovico should have gained very great influence over his uncle whose goodwill he had enjoyed even before his elevation. He supplemented his uncle in happiest fashion, for the nephew possessed abundantly the strength that the sickly Pontiff lacked. Whereas, especially in the last period of Paul V., the latter's caution and the pedantic slowness of Cardinal Borghese had frequently prevented energetic action, the youthful Secretary of State gave a fresh and vigorous impetus to papal policy from which the cause of the Catholic restoration was to derive extraordinary benefit.

True, the position of the Cardinal nephew was not without the usual drawbacks. Rome was, unfortunately, to witness a repetition of the painful spectacle from which it had suffered under Clement VIII. and Paul V. Ludovisi was loaded with honours, dignities, and the most lucrative ecclesiastical offices and benefices in a measure exceeding all bounds. Immediately after his elevation to the Sacred College he was given the archdiocese of Bologna and, in consequence of the death

[1] See Barozzi-Berchet, Roma, I., 117.

[2] See *ibid.*, 160. With regard to R. Zeno's quarrelsomeness see Dengel, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 117 *seq.* R. Zeno bribed officials of the State Secretariate to betray State Secrets. He cynically recounts this himself in his relation, in Barozzi-Berchet, Roma, I., 187.

[3] See the *dispatch of Possevino in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the opinion of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 205 *seq.*

of Pietro Aldobrandini, the office of Camerlengo which yielded a revenue of 10,000 scudi, the legation of Avignon and numerous other benefices, among them some very wealthy abbeys.[1] By May Ludovisi's income from these sources amounted to 80,000 scudi a year.[2] Subsequently it rose considerably,[3] for Gregory XV.'s liberality towards his beloved nephew proved inexhaustible.[4] Thus it came about that Cardinal Ludovisi, who, in May, 1622, had paid the sum of 39,000 scudi for a palazzo of the Colonna situated in the piazza SS. Apostoli,[5] was able to proceed, in the autumn of the same year, to a far more important acquisition.

Pier Francesco Colonna had been obliged to meet such enormous debts incurred by his father that he saw himself compelled to sell the duchy of Zagarolo, with the *castelli*

[1] *Cf.* the *Index of GIUNTI in Appendix no. IV. The nomination to the archbishopric of Bologna took place on February 18, 1621 (see GAMS, 677; UGHELLI, II., 53), the appointment to the CAMERARIATUS on March 17, 1621 (**Acta consist.*, Vatican Library). On May 2, 1621, Ludovisi was consecrated Bishop in the Sistine Chapel (*Avviso of May 8, 1621), *Urb.* 1089 B., *ibid.*).

[2] See the *letter of A. POSSEVINO of May 13, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] A *note in *Barb.* 4592 (Vatican Library) unfortunately without date, estimates the sum at 118,270 scudi per year.

[4] See the *report from Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 207, and GIUNTI, **Vita*, *loc. cit.* P. Contarini reckoned later that Ludovisi received during the pontificate of his uncle 800,000 scudi *Luoghi di Monti*, and 1,200,000 Scudi of ecclesiastical benefices. BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Rome*, I., 202.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of February 26, May 18 and 28, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library. After Ludovisi had become Vice-Chancellor he decided to transfer to the Cancelleria. The palace of the Colonna was now re-acquired by Pier Francesco Colonna for the same price, "oltre al rifare le spese fatte del cardinale nella fabrica nuova" (*Avviso of June 28, 1623, *loc. cit.*). Concerning this palace, which finally came into the possession of the Odescalchi, *cf.* SCHREIBER, *Villa Ludovisi*, 5, n. 4; ASHBY, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VIII., and *Arch. Rom.*, XLIV., 387 *seq.*

of Colonna, Gallicano and Passerano. For the sum of 860,000 scudi Cardinal Ludovisi acquired this ancient, magnificent family estate, twenty miles in extent and situated south of Rome. It included most productive territories, famous vineyards, well-stocked hunting grounds, and yielded an annual revenue of 25,000 scudi. Gregory XV. sanctioned the transaction by a decree of September 27th, 1622, invalidating all previous dispositions to the contrary.[1] Thus did the Colonna family forfeit its oldest possessions and the place from which it derived its name. The main line of the Colonna impugned the validity of the sale. The dispute came before the Rota and was ultimately settled by a compromise.[2] The inhabitants of the duchy were perfectly satisfied with the change, for their new lord showed himself as benevolent as he was beneficent.[3] On his very first visit in October, 1621, the Cardinal was received with great demonstrations of joy.[4] He at once resolved

[1] *Cf.* MORONI, CIII., 368; *Papers of the British School*, IX. (1920), 69. Out of the price, 600,000 scudi were used to pay the debts of Colonna; see *Avviso of October 1, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, Vatican Library. It is a serious blunder to say, as RANKE does, (*Päpste*, III.[9], 14) that the Dukedom of Zagarolo was bought from the Farnese.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of October 15 and 29, November 5, and 12, December 3 and 24, 1622; January 18, February 1 and 15, 1623, *Urb.* 1092, 1093 A., Vatican Library. As mentioned in an *Avviso of June 24, 1623, the report was current at that time that Ludovisi proposed to sell the duchy of Zagarolo once more to the Colonna; the rumour arose out of certain transactions between the Cardinal and the Spanish King, concerning the purchase of the duchy of Aquila, which was to cost two million gold florins. If Gregory XV. had lived eight or ten days longer, says an *Avviso of July 8, 1623 (*loc. cit.*) the repurchase of Zagarolo would have been carried through for 200,000 scudi.

[3] *Cf.* GIUNTI, **Vita di L. card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See the *Avvisi of October 8 and 12, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, *loc. cit.* The *DIARIUM P. ALALEONIS reports: "Oct. 3. 1622 Papa ivit ad Zagarolam; 4 Oct. ivit ad Gallicanum; 5 Oct. ad Columnam; 9 Oct. redivit Romam." *Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library.

to put up new constructions at Zagarolo for which Carlo Maderno supplied the plans.[1]

For a summer residence Cardinal Ludovisi bought from the Duke of Altemps the beautiful villa at Frascati which had been at one time the property of Cardinal Galli.[2] In May and September, 1622, Gregory XV. spent a few days there.[3] His nephew considerably enlarged and embellished this country seat. His model was the celebrated Villa Aldobrandini with which the spot, with its waterworks, terraces and gardens could well stand comparison.[4]

A third magnificent domain was the vast summer residence which Cardinal Ludovisi prepared for himself not far from the Villa Borghese but well within the walls of Rome, on a site at one time occupied by the gardens of Sallust. The heart of the artistically laid out domain which, however, lacked creative originality,[5]—precisely because it grew by degrees—was the Villa of Giovanni Antonio Orsini, close to the city wall, which Ludovisi bought on February 5th, 1622, for the sum of 15,000 scudi. The property was further enlarged in the course of the ensuing months by the acquisition of the vineyards of Cardinals Capponi and Monte.[6] As early as June 19th, 1622, and again on August 1st of the same year, the Pope honoured his nephew's Villa with his presence, and he took his midday

[1] See *Avviso of October 22, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, *loc. cit.*

[2] See GIUNTI, **Vita*, *loc. cit.*, and SCHREIBER, *Villa Ludovisi*, 5.

[3] According to the **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, the Pope was at the villa in Frascati from May 27 to June 2, and he visited it again on September 28, 1622 (*Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the *Avviso of May 21, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, *ibid.*

[4] See FALDA, *Le Fontane nei Giardini di Frascati*, II., 12 *seqq.*; MORONI, XL., 109, and GOTHEIN, *Gartenkunst*, I., 337 *seq.* The Villa came later into the hands first of the Conti and subsequently into those of the Torlonia.

[5] See GOTHEIN, I., 353.

[6] See SCHREIBER, *Villa Ludovisi*, 4. The information concerning the purchase of the Vigna Monte, which is missing in this work, I have taken from the *Avviso of August 6, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library.

meal there.[1] When, on May 3rd, 1623, Gregory XV. paid yet another visit to the Villa,[2] he witnessed great alterations by which the north-eastern part of the Pincio had assumed a new appearance. Under the direction of the painter Domenichino,[3] who was also architect to the Pope, a new palace arose close to the entrance to the Villa, whilst on a hill in the western, park-like section, a summer-house was erected which, by reason of the wonderful view one enjoyed from it, became known as the Belvedere.[4] This small central building, surrounded by statues, was approached from all sides by broad alleys which spread like the rays of a star and all terminated in some splendid ornamental piece visible from a great distance, such as an antique sarcophagus or a colossal statue of Alexander Severus.[5] Guercino, who at that time was at work on his gigantic painting of St. Petronilla, destined for St. Peter's, undertook, with the assistance of the perspectivist Agostino Tassi, the decoration of the ceilings of the summer-house. His work displays extraordinary technique and the brilliance of his colour scheme is magnificent ; however, both as regards design and delineation of form, his fresco is far below Guido Reni's soffit. In Guercino's picture on the ground floor of the summer-house, Aurora also scatters flowers, but how ponderous are the horses of her chariot ! On the upper floor Guercino created a magnificent figure, wrongly styled

[1] " *19 Junii 1622 Papa pransus est ad vineam s. viridarium card. Ludovisi apud Portam Pincianam." Again, August 1, 1622, (*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Avviso of June 22, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, *ibid.*

[2] See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, loc. cit.*, and *Avviso of May 10, 1623, *Urb.* 1093 A., *loc. cit.*

[3] The Brief of nomination of Domenichino, April 1, 1621, is in BERTOLETTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 127 *seq.* *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 385.

[4] It is now called, after the chief picture, Casino dell'Aurora and escaped destruction in 1885. For Domenichino's part, see BAGLIONE 386 ; BELLORI, II., 89. Besides Guercino and Domenichino, Giovan Luigi Valesio, Alessandro Algardi, Giovan Battista Viola and others took part in the decoration of the buildings of the Villa ; see SCHREIBER, 4.

[5] See GOTHEIN, I., 352.

" Fame ", for it is a masculine figure holding in its hands a torch and a bouquet of flowers.[1] Landscapes by Domenichino complete the decoration of the summer-house. To the right of the main entrance to the Villa, near the Porta Salaria, there was another summer-house with a gallery of statues. In front of it a long alley, terminating in a great statue, led to the city wall. From here one had a good view of the whole expanse of the Villa which, in this section, was covered with numerous copses, in the same way as the Villa Borghese. Water was furnished by the Acqua Felice.[2] If the visitor, on entering, turned to the left, he was faced by a piazza adorned with a fountain of Tritons and wide enough to allow for the manœuvring and stationing of the many carriages that had to be dealt with on festive occasions. In front of the beholder this space was limited by the private garden (*giardino segreto*), in the centre of which there was an aviary, as in the Villa Borghese. Along the right side ran pergolas, the so-called labyrinth, adorned with antique statues, busts, sarcophagi and columns ; to the left rose the main building, behind which there came a second special garden for flowers and rare plants. The main building was approached by a terrace of the height of the first story which cut across a sunk garden adorned with two fountains.[3] In the lower

[1] *Cf.* PHILIPPI, *Kunst der Nachblüte*, 95 *seq.* ; BERGNER, 120 *seq.*; KRAUS-SAUER, 795 ; SCHMERBER, *Ital. Malerei*, 197 *seq.* ; KUHN, III., 2, 817 ; BERTEAUX, *Rome*, 129 ; ROSE, *Spät-Barock*, 217 *seq.* ; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 149. In the letters of the President DE BROSSE (II., German trans., Munich, 1922, 54 *seq.*) the frescoes of Guercini receive the greatest praise (equally, recently, POSSE, SACCHI, 20, and W. WEISBACH, *Die Kunst des Barock*, Berlin, 1924, 42) ; VENTURI criticizes them sharply in the *N. Antologia*, 3, Series XXXII. (1891), 413 *seq.*

[2] An *Avviso of April 1, 1623, mentions a Papal Brief in which Cardinal Ludovisi was granted " la communicatione degli aquidotti dell'Acqua Felice per condurre alla sua vigna 44 once ". *Urb.* 1093 A, Vatican Library.

[3] See GOTHEIN, I., 352, where Falda's views of the Villa are reproduced. *Cf.* SCHREIBER, 4–13, and DAMI, 42. Piranesi gave very picturesque views.

rooms of the building, as well as in the Belvedere and the other garden house, a selection of the best statues had been brought together to constitute a gallery.

Keenly interested as he was in literature, Cardinal Ludovisi was even more enthusiastic as regards art.[1] How much he understood the value of the relics of antiquity is proved by a decree of March 2nd, 1622, which threatens with the severest penalties the destruction of ruins for the purpose of using them as building materials, and all unauthorized digging for treasure or statues.[2] The Cardinal was a keen collector and the fact was well known, hence with a view to winning his favour he was presented with numerous works of art of every description.[3] If the inexhaustible soil of Rome yielded some antique object, the Cardinal made haste to acquire it. For the sum of 120 scudi he bought from the finders, together with some smaller antique objects, a sarcophagus of uncommon size which had been dug up before the Porta S. Lorenzo and on which was represented a battle between Romans and Barbarians; it still retained traces of gilding. A big find of pottery near S. Francesco Ripa yielded the colossal terra-cotta vases which were set up in the Piazza in front of the Belvedere.[4] Cardinal Ludovisi likewise acquired numerous antique objects from private collections in Rome, especially from the Cesarini and the Cesi. With the assistance of the Pope who revoked the testamentary clauses which stood in the way, he was able to acquire, on August 6th, 1622, from Giovanni Federigo Cesi,

[1] For the Cardinal's Academy in the papal palace, see below, p. 69; *cf.* RENAZZI, II., 131 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*, for the call of the celebrated physician Vincenzo Alsario Croce and p. 107 for the call of the poet Marini to Rome. *Cf.* also *La Canonizzazione*, 82. For Ludovisi's dealings with Tassoni, see TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 310. *Cf. Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLIX., 406.

[2] See SCHREIBER, *Villa Ludovisi*, 5. Under Gregory XV., in 1621 the Arch of Severus was again disinterred; see REUMONT, III., 2, 755.

[3] A. POSSEVINO reports on this in his statement of May 13, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See SCHREIBER, 8 *seq.*, 27.

Duke of Acquasparta, twenty statues, five torsos, and fifty smaller fragments of statues, eleven vases, a few bronze fragments and pedestals, in all 102 pieces.[1] The acquisition was valued at more than 20,000 scudi.[2] It included the famous colossal head of Hera, the majesty of which impressed Göthe like a canto of Homer. In accordance with the taste of the period this magnificent work, like so many other antique sculptures, served to adorn the spacious gardens.[3] The colossal statue of Athene Parthenos, which, according to the inscription it bears, is the work of Antiochos of Athens, was also set up in the gardens. The head in profile of the "Dying Medusa" was used to adorn the exterior of the great palace.[4] The palace itself housed the most valuable pieces of a collection which Winckelmann rendered famous throughout the world, namely, "Mars asleep," the magnificent group generally understood to represent Electra and Orestes, the work, according to its inscription, of Menelaos, a pupil of Stephanos; the statue of the Gaul who, when about to be made a prisoner, slays his faithful wife and turns the weapon against himself; the "dying gladiator", belonging to the same group but which under Clement XII. was transferred to the Capitol.[5]

The incomplete inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Ludovisi, drawn up on January 12th, 1633, only a few months after his death, enumerates, without counting bronzes and mere fragments, 216 statues, ninety-four heads and busts, twenty-one columns, two basins, eleven tombstones, thirteen reliefs, four sarcophagi, and nineteen vases.[6] Besides the collection of antiques, perhaps the most splendid that Rome

[1] See *ibid.*, 7 *seq.*, 27 *seq.* For Cardinal Cesi's garden and his antiques see now the excellent monographs of HÜLSEN, *Römische Antikengärten des 16. Jahrh.*, Heidelberg, 1917, 1 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of August 6, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, Vatican Library.

[3] See SCHREIBER, 123. [4] *Ibid.*, 125 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 82 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*

[6] See **Inventarium bonorum repertorum post obitum fel. rec. Ludovici card. Ludovisii* (*Arm.* 9, *Prot.* 325, n. 1, Boncompagni Archives, Rome) used in SCHREIBER, 14 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 28 *seq.*, is

had ever seen,[1] the Villa Ludovisi also contained modern works of art of great value, such as Bernini's "Pluto's Rape of Proserpina", a present of Cardinal Borghese; two female heads, a bust of Gregory XV., and a "Child bitten by a Snake". As a contrast to this piece the young Alessandro Algardi, who had been charged with the restoration of the antique pieces, of which many were in very bad condition, created the statue of a boy playing a rustic flute. Among the modern sculptures the following deserve mention: a "Cleopatra", by Cristoforo Stati, and a "Venus", by Giovanni da Bologna. Two bronze busts are ascribed to Michelangelo. The group catalogued as "Dead boy on a dolphin", without indication of the artist's name, is probably the marble figure spoken of in connexion with Raphael: it is now in the Eremitage at Petrograd.[2]

The extent of the art collections of Cardinal Ludovisi may be gauged from the fact that he also owned a large picture gallery which ranked among the most valuable in Rome. The exquisite art galleries, the delightful pergolas, the peaceful grottoes, the waterworks, the magnificent ilexes and cypresses whose sombre foliage constituted the foreground for the varied vistas of the city and the mountains beyond and, lastly, the incomparable panorama of Rome and the campagna which opened from the summer-house, invested the Villa Ludovisi with an enchanting fascination. Though the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, which Gregory XV. restored to the d'Este,[3] maintained its ancient reputation,[4] many people thought the summer

printed from the same archives, "*Inventario delle massaritie, quadri et altro, che sono alla vigna del principe di Venosa a Porta Pinciana rivisto questo dì 28 Gennaro 1663.*" *Cf.* L. G. PELISSIER, *Un inventaire inédit* (Corsini Library, Rome) *des collections Ludovisi à Rome*, Paris, 1894.

[1] See MICHAELIS, *Entdeckungen*, 6.

[2] See SCHREIBER, 15, 50, 68 *seq.*, 129.

[3] See F. X. SENI, *La Villa d'Este in Tivoli*, Roma, 1902, 17.

[4] See no. VII. in Appendix, A. POSSEVINO's enthusiastic description in his letter of August 14, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

residence of Gregory XV.'s nephew the most beautiful of all Roman villas.[1] Those whose good fortune it has been to walk in the shady grounds recall with sorrow the memory of the magnificent park limited on the north side by the picturesque walls of the city, which in the year 1885 fell a victim to the modern speculative builder. Apart from a few fragments[2] in the garden of the palazzo Boncompagni-Piombino (now Regina Margherita) built in 1886–90, nothing has been preserved of the Villa except the summer-house. The protests raised against the devastation of this Paradise proved only too justified. Rome lost "a park fit for Kings and Sages, so enchanting and so solemn that Horace and Virgil, Marcus Aurelius and Dante might have walked with religious awe in the shadow of its laurel groves and its alleys of cypresses".[3]

Whilst the memory of the Villa Ludovisi survives only in the name of one of the districts of the city, the magnificent church of St. Ignatius in Rome bears eloquent witness, even at this day, to the piety of the papal nephew. For the completion of this splendid sacred edifice, which was begun in 1626,[4] he set apart the total sum of 200,000 scudi.[5]

[1] See in App. no. IV. *GIUNTI's opinion. For later judgments *cf.* specially that recorded in *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 98, in 1644. For the latter fortunes of the Villa and the dispersion of individual pieces of the collection of antiques, which were bought in 1909 for 1,400,000 lire by the Italian Government and for a long time most unsatisfactorily housed in the Museo delle Terme Diocleziane, see SCHREIBER, 15 *seq.*; HELBIG, II.[3], 75 *seq.*

[2] For a reproduction of the magnificent fountain in the old garden, see GOTHEIN, I., 353.

[3] See *Allg. Zeitung*, 1886, no. 80; the preface to GRIMM's *Life of Raphael* ([2]1886) and GREGOROVIUS, *Kleine Schriften*, III. (1892), 42.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 477. For *O. Grassi, architetto di S. Ignazio, cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1922, Aprile 1.

[5] *Cf.* GIUNTI, **Vita*, Corsini Library, Rome, and **Sommario del testamento del em. card. Ludovisi fatto in Roma l'a 1629.* The MS. was bought by me in Rome in 1911. See also RINALDI, *La fondazione del Collegio Romano*, Roma, 1914, 119.

The Cardinal's intention to erect a church in honour of St. Francis Xavier, on the Quirinal, was not carried out.[1] In the summer of 1623, he built a new church for the Barnabites, in the Piazza Colonna,[2] and contributed to the erection of S. Eufemia in the forum of Trajan and to that of the adjoining orphanage.[3] Outside Rome the erection of the church of the Oratorians at Casale and that of another in the Valtellina were also due to the Cardinal.[4] He made presents to various churches, especially to those of the Jesuits in Rome and Bologna. Without considering that the Villa Ludovisi would be spoilt thereby, he cut off a large piece of ground and gave it to the Capuchins for their new convent.[5] At Zagarolo the Cardinal erected a chapel in honour of St. Ignatius in the church of St. Sebastian, and at Bologna he beautified the cathedral and bestowed rich gifts upon it, the most valuable being a painting for the reredos of the high altar representing the Holy Trinity and one of Guido Reni's masterpieces.[6]

If these activities by themselves reconcile us in a measure to the wealth piled up by Cardinal Ludovisi, we are even further inclined to condone it when we consider the liberality of the nephew of Gregory XV. towards the poor, the sick, the hospitals, the charitable institutions of every description, and the convents within the Eternal City. According to an accurate account supplied by his biographer, his yearly expenditure on charitable and pious purposes amounted to 32,882 scudi.[7] This does not include the alms he was wont to distribute on special occasions. The interest which this busy

[1] See GIUNTI, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of January 17, 1623, *Urb.* 1093 A, Vatican Library. The church of the Barnabites erected in 1596 in the Piazza Colonna had been burnt down in 1617; the new one disappeared when the Curia Innocenziana was erected; see ARMELLINI, *Chiese*, 500.

[3] See GIUNTI, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.* *Cf.* App. no. IV.

man took in the welfare of the numerous charitable and pious institutions of which he was official protector, was wholly admirable.[1] The Cardinal's energetic intervention in cases of necessity was seen at its best when, in the summer of 1622, Rome was visited both with a scarcity and an epidemic. From the month of May of that year onwards the nephew had bread and vegetables distributed to the poor both morning and evening and in the hospital near the Lateran he had 150 beds prepared for the sick, at his own expense.[2] He entrusted the supervision of these charitable undertakings to persons on whom he could rely, among them being Sebastiano Poggio, Bishop of Ripatransone, and the Jesuit Pietro Gravita; these never asked in vain for his help. In the Papal States he caused Mgr. Lorenzo Magalotti to make generous distributions of grain wherever the need arose.[3]

It was in keeping with the humane and sympathetic character of the Cardinal that he lived in perfect harmony with his relatives; consequently, during the reign of Gregory XV., history has nothing to relate of the mutual conflicts between the papal nephews which were so frequent during some other pontificates.

The Pope's brother, Orazio Ludovisi, came to Rome from Bologna on March 13th, 1621, accompanied by his wife Lavinia, his son Niccolò, and his daughter Ippolita. They were received with princely honours. Six Cardinals, the envoys of the Emperor and those of the King of Spain and many nobles escorted the travellers to the palazzo Orsini in the Campo de' Fiori. The Pope received them in audience that

[1] GIUNTI reports on this in detail, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso of June 22, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library. *Cf.* G. B. MEMMI, *Relaz. de' provvedimenti presi in Roma a beneficio de' poveri nella carestia del 1622*, Roma, 1764.

[3] See GIUNTI, **Vita, loc. cit.* The letter in which L. Magalotti congratulates the Pope, dated Ascoli, February 15, 1621, is in *Cod.* E. 71 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Magalotti became *commissario generale* of the States of the Church, see MORONI, XLI., 233.

same evening.[1] A few days later Orazio was appointed General of the Church. His son, though an immature youth, was given the title of castellan of the Castle of S. Angelo and governor of the Borgo.[2] No less a sum than 200,000 scudi were spent on the purchase for Orazio, from the Sforzas, of the duchy of Fiano.[3] His son Niccolò, was to be married to a daughter of the Colonnas,[4] but the plan miscarried. At the end of May, 1622, Niccolò became engaged to Isabella Gesualdo, a niece of the Cardinal of the same name.[5] The bride came to Rome on November 23rd, 1623, and seven days later the wedding took place in the Vatican.[6]

[1] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library; *Avvisi of March 6 and 17, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, *ibid.*; Gigli, in Moroni, XL., 107. Already on May 8, 1621, Gregory XV. was able to address a letter of thanks to the Doge, A. Priuli, for accepting Orazio Ludovisi and Cardinal Ludovisi, "*in patriciorum Venetorum ordinem*", *Brevia*, in *Arm.*, XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Pagliucchi, *I Castellani del Castel di S. Angelo*, II., Roma, 1928, 62, and the *Avvisi of March 20 and April 3, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B., Vatican Library. The letter of congratulation from Niccolò Ludovisi to Pope Gregory XV., dated Bologna, February 12, 1621, is in *Cod.* E. 70 of the Boncompagni Archives, Roma.

[3] See the *Avvisi of June 9, August 28, and September 8, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, 1090, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of August 28, 1621, *Urb.* 1090, *ibid.*

[5] See the *Avvisi of March 2, April 30, and May 28, 1621, *Urb.* 1090, *ibid.*

[6] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *loc. cit.*, and the *Avvisi of November 23, 26, and 30, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, *loc. cit.* Niccolò Ludovisi married as his second wife, Polissena Mendoza and thereby became lord of the principality of Piombino (Investiture by Philip IV., 1634, see Moroni, LXXVIII., 43), which later was inherited by the Boncompagni. Hence many documents concerning Cardinal Ludovisi and Gregory XV, came to be in the family archives of the Boncompagni, Rome. The letters addressed to Cardinal Ludovisi during the pontificate of Gregory XV. fill no fewer than thirteen large volumes in these archives (*Cod.* E. 70–82); those written to him later (1623–1632) fill sixteen

Niccolò's sister, though she was anything but a beauty,[1] also made a brilliant match. She was betrothed to Giovanni Giorgio Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII.[2] On April 25th, 1621, the Pope himself officiated at the nuptials in the Cistine chapel.[3] Aldobrandini was granted all the privileges of a papal nephew, consequently, the first place also in the papal chapel after Orazio Ludovisi.[4] In April, 1623, though he was already Prince of Rossano, the Pope created him Prince of Meldola and Duke of Sarsina,[5] and when his son was born, Gregory XV. acted as godfather.[6]

Niccolò Ludovisi's marriage with the niece of Cardinal Gesualdo, a notorious Hispanophil, caused a good deal of anxiety lest Gregory XV. should come under Spanish influence in view of the fact that the lady was heiress to the principality of Venafro situate in the Kingdom of Naples. One of the immediate results of the kinship thus established between the Ludovisi and the Aldobrandini was that all the Cardinals of

volumes (*Cod.* E. 84–99). The letters of Lavinia Albergati-Ludovisi to her son, the Cardinal, 1623–1632, are in *Cod.* E. 100 The archives also contain a copy of the Briefs of Gregory XV., (*Cod.* E. 68 and 69). I have made use of the collection of the Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* WIRZ, XXVI.

[1] "La sposa è bianca, del resto pigliarei più tosto le gioie che porta che lei," writes A. POSSEVINO, May 22, 1621. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *Avvisi of March 27 and April 1, 1621, *loc. cit.* The bride's dowry amounted to 100,000 scudi. The alliance had already been mentioned in an *Avviso of February 27, 1621. *Urb.* 1089 B, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *loc. cit.* The *Avvisi of April 28 and May 1, 1621, supply further information about the bride's rich jewels, which were valued at 150,000 scudi. *Urb.* 1089 B, *loc. cit.* For the wedding banquet, see REGIN, 804, p. 18 *seq*, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avvisi of May 15 and 22, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *Avvisi of April 15, 1623, *Urb.* 1093 A, *loc. cit.*

[6] See the *Avvisi of January 26 and February 2, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, *loc. cit.*

Clement VIII. now joined the party of the Cardinal nephew.[1] They were a strong support against the Cardinals of Paul V. among whom Bentivoglio in particular created many difficulties for Ludovisi by reason of his relations with Sillery, the French ambassador.[2]

However generous Gregory XV. may have been towards his relations, he nevertheless would not allow them to interfere with affairs of State. Lavinia, the Pope's sister-in-law and an unusually gifted woman,[3] was greatly esteemed by Gregory XV., in fact she had exercised so much influence over him whilst he was still a Cardinal that in this respect there were widespread misgivings,[4] which, happily, proved groundless. When, in November, 1621, Lavinia Ludovisi, through her son, the Cardinal, attempted to obtain the red hat for nephew Albergati, the Pope flatly refused and in none too gracious a tone.[5] Otherwise, also, Lavinia failed to obtain the slightest thing from the Pope.[6] Orazio Ludovisi, a man of quiet and simple tastes,[7] and one wholly free from all ambition,[8] made no attempt to meddle with government

[1] See the *report of A. Possevino of May 28, 1621. He writes on June 25, 1621: "*È tanta l'unione di Ludovisi et Aldobrandini che non si può dir più." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the report from Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 206.

[2] Ludovisi expresses himself frankly on this point in the letter sent by Agucchi to the nuncio Corsini, July 12, 1622, *Cod.* X., VI., 16, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[3] See the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys, in Barozzi-Berchet, *Roma*, I., 118.

[4] *Cf.* the *Discorso de cardinali 1618 in *Cod.* C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and the *report of Fr. Aragona of January 30, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] According to the *Avviso of November 13, 1621, Gregory XV. is supposed to have said: "Sinchè Papa Gregorio XV. viverà, casa Albergati non havrà cardinali," *Urb.* 1090, Vatican Library.

[6] See the report of the Lucca envoys in the *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 206. *Cf.* also the *report of A. Possevino of May 22, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See the report of the Venetian envoys, *loc. cit.*

[8] See the report of the Lucca envoys, *loc. cit.*

business. This lay exclusively in the hands of Cardinal Ludovisi,[1] and besides him the learned Cardinal Bandini was also frequently consulted.[2] Ludovisi applied himself wholeheartedly to his manifold duties. In addition to ecclesiastical affairs he had also to deal with civil questions.[3] People praised his administration of Justice.[4]

Intercourse with writers and scholars, many of whom dedicated their works to him, was the chief recreation of the Cardinal Secretary of State.[5] For their benefit he founded the *Accademia dei virtuosi*—a literary society similar to that founded by Charles Borromeo under Pius IV.[6] The first meeting took place on Sunday, June 20th, 1621, at the Quirinal palace, in the rooms of the Cardinal opening on the garden. Scipio Pasquale, Bishop of Casale, opened it with an address.[7] Thereafter the meetings were always held in the summer months and on Sundays. They were attended by a number of Cardinals and prelates, often as many as eighty,[8] the subject

[1] *Ludovisi è caput rerum facendo tutto, massime che nè il fratello nè la cognata (Lavinia) possono cosa alcuna di momento," A. Possevino reports, June 15, 1621, and again July 9: "*Ludovisi agit et fert cuncta." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] For the influence of Bandini, *cf.* the **Relatione di Roma*, 1624, Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, no. 3.

[3] On May 1 he was appointed a member of the Congregazione delle strade; see *Avviso of May 1, 1621, Vatican Library.

[4] See Giunti, **Vita, loc. cit.* For the punishment of Paul V.'s Chief Treasurer, Pier Maria Cirocchi, see **Relatione della vita del card. Cecchini*, in *Cod.* 39, D. 17, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and in part in Ranke, *Päpste*, III., 166. *Cf.* our account in Vol. XXV., Ch. I., 57.

[5] See Cardella, VI., 222. *Cf.* also Giunti, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVI., 308 *seq.*

[7] See *Avviso of June 26, 1621, Vatican Library.

[8] Tiraboschi (VIII., 23) reports that sometimes Gregory XV. took part in the meetings. In the *Avvisi where the meetings and their members are mentioned, this is not recorded, as indeed it is also omitted in Giunti (see Appendix no. IV). The suspicion entertained by Palatius (an author who wrote seventy years after the death of Gregory XV.) that Cardinal Ludovisi

of the discussions being passages of Holy Writ or some question of general interest.[1]

In the transaction of business Cardinal Ludovisi was loyally assisted by his countryman, Giovan Battista Agucchi. Next to the Cardinal, his was the most important personality.[2] Thirty years' work at the Curia had been an excellent preparation for the important duties which this old servant of the Aldobrandini

who desired to take over the affairs of State without the knowledge of the Pope, induced him to spend his time in academic conferences —a suspicion which BROSCH (I., 374) repeated—is certainly an invention and proved to be so, were it only that the meetings were only held on Sundays.

[1] See the *Avvisi dated July 7, 1621 (exegetic themes), July 21, August 4 (Girolamo de' Preti, a nobleman in the Ludovisi household, " upon good and bad princes "),August 18 (The Dominican P. Mosto, " exegetic themes "), September 1 (the Servite Bolognetti, " Sopra la buona et cattiva fortuna in sensi morali "), September 15 (Monsignor Venturi, " on the Agape "), October 20 (Mgr. Spinola on the words of Job), June 8, 1622 (Mgr. de Rosis, sopra l'adulatione), July 13 (discourse on curiosity), July 27 (Cor regis in manu Domini), August 10 (on Osee), August 24 (on Job), September 7 (on Wisdom ; the battle of David with Goliath), May 31, 1623 (Creation of Light), June 14 (on the happiness of princes, especially the necessity of philanthropy), June 28 (magnanimità del principe). *Urb.* 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093. A meeting of the Academy, at which Mgr. de Rosis spoke on ingratitude, is mentioned by B. PAOLUCCI, in his report of June 14, 1623, State Archives, Modena. For the Marinist Girol. de' Preti who, however, strongly disapproved of Marini's lasciviousness, see FANTUZZI, VII., 122 ; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXII., 227 *seq.* ; BELLONI, *Seicento*, 88 *seq.*, 480.

[2] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys, BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 130. The nomination of *Agucchi*, who had been major-domo to Cardinal Aldobrandini, followed on the evening of this same day (February 10, 1621). (*Avviso of February 13, 1621, *Urb.* 1089 B, Vatican Library). Giov. Ciampoli, celebrated as a lyrical poet and letter writer, was the secretary for Briefs ; more will be said of him later on under Urban VIII.

was now called upon to discharge.[1] Agucchi, of whom Domenichino has left us an excellent portrait,[2] was chiefly occupied with the correspondence with the the nuncios. For this the main lines were given him by the Pope himself with whom he had an audience every morning, except on the day of the *Segnatura*. Briefs were signed by the nephew, and in the event of the latter's illness, by the secretary.[3]

Gregory XV. was so pleased with Agucchi's services that it was generally believed that, had the Pope lived longer, he would have bestowed the purple on him.[4] Cardinal Bentivoglio also, though he had complained that Agucchi's style was not natural enough, praised the uncommon ability with which the secretary dealt with the most difficult situations.[5] Giunti, Cardinal Ludovisi's biographer, relates that the nephew reserved to himself the making of the rough draft of the Instructions of the nuncios after consultation with the Pope, but that Agucchi gave them their final shape.[6]

Naturally enough criticism of the all-powerful nephew was not wanting. But this was only justified in so far as Ludovisi, fearing that the pontificate of his uncle would be of short duration, was too keen on enriching himself. The conduct of affairs left nothing to be desired, in fact, Ludovisi applied himself to it with so much ardour that in February, 1623, he suffered from eye trouble.[7] The judgment passed on the

[1] *Cf.* our information in Vol. XXIII, 53. See also BONAMICUS, *De claris script*, 285 ; *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 487. G. LENZI, *Vita di G. B. Agucchi*, Roma, 1850.

[2] Two copies of the portrait are in existence, one is in the Corsini Gallery, Rome, the other in the Uffizi, Florence. See SERRA, *Domenichino*, 11 *seq.* *Cf.* also BAYERDORFER, *Leven*, 94.

[3] See LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 275–6. *Rev. de l'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 733.

[4] BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 180.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See GIUNTI, **Vita*, in the Appendix no. IV.

[7] See the *report of BALD. PAOLUCCI to Cardinal Este, February 15, 1682, dated from Rome ; State Archives, Modena. Ludovisi's handy copy of " Declarationes decret. et canon. S. Conc. Trid. a S.R.E. card. congreg. eiusdem concilii ad diversos episcopos missae singulis suis senioribus et capitulis ordine

nephew by so sharp an observer as Antonio Possevino deserves attention. Only those could complain of him, he says, who imagined that they might attain to the highest honours because of a previous casual acquaintance with the Cardinal. The Cardinal honoured true merit, but he was not interested in people actuated by vanity.[1]

The attacks on Ludovisi and the other nephews did not spare the Pope himself, who was represented as a nonentity. Antonio Possevino styles these pasquinades the unworthy offspring of idiots. Gregory XV., he says, was a most devout Pontiff and even those who were not in sympathy with him paid homage to his excellent sentiments.[2]

If by comparison with the Pope the younger and more lively Cardinal nephew was apparently more to the fore, the explanation was that Gregory XV. was greatly weakened by

accomodatae" with the note "Card^lis Ludovisii" was sold in 1906 by the Munich antiquary Rosenthal to the State Library at Trent, where it is now preserved as *Cod.* 2878.

[1] See the *report of A. Possevino of May 28, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See App. no. VI. for Possevino's *report of July 16, 1621, *ibid.* An *Avviso of September 4, 1621, reports an edict, which had appeared on the previous day against the author, copyist and publisher of "libelli famosi infamatori" (*Urb.* 1090, Vatican Library). How unfair these attacks were is shown by the quite untrue statement that in Rome, not enough was done for the poor; had it not been for Paul V.'s provision of corn, the people would have died of hunger; *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 207 *seq.* The Pope did what he could to secure corn. On November 12 and again on December 22, 1621, he *wrote to Philibertus, ducis Sabaudiae filius (*Brevia, Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives) with a view to importing wheat from Sicily. In the following year *two letters with the same content went to the *Prorex Siciliae*, dated June 8 and December 1, *ibid.*, XLV., 24. An *Avviso also of October 20, 1621, records that the Pope had spent much money on the provisioning of Rome with wheat; and that he had sent for corn from Piedmont to feed the Papal States. *Urb.* 1090, Vatican Library.

sickness and age.[1] However, this fact was enormously exaggerated in the pasquinades mentioned above and otherwise also. "Here in Rome, where people are always anxious for a change, every groan of the Pope," Possevino wrote as early as May, 1621, "is looked upon as a sign of his early death."[2] When it became apparent that these expectations were premature, the Pope's enemies hinted at his irresponsibility, a fact, they said, which Ludovisi carefully suppressed.[3] In point of fact, at the time when these rumours were circulating, Gregory XV. was applying himself with his wonted ardour to the duties of Government. Thus he presided over the Congregation of Propaganda and received the Archbishop of Lyons who had been dispatched to Rome in connection with the war against the Huguenots.[4] What truth there was in the alleged mental debility of the Pope even in time of sickness is best shown by the deservedly famous admonitions which he addressed to his nephew in April, 1622.[5] They honour

[1] Thus an *Avviso speaks, February 12, 1622, of Gregory XV.'s *Podagra*. An *Avviso of April 9, 1622, says that the Pope had been ill eight days, and was suffering from kidney trouble, fever and sickness. An *Avviso of July 30, 1622, says that the Pope was labouring under "dolori di fianchi e inappetenza"; notwithstanding this he was giving audiences to the envoys; "la nocte muta stanza e letto e sta molto fastidioso e malinconico." *Urb.* 1091, 1092, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *report of May 28, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See the letter of R. Zeno of October, 22, 1622, in Brosch, I., 374, who gave unqualified credence to this hostile and scandal-mongering reporter, although Ranke (III., 126) had accurately described his propensity to exaggeration.

[4] See the *Avvisi of November 9 and 19, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Avvertimenti dati da P. Gregorio XV. in voce al sig. card. Ludovisi, dal quale poi in questa forma sono stati scritti et notati questo di 1° d'Aprile, 1623 (in the margin, "steso da Mr Aguchio), *Barb.* 6908, pp. 1–10, Vatican Library. Other copies, some of which have the title "Ricordi", *ibid.* *Barb.* 4632, p. 35 *seqq.*; 4696, p. 66 *seqq.*; 5893, p. 195 *seqq.*; *Ottob.* 2206, p. 1 *seqq.*; 2487, p. 81 *seqq.*; 2718, p. 61 *seqq.*; in the Bibl. Bolognetti, 167,

both him who gave them and him who received them and who took care to preserve them as a precious heritage. At that time rumours were circulating that the state of Gregory XV.'s health was desperate and that the end was at hand. Taking the warning contained in this gossip for his text, the Pope took advantage of the leisure forced upon him by illness to engage his nephew in a prolonged conversation. The gist of this discourse the latter set down in writing on the same day, and later gave it a more polished form.

The Pope began with a high eulogy of the Secretary of State, praising Ludovisi's well tried devotion to the Holy See, his zeal for its honour, his moderation in the exercise of power, his business ability and his obedience to the smallest hint of the Pope. He then went on to give him advice, as if it were a last recommendation, for his future conduct, particularly for the time when the papal uncle would be no longer among the living. The Pope's words are remarkable. In them we hear the experienced old man freely pouring out his heart to one who stood nearer to him than anyone else in the world, and revealing to him what he himself had learnt whilst living at the Roman court. At the same time these confidential counsels allow us a glimpse into the depths of Gregory's soul. They lay bare the motives that guided him and the genuinely Christian conception of life that animated him. His first words are characteristic. Gregory begins by warning the busy Secretary of State not to forget God and the salvation of his own soul amid the turmoil of

Papal Secret Archives; in the Casanatense Library, X., V., 22, p. 293 *seqq.*; in *Fond. Gesuit.*, 120, p. 1 *seqq.*, Vittorio Emanuele Library, in *Cod.* AE. XI., 76, of S. Pietro in Vincoli Library (see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 23). Copies outside Rome: in Berlin, Royal Library, *Inform. polit.*, 20; Brescia, Bibl. Quirin., C., III., 2; Colmar, Municipal Library; Florence, State Archives, *Carte Strozz.*, 227, p. 114 *seqq.*, and Bibl. Magliabecchiana; Paris, National Library, *Ital.* 10416 (*cf. Marsand*, I., 474 *seq.*); Perugia, Town Library, E. 17; Rimini, Bibl. com., D. IV., 178; Rovigo, Bibl. d. Accad. dei Concordi, 8, 4, 16; Stockholm, Bibl. Hist. Ital., 4.

business and the absorbing cares of politics: "We remind you, more than that, we admonish you, nay we conjure you in the first place and before all else to make of the fear and love of God your supreme political wisdom, your rule of government and your most trusted counsellors." In good fortune and in bad we need a solid foundation. The fear and love of God are the twin guiding stars to which the nephew should ever look up in the stormy sea of this wretched life so as to avoid shipwreck and to reach the harbour of salvation.[1]

Just as this principle is an explicit rejection of the more or less worldly policy of the Popes of the renaissance period, the warning that follows is likewise a condemnation of a purely worldly conception of the higher ecclesiastical offices: "Bear in mind," we read, "that from the fact of your having been raised to a position which surpasses all others in loftiness and dignity, there arises for you the duty to be a leader, a model, and a subject of edification to all."[2] In point of fact, all eyes are upon us: men are prepared to pass a severe judgment upon our smallest action, to weigh the least word we utter. They scrutinize with utmost keenness your thoughts, your passions and tendencies, fully prepared as they are to follow the example you set them. And if it is certain that the episcopate is a more perfect state than that of a religious who consecrates himself to God by three solemn vows, since a Bishop needs for his office a higher perfection and charity, seeing that God has raised him to be a luminary in His Church, how much are you bound to excel all others by the brightness of a spotless life, the unblemished purity of your morals and the splendour of every virtue, you a Bishop, an Archbishop, a Cardinal and one to whom so many offices are entrusted! Impress it well upon your mind that everything about you must be like so many living words by which the people are reminded of their duty, for the virtues of a prelate of your eminence must benefit not merely himself and his

[1] *Avvertimento no. 1; see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 23.
[2] *Avvertimento no. 2; see LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*

family, his countrymen and his diocesans, but the whole world." [1]

With great tact the admonition points out to the nephew that his present prestige would end with the death of Gregory XV. "It gives us much pleasure to see that you are free from the usual stupidity of papal nephews who foolishly imagine that their momentary good fortune will last for ever." Nevertheless the Pope deemed it advisable to give his nephew a hint with regard to the coming papal election and the future Pope. In this connexion Gregory XV. speaks of his Bull on the papal election, of the advantages which he hopes would result from it, of the dispositions which he expects from the electors and those which moved him to publish it. Upon entering into the conclave, the Pope tells the Cardinal, he should submit his will to God's will in all things. "Cast aside all personal interests, stifle your own desires, renounce every friendship, curb all petty jealousies, shut your ears to all unwholesome counsels and keep but one aim and purpose before your eyes, viz. the glory of God, the advantage of Holy Church and with it that of the whole world." [2] Such sentiments would procure him happiness and honour, for, if it be the will of God, whoever may be elected Pope would remain his patron and benefactor; in any case such dispositions could never go unrewarded. On the other hand, it would be the height of folly to set oneself against God in the conclave, to raise a kind of tower of Babel against Him and to endeavour to make the Holy Ghost subservient

[1] "Le virtù del prelato eminente, quale voi sete, devono essere indirizzati non a benefitio suo solo, o de suoi cari, o de compatrioti, o de diocesani solamente, ma di tutto il mondo." *Ibid.*

[2] "*Quando dunque serà il tempo, che doverete applicare necessariamente l'animo all'elettione et a negotii del Conclave, subbito rassegnate in tutto e per tutto la volontà a Dio benedetto, spogliatevi di tutti gl'interessi, quietate tutti i vostri desiderii, renuntiate a tutte l'amicitie, smorzate tutti i rancori, serrate l'orrecchie a tutti li consigli non sani, ne habbiate altr'oggetto che la gloria di Dio, il servitio di s^ta^ Chiesa con il beneficio universale del mondo." *Ibid.*, no. 3.

to one's own selfish designs. For the rest, the Pope hoped that his new regulations for the papal election would remove past abuses. Henceforth, in the meetings, discussions, and canvassings of electors, those who fancy that they are the Pope-makers may, indeed, boast of the number of votes which they command, but when it comes to the actual election they will be disappointed.[1] Hence Ludovisi must not mind the conduct and attitude of any one because the working of the Bull had not as yet been put to the test. "Even as we have put the will of God before our personal advantage so we cannot sufficiently urge you to sacrifice all self-seeking to the glory of the divine Majesty and the honour of this Apostolic See." Let Ludovisi use all his influence to secure compliance with the Bull and let him oppose those who would attempt to make a breach in this bulwark of the vineyard of the Lord.

Gregory XV. then speaks of the fall of any nephew which must inevitably follow the death of a Pope: "There is no more difficult and dangerous transition than that. We have seen many instances of men who in every other situation were deemed prudent and cautious, but who failed very seriously when they had to step down from their former position."[2]

[1] "*Ci confidiamo alla divina bontà che poichè ella ci spirò. per levar gli abusi introdotti in negotii che con tanta Santità devono maneggiarsi, a far la bolla dell'elettione, le cose anderanno in altra maniera per l'avenire, o che potrebbero farsi coloro che si vogliono far arbitri del Conclave, gloriarsi d'haver le congregationi et i consigli et le pratiche loro piene di voti; ma alli scruttinii ne rimaneranno delusi. Perciò non vi prendiate pensiero degli andamenti d'alcuno, perchè non hanno ancora conosciuto per prova la forza della constituzione; ma si come noi habbiamo anteposto il servizio di Dio a quello del nostro sangue, et il publico al privato, non possiamo comandarvi a sufficienza, che non solo non habbiate tentato di dissuadervene, ma sacrificando ogni vostro interesse alla gloria di Sua Divina Maestà et al bene di questa Sta Sede et habbiate fatta continua et ardente instanza per la speditione d'essa etc." *Ibid.*, no. 3.

[2] "*Non vi è passo ne più difficile nè più pericoloso di questi di nepoti de' Papa dopo la morte di loro zii, havendone veduta l'esperienza in molti, i quali ancorchè in altri tempi fussero

If, then, a Pope is selected who shows to the Cardinal both affection and confidence, perhaps one who had at some time received favours from himself or from Gregory XV., Ludovisi must carefully avoid any semblance of wishing to share the pontificate with him, or of meddling unduly in affairs of State when he is not consulted. He must not endeavour to retain offices which usually fall to the Pope's relatives or display such magnificence as to throw the Pope in the shade. On the contrary, modesty in his conduct will be the best way to preserve the prestige he had acquired, and moderation in the enjoyment of favours received the surest means to secure fresh ones; in any case the familiarity of earlier days must in no way diminish the reverence due to the new status of the former friend. But should the new Pope not be friendly, an insolent attitude would be as much out of place as excessive fear which would cause him to run away at once. Should the latter supposition be verified, the best thing for him was to appear as if he did not notice that he had been set aside, not to take up an irreconcilable attitude, to refrain from finding fault with the government, to avoid even the shadow of an intrigue, in a word to give no opening to his opponents. His best policy, however, would be to leave Rome and to retire into his archdiocese of Bologna.

Gregory XV. alludes to yet another difficulty. Since at the Pope's death Ludovisi would cease to be Secretary of State, he would find himself in a most embarrassing situation, for he would still remain the head and heart of the Cardinals created by the late Pope and as such he would retain an outstanding position even with regard to the other Cardinals or the foreign Princes. In the course of his long life the experienced uncle had closely studied the chief difficulties and dangers that must arise from such a situation and he was well able to warn the Cardinal on this point also. Towards the Cardinals created by himself, the Pope said, the Cardinal should avoid a patronizing or domineering air; on the contrary he should show both affection and respect for their persons,

stimati prudenti et accorti, non di meno nel scender gradi sono sdrucciolati pericolosamente." *Ibid.*, no. 4.

put them under obligation to himself by his favours and win their confidence by his regard for them. Let him avoid partiality, and refrain from distinguishing, as it were, between real sons and step-sons, and let him beware of following the example of those who sow discord among the "creatures" in order to assert their authority the more easily. Apart from all other considerations such conduct would be fraught with disastrous consequences for himself.[1] If in the conclave or elsewhere, he does not meet with the gratitude he might expect, he should not forthwith open hostilities, so to speak, but rather shut his eyes to the slight.

Towards the other Cardinals, dignity should be combined with courtesy. Here also he should take no notice of possible slights but rather render good for evil. "All the Cardinals have had so many favours showered upon them that they must admit that they have received more benefits from us in sixteen days than from others in sixteen years." For all that, the Cardinal should not be perturbed if some of them show themselves utterly ungrateful, for such conduct, for one thing, is natural to this climate where men only think of the present moment and completely forget the past: the wonder would be if they acted otherwise.[2] He should maintain good relations with foreign princes, less for the sake of their favour than to prevent them from injuring him and with a view to an increase of his own prestige in consequence of his good relations

[1] "*Nè seguitate mai l'esempio d'alcuni che si sono studiati con raporti e con mal'ufficii di mantenerli tra di loro divisi per dominarli più facilmente, perchè oltre vi dilungarete dalla pietà, scopertosi il reo artificio corresti risico non s'unissero contro di Voi." *Ibid.*, no. 5.

[2] "*Nè vi da fastidio ch'essendo ciascun cardinale stato beneficato da noi cosi largamente che confessino haver ricevuto più gratie da noi in sedici giorni che d'altri in sedici anni (an allusion to the sixteen years of Paul V.'s reign), "vi si dimostrino poi alcuni cosi ingrati; poichè tal è la proprietà di questo cielo, tanto amico dell'interesse presente, e tanto contrario alla gratitudine del passato, che sarebbe più tosto da maravigliarsi se loro facessero il contrario." *Ibid.*, no. 5.

with them. The goodwill of princes may be won by two means; the first was for the nephew to take advantage of his present position in order to further their interests, meeting their ambassadors half-way, and obtaining favours for them; the second means was his personal qualities, that is, his constancy, prudence, sincerity, liberality, business ability, knowledge of affairs and, lastly, a virtuous life.[1]

Not a few of these counsels must seem obvious. Yet how many men only learn by a bitter experience how difficult it is to apply these simple rules and how easy it is to overlook them amid the stress and pressure of life! Often the Pope's remarks throw light on conditions then obtaining at the Roman court, on the spirit that permeated Rome at the time of the Catholic reform, as well as on the personality of Gregory XV. himself who, in the midst of the turmoil of affairs, viewed the situation with serene eyes and drew his own conclusions.

The same may be said of some further instructions concerning the papal nephew's attitude towards his relations, his servants, and his callers. With his kinsfolk, especially the Aldobrandini, Ludovisi should at all times live in charity and concord and bestow special care on the education of his younger brother.[2]

Some of the great lords may have attached but small importance to their relations with their domestic staff. Not so Gregory XV. He is of opinion that if a man knows how to govern his household, he has given the highest proof of circumspection and has at the same time closed the door to many annoyances. Ultimately servants have in their hands the life, the goods and, most of the time, also the good name of their master, for the good or bad reputation of a prince rests before all else on the testimony of the persons of his household, which always meets with ready acceptance, especially when it is an unfavourable one. Hence, Ludovisi must be careful in the choice of his servants and know how to keep them occupied once he has engaged them, and treat them kindly. From time to time he should reward them above their

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 7.

just wages, for free gifts are more highly valued. And since the majority of those who offer their services to the Cardinals do so in the hope of future promotion, Ludovisi should meet their wishes. Those who have held the more important posts, and the more deserving among them, should have higher recognition ; but let him be on his guard lest he should have an all-powerful favourite who would pass for his idol in the opinion of the world, somewhat after the manner of Sejanus, or some recent examples " that we have before our own eyes ". The consequence would be that the court would consider the Cardinal as a weakling, one unable to know his own mind, and everyone would turn to the favourite instead of his employer. No one should be under any uncertainty that merit was the only road to the nephew's favour.[1]

In his relations with the world, the Cardinal should be courteous and affable towards everyone, modest yet dignified and dignified though genial ; let him be sparing of his promises and generous in keeping them, and avoid above all things the semblance that his pledged word is but a mockery if not a deliberate deception. Only persons of merit should be among his intimates ; this will be to his advantage and will enhance his prestige. He should not readily admit anyone into the number of his friends ; on the other hand let him stick to a tried friend, come what may.[2] After these general observations Gregory XV. turns once more to the special conditions then obtaining in Rome. Any amount of charm of manner, he tells his nephew, will not guarantee his peace if he does not restrain the passion for innovation which is peculiar to Rome. Rome appoints its rulers by means of an election and normally the choice falls on a Cardinal of advanced years. Consequently the Curia lives in constant expectation of a speedy change : prophecies, gossip, intrigues concerning the future pontificate, are the order of the day. It was so already in ancient Rome, even when the Emperors were in the prime of life. Whether this be in the very nature of things or a peculiarity of the climate, it seems impossible to prevent the Curia from revolving

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 9.

round these things as if they were its natural axis and all else were subordinate to them. Whilst rumours are spread of the speedy demise of one whose death is expected to usher in a new epoch, respect and esteem for him and his family grow less, obedience suffers, the administration is upset, public affairs receive inadequate attention, friends are alienated and rivals gain power. Such rumours are especially circulated at the beginning of a new pontificate by those who view with jealous eyes the rise of a new family, for people are more quickly envious of a rising family than of one already established, because the original condition of the former is still fresh in every memory. It was so in bygone centuries ; hence there is no need to worry if the same is experienced to-day, for all such talk is silenced as the years succeed each other.[1] "As for our own life," the Pope proceeds, "we have committed it to divine Providence and we only desire its prolongation in order to devote it to God's glory by serving the Church

[1] "*Essendo questo un principale elettivo posto quasi sempre in persona di grave età si appoggia di continuo la Corte alle speranze delle mutationi, e se ne sta sopra li pronostichi e discorsi della novità e su le pratiche del Pontificato, e pur si vede che anticamente, benchè l'Imperadori fussero giovani, Roma era involta in simili pensieri, onde o sia per natura delle cose, o sia per quello del Cielo non se può fuggire che la Corte medesima non s'aggiri intorno a ciò, quasi intorno all'oggetto e fine de' suoi pensieri, al quale tutti gli altri interessi vengono drizzati. . . . Mentre si sparge l'opinione della breve vita di colui, la morte del quale cambia lo stato di tutte le cose, manca verso di esso e di suoi più cari lo rispetto e stima, si scema la autorità, si intorbida il governo, li negotii pubblici si precipitano e se ne vanno alienando gli amici, et accrescendo gli emoli, il vigore per ciò tutti li Pontificati e massime nel principio d'essi si spargono volontieri simili voci, da chi volontieri non vede la crescente fortuna d'una nuova famiglia, perchè la invidia s'esercita maggiormente contro le si fatte, che contro le si stabilite, essendo ancora troppo fresca la memoria delle precedenti conditioni loro. Per ciò quello che nell'andati secoli si è successivamente veduto, non vi ha da recar noia se hoggi si faccia il medesimo perchè alla fine tali voci svaniscono gli anni tuttavia correnti . . ." *Ibid.*, no. 10.

and the advantage of all men. Hence we may feel confident that He will preserve it amid all dangers, and notwithstanding the wishes of foolish men, for as long a time as shall profit our own salvation and that of others." [1]

As for any malicious gossip of which he may be the butt, let the Cardinal pay no attention to it. Anyone occupying a lofty position is exposed to the eyes and the tongue of all. Rome has always had an itch for news; when there is none it invents it.[2] There was only one remedy against calumny, especially when it was unfounded, namely to despise it, not to betray any feeling, not to justify oneself. "A blameless life and conduct such as becomes a Prince of the Church are of themselves the best refutation of calumny." [3]

The Pope concludes his long list of counsels with some warning concerning ecclesiastical revenues. He had abundantly provided his nephew with these with a view to enabling him to keep up his high dignity and to show liberality, and in order that he might give full play to the talents with which God and nature had endowed him. He then enters into some details as to the use the nephew should make of his wealth. Among other things he advises him at least to tie the hands of his calumniators if he cannot restrain their tongues,[4] to support the "creaturae" of his uncle or else to explain to them that his income is insufficient to enable him to make provision for all the adherents of the house of Ludovisi. The servants of his house also would hardly thank him if, to show

[1] "*Quanto alla nostra vita havendola noi raccomandata alla divina providenza, ne per altro desiderandola che per impiegarla a gloria sua in servizio della Chiesa et anco a benefitio universale de tutti, dobbiamo confidarci che la conservarà . . ." *Ibid.*

[2] "*Questa città fu sempre avida di cose nuove e quando non ve ne sia, le trova e partorisce martirii e sinistri rapporti." *Ibid.*, no. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "*E se non potete impedire le lingue, legate almeno le mani altrui, poichè per ligarle all'istessa invidia che non vi ferisca, non vi rimane altra più sicura via che di scuoprirle a voi medesimo con prudente larghezza et christiana libertà." *Ibid.*, no. 13.

his appreciation, he only opened his mouth but not his hand. But the Pope insists even more earnestly upon the spirit in which ecclesiastical revenues should be used. If wrongly used, Church property became an unbearable burden, by reason of the strict account to be given one day, but if rightly used it was a source of joy amid the troubles of life and a comfort in grief. Church money was "the patrimony of the poor".[1] The axiom was a hint as to how such money should be apportioned. It represented the purchase money lent to us by God Himself, with which we purchase heaven.[2] Hence, the Pope hopes that the Cardinal will not use his wealth to satisfy a love of vain display, luxury, or caprice, but as becomes an Archbishop and a Cardinal. Church money is meant to be distributed, not to be piled up, thereby robbing the treasury of Christ, perhaps under the specious pretext that at death one would leave it for the good of the Church: this was merely an excuse for hidden avarice. Money, Gregory XV. adds, perhaps in allusion to an old Christian proverb,[3] is unwilling to remain in a man's hand, unless it be the hand of one in need or that of a compassionate almsgiver. Gregory XV. had made his nephew Commendatory Abbot of many monasteries, with the intention that whilst he drew their revenues he should also interest himself in their churches. He should strive to fulfil at least the strict obligations laid down in the papal Bulls. "For this reason we could not applaud

[1] For the origin of this description see BRAUNSBERGER, *Epistulae Canisii*, IV., 92.

[2] "*Li beni ecclesiastici riescono di intollerabil peso a chi mal se ne serve, perchè oltre modo aggravano la coscienza dovendosene rendere strettissimo conto, ma di grande alleggerimento sono nelle humane gravezze e conforto alle tribulationi, a chi religiosamente l'adopera, sono però patrimonio dei poveri; et eccovi la più giusta et aperta via da dispensare l'avanzi, che sono prezzo del cielo, che Dio vi presta per comprarlo. E quindi apparisce la grandezza della divina bontà che non solo ci addita l'eterna felicità, ma ci apporge il modo di farne acquisto con il suo proprio danaro, contentandosi ancora che la christiana nostra dispensa sia ad ogni loro prezzo et constitutione." *Avvertimento* no. 13.

[3] *Cf. Zeitschr. für kath. Theologie*, XXVI. (1902), 779.

certain people who built large churches in Rome, perhaps in order to make a name for themselves, but who allowed the Abbeys and the churches attached to them to go to ruin." [1] We blame no one for erecting churches, colleges, and pious foundations, on the contrary ; but we attach far greater value to those good works on which there falls not a shadow of vainglory and which are more deeply instinct with true charity and give it a fuller expression. "Buildings of lifeless stone must not cause a Prince of the Church to forget the true temples of the Holy Ghost, that is, the poor both of the religious and the secular state who, for the most part, bear with patience the miseries of this life, and who deserve to be supported by alms lest they should perish through human frailty."

The whole of this series of counsels given in an intimate conversation with his nearest relative and at no time intended for a wider public, is an irrefragable proof of Gregory XV.'s deep religious feelings, of his wisdom and mental alertness. It also shows in striking fashion how powerfully the spirit of the Catholic reform had impregnated the whole Church, until it had reached those who held the highest positions. Nearly a hundred years had gone by since the death of Adrian VI., a Pope animated by the same noble sentiments, had provoked in Rome an explosion of wild joy. Then there seemed to be no hope whatever for a transformation of the Eternal City and of the Church, as desired by the pious Dutchman, yet now, notwithstanding every obstacle, the reform had won through. It was one of the most remarkable proofs of the astounding power which is peculiar to the Catholic Church, that of always renewing itself from within and of showing forth, within a short time, a youthful vigour even after a period of seemingly hopeless lethargy.

[1] Perhaps Alessandro Farnese is meant ?

CHAPTER II.

Gregory XV.'s Activity within the Church—Creations of Cardinals—Bull on Papal Election—Canonizations—Furthering of the Orders.

In the person of Gregory XV., for the first time, a pupil of the Jesuits had been raised to the See of Peter. Ludovisi, the Cardinal nephew, who was as influential as he was energetic, had received his education and formation in the same school. Consequently, the two men who now guided the destinies of the Church, were filled with the new religious spirit in the rise of which the Order founded by the knight of Loyola had played a leading part. This spirit showed itself in everything the Ludovisi Pope undertook in the internal government of the Church, more especially in the care with which the Pontiff filled the vacancies in the Sacred College.

The first great promotion of Cardinals, on April 19th, 1621, met with universal approval. The men who were raised to the supreme Senate of the Church on that occasion were eminently worthy of that honour.[1] A particularly good impression was created by the fact that among the new Cardinals there was not one Bolognese, though the Pope's native city did not lack suitable candidates, among them being a kinsman of Gregory XV., viz. the nuncio of Cologne, Albergati. It had been thought at Court that the latter would surely receive the purple, but it was precisely this circumstance that induced Gregory XV. to refrain from such a nomination.[2] The first among the new Cardinals, Antonio Caetani, had held under Paul V. the post of nuncio in Germany and Spain with conspicuous success, and had afterwards become Archbishop of Capua. There was great joy in Rome at his return to the

[1] See the *report of F. Aragona of April 21, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the report of the Lucca envoys, in *Studi e Docum.*, XXII., 205.

Curia. He furthered literature and founded the *Accademia degli Umoristi*, a title which points to the one fault for which Caetani could be blamed, namely, the sarcasm into which his love for witticism often degenerated.[1]

The next Cardinal, Francesco Sacrati, also founded an Academy, this time a theological one. A scion of a noble family of Ferrara, he had opened, under Clement VIII., a line of auditors of the Rota all of whom originated from his native city. He carried out his duties with so much distinction that Paul V. was much criticized for failing to admit him into the College of Cardinals. Gregory XV., who had long known and esteemed Sacrati, made him his *Datarius* and gave him the see of Cesena. His elevation was generally applauded in Rome where Sacrati stood in the highest esteem by reason of his modesty, the purity of his life and his learning. Like Caetani he died prematurely (September 6th, 1623). For his resting place he had chosen the German national church of S. Maria dell'Anima, and his predilection for Germany further showed itself by his leaving his choice library to the German College.[2]

The two other Cardinals appointed on April 19th, 1621, were relatives of former Popes. Francesco Boncompagni belonged to the family of Gregory XIII. Though only 20 years old he was deemed worthy of the purple because to a wide knowledge of theology, the law and the classical languages, he added a deep piety and an extraordinary purity of life. By this nomination Gregory XV. also wished to discharge a debt of gratitude to the Pope who, in his time had called him to Rome.[3] In 1626 Boncompagni became Archbishop of Naples where he set a splendid example by the stern asceticism of his life and his great liberality. His alms at

[1] See **Vita del Card. Caetani*, in *Barb.* 6030, Vatican Library; CIACONIUS, IV., 479; CARDELLA, VI., 222 *seq.*

[2] For F. Sacrati, *cf.* BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 122; CIACONIUS, IV., 479 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 223 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *Gesch. der Anima*, 491.

[3] See **Relatione di Roma*, 1624, Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, no. 3.

Naples are calculated to have amounted to 240,000 scudi, and to his prayers the people attributed the preservation of their magnificent city on the occasion of the terrible eruption of Vesuvius in 1631. When he died he left his choice library to the Gregorian College in Rome. The fourth of the prelates who received the purple in 1621, Ippolito Aldobrandini, was also credited with excellent qualities, with learning and purity of life. Urban VIII. expressed the opinion that he possessed all the good qualities and none of the defects of his uncle, Cardinal Pietro.[1]

As early as July 21st, 1621, the Sacred College was increased by two new members. Under Clement VIII. the Neopolitan, Lucio Sanseverino had successfully administered the archdiocese of Rossano, and under Paul V. that of Salerno; he had subsequently acted as nuncio in the Netherlands. He was an excellent Bishop as well as a distinguished theologian. His early death (December 25th, 1623) was a great loss to the Church. Marcantonio Gozzadini of Bologna, a relative of Gregory XV. and a jurist of mark, also died in 1623, at the early age of 49. His first episcopal see was that of Tivoli where he held a synod; subsequently he became Bishop of Faenza. In Rome he restored and beautified his titular church of St. Agatha.[2]

In his biography of Gregory XV., Accarisius relates that in the choice of Cardinals the Pope examined with the utmost care the qualifications of the candidates; also that he kept a list of those who had a claim to the purple, and that he was much preoccupied with it.[3] Hence princes did not find it easy

[1] *Cf.* Ciaconius, IV., 479 *seq.*; Cardella, VI., 224 *seq.* "*Del card. Aldobrandini suol dire il Papa che ha tutte le buone qualità, ma non le cattive del card. Pietro suo zio. È stimato signore ingenuo, affetuoso verso i amici" (*Discorso di Roma*, 1626, in *Cod.* C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome). For the Boncompagni Library see Serapeum, II., 322.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 480 *seq.*; Cardella, VI., 228 *seq.* F. Aragona speaks of Sanseverino, with high appreciation of his merits, in his *report of July 21, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See Accarisius, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

to get their proposals for nominations accepted in Rome. Even the Emperor Ferdinand II., whom Gregory XV. held in the highest esteem because of his strict Catholic principles, failed to secure, in 1621, the nomination of a candidate whose promotion he had greatly at heart.[1] However, in the long run the Pope could not refuse to yield to the prayers of the Catholic princes.[2] He met their wishes in the promotion of September 5th, 1622.[3] Ottavio Rodolfo owed his elevation to the Sacred College to the recommendation of the Emperor; he had deserved it by his work for the Catholic reform in his capacity

[1] See the *Brief to the Emperor Ferdinand II., of April 19, 1621, *Arm.* XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 22, a *Brief to Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, December 25, 1621, putting him off with promises with regard to the promotion of the Archbishop of Turin to the cardinalate.

[2] *Cf.* the note of AGUCCHI to Card. Sourdis, April 29, 1622, *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 87 *seq.*

[3] See **Acta consist.* The address of the Holy Father which we quote, is as follows: "Ven. fr. Postulant dudum a Nobis Caesar et Galliae, Hyspaniae et Poloniae reges, ut in ipsorum gratiam aliquos in Collegium cooptemus. Quorum tantum et Nobis carissimorum principum precibus, quantum cum D^no^ possumus, satisfacere cupientes, praesertim cum eos viros Nobis commendent, quos vestro ordine dignissimos censemus, decrevimus, si vobis videbitur, quattuor cardinales creare, qui sunt isti: Cosmus de Torres archiep. Adrianopol., Rom., Pol. Nunc., Ludov^ci^ card. de Monreale, fr^is^ filius, qui fidem et prudentiam suam in hoc munere egregie Nobis probavit; Amandus s. Armandus Io. Du Plessis de Richelieu, episc. Lucion., Gallus, vir generis nobilitate, omni doctrinae genere, maximarum rerum usu et zelo religionis insignis; Octav. Rudolphus episc. Arian., Florent., non minus virtute quam sanguine nobilis, qui et in pastorali munere et pluribus praefecturis multa cum laude se gessit, et cuius familia superiori saeculo amplissimum habuit cardinalem; Alphonsus de la Cueva, prothonot. apost. Philippi regis cath^ci^, in Belgio orator, qui claris natalibus ortus et amplissimis legationibus perfunctus magnam ingenii, prudentiae et pietatis laudem est consecutus," *Barb.* 2926, Vatican Library.

as Bishop of Ariano.[1] The King of Spain received satisfaction with the promotion of Alfonso della Cueva, a member of the Order of Alcántara and one of his diplomatists,[2] and Louis XIII. with that of the youthful Bishop of Luçon, Armand de Richelieu, though a party at the French court had sought by various intrigues in Rome to frustrate the nomination.[3] Sigismund III., King of Poland, had made vain efforts with Gregory XV., as he had done with Paul V., to secure the red hat for the ambitious Rangoni.[4] But to avoid offending so good a Catholic prince, Gregory XV. bestowed the purple on Cosimo Torres, an excellent man in every respect, and who was nuncio in Poland at the time.[5]

Gregory XV. made no further nominations though they would have been very much to the advantage of his nephew. For the biographer of Ludovico Ludovisi this is a proof that the Cardinal only considered the interests of the Church.[6]

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 489 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 235 *seq.*; BOGLINO, *La Sicilia e i suoi cardinali*, Palermo, 1884, 57 *seq.*

[2] For Cueva, see PIRENNE, IV., 353 *seq.*

[3] The threads of this intrigue have been carefully unwound lately by DEGERT, in the *Rev. hist.*, CXVIII. (1915), 225 *seqq.* The evasive *replies of Gregory XV. to the requests of Louis XIII. and Marie of Medici, dated July 1, 1621, for the cardinalate for Richelieu, are in *Brevia Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives. It is stated there: "*De cardinalibus creandis minime hoc tempore cogitamus, quia nuper clarissimorum virorum electione s. senatum supplevimus." However, hopes are held out for the future. *Ibid.*, 24, a *Brief dated April 2, 1622, to Marie de Medici, who induced the unwilling Louis XIII., after the death of Card. de Retz, to change his mind; see HANOTAUX, *Richelieu*, II., 448 *seq.* The appointment was announced to Louis XIII. by a *Brief of September 5, 1622. *Cf.* ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 311 *seq.*; *ibid.* the *Brief to Richelieu, though both are wrongly dated. The *letter of Ludovisi to Richelieu, of September 5, 1622, is in *Cod.* X. V. 31, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] See the *Briefs to Sigismund III., of August 25, 1621, and February 5, 1622, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[5] For Cosimo Torres, see CIACONIUS, IV., 485; CARDELLA, VI., 230 *seq.*; and BOGLINO, *loc. cit.*, 58 *seq.*

[6] See GIUNTI, **Vita*, Corsini Library, Rome.

This is probably too favourable a view; in any case, the fact that Gregory XV. made no better provision for the interests of his nephew in the next conclave shows the baselessness of the assertion that the Pope was no more than "a helpless tool" in the hands of Ludovisi. Such a possibility was further excluded by the fact that Gregory XV. allowed the Cardinals to discuss affairs with him and to state their views with the utmost freedom.[1] This action, which, together with the kindly, conciliating manner of the new Pope, which was in sharp contrast with that of Paul V.,[2] as well as the distribution of offices and the apportioning of benefices to outstanding Cardinals created an excellent impression.[3]

Among the older members of the Sacred College, Ubaldini, Orsini and Maurice of Savoy, who had come to Rome after the conclave, were most in favour with the Pope.[4] Maurice attached himself closely to Cardinal Ludovisi, but he left Rome in July, 1621.[5] Cardinal Borromeo was honoured

[1] See the *report of the Venetian ambassadors, in Barozzi-Berchet, *Roma*, I., 122.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of A. Possevino of May 28, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* the detailed account of Giunti, in his **Vita d. card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See the Venetian report quoted in note 1. For Maurice di Savoia, *cf.* *the report of A. Possevino of May 22, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cardinal Eitel Friedrich of Hohenzollern also came to Rome. Gregory XV. expressed his pleasure at this to the Emperor Ferdinand II., in a *Brief of December 1, 1621 (*Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives). For Cardinal Eitel Friedrich, see *Mitteil. des Hist. Vereins für Hohenzollern*, XXXI. and XXXII., and G. Hebeisen, *Die Bedeutung der ersten Fürsten von Hohenzollern und des Kard. Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern für die kath. Bewegung Deutschlands ihrer Zeit*, Hechingen, 1923. For his election to the see of Osnabrück, in April, 1623, see *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. von Osnabrück*, XXIV. (1899), 156 *seq.* *Cf.* also Stüve, *Osnabrück*, III., 19 *seq.*

[5] Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini wrote on July 24, 1621, from Rome, to the Duke of Savoy: "E universalmente dispiaciuta la partenza di questa corte del sig. card. Maurizio, figliuolo di

with a laudatory Brief.[1] Cardinals Bandini and Cobelluzio also stood high in the Pope's esteem.[2] Bellarmine was asked to take up residence in the Vatican, but he did not remain there long. The strength of that splendid man, now almost an octogenarian, who had always been an ornament of the Sacred College, was utterly spent, as he himself felt. Like Baronius, Bellarmine also wished to die among his brethren in religion. Pleading his failing health he obtained leave to retire to the Jesuit novitiate house where he took up residence on August 25th. A violent fever soon compelled him to take to his bed. He expired on September 17th, 1621. The Pope had paid him a visit on September 1st. In his will Bellarmine had expressed the wish to be buried in some Jesuit church in the still hours of the night, and for his obsequies to be celebrated by the Jesuits alone, without participation of the Cardinals. However, with the consent of the Pope, the General of the Society of Jesus refused to comply with such a request and arranged for the obsequies to be celebrated in the church of the Gesù, in the presence of the Sacred College. In conformity with the wish of the illustrious dead his mortal remains were provisionally laid to rest in the crypt of the professed house; a year later they were transferred to the grave in which the body of St. Ignatius had at one time reposed.[3] To the right of the high altar a monument was erected in honour of this outstanding defender of the Holy See; figures of Religion and Wisdom, carved by Pietro Bernini, adorn the monument.[4]

Both Gregory XV. and Cardinal Ludovisi had greatly at heart the liberation of Cardinal Klesl, whom, since 1619, the Emperor had held in honourable but strict confinement in

V. Altezza"; see PASSERINI, *Alcune lettere del card. Ipp. Aldobrandini a Carlo Emmanuele, duca di Savoja* (Nozze Publ.), Roma, 1881, 4.

[1] *Brief of May 21, 1622, *Arm.* XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the **Relatione di Roma*, 1624, in the Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, no. 3.

[3] *Cf.* REUSCH, *Selbstbiographie*, 294 *seq.*; COUDERC, II., 312–378.

[4] See FRASCHETTI, *Bernini*, 33 *seqq.*

the remote Tyrolese monastery of Georgenberg.[1] When Carlo Carafa entered on his Vienna nunciature in the spring of 1621, he was instructed to work for a termination of the sufferings of the prisoner, as his faults were now obsolete. Carafa must at least obtain greater freedom for the Cardinal within the monastery itself. The objections made to the transfer of the Cardinal to Rome were declared incomprehensible.[2] If the Emperor's representatives in Rome imagined that Gregory XV. would ever cease to demand Klesl's liberation [3] they were mistaken. On the contrary, when Verospi was dispatched to Vienna, in January, 1622, as envoy extraordinary, with mission to congratulate the Emperor on his marriage to Princess Eleanore of Mantua, he was directly charged to demand Klesl's extradition in the name of the Pope. Even if Klesl was guilty, decorum should have been better safeguarded in the eyes of the world, as Paul V. had already pointed out, and it was not right that the Cardinal should be held in captivity in the territory of the princes who had caused his arrest. Verospi was instructed to do his utmost to induce the Emperor and the Archduke Leopold to consent to Klesl's transfer to Rome, where he would be less dangerous to them than anywhere else.[4] Ferdinand II. was

[1] *Cf* our account in Vol. XXVI., p. 326 *seq.* In the very detailed works of HAMMER-PURGSTALL and KERSCHBAUMER there is nevertheless nothing about the question whether Klesl took part in the Conclave of 1621. A special Congregation of Cardinals was instituted on this point (see the *report of ABBATE ALFONSO PICO to Emperor Ferdinand II., dated Rome, February 2, 1621, State Archives, Vienna). How it dealt with the difficulty can be seen from the *letter of F. Aragona of February 6, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to this a letter, *pro forma*, was sent to Klesl, " senza obligarvi però ad aspettare altra risposta sapiendosi molto bene che non sarà liberato dall'Imperatore et che in tanto non può l'eletione del pontefice patire dilatione."

[2] See *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

[3] Thus Alfonso Pico reports to the Emperor in his *account of August 7, 1621, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See KERSCHBAUMER, *Klesl*, 314 *seq.* The *Instruction for Verospi quoted here is also in *Cod. Celsius* H 323 of the Library

not unwilling to grant such a request, but he did not wish to do anything without the consent of the Archduke Leopold in whose power Klesl was. At first the Archduke made many difficulties, but the Roman diplomat ended by overcoming his objections, and securing his consent to the extradition. On October 23rd, 1622, the Cardinal, now nearing his 70th year, was able to set out for Rome with Verospi.[1] Gregory XV. warmly thanked Ferdinand II. for this proof of his piety and devotion to the Holy See.[2] Klesl reached Rome on November 27th, 1622, and was taken to the castle S. Angelo. On the evening of the third day he was privately taken into the presence of the Pope who received him with the greatest kindness. For the time being the Cardinal remained in the castle of S. Angelo, where he occupied the beautiful rooms on the upper story. Otherwise also his confinement was of the mildest, since he was allowed to receive the visits of Cardinals and ambassadors.[3] The victories won in Germany gave Klesl an opportunity, on December 24th, 1622, to offer his congratulations to the Emperor. At the same time he appealed to the goodness and mildness of the monarch which surely would not suffer a German Cardinal, one who was a natural subject of his majesty and who owed his elevation to his predecessors, to die in prison, to the great shame of the German nation. He attested before God and his conscience that he had always honestly striven to serve the Church, the Emperor, and the noble House of Austria, to the best of his ability. True, he was but a man and not an angel, hence he could make mistakes ; for these reasons he pleaded for pardon, seeing that he was now 71 years old, and worn out by his labours and fatigues.[4] In Rome the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors did all they could on behalf of Klesl together

at Upsala. *Cf.* GROTTANELLI, *La Riforma e la guerra de trent'anni. Ricordi studiati sulla corrispondenza degli ambasciatori Toscani*, Florence, 1899, 115 *seq.*

[1] See KERSCHBAUMER, 315 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HAMMER, *Urk.*, 964.

[3] See KERSCHBAUMER, 321 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* HAMMER, *Urk.*, 963.

with the Protector of the German nation, Cardinal von Zollern. At first the Emperor demanded that Klesl should resign the Sees of Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt and forgo all claim to the money confiscated by the Emperor Matthias for the benefit of the imperial exchequer at the time of the Cardinal's arrest. However, he soon dropped that demand. The Capuchin Giacinto da Casale also did his utmost to obtain Klesl's pardon. On June 16th, 1623, the imperial ambassador, Savelli, was instructed not to oppose Klesl's liberation if the above conditions were fulfilled, but that he was to remain in Rome. Gregory XV. was quite satisfied with this solution and wrote his thanks to the Emperor on the same day. On June 18th, Cardinal Ludovisi, accompanied by the imperial envoy, personally repaired to the castle of S. Angelo in order to set Klesl at liberty and to conduct him to the Quirinal. The two Cardinals dined together; afterwards Klesl was received in audience by Gregory XV. to whom he expressed his gratitude.[1] The Pope assigned to him the apartment in the Vatican which Cardinal Galamina had at one time occupied.[2]

An act of violence resembling that committed against Klesl had occurred in Spain against Cardinal Lerma. The latter had been all-powerful under Philip III., but in 1618 he was compelled to retire into his estates, when his son, the Duke of Uzeda, became prime minister and obtained the offices and the influence at one time enjoyed by his father.[3] However, the change did not put an end to the misgovernment of Spain. The Venetian ambassador, Pietro Contarini, who confirms this statement, was of opinion that the fallen Cardinal would never recover his former power. For one thing he was too old, and he had been abandoned by all, even by those who had been most beholden to him. Philip III. died on March 31st

[1] See KERSCHBAUMER, 324 *seq.* The *Brief of June 16, 1623, is in HAMMER, *Urk.*, 971. For the influence of Giacinto, see VENANZIO DA LAGO SANTO, 267 *seq.*

[2] *Avviso of July 1, 1623, *Urb.* 1093 A, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* RANKE, *Osmanen und spanische Monarchie* [4] (1877), 173 *seq.*

1621, and his successor, Philip IV., yielding to the pressure of Lerma's many enemies, caused a judicial examination to be made into his previous conduct. The Cardinal was found guilty of having enriched himself by unlawful means and condemned to repay a large sum of money into the public treasury.

Cardinal Lerma had been interned as soon as the judicial procedure began. The news greatly perturbed both the Pope and the College of Cardinals. On September 9th, 1621, Cardinal Ludovisi instructed the Spanish nuncio to express to the King the Pope's astonishment and indignation at such an injury to ecclesiastical indemnity, one that could not fail to lower the cardinalitial dignity in the eyes of the people.[1] In Rome they never expected such conduct on the part of the Catholic King. Should Spanish ministers quote the fall of Cardinal Klesl, the nuncio was to explain that that case was quite different, were it only for this reason, that the Austrian Cardinal had been accused of gravely imperilling the public good, whereas Lerma was only reproached with having unlawfully pursued his private advantage. Moreover, the evils that had befallen the House of Austria were surely a consequence of the unjust persecution of which Klesl had been a victim. No secular power, however great, had the right, under any pretext whatsoever, to condemn a member of the Sacred College. If princes presumed to do so, they fell under the severest penalties of the Church and the anger of God himself.[2] The scandal occasioned by the action against Lerma

[1] See the *letter to the Spanish nuncio, Alessandro de Sangro in the *Registro delle lettere di Msg. Agucchio, Cod.* 33 D of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] "*Niuna podestà terrena per grande che sia nè per qualunque cagione o sotto qualsiasi pretesto ha ragione o legitima autorità di giudicare le persone de cardinali, e se alcuni principi l'hanno tal'volta fatto, o siano per farlo, sono tanto grave le censure e le maleditioni date loro da sagri canoni e concilii e constitutioni apostoliche, che ben è mestieri, che sia grande la divina misericordia verso di loro a non permettere che i flagelli delle pene temporali non li perseguitano." *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

must be removed. If the Catholic King began to interfere with the liberty of Cardinals what might not other Powers do? If his Majesty had reasons to proceed against Lerma, which the Pope hoped was not the case, he must have recourse to the true and only judge, the Pope. Should the Cardinal be found guilty he would punish him as he deserved, just as his predecessors had done in similar cases.[1]

At this very time Rome had to complain of some further encroachments of the Spanish Government. The conflict of jurisdiction which had broken out at Milan under Paul V. had become so acute that in a letter of September 8th, 1621, to the Spanish nuncio, Cardinal Ludovisi remarked that it appeared as if the officials meant to lay hands on the whole government of the Church, so much so that the heretics of the neighbouring countries were in high glee over the conduct of the representatives of the Spanish King. The Pope was deeply grieved at their behaviour and hoped that Philip would put an end to the scandal.[2]

The very position of the Spanish nuncio was causing the gravest alarm, for, not only had he to contend with the arbitrariness and the jealousy of the State, but he had even to cope with the suspiciousness of certain ecclesiastical bodies.[3]

[1] A second *letter of Ludovisi to Sangro, September 9, 1621, adds: "If Lerma really appears to be guilty, the King, in order to be able to proceed against him, must request permission from the Pope by letter or through his ambassador, whereupon he would receive a reply, after, as was customary, a congregation of Cardinals had reported on the subject." "Aveva S.Stà prima che si ricevessero le prime lettere di V.S. delli 10 Agosto scritto un breve in raccomandatione del cardinale, che si è fatto assai temperato come vedrà V.S. dalla copia di esso" (*Cod. Corsini, loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, a *letter in cipher to *Niccolò Tighetti, fiscale in Spagna,* in which it is stated: "Si è scritto in maniera in favoure del sig. card. di Lerma che non si poteva far più, ne S.Bne si è mossa tanto per commiseratione della fortuna di lui quanto per sostegno della dignità cardinalizia e della libertà e immunità ecclesiastica."

[2] *Ludovisi to Sangro, September 8, 1621, *Cod. Corsini, loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* MEISTER, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 466.

The difficulty of the situation in Spain appears from the Instruction to the new nuncio, Alessandro de Sangro, Patriarch of Alexandria, which bears the date of April 5th, 1621.[1] The nuncio is advised to be moderate in the use of his faculties, which were far more extensive in Spain than in other Catholic countries. When granting benefices and ecclesiastical dignities he should consider the most deserving as well as the most needy, and in the concession of dispensations he must strictly conform to the decrees of the Council of Trent, for these are the very foundation of ecclesiastical discipline. Special caution is required when there is question of the reform of male and female religious Orders. Notice should be given to the civil authorities, with a view to preventing interference on their part. The enclosure must be strictly observed. Permission for the setting up of private oratories, against the too easy concession of which Paul V. had already had occasion to protest, must now be stopped altogether.

[1] The important and interesting *Instruction for Sangro, is to be found in MS. in widely scattered places: Berlin, State Library, *Inf. polit.*, XI., 477 *seq.*; Vienna, State Library, 5580[b], p. 48 *seq.*, and 6837 p. 56 *seq.*; Rome, *Ottob.* 2721 (Vatican Library); *Varia Polit.*, 117, Papal Secret Archives. Angelica Library, T., 3, 13, p. 1 *seq.* LÄMMER has already quoted an extract from the latter MS. (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 70 *seq.*). This has been overlooked by MEISTER in his interesting essay, "Zur spanischen Nuntiatur im 16. u. 17. Jahrh." (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 448 *seq.*) hence he regarded the part of the Instruction quoted by him from *Ottob.* 2206, p. 137 *seq.*, as addressed to Sangro's successor, Mgr. Massimi. The part of the Instruction which regards the affair of the Valtellina had already been published in *Arch. stor. Ital. N.S.*, VII., 1, 8–9, in 1858. The nomination of Sangro was communicated to the Spanish King by Gregory XV., in a *Brief of April 3, 1621; see *Epist.*, in *Arm.*, XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives. Sangro left Rome, April 7, 1621; see *Avviso of April 7, 1621, *Urb.* 1088, Vatican Library. For the prehistory of the nomination, see the letter of CARD. DI SUSANNA (Card. Ludovisi) of February 10, 1621, in which we read: "N.Sre non ha anchora risoluto della persona del Nuntio di Spagna. Io li propongo Mons. di Bregni." There follows a eulogy of him. Original in *Cod.* E. 70 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Naturally enough a large part of the Instruction deals with the government's interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the pretension of the royal council to examine all papal documents. From this document we learn that the government went so far as to claim for itself the right to enforce the Tridentine reform decrees, an abuse against which the nuncio was told to protest. Then there were the usual infringements of the liberty of the Church in other spheres. With regard to the disputes between Bishops and Chapters, which were very frequent in Spain, the nuncio should see to it that the former did not push too far their right of supervision, nor the latter the limits of their liberty. Both sides should exercise restraint, the Bishops exercising their authority without oppressing the Chapters, and the latter not abusing their exemptions. Some general directions dealt with the manner of transacting business at the Spanish court and the obligation of observing the stringent ceremonies in use there. The Instruction also insisted on a reliable service of information. It likewise dealt with the nuncio's duties and obligations in his capacity as a Collector General. As such, it was his duty, with the aid of assistant collectors, to gather the dues (*spoglie*) and tithes. In this sphere conflicts were all the more frequent as men are wont to be particularly sensitive where money is concerned. Prudence and justice must be the guiding stars of the nuncio. On October 6th, 1621, Ludovisi pointed out to Sangro the importance of his rôle as a judge besides that of nuncio, both for the authority of the Holy See and for the preservation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The latter had suffered many breaches in France and Germany owing to Concordats and other concessions, and the heretics had inflicted heavy damage to the authority of the Holy See and to the Catholic religion itself. If the nuncio showed himself too yielding to the ministers of the King, the latter's fiscal officials would not fail to restrict the competence of the nunciature.[1] On October 15th, 1621, the Capuchin, Giacinto da Casale, then on a mission to Spain, was urged to support the nuncio to the best of his

[1] **Cod.* 33 D. 23, of the Corsini Library, Rome.

ability in his conflicts on questions of jurisdiction.[1] Unfortunately Alessandro de Sangro proved wholly inadequate to his arduous task. The encroachments of the Spanish Government grew steadily worse and it was in vain that Gregory XV. complained to the King.[2] Sangro was recalled on June 24th, 1622, and replaced by Innocenzo de' Massimi, Bishop of Bertinoro.[3] However, he too failed to fulfil the hopes set on him.[4] A letter of Gregory XV. to Philip IV. dated January 4th, 1623, complains bitterly of the interference of the secular power.[5] In these circumstances it was not surprising that there was great tension in the Pope's relations with the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Albuquerque.[6]

[1] See the *letter of AGUCCHI to Giacinto da Casale of October 15, 1621, *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] See the *Brief to Philip IV., of March 5, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *Brief to Philip IV, of June 24, 1622, *ibid.* Canon Paolo Tronci of Pisa was Major-domo to Massimi; *cf.* his *letter to his sister in *Cod.* S. 5 of the University Library, Pisa.

[4] *Cf.* "Cagioni che indussero la Stà di N.S. Gregorio XV. a levare la nunziatura di Spagna al patriarca d'Alessandria Msgr. Sangro et abusi al tempo di Msgr. de Massimi suo successore," *Barb.* 5316, p. 1 *seq.* and *Ottob.* 2415, p. 404 *seq.*, Vatican Library, in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 61, Papal Secret Archives, and *Inf. polit.*, XVIV., 398 *seq.*, of the State Library, Berlin. A fifth copy in the Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 33 A. 19, was used by MEISTER (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 464). For the case of Covarruvia, quoted here, in which even Massimi adopted an altogether mistaken attitude, *cf. Barb.* 3560, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library; *Veto on the pamphlet of *Antonio de Covarruvia, canonico de Sevilla*, 3 *seq.*; **Censura* of this document by IOH. DE MIRANDA, 13 *seq.*; "**Relazione di quanto ha fatto Msgr. Patriarca de Sangro et Mons. de Massimi Nunzio nella causa del sudetto Covarruvia e dei torti che per questo ha ricevuto la giurisdizione apost.*" *Cf.* also the *account of AGUCCHIO to the Spanish nuncio, October 26, 1621, in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[5] A similar *Brief was sent on January 4, 1623, to Olivares, both are in *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Studi e Docum.*, XXII., 209.

But the rights of the Church were even more grievously injured by that Italian State which constituted the political antipodes of the Catholic King, namely by Venice. After the successes it had won under Paul V., and acting on the advice of Paolo Sarpi, the Catholic Church's bitterest enemy, the republic obstinately held to its former Church policy. Though Paul V. had made frequent remonstrances he had avoided an open conflict. After his death, the Signoria, from political motives, showed some willingness to conciliate the new Pope,[1] so much so that in Rome a hope was born of better relations with Venice. These feelings inspired Gregory's Instruction to Laudivio Zacchia, Bishop of Montefiascone, who was appointed nuncio in Venice on May 12th, 1621.[2] That able diplomatist, who also sought full information from his predecessor, Gessi, was commissioned to regain the lost ground, but at the same time to proceed with the utmost caution,[3] to precipitate nothing, always to wait for the right moment and not to lose heart if he met with opposition. Above all he was to appeal to the political shrewdness of the Venetian government, and represent to them that their own political interests demanded the re-establishment of good relations between Rome and Venice, for assuredly the prestige of the republic could not be enhanced if it set at nought the laws of the Church and entertained strained relations in the ecclesiastical sphere with the Head of Catholicity and the ruler of the Pontifical States. Such a situation must be fatal even to the political interests of the republic of St. Mark. It was

[1] This was shown by the dispatch of a ceremonial embassy to offer homage (*cf.* Barozzi-Berchet, *Roma*, I., 111 *seq.*) and by the reception of the papal nephew as a patrician of the Republic (*cf.* above, p. 66, note 1).

[2] The *credentials to the Doge A. Priuli, May 12, 1621, are in *Arm.* XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives. For L. Zacchia, whose magnificent bust by A. Algardi, is preserved in the Museum at Berlin, *cf.* the essay by Posse, on A. Algardi, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1905, 3 Ser.

[3] See the text of the Instruction in *Arch. stor. ital.*, VII., (1858), 13 *seq.*

thought in Rome that representations of this kind would not fail to impress the elder Senators, all the more so as at that time the question of the Valtellina, which touched the republic of Venice so closely, hung in the balance. Gregory XV.'s gravest fear for Venice was Protestant propaganda. He was filled with anxiety when he saw how, for reasons of trade, heretics and schismatics were allowed to take up residence in the City of the Lagoons, and how the danger of a disruption of the unity of the faith was still further increased by the fact that Venice maintained permanent embassies in wholly or partially Protestant countries such as England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. In these circumstances the official surveillance which in Venice sought to limit the action of the Inquisition as much as possible, seemed exceedingly dangerous.

Gregory XV. had already given expression to his anxiety on this score to the four Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors. On that occasion he had likewise complained of the insidious machinations of Paolo Sarpi, who stood in the highest esteem with the Signoria, though in 1620, his deadly hatred of the Church had been unmasked when his history of the Council of Trent became known in consequence of an indiscretion on the part of Marcantonio de Dominis. The envoys met the Pope's complaints with a denial of the existence in Venice of any danger to the faith, and by protesting the Catholic sentiments of their countrymen. As for Sarpi, they affirmed that he lived in complete retirement and had no influence whatever with the government.[1] Gregory XV. saw clearly that as regards Sarpi nothing could be obtained from the Signoria ; his only comfort was that that irreconcilable enemy was now so advanced in years that he could not long continue his underground activities. Consequently the nuncio was instructed that it was enough to see to it that Sarpi left no followers behind him.[2]

The best antidote against Sarpi's plots in Venice, and the

[1] See *ibid.*, 22, note 20. *Cf.* Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 128.
[2] See *Arch. stor. ital.*, VII., 1, 22, note 20.

Protestant propaganda in general, Zacchia's Instruction adds, would be the return of the Jesuits to Venice. The Pope had expressed this wish to the *obbedienza* envoys, but his request had met with instant and strong opposition. Even a middle course, that of allowing the Jesuits to return, if not to Venice itself, then at least into the territory of the republic, had been rejected. For all that, Zacchia was instructed to continue his efforts for the repeal of the law of banishment against the Jesuits, and not to allow himself to be discouraged by any difficulty whatsoever.

The Instruction also draws the nuncio's attention to the sad state of the monasteries in Venice in which Sarpi had numerous adherents and where discipline had become very relaxed. There was pressing need of a reform. As regards the correction of the secular clergy, let the nuncio have recourse to the Bishops and urge them to observe the decrees of Trent. Without an improvement in this direction, and unless evil counsellors were displaced by good ones, there was no prospect of any improvement with regard to the frequent injuries done to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The nuncio is urged not to allow himself to be discouraged by opposition and never to cease from energetic protests until conditions should be at least what they were previous to the reign of Paul V.

Apart from the ecclesiastical conflicts, purely political ones had likewise arisen between Rome and Venice. They concerned navigation in the Adriatic and the determination of frontiers opposite Ferrara. In both questions Gregory XV. showed a yielding disposition,[1] for he was much more anxious for a favourable solution of the ecclesiastical problems. But it was precisely here that the government of Venice showed the least goodwill. Sarpi's death, on January 15th, 1623, delivered the Pope from his fears of the friar's machinations. Though he had completely broken with the teaching of the Church, Sarpi had played his hypocritical part until the end. He had said Mass as late as January 8th, though he had

[1] See *ibid.*, 29 *seq.*

described it as idolatry.[1] On August 14th, 1621, Gregory XV. had sent a special Brief to the Doge to secure the repeal of the decree banishing the Jesuits.[2] The Brief paid a high tribute to the Society. The Pope referred to previous discussions with the Venetian envoys and pleaded for a repeal of the unjust banishment of the Jesuits from Venice. Even if individual members should have erred, the whole of the Society should not be made to suffer. The Signoria presented a painful exception among all the Catholic States.[3] Since the Jesuits were accused of excessive sympathy for Spain he would not speak of that country, but would only mention the high esteem enjoyed by their Order in France. As for Germany, the Society had saved the faith in that country. The calumnies of apostates against the Jesuits redounded to the Fathers' honour. They had rendered immense services in spreading Christianity in pagan lands. Nor had they deserved less well of Italy and as in most Italian cities, there must be many inhabitants of Venetian territory also, who could bear witness to all they had done to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life and to promote the education of youth.[4] However, though French diplomacy also intervened on behalf of the Jesuits,[5] the appeal of the Pontiff fell on deaf ears. Shortly before his death, Gregory XV. saw himself compelled to protest to the Doge against an act of

[1] For Sarpi's last days see the report of ZACCHIA in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 Ser., IX. (1882), 146 *seq.*, according to which Sarpi asked for the Last Sacraments. Whether the unhappy man was sincerely converted at the last cannot be ascertained.

[2] *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] "*Europam universam animo percurrite, catholicorum principum suffragia numerentur, periculum erit, ne vos uni male de tam praeclara societate sentire reperiamini." *Ibid.*

[4] "*Nam sacra accuratius coli, iuventutem sapientius institui, pietatis studia frequentius exerceri Iesuitis in eam rem alacrius incumbentibus, et pleraeque huius provinciae civitates testificantur et non pauci etiam vestrae ditionis homines palam fatebuntur." *Ibid.*

[5] See *Arch. stor. ital.*, *loc. cit.*, 22, note 20. *Cf.* ZELLER, *Luynes*, 239 *seqq.*

infringement of the Church's jurisdiction by the civil authorities of Padua.[1]

As regards the Roman Inquisition,[2] we have no information of any proceedings against heretics during the pontificate of Gregory XV.,[3] evidently because there was no occasion for action. The Pope's watchfulness to prevent all danger of heretical infection is shown by his severe prohibition, which was itself based on a similar decree of Clement VIII., of heretics taking up residence in Italy under any pretext whatsoever.[4] Thus, at the close of 1622, we see the Pope insisting with the representative of Lucca on the removal of some Germans who were staying in that city for the purpose of learning the Italian language.[5]

Whilst beyond the Alps, and especially in Germany, trials for witchcraft and burnings of witches were at their height, Rome was spared such horrors under this pontificate as during the preceding ones, for in this respect the practice of the Roman Inquisition was much milder than that of the secular tribunals in Germany, for it only handed over to the secular arm obstinate delinquents or recidivists, whilst such as recanted, or were accused for the first time, escaped with imprisonment. However, a decree of Gregory XV. of March 20th, 1623,

[1] See the long *letter to the Doge A. Priuli of April 1, 1623, *Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The members of the Roman Inquisition were then Cardinals Bandini, C. Madruzzo, Millini, Verallo, Borgia, Centini, Cobelluzio, Scaglia, Ludovisi and Lavalette ; see L. DIANA, *Coordinatus*, 577.

[3] In Bologna, on November 27, 1622, four persons were executed for outrages to pictures of Saints ; see R. CAMPEGGI, *Racconto degli eretici iconomiasti giustiziati in Bologna*, 1623, and BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, Bologna, 1905, 114 *seq.*, 191 *seq.* The names of the Great Inquisitors in DIANA, v.

[4] Constitution of July 2, 1622, DIANA, 555 *seq.* ; *Bull.*, XII., 708 *seq.*

[5] See the *report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 207. For the Spanish sect of the Alumbrados, against whom Cardinal Pacheco had to proceed in the diocese of Cadiz and Seville, see *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, IV.², 796 *seq.*

prescribed a greater measure of severity.[1] It stated that if any person was convicted of having made a pact with the devil, thereby apostatizing from the Christian faith, and by sortileges had so injured one or more persons as to cause death, the culprit must be handed over for due punishment, viz. execution, to the secular arm, even if it was his first offence; but one who, by means of a pact with the devil, had only caused sickness or considerable injury to cattle, or to the crops, was to be sentenced to immurement, viz. lifelong imprisonment.[2]

Gregory XV. showed extraordinary mildness towards Marcantonio de Dominis, a former Archbishop of Spalato, who, during the pontificate of Paul V., had apostatized in London, and since then had violently attacked the Catholic Church.[3] The Pope had at one time been friends with the unhappy man, and now that he seemed to be in earnest in his desire to return to the bosom of the Church, the Pontiff, assisted by Cardinal Ludovisi, facilitated in every way the realization of his resolution.[4] The negotiations were conducted through the Spanish ambassador in London [5] and the nuncio of Cologne, Antonio Albergati.[6] Having received a safe-conduct, de Dominis repaired to Antwerp where he abjured

[1] DIANA, 567 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XII., 795 *seq.*

[2] See PAULUS, *Hexenwahn*, 268 *seq.*, who shows that Döllinger and Hinschius are mistaken in seeing a modification of the penalty in the decree; *ibid.*, 257 *seq.*, for the proof that immurement (Muro claudi) meant "life imprisonment", which, however, generally only lasted a few years. That the sentence was less severe than was customary in Germany is shown by MÜLLER, *Kirchengesch.*, II., 354.

[3] *Cf.* L. VEITH, *E. Richeri systema confutatum. Acc. discursus de vita et scriptis M.A. de Dominis*, Mechlinae, 1825; LJUBIČ, *O Markantunu Dominisi*, 2 vols., Zagrab, 1870. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 211 *seq.*, 303 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* GIUNTI, **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[5] See the *Brief to Count de Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, August 21, 1621, in *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See NICOLETTI, **Vita d'Urbano VIII.*, *Barb.* 4731, Vatican Library.

his errors before the Bishop of that city,[1] a step on which Gregory XV. sent him his congratulations.[2] On his arrival in Rome, de Dominis was temporarily assigned a lodging in the Franciscan convent of Araceli. The Inquisition granted him his pardon on condition that he made a public abjuration and retracted his calumnies against the Roman Church by means of some printed publication. This appeared in Rome in 1622.[3] When some prelates of the Curia found fault with so much leniency, the Pope remarked that since, up till then, little had been achieved by proceeding against heresy with fire and sword, he thought it right to try the way of leniency. However, should de Dominis relapse into his errors, he would not escape condign punishment.[4]

Gregory XV. renewed and extended the powers already granted by Pius V. to the Roman Inquisition against the abuse of the sacrament of Penance by a confessor who attempted to induce a penitent to commit a grave sin against the sixth or ninth commandment.[5] The Pope was likewise in favour of greater strictness with regard to the Index. On December 30th, 1622, he revoked all previous concessions for the reading or keeping of prohibited books.[6] As for excommunication, Gregory XV. held fast to the principles he had maintained under Clement VIII., viz. that the penalty of excommunication should only be used with discretion and moderation, otherwise, as experience had shown, it lost all its force. He was wont to say that the Church of

[1] See Reusch, *Index*, II., 403. *Cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV., 82 *seq.*; for the safe conduct for de Dominis see *Cal. of State Papers*, XVII. (1621–3), 170.

[2] *Brief of January 6, 1622, *Brevia Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Reusch, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Accarisius, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., ch. 13. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Bull.*, XII., 729 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 779 *seq.* For the books prohibited by the Congregation of the Index since 1621, see Baumgarten, *Neue Kunde*, 235 *seq.*

Christ should rule her children by love rather than by terror.[1]

Like his predecessor, Gregory XV. was also persistently urged by the King of Spain, Philip IV., to decide the old theological controversy concerning Mary's Immaculate Conception.[2] However, from the first the Pope made it quite clear that the reasons which had restrained Paul V. also, prevented him from coming to a decision.[3] Now, as then, theologians were divided on the question; whilst the Dominicans persisted in their opposition, the Franciscans and the Jesuits were of another opinion. Gregory had the whole question examined once more by the Roman Inquisition. The result was a decree, published on May 24th, 1622, which extended to writings and private conversations [4] the prohibition by which Paul V. forbade the assertion in lectures and sermons that Mary had been conceived in original sin. Nevertheless, the Dominicans were given leave to expound the opinion of their Order amongst themselves, but not in presence of outsiders.[5]

Gregory XV.'s most important measure for the internal life of the Church was one that dealt with the election of the Pope. In the conclaves of the sixteenth century there had been

[1] ACCARISIUS, (**Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. II, ch. 1), thus quotes the Pope's words: "Quemadmodum certissimum est, excomunicationis gladium nervum esse ecclesiasticae disciplinae, si sobrie adhibetur, ita si immodice et non accommodate exerceatur, experimento compertum est, eandem potius enervare—Ecclesiae Christi amore, non terrore venerationem intendi." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* L. WADDINGUS, *Πρεσβεια s. Legatio Philippi III. et IV. ad Paulum V. et Gregorium XV. de definienda controversia Immacul. conceptionis B. Virginis Mariae*, Lovanii, 1624.

[3] See the *Brief to *Margaretae a Cruce sanctimoniali regis catholici amitae*, dated July 12, 1621, *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Bull.*, XII., 688 *seq.* *Cf.* the Brief to Philip IV., dated June 4, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, and *ibid.*, the Brief to the city of Seville, November 3, 1622, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Bull.*, XII., 717 *seq.*

plenty of undesirable features, but to the honour of the Popes it must be added that they never relaxed their efforts to remedy the evil. At the beginning of the century, Julius II. reacted against the intrigues which had marked the election of Alexander VI. with his stern Bull against simoniacal practices.[1] The two popes who issued from the most protracted and most stormy conclaves of the century,[2] viz. Julius III. and Paul IV., were the very ones who, by means of new electoral regulations, dealt sternly with those irregularities to which they themselves owed in part the tiara.[3] True, death prevented Julius III. from publishing his Bull, but the wish for a reform gained ground. Paul IV. energetically condemned all electoral intrigues during the lifetime of a Pope,[4] whilst Pius IV. attacked the evil at its root when he sought to circumscribe the influence of secular princes. Pius V. worked in the same sense as Paul IV., both by verbal exhortations and by his efforts for the religious renewal of the electoral College.[5] These efforts were not without effect, but much more remained to be done ; hence attempts at electoral reform were frequently renewed. Innocent IX. formed a commission to study the question.[6] Clement VIII. composed a draft for a new electoral Bull,[7] but since he had not had time to publish it, an election capitulation was agreed to, by the terms of which his successor was to publish such a constitution within six months.[8] Consequently, within the very first days of his short reign, Leo XI. appointed a new commission for the study of the question.[9] Paul V. also busied himself with the matter, on the basis of

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. VI., 440.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII., 2 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII., 166 *seq.* ; Vol. XV., 66 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII., 153.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII., 154 *seqq.* A similar warning by Gregory XIII., of June 26, 1573, is in SANTORI, *Diario*, 156 *seq.*

[6] L. WAHRMUND, in *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht.*, LXXII. (1894), 203.

[7] WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 204.

[8] No. 27, *ibid.*, 221.

[9] *Ibid.*, 205.

Clement VIII.'s draft,[1] though it was only granted to his successor, Gregory XV., to carry out the reforms.

Spain's meddling with papal elections had become intolerable. Philip III. persevered in the practice inaugurated by his father of seeking to manage the conclaves according to his pleasure. As a matter of fact, the occurrences at the conclave of 1605 showed the extent of Spain's interference, though in the end it achieved nothing. The conclave of Gregory XV. also was not free from numerous abuses, chiefly by reason of the non-observance of the regulations of Pius IV. The conduct of the French ambassador at that conclave could not fail to give fresh impetus to the desire for a reform of the papal election. Cardinal Federigo Borromeo and other Cardinals made strong representations to the Secretary of State. To them, and especially to Cardinal Bellarmine, the Cardinal nephew pledged his word that he would do his utmost in the matter.[2] As soon as the improvement in the Pope's health had disposed of the suspicion that the nephew's zeal for reform was only inspired by a desire to increase his own influence in a conclave that could not be long delayed, he submitted to his uncle a scheme for the abolition, at papal elections, of what was called election by "adoration" by the Cardinals.[3] Like many others, Ludovisi was of opinion that such a procedure, owing to its publicity, militated against freedom of choice,[4] for the electors were easily influenced by considerations of friendship, by fear of the princes and the more powerful among the Cardinals, and not a few joined in

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 224 *seq.*

[2] Ludovisi to Borromeo, November 6, 1621, in WAHRMUND, 260; for the date see *ibid.*, 212. For Bellarmine's influence see BARTOLI, *Della vita di Roberto cardinale Bellarmino*, lib. 3, ch. 16, Torino, 1836, 214; LE BACHELET, *Auctuarium Bellarmin.*, 530.

[3] WAHRMUND, 261.

[4] *Ibid.* The reasons given by Ludovisi in his letter are repeated by GIUNTI. **Vita e fatti di L. card. Ludovisi*, 16, Corsini Library, Rome, 37 D. 8.

the collective acclamation solely in order that the election should not come off without them. In consequence of such a system it happened at times that the election of the Supreme Head of the Church was completed without due reflection, because the leaders of parties came forward with their proposals without previous warning; the decision was frequently left to the younger and less experienced among the Cardinals; a proper scrutiny became useless; a number of votes were given to young men of small ability, merely to save appearances, and at times the most deserving were barred from the papacy precisely because of their outstanding merit; moreover some of the electors were for ever tossed hither and thither between inclusion and exclusion and the fear lest an election should take place without their knowledge. The disorders which everyone expected to mark the election of a new Pope had as their result that, even before the conclave, the favour of the mighty counted for more than merit; ambition and adulation were rampant; the Cardinals no longer dared give free expression to their opinions, especially in questions concerning justice and the defence of the Holy See. With a view to strengthening parties, insignificant people were raised to the Church's highest senate whilst deserving men were excluded; the Cardinals lost all mutual esteem whilst they forfeited the respect of the princes and a pretext was given to the heretics for attacking the Church. Thus the way was paved for unholy bargains and agreements for, whilst the Pope was still alive, the question of his successor was already under discussion. Even the danger of a schismatical election was not excluded since it was not certain whether for an election by "adoration" the participation of all the electors was not required, and when the election was at last completed enmity continued to subsist between those who had practised exclusion and the one who had been its object, and idle folk had ample material for stories of the conclave which the enemies and calumniators of the Holy See took pleasure in reading and spreading abroad.

Gregory XV. greatly appreciated the lofty motives which prompted Ludovisi, though himself the most powerful of all

the Cardinals, to tie the hands of the parties, his own included,[1] but he did not at once fall in with his suggestions. On September 9th, 1621, Ludovisi wrote that the Pope had as yet come to no decision.[2] Nevertheless, as early as September 11th, the imperial envoy, Abbate Alfonso Pico, informed his sovereign that the Pope had made up his mind to decree that a secret scrutiny would henceforth be the only lawful mode of election in a conclave.[3] Two days later the Secretary of State spoke to the imperial envoy about the forthcoming Bull; the Pope, he said, deemed it very useful, and was of opinion that it could only give satisfaction to the princes; meanwhile he did not intend to inform them of its nature.[4]

The Pope's proposals met with the approval of many Cardinals but also with some opposition; Cardinal Millini, in particular, earnestly warned the Pope not to alter a state of affairs which had grown out of the experience of the centuries.[5] Clement VIII. and Paul V., who had only planned to limit election by acclamation to certain hours and without abolishing it altogether, had in the end arrived at the conclusion that it was best to leave things as they were. The existing regulations of the conclave aimed at speeding up the election, and it was to this end that a subsequent "accession" to a vote as well as nomination by acclamation had been permitted. The influence which the heads of parties were allowed to wield was to the same end; without it a two-thirds majority would hardly ever be secured. True, it was claimed that in a secret vote everyone would follow his conscience. But even then it was possible to be actuated by passion; many things were perpetrated in secret which would not be done in public. The party leaders could only

[1] See WAHRMUND, 261.

[2] "La verità si è, ch'il Papa non è ancora risoluto di farla," (the Bull). To Nicoletti Tighetti, *fiscale in Spagna, Carte Strozze*, Ser. I., II., 86.

[3] "* levando ogni altra forma usata sin'a questo tempo." State Archives, Vienna. *Rom. fasc.* 49.

[4] *Pico to Ferdinand II., September 18, 1621, *ibid.*

[5] MEMMOLI, 42.

propose worthy candidates, for otherwise they would meet with no response, since at times even the most deserving men failed to secure sufficient support, and one who had not enough conscience to say "No!" when an unworthy candidate was put forward, was capable of anything in secret. Moreover, experience was not unfavourable to election by acclamation; of late only good Popes had been elected in this manner. Lastly, when there was question of innovations, it was impossible to calculate the consequences beforehand. Supposing that, for instance, after publication of the new Bull, agreement among the Cardinals became impossible, what then? There was no Pope to alter the Bull, and if the Cardinals were to change it on their own authority, the election might be contested, with disastrous consequences. Therefore, let the election be limited to fixed hours, and if the Pope was bent on abolishing nomination by acclamation, let him at least retain open accession to a vote.[1]

The Pope was greatly impressed with these objections: "They have robbed me of two nights' sleep," he told Millini at their next meeting, and he made him expound his views before the assembled Cardinals.[2] None the less, Ludovisi's views prevailed, though many saw in the latter's eagerness for reform no more than a desire to weaken the following of his chief opponent, Cardinal Borghese, at the next conclave.[3] As a matter of fact the latter also proved a decided opponent to the plans of the Cardinal nephew, though in a different manner from Millini's. No sooner had he had information of these plans than he approached the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Albuquerque, with a view to getting the King of Spain to intervene. Albuquerque excused himself at first, on the plea that he had no instructions from his King in the matter, but he ended by asking the Pope to allow him to send a courier to Madrid whilst the Pontiff delayed publication of the Bull

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, 43, Ludovisi on November 15, 1621, writes to the nuncio in Florence, of "artificii incredibili" in order to delay the Bull of the papal election. In WAHRMUND, 259.

until the messenger's return. Gregory, who at the moment had not yet made up his mind about the Bull, repressed his annoyance at the uncalled-for meddling and the thoughtlessness of the ambassador who seemed anxious to involve his government in complications with the Holy See. He answered quietly that a Bull of this kind was not the work of one day, so that the messenger might very well undertake his journey.[1] Madrid was slow in replying. Once more Albuquerque called on the Pope, only to receive practically the same answer as at the former interview.[2] Meanwhile the plan of an electoral reform had made considerable strides. On October 26th Ludovisi wrote that Gregory XV. would not alter his decision whatever Spain's reply might be. The draft of the Bull had been circulated among the Cardinals, but the Pope did not seek their opinion on the opportuneness of an electoral reform as such, but merely on particular details thereof. For the rest the majority of the Cardinals approved the resolution of His Holiness whilst a few who did not like it, nevertheless realized that here there was question of something very sacred. With the exception of the Spanish ambassador, all the other envoys so far from raising any opposition applauded the Pope's project.[3]

In preparation for the projected Bull numerous memorandums and other writings had been drawn up in the early months of Gregory's pontificate, especially by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo and the Jesuit, Benedetto Giustiani. There was a consensus of opinion against election by acclamation. When the first draft of the Bull was drawn up it was submitted to the Cardinals. The latter's observations were collected in a single paper which was first discussed by a

[1] Ludovisi to Niccolò Tighetti, September 9, 1621, *Carte Strozze*, Ser. I., II., 86 *seq.*

[2] *Ludovisi to Tighetti, October 26, 1621; see AGUCCHIO, **Registro di lettere*, Corsini Library, Rome, 33 D. 23.

[3] *Ibid.* Letter of thanks from twenty-one Cardinals to Ludovisi, October 24 to December 8, 1621, for sending them the draft of the Bull. WAHRMUND, 215, note 1.

commission of six, and thereafter, with the former's amendments and cancellings, by another commission of seventeen prominent members of the Sacred College, in presence of the Pope himself.

On November 15th, 1621, Gregory XV solemnly promulgated in a secret consistory his new regulations for papal elections.[1] The Bull bears the same date though it was only published on the 26th.[2] One of the proposals made whilst the Bull was in preparation would have altered the whole electoral system.[3] By its terms only five or six of those who had received most votes at the first scrutiny would have been considered in the second scrutiny and in the following scrutinies the number of those eligible was to be still further reduced until only two candidates remained at the fifth scrutiny. If in the fifth and sixth scrutiny the Cardinals could not agree on one of the two candidates, recourse was to be had to a compromise in the sense that three Cardinals chosen by lot would decide in favour of one or the other by a majority vote. In this way everything would be over within two days at most of the death of the Pope, and no time would be given to the secular princes for any unlawful interference. Moreover, in order to emphasize the gravity of the act as well as the transitoriness of earthly greatness, the election was to take place in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, and before the dead body of the Pope. However, Gregory XV. could no more make up his mind to introduce a system which broke with all tradition and which debarred Cardinals living at a distance from participation in the election, than he could see his way to adopt the proposed ceremonial.

The Bull is instinct throughout with a sacred gravity and characterized by a circumspection which allows for every eventuality and alteration of circumstances. The chief innovation is stated at once: henceforth a papal election can only take place when the conclave has been closed, after the Mass of the first day, at which the Cardinals assist and communicate, and by a two-thirds majority of votes cast in

[1] LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 243; WAHRMUND, 217, note 2.

[2] *Bull.*, XII., 619, 627.

[3] WAHRMUND, 249–258.

a secret ballot. Nevertheless, in consequence of Millini's objections, two other modes were not excluded, viz. the nomination may be made by compromise, that is, by leaving the decision to a committee, or by a kind of inspiration when all the electors without exception and without previous agreement, declare themselves in favour of one and the same person.[1]

Another innovation is this, that no one may vote for himself,[2] for until then it had been lawful to do so at least in the subsequent declaration of "accession".[3] If a candidate has received the exact two-thirds majority, steps must be taken to ascertain that he has not voted for himself. If more than one candidate has obtained or exceeded the two-thirds majority, and if the number of votes is equal, none of them is elected; if, on the contrary, the votes are unequal, he is elected who has the greater number.[4] Before the electors cast their vote into the chalice, they must swear that they elect the person whom before God they feel bound to choose.[5] This oath was no doubt intended to stop the abuse which occurred at some conclaves when a certain number of votes were given to individual Cardinals merely by way of paying them a compliment.[6]

If the vote was to remain secret whilst control was possible in certain cases, everything depended on the shape of the ballot papers. The paper must not betray the name of him who

[1] § 1, *Bull.*, XII., 620.

[2] § 2, *ibid.*

[3] H. Singer, *Das c. Quia frequenter*: *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVII., *Kan. Abt.*, VI., p. 115 *eq.*, 52, of the reprint. *Cf.* also our notes, Vol. XIII., 17 *seq.* The above-mentioned, over severe ruling, had aimed at making it an obligation to vote for oneself in cases when only one vote was missing. The text given only in part by Wahrmund (253 *seq.*) is printed in full in Singer, 125. For Gregory XV., who opposed the "personal vote", the circumstances of the 1592 Conclave were probably a determining factor (Singer, 128, 131).

[4] §§ 4 and 5, *Bull.*, XII., 621.

[5] § 5, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XV., 20, 31 *seq.*, with regard to the Conclave of 1559.

cast it yet it must be possible to ascertain whether someone did not vote for himself or whether in the subsequent "accession" he did not vote twice for the same Cardinal. Hence the elector had to write his own name on top of the paper and at the bottom a number with a motto, for instance a text of Holy Writ. The paper was then folded both on top and at bottom in such wise that the name, the number and the motto were hidden by the folds which were sealed. In the centre of the paper the elector wrote the name of his candidate, in a disguised hand for choice. Whatever else there was on the paper must be in print or if that was not possible, it had to be written by the same hand. The Cardinals filled in the papers at separate tables lest any one should see what was being written.[1]

For the sake of a speedier agreement, Gregory XV. chose not to abolish the right of subsequent accession to a vote, but because the custom hitherto in use to declare oneself openly on such occasions would have once more enabled the heads of parties to exert their influence, he made provision for secrecy in this respect also. After every scrutiny that fails to yield a definite result, all the Cardinals at once fill in a fresh paper in which they declare whether they wish to "accede" to a candidate, and to which one.[2] Contrary to what had been done until then, not more than one name may be written on the ballot paper. In each scrutiny only one vote of accession may be taken and by it the electors do not withdraw the vote cast immediately before. After the declarations of accession the presidents, by opening the fold above the motto of the ballot paper, make sure that no one has given two votes to one and the same candidate. The fold above the name of the Cardinal is only opened if it chances that two electors hit on an identical number and motto. Special directions regulate the procedure to be followed when the votes of sick Cardinals have to be collected; here special precautions are taken to safeguard the secrecy both in the collection itself and in the checking and counting of the votes. There must be two

[1] §§ 6–9, *Bull.*, XII., 621.

[2] § 10, *ibid.*

scrutinies daily. The Cardinals are strictly forbidden to enter into any pacts and conventions in view of the future election or the inclusion or exclusion of certain definite persons or groups of persons. Secret marks of identification on the ballot papers are also forbidden. Gregory XV. may have thought that by this prohibition he had restricted interference on the part of secular princes, if he had not stopped it altogether. In this he was mistaken. All that he secured was that the ambassadors who until then could work against unwelcome candidates rather by influencing their partisans by underhand means, henceforth had to proclaim exclusion openly and officially in the conclave.[1]

The Bull of November 15th, 1621 was followed on March 12th, 1622, by another[2] which fixes, down to the smallest detail, everything connected with the papal election. In the first assembly after the death of the Pope, the Cardinals must swear to abide by all the Apostolic Constitutions dealing with the papal election, among them the Bull of Gregory XV. There follow the obsequies of the late Pope, on nine consecutive days, the expenses of which, exclusive of the gifts distributed to the people of Rome, must not exceed 10,000 ducats. After the Mass of the Holy Ghost in St. Peter's and a sermon, the Cardinals go into the conclave where they swear once more to observe the papal constitutions on the election. After an address by the Cardinal Dean the cells are assigned by lot. In the evening the conclave is closed, but before this is done care must be taken to ascertain that no conclavist is in hiding who has no right to be present. On the following day, after the midday meal, there is another muster of conclavists in the chapel. It must likewise be ascertained whether all the Cardinals are at least in deacon's orders, and especially whether the conclave is really shut in on all sides. In view of the fact that strict

[1] Concerning "exclusion" and the controversy between Sägmüller and Wahrmund on that point, *cf.* the bibliography given by SÄGMÜLLER, *Lehrbuch des kath. Kirchenrechts*, I.[3], Freiburg, 1914, 404 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XII., 662 *seqq.* The date given is March 12, anno Incarn. 1621, which is equivalent to our 1622.

enclosure was made a condition of the validity of the election, there was a possibility that someone might use this very circumstance as a weapon with which to impugn the election. Gregory XV. provided against such an eventuality by means of certain explicit declarations.

As regards nomination by inspiration, compromise and vote, the second Bull contains nothing new, except that the regulations laid down in the first are here analysed and fixed with meticulous exactness. The result was that this legislation, so maturely pondered and carefully worked out, needed no reform until the days of Pius X.

On November 28th, 1621, Ludovisi wrote that up to date the secular princes had expressed their joy and satisfaction at the reform.[1] In conversation with Bentivoglio and Campori he promised himself the best results in the next conclave, and he expressed the opinion that the Bull was calculated to win friends for the Roman Curia in France also.[2]

A characteristic feature of Gregory XV.'s piety was his great confidence in the power of the intercession of the Saints. In a letter to Maximilian I. of Bavaria he declares emphatically that their help would be particularly effective in the struggle with the heretics.[3] This conviction induced the Pope to take into consideration the numerous requests which reached him

[1] "(N.S.) hebbe carissimo, che ciò fosse per essere grato a S.M. secondo che finora s'intende esser lodato da tutti li prencipi cattolici." To the Spanish nuncio; see AGUCCHIO, **Registro di lettere*, Corsini Library, Rome, 33 D. 23, p. 121.

[2] To the French nuncio, Corsini, November 23, 1621, in AGUCCHIO, **Registro*, Casanatense Library, Rome, X., VI., 16. The "**Ceremoniale Ritus elect. Rom. Pontificis*, was published by CINGOLI in Rome, 1621. The "**Glossemata ad Bullam Gregorii XV. de elect. Pontif.*" by the learned Dean of the Rota, J. B. COCCINI, are dedicated to Cardinal Ludovisi (*Cod.* 151) (128), University Library, Bologna—a copy from the Library of Benedict XIV. ACCARISIUS (see **Vita*, lib. III., c. 17), published a justification of the Bull.

[3] See the *Brief of May 21, 1622, in which Gregory XV, answered the letter of thanks of Maximilian, concerning the canonization of March 12, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

from the most diverse quarters, for instance, from the Emperor, from the Kings of Spain and France, etc., begging him to proceed with the canonization of a number of *Beati*.[1] Accordingly the necessary inquiries and discussions were forthwith initiated. When the prescribed formalities had been completed in several consistories, during the months of January and February, 1622,[2] March 12th, 1622, was fixed for the canonizations. This honour was to be bestowed simultaneously—a rare occurrence in itself [3]—upon five heroic figures of outstanding character and originality: they were the two great founders of Orders, Ignatius of Loyola and Philip Neri; the reformer of the Carmelites, Teresa of Jesus; the apostle of the Far East, Francis Xavier; and a plain and simple Spanish husbandman of the thirteenth century called Isidor, a man filled with extraordinary confidence in Divine Providence. Since four of the above-named were Spaniards, the Spanish colony in Rome and

[1] For the canonization of Ignatius Loyola, the Pope was first approached by Louis XIII., then by Maximilian of Bavaria and Isabella of Spain. *Cf. La Canonizzazione* (see the full title below, p. 121, note 4 *seq.*, where all else concerning the canonization of the founder of the Jesuits is discussed. Gregory XV., of his own accord, combined it with that of Francis Xavier). No mention is made here of the fact that Gregory XV. addressed *Briefs concerning this matter to Duke Ranuccio Farnese of Parma and Piacenza, November 20, 1621; to the Spanish King and Queen, December 1; to the Grandees of Spain, December 22, and to the Archduchesses Maria Magdalene and Christina of Tuscany; see *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives. *Savelli reports on June 12, 1621, with regard to the Emperor's request for the canonization of St. Theresa that the Pope had expressed his special veneration for this great reformer. A *report of SAVELLI, July 24, 1621, deals with the request for the canonization of Ignatius and Francis Xavier. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* **Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives; *Acta Sanct. Iulii*, VII., 622 *seq.*, 630 *seq.*; LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 21 *seq.*, and *Melet.*, 306 note; *Mon. Xav.*, II., 687–99; *La Canonizzazione*, 35 *seq.*

[3] See ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., c. 16, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

the city of Madrid undertook to bear the heavy cost of the decoration of St. Peter's for the occasion.[1] The painter and architect, Guidotti Borghese, displayed on this occasion all the splendour of baroque art, and he achieved truly fairy-like effects.[2] From the first Cardinal Ludovisi had given strong support to the wishes of his uncle with regard to these canonizations, and he did all he could for the splendour of the function. The Jesuits perpetuated the memory of the ceremony by means of a painting now to be seen near the sacristy of their church, the Gesù.[3]

The religious functions organized in various churches of Rome proved as splendid as the canonization itself.[4] Solemn processions marked the translation of the pictures of SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier to the Gesù, of that of St. Philip Neri to the Chiesa Nuova, that of St. Isidor to S. Giacomo dei Spagnoli, and that of St. Teresa to S. Maria della Scala in the

[1] See **Arm.*, XLV., 24, p. 27, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* the account of GIOVANNI BRICCI and the *Theatrum in ecclesia S. Petri* by PAOLO GUIDOTTI BORGHESE (mentioned in the *Avviso of March 16, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library) in *La Canonizzazione*, 43 *seq.*, 56 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 73 *seq.* the account of G. GIGLI and of the Avvisi.

[3] See GIUNTI, **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See the detailed *report in *Arm.*, XLV., 24, p. 27 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2817, Vatican Library, and the splendid work, "*La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loyola, Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù, e Francesco Saverio, Apostolo dell'Oriente. Ricordo del terzo Centenario, XII. marzo 1622. A cura del Comitato Romano-Ispano per le Centenarie Onoranze, Roma, 1922* (*Redattore principale: P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J.*) A. POSSEVINO, though he has a tendency to exaggerate, says in his *account of July 22, 1621 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) that the canonization of Ignatius and Xavier would cost the Jesuits 40,000 ducats. In *Bull.*, XII., 483 *seq.*, 673 *seq.*, there are only the Bulls for Isidor and Teresa. As the Bulls for Ignatius, Xavier and Neri had not been published, Urban VIII. issued them on August 6, 1623 (for Philip Neri, *Bull.*, XIII., 11 *seq.*, for Ignatius, *ibid.*, 23 *seqq.*, for Xavier, *ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*). *Cf. Mon. Xav.*, II., 704 *seq.*

Trastevere.[1] Special solemnity marked the celebration of the canonization of the two heroes of the Society of Jesus in the Roman College and in the Society's church of S. Fedele at Milan.[2]

On September 15th, 1622, Gregory beatified one of the most learned of German scholars, Albert of Lauingen, who by the twin splendours of virtue and learning had won for himself the glorious epithet of "The Great".[3] A similar honour had been bestowed on Peter of Alcantara on April 1st, 1622.[4] The Pope also specially promoted devotion to St. Anne, St. Joachim, St. Joseph and St. Bruno.[5] At the request of the

[1] See the *Avviso of March 16, 1622, Vatican Library. For the celebrations in the Gesù, see *La Canonizzazione*, 89 *seq.*, 94 *seq.* For the magnificent celebration of the feast of S. Philip Neri in the Chiesa Nuova on the anniversary of his death, see the *account of B. Paolucci in his letter of May 28, 1622, State Archives, Modena.

[2] *La Canonizzazione*, 102 *seq.*, 130 *seq.* *Cf.* Ambros, IV., 132 *seq.* For the celebrations in France see Fouqueray, III., 478 *seq.*, for those in Ingoldstadt, *Sammelblatt des Hist. Vereins von Ingoldstadt*, fascicule 22.

[3] *Cf.* Michael, *Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes*, III., 111, where there is further bibliographical information.

[4] See *Bull.*, XII., 685 *seq.* *Cf. Relatio canonizationis servi Dei fr. Petri de Alcantara*, in *Cod.* 107 of the Communal Library at Cuneo (with the arms of Gregory XV.). *Cf. Acta SS. Oct. VIII.*, 798 (Beatifications of April 18, 1622). See also the *Briefs to the King of Spain, December 21, 1621, in *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives. The beatification of Jacopo della Marca is mentioned in the *Brief to the Prince of Lusignano, September 25, 1621, and in another to the deputation of the town of Naples, February 5, 1622, *ibid.* The *Relatio Rotae ad Gregorium XV. in causa beatificat. Iacobi de Marchia*, is in *Cod.* H. 1 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf. Bull.*, XII., 686 *seq.*, 757 *seq.*, 789 *seq.*; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII., 296 *seq.* The feast of Ambrose of Siena had been granted by Eugene IV. to the whole *provincia Romana* and especially to the Dominican convent at Siena, in 1443. The Protector of the Order, Cardinal Borghese, obtained from Gregory XV.

General of the Jesuits, Vitelleschi, Gregory XV., by a Brief of October 2nd, 1621, granted leave to all priests to say the Mass of St. Aloysius Gonzaga on his feast day as that of the Saint of the day, in all the Jesuit churches and Jesuits were permitted to say the Saint's office.[1]

By a decree of March 12th, 1622, the observance of holy days in the Eternal City was once more inculcated.[2] The feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with special splendour. On the day itself a procession, starting from St. Peter's, went through the Borgo, the Pope, the Cardinals and the whole Court taking part. During the octave there were processions in all the more important churches.[3] The clergy of S. Spirito in Sassia and that of the German church of Our Lady of the Campo Santo held theirs on the Thursday. On Friday there followed a procession

the extension of the privilege to the whole Dominican Order. Attestation of this by Card. Borghese is in *Acta SS. Marc.* III., 243 *seq.* On October 8, 1622, Gregory XV. permitted the veneration of John Capistran by the Franciscan Order. The Vicar General of the Fr. Min. Obs., Ant. Strozzi, *reported to the Emperor Ferdinand II. on the canonization of B. John Capistran: "Sanctissimus pater . . . in beatum Ioannem de Capistrano ob eius praeclara ac mirabilia gesta adeo se bene affectum praedemonstrat, ut eum . . . in sanctorum numerum referre iudicaverit." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] Paul V. had allowed the proper Office and Mass only to the four Roman houses (*Acta SS. Iun.*, V., 761, where the Brief of October 2 is printed). According to a *report of Savelli, of August 22, 1622 (State Archives, Vienna) the Emperor, through the General of the Jesuits, charged Savelli with the affairs of the canonization of B. Aloysius.

[2] See **Editto sopra osservanza delle feste*, March 12, 1622, Bandi V., 7, p. 47, Papal Secret Archives. For France, Gregory XV. ordered the observance of the Forty Hours' devotion in 1621; see *Bull.*, XX., 576 *seq.* A de Santi *L'orazione*, 222 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* for what follows, the rare pamphlet: *Ragguaglio di tutte le processioni che si fanno ogn'anno da 50 chiese di Roma pe la solennità del Corpus Domini et sua ottava, poste per ordine dei giorni, che si fanno nel present' anno 1621 sotto il Pontificato di N.S.P. Gregorio XV.*, Roma, 1621.

from S. Maria sopra Minerva in which the Senator, the Conservators of Rome, many Cardinals, ambassadors and courtiers took part. On Saturday came the turn of the Augustinians of S. Maria del Popolo, the archconfraternity of the Sicilians of S. Maria di Constantinopoli, the Greek College and the confraternity of *S. Lucia alle botteghe oscure.* On Sunday no less than a dozen processions started from as many different churches, viz. the Canons and the archconfraternity of the Blessed Sacrament from S. Maria in Trastevere; the confraternity of the *pizzicaroli* (i.e. the gardeners and millers) from S. Maria dell'Orto; the Germans from S. Maria dell'Anima; the Spaniards from S. Giacomo in the Piazza Navona; the French from S. Luigi; the Chapter of the Lateran from that basilica; the Germano-Hungarian College from S. Apollinare; the Carmelites from S. Maria della Scala; the Somaschans from S. Biagio de Monte; the Barnabites from S. Carlo a' Catinari; the Canons of S. Nicola in Carcere and the confraternity of S. Giacomo Scossacavalli from their church. On Monday there were seven processions; the Servites from S. Maria in Via; the Franciscans Conventuals from SS. Apostoli; the Augustinians from S. Agostino; the Canons of S. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon), the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of SS. Celso e Giuliano in Banchi, the confraternity of a Good Death of S. Maria dell'Orazione, and the confraternity of the fishmongers of S. Angelo in Pescaria. On Tuesday there were processions of the Carmelites from S. Maria Traspontina, of the Florentines from their national church of S. Giovanni, of the Regular Clerics of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, of the Canons and the archconfraternity of S. Maria del Pianto and S. Eustachio; on Wednesday a procession of the Minims of S. Francis de Paula from Trinità dei Monti, of the archconfraternity of Trinità dei Pellegrini and the archconfraternity of S. Cecilia in the Trastevere. On the Octave day, to conclude the solemnities, there were no less than fifteen processions, viz. of the chapter of S. Maria Maggiore, the Lateran Clerics Regular of S. Maria della Pace, the Jesuits of the Gesù, the Minims of S. Andrea delle Fratte, the Carmelites of S. Crisogono, the Breton and Roman lawyers of

St. Yvo, the Canons of S. Maria in Via Lata and S. Lorenzo in Damaso together with the archconfraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, the confraternity del Suffragio of S. Biagio della Pagnotta, the Venetians of S. Marco, the confraternities of S. Roch and SS. Simon and Jude, the parish of S. Salvatori ai Monti, the celebrated confraternity del Gonfalone of S. Lucia della Chiavica, and lastly the Chapter and the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of S. Peter's.

In this way strangers staying in Rome during the Octave of Corpus Christi were given a glimpse of the wealth and variety of the various Orders and confraternities at the centre of Christendom. Many of these were of recent origin. In 1621, Antonio Possevino reports that statistics show that during the last fourteen years, thirty-one new religious foundations had been made in Rome.[1] Two of the new Congregations, both devoted to education, that of the Clerics Regulars of the Mother of God, founded by Giovanni Leonardi and approved by Clement VIII., and the Clerics Regulars of the Pious Schools of Joseph of Calasanza, owe to Gregory XV. their elevation to the status of a religious Order with solemn vows, beside many other favours.[2] The Congregation of secular priests called the Pious Labourers (*Operarii pii*), founded at Naples by Carlo Carafa, which also devoted itself to education and subsequently to the work of popular missions, was confirmed by Gregory XV. The Pope also approved the Congregation of the Theatine nuns; that of the Theatine Hermit Sisters; the Brothers of St. Bridget, founded in the Spanish Netherlands; the French reformed Cistercians as well as the French Benedictine Congregation of St. Maurus which was to render imperishable services to learning.[3] Close to the church of

[1] "*Per mia curiosità esaminando il numero delle religioni quali lassai in Roma 14 anni sono quando venni a Mantova ho trovato che ne sono stato instituite 31 di nuovo tra riforme delle vecchie et nuove." Letter of August 6, 1621, Rome.

[2] See *Bull.*, XII., 608 *seq.*, 627 *seq.*, 650 *seq.*, 687 *seq.*, 749 *seq.*, 780 *seq.*, 790 *seq.* *Cf.* MORONI, XLIII., 92 *seq.*

[3] See HEIMBUCHER, I., 151, 229, 509; II., 255. The Constitution concerning the erection of the Congregation of St. Maurus,

St. Cecilia, in Rome, Gregory XV. erected a college bearing his own name, for the purpose of housing Benedictine monks temporarily in the eternal city for religious, scientific, or other purposes.[1] Some of Gregory XV.'s ordinances concerning the Franciscans were neither happy nor lasting. The Pope had been misinformed.[2] The Pontiff promulgated a number of decrees dealing with the reform of various Orders in France,[3] South-Germany,[4] and Poland.[5] A constitution of February 5th, 1622, regulated the position of the Orders with regard to the Bishops and the cure of souls.[6]

Gregory XV.'s strictly ecclesiastical spirit explains his strong preference for the new reformed Orders of the Theatines, Oratorians, Jesuits and Capuchins. The Theatines had their privileges confirmed.[7] For the Jesuits and the Oratorians the canonization of their founders was an event of considerable

May 17, 1621, in *Bull.*, XII., 533 *seq.* The French Benedictine sisters of Mount Calvary were raised by Gregory XV. to the status of an independent Congregation; the Swiss Benedictine Congregation was exempted from episcopal authority; see *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, II.², 349, 1727.

[1] See *Bulla apost. Gregorii XV. super creatione hospitii Gregoriani in Urbe pro univ. monachis sub regula s. Benedicti milit.*, Romae, 1621. *Cf. Bull.*, XII., 537 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 682 *seq.* on the Bonaventura College at Prague for the Franciscans Conventuals.

[2] More on this point in HOLZAPFEL, *Gesch. des Franziskanerordens*, 331, 337, 343. For the *Brief on the Portiuncula Indulgence, see *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, X.², 201.

[3] *Cf. Bull.*, XII., 519 *seq.*, 705 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Maximilian I. of Bavaria, August 12, 1621, and June 11, 1622. A *Brief to the *Abbas monasterii Campidunen. ord. s. Benedicti in Suevia*, November 12, 1622, commands him to re-establish discipline. *Arm.*, XLV., 22 and 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See the *letter to Sigismund III. of Poland, September 8, 1621, in THEINER, *Mon.* III., 364.

[6] *Bull.*, XII., 656 *seq.*

[7] *Constitution of October 16, 1621, BANDI, V., 15, p. 438, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 440: **Gregorii XV. prohibitio ambitus pro congreg. cleric. regul. Theatinorum.*

importance. By a constitution of April 15th, 1621, the Jesuits were empowered to establish in their churches or residences, in any part of the world, Sodalities in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and to affiliate them to the Roman Sodality.[1] To this were added numerous other favours, many of which were in connexion with missionary activity outside Europe, a work which was chiefly exercised by the Society of Jesus.[2]

Cardinal Ludovisi, who like the Pope himself, cherished a great veneration for his former teachers, acted as their Protector; his zeal in this respect rivalled that of Cardinals Alessandro and Odoardo Farnese.[3] At the very outset of his administration he gave a clear proof of his enthusiasm for the Order when he said his first Mass in the chapel of the professed house of the Roman Jesuits.[4] He also bestowed rich gifts upon their churches in Rome and Bologna, and it was his intention to erect magnificent chapels of St. Ignatius at Bologna and Zagarolo.[5] We have already spoken of the splendid church in honour of the Saint erected by him in Rome, at his own expense. It was the Cardinal's intention to collect in a house adjoining the church all his religious pictures.[6]

But preference for his old teachers did not blind Cardinal Ludovisi to the merits of another reform Order, viz. the Capuchins, towards whom he had been attracted from his earliest youth. He assisted their Roman house by generous gifts of bread, meat, wine, oil, coal and wood, and encouraged the Order by every means in his power. When on the death of Cardinal Montalto he became Protector of the Capuchins, he declared that he valued this dignity above all the honours that had fallen to his lot.[7]

[1] See SYNOPSIS, II., 293.

[2] See *Bull.*, XII., 554 *seq.*, 754 *seq.*: SYNOPSIS, II., 291–304. *Cf.* below ch. 3.

[3] See GIUNTI, **Vita card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* Avviso of April 7, 1621, *Urb.* 1088, Vatican Library.

[5] See GIUNTI, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

In his esteem for the Capuchins, Ludovisi was in full accord with Gregory XV. A papal constitution of December 9th, 1621, was of great importance for that Order. It renewed the prohibitions of Gregory XIII, and Gregory XIV. which forbade other Regulars to wear the same habit as the Capuchins or one similar to it. The Bishops, particularly those of Spain, France and Italy, were instructed to proceed with ecclesiastical sanctions against those who arrogated to themselves, on their own authority, either the name or the habit of the Capuchins.[1] Gregory XV. also showed his predilection for the Capuchins when he once more entrusted to the excellent and devout P. Girolamo da Narni (1565–1631) the office of preacher in the Apostolic Palace. The sermons which Girolamo preached in this capacity are out of the common, both as regards matter and form ; the depth of his thought, the purity of his style and his powerful delivery called forth general admiration. Subsequently Cardinal Ludovisi saw to it that the sermons appeared in print.[2] Girolamo da Narni, whom his contemporaries compared to St. Paul, also had some share in the establishment of Propaganda, a work which by itself alone would suffice to immortalize the memory of Gregory XV.

[1] See *Bull.*, XII., 647 *seq.*

[2] See GIUNTI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FR. ZANOTTO, *Storia della predicazione*, Modena, 1899, 231.

CHAPTER III.

(1.)

Foundation of Propaganda and State of the Missions—Position of Catholics in Holland and England

The period of the Catholic reform and restoration witnessed most wonderful successes in the mission field, by now greatly enlarged in consequence of the extensive discoveries of the time. However in consequence of the independent action of the Orders and the lack of unity between them, in consequence also of the abuse by Spain and Portugal of the right of patronage which had been granted to them, certain irregularities had crept in which imperatively demanded redress. Above all there was need of a firm and uniform organization which could divide up the field of work, choose suitable workers, settle disputes among the missionaries and set boundaries to the excessive claims of patronage by the colonizing Powers. This could only be realized through the creation of a supreme central governing body in Rome. The first steps in that direction were taken during the pontificate of Pius V. This great Pope, in order to place the missions in immediate relation with Rome and to free them from interference by the secular Powers, thought of creating the post of an overseas nuncio ; but this project was thwarted by the opposition of Philip II. Instead of this first plan and acting on a suggestion of Francis Borgia, Pius V. erected in July, 1568, two Congregations of Cardinals for the Propagation of the Faith, one for Protestant countries, the other for those oversea.[1] His successor, Gregory XIII., created, in 1573, a Congregation for the spread of the Faith in the East, at the instigation of Cardinal Santori.[2] The turn of the century brought about an important development when Clement VIII., in 1599, called into being a Congregation of Missions which had the same

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVIII., 349 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XIX., 60.

name, purpose and organization as Propaganda at a later period. During the lifetime of its Prefect, Cardinal Santori, the Congregation of the missions displayed great activity.[1] Under Paul V., this central directorate of the missions fell into abeyance,[2] although the idea of an institution of the kind was kept alive throughout his pontificate. Three men, whose names will ever be honoured by History, secured its realization: they were the Carmelites Thomas of Jesus and Dominic of Jesus Mary and the Capuchin Girolamo da Narni.

In his *Treatise on the Missions* published in 1613, Thomas of Jesus adopted and further developed the ideas of Santori and advocated the creation of a special Congregation for the Propagation of the faith. It was to consist of twelve apostolic men who, assisted by a few secretaries, were to meet in council on appointed days to deliberate how best to assist all the nations, to write to princes, bishops, and heads of Orders, in order to encourage and comfort them; to translate and spread books and catechisms, to encourage and confirm wavering Catholics and those threatened by the heretics. All these activities were to be carried out in the name of the Pope. The various countries of the world were to be divided up among the secretaries.[3] Ever since the days of Paul V., Dominic of Jesus Mary and Girolamo da Narni, the Preacher of the Apostolic

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 266 *seq.*

[2] It is clear from B. Ceci, that it still existed in the time of Paul V., *Relazione di Roma*, etc., in which it is specifically mentioned: "La Congregazione detta de Fide Propaganda. Qui si discorre e risolve del modo che si de' tenere in quei luoghi ove si sente che la fede cattolica habbia qualche principio e che vi sia chi cerchi istruirla e propagarla. Vi sono questi cardinali: Ascoli, S.ta Cecilia, Aldobrandino, San Giorgio, Paravicino, Arigonio, Visconti, Spinelli, Monopoli, Serafino, San Cesario" (*Urb.* 837, p. 464, Vatican Library). For its end through lack of means, which had always been the great difficulty, see P. A. Santorii, *Annales*, in *Cod.* K. 7, of the Vallicelliana Library, Rome.

[3] See Schmidlin, "Die Gründung der Propagandakongregation," in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft*, XII. (1922), 2 *seq.* I was able to use not only this essay, but many other invaluable written accounts and notes of this learned author

Palace, had laboured with the same end in view, the latter having been confirmed in his office by Gregory XV.[1]

Gregory XV. and his Secretary of State, Ludovisi, who knew and appreciated the rigid and centralized organization of the Jesuits,[2] gave these plans special attention as there seemed to be then "doors opening wide for the conversion of unbelievers and heretics".[3] The Sacred College shared their conviction that something special should be done for the missions. Some of the Cardinals laid particular stress on the rôle of the national Colleges which Gregory XIII. had supported with so much enthusiasm; others were of opinion that the propagation of the gospel should be made the care of the nuncios.[4] Gregory XV. and Cardinal Ludovisi finally came to a decision in accordance with the plan of Thomas of Jesus, namely the creation of a Congregation which in its aims and general organization would be a revival of the institution begun under Clement VIII.[5]

of the "Missionsgeschichte", for this chapter as also for the account of the missions under Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and I desire to express my sincere gratitude for them here.

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 4, notes 2 and 3. *Cf.* also ARENS, *Handb. der kath. Missionen* (1920), 4 *seq.*; SCHWAGER, *Die Heidenmission*, I. (1907), 18; ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 40 *seqq.*; CASTELUCCI, 202 *seq.*, 208 *seq.*

[2] See MEJER, I., 57 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*

[3] See the circular to the nunciòs of January 15, 1622, in the *Collectanea*, I., 1.

[4] These details, unknown until now, are in ACCARISIUS, *Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., ch. 14. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] That Gregory XV. had the Congregation, instituted by Clement VIII., before him as a model, appears from a note not hitherto utilized, though printed by LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 130. It occurs in the Instruction for the Polish nuncio, Lancellotti, December 14, 1622: "È noto a V.S. che la S.tà di N.S. rinnovando o di nuovo instituendo La Congregazione de Propaganda Fide tanto importante per ampliare la fede, ordinata già da Clemente VIII. di f. mem. e poco appresso tralasciata, ha eccitato tutti i nuntii," etc. *Cf.* also the *Letter of Propaganda to Paolo Emilio Santori in Castelucci, 195, n. 1.

In 1622, on Epiphany Day, that most ancient festival which commemorates the call of the Gentiles to the faith and kingdom of Christ, the gigantic work of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, best known as *Propaganda*, was founded. The event was destined to become a landmark in the history of the missions. The annals of the newly founded institution have commemorated it in these simple words: "In the name of Christ. Amen. In the year 1622 after His birth, on the sixth day of January, our Holy Father in Christ, Gregory XV., by divine Providence, Pope, convinced that the chief duty of his pastoral office was the spread of the Christian faith whereby men come to the knowledge and worship of the true God, created a Congregation of thirteen Cardinals, two Bishops and a secretary, to whom he entrusted and recommended the duty and responsibility of the propagation of the faith." [1] Gregory XV. officially confirmed and published this measure in the chart of foundation of June 22nd, 1622.[2] In this document the Pope declared that it was his desire to continue with greater energy and vigilance the work of training labourers for the rich harvest which his predecessors had inaugurated with so much zeal. He points out that all Christians must be apostles, especially the Bishops, and the Pope in the first place, as the successor of Peter on whom the Lord had laid the special duty to announce the gospel to the nations even as he had commanded him alone to feed his flock. The *élite* of the Sacred College were nominated to the Congregation, namely Cardinals Sauli, Farnese, Bandini, Sourdis, Barberini, Millini, Borgia, Ubaldini, Eitel von Hohenzollern, Cobelluzio, Valiero, Ludovisi and Sacrati; Bishops Giovan Battista Vives and Giovan Battista Aguchi; finally, as secretary, a priest from Ravenna, Francesco Ingoli, who soon displayed a remarkable activity.

In the same document the members of the Congregation were given full powers and commanded to supervise all preaching and religious teaching in the missions, to appoint

[1] See *Collectanea*, I., 1; SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 5, note 1; KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I., 3, note 6; CASTELUCCI, 123, note 1.

[2] See *Bull. S.C. de Prop.*, I., 26 *seqq.*; *Collectanea*, I., 2 *seqq.*; MEJER, I., 96 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 9 *seq.*

and to dismiss missionaries, to deliberate on and to take action in everything that concerned the spread of the gospel in all parts of the globe. To this end they were to meet once a month in presence of the Pope and twice by themselves, in the house of the senior member. Only the most important matters were to be brought before the Pope; all else could be decided independently by the Congregation. To meet expenses they were to have, besides the personal offerings of the Pope and the faithful, a fixed income from the Apostolic *Camera*. Propaganda secured a permanent source of income when the sum of 500 gold ducats, which every Cardinal had to pay for his ring on his elevation to the purple and which until then had gone to the Lateran basilica, was assigned to it.[1] Subsequently further privileges followed: on November 12th, 1622, Gregory XV. empowered Cardinals Santori and Ludovisi to sign and seal contracts for the purpose of increasing revenues and providing for better management; on December 14th he granted the free drafting, registration and postage of all letters and papers of Propaganda by the officials of the Curia; finally on July 13th, 1623, he granted the Congregation the privilege of appointing a judge chosen from among its own members for the execution of business; this official also enjoyed the right of delegating his authority.[2]

The newly constituted body held its first sitting on January 14th, 1622, in the house of Cardinal Sauli. After thanking the Pope for his pious zeal and for this wonderful creation so worthy of him, they proceeded to draft the Bull of erection and to concert measures concerning finance. The missions had until then been chiefly manned by the religious Orders who had received faculties to that effect from the Pope. It was now decided to turn not only to the Generals of the Orders but also to the nuncios.[3] By January 15th, 1622, a cir-

[1] See *Bull.*, I., 30 *seqq.*; Ius. Pontif., I., 11 *seqq.*, also Schmidlin, *loc. cit.*, 10 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*

[3] See Schmidlin, *loc. cit.*, 5, according to the *Acta S. Congreg. de Prop. Fide*, in the Archives of Propaganda, Rome. *Cf.* Castelucci, 124; Kollmann, *Acta*, I., 6.

cular letter had gone out to all the papal nuncios inviting them to report on the state and progress of the missions, to procure the support of princes, governors and Bishops. In order to allay all suspicion, especially on the part of heretical princes to whom it was sometimes insinuated that in these Congregations or other conferences dependent on them, conspiracies were afoot against their persons and their States, or that they were concerned with attempts to suborn their peoples, or other political schemes. They were to emphasize the fact that there was no question of erecting tribunals, or of exercising temporal jurisdiction, or of using any violent methods, but that their only aim was to convert unbelievers by gentle and kindly means, by sermons, instructions, fasting and alms, the Sacraments, prayers and tears—and all this without noise or clamour.[1] On January 7th the Generals of the Jesuit and other Orders were instructed to command their missionaries to send in reports from time to time on their respective missions. Towards the end of the year the Congregation addressed a circular to all the Bishops, including copies of their first letter, in which they were requested to emulate the zeal of the Supreme Pastor and to exhort the faithful to support the missions with money, advice and recommendations.[2]

The financial question, which was fully discussed at the second meeting, was happily solved through the generosity of the Pope. Besides the contribution from the tax on the Cardinals' rings, Gregory XV. assigned to his foundation other important sums from the *Camera* and from the taxes on canonizations, as well as numerous sums from his private purse—for instance on November 5th, 1622, 10,000 ducats, on December 21st 13,000 ducats. To this must be added the gift of a palace worth 10,000 scudi and the considerable alms collected by the Carmelite, Dominic of Jesus and Mary.[3] The business procedure of Propaganda followed, in the main, the same lines as to-day ; once or twice a month there was a discussion on the basis of correspondence

[1] See *Collectanea* I., 1 *seqq.* ; KOLLMANN, *Acta* I., 1 *seqq.*

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 6 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 12, and *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 58.

received and the secretary wrote the answers after the decisions had been reached. He also received correspondence on its arrival, examined it and made some small notes on the back. If the matter was of small importance, he dealt with it himself, otherwise it was brought before the Congregation when the particular Cardinal concerned discussed it and the Congregation gave its decision in accordance with the faculties received from the Pope. If these were not adequate the matter was held over until the Congregation met before the Pope and was there dealt with. However the decrees of the Congregation of the Cardinals had, under certain conditions, the value of Apostolic Constitutions.[1]

How far did the competence of Propaganda reach according to the Bull of foundation ? It had the exclusive right to govern the missionary territories, though within certain limits. First of all there was the Inquisition which, from the very nature of the problem of missionary administration, had to intervene very frequently. The Datary was also concerned. Furthermore, the Congregation of Rites dealt with matters belonging to its competence. With regard to the other tribunals and Congregations of the Curia, Propaganda had received the widest faculties. The Secretary, Francesco Ingoli, remained the soul of Propaganda until 1648, whilst Cardinal Ludovisi became Prefect of the Congregation in succession to Sauli in the autumn of 1622.[2]

Already at the third meeting, on March 8th, 1622, a division of labour was made in the " provinces of the whole world ", in the sense that France was put under the nuncio of Paris ; Holland, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark and Norway were entrusted to the nuncio of Brussels ; Switzerland, Alsace and South-West Germany to the nuncio of Lucerne ; North-West Germany to the nuncio of Cologne ; South-East Germany and Austria, Hungary, Transilvania, Moldavia and Wallachia to the nuncio of Vienna. The Polish nuncio looked after Poland, Prussia, Pomerania, Sweden and Prussia ; the southern

[1] *Cf.* KOLLMANN, *praef.*, v. *seqq.*

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 7. For Ingoli *cf.* KILGER, in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XII., 15.

Slav countries were under the nuncio of Venice. The Spanish nuncio was placed over all the possessions of that kingdom, including the missionary colonies and territories, especially the West Indies. The Portuguese Collector took charge of the possessions of that kingdom together with the missions of the East Indies. Special patriarchal Vicars were appointed for the Balkans, Asia Minor and Northern Africa with residence, respectively, in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. These territories, in this same order; were later assigned to individual Cardinals of the Congregation.[1]

So many blessings for the whole of the missionary world have proceeded from Propaganda that its foundation has justly been described as an Act of Providence.[2] The Congregation became the centre of the Catholic missionary movement which is unique of its kind in the world. Its own work became as universal as that movement. The archives of Propaganda contain the result of all these labours, and they are superior even to the Papal Secret Archives as regards completeness, and, next to them, they are the most important of all Roman archives. Here we find preserved in thousands of volumes accounts of inestimable value, though often one-sided and in great part not yet utilized ; without them a definitive history of the missions cannot be written.[3] The chief aim of this

[1] See PIEPER, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, I., 263 *seqq.* ; SCHMIDLIN *loc. cit.*, 8 ; KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I., 9 *seq.*

[2] See HUONDER, in the *Kath. Missionen*, 1922, 66.

[3] PIEPER was the first to write in detail on the Archives of Propaganda (comprising about 6,000–7,000 vols.) in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, I. (1887), 80 *seq.*, 258 *seq.* ; after him came a number of research workers, chief of whom were : CAUCHIE (*Sources mss. à Rome*, Bruxelles, 1892, 10 *seq.*), SCHMOURLO (in *Roma e l'Oriente*, I., 101 *seq.*), I. KOLLMANN (in *Časopis musea Kral. Céskeho*, LXVI. (1892), 423 *seqq.*, and *Mitteil. aus dem Landesarchiv des Königreichs Böhmen*, I. (1906), 51 *seq.*), FISH (*Guide to the mat. of American Hist.*, Washington, 1911, 111 *seqq.*), BROM (*Archivalia in Italiē*, III. (1914), lx. *seqq.*), SCHMIDLIN (in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XI. (1921), 142 *seq.*), and last of all, KOLLMANN, in an exhaustive work, never published, but of which I had a privately printed copy, i.e. *Tomus prodromus*

"Pontifical Ministry of Missions" was to give a uniform and truly religious character to the missions, to link and bind them as closely as possible to the Holy See and to free them from the bondage of the secular Powers and the colonizing States which threatened to strangle them.[1]

For all these reasons Propaganda was determined to take affairs into its own hands, itself to send out missionaries, to watch over them, to regulate their activities, and to divide up missionary territories. Consequently on February 20th and June 24th, 1623, it demanded from all Superiors of the religious Orders a list of all their subjects engaged in the work of spreading the faith and the place of their activity, to the end that, after due inquiries, they might receive their missionary credentials from the Congregation. On their part they were to report every year, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, on the state, the prospects, and the resources of their missions.[2] True, this decree was never completely carried into effect and the ideal was only realized after a long and bitter struggle with the Spanish and Portuguese Colonial authorities. But from the beginning it was envisaged by the Holy See and fought for with the utmost tenacity until final victory was secured.[3] In this way, at least in principle and in germ, and after infinite resistance also in actual practice, the Holy See was in a position to improve and spiritualize missionary methods, to extend and to give greater autonomy to the

of the *Acta S. Congreg. de Prop. res gestas Bohem. illustr.* The opening up of the Archives of Propaganda was due to Leo XIII.; owing to the vast amount of information that has appeared since, especially the publication of *Ius pontif.* and the *Collectanea*, the work of Mejer, based, in part, on wholly unreliable sources, has become quite out of date. Pieper speaks, *loc. cit.*, 84, of the losses suffered by the archives in their transit to Paris. In the confusion of those times some documents were taken to Vienna and embodied in the State Archives, 73 vols. in all, and covering the years 1566–1809; they have recently been returned to Propaganda.

[1] See HUONDER, *loc. cit.*, and KILGER, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Ius Pontif.*, II., 10, n. 8, and *Collectanea*, I., 5, n. 6.

[3] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*

missionary hierarchy, to increase the supply of labourers by calling on the resources of other nations as well as on the secular clergy and to increase the number and to improve the education of the native clergy and other auxiliaries.[1]

During the whole of this first period, Propaganda busied itself less with the missions to the pagans than with those to the Oriental Churches and the very difficult missions in Protestant countries where the cure of souls met with even greater obstacles than in the schismatic East.[2] In the first year of Propaganda, among the subjects discussed were the missions of the Jesuits and the Dominicans in Denmark and Norway; also Ireland, the English College in Lisbon, the Apostolic Vicariate of Holland, the Jesuit College at Douai, the Jesuits in Hamburg, the seminary of Sitten, and the assassination of the Capuchin Fidelis of Sigmaringen in Ratia, the ecclesiastical situation in Bohemia and the seminary of Prague, a report by the Bishop of Strasbourg, the Hungaro-Slavonic mission, a visitation of Hungary, a mission to the Ruthenians with a view to their reunion, the bishoprics and Bishops of Aquilea, Sofia, Scutari, Narona, Skopia, etc.; the cure of souls in Constantinople, an embassy to Aleppo, the Armenian mission, the Carmelite mission in Persia, letters and petitions from Persia, Syria and Palestine.[3] From the very first the Congregation, with the effective support of the Pope, directed its special attention to the Colleges and educational institutions in Rome and out of Rome. On April 15th, 1652, it constituted a special commission for the Colleges in Rome, that is, the German, English, Scots, Greek, Maronite and Armenian Colleges, with a view to examining whether they fulfilled the end for which they had been founded, and if this were not so, with the intention of intervening.[4] Another important step was the canonical visitation of all Roman and foreign Colleges which was decided upon at a meeting of

[1] See HUONDER, *loc. cit.*, 66 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XI. 143.

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 9, note 1.

[4] See *ibid.*, 13.

March 21st, 1623, by the express order of the Pope.[1] Propaganda also commanded the Generals of Orders to set up schools of languages and controversy for missionaries destined for the East, whilst at the same time it made provision in Rome for the teaching of Arabic and the printing of Arabic Bibles.[2] A Decree of Propaganda of September 12th, 1622, ordered the institution of seven schools of controversy in Rome to train missionaries for heretical countries.[3]

The particular interest of Propaganda in the East was well justified because there the missions were greatly hindered and injured by the hatred of both schismatics and heretics.[4] The reports which came in from the Bishops specially delegated to Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Albania drew a very dark picture of religious conditions in those countries. Only in Albania were Catholics in the majority; everywhere else ground had been lost.[5] Nevertheless even in the most

[1] See KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I., 298 *seq. Cf.*, the **Visite dell'1622-4*, I., Propaganda Archives, Rome, first used in that work. There we find the **Visitatio collegii Braunsberg.* of August 16, 1623. The Greek College was given back to the Jesuits on October 31, 1622; see DE MEESTER, in *La Semaine de Rome*, 1909, 452.

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, 13. A *Brief to *Milethius, archiep. Alepi Syriae* of June 24, 1622, deals with *de fide in Oriente propaganda* in connexion with Propaganda. The Pope had sent him Arabic and Greek books. "Arabicae linguae gymnasia in hac orbis patria et nationum omnium domicilio constitui iussimus, ut theologos vestri idiomatis peritos quamprimum ablegare istuc possimus." He promises further help: "cupimus enim pontificatus nostri memoriam cath. fidei propagatione et divini cultus incremento in Oriente commendari." He is to continue courageously. *Arm.* XLV., 24.

[3] See *Ius pontif.*, II., 1, n. 2.; SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

[4] For the difficult position of the Franciscans in the Holy Land and the help given to them by Propaganda, see LEMMENS, *Acta s. congreg. de Prop. fide pro terra sancta*, I., II., Quaracchi, 1921-2.

[5] See *Visite*, I., 99 *seqq.* (Propaganda Archives, Rome): "Visitatio Constantinopolitana episc. Santorin." (Pietro de Marchis). *Report from Constantinople, November 12, 1622, especially concerning the activity of the Dominicans and

difficult circumstances the Latin missionaries of the Franciscan, Dominican, Capuchin, Carmelite and Jesuit Orders continued

Conventual Franciscans in Pera and Constantinople. *Report of November 26, 1622: in Pera 9, in Constantinople two churches, four convents (*Predic. Min. conv., Min. oss., Giesuiti.*) "Quelle chiese sono tenute tutte pulite e honorate come a Roma stessa." The services are held regularly and with open doors, without any interference (therefore there was more freedom than in any Protestant countries), "et ben spesso alle prediche sono Greci heretici et anco Turchi, forse per curiosità, ma con gran silentio, e facendosi la cerca, danno essi ancora l'elemosina"; in Pera about 580 souls. The Greek Patriarch rejects confession. "La plebe del rito greco è ignorante assai et li sacerdoti poco sanno et la gente vile odia la gente nostra latina et sol dire queste parole: più tosto Turco che Franco. Li Turchi naturali moralmente sono di buona natura et cortesi." The attacks came mostly from renegades. There follow the decrees of the Visitor. *Report of P. de Marchis, dated Smyrna, July 27, 1623: In Gallipoli there are no Latins, except one Franciscan and there remains one Latin church. In Smyrna, sixty souls "of the Latin rite"; the church recently rebuilt by the Venetians—*Report, dated Chios, August 9, 1623; Visitation. Necessity of a *Vicario generale* for Smyrna.—*Report from Chios, September 18, 1623: detailed visitation in Chios where there are still twelve churches (fourteen formerly, two turned into mosques). In the district one hundred old, abandoned churches, 7,000 souls. The Visitor continued his activity under Urban VIII.—*Relatione della visità fatta da Pietro Maserecco, sacerdote Albanese, eletto visit. apost. della Ungeria, Bosna, Servia e Bulgaria l'a 1623 (**Visite*, I., 66 *seq.*, Archives of Propaganda). (1) *Bulgaria:* In Sophia two Catholic families, one chapel. Scattered Catholics everywhere. "Infinità de Bulgari scismatici, incapaci di conversione." (2) *Serbia:* Hostility of the numerous schismatics towards the Pope. "Come la Servia, Bulgaria e Grecia è piena di scismatici, così la maggior parte dell'Albania è piena di cattolici." An Albanian College in Rome is necessary. (3) *Hungary:* In Belgrade, which properly belongs to Serbia, 12,000 Catholics. Visitation of *Pannonia inferior* where there are Calvinists, Lutherans and Arians: similarly in Transilvania. It was necessary to send a Bishop to Sirmium. (4) *Bosna:* "De Turchi saranno tre parti et a pena de cattolici

to strengthen those in communion with Rome, to recall the schismatics and to win over the infidels.[1] In 1622 the Jesuits had obtained leave from Gregory XV. to found a College in Jerusalem but the plan could not be carried into effect owing to the opposition of the local Franciscans who were nearly all Italians.[2] On the other hand in 1623 the Jesuits were able to establish themselves in Constantinople whither they accompanied an imperial embassy. The Peace of Vienna in 1615 had already made it possible for Catholic priests to build churches and to carry out religious functions.[3] It was a source of deep sorrow for Gregory XV., who had used all his influence to bring about the reunion of the Ruthenians,[4] that the Greeks

una, scismatici saranno per la metà di cattolici. I cattolici di Bosna buoni et devoti." Seventeen convents but only one was visited. A *Frate* would be the most suitable Visitor.—*Report of the Bishop of Scutari to the Pope, 1623 (*Visite*, I., 93 *seq.*): shows with what energy he tried to establish order.—The mission of the Minorite Andreas Bogoslavichus, Min. S. Francisci, for the support of the Catholics in Wallachia, Moldavia and Bulgaria is dealt with in the *Briefs to the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, May 15, 1623, *Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 219.

[2] See LÜBECK, 50.

[3] *Cf.* C. DE MUN, in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, 1903, 163 *seqq.* A decree of Propaganda of January 22, 1622, calls the ecclesiastical differences of the Latins in Constantinople and Pera to Rome; see *Ius pontif.*, II., 9. A *Brief to the French ambassador in Constantinople, September 2, 1622, commends the local Christians to him. *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] The Latin Bishops of Poland imagined that the Ruthenians would be more securely attached to the Church if their Rite were accepted (*cf.* the *Instruttione a Msg. Lancellotti, vesc. di Nola, destinato da N.S. nuntio in Francia*, used by RANKE, III., 122* *seq.*, but quoted without place or date; it is to be found, dated December 14, 1622, in *Cod.* 471, p. 164 *seqq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome; in *Cod. Barb.* 5564, of the Vatican Library, and *Inf. polit.* 10, of State Library, Berlin); they reported in this sense to Rome, where the proposal was seriously considered, but in the end it was decided to uphold the Union at the Diet against the attacks of the schismatics (see *Relacye*, II., 165;

of the Ottoman Empire, together with the Russians and the

LIKOWSKI, 226 *seq.*, 228). Gregory XV. implored King Sigismund III. in 1622 and 1623 to protect the Uniates, and he gave the same command to the Archbishop of Gnesen (see LIKOWSKI, 238). The nuncio Lancellotti was instructed to defend the Union at the Diet of 1623 (see *ibid.*, 274). Gregory XV. promised the King of the Poles, by a *Brief of August 7, 1621, money for the war against Turkey (THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 364), a promise which he kept, according to the Accounts (see ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregori XV.*, lib. III., c. 10). In other ways also he endeavoured to protect Poland against the Turks; see **Instruttione a Msgr. Torres arcivescovo di Adrianopoli, Nuntio destinato da N.S. in Polonia*, dated May 30, 1621, *Cod.* X., V., 15, p. 375 *seq.* of the Casanatense Library, Rome; *Cod. Barb.*, LIX., 186, Vatican Library; *Cod.* 6837, n. 3, of the State Library, Vienna, and *Cod.* V., 3, F. 96, of the Library at Salzburg. Correspondence about this nunciature in the Dragonetti Archives, at Aquila. *The Instruction for Cosmo de Torres who held the Polish nunciature until 1622 (see BIAUDET, 289), outlines a detailed programme for the development of the Catholic restoration in Poland. As, in this matter, a great deal—almost everything—depended upon the co-operation of the king, Torres is instructed to make good the misunderstanding that had arisen under Paul V. The king, on whose attachment to Rome the Pope counted, is above all to continue to exercise his right of nomination to numerous posts (about 26,000), strictly in favour of the Catholics, and to suppress Protestant worship in the royal towns (see RANKE, II., 259, who, neither here, nor in III., 121, quotes the source of the Instruction). In the second place, Gregory XV. counted upon the co-operation of the Bishops and the clergy in general: "Se tali fossero i pastori quali dovrebbero essere, chi non si prometterebbe in breve la conversione di tutti gli eretici? . . . Contro l'heresia conviene principalmente opporre i buoni curati et buoni predicatori et gli incitatori diligenti della fanciullanza et gioventù." The Bishops should arrange for missions to be given and make use of the religious Orders, especially the Jesuits who had two provinces in Poland and were working most successfully: they should also introduce the "utilissimo esercitio della dottrina christiana che nelle parochie in Italia si fa", and provide for catechisms, spiritual books, and Catholic hymns. In the third

people of the Balkans remained obstinate in their schism. In 1623 the Jesuits settled at Smyrna and in the Isle of Chios.[1]

place, the reform of the religious Orders is insisted upon and the fourth explains the scope of the work of the nuncios: "V.S. anderà mantenendo con tutti i prelati una perpetua corrispondenza et cercherà d'havere in ciascuna città o diocesi o paese alcuna persona eccles.ca amorevole che la faccia avvisata di quanto quivi accaderà di momento." At the Diets the nuncio must oppose all anti-Catholic efforts including those against *giurisdittione, immunità et beni* of the Church. Furthermore, he was to work for the preservation of ecclesiastical discipline, especially for the execution of the Tridentine decrees with regard to seminaries. For the ecclesiastical as well as the political effectiveness of the nuncio, whose position was nowhere so much appreciated as in Poland, everything depended on "che egli di tal carico si mostri degno, ma portì più la sua dignità nella persona che nell'uffitio, perchè tutti li pongono gli occhi adosso et prendono ancora esempio da santi costumi". He is therefore, not to take part in the banquets customary in Poland, however useful these meetings might be for his purposes. The nuncio is to keep a watchful eye on the persons of his household, who must lead religious and moral lives, and accept no presents. From the Instruction for Lancellotti, it appears that Torres, in accordance with a wish of Propaganda, was to get the Bishops to send in reports about their dioceses: Lancellotti was instructed to admonish the Bishops who had not yet done so (see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 130). The Czartoryski Museum at Cracow preserves in *Cod.* 1211, a magnificent manuscript in which, on page 5, between the Arms of Gregory XV. and Poland, the following inscription is found:—

Istud Breviarium manuscriptum
fuit Urbani Papae Quarti qui sedit anno MCCLXI
et a Cosmo de Torres Archiep. Adriã.
ac Sm̃i in Christo Patris Gregorii Papae XV.
Nuntio
Serm̃o Principi Sigismundo III. Polon.
ac Sveciae Regi Potentissimo ad signi-
ficandum singularem animi sui devo-
tionem dono datum Varsaviae 26 Octobris 1621.

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 220. To the time of Gregory XV. belong the *monographs "*De unione Graecorum ad ecclesiam*

The Maronites of Lebanon distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the faith. Many Syrians were reconciled to the Church through the efforts of the Patriarch Simeon.[1] For the Armenians, who were under the care of the Dominicans of the archdiocese of Nakshevan, Gregory XV. founded a College in that city.[2] Besides the foundation of this seminary Propaganda, at a meeting of January 10th, 1623, at which the Pope was present, decided to send four Dominican missionaries under Santinellus to Armenia, to have the Catechism of Bellarmine and the Florentine Instruction translated, to summon to Rome the ignorant Archbishop and to exhort the schismatic Patriarchs to reunion.[3] Among the Chaldeans the Patriarch Simeon of Urmia was in communion with Rome, and Elias II. of Mosul had made his submission at the Synod of Diarbekr.[4] In Persia the Carmelites worked with such success from their centre in Ispahan that many were converted and numerous churches and congregations arose.[5]

A report to Propaganda by the Collector of Portugal, Albergati, in the spring of 1623, gives an account of the situation of the missions in the Portuguese colonies. If at this time, he relates, in countries formerly blessed with so many conversions, more backsliding than progress had to be registered, this was partly due to the fact that the Portuguese colonists ill-treated the natives, and partly to the bad conduct of many religious and their connivance at the vices of the Portuguese as well as to the circumstance that only Portuguese missionaries were admitted, who seemed chiefly concerned to acquire

Dei (the comments of a pilgrim to Jerusalem) and *De statu conversionis ad fidem Christi gentis Paulinorum in Graecia* (Bulgaria), in *Ottob.* 2536, p. 325 *seqq.*, 330 *seqq.* (Vatican Library, *cf.* LÄMMER, 46. *Analecta*, 46.

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Brief to Math. Erasmus archiep. Nachevanensis of February 4, 1623, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives. Jubilee for Armenia in *Bull.*, XII., 787 *seqq.*

[3] *Ius pontif.*, P. II., n. 6.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 221.

[5] *Ibid.*, 222. *Cf. Bessarione, V.* (1898–9), 506, 508. See also the report in *Spicil. Vatic.*, I., 97 *seq.*

wealth for their relatives. Hence it was necessary that good religious of other nationalities should also be sent out. He had insisted on the removal of unsuitable subjects and procured the dispatch of eight Italian Jesuits. He asked Propaganda to send out only zealous and courageous messengers of the faith, not to promote religious to bishoprics, to warn superiors against commercial undertakings and to settle existing disputes. As for Africa, Albergati continues, he had proposed to the King the creation of two dioceses for the West and the East, better provision for the cure of souls in the Congo, and the erection of a College at Loanda ; he had also recommended the exploration of the Upper Nile in order to establish communications between the African missions of the West and the East, and asked that four missionary expeditions should be sent to Sierra Leone, Cape Verde, São Thomé and the Congo.[1]

These suggestions were well founded for on the one hand the Jesuit missions in the kingdom of the Congo, which dated from the sixteenth century, had come to an end, and on the other hand the Italian Capuchins [2] whom Gregory XV. had sent out, had not yet arrived, so that notwithstanding the uninterrupted succession of Bishops in the see of San Salvador, there was an almost complete lack of priests in the country, to the great sorrow of its pious ruler [3] ; Angola alone was still being served by the Jesuits.[4] The Jesuit missions on the coast of Upper Guinea had also come to an end with the exception of those of the islands of Cape Verde and Sierra Leone which were served from Santiago.[5]

In South Africa the Jesuits, according to their report to Propaganda, continued to evangelize the Kaffirs from their

[1] See Kilger, in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XII., 18 *seq.*

[2] See the *Brief to *Alvarus, rex Congi* of March 19, 1621, *Arm.*, XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *Brief to *Alvarus, rex Congi*, of March 5, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, *ibid.*

[4] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16. In 1622 the future queen Zinga of Matamba, had herself baptized at Loanda, under the name of Anne.

[5] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*

centres at Mozambique, Sena and Tete. They even planned to penetrate again into the country of Monomotapa and the adjacent territories where their missions, like those of the Dominicans, had fallen into decay.[1] Some years earlier a Jesuit mission, under Fr. Mariana, had set out for Madagascar but it failed owing to the overweening behaviour of the Portuguese with the consequence that the son of the King, who had had a Christian education at Goa, was left to his own resources. Fr. Mariana did what he could by visiting the island once a year from Mozambique.[2] In Ethiopia the Jesuits, though working under the greatest privations, were full of hope as a result of the conversion of the Emperor Socinius which was sealed, in 1621, with a public confession of faith. Many pagans of the neighbouring districts also accepted Christianity.[3] As regards India, Albergati recommended that, with a view to greater freedom, missionaries should be sent via Aleppo. He also urged resumption of work among the fisher folk of the Indian coast which had been almost completely abandoned and the dispatch of reinforcements to China where prospects were most favourable. He begged for help for Japan where the missions were in great straits, and for reinforcement of the clergy of the Philippines.[4] For the Franciscans in India, who at this time did but little for the conversion of the pagans, Gregory XV. had erected a special Province under the patronage of the Mother of God in addition to the existing Province of St. Thomas.[5] The Vicar General, Rangel, in his memorandum to Propaganda, dated December 24th, 1623, requested the erection of a similar Province for the Dominicans of India.

[1] *Ibid. Cf. Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, VII., 101 *seq.* In 1624 the Jesuits mention eight stations with about twenty missionaries in the Zambesi district; Father Mariana conceived a scheme for communications with Abyssinia by sea. According to the report of Fr. M. Rangel, the Emperor of Monomotapa begged for Dominican missionaries. See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 17.

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XII., 197.

[3] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16.

[4] *Ibid.*, 18 *seq.*

[5] See MÜLLBAUER, 321 *seq.*

Their congregation of seven convents and fourteen vicariates had the care of 300 parishes, which it provided with priests. These instructed the children day by day and trained the adults to holiness of life by means of confraternities, but they were greatly hindered by the lack of labourers, by the slave trade, and by the hostility of the heretics, the Mohammedans and the pagans.[1] The Augustinians possessed in India eighteen convents and twenty-one parishes with 30,000 souls; in 1622 they erected a school for the sons of Brahmins in Mura.[2] The Carmelites also were able to complete their convent at Goa, in 1623, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, but their mission at Ormuz was destroyed in 1622.[3]

The Jesuits administered with great success eight parishes on the Island of Salsette near Bazaim; twenty parishes with 70,000 Christians on the peninsula of Salsette near Goa; ten in Ceylon and as many in Bengal, notwithstanding the hostility of the secular clergy; they also had another sixty parishes in Manar and Travancore.[4] In the kingdom of Coromandel many conversions had been obtained by means of their two Colleges; in Goa they were still baptizing great numbers and from there they had sent two Fathers into the kingdom of Idalkhan (Bejapur).[5] In the north of the kingdom of the Mogul six Jesuits were still at work under the protection of the Emperor, although for want of means they had been

[1] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 17; also MÜLLBAUER, 333 *seq.*

[2] See MÜLLBAUER, *loc. cit.*

[3] See MÜLLBAUER, 345 *seq.* *Cf.* HENRION, *Hist. gén. des miss. cath.*, II., 243.

[4] *Cf.* KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16. Along the coast, as the result of a dispute among the Paravese, a storm arose against the Jesuits; see MÜLLBAUER, 293 *seq.* The conversion of the peninsula of Salsette was completed in 1623; *ibid.*, 277.

[5] The king allowed the Jesuits to settle there in 1622; see MÜLLBAUER, 278. On the East Coast there were colleges at Meliapur and Negapatam; *ibid.*, 296. For the baptisms in Goa in 1618/19, according to the *Litt. ann.* of 1621, see KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16, note 3.

constrained to abandon two stations.[1] In the Province of Cochin they brought back to the unity of the Church 10,000 schismatic Christians of St. Thomas.[2] In Madura two Fathers devoted themselves to the difficult mission to the Brahmins but their prospects, so a report tells us, were dependent upon the Pope's willingness to tolerate the caste insignia which the former absolutely refused to renounce.[3] Gregory XV. complied with this request in his Bull of January 21st, 1623, in so far as, after having heard the Inquisition, he granted to the Brahmins and other neophytes, permission to wear the girdle and tuft of hair as a sign of nobility or of office, also the custom of anointing themselves with sandal oil and the practice of ablutions for purposes of cleanliness, but he commanded that strict precautions should be taken so as to eliminate any idolatrous act or intention from these practices. In this way the Pope gave his approval to the principle of accommodation which de Nobili had recently put in practice in Madura and which he had defended against all opposition in his detailed apology.[4]

As to the achievements and prospects of the missions of Further India and Hindustan, Propaganda had detailed information from Bishop Sylva of Malacca.[5] In that report Malacca appears as the starting point for the different religious

[1] The Great Mogul was constantly wavering between friendship and dislike of the Jesuits, but they received permission to settle at Patna in 1621; MÜLLBAUER, 280 *seq.*

[2] See MÜLLBAUER, 152 *seq.*, 296 *seq.*

[3] See the reports of the Jesuits of Goa in KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16. The *Litt. annuae* of Nobili speak of barely a hundred Christians, as many had apostatized or had been murdered; famine and caste quarrels were additional causes of loss; for this reason Nobili pressed into the interior in 1623 and laid the foundations of the communities of Tiruchirapalli and Selam; see DAHMEN, *R. de Nobili* (1925), 45 *seq.*

[4] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 15 *seqq.*, n. 8. *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 195; BERTRAND, *La mission du Maduré*, II., Paris, 1848, 195 *seqq.*, 401 *seq.*; DAHMEN, 45 *seq.*

[5] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*

Orders which sought, in the first instance, to establish themselves in Pegu (Burma). On several occasions Dominicans and Jesuits had penetrated into Siam and Cambogia; since 1615 the Jesuits had thrice entered Cochin China under Fr. Buzoni; six in number they worked in two residences thus paving the way for the more famous Alexander Rhodes.[1] Similar missionary attempts were undertaken by the Franciscans on the large islands of Celebes, Java and Sumatra.[2] Ten Jesuits worked in the Moluccas, their base being at Malacca,[3] and as many Dominicans came from Solor. In the latter place there were so many demands for baptism that a hundred missionaries would scarcely have been sufficient according to a statement of the Superior of the Dominicans, Rangel, in his memorandum of December 24th, 1623. In the Island of Rotti, where Luis d'Andrade had made many conversions since 1618, two Fathers now served the two churches.[4]

About the year 1622, in the Philippines, besides numerous Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans, some 118 Jesuits were working for the conversion of the inhabitants who were still pagans and for the moral formation of the converts. A hierarchy was established in 1621.[5]

In China where Ricci, as a consequence of his conciliatory methods, had opened fair prospects for the gospel, there were working, according to a report from Goa of the year 1622, a score of Jesuits scattered over six towns. They had made many converts even among the Mandarins.[6] The Portuguese

[1] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 251 *seq.*; PACHTLER, *Das Christentum in Tonkin und Cochinchina*, 27 *seq.*; KILGER, *loc. cit.* 16.

[2] In 1622 the martyrdom of Fr. Palominus took place in Manados, where a king had been baptized and churches built; see SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 255. *Cf.* also KILGER, *loc. cit.*

[3] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*

[4] See BIERMANN, in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XIV., 30 *seq.*, 38.

[5] See *Die katholischen Missionen*, 1880, 207; *Astrâin*, V., 670, 572, 674.

[6] See KILGER, *loc. cit.* According to THOMAS (*Hist. de la mission de Pékin*, I. (1923), 401) there were, according to the catalogues

Jesuit Antonio d'Andrade was preparing to start from Agra on an expedition into Tibet, which led to the foundation of the mission of Tsaperang, in 1624.[1]

In Japan, notwithstanding the persecutions, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits had remained at their posts in order secretly to comfort and strengthen the hard-pressed Christians.[2] The persecution reached its height in 1622. Over 120 Christians, among them sixteen priests and twenty lay-brothers of the four different Orders sealed their faith with their blood. On September 10th, 1622, on the "Holy Mountain" near Nagasaki, the so-called "Great Martyrdom" took place in which ten Dominicans, nine Jesuits, three Franciscans and thirty-two laymen suffered death for Christ amidst appalling tortures. The description of them recalls the ancient Acts of the Martyrs. Again in the following year, 1623, the blood of martyrs was shed in great abundance.[3]

In recognition of the work accomplished by the Jesuits in Japan, China and all India, Gregory XV., in a Bull of November 5th, decreed that their houses and colleges should be exempt from payment of tithes and semi-tithes, which in accordance with the Brief of Paul V. of the year 1613, they had to pay in the countries subject to the Portuguese crown.[4]

In America, at the time of the foundation of Propaganda, the work of evangelization was for the most part finished; however, there were in the Spanish South many zealous apostles from various Orders as, for instance, the Franciscan Luis de Bolanos who converted 20,000 Indians and founded several

of 1621, at first thirteen and in 1626 only eighteen Jesuits working in China, see KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 17.

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 275; WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (1924), 43 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16.

[3] *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 153 *seq.*, 167 *seqq.*; PAGÈS, 337 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VI.[2], 1250 *seq.*; *Anal. Boll.*, VI. (1887), 52–72 (Carlo Spinola); FERRANDO-FONSECA, I., 649 *seq.*; PEREZ, in *Arch. Ibero-Americ.*, XXI., 5; *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XX., 101.

[4] *Ius pontif.*, I., 8 *seqq.*

Reductions [1]; the Jesuit Peter Claver who from Carthagena as his centre, gained about 300,000 negroes for Christianity by his sermons, catechisms, and by tending the sick.[2] In Uraba the Augustinian Alphonsus of the Cross obtained many conversions.[3] Very promising also was the harvest which, through the care of the Jesuits, was maturing in the Reductions of Paraguay, notwithstanding the incursions of the slave-traders.[4] According to Miraeus there were then 116 Jesuits in Paraguay, 70 in Peru, 300 in New Granada, all of them exercising a most beneficial activity by means of schools and colleges, and after 1621 through their University at Quito.[5] Jesuits were also found at work in Mexico by the side of Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians.[6] The sons of St. Francis multiplied their foundations in the neighbouring territories also, especially in New Mexico from 1598, and in Florida from 1621 converting hosts of savages to the Christian religion and to civilization.[7] In Portuguese Brazil 180 Jesuits saw not only to the spiritual needs of the white population in the towns but to those also of the numerous Indian neophytes. They had also baptized 100,000 negroes in the sugar factories, and had penetrated into the newly-discovered Province of Maranhoa.[8] The larger isles of the Antilles were already Christian and Spanish Trinidad was occupied by Franciscan missions, and

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, 311.

[2] See ASTRÁIN, V., 479 *seqq.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, 304.

[4] See ASTRÁIN, V., 595 *seq.*, 542 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 310.

[5] See MIRAEUS, *Politiae ecclesiast.*, Lugd., 1629, 280 *seq.*, 340 *seq.* Miraeus reckons there were in the Spanish missionary field, 1,026 members in fifty-one houses; see KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16, note 6. *Cf.* also L. PAZ, *La Universidad Mayor de S. Francisco Xavier de la Capital de los Charcas*, Sucre, 1914, in which, p. 87 *seq.* is quoted the Brief of Gregory XV. on the foundation of the University of La Plata at the Jesuit College.

[6] For the more recent Jesuit missions of Cinalos, Rio Mayo, Hiaquis, Tepahuanes, Taraumaras, and Sonora see ASTRÁIN. V., 326 *seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 347, 351.

[8] *Ibid.*, 329. *Cf.* KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 16.

not long after the sun of Christianity was to rise also in the French islands, 1625.[1]

In North America the French Recollects of the Paris Province had been in Canada since 1614; those from the Province of Aquitaine had been in Nova Scotia since 1619, and they were constantly being reinforced by fresh arrivals. Unfortunately the colonists often defeated their efforts among the pagans.[2] That side by side with these achievements and glorious triumphs there were many dark shadows in the picture of the missions as it presented itself to Propaganda from its creation, is shown, especially as regards the Indies—more particularly the West Indies—by a memorial presented to that Congregation by Gregory of Bolivar, a Franciscan Observant, who, about 1621, had personally evangelized the Chuncos, the Motilones, and the Chiriguanes of Peru.[3] The document complains that though there were six archbishoprics and forty bishoprics, far too little had been done for the conversion of the pagans, firstly, on account of the lack of priests fully qualified for work in the Indian mission, seeing that students coming from the seminaries were exclusively trained for work in the Christian parishes and even many religious competed for those benefices; secondly, owing to the greed of the Bishops who exacted a quarter of the income of the clergy; thirdly, because of the prevalence of the vice of gambling which ruined the priestly spirit; fourthly, because of the trade in Indian slaves and in liquor which was practised both by the secular and the regular clergy—with the exception of the Jesuits—the result of which was that the natives were taught the vice of drunkenness and many other evil habits; fifthly, because most of the parochial posts were filled with religious instead of secular priests.[4] Accordingly the secretary of Propaganda, Ingoli, in his enumeration of the abuses in the missions of the Indies, notes that the chief cause of them was on the one hand the greed of many missionaries and on the

[1] See Schmidlin, 295 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 353 *seq.*

[3] See Marcellino da Civezza, VII., 2, 73 *seq.*

[4] See Kilger, *loc. cit.*, 19 *seq.*

other their endless quarrels among themselves, with the hierarchy and with the civil authorities, which gave occasion to persecutions and scandals which account for the utter barrenness of missionary effort. To remedy these evils he recommends in addition to the prohibition of trading and of a previous examination of all missionaries, the dispatch of nuncios or delegates, the multiplication of dioceses and the appointment of secular priests as Bishops, the formation of a native clergy instead of the practice hitherto followed of barring the ecclesiastical career to the Indians.[1]

In these proposals we already perceive the lofty ideal of which the newly created Congregation never lost sight and which it realized, though after many a bitter struggle, namely the self-sufficiency of the missions by means of a native clergy. The aim of the missions was not to Europeanize other continents but to christianize them, whilst preserving as far as possible their cultural characteristics and their racial autonomy.[2]

(2.)

Among the missions to which Propaganda and the Pope devoted their attention, those in the North of Europe occupied the first place. As soon as the opportunity offered itself, the nuncio of Brussels, Giovan Francesco Guido del Bagno, sent two Dominicans, Jacob de Brower and Nicholas Jansenius, on a reconnoitring journey through North-Germany and Denmark. Even before the arrival of their report,[3] Propaganda on April 11th, 1622, as a result of an appeal by Cardinal Eitel von Hohenzollern, decided to send eight Jesuits to Denmark and Norway.[4] The Pope recommended these missionaries to

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 23, and HUONDER, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*, Freiburg, 1909.

[3] See MÜNTER, *Magazin für Kirchengesch. des Nordens*, II., 4, 31 *seq.*; PIEPER, *Nordische Missionen*, 2 *seq.*; DE WEDEL-JARLSBERG, *Une page d'histoire des Frères-Prêcheurs. La province Dacia*, Rome, 1897, 243 *seqq.*

[4] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 9.

the protection of the King of Spain in a Brief of June 4th, 1622.[1] In November, 1622, the efforts of the nuncio of Cologne to obtain for the Catholics of Hamburg the free exercise of their religion were successful, but already in the summer of 1623 this liberty was frustrated by a brutal act of violence.[2] The mission of the Jesuits to Denmark, though begun under excellent auspices, also came to a sad end.[3] A royal decree of February 28th, 1624, forbade all Catholic priests and religious to reside in the country under pain of death.[4] A similar fate befell the mission in Sweden where there were still many Catholics, among them the secretary of Gustavus Adolphus, George Ursinus, and the Burgomaster Zacharias Anthelius. The Jesuit Henry Schacht, whom Propaganda dispatched to Sweden in 1623, got in touch with these when, after many difficulties and disguised as a hawker of mousetraps, he succeeded in reaching that country. At Gripsholm he called on George Ursinus and Anthelius engaged him as his servant. However the authorities discovered everything and all three were condemned to death.[5]

Holland, England, Scotland and Ireland were under the authority of the nuncio of Brussels. The Pope's representative and the Pope himself were obliged to give special attention to these countries since the position of the still numerous adherents of the ancient faith had become much worse.[6]

[1] *Gregory XV. recommends the missionaries who have been sent to "Norwegium, Daniam et finitima septentrionis regna. Eos illuc ducturus est Nicolaus Hermannus Danus." The Pope emphasizes: "Nos intelligentes nullam esse adeo a nobis dissitam in Oceano regionem, quam pontificiae caritatis bracchia complecti non debeant." *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See PIEPER, 9–10; DUHR, II., 1, 137; METZLER, *Apost. Vikariate des Nordens* (1919), 12. [3] See PIEPER, 10–11.

[4] H. FR. RØRDAM, *Danske Kirkelove*, III., København, 1889, 104 *seq.*; METZLER, *loc. cit.*, 14 *seq.*

[5] See PIEPER, 12–15; METZLER, 14.

[6] In Denmark, which was also assigned to the Brussels nuncio, foreigners were the only adherents of the ancient faith ever since the confiscation of property of those suspected of Catholicism, a measure enforced in 1613.

In view of the circumstance that the armistice between Spain and Holland was to terminate on April 9th, 1621, the nuncios in Brussels and Madrid were informed that, contrary to all expectation, the oppression of the Dutch Catholics had markedly increased during the period of the armistice. Cardinal Ludovisi recalled the fact that the towns of Utrecht, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden and others, on adopting the Dutch side, had been guaranteed the preservation of the Catholic religion but that this promise had not been kept any more than the guarantees given in his time by Henry IV. For this reason the renewal of the armistice was not regarded with favour in Rome and the nuncios of Brussels and Madrid were instructed to press for the renewal of hostilities; the opportunity was favourable, for the Dutch were weakened by internal dissensions; they could expect no help from Protestant Germany, neither would the English Government give them much support, nor, indeed, the French, for their King was probably about to attack the Huguenots. If, however, negotiations for an armistice or a treaty of peace actually took place, the nuncio was not to countenance them; in any case he should seize the opportunity and do all he could for the betterment of the lot of the Dutch Catholics. The nuncio of Paris received similar instructions. Whatever happened, the Brussels nuncio, Giovan Francesco Guido del Bagno, was commissioned to watch over the spiritual needs of the Dutch Catholics, especially those in Utrecht, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, and Gouda, where they were still very numerous and held faithfully to their religion. He was to support the Vicar Apostolic, Francis Rovenius, whom Paul V, had appointed Archbishop of Philippi, and the secular clergy under his jurisdiction; he was to counteract the excessive severity of Rovenius, and above all to restore peace between the Dutch secular clergy and the Jesuit missionaries. In this task Gregory XV. concurred with all his energy.[1]

[1] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, 114 *seq.* *Cf.* KNUTTEL, 71 *seqq.*; *Archief. v. h. Aartsb.*, Utrecht, XXXII., 390 *seqq.*; *Bull. de l'Institut Belge à Rome*, I. (1919), 139. For statistics of the Dutch Catholics and the ministration to them, RANKE quotes (*Päpste*,

In England too, the old internal disputes among Catholics were by no means ended at the time of Gregory XV.'s election. The Benedictine Thomas Green, and more particularly his brother in religion, Thomas Preston, who had defended his opinions in writing during the pontificate of Paul V., still maintained the lawfulness of the oath of allegiance. Preston wrote a submissive letter to Gregory XV. but continued to defend his personal opinion.[1] The great desire of many English priests to have a Bishop amongst them continued under Gregory XV. As late as 1619, the Brussels nuncio was instructed from Rome not to listen to such requests, which for very good reasons had so far always met with a refusal.[2] When the persecution of Catholics had to be suspended owing to the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, all the old hopes revived. The office of the Archpriest, who had hitherto been the leader of the Catholics, happened to be vacant, for Blackwell had died in 1607 and both his successors, Birkhead and Harrison, had also died in 1614 and 1621 ; but shortly before his death Harrison had sent the priest Bennett to the Eternal City, on the pretext of forwarding the Spanish marriage, but actually to obtain a Bishop from the Pope—an aim which had never been attained, notwithstanding the support of the nuncios Barberini at Paris and Bentivoglio at Brussels. Even now views were divided on this point in Rome. Cardinal Bandini supported the efforts of Bennett and his companion

II.[6], 313) a *Compendium status in quo nunc est religio catholica in Hollandia et confoederatis provinciis* of December 2, 1622, without stating where this MS. is to be found. More authentic than this anonymous document is ROVENIUS' "*Descriptio status in quo est religio catholica in confoed. Belgii provinciis*", addressed at the beginning of 1622 to the Brussels nuncio (see *Archief. v. h. Aartsb.* Utrecht, XIV., 180), preserved in *Barb.* 2431, 3047, Vatican Library. For the Dutch mission see also BROM, *ibid.*, XXXI., 321 *seqq.*

[1] CAUCHIE-MAERE, 171 *seqq.* Preston wrote under the name of Roger Widdrington, therefore, not altogether under a *nom de plume. Cf.* TAUNTON, in the *Engl. Hist. Review*, XVIII. (1903), 119.

[2] CAUCHIE-MAERE, 93 ; *cf.* 50, 69.

Farrar; he insisted that, by the will of Christ, every Church ought to have its own Bishop at its head. The vexatious quarrels among the English missionaries, the conspiracies against the State, would probably have been avoided had there been a shepherd at the head with full powers. If the Pope maintained his opposition, it was to be feared that the Gallican Bishops of France would, on their own authority, try to give a chief shepherd to the English Catholics: the Archbishop of Rouen had already shown signs of taking such a step. On the other side, Cardinal Mellini maintained that a Bishop was not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of a particular Church; that the presence of one in England would give rise to a fresh persecution of Catholics, and that the association of England with France might expose the English Bishops to the contagion of Gallicanism. Bennett found support from the French and Spanish ambassadors, and Gregory XV. seemed inclined to give ear to his requests. However the convert, John Matthews, a son of the Archbishop of York and a former member of Parliament, reported these negotiations to the Royal Council, and James I. informed the Pope, through the Spanish ambassador, that he would never tolerate a Catholic Bishop in his realm. None the less, Gregory XV. did nominate a Bishop—not four, as he had at first intended—his choice falling on William Bishop who perhaps commended himself in the eyes of the government in that in 1602, he and twelve other priests had signed the oath of allegiance to Elizabeth.[1] In Rome this was indeed no recommendation. Furthermore, in view of the fact that he had studied at the Sorbonne, Bishop was suspected of Gallicanism, so that his appointment was to be revocable at any time.[2] Moreover, so as not to stir up Protestant feeling, he was not given an English see, but was to have the title of Bishop of Chalcedon. The French nuncio, Ottavio Corsini, whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the Church in England

[1] BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 434 [Engl. Transl.]. *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXIV., 36.

[2] By Propaganda March 23, 1623; his episcopal consecration at Paris, June 4, 1623 (BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 434 *seq.*).

and Scotland,[1] at the request of the new Bishop, drew up a set of instructions for his future guidance.[2] In the first place stress was laid on the maintenance of unity which was a more vital issue for English Catholics than any others. Corsini likewise enjoined obedience to the sovereign and the civil authority—respect for the king together with a higher standard of piety and conduct should be the distinguishing marks between Catholics and heretics. Should he fall into the hands of the pursuivants, let him stand firm for the faith, but let him observe moderation and modesty before his judges, so as not to give them a pretext with which to cover their barbarity; meekness should be one of the distinguishing marks of a Catholic. As to the direction of the priests under him, Bishop should use all diligence to prevent opposition between the secular and regular clergy, hence he should be conciliating towards the regulars, especially the Jesuits; on the other hand he must not forego any of his prerogatives.

Just then the Church in England was threatened by external enemies rather than by internal dissensions. During Gregory XV.'s reign hatred of Catholicism reached its climax. Events such as Babington's conspiracy and the Gunpowder Plot were most adroitly exploited by the Government, and gave rise throughout the country to a disposition to regard every Catholic as a dark conspirator and a born criminal, and every Protestant and opponent of Catholicism as a blameless champion of virtue.[3] Quite recently Frederick, the Elector

[1] *Ibid.*, 148; LEMAN, 45 *seq.*, note.

[2] Of July 15, 1623 (BELLESHEIM, III., 435 *seqq.*).

[3] According to GARDINER, not even the nation's representatives in Parliament seemed capable of a more impartial judgment. "Black and white were the only colours on their canvas. To them every Protestant was a model of saintly virtue; every Catholic a dark conspirator against the peace and religion of the world. . . . As they could see nothing but light on one side, they could see nothing but darkness on the other." The King of Spain was in their eyes: "the aspirant by force and fraud to universal empire for his own bad purposes, the restless, ambitious, insatiable vicegerent of Satan upon earth."

Palatine, had been acclaimed with enthusiasm by Protestant England as a champion in the fight against Rome, and the Bohemian insurrection had been hailed with enthusiasm as the first step to the downfall of "Babylon". But the utter frustration of these hopes by the battle of the White Mountain caused the hatred of Catholicism to blaze up afresh, for a new danger to Protestantism seemed to be looming on the horizon. Of all the Catholic kingdoms Spain was considered as the home of darkness, its King the very Vicar of Satan on earth, and now there was question of the marriage of the Prince of Wales which would bring a Spanish lady to the royal throne of England, and with her the old religion would once more return to the country.

Nevertheless the King stuck to his plan of winning the Spanish Infanta for his son and her ducats for his own empty purse. With Rome he went on playing all his wonted tricks. Three days after the opening of Parliament, James I. had an interview with the Spanish ambassador, Sarmiento, lately made Count Gondomar. The King pointed out to him that at his reception at Westminster the whole service had been sung in the Latin tongue, i.e. according to Catholic usage. Gondomar replied he hoped to see the King returning altogether to the old Church. James answered that if the matter could be discussed dispassionately a compromise could surely be arranged. As far as he himself was concerned, he would be ready to acknowledge the Pope as the spiritual Head of the Church, and to allow the English Bishops the right of appeal to him, provided the Pope did not interfere with the temporal government and ceased to claim the right to depose temporal rulers at will. If in his writings he had called the Pope "Antichrist" it was on account of the power over princes which he had arrogated to himself, not because the Pope claimed to be the Head of the Church. Gondomar knew the value of such assurances. He asked the King to shake hands to prove that he was serious. James shook hands and requested, for obvious reasons, that the ambassador would report this conversation to Madrid. Gondomar fulfilled this commission, but his account shows no sign of his placing any reliance on the royal hand-

shake. "At one time, whilst still a novice in his profession, he might have attached some importance to the conversation," Gondomar wrote, "but at present he would only say that nothing was impossible with God!"[1]

In his speech at the opening of Parliament James could not refrain from alluding to the Spanish marriage. Fears had been raised, he said, that such a marriage would lead to a policy of toleration towards the Catholics; but he would do nothing that might be detrimental to religion or dishonourable to the nation.[2] The King secured nothing by these generalities. As far as hatred for the Spaniards and Catholics was concerned, Parliament continued to hold the views of the common people. In the very first debate, Perrot asked that the House should receive the Lord's Supper in a body, so as to make quite sure that no Catholic had clandestinely sneaked into its ranks. The suggestion met with approval and provided an opportunity for a spate of virulently anti-Catholic speeches. It was asserted that the Catholics had lighted bonfires at the news of the defeat of the Palatine Frederick; that they were assembling in great numbers in London and were perhaps at this moment planning another Gunpowder Plot.[3] It was imperative to take sterner measures against the recusants.[4] To this James I. would, however, not consent. He replied [5] that there were laws enough and it was against his character to be too severe in matters of conscience. He was constantly receiving requests to plead with foreign princes on behalf of the persecuted Protestants in their lands. How could he do that if he persecuted the Catholics in his own land? Parliament was dissatisfied with his reply, and it was said that if Supplies had not already been voted, they would not have been granted.[6]

Public opinion had not, so far, greatly busied itself with James' quarrels with his Parliament, hence it had scarcely

[1] GARDINER, IV., 25 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, 30.
[5] On February 17, 1621, *ibid.*, 34.
[6] *Ibid.*

ever been necessary to inflict any penalties for the offence of political criticism. However, everything was suddenly changed when the king's son-in-law saw himself compelled to fight for his throne and his realm, as it was thought, on account of the Spaniards. In this way the populace's hatred for the southern rival found fresh fuel; but the King was of opinion that he must take Spain under his patronage on account of his prospective daughter-in-law.[1] A certain London preacher, Everard by name, was committed to prison for having expatiated on the cruelty of the Spaniards in the Indies. Ward, a colleague of his at Ipswich, not only suffered the same fate but was forbidden to enter the pulpit in future for having created a sensation by means of a drawing which represented in the centre the Pope and the Cardinals in council with the king of Spain and the devil, whilst on either side were to be seen the wreck of the Armada and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.[2] As the Spanish ambassador was being carried down Fenchurch Street in his litter, a young apprentice called out: "Here comes the devil in a dung-cart." When one of the ambassador's servants threatened the rabble, he was laid out in the gutter by a blow of the fist. King James, in defiance of the people, insisted on the offenders being flogged; one of the youths died under the whip.[3] The rising discontent led to a fresh conflict between the monarch and his Parliament. Rumour had it that an aged Catholic lawyer, Floyd by name, who was lying in the Fleet, in his joy at the defeat of the White Mountain, had made some caustic remarks about Frederick the Elector Palatine and his consort, asserting that the Elector had no more right to the Bohemian Crown than he himself. This terrible crime, which was wholly uncorroborated and which Floyd denied, came up for discussion in Parliament, where it occasioned a scene such as can hardly be conceived. One member outdid the other in suggesting punishments for the old man who had not been convicted of any crime. Phelps demanded that Floyd should be made to ride through London with his face towards

[1] *Ibid.*, 117.

[2] *Ibid.*, 118.

[3] *Ibid.*

the horse's tail and with the inscription on his hat: "A wretched papist who has insulted His Majesty's children"; after that he should be thrown into the horrible dungeon of Little Ease and treated as harshly as was possible without endangering his life. The remark of Roe and Digges that the matter was not one for Parliament at all, but for the Lords of the Privy Council, only added fuel to the storm. "If there is no precedent," cried George More, "we will create one. Let Floyd be flogged all the way back to whence he came and then handed over to the Lords of the Council." "Have his rosary hung round his neck," shouted Francis Seymour, "and deal him as many blows as there are beads on it." "Let him stand in the stocks at Westminster and be whipped," suggested Edward Giles. "The stocks twice and whipping twice," clamoured Francis Darcy. Others demanded that his tongue be pierced with red-hot irons; that his tongue or his ears and nose be cut off; that he be branded on the forehead, or that he be compelled to swallow his rosary, etc. At last Sandys somewhat calmed the fury of the storm with the remark that by such penalties they would make a martyr of the man; moreover, it was not right to whip a gentleman. In the end the House contented itself with sentencing Floyd to three periods in the stocks; to ride through the streets, his face to the horse's tail and with an inscription on his hat; and to pay a fine of 1,000 pounds. On the following day the King sent a message of thanks to Parliament for defending his honour, but he demanded a reply to two questions, viz. How was it that the house adjudicated upon offences that had not been committed against Parliament itself? and how could judgment be passed without sworn witnesses? Coke, who had acted for the prosecution at Garnet's trial, was not at a loss to prove the competence of Parliament in the matter. A daughter, he said, was part of her father, hence an insult to the Countess Palatine was an insult to the King; now the King belonged to Parliament, hence whosoever offended the Countess, offended Parliament.[1] However, the House felt unable to identify itself with the famous and learned judge's reasoning. After much discussion

[1] GARDINER, IV., 123.

in this sense and in that, it was resolved to defer the matter to the Upper House. There Floyd's fine was raised from 1,000 to 5,000 pounds; he also saw himself deprived of his civic rights and condemned to be whipped all the way from London Bridge to Westminster and to imprisonment for life. The wretched man was spared the whipping at the intercession of the Prince of Wales.

At the final sitting of Parliament, on June 4th, 1621, the most burning question of the day came up again, namely, the restoration of the Elector Palatine. Perrot insisted that the true faith must be upheld; abroad it was in a parlous plight and in danger even at home. Let them declare, before the prorogation of Parliament, that, on reassembling, they would be prepared to sacrifice possessions and life itself for the cause of God and the King's children. The suggestion was hailed with enthusiasm and much waving of hats, and a resolution to that effect was drafted. James I. gave orders for its translation into the chief European tongues, although the reference to the danger to religion in England plainly referred to the King's Spanish policy.[1]

Parliament reassembled on November 20th, 1621. In the debate on the King's financial requests, the House gave unmistakable expression to its aversion for Spain and everything Catholic. Phelps, on November 21st, informed his colleagues that England's enemies were the Catholic States, and her natural allies the Protestant countries of Europe. It had been said that the King of Spain was a friend, but everyone was aware that he presided at the council of war which decided upon the occupation of the Palatinate, and that the attacking forces were paid with his money. He felt that God was angered because the Elector had been allowed to lose the Bohemian Crown. Trade was bad at home, and the hearts of the Papists beat for the Spanish King. They had waxed so bold that they spoke of the Protestants as a mere "party", and openly discoursed on matters of religion. The House of Commons must protect England from such dangers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 128–31.

[2] *Ibid.*, 236 *seq.*

Next day it was Coke's turn to pour out the over-flowing vials of his wrath on the Catholics and the Jesuits. He declared that under Elizabeth the Pope had dispensed her subjects from their oath of allegiance, whereupon the Jesuits had instigated one conspiracy after another against the Queen, and had attempted to poison or murder her in some other way. Every evil came from Spain. From Spain came the Armada ; from Spain came the sheep scab which had caused such extensive damage ; from Spanish Naples came the worst form of plague that had ever visited Europe ; Catholics flocked to the house of the Spanish ambassador, and England would be in danger so long as she nurtured Papists at her breast.[1]

These speeches produced their effect. The committee whose business it was to discuss in detail the monetary grants for the King, was instructed to draft a petition for the execution of the laws against the Catholics. At the committee meeting a speech by John Pym prepared the way for the petition ; Pym declared that there were errors which led to a false worship of God and others whose consequences were disastrous for the life of the State ; it was the duty of the authorities to suppress not only the fruits of rebellion, but the seeds thereof. The same rule of faith from which Papists derived the superstitious elements of their religion, imposed on them opinions which involved grave perils for non-Catholic princes and nations. Hence the laws against Catholics were not designed to punish their beliefs and opinions, they were only concerned with their actions. Once Catholics obtained indulgence, they pressed for toleration, then for equality, then for privileges, and finally for the suppression of all other religions. Hence it was necessary to introduce an oath of loyalty with a view to the safety of the King's Majesty and the execution of the laws which aimed at consolidating true religion. This oath must be taken by all loyal subjects ; the King should likewise publish a special decree for the suppression of the recusants.[2]

A petition to James I., on the lines advocated by Pym, was

[1] *Ibid.*, 241 *seq.*

[2] GARDINER, IV., 242 *seq.* ; Gardiner's justification of the speech, *ibid.*, 243–6.

drawn up and accepted by Parliament. It states that the aim of the King of Spain was universal temporal power, and that of the Pope, universal spiritual power. Papistry was built upon diabolical principles and teachings. There followed a description of the position of the Protestants abroad where their united Papist enemies were supported by the armies of the Spanish King. At home the project of the Spanish marriage and the privileges enjoyed by the Spanish ambassador had emboldened the Catholics; they went openly to the Embassy chapels, they flocked in vast numbers to the capital, they sent their children to Papist seminaries on the Continent. Their property, though forfeit to the State, was being restored to them; their books circulated unhindered; their priests were everywhere. If nothing was done against them they would not rest until, with the help of foreign princes, the downfall of the true religion had been attained. Therefore let His Majesty take his sword and rally the Protestant nations to his person against Spain. A commission should attend to the execution of the laws against Catholics; the heir to the throne should marry a princess of his own faith; Catholic children must be educated by Protestant schoolmasters; and attendance at seminaries overseas and the restoration of forfeit property must be strictly forbidden.

Unfortunately for the petitioners, the Spanish ambassador, who knew how to handle James I., heard of the proposed petition and immediately wrote to him a letter such as a ruler of Great Britain can have received but rarely from a foreign ambassador. Gondomar explained that he would have left the country at once had he not been convinced that the King would condemn the impertinence of the House. He then pointed out that such behaviour on the part of Parliament might constitute a *casus belli* and that the time had come for the King to show who was master in the realm.[1]

Thus Parliament's declaration of war against Spain was countered by Spanish pride and repaid in its own coin. Thereupon, in his message to Parliament, the Solomon of the North gave the House a little homily on the limited intelligence of

[1] *Ibid.*, 249.

subjects. Some hotheads, he informed the assembly, had ventured to discuss and criticize matters which were far beyond the limited scope of their understanding, and had thereby impinged upon his royal honour. The House was therefore informed that it was no business of its members to meddle with matters of Government or to concern themselves with the mysteries of statecraft. The Spanish marriage was not to be discussed, nor was a word to be spoken against the honour of the Spanish monarch.[1]

To the King's annoyance, the reply to his homily to Parliament was a fresh petition, which was presented by a deputation of the House on December 11th, 1621. "Fetch chairs for the ambassadors," cried James, when the deputation appeared before him, as a hint that his Parliament arrogated to itself royal privileges. On December 14th the King's answer was read to Parliament; it gave rise to strong opposition.[2] Consequently, on December 30th, James I. repaired in person to the House, demanded the book in which the protest had been filed, and with his own hand tore out the page on which it was written.[3] On January 6th, 1622, Parliament was dissolved.[4]

James I., therefore, stuck to his friendship for Spain. One preacher was imprisoned for uttering libels against Spain; another for repeating Coke's dictum about the Spanish sheep scab; another who had expatiated on a nation that worshipped the Beast and its image (Apoc. xiv., 9) escaped with a censure.[5] On the other hand, in August, 1622, at Gondomar's intercession, hosts of Catholic prisoners were released from the prisons; the ambassador boasted in Spain that their number amounted to 4,000.[6] Shortly before this, the Keeper of the Great Seal had received instructions to grant to all Catholics,

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 261.
[3] *Ibid.*, 265.
[4] *Ibid.*, 267.
[5] *Ibid.*, 346.
[6] LINGARD, VII., 240.

under the Great Seal, a free pardon for non-attendance at Church, provided they applied for it within the next five years.[1] At no time, wrote Valaresso, the Venetian envoy, had the Catholic religion enjoyed greater freedom.[2] Nevertheless the joy of the Catholics was a very subdued one, because the recusants thus freed from prison had to take an oath that they would present themselves again if requested to do so, and in order to calm Protestant fanaticism Williams declared that though the prisoners were freed, "they had still the shackles about their heels."[3]

Whilst Parliament, as well as the Protestant populace, gave unmistakable expression to their aversion for Spain, the King continued his efforts for an Anglo-Spanish marriage. Immediately after Philip III.'s death on March 21st, 1621, inquiries came from England to his son and heir with a view to sounding him on the subject. Philip IV. answered that he would do his best to further it.[4] Some time before the death of Paul V.—January 28th, 1621—the Dominican Diego de la Fuente, acting as Spanish envoy, and George Gage, an English Catholic, had met in Rome for the purpose of obtaining the necessary papal dispensation. Gregory XV. appointed a commission to study the matter, and on September 1st, 1621, Gage was able to report to Digby that the papal permission

[1] *Ibid.*, 240.

[2] August 9, 1622 (GARDINER, IV., 349).

[3] LINGARD, VII., 240. The King's order was carried out badly: "Per esservi intervenuti certi giudici ordinari del paese (senza i quali non si potevano liberare dett'incarcerati conforme allo stilo e usanza di questo regno) non si crederebbe mai quanti dilatorii e scappatorii li detti giudici trovassero, e come per lo spatio quasi d'un anno intiero non si potesse mai ottenere che si eseguisse l'ordine del Rè in favore di quell'incarcerati" (Letter from London, 1623, in AREZIO, 66). "Non sono passati otto giorni che per ordine espresso di Rè si sono fatti cercare le camere di tre sacerdoti incarcerati, e si sono stati levati con grandissima insolenza e crudeltà di un certo Crosse, più infame sbirro che sia, due calici, alcuni paramenti di altare e tutt'i libri" (*ibid.*, 67).

[4] GARDINER, IV., 190.

for the marriage would be granted as the price of freedom of religion for English Catholics.[1]

Nevertheless negotiations were protracted beyond all expectation. In 1622 the English ambassador in Madrid, in conversation with Zúñiga, remarked that after two years' efforts in Rome de la Fuenta had obtained nothing so far. Zúñiga referred the ambassador to King Philip IV. The latter expressed his great satisfaction at the proposed marriage. Digby even tried to influence the Infanta. He obtained an audience with her, when he spoke of the love and longing of the successor to the English throne, and begged her to favour his aspirations. "I thank the Prince of Wales for the honour he does me," was all she said, and with that the audience was at an end.[2]

Actually the matter could not be forwarded in Spain until Rome had spoken. As early as August 11th, 1621, Gregory XV. commissioned four Cardinals to consider the terms of the marriage treaty as they had come from Madrid.[3] The Cardinals declared them to be unacceptable, for though the religious needs of the Infanta and her household were sufficiently safeguarded by them, nothing definite was laid down for the benefit of English Catholics in general. The Pope could only grant the dispensation that was being asked for if the position of the Catholic Church in England would thereby be materially improved. The vague promises of James I. during the previous year, to the effect that the Penal Laws would not be applied, were totally inadequate. Nothing less than the grant of complete liberty of conscience for Catholics could be regarded as a sufficient ground for the dispensation, and by way of a

[1] *Ibid.*, 230. The personality of De la Fuente made a very good impression in Rome: "È riuscito et a questi miei Signori Illustrissimi et a me persona così destra, discreta e prudente e piena di ottime maniere che ne siano sodisfattissimi." Cardinal Ludovisi to the nuncio in Madrid, April 12, 1623 (in Arezio, *L'azione*, 67).

[2] *Ibid.*, 333 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXVI., 190 *seqq.*

pledge more would be required than the mere word of the King.[1] The answer which Gage received from Cardinal Bandini on July 4th, 1622, was to the same effect. The Cardinals had been told that full freedom of conscience for Catholics would best be guaranteed by a personal enactment on the part of the King. They therefore hoped that James would state how much he was prepared to do for his Catholic subjects.[2] Several important alterations in the marriage contract were demanded even at this stage. The future Queen's household must be wholly Catholic; the churches assigned to the Queen and her retinue must be open to everybody; the priests were to have a Bishop at their head and were to be exempt from all laws, with the exception of those of their ecclesiastical superiors. The education of her children must be reserved to the Infanta; the girls were to remain under her care till they reached the age of twelve, the boys until they were fourteen.[3]

James was, of course, extremely dissatisfied when Gage, on his return to England on August 25th, 1622, informed him of these conditions. The Cardinals might have known, so he wrote to Digby,[4] that he could not grant an open church; that the exemption of priests from the civil law was not even granted in all Catholic countries; he would allow the children to be under their mother's care until they were seven years old and even longer if their health required it. As to the general position of Catholics, he had gone as far as he possibly could in his letter of April 27th, 1620; the existing laws might be softened by the manner in which they were applied. These were his proposals; if they were not accepted he would break off negotiations. A covering letter from Buckingham to Gondomar, who had returned to Spain, contained the threat that if Spain proved obstinate, the Penal Laws against Catholics would be enforced once more.[5]

[1] GARDINER, IV., 350 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 351.

[3] *Ibid.*, 352.

[4] September 9, 1622, *ibid.*, 353.

[5] *Ibid.*, 353–7.

Madrid, too, was annoyed at the stricter conditions of the marriage. Zúñiga and Gondomar assured the English envoy, Digby, that their King would bring the Pope to reason,[1] and after Zúñiga's death, his successor, Count Olivares, expressed the same opinion.[2] At the council which discussed the marriage contract, Gondomar maintained that it was not necessary to make such extraordinary demands in order to obtain the conversion of England.[3]

Notwithstanding the threats on the part of England, opinion in Madrid did not doubt the happy issue of the matter. Neither did the King of England take his own threats too seriously. Digby, who had recently become Earl of Bristol,[4] was commanded,[5] in the event of an unsatisfactory answer by the Spanish Court, not to leave the country. James I. even tried to win over the Pope for his plans. On September 30th, 1622, he addressed a personal letter to the Pontiff in which he said that His Holiness would perhaps wonder that, notwithstanding their divergences on matters of religion, the King should be the first to greet His Holiness by letter. However, such was the anguish of his mind, by reason of the unhappy conflicts and the shedding of blood which had of late years brought so much misery on the Christian world, and so great was his daily anxiety and endeavour to put a stop to these ever-growing evils, that he could remain no longer silent, but must plead earnestly and in a friendly spirit that it would please His Holiness to co-operate with him in a task so eminently religious and so worthy of a Christian prince. He made this request in view of the fact that both parties worshipped the same Triune God and hoped for salvation by no other means but the Precious Blood and the merits of the one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Though it was not mentioned, the affair of the marriage appears to be at the back of this document. James's reasoning

[1] Digby on September 13, 1622, *ibid.*, 373.

[2] GARDINER, IV., 380.

[3] *Ibid.*, 383.

[4] *Ibid.*, 364.

[5] October 4, 1622, *ibid.*, 374; *cf.* 378.

was evidently to the effect that if the Pope granted the dispensation, a political *rapprochement* between Spain and England would ensue, consequently also the restoration of the Palatinate, and with it the end of bloodshed and a general peace.

Meanwhile the two young people whose proposed marriage was keeping the Courts of Rome, Madrid and London in breathless suspense, had reached an age when they could speak for themselves. The Infanta Maria, whose outward appearance has been perpetuated by Velasquez,[1] was now seventeen years of age. People admired the dignity and affability of her manner and her profound piety. Each day she spent two hours in devotional exercises and received the Sacraments twice a week. The young princess had a special devotion to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady,[2] viz. to the special prerogative whereby the Mother of God, in view of the future merits of her Divine Son, was preserved from all taint of original sin from the first moment of her existence. This was a Spanish national devotion ; Philip III. had often implored the Pope to define the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of faith,[3] and it is well known with what enthusiasm Murillo, at a later period, devoted his art to the glorification of this special prerogative. It was none the less a proof of nobility of soul that this young princess should have felt so strongly attracted towards such an ideal of purity and utter sinlessness. Her piety was more than a matter of sentiment. She did not spend her pocket-money on pleasures, but on the poor. Her self-control, especially over her tongue,

[1] Portraits are in the Prado and the Berlin gallery ; see JUSTI, "Die spanische Brautfahrt Karl Stuarts," in the *Miszellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, II., Berlin, 1908, 303 *seq.*, 306 *seq.*

[2] GARDINER, IV., 378.

[3] *Πρεσβεια* sive Legatio Philippi III. et IV. Catholicorum Regum Hispanorum ad SS. DD. NN. Paulum PP. V. et Gregorium XV. de definienda controversia Immaculatae conceptionis B. Virginis Mariae, Lovanii 1624. See L. FRIAS, in *Razón y Fe*, X. (1904), 21 *seqq.* ; CAUCHIE-MAERE, 84 *seqq.*, and our account, Vol. XXV., 252 *seqq.*

was well known. From her piety arose a very great distaste for marriage with a heretic; she was supported in her opposition by her confessor and by the Archduchess Margaret, a daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., who lived as a Carmelite in Madrid.[1]

The Prince of Wales was likewise a young man of lofty character. His appearance was both manly and handsome [2]; he was an adept in all bodily exercises, acquainted with music and the plastic arts, and his moral conduct was irreproachable. He blushed like a young girl at any unseemly remark, and women of a certain character thought it wiser to cast their nets in other directions.[3] At first he was but little disposed towards marriage with the Infanta. When he came to see her likeness he expressed the customary admiration, out of consideration for the bystanders, but, when out of their hearing, he remarked to a confidential friend: "If it were not a sin, a king should have two wives, one for the sake of his politics and one for his own sake."

However, by degrees his disposition changed, probably because he felt that by an alliance with Spain he would be of use to his beloved sister, the Electress Elizabeth. He therefore got into closer touch with Gondomar, and on his recommendation he appointed Walter Savage, a Catholic, as one of the controllers of his household, although Savage had refused to take

[1] GARDINER, IV., 389.

[2] See the portraits in JUSTI, *loc. cit.*, 313, 333.

[3] GARDINER, IV., 366; KHEVENHILLER, X., 258. According to a report of 1622: "*Relatione fatta alla Congregazione di Propaganda Fide da Dionisio Lazzari sopra alcune cose d'Inghilterra che possono essere di servizio alla s. fede cattolica," Charles was "d'indole molto ingenua, di costumi assai generosi, molto sobrio in detestar li cattolici." Of James it is said, "Per la pratica che ho di lui, lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione." Buckingham's wife was reputed to be clandestinely a Catholic (*Cod.* 35, B. 9, p. 48 *seq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome). *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 147 *seq.*; RANKE, *Päpste*, III.[8], 123. On the Catholicism of Buckingham's mother and wife, see W. H. HUTTON, *The English Church, 1625–1714*, London, 1903, 9.

the oath of allegiance.[1] Gondomar also was responsible for an idea by the execution of which the Prince caused enormous excitement throughout England. It was this: shortly before Gondomar left England, Charles promised that he would go in person to Madrid if on his return Gondomar recommended such a step.[2]

After that Charles could only think of the projected journey to Spain. Endymion Porter, a former servant in the household of Count Olivares and now in the service of the Prince and entrusted with Buckingham's Spanish correspondence, was dispatched to Spain to sound Gondomar with regard to his views on the Spanish journey. If Gondomar approved, the Prince intended to send a fleet to Spain to fetch the Princess, and he would personally go out with the fleet.[3] Just as Porter was about to leave,[4] Cottington arrived home from the British Embassy at Madrid. He was the bearer of a letter from Gondomar to James I., expressing the hope that by next spring the Infanta would be able to set out for England.[5] Thereupon it was decided to authorize the English envoy in Madrid, through Porter, to concede that the future children of the heir to the throne should remain under their mother's care up to their ninth, instead of their seventh year, although in the written articles of the contract the seventh year only would be guaranteed.[6] Porter arrived in Spain in the early days of November, 1622, and was soon able to report that the Prince of Wales would be welcome in that country.[7] Thus, after endless negotiations, it seemed as if the marriage treaty was about to be successfully concluded to the joy of the much-tried negotiators and to the dismay of the Infanta Maria. Her tears were not without making an impression on Philip IV., but on the other side there was Olivares to be reckoned with.

[1] Gondomar, January 31, 1622, in GARDINER, IV., 368 *seq.*
[2] Gondomar, May 16, 1622, *ibid.*, 369.
[3] *Ibid.*, 370.
[4] October 4, 1622, *ibid.*, 373.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 374.
[7] *Ibid.*, 383.

Her ordinary confessor was taken from her and others were instructed to paint in glowing colours the merit she would acquire if she were to bring back a lapsed nation to the true faith. In the end the Princess was prevailed upon to declare that for God's honour and in obedience to the King she was ready for any sacrifice. However, a few days later, she sent word to Olivares to say that she had herself cut the Gordian knot: she would not marry at all, but would enter the cloister.[1] After that Philip IV. refused to press his sister any further. He wrote to Olivares that on his deathbed his father had declared his preference for the Austrian marriage and the minister must find a way out of the business.[2] Olivares who, up to this point, had appeared to have been keen on the marriage, now avowed his real opinion in a memorandum. Philip III., he declared,[3] had never wished the English marriage to take place, unless the Prince of Wales became a Catholic. The negotiations had, however, been set afoot and drawn out in order to obtain better conditions and not to jeopardize their friendship with James I. Until the entanglement over the Palatinate had been cleared up, an alliance by marriage with England was out of the question, for Philip IV. could obviously not declare himself openly against the Emperor; but a decision in favour of the Emperor meant war with England, consequently also with the Infanta as the future Queen of England; to remain neutral was an equally impossible solution for Spain. But there was a way out of the complication; it was that Prince Charles should marry a daughter of the Emperor, and that the son of the Elector Frederick should be brought up as a Catholic with a view to his securing the hand of one of the Archduchesses.

The Privy Council rejected this proposal and the negotiations for the English marriage went on. Even Olivares, who had informed the imperial ambassador of the tenor of his memorandum, acted as if he had made the views of the Council his own. Thus, on December 2nd, 1622, the reply to James I.'s

[1] *Ibid.*, 390.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 392.

objections to the articles of the contract were communicated to Bristol. By these Philip IV. was willing to give up the idea of a public church, accessible to all the Catholics of London. On the other hand he insisted that the priests should not be subject to English law; if they broke the law, James could deport them, and in a really bad case the Spanish King would offer no objection to their punishment. The proposal to leave the children with their mother up to the ninth year was accepted, with a rider that the addition of another year was much desired. As to liberty of conscience, Gondomar suggested that James should grant to Catholics the undisturbed exercise of their religion within their own homes. A written promise from the King and the Prince on this point would suffice, without mention in the articles of the contract.[1]

Bristol was not empowered to accept these alterations, but he offered no objections. On their part, the Spaniards promised to press the Pope to grant his dispensation by the end of March, or in the course of April; the marriage was to take place before the end of the spring.[2] Thereupon Gage returned to Rome and Porter to England.[3]

Meanwhile the additional year of the royal children and the point about the exemption of the priests from English law had been granted by James I. in a written document.[4] Thereupon both the King and the Prince of Wales signed the articles as well as another document in which they bound themselves not to persecute Catholics for their religion, or for receiving the Sacraments, so long as they gave no scandal and confined their religious practices within their homes. Nor were they to be compelled to take oaths contrary to their religion, or such as might appear contrary thereto. This document was to be kept back by Bristol until the dispensation should have arrived from Rome.[5]

In view of concessions of such importance, it was taken for

[1] *Ibid.*, 396.

[2] GARDINER, IV., 397.

[3] Porter arrived in London, January 2, 1623; *ibid.*, 398.

[4] To Bristol, November 24, 1622, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 398 *seq.*

granted that the Holy See would withdraw its veto. All obstacles seemed to have been swept aside. Orders came from London to make ready a fleet of ten ships to bring the Infanta to England. Buckingham was to be in command of the ships.[1]

With the prospect of a great journey to the Continent before them, both the Prince and his favourite, Buckingham, soon wearied of delay. They decided not to wait until the fleet was ready but to go to Madrid overland, with only a few attendants, under assumed names so as not to betray their rank.[2]

The escapade was a risky one. Did not the heir to the British Crown thereby put himself in the hands of the Spaniards? But just as the scheme shows the thoughtlessness and the romantic love of adventure of the Prince and his favourite, so does the fact that permission for the journey could be extorted from James betray the lack of will power of the aging King more effectively than all the State papers of his latter years. James had long since become unable to say nay to his darling Charles.

With false beards and under the assumed names of Tom and John Smith, the Prince and Buckingham set out on March 2nd, 1623. Charles danced for joy when, after crossing the Bidassoa, he stood on Spanish soil. The pair reached Madrid in the evening of March 16th.[3] Gondomar at once communicated the news to Olivares, who informed the King. Turning towards the crucifix at the head of his bed, Philip IV. swore that the arrival of the Prince would not induce him, where religion was concerned, to take a single step beyond what had been determined by Christ's Vicar, the Pope, not even if he should thereby lose his whole kingdom.[4] He then wrote with his own hand to the Pope, begging him to grant a dispensation for a marriage with the heretic.[5]

The King, the nobility and the people of Madrid celebrated

[1] *Ibid.*, 409.

[2] *Ibid.*, V., 1 *seqq.*

[3] See JUSTI, *loc. cit.*, 309 *seq.* *Cf.* also GINDELY, "Eine Heirat mit Hindernissen," in the *Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch.*, 1884.

[4] GARDINER, V., 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, 12.

the arrival of the English visitors, who had laid aside their incognito, with genuine enthusiasm,[1] but for the diplomatists the situation was embarrassing enough. The Infanta had been destined for Ferdinand, the Emperor's son; hence the imperial ambassador Khevenhiller, brought his heaviest gun into the field against the English marriage. There had never been any blessing on marriages with heretics, he declared. If the Habsburg line died out in Spain, the crown of the Catholic Kings would fall to the Calvinist English; James I. desired this marriage for political reasons, but Spain would only derive disadvantages from friendship with England. The Infanta herself would either become a Martyr in England, or, to the everlasting shame of the Habsburgs, a Calvinist. In the latter event all the hoped-for advantages for the English Catholics would come to naught. The Infanta was not an expert in controversy; it would be wiser to marry the Englishman to an imperial princess who would be better able to cope with the subtleties of heretics. The example of the Elector Palatine showed that the word and oath of Calvinists could not be relied upon, whilst the example of Henry IV. of France proved that, when necessary, they were even willing to hear Mass, to receive the Sacraments and to recognize the Pope.[2]

The arrival of the visitors caused even greater embarrassment to Olivares. To save at least appearances he was now obliged to make some show of zeal in the affair of the marriage. On the other hand for a wedding a bride is indispensable. Now Olivares knew very well that nobody was more averse from marriage than the Prince's chosen one, who was most unwilling to be handed over to a heretic for the sake of politics.[3] The minister needed all his astuteness if he was to extricate himself creditably from so complicated a situation.

One way out there was: "Let us," said Olivares to Buckingham, "settle the matter without Rome." "Splendid!", answered the latter, "but how?" "It's very simple,"

[1] A description of the celebrations is in KHEVENHILLER, X., 237 *seq.*; LINGARD, VII., 243; JUSTI, 310 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*

[2] KHEVENHILLER, X., 241 *seqq.*

[3] JUSTI, *loc. cit.*, 328.

said Olivares, "the Prince need only come over to the Catholic Faith; we cannot conceive how he could have undertaken this journey unless that had been his intention." Buckingham denied that Charles entertained any such idea. "If that is so," said Olivares, "we shall have to appeal to Rome."[1] In effect he did write to Cardinal Ludovisi; in his letter he expressed the hope that the dispensation would be granted without delay.[2]

However, the attempt to convert the Prince fitted too well into Olivares' plans for him to give it up in a hurry, for if Charles were really converted all difficulties would be at an end; but if not, the minister would be able to say that the dispensation could not be obtained from Rome for that reason; in that case all the odium of the unhappy issue of the business would fall on the Pope and no one would be able to blame Olivares.[3]

Added to this was the fact that the conduct of Buckingham and the Prince gave support to the hope of their return to the old Church. Throughout their stay in Madrid they never once attended the Protestant services at the British Embassy chapel.[4] Whenever Charles entered a church he bent the knee before the Blessed Sacrament. One day, as a procession passed the royal castle, the Prince, who was watching from a window, remained on his knees until the Blessed Sacrament had passed out of sight. When on the occasion of a visit to the Archduchess Margaret, Maximilian II.'s daughter, at her Carmelite convent, the latter expressed the hope that the Prince would also open similar holy houses in England, he answered that with God's help he hoped to do so.[5] Bristol himself thought

[1] GARDINER, V., 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 16.

[4] *Ibid.*, 28. Charles made at most but one exception. When a month later, Cottington set out for England, Charles commissioned him "to give His Majesty satisfaction in that His Highness hath not had the exercise of his religion in hearing sermons" (*ibid.*, 37).

[5] GINDELY, in the *Archiv. für österr. Gesch.*, LXXXIX. (1901), 63.

his conduct so remarkable that he proffered his services to the Prince if he really wished to be received into the Church.[1] For these reasons Olivares subsequently renewed his efforts to convert the Prince. Nothing was reported to London by Buckingham and Charles of any inclination towards the old religion, but they did seek information from the King as to how far they might use his name in the question of the recognition of papal supremacy. If they conceded that the Pope was the Supreme Head of the Church under Christ, then it was their view that the marriage might be arranged without a papal dispensation.[2] James replied that he could not concede anything beyond what he had stated in his book against Bellarmine: viz. if the Pope would "quit his godhead and usurping over kings he (James) would acknowledge him for chief bishop to whom all appeals of Churchmen ought to lie *en dernier ressort*".[3] However, in the end Charles rejected the idea of conversion. Thus was frustrated Olivares' first attempt to extricate himself from his awkward predicament.

Thereupon he changed his tactics. If Charles would promise freedom of religion for the English Catholics, the Pope would probably consent to the marriage, and with the papal permission once granted the opposition of the Infanta would soon be overcome. Consequently Olivares questioned Buckingham on this point. The answer was that open toleration could not be granted to English Catholics without the risk of an

[1] GARDINER, V., 17. KHEVENHILLER, too, writes on June 8, 1623, to Vienna: "His Excellency the Count (Olivares), has given the English Prince a meed of praise: he does indeed deserve it; he is a modest, pious, intelligent, and virtuous gentleman, and one who seems to show some marked inclination towards the Catholic religion" (X., 258). KHEVENHILLER, had, however, written on April 17, 1623 (*ibid.*, 79), "The English make a great show of Catholicism and thereby create great hopes of conversion; they are great adepts at this kind of thing—the English here are the very *quinta essentia* of cunning!"

[2] Note of March 10, 1623, in LINGARD, VII., 244; GARDINER, V., 15.

[3] Note of March 25, 1623, in LINGARD, *loc. cit.*; GARDINER, V., 16.

insurrection in which Catholics themselves would suffer most, the free exercise of their religion within the four walls of their homes was the utmost that could be promised.[1] This the papal nuncio, de Massimi, declared to be inadequate. The Pope, he told Olivares, would not go back on the decision of the Commission of Cardinals without very special reasons. His own opinion (the nuncio's) was that unless freedom of worship were promised the dispensation would not be granted. If the King of England could not bring himself to make such a concession now when he was so anxious to obtain the Pope's assent, how much less could he be expected to do so later on? If James was afraid of his own subjects because his power was limited by Parliament, how would he be able to maintain his promises after the arrival of the Infanta in England? Massimi even suggested that the Catholics should be given some strong places such as the Huguenots in France possessed.[2] To this proposal Buckingham replied that the position of the Huguenots in France was very different from that of the Catholics in England: the French Protestants had been found fully armed and in possession of these strongholds; the English Catholics, on the contrary, were in hiding, full of fear, and without prestige.[3] Thus Olivares had to register yet another defeat. He now decided to act as if he furthered the marriage, but secretly to render it impossible. On March 25th, 1623, he told Buckingham to lose no time in arranging for the departure of the Infanta. The Duke of Pastrana was sent to Rome to obtain the dispensation, but the ambassador was secretly instructed not to insist on the purpose of his mission, but rather to assure Rome that the dispensation was not desired at Madrid. In this way Olivares hoped to throw all the odium of the failure of the marriage plan on the Pope's shoulders, and to extricate himself from his difficulties. However, a fresh disappointment awaited the wily minister. Pastrana had scarcely left Madrid when the unexpected news arrived that Rome would not refuse the dispensation.

[1] GARDINER, V., 20.

[2] *Ibid.*, 22.

[3] *Ibid.*, 23.

Gregory XV. had heard with great joy of the Prince's journey to Spain.[1] If Henry VIII.'s divorce from his Spanish wife had been the occasion of England's separation from the Church, might one not cherish the hope that the present marriage with the Infanta would lead to her reconciliation with the ancient Church ? [2] A Congregation of six Cardinals was appointed to study the question of the dispensation.[3] After hearing de la Fuente and Gage it decided unanimously that the Pope could and should give his consent to the marriage.[4] The possibility of the Prince's conversion to Catholicism, or at least the prospect of a marked amelioration of the position of English Catholics seemed to the Cardinals a sufficient reason for granting a permission which had been withheld by Paul V. in different circumstances. An instruction was drafted for the Spanish nuncio informing him in detail of the position of affairs. It stated that since direct relations with the King of England were impossible, the promises of the King of Spain were to be regarded as guarantees for the execution of the marriage treaty. By its terms both the English King and the Prince of Wales were bound to place in the hands of the Catholic King a written promise concerning the execution of the contract ; this document, therefore, must first of all be handed over and an authentic copy thereof sent to the Pope. The document with the dispensation was not to be allowed out of the nuncio's keeping until Philip IV. had made the required promise on oath, as guarantor for James I.

The chief reason why Gregory XV. granted the dispensation was his hope for an amelioration in the position of English Catholics.[5] No hope for complete religious freedom could be

[1] *Cf.* the note of Ludovisi of April 12, 1623, in Arezio, 61 *seqq.*

[2] Gardiner, V., 35.

[3] They were Bandini, Barberini, Millini, Ubaldini, Cobelluzio, and Ludovisi. The instruction for the Spanish nuncio of April 12, 1623, is in Arezio, 72.

[4] Instruction, *ibid.*

[5] " non v'essendo cagione più efficace, che muova N.S. a concedere la dispensa, che la speranza del giovamento de'catolici medesimi " (*ibid.*, 74).

entertained in view of the Puritan's hatred for everything Catholic. But at least, the persecution and oppression of the Catholics must cease, and the nuncio was to press for this with all his energy. In the course of these matrimonial negotiations many such promises had been made, but reliable and recent information went to show that the persecution was still raging; as a matter of fact it raged even more fiercely in Scotland and Ireland than in England.[1] Vanmala, the representative of the Infanta Isabel Clare Eugenie, was not a little astonished thereat, for if the King did not act with greater mildness now that he had no more than a hope of securing a Spanish daughter-in-law, what would he not do once she was in his power? Therefore the Infanta Maria must not be allowed to be taken out of the country before the royal promises had been carried out; and with a view to reassuring English Catholics, means must be found of acquainting them with the royal promises, and if the marriage did not come off, the King of Spain must publicly declare that the fault was not the Pope's.[2]

The demands of the Secretary of State were not meant to be taken too seriously. On April 18th, Ludovisi sent a document, dated April 12th, in which he demanded that James I. should grant to Catholics liberty of public worship, and that this grant should be confirmed both by the Royal Council and by Parliament,[3] whilst in a covering letter the Spanish nuncio was told that he was free to produce this document or not, at his discretion; in any case it would enable him to protract the negotiations if necessary.[4] The hopes for a happy issue of the affair expressed in the Roman documents were, of course,

[1] "havendo noi relationi assai fresche e fidate, che tuttavia durano (i.e. the persecutions); e che nella Scotia si esercitano ancora con maggior rigore, che nell'Inghilterra, e nell'Irlanda nè piu nè meno" (*ibid.*, 74).

[2] *Ibid.*, 75 *seq.* On Rome's caution in dealing with James I. GARDINER says (V., 3): "They were shrewd enough to suspect that, as soon as Charles was safe in England with his bride, he would forget all his promises."

[3] AREZIO, 76.

[4] *Ibid.*, 78.

somewhat diminished, though they were not quite dashed, when it was learned that the whole business was not serious.[1] However, now as before, Rome avoided anything that might prejudice the negotiations. A number of letters concerning the matter were addressed to Philip IV., to Prince Charles, and to three influential ecclesiastics.[2] When the Prince complained in Rome of unfriendliness on the part of the Spanish nuncio, the latter was admonished not to hinder a greater good by being too exacting.[3]

When a preliminary communication from Cardinal Ludovisi on the subject of the dispensation reached the nuncio, the latter informed Olivares in the strictest confidence. But soon the whole world knew of it and congratulations were showered on the Prince as if all difficulties had been overcome.[4] Fresh attempts at conversion had been made, in the first instance, with Buckingham,[5] who patiently listened for hours to discourses on the truth of the Catholic religion, occasionally dropping a remark himself. A fresh discussion also took place with the Prince. Charles seemed impressed with the arguments in favour of papal supremacy when Buckingham jumped up, showed his contempt for the arguing monks by his gestures, threw his hat on the ground and angrily stamped on it.[6] This behaviour led to the termination of the interview more surely than any arguments.

On April 24th, 1623, the dispensation came into the hands of the nuncio. A papal Brief commending the English Catholics to the King accompanied it.[7] Olivares was now able to take cognizance of the full contents of the marriage dispensation.

[1] Ludovisi, April 18, 1623, *ibid.*, 77, 79

[2] Ludovisi, April 19, *ibid.*, 80.

[3] Ludovisi, April 19, and May 1, *ibid.*, 79 *seq.*, 83.

[4] GARDINER, V., 33.

[5] April 4, 1623, *ibid.*, 29, 31; GINDELY, in the *Archiv. für österr. Gesch.*, LXXXIX., 64 *seqq.*

[6] GARDINER, V., 34 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 37. An earlier *Brief to Philip IV., of February 24, 1623, in the *Epist. Greg. XV.*, vol. III., no. 69, Papal Secret Archives; *one to the King's confessor, *ibid.*, no. 70.

He protested against the unwelcome concession ; the nuncio, however, declared that he was bound by his instructions from Rome. Willy-nilly the minister saw himself compelled to communicate the dispensation to the Prince and to inform him of the more stringent conditions.[1] Rome now demanded that the royal children should remain under their mother's care up to their twelfth year ; the Infanta's church must be open to the public ; and the oath of loyalty, the text of which the Pope himself was drafting for the future Queen's servants, was to serve for all the Catholics of England.[2]

After a barren discussion between Olivares and Buckingham, a commission of three Spaniards was set up to confer with Buckingham, Bristol, Aston and Cottington. The Prince himself appeared before this commission and declared that he and his father were prepared to promise under oath that the Penal Laws would not be carried out against the Catholics for the present ; they would do their utmost to obtain from Parliament the confirmation of the conditions agreed upon, as well as the suspension of the Penal Laws, if it were not possible to get them repealed. When the Spaniards asked how long it would be before this was effected, Charles answered promptly : Possibly from three to six months, more likely a year, quite certainly less than three years. It is hardly credible that he believed this himself.[3]

On May 6th the Prince had an opportunity to state his reasons against the hardening of the marriage conditions. The provision that the Infanta's church was to be open to all was not called for, he said, since Catholics were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion within their own houses. But he would show consideration. To grant more would be to concede complete religious liberty, which his father had always resisted. The introduction of a papal oath for the Queen's retinue was superfluous, nor was it fitting that the Pope should dictate an oath to the King of Great Britain. As to the point concerning the age up to which the royal children were to

[1] GARDINER, V., 38.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 39.

remain with their mother, he would speak to his father about it, but he would not guarantee the result.[1]

The Spanish Council of State declared the proposals of the Prince insufficient: the Roman conditions must be accepted or rejected in their entirety. The oath demanded from the King of Spain was a condition *sine qua non* of the marriage; under what conditions the King might take it was a matter to be discussed by a committee of forty theologians.

It would seem that Olivares now sought to render the conditions so difficult as to make a rejection of them by England a certainty. The King of England, he wrote to Philip IV., could not possibly mean his promises seriously, hence the Infanta must be kept in Spain until they were fulfilled. On May 7th he proposed the immediate celebration of the betrothal, but the Infanta was to remain in Spain until King James should have put his promises into execution—that is until the Privy Council should have agreed to, and Parliament confirmed, the repeal of the Penal Laws, and until some positions of trust should have been given to Catholics by way of a pledge. If such a procedure were adopted, Catholics would increase in number and in influence, the King would no longer be able to oppress them, and in the end he himself would have to embrace their religion.[2] However, these proposals did not meet with the approval of the Privy Council which hoped to obtain further concessions.

As a matter of fact, Charles now considered it a matter of honour not to return to England without the Infanta for whom he had gradually conceived a real affection. He watched "as a cat watches a mouse" for an opportunity to catch her eye; he turned verses which the chosen one could only have understood with the help of an interpreter.[3] One day, as the Infanta was taking the air in the garden, he climbed over the hedge, with the result that the young Princess screamed aloud and ran away.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 40–41.
[3] *Ibid.*, 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, 52.

Olivares took advantage of Charles' complaisance constantly to raise his demands. He first of all inquired of the Prince what, in his opinion, would be a sufficient guarantee for the oath that was demanded of the King. Charles answered that his own oath and that of his father should be confirmed by the oath of the Privy Council. He would also do his best to get it confirmed by Parliament. Shortly afterwards he declared his readiness to make himself responsible that, in the presence of his future spouse, never a word should be spoken against her religion ; on the contrary, if she desired it, he himself would be prepared to listen to the explanations of Catholic theologians.[1] However, the nuncio was not authorized to accept these promises as sufficient. In vain Buckingham discussed the matter with him for three hours, ending with the threat of a fresh persecution of Catholics. In vain did Bristol try his diplomatic arts upon him ; negotiations came to a standstill. At last it was agreed that Philip IV. would once more appeal to Rome with regard to the conditions of the marriage, and that the Prince would consult London. As for the oath to be taken by the King of Spain, a junta of theologians would discuss it. At first Charles expressed a wish to return to England in order personally to bring pressure to bear on his father, but, yielding to Philip IV.'s friendly persuasion, he consented to remain in Spain.[2] In fact, he committed himself to even greater concessions—so much so that for a time any further discussions of the junta seemed superfluous. Secretly Buckingham let it be known that only one point caused the Prince difficulties, namely, the request for the suspension of the laws against English Catholics ; but that his father would do his best in this respect. If James would do this, Olivares replied, then, in his opinion, all the necessary guarantees would have been given to enable Philip IV. to take the oath demanded by the Pope : but because the nuncio was of a different opinion, he must insist on the Prince's returning to London without the Infanta in order to obtain the fulfilment of the promises.

[1] GARDINER, V., 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

This new delay made the Englishmen so angry that the nuncio withdrew his objection. As a matter of fact Charles was pretty well ready for almost anything, so long as he should not have to return to London without the Infanta. He agreed that the royal children should remain under their mother's care until the age of twelve; that the oath proposed by the Pope should take the place of the oath of loyalty; and that the Infanta's church should be open to the public. Both himself and his father were prepared to guarantee that the application of the Penal Laws would be suspended, and that Parliament would be requested to repeal them within three years.[1] In view of these far-reaching concessions, the King of Spain declared that if they met with James I.'s assent, he would take the oath demanded of him and allow his sister to leave for England.[2]

Thus the Prince's wishes seemed about to be realized. He had already instructed Cottington to carry the good news to London, when a fresh difficulty arose. A certain preacher, one Pedrosa, warned the King in a public sermon not to sacrifice religion to considerations of State. To marry the Infanta to a a heretic was a serious step, and to swear that a heretic would keep his word was an even graver one.[3] The consequence of this warning was that, after all, the junta of theologians actually met. On May 23rd, 1623, they gave their decision—it was unfavourable to the Prince. They were of opinion that for Philip IV. to take the oath with a good conscience, it would be necessary to demand that the Infanta should remain in Spain for a whole year after the wedding; and within that period a public proclamation must be made that the Penal Laws against the Catholics would no longer be carried out, and that the latter

[1] *Ibid.*, 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, 48.

[3] *Ibid.* As to the sincerity of the Prince's promises, GARDINER's opinion is as follows (V., 45): "For months he lingered at Madrid, sacrificing his country to his love, making promises, into the full meaning of which he did not care to inquire, and satisfying himself with the prospect of being able to explain them away, if at any time they should prove inconvenient."

had been granted the free exercise of their religion within the four walls of their own houses. King James, Prince Charles, and the Privy Council would have to swear that these concessions would not be revoked. Finally, every attempt must be made to obtain the assent of Parliament.[1]

The Prince deemed these conditions excessive. The very next day after he had been informed of them he sent Cottington to the Court to request permission to return to London.[2] True, he did not mean this very seriously. When it was represented to him that he had promised first to place his father in possession of the facts, Cottington was told to hold himself in readiness to leave for London as soon as copies of the minutes of the latest negotiations should be in his hands. Charles himself remained in Spain where he attempted, through Bristol, to get the nuncio de Massimi and the theologians to change their minds.[3] Perhaps by more than anything else his desire for the Spanish marriage is proved by the fact that this time he went so far as to enter into a correspondence with the Pope himself.

In Rome the Prince's journey to Spain was regarded as a symptom of his attraction towards the ancient Church, and on April 23rd, 1623,[4] Gregory XV. wrote the following letter to Charles: "England," he begins, "which fills the old and the new world with the fame of her name, cannot fail to arrest also, and that very often, the Pope's attention; indeed, during the first Christian centuries the Cross penetrated there before the Roman Eagles, and many of England's Princes are revered as Saints. Even now the English Royal House is distinguished by natural virtues which would be a joy to the Pope and an

[1] GARDINER, V., 50. The President of the Royal Council, Roco de Campo Frio, stated his objection to the marriage in writing (in KHEVENHILLER, X., 278–305); so did Francisco de Jesu (*cf. ibid.*, 306 *seqq.*); another document to the Prince of Wales, *ibid.*, 314–26.

[2] *Ibid.*, 51.

[3] *Ibid.*, 53.

[4] Printed in BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 426 *seqq.*; KHEVENHILLER, X., 253 *seqq.*

honour to the Christian name, if only it were possible to add that it supported the true faith." Alluding to his own name, the Pope recalls that it was another Gregory—a Roman Pope also—who had instilled into the hearts of England's Kings and people the light of the Gospel and devotion to the Apostolic See. In imitation of this first Gregory, he too had the salvation of those realms very much at heart—especially now when the Prince's journey and his desire to be united in matrimony with a Catholic Princess seemed to open up the happiest prospects, for nobody who hated the Catholic religion, or desired the oppression of the Holy See, could be desirous of such a marriage. "We have therefore commanded that fervent prayer be offered to the Father of Lights, to the end that He may lead you, an ornament of the Christian world and the hope of Britain, into the possession of that inheritance which your ancestors acquired for you as the most precious patrimony, that is that you may protect the papal authority and beat down the hydra of heresy. Remember the days of old, ask your fathers and they will declare to you which is the road that leads to heaven and which is the road that mortal princes must follow. Look through the open doors of heaven and behold there those Kings of England who, under angelic tutelage, made pilgrimages to Rome in order to do homage to the Lord of Lords and to the Apostolic See of the Prince of the Apostles. Their actions and their example are the voice of God loudly exhorting you to stand firm by the principles of those whose throne you are one day to inherit. Could you really tolerate that men should be judged by heretics as ungodly, and by them cast down into the abyss of everlasting darkness, who according to the testimony of the whole Church reign with Christ in heaven, exalted far above all earthly principality? They stretch out their hands to you now from their everlasting abode, even as they have safely led you to the Court of the Catholic King, and desire to bring you back to the bosom of the Roman Church."

Accompanied by Olivares and other grandees the nuncio presented the letter to the Prince at a special audience.[1]

[1] May 24, 1623; see KHEVENHILLER, X., 253.

Charles received it with "great reverence", and treated the nuncio with utmost courtesy. On June 23rd he sent a reply to the Pope,[1] which could only confirm the opinion prevailing in Roman circles as to the intentions of the Prince. The very address was significant: "Most Holy Father!" The Prince went on to say how gratified he had been to be reminded of the example of his forefathers. He would "do his utmost to the end that peace and concord, so long banished, might return to the Church of God and to the Christian world. Since the father of dissension has sown the seeds of so many unhappy quarrels among those who believe in one and the same Christian Faith, we believe that the most pressing need is to advance the honour of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ." His father also was deeply distressed by the cruel massacres and the pitiable misfortunes which arose from the dissensions between Christian princes. "Your Holiness' opinion with regard to our desire to ally ourselves with a Catholic princely house and to marry a Catholic princess, has been inspired by your Holiness' affection and corresponds with facts. We should never feel such eagerness to unite ourselves by so close and indissoluble a bond with a mortal being, if we abhorred her religion. Hence, Your Holiness may feel assured that we shall always study moderation, for we abhor any act that might in any way show hatred for the Catholic religion; on the contrary, we shall seize every opportunity to further the free course of events to the end that every evil suspicion may thereby be put out of the way. Then, even as we all acknowledge the one undivided Trinity and the same crucified Christ, so shall we be united in the harmony of one Faith and one Church. If we could realize so noble an ideal, we should consider our labours and our vigils, nay the loss of kingdom and life, to be but a small sacrifice."

Schism then is the work of the devil! Catholics have nothing to fear from the future ruler of Great Britain; Charles will do his utmost to restore unity—this was much more than had been expected in Rome.

[1] *Ibid.*, 267 *seq.*; the date is in BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 426.

Olivares sought to make the Prince still more submissive by openly and solemnly betaking himself, on June 7th, to Khevenhiller, for the purpose of promoting once more the Infanta's marriage with an Austrian. The ambassador thereupon procured from Vienna the necessary authority.[1]

Shortly after his letter to the Prince, the Pope also replied to James I.'s communication of September in the previous year.[2] Referring to some of the King's remarks, he praises his desire for the restoration of world peace. But it was even more important that the great masses should be in a peaceful frame of mind, and since the disunion of the nations arose from religious dissensions, James should labour for religious unity. As in his letter to the Prince, the Pope touches upon England's former relations with the Holy See. He prays that James would restore them. The restoration of the Catholic faith in England would be his greatest achievement, one comparable to that of Constantine: God, who had subjected three kingdoms to the King, would vouchsafe him His protection. At the very least let James grant to Catholics the free exercise of their religion. George Gage would be the bearer of further information.

Meanwhile Cottington had left for London on May 21st, 1623, where he arrived on June 14th. Everything now depended on the attitude which James would take towards the question of the marriage.

Outwardly the weak monarch had at first made a brave show. When he heard of Charles's arrival in Madrid he commanded that bonfires should be lit and church-bells rung.[3] Before that, when on the first intimation of the Prince's surreptitious journey, the Privy Council in its dismay begged him on their knees to tell them what was the truth of the matter, he had spoken reassuring words. Charles was only acting as his father and many of his forefathers had done, when

[1] KHEVENHILLER, X., 255 *seqq.*, 261 *seqq.*

[2] May 2, 1623, in the *Epist. Greg. XV.*, vol. III., no. 78, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, an exhortation dated April 19, 1623, to Philip IV. and his confessor, Ant. de Sotomayor, to work for the conversion of the Prince.

[3] GARDINER, V., 54.

they had gone forth in person to win their brides; universal peace for Christendom would be the issue of this journey.[1] Public opinion, however, was not calmed by these assurances; in all the churches prayers were offered for the safe return of the heir to the throne.[2] To all appearances James refused to be alarmed. He was busy collecting the fleet that was to fetch the Infanta. He spoke of the chapel which he was obliged to build for her—though very much against his inclination—and Charles' companion, Buckingham, was made a Duke.[3] However, in reality, James was as worried as his subjects. "What do you think?" he asked a confidant, bursting into tears, "shall I ever see the Prince again?" Oppressed as he was by the fear that the Spaniards might keep back Charles by force, he was ready for any concessions. The Prince had asked that every concession made by himself in the name of the King should be carried out by him. The foolish father gave these ample powers,[4] which completely subjected him to the whims of his thoughtless son. When Cottington arrived in London, James shut himself in with him and Conway for two whole days. He then wrote to Madrid that if the Spanish ministers could not be induced to reverse "the decisions of their devils", the Prince should subscribe to the marriage conditions as they stood, proceed with the wedding and come home at once. On June 22nd William Croft arrived at Madrid with these instructions.[5]

Charles acted with his wonted indecision. On July 6th Olivares informed him that his royal master was obliged to abide by the decision of the junta. There was only one concession he would make, namely, if the marriage should take place, say in September, the King would forgo the plan of

[1] *Ibid.*, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 54.

[4] May 11, 1623. GARDINER, V., 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, 61. What James thought of the negotiations he had already told Gondomar earlier; if the marriage were concluded, the Infanta would do what her husband asked of her, notwithstanding all treaties (KHEVENHILLER, X., 282).

keeping the Infanta a full year in Spain after the Prince's departure. He would be quite willing for her to leave already in March. Charles replied that his father had instructed him not to leave the Infanta in Spain when he returned ; he must therefore look on the negotiations as broken off. However when he presented himself before the King on the following day he had changed his mind once more and was ready to accept all the conditions.[1]

It looked as if the last remaining difficulties had been overcome. Philip IV. embraced the Prince as a brother. During four nights in succession the streets of Madrid were illuminated to celebrate the event. Lord Andover was dispatched to England with the good news.[2]

James was paying dearly for having allowed the final decision in regard to the marriage to be taken out of his own hands. In his name his son had agreed to the demands of the junta. Compliance with them required the King of England and his counsellors to take an oath in respect to the marriage conditions. James was hurt by the implied mistrust shown in the demand of an oath from his counsellors, over and above his own royal word and oath. Moreover he was not prepared to suspend the Penal Laws unconditionally and loathed the idea of personally getting Parliament to ratify such a measure. On the other hand he was convinced that his son would be kept by force in Spain if England's King broke his pledged word. In this dilemma James summoned his counsellors on June 13th, 1623, at Wanstead, when he laid the most recent events before them. He then left the room so that they might discuss the matter with complete freedom.

At first the distinguished gathering's wisdom seemed to have forsaken it. The only way out they could think of was the recall of the Prince before the oath was taken. But in the end the King's first minister, Williams, saved his master. He realized that James I., in order to free his son from the trap, would, in any circumstances, take the required oath, and that all he really wanted from his advisers was some decision with which

[1] GARDINER, V., 63.

[2] *Ibid.*

to cloak this step in the eyes of the people. Williams therefore explained that it was not possible to offer counsel until they knew whether the King felt some scruple of conscience against taking the oath. James I. replied that in regard to his conscience, he maintained his former standpoint, but he was ready to listen to reasons which might be urged in favour of another point of view. Williams now put such reasons before him. He knew very well, he began, how ill it became him to discuss a theological question with one as learned as His Majesty, but he must draw attention to the fact that the Prince had already agreed to the conditions of the marriage. Now Charles was as good a Protestant as any in the world, and, in his opinion, he had done the right thing. He had not been asked to neglect in future the spread of the true religion or to further the papal supremacy ; all that had been demanded of him was that he should not attempt to root out the Roman religion.

James had now secured what he wanted. On July 16th he once more convened his Council. The Spaniards, he said with some emotion, had treated him hardly, but what could he do if he did not wish to lose the Prince ? He now put it to the members of his Council, whether they would take the required oath. He would explain to the Spanish ambassador that he did not intend to assume the obligation of asking the approval of Parliament, and the safety of the State must come before any obligation to which he might commit himself with regard to the Penal Laws. Thereupon all declared themselves ready to take the oath provided that they were ordered to do so under the Great Seal. On the following Sunday, after church, the King, in the presence of the two Spanish envoys, Coloma and Inojosa, swore to the conditions of the marriage. After a banquet the counsellors also swore that they would observe the public articles of the treaty and not press in any way for the execution of the Penal Laws. Seven members of the Council were absent. Subsequently, James I., at the residence of the Spanish ambassador, swore to another four secret articles : viz. that the special laws against the Catholics should not be enforced ; that freedom to practise their religion in the spirit of the treaty would be extended to Scotland and Ireland ; that

neither he nor his son would ever interfere in the slightest way with the faith of the Infanta ; that they would both do all they could to obtain the ratification of these articles by Parliament ; that they would ask Parliament to abrogate the Penal Laws ; and that they would never give their assent to any fresh laws of that kind. However, James declared before Cottington and two secretaries that with regard to the assent of Parliament, he was only obliged to do his best to obtain it ; and that he did not pledge himself unconditionally never again to enforce the Penal Laws.[1]

Meanwhile rumours of what was going on had come to the ears of the populace and had aroused no small excitement. A letter to the King, published under the name of Archbishop Abbot, gave vent to the general feeling. It represented to James that by his promise of religious toleration he was doing his best to restore the most damnable and heretical teaching of the Roman Church—the Babylon of the Apocalypse. The letter did not omit to threaten with the wrath of God.[2]

On August 21st the King wrote to his son in Madrid. Of the commotion throughout England the letter does not breathe a word, but it lays stress on the fact that the Spaniards must not be allowed to forget their promise of money, " for if they do, then, my dear Charlie, you and I are both bankrupt." [3]

Madrid was anxious to get the marriage contract finally settled. A draft of the document, which was laid before the Prince, contained four additional points besides the four that had already been sworn to. By these additional clauses the Prince promised the execution, within three years, of the marriage conditions—failure to do so would be a stain on his conscience and royal honour. The Prince undertook to do his best with a view to raising the age limit up to which the royal children were to be under their mother's care to twelve years ; on his accession to the throne he would concede this age limit. Finally as soon as the Infanta demanded it, he would be prepared to listen to explanations of religious questions by

[1] Gardiner, 63–70 ; Lingard, VII., 248, note.
[2] Gardiner, V., 71. *Cf.* Brosch, VII., 71 *seq.*
[3] Gardiner, V., 73.

Catholic theologians. All these concessions were also to apply to Scotland and Ireland.

Olivares had hoped that these demands, in part quite impossible of fulfilment, would wreck the marriage at the last minute. He had yet to learn that all the wisdom of reasonable men will go down before a lover's recklessness.

Contrary to all expectations, Charles agreed to the terms of the document, When Olivares was informed of it, he was at first speechless. He then exclaimed : " I should have expected my own death rather than this ! "

In point of fact all the minister's diplomatic astuteness had been utterly defeated. Nothing that he could do without showing open opposition to the projected marriage, had he left undone ; but he was destined to see the successive miscarriage of every one of his cleverly conceived manœuvres. Things had now gone so far that for the conclusion of the marriage only one thing more was required, namely, the consent of the bride ; and Olivares himself was now forced to do his utmost to remedy that deficiency. With the help of his own wife he succeeded in persuading the Infanta. With many tears that much tormented woman consented to sacrifice herself for the liberty of English Catholics.[1] On July 5th, 1623, the marriage treaty was signed by the Prince and by Philip IV. The Princess was not to leave for England until the following spring. The marriage was to take place as soon as James I. should have sworn to the articles and the Pope given his consent. The latter condition proved the Infanta's salvation, for at the moment when it was drawn up, as was learnt shortly after, Gregory XV, was already a corpse. All they could now do was to hope for the best from his successor.

[1] " essendo stata tuttavia impressa, che grandissimo merito aquisterebbe appresso il Signor Dio con maritarsi con questo principe, perchè beneficava tanto la religione, si haveva ella accommodato l'animo, etc. *Corner* to the Doge of Venice, August 18, 1623, in GARDINER, V., 92.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of the Catholic Reformation and Restoration in France, Switzerland and the German Empire—Death of Gregory XV.

(1.)

Under the Pontificate of Gregory XV. the wide, uniform and universal policy of the Holy See towards a complete Catholic restoration reached its high-water mark. The same world-wide view which inspired the organization of the work of the missions is likewise revealed in the effort to exploit the political situation in Central Europe which was most favourable to the Church, in order to recover lost ground. This aim is revealed with great clarity and preciseness in the Instructions to the new nuncios whom the Pope dispatched in the spring of 1621, to the imperial Court and to Madrid, Brussels, Paris and Lucerne. All the representatives of the Holy See are put under obligation to advance not only the internal reform of the Church, but its external restoration. "All your zeal and all your activity," so we read in the Instruction for Carlo Carafa who was dispatched as nuncio to the Emperor in April, 1621, "must have but one end, that of exploiting to the greatest possible advantage the happy revolution of fortune and the victorious state of things." [1]

From now onwards the historic struggle between the ancient Church and the religious innovators was no longer to be limited, as it had been in the time of Paul V., to defending that which had escaped the storm, but by boldly taking the offensive, a victorious decision must be sought on all the

[1] Kollmann, *Acta*, I., 57. For the renewal of the political efforts of the Holy See, *cf.* Biaudet, 59, who, however, wrongly attributes this to purely personal considerations. The guiding motive was the determination to begin afresh and with greater boldness and energy, the movement for Catholic restoration.

threatened points.[1] It was of the utmost importance to exploit at once the victories of the Emperor and the Catholic League in Germany; at the same time, since the armistice with the Netherlands was about to lapse, it was imperative that an effort should be made to crush Calvinism both in Germany and in France. It was well understood in Rome that these great enterprises were only possible if peace was kept between the Catholic Powers.

One of the first tasks, therefore, that Gregory XV. set himself, was the preservation of peace between France and Spain which was imperilled by the question of the Valtellina.[2] The cabinet of Paris, which for a time had made common cause with Madrid in this matter, was getting greatly perturbed by the successes of its rival and showed no disposition to tolerate the permanent occupation of the Valtellina by the Spaniards. On February 9th, 1621, Bassompierre was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Madrid. In this diplomatic intervention France could rely on the support of Venice and that of the Protestant party in the Grisons.[3]

The danger that this collision of political interests between the two Catholic Powers, whose long-standing enmity had apparently been set aside by the marriage of Louis XIII. with the Spanish Princess Anne, might provoke even more serious complications, caused the greatest alarm to Gregory XV., for thereby not merely the peace of Italy, but the progress of the Catholic restoration would have been gravely endangered.

[1] The Instruction for *C. Carafa* states: "*Until now it was a question of preserving the remainder (*reliquie*) of the Catholic Church and to save it from the approaching storm, but now we may hope for more." Ma ci confidiamo che al tempo di S. M.tà non saremo cosi poveri di aiuti nè cosi costretti a stare sulle difese, anzi dobbiamo delle sue vittorie et della divina beneditione, che la cuopre et protege, sperare felicissimi avvenimenti" (*Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library). Then follows the passage, quoted by KOLLMANN, on the results already obtained (*Acta* 59).

[2] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXV., 441 *seq.*

[3] See ROTT, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 406; *cf.* ZELLER, *Le Connétable de Luynes*, 175 *seq.*, on Bassompierre's mission.

From the first Gregory XV. had made it clear that he was not prepared to be used by Spain as a mere tool of her policy. Soon after his elevation he had recognized the legal argument put forward by Venice in support of her claim to hegemony with regard to shipping in the Adriatic, and he insisted that nothing should be changed in the existing state of things. To the Spanish ambassador he explained that this was not the time for drawing down upon Christendom still greater calamities, and that water, not wood, should be thrown into a raging fire.[1] Although many people in Rome sought to restrain him from meddling with so dangerous a problem,[2] the Pope who, as nuncio, had seen with his own eyes the horrors of war in northern Italy,[3] resolved to make every effort for a compromise by peaceful mediation and to prevent the outbreak of hostilities.[4] To this end he appealed both to France and Spain. In Paris he had representations made on the necessity of prompt action against the Huguenots who were preparing an insurrection, for thus the French would be prevented from intervening in the Valtellina.[5] It may be that Gregory XV. hoped for success in this attempt, for it was known that at that time he inclined rather to France and Venice than to Spain.[6]

In order to gain the Madrid Government for a peaceful solution, the Pope addressed himself on March 3rd, 1621,

[1] See the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 127. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 201.

[2] See Accarisius, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III, ch. 4, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 46.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Alfonso Pico to Ferdinand II., dated, Rome, March 12, 1621, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the report of Savelli, February 12, 1621, in Schnitzer, *Zur Politik*, 167.

[6] *Cf.* the narrative of the Lucca envoys, in *Studie docum.*, XXII., 205. A. Possevino, too, remarks in his report of June 4, 1621, concerning Gregory XV., "non e inamorato di Spagna." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to the all-powerful Duke of Uzeda,[1] and a little later, on the advice of the Venetian ambassador,[2] he wrote directly to the King, addressing a long epistle, in his own hand, to Philip III., on March 26th, 1621. He began with a survey of the situation of the world as viewed from his lofty watch tower, a situation which he described in a few but striking sentences: Germany was filled with the din of war, the armistice in the Netherlands had almost lapsed, the Poles were threatened by the Tartars and the Turks, the northern Protestant Powers were on the look-out for an opportunity to attack the Habsburgs, France was troubled by the Huguenots, and now even the peace of Italy was seriously imperilled by the affair of the Valtellina. Thus at the beginning of his pontificate, he had more reasons for tears than for joy. But he trusted in the help of God and in the King of Spain's love of peace, a sentiment which, in point of fact, coincided with his interest. Firmly relying on His Majesty's pacific intentions, he begged and enjoined him to restore the independence of the Valtellina, as soon as possible. No other question, Gregory continues, was nearer to his heart at the beginning of his pontificate; there was nothing with which the King could oblige him more than by yielding on this matter. He once more emphasises that the maintenance of peace in Italy was in the best interest of Spain herself and concludes by reaffirming his determination to use every means at his disposal to effect this end.[3]

The Pope's letter was dispatched to Cardinal Cennini, who up till then had been nuncio in Madrid; it was followed with appropriate Briefs addressed to the more distinguished Spanish ministers. Cennini was charged to dispel any suspicion that the Pope's step might be inspired by reasons other than his solicitude for the interests of the Church and those of the King himself who, in view of the situation in Germany and the

[1] See *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 502 *seq.*

[2] See Barozzi-Berchet, *Italia*, I., 130.

[3] See **Lettera al re cattolico* in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome, dated March 26, 1621, in *Cod. Strozz.*, CLX. (State Archives, Florence), March 16, 1621.

Netherlands could not fail to set great store by the preservation of peace in Italy.[1] In a letter in code dispatched at the same time, Cardinal Ludovisi reminded Cennini that the Pope was firmly resolved to settle the affair of the Valtellina in such a way that the Catholic religion would be assured in that territory, which would also recover its full autonomy and would cease to be alternatively a cause of jealousy or fear for certain foreign Powers. In this document the separate treaty[2] concluded on February 6th, 1621, between the Spaniards and the delegates of the Great Council, was entirely repudiated by the Pope, because it signified nothing else but the occupation of the territory by the Spaniards. The letter accurately prophesies that the other Cantons would not accept the treaty, and that France and Venice would never recognize it. Bearing this fact in mind the Cardinal was instructed to make it clear to the King that he could not possibly wage war, not only in Germany and the Netherlands, but in Italy as well.[3]

The purpose of these papal letters was to prepare the ground for the new Spanish nuncio, Alessandro de Sangro, who received his Instruction on April 5th, 1621.[4] In that document we read that Italy had good grounds for fearing that the peace would be broken through the affair of the Valtellina since the Spaniards had occupied the territory, were constructing fortifications and concentrating large forces there. On their part the Venetians were also arming, for they feared both for themselves and for their friends, the

[1] The *letter to Card. Cennini of March 26, 1621, is in the MSS. mentioned above, p. 200, note 3, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* JECKLIN, *Materialen zur Standes und Landesgeschichte der drei Bünde*, I., Basle, 1907, no. 1373.

[3] This *note also is in the *Codex* quoted, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] **Instruttione a Mgsr. Sangro, patriarca d'Alessandria, nuntio in Spagna*, April 5, 1621, *Cod.* J., III., 80, Chigi Library, Rome. Also in *Barb.* 5352 and 5588, Vatican Library; in *Cod.* 11257 of the Ossoliniana at Lemberg. and in *Cod.* XI., G. 31 of the National Library, Naples. In *Ottob.* 2725 the date is wrongly given as April 15.

French. The Pope's hope for the preservation of peace rested upon his expectation that the King of Spain would disavow the action of the Duke of Feria, Governor of Milan. If the nuncio joined his efforts to those of the French and Venetian ambassadors in Madrid, success was all the more likely as the lapse of the Dutch armistice would distract the Spaniards from the affairs of Italy. If Sangro, on his arrival in Madrid, found that the King was unwilling to restore its independence to the Valtellina and to issue to his representatives in Italy the necessary orders to that end, he was to act with the greatest firmness and "to speak plainly and strongly", for the Pope was determined to preserve the peace of Italy at all costs.[1]

The Instruction for the new nuncio in Paris, Ottavio Corsini, Archbishop of Tarsus, dated April 4th, 1621, also discusses in detail the question of the Valtellina and the possibility of war between Spain and France. Corsini was to prevent such a misfortune by every means at his command. The Pope was indifferent as to how he did it, so long as the Catholics of the Valtellina were assured of protection and the outbreak of war between the two Catholic Powers was prevented.[2]

The prospects seemed favourable enough, for Philip III., in opposition to Feria, would not hear of the annexation of the Valtellina.[3] So the Pope hoped for a favourable answer from Madrid.[4] However, the King died on March 31st, 1621,

[1] The passage from the *Instruction to Sangro is printed in *Arch. stor. ital. N.S.*, VII., 1, 8 *seq.*

[2] See *Archiv. für schweiz. Gesch.*, XII. (1858), 194 *seq.* and ZELLER, *Luynes*, 280 *seq.*

[3] See ROTT, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 407.

[4] See the *Instruction for the Viennese nuncio Carafa, April 12, 1621, who was told to urge the Emperor to press Spain. About the Valtellina the Instruction says: "N.S.re desidera intorno a quello due cose, l'una che ci salvi colà la religione cattolica, l'altra che non si venga per la contesa di quel passo ad una guerra aperta che seco involva l'Italia, laonde parendo a sua S.tà che nè il Re di Francia nè li principi d'Italia siano per acquetarsi se non si lascia in libertà la Valle con l'atterrarsi i forti et che si

hence the Pope's letter of the 26th never reached him. As for the young King, Philip IV., it was very uncertain whether he entertained the same intentions as his father. The impressions of the French ambassador, Bassompierre, at his first audience, were such that he threatened him with a declaration of war unless Spain withdrew her troops from the Valtellina. Considerations of a general character, more even than these threats, and the firm attitude of Gregory XV., induced the Madrid cabinet to give way.[1] In this way, on April 25th, 1621, the treaty of Madrid was concluded between Spain and France, which guaranteed the return of the Valtellina to the Grisons on condition of a complete amnesty in connexion with recent events. As for the religious question, it was decided that all the innovations introduced after 1617 to the detriment of the Catholic Church were to be abolished.[2] The guarantee for the execution of the treaty was to be undertaken by the Catholics and the Protestants of the Confederation jointly with the French Crown and the papal nuncio.

The treaty of Madrid was not yet known in Rome when the Bishop of Campagna, Alessandro Scappi,[3] was nominated nuncio for Lucerne and given his Instruction on May 12th, 1621. That document touches chiefly upon the internal ecclesiastical reform and restoration. It was the duty of a good nuncio not only to maintain what had been preserved, but to conquer new ground, and by degrees to make good the losses suffered. For this reason he must have at heart the conversion of heretics, the restoration of property and jurisdiction, episcopal authority, the erection of seminaries, the

possono trovar de modi a render sicuri i Valtelini dell'oppressione de Grisoni nella religione e nel governare, ha operati efficacissimi offitii col Re cattolico acciò che voglia accommodare quelle cose e ritornar la Valle alla primiera libertà, ma non se ne è ancora havuta risposta che si spera tuttavia sia ragionevole." *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

[1] See Rott, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 407.

[2] See Siri, V., 300 *seq.*; Abschied, V., 2, 2034.

[3] See his credentials of May 5, 1621, in the *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 503.

provision of a remedy for the shortage of priests, the prohibition of heretical books, the convocation of synods, the visitation of parishes and the reform of monasteries and convents. A general line of conduct is indicated in the warning that he should take no part in the domestic differences of the Cantons, nor show himself more favourable to the French than to the Spaniards. The rest of the Instruction deals with the Grisons and the Valtellina. The situation at the moment was thus described: The French, who would not allow the alliance between the Venetians and the Grisons, also refused to tolerate that Spain should assume a dominant rôle and, by occupying the Valtellina, should make it impossible for them to go to the assistance of their allies. Venice also was herself entirely cut off from the Grisons, for whose friendship she had been so anxious. Both, therefore, would be looking for help from heretical princes, and if none other was available, even from the Turks themselves. Among the means which might lead to an agreement, the suggestion recently made by the Spanish ambassador at Genoa, Juan Vives, is mentioned, namely, to hand over the fortified places of the Valtellina to the Pope as to a neutral Power. Although recognizing that a proposal of this kind showed great faith in the Holy See, and whilst admitting the advantages which might accrue to the Catholic cause, several objections are enumerated which made the proposition impossible in practice. The Instruction goes on to say that the Pope would be content with any solution which would satisfy the parties concerned and which would guarantee both the interests of the Church and the preservation of peace. The first and foremost task of the nuncio was to prevent the outbreak of a war between France and Spain.[1]

How keen this wish of the Pope was is shown by the

[1] "*Instruttione a Mgr. vescovo di Campagna, destinato da N.S.re suo nuntio ordinario alli Suizzeri delle sette cantoni," dated May 12, 1621, according to *Inf. polit.*, VII., 262 *seq.*, published in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 281 *seq.*, partly in translation and partly in extracts. A better copy is in *Barb.* 5445, Vatican Library, and another in *Cod. Casanat.*, X., V., 14, no. 6, and *Cod.* F. 3, F. 96 of the Library at Salzburg.

Instructions[1] sent to the nuncios in Madrid, Paris and Brussels, as well as by the circumstance that Gregory XV. was inclined to overlook the fact that the Treaty of Madrid safeguarded Catholic interests only very imperfectly, for by its terms only those religious innovations were to be abolished which had been introduced after the beginning of 1617.[2] Though his Holiness, so Cardinal Ludovisi informed the Spanish nuncio, would have desired better terms, he did not condemn the treaty. In this most confidential letter the proposal of Juan Vives was qualified by Ludovisi as a manœuvre on the part of Feria, the purpose of which was to delay indefinitely the execution of the Treaty. The nuncio was invited to do all he could to persuade the King to countermand Feria's proposal.[3] The Pope, so Ludovisi assures the Spanish nuncio once more on July 16th, was assuredly anxious to help the Valtellina Catholics, but he was unwilling to make common cause with those who, on the plea of religion, sought to wreck the Treaty of Madrid.[4]

Whilst Gregory XV. energetically opposed the war policy of that intriguer, the Duke of Feria, he took a step which, if it succeeded, would distract attention from the Valtellina, benefit the Catholic cause, and forward peace in Italy in so far as it would have occupied on the other side of the Alps the Duke of Savoy, who still burnt with a desire to conquer Monferrat.[5] At the beginning of May, 1621, Louis XIII. had put himself at the head of an army and marched into Poitou for the purpose of repressing the Huguenots. The

[1] See besides the Instruction to the Brussels nuncio, May 1, 1621, in CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, 128 *seq.*; that for the Archbishop of Thebes, nuncio extraordinary, October 17, 1621, in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, XII. (1858), 185 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the letter of the Bishop of Chur to Bellarmine, July 20, 1621, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XV., 329 *seq.*

[3] "*Agucchi a nome del card. Ludovisi al Nuntio di Spagna," July 16, 1621, in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See the **Aggiunta alla lettera di 16 Luglio 1621* and the note of August 15 and 20, 1621, *ibid.*

[5] See ROTT, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 449.

Calvinist preachers had done their best to force the King to take up arms.[1] A conference at La Rochelle formally organized a rising in which, however, only the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise joined from among the great nobles of the realm. The rapid successes of Louis XIII. against the Huguenots, in the early stages of the campaign, seemed to suggest that the moment had come to make a fresh attempt to overthrow the old metropolis of Calvinism.[2] It is not possible to ascertain with complete certainty whether the idea of an attack on Geneva originated in Turin or in Rome. The readiness with which Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy fell in with the plan led many contemporaries to conclude that he was its real instigator.[3] Gregory XV. and his enterprising Secretary of State were keen supporters of the scheme, since Geneva was not only the seed-bed of Calvinist preachers, but by offering shelter to Italian apostates, it constituted a constant danger.[4] Seeing that secrecy was of paramount importance, the Pope entrusted the negotiations in Turin and Paris to a simple Barnabite, Fr. Tobias Corona. Corona's Instruction, dated July 18th, 1621,[5] emphasizes the advantages

[1] See HANOTAUX, in *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 1902, VII., 501. *Cf.* RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 253 ; *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXII., 143.

[2] For the attempt of 1602 see our account, Vol. XXIII, 242 *seq.* In the late summer of 1602, some secular and regular priests from the district of Geneva presented a memorandum to the Holy See : " **Mezzi per potere con destrezza restituire in Geneva l'essercitio della s. fede cattolica* (*Cod.* 33 B. 7, p. 264 *seq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome). It claimed for the Catholics resident in Geneva the same religious freedom as the Huguenots of France enjoyed ; France was to procure this by her prestige ; *cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 175.

[3] See **Instruttione a Msgr. Campeggi, vesc. di Cesena, per la Nuntiatura di Torino* (1624 ?), *Cod.* X., V., 14 of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] The Instruction for Card. A. Medici had already insisted on this point (*cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII, 142 *seq.*).

[5] " *Instruttione al padre Don Tobia Corona de chierici regolari mandato da papa Gregorio XV. al Re di Francia, e prima

of the moment, for the Huguenots could not possibly defend themselves in France and at the same time go to the help of Geneva; meanwhile the German Protestants and the Dutch were fully occupied with their own affairs; so were the Swiss and the Grisons on account of the complications in the Valtellina. The heretics of Geneva had nothing to hope for from England; Berne alone might possibly help them; but what could one Canton do for another member of the Confederation when its own population was not of a warlike disposition, and one that only took up arms in an emergency. It might be a hundred years before such a favourable opportunity recurred: for all these reasons the Pope urged rapid action. Unfortunately he could not grant the Savoyards any considerable financial help. If demands were made in this direction, Corona was told to explain how heavily taxed the papal exchequer was by the assistance it gave to the League and to the Emperor; that the Poles were also pressing for money for their war against the Turks; and that Avignon had to be made safe against the Huguenots. None the less, Corona was to say that the Pope would not be miserly towards the Duke, as far as his greatly diminished resources allowed.[1]

The centre of gravity of Corona's mission lay in Paris.

al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Ginevra"; in many MSS.; thus at BOLOGNA, University Library, 473 (595), *Miscell.*, D.; FLORENCE, State Archives, *Carte Strozz.*, 312; FRANKFURT A/M., City Library, MS. *Glauburg*, T 36 and 39, no. 1; LEMBERG, Bibl. Ossoniana, *Cod.* 1257; NAPLES, National Library, *Cod.* XI., G. 31; PARIS, National Library, *MS. ital.*, no. 541 *Suppl.* and Bibl. des Arsenals, *Cod.* 8546; ROME, *Cod. Corsini*, n. 491; SALZBURG, Library, *Cod.* V. 3, G. 120; TURIN, State Archives (Ville de Genève Cath., I. 19). Only the MSS., in Geneva and Frankfurt bear the date of July 16, all the others have July 18. In *Barb.* 5469 the date is lacking. RANKE (*Päpste*, III., 125), who used the Glauburg MS. 39, added on his own authority the date 1622, which is certainly untenable. BURCKHARDT quoted an extract in the *Archiv für schweiz Gesch.*, VI., 292 *seq.*

[1] Cardinal Ludovisi wrote in the same strain to the Duke himself; see *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 627 *seq.*

There he was to address himself, not only to the King and the Queen, but also to the King's favourite, the Duke of Luynes, to the King's confessor, Arnoux, and to Cardinal de Retz and the nuncio.[1] To Louis XIII. Corona was to point out that if the King were to protect Geneva he would fall under the suspicion that his proceedings against the Huguenots in France were merely inspired by political interests. The main argument of the Instruction was that the King should be made to see that the interests of the State and the monarchy demanded the destruction of Geneva. But for Geneva the King would not now be entangled in a civil war, nor would republican tendencies be disseminated all over France. The men who held such views were to be found even at Court and in the royal cabinet. The situation could not be worse than it was at the moment. Such were the power and the wide ramifications of the republican party that it could drive the King from his own palace. The fall of Geneva, which was the Huguenots' Rome, would be a mortal blow to that party. The Instruction foresees all the objections which would be raised, if not by the King, then by his ministers. It emphasizes that Geneva would only be a very small gain for Savoy. As for the passage of the Swiss, that could no longer present any difficulty since the King was in possession of Bresse. France had nothing to lose or to gain ; but, if Geneva was annexed to Savoy, she would deserve well of the Church and of an exiled Bishop, and that without spending any money or taking up arms, provided she remained neutral and at least allowed the enterprise to be carried out.[2] The papal letters of which Corona was the bearer likewise prove that Gregory XV. would have been quite satisfied with such an attitude.[3]

Louis XIII. was not averse to a policy of neutrality, but

[1] See the *Briefs, *ibid.*, 505 *seq.*

[2] See **Instruttione al padre Don Tobia Corona*, City Library, Frankfurt a/M., and State Archives, Florence.

[3] See the Briefs to Louis XIII. July 16, 1621, in the *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 507.

Luynes and the other ministers strongly opposed it.[1] Now, as before, the Paris Cabinet attached the utmost importance to the inviolability of the western gate of Switzerland as it was on the high road between the Confederation and France. Nor did they wish to infringe the treaty with the Protestant Cantons. For these reasons Gregory XV.'s fresh efforts in Paris were in vain.[2] To avoid offending the Pope, Corona was courteously told that the time for such an undertaking had not yet arrived; if Charles Emmanuel wished to risk a surprise attack, the King of France might give his approval once the deed was done, but he could not take an active part in it and thus betray the confidence of the Genevese.[3] But the ambassador of Savoy was plainly told that if his master attacked Geneva he would come up against the armed opposition of France.[4]

If the wreck of his plan against Geneva annoyed Gregory XV., the menacing situation in the Valtellina caused him even greater anxiety.[5]

Even before the conclusion of the Peace of Madrid became known, Cardinal Ludovisi had pointed out that, in his experience, Spanish ministers did not easily give up their plans.[6] In point of fact it became increasingly evident that the Spaniards were successfully intriguing against the execution of the Madrid Treaty. Feria was indefatigably active in every direction. All the efforts of the nuncio, Scappi, to make the Treaty of Madrid acceptable to the seven Cantons by means of the additions which guaranteed Catholic interests

[1] See the *Instruction for Campeggi, quoted above, p. 206, note 3.

[2] *Cf.* the Briefs of August 28 and 30, 1621, in the *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 518 *seq.*

[3] See the *Instruction for Campeggi, above, p. 206, note 3.

[4] See ROTT, *Réprésent. diplom.*, III., 451; CARUTTI, *Storia d. dipl. di Savoia*, II., 234.

[5] He addressed a further appeal to Louis XIII. in a *Brief of October 21, 1621, see *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 524 *seq.*

[6] *Letter of Agucchi to the Spanish nuncio of May 10, 1621, quoted in ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 35.

in the Grisons and the Valtellina, were in vain, although he had the support of the French ambassador. By its secret intrigues, Spanish diplomacy successfully persuaded the Catholic Cantons to decline the guarantee for the execution of the Treaty, as "a very dangerous matter".[1] Now Spain had made this acceptance the condition of her own ratification of the Treaty: she was therefore freed from her promise. Gregory did his best to appease the excitement to which this manœuvre gave rise in France; unfortunately the Venetians worked against him, for they were doing everything in their power to stir up the Paris cabinet against Spain.[2]

In October, 1621, the revolutionary party in the Grisons, in which the agitator George Jenatsch was again prominent, attempted the so-called "march on Worms". This ill-considered and defiant invasion gave Feria and the Archduke Leopold a much desired pretext to move their troops from the south, north and east. On November 22nd, 1621, Chur, the capital city, was occupied. The Pope's first hopes that the conquerors would show moderation were not fulfilled.[3] The latter had not the slightest intention of forgoing the advantages they had secured. Both Venice and Paris viewed with anxiety the increase of Austro-Spanish power. The Catholic districts, whose ambassadors came to do homage to the new Pope on November 18th, 1621,[4] seemed not unwilling to consider the claims of Archduke Leopold in the Grisons, but they were opposed to the Spanish occupation of the Valtellina.[5] Gregory XV. considered the danger of war to be so great that at the close of the year he commissioned his nuncio in Madrid to declare to the Spanish Government

[1] See ABSCHIEDE, V., 2, 211; REINHARDT, *Korrespondenz Casati*, 51 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of PAOLO SAVELLI to the Emperor Ferdinand II, dated Rome, September 18, 1621, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See the *letter of Agucchi to the Spanish nuncio, November 26, 1621, in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] See *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 630 *seq.*; *cf.* REINHARDT, *Korrespondenz Casati*, 79.

[5] See REINHARDT, 87.

that if war actually broke out, the Pope would bear in mind that he was not only the universal father of Christendom but also an Italian temporal ruler.[1]

The need to carry out the threat never arose, inasmuch as a completely new situation was created for the Pope when Feria, in agreement with Archduke Leopold, succeeded in mid-January, 1622, in compelling the Grisons to accept the so-called Articles of Milan. In accordance with these the Grisons were compelled to renounce their claims to the Valtellina and to Bormio and to keep their passes open; in return they received back Chiavenna, and Spain guaranteed to them an annuity of 25,000 crowns. The Protestants of the Valtellina were to leave the country within two months. The valley of Münster, the Lower Engadine, Davos and Prättigau fell to Austria. A number of ordinances safeguarded the interests of the Bishop of Chur and the Catholic Church.[2] Rome was under no delusions as to the significance of the treaty against which France had lodged a protest[3]; on the other hand it was impossible to oppose it because, as Cardinal Ludovisi explained to Corsini, the Paris nuncio, it was their duty to prefer the interests of religion to those of politics.[4] The Pope, so Ludovisi wrote to the French nuncio on February 10th, 1622, pursued a twofold aim in the whole business, viz. the preservation of the Catholic religion and the maintenance of peace. With regard to the first point, the Milan Articles were adequate and could be sanctioned by the Holy See; with regard to the second, everything depended on whether the Articles threatened the peace.[5] The Bishop of Chur, the nuncio and the Pope himself, insisted that the

[1] See the *letter of Agucchi to the Spanish nuncio, December 31, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Abschiede, V., 2, 2035 *seq.*; Rott, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 500 *seq.*

[3] See Rott, III., 503 *seq.*

[4] See the *letter of Agucchi to Corsini, January 24, 1622, in *Cod.* X., VI., 16, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[5] See the French translation of Agucchi's letter of February 10, 1622, in Zeller, *Richelieu*, 47 *seq.*

government of Archduke Leopold should make use of the right of reformation in the newly acquired territories and restore religious uniformity.[1] In consequence, Protestant services were forbidden in the Lower Engadine and in Prättigau, whilst the churches that had been confiscated and desecrated were restored. Capuchins were called in to instruct the people and Gregory XV. granted them very extensive faculties.[2] Among them Father Fidelis of Sigmaringen particularly distinguished himself.[3] Born in 1578,[4] he began by practising the law at Ensisheim, in Alsace; in 1611 he entered the monastery of the Capuchins at Altdorf and became a preacher and confessor, first at Rheinfelden, then at Freiburg in the Üchtland and after 1621 at Feldkirch. As a genuine follower of S. Francis, he won universal esteem by his strict life and his self-sacrificing conduct during various epidemics; by his fervent preaching he brought many Calvinists back to the Church but he was opposed to the use of force in order to effect conversion. At Zizers he obtained the conversion of Count Rudolf Andreas Salis and other Protestants, and he met with similar success at Maienfeld and Malans.[5]

In the Prättigau, however, the success of Father Fidelis was but slender, for there a fanatical population offered a determined resistance to the Catholic restoration. On April 24th, 1622, an insurrection broke out in which bloody revenge was taken for the excesses of the Austrian mercenaries. Within a few hours the peasants of Schiers, Grüsch and Seewis slew 350 persons with their iron-weighted clubs. The defenceless Fidelis of Sigmaringen, who had only just escaped being

[1] See *Bull. Capuc.*, II., 352; Rocco da Cesinale, II., 77. Even the Protestant pastor, D. A. Ludwig ("Der Versuch der Gegenreformation im Unterengadin und im Prättigau Anno 1621/2", in the *Jahresbericht der hist.-antiquarischen Gesellschaft von Graubünden*, Coire, 1906, 143) grants that Archduke Leopold only used his right.

[2] See v. Scala, *Fidelis von Sigmaringen*, 96.

[3] *Cf.* the authentic account of P. Alexius, in *Anal. Capuc.*, XIV., and the fine monograph by P. Scala.

[4] See Paulus in *Katholik*, 1896, I., 286 *seq.*

[5] See v. Scala, 111 *seq.*

shot in the pulpit, was attacked and murdered by a band of Calvinist soldiers on the road from Seewis to Grüsch.[1] Only a few days earlier nuncio Scappi, in the name of Propaganda and in conjunction with the Provincial Chapter of the Capuchins, had appointed him Prefect of the mission in the Grisons,[2] whose proto-martyr he now became.

The success of the Prättigau insurrection was short-lived. Instead of confining themselves to defence the Grisons took the offensive, sacked the villages along the road to Feldkirch and pressed on towards Montafon. The Austrian offensive, which began in August, put an end to these raids and led to the complete subjugation of the Grisons, where the Capuchins now resumed their missionary activities. On September 30th, 1622, the men of the Grisons were compelled to accept the Capitulation of Lindau, which laid on them almost the same conditions as the Milan Articles.[3]

This increase of Austro-Spanish influence in the Rhetian Alps to which Gregory XV., though he maintained his neutrality, attached the greatest importance because of the advantages [4] that would accrue from it to the Catholic restoration,[5] caused France to throw off the restraint which had been

[1] *Ibid.*, 145 *seq.*; *cf.* MAYER, II., 231. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, the proto-martyr of the Capuchin Order and of Propaganda, was canonized by Benedict XIV. in 1746. His body was translated to the cathedral of Chur, his head was placed in a special chapel of the Capuchin church at Feldkirch; in the convent there, where he had been Guardian shortly before his death, his cell has been preserved.

[2] The *letters of the Provincial and the nuncio, April 21, 1622, in *Annal. prov. Helvet., 1613–1633,* are in the Archives of the Capuchin convent of Wesemlin, near Lucerne; trans. by SCALA, 120 *seq.*

[3] See ROBBI, *Urkunden des Staatsarchivs des Kantons Graubünden* (*Jahresber. der Hist.-antiquarischen Gesellschaft Graubünden*, 1914); DIERAUER, II., 482 *seq.* For the activities of the Capuchins see MAYER, II., 232 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Savelli's report, September 17, 1622, in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik des Heiligen Stuhles*, 167.

[5] *Cf.* Agucchi's letter, August 9, 1622, in ZELLER, *Richelieu*,

forced upon her mainly by the war against the Huguenots. On 18th October, Louis XIII. signed a treaty of peace with them at Montpellier, so as to enable him to take up with greater energy the question of the Valtellina.[1] The plan for a coalition between France, Venice and Savoy now took concrete shape. In view of the seriousness of the situation the Paris nuncio, Corsini, suggested that the object of the conflict should be handed over to the Duke of Lorraine on condition that the garrisons were composed of Catholic troops. Spain let it be known that no objections would be raised to Swiss Catholics or even to papal soldiers.[2]

From this it was only one step to the old proposal now raised anew by Spain (in December, 1622), viz. that the Valtellina should be temporarily handed over to the care of the Holy See, and that it should be occupied by papal troops until Gregory XV. could arrive at a final solution of the problem.[3] The Pope, who knew only too well what a thankless task it is to act as intermediary between two rivals, had until then shrunk from such a plan.[4] Now that the situation was changed, he considered that he could no longer refuse the burden since the peace of the Catholic world was at stake.[5] If he still hesitated, he had good reasons—for he wished to make sure that France would be satisfied with this solution.[6] With a view to promoting the plan, Cardinal Ludovisi informed Paris, through the nuncio Corsini, that the new director of Spanish policy, the Duke Olivares, who had come to power

142 *seq.* The resolution of Propaganda to send two missionaries to the Valtellina, is mentioned in *Avviso, October 19, 1622, *Urb.* 1092, Vatican Library.

[1] See Corsini's report, November 23, 1622, in ZELLER, *Luynes*, 140.

[2] See *Agucchi's letter to Corsini, dated Rome, October 24, 1622, *Cod.* D. V., 31, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[3] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 183; AREZIO, *Politica*, 16.

[4] *Cf.* SIRI, V., 477.

[5] *Cf.* the postscript to the Instruction of the nuncio extraordinary, the Archbishop of Thebes, in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, XII. (1858), 194.

[6] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 183 *seq.*

after the death of Baldassare de Zúñiga, would not put up any longer with Feria's tergiversations, that, on the contrary, he was determined to see this interminable conflict settled once for all.[1] The French ambassador in Madrid reported to the same effect. The Paris cabinet now declared itself ready to give serious consideration to the proposal, but insisted, notwithstanding Corsini's objections, on first informing its allies, especially the Venetians. Louis XIII. formally declared to the nuncio that he was agreeable to the Pope's arbitration and that he would send Sillery, his ambassador in Rome, the necessary authority for further negotiations. But should the Spaniards refuse a compromise, war was inevitable.[2] How little Paris trusted the good faith of the Spaniards was shown by the concentration of troops in Dauphiné and the continued negotiations for a league with those Italian States that were independent of Spain. On February 7th, 1623, an offensive and defensive alliance between France and the old enemies of Spain, Savoy and Venice, was concluded; it is known by the name of the League of Lyons and its object was to drive the Spaniards out of the Valtellina. Each of the signatories bound himself

[1] "La morte di Baldassare Zunica," it is stated in the *letter of November 22, 1622 (*Cod.* X., VI., 16, of the Casanatense Library, Rome) "se ben per altro sarà facilmente il pregiuditio alla Monarchia Spagnuola, quanto alle cose della Valtellina non apporterà se non giovamento per finirle. Perchè egli era lungo e tenace e troppo rispettuoso, conosceva che sarebbe stato mestieri levare il Duca di Feria da Milano per assettar questo negotio, o di moderare la sua autorità, ma per non disgustare et innimicarsi li suoi parenti e partiali, lasciava correre; il conte d'Olivares, che ha la somma de'negotii et è succeduto nel luogo di detto D.n Baldassare, et ha di più tutto il favor del Re, è huomo libero e risoluto, che non havrà tanto rispetto, e s'è dichiarato con i nostri, che la vuol finire, non parendoli bene di tener più lungamente Sua Maestà intrigata in questo negotio, onde se si verrà ad accordo alcuno, si potrà havere assai maggior speranza, che esso lo farà eseguire, e questo è appunto importante, che dovrebbe far maggiormente inclinare i Francesi ad accomodarsi."

[2] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 184.

to raise an army. At the same time negotiations were begun with the Dutch States General; it was even proposed to secure the services of the condottiere Count Mansfeld, with the object of conquering Spanish Franche-Comté![1]

Faced with these threats, Spain, which had made fresh difficulties, now resolved to yield. On February 14th, 1623, a convention was signed between Olivares in the name of Philip IV., and the nuncio, Innocent de' Massimi, as representing Gregory XV., by the terms of which the fortresses of the Valtellina and the county of Chiavenna were, for the time being, to be handed over to the Pope, whose troops would occupy them until a final agreement was reached between France and Spain.[2]

Thereupon Gregory XV. took prompt action. As early as February 23rd, he thanked Philip IV. in a flattering letter in Italian, with an autograph postscript, and informed him that he had commissioned his brother, the Duke of Fiano, General of the Church, to lead the papal troops into the Valtellina. In a Brief of February 24th, he once more thanked Philip IV. and begged him to see to it that his orders should be promptly carried out, for the "sons of darkness" who sought to create dissensions among princes were not asleep.[3]

At first the Paris cabinet viewed these measures with marked coldness: hence the nuncio Corsini was repeatedly instructed to urge France by every means in his power to give her assent.[4] The Republic of St. Mark showed open hostility; in Paris it opposed the Pope's intervention, whilst at Rome its ambassador indulged in violent language against the

[1] See SIRI, V., 448 *seq.*; ABSCHIEDE, V., 2, 2106 *seq.*; ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, *Politik Venedigs*, I., 241 *seq.*; ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 187 *seq.*; ROTT, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 592 *seq.*

[2] See LÜNIG, *Cod. dipl. ital.*, IV., 317; SIRI, V., 459 *seq.*; ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 190; ROTT, III., 601 *seq.*

[3] Both letters in the *Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 531 *seq.*, 534 *seq.* *Cf.* ROTT, III., 607, and AREZIO, *Politica*, 18. See also Agucchi's *letter to Corsini, March 13, 1623, Casanatense Library Rome, *loc. cit.*

[4] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 250.

clergy[1] and practically insulted Cardinal Ludovisi.[2] Savoy also was opposed to the plan [3] and in the meantime the allies could not agree amongst themselves. Louis XIII.'s chancellor, Nicolas Brulart de Sillery, shrank from war with Spain, and the French ambassador in Rome withdrew his opposition.[4] Thus Gregory XV. began to hope for a happy end to the struggle between France and Spain, and for a complete Catholic restoration in the Valtellina. On April 5th, 1623, Orazio Ludovisi, escorted by a brilliant retinue, set out for Civitavecchia where two days later he took boat for Genoa.[5] After celebrating Easter at Milan he was to join the troops which were being assembled in the district round Ferrara.[6] His intention was to return to Rome as soon as the Valtellina

[1] See Agucchi's *letter to Corsini, March 20, 1623. Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, *loc. cit.*, II., 111.

[2] See SIRI, V., 468.

[3] *Cf.* AREZIO, *Politica*, 22 *seq.*

[4] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 251.

[5] See the *letter from Agucchi, on behalf of Ludovisi, to Corsini, April 14, 1623, Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*, and the *Brief addressed to Feria, April 3, 1623, in the *Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 535 *seq.* A *Brief addressed to Card. Medici, also of April 3, 1623, with regard to Ludovisi's mission, is in *Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives. The **Istruzione al sig. duca di Fiano destinato a pigliare il deposito a nome della Sede Ap. delli forti della Valtellina*, dated Rome, April 5, 1623, is in *Cod.*, X., IV., 38, p. 39 *seq.*, of the Casanatense Library, Rome. Other copies are in *Cod.* 470, p. 375 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome; in the Library at Parma; in *Cod. Marucell.*, C. 29, Florence; *Cod.* 1257 of the Ossoliniana Library, Lemberg and in the Library at Ferrara, but in this MS. the date is incorrect. The Instruction is printed after a MS. of the State Library, Vienna, in *Archiv für schweiz. Gesch.*, XII. (1858), 221 *seq.* For Orazio Ludovisi's journey from Rome to Milan, see *Cod.* E. 83 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. According to Giunti there were, in Ludovisi's train "molti baroni e altre persone gravi et avedute" **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[6] *Cf.* **Avviso di Roma*, April 1, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library, Rome.

fortresses should have been handed over. The Marchese Ridolfi had been appointed to take his place; but in view of the fact that the latter was suspected of being a Hispanophil, his place was taken by the Marchese Del Bagno out of consideration for the French.[1]

The assent of France, awaited with so much anxiety in Rome, had been given by mid-April, notwithstanding Venice's effort to prevent it,[2] on condition that the papal verdict should be pronounced before July 31st. The news reached Rome at the beginning of May. Feria's obstinate opposition, however, had still to be overcome. Since that wily personage could not act openly against his orders from Madrid, he had recourse to various manœuvres, though without success. Vienna and Savoy also ended their opposition.[3]

Towards the end of May, Orazio Ludovisi entered the Valtellina at the head of the papal troops. With a view to removing all grounds for mistrust the Pope had seen to it that the troops consisted exclusively of men from the papal States.[4] At the beginning of June Ludovisi occupied the forts of Morbegno, Tirano, Bormio, Torre di Bagni, Chiappin, Platemala and Sondrio.[5] Chiavenna and Riva, which did not belong to the Valtellina, were retained by the Spaniards. This drew a protest from the French ambassador in view of the strategic importance of these places. Cardinal Ludovisi tried in vain to pacify him.[6] Paris also resented the fact that

[1] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 250.

[2] See R. ZENO in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Italia*, I., 189. *Cf.* ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, II., 11 *seq.*

[3] See ROTT, *Représent. dipl.*, III., 613; AREZIO, *Politica*, 38 *seq.* The *Brief of May 9, 1623, in the *Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 526 *seq.*, shows with what diplomatic skill Gregory XV. handled Feria.

[4] See Agucchi's *letter to Corsini, April 12, 1623, Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[5] See SIRI, V., 506; ROTT, III. 615; AREZIO, *Politica*, 43 *seq.*; numerous *letters from Card. Ludovisi to O. Ludovisi, Duke of Fiano; a *letter of the latter concerning the Valtellina of 1623, are in *Cod.* E. 83, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 254.

the cost of the occupation of the forts, which proved far in excess of estimates, so that the Pope could not bear it alone, was largely met by Spain. Gregory XV., in order to eliminate every cause of jealousy, suggested that the expenses should be equally divided between Spain and France.[1] The dispute was eventually settled by Spain agreeing to maintain secrecy about the fact that she was providing the money.[2]

With regard to a definitive settlement of the Valtellina question, the Pope had for a long time maintained the principle that in no case were the Valtellina Catholics to become the subjects of Protestant overlords, whereas the French ambassador insisted that, on the basis of the Treaty of Madrid the sovereignty of the Grisons should be restored. On this point there arose some very lively discussions. When Sillery referred to France's old relations with the Grisons, and declared that Louis XIII. must take thought for his reputation, Ludovisi answered that the Pope was under far greater obligations to protect a Catholic people. To do so was a duty not only of honour, but of conscience.[3] This attitude Gregory XV. maintained up to the last. There were only two alternatives, Ludovisi explained: either all the Grisons should become Catholic, which humanly speaking, could hardly be expected, or the Valtellina would constitute itself into a fourth Federation which would be affiliated to the other three Rhetian Federations on equal terms.[4] This,

[1] See the *letter of Agucchi to Corsini, June 23, 1623. It is stated here: "La spesa è molto maggiore di quel che da principio si credette; poichè importerà il primo anno a almeno trecento mila scudi andandoci di paghe et utensile, scudi venti mila il mese senza le spese ordinarie, non possiamo in maniera nessuna sostenerla" (Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*) *Cf.* AREZIO, *Politica*, 25, 41 *seq.*, 44, 46.

[2] See the **Relatione d. Nunziat. di Francia fatta da Msgr. arcivescovo di Tarso* (O. Corsini) of October 27, 1623, Casanatense Library, Rome, X., V., 15.

[3] See *Agucchi's letter to Corsini of May 21, 1623, Casanatense Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*, partly translated by ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 55 *seq.*

[4] See *Agucchi's letter of May 24, 1623, *loc. cit.*

however, did not solve the question of the mountain passes: Cardinal Ludovisi, in opposition to the claims of the French, intended to decide it in favour of Spain.[1] In so doing Ludovisi was not actuated, as has been suspected,[2] by the hope of realizing certain family ambitions with the help of Spain: the Cardinal simply argued that in the interests of the Catholic restoration in Germany, military communications between Spain and Austria should not be wholly cut off. For that reason the pass over the Worms Joch and the Valtellina should remain open to the Spaniards, to enable them to throw troops into Germany, though not that they should send armed forces into Italy.[3] Agreement on this point was not yet reached when Gregory XV.'s death supervened. Though the dispute was not finally settled, the Pope could die with the conviction that he had done his best to preserve the peace between France and Spain and to ensure the safety of the Catholics of the Valtellina, in the consciousness also that his appointment as arbitrator had enhanced the prestige of the Holy See.[4]

(2.)

It was necessary to prevent war between Spain and France, because its outbreak would have imperilled the work of ecclesiastical restoration begun in France under Paul V. and which Gregory XV. had greatly at heart. The first duty of the new French nuncio, Ottavio Corsini, as indicated in his

[1] See ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 256.

[2] *Ibid.*, 262.

[3] RANKE (*Päpste*, II.[6], 330) rightly emphasizes this, quoting Article 9 of the draft of the Convention.

[4] BROSCH (I., 379) is of opinion that "the Ludovisi had utilized the papal military forces to attain distinctly ecclesiastical ends. Thanks to these measures, Gregory XV. appeared in the rôle of confidant of all the Catholic Powers and as the longed-for keeper of the pledge for the possession of which the nations quarrelled. It was an undoubted success which enhanced the prestige of the Church and its Head."

Instruction of April 4th, 1621,[1] was the amelioration of ecclesiastical discipline, a matter of the greatest importance if France was to recover complete unity of faith. The means to that end are discussed in detail.

Since ecclesiastical discipline depends primarily on the worthiness of the Bishops, the nuncio's first care was to induce the King to nominate only good pastors for the flock. Those whose faith was under suspicion, or who required dispensations, as well as men whose scholarship or moral conduct was unsatisfactory, or who had indulged in simoniacal practices must be rigorously banned. As soon as a see became vacant, the nuncio must make inquiries about the candidates and prevent the grave abuse by which stewards were appointed for a vacant see the revenues of which were granted to lay persons and even to women and children. This abuse must be abolished also where monastic houses were concerned.[2] To this abuse, as well as to the infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to appeals *ab abusu* and similar actions, the misfortunes of France must be ascribed.

Good Bishops, the Instruction proceeds, would appoint good parish priests and would reform the clergy. The nuncio should press the Bishops in this sense and above all else urge them to give their clergy a sound training. He must also insist on the ordinaries visiting their dioceses and on their forwarding the work of the reform of the clergy by their personal good example. The duty of residence is particularly inculcated.

[1] See **Nunziat. di Francia*, Papal Secret Archives, LVII.; also in the State Library, Vienna (on which is based the printed version in *Archiv für Schweiz. Gesch.*, XII. (1858), 194 *seq.*; in *Cod.* 38, A. 4, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and in *Barb.* 4931, p. 1 *seq.*; Vatican Library. Here and in the following *Cod.* 18 and 19, **Lettere di Msgr. O. Corsini Nunzio in Francia, 1621/3. Cf.* the reports of Corsini below, p. 224, note 2. The **Lettere di Msgr. Corsini al Nunzio di Venezia 1621/3*, in *Ottob.* 3219, Vatican Library. A collection of letters from Corsini to several persons in Rome, 1621–31 (two vols.) is indicated in Catalogue 7 of the Munich Antiquary, Jacques Rosenthal, under no. 1089.

[2] *Cf.* four these bases our account, Vol. XXIII., 150.

The Instruction lays great stress on the reform of the regular clergy in France which, by its opposition to the representatives of the Holy See, and even to their own superiors, had incurred grave guilt, especially since it sought the support of the government and Parliament for its irregularities. This resistance had frustrated the visitation of the Dominicans of Paris by Cardinal Agostino Galamina as well as another attempt by the General of the Celestines. The spirit of insubordination had affected even the Capuchins who refused to obey both their superiors and the papal legate. The expedient devised under Paul V., by which the King appointed a Congregation without right of appeal, had been rejected by that Pope, for thereby superiors would have been deprived of their rights and any appeal to the Holy See would have been precluded.

The Instruction bestows the highest praise upon the French Jesuits whose discipline outshone that of all other Orders and who displayed the utmost zeal on behalf of the Catholic religion. They could be of the greatest assistance to the nuncio seeing they were held in great esteem and laboured with extraordinary fervour. Let the nuncio support their efforts and cultivate good relations with the King's confessor, Fr. Arnoux. But he must not allow himself to get completely under the influence of the Jesuits, lest he should give rise to jealousies. Corsini was also directed to restrain the Jesuits from raising dangerous controversies in the present situation concerning papal authority and the Bull *in Coena Domini*, for such disputes might harm both the Holy See and the Society itself. For this reason no Jesuit was to publish anything on this matter before it had been examined in Rome and declared opportune.

Great caution is recommended to the nuncio in respect to the Sorbonne, which he should try to win over to the Holy See by treating its members with friendliness and respect. It should be his particular care to prevent relations between the Sorbonne and the Jesuits from becoming even more strained than they were. The Instruction touches more than once on the need of supervising literary publications. The

King must be urged to supress harmful books. But good books also, which were foolish enough to provoke disputes and quarrels, must not be allowed to appear; especially should all writings intended as replies to the Calvinists be carefully censored. The Concordat must be conscientiously observed.

One long-standing and ardent desire of the Holy See concerned the recognition of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent, which had always met with opposition on the part of the Gallican officials.[1] The decrees had indeed been received at the last assembly of the States General but their execution had been committed to the Bishops at their diocesan synods. Accordingly the nuncio was to get in touch with Cardinal Rochefoucauld and with Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon. If he succeeded in satisfactorily settling this matter, on which ecclesiastical discipline depended, he would give boundless joy to the Pope. With regard to the elimination of Calvinism from France, the Instruction places great hope in King Louis XIII., who was then on the point of taking up arms against the Huguenots, in answer to the provocations of their preachers. In conclusion the Instruction stresses the fact that as Head of the Church, the Pope had the care of all the nations, but that it was natural that he should especially love and honour those princes and peoples who gave proof of a genuinely Catholic spirit. That was why he cherished a paternal affection for Louis XIII. His one wish was that the whole kingdom should share the King's disposition and that the portion of the realm still given over to Calvinism, namely one-fifteenth of the whole, should not be lost.[2]

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 151, 154, 166 *seq.*

[2] "La S.S. è tutta piena d'una voglia ardente tanto di mostrarsi apparentemente di essere in fatti vero padre et pastore commune, senza che nè i prencipi nè i popoli habbiano da discernere in S.B. distinzione d'affetto inclinato più ad una nazione che ad un'altra, e più partiale di quel prencipe chè di questo. Conosce nondimeno S.S. di essere tenuta a corrispondere alla virtù e religione e pietà di ciascuno, secondo ch'ella è maggiore o minore, e per questa cagione è obbligata ad amare, siccome ama con singolare tenerezza la Maestà del Re, e li suoi più congiunti, e

When, in May, 1621, Louis XIII. took up arms against the Huguenot rebels, Gregory XV. supported him actively by word and deed.[1] We still possess a number of letters from the Pope to the King on the course of the war.[2] The fortunes of the

vorrebbe che tutta la Francia fosse imitatrice vera della N.S., acciochè nella diletione non havesse a separare mai per brevissimo intervallo il rè dal regno, ritiene intanto S.S. nella mente li christianissimi e non meno antichissimi meriti di quella corona e natione con la Sede Apostolica, e ne gode nel Signore, ma sospira dall'altro lato quella primiera e costante fede e divotione, e non brama in una cosa più, che di vedere tutti i populi ritornati alla l'figliale obbedienza di S.S., acciochè una quindecima parte dell' anime francesi, che si porta opinione essere occupate dalla peste et heresia, non si perda, e non s'offendi la gloria di quella natione, che vincitrice dell'altre pare che venga poi preda in si sconcia maniera delle proprie sensualità e passioni." Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Cf. Bull.*, XII., 572 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*, 580 *seq.*, 583 *seq.* The **Instruttione a Msgr. arcivescovo di Seleucia, Msgr. Donazetti, auditore di Rota, destinato vicelegato in Avignone*, April 13, 1621 (Casanatense Library, Rome, X., V., 14; *Cod.* XI., G. 35 of the National Library, Naples, and *Cod.* 1257 of the Ossoliniana Library, Lemberg) points out the importance of Avignon as a bulwark against the Huguenots.

[2] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Louis XIII., June 12, 1621 (Brief of praise); September 4, 1621 (he is to set out against the Prince of Orange); to *Henricus Borbonius, princ. de Condé*, January 22, 1622 (praise); to Louis XIII., May 21, 1622 (congratulations on a naval victory which he ascribes to the intercession of St. Ignatius); XLV., 22 and 24, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the reports of Corsini, in **Registro delle lettere scritte da Msgr. O. Corsini nella nunziat. di Francia 1621–3, Cod.* 990 *seqq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and the **Registro di lettere di M. Agucchi scritte per il card. Ludovisi in risposta a Msgr. Corsini nuntio in Francia, Cod.* X., VI., 16–17, of the Casanatense Library, Rome, used by ZELLER, *Le connétable de Luynes*, in which there are also extracts from Corsini's *Relatione* (p. 1 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*). This report, dated October 27, 1623, is in *Barb.* 5891, pp. 488–513, Vatican Library, and in the Casanatense Library, Rome. *Cf.* above, p. 219, note 2.

conflict were varied and none too brilliant.[1] It came to an end in October, 1622, with the peace concluded at Montpellier, by the terms of which the Edict of Nantes remained in force, though all political meetings were forbidden and the only places of refuge conceded to the Huguenots were Montauban and La Rochelle. Henceforth the power of these heretics began to wane; time came when nobles and commoners, learned and unlearned, returned to the ancient Church.[2] This step was taken, even before the end of the war, by one of France's most famous captains, viz. Marshal the Duke de Lesdiguières, Lieutenant of Dauphiné, who had always shown great kindness to Catholics and who had congratulated Gregory XV. on his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter. In July, 1622, he made his profession of the Catholic faith in the church of St. Andrew of Grenoble, in presence of the Bishop of the diocese and the Bishop of Embrun. His brother-in-law went to Rome to carry the happy information to Gregory XV. who, on one occasion, whilst acting as legate in France,[3] had expressed to Lesdiguières his hopes for his conversion. In his answer to Lesdiguières' letter, the Pope declared that the Catholic religion in France had gained less by the conquest of enemy cities and the occupation of hostile fortresses, than by the high-minded action of so famous a captain which was equivalent to the courage of a whole army.[4] The Pope's joy was further increased when Louis XIII. made Lesdiguières Connétable of France.[5] In the previous year a well known Calvinist preacher, Bocquet, had made his profession of faith in the hands of the Capuchin Athanasius Molé, in Paris. Bocquet had a printed circular sent to all the Calvinist

[1] *Cf.* De Meaux, *La Réforme*, II., 179 *seq.*; Zeller, *Le connétable de Luynes*, 63 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Ranke, *Päpste*, II., 311.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 422.

[4] The Brief to Lesdiguières is of December 3, 1622 (XLV., 224, Papal Secret Archives) and is printed in the rare work, *Recueil des briefs envoyez par N. St. Père le pape Grégoire XV. à Monseigneur et dame la connéstable des Lesdiguières*, Paris, 1623.

[5] *Cf.* Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, 312.

preachers in which he explained his reasons for this step.[1] The same Capuchin also brought back to the Church Louise Eugénie de Fontaine who subsequently became Superioress of the first convent of the Visitation in Paris and whose virtues called forth the admiration of St. Vincent de Paul.[2]

How keenly anxious Gregory XV. was for the publication and execution of the decrees of the Council of Trent in France, may be gathered from the letter which he addressed to Louis XIII. on March 22nd, 1622. Once more the Pope insists that Calvinism must be fought not by force of arms alone but by the reform of the Catholic clergy. The best means for the renewal of the ancient Church was to give practical effect to the Tridentine reforms.[3] The Pope also wrote in a similar strain to Henry of Bourbon, to Cardinal Rochefoucauld, Bishop of Metz and to Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon.[4] The papal Brief was accompanied by a strong covering letter from Cardinal Ludovisi to Louis XIII. The King, we read, might win for himself the title of Restorer of the Christian religion and ecclesiastical discipline, were he to satisfy the Pope's desire with regard to the Tridentine decrees. If he did that he would at the same time confer an immense benefit on his people.[5] The fact that the French King encouraged the clergy to hold diocesan and provincial synods inspired the hope in Rome that the execution of the decrees of the Council might be obtained in this way.[6] In a Brief to Cardinal Sourdis,

[1] See RÄSS, *Konvertiten*, V., 74 *seq.*, and DUFAYARD, *Les-diguières*, Paris, 1892.

[2] See RÄSS, V., 172 *seq.*

[3] See the long *letter of March 22, 1622. *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] These *Briefs in *Arm.*, XLV., 24, *ibia.*

[5] See AGUCCHI, **Registro di Lettere*, in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[6] See **Lettere di Agucchi scritte per il card. Ludovisio a Msgr. Corsini, Nunt. in Francia, Cod.* X., VI., 16, Casanatense Library, Rome.

September 16th, 1622, the Pope returned to this matter.[1] However, all Corsini's exertions were in vain.[2]

By a Bull of October 20th, 1622, the Pope granted Louis XIII.'s wish that the diocese of Paris, which up to that time had been included in the ecclesiastical province of Sens, should be raised to the dignity of a metropolitan Church with Chartres, Meaux and Orléans as suffragan sees.[3] Likewise at the request of the King of France, Gregory XV., by a Brief of April 8th, 1622, empowered Cardinal Rochefoucauld to undertake the reform of the old Orders in France.[4] Among these the Benedictines under Paul V. had already formed themselves into a Congregation named after St. Maurus, the disciple of St. Benedict.[5] A Bull of Gregory XV., May 17th, 1621, confirmed this Congregation, granted to it the privileges of the Cassinese Congregation and named Cardinal Retz its Protector.[6]

In the Spanish Netherlands also the Pope did his utmost to encourage the Catholic reform which was making rapid progress. Besides his anxiety that the door should be closed to religious innovations in those parts, he had greatly at heart the strict execution of the Tridentine decrees and the maintenance of papal jurisdiction. The new nuncio to Brussels, Giovan Francesco Guido del Bagno, Archbishop of Patras, was given the most detailed instructions on these points.[7]

[1] See the *Brief to Card. Franc. de Sourdis, September 17, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 392.

[3] *Bull.*, XII., 750 *seq.* A memory of Paris's dependence on Sens is still preserved in the sadly decayed Hôtel de Sens, not far from the Quai des Célestins and opposite the Île St. Louis.

[4] See PICOT, I., 166, 177; CARDELLA, VI., 138. *Cf.* the biographies of *Rochefoucauld* by P. ROUVIER (Paris, 1645), and P. DE LA MORINIÈRE (Paris, 1646).

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 51 *seq.*

[6] See *Bull.*, XII., 533 *seq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VIII.², 1060.

[7] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, 124 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*

(3)

Gregory XV. had always been a warm friend of the House of Habsburg [1]; he fully realized how important it was to make good use of the great change which had occurred in favour of the Emperor and the Catholic Church through the suppression of the revolution in Austria.[2] He considered it a sacred duty to restore the ancient Church in the Emperor's domains, especially in Bohemia, to help the Emperor in every way to crush his enemies finally, and by preventing a Protestant majority in the College of Electors, to lessen the danger of a Protestant Emperor. Of the Catholic sentiments of Ferdinand II. he thought so highly that he repeatedly spoke of him as a pillar of the Church in the Empire.[3] Hence he was prepared for any sacrifice which circumstances might require. He would not consider the view of some excessively cautious counsellors who thought that they should wait for further developments; on the contrary, he was of opinion that the victory in Bohemia should be followed up and exploited in a military sense; that the rebellion against the Empire and the Church must be repressed both quickly and completely [4]; and that pecuniary assistance should be granted at once.[5] Gregory's youthful Secretary of State, Cardinal Ludovisi, was wholly at one with the Pope on this question.[6]

As early as February 25th, 1621, a Brief was sent to Ferdinand II. in which the Pope stated that he was quite willing to continue the subsidies already granted by his

[1] *Cf.* the *biography of Carlo Madruzzo in *Cod. Mazzetti*, 60, of the Communal Library, Trient.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter to the Spanish nuncio and the King of Spain, June 24, 1621, *Cod.* 33, D. 23 Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] See ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., c. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* the *Brief to Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg, March 6, 1621 (State Archives, Munich), translated in the *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, no. 37.

[5] See *ACCARISIUS, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* GIUNTI, **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

predecessor.[1] On the same day letters were sent to all the more important Catholic princes of Germany, urgently pressing them to support the cause of the Emperor and the Catholic religion.[2] At the beginning of March, 1621, Gregory XV. exhorted the Archbishop of Cologne and the Count Palatine, Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, to fight the rebels with the greatest energy.[3] Soon after by means of laudatory Briefs, he also encouraged the members of the League in their efforts to withstand the enemy.[4] The nuncio, Carlo Carafa, who was dispatched to the Emperor on April 14th, 1621,[5] was charged

[1] Original in the State Archives, Vienna, *Hofkorresp.*, 11.

[2] See the *Brief to the Archbishop of Mayence, February 25, 1621, *Epist. Arm.*, XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] The *Brief to the Archbishop of Cologne, is dated March 5, that to Neuburg, March 6, 1621. *Ibid.*

[4] See the *Briefs to the Archbishop of Mayence, April 10, and June 21, 1621, *ibid.*

[5] An *Avviso of April 14, 1621, *Urb.* 1088, Vatican Library, mentions the departure of Carafa. Misled by RANKE's statement (III.[6], 133*), everybody has hitherto assumed that Carafa first betook himself to Prague, in May, 1621, and then continued to Vienna. As against that assumption, KOLLMANN (*Acta*, I., 63 *seq.*) first showed irrefutably from Carafa's letters and other evidence, that the latter first went to Vienna—as was to be expected—and that he did not reach Prague until 1623. The correspondence of Carafa's nunciature, unfortunately only partially preserved, has been well described by PIEPER in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, II., 388 *seq.* KOLLMANN's *Acta* show important additions. He published two important *Relations* of Carafa's concerning Bohemia, *e.g.* 1° the *Relatio Bohemica* (*Acta*, I., 93 *seq.*) which was sent to Propaganda from Vienna on October 8, 1622, and 2° the *Ragguaglio dello stato di religione di Boemia et sue provintie* (*ibid.*, 350 *seq.*) sent in September, 1623, to Cardinal Barberini, wrongly ascribed by RANKE (III., 133*) to 1624. With this report he sent Cardinal Barberini the **Relatione dello stato presente della Germania* (*Miscell. Arm.*, III., *Cod.* 72, pp. 1–84, Papal Secret Archives). This was first shown by PIEPER (*loc. cit.*, 399); it was dated October 21, 1623. Besides these documents there was also a *Breve compendio della corte Cesarea* of the same date, which has not been found until now. PIEPER, however, succeeded in finding (*loc. cit.*, 401)

with the direct mission [1] to exhort Ferdinand II. not to lose

the *Relatione della riforma del regno di Boemia*, drawn up by Carafa and dated September 25, 1624. Carafa's concluding report, *Relatione dello stato dell'Impero e della Germania*, was published by I. G. Müller, in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XXIII., 101 *seq.* PIEPER showed that this exists in two versions; the first was sent off in March, 1628, the second enlarged version, at the end of 1628 or the beginning of 1629; this is the one edited by Müller. They agree on all essential points. (PIEPER gives the differences, 411 *seq.*) Finally, there are Carafa's *Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata*, with an appendix: *Decreta, etc.* Aversae, 1630, Coloniæ, 1639, Francofurti, 1641, Viennae, 1748, and 1769. In both these editions the second part, from 1630–35, is lacking. The latter part, first published in the Frankfurt edition of 1641, was transcribed by BURGOS, *De Bello Suecio Commentarii* (published 1633), who utilized the journal of THOMAS CARVE (published 1639) which describes almost exclusively the events of the war. This part, which bears traces of sentiments favourable to the Protestants, was certainly not written by Carafa, for the first part, up to 1628, shows a strong Catholic bias, treats exclusively of the Catholic restoration, and is one of the most important sources for the history of that movement. Even if it was intended for the general public, so that the faults of the Catholics are not mentioned, there is no sign of intentional misrepresentation of facts in their favour; see ANTHIENY, *Der päpstliche Nuntius Carafa*, Berlin, 1869 (Program of the Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster), who arrives at the conclusion (p. 14) that this part is very valuable "because it comes from a man who wrote as an eye-witness, bases himself on trustworthy reports and official documents". It is regrettable that the *Commentaria* do not always place the decrees chronologically; thus, *e.g.*, the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity is first mentioned in 1623 (p. 186), although it was ordered as early as 1621 and 1622.

[1] The *Instruction, of April 12, 1621, partially quoted by RANKE from a MS. not specified (III.[6], 119 *seq.*), was used by LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 128, and *Melet.*, 462) from the copy in *Cod.* 473, p. 293 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome, and by ANTHIENY (*loc. cit.*, 14 *seq.*) from the *Inf. polit.*, XI., p. 259 *seq.* of the State Library, Berlin, who transcribes some passages. Other copies are to be found in the National Library, Paris (*MS. ital.* 10,065, n. 1), in *Cod.* XI., G. 31 of the National Library,

one minute in following up his great victory as rapidly as possible, for in a single hour it had turned aside the most terrible danger and justly raised the most sanguine hopes.[1] Prompt action was essential. Here we have a manifest allusion to the vacillating imperial General Buquoy, of whom even Maximilian was wont to say that the Spanish slowness infected his body.[2] Hence Carafa was to warn the Emperor and his counsellors not to endanger the whole situation by further delay, for relapses are generally worse than the first attack of a disease.[3]

Carafa's Instruction unfolded a full and detailed statement of the measures to be adopted in the political as well as in the religious sphere. Since the Protestants were resolved to bring about the downfall of the House of Austria and the destruction of the Catholic religion in the Empire, means must be taken to ensure that the imperial dignity would remain always in Catholic hands and to preserve and extend the ancient faith in Germany. For this reason, Carafa was to press for the transfer of the Electorate, rendered vacant in consequence of the Palatine, Frederick V., having been put under the ban of Empire, to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a staunch Catholic. In this way a Catholic majority in the College of Electors would be assured. At the same time the nuncio was to insist energetically on the

Naples, and in *Cod.* 1257 of the Ossoliniana Library, Lemberg. The best text is in *Barb.* 5232, pp. 1–43. It forms the basis of KOLLMANN'S (*Acta*, I., 56 to 62) statements, but he only reproduced in their entirety the passages referring to Bohemia and the person of the nuncio. Carafa's credentials for Eggenberg are dated April 16, 1621; the original is in the Herberstein Archives, Eggenberg.

[1] "Dico celeste vittoria che mai si riportasse, poichè da un sommo pericolo si trasportano in poco d'hora le cose in somma speranza di felicità." *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

[2] See HURTER, VIII., 661.

[3] "V.S. perciò solleciterà e stringerà opportunamente Cesare e suoi ministri a non perder il tempo, a non isdegnare con la lentezza l'istessa fortuna, acciò che non si torni a mettere tutto l'Imperio in pericolo, perchè le seconde cadute degli infermi sogliono essere peggiori dei primi mali." *Ibid.*

prosecution of the war against the Protestant rebels. With regard to ecclesiastical conditions in Germany, the Cologne nuncio, Antonio Albergati, had presented to the new Pope a detailed memorandum about the prevailing abuses and their remedies. His conclusion was that the most effective means of all would be the publication and execution of the reform decrees of Trent.[1] This excellent memorandum had a good deal to do with that part of Carafa's Instruction which concerned the state of religion in Germany. Four causes, we read, were responsible for the unhappy ecclesiastical condition of Germany and had probably led to the great apostasy.[2] These were, the bad episcopal elections made by the Canons, the election capitulations, the utterly irresponsible fashion in which Chapters made appointments to the various posts of which they were the patrons, and finally the fact that the Tridentine reforms were not carried out. Accordingly Carafa's first care must be to see to it that good appointments were made whenever an episcopal see became vacant in the Empire, and if unsuitable men were chosen, he was to press the Emperor to refuse the "regalia". Concerning the bishoprics in the Emperor's hereditary territories and in Hungary, where the Emperor had the right of nomination, the Pope expressed the hope that before all else the abuse of leaving posts unoccupied with a view to applying their revenues to other purposes, would cease. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction must be restored; in this respect not only the Emperor, but the Bishops and the Chapters, had grievously offended in the past. Even more important than this or any other thing was the acceptance and execution of the Tridentine reform decrees which are here styled, as in Albergati's memorandum, the chief remedies for all the ills of the Church in Germany.[3] This must be Carafa's

[1] Concerning this *Memorandum (Vatican Library) see App. no. III.

[2] "*Lo stato degli ecclesiastici è di pessima conditione et forse da mali costumi loro nacquero et crebbero l'heresie." *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

[3] "*Ma il più gioevole rimedio a tutti i mali delle cose ecclesiastiche di Germania sarebbe l'accettatione del concilio di Trento

aim; the reform must be gradually enforced, beginning with the territories of the Emperor, and through the action of the more zealous among the Bishops.

As regards his personal conduct, the nuncio is exhorted to maintain strict discipline in his suite, to accept no gifts,[1] and in his whole behaviour to adapt himself as far as possible to German customs, however different these may be from those of Italy. Since the Germans were not very fond of foreigners, especially of Italians, he should meet them with that charity which does not distinguish between Greeks and Barbarians, and however strange many of their customs may seem to him, let him refrain from any expressions of annoyance and still more from all sarcasm. He should take pains to acquaint himself with the political and religious conditions of Germany and with its history. The more affable the Emperor showed himself, the more should Carafa try to win his confidence and attract to himself the Emperor's favourites, especially Count Eggenberg. He should also make contact with the Emperor's confessor, the Jesuit Becanus, and with the other Jesuits, whilst always combining caution with confidence. Further he was recommended to confer with the ambassadors of the Catholic Powers and to ascertain the aims of the Protestant princes.[2] To the Protestants he must show no hatred, only compassion: he must not repel them, but seek to win them.

The Instruction discusses in great detail the Catholic restoration which had been happily begun, more especially in Austria and in Moravia. In Silesia the Elector of Saxony went at least so far as to refuse to tolerate Calvinism. In Hungary, where the peril was greatest, Protestants must not be granted any more

che quei vescovi non hanno mai ricevuto o messo in opera nelle loro diocesi." *Ibid.*

[1] "*Benchè a quello siano i Germani inclinatissimi, ma si odiano sommamente in altri i proprii difetti." *Ibid.*

[2] *Nevertheless the nuncio should find out the true source of information and not allow himself to be deceived, "perchè i Tedeschi sono facili a prestare fede alle novelle et a ridirle." *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

concessions [1]; for the rest he must insist that the Emperor should only appoint Catholics to the higher offices of the State. There fellows a detailed discussion of the means by which the Catholic restoration may be brought about, especially in Bohemia, where it was not enough to apply the axiom: *cujus regio, ejus religio,* but every means of persuasion and instruction, teaching and education should likewise be adopted.

The author of the Instruction sets great hopes on the pious and victorious Ferdinand II. His predecessors had been too ready to give in to the Protestants, to the detriment both of the Pope's authority and their own.[2] The present Emperor could be depended upon to support the efforts of the Holy See. How far-reaching these were appears from the fact that Carafa was specifically commanded to press the Emperor for the restoration of all confiscated ecclesiastical property wherever the reconquest of Protestant districts rendered such recovery possible. This question had already been raised under Paul V. but had been shelved as premature.[3]

[1] " *Rimane a dire alcuna cosa d'Ungheria, provincia forse peggioramente ridotta di quante da qual lato ne siano, poichè la rebellione et l'heresia, Maumettana tirannide fanno a gara per isvellerare quelle poche reliquie della religione cattolica, anzi dell'humanità et fede che ne petti humani erano rimaste. . . . Si teme che S.M.tà non sia per essere costretta a concedere loro la confessione Augustana." He must never allow this and in case of need " dissimulare ". *Ibid.*

[2] " *Ritenendo per loro una maestà più apparente che vera." *Ibid.*

[3] " *Mi rimane nell'ultimo di questo capo di commettere a V.S. d'ordine di N.S. che secondo che si andrano acquistando de paesi tenuti avanti dagli heretici et migliorando negli accordi le conditioni degli ecclesiastici, egli faccia grandissima istanza a S.M. di recuperare beni ecclesiastici occupati da loro et di renderli alle chiese et ai veri padroni. Questo offitio si fe per ordine di P. Paulo quando il marchese di Spinola s'impossessò del Palatinato et l'Imp.re rispose che non era tempo de trattarne. Ma hora che le cose si sono maggiormente assicurate, V.S. tornerà a pregarne efficacemente S.M.tà et le rappresenterà il gran merito che haverà con Dio benedetto e con la Chiesa cattolica se sotto il felice imperio

In the Instruction for Carafa reference is also made to the request already presented by the imperial ambassador, Savelli, for the change of the monthly 20,000 florins into the same number of scudi which would mean an increase of more than double that amount. The concession of a further contribution of 200,000 scudi to be made in one payment was not possible owing to the lack of means; on the other hand the Pope was quite ready to increase his monthly subsidy, but he expressed a wish that the portion of the subsidy exceeding the sums already granted should be used for enlisting pontifical soldiers who would be incorporated in the imperial army under the command of Pietro Aldobrandini. Ferdinand's ambassador, Savelli, was of the opinion that his master would rather have the money than the soldiers. But Gregory XV. attached great importance to the idea that the papal colours should be unfurled in the battle for the Catholic cause. After long negotiations, Savelli, supported by the Spanish ambassador, was able to obtain a subsidy of 20,000 scudi which was to be at the Emperor's free disposal.[1]

di S.M. quasi iure postliminii ella potrà ritornare all'antichissimo possesso de suoi beni, ne V.S. n'abbandonarà l'impresa senza ottenere l'intento e basta fin qui del terzo capo." *Ibid.*

[1] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 162, who quotes Savelli's report of September 17, 1622 (State Archives, Vienna). According to the Avviso of May 1, 1621, Pietro Aldobrandini was already at that time preparing for his campaign in Germany. He was also charged with the administration of the subsidies. At the same time the Duke of Zagarolo enlisted five thousand soldiers for the Emperor. According to the Avviso of May 22, 1621, Aldobrandini set out on that day (*Urb.* 1089, Vatican Library). In the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome, I found (1) **Instruttione a Pietro Aldobrandini, luogotenente generale di N.S. per la levata da farsi d'un regimento che N.S. da per aiuto all'Imperatore Ferdinando*; (2) **Instruttione a Matteo Pini, deputato pagatore et collaterale delle genti che si devono mandare in Germania a nome di S.S.tà per servitio dell'Imperatore*, both dated Rome, June 1, 1621. This Instruction is also in *Barb.* 5187, Vatican Library, and in *Cod.* 473 (595) *Miscell. D.* of the University Library, Bologna and in *Cod.* XI., G. 33 of the National Library, Naples.

The notable increase of the subsidy granted to Ferdinand II. roused the jealousy of the representatives in Rome of the League and of Bavaria. There were sharp encounters between them and the Spanish ambassador. The latter maintained that the League should not further importune the Pope; in the preceding year it had received from Italy the sum of 875,000 florins by way of papal subsidies and tithes, and the tenth granted to it in Germany had brought in more than two millions.[1] These statements were considerably exaggerated.[2] Gregory XV. appointed a commission of Cardinals to examine the amount that should be granted to the League. It so happened that on April 21st, 1621, news reached Rome that the Protestant Union had been dissolved, the commission, therefore, declared that further support of the League was unnecessary and recommended a negative reply to its demand.[3] The Pope, nevertheless, decided to yield to the League's request, and in September, 1621, three notes of exchange to the value of 60,000 florins, taken from the Italian tenth, were sent to Augsburg for the benefit of the League; the rest was to follow later.[4] "You serve the Lord of hosts who is mighty in battle," Gregory XV. wrote on September 15th, 1621, to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, "you shall not have sought the Pope's help in vain."[5]

In the sequel also the Pope did everything in his power to support both the Emperor and the League. The French nuncio, Corsini, was repeatedly instructed to urge Louis XIII. to

[1] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, IV., 350.

[2] The papal subsidy, according to GÖTZ (*Forsch. zur Gesch. Bayerns*, XII., 115) amounted to 368,389 florins in 1621.

[3] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 351.

[4] *Cf.* SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 163. The *Avviso of February 26, 1622, reports a papal edict, in consequence of which priests were to pay the tenth imposed by Paul V., for the Catholic League in Germany; if they paid half of it at once, the remainder would be remitted. *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library.

[5] The *Brief of September 15, 1621, is in *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a *laudatory Brief to Maximilian, July 17, 1621. *Cf.* SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 163, and *Darmstädert Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, no. 37.

renounce the anti-Habsburg policy of his father.[1] The representative of the Holy See in Madrid was asked to support the Pope's efforts to raise money for the war in Germany from the Spanish clergy, "the richest clergy in the world".[2] On his part Gregory XV., convinced that so favourable an opportunity would hardly recur,[3] did his utmost to satisfy the continually renewed requests of the League and the Emperor for further subsidies. Thus, in February, 1622, he agreed that the impending canonizations of Blessed Isidore, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, and Teresa of Jesus, should take place, not singly, as was customary, but simultaneously, and that the money thus saved—it was a considerable sum—should be divided between the League and the Emperor.[4] Not content with this the members of the League, in the same month, once more pressed the Pope for an extraordinary subsidy; they based their request on the expenditure in connexion with the conflict against the adventurers Ernest of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, who had taken the field in support of the deposed Winter King Frederick.[5] The cruelties practised by their wild mercenaries against the Catholics—their looting of the churches, perpetrating the most horrible sacrileges, driving away priests and outraging nuns—filled Gregory XV. with nameless horror.[6] Hence he was more disposed than ever to continue his extraordinary assistance and, if possible, to increase it. The Cardinals were repeatedly called in to discuss in what manner the necessary means might be procured. "One thing only," the Pope wrote

[1] *Cf.* particularly, *Agucchi's letter to Corsini, August 10 and 23, 1621, *Cod.* X., VI., 16, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See the *letter of Agucchi to the Spanish nuncio, September 8, 1621, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Spanish Bishops and Abbots, September 4, 1621, *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] "*Se si perde questa occasione, Dio sa se tornerà mai più." Letter to Corsini, August 10, 1621, *loc. cit.*

[4] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 163.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* K. A. MENZEL, VII., 78 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*; KLOPP, II., 111 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*

to the Emperor Ferdinand, on January 6th, 1622, "we deplore, and that is that we cannot do as much as we would wish in favour of the Catholic cause in Germany. Nevertheless we shall do our utmost so that the Church may never have reason to regret our government, and that Your Majesty may never be disappointed in the hopes you have placed in the Apostolic See."[1] Gregory XV. rejoiced exceedingly when the course of events in the field showed that the great sacrifices he had made had not been in vain. He followed with admiration the organization of the defence on the Catholic side, especially the victorious advance of Maximilian against the Upper Palatinate which bordered on Bohemia and which, like the Lower Palatinate, West of the Rhine, was one of Frederick's hereditary States. In a Brief to the Duke of Bavaria, dated October 4th, 1621, the Pope expresses his gratitude to God for having raised up such a Prince during his pontificate.[2] There was an explosion of joy when news reached Rome that on September 6th, 1621, Maximilian had taken the town of Cham which constitutes the key to the southern part of the Upper Palatinate. Cardinal Ludovisi and the Pope himself warmly congratulated Maximilian. Gregory XV. wrote to the Duke on October 16th, 1621, that he expected still greater things of him, that is, that he would not rest until the Winter King had been completely beaten and all the remnants of the conflagration caused by him had been put out.[3] The Pope also congratulated the Emperor, urging him at the same time to deprive Frederick V. of the dignity of an Elector.[4] The letters which Maximilian directed to the Pope and to Cardinal

[1] The original of the *Brief is in the State Archives, Vienna; in part in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 164.

[2] See **Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Ibid.*, and *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, no. 37, giving the Brief in German.

[4] *Brief to Ferdinand II., October 16, 1621, *Arm.*, XLV., 22, *loc. cit.* It states that "the enemies mocked our trust in God, atque alii Italiae toti vastitatem ac Vaticano ipsi saevitium moliri dicebantur. Sed non oblitus est nostri Deus. . . . The victory must be exploited for the Faith and the Empire."

Ludovisi on November 3rd about his successes in the Upper Palatinate, were answered on November 12th with the warmest congratulations and good wishes. On November 20th Ludovisi reported that he had given the Pope an account of Maximilian's military prowess and of his pursuit of Mansfeld.[1]

In consequence of Mansfeld having escaped with his army to the Rhine Palatinate, that territory now became the chief theatre of the war. As early as December 3rd, 1621, the Pope was able to express to the Duke of Bavaria how greatly he rejoiced at the successes which his troops had obtained there. He warned him at the same time not to allow his victorious advance to be interrupted by negotiations of any kind, lest a final triumph over the heretics, whom he had thus far so successfully opposed, should escape him : " Go boldly forward, beloved son, for the almighty God of vengeance has chosen you to be the instrument of His wrath against His enemies " we read in this fiery epistle.[2]

With Bohemia in the hands of the Emperor, and the Upper Palatinate in those of the Duke of Bavaria, there was, at the end of 1621, only one large territory, the Rhine Palatinate, in which the Emperor's enemies still maintained themselves. Gregory XV. judged that it was of the utmost importance that there also the enemy should be utterly crushed, and with this in view he wrote on December 25th to the Emperor and to the Ecclesiastical Electors, begging them on no account to enter into any kind of negotiations : the conflict must be fought out and Frederick V. deprived of his status as an Elector.[3]

In the new year the position threatened for a moment to

[1] See the letter in the *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, 324 *seq.*

[2] See *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, no. 37 (a German translation of the letter which had already been published in the Latin original in 1856, in the *Serapeum*, p. 197 *seq.*). Similar *letters of the same date—December 3, 1621—whereby the three Rhenish Electors were urged to support Maximilian, are in *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Ibid.* The letter to Maximilian is in *Serapeum*, 1859, 198 *seq.*

veer round in favour of the Winter King when three captains took the field on his behalf, though it is true enough that they meant to fight not so much for the Palatine as for their own interests. Duke Christian of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, administrator of the diocese of Halberstadt, whom the Emperor had refused to confirm in that position, had invaded Westphalia towards the end of 1621. In the beginning of the new year, breathing terrible threats, he invaded the diocese of Paderborn which was completely stripped of troops.[1] His mercenaries ravaged the land with fire and sword and perpetrated the most abominable outrages. In Paderborn itself they sacked all the churches and convents as well as the houses of the Catholic burghers. Christian had the silver shrine of S. Liborius, the Patron of the Diocese, melted and minted into coins bearing the legend: "Gottes Freund, der Pfaffen Feind": "The friend of God, the enemy of priestlings".[2] The Duke of Halberstadt, by robbery and extortion, soon scraped together enough money to enable him to raise his army to 11,000 men. The Count of Mansfeld, with an even greater force, invaded and ravaged the territories of the Bishops of Speier and Strassburg. At the end of April, 1622, he entered into an alliance with the Margrave George Frederick of Baden-Durlach and together they conceived great plans: viz. the defeat of the Duke of Bavaria, the confiscation of ecclesiastical property and the execution of the Bishops of Mayence, Würzburg and Speier![3]

On February 12th, 1622, Gregory XV., in a letter to the Catholic princes, expressed his deep sorrow at the dangerous turn things were taking in Germany.[4] On the same day he

[1] *Cf. Archiv des Hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1845, 18.

[2] See OPEL, *Der niedersächsische Krieg*, I., 322 *seq.*; WESKAMP, *Herzog Christian von Braunschweig und die Stifte Münster und Paderborn*, Paderborn, 1884, 79 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 398 *seq.*

[3] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, IV., 329.

[4] *Cf.* especially the *Brief of February 12, 1622, to the Archbishop of Mayence on the "calamitates Germaniae", *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

exhorted the Archbishop of Mayence to constancy.[1] To the administrator of the diocese of Strassburg, to the Archduke Leopold, and to the Emperor, he promised a money subsidy for the month of May.[2]

During the year 1622 the Pope granted to Ferdinand II., in addition to the monthly sum of 20,000 florins which were to be turned into scudi, money for the maintenance of 2,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, for which 30,000 florins had to be allowed, so that the monthly subsidy came to more than 50,000 florins. The League received the tenth which amounted yearly to 120,000 crowns, perhaps even more.[3]

The Pope also had repeatedly recourse to prayer. This was done with special solemnity when the Carmelite, Dominic of Jesus Mary, who had taken so prominent a part in the victory of Prague, brought to Rome, at the beginning of 1622, the statue of Our Lady which the Calvinists had mutilated and which had been carried at the head of the army at the battle of Weissenberg.[4] On Sunday, May 8th, the "Madonna della Vittoria", as she was now called, was carried in solemn procession, in which were also seen the forty-five standards captured in the great victory of November 8th, 1620, from St. Mary Major to the church of the Carmelites of S. Paolo, near the Fontana de' Termini. In the sanctuary Gregory XV. awaited the arrival of the sacred image which was encased in a precious shrine and placed above the high altar.[5] When

[1] "Noli timere," he says in this second *Brief of February 12, 1622, *ibid.*

[2] The *Brief to Archduke Leopold is dated May 4, *that to Ferdinand II., May 5, 1622. *Arm.*, XLV., 24, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Götz, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 1, 85.

[4] See *Avviso January 1, 1622, *Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library. From Savelli's report to Ferdinand II., January 8, 1622, it appears that P. Domenico at that time discussed with the Pope the solemn function as well as the place where the image should be preserved. February 19, 1622, *Savelli reports that the statue would be kept in the Carmelite Church near Monte Cavallo, in S. Maria della Vittoria: State Archives, Vienna, *Fasc.* 45.

[5] See besides the *report of P. Alaleone (*Barb.* 2818) and the *Avviso of May 11, 1622 (*Urb.* 1091, Vatican Library) the rare

the church was reconstructed by Carlo Maderno, on a magnificent scale, it was richly adorned with marble and gold and was given the name of " S. Maria della Vittoria ". The statue of Our Lady, before which the Pope celebrated Mass on May 12th,[1] soon became an object of great veneration. It was destroyed by fire in 1833 and a copy had to take its place. A recent fresco by Luigi Serra in the apse of the choir shows the entry of the victorious troops into Prague, with Fr. Dominic in their midst.[2]

Gregory XV., as he wrote on June 11th, 1622, to the Elector of Cologne and the Duke of Bavaria, would gladly have bestowed upon the Catholic League still greater financial assistance had his means allowed it.[3]

Meanwhile, a decision had been obtained on the field of battle. On May 6th, 1622, Tilly won a brilliant victory over the Margrave of Baden, at Wimpfen, north-west of Heilbronn on the Neckar, and on June 20th he inflicted a sharp defeat on the Duke of Brunswick at Höchst on the Main. The Emperor's opponents were completely dispirited, so much so that the Margrave of Baden disbanded what remained of his army, whilst the Winter King Frederick dismissed Halberstadt and Mansfeld. Meanwhile Tilly had turned his attention to the

letter **Relatione della processione e feste fatte in Roma per la vittoria avuta contra gl'heretici e ribelli della Boemia nel collocare l'imagine della Madonna della Vittoria nella Chiesa di S. Paolo a Monte Cavallo alli 8 Maggio 1622*, Roma, per il Mascardi 1622, and the acts in MARCELLINO DI S. BERESA, *Guida di S. Maria della Vittoria alle Terme*, Roma, 1915, 111 *seqq.*, 116 *seqq.*

[1] See the *report of P. ALALEONE, *loc. cit.* and the *Avviso of May 14, 1622, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, liv. III., ch. 6, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] The standards were damaged by the fire; part of them, through King Louis I., came into the Munich Arsenal. The flags still preserved in the Church, about a dozen, are only in part those of the battle of Prague; the others are Turkish flags; see MARCELLINO DI S. TERESA, 15 *seq.*; *ibid.*, for the four pictures preserved in S. Maria della Vittoria, which represent the phases of the fight.

[3] See **Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

Rhine Palatinate, where three important fortresses, Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal still defied him. Heidelberg capitulated on September 19, Mannheim at the beginning of November. Part of the war booty at Heidelberg was the famous State Library, or, as we should say to-day, "The Library of the Palatine State." During the whole of the preceding year the fate of that most celebrated collection, known as *Bibliotheca Palatina*,[1] had occupied the attention of the Holy See, which has always been concerned in the preservation of literary and artistic treasures. This is proved by a Brief of Gregory XV., dated December 18th, 1621, in which he requests the Archbishop of Mayence to protect this Library if Heidelberg should be besieged.[2] The Cologne nuncio, Pietro Francesco Montorio, had given the Emperor to understand that the Holy See was very anxious to obtain this precious collection,[3] which included many pieces from Lorch and other suppressed monasteries.[4] The Capuchin Giacinto da Casale supported the nuncio's request.[5] At that time the Pope's monthly subsidy amounted to as much as 20,000 florins.[6] On September 24, 1622, Maximilian informed the Pope that the Library would be presented to the Holy See. Thus, when Gregory XV. wrote on October 15th to congratulate the Emperor on the conquest of the capital of the Palatinate, he was able to add the expression of his gratitude for the splendid enrichment of the Vatican Library which Ferdinand's letter promised. "The Lord has commanded," he wrote to Maximilian of Bavaria "and His enemies were scattered. With these words do we desire to

[1] *Cf.* STEVENSON, *Codices MS. Palat. Graeci Bibl. Vatic.*, Romae, 1885, xxiii. *seq.*, where the bibliography is given.

[2] See the *Brief of December 18, 1621, *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *report of Montorio in RANKE, *Päpste*, III., 139. *Cf.* HEBEISEN, 101.

[4] *Cf.* STEVENSON, *loc. cit.*, xxviii. *seq.* For the Lorsch MSS. see FALK in Suppl. 26 of the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1902, 55 *seq.*; *cf.*, *ibid.*, Suppl. no. VI., 676 *seq.*

[5] See ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 504.

[6] *Cf.* HEBEISEN, 101.

greet you, after the fall of Heidelberg, for your victories have restored security to the Catholic faith and have subjected fresh territories to the rule of the Holy Roman Empire. These events are not only a glory for the Bavarian name but a subject of rejoicing for the whole world. When we received your letter announcing the happy issue so long awaited, we raised our hands to heaven to give thanks to the Lord of hosts and from this our throne—the nearest to that of heaven—we imparted a most loving blessing to you and your victorious army. But words fail us to describe the pleasure you have caused us with your gift so acceptable to the Holy Roman Church and so glorious for the Bavarian name, which you, the most devout of victorious captains, have resolved to offer to the Prince of Apostles and to us, as a memorial, so to speak, of the downfall of heresy and one which will contribute to the strengthening of the true Catholic faith as well as to your own glory. Who can fail to see that by realizing your anxious desire to remove the *Bibliotheca Palatina* from those territories and to unite its wonderful treasures with those of the Vatican, you wrest from the impious hands of the heretics—those fathers of lies and followers or erroneous doctrines—the two-edged sword which they brandish unceasingly for the destruction of that truth by which men are saved. Henceforth it will be said of you that you have erected a fresh bulwark of Christian wisdom in this august metropolis to which the eyes of the whole world are ever raised and which contains 'a thousand bucklers, all the armour of valiant men' (Canticle, IV., 4). The weapons which there (at Heidelberg) were used by the impious heretics to attack religion, will be used here for the defence of the Holy Catholic faith, and it will be due to you that the heralds of the saving truth shall henceforth be able to obtain here the armour of light whose splendour will be still further enhanced when by its means the devil's own falsehoods shall have been destroyed."[1]

The Brief announced that Leone Allacci, a Doctor of Theology and Scriptor at the Vatican Library, was being sent to

[1] See THEINER, *Schenkung der Heidelberger Bibliothek durch Maximilian I. an Papst Gregor XV.*, München, 1844, 49 *seq.*

Germany.[1] This learned Greek of Chios was instructed to obtain from Maxmilian the necessary authority to take over the Library in its entirety, and to transfer it, in the first instance, to Munich, for which purpose he was to ask for an escort of Bavarian soldiers. From this document also, which provides for every contingency, we gather what value Rome set on the acquisition of the Library.[2]

In all this Gregory XV. and Cardinal Ludovisi were not actuated, as has been suggested,[3] by vain glory or by that passion for manuscripts which one might have expected during the era of the renaissance. On the contrary, the interests of

[1] For L. Allacci, *cf.* the *Vita of Steph. Gradius*, in *Mai, Bibl. nova patr.*, VI., 2, 5 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I.², 546; *Giorn. stor. di Liguria*, 1901, 161 *seqq.*; MARKOVIČ, *Slavi e Papi*, 290 *seq.*; C. MAZZI, *L'Allacci*, Bologna, 1893. A *Tractatus de gratia iuxta mentem s. Thomae a Leone Allatio*, probably autograph, is in *Barb.* 928, Vatican Library. For Allacci's correspondence see C. MAZZI on the *Riv. d. bibl.*, III. (1889), 103 *seqq.*

[2] The *Instruttione al Dottor Leone Allaccio per andar in Germania per la libreria del Palatino*, dated Rome, October 22, 1622, drawn up by order of Cardinal Ludovisi, was so long only known in such a garbled Latin version that WILKEN (*Gesch. der Bildung, Beraubung und Vernichtung der alten Heidelberger Bibliothek*, Heidelberg, 1817, 235) doubted its genuineness. Later he published the original text according to a Viennese MSS. in the *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik von Seebode*, Jahn und Klotz, V. (1837), 5 *seq.*; it was printed again by THEINER, *Schenkung*, 57 *seq.* In Italy the Instruction has been published three times, first in the *Bibliofilo*, VI. (1885) of Bologna, then by C. MAZZI, in *Propugnatore*, V. (1892), 375 *seqq.*, and in the periodical *La Bibliofilia*, II., (1900). THEINER (55 *seq.*) and MAZZI (*loc. cit.*, 355 *seq.*) also print a second instruction for Allacci, written by Sc. COBELLUZIO, the Librarian of the Vatican.

[3] Thus I. WILLE, in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, XIV., (1906), 224. Against Wille's conclusion is the fact that Maximilian did not wish the library to be united with the Vatican, but to be set up as a separate *Biblioteca Gregoriana*. (See HEBEISEN, 101 *seq.*). But Gregory did not consent to this.

religion were the predominant motive in this as in all else that the Holy See undertook at the time of the Catholic counter-reformation,[1] just as it was the decisive factor in Maximilian's acquiescence in the Pope's wishes. To this was added the motive of gratitude for the money subsidies received from Rome, as well as the hope of the Pope's support for his aspirations to the dignity of an Elector. Maximilian was well aware of the Pope's chief concern. Once the material defeat, by force of arms, of the head of the German Calvinists and their auxiliaries was an accomplished fact, it would be necessary to wrest from their hands a dangerous spiritual armoury in the shape of the priceless, world-famed Library of Heidelberg, and by transferring it to Rome to utilize this arsenal of knowledge, which had hitherto supplied weapons against the papacy, for diametrically opposite purposes.[2]

Leone Allacci, who left Rome on October 28th, 1622, carried out his mission with as much zeal as discretion.[3] At Munich he received every assistance from Maximilian. The Duke advised him to hasten the transport of the Library lest the negotiations between the Emperor and the Prince Palatine, with a view to their reconciliation, which had begun through the mediation of the regent of the Netherlands, should

[1] " *Io rendo gratie a V.A. della benigna intentione data ai nostri nuntii di Colonia e di Fiandra della Biblioteca Palatina, perchè essendo tanto segnalata questa Vaticana, et havendo giovato tanto con la copia de'fedeli manoscritti alla correttione dei buoni autori, massimamente sacri ed ecclesiastici, quanto più ella si va accrescendo, maggior servitio di Dio e della Chiesa santa può seguire. Onde Sua Santità ha dovuto desiderarla," wrote Cardinal Ludovisi from Frascati on October 8, 1622, to Maximilian I. In like manner on October 23, 1623, to Tilly. *Cod.* X., V., 31, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See the essays, " Zur Geschichte der Heidelberger, Biblioteca Palatina' " in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1876, Suppl. no. 30 and [Maas] " Die Instruktion für die Verbringung der Palatina, nach Rom," *ibid.*, 1901, Beil. no. 96.

[3] *Cf.* C. Mazzi, in *Propugnatore*, IV. (1891), 263 *seqq.*

deprive the Pope of the precious treasure at the last minute.[1] When Allacci arrived at Heidelberg on December 13th, 1622, notwithstanding the cold, he spared no fatigue in preparing for transport the Palatine Library which was housed in the two upper galleries over the lateral aisles of the church of the Holy Ghost.[2] He also took possession of any manuscripts he could lay hands on. Tilly gave him permission to take some of these from the Palatine's private library in the castle. Through the intervention of the Governor, Allacci also obtained manuscripts from the University library and from that of the *Sapientia* College. In this way he collected 3,542 manuscripts, to which he added some 5,000 printed books.[3]

When at last the necessary wagons and horses had been obtained, Allacci set out on February 4th, 1623, with fifty transport wagons escorted by Bavarian musketeers. The wagons contained 196 chests [4] of books and manuscripts. After many dangers and difficulties of every kind he brought the whole consignment safe and undamaged to Rome viâ Munich.[5]

[1] The *Ex Libris*, which Maximilian had executed by Raphael Sadeler of Munich (d. 1628), for the MSS. and printed books belonging to the Heidelberg collection, was reproduced by COUNT VON LEININGEN-WESTERNBURG, in *Ex-Libris—Zeitschr. für Bücherzeichen*, 1892, 12, and described in detail.

[2] Not in the choir, as Wilken and later writers have asserted; see *Mitteil. des Heidelberger Schlossvereins*, 1868, 6 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* ZANGEMEISTER, in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschr.*, XIV., 359 *seq.* and *Archival. Zeitschr.*, N.F. II. (1891), 315 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* STEVENSON, in *Omaggio d. Bibl. Vatic. nel giubileo episc. di Leone XIII.* (Roma), 1893. The cost, according to an account in the State Archives in Rome, amounted to 5,877 scudi.

[5] Allacci has described the whole transport of the library to Rome in a detailed report. It was published by BÄHR in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1872, 485 *seq.*, and again by BELTRAMI in the *Riv. Europ. Ann.*, XIII., vol. XXVIII., Florence, 1882, 1 *seq.* *Cf.* also ALLACCI's letter of February 3, 1623, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VIII., 123 *seq.*, and C. MAZZI, *loc. cit.* Gregory XV. was not to have the pleasure of seeing the *Palatina* with his own eyes. His death, on July 8, 1623 — the *Palatina*

Allacci was still in Munich when a fresh Brief was sent to Maximilian on November 19th, 1622, in which the Pope praised the Duke of Bavaria and urged him to continue the war against the enemies of the Emperor and the Church.[1] A papal letter dated December 23rd, 1622, in which Gregory XV. congratulated the Duke of Bavaria on his capture of Mannheim, compares that success to the victory of 1620, at

arrived in Rome at the end of the month—spared him the sorrow of seeing that the *Palatina* was not made to render to science and to the Church the great services which he had looked for when he acquired it. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XIV., 335. The writer of the paper shows (p. 333 *seq.*) that however greatly all Germans must regret the loss of the Library, yet German science has every reason to be glad of its removal—for it would certainly have been destroyed when the French pillaged the Palatinate. On this point all parties are agreed to-day (*cf.* the opinion of HÖFFLER, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VIII., 43; NEUDEGGER, in the *Archival. Zeitschr.*, N.F., II., 323, and KOCHENDÖRFFER, in the *Berliner Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1887, 1363). HÖFFLER also draws attention to the fact that if the library had remained in Munich it would almost certainly have been taken away by the King of Sweden (*cf.* A. HESSEL, *Gesch. der Bibliotheken*, Göttingen, 1925, 74) and the Palatinate would never have seen it again. In 1815, after the fall of Napoleon, Pius VII. restored the whole of the MSS. which had been carried off to Paris and which had belonged to the *Palatina* library, thirty-eight in all. In 1816, at the request of Heidelberg University, he presented to the representative of the Baden Government 842 German MSS., and four Latin ones which also belonged to the *Palatina*; see *Serapeum*, 1845, 157 *seq.* The scientific use of the parts of the library which remained in Rome was facilitated by Leo XIII. by the publication of model catalogues (*Codic. ms. Palat. Graeci, rec. Stevenson senior*, Romae, 1885; *Codic. ms. Palat. Latini, rec. Stevenson Junior, recogn. De Rossi*, Romae, 1886; *Inventario dei libri stampati Palatino-Vaticani da E. Stevenson giuniore*, 2 vols. Romae, 1876; the latter being the jubilee gift of the Holy See for the jubilee of Heidelberg University).

[1] *Brief of November 19, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

the White Mountains, near Prague.[1] The joy breathed by that letter was well founded. The successes in the Palatinate set a worthy crown upon the year 1622. It had been a particularly lucky year for Pope and Emperor: its beginning had released Ferdinand II. from the burden of war against Bethlen Gábor, who left the rebels of Bohemia and Austria to their fate; by taking Glatz on October 25th, he had extinguished the last flickers of insurrection in the Austrian lands; by the end of the year the champions of the Winter King lay prostrate and his rule had come to an end, even in his hereditary Palatine State.

The time had now come to fulfil the promise of transferring the honour of the Palatine Electorate, a promise which Ferdinand II. had given by word of mouth to the Duke of Bavaria in 1619 in order to obtain the support of the League against the rebels of Bohemia. If the matter had not yet been settled, the fault was not the Emperor's, who would have been glad to honour his pledge, for he was filled with gratitude and admiration for the man who had saved him; there was, however, much opposition to overcome. In the College of Electors, Ferdinand could only be sure of the support of the Elector of Cologne. The Elector of Trèves was undecided; the timid Johann Schweikart of Mayence was opposed to Maximilian's demands; that the Elector of Brandenburg, as a cousin of the banned Winter King, would resist to the end, was but natural. However, even John George of Saxony, though allied with the Emperor, was against transferring the Electorate to a Catholic; moreover he cherished the hope of saving the dignity at least for the brother or the son of Frederick. More embarrassing than all this was the fact that Ferdinand met with opposition even on the part of his other chief ally, the King of Spain. For fear that England might be driven to participate in the war which the Netherlands had resumed, the Madrid cabinet was inclined to purchase peace in Germany by yielding to the demands of London for the restoration of the *status quo*.[2]

[1] *Brief of December 3, 1622, *ibid.*, in German translation in *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, no. 37.

[2] See RITTER, III., 172 *seq.*

In a situation so unfavourable to Maximilian's aspirations to the Palatine Electorate, the powerful intervention of the Holy See proved a decisive factor in his favour. Already Paul V., when the news came of the splendid victory near Prague, had expressed the opinion in the hearing of the imperial ambassador, Savelli, that the best fruit of the victory would be the conveyance of the Electorate to Bavaria.[1] This opinion was also that of Gregory XV. and his Secretary of State, Ludovisi.[2] In a Brief of February 25th, 1621, Gregory XV. warmly commended the Emperor for having laid the ban of Empire on the Winter King and deprived him of his honours and possessions.[3] In a letter of March 6th, 1621, Cardinal Ludovisi impressed on Ferdinand II. the necessity of transferring the Electorate to a Catholic prince in place of the man he had been obliged to ban. If he would act thus, in virtue of his imperial authority, he would be conferring an immortal benefit on Christendom.[4]

The point of view which the Holy See adopted in this affair was made abundantly clear in the Instructions of the nuncios accredited to the great Powers in the spring of 1621. The French nuncio, Corsini, was directed to restrain Louis XIII. from favouring the Winter King in any way whatever.[5] Carafa, in Vienna, as also the nuncios in Madrid and Brussels, were exhorted to direct their efforts to the complete discomfiture of the Winter King, and equally to the

[1] See HURTER, IX., 157. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 372.

[2] GIUNTI (**Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome) seems anxious to ascribe to his hero a larger share in the settlement of the electoral dispute than to the Pope himself.

[3] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 165.

[4] "*Immortale sane beneficium a Caes. M.te Vestra accepturus est christianus orbis, si per vestrae auctoritatis decretum ius Caesaris eligendi perduello Palatino ademptum catholicus princep adipiscatur." M. Lud. Ludovisi to the Emperor Ferdinand II., Rome, March 6, 1621, in the State Archives, Vienna, *Hofkorrespondenz*, 11.

[5] See the *Instruction for Corsini in *Nunziat. di Francia*, LVII., Papal Secret Archives.

transference of the Palatine Electorate to a Catholic prince, because thereby the imperial crown would be permanently assured to the Catholics and to the House of Habsburg.[1] The Pope and his Secretary of State did not allow themselves to be exclusively inspired in this affair by their long-standing relations with Bavaria, but chiefly by considerations of a higher order. Apart from the personality of the Palatine Frederick, the Holy See thought it intolerable to allow the continuance of the risk of the candidature not only of the Protestant Elector of Saxony, but of a second Protestant, for the post of Imperial Vicar during a vacancy of the throne.[2] Moreover, by obtaining a fifth vote, a Catholic majority at an imperial election would be assured. Naturally enough the Pope also had at heart the fate of the Catholics of the Palatinate.[3] Since Rome was well aware of the promise made to the Duke of Bavaria, only Maximilian's candidature for the vacant Electorate could be considered How much the Holy See had made his cause its own appears from the Pope's attitude towards Duke Wolfgang William of Neuburg who, as the nearest relative of the House of Simmerisk, also put in a claim to the Electorate and the Palatine territories. Though that prince's services to the Church were highly valued, so much so that Rome would have been willing to help him, yet, as is shown by the Instruction to the nuncio of Brussels, on May 1st, 1621,[4] in this affair there was no question of giving him any support. For the rest, the question of the Palatine territory could only be resolved after that of the Electorate had been decided.

[1] See the *Instruction for the Spanish nuncio, Sangro, in *Cod.* J., III, 80, of the Chigi Library, Rome, and *Cod.* 1257 of the Ossoliniana Library, Lemberg. For Carafa, *cf.* above, p. 229.

[2] *Cf.* CARAFA'S *Relatione*, 163.

[3] In the *Instruction for Carafa the latter is told that if the Emperor was compelled to pardon Frederick, he was to see to it that the rights of the Catholics in the Palatinate were safeguarded. *Barb.* 5232, Vatican Library.

[4] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, 120 *seq.*

On that point Gregory XV. concentrated all his efforts; for its realization all the nuncios were made to work. Carlo Carafa was busy in Vienna. At first the Emperor gave him great hopes though this was hardly in keeping with the fact that Ferdinand II. put off till August 30th the Princes' Diet which had been convoked for June 24th, at Ratisbon. Rome saw quite well that this move was due to consideration for Saxony. On the other hand prompt action was essential for at that very moment the imperial arms were victorious, the Union had been dissolved and there was nothing to fear from the Turks. The Pope, therefore, insisted that Ferdinand should act rapidly and satisfy the Duke of Saxony in some other way.[1] In order to spur on the wavering monarch to a decision, Gregory XV. resolved, in the middle of June, to send an ambassador extraordinary to Vienna. His choice fell on the Capuchin Giacinto da Casale, a man known far and wide as a mission preacher and one who knew the German situation from personal experience and enjoyed the special confidence of Maximilian.[2] The Pope had the highest opinion of the ability and zeal of this Capuchin,[3] whilst he himself had so lofty a conception of his mission that shortly before leaving he wrote to Zúñiga, the leading Statesman of Spain, that he was going to Germany not merely as the Pope's

[1] *Cf.* the *letter to the Spanish nuncio, June 24, 1621, *Cod.* 33 D. 33 of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] The existing information concerning Giacinto's embassy (see HURTER, IX., 158 *seq.*; GINDELY, IV., 381 *seq.*; RITTER, III., 175 *seq.*) has been very greatly supplemented by W. GOETZ in his essay, "Pater Hyacinth" (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, CIX., 106) in which he made use of the monograph by VENANZIO DA LAGO SANTO (187); he is, however, mistaken when he fixes the nomination of Giacinto as nuncio extraordinary for Germany in February, 1621. It took place on June 24, 1621, as is clearly shown by the Briefs of Gregory XV. of which Goetz was ignorant, *Bull. Capuc.*, III., 241 *seq.* *Cf.* also ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 581 *seq.* For a picture of Giacinto see FREDEGARD D'ANVERS, *P. Charles d'Arenberg*, Rome, 1919, 178 *seq.*

[3] See the *letter to the Spanish nuncio, June 24, 1622, Corsini Library, Rome.

envoy, but also as a representative of Christ himself.[1] Besides the ordinary credentials Giacinto received from the Pope special letters of recommendation to the Emperor's chief advisers.[2] At the end of June he set out to cross the Alps. The Pope assigned to him three Capuchins, who were to act as secretaries; Giacinto himself chose from among his brethren P. Valeriano Magno to act as reporter for France, P. Diego da Quiroga for Spain, and P. Basilio for Flanders.[3]

The Pope clearly perceived how much depended upon the attitude of Spain; for that reason, and before Giacinto's departure, he addressed a personal letter to Philip IV. In it the Pope says that God almighty had shown His great mercy so clearly by the victories granted to the Emperor that there was cause to fear His wrath if the advantages gained were not properly exploited while the opportunity lasted. He—the Pope—had the affairs of Germany very much at heart. After having supported the Emperor both with money and with prayers, he was now sending him a religious who would urge him to confer the dignity of an Elector on a Catholic prince and to restore the old religion to its former position at least in his own lands. He begged the King of Spain to give his support to these endeavours by himself also pressing Ferdinand to transfer the Electorate promptly, in as much as both the welfare of Christendom and the maintenance of the imperial dignity in the Catholic House of Habsburg depended very much on such action being taken.[4] The Spanish nuncio was commissioned to support the papal letter and to bring pressure to bear especially on Zúñiga.[5] Whilst the result of these steps was being awaited in Rome, an alarming rumour became current in August to the effect that the Emperor was

[1] *Letter of June 23, 1621; see VENANZIO DA LAGO SANTO, 187. *Cf.* ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 555 *seqq.*

[2] See **Arm.*, XLV., 23, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 260 *seqq.*

[3] See VENANZIO DA LAGO SANTO, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Gregory XV.'s letter to Philip IV., June 24, 1621, in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[5] See Agucchi's *letter, June 24, 1621, *ibid.*

inclined to consent to the rehabilitation of the Elector Palatine, and that at the request of Lord Digby, English ambassador extraordinary, a demand prompted by Philip IV. to whom, in return, James I. had promised his neutrality during the war with the Dutch. From the representations which the Spanish nuncio was at once instructed to make, it is easy to see what great importance Rome attached to this matter. The opportunity of crushing the Elector was on no account to be missed, for with him the head of Calvinism would fall. The Palatine is here described as the greatest enemy of the Church. A man who had tried to rob the Emperor of a kingdom, and who had planned to attack the Spanish possessions in Italy, was deserving of imprisonment and execution rather than rehabilitation.[1] Excitement in Rome grew still further when reliable reports came from Germany to the effect that the Spanish ambassador in Vienna, Count Oñate, was making common cause with the English ambassador, Digby, and was working for the cession of the Lower Palatinate to Spain.[2] Giacinto reported that the way in which Oñate and the imperial ministers treated Bavaria was enough to destroy the Emperor and the Spaniards, if Maximilian were not such a good Christian.[3]

Giacinto's negotiations were supported by the nuncio Carafa. The latter succeeded in convincing the Emperor that it was his duty to transfer the Electorate from the Calvinist and rebel Frederick to the Catholic Duke of Bavaria. The progress which Maximilian was making in his campaign for the subjection of the Upper Palatinate came opportunely to support Giacinto's efforts, for it increased the Emperor's long-felt desire to exchange Upper Austria, which was pledged to Maximilian, for the Upper Palatinate.[4] However the consent of the Duke of Bavaria could only be obtained by fulfilling the promise concerning the Electorate. In order to avoid any protests on the part of Spain and Saxony, recourse was

[1] See Agucchi's *letter, August 13, 1621, *ibid.*

[2] See Agucchi's *letter, September 8, 1621, *ibid.*

[3] See Rocco da Cesinale, II., 558.

[4] See *Ritter, III., 176.

had to the expedient of keeping the investiture a secret for the time being. On September 22nd, 1621, the Emperor signed the document which conveyed the hereditary possessions of the Elector Palatine to Maximilian and to his brothers, the prince Elector of Cologne and Duke Albert, and to all their heirs. Thus the decisive step was taken.[1] Giacinto had the happiness of personally handing the important document to Maximilian.[2] Now that so considerable a step towards the final goal had been taken, Giacinto was more determined than ever to make every effort to overcome the resistance of Spain and the ecclesiastical Electors. He began by visiting the Elector of Mayence, Johann Schweikart and after conferring with Maximilian, he resolved to go to Spain as well.[3]

Gregory XV., on hearing of the secret transfer of the Electorate, had at once made strong representations to Philip IV. in favour of Maximilian,[4] hence he considered

[1] See ARETIN, I., 174.

[2] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, IV., 382. *Cf.* W. GOETZ, *loc. cit.*, 107, and the *letter, unknown to Goetz, of Giacinto in ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 561 *seqq.*, 563.

[3] *Cf.* W. GOETZ, *loc. cit.* Gregory XV. wrote on September 15, 1621, to the ecclesiastical Electors about the transfer of the Electorate (see GINDELY, IV., 381); by *Briefs of September 18, 1621, he recommended Giacinto also to the Bishops of Speier and Würzburg. **Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] On October 6, 1621, the Pope *wrote in his own hand to the Spanish King (copy in *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome; *cf. ibid.*, the *letter to the Spanish nuncio of October 6, 1621, on the occasion of Philip IV.'s succession to the throne). The nuncio extraordinary for Spain, Msgr. Aquaviva, Titular Archbishop of Thebes, sent to Madrid on October 16, 1621, was to discuss not only the support of the Emperor by Spain in the matter of the Valtinella but also to broach the question of the Electorate. See **Instruttione a Msgr. arcivescovo di Tebe nuntio straord. alla M.tà Catt.*, dated Rome, October 16 (four parts), *Varia polit.*, 117, and *Pio*, 222, Papal Secret Archives; copies in *Cod.* 38 A. 10, p. 221 *seq.*, of the Corsini Library, Rome, and in the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome. *Cf.* MACSWINEY DE MASHANAGLASS, *Le Portugal et le Saint-Siège*, II., Paris, 1899, 26 *seq.*

Giacinto's journey unnecessary, but eventually he approved his decision, since in so important a matter it was impossible to do too much.[1] Briefs for the King of Spain, for Zúñiga and other important personages were at once written and dispatched to the Capuchin (October 15th, 1621).[2] Furthermore Cardinal Ludovisi, on his part, wrote letters of recommendation to Philip IV. and to Zúñiga as well as to the Fiscal of the Spanish nuncio who was to take charge of Giacinto's correspondence with Rome.[3] On October 21st Philip IV. received a fresh reminder of the necessity of breaking the Elector Palatine; this document sounds Maximilian's merits with the utmost enthusiasm.[4]

The Emperor Ferdinand also lent support to Giacinto's mission by personal letters to the Spanish King and to Zúñiga. In these he points out that not only the duty of gratitude towards Maximilian, but political prudence also rendered it advisable to make it impossible for the banned Elector to do any more mischief; in any case he would always have been an irreconcilable enemy. In order that the letters might reach their address safely, the Vienna nuncio, Carafa, undertook to forward them to his colleague in Brussels who would then see that they were dispatched to Spain.[5] This very precaution led to disappointment, for the letters fell into the hands of Mansfeld's soldiers. At the beginning of 1622 the Elector Palatine had them printed and published by Louis Camerarius under the title of "Spanish Chancellery".[6] In this way the Palatine party hoped to get in a counter blow to the "Secret Chancellery" of the Prince of Anhalt captured after the battle

[1] See the *letter to Giacinto da Casale, October 15, 1621, *Cod.* 33 D. 23, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* **Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the *letters of Agucchi written in Ludovisi's name, to Philip IV., to Zúñiga and the Fiscal of the Spanish nuncio, October 15, 1621, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, IV., 400.

[6] *Cf.* CARAFA, *Relatione*, 341; KOSER, *Der Kanzleienstreit*, Halle, 1874, 25 *seq.*

of Prague and published by Maximilian in 1621, in which the plans of the Calvinists for a rising against the Emperor and the German Catholics were laid bare. Though the Emperor was greatly embarrassed by the publication of these letters, a written copy of which had been communicated to the Duke of Saxony as early as February,[1] the psychological result could not be identical in the two cases because, though the captured letters brought to light certain political secrets, these were not concerned with disorder and revolution planned in the course of several years of lies and deception, treachery and felony.[2] None the less, the publication of the letters could not but be painful both to Carafa and to the Pope, for among the captured documents there were some in which the nuncio complained of the indecision of the Court of Vienna and of the great influence of Spain, whilst a letter of Cardinal Ludovisi to Carafa complained that the Spanish ambassador in Vienna, Count Oñate, wanted to tyrannize over everybody at Court and expected that his advice should be regarded on all occasions as oracular, notwithstanding the fact that his answers were always so equivocal and deceptive that it was impossible to know what he really thought.[3]

Whilst Giacinto was on his way to Spain, Gregory XV. took further steps. On December 25th, 1621, he implored the Emperor in two most pressing letters, to grant the honour of the Electorate to a Catholic Duke, and not to listen to those who advised the restoration of the Palatine. So much money, so much Catholic blood has been sacrificed in order to protect the Commonweal from ruthless treachery! Shall we allow the prize of victory to slip from our hands now that the bandit captain has crept away to his den? Surely such a peace would be the bitterest of disappointments for the Catholic Church. If people such as these were spared, they would return to the attack against the Emperor at the very first opportunity; we must not rest until they have been rendered harmless for

[1] See Ritter, III., 177.

[2] See Kopp, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg*, II., 139. *Cf.* Riezler, V., 227 *seq.*

[3] See Cancellaria Hispanica, Freistadii, 1622, no. 12, 24, 25.

good.[1] Cardinal Ludovisi also supported the Pope's representations with an emphatic letter to the Emperor.[2] Further Briefs to this purpose were dispatched on December 20th to the ecclesiastical Electors.[3] In the audiences which Cardinal von Zollern and the ambassador Savelli had with the Pope at the beginning of 1622, the latter urged with the utmost energy the speedy transfer of the Electorate. Every delay, he said, was most dangerous and both his conscience and his office would allow him no peace until the affair was settled.[4] In January, 1622, the Auditor of the Rota, Verospi, was sent to Vienna as nuncio extraordinary for the Emperor's wedding.[5] Verospi, whose zeal and knowledge of German affairs Gregory esteemed highly[6], was to insist energetically both on the liberation of Cardinal Klesl [7] and on the solemn transfer of the Electoral dignity to Maximilian without further delay. It was important to counter the intrigues of the Spanish ambassador, Oñate, who displayed such skill in discovering ever fresh means by which to delay a decision that Maximilian complained bitterly about it.[8]

[1] Both *Briefs to the Emperor are in the State Archives, Vienna. Part of one Brief is in SCHNITZER, 165.

[2] " *Qui diuturna bellorum formidine suspensi et crudelitate defessi sumus, pacem timemus. Accepimus agi de Palatino in pristinam dignitatem restituendo: dici vix potest, quam id invitis auribus Roma audiverit." Ludovisi to Ferdinand II., Rome, December 25, 1621. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] These *Briefs are in *Arm.*, XLV., 22, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See HURTER, IX., 159.

[5] *Cf.* **Instruttione a Msgr. Verospi, auditore di Rota, nuntio straord. in Germania*, January 13, 1622, *Cod.* 38 A. 9, p. 75 of the Corsini Library Rome.

[6] He is called in *Agucchi's letter to the Spanish nuncio, December 12, 1621, " Persona efficace et ardente e pratica di quei paesi." Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* above, p. 92 *seq.*

[8] *Il duca di Baviera si duole sino al cielo e Dio sa che farà. Il conte d'Ognate procede peggio che mai e governa quelle cose al suo modo." Agucchi to the Spanish nuncio, December 21, 1621, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

At the same time Gregory XV. got the Spanish nuncio to act. For a long time, Cardinal Ludovisi wrote to him, the Pope had been expecting a definite answer from Madrid concerning the transfer of the Electorate. However the fear of dilatoriness in the matter, which he felt from the first, was being increasingly justified. It would seem that jealousy of Bavaria pushed everything else into the background and that the intention was to prevent the transfer of the Electorate, not, indeed, openly, but in a roundabout way. Let the nuncio speak plainly, for the interests of the Catholic religion were at stake.[1]

When Giacinto arrived in Madrid, on December 16th, 1621, he soon perceived that Rome's pessimism was not excessive. His description of the Spanish Court is most incisive: "The King is a child, his counsellors are well disposed, but they act like guardians who are for ever trying to get the best conditions for their wards." At first Olivares felt offended because they had sent him a simple Capuchin. But Giacinto was resolved to make every effort to break the resistance of the Spanish cabinet. His view of the matter is seen in a letter of February 7th, 1622, in which he recommends that prayers should be offered "so that the divine goodness may look upon us as Christ looked upon St. Peter, for it is a matter of bringing many millions of souls under the obedience of his supreme keys and of confirming the Catholic religion and the shaken Empire throughout the North".[2] Giacinto, who had "gone through purgatory" at Aranjuez,[3] insisted *opportune, importune*, as the imperial ambassador Khevenhiller wrote,[4] but though he stayed on up to the beginning of summer, he failed to obtain a definite promise.

Verospi also encountered great difficulties in Vienna, for Ferdinand would make no decisive step without the consent of Spain. Cardinal Ludovisi complained bitterly of the

[1] See *Agucchi's letter to the Spanish nuncio, December 18, 1621, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] See Rocco da Cesinale, II., 567, 570.

[3] *Annales Ferdinandei*, IX., 177 *seq.*

[4] See W. Goetz, *loc. cit.*, 108.

"natural indecision, not to say the weakness" of the Emperor.[1] The final reply given to Verospi on April 7th was that His Majesty, in agreement with Maximilian, would not miss any opportunity to grant the investiture to the latter as soon as it could be done without danger.[2] The successes of Tilly in the Palatinate gave Gregory XV. a fresh opportunity sternly to admonish the Spanish cabinet to cease its resistance. Three vast armies, viz. those of the Margrave of Baden, of Halberstadt and Mansfeld, 50,000 men in all, had been destroyed in a month. In this the Pope saw a clear hint of Providence that the decision must not be sought by negotiations, but by arms. This view was further confirmed by the fact that the patrons of the Palatine were no longer relying upon military, but upon diplomatic means. For this reason the Pope's most ardent desire was that the Electorate should be transferred to the Duke of Bavaria. From such a step the Catholic religion, the Emperor and the House of Austria would derive great advantages, whereas the restoration of the rebel would bring nothing but ruin and destruction. An opportunity like the present, the like of which had been hoped for in vain during a century, must not be allowed to slip by without something being done for the advantage of the Catholic religion.[3]

Notwithstanding their eloquence, these representations remained without success in Madrid. In Vienna, on the other hand, there occurred a turn for the better. According to the report of the indefatigable nuncio, Carlo Carafa, the incident of the secret letters which had been captured and published, was largely responsible for the change. At first Ferdinand had been so frightened that even Carafa feared he would withdraw from the whole affair in order to avoid worse complications. Soon, however, he took an entirely different view. Since all the world knew of his intentions Ferdinand felt

[1] See *Agucchi's letter to the French nuncio Corsini, March 11, 1622, *Cod.* X., VI., 16 of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[2] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg*, IV., 387.

[3] **Agucchi al Nuntio di Spagna, vescovo di Bertinoro* (the copy has *Benevento*), dated August 20, 1622, *Cod.* 33, D. 23. Corsini Library, Rome.

determined to carry them through. Thus the publication of those letters led to a speedier solution of the problem: so different, the nuncio wrote, are the ways of God from the ways of men![1]

A notable symptom of a more resolute policy was a circular of June 17th, 1621, calling a convention to be held at Ratisbon, which was to be not merely a gathering of the Electors but an Imperial Diet. On September 3rd the Pope appointed the Cologne nuncio as his representative at the gathering.[2] The preliminary discussions proved rather difficult so that the Diet had to be deferred to October 1st.[3] The Elector of Mayence, Johann Schweikart, showed decided opposition and his objections were numerous. His health as well as lack of money, he declared, would not allow him to journey to Ratisbon; besides the question of the transfer of the Palatine Electorate was not yet ripe. The consent of Saxony and Spain were lacking. England was adopting a threatening attitude and there was reason to fear that a new war would break out in Germany, in which the Catholics, and especially the ecclesiastical princes, would fare very badly. All this would be avoided if the Electorate were bestowed not on the Duke of Bavaria, who was already powerful enough, but on the Count of Neuburg who had a better claim to it. Gregory XV. had charged the nuncio of Cologne, Pietro Francesco Montorio, to induce the Elector of Mayence to withdraw his opposition. He also sent Giacinto da Casale to assist him; the latter was also to influence in the same sense the Elector of Trèves and the Archbishop of Salzburg.[4] However, even before the arrival of the zealous Capuchin, the nuncio of Cologne had succeeded

[1] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 342.

[2] *Brief to Ferdinand II., September 3, 1622, *Arm.*, XLV., 24.

[3] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg*, IV., 423.

[4] The *Briefs to the Electors of Mayence and Trèves and to the Archbishop of Salzburg of September 10, 1622, refer to this mission (*Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives). They were not known to W. GOETZ, who only mentions the activities of GIACINTO in the autumn of 1622 at Neuburg and Munich.

in inducing Schweikart to yield, after negotiations at Aschaffenburg lasting five days.[1]

However, at this very moment, after the death of Zúñiga, a complete reversal of opinion took place in Madrid, to the disadvantage of Maximilian. Olivares, who now took charge of foreign affairs, stood for an Anglophile policy, consequently also for the restoration of the Palatinate to the heir of the Elector.[2] Furthermore, at the end of October, the Elector of Saxony took back his promise to come to Ratisbon in person, as a protest against certain measures taken by Ferdinand against the Lutheran preachers in Prague.[3] He contented himself with sending a representative, as did the Elector of Brandenburg. Of the other Protestant princes only the Margrave Louis of Hesse put in an appearance at Ratisbon, where the Emperor made his entry on November 23rd. From December onwards Giacinto da Casale, together with the Bavarian representative, worked strenuously for an early settlement of the question of the Electorate.[4]

Gregory XV. awaited the issue with keen anxiety. In order to bring pressure to bear on the hesitating Emperor, he reduced the monthly allowance of 50,000 florins, which he had hitherto granted to him, to 20,000. The full sum was not to be disbursed until the Duke of Bavaria was invested with the Palatinate, for if that event did not take place Ferdinand II. would not require assistance.[5]

On receiving reassuring news of the Emperor's intentions, the Pope expressed his joy to him in enthusiastic terms. He would intone a song of praise to God, the Lord of hosts, and the Roman Church would clothe herself with the garments

[1] See Montorio's report in RANKE, III., 138*; the source, which is not given, is *Cod.* 6329, p. 236 *seq.* of the State Library, Vienna.

[2] See GINDELY, *Dreissigjähr. Krieg*, IV., 413 *seq.*

[3] See RITTER, III., 183.

[4] See W. GOETZ, *loc. cit.*, 111 *seq.* *Cf.* also Eggenberg's letter in ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 377.

[5] *Cf.* GINDELY, IV., 572 *seq.*; GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 1 (1911), 85.

of rejoicing when the Emperor, amidst the world's applause, should take the Electorate from the treacherous Palatine and bestow it upon a Catholic. In a second letter of December 10th, the Pope assures him that he can scarcely bear the anxiety of waiting.[1] On December 22nd he admonishes the Emperor to bring the affair to a happy conclusion without further delay.[2] On the same day Briefs were sent to Eggenberg, to the Emperor's confessor Becanus, to the Electors of Cologne and Mayence, to the Archbishop of Salzburg, to the Bishop of Würtzburg and to Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg. The Spanish ambassador, Oñate, was likewise requested not to oppose any longer the transfer of the Electorate.[3] Although the latter appeal fell on deaf ears, Maximilian at length saw his wishes fulfilled. However, in view of the opposition of the Protestant States as well as that of Spain, he had to be content with receiving the Electorate for his own person alone and for his own lifetime. The ceremony took place on February 25th, 1623, with the usual pomp, in a solemn assembly of princes. The Spanish ambassador absented himself from the ceremony whilst the envoys of Brandenburg and Saxony entered formal protests.[4]

Maximilian owed the fulfilment of his dearest wish to the Pope more than to anyone else. Of this he was so persuaded himself that in his letter of thanks he stated that Gregory had not merely furthered the transfer of the Electorate but that he had directly brought it about.[5] In front of the Bishop's palace at Ratisbon a courier was waiting who, as soon as the

[1] The *Briefs of November 12 and December 10, 1622 (State Archives, Vienna) are in part in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 166.

[2] *Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] All these *Briefs of December 22, 1622, are in *Arm.*, XLV., 24, *loc. cit.* The Elector of Mainz's reply in GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 1, 1 note 1.

[4] See GINDELY, IV., 447 *seq.*; RIEZLER, V., 236 *seq.*; GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 1, 45; *ibid.*, 81 *seq.*, for the "obligation" of Ferdinand to Maximilian, February 24, 1623. See also AREZIO, *L'azione diplomatica*, 23.

[5] *Cf.* KHEVENHILLER, X., 72; AREZIO, *loc. cit.*

investiture had taken place, jumped into the saddle to carry the good news to Rome.

The courier reached the Eternal City on March 5th, 1623; on the following day the Pope convened a Consistory in which Maximilian's letter was read. Thus the Cardinals learnt that the College of Electors of Empire had now acquired a Catholic member instead of a Calvinist one.[1] Afterwards Gregory XV. betook himself with all the Cardinals to St. Peter's, there to thank the Lord God of hosts.[2] Salvoes of cannon from the Castle of S. Angelo proclaimed to the Romans an event which was justly considered one of the greatest triumphs of the Catholic cause in Germany and one that could not fail to have far-reaching consequences for the good of the ancient Church

[1] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2926, Vatican Library.

[2] Besides the *report of Cardinal Hohenzollern, Rome, March 18, 1623 (State Archives, Vienna), see also the *account of P. ALALEONE, *1623, 6 Martii : Papa post consistorium descendit ad S. Petrum (Te Deum) pro gratiarum actione propter electionem ducis Bavariae. In s. Angelo exoneratae bombardae, cardinales fecerunt luminaria* (*Diarium, Barb.* 2818, p. 42, Vatican Library, *Ibid.*, on May 2: *Audientia publica oratoris ducis Bavariae.* The ambassador was Wilhelm Freiherr von Fugger, who, together with Maximilian's agent G. B. Crivelli and Cardinal von Zollern, discussed with the Pope the question of papal subsidies. As Ferdinand II. also addressed the Pope in a letter of June 6, 1623, requesting assistance, Maximilian feared for his subsidies. The negotiations had not been concluded when Gregory XV. died: see GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., I., 288. OPEL (*Niedersäch. Krieg*, I., 382) affirms, without indicating his authority, that Wilhelm Freiherr von Fugger sought the papal confirmation of the Electoral dignity for Maximilian in Rome. This is untenable. As RIEZLER shows (V., 238) in the Munich State Archives there is neither papal confirmation nor a request of Maximilian for one. When Riezler says (*loc. cit.*) that a papal official had advised Maximilian to make a request for the papal confirmation of his dignity, and quotes in support the document: *Consilium Gregorio XV. P.M. exhibitum per Mich. Lonigum*, he must have overlooked the fact that this work was produced by a Calvinist, J. G. Vossius, and was placed on the Index in 1624; see REUSCH, II., 114.

in the Empire.[1] In the evening the Cardinals' houses were illuminated. In course of the following days the papal Chancellery drafted various letters of congratulation. On March 11th Briefs were dispatched to Maximilian, to the Emperor and to Eggenberg. In all of them stress was laid on the significance of the transfer of the Electorate for the Catholic cause: the Emperor had thereby raised an imperishable monument to his name.[2] On March 18th the Pope wrote to the Elector of Mayence: "At the Diet of Ratisbon the crown of wickedness has been cast down and the mourning of religion has been changed into joy."[3] The letter of congratulation to the Duke of Bavaria was even more enthusiastic[4]: "The Lord has grasped His sceptre and the nations who had put their trust in lies and in crime now rage in vain. At last the Catholic religion triumphs by the elevation of your Highness, so greatly desired by the faithful, for you now become a bulwark of the faith and the joy of the whole Church. It is a truly glorious thing to cast out the robbers of the Roman Empire from dominions and dignities which did not belong to them and to earn so great a glory by defending the Catholic religion and defeating the heretics. But the splendour of your good fortune lies in this that both Pope and Emperor consider it to be a triumph for Christ Himself and a joy for Heaven. Now, at last, the Daughter of Sion may shake the dust from her head and put on the garments of rejoicing, for by your attaining to the privilege and honour of electing the

[1] *Cf.* the letter of Ludovisi in AREZIO, *L'azione dipl.*, 58.

[2] **Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives. The original of the Brief to Eggenberg is in the Herberstein Archives, Eggenberg.

[3] *Cecidit corona impietatis et in gaudium versa est religionis tristitia in conventu Ratisbon.*

[4] The Latin text of the letter to Maximilian is in part in ADLZREITER, *Annal.*, III., 114; a German translation in *Darmstädter Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, 332 *seq.* In his *Brief of April 1, 1622, Gregory XV. again expresses his joy to the Emperor and to the Elector of Cologne (*Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives). SAVELLI forwarded the Brief with his own *letter of April 6, 1623, State Archives, Vienna.

Emperor, every hope of getting hold of the Roman Empire has been taken from the heretics. Your last letter has given us immense consolation ; it is one worthy to be preserved in the chronicles of eternity. As we read it we seemed to taste a heavenly manna and our heart was overwhelmed as with a torrent of joy. In this our delight, we desired our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, to participate. As your letter was read in the Consistory they listened with the greatest joy to the report of your nomination to the Electorate as well as to the expressions of Bavarian piety. Afterwards, convinced that every victory is a favour of the almighty Lord of hosts, we went in solemn procession to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, there to return thanks for so great a triumph for the Church militant. And while hymns of praise to the divine goodness were rising from the sanctuary, the people who crowded the church in dense masses praised the victories and the virtues by which the Duke of Bavaria has shed such lustre upon the Catholic Church. That which we were wont to implore of heaven, of the Father of mercies, for the welfare of those provinces, we now earnestly beg for the dignity and life of your Highness. May the heretics realize that their impious power and their faithless weapons are useless. Now that they have been cast down by so obvious a judgment, their courage will fail them, whilst their awful fate will deter the adventurers of other nations and of future generations from similar criminal undertakings. And if the prince of darkness, spurred by the humiliation he has suffered, should conjure fresh legions out of the hiding places of the rebellious North, in an effort to wrest your dignity from you, you need have no fear : 'Egypt is man and not God : and their horses flesh, and not spirit.'[1] But our help and salvation is God, mighty in battle, whose wrath no man can stand, whom all the hosts of heaven serve. For the rest, this matter which we had so much at heart, will always be the object of our solicitude now that it has been happily realized, that is, your advancement by the pious Emperor and the exaltation of your Highness. But all this you will hear in greater detail

[1] Isaias, XXIII., 1 *seqq.*

from our Venerable Brother, Charles, Bishop of Aversa, our nuncio, who brings you our papal congratulations and the assurance of the Holy See's protection on which you may always rely with confidence. We impart to your Highness our Apostolic Blessing, O most beloved son, and we embrace with affection the new Elector of the Holy Roman Empire and the old champion of the Catholic religion." Rome, March 11th, 1623.

(4)

Gregory XV. had taken a leading part in the transfer of the Palatine Electorate to Maximilian. In like manner he also played a great rôle in the reorganization of religious conditions in Bohemia which was set on foot after the defeat of the rebels of that country.[1] The principles which guided the Holy See

[1] The earlier accounts of PESCHEK (*Gesch. der Gegenreformation in Böhmen*, 2 vols., 1843), HURTER (IX., 211 *seqq.*), and REUSS, (*Destruction du Protestantisme en Bohême*, 1868), are completed by Gindely's work, with which compare HUBER's review in the *Mitteil. des Österr. Hist. Instit.*, XV., 693 *seq.*, and that of HIRN, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 604 *seq.* BILEK's *Geschichte der katholischen Reformation* (*Reformace katolická*, Prague, 1892) is worthless (*cf.* J. SVOBODA, in *Sbornik hist. Kronžku*, 1893, 98 *seq.*; HELFERT, in *Wiener Vaterland*, 1893, no. 224); also BILEK's *Jesuitengeschichte* (*Dějiny řádu Tovaryšstva Ježišova*), Prague, 1896 (*cf.* J. HODR, *Tomáše V. Bilka Dějiny řádu Tivaryšstva Ježišova* [*Th. Bileks Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*], Brně, 1897, and B. SPÁČIL, *Jesuité*, Prazě, 1923). Contrary to the statement of Gindely, that Catholicism in Bohemia represents an exotic growth, it must be remembered that both Lutheran and Calvinist Protestantism are in their origin as little Czech as is the heresy of Huss. Utraquism alone was an indigenous growth, which by that time had become so reduced that it could hardly be regarded as a decisive factor in the Church life of Bohemia. Since many Utraquists had passed over to Lutheranism, SEIFERT thinks (*Hochland*, XVIII., 2 (1921), 150), that "they would have delivered up their people to the Germanizing movement, had it not been for the battle of the White Mountain." On the other hand HELFERT (*Wiener Vaterland*, 1893, no. 224) points out that the defeat of the imperial

from the first are clearly stated in the Instruction, dated April 12th, 1621, for the new nuncio at the imperial Court, Carlo Carafa.[1] There we read that the Emperor could not better manifest his gratitude to God for his victory than by restoring religious conditions as they formerly obtained in the kingdom of Bohemia. He now had the power to do so : let him use it for the glory of Him who had granted it. Since the Bohemians, because of their former and present rebellion, must be kept well in hand, force will have to be used to recall them from their erroneous beliefs. The Emperor was no longer bound by the rights and privileges of Bohemia which he had confirmed at his election, because of the rising, and because the people had not observed the clause which forbade them to tolerate heresies ; in particular the "Letter of Majesty", which had been extorted from Rudolph II. in 1609, and which, in actual fact, was the first cause of the rebellion of 1618, was no longer binding. Lutherans, Piccards, Baptists and Calvinists must be cast out whilst the Hussites should be reconciled to the Catholic Church. The concession of the chalice which former Popes had granted in order to avoid greater evils, must be withdrawn because it had been used as a cloak for every kind of sect. The Catholic religion must be restored in all its purity. To this end the following means are suggested : the foundation of a Catholic University in Prague, the reinstatement of Catholic priests and schoolmasters, the prohibition of heretical books and the dissemination of good ones, especially the Catholic catechism, help for Catholic booksellers and printers together with the suppression of heretical ones, support for the Jesuit missions and those of other Orders, episcopal visitations for the reform of the secular and regular clergy, the erection of Colleges to remedy the lack of priests, the restitution of confiscated Church property, the revenues

army would have caused the flooding of the land with Calvinist, i.e. foreign elements, and in the course of a few decades would have turned it into a German country. The same would therefore have happened as actually came to pass through the process of the Catholic restoration.

[1] See KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I, 59 *seq.*

of which should be used for the support of the Colleges and the converts.

Carafa devoted all his strength to the duties here outlined. For a proper estimate of his achievement it must be borne in mind that in no part of the Austrian territories had apostasy from the Church been more wide-spread than in Bohemia.

The report to Propaganda by the Jesuit Lamormaini, in the autumn of 1621, allows us a glimpse into the conditions then obtaining in that country.[1] At the very outset, Lamormaini gives it as his opinion that the greatest misfortune for Bohemia was the fact that the Academy founded by Charles IV. had now been in the hands of the Hussites for 200 years. From that centre they had constantly sent out preachers and propagandists of the Hussite impiety into every town and village of Bohemia, and any vacancy that occurred was immediately filled. As a rule these people married rich widows, became notaries, councillors, burgomasters or parish priests, whilst they had always done their best to prevent Catholics from settling in the towns. During the last forty years the University, which had been more than half Lutheran for a long time, had shown a marked inclination towards Calvinism, until it ended by adopting it completely, thus becoming the home and fountain of all heresies and rebellions. The plans for the last insurrection had been drawn up and sanctioned there. The Rector of the Academy, Jessenius, who in company with several others had recently paid with his life for his share in the rebellion, had been secretely dispatched by the rebels to the Hungarian Diet at Pressburg, in order to prevent Ferdinand from being accepted as King of Hungary. Connected with the Caroline Academy was the so-called " Lower Consistory ", a refuge and sanctuary for priests of loose conduct who had thrown off the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors. Its members were all heretical preachers and it arrogated to itself the right of nominating such preachers to ecclesiastical benefices and of installing them.

[1] First published by LÄMMER (*Melet.*, 458 *seq.*) then by GRISAR (*Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, X., 727 *seq.*) and by JEŽEK (*Sbornik hist. Kronžu*, 1899) and lastly by KOLLMANN (*Acta*, I., 17 *seq.*).

An "Ecclesiastical Estate of Empire" had ceased to exist in Bohemia from the time of the tyrant Ziska, and the possessions of priests and Bishops had been confiscated by the laity. There were even civil laws forbidding ecclesiastics of the kingdom to hold real property. A Bishop had neither seat nor vote in the Diet. The Emperors had indeed recently restored the dignity of an Archbishop (1561), but that did not carry the privilege of a seat in the Parliament. The other bishoprics and prelatures were destroyed and up till now their revenues had been devoured by the laity. The monasteries and their many beautiful churches had been destroyed by that same robber (Ziska) and presented a pitiable appearance. True, in Prague the greater number of the churches had been in part restored, with the help of some religiously-minded kings and nobles. For the rest all parish churches in the towns of the district around Prague, and in every other Bohemian town, with the exception of Budweis, Pilsen, Brüx and a few others, had been confiscated by the heretics and remained in their hands.

Of the parishes belonging to the territories of Catholic noblemen, and in the towns and villages where the parochial office was still in the hands of Catholic priests (over a hundred in Bohemia alone and as many or even more in Moravia and Silesia), were deprived of priests and pastors of souls, because the parish priests had either died or had been killed in successive risings, whilst some had fled or had gone over to heresy. As for the men who previous to the insurrection were being trained for the priesthood in the Colleges of the Society of Jesus, they had either adopted another career or had migrated elsewhere. To this must be added that owing to the fact that all tithes have been seized by the laity, the priests' incomes had become so small that they could only support themselves by tilling and cultivating the land like peasants. The right of patronage was mostly in the hands of the heretics, and if a Catholic landowner sold his property to a heretic, the right to nominate the parish priest also passed to him. In this way it had come to pass that even in places where Catholic priests had maintained themselves, preachers of the

purchaser's persuasion had gradually substituted themselves in their place. The disastrous practice by which on the death of the parish priest the patrons claim all his property, to the detriment of his successor, had become almost universal.

"Such are the conditions in Bohemia as regards the ecclesiastical state" says Lamormaini, and the Jesuit's account was confirmed by Carafa in a memorandum addressed to Propaganda, dated October 8th, 1622.[1] In Moravia and Silesia and in the Upper and Lower Lusatia, the position was the same, according to Lamormaini, with the exception that in Moravia and Silesia the ecclesiastical state enjoyed the respect due to it and the Bishops had a seat and a vote in the Diet. In Moravia the Society of Jesus had a College at Olmütz and at Brünn, whereas in Silesia and Lusatia all the schools were heretical with the exception of Neisse.

As to civil conditions, Lamormaini's report continues, printers of every sect were to be found in Prague and they printed books as they pleased. They also imported books of every kind from abroad. Moreover the sons both of nobles and others, went abroad in order to frequent Lutheran and Calvinist Universities, just as it suited either themselves or their guardians. In addition to all this, the greater number of officials, whether of a higher, lower or middle rank, were as a rule heretics, even those of the Council which decided on the bestowal of benefices or of what remained of the Church's property. Almost all the lawers were heretics.

Another great abuse in Bohemia was that the sons of subjects might not apply themselves to study nor enter an Order or the ecclesiastical state without the permission of their feudal lord. No less deplorable was yet another abuse, namely, that as soon as students had received a measure of education, they were immediately withdrawn by their lords who made them their stewards, secretaries, administrators and so forth. Thus it happened but rarely that one or other of the subjects, even of a Catholic feudal lord, became capable of assuming any of the more important offices of the kingdom, and scarcely any pursued their studies long enough to enable them to attain

[1] See *Relatio Bohemica* in KOLLMANN, I., 103 *seq.*

a Doctor's degree. Hence it was that so few Catholics sat in the law courts.

In many towns of Bohemia the artisans had agreed not to allow Catholic craftsmen to join their guilds. In others no Catholic could obtain the right of citizenship or membership of the local council.

As a rule, when the guardians and next-of-kin of orphans were heretics, they took care that their wards got no opportunity for learning the Catholic faith: on the contrary, they saw to it that they were brought up in the hatred of everything Catholic.

Lamormaini expressed the hope that the Emperor would remedy these sad conditions, seeing that he had asked for the advice of the Catholic lords of Bohemia. The latter had recommended as the most effective remedies, in the first instance, the suppression of the schools of heretics and their displacement by Catholic schools; secondly, the erection of two new dioceses which would be supported out of the revenues of such property as had been confiscated. Furthermore the Emperor should restore the dignity and immunity of the ecclesiastical state and repeal the laws which limited or took away from ecclesiastics and the Church in general the right to acquire property. Finally two Colleges should be opened, one for the sons of the nobility and one for those of the middle classes; the latter were to be allowed complete liberty in the choice of a profession. Since many nobles and other distinguished families had come down in the world, it was to be hoped that the opportunity offered by these Colleges would lead back to the Catholic faith a number of men who later on would do the State useful service in divers positions. These schools should be supported out of confiscated property. In addition to this Martinitz and Slawata requested the Pope, through Lamormaini, for a special subsidy in aid of the formation of priests for Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia. They expressed the hope that the Pope would exhort the Emperor to endow the seminaries and to take the Catholic restoration in hand. Since the Catholics placed the greatest hope in the Emperor's zeal and the heretics, conscious of their previous

misdeeds, trembled not only for their possessions but for their very lives, the above-named Counts were of opinion that action should not be gradual or dilatory but prompt, lest the Catholics should be disappointed and the heretics should take fresh courage, with the result that the restoration of the Catholic faith would become more difficult.

Suggestions as to how the Catholic religion might be restored in Bohemia, such as those submitted to Propaganda by Lamormaini, were also offered by other counsellors to the Emperor, as, for instance, a memorandum by an anonymous Jesuit which, however, adds nothing to Lamormaini's advice.[1] However, the author expressly recommends the erection of new dioceses in Bohemia and of more Jesuit Colleges; Abbots should be made to see to it that their monks acquired learning. A meeting of theologians convoked by the Archbishop on August 2nd, stated these various desiderata in great detail; they demanded that in future the Catholic religion alone should be tolerated, and that all influential positions should be given to Catholics; the chalice for the laity was to be abolished.[2]

The Archbishop of Prague, Lohelius, was anxious that immediately after the battle of Prague Ferdinand II. should take advantage of the impression created by his victory and strike the iron whilst it was hot,[3] but the imperial advisers held opposite views. They were of opinion that until Bohemia was completely pacified and the Emperor's enemies entirely crushed, it was best not to attempt the restoration of the ecclesiastical situation.[4] But even they indicated rules which could be put into execution in the future. With regard to non-Catholics they were of opinion that prompt action should be taken against the communities of "Fratelli" (Bohemians) and the Calvinists who had no rights in the country; but it was necessary to give further consideration to the measures to be adopted against the Lutherans and the

[1] See Kröss, *Geschichte*, II., 1, 152 *seqq.*, and *Hist Jahrbuch*, XXXIV. (1913), 1 *seqq.*, 257 *seqq.*

[2] Kröss, II., 1, 158 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 151 *seqq.*, *cf.* 149; Gindely, *Gegenreformation*, 94.

[4] Carafa, *Comment.*, 107.

Utraquists.[1] Even the Emperor's confessor was against treating all non-Catholics alike; all rebels were, indeed, heretics, but not all heretics were rebels; many among them had taken up arms on behalf of the Emperor.[2]

The whole affair depended on the Lieutenant of Bohemia, Charles von Liechtenstein, rather than on the councillors and even the Emperor's instructions. Liechtenstein was in favour of proceeding very gradually. He had given express permission to the preachers of the Augsburg Confession, shortly after the battle of Prague, to remain in the country and to continue their preachment. On the same occasion he withdrew the permission to practise their religion[3] from the followers of Calvin whose privileges had been forfeited in consequence of the insurrection, though he refrained from further measures against them. Thereafter the Calvinist preachers pretended to profess the teachings of Luther and dressed up their sermons accordingly,[4] they even remained in possession of churches to which Catholics had a rightful claim[5]; thus when the parish of Kuttenberg fell vacant, Liechtenstein allowed the townspeople freely to choose a preacher provided that he did not belong to the prohibited Bohemian Confession.[6]

Not until May, 1621, did Liechtenstein, in conjunction with the Archbishop, evict the Utraquist preachers from three churches in Prague in order to give them to Catholic priests. Shortly before that he had sent for the Calvinist preachers when he put the question to them whether they were prepared to embrace Catholicism and to be ordained priests by the Archbishop. After that many Protestant preachers preferred to leave Bohemia.[7]

But decisive measures were not taken until the end of

[1] Kröss, II., 1, 147 *seq.*

[2] Kröss, *Geschichte*, II., 1, 148.

[3] Carafa, *Comment.*, 107.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *e.g.* the church of St. Nicholas (property of the Dean of Karlstein). Gindely, *Gegenreformation*, 88.

[6] Gindely, 91; Kröss, 150.

[7] Gindely, 93–5; Kröss, 156.

May, after the arrival in Vienna of the new papal nuncio, Carlo Carafa.[1] He was instructed, in addition to the transfer of the Palatine Electorate to Bavaria, also to promote the ecclesiastical restoration of Bohemia in every way. This was a policy which was at variance with the opinions current in leading circles in Vienna, but it was wholly in keeping with the energetic character of the nuncio and his employers in Rome. In his reports, Carafa severely blames the Viennese councillors for their inability to overcome their slowness even when "the question was to act rather than to deliberate". In his opinion the Bohemian insurrection would have been easily quelled had it been treated from the beginning with greater boldness and determination.[2] The measures hitherto taken with a view to the ecclesiastical transformation of Bohemia Carafa describes as irresolute and half-hearted. Unshakably convinced as he was of the truth of the Catholic religion, beside which no other religion can have any rights, he regarded the Catholic reformation of Bohemia—whose decline, as well as that of Germany was due to heresy—not merely as a piece of sound statecraft, but as a boon for the nation as well as a duty towards God to whom the Emperor owed special gratitude for his wonderful victory. Imbued with these sentiments, Carafa was determined to take the cause of the Catholic reformation energetically in hand. From the first he was unwearied in his efforts to acquaint himself with existing conditions, and with this end in view he sought information in every quarter. For the conditions in Bohemia his informant was an excellent priest, Canon Platais of Plattenstein.[3] Carafa's reports to Rome show the width of his investigations. He collected an enormous quantity of information about persons, about religious and civil conditions and their historical development, as well as on Germany's relations with the other European Powers. He was often better informed than the Emperor himself. He followed with the closest attention the

[1] See *Relatio Bohemica*, in KOLLMANN, I., 110.

[2] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 147.

[3] For Platais von Plattenstein, see KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I., 54, note 6.

course of events lest any opportunity should escape him of furthering his plans. Since there was question of the Kingdom of God, he thought it was not right to make excessive human prudence the sole criterion of what was to be done. "It is our business to do our duty and to leave the rest to the divine goodness." [1] "Earthly considerations," he once said to Liechtenstein, "must not be allowed to stand in the way of God's glory. Hence if we do our duty in the service of God, we may rest assured that the divine Majesty will not allow us to fall into danger on account of that." [2]

Before all else Carafa sought to obtain from the Emperor the banishment of the Calvinist and other sectarian preachers. Soon after the battle of the White Mountain, Ferdinand II. had taken advice on this point with some theologians, especially with certain Jesuits.[3] In some cases he had ordered the restoration of confiscated Church property [4] and within the space of a few months he had contributed 100,000 florins towards the support of reinstated Catholic priests.[5] On March 30th, 1621, at the request of Liechtenstein, he decreed the banishment of preachers "who professed Calvinism or any other teaching not previously tolerated".[6] Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances of the times, Ferdinand was determined to take further steps. The numerous battles with Mansfeld, Jägerndorf, and the troops of the Winter King, "which had been fought at the expense of the Emperor, had occasioned plenty of expenses, burdens and dangers, but the Emperor disregarded it all." Carafa, as he himself reports, spurred on the Emperor's zeal.[7] "Thus," the nuncio writes, "at my request the Emperor published a decree on June 3rd, 1621, against all preachers, professors and

[1] See *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 243.

[2] Letter of Carafa, September 17, 1622, in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, X. (1886), 736.

[3] *Cf.* Kröss, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXIV., 25 *seq.*

[4] Carafa, *Comment.*, 108. *Cf. ibid.*, App. 71–4.

[5] Carafa, 112.

[6] *Ibid.*, Appendix 74.

Carafa, *Comment.*, 117.

schoolmasters who had disseminated the errors of Calvin within the Empire, in Prague and out of it, or any other sectarian teachings forbidden by law, as well as against all those who had encouraged high treason from the professorial chair, who had asserted that it was illegal to recognize the Emperor in Bohemia, those who had crowned Frederick or who, in contravention of their oath of allegiance, had been present at the meetings held in the Caroline College. Those who fell under this sentence were to be granted only a short respite in which to leave the country; they were to be threatened with heavy penalties should they remain, and it was to be explained to them that these penalties were not inflicted because of their religious beliefs, but for high treason."[1]

If this edict had been published, all the preachers would have had to leave the country, "for not one of them had refrained from censorious or insulting discourses".[2] Liechtenstein, however, did not at once publish the imperial decree. The reasons he alleged were that banishment would be useless seeing that the heretical landowners still possessed the right of patronage, hence they would promptly induct fresh preachers. Moreover, the times were still too unfavourable and no preacher would avow himself a Calvinist.[3] Though the Emperor issued repeated orders, months went by and nothing was done to expel the preachers. Carafa, however, never ceased to urge the Emperor, especially after hostilities in Bohemia had almost come to an end and the Silesians had abandoned the Margrave of Jägerndorf. In view of the politicians' supreme argument, namely that in the event of a popular rising they were not sufficiently armed, Carafa urged that a garrison should be sent to Prague, and this was done.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 117 *seq.*, and App. 75 *seq.*, where the decree is printed. *Cf.* D'ELVERT, in the documents of the hist.-statistic section of the *Mährisch-schlesische-Gesellschaft*, XVI., 73 *seq.*

[2] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 118.

[3] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 240–41; *Comment.*, 124, 134; GINDELY, *Gegenreformation*, 99–103.

[4] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 241; *Comment.*, 135; GINDELY, 108.

On December 13th, when all external danger had disappeared, an edict of expulsion was published at Prague and the other royal cities; however, it was not to have the character of a religious persecution, but that of a political measure. All those preachers who on May 29th, 1618, had read from the pulpit the document justifying the Protestant Diet of that date, or who had promoted the election of the Palatine and taken part in his coronation, or who had helped to support and widen the "accursed confederation", were to leave the city of Prague within three days and the country within eight days, for being disturbers of the public peace and contemners of His Majesty.[1] About thirty preachers of Prague obeyed the command; six were converted to Catholicism.[2] But a number of preachers of the Lutheran Confession remained in hiding in the country and continued to preach. Contrary to the Emperor's intention and the tenor of the edict, at Prague two preachers of German nationality and belonging to the Bohemian Confession were not notified of the decree of banishment. Consideration for the Saxon Elector was probably the explanation of such restraint. In other cities the decree was even less thoroughly carried out, partly because there were not enough Catholic priests to fill the parishes.[3]

Until such time as he should succeed in obtaining the banishment of the preachers, Carafa had recourse to other means to forward the restoration of the old religion. Shortly after the execution of the most notable instigators of an insurrection which had brought all the horrors of war upon a flourishing kingdom,[4] "whilst the burden of guilt still weighed upon almost the whole of Bohemia and none could feel sure of their lives, the Emperor, on Carafa's advice, let it be known

[1] See LUNDORP, *Acta publ.*, II., 555.

[2] *Cf.* KOLLMANN, I., 117.

[3] See HUBER, V., 212 *seq.*

[4] This is the opinion of K. A. MENZEL (VII., 42). As a further punishment for the revolution, an enormous confiscation of property was also carried out; for this see GINDELY, IV., 70 *seq.*; *Jahrb. für Gesch. des Protestantismus in Österr.*, VII., 174 *seq.*; HUBER, V., 200 *seq.*

that he would be ready to grant a pardon, provided that the greater part of the country were willing to make itself worthy thereof." The words are a pretty clear hint as to what it was the Emperor wanted. "Under the pressure of fear," Carafa reports, "many hastened to be instructed in the Catholic religion, and since little by little God purified their disposition, they embraced the Catholic faith." [1]

In view of the fact that the Archbishop of Prague "though full of apostolic zeal, was a very old and sickly man, who for lack of means and physical exhaustion, the result of the sufferings he had endured, was unable to do as much as he would have wished," Carafa urged the Emperor and his councillors to assist that prelate and to send energetic priests to help him. Thereupon various Orders and the Canons of the Cathedral received grants for the erection of seminaries; soon students, religious and priests flocked from all parts.[2]

Carafa did not rest until he had attained his goal. In his efforts to get the Lutheran preachers driven from Prague, he had a hard struggle with the "politicians", who stood for the view that the Lutherans were not included in the decree of banishment since they were neither Calvinists nor subjects of the Empire, and their guilt had not been proved. When Carafa furnished evidence that they too were guilty of insurrection, the "politicians" replied that in any case it was necessary to tolerate them so as not to irritate the Duke of Saxony and the other Lutheran princes who, so far, had supported the Empire or at least had remained neutral. Consequently at a meeting held at Vienna, in the palace of the Archduke Liechtenstein, then Governor of Prague, at the beginning of 1622, notwithstanding the clear and irrefragable arguments to the contrary brought forward by von Platais and the Premonstratensian Abbot Questenberg, it was decided to tolerate the Lutherans until Easter of the following year, 1623. On the expiration of that time-limit Carafa renewed his request to the Emperor; however, he failed in his

[1] See CARAFA, *Comment.*, 121 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 123 *seq.* *Cf.* *Relatio Bohemica*, in KOLLMANN, I., 111 *seq.*

efforts in view of the Hungarian Diet which was about to meet.[1] As soon as the Diet was over, Carafa turned anew to the Emperor: it was not a question merely of the two preachers, but of the free dissemination of the Catholic religion, for as long as these men continued to preach, the teachers of the Augsburg Confession would also spread their heretical tenets in the other towns and on the estates of the nobles.[2] Carafa was able to supply evidence of the increasing boldness of the two preachers who publicly uttered insults and calumnies against Catholics and attempted to seduce the people by offering them Communion with the chalice. "Who," he asked, "was to prevent the Emperor from applying the right of reformation in his own house and in his hereditary States when Catholic worship was not tolerated in any part of Saxony." [3] The consequence of Carafa's representation was that at last, on October 24th, 1622, Ferdinand II. commanded the Governor of Bohemia, Liechtenstein, to order the expulsion of the Lutheran preachers, beginning with those in Prague, and to close the two churches which they had built there in virtue of the "Letter of Majesty". The same edict of expulsion was to be proclaimed in all the royal cities. The intervention of the Duke of Saxony on behalf of the exiles was in vain; Carafa successfully countered all his efforts. In the same way the attempts of some princes of Empire, among whom there were a few timorous Catholics, to induce the Emperor at the Diet of Ratisbon to change his mind, also failed. With regard to the reform in Bohemia, Ferdinand declared that it was no concern of the Diet; every Prince, whether an Elector or one of lower rank, had the right of reform in his hereditary States; hence there was no reason to suspect the Emperor's loyalty to his pledged word seeing that he had given repeated assurances—and he now renewed them—that he had maintained

[1] See CARAFA, *Relatio Bohemica, loc. cit.*, 119 *seq.*; *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 241 *seq.*

[2] See CARAFA, *Comment.*, 155.

[3] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 242 *seq.*; *cf.* CARAFA, *Comment.*, 160.

all the articles of the religious peace in the Empire, and that he did not wish to infringe anyone's rights.[1]

Among the measures taken at Carafa's instigation with a view to the restoration of the Catholic religion in Bohemia, not the least important was the abolition of the vernacular in the Liturgy and the prohibition of the chalice to the laity (Communion under both kinds), a privilege which Pius IV. had conceded to Bohemia on certain conditions which had not been kept. Carafa ordered the removal of the chalices placed over the churches as emblems of the Hussite heresy, especially the huge chalice over the porch of the church of Teyn at Prague.[2] At his instance the Emperor commanded the anniversary of the death of Huss, which had been observed as a Saint's day, to be struck out of the Calendar; hence on July 6th, 1622, all the churches in Prague remained closed.[3] In Moravia, where Carafa's energy made itself strongly felt,[4] the same procedure as in Bohemia was adopted: the first step was the expulsion of the Anabaptists, soon to be followed by that of the Lutheran preachers from Iglau. Here also there was no sign of any determined opposition on the part of the Protestants.[5]

One of the greatest difficulties which Carafa repeatedly deplores in his reports,[6] was the lack of suitable Catholic priests; their ranks had been so thinned during the years in which Protestantism was triumphant in Bohemia, that in many places there remained none at all. The Archbishop of

[1] See CARAFA'S *Ragguaglio*, in KOLLMANN, I., 351 *seq.* *Cf.* GINDELY, IV., 547, 550 *seq.*, 556 *seq.*; RITTER, III., 183.

[2] See CARAFA'S *Relatio Bohemica* in KOLLMANN, I., 124 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*; *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 250 *seq.* *Cf.* GINDELY, *Gegenreformation*, 93 *seq.*, 107, 197. See also SCHMIDL, III., 316 *seq.*, 323.

[3] See CARAFA'S *Relatio Bohemica*, *loc. cit.*, 132 *seq.*; *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 251 *seq.*

[4] See KOLLMANN, I., 85, 87 *seq.*, 181, 246 *seq.*

[5] The results were great (6,000); see KOLLMANN, I., 332. *Cf.* GINDELY, IV., 564–6.

[6] See KOLLMANN, I., 135.

Prague and Carafa did everything in their power to remedy the evil. From the point of view of the language, Croat and Slavonic priests could have been pressed into service, but none were forthcoming because a like scarcity of clergy obtained in those parts. Hence Carafa, with the warm support of Propaganda, began by calling for the help of some Polish Franciscans from Gnesen, and later on for that of some Augustinians and Discalced Carmelites.[1] He also saw to the restoration of the old monasteries and the preaching of missions by Capuchins and Jesuits.[2] He likewise suggested the erection of new dioceses. He laid stress on the fact that, on account of the geographic position of Bohemia, no effort should be spared, for the hope of reconquering the whole of the North for the Church depended upon success in Bohemia.[3]

The Jesuits rendered extraordinarily valuable services to the Catholic restoration of Bohemia. Immediately after the battle of Prague they returned to that city ; elsewhere also they had gradually taken possession of their old residences and in the course of 1622 they were back at their usual tasks.[4] In their own church at Prague they preached in Bohemian, German and Italian ; they also preached in four other churches of Prague, whilst the scholastics of the Order taught the catechism in six churches.[5] In the following year they undertook to serve three more churches in Prague. The fears of the pessimists that their preaching would be poorly attended, were not fulfilled.[6] Pilgrimages were resumed. Every year the feast of Corpus Christi and in 1622 the celebration of the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier were attended by vast multitudes.[7] From other towns also we have

[1] See *ibid.*, 93 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 224 *seq.*, 228, 346 ; CARAFA, *Relatione*, 253. *Cf.* the letter of CARAFA to Propaganda, July 30, 1622, in KOLLMANN, I., 53 *seq.*, and their answer, *ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

[2] See KOLLMANN, I., 151 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 224 *seq.*, 228, 346.

[3] *Ibid.*, 155.

[4] KRÖSS, *Geschichte*, II., 1, 19 *seqq.*

[5] SCHMIDL, III., 327 *seq.*

[6] KRÖSS, *loc. cit.*, 163 *seq.*, 169.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168 *seq.*

reports of the great activity of the Jesuits.[1] Contrary to their usual practice, they undertook parochial work, and that even before their General had informed them of the express wish of Propaganda on this point. Furthermore they founded fifteen missions in Bohemia and Moravia in order to repair the ravages of war.[2] From the College of Prague they worked in the towns of Tabor and Pisek, Wodnian, Roth-Aujezd and in the territories of the Premonstratensian monastery of Zion near Prague.[3] Zdenko von Kolowrat called them to Wittingau and in Komotau Count Martinitz gave them the church attached to the almshouses after the Protestant preachers had been expelled.[4] Krumau and Neuhaus, where the Jesuits had been working for some time, became completely Catholic in the year 1622. "During these last days," so we read in the diary of the Jesuit Rector, Chanowski, of Krumau, on March 9th and 13th, 1622, "with the conversion of those who had held out till the end, all the heads of families have become Catholics without exception. Only a few preferred to seek new homes rather than give up their heretical tenets." [5] In Prague, in the years 1622 and 1623, there were 648 conversions of Protestants, among them eleven nobles and three professors of the University.[6] The Jesuit's greatest success was obtained in Neuhaus, in the territory of Count Wilhelm Slawata where, in a short time, they registered 2,000 conversions.[7]

In other places the Jesuits met with serious obstacles. At Rzeczich nobody would at first give them hospitality, nor would anyone speak to them or greet them.[8] In Komotau there were only some twenty conversions to Catholicism because the Protestants still set their hopes on Mansfeld.[9]

[1] SCHMIDL, III., 397 *seq.*
[2] CORDARA, I., 358.
[3] SCHMIDL, III., 320; KRÖSS, 178 *seq.*
[4] SCHMIDL, III., 329.
[5] *Ibid., cf.* 407; KRÖSS, 171.
[6] SCHMIDL, III., 327, 404.
[7] *Ibid.*, 336 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 336.
[9] *Ibid.*, 329; KRÖSS, 171 *seq.*

To this must be added the profound ignorance of the populace in religious matters in many places. In Chlumetz the population had retired into the woods during the Bohemian insurrection. They had lived there for four years without any spiritual ministrations and had run wild so that they were "only distinguished from the beasts by their outward appearance." In Serowitz many were found who could not recite the Lord's Prayer and who imagined that all was well, so long as they partook of Communion with the chalice.[1]

In order to stimulate the memory of the unlearned, the Jesuits, in view of the Bohemian's fondness for music, turned the Catechism into verse and set it to tunes so that it could be sung by the children.[2] Other measures were likewise adopted. The Jesuits of Prague spent a large sum of money which had been given to them on the publication and dissemination of 6,000 copies of a book dealing with religious subjects.[3] A legacy left to them by the Bishop of Olmütz, John Grodecius, was spent in the same way.[4] The Jesuit Chanowski did not hesitate, notwithstanding his noble extraction, to walk through the streets with a little bell, calling the children together for Christian instruction, so that one of his relatives began to have misgivings about his sanity.[5]

Besides bringing the people back to the ancient faith, the Jesuit missionaries also had at heart their moral training. It was always a source of particular happiness to them when they succeeded in effecting the removal of deep-rooted enmities. At Olmütz, in 1622, they succeeded in restoring peace in twenty-two families by reconciling husbands and wives. In Krumau, in the same year, one of the councillors was so touched by their preaching that he sought out his

[1] Schmidl, III., 336 *seq.* On the successful missions on their own estates, see Kröss, 179 *seqq.*

[2] Schmidl, III., 336.

[3] *Ibid.*, 330.

[4] *Ibid.*, 406.

[5] *Ibid.*, 333 *seq.*

enemy and with tears in his eyes begged forgiveness for the wrong he had done to him.[1]

The Jesuits devoted themselves especially to works of charity. In consequence of the savagery of the populace, capital punishment was of frequent occurrence. A Jesuit in Olmütz gave spiritual help in their last moments to forty-one men condemned to death. The simple people were filled with admiration and confidence when they saw one of the Fathers ministering for a long time to a prisoner in whose semi-mortified body worms were beginning to form and to whom the gaolers attended only with a cloth before their nostrils on account of the stench. In Gitschin the non-Catholics were greatly impressed by the fact that the Fathers took the greatest interest in the fate of some soldiers condemned to death. Their own preachers, who considered such services beneath their dignity, had not accustomed them to such examples.[2]

In Bohemia, as everywhere else, the Jesuits gave special attention to education.[3] In this respect it was of the utmost importance that at the beginning of 1623 the University of Prague was handed over to the Fathers and that in conjunction with their own Institute of philosophy and theology it became a new University (Carolo-Ferdinandea), the Rector of which was always to be the Superior of the Jesuit College for the time being.[4] In November, 1622, the University of Vienna was in

[1] *Ibid.*, 348; *cf.* 408.

[2] SCHMIDL, III., 401 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* J. VÁVRA's essay on the beginnings of the Catholic reform in Bohemia in *Sbornik hist. Kronžku*, 1893, III., 3 *seq.*

[4] KRÖSS, *loc. cit.*, 105 *seqq.* *Cf.* GINDELY, IV., 547 *seq.*; *Gegenreformation*, 147 *seq.*; HUBER, V., 213 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII., 541 *seq.* The Rector, the Dean and the President of the Colleges of the University had been compelled by command of Liechtenstein to resign as early as April 22, 1622; see KOLLMANN, *Acta*, I., 41 *seq.* *Cf.* also K. SPIEGEL, in *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, LXII. (1924), 11 *seq.*, where there is an account of the lengthy and wearisome difficulties, especially with the Archbishop of Prague, which arose from this provision which the General of the Jesuits opposed. (See *Anal. Boll.*, XLIV., 230).

part entrusted to the Jesuits to whom were assigned the majority as well as the most important chairs in the Faculty of philosophy and theology. For the rest Lower Austria, notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the States had taken part in the insurrection against the Emperor, was treated far more leniently than Bohemia, though Protestant worship was forbidden in the towns and in several places, especially in Vienna, Protestants were banished.[1]

Gregory XV., whom Carafa kept most accurately informed, followed the development of things in Bohemia with the greatest attention. On November 5th, 1622, he wrote to Ferdinand II. concerning the Catholic restoration in Bohemia, more particularly about the restoration of the property belonging to the archdiocese of Prague.[2] In a Brief of December 10th, 1622, he discussed the important question of erecting new dioceses.[3] Gregory XV. did not live to see the further development of the Catholic restoration in Bohemia and Austria, nor the full exploitation of the victories of Maximilian and Tilly in 1621 and 1622. In that respect also he only saw the beginnings. In the Upper Palatinate, immediately after the conquest of that old hereditary territory of Frederick V., Maximilian took the necessary steps for the restoration of the Catholic faith. In 1621 he began the work of conversion by calling in Jesuits, Capuchins and Franciscans, for he hoped at first to attain his end by means of peaceful instruction. Out of consideration for Saxony he refrained, for a time, from adopting forcible methods: Lutheran and Calvinist preachers were allowed to remain at their posts, and even the Calvinist church council of Amberg was not touched.[4] On the other hand in the Palatinate of the right bank of the Rhine

[1] See KINK, I., 1, 353 *seq.*; HUBER, V., 240 *seq.*

[2] **Arm.*, XLV., 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* besides the earlier literature on the subject quoted by RIEZLER (V., 320), the work, based on research in the archives of M. HÖGL: *Die Bekehrung der Oberpfalz durch Kurfürst Maximilian I.*, vol. 1: *Gegenreformation*, Regensburg, 1903. See also DUHR, II., 2, 341 *seq.*

he proceeded more sternly. In February, 1623, the Calvinist preachers were exiled from Heidelberg, and later on from all other places. Jesuits were also called in to bring back the inhabitants to the ancient Church.[1] Rome's anxiety for a full exploitation of the successes of the war for the benefit of the Palatinate appears from the fact that a special Congregation was constituted to deal with the religious affairs of the Lower and Upper Palatinate and the restitution of ecclesiastical possessions there.[2] Margrave William of Baden-Baden, previous to his confirmation by the Emperor in his possessions, had promised Carafa to restore Catholicism in his territories.[3] Gregory XV. heard with great joy, in May, 1623, that the Margrave was about to carry out his promise.[4]

Whilst the Catholic restoration was thus progressing in West and South Germany, the nomination of Cardinal Eitel Frederick Hohenzollern to the see of Osnabrück,[5] in April 1623, opened a possibility of the recovery of this diocese with its 300 parishes which had had only Protestant Bishops for almost three generations. Eitel Frederick, who had resided in Rome since 1621, was, according to Carafa, as able as he was well disposed,[6] hence the greatest hopes might well be entertained for the future.

Many memoranda testify to the fresh impulse which recent events had given to the Catholic restoration; memoranda

[1] See KLOPP, II., 215; DUHR, II., 2, 327.

[2] See WEECH, in the *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., X., 632 *seq.*

[3] See CARAFA, *Germania rest.*, 129.

[4] *Brief of May 27, 1623, *Epist. in Arm.*, XLV., 21, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* RUNGE, in *Mitteil. des Vereins für die Gesch. von Osnabrück*, XXIV.

[6] CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 222. *Cf.* for the Cardinal, our notes, Vol. XXV., 339, n. 4. Already in the Instruction for the Brussels nuncio of May 1, 1621, he was directed to see to it, together with the Cologne nuncio, that Osnabrück was not given to a Protestant Bishop; see CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, 124.

which offered suggestions and counsels for the re-establishment and the diffusion of the ancient faith in Germany [1] and both Propaganda and the Pope paid the greatest attention to them. On June 17th, 1623, Cardinal Ludovisi wrote that the Pope was prepared to do anything to remedy all spiritual needs, especially in Bohemia.[2] However the days of Gregory XV. were drawing to an end.

Weakly and sickly men are often very long-lived. This phenomenon looked like being verified once more, notwithstanding all the gloomy prophecies to the contrary, in the case of the Ludovisi Pope. At the beginning of 1623 he suffered a fresh attack of gout, though this did not prevent him from attending to business.[3] On February 7th, Gregory XV. had sufficiently recovered to grant audiences and to take walks in the garden in the best of spirits.[4] In March also the Pope's health left nothing to be desired: he was able to attend all ecclesiastical functions.[5] At the end of the month he caught a chill which confined him to his bed for almost four weeks.[6] He was unable to preside at the meetings of Propaganda until April 25th.[7] The Venetian ambassador having spread some very unfavourable reports concerning Gregory's health, the Pope, at the beginning of May, ostentatiously went on foot past the Palace of St. Mark, where the ambassador resided,

[1] Here belong, besides the memorandum concerning the conquest of Heidelberg in Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 662 *seq.*, II., 390 *seq.*, the memorials published by Kollmann (I., 191 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* Kollmann, I., 339.

[3] See the *Avvisi of February 1 and 4, 1623, *Urb.* 1093 A., Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso of February 7, 1623, *ibid.*

[5] See *Avviso of March 11, 1623, *ibid.*

[6] See the *Avvisi of March 29 and April 22, 1623, *ibid.* *Cf.* the *report of P. Savelli to Ferdinand II., dated Rome, April 15, 1623, State Archives, Vienna, and the letter of the Medici envoy of April 23, 1623, in Grottanelli, *Ducato di Castro*, 33.

[7] *Avviso of April 26, 1623, *loc. cit.*

on his way to the Quirinal.[1] On the following Sunday he visited the Villa Ludovisi.[2]

Audiences were once more granted [3] and the Pope appeared at all functions. On Ascension day, May 25th, he was present at the function in St. Peter's. On his return to the Quirinal he stopped at the Chiesa Nuova to perform his devotions at the tomb of St. Philip Neri whose feast occurred on the following day.[4] In June also the Pope was so well that Antonio Possevino remarked on 24th June that whereas formerly Gregory's pontificate had been reckoned to last months, it was now expected to last years.[5] However not long after the Pope had to take to his bed: for a time he continued to give audiences and to attend to current business,[6] but his illness—gravel—[7] combined with a violent fever, grew worse so rapidly that the sick man himself gave up all hope of recovery. He rejected the suggestion of Cardinals Ludovisi, Sauli, Bandini and Capponi, that he should hold a Consistory for the nomination of Cardinals; henceforth all his thoughts were turned towards eternity for which he prepared by the frequent reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion.[8] He died on the evening of July 8th, at the age of 70. His body was removed from the Quirinal to the Vatican and exposed in

[1] *Avviso of May 6, 1623, *ibid.*

[2] *Avviso of May 10, 1623, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report in the *Rev. hist.*, LXXV., 31.

[4] See *Avviso of May 27, 1623, *loc. cit.*

[5] "*Il Papa sta bene et dove prima gl'era limitata la vita a mesi, se li conta ad anni." Letter of A. Possevino, Rome, June 24, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] *Avviso of July 1, 1623, *loc. cit.*

[7] See the *report in PETRUCELLI, III., 46. *Cf.* also GUALINO, *La litiosi di Pio V.*, Rome, 1925, 28. For Gregory XV.'s physicians, Vincenzo Alsario Croce, and Giov. Marira Castellani, see RENAZZI, II., 92 *seqq.*, and the MS. addition in the copy in the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[8] See the *letter of Vincenzo Agnelli Soardi, Rome, July 8, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., ch. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 470, and GROTANELLI, 34.

St. Peter's in the Chapel of St. Gregory.[1] He was temporarily buried in St. Peter's. On June 13th, 1634, the mortal remains were provisionally translated to the church of the Annunziata of the Roman College,[2] where they remained until the completion of the church of S. Iganzio. In this magnificent church, erected by Cardinal Ludovisi, at the end of the right transept may be seen the tomb of Gregory XV., the splendour of whose marbles surpasses even the work of Bernini. The monument was planned and in great part executed by Le Gros, at the end of the seventeenth century. In a niche above the sarcophagus and under a richly decorated baldachino stands the statue of the seated Pope. He is represented in full pontificals. On either side angels floating upon the folds of curtains wrought in dark marble proclaim on their trumpets the greatness of the deceased. The centre is occupied by the small sarcophagus surrounded by the figures of two Virtues, and below appears the medallion portrait of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Ludovisi, for he too has here found his last resting place.[3]

The Popes have always found it difficult to satisfy the Romans. When a pontificate lasted as long as that of Paul V., they were anxious for a change ; but if a Pope's government was of short duration they were, as a rule, equally discontented. On this occasion it was the eminent position of Cardinal Ludovisi which caused so much resentment that many completely forgot the services of Gregory XV. to the City of Rome,[4] such as his care for the poor and the sick to whom he made over the palace of the Lateran,[5] the measures he

[1] See GATTICUS, I., 458 ; *Avviso of July 12, 1623, *loc. cit.* ; the *report of P. Savelli to Ferdinand II., of July 8, 1623, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See *Avviso of June 17, 1623, in POLLAK-FREY, 151.

[3] *Cf.* FERRARI, *La tomba*, 165 *seq.* ; SMOUSE, in the *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 4, series X. (1913), 202 *seq.* ; for Monot's angels see BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, 269, 274 *seq.*

[4] See opinion in Gigli's Diario, printed in FRASCHETTI, 31.

[5] See ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 210.

took for the importation of cheaper provisions,[1] the installation of a water supply for the Borgo,[2] and the restoration of the city walls.[3] On account of the shortness of his pontificate and his constant preoccupation with the troublous events of Germany, the Pope could do but little for the arts. However in that sphere Cardinal Ludovisi kept his own with as much éclat as Scipio Borghese under Paul V. Among the painters Gregory XV. gave preference to his compatriots of Bologna.[4] He carried out some repairs to the Lateran [5] and in St. Peter's he decorated the Choir Chapel.[6] The garden of the Quirinal was adorned by him with two fountains.[7] For the promotion of learned studies the acquisition of the Library of Heidelberg was an event of the first order; other purchases also were made for the Vatican.[8] The city benefited by the blessings of

[1] *Cf.* ACCARISIUS, **Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., ch. 19, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See also *Avviso of October 20, 1621, *Urb.* 1090, Vatican Library.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 470; FORCELLA, XIII., 109; GUIDO FONTANE, 28, 37; *cf.* also A. BETOCCHI, *Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma*, Rome, 1879, 27.

[3] See NIBBY, *Mura*, 316, 337; FORCELLA, XIII., 8; *Inventario*, I., 95, 344.

[4] See PASSERI, 20 *seqq.*, 475. According to BAGLIONE, Giovanni Fiamingo died of disappointment that he had not been made *sopraintendente* of St. Peter's.

[5] See CIACONIUS, IV., 470.

[6] See FORCELLA, VI., 141. *Cf.* BONANNI, *Numismata templi Vatic.*, 95, and *Bull.*, XII., 586 *seqq.*

[7] The Fontana della Pioggia and the Fontana Rustica. In front of the latter, which has waterducts that still play, there is a mosaic laid in the floor with the arms of Gregory XV. and the inscription: *Gregorius XV. P.M. A° II°.*

[8] See CARINI, 80 *seqq.* Gregory XV. showed his interest in letters by taking part in the sessions of his nephew's Academy; see TIRABOSCHI, VIII. (ediz. di Napoli), 19. *Cf.* BORZELLI, *Marino*, 166. CIACONIUS, IV., 471, gives an index of the works dedicated to Gregory XV. See also SIL. BRANCHI, *Rime per la S^tà di Gregorio XV.*, Bologna, 1621, and NIC. VILLANIUS, *De laudibus Gregorii XV.*, Viterbii, 1621. One work dedicated to

peace at a time when Germany and France were filled with the alarms of war.[1] Gregory's further plans for the embellishment of Rome were frustrated by his death.[2]

Gregory XV.'s activity was wholly concentrated on the interests of the Church. His great services in this sphere were summed up in the funeral oration spoken at his Requiem by the Jesuit Famiano Strada, a famous Latinist and author of the classical history of the insurrection in the Netherlands.[3] Gregory's government did not last beyond two years and five months, but in that short space of time so many important events occurred that the funeral inscription composed by the Jesuit John Baptist Ursi [4] could truthfully boast that every month of his pontificate was equal to a lustrum. Elected three months after the battle of the White Mountain, Gregory XV. was privileged to witness the great revolution in favour of the

Gregory XV. is still unprinted: MAGNUS PERNEUS, *De efficacia divinae gratiae ex electione Gregorii XV.* (818 pages!), Vatican Library. *Cf.* above, p. 40, note 3.

[1] A. POSSEVINO *reports on May 22, 1621: "La città è cresciuta fino alla somma di 135 000 habitatori" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). This statement is incorrect; according to the statistics of CERASOLI (*Studi e documenti*, XII., 175), Rome in 1621 had 118,356 inhabitants; in 1623, 111,727.

[2] For Gregory XV.'s building plans (*cf.* SCHREIBER, 3, note 2) see in Appendix no. VII., the *Report of A. POSSEVINO of August 14, 1621, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The same writer also reports on July 22, 1621 (*ibid.*) concerning Cardinal Montalto: "Con elemosine grandi proseguisce la fabrica della chiesa de padri Theatini (*S. Andrea della Valle*), quale fa gran progressi et sarà assai bella, benchè non sia per arrivare una gran lunga quella de padri Giesuiti, se bene le capelle de Theatini sono infinitamente più belle et preciose che quelli dei Giesuiti. . . . Le due chiese che si sono cominciate in Roma in honore di S. Carlo, l'ho trovato nel medesimo stato che erano tre anni sono quando fui a Roma."

[3] The *Oratio* of STRADA, printed at Rome, 1623; see SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 1607. *Cf.* *Avviso of July 19, 1623, *Urb.* 1093*a*, Vatican Library.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 470.

Catholic cause. The proud structure of Protestant solidarity had crumbled like a house of cards at a puff of wind. The obstinacy of the Elector Palatine and the selfishness of his allies quickly led to the complete downfall of Frederick as well as that of Calvinism.[1] Gregory XV., supported by his excellent Secretary of State, Ludovisi, did all he could to exploit so favourable a position to the advantage of the Catholic Church. Whereas division and uncertainty gained the upper hand among the Protestants, the Catholics were very fortunate in that the Holy See pursued a well-considered, firm and homogeneous policy. The magnificent triumphs of the Catholic restoration under Gregory XV. grew out of this force of unity as opposed to dissension, and from the Pontiff's energetic intervention wherever religious interests touched on political ones. That historic movement, under the impulse of an action that was both far-seeing and far-reaching, was now nearing its climax.

Never, perhaps, has so short a pontificate left such deep marks in history. The government of Adrian VI., notwithstanding its brief duration, was an important one, but whilst the last of the German Popes was destined to meet with nothing but disappointments, almost uninterrupted success fell to Gregory XV.'s lot. Adrian's attempts at reform failed because he lacked adequate means for carrying them through [2]; Gregory XV. found these ready to his hand and in great abundance; his merit is, however, that he knew how to use them and that in the person of his nephew and Secretary of State, he chose the right man to help him for, trained as he had been in the same strictly religious school of the Jesuits, the Cardinal worked in fullest harmony with his uncle for one and the same object, namely the exaltation and extension of the Church.

For other reasons also the co-operation of Cardinal Ludovisi with Gregory XV. was fraught with important consequences. In the last years of the aged Paul V., the policy of the Holy See had been excessively cautious not to say vacillating. In

[1] *Cf.* OPEL, I., 590 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. IX., 2, 123 *seq.*

view of the age and poor health of Gregory XV. it was to be feared that a similar policy of reserve would be continued. But this was countered by the Pope's keenness, whilst the physical energy that the Pontiff lacked was amply supplied by Ludovisi who put into his uncle's policy the fire and assurance of youth. Thus guided by a frail old man, the papacy developed an energy and power of action which aroused astonishment. Its most significant activity was its strong intervention in German affairs where the favourable situation was exploited with unsurpassed ardour for the furtherance of the Catholic restoration. The results achieved in this respect in Bohemia through the decisive influence of the nuncio Carafa are so important that by themselves alone they would perpetuate the memory of Gregory XV. This is equally true of his reform of papal elections; but Gregory XV.'s peculiar and outstanding achievement was the formation of Propaganda. This creation, which had already been planned by his cousin of the same name, Gregory XIII., is like a shining beacon pointing to a field in which the Church was to display her beneficent activity for centuries to come.

Roman breadth of vision, sagacity and circumspection shine forth in this world-embracing creation which was destined to be of the highest importance not for the missions alone but also for philology and ethnology, appear likewise in the Instructions to Gregory XV.'s nuncios which were first drafted by Ludovisi and received their final shape at the skilled hands of Agucchi. The precision and smoothness of the language and the aptness with which thought is expressed in these documents, are best realized when they are compared with documents from other chancelleries of that period, especially those of Germany! It is not surprising that these Italian State documents were quickly disseminated in numerous transcripts and became justly famous.[1] They

[1] In Rome, the Barberini Library is especially rich in Instructions by Gregory XV., see *Cod.*, 5188, 5203, 5528, 5586, 5587, 5958–63. Other copies are in the Altieri Library (2 vols.), Casanatense Library (X., V., 14 and 16), Chigi (J., III., 80), Corsini (38, A. 9, 10, 11), and naturally numerous copies in the

are models both as regards form and contents and evince matchless skill in the art of handling men and of taking into account every imaginable possibility. By their severely objective sober tone they constitute a marked contrast as well as a complement to the pompous, fiery Latin Briefs of Gregory XV. composed by the Florentine Giovanni Ciampoli.[1] The emphatic language, the dramatic swing, the expressions which frequently verge on the extravagant betray the poet. These new forms of speech affect the man of to-day in the same odd way as does the exaggerated emotionalism of the contemporary baroque art. The former, like the latter, were meant to give expression to the enhanced religious feeling of the period of the Catholic restoration by the greatest possible display of splendour and fiery pathos. The religious fire which glows here corresponds to the flaming enthusiasm

Vaticana (especially *Ottob.* 1103 and 2725) and in the Papal Secret Archives (*Arm.*, II., *Cod.* 117, and *Nunziat. di Francia*). Outside Rome, I have noted AREZZO, Library of the Fraternità di S. Maria, *Cod.* 190 (from the Fossombroni Library); Bologna, University Library, *Cod.* 78; Ferrara, Library (Collez. Riminaldi, T 4); Florence, State Archives (*Carte Strozz.*, 160); Genoa, Civic Library, D. 3, 8, 16; Naples, National Library, XI., G. 31, 33, 35; XII., B. 14; *Bibl. d. stor. patria*, XI., G. 10, XI., F. 10; Perugia, Communal Library, E. 17; Rovigo, Libr. of the Acad. dei Concordi, 8, 5, 25. Copies are also found at the State Libraries, Berlin (*Inf. polit.*), Paris (see Marsand's catalogue) and Vienna (see *Tabulæ codic.*); the Municipal Library, Frankfurt a.M., and the Library of Studies at Salzburg (V. 3, G. 102, 127). Even in Poland there are copies; see *Cat. codic. Bibl. Ossoliniens*, III., 436 *seq.* Some copies make it quite clear that the form is due to AGUCCHI, *e.g. Barb.* 5188, *Ottob.* 1103. The letters to the nuncios were also frequently copied.

[1] For G. CIAMPOLI see BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 115 *seq.*; BELLONI, *Seicento*, 51 *seq.*, 55 *seq.*, 474. For the life of Ciampoli see *Cod.* K. II. 44, p. 95, and K., IV., 20, p. 32 *seq.* of the Library at Siena; and *Cod. Nelli*, 145, p. 107 *seqq.* of the National Library at Florence. The *Poesie sacre* of CIAMPOLI appeared at Bologna, 1648; his *Lettere* have been frequently printed (Florence, 1650, Venice, 1657, Macerata, 1666).

of the great Saints of that age of Catholic restoration, of whom the outstanding ones, such as Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri and Teresa of Jesus, were raised to the altars by Gregory XV. To what extent this fire inflamed the whole Catholic world, filling it anew with the medieval pilgrims' enthusiasm for the Eternal City, has found poetical expression in the verses with which the youthful scion of an ancient Polish noble family, the Jesuit Matthew Casimir Sarbiewski, greeted the seat of the papacy when, soon after Gregory XV.'s death, he was summoned to Rome :—

. . . Salve pulcherrima mundi
  Roma, Palatinis ardua Roma iugis.
Pulchraque tergemini salve domus hospita mundi :
  Divinae salve religionis honos,
Quae mare, quae terras et utroque rubentia sole
  De Capitolino vertice regna vides.
Hinc Quirinales, rerum fastigia, clivi,
  Hinc Vaticanae regia tecta domus.
His Pater attonitum speculatus ab arcibus orbem
  Regna cui flexo procubuere genu,
Cui polus et late liquidi patet aetheris aula,
  Et reserat famulas ad pia iussa fores,
O quanta rerum se maiestate coronat !
  Quantaque vicinis invidet aula polis !
Ille tamen, qui se mirantibus invehit astris,
  Et cava non humilis nubila tronat apex ;
O quantum spatiis indulget, et aëra quantum
  Occupat, et brutam vertice spernit humum !
Scilicet ampla patet Laurentis regia Petri,
  Constantine, tua regia coepta manu.
Hanc circum tot iam lassantur saecula molem,
  Et senium mundi grande fatigat opus.
Interitus abiisse suo tot vidit in ortu,
  Regnaque dum pereunt, nascitur una domus.[1]

[1] *Sarbievii Iter Romanum*, V., 221 *seqq.*, translated by DIEL, in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, IV. (1873), 347.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book ; it has formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original ; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word *sic*. Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . . .).

The extracts from the *Avvisi* which are so rich in information, as well as those from the *Epistolae Urbani VIII.*, have been made by my friend Professor Schmidlin, and those from the Vienna Archives by my pupil Dr. Gutmensch, whilst for the copy of the two documents from the Paris Archives I am indebted to my esteemed colleague J. Doulcet, French ambassador to the Holy See, who died in March, 1928. A great deal of material from the works of Nicoletti and other material which had been prepared under the supervision of the prematurely deceased Professor A. Pieper was put at my disposal by his executor, Professor Lux. To all these I offer the expression of my sincere gratitude for their assistance in collecting documentary material which is more abundant for the Barberini Pope than for most Pontiffs.

I. On the Policy of Urban VIII. during the Thirty Years' War.

(A criticism of Siri, of the final narratives of Angelo and Alvise Contarini, Ranke, Gregorovius and Schnitzer.)

The meagre treatment by Ranke (in his *Päpste*, II., 351 *seq.*, and 367 *seq.*) of the policy of Urban VIII. during the years 1628–1635, was supplemented in 1879 by the monograph of Gregorovius, the tendency and content of which are indicated by the title: "Urban VIII. in opposition to Spain and the Emperor. An episode of the Thirty Years' War."

A source of the first importance and one easily accessible both to Ranke and Gregorovius, was the correspondence between the Papal State Secretariate and the nuncios at Vienna, Madrid and Paris,[1] which is found almost in its entirety in the work of Nicoletti. Although Ranke recognized the value of this correspondence,[2] and asserts that he had carefully studied it for the section dealing with the policy of Urban VIII., as also in other parts of his work, he chiefly relies on the last reports of the Venetian ambassadors, that is, on those of Angelo Contarini for 1629, and those of Alvise

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX, Appendix 26.

[2] See *Päpste*, III, 158 *seqq.* An important fault in Schnitzer's meritorious work: *Zur Politik des Heiligen Stuhles usw.*, is that, notwithstanding repeated long stays in the Holy City, he was so taken up with the documents on the Peace of Westphalia (152) that he had no time to examine the first-class sources for the previous period. His only quotation of a Roman document (250) is taken from Lämmer, *Analecta*, 38. Schnitzer's (152) remarks on the value of the nunciature reports and the instructions of the Secretariate of State, are only partly correct. Pieper aptly remarks (*Papst Urbans Verhältnis zum Kaiser, zu Spanien und Frankreich im Mantuaner Erbfolgestreit: Wissensch. Beilage der "Germania"*, 1899, no. 37): "In the dispatches of the nuncios we see their activities at the various Courts, in the answers from Rome they are told what attitude they are to take on the questions under consideration, and information is also supplied on the transactions of the Imperial, Spanish, French, and other ambassadors in Rome. Any misrepresentation of facts on one side or the other would have been discovered at once, for alongside of this correspondence there was that of the respective Governments with their agents in Rome. The ambassador in Rome informed his Government of his dealings with the Pope whilst the latter informed him of the conduct of the papal nuncio. The historian will control facts by means of this correspondence, as did the Powers of those days.

Contarini for 1635. Since Ranke wrote, opinion on the Venetian reports has undergone a change ; weighty critics have remarked that they are a source to be used only with great caution. A. PIEPER gives a striking example to this effect in *Hist. Polit. Blätter*, XCIV. (1884) 492. EHSES, in his essay, *Urban VIII. und Gustav Adolf* (*Hist. Jahrb.*, XVI., 336) rightly points out that these reports should not be ranked as first-class sources, as Ranke has done, all the more so as, owing to the continued strained relations between Venice and Urban VIII., the reports of the representatives of the City of the Lagoons could not be free from partisanship.

Gregorovius uses even more doubtful authorities, and he, as well as Ranke, neglects the sources of great importance made accessible through Nicoletti. The proof of this has been furnished by PIEPER in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (*Hist. Polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 471–492). In a sequence of striking proofs he shows that Gregorovius made of Urban's policy a " perfect caricature ", so much so that this " needs an entirely new treatment based on authentic sources ". In the light of the examples adduced by Pieper, a critical student will hesitate to rely either on the reports of the agents of the Duke of Modena, largely coloured by passion and interest and frequently getting their facts at second and third hand, or on the quite untrustworthy Theodor Ameyden.[1] Apart from such unreliable sources, Gregorovius loses himself in suppositions, which " proceed as much from ignorance of Catholic affairs as from the most exaggerated mistrust of contemporary reports ". The examples quoted by Pieper are reinforced by a very apt one mentioned by Ehses, on the attitude of Urban VIII. at the death of Gustavus Adolphus. None the less many historians still regard Gregorovius and Ranke as reliable authorities in determining the position of Urban VIII. in the Thirty Years' War. Nationality makes no difference here : German [2] as well as distinguished French writers [3] blindly follow the aforesaid. The only

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX, Appendix 25.

[2] Thus, quite recently, L. OLSCHKI, *Galilei und seine Zeit*, Halle, 1927, 297 *seq.*

[3] CHARVÉRIAT, *Politique d'Urbain VIII. pendant la guerre de 30 ans*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des sciences de Lyon*, XXII. (1882), DE MEAUX, in the 2nd vol. of his *La Réforme* (1889), and even FAGNIEZ in his otherwise valuable monograph *of Fr. Joseph* (1894).

Italian dissentient voice, ADEMOLLO, writing in the *Rassegna Settimanale*, 1879, no. 104 (December 21st), p. 470 *seq.* has remained unnoticed. The opinion of BILDTS, in *Dagens Nyhetter*, 1923, February 18th, on the "uncritical and fantastic" work of Gregorovius, is known to very few scholars. It is therefore not superfluous to insist once more on the critical exposition by Pieper and Ehses, and to substantiate it in some instances.

The key to an understanding of Urban VIII.'s attitude in the period 1630 to 1632, lies in his relation to the Emperor and to Spain during the struggle for the Mantuan succession. Ranke bases his account of Urban's attitude towards this imbroglio on two dispatches of the French ambassador, Béthune, of September 23rd and October 8th, 1628, quoted by SIRI in his *Memorie*, VI., 478. (RANKE, *Päpste*, II., 356 *seqq.*) These two extracts make it appear that Urban summoned the French to Italy, "addressing most urgent appeals to Paris, begging the King to send an army into the field even before the fall of La Rochelle, for his intervention in the Mantuan trouble would be as pleasing to God as the siege of that bulwark of the Huguenots; if the King were but to appear at Lyons and declare himself for the freedom of Italy, he, the Pope, would not hesitate to put an army in the field and add it to that of the King." This narrative is in direct opposition to the actual conduct of Urban VIII. as shown not only by the correspondence published by Nicoletti between the French nuncio Bagno and the Papal Secretariat of State, but also by the numerous other dispatches of Béthune. With regard to Béthune's specific messages of September and October, 1628, and comparing them with his other reports, it seems very improbable that the Pope, whom Béthune had frequently, but vainly, implored to take hostile action, should now suddenly have changed his obstinate refusals into "urgent appeals". If we study the originals of Béthune's reports in the Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Paris, we see with amazement that they differ entirely from Siri's quotations from them. In both dispatches, the dates of which are also incorrectly given by Siri (the first is of September 25th, not the 23rd, the second is dated October 7th, not October 8th), there is not a word of the Pope having addressed an urgent appeal to France asking that the King should put an army in

the field even before the fall of La Rochelle. On the contrary, the appeal and request for intervention in Italy proceeded from the French ambassador. The latter succeeded, in an audience of October 6th, in obtaining from the Pope a promise of armed help, a promise qualified by the condition that the Spaniards should first be requested to desist from their purpose. In the course of the conversation it became quite clear that Urban refused even then to intervene at once, though the Spaniards had grievously provoked him, and that he was very pleased at the successful continuance of the French attack on La Rochelle. Béthune does not hide from himself the fact that the fulfilment of the Papal promise cannot be expected before the fall of that fortress. (See the passage Vol. XXVIII, 221.)

Siri has also distorted documentary evidence in other places: Fagniez (i., 206) shows that the report of Spada and Nari of January 31st, 1625, has been trimmed and altered by Siri (v. 766). Ranke himself, later on, came to see the unreliability of Siri (see *Französische Geschichte*, V., 211), but could not make up his mind to alter his account of the matter in the new edition of his *Päpste*.

In the case of Gregorovius also, blind trust in Siri has proved fatal. He repeats several times that Urban VIII. called Louis XIII. to Italy, after which he adorns his tale in such a way (p. 10, *seq.*) that Pieper, (*loc. cit.*, 477) rightly remarks: "As many untruths and false insinuations as there are assertions!" As a basis for his estimate of Urban VIII.'s attitude during the Thirty Years' War, Gregorovius repeatedly (pp. 8 and 40) quotes certain remarks to the Imperial ambassador Savelli, in which the Pope is made to say that there was no question of a religious war, that Gustavus Adolphus was merely combating the excessive power of Austria. Here again Siri is the first authority on which Gregorovius relies. (*Memorie* VII, 481 *seq.*) As against this statement, Pieper has shown (p. 473) that Siri's assertion, given without reference to any source (*loc. cit.*), is at variance with every authentic account of that audience. Pieper's presumption that Siri has followed here, as in other places, the *Avvisi*,[1] an unreliable source, full of the *dicerie* so much beloved in gossiping Rome, is as right as his further observation (362), that Siri's *Memorie* should only be

[1] This defect of Gregorovius' monograph has already been pointed out by Ademollo in the *Rassegna settimanale* of Dec. 28, 1879 (see above).

used with the greatest caution, not only because of the unreliability of his sources, but in view also of the manner in which he uses them. Until now, too little attention has been paid not only to the fact that Siri's *Memorie* constitute a collection for which the Government of Louis XIV. placed at his disposal a quantity of important diplomatic reports—a very large quantity for those times—but that the selection and use thereof was conditioned by the fact that the compiler was in the pay of a man who stood in sharp conflict with the Apostolic See, namely the " Roi Soleil ". As a matter of fact, even before Pieper, others had already pointed out the partisan spirit and untrustworthiness of Siri, who had given proof of his violent opposition to Urban VIII. in the first volume of his *Mercurio*.[1] These writers are: TIRABOSCHI (VIII., 303), AFFÒ (*Scritt. Parmig.* V., 208 *seq.*), RONCHINI (in *Atti e Mem. d. Deputaz. di stor. patr. p. le prov. Mod. e Parm.*, V., Modena, 1870, 381 *seq.*), also WACHLER (in his *Gesch. der hist. Wissensch.*, i., 483), REUMONT (II., 164, *cf.* V., 141), and GOLL (in *Mitteil. der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1872, 379 *seq.*, 384). Such a writer's statements about Urban VIII. deserve no credence unless they are substantiated by other and unexceptionable sources. The judgment of Wachler cannot be impugned when he says that in the work of Siri, " the dross must be separated from the gold ", and " the inevitable individualism of the times, personal relationships, one-sidedness of outlook and appreciation, must be distinguished from facts and documents ". In another place Wachler rightly qualifies (485) Siri's works as a " storehouse containing heterogeneous contents that require careful sorting ". Similar criticisms have been recently expressed by BELLONI (*Seicento*, 389), and ADEMOLLO, (*Independenza*, 58). As a critic of the duties of a Pope, Siri carries even less weight, for he himself gravely neglected his duties as a member of the Benedictine Order.[2] BÜHRING, too, in his monograph, *Venedig, Gustav Adolf und Rohan* (Halle, 1885), justly criticises Siri. He describes the battles of Vallegio in May, 1630, according to contemporary reports, and adds (p. 6) : " Siri's anecdotal narrative must be discounted." In the appendix he thus sums up his opinion : " The value of Siri's Memoirs would be far greater if the author had not attempted to enhance the interest of his official

[1] *Cf.* AFFÒ V., 208 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 223.

sources by adding private gossip, which often proves to be untrustworthy, even when he claims to have heard the words from the lips of the person concerned." (280).

It is remarkable that SCHNITZER, in his essay, *Zur Politik des Heiligen Stuhles in der ersten Hälfte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, which is valuable because based on documents in the Vienna and Munich State Archives, keeps to the story (p. 228) with which Siri (VII., 484) prefaces his untenable version of the audience of Savelli—for which no authority is given—and this notwithstanding the fact that Schnitzer was acquainted with the conclusions of Pieper and Bühring. He must have been induced to do so because Ranke, though he does not quote Siri, had not been able to omit so racy a tale (*Päpste*, II., 369). In passing I may remark that the Berlin historian puts the complaint against Urban into the mouth of "the members of the Curia and the inhabitants of Rome". This is in direct contradiction to Siri, who says expressly that the complaints were raised by the Austrians, for the inhabitants of Rome were at that time wholly on the side of Urban, and even directly urged him not to touch the treasure in S. Angelo though pressed by the representatives of the Habsburgs.[1]

Schnitzer's confidence in Siri is also seen in his vain attempt to save his version of the audience of Savelli at the end of February, 1632, though it is in contradiction with all authentic sources.[2] In these circumstances it is not surprising that Schnitzer refers indeed to Siri and Gregorovius in connexion with the important Consistory of March 8th, 1632, in which Borgia made his protest, and completely ignores the authentic account in the Consistorial Acts printed in Lämmer.[3] Siri describes the Consistory as if he had been present, but gives no authorities for his account.[4] It is clearly influenced by the Roman *dicerie*. The extent of Siri's hatred for Urban VIII. may be gauged by the fact that he goes so far as to assert that the Pope had not spared one drop out of the ocean of his wealth ("una sola stilla") for the hard-pressed Emperor (VII., 488). The truth is that in the years 1632–4 alone Urban VIII. contributed about two million francs out of his private means,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., 301 *seq.*
[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., 286.
[3] *Zur Politik*, 231.
[4] Opinion of HÄBERLIN (XXVI., 536).

the greater part of which went to the Emperor. (*Cf.* PIEPER, *loc, cit.*, xviv, 480).[1]

What is to be thought of the credibility of Angelo and Alvise Contarini, the Venetian ambassadors' final report ?

The answer to this question is the more important as the estimate of Urban's character and of his policy during the Thirty Years' War by RANKE (*Päpste*, II., 351 *seq.*, 368 *seqq.*) rests almost entirely on the reports of these two ambassadors, which Gregorovius also quotes for choice (20, 23, 70, 228, 229). Neither of these historians investigated their credibility. On the contrary, Ranke unreservedly admires the account of Alvise, (III., 149 *seqq.*) and Gregorovius also accepts all the opinions of Alvise without question. Pieper, however, (*loc. cit.*, 491 *seq.*) writes that great caution is necessary in accepting the facts related in the final reports of the Venetian ambassadors, and still greater discretion in accepting their opinions. In proof, he dwells on the totally opposite estimates of Cardinal Francesco Barberini by Angelo Contarini and by his successor, Giovanni Pesaro, because the former met with opposition from the Cardinal and the latter found him favourable to Venice. If personal interest played such a part in judging Cardinal Barberini, how much more would it have influenced the opinion of the writer on a Pope who was repeatedly in disagreement with Venice on matters both political and ecclesiastical !

Angelo Contarini's embassy fell into the period of the Mantuan war of succession. One of the chief duties which his Government laid on him was to induce the Pope to enter the anti-Spanish league which was being formed, and to support Nevers by arms. Contarini did his utmost in this respect, but all his efforts were in vain. His disappointment at his failure strongly influenced his opinion of Urban VIII. This bitterness was so great as to make him lose sight of the duty of mediating for peace which arose for Urban VIII. out of his position whenever Catholic Powers were in conflict. In his desire to fulfil this duty, Urban avoided the partisan measures advocated by Venice, an attitude which also partly resulted from the fact of the exposed position of the Papal States. Angelo Contarini

[1] *Siri* is probably responsible for the satires on the war of Castro which FRATI discusses in *Arch. stor. ital.* 5, *Series* XXXVII., 389 *seq.*

only saw excuses in these reasons. The real reason why Urban VIII. would not " entrar nel ballo ", so he states, (p. 283) was first, his innate timidity, on account of which he lacked resolution for " azioni generose " and inclined to look only to his own advantage and tranquillity. To this was added his unwillingness to expend money, and lastly, the counsels of his brother, Carlo who, remembering the fate of the Carafa, did not wish to embroil himself with Spain. In vain, Contarini complains, had he frequently represented to Carlo and Francesco Barberini that this was no precedent. In his next remarks Contarini so openly vents his wrath at his failure to induce Urban VIII. to relinquish his neutrality in the Mantuan affair that no one can call his an unbiased account. Contarini even allows himself to assert that the only object of the Curia was to secure its own advantage, the enjoyment of luxury and the amenities of life, an end easier to attain during an apparent peace than in a peace grounded on " virtù, generosità ", and " sentimento del pubblico bene " (286). Such a picture might have fitted the Court of Alexander VI. ; it is at the very least a signal anachronism when applied to that of Urban VIII.

The real motives of the Curia are clearly seen in numerous authentic documents, in the letters of Cardinal Spada and in the Instructions to the French nuncio Bagno of April 2nd, 1629. These[1] cannot have remained hidden from Contarini, but in his vexation at his failure, he entirely passed them by. Again and again this disappointment appears in his dispatches ; for example, when he describes how, after the Emperor's interference in Italy, the Pope would still not be persuaded to make war, but continued indefatigably to make offers of peace (287 *seqq.*). This pacifying activity of Urban VIII. is incontestable ; it makes it very unlikely that Urban should have said in Angelo Contarini's presence that the " *poca religione* nello stesso Imperatore " compelled him, " di non aver disgusto dei progressi torbidi in Germania, anzi di *desiderarli* per contrapeso di tante temerità che in Italia sotto titolo ingiusto s'andavan esercitando." (291.) Urban VIII. certainly did not speak of the Emperor's " poca religione ", for he knew and appreciated Ferdinand II.'s pious dispositions and always distinguished between the

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 210, 231.

personal temper of the Emperor and that of his ministers. The true explanation of Contarini's story may be that Urban VIII. regarded the events in Germany as a punishment for the Emperor's action in Italy.

Even more passionate than Angelo Contarini's reports are those of Alvise Contarini in the course of the year 1635. This is not to be wondered at, for the relations between Venice and the Holy See had meanwhile become much worse and the Relation was penned while the quarrel about the inscription in the Sala Regia was enraging the Venetians.[1] Diplomatic relations had actually been interrupted: from September, 1631, the Venetian Embassy in Rome remained unoccupied for nine months. Not until Alvise Contarini was nominated in April, 1632, were diplomatic relations resumed, but during his period of office, which lasted until 1635, disputes continued both on political and ecclesiastical matters. Contarini reports very fully on this in the last part of his Relation. It cannot be a matter of astonishment that he takes exclusively the point of view of his Government. How one-sided this was is made plain when we hear the other side.[2] But how about the other portions of his Relation? In these the religious and secular policy of the Pope, the personality of Urban VIII., that of his nephews, and his relations with the different States of Europe, are considered. The many valuable indications found here, and the clever handling of the subject, have induced Ranke and Gregorovius to base their account on this information. As against this we must protest that Alvise Contarini's statements have no critical value unless they furnish proof of their reliability. Is this ambassador a really unprejudiced observer? Is all his information supported by facts? Our doubts are raised by his passionate, hateful, and partisan judgment of Roman affairs. He opens with a gloomy picture of the Curia. The only deity worshipped in Rome is self-interest (353); the whole endeavour of the "preti" is set on combining spiritual and worldly affairs (354). The stricter co-ordination of ecclesiastical affairs, consequent upon the Catholic counter-reformation, does not appear as what it was: that is, a legitimate development of the monarchic character of Church government due to the changed

[1] *Cf.* XXIX.
[2] *Cf* XXIX.

conditions of the times, but is represented as a tyrannic rule (355 *seq.*). Contarini exaggerates so manifestly that he asserts that formerly consistories were held almost daily! His further statement is equally untrue (356), viz. that before the time of Urban VIII. disputes on ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been rare. In order to provide his gloomy picture with a suitable background, Contarini recalls the saintly Popes of earlier times. This, as well as his complaints of the "temporalizzata spiritualità" (356), remind us of the tricks which the enemies of the Papacy invariably employ. To prove how greatly the former reverence for the Popes had diminished in his time, Contarini refers to the lampoons and the public protests of the Spaniards against Urban VIII., as if such attacks had not been just as frequent in former days. Stranger still is the remark that all this had been borne in Rome "con troppa viltà", and the attackers had been rewarded instead of receiving punishment! (356) The attitude of Urban VIII. towards Cardinal Borgia shows[1] what is to be thought of these accusations. Contarini concludes: "Le antiche forze della chiesa nella dependenza, nell'amore e devotione dei principi consistevano, ma hoggidì, che questi non hanno di Padre commune altro che il nome, grandemente diminuite et indebolite rimangono (356)." In reality Urban VIII. in the Valtellina affair, in the dispute over the Mantuan war of succession, and in all subsequent difficulties, had done his best honestly to fulfil his duty as "padre commune"[2]; but it was just this which was regarded with suspicion in Venice, for there they wished to see the Pope become a party man and take part in the war against the Spaniards.[3] Contarini's complaint that the Pope inflicted the punishment of excommunication too easily is equally groundless, for Urban VIII. had refused to pronounce it against Louis XIII. when urged thereto by Spada.[4] Contarini gives himself away altogether when he unctuously laments the circumstance that the Popes were disinclined to call the "venerable Councils", which "used to stand up so beneficially against heresy" (357), as if he did not know that the Venetian Government, in spite of Urban's

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII., 285 *seqq.*
[2] *Cf.* XXVIII., 216.
[3] *Cf.* XXVIII., 212 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.*
[4] *Cf.* XXVIII., 71.

great displeasure and in opposition to the Councils, kept up close intercourse with heretics of every kind and allowed them greater freedom in Venice than they enjoyed under any other Catholic Government. As an introduction to the discussion of the affairs of the Papal States, Contarini enunciates the principle that the Church may not be defended like a fortress.[1] This remark is in keeping with the sense of irritation which appears elsewhere in the Relation (*cf.* especially 362) on account of the fact that Urban VIII. was anxious to strengthen the military defences of the States of the Church. Contarini's principle was forgotten in Venice when they urged the Pope to arm, in the hope of inducing him to take part in the war against the Spaniards.[2]

Contarini justly censures Urban VIII.'s nepotism, but he goes beyond all bounds when he asserts that the Pope only thought of enriching his nephews and did not trouble about anything else! (369). It is a manifest untruth when Contarini repeatedly affirms that Urban had consciously nurtured hostility between the Catholic Powers (367 and 368). In point of fact the ambassador becomes more and more passionate in the course of his report. He does not hesitate to describe the Cardinals without distinction as common hypocrites (374). We are involuntarily reminded of Sarpi when we read such accusations. In other ways also Contarini shows himself an apt pupil of Sarpi, whose ideas had always strongly influenced the ambassadors of Venice,[3] as when he accuses conscientious and loyal Catholics of playing the part of domestic enemies within the State (365), and advises his Government to confiscate the property of the Jesuits in order to deprive them of every hope of ever returning into Venetian territory (395). In some places Contarini's passion goes so far as to lead him into misrepresenting facts and making false assertions. I quote one instance at haphazard which strikingly illustrates how little Alvise Contarini can be considered a trustworthy authority once his passionate dislike for Urban VIII. is roused. In proof of the Pope's bias in favour of France, Contarini

[1] Ecclesia Dei non est defendenda more castrorum (357). This is a saying of S. Thomas of Canterbury (*Rom. Breviary*, December 29).

[2] *Cf.* XXVIII., 211 *seqq.*

[3] See D'Ancona, *Varietà stor.*, I. Series, Milano, 1883, I, 108 *seq.*

gives it as a fact that Urban VIII. approved, even if he did not advise, Richelieu's treaty of peace with Protestant England in 1629: "I speak of this with good reason," Contarini boldly declares, "for I have been present at all the negotiations; the Pope's nuncios have always favoured Richelieu's undertakings by supporting him during periods of internal difficulties, and in his efforts to draw Bavaria and the League into an alliance with France. They refrained from comment on his alliances with Holland and the German Protestants; one might almost say that they approved of them. Other Popes might have been troubled in conscience by such circumstances; the nuncios of Urban VIII. won for themselves high recognition and personal advantages" (377).

Contarini's assertions are so categorical that they are bound to lead the reader into thinking that Urban VIII. was in secret collusion with France. Now, it was precisely Contarini's predecessor, Giovanni Pesaro, who clearly showed that Urban VIII.'s friendship for France never went so far as to induce him to abandon his reserve and neutrality (*Relazione*, 337). If Contarini's account is tested by comparison with authentic documents, the untrustworthiness of his assertions becomes manifest. Let us examine only one of the more important points, viz. the attitude of Urban VIII. towards Richelieu's treaty with England. Documents which have recently become known prove beyond a doubt that Urban VIII., so far from approving such a peace, opposed it from the beginning and repeatedly protested against it. Even when, after the death of Buckingham and the fall of La Rochelle, the Pope foresaw that he could not prevent the negotiations, orders were issued to the nuncio in Paris to inform Richelieu that he could not inflict a greater sorrow upon the Holy Father than if he concluded a peace treaty with a heretic.[1]

Contarini also sins against the truth by the manner in which he represents the promotion of the Franco-Bavarian relations through the papal nuncios, for here one important circumstance should not have been passed over in silence, namely that Urban VIII. was influenced in this matter by his desire to prevent Richelieu from allying himself with the German Protestants.[2] Contarini kept this motive secret because it

[1] See Kiewning, I, 299 A 2; *cf.* 246 A. 2.
[2] *Cf.* XXVIII., 234.

would have confuted his assertion that the Pope was indifferent to alliances with Protestant Powers. Contarini knew very well how Urban VIII. viewed the situation. When he discussed it with the Pope, at the end of July, 1632, the latter insisted that religion, in so far as he was concerned, must be the first consideration, but even from a purely political point of view he considered the victory of the Emperor less dangerous than that of the Swedish King, because Ferdinand II. could always be kept in check through Bavaria and the League.[1] Contarini's further statement that the nuncios had passed over in silence France's alliance with the Protestants is also untrue, for they repeatedly protested against it.[2]

It is just this account of Contarini's, which teems with untruths and is written with such passion, that Ranke has used as altogether trustworthy in proof of his assertions that "if not direct, then indirect alliances were in force between the Holy See and those Protestant Powers which were pressing forward once more in a victorious struggle" (*Päpste*, II., 368). He is so completely persuaded of Contarini's reliability that, in order to prove the partisanship of Nicoletti, who speaks of "the bitter agony of heart of Urban VIII. at the peace treaty between England and France", he adduces Contarini as a striking witness to the contrary, when he writes: "We see from Alvise Contarini, who assisted in person at all the negotiations, that the Pope had even advised those negotiations and that treaty" (*Päpste*, III., 158).

Just as accurate research in the archives has disposed of this statement of Contarini, so do the documents in the Papal Secret Archives prove the untenableness of Ranke's account of Urban VIII.'s policy during the Thirty Years' War, especially that of his statement that the Pope "had in effect done much to ruin the plans of the Catholics" (*Päpste*, II., 372). ANTON GINDELY, who devoted his whole life to research in the archives on the subject of the Thirty Years' War, and who, through the liberality of Leo XIII. and

[1] See BÜHRING, 265. To Contarini's reply that a victory of the Emperor would have lasting consequences, that of Gustavus Adolphus, who had no male heir, merely temporary ones, the comment was: "ragione che non le (Urban VIII.) despiaque." See BÜHRING, 254.

[2] *Cf.* XXVIII., 210, 258, 273, 278.

Cardinal Hergenröther, had access to the Papal Secret Archives, was the first to realize this fact. In his essay, *Wallenstein in der Beleuchtung des Vatikanischen Archives* (*Beilage zur Münchener Allg. Zeitung*, 1882, Nr. 103), Gindely writes, " Since the attitude of Pope Urban VIII. in the course of the Thirty Years' War is of outstanding importance, and since he is considered to have been an opponent of the Habsburgs and a friend of the Bourbons, proofs of which are to be found in plenty in other archives, it was a matter of great interest to the present writer to be able to ascertain on the spot, viz. in the Vatican Archives, how far the rumour of this hostility was based on truth, how far the Pope allowed himself to be influenced by it in his foreign relations, and whether the counter-reformation in Bohemia and Austria, which had been initiated by his predecessors, was in any way affected by this policy. All these questions received exhaustive and, in part, wholly unexpected answers. I confess that until now I had believed and was persuaded of the truth of all the accusations against the Pope, and that I was convinced of his having been in close alliance with the French and hostile to the Habsburgs. I now found, as a matter of fact, that he opposed the growth of the Spanish power in Italy, a circumstance which cannot be brought as a charge against him, either as Pope or as an Italian. Nor was his alliance with France so close as the sources in the archives at Vienna and Simancas had led me to believe, as if he had desired a partial victory for the Protestants, to the end that the Habsburgs might suffer some injury. He was never hostile towards the Emperor, even though he disapproved of his action in the Mantuan dispute and consequently strongly favoured French aspirations. When the fortune of war turned against the Emperor in Germany, he was anxious to settle the dispute between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons and in 1630–34 he demanded of the former no more than the surrender to the latter of Pinerolo and Moienvicq ; consequently neither the Spanish Netherlands nor Alsace were to change masters. The result of my investigations surprised me, for in accordance with the information in Simancas, I was fully convinced that the Pope wanted to hand over Alsace to the French and only opposed the Prague peace negotiations on that account and subsequently disapproved that treaty. He was not ignorant, of

course, of the fact that already in 1634 the French had turned covetous eyes towards Alsace."

Unfortunately a verdict like this, by an authority on the story of the Thirty Years' War, has not received the attention it deserves, as was the case with the researches of Pieper and Ehses. Nearly all historians, even Catholic ones, have maintained to this day the views advocated by Ranke and further stressed by Gregorovius.[1] A complete change of opinion on Urban VIII., whose life could only with difficulty be told with equity and impartiality owing to the lack of authentic documents,[2] has recently been brought about by two non-German historians. These scholars studied the attitude of Urban VIII. during the Thirty Years' War, not on the basis of such partisan reporters as were the Venetian ambassadors, but in the light of extensive research in the archives; their investigations led them to quite different conclusions. Whilst ROMOLO QUAZZA, the indefatigable explorer of the Gonzaga Archives, discussed in two volumes the question of the Valtellina which was the prelude of the Mantuan War of Succession and that war itself, AUGUSTE LEMAN, the distinguished editor of the Instructions to the French and Flemish nuncios, in a volume of 600 pages dealt with the policy of the Barberini Pope towards France and the Habsburgs in the years 1631–5. Both these publications have largely contributed towards clearing up one of the most difficult questions of Modern History. The point of view they represent has been widely adopted even in Germany.

So important a student as GUSTAV WOLF devotes a cordial review to Leman's work in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLIV. (1925), 139 *seq.* In it he sacrifices entirely the chief source of Ranke's and Gregorovius' account—the Venetian reports—on the just ground that "Venice was at that time in sharp opposition to the Curia, a circumstance which naturally reacted on diplomatic relations and coloured the embassy reports. Moreover the Venetians viewed the papal policy with Italian eyes, that is, they troubled less about German affairs and great international questions than about the effect of the latter upon conditions in the Apennine Peninsula".

PAOLO NEGRI, who died prematurely in 1926, had planned

[1] *Cf. Hist. Jahrb.*, XLI. (1921), 328.
[2] M. OTT in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 220.

some important additions to Leman's work. Though he does not agree entirely with the French scholar he nevertheless pays a warm tribute to his merit and rejects the opinion of Ranke and the even more unjust one of Gregorovius. Negri justly complains that the French historian took no account of Italian politics. In his essay *Urbano VIII. e l'Italia* in *Nuova Riv. Stor.*, VI. (1922), 168–90, he has thrown much light on it, and in general he has done much for the understanding of the general policy of Urban VIII. Unfortunately, he never published the detailed account he had planned.[1] With regard to Negri's view of Urban VIII.'s Italian feelings, BORNATE, in the *Riv. stor. Ital.* XLII., N.S. III., 1–2, page 162 *seq.* has justly remarked: "Il Negri vorrebbe vedere, almeno in Urbano VIII. un Papa italiano, il più italiano di quanti sedettero nella cattedra di S. Pietro dopo Alessandro VI. . . . Allo stato degli atti mi pare che questo titolo di italianità non possa competere ad Urbano VIII. più che a Giulio II. od a Clemente VII."

Quazza adds to this judgment (II., 362): "Urbano aveva certamente compreso, come del resto tutti i governi italiani, che sarebbe stato necessario, per la quiete d'Italia, che Carlo Emanuele e il Nevers si accordassero direttamente per evitare che un intervento della Francia e della Spagna provocasse un conflitto più vasto. Alle parole che egli diceva all'ambasciatore sabaudo Ludovico d'Agliè nel febbraio 1628: 'Alla gloria del signor duca di Savoia, il quale si può chiamar difensore della libertà d'Italia, comple il terminare da sè solo questa differenza senza intervento di Spagna e di Francia. E quando ciò non si possa senz'opera di mezzano, farlo per la via nostra o d'altro principe che non sia straniero, e che non abbi in mira di fabbricare la sua monarchia sopra le ruine degli altri' (CANTÙ *op. cit.*, t. V., p. 782, n. 8), non si può attribuire il valore di un grido d'Italianità come oggi la intendiamo noi, ma solo l'espressione di un intimo desiderio di pace e della consapevolezza del pericolo che dall'allargamento del conflitto sarebbe derivato ad ogni singolo stato italiano, compreso lo stato della Chiesa, che per la sua posizione geografica aveva fortemente da temere l'ingrandimento della potenza spagnuola in Italia. Per dare una giusta interpretazione alle

[1] Only a kind of preliminary account has appeared under the title: La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato, Prato, 1924.

parole di Urbano non bisogna astrarre dalla considerazione del momento in cui vennero pronunciate ; l'allusione del Papa ad un principe straniero che potesse aver, ' in mira di fabbricare la sua monarchia sopra le ruine degli altri,' non poteva riferirsi che alla Spagna dato che la Francia, impegnata alla Rocchelle, notoriamente, per allora, favoriva gli accordi diretti tra Carlo Emmanuele e il Nevers ; inoltre bisogna tener conto del fatto che nel febbraio del 1628 si riteneva ancora che la prima spinta alla guerra provenisse esclusivamente dal duca di Savoia, e si aspettava, ma non si conosceva con certezza, l'esistenza di un accordo segreto tra lui e la Spagna."

If Quazza, in my opinion also, dwells too much on the position of Urban VIII. as Lord of the States of the Church (II., 359), and forgets that the independence of the Holy See, in the circumstances of the times, was intimately bound up with this position, he is quite right in saying that no anachronistic meaning should be attached to the expression " libertà d'Italia " used by the Pope and by other contemporaries ; it meant no more than that " il desiderio d'ogni singolo stato d'essere immune da pericoli immediati, di non essere soffocato da potenti vicini ". Thus Urban VIII. understood it ; hence his opposition to the further spread of Spanish power in Italy and his desire to use France as some sort of counterweight. For all that he had no wish to exchange dependence on Spain for dependence on France (II., 359–62) ; what he wanted was to remain independent so as to be able, as the common father of Christendom, to restore and maintain the unity of the Catholic world which was indispensable in view of the power of the Protestants and the Turks. The Machiavellian policy of Richelieu cut across these intentions for it pursued merely national aims in opposition to supernational Catholic policy.

II. The Papabili before the Opening of the Conclave of 1621.[1]

" Di soggetti che sono più in predicamento del Papato degl'altri, sono gli seguenti :

Sauli portato da Montalto, gradito da Spagnoli, dal Granduca voluto, ma escluso da Aldobrandino, non accetto a Borghesi nè alli Francesi n'alli Venetiani.

Monti portato dal Granduca, da Montalto non escluso nè

[1] See above, pp. 32, 33.

da Aldobrandino nè da Borghese, ma dubbio de' Spagnoli et Francesi.

Giustiniani portato da Montalto aiutato da qualche Spagnolo, non escluso da Aldobrandino nè da Borghese, ma dubbio de' Spagnoli et Francesi.

Bandino portato da Aldobrandino nel primo loco, amato dal Granduca, stimato da Montalto et da spirituali, ma escluso in primo capite da Borghese et Savelli.

Ginnasio portato da Aldobrandino in secondo loco, grato a Spagnoli et non ingrato a Borghese, ma non accett'a Montalto nè a Giustiniani nè a Farnese nè a malcontenti et spirituali.

Carafa portato da Borghese come sua creatura, non discar'al collegio, ma rifiutato da Spagnoli.

Ludovisio portato da Borghese nel secondo loco, voluto da Montalto, non rifiutato da Aldobrandino nè contrariato da Spagnoli nè da Fiorentini nè da spirituali. Nè può haver contrario se non il collegio vecchio. Tonti et forse gli Francesi non v'anderanno prontamente.

Araceli [1] portato da Francesi et da spirituali, non escluso da Aldobrandino.

Aquino portato da Borghese nel terzo loco,[2] da Montalto amato, ma scorge che gli Spagnoli non lo vorranno.

Campori portato da Borghese nel primo loco, aiutato da Este et da altri, dubbio fra Spagnoli che l'escluseron da Novara, poco grato agli spirituali et al collegio, et Orsino gli prattica contra.

S. Susanna [3] stimato giovine, voluto da spirituali, ma v'anderanno lento."

Copy : *Cod.* Ib 55, pp. 304–5 of Servite Library, Innsbruck.

III. Programme for the Reform of the Church in Germany Presented to Gregory XV. by the Nuncio of Cologne, Ant. Albergati.[4]

In *Barb.* 2338 and 2430 (Vat. Lib.), we find : *De Germaniae infirmitate (1621) ac medela considerationes viginti, S.D.N.

[1] Galamina.

[2] This statement by the usually so well informed author proved to be erroneous ; see p. 30. [3] Cobelluzio.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 232. Albergati was nuncio until April 26, 1621 (*cf.* Biaudet, 249) ; he was succeeded by P. Fr. Montorio, August 4, 1621 ; on the latter, see Mergentheim, II, 153, 202 *seq.* The Instruction for Albergati's successor Msgr. Monorio, vesc. di Nicastro, of April, 1621, in *Barb.*, 5528, Vat. Lib.

Gregorio XV. Antonius episcopus Vigiliarum (Bisceglia). Ant. Albergati, nuncio in Cologne 1610–1621, had been requested already by Paul V. to draw up a report on the condition of the Church in Germany. He wrote it after the battle of the White Mountain, basing it on his long diplomatic experience. He begins by describing the causes of the evil; viz.

(1) Gravamina Sedi Apost. in religionis negotio ab Imperatoribus illata (since the days of Charles V. they have been far too yielding to the Protestants).

(2) Gravamina Sedi Apost. ab ecclesiasticis praelatis illata.

(3) Gravamina Sedi Apost. a capitulis illata.

(4) Defectus Regularium (abuses in the noble abbeys, especially those of women; Monast. Benedictin. Syburgense nobilium: Prior respondit se numquam vidisse S. Benedicti regulam. "When at Heisterbach I exhorted them to observe the decrees of Trent, responderunt se numquam vidisse decreta Conc. Trid." The wealthy noble abbey of Kappenberg refused to reform itself. Ita religiones introductae ad Sed. Apost. defendendam et cath. Religionem propugnandam contra illam pugnant vel saltem inutiles ad propagandam redduntur). The Holy See must apply a reform, as had been the intention of Gregory XIII., Clement VIII. and Paul V.

(5) Gravamina ad politiam spectantia.

(6) De causis gravaminum.

By way of remedies Albergati suggest the following:—

(1) Unio Sedis Apost. cum Imperatore ac consiliorum communicatio.

(2) Concilii Trid. publicatio et observatio in omnibus locis catholicis in Germania. Ex illo pendet salus Germaniae. Advantage is often taken of the Council against the Pope; some refuse to accept the disciplinary decrees. The Pope and the Emperor should jointly publish the decrees of the Council and enforce their observance by Bishops and clergy.

(3) Reform by the holding of Provincial Councils which was the best way to carry into effect the decrees of the Council.

(4) Erectio novorum episcopatuum. The dioceses were too large; those Bishops who were also temporal lords carried out their ecclesiastical duties only through a vicarius in spirit. (for the most part vilis conditionis and without authority, the Chapters arrogating all power to themselves). Hence the vicarius is practically powerless and the flock is at the mercy of the wolves. This caused the apostasy of Bohemia, Moravia,

Silesia and Austria where there are not enough Bishops, the loss also of the free towns of Nuremberg, Ulm, Lübeck, Frankfort and Hamburg which had no Bishops. Those Belgian towns which had Bishops remained faithful. Proposals for new dioceses and their endowment. The Emperor must erect at least three new dioceses in Bohemia and two in Silesia and Moravia respectively. In Lusatia as well as in Neuburg the territorial lord might very well establish a diocese. At Cologne, Mayence, Trèves and Münster, which were too extensive, new dioceses were wanted ; the thing was not easy but the Emperor and the Pope could enforce it.

Albergati makes the following suggestions for the reform in the Empire :—

(1) Cancellation and prohibition of all separate alliances which were injurious to the Empire.

(2) Prohibition to have troops without the Emperor's permission.

(3) A real observance of the religious peace, hence exclusion of the Calvinists.

(4) Reform of the tribunal of the Camera.

(5) Visitation of that tribunal in accordance with the prescriptions of the Constitution.

(6) Restitution of the dioceses and of ecclesiastical property (Ut detentores moderni archiepiscoporum, epicopatuum et praelaturarum Imperii ac omnium bonorum ecclesiasticorum contra jura et constitutiones pacis religionis ac post transactionem Passaviensem occupatorum eosdem et eadem plene restituant nec in ullis actionibus Imperii pro statibus et ordinibus Imperii habeantur).

(7) The gravamina religionis should be decided at the Diet in accordance with the Constitution.

(8) The decisions of the majority to be laws of Empire.

(9) The Emperor should have part of his army in readiness with a view to keeping the rebels in check.

In conclusion Albergati remarks that, however difficult all this may appear, there was no reason to despair, neither should they hope for the salvation of Germany solely by force of arms or exclusively by prayer : Cum nec solum armis agendum sit nec sine nostris conatibus soli orationi res sit committenda, alia remedia erunt quaerenda, ut duobus illis extremis evitatis securius procedatur.

IV. Giunti's Life of Cardinal Ludovisi.

It is due to the extraordinarily influential position of the Cardinal nephew, Ludovico Ludovisi, that the latter's biography by Lucantonio Giunti of Urbino [1] is more informing and important for the pontificate of Gregory XV. than the work which Ant. Accarisi devoted to that Pope. In its pages a trusted servant of many years' standing paints a glowing picture of the life and achievements of his employer, and though it is written in the manner of an official panegyric, it nevertheless contains much useful and credible information [2] which one looks for in vain elsewhere. The author wrote after the death, on November 18th, 1632, of Ludovisi whose secretary he had been for many years and whose papers he was able to use; he also gives a detailed account of the last years of the Cardinal. The execution of the work betrays a good deal of inexperience [3]; the whole thing is a collection of materials more than anything else. It is not surprising if Giunti does not distinguish between what was done by the nephew and what proceeded from the Pope alone. This is all the more regrettable as in view of his intimacy with Ludovisi he would have been in a position to give us information on this point as no one else could have done. Since Cardinal Ludovisi had so marked a share in all that Gregory XV. undertook, his biography cannot but be a valuable source of information for the pontificate of the Ludovisi Pope. A number of important statements by Giunti have already been made use of in our narrative,[4] but several lengthy passages which I have likewise used deserve to be reproduced textually.

[1] *Vita e fatti di Ludovico cardinal Ludovisi d. S. R. C. vicecancallario, nepote di Papa Gregorio XV., scritta da Luca Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino.

[2] Opinion of Ranke, *Päpste*, III [6], 118. Ranke, who also gives a short extract, used *Cod.* 39, D. 8 of the Corsini Library, Rome Other copies of the *Vita* I found in *Vat.* 11733, p. 1 *seqq.* of the Vatican Library and in *Cod.* B. 8, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] Giunto himself was aware of his lack of the requisite literary ability, hence he insists that all he intends is to give a *semplice sbozzo*. Later on he says: "Reputo convenevole di notificare a chiunque leggerà questi mal composti fogli, che se in essi manca ogni circostanza che possa rendergli grati alle loro orecchie, non manca di verità che li reppresenta pura et senza accrescimento.

[4] *Cf.* p. 54 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 71.

1. Instructions for the Nuncios.

"Quanto fossero prudenti, pii et importanti i ricordi e l'instruttioni che dal cardinal Ludovisi furono dati ai Nuntii, spedite in diverse parti; testimonianza ne può rendere chi l'ha vedute, e quantunque fossero distese da Monsignor Agucchio prelato Bolognese di sublimissime parti secretario di stato del Papa, non di meno il cardinale fece in esse particolar fatica nell'annotazione de' capi, de' motivi del senso di Sua Beatitudine, de' ripieghi e consigli suggeriti col suo proprio avedimento e sapere.

Et acciò che non restino le predette istruzioni e le materie contenute in esse del tutto ignote in questi fogli, si annoteranno quì sotto i Nuntii e ministri, a quali furono date et i negotii, et affari importanti, i quali furono trasmessi, i Nuntii straordinari in particolare. . ."

2. Nomination of Cardinals.

"Hebbe il cardinal Ludovisi nel pontificato del zio una somma applicatione a tutte quelle cose che potevano riuscir di profitto alla Chiesa universale, di riputazione e gloria alla Sede Apostolica, al Pontificio Solio et a lui medesimo. Onde si conformò egli intieramente al genio di Sua Beatitudine nelle promozioni de' cardinali senza riguardo de' suoi interessi col pretendere d'inalzar quelli a cosi eccelso grado, che o per dependenza di servitù, di patria o d'amicizia potessero essergli in maniera soggetti che di loro potesse disporne ne' conclavi et havere sopra di loro dominio, ma hebbe solamente mira a prelati qualificati per nascita, bonta e dottrina. . ."

3. Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefices of Cardinal Ludovisi.

"Oltre l'arcivescovato di Bologna di sopra narrato hebbe il cardinal Ludovisi gli infrascritti officii, dignità, abbadie et entrate ecclesiastiche:

Il camerlengato di santa Chiesa per morte del cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino, il quale carico esercitò con molta accuratezza, e non solamente tenne con ogni puntualità, ma s'ebbe la giurisdizione nel tempo e l'esercitò di più per lo spazio di due anni incirca.

La Cancelleria Apostolica fu nel 1623 conferita nella sua persona, vacata per morte del cardinal Alessandro Montalto nepote di Papa Sisto V., e nel possesso di tali dignità abbracciò

tutti i pesi arbitrarii d'elemosine e li faceva detto cardinale tanto nella parrocchia quanto fuori.

Il titolo di S. Lorenzo in Damaso con la Cancellaria sempre unito e il governo di quella chiesa con la collazione di quei canonicati e beneficii s'appoggia al cardinal Vicecancelliere. Onde il cardinal Ludovisi lasciando il titolo di S. Maria Traspontina, fece ottione in concistoro del predetto di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, di cui prese solennemente il possesso, facendo nell'istesso tempo distribuire grossa somma di denari per l'elemosina ai poveri della parrocchia et a loro che si trovarono presenti.

La sommisteria delle lettere apostoliche conseguì il cardinal Ludovisi con la Cancellaria, alla quale per il più và unita, et è di buona rendita.

La prefettura de' Brevi del Papa gli fu conferita per morte del suddetto cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino di gloriosa memoria, la quale rende d'entrata sopra mille scudi.

L'abbadie quì sotto nominate furono da Papa Gregorio conferite in persona del cardinale per morte del cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino, del cardinal Montalto e d'altri cardinali e prelati :

L'abbadia delle Tre Fontane, sotto la cui giurisdizione temporale e spirituale sono i castelli di S. Oreste, Ponzano, Monteroso col monte Soratte ; la terra di Orbetello e l'isola del Giglio solamente in spirituale.

L'abbadia di S. Maria di Fossa Nuova di Piperno, sotto la cui giurisdizione temporale e spirituale è la terra di Palazzo Adriano detta la Baronia di Sicilia in quell'isola di Sicilia.

L'abbadia di S. Maria della Ferrata in Regno.[1]

L'abbadia di S. Maria delle Grotte di Vetulano in Regno.

L'abbadia di S. Maria di Real Valle in Regno.

L'abbadia di S. Andrea di Brindisi.

L'abbadia di S. Maria di Corano in Calabria.

L'abbadia di S. Maria di Galeata, sotto la cui giurisdizione è detta Terra, Civitella, Pondo S. Sofia et altre terre del Gran Duca.

L'abbadia di S. Silvestro di Nonantola, sotto la cui giurisdizione spirituale è l'istessa terra di Nonantola . . . molte altre terre e benefici curati e semplici, la collazione de' quali appartiene al commendatario.

[1] Naples.

L'abbadia di S. Pietro d'Assisi.
L'abbadia di S. Eufemia di Padova.
L'abbadia dei SS. Gervasio e Protasio di Brescia.
L'abbadia di Dionigi di Milano.
L'abbadia di S. Celso di Milano.
L'abbadia di Gratasolio di Milano.
L'abbadia di S. Maria in Regola e S. Matteo d'Imola.
L'abbadia di S. Lorenzo in Campo nello stato d'Urbino.
L'abbadia di S. Maria di Castiglion di Parma.
L'abbadia dell'Assunta di Morola e della SS. Trinità di Campagnola di Reggio.
Il priorato di S. Martino in Campo di Parigi.
Il priorato di Corinaldo dello stato d'Urbino.
La prepositura di Cresenzago di Milano.
Il priorato di Camaldoli di Bologna."

4. Cardinal Ludovisi's Charities.

"Alle zitelle sperse di Roma nove doti l'anno, di cento scudi l'una.

Ai Padri di S. Isidoro per il vitto e vestito di sei giovani ibernesi scudi cinquanta il mese	sc.	600
Alle monache di S. Urbano sc. 30 al mese	sc.	360
Alla parrocchia di S. Lorenzo in Damaso scudi cento il mese, che distribuiva la Congregazione del soccorso	sc.	200
All'istessa parochia il Natale, la Pasqua di Resurrezione e S. Lorenzo scudi cento	sc.	300
Alla detta parochia libre cento di pane ogni giorno che sono decine 300 il mese e l'anno decine 3 600, che ridotte a decine 47 per rubbio sono decine 80, quali valutate a giulii 75 il rubbio fanno	sc.	680
Alla detta parochia medicinali per i poveri tutto l'anno in circa	sc.	800
Alla detta parochia per il medico	sc.	60
A S. Lorenzo in Damaso per le 40 ore il Giovedì Grasso un anno per l'altro	sc.	100
Alla Compagnia del SS. Sacramento di S. Lorenzo in Damaso doti a tre zitelle e vesti	sc.	100
Alla Compagnia della Concettione della Beat^{ma} Vergine in S. Lorenzo doti a tre zitelle e vesti	sc.	900
Alle messe di S. Lorenzo in Damaso vino fogliette		

sei il giorno, et alla communione in giorno di festa incirca barili venti l'anno, che a giuli 25 per barile fanno sc. 50

Al capitolo e canonici di S. Lorenzo in Damaso si paga l'anno sc. 432 per li cantori e musica di S. Lorenzo. Li cantori del Palazzo importano sc. 350 incirca l'anno, e la musica ch'è aggiunta da scudi sette al mese incirca, che si può calcolare per limosina essendo valutata sc. 80

Alla Compagnia de' Bolognesi di Roma doti trè l'anno alle zitelle e vesti sc. 90

A Teatini di S. Andrea della Valle scudi dieci al mese sc. 120

A Barnabiti di S. Carlo a Catinari sc. 120

A Frati Scalzi della Scala come sopra sc. 120

A Frati Scalzi di S. Paolo a Termini sc. 120

A Padri di S. Lorenzo in Lucina come sopra sc. 120

Alla Compagnia della Pietà de' carcerati sc 120

Alle zitelle sperse ogni anno oltre le doti e fabriche sc. 300

Alle zitelle di S. Catarina de' Funari sc. 25 al mese sc. 300

Alle medesime pranso per la festa parato per la chiesa ed altro sc. 50

Ai poveri di litterato sc. 12 al mese sc. 144

Ai padri Giesuiti della casa professa scudi venti al mese sc. 240

Alle Capuccine a Montecavallo sc. 8 al mese sc. 96

Alle monache convertite sc. 5 al mese sc. 60

Ai frati d'Araceli come sopra sc. 60

Ai Padri riformati di S. Nicolò di Tolentino sc. 60

Ai frati di S. Andrea delle Fratte sc. 60

Ai frati Fate bene fratelli sc. 60

Alla casa di penitenza in Trastevere sc. 60

All'ospedale di S. Giacomo degl'incurabili sc. 60

Ai frati di S. Potentiana sc. 60

Alle monache di S. Maria Maddalena sc. 60

Alle monache di Casa Pia sc. 60

Alle monache scalze di S. Egidio sc. 60

All'ospedale della Consolatione sc. 60

All'ospedale de' pazzarelli sc. 36

Alle monache di S. Marta sc. 60

[Agli] Eremiti di S. Maria dei serviti	sc.	60
Ai preti delle Scuole Pie	sc.	60
Ai Catecumeni	sc.	60
Ai poveri di S. Vitale	sc.	60
All'ospedale della SS. Trinità di Ponte Sisto	sc.	60
Ai frati Ibernesi di S. Isidoro	sc.	60
Alla Congreg, de' convertiti alla fede	sc.	72
Ai frati de' SS. Apostoli	sc.	24
Ai frati di S. Pietro [in] Montorio	sc.	24
Ai frati di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola	sc.	24
Ai padri di S. Agata della Dottrina Christiana	sc.	24
Alla Congreg. della Dottrina Christiana	sc.	24
Ai frati di S. Onofrio	sc.	24
Ai preti di S. Maria in Portico	sc.	24
Ai frati di SS. Cosma e Damiano	sc.	24
Ai frati di S. Bernardo a' Termini	sc.	24
Ai frati della Madonna de' miracoli	sc.	36
Ai padri ministri degl'infermi	sc.	36
Alle povere donne Inglesi	sc.	36
Alla Compagnia de' SS. Apostoli di Roma ogni anno scudi duemila	sc.	2 000
Ai padri Capuccini carne, polli et ova per l'infermeria, carta da scrivere, vino et altro, si calcola scudi cento l'anno	sc.	100
Limosine a minuto 50 sc. il mese	sc.	600
All'abbadia delle Tre Fontane il giorno della consecratione della chiesa rubbia otto di pagnottelle, barili 10 di vino, pranzo per i frati, candele et altro incirca scudi cento l'anno	sc.	100
Ai predicatori di S. Lorenzo in Damaso la Quaresima, a fisso di tutto l'anno	sc.	150
Ai predicatori che predicano all'Isola del Giglio soggetto alle Tre Fontane	sc.	10
Alle monache di S. Oreste per limosina di droghe per la loro spezieria	sc.	20
Diverse elemosine straordinarie si possono calcolare circa	sc.	300
Alla fabrica della chiesa de' PP. dell'Oratorio a Casale Monferrato ad istanza del P. F. Giacinto sc. 500 ogni anno	sc.	500
Alla fabrica della chiesa di S. Ludovico in Valtellina ogni anno	sc.	300

Alla fabrica della metropolitana di Bologna et ai luoghi pii e poveri di quella città ogni anno	sc.	12 000
Alla fabrica di S. Ignatiio haveva fatto assegnamento di 6000 scudi l'anno	sc.	6 000
Tutte le suddette elemosine ascendono alla somma di scudi trentaduemila ottocento ottantadue		
Totale		32 882 "

V. Jacopo Accarisi's Biography of Gregory XV.[1]

One looks in vain for a printed biography of Gregory XV. whose pontificate, notwithstanding its shortness, was a very successful one from more than one point of view. The Vita Gregorii XV. by A. Ciccarelli [2] is so bare that it does not deserve attention. The biographical sketch by Theodore Ameyden also is almost worthless, for that writer is unreliable in every one of his works.[3] In view of the fact that Giunti's manuscript life of the papal nephew and Secretary of State, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, though full of valuable information, is more concerned with the latter than with the Pope,[4] a still unpublished biography of Gregory XV. based on contemporary information and documentary sources acquires exceptional importance. I had the good fortune to discover the original MS.[5] of this work which has not as yet been exploited by historians, in *Cod.* B. 7 of the Boncompagni Archives in Rome. The title is: Vita Gregorii XV. P.O.M. auctore Jacobo Accarisio Bononiensi, episcopo Vestano ac sanctae universalisque Rom. Inquisitionis theologo qualificatore, ad Ill. et ex. Nicolaum Ludovisium Piombini ac Venusti Principem, sanctorum pontificum Gregorii XV. ac

[1] Above p. 42.

[2] Printed in the later editions of Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*, in the Cologne edition of 1626, pp. 530–36.

[3] Zeller (*Richelieu*, 301 *seq.*) gives a quotation from this wretched piece of work preserved in *Cod.* E. III, 12, of the Casanatense Lib. in Rome, but he is quite mistaken as to its value. The *Vita Gregorii XV* of Ameyden is as worthless as his Lives of Urban VIII and Innocent X; see Ciampi, *Innocenzo X*, 63; Pieper in *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, XCIV, 489 *seq.* *Cf.* of Appendix.

[4] *Cf.* No. IV of App.

[5] That it is an original appears plainly from the numerous corrections in the MS.

Innocentii X. nepotem.[1] There is a copy in the Vat. Lib. *Cod. Ottob.*, 923.

The author, Jacopo Accarisi, was a countryman of the Pope's.[2] Born at Bologna in 1599, Accarisi read philosophy and theology at the University of his native town. He took his doctorate in 1620 and taught logic for the space of one year. For another four years he taught rhetoric at the Academy of Mantua and acted as secretary to the Duke.[3] He then went to Rome where he became secretary for Latin letters to Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio and *qualificatore* of the Roman Inquisition. In 1636 he began a course of lectures on philosophy at the Sapienza. On October 17th, 1644, he became Bishop of Viesti and there he died on October 9, 1654.

Many discourses and writings of Accarisi have appeared in print; they were selected by Allatius (*Apes Urb.*, 137 f. and Fantuzzi, *Scritt. Bolognesi*, I., 31–2) [cf. *Catalogo d. Bibl. Chigiana*, Roma, 1764, 2]. Two of these works deserve mention because they treat of Gregory XV.: (1) In funere anniversario Gregorii XV. Oratio habita Romae in templo s. Joannis Evangelistae, dum sodalitas Bononiensium iusta faceret XVI. Calendas Augusti, 1629, Romae, s.a.; (2) Vindicationes tum nonnullarum Gregorii XV. constitutionum, tum quorumdam Alphonsi Ciaconii ac Ioannis Baptistae Adriani locorum in describendis summorum pontificum sanctaeque Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium vitis ac rebus gestis, Iacobi Accarisii Bononiensis S.R. universalisque Inquisitionis theologi qualificatoris anno 1641.[4] Fantuzzi (loc. cit. 32) also gives a list of Accarisi's unpublished works in which he mentions the *Cod. Ottob.*, 923, but without any hint as to the contents: probably he did not examine it personally.

We get some information on the origin of Accarisi's Life of Gregory XV. in a copy of a letter of Cardinal Niccolò Albergati-Ludovisi,[5] dated Rome, April 23rd, 1650, and addressed to Accarisi, from which we learn that Niccolò Ludovisi did not

[1] On Niccolò see p. 67, 68.

[2] For what follows *cf.* besides Moroni, XLIX, 51, and C. 95, especially Fantuzzi, *Scritt. Bolognesi*, I., 30 *seq.*

[3] See *Il Bibliofilo*, XI., Brescia, 1890, 74.

[4] Accarisi mentions this work in the *Vita Gregorii XV.*, lib. III., c. 17.

[5] On this nephew of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi who became a Cardinal in 1645, see Moroni, XL., 110.

want the Life of his uncle to appear in print. Accordingly, Accarisi's work, like A. Nicoletti's [1] biography of Urban VIII., was only intended for the family circle. The biography originated, as we learn from the dedication to Niccolò Ludovisi, on the occasion of the latter's marriage to Costanza Pamfili under Innocent X., during the war of the Venetians against the Turks.[2] He remarks that the Prince had given him access to private documents to enable him to write his history of Gregory XV.

Though the origin and the dedication of the biography suggest that its purpose was the glorification of the Ludovisi Pope, the work is nevertheless based on varied and valuable manuscript material. The sources quoted by the author are very abundant for the period. He repeatedly refers to documents on the Secret Papal Archives, for instance, Lib. I., c. 5, 8, 9 ; Lib. II., c. 3, 11 ; Lib. III., c. 4, 10 ; and also quotes pieces from the Archives of the Capitol (Lib. I., c. 1), the Roman College (I., c. 2), the family Archives of the Peretti (I., c. 5), the Aldobrandini (nunc apud Borghesios, I., c. 6 ; *cf.* c. 5, 7, 11), the Farnese (II., c. 4), and Savelli (III., c. 10). Besides the Briefs of Gregory XV. (III., c. 4), though he uses them only sparingly, Accarisi also made use of a Diarium Gregorii XV. (III., c. 1) ; of Agucchi's letters (II., c. 11 ; III., c, 5. 10),[3] the letters of Cardinal Cobelluzio (II., c. 2) and a MS Compendium Vitae Clementis VIII.[4] As a member of the Rota he also made use of diaries belonging to that body (II., c. 9). As regards the recantation of De Dominis he quotes (III., c. 12) the evidence of people who had been concerned with the matter ; he does the same with regard to the foundation of Propaganda (III., c. 15).

The Vita, in excellent Latin, is in three books. The two first relate the antecedents of Gregory XV. up to his election as Pope, the first book being divided into ten, the second into fourteen chapters. The pontificate of Gregory XV. is told in Book III., in twenty-one chapters.

The Pope's life before his election is told with far greater detail than his pontificate. It constitutes the chief value

[1] Vol. XXIX, app. 26.
[2] *Cf.* Zinkeisen, IV., 756 *seq.*
[3] On these letters see XXIX, 177.
[4] It is remarkable that Accarisi does not seem to have known the MS. work of Giunti on Cardinal Ludovisi.

of the work for it is everywhere based on good sources and nowhere do we get so much information. But the story of the pontificate suffers from this circumstance. Accarisi's statements are nearly always accurate but they are too general: for the most part he does no more than give a general view of events. He refrains from all flattery and exaggeration; with regard to Ludovico Ludovisi's elevation to the cardinalate, he remarks (III., c. 2) that one might question the wisdom of the immediate elevation to the Sacred College of a nephew, but the choice did not appear blameworthy since it had fallen on an excellent man.

Whilst in his biography of the Cardinal, Giunti puts the latter too much in the foreground, to the disadvantage of the Pope, Accarisi, with a greater sense of proportion, never fails to do full justice to the merits of Gregory XV. whilst not forgetting those of the Secretary of State.

VI. Antonio Possevino to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

Rome, July 16th, 1621.

. . . Tutta Roma è piena di Pasquinate sopra Papa et parenti, sono però porcherie et indegne d'esser lette, et come penso, fatte da persone idioti et inconsiderate. Il contenuto è che questo Papa sia l'imagine di Gregorio XIV., di cui fu scritto:

Vir simplex, fortasse bonus, sed praesul ineptus;
Videt, agit, peragit plurima, pauca, nihil.

Certo, Sig., che s'intende essere il Papa christianissimo et di ottima mente, anco per detto di chi ha occasione di non se ne laudare. . . .

Orig.: Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

VII. Antonio Possevino to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

Rome, August 14, 1621.

. . . Il papa havendo compro un palazzo qual era del card.le Ginnasio attende ad allargarsi et ad aprire strade, con pensiero di farvi una bella piazza avanti, con spianare una isola de case che li sta sulla porta. . . . Fui l'altro giorno in Tivoli per vedere quel giardino Estense; assicuro. V. A. che

[1] See p. 72.
[2] See pp. 62, 291.

se un principe grande lo vedesse, mai li verria voglia di farne a casa sua, cognoscendo non poter giongere a questa bellezza. È inestimabile la vaghezza, il sito, la copia et secreti dell'acque, la grandezza, la bontà dell'aere, et in somma bisogna che il paradiso sia molto bello, se vuole superare questo luogo. Io ho visti giardini in Fiorenza, Roma, Francia, Fiandra, Napoli et mille altri luoghi, nè mai ho trovata cosa che si possa paragonare con questo. Vi sono boschi, vigne, frutti, prati, grotte, monti, valli, fiumi, fonti, parco, peschiere. case nobili, statue etc. . . .

Orig. : Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXVII.

Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, 195.
Accarisius (biographer of Gregory XV.), 88.
Adrian XI., Pope, 3, 85, 293.
Agucchi, John Baptist (nuncio in Venice), 70 *seq.*, 132, 294.
Albergati (collector of Portugal), 144 *seq.*
Albergati, Antonio, 68, 86, 106, 232.
Albergati-Ludovisi, Lavinia (mother of Cardinal L. Ludovisi), 51, 65, 68.
Albert, Archduke (primate of Spain and cardinal), 44.
Albert of Wittelsbach, 8.
Albert of Lauingen, St., 122.
Albuquerque, Duke of, 34, 36, 100, 113 *seq.*
Aldobrandini, Giovanni Giorgio, 54.
Aldobrandini, Ippolito, Cardinal, 43, 88.
Aldobrandini, Pietro, Cardinal, 10, 30 *seq.*, 33–48, 54, 88, 235.
Alexander VI., Pope, 11, 109.
Alexander of Rhodes, 149.
Alphonsus of the Cross, Augustinian, 151.
Algardi Alessandro, 58, 62.
Allacci Leone, 244–6 *seqq.*
Altemps, Duke of, 57.
Andover, Lord, 193.
Andrade, Antonio d', 150.
Andrade, Louis d', 149.
Anne, wife of Louis XIII., 198.
Anthelius, Zacharias, 154.
Aquino, Cardinal, 30 *seqq.*, 38.
Arnoux, J., S. J., 222.
Aston, 142.
Babington, Anthony, 158.
Baden-Durlach, Margrave of, 17, 242, 260, 287.
Bagno, Guido del, Nuncio, 153, 155, 227.
Bandini, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 69, 92, 105, 132, 156, 169.
Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 44, 132, 156.
Barberini, Maffeo, Cardinal V., Urban VIII., Pope.
Baronius, Cardinal, Cæsar, 12, 91.
Basilio, Father, Capuchin, 255.
Bassompierre, Ambassador, 198, 203.
Becanus, S. J., 233, 263.
Bellarmine, Cardinal Robert, 12, 31 *seq.*, 36, 38, 91, 110.
Benedict XIV., 213.
Bennett (English priest), 156 *seq.*
Bentivoglio, Cardinal Guido, 31, 71, 119, 156.
Bernini, Lorenzo (sculptor and architect), 1, 13, 49, 62, 92.
Bérulle, Cardinal, 12.
Bethlen, Gabór, 249.
Bevilacqua, Boniface, Cardinal, 31, 34, 36, 68.
Bianchini, Camilla (mother of Gregory XV.), 42.
Birkhead, Archpriest, 156.
Bishop, William (Titular Bishop of Chalcedon), 157.
Blackwell, Archpriest, 156.
Bocquet (Calvinist convert), 225.
Bolanos, Luis de, Franciscan, 150.
Bolivar, Gregory of (Franciscan Observant), 152.
Bologna, Giovanni da (sculptor), 62.
Boncompagni, Francesco, Cardinal, 87.

Boncompagni, Ugo V., Gregory XIII.
Bonsi, Cardinal, 35.
Borghese, Cardinal Scipione, 30–41, 54, 62, 113.
Borgia, Valentino, Duke, 29.
Borgia, Cardinal Gaspare, 30 *seq.*, 105, 129, 132.
Borromeo, Cardinal Carlo, St., 69.
Borromeo, Federico, Cardinal, 21, 32, 91, 110, 114.
Brendel, Daniel, 8.
Brézé, Marquis de, 26.
Bristol, Earl of, V., Digby.
Brouwer, Jacob de, 153.
Brulart de Sillery, Nicolas, 68, 217, 219.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 169, 176–180, 183 *seq.*, 186, 192.
Buquoy, General, 231.
Buzoni, S. J., 149.

Caetani, Cardinal Antonio, 86 *seq.*
Calasanza, Joseph of, 195.
Camerarius, Louis, 256.
Campori, Cardinal, 30–40, 119.
Canisius, Peter, St., 11.
Capponi, Cardinal, 31–40, 57.
Carafa, Cardinal, 2, 3, 31, 32.
Carafa, Carlo, Nuncio, 93, 125, 197, 229–235, 250, 252, 260, 268, 275–282, 286, 287, 294.
Charles Emmanuel I. (Duke of Savoy), 46, 205 *seq.*, 209.
Charles (bishop of Aversa), 267.
Charles I. (Prince of Wales), 163, 172–196.
Charles IV. (King of Bohemia), 269.
Charles, Louis (son of Frederick V., Elector), 174.
Casale, Giacinto da, Capuchin, 95, 99, 243, 252–9, 261.
Cecchini, Cardinal, 47 *seq.*
Cennini, Cardinal, 30, 200 *seq.*
Centini, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 105.
Cervini, Cardinal, 3.
Cesi, Cardinal, 31.
Cesi, John Frederick (Duke of Acquasparta), 60.
Chanowski, Albert (S.J.), 283 *seq.*
Chantal, J. F. de, St., 12.
Christian (Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 240.
Christian, William (Duke of Brunswick), 17, 237, 242.
Christian IV. of Denmark, 19.
Ciampoli, Giovanni, 295.
Claver, Peter, St., 151.
Clement VIII., Pope, 9 *seqq.*, 29, 32, 41, 43 *seq.*, 54, 67 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, 105, 107 *seqq.*, 125, 131.
Clement XII., Pope, 61.
Cobelluzio, Cardinal, 30 *seqq.*, 92, 105, 132.
Cœuvres V., d'Estrées.
Cohelli, Giacomo, 34.
Coke, Edward, 162, 164, 166.
Coloma, Spanish ambassador, 194.
Colonna, Family of, 56.
Colonna, Pier Francesco, 55.
Condé, Henry II., Duke of Bourbon, 226.
Contarini, Pietro, Ambassador, 95.
Corona, Tobias, Barnabite, 206–9.
Corsini, Ottavio, Nuncio in Paris, 157 *seq.*, 202, 211, 214 *seqq.*, 220, 222, 227, 236, 250.
Cortona, Pietro da, 13.
Cottington, English ambassador, 173, 184, 187 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*, 195.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 35.
Croft, William, 192.
Cueva, Alfonso della, Cardinal, 90.

Dante, Poet, 63.
Darcy, Francis, 162.
Del Bagno, Marchese, 218.
Delfino, Cardinal, 31, 37.
Dernbach, Balthasar von, 8.

Deti, Cardinal, 31.
Digby, Earl of Bristol, 167–170, 178.
Digges, M.P., 162.
Dietrichstein, Cardinal, 32.
Domenichino, Painter, 13, 47, 58, 71.
Dominic of Jesus and Mary, 130, 134, 241 *seq.*
Dominis, Marcantonio de, 102, 106 *seq.*
Doria, Cardinal, 32.

ECHTER, Julius von, Bishop of Würzburg, 8.
Eggenberg, Count, 233, 263, 265.
Eleanore of Mantua, 93.
Elias II., Patriarch of Mosul, 114.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 5, 157, 164.
Elizabeth, Archduchess, daughter of Maximilian, 172.
Este, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 34 *seqq.*, 39 *seq.*
Estrées, Marquis Cœuvres, 30, 37.

FARNESE, Alessandro, Cardinal, 127.
Farnese, Odoardo, Cardinal, 31, 34 *seq.*, 37, 39, 45, 127, 132.
Farnese Ranuccio, Duke, 45.
Farrar, English priest, 157.
Feria, Duke of, 205, 209–211, 215, 218.
Fidelis of Sigmaringen, St., 138, 212.
Frederick V., 15, 17, 19, 231, 237–242, 251, 277, 286.
Frederick, Elector Palatine, 159 *seqq.*, 243.
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 16 *seq.*, 23, 25, 89, 93 *seq.*, 230, 234–241, 243, 249–252, 259 *seqq.*, 269, 273, 276, 280.
Ferdinand, Prince, 177, 228.
Filonardi, Cardinal, 31, 35.
Floyd, Catholic lawyer, 161 *seqq.*
Fontaine, Eugénie de, 226.
Fuente, Diego de la, O. P., 167, 181.
Fürstenburg, Theodor von, 8.

GAGE, George, 167, 169, 175, 181, 184, 191.
Galamina, Cardinal, 30 *seqq.*, 95, 222.
Galli, Cardinal, 57.
Garnet, Henry, S. J., 162.
Gessi, Cardinal, 101.
Gesualdo, Cardinal, 66 *seq.*
Gesualdo, Isabella, 66 *seq.*
Gherardi, Cardinal, 31.
Giberti, 2.
Giles, Edward, 162.
Ginnasio, Cardinal, 30 *seqq.*
George Frederick, Margrave of Baden-Durlach, 17, 240.
George William of Ansbach Brandenburg, 249 *seq.*
Gondomar, *see* Sarmiento.
Gonzaga, Aloneius, St., 93.
Gozzadini, Cardinal, 88.
Gravita, Pietro, S.J., 65.
Green, Thomas, O.S.B., 156.
Giunti, Lucantonio, Biographer, 53, 71.
Giustiniani, Cardinal, 32, 34, 38, 114.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 6 *seqq.*, 12, 41, 43, 128–131, 294.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 43.
Gregory XV., Pope, 12, 16 *seqq.*, 41 *seqq.*, 52, 55–8, 65, 67 *seq.*, 71–81, 84 *seq.*, 87 *seqq.*, 95, 100–119, 122–8, 131–4, 141, 144–150, 155–8, 167 *seq.*, 181, 188, 196–220, 224–9, 235–245, 248, 250, 252, 255–265, 267, 286–296.
Grodecius, Bishop of Olmütz, 284.
Guercino, painter, 58.
Guevara, Mgr., 52.

HABSBURG, Family, 8, 44, 177.
Harrison, Archpriest, 156.
Henry IV. (Navarre), 9, 15, 44, 155, 177.
Henry VIII. (England), 181.
Henry of Bourbon, Bishop of Metz, 226.
Hesse, Louis of, Margrave, 242.
Hohenzollern, Cardinal, 95, 132, 153, 258, 287.
Horace, poet, 63.
Huss, John, 281.

IGNATIUS, Loyola, S.J., 2, 13, 120, 296.
Ingoli, Francesco, 132, 135, 152.
Innocent IX., 109.
Inojosa, Ambassador, 194.
Isabel, Clare Eugenie, Infanta, 182.
Isidor, St., 120 *seq.*

JÄGERNDORF, George, Margrave, 276 *seq.*
James I. (England), 157, 159 *seqq.*, 163–170, 173–182, 185–8, 191–6.
Jansenius, Nicholas, 153.
Jenatsch, George, 210.
Jerome, St., 42.
Jessenius, Rector, 269.
John George of Saxony, 249.
Julius II., Pope, 109.
Julius III., Pope, 109.

KHEVENHÜLLER, Ambassador, 177, 191, 259.
Klesl, Cardinal, 92–6, 258.
Kolowrat, Zdenka, 283.

LAMORMAINI, William, S.J., 269, 271 *seq.*
Lante, Cardinal, 31.
Leni, Cardinal, 31.
Leonardi, Giovanni, 125.
Leo XI., Pope, 109.
Leopold, Archduke, 93, 99, 210 *seqq.*, 241.
Lerma, Cardinal, 95 *seqq.*
Lesdiguières, Duke of, 225.
Liechtenstein, Charles von, 269 *seqq.*
Lohelius, John, Archbishop of Prague, 273.
Ludovisi, Alessandro, Cardinal, 16, 30, 31–3, 38–41, V., Gregory XV., Pope.
Ludovisi, Ippolita, d., 65–7.
Ludovisi Ludovico, Cardinal, 47, 51, 57, 60–2, 64, 68–81, 95–9, 106, 110, 113 *seq.*, 119, 121, 127 *seq.*, 131–3, 135, 155, 178, 182 *seq.*, 201, 205, 209, 211, 214, 217–220, 226, 228, 238, 239, 245, 250, 258 *seq.*, 288–291, 293 *seq.*
Ludovisi, Niccolò, 65 *seqq.*
Ludovisi, Orazio, Duke of Fiano, 51, 65–8, 216 *seqq.*
Ludovisi, Pompeo, Count, 42.
Louis XIII. (France), 16, 20, 90, 198, 205 *seq.*, 208, 214–227, 236, 256.
Luynes, Duke of, 209.

MADERNA, Carlo, Architect, 57, 242.
Madruzzo, Cardinal, 30–3, 36, 38, 105.
Magalotti, Cardinal, 65.
Magno, Valeriano, Capuchin, 253.
Malaspina, Nuncio, 11.
Mansfeld, General, 17, 19, 237, 239–242, 260, 276, 283.
Marcellus II., Pope, 3.
Margaret, Archduchess and Carmelite, 172, 178.
Maria, Infante of Spain, 168, 170, 172 *seq.*, 182, 185, 187, 193, 196.
Mariana, Father, S.J., 146.
Martinitz, Count, 283.
Massimi, Innocenzo de, 100, 180, 188, 216.
Maximilian I., Duke of Bavaria, 15, 17 *seq.*, 119, 231, 236, 238 *seq.*, 243–6, 248, 250–8, 260, 262–5, 267–286.

Maximilian II., Emperor, 172.
Matteuci, G., 38.
Matthews, John, 157.
Matthias, Emperor, 15, 95, 216.
Mazarin, Giulio, 27.
Medici, Cardinal, 31 *seqq.*, 37, 39.
Medici, Marie de, 15.
Menelaus, Greek sculptor, 61.
Michelangelo, 62.
Millini, Cardinal, 30 *seqq.*, 105, 112 *seq.*, 116, 132, 157.
Minutoli Giacomo, S.J., 53.
Molé, Athanasius, Capuchin, 225.
Monopoli, Cardinal, 130.
Montalto, Cardinal, 31, 34, 37, 48, 127.
Monte, Cardinal, 32, 34, 39, 57.
Montorio, Nuncio, 243, 261.
More, George, 162.
Muti, Cardinal, 31.
Murillo, 171.

Narni, Girolamo da, 128, 130.
Neri, Philip, St., 13, 120, 296.
Nobili, Robert de, S.J., 148.
Nogaret, Cardinal, 105.

Oldecop, John, 1.
Olivares, Spanish minister, 170, 173 *seq.*, 176–180, 183–6, 189, 191 *seq.*, 196.
Onãte, 214, 216, 258, 259, 262, 263.
Orsini, Cardinal, 31–6, 38, 40, 91.
Orsini, Giovanni Antonio, 57.

Pacheco, Cardinal, 105.
Paul III., Pope, 1, 3, 4.
Paul IV., Pope, 3 *seqq.*, 11 *seq.*, 69, 109.
Paul V., Pope, 12, 14 *seq.*, 29, 41, 45 *seq.*, 68, 87–93, 98, 101, 103, 106, 108, 112, 130, 155 *seq.*, 196, 220, 232, 234, 250, 293.
Pasquale, Scipio, 69.
Pastrana, Duke of, 180.
Pedrosa, Preacher, 187.
Perrot, 160, 163.
Peter, Alcántara, St., 122.
Phelps, 161, 163.
Philip II., King of Spain, 4, 44, 129.
Philip III., King of Spain, 46, 90, 95, 110, 167, 171, 174, 200, 202.
Philip IV., King of Spain, 22, 25 *seq.*, 36, 96 *seq.*, 100, 108, 167 *seq.*, 172, 174 *seqq.*, 181, 183, 185 *seqq.*, 193, 196, 203, 216.
Pico, Alfonso, Ambassador, 112.
Pignatelli, Cardinal, 36.
Pio, Cardinal, 31, 34, 36, 40.
Pius IV., Pope, 4, 109 *seq.*, 281.
Pius V., Pope, 4 *seqq.*, 11, 29, 42, 54, 97, 107, 109, 129, 167.
Pius X., Pope, 119.
Platais, Canon von, 275, 279, 280.
Poggio, Sabastian, 65.
Porta, Gulielmo della, 1.
Porter, Endymion, 173, 175.
Possevino, Antonio, Ambassador, 54, 72 *seq.*, 125, 289.
Preston, Thomas, O.S.B., 156.
Priuli, Cardinal, 31, 37.
Pym, John, 164.

Questenberg, Premonstratensian, Abbot, 279.
Quiroga, Cardinal, 44.
Quiroga, Diego da, 253.

Raphael, 62.
Rangel, O.P., 146, 149.
Rangoni, Nuncio, 90.
Reni, Guido, 13, 58.
Retz, Cardinal, 227.
Ricci, Matteo, S.J., 11.
Richelieu, Armand, Cardinal, 18 *seqq.*, 90, 223, 226.
Ridolfi, Marchese, 218.
Rivarola, Cardinal, 31, 34.
Rochefoucauld, Cardinal, 223, 226 *seq.*
Rudolph II., Emperor, 15, 268.

Rodolfo, Cardinal, 89.
Roe, 125.
Rohan, Duke of, 206.
Roma, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*
Rubens, 13.

SACRATI, Cardinal, 87, 132.
Sales, Francis, St., 11 *seqq.*
Salis, Count Rudolf Andreas, 212.
Sandro, Alessandro, Patriarch of Alexandria, 98 *seqq.*
Sandys, 162.
Sangro, Alex. de, 201 *seq.*
Sannesio, Cardinal, 31.
Santinellus, 144.
Santori, Cardinal, 129, 130, 133.
Sarmiento, Count Gondomar, 159 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*, 169 *seq.*, 172 *seq.*, 176.
Sarpi, Paolo, Servite, 101 *seqq.*
Sarbiewski, Matt. Casimir, S.J., 296.
Sassoferrato, painter, 13.
Sauli, Cardinal, 32, 39, 132 *seq.*, 135, 289.
Savage, Walter, 172.
Savelli, Cardinal, 31, 36, 95.
Savelli, Ambassador, Paolo, 235, 250, 258.
Savoy, Maurice of, Cardinal, 91.
Scaglia, Cardinal, 31, 105.
Scappi, Alessandro, Nuncio, 203, 209, 213.
Schacht, Henry, S.J., 154.
Schweikart, Johann, 249, 261 *seq.*
Serra, Cardinal, 31, 34.
Serra, Luigi, painter, 242.
Seymour, Francis, 162.
Sforza, Cardinal, 31, 36.
Sigismund III., 90.
Sillery V., Brulart.
Simeon, Patriarch, 144.
Sixtus V., 8 *seqq.*, 27, 29, 32 *seq.*, 41, 43.
Slawata, Count Wilhelm, 283.
Socinius, Emp. of Ethiopia, 46.
Sourdis, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 226.
Speciani, Caesare, 30.
Spinelli, Cardinal, 130.
Stephanos, Sculptor, 61.
Stali, Sculptor, 62.
Strada, Famiano, S.J., 292.

TASSO, Torquato, poet, 12.
Tassi, Agostino, painter, 58.
Teresa of Jesus, 13, 120.
Tilly, General, 17, 19, 242, 247, 286.
Thomas of Jesus, Carmelite, 130 *seqq.*, 296.
Tonti, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 35.
Torres, Cardinal, 90.
Truchsess, Gebhard, Archbishop of Cologne, 8.

UBALDINI, Cardinal, 31 *seq.*, 34 *seqq.*
Urban VIII., Pope, 1, 18, 20 *seqq.*, 24–8, 88.
Ursi, John Baptist, S.J., 292.
Ursinus, George, 154.
Uzeda, Duke of, 95, 200.

VALARESSO, Ambassador, 167.
Valiero, Cardinal, 31, 37, 132.
Van Dyck, 13.
Vanmala, 182.
Velasquez, painter, 171.
Verallo, Cardinal, 31, 105.
Verospi, Cardinal, 93 *seq.*, 258, 260.
Vincent de Paul, St., 28.
Virgil, 63.
Visconti, Cardinal, 130.
Vitelleschi, M., S.J., 123.
Vives, Juan, 204 *seq.*
Vives, John Baptist, Spanish bishop, 123.

WALLENSTEIN, 19.
Ward, English preacher, 161.
Williams, Minister of James I., 167, 193 *seq.*
Winckelmann, 61.
Wittelsbach, Albert of, 8.
Wittelsbach, William of, 8.
Wolfgang, Wilhelm, of Neuburg, Count Palatine, 229, 257, 263.

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DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVIII.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii–xi
The Conclave of the Year 1623—Urban VIII. and the Barberini	1–54
Attitude of Urban VIII. towards France and Spain—Devolution of the Duchy of Urbino—Conflict over the Valtellina and Cardinal Richelieu's Policy—The Peace of Monzón—Defeat of Protestantism in France and Germany	55–115
The Catholic Restoration on the Territories of the Emperor II. and in the Romano-Germanic Empire	116–192
The Mantuan War of Succession—Tension Between the Habsburgs and the Pope—French Intervention in Italy—Conquest of Mantua by the Imperial Troops—The Edict of Restitution Nullified—Richelieu's Alliance with Gustavus Adolphus against the Habsburgs 1628–1632 . . .	193–321
The Pope's Fruitless Efforts for Peace—Continuation of the Thirty Years' War and France's Open Intervention against the Habsburgs 1633–1644 . .	322–378
Richelieu's Attitude towards the Church and the Papacy—The Catholic Restoration in France and St. Vincent de Paul.	379–493
Appendix of Unpublished Documents in Vol. XXIX	544–590
Index of Names	495–504

For Bibliography, see Volume XXVII.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVIII.

URBAN VIII. 1623–1644.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF THE YEAR 1623—URBAN VIII. AND THE BARBERINI.

A.D.		PAGE
1623	The Conclave of 1623	1
	Members of the Sacred College	2
	Their division into parties	3
	Papabili	4
	Preliminary intrigues	9
	Opening of the Conclave	11
	Rivalry between Ludovisi and Borghese	12
	Difficulties in the Conclave	15
	Illness among the Conclavists	18
	Borghese's hesitations and ill-health	20
	The election of Cardinal Barberini—Urban VIII.	23
	Received with joy in Rome and	24
	Paris, but not Madrid—.	25
	The antecedents of Maffeo Barberini	26
	His education at Florence and Rome	27
	His successful career as jurist,	28
	Nuncio and Cardinal	29
	His love of letters	31
	His personality: cautious and self-reliant	33
	The family of Barberini	38
	Francesco Barberini made Cardinal—Nephew also	39
	Antonio Barberini, elected to the Purple	40
	The Cardinal of St. Onofrio	43
	Acquisitions of the Barberini	44
	Dignities bestowed upon them	46
	Their immense wealth	48
	The Pope's autocracy	49
	His private life and	52
	His preference for Castel Gandolfo	53

CHAPTER II.

ATTITUDE OF URBAN VIII. TOWARDS FRANCE AND SPAIN—DEVOLUTION OF THE DUCHY OF URBINO—CONFLICT OVER THE VALTELLINA AND CARDINAL RICHELIEU'S POLICY—THE PEACE OF MONZÓN—DEFEAT OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE AND GERMANY.

A.D.		PAGE
	Attitude of Urban VIII. towards France,	55
	Towards Spain, and	56
	The Emperor Ferdinand II.	57
	Political anxietics	58
	Imperial claims on Urbino	59
1624	The devolution of that country	60
	The Valtellina question	62
	Appointment of Giulio Sacchetti as Spanish nuncio	65
	Instruction to him and Spada, nuncio in Paris	66
	Richelieu	67
	His action in the Valtellina	68
	Marquis de Cœuvres in Switzerland	70
1625	His conquest of the Valtellina	71
	The impartiality of Urban VIII.	72
	His protests, addressed to Louis XIII. and Richelieu	74
	His determination to preserve peace	75
	Francesco Barberini Legate *a latere* to Paris	76
	Richelieu's position	77
	War in Upper Italy	79
	Father Joseph in Rome	81
	Barberini's procedure in Paris	83
	His failure and	85
	Return to Rome	86
	The Pope's disappointment	87
	Pamphlets on the Valtellina question	89
	Richelieu's search for their authors	91
1625	The Pope prepares for war	93
	Thus causing consternation in France	94
	And alarm in Venice	95
1626	The Peace of Monzón	97
	Fruits of the Treaty	98
1626	Relief to Bohemia	100
	Victory of Tilly near Lutter	102
1627	Suggested action against England	103
	English retaliation	104
	Dissensions between France and Spain	105
	Siege of La Rochelle	106
	Success of the French army	108
	The Assembly of French clergy refuses subsidies	111
1628	Fall of La Rochelle	114
	Thanksgiving in Rome	115

CHAPTER III.

THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN THE TERRITORIES OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II. AND IN THE ROMANO-GERMANIC EMPIRE.

A.D.		PAGE
1624	The attitude of Emperor Ferdinand II.	116
	Legislation against heretics	117
	Appointment of von Harrach and	118
	His activities	119
	Resistance to the reform decrees	121
	Peasant rising	122
	Suppressed by soldiery	123
	Harrach advocates milder methods which	125
	Lamormaini opposes—	127
	His suggestions	128
1627	A new constitution published	131
	Jesuit activities in Bohemia	133
	Many conversions	134
1628	Another warning issued to the refractory	136
1635	Further growth of missionary work hindered by	138
	Lack of secular priests	139
	Catholic restoration in Moravia is	141
	Gradually accomplished, owing to	144
	Carafa and Dietrichstein	146
	Work of the Jesuits in Silesia	147
	Opposition in Upper Austria	150
1627	Quelled by severe measures	152
	Restoration in Lower Austria	153
	In Central Austria and Hungary	155
	Peter Pázmány, Archbishop of Gran	156
	His efforts for the Church	157
1629	He becomes a Cardinal	158
	Restoration in the Tyrol	159
	Ferdinand II.'s example to other princes	161
	Pier Luigi Carafa made nuncio to Cologne	162
	His Instruction	163
	Restoration in the Palatinate	167
	Outbreak of war between Saxony and Denmark	169
	Measures for recovery of bishoprics in Lower Saxony	170
	Military successes in Germany	171
	Continued demands for restitution of Church Property	172
1629	Edict of restitution published	179
	Peril of the ecclesiastical principalities	181
	Difficulties of the restitution	183
	Monasteries assigned to the Jesuits	184
	Their zeal and progress, likewise that of	185
	The Capuchins	186
	Great German bishops	187
	Bright prospects of final recovery	190
	Dependent on Catholic concord	192

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANTUAN WAR OF SUCCESSION—TENSION BETWEEN THE HABSBURGS AND THE POPE—FRENCH INTERVENTION IN ITALY—CONQUEST OF MANTUA BY THE IMPERIAL TROOPS—THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION NULLIFIED—RICHELIEU'S ALLIANCE WITH GUSTAVUS AGAINST THE HABSBURGS 1628–1632.

A.D.		PAGE
	The policy of Urban VIII.	193
	Spanish pretensions	194
	Instruction to Spanish nuncio.	195
	Tension with Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs	197
	French intrigues in Rome	199
1624	The question of the Mantuan succession	201
	Papal action in the matter	210
1627	Death of Vincenzo II.	211
1628	Papal endeavours for peace	213
	Dispatch of nuncios and an *obbedienza* embassy	215
	Difficulties encountered	216
	In France	217
	In Madrid and with Ferdinand II.	218
	Insolence of Spanish Ambassador to the Pope	220
	Tension between Urban and the Emperor	223
	Intervention by Richelieu	225
	The Pope persists in maintaining neutrality	226
	In spite of Béthune and Richelieu	227
1629	Advance of the French army	229
	Its initial success	231
	Its triumphant return to France	233
	Richelieu's intrigues deceive the Pope	234
	Rash plans of Ferdinand II.	235
	Suggested Conference in Rome	237
1629	Bull of Jubilee published	240
	Antonio Barberini's mission of peace	241
	Frustrated by Richelieu	243
	French invasion of Savoy	247
	Fall of Mantua	248
	Edict of Ratisbon	249
	Its results	250
	Unity among Catholics jeopardized	252
	The dissatisfaction of the Pope	254
	The encroachments of the Emperor	255
	Meeting of the League	257
	The campaign of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania	258
	Wallenstein's dismissal	260
	Rocci's diplomacy at Ratisbon and	261
	With the Emperor	263
1630	Peace signed at Ratisbon	264
	Satisfaction in Rome	265

A.D. PAGE
Thwarted by Richelieu 267
The Policy of Gustavus Adolphus 268
1631 The Franco-Swedish alliance 271
Against which the Emperor protests, ... 272
Peace concluded at Cherasco 273
Closer alliance of Urban with Maximilian I. . . . 274
Papal subsidies 275
Critical position of the Papal finances 276
Further alliance with Sweden 277
Supported by Richelieu's duplicity 279
The patient persuasions of the Pope 280
Frustrated by the demands of Spain 281
Borgia appointed as ambassador in Rome . . . 282
1632 His insolent conduct 283
Ferdinand's demands for subsidies 285
Borgia's protest at the Vatican 287
His "unjustifiable" attitude— 290
Severity of Urban towards Borgia's supporters . 291
Appointment of nuncios for peace negotiations . 293
The Mission of Pázmány 294
His requests 297
His unjust allegations 298
His defiance 300
His failure 302
His departure from Rome 304
Instructions for the extraordinary nuncios . . 305
Special prayers ordered by the Pope 307
Richelieu's action 309
His attempt to ingratiate himself at Rome . . 310
The Religious policy of Gustavus Adolphus . . 312
The losses of the Church throughout Germany . . 314
Richelieu's deceptive statements 315
Wallenstein's victory at Prague 317
1632 Death of Gustavus Adolphus 318
The Brief of Urban to the Emperor 320

CHAPTER V.

THE POPE'S FRUITLESS EFFORTS FOR PEACE—CONTINUATION OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND FRANCE'S OPEN INTERVENTION AGAINST THE HABSBURGS 1633–1644.

The Pope's vain efforts for peace 322
His disapproval of France 323
Does not satisfy Spain 324
French intrigues in Rome 327
Assassination of Wallenstein 329
Suggestion of separate discussions for Catholics and Protestants 331

A.D.		PAGE
	The plan fails	332
	Richelieu retains his Protestant alliances	333
1634	The Victory of Nördlingen	335
	Its important results	336
	Urban's persistent neutrality	339
	His tragic inability to avert war or even	340
	Detrimental alliances with Protestant powers	341
1635	The Peace of Prague	344
	The Pope's disappointment and disapproval	347
	His further endeavours to obtain peace	348
	Cologne at last accepted as place of Peace Congress	354
	Meanwhile fierce war rages	355
1636	Ferdinand III. elected King of the Romans	356
	Death of Ferdinand II.	357
	Military disasters in Germany	359
1639	Fresh attempts of Urban for peace	361
	Threatening of war between Venice and Turkey	362
1640	The Diet of Ratisbon	366
1642	The battles of Kempen and Breitenfeld	369
1643	The Peace Conference opens at Münster	371
	Disastrous results of the war	372
	Richelieu's evil influence	377
1642	His death	378

CHAPTER VI.

RICHELIEU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHURCH AND THE PAPACY—THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN FRANCE AND ST. VINCENT DE PAUL.

Richelieu's policy and character	379
His attitude towards the Jesuits and	391
Towards Santarelli	395
His demands from the Pope	399
The nunciature of Scotti	406
Marshal d'Estrées sent to Rome	409
Richelieu seeks to become Papal Legate	414
He is exposed by the book "Optatus Gallus"	417
Whose author remained unknown	421
Richelieu and the Huguenots	423
D'Estrée's recall	427
Richelieu's last acts and death	431
Summary of his work	432
Instruction to Bagno, Spanish nuncio	435
French Cæsaro-Papalism	439
Great French Bishops and	440
Secular Priests	445
Heroism of the Capuchins during the plague	449

PAGE
Fr. Lejeune 451
The *Compagnie du Saint Sacrement* 455
The Orders of the Visitation and the Ursulines . 459
St. Vincent de Paul 462
Louise Le Gras 469
The Sisters of Charity 471
The work of the Lagarists 473
Among the Galley Slaves and Foundlings . . 479
Sketch of Vincent de Paul 483

URBAN VIII. A.D. 1623–1644.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave of the Year 1623—Urban VIII. and the Barberini.

When on July 8th, 1623, Gregory XV., closed his weary eyes, the war enkindled by the Bohemian revolution was still raging in Germany. France and Spain watched each other with hostile eyes owing to the question of the Valtinella, the Small Italian States were divided by quarrels of every description and in the East of Europe the threat of a Turkish onslaught had not abated. Such a situation could not but add importance to the election of a new Pope.[1] But if on this

[1] I should like to thank Landesarchivar Dr. K. Lechner for his kind assistance in the preparation of this account of the Conclave of Urban VIII. There exists a large number of reports dealing with the Conclave. The most important are: (1) Report of a Conclavist: *Conclave di Urbano VIII.*, MSS. in many places (see Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 24 *seq.*), printed in *Conclavi de Pontefici Romani* (1667), 397 *seq.*, and later, with unimportant corrections in the *Hist. des Conclaves*, Cologne, 1703, 369 *seq.* It was published earlier by H. Conring, in a Latin translation: *De electione Urbani VIII. et Innocentii X. comment. hist. duo*, Helmstadii, 1651. (2) *Report of Cardinal Antonio Caetani in *Urb.* 856, p. 1, Vatican Library, and in Gaetani Archives, Rome (*Cod.* 21, No. 6) with the date of composition August 12, 1623. It is found, without author's name, in the State Library, Vienna, 6337, p. 271[b] *seq.*, and 6374, p. 164 *seq.* Petrucelli della Gattina made use of this report though without mentioning the fact, for the account he quotes, that of Lolli, Medici's conclavist, is different. (3) A third *Report, *Conclave di P. Urbano VIII.*, beginning with the words: "*La fortuna in ogni tempo in Roma,*" was found by Dr. Lechner in the State Library, Vienna (6086, p. 135 *seq.*, 6160, p. 132 *seq.*, and 6374, p. 28 *seq.*). I saw a fourth

occasion the intrigues of the ambassadors and envoys were on a smaller scale than at previous conclaves, the cause lay in the strict regulations of Gregory's Bull on the papal election.

At the time of Gregory XV.'s death only thirty-four members of the Sacred College were in Rome, but by the end of the conclave their number had risen to fifty-four. Of these five only belonged to a remoter period ; one of them, Sforza, had been appointed by Gregory XIII. ; two, viz. Sauli and Monte, had been created by Sixtus V., and two by Gregory XIV., viz. Borromeo and Farnese. Eight of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals were present, viz. Bandini, Ginnasio, Madruzzo, Este, Pio, Bevilacqua, Deti and Doria : whilst those of Paul V. numbered thirty-two, viz. Borghese, Millini, Barberini, Lante, Verallo, Leni, Crescenzi, Medici, Maurice of Savoy, Capponi, Ubaldini, Centini, Galamina, Priuli, Hohenzollern, Klesl, Savello, Serra, Camponi, Muti, Roma, Cobelluzio, Cennini, Bentivoglio, Rivarola, Scaglia, Borgia, Gherardi, Pignatelli, Valiero, Paniaqua and Carafa ; finally there were nine Cardinals of Gregory XV., viz. Ludovisi, Sacrati, Caetani, Aldobrandini, Buoncompagni, Sanseverino, Gozzadini, Rodolfo and Torres.[1]

copy in the Faloci Pulignani Library, Foligno. This report I quote as Report *La Fortuna*. (4) The *Report on the Conclave in the *Vita del già pontefice Urbano VIII.*, published by CARINI in *Spicil. Vat.* I. (1893), 336 *seq.*, contains as QUAZZA justly notes (*L'elezione di Urbano VIII.*, in *Arch. Rom.*, XLV., 15, note 1) a great deal of gossip and anecdote, but it originated from someone in the entourage of Barberini, who heard much that others missed. (5) The **Relatione* of *Msgr. Cornaro, vescovo di Bergamo*, in *Cod.* C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, is of value. It was begun before July 12 and the main part was written between July 12 and 15 ; it then continues with notes written day by day, until the end of the Conclave. (6) **Scrutinii del conclave 1623*, in *Barb.* 4435 of the Vatican Library, with a *Pianta del conclave* (*cf.* the plan in the *La Canonizzazione di S. Ignazio*, Roma, 1923, 53) Among more recent works the most useful are : WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, which reproduces Savelli's report of July 22 (p. 271) and QUAZZA, *loc. cit.*, who uses despatches from the Gonzaga Archives.

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 490.

The electors were split up into four parties, viz. the so-called "old ones", viz. those nominated previous to Paul V.'s pontificate; the "Cardinals Princes" viz. Maurice of Savoy, Medici, Farnese and Este; the so-called *Borghesiani*, viz. those created by Paul V., and lastly the Cardinals of Gregory XV. headed by Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of the Pope.[1] The Borghesiani were the stronger party though not all of them obeyed the instructions of their leader, the famous nephew of Paul V. Thus the attitude of the Spaniards, Borgia and Paniaqua, was doubtful, and the Germans, Hohenzollern and Klesl—above all the Florentines—Capponi and Ubaldini, refused to follow him. On the other hand Este joined Borghese: so did Maurice of Savoy after some hesitation. The latter, owing to the fact that not one French Cardinal was at the conclave, was supposed to look after the interests of France. The number of Borghese's adherents is given as between twenty-two and twenty-five. According to a report of the Florentine envoy, all eyes were directed towards him as the most influential of all the Cardinals.[2]

Much smaller and less homogeneous was the party of Ludovisi. He disposed, to begin with, of the eight Cardinals of Gregory XV.; to them must be added Aldobrandini with four of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals, and lastly two Cardinals of

[1] For the following accounts of the Cardinals and their views see, besides the sources given in note 1, p. 1, LÄMMER's reports, *loc. cit.*, 22 *seq.*, and QUAZZA, *loc. cit.*, 6, note 1: **Discorso delle fattioni* in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, together with the MSS. discovered by Dr. Lechner in the Vienna State Library, 6061, pp. 106–200, **Scripta varia occasione electionis Urbani VIII.*, which he very kindly handed over to me, and in which the **Discorso dell'Abbate Giulio Araccini* (p. 140 *seq.*) and *ibid.*, 146 *seq.*, and a second **Discorso sopra l'elettione del nuovo pontefice* are valuable. The character sketches by the Venetian ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, I., 121 *seq.* and 160 *seq.* should also be studied. Finally, there is the *report of POSSEVINO of July 8, 1623, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* the report of ELCI of July in the *Biografia del card. Campori*, Modena, 1878, 41.

Paul V., Caponi and Ubaldini. Dissatisfaction with Borghese on the one hand and, on the other, gratitude for numerous and signal favours received at the hands of Gregory XV., had led them into Ludovisi's camp, and similar motives decided Klesl and Zollern. Farnese and Borromeo, both of them men of mark and experience, were likewise decided adherents of Ludovisi, and in the end Medici also attached himself to Gregory XV.'s nephew.

The Spanish ambassador was of opinion that support of Borghese would best guarantee the realization of the wishes of his King, but Borgia, the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, gradually won them over to Ludovisi's side. The imperialists joined the Spaniards so that the number of Ludovisi's adherents reached nineteen or twenty, sufficient to enable them to procure the exclusion of any candidate. The rest of the Cardinals, especially Sauli and Monte, maintained their independence.

The situation created by the conflict of the parties was rendered still more acute by the great number of Cardinals whose years and merit gave them a just claim to the tiara. Though particular accounts vary as regards their number and attainments,[1] the same names recur in most of them. They were the following: in the first instance the two Cardinals created by Sixtus V., Sauli and Monte. Sauli was the senior of the whole Sacred College. He was remarkable for his great experience and political shrewdness, but it was thought that he possessed more aptitude for secular than for ecclesiastical affairs. Ludovisi favoured him but the Aldobrandini family were strongly opposed to him. Monte, who had the reputation of having led a very worldly life in his youth, was known for his French sympathies, hence he was distasteful to the Spaniards. On the other hand he was friendly with the Medici, for which cause Savoy was against him. Another *papabile* was Borromeo, a nephew of St. Charles,

[1] Possevino gives the highest number of papabili (twenty-six) in the *report quoted above, p. 3, note 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

a man of extraordinary piety, merit and strictness. He was very keen on the reform. He was believed to have been Gregory XV.'s chief adviser when that Pope drew up the Bull on the papal election, and this may have accounted for his unpopularity with many people; some went so far as to attribute to him peculiar and erratic notions. The Spaniards rejected him because of some of his canonical judgments. Three of Clement VIII.'s Cardinals were also considered as possible candidates; viz. Bandini, Ginnasio and Madruzzo, though the latter is not mentioned by all the chroniclers. Bandini, known for his great political experience and acumen and as a friend of foreigners, had many supporters, Capponi and Ubaldini being among the keenest. Not a few people had looked on him as the future Pope whilst Gregory XV. was still alive. It was precisely this circumstance that made him odious to Borghese, and by reason of some quarrel between these two houses, Medici also opposed him. The same was true of Aldobrandini, Savoy and Savelli.[1] Ginnasio had few opponents, but his supporters were also scanty. His intellectual powers were modest and men called him a miser. Spain, where he had been nuncio, opposed him whereas Farnese, Medici and likewise Ludovisi were friendly towards him. Madruzzo passed for a German, though he himself called himself an Italian. He was one of Spain's candidates and for that reason his candidature was opposed by those in sympathy with France. But because it was thought that he would be an excellent statesman rather than a good Pope, his prospects were slender. Most of the *papabili* were to be found among the Cardinals of Paul V. The names mentioned included Galamina, Barberini, Millini, Cobelluzio, Verallo, Campori, Cennini and Scaglia and in some reports those also of Carafa and Lante. Galamina, a former General of the Dominicans, was a man of exemplary conduct and great piety but somewhat inexperienced in secular business. He was very popular with the Roman people.[2] The Spaniards were sharply opposed to him because in the appointment of a successor in the Generalate he had not

[1] *Cf.* Quazza, *loc. cit.*, 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

considered their wishes and in addition to this he seemed to favour France. Borghese himself did not greatly like him whereas Ludovisi was not unfavourable to him. Barberini also was similarly placed. He was remarkable for his great kindliness, learning and experience and had kept aloof from all party intrigues.[1] Moreover he was popular with most of the Cardinals so that his prospects of ascending the papal throne were excellent. Nevertheless he too had to reckon with many obstacles, especially the distrust of the Spaniards because his tenure of the Paris nunciature was supposed to have made him a friend of France. Borghese, too, did not favour him because Barberini's independent spirit had already prejudiced Paul V., the former's uncle, against the Cardinal. Nor did the Medici desire his elevation. Millini, who was equally experienced in ecclesiastical and secular affairs, more particularly in Italian politics, and who was powerfully supported by the Spaniards, might well have hoped to get the tiara had it not been that his undecided character, the huge crowd of his kinsfolk and the decided rejection of him by Ludovisi, constituted insurmountable obstacles. Cardinal Lante was also definitely against him whilst Borghese failed to exert his influence on his behalf. Cobelluzio cherished high hopes of becoming Pope. He was learned and keen on the reform but secretive and haughty. The Spaniards and Ludovisi gave him their support whilst Borghese and Farnese opposed him. Verallo was remarkable for his deeply religious conduct. Borghese was greatly taken with him nor was he unacceptable to the secular Powers, but he had incurred the displeasure of Ludovisi and his adherents because of his previous opposition to Gregory XV.'s Bull on the papal election, and the opponents of his kinsman Millini were his also. Campori was thought to be one of those whose chances stood highest ; during the few days before the conclave his name was mentioned with increasing frequency.[2] At the last conclave

[1] *" Il Papa è persona neutrale tra le fattioni," wrote the envoy of Este, immediately after the election, August 6, 1623. State Archives, Modena.

[2] *Cf.* for the following, QUAZZA, 12 *seq.*, 17, 19.

he had been excluded by France, but this time no French Cardinal was present; his other opponents were dead and Borghese was expected to give him strong support.[1] The Spaniards also wanted him and Ludovisi and Aldobrandini, nay, even Savoy seemed not unfavourable. His keenest supporter was Gonzaga. Cennini also might well feel full of confidence. In view of his loyalty to Borghese the latter favoured him in a marked manner,[2] but Ludovisi was a determined opponent. Scaglia, a learned Dominican, who had received many favours from Gregory XV., cherished a strong hope of obtaining the papacy, notwithstanding his youth; for that reason he had left Brescia, his home town, and fixed himself at Cremona. Farnese and the Spaniards favoured him whilst the French and the Venetians rejected him. Only a few reports describe as *papabili* the Neapolitan Carafa, a man remarkable for his wisdom, experience and great zeal but rejected by the Spaniards who remembered Paul IV. and his nunciature at Madrid; also Lante whom his virtuous life made a general favourite; however, by reason of the opposition between their two families Borghese was unfavourable to him, moreover there was a fear that he would be too partial towards his nephews.[3]

Among the adherents of Ludovisi three *papabili* were in question, viz. Sanseverino, Caetani and Sacrati. The Neapolitan Sanseverino was distinguished for his blameless life and great learning and he enjoyed the esteem of all the Cardinals. Ubaldini was his most active supporter. However, it was precisely this circumstance that decided Borghese to offer the most determined opposition to his election. The King of Spain was also unfavourable to him. Caetani, too, had to encounter the opposition of Borghese, just as he had had to bear that of Paul V. He passed for a man of learning and ability for affairs though still young and somewhat peculiar.

[1] See the **Discorso sopra l'elettione del nuovo pontefice*, *Cod.* 6160, of the State Library, Vienna.

[2] See *Quazza, 14.

[3] In the *Discorso of Araccini, Crescenzi and Gherardi are also mentioned as *papabili*. State Library, Vienna.

Sacrati, who was esteemed for his piety and his knowledge of the law, also failed to please Borghese ; moreover he was still very young and there were those who thought he lacked energy. The prospects of the senior of all the Cardinals, Sforza, were of the slightest ; he was a warrior rather than a Prince of the Church and, on the whole, he sided with the Spaniards. [1]

Thus the difficulty of a choice, which was already very great owing to the rivalry between Borghese and Ludovisi, was still further increased by the unusual number of possible candidates. Much depended on the attitude of the secular princes. For the Emperor, in particular, it was a matter of no small concern that a Pope should be elected who not only would not lean towards France but who would be ready to give him financial help.[2] On the very day of the death of the deceased Pope, Hohenzollern, the Cardinal Protector of the German nation, had written to the Emperor that, in view of the strength of the opposition, he should urge all the Cardinals of the Empire to repair to Rome just as those of Spain had been urged to go there.[3] Thereupon Ferdinand, as on the occasion of the death of Paul V., dispatched to Rome Cardinal Dietrichstein, " that faithful interpreter of his views," on whom he placed special reliance.[4] Letters were sent to the Austrian ambassador Gavelli, to Cardinal Madruzzo and to Ludovisi to solicit their support for Dietrichstein in the coming discussions.[5] The

[1] See *Hist. des Conclaves*, 386, and the **Discorso* of Araccini, State Library, Vienna.

[2] As early as November 16, 1622, the imperial envoy, Savelli, brother of the Cardinal, had written to the Emperor that in the coming conclave the question would be an alliance with the Spanish party, so as to push forward a Cardinal friendly to the Habsburgs, and eventually to exclude undesirables. One could reckon on Borghese, Zollern, Dietrichstein, Madruzzo, Rodolfo and Savelli. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See HURTER, *Ferdinand II.*, vol. IX., 259.

[4] See RILLE, in the *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Vereins für die Gesch. Mährens*, XVI. (1912), 115 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*

Emperor also wrote to Klesl, who had been released from his prison in the Castle S. Angelo on June 16th, asking him "to do his utmost for a favourable election".[1] However, Vienna failed to give definite instructions and this time also Cardinal Dietrichstein reached Rome too late.[2] Very different was the conduct of the Catholic King, The Spanish ambassador, Pastrana, who had only just arrived in Rome, had been instructed to exclude Galamina, as at the preceding conclave; also Borromeo and, if necessary, Carafa and Monte.[3] Whereas the Spanish plenipotentiary, Cardinal Borgia, mindful of Cardinal Avila's neglect at the conclave of the year 1605, wanted the exclusion to be proclaimed at the very outset, Doria and Paniaqua were for putting it off until it should become unavoidable. So the two Cardinals were content to put their wishes before those of their colleagues who were well disposed towards them, but for greater security Pastrana called on the two leaders, Borghese and Ludovisi, on the evening before the closure of the conclave, to demand the exclusion of Galamina, notwithstanding the fact that Ludovisi had already taken steps on his behalf. Whilst Borghese agreed at once, Ludovisi would only promise not to put him forward.[4] Thus Borghese became more or less a partisan of the Hispano-Imperial faction though his aim was in the first instance the elevation of one of his own adherents.[5] The representative of France, Cardinal Maurice of Savoy, also refused to side with Ludovisi; he ranged himself alongside of Borghese.[6]

[1] See HAMMER-PURGSTALL, IV., 192.

[2] See WAHRMUND, 241, RILLE (*loc. cit.*), and PETRUCELLI (66), who incorrectly affirm that Dietrichstein took part in the election.

[3] See WAHRMUND, 125 *seq.* According to *CORNARO's account, both Spanish representatives declared Sanseverino to be "diffidente". Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] *Cf. Hist. des conclaves*, 386, and PETRUCELLI, 54 *seq.* It is not true that Pastrana directly urged Borghese and Ludovisi to exclude Borromeo, as WAHRMUND (126) affirms.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of the envoy Savelli of July 22, 1623, in WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 385 *seq.*, and the *report *La fortuna.*

Ludovisi's main effort was to keep the Spaniards and the French mutually divided as well as to separate them from Borghese. With this end in view he successively proposed the names of Galamina, Bandini, Sanseverino on the one hand, and on the other those of Ginnasio, Madruzzo and Cobelluzio,[1] though with little success. The other envoys also called upon individual Cardinals in order to urge the elevation of some Cardinal acceptable to their respective sovereigns; thus acted the representative of Venice, which was opposed to Spain, that of Tuscany which was represented by the uncle of the Grand-Duke and by a number of *papabili*, and lastly the envoy of Savoy which greatly favoured the candidature of Borromeo.[2] The house of Gonzaga displayed great activity. It was represented by the Bishop of Mantua, Vincenzo Agnelli Soardi, who worked especially for the elevation of Campori and who was, on the whole, allied with Borghese. For all that the Bishop of Mantua kept in close though secret touch with the other pretenders and even with Ludovisi himself.[3]

In the meantime eleven days had gone by since the death of the Pope and the novena of funeral services was ended. A great dearth had broken out in the city, a fact by which the Sacred College was not a little perturbed. Extraordinary measures were taken to insure the tranquillity of Rome; strong military patrols paraded the streets and were posted before the palaces of the Cardinals and the nobility. Nevertheless many acts of violence occurred at night.[4] On Wednesday, July 9th, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the customary discourse, delivered by Giovanni Ciampoli,[5] the Cardinals entered the conclave in procession. They went first to the

[1] See the *report *La fortuna*, the *report of Savelli of January 22, 1622, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Petrucelli, 56.

[3] See Quazza, 19.

[4] See Quazza, 12, 17. *Cf.* Borzelli, *Marino*, 172. Even during the conclave there was no lack of acts of violence in the city; see *Vita di Ag. Mascardi*, in the *Atti Lig.*, XLII., 130.

[5] *Oratio de Pontifice maximo eligendo*, Romae, 1623.

Sistine chapel where the Bulls on the election of a Pope were read and their observance was sworn to. Thirty-three Cardinals stayed in the conclave from that moment; the rest remained outside until the evening, spending the time in visits and discussions. Individual ambassadors likewise paid their last calls, the Spaniards especially making a supreme effort to bring about the exclusion of Galamina and Borromeo.[1] At five o'clock in the evening the conclave was closed. Fifty-one Cardinals had entered, Campori and Galamina having arrived that very day.[2] Serra arrived on the following day.[3] The Jesuit Stefano del Bufalo was present in the conclave in the capacity of confessor.[4] The extraordinary heat of the season, the great number of Cardinals and the restricted space which it was sought to remedy in part by holding the assemblies in the corridor of the Belvedere,[5] as well as a presumably lengthy conclave, held out a prospect of fatiguing and wearing days.

The first scrutiny took place on the morning of July 20th. Everybody had kept his plans to himself, hence the votes were very much divided. No one got more than ten. Bandini secured that number, with an additional three in the *accessus*, so that he led with thirteen votes.[6] Cobelluzio followed with eleven votes (five in the ballot and six in the *accessus*).[7] Verallo and Galamina also obtained a few additional votes whilst Barberini only secured four.[8] Whilst Galamina's votes quickly dwindled, Bandini remained to the fore because by

[1] See the *report of Cardinal Caetani, Gaetani Archives, Rome.

[2] See the *report of Cornaro, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See the *list of the scrutinies of July 20, 1623. Vatican Library.

[4] His appointment might be regarded as a triumph for Borghese as against the Discalced Friar Domenico della Scala put forward by Ludovisi; see the *report of Cardinal Caetani, *loc. cit.*

[5] See QUAZZA, 17.

[6] See *Conclavi*, 415, and the *report, *La fortuna.*

[7] See QUAZZA, 21.

[8] *Ibid.*, 22, 23.

now Ludovisi had made him his chief candidate, less out of friendship than from opposition to Borghese. At the scrutiny of the morning of July 22nd—Borromeo and Scaglia had joined the conclave the day before [1]—Bandini received twenty-one votes, Borromeo, Farnese and some of the Spaniards, but especially Cavalcante, Bandini's nephew and conclavist having worked hard for him.[2] Thereupon Borghese made a decisive move against Bandini and sought to force the election of one of his adherents. Whilst Campori's candidature had never really mattered,[3] Millini had been getting more and more votes. Between the morning ballot and the evening one Borghese, together with Sforza, worked so hard that in the evening of the 22nd Millini obtained twenty-six votes (15 + 11) whereas Bandini lost a great many.[4] On the advice of Sforza and with his help, Borghese now sought to collect the number of votes required to make Millini Pope on the following morning.[5] Many Cardinals were approached, special efforts being made to win over Medici and Borromeo, and three times messengers were even sent to Ludovisi to induce him to change his mind, but they only obtained an evasive answer.[6] In reality Ludovisi worked feverishly all through the night to bring about Millini's exclusion. He shrank from no humiliation or bribe, especially towards Este, Savoy and the older Cardinals.[7] By the morning he had secured thirty-three votes: Millini only obtained twenty.[8] Though grievously disappointed, Millini's friends did not give in, in fact up to July 27th he always secured the greatest number of votes. Neither did

[1] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 389, and the *report *La fortuna.*

[2] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 389, and the *report *La fortuna.*

[3] See the *Vita in *Spicil. Vat.*, 356.

[4] See the *report *La fortuna.*

[5] The *report *La fortuna* says that if the new Bull of Gregory XV. had not been in the way, Millini would have been raised to the papacy that very night, by "adoration".

[6] See the *report of Cardinal Caetani, Gaetani Archives, Rome. *Hist. des conclaves*, 390 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI, 60 *seq.*

[7] See the *report *La fortuna.*

[8] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 391 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI, 61 *seq.*

Bandini's supporters despair.[1] Ludovisi, who had been rebuked by several Cardinals because of his efforts to bring about the exclusion of Millini and for having proposed, from the first moment of the struggle, a personality he himself mistrusted and whom the Borghese disliked,[2] now dropped Bandini and sought to gain his ends by other means. But the ensuing days brought no hope of a decision and the expectation of a long conclave became more general. Each of the chief parties hoped for victory; Borghese expected to prevail by wearing out his opponents and he continued to stick, in the first instance, to Campori and Cennini.[3] Opposition between the two leaders had become so sharp—they no longer greeted each other—that some of the Cardinals resolved to bring about a reconciliation, were it a purely external one. After the morning scrutiny of July 26th and at the prayer of Savoy and Borgia, Ludovisi was induced to engage in an exchange of opinions with Borghese in the Sistine chapel and in the presence of other Cardinals.[4] However, there could be no question of a real understanding so that it became necessary, once the more likely candidates of each party had been eliminated,[5] to think of some other means of arriving at a result. The first was to put forward neutral Cardinals who, because of the high esteem in which they stood, could not well be rejected by both parties, viz. Ginnasio, Monte and Sauli. But though each of them had his own powerful advocate (Aldobrandini, Medici, Farnese), so many

[1] See the *report *La fortuna*. *Cf.* QUAZZA, 27.

[2] *Report of the Mantuan envoy of July 29, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See QUAZZA, 23.

[4] * "Hodierna die post habitum scrutinium Ludovisius advocatis primum et Borgia et Sabaudo, nulla habita ratione verborum quae contra se Burghesius effutierat, illum adivit, blande allocutus est, operam etiam suam obtulit" (SCRUTINII, in *Cod. Barb.* (see above, p. 1, note 1), Vatican Library). While the third, who took pains to bring about a reconciliation, is here said to be Este, other reports (*Hist. des conclaves*, 292 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI, 63 *seq.*) mention Cardinal Medici and give July 23 as the date of the occurrence.

[5] See the *letter of LOLLI, July 26, 1623, in PETRUCELLI, 67.

difficulties arose nevertheless, or rather precisely because of that fact, that none of them succeeded.[1] Yet another manœuvre of Ludovisi's was the proposal to Borghese of three of the latter's Cardinals [2] for him to choose from. But Borghese refused for fear of sowing discord and jealousy among his followers. The same thing happened when Cardinal Borgia tried to act as mediator and proposed to Ludovisi some of the Cardinals whom Borghese esteemed most. Ludovisi declined, wishing to leave the choice to Borghese; the latter refused for the same reasons as before.[3] Thus Borgia's proposal proved abortive. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts on behalf of Sauli for the latter was opposed not only by Borghese but even by Pignatelli and Serra.[4] Once again Este proposed Campori and others worked for Ginnasio; however, both proposals met with determined opposition.[5]

Though success failed to crown any of these efforts, at least a rapprochement took place between Ludovisi and Borgia who, notwithstanding the instructions of his king, preferred the nephew of Gregory XV. to Borghese.[6] The important question for Ludovisi now was how to upset Borghese's relations with the Spaniards as well as with those who entertained French sympathies. Circumstances were all the more favourable as most of the Cardinals felt a certain irritation against Borghese, for in his opposition to the various candidatures proposed they saw the main cause of the delay of the election.[7] When a rumour spread that, with a view to weakening the distrust of his own adherents, Borghese had sworn that he would rather die than allow a candidate of another party to obtain the papacy, Ludovisi began to agitate for the elevation of Borromeo. Already in the morning of June 28th

[1] See PETRUCELLI, 64 *seq.*; *Hist. des Conclaves*, 393 *seq.*

[2] See PETRUCELLI, 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, 65 *seq.*; *Hist. des conclaves*, 394 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the *report of Cardinal Caetani, Gaetani Archives, Rome.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See PETRUCELLI, 66.

[7] See *Conclavi*, 419; PETRUCELLI, 65.

he had succeeded in collecting eighteen votes for Borromeo.[1] Maurice of Savoy and Valiero among the Borghesians voted for him.[2] The Spaniard, Cardinal Borgia, was aghast and sharply rebuked Borghese for he thought that only he could have supported Borromeo.[3] However, the very next scrutiny gave an opportunity to Borghese, who laid all the blame on Ludovisi, to clear himself of this suspicion for, after a previous understanding with his followers, he was able to collect twenty-six votes for Millini, whereas Borromeo's eleven—five in the scrutiny and six in the *accessus*—were exclusively cast by Ludovisi's henchmen.[4] Thus yet another effort had failed: in like manner a further discussion between Ludovisi and Borghese, in which the former declared himself in favour of Cobelluzio, failed to lead to a practical result.[5]

Meanwhile the situation in the conclave was becoming difficult, the heat and the lack of air rendering the sojourn in it increasingly trying and seriously threatening the health of the Cardinals. However, the end was not in sight owing to the great number of pretenders.[6] In the city there occurred many murders and robberies, in the Campagna bandits multiplied their excesses and the cost of living had risen enormously.[7] It was then that on the 29th after the midday scrutiny, a *pratica* (compromise) in favour of Barberini was

[1] *Hist des conclaves*, 395 *seq.*

[2] See the *report *La fortuna.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See the *report from Mantua, of July 29, 1623, in QUAZZA, 27, and the *report *La fortuna.* On some points the accounts differ. Whereas almost everywhere the votes for Borromeo at both these scrutinies are given as 18, respectively 11, Cornaro's *account speaks of 24, respectively, 12 votes; and whereas the latter places the final result of the second scrutiny on the morning of the 29th, the *Copia degli scrutinii*, used by QUAZZA (27), puts it on the evening of the 28th; moreover Millini is stated to have had 20, not 26 votes.

[5] See the *report *La fortuna.*

[6] See the *report of the Mantuan envoy and that of A. POSSEVINO, July 29, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See the *report of CORNARO of July 30, 1623. *Cf.* QUAZZA, 29.

suggested from various quarters. It is difficult to ascertain from which quarter the first move originated because naturally enough in every account each party claims for itself the merit of having suggested it.[1] In point of fact Ludovisi seems to have had a good deal to do with it ; but so did Caetani and Farnese who had agitated in favour of Barberini even before the opening of the conclave. July 30th was wholly spent in consultations. A general stock-taking showed that the parties, if united, commanded between 21–23 votes and it was then only that Barberini was informed of the intentions of his friends. He saw clearly that if he was to succeed, he must begin by making sure of the support of the individual parties. So he repaired personally to Borgia, to Borghese and eventually to Ludovisi. Though their assurances seemed reliable enough, great caution was necessary in view of the mutual distrust of the two last named, the doubtful attitude of Borgia and the efforts which Medici was still making in favour of Monte. But the fear that the older Cardinals would refuse their support to a Cardinal who was not yet fifty-four years of age and who had a very strong physique and excellent health, a fear that had existed from the first, was only too well justified when on July 31st things began to look serious.[2] When the Cardinal of Savoy strongly dissuaded Barberini from pressing his candidature and urged him to defer it until some future and more favourable occasion, Barberini himself begged the leaders to withdraw his name.[3] On the other hand the opposition was not idle during these transactions ; all this time Borromeo and Millini had obtained more votes than anyone else, though

[1] For what follows *cf. Hist. des conclaves*, 398 *seq.* ; PETRUCELLI, 72 *seq.* ; the *Vita* ed. Carini, 357 *seq.*, and the *account *La fortuna*. The *account of Caetani reports the decisive conversation between Borgia and Ludovisi. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, 71 ; also QUAZZA, 39. L. A. GIUNTI (**Vita del card. Ludovisi*), emphasizes in the most marked manner the part Ludovisi played in the election of Urban VIII. *Cod.* 37, D. 8, of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of CORNARO, July 31, 1623.

[3] *Ibid. Cf.* also the **Vita*, ed. Carini, 357.

neither secured more than twenty.[1] As late as July 30th Ludovisi and Borgia had sought to put forward Scaglia, but the old Cardinals who had not yet given up hope, above all Borromeo, were opposed to him.[2] On the same day Priuli reached Rome, though shortly before he had sent a message to Borghese that he was detained at Siena by an attack of gout.[3] Thus there were fifty-four Cardinals in the conclave.[4] When on July 31st it became necessary to give up all action in favour of Barberini it seemed as if another period of inactivity would ensue. However, on the very next day Ludovisi, whose energy and spirit of enterprise far surpassed that of the rest, was ready with a fresh candidate. An exhaustive survey of the situation had led him to the conclusion that somehow a Pope would have to be found among the Cardinals of Paul V., hence he was now prepared to push with all his energy the candidature of Cobelluzio whom Borghese disliked and refused to support. In this endeavour Ludovisi was strongly supported by Borgia and the Spaniards who had now definitely taken his side. In the scrutiny of August 1st Cobelluzio got twenty-four votes (eighteen in the scrutiny and six in the *accessus*).[5] However, Borghese had been informed of the plot. Once again he put forward Millini, who obtained twenty-two votes in the same ballot.[6] Ludovisi's exertions during the night were rewarded in the morning with twenty-five votes for Cobelluzio (17—8), whereas Millini's sank to twenty-one.[7] However, Maurice of Savoy was profoundly dissatisfied with these practices and opposed them. Borghese bitterly reproached Ludovisi for his support of a

[1] See the *report of CORNARO of July 29 and 30, 1623.

[2] See the *report *La fortuna.*

[3] *Report of the Mantuan envoy of July 29, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *report of CORNARO, July 30, 1623, and QUAZZA, 28.

[5] See the *report *La fortuna,* and QUAZZA, 28.

[6] *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, 74.

[7] See the *report *La fortuna*; *QUAZZA, 28; *Hist. des conclaves,* 410.

Cardinal who was unacceptable to him.[1] To induce him to change his mind he could think of nothing better than to propose Cardinals Galamina and Carafa who were unacceptable to the Spaniards.[2] Thereupon Borgia dropped Cobelluzio and mutual promises ensued. Ginnasio also abandoned Cobelluzio in the hope of getting his own candidature accepted by Borghese.[3] The consequence was that in the next scrutiny Cobelluzio only secured twenty-two votes.[4] Thus this attempt also failed.

In the meantime, owing to the great heat, conditions in the conclave became altogether unbearable and malaria, which always threatens in August, made its appearance. A number of Cardinals fell ill.[5] By August 3rd ten were down with fever and Gherardi as well as a number of conclavists had to leave the conclave. In the evening Borghese also was taken ill.[6] The conclavists related that the conclave was much less concerned with choosing a Pope than with the exclusion of pretenders and that without a miraculous intervention of God it was impossible to foresee how it would end.[7] Three great and clearly defined parties faced one another: the party of Borghese, that of Ludovisi allied with the Aldobrandini and

[1] See the *report *La fortuna* and CAETANI's report.

[2] See the *report *La fortuna*. It is not certain whether this proposal came from Barberini, as stated in the *Hist. des conclaves*, 410.

[3] See CAETANI's *report.

[4] According to CORNARO's *report, on the evening of August 2, according to the others not till early on 3rd. Millini had only nineteen votes; CORNARO says twenty-one.

[5] See the *report of CORNARO for August 3, 1623. *Cf.* HEBEISEN, *Hohenzollern*, 170 *seq.*; CELANI, *Storia della Malaria nell'agro Romano*, Città di Castello, 1925, 362.

[6] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 413; PETRUCELLI, 70, 74; *Vita*, ed. Carini, 351; *report *La fortuna*; *report of the Mantuan envoy, August 5, 1623; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. All the reports state that the following fell ill: Sforza, Farnese, Pignatelli, Gherardi, Borghese; some reports mention others also.

[7] See the *report of the Mantuan ambassador, August 5, 1623. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

that of the old Cardinals—twenty-two of their number were over sixty—who excluded all the others.[1] By now the neutral Cardinals were exceedingly embittered by these transactions and pressed for a termination of the conclave. Though Ludovisi and the Spaniards were not spared reproaches, their resentment was chiefly directed against Borghese.[2] A hope arose that illness would compel him to leave the conclave, but on the following day, August 4th, the fever had abated and he resumed his work on behalf of his adherents, especially Campori and Cennini, and even Monte, who was still favoured by Medici.[3] It was probably he who put in circulation certain rumours [4] calculated to prejudice the cause of Barberini whose elevation Farnese, Ubaldini and others had never ceased to advocate.[5] In like manner Borghese promptly made known the attempts of Maurice of Savoy to raise Galamina to the papacy and proffered his help to Borgia.[6] All hopes were now centred on the French Cardinals whose arrival was expected. Everyone believed that they would side with Borghese.[7] Cardinal Orsini's arrival was hourly expected.

On the evening of August 4th Borghese had begged permission to leave the conclave.[8] At that very moment Maurice of Savoy had called on Barberini to tell him that the time had come for energetic measures.[9] A rapidly convened meeting of from six to eight friends of Barberini settled the main lines

[1] *Ibid.* the *report of CORNARO and PETRUCELLI, 69.

[2] *Hist. des conclaves*, 411; PETRUCELLI, 74.

[3] See QUAZZA, 34.

[4] With regard to the marriage of his nephew, see QUAZZA, 33.

[5] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 408 *seq.*, 412.

[6] See CORNARO's *report; PETRUCELLI, 75.

[7] Ludovisi cannot, therefore, be regarded as an adherent of the French party. *Cf.* the *report of the envoy of Savoy, August 4, 1623: "Notre cardinal de Savoie est ici preque seul." PETRUCELLI, 70.

[8] See the **Vita*, ed. Carini, 360.

[9] *Cf.* for the following, the **Vita*, ed. Carini, 360 *seq.*; it is drawn up by an intimate of Barberini and gives precise information on these incidents.

of further action. It was agreed to begin by winning over Ludovisi who had it in his power to pronounce anyone's exclusion. Rivarola was entrusted with this mission. In the early hours of the 5th Borghese's fever had gone up a good deal so that he made up his mind to leave the conclave after the evening scrutiny. His friend Pignatelli, who had suffered a relapse, had come to a like decision.[1] After the morning scrutiny Borghese convened all his adherents in his cell,[2] informed them of his decision and exhorted them to remain true and constant. He charged them, during his absence, to pursue all together the line of conduct they had hitherto followed and not to undertake anything until his return. Cardinal Leni was to be his representative.[3] They agreed to everything. When this news became known in the conclave, there was no small stir. The hopes based on Borghese's departure were apparently shattered. Reproaches came from every quarter and there was a general determination not to allow him to leave the conclave,[4] a resolve which had the special support of Cardinal Hohenzollern.[5] Soon after Rivarola called on Cardinal Ludovisi for the exchange of ideas agreed upon on the previous evening. He now suggested the candidature of Barberini. Thereupon Ludovisi once more subjected to a serious examination all the *papabili* and their chances and at two in the afternoon decided to sound his friends with regard to Barberini's candidature. At that moment a truly wonderful change took place within the conclave.[6] Nearly

[1] See the *report *La fortuna*, and CORNARO's *report, August 5, 1623.

[2] Capponi, Ubaldini and Cobelluzio were excepted; see the *report *La fortuna*.

[3] According to Scaglia, Borghese called the Cardinal of Savoy "capo"; see QUAZZA, 37, note 2.

[4] See PETRUCELLI, 75; *Hist. des conclaves*, 413; the *report *La fortuna*.

[5] See PETRUCELLI, 75; *cf.* HURTER, *Ferdinand II.*, vol. IX., 260, for the co-operation of Zollern.

[6] CORNARO, in his *report for August 6, after the election had been made, writes: "Sino alle 2 hore della giornata di heri si

everyone realized that only by speedy election could they forestall Borghese. Thus it came about that Ludovisi was able to collect twenty-two votes.[1] The point now was to win over the remaining Cardinals, above all Borgia and the Cardinals Princes. Borgia was talked over by Caetani whilst the latter foregathered in the cell of Farnese who was indisposed.[2] At the evening scrutiny Barberini presented Borghese's request to leave the conclave, a prayer that was readily granted.[3] The Spaniards at once repaired to Borghese urging him not to leave until after the scrutiny of the next morning, since Barberini's prospects were most favourable and on the point of realization. Paniaqua and Doria were particularly insistent, but Borghese would not listen to them. Maurice of Savoy who came after them with a similar request received a like answer.[4] Valiero fared slightly better. Some other followers of his likewise besought Borghese to wait till the next scrutiny and he seemed inclined to yield when one of the elder Cardinals dissuaded him once more.[5] Maurice of

ridusse il negotio della elettione del Papa a termine così imbrogliato e difficile che ognuno teneva per fermo che il conclave dovesse andar in lungo per lo meno ancora un paio di mesi." It appears that Borghese wished to leave the conclave. "Però quelli che havevano sino al martedì antecedente (August 17) mossa la pratica del card. Barberini imaginandosi che questo bisbiglio potesse essere buona occasione di proseguirla e ridurla a buon porto, cominciorno verso le 3 hore a trattarne tanto gagliardamente e così d'accordo che non si trovò contradittione da nessuna parte, anzi in tutte le fattioni et nationi si scopri tanta prontezza che non havendo lui nemici da alcuno bando, furono molti cardinali che uno a gara dell'altro negotiorno a suo favore buona parte di quella notte."

[1] See *Vita*, ed. Carini, 362.

[2] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 414, 416 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI, 76; in greater detail in CORNARO's *report. For Borgia's part in the election of Urban VIII., see QUAZZA, 37, note 2, 38.

[3] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 415.

[4] See CAETANI's *report and *Hist. des conclaves*, 415 *seq.*

[5] See CAETANI's *report.

Savoy strove in vain to bring him back to this first intention. Whereupon Pignatelli, who had been informed by Rivarola of the action in favour of Barberini, rose from his sick bed in order to induce Borghese to give up his plan. By eight in the evening success had crowned his efforts.[1] When some objection of Sforza, the spokesman of the old Cardinals, had been dealt with and the four Cardinals Princes had once more discussed the situation with Borgia until far into the night, the latter resolved to call on Borghese early on the following morning.[2] Barberini also received many visits from Cardinals almost throughout the night.[3] However, the opponents were not idle, especially Campori, who was unwilling to give up the hope of his own election and Serra, who saw in Barberini a Pope who was likely to be rather favourable to Spain, as well as Bandini's conclavist.[4] Nevertheless their efforts were fruitless. At six in the morning Barberini paid a short visit to Borghese for a last consultation.[5] He was promptly succeeded by Maurice of Savoy who wanted to know how Borghese's adherents were to be informed of the impending election. It was decided that he himself should break the news to the junior Cardinals; Savelli was commissioned to communicate it to the others. The information met with a not unfavourable reception. Presently the Cardinals Princes and Borgia also arrived and soon after Ludovisi: it was now 10 o'clock.[6] The old opponents became reconciled and a plan of procedure was settled. Ludovisi and his followers as well as other parties were to give their votes at the scrutiny whilst Borghese and his adherents

[1] See PETRUCELLI, 77. The *Vita*, ed. Carini, 365, reports that Borghese only heard of Barberini's imminent election from Pignatelli.

[2] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 417.

[3] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 365 *seq.* The conclavist Ceva so arranged things that the different Cardinals were able to make their visits unobserved by each other.

[4] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 417 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 419.

[6] See PETRUCELLI, 77; *Hist. des conclaves*, 410; *CORNARO's report.

would follow on in the *accessus*.[1] Each group was reckoned to dispose of eighteen votes.[2] Borghese even ordered the recall into the conclave of Gherardi who was still in the Vatican palace. Some smaller conventicles of the doubtful ones, and especially of the old Cardinals, which had been convened in the Sala Regia, were effectively prevented.[3] Thereupon the Cardinals proceeded to the scrutiny. Barberini himself was very much excited; his partisans were full of confidence as they escorted him into the Sistine chapel, in fact Ceva, his conclavist, as soon as the chapel door was closed, sent out a ticket to the Cardinal's brother, Carlo Barberini, in which he announced the election as an accomplished fact.[4] Borghese, Gherardi, Pignatelli and Sanseverino were not present at the scrutiny itself.[5] The scrutators on that forenoon were Zollern, Scaglia, and Boncompagni.[6] The ballot gave Barberini twenty-six votes. His election seemed assured and many exclaimed: *Papam habemus*! at the same time offering their congratulations. This alarmed the other Cardinals, with the result that almost all of them voted for Barberini at the *accessus*. However, when the ballot papers were examined, it was seen that there were only twenty-three papers for twenty-four Cardinals, whether through carelessness or some other cause.[7] Already there were those who attacked the validity of the election, whilst Farnese and many others were of opinion that the missing vote was of no consequence in view of the great number of votes favourable to Barberini. The greatest excitement prevailed in the conclave, all the more so as news of Barberini's election had been spread all over Rome. The suspense lasted two hours. Borghese and Pignatelli also

[1] See *Cornaro's report.

[2] See the *report *La fortuna*.

[3] *Hist. des conclaves*, 420 *seq.*; *Vita*, ed. Carini, 368 *seq.*

[4] See *Vita*, ed. Carini, 368 *seq.*

[5] See Petrucelli, 78.

[6] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 422.

[7] See the *report *La fortuna*. There were not lacking rumours to the effect that Scaglia had caused a voting paper to disappear up his sleeve; see *Hist. des conclaves*, 422 *seq.*

arrived meanwhile. In conformity with the Bull of Gregory XV., and in order to remove every pretext for impugning his election, Barberini himself demanded a repetition of the *accessus*.[1] This was done and the ballot papers were then found in order: He had twenty-four votes which, with the twenty-six of the *accessus*, made a total of fifty. Only three Cardinals had not voted for Barberini and he himself appears to have given his vote to Cobelluzio.[2] The result was received with general satisfaction. It was looked upon as a visible proof of the action of the Holy Ghost Who, notwithstanding the greatest difficulties and obstacles, had led the election to so happy a termination. When Barberini was asked whether he accepted the election, he went down on his knees to pray for a while. He then declared that he accepted and that he would take the name of Urban VIII. When he had put on the pontifical robes the Cardinals paid the first homage.[3] The new Pope then withdrew to the cell of Borghese to take some refreshments. After that his very first act was to reconcile Borghese, Ludovisi and Aldobrandini with one another and to admonish them to desist from strife.[4] At eight in the evening Urban VIII. was carried into St. Peter's for the second and public act of homage.[5]

The election called forth such joy in Rome that complete quiet was promptly established without any special ordinances to that effect.[6] One contributory cause to this happy result may have been the rumour that the new Pope had taken the

[1] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 422 *seq.*; *Vita*, ed. Carini, 370 *seq.*; *Cornaro's report.

[2] Cobelluzio certainly received a further vote in the *accessus*; see Quazza, 37, note 1.

[3] See *Hist. des conclaves*, 425; *Vita*, ed. Carini, 370 *seq.*

[4] See Cornaro's *report and the *report *La fortuna*.

[5] See *Hist des conclaves*, 425; *Vita*, ed. Carini, 371; Cornaro's *report.

[6] *Report of Fabio Carandini Ferrari of August 19, 1623, State Archives, Modena. For the rejoicings of the Romans see Bijdgag, *tot de geschied. v. h. hertogdom Brabant*, VII. (1908), 70; for the Roman academicians, see Odescalchi, *Mem. d. Accad. dei Lincei*, Rome, 1806, 147.

name of Urban because of his special affection for Rome, the *Urbs* par excellence, and because he wished his name to be a perpetual reminder that he must curb his nature which was inclined towards sternness.[1] There was general surprise that amongst so many pretenders of more advanced years the choice should have fallen on a comparatively young man in excellent health.[2] However, the Pope's health was soon put to a searching test, for Urban VIII. had caught the malaria during the conclave and it was solely thanks to his extraordinarily sound constitution that he escaped with his life,[3] for among the Cardinals and conclavists a good many succumbed to the disease.[4]

In Paris, where people had excellent recollections of him as nuncio, Urban VIII.'s election was hailed with delight [5]; Madrid, on the other hand, was greatly perturbed [6] because

[1] "Egli dice haver preso il nome di Urbano per due cause, la prima per amar egli molto questa città, che s'appella Urbs per antonomasia, la seconda perchè conoscendo egli la sua natura tirar alquanto al rigidetto le fusse continuo raccordo di dover temperarla" (*Report of F. Carandini Ferrari of August 19, 1623, *loc. cit.*). According to the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors, Urban is said to have taken this name in memory of the great Popes who had borne it; see BAROZZI-BERCHET, I., 225. According to others he had in mind the Pope of the Crusades, Urban II.; see NEGRI, 174. Urban VIII. chose for his motto the words of Psalm xxv, 1: "In domino sperans non infirmabor"; see BARBIER, IV., 20.

[2] "Habbiamo fatto Papa Barberini, cosa reputata incredibile che tanti vecchi pretendenti habbino concordato in un giovane d'anni, ma di prospera salute tanto che non si può dire di più." *Report of F. CARANDINI FERRARI of August 6, 1623, *loc. cit.*

[3] See CELLI, *Malaria*, 362 *seq.*

[4] Cardinals Pignatelli, Serra, Sauli, Gozzardini, Sacrati and Gherardi died, and soon after Sanseverino and Sforza also; *cf.* CELLI, *loc. cit.* An *Avviso of August 16, 1623, reports the death of forty conclavists. Vatican Library.

[5] For Louis XIII.'s special rejoicing see the report of the nuncio Corsini in *Barb.* 5891, 19, p. 386 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* QUAZZA, 39.

it was feared it would not be possible to get from him as much as had been obtained from Gregory XV.

The new Head of the Church sprang from a family of Ancona which had become enriched by trade. Its original name was Tafani and in its coat-of-arms it had three wasps which in course of time became metamorphosed into bees. Subsequently the family took a new name from the castle Barberini situated on a picturesque height in the Val d'Elsa in the verdant region of Siena where to this day there is preserved the modest dwelling of Francesco Barberini, a contemporary of Dante and himself a noted poet.[1] The family had been established in Florence since the fourteenth century [2] where, in the Piazza S. Croce, we may see to this day the house of the Pope's parents Antonio Barberini and Camilla Barbadori.[3] They had six

[1] A memorial still commemorates Francesco Barberini there to this day.

[2] See A. NICOLETTI, **Vita di P. Urbano VIII.*, lib. 1, Vatican Library; *cf.* App. 26, XXIX. For his family *cf.* also C. STROZZI, *Storia d. famiglia Barberini*, Roma, 1640 (dedicated to Taddeo Barberini). The author was regarded as infallible in all matters of genealogy, so that Urban VIII. would only have his family history recorded by him; see *Lettere degli Strozzi preced. alla sua vita scritta da S. Salvino* (1859). Strozzi deserved the Pope's confidence, for he would have nothing to do with the genealogical method of the day, that of deducing the origin of old families from the assonance of names; *cf.* A. CONTARINI, 258 *seq.*; PESARO, 334 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 117 *seq.*; PASINI-FRASSONI, in the *Riv. Arald*, XVII. (1912), and *ibid.*, III. (1905), 55 *seqq.*, gives the information for the Vatican MSS. which deal with the family. For Barberini's ancestors in Dante's time, see *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlung*. XL. (1919), 106. *Monographs about the Barberini family collected by Fr. Ubaldini are in *Barb.* 4570 of the Vatican Library. For the documents concerning the family, in the State Archives, Florence, see *Carte Strozze*, I., 2, 714 *seq.* For the coat-of-arms, see PASINI-FRASSONI, *Armorial*.

[3] As the Director of the Florentine Archives, Dorini, kindly informed me, the *Libro delle Ricerca delle cose dell'anno*, 1568, shows that the house was "presso la cantonata di Via della Fogna

sons ; the fifth was given the names of Maffeo Vincenzo when he was christened on April 5, 1568, in the Baptistry of the cathedral of Florence where Dante also had been baptized.[1] Maffeo lost his father when he had only attained his third year but his mother had him carefully educated. She began by entrusting him to the Jesuit school at Florence, a step which led many other aristocratic families to do in like manner.[2] Later on she sent him to Rome where the boy had an uncle, Francisco Barberini, a Protonotary Apostolic and a referendary of both Segnaturas.[3] In the Eternal City Maffeo frequented the Roman College and there laid the foundation of his exquisite humanistic culture. Notwithstanding his marked predilection for poetry, [4] he took up the study of the law. This he did during a two years' stay at Pisa. When he gained his doctorate there, his mother, a daughter of a noble Florentine family, wanted him to marry.[5] The plan miscarried and Maffeo returned to Rome during the reign of Sixtus V.

nel tratto che va da questa via alla cantonata di Via dei Pepi ". The house, in which there is now a printing press, was in 1568, at the time of Maffeo's birth, in the possession of Antonio Barberini and his brothers. See *S. Croce, *arroto n.* 99 *Gonfalone Bue dell'a*, 1566, and *arroto n.* 52 *del* 1571 *Gonfalone Bue*, State Archives, Florence.

[1] See Orlandini, in the *Riv. arald.*, 1909, 477.

[2] See Nicoletti, **Vita di Urbano VIII.*, lib. 1, *loc. cit.* In the private apartments of Prince Barberini, at Rome, two portraits of Urban VIII. are preserved, showing him as a young man of fifteen years ; there is also a portrait of him as a Cardinal ; it is, however, in a bad state of preservation.

[3] Marble busts of Francesco Barberini are in the Barberini Palace, Rome ; see Fraschetti, 140. *Cf.* also about him, Tscharykow, *Le chevalier Barberini* (*Raphael*) *chez le Tzar Ivan le Terrible*, Paris, 1904, 3 *seq.*

[4] See Nicoletti, **Vita di Urbano VIII.*, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the **Vita di Urbano VIII.*, published by I. Carini in the *Spicil Vot.*, I. (1890), 337. A sonnet of Maffeo refers to this time ; it begins thus : " Mentre di basso amor nel laccio involto/La mia primiera età." *Barb.* 4009, p. 9, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, Letters of Maffeo, between 1583–9.

His uncle was a learned but peculiar, sickly and very parsimonious gentleman, as is the manner of the Florentines. However, Maffeo succeeded not only in winning the affection of his relative but even the goodwill of such influential Cardinals as Aldobrandini and Filippo Boncompagni.[1] At their suggestion, in October, 1588, his uncle bought for him, for the sum of 8,000 scudi, the post of an *abbreviatore di Parco maggiore*.[2] Later on Maffeo became a referendary of the *Segnatura di giustizia* and of the *Segnatura di grazia* under Gregory XV. He revealed himself as a skilful jurist in both these positions, whilst he showed his administrative gifts as *governatore* of Fano.[3] When a post of a cleric of the chamber became vacant, the above named Cardinals prevailed on the rich uncle to buy this office also for his nephew.[4] In 1598 Maffeo accompanied Clement VIII. to Ferrara and in the following year the Pope commissioned him to settle a dispute with Venice in connexion with the waters of the Po.[5] When his uncle died [May 28th, 1600] Maffeo inherited his great wealth.[6] At the close of 1601 Clement VIII. commissioned him to take to the Dauphin Louis some swaddling clothes blessed by the Pope.[7] It was thought that he would soon be raised to higher dignities.[8] Philip Neri, then an old man, was supposed

[1] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 338.

[2] See Nicoletti, **Vita*, lib. 1, Vatican Library.

[3] He found the city in great unrest on account of the bandits; he kept his position for fourteen months; see the *notes of Fr. Ubaldini on the life of Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 4901, p. 28, Vatican Library. *Letters of Maffeo as "Governatore di Fano" to Cardinals Montalto, Caetani and others from 1592–3, in *Barb.* 5812, 3 *ibid.*

[4] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 339 *seq.*

[5] See Nicoletti, **Vita*, lib. 1, Vatican Library. For documents on this period *cf. Barb.* 4351, *ibid.*

[6] 100,000 scudi according to the **Discorso de'cardinali* of 1618, 400,000 scudi according to Nicoletti, **Vita*, *loc. cit.*

[7] See the present work, Vol. XXIII, 174.

[8] See *Avviso of October 31, 1601, Vatican Library. Barberini's praises in Ossat, II., 494 *seqq.*

to have jocularly prophesied the cardinalate for him.[1] On his return from Paris Maffeo solved in such happy fashion the difficult problem of the regulation of the overflow of lake Trasimene which Clement VIII. had entrusted to him, that he gained the esteem of the Pope and the love of all Umbria.[2] But his hope of the cardinalate was not yet to be realized; however, he became Archbishop of Nazaret [3] and nuncio in Paris at the end of 1604. He had scarcely settled down in that city when he received news of the death of Clement VIII. (March 5th, 1605). The loss was all the more painful to Maffeo as the new Pope, Leo XI., was not well disposed towards him and lent ear to the whisperings of his enemies. Maffeo's friends believed his recall imminent when Leo XI. died.[4] Maffeo had had no relations with the new Pope, Paul V., but the *Datary*, Pompeo Arigoni, obtained his confirmation as nuncio in Paris. There he displayed a many-sided and fruitful activity, especially for the progress of the Catholic restoration.[5] In the question of the acceptance of the decrees of Trent his perspicacity found a solution which was to be most successfully adopted in 1615.[6] His elevation to the cardinalate, on September 11th, 1606, which had the support of France, took him by surprise, but it was thoroughly deserved. He

[1] See NICOLETTI, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.* In the inscriptions which Maffeo composed for the work, he modestly omits to mention himself; see **Vita di Urbano VIII. del P. Gualengo*, in *Barb.* 2645, p. 75, Vatican Library.

[3] Middle of October, 1604; see NICOLETTI, **Vita, loc. cit.* Barberini only received the major Orders at that time; he had received the first tonsure before his entry into the prelature, and the four minor Orders when he was Governatore of Fano; see the account by Fr. Ubaldini of the life of Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 4901, p. 25[b], Vatican Library. A painting by Scipione Gaetano (Il Pulzone) in the possession of Princess Anna Corsini at Florence, represents Urban VIII. as a Bishop.

[4] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 345 *seq.*

[5] See present work, Vol. XXVI, 1 *seq.*, 5 *seq.* A *letter of Barberini to the General of the Theatines, dated Paris, October 17, 1606 (thanks for congratulations on his cardinalate) in the original, is in the archives of the Theatines, Rome.

[6] See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 392.

received the red biretta at the hands of Henry IV. but continued at his post in Paris. He only set out for Rome on September 25th, 1607,[1] when he went to live not in the palace in the via dei Giubbonari [2] which he and his brother Carlo had jointly built and which he had let, but in the Palazzo Salviati near the Roman College.[3] As nuncio he had greatly interested himself in the Catholics of England; so the Pope appointed him Protector of Scotland. In that capacity he had to see to the training of priests in the seminaries on the Continent.[4] In October, 1608, he was given the See of Spoleto. A year later he lost his beloved mother.[5] He took up residence in his diocese and restored the cathedral of Spoleto.[6] His visits to Rome were infrequent. By means of visitations and reforms he accomplished much in his diocese [7] but these activities came partly to an end when in August, 1611, he was given the legation of Bologna where, in consequence of the severity of Cardinal Giustiniani, discontent was rampant. Barberini discharged his legatine duties so well that by the time of his recall in the autumn of 1614, general contentment obtained once more.[8] His free time was given to study.[9]

[1] See NICOLETTI, **Vita*, lib. 1, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* DONATUS, *Roma*, 398.

[3] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 348.

[4] See NICOLETTI, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avviso of October 7, 1609, Vatican Library. The bust of Camilla Barbadori, sculptured by Bernini, has been lost; see FRASCHETTI, 140.

[6] See *CIACONIUS, IV., 495. In the episcopal palace there still is a fireplace with the inscription: *Maff. Barb.*

[7] See NICOLETTI, **Vita, loc. cit.* The records of the visitation of M. Barberini are in the Episcopal Archives, Spoleto. The homily at the Synod is in *Barb.* 4729, Vatican Library. Two letters of Barberini to G. B. Vitelli, of this period, are in FALOCI-PULIGNANI, *Notizie del venerab. G. B. Vitelli*, Foligno, 1894, 27 *seq.*

[8] See *Relazione di R. Zeno*, 146. An *Avviso of October 10, 1611, mentions Barberini's departure for Bologna; Vatican Library. The catalogue of letters of Barberini belonging to the period of his legation at Bologna from 1611–14, is in *Varia polit.*, 139. Papal Secret Archives.

[9] See I. NICII ERYTHRAEI *Pinacotheca*, I., 152.

On his return to Rome Barberini was assigned the important post of prefect of the *Segnatura di Giustizia* [1] for which he was uncommonly qualified by his extensive knowledge of the law. He kept a great establishment, and had many servants and several carriages. His house was splendidly adorned with carpets, choice pictures and antique statues. Among his vestments there was a mitre studded with precious stones and valued at many thousands of scudi. He also collected a choice library which formed the foundation of the famous *Barberiana* library. A poet himself he loved the company of writers. On his drives to the various Roman Villas he was invariably accompanied by some literary man, such as Antonio Querengo, Giovanni Ciampoli, Gabriele Chiabrera, Fabrizio Verospi, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, Paolo Emilio Santori and Angelo Grillo.[2] He had always led a spotless life and his conduct as a Cardinal was likewise blameless.[3] Every Saturday evening he went to confession at St. Mary Major after which he assisted at Vespers. At S. Andrea della Valle, by his instructions, Matteo Castelli transformed into a family chapel the first chapel on the left, near the entrance, which recorded the fact that it was on this spot that the body of St. Sebastian had been thrown into a sewer. The chapel was richly decorated with marbles, gold and paintings.[4] The high altar was adorned with magnificent marble columns; the reredos consists of a painting by Domenico Passignano of

[1] The **Vita*, ed. Carini, shows how the Cardinal induced Paul V. to confirm him in this office which at first he had only been granted provisionally.

[2] See NICOLETTO, *Vita, loc. cit.* Prince Barberini has some vestments of Urban VIII. preserved in his private rooms; also a Missale Romanum, ed. 1620, with a magnificent binding adorned with enamels, jewels and coloured copper plates.

[3] See *Relazione di R. Zeno*, 148.

[4] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 177; NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*; TITI, 140 *seq.*; *L'arte*, XII., 421 *seq.*; ORTOLANI, *S. Andrea della Valle*, Rome (n.d.), plate 24; VOSS, II., 404; O. POLLAK, *Künstlerbriefe*, in the supplement of vol. 34 (1913) of the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlung*, p. 30; SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 103; POLLAK-FREY, 22.

the Assumption of Our Lady, in whose honour the chapel was dedicated on December 8th, 1616.[1] The chapel was further enriched with marble statues of St. John the Baptist by Pietro Bernini, of St. John the Evangelist by Ambrogio Buonvicino, of St. Martha by Francesco Mocchi, of St. Mary Magdalen by Cristoforo Stati. One picture perpetuates the memory of Maffeo's uncle Francesco who was buried here [2] and by whose side the Cardinal himself hoped to rest one day.[3] The memory of his parents was perpetuated by two relief portraits by Guglielmo Porta which were fixed in the passage leading into the adjoining chapel.[4]

A character sketch of the Cardinal of the year 1618 speaks of Maffeo Barberini as a highly gifted man and praises his knowledge of Italian, Latin and Greek literature. Among the Cardinals he was particularly intimate with Aldobrandini, Bellarmine, Borromeo and Montalto.[5] Towards the representatives of the secular Powers he observed the strictest neutrality. For all that, his hope of obtaining the tiara at the conclave of 1621 was not to be fulfilled ; his name was hardly mentioned and he played no conspicuous part even as a mere elector.

In view of Maffeo's intimate acquaintance with the tongue of Homer, Gregory XV. had named him protector of the Greek College [6] and made him a member of Propaganda. During the brief pontificate of the Ludovisi Pope, Maffeo established excellent relations with all the ambassadors and entered into a secret and close understanding with the Cardinal of Savoy [7] who represented the interests of France, a country towards

[1] See the inscription in Forcella, VIII., 265. *Ibid.*, 264, the inscription in the niche on the left side of the chapel, dedicated to S. Sebastian.

[2] See Fraschetti, 140 *seq.* The inscription on the tomb is in Forcella, VIII., 264.

[3] See Nicoletti, *Vita, loc. cit.*

[4] The inscriptions are in Forcella, XII., 266.

[5] See the **Discorso de'cardinali*, of 1618, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] See Nicoletti, **Vita, loc. cit.*

[7] See **Vita*, ed. Carini, 349 *seq.*, 356.

which Barberini felt a great attraction ever since his nunciature and which had also furthered his elevation to the cardinalate. Nor was this the only circumstance to stand him in good stead at the conclave of 1623 ; he was also helped by the fact that he had not been raised to the purple by Clement VIII., though he had hoped for it then, for in that case Cardinal Borghese would not have accepted him.[1]

It was a long time since Christendom had had so youthful a Pope, for Barberini, who had become a Cardinal when 38, was only in his 56th year. He was justly considered a handsome man.[2] A number of busts, among them several masterpieces of Bernini,[3] and excellent portraits by Andrea Sacchi [4] and

[1] *Ibid.*, 345.

[2] *Cf.* the panegyric of Andrea Taurelli, in the taste of the period, *Heros in solio divinitatis sive de rebus gestis in sacro principatu Urbani VIII. P.O.M. panegyticus*, Bononiae, 1639, 7.

[3] The Barberini palace contains a wonderful marble bust by Bernini a bronze bust and a third bust in porphyry with bronze head. The bronze bust made by Giacomo Laurenziani in the hall of S. Trinità de'Pellegrini, disappeared during the French occupation and is probably the bust in the Louvre (see *Mel. Bertaux*, 344 *seq.*) ; it has now been replaced by a plaster bust. Bernini's gigantic bronze statue for Velletri (*cf.* PASSERI, 263) was destroyed by the French in 1798 ; it had been unveiled in 1633 (see TERSENGHI, *Velletri*, Velletri, 1910, 264). For the bronze bust in the cathedral of Spoleto (about 1640) *cf.* FRASCHETTI, 146 *seq.* ; *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 105. BRINKMANN (*Barockskulptur*, II., 240) declares that the bust at Spoleto is the best portrait executed by Bernini. The bust attributed to Bernini by FRASCHETTI (148), which is in a room adjoining the church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte, Rome (see *L'Arte*, III. (1910), 135 *seq.*) is one of the best. It belongs to the school of Bernini, according to MUÑOZ (*L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 18) ; REYMOND (73) takes it to be one of the earliest busts Bernini made of his patron. Urban VIII. appears in full majesty in Bernini's gigantic marble statue, unveiled in September, 1640, on the Capitol (see *Avviso of September 29, 1640, and Avviso 90, Papal Secret Archives) and also in the even more beautiful granite statue on his tomb in St. Peter's (see FRASCHETTI, 151 *seq.* ; MUÑOZ, *Roma Barocca*, 190 *seq.*, 196 *seq.* ; POSSE, in the *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*,

Pietro da Cortona,[1] have perpetuated his outward appearance. He was a man of medium height and his complexion had that olive tint which is so common with Italians. He wore a long beard, cut square and quite black ; his hair was of the same colour though streaked with silver threads, the forehead was lofty and beautifully shaped and thick brows shaded dark

XXVI. (1905), 188 ; BENKARD, *Bernini*, 16 *seq.* ; STEINMANN, *Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 14 *seq.*). The bronze busts in Camerino are by unknown artists, probably pupils of Bernini (MUNICIPIO ; see *Le Marche*, IV. (1904), 40 ; *cf.* also B. FELICIANGELI, *Il card. Angelo Giori da Camerino e Bernini*, Sanseverino-Marche, 1917, 1 *seq.*) ; so are those in the Castle of St. Angelo, Rome (Museum) and in the possession of Marchese Fil. Cordini at Florence. A bust by Lorenzo Ottoni (died 1684) is in Museo Oliv. at Pesaro. The terracotta bust in the Barberini gallery, Rome, is signed : " Giov. Giambassi cieco fecit " (for J. Gonelli called Giambassi see THIEME, XIV., 370 *seq.*). An *Avviso of December 6, 1636 (*Urb.* 1104, Vatican Library) reports that a celebrated sculptor of Florence, who worked by touch, had completed a bust of the Pope " molto naturale ". The number of copperplates which portray Urban VIII. is very great ; the best are those of I. F. Greuter (in TETIUS, *Aedes Barb.*, Romae, 1643), Cherub. Albertus, Lukas Vostermann (1624), Simon Vouet (1624) (*cf. Portrait Index*, ed. by W. COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1472) ; besides these, etchings by L. Kilian (1628), P. de Jode (Antwerp, 1639) (*cf.* DRUGULIN, *Porträt-Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860), Romain de Hooghe (with Castel St. Angelo in the background) and Seb. Vouillemont (1642, from a drawing of Guidus Ubaldus Abbatinus) ; copies of the above-named are in the imperial *Fideikommissbibliothek*, Vienna. The best etching, from a drawing by Bernini, adorns the Roman edition of the poems of Urban VIII. of 1631 ; see *L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 190.

[4] The copy in the Galleria Barberini, Rome, is much better than that in the private possession of the Prince (see POSSE, *Sacchi*, 123 *seq.*) ; the Pope here appears grey-haired but still vigorous ; it was, therefore, presumably painted before 1640.

[1] In the gallery of the Capitol (much touched-up) ; Urban VIII. is represented full figure, seated. A water-colour by Pietro da Cortona, " Urban VIII. praying," is in the Pinacoteca at Ascoli.

blue eyes expressive of much shrewdness. One had the impression of being in the presence of a self-possessed and keenly observant man who brooked no contradiction. His whole attitude betrayed the great lord who, for all his majesty,[1] did not lack gentleness, a fact sufficiently proved by his great consideration for his servants.[2] He was very vivacious, spoke extremely well, was quick to grasp a question and possessed an excellent memory. His was a jovial disposition and like a true Florentine he loved to season his private conversation with clever and witty remarks.[3] Every Monday he gave public audiences to which everyone was admitted.[4] He sedulously attended to business. Most of the letters to princes and nuncios were enriched by him with marginal remarks: often enough the rough draft was from his pen.[5] Renier Zeno, the Venetian envoy, admired Urban VIII.'s thorough acquaintance with political conditions which he had acquired during his Paris nunciature. The deep insight which he had thus obtained made him cautious and distrustful. He never relied on mere words but always insisted on written agreements. He was slow to make up his mind and easily roused though also quickly calmed down. His self-reliance was such that he disdained other people's opinions and would

The etching of J. F. Greuter (see above) is from the painting by A. Camassei. The portrait of Urban VIII. in the sacristy of S. Andrea della Valle, Rome, is in the manner of Camassei. A portrait of the Pope in the choir of the Capuchin Church, Rome, is unsigned; see D. DA ISNELLO, *Il convento d. S. Concezione de'padri Cappuccini in Roma*, Viterbo, 1923, 57. For the portrait of Urban VIII. by Justus Sustermans, see ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 359.

[1] *Cf.* NICOLETTI, in RANKE, III., 162.*

[2] See NICOLETTI, **Vita*, lib. VIII., ch. 15. Vatican Library.

[3] See the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys in BAROZZI-BERCHET, III., 1, 278; R. ZENO, 148 *seq.*; NANI, 35.

[4] See *Avviso of June 19, 1624, Vatican Library. Since 1627 it had become difficult to obtain audiences; see STEINHUBER, 1², 391, and the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 217.

[5] See **Barb.* 6439, Vatican Library.

not even listen to them. He was confirmed in this practice by the knowledge he had that nearly all the Cardinals were dependent on foreign princes so that no impartial advice could be expected from them.[1] Other envoys,[2] as well as the Mantuan, Possevino, draw a similar picture of Urban VIII. Possevino adds that there was no one on earth who could so quickly see through a man; neither flattery, fear nor interest could cause the Pope to swerve from a decision; he knew what he was and as such he wished to be treated in all things.[3]

Urban VIII. showed great ability in his dealings with ambassadors. He purposely spoke himself at great length but never gave a decision on the spur of the moment.[4] If the ambassadors broached some disagreeable topic he had a masterly way of side-tracking them with the result that they got no chance of airing their views.[5] It annoyed them greatly

[1] See R. Zeno, *loc. cit.*; G. Pesaro, 329 *seq.*

[2] See Barozzi-Berchet, III., 1, 226; G. Pesaro, 329.

[3] *" Se bene V.A. stando alla corte et fors'anco in Francia hebbe commodità di fare giuditio della natura et qualità del presente Pontefice, nondimeno perchè mi pare che alla hora meglio la persona si cognosca, quando nè deve nè ha bisogno di simulare, hora in due parole prendo ardire di significare a V.A. qual sia riputata la sua inclinatione. Sà assai, presume e cognosce di sapere, ne'propositi è costantissimo, nelle deliberationi tardo, cognosce l'inclinationi di tutti li principi, nè ha la terra huomo che meglio a prima vista squadri l'interno del compagno di lui, si che nè adulatione, nè blanditia, nè timore, nè interesse sono bastanti per rimoverlo dal suo pensiero. Sà quello che è, et per tale pontualmente vuole esser tenuto." A. Possevino to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, December 16, 1623. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *" Il negotiare ordinario di N.S^re^ è stato sempre tale di discorrere assai et con vivacità del suo intelletto eccitar punti ne risolver mai cosa alcuna, almeno la prima volta." *Report of the envoy of Este, October 7, 1623, State Archives, Modena.

[5] **Memorie di Msgr. Fr. Herrara, Barb.* 4901, Vatican Library. Fr. Herrera died as *segret. d. brevi segreti*, 1635; see the letter of Ferragalli to Panzano, of June, 1635, *Barb.* 8638, *ibid.*

that the Pope talked so much and hardly gave them a chance to open their mouths, so much so that one of them, whilst on his way to the Quirinal, remarked that he was going to give audience to the Pope.[1] The more astute ones among them, such as the Venetians, thought they had discovered that the Pope loved contradiction for its own sake, hence in order to obtain their ends, they themselves made objections so that the Pope would in the end fall in with their own views.[2] Giovanni Pesaro was of opinion that great as was the pleasure to listen to Urban VIII., one could not help wishing that it were unnecessary to try and get him to attend to politics.[3] Even for the Cardinals Urban made the transaction of business no light task ; he showed great presence of mind in dealing with them. On one occasion, in order not to have to agree with the Pope's view, Cardinal Ludovisi objected that he was not informed on the question. Urban said, " I will at once call someone who will give you information," and when this had been done he said, " Now state your opinion." [4]

In a report of 1624 drawn up for the King of France, we read : " The Pope remains as he always was, sincere and frank, a friend of books and scholars, quick, fiery, somewhat choleric, impatient of opposition but ready to yield to solid arguments, full of the best intentions for the Church, for Christendom and for the most Christian King. Notwithstanding his great affection for his relatives he has refrained from all nepotism, for though posts worth 200,000 scudi were vacant, out of that sum he assigned to his nephew Cardinal Barberini only 6,000 scudi and distributed the rest among the other Cardinals." [5] Other reports likewise inform us that at first Urban VIII.

[1] See Justi, *Velasquez*, I.[3], Munich, 1922, 294.

[2] *Cf.* P. Contarini, 211, and Alv. Contarini, 368.

[3] See Justi, *loc. cit.*, 295.

[4] See **Memorie di Msgr. Herrara, loc. cit.*

[5] See the **Relatione della corte di Roma nel principio del pontificato di P. Urbano VIII. data al christ^mo^ Re di Francia Luigi*, 1624, in the *Miscell.*, II., 150, n. 3, of the Papal Secret Archives (to be quoted hereafter as Relatione of 1624).

wished his kinsfolk to remain in a modest position.[1] Unfortunately a complete change was soon to take place.

Urban VIII. had two brothers: one, Antonio, was a Capuchin, the other, Carlo, was married to Costanza Magalotti, a Florentine lady, who gave him three sons, Francesco, Taddeo and Antonio, whose conduct is described as irreproachable.[2] Two sisters of the Pope were in the Carmelite convent of Florence. To these was assigned, in 1628, the Benedictine convent of S. Maria Maddalena de Pazzi, the chapter house of which was famous for Perugino's crucifixion.[3] Carlo Barberini received many tokens of goodwill from his brother at the very beginning of his pontificate [4] and was eventually named Governor of the Borgo and General of the Church.[5] The Pope placed full confidence in him as regards these offices, which Carlo seemed bent on carrying out to the best of his powers,[6]

[1] *" Ha detto alli sui parenti che non s'insuperbischino et che non li vuol far ricchi con la robba della Sede Ap. et veramente che sono persone molto modeste, gli ha prohibite le pompe et vuol che si aiutino con la parsimonia" (*Avviso of August 12, 1623). An *Avviso of August 19, 1623, reports that Carlo Barberini showed himself in Rome with his sons, riding in a *carozza ordinaria*, and by the command of the Pope had returned a pair of horses to Cardinal Bentivoglio (*Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 210, and the letter of the envoy of Este, August 26, 1623. State Archives, Modena.

[2] See *Avviso of August 9, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library. Cornelis Bloemaert made copper plates after the drawings of Sacchi, of the papal nephews, Francesco, Antonio and Taddeo, as well as of Cardinal Antonio the elder. They were for the work of Tetius, *Aedes Barb.*; see Posse, *Sacchi*, 123. There is a portrait of Carlo in the Palace of the Conservatori in Rome.

[3] See Reumont, *Beiträge*, V., 170 *seq.* Urban VIII. embellished and enlarged the convent; see Bigazzi, *Iscriz. di Firenze*, 303.

[4] See *Avvisi of August 30 and September 2, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, *loc. cit.*

[5] He took the oath of allegiance on November 15, 1623; see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library.

[6] See the *report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in Barozzi-Berchet, III., 1, 235.

though apart from this he was allowed no influence, at least for a time.[1] Nor did Carlo, a man sparing of words,[2] desire any. A former official in a bank he now appeared to be chiefly interested, "after the fashion of the Florentines," in adding to his wealth. "He knows well," the Venetian *obbedienza* envoys wrote, "that the possession of money enhances one's reputation and raises a man above the common herd, and he thinks that it is neither becoming nor reasonable that a kinsman of the Pope should find himself in straitened circumstances after the Pontiff's death.[3]

Among the sons of Carlo, Francesco, a gentle youth of blameless life and great promise, became a prelate and a member of the *Consulta* as early as August, 1623. He was assigned the rooms formerly occupied by Cardinals Borghese and Ludovisi so that he could approach his uncle at any time. Already on August 19, 1623, the envoy of Este gave it as his opinion that Francesco would rank as the first person after the Pope; as a matter of fact he obtained the purple on October 2nd.[4] He was only twenty-six years of age, hence the Pope gave him an adviser in the person of the excellent Lorenzo Magalotti, the brother of Costanza. Magalotti had been intimate with the Pope from his youth, had served him

[1] See the **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Ang. Contarini, 262.

[3] See Barozzi-Berchet, *Roma*, I., 235; for the greed for money of Carlo *cf.* the *report of Béthune of December 17, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[4] See the *Avvisi of August 16 and September 2, 1623, Vatican Library; the reports of the envoy of Este, August 19 and 26, 1623, State Archives, Modena (he says of Francesco that he was "di innocentissimi costumi"); Ciaconius, IV., 525, Possevino thinks, December 16, 1623: *"Il Cardinale nipote è vergine, erudito, verecondo giovane, ma di molta aspettione" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also R. Zeno, 152. There is a marble bust of the Cardinal in the passage to the sacristy in St. Peter; an oil portrait in the Vatican Library; *cf.* Grottanelli, in the *Rassegna naz.*, LVII., 814. A collection of the letters addressed to Fr. Barberini (originals) is in *Barb.* 2167–9 (1616–1629), 2170 (1630–1677), 2171, Vatican Library.

while he was vice-legate in Bologna, and at his recommendation had received important appointments at the hands of Paul V. and Gregory XV. Urban VIII., who justly valued Magalotti's diplomatic skill, named him secretary of the Briefs to kings, an office equivalent to the Secretariate of State.[1] Magalotti did well in that position. He became one of the most important personages in the Pope's entourage and on October 7th, 1624, he was raised to the purple at the same time as the Capuchin Antonio Barberini.[2]

Magalotti, with characteristic shrewdness, kept in the background as much as possible, so as not to provoke Cardinal Francesco's jealousy. This was one of the contributory motives of his retirement, in 1628, into his archdiocese of Ferrara where he did much for Church reform.[3] But there was yet another reason. On February 7th, 1628, the elevation to the Cardinalate made *in petto* on August 30th, 1627, of Antonio Barberini, another son of Carlo, was made public. Almost all the Cardinals disapproved an elevation whereby two brothers became members of the Sacred College, one of them being a youth who had as yet done nothing. But Urban VIII. had been unable to resist the demands of his family.[4] Antonio's elevation threatened the position of Magalotti, and even that of Francesco Barberini, for the youthful Antonio was restless, passionate, bold and ambitious ; however, since he was only twenty years old he lacked all experience.[5] Thus it came about

[1] See the **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* R. Zeno, 154 ; P. Contarini, 214 ; *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 210.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 531, 537.

[3] See *ibid.*, 538. Magalotti died on September 18, 1637. Ginori Venturi, of Florence, possesses numerous documents of the Cardinal.

[4] See the *report of Béthune to Louis XIII, February 11, 1628, State Library, Vienna. According to B. Paolucci's *report the outspoken Cardinal Madruzzo often asked the Pope why he had made a " ragazzo " without merits, a Cardinal. State Archives, Modena.

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* the **Relatione* of 1624 ; P. Contarini, 215 ; the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 213 ; which, however, makes

that Francesco, the most gifted of the Pope's kinsmen and the most attractive of all the Cardinal nephews of that period,[1] was able to maintain his position as the first personage after the Pope. The purity of his morals and his literary tastes greatly endeared him to Urban VIII.,[2] who could never do enough for him by way of endowing him with prebends.[3] In 1627 he was given the rich abbeys of Grottaferrata and Farfa. He was also made archpriest of the Lateran in 1627, of St. Mary Major in 1629 and of St. Peter's in 1633.[4] In the previous year, after the early death of Ludovisi, he had obtained the most profitable of all the posts of the Curia, that of vice-chancellor.[5]

The Cardinal was a warm friend of artists and scholars.[6] Contact with the former was maintained through the learned antiquarian Cassiano del Pozzo. His income, which in 1630 amounted to 80,000 scudi,[7] he put to excellent use. He was a passionate collector of books and manuscripts and founded

Antonio four years younger than he was. The fine bust of Cardinal Antonio, by Bernini, in the Barberini Palace, shows characteristics of enterprise and keenness (reproduced in Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, 188).

[1] This is the opinion of Wagner, in the *Zeitschr. für Hamburgische Gesch.*, XI. (1903), 399.

[2] *Cf.* Nani, 34.

[3] There are numerous *documents about the benefices of the Cardinal in the private archives of Prince Barberini at Rome, only a part of which is to be found in the Papal Secret Archives. The *conveyance of the *Badia Vallombros. di Spineto* to Cardinal Barberini, May 15, 1624, is in the State Archives, Florence, *Cisterc. di Firenze.*

[4] See the *Avvisi of November 10, 1627; October 10, 1629 (*Urb.* 1097, 1099) and November 12, 1633 (*Ottob.* 3339), Vatican Library.

[5] See Moroni, X., 176; **Pianta del Palazzo della Cancelleria*, drawn during the time of Vice-Chancellor Barberini, in *Barb.* 4400, Vatican Library.

[6] See Ciaconius, IV., 528; among painters, Valentin de Boulogne enjoyed the special favour of Cardinal Francesco; see Voss, *Malerei*, 453. *Cf.* present work, XXIX., Ch. VI.

[7] See Alv. Contarini, 371.

the Barberini library, the richest after the *Vaticana*.[1] He also started a collection of pictures, cameos and ancient coins and inscriptions.[2] He had at one time wished to become a Franciscan, hence he had a great love for that Order and in fact for all religious, and his sentiments were those of a true ecclesiastic. He was indefatigable in his attention to business. To Urban VIII. the tension between the two brothers was most unwelcome. He was unwilling that Antonio should contest the rank of his elder brother but wished authority to be centred in one hand[3]; for that reason he repeatedly sent the younger brother on legations abroad.[4] In 1628 the latter already held the abbey of Tre Fontane; at the death of Ludovisi in 1623 he also obtained the wealthy abbey of Nonantola.[5] In 1633 he acted as Legate at Avignon and in 1638 he was raised to the dignity of a Camerlengo.[6] Like all the Barberini he furthered art and knowledge; he drew himself, and among painters he favoured in particular the excellent Andrea Sacchi.[7] He even tried his hand at poetry and founded a rich

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. XII.

[2] Besides Blume, IV., 136, *cf. Cod. Barb.* 5635, p. 1–86: *"Inventario di damaschi, biancherie, quadri, orologi, camei, marmi e statue, anelli, medaglie, cartoni dipinti appart. malla casa Barberini e dati, si come pare, in consegna ad un custode di casa 1631 Dicembre 3." Also here, p. 91 *seq.*, **Ruolo di famiglia del card. Franc. Barberini*, May 6, 1655. After this come the Cardinal's accounts from 1628 to 1678. *Barb.* 3097: **Note di libri prestati o donati del card. Fr. Barberini*, beginning February, 1634. Vatican Library.

[3] Francesco alone was initiated into all secrets. On the blank leaf of a manuscript volume of notes by Urban VIII., most of them unfortunately undated, on matters of importance to be discussed with his own ministers and with ambassadors, between 1623 and 1627, we read in the Pope's hand: "Non aperiatur nisi ab em. D. card. Barberini sub poena excommunicationis." *Barb.* 6438, Vatican Library.

[4] See the **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Ciaconius, IV., 564.

[6] See the *Avviso of July 31, 1638, *Urb.* 1106, Vatican Library.

[7] See Posse, *A. Sacchi*, 6 *seq.*

library.[1] His entertainments were most splendid.[2] His aristocratic and elegant appearance may be seen in his portrait by Maratta in the Galleria Corsini in Rome.[3]

In opposition to his younger brother Antonio, the elder brother, generally styled Cardinal of S. Onofrio after his titular church, presented the figure of a stern ascetic. When the Pope summoned him to Rome, he made the journey on foot, to the Pontiff's joy.[4] He was a man of no pretensions and at first wanted to refuse the cardinalate,[5] and after receiving the purple he lived as a simple Capuchin. Worldly-minded people despised him for his modesty and spoke of him as a simpleton. He held aloof from politics and the affairs of the court, devoted all his time to his duties as a member of various Congregations and busied himself above all with the reform of the monasteries. His revenues, which amounted to 30,000 scudi, were devoted to works of piety and charity.[6] His character is well described in the inscription which he chose for his tomb in the church of the Capuchins erected by him in Rome : " Here rest dust, ashes and nothing."[7]

[1] See CIACONIUS, *loc. cit.* ; **Index libror. card. Antonii Barberini*, *Barb.* 3110–3, 3122, 3141, 3154, 3195, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 3252 ; MAGNUS PERNEUS, **De nativitate et vita card. Ant. Barberini iunioris Papae nepotis.*

[2] See GUIDO BENTIVOGLIO, *Relazione della famosa festa fatta in Roma alli* 25 *di febbraio* 1634 *sotto gli auspici del card. Antonio Barberini, pubblicata da L. Passerini*, Rome, 1882. *Cf.* also POSSE, *Sacchi*, 7, and *L'Arte*, 1917, 34, 37.

[3] See *Bollett. d'arte*, 1912, 195 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS, 599.

[4] See the *report of the envoy of Este, September 16, 1623, who relates that the two brothers burst into tears on seeing each other. State Archives, Modena.

[5] See the *Avvisi of September 30 and October 7, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library.

[6] See AUG. CONTARINI, 215, 261 ; G. PESARO, 334 ; ALV. CONTARINI, 369 ; NANI, 33. *Cf.* also the **Relatione* of 1624, *loc. cit.*

[7] See CIACONIUS, IV., 534. *Cf. Anal. Capucin*, XXIV., 56 *seq.* ; CAES. LOCATELLUS (*iuriscons. Rom.*), **De vita activa et contemplativa*, dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, in *Barb.* 997, Vatican Library. There is a portrait of the Cardinal in the choir

If the three Cardinal nephews had been laden with numerous favours, the superabundance of papal favours poured itself out with perhaps even greater lavishness on Carlo Barberini and his son Taddeo. As early as the summer of 1624 Carlo Barberini found himself in a position to buy from the Orsini Monte Rotondo situate on the Via Salaria. In 1625 he bought for the sum of 57,000 scudi from Otto Colonna, who was heavily in debt, the *castello* of Roviano.[1] Only the septuagenarian's death at Bologna, in 1630, prevented him from taking possession of another great acquisition.[2] The *Conservatori* decided to erect a statue in his honour on the Capitol,[3] and to celebrate his obsequies at S. Maria in Aracoeli. The wonderful catafalque was designed by Bernini,[4] who also drew the plan of the monument of Carlo in that church.[5]

In 1630 the principality of Palestrina, together with the domain of Mezza Selva and Corcollo, was acquired in the name of Carlo though in reality for the benefit of his son Taddeo, the head of the family, for the sum of 725,000 scudi, from Francesco Colonna who was hopelessly in debt.[6] So as not to deprive the vendor of his princely title, Urban VIII. transferred it to the domain of Carbognano near Ronciglione.

of the Capuchin church, Rome; see D. DA ISNELLO, *Il convento d. S. Concezione de'padri Capuccini in Roma* (1923), 47.

[1] See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 134. Urban VIII. also granted Carlo Barberini numerous presents of books in 1625; see *Barb.* 3132, Vatican Library. Urban VIII. visited the new possession of Monte Rotondo, in November, 1628; see *Avvisi, November 1 and 8, 1628, *Urb.* 1098, *ibid.*

[2] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *Barb.* 2819, Vatican Library; *Avviso of March 6, 1630, *Urb.* 1100, *ibid.*

[3] See BORBONI, *Delle statue*, 315 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 166. For letter of condolence of Maximilian I., March 25, 1630, see *Sitzungsbericht der Münchener Akad. phil. Kl.*, 1880, 362.

[4] *" Bellissimo catafalco secondo il disegno del s. cav. Bernini celeberrimo architetto, con statue e colonne di mirabile artificio," we read in *Avviso, August 3, 1630, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf. L'Arte*, 1916, 108. A reproduction also in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 190.

[6] See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, IV., 134.

Thus the famous Rocca dei Colonna, which once upon a time had defied Boniface VIII. and Eugene IV., and which for that reason had been twice razed to the ground, passed into the hands of the Barberini who thereby secured an outstanding position in the Roman aristocracy. On October 19th, 1630, Urban VIII. came over from Castel Gandolfo to inspect the new domain. As he entered the town the rainbow appeared in the sky whereupon the Pope instantly improvised the following verses which also contain an allusion to the peace of Ratisbon which was favourable to Italy:

> Nuntiat en pacem rutilans in nubibus Iris
> Dum Praenestini circumdat culmina montis,
> Italiae populis gaudentes omine plaudant.[1]

On the following day he said Mass in the cathedral and granted many favours,[2] after which he accepted an invitation of Filippo Colonna, Duke of Paliano, to his castle at Genazzano. At Cave, Filippo, who had mobilized all his vassals, received the Pope at the head of 6,000 foot soldiers and 500 horse. The tent of the conqueror of Lepanto recalled the services which that family, formerly so often in conflict with the Holy See, had rendered to it under Pius V.[3]

Taddeo had been married to Filippo's daughter Anne since October 24, 1627. The Pope had himself officiated at the nuptials in the chapel of his palace at Castel Gandolfo, in the presence of fourteen Cardinals.[4] Anne Colonna was well aware that

[1] See Justi, *Velasquez*, I., 295.

[2] For Urban VIII.'s care of Palestrina see Mazzi, in *Propugnatore*, V. (1892), 350 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of October 19 and 23, 1630, *Urb.* 1101, Vatican Library.

[4] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library. *Avviso of October 27, 1627, *Urb.* 1097, *ibid.*; *Nicoletti, c. 23, p. 1437 *seq.*, *ibid.* Numerous wedding poems appeared at the time (*cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. VI.); one in *Italian in *Barb.* 1963, *ibid.* Letters of Testi are in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIV., 432 *seq.*, 451 *seq.* *Cf.* Cancellieri, *Lettere sopra il Tarantismo*, 107. The tomb of Anna Colonna with her bronze bust was removed from S. Maria Araceli to the Galleria Barberini.

she was sprung from one of the oldest families of Rome and for a time she lived in great luxury, but once she came under the influence of the Oratorians, she began to devote herself to works of piety.[1] In 1643 she erected on the right bank of the Tiber a monastery for the discalced Carmelites and the church of Regina Coeli.[2] On the death of his father Taddeo Barberini succeeded him as General of the Church and Governor of the Borgo; in addition to these offices he also held those of a Castellan of S. Angelo and Captain of the Guard.[3] When at the death of Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino, on April 28th, 1631, that duchy fell to the Church, Taddeo obtained the prefecture of Rome, a post hitherto held by the Rovere. On August 1st he made a solemn entry into Rome through the Porta del Popolo, on the 5th the Pope presented him with the insignia of his new dignity in the Sistine Chapel, in the presence of thirty Cardinals,[4] and the day after he rode in great state through the streets.[5] In March, 1630, the Pope bestowed the Golden Rose on him.[6] Taddeo

[1] G. B. Tarabucci, *Stato della corte di Roma nel.* 1643, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Bonanni, II., 603; Martinori, 77.

[3] See Alv. Contarini, 370; Pagliucchi, 65 *seq.*

[4] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2819, Vatican Library. *Avviso of August 9, 1631, *Ottob.* 3338, p. II., *ibid.*; *Nicoletti, IV., 623 *seq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 272; *Nuova Rassegna*, 1894, I., 532, for the publications that appeared at the time. A painting in the private possession of Prince Barberini records the ceremony. **Epigrammata graeca ad Tad. Barberini praef. urbis*, in *Barb.* 2609, Vatican Library. Here belongs the poem dedicated to Taddeo, *Gli Prefetti Urbani*, by Alessio Pulci, in *Vat.* 7085, *ibid.*

[5] See **Relazione di Msgr. Andosiglia della solenne cavalcata fatta li 6 agosto* 1631 *da T. Barberini come prefetto di Roma. Cod.* E. 99, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[6] *" 21 Martii 1632 Papa dedit Rosam praefecto qui associatus a cardinalibus usque ad suas cameras in palatio Apostolico (*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2819, Vatican Library). Taddeo also was given a commemorative statue on the Capitol, see Borboni, *Delle statue*, 329.

made much of his dignity as Prefect of Rome,[1] so much so that he claimed precedence even over ambassadors, a demand which led to numerous disputes and serious difficulties with France and Venice.[2] Such disputes about precedence, which were common at most courts at that period, were handled life big questions of State in that era of meticulous etiquette. Precisely because nothing survived of the pompous prefectural dignity except the title, the Barberini attached all the more importance to the honorary prerogatives which went with it. In fact one Felice Contelori made exhaustive archæological researches on the subject the result of which he gave to the world in 1631, in a bulky tome.[3] In the spring of 1632 Taddeo took possession of the magnificent palace which Bernini had built on the slope of the Quirinal near Quattro Fontane,[4] but two years later he returned to the old family palazzo in the Via dei Giubbonari [5] which he considerably enlarged by the purchase of adjoining houses and by building over the street which leads into the piazza Monte di Pietà.[6] At the close of 1630 the palace near Quattro Fontane was occupied by young Cardinal Antonio, whilst Francesco, in his capacity as vice-chancellor, resided in the Cancelleria.[7]

Contemporaries agree in testifying that Taddeo was distinguished for the purity of his morals and that he refrained from meddling with questions of the Court and in politics. His whole interest was the administration and increase of his great wealth.[8] His ground possessions alone yielded an income

[1] A terracotta bust of Taddeo in the full dress of his office as Prefect is in the Barberini Palace. In the gallery of paintings there is a portrait of Taddeo by C. Maratta. See PAGLIUCHHI, 67.

[2] See BELTRAMI, in *Arch. Rom.*, II., 272 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 262 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*

[4] See POSSE, *Deckenfresco*, 96. Additional matter on this edifice, in Vol. XXIX., Ch. XII.

[5] See the *Avviso of October 14, 1634, in ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 8.

[6] See HEMPEL, *Borromini*, 59 *seq.*

[7] See TOTTI, 211, 222, 273 ; MARTINELLI, 27.

[8] See **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives ; R. ZENO, 153 ; P. CONTARINI, 215 ; ANG. CONTARINI, 266 ; ALV. CONTARINI, 370 ; G. B. TARABUCCI, *loc. cit.*

of 100,000 scudi in 1635.[1] In 1632 the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Pesaro valued Taddeo's landed property at 4,000,000 scudi, to which must be added his wealth in cash.[2] In 1634 he bought from Maria Sforza, for the sum of 427,000 scudi, Valmontone and its surrounding district,[3] and since Cardinals Francesco and Antonio held posts that yielded an increase just as large the belief seems well founded that the regular income of the three brothers amounted to over 300,000 scudi a year.[4] This went far beyond the sum which a Congregation of Cardinals, consulted by the Pope, had defined as a permissible allowance to the nephews.[5] Small wonder that Urban VIII. should have had qualms of conscience as he lay dying.[6] Later on, after the fall of the Barberini, truly fantastic sums were mentioned which they were accused of having acquired, partly even by dishonest means. According to these rumours Taddeo received 42,000,000 and his brother, the Cardinal, 63,000,000 scudi during the twenty-one years of Urban VIII.'s pontificate.[7]

However lavish Urban VIII. may have been towards his family, and whatever dignities and revenues he may have heaped upon them, he would not allow his nephews to influence his government in the slightest degree. Self-reliant and self-willed, he kept the management of affairs altogether in his own

[1] To this must be added 20,000 scudi which he received as General of the Church and as Governor of the Borgo and of Civitavecchia; see ALV. CONTARINI, 370.

[2] *Cf.* G. PESARO, 334.

[3] See TOMASSETTI, III., 455.

[4] Not 500,000, as RANKE states, III.[6], 16; see ALV. CONTARINI, 369.

[5] *Cf.* the *resolution taken by this Congregation, August 28, 1643, in the App. No. 19, Vol. XXIX.

[6] *Cf.* below, Vol. XXIX., Ch. V.

[7] These data, which are generally found in reports of the conclave of Innocent X., appeared so incredible to RANKE (III.[6], 16) that he thought there must be a clerical error. They are, however, confirmed by the reports of the Tuscan envoys; see GROTTANELLI in the *Rassegna Naz.*, LVIII. (1891), 263. *Cf.* also CIAMPI, *Innocenzo* X., 332 *seq.*

hands.[1] As early as 1626 one who knew the situation wrote that government had become absolute for none among the Cardinals dared to resist and none would offer advice without being asked.[2] If ever a Pope was jealous of his authority it was the present one. It was at first believed that Cardinal Borghese counted for something with Urban VIII. but he had disappointed people's expectations. Ludovisi and his close associates such as Aldobrandini, Bandini, Millini, Torres and Biscia received a little more consideration, but they too had no decisive influence. Ultimately Magalotti was the only confidant of Urban VIII. But when that important and very shrewd man retired in 1626,[3] the other Cardinals, even Zacchia, Gessi and Pamfili, did the same.[4]

The rest of the Pope's more intimate entourage also had next to no influence. His first *Maestro di camera*, Virginio Cesarini, did not count at all, were it only because of his valetudinarianism,[5] but even old and loyal servants such as the *coppiere* (cup-bearer), Girolamo Steffanucci, the *scalco*, P. Giovanni degl'Effetti, and the Captain of the Guard, Bernardino Nari, enjoyed, indeed, the Pope's confidence but on his policy they had not the slightest influence.[6] The Bolognese Berlingherio Gessi, who had been Gregory XV.'s

[1] *Cf.* the **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives; *Avviso of October 19, 1624 (the Pope wishes to sign personally the Briefs hitherto expedited by the Prefect of the Signature of Briefs, Cardinal Ludovisi), *Urb.* 1094, Vat. Library; report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 210; P. CONTARINI, 212; ANG. CONTARINI, 261; NANI, 34 *seq.*

[2] See **Discorso della corte di Roma* of 1626, *Cod.* 620 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] "*Sta ritiratissimo; -sta sempre sul negotio, non vuol seguito o corteggio," in order to avoid envy and jealousy. *Ibid.*

[4] See **Discorso intorno li cardinali* 1632, *ibid.*

[5] See the **Relatione* of 1624, *loc. cit.* V. Cesarini is omitted in MORONI's list (XLI., 124); his successors were Fr. Adriano Ceva and Angelo Giori. As it was known how greatly Urban VIII. loved Cesarini, a memorial statue was erected on the Capitol to the prematurely deceased official; see BORBONI, *Delle Statue*, 309.

[6] See the **Relatione* of 1624. Papal Secret Archives.

Maestro di casa, retained that office until the close of 1624. In 1626 he was raised to the cardinalate. He was succeeded from 1625 till 1626 by Laudivio Zacchia and from 1626 till 1627 by Marzio Ginetti, who was given the title of *Maggiordomo* which has remained in use ever since. On Ginetti's elevation to the cardinalate he was succeeded by the secretary of Briefs, Ulpiano Volpi, who died on March 27th, 1629. His successor, Fausto Poli, obtained the purple in 1643 and was replaced by Lorenzo Raggi.[1] Likewise in close contact with the Pope was the Secretary of Briefs, Giovanni Ciampoli, a friend of Galileo, but who fell into sudden disgrace in 1632 for taking the side of Spain,[2] and the *Datarius* Jacopo Cavalieri, who obtained the purple in 1626,[3] and among the officials of the Secretariate of State Lorenzo Azzolini, Bishop of Ripatransone, who had also made a name for himself as a poet.[4] He was to receive the purple but his death in October, 1632, prevented his elevation.[5] After that the drafting of the dispatches of the Secretariate of State was entrusted to Pietro Benesse of Ragusa, who until then had acted as secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. When Francesco Ceva, who had been secretary to the Pope during his cardinalate, returned from his

[1] See Moroni, XLI., 264 *seq.* Besides Ciampoli, other Secretaries of Briefs were Fr. Herrera, Giulio Rospigliosi and Marc Aurelio Maraldi ; see Bonamicus, *De claris script.*, 286 *seqq.* ; Moroni, XLIII., 267 ; Denis, *Nouvelles de Rome*, I., cxii. ; G. B. Tarabucci says of Fausto Poli : " *Si e conciliata la confidenza non solo di N.S. ma insieme di tutti li nepoti del Papa," and of Maraldi that he was industrious, universally beloved and might yet become a Cardinal. (*Stato d. corte di Roma nel* 1643, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) For Urban VIII.'s Briefs see Wirz, xxiv.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. VI.

[3] Egidio Orsini de Vivariis and Fabio di Lagonissa succeeded him in the *Dataria* ; see Moroni, XIX., 136.

[4] **Poesie di Mgr. L. Azzolini*, in *Vat.* 9926, Vatican Library, and *Cod. St. Germain*, National Library, Paris. Azzolini's *Satira contra la lussuria* (*Barb.* 3788) was printed in 1586 at Venice

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Niccolini, October 30, 1632, State Archives, Florence. *Med.* 3352.

Paris nunciature in 1634, he was appointed Benesse's assistant. He soon pushed the latter into the background but by reason both of his age and his covetousness he failed to obtain any great influence,[1] and he was eventually replaced by Giambattista Spada who had been governor of Rome since 1635.[2]

If Urban VIII. was able to hold the reins of government so tightly in his hands that nothing important was done without his knowledge,[3] it was because he was quick to grasp every kind of business, even such as lay outside his sphere, as that of the Inquisition,[4] and because he enjoyed very robust health.[5] He owed its preservation to the simple, regular life in which he continued until the end.[6]

[1] See RICHARD, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 734. Supplementary information on the MSS. bearing on the subject is to be found in CELANI, *La bibl. Angelica* (1905), 1 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*, and in *La Bibliofilia*, XIII. (1911), 172 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*; XIV. (1912), 12 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*

[2] See CARDELLA, VII., 107.

[3] See ANG. CONTARINI, 212.

[4] *Cf.* G. B. TARABUCCI, *loc. cit.*

[5] He was seriously ill immediately after the Conclave; see Avvisi of August 16 and 19, September 2 and 6, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library; R. ZENO, 147; Report of F. CARANDINI FERRARI, August 16, 1623, State Archives, Modena. The same writes on August 30, 1623: *" S.B^ne sta senza febre e lunedì le cessò la dissenteria che la seconda volta l'era venuta, nè resta altro che ripigliare le forze. Ma non negotia con dire ch'in quattro giorni di salute spedirà più negotii che in un mese di convalescenza." Not until September 16, 1623, was the ambassador able to state that "yesterday, both in the forenoon and afternoon, three Cardinals had been received in audience. On September 20 the envoy of Este was given his first audience, in which Urban VIII., referring to his illness, said, *" che Dio l'avea nel bel principio voluto ammonito ch'era una vil cenere et che quanto il star male era altro avviso che non era il veder abbrugiar la stoppa, ceremonia che s'usa nell'incoronatione de Papi." The Coronation and the *Possesso* had to be deferred on account of his illness; see CANCELLIERI, 200 *seq.* An account of the Coronation is also in Avviso of September 30, 1623, *loc. cit.*, and in the *Atti Lig.*, XLII., 131 *seq.* For the *Possesso* see also CANCELLIERI, 200 *seq.*, and Avviso of November 22, 1623, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Memorie di Msgr. Herrera, Barb.* 4901, Vatican Library.

Urban VIII. was an early riser, in fact he often rose at dawn. He began by reading his Breviary and then heard or said Mass, after which the whole morning was devoted to affairs, audiences and consultations. The afternoon was given up to recreation. After the midday meal he made a siesta or conversed with his nephews. He also delighted in listening to his own poems set to music. Towards the evening he took a good deal of exercise. He rode for hours in the gardens of the Vatican and the Quirinal when he displayed excellent horsemanship. His table was most frugal. He ate very little in the middle of the day, his chief meal being in the evening. At night he demanded absolute stillness, so much so that the birds of the garden had to be slain because their chirping disturbed his slumbers.[1]

Already as a Cardinal Urban VIII., in keeping with the customary practice of the Romans, was wont to spend in the Alban Hills those incomparable autumn days when the clearness of the atmosphere, the splendid colouring of the leaves and the glowing tints of the mountains in the evening compel the admiration of the beholder. However, it was not merely the charms of nature that drew him into the hills, he was equally attracted by the perfume of the ancient classical legends which the whole of that country exhales. He was wont to take up his residence in a Villa belonging to Monsignor Visconti situated at the entrance of Castel Gandolfo,[2] a small hamlet built on the very edge of a lake which lies in the crater of a volcano. The hamlet had been acquired by the Camera Apostolica in 1596. Pope Urban bought the Villa and took possession of it in May, 1626; the autumn of the two preceding years had been spent in the Villa Mondragone belonging to Cardinal Borghese.[3] After that the Pope went to Castel Gandolfo every year in May and October.

[1] See P. Contarini, 211; Ang. Contarini, 260; G. Pesaro, 329; Nani, 35; Nicoletti, lib. VIII., ch. 15. Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Cancellieri, *Notizie di Castel Gandolfo*, Roma, 1817; A. Guidi, *I paesi dei colli Albani*, Roma, 1880, 58 *seq.*

[3] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, for October 17, 1624, and October 14, 1625, *Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library.

He usually stayed a fortnight, and not rarely even longer. During that time he explored the country on foot and on horseback, saying Mass in the morning in the various churches. Nevertheless business did not stop, for even during this *villegiatura* audiences were given to ambassadors and other important personages.[1]

The structural alterations by which the Villa was turned into a palace surrounded by a wall, like a fortress, were concluded in 1629. At the same time a new carriage-road was also constructed. Carlo Maderno drew up the plan of the very plain, sober building; it was carried out by Bartolomeo Breccioli and Domenico Castelli.[2] Whilst still a Cardinal, Urban VIII. had extolled the beauty of this spot, the fairest of the whole district, in a poem dedicated to his friend Lorenzo Magalotti.[3]

As Pope, Urban VIII. frequently entertained at Castel Gandolfo, by preference poets and artists. One of the former, Lorenzo Azzolini, sang the new papal residence in a fine poem full of classical reminiscences.[4] Joachim Sandrart, of Frankfort, was also entertained here and Urban VIII. commissioned him to paint his portrait. Sandrart depicts the Pope in the act of going down to the lake Albano, surrounded by his suite and

[1] See besides the detailed account in **Diarium P. Alaleonis* the *Avvisi of May 1 and October 16, 1627, May 7 and October 25, 1628, May 9 and 19, 1629, May 30, 1630, October 18, 1631, May 20, 1632, October 8, 1633, May 6 and October 7, 1634, June 23, 1635, May 3 and October 25, 1636, May 16 and October 1, 1637, *Urb.* 1097, 1100, 1102–5, *Ottob.* 3338, P. II., and 3339, *Barb.* 6352, Vatican Library.

[2] See Baglione, 182, 347; the inscription is in Cancellieri, *Lettere sopra il Tarantismo*, 107; Bonanni, I.[1], 594; Martinori, 75; Tomassetti, II., 188. Over the entrance of the first floor there is a very fine coat-of-arms of Urban VIII., probably based on a drawing by Bernini.

[3] Maphaei Barberini, nunc Urbani VIII. *Poemata*, Romae, 1635, 146; translated by Reumont, *Beiträge*, V., 129.

[4] The *poem is to be found in Dom. Jacovacci, *Notizie di Castel Gandolfo*. The original is in the Archives of Prince Chigi, at Ariccia.

by the Swiss Guard, in order to watch the fishing.[1] The picture of the papal summer residence by the Dutchman, Pieter Schenck, is more in the nature of a realistic, topographical reproduction, though it is not devoid of a fine sense of nature in the South, which must have seemed so strange to him.[2] An idealized landscape combined with reality is exhibited in a canvas which Urban VIII. commissioned no less a man than Claude Lorrain to paint for him and which remains in the possession of the Barberini family to this day. It shows in the background the Pope's summer palace towering above the steep bank of Lake Albano ; the charmingly treated foreground shows some country folk playing on rustic instruments of music in a harmoniously planned cluster of trees, and blending with it the almost circular crater of the lake together with the village, the castle and the luminous atmospheric spaces.[3] Giovanni Baglione calls the summer residence of Castel Gandolfo "the Pope's delight".[4] This predilection of Urban VIII. is easily understood if we take our stand on the East terrace of the first floor. Here the enchantment of nature blends with great historic memories. Whilst from the windows of the other side the eye ranges as far as the silver streak of the Tyrrhenian sea, and the cupola of St. Peter's greets us from the distant *campagna*, here we gaze down towards the deep blue waters of the lake fringed with a wreath of thick and verdant forests and surmounted by the cone of Monte Cavo with the remains of the temple of the ancient Latin confederation : here the memory of the primitive Latium, there, in the distance, the metropolis, from the noise of which this summer residence provided an escape. As such it was dear to many subsequent Popes, down to Pius IX.[5]

[1] See J. v. SANDRART, *Academie*, ed. by Pelster, Munich, 1925, 47 *seq.*

[2] See ROSE, *Spätbarock*, 16 *seq.*

[3] See FRIEDLÄNDER, *Claude Lorrain*, Berlin, 1921, 47 *seq.* (with plates).

[4] BAGLIONE, 182.

[5] Since the reconciliation between Church and State in Italy, Castel Gandolfo once more provides rest and change for the Supreme Pontiff. Pius XI. has made repeated and lengthy stays in Urban VIII.'s summer residence. (Transl. note.)

CHAPTER II.

Attitude of Urban VIII. towards France and Spain—Devolution of the Duchy of Urbino—Conflict over the Valtellina and Cardinal Richelieu's Policy—The Peace of Monzon—Defeat of Protestantism in France and Germany.

When the diplomatists, after Urban VIII.'s elevation, discussed the political attitude which the new Pope was likely to adopt, opinions were extraordinarily divided, though the majority thought that his preferences would probably go to France. In Paris the election of Cardinal Barberini was viewed as a "miraculous turn", and the French ambassador in Rome expressed the hope that the new pontificate would differ from the foregoing one as fire differs from water.[1]

To explain the French sympathies of the new Pope it was argued that his Paris nunciature had been the lever by which he had been raised; that Henry IV.'s recommendation had greatly contributed to his elevation to the cardinalate; that he had been much impressed by the frank and open manner of dealing with affairs which characterized French politicians and that he fully realized the importance of France as a counterpoise to the Hispano-Austrian power. The Venetian Renier Zeno detected in him a certain spiritual affinity to the French, for like them he loved neatness of style, poetry and the study of languages. Moreover he cherished fatherly feelings towards Louis XIII. at whose Baptism he had officiated in the name of Paul V. Nevertheless Zeno emphatically declares that he could not see in Urban VIII. a blind partisan of France, for the Pope was aware of the shadows in the French situation and in the character of that nation. On the whole, Zeno concludes, there was reason to

[1] See Rott, III., 643. *Cf.* also *Rev. hist.*, LXXV., 32.

be thankful that this time a Pope had been elected who was not enamoured of the Spaniards.[1]

It is worthy of notice that from the very beginning the view was expressed in Rome that the new Pope, seeing that he was well informed on the political situation, would pursue an impartial line of conduct which would enable him, as Head of the Church and the common father of all and as such raised above all parties, to preserve peace.[2] Such an attitude, in view of the frequently conflicting interests of the Catholic Powers, viz. Austria, Spain and France, seemed altogether indispensable for the strengthening and further expansion of the mighty advance which the Catholic restoration had made during the pontificate of Gregory XV., nor was it less necessary if the Pope wished to carry out the bold plans for the systematic repression of the Turks which he conceived in the first days of his pontificate.[3]

Urban VIII.'s anxiety to maintain good relations both with Spain and France appears from the autograph letters which he addressed to Philip IV. and to Louis XIII. on August 7th, 1623. In his letter to the former he expressly and gratefully acknowledges the great part which Cardinals Borgia, Doria, Paniaqua and the Spanish ambassador had played in his election. In the letter to the King of France he also alludes to the favourable attitude towards him of the French ambassador during the conclave: it was the King, the letter says, that inspired the ambassador with this affection, and for this he owed him gratitude, no less than for the reception with which he had met as Cardinal from the father of Louis XIII., "the great Henry."[4]

With the Emperor also Urban VIII. desired to continue the relations which he had with the supreme head of the

[1] R. Zeno, *Relazione*, 174 *seq.* *Cf.* with this the *Avviso of August 12, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso August 9, 1623, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report of September, 1623, in Leman, *Urbain VIII.*, 19.

[4] Both *letters in Papal Secret Archives, *Lett. di proprio pugno.*

Empire whilst still a Cardinal.[1] "The new Pope," Ferdinand II.'s ambassador, Prince Savelli, wrote to Vienna on August 6th, 1623, "shows particular affection for Your Majesty and for the whole illustrious House of Austria."[2] On August 8th, 1623, Ferdinand II. received an autograph letter from the Pope. In it the Pope not only acknowledged Cardinal Zollern's contribution to his election but assured Ferdinand of his best sentiments "both as regards the common interests of Catholicism and the private ones of the Emperor and his illustrious House".[3]

At the moment of Urban VIII.'s elevation to the pontificate the political horizon was far from clear. There was, first of all, the question of the Valtellina which continued to jeopardize peace between Spain, Austria and France. The danger of an armed conflict between these Powers was increased by the attitude of Venice and Savoy which were wholeheartedly on the side of France, so that the peace of Italy was immediately threatened. No doubt it was in view of this dangerous situation that on October 23rd, 1623, Urban VIII. prescribed

[1] In the *New Year congratulations of Cardinal Barberini to Ferdinand II. on December 15, 1621, we read: "Non cedendo io ad alcuno delli più devoti servitori di V. Mtà Ces. nel desiderio delli suoi prosperi sucessi, ne ho sempre indiritti al cielo affettuosi voti e tanto più poichè dalle felicità di Lei è per dependere la sicurezza e quiete del christianesimo," signed: "humillmo e devotissimo servitore M. card. Barberinus." The original in State Archives, Vienna, *Hofkorresp.*, F. 11.

[2] The original of the *letter of August 6, 1623, *ibid. Rom. fasc.* 45.

[3] Urban VIII. says in the *letter that his first thought on his recovery had been to reassure the Emperor: acciò che si rallegri d'havar in questa sede un Pontefice come negli interessi communi della religion catholica così ne'privati della Cesarea persona et casa sua congiuntissimo di voluntà. . . ." He appreciates the Emperor's support at his election," al che ci sentimo particolarmente tenuti per quanto all'effetto della nostra elettione ha operato con molto ardore il card.le Zollern. . . . State Archives, Vienna, *Hofkorresp.*, F. 12. *Ibid.* the official *letter to Ferdinand II. on the Election, dated August 23, 1623.

the Forty Hours' Prayers in the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Mary Major and the Lateran in order to implore God's blessing upon his government.[1]

Besides the affair of the Valtellina, another important matter engaged the Pope's attention from the beginning of his rule. Eight days before the death of Gregory XV. Francesco Maria della Rovere, the 74 years old Duke of Urbino, had seen his only son die a sudden death as a result of his excesses. This tragedy opened the perspective of the devolution of that fief to the Church. Death prevented Gregory XV. from taking the requisite measures.[2] It was not its extent nor its glory, which had vanished long ago,[3] that gave importance to the Duchy, but its position between the Romagna and the Marches and the coastal places of Sinigaglia, Fano and Pesaro, with their facilities for trade. Urban VIII. maintained the claims of the Holy See to Urbino with the greatest energy, but because these also extended to the county of Montefeltro, he had to reckon with the opposition of the Emperor and the Government of Florence.

The imperial pretensions rested on such slender foundations that Count Francesco Gambara whom Ferdinand II. dispatched to Urbino for the purpose of offering his condolence to the Duke, was restricted to ascertaining what were exactly the rights of the Empire in the matter. There had been no mention of these for centuries, whereas the vassalage to the Holy See had always been kept alive.[4]

In order to reinforce the claims of the Medici a betrothal had been arranged, during the vacancy of the Holy See, between Victoria, a niece of the Duke, and the youthful

[1] See **Acta consist.*, October 25, 1623, *Barb.* 2933, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also *Avviso of October 25, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, *ibid.* According to **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, the devotion began on October 25, 1623. *Barb.* 2818, *ibid.*

[2] See the *report of *Bernardino Campello* of February 18, 1628, Campello Archives, Spoleto.

[3] *Cf.* the description in the *Discorso sopra lo stato di Urbino alla Stà di N.S. Urbano VIII.*, publ. da P. Mazio, Rome, 1858.

[4] See Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 404.

Grand-Duke of Tuscany. The girl was a mere infant but together with her mother, Claudia Medici, she was taken to Florence.[1] Though both the Government of Florence and the Duke of Urbino sought to deceive the Pope as to their real intentions, the latter was well informed [2] and demanded an unequivocal explanation from them. The negotiations initiated by Urban VIII. in Rome, and through his ambassadors at Florence, as well as with the Duke of Urbino, proved very difficult in as much as the Florentine jurists obstinately defended the Medici's claim to the County of Montefeltro as to an old possession exempt from vassalage to the Holy See and one in which, in default of the male line, the female line of succession was valid. The explanations of the old Duke were likewise none too satisfactory,[3] but eventually Roman diplomacy succeeded in coming to terms with the old man who only wished to end his days in peace.[4] On November 4th, 1623, Francesco Maria made an unequivocal declaration, in the form of a letter to the Pope written at Castel Durante, in which he expressly recognized the feudal sovereignty of the Holy See over the whole of the State of Urbino, Sinigaglia and Montefeltro, declaring at the same time that, should he die without male issue, the whole of it was to devolve to the Holy See.[5]

Further developments in this matter,[6] which Urban VIII. had very much at heart,[7] were greatly helped by the political

[1] *Cf.* Ugolini, II., 447 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Bernardino Campello, February 18, 1628, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Agucchi's letter to the Paris nuncio Corsini, dated Rome, November 5, 1623, *Cod.* X., VI., 16, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] See the **Relatione* of 1624, Papal Secret Archives, II., 150, No. 3.

[5] See Balan, VI., 733.

[6] The account in Galluzzi, VI., ch. 6 and 7, is supplemented by information from Nicoletti, II., 105 *seqq.* The version of Grottanelli, *Claudio de'Medici*, 100 *seq.*, is very obscure.

[7] *Cf.* the *report of the envoy of Este, November 8, 1523, State Archives, Modena.

situation. Owing to the war in Germany, the Emperor depended on papal assistance. Spain would rather see an extension of the States of the Church than an increase of the power of Florence, whilst Venice and the other States of Upper Italy looked rather towards the Valtellina than in the direction of Urbino. In these circumstances the regency of Florence, which viewed with alarm the concentration of papal troops on the frontier, also resolved to give way. In so doing it hoped to secure better terms for the allodial possessions. Therefore, on November 16th, the regency, acting in the name of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, gave its approval to the declaration of the Duke of Urbino. Though it proved impossible to get the Emperor to act in like manner, the imperial declaration of March 2nd, 1624, was nevertheless of such a nature that it could not create any difficulties in case of an eventual taking of possession by the Pope.[1] The Venetians, who had begun by siding with Tuscany and the Emperor, now beat a hasty retreat and even offered their assistance to the Pope.[2]

In a consistory of December 18th, 1623, Urban VIII. communicated to the Cardinals the declaration of the Duke of Urbino and its confirmation by the Florentine regency.[3] The documents were likewise communicated to the nuncios for the purpose of showing them to the Governments to which they were accredited.[4] On June 14th, 1624, the Pope was able to inform the Cardinals of an agreement concluded on April 30th with the Duke of Urbino and with Florence,[5] which settled any and all points that might give rise to difficulties after the devolution of the Duchy.[6]

[1] See Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 406.

[2] See Nicoletti, II., 507 *seq.*

[3] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2933, Vatican Library.

[4] See the **Instruction* for Giulio Sacchetti, nuncio for Spain, January, 1624, Casanatense Library, Rome, X., V., 15. The Instruction is to be found in the Library at Amberg, in the *Inf. polit.*, X., of the State Library, Berlin, and in *Cod.* A.F., X., 3, of the Brera Library, Milan.

[5] See Balan, VI., 723 *seq.*

[6] See **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

Notwithstanding these agreements, Urban VIII. was haunted by the fear that the Duchy might yet escape the Church. This explains the Pope's insistence that all officials and military commanders in the Duchy should bind themselves by oath to submit unconditionally to the Holy See on the death of Duke Francesco Maria who, weary of life itself and dissatisfied with the settlement of April, 1624, decided in December of that year, to lay aside the burden of government and to retire to his residence of Castel Durante, situate in the valley of the Metauro. Besides a suitable income and the right of imparting favours in the future also, he had made only one condition, viz. that no fresh taxes should be imposed on his subjects. In exchange for the artillery and its ammunition, the Apostolic Camera paid the Duke the agreed sum of 100,000 scudi. On January 1st, 1625, Berlingherio Gessi, who had been nuncio in Venice from 1607 to 1618,[1] and whom Urban VIII. had appointed governor, began to rule the Duchy which, besides the towns of Urbino, Pesaro, Gubbio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, San Leo and Cagli, likewise included 300 villages and castelli and yielded an annual revenue of 300,000 scudi.[2]

[1] "Prelato pieno di meriti e di virtù," says *Nicoletti (II., 193), where there are further details about Gessi.

[2] *Cf. Bull.*, XIII., 268 *seq.*; Barozzi-Berchet, I., 227; Muratori, *Annali*, XI., 102; Reposati, *Zecca di Gubbio*, II., 246 *seq.*; Ugolini, II., 354 *seq.*, 460 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 734 *seq.*; Campello, *Storia di Campello*, 360. Campeggi followed Gessi, Bishop of Sinigaglia, to whom the old Duke often complained of the miscarriage of justice and other matters. When the old Duke died on April 28, 1631, Urban VIII. resisted the temptation to give the Duchy to his nephew Taddeo. Msgr. Herrera reports in his **Memorie* (see above, p. 36, note 5), that the Pope said at the time: "Se lo stato de Urbino fusse patrimonio della casa Barberina, e altri ci consigliasse che ne infeudassimo una persona di altra Casa, vi pare che faressimo bene a seguitare questo consiglio? Dicendo essi di nò, soggiunse: Hora, essendo patrimonio della Chiesa, alla quale siamo infinitamente più obligati che a casa Barberini, volete che lo togliamo a lei, per infeudare altri, ancorchè del nostro sangue?" (Vatican Library). The

Far more difficult than the settlement of the question of Urbino was the composition of the dispute over the Valtellina from which the Huguenots hoped for the fulfilment of their fondest wish, namely a war between France and Spain.[1] The last act of Gregory XV. had been to take over the fortresses of the Valtellina which were to remain in his keeping, as the trustee of France and Spain, until the settlement of the dispute. The surrender had not been complete for the Spaniards still occupied Chiavenna and Riva on the lake of Mezzola. Urban VIII.'s first step was to demand the surrender of those places also.[2] After some dilatoriness the Spanish Government yielded to so fair a demand.[3] The Pope who, whilst still a Cardinal, had not approved the conduct of Gregory XV. when he took over the strong places,[4] aimed at composing the disputes between France and Spain to their mutual satisfaction though with the express condition that the interests of religion in the Valtellina should not suffer thereby. To this end Urban VIII. created a special congregation of theologians.[5] An agreement concluded in the first days of November of 1623 between the ambassador of Spain, the Duke of Pastrana, and the ambassador of France, Noel Brulart de Sillery, with

addition of Urbino to the States of the Church (*cf.* the Relation of A. Donato, new reprint in Segarizzi, *Relaz. degli Amb. Venetii*, II., Bari, 1913, 237 *seq.*), a matter which Urban VIII. had more at heart than the acquisition of Ferrara (see Ugolini, II., 461), was communicated to the Cardinals by the Pope on May 12, 1631; see **Acta consist.*, MS. from the library of Card. Gentili in my possession. A **Relazione intorno all governo dello stato d'Urbino* by Giov. Fr. Pica, dated Rome, November 9, 1636, and addressed to Urban VIII., is in *Barb.* 5376. *Ibid.*, 1823, p. 24, a poem to the Pope on the acquisition of Urbino. Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* the *"*Relatione della Nunziatura di Francia fatta da Msgr. arcivescovo di Tarso al sig. card. Barberini a dì 27 Ottobre* 1623," Casanatense Library, X., V., 15.

[2] *Brief to the Governor of Milan, September 16, 1623, quoted by Nicoletti, II.

[3] See Rott, III., 643 *seq.*; Quazza, *Politica europea*, 14.

[4] See *Nicoletti, II., 485.

[5] *Ibid.*, 451.

the aid of the Pope's mediation, failed to win the approval of the Spanish Cabinet which demanded the addition of a clause which would have guaranteed to the Spaniards the free use, at any time, of the military road from Colico to Bormio. On December 10th Philip IV. declared to the Spanish nuncio that he must decline to confirm the agreement negotiated in Rome.[1]

Spain's procedure greatly annoyed Urban VIII.; so much so that under the stress of the first impression and in agreement with Sillery, he thought of dropping all further attempts at mediation.[2] However, anxiety for the preservation of peace soon prevailed over every other consideration. This preoccupation, which finds expression in all Urban VIII.'s letters of that period,[3] impelled the Pope to further attempts at mediation. His concern for the preservation of peace disposed him to agree to every imaginable concession in favour of Spain, and he even won over to his view the French ambassador Sillery. On February 24th, 1624, two agreements were elaborated, one of them insuring the position of Catholics in the Valtellina with the Kings of Spain and France as guarantors; the other, which was intended to compose the political differences, allowing Spanish troops to pass freely through the Valtellina and through Bormio, not indeed from Germany and Italy, but under certain conditions from Italy into France. Both the French and the Spanish ambassador in Rome expressed satisfaction with a compromise which put a check on Spain's territorial aspirations in Italy whilst it also made it possible to assist the Emperor in his struggle with the Protestants.[4] Thus a happy solution of the problem seemed to have been found. Urgent Briefs to Louis XIII. and to Philip IV. pressed for its acceptance.[5] But meanwhile Nicolas Brulart de Sillery fell from power and was

[1] See Rott, III., 675. [2] *Ibid.*, 678.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIII., January 7, 1624, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See Rott, III., 693 *seq.*

[5] See the *Brief to Louis XIII. and Philip IV. of March 2, 12, 23, 1624, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

replaced by La Vieuville. The new orientation of France's policy found expression in the rejection of the concession concerning the free passage of Spanish troops and in the replacement of Noel de Sillery by Baron Philippe de Béthune.[1]

The question of Urbino had by itself alone occasioned expenses which, in view of the exhausted state in which Urban VIII. had found the Camera Apostolica, weighed heavily on him,[2] but the occupation of the Valtellina fortresses demanded even greater sums.[3] The Instruction for the new Spanish nuncio, Sacchetti, describes them as an intolerable burden.[4] In these circumstances the Pope was unable to comply with the repeated requests of the Emperor and of Maximilian of Bavaria for larger pecuniary subsidies for their expensive struggle with their opponents. All that Ferdinand II. could obtain was the payment of two delayed monthly contributions amounting to 40,000 florins, nor did Maximilian get more than 10,000 scudi.[5] On the other hand,

[1] See Rott, III., 693 *seq.*, 696; Cochin, *A. Arnauld*, Paris, 1921, 18 *seq.*; *cf.* Mommsen, *Richelieu*, 18; Quazza, *Politica europea*, 31 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of August 30 and September 2, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* XXVII., 218. On August 31, 1623, Urban VIII. *wrote to the King of Poland about his great expenses (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives). According to the *Avviso of September 20, 1623, 45,000 scudi had to be withdrawn from the Castle of St. Angelo, for the troops in the Valtellina (Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the *reports of the envoy of Este, September 20 and 27, 1623, State Archives, Modena.

[4] " *Instruttione a Mons. Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, nuntio appresso la Mtà Catt." (January, 1624), *Cod.* X., V., 15, Casanat. Library, Rome. The **Conti del esercito papale durante l'occupazione della Valtellina*, 1623–5, were offered for sale in 1913, in catalogue 414 of the Leipzig antiquarian, Hiersemann.

[5] See Schnitzer, *Zur Politik*, 169 *seq.* *Cf.* also Götz, *Akten* 307, 352 *seq.*, 408, note, 430 *seq.* For the mission of Georg Sigmund, Freiherr von Herberstein, to Rome, see the *reports of Altoviti, dated Vienna, May 4, 11, 18, June 22, and July 13, 1624, State Archives, Vienna. *Med.* 4375.

Urban VIII. lent diplomatic assistance to the two Princes in whose struggle he took the liveliest interest.[1] Repeatedly, as for instance already on November 3rd, 1623, he urged the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg to lend financial help to the League.[2] In Paris the papal nuncio Corsini did all he could to keep the French Court to its friendly attitude towards Maximilian. Thus it came about that Louis XIII. openly sided with the Duke of Bavaria in the question of the Electorate and accredited a special envoy to his Court.[3]

The Instruction to Giulio Sacchetti, Bishop of Gravina, who had been appointed nuncio to Spain in January, 1624, urges him, in view of the revival of France's old jealousy of the Habsburgs, to do his best for the maintenance of a good understanding between these two great Catholic Powers and especially to get Philip IV. to agree to a compromise on the question of the Valtellina. In this matter, we read, the Pope was neutral, his one concern being the general peace and the furtherance of religion. He desired the maintenance of existing conditions in Italy, though unfortunately the Spaniards, by their frequent concentrations of troops in Milancse territory, provoked much anxiety in Venice. As soon as the Valtellina controversy should be settled and peace secured in Italy, he would promote a war against the Turks. The Instruction rejects the suggestion that the disturbances in Germany and Hungary could be appeased by the marriage of Habsburg princesses respectively with the hereditary Prince of the Palatinate and the unreliable Bethlen Gabór. The nuncio

[1] Besides the Brief to Ferdinand II., of October 21, 1623 (*cf.* SCHNITZER, 170), see the *letter of congratulation to Maximilian I. and to Tilly, for the victory over Brunswick, October 28, 1623, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] **Epist.*, I., *ibid.* The Brief of March 16, 1624, to Mayence, urging him not to allow the League to be defeated, is in GÖTZ, *Akten*, 431, note.

[3] See the *letter of AGUCCHI to Corsini, Rome, February 21, 1624, Casanatense Library, Rome. *Cf.* RIEZLER, VI., 252.

is instructed to oppose such a project by every means humanly possible.[1]

Similar instructions for the preservation of good relations between France and Spain were given to Bernardino Spada, Archbishop of Damietta, whose appointment as nuncio in Paris, in succession to Corsini, almost synchronized with that of Sacchetti.[2] In the Instruction for this diplomatist we read that just as it was of the utmost consequence for Catholic interests that France should further the efforts of the Duke of Bavaria for the attainment of the electoral dignity, so was it no less important that the jealousy of French statesmen should not wreck the projected Anglo-Spanish marriage. Should this happen, not only would it redound to the injury of English Catholics, but the danger would arise of a rupture between France and Spain. The Instruction speaks openly of the Pope's deep sorrow that France was giving support to Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt, "those rebels against religion and empire."[3] Six months earlier Ferdinand II. had complained directly to Louis XIII. of the subventions which France granted to Mansfeld. He had been unwilling at first to believe, the letter says, that he who in the preceding years had been supported by the Huguenots now received similar help from the King of France. The Emperor invited Louis XIII. to give the matter serious thought and not to encourage the rebels of his own realm by such conduct but rather to maintain good neighbourly relations with Ferdinand.[4] These representations remained without effect.

[1] *Instruction for Sachetti, Casanatense Library, Rome (see above, p. 64, note 4). Urban VIII. informed Philip IV. of Sachetti's mission by a *Brief of January 27, 1624 (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives). The **Relatione del viaggio di Mons. Sacchetti in tempo che andò Nunzio in Spagna, fatta da lui medesimo* (his departure was on January 21, 1624), in *Barb.* 5259, p. 134 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Brief to Louis XIII., December 23, 1623, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See LEMAN, *Instructions*, 47 *seq.*

[4] See HURTER, IX., 306.

If from the year 1622 France's attitude had been equivocal, and if tolerable relations with Spain had been maintained only with difficulty, the attitude of the Bourbons towards the Habsburgs deteriorated considerably when, in August, 1624, the Chancellor of France, La Vieuville, saw himself compelled to resign in favour of a political genius destined to give a new orientation to European politics. This was Armand Jean du Plessis, surnamed Richelieu after his ancestral seat in Poitou. From the moment of his elevation to the purple in September, 1622,[1] Richelieu secured a position which in that golden age of the protocol assumed exceptional importance.[2] He had been summoned to the royal council at the end of April, 1624, but only now did he attain the object of his ambition, only now did his influence become paramount.

Each of the two great parties opposed to each other in France at that period, put its hope in this extraordinary man who, to a penetrating intelligence joined astonishing shrewdness and caution, consummate diplomatic skill, tireless activity, an iron will, and an altogether exceptional ability for a cool appreciation of what was possible and what could not be realized. Richelieu had been a model Bishop. In widely read controversial writings, which were even translated into foreign tongues, he had defended the Catholic teaching against the attacks of the Huguenots and in other ways also he had rendered distinguished service to the Catholic party.[3] His political attitude had been so shrewdly reserved that both the party in favour of good relations with Spain as well as the so-called "politicians" who clung to the traditions of Henry IV., desired his entry into the Cabinet.[4] The hopes of the former were destined to be cruelly disappointed, those of the latter were to be realized beyond their most sanguine aspirations.

As an exponent of a Machiavellian policy of might, without

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXVII., 85.
[2] *Cf.* HANOTAUX, in the *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 1902, March 1.
[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 48, 54.
[4] *Cf.* NABHOLZ, in *Jahrbuch für schweiz. Gesch.*, XXVI., 21.

scruple or regard for right, and shrinking from no means, however revolutionary, Richelieu took up once more the far-reaching plans of Henry IV., the purpose of which had been to secure for France the hegemony of Europe instead of the House of Habsburg both in regard to the branch reigning in Spain and that of Germany with which the former was identified. Just as the Cardinal had to struggle for years before he succeeded in concentrating all power in his own hands and in overcoming all internal difficulties, so did his hostility towards the Habsburgs reveal itself only by degrees. In June, 1624, he dealt the Spanish power a first blow, when Louis XIII. pledged himself to pay the Netherlanders, who were once more at war with Spain, the sum of 1,200,000 livres, and another million in each of the two following years, in return for which the Netherlanders pledged themselves to repay him, should the need arise, half of this sum, or to provide him with a proportionate number of soldiers or ships, and not to conclude either peace or armistice with anyone without his consent.[1] Richelieu's second blow consisted in that, after the breakdown of the Anglo-Spanish marriage plan, he brought to a successful conclusion, towards the close of 1624, negotiations for the betrothal of the sister of Louis XIII., the princess Henrietta Maria, to the Prince of Wales, to the consternation of the Cabinet of Madrid.[2]

Relying on his alliance with Holland, Savoy and Venice, the French Cardinal proceeded even more ruthlessly in the matter of the Valtellina not only against Spain but even against Urban VIII. himself. The Marquis Philippe de Béthune, France's new ambassador at the Vatican, was instructed to demand the surrender of the Valtellina to the Confederates! Urban VIII. put it beyond a cavil that his duty of safeguarding the Catholic faith forbade him ever to agree to such a proposal. Even the opening of the passes of the Valtellina, which constituted the chief bone of contention between France and Spain, was not a matter of indifference

[1] See FLASSAN, II., 302 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* XXIX., Ch. IV.

for religion since here there was question of the dispatch of troops against the Protestants both in Germany and in the Netherlands. Both Archbishop Marquemont of Lyons and Béthune in vain exhausted all their powers of persuasion to induce the Pope to yield; Urban insisted on the execution of the agreement entered into on February 24th by Béthune's predecessor.[1] The Pope was strengthened in his resolve by the people of the Valtellina who protested that on no account would they consent to fall again under the domination of the Grisons. The further declaration of the Valtellinese, viz. that they were ready to submit to the Pope's authority, was treated as a manœuvre of the Spaniards and Paris would not hear of such a solution.[2] Béthune left nothing undone to overcome the Pope's opposition, in fact, in obedience to his instructions he even threw out dark hints that France might enter into an alliance with the Protestant Powers. When he had exhausted all his eloquence, Béthune at last openly declared on August 23rd, that war was unavoidable unless the Marchese di Bagno, who commanded the papal garrisons in the Valtellina, was instructed to hand over to France, Venice and Savoy, the places occupied by him. When this threat also failed of its purpose, Béthune remarked that now words must be pressed home by arms.[3]

For this the French Government had been making extensive preparations for a considerable time. After renewing, on July 11th, 1624, the convention of February, 1623, with Venice and Savoy, France decided, on September 5th, 1624, in conjunction with these two Powers, that a fortnight later

[1] See Siri, V., 586 *seq.*, 611 *seq.*, 636 *seq.*; Rott, III., 746.

[2] *Cf.* Siri, V., 644 *seq.* The declaration of the people of the Valtellina that they were prepared to do homage to the Pope may have given rise in Urban VIII.'s mind to the idea of granting that territory to a Barberini, if we may believe Béthune's statements to the Venetian ambassador, P. Contarini (in Brosch, I., 402, note 1). These allegations of the declared enemies of the Pope, require further substantiation before they can be believed.

[3] See Rott, 748. *Cf.* Siri, V., 645.

the troops of the allies in France would march towards the frontier of Savoy and those in Piedmont towards the Genevese-Milanese frontier so as to mask the invasion of the Grisons and the Valtellina.[1] With a view to the execution of this bold plan the Marquis de Cœuvres had been dispatched as envoy extraordinary to Switzerland towards the end of June. He had secret instructions to the effect that in case Béthune's activities in Rome led to no satisfactory result, he was to raise troops in Switzerland. Refugees from the Confederation, headed by the former Protestant preacher, George Jenatsch, in conjunction with the Venetian Resident in Zürich, worked out a detailed plan of campaign. Thereupon Cœuvres, with French money and the assistance of the Government of Zürich, raised an army of 9,000 men.[2] Towards the end of October the small forces of Archduke Leopold in the Prättigau had to beat a hasty retreat before a surprise attack : even the valley of Münster had to be evacuated. On November 25th, at a congress in Chur, the three Federations were restored both in their original extent and their previous reciprocal relations, the former treaties negotiated by Scappi, the papal nuncio in Switzerland, having first been declared null and void ; finally the alliance with France was also renewed.[3] Warned by the papal nuncio of the danger that threatened them, the Catholic Cantons were prepared to offer resistance but they felt unable to bar the way to so powerful an army. At the end of November Cœuvres advanced from the Engadine through the pass of Bernina as far as Poschiavo and Brusio. After the fall of the fort of Piattamala he marched against the town of Tirano whose inhabitants surrendered at once. Marchese di Bagno, commander-in-chief of the papal army of

[1] See RITTER, III., 270. *Cf.* NABHOLZ, in *Jahrbuch für schweiz. Gesch.*, XXVI. (1901), 27. On the same day, September 5, 1624, Richelieu induced the French King to send a kind of ultimatum to the Pope ; see *Lettres de Richelieu*, VII., 545 *seq.*

[2] See HAFFTER, *G. Jenatsch*, 191 *seq.*

[3] See HAFFTER, 206 *seq.* ; RITTER, III., 270 ; ROTT, III., 857. *Cf.* for the campaign in the Valtellina, U. MARTINELLI, *La Campagna del Marchese de Coeuvres*, 1624–7, Città di Castello, 1898.

occupation, who regarded an attack on the army of the Holy See as unthinkable,[1] found himself constrained to surrender the Castle of Tirano on December 11th. A brief bombardment sufficed to get the castle of Sondrio into the power of Cœuvres. The only token of regard which the French commander paid to the Pope was to send back to Bagno on December 23rd the prisoners and the colours he had captured.[2] The Venetians had provided him with heavy artillery, hence a brief siege sufficed to wrest the castle of Bormio from the papal troops which, here as everywhere else, saw themselves attacked by immensely superior forces. By the beginning of 1625 the whole of the Valtellina and the county of Bormio were lost, only for the possession of Chiavenna did the struggle continue for the Spaniards had at long last hastened to its defence.[3]

What long years of discussion had failed to achieve that Richelieu realized in a short time with blood and iron. An enormous impression was made at every Court by this policy which heralded the dawn of a new era.

Urban VIII. and the Paris nuncio, Spada, had strained every nerve in the hope of solving the question of the Valtellina by means of a compromise. On September 24th, 1624, Spada made the most pressing remonstrances to the French King. What would the world say if the illustrious Crusader against the Huguenots were now to league himself with the Protestant Powers in order to attack Catholics ? All that Louis could say was that the Spaniards would have it thus ; but he would prove as good a Catholic as the Spaniards and would show the utmost consideration for the Pope. Though in the sequel everything was done to deceive Spada, the latter quite clearly saw through the plans of the French politicians. Towards the middle of October he told Richelieu to his face that if he went to war with Spain it would be exceedingly difficult for him, a Cardinal, to escape the "irregularity" with which the Church punishes those who favour heretics. Richelieu's

[1] See Rott, III., 813.

[2] See Siri, V., 711.

[3] *Cf.* Haffter, 209 ; Rott, III., 816 *seq.*

reply to Spada was very characteristic of the French Cardinal. He appealed to a papal Brief which he had obtained at the time of his appointment as a minister of State, by which he was empowered to treat any and all affairs that concerned the service of his King. Spada very properly remarked that such a Brief could not justify what he was doing now; in any case it could never allow him to do what was intrinsically unlawful, such as actively supporting heretics. However, Richelieu remained unmoved; he remarked that there were a hundred theologians of the Sorbonne who would find for the lawfulness of his action.[1]

As soon as it became evident that the French meant to invade the Valtellina, the Pope wrote to Louis XIII. on November 5th, and three days later to Philip IV., urging them once more to agree to a peaceful settlement of the dispute.[2] On November 9th, Spada received instructions through a courier to make strong representations to the King on the subject of his action in the Valtellina. Louis XIII. replied that he would have the affair examined by his council; for the rest he was a devoted son of the Church and the Pope.[3] As for Richelieu and the other ministers, they answered in general terms accompanied by shruggings of the shoulders.[4] The French ambassador in Rome wrapped himself in enigmatic silence.

Meanwhile the most contradictory news reached the Curia. On the one hand it was reported that the papal garrisons in the Valtellina were not threatened, whilst from Milan Feria announced the very opposite and at the same time offered Spain's help to the Pope.[5] This offer Urban was unable to accept, were it only that the junction of the papal and the Spanish troops in the Valtellina would have provided the French

[1] See Siri, V., 663 *seq.*

[2] The *Briefs of November 5 and 8, 1624, in Papal Secret Archives, *Epist.*, II. The refusal of Louis XIII. in *Lettres de Richelieu*, II., 51 *seq.*

[3] See Siri, V., 723.

[4] *Ibid.*, 724.

[5] See Rott, III., 812.

with a greatly desired pretext for their invasion. Hence on November 10th, Bagno was instructed to allow neither Spanish nor French troops to enter the Valtellina.[1] News of Cœuvre's attack on the strong places held by the papal troops reached Rome by mid-December. The action was an eloquent commentary on the assurances of the French Court. Although Richelieu instructed Cœuvres[2] to avoid all harshness and every oppression of Catholic missionaries, the proceedings were none the less an act of violence and an injury to the prestige of the Holy See. Spain sought to take advantage of the Pope's justifiable resentment,[3] by trying to induce him to break with France. In contradiction to facts, rumours were circulated accusing Cœuvres of anti-Catholic measures. It was not enough for the Spaniards that the Pope complained bitterly to the French ambassador and the envoys of Venice and Savoy of the insult done to him—they demanded the sternest sanctions, namely the excommunication of the culprits! And since Urban VIII. could not be induced to take so perilous a step, the greatest indignation prevailed in Madrid where far-reaching plans hostile to Spain were ascribed to papal diplomacy. According to a report of the nuncio Sacchetti it was openly suggested there that the Pope should be removed either by poison or by some other means.[4]

[1] See **Instruttione al Marchese di Bagno*, November 10, 1624, *Cod. Barb.* 5256, p. 109, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Rott, III., 825.

[3] See the *Relazione* of P. Contarini, 210.

[4] The report of Sacchetti, January 16, 1625, quoted by Döllinger, *Vorträge*, I., 258, from MS. 8693 of the British Museum. According to Nicoletti (II., 485) Cardinal Borgia, incited by the Spanish envoy, Pastrana, is said to have told the Pope at this time: "Se V.Stà starà cosi indifferente, non havrà per se nè l'uno nè l'altro re. Al che ripose il Papa: Ci metteremo in tale stato che l'uno e l'altro havrà caro di haverci dalla sua" (Vatican Library). The report of the envoy of Este of September 20, 1623, shows how Pastrana had tried at first to influence the Pope: "Il Duca di Pastrana nell'audienza c'hebbe sabbato da N.Sre dicesi che facesse un'oblazione alla Stà Sua in nome del Re Cattolico, che S. Mtà haverebbe sempre

The Spaniards sought to render him suspect in public opinion by hinting at the existence, on the question of the Valtellina, of a secret understanding between Rome and Paris.[1] It was not difficult for Urban VIII. to refute such a calumny. Already on December 20th he had energetically protested in a Brief addressed to Louis XIII.: "The acts of your soldiers," he wrote, "speak another language than the letter of Your Majesty." None the less the Pope cherished the hope that Cœuvres had acted solely on his own authority.[2] Similar Briefs were sent to the Queen, to several Princes and to the French Cardinals, especially to Richelieu.[3] The bearer of these documents was Bernardino Nari.[4] He was instructed to demand the punishment of Cœuvres, the conclusion of a two or three months' armistice and the surrender to the papal troops of the Valtellinese strong places.[5]

To add weight to Nari's negotiations, Urban VIII. ordered a levy of troops in Rome. Nine thousand men were to be mobilized and dispatched in three divisions, under the supreme command of Taddeo Barberini, Prince of Palestrina, and of

tenuta la protettione di casa Barberini, et mandata una croce accompagnata da una commenda di 10m scudi annui per il suo nipote e che S.B. li rispondesse che molto ingratiava la Mtà Sua di questa amorevole dimostratione verso casa sua, ma ch'in quanto alla croce et commenda non era tempo ancora di honorarne il suo nipote." State Archives, Modena.

[1] See Siri, V., 737; Rott, III., 827. On October 5, 1624, G. Altoviti reported from Vienna: "Sono andati attorno alcune voci, ma popolari e delle piazze, che s'habbia qualche ombra del procedere del Papa quasi per qualche gran fine suo s'intenda con chi è contrario a casa d'Austria." State Archives, Florence. *Med.* 4375.

[2] See the *Brief of December 20, 1624, in *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See **Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, a similar *letter of complaint to the Duke of Savoy.

[4] See the *letter to Louis XIII., December 30, 1624, in *Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also Quazza, *Politica europea*, 51.

[5] See **Instruzione a Bernardino Nari*, s.d.; *Cod. Barb.* 5256, p. III., Vatican Library.

Duke Federigo Savelli, brother of the imperial ambassador at the Roman Court, to Ferrara, Romagna and Bologna. These troops, which were to be further reinforced, so Urban assured the imperial ambassador, were raised for the purpose of resisting anyone who disturbed the peace of Italy or who sought to introduce Protestantism there. The Pope's immediate aim was the conclusion of an armistice which was to be but a preliminary to a final settlement. That done he would form a league of all the Italian Princes for the defence of Italy in order that he might be free to turn his arms against the heretics and the Turks. In a Brief of January 28th, 1625, to Ferdinand II., the Pope spoke to the same effect.[1]

Urban returned to the subject of the preservation of peace in Italy at the beginning of February when the imperial ambassador Savelli once more asked him to act as mediator with France. The Pope's answer was that he could hope for no advantage from such a step since the French showed but scant regard for the Holy See, as was proved by recent events. The Pope then expatiated on the way in which the French disturbed the whole of Europe and Italy in particular, seeing that there was reason to fear an irruption on their part into Piedmont as well as an advance on Milan and Genoa, for which they would probably employ Protestant troops.

Savelli had a feeling that in such an eventuality the Pope would not be disinclined to join his troops to those of Spain with a view to protecting Italy.[2]

Great as was his indignation just then, the Pope nevertheless preserved that impartiality which alone enabled him to mediate for peace. The Spanish party took this decision in very bad part and sought to rouse public opinion against Urban by every conceivable means. Besides other caustic remarks the following query was pasted up one day on the Pasquino : *Se il Papa è Cattolico* (" Is the Pope a Catholic ? " that is, a partisan of the Catholic King of Spain). The reply

[1] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 173 *seq.*; BROSCH, I., 395. There is more information about the preparations for war in Rome in the Avvisi of January 8 and 15, *Urb.* 1095, Vatican Library.

[2] See SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*

could be read on the Marforio: *Tace, tace, è Christianissimo* ("Silence! silence! he is most Christian"! viz. a partisan of the most Christian King of France.[1] To put an end to the growing agitation Urban decided to send his nephew, Francesco Barberini, as Legate *a latere* to Paris where the negotiations conducted by Nari and the nuncio Spada had failed to lead to any result.[2] The appointment was made in the Consistory of February 19th.[3] Information of this important step was communicated on the same day, in special Briefs, to the Kings of France and Spain, to the minister Olivares, to the Duke of Feria in Milan, to the Viceroy of Naples, to the Emperor, the Doge of Venice, the Duke of Savoy, the smaller Italian States, to the King of Poland, the ecclesiastical Electors, to Maximilian of Bavaria and to the Swiss Cantons.[4] A good deal of time and money was spent in the composition and equipment of the Legate's suite.[5] The following were outstanding personalities in Barberini's escort: Lorenzo Azzolini, Bishop of Ripatransone and the auditor of the Rota, Giovan Battista Pamfili who was to ascend the papal throne under the name of Innocent X., and among the laymen Cassiano del Pozzo and Carlo and Cesare Magalotti. The two last-named have left a detailed account of the Cardinal

[1] See KHEVENHÜLLER, X., 983, where further verses are given and reports concerning certain preachers against whom the Pope was obliged to proceed.

[2] *Cf.* SIRI, V., 748 *seq.*, 758 *seq.*, 763 *seq.*, 767; ROTT, III., 828 *seq.*; FAGNIEZ, I., 198 *seq.*

[3] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2933, Vatican Library.

[4] All these *Briefs in *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a second *Brief to Louis XIII., February 21, 1625, on the mission of Cardinal Barberini: . . . Facultatibus munire voluimus card. Barberinum Nobis et consanguinitate et benevolentia coniunctissimum. Speramus gratum fore et regali authoritate amotum iri quaecumque impedimenta possent facultates legati executionis fructu privare."

[5] On Sunday 12,000 doppie d'oro were taken from the Castle of S. Angelo for Barberini's legation, says the *Avviso of March 19, 1625, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*

Legate's journey,[1] but they confine themselves chiefly to externals so that the Legate's own reports, which have been preserved in their entirety, constitute our chief source of information concerning the negotiations themselves.[2]

What was the attitude towards the mission of the papal Legate of Richelieu whose influence had already become so great that, according to a remark of Nari, without him the King and the Queen-Mother hardly dared to breathe ? [3]

The beginning of 1625 had brought heavy anxiety to the French minister. It was caused by an armed rising led by Soubise, the head of the Huguenots, who fell upon Blavet after which he summoned his co-religionists to rebel. Even

[1] *" Legatione del s. card. Barberini descritta dal Cassiano del Pozzo," *Barb.* 5688, 5689, Vatican Library, utilized by MÜNTZ, in *Bull. de la soc. de l'hist. de Paris*, XII., and by D'ANCONA (Pisa, 1891, *Nozze-Publ.*). A work generally but wrongly attributed to Count Cassiano del Pozzo, but actually written by MAGALOTTI, (see GUGLIEMOTTI, *Squadr. perm.*, 328, 375 ; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, II., 129, and IL MURATORI, I., 276 *seq.*), is still unpublished. It is the " Viaggio di Francia dell'ill. et rev. sig. card. Francesco Barberini, vicecancell. di s. chiesa, nipote e legato a latere di N. S. Urbano VIII. P.M. a S.M. Christ. Luigi XIII. nel 1625 ", dedicated to Cardinal Barberini, *Cod. Barb.* 5686, Vatican Library, and *Cod. M.I.*, 22, of the Chigi Library, Rome. LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 26, 49, 130, notes other MSS.

[2] The account in the *Mém. de Richelieu* and in SIRI (Vol. V.) rests on the reports of the French ambassador ; according to RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, V., 177 *seq.*), the latter source is the more accurate one. The main sources are, however, the numerous *letters of Barberini which are to be found in *Cod. Barb.* 6150, 6151, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 55 and 56, also the *letters of the French nuncio Spada. A. BAZZONI (*Franc. Barberini legato in Francia ed in Spagna nel* 1625–26 in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 Series, XII., 340 *seq.*) has not made adequate use of Barberini's reports ; though short the account of FAGNIEZ (*P. Joseph*, I., 216 *seq.*) who had access to Barberini's reports, is much better. *Cf.* also *Barb.* 4785, 5273, 6150, 6151. ROTT's account (III., 886 *seq.*) rests on predominantly French sources.

[3] Spada and Nari to Cardinal Barberini, dispatch of January 23, 1625, in SIRI, V., 758.

before Rohan followed his example in May there could be no doubt that a general Huguenot rising was being planned. Richelieu saw at once that the internal peril must first be removed before he could engage in a serious struggle with Spain.

The repercussion on the Valtellina question was immediate in as much as to an energetic offensive there now succeeded a hesitating restraint, though every appearance of weakness was skilfully avoided. Now as before Richelieu insisted with the utmost energy on the restoration to the Confederates of the much contested valley, but Cœuvres no longer received direct support and had to carry on operations at his own risk. The sole purpose of these now was to enable Richelieu to secure for France a favourable conclusion of the conflict. To this altered policy, of which the rejection of the offer by England of an offensive alliance formed part, were due the negotiations with the Pope which clearly betrayed a wish for an amicable solution.[1] To further Béthune's new proposals with Urban VIII., Richelieu had recourse to one of his most intimate and most gifted collaborators, the Capuchin Father Joseph,[2] the future world-famed "Eminence Grise" who was

[1] See NABHOLZ, in *Jahrb. für schweiz. Gesch.*, XXVI., 35 *seq.*

[2] Originally François Leclerc du Tremblay; born in Paris, in 1577, on the termination of his studies in 1595, he made a journey to Italy, took part as a volunteer in the siege of Amiens in 1597 and made his apprenticeship of high politics when he accompanied the ambassador H. de Maisse to England. Under the influence of Bérulle he decided to abandon a worldly career and entered the French Capuchin novitiate in 1599, and from 1606 he had exercised a very fruitful apostolate. His acquaintance with Richelieu, whose right hand he became, had far-reaching consequences on his career of activity in the field of the Catholic counter-reformation. Fr. Joseph's great project of a Crusade against the Turks was obstructed by the policy of Spain. This determined him to co-operate with Richelieu in his plans against the Habsburgs. The Cardinal met Fr. Joseph's ideas of a Crusade with a supercilious smile, but succeeded in converting the Father so completely to his policy that he became one of his best helpers,

about to set out for Rome on business of his Order. At the beginning of February Louis XIII. gave the Friar letters of recommendation to the Pope and to Béthune. However, in consequence of a series of adverse circumstances, Fr. Joseph's departure for Rome was delayed for a month and he only reached the Eternal City on March 24th.[1]

Meanwhile the war which Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, had planned in concert with France, had broken out in Upper Italy. The first objective was the conquest of Genoa, Spain's financial centre, to be followed by that of Milan, Monferrato and Corsica. At the beginning of March, Charles Emmanuel held a review, near Asti, of the Franco-Savoyard forces. They consisted of 24000 foot, 3000 horse and a considerable artillery. Starting from Novi the force invaded the territory of the Genoese who begged the help of Spain, urging that the fall of their city must necessarily be followed by that of Milan.[2]

In a Consistory of March 17th, 1625, Cardinal Barberini

and in 1632 was considered as a possible successor to the Cardinal. The two men completed each other. Fr. Joseph, however, never lost sight of his plan for a Crusade. The strengthening of France was to serve the purpose of making her a first-class Catholic Power. But as a true "child of his Macchiavellian times", Fr. Joseph disregarded the ways and means by which the rise of France was to be realized and this notwithstanding his sincerely religious instincts (*cf.* on this point, BREMOND, II., 160 *seq.*). The work of FAGNIEZ (Paris, 1894, 2 vols.), excellent in many respects, attempts the difficult task of justifying Fr. Joseph. *Cf.* KUKELHAUS, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1894, 1040 *seq.*, and WILKENS, in the *Zeitschrf. für Kirschengesch.*, XVII., 465 *seq.* From the point of view of French nationalism, DEDOUVRES (*Le P. Joseph polémiste*, Paris, 1895) greatly admires Fr. Joseph, but his account has justly met with severe criticism; see FAGNIEZ, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LX., 442 *seq.*; *Études*, LXX., 397 *seq.*, and *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXIX., 327 *seq.*, CXXIII., 26. Recently ANDREAS (*Geist und Staat. Hist. Porträts*, München, 1922, 45 *seq.*) has given us a spirited study of "the Grey Eminence".

[1] See FAGNIEZ, I., 205 *seq.*, 210.

[2] See *Muratori Annal.*, XI., 92 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 712.

had received the legatine cross,[1] after which he started on a journey against which the French ambassador, Philippe de Béthune, had vainly raised the most impassioned protests.[2] An encyclical dated March 26th, announced to the whole Christian world the dispatch of the Legate whose mission it was to restore peace, for war only benefited the heretics, hence all the Bishops were to urge the faithful to pray and to undertake works of penance in order to draw down God's blessing on the step taken by the Pope.[3] Cardinal Barberini journeyed as far as Civittavecchia where he took ship for Leghorn from whence he intended to travel to Paris by way of Genoa and Lyons.[4]

Richelieu was greatly put out by the dispatch of a papal Legate, a measure which he ascribed to Spanish influence. He was afraid of becoming suspect to his Italian allies and even more so to his Protestant friends in England and Germany.[5] But he was also sharply tormented by the anxiety lest the opposition of the strictly Catholic party in France, which was already grievously perturbed by the unscrupulous foreign policy of the French Chancellor whom it had at first regarded as one of its own, should be further strengthened by the presence of a papal Legate. That opposition had always pointed out by various means, even by printed pamphlets, the dangerous consequences of a war against Spain. The Cardinal had put powerful weapons into the hands of his enemies not only by giving support to the Calvinist

[1] See *Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2933, Vatican Library. The Brief to Louis XIII., the French nobles and Cardinals, and to Richelieu are dated March 15, 1625 (*Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives, where the Brief to Louis XIII. is found in duplicate).

[2] See Khevenhüller, X., 983 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 984 *seq.*

[4] For Barberini's departure see *Avviso of March 19, 1625. Vatican Library, *loc. cit.* Urban VIII., who had recommended Barberini by Briefs of March 15, 1625, to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, returned thanks to him for his reception at Leghorn in a Brief of April 26, 1625, *Épist.*, II., *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Rott, III., 886.

Confederates against the Catholic Valtellinese, but by his alliance with Holland and England, by lending help to Mansfeld against the Habsburgs and lastly by his protest against the deposition of the Count Palatine. The cry which became ever louder throughout Germany and Spain, that everywhere Richelieu made common cause with the Protestants and that his policy was bound to injure the Catholic Church, found a powerful echo in France.[1] In a refutation of these criticisms published in May, 1625, Richelieu, who was wide awake to the value of public opinion, sought to justify his conduct, especially in respect of the Valtellina, by trying to prove that Cœuvres' operations were necessary for the honour and prestige of France, the interests of the State, the preservation of European equilibrium and that the prospect of certain success sufficiently justified them. Even the Pope, he asserts, must have at heart the maintenance of the balance of power quite as much as the rest of the smaller Italian States ; hence the occupation of the Valtellina was no attack on him.[2]

It is impossible to ascertain what arguments Fr. Joseph adduced in defence of his master in his secret negotiations with Urban VIII. for all the documents referring to his mission have been destroyed.[3] There could have been no lack of zeal on the Friar's part, for he, too, was a Frenchman first and a Catholic afterwards. His hatred for Spain and the Emperor blinded him to such an extent that he saw in the destruction of the Catholic Habsburgs the necessary preliminary towards the realization, on the part of the Christian Princes, under the leadership of France, of his pet project of a Crusade against the Turks.[4] Though Richelieu did not share these dreams, both men agreed that in view of the Huguenot rising the war against Spain would have to be deferred and that a peaceful liquidation of the Valtellinese muddle, under conditions as favourable as possible for France, imposed itself. During his four months' stay in Rome,

[1] *Cf.* NABHOLZ, in *Jahrb. für schweiz. Gesch.*, XXVI., 28 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 33 *seq.*

[3] See FAGNIEZ, I., 211.

[4] *Ibid.*, 213 *seq.*

Fr. Joseph, who had known the Pope personally since 1617, had two audiences each week and these usually lasted from three to four hours. If his proposals in regard to a settlement of the Valtellina problem nevertheless met with no success, the reason was probably that Urban VIII. could not possibly forestall the Legate whom he had only just dispatched to Paris.[1] Cardinal Francesco Barberini, after journeying from Toulon viâ Avignon [2] and Lyons, reached the French capital on May 21st. Ever anxious to keep up appearances, Richelieu caused the unwelcome guest to be received both on his journey and on his arrival in Paris, with all the honours due to his rank. The entry of the Cardinal Legate, in which Archbishop Gondi, the clergy and numerous members of the nobility took part, was marked by the utmost pomp. Louis XIII.'s own brother escorted the Cardinal to the Louvre. After a short prayer at Notre Dame, Cardinal Barberini betook himself to the apartments prepared for him in the Archbishop's palace which had been suitably furnished by order of Louis XIII. The King also bore the whole of the cost of the entertainment of the Legate and his suite.[3]

The arrival of the Cardinal Legate, as Richelieu had correctly calculated, revived the hope of the strictly Catholic party that a rupture with Spain might be averted. The joy of those circles found vivid expression in the Latin manifesto with which Pelletier greeted the Legate. In that document, which bears the pointed title : " On the Preservation of Peace among the Catholic Princes," the nephew was hailed as an angel of peace who would prevent the outbreak of war between two Kings bound together by ties of kinship, as were Louis XIII. and Philip IV.[4]

[1] See Siri, V., 850 *seq.*

[2] He gave the red Burse with the three keys which the town of Avignon presented to him to his familiar Luciano Fabriani. It is now in the possession of the Barberini family.

[3] See Siri, V., 853 *seq.*; Khevenhüller, X., 987 *seq.*; Quazza, *Politica europa*, 64.

[4] " De pace inter principes catholicos tuenda per T. Pelleterinum, Lutetiae, Paris, 1625. *Cf.* Nabholz, *loc. cit.*, 446.

When the visits prescribed by etiquette had been paid,[1] Barberini opened conversations with Louis XIII. and his all-powerful minister. The Paris nuncio, Spada, likewise took part in the discussions whilst Richelieu called in the councillor of State Schomberg and the Secretary Herbault. Acting on instructions from Madrid, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Mirabel, declined to have anything to do with the deliberations.[2]

Cardinal Barberini, as directed by Rome, began by demanding a general armistice and satisfaction for the expulsion of the papal troops by the surrender of the fortresses into the keeping of the Holy See. The first demand was met with a refusal, the second with an evasion. Moreover, in view of the fact that Richelieu insisted on the Confederates securing full sovereignty over the Valtellina, Barberini failed to get his way when he proposed a definite settlement of the situation. So unpromising an opening did not discourage Cardinal Barberini. He accompanied the Court to Fontainebleau where he was accommodated in the royal palace. But the negotiations conducted during the month of July only served to bring to light the continued existence of an enormous divergence of opinions.

For Richelieu the inflexibility with which Barberini persisted in his demands was explained by the fact that in Rome it was believed that the Huguenot rising and the pressure of the strictly Catholic party would force the Government to capitulate.[3] For this reason he sought to frighten the Cardinal Legate with the threat of an alliance with the Protestants, and above all with the terrifying spectre of a treaty of peace with the Huguenots. The Legate demanded some explanations on the subject inasmuch as, if peace were concluded with the Huguenots, he, as representing the Holy See, could not be a party to the treaty. Richelieu roundly declared that peace with the Huguenots was a political

[1] See Siri, V., 857 *seq.*

[2] See Rott, III., 887.

[3] See the letter of Richelieu to Louis XIII., September 3, 1625, *Lettres*, II., 623.

necessity, all the more so as they were prepared to agree to tolerable conditions. This answer induced Barberini to ask for an audience with Louis XIII. With the utmost freedom he pointed out to the King the injury which peace with the Huguenots would inflict on France and on the Catholic religion. There could be no doubt that in that event they would become even bolder and more exacting in their demands. The Legate also referred to the fruitlessness of the negotiations in which he had been so long engaged and complained bitterly of France's irreconcilable attitude towards the Pope who had personally intervened in the question by sending him as Legate. The King answered coldly; peace had not yet been concluded, he said, though it probably would be. As for a conciliatory attitude, it was impossible for him to concede more than his ministers. Louis XIII. held so firmly to these declarations that the Legate felt that they had been previously agreed upon.[1]

With a view to getting one of the main difficulties out of the way, Barberini consulted the Capuchin Zaccaria of Saluzzo and his confessor, the Jesuit Andrea, to whom he submitted the clauses suggested by France for the purpose of safeguarding Catholics in the Valtellina. After an exhaustive examination, these found the French assurances adequate, even in the eventuality of the Valtellina falling once more under the domination of the Protestant Grisons, but it was for the Pope to speak the last word in the matter.[2] Fr. Joseph, who had left the Eternal City on July 13th, reached Paris on August 19th, that is, before the papal decision arrived in Paris.[3] In the entourage of the Legate it was thought that the Capuchin would no longer be able to alter the situation.[4]

[1] Ciphered *report of Cardinal Barberini to Cardinal Magalotti, dated Fontainebleau, July 30, 1625, *Barb.* 6150, Vatican Library. A passage from it is in A. Bazzoni, 341.

[2] See Bazzoni, 343 *seq.*

[3] The *letter from Magalotti is dated August 21; a passage is in A. Bazzoni, 345–6, complete in *Barb.* 6150, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the report of Cassiano del Pozzo in Müntz, in *Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris,* XII., 263.

Fr. Joseph himself, full as he was of his Roman impressions, thought he would be able to discover even now a middle course by which to conciliate the opposing interests. He at once opened discussions with the Legate whom, in his incredible optimism, he hoped to win over by fresh concessions. He already saw himself within reach of his goal when Richelieu's inflexible insistence on France's exclusive right of a free passage ruined everything. Until now the Court had sought to attenuate, by the honours heaped on the Legate, the bad impression which the course of the negotiations could not fail to make on the Pope. When Barberini said his first Mass, on August 15th, the King and Queen were present. At a banquet in the great hall of the château of Fontainebleau, on August 19th, the Legate was the object of unusual attentions. On August 23rd, the King, escorted by a brilliant suite, paid him a visit in his apartments. On this occasion business was not so much as mentioned. That was done on the following day in an audience, for meanwhile, orders had come from Rome to the effect that the Legate was to insist on the first demands, especially in regard to the safeguarding of religion in the Valtellina, as well as on a definitive termination of the negotiations.[1] The course of the audience was such that Barberini gave up all hope and on August 29th he announced his departure.[2]

[1] See SIRI, VI., 1 *seq.*

[2] *" Io nel veder tanta durezza in materia così chiara ho preso risolutione di partirmi et hoggi ho mandato il S. Nari a dirli che io ho deliberato andar di mattina a Parigi, donde poi m'inviarò verso Italia o sarò a pigliar licenza qua in Fontanablo da S. Mtà non più come legato ma come card. Barberini suo devotiss. servitore già che'l negotio della pace era escluso nell'ultima conferenza fatta alla Maison rouge da Richelieu e gli altri ministri con i miei prelati. . . . Parmi che in questa terminatione dell'affare si guadagna almeno il porre i Francesi in una estrema mala fede e'l giustificare appresso il mondo che non da S. B. nè da me veniva il concluder la pace tanto bramata e vigilata da N.S. e promessa con quell'industria maggiore che ha potuto uscir della mia debolezza. . . . Di Fontanblo li 29 Agosto 1625," *Barb.* 6150, p. 117, Vatican Library.

Meanwhile all hope of peace with the Huguenots had likewise vanished. Richelieu, who saw himself faced by two opponents, the Calvinists on the one hand and the Catholic opposition which sided with the Legate, found himself in one of the greatest embarrassments of his life. He himself subsequently confessed that at that moment he was seized with mortal fear.[1] He resolved to save himself by an extraordinary expedient. On September 3rd he wrote to the King advising him to convoke an assembly of notables for the purpose of examining the question.[2] If he secured that assembly's approval of his policy, he would obtain valuable cover against the Catholic opposition, whilst at the same time he might be able to induce the Legate to postpone his departure. In the meantime, by a decisive blow, he would force the Huguenots to sue for peace. His triumph over the Huguenots was not long in coming. As a consummate exponent of an unscrupulous diplomacy, Richelieu, who had no fleet, made use of that of his English and Dutch allies who were incensed against the Huguenots because of their relations with Spain. On September 15th, Soubise suffered a complete defeat near the isle of Ré. News of the event had scarcely reached Paris when Barberini set out for Rome on September 21st. He had been right in his forecast that Richelieu would prevail on the assembly of notables to sanction his attitude in the question of the Valtellina and to approve his policy of war with Spain. Barberini's unexpected departure threw the French Government into the greatest embarrassment, all the more so as the Legate refused a gift offered to him by Louis XIII. He journeyed to Avignon by way of Lyons.[3]

Rome had set the highest hopes on Barberini's mission. It

[1] "Je n'ay jamais esté au milieu des grandes entreprises qu'il a fallu faire pour l'Estat que je ne me sois senti comme à la mort, tesmoing quand le legat etait ici," says Richelieu, in his memorandum of 1628, *Lettres*, III., 208.

[2] *Lettres*, II., 119 *seq.*

[3] See Siri, VI., 20 *seq.* *Cf.* Hurter, IX., 385; Nicoletti, II., 1228 *seqq.* Vatican Library.

was confidently felt that he would bring about peace [1] for which Urban VIII. had ordered public prayers in April.[2] Great was the Pope's grief when, after four months of negotiation, the Cardinal Legate saw himself compelled to return to Rome without the slightest success to his credit.[3] As soon as he was informed of that decision, the Pope, on October 8th, wrote a very stern letter to Louis XIII., in which he lamented the barrenness of Barberini's legation. Only one thing comforted him, the Pope wrote, namely that in this affair he himself had shut his ears to those counsellors who wished him to put his private interest before the general good. The whole of Europe was so well aware of his affection for France that he was suspected of making common cause with Cœuvres. But now things had gone so far that in Italy people openly complained that the Holy Father was wasting time in useless discussions and prolonging the war by his excessive patience, hence he would make one more appeal to Louis XIII.: "Hearken to the groans of the Church; St. Louis exhorts you to defend the Catholics; the victory of the Isle of Ré is like a voice from heaven; in this way, that is, by fighting the Huguenots, Your Majesty can win glory and victory." [4]

Meanwhile during his passage through Sens and afterwards at Avignon, new proposals for a compromise in the Valtellina question had reached the Legate, the authors of which were the indefatigable Fr. Joseph and the Oratorian Pierre de Bérulle. However, a careful examination convinced Barberini that he

[1] See *Avviso of March 19, 1625, *Urb.* 1095, Vatican Library, confirmed by the report of Cattaneo in QUAZZA, *Polit. europ.*, 55.

[2] See Avviso of April 30, 1625, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, *ibid.*

[3] The Pope approved of Barberini's policy throughout, "e specialmente fu lodato ch'egli havesse accelerata la partita per non trovarsi ad un consiglio generale che poteva servir d'argomento ad una publica censura della sua legatione." NICOLETTI, II., 1221, Vatican Library.

[4] *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives. The example of St. Louis is also held up to Louis XIII. in the pamphlet *Mysteria politica*, mentioned p. 89.

had to do with "eels which slipped all the more quickly through the hand, the more firmly they were grasped".[1] This opinion was fully justified; Richelieu merely pretended to agree with the intentions of those two pious men whilst in reality all he wanted was to frighten the Huguenots and to await a military success in the war theatre of Upper Italy. As soon as this hope was fulfilled, the Spaniards having been compelled to raise the siege of Verrua, Richelieu bluntly informed the Cardinal Legate who by that time had reached Toulon, that unless the sovereignty of the Confederates over the Valtellina was first recognized in one way or another, the fortresses would never be given up: the discussions might go on for two hundred years but an agreement could only be arrived at if his demands were complied with.[2]

The Pope rightly felt that it was precisely to the subjection of the Catholic Valtinellese to the domination of the Protestant Confederates that he could never give his assent. As late as the end of August he had expressed himself unequivocally in this sense both to the Venetian and the French ambassadors. When the latter pointed to historical precedents and quoted reputable theologians who taught that it was lawful to permit lesser evils in order to avoid greater ones, the Pope confuted their arguments by explaining that the honour of the Holy See as well as his own conscience compelled him to remain firm in his demand for the surrender of the fortresses.[3]

The intrigues of the all-powerful minister, his attitude in the question of the Valtellina, his connections with England, Holland, Bethlen Gábor, nay, with the Turks themselves and, lastly, his intervention in Germany on behalf of the Palatine and the Calvinists, had roused an ever growing agitation among the staunchly Catholic party both within and without the boundaries of France. After the failure of the Legate's efforts on behalf of peace, the indignation of these circles vented itself in a pamphlet entitled: *Admonition of a*

[1] See Hurter, IX., 385.

[2] See Fagniez, I., 225 *seq.*, 228.

[3] See Nicoletti, II., 548 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

Theologian to the Most Christian King Louis XIII., which was first published abroad, in Latin, but was soon circulated in a French translation. Whereas a similar pamphlet published in spring and entitled *Political Secrets*, had protested against Richelieu's foreign policy even for political reasons, the *Admonition* does so exclusively on Catholic grounds.[1] Cœuvre's conduct in the Valtellina is described in most bitter and often exaggerated language, whilst the Dutch are spoken of as a band of robbers. The remaining associates are said to be no better: "O wretched felicity of the French realm which cannot be secure unless the Dane, the Swede, Gábor, the Turks and the Tartars ravage and disturb Germany with brigandage, lust, murder, fire and heresy!" The writer implores the French King to shake off his ungodly alliance with the Protestants and to refrain from an unjust war against the Catholics, the continuation of which would inflict grievous injury on religion. All this was obvious enough, but the pamphlet overshot the mark when it ascribed to Richelieu a direct intention of injuring Catholic interests everywhere. Such an accusation could not be substantiated. Far from entertaining any sympathy for the Protestant cause, Richelieu considered an alliance with the Protestant Powers as a political necessity and he sought, though with but little success, to counteract the injury to Catholic interests which was bound to result from such an association.[2]

Both pamphlets caused a great sensation. A vast number of refutations sought to weaken the powerful impression they had created.[3] Not satisfied with this, Richelieu had them publicly burnt by the executioner on October 30th,[4] after previous condemnation by the Sorbonne and the Assembly of the

[1] *Cf.* HUBAULT, *De politicis in Richelium lingua latina libellis* (These), Paris, 1856; *Puyol*, II., 257.

[2] *Cf.* FAGNIEZ, I., 249. Lavisse (VI., 2, 245) says that the censure of Richelieu was justified for he separated politics from the Church and secularized the former, a fact which his defenders would not acknowledge.

[3] *Cf.* on these letters, NABHOLZ, *loc. cit.*, 54 *seq.*

[4] See *Mercure français*, XI., 1062.

Clergy, with a view to securing by this means a formal approval of his policy.[1] The nuncio Spada had prevailed on the Sorbonne to word its condemnation in general terms, lest the prerogatives of the Holy See should be injured in any way. The assembly of the clergy, however, would not hear of this. It entrusted the drafting of its verdict to the Bishop of Chartres. The work of that courtier betrayed his political Gallicanism in so acute a form that the nuncio felt compelled to try and induce a number of Bishops to propose some toning-down of the document. But Parliament, to Richelieu's joy, forbade the Bishops to publish the censure under pain of *lèse-majesté*. On February 26th, 1626, the Bishops, headed by Cardinal Rochefoucauld, made a protest, condemned unanimously the censure of the Bishop of Chartres and drew up a fresh one condemning the two pamphlets whilst refraining from any actual encroachment on the prerogatives of the Holy See.[2] On March 3rd, parliament declared this decision null and void and ordered the Bishops to return to their dioceses. Led by the Archbishop of Auch and the Bishop of Angers, the prelates protested against this unheard-of interference. Parliament would have liked to punish them but at this phase Richelieu intervened so skilfully in the conflict as to draw a laudatory Brief from the Pope.[3] On the one hand he induced the Bishop of Chartres to tone down his censure, and the assembly of the clergy on the other to accept it in this new form. However, calm was not yet established for now Richer came forward with his theories on the monarchical power of the Pope in a pamphlet in which he combated the arguments by which Cardinal Rochefoucauld had obtained the rejection of the censure drawn up by the Bishop of Chartres. Richer's intervention called forth such applause that he began to entertain the most extravagant hopes.[4]

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, *Puyol*, II., 259 *seq.* See also FAGNIEZ, II., 5 *seq.*

[2] Urban VIII. praised the Bishops in a *Brief of March 28, 1626, *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Dated April 4, 1626, *ibid.*

[4] See *Puyol*, II., 268 *seq.*

Richelieu, as may be imagined, did his utmost to discover the authors of the pamphlets directed against his person. The enemies of the Jesuits in Paris made capital of the opportunity. Some named as the author the Jesuit Scribani, others Fr. Eudæmon Joannes, who, like Scribani, had been in the suite of Barberini.[1] Since neither accusation could be substantiated another culprit was found in the person of the Jesuit François Garasse who was subjected to a searching though fruitless interrogatory. Nevertheless the agitation against the Jesuits in France assumed ever wider dimensions, so much so that at the opening of their course of Advent sermons in Paris they solemnly protested against the accusation that they were the authors of such writings, the exaggerations of which they reprobated.[2]

The French Jesuits had good reasons for affirming that the author of the two pamphlets was none of their number. As a matter of fact he lived abroad, but the secret was so well kept that the most recent research can do little more than make a surmise. There exist strong reasons to believe that the *Political Secrets* are from the pen of the pugnacious Rector of the Jesuit College of Munich, Jacob Keller, but there is not sufficient proof to affirm the same of the *Admonition to Louis XIII.* In view of the fact that Maximilian of Bavaria was in the habit of using Keller on other occasions and that the latter could not have made so powerful an inroad into current politics on his own initiative, we are justified in supposing that the Duke of Bavaria, who was at that time doing his best to induce the Cabinet of Paris to cease from supporting the Protestants, by dispatching to the French capital the Capuchins Giacinto da Casale and Allessandro Alice, may also have sought to bring pressure to bear on it in the same sense by means of the aforesaid pamphlets.[3]

[1] Richelieu too believed him to be the author; see QUAZZA, *Politica europea*, 81.

[2] See PRAT, IV., 581 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II.; DUHR, in *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VII.[2], 363; RIEZLER, V., 268, VI., 381 *seq.*; HUBAULT (see above, p. 89, note 1), 46 *seq.*; DEDOUVRES, *Le P. Joseph*

Even though the Duke of Bavaria failed to impress Richelieu by appealing to his conscience as a Catholic, the increasing commotion which the two pamphlets called forth in strictly Catholic circles in France, helped to make the Cardinal pause. If ever there was a statesman endowed with an uncommon sense of political possibilities, Richelieu was such a one. He now had to ask himself whether he could go on fighting the Huguenots on the one hand, whilst on the other he provoked both the Pope and the strict Catholics whose influence was felt at Court as well as in the country, by making common cause, for the purpose of war on Spain, with the Dutch, English, Swiss and German Protestants. In these circumstances prudence demanded that he should extricate himself in time from a position which was becoming impossible as soon as an occasion presented itself for a tolerable solution of the question of the Valtellina. Cardinal Barberini had reached Rome on December 17th, 1625, in a state of deep dejection as a result of the fruitlessness of his legation.[1] His feelings were shared by the Pope.

Already in April, 1625, the French ambassador in Rome, Béthune, had foretold that should the Cardinal's mission of peace prove a failure, the Pope would yield to the demands of those who advised him to recover the Valtellina fortresses by force. In the autumn the Spaniards declared themselves ready to undertake that task at their own expense. Urban deliberated for a long time whether or no to accept the offer. Notwithstanding his anxiety to preserve the neutrality which his

polémiste, Paris, 1895, 247 *seq.* *Nicoletti (II., 752) remarks: "Si riseppe che d'accordo d'essi (the author of both letters) fosse stato il P. (name omitted) confessore dell'elettore di Colonia" (Vatican Library). The confessor was a Father of the residence of Bonn, one Georgius Schrotelius; see **Catalogue of the Prov. Rhen. Inf.*, 1625/6. Archives of the Society of Jesus.

[1] See the *Avviso of December 17, 1625, *Urb.* 1095, and the **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library. On December 20 the Cardinal Legate was received in Consistory; see **Acta consist., Barb.* 2933, *ibid.* A **Carmen de card. Barberini e Gallia reditu* by Carolus Bartolus, in *Barb.* 1825, *ibid.*

position as Head of the Church imposed on him, he could not in the long run bear the reproaches of the Spaniards who blamed him for taking the injury done to him without protest.

Despite his financial straits [1] Urban VIII. had made great military preparations during the summer of 1625.[2] On 25th August he informed the King of Spain through Sacchetti that he had 6,000 foot and 600 horse for the reconquest of the Valtellina, but that this information was to be kept secret until the return of the Legate.[3] As a matter of fact Rome seemed to be extraordinarily determined.[4] In January, 1626, at a Diet of the Catholic Cantons, the Swiss nuncio, Scappi, announced that the papal troops were on the march. Thereupon the French ambassador, Bassompierre, remarked that his King had the greatest regard for the keys of St. Peter but that he did not greatly fear the sword of St. Paul. In consequence of the continuous warlike preparations in Rome and in the States of the Church, Béthune asked the Pope for an explanation. Urban replied that if the fortresses were not given up there remained nothing but to reconquer them by force.[5]

All the same the Pope still hoped that things would not go so far.[6] The compromise which could not be arrived at in Paris might be concluded in Madrid. On the pretext of representing the Pope at the baptism of a daughter of Philip IV., in

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of June 7 and 11, 1625, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library; see also SIRI, VI., 50.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi of June 7 and 11, July 22, August 23, September 20, 1625, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *notes made by PIETRO BENESSE: *Memoria di quel che ha fatto N.S. in diversi moti di guerra fra i principi cattolici, Vat.* 6929, p. 38, Vatican Library.

[4] See ROTT, III., 965.

[5] *Ibid. Cf. Lettres de Richelieu*, II., 202.

[6] For the hopes which nuncio Sacchetti set on the presence of Barberini at Madrid, *cf.* his report of July 2, 1625, in Appendix I. Vatican Library.

accordance with an invitation made in 1625,[1] it was decided that Cardinal Francesco Barberini should go to Madrid.[2]

The warlike preparations of Urban VIII., notwithstanding the explanations of the nuncio Spada,[3] caused grave displeasure in France and a state of real consternation in Venice. The moderate elements in the Senate of the Republic of St. Mark pressed for an understanding with the Pope, but they were in a minority against the younger generation which in consequence of its having imbibed the teaching of Sarpi, was hostile to Rome and would not heed the Pope's complaints.[4] In order to enlighten the Venetian Government as fully as possible on the intentions of the Pope, the ambassador of the Republic was summoned to the Secretariate of State towards the end of January, 1626. On this occasion Cardinal Barberini, Cardinal Magalotti being also present, seeing that he was to act for the former during his legation to Spain, made a full statement of the aims of the Holy See in the affair of the Valtellina. "Since the fortresses that had been given up to the Pope had been taken from him by the Protestant Grisons who in this act of violence had the support of France and her allies,

[1] The letter of the Spanish King to the Pope, in which he asked for this favour, dated October 4, 1625, is in *Nicoletti, II., 1247/8, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Quazza, *Politica europea*, 76 *seq.*, 80.

[2] The nomination of Barberini took place at a Consistory, January 7, 1626; see **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, and Nicoletti, II., 1254 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* The *Briefs to Philip IV. and the Spanish grandees with regard to Barberini's mission, are dated January 26, 1626, *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a *Brief to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Florence of the same date, states that Barberini was not only sent for the baptism but also in the interests of peace. For the apprehension which France, Venice and Savoy felt at the mission of Barberini, see Novoa, in the *Documentos ineditos*, LXIX., 36; Günter, *Habsburger Liga*, 16, note 55.

[3] *Cf.* the commission given to Spada, in an autograph letter of Urban VIII., January 14, 1626, in *Nicoletti, II., 1293 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 1299, for Urban VIII.'s statements to Béthune.

[4] *Cf.* the *report of the Venetian nuncio, January 10, 1626, in *Nicoletti, II., 555, *loc. cit.*

and since the stronghold of Riva, the only one still in his power, was in the hands of the Spanish rather than in those of the papal troops, the Pope was resolved to occupy that strong place with his own soldiers and to drive the heretics from the others with the help of the Spaniards. He entertained no hostile intentions towards Venice, France and Savoy and pursued no selfish aims : zeal for religion and the honour of the Apostolic See alone caused him to insist on the surrender of the fortresses ; he would content himself with this satisfaction and forget what had occurred." The report of these communications created a profound impression in Venice. True, the Senators of Sarpi's school repeated the old calumny that Urban VIII. wished to bestow the Valtellina on one of his nephews, but the more moderate elements appreciated the Pope's declaration and emphasized the necessity for the Republic to extricate itself as best it could from this dangerous game, unless the French were prepared to send larger bodies of troops to Italy. So great was Venice's fear of being abandoned by France and Savoy that their respective ambassadors were forthwith summoned to give an unequivocal promise not to conclude a separate agreement.[1] In the negotiations with the French ambassador, no mystery was made of the fact that rumour had it that in this question of the Valtellina there existed a secret understanding between Paris and Rome. A fortnight later the French ambassador appeared in the Senate and gave such solemn assurances that the most confirmed sceptics thought that they could view the future with equanimity. A French army, he assured the senators, was about to march to the conquest of the Palatinate and another would move towards Italy ; the Valtellina would be defended even if in so doing it became necessary to attack the soldiers of the Pope. Let the Republic continue as in the past to do its duty for the common good and to make even greater exertions than before on behalf of the Valtellina. Louis XIII. swore by his crown and on his honour that in respect to the Valtellinese

[1] See the *report of the Venetian nuncio, February 4, 1626, in *Nicoletti, II., 557, Vatican Library.

question he had no understanding of any kind with the Pope, nor would he enter into any compact with whomsoever on this question without first informing Venice.[1]

The astonishment of the Venetians was only equalled by that of the Dutch and the English when, not long after, it was reported that France and Spain had agreed, at Monzón, to conclude a separate pact on the Valtellina question. The surprise of France's allies was shared by the Pope [2] and by Cardinal Barberini who, having left Rome on 31st Janaury, 1626,[3] had just set foot on Spanish soil at Barcelona and now saw the whole purpose of his mission stultified.[4]

It is one of the achievements of the most recent research to have discovered the motives which induced Richelieu thus to betray his allies.

From October, 1625, Fargis, the French ambassador in Madrid, had been treating with Olivares, the all-powerful Spanish minister. Pressed by the Oratorian Bérulle, who enjoyed great influence with the French Queen, to conclude peace at any cost, Fargis did so at his own risk on 1st January, 1626. However painfully taken aback Richelieu may have been by this arbitrary action of his ambassador, he felt so insecure in view of the Catholic opposition and the general agitation in France that he did not dare to set aside the settlement with Spain but merely sought to modify it so as to render it more

[1] See the *report of the Venetian nuncio of March 28, 1626, *ibid.*, 563.

[2] On January 7, 1626, Cattaneo had stated that the Curia thought it had the matter in hand ; see QUAZZA, *Politica europea*, 84. By the middle of March, 1626, the Pope had heard nothing of the negotiations in Monzón, *ibid.*, 91.

[3] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library. Barberini had received the legatine cross at a Consistory of January 28, 1626, see **Acta consist., loc. cit.* For his companions, see *NICOLETTI, II., 1291. The *Briefs concerning Barberini's mission, of January 26, 1626, are in *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See SIRI, VI., 112. For Barberini's journey *cf.* KHEVENHÜLLER, X., 1325 *seq.* ; PRESSUTTI, in the periodical *Il Muratori*, I., 274 *seq.* ; *NICOLETTI, II., 1323. For the expenses of the legation see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 88 *seq.*

favourable to France.[1] The Cabinet of Madrid agreed to the amendments he proposed in view of the fact that in the meantime, by the peace concluded with the Huguenots on February 5th, 1626, France had recovered her freedom of action. In order to cut short any interference on the part of the Cardinal Legate, the discussions were kept secret. When they were concluded in April the agreement was dated as from March 5th, 1626, at Monzón in Aragon. Louis XIII. having ratified it on May 2nd, it was published with the false date.

The peace of Monzón guaranteed to the Valtellina, Bormio and Chiavenna, under the joint protectorate of France and Spain, the exclusive exercise of the Catholic religion. Politically it re-established the conditions which had obtained in 1617, all treaties imposed on the Confederates for the purpose of a free passage for Spanish troops and the aggrandisement of Austrian territory being revoked. Though in future the Valtellina was to be placed under the suzerainty of the Confederates, their authority would be a purely nominal one for the Valtellinese were granted the right to elect their rulers with complete freedom. The fortresses were to be surrendered to the Pope and immediately razed, never again to be rebuilt.[2]

Articles 10 and 18 gave rise to serious difficulties when it came to the execution of the treaty. These laid on the Pope's representatives the duty of entering into immediate negotiations with the Protestant Grisons and that of razing of the Valtellinese fortresses. Urban VIII. refused, as a matter of principle, to enter into official relations with apostates from the Church. He likewise hesitated to agree to the razing of the fortresses inasmuch as such action would gravely jeopardize the position of the Catholic Valtellinese in the event of their being attacked by the Grisons. The Pope proved unyielding on these points, hence the negotiations became exceedingly

[1] See FAGNIEZ, I., 229 *seq.* *Cf.* RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 304 *seq.*

[2] See DU MONT, V., 2, 487; SIRI, VI., 113 *seq.*; ABSCHIEDE, V², 2, 2123 *seq.*

difficult.[1] Cardinal Barberini could not get over his disappointment at having been excluded from the negotiations,[2] but he ended by realizing that interference on his part would do more harm than good. Both Olivares and Philip IV., who outwardly had shown the utmost deference to the representative of the Pope,[3] did not desire a prolongation of his stay. In one of his last audiences the King made him the offer of the protectorate of Aragon and Portugal which had become vacant through the death of Cardinal Farnese, as well as a pension of 12,000 scudi. The Legate declined both offers with thanks. He could not, however, refuse a portrait of the King set in diamonds worth 12,000 scudi as well as various decorations for the prelates of his suite.[4] Pamfili remained in Spain as nuncio whilst Cardinal Barberini took boat at Valencia and returned to Rome by way of Nice and Genoa.[5]

The discussions on the execution of the treaty ended on November 11th in a compromise by the terms of which the

[1] See A. Bazzoni, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 Series, XII., 353 *seq.*, where the ciphered reports of Barberini from Madrid, dated July 4 and August 6, 1626, are given. As against Rott, Leman shows in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XII., 329, that the opposition of Urban VIII. was not based on the Pope's annoyance at the defeat of his Legate, but on fundamental considerations which arose from his position as Head of the Church.

[2] *Cf.* Quazza, *Politica europea*, 102 *seq.* *Ibid.*, for the criticism passed on his and the Pope's policy, in Rome.

[3] See *Nicoletti, II., 1359 *seqq.*; Khevenhüller, X., 1327 *seq.* *Cf.* the scarce letter of J. Antonio de la Peña, *Discurso de la Jornada que hizo a los Reynos de España el ill. y rev. s. Don Francisco Barberini, cardinal etc.*, Madrid, 1626.

[4] See A. Bazzoni, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seq.*

[5] The *diarium* of the return journey in *Cod. Barb.* 5349, p. 104, written probably by Barberini's secretary, Lorenzo Azzolini, has been published by Pressutti in the periodical, *Il Muratori*, II. (1893), 177 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*, together with an appendix on the gifts distributed by the Cardinal in Spain and an estimate of the cost of the journey. The **Instruttione a Msgr. Pamphilio restato mio successore nella Nuntiatura di Spagna* (*cf.* Biaudet, 278), s.d. in the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome, but it is incomplete.

fortresses were to be razed under the supervision of the Kings of France and Spain. Cardinal Barberini reached Rome on October 13th, 1626, and betook himself at once to the Pope at Castel Gandolfo. Urban VIII. received him with every sign of sincere satisfaction.[1]

As a matter of fact Urban VIII. had every reason to be pleased. Though his Legate had been excluded from the negotiations, their issue nevertheless represented a triumph for the Holy See and the Catholic cause.[2] That which Urban VIII. had always aimed at in the first instance, namely the safeguarding of the Church in the Valtellina, had been fully realized. He also obtained full satisfaction for the expulsion of the papal troops. At the beginning of 1627 Cœuvres had to consign the places conquered by him into the hands of Torquato Conti, commander of the pontifical troops. Charles Emmanuel saw himself compelled to abandon his enterprise against Genoa,[3] whilst the Venetians rejoiced that they had not ventured too far against Spain. The danger of war in Italy—the Pope's one great fear—had vanished. Full of joy Urban VIII. informed all the Powers of this happy turn of events in special Briefs dated March 6th, 1627.[4] A few days earlier he had informed the Cardinals in consistory of the happy settlement of the disputes over the Valtellina which had given him so much anxiety from the first days of his pontificate. In his indefatigable efforts in this matter, he declared, he had only had the cause of God before his eyes, and he trusted that the harmony now re-established between

[1] See the **Diarium P. Alaleonis, loc. cit.* Vatican Library. Barberini's reception in the Consistory took place on October 27, 1626; see **Acta consist., loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. By a *Brief of September 13, 1626, Urban VIII. thanked the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Florence for his reception of Barberini. *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The opinion of Brosch (I., 382).

[3] See Balan, VI., 714.

[4] See the *Briefs to the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain and Poland, to Maximilian I., the Italian Powers and Switzerland, all of March 7, 1627, in *Epist.*, IV., Papal Secret Archives.

France and Spain would yield rich fruit for the advantage of the Catholic religion.[1]

As a matter of fact the harmony of the two great Catholic Powers at a moment when everyone expected a decisive struggle between the two rivals, was bound to help enormously the progress of the Catholic restoration. Whilst the relations between England and France, which had been troubled before this, quickly ripened into an open rupture, the King of Denmark, Christian IV., and the other opponents of the Emperor in Germany found themselves in a very sorry plight.

How great had been the anxieties of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Emperor appears from their pressing requests to the Pope for help. To some extent Rome underestimated the peril, for it was believed that Tilly would easily dispose of so motley a crowd as the King of Denmark's untrained troops.[2] Urban VIII. turned to the German Bishops [3] and the wealthy Chapters of Spain with a view to obtaining money from them.[4] In February, 1626, he set aside for the Duke of Bavaria 216,000 imperial thalers, whilst he deplored his inability to give more for the time being. Notwithstanding Maximilian's

[1] See **Acta consist.* for March 2, 1627, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the *report of Savelli of June 21, 1625, State Archives, Vienna, used by SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 178. Complaints of Maximilian of inadequate help by the Pope, February and November, 1625, in GÖTZ, II., 59, 454.

[3] See the *Briefs to the Archbishops of Salzburg and Mayence, and to the Bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, Worms, Eichstätt, Spire, Strassburg, Constance, Basel, Liège, Ratisbon, Passau, Freising, Trèves, Augsburg, Münster and Paderborn, dated June 14, 1625, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Brief to Olivares of June 14, 1625: "Eget novis exercitibus stipendiisque Germania." The lower ranks of the clergy of Italy and Germany had given their support. Why should "canonici cathedralium pollentes opibus" be only "spectatores" and contribute nothing? Your defenders say that you wish to reserve your riches for the last moment. "Comprobate hanc defensionem. Pecuniae vestrae arma sunt." *Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.*

continued and pressing requests, the Pope stuck to his decision, basing his refusal on the circumstance that the raising of an army for the reconquest of the Valtellinese fortresses had made too heavy inroads into his financial resources.[1] Instead of a subsidy, earnest exhortations were addressed in April, 1626, to the ecclesiastical Electors and the German Bishops urging them to provide money for the holy war.[2]

When Duke Johann Ernst of Weimar, whom the Danish King had dispatched to Osnabrück, after crossing the Weser and advancing against the above-mentioned town, compelled it to elect a Danish Prince as coadjutor, both the Emperor and Maximilian were urged by the Pope to reconquer that diocese.[3] As soon as Weimar's troops had been driven back, Urban congratulated the Emperor on his success, at the same time begging him to give his support to the anti-Danish league, for he was fully aware that Germany's misfortunes also redounded to the injury of the Holy See.[4] On June 6th, 1626, he congratulated the Emperor and his general, Wallenstein, on the brilliant victory over Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau,[5] and on June 10th he assisted at a thanksgiving service in the German national church.[6] Simultaneously assurances of the strongest possible support for the League were given to Maximilian and to the Archbishop of Mayence [7]; however, only part of the promised 216,000 imperial thalers could be handed over.[8] At the beginning of August, 1626, Ferdinand II., whose position had become worse in consequence of a peasant rising in Upper Austria, begged for a subsidy of 100,000 scudi. Urban replied that however much he deplored Ferdinand's straits, his own financial exhaustion rendered him helpless

[1] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 182 *seq.*

[2] See the *Briefs of April 4 and 11, 1626, *Epist.*, III., *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *Briefs of April 11, 1626, *ibid.*

[4] *Brief of June 13, 1626, in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 183 *seq.*

[5] See *Epist.*, III., *loc. cit.*

[6] See SCHMIDLIN, 454.

[7] See the *Brief of June 6, 1626, *Epist.*, III., *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf.* GÖTZ, in *Forschungen zur Gesch. Bayerns*, XII. (1904), 114 and 115, note 1.

for the moment inasmuch as the troubles in Italy alone had cost him two millions, and he could not yet see how he might curtail his expenditure.[1]

The continual warlike preparations, we read in a Brief of August 25th, 1626, to the Emperor, exhausted the papal treasury.[2] In these circumstances it came as an extraordinary stroke of fortune when on August 27th, 1626, Tilly inflicted a shattering defeat on the Danish King near Lutter, on the Barenberg. The consequences of this victory were all the greater inasmuch as France and England were exceedingly remiss in fulfilling their promises of financial assistance. Hence Urban VIII. could already speak to Maximilian of his hope of the utter destruction of the Danish army.[3] Towards the close of 1626 Bethlen Gábor made his peace with the Emperor and almost at the same time the death took place of Mansfeld and the Duke of Weimar. A third notable enemy of the Catholic cause, Christian of Halberstadt, had died in June, a victim of his excesses. Thus the campaign of 1627 opened under excellent auspices.

At this juncture Urban VIII. conceived the daring plan of taking advantage of the newly established concord between the two great Catholic Powers for the purpose of a joint action by them against England. Charles I. himself had provided the pretext. In obedience to the Puritans and contrary to the marriage contract signed by him, he had banished from England the Catholic entourage of his Queen, leaving with her only two priests and a few ladies. This action was a personal insult to Louis XIII., whilst by his intrigues with the French Protestants he threatened the tranquillity of that realm. Rome watched these events with the greatest attention. In his Instruction of March 1st, 1627, Bagno, the French nuncio, was directed to persevere in impressing on Louis XIII., the Queen-mother and Richelieu the necessity for France to

[1] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 184 *seq.*

[2] *Epist.*, III., *loc. cit.*

[3] *Brief of October 3, 1626, similarly to the ecclesiastical electors, *Epist.*, IV., *loc. cit.* For the thanksgiving celebrations in the Anima on September 20, 1626, see SCHMIDLIN, 454.

insist on the full execution of the marriage contract. The nuncio was told to keep a close watch on all that took place at the English Court in this respect.[1]

The Pope was even more concerned about England's relations with the French Protestants and in particular with La Rochelle. After the peace of 1625, the Protestants remained by no means quiet. At the close of that year the town of La Rochelle dispatched a formal embassy to the King of England, as to " a distinguished member of the Church of God on earth ", to beg his protection for their lives and liberty.[2] In consequence of this demand, Charles I. dispatched as his representatives with the Huguenots Devic and Montague, whilst the latter appointed Soubise and Brancard as their agents with the King of England. The result of the negotiations was a promise to support the Huguenots of La Rochelle with an English army. Rumour had it that the aim of the proposed expedition was nothing less than the establishment of a Protestant principality between the Loire and the Garonne.[3]

Whilst Urban VIII. thus earnestly drew the attention of the King of France to England's alliance with the Huguenots, a fact that brought a fresh rising of the latter appreciably nearer, as well as to the flagrant breach of the marriage settlement, he also reminded Philip IV. of his duty to go to the assistance of the English Queen, his near kinswoman.[4] These warnings fell on willing ears both in Paris and in Madrid. In April, 1627, as a result of negotiations conducted in the strictest secrecy, France and Spain concluded an agreement which included a resumption of the plan of a landing in England.[5]

Though this convention was to be kept from the outside world, some sort of warning of impending danger seems

[1] LEMAN, 144 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. IV.

[2] In RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 240 *seq.*

[3] LINGARD, VII., 318 *seq.*

[4] See RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 339.

[5] See LINGARD, VII., 320; RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 340 *seq.*; *Eng. Gesch.*, II.[4], 188 *seq.*

to have reached England.[1] Be this as it may, on July 30th, 1627, without previous declaration of war, an English fleet appeared before La Rochelle with 10,000 troops on board, under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, Buckingham's brother-in-law, who called upon the French Huguenots to defend their independence.

The Catholic world was threatened with a heavy blow. By reason of its position the Isle of Ré would have constituted an admirable *point d'appui* for England against both Spain and France ; it would also have interrupted communications between Spain and the Netherlands and put England in permanent contact with the Huguenots. Consequently Richelieu might well count on a good reception when in the course of the following month he proposed to the nuncio Bagno that the Pope should also join the alliance between France and Spain. Bérulle who headed the sincerely Catholic party at court and who enjoyed great influence with the Queen-mother, spoke to Bagno in the same sense and even expressed the opinion that the Pope should seize the opportunity to reassert his pretensions to Ireland. When the nuncio passed these suggestions on to Rome [2] he announced at the same time that the Duke of Savoy had offered to act as mediator for peace with England. Richelieu indignantly rejected the offer, one reason being that he disliked the mediator, the Abbate Scaglia. The projected league against England gave exceptional pleasure to the Pope, though he entertained some misgivings about the Holy See's participation in it, in the first place by reason of the great distance between England and Rome and, secondly, because of his lack of money. He was nevertheless resolved to make a substantial contribution, but reminded Bagno that on a similar occasion Sixtus V. had promised to open his treasury only when a landing on English soil should be an accomplished fact.[3] As a matter

[1] See Brosch, *Engl. Geschichte*, VII., 129.

[2] *Letter of Bagno to Rome, August 13, 1627, in *Nicoletti, *Barb.* 4732, p. 383, Vatican Library, and of August 20, 1627, ibid., 384 *seq.*

[3] *Letter of September 7, 1627, *ibid.*, 385 *seq.*

of fact unless that condition were first realized, the Catholics of England could build no great hopes on the Pope's help, seeing that it would look like a purely political action.[1]

However, Richelieu kept on working on the mind of the nuncio. He suggested that the Pope should dispatch either two regiments of Walloons, of 3,000 men each, or eight galleys of the papal navy. This would make it possible to seize a harbour in Ireland and to bring about a rising of the people.[2] Urban VIII. replied that he could only make a pecuniary contribution and that he wished to wait till Spain also asked for his help. He must be given time to collect the money; it would make no difference whether the subsidy came at once or only in the course of the enterprise, and he had to proceed with the utmost caution for the sake of the English Catholics.[3] Nor did the Pope trust the alliance between France and Spain since at that very time Richelieu was seeking to renew the alliance with the enemies of Spain, the Dutch, and was providing the Danes with money.[4] Richelieu kept his ambassador in Rome, Béthune, in such ignorance of the situation that the latter could speak to the Pope of the conclusion of peace between France and England, which he imagined to have taken place. Urban VIII. merely replied that Louis XIII. should remember the broken matrimonial treaty and that La Rochelle could not be included in any peace treaty; to act otherwise would be to encourage all rebels to follow the example of that town.[5]

Meanwhile dissatisfaction was growing in France owing to the delay in the arrival of the promised Spanish galleys. The Pope had foreseen these hesitations; nevertheless, through his nuncio and Béthune, he urged the King to proceed against La Rochelle. The expedition against England

[1] *Nicoletti, 386 *seq.*

[2] *Bagno, on August 17, 1627, *ibid.*, 387 *seq.*

[3] *To Bagno, September 17, 1627, *ibid.*, 388.

[4] *Nicoletti, 389.

[5] *To Bagno, September 21, 1627, *ibid.*, 390.

could be started as soon as ever the Spanish galleys should arrive.[1]

Richelieu seemed satisfied with the Pope's reasons for refusing to join in a Franco-Spanish league, but Bagno could not help suspecting that he only talked thus because he himself meant to break up the treaty under pretext of the Pope's abstention. To Bagno's hope that the Pope's claim to Ireland would be respected in any case Richelieu gave an evasive answer.[2]

Richelieu announced his intention to follow the Pope's advice even without the support of the Spanish galleys; the King himself would personally take part in the siege of La Rochelle; if there was any hesitation at all, it was due to lack of money. The Pope should allow the King to sell certain ecclesiastical properties, or at least to grant him a tenth for two years—that is, double the present contribution made by the clergy. However, before making the request, the King wanted to know how the Pope would receive it; accordingly Bagno should at once send a courier to Rome; this would encourage the King to speed up the enterprise. Bagno had his misgivings as to the advisability of a step of this kind, for the French clergy were of opinion that such subventions were its own concern, not the Pope's; moreover, they were afraid lest the tenth should become a permanent institution. Hence Bagno merely sent a confidential report to Rome, adding that the occasion was favourable for inducing the French clergy to make an act of effective recognition, for since the money contributed was to be spent for the benefit of religion and that of the realm, an object towards which the clergy had already made an offer of 500,000 scudi, that body would probably raise no objection to the papal command,

[1] *Nicoletti, 391. "E veramente l'abbattimento di detta Rocella fu uno de'principali desiderii che hebbe Urbano in quei primi tempi del suo principato." *Ibid.*

[2] *Bagno on October 3, 1627, *ibid.*, 392 *seq.* But Richelieu added in jest, "Se Dio vuole che vi arriviamo, farà vedere il cardinale Richeliù, che non è cosi nero come in Roma lo dipingono." *Ibid.*

especially if at the same time they were given an assurance that at the end of two years the tenth would no longer be demanded and that the whole of the money would be spent on the enterprise against La Rochelle. Two Bishops should be appointed to collect the money, and if at all possible, the nuncio should act in conjunction with them.[1]

Béthune, who showed to the Pope a plan of La Rochelle,[2] pressed the Pontiff to impose on the clergy a contribution of one million for the raising of which he suggested various ways and means. The Pope listened kindly to his proposals but gave it as his opinion that the consent of the clergy was necessary in spite of the ambassador's strong insistence that the King's request should be granted at once. During the ensuing discussions in Rome it was pointed out that counter-demands should be made, as was the practice of the assembly of the clergy when making money grants. One condition in particular should be that some order be put into the system of prebends in the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, for though they were not included in the French concordat, the royal approval was nevertheless demanded in the conferment of benefices.[3]

The Pope was very much gratified on being told that Louis intended to join the army of La Rochelle in person and that his mother had been named Regent for the duration of his absence. Nothing became the King so well, the Pontiff declared, as to chastise the English who planned to defend La Rochelle, for their infringement of the marriage settlement. At that very time some writings had been published in France by Pierre Dumoulin and others, attacking the Holy See, so that in view of these productions alone Urban VIII. was glad of the campaign against La Rochelle since it would mean the destruction of the workshop where these weapons were being forged.[4]

[1] *Bagno, September 20, 1627, *ibid.*

[2] See the *report of Béthune, of September 23, 1627, in *Cod.* 7215 of the State Library, Vienna.

[3] To *Bagno, October 20, 1627, in NICOLETTI, 396–9.

[4] To *Bagno, November 4, 1627, *ibid.*, 300 *seq.*

The result of the discussions in Rome on the contributions was a decision to adopt Béthune's advice, namely, not to impose anything on the French clergy by way of a command but to send them a Brief of exhortation.[1] To this Richelieu also agreed. In return for the clergy's compliance the Holy See demanded the free collation to benefices in Metz, Toul and Verdun, liberty for Bishop Sponde to make use of the services of some religious of the Apostolic Delegation, a thing which the royal council had forbidden him, the punishment of Filesac for his bad books and the settlement of the situation at Verdun where the Bishop had been maltreated and Church property had been seized.[2]

Whilst Urban VIII. was patiently waiting for the Spaniards to make a move and the French were beside themselves because of the latter's endless delays, a serious disagreement arose between Richelieu and the Pope. The Cardinal wanted two things: the first was to be named coadjutor to the Abbot of Clugny, the other the right to give its Priories *in commendam*. Now Clugny was the head of a branch of an Order and it was an unheard-of thing that the Abbots of such houses should have a coadjutor or that their Priories should be given *in commendam*, and it would have been no less strange to appoint a Cardinal as coadjutor to a monk. Yet the Pope's refusal infuriated Richelieu to such an extent that to the nuncio he seemed like one demented. Bagno gave it as his opinion that seeing Richelieu's power, and in view of the fact that there existed a few ancient precedents of such coadjutorial appointments, it would be difficult to refuse him Clugny but that with regard to the Priories, the Pope would do well not to yield.[3] Cardinal Barberini kept pressing Urban VIII. and at length the Pope gave a decision in the sense of Bagno's suggestion, and even threw in yet another abbey and remitted

[1] *Ibid.*, 401.

[2] *Bagno, November 19, 1627, *ibid.*, 402; to *Bagno, November 4, 1627, *ibid.*, 402 *seqq.* For the events at Verdun *cf.* Bagno, October 15, 22, and November 5, 1627, *ibid.*, 405 *seqq.*; to *Bagno, November 17, 1627, *ibid.*, 408.

[3] *Bagno, August 27, 1627, *ibid.*, 413 *seq.*

the fees. But Cardinal Barberini returned with his counter-demands, namely, concessions in regard to the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, the question of the Bishop of the last named town and the dispatch of an *obbedienza* embassy. Lastly there arose the question of Bérulle's elevation to the Cardinalate.[1] Although, according to Bagno, Richelieu deemed all this but a trifle by comparison with what he thought he was entitled to, for once the Cardinal admitted that by conferring Clugny on him the Pope had given proof of uncommon magnanimity and accordingly he himself made some favourable promises in respect of the papal counter-demands.[2]

Meanwhile, under the very eyes of the King and Richelieu, the French army drove the English from the Isle of Ré. The success was achieved without the Spaniards who were subjected to not a little irony for their dilatoriness.[3] The Pope was overjoyed. "Now La Rochelle must fall," he told the French ambassador.[4] He congratulated the King and Richelieu and urged them to turn their armies at once against the Huguenots in general; by this means they would best win the world's respect. With regard to the English, Louis should insist on their fulfilling the clauses of the marriage contract, and personally take part in the siege of La Rochelle. Bagno was instructed to make similar representations to the Queen-mother and to Bérulle.[5]

[1] *To Bagno, September 7, 1627, *ibid.*, 415 *seq.*

[2] NICOLETTI, 416, *seq.*

[3] *Bagno to the Spanish and Flemish nuncio, November 19, 1627, *ibid.*, 419.

[4] "Maintenant La Rochelle ne peut plus échapper." Béthune's report December 5, 1627, State Library, Vienna.

[5] The Secretary of State, December 15, 1627, in NICOLETTI, 420 *seq.* Celebrations of thanksgiving in Rome for Louis XIII.'s victory, see *Avviso, December 4, 1627, Vatican Library. Offence was taken in France because the Pope had not allowed a *Te Deum* to be sung as was done after the victory of the White Mountain. Bagno defended him; *cf.* his *letter of December 31, 1627, in NICOLETTI, 249 *seq.* Béthune *reports on December 18, 1627, that

In view of the Pope's sentiments, the nuncio was not a little surprised when Bérulle handed him a letter of Richelieu which stated that the Roman ambassador, Béthune, had reported that the Pope would neither contribute any money himself for the English enterprise nor command the French clergy to do so; that, on the contrary, he was opposed to the alliance and urged the conclusion of peace with England. The letter ended on a note of complaint because in Rome the Cardinal only met with lukewarmness, not to say coldness whereas he had looked for the opposite from the Pope.[1] Bagno easily confuted these accusations; for the rest, the nuncio was of opinion that the minister's complaint was not serious and that his real purpose was to induce the Pope to remove every cause of complaint by the grant of subsidies.[2] In point of fact, after the first victory over the English, Richelieu started the attack on La Rochelle; that was why he wanted the Pope to allow him to impose a double tenth on the clergy for two years or to alienate as much Church property as would yield a revenue of 100,000 scudi.[3] To this the Pope would not consent. The sale of Church property, he said, had led to disastrous results, as he himself had witnessed during his nunciature in France. He shrank from imposing under obedience a double tenth, for such a measure could not fail to call forth discontent in the Assembly of the Clergy which was then imminent. Let the King discuss the matter with each Bishop individually, in this way he would more readily obtain the contributions of the clergy than by demanding them from a full assembly.[4] These counter-

the Pope would have gone to the Te Deum at S. Luigi de'Francesi, but the consideration that this would have been visited upon the English Catholics restrained him. Urban VIII. told Béthune at the time that he did not think Spain really desired to see the extirpation of heresy in France. State Library, Vienna.

[1] *Bagno, December 15, 1627, in NICOLETTI, 421 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* Béthune had also brought his complaints to the notice of Cardinal Magalotti; *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 424.

[4] *Ibid.*, 427 *seq.*

proposals did not irritate Richelieu as much as had been feared; all he asked was that Bagno should keep secret, until the clergy should have assembled, the earlier hortatory Brief which had not as yet been made public.[1] The Pope persisted in his point of view, and when Béthune represented to him that if La Rochelle was not taken,[2] the blame would be laid at His Holiness' door, he replied that that would be impossible, that on the contrary the Assembly of the clergy would be blamed since they had refused to grant the necessary subsidies.[3]

The Assembly of the clergy at Fontenay submitted neither to the royal demand for 4,000,000 francs nor to the papal hortatory Brief.[4] The Bishop of Orleans reproached the government for having appealed to the Pope, adding that a money contribution would only be voted on condition that the King would never again have recourse to Rome in similar circumstances.[5] The latter was reminded of the way in which previous subsidies had been misused as well as of the poverty and the depressed condition of the clergy. The utmost that could be granted was a million at once and another million after the fall of La Rochelle. Richelieu was indignant at this proposal; he heaped reproaches on the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Orleans and Aire and swore that he would sooner be burnt alive than grant another Bishopric to persons of blameworthy lives. A deputation of Bishops fared no better when it presented itself before the King. If 4,000,000

[1] *Ibid.*, 429.

[2] To *Bagno, February 9, 1628, *ibid.*, 435 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 438. For the rest, in order to prejudice the Pope's influence in France, Richelieu's adviser, Fancan, had suggested that they should ask for a million ducats of the Pope in open consistory and insist that otherwise it would be necessary to conclude peace. "Le Pape assurément refusera et on aura un beau sujet de faire la paix et rejeter l'envie sur le défaut d'assistance de Rome." KÜKELHAUS, in *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, II. (1899), 33.

[4] NICOLETTI, 444–8.

[5] NICOLETTI, 446.

francs were not voted he would have nothing to do with them, he told them, as he turned his back on them.[1] In the end the Assembly voted 3,000,000. No reply was sent to the Pope; when the nuncio demanded one he was told that it was customary to issue one only when no satisfaction could be given to the wishes of the Pope.[2]

The English offensive against France proved a complete failure. After their defeat on the Isle of Ré, the English no longer seriously sought to relieve La Rochelle. True, a squadron under the command of the Earl of Denbigh was sent to relieve the town; but at the end of a week Denbigh returned to England. Buckingham, who was appointed to succeed him, was assassinated. Thereupon the Earl of Lindsay assumed the supreme command, but he too soon returned to England. Meanwhile, mainly through the Venetian envoys at both Courts, peace pourparlers were actively pursued, but they had not been concluded by the end of October, 1628, when hunger forced La Rochelle to surrender.[3] This defeat was another heavy blow to the Protestant cause; it put an end to the existence of the Huguenot republic on French soil where it had constituted a foreign body in the structure of the State. The Protestant world had to ascribe to the King of England this fresh discomfiture of its co-religionists, whilst Catholic France, whose capital received Louis XIII. in triumph,[4] stood covered with fresh glory.

[1] *Ibid.*, 447.

[2] *Ibid.*, 448.

[3] *Cf.* LAUGEL, *H. de Rohan*, Paris, 1889, 248; E. RODOCANACHI, *Les derniers temps du siège de la Rochelle. Relation du Nonce Apostolique*, Paris, 1899; DELAVAUD, in *Archives hist. de la Saintonge*, XLIII.; QUAZZA, I., 259; *Arch. Rom.*, XXII., 328 *seq.*; FRAINEAU, *La dernière guerre de La Rochelle*, Chef-Boutonne, 1916. The downfall of the Huguenot party was also occasioned by internal divisions, *cf.* M. G. SCHYBERGSON, in *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, IV. (1901), 355–365. Their leaders became mercenaries of Spain; Rohan received 40,000 ducats from Spain per year, his brother Soubise, 8,000.

[4] See ROCCA, 334.

The happy issue of the campaign was due in no small measure to the Pope. After the victory on the Isle of Ré and using Bérulle as his intermediary, he urged the King the Queen-mother and the ministers not to enter into any peace negotiations but to prosecute the war against La Rochelle.[1] Béthune, the French ambassador in Rome, had been the chief promoter of a premature peace. Urban VIII. offered no objection when Bérulle wished to recall him, but the attempt failed for lack of a suitable person to take his place.[2] The Pope's chief concern was lest Louis XIII. should leave the camp before La Rochelle to return to Paris. The King was told that things might take a fatal turn if he absented himself even for a short time, that Richelieu could not replace him, that on the contrary, the latter's supervision was distasteful to the commanders nor was it to be expected that the latter would wear themselves out in order that in the end the glory of victory should go to a man like Richelieu. To the Queen-mother the Pope wrote that it would not be very creditable to the King were he to leave at a moment when the situation looked so promising.[3] Urban VIII. did not feel reassured when Béthune communicated to him the contents of a letter in which Louis XIII. gave assurances that at any rate he would be present during the last stages of the siege. The Pope exhausted all his eloquence to make it clear to the ambassador that the King must be present not only from time to time, but all the time. However much Louis might long for the pleasures of the chase and the comforts of Versailles, the Pope nevertheless succeeded in keeping him before La Rochelle.[4] But before long Louis' patience gave out; he wrote to Rome that he must return to Paris, though only for a short while, for weighty reasons, but according to a letter of Bagno dated February 25th, 1628, these were simply his passion for the chase. One day, whilst hunting, the King narrowly escaped being captured by the Huguenots; this

[1] *Bagno, December 15, 1627, in NICOLETTI, 426.

[2] *Ibid.*, 433 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 431 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 432.

incident provided the Pope with a pretext for once more urging him to return to La Rochelle. As a matter of fact, during the King's absence a plan had cropped up to raise the siege on the plea of the Emperor's threat to give armed assistance to the Bishop of Verdun who had long been unjustly oppressed by the French Government. Great was the Pope's consternation at this news. It was imperative, he wrote to Bagno, that an end should be made of the disorders at Verdun and the possibility of doing so was there since the Bishop was anxious to resign and to abandon the ecclesiastical state. The siege must not be raised; to do so would only be to encourage the enemy; Bagno must accompany the King to camp and not leave his side without the Pope's command.[1]

Urban received the longed-for news [2] of the fall of the chief bulwark of French Protestantism through the nuncio in Turin and he was the first to inform Béthune who had been without news since October 9th. The joy of the Pope, the latter reports, is immense; that of Cardinal Barberini indescribable.[3] Both saw in the fall of this fortress reputed impregnable [4] the end of Calvinism in France.[5] The Pope spoke in this sense in a consistory of November 27th.[6] Notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish ambassador and Cardinal Borgia who tried to belittle the magnitude of the triumph, he persisted in his intention of assisting in person at a solemn service of

[1] *Ibid.*, 441 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Béthune, January 21 and 25, February 7 and 11, March 22, April 6, and October 19, 1628, State Library, Vienna. Urban VIII. ordered prayers for a successful issue, in May. *Avviso, May 10, 1628, Vatican Library.

[3] *Report of November 30, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[4] *"Piazza tenuta inespugnabile," says F. Allici (*Negotiatio*, etc., *Cod.* 35, F. 25 of the Corsini Library, Rome). A map published in Rome in 1627, "*Vero disegno della Roccella piazza fortissima degli eretici di Francia,*" at the end of the Avvisi of 1628, in *Cod.* C. 7, 27, of the *Angelica*, Rome.

[5] See the *Brief to Louis XIII., in LEMAN, *Urbain VIII.*, 12.

[6] See **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives; *Béthune's report of November 30, 1628, *loc. cit.*

thanksgiving in the French national Church.[1] On December 18th, escorted by several Cardinals, he rode from St. Peter's to S. Agostino where the rest of the Cardinals awaited him. From thence he went on foot to S. Luigi where the *Te Deum* and the psalm *Exaudiat* were sung. The Pope then said Mass, his countenance beaming with joy. At night salvos of guns were fired from castle S. Angelo and bonfires lit up the darkness. Soon a number of Latin and Italian poems appeared in praise of the capture of La Rochelle. The Pope himself prompted the composition of one of these works.[2]

Meanwhile Protestantism had also been defeated in North-Germany, and that so heavily that it lay prostrate as after the battle of Mühlberg in 1547. Nearly everywhere Ferdinand II.'s enemies had been driven from German soil, and from the shores of the North Sea to the Baltic, North-Germany was occupied partly by imperial, partly by leaguist troops. No obstacle seemed now to stand in the way of a happy consummation of the Catholic restoration which, ever since the defeat of the Winter King, had made enormous strides both in the Austrian territories and within the boundaries of the Empire.

[1] *Béthune's report of December 17, 1628, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Béthune's report, of December 31, 1628, *loc. cit. Cf. Diarium P. Alaleonis* and *Avviso of December 20, 1628, *Urb.* 1098, Vatican Library. See also GIGLI, in FRASCHETTI, 80.

CHAPTER III.

The Catholic Restoration in the Territories of the Emperor Ferdinand II. and in the Romano-Germanic Empire.

(I)

When new appointments of nuncios were made at the beginning of Urban VIII.'s reign, it was thought that a change would take place at Vienna also [1]; however, the experienced Carlo Carafa was maintained at his post. In September, 1623, Carafa drew up a detailed report on the religious conditions in Bohemia and the adjoining countries, on the basis of his personal observation. He described the successes which had been achieved though he did not disguise from himself how much remained to be done for the Catholic reform and restoration in consequence of the decay of religion and the lack of priests. When he accompanied the Emperor on his journey to Prague after the Diet of Ratisbon, he had himself noticed with horror how, with one solitary exception, they had not encountered a Catholic parish priest all the way from Pilsen to the Bohemian capital. However, Carafa did not lose heart. He recommended in particular the erection of new episcopal sees in Bohemia and Silesia.[2]

Carafa's insistence on the need of going on with the Catholic restoration received additional force from the fact that the Emperor's enemies in Germany had been defeated and peace had been made with Bethlen Gábor. Ferdinand II. was now in a position to apply in Bohemia the principle of territorial jurisdiction, *cujus regio ejus religio*, which had been adopted by the innovators and had become incorporated in the code of the Empire for the purpose of establishing the new religion. The year 1624 brought forth a series of decrees of vital

[1] *Cf.* the *report of Altoviti, dated Vienna, October 7, 1623, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Kollmann, I., 351 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*

importance for Bohemia.[1] Whereas until then the Emperor's orders had been directed only against the foreign preachers,[2] there now followed ordinances the immediate purpose of which was to recall both burghers and peasants to the old religion. In future, in all royal cities, Catholics alone were to enjoy the rights and privileges of burghers. Those who had received their citizenship from the rebel Government could only be confirmed in it if they returned to the Catholic faith.[3] On May 18th, 1624, Ferdinand instructed the Archbishop and the Governor to search diligently for the Protestant preachers in the domains of the nobles. Two days later another decree forbade non-Catholics to register, and thereby to render valid in law, any sales and purchases, testamentary dispositions and distribution of heritages.[4] In 1625 fresh ordinances deprived obdurate heretics of the right of contracting valid marriages.[5]

When these ordinances reached Prague a man had entered upon his work in that city whose mission it was to give new strength to Bohemia's religious transformation, and by the laborious exertions of forty long years to carry it to a fruitful consummation. When Archbishop Lohelius died (November 2nd, 1622),[6] the Emperor proposed, two days later, the youthful Count Ernest Adalbert von Harrach, born on November 4th,

[1] *Cf.* TOMEK, *Gesch. Böhmens*, 407.

[2] See *Decreta Germ. sacrae restauratae*, 84 *seq.*

[3] See GINDELY, *Gegenreformation*, 201 ; CARAFA, *Commen.*, 212, and *Decreta*, 88.

[4] See GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 213. The latter law was not carried out strictly ; see *ibid.*, 245. The decrees of May are in *Decreta*, 86 *seq.*, 87 *seq.* A *Brief of September 3, 1624, admonishes Ferdinand II. to continue the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia. *Brev.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 218. The decision to take this severe measure seems to have been reached through the consideration that obstinate Protestants received the Sacrament of marriage in a state of mortal sin and therefore committed an act of sacrilege. *Cf.* a paper by Lamormaini which will be discussed further on, in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XXXVIII. (1856), 899.

[6] PICHERT, in *Anal. Praemonstrat.*, III., 125 *seq.*

1598, as his successor. A son of the Emperor's confidant Karl von Harrach, Adalbert began his studies in the Colleges of the Jesuits at Neuhaus and Krumau and concluded them in Rome at the German College. He received episcopal consecration on April 2nd, 1624, and two years later Urban VIII. raised him to the purple.[1] His activity embraced a period extending beyond the end of the Thirty Years' War (1624–1667) and marked a decisive epoch for Bohemia. Harrach's adviser for many years was the Capuchin Valerian Magni, "a truly great man in word and deed as well as in stature."[2]

Before all else the new Archbishop sought to establish an ordered pastoral ministry so as to provide for the instruction of the people. That he might obtain accurate information on the religious state of the country he appointed, in the very first year of his administration, "certain able and picked men whose duty it was to visit every single church of the archdiocese and those who served them, to give encouragement as well as to correct everywhere, and to re-establish among the clergy the ancient strictness of manners and holiness of life." Another duty of theirs was to draw up an accurate inventory of the privileges and revenues of parishes, to nominate pastors to widowed churches, and to establish a better distribution of the clergy as, for the time being, all vacancies could not be filled.[3] The Archbishop's representatives were likewise to call together the priests for the purpose of joint consultation, to listen to individual grievances, to denounce preachers who worked in secret and to examine the various means by which the country might be spiritually renewed.[4] At Prague the Archbishop himself, during the whole of 1626, presided at a weekly meeting of the theologians convened by him for the

[1] See Krásl, *Arnošt hrabě Harrach, Kardinal*, Praha, 1886; Gindely, *loc. cit.*, 151; Kollmann, I., 216 *seqq.*

[2] Carafa, *Comment.*, 207; Gindely, 160 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*, note 1. For Valerian Magni *cf. Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XLVII., 248 *seqq.*, where, however, the statements of Rocco da Cesinale are overlooked (II., 630 *seq.*).

[3] Carafa, *Comment.*, 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, 212.

purpose of studying various plans of reform.[1] In 1631 Bohemia was parcelled out into some twenty-three districts from which, after 1632, numerous reports came in year by year concerning the condition of the parishes, the clergy and the number of non-Catholics.[2]

At first the Archbishop chose his delegates exclusively from the old Orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans.[3] On their first tour, in 1624, the secular authority empowered them to remove Protestant preachers. An ordinance of Liechtenstein, dated August 9th, demanded obedience to them from all the inhabitants of Bohemia.[4] Nevertheless the removal of the preachers was to be carried out " with the greatest possible leniency ". Where sterner action was required they were to refer the case to the Archbishop and the secular authorities.[5]

The first journey of his plenipotentiaries, which lasted up to the end of 1625, merely served to bring home to the Archbishop the sad condition of the country and the difficulty of the work of reform. Thus in the circle of Kourzim and that of Czaslau the Dominican, Fr. Stiegler, found only fifteen priests. When certain new arrangements had been made by Stiegler, every one of the new parish priests had to minister to six or seven parishes, whilst the priests of Böhmisch-Brod and Seelau had to serve as many as thirteen each.[6] The visitor Mantilla complained that the few remaining priests were so rude and ignorant that they were unable to say Mass.[7] The priest of Schwarz-Kosteletz had to look after eighteen parishes.[8] Often enough the activities of the Protestant preachers were

[1] *Ibid.*, 272.

[2] Rezek, 130 *seqq.*

[3] Schmidl, III., 887 *seq.*; Gindely, *Gegenreformation*, 204. Urban VIII., in a *Brief of December 7, 1624, implored the Emperor to protect the Carmelites in Bohemia, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Gindely, 205.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 206 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 210.

[8] Rezek, 131.

encouraged by the feudal lords, so that no one dared to proceed against them.[1] The Captain of the circle of Czalau informed Liechtenstein that there was not one preacher on his estates, though the contrary was known to everybody.[2] When the Franciscan Mantilla fixed his seals on a Protestant church in the territory of the lord of Zierotin, the latter tore them off and publicly reinstated the preacher.[3] The Franciscan Lappius had induced a Protestant preacher to return publicly to the ancient Church, but whilst the new convert was making his profession of faith in the church of Leitmeritz, another preacher took his stand outside the building declaring that "he would kill the renegade should anyone try to assist him".[4]

The greatest hindrance to the progress of the Catholic reform was the lack of good and capable priests. At Kuttenberg, a completely Protestant town, the Archbishop had no one for the post of Dean except a man who did not even enjoy the esteem of the Catholics. The worst rumours were current about him, among them that of his having suspicious relations with women whilst his most intimate friend was a heretic in disguise. On one occasion, at a public banquet, the Dean and the Master of the mint quarrelled so violently that they threw plates at one another.[5] None the less, in 1623, the Master of the mint Wrzesowitz ordered everyone to attend the Catholic services [6]; two years later he threatened to expel all non-Catholics [7] and in the ordinances with which he compelled people to return to the ancient Church he made use of the most unseemly language.[8] These measures produced but little result. This ill-success was in great part due to the fact that the mines of Kuttenberg, the yield of which had been

[1] "Vixque erat qui auderet, illis invitis tales Pseudoevangelii ministros arcere." CARAFA, *Comment.*, 217 *seq.*

[2] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 210.

[3] *Ibid.*, 209.

[4] *Ibid.*, 208.

[5] *Ibid.*, 218, 229, 231.

[6] *Ibid.*, 219.

[7] *Ibid.*, 221.

[8] *Ibid.*, 234, 235.

decreasing since the opening years of the century,[1] became still less profitable, and this not without the fault of the Master of the mint.[2] The preachers who had been expelled on July 27th, 1623, returned to the town in women's dress and found ready listeners. The Catholics complained that they were treated like lepers and Jews, were subjected to all manner of insults, and that during religious functions they were stared at as if they were comedians. One man was murdered by people who mistook him for a priest.[3]

The greatest resistance to the reform decrees came from the men attached to the glebe, the proletariat and the townspeople, especially the artisans. "If they were pressed by somewhat stern measures," Carafa reported, "their overlords were left with depopulated towns, an experience which had occurred not once or in one place only, for some set fire to their own houses and withdrew into the forests with their wives and children, whilst others sought a home elsewhere."[4] In many places serious risings occurred. When the landed proprietor Count Paul Michna invited the Jesuits to Networzitz on June 3rd, 1624, "some of his tenants left their homes and hid in the forests lest they should have to foreswear the use of the chalice." After a prolonged struggle the Jesuits at last won over to their side the heads of the villages, who thereupon gave assistance to the missionaries, convened the peasants in the castle and sequestrated the cattle of the fugitives. But those who were hit by these measures also called the people together, with the result that they decided to offer armed resistance. Late at night the leaders of the rebellion visited the villages, roused the heads of families from slumber and bade them follow them. The alarm was sounded and the whole neighbourhood flocked together as if to put out a fire. A considerable band soon collected, armed with guns, swords,

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII.[13-14], 67, and GINDELY, 222, 224.

[2] GINDELY, 222 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 232.

[4] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 219. In order to understand the construction of the passage, lines 8–29, "Non procul . . . Pragae subierunt," must be discounted as a later addition.

clubs or wooden palings. Two houses owned by Catholics were plundered. After this exploit more than three hundred peasants headed for the castle of the feudal lord. However, when it was rumoured that soldiers were on the way from Prague, most of them returned home, and when the troops arrived those who had stayed behind also lost heart. The rising, as well as the presence of the soldiers who plundered the houses of the fugitives in the rebellious villages, lasted six days.[1] In August, 1625, at Manietin, where an ex-hangman officiated as preacher and the greatest ignorance prevailed in matters of religion, the population proved completely deaf to the teaching of two Jesuits. For many weeks the inhabitants only visited their homes at night; at daybreak everyone of them disappeared. It was decided to set fire to the houses of those who returned to Catholicism. In a nocturnal assembly the populace swore, with raised right hand, rather to give up life than the chalice. On the following day, when the feudal lord, George Mitrowski, had the half-drunken ringleader of the conspiracy removed to Pilsen, open rebellion broke out. The castle was surrounded and its preservation was solely due to the advice of one of the rebels who suggested that they should put off storming it until their fellow citizens had slept off the effects of their debauchery of the previous Sunday. Meanwhile the proprietor, who had been able to save himself, returned with a few armed men whereupon the peasants promised to lay down their arms. Among other peace conditions Mitrowski demanded acceptance of the Catholic faith. However, insults and actual attacks on Catholics were not wanting in the sequel so that the proprietor was forced to summon the military to their defence. Thereupon the bulk of the town and twelve villages foreswore the errors of Huss.[2]

Much more serious was the peasant rising in the domain of Markersdorf. The proprietor, Otto Heinrich von Wartenberg, had incurred the hatred of his subjects in consequence of his arbitrariness and oppression. When in 1625 he gave them a time limit in which to change their spiritual allegiance,

[1] Schmidl, III., 572 *seq.*; Kröss, *Geschichte*, II., 1, 188.

[2] Schmidl., III., 663–8; Kröss, 190.

a deputation of peasants presented a petition begging for a delay; Wartenberg cast six of the leaders into chains, threatened them with death and ordered instruments of torture to be got ready. In a second assembly, in which the subjects of several other lords took part, the peasants decided to set the prisoners at liberty, if need be by force. The sight of the grief-stricken wives of the latter only roused them the more. Returning to the villages they took up arms and surrounded the castle. Though Wartenberg granted all their demands, they would not be satisfied. The insurgents spent the whole night round their camp fires before the castle. When it became known in the morning that Wartenberg was making preparations for defence, they battered in the castle gate and dragged the Count from his hiding place to a dunghill where they beat him and his wife to death with wooden stakes and clubs. The fury of the populace vented itself in horrible fashion even on the corpses, and to demonstrate that the murder was the joint deed of them all, everyone present was forced to drive the prongs of a fork into the bodies of the victims.[1]

After this crime the peasants continued rebellious, swore to stand by one another and even secured a lawyer who was prepared to plead their cause with the Government. Their numbers soon reached 5,000 men and they even had a few pieces of ordnance, so that the governors found themselves compelled to seek military assistance from the Emperor who dispatched to Bohemia five squadrons of the Breuner regiment. Thereupon the peasants dispersed rapidly. They offered no opposition to the arrest of twenty-three of the ringleaders, three of whom were executed in July and August of the following year. The rest received mild sentences owing to the intervention of the murdered Wartenberg's mother who pleaded for them.[2]

The example of the subjects of Markersdorf found imitators in the Duchy of Friedland and in the domains of Count

[1] GINDELY, *loc. cit.*, 405–7; CARAFA, *Comment.*, 219; KRÖSS, 189.

[2] GINDELY, 407–410 (on p. 410, n. 7, the number is 1626, not 1625).

Michna, but there the military suppressed the rebellion without much difficulty.[1] Prompt flight alone saved Michna from death.[2] When the castle of Wlaschin was looted, one of the owner's captains was beheaded.[3] The year before, on the estate of the Jesuits at Ausch, the administrator Vitus Kassiades was cruelly done to death by the peasants when he sought to enforce the reform decrees.[4]

In consequence of these occurrences certain feudal lords also had recourse to force. "In view of the fact that the Archbishop of Prague and the clergy could not travel themselves, or give commissions to others, without peril," Carafa wrote, "there were those who thought that recourse should be had to the secular arm. This was done by quartering soldiers in the houses of the non-Catholics, to the end that 'suffering might teach them'." (Is. xxviii, 19).[5] This happened first at Beraun in 1625, where the imperial judge exempted the Catholics from having troops quartered on them but laid that burden on the Protestant householders.[6] In Leitmeritz also the imperial judge proposed to quarter troops mainly on the Protestants.[7] The town of Kuttenberg entered into an arrangement with the Emperor by which it was exempted from the burden of having the military quartered on its inhabitants. However, as a result of some acts of violence against Catholics, the military returned and only by submitting to the reform decrees could anyone escape them.[8] At Komotau, where some of the troops were to be garrisoned after the campaign of 1625, Count Michna, in concert with the Rector of the Jesuit College, promised to preserve the town from such a burden on condition that it returned to the Catholic faith. The burghers were summoned to give their opinion individually.

[1] *Ibid.*, 411 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 412; CARAFA, *Comment.*, 272.
[3] GINDELY, 412.
[4] SCHMIDL, III., 657; KRÖSS, 180.
[5] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 254.
[6] GINDELY, 213.
[7] *Ibid.*, 214.
[8] *Ibid.*, 232.

Four of them who would not return to the old religion were thrown into prison and condemned to pay a fine of ten thalers a day. Thereupon three out of the four submitted to the reform decrees.[1]

This recourse to coercion, to which the Emperor was at first opposed,[2] "had happy results in numerous instances but it induced others to leave the Empire."[3] Many emigrated in particular to Saxony and the Cities of Empire.[4] In view of the fact that all hope of converting the emigrants by force had to be abandoned, and because "the evil had increased still further",[5] Vienna resolved to adopt a new policy. On the proposal of Carafa, on April 29th, 1626, Cardinal Harrach and Prince Liechtenstein were named imperial commissaries for the reform, with instructions "to consult together with a view to discovering a milder way of bringing the Empire back to the faith".[6] The thought of gentler methods was partly due to the complaints which the Elector of Saxony and the Archbishop of Mayence had addressed to Ferdinand II. They did not object so much to the reform itself, they explained to the Emperor, as to the use of the military and the denial of the right to leave the country.[7] The imperial councillors, when asked their opinion on these protests, declared that there was no doubt that the Emperor enjoyed the right of reform quite as much as any other prince; forcible means were not to be rejected *a priori*, but no more than one or two soldiers should be quartered in one house and they should be kept under strict discipline and forbidden to exact anything beyond their

[1] SCHMIDL, III., 651; GINDELY, 290 *seq.*

[2] GINDELY, 212, 293.

[3] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 254.

[4] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 219. *Cf.* LOESCHE, *Gesch. der Böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen*, Vienna, 1923; *Hist. Zeitschr.* CXXX., 508 *seq.*

[5] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 219: "Sic periit expectatus fructus animarum auctumque malum alibi non facile superandum."

[6] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 254 (acciò consultassero e trovassero modo più dolce per la reduttione); *Decreta*, 97–9.

[7] HURTER, X., 164; KRÖSS 193 *seq.*

maintenance. The time limit for conversion should be at least two months.[1] With good reason the two Electors had protested against the sequestration of the property of the fugitives. Such proceedings contravened the religious peace of Augsburg. Accordingly, in August, 1626, the emigrants were permitted to sell their possessions, though under conditions which made it difficult for them to leave the country.[2]

Cardinal Harrach was one of those who did not wholly approve of the procedure hitherto adopted. In an exhaustive memorial drawn up in the summer of 1626, he stated his views which were to the effect that in future a uniform and well considered plan should be adopted. Towards the end of 1626 a commission was set up at Vienna, with Cardinal Dietrichstein as chairman, for the purpose of studying Harrach's proposals.

The Archbishop of Prague was particularly anxious for the erection of four new dioceses in Bohemia inasmuch as the one and only diocese of Prague was not enough for the whole country. The clergy should have restored to them both seat and vote in the Estates of the Empire, and that before the other Estates. The possessions of which the Church had been robbed since the time of the Hussites, should be given back or failing that, suitable compensation should be made. To bring about the religious transformation of the country, Harrach favoured legislation obliging all the non-Catholics to leave the kingdom. The great landowners should not be suffered to give shelter in their castles to Protestant preachers and officials. Harrach also demanded a stricter application of the prohibition of the religious marriage of non-Catholics.[3]

The theologians whom Ferdinand II. likewise consulted, considerably altered and softened Harrach's proposals. A final memorandum on the reform of Bohemia was drawn up apparently by the Jesuit William Lamormaini who had been the Emperor's confessor since 1624. It bears his signature and that of his colleague in religion, Henry Philippi, but the first four chapters bear also the signatures of other divines.

[1] Kröss, 194 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Ritter, III., 217 *seq.*

[3] Gindely, 242 *seqq.*; Hurter, X., 165; Kröss, 196 *seq.*

Lamormaini was of opinion that in view of the state of the country it was necessary, for the time being, to do no more than deal with the most pressing needs, hence the erections of new dioceses might be deferred until a more favourable time.[1] "Once the needs of the parishes were satisfied," the memorandum said, "especially those wholly destitute of priests, it would be time to think of the promotion of the majesty of the Church and the dignity of the clergy. As for Church property now in secular hands, theologians are of opinion that the Emperor was not bound to restore it. Much of it had been taken from the Church by force, but some of it had changed hands in a lawful manner: in any case the Emperor had done so much for the Church that any obligation in this respect may be said to have been amply fulfilled." [2]

In view of a proposal to leave the execution of the restoration wholly in the hands of the Archbishop,[3] Lamormaini was at great pains to argue in favour of a contrary policy. Even secular princes were bound to free their territories from error and heresies, for their power was of God "for the furtherance of the honour and worship of God", hence it was their duty to rule their subjects in accordance with the law of Christ and that of the Church, for their own safety and that of their subjects.[4] Heresy, on the other hand, led astray from true doctrine and conduced to false (sinful) worship, hence whosoever spread such teaching deserved to be punished and to be banished from the Empire.

[1] A translation of the memorandum of Lamormaini, entirely in his own hand (HURTER, X., 166), is in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XXXVIII. (1856), 888–910. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, CVII., 416 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 2, 344 *seqq.*, 711; SCHLEINZ, *Gesch. des Bistums Leitmeritz*, I., Warnsdorf, 1912, 26 *seq.*; KRÖSS, 198 *seqq.* The date, as pointed out by DUDIK, *Korrespondenz Lamormainis*, 47 *seq.*, is determined by the following passage: "The Emperor writes on December 11, 1626, that Harrach had yesterday declared himself satisfied with Lamormaini's view."

[2] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXVIII., 900–3.

[3] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 254; *Hist. polit. Blätter, loc. cit.*, 891, note.

[4] *Hist.-polit. Blätter, loc. cit.*, 888 *seq.*

For the purpose of carrying through the Catholic restoration persons of distinction should be chosen from the ranks of the laity as well as the clergy for joint action, and it would be best if the clerical as well as the secular plenipotentiary were to proceed not only in the name of the Archbishop but in that of the Prince also.[1] As things were the heretics took no notice of the words of either Bishops or teachers ; fear alone could induce them to listen to Catholic priests and to converse with them. Nevertheless force should only be employed on the advice of the Archbishop. As soon as the commission arrived in a given locality, care should be taken to explain the Emperor's reasons for enforcing the reform and a time limit should be fixed for submission.

"However, since this was not the affair of one day and the King did not wish anyone to become a Catholic before he was convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith, the Archbishop, as a loving father and shepherd, appointed certain priests of blameless life and full of zeal for God's cause, with mission lovingly to instruct within the appointed time limit all and sundry, both publicly and privately, in everything concerning the faith and the manner of keeping the commandments of God and the Church." The length of the time limit must depend on circumstances ! "Two or three active priests can do a great deal in three, four or five weeks." "Day by day we have seen the wonderful successes achieved, with God's grace, by members of the religious Orders who devoted themselves to apostolic work. After a while the two commissaries should revisit the various localities in order to ascertain the results of the reform."[2]

In the opinion of Lamormaini the military should only be employed in so far as the preservation of order required it. Fifty men, he thinks, would be sufficient escort for the commissaries.[3] As soon as these have left a locality and the preachers have entered on their duties, the soldiers also must

[1] *Ibid.*, 891.
[2] *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XXXVIII., 893 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 903.

be withdrawn,[1] for catechists working in a spirit of meekness and charity are in no need of soldiers.[2] Only in one case should a longer garrisoning be inflicted, namely if the commissaries had to return to a locality a second time, for if a place refused to accept the Catholic teaching, it was due to obstinacy and hard-heartedness since the necessary instruction had not been wanting. Such obstinacy may be broken by quartering soldiers in the houses of the heretics.

Nor does Lamormaini agree with those who were in favour of the banishment of all those who would not submit to the imperial ordinances. On no account should anyone be banished from the Empire for the sake of religion who had not first become acquainted with the Catholic faith. If nevertheless either a Knight or a Baron remained obdurate in his errors, " we are of opinion that Your Majesty may overlook it without scruple, provided he keeps no preachers and at once removes his sons from herctical localities. As soon as they feel that we are in earnest, the burghers will return to the Catholic faith, as most of them have done at Prague." " In such a case it is right to proceed with greater mildness, to wait, to extend the time limit " provided they give no scandal and allow their children to be brought up as Catholics. The servants of the glebe must not be driven away for " in order to gain their freedom they would, everyone of them, abandon the true religion. They should be compelled to accept the Catholic faith by the discreet application of moderate penalties and, as the law of Bohemia expressly permits, their children should be taken from them and entrusted to such persons as shall give them a Catholic upbringing". [3]

Protestant officials on the feudal estates should only be retained in their posts on condition that they became Catholics, for their position would enable them, by a hundred secret

[1] In other words : Lamormaini did not want a military escort for his brethren.

[2] *Hist.-polit. Blätter, loc. cit.*, 903 (where the sentence is incorrectly translated).

[3] *Ibid.*, 908 *seq.*

means, to turn subjects from their Catholic faith, to torment those who profess it, to favour the heretics and this by means which it would be wellnigh impossible to detect.[1]

Not all the means employed in the cause of the Catholic restoration met with Lamormaini's approval. Thus he did not see the necessity of refusing to bless marriages even if the couples declared that they had not yet made up their minds to become Catholics, for the priest did not commit a sin by officiating on such occasions "since not he is the minister of the Sacrament, but the contracting parties".[2] Heretical books should be confiscated and only burnt where it was established that such action would not hurt the feelings of the new converts. On the other hand it was a good thing to refuse ecclesiastical burial to those who remained in heresy after the appointed time limit, for experience had shown the powerful impression that the concession or refusal of ecclesiastical burial produced in Bohemia. And since "the aim of the present proceedings was not only the restoration of the faith, but likewise of piety, the plenipotentiaries should also punish the non-observance of the commandments of the Church, blasphemy, disregard of parents, perjury in lawsuits, the keeping of heretical books and clandestine marriages.[3]

The memorandum of the theologians suggested a line of procedure which was adopted in the time immediately following. On February 5th, 1627, the conduct of the restoration was entrusted to Harrach, now a Cardinal, Count Jaroslav Borzita of Martinitz, Frederick von Talmberg, president of the court of appeal, and to Christoph Wratislav of Mitrowitz, first chancellor of the province.[4] Their instructions were to the effect that they should select the more able among the clergy whose mission it would be to convert the Protestants by their preaching and to strengthen the faith of the converts. Each

[1] *Ibid.*, 910.

[2] HURTER (X., 899) speaks of "Servants" of the Sacrament (probably through misunderstanding the Latin term "minister").

[3] *Ibid.*, 898-900.

[4] See CARAFA, *Comment.*, 276 *seq.*, and also HUBER, V., 218, note 1.

of them was to be assisted by a secular delegate. At the expiration of the time limit for the instruction and conversion of the Protestants, the refractory must be punished, the obstinate bent by having soldiers quartered on them and if they threatened violence recourse could be had to armed force. This procedure should be tried first in Prague and eventually adopted throughout Bohemia.[1] The revolution in Bohemia had had for its aim not only the destruction of the Catholic religion but likewise the absolute domination of the Estates, viz. the nobility, hence as soon as the rising was quelled, the Sovereign sought to re-establish his authority. To this end a new constitution, the result of prolonged consultations, was published on May 10th, 1627. It restricted the privileges of the Estates to the right of approving taxes and tolerated no other religion but Catholicism.[2] Connected with it was the edict published by Cardinal Harrach in the name of the Emperor on July 31st, 1627. Until then the work of the reform had not been begun with the nobles nor with their subjects. The majority of the nobles clung to their errors and maintained their own preachers. The July edict decreed that all nobles and Knights who refused to become Catholics, were to leave the country within six months and after the lapse of yet another six months they would be compelled to sell their property.[3] In consequence of this decree several nobles left the country, many burghers also preferred exile to a return to Catholicism[4].

[1] See DECRETA, 108 *seq.*

[2] See CODEX IURIS BOHEMICI, ed. Hermenegild Jireček, V., 2.

[3] See DECRETA, 112 *seq.*, *Ibid.*, 133 *seq.*, where there is a still more severe decree of June 20, 1628, in which the period allowed for conversion or exile was limited to six days. For the share taken by Carafa and the divers opinions on the decree of July, see CARAFA, *Comment.*, 342 *seq.*; SCHMIDL, III., 786.

[4] W. Slawata estimates that the number of exiled proprietors of estates and houses amounted at least to 30,000; see SCHMIDL, III., 656. For the rest, religion was in many places only a pretext for emigration, e.g. in Kaaden, where almost all the "exiles" were heavily in debt; see *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVII., 66. The serfs had the prospect

At first chiefly members of the monastic Orders were employed in the task of bringing the country back to Catholicism in so far as the State took up the task, and little use was made of the services of the Jesuits. The latter were chiefly called in by the Catholic landed proprietors [1] for the religious instruction of their subjects, particularly by William Slawata, Liechtenstein, Lobkowitz, Wallenstein, the lords of Kolowrat, Oppersdorff and the widows of the lords of Sternberg and Mraczki.[2] The number of converts made by the Jesuits in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in 1624 totalled 1,126 : in the following year it amounted to 18,479 and in 1626 to 25,144.[3] By 1624 at Neuhaus (Zindrichuv Hradec) and at

of obtaining their freedom by emigrating ; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXVIII., 909. CARAFA's statement (*Relatione*, 254) that many emigrants returned home is confirmed by the account of BILEK on Brüx (*Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVII., 57). GINDELY (*Gegenreformation*, 222 *seq.*, *cf.* 418, 447) asserts that the chief consequence of the religious persecution in Bohemia was the decay of the mining industry ; he does not consider the other contributing causes, especially the fact that the decay of mining had already begun long before (see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII.[13–14], 67). One reason for the decay of mining in Graslitz, e.g., was that gradually nothing could be found except at a very great depth (see *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XII., 213). GINDELY's view that the cause of the desolation of the Bohemian towns was solely the change of religion is very one-sided. In Komotau, in 1626, all the citizens were converted except twelve who emigrated ; nevertheless of the 545 houses counted in 1604, only 139 were occupied in 1654 (*ibid.*, XXVII., 71, 73).

[1] SCHMIDL, III., 887 ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII. (1896), 327.

[2] SCHMIDL, III., 581, 630, 658.

[3] *Ibid.*, in the unnumbered appendix. *Cf.* there, the summary of conversions from 1616 to 1632 :

1616	867	1621	685
1617	885	1622	5,519
1618	383	1623	2,552
1619	13	1624	1,126
1620	104	1625	18,479

Krumau (Cesky Krumlov) where they had been at work for some time, scarcely one among the burgher class still made open confession of Protestantism.[1] The royal town of Kloin spontaneously requested the Fathers to instruct the people,[2] and the town of Laun was completely won back to the old faith by two Fathers within the space of two months. The transformation was extraordinarily rapid.[3] The successes of the Catholic restoration were bought at the cost of almost superhuman exertions. The number of the Jesuits who, in addition to the Colleges of Prague, Komotau, Krumau and Neuhaus also had one at Gitschin (Jicin) since 1623, was quite inadequate. In 1623 they totalled 136 members of whom only fifty-seven were priests.[4] These were indefatigable in the work of preaching, confessing and catechizing. Thus the journal of the Rector of Gitschin says of Fr. Burnatius: "In the evening Fr. Burnatius was at Nemczowes, in the morning he went to Luzan, at noon to Zeleznicz; everywhere he preached. In the evening he set out for Smrkowitz." [5] Another missionary succumbed to the excessive labour.[6]

The numerous conversions made by the Jesuits up till 1627, especially in the domains of certain landed proprietors, led to a change in the attitude of leading Government circles in their regard. From 1627 onwards so great was the demand for the Jesuits that the College of Prague alone gave sixteen priests and many were forced to curtail their studies or to interrupt them; others had to be ordained before the time solely in order to meet the demand for their services.

1626	25,144	1630	23,121
1627	16,259	1631	3,140
1628	65,746	1632	6,303
1629	55,570	Total	225,896

Praedicantes and *Haeresis magistri*, 97.

[1] *Ibid.*, 549.

[2] *Ibid.*, 659.

[3] SCHMIDL, III., 660. *Cf.* for the activity of the Jesuits, KRÖSS, 180 *seqq.*

[4] See SCHMIDL, III., 482 *seq.*

[5] SCHMIDL, III., 527.

[6] See CORDARA, I., 491.

This preference for the Jesuits, however, had the drawback that now they came in closer contact with the military escort of the commissions: "They set out, now with the royal commissaries when personal prestige would carry weight, now with an escort of troops, when the employment of force seemed necessary." [1]

As soon as the reform commission reached the chief town of the province assigned to it, or the seat of some feudal lord, the nobles and the people were separately convened for the purpose of informing them of the Emperor's will. On the expiration of a more or less prolonged period of reflection, those who were willing to obey were entrusted to the Fathers to be catechized by them, to the others a time limit was assigned within which they had either to leave the country or to become Catholics. Those who remained obdurate were punished with imprisonment or fasts.[2] If the recalcitrants belonged to the upper classes, which was no rare thing, they were sent to Prague, to Count Jaroslav Martinitz, a member of the supreme reform commission and a man who devoted himself wholeheartedly to his task. He was wont to say that since his life had been spared at the time of the defenestration, it was no longer his own but God's, and he wished to spend it in spreading the Catholic faith. In most instances he successfully persuaded those sent to him to change their mind.[3]

The activity of the Jesuits was greatly furthered by the prestige they had acquired by their work in the schools, their care of prisoners, of those condemned to death, and generally of all who were in distress. They even succeeded in winning over some of the preachers; thus on one occasion they converted as many as twelve at once in the so-called "Old City" of Prague.[4] The extent of their success may be gathered from their reports of the year 1628. In the autumn months not a day passed on which seventy or more people were not received into

[1] Schmidl, III., 886 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 888.
[3] *Ibid.*, 889.
[4] *Ibid.*, 894.

the Church and not a Sunday or holy day on which 300–400 converts were not reconciled. In the "New City", where greater difficulties were encountered, the experienced Jesuit missionary Krawarski rendered effective assistance to Canon Platais.[1] The foundation in 1628 of a college in the "Kleinseite" of Prague was an important step especially for the Catholic formation of the youth of the upper classes.[2]

From many places reports came in of a ready acceptance of the Catholic restoration. Thus the inhabitants of Rudolfstadt—all of them German miners—spontaneously asked for a Jesuit of Krumau, because they wished to become Catholics.[3] Elsewhere, as for instance at Eger, it took a long time to bring about a change. In that locality the Jesuits were the objects of the insults of the populace; in the street people spat before them and opprobrious writings were stuck on their door. In 1628 there were only 28 converts; in 1629, after the renewal of the decrees, there were 105.[4] In 1628, at Dirná, many went into exile when they saw that the arrival of the Jesuits was imminent, but the example of their countrymen who returned to the Church and reports of the moderation of the Fathers, brought them back to their homes and to the ancient Church.[5] Among those who returned to the bosom of the Church at Prague was Procopius von Templin who subsequently made a name for himself as a preacher and a poet. In 1628 he entered the Capuchin Order.[6] The Capuchins who, in addition to their convent at Prague, founded two other

[1] *Ibid.*, 858, 893 *seq.* *Cf.* TANNER, *Soc. Iesu Apostolorum imitatrix*, Pragae, 1694, 859. That the minds of the opponents were finally won over was shown at the time of the Saxon invasion in 1631 (*cf.* the opinion of GINDELY, below, p. 137, note 2).

[2] *Cf.* G. BIERMANN, *Gesch. des k.k. Obergymnasiums der Kleinseite in Prag* (Progr.), Prag, 1889.

[3] SCHMIDL, III., 896.

[4] *Ibid.*, 922 *seq.* Not until the end of 1654 had the last Lutheran disappeared from Eger; see *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXIII., 70.

[5] SCHMIDL, III., 898.

[6] *Cf.* the monograph by GADIENT, Regensburg, 1912.

houses, viz. at Rouduici and Budeowisi, were largely responsible for the revival of Catholicism in Bohemia and Moravia. Valerian Magni, their provincial and first prefect of the Bohemian mission, was in constant correspondence with Propaganda from which the seminaries of Prague and Olmütz immediately depended.[1] A fresh decree was published in June, 1628, for Bohemia, together with an Instruction to the imperial commissaries, urging them to give yet another warning to the refractory.[2] Whilst the nobles and burghers were free to leave the country, the servants of the glebe were to remain and to accept the Catholic religion. This programme was realized in the southern and western districts of Bohemia in the years 1628 and 1629, either by persuasion or by force, but the North and the East offered a more prolonged resistance.[3]

If the provisions for the ecclesiastical restoration assumed in Bohemia more than anywhere else a punitive and coercive

[1] *Cf.* Kollmann, I., 411 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*; Rocco da Cesinale, II., 632, 634, 638; Kollmann, *O archivu S. Kongregace de propaganda fide*, in *Časopis Musea království českého*, 1892. To estimate the difficulties with which the Capuchins met in many places, *cf.* the report of the commission for reformation, of April 4, 1628, for the town of Teplitz in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, III., 188 *seq.*

[2] See Decreta, 130 *seq.*, 133 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* K. Krofta, Přehled dějin selského stavu v Čechách a na Moravě, Praha, 1919. From the data given here, and from other sources of information it appears that the Catholic restoration of Bohemia could not be regarded as completely accomplished until after the middle of the seventeenth century. Even then the victory was not complete in eastern Bohemia as is witnessed by the revival of sects as late as the reign of Joseph II. *Cf.* A. Rezek, Dějiny prostonárodnino hnuti nábozenského v Čechách od vydáni toberančniho patentu až na naše casy, Praze, 1887"; by the same, Děje Čech a Moravy za Ferdinanda III. až do konce třicetileté valky (1637–1648), Praze, 1890; the same: Dějiny Čech a Moravy nové doby. Kniha první; Od míru Westfálského až do smrti císaře Ferdinanda III. (1648–1657), Praze, 1892.

character, the reason was that in a country in which open rebellion had only been recently suppressed, there was question not only of ecclesiastical problems but also of constitutional and economic ones. After the repression of the rebellion it was in the interest of the State itself that the country should return to Catholicism as Carafa himself repeatedly pointed out.[1] In view of the means employed it is not surprising that at first the change was a purely outward one. For the rest, a noted Bohemian historian points out that the recatholicizing of Bohemia was not exclusively due to coercive measures but likewise to a sincere, inward return to the ancestral faith. Only thus, the writer says, can we understand how it came about that during all the months in which the Swedes besieged Prague in 1648, only one thought filled the hearts of young and old, students and artisans, namely to prevent the Swedes and their hated Lutheranism, from becoming masters of their city.[2] The measures adopted by Ferdinand III. for the restoration of the ancient faith bore a quite different character from those laid down by his father. During the first three years of his reign the new ruler issued several stern decrees against the innovators, but Cardinal Harrach had already entered on a policy of greater moderation during the latter years of

[1] See HIRN, in *Hist. Jahrbuch.*, XVI., 605.

[2] See REZEK, *Gesch. Böhmens unter Ferdinand III.*, I., 515 *seq.*, and also v. HELFERT, in the *Wiener "Vaterland"*, 1893, No. 224. Gindely, too, says of the town of Prague: That the action of the Catholic clergy became more effective and finally won over the opponents, was shown at the time of the Saxon invasion at the end of 1631. On this occasion the returning emigrants entertained the hope that the old faith would revive; but very few of the inhabitants of Prague fulfilled these expectations; by far the greater number remained deaf to the exhortations of the Protestant teachers, thereby testifying that they had also renounced their opinions interiorly." *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII. (1896), 326. When further attempts were made to protestantize Prague, says KRÖSS (335), "the success was small. The greater number of the burghers remained true to the Catholic faith." *Cf.*, however *ibid.*, 212, for the *Kleinseite*, of Prague.

Ferdinand II. As a matter of fact the country folk responded very willingly to his more kindly approaches. Thus in the town of Landskron there were at one time scarcely five or six Catholics, yet between 1628–1631 the Catholic restoration was carried through without recourse to harsh measures. The same happened in numerous localities, as in the domains of William Slawata, and almost everywhere in Southern Bohemia.[1] As early as 1635, with the concurrence of the Emperor, the Cardinal published an ordinance in which he states that what mattered most was regular preaching and catechizing, in other words, missionary work. The missionaries were still being escorted by lay commissaries, though for the most part no longer by the military, as for example in the Joachimstal, at Eger, Hradetz, Czaslay (Jáchynov, Egra, Hrádec, Cáslav) and Bunzlav, hence there could be no repetition of the former acts of violence. Ulrich Adam Popel von Lobkowitz, in an Instruction for the Joachimstal dated June 17th, 1637, expressly charged the lay commissaries to show moderation and consideration towards non-Catholics. In localities and districts which were less threatened the commissaries were given no lay escort of any kind.[2]

From 1635 onwards the work of the missions grew considerably. All the Orders took part in it, the Jesuits being in the front line: "For these there now opened a glorious period, more especially because the members of that Order were distinguished for their zeal for religion and their irreproachable conduct. The most remarkable among them were Adam Krawarski, Adalbert Chanowski, Bernard Opel, Paul Stephanides and, a little later, Frederick Bridel and others. The College of Gitschin supplied missionaries chiefly for the north-west of Bohemia. Their reports testify that, generally speaking, their activities were unaccompanied by any acts

[1] Rezek, I., 126. *Cf.* an official document in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVII. (1888), 227, which presupposes the complete conversion of Landskron by 1630.

[2] Rezek, I., 126 *seq.*

of violence and that they only sought to influence the people by their keenness for the cause and their blameless life. In this they were not without achieving some notable successes.[1] Wherever the Jesuits were able to obtain a permanent footing and to found a sodality of the Blessed Virgin, the Catholic Church made rapid progress." [2]

Nevertheless the old faith was very far from triumphing throughout the realm. There was a lack of secular priests for the establishment everywhere of regular and constant pastoral ministration by which alone the fruits of the missions could be assured.[3] As a rule one priest was in charge of half a dozen or more parishes and the insecurity and misery caused by the Saxon invasion of 1631 and the Swedish one of 1639, undid much of what had been so laboriously accomplished. To this must be added that many landed proprietors did not care what religion their subjects professed so long as their profit and gain were assured.[4] Cardinal Harrach did all he could. He created a supreme directorate which assigned to every missionary the post for which he was best suited.[5] He divided the country into vicariates and by means of reports from every part of Bohemia he got a clear notion of the number of Protestants and of the clergy available.[6] From the secular authorities he subsequently received but little assistance and it was in vain that, at the close of 1637, the archiepiscopal consistory prayed for support of the ecclesiastical visitors. Three years later Harrach had to complain that laymen were

[1] *Ibid.*, 127.

[2] *Ibid.*, 128.

[3] Rezek, I., 130, 135. The sixteen parishes of the estate of Friedland were served in 1638 by two priests only (Schmidl, IV., 468) and the fifty-seven villages near Smirzitz in the same year also by only two priests (*ibid.*, 472). *Cf.*, *ibid.* 153, 262, 317 *seq.*, 398, 574; V., 319.

[4] Rezek, I., 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, 127.

[6] *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.*, 136. Extracts from the reports of 1632 to 1641, *ibid.*, 130 *seq.*

appointed as inspectors of churches and priests, as if the Archbishop were not doing his duty.[1] True, the secular authorities proceeded against non-Catholics, but until the end of the Thirty Years' War Cardinal Harrach was thrown on his own resources as regards the setting up of ordered relations on the basis of the new situation.[2] An intolerable burden lay upon his shoulders. "Indomitable endurance, resolution, and power of application, were indispensable qualities, and it was a great good fortune for the future destiny of the Church in Bohemia that Cardinal Harrach possessed them in a high degree. He missed no opportunity that could in any way bring him nearer his goal. Visitation followed visitation and year by year the protocols of these inspections were expanded by additional rubrics with a view to obtaining the most accurate information on the condition of the clergy and the number of non-Catholics. Every year the imperial Government and Propaganda were supplied with detailed reports both of the general condition of ecclesiastical affairs and Harrach's new undertakings. When necessary Harrach did not shrink from using sharp language in order to rouse the Government to action. He could be most gentle and considerate; but if necessary, he could also insist on his rights, without regard for any one's feelings. One Instruction after another was issued to the Catholic parish priests and when, after 1642, accurate reports came to hand with reference to the parish priests of each vicariate, it became possible to insist on better order, to bestow praise and encouragement or, if need be, to mete out punishment. In this respect the Cardinal considered no one and suffered no one to dictate to him. "When the peace of Prague made orderly conditions possible, it became necessary to begin afresh with the work of the Catholic restoration, but this time it was carried to a successful conclusion.[3]

[1] Rezek, I., 143.

[2] *Ibid.* A memorandum by Harrach's adviser, the Capuchin Valerian Magni, 1637, *ibid.*, 137 *seqq.* For Magni's opposition to the Jesuits, *ibid.*, 141 note; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVII. (1896), 556.

[3] Rezek, I., 143 *seq.*

In Moravia, which had made common cause with Bohemia during the rebellion, a similar procedure was adopted. Carafa saw to it that the imperial edicts for Bohemia were extended to Moravia.[1] Their execution was facilitated by the circumstance that Cardinal Dietrichstein, in his capacity as Bishop of Ölmütz (Olomone) and Lieutenant of Moravia, united in his person both the ecclesiastical and the civil authority.[2] One great obstacle to the Catholic restoration in that country was due to the Anabaptists, numbering some 20,000 souls, having settled there ; because they were excellent workmen, they enjoyed the protection of many landed proprietors. Notwithstanding the opposition of the " politicians ", Carafa had obtained their banishment in 1622.[3] On September 17th of that year " the sect of the Anabaptists, which is prohibited and banned throughout the Holy Roman Empire ", was banned from Moravia forasmuch as " it attracts to itself many simple people and, notwithstanding severe prohibition, leads them astray and out of the country " and " because it refuses to submit to any authority, as is meet and ordered and commanded by God ".[4] However, in view of the threats of Bethlen Gábor, the order was only fully carried out in 1624.[5] Ten thousand Anabaptists consented to accept the

[1] *Cf.* KOLLMANN, I., 391.

[2] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, ed. Müller, 257.

[3] See CARAFA's Relation of September, 1623, in KOLLMANN, I., 385. *Cf.* CARAFA, *Comment.*, 152. The accounts of the numbers of the Moravian Anabaptists vary exceedingly. CARAFA (*Comment.*, 213) speaks of 20,000 in 1624. But far greater numbers have been mentioned ; see *Schriften der hist. Sektion der mährisch.-schles, Gesellschaft*, VI. (1854), 258. *Cf.* also WOLF, *Geschichtl. Bilder*, 78 ; LOSERTH, in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXX., 404, 409.

[4] See *Schriften der hist. Sektion der mährisch.-schles. Gesellsch.*, XVI., 880 *seq.* ; *Decreta*, 82 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSERTH, in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LXXXI., 213 *seq.* ; KOLLMANN, I., 85, 87 *seq.*

[5] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 206, 213 ; Decree of 1624 in Wolny in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, II. (1850), 161 ; *cf.* V., 127.

Catholic faith, the others passed into Transilvania, Hungary and Walachia.[1]

As early as April, 1622, Carafa had induced the Emperor to send a command to Dietrichstein, by the terms of which the inhabitants of Brno, Olomone and other royal towns were forbidden to assist at heretical sermons held in other localities and in August all guardians of orphans were instructed to recall their wards from the Calvinist schools abroad.[2] At Brno and Jihlava (Iglau), at the instigation of Carafa, the restoration to the Catholics of their churches was demanded.[3] An ordinance of December 27th, 1624, to Dietrichstein, was of decisive importance: it ordered the expulsion of all Protestant preachers not only from the royal towns of Moravia but likewise from the domains of the Protestant nobles.[4]

The preachers were protected by some of the landed proprietors, as for instance Karl von Zierotin, and "against the will of the feudal lords hardly anyone dared to touch the ministers of the false gospel". However, in view of the fact that Liechtenstein had received orders, "in case of need," to be ready "to give protection and assistance with armed forces", no one had the courage to offer much opposition. "With joyful countenances and without resistance of any kind," so the reform commission reported to the Cardinal, "they suffered those to be driven from their domains to whom at one time they had entrusted their souls, nay they even co-operated in this with their subjects. As for the subjects, that is, the common people, they have shown in effect and with a unanimity which might have been the result of an agreement to which they had all sworn, that the banishment of the preachers was in accordance with their inclinations,

[1] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 213.

[2] See *Decreta*, 80 *seq.*

[3] See KOLLMANN, I., 162 *seq.*, 376 *seq.* For the Catholic restoration in Brünn, see B. BERTHOLZ, *Die Pfarrkirche St Jakob in Brünn*, Brünn, 1901, and *Gesch. Böhmens und Mährens*, III., Reichenberg, 1923.

[4] See *Decreta*, 90 *seq.*

for they lent a hand in it and gave public expression to their dispositions when they prayed that truly Catholic priests should be sent to them and gave an assurance that the Roman faith would meet with ready acceptance." [1]

Znojmo (Znaim), where there remained only 100 Catholics, was entirely Catholic by the end of 1625.[2] At Jihlava also, when two years later the Emperor visited the town on his way to the coronation of Ferdinand III., he was gratified on hearing that not one heretic remained in a town which had completely fallen away from the faith.[3] Here also Carafa and Dietrichstein exerted themselves to the utmost.[4] The episcopal city of Olomone where, as at Brno, non-Catholics enjoyed toleration though not freedom of worship,[5] counted only one non-Catholic burgher in 1625.[6] The same may be said of the population of many other towns.[7] After Cardinal Dietrichstein had erected in his city of Miknlov (Nikolsburg) a replica of the Holy House of Loreto and obtained a special indulgence for those who visited it on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, "immense crowds of people began to flock thither from Hungary, Austria, Moravia and other provinces. Solemn processions came from towns of Moravia such as were not too distant; from the smaller localities also and from the villages special pilgrimages came with their own insignia. On the way they sang hymns to God and to the Blessed Virgin." Out of a spirit of penance "some of the pilgrims made the journey barefoot; others walked with arms stretched out cross-wise whilst other processionists scourged their bare backs till they ran with blood. It was impossible to ascertain the number of the pilgrims but there

[1] *Relatio Reformationis Dominiorum Namiestensis et Rostistensis*, of January 25, 1625, in D'Elvert, *Beiträge*, I., 282 *seqq.* (the passage quoted is on p. 287).

[2] Kollmann, I., 163, 378; Schmidl, III., 648 *seq.*

[3] Cordara, I., 491. *Cf.* Kollmann, I., 376.

[4] *Cf.* Kollmann, I., 161 *seq.*

[5] Carafa, *Relatione*, 257.

[6] Carafa, *Comment.*, 261.

[7] *Ibid.*

were 10,000 communicants." The pilgrimage to Miknlov became an institution. On the feasts of Our Lady, Carafa wrote in 1627, processions come from seven, eight or ten different towns so that Miknlov and its suburbs are unable to accommodate the crowds of pilgrims.[1] Princes and the Emperor himself, together with his wife and son, were to be seen among the devout visitors.[2]

The religious transformation of Znojmo (Znaim) and Jihlava was due in large measure to the two Jesuit Colleges which the convert Michael Adolph Althan, jointly with the Emperor, had erected in these two towns in the year 1624.[3] The catechetical instructions of the Jesuits had given the first impulse to the conversion of Znojmo. The Protestant teachers were removed from the three schools and the Catholic ones were commanded to bring the children to church on all Sundays and holy days for catechetical instruction. The children were the means of winning back the parents and eventually the whole population. The magistrates of the town, in conjunction with the Jesuits, also took measures for the reform of the surrounding country.[4]

In other places also the Society of Jesus was able to register great successes. At Lipnik (Leipnik), the property of Cardinal Dietrichstein, the number of Catholics rose to 3,500 in 1624. The burghers themselves demanded a decree of banishment against those "to whom heresy was dearer than their country." An ordinance of the council decreed that those who died without confession were to be buried without the sound of bells and outside the cemetery. Here, as everywhere else, the

[1] *Ibid.*, 261 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] CARAFA, *Comment.*, 208, 314; SCHMIDL, III., 610; KRÖSS, 289 *seqq.* *Cf.* J. WALLNER, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Iglau.* 2 Teil; *Gesch. des Gymnasiums unter den Jesuiten* 1625-1644 (*Progr.*), Iglau, 1882. The command to restore to the Jesuits the Colleges which had been taken from them in Moravia in 1619, had been issued by Ferdinand II. as early as January 23, 1621; *Decreta*, 72 *seq.*

[4] SCHMIDL, III., 648 *seq.*

Fathers' charity towards the poor and the destitute made an enormous impression. One poor man who had lain sick on a dunghill for three days, was taken to the infirmary by the Jesuits. Another who lay helpless in the street after a cartwheel had passed over him, was taken to the same hospital in their own conveyance. When the plague broke out they visited all the sick without discrimination, even the public executioner and his assistants, nor did they cease from their priestly tasks when one after another they all fell sick with the fever. The people hailed them as " the Good Samaritans of the Gospel and as true Shepherds ". When Dietrichstein visited Lipnik, at Whitsun, a crowd of faithful people came to meet him out of a town in which there had been at one time only five Catholics. In his joy the Cardinal embraced the Fathers.[1]

On the other hand at Bela Crka (Weisskirchen), which was also a fief of Cardinal Dietrichstein, the Jesuits encountered great obstacles. On the occasion of the Cardinal's journey through the domain, the rural population requested him to allow the heretical worship to go on ; stern ordinances were needed to bring about a return to the ancient faith. One village, which offered particularly obstinate resistance, saw itself condemned to bear the burden of a military garrison for a whole week : at its close more than 400 peasants declared their readiness to submit.[2]

Not long afterwards one of the churches of the neighbourhood became a place of pilgrimage.[3]

On September 2nd, 1628, Ferdinand II. extended the time limit assigned to the nobility and the towns for conversion to the end of March of the following year, on condition that meanwhile they should seek instruction in the Catholic faith.[4] By that time, as Carafa notes in his final report, the Catholic restoration had made great strides in Moravia. " The

[1] SCHMIDL, III., 582 *seqq*. *Cf*. CORDARA, I., 490 ; KRÖSS, 275.

[2] SCHMIDL, III., 584 *seq*.

[3] " Neque enim facile uspiam gens aliqua est prae Moravica ad s. peregrinationes propensior," says SCHMIDL (III., 585).

[4] See *Decreta*, 139 *seq*.

ordinances," he writes, "have yielded the good results that were expected from them. To-day, thank God, the Catholic religion flourishes throughout this province, not only as a result of the expulsion of all preachers and the prohibition of heretical worship, but also in consequence of the sound teaching and the good example which the people receive from the members of the new and the old Orders. Hence it is impossible to count those who have returned to our holy faith, and every day there are thousands of conversions all over the country."[1]

This result was due in a large measure not only to Carafa, but likewise to Cardinal Dietrichstein. That splendid Prince of the Church was wont to sit in his confessional at Olomone like a simple priest.[2] Repeatedly he received Holy Communion under one kind.[3] In Germany he did this with special solemnity on Corpus Christi Day, 1628, at the hand of the nuncio Carafa,[4] so as to profess as forcibly as possible his own faith in the presence of Jesus Christ under *one* kind and to strengthen the same faith in the hearts of the people. At Brno he used to sit among the children during catechism and at the end of the lesson he rewarded those who had shown special attention.[5] In Silesia, where Protestant intolerance had repressed and uprooted everything Catholic,[6] the restoration met with certain obstacles of a judicial kind, in so far as the domains of the Emperor were concerned. When the Silesians detached themselves from the Bohemian rebellion in order to submit once more to the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, as representative of Ferdinand II., promised them in 1621 that the existing religious situation would be maintained, a concession which the

[1] CARAFA, *Relatione*, 257. For the introduction of religious into Moravia, see CARAFA, *Comment.*, 314.

[2] SCHMIDL, III., 692 (annus 1626).

[3] 1623 in Polna; SCHMIDL, III., 414.

[4] *Ibid.*, 904.

[5] TANNER, *Societas Iesu Apostolarum imitatrix*, Pragae, 1694, 772*b*. *Cf.* for Dietrichstein, *Zeitschr. des deutschen Vereins für Gesch. Mährens*, XVI. (1912), 118 *seq.*

[6] See GRÜNHAGEN, II., 158.

Emperor subsequently ratified. In consequence Rudolph II.'s *Letter of Majesty* was still in force there. As a rule, therefore, it was impossible to do more than to appoint Catholic noblemen as administrators of the *immediate* principalities, to give to Catholics the captaincy of the towns and to exact the surrender of the churches of which the Catholics had been deprived.[1] Only in the county of Glatz, which really formed part of Bohemia and which had come once more under the power of the Emperor at the end of October, 1622, were the preachers driven from the town on November 12th and not long after from the whole country.[2] In 1623 Ferdinand II. bestowed Glatz on his brother, the Archduke Charles, Prince-Bishop of Breslau, who promptly gave to the Jesuits a site on which to rebuild their College which had been burnt to the ground. At Neisse, the residence of the Prince-Bishop, the Jesuit Christoph Scheiner laid the first stone of a new College in 1623.[3] In 1624 warlike disturbances drove the Jesuits of Olomone to Glogau, a town which by reason of its proximity to Poland, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Lausitz was deemed a strategic point of great importance. In the following year Count John III. of Oppersdorff made it possible for them to acquire a permanent establishment there and in 1627 they opened a school.[4]

In Silesia also the Colleges of the Jesuits were greatly frequented. Up to 1627 they had 300 pupils at Glatz and 600 at Neisse [5] most of them being Protestants. It was not long before many of the children were won back to the old religion so that in 1625 several boys of Neisse allowed themselves to be whipped rather than eat meat on Friday.[6] Through the children the old religious ideas once more found an entrance into

[1] See HUBER, V., 228.

[2] See SCHMIDL, III., 315; H. WIESE, *Der Kampf um Glatz*, Halle, 1896, 59 *seq.*

[3] SCHMIDL, III., 463 *seqq.*; KRÖSS, 300. For Glatz, *cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 355 *seq.*; KRÖSS, 44 *seqq.*, 295 *seqq.*

[4] SCHMIDL, III., 576, 597, 774; KRÖSS, 309 *seqq.*

[5] SCHMIDL, III., 830.

[6] *Ibid.*, 694.

the homes of the people.[1] Here also the charity of the Fathers and their visits to the poor and the sick won all hearts.[2] People came from miles away, even from as far as Breslau, to receive the Sacraments in their church at Neisse and 4,000 persons took part in the Rogation processions on the three days before the Ascension.[3]

The Bishop's command of 1625 that henceforth Communion should be given only under one kind and that those who obstinately demanded the chalice should be refused the privileges of citizenship and the right to contract matrimony, was promptly obeyed at Neisse and the surrounding district. These and other ordinances,[4] the purpose of which was the realization of the Catholic restoration in the Duchy of Neisse, were issued in the name of the Bishop by his representatives, for on the death of Archduke Charles the twelve-years-old Polish Prince, Charles Ferdinand, a nephew of the Emperor, had been raised to the archiepiscopal See. In course of time the Catholic restoration spread from Neisse to the Duchy of Grottkau.[5]

In view of the fact that Mansfeld had received support from Upper Silesia in 1626, the Emperor was advised to declare null and void both the agreement with Saxony and the *Letter of Majesty*, and to deprive the Protestants of the freedom of religion which they had enjoyed until then. He refused to follow these counsels. Ferdinand II. was content to lay down

[1] *Ibid.*, 728.

[2] *Ibid.*, 593, 737.

[3] *Ibid.*, 593.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, 793; SCHMIDLIN, *Die Restaurationstätigkeit der Breslauer Fürstbischöfe*, Rome, 1907, 35 *seq.* For the election of Prince Carl Ferdinand see the dissertation of MOSBACH, Breslau, 1871. The event is significant as showing the lack of understanding of the true interests of the church on the part of ecclesiastical statesmen; see *Stimmen der Zeit*, 1918, July, No. 374, note 1. *Cf.* the complaints of Giacinto da Casale, on the "entourage" of the "good" Emperor, of February, 1624, in ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 287 *seq.*

the principle that the *Letter of Majesty* could only confirm legitimate proprietorship and that the Protestants were bound to restore to the Catholics whatever they had acquired unjustly. Accordingly this line of conduct was adopted in the towns of the principalities immediately subject to the Emperor and in Wallenstein's Duchy of Sagan.[1] In 1628 Wallenstein laid the first stone of a Jesuit College at Sagan and published an ordinance commanding everyone to return to the Catholic Church. No one dared to resist openly.[2] When Wallenstein took the town of Troppau he also introduced the Jesuits there. The aversion which the burghers at first felt for them, vanished very quickly.[3]

At Glogau Ferdinand II.'s efforts for the Catholic restoration met with strong opposition. When Count George Oppersdorff insisted on the parish of St. Nicholas being restored to the Catholics, a demand often made in the past, the burghers, roused by the preachers, offered strong resistance and the bulk of the population only submitted after Oppersdorff had sent for the troops of Count Dohna.[4] The Jesuit Nerlich condemned the coercion by the military which was practised on this occasion.[5] When Catholicism was restored at Schweidnitz, at the beginning of 1629, the soldiery behaved with such rowdyism that the Jesuits left the town for a time.[6] Although they too, in accordance with the spirit of the age and the practice of

[1] See K. A. Menzel, VII. 144 *seq.*

[2] See Schmidl, III., 841, 925; Kröss, 318 *seqq.*

[3] Schmidl, III., 770, 858, 931; Kröss, 323 *seqq.* The coping stone to the edifice of the Catholic restoration in Troppau as in Jägerndorf and Leobschütz was the Statute of Religion of 1630, whereby the citizens were obliged to promise not to allow anyone to take up residence in the town who did not profess the Catholic faith; see Loesche, *Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien*, Leipzig, 1915/16.

[4] See Schmidl, III., 844 *seq.*, 847 *seq.*; Krebs, *Acta publica*, VII. (1905), 224 *seq.*

[5] See Duhr, II., 2, 350; Kröss, 312 *seqq.*

[6] See Kopietz, in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Gesch. Schlesiens*, XV., 185. *Cf.* Schmidl, III., 1084.

the Protestants, were in favour of coercive measures, they nevertheless realized that the chief means by which a sincere conversion could be obtained and one that would, to some extent, soften the harshness of coercion, was instruction by means of sermons and catechizing.[1]

Breslau remained untouched by the Catholic restoration for there the captaincy was pledged to the Protestant Council, and Catholic worship was only tolerated in two monasteries and on the Cathedral island.[2] The same thing also occurred in the vassal principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg-Wohlau and Münsterberg-Öls whose Princes were able to appeal to the axiom *cujus regio ejus religio.* Consequently Protestantism continued to be the dominant religion in a large section of Silesia, as well as in Upper and Lower Lausitz which it had been necessary, in June, 1623, to surrender as a pledge to the Elector of Saxony.[3]

(2)

As in Bohemia, so in the Hereditary States of Austria, Protestantism largely bore a revolutionary character. In Upper Austria, where they were not satisfied with toleration but sought utterly to uproot the Catholic Church,[4] the Protestants strongly urged their pretensions even after the territory had been conquered by the armies of the League. With characteristic Bavarian obstinacy,[5] the Estates opposed the victorious Emperor both in the religious and the political sphere.[6] It was almost naïve on their part to demand the confirmation of their own conquests now that the rebellion

[1] See DUHR, II., 2, 5 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*, 351 ; HERMANN HOFFMANN, *Die Jesuiten in Glogau*, Breslau, 1926 ; *Festschrift zur Dreihundert jahrfeier* (1626–1926) *des Staatlichen Katholischen Gymnasiums zu Glogau*, Glogau, 1926.

[2] *Cf.* KOLLMANN, I., 387.

[3] *Cf.* MENZEL, VII., 140 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*

[4] See CZERNY in 42nd report of *Museum Francisco-Carolinum*, XIII. (1884), 69 *seq.*, 132 ; DUHR, II., 2, 348.

[5] See RIEZLER, V., 294.

[6] See HUBER, V., 229 *seq.*

had been quelled. When Upper Austria was given in pledge to Bavaria, Ferdinand II. retained for himself the suzerainty over the country. He was determined to make use of his right of reform. On October 4th, 1624, he decreed that all Protestant ministers and school teachers were to leave the country within eight days, inasmuch as by their blasphemous rantings and their influence on the common people they had contributed in no small degree to the previous rebellion, and because even now they continued their blasphemous denunciation and calumnies of the Catholic religion.[1] But in view of the fact that even after the preachers had quietly departed,[2] Protestant worship was still being held in certain secret conventicles and in the castles of the nobles, the Emperor appointed a reform commission which, on the instruction of Maximilian I., was likewise supported by the Bavarian Lieutenant, Adam von Herbersdorf. When the commission sought to introduce Catholic priests in the cities and market towns, the Protestants offered armed resistance on more than one occasion. In the county of Frankenburg 5,000 men flocked together, threatening the castle, in consequence of which Herbersdorf dealt out stern justice and executed seventeen men who had been found guilty; but the real ringleaders made good their escape.[3] Thereupon on October 12th the reform commission published imperial letters patent by the terms of which all were commanded either to accept the Catholic faith by Easter, 1626, or to leave the country.[4] The Emperor would not listen to the representations of the Estates and the nobility ended by complying with the decree. Not so the peasants, most of whom were armed. Exasperated by the harsh way in which the October decree was being carried out, as well as by the Bavarian occupation,[5] they entered into a conspiracy which

[1] See KHEVENHÜLLER, X., 496 *seq.*

[2] *"Se ne sono andati senza strepito." Report of Altoviti, dated Vienna, October 26, 1624, State Archives, Florence, *Med.* 4375.

[3] See KHEVENHÜLLER, X., 733 *seq.*

[4] See RAUPACH, *Evangel. Österreich.*, IV., no. 45.

[5] See HUBER, V., 233.

broke out with elemental violence on May, 1626, and quickly spread over the whole country.[1] The towns of Wels and Steier were compelled to fall in with the movement. In the course of a single fortnight the rebels became masters of the whole country, with the exception of Linz, Enns and Freistadt. Only in November, 1626, did the imperial and Bavarian troops succeed in quelling the dangerous rising in bloody fashion.[2] By that time the Emperor felt bound, even on political grounds, to carry through the Catholic restoration, for he had become convinced that the Protestants would never be loyal subjects. Maximilian also pressed for a speedy decision.[3] Accordingly, in 1627, a decree was published giving the burghers one month, the nobles three months, in which to embrace Catholicism or to leave the country. As for the peasants, all that was insisted upon was that they should not assist at Protestant services, but that they should attend Catholic worship. There was no question of driving them out of the country.[4]

After the suppression of the peasant rising in Upper Austria, the Catholic restoration resumed its course in Lower Austria. In that district it had been restricted until then to the cities and market towns of the Princes and to the imperial officials, but in 1626 such lecturers and professors as held the new faith

[1] *Cf.* A. Czerny, *Bilder aus der Zeit der Bauernunruhen in Oberösterreich*, Linz, 1876; Gindely, in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. philos.-hist. Kl.*, CXVIII. (1889), 1 *seq.*; Stieve, *Der oberösterr. Bauernaufstand des Jahres* 1626, 2 vols., Munich, 1891; (*J. Strnadt,*) *Der Bauernkrieg in Oberösterreich*, Wels, 1902.

[2] Urban VIII. could only give to the Emperor the help of his prayers as he told him in a *Brief of August 25, 1626, for "curata Italiae pax" had entailed great expenses and "arma nondum deposita vorant Pontif. aerarium", *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Huber, V., 239; Riezler, V., 312.

[4] See Riezler, V., 312 *seq.* In August, 1623, when the Swedes invaded the country, the peasants rebelled again but Gustavus Adolphus abandoned them to their fate; see *ibid.*, 428 *seq.*

were removed from the University of Vienna.[1] On the other hand, the nobles retained the right to Protestant worship which Maximilian II.'s "Assecuration" had granted to them and which Ferdinand II. had confirmed by oath. Representations were made to the Emperor to the effect that, as a Catholic Sovereign, he was not bound by the law of the Empire to tolerate Protestantism in one of his Hereditary States since there the princes did not enjoy, together with suzerainty, the right of reform as they did in Silesia. Ferdinand submitted the question to a commission which, in addition to several privy councillors and councillors of the Government of Lower Austria, also included three Jesuits, his own confessor, Lamormaini, being one of them. Opinions were divided. Some held that it was not lawful to break a sworn promise and in view of the political situation, even recommended a postponement of drastic measures. The others similarly stood by the view that it was wrong to go against oath and promise, but argued that the Emperor was only bound towards the provincial Estates of the Confession of Augsburg; hence, since at that time there was not a single Lutheran preacher in Lower Austria who did not lean towards Calvinism, there was no obligation for the Emperor to tolerate such men. Cardinal Klesl opposed the banishment of the Protestants on the ground that by such a measure the Sovereign forfeited the love of the people, money was taken out of the country and many souls were imperilled, for the exiles would persevere to the end in their errors. If, on the other hand, these people were allowed to remain in the country, though without the right to practise their religion, their children at least would become Catholics and the evils he had pointed out would be avoided.[2] Thereupon the Emperor took a middle course: he decided to forgo the right of banishing the Protestant nobles, on the other hand

[1] See Raupach, IV., 430; Menzel, VII., 131.

[2] See Khevenhüller, X., 303 *seq.* Klesl must have given his advice in writing for he only returned to Vienna on February 5, 1628; *Briefs of Urban VIII. of September 7 and 10, 1627, had recommended him to the Emperor. *Epist.* IV., Papal Secret Archives.

a decree was published on September 14th, 1627, ordering the removal from Lower Austria of all Protestant preachers and schoolmasters on the ground of their Calvinistic opinions and their attacks on the Catholic religion and the Government.[1] Though this measure made the practice of their religion impossible for the nobility, twenty years later there were still seventy-two Protestant noble families in Lower Austria. But in course of time Klesl's expectations were fulfilled.[2] An all-important contributory cause to this result was the fact that, side by side with the Catholic restoration, there also took place an internal reform. This was specially the case in Vienna. In addition to the Orders already at work in that city, others joined them as time went on, such as the Barnabites, the Trinitarians, the Carmelites, both friars and nuns. The gradual revival of religion was attested in the sequel by the erection of new churches.[3]

Up till then the Catholic restoration, notwithstanding every effort,[4] had been unable to penetrate into Central Austria, Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola, inasmuch as the new religion found too strong a support in the nobles and knights who were the lords of a number of cities and market towns. In course of time the conviction gained ground that sterner measures

[1] See RAUPACH, IV., supplement no. 46; *Decreta*, 184 *seq.*, *cf.* 188 (loyal priests are to take the place of the banished ones). *Cf.* HURTER, IX., 198 *seq.*, X., 119 *seq.*; WIEDEMANN, I., 597 *seq.*, 605. A *Brief of praise on account of the Edict was sent to the Emperor, October 9, 1627, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See MEIERN, *Acta Pacis Westph.*, IV., 174 *seq.* *Cf.* RAUPACH, IV., 464.

[3] See VANCSA, in A. MAYER, *Gesch. der Stadt Wien*, IV., Vienna, 1911, 131. The Catholic restoration in Vienna was completed by the Abbot of Kremsmünster, who succeeded Klesl at the latter's death (September 15, 1630) and by Anton Wolfradt, Ferdinand II.'s minister, a native of Cologne. *Cf.* HOPF, in the *Programmen der Gumpendorfer Realschule*, 1891–3, and MAURER, *A. Wolfradt, Fürstbischof von Wien*, Vienna, 1894.

[4] *Cf.* the ordinances of April 26, 1625, in *Decreta*, 148 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*

against the sectaries would be in order.[1] Among the ordinances in this sense published in May 1626, we find an invitation addressed to the Bishops of Gurk, Seckau, Lavant and Lubian to see to it that the clergy led an exemplary life, for in this respect there was much to be desired.[2] The warning was renewed in March, 1628, whilst at the same time public notice was given of the duties of the reform commission which had been set up for the purpose of repressing heresy in the cities and market towns.[3] A decisive step was taken on August 1st, 1628, when a general ordinance of Ferdinand II. decreed the banishment of all Protestant lords and knights from Stiria, Carinthia and Carniola.[4] The collapse of the nobility involved that of the still powerful Protestant sections of the burgher and peasant circles.[5] In December, 1628, Pallotto, who had succeeded Carafa, thanked the Emperor in the Pope's name for the execution of the Catholic restoration in Central Austria, at the same time begging him to persist in the task.[6] Nevertheless it was some time before the Protestants in every stratum of society, with a few exceptions, consented to accept the new situation.[7]

At the time of the conclusion of the peace treaties with Bethlen Gábor in January, 1622, and May, 1624, the Emperor had been obliged to desist both from the political and the religious restoration of Hungary. Consequently, owing to Bethlen's power and the proximity of the Turks, a forcible restoration was rendered impossible.[8] However, successes of

[1] See Loserth, *Akten und Korrespondenzen* (*Fontes dipl.*, 60), LVII. *Cf.* also *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCVI., 127 *seq.*

[2] See Loserth, *Akten*, LXXIV., 737 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, XLI., 802. *Cf. Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCVI., 131.

[4] See Loserth, *Akten*, 814 *seq.*, *cf.* LXXV.

[5] See *ibid.*, XLII.

[6] *Cf.* Kiewning, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 332.

[7] See Loserth, *Akten*, LXXV., cxi., *seq.*

[8] See the *report of Altoviti, dated Vienna, October 26, 1624, from which it appears that the idea had not yet been quite abandoned (State Archives, Florence, *Med.* 4375); meanwhile Pázmány would not hear of violence.

greater value and far more lasting than any that might have been obtained by force were achieved by the spiritual power of a single man, namely, Peter Pázmány, Archbishop of Gran.[1]

Born in 1570 at Wardein, of a Calvinist family,[2] Peter Pázmány received from his Catholic stepmother the first impulse towards his return to the Catholic Church, a step he took at the age of thirteen. Four years later he joined the Society of Jesus. The extraordinarily gifted young man began his studies in Vienna and continued them in Rome where he attended the lectures of Bellarmine. From 1598 onwards he taught philosophy and theology at the University of Graz, whilst on occasion he also undertook missionary work in Hungary. In 1607 the Archbishop of Gran, Cardinal Forgách, entrusted him with some important tasks in the interests of the Church of Hungary where conditions were deplorable.

The Cardinal had found the right man for Pázmány was most successful both as a preacher and as a writer. His chief work is his "Guide to divine truth" completed in 1613,[3] which constitutes a veritable arsenal of spiritual weapons for the defence of religion. By reason of its clarity it became a

[1] Huber's opinion (V., 244).

[2] The foundation of our knowledge of the life and work of Pázmány has been laid by the two works published in Hungarian by V. Fraknói: *P. Pázmány und seine Zeit*, 3 vols., Pest, 1868–1872, and *P. Pázmány*, 1570–1637, Budapest, 1886; the biography by J. H. Schwicker, *P. Pázmány und seine Zeit* (Cologne, 1898), is based on those works. Our knowledge has recently been considerably enlarged by the publication of all Pázmány's works, under the auspices of the Theological Faculty of the University of Budapest. This edition, consisting of two series, makes the Hungarian and the Latin works of Pázmány (Budapest, 1894 *seq.*, followed in 1910 by the letters of the Cardinal) accessible to scholars. In 1886 the "Ungarische Revue" published an essay on Pázmány, valuable on account of its illustrations. A very rare medal in the collection of coins in Vienna shows the fine, energetic head of the Cardinal.

[3] Hodegus, *Igazságra vezérlö Kalauz* (ed. I. Kiss), 2 vols., Budapest, 1897–8.

book of popular instruction as well as intellectual food for the educated classes. In this as in all his writings Pázmány shows himself a master of style so that he is justly considered a model of cultivated Hungarian prose.[1] His nomination, in the autumn of 1616, to the archiepiscopal see of Gran and to the primacy of Hungary, marks a decided turning point towards better conditions for the Church of that much tried country. Fully convinced that the nation's revival could only be brought about by its return to the old faith, Pázmány threw himself heart and soul into the struggle against Protestantism. If at times he appeared harsh, not to say pitiless, the explanation lay partly in his strong conviction that only in the Church could men find salvation, partly in the spirit of that warlike age which was implacable towards an opponent, but at no time did he have recourse to violent measures for he realized that lasting results could not be achieved by such means—hence he only employed spiritual ones.[2] However, his fight against the enemy was only one aspect of his reforming activity; another and much more important one in his eyes, was the intellectual and moral raising of the clergy whose decadence had to a large extent caused the religious innovations and contributed to their rapid spread. Hence he was indefatigable in founding educational establishments, colleges, seminaries,[3] in holding synods and in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline.

To his Sovereign Pázmány gave his wholehearted loyalty and in the House of Habsburg he saw the strongest earthly support of the Catholic Church as well as the hope of its restoration in his beloved country. A hot-blooded Hungarian, he sometimes allowed himself to be carried away by his temperament when he did or said things that gave pain,

[1] See J. H. SCHWICKER, *Gesch. der ungarischen Literatur*, 1889, Leipzig.

[2] See SCHWICKER, *Pázmány*, 53, 93.

[3] One of his creations is the famous Pazmaneum in Vienna; *cf.* C. RIMELY, *Historia Collegii Pazmanei*, Viennae, 1865; FRAKNÓI, *A bécsi Pázmány-intezet megalapitása* (The foundation of the Pázmány Institute in Vienna), Budapest, 1923.

but he always fought with open vizor. With the utmost courage he opposed the absolutist and centralist tendencies of the Viennese politicians. With a view to preserving the character and the freedom of his people, though himself a most fervent Catholic, he entered the lists on behalf of the preservation of the Protestant principality of Transilvania.[1]

Pázmány's efforts on behalf of the regeneration of the Catholic Church in Hungary were admirably seconded by the members of the Society of Jesus who, though they had been established in the country since 1560, were only able fully to unfold their pastoral and educational activities under his patronage. They had Colleges at Nagy Szombat, Trnava-Tyrnau, Poszony (Bratislav-Pressburg), Györ (Raab), Hamonna, Szatmár (Satu-Mara) and Gyöngyös; in all these places they worked most zealously and fruitfully as educationalists, preachers and missionaries.[2]

Pázmány, who was raised to the cardinalate in 1629, also entrusted to the sons of St. Ignatius the University founded by him in 1635 at Nagy Szombat which was subsequently transferred first to Ofen and then to Pest.[3] When Pázmány succumbed to an attack of the gout on March 19th, 1637, the future of the Church in Hungary was assured. His three immediate successors, who had been formed at the Germanicum in Rome, continued the work of their great predecessor.[4] The revival of the Catholic Church in the kingdom of St. Stephen not only led to the regeneration of the nation, it also added fresh strength to the Habsburg monarchy which was thus enabled to fulfil in brilliant fashion its historic mission as the protagonist of Christian culture and the bulwark of Central Europe against Islam.

The zeal for the renewal of the Christian spirit which had

[1] See SCHWICKER, *Pázmány*, 94 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* L. VELICKS, *Vázlatok A Magyar Jezsuiták Multjából*, I. (1560–1610), II. (1610–1690), Budapest, 1912/13, in which both MSS. and printed sources are given.

[3] See SCHWICKER, *Pázmány*, 81 *seq.*

[4] See STEINHUBER, II., 118.

animated Pázmány, also inspired the Emperor Ferdinand II.'s noble brother, the Archduke Leopold, who took up the government of the Tyrol and the Vorlanden in March, 1619. This illustrious scion of the Habsburgs had already given proof of his ardent zeal for ecclesiastical restoration when he held the sees of Passau and Strassburg.[1] Now, aided by the support of the Emperor, he wished to bestow its blessings in fullest measure upon the territories subject to him. His zeal for religion showed itself in his war against the Confederates in 1621, when he insisted everywhere on the banishment of the preachers and the introduction of Catholic priests.[2]

In the Tyrol, Archduke Ferdinand II. and Leopold's immediate predecessor Maximilian, Grand-master of the Teutonic Order, had done their utmost to promote the religious renewal.[3] However, much remained to be done, nor had the followers of the new teaching wholly disappeared. It was precisely against these heretics, who had spread more particularly in the mining district of Kitzbühel and in the valley of the Adige, that the religious ordinances published from 1620 onwards, were directed. In order to put a stop to the spread of the new teaching, great watchfulness was exercised with a view to the discovery of heretical books. Leopold's zeal for the welfare of the souls of his subjects was especially shown by the energy with which he promoted the Institute of the so-called " religious agents ", that is, the work of those who watched and cared for people who lived far from their homes in the midst of Protestants. This work was less needed in the Tyrol than in the Vorlanden whose frontiers were contiguous on every side to Protestant districts.[4] The dangers to which such a position gave rise, account for the extraordinary strictness with

[1] *Cf.* our notes, Vol. XXVI., 339 *seqq.*

[2] See LUDWIG, in the 35th *Jahresbericht* of the *Hist.-antiq. Gesellsch. von Graubünden*, 1907, 1 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXVI., 348.

[4] *Cf.* TH. MAYR, *Einrichtung und Tätigkeit der Tirolischen Religionsagenten*, in *Forsch. und Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols und Vorarlbergs*, XIII. (1916), 37 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*

which Leopold governed the Vorlanden. But to a defensive policy the Archduke joined a constructive one, inasmuch as he sought to raise the moral condition of the people by means of missions and by the support he gave to the secular and regular clergy. In the Vorlanden, as everywhere else, the Jesuits were in the van of the movement for the Catholic restoration. The Archduke, who had always befriended them, continued to do so until his death in 1632. In 1618 he established an Academy for them at Molsheim in Alsace [1] and in 1620 he handed over to them the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, which ten years later was still further enlarged by him.[2] He spent 15,000 florins on the erection of the new Jesuit College at Ensisheim and he likewise contributed to the construction of their College at Colmar where, in 1627, the Emperor had given orders for the restoration of the Catholic religion.[3] The Jesuit establishment of Innsbruck owes to him the erection of the magnificent church of the Holy Trinity.

In 1627 he himself laid the foundation stone of that splendid edifice whose imposing dome recalls Italy's fairest buildings.[4]

The other Orders also enjoyed the Archduke's favour. For the Servites of Innsbruck he erected the pilgrimage church at the foot of the Waldrastspitze,[5] the grace and beauty of which inspired Jacob Balde with one of his most exquisite hymns to the Mother of God.[6] The Franciscans who, in 1625, had accepted the reform of the Observants,[7] were settled by him at Reutte and the Capuchins owe to him the erection of their convents at Sterzing, Neumarkt and Bruneck. Towards the construction of the Capuchin convent at Lindau, which the

[1] *Cf.* present work, Vol. XXVI., 339.

[2] See DUHR, II., 1, 268 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 273, 275.

[4] See BRAUN, *Kirchenbauten der Deutschen Jesuiten*, II., 167 *seq.* DUHR, II., 1, 212 *seq.* A forthcoming monograph by Professor PANGERL will trace the history of the building of this church.

[5] *Cf.* TINKHAUSER-RAPP, *Beschreibung der Diözeses Brixen*, II., 15 *seq.*

[6] See WESTERMAYER, *J. Balde*, Munich, 1868, 130 *seq.*

[7] See GUGGENBÜHLER, *Beiträge*, Bozen, 1880, 338.

Emperor successfully enforced, notwithstanding the protests of the town, he contributed 2,000 florins.[1] The deep piety of the Archduke, who cherished a particular devotion to the Mother of God, showed itself especially in his daily assistance at Mass and in the fact that during Holy Week he walked in a procession of penitents carrying a cross on his shoulders.[2] In 1626 he married Claudia, the daughter of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, after he had previously demanded in person and obtained the necessary dispensation from the Pope into whose hands he surrendered his ecclesiastical dignities.[3] At his death in 1632 he could look with satisfaction on the situation in the Tyrol where by means of the co-operation of the secular and the spiritual Power, the ancient Church had recovered her former strength.

(3)

After the quelling of the rebellion, Ferdinand II., basing himself on the right of reform guaranteed to him by the religious peace of Augsburg, was as unwilling to suffer any of his subjects to profess another religion as were the Protestant Princes in their territories. His example could not fail to spur the other Catholic Princes of Empire to similar action. The latters' zeal was encouraged not only by the nuncio at the imperial court, but likewise by the Cologne nuncio, Pietro Francesco Montorio who, before his departure in May, 1624, pointed out to the Pope in a special memorandum [4] the great

[1] The *documents on this are in the Archives of the Capuchins at Bregenz. The town's "Protest" is dated May 10, 1630, the energetic answer of the imperial commission is of May 25, 1630, whereupon on May 25, 1630, the town sent in a rude *renewal of their protest. The original of the donation of the 2,000 florins is dated November 5, 1630.

[2] See EGGER, *Gesch. Tirols*, II., Innsbruck, 1876, 360 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 2, 290 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. I.

[4] *Relazione al papa Urbano VIII. delle cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per Mr Montorio, l'a. 1624. *Cod.* 6329,

advantages which, with the Pontiff's own co-operation, had accrued to the Church within the empire from Tilly's victories over both Christian of Halberstadt and Mansfeld. As a matter of fact at that time a new field lay open for the Catholic restoration in the Upper and Lower Palatinate and in Baden, whilst prospects were bright also in the North. At long last Osnabrück had once more a Catholic Bishop. Montorio likewise hoped that a Catholic Bishop would be elected at Minden, and that Catholic worship would at least be tolerated in the cities of the Hansa. In these cities, he thought, the Emperor would be able to impose toleration, all the more so as they derived great advantage from their trade with Spain and Portugal. But Montorio's great expectations from the Propaganda mission at Altona, from which he hoped for the spread of the ancient faith in Denmark and Sweden, were to remain unfulfilled.[1] He rightly emphasized that if the Catholic restoration was to endure, a reform of the German Bishops and Abbots was indispensable. Should circumstances prevent him from putting his hand to that task his successor should not fail to undertake it.

For the post of nuncio in Cologne the Pope appointed the Bishop of Tricarico, Pier Luigi Carafa, a man distinguished

p. 236 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna, and *Cod.* A.E. IX., 24, of the National Library, Milan ; copies also in the Library of Amberg, and the Communal Library, Bologna, and in *Ottob.* 3138, p. 21, Vatican Library. RANKE (III., 137) gives an extract without mentioning its source and without saying that the *Relazione* had appeared in a German translation in *Gött. Gel. Magazin*, I. (1787), 500 *seq.*

[1] As early as the summer of 1623 the Jesuit mission in Altona came to an end through an act of violence ; see PIEPER, *Propagandamission*, 8 *seq.*, and DUHR, II., 2, 76, for the vain attempts of the Jesuits to establish missions in Denmark and Sweden. In Hamburg there had been working since 1624, though under great difficulties, the Propaganda missionary, Dom. Jansenius, whilst his brother Nicholas worked at Glückstadt ; see PIEPER, 16 *seq.*, 22 *seq.* *Cf.* also BLAU, *La communauté cath. de Hambourg*, 1624, in the *Mél. à Ch. Moeller*, II., 311 *seq.*

both by high birth and diplomatic skill.[1] An Instruction dated May 26th, 1624, gives a minute description of his duties[2]; they were the preservation of the territories which had remained true to the old religion and the reconquest of those that have rejected it. One of the chief means towards the realization of that end was the restoration of discipline within the Church. In view of the fact that in Germany episcopal sees were filled by the Chapters, the nuncio should watch with the utmost care lest men be made Canons who were not sincerely attached to the Catholic faith. In like manner benefices in the gift of Bishops and Chapters must only be bestowed upon men of irreproachable conduct, and with regard to benefices the collation of which was reserved to the Holy See, the nuncio must keep a register of suitable candidates, and this list must be kept up to date. In order to safeguard such dioceses as were threaatened by the Protestants and to recover those that had been lost, the Instruction insists before all else on the appointment of suitable coadjutors and once again emphasizes the necessity of supporting and completing, by an internal reform, the restoration of the ancient faith in the Protestant territories, a change which could be looked for in consequence of the victories of the Emperor and the League. This reform was to be brought about by means of visitations for the purpose of enforcing the decrees of Trent,

[1] The *Briefs accrediting P. L. Carafa to the Rhenish Archbishops and Bishops, to the Senate of Cologne, etc., are dated June 15, 1624, *Epist.*, I.b, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] **Instruttione a Msgr. Carafa, destinato da N.S. Urbano VIII., nuntio in Colonia*, 1624, used by RANKE (III., 139) but without indication of source. The Instruction is in *Cod.* X., V., 15, p. 341 *seq.*, of the Casanatense Library, and in *Barb.* 5528 and 5547, with date of June 26, 1624, in *Ottob.* 2437, p. ii., p. 392 *seq.*, Vatican Library; a copy is also in *Cod.* V., 3, 96, of the Salzburg Library. S. PIETRASANTA, S.J., has described Carafa's journey to Cologne (ed. Ginzel, Würzburg, 1840), as well as other journeys of the nuncio; see SOMMERVOGEL, s.v. *Cf.* also *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXI., 466. For Carafa's struggle with the Bishop of Würzburg over jurisdiction see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 202 *seq.*

especially those on the Chapters, the celebration of diocesan and provincial synods and the appointment of good parish priests. Efforts should be made to bring back to the faith the Protestant occupants of episcopal sees. When a vacancy occurred in a diocese where the Chapter was wholly or in part Protestant, every effort must be made to secure the election of a Catholic Bishop, and to this end the help of the neighbouring Catholic Princes should also be invoked. It was important to make early provision for the appointment of a powerful Catholic coadjutor; that experiment had yielded excellent results at Paderborn and Münster.

As further means for the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith the Instruction indicates the holding of missions by good regular or secular priests, such as those whom Montorio had dispatched to Hamburg, Magdeburg, Halberstadt and Bremen, not only for the purpose of converting the Protestants, but in order to encourage those who had remained true to the Catholic faith [1]; secondly, the furthering of Catholic schools, especially those of the Jesuits, and the erection of a Catholic University at Münster [2]; thirdly, support of the confraternities for the conversion of Protestants, more especially an association of the kind recently founded in the church of the Capuchins at Cologne on which Gregory XV. had bestowed divers favours. In Nassau-Siegen, where Count John had begun the Catholic restoration in 1623,[3] efforts must be made to get the preachers banished and the possessions of which the Church had been robbed, restored to their lawful owners.[4] The nuncio was also instructed to support the Count Palatine, Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg, who had already done so

[1] *Cf.* PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*, 28.

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 588 *seq.*

[3] See ACHENBACH, *Gesch. der Stadt Siegen*, I. (1894), vii *seq.*, 46 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 92 *seq.*

[4] * "Adesso per assicurare un tanto acquisto è necessario distruggere affatto le cattedre pestilenti e scacciare i falsi predicanti il che non può avvenire più agevolmente che col torre loro quei beni ecclesiastici ch'essi posseggono restituendogli a quelle persone ecclesiastiche a quali furono ingiustamente usurpati."

much for the Catholic cause, not only in his efforts on behalf of the reform but in other matters also; in fact the nuncios of Vienna, Madrid, Paris and Brussels had received instructions to the same effect. The Instruction also expresses the hope that Landgrave Louis V. of Darmstadt, who had visited Rome with his son during the pontificate of Paul V.,[1] might possibly follow the example of the Neuburger. As for the Elector of Saxony, the hope was expressed that he would remain on the Emperor's side at least in his political aims and continue in his opposition to the Calvinists. The nuncio was particularly exhorted to press for the complete banishment of all Calvinists not included in the religious peace from the territories into which they had penetrated, as well as for the purging of the Catholic Universities, notably those of Cologne and Würzburg, of all elements hostile to the faith. All the professors and those promoted to degrees must make the profession of faith prescribed by Trent. Moreover the nuncio should keep himself well informed about the Protestant Universities as well as the existing religious condition within his province and supply Propaganda with detailed accounts.

The nuncio was also given special rules of conduct towards the Bishops and the religious Orders. He must show great regard towards the wealthy and powerful Bishops of Germany, notwithstanding their encroachments on the rights of the Pope. With regard to the Orders, the reform of the Mendicants, which had already begun, should be continued; much good had already been accomplished in those Orders through visitations, as well as by the stimulating example of the new reformed Orders, such as the Capuchins, the Discalced Carmelites and the Jesuits. The nuncio would encounter more serious difficulties in dealing with the Benedictines; the Congregation of Bursfeld in particular, in which discipline was at a very low ebb, was urgently in need of reform. In conclusion, the Instruction touches on the political situation which is described as threatening for the Catholic religion in Germany. The document stresses the fact that the safety

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 366.

of the ancient faith depended on the preservation of the League; hence the nuncio must oppose with all his strength whatever might break up, or merely weaken, that confederation; and since money is the sinews of war the nuncio must see to it that the members of the League punctually pay their contributions.[1] This warning[2] was all the more necessary as Urban VIII., in consequence of the troubles in the Valtellina and the menace of war in Italy, was not then in a position to grant to the League and to the Emperor any considerable subsidies.[3]

The comprehensive programme thus traced for Montorio could not be carried out to the letter so long as the enemies of the Catholic cause in Germany were not utterly defeated. But though, in the circumstances, effect could be given only to certain isolated measures, Rome never lost sight of this programme and watched with the utmost interest every attempt at Catholic restoration and reform in Germany.

In the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine, which was

[1] *"Del mantenimento della Lega cattolica di Germania depende la sicurezza della religione in quelli parti, la onde conviene andar incontro a tutto quello che la può indebolire o dissolvere. Questo principalmente sarebbe se il calore gli mancasse nel nervo della guerra, che è il danaro, imperocchè allora resisterebbe senza moto; ond'è necessario fomentare questo con la contributione prontuale e sollecita di quanto fu ripartito tra quelli dell'imperio, allo quale s'intende ch'alcuni contradicono." For the want of voluntary self-sacrifice among the members of the League, see RIEZLER, V., 263 *seq.*

[2] It had already been sent, by a *Brief of March 16, 1624, to all the members of the League (*Epist.*, I.[b], Papal Secret Archives). Urban VIII. praises, in a *Brief of February 15, 1625, the Bishop of Trèves' "consilium quo curavit non dirimendum catholicum foedus" (*Epist.*, II., *ibid.*).

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 65. It appears from the final account of the League's receipts at the end of 1627 (see STIEVE in the *Deutschen Zeitschr. für Gesch.*, X., 97 *seq.*) that Bavaria bore the main burden. The subsidies of the Powers not belonging to the League amounted to 2,635,890 florins in all, of which the Pope contributed 1,287,000 florins.

under Bavarian administration, nothing more was attempted at first than the expulsion of the Calvinist preachers, whilst efforts were made to bring back the apostates by gentleness and persuasion.[1] The same means were adopted in 1625 in the districts of the Bergstrasse (Bensheim, Heppenheim, Lorsch) now once more subject to Mayence. Here Archbishop Schweikart carried through the Catholic restoration for which he had done so much in his episcopal city.[2] Both here [3] and in the Palatinate the Jesuits and the Capuchins took an active part in the task of restoration.[4] Great satisfaction was caused in Rome by the persistent zeal with which Count John of Nassau,[5] and the Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg promoted the restoration.[6] In 1624 Urban VIII. encouraged Philip Christoph von Sötern, Archbishop of Trèves, to proceed with the expulsion of the Calvinists.[7] The Pope likewise furthered the Catholic reform in the abbey of Fulda [8] and in the vast diocese of Constance. For the latter he urged the erection of a seminary in order to remedy the dearth of priests.[9]

[1] See CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 272; RIEZLER, V., 222.

[2] See CARAFA, *loc. cit.*, 208; A. VEIT, *Die Gegenreformation an der Bergstrasse*, in *Katholik*, 1904, II., 259 *seq.*, 350 *seq.* On the progress of the religious life of the Church in Mayence under Schweikart see VEIT, *Gesch. der sakramentalischen Andachten in der Erzdiözese Mainz*, Mayence, 1911, 5 *seq.*

[3] See A. VEIT, *Die Tätigkeit der Jesuiten an der Bergstrasse*, 1625–9, in *Katholik*, 1903, II., 245 *seq.*

[4] See DUHR, II., 1, 179. For the Capuchins in the Palatinate see below, p. 186, note 2.

[5] *Cf.* CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 272 *seq.*

[6] See the *Brief of May 18, 1624, *Epist.* I.[b], Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, *Briefs to the Bishops of Eichstätt and Ratisbon.

[7] See the *Brief of December 14, 1624, *Epist.*, II., *ibid.*

[8] See KOMP, *Fürstabt Joh. Bernhard Schenk zu Schweinsberg, der zweite Restaurator des Katholizismus im Hochstift Fulda* 1623–1632, Fulda, 1878, 31 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, where Urban VIII.'s *Brief of 1624 is printed. *Cf. also* RICHTER, below, p. 183, note 4.

[9] Urban VIII. requested the Bishop of Constance, by a *Brief of April 20, 1624, to erect a seminary; *Briefs of December 28, 1624, admonished Ferdinand II. and the Bishop of Strassburg

In February, 1625, on the proposal of Johann von Leckow, a nobleman of the Marches, Propaganda decided to erect a mission in the March of Brandenburg, the cost of which was to be borne by the ecclesiastical possessions which had been recovered in the Palatinate.[1]

In 1625 Pier Luigi Carafa appointed Martin Stricker as missionary apostolic for the Catholics scattered throughout North-Germany and especially in the Circle of Lower Saxony. The latter, who had been a pupil of the College of Braunsberg, had already been employed by Albergati, Carafa's predecessor. He was to reside at Magdeburg where Catholics were without a priest. From that town Stricker was also to look after the convents in the territories of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, the inmates of which, in the midst of universal apostasy, had shown heroic fidelity to religion and to their vows.[2] However, most of the convents, especially all the wealthy ones, had been forcibly diverted from their true purpose and Catholics had long ago resigned themselves to the change. But at this time, whenever the issue of the war rendered such action possible, they began to take possession of the monasteries of which they had been deprived by force. Sötern was one of the first to do so successfully in his capacity as Bishop of Spire,[3] and his

to support this undertaking. A *Brief of January 11, 1625, urges the Bishop of Constance to complete the "seminarium inchoatum". *Epist.*, I.[b], and II., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See HILTEBRANDT, *Preussen und die römische Kurie*, I., Berlin, 1910, 5 *seq.* In 1628 Cardinal Klesl hoped for the conversion of the Elector George William, through the influence of the Catholic minister, Count Adam zu Schwarzenberg; see *ibid.*, 10 *seq.*, 14, and *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIV., 343 *seq.*

[2] See PIEPER, *Die Propagandakongregation*, 28 *seq.* *Cf.* HILTEBRANDT, *Preussen und die römische Kurie*, 6 *seq.* The year of the death of Stricker, who stuck to his post during the worst time of the Thirty Years' War, a date not given by Pieper, was supplied to me by Canon Wächter, Librarian of the Beverinian Library of the Cathedral of Hildesheim, who found the following notice on Stricker: "Obiit Hamburgi in qualitate missionarii cum facultate vicarii apostolici 1649 februarii die 14, aetatis cnno 72."

[3] See RITTER, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXVI., 86.

action was warmly approved in Rome. Like Montorio's Instruction, a Brief of Urban VIII. dated May 18th, 1624, urged the Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg to press for the restoration of Church property.[1] Bavaria, the Government of Burgundy and Archduke Leopold worked in the same sense.

Of far greater importance than these proceedings in the conquered territories was the fact that the Catholics resumed with increasing energy their guerrilla of lawsuits even against the independent Protestant Estates of Empire, with a view to the restoration of monasteries and convents in the provinces. Between 1623 and 1624 the supreme tribunal of the Empire, on the complaint of the victims, opened a lawsuit for the purpose of securing the restoration of six monasteries. True, in the first instance, only some minor potentates were concerned, such as the Counts of Pappenheim, Stolberg, Hanau, Bentheim and the Chapters of Magdeburg and Halberstadt.[2] The outbreak of the war between Lower Saxony and Denmark put a temporary stop to these proceedings. How damaging to the Catholic cause the new war was, was shown by what happened at Osnabrück where for nearly a century Protestant Bishops had done their best to promote the new teaching. However, in 1624, to the great joy of the Pope,[3] the Catholic Canons succeeded in electing Cardinal Eitel Friedrich of Hohenzollern, who had resided in Rome since 1621. The new Bishop immediately took up the task of restoring the Catholic religion. His efforts were crowned with success. He called in the Jesuits and held a synod,[4] for which he was highly praised

[1] See *Epist.*, I.[b], Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 86 *seq.*

[3] See the *Brief to the Cathedral Chapter of Osnabrück, June 1, 1624, *Epist.*, I.[b], Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 392, and *Germania sacra*, 222; FORST, in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. von Osnabrück*, XIX. (1894), 95 *seq.*; *ditto*, *Polit. Korrespondenz des Grafen von Wartenberg* (1897), x *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 84 *seq.*, 89 *seq.* P. L. CARAFA, *reports from Cologne on March 16, 1625, that ecclesiastical matters are going well in Osnabrück, the Cardinal had held a diocesan synod and published the decrees of the Council of Trent. *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 8, Papal Secret Archives.

by the Pope.[1] The death of this scion of the Hohenzollerns, which took place on September 19th, 1625, to the great sorrow of Maximilian of Bavaria,[2] once more put everything in jeopardy. On October 18th Urban VIII. urged the election of a successor of similar disposition.[3] As a matter of fact, in the person of Count Francis William of Wartenberg, son of Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, the choice fell on a man of staunchly Catholic sentiments, large views, strong will, distinguished culture, piety and blameless conduct.[4] However, the invasion of the Danes prevented him from taking possession of his see. In March, 1626, the Danish King enforced the election of his son Frederick as coadjutor.[5] In view of the fact that the Protestant administrator of Magdeburg, Christian Wilhelm of Brunswick, had made common cause with the king of the Danes, it became necessary, on the happy conclusion of the war, to take measures for the recovery of the bishoprics of Lower Saxony, a policy which had been kept in view from the outset of the war by the nuncio of Cologne, Pier Luigi Carafa,[6] as well as by the imperial Government. By bringing

[1] See the *Brief of April 5, 1625, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also *Legatio P. A. Carafae*, 20.

[2] See *Briefe und Akten*, new series II., 2, 443.

[3] See **Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Legatio P. A. Carafae*, 29. *Cf. Briefe und Akten*, N.S., II., 2, 443.

[5] See GOLDSCHMIDT, 15 *seq.*

[6] In a detailed *report, dated Cologne, June 22, 1625, P. L. Carafa lays before the Cardinal Secretary of State, the intentions of the King of Denmark, who was exceedingly hostile to Catholicism ("capital nemico della religione cattolica") with respect to the sees of Bremen, Verden, Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and emphasizes the need for counteraction. "Si stima però necessario che prima c'habbiano effetto questi trattati che l'imperatore vi si opponga anche coll'arme comandando a tutti li sudetti capitoli d'assegnare a persone cattoliche la successione di detti vescovadi anco in vita de'loro pseudo-vescovi, poichè quei vescovadi ed altri sono stati occupati contra formam compactatorum Passaviensium, e perciò S.M. Ces. può con giusto titulo e in vigore di detti concordati restituire a cattolici detti vescovadi e ridurre il vero culto divino in quelle chiese profanate

pressure to bear on the Chapters of Halberstadt and Magdeburg it was hoped to secure these benefices for a son of Ferdinand II., Archduke Leopold William, who, though still a minor, not long after succeeded his uncle Leopold in the sees of Passau and Strassburg. Whilst in this way Carafa and Lamormaini sought to forward the interests both of the Church and the Emperor, they, and others with them, approached Ferdinand II. with a view to the restoration of the religious situation in the Cities of Empire where Catholics and Protestants enjoyed equal rights, by the terms of the religious peace of Augsburg.[1] After Tilly's splendid triumph near Lutter, on the Barenberg (August, 1626), a victory which was looked upon as a judgment of God,[2] there was every prospect that these efforts would prove successful. The Pope celebrated the victory with a Pontifical High Mass in the German national church of the Anima, as he had done on the occasion of Wallenstein's triumph at the Dessau bridge.[3] The Pontiff had hoped that the victory would be exploited for the benefit of the Catholic restoration, hence great was his disappointment when nothing was done. No one knew in Rome who was to blame for this neglect, whether the Emperor or Wallenstein.[4]

dalla simonia e dalla perversità di quel re e dei suoi fautori, supponendo, che quando di presente Sua Mai. Ces. che si trova vittoriosa ed armata, non vi applichi il rimedio, si potrà giustamente temere, che impossessatosi il re Dano di quei vescovadi, possa facilmente aspirare ed occupare quelli d'Osnamburgo, d'Ildesia, di Paderbona e di Monastero, che nella Westfalia sono contigovi a quelli. Ho stimato mio debbito di dir tutto ciò a V. Illma affine che se ne passino offici efficaci coll'imperatore, e per intendere se sarà trovato buono ch'io di quà ne promova trattato con Sua Mai. Ces."

[1] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 88 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*

[2] See CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 310; TUPETZ, 359 *seq.*; RIEZLER, V., 341.

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, 454 *seq.*

[4] *Pare alla Stà di N.S. che Cesare o per colpa del suo consiglio o per quella de'suoi capitani o per soverchia cautatione del duca di Fridland poco frutto cavi dalle vittorie." The Secretary of State to Carafa, October 24, 1626, NICOLETTI, II., 993, Vatican Library.

Urban's view that now was the time for vigorous action [1] was shared by the bulk of the more fervent Catholics of Germany, especially by the members of the League. Their resentment of the robbery of so many bishoprics, abbeys and convents, which had gone on so long and in direct contravention of the letter of the law of the Empire, was a constant thorn in their side and their demand for a restitution was a just one.[2] Now that, except for a few fortresses still occupied by Danish troops, all opposition had been overcome throughout North-Germany, the long awaited favourable moment seemed to have arrived for the realization of the wish already expressed by Paul V. and Gregory XV.[3] for a definitive settling of accounts. As regards the restitution of ecclesiastical property, Maximilian and most of the Leaguists were of opinion that instead of individual lawsuits which usually dragged on for years before the tribunal of Empire, they should demand a general and radical restitution. Under the influence of the victories in Holstein, Maximilian, on October 14th, 1627, instructed his delegate to the Diet of Electors about to be held at Mühlhausen, to take counsel with the representatives of the ecclesiastical Electors concerning the recovery of the Dioceses of Empire, seeing that God had now given them the means to restore and secure the Catholic religion within the Empire. More than that, Maximilian added that the ecclesiastical

[1] In a *Brief to Ferdinand II., of February 6, 1627, Urban VIII. praises his zeal concerning the restitution of stolen Church property (original in State Archives, Vienna). On June 24, 1627, Ferdinand II. is exhorted to further the restitution of Church property in Colmar, *Epist.*, IV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Duhr, II., 1, 460. The Catholics had always protested against the infringement by the Protestants of the *Reservatum ecclesiasticum* which these did not acknowledge. Religious peace was undoubtedly jeopardized by the confiscation of mediate and immediate monastic institutions by Protestant princes and municipalities; see Tupetz, 331 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the Instruction for C. Carafa of April 12, 1621; see XXVII., p. 230. Concerning Paul V., see our account, Vol. XXVI., p. 370 *seq.*

Electors should press the Emperor to take steps for the recovery also of the provincial dioceses and monasteries of which the Catholics had been unjustly deprived.[1] An occasion for such action arose out of the resumption of the lawsuits suspended in 1625, by the Bishop of Augsburg, Henry von Knöringen, the Abbot of Kaisheim and the Bishop of Constance against the Duke of Württemberg and the Markgrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, for the restoration of eight monasteries confiscated by them, the annual revenue of which was reckoned at 170,000 thalers.[2] When the Emperor, who was fully alive to the importance of the matter—the Duke of Württemberg was one of the most powerful Princes of South Germany and had remained neutral in the last war—requested the Catholic Electors to give him their opinion as to the procedure to be observed in these matters, a decisive step had been taken. The reply, dated September 20th, 1627, was as follows: In view of the fact that the Protestants have rejected every compromise on the question of the bishoprics and the monasteries unjustly seized by them, the time had come for a judicial decision not only in regard to the particular cases mentioned, but generally on all the complaints of the Catholic and Protestant States, nor was there any doubt as to the Emperor's competence in the matter.[3] Thus by laying down clear lines of procedure an end was about to be put once for all to lawsuits that had dragged on for seventy years. This decisive action

[1] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 94 *seq.*

[2] See TUPETZ, 353 *seq.* *Cf.* RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 87. The envoy of the Elector of Trèves was instructed to find out secretly what was the opinion of the Elector of Saxony on the total prohibition of Calvinism within the Empire and "to work zealously with a view to the recovery of dioceses and other important convents and properties, by all rightful means in consequence of the religious and political peace and the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*. . . ." BAUR, I., 130.

[3] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 93, who, together with BREUER (34), gives as the date of the reply, September 20, whereas KHEVENHÜLLER (X., 1450) and LUNDORP (*Acta publ.*, III., 998) give it as September 28.

was continued at the Diet of Electors at Mühlhausen which met on October 18th, 1627. At this meeting, which had been called on the initiative of the Archbishop of Mayence,[1] and which left the decision of the question of the Palatine Frederick almost unconditionally to the Emperor, the Catholic Electors, urged by Carlo Carafa,[2] unanimously proposed this solution when they came to discuss the means by which internal tranquillity might be assured. In their surprise the Protestants sought to ward off the danger that threatened them by the attenuating declaration that the imperial decision would only be valid in so far as those concerned "submitted" to it.[3] But though they succeeded in getting this gloss inserted in the memorandum addressed to the Emperor, its significance was purely platonic, for the Catholics in their separate discussions among themselves and in those with the imperial delegate, stuck to their demand and interpreted the clause in their own sense. In a secret and separate vote they pointed out that properly speaking the condition of "submission" had long ago been fulfilled and that the eventual imperial decision must include all ecclesiastical benefices as well as all principalities of which the Church had been robbed since the treaty of Passau in 1552. The Emperor must be well aware of their very great number as well as of the circumstance that the Protestants, at an assembly held at Nuremberg in 1619, had rejected every amicable settlement or compromise on the plea that the "ecclesiastical reservation" was not an essential element of the religious peace. But it was well known that the Constitution of the Empire was based no less on the preservation of the ecclesiastical Estates than on that of the lay ones and that this reservation was one of the conditions of the religious peace. In that treaty there was no question of

[1] "Proposto agli elettori dal elettor di Magonza," says Carafa in his *report of June 30, 1627, *Nunziat. di Vienna*, 83, p. 157, Papal Secret Archives. The instigator was therefore not Maximilian.

[2] See CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 363 *seq.*

[3] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 96 *seq.*, and *Deutsche Gesch.*, III., 373 *seq.* *Cf.* BREUER, 89 *seq.*

conceding to the Protestants any authority whatever over the bishoprics and monasteries of the Empire, for the Catholic Estates would never have so readily agreed to the loss of the possessions which they had suffered previous to the treaty of Passau had they not felt that in so doing they were making sure that they would not be robbed of that which they still held. Even in common law and according to the laws of public order, no one is permitted to rob another of his property; how could such a right have been conceded to the Protestants against the Catholic clergy? If there were any doubt concerning this point of the religious peace, the common ecclesiastical law would still have to be applied until the doubt was removed in due form, with the consent of the Emperor and the Catholic Estates. And even granting that the Protestant Princes had an undoubted right to reform the monasteries and bishoprics within their territories, such a right could only extend to religion, not to the property, and to the clergy no less than the laity the right must be left of emigrating, of selling their property and of taking the price with them. Hence in his capacity as protector of the Catholic Church and supreme judge within the Empire, the Emperor was fully entitled to order the restitution of these stolen possessions. The circumstances which prevented the execution of such a measure no longer existed and there was nothing to fear from the hereditary enemy, whereas the Emperor's authority and the appropriateness of the measure were such that surely no one would dare to resist the just decrees of the Emperor or to look for grounds of complaint.[1]

From now onwards the plan for a general restitution, which was chiefly advocated by the Leaguists, never disappeared from the order of the day at the imperial Court. Nevertheless the Emperor's councillors had grave misgivings[2] and these were not overcome as rapidly as Carlo Carafa, the nuncio of Vienna, would have wished. On November 29th, 1627, Carafa reported that, by the grace of God, he had at last

[1] See KHEVENHÜLLER, V., 1450. *Cf.* TUPETZ, 361 *seq.*; RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 97; BREUER, 93 *seq.*

[2] See TUPETZ, 365 *seq.*

obtained that the bishoprics of Lower Saxony and other territories occupied by the imperial forces should be restored to the Catholics without further discussions and as quickly as possible.[1]

The nuncio of Cologne, who happened to be at Liège, also wrote a full report to the Secretary of State at this time: "Now that the arms of the Emperor were victorious both within and without the empire," he wrote, "it was possible to remove the Protestant Bishops and Canons who had made common cause with the enemy, on the just plea that they were rebels, and replace them by Catholics, without waiting for the peace conference." [2]

[1] See the letter in RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 99.

[2] *Diede a V.S. Illma alcune settimane sono relazione dello stato de vescovati occupati dagli eretici nella Germania settentrionale, e le soggiunsi quello che parve opportuno per ricuperargli. Ora mi occore d'aggiungere a V.S. Il^ma^ che addesso che l'armi cattoliche sono vittoriose dentro e fuori dell'Impero e si sono impadronate di dette vescovati, è tempo opportunissimo di stingere la pratica sopra di queste, perchè sotto giustissimo titulo di ribellione si protrebbero proscrivere, e privare quei vescovi e canonici eretici c'hanno seguitato il partito nemico, e si protrebbe sostituire de'cattolici in luogo loro, senza aspettare in modo alcuno a trattar di questo principale interesse fino alla Dieta, che presentemente s'attende nell'Impero, perchè dovendosi trattar in essa della pace universale e conseguentemente del perdono universale di quelli ch'hanno fatto atti di ostilità contro l'Impero, cesserà il titolo di ribellione, il quale ora non potria meglio militare di quel che fa in profitto della nostra santa religione, a cui fuor di questa congiuntura gioverà poco il protesto della fede per la permissione in Germania della Confessione Augustana. Il tutto suggerisco a V.S. Illma per il mio debbito, e le faccio umilissima riverenza.

Di Liegi a 14 Gennaro 1628.

Di V.S. Illma e R^ma^
umilissimo ed oblg^ma^ servo
Pier Luigi vescovo di Tricarico.

Nunziat. di Colonia, 10, Papal Secret Archives. For P. L. Carafa's long stay at Liège (1626–1634) see *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 584.

Thereafter Rome encouraged a policy of individual restoration whilst it refrained from giving an opinion on a general measure. On January 8th, 1628, Urban VIII. exhorted the Emperor to concur in the work of restoration undertaken by the Palatine, Wolfgang Wilhelm,[1] and on the 22nd of the same month, to support the Chapter of Strassburg in its demand for the restitution of the possessions of which it had been deprived by the Protestant magistrates.[2] Exhortations of this kind were scarcely needed, for at that very time more decrees of restitution emanated from the chancellery than at any previous period.[3] However, all these ordinances dealt with particular cases. The significant thing was that Wallenstein now came forward as the champion of more general measures. According to a report of Carafa dated February 9th, 1628, the Duke of Friedland was of opinion that as soon as, by means of fortifications and similar measures, they should have made themselves unquestioned masters of the territories now occupied by the imperial troops, the Emperor should everywhere install Catholic Bishops in the course of from three to four months, banish the Protestant Canons and appoint

[1] **Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives. On the same day Urban VIII. thanked the Elector Maximilian I. for his assistance in effecting the Catholic restoration in Neuburg. State Archives, Munich.

[2] See **Epist.*, V., *loc. cit.*

[3] CARAFA, *Decreta*, pp. 23 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 42, 44 *seq.*, 46, 47, gives the following decisions passed by the chancellery of State, in favour of the Catholic restoration: December 22, 1627, *re* the complaints of the younger brothers of the Elector Wolfgang Wilhelm of the Palatinate against the latter; January 10, 1628, to the Bishop of Augsburg; February 4; against Dortmund; 21st: to the Count of Nassau-Siegen; 25th: Strassburg; March 2nd: for Trèves against Zweibrücken about the monastery of Hornbach; 30th: the Church of St. Patroklus in Soest; April 7th: concerning Sponheim; 14th: about Rees and Werdenbroich; 24th: letters-patent to the Electors August and John Frederick; May 29th: to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. *Cf.* CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 390 *seq.*, who remarks: Fuere haec praenuntia futuri decreti generalis.

Catholic ones.[1] How warmly this proposal was approved in Rome was shown by a laudatory Brief to Wallenstein of February 26th, 1628, which also urged him to follow a similar course in the time to come.[2] But the Leaguists wanted far more. Notwithstanding their threats in the summer of 1628, Vienna was not prepared to give in without further resistance[3]: on the contrary, the opinion of the influential Eggenberg[4] prevailed at least for the time being and he objected on juridical grounds to summary proceedings.[5] The Emperor's final decision, as he himself attested, was largely influenced by his confessor Lamormaini and the nuncio Carlo Carafa.[6] Ferdinand's decision was based, in the first instance, on religious grounds. So deeply was he penetrated with the truth of the Catholic faith that he repeatedly attested that he would rather lose his crown and realm than consciously miss an opportunity of spreading the teaching of the Catholic Church; that he would rather beg his bread from house to house, with the beggar's staff in one hand and leading his wife and children with the other and so go into exile; nay that he would rather undergo the most shameful death than to behold any longer the injuries done to God and the Church within his territories.[7] In December, 1627, he assured the Bavarian

[1] See the *letter in RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*

[2] **Epist.*, V. Papal Secret Archives (see Appendix no. 3, Vol. XXIX.).

[3] See TUPETZ, 371 *seq.*

[4] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 300

[5] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 100.

[6] See ANTHIENY, *Carafa*, 26 *seq.*, and DUHR, II., 1, 464 *seq.*, who gives details on the advocacy by the confessor of the Elector of Mayence, the Jesuit R. Zigler, of the edict; also on LAYMANN's tract "*Pacis compositio*" (Dilingae, 1629) and the "*Consultatio de modis Lutheranos ad Ecclesiae communionem reducendi et cath. religionis exercitium in liberas Imperii civitates introducendi*" (in MOSER, *Patr. Archives*, VI., 364, but dated 1649, instead of 1628). *Cf.* also W. KÖHLER, *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede und die Gegenreformation*, in the *Jahrb. für protest. Theol.*, XXIII. (1876), 630 *seq.*, 633 *seq.* See also TUPETZ, 62 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*; RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 95; RIEZLER, V., 342 *seq.*

[7] See LAMORMAINI, *De virtutibus Ferdinandi II.*, in KHEVENHÜLLER, XII., 2383.

envoy that he had long ago dedicated all his aims and actions to the glory of God and the service of the Catholic religion.[1] At last the possibility to carry out a great work for the good of the Church seemed to open out before him, that is, the expiation of a long-standing injustice committed through the spoliation of bishoprics and monasteries on the one hand and on the other the salvation of hundreds of thousands of souls. Was he then not bound to do for the restoration of the ancient Church that which the Protestant Princes had done in order to found and spread the new one? Moreover he was also attracted by certain material and political advantages. If he recovered the North-German dioceses, the Archduke Leopold William, then still a minor, could be provided for, the number of Catholic votes in the Diet would be increased and a *point d'appui* was secured for the prospective hegemony of the Emperor in the Northern-Seas.[2] The Emperor was likewise spurred to action by the proposals of the Bishops of Würzburg, Bamberg, Eichstätt, Constance and Augsburg made in the course of September, 1628, and which unanimously demanded a summary judicial sentence and its prompt execution, to enable them to recover the property of which they had been unjustly deprived in Suabia and Franconia.[3]

In view of the favourable situation—German Protestantism was just then in a more helpless and humiliating condition than it had been after the Schmalkaldic war [4]—it is surprising that it was not until March 6th, 1629, that publication was made of the edict already demanded at Mühlhausen by which the Catholic Church was to be reinstated by a single stroke in possession of all the property and privileges she had lost after 1552. Various causes accounted for the amazing delay. In addition to the difficulty of finding a juridical formula,[5] the disagreements were already making themselves felt which were to contribute so largely to the wrecking of the edict.

[1] See Aretin, *Bayerns auswärtige Verh.*, 283.

[2] See Tupetz, 374 *seq.*

[3] See Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 98; Gunter, *Restitutionsedikt*, 42 *seq.*

[4] Opinion of Riezler (V., 333).

[5] *Cf.* Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 101 *seq.*

Above all it was the old antagonism between the Houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach which on this occasion also gravely injured the Catholic cause. On February 22nd, 1628, an agreement had indeed been reached by the terms of which Maximilian, in exchange for the renunciation by him of Upper Austria, received the Upper and Lower Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine. The consequence of this arrangement was that the Catholic restoration was completely carried out in the Upper Palatinate.[1] However, at that very moment the good understanding between the Emperor and Maximilian was once more put in jeopardy owing to the fact that the League saw itself relegated to the second place in the military sphere and imagined itself threatened and injured by the preponderant influence of Wallenstein who comported himself like a dictator.[2] A further cause of discord was the problem of the division of the spoils of victory.

[1] For the Catholic restoration in the Upper Palatinate which, out of consideration for Saxony, only began slowly in 1625 but took a more definite trend in 1627, and after the act of feudal homage in April 1628, was sternly enforced, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, III., 628 *seq.*, CXII., 787 *seq.*; WITTMANN, *Gesch. der Reformation in der Oberpfalz*, Augsburg, 1847; SPERL, *Der oberpfälzische Adel und die Gegenreformation der Oberpfalz-Kurpfalz*, Freiburg, 1901; GÖTZ, *Akten*, 587; RIEZLER, V., 320 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 242; II., 2, 341 *seq.*; M. HÖGL, *Die Bekehrung der Oberpfalz durch Kurfürst Maximilian I.*, Vol. 1, Regensburg, 1903; *id. Die Gegenreformation in dem Stiftlande Waldsassen*, Regensburg, 1905. The latter shows that credit for the conversion was mainly due to the Jesuits, who were assisted by the Government by divers measures of violence, including the billeting of soldiers. They justified these forceful measures by pleading, the words of an official of the Elector, that: "all the world knows how tyrannically the members of the Confessions dealt elsewhere with Catholics" (see *loc. cit.*, 70). The alleged "Confession of faith" of the people of Kemnath, in the Upper Palatinate, who had become "papists", quoted in the *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, LV. (1913), 55 *seq.*, is a forgery. See PAULUS in the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1913, no. 365.

[2] See RIEZLER, V., 333, 340 *seq.*; RITTER, III., 384.

Whilst the German Bishops and Abbots were doing their best to recover the monasteries and other ecclesiastical property of which they had been robbed, both the Emperor and Maximilian were concerned about the ecclesiastical principalities. They had had their eyes for a long time on Halberstadt.[1] On the death of the Protestant administrator, Duke Christian of Brunswick, Ferdinand II. offered to the Canons to forget the past and to confirm them in their benefices, on condition that they postulated for their Bishop his own son, Leopold William, who was already Bishop of Strassburg and Passau, Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order and Abbot of Murbach. For fear of incurring the imperial displeasure, the Canons complied with the request on December 30th, 1627.[2] With the help of Carlo Carafa, the Benedictine abbey of Hersfeld, which was in the hands of the Landgrave of Kassel, was likewise bestowed on the Archduke.[3] On the other hand the attempt to secure for him the adjoining archdiocese of Magdeburg, which was much wealthier, threatened to fail, inasmuch as the Canons of that town decided in favour of Prince Augustus, the younger son of the Elector of Saxony. Notwithstanding the Emperor's indignation,[4] Catholic circles feared lest in the end he should allow himself to be pacified by the Elector who was also his ally. For this reason, at the close of March, 1628, the Cologne nuncio wrote to his colleague at the imperial Court, as well as to the Cardinal Secretary of State, suggesting that through the imperial ambassador in Rome pressure should be put on Ferdinand II. in this matter.[5] A fortnight later Urban VIII. was in a position to congratulate

[1] *Cf.* RIEZLER, V., 280, 343.

[2] See the report of Carafa in RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 99.

[3] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 385; *Germania sacra*, 376.

[4] He had forbidden the Chapter, on February 11, 1628, to elect a Saxon Prince (see *Decreta*, 33 *seq.*), but before the receipt of this prohibition the Chapter had already chosen him. Nevertheless Ferdinand II. persisted in his plan; see CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 395.

[5] See the *report of P. L. Carafa dated Liège, March 31, 1628, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 10, Papal Secret Archives.

the Emperor on his excellent management of the affair of Magdeburg.[1] In October, 1628, Archduke Leopold obtained the archbishopric of Magdeburg[2]; shortly before the archbishopric of Bremen had also been secured for him, though not without some difficulty. In view of the fact that the administrator of that see, John Frederick of Holstein, had early abandoned the cause of the King of Denmark, he could not be removed in unceremonious fashion. However, in March, 1628, it was suggested to him that he should take the Archduke for his coadjutor.[3] Thereupon a dangerous competitor arose in the person of a cousin of Maximilian, namely Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, Bishop of Osnabrück. The Brussels nuncio had declared himself in the latter's favour as early as December, 1627.[4] Owing to the fact that Wartenberg, who had returned to his diocese in 1628, displayed such zeal in carrying through the Catholic restoration that the nuncio of Cologne went so far as to style him the apostle of North-Germany,[5] and that Urban VIII.'s hands were already tied in the matter,[6] a decision was rendered extemely difficult. In the end the consideration prevailed in Rome that Ferdinand of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Cologne, could easily give up one of his five large bishoprics and that the House of Wittelsbach did not deserve more highly of the Church and had not rendered her greater services than that of Habsburg.[7] At the beginning of August,

[1] See the *Brief of April 15, 1628, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives. In granting confirmation of the administration of Magdeburg, Urban VIII. rightly insisted that the spiritual administration was to be entrusted to a Bishop; see KIEWNING, I., cv. *seq.*

[2] See KIEWNING, I., 268.

[3] See RITTER, III., 423.

[4] See ARETIN, *Bayerns ausw. Verh. Urk.*, 284.

[5] See KIEWNING, II., 260, note 2. For Wartenberg's restoring activity see GOLDSCHMIDT, 29 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*; FORST, *Fr. W. von Wartenberg*, in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. Osnabrücks*, XIX. (1894), *cf.* XXI. (1897/8); DUHR, II., 1, 86 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*; MEURER, in "*Katholik*," 1894, II., 528 *seq.*

[6] See GREGOROVIUS, *Urban VIII.*, 13.

[7] See KIEWNING, I., 296.

1628, the Archduke was granted the right of succession to the archbishopric of Bremen,[1] whilst a little later, by way of compensation, Wartenberg was given the see of Verden. On the other hand, at Minden, which Max milian also desired for his cousin, the Austrian Archduke opposed him once more.[2]

Besides this scrambling for bishoprics yet a further difficulty contributed to the delay of the publication of the edict of restitution. It was reasonable enough, and up to a degree perfectly just, that the older Orders should wish to recover the abbeys and monasteries they had at one time possessed. But to demand the return of *all* their houses was going too far, for there were not enough religious to fill them all. The only ones who might possibly have done so were the Franciscans who had recently been revitalized by means of a reform and who, from their monastery of Frauenberg, at Fulda, exercised a most beneficial action all over Central Germany.[3] In the Rhine Palatinate also, the Franciscans-Observant laboured successfully against the Calvinists. But the old Orders, above all the Benedictines forming the Congregation of Bursfeld, notwithstanding the reform begun by the Cologne nuncio Albergati (1610–1612), had once more sunk so low that many of the monks led worldly lives, to the great scandal of the faithful.[4] Here also Urban VIII. put his hand to the task. Already on

[1] See Ritter, III., 423.

[2] See Riezler, V., 346. Finally Wartenberg received Minden also in 1633.

[3] See M. Bihl, *Geschichte des Franziskanerklosters Frauenberg zu Fulda* (1623 to 1887), Fulda, 1908. Urban VIII. supported the reform of the Franciscans with *Briefs to Ferdinand, Archbishop of Cologne, of August 8 and 10, 1628, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* the *Instruction for P. L. Carafa, in which reference is made to a report of the Cologne nuntio, P. Fr. Montorio, according to which " quei monachi sono molto relassati e che attendono più tosto alle caccie et agli esercitii secolari ch'alla vita religiosa e monastica e che sotto pretesto d'usare l'ospitalità altro non fanno che lautamente banchettare, tutte cose anzi scandalose che esemplari," *Cod.* X., V., 15, p. 371 *seq.* of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

June 27th, 1624, he had exhorted the Prince-Abbot of Fulda, Schenk zu Schweinsberg, to reform his exceedingly relaxed monasteries. However, so great were the difficulties that the Cologne nuncio, Carafa, was compelled, in 1626, to hold a visitation at Fulda in person, and even then it was no easy task to carry the reform decrees into effect.[1] In these circumstances the idea of using the newly recovered monasteries as Colleges and Residences of the one Order which more than any other served the Catholic reform and restoration presented itself naturally enough, as even the enemies of the Jesuits are forced to admit.[2] As early as 1624 the Cologne nuncio, Pier Luigi Carafa, had written thus concerning the Jesuits: "For having seen it with my own eyes I am able to attest that they have not only spread religion all over Germany by word and example, but they have also given fresh impetus to piety; whenever I have officiated in their churches it was always a source of great consolation and edification for me to see the faithful attending in their hundreds and thousands."[3] A thorough examination of documentary evidence fully bears out this judgment.[4] Wherever there was question of toiling

[1] See *Legatio P. A. Carafae*, ed. Ginzel, Wirceburgi, 1840, 36 *seq.*; Komp, *Schenk zu Schweinsberg*, 48 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*; Richter, *Zur Reform der Abtei Fulda unter J. B. Schwenk von Schweinsberg*, 1623–1632, Fulda, 1916. A *Brief of Urban VIII. to Schwenk von Schweinsberg on the reform of his monastery of September 18, 1627, in *Epist.*, IV., *loc. cit.* Carafa's adviser during his journey to Fulda was the priest Jacques Marchant, also known as a theological writer; see Th. Réjalot, in the *Ann. de la Soc. archéol. de Namur*, XXVII., 1. *Cf.* also Berlière, *Der Benediktiner-Kongress zu Regensburg*, in the *Studien aus dem Benedikinerorden*, IX., 399 *seq.*

[2] Ritter, III., 424. The accusation made by Ritter (*ibid.*, 425) against Laymann rests, as Duhr (II., 2, 168) shows, on a misunderstanding of the expression *motu proprio*.

[3] Report to Urban VIII.; see Duhr, II., 2, 80.

[4] See the second volume of Duhr's work, the outstanding scientific value of which is recognized even by the opponents of the Jesuits, such as J. Loserth, in the *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, 1914, 272.

for the interests of the Church in Germany, the Jesuits were sure to be on the spot and in the front rank. Their action in the teaching and educational spheres as well as their pastoral ministry and their works of philanthropy were all on the grand scale and of lasting benefit. As men of letters they also did much for the preservation of the ancient faith, though their literary activity was not limited to that object but included other fields of knowledge, especially those of theology and history, whilst Balde, Bidermann and Spe distinguished themselves as poets. The lyrics of Balde are remarkable for their patriotic fervour. However, the main purpose of the activities of the German Jesuits was always the promotion of the Catholic reform and restoration. Whenever the shifting of political power enabled the Emperor and the Catholic Princes to make use of the right of reform, the Order provided missionaries who turned the change of religion imposed by the State into an interior conversion. If they were not universally successful in this task, and if in consequence of pressure on the part of the authorities, who did not shrink from objectionable means, such as the quartering of soldiers on the heretics, feigned conversions were inevitable, it is none the less certain that in many parts of Germany the Jesuits obtained an entrance for the Catholic faith into the hearts of men and that they achieved lasting results. This was particularly the case on the banks of the Rhine and the Main and in Westfalia. The Jesuit Colleges at Cologne, Münster and Würzburg were frequented by as many as a thousand pupils, and the principle of gratuitous instruction was strictly maintained.

The progress of the Order in those parts of the Empire appears from the partition of the Rhine Province which took place in July, 1626. To the Province of the Lower Rhine 406 members were assigned and ten Colleges out of a total of twenty-two; namely, those on the Lower Rhine, in the territories of Trier and in Westfalia, and the residences at Bonn, Lippstadt, Warendorf, Xanten, Neuss, as well as eight mission stations. The Province of the Upper Rhine received 434 members and the Colleges of Mayence, Aschaffenburg,

Heiligenstadt, Erfurt, Fulda, Würzburg, Bamberg, Speier, Worms, Molsheim, Hagenau and Schlettstadt, and in addition the Residences of Fritzlar, Heidelberg, Bruchsal, Baden, Selz, and the mission stations at Heppenheim, Kreuznach, Bretten and Neustadt in the Palatinate. The Province of Upper Germany, which, besides Bavaria, also included the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Western Austria and Switzerland, had grown so much that there too a partition was seriously discussed in 1628.[1]

Among the new Orders, the Capuchins took no mean part in the work of the Catholic reform and restoration of Germany. They worked with great success first at Cologne and Trèves, and afterwards at Mayence, in the Bergstrasse, in the Rhine Palatinate, in Alsace, in the districts round the lake of Constance and in Bavaria.[2]

Besides the staunchly Catholic disposition of the Emperor Ferdinand II., of Archduke Leopold, the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, the Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuberg,[3]

[1] See DUHR, II., 1, 17, 143, 199. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 34, the map of the permanent and temporary settlements of the Jesuits in Germany in the first half of the seventeenth century.

[2] The call of the Capuchins to Mayence took place in 1618; their church was consecrated in 1625; see *Kapuziner in Mainz*, Mainz, 1901, 9 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*; *cf.* FRANZISK, *Studien*, IV. (1918), 289 *seq.* For the Capuchin monastery in Frankenthal (after 1624) see *Monatschr. des Frankenthaler Altert. Vereins*, 1899. For the beneficent activities of the Capuchins in Münstereifel (after 1618), see KATZFEY, *Gesch. von Münstereifel*, I., Köln, 1854, 211 *seq.* For the Capuchins in Alsace see *Strassburger Diözesanblatt*, 1899, 32 *seq.*, 45 *seq.*, 96; for their work in Ravensburg, 1626 *seq.*; *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1912, 323 *seq.* With regard to the Capuchins in Bavaria see the monograph of A. EBERL (1902). For their work in Dinkelsbühl see *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, 1911, 87 *seq.*; *cf.* also ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 496 *seq.*, 503 *seq.*, 524 *seq.*, 530 *seq.*

[3] There is no monograph on Wolfgang Wilhelm. The account in the *Allg. Deutsche Biograph.*, XLIV., 116, is inadequate. To the works listed there the following should be added: MARSEILLE, *Studien zur Kirchenpolitik des Joh. W. Wilhelm von Neuburg*,

Count John of Nassau-Siegen [1] and the Markgrave William of Baden,[2] a circumstance of decisive importance was the fact that the German episcopal sees were for the most part held by men who stood for the Catholic reform. Among these the two Archbishops of Mayence, John Schweikart von Cronberg (died 1626) and George Frederick von Greiffenclau (died 1629) were particularly distinguished. The nuncio, Carlo Carafa, could not sufficiently praise Schweikart's zeal for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline.[3] Eager to promote religion in his diocese by every means in his power, Schweikart founded a Jesuit College at Aschaffenburg and a Capuchin convent at Mayence and he laboured with great success for the return to the Church of the people of the Bergstrasse and the Eichsfeld.[4] To assure a succession of able priests, the pious Bishop permanently defrayed out of his own purse the cost

Marburg, 1898; G. NECKERMANN, *Gesch. des Simultaneum religionis exercitium im vormaligem Herzogtum Sulzbach*, Regensburg, 1897; DUHR, II., 2, 293 *seq.*, 339 *seq.*

[1] See ACHENBACH, *Gesch. der Stadt Siegen*, II., viii., 12 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 93 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*, for the efforts made by the convert Count Johann Ludwig von Nassau-Hadamar [in 1629] for the Catholic restoration. See also PAGENSTECHER, *Zur Gesch. der Gegenreformation in Nassau-Hadamar*, 1628/9, Wiesbaden, 1897.

[2] *Cf. Beitr. zur Gesch. der Stadt Köln*, 1895, 206 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 183 *seq.*; II., 2, 204 *seq.*; WEECH, *Badische Gesch.* (1890), 164 *seq.*

[3] See CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 310. P. L. Carafa wrote on September 25, 1626, from Liège on Schweikart's death: *"Li cattolici di Germania hanno fatto una gran perdita, perchè quel buon vecchio era in tanto concetto appresso di tutti che anche gli eretici l'havevano in venerazione, e veramente il molto zelo, la pietà e la prudenza di lui non meritava altro ricompenso fra gli huomini, credendosi comunemente che adesso habbia quello della gloria fra beati." He adds further on, "E il duca di Sassonia stesso con altri principi eretici ne facevano grande stima." *Nunziat di Colonia*, 9, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See IOANNIS, *Script rer. Mogunt.*, I., 923 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 148; II., 2, 327 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*; KNIEB, 335 *seq.*

of the education of twenty-four students for the priesthood.[1] His successor, George Frederick von Greiffenclau, shared his sentiments and followed in his footsteps. Both Archbishops had received their ecclesiastical training at the Germanicum, as had the Bishops of Augsburg, Brixen and Ratisbon.[2] In the archdiocese of Trèves the Catholic restoration had been carried through in the main by Lothar von Metternich [3]; what remained to be done was accomplished by his successor, Philip Christoph von Sötern, who was also administrator of the archdiocese of Spire. He did his utmost to recover the monasteries and parishes of which his diocese had been robbed; when this was done he restored them to the ancient faith, not by measures of force, but by kindly teaching and persuasion. He already possessed a seed-plot of well trained and blameless priests in his seminary at Trèves and founded a similar one at Philippsburg for the diocese of Spire.[4] Ferdinand of Bavaria, Archbishop of Cologne, who likewise governed the dioceses of Liège, Münster, Paderborn and Hildesheim, promoted in all of them the Catholic reform and restoration.[5] The same policy was also ably pursued by the Bishop of Osnabrück, Francis William von Wartenberg,[6] and the Prince Abbot of Fulda, Schenk zu Schweinsberg.[7]

The vast diocese of Constance was admirably governed by Jacob Fugger (died 1626) and by his successor Johann

[1] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 334; STEINHUBER, I., 401 *seq.*

[2] See STEINHUBER, I., 286, 402.

[3] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 375.

[4] See BAUR, I., 471 *seq.*; II., 359 *seq.*, 407.

[5] *Cf.* CARAFA, *Relatione*, 416; RANKE, II.[8], 206; KELLER, III., 261 *seq.*, 609 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 53, 56 *seq.*; SCHAFMEISTER, *Herzog Ferdinand von Bayern, Erzbishof von Köln, als Fürstbishof von Münster* (1612–1650), Haselunne, 1912.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 182, note 5.

[7] *Cf.* besides the valuable works mentioned on p. 184, note 1, by KOMP and RICHTER, also E. CHARVÉRIAT, *Un réformateur au XVIIe siècle : J. B. Schenk de Schweinsberg*, Lyon, 1884. Schenk zu Schweinsberg also called Benedictine nuns to Fulda in 1626; see L. LEMMENS, *Das Kloster der Benediktinerinnen ad s. Mariam zu Fulda*, Fulda, 1898.

Truchsess von Waldburg, and that of Chur by Joseph Mohr.[1] Excellent pastors also were the Bishops of Würzburg [2] and Brixen,[3] and the Archbishop of Salzburg, Paris von Lodron, whom Carafa extols as the best of all the German Bishops.[4] Paris was the creator of the splendid cathedral of Salzburg, for the dedication of which Orazio Benevoli wrote a magnificent Mass [September, 1628].[5] The Bishop of Augsburg, Henry von Knöringen, must be described as one of the greatest prelates of this period; under his administration the internal reform always kept pace with the external restoration.[6]

Thus it came about that from 1621 onwards, as Carafa explained in his report of 1628, the Catholic Church made remarkable progress. Not only in Bohemia, Moravia and the Austrian Hereditary States, but in the territories of Maximilian of Bavaria, the ecclesiastical Electors and the other members of the League, she had become firmly established. In many cities of Empire, such as Spire, Strassburg, Hagenau, Colmar, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Kaufbeuren, Dinkelsbühl, Ulm, Kempten, Memmingen, Schwäbisch-Hall, Frankfort-on-the-Main, efforts were made, for the most part successfully, to restore their rights to the Catholics,[7] whilst at the same time a possibility

[1] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 367 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 327.

[3] On the excellent Bishop Wilhelm von Welsberg, see CARAFA, *Relatione*, 364.

[4] See *ibid.*, 333.

[5] See WIEDEMANN, III., 288 *seq.* On the cathedral at Salzburg see WEINGARTNER in *Neuen Reich.*, 1925. For Benevoli's Mass see AMBROS, IV., 112; ADLER, in the *Riv. musica ital.*, X. (1903), and *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, X., Vienna, 1903.

[6] See CARAFA, *Relatione*, 365. The internal ecclesiastical reformation of Henry of Knöringen is excellently described by SPINDLER, in the *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins*, Dillingen, 1911, 1 *seq.*, for his work in reforming the cities of Empire, the countryside, and the other parts of his diocese, *ibid.*, 1915, 24 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 137 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

[7] See CARAFA, *Germania sacra*, 391, 393 *seq.*; *Relatione*, 383. For the Swabian cities of Empire see especially SPINDLER, in the *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, XXVIII. (1915), 66 *seq.*,

offered itself of opening the door to the ancient Church in Württemburg in the South, and in the North in Lower Saxony, by means of these restitutions.[1]

But even brighter prospects for the recovery of long lost positions opened when the Emperor allowed himself at last to be prevailed upon to issue an authentic explanation of the religious peace of Augsburg. This was a measure which Maximilian of Bavaria, Henry von Knöringen, Bishop of Augsburg, the nuncio Carlo Carafa and Lamormaini, had never lost sight of because in this way the Church would recover by a single stroke all the possessions of which she had been robbed since the Treaty of Passau. At the very moment when Carafa was replaced in the nunciature by Giovan Battista Pallotto, that is on October 14th, 1628, consequently almost at the time of the fall of La Rochelle, the imperial Council agreed on the text of the edict of restitution to be submitted to the Emperor for his signature.[2] Ferdinand II. first submitted

and DUHR, II., 1, 245 *seq.* The counter-reformation in Colmar is treated by ROCHOLL in *Beiträge der Hist. antiq. Gesellsch. zu Basel*, N.F., IV. (1896). *Cf.* also DUHR, II., 1, 275 *seq.* In 1628 it became possible at last to summon the Capuchins to Frankfort; see ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 495. In 1628 the Jesuits also sought to establish themselves in that city, though in vain; see KRACAUER in the *Archiv für Frankfurts Gesch.*, 3 series, vol. 2.

[1] Carafa hoped for Catholic episcopal elections in Verden and Schwerin (*Relatione*, 393 and 416).

[2] *Cf.* KIEWNING, I., cvi, 306; RITTER, III., 422. Pallotto had been nominated extraordinary nuncio already on April 8, for the purpose of mediating in the matter of the Mantuan succession; on April 22 he had left Rome, on May 22 he arrived in Vienna and then joined the Emperor at Prague, where he arrived on the 26th and stayed a month. On 3rd July he was back at Vienna together with Carafa; see KIEWNING, I., 36 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*, 54 *seq.*, 110 *seq.* Carafa, who left Vienna on October 28, 1628 (see *ibid.*, 262) had incurred the disfavour of Urban VIII. by his arbitrary attitude in the Mantuan question; see *ibid.*, lxiii *seq.*, and ANTHIENY, 28 *seq.* Carafa passed through Venice in November; see *Avviso di Venetia of November 18, 1628, *Cod.* C. 7, 27 of the Angelica Library, Rome. *Ibid.*, C. 7, 28.

the document to the ecclesiastical Electors and waited for the expression of their opinion on it. The Archbishop of Trèves, von Sötern, made some objections. However much he approved the substance of the edict, as an old jurist he felt dissatisfied with its form. In his opinion the Emperor could only take a measure of this kind with the consent of a Diet of Empire, for the religious peace of Augsburg also emanated jointly from the Emperor and the Diet.[1] However, previous discussions had only too clearly demonstrated the impossibility of arriving at a compromise by such means. Both parties had entered the Thirty Years' War with the cry: "Our grievances must be satisfied!"[2] Why delay any longer now that a decision had been reached on the battlefield! Ferdinand's right was unquestionable, so much so that even the Elector of Saxony, in answer to the complaints of the Duke of Württemburg, admitted that he could not refuse to acknowledge the Emperor's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs since it had been conceded to him by the Electors.[3] In the end Sötern too approved the proposals of the Council of Empire. Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Mayence wished to go even further than the Emperor. They suggested the insertion of an ordinance concerning the rights of Catholics in the cities of Empire where Catholics and Protestants had equal rights and the general exclusion of the Calvinist sect from the religious peace. Ferdinand II. rejected the first proposal but took note of the second when he added the clause that only those who professed the Confession of Augsburg could benefit by the religious peace.[4]

*Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1629: "Msgr. Carafa si prepara di passarsene in breve alla residenza del suo vescovado d'Aversa (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 92). Carafa died at Aversa in 1644.

[1] See BAUR, I., 152 *seq.* [2] See RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 83.

[3] See SATTLER, *Gesch. Württembergs*, VI., 222.

[4] See LUNDORP, III., 1045; RITTER, *Restitutionsedikt*, 102. For the opinion of the Elector of Mayence see HURTER, X., 42. The Elector of Cologne must certalnly have adopted the view of Maximilian.

The exclusion of the Calvinist sect, in which Maximilian saw the sole source of all the ills of the Empire,[1] was of far-reaching effect, for besides the Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, the Elector of Brandenburg had also gone over to Calvinism in 1614 for the sake of Jülich. In Württemberg also and in Saxony—the only territories of considerable size that were still Lutheran—the restoration of monasteries and bishoprics gave an opportunity for further intervention, forasmuch as the express concession of the right of reform to the Catholic States made it possible to introduce the Catholic reform once more in many districts in which the new faith had prevailed for several generations. Tilly's efforts to found Jesuit Colleges at Lüneburg, Verden and Stade[2] showed what might be expected in this respect. At the beginning of January, 1629, Wallenstein founded an Academy for Catholic nobles at Güstrow in Mecklenburg and advised the Emperor to erect Jesuit Colleges in North Germany.[3] It was surely an exaggeration to assert, as has been done, that the integral execution of the edict of restitution would have meant the end of German Protestantism[4]; on the other hand it is certain that had that plan succeeded, heresy would have been confined within such narrow boundaries that it could never again have become a danger to Catholic Germany. Success, however, depended on the preservation of concord in the Catholic world, but that happy state was even then being put in jeopardy by the most disastrous complications.

[1] See Khevenhüller, XI., 487.

[2] See Duhr, II., 1, 128.

[3] See Opel, III., 745 *seq.*

[4] See Huber, V., 354 *seq.*; Schäfer, *Weltgesch. der Neuzeit*, I.[5], Berlin, 1912, 246 *seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Mantuan War of Succession—Tension between the Habsburgs and the Pope—French Intervention in Italy—Conquest of Mantua by the Imperial Troops—The Edict of Restitution Nullified—Richelieu's Alliance with Gustavus Adolphus against the Habsburgs, 1628-1632.

(1)

The preservation of the impartial and uniformly benevolent attitude which Urban VIII., as supreme Head of the Church, was at pains to maintain towards the rival Catholic Powers, was rendered exceedingly difficult both by France and by Spain. The more anxiously the Pope sought to preserve his position as father of all Christendom, the more he was accused by one party of doing too much and by the other of doing too little. His rejection of the Spanish suggestion to punish the expulsion of the papal garrisons from the Valtellina with the severest penalty, viz. rupture with Louis XIII., was construed by Madrid into an act of hostility towards Spain. Madrid had hoped to win over the Pope by great promises in favour of his nephew. When this hope remained unfulfilled and Urban VIII. sought a peaceful settlement of the Valtellina dispute, discontent rose still higher. From Urban's goodwill towards France and Venice it was concluded that he sided with the enemies of the Habsburgs and favoured their most dangerous plans.[1] Philip IV.'s advisers completely lost sight of the fact that, notwithstanding the arrogant manner of the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Pastrana,[2] the new Pope had at the very outset of his pontificate not only extended

[1] *Cf.* Khevenhüller, X., 621 *seq.*

[2] See the account of the Lucchese envoy, 1625, in *Studi e docum.*, XX., 211.

certain concessions of a financial order which were of the greatest value to Spain, viz. the *Cruzada*, the *Subsidio* and the *Excusado*, but that in a number of particular questions he had met the wishes of the Catholic King.[1] Urban VIII.'s scepticism in regard to Olivares' emphatic assurances that if Philip IV. was for ever at war, it was solely in the interests of religion,[2] was perfectly justified. Urban VIII. deemed it neither possible nor advisable to yield to all Philip IV.'s requests. He was aware of the insatiable demands and the lust of power of Spanish Cæsaro-papalism and feared Spain's preponderance in Italy which would have been a menace to the secular as well as to the spiritual independence of the Holy See; hence he considered the maintenance of a counterpoise through France a necessity.[3]

The extent of Spain's pretensions was revealed at the very outset of Urban VIII.'s pontificate when she demanded the extension of the *Cruzada* to Naples [4] and the purple not only for the learned Canon of Toledo, Enrico Guzman, but likewise for the Madrid nuncio, Innocenzo de'Massimi.[5] The latter, by various acts of his, had incurred the displeasure of Urban VIII., so much so that his recall was decided upon at an early date and carried into effect at the close of 1623, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish Government.[6]

The new nuncio, Giulio Sacchetti, met with the greatest opposition, not only in the affair of the Valtellina, but in a number of ecclesiastical questions also. His Instruction [7]

[1] See **Negocios del servicio de Su M^d^ que a alcanzado de Su B^d^ el S. Duque de Pastrana* in Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 5.

[2] See the report of nuncio Sachetti in Döllinger, *Vorträge*, I., 258.

[3] See *Relazione di R. Zeno*, 176.

[4] See the **Instruttione a Msgr. Sachetti, Nuntio appresso la M^tà^ Cattolica, Cod.* X., V., 15, of the Casanatense Library, Rome.

[5] See the *Briefs to Philip IV. of January 8 and February 7, 1624, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] See *Relazione di R. Zeno*, 176.

[7] **Instruttione a Msgr. Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, Nuntio appresso la M^tà^ Catt.* (dated January 27, 1624), *Cod.* X., V., 15, pp. 149–194, Casanatense Library, Rome.

indicates the preservation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity as the most difficult task of a Spanish nuncio, as, notwithstanding the Catholic sentiments of the king, his ministers permitted themselves grave interferences. The document complains in particular of the royal council of Castile and directs the nuncio to defend the rights of the Church with energy though with prudence and gentleness. The royal council had been appealed to by a canon of Seville, Corruvias, the author of a book against the Holy See, which had already caused much worry to previous nuncios. With regard to the judicial competence of the nunciature, Sacchetti was instructed to defend its indubitable rights; as for his relations with Chapters and Bishops, he was urged to show both caution and resolution. With regard to the internment of Cardinal Lerma, a wish was expressed that he should be allowed to take up residence in Rome. The Collectors should be exhorted to moderation for the royal tribunals frequently complained, not without cause, of their conduct. The Instruction sought to pave the way for tolerable relations between Church and State in Spain. But in this respect there was not much to hope for, because the Spanish Government persisted in its politico-ecclesiastical pretensions; with its wonted tenaciousness, in fact, it even sought to extend them,[1] so much so that the Pope saw himself repeatedly compelled to protest against the encroachments of Spanish ministers and lay tribunals, more particularly in Portugal.[2] However, by granting all sorts of

[1] *Cf.* ALTAMIRA, *Hist. de España*, III., Barcelona, 1906, 405 *seq.*

[2] Philip IV. had been approached by Urban VIII. in a *Brief of February 27, 1624, on the question of the ecclesiastical immunity of Portugal (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives). On *June 14, 1625, he had to complain bitterly to the King and Olivares on account of the banishment of the auditor of the nunciature and the oppression of the papal Collector in Portugal (see the *Brief to Philip IV. and Olivares, *loc. cit.*). No satisfaction was given, although Urban VIII. in a *letter of September 12, 1625 (*Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.*) complained to Philip IV. In a *Brief of October 8, 1625, the Collector in Portugal, Giov. Batt. Pallotto, was praised for his steadfastness and exhorted to hold out at his post, notwithstanding his many difficulties (*Epist.*, III., *loc. cit.*). He

favours he proved his desire then, as always, to remain on good terms with Spain.[1] If the tension nevertheless remained, the cause must chiefly be looked for in the fact that in the affairs of the Church Urban VIII. was altogether intransigent where the rights of the Holy See were concerned, and with regard to politics, he was resolved, notwithstanding the Spaniards' threats, to preserve his impartiality.[2] The chief obstacle to any improvement in their mutual relations was precisely the fact that Madrid absolutely refused to believe in Urban VIII.'s impartiality. An authentic document of 1625 clearly shows how much Spanish Statesmen were dominated by the fixed idea of the Pope's Francophil sentiments.[3] A striking proof that Urban VIII. pursued a middle course may be seen in the fact that at that very time Louis XIII. described the Pope as wholeheartedly pro-Spanish![4] With how little consideration Madrid could treat the Pope was painfully shown on the occasion of the peace of Monzón in 1626, when Cardinal Barberini, who had been specially dispatched to Madrid, was excluded from the discussions which re-established harmony between the French and Spanish Governments on the question of the Valtellina.[5]

Philip IV.'s distrust of Urban VIII. was not a little fanned

remained there until 1628; see KIEWNING, I., xxxvii, who rightly points out that the Instruction for Pallotto published by LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 26 *seq.*) does not belong to the time of Clement IX. but to that of Urban VIII. In a Brief of September 6, 1625, Urban VIII. had complained to Philip IV. that the Archbishop of Mexico was being oppressed by the Viceroy (*Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.*).

[1] See the **Relacion* of *Diego Saavedra* of November 3, 1627, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9.

[2] See the relation of the envoy of Lucca dated June, 1625, in *Studi e docum.*, XXIII., 211.

[3] See **Extracto de la Instruccion que el rey Philippo IV. dió al Conde de Oñate, embaxador a la S^da^ de Urbano VIII.*, dated July 1, 1625, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 9.

[4] See the dispatch of Lorkin of September, 1625, in RANKE, *Französ. Geschichte*, II.^w2^, 298, note 1.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 97 *seq.*

by the Duke of Alba, viceroy of Naples since 1627. Ill-disposed towards the clergy in general, the Duke nursed a special hostility towards the Pope. No one in Madrid was more persistent in asserting that Urban VIII. was wholly in favour of France than Alba, though he was shrewd enough not to allow disputes on points of jurisdiction to become too acute in Naples [1]; but Spanish officials saw to their continuation, for almost all of them were imbued with a similar spirit.[2] The appointment as viceroy of Naples of a man like Alba was a most serious threat to the Pope, for from no side were the Pontifical States more vulnerable than from the south.[3] In view of so dangerous a situation Urban VIII. had every reason to see to the reinforcement of his armed forces and the defensive works of the Papal States, so as to have a measure of security against the Spaniards.[4]

It was a disaster that in course of time the troubled relations between Rome and Madrid also led to a tension with the German Habsburgs who were closely allied to the Spanish line. The strong Catholic sentiments of Ferdinand II. and his hostility to Protestantism were so highly appreciated by Urban VIII. from the very beginning of his pontificate, that it was said at Venice that any request of the Emperor, if at all legitimate, was acceded to in Rome.[5] Vienna was aware of this, in fact it had hoped [6] that the new Pontiff would

[1] *Cf.* Cesare Monti (nuncio in Naples from April 17, 1627, to May 29, 1628; see Biaudet, 206), **Relatione dei ministri Napoletani lasciata al suo successore* (*Aless. Bichi*), *Cod.* XXIII., B. 8, p. 53 *seq.*, of the library of the *Società di stor. patr.*, at Naples.

[2] See **Instruttione a V.S. Mons. Bichi, vescovo dell'Isola, destinato da N.S. Nunzio ord. in Napoli*, dated Rome, May 28, 1628, MS. in my possession.

[3] See *Relazione di P. Contarini*, 201.

[4] See Brosch, *Kirchenstaat*, I., 395.

[5] See *Relazione di R. Zeno*, 173. In a *Brief of May 10, 1625, Urban VIII. praised the Emperor: "Pietas qua constitutiones eccles. libertati perniciosas delevit." *Cf.* also the laudatory *Brief of July 1, 1625, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of Altoviti, dated Vienna, August 19, 1623, State Archives, Florence, *Med.* 4375.

continue the financial subsidies which Gregory XV. had so copiously bestowed on the Emperor for his war in Germany; hence disappointment was all the keener when Urban VIII. declared his inability to lend such help.[1] But whereas the Court of Munich soon got over its disappointment,[2] the breach between the Emperor and the Pope widened to a dangerous extent. A certain soreness had already been caused at the Court of Vienna because at the creation of Cardinals in January, 1626, the Emperor, like the Kings of France and Spain, had only been given one Cardinal,[3] but discontent grew still further in consequence of the attitude of Urban VIII. on two other questions. The one concerned the partition of the Patriarchate of Aquileia,[4] which included both Venetian and imperial territory. Notwithstanding the resistance of the Republic of St. Mark, the Pope was inclined to accede to Ferdinand's wishes. However, the Emperor's intermediary, Provost Albrecht Presler, urged his master's suit in so blustering a fashion that he only damaged his case. On his not being granted an audience at once, the Provost sought to obtain it by force. An extremely painful scene occurred in the papal antechamber where Presler, in a loud voice, interpellated the Pope who was in the audience chamber, and ended by throwing a written protest against the door of the room. In this document Urban VIII. was accused of partiality towards Venice and an anticipated protest was made against any decision by the Holy See in the affair of the Patriarchate of Aquileia which might be prejudicial to the Emperor.[5] In another controversial matter, concerning the legal position

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 64.

[2] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 185–9.

[3] For Urban's reasons see his Brief in SCHNITZER, 190.

[4] *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, III., 268 *seq.*, 454 *seq.* (Vatican Library), who follows the reports of the nunciature, and *cf.* the dissertation in *Barb.* 136 (*ibid.*) representing the imperial view and used in part by KIEWNING (I., lxvii *seq.*).

[5] See the *letter of the Secretary of State, Carafa, February 25, 1628, in *NICOLETTI, III., 273, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* KIEWNING, I., lxiix.

of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Maximinus of Trèves,[1] the Emperor himself had been betrayed into a false step. The letter he dispatched to the Pope in June, 1627, was couched in terms from which the respect due to the Head of the Church was completely absent. On July 18th, 1627, Urban VIII. replied that he assumed that the Emperor had not read the letter and that he hoped that the representations of the nuncio would draw an answer worthy of the Austrians' sense of religion and justice. The Secretary Ciampoli had on his own authority given a specially sharp point to one passage in the Brief, so that it was now the Emperor's turn to take offence.[2]

French politicians strove with no less eagerness than success to increase the tension between the Pope and the two Habsburg lines. The then French ambassador in Rome, Philippe de Béthune, needed no one to teach him how to set to work in this sense. He never missed an opportunity to draw attention to the ecclesiastical and political encroachments of the Spaniards. Again and again he insisted that the aim of Spanish policy was to reduce the Pope to being no more than the Catholic King's Chaplain.[3] Though Urban VIII. was very far from favouritism towards Spain, Béthune was not satisfied. He was of opinion that the Spaniards' influence in Rome was far too great : all their demands ended by being complied with for they never allowed themselves to be put off by an initial refusal.[4]

It came most opportunely for Béthune that the new Spanish ambassador, Count Oñate, by his arrogant and unworthy

[1] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, III., 199 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* ; Marx, III., 136 ; Kiewning, I., lxx *seq.* ; Baur, *Sötern*, I., 443 *seq.*

[2] See Kiewning, I., lxxi *seq.*, who persistently gives the incorrect form " Ciompoli ". For Ciampoli see above, p. 50, and Vol. XXIX., Ch. VI.

[3] See the *reports of Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, June 2 and 16, 1627, and August 25, *Cod.* 7215 of the State Library, Vienna.

[4] See especially the *letter of Béthune to Louis XIII., of July 15, 1627, *ibid.*

behaviour and his baseless complaints that the Holy See took sides against Spain, occasioned a conflict with the Pope which, but for Urban VIII.'s moderation, might have led to a rupture between Madrid and Rome.[1] Very adroitly the French diplomatist pointed out that Oñate's arrogance was not due to his own bad disposition but that it was a natural sequel of Spain's excessive influence in Italy.[2] Urban VIII. was made to feel Spain's pressure yet more sensibly as a result of Philip IV.'s close alliance with Ferdinand II. For these reasons the Pope favoured a rapprochement between France and the Emperor's rival, the Duke of Bavaria, which would create a counterpoise.[3] For the rest, Urban VIII. quite frankly declared to the French ambassador that he would feel towards France just as he did towards Spain at that moment if France were to acquire a similar preponderance in Italy.[4]

Urban VIII. clearly saw that the balance of power could not be suffered to be further disturbed in favour of Spain, hence he viewed with considerable anxiety the problem of

[1] See *Nicoletti, III., ch. 7, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Béthune's *reports to Louis XIII., especially of August 12 and September 4 and 8, 1628, *loc. cit.* Oñate, who came to Rome as ambassador on June 17, 1626, had been thus characterized by Sacchetti, in a *letter to Cardinal Magalotti, as early as April 24, 1625: *"Ognate di cui si sta deliberando per l'imbasciata, credo che costì sia ben noto et io l'ho riputato molto doppio e attissimo a far mali offizi et particolarmente a porre gelosie e diffidenze non tanto al principe, al qual vien mandato, quanto fra quello et i ministri degli altri principi." Nicoletti, III., 503, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Letter from Béthune to Louis XIII. of August 12, 1627, *loc. cit.*

[3] After the estrangement between Munich and Rome had been removed in May, 1627 (see Schnitzer, *Zur Politik*, 189), Urban VIII. initiated an agreement between France and Maximilian I. according to a *report of Béthune's to Louis XIII., July 15, 1627, State Library, Vienna.

[4] * "Ces mesmes pensees qu'il temoignoit contre les Espagnols, il les auroyt contre V.Mte, si elle avoyt la puissance qu'ils ont en Italie." Letter of Béthune of July 15, 1627, *loc. cit.*

the succession to the Duchy of Mantua-Monferrat which would arise out of the extinction of the Gonzagas. That ancient and illustrious family, to which Mantua owed its splendour, had long ago fallen from its former greatness. Vincenzo I., Rubens' patron, failed to strike a balance between his inherited passion for the arts, the stage and music, and his income, and he had ended by throwing himself headlong into insane extravagance. His three sons, who rapidly succeeded each other, continued on this fatal road and pursued a course of luxury and immorality, the consequence of which were short lives and barren marriages.[1] The elder of the two sons, Francesco, only left a daughter, Maria, of his marriage with Margherita, a princess of Savoy.[2] The other two Dukes, Ferdinand, who died in 1626, and his successor, the worthless Vincenzo II.,[3] were without legitimate heirs whilst the sickliness of Vincenzo II., worn out as he was by his excesses, rendered his early death probable.

It is not surprising that the question of the Mantuan succession should have occupied nearly all the chancelleries of Europe from 1624,[4] for the rise of a new ruling house in an important Italian principality could not fail to rouse the jealousy, not only of the Italian Powers, but that also of France and Spain.[5] The Duchy of Mantua was an imperial fief and in Montferrat the succession ran in the female line also. Besides the Emperor, Spain was particularly interested in the succession owing to the Gonzaga territory being contiguous to that of Milan, and since the Duchy of Montferrat, with

[1] See Siri, VI. 298; Muratori, XI., 104; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, in the *Zeitschrift für allg. Gesch.*, II., 702; Fochessati, *I Gonzaga di Mantova e l'ultimo duca*, Mantova, 1912. *Cf.* also Ademollo, *La Bell'Adriana ed altre virtuose del suo tempo alla corte di Mantova*, Città di Castello, 1888.

[2] *Cf.* G. B. Intra, *Maria Gonzaga-Gonzaga*, Firenze, 1897.

[3] *Cf.* for him besides our remarks, Vol. XXV., 336, also Quazza, *Mantova e Monferrato nella politica europea alla vigilia della guerra per la successone* (1624–7), Mantova, 1922, 236 *seq.*

[4] See the full account of Quazza, *loc. cit.*

[5] See Schneider, *Mantuaner Erbfolgestreit*, 5.

its strong fortress of Casale on the Upper Po, wedged itself in between Milan and Savoy, the lust of aggrandisement was likewise roused in the breast of the restless Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy.[1] The affair became still further complicated because Carlo Gonzaga who, in view of the exclusive right of the male line in Mantua and the preference to the female line in Montferrat, was without doubt nearest to the succession,[2] was inacceptable to the Spaniards, ever sensitive about their hegemony in Italy, because as Duke of Nevers and Rethel he was a vassal of the King of France. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the objections to which this circumstance gave rise at Madrid, it does not seem that Spain at first seriously thought of contesting the Duke's right. According to an express assurance subsequently given by Count Olivares, Philip IV.'s leading minister to the papal envoy, Cesare Monti, the Spanish Government, on being informed of the grave illness of Vincenzo, had decided to send a courier to the Duke of Nevers with an offer of Spain's assistance to enable him to take peaceful possession of Mantua and Montferrat.[3] It is probable that certain conditions would have accompanied the offer by way of guarantee, but there was as yet no thought of the exclusion of the Duke of Nevers.[4]

Circumstances were even more favourable to Nevers at Vienna where he had a warm supporter in the person of the Empress Eleonor, his near relative, for she was the daughter of Duke Vincenzo I. For this reason the Empress thought of having the Princess Maria taken to the imperial Court so that she might herself watch over her upbringing. Khevenhüller was dispatched to Madrid at the beginning of 1628; besides negotiating this affair, he was also instructed to give assurances

[1] *Cf.* QUAZZA, *loc. cit.*, 209.

[2] See SCHNEIDER, *loc. cit.*, 3 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* reference to this in the report of Francesco degl'Albici: "*Negotiato di Mons. C. Monti (see below, p. 203, note 3) in RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 347, note 2.

[4] See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

to Nevers with regard to his succession to the Duchies.[1] There the Spaniards' lust of aggrandisement of their Italian possessions was still so fresh in the memory of all that in 1615 everyone took it for granted that, in the event of the extinction of the male Gonzaga line, Madrid would override the rightful claims of the Duke of Nevers. Notwithstanding many smooth assurances, both Rome and Paris felt convinced that, should the eventuality arise, the Madrid Cabinet would do its utmost to incorporate Mantua, or at least Montferrat, in the Duchy of Lombardy, or to install at Mantua a successor who would be favourably disposed towards Spain.[2] Urban VIII. deemed it imperative to forestall all such attempts from motives both of policy and justice; to this end he discussed with the French ambassador, Béthune, all the necessary steps. With a view to creating a *fait accompli*, it was decided that the son of Duke Charles of Nevers, Charles, Duke of Rethel, who had been staying at Mantua since December, 1625,[3] for the purpose of familiarizing himself with Italian manners and to gain popularity, should marry Maria Gonzaga, then staying at the convent of St. Ursula, whose claims to the succession of Montferrat were very strong ones. With the utmost secrecy Vincenzo II. was persuaded to name Nevers as his successor in his will. The necessary dispensation for his marriage with his niece Maria was all the more readily granted by Urban VIII.

[1] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 30 *seq.*; KIEWNING, I., xlv *seq.* On the Empress *cf.* G. B. INTRA, *Le due Eleonore Gonzaga imperatrici*, Mantova, 1891.

[2] See RANKE, II.[6], 347.

[3] See KIEWNING, I., xl.; QUAZZA, *Mantova e Monferrato*, 121 *seq.* The purpose of the dispatch of young Nevers to Mantua is thus stated by FR. DEGL'ALBICI (**Relatione del negotio fatto nella corte di Spagna da Mons. Ces. Monti Nuntio straord. per la pace d'Italia*): "Acciò apprendendo i costumi d'Italia e trattandosi bene con quei sudditi si rendesse capace dell'amor loro et insinuandosi ad essi quai insensiblemente le raggioni del padre gli facesse più facilmente restar persuasi ad accettarlo per signore." *Cod.* 35 and 25 of the Corsini Library, Rome; I bought another copy in 1905 from the library of P. Pieri.

as from the time of his French nunciature the Pope was well acquainted with the staunchly Catholic feelings of the Nevers family.[1] The dispensation had hardly arrived when the wedding was solemnized on the evening of December 25th, 1627.[2] That same night Vincenzo II. died at the early age of 34. Thereafter events moved rapidly. Without any previous request to the Emperor as supreme feudal lord, but also without any objection being made by anyone, young Nevers took possession of the vacant Duchy and in his father's name received the homage of the subjects and occupied the citadel of the town.[3]

These events only became known when news arrived of Duke Vincenzo's death. Great was the surprise of Turin, Madrid, and Vienna. Charles Emmanuel of Savoy gave himself the air of being the most hard hit, for he had built up a clever array of arguments to substantiate his pretensions in regard to Montferrat, and he had also toyed with the idea of a betrothal of his son to Maria Gonzaga. The Savoyard began to arm with a view to satisfying his lust of conquest by force. Similar feelings stirred the breast of the new Governor of Milan, Gonzalez of Córdova, a man of extraordinary ambition, who supported the pretensions of Ferdinand Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla, a descendant of a distant collateral line of the Gonzagas. To give effect to these ambitions Gonzalez, shortly before the death of Vincenzo, had dispatched

[1] See the *reports of Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, July 15, 1627, September 8 and 23, October 22, December 31, *Cod.* 7215 of the State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* FAGNIEZ, *P. Joseph*, I., 123 *seq.*; KIEWNING, I., xl; QUAZZA, *Mantova e Monferrato*, 190 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the work by Intra referred to above, p. 201, note 2, and the essay by the same writer on the monastery of St. Ursula in the *Arch. stor. Lombard*, 1895, especially QUAZZA, *Mantova e Monferrato*, 194 *seq.*

[3] See MURATORI, XI., 105; KIEWNING, I., 23, note 3. For young Nevers, whose contemporaries depreciated him, see H. DE BEAUCAIRE, in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XVI., 3.

Count Giovanni Serbellini to Mantua, though to no purpose.[1]

Gonzalez of Córdova did not hesitate to enter into an alliance with the Duke of Savoy, who, not so long ago and ostensibly in the interests of Italian liberty, had fought the Spaniards arms in hand. When Khevenhüller, whose visit to Mantua was without object now that Maria Gonzaga was married, arrived in Milan, he found Gonzalez busy with the preparations for an attack on Casale. As in duty bound, he pointed out to him that Nevers' conduct, which was due to distrust, could not justify such a step ; in any case proceedings against Casale could only be taken with the consent of the Emperor, the supreme feudal overlord. What would the world say if the lieutenant of the King of Spain were to do that which in the Duke of Nevers he describes as a crime of lèse-majesté ? In that case Philip IV. would utterly forfeit the confidence of the German princes, and strengthen them in their view that in Spain the raison d'État took precedence over juridical procedure and that might came before right. The Pope and the Italian princes, to whom Spain's power seemed excessive as it was, would be compelled to take counter-measures whilst France would not leave the Duke of Nevers defenceless ; hence a sanguinary war must ensue, the issue of which would be doubtful, and which might cost the King of Spain more millions than the fortress was worth. Besides, everybody knew that the Duke of Savoy was wont to trim his sails according to the wind. These warnings of Khevenhüller Gonzalez could counter with nothing better than reasons of opportunism : if he did not besiege Casale, Nevers would hand it over to the King of France. Now, since the latter was engaged just then in a struggle with the Huguenots, success was bound to crown immediate action. To Madrid Gonzalez also sent word that he would take Casale without striking a single blow.[2]

[1] See KIEWNING, I., xli *seq.* ; SCHNEIDER, *Mantuaner Erbfolgestreit*, 4 *seq.*; QUAZZA, *Mantova e Monferrato*, 185, 191. For Gonzalez's ambition see SCHNEIDER, 16, note 3.

[2] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 36 *seq.* ; *cf.* KIEWNING, I., 129.

The Spanish Government, without for the moment ratifying the treaty between Gonzalez and Savoy which these had concluded on their own initiative, nevertheless identified itself with the object at which it aimed, and this all the more readily as there was nothing to fear from the French whose attention was wholly taken up by their wars with the Huguenots and with England. Olivares, who knew how to guide Philip IV. in the same way as Prince Eggenberg prompted the decisions of the Emperor Ferdinand,[1] was determined at all costs not to suffer Montferrat to get into the hands of a prince so closely tied to France.[2] He had no inkling of the risks he was taking.[3] Full of haughty self-sufficiency he told the nuncio, Giovanni Battista Pamfili, that the Duke of Nevers must at least be castigated, as in the betrothal of his son to Maria Gonzaga, the great-grandchild of Philip II., he had brushed aside the regard due to the King of Spain.[4] Olivares hoped to satisfy the Savoyard with a few territorial concessions but to secure for Spain the greater part of the long-coveted Duchy of Montferrat. Both at Milan and at Turin preparations were eagerly pushed forward for the invasion of the country which it was intended to seize, and the whole manœuvre was to be covered with the authority of the Emperor ![5] Ferdinand was in no hurry to give his decision as sovereign feudal lord. When the aged Duke of Nevers arrived in Mantua on January 17th, 1628, he immediately dispatched the Bishop of that town as his envoy to the imperial Court. with mission to ask for investiture. But the Emperor, who felt justly offended by the arbitrary action of Nevers both as sovereign feudal lord and as

[1] See Alvise Mocenigo in Barozzi-Berchet, *Spagna*, I., 650, 686, and Seb. Venier in Fiedler, *Fontes dipl.*, XXVI., 145.

[2] *Cf.* the passage in Albici's **Negotiato di Monti* in Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 340, note 1.

[3] See the *report of Monti in Kiewning, I., 159, note 2. Gonzalez afterwards justified himself by saying that he had only acted in consideration of the wishes of the King and Olivares which were known to him ; see *Documentos ineditos*, LIV., 377.

[4] The passage from Pamfili's report in Ranke, II.[6], 349, note 1.

[5] See Klopp, III., 1, 164 ; Kiewning, I., liv.

husband of Eleonor, a princess of Mantua, refused to receive the Bishop in the capacity as Nevers' envoy. When at last, through the intervention of the Empress, the Bishop was received in his private capacity, Ferdinand did not disguise his displeasure at Nevers' taking over government without referring to him and marrying his son to Maria Gonzaga. None the less he at the same time gave a solemn promise that he would not suffer Nevers to be injured.

At the very time when the Bishop of Mantua presented a memorial on the subject of his lord's investiture with Mantua and Montferrat, the Duke of Guastalla and the Duchess of Lorraine, Margherita Gonzaga, also put forward their claims.[1] But the most active person at court was the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Cadareita. In view of the help which his Government had for so long given to the Emperor, by supplying him both with troops and money, he demanded insistently that the Emperor should reject the claims of Nevers and bestow Mantua on the Duke of Guastalla, and Montferrat on the Duchess Margherita of Lorraine. Either the Emperor must put the two principalities under sequestration or look on whilst Gonzalez and Charles Emmanuel made themselves masters of Montferrat by force. There was no question of juridical grounds but solely of the interests of Philip IV., for Italy, it was alleged, was the very heart of Spanish power.[2] As for the Empress, she was given to understand that since her marriage she no longer belonged to the house of Gonzaga but to that of Habsburg. But that valiant woman was not to be intimidated. Now as before she pointed out that justice was clearly on Nevers' side and that he was above all suspicion, inasmuch as in the war against the Turks he had risked his life in the Emperor's cause.[3]

The Council of Empire, to which Ferdinand II. had referred the matter, also had to acknowledge the indisputable right of the Duke of Nevers. Nevertheless, in the interest of public tranquillity and with express reference to the King of Spain

[1] See KIEWNING, I., xlvii *seq.*

[2] See RITTER, III., 399.

[3] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 34 *seq.*

who was prepared to go to war, the Council was of opinion that the Emperor should sequestrate Mantua and Montferrat until the question had been juridically settled.[1] This subservience of the imperial power to Spain's policy of force was only surpassed by the readiness with which the Privy Council gave its assent to so fatal a suggestion.[2]

However, all is explained if we bear in mind that most of these Councillors were in receipt of regular pensions from Spain.[3]

On March 10th, 1628, the Emperor expressed his agreement with the opinion of his Council and on April 1st he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Duchies of Mantua and Montferrat enjoining them, under the severest penalties, to do homage to Duke John of Nassau-Siegen whom he had appointed as his commissary. Nevers was not so much as mentioned.[4] On this occasion Ferdinand II. made an even worse blunder than when he bestowed Mecklenburg on Wallenstein. His procedure drove the Duke of Nevers into a close alliance with France and challenged the latter Power whilst it added new strength to the old accusation that the House of Austria aimed at world domination.[5]

A contemporary, Leonard Pappus, justly remarks that however difficult it may be to say what should have been done in the affair of Mantua, it could nevertheless be boldly affirmed that the worst possible step was taken.[6]

The Bishop of Mantua could rightly complain of the injustice done to his lord who was the legitimate Duke and who had only done his duty when he made a demand for investiture. He was fully justified when he asked whether the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance and the assumption of government without previous consultation with the Emperor were sufficient

[1] Text of memorial in KIEWNING, I., i. *seq.* ; SCHNEIDER 27 *seq.*

[2] See RITTER, III., 399.

[3] See the account of SEB. VENIER in FIEDLER, XXVI., 143.

[4] See LÜNIG, *Cod. ital. dipl.*, I., 1437 *seq.* ; SIRI, VI., 384 *seq.*; KIEWNING, I., 17 ; SCHNEIDER, 33 *seq.*

[5] See KLOPP, III., 1, 165 *seq.*

[6] PAPPUS, I., 40 *seq.*

grounds to justify before the world a war by a Catholic King against a Catholic Prince.[1] The Bishop's reference to Spanish influence, which had prompted the Emperor's intervention, touched the core of the whole affair. Venice, which feared the worst from an increase of Spanish power in Upper Italy, did not think differently. The Emperor was only lending his name to a plot forged at Madrid, it was said in Venice; the Spaniards wanted to subjugate all Italy but the plan could not be realized unless they first made themselves masters of Casale.[2]

Gonzalez of Córdova was resolved to take advantage of the imperial decree of April 1st to act as Ferdinand's plenipotentiary; though on April 2nd and previous to the arrival of the text of the document he had begun the siege of Casale.[3] The Duke of Savoy also set out on that day. In vain did the Emperor protest against such arbitrary proceedings; in vain, through Khevenhüller, did he complain at Madrid of the abuse of his name in Italy [4]; the arrogant Governor of Milan cared for none of these things and went on with the siege of Casale. So far from lending him any help, Charles Emmanuel's only concern was to make sure of his own booty. A series of rapid victories made him master of Alba, Trino, Pontestura and Montecalvo.[5] Against such attacks the Duke of Nevers could not at first hope for much assistance from the French Government which was wholly engrossed in its struggle with the Huguenots and the English. However, he did not lose heart; on the contrary, he was resolved to defend his just claim to the utmost, in the hope that the French would end by coming to his help.

Urban VIII. had not at first taken a serious view of the question of Mantua,[6] but he soon realized how dangerous it

[1] See Kiewning, I., lvi.

[2] See Klopp, III., 1, 165.

[3] See Schneider, 35.

[4] See Kiewning, 1., lvii.; Schneider, 37 *seq.*

[5] See Siri, VI., 379 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 716; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 89 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 77 *seq.*

threatened to become. His hope that it would be settled between the Italian Powers, without foreign intervention, was not fulfilled.[1] Just as the Pope with his dispensation had made possible the marriage of young Nevers with Maria Gonzaga, so he favoured his father, not only because of his Catholic sentiments and his rightful claim to the Duchy of Mantua, but also because, owing to Nevers' connections with France, there was no reason to fear an increase of Spanish influence in Upper Italy and a consequent disturbance of equilibrium.[2] None the less, in view of the future possibilities of the situation, the Pope maintained the cautious reserve which both the circumstances and his own position seemed to demand. He was perfectly clear in his own mind that as Head of the Church (*Padre commune*) it was his duty to do all he could for the preservation of peace among the Catholic Powers, for on this depended the progress of the Catholic restoration. In like manner he fully realized that he could never act as mediator if he sided with any one party.

True, opinions in the Sacred College were divided as to the attitude the Pope should adopt. Some spoke to the effect that the Pope should oppose Spain's insatiable desire for expansion and to this end enter into an alliance with the other Italian Powers, for where great perils threatened the freedom of them all, the worst thing would be to remain neutral; by such an attitude they neither made friends nor defeated the enemy. The opposite view was defended by Cardinal Spada who had been nuncio in France from 1625 to 1627. He emphatically counselled neutrality inasmuch as it was in accord with the paternal dignity of the papacy, whilst at the same time it compelled the respect of the contending parties. To prove that warlike action did not become the office of the Supreme Pontiff he pointed to the period of Julius II. and Clement VII. Hence the Pope should maintain his reserve and neutrality and refrain from entering into any kind of alliance, even a

[1] *Cf.* Urban's words to d'Aglie the envoy of Savoy in the latter's report of February 26, 1628, in CANTÙ, *Storia degli Italiani*, III. (1868), 652.

[2] *Cf.* the *Relazione* of ANG. CONTARINI, 282.

purely defensive one, Even though, in view of his position as head of an Italian State, a defensive league might seem advantageous, as Head of the whole Catholic Church Urban was bound to subordinate all worldly interests to the interests of the Church.[1]

Spada's memorandum voiced Urban's own feelings; hence it decided his course of action. In the light of the difficulties he had had to contend with in the Valtellina dispute he was well aware of the arduous and thorny path that stretched before him. He foresaw that even with the best of wills he would not be able to comply with every demand and that his words and acts would be misunderstood and misrepresented. From that point of view the Spaniards were most to fear, for they persistently suspected him of favouritism towards France and watched with jealous eyes his every word and action, nay, the very play of his features. Even in his private apartments the Pope could not feel safe from Spanish spies,[2] whilst the representatives of France and Venice harried him incessantly with requests that he should support Nevers with his armed forces.

When news reached Rome on December 31st, 1627, of the death of Vincenzo II., the French ambassador, Philippe de Béthune, requested an audience on the very next day with a view to ascertaining what attitude the Pope would take in case Spain, relying on the authority of the Emperor, were to take steps contrary to Nevers' rightful claims. Béthune was well aware that the last thing the Pope wished for was a further increase of Spanish power in Upper Italy; accordingly he harped on that string from the first. "In such an eventuality," he said, "Your Holiness must act with energy if subsequent Popes are not to be reduced to being no more than the chaplains of the Kings of Spain." Urban replied that he

[1] The **Parere* of Spada was first quoted by A. Pieper in the *Wissentschaftl. Beilage* to *Germania*, 1899, no. 37.

[2] During the audience which Béthune had on January 1, 1628, the Pope rose twice to see that no one was listening at the door. *Report of Béthune to Louis XIII., Rome, January 2, 1628, *Cod.* 7215, of the State Library, Vienna.

thought that the Spaniards, who had bitterly complained of his excessive readiness to grant a dispensation for the marriage between young Nevers and Maria Gonzaga, were only threatening and would never resort to measures of violence the use of which he was precisely striving to prevent. When Béthune asked what he would do if the contrary were to happen, the Pope merely answered: "We shall see."[1] When at last facts gave the lie to the optimistic view of the situation which had prevailed in Rome until then,[2] the representatives of France and Venice at once suggested that the Pope should join an anti-Spanish league for the protection of Nevers as well as the common interests of Italy. The Venetian ambassador suggested that the Pope should at least dispatch a special envoy to Nevers, thereby acknowledging him before the whole world as the rightful Prince.[3] Béthune insisted that it was not enough for the Pope to make either demands or representations; to save the freedom of Italy he must meet the Spaniards openly and enter into a league with the Italian Powers.[4] Urban VIII. would not hear of it; on the contrary, he warned the King of France not to treat Nevers, now Duke of Mantua, before the whole world as if he were a Frenchman, or to support him with armed forces. Louis XIII. should exert his influence on Nevers and induce him to pay due respect to the Emperor whose plan it was to deal with the matter in accordance with the law.[5]

In the last week of March, 1628, the Pope instructed the nuncio at Vienna to do all he could to get the pretenders cited before the Emperor's tribunal lest they should seek to establish their claim with the sword. On March 26th Urban VIII. addressed a Brief to the Emperor on the subject of this proposal.[6] The Pope also made similar representations to

[1] See Béthune's *report quoted in preceding note.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Béthune to Louis XIII. of January 21 and 27, 1628, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Kiewning, I., lx.

[4] See Béthune's *report to Louis XIII., Rome, March 22, 1628, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the code instruction to the French nuncio dated March 7, 1628, in Kiewning, I., lxi.

[6] Printed, *ibid.*, 36 *seq.*

Philip IV.[1] and declared inadequate the grounds for forcible action which Gonzalez de Córdova had laid before him through the Milanese Senator Corio who had been dispatched to Rome for that purpose.[2]

With a view to minimizing the danger of a further spread of the conflict which had broken out in Upper Italy, Urban VIII., on April 8th, 1628, resolved to work for peace by the dispatch of nuncios extraordinary.[3] Moreover, to draw down the blessing of God on this mission of peace, he proclaimed a universal jubilee under the same date. The enemy of mankind, the Pope said in his Bull, was endeavouring to render useless the great triumphs that had been won over the foes of the true faith by provoking intestine quarrels among the Catholic Princes.[4] What importance the Pope attached to the jubilee is shown by the fact that on April 12th he took part in person in the procession from St. Peter's to S. Spirito in Sassia with which the solemnities began in Rome.[5]

The nuncios extraordinary were named on April 8th, 1628, They were Giovan Battista Pallotto for the imperial Court,[6] Cesare Monti for Spain,[7] and the Swiss nuncio, Scappi, to whom

[1] See the *Brief to Philip IV. of March 26, 1628, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Fr. degl'Albici, **Negotiato fatto nella corte di Spagna da Msgr. Ces. Monti*, which gives Corio's reasons in detail. *Cod.* 35, F. 25 of the Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] Béthune had suggested the dispatch of a Legate or nuncio extraordinary. Urban VIII. declared that he wished to reserve the dispatch of a Legate for an extreme crisis; see Béthune's *report to Louis XIII. of April 6, 1628, *Cod.* 7215, of the State Library, Vienna.

[4] See *Bull.*, XIII., 654 *seq. Cf.* *Avviso of April 12, 1628, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2815, *ibid.*

[6] See Kiewning, I., 37.

[7] The dispatch of Monti was announced to Philip IV. by a *Brief of April 15, 1628; a second *Brief states that Monti was at the same time to bear congratulations on the victories over the Protestants in the Netherlands and Germany. *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

was joined Giovan Francesco Sacchetti, for the Princes of Upper Italy.[1] Sacchetti betook himself at once to his post; Pallotto set out on April 22nd; Monti, until then nuncio at Naples, came to Rome on April 25th and set out for Madrid from there; Scappi left Lucerne on May 25th.[2]

By his action for peace Urban VIII. aimed not only at the re-establishment of tranquillity in Upper Italy, he also hoped to serve the cause of the Church and the true interests of Spain and the Emperor. If Philip IV.'s armed forces were engaged in Italy, the Dutch, those irreconcilable enemies both of Spain and the Catholic religion, were bound to feel encouraged to undertake fresh attacks in the Netherlands and in Spanish America. Should the Emperor become involved in the war it was certain that his old enemies would not miss so favourable an opportunity to snatch from him, in Germany, the fruits of his victories which had been so important for ecclesiastical restoration within the Empire.[3]

Whilst the nuncios entered upon their arduous task the Pope was careful to assist their mission of peace by scrupulously avoiding taking sides with any one of the contending parties, lest he should depart from the attitude of impartiality which his position as Head of the Church laid on him. But this did not prevent him from sharply condemning the brutal intervention of the Spaniards. Like the Venetians, he saw in Spain's action but one more attempt to render still heavier the burden

[1] See the *Briefs to Charles Emmanuel of Savoy of April 8, 1628, and to Cardinal Maurice of Savoy of April 10, 1628, *Epist.*, V., *loc. cit. Ibid.* the *Briefs to *Carolus, dux Mantuae*, to *Carol. Emanuel*, to *comes de Nassau*, etc., of April 10, 1628, concerning Scappi's mission. *Cf.* QUAZZA, *La guerra*, I., 216. With regard to Pallotto, see KIEWNING, I., 36 *seq.*

[2] Monti reached Madrid on June 17, 1628; see KIEWNING, I., lxv., 127. *Ibid.*, 42, note 3, for a fragment of Sacchetti's Instruction. The *credentials of May 26, 1628, for the Spanish nuntio "in gravi negotio", refer to the matter of Monti's mission. *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] These points of view are expounded in the **Instruttione* to Msgr. Bichi, nuncio at Naples, MS. in my possession.

of foreign domination which had so long crushed unhappy Italy. For all that he had no mind to repeat the adventure of Paul IV. by opposing armed resistance to Spanish domination. At the beginning of April he told Béthune that he had done his utmost for the preservation of peace and that the new nuncios would work in the same sense, but he could not declare war on Spain. He was not equal to so extreme a course, for the Spaniards were in a position to threaten his capital at any moment from Naples; he also lacked the necessary means, for the affair of the Valtellina had involved him in an expenditure of two millions in gold. Should France and Venice intervene, he would not lag behind any of the Powers in his efforts for justice and peace. Béthune, on the other hand, was of opinion that open intervention was necessary; the *raison d'État* demanded that if our neighbour takes up arms we must do the same. But these arguments did not impress the Pope. "Even if Your Majesty starts war," Béthune reported to Louis XIII., "it will only be possible to move the Pope in the same direction step by step, and as it were without his being aware of it." Even Barberini, who showed much more courage, Béthune wrote, was against war.[1]

How anxious the Pope was not to spoil the chances of his peaceful mediation is shown by his opposition to the dispatch by Nevers of an *obbedienza* embassy, not because he altogether refused to recognize the latter as Duke of Mantua,[2] but because he deemed such a step premature and dangerous, and one that might call forth protests both from the Emperor and the Savoyard. When the Marquis Strozzi nevertheless came to Rome as Nevers' *obbedienza* envoy, Urban VIII. refused to receive him in that capacity, declaring that he did not wish

[1] See Béthune's *letter to Louis XIII., Rome, April 6, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[2] In the first *Briefs to young Nevers and his wife (of January 5 and 15, 1628) in which Urban VIII. offers his congratulation on their marriage, they are only addressed as *princeps* and *principessa*; the *Brief to their father, January 29, 1628, exhorting him to peace, is addressed to *Carolus Gonzaga, dux Mantuae. Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

to forestall the Emperor's authority, and not only did he refuse to listen to Nevers' request for assistance with money and troops, but on the contrary, he earnestly besought him to come to terms with his feudal lord ; for this object he promised him his earnest support.[1]

Béthune again met with failure when he made fresh efforts to persuade the Pope to change his mind.[2] In the end Louis XIII. imagined he would obtain his end if he promised that after the fall of La Rochelle a French army would march into Upper Italy. This seemed all the more important to him because Venice would not dare to take a definite step without the Pope.[3] On May 25th Béthune was commanded to inform the Pope of the King's intention.[4] However, the communication failed to produce the desired effect though Béthune left nothing undone to convince the Pope of the necessity " of defending the liberty of Italy and the Holy See ". Once again Urban VIII. pointed out that he was defenceless against a Spanish attack coming from Naples. He further insisted that, notwithstanding his solicitude for the independence of Italy, he was likewise bound to take into consideration his position as Head of the Church. That position obliged him to seek a peaceful solution : only in a case of necessity could he declare war. With all his insistence Béthune succeeded in obtaining no more than a promise that the Pope would consider the affair for a few days. When on June 20th Béthune went to sound Cardinal Barberini, he was told that the Pope was still of the same opinion. Béthune had only with difficulty repressed his annoyance in presence of Urban VIII., but to the nephew he now spoke with extreme vehemence. If fear caused the Pope to show so little decision when it was question of his own

[1] See Siri, VI., 396 *seq.* *Cf.* Kiewning, I., lxiv ; Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 122 *seq.*, 125.

[2] *Cf.* Béthune's *reports to Louis XIII. of April 19, May 3 and 18, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[3] See Siri, VI., 415, 417. The arbitrariness of the Spaniards was the reason why Urban VIII. welcomed the rapprochement between Venice and France ; see Russo, 29.

[4] See Siri, VI., 403.

interests and those of Italy, then the only matters the King of France could in future discuss with him would be ecclesiastical questions and the bestowal of benefices. To Louis XIII. Béthune expressed his annoyance over Urban's refusal to join a Franco-Venetian league in the most opprobrious terms. More and more he got into his head the fixed notion that the Pope's conduct was inspired by his great timidity and his fear of the inevitable expenditure, sentiments which the Pontiff's brother encouraged.[1]

In Paris even bolder language was used by Richelieu towards the nuncio Bagno, for the Cardinal's words contained a direct threat that France would refuse obedience to the Pope if the Holy See were to become a willing tool of Spanish policy.[2] This threat also failed to impress Rome. Bagno was instructed to give Richelieu the same answer as that which Béthune had received in Rome. As for Richelieu's threat, Barberini's comment was that as one well acquainted with the history of his country, the French minister must surely know that even at a time when the Emperors enslaved the papacy, the French Church had remained loyal to the Vicar of Christ who strove

[1] See Béthune's *report of June 25, 1628, State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* also the *letter in cipher of the State Secretary to Bagno in the *Nunziat. di Francia*, 68, p. 177[b] *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Ang. Contarini shared Béthune's views ; see his *Relazione*, 283 *seq.* That Urban VIII.'s fears of danger threatening him from the direction of Naples were justified is shown by the care of the Spanish Government that this side of the States of the Church should remain unprotected. In the **Instruccion del Rey Felipe IV. al conde de Oñate embax. ord. en Roma*, dated July 26, 1628, we read concerning this point : "Y porque se ha tenido por de inconveniente considerable que los Papas en el estado de la Iglesia hayan fortificaciones en los confines de Naples, procurareys obviarlo y estorbarlo con mucha manera y destreza si se offreziere la ocasion." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] See the code *letter of Bagno, dated *Dal Campo sotto la Roccella*, 1628, June 17 (decif. July 10), *Nunziat. di Francia*, 18, p. 184 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

to fulfil as well as possible his duty as Father of the whole of Christendom.[1]

The Spaniards and the Emperor were even more annoyed than the French with the attitude of the Pope. For Cardinal Barberini this was a proof that Urban VIII. only worked for peace, for no honest mediator has ever succeeded in satisfying both parties in a dispute.[2]

At Madrid the proposals of Monti and the nuncio Pamfili were very coldly received. Philip IV.'s all powerful minister Olivares would hear neither of peace pourparlers nor of an armistice ; in the Pope's efforts for a compromise he saw only a desire to support French interests.[3] His King, he roughly told the nuncio, could not suffer himself to be coerced by the Pope into making peace, for he was not a child. The cause of all the trouble was the marriage dispensation with Maria Gonzaga which Urban VIII. had granted to the young Duke of Nevers. Never had Pope been so hostile towards Spain ; the upshot of it all would yet be a complete break with Rome.[4] Olivares was not the only one to think thus. At a sitting of the Spanish Council of State, Feria said that of all the Popes Urban was the one most hostile to the Catholic King and the most subservient to France. He denied the favours of which his predecessors had been so lavish and, under plea of ecclesiastical immunity, interfered with the rights of jurisdiction of

[1] **Al Nuntio (di Francia), messo in cifra* 12 *Luglio*, 1628, *ibid.*, 187b.

[2] See KIEWNING, I., 169.

[3] FR. DEGL'ALBICI writes in great detail of their negotiations, **Negotiato fatto nella corte di Spagna da Msgr. Monti, Cod.* 35, F. 25, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* also the *reports of Pamfili and Monti, in cipher, in the *Nunziat. di Spagna*, used by KIEWNING, I. and II.

[4] *" S'alterò il duca alle parole del Nuntio dicendo, che ben s'accorgeva che il Papa voleva indurre il suo Re alla pace con le sforzate, ma che non pensasse di caminare per questa strada, perch'egli non era un fanciullo. Doveva dall'altro canto pensare che la guerra era stata cagionata dalla dispensa del matrimonio, etc.," ALBICI, *Negotiato di Msgr. Monti, loc. cit.*

the crown. In view of the partiality which caused him to grant the marriage dispensation so secretly and so promptly justice could not be expected from him.[1]

If Pamfili and Monti were in a difficult position at Madrid, Pallotto was no less so at the imperial Court where Spanish pressure was almost unbearable. The suspicion that Urban VIII. was unreservedly on France's side was successfully fostered from that quarter. Pallotto did his best to clear up the situation, but Spanish underground activity always thwarted the establishment of a real understanding: the nuncio had never done rectifying distorted facts and deliberate falsehoods.[2] No matter what assurances he gave, Ferdinand II. clung to his belief that the Pope was his enemy. The imperial ministers invariably ascribed the worst possible motives to everyone of Urban VIII.'s measures, so much so that Pallotto described their distrust as positively insuperable.[3]

In June, 1628, the Duke of Alba, viceroy of Naples, requested permission for the passage through the States of the Church of 1,000 horse who were to support Gonzalez de Córdova. The Spanish ambassador, Oñate, made every effort to persuade Urban VIII. to give his consent. The Pope was exceedingly perplexed and submitted the matter to some theologians for examination. The latter realized the danger of war in case of a refusal and advised the granting of a passage, but the viceroy should be given to understand the difficult situation which such a concession was bound to create for the Holy See. When the Pope gave the required permission Béthune expressed his amazement that Spain should have asked permission for a passage which, after all, the Pope could not refuse, and he inferred that this formality was meant to create

[1] *"Qual Pontefice e stato più alieno dalle cose di V. Mtà del presente, qual più obligato per le sue grandezze alla corona di Francia? Qual più ritroso in concedere quelle grazie che tanto largamente hanno distribuite i suoi predecessori? Qual più turbatore della Vostra giurisdittione sotto il manto del mantenimento della libertà ecclesiastica?" *Ibid.*

[2] See KIEWNING, I., lxxvii.

[3] See KIEWNING, I., 83 *seq.*, 125, 131.

an opinion in France that the Pope sided with Spain.[1] But even so, the Spaniards were not satisfied; they wanted still more.

Now, as before, the French were anxious to win over the Pope to an anti-Spanish league and to this end they spared no effort. Nevertheless Béthune could only report that, in spite of the most pressing representations, the Pope held to his previous decision to lend Nevers diplomatic help but no military aid.[2] Urban was by no means blind to the danger that threatened from Spain's hegemony, or to the need of a counterpoise by means of France,[3] but he could not be induced to take up arms. However, Béthune did not yet despair of his ability gradually to coax the Pope into such a path. To this end he induced him to increase his armaments. Again and again he represented to the Pontiff how greatly his interests demanded that he should prevent any further increase of the power of the Spaniards who were just as capable of attacking the Papal States as they had but now been of assailing the Duke of Mantua.[4] Nevertheless on September 21st Béthune had to report that Nevers' representative had failed to obtain from his Holiness anything beyond kind words and good wishes for the Duke, and that the Venetian envoy had fared no better.[5]

Not long afterwards the imprudence and brutality of the Spaniards brought the French ambassador to within an ace of complete success. At the beginning of October Count Oñate, the Spanish ambassador, who never missed a chance

[1] *Ibid.*, 145.

[2] See Béthune's *report of July 13, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[3] See Béthune's *report of July 22, 1628, *ibid.*

[4] See Béthune's *reports to Louis XIII., dated Rome, August 24, 1628, and September 7, State Library, Vienna. On September 8, 1628, Barberini wrote to the French nuncio: "*Nell'udienza che presi hieri l'ambasciatore Bethune ritoccò il dichiararsi del Papa, ma n'hebbe le solite risposte." *Barb.* 8070, Vatican Library.

[5] See Béthune's *letter to Louis XIII., dated Rome, September 21, 1628, State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* also the *report of Nevers' representative, in Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 227.

to show his hostility to the Pope,[1] proved once again that Spanish Cæsaro-papalism was not dead when he opposed the canonical visitation of the Spanish national church in Rome, S. Giacomo. The consequence of this opposition was that the administrator of the church was excommunicated and the building laid under an interdict.[2] Urban VIII. found himself compelled to complain to Philip IV. and to Olivares of so great an injury to his most sacred rights.[3] Béthune, of course, sought to exploit the incident in the interests of France, and it was his good fortune that at that very moment he had been informed of the early fall of La Rochelle, an event most eagerly desired by the Pope.[4] In his audience of October 6th he began by skilfully turning the conversation to this longed-for prospect and at last he succeeded in getting Urban VIII. to declare that if Louis showed himself at Lyons with the avowed intention of defending Nevers and Italian liberty, he would mobilize about 12000 men who, in conjunction with the French army, would be able to oppose a successful resistance to the Spaniards. Béthune confesses, however, that he gathered from the Pope's words that he would only fulfil this promise after a previous summons to the Spaniards to desist from their undertaking. The report adds : " Until now the Holy Father has never gone so far. His dislike for the Spaniards grows daily. I told him that if he put off an open declaration there was reason to fear the fall of Casale. This the Pope would not admit since the place had plenty of provisions and defenders ; in any case the usurper could be compelled to surrender his prey should he be incautious enough to risk his Italian possessions. I interrupted with the remark that it was therefore imperative

[1] See ALBICI, **Negotiato di Msgr. Monti, loc. cit.*

[2] For this *cf.* Béthune's *report of October 5, 1628, *loc. cit.*, and the *letter of Barberini to the French nuncio, October 18, 1628, *loc. cit.* See also the *Discorso* in *Vat.* 7851, p. 349 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See the *Brief of October 4, 1628, *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See in App. No. 4, Vol. XXIX, Béthune's *report of September 23, 1628, Archives for Foreign Affairs, Paris.

that he himself should mobilize his troops at once. The Pope would not grant that such a measure was required inasmuch as everything was in such a state of readiness that in case of need the army could take the field at once." Béthune ends his report by expressly remarking that the fulfilment of the Pope's promise depended on the fall of La Rochelle.[1] In the course of the ensuing weeks the ambassador displayed a feverish activity in order to rouse the Pope to resentment against the Emperor also.[2] The task was easy for Pallotto's reports from Vienna were not encouraging. The latter's efforts were all in vain, though he himself, together with the papal nuncios in Upper Italy,[3] did his utmost to reconcile the disputants, a task in which he received valuable support from Ferdinand II.'s confessor, the Jesuit Lamormaini.[4] The Emperor could not make up his mind. On the one hand the Spaniards, to whom he was under obligation for some important services they had rendered him, pressed him to resist the pretension of Nevers; on the other, the Empress pleaded for the Duke, whilst, through Pallotto, the Pope reminded him of the claims of justice. Ferdinand II. took Pallotto's action in bad part, as he did his insistence on the disastrous results of a war for the interests of Catholicism, When a few French auxiliaries joined the Duke of Mantua, Eggenberg threatened to flood Italy with German troops. Thereupon Pallotto appealed to the Emperor's love of peace whilst at the same time pointing out that Nevers defended himself exclusively with the forces at his disposal in France.[5] This created bad blood in Vienna. No credence was given to

[1] See in App. No. 5, Vol. XXIX., Béthune's *report of October 7, 1628, *ibid.* *Cf.* App. No. 26, Vol. XXIX. for Siri.

[2] See Béthune's *letter to Louis XIII., dated Rome, October 19, and November 4, 1628, State Library, Vienna.

[3] Kiewning gives extracts from their reports in his introduction to his first volume. *Cf.* also Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 220 *seq.*

[4] See Kiewning, I., lxxviii. *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 139; Duhr, 112, 700 *seq.* (see there on p. 691 *seq.*, a full account of Lamormaini's life and character).

[5] See Kiewning, I., 158.

the assurance that the Pope would never join a hostile league against the Emperor. The short-sightedness of Nevers who expected everything from the intervention of the French and who would not listen to the proposals for a compromise made by the nuncios Sacchetti and Scappi, was ascribed at Vienna to the attitude of the Pope, who encouraged the Duke's resistance in order to undermine the Emperor's prestige in Italy.[1] How embittered the situation was in Vienna is shown by the fact that utterly impossible and ludicrous rumours of hostile plans which the Pope was alleged to have matured against the Emperor, found credence there. Cardinal Barberini explained that these mischievous rumours were invented by a party which wanted at all costs to drag the Emperor into war.[2]

The tension between the Pope and the Emperor was rendered still more acute by the fact that to the long-standing and unsolved disputes concerning the partition of the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Abbey of St. Maximinus of Trèves,[3] fresh ones were constantly being added. Ferdinand II. had complained already in May, 1627, that Urban VIII. had taken no notice of his request for the nomination of a German Cardinal, whereas he had given satisfaction to France and Spain. Nor would he allow that those two nominations were merely meant to fill vacancies created by death, since Cardinal Zollern was also dead and Klesl was failing. With regard to the Emperor's complaint of the denial of favours by the Holy See, Cardinal Barberini, on June 3rd, 1628, was able to point to a long list of concessions, some of them weighty ones, more particularly to the cession, in May, 1628, of part of the Church revenues in the Palatinate, in consequence of which 200,000 florins flowed into the imperial exchequer.[4] We are probably right if, in regard to the Emperor's demand for various ecclesiastical favours, we suspect the influence of Spain, for calm reflection would have shown that things were being asked

[1] See *ibid.*, lxxxiii–lxxxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, 170.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 198.

[4] See Kiewning, I., 71.

for which the Holy See could not grant, as, for instance, the demand for a dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a purely theological question the definition of which belonged to a Council, or failing that, to the Supreme Head of the Church. The same was true of the demand for the insertion of new Saints in the Calendar. Rome could justly ask what was to become of the ancient ecclesiastical liturgy if every Sovereign demanded the insertion in the Calendar of five new Saints.[1] A truly morbid sensitiveness is revealed by the fact that Vienna felt hurt because on the occasion of an indisposition of the Emperor, no public prayers were ordered in Rome. Cardinal Barberini's explanation that no such action had been taken on the occasion of the grave illness of the Kings of France and Spain in previous years, nor on other such occasions, and that this line of conduct could not be altered, all the more so as the Emperor's indisposition had not been dangerous, failed to give satisfaction, as did the assurance that care would be taken to ask the prayers of priests and nuns for His Majesty's well-being.[2]

Like the heads of a hydra, complications arose in ever increasing numbers. Thus the Pope was asked to erect new dioceses in Bohemia though such a step was impossible so long as no assured revenues were assigned to them. Not satisfied with the fact that Urban VIII. had done all that was in his power in order to enable the Archduke Leopold William, Ferdinand II.'s son, to secure the secular administration of the archdiocese of Magdeburg, the imperial Court wanted that Prince to be given the ecclesiastical administration as well, though he was a layman. To this the Holy See could not assent.[3]

In order to prevent the conflict from becoming still more acute if Nevers were placed under the ban of Empire, a threat contained in a *monitorium* dated August 17th, 1628, the Pope, in the first days of September, 1628, appealed to

[1] *Ibid.*, 196, 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, 284.

[3] *Ibid.*, cv. *seq.*, 316.

Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, on whose mediation he set high hopes.[1]

Whilst the Emperor threatened to pronounce the ban of Empire against Nevers, though he did not dare to carry out the menace, lack of money and Córdova's incapacity had paralysed the Spaniards' military operations, the chief element of which still was the siege of the stronghold of Casale. It was of decisive importance that the garrison which Nevers had thrown into the place should defend itself with the utmost tenacity and until the time when, at the end of October, La Rochelle, the old Huguenot bulwark, was at last forced to capitulate.[2] The fall of La Rochelle liberated the forces of France for intervention in Italy. The fears of the French nuncio, Bagno, were now realized.[3] A long war broke out for Richelieu, with characteristic determination, took up his old plan for the overthrow of the Habsburgs and the establishment of the hegemony of France over all Europe. By staking all his authority he at last overcame the opposition of the Queen-Mother, Cardinal de Bérulle and all those who were anxious for a good understanding with Madrid, to a war with Spain. Thereupon he induced Louis XIII. to cross the Alps in mid-winter and to open the campaign in Upper Italy. Diplomatic action went hand in hand with extensive military preparations so that the struggle for the succession of Mantua became a question of European importance.[4] All the enemies of the House of Habsburg—the Dutch, the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, Bethlen Gábor and the Turks, sensed their opportunity and in Italy itself all those who hated the Spanish hegemony raised their heads.[5] Meanwhile Richelieu successfully deluded the Spaniards with diplomatic pourparlers until

[1] See KLOPP, III., 2, 167; KIEWNING, I., 207, note 1; SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 192 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 113.

[3] *Cf.* **Cifra del Nuntio di Francia a Msgr. Monti*, s.d. (*decifr.* 2 *Novembre* 1628), *Barb.* 8070, Vatican Library.

[4] See KIEWNING, I., c. *seq.*; Mariéjol in LAVISSE, VI., 2, 291; MOMMSEN, 36 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, III., 1381, Vatican Library.

such time as the French army was ready to strike. In Italy itself he sought to unite in an anti-Spanish league Nevers, Venice and the Pope. At first Venice wished to make its accession dependent on what the Pope would do but ended by promising military aid to the Duke of Mantua so soon as the French expeditionary force should reach the Italian frontier.[1]

In order to win over the Pope for warlike action Richelieu had sent for the nuncio Bagno immediately after the fall of La Rochelle: "Monsignor," he said, "there is no time now to lose in Italy and the King is about to deal energetically with the situation in that country. Make haste to inform the Pope of this intention so that he may give us a secret assurance whether, when we shall have reached Montferrat and Venice comes to our assistance, he too will lend us the help of his troops as he has promised, so that we may draw up our plan of campaign accordingly. The Pope need not come out into the open; it will be enough if he lends assistance either with troops or with money only in case such help becomes necessary; but I must have a prompt and categorical answer." Bagno repeated that all that the Pope thought of was the preservation of his neutrality and all his armaments were for the purpose of protecting the States of the Church, hence it was not possible to give the desired categorical reply. "Write all the same," Richelieu replied: "we must have either Yes! or No! so that we may take our measures: the secret will be kept for it is to our interest that the Pope should only declare himself in case we need his help." Bagno wished to make further objections but the Cardinal cut short the audience.[2]

In December Béthune renewed his efforts to induce the Pope to abandon the neutrality which he had observed until then, but Urban VIII. would not commit himself beyond the

[1] See Kiewning, II., xxvii. *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Bagno of November 2, 1628, according to *Nicoletti, III., 1385 (*loc. cit.*) used first by Ranke (*Päpste*, II.[6], 357) where only Richelieu's question, but not Bagno's reply is given. In greater detail in Kiewning, I., 299, note 1, according to *Nunziat. di Francia*, 68, p. 250, Papal Secret Archives.

declaration that if France invaded Italy he would mobilize 10,000 men for the defence of the Papal States; if he had made more definite promises it was solely in order to induce the disputants to make peace. Nor would the Pope listen to Béthune's request that he should at least mobilize before the arrival of the French since as soon as that happened a struggle would begin which might prove dangerous to the Papal States also. When Cardinal Barberini reported this conversation to Bagno on December 15th, 1628, he praised the nuncio for his refusal of a categorical answer and instructed him to abide by that decision.[1]

Richelieu also endeavoured to win over the Pope by assuring him that his intentions in driving the Spaniards from the Duchy of Milan were entirely disinterested ones, so much so that as the price of his co-operation in the liberation of Italy he offered the Pontiff part of the Duchy for his nephew. In reply Bagno merely re-affirmed the Pope's resolve to remain neutral.[2] For all that Béthune was instructed to try again. Precisely in his capacity as Vicar of Christ, the ambassador explained in January, 1629, His Holiness was bound to prevent by force of arms the unjust oppression of Nevers, and French help was at hand.[3] Everybody expected the Pope to strike a blow for the freedom of Italy.[4] Louis XIII. was coming as another Charlemagne to deliver the Holy See from the oppression of the Spaniards. Though Béthune displayed all his eloquence he obtained little enough. Nor were his efforts greatly helped by the fact that, after the fall of La Rochelle, Louis XIII. tolerated the continuation of Calvinist worship, a proceeding against which the Spaniards raised loud protests in Rome.[5] Urban VIII. promised to mobilize 8000 foot and

[1] See App. No. VI, Vol. XXIX, for the *letter of Barberini to Bagno, December 15, 1628, Vatican Library.

[2] *Report of Bagno in code, dated Paris, December 28, 1628 (*decif. Jan.* 14, 1629), *Barb.* 8070, Vatican Library.

[3] *Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, January 6, 162· State Library, Vienna.

[4] *Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, January 12, 1629, *ibi t*

[5] See *Béthune's report of January 12, 1629, *ibid.*

100 horse who would never march against France, which was more than he could promise the Spaniards. "I have always told Your Majesty," Béthune reported to Paris, "that from the Pope one could only obtain a little at a time." Urban VIII. recalled his grave words to Monterey, the Spanish ambassador, in favour of Nevers and promised to speak more strongly once the French should have intervened. But Béthune remained unsatisfied.[1] On January 29th, 1629, he sent a somewhat subdued report of his most recent representations: "I failed to obtain a decision in accordance with Your Majesty's desires," he begins; "beyond good wishes I obtained nothing whatever." He then goes on to say how the Pope had stressed the fact that as Supreme Head of the Church he could not take sides for only thus could he bring about peace. Though the Paris nuncio, Bagno, had skilfully prepared the ground, all the arguments brought forward by Béthune failed to make an impression on Urban VIII. "To all I said the Pope replied that in view of the existing situation he could not bind himself in any way to join the league—but he would arm." Béthune sought to console his Sovereign by pointing out that armed intervention by the Popes had never been of any real use; its only advantage was the impression it made on public opinion; on the other hand Venice would certainly lend help to France.[2] Urban VIII.'s unwillingness to abandon his policy of reserve [3] was a bitter disappointment for Béthune, all the

[1] *Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, January 21, 1629, *ibid.*, where he remarks: "Il me faut nullement douter que son inclination et volonte ne soyent tres grandes pour V. Mte et qu'il ne lui desire tout heureux succes, mais comme il est tres craintif de son naturel et que ses etats son environnes des Espanols, il va retenu a en donner des effets."

[2] *"A tout cecy, Sire, le Pape me donna pour reponse finale qu'en l'estat que les choses estoient, il ne pouvait faire aucune declaration n'y entrer en ligue ou association." *Letter of Béthune to Louis XIII., January 29, 1629, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *letter of the Secretary of State to Bagno, January 29, 1629, in *Nicoletti, III., 1407 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Béthune's report to Louis XIII. of February 9 and 24, 1629, *loc. cit.*

more so as he still hoped to succeed[1] seeing that the Pope had made no secret of his profound displeasure at the violence of the Spaniards who had forced the Emperor's acquiescence, regardless of the claims of justice [2]; but there was no persuading him to enter into an anti-Spanish league or to join in the war.[3] At the end of January, in a letter to the French nuncio, Bagno, the Pope justified his action by expressly stating that his position differed from that of the other Italian Powers for he was not merely a secular Prince but the Head of the whole Church.[4]

Meanwhile Richelieu had arrived at the "Gateway of Italy". On February 18th, 1629, the French army under Louis XIII.'s command, marching through snow and ice, began the arduous crossing of Mont Genèvre, the pass of which was reached on

[1] See *Béthune's report to Louis XIII., December 17, 1628, *loc. cit.*

[2] Every prince ought really to support the cause of Nevers, Urban VIII. had said in the middle of December, 1628, in the presence of the Bavarian envoy Crivelli, for, sooner or later, any one of them might suffer the same injury as that which had been committed against the Duke of Mantua. At the same time the Pope complained that the Spaniards opposed Bavaria's mediation at the Court of the Emperor (see SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 195). Urban VIII., who was ever determined to attain a peaceful settlement of the question, had planned during the second half of December, to appeal to the Emperor's conscience on the subject of Nevers and was prepared to make use of the Carmelite Domenico di Gesù Maria, who had deserved well of the House of Habsburg by his share in the victory of Prague. If the Pope complained bitterly of the Spaniards at this time, he was not alone for they were hated throughout Rome as the cause of the ruin of Italy. A rumour was current there, that a league was being prepared against them (SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Cf.* the *Instruction of Barberini to Bagno, January 18, 1629, in RUSSO, 273 *seq.*

[4] See the *Instruction in cipher to Bagno of January 26, 1629, *Barb.* LXIX., 60, p. 4, Vatican Library, published in part in KIEWNING, II., 33, note 2.

March 1st.[1] Headquarters were established at Oulx, four miles from the fortified place of Susa. From there, on March 3rd, Richelieu replied to Béthune's report on the negative attitude of the Pope. The letter [2] betrays the Cardinal's annoyance at the news from Rome, though he did not give up hope of obtaining the desired end by means of further negotiations, for he was fully aware how important it was for the successful progress of his enterprise that the Pope should take part in it. To this end he forwarded a fresh plan for the league which better disguised his selfish design. The scope of the alliance was no longer exclusively the rescue of Nevers but the preservation of freedom and the restoration of tranquillity in Italy. Surely the Pope could no longer hesitate to join a league of this kind. To bring about this end Béthune was to display all the resources of his eloquence. He was to remind Urban VIII. of his previous declarations and point out that the league was a purely defensive one, and that as Head of the Church the Pope was bound in conscience and in honour to defend his neighbours against unjust oppression as well as to restore peace in Italy. "If the Pope refuses," the letter proceeds, "I shall hereafter make my plans without considering what he may say or wish." Richelieu then went on to expatiate on the auspicious opening of the campaign; the Alps were crossed, the army stood before Susa, everything had been admirably prepared. "Tell the Pope," we read, "that in four days from now I shall march into Piedmont with 27,000 men and that two other armies are ready in support."

The proud assurance expressed in this letter was justified by subsequent events. On March 6th the French troops were ordered to attack the strong place of Susa in consequence of the failure of negotiations with the Duke of Savoy for a free passage. The enterprise which, it was alleged, had been undertaken solely for the righteous cause of the Duke of Nevers, was inaugurated as if it were a crusade. In presence of the whole army Mass was celebrated and Louis XIII. and his

[1] See Fagniez, *P. Joseph et Richelieu*, I., 406 *seq.*; Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 320.

[2] *Lettres de Richelieu*, III., 238–245.

highest dignitaries received Holy Communion at the hand of Richelieu after an appeal to the soldiers and their leaders to follow their King "in the service of God and of righteousness".[1] The troops, led by their officers, threw themselves with typical French élan [2] upon the defences which were carried in the first rush. Thereupon the Duke of Savoy found himself under the necessity of bending before the approaching storm. On March 11th he pledged himself to grant to the French a free passage towards Montferrat, and in exchange for Trino he renounced Montferrat as well as his alliance with Spain. On March 18th the Spaniards were obliged to raise the siege of Casale.[3]

In order to lend force to the representations of Béthune who was beginning to despair of success,[4] Richelieu sought to influence the Pope through the nuncio Bagno who accompanied the King. If necessary, he told the nuncio, he would be content with secret assistance and a small armed force. To this proposal Bagno added the remark that a refusal by the Pope would almost infallibly lead to serious tension with the King and Richelieu. On March 22nd Richelieu renewed his proposals with even greater insistence and sought to win over the Pope with the suggestion that the league would serve the Pope's interests in the question of the devolution of Urbino.[5]

Notwithstanding the strongest pressure as well as every solicitation, Urban adhered to his principle that his position as Head of the Church made it impossible for him to join a league which, from a defensive alliance, might all too easily become

[1] *"In servitio di Dio e della giustitia," says ALBICI (*Negotiato di Msgr. Monti, loc. cit.*), in describing the scene.

[2] *"Con gran ferocia." ALBICI, *loc. cit.*

[3] See RICIOTTI, IV., 268 *seq.*; CARUTTI, 289 *seq.*; FAGNIEZ, I., 407 *seq.*; QUAZZA, *La guerra*, I., 321.

[4] See Béthune's *report of March 10, 1629, State Library, Vienna.

[5] See Bagno's reports of March 12 and 15, 1629, *Barb.* LXIX., 60, p. 28 and 31, Vatican Library, published for the greater part by KIEWNING, II., 146, note 2.

an offensive one. He could not take a step that would impede him in his duty as a peacemaker. In a letter of April 2nd to Bagno the Pope justified his conduct in detail. The Pontiff also mentioned how seriously the Papal States were threatened by Spain, not only from the direction of Naples and the Abruzzi, but likewise from Lombardy in the north. Against this danger the league offered no protection, especially as France was too far removed and Venice would have its hands full with the defence of its own territory. Moreover it was not seemly that as a member of the league, the Pope should be compelled to give his support to Venice in case that republic were attacked by the Emperor in consequence of its alliance with the Dutch and the Protestants. To all this must be added the danger that Spain might sequestrate the *annates* and refuse its obedience.[1]

Though Richelieu failed to persuade the Pope to join the league,[2] he succeeded in getting Venice to conclude, on April 8th, a six years' defensive alliance with France to which Nevers and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy also gave their adhesion.[3] The Cardinal achieved another important success when, notwithstanding the representations of the Pope who had repeatedly warned him against an understanding with England, and who, in the matter of the execution of the marriage settlement, had reminded him of what he owed to his own conscience,[4] he concluded peace with Protestant England by foregoing a literal execution of the articles agreed upon at the time of the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria, a concession in return for which England dropped the

[1] See the *Instruction to Bagno of April 2, 1629, *Barb.* LXIX., 60, p. 30, *loc. cit.*; a passage in KIEWNING, II., 146, note 2, and another in PIEPER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 473.

[2] See Béthune's *reports to Louis XIII. of April 22 and May 6, 1629, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also Béthune's letter of May 19, 1629, to Richelieu, a part of which is in *Lettres de Richelieu*, III., 330, note 3.

[3] See QUAZZA, *La guerra*, I., 335.

[4] For the Pope's warnings *cf.* the account by KIEWNING, I., 299, note 2, against RANKE (*Päpste*, III.[6], 158).

Huguenots.[1] Satisfied with the rapid and brilliant results of the campaign, Louis XIII. returned to France on April 18th in order to quell a Huguenot disturbance whilst Richelieu, with 16,000 troops, remained at Susa until the ratification of the treaties. On May 11th he too, together with his confidential adviser, Fr. Joseph, set out for France. In the south of that kingdom the war against the rebellious Huguenots, who were supported by Spain, had already begun.[2] In a Brief of April 29th, 1629, Urban VIII. praised Louis XIII.'s action against the Calvinists,[3] but in this matter also the Pope was to experience a grave disappointment,[4] for Richelieu who wished to concentrate all the forces of the realm for the struggle against the Habsburgs, granted to the defeated Calvinists the free exercise of their religion in the same way as he had done in the preceding year.

The oppressive domination of the Spaniards had called forth so universal and so profound a detestation of them that their punishment by the French gave the greatest satisfaction throughout the Peninsula ; in fact many people regarded the French as their liberators. Satisfaction was all the keener as the wrong done to Nevers was clear to all. This feeling was shared by Urban VIII.[5] and by his nuncios.[6] The fate of the restless Duke of Savoy the Pope considered as a just judgment upon a man in whom he saw the real cause of all the recent troubles.[7] The Curia hoped that the Spaniards would

[1] For the peace between France and England concluded at Susa on April 24, 1629, and the importance of this step, see Ranke, *Engl. Gesch.*, IV.[4], 223, VIII., 122 ; Brosch, VII., 137. *Cf.* also Federn, *Richelieu*, 117. [2] See Fagniez, I., 414.

[3] See **Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] By a new *Brief to August 12, 1629, Urban VIII. had again praised the efforts of France against the Huguenots. *Ibid.*

[5] See Béthune's *report to Louis XIII. of April 3, 1629, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* the report of Aytona in Günter, *Habsburger-Liga*, 37.

[7] See Ang. Contarini, *Relazione*, 292. Urban VIII. was not alone in this opinion. Béthune wrote on August 27, 1629, about the Savoyard prince, *"Et l'on dit qu'il est l'Hélène d'Italie, laquelle n'a este troublee depuis la paix de 1559 jusque a cette heure que par lui." State Library, Vienna.

now show a greater readiness for peace,[1] and Rome would have been glad if France, now that Casale was relieved, had likewise shown a more conciliatory disposition towards the Emperor.[2] In his zeal for the restoration of peace,[3] Urban VIII., through the intervention of Maximilian of Bavaria, had hoped to obtain at Vienna a solution favourable to Nevers. When the attempt failed his annoyance was very great. Already in January, 1629, he had dropped the remark that the pride of the House of Austria was such that it would not heed any Prince: but God would chastise it.[4]

The Pope's indignation at the hostile attitude towards Nevers of the cabinets of Vienna and Madrid [5] proved most useful to Richelieu in Rome where his peace with England was accepted in silence and his policy judged far too lightly. When Maximilian of Bavaria reported to Cardinal Barberini that France was giving financial assistance to Denmark, Urban VIII. refused to believe it; he declared the thing was impossible for various reasons and offered his services as before with a view to promoting an understanding between Bavaria and France. The Paris nuncio, Bagno, was doing all he could in the same sense. Like the Pope himself he too hoped that an alliance between France and Bavaria would induce Richelieu to break with the German Protestants! In this respect Bagno shared the delusions of Barberini who, in view of Richelieu's temporary friendliness towards the Holy See, was of opinion that one could trust him up to a point.[6]

[1] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 201; QUAZZA, *La guerra*, I., 359.

[2] See ANG. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 293.

[3] To this end a Jubilee was prescribed at the beginning of March; see *Avviso of March 7, 1629, Vatican Library. *Cf.* **Diarium P. Alaleonis, ibid.*

[4] See the report of Crivelli of January 27, 1629, in SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*, 199.

[5] The Pope's remarks on the matter were repeated at Madrid in a distorted version; see *NICOLETTI, III., 1380, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*, 200 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*; RUSSO, 35 *seq.*, 274 *seq.*

Urban VIII.'s opinion on the pride of the House of Austria seemed justified in view of the fact that two warlike undertakings were being simultaneously planned at the Emperor's court. There was question not only of forcing the Duke of Nevers to submit to the sequestration imposed by Ferdinand II., but an irruption of imperial troops into the territory of Venice was to take place at the same time. Nothing less than a real war of rapine was planned in order to conquer territory for the Austrian field-marshal Collalto and for Wallenstein.[1]

These bold designs having been crossed by Louis XIII.'s brilliant campaign, Ferdinand II. threw himself into the "Italian adventure", thereby challenging the most formidable of all his enemies.[2] In April, 1629, the Emperor who, according to the remark of a contemporary, seemed incapable of refusing anything to the Spaniards,[3] made the necessary preparations for seizing, with the utmost secrecy, the Swiss passes so as to secure for himself the gateways of Italy. On April 24th he explained to the Electors that this action was necessary for the preservation of the authority and jurisdiction of the Empire. The Elector of Mayence, together with John George of Saxony and Maximilian of Bavaria, refused to participate in so risky an enterprise.[4] However, notwithstanding every warning to the contrary, Ferdinand, whom the peace of Lübeck, concluded on May 29th, 1629, with Denmark, had freed from the burden of the German war, continued on his fatal path. In coming to this decision he was swayed, in addition to pressure by Spain and the obstinacy of Nevers, by the circumstance that the bitter hatred felt in Germany towards the undisciplined imperial soldiery rendered advisable the employment of those bands of mercenaries on Italian territory.[5]

At the end of May, 1629, the vanguard led by Count Mérode, followed by the main force under Collalto, seized the pass of

[1] See RITTER, *Wallenstein's Eroberungspläne gegen Venedig*, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XCIII., 47 *seq.*

[2] See RITTER, III., 440.

[3] PAPPUS, I., 46.

[4] See KLOPP, III., 1, 288.

[5] See GINDELY, *Wallenstein*, II., 207.

Santa Lucia, occupied Chur and from there pushed on through the pass of Sett as far as Chiavenna. The consternation of the Italian Powers at the occupation of the Grisons and the Valtellina by the imperial troops was immense, whilst Urban VIII.'s displeasure was still further increased when he was informed that among the imperial soldiery there were many Protestants. The Swiss nuncio also reported that these wild mercenaries openly declared their desire to sack Rome a second time. Similar threats by the Emperor's partisans were reported by the Venetian ambassador in Vienna [1] and the representative of the Duke of Mantua.[2] In this perilous situation Urban VIII. at last undertook in earnest such military preparations for the defence of the Papal States as France had been counselling for a long time in his own interest,[3] whilst he also entered into closer relations with the Duke of Bavaria and the Bavarian league. He still clung to the hope that Maximilian would succeed in restraining the Emperor from warlike measures against Nevers. When this hope vanished he prayed Maximilian to give the Papal army a tried leader in the person of Tilly. Though the Duke declined to comply with that request Urban VIII nevertheless continued to rely on his assistance more than ever. Cardinal Barberini expressed the opinion that the Pope loved the Wittelsbach Prince more than all the other Princes and that he desired to be always at one with him. Day by day it became more evident that he could not rely on the others and he now regretted that he had not previously given his support to the league.[4]

[1] See KIEWNING, II., 213, 214, note 1 ; SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 210. [2] See QUAZZA, *La guerra*, I., 391 *seq.*

[3] See KIEWNING, II., 242 ; QUAZZA, I., 366. At the end of June all subjects of foreign princes were taken away from the garrison of Castel S. Angelo which was to consist exclusively of subjects of the States of the Church (*Avviso of June 23, 1629, Vatican Library). From the beginning of July troops were enlisted and preparations carried forward in all frontier fortresses of the States of the Church (*Avviso of July 11, 1629, *ibid.*). [4] See SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*

When news arrived of the invasion of the Grisons, Urban VIII. suggested to the imperial envoy Savelli the idea of a conference in Rome at which he was prepared to play the rôle of mediator—though none but that. Only if the congress yielded no result should recourse be had to arms, and in view of the fact that for the time being the imperial troops stopped in the Valtellina, the project of a congress did not seem hopeless. On June 22nd, 1629, the nuncios of Vienna, Madrid, Lucerne and Paris were instructed to work in this sense on the Governments to which they were accredited.[1] The nuncio Pallotto exerted all his energy both by word of mouth and in writing in order to win over the Cabinet of Vienna for the idea of a conference, but its members refused all discussion until the French troops should have withdrawn from Italy. It was for the Pope to persuade them to do so, Eggenberg declared! In the fullness of his arrogance, and as if the Pope were no more than the chaplain of the Habsburgs, the all-powerful minister, in view of the position of his imperial master who greatly under-estimated the dangers with which he was threatened, declared his conviction that the tragedy which was then opening would end most happily with the Emperor's coronation, for which, seeing that the Popes did not like to perform such ceremonies in Rome, Urban VIII. would have to come to Bologna or Ferrara![2]

As a result of the military preparations which had been forced on the Pope by the threat of an invasion of Upper Italy by imperial troops, 7,000 infantry and 800 cavalry were on a war footing by the beginning of July. "I did not ask that these troops should be joined to those of Your Majesty," Béthune wrote on July 6th, "for further developments will come of their own accord."[3] Béthune did all he could to

[1] See KIEWNING, II., liv., 214, 221, 231. The *Brief to the Swiss nuncio, not mentioned here, is in *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the report of Pallotto of August 10, 1629, in KIEWNING, II., 286, 289. *Cf.* also the passage from *NICOLETTI, in RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 360.

[3] See *Béthune to Louis XIII., dated Rome, July 6, 1629, State Library, Vienna.

alarm Urban VIII. whose fear was lest, under various pretexts, the German mercenaries should invade the States of the Church from their Milanese base. He recalled the days of Clement VII. and the Sack of Rome which was still fresh in everybody's memory. The slow progress of the military preparations got on the nerves of Béthune who was continually pressing, though unsuccessfully, for a speeding up, so much so that towards the end of August he begged Louis XIII. to write to the Pope urging him to greater haste.[1] Urban VIII. armed slowly because, notwithstanding the cold reception which his proposal of a conference had met with in Vienna, he clung to the idea of such a gathering as long as possible.[2] However, all hope of a peaceable solution vanished when on September 18th, 1629, Ferdinand issued a proclamation announcing the advance of his troops into Italian territory. The document enumerated the reasons for the confiscation of Nevers' territory, commanded the vassals of Empire to conform with the orders of the imperial generals and forbade them to lend any support to the Duke of Mantua, under pain of being punished as rebels.[3]

The imperial army had been raised to 20,000 men. Collalto drew up a plan of campaign in conjunction with Spinola who had taken Córdova's place in Milan and who had brought with him two million thalers in cash. The Spanish army was to occupy the territory of Montferrat whilst the imperial troops advanced on Mantua. Some delay was caused by Collalto falling sick, but on his recovery the imperial troops, like a mountain torrent, poured themselves [4] all over the territory of Cremona and Mantua. The cowardly soldiers

[1] See *Béthune's letter of August 27, 1629, *ibid.*

[2] See Kiewning, II., lxv. *seq.*; Quazza, *La guerra*, I., 415 *seq.* The *credentials for Giulio Mazarin (who had been appointed to accompany the nuncio Scappi, instead of Sachetti) were addressed to Spinola and the Princes of Upper Italy, dated September 12, 1629, in *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Khevenhüller, XI., 644 *seq.*; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 133.

[4] See Pappus, I., 47.

of Nevers and those of Venice gave way all along the line. By the end of October the imperial troops stood beneath the walls of Mantua, but here their victorious advance came to a standstill owing to the fact of the city being surrounded on three sides by marshy lakes. In Montferrat also no decisive action had taken place because Spinola could not make up his mind to lay siege to Casale.[1]

The progress of the imperial troops had thrown Urban VIII. into the greatest consternation.[2] However unpromising the prospect must have seemed he nevertheless renewed his efforts for the restoration of peace and expressed his readiness to agree with any proposal that might lead to such a consummation.[3] Taking advantage of a letter of Philip IV., dated September 2nd, which arrived in Rome at the end of that month, he returned to his proposal of a conference. In his letter the King of Spain promised that if the Pope obtained the withdrawal of the French troops from Italy, he would do his best to secure the withdrawal of those of the Emperor.[4] The Pope held a consultation with Cardinals Barberini, Ginnasio, Pio, Lante, Capponi, Aldobrandini, Caetani, Zacchia, Gessi, Verospi and Ginetti, after which couriers were dispatched with fresh credentials and appropriate instructions for the nuncios in Madrid, Vienna and Paris. The Spanish nuncio was to draw Olivares' attention to the dangerous situation in the Netherlands where, in consequence of the employment of imperial troops in Italy, two places as important as Hertogenbush (Bois-le-Duc) and Wesel had fallen into the hands of the Dutch.

[1] See MURATORI, XI., 116 *seq.*; ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, II., 135 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Béthune's report of September 11, 1629, on his audience of September 7: "J'ai trouvé a mon arrivée Sa Sté avec un visage tant trouble comme ayant entendu des choses qui lui fussent peu agreables. J'eu promptement la preuve de cela, car ses premiers paroles furent: Nous sommese a la guerre." State Library, Vienna. *Cf.* QUAZZA, I., 427.

[3] *Cf.* QUAZZA, I., 427 *seq.*, 429.

[4] SIRI, VI., 730 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 732 *seq.*, for Urban VIII.'s answer. *Cf.* QUAZZA, I., 445, 504.

Pallotto was instructed to represent in Vienna what was to be feared from the Turks, the Danes and the Swedes. The gains which Eggenberg hoped for from the Italian campaign were most uncertain for in that country there were still many hard nuts to crack. The occupation of the Swiss passes was bound to irritate both the Swiss and the Italian Princes, whereas France's power had never been so strong as just then. In view of the injury which a war would certainly inflict on the Catholic religion the Emperor should listen rather to his confessor than to his worldly advisers since the matter was one that concerned his conscience.[1] For the purpose of influencing Ferdinand II. still further in this sense the Carmelite Domenico di Gesù Maria was sent on a special mission to Vienna.[2]

The injuries which threatened Catholicism from the outbreak of war were likewise emphasized in the Bull of October 22nd, 1629, in which the Pope proclaimed a universal jubilee in order to avert the disaster of war and its usual companions, plague and famine.[3] When the nuncios at last succeeded in inducing the Emperor and the King of Spain to appoint plenipotentiaries to negotiate an armistice, one of the outstanding diplomatists of the Curia, Giovanni Giacomo Panciroli, was dispatched to Upper Italy as nuncio extraordinary.[4] He was instructed to urge a peaceful settlement in Mantua and Milan and with the commanders of the imperial and the French troops. So as to

[1] See the important letter in cipher of Barberini to Pallotto of October 6, 1629, in KIEWNING, II., 345 *seq.*

[2] See the *Brief to Ferdinand II., of October 30, 1629, which says: "Arma lucis ad muniendam religionem deferet Dominicus a Iesu Maria discalceatus." *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* QUAZZA, *La guerra*, II., 19 *seq.*

[3] *Bull.* XIV., 113 *seq.*

[4] A *Brief for Panciroli to *Carolus dux Mantuae* was drawn up as early as October 20, 1629 (*Epist.*, VII., *loc. cit.*). Further *confirmation of November 1 and the *Instruction of November 7, 1629, are in *Nunziat. di Paci*, 4 and 5; see KIEWNING, II., 372, note 4. *Cf.* also ANG. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 388; QUAZZA, I., 499; MÜLLER, *Friedensvermittlungen*, 137 *seq.*; *report of Béthune of November 14, 1629, State Library, Vienna.

leave nothing undone Urban VIII. further resolved to dispatch on a mission of peace Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the brother of his Secretary of State. The nomination took place on November 19th. Besides Panciroli, the youthful but highly gifted Giulio Mazarin, who until then had acted as secretary to Sacchetti in Lombardy, was also added to the personnel of the legation. Barberini's mission was not confined to Italy but included the Emperor and the other Princes.[1] Together with Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Carlo Barberini was sent to take the command of the Papal troops which were to defend the frontier of Mantua. By the middle of November these forces had been raised to a total of 10,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry.[2] The Spaniards showed great resentment at these precautionary measures. Cardinal Borgia and Philip IV.'s ambassador in Rome assured the Pope that he had nothing to fear from their king, though at the very same time the ambassador sought to rouse the resentment of the Cardinals against Urban VIII. who had made them contribute to the cost of the military preparations.[3] In these preparations the representatives of France and Venice saw the fulfilment of their keenest wishes, though in view of previous experiences, they did not delude themselves into believing that Urban VIII. had any intention to take part in the war. They realized that

[1] See **Acta consist*, Papal Secret Archives, and the *report of Béthune of November 14, 1629, State Library, Vienna. For A. Barberini's mission see also the Instruction in cipher to Pallotto of November 3, 1629, in KIEWNING, II., 373. Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna were informed by *Briefs of November 1, 1629 (Papal Secret Archives). SIRI's remark (VII., 79) that the French had taken Cardinal A. Barberini to be wholly incapable on account of his youth, gave rise to the same opinion in the minds of later writers; M. MIAGLIA (*La legazione del card. A. Barberini nella guerra del Monferrato*, Roma, 1902) agrees with Siri, as does also QUAZZA, II., 49.

[2] See Béthune's *letter to Louis XIII., dated Rome, November 14, 1629, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* RUSSO, 33.

[3] See both ANG. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 289, and the *reports of Béthune of December 22, 1629, and January 12, 1630, *loc. cit.*

all he meant to do was to preserve his neutrality and to work for peace.[1]

In the same consistory of November 19th, 1629, Urban VIII. took an important step by which he hoped to put the warring parties into a more conciliatory mood. This was the bestowal of the purple on three of the Emperor's candidates, namely, the Archbishop of Gran, Peter Pázmány, Theodor Trivulzio and the nuncio of Vienna, Pallotto. The latter nomination was all the more remarkable as until then no German nuncio had ever received such a distinction. The red hat was at the same time bestowed on the Paris nuncio, Bagno, and on Richelieu's brother, Alphonse Louis, Archbishop of Lyons.[2]

Whilst Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who had left Rome on November 12th,[3] added his efforts to those of Panciroli and Mazarin, with a view to the conclusion of an armistice,[4] Richelieu led the Pope to hope for the withdrawal of the French troops,[5] though in reality the leader of France's policy cherished very different plans. He had successfully crushed the Huguenot rising in the South, but this time also he had granted them freedom of religion (by the edict of Nîmes,

[1] See Ang. Contarini, *Relazione*, 299, and Béthune's *reports to Louis XIII., dated Rome, February 2 and 3, 1630 *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Quazza, I., 499.

[2] For the others named at that time, see XXIX., Ch. 2.

[3] The mission of Barberini and the publication of a Jubilee (see above, p. 240) were announced by a *Brief of November 22 to the Duke of Alcalá, Viceroy of Naples, by one of November 24 to the Emperor, the King of Spain and many other Princes, as well as to Venice (*Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* Russo, 280, *"November 11, 1629: Carolus Barberinus capit. general. praestitit iuramentum et recepit baculum. 12 Nov.: Card. Antonius et eius pater Carolus discesserunt Roma propter rumorem belli et discordias principum." **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* F. Amadei, in Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 296, 305 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*, 316 *seq.*

[5] See the *Brief to Richelieu of January 19, 1630, *Epist.*, VII., *loc. cit.*

June 28th, 1629),[1] for he wished to unite all the forces of France and to leave no malcontents in his rear during the fresh campaign in Italy which he was meditating. For this undertaking he raised an army of 20,000 men. This time also he was concerned neither with the fate of Nevers nor the security of Venice ; all he thought of was the strengthening of French power in Italy.[2] How far-sighted, but also how unscrupulous his policy was, appears from the fact that all the time he was doing his best to undermine the loyalty of the German Princes and to form a vast anti-imperial coalition which was to include Holland, England, Venice and Sweden.[3]

Far more astute than the imperial statesmen who, even in 1629, treated the Pope in arrogant fashion and even advocated an attack on the Pontifical States,[4] Richelieu had sought to put Urban VIII. under obligation to him [5] when on December 7th, 1629, he compelled Edmund Richer, the most extreme and indefatigable protagonist of the Gallican principles, to publish an unconditional recantation of his opinions.[6]

With his Sovereign the Cardinal had by then reached the peak of his power. Louis XIII. who, by letters patent dated November 21st, had granted him the title of prime minister, named him on the 24th his lieutenant-general with the army of Italy. Richelieu was given such vast powers both for peace and war that it was said at Court that his Majesty had kept nothing for himself except the ancient privilege of the rulers of France, that of healing goitre.

[1] *Cf.* H. DE LA GARDE, *Le duc de Rohan et les protestants sous Louis XIII.*, Paris, 1884.

[2] See ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, II., 147 *seq.*

[3] See RITTER, III., 440 *seq.*

[4] See KIEWNING, II., lxxiv. *seq.*, lxxvi.

[5] *" Per obligar il Papa," says *NICOLETTI (III., 932, Vatican Library).

[6] See besides REUSCH, *Index*, II., 359, LASSBERG, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X.[2], 1190, and *NICOLETTI, III., 922 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *Brief to Richelieu of January 19, 1630, Papal Secret Archives.

On December 29th, 1629, Richelieu left Paris with his trusted Fr. Joseph. On one side of his carriage rode the Duke of Montmorency, on the other Marshals Schomberg and Bassompierre.[1] On his way to Italy the Cardinal passed through Lyons, Grenoble and Embrun. He was not bent on war at any cost but he was resolved to dictate peace on the basis of the strength of his army; hence the attempts at mediation by the papal envoys Mazarin, Panciroli and the nuncio of Turin proved in vain.[2]

A most equivocal attitude was likewise adopted by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. In his memoirs Richelieu calls him a cunning fox, but the truth is that in the Cardinal the Duke had found his master. Richelieu was fully aware that the negotiations conducted by the "doorkeeper of the Alps"[3] were only intended to delay the advance of the French army until he should be strong enough to resist them by force. When the discussions with the Prince of Piedmont, which took place between March 4th and 8th at Bussolino, two hours' march beyond Susa, yielded no satisfactory result,[4] Richelieu, instead of advancing on Casale, decided to use force against the Savoyard who might have barred his retreat. He concentrated his army in the valley of the Doria Riparia and on March 13th he moved it against the Duke of Savoy whose 15,000 men were drawn up between Avigliana and Rivoli. The Cardinal rode at the head of his troops, cuirass on back and pistols in holster. The Doria was crossed during the night of March 17th to 18th, whilst a storm of rain raged with such fierceness that the infuriated soldiers cursed the Cardinal. However, the undertaking was a complete success. Previous to the advance of the French the Duke of Savoy had withdrawn from Rivoli to Turin and had openly made common cause with

[1] See Siri, VI., 800.

[2] *Cf.* Siri, VII., 15 *seq.*; *Nicoletti, III., 875 *seq.*, Vatican Library. See also Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 150; Klopp, III., 1, 392; Cousin, *La jeunesse de Mazarin*, 316 *seq.*; Quazza, II., 25 *seq.*, 31 *seq.*

[3] See Capriata, 719.

[4] *Cf.* Khevenhüller, XI., 1373 *seq.*; Capriata, 718 *seq.*

the Spaniards and the imperialists.[1] The position of the French was a difficult one. To throw troops without provisions into Casale would only have worsened conditions in the town. To stay where they were was dangerous for several reasons and an attack on Turin would have been a desperate venture. In these circumstances Richelieu, who was no less eminent as a strategist than as a statesmen, decided on a bold stroke. Swinging his forces round, he advanced in a southward direction along the front of the army of Savoy, against the inadequately defended town of Pinerolo which dominated the road from Mont Genèvre. By the end of March Pinerolo was forced to capitulate.[2] Everyone was amazed when they saw one "who had come to protect the oppressed now himself engaged in oppressing an ally".[3]

With the Piedmontese passes in his hands and the certainty that Casale would be able to hold out for a while, Richelieu was in a position to wait for the next move by his opponents. The latter could not agree. Spinola, as Khevenhüller puts it, had all sorts of petty quarrels with Collalto because the former wanted to command the imperial troops also.[4] The successes of the French seemed to dispose their opponents to agree to a compromise. In view of Panciroli's ill success, Barberini himself took up the affair. He left Bologna on March 4th, 1630.[5] A preliminary meeting at Alessandria with Spinola and Collalto, at which Panciroli and Mazarin were also present,[6] gave him fresh hope. He then proceeded to Rivoli, but on arriving

[1] See Capriata, 723; Quazza, II., 53 *seq.*

[2] See Capriata, 223 *seq.*; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 153 *seq.*; Quazza, II., 53

[3] See Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 360, after the letter of the Legate of April 5, 1630, in *Nicoletti, Vatican Library.

[4] See Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, II., 155.

[5] Nicoletti, III., 1525, *loc. cit.*

[6] March 12, 1630; see *Nicoletti, III, 1531 *seq.* (*loc. cit.*) where the *letter of March 16, of the Legate to Card. Barberini is quoted. *Ibid.*, 1545, the *letter of Cardinal Barberini of March 22: "N.S. ha benedetto e lodato la prudenza e lo spirito con che V.S.I. ha promosso il negozio della pace," etc., Vatican Library.

there he found the Duke of Savoy in a very angry mood. The Duke complained bitterly of Richelieu and begged them to defend his interests. Meanwhile the fortress of Pinerolo had fallen, with the consequence that Richelieu would not think of surrendering any of the advantages he had gained. Cardinal Barberini nevertheless paid him a visit and Richelieu honoured the Pope's representative by going two miles to meet him. Fresh negotiations began at once in presence of Panciroli and Mazarin as well as the Venetian envoy and Marshal Créqui, but they failed owing to Charles Emmanuel's obstinate insistence on the surrender of Pinerolo. On that point Richelieu remained inflexible so that Cardinal Barberini was forced to return to Turin without having achieved anything. At the beginning of April Panciroli and Mazarin made yet another fruitless appeal to Richelieu. The Cardinal angrily told Mazarin that he was amazed that he should be asked to give up Pinerolo ; he had expected, on the contrary, that the representatives of the Pope and the Italian Princes would beg of him not to release his hold on it, for the tranquillity of Italy could only be secured from attack by either Spain or Savoy if that fortress remained in the hands of the King of France.[1] Nor would Richelieu agree to a meeting with Spinola which Panciroli and Mazarin proposed with a view to facilitating a compromise. A further effort by the Legate, who had returned to Pinerolo for that purpose, was equally unsuccessful. Only now did Barberini give up all hope ; but in order that some papal diplomatists might always be at hand in case of any fresh development, he left

[1] *"Ma prima che il Mazzarino giungesse a Camargliola, tornò di nuovo a Richeliù per ritentare il punto di Pinarolo, di che quasi commosso Richeliù svelatamente dissele di restare molto ammirato che gli si facesse istanza della restitutione di quella piazza e specialmente stimava che gli dovesse esser dissuasa dal Legato e da ogni altro ministro del Papa e da tutti i principi italiani, dipendendo la sicurezza della provincia dal mantenersi in mano del re di Francia di quella fortezza, senza la quale gli Spanuoli e'l duca di Savoia, quando erano disgustati co'Francesi, havrebbono potuto turbarla." *Nicoletti, III., 1584, *loc. cit.*

Panciroli and Mazarin behind whilst he himself returned to Bologna on April 21st.[1] From there he sent a detailed account of his fruitless negotiations to Rome. Urban VIII. nevertheless wished the discussions to go on.[2]

In his annals of Ferdinand II. Khevenhüller justly remarks that everything failed because Collalto hoped for fresh military successes whilst Nevers looked for French help.[3] It was Richelieu's good fortune that his opponents Spinola, Collalto and the Duke of Savoy could not agree ; consequently he had little ground to fear an attack on his strong position. So he entrusted the supreme command to Marshals Schomberg and La Force, and on May 2nd returned to France where internal troubles demanded his presence.[4] On the 14th of the same month, to the great displeasure of the Pope who could only think of peace,[5] Louis XIII., at the head of an army of 14,000 men, invaded Savoy which he rapidly subdued, with the sole exception of the fortress of Montmelian. In July yet another French army appeared on the scene which robbed Charles Emmanuel of the town of Saluzzo. As for Charles of Nevers, the French no longer gave him a thought.

The Duchy of Mantua had suffered much whilst the storm of war raged in Savoy. The plague, which had broken out during the winter months in the Duchy and in the whole of Upper Italy, spread even more rapidly as the warm season approached.[6] When at the end of May, near Villabuona, Venice's land forces suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the imperial troops, the fate of Mantua was sealed. The French only thought of strengthening their position in Savoy and there they stayed ; hence the Duke of Nevers would have been fully justified had he come to terms with Collalto.[7]

[1] See MIAGLIA, *loc. cit.*, 29.

[2] *Cf.* the *Brief to Card. Ant. Barberini of May 11, 1630, *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 792.

[4] See QUAZZA, II., 73.

[5] See SIRI, VII., 79 *seq.* ; ANG. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 293. *Cf. Lett. de Richelieu*, III., 669, 677 *seq.*

[6] See QUAZZA, II., 82.

[7] See CAPRIATA, 752 *seq.*, 754 *seq.* ; ZWIEDENECK-SÜDENHORST, II., 155 *seq.*, 166, 331 ; BÜHRING, 5 *seq.*

Had he done so he would have spared his capital, which had remained most loyal to him notwithstanding the trials of a prolonged siege followed by famine and pestilence, the terrible fate which now overwhelmed it. In the night of July 17–18th, 1630, the imperial troops succeeded in effecting an entry into Mantua. There now followed for one of the most magnificent capitals of the Renaissance period three days of terror, looting and destruction on the part of a soldiery burning with the lust of plunder. The foulest outrages were committed, whilst the imperial generals, first among them being Aldringen, laid their hands on the valuables and the works of art of the ducal palace. The total value of the booty was reckoned at 18,000,000 scudi. The Duke and his son who, together with the commander of the French garrison and the Princess Maria, had sought refuge in the citadel, were forced by a conflagration to throw themselves on the generosity of the imperial commander. The two princes were taken to Ariano in the territory of Ferrara where the Princess Maria was subsequently allowed to join them.[1]

The conquest of Mantua brought the fall of Casale nearer and with it the decision of the Italian war in favour of Ferdinand II. and Philip IV. The power of the Emperor seemed greater than ever. But these appearances were deceptive; Ferdinand's position had never been so perilous as it was at that moment.

(2)

No less fatal than this intervention in the struggle for the succession of Mantua was another measure decided upon by

[1] See Capriata, 759 *seq.*; Siri, VII., 139 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*; Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst, II., 169 *seq.*, 212 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, and in the *Zeitschr. für allg. Gesch.*, II., 711 *seq.* (in both places the fall of Mantua is wrongly placed in June!) and especially Quazza, *La guerra*, II., 124–141, who shows against *Romanin* (VII., 301 *seq.*), that the chief blame for the fall of the town was due to Venice; *cf.*, *ibid.*, p. 146 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*, for an account of the dispersal of the looted works of art and the atrocities of the soldiery. *Cf.* also Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, Milan, 1913, 78 *seq.*

the Emperor though only after prolonged hesitation.[1] On March 6th, 1629, he signed the so-called "Edict of Restitution" in the form of an authentic interpretation of the religious peace of Augsburg, some of the clauses of which were very obscure.

In the introductory section of the edict with which both Ferdinand II. and the League hoped to reap the fruit of their victories, the Emperor is at pains to prove that he was not only materially but formally authorized and even obliged to take such a step. He points out how the Protestants had illegally seized both mediate and immediate ecclesiastical property and how by their obstinacy they had made impossible an amicable settlement of the conflicts which had arisen in consequence, and in the end they had criminally had recourse to arms. However, God had punished their arrogance and granted victory to a just cause. Then follows a demonstration to the effect that both the Catholic and the Protestant Estates of Empire had repeatedly demanded from the Emperor a judgment on the so-called "Grievances of Empire". In consequence the following points were enforced: first, restoration of the abbeys and monasteries and other Church property not immediately subject to the Empire which at the time of the treaty of Passau, or subsequently, were in the possession of the Catholics from whom they had been taken by violence, against the plain text of the religious peace. Secondly, the edict declares illegal and invalid the ownership of abbeys and dioceses immediately subject to the Empire which the Protestants had seized in violation of the ecclesiastical reservation (*Reservatum ecclesiasticum*) of the peace of Augsburg, hence their Protestant occupants were entitled to neither seat nor vote in the Diet of Empire, nor could either regalia or fiefs be allocated to them. Thirdly, the so-called right of reform, that is, the execution of the axiom *cujus regio ejus religio* belonged to the Catholic Estates in exactly the same way as to the Protestant ones, inasmuch as Ferdinand II.'s declaration in an opposite sense was not contained in the religious peace treaty and had never been communicated

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 191 *seq.*

to the tribunal of the imperial Camera. Henceforth that tribunal would give its decisions in accordance with these principles and in notorious cases the Emperor himself would see to it that they were carried into effect. Special commissaries were to carry the edict into effect in each circle and in case of need they were empowered to demand the aid of the military. Lastly, only Catholics and the followers of the unaltered Confession of Augsburg of the year 1530 were to benefit by the religious peace and none of the other "sects" would be tolerated.[1]

Though according to the letter of the law the edict of restitution could not be attacked,[2] it seems none the less extremely questionable whether from a political and practical point of view it was prudent to embark on so risky an undertaking. Nearly three quarters of a century, viz. seventy-four years, had elapsed since the conclusion of the religious peace. Was it possible to ignore all that had happened during so long a period and to pronounce it null and void, as if it had never taken place at all? The Princes had become used to their new possessions and had quite forgotten that they had been unjustly acquired. Now they were suddenly to give up everything! No less than two very wealthy archdioceses (Magdeburg and Bremen), and twelve dioceses (Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus and Kamin), which the Protestants had illegally acquired one after another,

[1] See Khevenhüller, XI., 438 *seq.*; Tupetz, 338 *seq.*

[2] Among contemporary Protestants, the opinion of Kaspar von Schönberg, President of the Privy Council at Dresden, was as follows: "I possess all the acts and documents which were issued in 1555 on the conclusion of the "religious peace" and I consider the Imperial edict consistent with justice and rectitude" (in Spittler, *Hannover*, II., fasc. 90). Among more recent judgments, see especially the opinion of K. A. Menzel, VII., 182 *seq.*; Döllinger, *Kirchengesch.*, II., 2, 478; Mailath, III., 165, 169; Koch, *Ferdinand*, III., vol. 1, xv.; Hurter, X., 27, 53 *seq.*; Klopp, III., 1, 203 *seq.*; Duhr, II., 1, 460, 463; Baur, I., 123; Spindler, in *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, 1915, 20.

were to be restored simultaneously. The number of confiscated collegiate churches, abbeys, monasteries and churches exceeded 500. To this must be added that the Calvinists, according to the letter of the treaty, were expressly excluded from its benefits, hence there was scarcely a princely house, scarcely a town, which was not very hard hit by an edict the effect of which, as regards property rights, might be compared to that of an earthquake.[1] And since the edict expressly allowed the application of the right of reform in the territories which the Protestants were ordered to restore, the question of ownership also became one of religion for a large section of the Protestant population.[2] Small wonder then that even in those Protestant States which had remained loyal to the Emperor, Ferdinand II.'s edict gave rise to a sullen resentment which was skilfully exploited by France.[3] A few far-sighted persons had foreseen these consequences.

In December, 1628, Count Collalto drew the Emperor's attention to the risk lest his action should impart to the war the character of a religious struggle.[4] Among the Catholic Estates, though they were convinced of the legality of the edict, "many considered it inadvisable to bring about restitution by force, because they foresaw that this would embitter many minds in the various Estates and occasion all manner of complications and disturbances throughout the Empire".[5] The risk of war was still further increased by the fact that the Emperor's position as a whole was no longer as favourable as it had been at the end of 1627. Among his old enemies the French were more active than ever, and they were now being joined by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who already in the autumn of 1628 had decided to attack Germany.[6] The Elector of Saxony, John George, an ever loyal follower

[1] See MAILATH, *loc. cit.*; TUPETZ, 395 *seq.*; HUBER, V., 354.

[2] See WITTICH, *Magdeburg*, I., 326; DUHR, II., 1, 462.

[3] See TUPETZ, 392 *seq.*; JANSSEN, *Frankreichs Rheingelüste*, Frankfort, 1851, 47.

[4] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 184.

[5] *Ibid.*, 437.

[6] See DROYSEN, II., 3 *seq.*; CRONHOLM, I., 74 *seq.*

of the Emperor, had drawn the latter's attention to the external menace as soon as the edict had been published.[1]

It was surely a grave political blunder that in this decisive hour the Catholics did not preserve the close unity which the common interest demanded, for thus their military preponderance, from which alone they could hope for a successful execution of the edict, was bound to be lessened.[2] Causes of discontent were plentiful in view of Ferdinand II.'s Italian policy, which was dictated by Spain, and the conduct of Wallenstein, his generalissimo. The Duke of Friedland, who was in point of fact the real master of Germany, allowed his rough soldiery to commit every kind of oppression and violence, and since Wallenstein's despotism often encroached on the rights of the territorial lords, discontent grew to an alarming extent even in the States that were loyal to the Emperor. The most disgruntled were the members of the League who thought their loyal support of the Emperor would be acknowledged; instead they were treated like enemies by Wallenstein in whose army there were more Protestants than Catholics.[3] For all that the common interest should have caused the Leaguists to repress their hatred of Wallenstein and their distrust of the Emperor, as at first there was a lack, on the Protestant side, of the necessary cohesion to render the edict of restitution ineffective. Everyone thought of himself alone in an effort to save as much as he could, leaving everybody else to do the best for himself.[4]

In these circumstances it was a piece of great good fortune for the Protestants that the unity among Catholics which the application of the edict imperatively demanded, became increasingly jeopardized. Acute dissensions broke out early concerning the use of the monasteries and the benefices which the Protestants had seized by force and which they were being compelled to surrender. As head of the League,

[1] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 456.

[2] See SPINDLER, *loc. cit.*, 21.

[3] *Cf.* HUBER, V., 335 *seq.*, 339 *seq.* For the Protestant character of Wallenstein's army see GINDELY, *Wallenstein*, II., 311 *seq.*

[4] See GÜNTER, *Restitutionsedikt*, 53.

Maximilian of Bavaria protested against the appropriation by the Emperor of the bishoprics of Lower Saxony since Tilly had won these with the forces of the League. Whereas the main concern should have been to restore the Catholic Church, questions of property and political power began to claim first place in Leaguist circles. Thus passions were roused to such a degree that Maximilian's confessor, the Jesuit Vervaux, gave it as his opinion that conduct such as this was bound to provoke the anger of God and to defeat the purpose of the edict.[1] The climax was reached when a dispute broke out as to who was to have the disposal of the restored Church property, the Emperor or the Pope.[2]

In their eagerness to pronounce in favour of the Emperor, the statesmen of Vienna had done their best to keep the Pope out of so important a matter and one in which he obviously had a right to be heard.[3] They submitted the draft of the edict to the Catholic Electors but not to Urban VIII., and to the Viennese nuncio's great displeasure the Pope was not so much as mentioned in the whole document. Worse was to follow, for in the selection of the commissaries who were to carry out the edict, the Holy See was completely left out—the Emperor wished to settle everything himself.[4]

Quite apart from the existing tension between Vienna and Rome in consequence of the Emperor's Italian policy, it was not to be wondered at that as a result of such encroachments of the secular power on the ecclesiastical domain,[5] the Curia should have observed an attitude of great reserve towards

[1] See ADLZREITER (= *Vervaux*), *Annales boicae gentis*, III., 202.

[2] See DUHR, II., 2, 157. *Cf.* KLOPP, III., 1, 417 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., X., 636 *seq.*; *Sitzungsber. der Münchner Akad.*, Hist., Kl., 1880, 361.

[3] Already in the *Brief of February 6, 1627, the Pope told the Emperor, after praising his zeal for the restitution of Church property: "Volumus tamen grave negotium nostro nomine tecum agi cum ven. fratre episcopo Aversano, Nuntio apostolico." State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See TUPETZ, 443; KIEWNING, I., cvi.

[5] See NEGRI, *Urbano VIII.*, 179.

the edict of restitution. Though Pallotto lent his support to the wishes of the imperial court that the publication of the edict should be celebrated with public manifestations of joy, processions, and so forth, such as had marked the fall of La Rochelle, Rome would not listen to the suggestion. The Pope confined himself to the dispatch of a Brief in which he thanked the Emperor.[1] He also made an appreciative remark about it in the Consistory.[2] But this attitude of Urban VIII. is no proof of partisanship against the Habsburgs, for when the Spaniards took the important fortress of Breda, the event was celebrated in Rome with the public demonstrations of joy which had marked the fall of La Rochelle.[3]

Cardinal Barberini justified the reserve of the Holy See by explaining that it was necessary to wait till the edict had been carried into effect and that the Pope had never recognized the Treaty of Passau on which the whole of this measure was based. In addition to this the Holy See once more rejected the demand previously made that the Emperor should have the right to name the first occupants of all the benefices and bishoprics which would be recovered from the Protestants.[4] Urban VIII. was likewise dissatisfied with the Emperor's choice of commissaries ; they did not seem to him sufficiently devoted to the interests of the Church. Hence he demanded that their places should be taken by the Bishops of the Empire. This was also the wish of the Leaguists, whilst the imperial Court Council was wholly opposed to it. The Bishops were strictly forbidden to have recourse to Rome in the matter of the cession of the monasteries and the nuncio was told that the affair was no concern of his, nay, it was laid down as a principle that Kings and Princes were only bound to obey the Pope's decisions in matters of faith, but that in questions

[1] The text of the document dated May 5, 1629, in KIEWNING, II., 172 *seq.*, who has overlooked the fact that the Brief had already been published by GINZEL (*Legatio Carafae*, 193 *seq.*).

[2] See **Acta consist.*, April 30, 1629, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PALLOTTO, in KIEWNING, II., 192.

[3] See PIEPER, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 478.

[4] Letter of April 28, 1629, in KIEWNING, II., 163 *seq.*

affecting the government of the Church they might offer strong opposition ! [1] The imperial Court Council was obviously willing to follow Spain's lead in all politico-ecclesiastical questions. How strongly Cæsaro-papalism was entrenched at the Court of Vienna was repeatedly and painfully revealed in the course of the execution of the edict. The nuncio of Cologne, Pier Luigi Carafa, saw himself compelled to protest emphatically against the new and unheard-of abuse of nominations to canonries, and even to episcopal sees, being made by the Emperor without any reference to the Holy See. Carafa had further to complain that no discrimination was exercised when Protestant Canons were replaced by Catholic candidates at Magdeburg, Bremen, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg and other localities. The imperial commissaries appointed mere boys, or persons who, owing to other obligations, or ties, would be unable to fulfil the duty of residence. Ferdinand II., who was always open to good advice, promised to remedy these abuses. To the Bishops to whom the Emperor had already granted the sees of Minden and Lübeck, and who now requested Carafa to obtain for them the papal confirmation, the nuncio replied that there could be no question of it—the nomination must proceed from the Pope who alone had the right of appointing Bishops. And so it was done at Minden, whilst at Lübeck, which was still held by the Duke of Holstein, things never got as far as the appointment of a Catholic Bishop.[2] Notwithstanding these encroachments Urban VIII., in appointing Bishops, met the Emperor's wishes as far as it was possible. He had already consented to Ferdinand's son, Archduke Leopold William, being named to the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt ; now, after a good deal of hesitation, he granted to the fifteen years old lad the archbishopric of Bremen [3] which was an important *point d'appui* for the mastery of the sea which the Emperor was anxious

[1] See TUPETZ, 443 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GINZEL, *Legatio Carafae*, 72 *seq.*

[3] See TUPETZ, 446 ; STORCK, *Die Ausführung des Restitutionsedikt von* 1629 *im Erzbistum Bremen* (Diss.), Münster, 1906. *Cf.* above, p. 182.

to secure, though Bavaria was likewise anxious to obtain that post and there were reasons for doubting whether so youthful a Prince would be equal to his ecclesiastical duties.[1]

The question of the disposal of the monasteries which were to be given up by the Protestants led to particularly scandalous dissensions among the Catholics. In their eagerness to recover all their former possessions, the old Orders forgot that they were not able to occupy so many houses, nor did they sufficiently consider the higher interests of the Church. On the other hand the nuncios and many Bishops kept these interests in mind when they gave their support to the demand of the Jesuits that some of the monasteries taken from the Protestants should be used in a way that would meet the most crying needs of the Catholic restoration, including the establishment of new Jesuit Colleges.[2] In the disputes which arose in consequence, the interests of both parties collided as violently as they did in the dispute between the Leaguists and the Emperor on the use of the ecclesiastical benefices that were about to be recovered.[3]

On top of everything came a divergence of opinions as to the execution of the edict of restitution. Whilst some were of opinion that now that so many victories had been won, everything was ripe for the harvest and prompt action should be taken—to do otherwise would be cowardice, since there was question of God's glory and the salvation of so many souls—others advocated a slow and cautious advance seeing that the

[1] *Cf.* Carafa, *Relatione*, 186.

[2] See the detailed account of Duhr, II., 2, 162 *seqq*. Urban VIII. had already emphasized the interests of the Catholic restoration in a *Brief of February 16, 1630. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Günter (*Das Restitutionsedikt*, 143 *seq.*) gives an impartial and detailed account of the conflict in the Catholic camp over the restored religious houses, showing that in this dispute the Jesuits: "were undoubtedly the more generous and exact," though they suffered most: "Rejected and suspected by their co-religionists and feared and doubly opposed by the Protestants as their more dangerous enemies, they got between the hammer and the anvil" (140).

power of the Emperor was not so great as it appeared.[1] Among these moderates was the Elector of Trèves, von Sötern, who was of opinion—and also acted on it—that in each individual case an action should be brought before the tribunal of the Imperial *Camera* or the imperial Court Council which, on the basis of the religious peace of Augsburg, would be bound to pronounce in favour of the Church. True, he granted that this procedure was doubtless a much lengthier process, but it was far more certain to lead to the goal than an attempt to secure everything by a single stroke.[2] Fraught with even graver consequences than the disputes connected with the edict of restitution was the indignation of the League at Ferdinand II.'s external and internal policy, more especially his arbitrary intervention in Italy, as well as the detestation, carefully fanned by France, of Wallenstein's military dictatorship. Maximilian of Bavaria's long-standing suspicion of the designs of the domineering imperial generalissimo became stronger than ever. At his instigation the Archbishop of Mayence, Anselm Casimir von Wambold, summoned a meeting of the League at Mergentheim for the month of December, 1629.[3] Starting from the principle that the Empire should not be involved in another war, the assembly of Mergentheim on the one hand flatly refused to comply with the Emperor's wish that the troops of the League should be employed in support of the Spaniards against the Dutch allies of France, and on the other it deferred the demand for the deposition of Wallenstein and a decision with regard to the possession of Mecklenburg to the Diet of the Electors which opened at Ratisbon on July 3rd, 1630.[4]

A few days later Gustavus Adolphus landed on the coast of

[1] See DUHR, II., 1, 466.

[2] *Cf.* BAUR, *Sötern*, I., 152 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GINDELY, *Wallenstein*, II., 163; RIEZLER, V., 351 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* HURTER, *Wallenstein*, 326 *seq.*; GINDELY, *Wallenstein*, II., 227 *seq.*; HOPF, *A. Wolfradt*, in the *Progr. der Oberrealschule* in the 6. Bezirk of Vienna, 1892, 28 *seq.*, 41 *seq.* *Cf.* also ALTMANN, *Der Regensburger Kurfürstentag*, 1st part: *Vorgeschichte*, Munich, 1913.

Pomerania at the head of 12,000 men. The secret negotiations for an alliance which Richelieu conducted with the King of Sweden through his ambassador Charnacé, had not remained unknown. The Paris nuncio Bagno, who got wind of them towards the end of 1629, induced Louis XIII. to insist that at least Gustavus Adolphus should not attack the Catholic Princes of the League. In February, 1630, Bagno reported that Gustavus Adolphus had promised that he would only seek the reinstatement of the Dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg against Wallenstein and the Emperor. Bagno did not oppose an alliance of this kind [1]; as a matter of fact in the Spring its conclusion was still a remote contingency.[2] In consequence of Bagno's reports Urban VIII. indulged the delusion that the King of Sweden would confine himself to opposing the Emperor's expansionist aspirations on the Baltic. The Pope, in fact, shared Maximilian's and the League's dissatisfaction with this "Habsburg, non-Catholic policy", as with the Mantuan war.[3] It is certain that he under-estimated the peril that threatened from Gustavus Adolphus; too late he became aware of the conflagration in Germany which, besides the Habsburgs, was about to attack all the other Catholic Princes.[4]

The Franco-Swedish negotiations, the vast armaments in Sweden, finally the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus on German soil, powerfully affected the Emperor's attitude during the Diet of the Electors at Ratisbon.[5] The Pope dispatched to that assembly Ciriaco Rocci [6] who had been appointed nuncio to the Emperor [7] on May 18th, 1630, in succession to Pallotto

[1] *Cf.* Siri, VII., 173 *seq.*; Russo, 53; *Nicoletti, VIII., 941 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[2] See Droysen, II., 51.

[3] See Riezler, V., 368; Russo, 57.

[4] See Russo, 57. [5] See Fagniez, I., 566.

[6] See the *Briefs to Ferdinand II. and the other Catholic Princes of Germany, dated May 18, 1630, *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives.

[7] In the **Memorie di Msgr. Herrera*, Rocci is designated as a "persona di mediocre capacità" (*Barb.* 4901, p. 45, Vatican Library). He certainly was no match for Fr. Joseph.

who had received the purple. In the course of his journey, on July 1st, 1630, Rocci paid a visit to the Duke of Friedland at Memmingen. Wallenstein received him with unusual courtesy for, in view of the storm now gathering against him, he was anxious not to antagonize the representative of the Pope. In the course of the interview, among other statements, Wallenstein declared that he was for peace in Italy; he held the war against Nevers to be unjust, in fact he had at first refused to send any troops against him; but now the Emperor's honour was at stake so that he needs must dispatch both infantry and cavalry. In the course of the conversation Wallenstein remarked "with malicious irony", that nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the "Sack of Rome". On the occasion of that plundering, the booty had been close on 600 silver vessels, but to-day there would be more than 60,000, for the luxury and the wealth of Rome were such that there was nothing like it anywhere on earth. From the entourage of Wallenstein also Rocci had to hear equally pointed remarks.[1] In these circumstances it is easy to imagine the impression made on the Pope and the Curia by the cry of indignation which resounded throughout Italy at the news of the horrible sack of Mantua,[2] especially as on that occasion Protestant officers of the imperial army had vented their fury against churches and monasteries.[3] The terrifying spectre of the awful days when Rome was stormed by the imperial troops in 1527 (Sack of Rome) and which none could forget, presented itself with greater realism than ever and caused the Pope many a sleepless night.[4] Three events, Urban VIII. was wont to say, had caused him unspeakable grief: the first was that during his French nunciature the edict banishing the Jesuits which had been pronounced against them during the struggle of the

[1] See Rocci's *report, dated Memmingen, July 15, 1630 (decif. 31 detto), *Barb.* 6967, p. 14, Vatican Library, used by GREGOROVIUS, 16, and GINDELY, *Wallenstein*, II., 265 *seq.*, from the copy in *NICOLETTI, IV., ch. 1.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 248.

[3] See BURGUS, 115.

[4] See GIOV. PESARO, *Relazione*, 340.

interdict, had been upheld by Venice; secondly, that it had not been granted to his mother to see her son raised to the Chair of St. Peter; thirdly, the catastrophe of Mantua at the very moment when Gustavus Adolphus was resolved on invading Germany.[1]

It had been assumed that at the Diet of Ratisbon Rocci lent support to the efforts of all the German Estates which were actively encouraged by Richelieu's emissary, Fr. Joseph, to bring about Wallenstein's dismissal, an event which became known on August 13th, 1630.[2] Nothing of the kind is mentioned in the nuncio's correspondence with the State Secretariate in Rome,[3] though it is true that there are gaps in it. Moreover Rocci only reached Ratisbon a fortnight after Maximilian's letter to the Emperor in which he demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein.[4]

The chief cause of the dismissal of Wallenstein, who fought for his position up to the last moment,[5] was the fact that the Electors, whose exasperation against the imperial generalissimo had reached its limit, made their help against Sweden dependent on a satisfactory solution of this question. Only by such a sacrifice could Ferdinand II. hope to realize his greatest ambition, namely the election of his son Ferdinand as King of the Romans.

So long as the Cabinet of Madrid opposed the restoration of peace, it was impossible for Urban VIII. to give his full support to the election to the dignity of King of the Romans of a Prince

[1] See Negri, 187 *seq.*

[2] See Gregorovius (17).

[3] *Barb.* 6967: "*Cifre di Rocci, 1630." *Barb.* 7063: "*Cifre al Rocci, 1630–1," Vatican Library.

[4] See Pieper, in the *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 478. *Cf.* Gindely, in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1882, fasc. 103. Ehses also shows in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 338, that Urban VIII. congratulated Wallenstein on January 17, 1632, on his reappointment as Commander-in-Chief.

[5] *Cf.* the *reports of the Tuscan envoy to the Emperor, *Nic. Sacchetti*, dated Ratisbon, July 8 and 12, 1630, State Archives, Florence. *Med.* 4384.

so closely allied to Spain. The Pope would have very much preferred to see the election of Maximilian who supported his peace policy.[1] On the other hand, in a question of this importance, he was unwilling to seem to oppose the Emperor. Hence on August 24th Rocci received credentials which did not specify the matter to be discussed but of which he might make use should the situation prove favourable to Ferdinand. The nuncio, who had got in touch with Maximilian and who proceeded with the utmost caution, kept back the Brief, for he soon perceived that there was no hope of Ferdinand being elected. Rome, where that election was thought imminent, was gettin anxious so that two fresh Briefs were dispatched on November 22nd, one for the ecclesiastical Electors and one for Maximilian, both warmly recommending the election of Ferdinand. When information came that in view of the opposition of the Electors, an opposition which Fr. Joseph did his best to encourage, the election of Ferdinand was not to be brought about, Rocci was instructed on November 26th not to present the Briefs.[2]

Rocci displayed great zeal when Saxony and Brandenburg sought to obtain from the Catholic Electors the suspension of the edict of restitution as the reward of their support in the question of Wallenstein. Notwithstanding Eggenberg's assurances that the Emperor had no thought of yielding, Rocci nevertheless feared that he would give way. In view of the importance of the question, Rocci had from the first closely allied himself with the Duke of Bavaria and the ecclesiastical Electors who promised that in everything that concerned religion they would co-operate with the Pope's

[1] See Russo, 65, 256. That the Pope would have been glad to see Maximilian elected was also known to N. Sacchetti. (See his *report in cipher, dated Ratisbon, September 16, 1630, State Archives, Florence) ; but the papal wish found no echo with Maximilian (see Riezler, V., 364). According to the reports of the Savoy envoy, d'Aglie, Urban VIII. was reported to have said in 1631–2 that the "casa Savoia" had a better claim to the imperial crown than the Habsburgs, see Negri, 179.

[2] See Russo, 260 *seq.*

representative. It is due to Maximilian above all others that this affair, which caused the Pope so much concern and which was of such consequence for the interests of Catholicism, was never seriously considered.[1]

In view of the fact that the Curia saw in the League the strongest bulwark of the interests of Catholicism, whereas it clearly perceived that the imperialists chiefly pursued political aims,[2] when the reorganization of the army came up for discussion, Rocci definitely stood by Maximilian, the leader of non-Austrian Catholic Germany. The plan of the Cabinet of Madrid to weaken Bavaria and to break up the League [3] failed completely, but so did the efforts of the Catholic Electors who wanted the command of the imperial troops to be given to Maximilian. At the end of lengthy discussions a middle course was decided upon about the middle of October: Tilly was made commander-in-chief of a diminished imperial army as well as of the forces of the League which were to remain as a separate army.[4]

It goes without saying that the insistent demands of the Catholic Electors that the Emperor should put an end to the war in Italy and thereby render possible better relations with France, found an ardent advocate in the papal representative,[5] seeing that on August 3rd, as soon as he received the news of the fall of Mantua, Urban VIII. had urged the Emperor to

[1] See the *reports of Rocci of September 9, October 7 and 22, 1630, *Barb.* 6967, Vatican Library; *cf.* RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 365, and *Franz. Gesch.*, II., 365 *seq.* Through *Cifra* of November 2, 1630, Rocci was instructed to stand firm by the edict of restitution (*Barb.* 7063, *loc. cit.*). Maximilian advocated a slow and careful procedure in the execution of the edict, but his view did not prevail. See DUHR, II., 1, 466.

[2] See the *Instruction to Rocci of September 28, 1630, in the App. No. IX., Vol. XXIX.

[3] See GÜNTER, *Habsburger-Liga*, 51, 56.

[4] See HEYNE, *Kurfürstentag*, 88 *seq.*; RIEZLER, V., 362.

[5] *"Per la pace d'Italia io non lascio alcuna opportunità e faccio continuamente gli officii con chi bisogna," Rocci reports, September 9, 1630, *Barb.* 6967, Vatican Library.

restore peace to Italy [1] and this exhortation he had repeated on August 17th. On the same day the Pope made a similar appeal to Philip IV., Louis XIII. and the Duke of Saxony.[2]

At first Ferdinand II. showed very little inclination to lend ear to these appeals. One is reminded of "the ancient times of the universal power of the Emperor" when we read in his *Triplica* of August 7th, 1630, that "the Roman Empire consisted of the Kingdom of Germany, Italy, Gaul and Arles; that the Italian vassals were linked to it by the same feudal ties, nay even more stringent ones, than the Germans; that France had dispatched an army into the fiefs and possessions of the Holy Roman Empire, thereby presuming to interfere with the imperial jurisdiction and that in accordance with the statutes and observance of the Empire, the Electors were bound to repel an aggression of this kind".[3] The imperial explanations failed to impress the Electors. In their reply they declared with complete frankness that the alleged feudal connexion of the Italian Princes was quite meaningless, and they blamed the Emperor for intervening in Italy without previous consultation with the Estates or at least the College of Electors.[4] To Rocci's urgent request that the Emperor "would restore peace to poor Italy", Ferdinand II. replied that he fully intended to do so but the affair could not be settled in a hurry. Not a few among the Emperor's advisers, in view of Gustavus Adolphus' irruption into German territory and the ferment provoked in Germany by Wallenstein, were in favour of putting an end to the war,[5] but the Spanish ambassador, who hoped for the early fall of

[1] See *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also the **Cifra al Rocci*, of August 3, 1630, *Barb.* 7063, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Russo, 60, 281.

[3] See Heyne, *Kurfürstentag*, 98.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *"In fine due o tre volte mi disse: Monsignore, faremo la pace, ma non si può così in un subito. . . . Molti ministri dell' Imperatore inclinano alla pace d'Italia vedendo il progresso del re di Suetia et il dubio di nuove sullevationi." *Cifra* of Rocci, of August 19, 1630, *Barb.* 6967, Vatican Library.

Casale, exerted himself to the utmost in the opposite sense though in this respect he failed, just as he did when he urged that the German Protestants should be allowed to retain the Church's property [1]; he failed all the more as both the Electors and Bavaria, supported by the papal representative, pressed with all their strength for the conclusion of peace.[2] Whilst in this respect a complete change of outlook became at last apparent in the Emperor,[3] good news was also received concerning Richelieu's attitude. The Cardinal realized that circumstances did not favour his policy of aggression; the French nobility were weary of the war, the people were crushed by taxation and the party of the Queen-Mother was exceedingly active. Then there was the additional fact that the military situation in Italy was unfavourable, so that there was reason to fear that hard pressed Casale would fall into the hands of the Spaniards. In August, 1630, the Venetian envoy expressed the opinion that at present all that Richelieu thought of was how to extricate himself from a bad business.[4] On September 4th, as a result of Mazarin's tireless efforts, the warring parties in Upper Italy concluded an armistice which was to run until October 15th. Two days before that time limit peace was signed at Ratisbon. Great difficulties had had to be overcome, especially where the Spaniards were concerned, for the latter pressed Ferdinand to come to terms with the German Protestants and even with the King of Sweden.[5] To this was added the fact that the Emperor, in return for his yielding on the Italian question, demanded that France should guarantee not to lend any kind of support to any attacks directed against his person, his hereditary States and the Empire. The French ambassador at Ratisbon, Brulart, whom Richelieu left for a whole month without instructions, did not deem himself empowered to give his assent to a demand of this

[1] See Rocci's *report of October 7, 1630, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Russo, 76.

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of Rocci in cipher, August 19 and 26, September 2, 9, and 16, and October 7, 1630, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *letter to the Pope in Khevenhüller, XI., 1190 *seq.*

[4] See Bühring, 93 *seq.* *Cf.* Heyne, 122 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Russo, 76.

kind, but his companion Fr. Joseph, "whose conscience was more elastic," reassured him with the arrière-pensée that the promise they were asked to make might very well be interpreted in the opposite sense![1] Thereupon, on October 13th, a treaty of peace was drawn up. The document began with a reference to the Pope, the shepherd of the whole Church, to whose unceasing exhortations[2] the agreement was due. The first article stated that France would give no support of any kind to the enemies of the Emperor and the Empire, and vice versa. The Emperor undertook to give the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat to Nevers as soon as the latter had made amends: the other pretenders, viz. the Dukes of Savoy and Guastalla were to be consoled with a sum of money.[3]

The papal nuncio was afraid lest the Spaniards should upset even now the work of peace,[4] nor did he trust Fr. Joseph.[5] On the other hand Rome was very hopeful. This feeling found expression in a cartoon scratched on the walls of a palazzo in which the Pope was represented with his left hand joining the hands of Louis XIII. and Ferdinand II. and his right hand raised in blessing.[6] In point of fact Urban VIII. was full of

[1] See RITTER, III., 459, and also KELLER, *Die Friedensverhandlungen zwischen Frankreich und dem Kaiser auf dem Regensburger Kurfürstentag*, 1630, Bonn, 1902, 54. For Fr. Joseph's conduct at Ratisbon and his negotiations with the imperial commissaries, see also FAGNIEZ, I., 447 *seq.* *Cf.* also KLOPP, III., 1, 542 *seq.*

[2] On October 5, 1630, Urban VIII. directed two *Briefs to Ferdinand II., the first "de Italiae pacis stabiliendae proxima spe", the second with a request to invest Nevers with Mantua and Montferrat. On October 29, *Briefs were sent to the Emperor, to Maximilian of Bavaria, to the ecclesiastical Electors, etc., exhorting them to further the re-establishment of peace in Italy at the Ratisbon Diet. *Epist.*, VIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See SIRI, VII., 230 *seq.*

[4] The Spanish envoy was said to be full of grief at the peace, "onde e da dubitare che i Spagnoli possino trovarci qualche oncino da disturbarla." **Cifra* of October 14, 1630, *Barb.* 6967, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the *report of Rocci in cipher of October 22, 1630, *ibid.*

[6] See JUSTI, *Velasquez*, I.[3], 295 *seq.*

hope for the future. "The joy and jubilation of the Holy Father cannot be described," Barberini wrote to Maximilian of Bavaria.[1] The Pope ascribed the happy issue in the first place to the Duke of Bavaria of whom he spoke in terms of the highest praise in the hearing of the latter's Roman representative, Crivelli. When Crivelli observed that henceforth the Pope should no longer reckon his pontificate by the years that had already gone by, Urban VIII. replied: "Yes I have begun to-day—the hand of the Almighty hath wrought this change." On his way to Palestrina, as he sat in his carriage, he wrote some verses on the auspicious conclusion of peace.[2] In Rome itself he ordered public demonstrations of joy. On October 28th he celebrated at S. Maria Maggiore a solemn service of thanksgiving at the conclusion of which he received the congratulations of the Cardinals,[3] whilst special Briefs expressing his gratitude were dispatched to the Emperor, the Empress and to Eggenberg.[4] Even Spain's opposition to the execution of the peace treaty seemed to have been overcome: at the end of October, when pressed by Mazarin, Santacroce signed the treaty by which Casale was ceded to Nevers.[5] On November 13th, the Pope communicated to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory a letter of Ferdinand on the conclusion of peace and urged them to return thanks to God for having bestowed so great a blessing upon Christendom.[6] To this end he himself repeatedly offered Mass in thanksgiving at St. Mary Major.[7]

[1] *Brief dated October 26, 1630, in GREGOROVIUS, *Urban VIII.*, 118 *seq.*

[2] See CRIVELLI's *report to Gigli, November 2, 1630, State Archives, Munich, used by GREGOROVIUS, 19–20. The letter of thanks, printed by Gregorovius on p. 117 *seq.*, does not belong to 1630, as is clear from the text, but to 1631. PIEPER's sharp criticism of Gregorovius' work (*Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 472 *seq.*), is once more justified by this instance.

[3] See the *report in *Diarium P. Alaleonis*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the Avviso of October 30, 1630, *ibid.*

[4] See RUSSO, 79 *seq.*

[5] See QUAZZA, II., 205 *seq.*

[6] See **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Cf.* *Avvisi of November 13 and 27, 1630, Vatican Library.

On November 17th he acknowledged the Emperor's letter with many expressions of praise and a few days later he exhorted him to put Nevers in possession of Mantua.[1]

Richelieu, however, adopted a very different line of action. During the period of the armistice he had successfully reinforced the French fighting strength in Italy, so much so that he could reckon on saving Casale. Consequently he induced his royal master, who had so recently hailed with joy the treaty of Ratisbon, to change his mind once more. He skilfully made capital of the circumstance that there was opposition between his own former instructions and the terms agreed to by his envoy which was sufficient ground to reject the settlement. Brulart was instructed to explain to the Emperor that he had exceeded his powers, that in consequence Louis XIII. would not ratify the treaty and that fresh negotiations would be necessary. Thus war threatened to break out afresh in Italy whilst the Emperor saw himself cheated of the one and only advantage the treaty gave him, namely the possibility of employing against Gustavus Adolphus the troops which he maintained in Italy.[2]

The most recent research seems to have finally established the motives of the King of Sweden's war against the Emperor. The assumption that the only reason why Gustavus Adolphus intervened in the affairs of Germany was his desire to save Protestantism within the Empire, has been shown to be untenable.[3] Long before the publication of the edict of

[1] See the *Briefs of November 17 and 24, 1630, *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See AVENEL, *Lettres*, III., 960; RITTER, III., 460. On November 11, 1630, Rocci *reported on the changed situation (*Cifra* of this date); on November 15, he writes: * "Qui corre voce che i Francesi non vogliono la pace et che in Italia habbino pensieri vasti attribuendosi ciò al sig. card. Richelieu" (*Barb.* 6967, Vatican Library). For Richelieu's policy, see also KELLER, *loc. cit.*, 56, and MOMMSEN, 41, note 37.

[3] *Cf.* among non-Catholic German authors, especially DROYSEN, *Gustav Adolf*, II., 14 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*, and STIEVE, *Abhandlungen*, 201 *seq.*, 204 *seq.*; among Swedish historians, CRONHOLM,

restitution the Swedish King had made up his mind to invade Germany, still wealthy but torn by internal dissensions. For seven whole years a "demonic impulse" to a war of conquest had whipped up his soul; for seven whole years he had looked for a chance to start it, until at last the armistice with Poland in the autumn of 1629, the conclusion of which was due to Richelieu's mediation, cleared the way for his attack on the Emperor.[1]

Long after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstjerna, who was more deeply initiated than anyone else in his master's designs, thus summed up the motives which impelled that man of titanic ambitions: "King Gustavus Adolphus wanted the coast of the Baltic: it was his ambition one day to become Emperor of Scandinavia. The new empire was to include Sweden, Norway, Denmark as far as the Great Belt and all the Baltic States. With this scheme in mind he first concluded as favourable a treaty with Denmark as he could hope for, after which he came to terms with Russia over the Baltic coast. He deprived Poland of its coast and the mouths of the rivers, because of the profitable income derived from customs dues. Finally he attacked the Roman Emperor and by way of a war indemnity, demanded from the Protestant Princes the Duchies of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. These Princes were to be indemnified with Catholic territories. Denmark was to be shorn of its territory as far as the Great Belt and Norway was to become ours. Thus did that great King plan the foundation of an independent empire." [2]

Recent research has fully confirmed this judgment by a

Gustav Adolf in Deutschland (trans. by Helms), I., 87 *seq.*, and ODHNER, *Politik Schwedens*, 1 *seq.* Even GUTJAHR, who places the religious question definitely in the foreground (*König Gustav Adolfs von Schweden Beweggründe zur Teilnahme am Deutschen Kriege*, Leipzig, 1894) admits (p. 71) roundly: "The reasons were not altogether religious."

[1] *Cf.* RITTER's discussion of the large edition of the writings and papers of Oxenstjerna in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1901, 76.

[2] See DROYSEN, II., 666.

well-informed contemporary. It has shown that considerations of a political and economic character were important factors in the King's determination. His idea was to establish a common system of customs between Sweden and Germany and to initiate a comprehensive scheme of colonization. Germany was to provide the capital which Sweden lacked as well as a market for Swedish iron ore.[1]

These purely political and economic considerations were the chief motives that inspired the Statesman and military leader who then wore the crown of Sweden.[2] It is difficult to ascertain how far his conduct was inspired by considerations of a religious nature,[3] since Gustavus Adolphus' political interests coincided almost completely with his religious ones. Just as Elizabeth of England, the Church's bitterest enemy in the sixteenth century, was committed to the Protestant party from her birth, so was her greatest enemy in the seventeenth century also closely bound up with heresy. Gustavus' earliest recollections were associated with the struggle of his father, Charles IX., a brave but passionate and cruel man, against the lawful King, Sigismund III.[4] He owed the crown of Sweden to the defeat of Sigismund and in view of the fact that the latter never renounced his rightful claims, and the fear lest he should receive help from the few Catholics who were still in hiding in various parts of the country, Draconic laws were passed against those who professed the ancient faith, and especially

[1] See F. Bothe, *Gustav Adolfs und seines Kanzlers wirtschaftspolitische Absichten auf Deutschland* (Frankfurter Hist. Forschungen, IV.), Frankfurt, 1910.

[2] See the opinion of Lavisse (VI., 2, 297) and Bär (*Pommern im Dreissigjährigen Kriege*, Stettin, 1910, 83 *seq.*).

[3] See the controversy between Wittich (*Magdeburg*, I., 500 *seq.*; II., xiv. *seq.*) and Droysen, who only admits political reasons. The interplay of both motives is noted by Kretzschmar (*Gustav Adolfs Pläne und Ziele in Deutschland* (*Quellen und Darstellungen zur Gesch. Niedersachsens*, XVII.), Hannover, 1904, 153 *seq.*) and Schybergson (*Hist. Studier.*, Stockholm, 1906, 1–23).

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 102 *seq.*

against Catholic priests.[1] Thus, filled as he was with prejudices and aversion for the Pope and the Church, Gustavus looked on his political struggle with the Emperor as a religious war also.[2] Nevertheless, as a political realist who would be guided by cold reason alone, the King of Sweden did not hesitate to subordinate religious interests to his foreign policy whenever he deemed it necessary. This was instinctively felt by the German Protestants who, for a long time, viewed the self-invited auxiliary with considerable distrust. At first only the cities of Stralsund and Magdeburg allied themselves with him of their own free will, as well as a few princelings who had nothing to lose. The rest, among them even his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Elector of Saxony, who was directly threatened by the edict of restitution and who was considered as the head of the German Protestants, only allied themselves with the Swedes after much persuasion, not to say downright compulsion.[3] That Gustavus Adolphus knew quite well how to subordinate religious interests to his purely political ones was best shown by the treaty of alliance which he signed with Catholic France at Bärwalde, in January, 1631. In this document he at last agreed to the conditions laid down by Richelieu,[4] viz. the maintenance of the Catholic religion in the places he should conquer and neutrality towards the League, so long as the latter remained itself neutral. In exchange he received from France the money which was indispensable for his predatory campaign and which Sweden, exhausted as she was by the war, was unable to raise, namely for each of the next five years 400,000 imperial thalers (a million livres) and for the year that had just come to an end

[1] *Cf.* Herman Levin, *Religionstvang och religionsfrihet i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1896, 1 *seq.*; Reiffenberg, 581 *seq.*; Pieper, *Propaganda*, 14 *seq.*; Duhr, II., 2, 77 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXV., 412 *seq.* See also our account, Vol. XXVI., 231, note 6.

[2] *Cf.* Stieve, *loc. cit.*, 202.

[3] *Cf.* Droysen, II., 155 *seq.*, 215 *seq.*

[4] In 1630 he had refused toleration of the Catholic religion; see Droysen, II., 50; Vigier, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, L., 439 *seq.*

120,000 thalers. In return the Swedish King bound himself to raise against the Emperor an army of 30,000 foot and 6,000 cavalry. The aims of the alliance were stated to be the security of the Baltic and the Ocean, freedom of trade, the razing of the fortresses on the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea and those in the Grisons, the defence of their common friends and the restoration of the oppressed Estates of Empire, with a view to re-establishing in general the situation that had obtained in 1618.[1] Accordingly, on the basis of this agreement, Maximilian should have renounced both the Palatinate and the dignity of an Elector whilst the League abandoned the edict of restitution. How could the League remain neutral in such circumstances?

Without a doubt the Franco-Swedish alliance was fraught with grave danger to Catholic interests. For that reason Richelieu insisted on the article in favour of Catholic worship in the conquered places. He needed that article to justify himself in the eyes of the sincerely religious King of Catholic France, and especially the Pope. Urban VIII. was not unaware of the fact that France's alliance with Sweden would give to Gustavus Adolphus' undertaking an importance far beyond Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Hence, from the beginning of 1631, he had been doing all he could to prevent an entente of this kind. Though the Secretariate of State at first thought such an alliance of the two Powers improbable, the Paris nuncio, Bichi, was nevertheless instructed to oppose it.[2] On March 29th, 1631, Rome was still in complete ignorance of the agreement of Bärwalde and Bichi was told to find out what truth there was in the rumours concerning it.[3] When the

[1] See Moser, *Patr. Archiv.*, VI., 163 *seq.*; Droysen, II., 255 *seq.*

[2] See the instructions to Bichi in Leman, 3 *seq.* and 16, who rightly rejects the contrary assertion made by many authors; among these are not only Rocco da Cesinale (II., 648) but also Houssaye (*Bérulle*, 493), Fagniez (*P. Joseph et Richelieu*, I., 551) and Schnitzer (*Zur Politik*, 214).

[3] *Barberini to Bichi, dated March 29, 1631, *Barb.* 8113, Vatican Library.

Pope, on Ferdinand II.'s protest, represented to the French ambassador that France's attitude was incompatible with the agreement of Ratisbon, he was told that the whole thing was an invention! Nevertheless, on April 9th, 1631, Urban VIII. told the imperial ambassador, Savelli, that he was prepared to warn France. The chief argument which the French brought forward against the genuineness of the treaty of alliance, the Pope said, was the fact that in that document the name of the King of Sweden came before that of the King of France, a thing that Paris would never have allowed. Savelli replied that the Emperor was quite certain of the authenticity of the treaty. In the course of Savelli's audience, Cardinal Barberini came into the room to give the Pope the glad news that, with the co-operation of his envoys Panciroli and Mazarin, peace had been concluded at Cherasco on April 6th, between Gallas, the commander-in-chief of the imperialists, and the French Marshal Thoiras. Urban VIII.'s joy was immense. As the ambassador was about to leave he assured him once more that he would leave nothing undone to dissuade the King of France from allying himself with Sweden.[1]

Ferdinand II., however, refused to ratify the treaty of April 6th, 1631, because one of the clauses demanded the surrender of the Grisons passes. Nothing could have better pleased Richelieu. When about the middle of April the French nuncio presented to Louis XIII. the letter in which the Pope begged of him to renounce the alliance and at the same time exhorted him to act as mediator between the Emperor and the Swedes, an act which would earn for him the glory of having settled Europe's troubles, the King replied that the alliance had been concluded solely in order to force the Emperor to withdraw from Italy, a thing which was also in the interest

[1] See Klopp, III., 2, 34, on the authority of the documents of the treaty of peace in the Vienna Archives, fasc. 9^{b}. The Pope had followed the negotiations for peace with the utmost anxiety; in February, carnival festivities were forbidden and prayers for peace ordered (see *Avviso of February 26, 1631, Vatican Library). They were ordered again later on (see *Avviso of April 2, 1631, *ibid.*).

of the Holy See to which he himself was more devoted than ever. Furthermore he begged the Pope not to imagine that he intended to lend assistance to the Protestants since, on the contrary, he was still persecuting them: his action had been dictated by the higher interests of the whole of Christendom; in any case, he had taken measures to preserve the Catholic faith from injury.[1] On May 2nd Bagno reported that everything depended upon a final pacification of Italy.[2] Urban VIII. was delighted with the efforts of Maximilian of Bavaria with the Emperor.[3] In consequence of the threatening advance of the Swedes in Germany, Ferdinand II. saw himself at last compelled to break off at all costs the war in Italy. On June 19th, 1631, a definitive peace was concluded at Cherasco, with the co-operation, once more, of the representatives of the Pope. The Emperor granted the investiture to Nevers and withdrew his troops from Italy: he was likewise forced to give up the Grisons passes. By a secret treaty with Savoy (March 13th, 1631), Richelieu had acquired the frontier fortress of Pinerolo and thereby assured France's influence in Upper Italy.[4]

This was in keeping with Urban VIII.'s wishes [5] quite as

[1] *" E mi disse che pregava la S.S. a creder che egli continua nella medesima volontà di non aiutare, ma di perseguitare gli eretici, ma che il rispetto del maggior bene della christianità universale l'havea mosso a quanto havea fatto, nel che pure havea usate precautioni di indemnizare i cattolici e la religione." Report of Bagno of April 15 (*decif. Maggio* 15), 1631, *Barb.* 8077, p. 56, Vatican Library.

[2] *Report, *d.d. Moret* 2 *di Maggio* (*decif. li* 27 *detto*), *Barb.* 8078, p. 24, *ibid.*

[3] See the *Instruction in code to Bagno, May 24, 1631, *Barb.* 8113, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* KHEVENHÜLLER, XI., 1990 *seq.*, 1999 *seq.*; SIRI, VII., 363 *seqq.*, 387 *seqq.*, 413 *seqq.*; BÜHRING, 141 *seq.*, 147 *seq.* In a *Brief of August 2, 1631, Urban VIII. praised the Emperor for the investiture of Nevers. *Epist.*, VIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] The Pope was suspected of being privy to the cession of Pinerolo to France, but this cannot be proved; see LEMAN, 24, note 1.

much as the restoration of peace, for the Pope was anxious for a balance of power since by reason of the exclusive preponderance of Spain in Italy, he had cause to fear not only for the autonomy of the Papal States but for that also of the Holy See itself, in the same way as his predecessors at the time of the Hohenstaufen. Under pressure of this fear, which the sack of Mantua and the endless meddling of the Spaniards with ecclesiastical affairs,[1] increased still further, Urban VIII. undertook some military preparations and allied himself even more closely with Maximilian I., the leader of the non-Austrian Catholics of Germany. In this policy the Pope found himself in line with Richelieu who was precisely endeavouring to make of Catholic Bavaria a counterweight to the growing influence of the Habsburgs in Germany.[2] When Urban VIII. advised Maximilian to cultivate good relations with France, he was prompted not only by his aversion to Spain which dominated the Emperor, but by the desire also to detach the Cabinet of Paris from the German Protestants.[3] The Papal nuncio Bagno, who was very much under Richelieu's influence, was negotiating, though without any authorization,[4] a Franco-Bavarian alliance which, however, was only signed on May 30th, 1631, at Fontainebleau, after Bagno's recall. Maximilian

[1] The Madrid nuncio, Giov. Battista Pamfili, met with innumerable difficulties on questions of jurisdiction, so that his prestige and with it that of the Church declined constantly; see the *Relazione* of *Alv. Mocenigo* in Barozzi-Berchet, *Spagna*, I., 677 *seq.* For the encroachments in Naples, see the *Brief to the viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Alcala, dated February 2, 1630 (a sharp censure, "quod detentum in carceribus Inquisitionis vi ereptum ad tribunal regium duxerit," *Epist.*, VII., *loc. cit.*) and the *Brief to Spinola, Governor of Milan, on the infringement of the *immunitas eccles.*, dated March 2, 1630, *ibid.* Madrid realized too late that these quarrels must be amicably settled. *Cf.* the instruction to the new viceroy of Naples, April 18, 1631, in Günter, *Habsburger-Liga*, 69.

[2] *Cf.* Döberl, *Bayern*, I., 545.

[3] *Cf.* Schnitzer, *Zur Politik*, 218.

[4] See Leman, 81 *seq.* Fagniez doubts this, see *Rev. d'hist. de l'Eglise de France*, 1921, 353.

defended such a pact by urging that only by this means could France be prevented from entering into an alliance with the German Protestants, as she threatened to do. He also pleaded his express reservations with regard to his obligations towards the Emperor and the Empire. If Richelieu nevertheless agreed to the alliance, he was probably prompted, besides his hostility towards Spain, by the hope that circumstances would in the end compel the Duke of Bavaria to sever his cause from that of the Emperor. However, the alliance proved useless, for the latter expectation remained unfulfilled, just as Urban VIII. was doomed to disappointment in his hope that it would be the means of sundering Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus. Maximilian was equally cheated of his hope that France would lend him help against the King of Sweden, against whom the treaty was chiefly aimed.[1]

As in the past so now both Munich and Vienna clamoured for generous pecuniary assistance from the Pope.[2] In the spring of 1631, Urban VIII. granted to the League one half of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Palatinate and one half of the income of all Church property so far recovered from the Protestants.[3] Ferdinand II. was greatly angered by this concession and demanded its revocation. The Pope declined to do this since he had expressly stated that this fresh concession was not in any way to interfere with the moiety of the revenues of the religious houses of the Palatinate which had been previously granted to the Emperor.[4] Nor was Maximilian satisfied ; he complained of the Pope's reserve.[5] The sharp criticism of the Pope in which the Bavarians indulged completely ignored the fact that the papal finances were in a truly deplorable state.[6] Cardinal Barberini was only stating facts

[1] See Döberl, I., 547 *seq.* *Cf.* Riezler, V., 380 *seq.*

[2] See the detailed account of Schnitzer, *Zur Politik*, 216 *seq.*, based on the correspondence in the Munich State Archives.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIV., 201 *seq.*, 218 *seq.* [4] See Leman, 14, note 1.

[5] See details in Schnitzer, *loc. cit.*, 216, 218 *seq.*

[6] The yearly deficit, which was increased by the expenses of the Mantuan war, amounted according to Ang. Contarini (*Relazione*, 258) to 84,000 scudi. *Cf.* Leman, 15.

when, in May, 1631, he explained to the Bavarian agent Crivelli that the measures of defence which had been forced upon the Pope by the unfortunate Mantuan war, and the expenditure caused by plague and famine, had swallowed up several millions. Apart from the exhaustion of the papal exchequer, the reserve of the Pope was no doubt due, as was the case with many German Catholics, to the fact that he under-estimated the Swedish peril. After the capture by Tilly, on May 30th, 1631, of Magdeburg, "the strong city of the Protestants," Urban conceived vast hopes for the triump of the Catholic cause. "The situation in the North is completely changed," he said in his letter of congratulation to Tilly.[1] That was also the prevailing view in Germany: the Protestants trembled, the Catholics exulted. In point of fact Gustavus Adolphus' whole enterprise was at stake, but he extricated himself from his peril and Richelieu successfully deluded the Pope. This is made quite clear by the dispatches of the French nuncio. When, in June, 1631, the latter on receipt of the news of the impending conclusion of peace in Italy, remonstrated once more with Louis XIII. because of his alliance with Sweden, he was told that as soon as Italy was pacified, the King would not fail to urge Gustavus Adolphus to come to terms with the Emperor. On his part Richelieu was lavish with assurances that he was determined to root out Protestantism not only in France but likewise in Germany![2] Maximilian of Bavaria's representative in Paris was assured that France had no intention whatever to lend assistance to the Swedes and the Protestants.[3] In July, Louis XIII. assured

[1] The *letter of congratulation to Tilly (Brussels Archives) in App. No. X, XXIX. By *Briefs of June 28, 1631, Urban VIII. congratulated the Duke of Bavaria (who had informed him on June 5 of the capture of Magdeburg; see SCHNITZER, 258) and the Emperor, on their victory. *Epist.*, VIII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* another *letter of felicitations to the Emperor on the victory, July 12, 1631. For the Consistory of July 7, 1631, see LEMAN, 14.

[2] See App. XI., *report of June 20, 1631, Vatican Library.

[3] BICHI's *report of June 28, 1631, *Barb.* 8079, *ibid.*

the nuncio that, so far from wishing to injure religion in Germany, he wanted, on the contrary, to promote it; that as soon as the reasons ceased which for the present compelled him to give "some assistance" to the Swedes, he would do his best to bring about a good peace; in the meantime he would not suffer the Catholic Princes of Germany to be injured in any way.[1] At that very time Richelieu waxed still bolder. He demanded that the Pope should lend him assistance against his opponents by the dispatch of laudatory Briefs; since he was a cleric and a Cardinal, it was the Holy See's duty to protect him. He dwelt on the services he had rendered to the Church by fighting the Huguenots and reminded the Pope of his proffered help in the question of Urbino.[2] Thereupon Barberini advised him, in view of the hatred of his enemies, to withdraw to Rome.[3] But after Marie de Medici's flight to the Spanish Netherlands, Richelieu became more powerful than ever.[4]

Meanwhile events of importance had taken place in Germany. On August 22nd, 1631, the Landgrave William of Hesse-Kassel allied himself with the foreign invader—the first German Prince to do so of his own accord. On September 11th the Elector of Saxony, John George, acted in like manner and

[1] BICHI's *report, July 17, 1631, *ibid.*

[2] "BICCHI's *report from St. Germain, July 15, 1631 (*Barb.* 8080, p. 8, Vatican Library, who remarks: "Ho scansato al possibile questa materia senza pormi in impegno."

[3] *Barberini to Bichi, dated August 30, 1631, *Barb.* 8114, *loc. cit.*

[4] See RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, II.², 403. I have not been able to find Bichi's *report of August 30, 1631, quoted here without indication of source; on the other hand, *Barb.* 8080, p. 98 (Vatican Library) has a *report of Bichi's, dated Meaux, August 28, 1631, in which it is said: "Il cardinale che vede il re gettato in tutto nelle sue braccia, si tiene in maniera securo che nulla teme." He had established greater harmony than ever between the King and his wife, "et ella medesima dice publicamente esser obligatissima al cardinale e vuol male a tutti quelli che l'havevano mal'impressionato."

added his troops to those of Gustavus Adolphus. On September 17th battle was joined at Breitenfeld, north of Leipzig, in which the superior tactics and better equipment of the Swedes gave them complete victory. It was as decisive a battle as that of the White Mountain, but in the opposite sense. By this time Gustavus Adolphus had learnt the art of winning popularity. By openly proclaiming himself the protector of German Protestants,[1] who now no longer needed to be afraid of the edict of restoration, he entered on a victorious progress through Thuringia and Franconia which was to carry him to the very banks of the Rhine. Simultaneously with the news of the battle of Breitenfeld another alarming report reached Rome. The cession of Pinerolo and the valley of Perusa to France robbed Spain of the chief benefit of the peace of Cherasco so that a fresh warlike conflagration threatened in Italy. Urban VIII. felt that his first duty was to avert such a peril. If he could prevent an open rupture between France and Spain, so he thought, he would also help the Catholic cause in Germany, for otherwise the Emperor would lose Spain's financial assistance against Gustavus Adolphus, a support which the papal *Camera* was unable to give.[2] Urban VIII. set all his diplomatists to work for the preservation of peace. The Paris nuncio was instructed to point out to Richelieu the perilous position of the Catholic Church in Germany and to implore him to refrain from supporting Gustavus Adolphus,[3] whilst the Pope did all he could to persuade the Cardinal to restore Pinerolo to the Duke of Savoy. However, on both these points the Pontiff met with insuperable opposition on the part of the French Cardinal who had no thought of giving up Pinerolo; on the contrary, he was planning an Italian league with a view to the safety of the

[1] See KRETZSCHMAR, *Gustav Adolfs Pläne und Ziele in Deutschland*, 169. *Cf.* DROYSEN, II., 408.

[2] See LEMAN, 37 *seq.*

[3] *" Ritorni a pregare e fare uffizi per la desistenza delli aiuti e calori che di costà pervengono al Sueco." Instruction of Barberini to Bichi, November 8, 1631, *Barb.* 8114, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LEMAN, 41, 55.

new acquisition, nay, he even went so far as to try and induce the Pope, of course unsuccessfully, to join such a league ![1]

The French nuncio was equally unsuccessful in his endeavour to interest Richelieu in the fate of the ecclesiastical Electors whom Gustavus Adolphus threatened with destruction. In this matter the Cardinal acted with the same hypocrisy with which he protested his peaceful intentions with regard to Pinerolo. He would gladly lend help to the Catholic Princes of Germany provided they would allow the French to garrison their fortresses; in return for so "disinterested" a service, Urban VIII. was to bestow on Louis XIII. and his minister the title of "Defenders of the Catholic Faith!"[2] In his anxiety the Pope had recourse to prayer. By a Bull of December 15th, 1631, he proclaimed a universal jubilee, in order to invoke the help of God for His hard pressed Church. Processions of supplication traversed the streets of the Eternal City and at the conclusion of the solemn ceremonies the Pope visited in person the German national Church of the Anima.[3]

Besides spiritual assistance, Urban VIII. also bestowed material help by granting a subsidy of 120,000 thalers for a year, to be paid in monthly rates and equally shared between the Emperor and the League. He would have been glad to give more but the expenditure which the troubles in Italy had forced him to incur, according to an accurate calculation, amounted to 4,851,535 thalers. Urban himself felt that his help was wholly inadequate and by way of excuse he pleaded that in an equally dangerous situation Paul V., in his time, had granted no more.[4] In order to leave nothing undone, on December 13th, 1631, the Pope wrote once more to the King of France, to the Queen and to Richelieu, imploring them not to suffer Protestantism to triumph in Germany. The nuncio was likewise instructed to point out that in view of the "portentous progress" of the King of Sweden, the cause of the Emperor could no longer be separated from that of Maximilian and the other Catholic Princes, if they wished to

[1] See LEMAN, 38 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*, 65.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIV., 254 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 455 *seq.*; LEMAN, 73.

[4] See LEMAN, 74.

retain their confidence.[1] Such a distinction would undoubtedly injure the Catholic religion. Cardinal Barberini on his part pointed to the shameless way in which the King of Sweden contravened the clause of the agreement of Bärwalde which protected the Catholics. From all parts of Germany reports came of bishops, priests and religious being robbed and maltreated, so that Bagno's remonstrances were fully justified.[2]

On December 13th, 1631, the Cardinal Secretary of State reverted to this matter: the oppression, he wrote, under which Catholics were groaning all over Germany, and which was against the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty, showed clearly that the Austrians and the other Catholic Princes received the same treatment at the hands of the enemies of religion: in the end such injuries to the Church could not fail to be visited upon France also.[3]

It is impossible not to admire the patience with which the Pope and his nuncios strove time after time to induce France to break with Gustavus Adolphus and to bring about a reconciliation between the Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg. To this plan Roman diplomacy stuck with unparalleled tenacity.[4] though the prospects of success were more hopeless than ever. In January, 1632, Madrid had decided on an open rupture with France and though the news of the loss of the fleet which was bringing gold from America, somewhat damped the ardour for war, it by no means quenched it. On his part Richelieu relentlessly pursued his policy of a covert war on the Habsburgs through his Protestant allies. He now stretched forth his hand to seize Alsace, an act which he justified by the necessity of protecting that fair country from Gustavus Adolphus. The efforts of the Pope and his nuncios for a reconciliation between France and the Habsburgs met with ever increasing obstacles. They now tried, though in vain,

[1] *Ibid.*, 75.

[2] See App. No. XII., XXIX., the *letter in code of Barberini to Bichi, November 22, 1631, Vatican Library.

[3] See App. No. XIII., the *letter in cipher of Barberini to Bichi, December 13, 1631, *ibid.*

[4] See LEMAN, 100 *seq.*

to bring about a rapprochement between Richelieu and Olivares in a mistaken conviction that the chief hindrance to peace was the rivalry between the two ministers. The difficulty was more deep-seated, for it lay in the divergent aims of France and the Habsburgs.

In the first months of 1632 fresh attempts were made by the Pope for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between Louis XIII., Philip IV. and Ferdinand II. If the effort failed the fault did not lie with the Pope and his agents: on the contrary, they did all they could to put an end to the distress of the German Catholics by means of the restoration of concord among the Catholic Powers.[1] Neither Madrid nor Vienna appreciated these endeavours, on the contrary, in both capitals the Pope was angrily and violently accused of viewing impassively the ruin of religion in Germany. In December, 1631, Olivares, keenly anxious to drag the Pope into an alliance with the Habsburgs against France, summoned the nuncio into his presence and informed him that the whole world, including the Holy Father, knew with what disinterestedness the Catholic King had acted both in Germany and Italy. Now that Protestantism was everywhere triumphant, no time was to be lost and the utmost efforts must be made in order to save the Catholic religion. The Pope must assist the Emperor by every means in his power; at the same time he must enable King Philip to continue the war by allowing him to raise large sums of money from the clergy; and all this must be done as quickly as possible.[2]

Nor was Spain content with representations. Philip IV. resolved to exert the utmost pressure on Urban VIII. and to harry him as his predecessor Philip II. had harried Sixtus V. On December 19th, 1631, Cardinal Borgia, who after the recall of Count Monterey had become Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, was instructed to make the most earnest representations to Urban VIII. in order to induce him, on the one hand, to send financial help to the Emperor and on the other to make it possible for the King of Spain, by means of a considerable

[1] See the detailed account in LEMAN, 101–118.

[2] See LEMAN, 76 *seq.*

levy from the clergy, to give assistance to Ferdinand. To this end he was to submit a detailed scheme for the taxation of the Spanish clergy. If the demand was refused Borgia was to declare the Pope responsible for all the misfortunes that would ensue. He was to raise a solemn protest and in order to enhance the solemnity of the protest he was to make it in the presence of the Spanish Cardinals. All this was explained in detail in a letter to Cardinal Barberini, the presentation of which was to be Borgia's opening move. All the Spanish Cardinals and some others also were invited to give their support to this step.[1]

Vienna, where the Spaniards were extraordinarily active, gave its approval to the scheme of the Cabinet of Madrid. On January 18th, 1632, the imperial ambassador in Rome, Prince Paolo Savelli, received pressing instructions to pray once more for papal assistance, and in February two fresh imperial agents, viz. Prince Frederick Savelli and the Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Pázmány, were dispatched to Rome on a similar mission. They were also commissioned to request the Pope to join the Hispano-Imperial League which was about to be formed.[2]

Philip IV. had made a bad selection when he chose Cardinal Borgia as his advocate. It is enough to look at the marvellous portrait of the Cardinal by Velasquez to realize the Spanish King's mistake: beneath a broad forehead there lurks a pair of deep-set, imperious brown eyes; the toothless mouth, with the tightly closed lips, is expressive of determination; the speech of such a mouth would be dry, slow, cutting.[3]

Cardinal Borgia, the cause of more than one scene with Paul V.,[4] had annoyed Urban VIII. on several occasions. Thus

[1] See LEMAN, 77 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 745 *seq.*, for the text of the instruction for Borgia. *Cf.* also GINDELY, *Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, II., Prague, 1882, 240 *seq.* [2] See LEMAN, 84.

[3] See JUSTI, *Velasquez*, II.[3], 92. MAYER (*Gesch. der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922) does not think the identity of the painter absolutely certain. The portrait has been at the Städelsche Institute, Frankfort, since 1867.

[4] See our account, Vol. XXVI., 359.

in connexion with the question of the Valtellina, in order to induce the Pope to favour the plans of Philip IV., he had held over his head the threat of the invasion of the Papal States by Spanish troops.[1] At the close of 1630, at a sitting of the Inquisition, when certain measures were taken against a fanatical Franciscan who was also a protégé of Borgia, a fresh collision occurred between the Pope and the Cardinal. Borgia's remarks on that occasion were particularly offensive. Borgia's friend, Cardinal Sandoval, also made some biting remarks about the Pope and even threatened to leave Rome. "Let him do so," Urban replied, "I am only responsible to God for my actions." [2]

Borgia's arrogance showed itself also on subsequent occasions. Although as Spanish ambassador he should have observed special reserve, he criticized, in May, 1631, the measures taken by Urban VIII. and advised the faithful not to support him with their money.[3] In January, 1632, he violently complained that the Pope preferred to support Bavaria rather than the Catholic religion, of which he had no care! Urban replied that he knew very well what his duty was towards the Catholic religion and needed no instruction on the subject from Borgia.[4] The unfairness of the Spanish Cardinal's reproach appears from the fact that at that very moment the Pope endeavoured to persuade the French King, through the Paris nuncio, to stay the advance of the King of Sweden against the dioceses on the Main and the Rhine.[5] Other accusations which Borgia made at that time against

[1] See **Memorie intorno la vita di Urbano VIII. di Msgr. Herrera, al quale S.S^tà le dettava, Barb.* 4901, p. 40 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also QUAZZA, *Politica europea*, 92.

[2] See the *Avviso of December 28, 1630, Vatican Library. *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, *Ambasciatori francesi* in the *Riv. europea*, An. VIII. (1877), III., 207.

[3] See LEMAN, 18.

[4] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 227 *seq.*

[5] See Carafa's *letter of January 23, 1632, in GUDENUS, *Cod. dipl.*, IV. (1758), 797. *Cf.* FALK, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXX., 238 *seq.*

Urban VIII., as well as the violent manner in which he proffered them, clearly showed that the Cardinal was no diplomatist.[1]

Unable as he was to grasp the fact that the interests of the Holy See could not invariably coincide with Spanish policy, and convinced that the Pope should support the Catholic King in all things, Borgia was delighted with the dangerous commission with which a courier of January 22nd, 1632, charged him.[2] Between January 29th and February 4th, the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State gave audience to Cardinals Borgia, Colonna, Sandoval, Spinola and Albornoz. Borgia had drawn up a summary of the Spanish demands and this he presented to the Pope together with the letter of his King. A curious light is thrown on the Spanish demands for money by the fact that in the summer of 1631, they had rejected Cardinal Ludovisi's generous offer of 100,000 scudi and the revenues of his ten Spanish abbeys, for the duration of the war.[3] Urban VIII. must also have been deterred by the circumstance that he had already granted to the Spaniards very extensive concessions in previous years.[4] For all that Borgia now demanded that the Spanish clergy should provide one-third of the nineteen and a half million ducats which Philip IV. wished to raise in his European possessions. At the beginning of February, Urban VIII. gave leave for the raising of 600,000 ducats for one year, not three, as Philip IV. demanded, and only the clergy of Spain, Sardinia, Majorca and

[1] See LEMAN, 119 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 121 *seq.*

[3] See the *letter of Ludovisi to Olivares, dated Bologna, June 16, 1631, in GIUNTI, **Vita e fatti di Ludovico card. Ludovisi, Cod.* 32, D. 8, of the Corsini Library, Rome. Giunti relates there that he himself took this offer to Madrid, where it was not accepted.

[4] See *Bull.*, XIV., 4 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*, 198 *seq.* Besides this Urban VIII. had granted, on October 9, 1629, for a further period of six years, both the Cruzada, as well as the Subsidio and the Excusado ; see **Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas, Cod.* I., 9, of the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

Minorca were to be affected; nor was the levy to be made directly by the King; a further condition stipulated that the money must be spent exclusively in supporting the Emperor.[1] The imperial ambassador, Paolo Savelli, who in an audience of February, 1632, demanded another extraordinary subsidy, received a negative answer, the reason being that in order to raise the money already promised to the Emperor, it had been necessary to impose several fresh tenths, and the lack of money made it quite impossible to go any further. When Savelli pointed to the great peril of the Catholic religion in Germany the Pope replied that he would reconsider the matter. The further request that the whole subsidy should go to the Emperor, the League being excluded, Urban VIII. declared he could only grant this in case the League were to refuse to do its duty by the Emperor. The Pope also promised to consider Savelli's proposal for an Italian League against Sweden. Some Spanish Cardinals had requested the Pope to excommunicate Louis XIII. as long as he remained an ally of Sweden. Urban VIII. deemed this extreme measure inopportune and dangerous. He reminded them of Clement VII.'s experience with England and pointed out that such a step would only serve further to irritate the King of France and to drive him into an even closer alliance with Sweden and the Protestants. On the other hand he declared his readiness to dissuade once more both the King and Richelieu from their alliance with the Protestants, and to exhort them to become reconciled to the Habsburgs, so that the great Catholic Powers might present a united front to the Swedish King.[2]

Cardinal Borgia and his friends were exceedingly dissatisfied with the result of these discussions but they did not as yet despair of their ability to cause the Pope to change his mind and when they failed to obtain a collective audience,

[1] *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 272 *seq.*; LEMAN, 123 *seq.* GINDELY is, therefore, altogether mistaken when he says (*Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, IV., 7) that Urban VIII. "had not consented to the taxation of the Spanish clergy".

[2] See Savelli's report of February 7, 1632, in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 259 *seq.*, and the reports in LEMAN, 126.

they presented themselves individually, though without result.[1]

On February 22nd, 1632, Prince Frederick Savelli arrived in Rome,[2] and on the 27th he was received in audience together with his brother Paolo. They had no fresh proposals to make. With regard to their request for larger subsidies, Urban reminded them of the heavy expenses he had been obliged to incur in connection with the troubles in the Valtellina and the Mantuan war. The two envoys not being satisfied with these explanations, the Pope promised to examine once more what he could do. But he seized the opportunity to complain of the scant goodwill with which he had met, not of course on the part of the Emperor, but on that of his ministers, even in questions where right was on his side, as in the dispute over the Abbey of St. Maximinus of Trèves, the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the City prefecture. With regard to a defensive alliance of the Catholic Princes against the Swedes he showed great readiness but pointed to the fact that the Grand-Duke of Tuscany had already taken the matter in hand. For the rest, Urban VIII. told them that he had been informed that Gustavus Adolphus intended to turn his weapons against Artois and that the French had assured him that, through their being masters of Pinerolo, they could guarantee the peace of Italy.[3]

Whilst Savelli apparently still hoped to get something,[4] hot-blooded Borgia lost his head. After a previous understanding with the Spanish Cardinals and a few others who sided with him, such as Ubaldini and Ludovisi, he resolved to have

[1] See LEMAN, 127 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso of February 28, 1632, Vatican Library.

[3] See P. Savelli's report of February 28, 1632, in SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 260 *seq.* *Cf.* KLOPP, III., 2, 661 ; LEMAN, 131, and PIEPER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter.*, XCIV., 473 *seq.*, who asserts, against GREGOROVIUS (40 *seq.*) that the more severe words that the Pope is said to have used by SIRI (VII., 481) are in contradiction with all reliable reports. LEMAN is also of this opinion (131, note 2).

[4] *Cf.* the information of the Florentine envoy, in PIEPER, *loc. cit.*

recourse to the extraordinary expedient which his King had empowered him to employ. March 8th, 1632, was the date of the customary secret Consistory. It was presided over by the Pope and took place in the new consistorial hall of the Vatican facing towards the piazza of St. Peter's.[1] As Cardinal Protector of Spain it fell to Borgia to make the first proposal for filling two vacant Spanish sees. This done he produced a document drawn up by Cardinal Ubaldini and, without first asking leave to do so, he began to read it in his rasping voice. It ran as follows: "No sooner had the Most Serene Catholic King of Spain received information of the conspiracy of all the heretical Powers with the King of Sweden, and of the defeat of the Catholics in Germany, than his one anxiety was to meet so great a danger at once, knowing that thus he would walk in the steps of his ancestors who had bequeathed to him so glorious a title, because they too fought for religion even more

[1] With regard to the extraordinary occurrences at the consistory of March 8, 1632, the account given by GREGOROVIUS (42 *seq.*) is, as PIEPER rightly emphasizes (*Hist.-polit. Blätter.*, CXIV., 479 *seq.*) very one-sided. In the appendix (123 *seq.*) he gives the actual words of Borgia's protest, an *Avviso from Rome of March 13, and the short letter of P. Savelli of March 8, 1632, an *Avviso di Roma* and a *Relatione* from the State Archives, Modena. But Gregorovius has not used the main source, which has been in print since 1875. It is the report drawn up immediately after the conclusion of the Consistory, and signed by seven Cardinals, published by LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 244–9. LÄMMER took it from *Cod.* A. E., XI., 75, of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, where we find on p. 4 *seq.*, the first draft, and p. 69 *seq.* the original with the signature of the seven Cardinals. LÄMMER only names the first two Cardinals (Bentivoglio and Vidoni); the five others are: Berlingerius, Gipsius, a Balneo, Verospius, and Ginettus. LEMAN (135 *seq.*) has used many other reports on the Consistory; the most important of these are the letter of the Secretary of State to the nuncios and the report of Borgia to Philip IV. (Archives at Simancas, 3096). I reproduce the former in App. XIV. As the text of the protest is inaccurate in Gregorovius, Leman has republished it from a copy in the archives at Simancas (pp. 563–4).

than for their Kingdom. For this reason the King has put on one side his interests in the Indies, in Italy and in the Netherlands; has supported the Emperor with vast subsidies in money and has commanded his troops in the Netherlands to resist the Swedes. Whilst thus mobilizing the resources of his Kingdom with a view to a yet greater effort, he realized that the combined forces of the heretics could only be driven back by the united armed forces of all Catholics. For this reason he has had recourse to Your Holiness as to the common Father, praying you with all humility, though also most earnestly, that you would deign not only to contribute generous sums of money but, what is even more important, that you would warn all Catholic Princes and peoples of their danger and earnestly exhort them to defend the cause of religion, in this present danger, with all their resources, and that by your apostolic zeal Your Holiness would show yourself also to be a Pope like the most holy and most illustrious among your predecessors who raised their voice like a trumpet, summoning all Christendom to form glorious alliances both for the defence and the spread of the faith. His Majesty is entitled to hope that in view of your exalted wisdom and piety Your Holiness will lend yourself to so splendid an enterprise. But since the evil grows daily and Your Holiness still hesitates . . . "

At these words the Pope, who until then had listened in silence, sharply interrupted the Cardinal and bade him stop. Borgia made as though he had not heard and tried to read the protest to the end. It ran thus: " For this reason His Majesty has commanded me to express in his name, in this illustrious assembly, all that the venerable lords, the Spanish Cardinals, and myself have frequently told Your Holiness in private, in order that as many of the venerable Fathers as are here present, may be witnesses before God and men that neither as regards zeal, authority or action, the King has failed the cause of God and the faith. At the same time he commanded me to protest with all due respect and humility, that any injury suffered by the Catholic religion must be ascribed not to himself, the most pious and obedient King, but to Your Holiness." The Pope prevented the reading of these concluding paragraphs

by once more commanding the Cardinal to keep silence. He asked Borgia in what capacity he spoke, whether as a Cardinal or as Philip IV.'s ambassador. When he answered: "As a Cardinal," the Pope replied: "The Cardinals are not entitled to speak at a secret Consistory without first obtaining our leave or without being questioned by us." When Borgia replied that he had also spoken in his capacity as ambassador, the Pope said with emphasis: "As ambassador your Eminence has no seat here; what you have to say in that capacity we shall listen to in an audience." "I could not obtain one," Borgia replied. This the Pope emphatically denied, reminding him that within the preceding fortnight he had had four or five audiences and once more he imposed silence on him. Borgia, now greatly excited, nevertheless went on contradicting the Pope. This so roused the Cardinal of S. Onofrio, Antonio Barberini, that he went up to Borgia and summoned him to keep silence. In so doing he seized the latter by the arm, but the Pope, by a gesture, signified to him to refrain. Cardinal Colonna also sought to make Borgia realize that he was in the wrong whilst some other Cardinals took the side of Borgia and a very heated contest arose. In view of the fact that Colonna belonged to the imperial party, his action particularly irritated Borgia: "I have nothing to do with your Eminence," he exclaimed, "I want to protest to the Pope!"

Urban VIII., who had been profoundly angered by Borgia's conduct, the offensiveness of which went beyond all bounds, soon recovered his complete self-possession. He had enough self-control to take note of Borgia's protest and to say: "We have at heart the care of the Catholic religion to which we have zealously devoted ourselves and we shall continue to do so. Our concern for the Catholic King has been shown by deeds. Let us now go on with the business of filling vacant episcopal sees."

On the next day Urban VIII. made a dignified protest to the King of Spain [1] and instructed his nuncio to make further

[1] The Brief to Philip IV., of March 9, 1632, is not unpublished, as LEMAN asserts (139); it was published from a copy in the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli by LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 248, note 1

remonstrances. On the very day of the Consistory he also put his signature to a Bull to the following effect: "Borgia and his supporters, by reason of their conduct, which is unjustifiable both in substance and in form, have incurred the canonical penalties, so that proceedings might be taken against them; nevertheless, lest an occasion be given to the ill-disposed to put on the incident a construction unfavourable to Philip IV., we put off, for the time being, the execution of these penalties, out of regard for the Catholic King." [1]

Meanwhile Borgia, who had the support of Cardinals Ubaldini, Scaglia, Sandoval, Spinola, Albornoz and Aldobrandini, had given the widest publicity to his protest all over Rome, whilst the representatives of the foreign Powers, who were taken aback by such a document, sent the text to their Governments. In a letter to Philip IV., the Spanish Cardinals affirmed their solidarity with Borgia. The latter, as well as Cardinals Aldobrandini and Spinola, advised the King to take advantage of the opportunity to bring to a head, once for all, the various questions in dispute between Rome and Madrid, especially the ecclesiastical ones.[2]

On March 11th, at a sitting of the Inquisition at which the Bull of March 8th was repeated and amplified,[3] further violent altercations broke out between the Pope and Borgia. The viceroy of Naples having threatened with a council and the force of arms in support of the latter, Urban VIII. was afraid to adopt the advice of those Cardinals who recommended an exemplary punishment of Borgia.[4] Avoiding all precipitation he submitted the case to a commission of experienced canonists, and though these pronounced unanimously against the Spaniard,[5] Urban VIII. nevertheless refrained from further action. The chief reason for such restraint was doubtless the

(line 4 read "ignarus" instead of "ignaris"). On March 6, 1632, Urban VIII. had complained to Philip IV. of encroachments by the Spanish government in Portugal; see *Epist.*, IX., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See *Bull*, XIV., 280 *seq.*

[2] See LEMAN, 136 *seq.*

[3] See *Bull.*, XIV., 283 *seq.*

[4] See LEMAN, 138.

[5] *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 245, note 2, 247, note 1.

fact that Borgia was backed by King Philip, and however great the Pope's annoyance may have been, he could not go the length of a complete rupture with Spain. So he deferred the punishment of Borgia [1] and the other Spanish Cardinals, but towards their Italian accomplices, Ubaldini and Ludovisi, he showed no such consideration.[2] Domenico Cecchini, a supporter of Ludovisi, relates in his autobiography that Cardinal Robert Ubaldini, who had had altercations with Maffeo Barberini on previous occasions,[3] and who was believed to be the author of Borgia's protest, had been threatened with internment in the Castle of S. Angelo and that he was only preserved from such a fate by the opposition of the fiscal official, Fabri.[4] According to other reports it was Cardinal Francesco Barberini who prevented extreme measures ; nevertheless Ubaldini was compelled to offer a written apology. As for Cardinal Ludovisi, the Pope informed him on March 18th, through Cecchini, that he was to betake himself to his archdiocese of Bologna within ten or twelve days ; if he did not go willingly he should be made to do so by force.[5] Ludovisi

[1] *Cf.* the decree in *Bull.*, XIV., 289 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LEMAN, 141.

[3] *Cf.* on these dissensions the *report in *Barb.* 4729, p. 341 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See the passage in the **Autobiografia* of CECCHINI in *Arch. stor. d. Soc. Rom.*, X., 295, which, however, is disfigured by a printer's error which alters the sense : in line 9 read " Borgia " instead of " Borghese ".

[5] LEMAN, 142. Cecchini has related in detail in his autobiography the misfortunes that befell him through the execution of this mission—he lost the favour of his beloved patron Ludovisi, and also, for a year, that of the Pope who was very angry. (Copies of the Autobiography are in the Barberini, Chigi and Corsini Libraries, Rome, and in the Library at Forli). *Cf. Arch. d. stor. Rom.*, X., 295 *seq.* Cecchini did not die at that time of vexation, as SIRI (VII., 485) asserted ; he became a Cardinal under Innocent X. and lived until 1656 ; see CARDELLA, VII., 53. According to a *Letter of Agucchi to Card. Ludovisi, July 27, 1624, the Pope at that time held the nephew of Gregory XV. in great esteem. Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

communicated the news to his friends in the Sacred College, including the Spanish Cardinals. It is characteristic of the insubordination of Borgia that he urged Ludovisi not to obey the Pope's command, assuring him at the same time of the protection of the King of Spain. According to Cecchini's account, the Spanish Cardinal so far forgot all sense of duty as to promise that in such an eventuality, and as a proof of the rupture of the Spanish Government with the Holy See, he would secure the expulsion of the Papal nuncio from Naples. Cecchini hints at further extravagant proposals by Borgia on that occasion.[1] However, Ludovisi was unwilling to follow him on that road; he told Borgia that he was a servant of the Pope and had no thought of denying obedience to him.[2] On March 27th he left his residence, the magnificent palace of the Cancelleria, which he had occupied as vice-chancellor and said good-bye to his beloved Rome.[3] He was already

[1] *" Il cardinale Borgia esortò il cardinale Ludovisi a non partire e che il re l'haveria sostenuto in Roma offerendo di far cacciare il Nuntio di Napoli, et altre esorbitanze." (Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the reports in LEMAN, 142.

[2] *" Dicendo ch'era servo et vassallo del Papa e che non conveniva partirsi della sua grazia (CECCHINI, *loc. cit.*). In view of this testimony of a well-informed witness, the report by a partisan, ALV. CONTARINI (*Relazione*, 379), that Ludovisi, in concert with the Spaniards, had plotted the summoning of a Council against Urban VIII., commands no credence. RANKE (*Päpste*, II.[6], 370) and GREGOROVIUS (49 *seq.*) accept it unquestioningly, although they knew Cecchini's autobiography. How the Pope was being influenced against Ludovisi by tale-bearers, *cf.* CRIVELLI's report in SCHNITZER, 235, note 5.

[3] *" La mattina del 27 Marzo (not 26th as SIRI (VII., 486) states), 1632, il card. Ludovisi partitosi di Cancellaria, piutosto cadavere spirante che huomo, tanto maltrattato dalla podagra, andò alla casa professa delli PP. Gesuiti, dove udita la messa nella cappella già stanza di S. Ignatio, salutati tutti gli amici, che in gran numero erano concorsi, et me in particolare, al quale sorridendo disse: Mons. Cecchini, per un pezzo non mi porterete più di quelle imbasciate, e con le lagrime di tutti montò in lettiga (*Vita del card. Cecchini*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*). Ant.

grievously stricken with gout; eight months later death released the one-time all-powerful nephew of Gregory XV. from his bodily and mental sufferings.

After prolonged deliberation Urban VIII. published a special decree which was inserted in the Consistorial Acts. It renewed the ancient rule according to which no Cardinal, either in his own name or in that of anyone else, not even if commissioned by an Emperor or a King, could bring up for discussion any topic other than the subjects which the Pope had put on the agenda.[1]

Shortly after the incident in the consistory of March 8th, Cardinal Barberini told the imperial ambassador, Paolo Savelli, that the way in which the Spaniards acted was not the one to induce the Pope to change his mind; on the contrary, it could only turn him against the Habsburgs and their interests. As a matter of fact the outrageous conduct of Borgia showed only too clearly what the Pope might expect should the Habsburgs obtain the hegemony of Europe.[2] In these circumstances it was not surprising that Ferdinand II. failed to obtain the subsidy he had asked for[3]; on the contrary, the Pope began to work for the realization of a plan which had been suggested by a report of Bichi, to the effect that a reconciliation between France and the Habsburgs still remained a possibility.[4] Urban VIII. told the imperial ambassador Savelli that he intended to appoint three extraordinary nuncios for the purpose of peace negotiations, viz. to the Emperor and to the Kings of Spain and France respectively.[5] The decision was communicated to the Cardinals

Giunti (**Vita e fatti del card. Ludovisi, Cod.* 32, D. 8, Corsini Library, Rome) describes Ludovisi's death (November 18, 1632) in detail.

[1] See LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 249, note 1.

[2] *Cf.* DE MEAUX, *La Réforme*, II., 424 *seq.*

[3] See LEMAN, 144.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See P. Savelli's report of March 13, 1632, in GREGOROVIUS, 129 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter of Savelli to Eggenberg, March 20, 1632: the nuncios were to "conciliar gl'animi e togliere le gelosie per benefitio della christianità universale" (State Archives,

in a Consistory of March 29th, 1632. The following were appointed: Girolamo Grimaldi, Governor of Rome, to the Emperor; Lorenzo Campeggi to Philip IV. and Adriano de Ceva to Louis XIII.[1] In the same consistory the Pope pronounced an address which sounded like an answer to Borgia's protest of March 8th, but its tone was extremely moderate. Urban VIII. spoke earnestly of his solicitude for the interests of the Church; if he had not always informed the Cardinals in detail, he had remedied the omission by the creation of a special Congregation which had given its consent to the dispatch of the nuncios. The Consistory had begun so punctually that twelve Cardinals came late, among them Sandoval, Spinola and Albornoz; Borgia also was present.[2]

The day before the Consistory of March 29th, the Hungarian Cardinal Pázmány, a wholehearted supporter of the Habsburgs, had arrived in Rome as special envoy of the Emperor.[3] Pázmány's mission [4] had already been grievously prejudiced by the conduct of Borgia, and in addition to this the latter's entourage had spread a rumour that Pázmány would adopt the same line of conduct as he himself. In consequence of this report the Pope gave orders that Pázmány should be informed that he could not be received as an envoy of Ferdinand II.[5] He was nevertheless received with every mark of honour and

Vienna). The mission of the nuncios was connected with the Pope's exhortation to peace, addressed to all Catholic Princes on April 1, 1632; see *Bull.*, XIV., 286 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* LEMAN, 213 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides the report used by LEMAN (140 *seq.*) *that of P. Savelli of April 3, 1632, in App. No. XV.

[3] See LEMAN, 148.

[4] Pázmány's reports were first published by MILLER DE BRASSO (*Epistolae card. P. Pazmany*, II., Budae, 1822), and more fully in the edition of the complete works of the Cardinal, sponsored by the theological Faculty of the Budapest University, begun in 1894, ed. by HAUNY (*Petri card. Pazmany epistolae*, I. (1601–1628), II. (1629–1636),) Budapest, 1910–11. Besides LEMAN, 147 *seq.*, *cf.* also FRAKNOI, *P. Pázmány*, III., 14–59.

[5] *Relatio Legationis Romanae*, in HANUY, *P. card. Pazmany epistolae*, II., 147; LEMAN, 147.

was given ample opportunity to expose his grievances. At the Cardinal's first audience, on the very day of his arrival, the Pope, after a few friendly remarks about the Emperor, expressed his satisfaction at the slowing down of the Swedish advance in Germany. Pázmány replied that a slowing down of this kind was like a feverless day in a sick man's life; the enemy would not be stayed in his victorious progress The Cardinal supported his opinion with a survey of events in Germany since the battle of Breitenfeld. Urban VIII. expressed his astonishment: if such was the situation the enemy must have had wings, so to speak; at any rate his progress was that of a traveller rather than that of an army on a war footing; it looked as if the German towns were inadequately fortified and defended since the Swedes had been able to penetrate even into those which were provided with very strong garrisons.[1] On April 6th, the Pope received Pázmány in solemn audience.[2] As the Cardinal was about to present his credentials, Urban VIII. put to him a question which the conduct of Borgia justified, viz. whether that document accredited him as imperial ambassador? If that was the case, he would be unable to accept the letter since Cardinals, who rank as Princes, were not allowed to act as ambassadors of secular rulers. Pázmány quoted precedents but the Pope declared that they were not to the point. Thereupon the Cardinal deemed it best to put an end to the discussion by declaring that he merely intended to carry out the instructions of the Emperor. The Hungarian Cardinal was a theologian of distinction and as a Bishop he had rendered the highest services to the cause of the Catholic restoration in Hungary,[3] but he was no diplomatist, for in that case he would not have been betrayed by his zeal for the Emperor's cause into representing

[1] See MILLER, II., 127 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* for this audience both the reports of Pázmány in MILLER, II., 74 and 132 *seq.*; and his printed *Secreta Relatio, ibid.*, 149 *seq.*; also KLOPP, III., and HANUY, II., 317.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 102, note, and above, p. 156 *seq.* See also the *letter of praise of June 8, 1630, *Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives.

the war as a purely religious one, nor would he have ascribed Saxony's going over to the Swedes solely to the edict of restitution; still less would he have asserted that the Pope had given his approval to that document, for these assertions were contrary to the facts. It was not fear of the edict of restitution that drove the weak and hesitant Elector of Saxony, John George, into the Swedish camp, but rather the fatal mistake of Tilly who invaded Saxony in order to force it to abandon its armed neutrality in favour of the Emperor.[1] But quite apart from all this the Pope's attitude towards the imperial edict had been one of cool reserve.[2] Consequently Urban VIII. at once emphatically declared that, as could be proved by the minutes, he had spoken of the edict in such general terms that it was evident that, though he had praised the Emperor's zeal and piety, he had by no means given his approval to that document.[3] If, in his letter to the Emperor, the Secretary of Briefs had said more than that, he did so against the Pope's intention. No doubt he, the Pope, had approved the aim of the edict of restitution, but not by any means either its form or the manner of its execution. He complained bitterly of the fact that none of the recovered possessions "had been restored to their lawful owners, but that the Princes had kept everything for themselves; perhaps that was the reason why they were now being punished by God".[4] To this Cardinal Pázmány had nothing to answer so he went on with his report: "The Emperor is well aware that there are not wanting those who, led astray by the passion of hatred, believe themselves, and try to convince others, that the war in Germany was simply a political struggle which had nothing to do with religion, or, which comes to the same, that the sole purpose of the war was to break the power of the House of Austria, without thereby injuring religion. These

[1] See Döberl, *Bayern*, I., 551.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 294 *seq.*

[3] That in this there was no "truly heroic untruth" as Gregorovius (57) asserts, has been shown by Tupetz (443, note 2).

[4] Cardinal Barberini wrote in the same sense on April 10, 1632, to Rocci; see Leman, 150, note 2.

allegations were made chiefly to the end that those who could and should support the common cause might play the rôle of idle onlookers. But if anyone considers the origin and progress of this war, and in particular the conduct of the King of Sweden, he will easily arrive at the conclusion that this is an invention and that, on the contrary, there is question of the destruction of the Catholic religion." Pázmány then described the conduct of the Swedes in the dioceses of Würzburg and Mayence.

Three requests made by the Cardinal concerned the grant of more generous subsidies to the Emperor, another attempt to dissuade the King of France from the alliance with Sweden, and participation by the Pope in a great military alliance which, in addition to Spain, was to include other Catholic Powers and which was evidently aimed, not only against Sweden, but also against France.[1] To the first point Urban opposed the huge debts of the Holy See, the enormous expenses, especially in connection with the war in Italy, and the subsidies previously granted to Germany. To the second point his reply was that he had already done his utmost to bring about a rupture of the Franco-Swedish alliance and that he had instructed his nuncio in Paris to give his support to the imperial ambassador in this matter. "Raising his voice," the Cardinal reports, "the Pope repeatedly declared that he had exerted himself a great deal in this respect." "To my third point," Pázmány continues, "namely that the League would be directed solely against those who sought to destroy the Holy Roman Empire, the Pope objected: 'And what happens if one of the confederates falls upon another?' I replied that this was foreseen in the articles of the treaty, and that any anxiety on that score would best be removed by the participation of the Holy See. Having heard me to the end, the Pope assured me once more of his sympathy with the Emperor and promised to consider everything."

When Urban VIII. complained of Borgia's protest, Pázmány

[1] For this alliance, the draft of which is printed in *Theatr. europ.*, III., 537 *seq.*, *cf.* RITTER, in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XCVII., 246.

committed the imprudence of attempting to justify so offensive an action. The protest, he said, had not been made without weighty reasons, nor without consideration having been given to its grave consequences, especially when one considers that it was made by so cautious a nation as the Spaniards who are wont to subject all important matters to mature reflection. "Though the secrets of Courts are hidden from me," Pázmány went on, "there are not a few people who think that between Your Holiness and the King of France there exists a secret understanding which threatens the House of Austria." In proof of his assertions Pázmány referred to a copy of an alleged report of the Paris nuncio, Bagno, in which it was stated that the Pope was anxious for the imperial dignity to pass to the House of Bavaria. He had also seen the text of a treaty between France and Savoy, concluded a few years ago, for the partition of the Spanish possessions in Italy, in which the Kingdom of Naples was assigned to the Holy See. Other reports also had given cause for suspicion. The fact that the Pope was increasing his troops and strengthening his fortresses had given rise to a suspicion that he was preparing for a big war, nay, there were those who, from confidential expressions, drew the conclusion that His Holiness was in a good or a bad mood according as the affairs of the Habsburgs took a turn for the better or the worse, for even the most secret things could not remain hidden from powerful rulers. Hence the Pope should remove every cause of suspicion and forestall the consequences of Borgia's protest by becoming reconciled to Philip IV. The only means to that end was participation in the League; in that eventuality he, the Cardinal, guaranteed that, through the mediation of the Emperor, the conflict with Spain would be amicably settled. In conclusion Pázmány pointed to the dangers which were bound to arise if, deceived by France's promises, the Pope were to provide a pretext for a rupture.

Urban VIII.'s amazement on hearing these allegations is intelligible enough. He protested against the accusation that he cherished any hostile sentiments towards the Habsburgs and pointed out that many things were said which could not

be proved.[1] He concluded with some strictly confidential communications on which Pázmány's letter is silent.[2] From a report of Pázmány dated April 9th, 1632, we gather what sharp expressions the Hungarian Cardinal permitted himself if not towards the Pope, then at least towards Cardinal Francesco Barberini and the Secretary of State, Azzolini. It was inevitable, he said, that Christendom should be scandalized if the Pope rejected so holy an alliance as the one proposed by the Emperor, which was one to which no Christian Prince could take exception. He was not going to look into the causes of the Mantuan war, but he could not refrain from asking whether it was really necessary for the Holy See to incur such heavy expenses in its own defence seeing that it had nothing to fear either from the Emperor or the King of Spain. If on that occasion the Pope could spend six millions

[1] What foolish rumours were spread is shown by the anonymous letters from Rome of April 3 and 10, 1632, in SÖLTL, III., 292 *seq.* and 295 *seq.* With regard to the favourable utterances which Urban VIII. was supposed to have addressed to Pázmány about the Swedish king, PIEPER has already established that there is no mention of them in the Cardinal's reports. "To take a thing of this kind to be true," PIEPER rightly remarks in his criticism (*Hist. polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 486–8), "demands the faith of a Söltl"! GREGOROVIUS also doubts the allegation, but thinks it could not be based on pure invention (70). KLOPP says very truly (III., 2, 674): "Just as these reports lack external evidence, so are they intrinsically most improbable. It is, however, possible that in Rome, as had happened in Venice, many let themselves be deceived by the assertions of Richelieu and his partisans, that the French alliance with the Swedish king had made religion secure in Germany. It is also possible that disappointment over the Mantuan war and the echoes of this misfortune, caused some Romans to consider that the ill fortune of the Imperial arms was in some way a punishment. But from this to rejoicing over the success of the Swedish arms, is a very long step! Pázmány indeed spoke sharply enough to the Pope and to the Emperor about the Pope; but not a hint is found in his words that Urban VIII. was favourably disposed to the King of Sweden." *Cf.* also LEMAN, 151, note 1.

[2] See MILLER, II., 151; HANUY, II., 319, 331; LEMAN, 152.

simply for fear of the Emperor, how was it that now, when religion was so hard pressed, he was unable to raise one million to oppose the Protestants ? [1]

Though the Hungarian Cardinal could hardly fail to realize that he would not obtain much, his obstinacy in acting as imperial ambassador in defiance of the papal prohibition put an end to any hope he may have entertained.[2] However plainly the Pope told him that his conduct was irreconcilable with his position as a Cardinal, he stuck to his point of view : "I would rather give up the red hat than your service," he wrote to Ferdinand, "for my first oath of fidelity was made to the Emperor." [3]

Meanwhile news had arrived that on March 9th Tilly had wrested Bamberg from the Swedish General Horn and inflicted serious losses on the latter's army.[4] The Pope congratulated Maximilian I. and Ferdinand II., wishing them further and even greater victories.[5] On April 17th he informed the Emperor of the impending departure of his nuncio extraordinary who would be the bearer of the money subsidy he had requested.[6]

Cardinal Pázmány had written as early as April 10th that it was useless to hope for a larger subsidy, for the Pope was firmly resolved not to touch the treasure deposited in the Castle of S. Angelo by Sixtus V., and because it was not so easy to raise the necessary funds by the usual means.[7]

Urban VIII. was further strengthened in his resolve by the support of the Romans. On April 19th an assembly of the

[1] This **Relation* which is not in Miller, is to be found in the State Archives, Vienna, *Romana fasc.*, 49. *Cf.* also LEMAN, 153.

[2] *Cf.* LEMAN, 154.

[3] Letter from Pázmány to Ferdinand II., dated Rome, 1632, April 16, in HANUY, II., 275.

[4] *Cf.* DROYSEN, II., 523 *seq.* ; RIEZLER, V., 405.

[5] See the *Briefs of April 10, 1632, *Epist.*, IX., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 338 *seq.*

[6] See *Brief of April 17, 1632, Papal Secret Archives ; the original is in the State Archives, Vienna. Grimaldi reached Vienna, June 21, 1632 ; for his activity there see LEMAN, 218 *seq.*

[7] See MILLER, II., 76 ; HANUY, II., 266.

citizens on the Capitol resolved to pray the Pope, in the name of the people of Rome, not to grant any subsidies to foreign Princes out of the treasury of the Castle S. Angelo for thereby Rome and the Holy See would be robbed of its means of defence [1]: so lively was even then the memory of the Sack of Rome which the accounts of the looting of Mantua by the imperial troops so recently revived!

Urban VIII. himself was haunted by the fear of the possibility of a return of the days of Clement VII. To the delegates of the Roman people he said that he had spent over four millions on the equipment of his troops, the strengthening of the fort of Urbano near Bologna and the Castle S. Angelo, and that he had also spent 600,000 scudi on the purchase of arms, so that Rome should not be defenceless as at the time of the various lootings which it had had to undergo. To prevent further devastations of this kind the Romans themselves should provide a fund out of which unforeseen necessities might be met.[2]

The discussions whether Pázmány was empowered to act as imperial envoy, which were not yet ended, did not prevent further conferences between the Hungarian Cardinal and Cardinal Barberini, nor even his being once more received in audience by the Pope on April 24th.[3] Meanwhile the military situation had taken an unfavourable turn for the imperialists and the Leaguists, for on April 7th Gustavus Adolphus had succeeded in taking Donauwörth, the key to Bavaria.[4] Pázmány made the best of Maximilian's dangerous situation as well as of the report that Hungary was being threatened by Rakoczy, Prince of Transilvania. He laid stress on the grave danger which menaced the Catholic religion in Germany from the King of Sweden; and yet, as he knew from a sure

[1] See GREGOROVIUS, 138 *seq.*

[2] See the *report of Fr. Niccolini of April 24, 1632 (State Archives, Florence) used by GREGOROVIUS, 54. *Cf.* Avviso, May 1, 1632, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* HANUY, II., 279 *seq.*, 282 *seq.* See also KLOPP, III., 2, 670 *seq.*; LEMAN, 158 *seq.*

[4] See RIEZLER, V., 407 *seq.*

source, the King of France was prepared to pay to the Swede one million livres in the following month and a similar sum at the end of summer. Instead of taking precautions against future dangers which were after all doubtful, it would be better for the Pope to think of the peril which threatened here and now. Hence he prayed His Holiness to give a favourable reply to the Emperor's requests. The answer was already drawn up; the Pope read it and added some oral explanations. With regard to the request for a money subsidy, in view of his own financial distress caused by the troubles in the Valtellina, the Mantuan war, and more recently by a dispute with Venice, he could not possibly go beyond the contributions he had already promised, but these he would continue. He would also earnestly warn the French King, as he had done before, not to strengthen the power of the Protestants by entering into an alliance with them. Cardinal Azzolini would explain why it was impossible for himself to join an Austro-Spanish League. The Pope, so we read in a memorandum drawn up by the Cardinal, was firmly resolved never to conclude an alliance which might involve him in a war with any Catholic Prince, for this would be at variance with his rôle of common Father of Christendom. Moreover it had been left open to heretical Powers to join the League, and with these the Pope could never enter into relations, just as he could not undertake to defend every ordinance of Empire, such as, for instance, the treaty of Passau, which was so damaging to the Church. Although through his nuncio he had acted as mediator at the peace of Ratisbon, he had assumed no responsibility for its maintenance, hence he was not to be held to account if anything was done against that agreement and if France refused to restore Pinerolo which she had taken from the Duke of Savoy. Nor could the Supreme Head of the Church enter into negotiations with the Grisons, seeing that they were heretics, on the subject of the Alpine passes. Since the only reason why the Pope was wanted in the League was that he should provide subsidies, and since he was prepared to pay these if he was able to do so, without any league, there was no reason for his joining it. Lastly it was not in keeping with

his dignity to join a league the conditions of which had been drawn up without his participation.[1]

Notwithstanding his previous experiences, Pázmány was still unwilling to give up all hope. To Cardinals Azzolini and Barberini he made the most pressing representations, which he renewed when the dreadful news arrived that Tilly had been mortally wounded and that the Swedes had invaded Bavaria. In a letter to Barberini—illness confined him to his room—he drew an eloquent picture of the ever growing peril, of the outrages committed by the Swedes in Bavaria, and of the traitorous attitude of France which had abandoned Maximilian to the Swedish King instead of preventing him, as bound by treaty, from entering Bavarian territory, or of giving to Bavaria the assistance to which the treaty also bound her in the event of invasion.[2]

As soon as his health allowed it Pázmány made yet another attempt to induce the Pope to change his mind. This took place on May 13th and 14th at Castel Gandolfo where Urban VIII. was making a brief stay. Once again the Cardinal made the most pressing representations and remarked that the King of Sweden, who had penetrated as far as Augsburg, was also threatening Italy. "However," he reports, "I obtained no more than before, namely that it was not the will to help that was lacking but that the means were exhausted."[3] Seeing that Urban VIII. was firmly resolved not to join an Austro-Spanish league, Pázmány made preparations for his departure. On May 26th, the Pope, who meanwhile had returned to Rome,[4] received him in solemn farewell audience. Urban VIII. informed him that he had ordered public prayers with a view to averting the Swedish peril; also that Grimaldi would go to Vienna as nuncio extraordinary, and that he would explain the financial distress of the Holy See and its incapacity for further large scale material sacrifices. Nevertheless he was willing to make a substantial advance payment, charging it to the usual

[1] See HANUY, II., 279; LEMAN, 157 *seq.*

[2] See KLOPP, III., 2, 673; LEMAN, 160 *seq.*

[3] See MILLER, II., 98 *seq.*; HANUY, II., 304 *seq.*; LEMAN, 162.

[4] May 18; see *Avviso of May 20, 1632, Vatican Library.

monthly subsidies. The Pope's hope that the Emperor would calm himself was based on the fact that Urban was actually dispatching to Vienna, through Grimaldi, the sum of 130,000 thalers, whilst he even promised a further contribution. However, of all this he said nothing to Pázmány whom he refused formally to recognize as the Emperor's envoy, so that it is not surprising that when the Cardinal left Rome at the beginning of June, he was in a very dissatisfied mood. The hot-blooded Hungarian aired his feelings freely in the course of his return journey. Wherever he went he complained that the Pope would not take into account the perilous situation of Christendom, that he refused to join the league proposed by the Emperor Ferdinand, that on the contrary, he stood in close relations with the latter's enemies.[1]

Crivelli, the representative of the Elector of Bavaria in Rome, was given to understand how deeply hurt the Pope was by talk of this kind, for he too, by command of his master, was pressing Urban for money. The Pope told him that he was willing to listen to friendly representations but that he would not be compelled. "The blustering manner of the Hungarian Cardinal has spoilt everything," Crivelli wrote on May 29th, 1632. He was nevertheless able to report that the Pope had addressed three autograph letters to the King of France in order to recommend to him the interests of the German Catholics and especially those of Bavaria.[2]

What were the intentions of the Pope appears from the Instructions of May 1st, 1632, to the nuncios Grimaldi, Campeggi and Ceva, who were being dispatched to the Courts of Vienna, Madrid and Paris.[3] Two weighty tasks were entrusted to them, viz. first to reconcile the great Catholic

[1] See LEMAN, 164 *seq.*, 218.

[2] See SCHNITZER, *Zur Politik*, 234.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 293. Grimaldi's Instruction, which could not be found by LEMAN (225, note 5) is dated May 1, 1632. It is preserved as an autograph copy by Barberini in *Barb.* XXXIII., 149, Vatican Library. It is, as LEMAN rightly supposed, identical with that of Ceva (*Arm.* III., 47, p. 1 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives) and probably also with that of Campeggi.

Powers and then to combine their forces against the Swedes. History taught, so we read, that the enemies of the Catholic religion, whether infidels or heretics, always derived the greatest advantage from the dissensions of Catholic Princes. This was true also in the case of Gustavus Adolphus who, not content with his attack on Germany, would before long threaten Italy, the Netherlands, France and Poland, nay, the whole Catholic world. It it came to that, those Princes who at present are content with the rôle of onlookers, or perhaps even go so far as to support the King of Sweden for the sake of their own separate interests, would be made to feel how fatally mistaken they had been. Even now the King of Sweden only sought his own advantage. How will he not act when his power shall have extended still further ? On the French side it was argued that France must have a free hand on her frontiers, but the Swede, who was already reaching out for the Rhine and the Alpine passes, would get these frontiers into his power. The only remedy lay in the restoration of concord among the Catholic Princes. France should ponder the hopes the Huguenots set on the Swedes, especially in view of the discords in the royal household ; and Spain should consider that the Dutch Calvinists were bound to wax bolder. Hence it was the nuncio's task to solve the discord between France and the Habsburgs and to reconcile Richelieu and Olivares. The Instruction then examines the differences between the aforesaid nations, whilst at the same time it justifies the papal policy. Mention is also made of the divergences between the Emperor and the Catholic Princes, more particularly Maximilian of Bavaria, and the hope is expressed that these disputes would be quickly settled, though it would take more time to bridge the far deeper cleavage between France and the Habsburgs. However, in view of the immediate peril there was no time to lose ; a provisional arrangement should be arrived at so that the great Catholic Powers might combine their forces against Gustavus Adolphus ; once he was defeated there would follow a final settlement. The reconciliation was conceived in the form of a reciprocal promise by the Powers not to attack one another for the duration of the struggle with

the Swedes. Of all the matters in dispute that of Pinerolo was the most difficult, and it was this which until then had wrecked every attempt at a compromise, hence it is discussed in detail and various suggestions for a settlement are made. After a detailed statement of the manifold efforts of the Pope to bring about peace, and of some fresh points of view which should be taken into account in the new efforts to be made, stress is laid on the following facts: the Pope's one aim was the security of religion and the guarantee of peace, hence he favoured neither one party nor the other. For this reason particular proposals must not be made in the Pope's name, for he only wished to mediate, not to arbitrate. The interests of the Catholic Church must be defended against the Protestants, but the nuncios must not enter into direct negotiations with them. There must be close contact and perfect harmony with the local nuncio, and daily reports should be sent in, if necessary through couriers. After describing the incidents in connection with Cardinals Borgia and Pázmány, the Instruction explains why the Pope was unable to grant to the Emperor and to the League anything beyond the monthly subsidy of 10,000 thalers. It was a mistake to imagine that the Holy See possessed mountains of gold which the Pope was unwilling to lend for the war against the Protestants. The Pontifical States were very small and their revenues, in comparison with those of other States, were but slender whereas expenditure since 1623 had gone up enormously; and as for the treasure in the Castle of S. Angelo, other Popes had refused to touch it and the Romans had manifested their opposition to such a measure. With regard to the Franco-Swedish alliance, the Pope had done all he could, by means of nuncios, Briefs, and other letters, to bring about its dissolution. The Holy Father would never depart from his impartial attitude as the common Father of Christendom by participating in leagues the aims of which were in part political, for only thus would he be in a position to work for the restoration of peace among the discordant Catholic Powers. He could attest before God's tribunal that peace was the object of his constant and most earnest solicitude.

The Pope foresaw the difficulties which the nuncios extraordinary would have to contend with. As a matter of fact they achieved nothing whatever,[1] hence, as on several previous occasions, the Pontiff had once more recourse to God. He ordered special prayers in view of the distress of the Church, especially in Germany, and granted Indulgences to the faithful.[2] On June 6th, 1632, which was Trinity Sunday, and on the two following days, the Forty Hours' Prayer was to be observed in the church of S. Maria della Vittoria, and a Plenary Indulgence was granted to all those who would take part. On the third day the Pope, accompanied by a number of Cardinals, went in person to celebrate a Votive Mass in that church which owed its name to the victory of the White Mountain.[3] At the same time Urban VIII. ordered that the Elector of Bavaria should receive 50,000 out of the 130,000 thalers of which Grimaldi was the bearer. When an undue delay occurred in the payment of the money, the Pope was greatly annoyed; he blamed the Spaniards who envied Maximilian that subsidy and who in general had always been the disturbers of the peace.[4]

Pázmány was wholeheartedly on the side of the Spaniards; in fact he so far forgot himself that, on his return, he sought to induce the Emperor to make some bold manifestation against the Holy See.[5] Fortunately Ferdinand II. shrank from a step which would have meant an open rupture, but Madrid was ready for extreme measures even if they included the danger of a schism. The voices of those who blamed Borgia's conduct as inopportune, and who declared that by granting 600,900 scudi the Pope had shown his goodwill, found no echo, whilst Philip IV., at the instigation of Olivares, approved Borgia's protest, praised the Cardinal and maintained him

[1] *Cf.* LEMAN, 213–240.

[2] *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 223 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*; MÜLLER, *Friedensvermittlungen*, 165 *seq.*

[3] See SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*; LEMAN, 194 *seq.*

[4] See Crivelli's report, July 26, 1632, in SCHNITZER, 235.

[5] See SCHWICKER, 78.

as his ambassador with the Holy See.[1] Court theologians submitted memoranda to the King in which they approved and justified the protest. One of these documents counselled Philip IV. to sequestrate all the revenues which the Pope drew from Italy; another suggested that he should demand the suppression of all the abuses condemned by the Council of Trent; and yet another gave the advice that the King should arrange for the convocation of a General Council and meanwhile convene a Spanish National Council.[2] In Rome Cardinal Borgia comported himself with unparalleled arrogance; he carried things so far as to refuse to greet the Cardinal Secretary of State, Barberini, when driving past him in the street.[3] In his conceit he boasted everywhere that Philip IV. had approved his action and would maintain him as his ambassador. At the end of May the Marchese Castel Rodrigo arrived in Rome as envoy extraordinary of Spain. The hope that Borgia would be recalled was not fulfilled. To avoid a greater evil the Pope, who had been so grievously offended by the haughty Cardinal, had to endure his continued presence in Rome as the representative of the King of Spain.[4]

Richelieu behaved with far greater discretion than either the Spanish Statesmen or Pázmány. At the very time when the latter was defending Borgia's conduct, the French Cardinal took advantage of the incident to ingratiate himself with the Pope as well as to excite still further his resentment against the Spaniards. The proof of it is in the following letter which the French Cardinal wrote to Urban VIII. on April 20th, 1632. It runs as follows: "Most Holy Father, whilst the King's piety feels grievously hurt by the misfortune inflicted on the Church by the division and discord of the Christian Princes, His Majesty has been further shocked by the wicked

[1] See GREGOROVIUS, 73 *seq.*; LEMAN, 175. *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, LXXII., 1 (1913), 316.

[2] See GINDELY, *Gesch. des Dreissigjähr. Krieges*, in three parts, II., Prague, 1882, 242 (evidently based on documents at Simancas).

[3] See Barberini's *letter to C. Monti, quoted by GREGOROVIUS, 76 *seq.*, after *NICOLETTI, V., ch. 5, Vatican Library.

[4] See LEMAN, 199 *seq.* *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, 77 *seq.*

attitude of some Spanish ministers towards your Holiness, and by the want of respect on the part of one who is specially bound to honour your Holiness. I cannot find words to express my astonishment that a man should have so far forgotten himself as to utter complaints and disrespectful expressions instead of the praise and humble gratitude which are due to the particular goodness and circumspection of the government of your Holiness. Your Holiness has given such signal proofs that you always desire to assure the tranquillity of Christendom and to compose the differences by which it might be troubled, that no one, unless he were blinded by passion, can fail to see that you have left nothing undone that could forward so excellent a purpose. If there are any among those who cannot be ignorant of the truth, who yet assert the contrary, everyone sees clearly that only their selfishness blinds their eyes in presence of justice, and opens their mouth in discourses which are at variance with the voice of their conscience. It would seem that of late God has permitted several incidents of this kind, to the end that your Holiness may be given fresh proofs of the zeal of the most pious as well as the greatest of princes in all Christendom who always deems it his particular glory to identify himself with all your interests, and to associate himself with the exertions and the good intentions for the advancement of religion and the security of public tranquillity of which your Holiness has always given so many proofs. The King is of opinion that he will be doing no small thing if he gives the example of the deference that is due to the Holy See itself, and which is specially called forth by a Pope so eminent by reason of his rare virtues. As for myself, most Holy Father, I should deem myself wholly unworthy of the honours which I enjoy in the Church, as well as of the favours of a Prince to whose service I am bound by so many ties, did I not also work for that tranquillity which your Holiness and His Majesty are so anxious to procure for Christendom and which, until now, has only been troubled by those who are for ever seeking to oppose both your persons. I trust that God will make the truth more and more evident to the whole world, and that your

Holiness will have cause to agree that even as the King is ever ready to do all he can for God's honour, the good of the Church and general peace, so he will not miss any opportunity to prove to you the sincere interest which he takes in your House. To these, in accordance with his intentions and the merits of your Holiness, I also shall always be faithfully devoted." [1]

The purpose of this letter appears from another which Richelieu simultaneously addressed to Cardinal Bagno; "My advice is," he says in that letter, "that His Holiness should take a good and strong resolution against the insolence of Cardinal Borgia. It is said that the Pope is resolved to send all these Spanish gentlemen into their dioceses. In my opinion he will do well to act thus, for this is a step on which he can insist with the approval of the whole world. However, a thing like this must not be begun unless he is determined to carry it through, in spite of any opposition or contradiction that he may meet with. By this means the Pope will free himself from the annoyances which Spain creates for him with the intention of tormenting him to death; and when perhaps ten years from now God disposes of his person, all these enemies will be away from Rome and thus prevented from injuring his House. I beg of you to assure both his Holiness and Cardinal Barberini of the interest which I shall always take in all that concerns them." [2]

Urban VIII. was far too shrewd to yield to the temptation of breaking completely with the Spaniards, however much they might provoke him. He knew very well that, apart from various evil consequences, one result would be that instead of the pressure of the Government of Madrid he would have to endure that of the Cabinet of Paris. Accordingly his answer to Richelieu's letter, beyond an expression of thanks for his protestations of devotion, contained nothing except an exhortation to France on behalf of peace [3]; in

[1] Avenel, IV., 284 *seq.*, trans. in Klopp, III., 2, 667 *seq.*

[3] Avenel, IV., 283 *seq.*

[3] See the text of the *Brief of May 22, 1632, in *Epist.*, IX., Papal Secret Archives.

other words, Richelieu was asked to renounce his alliance with Sweden. The French Cardinal entertained no such notion, though he was beginning to view with jealous eye the enormous successes of Gustavus Adolphus. The divergent aims of the two allies were also becoming increasingly apparent. All the Pope's exhortations fell dead on Richelieu's ears.[1] The answer which he gave to the Paris nuncio in August, 1631, when the latter remonstrated because of his connection with Gustavus Adolphus, is characteristic of Richelieu's sentiments : The Swede's hostility to the Emperor, he asserted, could only enhance the prestige of the Pope which otherwise would have suffered greatly in Italy ; it was precisely consideration for the advantage of the Pope that calmed his own conscience in respect to his alliance with the Protestant King.[2] The Cardinal's conscience, however, did not prevent him from turning a blind eye to the infractions of the clause of the treaty of January, 1631, with the Swedes, concerning the preservation of the Catholic religion in the conquered places. True, the clause in question, apart from political and other considerations, put a certain restraint on the Swedish King. He refrained from introducing Protestantism by force in the Catholic towns conquered by him, and in marked

[1] See **Memoria* in *Vat.* 6929, p. 38–42, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 38 *seq.* ; SCHNITZER, 250.

[2] RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II.², 406. When Ranke adds : " The nuncio had nothing to say to this," he says what is not true. NICOLETTI, whom Ranke knew, reports on the contrary the following reply of *Bagno, quoting from his cipher report of April 11, 1631 (*decif. May* 15) : " Io replicai con le più forti considerationi sopra le quali pregai S.Eª a fare qualche riflessione, e dissi che fra tanto sarei accordato a presentare al re il breve di S.Stà in simile proposito." Finally Richelieu said in a confidential tone that he and his king were sad that the Pope was not so favourably disposed to them as before and that he refused all favours, dilating on this for half an hour. Bagno replied that he was happy to see that he and the King were so " ansiosi " for the Pope's favour. The letter itself is in *Barb.* 8077, p. 51, of the Vatican Library.

contrast to the lawlessness of the imperial troops, he maintained strict discipline in his army.[1]

Gustavus Adolphus acted with extreme astuteness. To the Protestants of Sweden and Germany he represented his undertaking as "a war of liberation for his oppressed co-religionists", whereas in Paris and Venice he declared that it was an Austrian lie to assert that he was waging a war of religion.[2] To make the latter assertion more credible, immediately after the battle of Breitenfeld, he set at liberty several Catholic priests who had been made prisoners and when he took Würzburg he proclaimed that he would not curtail the religious liberty of those who were willing to submit to him.[3] Well calculated also were the friendly remarks which Gustavus Adolphus dropped in more than one place about the Catholic priests and even about the Jesuits,[4] but how little reliance could be placed on these fair words and the promises of the King is sufficiently shown by what took place at Erfurt. After his entry into that city of the Elector of Mayence, the King inspected the fortifications on October 2nd, 1631. When he arrived on the Petersberg, he had a conversation with the Jesuit Rector which was specially exploited in France in the interests of the Franco-Swedish alliance.[5] As a matter of fact an authentic account leaves no doubt that Gustavus Adolphus conversed in the friendliest way with the Jesuits and left them free either to remain in Erfurt or to leave the town. Should they decide to adopt the latter course he would give them a safe-conduct, for he would not

[1] Burgus (*De bello Suecico*, Leodii, 1633, 45), shows how greatly this was in Gustavus Adolphus's favour. *Cf.* also Riccius, 295, 302.

[2] *Cf.* Klopp, III., 1, 409; III., 2, 312. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, III., 2, 655 *seq.*, how excellently Gustavus Adolphus's game succeeded in France. For the view of the Venetians, see Mocenigo, *Relazione di Spagna*, in Barozzi-Berchet, *Spagna*, I., 672.

[3] See Häberlin, XXVI., 349, 357, who quotes the Catholic Riccius (271, 275).

[4] See Duhr, II., 1, 416 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*, 431 *seq.* *Cf.* Riezler, V., 419.

[5] See Cordara, II., 564.

consent that a hair of their heads should be touched by his followers; if on the contrary they chose to remain in Erfurt they would have to promise in writing not to do anything against Sweden; thereafter they would enjoy full liberty in things spiritual.[1] They gave the promise, and the King went so far as to provide a guard for them. These protectors, however, carried out their duty in such a way as to exhaust the resources of the College. After the King's departure the Jesuits remained unmolested for a period of over six months, but after that they were expelled by the City Council. The latter also deprived the Catholics, who had already suffered much at the hands of the Swedish soldiery, of the principal church. Clergy and Jesuits relied on the protection promised to them by Gustavus Adolphus. On the King's return to Erfurt towards the end of October, 1632, a deputation of the local clergy, both secular and regular, presented a respectful petition in which they humbly reminded him of the protection and liberty of religion which he had guaranteed to them, as well as of the loyalty and obedience which they had sworn and faithfully observed. The poor men did not know as yet that, contrary to all his promises, Gustavus Adolphus, on October 9th, had already assigned to the Protestant Council of Erfurt two collegiate churches, nine monasteries and all the parish churches as well as the Jesuit College, together with all their possessions![2] There can be no doubt that notwithstanding the paragraph of Bärwalde, the King of Sweden aimed at the gradual extinction of the Catholic Church in Germany.[3]

[1] See the *Historia domus Erford. Soc. Iesu*, used by SCHAUERTE, *Gustav Adolf und die Katholiken in Erfurt*, Köln, 1887, 10 *seq.*, but previously printed in RÄSS, *Konvertiten*, X., 430 *seq.* This report, which was not intended for publication, deserves greater credence than the accounts in GFRÖRER-KLOPP [4], 673 *seq.* It agrees also with CORDARA (II., 465), who adds a few details. *Cf.* also *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXV., 503 *seq.*

[2] See SCHAUERTE, *loc. cit.*, 40 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*

[3] See BAUR, *Sötern*, I., 204. *Cf.* SCHAROLD, *Gesch. der schwedischen Zwischenregierung*, in the *Archiv. des Hist. Vereins für Unterfranken*, VII., 2 (1842), 87.

As in Erfurt, so elsewhere also, the Catholics, and above all the Jesuits, as the chief champions of the Catholic restoration, had to suffer much in consequence of the victorious progress of the Swedes. In many places Gustavus Adolphus systematically handed over the possessions of the Catholics to the Protestants, thus cutting the ground from under the feet of the Catholic clergy.[1] In this way the recent Jesuit foundations at Verden, Goslar and Stade came to a sudden end, and nearly all the houses of their Rhine Province, and still more so those of the Upper German one, had much to suffer.[2]

It was to be expected that wherever possible, Gustavus Adolphus would make the edict of restitution retro-active. In this way the dioceses of Lower Saxony were once more lost to the Church. In the diocese of Würzburg the Lutheran preachers and schoolmasters who had been expelled from the localities belonging to the nobles, were reinstated.[3] At Kaufbeuren, Donauwörth and Augsburg, the Protestants gained once more the upper hand,[4] and many monasteries in Württemberg were again confiscated.[5] Thus at one blow the whole situation was changed into its opposite. The Catholic restoration, which was about to make extensive reconquests in northern,

[1] *Cf.* SODEN, I., 122 *seq.*, 205, 207, 233, 263 *seq.*, 440; DROYSEN, II., 447; FALK, in the *Hist. polit. Blätter.*, CXX., 240.

[2] See DUHR, II., 1, 129 *seq.*, 133, 392. *Cf.* DAMIANUS, *Synopsis Soc. Iesu*, Tornaci Nervior. 1641, 346 *seq.*

[3] See DROYSEN, II., 447.

[4] *Cf.* STEICHELE, *Bistum Augsburg*, III., 578, 750; VI., 408; DROYSEN, II., 534, 548; SPINDLER, in the *Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, XXVIII. (1915), 42 *seq.* During the negotiations over the oath of loyalty required from the Augsburg clergy, Gustavus Adolphus sent an assurance to the Benedictine monks of St. Ulrich: "regem neque conscientiis aut religioni aliquid contrarium exigere neque privilegia aut immunitates infringere aut canonum statuta immimuere statuisse" (see **Relatio status cleri Augustani*, in *Cod.* N. 21, p. 95 *seq.* of the Vallicelliana Library, Rome), whereupon the Benedictines took the oath; the rest of the clergy refused it; see DUHR, II., 1, 417 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* GÜNTER, *Das Restitutionsedikt von* 1629 *und die katholische Restauration Altwürttembergs*, Stuttgart, 1901.

central and southern Germany, was definitely checked in its progress and received wounds from which it never recovered.[1] Elsewhere also, in consequence of the intervention of the King of Sweden, the prospects of the Catholic cause evaporated.[2]

In view of the complaints of the heads of the League to Louis XIII. and Richelieu of the non-observance of the paragraph of the treaty of Bärwalde in favour of the Catholics, the French Cardinal was forced to make some sort of representation to Gustavus Adolphus, but of a serious attempt to compel the King of Sweden to observe the agreement there was no sign. For the rest, Richelieu saw to it that especially among the Romance peoples, the campaign of the Swedes should have the semblance of a purely political struggle. Favoured as he was by the universal aversion in Italy to the power of Spain and that of the Emperor, her ally, he succeeded in causing this view, which was strongly held by Venice, to prevail in Rome.[3] In point of fact, in view of the intimate connection between political and religious interests, it was exceedingly difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to decide in every instance which were the deciding ones.[4] Accordingly the Pope observed the utmost caution,

[1] There is an index of the restitutions planned and carried through, in TUPETZ, 523–566, but it is often inaccurate. In addition there are two very instructive maps. *Cf.* KLOPP, in the *Forsch.*, I., 77 *seq.*; LOCH, in *Jahresbericht des Hist. Vereins für Oberfranken*, 1876, 34 *seq.*, for information regarding the Bishop of Bamberg, Johann Georg II., as President of the imperial commission for the execution of the edict of restitution. With regard to Württemberg see the detailed account of GÜNTER, *Restitutionsedikt*, 52 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 105 *seq.*, 183–225.

[2] Thus, largely through Gustavus Adolphus's arrival in Germany, Geneva escaped the annexation which Vittorio Amadeo I. of Savoy and Richelieu were planning in 1631/2; see ROTT, in the *Rev. hist.*, CXII. and CXIII.

[3] See O. KLOPP's criticism of RANKE's "Wallenstein" in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CIX., 409, 414 *seq.* *Cf.* HURTER, *Französ. Feindseligkeiten gegen Österreich*, Vienna, 1859, 46 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* QUAZZA, *La guerra*, II., 357.

seeing that both the Habsburgs and the Bourbon King sought to harness him to their own separate chariots. Through all the attempts to deceive him, Urban VIII. clearly discerned the private political interests pursued by the two rivals. He deemed it irreconcilable with his rôle of common Father of Christendom to serve the interests of either; therefore he steadily declined to join either of the leagues planned on the one hand by the Habsburgs and on the other by Louis XIII., ostensibly for the purpose of assuring the tranquillity of Italy and of Christendom.[1] By May, 1632, the situation had become such that the Pope himself began to think of forming a league, not, however, for the benefit of some particular interest, but solely for the defence of Italy against the Swedes, for reports came in from various quarters that Gustavus Adolphus was demanding a free passage through the Grisons for a section of his troops; nay, that he intended to cross the Alps himself and to invade Italy.[2]

What hopes the Protestants entertained at that time is revealed by certain leaflets which speak of a new march on Rome, like that of the Goths and the Lombards of old.; the Swedish King was about to invade Italy, destroy the States of the Church and so inaugurate the domination of the new teaching on the other side of the Alps.[3]

In his alarm, which was very great, Urban VIII. took up once more a plan he had previously considered, namely, the creation of a defensive league of the Italian States to which

[1] See LEMAN, 179 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the reports in LEMAN, 188. The *letter of Bichi of June 4, 1632, quoted without indication of source by RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, II.², 432) is to be found in *Barb.* 8086, p. 66, Vatican Library; after the passage quoted by Ranke there follows this important remark: "Il che qui è stato espressamente negato rispondendosi che non si ha per bene che pensi a uscir di Alemagna."

[3] See DROYSEN, *Gustav Adolf*, II., 593. L. Camerarius had already expressed the hope in April, 1632, that the Swedes would bring back the Heidelberg Library from Rome; see *Serapeum*, 1856, 229 *seq.*

Spain and the Swiss would be invited to lend their co-operation.[1] However, no one was prepared to fall in with his views; neither Savoy nor Venice nor the Swiss would support the plan, whilst the suspicious Spaniards only saw in it a scheme for depriving them of a free passage through the Grisons.[2]

Having thus failed, Urban VIII. was all the more gratified by the improvement in the military situation which had marked the resumption of the supreme command by Wallenstein now invested with unusually wide powers. When on June 25th, 1632, news arrived of the capture of Prague by Wallenstein (May 25th), the Pope, though suffering from an attack of gout, went the very next day, accompanied by many Cardinals, from the Quirinal to the German national church of S. Maria dell'Anima, where he celebrated a Mass of thanksgiving at the high altar and recited the litany of the Saints.[3] On June 26th enthusiastic Briefs were dispatched to the Emperor and Wallenstein: "This victory, the first fruits of the new campaign," we read in the letter to Wallenstein, "is an omen of complete triumph. We bless you, illustrious man, and we pray that under your leadership Germany may be delivered from harm and injury. With the blessing of the Church you will triumph and Europe will acknowledge that the power of so great a general is the shining spear of heaven." [4]

The junction of the army of Wallenstein with that of Maximilian raised the commander's forces to over 40,000 men "of the handsomest and best people", to whom Gustavus could only oppose 15,000 men for the time being. In these circumstances could the King of Sweden still think of a raid across the Alps? After many successes he saw himself

[1] See LEMAN, 188 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 190 *seq.*, 192.

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, 456; LEMAN, 156.

[4] The Brief to Wallenstein in GREGOROVIUS, 149, according to a copy in the State Archives at Modena, but with the wrong date, "June 15"; that to Ferdinand II. is in EHSES, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 339 *seq.*

constrained to remain on the defensive. Even when he succeeded in equalizing the relative strength of the two armies, his attack on September 3rd, on the fortified camp of the allies near Nuremberg, ended in failure. Thereupon the Swede made proposals for peace which Wallenstein, however, refused to discuss until he should have been empowered to do so by the Emperor.[1]

The Duke of Friedland now held almost the whole of Saxony. The King of Sweden hearkened to the Elector's call for assistance but the days of the leader whose army had fought in nearly every part of Germany were numbered. On November 16th, 1632, was fought the battle of Lützen in which Gustavus Adolphus met with his death.[2] On the evening of December 9th an imperial courier brought the news to Rome. Frederick Savelli, who was acting for his brother at the imperial embassy, presented himself before the Pope on the following morning and renewed his request for larger subsidies for the Emperor. Urban VIII. replied as before that to his great regret he lacked the necessary means.[3] The continued reserve of the Pope with regard to the grant of subsidies was without doubt also prompted by the shocking abuses in the administration of the imperial finances. As early as July, 1624, on the occasion of the complaints of the Emperor's confessor, Lamormaini, of inadequate support by the Pope, the Jesuit General, Vitelleschi, had pointed out how the money was being squandered in Vienna. The possessions of the rebels, which might have defrayed the expenses of the war for years, had been dissipated or fraudulently acquired by a few men. These circumstances had not been without influencing the Pope, for it is evident that in view of

[1] *Cf.* Droysen, II., 597 *seq.*, 622 *seq.*; Riezler, V., 425; Ritter, III., 537 *seqq.*

[2] See Droysen, in the *Forsch. zur deutschen Gesch.*, V.; Diemar, *Über die Schlacht bei Lützen*, Marburg, 1880, and v. Srbik, in the *Mitteil. des österr. Institut*, XLI. (1926), 231 *seq.*

[3] See Savelli's report of December 11, 1632, in Ehses, in the *Festschrift des deutschen Campo Santo*, Freiburg, 1897, 281.

such abuses no Prince would easily be induced to send money to Vienna.[1]

Whilst in Rome the imperialists exulted at the news of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the supporters of France were in dismay and endeavoured to belittle as much as they could the significance of this event.[2] Such was also Richelieu's state of mind. Even though latterly, in view of the great successes of the Swedish King, he may have been haunted by the fear lest his ally should become too big for him, it is nevertheless not true that he welcomed his death as removing a rival. A document of 1633 shows that he feared that now he would have to intervene openly in the struggle, whereas it had always been his plan to wage the war covertly, through the Swedes, the German Protestants and the Dutch.[3] Another invention, which the most recent research has finally disposed of, is the story that the Pope showed signs of grief at the death of Gustavus Adolphus. In the full knowledge that the Spaniards were for ever putting a wrong construction on all his actions, he resolved to forestall any possible misrepresentations of his feelings on this occasion. He therefore repaired to the German national church as early as December 11th, accompanied by many Cardinals, to celebrate a Mass of thanksgiving. It being Advent the Pope and the Cardinals wore purple vestments.[4] Owing to an oversight on the part

[1] See DUHR, II., 2, 699. For the bad financial administration at Vienna, which had a parallel at Madrid, *cf.* also JANNSSEN, *Die neueren Forschungen über den Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1861, 562 *seq.* See also HUBER, V., 204 *seqq.*

[2] See in the *Festschrift des deutschen Campo Santo* (1897), 282, the report of C. H. Motmann, of December 11, 1632.

[3] See MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 264 *seq.*

[4] See EHSES, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 340, where the authentic account of the papal master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, is used whereby the ridiculous question suggested by GREGOROVIUS (8 *seq.*) whether Urban VIII. had said a Mass " for the repose of the soul of the great hero ", is finally disposed of. The details given by EHSES and SCHNITZER (in the *Festschrift des*

of the Master of Ceremonies only the litany, but not the *Te Deum*, was sung at the end of Mass. This omission, which puzzled the Germans and prompted an immediate explanation by Cardinal Barberini,[1] was made good on the very next day: whilst the Ambrosian hymn of praise was being sung at the church of the Anima, a *feu de joie* was fired from the castle of S. Angelo.[2] As soon as the news of the death of Gustavus Adolphus reached Rome, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Barberini, wrote to the Paris nuncio, Bichi: "As you may easily imagine, the Pope heard the news with great joy, for now the snake is dead which sought to poison the whole world with its venom. So far we have no particulars of the victory, but whatever they may be, the death of so bitter an enemy of religion and of so mighty a leader will always represent a great advantage." [3]

On December 14th, 1632, Urban VIII. sent the following Brief to the Emperor: "Most beloved son in Christ! Greeting and Apostolic blessing. That which we have long desired above all other things and for which we have continuously offered to God our most ardent supplications, has been granted to your Majesty by Him, and we congratulate you with all our heart. We offer unceasing thanks to the God of Judgment that He has exercised vengeance against the proud and removed from the neck of the Catholics the yoke of their most pitiless enemy. The greatness of this favour of His bounty is realized by Germany, of which more than one province, now almost reduced to desolation by foreign arms, will for a long time to come lament the death of its inhabitants, the looting of its towns and the devastation of its territories;

deutschen Campo Santo [280 *seq.*], have disposed once for all of the fable that Urban VIII. grieved—instead of rejoicing—over the death of Gustavus Adolphus. *Cf.* also the opinion of BILDT in *Dagens Nystetter* of February 18, 1923.

[1] See the letter to Maximilian I., quoted by SCHNITZER, *loc. cit.*, 283.

[2] See the report of P. Alaleone in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 341. For the celebrations by the Germans, see SCHMIDLIN, 457.

[3] Letter of December 11, 1632, in GREGOROVIUS, 155.

it is realized by us whose heart was ever full of nameless grief because of the anguish and oppression of our sons; it is realized by the whole of Christendom which heard the boast of this King who made war on Catholicism and who had become exalted by reason of his splendid armies and their triumphs, that he had beaten down with fire and sword and devastation all that stood in the way of his rapid march from the furthermost shores of the Baltic as far south as Suabia. Accordingly, as soon as the report of the desired victory reached us, we offered with infinite joy the Holy Sacrifice in the German national church of our Blessed Lady of the Anima *to him that is terrible, even to him that taketh away the spirit of princes: to the terrible with the kings of the earth* (Ps. lxxiv, 13); and when we had thus returned thanks to Him, together with our beloved sons, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and a vast concourse of the faithful, for so great a benefit, we earnestly besought Him to lead to a happy issue all the splendid efforts which you are making for the defence of the Catholic Church. But do you, most dear son, take such measures as circumstances suggest, and prosecute the devastating war with righteous weapons, for the God of hosts who is girded with might, will fight against the enemies of the Church, and *death shall go before his face* (Habacuc iii, 4). We shall beseech Him unceasingly to further the cause of Christendom by crowning your arms with numerous victories. From a full heart we bestow upon your Majesty the Apostolic Blessing." [1]

[1] The original text is in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XVI., 399 *seq.*, the German translation in the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, No. 15, of January 7, 1895, where the truly insane fancies of the historiographer of the Evangelical Alliance, Secretary-General Dr. Carl Frey, on Urban VIII.'s attitude towards Gustavus Adolphus, are subjected to well-deserved criticism. Frey cannot be excused by the fact that DROYSEN wrote (II., 665), "the Pope, on receipt of the news, said a Mass of Requiem," for Droysen gives no authority for his statement; nor did WINTER (*Gesch. des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, 426) for a similar assertion.

CHAPTER V.

The Pope's Fruitless Efforts for Peace—Continuation of the Thirty Years' War and France's Open Intervention against the Habsburgs, 1633–1644.

The death of so brilliant a commander as Gustavus Adolphus could not but prove an irreparable loss to the Protestant party.[1] For Urban VIII. " the great event " [2] was an incentive to renewed effort for the restoration of peace. But all such attempts were hopeless unless he succeeded in preserving the neutrality he had maintained until then. The Pope had reason to fear that now negotiations would prove even more arduous because the Spaniards, relieved as they were of the most dangerous of their enemies, would not fail to display greater arrogance than ever, whilst the French would also prove intractable lest an impression should be created that any concession on their part was due to fear of Austria's power.[3] That these preoccupations were abundantly justified was demonstrated by the reception which Urban VIII.'s exhortations to peace met with in Paris and Madrid.[4]

Bichi, the papal nuncio in the French capital, soon realized

[1] In a letter to the Elector Johann Georg of Saxony, written soon after the battle of Leipzig, Arnim had described Gustavus Adolphus as irreplaceable ; see Gädecke in the *Neues Archiv für sächs. Gesch.*, IX., 251. *Cf.* also Droysen, *Gesch. der preuss. Politik*, III., 1 (1863), 115 ; *Zeitschr. für thüring-sächs. Gesch.*, XIV. (1925), 75 *seq.* ; Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, 161.

[2] *Cf.* the views of Pallavicini in a letter to F. Chigi, of December 12, 1632, in Macchia, *Relaz. fra Sf. Pallavicini e F. Chigi*, Torino, 1907, 61.

[3] See the letter of Cardinal F. Barberini to Bichi of December 11, 1632, in Gregorovius, *Urban VIII.*, 155.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed account in Leman, *Urbain VIII.*, 250 *seq.*, 265 *seq.*

that no representations of his would bring about a change in Richelieu's mind. The Cardinal clung to the plan he had hitherto pursued, namely, to prosecute the "covert war" through his Protestant confederates until the Habsburgs should be utterly prostrate. He even won over Louis XIII. to this policy and in conjunction with the Capuchin Fr. Joseph, he displayed a feverish activity in fanning the warlike conflagration [1] which for the last twelve years had been consuming the strength of Germany. Richelieu's policy benefited by the fact that Axel Oxenstjerna, the Chancellor of Sweden, was bent on a continuation of the war the direction of which, however, he wanted to keep in his own hands, notwithstanding the opposition of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg who nevertheless remained true to their alliance with Sweden. Oxenstjerna owed a great deal to the Marquis de Feuquières whom Richelieu had dispatched to Germany.[2] Such were the skill and energy—reinforced by bribery—with which Feuquières negotiated with the Protestant Estates of Swabia, Franconia and the Upper and Lower Rhine assembled at Heilbronn, that on April 23rd, 1633, he secured an agreement by the terms of which Sweden was to have both the conduct of the war and an indemnity, whilst the above-named Estates were promised their "liberty". At the same time the agreement of Bärwald between Sweden and France was ratified anew.[3]

These agreements revealed the futility of the exhortations which Urban VIII. and his nuncio Bichi had addressed both to Louis XIII. and to Richelieu. When Bichi pointed out to the French Cardinal the unlawfulness of an alliance with the Protestants and the harm it would inflict on the Catholic cause, Richelieu replied that Spain drove him to it and that, in

[1] See STANLEY LEATHES, in *Cambridge Modern History*, IV., 161.

[2] See *Lettres et négociations de M. de Feuquières*, I., Amsterdam, 1753; FAGNIEZ, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, II., 113 *seq.*; BATIFFOL, in the *Rev. hist.*, CXXXVIII. (1921), 172.

[3] *Cf.* HURTER, *Friedensbestrebungen Kaiser Ferdinands II.*, 37 *seq.*; KRETSCHMAR, *Der Heilbronner Bund*, 3 vols. (1922).

point of fact, a Catholic State always had a right to ally itself with Protestant princes when its security was at stake. Bichi answered that he had not expected such an attitude from a King who had a Cardinal for his adviser; France would surely be made to feel one day what it was to rest upon the pointed stake of Protestantism.[1] Notwithstanding loud protestations on the part of the French that in the new agreement with Sweden everything had been done to guarantee the preservation of Catholic worship in the conquered territories, Rome was under no delusion that this promise would be no more honoured in the future than it had been in the past.[2]

However strongly the Pope disapproved of France's conduct,[3] the Spaniards would not be satisfied; they wanted a sterner condemnation, hence they were resolved to exert the greatest pressure in Rome.[4] They wanted Urban VIII. to abandon the neutrality which his position as Head of the Universal Church imposed on him by unconditionally siding with the Habsburgs and breaking with France. The Pope could not agree to a proposal of this kind, were it only that by so doing, all his efforts for peace would have been stultified. As for the ecclesiastical censures which the Spaniards demanded against Richelieu, Cardinal Barberini declared on October 15th, 1633, that Urban VIII. was only too painfully aware of the consequences of Clement VII.'s over-hasty

[1] See Bichi's report of November 29, 1633, in LEMAN, 301, note 2.

[2] See the letter of Fr. Barberini to Bichi, June 18, 1623, *ibid.*, 299, note 2.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIII. of August 27, 1623, *ibid.*, 299, note 3.

[4] *Fulvio Testi reported on February 23, 1633, that Cardinal Pio had told him "in estrema confidenza, che Castel Rodrigo ha presso di se una tal scrittura del re da dare a S. S^tà^ molto più acuta e rigorosa che non fu la protesta di Borgia, e dubita che non vengano ordini precisi di presentarla." State Archives, Modena.

action against England.[1] In point of fact Richelieu was resolved, in the event of the Pope allowing himself to be prevailed upon by the Spaniards to excommunicate Louis XIII., to bring about a schism.[2] Madrid completely failed to appreciate any of these things. Because the Pope refused to adopt a particularist political point of view, he was made the object of the bitterest complaints; in fact, he was reproached with having no feeling for the sufferings of the German Catholics.[3] How wrong this was, is shown by the fact that in April, 1633, Urban VIII. assigned the sum of 25,000 scudi jointly to the Emperor and the League.[4] In March, 1633, he likewise granted to the King of Spain the heavy levies of money which the latter demanded from the clergy of Aragon and Catalonia, though these sums were to be exclusively spent in supporting the struggle "in Germany" against the Swedes and the other Protestant Princes.[5] Though the conditions were so framed that the Spanish Netherlands were likewise included, Madrid was not only not satisfied but went so far as to read into them an intention to represent the King of Spain as a vassal of the Emperor![6] In 1633 a rumour was circulating in Rome to the effect that the Spaniards were agitating for the convocation of a Council directed against the Pope.[7] In vain

[1] See the letter of Fr. Barberini to the nuncio at Vienna, Grimaldi, of October 15, 1633, in LEMAN, 318, note 2. He repeats a similar statement in the Instruction for Falconieri, April, 1635; see CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, 182.

[2] *Cf.* PIEPER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 481 *seq.*

[3] See LEMAN, 316.

[4] *Ibid.*, 317.

[5] See *Bull.*, XIV., 324, 327.

[6] See LEMAN, 320.

[7] Nicoletti reported on April 30, 1633, to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany in connexion with the mission of Saavedra to Germany: *"Nè manca hora chi dubiti che la voce sparsasi le settimane passate che Spagnoli pensino al modo di poter convocar un concilio, non fusse in tutto senza fondamento e che Saavedra deve attacar questa prattica." State Archives, Florence, *Med.* 3353.

Urban VIII. represented to the Spanish ambassador, Castel Rodrigo, that he could not throw the mantle of silence over the motive for which he allowed the levy. The Spaniards, seeing that they could not get the clause dropped, ended by declining the subsidy altogether.[1] The tension was further increased [2] by the fact that Urban VIII. remained firm in his refusal to receive as ambassador for Spain Cardinal Borgia, the author of the protest of May 8th, 1632, and even insisted on the latter leaving Rome. Ostensibly for the purpose of settling this conflict Juan Chumacero and Domingo Pimentel were dispatched to Rome in the autumn of 1633 as royal commissaries; in reality their mission was to force the Pope to make some concessions of a politico-ecclesiastical nature, and since there was question of a religious war, to join a great anti-French league. In return for such a step Spain was prepared to sacrifice Borgia.[3]

Like the Spaniards, the French also sought to use the Pope as a tool to forward their own particular interests. They assured him anew that the cause of their conflict with Spain was a purely political one.[4] In view of the danger which, so he alleged, Italy ran at the hands of the Spaniards, Richelieu proposed to form a league for the purpose of assuring the *status quo* on the Italian Peninsula, but with his wonted

[1] See GÜNTER, *Habsburger-Liga*, 95, 396 *seq.*

[2] " *I disgusti tra il Papa e Spagnoli ogni giorno si augmentano e con Borgia particolarmente senza vedersi dove siano per passare." NICCOLINI, on August 7, 1633, *loc. cit.*

[3] See LEMAN, 340 *seq.* For the plan of a League *cf.* GÜNTER, 147 *seq.*, 376 *seq.*; for the demands with regard to ecclesiastical policy, see Vol. XXIX, Ch. II.

[4] *NICCOLINI reports, December 1, 1633: " *In tanto ne Franzesi si vede crescer manifestamente la mala dispositione verso Spagnoli per sentirsi toccar alcuni tasti che li fanno malissimo suono come particolarmente quello che S. Stà deve scommunicar il Re Christmo et il card. Richelieu perchè faccino la guerra contra la religione, nel qual proposito dicono che tra pochi mesi conosceranno Spagnoli dalli effetti che la guerra di stato è, non di religione." State Archives, Florence, *loc. cit.*

astuteness he did not urge his proposal with the violence displayed by Olivares; on the contrary he sought to gain his object by gentler methods. To this end Marshal Créqui was sent to Rome in June, 1633, but though strongly backed by Richelieu, all the Marshal's efforts were in vain. Urban's answer to Créqui was most decisive: it was to the effect that however much he had at heart the tranquillity of Italy, the league proposed by France was not the most effective means to assure it. Ever since the pontificate of Clement VII., every Pope, with the exception of Paul IV., had refused to join such a league, and rightly so, because any obligation of this kind was bound to injure the peace *pourparlers* which were of such consequence for the interests of the Church. In the existing circumstances the proposed league, so far from furthering the tranquillity of Italy, would only disturb it: from being a defensive alliance it would before long become an offensive one. "Leagues," the Pope declared, "guarantee nothing because their members only seek their own interests; they have invariably injured the Holy See. The grounds on which the Cardinals dissuaded me, at the beginning of my pontificate, from joining a league with Spain, are still valid and they impose on me a similar attitude towards the French proposal." [1]

Urban VIII. had good reason to resist the insidious insinuations of France as well as Spain's attempts at intimidation, because only by maintaining his independence of all parties could he hope to restore peace among the Catholic Powers. He was all the more intent on this object because the course of events in the military sphere was becoming increasingly unfavourable to Catholic interests, one of the main causes being the ever-growing rivalry between Wallenstein and Maximilian of Bavaria, which prevented the full deployment of the military and political resources of the Catholics.

When in April, 1633, the Swedes, led by Bernard of Weimar and by Horn, swept over Bavaria for the second time,

[1] See Fr. Barberini's letter to Bichi of October 22, 1633, in LEMAN, 583 *seq.*

Maximilian was very properly anxious for some joint military action in the southern theatre of war. On the other hand Wallenstein favoured a defensive attitude : he was for seeking a decision in Saxony and Silesia and entered into conversations with the North German Electors, and particularly with John George of Saxony. Accordingly, when a Spanish army under the Duke of Feria, Governor of Milan, came to the support of the Bavarians, some noteworthy successes were obtained in Swabia and on the Upper Rhine. However, all these advantages were lost when, on November 14th, 1633, Bernard of Weimar made himself master of Ratisbon.[1] Fully realizing the dangers to which this disaster exposed Austria proper, Urban VIII., in December, granted to the League and to the Emperor a subsidy to the amount of 550,000 thalers. In March, 1634, he granted to the Emperor 250,000 scudi which were to be raised by means of a tenth on the ecclesiastical benefices of Italy.[2] At the same time he proclaimed a solemn jubilee in order to avert by prayer the dangers that threatened the Catholics of Germany. He took part in person in the procession which inaugurated the jubilee.[3]

Meanwhile Madrid persisted in its demand that the Pope should break with France. Urban VIII., however, realized full well that peace could not be restored by such means.

[1] See Riezler, V., 438 *seq.*, 444 *seq.*, 448 *seq.* ; Döberl, I., 554 *seq.* *Cf.* also E. Weinitz, *Der Zug des Herzogs von Feria nach Deutschland im Jahre* 1633, Heidelberg, 1882.

[2] See Leman, 336, 347. According to Rocci's report of April 1, 1634, Eggenberg said to him at that time : *" I ministri di Spagna si saranno hormai chiariti che non ha giovato loro il trattar con S. Stà con termini violenti. Ho detto più volte al conte di Ognate et al marchese di Castagneda che in avvenire dovrebbono trattare con S. Stà diversamente di quello che hanno fatto pel passato tanto più che la S. Stà non haveva tolto cosa alcuna del suo al Re cattolico nè haveva fatta confederazione o dato aiuto al Re di Francia, e che sperava che per l'avvenire mutarebbero modo di trattare." Nicoletti, VI., ch. 1, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIV., 384 ; Schmidlin, *Anima*, 458.

His representatives in Paris, Bichi and Ceva, made every effort to initiate peace negotiations. They ended by extracting a promise from Richelieu that he would send a delegate to Vienna, should Ferdinand II. accept France's mediation. To this the Emperor could not, of course, agree. An alternative plan seemed more likely to succeed: the Emperor was prepared to concede to the French the possession of Pinerolo and the fortress of Moyenvic, near Metz, provided the Cabinet of Paris did not interfere with the Spaniards' line of communication between Italy and Germany. In the end this proposal was also frustrated owing to both parties withdrawing the concessions previously agreed upon.[1] This fact was in part due to the circumstance that, by the assassination of Wallenstein (February 25th, 1634), the Emperor was freed from the grave danger that threatened him from a generalissimo who had strayed from the path of loyalty from the moment of his deprivation of the supreme command at Ratisbon in 1630 and who, during his second period of authority, had undoubtedly become more and more involved in treasonable plans against his sovereign.[2]

[1] See LEMAN, 362 *seq.*

[2] The extensive literature about Wallenstein, "one of the most intriguing figures of history," is given in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XVII. (1879), XXI. (1883), XXIII. (1885), XXXIV. (1896), XLIX. (1911). Even if RIEZLER (V., 471) and WITTICH (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XLV., 637) still believed "that the greatest representative of the type of the Condottieri on German soil" had only played with treachery (W. MICHAEL, in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXXVIII., 434), the majority of the more recent historians (*cf.* especially HURTER, *Wallensteins vier letzte Lebensjahre* (1862); HUBER, V., 485; DUHR, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XL., 195 *seq.*, 303 *seq.*; E. DAHN, *Die Wallensteinfrage*, and L. v. RANKE, in *Pädag. Archiv*, XLIX. (1907), 641; PEKAR, *Dějiny Valdštenjnského spikunti* (Story of Wallenstein's conspiracy), Prague, 1895; RITTER, III., 561 *seq.*, 571 *seq.*; DÖBERL, I., 557) are of opinion that Wallenstein really betrayed his military superior. The latest student of the Wallenstein tragedy, v. SRBIK (*Wallensteins Ende. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe. Auf Grund*

The news of Wallenstein's assassination caused an enormous sensation in Rome. So far from doubting the loyalty of the great captain, whose skill matched that of Gustavus Adolphus and had arrested the latter's victorious progress, Urban VIII., when in 1633 he unfolded his vast plan for an attack on the Turks, intended to assign an important rôle to the imperial generalissimo.[1] On receipt of the news of Wallenstein's successes in Lusatia the Pope had sent him a congratulatory Brief, November 12th, 1632, in which he styled him the liberator of Germany.[2] Wallenstein successfully deceived the Roman Court as he had deceived everybody else. Even after the catastrophe, it was thought in Rome that he had been betrayed rather than that he had himself acted the part of a traitor.[3] On receipt of the nuncio Rocci's report on the guilt of the Duke of Friedland, Francesco Barberini remarked that peace negotiations would prove much more difficult if there was any truth in the suspicion which the Emperor expressed to the nuncio that France had had a hand in the plot.[4] Spain's reaction to Wallenstein's fall showed itself at once in a growing unwillingness to discuss peace. Richelieu shared this feeling, though he hid his sentiments more skilfully than the passionate Spaniards.[5] Though Richelieu protested to the French nuncio, Bichi, that he had taken no

neuer Quellen untersucht und dargestellt, Wien, 1920), of whose views I have availed myself above, considers that there is no doubt of his treachery (p. 3), but he accepts as an excuse the fact that Wallenstein played a double game in the hope of securing peace, though not such a peace as would have satisfied his Imperial master; against this view *cf.* BRAUBACH, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XLIII., 122.

[1] See NICCOLINI's report of February 12, 1633, in LEMAN, 372, note 4.

[2] See LEMAN, 372, note 2. The importance attributed in Rome to Wallenstein's military successes just then is shown by the celebrations in the Anima; see SCHMIDLIN, 457.

[3] See SRBIK, *Wallensteins Ende*, 310.

[4] See the letter of Fr. Barberini of March 11, 1634, in LEMAN, 374, note 7.

[5] See LEMAN, 375 *seq.*

part whatever in the treason of Wallenstein, and even swore that if the contrary were proved, he was willing to be described as " the most dishonourable man in the world ", there is no doubt that it was only by a lucky accident that an agreement had not been arrived at in time with the imperial generalissimo, the terms of which guaranteed to the latter the sum of 1,000,000 livres to aid him in his campaign against the Emperor. Thus Wallenstein's death was a heavy blow to the policy of Richelieu and that of his collaborator, Fr. Joseph.[1]

In spite of the unfavourable situation, Urban VIII. persevered in his efforts to pave the way for peace *pourparlers* and to exhort both France and Spain not to shrink from the necessary sacrifices in order than an understanding might be come to at last. It is significant that already at this time the Holy See proposed the solution which was accepted in 1641, namely, separate discussions for Catholics and Protestants. The former might take place in Rome, the Pope thought, but the Spaniards, unwilling to give up the hope of inducing Urban to break with France, refused to take part in any congress held in Rome and they sought to render suspect the intentions of the Holy See in Vienna which was in favour of peace. In the end the Emperor Ferdinand made his participation in a congress at Rome dependent on the impossible condition of the Pope acting as arbiter.[2] The plan failed finally when, towards the end of April, 1634, Richelieu also objected to Rome as the venue of the Congress, on the plea that it was necessary for it to be held in a town where his Protestant confederates could put in an appearance. Shortly before this the leader of France's policy had persuaded the Dutch to break off the negotiations with Spain which they had begun in 1632, and to go on with the war.[3] At the same time French agents worked indefatigably against the Habsburgs. In

[1] See FAGNIEZ, II., 179 *seq.* *Cf.* GINDELY, in the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1882, fasc. 103.

[2] See LEMAN, 380 *seq.*, 384 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*, 416.

[3] *Cf.* M. G. DE BOER, *Die Friedensverhandlungen zwischen Spanien und den Niederlanden in den Jahren* 1632 *und* 1633 (Heidelberg Diss.), Gröningen, 1897.

Germany they roused the Protestants and dissuaded the Elector of Saxony from concluding peace with the Emperor. In Italy they renewed their efforts for the formation of an anti-Spanish league ; Richelieu even went so far as to favour the occupation of the Valtellina by the Swedes. In the autumn of 1634 French troops occupied the territory of Duke Charles of Lorraine who had incurred the particular enmity of the Cardinal by his support of the brother of Louis XIII., an opponent of Richelieu's, and by giving him his sister in marriage. From Lorraine it was possible to hold out a hand to the Swedes in Alsace.[1] What splendid prospects for France's age-long appetite for the Rhineland territories !

In vain Urban VIII. sought to save the Duke of Lorraine ; in vain he protested against France's new alliances with the Protestants : Richelieu's answer never varied ; as soon as the Habsburgs ceased from plotting against France, he would conclude a genuine peace, renounce his alliances with the Protestants and once more put the Duke of Lorraine in possession of his territory.[2]

When the plan of a congress in Rome had thus failed, Urban VIII. suggested a similar meeting in some neutral town. The most distinguished members of the College of Cardinals approved of the scheme and once more rejected the Spanish demand for ecclesiastical censures against Louis XIII., as such a measure might provoke a schism.[3] In July, 1634, the nuncios of Madrid and Vienna, together with the one at Paris, where Giorgio Bolognetti had replaced Bichi in April,[4] were instructed to work for the newly planned congress. The

[1] See LEMAN, 397 *seq.*, 407 ; D'HAUSSONVILLE, *Hist. de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France*, I., 394–424.

[2] See LEMAN, 403 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 417.

[4] In the *Instruction for G. Bolognetti, of April 1, 1634, we read : " Il maggiore e più importante affare, che oggi si maneggia in Francia et alla corte Cesarea e Cattolica, è il presente (dissidio) tra la casa d'Austria e la Francia e da questo dipende il bene e il male della christianità e della religione cattolica in Germania, la quale è travagliata tanto e sta in pericolo di perdersi del tutto ;

Emperor favoured it, except that, before nominating his representatives, he wished to have a guarantee of the sincerity of France's intentions.[1]

Ferdinand II.'s distrust was fully justified, for Richelieu had no thought of giving up his plans of conquest. Urban VIII.'s exhortation that he should come to terms with the Habsburgs and march against the Turks, fell on deaf ears: Constantinople was too remote, the Cardinal replied. Even Fr. Joseph, the one-time apostle of war against the Turks, was of opinion that a crusade was not to be thought of because France could not trust Spain. So far from thinking of fighting the Turks, Richelieu was actually negotiating with them. In like manner, and notwithstanding renewed papal warnings to the contrary,[2] he stuck to his Protestant alliances and when, in consequence of the loss of Ratisbon (July 26th, 1632), the position of the Swedes in South Germany became endangered, he prepared to go to their assistance.[3]

imperochè se con la pace tra questi potentati si divertirà il Re dall'assistenza de Suedesi e protestanti, non sarà per avventura difficile alla casa d'Austria di porgli in ragione, ma se all'incontro non si troverà modo d'aggiustarli, si corre pericolo d'una manifesta rottura tra le corone con quelle dolorose et infelici conseguenze che V. S. può imaginar e con quell'avanzamento degli eretici e forse infedeli che in ogni tempo hanno cavato dalle discordie de'principi cattolici." There follows a review of the peace negotiations advocated in the past by the Pope. The policy of the Holy See is defined in the sense that it is impossible for the Holy See to take part in peace negotiations to which Protestants are invited, nor can it enter into an Italian League to protect the liberty of Italy, because the Pope must preserve his position as "Padre commune", which alone permits him to work for peace. "Questa regola serva a V.S. per indrizzo di tutte le sue attioni per non entrar mai senz'ordine espresso in alcun impegno col quale S. B^ne possa perdere la paternità commune." State Library, Vienna, *Cod.* 5645, p. 66 *seq.*

[1] See LEMAN, 423.

[2] *Cf.* the *Brief to Richelieu of August 16, 1634, in LEMAN, 404, note 4.

[3] See ibid., 421 *seq.* At the capitulation of Ratisbon, the city

A similar warlike mood prevailed in Madrid. Since Urban VIII. refused to pronounce any ecclesiastical censure against Louis XIII., the Spaniards declared that so partial a Pope was not a suitable mediator. Thus all the hopes of the Holy See rested exclusively on the Emperor whose new representative, the Duke of Bozzolo, promised that the Cabinet of Vienna would exercise a moderating influence on that of Madrid. Ferdinand likewise declared himself ready not to insist on the surrender of Pinerolo and Moyenvic. When Fr. Joseph also agreed to put this question on one side, the Curia indulged in such optimism that various suggestions were at once made as to the place where the Congress should be held, Avignon, Masserano, Crevacuore, Solothurn and Lucerne being successively put forward.[1]

Just then an important decision took place in the South-German theatre of war. On September 6th, 1634, the imperial army, under the command of the heir to the throne, Ferdinand, and that of Count Galas, and reinforced by a Spanish expeditionary force of 9,000 men which had come from Italy through the pass of Worms, under the leadership of the energetic Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando,[2] inflicted on the Swedes and their Protestant allies a crushing defeat in the bloody battle

was guaranteed, among other things, liberty of religion and freedom of the Empire; see RIEZLER, V., 481. Urban VIII., who at the news of the capture of the city had ordered a thanksgiving service (see **Diarium P. Alaleonis* and Avviso of August 19, 1634, Vatican Library), also complained that the Emperor tolerated Protestantism there, "perchè ciò sarebbe servito di esempio all'altre città che si sarebbono ricuperate, ed era appunto come un nodrirsi i nemici nel seno, e tanto più che nella detta ricuperazione si erano spesi i denari del sussidio della Stà Sua e quelli delle decime di Spagna." On this point some heated discussions took place between Bozzolo and Fr. Barberini. *Letter of the Secretary of State to Rocci, August 26, 1634, in *NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 1, Vatican Library.

[1] See LEMAN, 423 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* A. DE AEDO Y GALLART, *Viaje del infante cardenal Don Fernando de Austria*, translated in part by WEINITZ, Strassburg, 1884.

of Nördlingen. Six thousand men, that is, one-third of the hostile army, remained on the field, whilst another thousand were made prisoners, Horn, the ablest of the Swedish generals, being among them. Bernard of Weimar fled with the remainder of his army in the direction of Frankfort.[1] Urban VIII.'s joy over this victory was unbounded. He had the banners captured by the imperialists exhibited in St. Peter's.[2] On September 21st he repaired to S. Apollinare where the Sacred College awaited him, and from there he proceeded to the German national church of the Anima where he intoned the *Te Deum*. On the following Sunday he took part in another service of thanksgiving for the victory at S. Maria Maggiore, whilst at the same time he prayed for a successful issue of the campaign of the Poles against the Turks.[3] In his letters of

[1] For the battle of Nördlingen *cf.* the monographs by WENG (Nördlingen, 1854), I. FUCHS (Weimar, 1868), FRAAS (Nördlingen, 1869), STRUCK (Stralsund, 1893), LEO (Halle, 1900), JAKOB (*Von Lützen nach Nördlingen*, Strassburg, 1904), and I. FUENTES, in *Memorial de Artilleria*, 1906.

[2] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis* for September 21, 1634, Vatican Library. However, these must have been earlier trophies, for those of Nördlingen only arrived later ; see *Avviso of November 18, 1634, in ADEMOLLO, *Ambasciatori francesi*, 206. Marchese Sacchetti recently made a search for these trophies in the *floreria* of the Vatican, but without success.

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 458 *seq.*, also for an account of the military trophies presented to the Anima in the following year. The oration delivered in the Anima by the Jesuit G. Rho was printed in Rome in 1634. The story of GREGOROVIUS (*Urban VIII.*, 99 *seq.*), taken from Ameyden, that the Pope was not particularly pleased at the Emperor's victory, deserves no credence ; see PIEPER, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIV. (1884), 490 *seq.* The Pope only complained at a later date, when he heard that at Nördlingen, as at Ratisbon, the Protestants had been granted liberty of religion ; see the *letter of Fr. Barberini to Rocci, October 7, 1634, in *NICOLETTI, ch. 1, Vatican Library. The Bishop of Vienna, Wolfradt, excused Ferdinand's action at Ratisbon and Nördlingen, to Rocci, as a " tolleranza ad tempus a fine di ridurre più facilmente all'ubbidienza le città protestanti e

congratulation to Ferdinand II. and Philip IV. the Pope extolled the victory of Nördlingen as the means whereby the imperial authority had been restored and religion freed from the yoke of its enemies.[1]

With good reason Urban VIII. described the victory of Nördlingen as the most important for many years. The battle had the same significance as that of Lutter on the Barenberg. Just as in consequence of the latter, North-Germany lay open before the imperial and leaguist forces, so by the former South-Germany, as far as the Rhine, was now at their mercy. The enemy was driven from Swabia and Franconia whilst Württemberg was placed under the administration of imperial commissaries whose immediate task was to carry through the Catholic restoration. In the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine better prospects also opened for the Catholics as soon as the imperial and leaguist troops had gained a footing there.[2]

The decisive battle of Nördlingen was exploited to even better advantage by the man of genius who directed France's policy than by the Emperor. With the keen eye of the eagle watching its prey, Richelieu fully realized that after this

rimettere ne'loro stati i principi cattolici". Rocci replied by pointing out that when the Protestants conquered Augsburg, Ratisbon, Mayence, Würzburg and Bamberg, they ejected the Catholic clergy and introduced Protestant preachers. *Report of Rocci, October 21, 1634, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[1] See Leman, 426.

[2] See Carafa, *Legatio*, ed. Ginzel, 177 *seq.*; Riezler, V., 487; Döberl, I., 559 *seq.*; Ritter, III., 582 *seq.* For the second Catholic restoration in Württemberg in opposition to which Duke Eberhard, who had returned to his territory in October, 1638, was re-introducing Protestantism, in defiance of his solemn promise to carry out the decrees of the imperial resolution of December 9, 1629, *cf.* the monograph of Günter, *Das Restitutionsedikt von* 1629 *und die katholische Restauration in Alt-Württemberg*, Stuttgart, 1901, which is based upon extensive documentary evidence. See also Duhr, II., 1, 278 *seq.*, and *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XLVI., 223. For the Catholic restoration in Baden, see Weech, *Badische Gesch.*, 344 *seq.*

sudden collapse of the Swedish domination in South Germany, Oxenstjerna and his Protestant allies would be forced to throw themselves unreservedly into the arms of France. On November 1st, 1634, a pact was signed in Paris which assigned to France Alsace and all the localities on the right bank of the Rhine from Breisach to Constance. In order to calm Urban VIII., who never wearied of protesting against the assistance given to the Swedes and the Protestants, Richelieu made it a condition of the treaty that the Catholic religion should be restored and preserved in the conquered territories. The agreement did not oblige France to declare war at once, but from its tenor it is clear that such an eventuality was deemed inevitable.[1] In point of fact Richelieu, with characteristic energy, made immediate preparations for armed intervention by France.[2] The occupation of Alsace by the French was but a prelude to what was to follow. Not content with this step, Richelieu pursued the "monstrous plan" of endeavouring to extort from the Elector of Trèves, Philip Christoph von Sötern, his nomination as coadjutor of Trèves and Spire, a design, however, which was frustrated by Urban VIII.'s opposition.[3] Nevertheless the Cardinal refused to give up his plan. In December, 1634, he moved an army of 35,000 men towards the Rhine and, without any declaration of war, relieved Heidelberg which was being besieged by the Bavarians.[4] In conjunction with Bolognetti, Mazarin who, as nuncio-extraordinary in Paris, was working for the restoration of the Duke of Lorraine and for France's participation in the peace congress, unsuccessfully pressed Richelieu to withdraw his troops. The Cardinal who, on February 8th, 1635, had concluded a fresh treaty with Holland with the object of fighting the Spaniards in the Netherlands,[5] deluded the Pope's

[1] See FAGNIEZ, II., 190.

[2] See MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 43.

[3] *Cf.* BAUR, *Sötern*, I., 317 *seq.*; LEMAN, 471 *seq.*

[4] See RIEZLER, V., 489.

[5] See WENZELBURGER, II., 930 *seq.*; LOUCHAY, *La rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne aux Pays-Bas*, 1635–1700, Brussels, 1896, 68 *seq.*

representatives with specious promises. It was his intention, he declared, to march against the Protestants, above all against Geneva, and to win Naples for the Pope! As for the peace congress, he promised at the beginning of March, 1635, that he would appoint plenipotentiaries if he was given an assurance that not only the Emperor but Spain also would take part in it.[1] Though the Emperor did not trust the French he nevertheless intervened in this sense with Philip IV. After prolonged hesitation the latter resolved, on April 17th, 1635, to empower the Cardinal Infante to delegate a plenipotentiary in the event of France and the Emperor also appointing their plenipotentiaries.[2]

Meanwhile events had occurred which defeated every prospect of a peace conference which the Pope was so anxious to promote. On March 26th, 1635, the Spanish Governor of Luxemburg, by a bold *coup de main,* captured the town of Trèves which the French had previously wrested from the Spaniards and carried off as a prisoner the Elector von Sötern who had become entirely subservient to France.[3] Richelieu could not have wished for a better pretext for the open intervention in the war on which he had been resolved ever since the catastrophe of Nördlingen. Already at the end of March, and by his orders, the Duke of Rohan, the former head of the Huguenots, had occupied the Valtellina, thereby cutting the line of communication between the Tyrol and Lombardy.[4] In April Richelieu ratified the treaty with Holland and by the

[1] See LEMAN, 456 *seq.*, 463 *seq.*, 468. Leman's account supplements in many points that of Bazzoni: "Un Nunzio straordinario alla corte di Francia nel secolo XVII.," Florence, 1882, 66.

[2] See GÜNTER, 205, 448; LEMAN, 488.

[3] See KHEVENHÜLLER, XII., 1770 *seq.*; SIRI, VIII., 220 *seq.*; BAUR, *Sötern*, I., 373 *seq.*, II., 1 *seq.*

[4] See ROTT, *Hist. de la répresent. dipl. de France auprès des cantons suisses*, IV., 2, 209 *seq.*; LADERCHI, *La campagna del duca di Rohan in Valtellina nell'a*, 1635 (1888); BUZZETTI, *Campagna del duca di Rohan in Valtellina*, in the *Period. d. Soc. stor. p. la prov. di Como*, XIX. (1910).

convention of Compiègne made sure of the support of Sweden.[1] Whilst final military preparations were being made for the opening of the struggle, Richelieu, Louis XIII. and Fr. Joseph assured the papal representatives that France's one aim was peace and "for this", the Cardinal declared with tears in his eyes, "I would willingly sacrifice an arm!"[2] Paris still hoped to induce Urban VIII. to take sides. He was being pressed to enter into an Italian defence league whilst his attention was drawn to the injury done to the Church's immunity of which the Spaniards had been guilty when they arrested the Archbishop of Trèves. At that very time the Spaniards made fresh efforts to win over the Pope to a league for the maintenance of tranquillity in Italy and to get him to proceed against the leader of France's policy who had so recently renewed his alliances with the Protestants.[3] However, Urban VIII. was determined to hold himself aloof from all political strife. True, on March 24th, 1634, he granted to the King of Spain a tenth to the amount of 600,000 scudi, to be raised from the ecclesiastical benefices of Portugal, Naples, Sicily and America, but on condition that the money was used exclusively for the Emperor's war against the Protestants. On the other hand he categorically declined to join an anti-French league and refused to budge from his position when the Spanish ambassador, supported by the imperial envoy, demanded that he should openly declare himself against France. He would allow neither threats nor promises to induce him to do anything which would be at variance with his position as the common Father of Christendom, or to enter into an alliance with Spain, and he met the pressure of the French in exactly the same way.[4] Nevertheless, whilst fully maintaining his neutrality, he made no secret of his disapproval of the invasion of the Valtellina by the French and insisted on their withdrawal from that

[1] See Fagniez, II., 199 *seq.*; Leman, 520 *seq.*

[2] See Leman, 496.

[3] *Ibid.*, 504 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 506 *seq.*, 508 *seq.*

territory. In like manner he demanded once more the restoration of the Duke of Lorraine ; France met both requests with a refusal.[1]

Though the situation seemed desperate, the representatives of the Pope did all they could, up to the last minute, to prevent an open rupture between France and Spain,[2] in which case a general war would have been inevitable. Their representations led to no result because, thanks to the base of operations which he had secured in Alsace and on the Rhine, Richelieu felt strong enough to drop the mask. On May 19th, 1635, a French herald riding into Brussels, threw on the pavement of the great market place a document which no one had been willing to accept. The document was to the effect that the Most Christian King declared war on the Spaniards both on land and sea, forasmuch as they had unlawfully arrested an Elector who had invoked the protection of Louis XIII.[3]

It was Urban VIII.'s tragic destiny that instead of the longed-for restoration of peace, he was fated to see the war assuming the proportions of a gigantic struggle the end of which he was not to witness. His helplessness was further brought home to him by his failure to restrain the Emperor from concluding a peace which was bound to injure the interests of the Church, with the Protestant Elector of Saxony who had tired of the alliance with Sweden which had been forced on him. The initial demands of the Saxon Elector, namely, the restoration of property as it existed in 1612, and the abolition of ecclesiastical privileges and freedom for the Confession of Augsburg even in the Emperor's Hereditary States, was rejected by Ferdinand II. As a result of the battle of Nördlingen the Saxon Elector considerably reduced his

[1] *Ibid.*, 511 *seq.*, 516 *seq.* The French lost the Valtinella again in 1637. Whilst Captain George Jenatsch, who had returned to the Catholic faith, held Rohan at bay, the people of the three Cantons rose as one man on March 17, 1637, and the French were obliged to evacuate the Grisons and the Valtinella on March 26 ; see Hürbin, *Schweizergesch.*, II., Stans, 1908, 369 *seq.*

[2] See Leman, 518.

[3] *Cf.* Siri, XIII., 318 *seq.*

demands, though he still insisted on the Edict of Restitution being abolished in practice, and on the Protestant Princes having guaranteed to them such ecclesiastical property as by 1620 had been in their possession for a period of at least fifty years, and such as in 1627, they had held for a term of forty years.[1] The prospect of a settlement of this kind naturally raised no small anxiety in Rome where excessive concessions to the Protestants had been feared as early as the spring of 1633.[2] The papal representative in Vienna, Cardinal Rocci, and his successor, Malatesta Baglioni, who arrived at Vienna on November 25th, 1634, were accordingly directed to make counter-representations. Ferdinand II. heeded these warnings,[3] which were renewed after the peace preliminaries with Saxony concluded at Pirna on November 14th [24], 1634.[4] He resolved to consult a number of theologians, in fact previous to this

[1] *Cf.* HELBIG, in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1858, 573 *seq.*; HURTER, *Friedensbestrebungen*, 62 *seq.*; IRMER, *Arnim*, 304 *seq.*

[2] See DUHR, II., 1, 468.

[3] *Cf.* ROCCI's *reports of September 30, October 7 (the Emperor pointed out: "Che quando Sassonia altre volte haveva chiesto cose esorbitanti, come la libertà di coscienza ne stati hereditari, e che i vescovadi e beni ecclesiastici se gli permettessero in perpetuo, egli haveva risposto che più tosto di concedere cose simili si contentava con la sua famiglia di andare limosinando") and October 21, 1634 (an interview with Bishop Wolfradt, when Rocci told him "che metteva in considerazione a S. Mtà che mentre il mondo vedeva che dalle vittorie non si cavava frutto pel cattolicismo, con ragione poteva dire che quella non era guerra di religione, ma indrizzata a fini particolari e politici, e che non si vedeva come gli aiuti dati da S. Stà con tanta incommodità et i denari levati dagli altari ridondassero in servizio di Dio e della s. fede". Furthermore, Rocci made representations on account of the toleration of Protestant preachers at Ratisbon and Nördlingen; *cf.* above, p. 333, note 3, p. 335, note 3). Fr. Barberini approved these representations of Rocci's in a *letter of November 11, 1634, see *NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 1, Vatican Library.

[4] See *ROCCI's reports of December 16 and 23, 1634, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also LEMAN, 483.

step he had already sought the advice of the Electors, with the exception of the Francophil Elector of Trèves. Maximilian of Bavaria's advice was that the favourable situation as far as it regarded Saxony should be exploited to the utmost, and he pleaded that with regard to ecclesiastical property, no agreement should be concluded which was calculated to wound the Catholic conscience. Both he and his brother felt that the concessions of Pirna, which practically annulled the Edict of Restitution, were excessive.[1] On the other hand the Rhineland theologians consulted by the Elector of Cologne, among whom there were two Jesuits, were in favour of the widest concessions possible, on the plea that necessity knows no law.[2] In the end the Elector of Cologne agreed with his colleague of Mayence on a resolution which also met with the approval of several other ecclesiastical Princes, which was to the effect that these things were the business of the Diet of the Empire and that the Pope would certainly refuse to give his assent.[3] In Vienna, in addition to the Spanish ambassador, Count Oñate, the Emperor was also pressed for concessions by the Prince-Bishop Wolfradt and Cardinals Pázmány and Dietrichstein,[4] the last-named having become one of Ferdinand II.'s chief advisers since the death of Eggenberg. Their authority exercised a strong influence on the twenty-three theologians, among whom there were eight Jesuits and three Capuchins, who met in conference on February 5th, 1635. The main question, whether in a case of extreme necessity concessions of such gravity could be made without burdening the conscience, was answered in the affirmative by the majority, but the Emperor's confessor, Lamormaini, replied in the negative, whereas the confessor of the Queen of Hungary, the Spanish Capuchin Quiroga, together with the Capuchin Valerian, were just as decidedly

[1] See Riezler, V., 496.

[2] See Voigt-Weitzel, in *Rhein. Archiv*, XI., 318. *Cf.* Duhr, II., 1, 469 *seq.*

[3] See Ritter, III., 590.

[4] See *Rocci's reports in Leman, 483 *seq.*

in favour of the concessions.[1] Lamormaini received strong backing from the representatives of the Pope who, in obedience to their instructions from Rome, never ceased to raise a warning voice, so that, in consequence, some heated discussions took place, more particularly with Quiroga and Oñate.[2]

After the divines had handed in their opinion, a meeting took place on February 27th, 1635, of the chief Privy Councillors, namely Cardinals Dietrichstein and Pázmány, Prince-Bishop Wolfradt, Counts Trauttmansdorff, Werdenberg and Schlick, and the president of the Aulic Council, Stralendorf. This gathering decided in favour of concluding peace with Saxony but recommended certain alterations in some of the articles in the Preliminaries agreed upon at Pirna.[3] The Elector of Cologne also was of opinion that the Peace of Birna could not be ratified with a safe conscience. The Elector of Mayence and Maximilian found fault with the concessions in the ecclesiastical sphere. These representations decided Ferdinand to enter into further negotiations to be conducted at Prague. There the Emperor successfully forced Saxony to submit to a number of additional clauses which met, at least to some extent, the demands of the more intransigent party.[4]

[1] See DUHR, II., 1, 468 *seq.*

[2] See the *reports of Baglione of March 3, 1634, in *NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 10, *loc. cit.*, and of April 14, in RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 372, note 1. Lamormaini received great praise from Cardinal Fr. Barberini ; see, besides the reports in DUHR, II., 1, 468, note 7, Fr. Barberini's *letter to Baglione, March 17, 1635 : "Al P. Lamormaini V.S. offerisca e ratifichi quelle obbligazioni che ho professato altre volte di dovergli essendo attione di generoso christiano e degno confessore di un pio imperatore cio ch'egli ha fatto rimirando più il cielo che la terra. Piacesse a Dio che tutti i confessori di principi lo imitassero et i principi nella pietà imitassero S.M. Cesarea." NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* GINDELY, III., 55 *seq.* For A. Wolfradt, see HOPF, *Wiener Schulprogramm*, 1893 ; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, LV., 389 *seq.*, and MAURER, *A. Wolfradt*, Vienna, 1894. v. Györy is at work on a much needed monograph of Wolfradt.

[4] See RITTER, III., 594 *seq.*

For all that the definitive peace signed at Prague on May 20th [30], 1635, contained much that was detrimental to the Catholic religion. Thus the Princes and States professing the Confession of Augsburg were allowed to retain all the mediate bishoprics, monasteries and other ecclesiastical property in their territories which they had seized before the treaty of Passau, whilst such ecclesiastical property as had come into their power after that treaty and up till November 12th, 1627, was to remain in their hands for a period of forty years from the conclusion of peace. This meant nothing less than the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution though that document was not expressly mentioned. With regard to the archbishopric of Magdeburg it was decided that it should be held by the younger son of the Elector of Saxony during his life-time; in like manner the bishopric of Halberstadt was to be held by the Emperor's son, Archduke Leopold William. With regard to Lusatia, which Saxony was to inherit, it was decided that no change should be made in matters of religion either with regard to the Catholic religion or to the modified Confession of Augsburg. As for the Protestants in Bohemia and in the rest of the Austrian hereditary lands, the treaty declared that, notwithstanding the intervention of the Saxon Elector on behalf of his co-religionists in those territories, His Majesty the Emperor could no more be deprived of the right of *cujus regio ejus religio* in his own lands than the Protestant Princes and States in theirs.[1] In regard to Silesia, an appeal was made to an imperial Resolution which granted to the Dukes of Brieg, Liegnitz, Wohlau and Öls and to the city of Breslau liberty to practise the Confession of Augsburg provided they begged forgiveness for all their offences and swore unalterable loyalty for the time to come.[2]

Cardinal Rocci, who previous to his departure had made a last effort to dissuade the Emperor from any concessions detrimental to the Catholic Church,[3] was succeeded in the nunciature by Malatesta Baglioni who adopted a similar

[1] See LUNDORP, *Acta publica*, IV., 458 *seq.*

[2] See LÜNIG, *Reichsarchiv, Pars specialis*, I., No. 8.

[3] See *NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 1, Vatican Library.

policy. All the efforts of Dietrichstein and Pázmány to win him over to their views were in vain.[1] Against both Cardinals, as well as against Quiroga and Oñate, Baglioni resolutely maintained the standpoint of the Holy See which, in accordance with Canon Law, condemned every concession to Protestants. Oñate, as well as other people in Vienna,[2] allowed themselves to be so far blinded by passion as to insinuate that the Pope had sanctioned the French invasion of the Valtinella ![3] The Emperor Ferdinand II. met Baglioni's representations with a declaration that he was determined to take no step for which he could not answer to God. The invasion of the Valtinella by the French had embittered him to the utmost and he complained that France pursued but one aim and purpose, namely the downfall of the sincerely Catholic House of Austria. Gladly would he have banished the Protestants from the Empire, as he had expelled them from his Hereditary States, had he not been prevented by the French King, who acted as the protector of the heretics. He was unable to understand the theology of the French and in more than one respect Richelieu's conduct was a scandal.[4]

Baglioni was informed of the conclusion of the peace of Prague by Wolfradt, Prince-Bishop of Vienna, who had the news proclaimed from the pulpit and only refrained from

[1] *Cf.* Baglioni's *report of March 3, 1635, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Baglioni's *report of April 28, 1635, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Baglioni's *report of May 5, 1635, *ibid.*

[4] "L'Imperatore esagerò contra i Francesi per essere di nuovo calati nella Valtellina e perchè non nodriano altro pensiero che di abbassare la casa d'Austria, la quale pure si sapeva che sempre era stata devotissima verso la religione cattolica e ciò che haveva fatto per discacciare gli heretici da suoi stati hereditarii e lo stesso farebbe da tutto l'Imperio se non fosse divertito dal Re di Francia che teneva protettione di heretici e poi disse queste precise parole: Che la Mtà Sua non sapeva come caminasse questa teologia de'Francesi e particolarmente restava scandalizzato dal card. Richelieu dicendo con gran sentimento che ella sapeva che in Francia sino al Laetare si erano fatte feste e l'ultima era stata fatta dal med. Richelieu, e altre cose simili." From Baglione's *report in *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 10, *loc. cit.*

ordering a solemn *Te Deum* in consequence of the nuncio's protests.[1] Baglioni also bitterly resented the conduct of Fr. Valerian who boasted to his face of the part he had played in the peace which he described as holy, glorious, and lasting.[2]

The imperial ambassador in Rome, Prince Bozzolo, acted with far greater prudence. In a special audience, he handed to the Pope a letter from the Emperor. At the same time he informed Urban VIII. of the peace which circumstances had compelled his master to conclude and which he hoped would prove to be a first step towards a general pacification. On this occasion Bozzolo expatiated on the advantages which the Catholics would derive from the treaty, but passed over in silence the far greater ones which it assured to the Protestants. The Pope expressed his regret that the Emperor had not been able to secure greater advantages for the Catholics. He could not approve of the peace seeing that he had always condemned, and that quite recently in France, any treaty with the Protestants.[3] Extreme moderation also characterized the remonstrances which the nuncio in Vienna, acting on the instructions of the Secretary of State,[4] made to the Emperor

[1] See Baglioni's *report of June 2 and 9, 1635, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Baglioni's *report of July 7, 1635, *loc. cit.*

[3] Noi non possiamo se non condolerci che S. M. Ces. non habbia potuto avantaggiar maggiormente la religione cattolica, ma non possiamo approvar tal pace, come sempre habbiamo disapprovato le allegationi de'principi cattolici con gli heretici, et ultimamente pure il nuntio in Francia n'ha parlato liberamente al Re et a suoi ministri. Letter of Fr. Barberini to Baglioni of June 23, 1635, in NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Risponde N. S^re^ a S. M^tà^ Ces. nella forma che V. S. vedrà nell'accluso breve sopra la pace conchiusa con Sassonia, la quale da Sua S^tà^ è stata sentita con quella passione d'animo che si ricerca in quella parte che tocca il pregiudizio della religione cattolica, onde non può esser quella pace approvata da S. B^ne^ nè da questa S. Sede, i cui ministri si sono sempre astenuti dal prestar consenso e dall'ingerirsi negli affari degli heretici e nelle condizioni et in qualsivoglia trattato di simile pace. . . . Ma perchè al fatto non è più rimedio V.S. porterà il concetto di N. S^re^ col supporre il dispiacere dell'Imperatore istesso che non habbia

when he handed to him a Brief couched in the most cautious terms. The Pope's disappointment at the peace with the Protestant Elector of Saxony was in proportion to the disadvantages which it entailed for the Catholic religion, hence the Holy See felt unable to sanction the agreement. In view of the fact that the transaction could not be undone the Pope could do no more than deplore these bad times.[1]

This moderation of language was due to the fact that Urban VIII. was still working even at this last hour to bring about an armistice, though his plan met with equal opposition in Vienna and in Paris.[2] It was not the Pope's fault if the war went on: "We must not neglect anything that may promote peace," Francesco Barberini wrote to the French nuncio, Bolognetti. At the same time he warned the latter to be cautious: "Do not forget that the Pope is not a direct mediator; he can issue no commands; all he can do is to try and prevent a further embitterment of the warring parties; on no account must he give them a pretext for distrusting him." [3]

In order to leave nothing undone, on July 24th, 1635, Urban VIII. had fresh instructions issued to the nuncios

potuto fare più nell'esercitio della sua pietà per servizio della religione cattolica, e con tal mezzo potrà discendere all'altre particolarità indicative della disapprovazione, ma in modo che Cesare non se n'offenda. Ma veramente dall'autorità di S.M. e massimamente trattando con suoi sudditi si poteva aspettare più in servizio della Chiesa cattolica. Ma perchè le cose sono fermate a questo segno, a noi altro non resta che deplorare di questi tempi." Cardinal Fr. Barberini to Baglioni, July 28, 1635, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[1] See the *text (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. XVIII, Vol. XXIX. *Ibid.*, No. XVII. for the first draft which was more severely worded.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Baglioni of June 23, 1635, in *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 10, Vatican Library.

[3] See Léman, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XIX. (1923), 371.

to the effect that they should urge the appointment of plenipotentiaries for the peace congress.[1] This was, of course, a forlorn hope for there was no inclination anywhere to begin negotiations. Vienna, where even the Capuchins Quiroga, Valerian and Basilio fanned the flames of war,[2] was all the more reluctant to forgo the advantages of the peace of Prague, as Hessen-Darmstadt, the Elector of Brandenburg and almost every North-German State of some importance, with the exception of the Elector of Hessen-Kassel, had by then agreed to it.

Madrid was in a very martial mood and resumed its former attitude towards the Pope. On July 17th, 1635, Philip IV. wrote to Urban VIII. : " I trust that now that there is chiefly question of the interests of religion, Your Holiness will deal with the King of France, who has allied himself with the Protestants, as the duty of a Pope demands." [3] Urban replied that he had at all times disapproved of alliances which disregarded the laws of the Church and injured the Catholic religion, but that sharp measures were not always the right ones : in any case he was resolved to go on working for peace.[4] Paris was perhaps keener on war than even Madrid, for Richelieu was afraid lest the great advantages he had secured up till then should escape him, and reasons of internal policy likewise urged him to go on with the war.[5] The House of Habsburg was to be subjected to fresh and more vigorous attacks in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. With a view to covering the Swedes in the rear, Richelieu helped to bring about the armistice of Stuhmsdorf between Sweden and Poland (September 12th, 1635). In order to divide the forces of his opponents he rekindled the war in Italy for which he

[1] *Letter from the Secretary of State to the nuncios in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Baglioni's complaints in his *report of July 7, 1635, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Leman, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XIX. (1923), 372.

[4] See the *Brief to Philip IV. of September 7, 1635, *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* Ranke, *Französische Gesch.*, II. (1854), 452 *seq.*

sought to enlist the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua and Parma.[1] The Pope did his best to dissuade Louis XIII. and the above-named from such a step,[2] but Odoardo Farnese of Parma was rash enough to fall in with Richelieu's plan, whilst the Duke of Rohan from the Grisons, and Marshal de Créqui from Piedmont, attacked the Spaniards in Milanese territory, in conjunction with Odoardo and the Duke of Savoy. However, the fortune of war refused to smile on their arms and before long Odoardo saw himself threatened in his own domains.[3]

The struggle on the European battlefields had its repercussion even in the Eternal City, in the streets of which Frenchmen and Spaniards repeatedly came into such sharp conflict that the Governor Spada and Cardinal Barberini found it exceedingly difficult to maintain order and tranquillity.[4]

Urban VIII.'s conduct amid so many difficulties was worthy of his high office. Like so many of his predecessors, he had from the outset of his pontificate, done his best to promote a crusade of all Christendom against the Turks, and now he strove to bring about a reconciliation between the warring nations. With the example of the great medieval Popes before him, he had in mind the true interests of Christendom,[5] whereas the supreme preoccupation of Richelieu and Fr. Joseph was to secure the hegemony of Europe for their beloved France.

[1] *Cf.* AVENEL, V., 103 *seq.*; GÜNTER, 206.

[2] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Louis XIII., of September 8, 1635, and to the Dukes of Savoy and Modena, of February 19, 1636, *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a fresh warning to the Duke of Savoy, March 22, 1636.

[3] The struggle did not cease until the conclusion of the treaty mediated by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany on February 19, 1637, which settled the differences between the Duke, Spain and Rome for a time; see REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 418.

[4] For the scuffle in Piazza Navona on April 8, 1635, see the report of ADEMOLLO, *Ambasciatori di Francia*, in the *Riv. europ.* An. VIII. (1877), III., 288. *Cf.* also the *Relatione del governatore Spada* (MS. in the library of the German Campo Santo al Vaticano), which is used in Ch. V. of Vol. XXIX.

[5] See LEMAN, *Urbain VIII.*, 525 *seq.*

What the leaders of France's policy wanted was not a reconciliation but a victorious peace. Richelieu roundly told the nuncio Bolognetti that peace with Spain could only be obtained through war ; and if he did not dare to refuse flatly to appoint plenipotentiaries for the peace congress, in the end he failed to name any, as did Philip IV.,[1] and since the Emperor also had only given vague assurances in this respect, the Pope resolved to hasten the opening of the peace congress by announcing, on September 17th, 1635, the nomination of a legate to that assembly. For this duty he had thought at first of Sacchetti, Durazzo and various other Cardinals,[2] but in the end his choice fell on Cardinal Marzio Ginetti, a man whom he could trust and one wholly above the least suspicion of partiality.[3] The memory of the Cardinal is kept alive not only by the magnificent family palace at Velletri, but likewise by the many benefits he lavished upon his native city.[4] In a secret consistory held on that day, Urban VIII. described his prolonged and energetic efforts for the restoration of peace between the Emperor and the Kings of Spain and France, and how he had warned them, and pleaded with them by means of personal letters, special couriers and ordinary and extraordinary nuncios ; yet up to that moment he had not been able to induce them to enter into peace negotiations. With a view to persuading them to do so, he was about to appoint Cardinal Ginetti to act as his legate with all the requisite powers. All the Cardinals gave their assent, whereupon the nomination followed.[5] It was communicated on the

[1] See LEMAN, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XIX. (1923), 374.

[2] See *NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 10, Vatican Library.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, *Alessandro*, VII., vol. i, 88.

[4] *Cf.* TERSENGHI, *Velletri*, Velletri, 1910, 247 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 257 *seq.* The palace is famous for its staircase.

[5] " *Die 17 mensis Septembris 1635 Romae fuit consistorium secretum in aedium Quirinalium aula Paulina consueta. Smus haec verba protulit : Omnem operam iamdiu et omne studium contulimus, ut sublatis dissidiis pax inter Caesaream Mtem et utrunque regem coalesceret, utentes ad persuadendum illorum animis exhortationibus, litteris Nostra manu exaratis, tabellariis

same day by means of special Briefs, to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France and Poland.[1]

The nuncio of Vienna further enlightened the Emperor on the ability and impartiality of Ginetti and emphasized the fact that the Pope had made this choice with a view to spurring on the Princes to appoint their plenipotentiaries ; the legate would leave as soon as this was done.[2] Thereupon, on November 17th, the Emperor at last joined three more plenipotentiaries to the Bishop of Würzburg. Even Richelieu, probably in consequence of a growing opposition to him in France, as well as the slender successes of his troops in the Netherlands and in Italy, proceeded, on November 21st, to the nomination of France's plenipotentiaries. Olivares who, in reality, wanted to exclude the mediation of the Pope whom he suspected by reason of his neutrality, took a similar step on December 21st though he kept it secret for the time being.[3]

It only remained to fix the meeting place of the peace congress. This proved extremely difficult, not only because the plague had broken out in many parts, but because the Dutch, France's allies, demanded that it should be some locality within their territories. However, there could be no question of a papal legate making a lengthy stay in a Protestant town.[4] Vienna had put forward in turn Constance, Spire, Augsburg, and Trent, and would have liked Constance best of all, because

expressis et nuntiorum ordinariorium et extraordinarium monitis et permultum temporis spatium neque eo pervenire potuimus, ut institueretur tractatio. Nunc res in eo statu est, ut videatur posse dari principium huic tractatui. Ideo Nobis propositum est etc." (*Acta consist.*, 1631–1644, MS. in my possession).

[1] See the *Briefs of September 17, 1635, in *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See the *report of Baglioni of October 13, 1635, in *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 10, Vatican Library.

[3] See Leman, in the *Rev. d'hist. éccles.*, XIX. (1923), 375 *seq.* ; Günter, 207 *seq.* For the publication of the names of the plenipotentiaries by the Pope, see Siri, VIII., 382.

[4] See Leman, *loc. cit.*, 379.

of the famous Council, though Spire was eventually even more strongly favoured. The French were in favour of Liège. However, the Pope realized that in view of its strong pro-French feelings that city would not be agreeable to the imperialists; hence he caused his nuncio to propose Cologne, though without betraying that the latter town was the most acceptable to himself [1]; just as he carefully preserved his position above all parties, an attitude which, as a matter of fact, was binding on him as the common Father of Christendom and alone enabled him to play the rôle of a mediator. His nephews also were anxious to prove their impartiality, as was shown by the circumstance that at the performance of the musical drama entitled "The Life of St. Theodora", composed by Mgr. Giulio Rospigliosi, the future Clement XI., Cardinal Antonio invited the French Colony for the first representation; for a second performance the wife of Taddeo Barberini invited Roman Society and for the third Cardinal Francesco invited the Spanish Colony.[2] Vienna still strongly favoured Spire and blamed the dilatoriness of the Spaniards in appointing plenipotentiaries. To the Pope's satisfaction Ferdinand rejected the demand of Charles I. of England for the restoration of the Palatine: on the other hand he declined Liège just as strongly as he insisted on Spire being the seat of the congress. In the end he proposed Frankfort on the Main, but to this the nuncio would not agree on the ground that the latter city was for the most part Protestant,[3] and in this refusal he had the full support of Rome.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the *reports of Baglioni of August 4 and December 29, 1635, and of November 19, 1636, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* A *Brief referring to this and addressed to Ferdinand II., dated December 15, 1635, is in *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Ademollo, *I Tentri di Roma nel secolo decimosesto*, Roma, 1888, 22.

[3] See Baglioni's *reports of February 23, March 15 and 22, and April 5, 1636, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Fr. Barberini's *letter to Baglioni of April 26, 1636, *ibid.*

When it became known that Spain had at last published the names of her plenipotentiaries, the Pope dispatched by special couriers Briefs dated March 15th and 16th, 1635, to Ferdinand II. and to Louis XIII. for the purpose of fixing the rendezvous of the conference.[1] The Madrid Cabinet was not approached because Philip IV. had announced that he would follow the Emperor's lead. With a view to hastening an agreement, Urban gave the legatine cross to Ginetti on April 6th, 1636.[2]

Even now Richelieu persisted in rejecting the four places proposed by the Emperor, though he approved of the choice of Cologne because that city was likewise acceptable to his allies the Swedes and the Dutch.[3] Vienna also ended by giving way when the Pope represented that the Elector of Cologne was wholly devoted to Austria. Even before this information reached Rome, and with a view to hastening the imperial decision, Urban VIII. had allowed the Cardinal legate to set out on June 25th.[4] On July 11th, 1636, he proclaimed a universal jubilee to implore the blessing of God

[1] See both *Briefs in *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] " *Smus dixit illis (cardinalibus) se dare crucem legato, et licet videatur aliquibus nimis praepropere, tamen hoc facere, ut tollat omnem ansam et occasionem cuilibet retardandi expeditiones pro pace obtinenda et conficienda (*Acta consist.*, 1631–1644) MS. in my possession). The draft of the *Instruction for Ginetti, dated June 25, 1638, and drawn up by Pietro Benesse, is preserved in Papal Secret Archives, vol. 36, p. 1049 (*cf. Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 744, note 2). It is found in many MSS. I have found copies in Ancona, Communal Library, *Miscell. libro sesto*; Berlin, State Library, *Inf. polit.*, VII., 1 *seq.*; Lucca, Library; Munich, State Library, *Ital.*, 98; Naples, National Library, XI., G. 34, p. 1 *seq.*; Paris, National Library (see *Marsand*, I., 337, 656) and Library of the Arsenal; Rome, Barberini Library, LVIII., 15; Casanatense Library, 2075, p. 1 *seq.*; Chigi Library, I., III., p. 14 *seq.*; Corsini Library, *Cod.* 689; Vatican 6915; Ferraioli Library, 62, p. 1 *seq.*; Vittorio Emanuele Library, *Fondo Gesuit.*, 277; Stockholm, Library, *Hist. ital.*, no. 14, p. 1.

[3] See Leman, *loc. cit.*, 378 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*; Leman, *loc. cit.*, 382 *seq.*

on the peace negotiations.[1] On September 6th, by way of compensation for yielding on the question of Cologne, Ferdinand demanded the red hat for the Prince-Bishop of Vienna, Wolfradt,[2] but the latter had made himself so unpopular in Rome by his approval of the concessions to the Protestants contained in the Peace of Prague, that no notice was taken of the request.[3] On the other hand, with Briefs to the Catholic Electors dated August 20th and 25th, 1636, Urban strongly supported the election of Ferdinand's son as King of the Romans. This election was due to take place at Ratisbon.[4] The nuncio of Vienna, Malatesta Baglioni, was sent as papal delegate to that assembly which opened on September 8th. He was instructed to bring up for discussion the arrest of the Archbishop of Trèves and the Spanish invasion of the papal fiefs of Parma and Piacenza, an act which Urban VIII. resented most grievously. He was also to prevent the restoration of the Duke of Württemberg and that of the Palatine. The former question was strongly urged by Saxony and the latter by England. Baglioni also offered strong opposition to the projected investiture of the Protestant King of Denmark with the archdiocese of Bremen.[5]

As in Italy so in the other theatres of war, for instance, on the Rhine and the Elbe, a fierce struggle was raging. A

[1] See *Bull.*, XIV., 450.

[2] *Cf.* Fr. Barberini's *letter to Baglioni of September 6, 1636, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to Ferdinand II., of October 29, 1636, *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* General *Briefs had already been issued on May 10, 1636, to the Emperor and the Catholic Princes on the subject of the safeguarding of the Catholic religion at the Diet of Ratisbon. *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., *loc. cit.*

[5] See Fr. Barberini's *letters to Baglioni of October 2 and 26, 1636, and Baglioni's *reports of September 7, October 28, and November 9 and 18, 1636, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* In view of the Spanish invasion of Piacenza and Parma, Urban VIII. appealed to the Governor of Milan, Leganés, in a *Brief of October 25, 1636, and in *one of November 15, 1636, to Philip IV. *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

daring offensive against Paris by the Spaniards and the imperialists, on July, 1636, failed in consequence of the unanimous resistance of the French who now rallied as one man round the indomitable Richelieu, as well as by reason of the discord between Johann von Werth and the Cardinal-Infante Fernando. In North-Germany, the Saxons and the imperialists took Magdeburg on July 11th, 1636, but on October 4th, they suffered a bloody defeat near Wittstock at the hands of the Swedish General Banér.[1]

In the midst of these heavy blows of fate the sorely tried Emperor scored a great diplomatic triumph when his son Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans. On this occasion Saxony sought to force the restoration of the Duke of Württemberg, but on that point, as on the restoration of the Palatine, the Emperor refused to yield.[2] On December 22nd, his son was elected King of the Romans.[3] From this act the Electors themselves had excluded the imprisoned Elector of Trèves by reason of his traitorous relations with France.[4]

[1] *Cf.* RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 463 *seq.*; O. VIGIER, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LVI.; RIEZLER, V., 512 *seq.*; R. SCHMIDT, *Die Schlacht bei Wittstock*, Halle, 1876.

[2] *Cf.* Baglioni's *reports of October 28, November 9 and 18, 1636, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[3] See HURTER, XI., 489 *seq.* The letter of Urban VIII. to the Chancellor of the Elector of Mayence, August 21, 1636, "de necessitate ac forma eligendi regem Romanorum" in *Bull.*, XIV., 556.

[4] *Cf.* for this and for the protest of the Elector of Trèves and the Cathedral Chapter there, BAUR, *Sötern*, II., 25 *seq.*, 29 *seq.* Ferdinand II. at once informed Urban VIII. by a *letter of December 22, 1636, of the election by the *principes electores Imperii*, and referred for further details to the reports of his envoys, Prince Bozzolo and the auditor of the Rota, Cornelius Henricus Motmann. On the same day Ferdinand III. wrote to the Pope: "Noverit igitur S.V. me indictis de more veteri septem rivalibus comitiis, concordibus S. Rom. Imperii electorum suffragiis . . . in augustum Romanorum regem electum et publice proclamatum fuisse." Urban VIII. communicated both letters to the Cardinals in a secret consistory, on January 12, 1637, "in

The Cardinal Legate, Ginetti, reached Cologne on October 22nd, 1636.[1] However, he found no plenipotentaries there. Those of the Emperor and the King of Spain arrived at length, whilst the French still tarried.[2]

News of Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans reached Cologne on December 31st, 1636.[3] It was the noble Emperor's last joy.[4] Already grievously stricken, he returned to Vienna on February 8th, 1637, where he died on the 15th, before completing his fifty-ninth year. Even the bitterest opponents

aedibus Vaticanis in sala Clementina." "His peractis Smus decrevit celebrare missam pro gratiarum actione" (**Acta consist.*, 1631–1644, MS. in my possession). By a **Bull.* of December 3, 1637, the Pope deferred ratification of the election until Ferdinand III. should have prayed for it; see *Bull.*, XIV., 622 *seq.*

[1] See *" Viaggio del card. M. Ginetti legato per la pace descritto da Msgr. Benassa (*sic*) segret. di N. Sre," in *Cod.* M. I., 25, of the Chigi Library, Rome; also in *Ottob.* 2612, Vatican Library, and in *Varia polit.*, 159, p. 690 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also **Viaggio da Bologna a Colonia del card. Ginetti scritto da Msgr. Francesco degli Albizzi*, in *Cod.* Q. II., 46, p. 1–12, Chigi Library, Rome. A *Brief to the Doge, of September 20, 1636, thanks him for his reception of Ginetti. *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See HURTER, *Friedensbstrebungen*, 207; LEMAN, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XIX. (1923), 383.

[3] See the **Viaggio del card. Ginetti* by Benesse, quoted in note 1.

[4] *Letter of congratulation from Urban VIII. to Ferdinand II. and III. on the election as King of the Romans, January 13, 1637, in *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives. An *Avviso of January 17, 1637 (*Urb.* 1105, Vatican Library) gives an account of the function on the ocasion of the election of Ferdinand III. in the Sistine chapel, and the salvoes of artillery from Castel S. Angelo in the evening. *Cf.* also *Relatione di quanto e seguito in Germania circa l'elettione de Re de'Romani con un ristretto delle feste fatte in Roma*, Roma, 1637; L. MANZINI, *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezione di Ferdinando III. dal. rev. princ. Maurizio card. di Savoia*, Roma, 1637. On the functions in the Anima, first on January 17, 1637, and then on February 1, in the presence of nearly all the Cardinals, see SCHMIDLIN, 460 *seq.*

of the Habsburgs have paid homage to the depth and genuineness of his piety.[1] In a consistory of March 16th, 1637, Urban VIII. spoke in warm terms of the many excellent qualities of the deceased monarch and expressed the hope that his successor would show a like devotion and attachment to the Church.[2] At the obsequies in the Sistine Chapel on the following day a panegyric of Ferdinand II. was pronounced, a quite unusual thing.[3]

The dispatch of an ambassador-extraordinary to Rome for the purpose of announcing the election and coronation of Ferdinand III. was at first put in jeopardy by the attitude of the imperial representatives in the Eternal City, Prince Bozzolo and the auditor of the Rota, Cornelius Henry Motmann. Motmann's conduct was such that Urban VIII. no longer received him.[4] In the end Ferdinand appointed as his envoy-extraordinary Austria's wealthiest grand-seigneur, Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg who, however, was by no means the equal of his famous father.[5] The arrival of Eggenberg in Rome, on June 8th, 1638, gave occasion to a conflict of etiquette which lasted for several months. Finally, after the Pope had agreed to make some excuse for a breach of the ceremonial which had occurred at Eggenberg's first audience on June 8th, the latter made his solemn entry on November 8th, "with every imaginable pomp and display."[6] The *obbedienza* took

[1] See v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, in Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgesch.*, Neuzeit, Berlin, 1908, 502.

[2] See **Acta consist.*, 1631–1644, *loc. cit.*

[3] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, for March 17, 1637, Vatican Library. *Brief of condolence to Ferdinand III., April 20, 1637, *Epist.*, XIII., *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 10, Vatican Library.

[5] See v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 200 *seq.*, for particulars of Eggenberg's instructions.

[6] See *ibid.*, 205 *seq.* *Nicoletti, VII., ch. 8, p. 551 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*, gives complementary information. *Cf.* also *Vat.* 7852, p. 448 *seq.*, Vatican Library. For the dispute about etiquette see **Relatione delle cose occorse nel governo di Roma, di Msgr. G. B. Spada*, MS.

place on November 16th, in the Sala Regia. In his address Eggenberg acknowledged the large part the Pope had had in his sovereign's election and in the latter's name promised due obedience, after which Urban handed to Eggenberg the Bull confirming the election and invited him to his table.[1]

Whilst Urban VIII. held steadfastly to the traditional standpoint of the Roman Curia and firmly opposed the participation of heretical envoys in the peace negotiations, Richelieu did not give up hope that the Pope would yield, because not a few Cardinals were unwilling to forgo the annual pensions which France regularly paid them. He also thought he would make an impression on Urban by promoting the interests of the papal nephews. Accustomed to leave nothing untried, he did not shrink from telling direct lies to the supreme Head of the Church. Although at the beginning of 1637 he strove with all his might to win over Charles I., he instructed Mazarin to assure the Pope that out of love and devotion for Rome he had rejected every one of England's offers of alliance.[2]

of the Library of the Campo Santo al Vaticano. A description of Eggenberg's entry is in *Miscell. libro sesto*, p. 62 *seq.* of the Communal Library at Ancona.

[1] v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (*loc. cit.*, 206) errs when he says that Eggenberg had only one audience on November 16; on the contrary, on that day the *obbedienza* took place (see **Epist.*, XV., p. 205 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives; Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, 557 *seq.*), and on this occasion, not on November 7, Eggenberg delivered the allocution mentioned by Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, p. 214. *Cf.* also *"*Oratio habita in Aula Regia Vaticana 16 Nov. 1638 ab Antonio Marengi . . . ad Urbanum VIII. dum Io. Ant. princeps ab Echenbergh eidem pontifici Caesaris nomine obsequium praestabat"*, see *Vat.* 7852, p. 485. According to Baglioni's *report of March 19, 1639, Eggenberg on his return expressed himself as very well satisfied with the Pope and laid, the blame for the misunderstandings on Count Bozzolo (*Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*). The Bull. of confirmation dated November 10, 1638, is in *Bull.*, XIV., 674 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 678 *seq.*, that of November 20 accepting the *preces primariae*.

[2] See Avenel, *Lettres*, V., quoted in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1864, No. 1320.

The peace congress of Cologne was unable to begin negotiations owing to the attitude of France ; hence the war went on with increased fierceness. In April, 1637, the French lost the Valtinella and in Italy also, fortune refused to favour their arms nor did things look much brighter in the North. The bulk of the Emperor's armed forces was directed against the Swedes who, after the failure of their invasion of Saxony, were compelled to withdraw into Pomerania. In Hessen and on the Middle Rhine the imperialists also scored some successes. Bernard of Weimar, who had crossed the Rhine at the beginning of August, was forced to retire in September, nor could he maintain himself in Alsace. However, in the following year a disastrous reversal of fortune occurred, for the Duke von Savelli who, through the influence of the Court Marshal, Count Trauttmansdorff, had been appointed commander-in-chief, displayed the same incapacity which he had shown eight years earlier when opposed to Gustavus Adolphus.[1]

At the end of January, 1638, Duke Bernard of Weimar, well supplied with large sums of French money, left his winter quarters at Delsberg at the head of his Swedish and German troops and soon marched from victory to victory. On April 2nd he took Freiburg in Breisgau ; on August 9th he defeated Savelli and Götz at Wittenweier, after which he besieged the strong place of Breisach—the so-called " pillow and precious jewel of the Holy Empire ". With heroic fortitude the commander, Baron Henry von Reinach, held the place as long as possible and only surrendered on December 17th when compelled by hunger.[2] For the Habsburgs the loss of Breisach was all the more serious as thereby this particular line of communication between the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Southern Netherlands became severed.[3] Bernard intended to make of this fortress, which dominated the wide plains of the

[1] *Cf.* HUBER, V., 517 *seq.* ; RIEZLER, v., 519 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* besides ROSMANN-ENS, *Gesch. der Stadt Breisach* (Weiss, Freiburg, 1851) especially WETZER, in the *Mitt. des k.k. Kriegsar. chivs*, new series, I., 223 *seq.*, II., 257 *seq.*, III., 1 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DROYSEN, *Preuss. Politik*, III., 1, 186 ; RANKE, *Osmanen*[4], 463.

Upper Rhine, the centre of a new principality which was to be composed of Alsace, Breisgau and other territories of the Austrian Forelands. This plan involved him in a conflict with Richelieu who wanted the Rhine frontier for himself. Weimar's sudden death on July 18th, 1639, put an end to this dispute. Nothing could have been more opportune for the Cardinal than this death for at last he got into his own hands both the conquests and the army of Bernard. In this way France's preponderance on the Upper Rhine became an accomplished fact.[1]

In the North also the military situation had taken an unfavourable turn for the Emperor. A fresh agreement between France and Sweden, concluded on March 6th, 1638, provided General Banér with reinforcements for his army which took the offensive in July and drove Gallas from Mecklenburg as far as the Elbe, and towards the close of the year forced him to fall back as far as Silesia and Bohemia. In February, 1639, Banér invaded Bohemia where he committed appalling devastations but failed to take Prague.[2]

The sorrow and anxiety which the prolongation of so bloody a war caused to the Pope were all the greater as in many localities the march of events did most grievous harm to the interests of the Catholics in Germany. To this was added the ever-present fear of an irruption of the Turks. But however gloomy the situation may have seemed, Urban VIII. continued his efforts to put a stop to the dreadful struggle by paving the way for an armistice. On June 20th, 1638, he appealed to all the warring Princes and their ministers and on December 18th he repeated his plea for peace.[3] In January, 1639, he made a

[1] See DROYSEN, III., 1, 190 *seq.*

[2] Not until 1640 was Archduke Leopold Wilhelm successful in driving the Swedes out of Bohemia; see HUBER, V., 527 *seq.*

[3] The *Briefs of June 20, 1637 ("ut omnia nitantur, quae publicam concordiam renovare possint") addressed to Ferdinand II., to the Kings of France and Spain, to Richelieu, Olivares and the Duke of Savoy, are in *Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, XV.–XVI., the *Briefs of December 18 to the same.

fresh appeal to France,[1] but his words fell on deaf ears. At Cologne the Cardinal Legate, Ginetti, saw himself condemned to complete inaction and as he felt unequal to his task he longed for his recall.[2] However, he was not to blame for the failure of the peace conference; the fault lay chiefly with France, which persisted in her distrust of Spain.[3]

[1] *Brief to Louis XIII. of January 6, 1639, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See **Breve relatione delle difficoltà frapposte nel radunare il congresso in Colonia avanti il card. Ginetti* 1637, 1638, *e* 1639, in *Cod.* Q., II., 46, pp. 73–98, of the Chigi Library, Rome, and *Cod.* XI., G. 34, p. 231 *seq.*, of the National Library, Naples. The copy in the Library at Stockholm (*Hist. ital.*, no. 14, p. 83) names *Abbate Dom. Salvetti*, as the author; the same is stated in the copy in *Barb.* LVI., 83, Vatican Library.

[3] RANKE (*Päpste*, II.[6], 372) is inclined to ascribe the fault to Ginetti's instructions, which are supposed to "have tied his hands with regard to those points which were most important and upon which everything turned"; such, he says, were the restitution of the Palatinate, the definitive cession of confiscated church property to the Protestants and peace with Holland and Sweden. Only those who misunderstand the nature of the papacy could take offence at the fact that the Holy See upheld its traditional policy in this matter of the maintenance of the rights of the Church; see HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche und Staat*, 714. It was also the opinion of a Congregation of Cardinals held in the presence of the Pope on January 19, 1639, that it was France that caused the greatest difficulties at the Cologne Congress (see the protocol in Archives at Foligno, which since 1921 have been in the Papal Secret Archives, *Miscell.* 4196). Leman also judged that the Cologne congress failed through the action of France (see *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XIX. (1923), 383). *Cf.* also the opinion of Maximilian of Bavaria in his letter to Ferdinand III. of April 16, 1638, in RIEZLER, V., 519. Only this much is correct, that Ginetti, on account of his want of "intelligenza agli affari del mondo" as PALLAVICINI (*Alessandro*, VII., I., 88 *seq.*), puts it, was not equal to his difficult task. A witness, though one not wholly free from partiality, P. Benesse, complains that the Cardinal did not always read the documents that concerned his mission; he also accuses him of meanness (Ginetti received 2000 scudi d'oro a month instead of the 1,500 that had been customary

In the spring of 1639 news of a most alarming kind reached Rome from the East, inasmuch as the disputes which had arisen in the previous year between Venice and Turkey threatened to lead to a war which would enable the Sultan Murad to wreak his anger upon the Republic of St. Mark.[1] Urban VIII. who, in December, 1638, had given Venice leave to raise a tenth from all ecclesiastical benefices for the war against the Turks,[2] took advantage of the opportunity to make a fresh effort on behalf of peace between the warring Catholic Powers so that they might turn their weapons against the traditional enemy of Christendom. To this end he announced to them the dispatch of nuncios-extraordinary: Gaspare Mattei, Archbishop of Athens, was to go to the Emperor Ferdinand III., Ranuccio Scotti to Louis XIII., Cesare Fachinetti, Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, to Philip IV.[3] At the same time the Pope

hitherto) and of some other mistakes in matters of ceremonial. (**Viaggio del card. Ginetti* (*loc. cit.*).) *Cf.* also the letter of Chigi in *Bollet. Senese*, XV. (1908), 11.

[1] *Cf.* HAMMER, II., 201; ZINKEISEN, IV., 557 *seq.*

[2] See *Bull.*, XIV., 485 *seq.*

[3] See the *Briefs to Ferdinand III. and numerous German Catholic princes of April 9, 1639, to Louis XIII., Richelieu and others of April 16, 1639, and to Philip IV., of May 12, 1639 (*Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives). Louis XIII. and Richelieu were again admonished to make peace by *Briefs of June 4, 1639 (*ibid.*). The original of the *Brief to Johann Anton, Prince of Eggenberg, is in the Herberstein Archives at Eggenberg. In the *Briefs to Louis XIII. of August 8 and 17, 1639, relating to the mission of Scotti (*Epist.*, XV.–XVI., *loc. cit.*), the Pope pointed out that "ex presentibus catholicorum dissidiis plurima religionis damna" had followed; therefore "paterna iteramus officia. Volumus hanc causam commendare". He then begs the King to show his zeal for the peace of Christendom. "Reliqua ex Nuntio" (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* also *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 6, and VIII., ch. 1, Vatican Library. The *Instruction for Mattei dated April 27, 1639, is in *Barb.* 5691, Vatican Library, and *Cod.* Q. I., 22, of the Chigi Library, Rome, *that for Fachinetti, dated May 21, 1639, is in *Barb.* LX., 67, *loc. cit.*,

commanded the Jesuits to offer up special prayers for peace.[1]

Facchinetti was given fair words concerning the war against the Turks,[2] but for peace he could do nothing at all owing to the fact that the pretensions of the Spaniards involved him in some exceedingly wearisome politico-ecclesiastical disputes.[3] The prerogatives of the Holy See were likewise threatened in France where Scotti met with the greatest difficulties on the part of Richelieu with regard to the peace negotiations.[4] In Germany Mattei likewise encountered the greatest obstacles. He began by attempting to negotiate an armistice with a view to facilitating the opening of the peace congress of Cologne.[5] But the imperialists who until that time had shown themselves ready to enter into negotiations, had swung round to wholly opposite sentiments in consequence of their victory over the French

and is in the same sense. Mattei received a special *" Instruttione per servitio della s. congregazione di Propaganda fide " concerning the visitation of the Papal Colleges in Prague, Olmütz, Vienna and Dillingen ; further he was to support the missions of Propaganda in Bohemia, Transilvania and Lower Hungary, and admonish all Bishops to fulfil their *ad limina* obligation.

[1] *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 450.

[2] *Cf.* the *Brief to Philip IV. of September 24, 1639, *Epist. loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. II.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed *report of Scotti in his **Relatione della Nuntiatura di Francia* 1641, which is also very important with respect to the religious affairs of that country (*cf.* below, Ch. VI). It is preserved in numerous copies at Rome in the Papal Secret Archives (*Miscell.*, III., vol. 36, p. 1507 *seq.*, and vol. 71, p. 1 *seq.*), in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Ottob.* 2437, p. 1 *seq.*), in the Chigi Library (*Cod.*, N., III., 65), and in the Corsini Library (*Cod.* 491, p. 1 *seq.*, 473, p. 815 *seq.* (this was used by LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 149, and *Melet.*, 467), 491, p. 1 *seq.*) ; also at Gubbio, Lucarelli Library (see MAZZATINTI, I., 150), and at Pistoia, Fabroniana Library, *Cod.* 55.

[5] See Mattei's *report of June 25, 1639, in *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 2, Vatican Library.

at Diedenhofen on June 7th.[1,2] Towards the end of the year the imperial ambassador in Rome demanded a fresh subsidy from the Pope, otherwise his Sovereign, as had already been explained to the nuncio in September, would be compelled to conclude a peace with the Protestants which was bound to injure the Catholic religion.[3] In view of the depleted condition of the papal finances just then, some very painful discussions arose on this point as well as on other questions,[4] both in Vienna [5] and in Rome,[6] and these were still further embittered by the jealousy of the imperialists due to the fact that Bavaria had been granted permission to levy a tenth from Church property,[7] a favour which the Emperor had first requested for himself.[8]

The Cardinal-Legate Ginetti who, as a result of the dispute between the imperialists and the French, saw himself condemned to complete inactivity, would have been glad to leave the Rhenish metropolis but he ended by allowing himself to be persuaded by the friends of peace to hold out for a while. By means of Briefs of February 11th, 1640, addressed to all the Catholic Powers, the Pope endeavoured to bring about an armistice and to initiate peace negotiations,[9] though he was under no delusion as to the obstacles that barred the way, for, according to a report of Mattei dated February 25th, 1640,

[1] Urban VIII. congratulated the Emperor on this victory in a *Brief of July 9, 1639, **Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Mattei's *report of September 10, 1639, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the detailed *account, *ibid.*

[5] See Mattei's *report of September 24 (Mattei says that the Pope had debts up to 30 millions) and October 19, 1639, *ibid.*

[6] See Fr. Barberini's *letter to Mattei of December 10, 1639, *ibid.*

[7] See the *Brief to Maximilian I. of November 12, 1639 (per annum conceditur decima pars eccles. reddituum), *Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[8] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[9] The *Briefs to Ferdinand III., Louis XIII., Philip IV., Richelieu and Olivares, of February 11, 1640, are in **Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives.

the prospects of the opening of the Congress were the worst possible, inasmuch as the Spaniards would not admit the Dutch plenipotentiaries whilst, on the other hand, the Emperor refused to grant the safe-conduct which the French demanded for the Elector of Trèves, and the French on their part would neither give a safe-conduct to the Duke of Lorraine nor appear at Cologne without the Dutch.[1] A conference arranged by Bichi, the former Paris nuncio, between the plenipotentiaries of France and Bavaria which took place in the utmost secrecy at Einsiedeln in 1640, also failed because Richelieu's aim in these discussions was not peace but the driving of a wedge between Maximilian I. and the Emperor.[2]

The Pope was greatly worried by the fact that the imperialists held to the course on which they had entered when they signed the Peace of Prague, for in Germany the view gradually gained ground, even in the Catholic camp, that if the external enemies were to be effectively resisted it was necessary not to shrink from even greater concessions to the Protestants. Tendencies of this kind showed themselves already at the Diet of Electors at Nuremberg,[3] and it looked as if they must prevail at the Diet of Empire which was due to meet at Ratisbon on July 20th, 1640. By means of Briefs dated June 30th, the Pope urgently pleaded with the Emperor and the Catholic Princes to safeguard the interests of the Catholic Church.[4] He also instructed Mattei to make earnest verbal representations in this sense to the Emperor, and in particular to insist that the Catholic Duke of Bavaria must on no account lose the Palatinate, that the ancient Abbey of Hersfeld should be safeguarded and that

[1] *"Li Spagnoli non volevano dare il titolo di plenipotenziari agli Olandesi e l'Imperatore non volea dare il passaporto al elettore di Treviri chiesto da Franzesi e questi non volevano darlo al duca di Lorena nè volevano andare in Colonia senza gli Olandesi." Mattei's *report of February 25, 1640, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Riezler, V., 539 *seq.*; Döberl, I., 560 *seq.*

[3] See Brockhaus, *Der Nürnberger Kurfürstentag im Jahre* 1640, Leipzig, 1883, 110 *seqq.*, 241 *seq.*

[4] See **Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., *loc. cit.*

there should be no interference with the Catholic restoration in Württemberg where the Jesuits had established mission stations at Stuttgart, Backnang, Tübingen and Göppingen.[1] Nor did the Pope lose sight of the question of peace. On September 8th, 1640, he addressed fresh exhortations on the subject to the Emperor, to the Kings of France and Spain and to Richelieu and Olivares.[2]

The opening of the Diet of Ratisbon was put off until September 23rd, 1640, and that assembly's inclination to make concessions to the Protestants became even more marked in consequence of the conquest by the French, in August, of the strong fortress of Arras, the capital of Artois.[3] This event also reacted unfavourably on the negotiations at Cologne where Cardinal Ginetti despaired of success. On September 10th, the Pope acceded to his request to be allowed to return to Italy. In his place Francesco Maria Machiavelli was appointed nuncio-extraordinary for the peace negotiations.[4]

[1] See Fr. Barberini's *letter to Mattei of July 14, 1640, in *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 2, *loc. cit.*

[2] See **Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Die 10 Septembris 1640 fuit consistorium in palatio Quirinali in aula Paulina consueta, in quo S^mus^ dixit: Iam elapsum est quadriennium, in quo dil. fil. Noster card. Ginettus ad pacis tractatum inter catholicos principes dirigendum Nostri et Ap. Sedis de latere legati munus Coloniae sustinuit, et cum ibi adversa valetudine affici et otiose permanere saepius conquestus fuerit, frequenter instetit, ut redeundi facultatem eidem impertiremus, quam tandem eidem negare minime posse censuimus. . . . Ut autem assiduum Nostrum pacis studium omnibus perspectum sit utque ea ministrorum congressio, qui a principibus missi hactenus Coloniam appulerunt, continuari possit nec cuiquam forsan supermemoratae tractationi aditus praecludatur, decrevimus, ut ven. frat. Franciscus Maria patriarcha Constantinopolitanus in eadem civitate extraord. Nuntii (charactere) insignitus permaneat ad quodcumque pacis negotium se obtulerit absente legato pertractandum. Interea eidem legato significavimus, ut eo loci dirigat iter suum, unde si quae celeris atque urgens occasio postulaverit, ad negotiationem persequendam paratus sit" (**Acta consist.*, 1631–1644, MS. in my possession). *Cf.* also the

Meanwhile the Diet of Ratisbon had begun to discuss the question of an amnesty for those Protestant Princes who had not yet made their peace with the Emperor. This was a subject closely linked with the question of the extent to which they should be left in possession of ecclesiastical property of which they had robbed the Catholics from 1555 onwards. The majority were for yielding all along the line. In vain the Pope made a fresh appeal to the Electors.[1] Mattei was already thinking of lodging a protest similar to that which Commendone had been instructed to make at the Diet of 1566.[2] For the moment Rome restrained him but sent him a copy of the protest of 1566, in case he should need it.[3] The Pope defined his position when he declared that he wanted peace in Germany, but not at the expense of the Catholic religion.[4] The danger of such a peace grew steadily, for the Protestant Princes insisted on a general amnesty for all the Estates of Empire, including the Palatine.

Catholic theologians were divided in opinion as to how far one could go without sin in granting concessions to the Protestants. The more strict view was defended by the Jesuit Henry Wangnereck who unreservedly condemned the religious peace of Augsburg which his brother-in-religion, Laymann, had excused within limits, hence he logically concluded that the amnesty demanded by the Protestants was inadmissible. A paper written by him to this effect was handed to Mattei by the Bishop of Augsburg, Henry von Knöringen,[5] and since it

*Brief to Ferdinand III. of September 15, 1640, **Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives. See also DENIS, *Nouvelles*, I., 13.

[1] See Mattei's *report of October 9, 1640, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVIII., 252.

[3] See Fr. Barberini's *letter to Mattei of November 3, 1640, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[4] Words of Urban VIII. to Msgr. Peutinger in the *letter of Fr. Barberini to Mattei of November 10, 1640, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[5] "Quaestio ardua, an pax, quam desiderant Protestantes, sit secundum se illicita"; see STEINBERGER, 30 *seq.*, 169 *seq.* For Wangnereck, *cf.* also DUHR, II., 1, 472 *seq.*

tallied in every respect with his own views, the nuncio bestowed the highest praise on the pamphlet.[1] Mattei breathed more freely when the Emperor put off until the following year the Palatine question, but the arrival at Ratisbon in January, 1641, of the representatives of Lüneburg and Hessen filled him with fresh anxiety.[2] In March he learnt from the Elector of Cologne that on the subject of the amnesty the Emperor was inclined to yield to the demands of the Protestants.[3] On April 18th he lodged a protest against such a step.[4] Actually he believed that the danger had been averted [5] when an imperial decree of August 20th settled the question of the amnesty in a way that favoured the Protestants.[6] Ferdinand III. had consulted his confessor, the Jesuit Gans, on the subject,[7] and in a paper dated July 16th, 1641, the latter, in company with the majority of the other divines, had given it as his opinion that the Emperor might grant the amnesty with a good conscience.[8] Thereupon, on October 10th, that decree was embodied in the minutes of the Diet of Empire,[9] a measure which provoked a protest on the part of Mattei, though only a verbal one.[10]

[1] See STEINBERGER, 31; DUHR, II., 1, 473.

[2] See Mattei's *report of January 13, 1640, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, the *Instruction for Mattei with regard to the question of the amnesty, January 16, 1641. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, the *letter of Fr. Barberini of April 20, 1641.

[3] See Mattei's *report of March 12, 1641, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[4] See ERNESTUS DE EUSEBIIS, *Iudicium theol. super quaestione, an pax, qualem desiderant Protestantes, sit secundum se illicita*, Ecclesiopoli, 1646, S. 4, R. 8, § 2; STEINBERGER, 37. *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 474.

[5] *Cf.* Mattei's *report of August 6, 1641, *loc. cit.*

[6] See LUNDORP, V., 579 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* Mattei's *report of July 2, 1641, *loc. cit.*

[8] See DUHR, II., 1, 473 *seq.*

[9] See SCHMAUSS-SENCKENBERG, *Sammlung der Reichabschiede*, Frankfurt a. M., 1747 *seq.*, III., 551 *seq.*

[10] See Mattei's *report of October 18, 1641, *loc. cit.* Fr. Barberini *replied on November 2, 1641, that he should preserve all protests in the archives of the nunciature, that the Pope still hoped that the Emperor's piety "applicherebbe i rimedii opportuni" (*loc. cit.*). For the attitude of Mattei and the Pope in respect of the

The minutes also stated that for the peace negotiations between the Emperor and France and Sweden, the towns of Münster and Osnabrück had been chosen, and all the States were requested to send their delegates there. It was stipulated between the Great Powers concerned, namely the Emperor and Spain on the one side, and France and Sweden on the other, that the peace negotiations should open in both cities on March 25th, 1642.

On March 8th, 1641, the Pope had proclaimed yet another jubilee for the purpose of imploring the help of God for the peace negotiations.[1] On April 16th he congratulated the Emperor on his victory over the Swedes at Neuenburg, to the north-west of Cham,[2] and on June 1st and August 3rd he once more exhorted Ferdinand III., Philip IV., Louis XIII., Richelieu and Olivares to mutual reconciliation.[3] However, the opening of the negotiations, not in Cologne but at Münster, and for the Protestants at Osnabrück instead of Hamburg, did not take place on the date agreed upon, viz. March 25th, 1642, owing to the opposition of France and Sweden.[4] So the fury of war continued to rage. The French who, on January 17th, 1642, had inflicted a heavy defeat on the imperialists and the Bavarians at Kempen, near Krefeld, entertained the hope that the situation would take an even more decisive turn in their favour. Events justified that hope for the military operations of the Swedes terminated on November 2nd, 1642, with a brilliant victory over the imperialists and the Saxons on the blood-soaked plain of Breitenfeld.[5] On this occasion the

Emperor's dealings with the Palatine, see the *reports quoted by *Nicoletti (VIII., 4). Mattei entered a protest, on May 10, against the Imperial decision of May 6, 1642 (see Riezler, V., 519). The negotiations finally came to nothing; see Riezler, V., 550.

[1] See **Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession.

[2] See **Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Riezler, V., 559.

[5] *Cf.* H. Böttger, *Die Ereignisse um Leipzig im Herbst* 1642 (*Hallesche Abhandlungen*, XV.). See also *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XV., 23 *seq.*

Pope was unable to come to the assistance of the Emperor since he saw himself threatened in his own territory by Odiardo Farnese.[1]

When Ginetti left Cologne in September, 1640, he was succeeded by Francesco Machiavelli, so as to make sure of the Pope's participation in the peace negotiations.[2] However, Machiavelli stood the climate of Germany very badly, hence at the end of August, 1641, Carlo Rossetti was appointed to succeed him as nuncio-extraordinary.[3] The latter reached Cologne on October 25th, 1641, but achieved no more than his predecessor.[4] Whilst waiting for the opening of the peace

[1] In Urban VIII.'s *reply to Ferdinand III.'s report of the defeat of the imperial arms, he says: "Utinam res Nostrae eo in statu essent, ut aliquid tibi suppeditandi subsidium facultas fieret"; unfortunately the Italian disturbances had exhausted his resources. *Brief of November 29, 1642, **Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Brom, *Archivalia*, III., 380, 478 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Pallavicini, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 98 *seq.*; Brom, *Archivalia*, III., 381 *seq.* Rossetti had been for some time envoy to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. (see below, Vol. XXIX, Ch. IV). Urban VIII. *wrote to the Queen on August 10, 1641: "Laudes quibus comitem Rossettum isthinc ad Nos revertentem commendavisti, praeclarae opinioni respondent, cum eo integritatis ac prudentiae dotibus pollentem cognosceremus" (**Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* *Nicoletti, VII., ch. 4, *loc. cit.* A portrait of Rossetti is in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Ravenna.

[4] "Qui le cose della pace camminano otiosamente e poco meno che destituite di tutte le speranze," wrote Rossetti's secretary, Vincenzo Armanni, on August 17, 1642; see *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, XII., 338. Rossetti described in two detailed accounts the lack of success of his efforts both as "Nuntio straordinario" and later as Cardinal Legate; the first, dated June 15, 1642, was published by G. Ferraro in the *Atti e Mem. d. Deput. di stor. patr. per le prov. di Romagna*, III., ser. IV. (1886), 183 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*, together with a commentary as inadequate as it is one-sided. Here also (193 *seq.*) the *Instruttione al card. legato per il congresso della pace* with marked emphasis on the Pope's position as the impartial Father of Christendom and the prudent attitude which Rossetti was to assume: "Ella avvertirà di non diventare di

negotiations he received news, in August, 1643, of his elevation to the cardinalate which had taken place on July 13th.[1] On August 31st the Pope named Rossetti his legate *a latere*, in order to enhance his authority in the peace negotiations [2] which were about to be conducted at Münster between the Emperor and France and their respective allies, but so many objections were raised to Rossetti's admission to the deliberations, especially by France, that the Pope decided to recall him to Rome.[3] After prolonged consultations Fabio Chigi, who had been at Cologne since June, 1639,[4] was also entrusted

mediatore giudice degli interessi politici." Rossetti is to avoid arousing any kind of mistrust in either party, but to try to gain their confidence. "Bene avvertirà che nei negozii che includono interessi di eretici, N.S. non vuole avere parte dove si tratta di migliorare, vanteggiare od assicurarli, essendo N.S. obligato a procurare la loro estirpazione, mentre non voglino convertire alla nostra s. fede." Rossetti is to support the interests of the Catholics of the Valtellina and the Palatinate when dealing with these territories. Finally he is given the formula for the Pope's participation in the peace negotiations.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., ch. II.

[2] *"Ut decentius et maiori cum auctoritate huic muneri incumbere possit, illum Nostrum et Sedis Apost. de latere legatum intendimus eligere et deputare, prout eligimus et deputamus." Consistory of August 31, 1643, "in palatio montis Quirinalis in aula Paulina, *Acta consist.*, 1631–1644, MS. in my possession.

[3] See PALLAVICINI, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 109 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of Chigi in *Bollet. Senese*, XV. (1908), 118. Vincenzo Armanni's account of Rossetti's return journey, which began on May 11, 1644, was published by G. Ferraro in the *Atti e Mem. d. Deput. di stor. patr. per le prov. di Romagna*, VI., Bologna, 1888, 14 *seq.* (the MS. used by Ferraro is not so good as the copy in *Cod.* N. III., 71, of the Chigi Library, Rome, which he did not know). Rossetti saw the signs of the devastation wrought by the Swedes along the Rhine; in Protestant Frankfurt as well as in Nürnberg and Augsburg he stayed incognito. In the description of all his journeys, preserved in the Papal Secret Archives, this one also is described in a different way; DENGEL gave extracts from it in *Forsch. und Mitteilungen zur Gesch. Tirols*, I., 266 *seq.*

[4] See PALLAVICINI, *loc. cit.*, I., 86 *seq.*

with the duty of representing the Holy See at the peace conference at Münster [1] where the Spanish and Imperial delegates assembled in October, 1643, and where they were at last joined by the French plenipotentiaries in April, 1644. Urban VIII did not live to see the opening of the negotiations properly so-called : he died on July, 1644, four months after the arrival of his representative in the capital of Westphalia.[2]

As to the issue of the dreadful struggle which turned large tracts of German territory into a desolate wilderness, the Pope could no longer be under any delusion : Sweden, Holland and France had the advantage everywhere, whilst the Emperor and Spain were everywhere at a disadvantage. One decisive factor was the rapid decline of Spanish power which France had begun to challenge successfully at sea also, though there the most important victory fell to the Dutch. After the destruction of the Spanish Armada by Martin Tromp (1639), Spain's line of communication with her overseas possessions was no longer secure.[3] In Italy the scales were turned in 1640, when the French under Harcourt, the ablest of France's generals at that time, defeated a Spanish army near Casale and the Spaniards lost one place after another ; on April 29th the Marchese de Leganés, Governor of Milan, lost both his war chest and his artillery and was forced to retire to the left bank of the Po.[4] But the heaviest blow was dealt

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief to Ferdinand III. of December 7, 1643, **Epist.*' XIX.–XXI., Papal Secret Archives. The command to Chigi is in *Bull.* XV., 296. See also PALLAVICINI, I., 121 *seq.* ; BROM, *Archivalia*, III., 383 *seq.*, 479.

[2] See PALLAVICINI, I., 124 *seq.* *Cf.* Chigi's *reports of April 1 and May 27, 1644 (Vatican Library) in App. Nos. XX. and XXI.

[2] *Cf.* DROYSEN, III., 1, 195 *seq.* ; RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 491 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, OSMANEN [1], 464 *seq.* ; A. GOUGEARD, *La Marine de Guerre : Richelieu et Colbert*, Paris, 1877. For the bloody naval battle near Genoa, September 1, 1638, in which the French maintained the upper hand, *cf.* besides the authorities quoted by RANKE (*loc. cit.*, 494), also the **Relatione* in *Ottob.* 2416, I., p. 74 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See LEO, V., 636 ; RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 490, and OSMANEN, 464.

to Spain by Richelieu when he furthered the secession of Catalonia and Portugal and made common cause with the rebels of those two provinces.[1] This action shows anew that for the Cardinal all means were fair if they served his end, viz. the hegemony of France in Europe. That realist and determined politician, who in France stood for monarchical absolutism, felt no scruples in supporting the rebels of Portugal and Catalonia. In view of the fact that Philip IV. needed a large proportion of his troops for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion in these two important provinces, the fortune of war became increasingly unfavourable to the Habsburgs both in the Netherlands and in Germany. Everywhere the French marched from success to success and it was yet another piece of good fortune for them that one of their most dangerous opponents, the Cardinal-Infante Fernando, died in November, 1640.[2] Mazarin, Richelieu's worthy successor, prosecuted the struggle, partly with a view to keeping the restless nobility busy outside France. When on May 1st, 1643, a few days after the death of Louis XIII.,[3] Condé destroyed the flower of the Spanish nobility near Rocroi, notwithstanding the most heroic resistance, the great struggle for preponderance in Europe

[1] RANKE, *Osmanen*, 467 *seq.*, 472 *seq.*; GARDINER, *Thirty Years' War*, 196. *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., Ch. II.

[2] See PHILIPPSON, in *Pflugk-Harttung's Weltgesch.*, Neuzeit, p. 624. The defection of Catalonia and Portugal, not sufficiently recognized as an important factor in the downfall of Spain, was foreseen by TESTI in 1641 (B. CROCE, *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, Bari, 1917, 251), has been justly emphasized by MOMMSEN (*Richelieu*, 45), and PLATZHOFF (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXX., 102).

[3] Urban VIII. spoke of the news of the death at the consistory of June 22, 1643; without praising the dead man he ordered the usual exequies in the Sistine Chapel for the 26th (**Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession). The *letters of condolence to Louis XIV., to Queen Anne, to Henrietta Maria of England, etc., had already been dispatched on June 6, 1643. **Epist.*, XIX.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives.

was decided in favour of France though the ghastly slaughter still continued.[1]

When in consequence of the Peace of Prague a large section of the German Protestants lent to the Emperor its armed assistance for the purpose of driving out the Swedes, whereas Catholic France, with a view to helping the latter, threw into the balance not only her money, as hitherto, but her weapons also, the war was completely stripped of its character of a war of religion which, notwithstanding strong political features, it had borne at the beginning. It had become a purely political struggle, a war of conquest for France and Sweden on the soil of the unhappy German Empire.[2] In view of the importance to their subjects of the faith of the territorial lords, every conquest had a strong bearing on the religious situation. Now it was precisely during the last stage of this gigantic struggle that Catholic countries like the Rhineland, Alsace, Bavaria and Austria were repeatedly swept by Protestant armies which, for the most part, displayed even greater hostility to every thing Catholic than had been the case at the time of Gustavus Adolphus. In many places, as when Bernard of Weimar took Ratisbon in 1633, all Catholic priests and religious were expelled.[3] What vicissitudes the bloody strife brought in its train may be gauged from the fact that up to the year 1643 the unhappy episcopal city of Bamberg was taken and retaken thirteen times.[4] More and more the unending war degenerated into a massacre of the defenceless population. The armies which traversed the various countries devastated them systematically and vented their fury upon the peaceful citizens and country people, whether friend or foe, often enough with

[1] See K. FEDERN, *Mazarin*, Munich, 1922, 634 *seq.*; STEGEMANN, *Der Kampf un den Rhein*, Berlin, 1925, 234 *seq.* *Cf.* GARDINER, 204.

[2] See STEGEMANN, 228. *Cf.* RANKE, *Osmanen*, 491; RIEZLER, V., 499; GARDINER, 182 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, II., I, 233; DUDIK, *Die Schweden in Böhmen und Mähren*, 1640 *bis* 1650, Vienna, 1879.

[4] See DUHR, II., I, 409.

inhuman barbarity.[1] War, hunger and pestilence, the three exterminating angels of humanity, reaped so plentiful a harvest that foreign travellers were appalled.[2] A Bavarian artist, Hans Ulrich Frank, of Kaufbeuren, has perpetuated both with his brush and his etching needle the robberies and rapine of the soldiery, those " wolves in human form ", as Grimmelshausen calls them in his *Simplicissimus*.[3] The tragedy and the horrors of the war were depicted by Rubens in 1638 in a painting destined for the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and now in the Pitti Gallery. It is an allegorical portrait of Europe torn by war.[4] The principal figure is Man advancing with blood-stained sword whilst fantastic monsters symbolize the inseparable companions of war, hunger and pestilence.[5]

The injury which the long-drawn struggle inflicted on the Church was incalculable. Much that had been planted with so much labour and care, was destroyed by the Swedish soldiery. The secular and regular clergy in particular underwent an appalling ordeal. The story of the German Jesuits of that period is an endless chain of want and terror. The worst sufferers were the Rhenish Provinces and those of Upper Germany. In the last period of the war—the Franco-Swedish one—nearly every Province had its share of the misery and want caused by the war,[6] hence the manly constancy with which the Fathers held out in many places and the magnanimity and self-sacrificing spirit and the heroic trust in God

[1] *Cf.* RIEZLER, V., 536 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the travel notes of 1636 in GARDINER, 183 *seq.* Of the prevailing famine, which often led to cannibalism, Rossetti's account mentioned above, p. 371, note 3, gives a dreadful picture ; *cf.* FERRARO's edition, p. 59 *seq.* *Cf.* also the report of 1641 in RIDOLFI, *Dispacci*, ed. Tourtual, 24 *seq.*, and MENZEL, VIII., 51 *seq.*

[3] See WEIZINGER, *Ein Illustrator des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, in the *Zeitschr.* " *Der Aar* ", III., 2 (1913), 537 *seq.*

[4] See GUHL, *Künstlerbriefe*, II., 205.

[5] See WAAGEN, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, 275 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* the detailed description in DUHR, II., 1, 142 *seq.*, 200, 392 *seq.*, 404 *seq.*

which prompted them to do all they could in order to allay the sufferings caused by the war are all the more deserving of recognition. They distinguished themselves especially during the frequent outbreaks of the plague, which is wont to accompany war. It has been calculated that in the first half of the 17th century more than two hundred of these religious men fell victims to their charity in serving the plague-stricken, that is about ten times as many as fell during the war.[1] The other Orders also, more especially the Capuchins, suffered numerous losses from the same cause.[2]

It is impossible to maintain that the last phase of the Thirty Years' War was a war of religion. That it was not is proved by the fact that many Catholic soldiers fought under the banners of Sweden whilst not a few Protestants served in the armies of the Emperor, and in many localities these troops committed great outrages against Catholic worship.[3] The army with which Condé, in 1636, invaded the free Duchy of Burgundy, which belonged to the Spaniards, included many Lutherans and Calvinists. Against these the citizens of Dôle, led by the Capuchin Père Eustache, put up a successful defence. To Condé's remonstrances that his conduct could not be justified either before God or man, the Father replied that he fought for an innocent people and for the preservation of the

[1] *Cf.* Ph. Alegambe, *Heroes et victimae charitatis Soc. Iesu*, Romae, 1658; Dugout, *Victimes de la Charité*, Paris, 1907. See also Duhr, II., 2, 240, p. 305 *seq.*, for the part the Jesuits played in the care of souls during the war; for further information on the military apostolate *cf.* A. Naegele's biography of Abbot Benedict Rauh of Wiblingen, military chaplain to the Bavaro-Imperial army in the Thirty Years' War. *Urkundl. Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Militärkuratie*, Freiburg, 1911.

[2] *Cf.* Eberl, *Gesch. der bayr. Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz*, Freiburg, 1902; Gratian v. Linden, *Die Kapuziner im Elsass*, *ibid.*, 1890. As J. B. Baur shows (*Die Kapuziner und die schwedische Generalität im 30 jähr. Krieg*, Brixen, 1887), the Capuchins had less to suffer from the Swedes than the rest of the clergy; the Lutherans oppressed the Catholics during the Swedish invasion even more than the Swedes (p. 12 *seq.*, 15).

[3] See Riezler, V., 536.

Catholic religion. The Bishop of Besançon also sided with the citizens of Dôle against the army of the "Most Christian King", in whose ranks Protestants abounded.[1]

That political, not religious questions were at stake, appeared at times in drastic fashion. Bernard of Weimar who expelled the Jesuits from Dilligen where their presence had been tolerated by the Swedes, and who after taking Breisach held a Lutheran thanksgiving service in its magnificent minster, did not scruple, in 1638, to arrange for yet another solemn service when at last a greatly-longed for heir, the future Louis XIV., was born to the Most Christian King.[2]

No one preserved a colder indifference in presence of the sufferings which the war brought upon Germany in general and the German Catholics in particular, than the man who guided France's policy. Deaf to all the exhortations of the Pope, Richelieu stuck to his alliances with the Protestant Dutch and Swedes, for any means seemed fair in his eyes if they furthered the greatness of France. Perhaps no passion renders a man so pitiless and so blind as political passion. Richelieu had repeatedly beheld with his own eyes the horrors of war which were so faithfully depicted in Callot's engraving entitled: *Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre* (Paris, 1633). But it did not trouble this particular Cardinal that his co-religionists beyond the Rhine were undergoing unheard-of sufferings and that the wretched territory of Germany had become "a horrible playground for the dreadful bands of soldiers who, an object of terror to friend and foe alike, swept again and again over the exhausted land, exercising the right of the sword with boundless bestiality, with diabolical hatred of all that was sacred, and with insatiable lust for blood and

[1] *Cf.* J. Morey, *Les Capuchins en Franche-Comté*, Paris, 1881.

[2] *Cf.* Duhr, II., 1, 415 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CV., 776. Urban VIII. sent congratulations on the birth of the Dauphin in a *Brief of October 13, 1638 (**Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives) and by a special envoy, a present of swaddling clothes blessed by him; *cf.* MacSwiney de Mashanaglass, *Le Portugal et le St. Siège*, II., Paris, 1899, 26 *seq.*; *cf.* 64 *seq.*

rapine".[1] When the Cardinal died on December 4th, 1642, the joy of the Spaniards knew no bounds,[2] but it was premature,[3] for Richelieu's worthy successor, Mazarin, followed the main lines of his predecessor's policy. In conjunction with Sweden, efforts were redoubled to draw the Prince of Transilvania, George Rákóczy, as well as the Porte, into the war against Ferdinand III. On November 16th, 1643, Rákóczy concluded an alliance with Sweden and France and on February 2nd, 1644, he called upon the Hungarian Protestants to take up arms against the Emperor.[4] By Briefs dated January 7th, 1644, and addressed to Mazarin and to the Queen, Urban VIII. sought to prevent this fresh alliance against the Emperor, but this effort also remained barren.[5]

[1] See DROYSEN, III., 1, 201–2, who for a description of the state of the Empire, refers to a pamphlet, "*Actaeon Germaniae, das ist Abbildt wie Ellendt das heylige Römische Reich von ausländischen Völkern zerrissen und zerstuckt wird*, vom Jahr 1640."

[2] For the joy of the Spaniards see Nicoletti's report in RANKE, *Osmanen*, 564 *seq.*

[3] *"Si pensava che la morte del card. Richelieu partorisse la pace; assai sarebbe se la facesse concepire. La natura non opera in un istante, il moto non cessa di repente, et egli, come dicono, haveva caricato quell'orologio per tutto il 1643," F. Chigi wrote to Fr. M. Merlino from Cologne on February 5, 1643. *Bollet. Senese*, XV. (1908), 118.

[4] See KRONES, III., 526; HUBER, V., 557 *seq.*, 561.

[5] The *Briefs to Mazarin, the Queen and to the Duke of Orleans are in **Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Annales de St.-Louis*, II. (1897), 359.

CHAPTER VI.

Richelieu's attitude towards the Church and the Papacy—The Catholic Restoration in France and St. Vincent de Paul.

(1)

France's foreign policy no less than her domestic one was guided by Richelieu in a way that was utterly incompatible with the duty of a Catholic Bishop, not to speak of that of a Cardinal. In his foreign policy, the Cardinal was actuated by purely national ambitions, to which even the interests of the Church had to yield,[1] whilst his home politics were based on royal absolutism. From the very outset Richelieu took the view that he was a Cardinal not so much by the favour of the Pope as by the grace of the King. In his opinion the red hat, which had been one of the immediate objects of his ambition, was only one more means towards political power and personal immunity in his own country.[2] He was a Frenchman first

[1] See Lodge, *Richelieu*, 203.

[2] See Federn, *Richelieu*, 79 *seq.* In his letter of thanks to the King for procuring him this distinction, dated September 23, 1622, Richelieu went so far as to declare that he would rather die than not devote his whole life, his new dignity and all that he possessed entirely to the service of His Majesty (*Lettres*, I., 730), so that one might almost believe, as Avenel (*Richelieu*, III., 369) remarks, that there was question of a purely worldly honour. Richelieu's attitude towards his cardinalate is shown by the fact that he never dreamt of going to Rome to receive the red hat; he only valued the purple as a means for the increase of his prestige and position in the State (Hanotaux, in the *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 1902, VIII., 106). Fraschetti's statement that Richelieu received the Cardinal's hat at a consistory of April 17, 1635 (Bernini, 111), is based on a confusion with his brother, the archbishop of Lyons; see **Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession. Richelieu therefore belongs to the very small number of Cardinals who never received a titular church in Rome.

and foremost [1] and a realist in politics. As such he pursued his political objectives with cold aloofness and utter indifference to religious and ethical principles.[2] His ideal was the *State* to which all must bow, the King included, and for him the State was not the twenty million Frenchmen which it embraced, but the man who, having gathered all power in his own hand, alone guided its fortunes. This new system, which he applied with ruthless logic, whilst he decked it out with the title of *raison d'Etat*—reason of State—was not limited by any constitutional rights or any consideration of religion or ethics. Whatever stood in the way of this mysterious and awe-inspiring conception of the State must be crushed ; whatever could serve it was lawful and even commanded, were it falsehood, treachery, harshness and cruelty.[3]

Both in the creation of an absolutist rule within the realm, as in the exploitation of every other State for the purpose of securing the hegemony of Europe for France, in place of the Hispano-Habsburg Power, the boundless ambition of the despot was singularly favoured by fortune which blinded many of his contemporaries, though by no means all of them.[4] As a matter of fact Richelieu had to wage an endless struggle against

[1] See PUYOL, II., 242 *seq.*

[2] See MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 13, 38, 58 ("Richelieu is everywhere a Statesman, not a Catholic, let alone a Churchman"), *cf.* FEDERN, 148, and Andreas, in MARCKS, *Meister der Politik*, I. (1923), 623 *seq.*

[3] See AVENEL, I., 188 *seq.*, 233 *seq.* "Révolutionnaire dans son but, Richelieu le fut nécessairement dans ses moyens. Parmi les nombreux procès politiques qui signalent son ministère, beaucoup furent iniques, mais tous furent illégaux. Il n'en est pas un où les formes de justice aient été respectées," says AVENEL (I., 194). *Cf.* ANDREAS, *loc. cit.*, 634.

[4] *"Vulgus felicia scelera pro virtutibus ducit, tu (viator) contra nihil infelicius felice scelere cogita," we read in an epitaph of Richelieu which deals severely with his sins and says of him : "Supra omnes mortales ambitione loboravit, super plurimos avaritia, regiae pecuniae prodigus, suae parcus. Crudelis offensus, ubi offenderat crudelior. Ecclesiam afflixit cardinalis, sanguinem fudit sacerdos." *Barb.* 2645, p. 91, Vatican Library.

covert and open resistance. His alliances with the Protestants, which the Pope condemned, were opposed by the fervent section of French Catholics, though their resistance was ineffective. In consequence of successive wars, taxation had become an intolerable burden, hence risings of the harassed populace took place in several provinces, as, for instance, by the *Croquants* ("poor devils") in Périgord and Saintonge, and the *Nus-pieds* ("bare feet") in Normandy. Richelieu easily crushed these risings in bloody fashion. Far more serious were the dangers that threatened him from certain coalitions of some of the nobles and from the character of the King himself. None the less he succeeded in maintaining himself in the favour of Louis XIII. and in destroying all those political opponents who rose against a man whom they considered as "the oppressor of France and the disturber of Europe". Some of these opponents had to flee, others went to prison, many, as, for instance, Marshal de Marillac, the Duke of Montmorency, the Marquis of Cinq-Mars and President De Thon ended on the scaffold.[1] By such means did the man round whose person there hung an aura of blood and terror,[2] bring about the triumph of his home and foreign policy. His favourites and relations were given the highest posts in the army, and his niece he married to a Prince of the royal blood, viz. the eldest son of Condé, the Duke of Enghien. In all these things he acted as a complete autocrat and his despotism grew steadily, until he ruled like a king and only lacked the title of one.[3] Louis XIII., whom he bent to his will with speeches breathing the deepest respect but instinct with inexorable logic, yielded in everything, so much so that he did

[1] *Cf.* De Vaissière, *L'affaire du maréchal de Marillac*, Paris, 1924; J. P. Basserie, *La conjuration de Cinq-Mars*, Paris, 1895; L. d'Haucour, *La conspiration de Cinq-Mars*, Paris, 1902.

[2] See Federn, 133.

[3] *Cf.* the eulogy published by Lämmer (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 51): "Theologus in aula, Episcopus sine plebe, Cardinalis sine titulo, Rex sine nomine. Unus tamen omnia. Nativam habuit felicitatem in consilio, securitatem in bello, victoriam sub signis, socios in procincto, amicos in obsequio, inimicos in carcere, cives in servitute,

not even dare to offer resistance to orders concerning his own household,[1] nay, he even suffered his minister to choose his confessors, and to these guides of the King's conscience the latter gave at times some very strange directions.[2]

Though originally far from wealthy, Richelieu successfully bettered his financial status. Eventually his annual income amounted to as much as three million livres, half of which came out of Church property.[3] Even the Cardinal's bitterest enemies could not cast the slightest aspersion on his moral conduct, which was blameless, but his behaviour at Church functions was not always correct. Of his intellectual superiority Richelieu was as conscious as of his pre-eminence in the State. It was his ambition to be the first after the King. As a Cardinal he

hoc uno miser, quod omnes fecit miseros. Tam saeculi sui tormentum quam ornamentum." In a satire of 1636 these lines occur :—

. . . C'est le ministre des enfers,
C'est le démon de l'univers,
Le fer, le feu, la violence,
Signalent partout sa clémence.

. . . . .

Les frères du roi maltraités,
Quatre princesses exilées,
Trente provinces désolées,
Les magistrats empoisonnés,
Les grands seigneurs emprisonnés
Les gardes des sceaux dans les chaînes,
Les gentilshommes dans les gênes.

Roca, *Richelieu*, 307. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy addressed the following apostrophe to Richelieu :—

O tu cui fu da Dio concesso il vanto
D'esser nel Vaticano cardine altiero
Dei Galli armati hor fatto condottiero,
Tingi nell'altrui sangue il rosso ammanto.

See Maggiorotti, *In Piemonte dal* 1637 *al* 1642, Città di Castello, 1913, 24.

[1] *Cf.* Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, II. (1854), 544.

[2] *Cf.* Fouqueray, IV., 398 ; V., 81, 85 *seq.*, 98.

[3] See Avenel, I., 419 ; Mariéjol, *Hist. de France*, VI., 2, Paris, 1905, 435 *seq.* *Cf.* Stanley Leathes, in *The Cambridge Modern History*, IV. (1906), 154.

enjoyed precedence at Court over the royal Princes, but against all rules he claimed a similar right in his own house. On one occasion he refused to greet with his right hand Vittorio Amadeo, Crown Prince of Savoy. Another time, when Queen Anne called on him when he was unwell, he refused to rise from his chair, alleging that such was the custom in Spain, whereupon the daughter of Philip III. replied that she had completely forgotten the manners of her own country and had become quite French.[1]

The Cardinal was difficult of approach. He lived most of the time in the neighbourhood of Paris, at his country seat of Rueil, protected by a bodyguard sworn to him and paid by him and which escorted him even into the King's palace. Young noblemen of the most distinguished families performed the duties of his personal service. He kept more servants, better stables and a more sumptuous table than the King himself. The magnificence of his Paris residence also surpassed that of the King. He owned three palaces in the capital. One of them, the *Palais Royal*, which had cost ten millions, bore the inscription "Palais Cardinal" in large letters. His private chapel, which blazed with gold, his library and his collections were famous throughout Europe.[2] In his castle in Poitou, which he had magnificently restored, he had collected the most precious art treasures, among them being pictures by Mantegna, Perugino, Albrecht Dürer, Rubens, Poussin, Champaigne, Simon Vouet; also two hundred antiques and Michelangelo's group of the "Two Slaves".[3] He had his own private theatre with a richly decorated stage. He personally examined the plays that were to be performed; in 1639 he himself composed a piece entitled "Mirame" of which a costly representation was given in 1641. He gloried in the applause which the play called forth as in one of his most personal triumphs. Personal ambition, as well as the desire of making

[1] See MARIÉJOL, *loc. cit.*; BOULANGER, *Le grand siècle*, Paris, 1911, 34.

[2] See RANKE, *loc. cit.*, 540 *seq.*

[3] See EDM. BONNAFFÉ. *Recherches sur les collections des Richelieu*, Paris, 1883.

of French the universal language of the civilized world, instead of Latin, prompted the foundation of the French Academy [1634]. That institution saw itself compelled to make some petty criticisms of Corneille's "Cid", in consequence of the Cardinal's jealousy of the splendid success of the poet.[1] Yet Corneille himself lauded the position which Richelieu held with the King, nay, he went so far as to assert that such servants are raised above the laws.[2] It is no exaggeration to say that never yet had France had a ruler who so completely controlled her very life and being as did Richelieu.[3] Though his ailments were frequent and serious, his activity was nevertheless astounding. He managed everything himself. From his study he directed not only all diplomatic relations with foreign countries, but likewise every branch of internal administration and the affairs of the Court without ever falling from the rôle of a faithful executor of the royal commands. He even laid down in all their details the operations of the army and the navy; units were drawn up, orders given, provisions made ready, the strength of the various corps fixed, levies made and weapons and ammunition bought according as he directed.[4] With all that the mighty Statesman still found time for literary work.[5] Bernini's bust of him in the Louvre expresses in masterly

[1] For further details *cf.* BAUMGARTNER, V., 297 *seq.*

[2] "Et l'art et le pouvoir d'affermir des couronnes,
Sont des dons que le ciel fait à peu de personnes.
De pareils serviteurs sont les forces des rois,
Et de pareils aussi sont au-dessus des lois.

RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, III., 355) drew attention to this passage.

[3] See PHILIPPSON, in *Pflug-Hartungs Weltgesch.*, Neuzeit, 628.

[4] Numerous examples in AVENEL, *Lettres*, especially in Vol. V. (Paris, 1863). *Cf. Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1864, 1313 *seq.*; LODGE, *Richelieu*, 224.

[5] Richelieu's "Mémoires" (see PETITOT, 2nd series, Vol. XXI.–XXX., 1823; MICHAUD-POUJOULAT, vol. XXI.–XXIII., 1837; new critical ed. in the collection of the *Soc. d'hist. de France*, five volumes to date, extending to 1626), except for the first part, were compiled after his death from material gathered by himself, see both MOMMSEN, *Richelieu, Elsass und Lothringen* (Berlin, 1922) and the *Rev. hist.*, CXLI.–CXLII. (1922–3).

fashion the genius and mental vigour that distinguished Richelieu.[1]

To stony impassability Richelieu allied the greatest cunning and circumspection. He secured the submissiveness of the weak King by astute calculation and that of the royal Princes and all other officials by unbending hardness. Whilst he showed a princely liberality towards willing and capable tools he was exceedingly stern with those who did not come up to expectations or who endangered one of his finely spun schemes. With cold relentlessness he suffered his former colleague, Canon Fancan, whose hatred for the Pope and the Jesuits was such that he would not hear of any restraint being put on the Huguenots, to be taken to the Bastille as "an atheist, a supporter of the reformation and a spy of the Lutherans". The wretched man was not to leave that fortress alive. The fate of a man or a human life meant nothing to him. Like Fancan, many others who had become either suspect or dangerous, disappeared in prison.[2]

After eighteen years of domination exercised with pitiless violence, during which the conception of the intangible power of the State hung like a sword over the heads of his enemies,[3] Richelieu saw the realization of his chief plans, namely the crushing of all opposition in France itself against his absolutist government and the downfall of the Hispano-Austrian power. The unscrupulous pupil of Machiavelli had reached the height of his triumph when death drew nigh to the man who knew no pity shortly after he had uttered the words: "De Thon must die." As soon as he realized that his condition was hopeless, Richelieu asked that the Sacraments of the dying should be administered to him by the parish priest of St. Eustache. When the priest, before giving him Extreme Unction, asked

[1] *Cf.* REYMOND, in *Bullet. des Musées de France*, 1910, 65 *seq.*, and in the *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, LIII. (1911), 389 *seq.*; BENKARD, *Bernini*, 43.

[2] See ROCA, 16; FEDERN, 77, 112, and WIENS, *Fancan* (1908), 60 *seq.*, 118 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 142, for proof that Richelieu was unjustly accused of murder by poison.

[3] RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 533, 545.

him whether he firmly adhered to all the articles of the faith, the Cardinal replied: "All, without exception, and if I had a thousand lives I would give them all for the faith and the Church." "Monseigneur," the curé went on, "do you forgive your enemies?" "I have never had any enemies other than those of the State and the King," was the reply.[1] These words uttered on the threshold of eternity, cast a lurid light on the state of mind of the Cardinal whose impassible calm on his deathbed filled the Bishop of Lisieux with horror.

In effect there are few instances in History which show with such evidence to what extent political passion may blind a man as the fact that up to the hour of his death Richelieu identified himself with the State and felt himself to be the embodiment of the "raison d'État".[2] He seems to have had not so much as a shadow of remorse for having sought the triumph of his home and foreign policy by any means, even the most blameworthy. Because in his enemies he saw the enemies of the State, he deemed the cruelty with which he destroyed them sufficiently justified. As for his pacts with the Protestant Swedes, he soothed his conscience with the thought that it was part of his contract with them that they should protect the Catholic religion in the conquered territories. But the hope of making use of the Swedes against the Emperor without grievous injury to the Catholic Church, was not fulfilled.[3]

[1] See GRIFFET, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, III., 576. According to an anonymous account, probably drawn up by a member of Richelieu's household, he spoke these words before receiving the Viaticum: "Voilà mon juge qui me jugera bientost; je le prie de bon cœur qu'il me condamne, si j'ay eu autre intention que le bien de la religion et de l'Estat." *Rev. hist.*, LV., 305.

[2] See MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 58, and W. ANDREAS, *Geist und Staat, Hist. Porträts*, Munich, 1922, 64.

[3] MOMMSEN, in discussing Richelieu's memorandum of 1632, remarks (263 *seq.*) that the protection of the German Catholics against Sweden seemed necessary to Richelieu chiefly for internal political reasons and out of regard for the King's sentiments, but that he was more concerned with creating the appearance of France doing everything possible to help the Catholics, than with actually saving the German Catholics. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 282 note.

In spite of everything, in the pursuit of his one aim, viz. the aggrandizement of France, Richelieu continued on his fatal road heedless of the fact that his policy arrested the progress of the Catholic religion in Germany and prepared the victory of Protestantism.

The Cardinal was also blind to yet another aspect of his triumphs, viz. that they had to be bought with streams of French blood, exorbitant taxation [1] and a crushing absolutism which eventually paved the way for the Great Revolution.[2] It is clear that under such a régime the Church's action was bound to be severely hampered. The fact that the all-powerful minister wished to dominate her as absolutely as he lorded it over his diplomatists, governors and generals, was bound to render his relations with the Holy See exceedingly awkward. The standpoint adopted by him has been described as political or practical Gallicanism.[3] Starting from the conviction that he himself was best able to govern the Church of France, he ascribed to the State, to the widest extent, the right to regulate every detail of Church life,[4] so that he took it as an injury to the nation when the Holy See refused to concede it. A book written under his inspiration complained of France's oppression by the papal power, whilst the same writer declared that the King was not bound by the laws of the Church. To this was added a threat that the fees paid for the expedition of Bulls in Rome might be reduced.[5] To this long-standing dispute many more came to be added. Thus the Holy See insisted on the informative processes of new bishops being conducted by the nuncio, whilst the Government based itself on an ordinance

[1] *Cf.* the gloomy picture drawn by an outstanding authority, G. D'AVENEL (*Prêtres, soldats et juges sous Richelieu*, Paris, 1907).

[2] *Cf.* MAYNARD, IV., 8 *seq.*; STANLEY LEATHES, *loc. cit.*, 157; AVENEL, *Richelieu*, I., 244 *seq.*; WILCKENS, in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XV., 285; PHILIPPSON, in *Pflug-Harttungs Weltgesch.*, Neuzeit, p. 625, 628.

[3] See PUYOL, II., 241 *seq.*; AVENEL, III., 366.

[4] See MOMMSEN, 86 *seq.*

[5] The document is entitled *Le Nonce du Pape Français*; see AVENEL, III., 367.

of the Parliament of 1639, which placed the affair exclusively in the hands of the diocesan bishops, whereupon the Pope threatened to refuse canonical institution to those who did not have recourse to the nunciature.[1] The tension, still further increased for other reasons, was so great at that time that the nuncio was forbidden to have anything to do with the clergy.[2] It became even more acute when, on September 18th, Parliament, with Richelieu's support and under pain of high treason, forbade the publication of a papal Constitution directed against the injury done to the rights and possessions of the Church.[3]

More than once Richelieu sought to force the nomination of Cardinals and as often the Pope rejected such meddling with the government of the Universal Church,[4] though he failed in his efforts to stem the Cæsaro-papalism of France. There the affairs of the Church were freely treated on the same footing as those of the State, with open disregard of the liberty and independence of the Church. On political or national grounds Generals of Orders were forbidden to enter French territory, and monasteries were arbitrarily transferred from near the frontier to the interior.[5] Appeals from ecclesiastical judges to secular ones (*Appel comme d'abus*), that characteristic Gallican discovery which Richelieu condemns in his political testament together with so many other devices of his, became increasingly numerous.[6]

[1] See AVENEL, III., 367.

[2] See *Lettres de Richelieu*, VI., 650. *Cf.* below, p. 413.

[3] See AVENEL, III., 368.

[4] See Vol. XXIX., Ch. II.

[5] See examples in AVENEL, III., 370. For Richelieu's attitude to the General of the Dominican Order Ridolfi, see MORTIER, *Hist. des Maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, VI., Paris, 1913, 379 *seq.*

[6] See AVENEL, III., 374 *seq.* MOMMSEN (87) rightly emphasizes the fact that the provisions in Richelieu's testament against the "appels comme d'abus" were more for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the Crown against the powerful Parliaments than for the benefit of ecclesiastical authority.

The worst encroachments were perpetrated by the various Parliaments which frequently assumed the rôle of Councils by pronouncing on matters connected with the faith. They arrogated to themselves the right to decide whether or no a papal Bull should be received ; they protested in the name of the Gallican liberties if a theological book was forwarded to Rome for examination ; they watched not only the use of Church property but even the administration of the Sacraments, annulled religious vows and busied themselves with the form and the hours of Divine Service. The Church, so the assembly of the clergy told the King in 1636, would soon be robbed of her authority and jurisdiction if no steps were taken in this respect. This was no exaggeration, for many Parliaments arrogated to themselves a universal competence ; they decided who should be absolved from excommunication ; they went so far as to note where religious lodged when on a journey. Above all they watched the sermons of the clergy. How far Richelieu himself went in this respect is shown by the fact that at the time of the dispute with the Queen-Mother he threatened with the Bastille any priest who spoke of the reverence for parents prescribed by the fourth commandment ! [1]

In these circumstances the position of confessor to the King, with which the Jesuits were entrusted, must have been an exceedingly thorny one. To an absolutist minister like Richelieu such an institution was in itself an inconvenience. He would have preferred to take the office from the Jesuits and to give it to some other Order whose Superior resided in France.[2] This he dared not do, but woe to the royal confessor who upset his schemes ! Even the clerical dress could not protect him from cruel persecution. Of this the Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, whom Richelieu had himself chosen in 1637 as confessor to Louis XIII., was to have bitter experience. Caussin entered on his duties at a critical time because the continuation by Richelieu of his war against the Habsburgs was found increasingly intolerable even in France, whilst all

[1] See AVENEL, III., 371 *seq.*, 373.

[2] *Ibid.*, 377.

the time the Pope's exhortations to peace became more and more insistent. Caussin was urged from many quarters, and at last by the Queen herself, to enlighten the conscience of his penitent and to represent to him how his people were crushed with imposts and taxes in order to defray the cost of a war enkindled solely by the ambition of the Cardinal and continued by him in order to make himself indispensable.[1] Caussin had before his eyes Aquaviva's Instruction to the confessors of Princes forbidding them to meddle in any way in political matters, though at the same time it demanded that the princely penitents should patiently listen to representations not only on things touching their own conscience, but also on the suppression of abuses and excesses committed by their ministers for which Princes were responsible in conscience even though they occurred without their knowledge.[2] Caussin felt all the more bound to make some representations of this kind as his own General, Vitelleschi, had drawn his attention to the lamentations of so many nations anxiously longing for peace. Moreover rumour had it that Richelieu, in addition to his alliance with the Protestants, contemplated entering into a pact even with the Turks. On December 8th, 1637, therefore, before hearing the King's confession, Caussin, with the utmost freedom, made some earnest representations to him. Louis XIII. was deeply affected and did not hide his emotion from his entourage. As soon as he was informed of the occurrence, Richelieu, who had his spies everywhere, wrote to the King a very clever letter in which he put before his Sovereign the alternative of choosing between his confessor and himself,

[1] See Fouqueray, V., 89 *seq.* *Cf.* De Rochemonteix, N. *Caussin et le card. Richelieu*, Paris, 1911. Duhr (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, XLVI., 377) justly remarks that Caussin deserves a monograph; Fouqueray often makes use of letters of his, the genuineness of which is not always beyond doubt.

[2] *Cf.* Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhofen des 16ten Jahrh.*, Freiburg, 1901, 6. Avenel (*Richelieu*, III., 379) draws attention to the fact that Richelieu in his *Mémoires* (III., 225) only mentions the prohibition of interfering in politics but suppresses the rest.

his minister.[1] Louis XIII. was anxious to settle the dispute by means of a conference between himself and the two ecclesiastics, but he was no match for an intriguer like Richelieu who, somehow, managed to keep Caussin out of the discussion so that the King only heard his views. He once more proposed the alternative between Caussin's dismissal and his own resignation. Louis decided for the former.[2] Not content with his success Richelieu now wreaked his vengeance on one who had refused to be his tool.[3] At first he wished to send Caussin into the wilds of Canada; subsequently he banished him to Quimper in Brittany, where he was watched like a prisoner, his good name having been previously destroyed by a spiteful notice in the *Gazette de France*. It is characteristic of the Cardinal that he was clever enough to exploit the incident still further by claiming that it was due to him that Caussin's action had not brought persecution upon the Society of Jesus; in this way he successfully deceived not only the Provincial but even the General of the Jesuits.[4]

What kind of a "Protector" the Society had in the Cardinal was shown again a few years later by the way he dealt with Father Monod, the confessor of the Duchess Christina of Savoy. Having failed to win over that honourable man to a policy hostile to his own country, on which the Cardinal wished to lay hands, Richelieu resolved to crush him. In this instance also he was not satisfied with Monod's removal from Court; he would not rest until the Jesuit was transferred, in May, 1640, to Miolans, the Bastille of Savoy, which only housed thieves and murderers.[5]

[1] See AUBERY, *Mémoires*, V., 472. *Cf.* AVENEL, *Lettres de Richelieu*, V., 1067; FOUQUERAY, V., 91 *seq.*

[2] See FOUQUERAY, V., 93 *seq.*

[3] DE ROCHEMONTEIX (280 *seq.*) has shown the impossibility of maintaining the serious accusations against Caussin which Richelieu makes in his memoirs.

[4] See FOUQUERAY, V., 97 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* DUFOUR-RABUT, *Le P. Monod et le card. Richelieu*, 43 *seq.*, 58 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*, 106 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, V., 108 *seq.*, 121 *seq.* *Cf.* also S. FOA, *Mission du P. Monod à Paris* in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Savoie*, ser. 4, vol. XI.

Whilst Richelieu thus broke those among the Jesuits who stood in his way, he also sought to crush the independence of, and to harness to his political chariot, the Order itself which, notwithstanding the opposition it met with, was still powerful in France.[1] In 1625 he was unscrupulous enough to take advantage of the publication of a book in Rome with the *Imprimatur* of the General of the Jesuits and the *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*, by the Italian Jesuit, Antonio Santarelli, entitled *On the Power of the Pope to punish Heresy, Schism, Apostasy and the Abuse of the Sacrament of Penance.*[2] The book made exorbitant claims for the papal authority; among other things it asserted that the Pope could depose kings and absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance, not only on account of heresy and schism, but also for incompetence. To the many enemies of the Holy See and the Jesuits in France nothing could be more welcome than so indiscreet a discussion of such delicate questions just at that critical moment when the revolutionary notions of Richer were being revived, and the enemies of the Society of Jesus, especially those of the Paris University, were redoubling their assaults.[3]

[1] "Il faut réduire les jésuites à un point qu'ils ne puissent nuire par puissanee, mais tel aussi qu'ils ne se portent pas à le faire par désespoir; auquel cas il se pourrait trouver mille âmes furieuses et endiablées qui, sous prétexte d'un faux zèle, seraient eapables de prendre de mauvaises résolutions qui ne se répriment ni par le feu ni par autres peines" we read in Richelieu's *Maximes d'état et fragments politiques*, ed. by Hanotaux, in the *Docum. inéd. sur l'hist. de France, Mel. hist.*, III., Paris, 1880.

[2] "Tractatus de Haeresi sehismati, apostasia, sollieitatione in saeramento poenitentiae et de potestate Romani pontifieis in his delietis puniendis"; see Sommervogel, s. v. Santarelli. The pamphlet reeeived the General's imprimatur after it had been eensored by three Jesuits, on condition that it was passed by the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo. The latter had the book examined by three Dominicans on whose approval permission was given to print it; see Prat, *Recherches hist. et crit.*, IV., Lyon, 1896, 712 *seq.*

[3] "Nune vivit doetrina mea," Richer proudly asserted; see Puyol, *Richer*, II., 269, 273 *seq.*

On March 13th, 1626, Parliament ordered Santarelli's book, to which hardly any attention had been paid in France, to be burnt by the public executioner. On the following day the Provincial, Father Coton, and the Superiors of the three Jesuit houses in Paris were summoned before the magistrates who demanded that they should put their signatures to the following declaration : " 1. The King rules solely by the will of God and by the authority of his sword ; 2. the King acknowledges no superior within his realm except God ; 3. the Pope cannot lay an interdict on him and his realm, nor for any reason whatsoever absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance ; 4. the Pope has no coercive power over the King in any matter whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately. The Jesuits refused to sign these propositions since they are the embodiment of the spirit of political Gallicanism and declared that on these four points they were unable to think otherwise than the Bishops, the Universities and the Orders.[1] Urban VIII. blamed Santarelli's book as inopportune and instructed the Paris nuncio to exert a moderating influence. The General of the Jesuits, Vitelleschi, gave orders for Santarelli's work to be withdrawn and a new edition printed without the offending passages.[2]

But this did not calm the storm which threatened the French Jesuits. Coton met with so chilly a reception from the King that he fell ill from sheer excitement and grief ; and no wonder, for the expulsion of the Jesuits from France seemed at hand. At this point Richelieu, who had cautiously remained in the background until then, showed his hand. He did not want to crush the Jesuits but, by abandoning them to their enemies and thoroughly frightening them, he hoped to render the Order subservient to his schemes.[3] It was indispensable, he

[1] FOUQUERAY, IV., 147 *seq.* (after GARASSE, *Récit au vray*, in CARAYON, *Docum. inéd.*, D., III.).—For the effect which the Sorbonne's censure of Santarelli had on the history of Gallicanism, *cf.* V. MARTIN, in the *Rev. des sciences relig.*, VII. (1927), 205 *seqq.*, 373 *seqq.*

[2] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 153 *seq.*

[3] See PUYOL, II., 277 *seq.*, 279 *seq.* ; FOUQUERAY, IV., 155. *Cf.* PRAT, *Coton*, IV. and V.

explained, that they should offer some satisfaction to the King. Thereupon, for fear of being expelled, the Jesuits of Paris, on March 16th, 1626, consented to make the following declaration which Coton likewise approved: "We reject the false teaching contained in Santarelli's book concerning the person, the authority and the territories of the King, and we acknowledge that kings hold their power from God alone; we promise to subscribe to the censure which the clergy or the Sorbonne may pronounce against this pernicious doctrine; lastly we promise never to defend opinions and doctrines in opposition to those held on this point by the clergy, the Universities and the Sorbonne."[1] This declaration satisfied both Richelieu and the King, though not the anti-Roman Parliament. The latter wanted more and on March 17th resolved to bring against the Jesuits an accusation of *lèse-majesté*, that is, of high treason. When the usher of the tribunal served the dying Coton with the notice of the inculpation the old man exclaimed: "Must I then die a traitor against his Majesty and a disturber of the peace when for twenty years I have so faithfully served two Kings?" The day after Coton was dead.[2] Thereupon his brethren submitted, to as great an extent as was at all possible, to the fresh demands of Parliament; the only thing they refused to agree to was the denial to the Pope of indirect power in secular matters.[3] Richelieu was a step nearer his goal, viz. the intimidation of the Jesuits. He now ostentatiously attended their church.

The Paris Jesuits cannot escape the reproach that their equivocal declaration of March 16th paved the way for the doctrines of political Gallicanism in their ranks,[4] hence Urban VIII. was greatly displeased with their conduct, more particularly with the promise that they would submit to a censure to be passed by the Sorbonne. Through the nuncio he had a

[1] See D'Argentré, II., 2, 206; *cf.* Garasse, in Carayon, *Hist. des Jésuites de Paris*, Paris, 1866, 163.

[2] See Prat, *Coton*, IV., 776; Fouqueray, IV., 161 *seq.*

[3] See Fouqueray, IV., 166 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 171–2. *Cf.* the severe judgment of Puyol (*Richer*, II., 80).

warning given to the General not to try to avert the storm by means of which the Holy See would be compelled to disapprove.[1]

The concessions made by the Jesuits only served to encourage their deadly enemies in the Sorbonne for fresh attacks which, this time, were directly aimed at the Holy See.[2] Richelieu reappears in this second stage of the affair Santarelli. As an opponent of the doctrine of the Pope's indirect authority he eagerly welcomed its condemnation by the Sorbonne, but since the latter was going too far, he once more assumed the rôle of a peacemaker.

Against the protests of the ecclesiastically-minded theologians, the doctors of the Sorbonne, who were for the most part Gallicans and followers of Richer, decided to declare the opinion of Santarelli to be novel, false, erroneous, interfering with the supreme authority of the King which depends on God alone, and hindering the conversion of heretical Princes.[3] Spada had made a last minute appeal to Richelieu. He protested against the precipitation with which this delicate matter was being handled. A deadly blow was being aimed at the rights of the Holy See at a time when Cardinal Richelieu was Provisor of the Sorbonne. He reminded Richelieu of the courageous defence of the Apostolic Church made by Cardinal Du Perron before all the Estates, and besought him to intervene.[4] Richelieu, however, was no Du Perron ; he did nothing. On April 4th the censure was accepted as proposed by a majority of the Sorbonne.[5] Thereupon Richelieu charged Père Bérulle to express to Spada his regrets that he had been

[1] See Barberini's *letter to Spada, April 21, 1626, *Nunziat. di Francia*, LXV., 153 *seq.*, translated in FOUQUERAY, IV., 172. *Cf.* also the *Brief to Bérulle of May 7, 1626, in HOUSSAYE, *Bérulle et Richelieu*, II., 147.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 173 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* PUYOL, II., 291 *seq.* ; V. MARTIN, in the *Rev. des sciences relig.*, VII. (1927), 205 *seqq.*

[4] See Spada's letter to Richelieu, April 1, 1626, in HOUSSAYE, *Bérulle et Richelieu*, II., 140 *seq.*, and FOUQUERAY, IV., 176 *seq.*

[5] See PUYOL, II., 295. *Cf.* LEMAN, *Instructions*, 116, note.

unable to prevent the censure. Indignant at such duplicity Spada said to Bérulle: "The Cardinal is eager to play with the King the rôle of a good Frenchman when there is question of the interests of Rome and the Pope, but he fails to prove himself a good Catholic, or he does so with but little sincerity and only for show. I acknowledge his ability and influence, but let him know that I shall express my disapproval everywhere until he thinks sériously of applying a remedy." [1]

In Rome also there was no small stir. "The Most Christian King, the eldest son of the Church," Urban VIII. remarked, "is no longer in communion with the Church since he will not acknowledge the Pope as its Supreme Head." He added that he would discuss the censure of the Sorbonne and, if necessary, would even convoke a Council. The whole of the Roman Court shared the Pope's indignation, Cardinal Marquemont reported to Paris, for the Pontiff felt no less offended by the censure of the Sorbonne than France by Santarelli's book. He, Marquemont, had himself heard the Pope's strong protests at the meeting of the Inquisition, for Urban felt more deeply hurt by this proceeding than by the action of the French in the Valtellina. Unless they cried a halt, a rupture was inevitable.[2] Richelieu would not go the length of risking a rupture, were it only because of the impending war with England, when he would need the Pope. Another factor was the strong disapproval of the censure of the Sorbonne by the strictly Catholic section of the people, inasmuch as it injured the rights of the Holy See. In these circumstances Richelieu resolved to make concessions, though without forswearing any of the principles of political Gallicanism.[3] Nor did it escape him that if he stopped this dangerous movement his prestige in Rome would be greatly enhanced.[4] Moreover the incident provided an excellent opportunity for humbling,

[1] See Fouqueray, IV., 179. After Bérulle's death Richelieu tried to lay all the blame on him! See Houssaye, II., 174 *seq.*

[2] See the reports of Marquemont of April and May, 1626, in Fouqueray, IV., 179 *seq.* *Cf.* Puyol, II., 312.

[3] *Cf.* Puyol, II., 309 *seq.*, 315 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*, 323 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Fagniez, II., 9.

in the interests of his absolutist aims, the Sorbonne, the University which in April had made common cause with the theological Faculty, and the Parliament. The Sorbonne and the University hastened to make their submission at the beginning of 1627. Parliament proved more intractable, but in the end Richelieu triumphed there also. However much he disapproved of Santarelli's teaching, he declared, it was none the less not the business of the King, or Parliament, or the Sorbonne, but only the Pope's, to define articles of faith. Moreover the political situation demanded the avoidance of any kind of conflict between the Pope and the King, for the displeasure of Urban VIII. would retard a settlement of the affair of the Valtellina. This explanation disarmed Parliament; the censure of the Sorbonne was dropped.[1] On the other hand Richelieu failed to obtain the condemnation of Santarelli's book by Rome. In Briefs of February 23rd, 1627, addressed to Louis XIII., Richelieu and Bérulle, the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the condemnation by royal authority of the insolent censure of the Sorbonne, but at the same time he made it clear that he was unwilling to take up once more a question which had occasioned so many difficulties in the past.[2] For the rest, even the "Richerists" were anxious for the censure of the Sorbonne to be replaced by one of the Roman Inquisition.[3] In the sequel that party indulged in some violent attacks against those who had brought about the suppression of the censure. The quarrel, which had been suppressed only with difficulty, flared up once more in a new form in 1628.[4] At that time Richelieu's attention was taken up with the conquest of La Rochelle so that he was unable to deal with it at once, but he took it up as soon as he was back in Paris. Since in view of the political situation the Pope's attitude was an all-important factor, he decided, with cool calculation, to

[1] See Puyol, II., 335 *seq.*, 343 *seq.*; Fouqueray, IV., 183 *seq.*; Feret, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXVIII., 439 *seq.*

[2] See **Epist.*, IV., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* App. No. 2, Vol. XXIX.

[3] See Puyol, II., 345 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 346 *seq.*

give satisfaction to Rome. He imposed silence on Parliament which submitted at once. Richer, the chief cause of all this bother in the Church, he sacrificed all the more readily as he had a strong objection to the democratic element of his system. The old sectary bowed to the decision of the autocrat: on September 7th, 1629, he signed an unconditional recantation of the opinions enunciated in his book on the ecclesiastical and secular power.[1] The dispute in the Sorbonne was all the more easily composed as André Duval who, until then, had been the chief defender of the papal prerogatives, consented to a compromise which sought to bridge the gap between political Gallicanism and the views of Rome. Thus whilst the theories of Richer gradually lost ground, though they did not wholly disappear, those of Duval, which paved the way for a moderate form of Gallicanism, gained ground.[2]

Richelieu's subsequent attitude towards the Holy See was also largely influenced by the imperialistic aims which he relentlessly pursued. Thus it became increasingly clear that his policy was incompatible with that of Rome. As the common Father of Christendom, the Pope strove for the restoration of peace for the sake of the common good whereas Richelieu, who sought before all else to raise France to the position of the first Power in Europe, continued, in close alliance with his Protestant confederates, the war against the Catholic Habsburgs. All the Pope's efforts to induce him

[1] See Puyol, II., 348 *seq.*, 352 *seq.*, 355 *seq.* There also the refutation of the fable which Döllinger, after his apostasy from the Church, dished up for his readers, when he states that Richer was compelled to recant "in the presence of two assassins who would have punished a refusal on his part with immediate death". The truth is that at the decisive discussion, Fr. Joseph and the curé of St. Gervais were present; see Fagniez, II., 12. That scholar says pointedly (*ibid.*): "D'ailleurs il ne s'agissait pas pour Richelieu de détruire le Gallicanisme; il s'en serait bien gardé, quand même il l'aurait pu. Il s'agissait de lui imposer silence jusqu'au jour où il deviendrait utile de lui rendre la parole."

[2] See Puyol, II., 365 *seq.*, 367, 439 *seq.*, 448 *seq.* *Cf.* Fagniez, II., 19.

to desist were in vain.[1] Thus whilst Urban VIII. had every reason to be angry with Richelieu, the latter repeatedly assumed the rôle of an injured person. Very skilfully he would adopt a confidential tone with the nuncio, Bichi, when he would point out, as for instance in the spring of 1631, how keenly his King and he himself felt the fact of their being no longer in the good graces of his Holiness who appeared reluctant to grant both great or small favours.[2] At the same time he endeavoured to win over the Pope by a show of great willingness to meet his wishes in matters of less importance, as, for instance, in connection with a papal fief in Savoy.[3] But these little tricks could not remove the acute opposition between them. Richelieu often made demands which the Holy See could not grant, as when in 1634 he asked to be appointed coadjutor to the Bishop of Spires, von Sötern, in order that by this means he might also become the latter's coadjutor at Trèves and thereby an Elector of the German Empire. The Pope could not accede to such a request, were it only that it would be against the German concordat. Though Urban avoided a direct refusal and put off dealing with the matter until there remained no prospect of its ever succeeding, Richelieu was not a little annoyed when his plot was thus thwarted.[4]

Yet another scheme of the Cardinal also fell through in Rome. In 1629, yielding to the repeated requests of the French Government, Urban VIII. had granted the red hat to Richelieu's brother, Alphonse, Archbishop of Lyons,[5] because

[1] *Cf.* above, ch. V.

[2] See *Nicoletti, V., ch. 2, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, who quotes a report of Bichi of January 18, 1631. In a frontier dispute between Urban VIII. and Venice, Richelieu also intervened in favour of the Pope; see *Nicoletti, V., ch. 21.

[4] See Leman, 471 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIII. of May 25, 1624, according to which the red hat was also asked for the Bishop of Tours. **Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives, and *ibid.*, III., the *Brief to the King, of May 23, 1626.

that prelate was worthy of such an honour.[1] But such was not Rome's opinion of Richelieu's most intimate confidant, the Capuchin Fr. Joseph. In November, 1632, the Paris nuncio, Bichi, learnt that Richelieu was trying to get the purple for Fr. Joseph for a number of reasons, such as that this was in the public interest as well as that of the Holy See; that since his last illness he, Richelieu, was in need of an assistant who was invested with the cardinalitial dignity; that it was surely better if he chose as an assistant a religious rather than a layman who would hold different principles and would be less beholden to the Holy See.[2] All these representations failed to impress Rome. On January 1st, 1633, Bichi was instructed to cut short all hopes on that point.[3] For all that Richelieu would not be denied,[4] though there was no prospect of the Pope yielding. It was only too well known in Rome that public opinion ascribed to Fr. Joseph a decisive part in the continuation of the war and that both in the German and the Spanish camp it had been said that if such a man were given the purple, it would be an incentive to leave the Church. Moreover rumour had it that Fr. Joseph had so far forgotten his connection with a mendicant Order as to have established himself in splendid apartments and to allow himself to be completely absorbed by affairs of State. For these reasons the Pope's brother, the Cardinal of S. Onofrio, who was himself a Capuchin, as well as other distinguished members of the Order, such as the highly respected P. Negro, offered decided opposition to Fr. Joseph's elevation to the cardinalate.[5] That which clinched the matter was the circumstance that the elevation of a man who cherished such deadly hatred against the Emperor and against Spain could not but be fraught with disastrous consequences. Accordingly Urban VIII. gave the French ambassador, Créqui, a categorical

[1] See the *Brief to Louis XIII. of December 2, 1629, **Epist.*, VIII, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Nicoletti, V., ch. 21, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Fagniez, II., 247.

[3] See *Direction in Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[4] Bichi's *report of February 15, 1633, *ibid.*

[5] See Nicoletti, in Fagniez, II., 250.

refusal[1] and all further efforts by Richelieu failed completely.[2]

Rome was beginning to think that the affair had been finally disposed of when the French representative unexpectedly brought it up once more in the summer of 1635. Although he obtained nothing in his first audience, he returned to the subject in the next one whilst Richelieu sought to win over the Paris nuncio.[3] However, the Cardinal met with a decided refusal. The Pope, he was told, did not consider Fr. Joseph's friendly relations with the Barberini, or anything else ; all he thought of was the interests of the Church and the Order to which Fr. Joseph belonged, together with the consequences that might ensue if he gave way. For all that Richelieu would not desist from having pressure brought to bear upon the Pope until the latter (in September, 1635) in his annoyance at the constantly recurring demand, declared that he had now so often stated the grounds of his refusal that he deemed a repetition of them unnecessary. Let the King be frankly told, he declared, that the admission of such a personality into the supreme Senate of the Church was absolutely out of question.[4] Even then Richelieu would not give up his plan,[5] and in 1638 he almost realized it for Fr. Joseph was given great credit at the Curia for his success in securing the suspension, in June of that year, of an ordinance against the payment of taxes to Rome. But just as his prospects had improved in Rome, the Friar fell hopelessly ill, whereupon Richelieu instructed his ambassador to refrain from further efforts to secure his nomination

[1] *Cf.* FAGNIEZ, II., 248 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 255.

[3] *Cf.* Barberini's *letter to Bolognetti of July 18, 1635, and Bolognetti's *report of August 31, 1635, in *NICOLETTI, V., ch. 21, Vatican Library.

[4] See *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.* For the justification of Urban VIII.'s resistance see RONDONI, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XV., 416. *Cf. Rev. des quest. hist.*, LVI., 537 *seq.*

[5] See FAGNIEZ, II., 407 ; *cf.* 48.

to the cardinalate.[1] Thus did Fr. Joseph die on December 18th, 1638, without having obtained the purple.

With good reason the Pope strongly disapproved of Richelieu's practice of employing ecclesiastics, even prelates in high positions, on secular and even on military business.[2] On October 4th, 1636, Urban VIII. remonstrated with the King of France for having given to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Henri de Sourdis, and to the Bishop of Nantes, Philippe Cospéau, the command of the fleet sent out to meet the Spaniards, since this was at variance with the Church's laws; Bishops must fight with prayer, not with arms.[3] In the previous year another favourite of Richelieu's, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toulouse, La Valette, who had wholly turned warrior, had given even graver scandal by invading Catholic territories with the troops he commanded on the Rhône. The scandal, of which the Pope complained bitterly in a Brief of September 25th, 1635,[4] was all the greater as La Valette, the General with the priest's cap, as his soldiers ironically called him, was to operate in conjunction with the Lutheran Duke of Weimar.

As in this case so in others, Richelieu rode roughshod over canonical prescriptions. On the occasion of the construction of the citadel of Verdun he razed several churches to

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[2] Numerous examples are to be found in MARIÉJOL, *Hist. de France*, VI., 2, Paris, 1905, 368.

[3] See **Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives. In 1641 and 1642 the Holy See renewed its representations against the employment of the Bishop of Bordeaux; see *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 9, p. 431, *loc. cit.*

[4] *"Milit. copias ultra Rhenum transtulisti, ubi fertur ad Nos te impedimento esse, quominus catholici in suam ditionem restituantur. Facultatem excedis (*Brief to Cardinal La Valette, September 25, 1635, **Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., *loc. cit.*). Richelieu demanded, of course in vain, the recall of this Brief; see ADEMOLLO, *Gli ambasciatori Francesi a Roma*, in *Rev. europ.*, An. VIII. (1877), III., 228. For La Valette see CIACONIUS, IV., 454; DE NOAILLES, *Le cardinal La Valette* (1633–9), Paris, 1906.

the ground and when Bishop Francis of Lorraine excommunicated all those who took part in the work, he was driven from his diocese and deprived of his revenues.[1] A list in the Papal Secret Archives enumerates a long series of encroachments by Richelieu.[2] To this must be added Richelieu's attitude towards the prefectural dignity of Taddeo Barberini, which was a personal insult to the Pope.[3]

A particularly painful impression was created in Rome when, for political reasons, Richelieu sought to obtain the annulment of the secret marriage of Gaston, Duke of Orleans and a brother of Louis XIII., with the Duchess Marguerite of Lorraine, although it had been celebrated with all the formalities prescribed by the Church.[4] From the discussions with the nuncio Bichi, Richelieu clearly perceived that the Holy See would never connive at such an injustice; but that did not discourage him.[5] Realizing the inadequateness of the arbitrary

[1] See *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CL., 861. *Cf.* H. Roussel, *Hist. de Verdun*, Paris, 1745, 2nd ed., Bar-le-Duc, 1863 *seq.*; Clouët, *Hist. de Verdun*, 3 vols., Verdun, 1867–1870.

[2] *Cf.* *"Pregiudizii che la Sede Apost. ha ricevuto dal card. Richelieu, in *Nicoletti, VIII., 224^b *seq.* Among other things the following are mentioned here: "Infinite abadie consistoriali non spedite in Roma, ma godute col solo breveto; il torto fatto al Papa nel priorato di S. Martino vacato per la morte del card. Ludovisio (*cf.* on this *Nicoletti, V., ch. 21, *loc. cit.*); Gli eccessi fatti e intentati contro le vacanze del card. di Lorena et il voler sottoporre ai concordati della Francia quel ducato; Il parlamento istituito in Metz non ostante le preghiere del Papa, e se ben fu levato non fu per rispetto di S. S^{tà}" (*cf.* Leman, *Instructions*, 182 *seq.*), "Il pretendere d'erigere una congregazione per i ricorsi de regolari et il mantenere in vigore l'editto de'banchieri e controlori a danno della Dataria Apostolica." Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, in *Barb.* 4734, p. 760^b *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Degert, in *Rev. hist.*, CXLIV., 42 *seq.*, where there is further information on the subsequent development of this affair.

[4] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, V., ch. 16, *loc. cit.*; Bazzoni, *Un Nunzio straordinario*, 166; Fagniez, II., 42 *seq.*; Fouqueray, IV., 409, 427 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Bazzoni, *loc. cit.*, 166 *seq.*

declaration of nullity of the marriage pronounced by the Parliament of Paris,[1] which was promptly condemned by Urban VIII., notwithstanding all Richelieu's exertions to the contrary, he submitted the affair to the assembly of the French clergy in the summer of 1635. That gathering, which was mainly composed of supporters of Richelieu, laid down the axiom that marriages contracted by Princes of the blood without the consent, or against the will and prohibition of the king, were illegal and invalid. The Duke of Orleans made a semblance of submission but declared that the question could only be finally decided by the Pope.[2] This was evident to Richelieu also; accordingly he resolved to bring the utmost pressure to bear on Rome. He dispatched thither the dexterous Bishop of Montpellier, Fenouillet, who stood in special esteem with the Pope because of his zeal for the conversion of the Huguenots. But he too failed to obtain anything. The Pope replied that he could not dissolve a marriage contracted in accordance with all the rules laid down by the Council of Trent; the particular laws of France may indeed have civil consequences but they did not affect the Sacrament.[3]

Perhaps Richelieu was even more disappointed when his plan to get into his hands the supreme government of the whole Benedictine Order in France was dashed by the opposition of Rome. In this matter the Cardinal felt all the more sure of success because he skilfully disguised his ambitious designs under a semblance of zeal for ecclesiastical reform and the assurance that his only aim was the advantage of the Church and the glory of God.[4] He had already become Abbot General

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief to Richelieu of October 10, 1634, on the "illata in Ecclesiam a Paris. parlam. iniuria, cum adversus canones de matrimonii nullitate iudicandum usurpavit. Decretum nullum esse," he was to see to its speedy cancellation. **Epist.*, XII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* on the same matter a very grave *Brief to Louis XIII., dated December 4, 1634.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, V., 64 *seq.*; DEGERT, *loc. cit.*, 10 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 17 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, V., 66 *seq.*; DEGERT, *loc. cit.*, 30 *seq.*

[4] See the letter of February, 1639, in the *Lettres*, VI., 290.

of the Monks of Cluny in 1629; he now wished to have all the other Benedictine Congregations of France under his dominion. Accordingly, in 1637, he had himself postulated as commendatory Abbot of Citeaux and General of the Cistercians. He also made a similar attempt with the Premonstratensians. Though the Pope had agreed to his assumption of the Generalate of the Cluniacs, he refused his consent in regard to the other two Orders. A Roman Congregation, specially convened for the purpose, decided that such a union of Generalates could not be sanctioned seeing that it was against Canon Law and the decrees of the Council of Trent, as well as a Bull of Eugene IV., by the terms of which the Generalate could only be held by one who was a member of the Order. Richelieu, however, did not trouble about the consent of the Holy See; he assumed the management of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the two Orders.[1] As for the

[1] The position of the Holy See in the matter of the reform of the Cistercian Order, most one-sidedly described by DENIS (*cf.* below, p. 433, note 1) is thus depicted by SCOTTI, in his *Relatione della Nunziatura di Francia*: "A Roma fu consultato l'affare come importantissimo e n'uscirono dalla congregazione deputata voti uniformi di stimarsi impossibile l'ammissione di Sua Em̃za al generalato. Pr°, si per disponere i sacri canoni e concilio di Trento come per particolare constitutione di Papa Eugenio di non poter alcuno essere ammesso che non sia professo della medesima religione. 2°, perchè essendo il sig^{r} card^{le} generale de'Cluniacensi, restava incapace d'esserlo d'altro Ordine. 3°, nel tempo della postulatione non vacava esso generalato, non si dando giustificatione che in detto tempo fosse fatta et ammessa la pretesa rinontia almeno legitimamente e con precedente assolutione dal vincolo ch'esso generale haveva, anzi constava che dopo detta postulatione continuò a nominarsi generale come prima negl'atti che fece. 4°, fu ommessa la forma necessaria, non essendosi costretti gli eligenti alla sola postulatione, neanco essendo stata espressa incapacità del postulato. 5°, trattandosi d'atto solenne, era necessario che vi concorressero tutti li requisiti, che ne mancarono molti. 6°, non concorrervi necessità o almeno utilità della religione, senza la quale non si dà postulatione rilevante. 7°, avanti d'ottener della Sede Apostolica l'ammissione, essendosi

necessary reforms he achieved but little, though he made use of the military against the recalcitrants.[1]

The affair was still in suspense when Ranuccio Scotti, who had been designated to succeed Bolognetti, entered upon his nunciature on August 28th, 1639.[2] He was instructed not to yield on this point. Richelieu began by making difficulties in receiving Scotti as ordinary nuncio and affected to recognize him only as an extraordinary one in connection with the peace pourparlers. Scotti describes this manœuvre as the prelude to the other obstacles which he was fated to encounter.[3]

il sig^re card.^le ingerito nel generalato rispetto la temporalità e la spiritualità, si rendeva invalida la postulatione,

Non ostante tali dichiarationi contrarie ad ottener le bolle, senza queste Sua Eñza gode i frutti del abbatia, tiene in Parigi un vicario generale dell'Ordine e governa tutti li monasterii Cisterciensi in Francia dal Clarevalense in poi, per essersi l'abbate opposto in non volerlo riconoscere per generale nè esseguir li suoi ordini, come ultimamente rifiutò quello di non dover più vestir novitii senza espressa licenza di Sua Eñza, rispondendo caminar bene il proprio monastero nella regolar osservanza senza bisogno di nuova riforma, che accettarà quando da Sua Santità gli verrà comandata.

Al sigr cardinale preme grandemente tale affare, parendoli che la sola riputatione della sua qualità dovrebbe senz'altra instanza tirar a se le bolle, con superarsi da Sua Santi^tà ogni difficoltà.

Arm. III., vol. 71, p. 29 *seq.*, Papal Secret Arcives. The final decision of the Holy See of May 28, 1641, which set aside the plans for union, in Denis, *Richelieu et la réforme*, 350 *seq.* How prejudiced and blindly attached to Richelieu Denis is, appears from the statement that the Pope had always seen " le grand cardinal . . . soumis et plein de respectueuse déférence envers le St.-Siège ! " (p. 261).

[1] See Mariéjol, VI., 2, 379.

[2] This date is given by Scotti in the **Relatione* quoted above, 405, note 1. Bolognetti remained, as here stated, until October 28.

[3] *" Presso, com'ho detto, il possesso della Nuntiatura ordinaria, hebbi il primo incontro, che fu preludio degl'altri, essendomi dopo tre giorni stata presentata una scrittura per parte del re espressiva che non m'havrebbe Sua Maestà sentito se non come Nuntio straordinario per la pace, movendolo a ciò vari rispetti descritti

How great they were appears from his account of his nunciature. He describes in detail the way in which the royal judges, always hungering for lawsuits, called to their tribunals all ecclesiastical suits, especially by means of the *appel comme d'abus*, which the Gallicans exalted as a sacrosanct liberty and one peculiar to France, and how they paralysed almost completely the jurisdiction of the Bishops.[1] An attempt

nel foglio, ma non quello di mia persona, gradita alla corte anche con la Nuntiatura ordinaria, quando l'havesse da esercitar alcuno. Io però, non ostante detta scrittura con l'ogetto del decoro della S. Sede, non m'astenni mai di far tutte quelle funtioni in publico e in privato che si ricercano nel ministerio ordinario, si con l'esercitio della facoltà come con l'audienze." SCOTTI's **Relatione*, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[1] *" Della giudicatura sopra gl'ecclesiastici, pregiuditievole a vescovi. Gli giudici regii si può dire che levino tutta la giurisditione ecclesiastica in Francia alli prelati :—

1°. Con l'appellatione ab abusu, poichè, subito fatta la citatione et apena cominciato il processo, la parte è solita appellare al Parlamento ab abusu, ancorchè il giudice ecclesiastico non abbia fatto alcuno abuso ; e così resta spogliato del giudicio.

2°. Sotto pretesto del possessorio etiam ad ogni negotio spirituale ; perchè pretendono ogni cosa possessoria essere temporale e di più allegano privilegio di Martino V. Così havendo nelle mani il negotio o la causa, sotto questo titolo entrano nel petitorio, dopo che hanno data la sentenza in possessorio.

3°. Con l'apparenza del caso privilegiato s'attribuiscono la cognitione di tutti i delitti degli ecclesiastici ancora in prima instanza, estendendo oltre modo questi capi privilegiati, principalmente a quelli delitti a quali è dovuta la pena capitale, procedendo alla morte senza alcuna degradatione, già che i vescovi, per non haver fatto i processi, si scusano di non potervi prestar il consenso.

4°. Levando alla chiesa le cause matrimoniali sotto pretesto di ratto, tirando tal delitto come gli piace.

5°. Le decime passano in una taglia perpetua sopra li beneficii, crescendo di tempo in tempo.

6°. Li regii s'attribuiscono la cognitione delle decime quando sono infeudate alli laici.

7°. Dell'heresia della simonia intorno alle cessioni de'beneficii

by the Government, towards the end of Scotti's nunciature, to make the Bishops more than ever dependent on the secular power failed owing to the resistance of the Pope.[1]

How Richelieu sought to exploit every possible circumstance for his own advantage is shown by his attempt to secure for Antonio Barberini junior, who, in opposition to Francesco Barberini, entertained anti-Spanish sentiments, the post of a Conprotector of the French realm which Cardinal Bentivoglio had resigned. If he succeeded, the opposition between the two nephews would be intensified, so that it would be possible to fish successfully in troubled waters whilst at the same time the neutrality hitherto maintained by the Pope between the belligerent Powers would be shaken.[2] However, as neither the extraordinary ambassador, Créqui, nor the ordinary one, Count de Noailles, had any success in the matter,[3] Richelieu,

in manibus Sanctissimi alle collationi e provisioni si fanno di continuo nuovi editti regii approvando o riprovando le bolle pontificie.

8°. Le chiese non hanno più immunità da Francesco I°. in quà.

Le principali cause ecclesiastiche d'appellatione ab abusu s'estendono a quattro. La 1ª, quando le bolle pontificie o sentenze de'vescovi sono contrarie all'ordinanze del regno ; la 2ª, quando il vescovo s'ingerisce in materia fuori dei suoi dritti ; la 3ª, mentre apparisca qualche cosa contro li sacri canoni antichi ; la 4ª, quando si vogli toccare gl'arresti del Parlamento, etc.," SCOTTI's **Relatione, loc. cit.* *Cf.* for the *Appel comme d'abus*, BAUER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, III. (1872), 539 *seq.*

[1] *" Ultimamente pretesero i ministri regii da Sua Santità una commissione contro alcuni vescovi assai generale senza nominarli, a fine di tenerli in freno ; ma Sua Beatitudine, conforme la sua vigilanza di sempre nella conservatione della libertà ecclesiastica, non volse conceder tal Breve, valendosi del titolo di non esser stati espressi i nomi, se bene senza questo neanco mai l'haverebbero ottenuto ; il che è riuscito di gran contento a questi vescovi che l'han penetrato." **Relatione*, SCOTTI, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* LE VASSOR, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, 1re partie, 31–60, and *NICOLETTI, V., ch. 14, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, *Gli ambasciatori Francesi a Roma*, in *Rev. europ.*, An. VIII. (1877), III., 201 *seq.* Noaille's mission ended

in order to break Urban VIII.'s resistance and apparently on the advice of Mazarin,[1] sent to Rome a man who had already given proof of his domineering character in connection with the affair of the Valtellina, viz. Marshal François Annibal d'Estrées, Marquis de Cœuvres. But he, too, failed to secure the desired end, though he spared no effort, especially when in the autumn of 1636 the Cardinal of Savoy resigned the protectorate of France in order to take up that of Germany which had become vacant through the death of Dietrichstein. Urban VIII. also remained firm when, in the autumn of 1637, the French renewed their pressure, for he realized that his neutrality was at stake and only by maintaining it could he work for peace.[2] In the end, in order to keep the French protectorate from Antonio Barberini, he himself made proposals in the consistory with regard to filling French episcopal sees.[3]

The dispatch of d'Estrées turned out to have been a grievous blunder for the Marshal's arrogance only damaged his cause. Richelieu none the less retained him at his post—to please Fr. Joseph, it was said.[4]

The situation became even more tense when, on July 11th, 1638, the Council of State forbade the payment to Rome of the fees for Papal Bulls.[5] Further disagreements arose in the summer of 1639. Four Turkish slaves, converts to Christianity, having escaped from the villa of Luis de Moncada, the son-in-law of the Spanish ambassador, Marchese Castel Rodrigo, sought refuge in the College of Catechumens from which they were removed to the gaol of the Spanish embassy. They succeeded, however, in fleeing thence to the church of SS. Trinità dei Monti, then under French protectorate, but the Spanish ambassador had them forcibly removed. The Cardinal Secretary of State demanded that the fugitives

early in September, 1636; nevertheless he did not leave Rome until a month later; see *ibid.*, 231.

[1] See AUBERY, *Hist. ducard. Mazarin*, in RANKE, II. (1854), 513.

[2] *Cf.* NICOLETTI, VI., ch. 19, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, VII., ch. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, VIII., ch. 6.

[5] See MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 385. *Cf.* above, p. 401.

should be handed over to the Pope, a request which occasioned a violent dispute between him and d'Estrées. Papal soldiers secured the extradition of the slaves who were taken back to the College of Catechumens. This perfectly correct procedure was not to the liking of d'Estrées who wanted to be absolute master in the Pope's own capital. In his rage against Barberini the Marshal made friends with the Spanish ambassador though the latter's sovereign was at war with Louis XIII. ![1]

Richelieu gave his wholehearted support to d'Estrées, a circumstance which occasioned some sharp disputes between him and the nuncio Scotti. Richelieu was also very much annoyed at the difficulties made in Rome concerning the bestowal of the red hat on Mazarin who from the time of his mission to Paris in 1635, had won the greatest goodwill of the man who presided over France's policy,[2] and into whose service he had entered after the death of Fr. Joseph. How far the tension had gone is shown by Richelieu's complaints to the Pope's representative at the beginning of September, 1639. Urban VIII., the Cardinal asserted, did nothing for France and only thought of offending her. After some bitter comments on the Pope's attitude in the question of peace, Richelieu reverted to the subject of the intransigence of the Holy See. Not one concession could he obtain from Rome. The red hat was refused to good Fr. Joseph and at present objections were made to its bestowal on Mazarin. If this opposition was persisted in, the King was resolved to recall his ambassador from Rome and thereafter France would only recognize the Pope in so far as he was the head of the Church. To this Scotti replied that his Eminence should tell him what more the Pope should have done for the cause of peace after all he had done for so many years. Peace could only be realized at a congress, yet at Cologne the only plenipotentiaries they were waiting for, were the French ones. Against the cardinalate of Fr. Joseph there were weighty reasons, to which was added the circumstance that there would then have been

[1] See the detailed account in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Leman, 467.

two Capuchins in the Sacred College, and Poland was pressing for yet a third in the person of Fr. Valerian. If there were some difficulties in the appointment of Mazarin, these had nothing to do with his personal character, but were due to the fact that the candidates already chosen by the Emperor and the King of Spain were all Italians. "That does not interest me," Richelieu replied, "but if Mazarin's promotion does not come off, what I have said will take place; write strongly in this sense to Rome."[1] Scotti did so. He further reported that from Venetian sources he had learned that Richelieu was rousing the Turks and the Prince of Transilvania against the Emperor, and that, through the Dutch, he was working against peace. The latter manœuvre, however, he sought to hide,

[1] According to Scotti's *report to Barberini of September 3, 1639, Richelieu said among other things: "Per adesso vi dico solo che il Papa non fa niente per la Francia nè pensa ad altro che a disgustarla. . . . È gran cosa che non possiamo ricevere una sodisfattione da Sua Santità. Non volse far cardinale quel buon padre Giuseppe Capuccino, et hora fa difficoltà sopra Monsr. Mazzarino, ma tenga pur per certo, che se non lo promuove, il re leverà da Roma il suo ambasciatore, e la Francia non reconoscerà più Sua Santità che in quello richiede l'esser capo della chiesa. A queste parole rispose il Nuntio Scotti, che desiderava saper di Sua Em̃za che cosa voleva che Sua Santità facesse di vantaggio per la pace dopo tanti dispendii, spedizioni di Nunzii e di Legato, e dopo una cura et applicazione incessante di tanti anni? Questa non poter conseguirsi senza congresso, et in Colonia non si aspettavano altri che i plenipotenziarii di Francia, giachè i passaporti per gli Olandesi erano spediti. Che in quanto al luogo dal principe non si desiderava se non per giustizia come appariva dalle scritture date. Che circa la promotione del padre Giuseppe eranvi stati rispetti molto rilevanti di non promoverlo, e specialmente perchè il collegio haverebbe havuti due capuccini, et il terzo era il padre Valeriano Magno preteso da Polonia. Che si vi era alcuna difficoltà per Monsr. Mazzarino, non era in risguardo della sua persona, ma per gli altri nominati dall'Imperatore e dal re di Spagna tutti italiani. Allhora Richeliù disse: Non ho che far con loro, ma se non si promoverà Monsr. Mazzarino, si eseguirà ciò che ho detto, e scrivetelo pure efficacemente a Roma." *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

for France hated the Cardinal's war policy, and in every Province nothing was more keenly longed for than peace, a fact of which he had had personal evidence in many places.[1]

Whilst Richelieu was lodging a solemn protest with Scotti against the infringement of the right of sanctuary at Trinità dei Monti,[2] a fresh incident occurred in Rome. One of d'Estrées' equerries forcibly rescued from the hands of the Papal police one of his servants, an Italian, who had been arrested for illegally keeping a gambling establishment, and on account of this a price had been set on his head. The man's head was handed in and exposed on the bridge of Castel S. Angelo together with the heads of other miscreants. D'Estrées protested against this action as infringing international law, and broke off all relations with the Cardinal Secretary of State. The situation became even more acute when Urban VIII. forbade a funeral service for Cardinal La Valette because the latter, in contravention of a Papal prohibition, had engaged in warlike undertakings. Paris was greatly incensed. On December 8th, 1639, the nuncio Scotti was informed that in order to please the Spaniards, Cardinal Barberini had planned another insult to the King of France; hence the latter

[1] *" che il card. Richeliù fa sollecitare il Turco contro l'Imperatore, stimola il Transilvano ad entrar armato nelle viscere dell'Imperio sta unito col principe d'Oranges acciochè li passaporti non siano accettati dagli Olandesi, sono cose scoperte da Veneziani; e di più che hora si pretendono altri passaporti per l'elettore di Treveri e Palatino, sono tutti artificii per isfuggire coll'apparenza di pace l'odio della Francia, la quale crede che Richeliù non la voglia, e pure in tutte le provincie del regno non si sentono se non clamori di miserie, et i popoli fanno dimostrationi si grandi nel credere che il Nunzio habbia portata la pace, che in arrivare in tutti i luoghi si vedevano piene le strade, i cortili, le camere stesse piene di genti, che sempre chiedevano la pace e la benedittione, onde risapendo Richeliù questi applausi verso Sua Santità, dovrebbe anch'egli muoversi a desiderarla almeno in planctu populi (*Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*). As early as 1631 Bicchi, in a ciphered *letter of May 22, had reported on " l'odio universale contro Richelieu ". *Barb.* 8078, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

could no longer receive him until he should have been given satisfaction. Scotti replied that the Holy See could not be frightened with threats such as those indulged in by Richelieu with a view to securing the cardinalate for Mazarin; since everybody knew how angry Richelieu was in consequence of the refusal of the generalate of the Cistercians, the dispute over the equerry could only be considered as a mere pretext. If Richelieu imagined that by fighting the Holy See, by suspending the nunciature and working for a national council he would get the red hat for Mazarin, he was quite mistaken.[1] Scotti's bold representations were unavailing. On December 16th, 1639, the Bishops were forbidden to have anything to do with him, whilst his house was put under observation.[2] In a Brief of January 13th, 1640, Urban VIII. protested against such proceedings towards his representative and invited Richelieu to remedy the situation,[3] but his exhortation fell on deaf ears. Scotti remained completely isolated; he complained to Cardinal Barberini that even the Jesuits avoided him,[4] but the Cardinal excused them by explaining that the Fathers had reason to fear the worst for themselves so that they could not give him any help.[5]

The irritation of Richelieu and the King against the Holy See sprang chiefly from the fact that d'Estrées had given a quite one-sided account of the incident of the equerry.[6] Urban VIII. and Cardinal Barberini did all that was possible in order to settle the affair. As a matter of fact, on one occasion, through the Venetian ambassador, Richelieu gave a hint

[1] *Cf.* **Relatione dell'abboccamento seguito in Parigi tra il Sr di Savigny e Mons. Scotti Nuntio nel convento de'Minori Francescani* and **Discorso fatto da Msgr. Nuntio Scotti al S. di Savigny secretario di stato di S.M. Christ.*, in the *Racc. Mong.*, No. 67, p. 7 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*, State Archives, Turin.

[2] See *Lettres de Richelieu*, VI., 650.

[3] See **Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Bazin, IV., 183 *seq.*; Fouqueray, V., 411.

[5] See Barberini's *letter to Scotti of July 9, 1640, in Fouqueray, V., 411.

[6] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, p. 237 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

to Scotti that he would forgo a formal satisfaction if on political questions the Pope would take the side of France. Scotti declared that that was not to be thought of; that the Spaniards had also vainly sought to induce the Pope to adopt a one-sided attitude.[1]

At this very time of extreme tension alarming rumours reached Rome to the effect that France was on the verge of schism; nor was the fear of such a danger altogether unfounded. Already at the beginning of 1627 Richelieu had expressed a wish that, as a reward for his services in fighting the Huguenots and the English, he should be appointed Legate of the Holy See in France.[2] It was known in Rome that at a synod held at Castres in the autumn of 1626, the Calvinists had declared their readiness to submit to a patriarch who would be independent of Rome.[3] Quite apart from these dangerous symptoms it was utterly impossible for the Pope to make a concession of this kind since there was good reason to suspect that in that case other Catholic Powers, above all Spain, would make similar demands, to the detriment of the supreme authority of the Holy See. This aspect of the matter was pointed out, to the Pope's great satisfaction, by the nuncio Bagno when Richelieu made fresh efforts to secure the legatine dignity as a reward for crushing the Calvinists and for his determination to stop Parliament from meddling with the affairs of the Church.[4] The fear of a lessening of his authority also caused Urban VIII. to view with

[1] *"Il tirare a tale risoluzione l'animo di Papa Urbano era affatto impossibile, poichè Sua Santità saria stata sempre colonna immobile e costantissima a non lasciarsi smuovere dalla neutralità; e che dovea bastar l'esempio de'Spagnoli, che in ciò non l'havevano mai potuto muovere un punto." Scotti's *report to Barberini, April 27, 1640, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 258.

[2] See *Fagniez, II., 46.

[3] See the Instruction for Guido del Bagno in Leman, *Instructions*, 93, who believes that Richelieu had suggested this idea to the Huguenots.

[4] See App. VII. and VIII. for the *report of Bagno of April 3, and Cardinal Barberini's *letter of April 14, 1629, Vatican Library.

displeasure the assemblies of the clergy. Since he could not very well forbid them he impressed on the nuncios the importance of seeing to it that they were attended solely by representatives of the Bishops and that they confined themselves to questions of finance.[1]

It was against Richelieu's nature quickly to drop an idea once conceived by him. It would have been an immense satisfaction to him to gather into his own hands the spiritual as well as the secular power of the realm. His whole attitude clearly shows that he wanted to dominate the French Church and to have her wealth absolutely at his disposal for the benefit of the State finances which had been exhausted by his wars,[2] whilst at the same time he intended to make her as independent of Rome as possible. The rejection of his ambitious and dangerous demands both in the political and the ecclesiastical sphere embittered him to such a degree that he ended by committing acts of direct hostility to the Holy See. When he had forbidden money to be sent to Rome for the bestowal of benefices, certain Court Bishops were bidden to study the question of the abolition, or at any rate the lowering, of the annates, and the holding of a synod which would counter the alleged usurpations of Rome.[3]

A learned canonist, Pierre de Marca, president of the Parliament of Pau, who was summoned to Paris in 1639 as a councillor of State, suggested to Richelieu a means that would give him absolute dominion over the French Church. This was that the Cathedral Chapters should make over to the King the right of election which the Concordat gave them, after which the Concordat would be suppressed as an abuse. As soon as the Bishops named by the King would be in sufficient numbers a national council could be convened for the purpose of proclaiming Richelieu Patriarch of the Gallican Church.[4]

To plans of this kind the ambitious Cardinal lent a willing ear and he charged several Bishops and canonists, among

[1] See LEMAN, *Instructions*, 83.

[2] *Cf.* below, p. 426 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, V., 410.

[4] *Ibid.*

them the Oratorian Morin, to study the question. However, in the end, as a sober and cool politician, even he shrank from so dangerous an attempt and one which would have entailed a schism. In ecclesiastical as in worldly affairs Richelieu's policy varied according to the requirements of the moment. As a sober realist he never aimed at anything but what he knew to be within the realm of possibility; accordingly this time also he was content with making himself feared in Rome as everywhere else, whilst as secretly as possible he was busy loosening the bonds which united loyal Catholics to the centre of the Church's unity.[1] To this end he got in touch with certain notable writers. Thus he commissioned the historian Dupleix to draw up a report of all the grievances of the Kings of France and their disputes with the Popes. When Dupleix had completed his task, he thanked him profusely and commanded him to compile a similar report of the disputes between the Popes and the Kings of Spain, for he was anxious to hide his real purpose even from his tool Dupleix. Finally Dupleix was commissioned to draw up an account of all the favours which the French Kings had bestowed upon the Holy See.[2]

Two other writers, close friends of Richelieu, Pierre and Jaques Du Puys, composed a huge work on the rights and privileges of the Gallican Church, the purpose of which was to provide the State with historical and legal weapons against the Holy See and the French clergy. The authors endeavoured to prove that previous to the eighth century the Popes had never exercised any authority in France; at the same time they attacked the Church's immunity in respect to jurisdiction and taxation.[3] The nuncio Bolognetti was not the only one to object to the destructive work of the two Du Puys and

[1] See D'Avrigny, *Mémoires chronologiques et dogmatiques*, 136; Fouqueray, V., 410.

[2] See Dupleix, *Histoire de Louis-le-Juste*, II., 198.

[3] *Cf. Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, V. (1844), 587 *seq.*; Perrens, *L'Eglise et l'État*, II., 451 *seq.*; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I.², 854.

to demand its suppression.[1] Eighteen Bishops, with Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, also protested against the fatal liberties here advocated, which they described as a heretical servitude.[2] In consequence of this firm attitude of the Bishops, which was praised by the Pope,[3] Richelieu forbade publication on the ground that the book had appeared without privilege,[4] but this was only for appearances' sake. The Cardinal took good care not to allow the book to be censured; more than that, he who was wont to step in so promptly now suffered the booksellers to sell it almost openly.[5]

For a time Rome failed to see through Richelieu's equivocal attitude,[6] but in 1640 a glaring light was suddenly thrown upon it by a book entitled: "*Optatus Gallus*: How to avoid a schism, a warning to the French episcopate."[7] The writer,

[1] See Bolognetti to Barberini, February 11, 1639, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 467.

[2] See the letter which was printed immediately, in *Ottob.* 2491, p. 39 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 468; FOUQUERAY, V., 411.

[3] See the *Brief to the "cardinales, archiepiscopi et episcopi Parisiis nunc agentes" of March 28, 1639, in which we read: "Digni estis, quorum salutare consilium Pontificis commendatione decoretur" (**Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* the letter of Bolognetti in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 468.

[4] See PERRENS, II., 452.

[5] See D'ARGENTRÉ, *Coll. iudic.*, III., 2, 452; PERRENS, *loc. cit.*; SCHULTE, *Quellen*, II., 587.

[6] On March 20, 1639, Urban VIII. *wrote to Louis XIII. that he would win undying fame if he protected the honour of the Church. He had shown his piety "compressa illius libelli editione, qui de Gallic. eccles. libertatibus inscriptus erat". On June 20, 1639, the following *Brief was sent to Richelieu: "Prudentiae est praecavere et compescere. Maxime commendanda plurim. antistitum censura, qua liber de Gallic. eccles. libertatibus improbatur, qui falsis assertionibus refertus ad segregationem tendebat." We praise you and hope "ut Dei causam in posterum propugnes". **Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives.

[7] "Optati Galli de cavendo schismate ad ill. et rev. ecclesiae Gallicanae primates, archiepiscopos, episcopos liber paraeneticus" (39 pp., 8°).

who remained unknown as well as his publisher, was at pains to show that the old attachment of the French to the Holy See had diminished; that there was question of establishing a patriarchate in France; that they were on the verge of a schism which would resemble that of England. The book draws the Bishops' attention to the peril and urges them to take suitable precautions. The proofs with which the writer justified his fears were taken, not only from the book of the two Du Puys, but likewise from recently published writings against the Holy See, among which he made special mention of the Parliamentary resolution concerning the validity of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans and the proposal to stop payment of the annates. D'Estrées' conduct in Rome was also discussed in detail.

It was impossible to doubt that the book was aimed against the conduct and plans of Richelieu; hence the sensation it caused was all the greater. Everywhere, especially in Paris, the book was eagerly read.[1] The Cardinal, who realized that he was hit and that no one could fail to perceive it, took immediate counter-measures. At a session of Parliament on March 23rd, a decree was passed ordering the book to be publicly burnt by the hangman.[2] Not content with this Richelieu saw to it that the Bishops who met in Paris on March 28th, under the presidency of Archbishop Jean François de Gondi, condemned the work as false, scandalous, offensive, upsetting public tranquillity and undermining the obedience due to Kings, in consequence whereof they forbade the clergy to read it.[3] On the same day sixteen Archbishops and

[1] *" Durante le differenze con Roma, la mattina di S. Gregorio del 1640, si trovarono nella maggior parte delle chiese e palazzi di Parigi alcuni libretti stampati, gettativi da persone sconosciute. Il titolo era : 'Optati Galli de cavendo schismate ad primates, archiepiscopos et episcopos,' Dentro si faceva la descrittione di vari abusi della chiesa Gallicana, dovendosi guardar ciascheduno dal pericolo d'un scisma che stimava si vicino per i disegni dell' erettione d'un patriarcato nel regno." SCOTTI's **Relatione*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* AVENEL, VII., 256.

[3] See FOUQUERAY, V., 413.

Bishops then in Paris gave their adhesion to the condemnation.[1]

In view of the wide publicity which this cry of alarm obtained from the first, Richelieu judged it necessary to repel the dangerous attack by means of counter-publications. Using as an intermediary the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Henri de Sourdis, who was devoted to him, he had recourse, in the first instance, to the learned doctor of the Sorbonne Hallier who, however, as a loyal son of Rome, declined to defend the facts which were justly, though violently, blamed in the book.[2] However, Richelieu found other pens ready for the task. The first in the field with a pamphlet for the defence was a certain Boschetti, who was promptly rewarded with the title of a Councillor of State. His refutation was, on the whole, a clever piece of work, but it was spoilt by personal attacks on the Bishop of Beauvais, Augustin Potier, whom Richelieu suspected to be the author of *Optatus Gallus* because he had at one time opposed the lowering of the annates.[3] Two other replies, one of which was by the royal advocate Salomoni, endeavoured to dispel the fear of a schism by pointing out that Richelieu had repeatedly forbidden the anti-Roman theses of the Sorbonne, and that as a priest he had always set an excellent example.[4]

These publications, which appeared towards the close of 1640, were succeeded by yet another apology of Richelieu in the following year from the pen of the Jesuit Michel Rabardeau. It adopted a very violent tone and defended the royal edict concerning the marriages of Princes and the taxation of the clergy, whilst it asserted that no one thought of the establishment of a patriarchate. On this point Rabardeau went so far astray as to maintain that the erection of new patriarchates would not be a schismatical act and would not need the consent of the Pope, just as his consent had

[1] See D'Argentré, III., 2, 244.

[2] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Barberini to Scotti of July 21, 1640, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

not been required for the erection of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem.[1] Even more than this publication which was disapproved by the Provincial [2] and put on the Index in 1643,[3] a fifth apology attributed to the nephew of the famous Jesuit and confessor of the King, Sirmond, and which was at once translated from the French into Latin, called forth great indignation in Rome.[4] If this work, which openly defended the political principles of Richelieu and which contained several erroneous theological assertions,[5] was really from the pen of the aged Sirmond, as was generally believed, one can only bitterly lament such an aberration on the part of so deserving a scholar.[6]

[1] See FOUQUERAY, V., 413. *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.* The work of Rabardeau, written on Richelieu's instructions, shows that he entertained the idea of a French patriarchate. The only uncertainty is whether this was solely intended to intimidate Rome, as MOURRET (*Ancien Régime*, 307) says, or whether it was a seriously considered plan. The reasons with which MONTOR (V., 434 *seq.*) exculpates Richelieu are very week. Not only AVENEL (III., 366 *seq.*), but also STANLEY LEATHES (*The Cambridge Modern Hist.*, IV., 156) are of opinion that Richelieu undoubtedly aimed at becoming the head of the French Church.

[2] See FOUQUERAY, V., 414.

[3] See REUSCH, II., 363.

[4] The nuncio Grimaldi's *opinion on August 2, 1642: "Il libro del P. Rabardeo e pessimo e temerario." *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 9, *loc. cit.*

[5] Thus among other things: *"che il battesimo fosse valido con vino e olio," and: "esser dodeci i sacramenti"; see Scotti's *report, May 23, 1640, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[6] NICOLETTI (*loc. cit.*) *reports on the basis of a letter of Scotti dated July 3, 1640, as follows: "Il Nunzio Scotti havutane certa notizia procurò con tutto lo spirito che le sudette proposizioni si occultassero; e non solo il detto Sirmondi ravisto del suo errore, se gli professò obligato e ringraziollo, ma fecelo ringraziare dal Padre Generale, appresso di cui anche il cardinale Barberino operò che le prefate opinioni per riputatione dell'autore e della Compagnia si occultassero. Nondimeno il Padre Sirmondi ne'travagli del medesimo Nunzio e nelle calumnie inventate contro il cardinale Barberino non aprì mai bocca in lor diffesa nè disse

Richelieu had offered a reward of 10,000 thalers to whomsoever should discover the author of *Optatus Gallus*[1]; for all that his name remained a secret; all that transpired was that he was a Frenchman and that paper and print came from Paris.[2] The fact that the book gave a full and accurate account of d'Estrée's doings led at first to the belief that Rome had had something to do with it. However, this was not the case; the nuncio Scotti was quite as much taken by surprise as everybody else by the appearance of the book. In defending himself from the suspicion that he had had cognizance of the mystery, he was helped by the circumstance that the account of certain disputes at Pavia and Lucca contained many errors which would not have been made by one in touch with Rome. The author of *Optatus Gallus* had purposely allowed these mistakes to creep in so as to divert suspicion from Rome. After a time he revealed his identity to the nuncio; he was Charles Hersant, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had taken up his pen out of sheer love of the Holy See and of France. Rome greatly appreciated Hersant's action and loyally kept his secret.[3] When, after a stay in Brittany, Hersant returned to Paris with a refutation of the attacks on his book, Scotti dissuaded him from publishing it in France lest Richelieu, who was still in hot pursuit of the author, should get on his tracks. On Mazarin's advice Scotti wished to have the refutation published in Flanders—the internuncio Stravio acting as his intermediary—seeing that

una parola per l'accommodamento, nè meno contradisse alla risoluzione che fecero i Giesuiti di privar lo stesso Nunzio del proprio confessore, ch'era della lor religione, per non dar gelosia al re et a Richelieu, e pure tutti gli altri Regolari trattarono sempre francamente con Monsr Scotti, e lo tennero per Nunzio ordinario, e fecero fedi autentiche di haverlo sempre riputato per tale."

[1] *Cf.* Scotti's *report of July 3, 1640, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[2] *" Furono fatti vari giudicii et insieme esquisite diligenze per rinvenirne l'autore, che per il stile infine fu conosciuto esser francese, come la carta e stampa di Parigi, ma non è stato mai possibile trovarlo." Scotti's **Relatione*.

[3] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

it was necessary to confute the false rumours spread by d'Estrées. Such was not the opinion of the shrewd Cardinal Secretary of State. "If an adequate refutation is undertaken," he wrote to Scotti, "it will be difficult to remain within the bounds of moderation, whilst a temperate confutation has only an academic value. The Holy See needs no defence against d'Estrées. Besides, the book *Optatus Gallus* has already sufficiently breached the walls of the enemies' stronghold." [1] As a matter of fact this was the case: it had crossed Richelieu's plans in a manner he was bound to feel and had created an immense impression in France.

In November, 1640, the Holy Father was to realize anew how little Richelieu was qualified to act as Legate of the Holy See in France, not to speak of his being made Patriarch of the whole French realm. When at the end of October, 1628, La Rochelle, the stronghold of French Protestantism, which had never been taken in the course of the wars of religion, was conquered by Richelieu, there was great rejoicing in Rome and the Pope himself intoned the *Te Deum* in the French national church of St. Louis.[2] The Briefs which Urban VIII. dispatched on November 29th, 1628, to Louis XIII., to the widowed Queen Marie, to Queen Anne and to Richelieu, to congratulate them on this event, besides high praise, also expressed a strong hope that an effort would now be made to root out the last remnants of heresy.[3] There was bitter disappointment when this hope was not fulfilled. Richelieu indeed restored Catholic worship at La Rochelle, but he also allowed Protestant worship to go on. It was enough for him to have broken the political autonomy of the Huguenots,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 115.

[3] See **Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives. Richelieu's reputation as a literary opponent of heresy is characterized in a *Brief of Urban VIII. addressed to him on March 2, 1624, in which the following passage occurs in connexion with a Latin translation of a French controversial work of his: "Non uni nationi par est loqui sapientiam tuam haereticorum formidine toti christianae reipublicae commendatam." **Epist.*, I[b], *loc. cit.*

their State within the State; beyond their places of security he took nothing from them and the Edict of Grace of Nîmes confirmed the Edict of Nantes as far as freedom of worship was concerned.[1] This leniency was due to consideration for his Protestant allies, the Lutheran King of Sweden and the Dutch Calvinists.[2] In this instance also religious considerations had to yield to political ones. That the complete restoration of religious unity in France was eminently desirable by no means escaped that thoroughgoing protagonist of centralization, but he did not wish to realize such an object by forcible means, such as the Keeper of the Seals, Marillac, and Bérulle advocated, but rather by persuasion, for the use of force would have jeopardized the interests of the State. Accordingly he furthered popular missions and the erection of monasteries in Huguenot localities; but besides these he had in view other means. He intended to hold a great religious disputation but forgot that all such attempts had proved utter failures in the past, and had even done serious injury to the Catholic religion. The Jesuit Etienne Audebert was commissioned to sound the Huguenot preachers on the subject, but the Pope, with good reason, refused to have anything to do with the experiment.[3] No less reprehensible was Richelieu's idea of winning over the Huguenot preachers by bribing them[4]; but most dangerous of all was his plan

[1] See HOLTZMANN, *Französ. Verfassungsgesch.*, 476 *seq.* Ideas of toleration must not be attributed to Richelieu; the concession of freedom of conscience to the Huguenots was due to political considerations; see LODGE, *Richelieu*, 194. *Cf.* also *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1901, 553, and HERMELINK, *Kirchengesch.*, III., Tübingen, 1911, 278.

[2] *Cf.* PUYOL, II., 245.

[3] See DUSSIEUX, *Le card. Richelieu*, Paris, 1886, 222; FOUQUERAY, V., 409. *Cf.* LEMAN as to the view taken at Rome of the discussions on religion (*Instructions*, 93). When in 1639 a discussion on religion gave rise to scandal, Richelieu himself condemned this method; see FOUQUERAY, IV., 264.

[4] See NICOLETTI, in RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, II.², 609. "Le cardinal," says AVENEL (III., 419), "comme les grands manieurs d'hommes croyait tout possible avec l'adresse et l'argent."

to obtain this end by dogmatic concessions. Scotti obtained particulars of the latter scheme from the Oratorian Bertini and from Hallier. According to their information Richelieu was closely studying plans for a reunion which he secretly discussed with the Huguenot preacher Mestrézat. On November 30th, 1640, Scotti reported to Rome that it appeared that in that interview Richelieu had stated his willingness to drop certain doctrines which were not part of dogma, such as the superiority of the Pope over the council, his authority in secular matters, nay, he was ready to forgo even the dogma of Purgatory.[1] By order of Richelieu views of this kind were likewise defended by the ex-Jesuit François Véron in his sermons in the church of St. Germain, as well as in his book entitled: "Catholic Rule of Faith, purged from all the Opinions of Scholastic Theology and from all Abuses." The work was dedicated to Richelieu; the Roman Inquisition condemned it and its diffusion was prevented by the nuncio Scotti.[2] Through Mazarin, Scotti learnt that Richelieu nevertheless stuck to his plans.[3]

Rome's caution in dealing with France is shown by the fact that, towards the end of 1640, yielding to Richelieu's insistent demand for satisfaction, Cardinal Barberini skilfully disposed of the incident of d'Estrées' equerry by means of a declaration which in no way compromised the prerogatives of the Pope.[4] Nevertheless the period of calm which had been hoped for, did not ensue and in January, 1641, the Marshal provoked fresh incidents.[5] Thereupon the Pope decided to send Mazarin to Paris with mission to explain that the interests of France

[1] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, Vatican Library. Ranke (*loc. cit.*, II., 510) says that according to "a tradition not to be despised" (Rich. Simon, *Lettres choisies*, I., 1; Bayle, *s.v. Amyraut*) Richelieu had promised to reformed preachers even dogmatic concessions, e.g. with regard to 'transubstantiation'"! Scotti, however, reports nothing of the kind.

[2] See Fouqueray, V., 408 *seq.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 283.

herself demanded the recall of so unsuitable a diplomatist.[1] The necessity of such a measure was demonstrated in February and March when d'Estrées occasioned fresh disputes in the course of which he also insulted the College of Cardinals.[2] Richelieu, however, would not be persuaded to recall the Marshal. If the French authorities waited for perfect tranquillity to be restored before taking such a step, Cardinal Barberini wrote to Scotti in March, 1641, they were mistaken, for that hypochondriac was too restless. With justifiable scorn the letter proceeds: "At the very time when, by shutting his doors, d'Estrées proclaimed that the *Jus Gentium* had been infringed, he boasted that he would not leave Rome without giving people even stronger grounds for remembering him." However, in reality, though he planned fresh extravagances, d'Estrées' fears were even greater than his locked doors suggested.[3]

Some remarks by Urban VIII. in the course of a conversation

[1] *Ibid.*, 285.

[2] *Cf.* Scotti's *report in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[3] *"Tutte queste novità venivano riconosciute per non voler Richeliù richiamare il maresciallo da Roma, di che dolendosi il cardinale Barberino scrisse a Monsgr. Scotti così: Non si potevano aspettare che accidenti infausti e conformi al genio del maresciallo, et al particolare studio, col quale egli che non ha per guida o per compagno altri che la stravaganza, conformemente opera. E se costì vogliono per richiamarlo accetare un tempo, nel quale sia un total quiete, è impossibile, perchè è troppo feconda miniera il suo cervello, e se le malattie dell'animo si devono attribuire al corpo, egli stesso si duole di esser hippocondriaco, si che non è da dubitare de'sintomi, ma solo da discorrere in qual parte del suo corpo risieda la ragione. È meraviglia che nello stesso tempo che con le porte chiuse della sua casa vuol dare ad intendere la lesione del Ius gentium, nello stesso egli brava che non si partirà da Roma, che non habbia lasciata maggior memoria di sè. Nè sta in questo la meraviglia, ma in quello, che mentre egli parla così e rumina stravaganze, ha più timore in se stesso di quello, che le porte chiuse rappresentino. In somma è huomo in tutte le cose di cuor doppio." Autograph letter of Barberini to Scotti, March 27, 1641, *Barb.* 4737, p. 297 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

with Count Fieschi show how greatly the Pope resented d'Estrées' conduct: "The King of France," he said, "is a good and just man, but he is served by men whose behaviour is worse than that of barbarians. We do not meddle with his government; hence we are of opinion that we have a right to demand the same for ourselves." D'Estrées, who got to hear of this remark, reproached the Pope with having spoken ironically of the King and criticized Richelieu! [1]

D'Estrées' conduct in Rome became ever more and more intolerable. In April, 1641, he accused Cardinal Antonio Barberini of having admitted into the *Cancelleria* certain bandits who had murdered one of the servants of his equerry.[2] Scotti was able to prove to Richelieu that this was a calumny for those concerned were not bandits but men who had been banished.[3] D'Estrées ended by realizing himself that his position in Rome had become untenable. After having a protest posted upon Pasquino and elsewhere against "the violation of the palace of his King", he withdrew to the castle of Caprarola. In Paris a rumour was circulated that he no longer felt safe in Rome.[4]

In the long run so shrewd a man as Richelieu could not fail to see that an ambassador of the type of d'Estrées could

[1] *"Intendo, che havendo N^ro S^re detto al conte Fieschi le seguenti parole, parlando del medesimo maresciallo: Il re è buono, è giustissimo, è integerrimo, ma ha dei ministri che il loro procedere è peggio di quello de'barbari. Noi non procuriamo d'inquietare il suo governo, e così crediamo che nè meno Sua M^tà vorrà permettere che venga inquietato il Nostro. Questo discorso ingenuo di Sua Santità è stato dal maresciallo sinistramente interpretato, cioè che il dire di Sua Beatitudine circa la bontà del re era stato ironico, volendo intendere della debolezza o minchioneria, e che essendosi doluto de' ministri, haver voluto intendere del card. Richeliù." Autograph letter of Barberini, March 27, 1641, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Scotti's *report of April 14, 1641, in *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 6.

[4] See the *report quoted above, note 1.

only damage the cause of France in Rome.[1] Moreover the Pope was also resolved to make a change in the Paris nunciature. Girolamo Grimaldi,[2] who had been appointed to succeed Scotti on March 9th, 1641, had already arrived in France when at last d'Estrées also was recalled.[3] A *détente* now ensued, but Richelieu's nature remained the same. In 1640, notwithstanding the resistance of the clergy and the warnings of the Pope, he had forcibly imposed increasingly heavy contributions on the former. Resentment against these imposts was all the keener because the Cardinal used them to support France's Protestant allies.[4] In the end Urban VIII.

[1] Scotti says in one of his *reports that d'Estrées was causing the French King to be hated in Rome. *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[2] See BIAUDET, 269.

[3] *" Richeliù spedì corriere al card. Antonio, ch'erasi fatto trattenere in Parigi 1½ mese senza rispondergli, con la richiamata del maresciallo, giachè Msgr. Grimaldi nuovo Nunzio era già pervenuto in Francia." *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[4] A royal edict of May 30, 1639, which taxed Church property to the amount of seven millions (see FOUQUERAY, V., 414), led to an extraordinary assembly of the clergy which opened at Paris on February 15, 1641, but was subsequently transferred to Mantes, in the diocese of Chartres, whose Bishop, Léonor d'Estampes, was a friend of Richelieu. Before this Urban VIII. had warned the King and Richelieu by *Briefs of December 24, 1640, not to lay unbearable burdens upon the clergy (**Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives). Unfortunately these representations fell upon deaf ears (see *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*). Richelieu sought to manipulate the elections for the assembly in such a way that only " personnes paisibles et faciles à gouverner " (see AVENEL, *Lettres*, VI., 742) would be chosen. None the less, a strong opposition arose, for Richelieu demanded no less than 6,600,000 livres. The opposition urged that the clergy were only bound to help the King in his wars with their prayers. But servile persons were also found who, like Claude de la Madeleine, of Autun, were not ashamed to declare that " no Frenchman could have any doubt " that " the entire property of the Church belonged to the King, who could confiscate it all so long as he left the clergy a modest competence (see

was forced to intervene himself. On June 5th, 1641, he published a Bull against those who interfered with the goods and rights of the Church. When the nuncio Grimaldi handed this document to Richelieu the latter declared that Parliament would reply to it.[1] On September 18th, 1641, that assembly published a decree forbidding the publication of the Brief under pain of high treason.[2] Richelieu tried to make Grimaldi believe that Parliament had taken this decision without the knowledge of the Government, but the nuncio knew this to be a lie.[3] In a letter to Grimaldi of November 9th, 1641, Cardinal Barberini complained of the prohibition of the Bull and instructed the nuncio to press for its repeal. Urban VIII. also made earnest representations to the French ambassador and stressed the danger of a policy which imitated that of England.[4] Richelieu told Grimaldi that a repeal was out of the question for he was bound to uphold the authority of his King.[5] Thereupon Grimaldi appealed to the Chancellor of France but without success.[6] Though already mortally

Mém. de Montchal, II., 1 *seq.*). Richelieu obtained a grant of 4,700,000 livres, payable in three years, but only by excluding from the assembly and banishing to their dioceses those who opposed him, namely the Archbishops of Sens and Toulouse, Octave de Bellegarde and Montchal and four other Bishops, "because they had been remiss in the performance of their duty," see *Mém. de Montchal*, II., 132 *seq.*; Avenel, III., 380 *seq.*; Fouqueray, V., 415 *seq.*; De Mun, in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXI., 4.

[1] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 9, *loc. cit.*

[2] Mariéjol (VI., 3, 388) remarks on this: "Ainsi procédait contre l'Église gallicane le cardinal-ministre qui, aux États généraux de 1615, déclarait au nom de son ordre: "N'est-ce pas une honte d'éxiger de personnes consacrées au vrai Dieu ce que les païens n'ont jamais desiré de ceux qui étaient dédiés au service de leurs idoles?"

[3] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 415 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Grimaldi's *report of December 13, 1641, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[6] See his *report of January 10, 1642, *ibid.*

stricken, Richelieu wrote to the Chancellor on September 22nd, 1641, instructing him to declare to the nuncio, in threatening terms, that the decree of Parliament was only the prelude to even sterner measures " in defence of the royal prerogatives ", for only in this way would it be possible to bring the Court of Rome to reason.[1]

In the very year of his death the Cardinal was planning a further extortion of money from the French clergy towards whose rights and privileges he adapted, in the opinion of his entourage, " an altogether peculiar theology," as he did in fact in many other respects.[2] Nevertheless, now as before, he was anxious to assure the so-called Gallican liberties with a view to curtailing the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Pope as much as possible. This is shown by his attitude towards Pierre de Marca. That learned canonist was instructed to write a book for the express purpose of proving that the Gallican liberties, if properly understood, were not in any way antagonistic to the supreme authority of the Pope. A task of this kind was beyond the powers of even so skilful a jurist as de Marca. His first draft was rejected by Richelieu as too favourable to Rome.[3] So he had to start afresh and this time he succeeded in satisfying his high patron. The first four volumes of his work " On the concord of Church and State, or on the Gallican liberties " were published in 1641.[4] The author gives proof of very wide reading in his historical and critical study of the position of the Pope in the Church in general and his

[1] *Lettres de Richelieu*, VI., 877. In these circumstances the Holy See was obliged to content itself with publishing the Bull in Rome, in the customary manner, and making it known to all the French Bishops. See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Civrays in his review of the work of J. Tournyol du Clos, *Richelieu et le clergé de France*, Paris, 1914, in the *Rev. de l'Église de France*, V. (1914), 72.

[3] *" Écrit de M. de Marca sur le libelle intitulé Optatus Gallus' ", in *Cod.* E., f. 13, of the St. Geneviève Library, Paris. See Puyol, II., 436.

[4] *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii seu de libertatibus ecclesiae Gallicanae libri VIII.*, books 1–4, Parisiis, 1641.

influence in France in particular, as well as the relations between the French monarchy and the Church. De Marca is on the look out for a compromise between the Gallican liberties and the authority of the Pope. A diplomatist rather than a theologian, he becomes involved in the most astonishing contradictions so that he could be appealed to by both parties [1]; but substantially he takes the standpoint already adopted by Pithou in 1594 in his codification of the Gallican liberties which until then had been very ill-defined. He likewise defended the *Appel comme d'abus.* Small wonder that on June 11th, 1642, his book was put on the Index.[2]

[1] See SCHULTE, *Quellen,* III., 594 *seq.* *Cf.* also PUYOL, II., 478 *seq.*

[2] See REUSCH, II., 355, 364 *seq.* Cardinal Barberini was at great pains to convert so able and influential a man from his errors and to reconcile him with the Holy See. At the beginning of 1643 he wrote to Grimaldi: Since the censure of Marca's work had seemed too severe in France, he had had it revised; but the Roman theologians whom he had consulted had come to the same conclusion and had condemned it. Still unsatisfied, and because the Roman censors were perhaps too severe, he had added two foreigners to their number, whom he had asked to be as lenient as possible; but these also had come to the conclusion that the censure could not be altered (Barberini's *letter in *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 9, *Barb.* 4737, p. 467 *seq.*, Vatican Library). It was now suggested to Marca that he should withdraw his book indirectly by publishing another. To this Marca consented (*cf.* Grimaldi's *report, *ibid.*, p. 474). Unfortunately a crisis then arose for the French Government nominated him to the See of Conserans. In a long letter of February 4, 1643, Barberini explained to the French nuncio Grimaldi that the Holy See could not consent to this appointment: the fundamental principles of Marca's work and the conclusions which the author drew from them, whether consciously or unconsciously, and which might be drawn by others, showed clearly the harm it might do. One of his chief aims was to defend the Gallican liberties in the sense of Pithou. In a second *letter of February 19 the Cardinal expatiated again on Marca's errors on account of which it was impossible to confirm his nomination as a Bishop (both letters in NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*,

The position of Grimaldi, who did all he could to win over the doctors of the Sorbonne,[1] was greatly strengthened by the fact that on December 16th, 1641, Mazarin, who had done good work for a settlement of the incident provoked by d'Estrées,[2] at last received the eagerly longed-for purple at the hands of Urban VIII.[3] A year later Richelieu died and Mazarin succeeded him. There were those who began to hope for an improvement in the ecclesiastico-political relations between Paris and Rome which had once again become strained,[4] all the more so as a number of Bishops made to Grimaldi promises of a most reassuring kind.[5]

(2)

Richelieu had caused the Holy See grievous disappointment, great annoyance and serious anxiety. The only satisfaction

p. 470 *seq.*). The confirmation was not obtained until Marca had presented a recantation in 1646, which was regarded as sufficient in Rome; see SCHULTE, III., 1, 594.

[1] See Grimaldi's *report of January 24, 1642, in *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 6, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* BAZIN, IV., 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, 339; CARDELLA, VII., 14.

[4] *Cf.* the *hortatory letter to Louis XIII., dated August 13, 1642, which declares that the composition of disputes in the religious Orders belonged to the Holy See; (*Bull.* XV., 201), and the *Brief to the King of November 25, 1642 (Nimis a tuo obsequio alienae sunt novae rationes. Galliae orator variis queremoniis Roma se discessurum professus fuerat), **Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., Papal Secret Archives. Similar *letters to Richelieu and Mazarin, *ibid.*

[5] Barberini accordingly *wrote to Grimaldi in answer to his *report of April 13, 1643: "Sia lodato la divina bontà per lo zelo di cotesti ecclesiastici e di V.S. che procurano di restituire la disciplina e dignità ecclesiastica nel suo dovere, che V.S. opera molto degnamente. Io m'ingegnerò di servirmi com'ella accenna dell'occasione de'beneficii di Bertagna per tener ben affetta l'università di teologi, benchè tal volta sia molto difficile il poter resistere alle raccomandazioni degli ambasciatori e di altri in questa corte." *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 9, p. 460, *loc. cit.*

he gave it was the part he took in the reform of the Church in France. In view of numerous and even crying abuses,[1] he was determined, here as elsewhere, to establish law and order[2]; but his whole conception of the Church as "one of the most important wheels in his political machine",[3] incapacitated him from the outset for the work of a true reformer, so that in many ways he hindered the efflorescence of the Church which was then in progress. Moreover, his intervention was frequently so violent that he did more harm than good. This was seen when, as in the case of Richer, he sacrificed, in May, 1638, his one-time friend the Abbé de Saint-Cyran. Scenting political danger he cast the latter into the dungeons of Vincennes, an act which could not fail to win fresh sympathizers and adherents for that Jansenist.[4] In like manner in his assuredly praiseworthy, though by no means disinterested, efforts to reform the old Orders,[5] especially the Benedictines, he barred the way to enduring success by his own violence and that of his officials.[6] Far more fatal was another consideration. A man who had embraced the ecclesiastical state without a real vocation and from purely worldly motives,[7] who personally took part in the chase after positions and money which was one of the failings of the French clergy and nobility, and who appropriated to himself the richest prebends and benefices, was hardly equipped

[1] A more detailed picture is to be found in AVENEL, *Richelieu*, III., 227–341. *Cf.* our account Vol. XXIII., 151 *seq.*, and XXVI., 1 *seq.* See also the details given in AULAGNE, *La réforme cath. au XVIIe siècle dans le diocèse de Limoges*, 85 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* FAGNIEZ, II., 22 *seq.*; GOYAU, *Hist. relig.*, 399.

[3] See Philippson in PFLUGK-HARTTUNG's *Weltgesch.*, Neuzeit, p. 626, who shows (p. 627) that the Church was so dominated as to seem but a department of the royal administration.

[4] For further particulars, XXIX., ch. 1.

[5] *Cf.* LODGE, *Richelieu*, 191.

[6] *Cf.* AVENEL, *Richelieu*, III., 229. See also *ibid.*, 350, for Richelieu's monastic reforms. He was well aware of the poor results which his measures achieved.

[7] See MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 57, 290.

for the task of a reformer.[1] But the greatest hindrance to the

[1] The detailed work, based on wide research in archives, by the Benedictine DENIS, *Le card. Richelieu et la réforme des monastères benedictins*, Paris, 1913, attempts to justify Richelieu against the accusation raised even by many Benedictines that the Cardinal was unscrupulous in his means and greedy for benefices. Against this one-sided view (*cf.* above, p. 405, note 1), PLATZHOFF rightly remarks in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXII., 631, that it is doubtful whether Denis's attempt is successful. "Certainly Richelieu's reforming tendencies arose not from purely egoistical motives, but from a just appreciation of the advantages that would accrue to Church and State . . . but he did not entirely forget his own person; he wished to stand at the head of the unity which he planned. Moreover the failure of his undertaking was not simply due to the intrigues of his opponents and the Curia as Denis makes out, but partly to the Cardinal himself. The same man who proceeded so sternly against abuses in the monasteries, acquired ever more and more benefices and abbeys for himself. This difference between theory and practice was bound to affect his work unfavourably." Denis gives on p. 465 *seq.*, the following summary of the *Abbayes de Monseigneur le Cardinal* (Bibl. Nat., *Recueil Cangé*, 66, *Inv. Réserve*, F. 22, f. 187) :—

L'abbaye de Redon	8,100	livres.
,, St. Pierre au mont	12,608	,,
,, Ham	10,750	,,
,, St. Riquier	10,000	,,
,, Nostre Dame de la Vaulleroy	17,395	,,
,, St.-Lucien de Beauvais	25,000	,,
,, la Chaise-Dieu	4,000	,,
,, Marmoustier	9,400	,,
,, Signy	15,000	,,
,, St.-Maixant	10,800	,,
,, St.-Arnoul de Mets	6,000	,,
,, St.-Benoist	18,000	,,
St.-Martin des Champs	36,050	,,
Le prieuré de Coussay	2,150	,,
L'abbaye de Cluny	29,400	,,
,, Citeaux	22,000	,,
,, Prémonstré	8,000	,,
La pension à prendre sur les cinq abbayes de la Congrégation de Chezal Benoist	30,000	,,
Total	274,653	livres.

progress of a Catholic reform was Richelieu's political Gallicanism.[1] Not the Church but the State stood first in his mind. The measures proposed by him for the removal of abuses were intended before all else to strengthen still further the already considerable meddling of the State and the Crown in the affairs of the Church.[2] If we compare the course of events in the Kingdom of Louis XIII. with that in the territories of the Catholic Princes in Germany, the Low Countries, or in the Kingdom of Poland, we perceive at once that in the latter States the Catholic reform was promoted by the various Governments in a very different fashion from that adopted in France.[3] The cardinal point was the execution of the reform decrees of Trent, which was opposed by the French Crown and the Parliaments because both feared that thereby limits would be put to their intrusion into ecclesiastical affairs.[4] The consequence was that these decrees were not universally accepted, but only in individual dioceses, as at Senlis by Cardinal de Rochefoucauld, and at Bordeaux by Cardinal Sourdis.[5] However, for this Richelieu was not alone to blame, because in course of time the opposition of the Parliaments found supporters even in the ranks of the French clergy. As late as the year 1625, at an assembly in Paris in which three Cardinals and fifty Bishops had taken part, the clergy had declared that they felt bound in conscience to accept and to carry through the decisions of the Council.[6]

[1] *Cf.* A. Zimmermann, *Die kathol. Reformation in Frankreich im* 17. *Jahrh.*, in *Wissenschaftl. Beilag zur "Germania"*, 1907, no. 17.

[2] See Mommsen, *Richelieu*, 87.

[3] G. Wolf has recently drawn attention to this point in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, 1925, 139.

[4] See Lodge, *Richelieu*, 185.

[5] *Cf.* Gabriel de la Rochefoucauld, *Le card. Fr. de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1926, 194 *seq.*

[6] See Charlas, *De libert. eccl. gall.*, I., 163. For the ecclesiastical Assembly of 1625, which greatly damaged its otherwise beneficial measures by its Gallican tendencies and especially by its decrees against the Regulars, see Picot, I., 190 *seq.*; Puyol, II., 217 *seq.*; Fouqueray, IV., 117 *seq.*

Such voices were no longer heard.[1] Those who cherished nationalist sentiments and opposed the influence of the Holy See as that of a foreign Power, found strong support in the autocratic minister, though a complete regeneration of ecclesiastical conditions was only possible if, in accordance with the desires of the Holy See, the decrees of Trent were accepted and applied. Rome was well aware of the fact that the Church in France was very wealthy,[2] but that she was still very sick, notwithstanding the movement of reform initiated in the days of Clement VIII. and Paul V.

The Instruction for the nuncio Spada in 1624 draws none too favourable a picture of religious conditions in France. Whilst fully recognizing that there was no lack of good Bishops and priests, the following abuses are mentioned: The scarcity of priests; the neglect of the duty of residence on the part of the more favoured parish priests and many Bishops; the bestowal of rich benefices on laymen, even on women and on heretics; the irregular life of country parish priests who were, for the most part, in receipt of wholly inadequate stipends; the decadence of many monasteries and their resistance to a reform such as had been undertaken with the Cluniac and Cistercian monks by that excellent man, Cardinal Rochefoucauld; lastly the Gallican tendencies of the Sorbonne and the various Parliaments. The only remedy, Urban VIII. insisted, was for France to accept and carry through the reform of Trent.[3]

[1] See V. Martin, *Le Gallicanisme et la réforme cathol.*, Paris, 1919, 392.

[2] *Cf.* Avenel, *Richelieu*, III., 279–293. According to a "*Journal*" of the Strassburg citizen *Elias Brackenhofer*, of 1644, the yearly income amounted in 1644 to 103,500,000 thalers; see *Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. du protestantisme français*, 1903, 254 *seq.*; the sum mentioned for 1635 in the *Basler Zeitschr. für Gesch.*, V., Basle, 1906, 453 *seq.*, is 104,700,000 écus.

[3] See Leman, *Instructions*, 24 *seq.* For Rochefoucauld's reform of the Benedictines, Cluniacs and Cistercians, see Denis, *Richelieu et la réforme des monastères benedictins*, 12 *seq.*; Féret, *L'abbaye de St.-Geneviève et la Congrégation de France*, I., Paris, 1883, 194 *seq.*, and G. de la Rochefoucauld, *Le card. Fr. de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1926.

The Pope, who had seen the beginnings of the Catholic restoration in France and had encouraged it during his French nunciature (1604–7), had the progress of that movement very much at heart. The Cardinal Secretary of State, Francesco Barberini, who had been in France in 1625 as Legate, had been able to see things with his own eyes, and there were other sources of information also. Accordingly, both he and the Pope, in all the Instructions to the Paris nuncios urge the removal of abuses by the same means as had been successfully employed in other Catholic countries. The execution of the Tridentine decrees heads the list. To Guido del Bagno, who succeeded Spada as nuncio, an Instruction of February, 1627, assigns as the guiding principle of his activity, the preservation and diffusion of the Catholic religion; this was Urban VIII.'s supreme and keenest desire.[1] The best way to satisfy it was to carry out a radical reform, and the most effective means of recalling those who had strayed from the faith was to put an end to the ignorance and bad conduct of the clergy. Whilst it was left to the King to fight the Huguenots, sword in hand, a task in which he displayed the utmost zeal, it was the duty of the Pope's representative to apply other methods, namely, the holding of missions and watchfulness over the enemy. Since the ignorance and evil life of the clergy had done so much harm to religion in France, it was necessary to begin by applying a remedy in that field. Henceforth only those were to be promoted to bishoprics and to the priesthood whose teaching was pure and whose conduct was irreproachable; hence the erection of clerical seminaries was a vital question for the Church in France. No less necessary was the enforcement of the duty of residence for Bishops and priests and the reform of the Orders. For all this the Instruction sets the greatest hopes not only on the genuinely Catholic sentiments of the King, but likewise on Richelieu whose proceedings, just then, against the

[1] "La conservatione della religione cattolica dove ella è, e la restitutione e propagatione dove non è, deve essere lo scopo principale del Sommo Pontefice, et è in effetto il supremo e più ardente di Papa Urbano VIII.," LEMAN, *Instructions*, 89.

Sorbonne, the University and the Parliament, on the occasion of the troubles provoked by Santorelli's inopportune book, had created a very favourable impression in Rome.[1] Even with regard to the application of the decrees of Trent, which is once more insisted upon as the chief remedy, the Instruction hopes for the co-operation of the all-powerful minister.[2] Notwithstanding the latter's opposition to the Holy See on numberless points, the Curia entertained for a long time great delusions about his character, delusions which the Cardinal skilfully encouraged.[3] That this was a fact may be gathered

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 293 *seqq.*

[2] See LEMAN, *Instructions*, 89 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*

[3] Thus in 1633 Richelieu called to order the learned but capricious Archbishop of Rouen, FRANÇOIS DE HARLAY, an opponent of the Regulars, who in his handbook, *De doctrina et disciplina ecclesiastica*, had eliminated everything that favoured Papal authority (*cf. Bull.*, XIV., 126 *seq.*) ; see AVENEL, *Lettres*, IV., 510 *seq.* ; FOUQUERAY, V., 69. At the time of Scotti's nunciature, the latter was obliged to intervene again. Scotti reports thus on the incident : *" L'arcivescovo di Rohano è prelato letterato e naturalmente devoto alla S^tà^ Sede, ma è sì vario nelle sue opinioni che ben spesso corre ad offendere la medesima in voce ed in scritto, senza riguardo del rispetto dovutole. Fece ultimamente dar alle stampe il Manuale o Rituale della sua diocesi, tutto riformato o piutosto deformato, per non haver voluto comprendere nel nuovo quello che nell'antico del card. di Gioiosa suo antecessore riguardava ai titoli supremi di Sua Santità levandoli, toccando alcuni articoli di fede et appropriando a se in molte cose l'autorità pontificia. Mandai a Roma l'istesso Rituale, quale essendo stato corretto, ho procurato col mezzo del vescovo di Lisieux tutto zelante, a cui anche fu commesso l'affare dal sig^r^ cardinale di Richelieu, acciò l'arcivescovo esseguisca l'emenda di tutti li capi inviatili conforme il senso della Sacra Congregazione et conforme la promessa fattami, procuri con nuova stampa di far apparire la stima verso la Sta Sede, non lasciando di dire concorrere l'istesso arcivescovo con altri molti vescovi di Francia in non poner nelle prefazioni 'Apostolica Sedis gratia,' ma solo 'Dei gratia' ; quello di Rohano aggiundendo 'Miserationc divina, de venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum consensu, pontificatus nostri anno 25°,' " etc., *Relatione*, 73 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

from the Instruction of 1634 for the new nuncio, Bolognetti. The latter was directed to warn France off her alliances with the Protestants of Germany, Sweden and Holland: he was to urge, among other reasons, that insistence on such a course would lead to a rising of the Huguenots. With due appreciation of the part which ambition played with Richelieu, Bolognetti was to represent to the Cardinal that if he were to carry into effect the Tridentine decrees, he would acquire infinite renown not alone in France, but throughout Christendom.[1] However, ever since the demon of politics had taken hold of him, Richelieu sought fame in the political rather than in the ecclesiastical sphere. Though he had at one time taken pride in the reform of his diocese and in his activities as a preacher and controversialist,[2] his main concern now was to raise France to the rank of the first Power in Europe. In view of the fact that he wielded unlimited authority in the realm, there can be no doubt that had he taken in hand the execution of the decrees of Trent, he would have succeeded, but to do so would have been against his political Gallicanism, his Cæsaro-papalism and his policy of furthering Protestantism abroad. Although his sense of order and the counsels of the Oratorians, Bérulle and Condren, caused him to promote a number of excellent men to episcopal sees, nevertheless with regard to the royal nominations to bishoprics, he looked not so much to the suitability of the candidates from the point of view of the Church as to whether they would be pliant tools of the Government.[3] Not a few of the younger sons of the nobility—which had in part sunk very low—whom the Crown provided with fat prebends, embraced the ecclesiastical state solely for the sake of a living, took no interest in their official duties and gave grave scandal.[4] Many French Bishops did

[1] LEMAN, *Instructions*, 174 *seq.*, 176.

[2] *Cf.* HANOTAUX, *Hist. du card. de Richelieu*, I.², Paris, 1896, 94 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*, 106 *seq.*

[3] See AVENEL, *Richelieu*, III., 239 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*, 331; MOMMSEN, *Richelieu*, 86. "Il s'est plus préoccupé du service de l'État que du bien de l'Église," is also MARIÉJOL's opinion (VI., 2, 377).

[4] AVENEL, *loc. cit.*

not comply with the obligations of reporting periodically to Rome on the state of their dioceses,[1] notwithstanding repeated warnings from the Congregation of the Council.[2] Not a few entertained Gallican and *episcopalistic* tendencies, with the consequence that the controversies which were not wanting in other countries as to the extent of episcopal power, grew both in extent and in force.[3] Those who bowed to the Government received preferment: in this way Léonor d'Estampes, Bishop of Chartres, became Archbishop of Reims in 1641.[4] From Court Bishops such as these the Church had nothing to hope for. How far things had gone is shown by the fact that some prelates of this type styled themselves no longer Bishops by the favour of the Holy See but by the Grace of God. The Archbishop of Rouen, François de Harley, went so far as to make use in official documents of formulas exclusively reserved to the Pope.[5] In 1639 Urban VIII. saw himself compelled to give a stern warning to several Archbishops and Bishops with regard to their conduct.[6] Things were even worse with regard to the appointment of Abbots and Abbesses. In this respect the evil proceeded chiefly from the Government which assigned the revenues to courtiers, statesmen and soldiers, so as to enable them to retrieve their shattered fortunes.[7] The rich revenues of the dioceses and abbeys of which the King had the disposal might easily have

[1] There are reports of *ad limina* visits of Bishops Donnaud of Mirepoix and Sponde of Pamiers; see *Vocations sacerdotales du Diocèse de Toulouse*, 1912. That besides these others were sent in is clear from LEMAN, *Instructions*, 73 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 185.

[3] G. WOLF, in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, 1925, 40, rightly draws attention to this fact. *Cf.* MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 381.

[4] Léonor d'Estampes, when charged by the Assembly of the clergy of 1625 with the draft of a censure on the *Admonitio ad regem* and the *Mysteria politica* (*cf.* above, p. 88 *seq.*) uttered "un hymne d'idolatrie monarchique"; see FAGNIEZ, II., 6.

[5] *Cf.* SCOTTI's account, above, p. 437, note 3.

[6] See *Bull.*, XIV., 697 *seq.*

[7] See AVENEL, *Richelieu*, III., 337 *seq.* *Cf.* also N. M. BERNARDIN, *Hommes et mœurs du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1900.

been applied to the endowment of great and small ecclesiastical seminaries had it not been for the fear of curtailing the income of the abbés who basked in the sunshine of Court favour.[1] Another and no less necessary reform seems never to have been considered at all. Among the 150 archbishoprics and bishoprics some were too extensive, embracing as they did as many as 1,700 parishes; others, on the contrary, were inordinately small; some of the latter consisted of only thirty parishes.[2] An adjustment was urgently needed, but things remained as they were. The same was true of the duty of residence; since the King made the nominations, only too many imagined that they had no obligations except to him.[3]

Happily there were a number of splendid men among the Bishops appointed during Richelieu's reign. Cardinal François de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and Alphonse Richelieu, Archbishop of Lyons [4] did excellent work in their dioceses; so did Charles de Montchal at Toulouse, Égide Bontault at Aire, Henri Listolfi at Bazas, Charles Leberon at Valence, François de Lafayette at Limoges, François de Raconis at Lavaur, Antoine Godeau at Grasse, Jacques Desclaux at Dax, Henri Maupas at Puy, Félix Violart at Châlons-sur-Marne, whilst the people revered as Saints Alain de Solminihac who became Bishop of Cahors in 1636, and Jean Baptiste Gault who almost immediately after his nomination to the see of Marseilles, died a victim of his pastoral zeal during a mission given by him to the galley slaves.[5] In his relation of 1641 the papal nuncio Scotti singles out for their special devotion to the

[1] See ZIMMERMANN, *loc. cit.*

[2] See AVENEL, *loc. cit.*, 242 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* PICOT, I., 232 *seq.* For the provincial Council of Bordeaux see LABBE, XV., 1632 *seq.*

[5] For all these see *Gallia christiana, passim. Cf.* PICOT, I., 236 *seq.*, and PRUNEL, *Réforme catholique*, 24. For Desclaux, see DEGERT, *Hist. des évêques de Dax*, Paris, 1903, 323 *seq.*; for A. de Solminihac, the biographies of CHASTONNET (1663) and A. DE VALLON (Cahors, 1900). The *Mémoires* of the Archbishops of Toulouse, CH. DE MONTCHAL, appeared in 1718, in 2 vols.

Holy See the Archbishop of Sens, Octave de Saint-Lary de Bellegarde, the Archbishop of Toulouse, Charles de Montchal, Philippe Cospeau, Augustin Potier and Nicholas Pauguin, respectively Bishops of Lisieux, Beauvais and Senlis. All these were in close relationship with Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld who, as Scotti puts it, though advanced in years, defended the interests of the Holy See with all the fire of youth.[1] After years of indefatigable toil at the difficult task of the reform of the old Orders, a task likewise greatly furthered by Urban VIII., Rochefoucauld devoted his last years almost exclusively to works of charity and piety.[2] The Bishops of Cahors, Limoges, Bazas, Aire, Périgueux and Saintes erected seminaries in their dioceses. Urban VIII., who in 1625 had reminded the French Bishops of the duty of residence,[3] inculcated in all the Bulls of canonical institution of newly appointed Bishops the obligation to erect seminaries in their dioceses.[4] However, the influence of the Pope was greatly restricted in a country whose Government jealously watched every intervention of the Holy See and where the

[1] See SCOTTI, **Relatione*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* LA MORINIÈRE, *Les vertus du vrai prélat représ. en l vie de Msgr. émin. card. de Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1646; LALEMANT-CHASTONNET, *La vie de Charles Faure*, Paris, 1698; J. DESBOIS, *Biographie du card. de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris (1924); FÉRET, *Le cardinal de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1878, and especially GABRIEL DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, *Le card. Fr. de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1926. Urban VIII. sent a laudatory *Brief to Rochefoucauld on February 11, 1640 (Quod Ecclesiae iura tueri consueveris, documentis iampridem novimus; and praises his zeal for the Apostolic See), *Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives. The Pope also arranged that Rochefoucauld should visit the Trinitarians in France; see *Serapeum*, 1870, 115. For the reform of the Benedictines in Limoges ordered by Urban VIII., see *Bull.*, XIV., 345 *seq.*, *ibid.* 534 *seq.*, 639 *seq.*, for the reform of the Recollets, and XV., 172 *seq.*, for the reform of the Franciscans Observants.

[3] See the *Brief of April 5, 1625, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See DEGERT, *Hist. des Séminaires français*, I., 193.

Parliaments maintained a hostile attitude towards all that came from Rome.[1] In these circumstances we must look upon it as a particularly gracious disposition of Providence that at that very time a number of men arose whose highest aim was the reawakening of the religious spirit, more especially in the ranks of the clergy.

In this connection mention must be made in the first place of Pierre de Bérulle. On January 14th, 1625, Urban VIII. granted to the French Oratory founded by this remarkable man the privileges of the Oratory of Philip Neri.[2] In August, 1625, he raised Bérulle to the cardinalate. By the end of 1628 Bérulle had been made President of the Council of State; a little later, at the instigation of Richelieu, whose jealousy had been roused, he was to have been sent as ambassador to Rome, but his mission was prevented by his sudden death on October 2nd, 1629.[3] He was succeeded as Superior General of the Oratory by the excellent Charles de Condren,[4] and later on by Bourgoing. In 1629 the Oratory numbered forty-three houses,[5] and seventy-one in 1631.[6] From the first, one of the Congregation's main purposes was to work for the reform of the clergy. The Bishops of Luçon, Macon and Langres entrusted their seminaries to them. In 1620 the Archbishop of Paris, Henri de Gondi, handed over to them the ancient Benedictine Abbey of Saint Magloire which was turned into a seminary.[7] Bourgoing made it a *Grand-Seminaire*, and Richelieu, justly appreciating the usefulness of an institution of this kind,

[1] See MOURRET, *Ancien régime*, 111.

[2] See *Bull.*, XIII., 273 *seq.*

[3] See HOUSSAYE, *M. de Bérulle* (1875). *Cf.* LARGENT in *La France chrétienne*, 382 *seq.* For the attitude of the Oratory towards the erection of seminaries, so often wrongly interpreted, see DEGERT, I., 134 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* AMELOTTE, *Vie du P. de Condren* (1857); INGOLD, *Généralats du card. de Bérulle et du P. de Condren*, Paris, 1880. See also LARGENT, *loc. cit.*, 384 *seq.*

[5] See DEGERT, I., 137; GOYAU, *Hist. relig.*, 407.

[6] See PERRAUD, 169.

[7] See PRUNEL, *Réforme catholique*, 54 *seq.*

gave him 3,000 thalers to enable him to receive candidates gratuitously and ordered the erection of similar seminaries at Rouen and Toulouse.[1] Gondi's example was quickly followed and by 1660 even the smallest dioceses had their own seminaries.[2] On the other hand Bourgoing's scheme for the erection of a French Seminary in Rome was only realized two centuries later.[3]

Besides Bérulle and his successors there arose yet another great priest and reformer of the French clergy whose fiery zeal was such that his contemporaries compared him to Elias and John the Baptist. This was Adrien Bourdoise.[4] "There is only one remedy to the evils of the Church," he was wont to say, "and that is the erection of seminaries. It is the noviciate that makes the good Capuchin or Jesuit." With all his eagerness for an improvement in the state of the clergy, Bourdoise was anxious not to encroach on the prerogatives of the Bishops; hence he was content with the establishment, in his parish of St. Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, of an institution for the training of good parish priests. This very original foundation proved a substantial contribution towards raising the condition of the lower clergy.[5] The famous Vincent de Paul pursued similar aims; on February 3rd, 1641, he expressed his satisfaction at the fact that all the Bishops were now keen on having each his own seminary.[6] With the aid of two friends, Jean Jacques Olier, one of his disciples and an intimate of Condren and Bourdoise, founded in 1642, at Vaugirard, a seminary for the purpose of assuring a constant supply of good priests, and when he took charge of the difficult parish of St. Sulpice in

[1] See PRUNEL, in the *Etudes*, 1909, and *Réforme catholique*, 55 *seq.* *Cf.* DEGERT, I., 174 *seq.*

[2] See DEGERT, I., 194 *seq.*

[3] See PRUNEL, *Réforme catholique*, 57 *seq.*

[4] See DESCOUREAUX, *Vie de M. de Bourdoise* (1714); DARCHE, *Le saint abbé Bourdoise*, 2 vols. new ed., Paris, 1884.

[5] See M. SCHOENHER, *Hist. du Séminaire de St.-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet* (1909); DEGERT, I., 138, and PRUNEL, *Réforme catholique*, 59 *seq.*

[6] See *Rev. de Gascogne*, 1909, 322.

Paris, Olier transferred his establishment thither. There this splendid priest founded a Congregation of secular priests called *Sulpicians,* whose chief work was to be the direction of ecclesiastical seminaries. By this means the Sulpicians exercised so profound a reforming activity among the French clergy that at a later date Fénelon declared that there was nothing so apostolic and so venerable as St. Sulpice.[1]

Like Olier, Jean Eudes, a worthy colleague of the former, was also a pupil of the Jesuits. A member of the Oratory from 1625 to 1643 Eudes, who had done untold good as a preacher in Normandy, conceived the plan of a Congregation of secular priests whose task it would be to preach popular missions and to manage seminaries. He had the good fortune of finding a patron for his enterprise in the person of Richelieu himself, who through his niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon, put a considerable sum of money at his disposal.[2] On Lady-Day, 1643, the "Association of the Priests of the Seminary of Jesus and Mary" came into being at Caen. Better known under the name of "The Eudists", it spread rapidly in Brittany and Normandy. Eudes also erected at Caen a house of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd for the conversion of fallen girls.[3]

The names of Bérulle, Bourdoise, Olier and Eudes live in the annals of the Church. Like Eudes, the saintly parish priest of Mattaincourt, Pierre Fourier, who died in 1640, has also received the honours of the altar. The Congregation of Our Saviour which he founded and which Urban VIII.

[1] *Cf.* the biographies by Giry (Paris, 1677), Faillon (3 vols., 4th ed., Paris, 1874), G. M. de Fruges (Paris, 1904 and 1908), Letourneau (Paris, 1906), Monier (Paris, 1914). See also F. Monier, *Les origines du Séminaire de St.-Sulpice,* Limoges, 1906. For the support granted to Olier by the General of the Maurists, see Fr. Rousseau, *Dom Grégoire Tarisse, premier supérieur général de la Congrégation de St.-Maur* (1575–1648), Lille, 1926.

[2] See the biographies of Eudes by J. Martine (2 vols., Caen, 1880, Pinas (Paris, 1901), Boulay (3 vols., Paris, 1905 *seq.*), and Joly (Paris, 1909).

[3] See Prunel, *Réforme catholique,* 71 *seq.* *Cf.* G. Bonnenfant, *Les Séminaires normands du XVIe au XVIIe siècle,* Caen, 1915.

approved in August, 1628,[1] was mainly devoted to the education of youth. Recent research has also brought to light the activities of other secular priests of that period who worked in the same apostolic spirit in the sphere of the home mission.[2] Some of them have been the subjects of special monographs, as, for instance, the noble Claude Bernard, surnamed "the poor priest", who spent the whole of his considerable property in Paris in the care of the sick and the poor and in apostolic labours, especially on behalf of criminals.[3] He declines the offer of a rich abbey made to him by Richelieu, giving as his reason that he looked for his reward in heaven alone.[4]

The new Orders also had a salutary influence on the pastoral clergy, though they did not confine their activity within that sphere. The Jesuits and the Capuchins especially played an important part in the religious renewal of town and country.[5]

Apart from their work for the education of youth, the sons of St. Ignatius were likewise busy as preachers, directors of missions, retreats and confraternities, as well as writers. Many of their preachers, such as Coton, Garasse, Suffren, Lejeune, Arnoux, De Barry, Nicolas Caussin, won high reputation and achieved splendid successes.[6] Among their literary men, there were two scholars of the first rank, viz. the Church historian, Jacques Sirmond and the chronologist and theologian, Denis

[1] See HEIMBUCHER, I.², 47 *seq.*; LAGER, *Der sel. P. Fourier*, Regensburg, 1884; KREUSCH, *Leben des hl. P. Fourier*², Steyl, 1889. *Cf.* our account, Vols. XXIII., 184, and XXVI., 56.

[2] See GRANDET, *Les saints prêtres français du XVIIe siècle*, p.p. Letourneau, 2 vols., Paris, 1897.

[3] See the biographies of LEGAUFFRE (Paris, 1680), LEMPEREUR (Riom, 1834) and DE BROQUA (Paris, 1914).

[4] See LEGAUFFRE, *Vie de Claude Bernard*, 177.

[5] The Barnarbites, who had founded a house at Annecy in 1602, did so also at Vienne in 1625, 1627 at Puy, and 1637 in Paris; see PREMOLI, *Barnabiti nel seicento*, Roma, 1922.

[6] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 257 *seq.*, V., 256 *seq.*

Petavius [Petau].[1] The Jesuits devoted themselves with special zeal to giving missions when, after the defeat of the Huguenots of southern France by Louis XIII., Catholic worship was restored in those parts. Their zeal was crowned with remarkable successes: thus in 1625, in the small town of Aubenas, 150 families abjured Calvinism within the space of one month.[2] At that time the ravages of the plague were frequent, and the Jesuits showed the greatest zeal in tending its victims, displaying heroic self-sacrifice in the task. A great number of them gave their own lives; in the Province of Lyons the number of these martyrs amounted to eighty in the years 1628–1630.[3] The Jesuit Francis Regis who, from 1630 until his death in 1640, especially devoted his talent as a popular preacher and teacher to the catechizing of the poor countryfolk of Languedoc where he was revered as a Saint even in his lifetime, died a victim not so much of the plague as of his apostolic zeal.[4]

The extraordinary blessings which flowed from the popular missions of the Jesuits induced Richelieu in 1638 to request the King to extend them to the whole of France.[5] In other ways also the Cardinal repeatedly played the rôle of a patron of the Society of Jesus after he had succeeded in humbling the powerful Order,[6] but in order to retain that favour the Fathers had to take so many precautions that they found

[1] *Cf.* HURTER, III.[3], 1073 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, IV., 266 *seq.* For Petavius see the biographies by STANONIK (1876) and CHATELLAIN (Paris, 1884).

[2] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 259 *seq.*, 265; V., 262 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 277 *seq.*; V., 272 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the monographs by BONET (Toulouse, 1692), DAUBENTON (Paris, 1716), CROS (Paris, 1903), VIANEY (Paris, 1914), and NACHBAUR (Freiburg, 1924).

[5] See FOUQUERAY, V., 264.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 391 *seq.* The protection came to an end when the Cardinal's own interests were at stake. Thus as Abbot of Clugny, he protested when the Jesuits of the Palatinate attempted to have an Alsacian Priory turned into a seminary; see *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., X., 635.

themselves repeatedly in an equivocal position. In his reports the nuncio Scotti complains bitterly of the fact that the Paris Jesuits, for fear of rousing the ill-will of the royal minister, did not at first dare to call on him. This created all the more surprise as the members of other Orders, such as the Oratorians Bertini and Morini, established close contact with the nuncio, and even in the Sorbonne men like Isambert, Hallier, Le Maistre, Martineau and Robert Duval, a nephew of André Duval, rose in defence of the prerogatives of the Pope.[1] Scotti notes with bitterness that the Jesuits, who had been at one time the keenest defenders of the papal prerogatives, were now pushing them into the background, so that they were put to shame by many members of the Sorbonne. He expresses his satisfaction that besides the work on the Gallican liberties, Rome had also put on the Index certain books written by Jesuits, for this would bring them to a sense of their duty. Finally he expresses the opinion that it was desirable that the General of the Jesuits should reserve to himself the revision of the books written by the Fathers instead of leaving that task to the French Provincial Superiors.[2]

[1] See Scotti, **Relatione*, 101, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *" Di Gésuiti non ne parlo, professando total ritiratezza, dubiosi sempre, nell'accostarsi al Nuntio, di non perdere appresso i ministri regii. Il Padre Pegioletti non ha però guardato a questo, comparendo ben spesso, e fine ha anco indotto il Provinciale e Rettore di Parigi a visitarmi : ossequio mostrato da tutti gl'altri religiosi sin'al mio arrivo, etc.," *Relatione, loc. cit.*, 101.

Ibid., 71 *seq.* : " È molto necessario al Nuntio invigilar sopra la materia di controversie, che ogni giorno escono in stampa con grave pregiuditio dell'autorità pontificia, essendo arrivato il scriver a segno che s'ha per una cosa ordinaria.

" I Geisuiti, che dovrebbero essere, come altre volte, i difensori della Santa Sede, più degli altri la pongono in compromesso, ma con non poca confusione venendo a soggiacere alla censura dei Sorbonisti, per mostrarsi questi presentemente partialissimi della medesima, e però se ne deve far molto conto.

" Ha grandemente giovato appresso tutti i buoni e zelanti la risolutione presasi a Roma di prohibire fra l'altre opere quelle

The participation of the Jesuit François Veron in Richelieu's plans of reunion [1] had led to a conflict at the very outset of Scotti's nunciature, in which, however, the latter proved victorious. He succeeded in getting Veron's book prohibited by the Roman Inquisition and a stop put to his controversial sermons in Paris which were attended by many Huguenots. When the followers of Veron approached the nuncio with a request for permission to read forbidden books most of them met with a refusal. It was necessary to keep a sharp eye on Veron, the nuncio declared, owing to his being a man of violent character and indiscreet zeal.[2]

However, Scotti himself cannot be absolved from a suspicion of partiality, for his reports contain never a word about the activity of the Jesuits in the home and foreign missions, whilst he is loud in the praise of whatever the Capuchins accomplished

della libertà della Chiesa gallicana e d'alcuni de' Giesuiti che da qui innanti meglio penseranno a quello che più li compla, et potendo il loro Generale tirare a sè la facoltà data per la revisione alli Provinciali di Francia, riuscirebbe proficuo et di contentamento alla maggiore parte de'Giesuiti francesi."

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 424.

[2] *" Un tal dottor Verone, uscito dalla Compagnia di Giesù, fa professione di voler riunir li seguaci della religione pretesa riformata con la Chiesa cattolica. Al mio arrivo trovai che trattava di continuo la riduttione con gran concorso di Ugonotti, et haveva impresso un libro intitolato 'Il mezzo della pace cristiana'. Procurai subito dalla S. Congregatione del Santo Officio la prohibitione dell'opera stampata, essequendo io quella delle prediche con gran soddisfattione della Sorbona, come quella ch'indusse l'arcivescovo a levarli il pulpito in Parigi; et perciò si è ritirato in San Germano come abbatia esente, ove hora continua a predicare, ma non più di simil materia, almeno in publico. Sarà però bene l'attendervi, essendo persona vehemente e piena di zelo indiscreto; anzi voleva da me per una quantità de'suoi scolari licenza di legger i libri prohibiti, che egli fu negata, e concessa solo a sè et ad alcuni altri dottori, secondo il solito." Scotti, **Relatione*, 72 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* Reusch (*Index*, II., 361) names yet another work of Veron which was forbidden in 1642.

in that field.[1] Richelieu had successfully drawn that Order also into his net, and Father Joseph was not the only Capuchin whom the Cardinal used for his political ends. The Capuchins took no part in the discussion of the delicate and capital question of the papal power, just as, on the whole, they did not indulge in literary work ; their field of action was the cure of souls, especially among the lower classes, and in that sphere they did excellent work. A profound impression was created when certain highly placed personages, such as the diplomatist Brulart de Sillery, left the world to take the habit of St. Francis, as the brother of Cardinal Joyeuse and the Councillor of State Charles Brochart de Champigny (d. 1624) had done at a previous period. The latter had been revered as a Saint under the name of Fr. Honoré.[2] Perhaps even greater admiration was called forth by the heroic charity displayed by the Capuchins during the terrible days of the plague, as in the years 1630–8 at Langres, Dijon, Chaumont, Bordeaux and Paris, where many of them fell victims to their devotion. At Gap seven Capuchins died out of ten who devoted themselves to the service of the plague-stricken,[3] and in Franche-Comté, in 1636, more than eighty out of a total of 180 Fathers, as we learn from a Bull of Urban VIII.[4] The Province of Lyons had to register similar sacrifices during those years.[5] Great things are likewise reported of the activities of the Capuchins in the sphere of the home mission and the evangelization of the Huguenots. Whilst Fr. Marcellin preached in

[1] *" Non vi è parte del mondo che non goda del frutto delle missioni dei PP. Capuccini francesi. . . . In varie provincie di Francia sono pur missioni anco d'altri ordini, ma quelle de' Capuccini avanzano nel credito e profitto." *Relatione, loc. cit.*

[2] See PRUNEL, *Réforme catholique*, 86. *Cf.* MAZELIN, *Hist. du vén. P. Honoré*, Paris, 1892.

[3] See PRUNEL, 86 *seq.*, 190.

[4] See MOREY, *Les Capucins en Franche-Comté*, 82.

[5] See **Brevis enarratio luctuosi status provinciae Lugdunensis. fr. minor. Capucin. in immani pestilentia* (Report of the Lyons Definitor Michel Ange of September 9, 1636, to the General of the Order), MS. 906 of the Town Library, Lyons.

Dauphiné and Fr. Honoré in Champagne, other members of the Order were busy in Languedoc and the Cevennes. At Barjac, where there were but a dozen Catholics in 1623, only twelve Protestants remained in 1630. At Florac the Capuchins converted over 1,000 Huguenots.[1] In this field special zeal was displayed by the famous Fr. Joseph, that strange man who had a finger in everything, the "Grey Eminence" on whom Richelieu bestowed his dangerous friendship and whom he initiated into his most secret designs. The two men, though so fundamentally different, were at one in their passionate efforts for the political greatness of France, an aim they pursued regardless of the fact that it implied an alliance with the Protestants and the arrest of the progress of the Catholic restoration in Germany. The Cardinal used by preference the versatile Capuchin as his intermediary in the most delicate and most secret affairs. It is difficult to understand the unscrupulousness with which Fr. Joseph co-operated with the great realist politician in his efforts to bring about the collapse of the Habsburgs. He sincerely believed—or, may be, he deceived himself—in the possibility of realizing his old plan of a crusade, once Spain should be defeated. The extent of the blindness of this bitter foe of the Huguenots and the Mohammedans is revealed by the fact that in his fight against the Habsburgs he welcomed an attack on Austria by the Calvinist Rákóczy and even by the Turks themselves.[2] Rarely have two such diverse characters been combined in one man, the statesman and the priest.

Fr. Joseph took advantage of his political influence to further, on a magnificent scale, both the foreign missions[3] and the diffusion of his Order.[4] In the midst of his diplomatic

[1] See PRUNEL, 190.

[2] *Cf.* W. ANDREAS, *Geist und Staat. Hist. Porträts*, 62 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 72, 78. Among the various character sketches of the "Grey Eminence" those by Andreas are the truest.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., ch. 3.

[4] See FAGNIEZ, I., 288 *seq.*; PRUNEL, 189. *Cf.* DESCOUVRES, *Le P. Joseph . . . ses charges, ses prédications de* 1604–1613, Angers, 1915. The Capuchins had three houses in Paris. At Gondrieu

cares he composed some excellent spiritual books for the convent of the Daughters of Calvary founded by him. From 1617 onwards, to the Pope's great satisfaction and with his financial assistance, he organized the work of evangelizing western France where splendid results were obtained. Notwithstanding the hostility which they met with in those wholly Protestant districts, the Capuchins succeeded in bringing back to the Church 50,000 Huguenots within a period of ten years.[1]

Catholic laymen also, such as Jean Dubois, a royal attorney at Saint-Lô, exerted themselves on behalf of the conversion of the Huguenots. Dubois was one of the many laymen in important positions who, like Michel de Marillac, René Gautier, Denis de Cordes and Baron Renty were indefatigable in the practice of works of piety and charity.[2]

In Fr. Lejeune the Oratory produced a distinguished missionary who from the first three decades of the century onwards devoted himself before all else to the task of converting sinners and easing the lot of the destitute. He entered on his work in the diocese of Langres, extending it later to that of Rouen where, at the age of forty, he suddenly lost his sight whilst in the pulpit ; but though blind, he went on with his work until 1672 when God called him to Himself at the age of eighty. In Advent and Lent Lejeune preached in the big towns such as Paris, Rouen, Toulouse, Metz and Orange, whilst during the rest of the year he announced the word of God in the boroughs and villages. He likewise worked in many

they established themselves in 1627–8 ; see *Rev. de Gascogne*, 1905, no. 4. In the diocese of Metz they made foundations at Diedenhofen in 1624 and at Saarburg in 1629 ; see **Notice hist. des couvents que les PP. Capucins ont dans la ville et diocèse de Metz, Cod.* 74, p. 219, of the Municipal Library, Metz.

[1] See FAGNIEZ, I., 288 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* *Cf.* LEMAN, *Instructions*, 72 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*, 171.

[2] *Cf.* PICOT, I., 344 *seq.* ; SAINT-JURE, *Vie de M. de Renty*, Paris, 1664. For the history of the Third Order of St. Francis, established by Dubois, see H. GUILLOT, *Les Pères pénitents à St.-Lô* 1630–1691 *d'après des documents inédits*, St.-Lô, 1914.

episcopal cities ; thus at Limoges, Langres and Cahors he lent support to the reforming activities of the Bishops of those places. Like Francis Régis, Lejeune devoted himself for choice to the poor and the unlearned, taught the catechism, and visited the aged and the sick who were no longer able to go to church. Contemporary accounts of the conversions wrought by the blind Father, and the enthusiasm of his hearers, who on occasion would not let him go or brought him back by force, remind us of the great preachers of penance of the 15th century.[1]

In his sermons Lejeune pitilessly scourged the vices of his time: the luxury of the towns, the exaggeration and the unseemliness of women's fashions, the affected elegance of the men, the effeminacy of youths. To the clergy also he spoke some bitter truths. The fact that many clerics, when punished by their Bishops, appealed to the secular authorities, that is, to the Parliaments, he stigmatized as an intolerable tyranny for the Church and an abiding scandal to the faithful. To parish priests who neglected their duty of residence he said: "Though you may discover casuists by whose 'mild' opinion you form your consciences, those who dispense where God commands will not be able to protect you on the day of judgment." Lejeune put his finger on a fundamental evil of the period when he condemned the abuse which consisted in leaving the whole of an estate to the eldest son to enable him to keep up a splendid establishment, whilst the younger sons were made to enter a monastery or to become priests. To those who acted thus, he was wont to say, these words of the prophet could be applied: "They have sacrificed their sons and daughters to the devil!"—"In the first place, in order to create a great house, you give everything to your eldest, so that he may spend his days in luxury, dissipation, idleness and dissoluteness; he will lead an effeminate existence because he will never know by experience what effort the acquisition of his wealth has cost. Secondly, his brothers murmur against him, envy him, are full of aversion for him,

[1] See Renoux, *Le Père Lejeune*, Paris, 1875. *Cf. Katholik*, 1875, II., 599 *seq.*, and Goyau, *Hist. relig.*, 412.

quarrel with him, bring lawsuits against him, and all too often they effect their mutual ruin. Thirdly, you force your younger son into the house of God, be it through the door or the window ; you compel him to become a priest. What appalling blindness ! What awful oppression of Holy Church ! "

The secret of the charm of Lejeune's preaching was its simplicity. Eschewing all the arts of rhetoric, especially that of quoting from profane literature, which was a very popular trick just then, he expounded the truths of religion and the duties of a Christian life after the manner of a simple country priest.[1] But the extraordinary impression which he created was due above all to the power of his own personality which embodied all the virtues. Like Francis Régis he presents, as it were, the ideal of a mission preacher.[2]

The work of these men, in conjunction with that of such Bishops as were themselves keen on reform, bore abundant fruit. In the fair lands of the Seine, the Loire and the Rhône, so richly blessed by nature, a marked change took place in ecclesiastical and religious conditions. It became increasingly clear that the French people meant to remain Catholic. In France also the Church had come out of the tremendous struggle with heresy with renewed strength and greater vigour than ever. The characteristic feature of the new period was a tendency towards a practical form of spirituality.[3] There was a desire to form real Christians, and it was largely realized. The clergy were renewed, the upper classes were regained and the lower ones christianized by means of instructions, missions and confraternities. A new generation grew up, filled with the spirit of a St. Francis de Sales and men like him. This truly Catholic renascence [4] found expression in a keen desire to spread Christianity both in missionary countries and at home

[1] See Rébelliau, *La chaire chrétienne au XVIIe siècle*, in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1896, 435 *seq.*

[2] See Prunel, 187.

[3] *Cf.* Avenel, *Prêtres, soldats et juges sous Richelieu*, Paris, 1907, 93 ; Degert, *Hist. des Séminaires*, I., 131 *seq.*

[4] " C'est une véritable renaissance," says Lavisse (*Hist. de France*, VI., 2, 203–4).

by the erection of new churches, charitable institutions and monasteries. In this respect Paris, which had long ago become the real centre of France, set a splendid example. From the Rue Neuve de St. Honoré to the Porte St. Antoine, and in the district on the right bank of the Seine, an eye-witness writes in 1639, eighteen convents were built within a period of thirty years; seven in the Faubourg St. Jacques and eleven in the Faubourg St. Germain-des-Prés within the last twenty-seven years. As regards the erection of new churches, it was reckoned that sixteen had been built within half a century.[1] On December 8th, 1629, as a marble tablet testifies to this day, Louis XIII. himself laid the foundation stone of the most famous of these edifices, that of Notre Dame des Victoires, erected in thanksgiving for the defeat of the Huguenots.[2]

But the most important thing was always the internal renewal which could not fail to impress even the opponents. What was lacking in a degenerate clergy at the time of the outbreak of the religious divisions was now shown forth by a priesthood cleansed by the Catholic reform, namely, a worthy carrying out of the liturgy and a conscientious priesthood to which the faithful could look for guidance and consolation. These priests provided something very different from what was offered by the hard and pretentious Calvinist preachers to whose fury against everything Catholic the mutilated statues of many a magnificent church bear witness to this day. Protestantism had never really appealed to the French,[3] a fact which explains the sweeping successes of the Capuchins and Jesuits in whose missionary activities a number of Bishops also took part. Of Henry Sponde it used to be said that whereas his episcopal

[1] See H. Lemonier, *L'art français au temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*, Paris, 1893, 222. Further details on the different churches in E. Duplessy, *Paris religieux*, Paris, 1900, 21 *seq.*, 40, 45, 59, 67, 92, 219, 238, 338, 349, 354. *Cf.* also Briggs, *Barock-Architektur* (1914), 167 *seq.*

[2] See Piganiol de la Force, *Description de Paris*, II., 517, 519.

[3] See Weiss, *L'antipathie de la France contre le Protestantisme*, in *Bull. hist. et litt.*, 1900, II., 91 *seq.*

city was Protestant when he entered upon his office in 1634, he had almost completely brought it back to the Church when he resigned it in 1643 in order to devote himself wholly to study. Jean Henri de Salette, who became Bishop of Lescar in 1643, did much good by means of his controversial writings. Jean Jaubert de Barrault, who in 1630 was translated from Bazas to the archiepiscopal see of Arles, took a similar line of action. The Bishops of Montpellier and Mirepoix worked with success for the return of the Calvinists to the Church.[1] Rome was on the watch that no unlawful concessions were made, such as Richelieu and his collaborator Veron were only too disposed to grant.[2] On the other hand Urban VIII. willingly gave his approval to the Congregation of the Holy Cross for the conversion of heretics.[3] Laudatory Briefs were sent to several distinguished personages, such as Maximilien de Béthune, a son of Henry IV.'s famous minister, to Duke Henri de la Trémoïlle and to Frédéric Maurice de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon, who had returned to the bosom of the Church.[4]

An Association formed in 1630 in honour of the Blessed Sacrament (*Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*) adopted for its object, not only the conversion of the Huguenots, but likewise the spiritual training and moral uplifting of the lower classes and the relief of the poor. The instigators of the idea were Duke Henri de Ventadour and the Capuchin Philippe d'Angoumois. The Association counted among its first members the King's confessor, the Jesuit Suffren, the General of the Oratorians, Condren, Bishops Charles de Noailles of Saint-Flour and Jean Jaubert de Barrault of Bazas ; likewise

[1] See Picot, I., 194 *seq.*, 196.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 428.

[3] **Bull.* "Licet omnia" of June 3, 1624, State Archives, Paris, L., 357.

[4] See the *Briefs to Béthune of April 27, 1624, to De la Trémouïlle of September 30, 1628, and to the Duke of Bouillon, of July 20, 1635, *Epist.*, I[b], VI. and XII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, XIII., a *Brief to the convert *Io. Em. de Vieux, marchio Asserae*, of March 22, 1636. For numerous other converts see Picot, I., 200 *seq.*, and Räss, *Konvertiten, passim.*

a son and nephew of Admiral Coligny, victim of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, who had both become fervent Catholics, as well as many distinguished State officials. The members met at first in the Capuchin convent in the Faubourg St. Honoré every Thursday, this being the day on which the Church honours the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Starting from the sound principle that a genuine reform must begin at home, the associates prepared themselves for their respective tasks by prayer and holy reading. These tasks consisted, besides the propagation of devotion to the Holy Eucharist, in relieving every form of social and spiritual misery. It may be asked why it was that an association with such excellent aims should have been so anxious to hide its existence, its name, its connexions, its activity, so that only the most recent examination of archives has successfully brought to light its existence and work.[1] The chief reason was obviously the fact that by carrying out their programme, which was the removal of abuses in

[1] The Jesuit Ch. Clair drew attention in several articles published in the *Études* of 1888 and 1889 to the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrément*, but the Association only became widely known when the Benedictine Dom Beauchet-Filleau discovered the *Annales de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement par le comte Marc-René de Voyer d'Argenson* in the National Library, *Fonds. franç.*, 14489, and published them at Marseilles in 1900. F. Raabe (*Rev. hist.*, LXXI. (1899), 243 *seq.*) wrongly attributed the rediscovery of the Company to himself which he described in a bitterly anti-Catholic manner. Chérot (*Études*, 1899) refuted him and demonstrated his great ignorance since Rabbe did not even recognize the name of St. Vincent de Paul and turned the famous Jesuit de Rhodes into Rodin. A collaborator of "*Siècle*", R. Allier, also dealt with the Company in a hostile and passionate tone in his book, *La Cabale des Dévots* (Paris, 1902). *Cf.* against these De la Brière, *Ce que fut la Cabale des Dévots*, 1630–1660, Paris, 1906. A thorough investigation was made by A. Rébelliau (*Un épisode de l'hist. rélig. du XVIIe siècle. La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement et la contre-revolution catholique* in the *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 1903, July, August and September), and Prunel (*Réforme catholique*, 143 *seq.*) where the monographs are discussed).

Church and State, the associates were bound to draw on themselves the mortal hatred of those who benefited by these abuses. "Experience has shown," so we read in the annals of the Society, "that salutary undertakings come to grief when they attract undue attention." None the less Richelieu and Louis XIII. were informed of the foundation and they gave their approval on condition that they should receive an occasional report on its activities. The King recommended the Society to the Archbishop of Paris, Henri de Gondi. The latter, however, owing to excessive jealousy of his authority adopted a hostile attitude towards an Association which consisted for the most part of laymen and which, though instigated and in part founded by a Capuchin, a Jesuit and an Oratorian, excluded religious from membership because of their dependence on their superiors. Thereupon recourse was had to the nuncio and eventually to the Pope himself, who readily granted a Brief together with Indulgences such as had been granted to other confraternities, but both he and his successors refused to give an official approbation. In this instance also the Holy See remained true to its principle not to recognize any secret society.[1] Such an attitude was exceedingly prudent for to what attacks would not a Society have been exposed if, in a country where nationalist feeling was so strong, it could have been represented as the tool of a foreign Power!

Thus, although the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* lacked juridical recognition both by the Church and the State, the fearful ones could always be calmed with the assurance that the persons who mattered, namely, Richelieu and the King, knew all about it. As a matter of fact the Society spread rapidly throughout France. There were branches in all the big towns and in many of the smaller ones, but the Association of Paris always remained the centre. The élite of French Catholicism met there; Bishops eager for a reform, such as Alain de Solminihac of Cahors, Potier of Beauvais, Lafayette of Limoges, Godeau of Vence, Zamet of Langres; laymen in high positions at Court or in the diplomatic service;

[1] *Cf.* J. Croulbois, in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rélig.*, IX. (1904), 401 *seq.*, 519 *seq.*

distinguished priests, among them Olier and Vincent de Paul. The scope of the Association, that of creating a centre for every kind of work of benevolence, was fully explained in a circular of a later date: it was "to do all the good possible, and to remove every evil at all times, in all places, and for the sake of all men. The Society recognizes no limits, no measures, no restrictions except such as are demanded by prudence and discretion. It co-operates not only in the usual works on behalf of the poor, the sick, the prisoners and the oppressed, but likewise in missions to the people, the erection of seminaries, the conversion of heretics, the diffusion of the faith throughout the world. It seeks to prevent all scandals, impieties and blasphemies, in a word, to forestall all evils by the application of suitable precautions and to promote the good of each and all by undertaking the most laborious tasks". There can be no doubt that in the pursuit of this vast and indeed far too comprehensive programme, the Society did an immense amount of good and raised large sums of money for the relief of the destitute French people, until in 1660 it fell a victim to Mazarin's prohibition of all associations not approved by the State. However, it is not to be denied that in their zeal, its members often went too far, and that at times they adopted mistaken methods. Their greatest mistake was undoubtedly the pretence of mystery. For all that, the Association cannot be ranked with freemasonry since it differs fundamentally from that secret society both by the supernatural spirit that animated it and by its scope, viz. the salvation of souls and the exaltation of the Catholic religion. As a first attempt at organizing and giving a uniform direction to all charitable activities and the work of the home and foreign missions, the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* deserves high recognition.[1]

The most recent research has shown the existence of some *Compagnies de Dames du Saint-Sacrement.*[2] This need not

[1] See PRUNEL, 170 *seq.*, 178 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Rev. de l'hist. de l'église de France*, II. (1911), 369.

[2] See the essays of PRUNEL in the *Rev. pratique d'Apologétique* of January 15, 1911, and in the *Rev. de l'hist. de l'église de France* of July 25, 1911. *Cf.* also by same author, *Réforme catholique*, 154 *seq.*

surprise us for at that time the Catholic women of France eagerly took part in the work of rousing and furthering the Catholic spirit. At no other time, perhaps, could France point to so many noble women who, in the midst of a frivolous and self-indulgent society,[1] were themselves patterns of Christian piety and charity and worked with unexampled zeal and success for the regeneration of the spiritual life. To more than one of their number the Church has awarded the honours of her altars. Of Madame Acarie, known as Blessed Mary of the Incarnation, who shared with Bérulle the credit of introducing the Carmelites into France, and of Frances de Chantal, who at the prompting of St. Francis de Sales founded the Order of the Visitation, we have already spoken.[2] Numberless other women, in part belonging to the highest classes, form a worthy escort to these; among them we find Richelieu's niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon.[3] The year 1634 witnessed the establishment of the *Compagnie des Dames de la Charité*, whose members, for the most part ladies of the aristocracy, in a spirit of unparalleled self-sacrifice, lent their help to the sisters who

[1] As against PERRENS (*Les Libertins en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1896), N. M. BERNARDIN (*Hommes et mœurs au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1900), has shown that at the time of Louis XIII., which was so rich in contrasts, free-thought was not nearly so predominant a feature as it is to-day. MARIÉJOL, too, says (*Hist. de France*, VI., 2, 459 *seq.*): "Les Libertins étaient une faible minorité, mais justement parceque leurs opinions faisaient scandale, ils passaient pour être légion. En tout cas ils se turent sous Richelieu. La poursuite contre Théophile de Viau fut un avertissement aux autres poètes gaulois ou orduriers, qui auraient été tentés d'opposer comme lui les droits de la nature à la morale chrétienne."

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 185 *seq.*, XXVI., 68 *seqq.* For a Carmelite already greatly esteemed at that time in Beaune, see L. DE CISSEY, *Vie de Marguérite du Saint-Sacrement*, 1619–1648, Paris, 1857.

[3] *Cf.* A. BONNEAU-AVENANT, *La Duchesse d'Aiguillon, nièce du cardinal de Richelieu. Sa vie et ses œuvres charitables*, 1604–1675, Paris, 1879.

tended the sick in the Hôtel-Dieu, the gigantic hospital of Paris, where they performed the meanest duties.[1]

One of the most weighty problems for the future of the Catholic Church in France was the education of female youth for which much less was being done than for the boys, for whom the Jesuits and the Doctrinarians [2] were doing a great deal. The girls' schools of the old Orders had either been closed, or they had fallen on evil days during the wars of religion,[3] whilst the Calvinists were doing their utmost to attract the Catholic youth to their scholastic establishments. In these circumstances it was of the utmost importance that a number of Orders arose which devoted themselves to the instruction and education of female youth. Mention must be made in the first instance of some female Congregations which adopted the Rule of St. Augustine and were approved by Urban VIII., such as the *Religieuses du Verbe Incarné,* founded at Lyons by some pious ladies ; the " Sisters of our Lady of Mercy " at Aix ; the " Sisters of the Holy Cross " ; the " Penitents of Our Lady of Nancy " ; and the " Daughters of Providence ".[4] To them must be added several educational establishments of the French Dominican nuns.[5] All these, however, were surpassed by the Ursulines, who were introduced into France in 1594 by Françoise de Bermond (died 1630), and who spread widely and rapidly.[6] The excellence of their educational methods and the wonderful zeal [7] with which they carried out their duties, as well as the circumstance that they admitted not only the children of the rich but those also of the

[1] For the activities of the Dames de la Charité in the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris, which received about 25,000 patients a year, see R. DE COURSON in the *Rev. hebd.*, 1908, July 25. *Cf.* P. COSTE, *Vincent de Paul et les Dames de la charité,* Paris, 1917, and G. GOYAU, *Les Dames de la charité de M. Vincent,* Paris, 1918.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 184.

[3] *Cf.* PRUNEL, 222 *seq.*

[4] See HEIMBUCHER, II.², 300, 302, 303 ; III.², 542, 546.

[5] See PRUNEL, 97 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 62 *seqq.*

[7] Opinion of RANKE, *Päpste,* II.⁶, 284.

poor, were responsible for the fact that they were in request in an ever increasing number of localities. If we survey the new foundations which, during Urban's pontificate, were added to those already in existence, we find that there was no place of any importance in France without its convent of Ursulines, and they were to be found even in quite small localities.[1]

[1] The *Chroniques des Ursulines* (I., 189 *seq.*) give the following new establishments :—

1622. Paris (second house), Tours, Orléans, Nevers, Falaise ;

1623. Le Mans, Auxerre, Quimper-Corentin, Niort, Grenoble, Montdidier, Tulle ;

1624. Bayeux, Crépy, Bourg-en-Bresse, Montélimar, Boulogne, Dieppe, Parthenay, Arles, Blois, Ploermel, Saulieu, Saint-Brieuc, Caen ;

1625. Trégieur, Evreux, Auxonne ;

1626. Fougères, Loudun, Chartres, Amboise, Beaune ;

1627. Saint-Andéol, Châlons-sur-Saône, Nantes, Beauvais, Vauréal, Bolène, Tonnerre, Verrue, Chambéry, Carcassonne, Havre de Grâce, Angoulême ;

1628. Noyers, Bar-sur-Seine, Troyes, Saint-Denis, Loches ;

1629. Avallon, Emoutiers, Corbigny, Nantes, Cahors, Belley, Gap, Briançon, Beaugency, Gien ;

1630. Saint-Marcellin, Saint-Emilion, Château-Gontier, Issoudun, Valence, Gondrin, Gournay, La Rochelle ;

1631. Beaucaire, Lisieux, Bire, Bourges, Luçon, Semur, Sangues ;

1632. Avignon, Bazas, Montargis, Beaulieu, Thouars, Flavigny, Brignoles, Chinon, Saint-Jean-du-Gard ;

1633. Bourbon, Louey, Charlieu, Vitteaux, Thiers, Pontigny, Boutiers, Espalion, Salins, Lyons (second house), Celles, Crémieux, Riez, Condom ;

1634. Bar-sur-Aube, Monistrol, Villefranche, Châtillon-près-de-Dombes, Saint-Sever, Saint-Remy, Aubigné, Bourgoing, Alès ;

1635. Ciotat, Romans, Côte-Saint-André, Saint-Jean-d'-Angély, Vienne, Mende, Pont-de-Vaux, Moulins-Engilbert, Saint-Symphorien, Barjols, Malzieu, Béziers ;

1636. Saint-Etienne, Sallanches, Tarbes, Aups, Marseilles (second house), Draguignan, Ussel ;

Besides the Ursulines, the Sisters of the Visitation and the Society of the Daughters of Our Lady of Bordeaux also devoted themselves to the work of education. The foundresses of these Orders, viz. St. Frances de Chantal and Blessed Jeanne de Lestonnac, exercised an admirable influence on the *milieu* in which they lived.[1] Both had left the world after the death of their husbands and had been led by extraordinary ways to found their respective Order. Yet another widow, Louise de Marillac, became the co-foundress and the first superior of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. This extraordinary man has done such wonders for the healing of the moral evils of his time, for the alleviation of poverty and the religious renewal of France, that the historian must do more than merely sketch his beneficent activity.

(3)

Vincent de Paul [2] had witnessed and experienced every form of want and destitution before he became himself the

1637. Pont-Saint-Esprit, Pont-Sainte-Marie, Tarascon, Nîmes, Gex, Pignan, Pézénas, Carpentras, Lamballe, Loubressac ;

1638. Bourg-Argental-en-Forêt, Apt, Morlaix, Tullins, Vézelay, Ambillou, Marseilles (third house).

1639. Lorgues, Saint-Remy (second house), Feurs, Clermont-en-Beauvoisis, Magny, Vif, Martigues ;

1640. Cuers, Trévoux, Salon ;

1641. Joinville, Grand-Andely, Hennebont, Périgueux, Montpellier ;

1642. Epernay, Ancenis, Valençay, Montereau, Sens ;

1643. Marcigny, Melun, Chambriart, Caromb ;

1644. Cramont, Guérande, Carhaix, Marmande.

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXVI., 66 *seq.*

[2] St. Vincent de Paul, *Correspondance, entretiens, documents.* Edition publiée et annotée par Pierre Coste, vols. 1–14, Paris, 1920–5. Accounts of his life : Abelly, 1664 (his authorship was wrongly questioned ; see Coste, in the *Rev. de Gascogne,* XII. (1912), 313–19) ; Collet, 1748 ; Maynard, *St. Vincent de Paul,*

benefactor of the destitute. Born on April 24th, 1581, at Pouy, near DAX,[1] as the son of a poor peasant, the first fifteen years of his life were spent in hard toil, with rough food and amid many privations. When his father conceived the idea of utilizing the extraordinary gifts of his son with a view to bettering his family, Vincent became familiar, during seven years, with the misery of a destitute student compelled to supplement his scanty subsidies from home by acting as tutor in well-to-do households and to make up by night-work for the time of which the coaching of pupils had robbed him. Vincent was ordained on September 23rd, 1600, whilst still engaged in his theological studies. On their termination he paid a visit to Rome. He ever retained a lively recollection of Clement VIII.; he used to repeat that he had seen a holy Pope, a man

Sa vie, son temps, ses œuvres, son influence, vols. 1–4, Paris, 1860; L. AUDIAT, *St. Vincent de Paul et sa Congrégation à Saintes et à Rochefort* (1642–1746), Paris, 1885; PRÉVOST, *St. Vincent de Paul et ses œuvres dans le diocèse de Troyes*, Troyes, 1896; F. CHARPENTIER, *St. Vincent de Paul en Bas-Poitou*, in the *Rev. du Bas-Poitou*, Fontenay-le-Comte, 1911; L. BRÉTANDEAU, *Les œuvres de St. Vincent de Paul dans le Réthelois*, in the *Rev. hist. ardennaise*, 1902; VEUCLIN, *St. Vincent de Paul en Normandie*, Bernay, 1890; ANT. REDIER, *La vraie vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, Paris, 1927.

[1] The year of his birth, according to COSTE (I., 593, XIV., 627) is not 1576, but 1581; but if this is so he must have received his ordination to the priesthood before he was twenty, a thing that happened frequently in France where the Tridentine reforms were not enforced. *Cf.* Council of Rouen, 1581 (HARDOUIN, *Conc.*, X., 1265); N. L. PRUNEL, *Séb. Zamet*, Paris, 1912, 96; COSTE, III., 87. For his birthplace see COSTE, II., 68 *seq.*; P. COSTE, *Hist. de la maison de Ranquine avant le XIXe siècle*, in *Bullet. de la Soc. de Borda*, 1906, 337 *seqq.* For the attempts to make a Spaniard of him, see *Bullet. critique*, X. (1889), 197; *Polybiblion*, 1889; II., 29, 225. The prefix "de" appears before almost every peasant's name in Pouy and is not an indication of nobility. Vincent himself signed his name "Depaul" (see COSTE, I., 13); and he usually called himself by his Christian name: "Monsieur Vincent."

of God and a friend of peace to whose virtues even the Lutherans bore witness.[1]

The years of preparation were scarcely terminated by his reception, in 1604, of the baccalaureate in theology, when a hard blow of fate seemed to put an end to all his prospects. A devout old lady had left a small legacy to the young priest so full of promise and by going to Marseilles Vincent successfully wrested it from the hands of a ne'er-do-well, though by means which he would not have made use of at a later period: he had his debtor arrested. On the return journey, which he wished to make by sea, he fell into the hands of Tunisian corsairs. There now ensued all the humiliations of exhibition and sale in the public slave market and a two years' servitude under various masters. However, he succeeded in bringing back to Christianity the last of his employers, a renegade, with whom he escaped to France.[2] The remarkable circumstances of his flight and escape drew the attention of the vice-legate of Avignon to Vincent and he took him for a companion on his journey to Rome. As a matter of fact from now onwards the one-time country lad came in close contact with the highest circles of society. Whilst in Rome he was made the bearer of a message from the French colony to Henry IV.[3] Soon after, in 1609, he became almoner to Queen Margaret of Valois in Paris and in the

[1] "J'ai vu un saint Pape, qui était Clement VIII., un fort saint homme, tellement saint que les hérétiques mêmes disaient: Le Pape Clément est un saint" (Conference of May 30, 1647, in Coste, IX., 316). "Clement VIII. qui était un saint homme, estimé non seulement des catholiques, mais même des hérétiques, un homme de Dieu et de paix, à qui ses propres ennemis donnaient des louanges; et pour moi, j'ai ouï des luthériens qui louaient et estimaient sa vertu" (*Entretiens de septembre* 1656, *ibid.*, XI., 352). *Cf. ibid.*, IX., 9, 468; X., 365.

[2] Vincent himself reports on this on July 24, 1607, to his benefactor De Comet (Coste, I., 1–13). Reidier's questioning of the authenticity of the document may be considered as unfounded (22 *seqq.*).

[3] For this mission there is only the statement in Abelly (Coste, 18, note 3).

following year he was given an abbey which he surrendered in 1616.[1]

Vincent had always been a blameless priest whose spirit of benevolence had asserted itself during his first stay in Paris as it had been a characteristic of his from his youth.[2] But so far he had no vision of the heroic deeds which were to fill the years of his later life. At that time his aspirations scarcely rose higher than the acquisition of a prebend so that he might spend his remaining days with his mother who was still living.[3] However, the days of solitude and prayer which he spent in the newly-founded Oratory of the future Cardinal Bérulle [4] altered his whole outlook; the change was also helped by four years of interior suffering from which he was only released when he resolved to devote himself unreservedly to the service of the poor.[5]

His next steps were all taken under the guidance of Bérulle. By his advice he took over the parish of Clichy which Bourgoing had resigned in order to enter the Oratory, and again on Bérulle's advice he took the decisive step of entering into close relations with Count Philippe Emmanuel de Gondi, Commander of the Galleys, when he undertook to act as tutor to the latter's two sons—a step fraught with the most important consequences.[6] When in March, 1617, a longing to work for souls induced him secretly to leave the Count's household, it was Bérulle who obtained for him the parish of Châtillon-les-Dombes and again in odedience to Bérulle's advice he decided,

[1] MAYNARD, I., 67 *seq.* In a document of October 20, 1611, he is described as "Abbé commandataire de l'abbaye St.-Léonard, pays d'Aunis, diocèse de Saintes, conseiller et aumônier de la reine Marguerite" (COSTE, XIII., 14); for his renunciation of the abbey, see *ibid.*, 37.

[2] MAYNARD, *loc. cit.*

[3] Letter to his mother, February 17, 1610, in COSTE, I., 18.

[4] MAYNARD, I., 73.

[5] MAYNARD, I., 69 *seqq.* *Cf.* COSTE, 32 *seq.*

[6] COSTE, *St. Vincent curé de Clichy*, in the *Rev. de Gascogne*, XII. (1912), 241–256; R. CHANTELAUZE, *St. Vincent et les Gondi*, Paris, 1882.

towards the end of the year, to yield to the insistence of the Count and his wife and to resume his former occupation.[1] Even with one greater than Bérulle, namely with Francis de Sales, he also entered into relations on the occasion of the latter's visit to Paris in 1618. Throughout his whole life Vincent cherished the highest veneration for his friend the Bishop; he looked on Francis as the father of the Sisterhood founded by him [2] and often had recourse to him.[3] On his part Francis de Sales entrusted the care of his newly-founded Order to Vincent,[4] and he said of that modest priest that he knew no one that surpassed him in virtue.[5]

At the time when he deserved such high praise Vincent had only reached middle age and he had not yet called into being any of the great works which were to make of his name a household word. But they were there in germ and from that time onwards all his comprehensive undertakings grew as it were spontaneously and step by step out of their humble beginnings. In 1617 Vincent had been summoned from Gondi's Castle of Folleville to the deathbed of a dying peasant who was

[1] MAYNARD, I., 75, 80, 104. The documents for his nomination to Clichy and Châtillon are in COSTE, XIII., 17 *seq.*, 40 *seqq.* For his activities at Châtillon, see CORDENOD, in *Bullet. de la Soc. Gorini*, 1908, January. "N'ayant aucune des qualités requises pour être précepteur dans une famille d'aussi haute noblesse" he was leaving his post, he wrote to Gondi (COSTE, XXII., 21). The Countess's request for his return, *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

[2] "Notre bienheureux père Monsieur de Genève" (*Entretien* of January 1, 1644, in COSTE, IX., 159, 170). "Feu notre bon père de Genève" (*ibid.*, XI., 26). Vincent's deposition in the process for the beatification of the Bishop of Geneva, *ibid.*, XIII., 66–84; his petition to Alexander VII. for the canonization of Francis, *ibid.*, VII., 584 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* COSTE, XIV., 222–4.

[4] *Ibid.*, XII., 422. The archiepiscopal nomination was dated May 9, 1628, *ibid.*, XIII., 84.

[5] "qu'il ne connoissait point homme plus vertueux que M. Vincent (*Coqueret*, Doctor of theology, to Guilbert Cuissot, *ibid.*, XIII., 193).

universally considered a good man. Nevertheless it became apparent, and the dying man himself confessed the fact, that he had grievously offended in regard to his duties towards the Sacraments and that he had failed to use the Church's means of salvation to his own advantage.[1] Madame de Gondi's distress was immense; she now begged Vincent to exhort people to make general confessions: such was the success of the sermon, that Vincent was unable to cope single-handed with the conflux of penitents.[2] Vincent profited greatly by these first experiences. After his return from Châtillon he gave for the poor country-people on the estates of the Gondis a so-called "Mission", that is, a series of conferences on the ordinary duties of a Christian and the need of a thorough change of life. Soon he sought the co-operation of other priests. The Gondis gave 45,000 livres towards their maintenance and thus was founded an Association of priests who refused all work in the towns, renounced all ecclesiastical prebends and dignities and devoted themselves exclusively to the care of the simple people, always in subjection to the authority of the Bishops. For their livelihood they depended on the Society. Thus they went from village to village, preaching, teaching, exhorting, catechizing the children, and urging the poor people to make general confessions. They accepted no remuneration for their labours but distributed gratuitously what they had themselves received from the divine goodness.[3] The Archbishop of Paris had previously assigned the Collège des Bons Enfants to the Fathers of the Mission [4] and after the premature death of the Countess de Gondi, Vincent joined them there. When the College was made over to the new Society,[5] and the Society itself received the approbation

[1] PORTAIL, in COSTE, IX., 58 *seq.*; Vincent himself, *ibid.*, XI., 2–5.

[2] Another reason why Countess Gondi mistrusted ordinary confessions was the ignorance of the priests; *ibid.*, XI., 169–171.

[3] Agreement for the foundation of the Congregation of the Mission, April 17, 1625, *ibid.*, XIII., 197–202.

[4] March 1, 1624, *ibid.*, I., 24, note.

[5] June 8, 1627, *ibid.*, XIII., 208 *seqq.*, 213 *seqq.*, 215 *seqq.*

of the Archbishop[1] and the King,[2] Vincent was anxious to have it recognized as a religious Congregation. However, Propaganda rejected his request.[3] In place of the somewhat dilapidated *Collège des Bons Enfants*, the new Society soon obtained a worthier home. Le Bon, Prior of the house of St. Lazare, the original purpose of which had been the care of lepers (a purpose which it had long ceased to serve), one day made to Vincent the unexpected suggestion that the priests of the Mission should take over his entire establishment. Vincent was speechless: he could not see how so vast a building would be in keeping with his modest Society.[4] For a whole year Le Bon was forced to keep pressing him and at last Vincent agreed to leave the decision to his confessor, the professor of theology Duval. The latter was thus the instrument by which the new Society acquired its central residence and with it the popular name of "Lazarists".[5]

The Society of priests thus founded presented a new form of ecclesiastical community life. The Lazarists were meant to be and to remain not a religious Order but a Society of secular priests and as such they were approved by Urban VIII. on January 12th, 1632.[6] Nevertheless the members bound themselves to their manner of life by the permanent tie of simple vows but which ecclesiastical authority refused to accept as vows in the canonical sense, or as religious vows.[7] In this

[1] April 24, 1626, *ibid.*, 202.

[2] May 1627, *ibid.*, 206 *seqq.*; *cf.* 225 *seq.*, 232 *seqq.*

[3] August 22, 1628, *ibid.*, 222 *seq.*, 225.

[4] He said so himself later: "J'avais les sens interdits comme un homme surpris du bruit du canon qu'on tire proche de lui sans qu'il pense; . . . je demeurai sans parole, si fort étonné d'une telle proposition que lui-même (the Prior of Saint-Lazare) s'en apercevant, me dit: Quoi! vous tremblez!" To N. Étienne, January 30, 1656, COSTE, V., 533.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIII., 244–7. The deed of January 7, 1632, for the transfer, *ibid.*, 234–244. For the history of Saint-Lazare, *ibid.*, XIV., 529 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, XIII., 257–267.

[7] In a letter to Blatiron of February 19, 1655, Vincent develops the reasons for all this, *ibid.*, V., 315–323.

form the vows were approved by the Archbishop of Paris [1] as well as by the assembly of the French clergy of 1642 and by a committee of theologians of Paris.[2] The Roman authorities and the Pope held back their approval for a time but it was finally granted, after prolonged efforts, by Alexander VII., on September 22nd, 1655.[3]

Like the Congregation of the priests of the Mission, the Association of Sisters which Vincent called to life, also owed its origin to a seemingly trifling occasion. In one of his sermons as parish priest of Châtillon he had recommended a destitute family to the charity of his parishioners, with the result that that family was overwhelmed with food and other gifts. From this occurrence Vincent learnt that if charity was to be effective, zeal and love of the neighbour were not enough; there was need also of intelligent direction which would see to a proper distribution of charitable gifts. Accordingly he founded at Châtillon an association of devout ladies [4] with mission to take in hand, in methodical fashion, the spiritual and material care of the sick and the poor. Other associations of the same kind composed of men, or of men and women, joined themselves to this one and for all of them Vincent laid down rules of conduct.[5]

By degrees these associations became so numerous that Vincent could no longer visit and encourage them personally, hence he was compelled to look for someone to take his place. Unlike himself the suitable person whom he had the good fortune to discover was not naturally directed by her very birth and upbringing towards a fellow-feeling for the lower classes,[6] on the contrary, Louise Le Gras was sprung from a

[1] October 19, 1641, *ibid.*, XIII., 283–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIV., 443.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIII., 380–2.

[4] *Confrérie de la charité.*

[5] Coste, XIII., 417–537.

[6] Gobillon, *La vie de mademoiselle Le Gras*, Paris, 1676. More recent biographies by Baunard (Paris, 1898), E. de Broglie (*ibid.*, 1912). A chronology of her life in Coste, XIV., 319 *seq.*

most distinguished family. Her father was Louis de Marillac, Seigneur of Ferrières, one of whose two brothers was Keeper of the Seals and the other a Marshal of France. On the completion of a careful education, Louise had given her hand to Antoine Le Gras, Privy Councillor to Queen Marie de Medici. Notwithstanding her noble birth and refined upbringing, Louise felt drawn to the service of the sick and the poor even as a wife and mother, and when her husband died at the end of 1625, she began to live a life wholly consecrated to God. In 1624, Bishop Jean Pierre Camus, who had been her spiritual guide until then, on returning to his diocese, had directed her to Vincent de Paul[1] with whom, in spite of her delicate health, she henceforth co-operated as the indispensable complement of all his charitable undertakings. "When one sees her," Vincent wrote,[2] "one would think she came from the grave, so frail is her body and so pale her countenance; but God knows what strength of mind she possesses." From 1629 onwards Vincent used to send Louise on rounds of inspection of all his charitable associations.[3] Accompanied, as a rule, by a few companions and provided with bandages and medicine, the great lady of former days now journeyed in a miserable coach, from village to village, putting up in wretched hostelries and partaking of the coarse food they supplied. Wherever she went she called together the members of the charitable associations, instructed and encouraged them and personally attended to the sick. She herself defrayed her travelling expenses and persevered in her laborious task in spite of her physical weakness.

Soon the sphere of her activity expanded. So long as this Society of Christian charity restricted itself to the villages, it consisted of simple people who personally visited the sick; but when it began to rope in the bigger localities and the capital itself, the aristocratic ladies shrank from visiting the poor in their miserable abodes and sent their maids instead.

[1] Coste, I., 25, note, 85, note 1.

[2] To Blatiron, December 13, 1647, *ibid.*, III., 256 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 73 *seq.*

The latter, however, were not animated by the right spirit for such visits. Accordingly Vincent replaced them with pious country girls and since these " Daughters of Charity " (Filles de la Charité) were in need of instruction both as regards the care of the sick and the religious spirit, Vincent assigned to them a Superior in the person of Madame Le Gras.[1]

All these works had grown, as it were, spontaneously, the one out of the other, but with the establishment of the " Daughters of Charity " the history of the care of the sick entered upon a new phase.

It now became woman's sphere to an unprecedented extent. However obvious it seems to us to-day that women, more than men, understand the needs of the sick and have the gentleness of touch, the compassion, the patience and the spirit of endurance which enable them to hold out in the midst of trials, the Middle Ages had known only one autonomous female nursing association, viz. the Béguines, and they only treated the sick in their own houses ; the others were simple pious associations linked to similar ones of men and they never acquired any importance. If religious societies of this kind were to develop and to last for centuries, they needed to be held together by the strong ties of perpetual vows. But as understood by the Middle Ages, religious vows for communities of women were unthinkable without perpetual enclosure ; yet such permanent segregation from the world rendered sick nursing on a large scale utterly impossible. Francis de Sales, in his Order, had allocated a large field to works of mercy, but the opposition he encountered was such that he dropped his first plan and restored the enclosure.[2] Vincent realized the conception of Francis and in this respect his society took the place of the one designed by the Bishop of Geneva, but lest he too should founder on the rock of the enclosure, Vincent wished the Sisters of Charity to be known as a simple Society

[1] Vincent himself describes the origin of the Congregation in this way in an account sent to the Archbishop of Paris, August or September, 1645, COSTE, II., 549 ; X., 101.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 73.

or Sisterhood, not as a Congregation, lest someone should get it into his head to introduce the enclosure, as had been done for the creation of the Bishop of Geneva. He instructed the Sisters to resist any such attempt and to proclaim that it was their ambition to win the crown which God had intended for the Daughters of St. Mary, viz. the Visitation founded by St. Francis.[1] For all that, the Sisters carried out all the obligations of a religious Order; thus, for instance, their poverty was most strict. "You are entitled," Vincent used to say,[2] "to food and raiment, the rest belongs to the poor"; and of obedience, he said[3] that as one diamond was worth more than a whole mountain of ordinary stones, so was humble subjection more precious than a whole string of good works. At a later date and at the request of the Sisters,[4] he allowed them to take the three vows privately; but such vows could not turn them into nuns since there was no acceptance on the part of the Society.

Vincent was fully aware of the bearing of these regulations. The aim of the Society, he told the Sisters,[5] was to imitate Christ Himself who went about doing good and healing the

[1] "de peur, si le nom de congrégation vous était donné, il s'en trouvât qui voulussent à l'avenir changer la maison en cloître et se faire réligieuses, comme ont fait les filles de Sainte-Marie (the Visitation). Dieu a permis que de pauvres filles ont succédé à la place de ces dames. . . . Dites que vous voulez avoir la couronne que Dieu avait préparée aux filles de Sainte-Marie. Ne consentez jamais au changement. . . . Mes sœurs, je vous en conjure par les entrailles de mon cœur" (Conference to his Sisters on August 8, 1655, in Coste, X., 102 *seq.*). The designation *Confrérie*, however, failed to please many of the Sisters (*ibid.*, VII., 440).

[2] *Ibid.*, IX., 89.

[3] To L. de Marillac, April, 1630, *ibid.*, I., 82.

[4] July 19, 1640, *ibid.*, IX., 25 *seq.*, *cf.* 14. On March 25, 1642, Louise de Marillac and four others took their perpetual vows; after Vincent's death the custom arose of all members taking the three vows but always only for one year; *ibid.*, V., 353, note 4.

[5] July 5, 1640, *ibid.*, IX., 15 *seq.*

sick. "You have the happiness of being the first to be called to so holy a service. With the exception of the women who ministered to the Son of God and to the Apostles, there has never been a Society with such a purpose in the Church of God." And what he said to the "Ladies of Charity" was likewise applicable to the Sisters,[1] namely that God had bestowed on them a rare and extraordinary privilege. "Nearly eight hundred years have gone by since women have exercised any public office in the Church. Formerly there were deaconesses whose duty it was to keep order among the women in church and to teach them the ceremonies which were then in use. However, about the time of Charlemagne, by a special dispensation of Providence, this custom became obsolete and your sex was deprived of every office and has held none ever since." At this time, however, Providence decreed otherwise and once more they were to be "mothers of the foundlings, to direct their hospital and to dispense the alms of Paris in the provinces, more particularly among the destitute". In other respects also, Vincent used to tell the Sisters that their Society was a novelty, for they were the first to undertake every kind of work of mercy, to tend the sick both in their homes and in the hospitals and to care for their bodies, to instruct the poor, to take in the foundlings and to minister to prisoners and to the insane.[2] That the Society answered a need was proved by its rapid diffusion[3]: requests for Sisters poured in from all parts.[4]

In his two Societies Vincent had in hand two powerful instruments for the exercise of charity on the widest scale. Though it was not actually his ambition to see "the priests of the Mission" as numerous as possible—in fact he even feared

[1] July 11, 1657, *ibid.*, XIII., 809 *seq.* *Cf.* X., 594: "Les histoires ecclésiastiques et profanes ne disent point que l'on ait jamais fait ce que vous faites. . . . Oui, mon Sauveur, vous avez attendu jusqu'à cette heure pour vous former une Compagnie qui continue ce que vous avez commencé."

[2] Coste, IX., 593 *seq.*; X., 113 *seqq.*, 124 *seqq.*, 143 *seq.*

[3] Summary of the various establishments, *ibid.*, XIV., 109 *seq.*

[4] Vincent, July 7, 1647, *ibid.*, III., 210; *cf.* X., 222; XIII., 751.

a too rapid spread of the Society [1]—it nevertheless struck deep roots in a number of towns of France and Italy even in Vincent's lifetime.[2] At the time of the founder's death it counted 426 members of whom 196 were lay associates [3]—a splendid band on whom Vincent inculcated again and again the care of the poor. Christ Himself, he said, had had no higher aim : if He had been asked what it was He came to do on earth He would have had but one answer : to relieve the poor. They were His companions : He was but seldom seen in the towns, whereas He was nearly always to be found evangelizing the villages.[4] "Should not a priest die of shame," Vincent exclaimed whilst speaking of the humility of the Son of God, "if he strove for honours whilst in the service of God, when he sees Jesus Christ rewarded for his labours with mockeries and a gibbet ?" [5] Accordingly, he banished all rhetorical efforts from the pulpit : the people were to be told in quite simple language and with simple arguments what they should do or leave undone. Masterpieces of eloquence did not bring about a change of conduct in their hearers whilst on the other hand he would never have done were he to relate only the

[1] *Ibid.*, XIV., 400.

[2] Houses were founded in 1635 at Toul, in 1637 at La Rose, near Agen, in 1638 at Richelieu, Luçon, Troyes, in 1639 at Alet, in 1640 at Annecy, in 1641 at Crécy, in 1643 at Marseilles, Cahors, Sedan, in 1645 at Le Mans, Saint-Méen, Genoa, in 1648 at Tréguier, Agen, in 1650 at Périgueux (soon abandoned), in 1652 at Notre-Dame-de-Lorm, in 1654 at Turin and Agde, in 1655 at Rome, in 1658 at Meaux, in 1659 at Montpellier and Narbonne (*cf.* Coste, XIV., 394–8). The Congregation settled in Poland through the influence of the French wife of John Casimir (Maynard, III., 60–97). A beginning was made in the foreign mission field with a settlement in Madagascar but the attempt had to be given up in 1674, after it had cost the Congregation 27 lives in 25 years (*ibid.*, 104–155 ; *cf.* Coste, XIV., 359–365). For the plan of a mission on Lebanon see Coste, VI., 19, 24, and R. Ristelhueber, in *Études*, CL. (1917), 713.

[3] *Civiltà Catt.*, 1925, III., 102.

[4] Conference of October 29, 1638, in Coste, XI. 108.

[5] To A. Portail, *ibid.*, I., 294 *seq.*

smallest fraction of what God had wrought by means of the simple discourses of the priests of the Mission.[1] These remarkable successes did not long remain confined to France. In the *Campagna*, with Rome as their centre, and in Corsica with Genoa as their base, the Lazarists induced even bandits and the most degraded of men to repent of their crimes.[2] In Ireland the priests of the Mission, according to the Bishop of Limerick, had accomplished more than the rest of the clergy together and through their ministry the greater part of the aristocracy had returned to the practice of an exemplary life.[3] The missionaries whom Vincent sent to Scotland were able to report gratifying successes at least from the Hebrides, for in those islands Protestantism had not as yet struck deep roots; however, there was a dearth of priests and the people had run wild. The Irish Lazarist Dermot Duiguin in particular successfully recalled many to a Christian and religious life.[4]

The missions which they gave to the rural populations of France brought it strongly home to Vincent and to his priests that their work was hopeless unless the clergy were raised from the low level to which they had in great part fallen. The means to that end had been indicated by Trent; it was the erection of seminaries. But it was precisely in France that this work met with the strongest opposition. Vincent himself attests that the Bishops were anxious to have such training centres.[5]

[1] Conference of August 20, 1655, on the "petite méthode" in preaching; *ibid.*, XI., 257–287; *cf.* 268 *seq.*, 270. *Cf.* J. CALVET, *L'influence de St. Vincent de Paul sur la prédication*, in the *Bullet. de litt. éccles.*, 1904, 312–19.

[2] Report from Corsica, July, 1652, in COSTE, IV., 411–16; *cf.* XI., 268 *seq.*

[3] Bishop Edmund Dwyer to Vincent, about August, 1648, *ibid.*, III., 356. Similarly Bishop Thomas Walsh of Cashel, August 16, 1648, *ibid.*, 357; see BELLESHEIM, *Irland*, II., 506 *seq.*; MAYNARD, III., 36 *seqq.*

[4] Reports of October 28, 1652, and April, 1654, in COSTE, IV., 515 *seq.*, V., 116 *seq.*

[5] He names, for instance, the Bishops of Meaux and Saintes. To Lebreton, February 3, 1641, *ibid.*, II., 153.

Bérulle's Oratorians had devoted themselves from the first to the task of raising the standard of the clergy by means of conferences of priests and by endeavouring to give to young men the necessary preparatory training in their houses, and in 1642 they erected regular seminaries in Paris and Rouen.[1] In 1644 Vincent wrote that there were seminaries at Bordeaux, Reims, Rouen, but that nowhere had the Church of France derived much benefit from them and that in Italy also, with the exception of Rome and Milan, things were no better. The explanation of this failure he sees in too literal an application of the decree of Trent which led to the admission of excessively youthful candidates who failed to persevere.[2]

Vincent was not opposed to boys' seminaries; he had had one himself since 1636 in the *Collège des Bons Enfants*.[3] However, he very soon put that building to a different use. Already in 1628, starting at Beauvais, he had given the exercises in preparation for ordination [4] in the course of which, besides ascetical directions, he also gave instructions on the duties of the priestly life. He soon realized that so short a preparation was inadequate. In 1640 Richelieu, to whom he explained that one or two years were the very minimum required, gave him 1,000 scudi for the maintenance of twelve clerics. These were joined by so many others who were able to pay their own expenses, that by 1645 the College had become too small, so that the *Petit-Séminaire* had to be transferred to Saint-Charles. Thus was effected the separation between the *Petit* and the *Grand-Séminaire*, a measure which proved a success. Not many years after Vincent was able to write [5] that Bons-Enfants was full and that Saint-Charles was doing well.[6]

[1] N. Prunel, in the *Études*, CXVIII. (1909), 344–355.

[2] To Codoing, May 13, 1644, in Coste, II., 459 *seq.*; to Lebreton, February 3, 1641, *ibid.*, 152 *seqq.*

[3] Coste, II., 226, 535.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 65.

[5] March 10, 1652, *ibid.*, V., 334.

[6] On April 9, 1647 (*ibid.*, III., 167) Vincent counted sixty priests at the Bons-Enfants, forty Seminarists at Saint-Charles, thirty priests at Cahors, eight in Annecy, eight at Le Mans, twelve to fifteen at Saint-Méen.

This first successful step was followed by others. The Lazarists were not the only ones to direct such establishments—the Sulpicians surpassed them—but when the Revolution broke out fifty-four *Grands-Séminaires* and nine *Petits-Séminaires* were in their hands.[1] Vincent attached quite as much importance to this educational work of his Society as to its popular missions [2] for he felt that the seminaries "were almost the only means for raising the status of the clergy".[3] On the other hand Vincent himself testified that not all priests were bad. For the purpose of encouraging the zeal of the fervent ones he gathered them together every Tuesday, when he spoke to them on the duties of a priest's life, and with a view to the amendment of those who led bad lives he arranged for almost uninterrupted retreats at Saint Lazare, a measure which led to important results. Priests came from great distances in order to put their consciences in order at Saint-Lazare and of those who attended the Tuesday conferences Vincent himself affirmed that all of them led exemplary lives.[4]

In the priests who regularly attended these conferences Vincent had as it were founded yet another Association to whom he could recommend his works of mercy, with excellent

[1] MAYNARD, II., 197 *seq.* *Cf.* DEGERT, *Hist. des Séminaires français jusqu'à la Révolution*, Paris, 1912.

[2] COSTE, III., 273; V., 489; XII., 83.

[3] To Menestrier and Rivet, August 26, 1657, *ibid.*, VI., 422, 424. Vincent wrote to the Bishop of Dax on October 2, 1647 (*ibid.*, III., 243): "Si vous, Monseigneur, ordonnez que nul sera reçu aux saints ordres qui n'ait passé six mois pour le moins dans votre séminaire, dans quinze ans vous aurez la consolation de voir que votre clergé aura changé de face."

[4] "Ce n'est pas que tous les prêtres soient dans le dérèglement; non, o Sauveur! qu'il y a de saints écclesiastiques! Il nous en vient tant ici en retraite, des curés et autres qui viennent de bien loin pour mettre bon ordre à leur interieur! Et combien de bons et de saints prêtres à Paris! Il y en a grand nombre et entre ces Messieurs de la Conférence qui s'assemblent ici, il n'y en a un qui ne soit homme d'exemple; ils travaillent tous avec des fruits non pareils (*ibid.*, XI., 10). *Cf.* for the effects of the Exercises, Dehorgny, in MAYNARD, II., 198–200.

results. Another benevolent society consisted of ladies of the upper classes of Paris.[1] One day he received the visit of the youthful widow of President Goussault who was unreservedly given to works of mercy. She lamented the absence of order in the hospital where the sick of every class, nation and religion were all mixed up ; the nursing Sisters of St. Augustine could not, unaided, apply a remedy to existing abuses. Accordingly her idea was to band together a few ladies of position and to get them to visit the sick. Vincent only fell in with the proposal when urged by the Archbishop of Paris. The new association was inaugurated at a meeting in the house of Madame Goussault.[2] In July of the following year it numbered 100–120 members drawn from the highest circles of society who did wonders among the 800–900 sick whose goodwill they won by adding some dainties to the ordinary hospital menu.[3] Every three months fourteen ladies were appointed to visit and comfort the sick.[4]

The abundant resources and opportunities for benevolent purposes of which Vincent disposed through his associations and confraternities, enabled him in some measure to relieve the wretched condition of two classes of men whose welfare he had had at heart from the first days of his priestly life. As a slave in Tunis he became acquainted with the pitiable state of the captive Christians in the Berber States of Northern Africa, and as tutor in the house of Count Gondi, the Commander of the Mediterranean fleet, he saw the appalling conditions which prevailed among the criminals condemned for their infamies to the slavery of the galleys. Many years had to go by before Vincent was able to do anything for North Africa, but in 1643 the Duchess of Aiguillon put at his disposal the sum of 14,000 livres for the maintenance of four Lazarists

[1] *Dames de la charité de l'Hôtel-Dieu.* See De Broglie, 135 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 459.

[2] Between January and March, 1634, Coste, I., 229.

[3] *Ibid.*, 253. The number was given as forty to fifty in 1656 ; *ibid.*, VI., 52. Addresses given by Vincent to the Ladies of Charity, *ibid.*, XIII., 761–820.

[4] *Ibid.*, 762 *seq.*

at Marseilles who, besides attending to the personnel of the galleys and the prison hospital of Marseilles, were also entrusted with the cure of souls in the Berber States.[1] From their headquarters at the house of the French Consul, and as his chaplains, the Lazarists worked successfully among the Christian slaves in Tunis from 1645, and in Algiers from 1646 onwards.[2] On the death of the French Consul, the Bey of Tunis commanded the Lazarist Jean Le Vacher to take his place. When the Duchess of Aiguillon had purchased the right of appointment to the Consulate of Tunis and Algiers, that office was actually held by the Lazarists at least for a time.[3] For the rest Vincent realized full well that the piracy of the Berber States could not be stopped by peaceful means. His plan was that the Mediterranean should first be swept clean of the Corsair ships, after which Algiers and Tunis could be wrested by force of arms from the power of Islam. These suggestions found an echo with Queen Anne and Richelieu. In 1620 Count Gondi carried out some successful cruises for the purpose of clearing the Mediterranean and in 1636 Harcourt and the Archbishop of Bordeaux undertook a campaign which was continued by Admiral Manti and others up till 1666.[4]

The supreme direction of the cure of souls on the galleys had been in Vincent's hands long before he founded his various societies.[5] Arrangements were subsequently arrived at by which the office was always to go with that of the Superior of the Lazarists and Vincent was to be at liberty to pass on his powers to the Superior of the Lazarist house at Marseilles.[6]

[1] Document of July 25, 1643, in Coste, XIII., 298–301.

[2] *Cf.* the reports of Julian Guérin and Jean Le Vacher, printed in Coste, XIV., 254, 338.

[3] *Cf.* Vincent to De la Haye-Vantelay, *ibid.*, V., 82–6. Obligations of the Consuls and missionaries in the States of Barbary, *ibid.*, XIII., 313.

[4] De Grammont, in the *Rev. hist.*, XXVII. (1885), 21.

[5] Royal decree of February 8, 1619, in Coste, XIII., 55.

[6] Decree of January 16, 1644, *ibid.*, 302 *seq.*; decree on the powers of the Aumonier royal des galères, *ibid.*, 309 *seq.*; rules for the chaplains of the galleys, *ibid.*, 310 *seq.* For Vincent's

During his stay with Count Gondi, Vincent personally attended to the galley-slaves, sought to win their embittered souls by divers acts of kindness and gave them conferences and missions, first at Marseilles and subsequently at Bordeaux when the galleys were transferred there during the siege of La Rochelle. There also his inventive charity won many triumphs.[1]

Vincent even made use of some of his Daughters of Charity, as the Sisters of Charity were at first called, in the service of the convicts who were awaiting transportation to Marseilles in the prisons of Paris. "What a privilege it is," he assured them,[2] "to be allowed to minister to these poor galley-slaves who are handed over to people devoid of all compassion! I have seen them, the poor fellows, treated like beasts. God Himself was moved to pity: hence His goodness has done two things for them: first of all He has provided a house for them (Vincent had obtained the transfer of the convicts from their dungeons to better lodgings),[3] and secondly He has so disposed things that they should be served by His own daughters, for Daughter of Charity signifies Daughter of God."

In the same conference to his Daughters of God Vincent traced the history of the rise of their work of mercy.[4] They began by tending the sick wherever their services were called for. This was something new, for until then societies of this kind had only done so in the hospitals. Previous to their work

part in the founding of the hospital for convicts in Marseilles, *cf. ibid.*, II., 525–7. Of De la Coste, Vincent wrote on August 6, 1649, that he "avait le principal soin de l'hopital des forçats de Marseille et qui en était comme l'auteur et le protecteur"; *ibid.*, III., 474. *Cf.* Coste, in *Bullet. de litt. éccles.*, 1917, 364 *seqq.*; H. Simard, *St. Vincent et ses œuvres à Marseille*, Lyon, 1894.

[1] Maynard, I., 190 *seqq.* The story that in order to free a desperate prisoner, he had taken his place and put on his chains, is based on a misunderstanding. *Cf.* Coste, in the *Rev. de Gascogne*, X. (1910), 292–308.

[2] October 18, 1655, in Coste, X., 125.

[3] Maynard, I., 188 *seq.*

[4] Coste, X., 124 *seq.*

for the galley-slaves they had undertaken yet another work of mercy, namely the care of foundlings. He also mentioned what they were doing for the destitute sick, for the old people in the hospitals of the Holy Name and for the insane.[1] If we add to this that the Sisters also taught poor girls,[2] tended the wounded in times of war,[3] took care of the orphaned children in the localities ravaged by wars,[4] not many forms of human misery will be left which their charity did not strive to relieve. The fate of the foundlings was particularly near Vincent's heart. As he himself explains, there was not enough money available for their maintenance,[5] hence they had to be handed over to the first comer who often allowed them to die of hunger or sold them for thirty livres per head; such buyers as lived by begging often broke their arms or legs in order to rouse more easily the pity of the passers-by. In 1638 Vincent persuaded the Ladies of Charity to begin by receiving a dozen of these foundlings in a special home in order that they might be better cared for. A little later he suggested that they should extend their solicitude to all of them. The main difficulty was the question of money. For five or six foundlings, on Vincent's own admission, they needed 550 livres.[6] Now they had to reckon annually with about two to three hundred poor creatures abandoned by their parents. Even though they only rescued fifty each year, expenses would amount to 4,000 livres. The difficulty seemed insuperable and Vincent could only tell them to do all they could. However on January 17th, 1638, he was able to write to Louise de Marillac [7] that a largely attended meeting of the Ladies of Charity had

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] See the passages, *ibid.*, XIV., 115 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 111, for the years 1653, 1656, 1658.

[4] *Ibid.*, V., 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIII., 775. *Ibid.*, 798, he says that they were sold "à des gueux huit sols la pièce. . . . Il ne s'en trouve pas un seul en vie depuis 50 ans," except a few who had been made over to childless women.

[6] Coste, XIII., 776.

[7] *Ibid.*, II., 6.

decided to adopt not only some of the foundlings, but all of them. The Sisters of Charity were available for this work also [1]; soon it was in full swing. But the question of money always remained a problem. In the course of 1647, when the war caused great straits, Vincent himself no longer knew which way to turn. So he convened his Ladies of Charity, reminded them of all they had done for their protégés and told them that the poor creatures would be lost if those who had hitherto sheltered them were to stay their hand: "They will live if your charity goes on providing for them: they will most certainly perish and die if you abandon them." These simple words touched every heart: the undertaking was saved.[2]

The Hospital of the "Holy Name of Jesus", founded in 1633 with the help of a gift of 100,000 livres from an anonymous benefactor, and destined by Vincent to shelter forty old men,[3] in view of its happy development, raised a hope in the hearts of the Ladies of Charity that Vincent would be able to realize yet another, immensely greater undertaking. At that time one of the plagues of society and a constant danger were the bands of professional beggars who in Paris alone constituted a fifth of its 200,000 inhabitants. They formed a strongly organized body, under regular leaders, and at night sheltered in eleven large courts.[4] The idea of putting an end to such disorder by collecting the beggars in one large hospital where they would be made to work under proper surveillance, had long been entertained though no one felt capable of successfully carrying out so gigantic an undertaking. Now at last the right man had been found in the person of Vincent. The Ladies of Charity offered him large sums and from the Queen he obtained the extensive buildings of the Salpêtrière. However, he did not agree with all the ideas of his supporters; he objected in particular to the use of force when dealing with the beggars, and in the end he refused to burden his missionary priests and his Sisters of Charity with so gigantic a task.

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 437; II., 581.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIII., 801.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV., 552; MAYNARD, III., 347 *seqq.*

[4] MAYNARD, III., 351 *seqq.*

Nevertheless his disciple, and subsequent biographer, Abelly, became director of the hospital and several of the priests who attended the Tuesday Conferences eventually joined him.

The undertakings hitherto described are so vast that it is almost impossible to see how one poor, humble priest could be their originator. Yet after the year 1639, he accomplished even greater wonders for he became the benefactor of entire provinces devasted by war. In consequence of the wavering policy of Duke Charles IV., Lorraine had become involved in a war with France. Undisciplined French troops ravaged the land, the fields remained untilled for years, and owing to the lack of magistrates crime went unpunished. When in 1636 Richelieu declared war against Austria and Spain, all the miseries that follow in the wake of war also swept over Champagne and Picardie. These frontier provinces were in turn ravaged now by German troops under Johann von Werth and Piccolomini, now by French troops, for in those days friendly troops behaved no better than enemy ones, seeing that the mercenaries were always recruited from the same dregs of society. When the year 1648 brought peace with the German Empire, Condé rebelled in the eastern provinces, fighting for the Fronde against his own king, with the help of Spanish troops. These protracted campaigns, together with famine and pestilence, reduced the wretched population to appalling depths of misery. Thus we are told that in 1652, at Saint-Quentin, some of the starving populace were devouring the miserable rags that covered them and gnawing their own hands and wrists,[1] whilst at Étampes there were people who dug themselves into dunghills at night for the sake of a little warmth,[2] nor are these isolated reports.

The extent of Vincent's power for good, by means of his Societies and Confraternities and the immense sums he was able to collect, was now fully revealed. He began by going to the assistance of unhappy Lorraine. He sent two Lazarists

[1] Coste, IV., 300.

[2] *Ibid.*, 488. *Cf.* Alph. Feillet, *La misère au temps de la Fronde et St. Vincent de Paul*, Paris, 1862.

to Metz, Toul, Verdun and Nancy respectively, each of whom had at his disposal 2,000 livres a month.[1] At a later date, Bar-le-Duc, Saint-Michiel and Pont-à-Mousson became the centres of their relief work.[2] Bread to the value of 2,500 livres was distributed monthly.[3] In 1650 Vincent also extended his charitable activity to the territory in which Condé and Turenne had fought out their quarrel for and against the Fronde, a territory stretching from Picardie and Champagne as far as the outskirts of Paris. The necessary funds were provided by the Ladies of Charity, whilst the missionary priests and the lay brothers, according to a letter of Vincent,[4] visited the ravaged localities, ascertained the number of the destitute and the extent of their needs, the requirements of the sick and of such as were not able to earn a livelihood, and everywhere they distributed the clothes, seed corn and money with which they had been supplied. Their accounts of the spiritual and material misery which they encountered were printed and the Ladies of Charity distributed them in the houses of the well-to-do where they solicited alms. For a few years the monthly expenses amounted to as much as 16,000 livres. However, alms were getting sensibly less, as Vincent had to confess in 1657,[5] owing to the scarcity of money and the rise in the price of corn in Paris. But, generally speaking, we are confronted with the spectacle of amazing charity. On one occasion Louis XIII. gave 45,000 livres for the religious of Lorraine [6] who were enduring the most dire poverty and an unknown personage once gave 25,000 livres.[7] On July 11th,

[1] To L. de Marillac, May 10, 1639, in Coste, I., 551.

[2] To Codoing, July 26, 1640, *ibid.*, II., 80.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 590. [4] July 28, 1656, *ibid.*, VI., 52.

[5] *Ibid.* In the following year Vincent wrote of the want in his own house, saying that often he could not pay for the necessary food. Everyone in Paris felt the scarcity; instead of the 16,000 livres which he formerly sent to the frontier provinces, he could only raise 1,000 and that with difficulty. November 17, 1657, *ibid.*, VI., 614.

[6] Vincent to Codoing, July 26, 1640, *ibid.*, II.,80.

[7] To Codoing, August 26, 1640, *ibid.*, 103.

1657, Vincent told the Ladies of Charity[1] that between July 15th, 1650, and the last general meeting, 348,000 livres had been distributed and another 19,500 since then, but that this was little by comparison with previous years. These sums had been spent on the destitute sick; moreover about eight hundred orphan boys and girls from the devastated territories had been collected and cared for; these children were being educated, provided with clothes and placed with artisans or in domestic service. By means of these sums he had been able to help many parish priests who otherwise would have had to leave their flocks, and to carry out the most urgent repairs to the churches which were in a pitiable condition. The localities where the alms had been distributed were Reims, Rethel, Laon, Saint-Quentin, Ham, Marle, Sedan and Arras. Besides money, clothing, bedding, blankets, shirts, vestments, missals and ciboriums had also been distributed. The houses of many of the ladies had been so stocked with articles of this kind that they looked rather like the warehouses of big merchants. "Providence," Vincent said,[2] "has had recourse to some Parisian ladies in order to assist two devastated provinces. Does not this strike you as something novel and unique? History relates nothing like it of the ladies of Spain and Italy or any other country."

It was also a novel idea to extract and to broadcast by means of the printing press, the more interesting and touching details in the reports of the missionaries. Such accounts, after the manner of newspapers, appeared between September, 1650, and December, 1655. In them everyone could read how the soups provided by the alms of Paris had saved the lives of more than 2,000 sick refugees at Guise, Ribemont, La Fère and Ham; how the nuns of La Fère and other places had been saved from starvation,[3] how the bodies of the poor were swollen and covered with sores because they had nothing to eat except roots and bread that the dogs would hardly touch; how a number of them dragged themselves over a distance of two or three miles in order to get a little soup, etc.[4] So keen was the

[1] *Ibid.*, XIII., 804.
[2] *Ibid.*, 806.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV., 88.
[4] *Ibid.*, 97.

demand for these reports that reprints had to be made and they acted as a spur to renewed generosity.

Besides the Lazarists, other Orders also, at least in the neighbourhood of Paris, took a share in the distribution of alms, for instance the Jesuits, the priests of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, the Capuchins, the Dominicans and others,[1] but the "priests of the Mission were the most experienced, and set an example to the rest".[2] Special zeal was also displayed by the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. Vincent had himself joined it and there can be no doubt that he taught it much, just as he in turn learnt from it,[3] for as a matter of fact, Vincent did not make it a point to carry out none but his own ideas. He was emphatically not one of those men who delight in the vast schemes born of a brilliant imagination, or who throw off ideas which they leave it to others to translate into realities. More than one of his most important undertakings was due to the suggestion of someone else, and when a plan had taken root in his mind he never precipitated its execution. There were those who actually complained of his slowness, but he would reply that deliberateness had never yet harmed him, that precipitation leads nowhere, that the works of God develop only very gradually and that which is destined to last longest, takes longest to reach completion.[4] However, once he had realized that an undertaking was possible, and had made up his mind to carry it through, he would allow no obstacle to deter him. If, for the time being, he was unable to get all he wanted, or only a small part of it, he did the little he was able to do, thus advancing step by step, from one thing to another, until enterprises were finally brought to fruition which he himself had not thought of at first. "All this," he says of his foundations,[5] "has come to life by degrees, without its having been possible to say who gave the first impulse.

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 540, note 10. [2] *Ibid.*, 541.

[3] *Ibid.*, and Coste, in *Bullet. de litt. éccles.*, 1907, 353–369.

[4] *Cf.* the passages, in Coste, XIV., 197, s.v. *Empressement.*

[5] Conference of May 17, 1658, *ibid.*, XII., 6–10. *Cf.* his letter to the too tempestuous Philip Le Vacher in Algiers (1650 or 1651): "On gâte souvent les bonnes œuvres pour aller trop vite, pource

I had never thought either of our rules, our Congregation or as much as the word Mission—God has done it all. When I consider the guidance by which it has pleased God to cause this Society to rise in the Church, I confess I no longer know where I am ; all that I see around me appears like a dream. Everything has come about beyond my expectations and without my having given it a thought."

Yet all the while the wonderful things he had achieved seemed to him small and inadequate. He himself confesses that whenever, in his earlier years, he returned to Paris from some mission,[1] he used to feel as if the city gates were about to fall on him and crush him because he did not spread in other localities the good he had done in the place he had just left, so that he was to blame for the loss of many souls. " O what a wretched man I am," he exclaims in the same address. " I talk, but do nothing ! I tell others what they should do, but do it not myself ! " [2] So lofty was his conception of the dignity and the duties of the priesthood that he often said that had he realized it as he did then, he would never have dared to become a priest.[3] A priest who beholds Christ on the cross should be ashamed to die in his bed [4] ; for himself he would have wished to breathe his last behind some hedge whilst on a mission.[5] It was his most deeply rooted conviction that all that he himself or his companions were able to accomplish, was the work of God and an undeserved gift to one who was unworthy. The greater the success the more keenly he felt this sense of unworthiness : " O, who will help us

que l'on agit selon ses inclinations, qui emportent l'esprit et la raison, et font penser que le bien que l'on voit à faire est faisable et de saison ; ce qui n'est pas ; et l'on le reconnait dans la suite par le mauvais succès. Le bien que Dieu veut, se fait quasi de lui-même, sans qu'on y pense " ; this was how it had been with all the works of the Congregation. COSTE, IV., c. 122.

[1] Address on November 25, 1657, *ibid.*, XI., 445.

[2] *Ibid.*, 444.

[3] *Ibid.*, V., 568 ; VII., 463.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 294.

[5] *Ibid.*, V., 204.

to abase ourselves even beneath hell itself," he once wrote after receiving a big gift,[1] " where can we hide ourselves when we behold the great goodness of God towards us ? " and he can think of but one answer to his question : " in the wounds of our Lord."

It must be borne in mind that all Vincent's labours and sacrifices in the service of society were not the fruit of a vague, indeterminate humanitarianism and philanthropy, but that all he accomplished grew out of his Christianity and is wholly and utterly Christian. Christ is the pattern both of his Society of the priests of the Mission and his Sisters of Charity : it was their vocation to continue His life of sacrifice, in His spirit, after the pattern set by Him, and for His sake. Accordingly, for him the bodily welfare of his protégés is not the supreme object : before all else he aims at helping souls and that not only for the duration of this earthly existence, but for all eternity. In this way Vincent combined seemingly opposite characteristics ; on the one hand a burning love of God, which found frequent expression in his addresses to his followers, and on the other hand the greatest coolness and caution in making his plans. His love of God, though so strong and ardent, expressed itself in a different manner from that of St. Philip Neri—his was predominantly an active love : " Let us love God, my brethren," he said, " but let us love Him at the expense of our arms and in the sweat of our brow." [2] Of visions there is hardly mention in his life and when in 1641 he declared that Madame de Chantal's entry into eternity had been shown to him, he expressly added that up to that time he never had had a vision.[3] Vincent himself said that his favourite virtues, and the chief objects of his striving, were

[1] To Codoing, August 26, 1640, *ibid.*, II., 103.

[2] "Aimons Dieu, mes frères, aimons Dieu, mais que ce soit aux dépens de nos bras, que ce soit à la sueur de nos visages." COSTE, XI., 40.

[3] " Mais ce qui fait penser que c'est une vraie vision, c'est qu'il n'est point sujet à aucune et n'a jamais eu que celle-ci " (*ibid.*, XIII., 127 ; *cf.* II., 122). He told the Sisters of Charity that ecstasies " sont plus dommageables qu'utiles " (*ibid.*, IX., 30).

simplicity, straightforwardness, and uprightness.[1] Closely related to this "holy simplicity" was a humility which in any other man would have been considered affected and insincere.[2] In his case, on the contrary, we are prepared to believe that even his strongest expressions in this respect came from the heart. It was humility that drew him towards the poor and the lowly; and it was precisely his devotion to the disinherited members of society which won for him immense prestige with the highest and the wealthiest and which led him to the Court itself. Louis XIII. sent for him that he might prepare him for death, and in his arms the King died.[3] Shortly before his death he had requested Vincent to draw up a list of suitable candidates for the episcopate and he declared that, if he recovered, no one should be raised to that dignity who had not spent three years in the house of the Mission.[4]

Subsequently also Vincent had a great deal to do with episcopal nominations.[5] After the death of Louis XIII. (May, 1643) the Queen-Regent, Anne, made him a member of the Council which assisted her in the business of government. Thus it came about that the son of a peasant, to whom high-born prebend-hunters paid eager court, sat next to Mazarin, the all-powerful minister, the Chancellor Séguier, the Bishops of Lisieux and Beauvais and the Grand Penitentiary of Paris, to decide jointly with them questions on which depended the welfare or injury of the French Church. It is not to be supposed that he felt at ease in the atmosphere of the Court; he only attended the Council when summoned,[6] and would only deal

[1] "La sainte simplicité. . . . C'est la vertu que j'aime le plus et à laquelle je fais plus attention dans mes actions, si me semble." To Du Coudray, November 6, 1654, *ibid.*, I., 284.

[2] *Cf.* the passages, *ibid.*, XIV., 269 *seq.*

[3] Vincent to Codoing, May 15, 1643, *ibid.*, II., 393 *seq.* "Depuis que je suis sur la terre, je n'ai vu mourir une personne plus chrétiennement" writes Vincent, *ibid.*; *cf.* X., 342 *seq.*

[4] Vincent to Codoing, April 17, 1643, *ibid.*, II., 387; *cf.* XI., 132.

[5] MAYNARD, III., 407 *seqq.*

[6] "en cour, où je ne vas si on ne m'y appelle, ce qui arrive rarement." To the Vicar-General of Toul, July 8, 1650, *ibid.*, IV., 29.

with questions which concerned the Church or the poor,[1] and when a rumour spread that he had been dismissed from the "Council of Conscience" he ascribed to his sins the fact that the rumour was "unfortunately" not true.[2]

Fénelon of Cambrai, the former Bishop of Alet, the first President De Lamoignon, all bear eloquent testimony to his independence towards the Queen,[3] whilst the dexterity with which he sometimes rejected demands for episcopal sees without giving offence may be admired to this day in some of his letters.[4] Those Bishops who were aminated by truly ecclesiastical sentiments were of course delighted to see Vincent in the "Council of Conscience". More than any other the zealous Bishop of Cahors, Alain de Solminihac, was wont to importune Vincent as soon as the danger arose of an unworthy candidate being named to a bishopric.[5] Thus, to give but one instance, at Périgueux there was a youthful Bishop who not only put off his departure for his diocese, but there was also a proposal to give him an inexperienced Vicar-General. Alain begged Vincent [6] to do his utmost with the Queen, Mazarin and the young Bishop himself, with a view to preventing such a step. In the same letter he also recommended to him some business of the Bishop of Lectoure and the reform of the Dominicans of Cahors, begging him to do his utmost, as before, for the appointment of good Bishops, for this was the greatest service he could render to God.[7] The Bishop-Elect of Périgueux resigned at once, but the danger then arose of the nephew of the Bishop of Condom being appointed in his place. Without losing a moment Solminihac wrote to Vincent,[8] begging him

[1] To Gallais, February 13, 1644, *ibid.*, IV., 29.

[2] To Codoing, January 1, 1645, *ibid.*, 500.

[3] In MAYNARD, III., 400.

[4] COSTE, IV., 18 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*

[5] H. BREMOND, in the *Correspondant*, April 10, 1922, 117 *seqq.*

[6] July 31, 1646, in COSTE, II., 625; III., 228.

[7] "et de travailler fortement toujours, comme vous avez fait, à procurer de bons évêques à l'Église, qui est le plus grand service que vous sussiez rendre à Notre-Seigneur. *Ibid.*, II., 626.

[8] August 20, 1647, *ibid.*, III., 228.

to oppose this nomination with all his might. Alain had yet another request: the Bishop of Valence was being hindered in his office by the lay Governor; let Vincent persuade Mazarin to intervene; if necessary the Governor could be removed, for it was easy to find good Governors but difficult to find good Bishops.[1]

In this way he was for ever urging his friend to press for reforms and again for reforms: "I beg of you in God's name," he wrote,[2] "to have pity on the dioceses of Montauban and Sarlat, as well as on my own, which suffers in consequence of the disorders that obtain in the former"; and since there was as yet no improvement in Périgueux he exclaims: "Will that poor diocese be left for ever in its wretched condition? I had a mind to write to the Marquise de Senecey and, if you will, tell the Queen that I have written these things to you, and that there is nothing of which she will have to give to God a stricter account than if she fails to nominate to bishoprics men possessed of the requisite qualities.[3] In this way the Bishop was for ever pleading now for this diocese, now for that,[4] as well as for a number of monasteries in need of reform.[5] We still possess some forty letters of this kind addressed to Vincent. Besides the Bishop of Cahors, several other prelates likewise appealed to the Saint, for instance the Bishops of Alet and Puy and the General of the Dominicans, Tucco.[6] But the grandest recognition of Vincent's influence in the Council of Conscience lies in the fact that the cunning diplomatist who continued the work of Richelieu sought to paralyse his activity in this respect. Mazarin began by convening the Council of Conscience more and more rarely and by October 2nd, 1652, things had come to such a pass that Alain de Solminihac had

[1] *Ibid.*, 229.

[2] March 3, 1647, *ibid.*, 152.

[3] To Vincent, April, 1648 *ibid.*, 295.

[4] For Bordeaux, *ibid.*, II., 564; for Rhodez, *ibid.*, III., 293; for Tulle, *ibid.*, IV., 24; for Toulouse, *ibid.*, 244; anxiety for a successor for himself, *ibid.*, IV., 146, 219.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 443, 464, 563; III., 238.

[6] *Ibid.*, II., 536; III., 391, 394, 469.

to lament the fact that Vincent was no longer even a member of that Council.[1] During ten years he had taken an active part in its deliberations and in that time he had done a great deal, to the best advantage of the episcopate and the Orders.[2]

Mazarin was not mistaken when he saw in Vincent a dangerous opponent of his policy. The Saint had indeed strictly enjoined his followers not to meddle with affairs of State or even to speak of such matters.[3] However, there was another side to Mazarin's policy besides the purely political one, one that laid upon the poor people unbearable burdens and injured religion. Like Richelieu, his master, Mazarin put the political greatness of France above that of the Church with whose purple he was adorned: like Richelieu he passionately sought to encompass the downfall of the Habsburgs, heedless of the fact that thereby he was hindering the Catholic Restoration in France and helping Protestantism to victory in North Germany.[4]

Vincent and Mazarin were contemporaries: the minister died in 1661, Vincent on September 27th, 1660, the most faithful of his collaborators, Portail and Louise de Marillac having preceded him in death by a few months. More than once the two men had stood face to face; often, too, they had sat in the same Council Chamber; both have greatly influenced their age and left a deep imprint on the history of the world. But what a contrast between them! Mazarin, caution and cunning personified, Vincent the embodiment of lovable simplicity and straightforwardness; the minister, besides directing the affairs of the State, equally keen to increase his power, to add to his wealth, to make princely provision for his relatives, whereas with Vincent it was an understood thing that self had always to be kept in the background, so much so that during the troubles of the Fronde he even had the courage to counsel the all-powerful minister to sacrifice himself in order to calm the storm.[5] Mazarin's work did not last. It had been

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 491; *cf.* 545. [2] MAYNARD, III., 404–492.
[3] To Lebreton, February 28, 1640, in COSTE, II., 29 *seq.*
[4] *Cf.* MAYNARD, IV., 14 *seq.* [5] *Ibid.*, 25.

the Cardinal's determination to increase the royal power, and he succeeded indeed in enhancing it, but by so doing he roused the Revolution which overturned the throne. On the other hand, the work of Vincent withstood not only the storms of the Revolution, but will stand in time to come. It is not difficult to decide which of the two men was the greater benefactor of mankind.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXVIII.

ABELLY, Louis (biographer), 483.
Acarie, Madame, 459.
Aiguillon, Duchess of, 444, 459, 478 *seq.*
Alba, Duke of, 197, 219.
Albergati, Antonio (nuncio), 168, 183.
Albornoz, Cardinal, 284, 291, 294.
Aldobrandini, Pietro, Cardinal, 2, 3, 5, 13, 18, 24, 28, 49, 239, 291.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 469.
Alice, Alessandro (Capuchin), 91.
Althan, Count Michael A., 114.
Andrea, Fr. (S.J.), 84.
Anne (wife of Louis XIII.), 383, 422, 479, 489.
Angoumois, Philip d' (Capuchin), 455.
Arigoni, Pompeo, Cardinal, 29.
Arnoux, G., 445.
Aschhausen, John (bishop of Wurzburg), 179, 189, 351.
Audebert, S. (S.J.), 542.
Augustus of Saxony, 181.
Avila, Cardinal, 9.
Azzolini, Cardinal, 50, 53, 76, 299, 301 *seq.*

BAGLIONE, Giovanni, 54.
Baglione, Malatesta (nuncio), 341, 344 *seqq.*, 354.
Bagno, Marchese di, 69 *seqq.*, 73.
Bagno, Giovan Francesc. (nuncio), 102, 104, 106–9, 111–14, 217, 225–32, 234, 242, 258, 273 *seq.*, 280, 298, 310, 414, 436.
Balde, Jacob (S.J.), 160, 185
Bandini, Cardinal, 2, 5, 10 *seq.*, 49.
Banér (Swiss General), 355, 360.
Barberini, Anna (Colonna), 45.
Barberini, Antonio (father of Urban VIII.), 26.
Barberini, Antonio (brother of Urban VIII.), 38, 40.
Barberini, Antonio (Cardinal nephew), 38, 40, 42, 47 *seq.*, 241 *seq.*, 289, 352, 408 *seq.*, 426.
Barberini, Camilla (Barbadori), 26.
Barberini, Carlo (brother of Urban VIII.), 30, 38 *seq.*, 44, 46, 241.
Barberini, Costanza (Magalotti), 38, 39.
Barberini, Francesco (uncle of Urban VIII.), 27.
Barberini, Francesco (poet), 26.
Barberini, Francesco (Cardinal nephew), 38–43, 47–50, 76, 79, 82–7, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 108 *seq.*, 114, 196, 215–218, 223 *seq.*, 227, 234, 236, 239, 245 *seq.*, 254, 267, 272, 275, 277, 280, 282, 291, 293, 299, 301, 303, 308, 310, 320, 324, 347, 349, 352, 412 *seq.*, 424, 436.
Barberini, Maffeo, *vide* Urban VIII.
Barberini, Taddeo (nephew of Urban VIII.), 38, 44–8, 74, 352, 403.
Barrault, Jean J. (archbishop of Arles), 455.
Barry, de (S.J.), 445.
Basilio, Fr. (Capuchin), 348.
Bassompierre (French Ambassador), 93, 244.

Bellarmine, Cardinal, 32, 156.
Bellegarde, Octave de St. Lary, de (archbishop of Sens), 441.
Benesse, Pietro, 50, 51.
Benevoli, Orazio, 189.
Benthcim, Count, 169.
Bentivoglio, Cardinal, 2, 408.
Bermond, Françoise de, 460.
Bernard, Claude, 445.
Bernini, Lorenzo, 33, 44, 384.
Bernini, Pietro, 32.
Bertini (Oratorian), 425, 427.
Bérulle, Cardinal, 87, 96, 104, 109 *seq.*, 113, 225, 395–7, 423, 438–444, 459, 465 *seq.*
Bethlen Gábor, 65, 88, 102, 116, 141, 155, 225.
Béthune, Baron Philippe de, 64–69, 80 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*, 105–108, 113, 202, 210–222, 226–231, 237 *seq.*
Béthune, Maximilian de, 455.
Bevilacqua, Cardinal, 2.
Bichi, Cardinal, 271, 293, 320, 322 *seq.*, 329–332, 365, 399, 406–8.
Bidermann (S.J., poet), 185.
Biscia, Cardinal, 49.
Bolognetti, Giorgio (nuncio), 332, 337, 347, 350, 416, 438.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 2, 23, 28.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 45.
Bontault, Egide de (bishop of Aire), 440.
Borghese, Scipione, Cardinal, 2 *seqq.*, 33, 49, 51.
Borgia, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 56, 114, 241, 281–294, 297 *seq.*, 306–308, 310, 326.
Borromeo, Cardinal, 2, 4, 10 *seq.*, 32.
Boschetti (author), 419.
Bourdoise, A., 443 *seq.*
Bourgoing (General of Oratorians), 442 *seq.*, 465.
Bozzolo, Duke of, 334, 346, 357.
Braccioli, Bartolomeo, 53.
Brancard, W., 103.
Bridal, Frederick, 138.
Brulart (diplomat), 264, 267.
Brulart, Noel Sillery de, 62, 64, 449.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 104.
Buonvicino, Ambrogio, 32.
Burnatius, Fr. (S.J.), 133.

Cadareita, Marquis de, 207.
Caetani Cardinal, 2, 7, 21, 239.
Callot, James, 377.
Campeggi, Lorenzo (nuncio), 294, 304.
Campori, Cardinal, 2, 5 *seq.*
Camus (bishop of Bellcy), 470.
Capponi, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 239.
Carafa, Cardinal, 2, 5, 7 *seq.*
Carafa, Carlo (nuncio), 116, 124 *seq.*, 141–6, 155, 181, 187, 189 *seq.*
Carafa, Pier Luigi (nuncio), 162, 168, 170–8, 184, 255.
Casale, Giacinto (Capuchin), 91.
Castel, Roderigo Marchese, 308, 326, 409.
Castelli, Domenico, 53.
Castelli, Matteo, 31.
Caussin, Nicholas (S.J.), 389–391, 445.
Cavalcante, 12.
Cavalieri, Jacopo, Cardinal, 50.
Cecchini, Cardinal, 291, 292.
Cennini, Cardinal, 2, 5, 7, 19.
Centini, Cardinal, 2.
Cesarini, Virginio, 49.
Ceva, Cardinal, 23, 50, 294, 304, 329.
Champaigne (artist), 383.
Chanowski, Adalbert (S.J.), 138.
Chantal, Frances de St., 459, 462, 488.
Charles I. (Prince of Wales), 68, 102 *seq.*, 232, 352, 358.
Charles, Prince (bishop of Breslau), 147 *seq.*
Charles (Duke of Lorraine), 332, 337, 340, 365, 483.
Charles IX. (King of Sweden), 269.

Charles Emmanuel (Duke of Savoy), 76, 79, 99, 202, 204, 207, 209, 230–3, 244, 246 *seq.*, 265, 349.
Charles Ferdinand, 148.
Charnacé (ambassador), 258.
Christian IV. (King of Denmark), 100, 101.
Christian William (Duke of Brunswick), 170, 181.
Christina of Savoy, 518.
Chiabrera, Gabriele, 31.
Chigi, Fabio (nuncio), 371.
Chumacero, Juan, 326.
Ciampoli, Giovanni, 10, 31, 50, 199.
Cinque-Mars, Marquis of, 381.
Claudia of Tuscany, 161.
Clement VII., Pope, 210, 238, 301, 324, 327
Clement VIII., Pope, 2, 5, 28, 33, 435, 463.
Cobelluzio, Cardinal, 2, 5 *seq.*, 24.
Cœuvres, *vide* Estrées.
Coligny, Admiral, 456.
Collalto, General, 235, 238, 245, 247, 251.
Colonna, Francesco, 44.
Colonna, Cardinal, 289.
Colonna, Otto, 44.
Colonna, Filippo (Duke of Paliano), 45.
Commendone, Cardinal, 367.
Condé (Duc d'Enghien, 373, 376, 381, 483, 484.
Condren (General of Oratorians), 438, 442 *seq.*, 455.
Contelori, Felice, 47.
Conti, Torquato, 99.
Cordova, Gonzales, 204–7, 209, 213, 219, 225, 238.
Corneille (poet), 384.
Corsini, O. (nuncio), 65, 66.
Cortona, Pietro da, 34.
Cospéau, Philippe, 402, 441.
Coton, Fr. (S.J.), 393 *seq.*, 445.
Créqui (French ambassador), 246, 327, 349, 400, 408.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 2.
Crivelli, Gian Battista, 266, 276, 304.

De Lamoignon (President), 490.
Desclaux, Jacques, 440.
Deti, Cardinal, 2.
Devic, 103.
Dietrichstein, Cardinal, 8 *seq.*, 126, 141–6, 342 *seq.*, 345, 409.
Dohna, Count, 149.
Domenico di Gesu Maria, 240.
Doria, Cardinal, 2, 9, 21, 56.
Dubois, Jean, 451.
Duiguin, Dermot (Lazarist), 475.
Dumoulin, Pierre, 107.
Du Perron, Cardinal, 395.
Dupleix (historian), 416.
Du Plessis, Alphonse Louis, 242, 399, 440.
Du Puy, Jacques, 416, 418.
Du Puy, Pierre, 416, 418.
Durazzo, Cardinal, 350.
Dürer, Albrecht, 383.
Duval, André, 398, 447.
Duval, Robert, 447.

Eggenberg, Prince, 178, 206, 222, 237, 239, 261, 267.
Eggenberg, Anton von, 357, 358.
Elenor of Mantua, 202, 207.
Elizabeth of England, 269.
Estampes, Cardinal, 439.
Este, Cardinal, 2, 3, 12, 14.
Estrées (Marquis de Cœuvres), 70–3, 87, 89, 99, 409–413, 418, 421–7, 431.
Endaemon, Johannes, 91.
Eudes, Jean, 444.
Eugene IV., Pope, 45, 405.
Eustache, Père (Capuchin), 376.

Facchinetti, Cardinal, 362, 363.
Fancan, Canon, 385.
Fargis (ambassador), 96.
Farnese, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 98.
Farnese, Odoardo (Duke of Parma), 349, 370.

Fénelon (archbishop of Cambrai), 444, 490.
Fenouillet (bishop of Montpellier), 404.
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 8, 56–58, 64, 66, 75, 101, 115–117, 125 *seq.*, 138, 146, 148 *seq.*, 151-5, 171, 178, 181, 186, 190 *seq.*, 197–200, 206 *seqq.*, 219, 222–224, 238, 247–252, 260, 263–6, 272–5, 281 *seq.*, 294, 304, 307, 329–336, 340–5, 352 *seqq.*, 356 *seq.*
Ferdinand III., Emperor, 137, 260 *seq.*, 334, 354–7, 362, 368 *seq.*
Ferdinand (archbishop of Cologne), 183, 188.
Ferdinand (Duke of Bavaria), 170.
Ferdinand II. (Archduke of Tuscany), 60, 159. 161.
Feria, Duke of, 72, 76, 218, 328.
Fernando, Don (Cardinal Infante), 334, 338, 355, 373.
Feuquières, Marquis de, 323.
Fieschi, Count, 426.
Filsac (poet), 108.
Forgách, Cardinal, 156.
Fourier, Pierre, 444.
Frank, Hans Ulrich, 375.
Frederick (son of Christian IV. of Denmark), 170.
Fugger, Jacob, 188.
Fuchs, von Dornheim (bishop of Bamberg), 179.

Galamina, Cardinal, 2, 5, 9 *seq.*
Gallas, Marshal, 272, 334, 360.
Gambara, Francesco (ambassador), 58.
Gans, Fr. (S.J.), 368.
Garasse, Fr. (S.J.), 91, 445.
Gault, Jean Baptiste, 440.
Gautier, René, 451.
Gessi, Cardinal, 49, 61, 239.
Ginetti, Cardinal, 50, 239, 350 *seq.*, 356, 361, 364, 366, 370.
Ginnasio, Cardinal, 2, 5, 10, 13 *seq.*, 239.
George William of Anspach-Brandenburg, 179.
Giustiniani, 30.
Godeau, Antoine (bishop of Vence), 440, 457.
Gondi, Henri (archbishop of Paris), 82, 442 *seq.*, 457.
Gondi, Jean François (archbishop of Paris, 418.
Gondi, Count Philippe Emmanuel, 465, 478 *seqq.*
Gondi, Countess, 467.
Gonzaga, Carlo (Duke of Mantua), 202–212, 215 *seq.*, 220–8, 230, 232 *seqq.*, 235 *seq.*, 238, 247, 266 *seq.*, 273, 349.
Gonzaga, Charles (Duke of Rethel), 203 *seq.*, 206, 210, 212, 218.
Gonzaga, Ferdinand (Duke of Guastella). 204, 207, 265.
Gonzaga, Ferdinand (Duke of Mantua), 201.
Gonzaga, Francesco, 201.
Gonzaga, Margherita (Duchess of Lorraine), 201, 207.
Gonzaga, Maria, 201–7, 212, 218, 248.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo I. (Duke of Mantua), 201.
Gonzaga, Vincenzo II. (Duke of Mantua), 201 *seqq.*, 211.
Götz, Count John, 359.
Goussault, Madame, 478.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 2.
Gozzadini, Cardinal, 2.
Gregory XV., Pope, 1, 2, 32, 40, 49, 58, 62, 164, 172, 198, 293.
Greiffenclau, George Frederick (archbishop of Mayence), 187 *seq.*
Grillo, Angelo, 31.
Grimaldi, Girolamo (nuncio), 294, 303 *seq.*, 427 *seq.*, 431.
Gustavus, Adolphus (King of Sweden), 225, 251, 257–263, 267–271, 275–280, 286, 301 *seq.*, 311–320, 330, 359, 374.

Guzmán, Canon Enrico, 194.

HALBERSTADT, Christian of, 66, 102, 162.
Hallier, 419, 424, 447.
Hanau, Count, 169.
Harcourt, General, 372, 479.
Harley, François d. (archbishop of Rouen), 439.
Harrach, Ernest Adalbert von, 117–19.
Harrach, Karl (Count), 118.
Harrach, Cardinal, 125 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*, 137, 139 *seq.*
Henry IV., 30, 55, 67 *seq.*, 464.
Henrietta Maria (wife of Charles I. of England), 68, 232.
Herbault, 83.
Herbersdorf, Adam von, 151.
Hersant, Charles, 421.
Hohenzollern, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 169 *seq.*, 223.
Horn, General, 300, 327, 335.
Honoré, Fr. (Capuchin), 449 *seq.*
Huss, Johann, 122.

INNOCENT X., 76.
Isambert, 447.

JENATSCH, George, 70.
John Frederick of Holstein, 183.
John, Count of Nassau Siegen, 164, 167, 187, 208.
Joseph, Fr. (Leclerc du Temblay), 78–87, 233, 260–265, 323, 331–4, 339, 349, 400–2, 410, 449 *seq.*

Kassiades, Vitus, 124.
Keller, Jacob, 91.
Khevenhüller, Count (ambassador), 202, 205, 209, 245, 247.
Klesl, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 223.
Knöringon, Henry von, 173, 189 *seq.*, 367.
Krawarski, Adam (S.J.), 135, 138.

LAFAYETTE, François (bishop of Limoges), 440, 457.
La Force, Marshal, 247.
Lamormaini, William (S.J.), 126–130, 153, 171, 178, 190, 222, 318.
Lante, Cardinal, 2, 5 *seq.*, 239.
Lappius, Franciscan, 120.
Layman, Paul (S.J.), 367.
Leberon, Charles (bishop of Valence), 440.
Le Bon (prior of St. Lazare), 468.
Leckow, Johann von, 168.
Leclerc du Temblay, *vide* Joseph.
Leganés, Marchese de, 372.
Le Gras, Antoine, 470.
Le Gras, [Marillac] Louise, 469–471, 481, 492.
Lejeune (Oratorian), 445, 451 *seqq.*
Lemaistre, A., 447.
Leni, Cardinal, 2, 20.
Leo XI., Pope, 29.
Leopold, Archduke, 70, 159 *seq.*, 169, 171, 186.
Leopold William, Archduke, 171, 179, 181 *seq.*, 224, 255, 344.
Lestonnac, Jeanne de, 462.
Le Vacher, Jean (Lazarist), 479.
Liechtenstein, Karl von, 120, 125, 135, 142.
Listolfi, Henri, 440.
Lobkowitz, Ulrich, 132, 138.
Lodron, Paul von (archbishop of Salzburg), 189.
Lohelius (archbishop of Prague), 117.
Lorraine, Francis of (bishop of Verdun), 403.
Lorrain, Claude (artist), 54.
Louis V. (Landgrave of Darmstadt), 165.
Louis XIII. (King of France), 28, 55 *seq*, 63, 65 *seq.*, 68, 71–4, 79, 82 *seqq.*, 86 *seq.*,

95, 97, 102, 105, 107, 109, 112 *seq.*, 193, 196, 212–17, 221, 225–238, 243, 247, 258, 263, 267, 272, 276, 279, 281, 285, 294, 315 *seqq.*, 323, 325, 332, 334, 339, 340, 349, 353, 362, 369, 373, 381, 389 *seqq.*, 397, 403, 410, 422, 434, 446, 457, 484, 489.
Louis XIV., 377.
Ludovisi, Ludovico, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 37, 41, 284, 286, 291 *seq.*

MACHIAVELLI, Cardinal, 366, 370, 385.
Maderno, Carlo, 52.
Madruzzo, Cardinal, 2, 5, 8, 10.
Magalotti, Carlo, 76.
Magalotti, Cesare, 76.
Magalotti, Costanza, *vide* Barberini.
Magalotti, Cardinal, 39 *seq.*, 49, 53, 94.
Magni, Valerian (Capuchin), 118, 136.
Mansfeld, General, 66, 101 *seq.*, 148, 162.
Mantegna (artist), 383.
Mantilla (Franciscan), 119, 120.
Manti, Admiral, 479.
Maratta (artist), 43.
Marca, Pierre de, 415, 429.
Marcellin, Fr. (Capuchin), 449.
Margaret of Lorraine, 403.
Margaret of Valois, 464.
Margherita of Savoy, 201.
Marillac, Louis de, 470.
Marillac, Louise de, *vide* Le Gras.
Marillac, Marshal, 381, 423, 451 *seq.*
Marquemont, Cardinal, 396.
Martineau, 447.
Martinitz, Count Jaroslav Borzita, 130, 134.
Massimi, Innocenzo de', 194.
Maximilian I. (Duke of Bavaria), 64–6, 76, 91, 100–2, 151 *seq.*, 170, 172, 180–3, 186, 190, 192, 200, 234–6, 253, 257–262, 266, 271, 274–6, 279, 301, 304, 317, 327 *seq.*, 342 *seq.*, 364.
Maximilian II. of Bavaria, 153.
Maximilian (Grand Duke of Teutonic Order), 159.
Mattei, Cardinal, 362–5, 367 *seq.*
Maupas, Henri de (bishop of Puy), 440.
Mazarin, Guilio, 241-7, 264, 267, 273, 337, 358, 378, 410–13, 421, 424, 431, 458, 489–492.
Medici, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*
Medici, Maria (Queen of France), 277, 422, 470.
Medici, Claudia, 59.
Medici, Victoria, 58 *seq.*
Mérode, Count, 235.
Mestrézat, 424.
Metternich, Lothar von, 188.
Michaelangelo, 383.
Michna, Count Paul, 121, 124.
Millini, Cardinal, 2, 5 *seq.*, 49.
Mirabel, 83.
Mitrowitz, Christoph Wratislav, 130.
Milrowski, George, 122.
Mocchi, Francesco, 32.
Mohr, Johann, 189.
Moncada, Luis de, 409.
Monod, Fr. (S.J.), 391.
Montague, 103.
Montalto, Cardinal, 32.
Montchal, Charles de (bishop of Toulouse, 440 *seq.*
Monte, Cardinal, 2, 4, 9, 13, 19.
Monterey (ambassador), 228, 281.
Monti, Cardinal, 202, 213 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*
Montmorency, Duke, 244, 381.
Montoria, Pietro Francesco (nuncio), 161–6, 169.
Morini (Oratorian), 416, 447.
Motmann, Cornelius Henry, 357.
Mraczki, Lord of, 132.
Murad, Sultan, 362.

Muti, Cardinal, 2.

NARI, Bernardino, 49, 74, 76.
Negro, Père (S.J.), 400.
Neri, Philip St., 28, 488.
Nerlich, Fr. (S.J.), 149.
Nevers, *vide* Gonzaga.
Noailles, Count de, 409.
Noailles, Charles (bishop of St. Flour).
Nogaret, Lavalette Louis de, Cardinal, 402, 412.

OLIER, Jean Jacques, 443 *seq.*, 458.
Olivares, Count, 76, 96, 98, 194, 202, 206, 218, 221, 239, 281, 304, 307, 327, 351, 366, 369.
Oñate, Count, 199 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*, 342, 345.
Opel, Bernard, (S.J.), 138.
Opersdorff, John III., Count, 147, 149.
Orleans, Gaston, Duke of, 403 *seq.*, 418.
Orsini, Cardinal, 19.
Oxenstjerna, Axel, 323, 337.

PALATINE, Wolfgang, Count, 81, 164, 167, 169, 177, 186.
Pallotto, Cardinal, 153, 190, 213 *seq.*, 219, 222, 237, 239, 242, 254, 258.
Pamfili, Girolamo, Cardinal, 49.
Pamfili, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 76, 98, 206, 218 *seq.*
Panciroli, Cardinal, 240–7, 272.
Paniaqua, Cardinal, 2, 3, 9, 21, 96.
Pappenheim, Count, 169.
Pappus, Leonard, 208.
Passignano, Domenico, 31.
Pastrana, Duke of, 9, 62, 193.
Paul IV., Pope, 215, 327.
Paul V., Pope, 2 *seq.*, 5 *seq.*, 29, 40, 55, 165, 172, 279, 282, 435.
Pauguin, Nicholas, 441.
Pázmány, Peter, Cardinal, 156–9, 242, 282, 294–304, 306–8, 342–5.
Pelletier, 289.
Perugino, 383.
Pesaro, Giovanni (ambassador), 37–48.
Petau (Petavius), 444.
Philip IV. (King of Spain), 56, 63, 65, 72, 82, 93, 98, 103, 193–6, 200, 205–7, 214, 218, 221, 239, 248, 263, 281–4, 289–291, 294, 298, 307 *seq.*, 336, 338, 348, 350, 353, 362, 369, 373.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 206, 281.
Philippi, Henry (S.J.), 126.
Piccolomini, General, 483.
Pignatelli, Cardinal, 2, 14, 20 *seq.*
Pio, Cardinal, 2, 239.
Pius IX, Pope, 54.
Pithou, 430.
Platais, Canon, 135.
Poli, Cardinal, 50.
Porta, Gulielmo della (sculptor), 32.
Portail, 492
Possevino (ambassador), 36.
Potier, Augustin (bishop of Beauvais), 419, 441, 457.
Poussin, Nicholas, 383.
Pozzo, Cassiano del, 41, 76.
Priuli, Cardinal, 2, 17.
Prester, Albrecht, 198.

QUERENGO, Antonio, 31.
Quiroga, Diego (Capuchin), 345–8.

RABARDEAU, Michel, 419.
Raconis, François de, 440.
Raggi, Lorenzo, 50.
Rakoczy (Prince of Transilvania), 301, 337 *seq.*, 450.
Régis, Francis (S.J.), 446, 452 *seq.*
Reinach, Baron Henry von, 359.
Renty, Baron, 451.

Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal, 67 *seq.*, 71–4, 77–83, 86–92, 96, 102–113, 217, 225–234, 242–6, 258, 264, 267, 270–281, 304, 308–319, 323–7, 329–333, 336–340, 345, 348–351, 355, 358, 360–6, 369, 373, 378–431, 434, 436, 438, 440–450, 457, 476, 479, 483, 491 *seq.*
Richer, Edmund, 90, 243, 392, 395, 398, 432.
Rinucci, Giovanni Battista, 31.
Rivarola, Cardinal, 2, 20, 22.
Rocci, Ciriaco, Cardinal, 258–263, 330, 341, 344.
Rochefoucauld, Cardinal, 90, 417, 434 *seq.*, 441.
Rodolfo, Cardinal, 2.
Rohan, Duke of, 338, 449.
Roma, Cardinal, 2.
Rospigliosi, Giulio (Clement XI.), 352.
Rossetti, Cardinal, 370, 371.
Rovere, Francesco Maria (Duke of Urbino), 46, 58–62.
Rubens, 375.

SACCHETTI, Giovanni (nuncio), 214, 223, 241.
Sacchetti, Cardinal, 64–6, 73, 93, 350.
Sacchi, Andrea (artist), 33, 42.
Sacrati, Cardinal, 2, 7 *seq.*
Saint-Cyran, 432.
Salette, Jean Henri de, 455.
Sales, Francis de St., 453, 459, 466, 471.
Salomoni, 419.
Sandoval, Cardinal, 283 *seq.*, 290, 299.
Sandrart, Joachim (artist), 53.
Sanseverino, Cardinal, 2, 7, 10, 23.
Santa Groce, Cardinal, 266.
Santarelli, Antonio (S.J.), 392–397.
Santori, Paolo Emilio, 31.
Sarpi, Paolo, 94.
Sauli, Cardinal, 2, 4, 13, 14.
Savelli, Cardinal, 2, 5, 22.
Savelli, Federigo, 75, 237, 272, 282, 286, 318.
Savelli, Paolo (ambassador), 57, 282, 285 *seq.*, 293, 359.
Savoy, Maurice of, Cardinal, 2, 3, 5, 7, 12 *seq.*, 32.
Saxony, Elector of, 125, 146, 150, 165, 191, 235, 251, 263, 277, 296, 355.
Scaglia, Abbate, 104.
Scaglia, Cardinal.
Scappi (nuncio), 93, 213 *seq.*, 223.
Scheiner, Christoph (S.J.), 147.
Schenck, Pieter, 54.
Schlick, Count, 343.
Schomberg, Count, 83, 244, 247.
Schweikart, von Cronberg (archbishop of Mayence), 167, 187.
Schweinsberg, Schenk zu, 184, 188.
Scotti, Ranuccio (nuncio), 362 *seq.*, 406, 410–14, 421, 424–427, 440, 447 *seq.*
Scribani, Fr. (S.J.), 91.
Séguier (chancellor), 489.
Senecey, Marquise de, 491.
Serbellini, Giovanni, 205.
Serra, Cardinal, 2, 14, 22.
Sforza, Cardinal, 2, 8, 22.
Sforza, Maria, 48.
Sigismund III. (King of Sweden), 269.
Sillery, Noel Brulart de, 62–4, 449.
Sirmond, James (S.J.), 420, 445.
Sixtus V., Pope, 2, 27, 281.
Slawata, William, 130, 138.
Soardi, Vincenzo Aquelli, 10.
Solminihac, Alain (bishop of Cahors), 440, 457, 490, 491.
Sötern, Philip Christian von, 167 *seq.*, 188, 191, 257, 337 *seq.*, 399.
Soubise, 86, 103.
Sourdis, Henri de (archbishop of Bordeaux), 402, 419, 434, 440.

Spada, Cardinal, 66, 71 *seq.*, 76, 83, 90, 210 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*
Spada, Giambattista, 51, 349, 395.
Spee, Frederick (S.J.), 185.
Spinola (governor of Milan), 239, 245–7.
Spinola, Cardinal, 284, 290, 294.
Sponde, Bishop Henry, 108, 454.
Stati, Cristoforo, 32.
Steffanucci, Girolamo, 49.
Stephanides, Paul (S.J.), 138.
Sternberg, Lord of, 132.
Stiegler, Fr. (O.P.), 119.
Stolberg, Count of, 169.
Stralendorf (president of Aulic Council), 343.
Stravio (Stravius), 421.
Stricker, Martin, 168.
Strozzi, Marquis, 215.
Suffren, Fr. (S.J.), 445, 455.

Tafani [Barberini], 26.
Talmberg, Frederick von, 130.
Templin, Procopius von (Capuchin), 135.
Thoiras, Marshal, 272.
Thou, F. A. de, 381, 385.
Tilly, General, 100, 102, 162, 171, 192, 236, 262, 276, 296, 300.
Torres, Cardinal, 2, 49.
Tour, Frederic Maurice (Duke de Bouillon), 455.
Trauttmansdorf, Count, 343, 359.
Trémoïlle, Henri Duc de, 455.
Trèves, Elector of, 355.
Trivulzio, Theodor, 242.
Tromp, Martin, 372.
Tucco (General of Dominicans), 491.
Turenne, 484.

Ubaldini, Cardinal, 2 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*
Urban VIII., Pope, 25–38, 40–5, 48–65, 68–78, 81 *seq.*, 87, 92–105, 166–172, 177, 181–3, 193–200, 203, 209–243, 247, 253–262, 265 *seq.*, 271–290, 293–304, 307–310, 316–340, 346–350, 353–360, 364–7, 369–372, 378, 393–400, 402, 404, 409–414, 422, 425, 427–431, 435 *seq.*, 439–444, 455, 460, 468.

Valerian, Fr. (Capuchin), 346, 348, 411.
Valiero, Cardinal, 2, 15, 21.
Velasquez, 282.
Ventadour, Henri, Duc de, 455.
Verallo, Cardinal, 2, 5 *seq.*
Véron, François, 424, 448.
Verospi, Cardinal, 31, 239.
Vervaux, Fr. (S.J.), 253.
Vérulle, Pierre de, 442.
Vialart, F. (bishop of Châlons), 440.
Vieuville, La, 64, 67.
Vincent de Paul, St., 443, 458, 462–493.
Vincenzo I., *vide* Gonzaga.
Vincenzo II., *vide* Gonzaga.
Visconti Onorato (nuncio), 52.
Vitelleschi, M. (General of the Jesuits), 318, 390, 393.
Vittorio, Amadeo I. (Duke of Savoy), 512.
Volpi, Ulpiano, 50.
Vouet, Simon, 383.

Waldburg, Johann Truchsess von, 189.
Wallenstein (Duke of Friedland), 101, 132, 149, 171, 177–180, 192, 208, 235, 252, 257, 259–263, 317 *seq.*, 327–331.
Wambold, Anselm Casimir (archbishop of Mayence), 257.
Wangnereck, Henry (S.J.), 367.
Wartenberg, Count Francis, 170, 182 *seq.*, 188.
Wartenberg, Otto Heinrich von 122 *seq.*
Wartenberg, Countess von, 123.
Weimar, Bernard of, 327 *seq.*, 335, 359 *seq.*, 374, 377, 402.

Weimár, Johann Ernst, 101 *seq.*
Welsberg, Wilhelm von, 189.
Werdenberg, Count, 343.
Werth, Johann von, 355, 483.
William of Hesse-Kassel, Landgrave, 277.
William of Baden, Margrave, 187.
Wolfradt, Antonio (Prince bishop of Vienna), 342 *seq.*, 345, 354.
Wrzesowitz, 120.
Würtemberg, Duke of, 173, 191. 354 *seq.*
Wurzburg (bishop of), 179, 189, 351.

ZACCHIA, Cardinal, 49 *seq.*, 239,
Zaccaria of Saluzzo, 84.
Zamet, bishop, 457.
Zeno, Renier, 35, 55.
Zierotin, Karl von, 142.
Zollern, Cardinal, 57.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIX.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii–xi
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix . .	xv
Church Reforms by Urban VIII.—The Jubilee of 1625—Reform of the Breviary—Religious Orders—The Roman Inquisition and the Trial of Galileo—Beginnings of Jansenism—Its rôle in the History of the Church	1–156
Creations of Cardinals by Urban VIII.—Relations with Poland—Struggle against the Cæsaro—Papalism of the small Italian States, of Venice and Spain—The Portuguese Revolution	157–211
Propaganda and the Missions	212–264
The Situation of Catholics in Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland, and Scotland	265–359
The States of the Church and the War of Castro .	360–407
Urban VIII. as Patron of Literature and Arts—Rome a Baroque City	408–544
Appendix of Unpublished Documents . . .	545–590
Index of Names	591–606

For Bibliography, see Volume XXVII.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIX.

URBAN VIII. 1623–1644.

CHAPTER I.

CHURCH REFORMS BY URBAN VIII.—THE JUBILEE OF 1625—REFORM OF THE BREVIARY—RELIGIOUS ORDERS—THE ROMAN INQUISITION AND THE TRIAL OF GALILEO—BEGINNINGS OF JANSENISM—ITS RÔLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

A.D.		PAGE
1623	Church reforms	1
1625	The year of Jubilee	4
	Beatifications by Urban VIII. and Canonizations	8
	Measures relating to Church music	11
	Reform of the Breviary	12
1634	Revision of the Missal	18
	Regulation of Feasts and	19
	The Religious Orders	20
1639	The Centenary of the Society of Jesus	22
	Mary Ward	24
	Her attempt to found a religious Order	25
	The Society of the "English Ladies"	27
	Opposition to the Society	29
1645	Death of Mary Ward	32
	Her influence	33
	The Congregation of the Inquisition	34
	Its activities	35
	Its dealings with Galileo Galilei	42
1633	His condemnation	58
	The Congregation of the Index	62
	Foundation of new religious associations	63
	Religious revival frustrated by the teaching of	66
	Baius	67
	Jansenius and	68
	Du Vergier de Hauranne	69
	The Heresy of Jansenius	71
	St. Cyran's propaganda	76

A.D.		PAGE
	His influence on the Arnauld family	78
	The Abbesses of St. Cyr and Port Royal	79
	The Abbey of Port Royal	83
	Accusation of heresy at Port Royal	83
	St. Cyran's influence and teaching	87
1638	His imprisonment	91
	Death of Jansenius	93
	The publication of his book *Augustinus*	94
	His heresy set forth	97
	Suppression of *Augustinus* by Rome	105
	Polemical writings and disputations	107
1643	Bull condemning Jansenius published	120
	It is defied by Antoine Arnauld and	123
	Opposed in Flanders and Paris	124
	The Pope's decision	125
	Antoine Arnauld, joint founder of Jansenism	132
	His teaching	133
	Opinions on his writings	138
	He is summoned to Rome	145
	Jansenist tenets and	146
	Publications	153
	Its temporary triumph	155

CHAPTER II.

CREATIONS OF CARDINALS BY URBAN VIII.—RELATIONS WITH POLAND—STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CÆSARO—PAPALISM OF THE SMALL ITALIAN STATES, OF VENICE AND SPAIN—THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION.

1623–24	Creation of Cardinals	157
	Definition of Cardinalitial dignities	161
1633	Further creations of Cardinals	162
1643	Final Creation by Urban VIII.	163
	His difficulties in selection	165
1632	Polish Embassy to Rome	167
	Urban's support of the Union	169
	His defence of the independence of the Church	171
	Leads to disputes with Savoy, Tuscany, and	173
	Lucca	174
	Still greater difficulties caused by Venice	175
	The policy of Venice	176
	A new nuncio, Vitelli, sent there	181
1638	The so-called "Inscription trouble"	183
	Relations between Rome and Spain	184
1637	Sudden illness of the Pope	192
	Disaffection of Spain	194
	Attack on the Church in Portugal	196

A.D. PAGE

The pretensions of Spain 198
1640 Insurrection in Catalonia 201
Compromise between Rome and Spain . . . 203
1642 Demands of the Spanish Envoy 207
Who leaves Rome in indignation 209
The fall of Olivares makes for peace . . . 211

CHAPTER III.

PROPAGANDA AND THE MISSIONS.

The foundation of the Urban College . . . 212
1637 Bull confirms the establishment of Propaganda . 213
The scope of Propaganda 214
Reports to and from Propaganda 217
Mission work in Turkey 220
1625 The situation in Albania and 222
In Bulgaria 223
The organization of French Missions . . . 225
Jesuit work in the Levant hindered by Cyril Lukaris 227
His treachery 228
The "affair Lukaris" 231
1638 He is finally deposed and strangled . . . 240
The Latins attempt to recover the Holy Places in Palestine 241
The Pope's solicitude for the Missions . . . 243
Faculties granted to Carmelites and Capuchins . 244
Jesuit Missions in Madeira, Siam, Cochin China, and 247
China 248
Divergences of opinion among the Missionaries . 250
1632 Martyrdoms in Japan 253
The Church in Ethiopia, in 254
East Africa, and 258
The Congo 259
1631 Conversions in Mexico 261
Missions in East and West Indies 262

CHAPTER IV.

THE SITUATION OF CATHOLICS IN SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, DENMARK, SWEDEN, ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.

Catholicism in Switzerland and in 265
The Netherlands 270
Difficulties in Holland 273
Effects of the reformation in Sweden and Denmark . 274
Relations between the Holy See and England . . 276

A.D. PAGE

Prospective marriage alliance of Prince of Wales with 279
Spain 281
Its failure leads to 285
Persecution of English Catholics 287
Renewal of the negotiations 289
1624 The marriage treaty signed 293
Postponement of the wedding 295
Protestant attitude of Pashanicut 296
Further persecution of Catholics 299
A Bishop appointed for England 303
His imprudences and resignation 305
Attacks on the Jesuits in England 309
Charles I.'s comparative leniency towards Catholics . 310
The so-called Papal Envoy, Panziani . . . 312
His misapprehensions and optimism . . . 314
Consent as Papal Envoy 318
His Counsel to Queen Henrietta Maria . . . 321
Report to Rome on the Puritans 323
1639 The Catholic support of King Charles . . . 325
Puritan tumults and violence 326
1640 Extreme danger of the Catholics 327
1642 Civil war in England 333
The state of Ireland 339
Cruel treatment of the Irish 341
The Assembly at Kilkenny 345
The Papal Envoy Scarampi arrives in Ireland . . 346
A twelve months' truce concluded 347
Displeasure of the Pope 348
The Catholics in Scotland 349
The Faith in N. America 352
The work of the Jesuits in Maryland . . . 356
The end of their mission there 359

CHAPTER V.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH AND THE WAR OF CASTRO.

The military weakness of the States of the Church . 360
Urban VIII.'s plans for defence 361
1629–30 The Plague in Italy 366
Successful precautions in Rome 368
The Pope's forethought for the Poor . . . 371
The question of precedence 375
The population of Rome and 376
The noble families of the period 377
Plans for the Campagna 379
Papal expenditure 380
Relations between the Holy See and the Duke of Parma 382
The aggressions of the latter lead to . . . 385

A.D. PAGE
1640 War—and the 387
Excommunication of the Duke 389
The fruitless invervention of France . . . 391
Negotiations 395
1644 Farnese finally yields 398
The impoverishment caused by the war . . . 399
1639 The Illness of Urban VIII. and his recovery . . 401
1644 A further attack of weakness 402
His last Consistory 403
Death of Urban VIII., July 29, 1644 . . . 404
His virtues overshadowed by his weakness . . 406

CHAPTER VI.

URBAN VIII. AS PATRON OF LITERATURE AND ART—ROME A BAROQUE CITY.

Urban as Patron of Literature 408
His poetry 409
The intimates of the Pope 423
Poets of the period 427
The Pope as Antiquarian and 433
Student of history 435
Francesco Barberini 437
The career of Luke Holste 440
Cardinal Barberini's support of literature . . 444
The Vatican Library 448
Urban VIII.'s care of the Roman Archives . . 451
Baroque art 455
The works done by Bernini 456
High Altar in St. Peter's 457
1633 Unveiled on the Feast of St. Peter 464
The lavish liberality of the Pope 465
The Baldacchino in St. Peter's 466
1638 The Loggias completed 471
Further embellishments of the Basilica . . . 472
The Monument to Urban VIII. 478
The Restoration of other churches in Rome . . 482
The Munificance of the Cardinal Nephews . . 489
Artists of the period 495
The building of the Palazzo Barberini . . . 498
Other Barberini buildings and restorations . . 507
The Fountains of Rome 513
Guides to the City. 515
A description of the *Rioni* 519
The markets in Rome 533
Foreign Artists in Rome 535
The Patronage of Urban VIII. 543
Rome a baroque city 544

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	Nuncio Sacchetti to the Cardinal Legate, Fr. Barberini	547
2	Pope Urban VIII. to Cardinal Richelieu	547
3	Pope Urban VIII. to Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland	548
4	The French Ambassador Béthune to (D'Herbault)	548
5	The French Ambassador Béthune to (D'Herbault)	551
6	Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio Guido Del Bagno	554
7	The French Nuncio G. Del Bagno to Cardinal Francesco Barberini	556
8	Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio G. Del Bagno	557
9	Cardinal Francesco Barberini to Ciriaco Rocci, Nuncio in Germany	557
10	Pope Urban VIII. to Tilly	557
11	The French Nuncio Alessandro Bichi to Cardinal Francesco Barberini	559
12	Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio Alessandro Bichi	559
13	Cardinal Fr. Barberini to the French Nuncio Alessandro Bichi	560
14	Cardinal Fr. Barberini to the Spanish Nuncio Monti	560
15	P. Savelli to Emperor Ferdinand II.	564
16	Instruction of Cardinal Barberini for the Nuncios Ceva and Grimaldi	565
17	Draft of a Brief of Urban VIII. to Emperor Ferdinand II.	569
18	Pope Urban VIII. to Emperor Ferdinand II.	570
19	Protocol of Cardinalitial Congregation "De Redditibus Ecclesiasticis" of 1642/3	571
20	The Nuncio Extraordinary F. Chigi to Cardinal Fr. Barberini	572
21	The Nuncio Extraordinary F. Chigi to Cardinal Fr. Barberini	572
22	Avviso di Roma of July 30th, 1644	573
23	Writings dedicated to Urban VIII.	573
24	Writings dedicated to Cardinal Fr. Barberini	577
25	The Elogia and Avvisi of Theodore Ameyden	579
26	Andrea Nicoletti's Life of Urban VIII.	584

CHAPTER I.

Church Reforms by Urban VIII—The Jubilee of 1625—Reform of the Breviary—Religious Orders—The Roman Inquisition and the Trial of Galileo—Beginnings of Jansenism—Its Rôle in the History of the Church.

(1)

Both as nuncio in France and subsequently as Bishop of Spoleto, Urban VIII. had shown himself penetrated with the spirit of the Catholic reform and as Pope he never lost sight of that all-important matter. Soon after his election it became evident that he was determined to adhere strictly to the decrees of the Council of Trent.[1] In September, 1623, the reform began with the persons of his entourage,[2] and in December he announced that the prescriptions concerning the duty of residence would be applied more rigidly.[3] To this end special decrees were issued.[4] In a consistory of March 18th, 1624, he insisted on this obligation for all Bishops and Archbishops and laid stress on the fact that the Cardinals were likewise subject to it.[5] In the consistory of January 29th, 1625, he reminded the Cardinals of their duties, more especially of that of defending the faith and the Church's liberty and of

[1] See *Avviso of August 19, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library. The necessities of the time repeatedly compelled Urban VIII. to bestow more than one benefice upon single individuals, in opposition to the decrees of the Council of Trent.

[2] *Cf.* the *report of the envoy of Este of September 23, 1623, State Archives, Modena.

[3] See Possevino's *report of December 16, 1623, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *Bull.*, XIV., 457, 477.

[5] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.*, 2933, Vatican Library.

showing liberality to the poor.[1] In the following year he again reverted to the duty of residence,[2] and he sought to enforce it wherever it was being infringed as, for instance, at Naples.[3] In the last years of his pontificate it was particularly the Spanish Bishops, including the Cardinals, whom he reminded of their obligations in this respect.[4] Rules were laid down for the examination of Bishops in 1591, in a special Instruction based on Gregory XIV.'s Bulls of 1627 on the same subject.[5] One of Urban VIII.'s most useful measures was the thorough revision ordered by him in 1633 of the dispositions of the Code concerning episcopal faculties. These were in a state of great confusion and needed to be adjusted to altered conditions. To this end a special Congregation was instituted, composed of members of the Inquisition and Propaganda,[6] and on their advice an entirely new Code of faculties was created in 1637.[7]

In April, 1624, the Pope ordered a visitation of all the churches and monasteries of Rome, he himself undertaking that of the Lateran, St. Peter's and St. Paul's.[8] His

[1] *Ibid.* [2] See KHEVENHÜLLER, X., 1309.

[3] See the **Instruttione a Msgr. Bichi, vescovo dell'Isola, destinato Nunzio ordin. in Napoli*, of May 30, 1628, MS. in my possession.

[4] See the *Constitution of December 12, 1634, *super residentia episcop., archiepiscop., metropol., etiam S.R.E. cardinalium* (*nec ad alios actos se divertant*), State Archives, Vienna; *Brief to the Spanish episcopate of November 20, 1636, *Epist.*, XIII., Papal Secret Archives. [5] See *Bull.*, IX., 419; XIII., 581.

[6] The *Acts are kept in the Archives of the Roman Inquisition, but are not available.

[7] See MERGENTHEIM, II., 62 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, who shows that the formula which later on became general at the granting of the quinquennial faculties was first used for Cologne in 1640.

[8] See *Bull.*, XIII., 125 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*; XIV., 8 *seq.* In the Papal Secret Archives, *Arm.* 7, vol. 3, **Decreta visit. eccl., etc., sub Urbano VIII.* *Cf.* besides CIACONIUS, IV., 500; *NICOLETTI, II., 582 *seq.*, Vatican Library; *Avvisi of April 3 and November 13, 1624, *Urb.*, 1094 *ibid.*; **Diarium P. Alaleonis* of April 14, 1624, *ibid.* See also *Catalogue de quelques manuscrits de la Bibl. Corsini p.* L. G. PÉLISSIER.

example was followed by the Cardinals in their titular churches.[1]

Various prescriptions for the reform of the Roman clergy date from 1624. Religious were forbidden to ride in carriages and all ecclesiastics were ordered to wear clerical dress[2]; at the same time further decrees were issued for the reform of Regulars[3] and for the moral reform of Rome.[4] A stern decree of 1625 dealt with abuses that had crept in with regard to Mass stipends.[5] The Pope had greatly at heart the Roman

[1] See **Acta visit. eccl. Portuen.*, by Cardinal Fr. Barberini and by Cardinal Deto, 1626, *Barb.* 2438, Vatican Library. **Decreta visit. colleg. S. Laurentii in Damaso a card. L. Ludovisio peractae die* 25 *Maii*, 1625; *Cod.* E. 88 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; **Visitatio abbatiae Sublacensis per d. Aemilium de Altieriis ep. Camerin. visit. deput., a card. Ant. Barberini*, 1640. Library of the Abbey of Subiaco A.F., II., 5. The Pope *admonished the Cardinals in the Consistory of August 20, 1629, to fulfil their pastoral duties in the suburban dioceses, **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Avviso, January 20, 1624, *loc. cit.*, and *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1895, 168 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of December 25, 1624, *loc. cit.* Prohibition of hearing confessions in private houses, see *Avviso, June 19, 1625, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Avviso of November 30, 1624, *loc. cit.* An ordinance against bigamy is in *Bull.*, XIV., 595 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Barbier de Montault, IV., 23 *seq.* See the work by the same author: *La question des messes sous les Papes Urbain VIII., Innocent XII. et Clement XI.*, Rome, 1864; and Chaillot, *Du commerce des messes et des livres*, Paris, 1866. The abuse of smoking in churches had necessitated severe measures by several synods in Spanish America in 1575, 1588 and 1589. (*Cf.* Moroni, LXXII., 176 *seq.*) When this abuse also spread to Spain, Urban VIII., at the request of the Chapter of Seville, issued a decree forbidding under pain of excommunication all smoking or taking of snuff in the churches of the diocese. The reason given for the measure was that the Pope had been told that: "Pravus in illis partibus sumendi ore vel naribus tabaccum vulgo nuncupatum usus adeo invaluit, ut utriusque sexus personae ac etiam sacerdotes et clerici tam saeculares quam regulares clericalis

Seminary.[1] In 1628 he issued fresh regulations for the Pontifical Seminaries in Germany.[2] In 1636 he established a special Seminary near St. Peter's, chiefly for the purpose of training clerics for the service of the basilica.[3]

In 1625 Urban VIII. was able to celebrate the thirteenth Jubilee. The preparations began as early as the end of September, 1624.[4] On November 13th, the Cardinals were exhorted to see to it that their titular churches were in good condition and to take care that the persons in their service gave the pilgrims an edifying example.[5] Special edicts dealing with the conduct of religious were likewise issued.[6] The Pope was indefatigable; he took measures for the importation of food, pleaded for support of the hospices of the pilgrims, especially of Trinità de' Pellegrini,[7] and provided special lodgings near St. Peter's for foreign prelates. Cardinal Francesco Barberini, in his capacity of Protector of England,

honestatis immemores illud passim in civitatis et diocesis Hispalen. ecclesiis, ac quod referre pudet, etiam sacrosanctum missae sacrificium celebrando sumere linteaque sacra foedis quae tabaccum huiusmodi proiicit excrementis conspurcare ecclesiasque praedictas tetro odore inficere magno cum proborum scandalo rerumque sacrarum irreverentia non reformident"; see *Bull.*, XV., 157; BENEDICT, XIV., *De synodo dioec.*, lib. 10, cap. 3, no. 2 (*Opp.*, XII., Bassano, 1767, 7). *Cf.* also *Der Tabak in Kultur und Geschichte*, Köln, 1911; B. DUHR in the *Abhandlungen der Görres-Gesellschaft*, Köln, 1918, 61–4.

[1] See *Bull.*, XIV., 79 *seq.*, and the *documents on the visitation of the Roman Seminary in the archives of that institution. *Cf.* *Cenni storici del Pontificio Seminario Romano*, Roma, 1914, 21.

[2] *Cf.* *Ius pontif.*, I., 105 *seq.*; DUHR, II., 1, 624 *seq.*

[3] See *Bull. Vat.*, III., 249. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Lettera sopra il Tarantismo*, 314.

[4] See the *Briefs to the Catholic Princes, which begin on September 29, 1624, in the *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also *Avviso of October 30, 1624, *Urb.* 1094, Vatican Library.

[5] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* XXXVIII., 2, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso of December 25, 1624, *loc. cit.*

[7] See **Acta consist.* of December 2, 1624, *loc. cit.*

Scotland, and Ireland established a separate hospice for pilgrims from those countries.[1]

In accordance with custom, all plenary Indulgences and the faculties of confessors outside Rome to absolve from sins reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff, were suspended and limited to Rome, though exceptions were made for religious women, the sick and prisoners, and the Portinucula Indulgence was likewise maintained.[2] Wladimir, son of Sigismund, King of Poland, was present at the opening of the Holy Door at Christmas, 1625.[3] The conqueror of the Turks and the Tartars was received with the greatest honours and on his return

[1] See *Nicoletti, II., 884 *seq.*, 886, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Bull.*, XIII., 143 *seq.*; Manni, 178 *seq.*, 183.

[3] The hammer which Urban VIII. used on this occasion was afterwards presented by him to his brother Carlo. In a Brief of June 10, 1625, the hammer is thus described: "Est igitur malleus totus argenteus undique inauratus, variis foliorum ornamentis interstinctus, ponderis librarum 4 cum semissae vi palparis longitudinis, cuius apici duae apes maiores hinc inde insculptae sunt. Altera pars in acumen parumper deflectitur, altera in planam desinit superficiem, ubi portae sanctae quam aperimus simulacrum leviter incisum licet leviter intueri. Utramque partem Barberinae gentis insignia pontificio diademate coronata interiacent, in extremis autem eius oris Nostrum ex apost. dignitate nomen hinc inde inscriptum est: Urbanus VIII. anno iubilaei 1625, senas interiecto utrinque spatio apiculas complectente. Paulo inferius nodus occurrit, cui solis effigies ab utroque latere efformata subicitur. Post haec apostolorum Petri et Pauli statuae, altera quidem in dextero, altera vero in sinistro latere, suis aediculis collocatae conspiciuntur, tum alio nodo interiecto binae lauri, quarum frondes binae apes delibant, artificiose exprimuntur, totidem paulo inferius capulum decorantibus." Private archives of Prince Barberini (now in the Vatican), *Donaz.*, no. 27. *Ibid.*, no. 42, **Donatione della Trulla ossia Cocchiara da muratore*, used by the Pope in closing the door, dated December 29, 1626. The silver hammer is no longer extant, but Prince Barberini possesses the two hammers of gilt bronze with which the Holy Doors of the other two basilicas were opened. A picture of the Porta Santa of St. Peter is in *Barb.* 4409, p. 19, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Hempel, 11.

from Naples the Pope presented him with a consecrated sword and hat.[1]

Urban VIII. repeatedly visited the churches designated for gaining the jubilee; several times also he took his place in the confessional at St. Peter's; he remained in it for an especially long time on Holy Saturday; twelve pilgrims were daily entertained at the Vatican; he distributed abundant alms, especially to the Confraternity of Trinità de' Pellegrini. Twice he repaired thither to wash the feet of poor pilgrims.[2] Like the Pope himself, his family also, especially Cardinal Francesco and Costanza Barberini, were particularly unwearied in their attention to the pilgrims,[3] and the Romans vied with them in works of benevolence and piety.[4] Among the Cardinals, Ludovisi especially distinguished himself in this respect.[5]

The precautionary measures against a possible outbreak of the plague [6] as well as those for the provisioning of the city, proved most effective.[7] Notwithstanding the wars of

[1] See *Nicoletti, II., 893 *seq., loc. cit.*; Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 375 *seq.*; Ciampi, III., 4 *seq*; Chledowski, II., 115 *seq*; Manni, 175, 180; *Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Samml. des österreich. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 138.

[2] See *Nicoletti, II., 882 *seq, loc. cit*; *Avvisi of May 29 and November 26, 1625, *Urb.* 1095, *loc. cit.*; **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, Vatican Library; Manni, 185; Prinzivalli, *Gli anni santi*, Roma, 1925, 122 *seq.*

[3] See Prinzivalli, 111 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Ameyden, *De pietate Romana*; see Schmidlin, 476.

[5] See Giunti, **Vita del card. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome.

[6] See the *Avvisi of February 15, May 31, July 30 and August 6, 1625, *Urb.* 1095, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Prinzivalli, 113. When the danger of infection from the plague increased, three churches within the city were appointed as jubilee churches (S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Maria del Popolo), instead of the three without the walls. Inscriptions can still be seen in these recording the fact; see Prinzivalli, 115.

[7] See *Avviso of December 27, 1625, *loc. cit.*

the period, the number of pilgrims was relatively high—among them there were even a few eastern Bishops.[1] Of personages of distinction, besides the Polish Prince, there also came the Landgrave George of Hessen and his brother, as well as several German noblemen.[2] The end of the Holy Year witnessed the arrival of the Emperor Ferdinand II.'s brother, Archduke Leopold, who wished to lay aside his ecclesiastical dignities in order to marry; the Borgia apartments were assigned to him for a lodging.[3]

For the benefit of the pilgrims the Pope had summoned eminent preachers to Rome, such as the Capuchin Francesco del Nero, the Jesuit Luigi Albricio and the Dominicans Niccolò Riccardi and Francesco Maria Campana.[4] The conduct of the pilgrims was exemplary and the frequentation of the Sacraments very great.[5] "In our visits to the churches,"

[1] See the *Avvisi of March 26 and 29, May 14 and November 26, 1625, *loc. cit.*, MANNI, 183. According to these (*cf.* also CANCELLIERI, *Lettera sopra il Tarantismo*, 306 *seq*; PRINZIVALLI, 115), the visitors were not so few as KHEVENHÜLLER (X., 992 *seq.*, 995) and GIGLI (in CANCELLIERI, *S. Maria in Julia*, 46) thought. Guides for pilgrims appeared by P. FELINI, O. PANCIROLI, H. BAVINCK (see SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 123). To these must be added: F. M. TORRIGIO, *Pelegrinaggio d. 4 chiese* (1625), and F. J. H. VON PFLAUMERN, *Mercurius italicus*, Aug. Vind., 1625. MAGNO PERNEO dedicated to Urban VIII. his **Guida Romana del anno santo* 1625, *Barb.* 3260 (*cf.* 3300), Vatican Library. ANT. SANTARELLI published a *Trattato del giubileo* (1624 and 1625), ANDR. VITTORELLI dedicated to Cardinal Barberini a *Hist. de'giubilei pontif.* (Roma, 1625). *Cf.* other works in NOGARA, *Cronista dell'Anno santo*, 1925, Roma, 1928, 1087 *seq.*

[2] See DE WAAL, *Das Heilige Jahr in Rom*, Münster, 1900, 51, 60; *Avviso of April 17, 1625, *Urb.* 1094, *loc. cit.*; CARAFA, *Relazione*, 387; **Diarium P. Alaleonis* for December 6 and 23, 1625, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of December 10 and 20, 1625, *loc. cit.*; *NICOLETTI, II., 895 *seq.*, *loc. cit*; DE WAAL, 51; GROTTANELLI, *Claudia de'Medici*, 107 *seq.*

[4] See *NICOLETTI, II., 883, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *Avvisi of April 30 and December 27, 1625, *loc. cit.*

Jerome Marchstaller, Benedictine Abbot of St. Paul in Carinthia, notes in his account of his pilgrimage, "we were specially struck with the devotion of the foreigners; we saw them praying fervently and with many tears. Nor were there wanting members of the nobility and the clergy of Rome, more especially noble ladies, who visited the sacred shrines on foot, bathed in perspiration, so that it would not be fair to generalize and to say 'the nearer to Rome so much the worse', for there was a devil among the Angels in heaven and a Judas among the Apostles, but their impiety injured neither the Angels nor the Apostles. For my part I not only saw nothing scandalous in Rome, but, on the contrary, beheld very great piety."[1] The Dutch pilgrim van den Vondel summed up his impressions of the Holy Year in a Latin poem which was translated by his famous brother Joost. It concludes thus: "This is the great key-bearer of heaven's gate. Hush! Seek not to know more: On your knees! Kiss those feet which so many come to honour."[2]

During his long pontificate Urban VIII. received countless requests for canonizations. Philip III., the Emperors Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III., the Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian, King Sigismund of Poland, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, Archduke Leopold, the authorities of Lucca, Genoa and Palermo, the cathedral Chapter of Liège and the Catholics of Switzerland, all made requests of this kind.[3] Urban VIII.,

[1] See *Carinthia*, LXXI. (1881), 302; F. M. TURRIGIUS, **Diarium de rebus in Basil. Vat. atque alibi gestis anno s. iubilaei* 1625, in *Barb.* 2293, Vatican Library. For the Roman hotels of the time see *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 393 *seq.* According to this the celebrated Albergo del Orso was no longer frequented in 1628, and in 1630 it had lost all its prestige; but the Albergo di Monte Brianza was in great favour. For the Jubilee coins and medals see MARTINORI, 30 *seq.*, 71.

[2] See BAUMGARTNER, *J. v. d. Vondel*, Freiburg, 1882, 78.

[3] *Cf.* besides HURTER, *Ferdinand II.*, XI., 600 *seq.*, and the *Sitzungsber. der Münchener Akad.*, Phil. Kl., 1880, 361, the *Briefs to Philip III. of January 4, 1625, to Ferdinand II., i.e., III. of July 14, 1630, and March 3, 1640, to Maximilian of

as a matter of fact, had a number of processes introduced,[1] but he invariably insisted that questions of this nature must be subjected to a most searching investigation.[2] How much he had this principle at heart is shown by the fact that he only carried out one canonization, viz. that of Andrew Corsini, on April 22nd, 1629.[3] He beatified Giacopo della Marca, Francis Borgia, and Andrew Avellino in 1624,[4] and in 1625 the Capuchin Felix of Cantalice,[5] and Elizabeth, Queen of

November 30, 1624, and June 23, 1626, to Sigismund III. of July 17, 1627, to Archduke Leopold of December 17, 1629, to Lucca, March 4, 1629, one on the same day to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, to Palermo, January 26, 1630, to Genoa, February 2, 1630, to the cathedral Chapter of Liège, March 3, 1629, to the Swiss, September 13, 1625. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *Relations of the Rota in *Barb.* 2678 (Vatican Library) on the subject of Gregory X., 2692 on F. of Cantalice, 2757 on Franc. Borgia, 2758 on Juliana of Liège, 2759 on Cat. Fieschi, 2760 and 2773 on A. Avellino, 2762–3 on Josaphat Kuncevic, 2775 on M.M. de Pazzi, 2777 and 2778 on the Japanese Franciscan Martyrs, 2779 on Pius V., 2782 on Ph. Benizzi, 2784 on John of God, 2785 on Peter Regulatus and Cat. Ricci, 2788 on Gaetano di Tiene, 2789 on John of the Cross; *reports of the Congr. of Rites, *ibid.*, 2766 on Gregory X., and 2783 on Ph. Benizzi. According to the *Avviso of June 11, 1637 (*Urb.* 1105, Vatican Library) the beatification of Robert Nobili was discussed at the time. **Atti orig. mand. a Urbano VIII.* 1637 *per la beatif. del P. Honorato de Champigny ord. Capuc.* in *Barb.* 3596, *loc. cit.*; **Processus canonizationis S. Francisci de Paula*, 1636, in *Cod.* VI., E. 5 of the Library at Olmütz.

[2] *Cf.* especially the *Briefs to Archduke Leopold and to Mayence, of March 3, 1629, concerning the beatification of Peter Canisius, *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives. See also Morus, III., 36 *seq.*

[3] See *Avvisi of April 4 and 25, 1629 (decorations for the feast by Bernini), *Urb.* 1099, *loc. cit.*; *Nicoletti, III., ch. 16, *loc. cit.*; Venuti, *Numismata*, 233; Bonanni (1699), 571.

[4] See *Bull.*, XIII., 192 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*; *cf.* 368.

[5] *Ibid.*, 371 *seq.*

Portugal,[1] a relative of St. Elizabeth of Thüringen. The whole of the beautiful Office of the above-named Saints was drafted by Urban VIII. himself, just as he composed the proper hymns of the feasts of St. Martina and St. Hermenegild established by him.[2] In 1626 he beatified Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi,[3] in 1629 Gaetano da Tiene,[4] in 1630 John of God.[5] The Pope also approved the cult of the Japanese Martyrs of the Franciscan and Jesuit Orders [6] and that of Colomba of Rieti.[7] A decree of January 27th, 1631, laid down certain rules for the sermons preached at canonizations,[8] and a constitution of July 5th, 1634, renewing a decree of the Inquisition of the year 1625, declared that the right to pronounce beatifications and canonizations belonged exclusively to the Supreme Head of the Church. Accordingly, henceforth it was to be unlawful to introduce the cult of any Saint without leave of the Pope, except in the case where a holy personage had been publicly honoured from time immemorial, or at least for a hundred years and with the toleration of ecclesiastical authority, or whose public cult was based either on a decree of a Pope, the Congregation of Rites, or the writings of the Fathers and other holy men.[9]

[1] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2986, Vatican Library; F. Testi, *Opere II.*, Modena, 1817, 18; *Avviso, May 20, 1625, *Urb.* 1096, *loc. cit.* The decorations for the celebration (teatro) were also by Bernini.

[2] See Bäumer, 510.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIII., 456 *seq.*; Ph. M. Pitovanni, **De sanctitate Magd. de Pazzis ad Urbanum VIII.*, *Cod.* 47 of the Library of S. Maria della Vittoria (Vittorio Emmanuele Library, Rome).

[4] See *Bull.*, XIV., 110 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of October 6, 1629, *Urb.* 1099, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avviso of September 11, 1630, *Urb.* 1100, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Bull.*, XIV., 174.

[6] See *Avviso of October 9, 1637, *Urb.* 1097, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Novaes, IX., 230 *seq.*

[7] See *Avviso of July 19, 1628, *Urb.* 1098, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Novaes, IX., 217 *seq.*

[8] See **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[9] See *Bull.*, XIII., 308 *seq*; XIV., 436 *seq*; *Freib. Kirchenlex*, II.², 145. For the execution of the decree see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XII., 64. F. Contelori wrote: *Tractatus et praxis de canonizat. Sanctorum*, Lugduni, 1634.

In accordance with the Canons of Trent, a decree of March 15th, 1642, forbade all representations of Christ and the Saints which, by their form or apparel, departed from ancient usage, as well as the putting up on the façades of churches or in their porches of worldly or other unsuitable paintings.[1] As early as August 11th, 1628, the Pope had forbidden, as unbecoming, the then fairly common representation of the Most Holy Trinity by three heads.[2]

Urban VIII. likewise kept watch on Church music. More than once he took measures against compositions devoid of religious dignity and forbade under severe penalties such as altered the words of Holy Writ, for it was his will that music should be serious and such as to call forth holy, not worldly, thoughts.[3]

Rome, which faithfully preserved the traditions of Palestrina, the mightiest Catholic musician of all time, was just then well provided with great composers. The list is headed by Gregorio Allegri whom Urban VIII. made a member of the papal choir in 1629. He is one of the greatest musical celebrities. After he had become a member of the papal choir, his aspirations rose still higher. He composed several Masses which met with Urban VIII.'s approval. He attained the summit of his fame with his *Miserere* for double choir which for a long time passed for a kind of wonder of the world. Those who have heard it on Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel can never forget the impression made on them ; few musical compositions give such powerful expression to deepest grief, yet such as transfigures and sanctifies.[4] The prohibition to copy it imparted to it a peculiar fascination. Mozart was the first to write it down after one hearing and he published it in 1771.

Another remarkable post-Palestrinian Master, Agostino Agazzari, had been choir-master at the Lateran basilica since

[1] See *Bull.*, XV., 170 *seq.*

[2] See ZIBRT in the *Sitzungsber. der böhm. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1894.

[3] See *NICOLETTI, LII., 7, p. 874, *loc. cit.*

[4] See AMBROS, IV., 92 *seq.*

1626 and from there he went to S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Domenico Allegri had held a similar post at St. Mary Major up till 1629. The organist of St. Peter's was the famous virtuoso Girolamo Frescobaldi who, through his pupils Froberger and Kapsberger exercised a decisive influence on the technique of German instrumental music.[1]

Yet another contemporary musician who rose to high fame was Paolo Agostini. He became choir-master of St. Peter's in 1629 but died in the following year. It is related that on one occasion Urban VIII. stood listening in the middle of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles whilst Agostini was filling the mighty space with the massed harmonies of a Mass in forty-eight parts and that at the end the Pope bowed with admiration before the master. This piling up of musical effects constitutes a parallel to the enormous and sumptuous churches and the gigantic frescoes of Baroque art.[2]

Starting from the principle that "the psalmody of the Church militant is the daughter of the heavenly hymnody which resounds for ever before the throne of God and that for this reason it should become more and more like that heavenly model and should not, because of any flaws, distract the mind of worshippers from God and the things of God",[3] Urban VIII., in 1629, ordered the resumption of the reform of the Breviary. He instituted a special Congregation for the purpose, Cardinal Caetani being appointed president and Tegrimio Tegrimi, Bishop of Assisi, secretary. Besides Girolamo Lanuvio, referendary of both *Segnaturas*, the Pope nominated

[1] See *ibid.*, 99 *seq*; 435 *seq*. *Cf.* CAMETTI, *G. Frescobaldi*, in the *Riv. musica*, XV. (1908); BÖHN, *Bernini*, 42 *seq*. Frescobaldi's selected works ed. by Haberl (1889).

[2] See AMBROS, IV., 105–6, who remarks: "The church of St. Peter was the proper place. If one wishes to insist on the frequently emphasized analogy between music and architecture, one might say that this kind of music was to music, what the church of St. Peter was to architecture."

[3] See the Constitution "*Divinam psalmodian*", dated January 25, 1631 (to be found in the editions of the Breviary though it is missing in *Bullarium Taurin.*).

to the commission a number of learned religious such as the Augustinian Fortunato Scacchi, the Dominican Niccolò Riccardi, the Cistercian Abbot Ilarione Rancati, the Oratorian Jacopo Vulponi, the Franciscan Luke Wadding, the Barnabite Bartholomeo Gavanti and the Jesuit Terenzio Alciati. The last named having fallen ill in the summer of 1629 his place was taken by a fellow Jesuit, Girolamo Petrucci.[1]

The commission entered upon its task on July 12th, 1629, at the palace of its president and by December 18th, 1631, sixty-six sessions had been held there.[2] The members proceeded with great thoroughness and repeatedly consulted the manuscripts not only of the Vatican Library[3] but those of other collections as well, for instance, the one attached to the Pantheon.[4] More than once other scholars of repute were consulted, for instance, Felice Contelori and Suarez, Cardinal Barberini's librarian.[5] Often enough opinions

[1] See the *protocols of the commission in *Vat.* 6098 and *Barb.* 1185, Vatican Library, first used by BÄUMER (503 *seq.*) together with the remaining MS. material of the same kind. I had access to the extracts from *Vat.* 6098 made by a friend who died all too soon and who had planned a book on the reform of the Breviary, *viz.* the REV. A. SAUER. The Codex is entitled: **Acta in congregatione super emendatione Breviarii de mandato S^mi^ D. N. Urbani I. Papae VIII. ordinata, scripta, et subscripta manu propria per me Tegrimium Tegrimium, episc. Assisiensem secret. ab eodem S^mo^ specialiter deput.*, pp. 1–12, contain the protocols of the first seven sittings (July 12 and 26, August 9 and 23, September 6 and 20, and November 8, 1629), in Vulponi's hand. On p. 14 the protocols written by Tegrimi begin; they are numbered (1–55). This numeration is given in what follows.

[2] In BÄUMER, who was prevented by death from finally revising the proofs of his work, it is erroneously stated (p. 502) that there had been "about 45 or 50 meetings". There had been 7 + 55, and after Tegrimi's illness a further 4 (*Vat.* 6098, p. 274, 276, 282, *loc. cit.*).

[3] See the *protocols of May 23 and July 27, 1630.

[4] See the *protocols of the 35th and 36th meeting.

[5] See the *protocols of the 46th meeting on December 19, 1630, the 48th on January 26, 1631, and the 50th on March 22, 1631.

were sharply divided, thus giving rise to lively discussions.[1] Urban VIII. who intervened personally in these debates,[2] himself revised the draft of the Bull which was to introduce the new Breviary, a fact which Cardinal Caetani reported at the forty-third session on November 28th, 1630.[3] On January 4th, 1631, it was decided to print the new Breviary and by August the work was completed.[4] It was at once put in circulation, for on November 29th, 1631, Cardinal Pázmány received a Brief praising him for having introduced it in Hungary.[5] On December 18th, by order of the Pope, the Congregation gave permission to the Roman printers Ludovico Grignano, Francesco Caballo and their associates, to print and sell the new Breviary on condition that they corrected the mistakes of the first edition which had been printed in the *officina* of the Camera Apostolica.[6] With this

[1] Thus on August 22 and December 19, 1630. *Cf.* also the *protocol of the 49th meeting.

[2] See the *protocols of September 20 and November 28, 1630.

[3] See the *protocols in *Vat.* 6098, p. 175. A first draft of the *Brief dated April 22, 1630, is in *Cod.* S. 3, 1, p. 179 *seq.*, of the Angelica Library, Rome. *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Kirchengesch.*, 105.

[4] See the *protocols of the 47th meeting on January 4, 1631, and the 55th on August 16, 1631.

[5] This *document, unknown until now (*Epist.*, IX., Papal Secret Archives) refutes BÄUMER's view (p. 502) that the first authentic edition of Urban VIII.'s Breviary was not published until 1632; on the other hand the same scholar's surmise may be correct, namely that the *Bull. Divinam psalmodiam*, which heads the Breviary and is dated, "1631, Ian. 25," may have been ante-dated.

[6] "De mandato S^mi^ D. N. Urbani Papae VIII. Congregatio super emendatione Breviarii concessit licentiam et facultatem Ludovico Grignano, Francisco Caballo et sociis imprèssoribus librorum hic in Urbe, quod possint imprimere et impressum ad eorum libitum vendere novum Breviarium ad instar ultimi impressi ab impressione Camerali, emendatis tamen in eo aliquibus erroribus adnotatis in fine dicti Breviarii et aliis qui per presentem congregationem corrigentur iuxta notulam eis dandam per rev. p.d. Lanuvium utriusque signaturae referendarium, Barthol. Gavantum relig. cleric. regul. S. Pauli et Terentium Alciatum S.J." *Vat.* 6098, p. 282, *loc. cit.*

act the Congregation, which since the spring of 1631 had also busied itself with the correction of the Missal,[1] concluded its labours. The protocol expressly states that it had nothing to do with the correction of the hymns of the new Breviary.[2] Now this was precisely the chief and most controverted alteration, for the rest of the corrections were inconsiderable. This is regrettable as regards the legends of the Saints where much might have been corrected.[3] However, it was thought that these compositions had been adequately revised at the time of Clement VIII.'s reform, hence controverted points were left unaltered when they were supported by some writer of weight. The alterations were confined to fifteen Saints' legends which were cast into a better form, one also more in accordance with historical accuracy.[4] The homilies from the writings of the Fathers were likewise subjected to a revision; for this purpose they were compared with existing editions and wherever necessary, corrected and

[1] Fiftieth meeting on March 22, 1631: "*In hac congregatione, quae habita fuit de mandato speciali S^mi^, fuit decretum quod post impressionem novi Breviarii Romani debeat, si S^ti^ Suae placuerit, procedi ad emendationem Missalis." Fifty-second session on April 23, 1631: "*Fuit data cura r.p. de Lanuvio, Gavanto et fr. Lucae corrigendi errata in Missali, dummodo deducantur in congregatione ea quae fuerint maioris momenti."

[2] See BÄUMER, 504, who wrongly assigns the conclusion of the meeting to December 11. Both in *Vat.* 5098, p. 282, and in *Cod. Barb.* 1185, used by Bäumer, the final meeting is stated to have been on December 18, 1631.

[3] Later on Benedict XIV. and recently Leo. XIII. recognized the necessity of a further reform; *cf.* P. A. KIRSCH, *Die historischen Brevierlektionen*, Würzburg, 1902. The drastic reform of the Breviary by Pius X. shows that the Holy See does not regard every ancient liturgical tradition as intangible; see VACANT, *Diction*, IX., 815.

[4] See BÄUMER, 504 *seq.* It is a great mistake when it is stated here (p. 506, note 1) in connexion with the *aide-mémoire of the Spaniards concerning St. James' sojourn in Spain (*Cod.* G., 76, p. 141 *seq.*, of the Vallicelliana Library, Rome) that Urban VIII. was very favourable to the Spaniards.

completed.[1] In all Scripture texts the punctuation of the Vulgate of Clement VIII. was rigidly adhered to; nevertheless, for the purpose of appropriate divisions and necessary pauses in the psalmody, asterisks were introduced by which every psalm verse was divided into two parts.[2]

The text of the new Breviary underwent a profound alteration in consequence of the correction of the hymns which was undertaken by the express command of the Pope. Urban, who had always practised the poetic craft, kept this part of the work as much as possible in his own hands, but he made choice of four classically trained Jesuits to collaborate with him.[3] They were Famiano Strada, famous as a Latin stylist, Tarquinio Galuzzi, Girolamo Petrucci and the Pole Matthias Sarbiewski then staying in Rome.[4] In the memorandum which the above-named presented to the Congregation of

[1] See BÄUMER, *loc. cit.*

[2] See BÄUMER, 507. A proposal to this end was made at the meeting of March 2, 1630. *Vat.* 6098, p. 50, *loc. cit.*

[3] Against the suggestion of BÄUMER, though made with reservations, that the impulse for the correction of the hymns came from these four Jesuits, BLUME has already protested in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (LXXVIII., 257 *seq*). He proves that in the memorandum of the four Jesuits for the Congregation of Rites it was stated that what St. Jerome, "by command of Pope Damasus" had been obliged to do for Holy Scripture, "they had had to do (idem facere coguntur) whose latest task was the correction of the hymns", and that against the words "whose latest task" a contemporary hand has added "de mandato (above this 'de iussu') S.D.N. Urbani VIII.". To this I can add still stronger evidence. In the *protocol of the meetings of the commission in *Vat.* 6098, p. 282, the words quoted by BÄUMER (p. 504): "In correctionibus et mutationibus hymnorum, qui sunt in Breviario, Congregatio praedicta nullam habuit partem," are followed by the remark: "quia S.D.N. Urbanus Papa VIII., quem Deus Opt. Max. diu incolumem conservet, ipsos emendavit et in elegantiorem formam, prout videre est in novo Breviario, restituit."

[4] For the part taken by Sarbiewski see DIEL in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV. (1873), 352.

Rites, we read : " The hymns composed by Ambrose, Gregory, Prudentius, Sedulius, Fortunatus, and other poets of renown, remain either wholly unaltered and untouched, or are corrected according to good ancient manuscripts, or completed with words taken from some other hymns by the same authors ; and where there seems to be an error either of latinity or metre, the mistake is corrected in conformity with the rules of prosody by the slightest change possible in the syllable." The reason given is the reverence due to the holiness and the venerable antiquity of the authors.[1] Accordingly, the revisers proceeded with the utmost caution : only the hymns of Paulinus of Aquileia and Rabanus Maurus underwent radical changes. In Venantius Fortunatus' hymns in honour of the holy cross, about one and a half dozen metric licences were treated as " mistakes " and altered accordingly. Of the famous hymns of St. Thomas on the Holy Eucharist the memorandum says that they have been preserved unaltered inasmuch as words that may lack elegance, are enhanced by the loftiness of their content and because the Church cherishes them and the ear has become accustomed to them.[2] The *Ave Maris Stella* also remained unaltered.[3] But the rhythmic hymns of the fifth to the tenth century were subjected to a different treatment in view of their clumsiness and because their seeming lack of style offended the ear. These hymns underwent drastic treatment on the metrical anvil : " The outward form became more classical in expression and metre, but many a strong and original peculiarity disappeared, many a deep, stimulating thought was either weakened or completely eliminated, many a rough or clumsily set jewel fell out and was lost." A comparison between the old hymn for the dedication of a church—*Urbs beata Hierusalem*—and the new form cast in iambic mould, shows this only too plainly. Fortunately only a limited number of hymns have been thus deprived of the primitive charm

[1] See BLUME, *loc. cit.*, 253.

[2] *Ibid.*, 253–4.

[3] *Cf.* GAVANTUS, *Thesaur. sacr. rituum*, Vol. II., sect. 5, ch. 6.

which characterized them, notwithstanding the awkwardness of their form.[1]

The Congregation of Rites approved the proposed changes on March 29th, 1629, after which the revised hymns were printed by the Vatican press and eventually incorporated in the new edition of the Breviary. Subsequently the new text was also printed in plain-chant notation for use in choir; a Constitution of April 27th, 1643, enforced it everywhere [2] and the injunction was renewed in the following year.[3] A letter from Strada to Urban VIII. makes it quite clear that the responsibility for the alterations in the hymns does not rest with the four revisors alone but quite as much with the Pope himself.[4] Many hymns, so we learn from this important document, were personally corrected by the Pope and then submitted to Strada's criticism. The latter raised many objections but, in most cases, Urban VIII.'s metrical changes were retained. On the whole it must be admitted that this inroad into the treasury of ancient hymns, which was prompted by an exaggerated passion for the principle of the classic metre, is as regrettable [5] as the new dress with which the Baroque age loved to array the old and venerable basilicas.

On the completion of the revision of the Missal, which mainly dealt with the rubrics, Urban VIII. published a Constitution on September 2nd, 1634, in which it was laid

[1] See Blume, *loc. cit.*, 255 *seq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XV., 256 *seq.* Bäumer's data (p. 509) on this Bull. are wrong.

[3] *Bull.*, XV., 316 *seq.*

[4] Published by L. Venturi: *Gli'inni della Chiesa tradotti con comment. da L.V.*, 2nd. ed., Florence, 1879. *Cf. Rassegna settiman.*, 1879, February 16, p. 132, where it is pointed out that Urban VIII. had also wished to "correct" the poems of Petrarch, and Blume, *loc. cit.*, 258 *seq.*

[5] There is general agreement on this now; see both Bäumer (509, note 4) who quotes the opinion of Batiffol and Chevalier; and also Blume, *loc. cit.*, 260 *seq.*; Kraus-Sauer, II., 2, 1, 180, and Cabrol in *The Catholic Encyclop.*, II., 776.

down that the revised text must serve as the authentic model for all subsequent reimpressions.[1] The liturgical book for the pontifical functions, that is, the *Pontificale*, was likewise subjected to a fresh revision. The new edition was published in 1644.[2]

Urban VIII. had already embodied in the new edition of the Breviary the rules of the Congregation of Rites concerning the observance of festivals *in choro*, that is, feasts to be observed by the clergy only. In view of the fact that in course of time the number of feast days had become so great that many people no longer knew which were of obligation, Urban VIII. who, in point of fact, had himself instituted many new feasts,[3] laid down fresh regulations in a Bull of September 13th, 1624. This document gave an authentic list of all feasts of universal obligation and urged the Bishops, for the sake of uniformity in the Church, not to institute new ones. Though on this occasion the Pope considerably reduced the number of feasts of obligation, he maintained those of St. Joseph and St. Anne which had been recently imposed by his predecessor Gregory XV.[4] The devotion of the Forty Hours' Prayer

[1] See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1561.

[2] *Ibid.*, X.², 188. The Euchologium, *viz.* the liturgical book of the Greek Church, published in Paris by Goar in 1645, was examined by a special congregation in 1636–1643; see MS. *Borgia lat.*, 46, Vatican Library.

[3] See BÄUMER, 510.

[4] See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV.², 1395, X., 872. The Emperor Ferdinand and Maximilian I. of Bavaria begged Urban VIII. to define the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; but Urban held that the time had not come for such action; see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIII., 63 *seq.*, 374. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXVII., 760 *seq.* For Urban VIII's. veneration for St. Thomas Aquinas see his *consistorial address of March 2, 1626, **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives. See also the *Brief to the theologians *Salmanticen. Acad.* of April 29, 1629, who are praised because besides venerating St. Augustine and St. Thomas ("illi magni veritatis magistri") they had not despised the others and venerated "in controversiis coelestem Rom. cathedrae magistratum" (*Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives). Discussions before Urban VIII's. time *de concept. immaculata* in *Barb.*, XVIII., 67,

received Urban VIII.'s warmest support. For its observance in the Vatican, Bernini sketched the sumptuous decorative scheme of the Cappella Paolina.[1] At first the Pope took part in the procession of Corpus Christi on foot and bareheaded; only after 1639, in view of his age, did he do so in the Sedia Gestatoria and wearing the mitre.[2] To the Bull *In Coena Domini* he gave its definitive form.[3] The question whether in a case of necessity laymen could hear confessions, was decided in the negative.[4] A Bull of December 20th, 1631, revoked all papal verbal directions of a juridical character (*oracula vivae vocis*), even for the *forum* of conscience.[5] Urban VIII. had greatly at heart the development of the old and new Orders and the reform of the old ones. What he accomplished in this respect in France has already been related.[6] But he was no less concerned about the Orders in other countries: thus he approved the Statutes of the Discalced Mercedarians, the Italian *Annunziate* and *Angeliche*, the Franciscan Sisters of Dutch Limburg, the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians and the Discalced Carmelites.[7] The Convents of the Italian Discalced Augustinians were formed into four Provinces, the Custodies of the Reformed Franciscans were erected into a special Province whilst the Ambrosian Brothers were suppressed owing to their lack both of personnel and of means for carrying out the object of their foundation.[8]

Vatican Library. In a *Brief to Sigismund III. of July 13, 1632, the Pope had declared that the time for a dogmatic pronouncement was not yet. (THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 373 *seq.*)

[1] See DE SANTI, 273 *seq.*; 304 *seq.* (with picture). For the three Masses on All Souls' Day see KNELLER in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 1918, 84 *seq.*

[2] See MORONI, IX., 47.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIII., 530 *seq.*; HINSCHIUS, V., 647; EICHMANN, *Recursus ab abusu*, 105.

[4] See NOVAES, IX., 267. For the indulgences granted by Urban VIII., see *Kirchenlex.*, I.², 112. *Cf.* NICOLETTI in RANKE, III.⁶, 164.*

[5] See REIFFENSTUEL, *Ius can.*, 1, 5, tit. 33, n. 152 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* XXVIII, 436 *seq.*

[7] See HEIMBUCHER, II.², 75, 216, 270, 287, 506, 553.

[8] *Ibid.*, 189, 243, 384.

Both the *Bullarium*[1] and the Instructions to the nuncios[2] testify to the Pope's great interest in the reform of the Orders. In 1625 he confirmed the Benedictine University of Salzburg[3], as well as the newly-founded Austrian Benedictine Congregation: to both these new creations the Bishop of Passau offered the most determined opposition.[4] In 1630 a plan was proposed for a Congregation of all German Benedictines, together with that of Bursfeld, but it was not realized[5]; on the other hand, at the instigation of the splendid Prince-Bishop Paris Lodron, the Congregation of Salzburg was established in 1640. Its aim was a uniform religious discipline and the promotion of pastoral and scholastic activities.[6] The Servites were appointed confessors of the papal Court[7] whilst the Capuchin Girolamo of Narni (died 1632) retained the post of preacher of the palace.[8] Urban, whose brother was a member of the Order, greatly favoured the Capuchins.[9]

[1] See *Bull.*, XIII., 202 *seq.*; 207 *seq.*; 624 *seq.*; XIV., 1 *seq.*; 203 *seq.*; 241 *seq.* *Cf. Jahrbuch für schweiz. Gesch.*, XI., 175 *seq.*; *Anal. Francisc.*, I., 361 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* especially the *Instruction for Sacchetti in Spain of January 27, 1624, Casanatense Library, Rome, XV., 15, p. 149 *seq.*, and the **Instruttione* for the Neapolitan nuncio Bichi of May 30, 1628, MS. in my possession.

[3] See HEIMBUCHER, I.², 373.

[4] *Cf.* the essays of A. DUNGEL in *Studien und Mitteil. aus dem Benediktinerorden*, IV. (1883).

[5] See *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CIII., 416.

[6] See the excellent work by B. HUEMER: *Die Salzburger Benediktiner-Kongregation von* 1641–1808, Münster, 1918.

[7] See HEIMBUCHER, II.², 227.

[8] See TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 418; WADDING, *Script. Ord. Min.*, Romae, 1650. G. DA NARNI'S *Prediche fatte nel palazzo Apost.*, published in Rome, 1639; **Prediche fatte nel pal. Apost. nel venerdì della Domenica II. di quaresima*, in *Cod. ital.*, 70, p. 1 *seq.*, of the State Library, Munich.

[9] See PELLEGRINO DA FORLÌ (a continuation of *Boverius* which only goes as far as 1633, but not always reliable). *Annali del Ordine dei frati min. Cappuccini I.*, Milano, 1882, 541 *seq.* *Cf.* also HEIMBUCHER, II.², 516, 522.

In 1643 their Constitutions were revised and confirmed.[1] Just then the Order had a number of distinguished members in Rome.[2] Like the Capuchins, the new reform Orders, such as the Theatines, the Barnabites,[3] the Oratorians and especially the Jesuits, gave proof of the greatest zeal and their undertakings were warmly supported by Urban VIII. However, only the Capuchins and the Jesuits extended their influence beyond Italy,[4] but the sons of St. Ignatius surpassed the former both in regard to the extent and the diversity of their activities.

Urban VIII.'s great esteem for the work of the Society of Jesus was well shown on the occasion of the first centenary of the approval of the Order by Paul III. on September 27th, 1540. The anniversary of the confirmation opened in 1639 with a splendid function in the church of the Roman professed house, the Gesù, which had been magnificently decorated according to a design by Andrea Sacchi.[5] The Pope himself visited the church and his nephew, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, bore the whole of the expenses of the festival. On this occasion, among other incidents, first a hundred and then a thousand poor persons were entertained.[6] Antonio's brother, Don

[1] See Heimbucher, II.[2], 390.

[2] *Cf.* D. da Isnello, *Il convento della s. Conzezione d. padri Cappuccini in Roma.* Viterbo, 1923, 26 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Premoli, *I Barnabiti nel Seicento,* Roma, 1922.

[4] The Oratorians made new foundations in the Papal States: 1622 at Città di Castello, 1632 at Fabriano, 1637 at Pesara, Forlì and Urbino, 1640 at Spoleto, 1644 at Montecchio, Cesena, Jesi and Matelica. In Tuscany: in 1632 at Florence. In the territory of Venice: 1624 at Padua. In the Milanese territory: 1640 at Lodi and Cremona, 1629 at Reggio di Lombardia. In Sicily: in 1628 at Patarma, 1632 at Messina; beyond the Alps they made only one foundation in 1626, *viz.* at Douai; see Capecelatro, *F. Neri,* II.[3], 701 *seq.*

[5] See Posse, *Sacchi,* 7 *seq.*, 9 *seq*; Voss, 532 *seq.* *Cf. L'Arte,* XXVII., 66 *seq.*

[6] Iac. Damianus, *Synopsis primi saeculi Soc. Jesu.*, Tornaci, 1641, 358 *seq.* *Relazione della solenne festa fatta dal . . . cardinale Antonio Barberini . . . nella chiesa della casa professa,* Roma, 1639 (with dedication to the nieces of Urban VIII., Innocenza and

Taddeo, made himself responsible for the function which took place during the week following the feast of St. Ignatius in the still unfinished church of the Roman College. On August 8th, 1640, the Pope himself came to view the decorations of the church. Tapestries replaced the vault which was still wanting.[1] In other ways also Urban VIII. showed his

Maria) ; see SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 52, *cf.* 39, 58 ; also E. RIVIÈRE, *Corrections et additions*, Toulouse, 1912, 762 ; on the magnificence displayed, *cf. Imago primi saeculi*, 29 : " (Natalis Societatis) ab Urbano VIII., P.M. amplissima maximeque solenni indulgentia cohonestatus, ab eiusdem fratris filio Antonio Barberino cardinali tanto apparatu, impensa, splendore Romae celebratus, quantum negue optare pro sua modestia Societas debuit, neque augere propemodum patronus munificentissimus pro animi sui magnitudine potuit." A painting of the celebration is in *La Canonizzazione dei santi Ignazio de Loiola e Francesco Saverio* (special issue), Roma, 1922, 77.

[1] *Copia di una carta de Roma . . . Roma*, 1640, in SOMMERVOGEL and RIVIÈRE, *loc. cit.* ; E. RINALDI, *La fondazione del collegio Romano*, Arezzo, 1914, 120 ; DAMIANUS, *loc. cit.* ; SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 121. In Madrid and Vienna there were also celebrations (Damianus, 360), also in the French houses (FOUQUERAY, V., 196). The Province of Upper Germany refrained from public festivities (KROPF, *Hist. provinciae Soc. Iesu Germaniae superioris*, Pars V. Aug. Vindel., 1754, dec. 10, cap. 64, p. 463). The Flandro-Belgian Province perpetuated the solemnity with an account of the activities of the Order in the first hundred years of its existence : *Imago primi saeculi, Antwerp.*, 1640 (a folio volume of almost 1,000 pages of prose and verse with fine copper plates). The General of the Order felt uneasy when he heard of this publication, prepared by Bollandus, but expressed his satisfaction when he saw it. (*Anal. Boll.*, 1914, 321.) The *Morale Pratique des Jésuites* (ARNAULD, *Oeuvres*, XXXII., 45 to 111) made mock of some of the exaggerations of this publication, not without twisting the sense in doing so ; so did Pascal in his *Provinciales* ; valuation of the work has suffered in consequence of these attacks. There is no trace of pride in the letter which the General of the Order addressed on November 15, 1639, to the Order on the subject of the jubilee celebration. (*Epistolae Generalium Soc. Iesu*, Ghent, 1847, 387 *seqq.*)

goodwill to the Jesuits. He published the Bull of Loyola's canonization which Gregory XV. had not had time to issue.[1] In this document the Society of Jesus is described as a work of Providence for the spread and the defence of the faith.[2] Urban's *Votum* on the canonization when still a Cardinal, had expressed the same thought.[3] The humanistic formation which the Pope had acquired at the Roman College and which he lovingly cherished for years, bore fruit, among other things, in a poem in praise of an ascetical writing by Cardinal Bellarmine in whose honour, as well as that of Charles Borromeo and Cardinal Nobili, he composed several poems.[4]

The attempt of an English lady, Mary Ward, to found a religious Order of women on the model of that of the Jesuits, compelled Urban VIII. to examine more closely to what extent it might be possible to allow some external activity in the nursing and teaching sphere to religious associations of women, notwithstanding the stringent laws of the Church with regard to the enclosure. Mary Ward's plan was to adopt both the scope and the organization of the Society of Jesus: the scope, that is, the work of teaching, in so far as this was possible for lay persons and women; the organization, inasmuch as the government of the new Society was wholly placed in the hands of a Superior General completely independent of the Ordinaries and subject to the Pope alone and who distributed offices and transferred members at will

[1] See Vol. XXVII., p. 121, n. 4.

[2] Bull of August 8, 1623, *Bull.*, XIII., 25 *seq.*

[3] "Eat inficias nemo, Dei munere nobis esse datum b. Ignatium tempore, quo contra debacchantes et in huius s. Sedis perduelles propugnaculum excitaret, ex quo non ipse solum, sed eius instituti viri religiosi iugiter et fortiter dimicarent. . . . Fuerunt orbi christiano suscepti ab eo pro fide catholica labores maxime salutares. . . . Suscepit illa quidem (the Church) plures a b. Ignatio, qui fuerunt ei clypeus, quo parta tueretur; b. vero Xaverius datus est ut esset gladius, quo novis aucta victoriis christiani fines imperii longe lateque protenderent." *La Canonizzazione, etc.*, 41 *seq.*

[4] *Carmina*, Dilingae, 1640, carm., 84 and 158, p. 208, 260.

from one house to another. Exemption from enclosure, Office in choir and a distinctive religious dress, was a matter of course for the new Institute.[1]

Neither birth nor upbringing had prepared Mary Ward for such innovations. She sprang from a distinguished Yorkshire family of confessors of the faith. Her devout grandmother, who for fourteen years had languished in prison for the faith, had had a very great influence on her upbringing. In 1606, when 21 years old, she entered a convent at Saint-Omer. At that time she had no other thought than to renounce the world and to follow as strict a life as possible, since there could be no question then of a woman taking up social work. Accordingly she became a lay sister with the French Poor Clares of Saint-Omer and as an extern begged alms for the community. Soon, however, she realized that this was not her vocation and that a convent of English Poor Clares was greatly needed. By sacrificing her fortune and with the help of the Court of Brussels, she succeeded in founding such a convent at Gravelines, but she herself, though the house of Gravelines and its filiations at Aire, Rouen and Dunkerque [2] regard her as their foundress, soon realized that the separation from the world she so much longed for, was not to be her lot. The idea came to her to return to England in lay attire, there to do as much good as possible by means of the ordinary intercourse of daily life. She frequently repeated

[1] *Cf.* M. C. E. CHAMBERS, *The Life of Mary Ward*, ed. H. J. Coleridge, S.J., 2 vols., London, 1882. MOTHER MARY SALOME, *Mary Ward*, London, 1901; H. RIESCH, *Maria Ward*, Innsbruck, 1922; HEIMBUCHER, III.[2], 364 *seq.*; JOSEPH GRISAR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXIII. (1927), 34–51, 131–150. The Bull. of Benedict XIV., dated April 30, 1749, forbidding the "English Ladies" to call Mary Ward their foundress, a prohibition revoked by Pius X., contains many oversights and errors; see GRISAR, *loc. cit.*, 34 *seq.*; Coleridge, in CHAMBERS, II., xxxviii. It is much to be desired that the acts of Mary Ward's trials kept in the Archives of the Roman Inquisition, should be made accessible to research; without these sources, much must remain obscure in the life of Mary Ward.

[2] CHAMBERS, I., 198–204.

these visits to England, so much so that Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, sought to have her arrested, for he was of opinion that she did more harm to Protestantism than six Jesuits.[1] Returning to Saint-Omer, she took a house of her own where, together with five English companions, she devoted herself to a very austere mode of life as well as to the education of youth. So far she was not clear in her own mind as to the details of the life she was to embrace, but on this point light and certainty were granted to her when, as she always maintained, it came to her during prayer that the Society of Jesus was to be her model—in other words, that it was her mission to found for women an Order based on the model of the Jesuit Order.[2]

The task thus assumed by Mary Ward put her in presence of almost insuperable obstacles. True, there already existed in Flanders certain societies of women for the education of girls [3] popularly styled " Jesuitesses ", but they were of purely local importance and their organization was a loose one, whereas Mary planned a world-wide though rigidly centralized Society. As a matter of fact, it soon looked as if the " English Ladies " were about to secure a footing everywhere. To the first foundation at Saint-Omer there was added one in London in 1640. It was planned as a centre for those of the Sisters who were to go from house to house with a view to working for the Catholic faith. Up till the year 1628 foundations had been made at Liège, Rome, Naples, Cologne, Trèves, Perugia,

[1] *Ibid.*, 407.

[2] M. Ward's own testimony in CHAMBERS, I., 283. The name of " Jesuitesses " was not adopted by the community itself ; the members called themselves " Matres Anglae, Signorine Inglesi " (RIESCH, 94).

[3] Thus the Sisters of St. Agnes at Douai, Saint-Omer, Mons, Valenciennes, Brussels and elsewhere (Bishop Blaise of St.-Omer in FOLEY, VII., 1255 ; *cf.* CHAMBERS, I., 501 *seq.*), and later the Sisters of St. Monica (from 1629) at Bruges (*Annuaire de l'Université cath. de Louvain*, 1913, 459). At Tournai the Jesuit Mortaigne had established a congregation of the same kind (MANARAEUS, *De rebus Soc. Iesu*, 46).

Munich, Vienna, Pressburg and Prague.[1] At the same time the Society gained powerful patrons. The Bishop of Saint-Omer, Blaise, published a special Pastoral Letter [2] to defend them against certain attacks of which they had been the object. Archduke Ferdinand of Bavaria and the Emperor Ferdinand II. showed them great favour, as did the very influential Carmelite, Dominic of Jesus and Mary.

Thus the Pope could not have long remained silent; but it was equally impossible for him to approve the new Institute at once and without reservation. The Council of Trent had enforced the rule of strict enclosure as an essential condition for the reform of convents of nuns and Pius V. had still further tightened these prescriptions. Hence it was not to be expected that the Roman Congregations would so soon make an exception; the Societies founded by St. Francis de Sales, by Jeanne de Lestonnac, and the Ursulines, had experience of it. As for the "English Ladies", the fact of their leaning on the Jesuits was fatal.[3] The hatred of which the Society of Jesus had been the object from the first, had just then reached its climax among a section of the English clergy. That party saw in the new Institute only another organization and a tool of the hated Society,[4] hence it was only too ready to lend ear to every calumny and exaggeration. The Vicar-General, Richard Smith, showed as much opposition to Mary Ward as to the Society of Jesus. This readily accounts for the reserve of the Jesuits, for they feared fresh difficulties, although some of their number lent support to the Society.

[1] *Annuaire, loc. cit.*, 460.

[2] March 19, 1615, in FOLEY, VII., 1252–6.

[3] GRISAR, 39 *seqq.*

[4] "Instromento potentissimo (of the Jesuits) per il loro accrescimento e potere (Nuncio Pallotto, August 5, 1628, in KIEWNING, I., 165). On April 9, 1633, someone informed Bishop Richard Smith that the Fathers were trying to obtain through the "English Ladies" that "both sexes shall have a general dependence of them" (CHAMBERS, II., 412; memorandum of the Archpriest Harrison against the new congregation, *ibid.*, 183–6).

The objections to the English Ladies which came from England were passed on to Propaganda. Now the Secretary of that newly founded Congregation, Francesco Ingoli, was not only a great stickler for the letter of the law, he was also keenly opposed to the Jesuits. To this must be added that there were features in the scheme of the new foundress which were of a nature to create difficulties, such as exemption from the Ordinary and the house to house visiting by the Sisters. Differences of opinion and disputes arose even within the Institute itself. The leader of the malcontents, whom the foundress had to dismiss, joined her enemies and published a libellous pamphlet which provided the opponents with welcome weapons. Difficulties there existed then, but Mary Ward trusted too much in the righteousness of her cause to deem it worth while to refute in detail the accusations of her opponents which were for the most part pure calumnies, or to enlighten the Roman Congregation on the true state of things. She appealed directly to the Pope: if he took her side, so she reasoned, she had gained everything.

Already in 1616 she had sent to Paul V. a statement of the scope of her foundation and the means of realizing it,[1] and she had received an encouraging reply from Cardinal Lancellotti, the President of the Congregation of the Council.[2] On Christmas Eve, 1621, armed with letters of recommendation from the Archduchess Isabella, the King of Spain and the Emperor, Mary arrived in Rome in order personally to forward her business with Gregory XV. and to secure a papal approval which would sweep away every obstacle. She was given leave to open a school in Rome, to the end that the results of her work might be seen. She also established schools at Naples and Perugia. In October, 1624, Mary returned to Rome in order to call on the new Pope at Frascati. Urban VIII. received her with the same kindness as his predecessor: as a matter of fact, notwithstanding all the blows that were about to befall her, Mary never forfeited the

[1] In Chambers, I., 375–385.

[2] April 10, 1616, *ibid.*, 385 *seq.*

personal esteem of ecclesiastical authorities. None the less the Roman school was closed, to the regret of the parents, and the foundress was told that there could be no question of the approval of her Society. Towards the end of 1626 Mary Ward resolved to revisit England. The General of the Jesuits gave her a letter of recommendation and she met with the most friendly reception from the Grand-Duke of Florence and from Frederic Borromeo at Milan. On her way through Bavaria, the Elector Maximilian put a house at her disposal at Munich with a view to her opening a school.[1] The other protagonists of the Catholic restoration also showed understanding for her ideas ; before the end of 1628, the favour of Ferdinand II. enabled her to open a school at Vienna which before long numbered 465 pupils.[2] The Archbishop of Gran and future Cardinal Pázmány gave the English Ladies a house at Pressburg whilst they were negotiating with Cardinal Dietrichstein for a foundation at Nikolsburg and Count Althaun sought to attract them to Prague.[3]

Mary Ward nevertheless found opponents even among the friends of the reform. Cardinal Harrach of Prague was not particularly well disposed towards the English Ladies and Bishop Klesl of Vienna would not hear of a Society not approved by the Pope.[4] Moreover he felt hurt because Mary Ward had not first made arrangements with him before making her foundation in Vienna. He protested in Rome and on July 14th, 1628, the nuncios of the imperial Court, at Brussels and at Naples, were instructed to suppress the establishments of the English Ladies.

However, in view of their numerous and eminent supporters, it was not easy to execute this order. At the end of two years Ingoli had had his way in Naples and, notwithstanding the protests of the Archbishop of Cambrai, in Flanders also. In

[1] Riezler, VI., 293 *seq.* ; M. Th. Winkler, *M. Ward und das Institut der Englischen Fräulein in Bayern*, München, 1926, 14 *seq.*

[2] Klesl to Rome, September 23, 1628, in Kiewning, I., 243.

[3] Kiewning, I., 77, 227.

[4] To Cardinal Bandini, August 12, 1628, in Kiewning, I., 165.

the latter country the fate of the English Ladies affected even other teaching Sisterhoods which went under the name of "Jesuitesses".[1] The nuncio of Vienna, Pallotto, did nothing in the matter beyond advising Mary Ward to return to Rome; this he did probably out of consideration for the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria whose goodwill he needed in the negotiations concerning the Mantuan succession. In Rome Mary Ward met with a very friendly reception on the part of Urban VIII. She was allowed to plead her cause once more before a congregation of Cardinals when she effectively defended her Society for the space of three-quarters of an hour. But all was in vain: on September 30th, 1629, Propaganda, in presence of the Pope, decreed the suppression of the so-called Jesuitesses.

The nuncio of Cologne, Pier Luigi Carafa, made it his particular business to carry out the decision. At his instigation the establishments at Liège, Cologne and Trèves had been closed in July, 1630, by the respective Archbishops.[2] He found himself in a position to deal a blow to the very existence of the Institute when he met with insubordination among the Sisters of his nunciature. Propaganda's decree of suppression had not been communicated to Mary Ward herself; the first intimation reached her through her companion Winefred Wigmore. On April 6th, 1630, she wrote to her daughters that the decree was a surreptitious one, published by their opponent Cardinal Bentivoglio, and without the knowledge of the Pope and the Congregation of Cardinals. She accordingly exhorted her subjects to hold fast to their mode of life and not to allow themselves to be disconcerted even by the threat of excommunication.[3] For the purpose of encouraging the Sisters in this sense she sent Winefred Wigmore to visit the northern houses. The latter, perhaps against the will of the foundress, urged the Sisters of Liège, Cologne and Trèves, to resume community life, and in this she was successful. Carafa now stepped in: he reported matters to Rome,

[1] Grisar, *loc. cit.*, 131–140.

[2] *Ibid.*, 141–5.

[3] Grisar, 143.

despatched thither Mary's letter and suggested that the new Society be everywhere dissolved, that the foundress be put under arrest as the cause of the insubordination and that a papal Bull should declare her Institute suppressed for good. In the course of their interrogatories the Sisters had dropped certain remarks which had roused suspicion. Propaganda transmitted Mary's letter to the Inquisition, leaving to that Congregation the decision of the whole affair.

Thereupon Carafa was instructed to have both Mary Ward and Winefred Wigmore arrested on the same day. Both were seized on February 7th, 1630, Mary Ward at Munich and Winefred Wigmore at Liège.[1] Mary was imprisoned in the convent of the Poor Clares at Munich. Through her Sisters she appealed to the Pope who knew nothing of her arrest. The Pontiff commanded that she should be immediately set at liberty. She was taken home in the carriage of the Elector's wife; soon, however, she was informed of Urban VIII.'s Bull [2] suppressing the Society of the Jesuitesses. The Bull finds fault with Mary Ward's foundation for taking over from existing Orders, without leave of the Pope, all their essential elements as well as a General, Rectors and Visitatrixes; for abolishing the enclosure and pretending to exercise a kind of house to house pastoral ministry, a thing that did not become ladies and young girls and for which they were not qualified. The last two points Carafa had singled out as decisive factors in the previous condemnation.[3] On the other hand neither the Bull nor Carafa condemned the efforts on behalf of the education of female youth. Mary Ward was not slow in perceiving that here was a chance of saving her creation at least as a teaching Society. True, the Bull forbade the one-time "Jesuitesses" to live in community, but it was easy for the Pope to do away with this prohibition. Accordingly in 1632 Mary Ward once more took the road to

[1] *Ibid.*, 147; GINZEL, 57–9.

[2] January 13, 1631, in GINZEL, 187–193.

[3] "Peculiariter vero, cum urbes atque provincias adire, interdum in aetatis ac formae flore, periculosum imprimis iudicetur" (GINZEL, 57).

Rome. Urban VIII. received her as kindly as ever. He personally reassured her with regard to the accusation of heresy which had weighed in the decision to arrest her, and allowed Winefred Wigmore and some of her companions to come to Rome, there to make a foundation under the Pope's patronage.[1] The proceedings against the Jesuitesses before the Inquisition terminated with a declaration that they were not, nor ever had been, guilty of any offence against the faith.[2] In other ways also Urban VIII. showed himself favourably disposed towards Mary Ward[3]; she was nevertheless secretly watched and when she wished to take the waters at San Cassiano, owing to continued ill health, it was intimated to her that for certain reasons of State the Pope desired her not to leave Rome.[4] On her complaining of this measure, the Pope once more gave her full liberty and on her return from the baths, surveillance also ceased. Urban put one of his own carriages at her disposal, as well as his private physician and his pharmacy, and sent her wine from his table.[5] When she decided to seek a cure for her chronic illness at Spa, in the more favourable atmosphere of the north, she was given letters of recommendation to the nuncios.[6] Armed with recommendations to Queen Henrietta Maria and Count Rossetti, she went to England in 1639, where she opened more schools in London and in Yorkshire. Her resolution to return to Rome at an early date was not carried out for she died on January 20th, 1645, at Hawarth, near York.

With Mary Ward there passed away one of the most remarkable women of these latter centuries of the Church's history. At a time when so many of her sisters in the upper classes bought an easy life by sacrificing their religious convictions, Mary Ward, at the early age of 21, renounced all things earthly and voluntarily chose a life of poverty and privation, in order that she might belong to God alone. At the end of

[1] CHAMBERS, II., 405 *seqq.*, 428.

[2] The secretary of the Inquisition to Carafa; *ibid.*, 401 *seqq.* GRISAR, 150.

[3] CHAMBERS, II., 413.

[4] *Ibid.*, 431.

[5] *Ibid.*, 439.

[6] *Ibid.*, 447.

her ten years of sacrifice and anxious search, God Himself, such was her conviction,[1] put the plan into her mind which henceforth was to be the object of all her striving and scheming. To forward it she exerted her whole being, the splendid intellectual gifts which enabled her to be ahead of her time, her tenacious and persevering will, the force of her personality with which she won all hearts [2] and subjugated both Pope and Princes. Thus she went her way, amidst fatigues, privations and habitual and grievous interior trials, almost always ailing yet never thinking of rest, near to death and still full of plans for future journeys, now honoured by Princes and by the Pope only to be once more calumniated and persecuted, cast off by those whom she revered and wished to serve, yet never embittered, possessed with the idea of her divine calling yet full of filial submission to the Church, on the brink of ruin yet convinced that her work would endure until the end of time.[3] One might imagine that this portrait was that of a devout heroine of some medieval legend, but Mary Ward stands in the full light of history.

Like St. Francis before her, Mary Ward also was unable fully to realize her original conception. The plan of a Society of Jesuit nuns proved incapable of execution. Nevertheless she did pioneer work for all female teaching Orders in as much as she paved the way for the organization of these Institutes under a Superior General who, notwithstanding the enclosure, may transfer and distribute at will from one house to another the various members of the Society. True, after Urban VIII.'s Bull, out of 200–300 Sisters, distributed in ten houses, who had attached themselves to Mary Ward up

[1] M. Ward to Urban VIII., November 28, 1630: That which she had practised for twenty-two years was "totally and entirely (as far as human judgment can arrive) ordained and commended to me by the express word of Him Who will not deceive, nor can be deceived" (CHAMBERS, II., 330).

[2] CHAMBERS, II., 435.

[3] God gave her an assurance "that this Institute shall remain in the Church of God until the end of the world" (to Urban VIII., *loc. cit.*, 331).

to 1631,[1] only a few continued faithful to her.[2] However, the establishment at Munich remained, though in an altered form,[3] and from there it spread all over the world, especially after the approval of the Rule by Clement XI.[4]

(2)

The Congregation of the Inquisition maintained its long-established pre-eminence under Urban VIII. It usually met three times a week, once under the presidency of the Pope himself.[5] The most distinguished among the Cardinals, including the two nephews Francesco and Antonio Barberini, were among its members.[6] The powers and the sphere of

[1] CHAMBERS, II., 385 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 396.

[3] *Ibid.*, 390. The house at Vienna remained open at least until 1638 (WIEDEMANN, II., 263). Cardinal Klesl had ordered a visitation of the house on October 7, 1629, which completely satisfied him (*ibid.*, 262).

[4] A summary of the houses in 1921 in RIESCH, 171–6. For the Bavarian houses see BUCHINGER in the *Oberbayr. Archiv*, XVII. (1857), 140 *seqq.*, 158 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* ALV. CONTARINI, *Relazione*, 355. The *domus Inquisitionis* had to be repaired in 1626; *cf.* **Arm.* 42, t. 60, p. 59, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] An *Avviso of June 6, 1624, mentions the nomination of Fr. Barberini, Vatican Library. A *note in the Papal Secret Archives (XI., 42, p. 421) gives the names of the members of the Santo Officio under Urban VIII., *viz. Cardinali*: Roma, Barberino, Ceva, S. Honofrio (Ant. Barberini), Spada, Ginetti, S. Clemente (Scaglia), Panzirola, Lugo, Cecchini, Colonna, Monti, Bichi, Verospi, Falconieri; *Consultori*: Il patriarcha d'Antiochia, Generale di S. Domenico, Maestro del Sacro Palazzo, Monsr Bilio, Pauluzzi Albizzi, il P. Commissario, Sigr. Bartolomeo Oreggio, il P. Consultore di S. Apostoli, il P. D. Hilarione Rameati, il compagno del P. Commissario, Sig^r Camillo Piazza Priore de'Rei, Sig^r Pietro Seristro, Sustituto fiscale. See also MORONI, XVI., 227 *seq.*, and BERTOLOTTI, *Martiri*, 123, 125. PIETRO CONTARINI (213) complained in 1627, that no Venetian was on the Inquisition; so did ALV. CONTARINI (355) in 1635.

activity, hence also the correspondence, of the Roman Inquisition, were extremely wide.[1] In a collection of letters of the Inquisition between the years 1626–8, now in the Vatican Library (*fondo Barberini*), there are letters to Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Nuncios and especially to the local Inquisition in the various Italian cities.[2] Here also one sees with how many different questions the Inquisition had to deal. Besides the determination and expedition of the faculties of Bishops, nuncios and religious Orders,[3] it also concerned itself with the veneration of Saints,[4] marriage dispensations, grave moral delinquencies, sacrileges, the abuse of the Sacrament of Penance, false ecstasies and prophecies, witchcraft, superstition, above all with any teaching or expression of opinion contrary to the faith; hence the Congregation worked in close co-operation with that of the Index.[5]

[1] *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 248 *seq.* This Constitution, issued in 1631, and dealing with the rights of the Inquisition over the religious Orders, was renewed in 1633; see DIANA, *Coordinatus*, IV., Lugduni, 1667, 537. *Ibid.*, 543 *seq.*, *Ampliatio Clementis VIII.*, dated March 3, 1628, against those who not having received Orders, say Mass or hear Confessions; they are to be handed over to the secular arm.

[2] **Barb.*, 6334/36, Vatican Library.

[3] See MERGENTHEIM, I., 23 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*, 236, note 5; II., 30 *seq.*, 63 *seq.* For the intervention of the Inquisition in the controversy of the English Catholics, see below Ch. IV.

[4] See MORONI, XVI., 226.

[5] *Cf.* **Barb.* 6334/36, *loc. cit.* A decree of the Roman Inquisition against the use of talismans in FUMI, *L'Inquisizione Romana e lo stato di Milano*, Milano, 1910, 266. A scholar who was allowed to use the archives of the Inquisition on the question of mixed marriages, communicated to me a decree of June 6, 1638, to the Guardian of the Franciscans at Jerusalem: "*Excommunicationem latam a P. Hyacintho de Verona, cum esset praeses dictorum locorum, contra catholicos matrimonium cum haereticis contrahentes non esse observandam." A few decrees of the Congregation of the Inquisition are in *Editti*, V., 31, of the Papal Secret Archives.

At this time, apart from the Waldenses in Piedmont, Protestantism had practically vanished from Italy.[1] Nevertheless the Pope, who severely reprimanded Cardinal Spada for rising to his feet whilst a heretic said grace before a meal,[2] watched anxiously over the preservation of religious unity in Italy. In 1639, by dint of remonstrances, he succeeded in obtaining from the Duke of Mantua the expulsion of certain Swiss Protestant merchants from the county of Montferrat, for he feared that they might be the means of Protestant heresies creeping in.[3] In other ways also the dissemination of non-Catholic doctrines was sternly dealt with. At Bologna, in 1628, the heresiarch Francesco de Soldati was executed.[4] At Florence, in 1626, the Inquisition proceeded against Antonio degli Albizzi, founder of the Accademia degli Alterati and consul of the Academy of Florence, but he escaped to Germany. The year 1641 saw the end of the trial of the distinguished Canon Pandolfo Ricasoli who was condemned to lifelong imprisonment for his ascetico-quietistic errors as well as for his moral irregularities.[5]

Like this trial, that of Orazio Morandi, Abbot of S. Prassede in Rome, also caused no small stir. Morandi had published in the news-sheets certain prophesies based on astrological superstitions, and among them the early death of the Pope. He was condemned to imprisonment in the gaol of Tor di Nona.[6]

Urban VIII.'s Bull against astrologers, dated April 1st,

[1] See Rodocanachi, *La Réforme en Italie*, II., 440.

[2] *Brief of December 22, 1623, *Epist.*, I., 1, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See Bertolotti, *Martiri*, 118.

[4] *Cf.* Rule, II., 328 *seq.*

[5] See L. Passerini, *Generalogia d. famiglia Ricasoli*, 161 *seq.* *Cf.* *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Toscana*, Firenze, 1783, and Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 516 *seq.*

[6] See Bertolotti, *Martiri*, 119 *seq.*; *idem.* *Giornalisti, astrologhi e negromanti in Roma nel sec. XVII.* Firenze, 1878, 7 *seq.*, 15 *seq.* *Cf.* *Avviso of June 12, 1630, Vat. Lib.

1631, was connected with this trial.[1] It did no more than renew the prescriptions of Sixtus V. in his Bull *Coeli et Terrae Creator* of January 5th, 1586, directed against astrologers who claimed the power of knowing the future and of setting in motion certain secret forces for the good or the hurt of the living. Sixtus urged the Inquisition to proceed with the utmost rigour against those who evoked the devil as well as against those who read books treating of such evocations. In the above-named Bull, Urban specially commanded that an eye should be kept on such magical arts as were directed against the life of the Pope and that of his kinsfolk down to the third degree. Those guilty of such offences were to be punished not only with excommunication but with death and confiscation of property. If they were clerics, they were to be handed over to the secular arm, subsequently to the application of ecclesiastical penalties. These dispositions of Urban VIII. were soon to be carried out against Giacinto Centini, a nephew of Felice Centini, Cardinal of Ascoli. Centini was anxious for his uncle to become Pope. In view of the fact that the Cardinal was already 60 years old, he was afraid lest he should not live to see his election. With a view to speeding things up, he resolved to get the reigning Pontiff out of the way. To this end he entered into a conspiracy with the ill-famed hermit Diego Guicciolone of Palermo, the Augustinian Domenico Zancone of Fermo and the Friar Minor Cherubino Seraphino of Ancona. Various attempts between 1633–5 did not lead to the desired result. In course

[1] See *Bull.*, XIV., 211 *seq.* *Cf.* Reusch., II., 181. *Barb.* 921 (Vatican Library) contains: *"*Petri Antonii de Magistris Galathaei de astrologia narratiuncula, in qua permissa a superstitiosa distinguitur ex diversis auctoribus, ubi verus sensus bullae Sixti V. declaratur, quam postea Urbanus VIII. confirmavit."* *Ibid.*, 298, p. 10 *seq.*: **In astrologos oratio Ferdinandi Casoli ad S.D.N. Urb. VIII.* *Ibid.*, 4261: Cesare Crivellati, *Nuovo trattato contro l'astrologia giuditiaria,* dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (attempts to show that astrology is a Manichaean heresy).

of time the secret leaked out. In the hope of impunity for himself, Zancone betrayed the whole plot to the Inquisition. Centini and his accomplices were arrested; Centini was beheaded after a lengthy trial; the two others were hanged (April 23rd, 1635) after they had made a public recantation on the previous day in the basilica of St. Peter.[1]

The same basilica, on June 9th, 1635, witnessed the solemn recantation of eight men condemned by the Inquisition. The spectacle drew an extraordinary concourse of people because among the culprits was the Rector of S. Carlo al Corso who was to be handed over to the secular arm for execution for his sacrileges, immoralities and his practice of necromancy; the rest were condemned either to imprisonment or to the galleys.[2] At a recantation on May 18th, 1642, three out of four men whose guilt had been established, escaped with imprisonment; the fourth, a Franciscan Conventual, who had already served a sentence of ten years' imprisonment for saying Mass though he had never been ordained, was

[1] *Cf.* the *Relation* which Le Bret (*Magazin*, IV., 81 *seq.*) published in a German translation, and which was edited independently by Gorini in his *Archivio*, IV. (1875), 340 *seq.*, and by Carini in the periodical *Il Muratori*, I. (1892), 49 *seq.*, as well as the report from *Cod. Barb.* 4903 of which M. Rosi (*La congiura di G. Centini*, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXII., 350 *seq.*), has made excellent use and printed (357 *seq.*); on p. 366 *seq.*, he gives the judgmenf of the Cardinals of the Inquisition of April 2, 1635. See also **Avviso di Roma*, April 28, 1635, State Archives, Vienna; Bertolotti in the *Riv. europ.*, V. (1878), 473 *seq.*, 510 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 742. A broadsheet on the conspiracy in *Zeitschr. für Kulturgesch.*, XIII. (1912), 125 *seq.* In 1640 Spada, the governor of Rome, came upon the traces of a plot for poisoning Urban VIII., which had been hatched by an immoral priest, Francesco Orsolino, at one time secretary to the envoy of Savoy, and the Augustinian Domenico Branza. Both criminals were executed; see Decio Cortesi, *Un cervellotico attentato contra Urbano VIII.*, in the *Corriere d'Italia*, of November 21, 1926.

[2] *Cf.* Bertolotti, *Martiri*, 122 *seq.*

condemned to be burnt for repeating the same sacrilege as well as for hearing confessions.[1]

On November 25th of the same year 1635, the Romàn Inquisition published a very important Instruction on the procedure to be followed at the trials of witches.[2] Its purpose was to do away with the grave abuses which had crept into the conduct of these trials as a result of the allegations made by witches concerning their companions at the witches' assemblies. The Instruction laid it down that, on principle, no attention was to be paid to allegations by the accused concerning their accomplices, whereas it was precisely such information which just then led to a recrudescence of the hunt for witches in Germany. The result was that at the very time when in Germany, during the period of the Thirty Years' War, the most dreadful product of popular superstition, belief in the existence of witches, resulted in the most appalling orgies of cruelty, no witches were burnt in Rome.[3] The Instruction proves in striking fashion that a revulsion of reason and humanity from the horrors of the trials for witchcraft took place in Rome very much earlier than in either the Catholic or the Protestant districts of Germany.

In March, 1640, a man was condemned by the Inquisition and handed over to the Governor of Rome for execution, but in this instance the criminal in question was not a heretic but one who had relapsed into Judaism and who obstinately clung to it, namely a Portuguese of the name of Ferdinand Alvarez.[4] The last execution under Urban VIII., on May 19th,

[1] See the **Relatione delle cose occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Msgr. G. B. Spada*, MS. in the Library of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, Rome.

[2] See G. Stutz in the *Kathol. Schweizerblätter für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben*, 1881, 601 *seq.*; Paulus, *Hexenwahn*, 273 *seq.*

[3] See Paulus, 276.

[4] See the judgment in Bertolotti, *Martiri*, 123 *seq.* The account of the execution is in Bertolotti, *Liberi pensatori bruciati in Roma dal XVI. al XVII. sec.*, Roma, 1904, 99 *seq.* Reusch (*Bellarmin's Selbstbiographie*, Bonn, 1887, 239), wrongly places the execution in 1643. A similar case of a Jew of the year

1642, was that of a Friar Minor who, though not a priest, had said Mass and heard confessions on several occasions.[1] In like manner Ferrante Pallavicini, the author of many obscene writings, paid with his life for his pasquinades against the Barberini; however, it was not the Inquisition but the papal Legate who had the dissolute *littérateur* executed at Avignon in March, 1644.[2]

More than once inculpated persons were sent to Rome at the request of the Roman Inquisition, as, for instance, in 1626 the English Benedictine John Barnes who was arrested in Paris and condemned to lifelong imprisonment by the Roman Inquisition because of his heretical opinions.[3] The poet and philosopher Tommaso Campanella, who had been sent to Rome from Naples, was set free in 1629 when it became evident that his guilt was of a political nature and if in 1632 all the writings of this Dominican, which had not been printed or approved in Rome, were prohibited, there was question only of carrying into effect an ordinance by the terms of which writers living in Rome could not have anything printed elsewhere without permission.[4] The orientalist Girolamo

1635 in the *N. Antologia*, XXXIV. (1877), 298. Urban VIII. furthered the conversion of the Jews wherever possible; he bestowed gifts on converts (see *Rev. juive*, II., 283) and granted them pensions to which the Jews themselves were obliged to contribute (see Rodocanachi, *Le St.-Siège et les Juifs*, Paris, 1891, 247 *seq.*; *cf.* also *Bull.*, XIV., 554 *seq.*). For the imposition of other taxes on the Jews, especially during the war of Castro, see Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 249 *seq.* On one occasion Urban VIII. himself stood sponsor at a Jew's baptism (see *Revue Juive*, III., 96). *Cf.* also Bertolotti in Gori's *Archivio*, V. (1879), 273 *seq.*; *Rev. juive*, II., 289 *seq.*; Rieger-Vogelstein, vol. 2; *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LIII. (1885), 65 *seq.* A humane ordinance for the Jews who were in custody for debt is found in *Bull.*, XIV., 500 *seq.* A Brief to the King of Spain against the avaricious Jews of Portugal, dated January 15, 1628, is in *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Bertolotti, *Liberi pensatori*, 105 *seq.*

[2] See Reusch, *Index*, II., 397, 409.

[3] *Ibid.*, 404 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 396, 401.

Vecchietti, who had been called to account because of his views on the Last Supper, was eventually set at liberty by the Inquisition and he lived undisturbed in the Eternal City until his death, some time after 1632.[1] The philosopher, Cesare Cremonini of Padua and the Archbishop of Spalato, Marcantonio De Dominis, had occupied the attention of the Roman Inquisition already under Paul V.[2] In 1626 Cremonini was accused of denying the immortality of the soul and of maintaining that the world was eternal. Rome was perturbed by a report that these opinions were gaining ground in Venice [3] but it was not possible to take any steps in the matter because of the opposition of the Venetian Government.[4] It is characteristic of the attitude of the City of the Lagoons that when Paolo Sarpi died on January 15th, 1623, without having been reconciled with the Church, it was proposed to erect a marble monument in his honour, adorned with his bust. Urban VIII. at once instructed his nuncio in Venice, Agucchi, to protest against the scheme. Cardinal Barberini also took energetic action, declaring to the Venetian ambassador in Rome that Rome's reply to the erection of the monument would be the burning of Sarpi's portrait in the Campo de'Fiori. When the French Government also condemned the project, Venice ended by dropping it.[5]

Under Gregory XV. Marcantonio De Dominis had abjured his errors and, accordingly, had been set at liberty. Under

[1] See TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 183 *seq.*; REUSCH, II., 407.

[2] See our account, Vol. XXV., 302 *seq.*

[3] "*Si è inteso che in Venetia vi siano scuole et Accademie nelle quali publicamente si tratta della mortalità dell'anima, effetto della mala dottrina del Dr. Cremonini in Padua." The nuncio is to suggest what should be done (Letters to the nuncio in Venice, January 10, 1626, *Barb.* 6334, Vatican Library). *Ibid.* a letter of the Inquisitor of Ceneda, dated May 23, 1626, stating that P. Veglia was going to write against Cremonini on the immortality of the soul.

[4] *Cf.* REUSCH, II., 397, 409.

[5] See *NICOLETTI, II., 624, 631, Vatican Library. *Cf. Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 83 *seq.*

Urban VIII. the Inquisition had to take up his case once more in as much as he was accused of having attacked the doctrine of Indulgences and of Transubstantiation, as well as the authority of the Pope and the Councils whilst expounding some ill-defined plans for reunion. In May, 1624, he was taken to the Castle of S. Angelo for examination.[1] It became evident that he had relapsed into many of his former errors.[2] In the course of the trial De Dominis was suddenly seized with mortal sickness. He now changed his attitude and recanted his errors by word of mouth, so that it became possible to give him the Last Sacraments before he expired on September 8th, 1624. A rumour having spread in the City that De Dominis had been poisoned, Urban VIII. had the corpse examined by four physicians, viz. a Spaniard, a Frenchman, a German and an Italian, who found that the Archbishop had died from natural causes.[3] But in view of the fact that he had been accused of the grave crime of recidivism into heresy, the body was not buried and the trial was carried to its conclusion. On December 21st, 1624, De Dominis was condemned in the church of the Minerva as a relapsed heretic, whereupon his corpse, together with his portrait and his writings, was burnt in the Campo de'Fiori.[4]

More famous and much more important than these proceedings of the Inquisition were those against Galileo Galilei. During the first years following the condemnation of the

[1] See the *Avvisi of May 25 and June 8, 1624, Vatican Library. A *retraction of De Dominis addressed to Urban VIII., begun on February 12, 1624 (*Retractationum M. Ant. de Dominis archiep. Spalat. libri X in totidem ipsius de republica ecclesiastica libros*) is in *Barb.* 969, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* *Nicoletti II. 611 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See Reusch, II., 404, note 1. The decision of the Inquisition was already announced in an *Avviso of October 19, 1624 (Vat. Lib.), publication of the sentence was made, according to the **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, at the same time as that of the recantation of some heretics, on December 21, 1624 (*Barb.* 2818).

Copernican system of the world under Paul V.,[1] the famous astronomer and physicist had led a peaceful and studious life at Florence, without, however, publishing any scientific work of importance. The only thing he published was some controversial pamphlets against the Jesuits, Grassi and Schreiner, of which an unbiased critic can only say that on this occasion the great scientist was wrong on the main point in dispute.[2] He still held the Copernican system. When the occasion presented itself he sent to the Archduke Leopold of Austria his essay on the tides which he had written in its support during his stay in Rome in 1616.[3] In the covering letter which accompanied it he displayed extraordinary skill in evading the ecclesiastical prohibition. He still cherished the idea of publishing in the same way a larger work in defence of the new system when Urban VIII.'s accession unexpectedly held out to him the most favourable prospects in this respect.

The Barberini Pope was no stranger in the sphere of astronomy.[4] As a Cardinal he had shared the universal enthusiasm for Galileo [5] and he followed with keenest interest the discoveries of the famous scientist which at that time stirred the learned world as much as the discovery of some new work of Cicero or Tacitus would have moved it a century earlier. During his legateship at Bologna he had exchanged letters with Galileo, had asked for a copy of his book on

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 286 *seqq.*; C. Bricarelli, S.J., *Galileo Galilei e il card. Roberto Bellarmino* (reprint from the *Civ. Catt.*), Roma, 1923; the same, *La figura morale di G. Galilei*, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1916, III., 685 *seqq.*; IV., 261 *seqq.*, 416 *seqq.* I. del Lungo e A. Favaro, *La prosa di G. Galilei*, Firenze, 1911.

[2] Müller, *Galileiprozess*, 9–39, 68–78. As against Grassi, Galileo wished to show that the comets could move within the orbit of the moon. Schreiner, who was attacked by Galileo for his observations on the sun-spots, defended himself victoriously,

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 295.

[4] "Astronomicarum rerum scientissimus," he is called by J. B. Riccioli (*Almagestum*, t. I., P. II., Bonon., 1651, 488).

[5] Sante Pieralisi, *Urbano VIII. e Galileo Galilei*, Roma, 1875, 40 *seqq.*

sun-spots,[1] and had exalted the genius and the writings of his great fellow-countryman in the most emphatic language.[2] In his replies Galileo speaks of the "many" favours he had received from the Cardinal, the most flattering of which, he asserts, was that in the course of his journey from Bologna to Rome, Barberini had defended him against Cardinal Gonzaga during a learned discussion at the table of the Grand-Duke.[3] The fact that Galileo's person was left out of the sentence of condemnation of the Copernican system in 1616, may well be due to the influence of Cardinal Barberini,[4] and in 1620, that is, after the above mentioned condemnation, the Cardinal addressed to him both a flattering letter [5] and one of his Latin odes which describes poetically the recent discoveries in Jupiter and Saturn and the discovery of the sun-spots.[6] Galileo could even take the liberty, in his letters to the Cardinal, to poke fun with impunity at the peripatetic philosophers for maintaining that the sun and the stars consisted of incorruptible matter which was both unalterable

[1] To Galileo, June 5, 1612, in FAVARO, XI., 317. "Mi sarà accettissimo di sapere tutto quello che passa in questa materia," he adds.

[2] During an indisposition of the scientist he urges him to take care of his health, "perchè gl'huomini come ella è di gran valore meritano di vivere longo tempo, a benefitio publico, oltre che a ciò mi muove ancora il mio particolare interesse dell'affettione che le porto et le comprobarò sempre, come me le offero con tutto l'animo." To Galileo, October 11, 1610, in FAVARO, XI., 216.

[3] To Barberini, June 2, 1612, *ibid.*, 304 *seq.*

[4] Urban VIII. himself, speaking of Galilei, said to the Florentine ambassador in 1632: "che Dio le perdonasse l'errore d'esser entrato in un intrigo come questo, dopo che S. S^tà^ medesima, mentr'era cardinale, ne l'haveva liberato." Niccolini to Cioli, November 13, 1632, in FAVARO, XIV., 428.

[5] "La stima che ho fatta sempre della persona di V. S. et delle virtù che concorrono in lei, ha dato materia al componimento che viene incluso . . . picciola dimostrazione della volontà grande." To Galileo, August 28, 1620, *ibid.*, XIII., 48.

[6] Printed by PIERALISI, 22–5.

and indestructible. The recent discoveries, he wrote,[1] were a kind of Last Judgment for these assertions since already there appeared "signs in the sun, the moon and the stars." (Luke xxi, 25).

After Barberini's election, Galileo's prospects seemed to take on even rosier hues. Virginio Cesarini, to whom Galileo had quite recently dedicated his reply to Grassi, was appointed Maestro di Camera whilst Ciampoli, Galileo's best friend, became Cameriere Segreto.[2] Best of all, the Florentine scientist was even allowed to dedicate his polemical pamphlet against Grassi to the Pope. It appeared in 1623, with Urban VIII.'s arms on the title page and Florence was informed that rumour had it that the Pope had read it in its entirety.[3] If at the accession of Gregory XV. it was believed that henceforth a more favourable wind would blow for science than under Paul V.,[4] with Urban VIII. the hopes of scientists rose higher still.

We can understand how it was that Galileo conceived the hope, notwithstanding all that had happened before, of publishing a defence of the new system. With this idea in mind he decided to go to Rome in order to ascertain on the spot how matters stood. The manner in which the Pope received the news of his plan could only strengthen his expectations. His friend Rinucci wrote to him after an audience in

[1] June 2, 1612, in FAVARO, XI., 311.

[2] Stelluti to Galileo, August 12, 1623, *ibid.*, XIII., 121.

[3] Th. Rinuccini, December 2, 1623, *ibid.*, 154. *Cf.*, however, MÜLLER, note 26.

[4] "Io assicuro V.S.," Rinuccini wrote at that time to Galileo, March 27, 1621 (FAVARO, XIII., 59), "che quanto alle lettere non popolari siamo migliorati in estremo, conietturando io quello che sia per essere nella geometria e scienze più sode, da quello che apparisce fin qui nelle lettere d'humanità che ancor loro nel pontificato passato erano ridotte a termini che apena potevano passare per una buffoneria. Anzi veggo le cose incaminate di maniera, che moralmente si può giudicare che siano per andar rihavendosi sempre più, perchè i cardinali che si farrano, e quei che correranno risico di succedere nel papato, son huomini d'altra stampa che di quella de'lustri passati."

which he had offered his homage to the new Pope, that nothing had given Urban VIII. so much joy as when the conversation turned to Galileo.[1] Galileo's visit to Rome would give him great pleasure, the Pope had declared, provided the journey did not injure his health, for the lives of great men must be preserved as long as possible. Prince Cesi also wrote [2] that the Pope had inquired whether, and when, Galileo was coming ; " in a word, he showed that he loves and esteems you more than ever." Mario Guiducci confirmed this information.[3] In point of fact on his arrival in Rome, towards the end of April, 1624, the famous scientist was received with the greatest honours. On one occasion he was able to converse with the Pope for a whole hour and on the next day for the same space of time with Cardinal Francesco Barberini,[4] and subsequently with other Cardinals, such as Cobelluzio, Boncompagni and Frederick of Hohenzollern.[5] Towards the end of his stay in Rome he was able to write that the Pope had shown him the highest marks of honour and goodwill. On no less than six separate occasions he had had long conversations with him ; he had also been presented with a beautiful painting and two medals in gold and silver and was promised a yearly pension for his son. Galileo took with him to Florence a glowing papal Brief written by his friend Ciampoli, recommending him to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany.[6] The Brief spoke of him as " a man whose fame shines in the sky and is spread over the whole world ".

For Galileo the most valuable result of his Roman journey was the acquaintance he there made of Cardinal Hohenzollern, Bishop of Osnabrück, and that of the Dominican Niccolò Riccardi whose duty it became, at a later date, as Master of the Apostolic Palace (from 1629), to authorize the

[1] " Giuro a V.S. che di niente la veddi tanto rallegrare che quando li nominai lei." October 20, 1632, in FAVARO, XIII., 139.

[2] October 31, 1623, *ibid.*, 140.

[3] December 18, 1623, *ibid.*, 175.

[4] Galileo to C. Picchena, April 27, 1624, *ibid.*, 175.

[5] To Cesi, June 8, 1624, *ibid.*, 182.

[6] June 8, 1624, *ibid.*, 183 ; translation in MÜLLER, 46.

publication of books. Hohenzollern promised Galileo to discuss the Copernican question with the Pope before his return to Germany.[1] As a matter of fact he did represent to the Pope that the German Protestants were all in favour of the new system which they considered as a proved fact; hence it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution if anything was defined. The Pope replied that the Church had never declared the view of Copernicus to be heretical and would not do so, but that there was no reason to fear that a proof of its truth would ever be forthcoming.[2] Riccardi, too, was of opinion that the system had nothing to do with the faith and that Holy Scripture could be kept out of the whole affair.[3]

On the whole his Roman experiences were calculated to strengthen the somewhat hasty Galileo in the conviction that, with a certain amount of caution, he would be able, notwithstanding everything, to defend Copernicus openly. The information which reached him from Rome after his return to the Court of Florence was not likely to undeceive him. The Jesuit Grassi, Galileo's opponent, so the latter was informed, had declared that if proof of the earth's rotation was discovered, the Scripture texts which speak of the fixity of the earth and the motion of the heavens, would have to be differently interpreted, and that this was also the view of Cardinal Bellarmine.[4] Another correspondent told him of an *accademia* at the house of Cardinal Maurice of Savoy in which the Aristotelians had been severely castigated, amid

[1] Galileo to Cesi, May 15, 1624, in FAVARO, XIII., 179; *cf.* 181.

[2] Galileo to Cesi, June 8, 1624, *ibid.*, 182.

[3] "Che questa non sia materia di fede, nè convenga in modo impegnarci le scritture." *Ibid.*, 183.

[4] "Che quando si trovasse una demostrazione per detto moto, che converebbe intrepretare la Scrittura sacra altrimenti che non s'è fatta ne'luoghi dove si favella della stabilità della terra o moto del cielo: e questo ex sententia card. Bellarmini (M. GUIDUCCI, September 8, 1624, *ibid.*, 203). In his reply to Galileo's pamphlet Grassi also says: "Terrae . . . cuius tamen quies inter fidei nostrae capita expressa non habetur (*Ratio ponderum librae exam.*, 48, in FAVARO, VI., 487).

the applause of the Cardinals.[1] He was informed that his reply to Grassi had been denounced to the Inquisition, but that Guevara, the General of the Regular Minor Clerics, had praised it in his report ; the doctrine of the rotation of the earth, Guevara was reported to have said, did not seem to him to deserve condemnation.[2] Guiducci, who supplied these details, added indeed that for the time being the topic should be left alone because Cardinal Barberini, who had hitherto protected them, was away in France as nuncio, and the Pope was preoccupied with the troubles of the war and did not want to be bothered with matters of this kind, so that they would only have to deal with the friars.[3] On the other hand Galileo was assured again and again that the Pope had spoken of him in the kindest terms,[4] and that Cardinal Barberini had stated that Galileo had no greater friend than the Pope and himself.[5] When the Dominican Campanella mentioned to Urban VIII. the case of some German noblemen who were inclined to join the Catholic Church but felt rebuffed by the decree against Copernicus, Urban was reported to have replied that if it had depended on himself, the decree would never have been issued.[6] Galileo probably attached as much importance to the judgment of his friend Riccardi as to the view of the Pope. Though the former only became Master of the Apostolic Palace in 1629, his word carried weight even before that time because of his being likewise a Consultor of the Inquisition. Riccardi,

[1] M. Guiducci, February 8, 1625, in FAVARO, XIII., 253. *Cf.* above p. 45.

[2] The same, April 18, 1625, *ibid.*, 265.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "N.S. mi parla della persona sua con singolare affetto (Ciampoli, August 30, 1625, *ibid.*, 279). When the name of Galileo was mentioned, "subito S. Stà mi dimandò di lei e del suo stato con molto affetto (CASTELLI, March 21, 1626, *ibid.*, 313).

[5] BUONARROTI, June 3, 1630, *ibid.*, XIV., 111.

[6] "Non fu mai Nostra intentione, e se fosse toccato a Noi non si sarebbe fatto quel decreto." Castelli to Galileo, March 16, 1630, *ibid.*, 88.

according to the reports that reached Florence, was convinced that Galileo's opinions, since they were confined to the sphere of philosophy, did not offend against the faith ; he was ready to serve him but held back for the time being in order that his intervention might be all the more effective later on, should the Inquisition raise any objections.[1]

All these statements led Galileo to imagine that there was in Rome a strong feeling in favour of Copernicus, so that he might very well take a risk, notwithstanding the decree of the Index, provided he was in a position to furnish the desired proof in support of the new system of the world. More and more he persuaded himself that he had that proof in the phenomenon of the tides. For years he had thought of elaborating it and of using it, in conjunction with other proofs, so as to deal a decisive blow to the Ptolemaic system. Not one of his friends would draw his attention to the obvious futility of his arguments, on the contrary, their letters applauded every one of his assertions and the incense of so much adulation might well have turned the head of a man less sensible to praise and admiration and thus blinded his judgment.

A first move was attempted by the Florentine scientist in the year 1624. In 1616, at his request, the Roman Prelate Ingoli had collected in a small pamphlet all the objections against Copernicus.[2] Galileo now used that work as a peg on which to hang his refutation of these objections [3] ; a reply by Kepler to Ingoli's book gave him many hints in this

[1] Castelli on February 26, 1628, *ibid.*, XIII., 393 *seq.* Magalotti reports to Guiducci on September 4, 1632 (*ibid.*, XIV., 380) on a conversation he had had with Riccardi : " che io non era lontano dal credere che se gli anni addrieto fosse stato ben ponderato tutto ciò che si poteva considerare in questa materia, non si sarebbe forse proceduto al far quel decreto (e questo in altro ragionamento me l'ha confessato il Padre Rev.mo, e dettomi di più asseverantemente che si egli fosse stato all'ora in Congregazione, quanto a sè l'arebbe mai permesso).

[2] FAVARO, V., 403–412.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI., 501–561.

respect. Once again Galileo represented the Copernican system as an established fact, though some people claimed that supernatural sources proved it to be false. For this reason his friends in Rome could only dissuade him from printing his book, even though Ciampoli [1] had read extracts from it to the Pope himself and these had met with his approval.[2]

For three whole years Galileo had put on one side his book on the tides [3] when Riccardi's appointment as Master of the Palace inspired him with fresh courage and induced him to finish the work.[4] He resolved to print it in Rome itself. Castelli wrote to him that he felt certain that the Master of the Palace would raise no difficulty, but in order to remove all opposition Galileo himself came to Rome in May, 1630.

In the struggle for permission to print which now opened Riccardi played a pitiable and fatal rôle. Since he did not make the papal laws but was merely charged with their execution, he should not have allowed considerations of friendship and his own personal views to interfere with his official duty; hence he should have resolutely refused to approve Galileo's Dialogues. Instead of this he wavered irresolutely between duty and consideration for the famous scientist, for his kinsman, the Tuscan ambassador and for the Grand-Ducal Court which had thrown its weight into the scales in favour of the book, under pressure of the opposition he yielded step by step, thereby encouraging Galileo's friends to insist all the more, until he himself was horrified at the mischief he had done and the calamity that threatened Galileo.[5]

Riccardi entrusted the delicate task of the revision of the

[1] To Galileo, December 28, 1625, *ibid.*, XIII., 295.

[2] *Cf.* MÜLLER, 49–59.

[3] Galileo to Diodati, October 29, 1629, in FAVARO, XIV., 49.

[4] Castelli (to Galileo, February 9, 1630, *ibid.*, XIV., 77) said to Riccardi, that Galileo had decided to write "dopo che sua P. Rev^ma era stata deputata nell'officio di Maestro di S. Palazzo, perchè era sicuro che non sarebbero le cose passate e guidate di ignoranti." Riccardi answered that he was wholly for Galileo.

[5] *Cf.* the opinion of L. OLSCHIKI, *Galilei und seine Zeit*, Halle, 1927, 333.

new work to his brother in religion, Visconti.[1] The latter was soon able to inform Galileo [2] that the Master of the Palace liked the book and that only a few minor details needed correction. However, Riccardi felt he must personally examine the book. His decision was that a few things should be altered and that the proofs should be submitted to him. Subject to these reservations he actually gave his *imprimatur*. The impatient scientist, who had returned to Florence in order to escape from the summer heat, imagined that it was best to have the book printed in that city. Riccardi granted this also,[3] on condition that a copy with the desired corrections was sent to him. When Galileo objected that owing to the plague which prevailed just then, communications between Florence and Rome were too uncertain, the Master of the Palace agreed that only the beginning and the conclusion should be forwarded to him whilst all the rest would be examined in Florence in accordance with Galileo's proposal. Thereupon Riccardi instructed the Dominican Stefani, a Consultor of the Inquisition in Florence, either to allow or to forbid the impression of the book regardless of any revision by Rome. The tides were not to appear in the title as the main theme; the new system must not be represented as an established truth but as a mere mathematical hypothesis; hence it must be made to appear that the purpose of the book was a defence of the Roman decrees against Copernicus at least in so far as it showed that the state of the question was well understood in Italy and that those decrees were not inspired by ignorance of astronomy.[4] For the rest Riccardi would have preferred some other censor to Stefani, but as Galileo raised objections to him, he yielded on this point also.[5]

This greatly eased Galileo's position with regard to the

[1] For what follows *cf.* the acts of the case in FAVARO, XIX., 325 *seqq.*, and MÜLLER, 81 *seqq.*

[2] June 16, 1630, in FAVARO, XIX., 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, 325.

[4] Riccardi to Stefani, May 24, 1631, *ibid.*, 327 *seq.* The draft of the preamble, *ibid.*, 328 *seqq.*

[5] Niccolini to Cioli, March 16, 1631, *ibid.*, XIV., 224.

Florentine Inquisition. Stefani went on the principle that Rome had already approved the work which he was charged to examine, whilst Galileo protested the submissiveness and respect with which he was ready to qualify as dreams, chimeras, errors, miscalculations, futility, all grounds and proofs which, in the opinion of competent authority, favoured views which it deemed erroneous ; thus all men could see how sincere he was when he attested that on this point he had never held any other opinion or intention than those of the most holy and venerable Fathers and Doctors of the Church. The views which met with disapproval were not his own whilst those he held were no other than those of St. Augustine and St. Thomas and the other spokesmen of the Church.[1] Stefani was moved to tears by so much docility [2] and gave permission to go to press.

Thus in June, 1631, Galileo could rejoice at the happy issue of the affair.[3] At the cost of "infinite trouble" he likewise obtained Riccardi's permission to print the revised Introduction, though to secure this, the Master of the Palace had had "to be dragged by the hair", but in the end he had allowed himself to be thus dragged.[4] Thereafter he heard no more of the book until a printed copy reached him in Rome when, to his horror, he saw printed above the Florentine *inprimatur* his own approbation.[5]

The new book failed to take into account the demands

[1] " . . . di non haver mai havuto in questa materia altra opinione e intenzione, che quella che hanno i più santi e venerabili Padri e dottori di s. Chisea. . . . Assolutamente le opinioni che non piacciono non son le mie, e le mie sono quelle che tengono S. Agostino, S. Tommaso e tutti gl'altri autori sacri." Galileo to Cioli, May 3, 1531, *ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

[2] Galileo to Cioli, March 7, 1631, *ibid.*, XIV., 217.

[3] Cioli to Niccolini, June 13, 1631, *ibid.*, 276.

[4] Niccolini to Galileo, July 19, 1631, *ibid.*, 284.

[5] Acts of the trial, *ibid.*, XIX., 326. The name of the Master of the Palace, "non ha che fare nelle stampe di fuori," Urban VIII. remarked to Niccolini. Niccolini to Cioli, September 5, 1632, *ibid.*, XIV., 384.

which Riccardi had laid down in his letter to Stefani as the conditions on which the *imprimatur* would be granted. True, the Preface,[1] in complete accordance with the demand of the Master of the Palace,[2] described the book as a defence of the condemnation by the Index of the new system of the world; if the arguments supporting the Copernican system were explained in its pages, so we read, it was done solely in order that everybody may see that they were known in Italy, and that accordingly those prohibitions were not the fruit of ignorance. However, the Preface is wholly unconnected with the ensuing explanations in which the new system is clearly represented as a fact. Galileo develops his ideas in the form of a dialogue in which the objections against the new teaching are placed in the mouth of a certain "Simplicius" whose very name suggests ridiculous narrow-mindedness[3]; moreover it seems extremely probable that Galileo was tactless enough to make Simplicius defend an idea suggested by the Pope himself.[4] The scientific value of the new work is uneven. Of the three arguments in support of Copernicus the second and third, based on the sun-spots and the tides, are of no value; the simplicity with which the intricate movements of the planets were explained in the new system had already been described by Copernicus himself, all that Galileo did was to present it in a more easily intelligible form. Of value in the new explanation is the refutation of the objections against the motion of the earth based on physics, though the difficulty arising out of the centrifugal force of the earth revolving round its axis was only to be solved by the genius of Newton. Another criticism is that Galileo completely ignores the system of Tycho as a third possibility between that of Copernicus and Ptolemy, and that he passes over in silence Kepler's sublime

[1] *Ibid.*, VII., 29 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 51.

[3] See Olschki, *loc. cit.*, 345 *Ibid.*, 364, *seq.*, a detailed summary of the dialogue.

[4] Müller, 119, note 122, p. 3. *Cf.* H. de L'Épinois in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, III. (1867), 110 *seq.*, Favaro, XVI., 455, Olschki, *loc. cit.*, 396.

simplification of the Copernican system. He writes as if Copernicus had already managed to do without any auxiliary orbits like those of Ptolemy, whereas Kepler was the first to render these hypotheses superfluous with his demonstration of the elliptic form of the orbit of Mars.[1]

No doubt Galileo had imagined that the always pliant Master of the Palace would on this occasion also bow before the accomplished fact of the printed book. However, the Index had published its decree against Copernicus because the dissemination of the new opinions was calculated to create confusion and doubt with regard to the credibility of Holy Writ in the minds of the uneducated; in fact Galileo himself had been compelled to make a statement to that effect in his preface,[2] and where there was question of dogma, Rome took things very seriously. The immediate sequestration of Galileo's book by Riccardi, by the Pope's command, was the least of his misfortunes,[3] for the incautious author was about to have to deal with the Inquisition itself.[4]

Out of special consideration for the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and for the famous scientist himself, he received no immediate summons. The Pope appointed a special commission of scientists under the presidency of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a decided friend of Galileo, to report on the book

[1] For the physical difficulties of the Copernican system, see A. Linsmeier in *Natur und Offenbarung*, XXXVI. (1890), 129 *seqq.*; XXXVII. (1891), 321 *seqq.*, for Galileo's Dialogue on the systems of the world, *ibid.*, XLI. (1895), 155 *seqq.*

[2] "Per ovviare a pericolosi scandali dell'età presente," Favaro, XIX, 328.

[3] *Ibid.*, 326.

[4] The acts of the case are in Favaro, XIX.; older publications are: H. de L'Epinois, Paris, 1877, K. v. Gebler, Stuttgart, 1877. The original MS. taken to Paris in 1811, was brought back to Rome, not as Biot says in the *Journal des Savants*, in 1846, but as early as 1843, the widow of Charles X's Majordomo, the Duke Blacas d'Aulps (d. at Kirchberg, November 17, 1839), having returned it through the nuncio Altieri. *Cf.* A. Mercati in the *Atti della Pont. Accad. delle scienze, Nuove Lincei*, LXXX., Roma, 1927, 58–62.

since, in the first instance, Riccardi thought of merely forbidding the work until it should have been revised.[1] The commission summed up its findings under eight headings; all these points, it declared in its summing-up, might perhaps be corrected; for the rest, the book was deemed useful. However, to these eight points one serious allegation came to be added; it was to the effect that in 1616 the author of the book had been ordered not to hold in any way the Copernican opinion nor to teach or defend it, else the Inquisition would proceed against him.[2] Galileo had bowed to that command but had now violated it. This last point proved most fatal.[3] Urban VIII. would have been very willing to settle the affair without any formal judicial process [4] but Galileo's disobedience made this impossible and the further prosecution of the question had to be left to the Inquisition.

That redoubtable tribunal began by taking stock of the existing situation. It was proved that the Dialogue defended the Copernican teaching as true; that there was a strong suspicion that the aged author gave it a mental assent and that he had transgressed the prohibition of 1616. Thereupon, on September 23rd, 1632, the accused was summoned to appear in person in Rome.

Galileo sought to excuse himself on the plea of his advanced age—he was 70—and his infirmities. However, the Inquisition stood by its order though, for the rest, it treated the aged scientist with every consideration. Urban VIII. advised him to make the journey as comfortably as possible and assured

[1] MÜLLER, 130 *seq.* "Sento poi da qualche amico che ci sia pensiero non di proihibirlo, ma sì bene che si accomodino alcune parole." Niccolino to Cioli, August 22, 1632, in FAVARO, XIV., 375, the same to the same, September 5, 1632, *ibid.*, 384 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 299.

[3] "Da quel che racolgo, la maggior difficoltà deve consistere nel pretendersi da questi Signori che sin dall'anno 1616 le fusse fatto un precetto, che non disputasse nè discorresse di questa opinione." Niccolini to Cioli, February, 27, 1633. FAVARO, XV., 55.

[4] Niccolini to Cioli, September 18, 1632, *ibid.*, XIV., 391, 392.

him that the quarantine enforced on account of the prevalence of the plague would be shortened.[1] Everybody waited patiently until he arrived at last on February 13th, 1633, " in excellent health." [2] From the Grand-Duke of Florence he had letters of recommendation to all the Cardinals in Rome ; he was allowed to lodge in the Firenze and Medici palaces, though on two occasions he was compelled to move into the building of the Inquisition,[3] but there also the Commissary of the Holy Office met him in every way, assigned to him comfortable rooms that remained unlocked, and allowed him to have with him his personal servant whose movements were not interfered with in any way.

At the first interrogatory, on March 12th, 1633, Galileo maintained that he had not defended the Copernican theory in his book but that, on the contrary, he had shown that Copernicus' opinions and arguments were untenable. When it was pointed out to him that the contrary was too evident for anyone to believe him, he resolved to make a confession at the second interrogatory which was fixed for April 30th, 1633. After the lapse of three whole years, he then stated, he had re-read his book ; he now realized that a reader who was not acquainted with his interior feelings, might get the impression that his refutation, as it stood, was calculated to confirm the new system. The fact that he seemed to attach to Copernicus' arguments more weight than they deserved he explained away as no more than a scientist's vanity : he

[1] MÜLLER, 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, 141.

[3] He remained in the Palace of the Inquisition from April 12–30, and again from June 21–24. From June 24–July 6 he lived in the Medici Palace ; the rest of the time, after February 13, in the Firenze Palace. (FAVARO in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5, series XXXVII. (1906), 381–8, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXX., 626.) The concessions made to Galileo were unprecedented : " Non v'è esempio che si sian più fabbricati processi di persone inquisite, che non siano state ritenute anche in secrete. . . . Nè meno si sa che altri, ben che vescovi, prelati o titolati, non siano, subito giunti in Roma, stati messi in Castello." Niccolini to Cioli, April 16, 1633, FAVARO, XV., 95.

had wished to make a show of smartness![1] On May 10th, he handed in a supplementary explanation with a view to excusing his disobedience to the decree of 1616 which specifically forbade him to defend Copernicus.[2] That prohibition, he claimed, had only been made known to him by word of mouth so that it was not to be wondered at if particular details had slipped his memory. The only thing in writing in his possession was Cardinal Bellarmine's attestation that he had not had to make a recantation[3]; in this document there was no mention of any specific command for himself but only of a general prohibition for each and all to defend the new theory.

It is easy to see that the Inquisitors could not accept Galileo's assertion that he had given no internal assent to the condemned doctrine. Now if he adhered internally to an opinion which competent authority assured him to be contrary to Holy Writ, a suspicion was bound to arise that he doubted the inerrancy of the Scriptures and since this was in itself a heresy, he became suspect of heresy at least from that particular point of view. Accordingly, on June 16th, the Inquisition decided to question the unhappy scientist on this point of his internal opinion, if need be even with a threat of the torture. If Galileo stood by his previous declarations, he would have to purge himself of the suspicion of heresy by making a solemn recantation, after which he would be condemned to imprisonment at the discretion of the tribunal and forbidden ever again to defend the Copernican theory; if he acted otherwise he would incur the penalties inflicted on recidivists; his book would be banned and his condemnation communicated to all the nuncios and Inquisitors and especially to the professors of the physical sciences.

In consequence of this decision, on June 21st, Galileo had to appear once more before the Inquisition. He was asked the precise question whether he had in the past defended, or was now defending, the Copernican doctrine. He replied that

[1] *Ibid.*, 146 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 299.

[3] *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 300.

until the decree of 1616 he had thought that both Ptolemy's and Copernicus's system might be true, but with that decree every doubt had vanished from his mind and ever since he had adhered to the opinion of Ptolemy. Thereupon he was confronted with the opinions set forth in his book and pressed, even with a hint of the torture, to speak the truth. However, Galileo stuck to his declaration; he was well aware that septuagenarians were no longer subjected to the torture.[1]

Accordingly on the following day the last act of the pitiable tragedy was enacted, viz. the solemn proclamation of the sentence. The verdict of the judges was to the effect that, in their opinion, Galileo was strongly suspect of heresy inasmuch as there existed a suspicion of his having defended an opinion which was both false and contrary to Scripture, namely that the sun was immovable whilst the earth moved, that the sun, not the earth, was the centre of the universe, and that an opinion might be held as true, and defended as such, even though it had been condemned as contrary to Scripture; accordingly Galileo had incurred the censures of the Church though he would be absolved from them if he recanted, but his book would remain prohibited and he himself would be sentenced to imprisonment at the discretion of the Inquisition and to the recitation of the seven pentitential psalms once a week for three years.[2] Finally Galileo read aloud the formula of recantation signed by himself. The Inquisition did not inflict the penalty of imprisonment with which it had threatened him, but on the following day Galileo was taken back to the palace of the Grand-Ducal embassy which was to be his gaol.[3]

The Florentine ambassador took immediate steps to obtain a full pardon for the condemned man but Urban VIII. was

[1] *Cf.* L. Garzend, *Si Galilée pouvait juridiquement être torturé*, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XC. (1911), 353–389 (1912,) 36–67; Grisar, *Galileistudien*, 90: "Senes sexagenarii debiles arbitrio Inquisitoris non sunt torquendi. *Bordoni* (1648), in Grisar, *loc. cit.*

[2] Müller, 153.

[3] *Ibid.*, 151.

unwilling to be rushed. At first the Inquisition, by his direction, only allowed Galileo to betake himself to Siena, to his pupil and admirer Archbishop Ascanio Piccolomini, on condition that he did not leave that city. On December 1st, 1633, he obtained leave to retire to his country house at Arcetri, near Florence, but also on condition that, for the time being, he remained there in retirement.[1]

Galileo's trial under Urban VIII. differs greatly from the one under Paul V. In 1616 everything had turned round the question whether or no the new system of the universe could be made to square with Holy Scripture ; in the second trial, on the contrary, the question was a personal one, namely, whether Galileo had acted against the general prohibition of the Copernican theory and the special prohibition laid on him personally. On the other hand the reason of the severity of the proceedings must be looked for in the anxiety lest the dogma of the inerrancy of Holy Scripture should be endangered. But it was due to the sensation caused by the punishment of Italy's greatest scientist that the prohibition of 1616 became better known and stressed.

The severity of Galileo's treatment in 1633 strikes us as somewhat strange in view of the fact that Copernicus had been allowed to dedicate his book to Paul III., and as late as 1624 Urban VIII. had declared that the Copernican teaching was not heretical.[2] Many theologians also had expressed the opinion that if the new system was proved to be true, it would be necessary to give a different interpretation of the Scripture texts which seemed to contradict it.[3] The Commissary General who conducted the proceedings against Galileo, Vincenzo Maculano, himself shared that view. In 1633 the Benedictine Castelli, whose admiration for Galileo often carried him to excesses, explained to Maculano that according to St. Augustine it was not the intention of Holy Writ to give men information on the earth's motion since things of that kind had nothing to do with the salvation of souls ; that Copernicus had accomplished a Herculean task by which

[1] MÜLLER, 179 *seqq.* [2] See above, p. 47. [3] *Ibid.*

the Church had herself benefited in the correction of the Calendar; accordingly he felt no hesitation in declaring himself a Copernican and many eminent theologians had not blamed him for it. Maculano replied that personally he also thought that the Copernican question could not be decided by the authority of Holy Scripture [1]; as for Urban VIII., though he had professed his friendship for Galileo even after the publication of the book,[2] at the present time he spoke of it in severe terms: "Galileo," he said, "has dared to meddle with matters beyond his competence and with the most important as well as the most dangerous which it is possible to discuss in these days; it was not merely a question of mathematics but of Holy Writ, religion and the faith." [3] On another occasion he expressed his displeasure with what Galileo had done in the sharpest terms: "it was an injury to religion as grievous as ever there was and of a perverseness as bad as could be encountered." [4]

[1] "Il detto Padre mi rispose, che quanto a lui era del medesimo parere, che questa questione non si dovesse terminare con l'autorità delle Sacre Lettere" (Castelli to Galileo, October 2, 1632, in Favaro, XIV., 401 *seq*). For Maculano's attitude during Galileo's trial, *cf.* St. Fermi in *Bollett. stor. Piacentino*, VI. (1911), 218 *seqq.*

[2] "S. Stá replicò . . . ch'ancora il S. Galileo era suo amico (Niccolini to Cioli, September 18, 1632, in Favaro, XIV., 392: "che il Signor Galileo è stato suo amico, et hanno insieme trattato e magnato più volte domesticamente, e dispiaceli d'haverlo a disgustare, ma trattarsi d'interesse della fede e della religione" (Niccolini to Cioli, March 13, 1633, *ibid.*, XV., 68).

[3] "Tiene (the Pope) che s'incorra in molti pericoli della fede, non si trattando qui di materie matematiche, ma della Scrittura Sacra, della religione e della fide." Niccolini to Cioli, September 11, 1632, Favaro, XIV., 388.

[4] "In materie simili, dove si trattava di apportar alla religione pregiudizi grandi e de'più pessimi che siano stati mai inventati." "Si trattava della più perversa materia che si potesse mai haver alle mani"; "dottrina perversa in estremo grado." "Son materie fastidiose e pericolose, a che questa sua opera in fatti è perniciosa e la materia è grave più di quel che S.A. si persuade." (Niccolini to Cioli, September 5 and 18, 1632, *ibid.*, 384, 392.

We may probably find an explanation of so surprising a contradiction if we study the text of the final verdict against Galileo. He was condemned because he seemed to think that an opinion could still be defended even when competent authority had pronounced it to be opposed to Holy Writ, whilst danger also lurked in the fact that laymen began to make themselves independent of the declarations of ecclesiastical authority and to interpret Holy Scripture for themselves, on the Protestant model. The authorities were determined to oppose from the outset such an infiltration of Lutheranism in Italy—hence this great severity.[1]

It is not so rare an occurrence in the history of the sciences [2] to see eminent scientists derided and persecuted by their colleagues because of their achievements and discoveries; hence, as a rule, no great importance is attached to such incidents. The regrettable thing in the case of Galileo lies in the fact that the mistake was made by representatives of the Church and in the name of religion. Richly embellished with fables and exaggerations even up to our own days,[3] the incident has provided the enemies of the Church for centuries to come with a pretext for triumph and malicious insinuations.

[1] The expression "heresy" is not applied to the Copernican system in the sentence. For L. GARZEND, *L'Inquisition et l'hérésie*, Paris, 1912. *Cf.* the unfavourable opinions in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XVII. (1911), 417 *seqq.*; *Études*, CLXVIII. (1921), 111 *seqq.*; *Lit. Rundschau*, 1914, 420.

[2] It will be sufficient to remind readers of Julius Robert Mayer (d. 1878), the discoverer of the preservation of energy, and of Ignatius Philip Semmelweis (d. 1863), the forerunner of Pasteur and Lister, who were both at least temporarily driven to madness by their opponents, of Leopold Auenbrugger (d. 1809), the discoverer of the percussion of the pectoral cavity, which was only rediscovered fifty years later by French physicians.

[3] On this point see MÜLLER, 160 *seqq.* For "E pur si muove," *cf.* also FAVARO, in the *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze*, LXX. (1911). See also Prinzivalli's criticisms of this apocryphal saying which the Roman municipality has had inscribed at the entrance of the Pincio in 1888. *Cf. Bollet. dell'Unione Storia ed Arte*, XXI. (1928), no. 123.

However, mistakes are bound to happen wherever men are at work, except in the case of one tribunal endowed with infallibility by Christ Himself. But this may not be claimed for the tribunal of the Inquisition, even when its decisions receive the Pope's approval in the ordinary form.

The deplorable incident was, however, not without some good results, though these had not been intended. For Galileo personally it was no misfortune that he had to stop his literary work for the general public and to return to strictly scientific research, to turn from astronomy to his own proper subject, viz. physics. It may well be that his work on the laws of movement, which constitutes his true title to posthumous fame,[1] would never have seen the light, had not his condemnation and recantation restrained him from the pursuit of the elusive admiration of his contemporaries. For theologians the mistake of 1616 and 1633 proved a constant warning for centuries to come, a warning that they took to heart: there has been no second Galileo case.

(3)

Among the numerous prohibitions of books issued by the Congregations of the Index and the Inquisition at that period [2] and of which some are in force to this day, a decree of August 1st, 1641, is of special interest; it condemned eighteen different works, the "Augustinus" of Jansenius heading the list. Urban VIII. confirmed the decision in the most solemn manner by a Bull dated March 6th, 1642, which gave special

[1] *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche intorno a due nove scienze attenenti alla mecanica e i movimenti locali*, Leyden, 1638, in FAVARO, VIII., 39–319.

[2] See HILGERS, 423, *ibid.*, 547 *seq.*, on the insufficently explained prohibition by the Inquisition, as early as May 3, 1640, of the twentieth volume of the *Annales Ecclesiasticae*, published only in 1641, of the Dominican Abraham Bzovius, who died in 1637, a prohibition inculcated anew by Urban VIII. in Briefs to the Senate of Cologne and the Bishop of Osnabrück, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, dated May 26, 1640.

weight to the sentence.[1] Jansenius' heresy has a lengthy pre-history and is intimately connected with France's religious development.

After the terrible experiences of the wars of the Huguenots, the majority of the French people had returned with extraordinary fervour to the ancient religion. It was a change which led to a mighty efflorescence of the spiritual life. The more richly endowed spirits became so penetrated with the thought of religion as to devote all their energies to it and when others also became enkindled by their ardour, all the conditions for the creation of new religious associations were forthcoming.[2]

The first of these new foundations arose after 1592 in the south of France where César de Bus (died 1607), and his companion, Jean Baptiste Romillion, set an example of a complete change in their own persons, for previous to his conversion De Bus had been a worldly cleric and his colleague a Huguenot who had fought Catholicism arms in hand.[3] In 1598 Pierre Fourier founded a Congregation for the education of girls and the Spanish Reformed Carmelites were introduced at the same time as the Italian Ursulines, through Barbara Acarie (Mary of the Incarnation).[4] Like the Sisters of the Visitation of the Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, the Ursulines only received their definitive constitution in France. There also arose at that time in France various important Congregations of

[1] The Index only notes five Bulls of this kind; see HILGERS, 96.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 183 *seqq*; XXVI., 40 *seqq.*; L. PRUNEL, *La réforme catholique en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1921; G. FAGNIEZ, *La renaissance catholique et la dévotion féminine dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle*, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1927, 305 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol XXIII., 184; MORONI, XX., 254 *seqq.*; *Brief of April 11, 1616, in *Bull.*, XL., 354. For De Bus, see BEAUVAIS' biography (Paris, 1645).

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 184. See H. DE LEYMONT, *Mad. de St.-Beuve et les Ursulines de Paris*, 1562–1630, Lyon, 1890.

priests, as in 1611 the Oratorians of Pierre de Bérulle, in 1624 the Lazarists of Vincent de Paul, in 1642 the Sulpicians of M. Olier, in 1643 the so-called Eudists of Jean Eudes.[1] From 1679 onwards the Brothers of the Christian Schools founded by Jean de Lasalle attained very great importance.[2] The Sisters of St. Charles founded at Nancy in 1626 devoted themselves to the care of the sick,[3] as did the Sisters of Charity founded by St. Vincent de Paul in 1633.[4] Important as these Institutes are, they are not the only ones: as if after the Huguenot wars a new religious spring had burst upon France, fresh associations sprang up in every part of the country for the alleviation of spiritual and temporal needs.[5]

In the old Orders also a movement towards a thorough

[1] HEIMBUCHER, III., 419, 428, 442, 450. For the French Oratorians see our account, Vol. XXVI, 56 *seqq.*

[2] HEIMBUCHER, III., 299 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 370 *seqq.*

[4] See above p. XXVIII., 469 *seqq.*

[5] In the East, besides Fourier's Congregation, which numbered about 4,000 Sisters in 1789, and 90 houses (HEIMBUCHER, II., 85), and the Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo, there were the contemplative nuns of the Holy Sepulchre (*ibid.*, 82). In the North, in 1630, at Dieppe, Sisters Hospitalers were founded, at Tourcoing a Congregation of Sisters for teaching and nursing (*ibid.*, 303, 507), at Senlis in 1627 a similar Order for teaching (ibid., 302). In the West, Susanna Dubois (d. 1626) founded nursing Sisters in Touraine in 1621; so did Marie de la Fère in Anjou, in 1642 (*ibid.*, 302, 304). The South remained the most fruitful soil for such foundations. Congregations were founded to work for young girls by Jeanne de l'Estonnac in 1627 at Toulouse; by Jeanne Marie Chézard de Matel in 1625 at Lyons; at Le Puy, in 1634 (*ibid.*, I., 392; II., 174, 302), while at Bordeaux, in 1638, a Congregation was begun which combined the care of the sick with that of orphans, as had been done at Aix in 1633 (*ibid.*, 303). Several Congregations undertook the care of fallen girls at Paris in 1618, Nancy 1631, Caen 1644 (*ibid.*, 298 *seqq*). Among many others, Paris saw the rise of the Sisters of St. Genevière and the Daughters of the Holy Cross in 1636 and 1639 (*ibid.*, III., 543 *seqq.*); at Arras, the Sisters of St. Agnes (*ibid.*, 544), at Le Puy, the Sisters of St. Joseph (*ibid.*, 544), etc.

reform made itself felt not only among the Benedictines,[1] but likewise among the Augustinians, the Premonstratensians, the Trinitarians, the Franciscans and the Carmelites.[2]

Antoinette of Orléans, Duchess of Orléans-Longueville and subsequently a Cistercian at Toulouse, was urged by Paul V. to found a formal seminary for nuns who would in turn reform the convents of nuns.[3] The Jesuit school of Pont-à-Mousson, founded in 1572, alone produced up till the end of the century several reformers of Orders in French Lorraine: thus Pierre Fourier, who had already founded an Order of women, reformed the Austin Canons,[4] Servais Lairuels, the Premonstratensians in 1617,[5] Philippe Thibault (died 1638) founded the Discalced Carmelites of Rennees,[6] and Didier de la Cour the Lorrain Benedictine Congregation of St. Vannes and St. Hidulphe.[7]

Moreover the religious revival was by no means confined to the Orders and religious communities. The French Oratorians and the Sulpicians, in conjunction with the Lazarists and the Jesuits, were preparing the way for a renewal

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 183.

[2] The Augustinian Congregation of St. Victor and St. Geneviève (HEIMBUCHER, I., 27, 49), the Reformed Premonstratensians of the north of France in 1617 (*ibid.*, 60), the Discalced Trinitarians in 1622 (*ibid.*, 74), Franciscan Tertiaries (*ibid.*, II., 497), Discalced Carmelites in Touraine (*ibid.*, 555).

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 392.

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 184. FOURIER BONNARD, *Lettres choisies de St. Pierre Fourier*, Paris, 1918.

[5] HEIMBUCHER, L., 424; E. MARTIN, *Lairuels et la réforme des Prémontrés*, Nancy, 1893.

[6] HEIMBUCHER, II., 555; B. ZIMMERMANN in the *Cath. Encyclop.*, III., 361.

[7] *Cf* our account in Vol. XXIII., 183. HEIMBUCHER, I., 150 *seqq.* *Bull.*, XII., 533 *seq*, 533 *seq.* XIII., 624 *seq.* E. DIDIER-LAURENT O.S.B., *Dom Didier de la Cour de la Vallée et la réforme des Bénédictins de Lorraine* (1904). CORDARA, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, P. VI., t. I., 504. P. DENIS O.S.B., *Le card. de Richelieu et la réforme des monastères bénédictins*, Paris, 1913.

of the secular clergy by means of their seminaries.[1] In like manner the influence of Charles Borromeo, whose ordinances and holy life many French Bishops took for their model, made itself felt in the ranks of the episcopate.[2] The laity were called upon to co-operate extensively in the effort for the diffusion and preservation of the faith and the raising of the moral standard by means of the "Company of the Blessed Sacrament" founded in 1627.[3]

However, by the side of the rich fruits which the religious revival thus yielded in France, there also sprung up a seed which confirmed once again in most unhappy fashion the old experience that only that can thrive in Catholic soil which is itself thoroughly Catholic, and that the more a man burns with ardent zeal, the less may he forsake the solid ground of Catholic teaching and the sure guidance of the Church's authority, if the fire with which he is aflame is not to become a destructive conflagration. It was precisely in consequence of such ill-directed exaggerations that one of the reformed monasteries of France became the heart and centre of a movement destined to inflict, for centuries to come, the deepest wounds on Catholic life, and this far beyond the boundaries of France.[4]

[1] A. Degert, *Hist. des Séminaires français jusqu'à la Revolution*, Paris, 1912.

[2] Thus Canigiani of Aix (d. 1591), De Joyeuse of Toulouse (d. 1605), De Sourdis of Bordeaux (d. 1628), Camus of Bellay (1629), Zamet of Langres (d. 1655), Alain de Soliminihac of Cahors (d. 1659), etc. See Degert in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés.*, 1912, 148 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 187 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* above p. 455 *seq.* For the social reform after the wars of religion, *cf.* also Le Play, *La réforme sociale en France I*, Paris, 1867, 102 *seqq.*

[4] For Port-Royal and Jansenism, *cf.* *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal, et la vie de la Rev. Mere Marie Angelique de Ste.-Magdeleine Arnauld reformatrice de ce monastere*, 3 vols, Utrecht, 1742; Ste.-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 7 vols, 4th ed., Paris, 1878; Fuzet, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIe siècle et leur dernier historien M. Ste.-Beuve*, Paris, 1876; Ricard, *Les premiers Jansénistes et Port-Royal*, Paris, 1883 (*cf.* *Bullet. critique*, 1883,

The spark that started the conflagration came from Flanders. At the University of Louvain the anti-Catholic teaching of Baius [1] found keen defenders even after his death in 1589, especially in the person of Jacob Janson, president of the Falcon College and, after 1614, chancellor of the University.[2] Both Pius V. and Gregory XIII. had condemned the novelties of Baius, but the latter's attitude towards Rome was like his teaching—half Catholic and half Protestant. His clandestine followers neither offered any direct opposition to the papal decisions, nor did they sincerely submit to them; on the contrary, they sought somehow to harmonize the results of their own investigations with them, by means of artful interpretations. This attitude to Rome was characteristic of the whole movement of which Janson was the leading spirit. Pius V.'s Bull against Baius, which Gregory XIII. had confirmed, was stultified by the simple device of moving a comma from its proper place, thereby giving a false meaning to one of its propositions. Pius V. had stated that certain propositions of Baius might be defended in one sense, but that he condemned them in their strict and literal meaning, which was also that of their author. Now according to the followers of Baius, the Pope was supposed to have declared that certain propositions could be defended if taken in their

288); M. E. LOWNDES, *The Nuns of Port-Royal as seen in their own narratives*, Oxford, 1909; JEAN LAPORTE, *La doctrine de Port-Royal*, vol. I. (St. Cyran), vol. 2 (A. Arnauld), Paris, 1923; CLÉMENCET, *Hist. littér. de Port-Royal*, ed. Guettée, Paris, 1868; J. PAQUIER, *Le Jansénisme*, Paris, 1909; AUG. GAZIER, *Histoire générale du mouvement Janséniste depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1924. Further bibliography in PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, IV., 626.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVII., 367 *seqq.*

[2] That Janson was an adherent of Baianism follows from his remarks on the *Comma Pianum* in IANSENIUS, *Augustinus de Statu nat. lapsae*, lib. IV., ch. 27. It was Janson's desire to be buried next to Baius; see VERNULAEUS, *Academia Lovaniensis*, Lovanii, 1627, lib. III., cap. 10, p. 283.

strict and literal meaning, which was also that of the author,[1] and since it was nowhere stated which they were, every single opinion of Baius could be included and further maintained.

It was a pupil of Jacob Janson, Cornelius Jansenius, who gave its final shape to the new heresy of Louvain and linked it for ever with his name.[2] Jansenius was not an original thinker, but he was a gifted man, in particular he possessed a prodigious memory. For the son of a poor artisan [2] of the village of Acquoi, near Leerdam, the course of his studies was bound to be one long struggle against want and privation, but it was precisely this constant effort that strengthened not only the eagerness for work and the tenacious endurance which distinguished him, but his grim obstinacy also and, as a result of his successes, his boundless pride. In 1604, at the age of 19, after a two years' study of philosophy, he came out first from among all the scholars of the four University Colleges of Louvain. This same year gave a decisive turn to his career. He began his theological studies in the College of Adrian IV., under Jacob Janson, who filled the keen student of philosophy with his own contempt for Scholasticism and directed him, in the spirit of Baius, to the study of the Fathers of the Church, especially the study of St. Augustine, as to the pure fountains of theological learning.

For the purpose, it would seem, of a change of air which overwork had rendered necessary, Jansenius made a lengthy stay in Paris where he became a close friend of a man of his

[1] Le Bachelet, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, I., 2546. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVII., 377, note 3.

[2] A summary of the Jansenist controversy with a bibliography is to be found in J. Carreyre in the *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France*, 1924, October–December.

[3] His father, Jan Ottiie, after whom he called himself Jansen (son of Jan), is said to have been a farrier. See Chérot in *Précis historiques*, 1890, 221, for an estimate of the sparse accounts of the youth of Jansenius, *cf. ibid.*, 220 *seqq.*, and Vandenpeereboom, 11 *seq.*

own age and in many ways the exact counterpart of the unimaginative artisan's son from the North, but who was to play as great a rôle in the evolution of Jansenism as Jansenius himself. Du Vergier de Hauranne, a hot-blooded Frenchman of the Midi and a scion of a noble family,[1] was no scholar, notwithstanding his extensive studies. Whenever he takes up his pen, Vergier becomes as a rule diffuse and wearisome and often enough eccentric, bizarre and involved.[2] His first publication made him quite ridiculous. One day, by way of a joke, Henry IV. asked some theologians whether a king who, say in the course of a siege, suffered from complete lack of provisions, would be allowed to kill one of his soldiers and eat him. Du Vergier's pamphlet takes the joke seriously and carries it still further: according to him, not only in this case but in a dozen similar ones, it is lawful and even a duty to kill oneself.[3] But though Du Vergier was no writer, he succeeded, by personal intercourse and through the direction of souls, in enkindling in others the sullen ardour which consumed his own interior and in drawing even men of mark into his orbit, as if by a magic power, by the impressiveness of his forceful personality, the mystery in which he shrouded himself and the prophetlike attitude he adopted when, as one enlightened from on high, he delivered his oracles.[4]

[1] LANCELOT, *Mémoires touchant la vie de M. St.-Cyran*, Cologne, 1638; J. LAFERRIÈRE, *Étude sur Jean du Verger de Hauranne, abbé de St. Cyran*, 1581 *à* 1643, Louvain, 1912 (also J. BRUCKER in the *Recherches de science religieuse*, III. (1912), 370; J. BRUCKER, *Lettres inédites de St.-Cyran dans un manuscrit de Munich, ibid.*, 428–445, IV. (1913), 342–381; BREMOND, IV., 36 *seqq.*

[2] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, IV., 345.

[3] "Question royale, où il est montré, à quelle extremité principalement en temps de paix le sujet pourrait être obligé de conserver la vie au prince aux dépens de la sienne," Paris, 1709. Some parts are in (PATOUILLET), III., 340.

[4] It is very difficult to give an opinion on the character of this remarkable man. According to *Ste.-Beuve* (I., 272 *seqq.*), he was a great genius and a unique personality; according to *Bremond*

Notwithstanding their many diversities, Jansenius and Du Vergier agreed on one point: they believed that they had a call to cleanse the Church from the errors which, in their opinion, had disfigured it ever since the rise of scholasticism. Jansenius set himself the task of extricating theology from the false path of an alleged philosophism and rationalism, whilst it was Du Vergier's aim to restore the primitive strictness of ecclesiastical discipline. For the youthful scholars the chief cause of the decay of knowledge and Christian conduct was the Society of Jesus towards which they felt a burning hatred and which they meant to fight with all their energy: up to the very end the story of Jansenism remains a fight against the Jesuits.

With a view to equipping themselves for their gigantic programme of reform, the two men withdrew to a country house of the Du Vergier family near Bayonne. There, from 1611 till 1616, in complete isolation from the world, they devoted themselves to a most intensive study of Christian

on the other hand (IV., 49 *seqq.*) he was in all respects mediocre, a sick man in body and soul. Nobody, however, denies the powerful influence which he exercised on those around him (proofs in BREMOND, IV., 38 *seqq.*). Characteristics of his method of directing souls in BRUCKER, *Recherches*, IV. (1913), 362–381. With regard to the extraordinary illuminations which he claimed to have experienced, see *ibid.*, 365 *seqq.*, and BREMOND, IV., 42 *seqq.* According to *Denis Petau*, Du Vergier was "un esprit inquiet vain, présomptueux, farouche, se communiquant peu, et fort particulier dans toutes ses manières . . . (in RAPIN, *Histoire*, 30). According to Bishop Pallu, Vincent of Paul said of him: "Je vous proteste que vous ne vîtes jamais homme aussi superbe, ni aussi attaché à son propre sens (in MAYNARD, II., 282 *seq.*, note). *Richelieu* opened thus: "il est Basque, ainsi il a les entrailles chaudes et ardentes par tempérament; cette ardeur excessive d'elle-même lui fait des vapeurs dont se forment ses imaginations mélancoliques et ses rêveries creuses, qu'il regarde après avec des réflexions de spéculatif comme des lumières inspirées, et il fait de ces rêveries-là des oracles et des mysterès" (in RAPIN, 344). HANOTAUX says that he was devoured by ambition (I., 113).

antiquity, the Fathers and the early Councils. It is said that they often worked from twelve to fifteen hours a day,[1] so that Du Vergier's mother thought that her son would end by killing his Dutch friend with so much study.

What fruits these vigils bore for Jansenius, appears from the letters he wrote to his French friend after his return to his own country.[2] In 1618 the Dutch Protestants held their synod at Dordrecht at which the most rigid Calvinism won the day. According to the decisions of Dordrecht, Christ did not die for all men, it is impossible to resist grace, some men are predestined to eternal damnation, hence it is impossible for them to be saved. Now Jansenius was of opinion that these dreadful propositions were an almost perfect statement of the Catholic doctrine of predestination and reprobation.[3] He likewise reveals to his friend the sources from which he derived his views. On his return to Louvain, so he wrote, he had found someone—without doubt he means Jacob Janson—who opened his eyes to the doctrine of Augustine and that he was making wonderful discoveries in that Father's writing which, one day, would astonish the world.[4] Six months later he wrote [5] that for the last two years he had been reading Augustine with special care and profit, the more important treatises even two or three times. He had completely changed his mind about him, as well as about other writers; for centuries St. Augustine's teaching had been but little known by the learned but then, after the heretics, no one has done more harm to theology than the "scholastic barkers [6]; Jesuits and Thomists alike were a

[1] LANCELOT, *Mémoires*, I., 101 *seq.*; II., 308 *seq.*

[2] After St. Cyran's arrest they fell into the hands of the Jesuit Pinthereau who had them printed as a pamphlet: *La naissance du Jansénisme découverte à M. le Chancelier par le Sieur de Préville*, Louvain-Caen, 1654. The original manuscripts were publicly exhibited. New ed. *Lettres de M. Corn. Jansénius*, par FR. DU VIVIER (Gerberon), Cologne, 1702.

[3] Letter of 1620, in RAPIN, 89 *seq.*

[4] October 14, 1620, *ibid.*, 78.

[5] STE.-BEUVE, I., 292.

[6] "Clabaudeurs d'école," *ibid.*

hundred miles from the truth and if they persevered on the road they had taken, they would stray even further, though they continued their disputations until the end of the world ". However, Jansenius pitted his own personal views, and this with the utmost confidence, not only against those of the Thomists and the Jesuits and the whole of contemporary scholarship, but he even entertained a very low opinion of the teaching of the Holy See. Until everything had matured, he wrote to his friend, he did not dare to tell anyone what—in accordance with the principles of St. Augustine—he thought of contemporary thought, especially concerning grace and predestination, because he feared to be treated by Rome as others had been.[1] Another time [2] he speaks of the ignorance of that Court of those matters and of Rome's fear of giving rise to fresh complications in the handling and understanding of which the officials showed as much skill as they had displayed in the settlement of the case of Machiavelli.

Meanwhile, in 1619 Jansenius had passed his examination for the doctorate in a three days' disputation and had been appointed lecturer in Holy Scripture at the University of Louvain.[3] On his part Du Vergier, after the departure of his friend, placed himself at the disposal of the Archbishop of Poitiers, Henri Louis Chateignier de la Rocheposai, whose goodwill he had won by a new literary work, also of a peculiar kind. De la Rocheposai had fought the Huguenots arms in hand ; Du Vergier now defended this action of a seventeenth

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] January 20, 1622, in RAPIN, 121 *seq.*

[3] A small pamphlet : *Mens et sententia Ill. et Rev. Dni Corn. Iansenii de quaestione : An iudicium Rom. Pontificis, cum universae Ecclesiae aliquid sub anathemate tenendum esse definit, sit infallibile necne ?* (Lovanii s.a. (1718)) gives the list of theses which Jansenius defended on October 7, 1617, " pro prima ad gradum doctoralem responsione." On the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, he takes the view that " Supremus est omnium de religione controversiarum index, cuius iudicium rectum, vere et infallibile est, cum universae Ecclesiae aliquid sub anathemate tenendum esse definit " (a copy of the pamphlet in *Cod.* M. 17 on the Vallicelliana Library, Rome).

century Bishop by appealing to the example of Abraham and Samuel and the warrior Bishops of the Middle Ages.[1] To his influence also we must probably ascribe the public declaration from the pulpit that it was a grave obligation for the faithful to hear Sunday Mass in their parish churches, in consequence of which the Archbishop became involved in regrettable disputes with the Jesuits. In other ways also Du Vergier took advantage of the influence he exercised over the people by reason of the strictness of his life, to agitate against the Jesuits and in favour of his friend's teaching on grace. A great impression was created by the fact that his followers renounced every kind of outward pomp, and he himself rose so high in the Archbishop's esteem that in 1620 he appointed him in his place as commendatory Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Cyran. From now onwards Du Vergier assumed the name by which he has become famous, viz. the Abbé de St. Cyran.

From 1621 onwards, St. Cyran resided continuously in Paris, but before settling there he paid yet another visit to his friend at Louvain and joined him in one of his journeys. After that visit the letters of Jansenius to St. Cyran take on an entirely different complexion—they bear the stamp of the mysterious. Henceforth his communications are in code ; of himself, of St. Cyran, St. Augustine, the Jesuits he only writes under assumed names. He speaks mysteriously of roots that are uncovered, of trees that must rise from them, of a house that is building, of a ship that is being freighted, of persons and communities whose co-operation must be secured. The sum of these aims is designated as " Pilmot ", " Cumar ", " Comir " in his cryptic language. These are obviously names for the plan of reform conceived by Jansenius and St. Cyran ; it was, no doubt, fully discussed at their meetings in 1621 as well as on another such occasion at Péronne on May 1st, 1623.[2]

[1] Dupin, *Hist.*, II., 70–84. Dupin says of the first two works of St. Cyran that they must be regarded " comme les declamations des rheteurs ".

[2] Ste.-Beuve, I., 296 *seq.* In 1654 the royal advocate Filleau published a report on a supposed meeting of Jansenius and

For Jansenius in particular " Pilmot " stood for his toil at his great work on St. Augustine's doctrine on grace to which he devoted all his energy, so much so that he would have been glad to resign his professorial chair.[1] Only his hatred for the Jesuits seemed capable of taking him away from his favourite task. He wrote a large work against them which, however, he did not dare to publish.[2] On two occasions, viz. in 1624 and 1626 he went to Spain for the purpose of working against them ; these journeys occupied nearly two years.[3] It so happened that just then the Universities of several countries had started a campaign against Jesuit competition in the field of knowledge. At Cracow they were forbidden to teach publicly. In France eleven Universities, headed by Paris, agreed to exclude the Jesuits. In Spain, Alcalá and Salamanca joined forces with a view to opposing Philip IV.'s plan for a Jesuit University in Madrid.[4] Louvain did not lag

St.-Cyran with four others, who were supposed to have prepared, in 1621, at the Charterhouse of Bourgfontaine, a plan to further the introduction of deism, by alienating the faithful from the Sacraments with their demands of exorbitant conditions for their reception, by throwing discredit on the religious Orders and sowing distrust of the Holy See, etc. When, in the 18th century, Jansenism really led many into deism, the Jesuit Sauvage thought that these results of Jansenism proved the genuineness of the " Bourgfontaine plan ". The meeting of the year 1621 may have taken place, but the intention of introducing deism is unlikely and cannot be proved. See FILLEAU, *Relation juridique sur les affairs du Jansénisme* (1634) ; (SAUVAGE), *La réalite du Projet de Bourgfontaine demontrée par exécution*, Paris, 1755. *Cf.* B. JUNGMANN, *Dissertationes selectae in hist. eccl. VII.*, Ratisb., 1887, 227[6] *seqq.*

[1] Letter, 7 and 8 (*cf.* above, p. 71, note 2).

[2] Jansenius to St.-Cyran, May 19, June 8, July 16, 1627, and March 17, 1628.

[3] R. SCORRAILLE, in the *Recherches de science relig.*, 1917, 187–254 ; A. PÉREZ GOYANA in *Razón y Fe*, LVI. (1920), 172 *seqq.*, 451 *seqq.* ; LVII. (1920), 181 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*

[4] SCORRAILLE, *loc. cit.*, 194. To what pitch excitement rose at that time is shown by what happened at Toulouse. There a

behind: for some time already that University had done its best to prevent at least the public teaching of philosophy by the tiresome competitors. Jansenius was commissioned by the University to go to Spain in 1624 and again in 1626, and during his second journey he obtained his main object which was the exclusion of the Jesuits from the chair of philosophy [1]; on the other hand he failed to persuade the Spanish Universities to join in a collective petition to the Pope against the teaching privileges of the inconvenient religious.[2] A further misfortune befell him at Valladolid; there, because of certain suspicious expressions of opinion, the Jesuits denounced him to the Inquisition. Jansenius deemed it advisable to get out of Spain as fast as possible and he swore never again to set foot in that country.[3]

On his return Jansenius was at last able to inform his friend, on December 31st, 1627, that he had started work on his book.[4] It took up most of his time, even after a pamphlet of his against Richelieu's Protestant alliances (*Mars Gallicus*),[5] had earned for him from the Spanish Government his promotion, in 1635, to the episcopal see of Ypres.[6] The last lines were written shortly before he was carried off by the plague, on May 6th, 1638.

However deeply Jansenius may have been absorbed in his

professor of the Dominican Order called the Jesuits "Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians!", the students booed when a Jesuit theologian was mentioned; shouts of "Down with Molina! Down with Suarez! Away with Loyola!" were heard. (ALPH. AUGUSTE in *Bullet. de littérat. ecclés.*, 1916, 316.)

[1] SCORRAILLE, *loc. cit.*, 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, 216 *seqq.*, 231 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 239.

[4] RAPIN, 207.

[5] *Cf.* LODGE, *Richelieu*, 201.

[6] At first Jansenius' enthusiasm for Spain was not very great: he was involved in the conspiracy of the Spanish nobility *against* Spain in 1632. *Mars Gallicus* rehabilitated his reputation in the eyes of the Spanish Government. *Cf.* CUVELIER in the *Biogr. nat. Belge*, XX., 64; SCORRAILLE, *loc. cit.*, 242.

learned studies, he never neglected to seek fresh supporters for his plan of reform by word of mouth also. The most distinguished and influential among the men he secured by this means were Henry Calenus (Van Caelen), Archdeacon and confidant of the Archbishop of Mechlin, and Libertus Fromondus (Froidmont), professor of philosophy and after Jansenius' elevation to the episcopate, professor of Holy Scripture at the University of Louvain. On his deathbed Jansenius entrusted to these two men the publication of his chief work. The Irish Franciscan Conrius, who was named to the archepiscopal see of Tuam by Gregory XV., hardly needed to be converted to Jansenist views for he was a keen disciple of Baius and agreed with Jansenius' interpretation of St. Augustine whose writings on grace he was said to have read twenty times and the others seven times. The Irishman's hostility to scholasticism appears plainly in his chief work; in it he maintains against the opinion of almost all the scholastics, that children who die without Baptism are condemned to the flames of hell.[1] Subsequently this book so pleased the Jansenists that they added it as an appendix to the principal work of the master.

However, the brunt of the propaganda on behalf of "Pilmot" had to be borne by St. Cyran. Jansenius told him of his joy that his friend had begun to handle suitable personalities in so skilful a fashion, for this was necessary in order to get the ship under way.[2] Nevertheless, for the time being, he desired him to confine himself to generalities inasmuch as the affair was not yet ripe. Above all he did not want St. Cyran to busy himself with the spiritual guidance of nuns for he feared that this might distract his confederate from the great enterprise which was beginning so happily.[3] However, a year later, he realized that "Pilmot" might be greatly forwarded with the assistance of some religious community inasmuch as religious are wont to be all fire and flame for any

[1] Rapin, 113 *seq.*, 117; Hurter, III., 635 *seq.*
[2] To St.-Cyran, January 20, 1622, in Rapin, 122 *seq.*
[3] February 26, 1622, *ibid.*, 124.

cause they take up : once won over they would go beyond all bounds either for or against their object.[1]

St. Cyran particularly sought to win over for " Pilmot " the newly-founded Oratory of Cardinal Bérulle. The latter offered a point of contact in so far as, like Jansenius, he was an opponent of the Jesuits on the doctrine of grace. Moreover he lacked a really solid theological formation. A formula of profession composed by him for the French Carmelite nuns was condemned in Paris and, notwithstanding every effort of Jansenius, in Louvain also.[2] A similar fate was to be feared for Bérulle's ascetical writings [3] ; none the less, at the request of St. Cyran and though he had not seen them, Jansenius allowed his approbation to be printed on the front page, provided his friend ascertained that the book contained nothing contrary to " our aim ".[4]

With a view to keeping the Jesuits away from the young students, Jansenius would have welcomed the Oratory in the city. This wish was fulfilled, as he himself testifies, through St. Cyran who was more intimately linked with Bérulle by a long and close friendship than even any one member of his own Congregation.[5] For all that, Jansenius had occasion, at a later date, to complain [6] that he had failed to instil into the Oratory a " hierarchical spirit ", that is, to make of it a ready tool. Nevertheless, in 1630, at St. Cyran's prompting, the Oratorian Guillaume Gibieuf published a book on freedom which was sharply criticized by the Jesuits [7] and subsequently extolled by the Jansenists as preparing the way for the work of their master, though Jansenius

[1] June 2, 1623, *ibid.*, 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, 149 *seqq.*

[4] June 3, 1622, *ibid.*, 134.

[5] " Qui ei longa et arctissima necessitudine plus quam ullus domesticorum eius coniunctus est." Jansenius to Calenus, January 23, 1626 (C. VAN AKEN in *Précis hist.*, 1884, 460).

[6] RAPIN, 229 *seq.*

[7] DE MEYER, 33–9.

himself was not wholly satisfied with it.[1] In the sequel not a few among the Oratorians became supporters of Jansenius.

Of far greater importance than the propaganda in the religious communities, and truly decisive for future developments was St. Cyran's success with certain lay people, namely the Arnauld family.[2] Relations with this family likewise led, as it were naturally, to the longed-for co-operation of a religious community, only it was not a community of men but a convent of nuns that became the heart and centre of Jansenism.

One of the Arnaulds had already attained a certain notoriety. Antoine Arnauld, born in 1560 and a professed Calvinist until the night of St. Bartholomew, had pronounced, in the capacity of a representative of the University, before the Parliament of 1594, the inflammatory discourse against the Jesuits which contributed so powerfully to their being ordered, in 1595, to leave Paris within three days and the rest of France within a fortnight.[3] Of Antoine's twenty children only ten survived; the six daughters, together with their mother, subsequently entered the convent of Port-Royal and gave it its importance; eventually they were also joined by six nieces.[4] Of the four sons one fell in battle in his youth, another became Bishop of Angers, the youngest became the "great Arnauld", and the head of the Jansenists.[5] It was a most important event in St. Cyran's life when he made the acquaintance of the eldest son, Robert Arnauld, usually known as D'Andilly, from his father's estates. D'Andilly was an official in the finance department at Court and that position of itself gave him great

[1] May 23 and December 7, 1629, and January 31, 1631, in Rapin, 203 *seq.*

[2] For this remarkable family *cf. Généalogie de la famille des Arnauld*, in the *Mém. de Port-Royal*, I., vi.–xx.; Ste.-Beuve, I., 53 *seqq*; Varin, *La vérité sur les Arnauld, complétée à l'aide de leur correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1847.

[3] Fouqueray, II., 360 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIII., 115 *seq.*; Ste.-Beuve, I., 69.

[4] Ste.-Beuve, I., 129.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 11 *seqq.*

influence. He was a clever man and one who took pride in making friends for himself everywhere, from the lowest menial to the Constable of France ; no one, he used to boast, had ever been acquainted and on familiar terms with so many great personages as himself. St. Cyran first met D'Andilly in 1620, at Poitiers [1] but when the latter settled in the capital, he introduced his friend at Court and the Court preacher, Bishop Cospéau of Nantes, became specially interested in him. However, it was of incomparably greater importance that D'Andilly introduced his new friend to his sister, the Abbess of Port-Royal, through whom he turned that abbey into a stronghold of Jansenism.[2]

It goes without saying that it was no small task for D'Andilly to make suitable provision for his many daughters. Church property had to come to the rescue. [3] Accordingly, the maternal grandfather of the girls, the Advocate-General Marion, gave himself no rest until the Abbess of the Cistercian Convent of Port-Royal consented to accept his niece Jacqueline, then exactly eight years old, as her coadjutrix with the right of succession. After that Henry IV. named her five years old sister Agnes, Abbess of the Benedictines of St. Cyr. In order to obtain the papal confirmation the age of the two children was given as twice what it was ; but the Bulls were nevertheless refused.[4]

The upbringing of the two youthful Abbesses was not exactly a preparation for Christian perfection. They began by taking up residence at St. Cyr, but in 1600 Jacqueline passed to the Cistercian convent of Maubuisson whose Abbess, Angélique,

[1] The gushing letters of St.-Cyran to d'Andilly were published in *Le progrès du Jansénisme par le Sieur de Préville* (PINTHEREAU S.J.), Avignon, 1655.

[2] GUILLAUME DALL (Mme Jules Le Baudy), *La Mère Angélique abbesse de Port-Royal d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, 1893 (*cf.* GAZIER, II., 286) ; M.-R. MONLAUR, *Angélique Arnauld*, Paris, 1901.

[3] R. PLUS, *La vocation d'Angélique Arnauld*, in the *Étude* CXXXIII. (1912), 433–459.

[4] STE.-BEUVE, I., 74 *seqq.*

was so worthy a pupil of the notorious Gabrielle d'Estrées that in 1618 she had to be interned in the convent of the Penitents. In 1602 the death took place of the Abbess of Port-Royal, whose coadjutrix Jacqueline was. Thereupon the girl, now eleven years of age, had to be installed as Abbess. In order to secure the papal consent the petition raised her age to seventeen and gave her name as Angèlique, so that Rome never suspected that there was question of the Jacqueline who had been previously rejected. This time the efforts of the French envoy in Rome, Cardinal d'Ossat, were crowned with success: he obtained the papal confirmation. On September 29th, 1602, the General of the Cistercians blessed the Abbess who made her first Communion on the same occasion: her solemn profession had taken place on October 29th, 1600.

In the years which now followed Angélique, as she was henceforth called, found the religious life an unbearable yoke. She thought of escaping, without the knowledge of her parents, to her Huguenot aunts at La Rochelle and of marrying.[1] When fifteen years old she returned to her parents' house because of sickness, but when on the termination of her convalescence, she showed no desire to go back to Port-Royal, her father began to fear the possible loss of the revenues of the abbey. One day, then, he placed before his daughter an illegibly written document which he insisted on her signing at once. Angélique readily grasped that she was meant to bind herself to return to her convent; however, she did not dare to resist the grim old man; "Bursting with inward indignation"[2] she signed the document without reading it.

Of course all the acts by which it had been intended to tie Angélique to Port-Royal were without value in law. The papal Bull of confirmation was invalid because it had been obtained by subreption; her profession was invalid because made before the canonical age; for the same reason her nomination as Abbess was also invalid; so was the promise extorted from her to return to her convent. Angélique was neither a nun nor

[1] Plus, *loc. cit.*, 441.

[2] "Crevant de dépit en moi-même," *ibid.*, 442.

an Abbess and she was free to return to the world at any time.[1] Of a real training for the religious life there was no question at Port-Royal and she herself stated that none of the Sisters knew their catechism.[2]

But this aversion to the religious state did not last. One night a Capuchin friar offered to preach at Port-Royal.[3] Whilst the Father spoke, Angélique experienced a great change within herself. To be a religious appeared to her now as great a happiness as it had at one time seemed a misery.[4] From that moment she embraced her vocation with all the ardour of a soul that was not only highly gifted and resolute, but truly made for great things ; henceforth her one desire was to be a true nun and Abbess, to reform both herself and her Abbey.[5] In effect, though not yet twenty years old, she gradually reformed Port-Royal. The Sisters' right of private property was abolished, the enclosure established and the Rule of the Order enforced. As a result of these measures she had most violent scenes with her father ; he disapproved of the strictness of her life, but more particularly of the enclosure, for even he was excluded from the convent. The old lawyer opened all the floodgates of his hitherto irresistible eloquence, he raged and stormed and ended by adopting the gentlest of tones in order to gain admission. Angélique fell into a swoon but remained unshaken. He was beaten, notwithstanding his eloquent pleading, and the man who had never known defeat was at last compelled to go—his daughter had shown him that she could prove herself an Arnauld quite as much as he himself. Notwithstanding his opposition to the reform,

[1] *Ibid.*, 436 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 440.

[3] March 25, 1608 (U. D'ALENÇON in the *Études franciscaines*, 1910, 46 *seqq.*).

[4] PLUS, 443.

[5] For the hopeless condition of things in Port-Royal, see STE.-BEUVE, I., 83 *seqq.* M. LAROS (*Port-Royal und die Anfänge des Jansenismus Festschrift für Merkle*), Düsseldorf, 1922, 186–197) only treats of the mystic movement in France as the precursor of Jansenism.

her father did not neglect to seek Rome's confirmation of his daughter's dignity and he even based his request on her zeal for a reform.

Soon the fame of Port-Royal rose so high that other convents either sent nuns there in order to learn, or begged for Sisters of Port-Royal to teach them the reform. Angélique herself spent five years at Maubuisson in order to raise that convent from its immeasurable decadence.[1] Little could be done with the older Sisters; accordingly she took in thirty novices and when, on Angélique's return to Port-Royal, the new Abbess hesitated to keep such a number, the former took them all with her to the far poorer and smaller Port-Royal.

Up till then Angélique had been chiefly directed by the Capuchins, among whom Fr. Archangel, the former Lord Pembroke, was an outstanding figure. At Maubuisson, in 1619, she became acquainted with Francis de Sales [2] who took charge of her up to his death, which occurred soon after. He exhorted her to calm and soften her impetuous and hard character through the practice of meekness and humility. Angélique was enchanted with the new director and on his part Francis at once recognized her uncommon gifts,[3] even as Madame de Chantal [4] also saw in her a soul richly endowed by God and one whom she revered more than she could say.

In conversation with Angélique, Madame de Chantal had spoken to her in the highest terms of the Bishop of Langres, Sebastian Zamet,[5] who had reformed another Cistercian community, the Abbey of Tart, and transferred it to Dijon. Zamet,

[1] *Katholik*, 1875, II., 483 *seqq.*

[2] Angélique's deposition in the process of beatification of Francis de Sales, ed. L. Macaire in the *Rev. d'hist. et de littérat. relig.*, XI. (1906), 180; *cf.* 177. For Angélique's relations with St. Francis in general, *cf.* R. Plus in the *Études*, CXXII. (1910), 433–464.

[3] He calls her "une âme extraordinaire" (*Oeuvres*, éd. Migne, VI., 1021).

[4] To Bishop Zamet, June 9, 1628 (*Lettres*, II., Paris, 1878, 164).

[5] L.-N. Prunel, *Sébastien Zamet*, Paris, 1912 (also *Lettres spirituelles de Séb. Zamet*, ed. by Prunel, Paris, 1912). For Zamet's dealings with Angélique, *ibid.*, 200 *seqq.*; F.-T. Perrens in the

a pupli of the Jesuits and a friend of Bèrulle, was a zealous Bishop who sought to reform his clergy by means of synods and statutes and his diocesans by means of visitations and popular missions. He was on terms of special friendship with Bérulle's Oratorians to whom he had entrusted his seminary, one of the oldest in France, and whom he had enabled to found two houses, viz. at Langres and Dijon. He likewise furthered the foundations of Jesuit Colleges at Chaumont and Langres as well as the establishment of over twenty convents of nuns, especially such as devoted themselves to teaching and the care of the sick. When Zamet went to Paris to attend the assembly of the clergy of 1626, he consulted Angélique on the subject of the reform; he pleased the Abbess and she chose him for her adviser.[1] Under his influence profound changes came about. The nuns left the monastery situate at the bottom of a damp, unhealthy valley in which they had hitherto lived, to establish themselves at Paris, in the Faubourg St. Jacques. From now onwards there were two Port-Royals, the country one and the town one. Zamet cherished the further plan of uniting the Cistercian convent of Tart at Dijon, which he had reformed, and Port-Royal, in order that the two Abbeys might exchange their inmates. The new foundation was to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Cistercian Order as well as that of the Ordinary of the diocese and placed under the sole authority of the Bishop, whilst the new Superioresses would not be named by the King but elected by the Sisters.[2] After prolonged efforts Zamet and Angélique obtained from Urban VIII. in 1627, that the two monasteries should be subject to the respective diocesans, namely, Gondi of Paris and Zamet of Langres.[3] The Superioresses of Tart and Port-Royal both resigned their offices after which, with the King's

Rev. hist., LI. (1893), 250–274, LII., 1–42; ZAMET'S *Mémoire touchant les filles du Port-Royal et l'abbé de St.-Cyran leur directeur*, 1638, *ibid.*, LII., 29–31; DE MEYER, 493–5; PRUNEL, 265–8. Later on Zamet was abused by the Jansenists; Ste.-Beuve follows their accounts.

[1] PERRENS, LI., 265.

[2] PRUNEL, 209. [3] *Ibid.*, 225.

permission, they were succeeded by Superioresses elected by the Sisters for a term of three years.[1]

Angélique was now a simple Sister but not for long. Zamet was anxious to make of the two united communities of Tart and Port-Royal the basis of a larger association having for its object the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.[2] The plan miscarried, but with papal permission a convent for that object was founded at Paris in 1633 with Angélique as first Superioress.[3] The supreme authority over the new establishment was nominally in the hands of the Archbishops of Paris and Sens and the Bishop of Langres, but in reality Zamet exercised it alone.[4]

The new foundation was wrecked after barely five years' existence mainly owing to an incident which reacted also on the history of Jansenism. The cultus of the Holy Eucharist, as practised in the new convent, was taking a most peculiar turn. In a small booklet, the so-called " Secret Rosary of the Blessed Sacrament ", published at first in manuscript and later in print, the convent advocated devotion to sixteen attributes of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, but among them there was no mention precisely of those which shine forth most conspicuously in the Blessed Sacrament, viz. Christ's humility, condescension and love ; the book only speaks of the sublimest attributes of His Godhead, His holiness, independence, incomprehensibility, unapproachableness and so forth, and the wish is expressed that every other form of being may vanish before Him even as every other luminary fades before the sun ; praise is bestowed on His freedom in virtue of which He need not consider the claims of mercy or men's merits ; nay, with a view to glorifying the sublimity of Christ, the soul should wish to be repelled and forgotten rather than considered by Him.[5] It may be possible to read into these obscure expressions

[1] *Ibid.*, 229. [2] *Ibid.*, 208 ; *Mém. de Port-Royal*, I., 422, 426.
[3] PRUNEL, 236. [4] *Ibid.*, 238.
[5] *Ibid.*, 242–8 ; BREMOND, IV., 202–211 ; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, 575–588. Arnauld seems to say that the booklet was only distributed in MSS. ; *cf.* against this Zamet in PRUNEL, 246, no. 11 ; BATTEREL, II., 161 *seq.*

a meaning that might have served the flights of certain extraordinarily endowed spirits,[1] but for the average Christian this Rosary was either wholly unintelligible or apt to mislead. At the instigation of the Archbishop of Sens, the Sorbonne condemned the pamphlet whilst Rome would have preferred to see it suppressed without formal condemnation.

This condemnation was a severe blow to the newly founded monastery of the Blessed Sacrament. The nuns were almost considered to have fallen into formal heresy.[2] As early as 1633, complaints reached Rome about the " new heresy " of which Port-Royal was said to be the seat.[3] The difficulties in which the convent of the Blessed Sacrament became involved caused it to be suppressed in 1647, when the community was united to that of Port-Royal which thereupon adopted the habit of the Sacramentines. At the same time the overcrowding of the Parisian Port-Royal led to the re-occupation of the original Port-Royal which had been abandoned for twenty-two years.[4]

Zamet, who had approved the Secret Rosary, was also hard hit by its condemnation, hence he looked for help and asked for St. Cyran's opinion. The latter declared the " Rosary " to be harmless, whilst Jansenius and Fromondus in Louvain only saw in it the language of love which does not weigh its expressions.[5]

[1] An attempt has been made by BREMOND to explain the booklet in the light of Bérulle's and his Oratory's curious phraseology, *loc. cit.*, and in *Bullet. de littérat. éccles.*, 1915, 433–447 (*cf.* BATTEREL, II., 34, 161) ; but he too thinks, " que nul prêtre sensé ne songera jamais à reprendre de pareilles formules " (*loc. cit.*, 442). According to BATTEREL (II., 161) the booklet was composed on the advice of the Oratorian Condren, and the Oratorian Seguenot wrote a commentary on it. RAPIN (*Hist.*, 274) considered St.-Cyran to be the author. Agnes Arnauld, however, testified that she herself wrote it four years before she met St.-Cyran. Zamet also calls her the authoress (BREMOND, IV., 203 ; PRUNEL, 245).

[2] *Mémoires*, I., 596.,

[3] FAGNIEZ, II., 69.

[4] *Mémoires*, I., 596 *seqq.*

[5] The Louvain approbations of July 16 and 23, 1633, are in PASCAL-WENDROCK, III., 304 *seq.* ; PRUNEL, 247.

St. Cyran, who repeatedly took up his pen in the course of the controversy round the booklet, rose now so high in Zamet's favour that before returning to his diocese the Bishop appointed him confessor to the convent of the Blessed Sacrament.

Little could Zamet know that he had taken a step of incalculable bearing on the history of the Church in France: at last St. Cyran had secured what he had so long desired, a convent which he could turn into a stronghold of "Pilmot". Soon many of the nuns were all fire and flame for the new spiritual guide. Zamet's direction had been modelled on the moderation and mildness of Francis de Sales.[1] St. Cyran met with a ready hearing from the majority of these excitable women when he explained to them that, according to the conduct of the early Church, the Fathers and the Councils, penance and strictness alone became their state and that they could never do enough to render themselves worthy of sacramental absolution and especially of the Eucharist.[2] Nevertheless the Sisters' weekly Communion did not yet come to an end,[3] though some of them stayed away from the Eucharist for months together, either out of timidity and because they judged their preparation inadequate, or out of a spirit of penance and in order to inflict on themselves a particularly sensible mortification.[4]

Angélique, in particular, was completely dominated by the new confessor. St. Cyran laid it on her as a duty to keep from everyone, even from Zamet, her lawful superior, whatsoever he counselled or commanded her. Submission to such guidance may well have been the fatal turning point in Angélique's life for she could not, by herself alone, weigh St. Cyran's erudition as in a balance and appraise the true value of the texts of the Fathers and Councils with which he confronted her.

[1] Prunel, 228 *seqq.*

[2] Zamet's report for Richelieu, 1638, *ibid.*, 265 *seq.*

[3] Bremond, IV., 134 *seqq.*; Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXIX., 351 *seq.* St.-Cyran himself said Mass daily (Bremond, IV., 137, note).

[4] Zamet, *loc. cit.*, 266.

Soon she could talk of nothing but the Primitive Church, the canons, the manners of the early Christians, the Councils and Augustine.[1] The community of the Blessed Sacrament entered wholeheartedly into the ways of the new director and when Angélique returned to Port-Royal, in 1635, as a simple nun, St. Cyran dominated through her first of all her sister Agnes, who was now the Abbess, and very soon through the latter the whole of Port-Royal. Zamet protested in vain; even to him Angélique could only speak of St. Augustine, St. Paul and predestination. Things came to such a pass that Zamet was requested to stay away from Port-Royal because of his excessive mildness.[2]

The nun's letters to St. Cyran which have been preserved, give a vivid picture of his influence on Port-Royal and of the confusion which he caused. Already in 1633 one of the nuns writes to him [3] that she had never heard anything so wonderful as the explanation of the truths of the faith by her new confessor. Six months later Angélique writes that since listening to St. Cyran's instructions her sister Magdalen had been striving to confess rather to God than to man, but that just then she found herself in a state of extreme stress: she went to confession in fear and trembling lest she should not be adcquately prepared, and after the avowal of her sins she at once left the confessional because she did not dare to receive absolution.[4] Three months later another sister writes [5] that she felt an indescribable torment every time she had to go to Holy Communion because she did not know whether she had done as much penance as was required by the teaching of the confessor in order to recover lost grace. The new Abbess, Agnes Arnauld, thought her heart had become hardened because she had no sense of sorrow and did not deem it a

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 267.

[3] November 8, 1634, in Rapin, *Hist.*, 279.

[4] Letter of March 3, 1634, in Rapin, 274, who errs, however, when he considers Agnes as the writer, for the latter was residing at Dijon at the time.

[5] Rapin, 279.

humiliation to be deprived of the Sacraments.[1] Later on she writes [2] that her spirit was troubled at the thought of receiving Holy Communion in obedience to St. Cyran's suggestion. Through having been deprived of it, the Sacrament of the Altar had become for her an object of terror ; she could not believe herself called to such divine intimacy and she begged her spiritual guide to grant her three months' surcease and time in which to do penance. Angélique herself, at one time, went five months without communicating and one year it was noticed that she stayed away from the Sacrament even on Easter Sunday.[3]

It was only by degrees that St. Cyran dared to reveal even to his intimate friends the views on Penance and forgiveness of sins which inspired his singular guidance of souls. According to him the Sacraments of Confirmation and Holy Order have as much power to blot out sin as Baptism, and the Eucharist possesses it in an even higher degree than the Sacrament of Penance. In his opinion absolution by the priest does not remit sin ; it merely declares that it has already been forgiven, hence it is only valid if the penitent already possesses the perfect love of God. The words of the Council of Trent which assert the opposite must be given a different interpretation, or it must be granted that on this point the Council was mistaken ; as a matter of fact the assembly of Trent was no real Council because it was not held after the manner of the early Councils. That is how the Bishop of Langres, Sébastian Zamet, sums up the opinions of St. Cyran [4] and other accounts agree

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] May 7, 1638, *ibid.*, 280.

[3] Zamet in PRUNEL, 266.

[4] Zamet in PRUNEL, 266. Zamet's memorandum was published against his will. A refutation was undertaken in *Apologie pour feu monsieur l'abbé de St.-Cyran* (1644), by ARNAULD (in conjunction with Lemaitre ?), *Œuvres*, XXIX., 173–390. However, Zamet's accusations are substantiated by other witnesses. The justification of St.-Cyran was to be strengthened by the publication of his *Lettres chrétiennes* (Paris, 1645), which for the most part preach the traditional theories of asceticism (BRUCKER in the *Recherches*, IV., 371 ; *cf.* HANS LINDAU in the *Zeitschr. für*

with it. In the course of a conversation with the Cistercian Abbot Jean Jonault, at the convent of Maubuisson, St. Cyran intimated that God had allowed him to sound to its depths the deplorable state of contemporary Church discipline. He also found fault with the theologians of his time as well as with St. Thomas Aquinas himself whom he accused of having spoilt everything ; he lamented the corruption which had made of the Church an adulteress, so that not a trace remained of her primitive purity and complained of the Council of Trent with whose decrees scholasticism had had more to do than the Holy Ghost.[1]

It would have meant a valuable acquisition for St. Cyran had he succeeded in winning for " Pilmot " his countryman, Vincent de Paul, and through him the Congregation of Priests of the Mission. He did succeed in establishing relations with the lowly founder who was affable to all men, but his fifteen years' friendship with Vincent came to an end when St. Cyran remarked to him that Calvin was right and that he had only expressed himself badly ; that the Council of Trent had been an assembly of scholastics given to intrigues and factions ; that in point of fact for six centuries there had been no Church at all ; formerly the Church had been a stream of pure and clear water, now that stream only carried dirt and mud ; Christ had indeed built His Church upon the rock, but as there was a time for building so there was one for pulling down ; formerly the Church was the Bride of Christ, now she was an adulteress whose Bridegroom felt compelled to cast off the faithless one and to seek another Bride.[2]

Kirchengesch., XXXVI. (1916), 405–423). St.-Cyran's views on the administration of the Sacrament of Penance are nevertheless apparent in his letters (BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 342 *seqq.*). For the fact that these writings were trimmed before publication, see *ibid.*, III., 431 ; IV., 342 *seqq.* Arnauld in DE MEYER, 349, note. V. COUSIN, *Jacqueline Pascal*,[6] Paris, 1869, 39. A summary of the accusations against St.-Cyran in DE MEYER, 490–9.

[1] RAPIN, 309.

[2] MAYNARD (II., 238, 240 *seqq.*) according to ABELLY (*Vie de V. de Paul*, LIV., 2, ch. 38), whose report was confirmed by Vincent himself. *Cf.* Vincent to Dehorgny, June 25, 1648 (COSTE,

Statements such as these, even though made with the utmost caution, before persons he could trust, and denied by St. Cyran whenever they were likely to prove dangerous,[1] were nevertheless bound to come gradually to the knowledge of wider circles

III., 319) : " La seconde raison (for not adhering to Jansenism) est celle de la connaissance que j'ai du dessein de l'auteur de ces opinions nouvelles, d'anéantir l'état présent de l'Église et de la remettre en son pouvoir. Il me dit un jour que le dessein de Dieu était de ruiner l'Église présente, et que ceux qui s'employaient pour la soutenir, faisaient contre son dessein ; et comme je lui dis que c'était le prétexte que prenaient pour l'ordinaire les herésiarches, comme Calvin, il me répartit que Calvin n'avait pas mal fait en tout ce qu'il avait entrepris, mais qu'il s'était mal défendu." The essential principle of all these doctrinal reformers was : " de réduire l'Église en ses premiers usages, disant que l'Église a cessé d'être depuis ces temps-là." Two protagonists of the new teaching had said that for fifteen hundred years the Church had ceased to exist (to Dehorgny, September 10, 1648, *ibid.*, 364). With regard to deferring absolution until after the performance of penance, Vincent said : " En effet n'ai-je pas vu faire pratiquer cela par M. de St.-Cyran ? " (*Ibid.*, 365 ; *cf.* MAYNARD, II., 282, note.) Vincent had been called as a witness at St.-Cyran's trial. His evidence has only come down to us through Jansenist hands (COSTE, XIII., 86–93). Coste considers (I., 402, note) : " Ce document que nous croyons authentique est certainement altéré ou incomplet." The statement is damaging only in one detail, namely, St.-Cyran's words, " Que Dieu détruit son Église depuis 5 ou 600 ans . . . et que la corruption s'y est glissée, même dans la doctrine. . . . Il dit qu'il semble que ceux qui la soutiennent fassent contre l'intention de Dieu." But even this he had only heard him say once and he seeks to interpret St.-Cyran's words here, as on the other heads of the accusation, in an acceptable sense. Vincent obviously did not wish to play the part of an informer, he does not say all he knows of the accused, but merely answers the questions put to him, and this solely as they are put to him.

[1] " J'ai oui dire à feu M. St.-Cyran que, s'il avait dit des vérités dans une chambre à des personnes qui en seraient capables, que, passant en une autre ou il en trouverait d'autres qui ne le seraient pas, qu'il leur dirait le contraire, que Notre-

and to create sensation. Richelieu was no friend of novelties whether in the political or the ecclesiastical sphere, hence, when his suspicion had been roused, he had St. Cyran arrested at his lodgings in the early hours of the morning of May 14th, 1638, and imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes. In the course of the interrogatories which now followed St. Cyran displayed no great eagerness to become a martyr for his opinions ; he sought to tone down his own assertions and to represent the accusations against him as mere misunderstanding.[1] For the rest, though Richelieu's action may have been prompted by considerations of a quite different order, he invariably protested that his real motives were purely religious ones and he remained deaf to all pleading. " I have a sure feeling," he declared,[2] " that I have done good service both to Church and State. If Luther and Calvin had been locked up from the beginning, many disorders and disturbances would have been prevented." Condé's intervention on behalf of the prisoner was met with

Seigneur en usait de la sorte et recommandait qu'on fit de même " (Vincent of Paul to J. Dehorgny, September 10, 1648, in Coste, III., 366). Bremond (IV., 36 *seqq.*) has attempted to disentangle the psychological difficulties which the character of St.-Cyran has presented and always will present. According to him, St.-Cyran was not quite normal ; his piety was unquestionable ; his heretically sounding phrases must not be taken literally, they were merely " thrown off " and uttered without pre-meditation. Vincent of Paul also had at first understood him in this way (in his deposition of 1639) and he only came to a different conclusion (in his letters of 1648) when he saw the fateful consequences of these utterances. These results prove that it was not a case of occasional statements. For the rest, we abide by the facts as they have been established beyond controversy by Zamet, Vincent of Paul and others, leaving on one side the psychological question as well as that of responsibility. *Cf.* P. Coste, *Rapports de St. Vincent de Paul avec l'abbé de St.-Cyran*, Toulouse, 1914.

[1] Maynard, II., 260 *seqq.* ; Brucker, *loc. cit.*, IV., 344.

[2] To the subsequent Archbishop Baumont de Péréfixe ; see Maynard, II., 253 ; Ste.-Beuve, I., 493.

the remark : " So you do not know that he is more dangerous than six armies ? " [1]

Richelieu, who had been provoked by Jansenius' sharp criticism of his policy,[2] rightly gauged the peril but the conflagration was no longer to be put out, in fact the Cardinal's violent action did harm by winning many sympathizers and fresh adherents for the prisoner.[3] The nuns of Port-Royal were in constant and close touch with the ladies of the aristocracy and the story of the family of Pascal is there to show to what extent the general revival of religious had prepared the ground in that world, for the extravagances of St. Cyran.[4] Moreover a number of young girls were always being educated at Port-Royal. By degrees the new spirituality became the fashion and large audiences flocked to the convent chapel to listen to the sermons preached during St. Cyran's imprisonment by his lieutenant, Singlin.[5]

The new orientation gained even greater influence when a whole crowd of spiritually eminent men, the so-called " Hermits " of Port-Royal, unreservedly devoted themselves to its furtherance.[6] The first of these hermits was Antoine Le Maître, a nephew of Angélique and the son of her elder sister. At twenty Le Maître was already famous as an orator and a greatly admired advocate ; people flocked to the sessions whenever he was expected to speak and preachers put off their sermons in order to hear him. At twenty-eight he was a Councillor of State. It was then that he met St. Cyran at the death-bed of his aunt D'Audilly and he was so impressed that

[1] MAYNARD, II., 253. For the accusations see DE MEYER, 490–501.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 75, note 6. *Mars Gallicus* appeared in 1638 in a French translation.

[3] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.* ; MORF, *Richelieu*, 190.

[4] W. KREITEN in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLII. (1892), 281 ; XLIII (1892), 152 *seqq.*, 260 *seqq.*

[5] Angélique on July 4, 1647, to the Queen of Poland (*Lettres*, I., 335).

[6] STE.-BEUVE, I., 368–474 ; KREITEN, *loc. cit.*, 380 *seqq.* ; BREMOND, IV., 244 *seqq.*

he resolved, in 1637, to renounce his brilliant position and his still more brilliant prospects in order to live for God alone. Wholly in keeping with the spirit of St. Cyran, this idea soon grew into a resolve to renew at Port-Royal the life of the early Christian hermits, the so-called Fathers of the desert. His example drew others; in 1647 there were ten hermits, in 1652 there were twenty-five,[1] among them five former army officers. The two leaders of Jansenism, Pierre Nicole and Antoine Arnauld, came from this band and the great mathematician and physicist Pascal was also one of them for a time. The hermits spent their time in prayer and study but, in accordance with ancient monastic custom, they also devoted four hours a day to manual work in the fields or in the garden. They published a vast quantity of books and by means of their "Little Schools" they exercised a certain influence over the young.[2] The poet Racine completed his studies at Port-Royal.[3]

Eight days before St. Cyran's arrest his friend Jansenius died at Ypres without having published his great work on grace. Thus seemingly the year 1638 was a critical one for the rising heresy: however, only seemingly so. St. Cyran's imprisonment did not injure his prestige, on the contrary, for his friends he was henceforth a kind of martyr and confessor. From his prison, by means of almost daily letters, he continued the spiritual direction of Port-Royal.[4] When soon after Richelieu's death he recovered his freedom, all the great

[1] Angélique to the Queen of Poland, July 4, 1647, and May 16, 1652 (*Lettres*, I., 335; II, 110).

[2] COMPAYRÉ, *Hist. crit. des doctrines de l'éducation en France*, I., Paris, 1880, 243 *seq*; CARRÉ, *L'éducation à Port-Royal*, Paris, 1887; CADET, *Les pédagogues de Port-Royal*, Paris, 1887; MOURRET, 375; RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 335. An appreciation of the methods of Port-Royal by C. DANIEL in *Études*, 1880, I., 117–137.

[3] For the relations of the latter with the "Little Schools" and the Jansenists in general, *cf.* A. GAZIER, in the *Rev. d'hist. litt. de France*, VII. (1900), 32–58; for Racine as the poet of Jansenism, see J. PAQUIER, *Le Jansénisme*, Paris, 1908, 8th lecture.

[4] BRUCKER in the *Recherches*, IV., 342 *seqq*.

ones and the noble ladies flocked to his lodgings to congratulate him. However, he died not long after, on October 11th, 1643, when he was given a pompous funeral. Three Bishops took part in the obsequies and his grave was visited like that of a Saint ; pictures of him were disseminated and stories circulated of the miracles which he was supposed to have wrought.[1] Nor was Jansenius' death a blow for " Pilmot ". He died a Catholic but survived as the father of a heresy through his book, the publication of which was the real birthday of Jansenism.

The bulky tome which Jansenius had completed at the time of his death, dealt with a question that touches the innermost core of Christianity, namely that of the relation between the natural and the supernatural. Thus it is easy to understand why at an epoch which was still thoroughly Christian, the new doctrines were bound to cause a profound stir, especially in view of their reaction on the Christian life and conduct. For the same reason both the excitement and the whole question itself are bound to be almost unintelligible to those who do not share the Christian mentality and are not impregnated with it. Hence a brief explanation cannot be omitted.

In view of man's nature and the spirituality of his highest faculties, that is his intellect and will, the purpose of his existence can only consist in the possession of God by knowledge and love ; his nature is such that only in the possession of infinite Truth, of infinite Good, can mind and will find complete satisfaction and rest. Now according to Christian teaching, God did not leave man in a purely natural condition ; though no more than a *servant* of God by nature, he was called to become a *child* of God. In Baptism there is poured into his soul a gift called sanctifying grace which as it were grafts on it a higher spirituality, which gives it a mysterious share in the divine nature itself, somewhat after the manner in which a wild tree is made fruitful by grafting. By this partaking of God's nature, which is something so sublime that reason is not even able to know its bare possibility, man becomes God's adopted child. And even as the spirituality of his soul is ennobled by this grace of sonship, so is his mind enriched with

[1] *Ste.-Beuve*, I., 211 *seqq.* ; RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 39, 123.

higher knowledge, viz. the infused virtue of faith, and his will with the infused virtue of charity. To these are then joined those supernatural virtues by the exercise of which man acts as a child of God and merits eternal bliss through the possession of God. However, in the exercise of these virtues, in fact in any supernatural activity, man is not as autonomous as in the play of his natural faculties. He needs the assistance of grace, that is, such an illumination of the mind and such prompting of the will as are themselves supernatural and proceed from God, though in our experience they need not be distinguishable from the thoughts and acts of the will which spring from nature. Experience shows that we often resist the promptings of grace to follow inspirations of a baser order, whilst at other times we follow the call of grace and reject the allurements of our lower nature. Thus the question arises whether it is due to the innermost nature of grace that at one time we obey it, thus making it efficacious, and at other times reject it, so that it remains merely a sufficient grace. The doctrine of grace, more particularly the relation between grace and freedom, nature and supernature, constitutes the theme of Jansenius' three folio volumes. His object is to explain the relation of nature and grace in man's original condition in Paradise, after the flood, and after the redemption by Christ. For him the whole mighty intellectual structure is based, as it was for his predecessor Baius, on the idea that grace and the supernatural are part of the very essence of man, hence they had of necessity to be imparted to the first man in his creation and their loss, through the fall, implies an injury and a wounding of nature itself.[1] True, in view of Baius' condemnation by the Pope, Jansenius did not risk an unqualified statement of this fundamental idea. Originally the work was to have been described, on the title page, as a defence of Baius, but he deemed it more prudent to call it simply "Augustinus",[2] after the name of the Father of

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVII., 367.

[2] *Cornelii Iansenii episcopi Iprensis Augustinus seu doctrina S. Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses,* Louvain, 1640, Paris, 1641, Rouen, 1643 and 1652. We use the edition of 1652.

the Church who first explained in detail the doctrine of grace in his controversies with the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians (*Massilienses*). Augustine, according to Jansenius, has so perfected the doctrine of grace, on the basis of St. Paul, that nothing can be added to it ; all that a theologian can do is to make that exposition his own and to explain it in his turn.[1] Even as a young man, Jansenius writes, he could not understand how theologians could go on disputing about the doctrine of grace when St. Augustine had given so luminous an explanation of it.[2] In order to get to the bottom of the matter he had studied it for twenty-two years [3] and during that time had read and re-read the writings of the great African as often as ten, twenty or even thirty times.[4]

Now it is quite true that St. Augustine's prestige among theologians is only equalled by that of St. Thomas. Until well into the thirteenth century, he was the real and unrivalled teacher of the West and in regard to the doctrine of grace, papal pronouncements have proclaimed him as authoritative for all time, but—and this the Jansenists refused to consider—only in regard to the really fundamental questions.[5] But for an accurate understanding of Augustine it must be borne in mind that his teaching on grace has to be taken from his controversial writings against the Pelagians in which he lays

[1] *Iansenii Augustinus*, tom. II., lib.-prooemialis ch. 27 (Rouen, 1652, p. 24) : " Quid aliud existimabimus nisi. . . . Augustini ingenium . . . divinitus electum esse, quod instar novi principii perennisque fontis intelligentiam tam profundi arcani tanta ubertate profunderet, ut quidquid de humanae naturae corruptione, de divina gratia, de praedestinatione per modum primorum principiorum in apostolo Paulo clausum erat, educeret, quidquid nobis impervium penetraret atque ita quadam eminenti perfectione doctrinae suae, quidquid posteriorum sciendi sitim extinguere, quidquid omnes eorum quaestiones enodare et adversantium argumenta retundere posset, comprehenderet."

[2] AUGUSTINUS, ch. 2, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, ch. 20, p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, ch. 28, p. 25.

[5] *Cf.* E. PORTALIÉ, in the *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, I., 2501 *seqq.*

great stress on certain points whilst he leaves in the background other principles likewise held by him.[1] Thus it happens that his language sometimes goes beyond what he really wishes to convey; this is made clear when we compare various statements of his on the same subject; at other times he attaches to certain turns of language a meaning which is not that of a later period.[2] Hence grave misunderstandings of his teaching occurred even in his life-time; Wiclif appealed to him in the fourteenth century and Luther and Calvin, together with the Catholics, in the sixteenth; certain propositions which are found textually in Augustine have been condemned by the Church, though not in the sense of Augustine.[3]

As regards Jansenius' book, we do not find in it what to-day we should expect before all else, viz. an array of all the assertions of the Fathers on the controverted points and the elucidation of obscure texts by clearer ones. Such historical and philological treatment is unknown to Jansenius. His book consists chiefly of doctrinal expositions supported by isolated quotations from Augustine, in fact at times by only a few texts and such as are already found in Luther and Calvin. On the other hand, his argumentation is undeniably clear and

[1] *Ibid.*, 2466.

[2] Thus he says, that through Adam's fall, man had lost "freedom", when he only means the freedom of the state of Innocence in which concupiscence did not incline the will to evil. He speaks of the "necessity" of sinning in fallen man, but by "sin" he only means the involuntary motions of sensuality which do not become formal sins until the consent of the will is given; he calls grace "invincible" but means that grace which God foresees man will not resist, etc. (PORTALIÉ, *loc. cit.*, 2404 *seqq.*). "Le plus souvent" says PORTALIÉ (*ibid.*, 2404), "les difficultés sont purement verbales: on nous oppose *dans le sens actuel* des mots, les formules que le docteur d'Hippone employait alors dans un sens tout différent qu'il a lui-même formellement indiqúe. . . . Il faut le dire franchement, le procédé littéraire d'Augustin, faisant ressortir sa pensée par des expressions qui la dépassent de beaucoup, formulant ainsi des paradoxes troublants, a souvent obscurci sa doctrine, et soulevé l'aversion de beaucoup d'esprits."

[3] PORTALIÉ, *loc. cit.*, 2404.

even inevitable, on the supposition that we grant his premises. However, from the start, Jansenius reads Augustine exclusively with the eyes of Baius and accepts the latter's fundamental view of the mutilation of human nature through the fall of Adam. The will is no longer master of its own decisions; its freedom is only freedom from coercion, not from necessity, and it always obeys the strongest impressions. As for the relation between grace and freedom, Jansenius starts from the saying of St. Augustine that "We must needs act according to that which gives us most pleasure".[1] The sense of the text in Augustine is this: according as, *by a free choice*, we put our happiness, our joy, in either virtue or vice, virtue or vice will be the ruler of our life.[2] But Jansenius takes the words of St. Augustine as meaning that the will is for ever hovering between two attractions, two impulses, and that the stronger of these is always and infallibly victorious and bends the will to itself.[3] If we ask Jansenius how, in these circumstances, there can still be question of guilt and merit, he

[1] "Quod enim amplius nos delectat, secundum id operemur necesse est" (*Expositio in epist. ad Gal.*, n. 49, in MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, XXXV., 2141). [2] PORTALIÉ, *loc. cit.*, 2491 *seq.*

[3] According to Jansenius, Augustine's view is: "Quod arbitrium voluntatis . . . antequam divina gratia visitetur, . . . sub cupiditatibus terrenis ita arcte captivum possideatur, ut libertas illa voluntatis velut ferreis vinculis astricta nullo modo possit surgere, ut bonum velit aut faciat; sed ut tantummodo captivo modo versetur in malo. Qua de causa liberum arbitrium toto illo tempore non tam esse liberum quam servum, hoc est, liberum esse iustitiae, peccati autem servum." The will, therefore, enjoys freedom only in the sense in which a bound man possesses the possibility of motion (tom. II., lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 178). For the so-called "delectatio victrix", *ibid.*, cap. 7, p. 186, and often elsewhere, e.g. tom. III., lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 173: "Docet Augustinus quamdiu in hac vita mortali vivimus, esse in homine luctam quandam duarum delectationum, noxiae et beneficae, terrenae atque coelestis; quarum utralibet vicerit, animum secum consentientem ac pronum trahit. Tunc vero hominem a peccato liberari et opus bonum effici, cum coelestis illa suavitas de coelo venerit atque adversariam suam superaverit." *Cf* PORTALIÉ, *loc. cit.*, 2488 *seq.*

replies that in order to merit or demerit freedom from external coercion is sufficient. And if we insist how God can punish that which we are unable to avoid, the answer is that God can do it because through Adam's sin man has reduced himself to his present wretched condition so that he is himself to blame for the state he is in. There is a further reason, according to Jansenius, why fallen man cannot help sinning continually: in his opinion every action must spring from the love of God, but without grace this is impossible to fallen man. Accordingly, in all he does fallen man sins grievously; hence, for instance, whether he keeps or breaks conjugal fidelity, he deserves eternal damnation in either case, though in a different degree.[1]

In short, Jansenius' peculiar teaching consists in a denial of the so-called sufficient grace, that is, a grace strong enough to enable us to keep God's commandments yet one that may be rejected, so that, notwithstanding the assistance of grace, the will retains its full liberty. According to Jansenius, a grace which gives a really sufficient help necessitates the consent of the will. From this it follows quite naturally that man only sins because he lacks grace and since he can do nothing to obtain it, it equally follows that his eternal salvation or damnation depends in no wise on himself but solely on God's eternal predestination. A further consequence is that Christ did not die for all men, for had He died for all He would have merited grace for all, and since grace is always efficacious, all would be saved.

A truly appalling doctrine! It makes of man a cripple in his natural faculties and of his interior life a kind of machine robbed of all freedom; the history of the world, the gigantic

[1] "Ita peccato periisse libertatem arbitrii ad faciendum bonum, ut ante gratiam non solum non possit universam legem moralis honestatis implere, sed nec unam quidem nec unum opus eius; . . . ita periisse libertatem abstinendi a peccato, ut nec in illo quidem opere omnis peccati culpam possit effugere; ita inductam esse peccandi necessitatem, ut in omni actu quo legem sibi videtur vel servare vel transgredi, reus alicuius peccati teneatur" (tom. II., lib. 4, cap. 18, p. 258).

struggle between light and darkness, becomes a mere puppet-show and God's final triumph a victory over marionettes. Of God the new teaching makes a tyrant who lays down laws only to withhold from the majority of men even the slightest ability to observe them, until he finally casts the offenders into that everlasting damnation for which He has from the first predestined them! One asks oneself involuntarily how it was possible for Catholics to allow themselves to be, as it were, bewitched by such ideas. The most obvious explanation would seem to be the influence of Calvinism. The outward austerity of the lives of many Calvinists was calculated to make a certain impression on Catholics, all the more so as in the country where Jansenism found its most fruitful soil, viz. in France, an extraordinary religious fervour had got hold of men's minds as a kind of reaction against the previous corruption of manners. The mistake made at the time of the reformation was repeated. Instead of striving for a renewal of the inward man on the basis of traditional doctrine, that doctrine was held responsible for the existing decadence and a search was made for something new and unheard of. But though a few individuals may possibly have been roused to greater fervour by the strictness of the new prophets, on the whole such harshness could only do harm. If a conception of God, such as Jansenius', was put before the world, it was inevitable that the world would turn away from God.

Although he originated a heresy, Jansenius died in peace with the Church and he was not personally a heretic. In more than one place of his writings he protests emphatically that he was an obedient son of the Roman Church to which he had adhered from his youth and in which he wished to die; whatever the Pope commanded, that he accepted and what the Pope condemned, that he too condemned.[1] As a matter of

[1] "Mihi enim constitutum est, eandem quam ab infantia secutus sum, sensuum meorum ad extremum spiritum usque ducem sequi Romanam ecclesiam et beatissimi Petri in Romana sede successorem. . . . Quidquid ab ista Petri cathedra, in cuius communione a teneris vixi et porro vivere et mori fixum est, ab isto principis apostolorum successore, ab isto Christi D. N.

fact in his polemical writings against the Calvinists Jansenius defended the Pope's authority and infallibility, and he was attacked by them for doing so.[1] But we may well ask whether, for all that, Jansenius would not have countered a papal condemnation of his opinions with the same subterfuges as those used by his Baianist teachers and, later on, by his own followers. In his work he discusses the condemnation of Baius by Rome, and endeavours to evade it himself. The great Doctor of the Church, St. Augustine, he writes, has never been condemned by Rome ; hence the condemnation of Baius must be explained so as to leave the teaching of Augustine untouched. In this way Augustine, as understood by Jansenius, is substituted for the Church's magisterium ; Augustine is decisive, not Rome's definitions. Jansenius was well aware that his work would meet with opposition, in fact he expressed his great distrust of Rome in this respect.[2] One peculiarity of the *Augustinus*

vicario, ab isto Ecclesiae christianae universae capite, moderatore, Pontifice praescriptum fuerit, hoc teneo, quidquid improbatum, improbo, damnatum damno, anathematizatum anathematizo" (tom. II., lib. proem. cap. 29, p. 26). Similarly in the *Epilogus*, tom. III., p. 443. It is therefore of little consequence whether the declaration to this effect contained in the so-called "Testamentum", dictated half an hour before his death, and printed at the beginning of Vol. I., is an interpolation as VANDENPEEREBOOM, CAUCHIE, and DE MEYER (*cf.* the latter's note, p. 16), think, or whether it is not, as CALLEWAERT and NOLS, pp. 202–224 opine. A manuscript of the Anima Library, Rome (*Cod. Preuck.*, C. 43, pp. 385–390) preserves a draft of a letter in which Jansenius intended to dedicate his *Augustinus* to the Pope. Here we read, towards the end : "Quidquid in hoc perplexo disputationum labyrintho sensimus, diximus, scripsimus, . . . ad Sanctitatis Tuae pedes affero, probans improbans, figens refigens quidquid probandum aut improbandum vox apostolica mihi intonuerit."

[1] The titles of two controversial pamphlets against him in Yves de la Brière in *Recherches*, VI. (1916), 271.

[2] "De croire, qu'il sera facile de faire passer mon ouvrage aux juges, cela peut difficilement tomber en mon esprit, quelques dispositions qu'il puisse y avoir de delà, sachant les extravagances qu'il y a, et les oppositions des esprits (letter of March 25, 1635, in RAPIN, 358). A. Schill thus words his opinion : "Jansenius

which acquired considerable importance in the sequel, is the author's hatred of the theologians of the Jesuit Order, whose views he combats as Pelagian or semi-Pelagian.[1] Herein lies the reason why Jansenism increasingly developed into a struggle against the Society of Jesus.

It would seem that Jansenius had at first intended to have his book secretly printed at the episcopal palace of Ypres,[2] but only on his death-bed did he take a decisive step when, through his chaplain, he entrusted the publication to his friends Libertus Fromondus and Henry Calenus.[3] The matter was in the right hands. As Dean of St. Peter's, Fromondus was the outstanding professor at the University of Louvain, whilst Archdeacon Calenus completely dominated the ignorant Archbishop of Mechlin, Jacob Boonen,[4] to whose diocese Louvain belonged. When permission to print was asked for by Fromondus, the Syndic of the University, Pontan, could not refuse, and after that a publisher was soon found in Louvain.

Though the printing was carried out with the utmost secrecy, the most diverse rumours percolated through to the public. The Jesuits, having got hold of a few sheets,[5] complained to the papal internuncio Paul Richard Stravius, Archdeacon of

was too learned and too shrewd to ignore the opposition in which his doctrine stood to that which the Holy See had enunciated in condemning Baius; Jansenius was too full of hatred of scholasticism in general and Jesuit theology in particular, not to look for every loophole; finally, "Jansenius' intellectual pride and conceit were such that he cherished the hope that, under the name of St. Augustine, he would be able to steer the theologians of his day in a different direction." (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1894, 217 *seq.*).

[1] In the opinion of Rapin he wrote not so much a history of the Pelagians as a satire against the Jesuits. De Meyer, 87, note.

[2] Rapin, 357.

[3] See Jansenius' *Testament* at the beginning of his *Augustinus*.

[4] "(Fromondus et Calenus), a quorum consilio (archiepiscopus) totus pendet." Thus the Jesuit Judoci, July 6, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[5] De Meyer, 87; Gerberon, I., 7 *seq.*; Rapin, 415 *seq.*

Cambrai and Arras. However it was impossible thus early to realize all the consequences that were to follow from the publication of the new work. Paul V. had forbidden the publication of any book treating of grace and the freedom of the will. Basing himself on this prohibition, Stravius requested the Rector of the University to have the printing of the book stopped pending a further papal decision, and he reported in this sense to Rome.[1] However Stravius himself was not sure whether the University would take action against Jansenius, one of its Doctors and Professors. Moreover Paul V.'s ordinance had been repeatedly contravened with a number of publications which had raised no protest. He thought it unlikely that the Jesuits would keep silence in face of the new book's fierce attacks against them.[2] Accordingly he requested the Council of Brabant to lend the assistance of the civil officials and demanded from Rome a special condemnation of Jansenius' work, of which he forwarded a few sheets.[3] Thereupon the Pope decided that Stravius should prevent the printing of the book and draw the publisher's attention to the fact that the money spent on a prohibited book was money thrown away. The decree for which he had prayed was dispatched to the internuncio[4] who forwarded it to all the Bishops and heads of Orders as well as to the Universities of Louvain and Douai.[5]

Urban VIII.'s decree is dated July 19th, 1640. However, it was too late. The book had been hurried through the press

[1] *Nunziat. di Fiandra,* tom. 25, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *" Siccome dubito che la sudetta Università sara per moversi per la publicazione e difesa del detto libro, essendo l'autore di quello stato dottore e lettore dell'istessa Università, cosi prevedo che quei della Compagnia di Jesu non patiranno che la loro opinione e dottrina venghi con tanta passione e animosità dal suddetto autore censurata e riprovata." *Nunziat. di Fiandra, loc. cit.*

[3] *June 16, 1640, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[4] *Decision recorded on the back of Stravius' report of June 16, 1640, *Nunziat. di Fiandra, loc. cit.*

[5] Stravius' *report to Rome, August 18, 1640, *ibid.*

with feverish haste; on July 14th Stravius reported to Rome that it had appeared[1] and that the Dutch Calvinists had ordered a large number of copies. He would forward the bulky work to Rome through trade channels but meanwhile he enclosed Calenus' scandalous approbation.[2] In Rome it was decided to submit the *Augustinus* to the judgment of the Inquisition as soon as it came to hand.[3]

Stravius was right when he did not expect the Louvain professors to take action against Jansenius. The answer of the theological Faculty to the papal prohibition was that it had no knowledge of the book nor of its teaching; that Paul V.'s decree against all writings on grace had not been communicated to it; in any case it had not understood it to be generally binding, seeing that even since its publication many books on the forbidden topic had appeared in Flanders, France and Germany; hence the Faculty was of opinion that it could absolve both the author and the publishers from any disobedience. As for the printer, the Faculty had no jurisdiction whatever over him; hence, all it had been able to do was to request the Rector of the University to forbid the sale of the book, but before the prohibition was carried into effect it would be necessary to hear the publisher who had already lodged a protest.[4]

In a plenary assembly the University declared its readiness to obey, but[5] at the same time it expressed the opinion that on further reflection the Pope himself would no doubt refrain from inflicting on so deserving a man as Jansenius the stain of a condemnation. As for Paul V.'s decree, writings on grace had been published since and some of them had even been dedicated

[1] With the approbation of Calenus and Pontan, and with the privilege of the Council of Brabant, dated April 8, 1639, and the Emperor, dated February 13, 1640.

[2] *Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[3] *Remark on the back of the report of July 14, 1640, *ibid.*

[4] *Reply of September 1, 1640, sent to Rome by Stravius, September 8, *ibid.*

[5] *Reply of September 13, 1640, sent to Rome by Stravius on September 15, *ibid.*

to the papal Legate. Three representatives of the University would further discuss the matter with the internuncio.[1]

In view of this reply Rome decided on the suppression of the *Augustinus* and all writings affected by the decree of Paul V.[2] To be binding, papal decrees needed only to be published in Rome. The prohibition of books on the basis of Paul V.'s decree, which had been issued solely in order to prevent tiresome disputes, implied no stain on the character of the author of the writings in question.[3] Notwithstanding this explanation, the University refused to submit to the prohibition. Its representative had another interview with Stravius and, at the latter's request, stated its views also in writing.[4] They were to the effect that it was not possible to carry out the papal command since nearly every theological book discussed the relation between grace and freedom. It was likewise useless, for Jansenius' work was in everyone's hands and had already been reprinted in Paris. Hence they begged the internuncio to offer to the Pope the University's excuses and to further a book which had received the encomiums of the illustrious University of Paris. Even the opponents, on their own admission, would have raised no objection if Jansenius had not attacked them by name. Thus there was nothing to be got from the University. For the time being Rome did no more than maintain its prohibition,[5] although the Cologne nuncio, Chigi, had drawn attention to the diffusion of the book in the Rhineland and had asked what line of conduct he should adopt.[6] He was told to discuss the matter with Stravius and to act in concert with him.[7]

Meanwhile *Augustinus* made its way through Europe. The Paris reimpression of 1641 had appeared with the approval

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, remark on the back of the document.

[3] *Stravius to the University, November 19, 1640, *ibid.*

[4] *January 24, 1641, *ibid.*

[5] *Rescript of February 27, 1641, *ibid.*

[6] *October 21, 1640, *ibid.*

[7] *Remark on the back of the document, *ibid.*

of six Sorbonnists,[1] and as early as 1643 the bulky work was reprinted at Rouen. St. Cyran bestowed the highest praise on it: after the Apostle Paul and St. Augustine, Jansenius was the third who had spoken "most divinely" of grace, and produced "*the* book of devotion of these latter days".[2] In Flanders, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the Bishops of Ghent and Tournai, and the Louvain professors Pontan, Sinnich, Paludan and Van Werm, gave it their support; many priests, both secular and regular, among the latter especially the Oratorians, were its warmest supporters.[3] The Dutch Calvinists gave it high praise. The Calvinist preacher Gilbert Voit, who had at one time opposed Jansenius, extolled the book in the pulpit, whilst another preacher undertook a Dutch translation,[4] seeing that nothing was better calculated to strengthen the Calvinist people in their faith than this book. Hugo Grotius no longer doubted the possibility of uniting Calvinists and Catholics if the teaching of *Augustinus* was likewise that of the Pope. The Calvinist pastor of Leerdam, Jansenius' birth-place, wrote that he thanked God that the late Bishop of Ypres had ended by being converted and had accepted the teaching which he himself expounded in the pulpit of Leerdam.[5]

Through the Jesuit Bivero who was preacher at the Court of the Cardinal-Infante, and through the Abbé de Mourgues who was with Marie de Medici at Brussels, the Fathers of the Society had obtained the prohibition of *Augustinus* from the Lieutenant and his council. However, whilst the new teaching spread ever more and more, Paul V.'s prohibition

[1] De Meyer, 89.

[2] *Ibid.*, 88.

[3] Rapin, 426.

[4] The translation was actually published at the Hague "per servizio della plebe e particolarmente delle donne." *Stravius, September 14, 1641, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Letter to the brother of Jansenius, February 13, 1641; it is also in *Cod. Barb.* 3150, fol. 242 of the Vatican Library. *Cf.* Rapin, 424.

seemed to make it impossible for loyal Catholics to oppose it. In the end some Jesuits of Louvain judged that, in the circumstances, it was lawful not only to hold a public disputation in order to refute Jansenius and his bitter attacks on their Order, but even to bring to the notice of the general public, by means of the press, the propositions in dispute. Stravius tried to dissuade them but he was told that such disputations had not been forbidden by Paul V.[1]

The disputation did take place [2] and the list of theses became a fairly large volume which not only stated the Jesuit teaching on the subject in brief propositions, supported by references to dogmatic sources, but likewise, in the same terse fashion, the views of Jansenius, which it pilloried by showing how they were in contradiction with the Council of Trent whilst they agreed with the condemned proposition of Baius and Calvin.[3] With these Louvain theses the ice was broken : within three months both sides published a whole series of polemical writings.[4] With a view to weakening the impression created by the disputation, the opponents organized a solemn funeral service for Jansenius. In the panegyric pronounced on the occasion not only was the deceased extolled to the sky, but

[1] *Stravius*, April 6, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1. Vincent de Paul was of opinion, at a later date, that the prohibitions of Clement VIII. and Paul V. only concerned points which the Church had not defined, and if Jansenius attacked, it was " du droit naturel de défendre l'Eglise et de soutenir les censures fulminées contre ". Letter to Dehorgny, June 25, 1648, in COSTE, III., 327.

[2] RAPIN, 432 ; HERMANT, I., 137.

[3] The full title is in SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, s.v. " Derkennis " and " Jonghe ", II., 1942, IV., 815 ; contents in DE MEYER, 117–120. That the celebrated " five propositions " were already then found in Jansenius' work is shown by YVES DE LA BRIÈRE in *Recherches*, I. (1910), 497–9.

[4] Title in SOMMERVOGEL, s.v. " Bivero " and " Derkennis ", I., 1526, nos. 13–15, II., 1942, nos. 11–13. For the *writings see a *letter of BOLLANDUS of July 5, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 210, Vatican Library.

a virulent attack was also made on the Jesuits.[1] The Bishop of Ghent described the Jesuit theses as so many calumnies.

In France *Augustinus* was naturally hailed with joy by the friends of St. Cyran. Nevertheless, whilst their master was a prisoner of Richelieu, they provisionally contented themselves with reprinting *Augustinus* first in Paris, in 1641, and subsequently at Rouen in 1643. They even sought to increase its effectiveness by adding some of the writings of the Louvain Franciscan Conrius and by publishing anew the condemnation by the University of Louvain in 1587 of the Jesuit Lessius.[2] All this so complicated the situation that the Jesuits in particular deemed a decision by the Holy See an urgent necessity. The Court preacher of Cardinal Cueva pressed the Infante in that sense and it was all the easier to prejudice Cardinal Richelieu against the author of *Mars Gallicus*, as the sharp eye of the famous statesman quickly saw the danger that lurked in the new teaching. He was anxious for the Sorbonne to condemn *Augustinus*, but its Doctors judged it more prudent to do nothing in the matter since, in their view, the objections to the book were insignificant.[3] Accordingly Richelieu waited for a condemnation by Rome. There was nothing objectionable in the Jesuit theses, he told the French nuncio Grimaldi in his camp before Hesdin, whereas *Augustinus* was full of mischievous and heretical statements. A condemnation seemed necessary ; it was a dangerous thing to have allowed the affair to drift so long ; prompt action was imperative.[4]

However a prompt and, above all, a decisive measure was scarcely to be expected from Rome. The seventy-three years

[1] **Stravius*, May 11, 1641 : "onorevole e gloriosa per il Jansenio, e mordace e piccante contro la reputatione degli Gesuiti." Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[2] De Meyer, 113.

[3] Grimaldi, May 9, 1641, in *De Meyer*, 125.

[4] **Grimaldi*, June 20, 1641 : "che l'Augustinus e pieno di cattive proposizioni et eretiche, e che gli pare si debba dannare . . . ; che il lasciarlo cosi lungamente senza farvi provisione, era un dargliela vinta." Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

old Urban VIII. was infirm and his Secretary of State Barberini, did not wish to trouble the frail old man with complicated business, least of all to drag him into a dispute on the doctrine of grace, the difficulties of which had been so painfully experienced under Clement VIII. Accordingly Barberini decided to enjoin silence on both parties, without siding with either of them, and thus to stifle the quarrel. Instructions in this sense were sent to the nuncios of Cologne and Paris, Chigi and Grimaldi, to the internuncio Stravius and to the Archbishop of Mechlin.[1] All writings by both parties were to be confiscated, and the Universities of Louvain and Douai, as well as the heads of Orders, were to be strictly forbidden to publish anything on the subject, so that "this conflagration, which was so disastrous for the whole of Christendom might at last be put out."[2] Stravius in particular was to do his utmost to this end with the help of Chigi, whilst Grimaldi endeavoured to win over Richelieu to the views of the Roman Court. To Grimaldi Barberini wrote[3] asking him to use his influence with the most eminent theologians of Paris, with a view to preventing the outbreak of a paper war in that city.

The Jesuit Provincial, Judoci, was quite ready to agree to a truce. More than once the nuncio Chigi had pointed out to him that this "scratching of pens" was a mistake, for it only helped to fan the flame; it would have been far better to wait for the remedies prescribed by the Holy See and to practise a little patience.[4] Judoci had judged it necessary to excuse himself in a letter to Cardinal Barberini; he explained that grace was scarcely mentioned in the theses and that the points which had occasioned such prolonged discussions under Clement VIII. as well as Paul V.'s prohibition, had not even been mentioned.[5] When, therefore, the Bishop of Antwerp,

[1] *To Chigi, April 25, 1641, *to Stravius, May 22 and June 12, 1641, *ibid.*

[2] *To Stravius, June 21, 1641, *ibid.*

[3] *May 9, 1641, in De Meyer, 124.

[4] *Chigi to Rome, May 12, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[5] *Letter of June 7, 1641, *ibid.*

acting under instruction of Jacob Boonen, requested Judoci to lay down his arms, the latter agreed at once, with the one exception of the second edition of the theses of Louvain which was about to appear.[1]

However before a week was out Fromondus and Calenus published a pamphlet in which they challenged the Jesuits of Louvain. The introduction sounded pacific enough: they prayed that a stop be put both to writings and scandals. But after that they went on to the attack. With a list of fifty passages from the publications of their opponents they sought to prove that the Jesuits were guilty of calumny when they accused Jansenius of renewing the errors of Baius, of distorting the teaching of the Jesuits, of opposing the Council of Trent and agreeing with Luther and Calvin. They concluded with a challenge to a clean fight with an enemy who would await his opponent with his feet firmly planted in the arena: "You are bound to show that Jansenius misinterprets St. Augustine; but know that all your movements are watched by many eyes, especially by those of the students of the school of St. Thomas, in Belgium, Germany, France, Italy and Spain".[2] The Louvain Jesuits replied [3] that since Jansenius had begun the quarrel he had made a reply necessary. With regard to the Thomists, the Jansenists had indeed sought to shelter behind them, but the dispute in Rome between Jesuits and Dominicans had nothing to do with Jansenius since theologians of both Orders were in agreement on the most important points, such as the freedom of the will, Christ's death for all, and sufficient grace: it was not a question of Jansenius' person but of his teaching.

Such writings presaged ill for the discussions which took place on June 21st, 1641, between Archbishop Boonen and the

[1] *Explanation of Judoci, June 10, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150 f., 244. Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.*, *Bollandus, July 5, 1641, and Judoci, June 22, 26, 28, to the General of the Order.

[2] *Epistola Liberti Fromondi et Henrici Caleni ad PP. Societatis*, Lovanii, Junii 16, 1641.

[3] Title of the letter (2 folio sheets) in Sommervogel, II., 1942, n. 12.

Jesuit Provincial Judoci. The provincial declared his willingness to impose silence on his subjects but demanded a corresponding promise in writing from the other side. Boonen replied that an oral promise must suffice; however, there is no evidence that it was given: in any case it was not kept. A young Doctor of the name of Sinnich, who had compiled the index to Jansenius' work[1] and who was in the habit of taking advantage of his lectures to attack the Jesuits, published on the very next day a pamphlet in which he attempted to show the agreement between "Augustine of Hippo" and "Augustine of Ypres" concerning God's universal salvific will. The Jesuits remonstrated and after some delay the Archbishop also forbade the booklet which, however, like all the other Jansenist polemical writings, continued to be sold everywhere, even in England, Denmark and Sweden. The time was not far off, Judoci declared,[2] when it would be necessary to oppose to the Jansenists not simple theses but whole volumes.

It became more and more evident that no decisive step could be expected from Archbishop Boonen. At the conference of June 21st he had told Judoci that he had been on terms of friendship with Jansenius, yet of his teaching or his book he had heard nothing during his life-time, nor had he read the book and its refutations; Stravius reported[3] that the Archbishop had strong leanings towards the opinions of his deceased friend, so that he did not trust him. Boonen promised indeed to prevent the publication of further writings, but at the same time mentioned the necessity of the royal *placet*; moreover Calenus was a constant guest at his table. Accordingly Stravius was instructed to admonish the procrastinator[4] whilst Boonen himself received direct instructions to give effect to the Roman decrees. However, Stravius reports to Rome,[5] they say here that Paul V.'s decree was never published in Belgium and could only be enforced with the royal *placet*. The Archbishop

[1] *Stravius, Dec. 5, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.
[2] *Letter of June 28, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*
[3] *June 29, 1641, *ibid.*
[4] *July 11, 1641, *ibid.*
[5] *July 13, 1641, *ibid.*

showed great coldness and indecision so that no salutary remedy to the disputes was to be expected from him. He never ceased, Judoci wrote again,[1] to recommend Jansenius' book; in his opinion it contained nothing contrary to sound doctrine and the Pope's only weapon against it was Paul V.'s prohibition, which was not operative in the Netherlands. By reason of his leaning towards the Jansenist party, which managed him through Calenus, Boonen had taught already four years earlier that perfect contrition was necessary for the reception of the Sacrament of Penance,[2] but owing to the protests of his clergy he had been obliged to cancel his ordinances on the subject. Nor were the Archbishop's own letters to Rome calculated to create a more favourable impression of his zeal. After conferring with men of mark, Boonen wrote to Cardinal Barberini,[3] he thought it best to do nothing until he had consulted the Cardinal-Infante who happened to be away just then. A week later all he had to say about his conversation with the Infante [4] was that the latter had put off answering him for a few days; that for the rest he was seeing to it that no new books appeared and that the old ones were not sold.

In these circumstances help could only come from Rome. On June 22nd, 1641, Judoci wrote [5] that the professors of the University appeared to be paralysed and contented themselves with rejecting Jansenius' teaching before their pupils whilst the opponents strove, with word and pen, to enhance his prestige with the Abbés and the parish priests. If it was too early for a sentence against *Augustinus*, the Pope should at least threaten to carry out the Bull against Baius. A little later Judoci gave it as his opinion [6] that the Holy See would not obtain its object unless it condemned anew

[1] *July 6, 1641, *ibid.*

[2] By decree of March 26, 1637, which Judoci encloses, *ibid.*

[3] *July 13, 1641, *ibid.*

[4] *July 20, 1641, *ibid.*

[5] *To the General of the Order, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, 236, Vatican Library.

[6] *July 6, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

certain propositions already reprobated by two Popes. If this was done all disputes would soon terminate, for no Fleming had ever resisted a papal decision, and if at the University anyone presumed were it only to murmur, the greater and better part would rise in opposition, for these men really disapproved of Jansenius' teaching.[1] In the opinion of Bollandus,[2] Jansenism found favour with all the enemies of the Jesuits, hence, since men of evil disposition and conduct always predominate, Jansenius found many supporters; he also said that a celebrated French writer had asserted that Jansenius' writings did more harm to the Church than those of Calvin, with which they were in full agreement and that a certain Bishop had said that Jansenius would destroy more souls than the present war would kill bodies if "His Holiness did not provide a strong remedy and censure Jansenius' teaching as it deserves". Stravius' opinion [3] was to the effect that the Holy See should forbid all polemical writings on the Jansenist question but without mentioning the prohibition of Paul V. Chigi, who had been assured by two Dominicans that the *Augustinus* was nothing but one long satire against the Jesuits and that it was at variance with St. Thomas and the Thomists, demanded the condemnation of the book.[4] Richelieu, too, not only repeated to Grimaldi his previously expressed opinion, but likewise informed Rome, in unmistakable terms, of his wish for "expeditious action".[5]

Discussions on the *Augustinus* had been in progress in Rome for a considerable time. From the first there was

[1] *"Ea namque Belgii catholici erga Sedem Apostolicam est reverentia, ut nemo unquam eius decretis, quae doctrinam concernunt, contradixerit, aut si quis hic in Universitate vel hiscere auderet, sanior et maior Universitatis pars, quae Iansenii doctrinam improbat, non tantum illi adversaretur, sed et de illo beneficiis officiisque exuendo strenue ageret." *Ibid.*

[2] *July 5, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 210. *loc. cit.*; also in his *letter of August 2, 1641, *ibid.*, f. 208.

[3] *Letter of July 13, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[4] De Meyer, 123.

[5] *Grimaldi, July 21, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

no doubt that the book could be forbidden, without lengthy examination, on the basis of Paul V.'s prohibition; but it was necessary to sift the teaching of the voluminous work which teemed with quotations from St. Augustine, the exact meaning of which had to be ascertained: for these reasons final sentence must needs be delayed.[1] Yet something had to be done, and Boonen's lukewarmness and Richelieu's pressure [2] led to a provisional measure. On August 7th, 1641, the Inquisition issued a decree renewing Paul V.'s prohibition and fixing penalties for its transgression. The decree then expressly condemns, because they had been published without papal leave, works of which it gives the titles, viz. Jansenius' *Augustinus*, the theses of the Louvain Jesuits and all writings for or against the Jesuits which had appeared since that time.[3]

This long overdue decree appeared at an inauspicious moment in so far as the Netherlands were concerned. The Lieutenant had died at the beginning of May and the management of affairs lay completely in the hands of the Privy Council of State which was dominated by President Rooze and Archbishop Boonen, both of whom favoured Jansenism. On September 1st, the Council of Brabant forbade publication of the Roman decree, whilst the University of Louvain declared, on September 28th, that, of course, the Pope must be obeyed

[1] Opinion of the Consultor Rancati addressed to the Assessor of the Holy Office, Albizzi, February 23, 1641, in De Meyer, 227.

[2] According to Albizzi, Boone, who out of friendship for Calenus, carried out badly the papal instructions, was the cause of the decree. (De Meyer, 126.) Gerberon (I., 29 *seqq.*) made Cardinal Cueva responsible for it.

[3] *Bull.*, XV., 99. *Cf.* Yves de la Brière in *Recherches*, I. (1910), 497 *seqq.* On the condemnation of the Jesuit theses, Bollandus says (*Letter of July 5, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 210 *seq.*, Vatican Library): "De thesibus etsi abesse a culpa existimamus, parum tamen solliciti sumus; telum, quo confixus hostis est, cum eo sepeliatur licet". For the rest, only the points of conflict between Catholics and heretics were discussed and not anything under dispute among Catholics.

but that before publishing the Roman ordinance it was necessary to come to an understanding with the Archbishop, the Council of State, and the Council of Brabant. This the University did after its own fashion by demanding from the Council of Brabant the annulment of the papal decree and the recall of the publication made by the nuncio.[1] At Louvain itself the decree had been torn from the doors of the church of St. Peter ; since the adversaries of Jansenius had also been condemned, it was argued, there could be no question of a dogmatic definition but merely of a police measure, and that was the King's business—papal encroachments must not be tolerated—moreover the Roman Inquisition and the ordinances were not recognized in the Netherlands.[2] In consequence of these remonstrances the Council of State decided to seek further information ; meanwhile the Jansenist writings were disseminated as if Rome had never prohibited them, in fact at that very time Fromondus published a book on the freedom of the will, quite in the spirit of Jansenism, and dedicated it, as if he wanted to insult him, to Cardinal Barberini. All this time the Council of State did not move a finger. When a nephew of Jansenius presented a petition in favour of his uncle,[3] he was told that it would be necessary to consult first the Bishops of the country and the University of Louvain. To the petition were appended the approbations which one Bishop and fifty-four priests, secular and regular,[4] had given to Jansenius' work. When, by order of Stravius,

[1] *Stravius, October 12, 1641, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1. The Oratorians also, "molto affezionati al Jansenio," had appealed to the *conseil* ; *ibid.*

[2] *Letter of Bollandus, October 6, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 214, Vatican Library.

[3] Contents in GERBERON, I., 38 *seqq.*

[4] e.g. Philip Rovenius, Archbishop of Philippi, 6 Sorbonnists, 9 Dutch mission priests, 8 from Louvain, 3 Belgian priests, 3 Benedictines, 5 Praemonstratensians, 2 Augustinians, 5 Dominicans, 4 Carmelites, 6 Franciscans, 1 Carthusian, 2 Oratorians. For Rovenius (Van Roveen), *cf.* C. VAN AKEN in *Études Relig.*, 1873, I., 161, 343.

the decree of the Inquisition was posted up at the Irish College at Louvain, both the Rector and the internuncio were threatened with legal action. Whilst Louvain proved recalcitrant, the University of Douai submitted and published the ordinance of the Inquisition ; consequently on December 5th, the Pope directed that Douai should be praised and Louvain reprimanded.[1]

In France also a decree of the Inquisition, the very name of which was odious this side of the Alps, was bound to create uneasiness. None the less the Government suffered it to be published since there was question of a dogmatic definition and Rome's command to make it known was not against " the liberties of the Gallican Church ". Moreover, the decree could not excite much attention since, so far, little notice had been taken of the *Augustinus* in France.[2]

As early as August 3rd, 1641, the Assessor of the Holy Office, Francesco Albizzi, wrote to the nuncio Chigi that the decree of August 1st was no more than a provisional measure.[3] In the Netherlands it had proved ineffective, hence the chief opponents of Jansenism, the Jesuits, pressed for a formal condemnation. They found supporters for their plan in the University of Louvain itself, in the persons of the senior of the theological Faculty, John Schinchel and Professors Christian Beusecom and William ab Angelis. Towards the end of 1641 these three men sent to Rome a full account of the agitation.[4] Jansenius, they pointed out, had had to take the University oath against the teaching of Baius on three or four occasions, and both in his lectures and in his conversation he had betrayed no sign that he favoured it, but his book was in contradiction with his oath, hence they could no longer remain silent since novelties were being expounded as Catholic teaching and those who maintained them were becoming increasingly violent and had already attracted some of the

[1] *Stravius, November 9, 1641, and remark of December 5, after this report, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[2] *Grimaldi, February 15, 1642, in De Meyer, 226.

[3] *Ibid.*, 127.

[4] **Cod. Preuck.*, f. 505–9, Anima Library, Rome.

younger members of the Faculty. There follows a list of propositions from the *Augustinus* to which are opposed ten Tridentime decrees to the contrary and the Bull against Baius. A formal condemnation of these propositions was indispensable since the decree already issued by the Inquisition seemingly put the opinions of both parties on the same footing, and, as it was, its publication had been put off. It was to be hoped that the younger members of the Faculty, who had been misled by a false interpretation of St. Augustine, would submit to a fresh condemnation of propositions already condemned by Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

Copies of this memorandum were secretly distributed by the Jesuits with the consequence that nine other University professors in their turn sent a violent counter-petition to Rome.[1] Schinchel and his associates, their memorandum states, were enemies of Jansenius though they were but very inadequately acquainted with his work. Envy and a lying spirit prompted the assertion that Jansenius contradicted the Council of Trent, the Popes and the theologians; as a matter of fact he followed in all things Augustine and Thomas Acquinas, and in particular his explanation of the Council of Trent's teaching on grace was based on Augustine and the Thomists, whilst he interpreted the Bull against Baius in the same sense as Bellarmine, Vasquez, and others. It was quite wrong to accuse Jansenius of having entertained the hope that he would be able to force the Apostolic See to revoke the condemnation of Baius; all he had done was that he had not despaired of obtaining something else, namely a statement as to what must be thought of every one of the condemned propositions of Baius, for so far all that one could gather from the Bull of Pius V. was that each of the condemned propositions fell under one or more of the censures enumerated at the end of that document. The memorandum bears the signatures of Fromond, Van Werm, Pontan, Sinnich, three Augustinians and three Dominicans. Meanwhile the examination of the *Augustinus* by the Roman Inquisition progressed but slowly. It was necessary for several persons

[1] *March 6, 1642, *ibid.*, f. 521 *seqq.*

to read the huge work in its entirety since the intention was to pronounce judgment on the book as a whole. Moreover Rome was never in a hurry when there was question of a Bishop otherwise of good repute.[1] Besides this it was also necessary, in the draft of the Bull, to consider the Dominicans, many of whom feared lest the condemnation of certain Jansenist propositions should create prejudice against their own teaching on grace.[2] Nor was the insistence of the Louvain Jesuits favourable to the progress of the affair ; according to what some of their Roman colleagues wrote to them, they gave the impression of being far more concerned about their Order than about the welfare of the Church.[3] When the Bull was ready at last, there was some hesitation to make use of so drastic a remedy and to touch so sensibly the honour of a Bishop who had died at peace with the Church. It was the situation at Louvain that finally decided the publication of the Bull. On March 21st, 1642, the members of the University had declared that the decree of the Inquisition of August 1st of the preceding year must indeed be received, but that it was no concern of theirs but rather that of the Archbishop or the internuncio.[4] On the following day the Council of Brabant forbade anew the publication of the decree, whereupon the professors informed the Pope [5] that they had received the decree but were unable to publish it. Explanations like these did not remove the distrust which prevailed in Rome. On June 18th, the Roman Inquisition [6] decided that the patron of the Louvain professors, the nuncio of Cologne, should be informed that in consequence of his report to the effect that the University was ready to submit to the decree

[1] De Lugo to the Jesuit Rector at Louvain, April 25, 1642, in De Meyer, 128, note 4.

[2] De Meyer, 129, note 1.

[3] "Credi autem non potest, quantum id (so much talk about the Jesuits in the Louvain discussions) causae obsit." *Ph. Alegambe to Judoci*, April 19, 1642, *ibid.*, 128.

[4] Gerberon, I., 50.

[5] April 3, 1642, *ibid.*

[6] *Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

of Paul V., the Bull containing the dogmatic definitions against Jansenius had not yet been published. In view, however, of the fact that the followers of Jansenius continued to write in his defence, and the University allowed the *Augustinus* to be publicly sold, the Holy See would be forced to lay aside all consideration for Jansenius' honour and publish the Bull. This threat, based on the same motive, was renewed on July 1st.[1] However, not only did these warnings remain ineffectual, but the Jansenists endeavoured to ruin their opponent Schinchel by accusing him to Chigi and Antonio Bichi, Abbot of S. Anastasia, who had succeeded Stravius as internuncio at Brussels and to obtain the postponement of the condemnation.[2] It was with difficulty that Schinchel prevented the Jansenists from securing a majority in the special theological Faculty which consisted of only eight Doctors. In 1641, Sinnich, against all law, forced his way into the special Faculty[3] so that when a vacancy created by death had to be filled, four Jansenists faced three old Doctors. However, Schinchel succeeded in prejudicing against Jansenius[4] the very man whom the majority had agreed to elect, viz. Jacob Pontan, whose favourable judgment had largely contributed to the *Augustinus* being printed. Schinchel now pressed Rome to excommunicate Sinnich in view of his having published a book in favour of Jansenius. Rome refused because there was some doubt about his being the author, but promised to forward before long the Bull against Jansenius which was about to be sent to the press.[5] But only on March 18th, 1643, was information received that the Bull was in the press.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] GERBERON, I., 52 *seq.*

[3] The Jesuit Cromm *to his Superior, October 10, 1641, *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 215, Vatican Library.

[4] *Bichi, after the decision of the Inquisition of September 3, 1642, was commissioned to support Schinchel in the affair. Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[5] *Resolution of the Inquisition, November 26, 1642, *ibid.*

[6] *" esse sub typo et brevi exemplaria illius transmittentur," *ibid.*

Meanwhile controversy had grown more and more acute. After Richelieu's death the Jansenists were allowed a freer hand. The Jesuits, the nuncio wrote,[1] had had the boldness to qualify the teaching of the *Augustinus* as heretical, whilst others, both among the secular and the regular clergy, defended the book as agreeing with the true teaching of St. Augustine; the chancellor had forbidden all discussion on the subject both in the pulpit and in private. The nuncio drew the attention of the Archbishop of Paris to the decree of the Inquisition of August 1st, 1641, but was told that that ordinance only forbade the publication of books; besides, in the opinion of all theologians, the Congregation of the Inquisition had no orders to give in France. Thereupon the Congregation comforted the nuncio with the prospect of an early publication of the Bull against Jansenius.[2]

At last, on June 10th, 1643, the Inquisition ordered the Bull to be published in the Eternal City. This was done on the 19th. At the same time the nuncio Chigi was instructed to have the necessary number of copies printed in Cologne and to forward them to Bichi, who was to distribute them as directed by Chigi.[3]

The one feature of the Bull[4] which strikes the reader from the first is its reserved and cautious tone. It speaks first of all of Pius V.'s ordinance against Baius which it renews, of its confirmation by Gregory XIII., of Paul V.'s prohibition of all writings on grace which Urban VIII. had himself enforced anew, and lastly of Urban's decree of August 1st, 1641: "But since a careful reading of the *Augustinus* has shown that it contains and defends many propositions which our predecessors have condemned, to the great scandal of Catholics and disrespect for the authority of the Holy See," the above-mentioned papal decrees are confirmed anew and *Augustinus* is once more forbidden. The prohibition extends to some writings which had appeared after the

[1] *April 20, 1643, in De Meyer, 129 *seq.*

[2] *May 20, 1643, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "In eminenti," *Bull.*, XV., 93 *seq.*

decree of August 1st in which, therefore, they could not have been included. Nowhere does the Bull expressly qualify the *Augustinus* as a heretical book, it only speaks of scandals and disputes which it seeks to remove and of the disobedience implied in the publication of both the *Augustinus* and its refutations. The Bull was drawn up by Francesco Albizzi, a lawyer who on the death of his wife had embraced the ecclesiastical state. He was at first employed as *Uditore* at the nunciatures of Naples and Madrid ; in 1635 he became assessor of the Inquisition and in that capacity he composed many documents against the Jansenists by which he incurred their open hatred.[1] The restraint of the first Bull may probably be ascribed to the influence of Cardinal Barberini who was at all times averse to sharp measures.

Immediately after its publication the Bull was reprinted by Chigi at Cologne and by Bichi at Antwerp, but with unfortunate misprints. The original Bull was dated March 6th of the year of the Incarnation 1641. Now since the year of the Incarnation begins on March 25th, the computation from the day of the Incarnation is a whole year behind the computation now in use, hence March 6th, 1641—the date of the Bull—is March 6th, 1642 in our computation. Accordingly Chigi changed the date 1641 to 1642 in his reprint.[2] The Antwerp reprint avoided this mistake, but in a footnote it

[1] For Albizzi's work *De inconstantia in iure* see PASTOR : *Allgemeine Dekrete der römischen Inquisition*, Freiburg, 1912, 11 *seq.*

[2] Bichi had written to Albizzi, June 27, 1643 : *" Ho ancora osservato in essa (bolla) un errore nella data a quale è da temere che li Janseniani attacheranno per mantenersi nella loro dichiarazione, et è che dice . . . 1641, che cosi sarebbe cinque mesi avanti che fosse dato fuora il primo decreto contro il Jansenio, e dal anno 19 del pontificato si vede che doveva dire anno 1642. Spero però che certo saranno conosciuti questi errori e che quando la mandaranno collo ordine di publicarla, sarà corretta " (Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1). For proof that the Bull was printed by Chigi in Cologne, under instructions of the Inquisition dated June 10, 1643, and that 60 copies were sent to Bichi from there, see *Chigi, July 12 and *Bichi, July 18, 1643, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

was stated that the document had been printed in Rome, in the press of the Apostolic Camera which, as regards the reprint, was inaccurate. The Jesuits of Paris came to know of the Bull even before the nuncio and they allowed themselves to be carried away into publishing it both separately and together with the Louvain theses. This was an encroachment on the rights of the nuncio. And as if this were not enough, several copies lacked the attestation of the official publication of the Bull and in the list of prohibited writings, books were referred to which only became known in Rome after the publication of the Bull.[1] These mistakes were at once most skilfully exploited in an anonymous pamphlet [2] written for the purpose of proving that the Bull was a forgery. There we read that the statement as to the place where the Bull had been printed was false; false also was the date 1641 since the Bull condemned writings published in 1642; the date 1642 was equally false and was but an attempt to cover up the contradiction already noted; equally false was the indication of the official publication which was missing in earlier reprints; false also the date of publication, June 19th, since the Jesuits of Paris had the documents in their hands already on June 24th. The wide margin between the dates of drafting and publication also looked exceedingly suspicious. Moreover the Bull passed no judgment on the teaching of Jansenius, a circumstance which was intelligible enough, for the forgers would not dare to condemn it since that would have implied a condemnation of the teaching of St. Augustine. Moreover in this forgery the Pope was made to say: "From what we hear" the book of Jansenius contains some of the propositions of Baius; this showed that the Pope had no personal knowledge of things. For the rest many a proposition of Baius was capable of an orthodox interpretation, as even a number of Jesuit theologians conceded. After some further arguments the writer concludes that the Bull was a forgery of the Jesuits. They resented the fact that Rome had

[1] De Meyer, 131 *seq.*

[2] *Observations sur une bulle prétendue.* (Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XVI., 1–4.)

condemned some of their writings and in order to revenge themselves against the Holy See they now ascribed to it a Bull of this kind.

The author of the pamphlet was Antoine, brother of Angélique Arnauld, who from now onwards appears as the protagonist of the Jansenists. The latter openly refused to receive the Bull. Towards the end of August a second pamphlet by Arnauld appeared, again without author's name.[1] In it he stated that he had had information from Rome that by command of the Inquisition the *Augustinus* had been examined by eight theologians who had found nothing blameworthy in it; at most the Bull could only be taken as a sketch of a decree of condemnation which the enemies of Jansenism intended to submit to the Pope. It condemned writings which were not known in Rome on March 6th, 1641, and not even after that date of the following year; the document was therefore undoubtedly apocryphal. The Jansenists maintained this assertion, hence it made but little difference when, on the representations of the nuncio Grimaldi, the Roman Inquisition attested the genuineness of the Bull and instructed the nuncio on September 5th, 1643, to get it recognized. From the meeting of the Bishops in November of that year Grimaldi obtained nothing whatever; only towards the end of the year did the Archbishop of Paris make up his mind to publish the Bull and to forbid any discussion of the doctrine of grace in sermons and catechetical instructions. All that the Sorbonne would agree to, on January 15th, 1644, was to inscribe the propositions condemned by the Bull in the registers of the Faculty and to forbid all public discussion of the subject until the Holy See should issue further decisions.[2]

Grimaldi could not, of course, accept such a decision, all the more so as he had secured a royal command ordering the Faculty to receive the Bull. Once more he reported to Rome to the effect that the strife in France was becoming increasingly embittered and that neither side took any notice of the

[1] *Secondes observations sur la fausse bulle* (*ibid.*, 5–9).

[2] De Meyer, 135 *seq.*

prescriptions of the Bull. A third pamphlet by Arnauld,[1] which contains a list of twenty-seven objections to the Bull, also stresses the fact that, notwithstanding every papal prohibition, the Jesuits on their part, had taken up their pens against the *Augustinus* and in one and the same publication they had given both the text of the Bull and the Louvain theses which the Bull condemned. However Grimaldi's insistence had to reckon with the opposition, even in Rome itself, of the delegates of the Louvain University who had arrived there at the beginning of 1644. As a matter of fact the Bull met with as much opposition in Flanders as in Paris. The Bishops and religious Superiors received it indeed, but when the Bishop of Namur published it, he was summoned before the Council because of the missing *placet*.[2] The Jansenist Sinnich was Rector of the University of Louvain, hence Bichi had sent the Bull not to him but to the Dean of the theological Faculty, Schinchel.[3] All the members of the special Faculty expressed their approval,[4] though three Jansenists made use of some curious expressions in doing so; thus Fromond received it with all the respect with which it could be accepted, and van Werm with the reservation "if it was not incomplete." On July 15th and 17th, publication took place before the Doctors and Licenciates; one Doctor offered opposition and one Licentiate first mentioned the word "forgery" on this occasion. On July 16th De Angelis read the Bull to the students. At this point Sinnich stepped in. On July 21st he summoned Schinchel and De Angelis before him and told them that the publication of the Bull was illegal. On the next

[1] *Difficultés sur la bulle qui porte deffense de lire le livre de Corn. Jansenius, etc.* (*Œuvres*, XVI., 10–21). The petty sophistry of the author, again unnamed, appears for example in no. 18: "The Pope is wont to call the Cardinals 'Sons', the Bishops, 'Brethren'. How could he call the Jesuits 'Fathers?' But in the so-called Bull the words occur: 'Theses *patrum* Societatis Iesu!'"

[2] *Bichi, August 14, 1643, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1.

[3] *Bichi, July 11, 1643, *ibid.*

[4] For what follows, *cf.* GERBERON, I., 70 *seqq.*

day this declaration was approved by a general meeting of the University. The two Professors had refused to accept as judge the party man Sinnich. Schinchel appealed from the sentence of the University to the internuncio. From the latter's judgment, after vain representations to Bichi, the University appealed to the Council of Brabant. That body declared that the nuncio had exceeded his authority since they alone were competent to deal with the matter.

The University now realized the necessity of justifying its conduct in Rome. This it did by casting doubts on the authenticity of the Bull. The reasons alleged are about the same as those adduced by Paris, viz. the long interval between the date of issue and publication of the document, the divergent dates in the various reprints, the erroneous indication of Rome as the place of printing. Lastly, reference was once more made to the famous comma in the Bull of Pius V., the *Comma Pianum* [1] which the Bull of Urban VIII. placed wrongly in the reprint of Pius V.'s Bull.

The Pope's answer came on October 24th, 1643, in three Briefs respectively addressed to the Governor of Belgium, Francis von Mello, to Archbishop Boonen, and to the University of Louvain itself.[2] The arguments by which the authenticity of the Bull had been attacked are described as futile, frivolous and impudent. In the letter to Mello the reason for the delay in the publication of the Bull is stated to have been a desire to safeguard the honour of Jansenius and to give his adherents time for reflection. The Archbishop was asked to proceed against the presumptuous professors, the Governor to help him, and the University to call to mind and to return to, its former loyalty to the Holy See. Even before these Briefs were drawn up, Sinnich and a young lawyer of the name of Paepe

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVII., 377, note 3.

[2] **Cod. Preuck.*, ff. 568 *seqq.*, printed in FONTAINE, 29 *seq.* On November 29, 1643, the Pope ordered Briefs to be sent to Bichi for the Archbishops of Mechlin and Cambrai, the Bishop of Antwerp, the Universities of Douai and Louvain, and to Francis von Mello. Whether Bichi made use of the Briefs cannot be ascertained from *Cod.*, S. 3, 1, of the Angelica Library, Rome.

set out for Rome, on September 22nd, 1643, as envoys of the University, in order to expostulate with the Pope. On October 7th the University imposed silence on both parties until the return of the delegates. This order furnished the desired handle against Schinchel, for the latter was just then collecting signatures for the Bull. The Brief of October 24th to the University was met with the usual subterfuges. The Faculties of Theology and Canon Law received it, but the lawyers, physicians and artists declared that before doing in like manner, they wished to have the opinion of the Archbishop and the Council of State. Now Archbishop Boonen and President Rooze advocated in the Council of State that a decree should be issued against the Bull, and when the Governor refused to comply with the suggestion, it was decided that nothing could be done in the matter without the King and that the Bull could not be executed without the royal *placet.*

Thereupon Schinchel made a direct appeal to Philip IV., begging his help against the abuse which prevented the execution of the Bull. He prayed the King to use his authority, for surely the monarch did not claim the right to judge papal prohibitions of books. Philip IV.'s confessor, the famous Dominican theologian Johannes a Sancto Thoma,[1] answered that the King certainly had no such pretension. However other letters had also come from Louvain, which stated that the Bull had been obtained by means of false information, and prayed the King to induce the Pope to submit the affair to a fresh and more thorough investigation ; such a request was not against right and equity but was in keeping with the practice of the royal tribunals in Belgium where no Apostolic Letter was carried into affect without the royal *placet,* and the King had asked the Governer for further information.[2]

Thus Schinchel's efforts in Madrid were in vain and in Louvain also his sympathizers seemed to be losing ground. The Jansenists insisted on the orthodoxy of Jansenius' teaching and its agreement with that of St. Augustine. As

[1] About him, see HURTER, *Nomenclator,* III., 915.

[2] *Letter of May 13, 1644, Angelica Library Rome, S. 3, 1

early as February 14th, 1644, a meeting of theologians took place at which the Jansenist party maintained this view. Schinchel and his followers had offered to demonstrate the contrary in the presence of a papal plenipotentiary; but they refused a discussion before the Jansenist Rector and left the room when it was decided to refuse the Bull.[1] Soon after the Sorbonne was severely taken to task by the Faculty of Louvain for its acceptance of the Bull. "The teaching of St. Augustine was at stake, it was rumoured, and the Jesuits were the common enemy whose aim it was to reduce all schools to the wretched condition in which they were in Germany!"[2] The University adopted a particularly bitter tone towards Schinchel who fought the Jansenists in his lectures. Under threat of deposition he was forced to retract, and eight propositions, which he was accused of having taught, were condemned.[3]

Meanwhile the delegates of the University, Sinnich and Paepe, were busy in Rome on behalf of their sympathizers. They were graciously received both by the Pope and by the Secretary of State; Cardinal Barberini even invited them to his table, an honour which drew from the University a special expression of thanks.[4] But it was only on January 28th, 1644,

[1] GERBERON, I., 42; **Cod. Preuck.*, ff. 537–568, Anima Library, Rome.

[2] GERBERON, I., 132–6.

[3] The University was of opinion, *"per Ianseniano rum latus suam auctoritatem peti et existimationem gravissime laedi" (*Cod. Preuck.*, f. 469 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*).

[4] The *letter of thanks of March 7, 1644, in *Cod. Barb.*, 3150, f. 188, Vatican Library. For the audience with the Pope a detailed account is in GERBERON, I., 83 *seq.*, but with many improbabilities. Thus, he makes Sinnich say (p. 87) that the mission was not on behalf of Jansenius. On p. 89 he says the contrary. The deputies are said to have bluntly accused Albizzi of deceit (p. 103), to have spoken before the Pope of frauds and knavish tricks, to have convicted him of being in contradiction with the Bull, so that he remained speechless. Against this Barberini (to Bichi, November 24, 1643), relates with satisfaction that the deputies had spoken "cum multa modestia de controversia Ianseniana,

that they presented a first memorial; in it they demanded to be heard by a special Congregation of Cardinals, a request which by itself sufficiently showed that they were not so much concerned about the authenticity of the Bull as anxious for a fresh discussion of *Augustinus*. The Cardinalitial Congregation was granted; the Inquisition, through Albizzi, informed them that it would be composed of Cardinals Spada, Pamfili (the future Pope Innocent), and Falconieri. In their memorials the Louvain delegates endeavoured to show that Jansenius did not in any way teach the condemned propositions of Baius and that he only held them in the same orthodox sense which Vasquez, for instance, attached to them, hence the Pope was ill-informed at the time of the publication of his Bull. The teaching of Jansenius was none other than that of St. Augustine.[1] This last assertion Sinnich sought to prove in a long discourse before the Congregation, on April 28th, and when Cardinal Spada objected that he held the teaching of the *Augustinus* to be the same as that of Baius, Sinnich and Paepe endeavoured to refute this view in a lengthy paper which, together with an excursus,[2] they handed in on June 6th. In this document they maintain that Jansenius wrote his work in order to bring the teaching of St. Augustine into harmony with papal declarations. He realized that in the disputes on grace under Clement VIII. there was a lack of clear understanding of the views of St. Augustine, whose teaching had gradually fallen into oblivion in the Church, its place being taken by contrary notions. That was why he had so earnestly devoted himself to the study of the African Doctor for he was anxious to render a service to the Church.

asserentes se certos, bullam praedictam esse veram et non falsam". The Procurator-General of the Augustinians knew nothing as yet of the Bull according to GERBERON; he and the Master of the Palace received the Bull only on December 30, 1643, and in January, 1644 (p. 118). As for the statement that Albizzi had drafted the Bull in arbitrary fashion, i.e. that he had mentioned Jansenius by name, against the Pope's wishes, *cf.* DE MEYER, 134, note.

[1] GERBERON, I., 125.

[2] **Cod. Preuck.*, ff. 578 *seqq.*, Anima Library, Rome.

If these questions were going to be discussed, there was every prospect of a repetition of endless negotiations, such as those which had taken place under Clement VIII. In Rome it was felt that the *Augustinus* had been sufficiently discussed previous to the publication of the recent Bull against Jansenius. Accordingly, instead of any answer, a decree of the Inquisition of July 6th, 1644,[1] ordered the original of the Bull to be shown to the two Louvain Professors and an accurate copy to be handed to them. On July 29th they received notification of a decree guaranteeing the genuineness of the Bull. Sinnich protested at once; that was not the question, he declared; they were concerned for the honour of the holy Doctor of the Church St. Augustine and wanted help against his opponents. To Albizzi the Louvain professors further complained that publication of the Bull had not been held back until the report of the Lieutenant and the Bishops was available. Moreover the University of Louvain could not receive the decree without the consent of the King of Spain.[2] It was fatal to the effect which the Papal decision might have had, that it was communicated to the Louvain delegates just as Urban VIII. died. Previous to Urban's demise other deaths had, as it were, made room for the new tendency of Jansenism. Richelieu's death on December 4th, 1642, removed its most dangerous opponent and when the powerful minister was followed to the grave by the man who was in reality the first of his subjects, viz. Louis XIII., the weak King's place was taken by the weaker Anne; as for Richelieu's successor, Mazarin, he had but little understanding for and interest in, religious questions, and during his first years of office he was fully occupied with opponents of a different kind. The death of the two founders of the sect, viz. Jansenius' in 1638 and St. Cyran's on October 11th, 1643, not long after Richelieu, proved favourable to the new movement. From various motives Jansenius during his lifetime had been forced to observe a certain restraint in the exposition of his opinions; now the repeatedly reprinted

[1] Printed in FONTAINE, IV., 33.

[2] Sinnich and Paepe *to the University, July 30, 1644, *Cod. Preuck.*, ff. 393 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

Augustinus proclaimed them to the whole world and the aged St. Cyran's place was taken by a far abler man, then in the full vigour of youth and likewise a member of the family whose name is for ever linked with that of Jansenism, namely Angélique Arnauld's youngest brother Antoine, whom his followers surnamed the "great" Arnauld.

Antoine Arnauld was not without real greatness of a kind. In him intellectual gifts of a high order went hand in hand with extensive acquaintance with theology and other branches of knowledge; he was well read in the Fathers and the Councils and had a consummate mastery of his native tongue. To all this he joined strength and tenacity of will. Once he had adopted Jansenism he held on to it with an obstinacy which assumed the proportions of fanaticism. He remained unmoved when he was expelled from the Sorbonne and forced to lie in hiding for a number of years, until at last he had to leave the country. During fifty years and up to the time of his death in 1694, he directed every step of his party in its conduct towards the Holy See and the secular power; in every question affecting it he intervened either with a formal treatise or as an ever-ready polemist. With a love of work which knew no fatigue, he wrote pamphlet after pamphlet, either in order to promote the cause of Jansenism or to deal a blow to the Jesuits whom he hated with deadly hatred. If we take into account his intellectual gifts alone, he might undoubtedly have been a Bishop after the manner of Bossuet or Fénelon, or at least an outstanding scholar. As a matter of fact he did produce one isolated scholarly work of abiding value when, in conjunction with Nicole, he wrote an excellent treatise to prove that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist was the teaching of the Church from the beginning.[1] As for the forty-two volumes which include his other works,[2] their interest is chiefly

[1] *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église cath. touchant l'Eucharistie*, Paris, 1669.

[2] *Œuvres*, Paris, 1793 *seqq.*, vols. 1–4: Letters; 5–9: on the Jansenist translations of Holy Scripture, the Breviary, and the Missal; 10–11: dogmatic writings; 12–15: polemical writings against the Protestants; 16–25: Defence of the Jansenists;

historical. They repel by the arrogant and bitter tone that runs through them ; by the insatiable hatred with which he pursues his opponents, the Jesuits, and the artifices of which his first pamphlets against Urban VIII.'s Bull against Jansenism had given a foretaste.[1] In the last analysis the personality of the " great " Arnauld is little more than the pitiable figure of a man apparently destined for great things but who, once he had been thrown out of his true orbit, wasted his remarkable intellectual gifts in the invention of those subterfuges and trickeries of which, under his guidance, Jansenism was so prolific ; instead of the life-giving sun that he might have been, he became a firebrand wreaking destruction for centuries to come and leaving no trace once its fury was spent.

It is a further proof of the almost demonic influence of St. Cyran, even on superior minds, that he succeeded in drawing even an Arnauld into his orbit. Born in 1612, Antoine Arnauld had at first thought of devoting himself to the law, as his father had done. St. Cyran persuaded him to take up theology instead, and before long he exercised upon the young student, whom he got to read St. Augustine, a far greater influence than his professors at the Sorbonne. Arnauld's trial disputation in 1636 seemed like a prelude to the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, which appeared four years later. Not long after, Antoine put himself completely under St. Cyran's guidance,[2] though, on the latter's advice, he went on with his studies. In 1641 he took his doctorate, became a priest, and after Richelieu's death secured admission into the Sorbonne. Whether the shrewdly calculating St. Cyran initiated the enthusiastic pupil into his views concerning the utter decadence of the Church[3] cannot be ascertained. However, the extent to which Arnauld

26–34 : on ethics, chiefly polemical against the Jesuits ; 36–42 : miscellaneous, among which (vol. 38), the *Logique de Port-Royal.*

[1] *Cf.* above p. 121.

[2] By a letter of December 24, 1638 (*Lettres de M. Arnauld*, I. Nancy, 1727, 1 *seqq.*). *Cf. Arnauld* to d'Andilly, January 15, 1639, October 7 and 12, 1641, to St. Cyran, September 15, 1641 (*ibid.*, 18, 31, 40, 43).

[3] *Cf.* above p. 89 *seq.*

had made his own his teacher's thought is shown by his first important work which proved an event in the religious world of France and rendered its author famous at one stroke. This was the book on frequent Communion.[1] Just as Jansenius' *Augustinus* crystallized the ideas of his followers concerning God's action within the innermost sanctuary of the soul, so did Arnauld's book define their practical conduct in the most sacred and most delicate concerns of piety. With this work Arnauld became the joint founder of Jansenism. As a matter of fact he was far superior to the real founder as regards the extent and power of his influence, because he treated of a more easily intelligible subject and instead of a scholar's ponderous Latin, made use of a French which, though not equal to present-day demands, created a sensation at that period and remained unsurpassed up to Pascal's time.

Arnauld introduces himself as the spokesman of a group of men who thought as he did.[2] These can only have been the followers of St. Cyran, though the latter's name is never breathed.[3] This fact alone betrays his real aim: he would fain extend to the whole Church the principles on the reception of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist which St. Cyran had advocated for Port-Royal. Arnauld, indeed, does not say so in so many words. To judge by the title of his book, his only aim is to expound faithfully the ideas of the Fathers of the Church, the Popes and the Councils on the reception of the Sacraments, for the benefit of those who wish to become truly converted as well as for the use of zealous spiritual directors.[4] St. Cyran, with his views on the Sacraments, wished, in the first instance, to set himself in opposition to the Jesuits, but eventually he found himself sharply at variance with Christian antiquity. In the days of the Apostles it was an understood thing that as often as the Holy Mysteries were

[1] We quote from the text in the *Œuvres*, XXVII., 71–673.

[2] *Préface*, n. 42, p. 145.

[3] De Meyer, 225.

[4] *De la fréquente communion, où les sentiments des Pères, des Papes et des Conciles, touchant l'usage des sacremens de Pénitence et d'Eucharistie, sont fidèlement exposéz*, Paris, 1643.

celebrated, all the faithful communicated[1] and daily Communion was the rule, though it may not have been universally observed, throughout the era of the Fathers. At the close of the Middle Ages frequent reception of the Sacraments had indeed almost completely ceased, but theologians still maintained the doctrine that it was better to approach the table of the Lord often rather than only on rare occasions. Accordingly, the reform Orders of the sixteenth century, and more especially the Jesuits, sought to revive the practice of the frequent reception of the Sacraments, though they betrayed a certain rigorism and their theologians demanded as a condition for frequent Communion, freedom from wilful attachment even to the smallest sins, and their spiritual directors limited the average Christian to weekly Communion. Francis de Sales adopted these views. However, opposition to the relative rigorism of the Jesuit theologians arose in Spain where the Carthusian Antonio de Molina (died 1619) protested against the limitation of frequent Communion in a book which has been frequently reprinted.[2]

It was quite impossible to justify the Jansenist teaching on the administration of the Sacraments by quoting the Fathers, as soon as the latter's views were expounded in the light of their context and by the standards of true scholarship. However an incident of which he made the most enabled Arnauld to dispense with a strictly scientific procedure. A lady belonging to the upper circles of Parisian society, the

[1] 1 *Cor.*, XI, 20 *seq.*

[2] E. Dublanchy in *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, III., Paris, 515–551. *Cf.* H. Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, III., 2, Paris, 1914, 2458 *seq.* For Molina's doctrine see De Meyer, 56–60; his book, *Instruccion de sacerdotes* obtained as many as twenty editions in Spain, and was translated into Latin (by the Dominican *Nic. Jansenius*, Antwerp, 1618, 1644), into French, English, and possibly into Italian. Bishop Quiñonez of Valladolid ordered that in his diocese it was to be in every sacristy, secured by a small chain, and every cleric was to read it within six months. *Cf.* N. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. nova*, I., 145.

Princess Anne de Rohan-Guémené, was a partisan of Port-Royal,[1] whilst the Marquise Madeleine de Sablé had taken a Jesuit for her spiritual director. The two ladies were in the habit of discussing the advantages of frequent or occasional Communion and the Marquise de Sablé persuaded her director, the Jesuit Sesmaisons, to set down in a short paper, for her benefit, the principles governing the matter.[2] Sesmaisons did so by supplying an extract from the book of the Carthusian Molina. Accordingly Arnauld's book took the form of a refutation of that summary. In this way he had the advantage of being able to evade a systematic exposition of the teaching of the Fathers. No need for him to give a connected account of his own views, and he might hit out against his chief opponents, the Jesuits, without fear of having to deal with their great theologians.[3] Accordingly, in the first part of his book Arnauld discusses the teaching of the Fathers and in the third part, the requisite preparation for Holy Communion in such wise that he deals with Sesmaisons' treatise proposition by proposition, opposing to it his own refutation. Between the first and the third part he inserts a lengthy dissertation on the penitential system of the early Church and the words of his opponent are pressed into service in order to introduce and justify it. His real aim, that of checking frequent Communion, is nowhere expressly stated by Arnauld; on the contrary, when Sesmaisons says that all the Fathers approved of the frequent reception of the Sacrament, he asks: "Who does not join in this approval?"[4] He would even encourage Christians to communicate more than once a day if it were possible![5] Once he has taken up such a position he may leave on one side all that the Fathers have written in favour of frequent Communion since he is apparently not opposed to it. On the other

[1] Her conversion, however, was not a lasting one; see LANCELOT, *Mém.*, I., 324 *seqq.*

[2] RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 29 *seq.*; HERMANT, *Mém.*, I., 211 *seq.*; DE MEYER, 222 *seq.*

[3] D. PETAU, *De poenitentia*, lib. 3, ch. 6 (*Opera*, IV., Venetiis, 1745, 255).

[4] I., ch. 7, p. 197.

[5] *Préface*, no. 8, p. 88.

hand he describes the preparation for the reception of the Holy Eucharist which the Father deemed *desirable*, as an *indispensable* condition, consequently, he lays down conditions for its reception of so exacting a nature that, from his point of view, no one could ever presume to approach it.[1] Arnauld pursues a like purpose in what he says of the stern penitential system of Christian antiquity which punished grave sins with privation of Communion. The Church, he asserts, has not changed her mind with regard to penitential rigour; if in course of time the only penance required was sacramental confession, after which the sinner was at once admitted to the Holy Eucharist, such a custom has only established itself because it favours the general lack of penitential spirit, since everybody wants to confess but no one is prepared to do penance. The contrary practice was the primitive one and that of the Apostles, the Fathers and the universal Church during twelve centuries [2]; in other words, it was of divine institution, hence it could not be altered. For all that Arnauld only desires the restoration of one single point of the ancient penitential system, viz. exclusion from Holy Communion whilst a man undergoes a more prolonged period of penance. But since he starts from the untenable and erroneous principle [3] that in the primitive Church every grave sin was punished with public penance and exclusion from the Holy Table, the majority of ordinary Christians, on his assumption, would be debarred, in practice, from the Eucharist.

[1] He requires an "extreme pureté" (I., ch. 22, 40, pp. 238, 297, 298), or, in the words of the pseudo Dionysius, "un amour divin, pur, et sans aucun mélange" (I., ch. 4, p. 195). He concludes from St. Francis de Sales' writings that the frequent communicant must be "mort à toutes les affections du péché, même véniel, dans le détachement de toutes les choses qui pourraient déplaire à Dieu, etc." (I., ch. 22, p. 242).

[2] II., ch. 46, p. 545.

[3] G. Rauschen, *L'Eucharistie et la Pénitence durant les six premiers siècles de l'Église*, Paris, 1910, 212 *seqq.* (This translation contains notes which are lacking in the German original.) See also J. Stufler in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXXII. (1903), 546 *seqq.*

These assertions affect so intimately the very core of Catholic thought and practice that it is scarcely possible to give to outsiders an idea of their bearing. From the sixteenth century onwards the chief aim of every successive effort for a renewal of the religious life had been to promote the reception of the Sacraments. The Jesuits saw in their success in this matter both the crown of their labours and the extent of their success. Charles Borromeo ascribed the moral improvement in Milan chiefly to the frequent reception of the Sacraments; he was anxious that his people should take the petition of the Lord's Prayer in which we pray for our daily bread, as also referring to the food of the soul, viz. Holy Communion [1]; he desired the faithful to draw nigh to the table of the Lord at least once a month and in Lent and Advent once a week.[2] Arnauld frequently quotes Borromeo,[3] but the latter's ordinance forbidding any preacher to enter the pulpit who dared even indirectly to speak against frequent Communion, sufficiently shows what treatment the Jansenist teacher would have met with at the hands of the Archbishop of Milan.[4]

Thus the book on frequent Communion runs counter to the essential element of the hitherto prevailing tendency of the reform. As an exposition of a much-discussed theological question its value is nil, but Arnauld is a past master in the use of all the rhetorical tricks which Cicero displays in his judicial orations. No matter what his opponent may say, Arnauld always succeeds in extracting from his assertion some argument in favour of his own thesis. Of course this cannot be done without travestying the opponent [5] for, on the whole,

[1] Goila in *San Carlo Borromeo nel terzo centenario della canonizzazione*, 133.

[2] *Instructiones Praedic. Verbi Dei*, in *Acta Eccl. Mediolan.*, P. IV., Bergamo, 1738, 486.

[3] *Préface*, n. 12, 25–9; ch. 33–44, pp. 93, 109 *seqq.*, 474 *seqq.*

[4] *Conc. prov. III. Acta Eccl. Mediolan.*, I., 92; *cf.* 512.

[5] Thus Sesmaisons' pamphlet had emphasized the fact that since every Communion is an act of worship, it promotes the glory of God. Would any one dare to say, Arnauld asks, that it is an honour for a King if a beggar sits down at his table? (III.,

Sesmaisons' essay is above criticism. But horror of heresy, love of the Church, regard for her traditions, for the Fathers, for Borromeo and St. Francis de Sales are so much to the fore in Arnauld's work, that the generality of readers to whom he addressed himself in his flowing French, were not likely to notice the distortions. In addition to this he repeatedly protests that on no account would he upset any one, or stir up trouble within the Church ; all he wishes is to defend himself and those who felt like him. In their love of peace, he goes on to say, the latter had kept silence for five years, notwithstanding frequent provocation, but at last Arnauld could no longer refuse to speak in their defence ; love of truth demanded it,[1] and as a Doctor of Sorbonne he had sworn to defend the truth even to the shedding of his blood.[2] He prays that his friends may be suffered to go on in their own way ; his book asks for no more ; in its pages, he protests, only the voice of the Fathers and Christian tradition will be heard, for he would not presume to expound his personal views.[3]

As a matter of fact it is not easy to ascertain what were Arnauld's own views. He never states them systematically and they are mingled with much that is good and irreproachable. Moreover, if a passage sounds suspicious, it may be taken for granted that the very opposite is stated in another part of the book.[4] Thus Arnauld's explanation on the delay of sacramental absolution until penance had been done implies that the sinner must be justified before he can be absolved and that the priest's power to bind and to loose is limited to the imposition of penance. However, in another place, he expressly states that absolution does not merely declare that sin is

ch. 11, pp. 601 *seqq.*). Sesmaisons allows frequent Communion even to those whose feelings and imaginations are still full of involuntary love of self and the world (si attaché au monde que de merveille). Arnauld makes of "involuntary attachments" "voluntary ones" (III., ch. 10, pp. 592 *seqq.*). In fact he speaks as if Sesmaisons excluded no one from frequent Communion.

[1] *Préface*, n. 42, p. 145.

[2] *Préface*, n. 2, p. 74 *seq.*

[3] *Préface*, n. 45, p. 150.

[4] *Cf.* below, p. 143.

remitted, but actually blots it out.[1] Another fundamental error of the book lies in the assertion that during the preceding five centuries the Church had erred in the administration of Penance, a statement that would mean that she is not infallible. The objection that such an assertion naturally calls forth is met by him with a number of lengthy arguments ; according to Arnauld the Church is indeed not liable to error in her teaching, but discipline may decay since all great Churchmen have fought for its restoration.[2] Here and there the book bestows high praise on Jansenius of Ypres,[3] whilst an occasional remark betrays the fact that the writer adheres to the latter's peculiar views on grace.[4] On the other hand the Jesuits, whose principles on the administration of the Sacraments Arnauld had especially in view,[5] are nowhere described as the opponents.

How deeply rooted religion and Christianity must still have been in the soil of contemporary France if a book like Arnauld's could thus excite public feeling ! The book on frequent Communion became a general topic of conversation. The first edition was sold out in a couple of days ; within six months a fourth edition became necessary,[6] and this was followed by many more.[7] There is a good deal of evidence to show that it was precisely the *beaux esprits* and the great ladies who discussed with particular zest the questions raised by Arnauld.[8] But what was of far greater consequence was the approval which Arnauld met with on the part of the clergy. From the outset he found himself in a position to offer his book to the world with splendid letters of recommendation from fifteen

[1] II., ch. 12, p. 386.

[2] *Préface*, n. 35, pp. 131 *seqq.*

[3] II., ch. 12, 40, 45, pp. 382, 507, 543.

[4] (Patouillet), *Dictionnaire des livres Jansénistes*, I., Anvers., 1752, 267 *seqq.*

[5] Arnauld, *De la tradition* (*Œuvres*, XXVIII., 21).

[6] *Ibid.*, 243.

[7] We examined the 11th edition (Lyon, 1739).

[8] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 36 ; D. Petau, *De poenitentia*, lib. 1, ch. 2, no. 6.

Bishops and twenty-one Doctors of theology,[1] and the subsequent editions give the text of further similar encomiums.[2] Even Cardinal Bentivoglio expressed his satisfaction with the book.[3] The nuncio Chigi was of opinion that it would be better to refrain from any reply in view of Arnauld's moderate tone ; moreover refutations would only enhance the prestige of the book.[4] "How many adherents has not this teaching won in the space of two or three months," wrote an adversary of Arnauld's ? [5] How many admirers are there who look on the book as a fifth gospel and as a revelation from heaven ? This applause need not surprise us too much. Traces of the ancient public penance survived into the late Middle Ages, the Council of Trent had declared that it was fitting that public penance should be done for public scandals,[6] and both before and after the Council many assemblies of Bishops and in particular Charles Borromeo, had expressed themselves in the same sense. These utterances were very skilfully exploited by Arnauld,[7] hence there was no need to reject his proposals *a priori*, even though it had not entered into any one's head, except his, to make public penance consist chiefly in the deprivation of Holy Communion. More frequent Communion had only come in with the reform Orders of the sixteenth century and thus far it was something new ; hence it was only natural that the advisability of an unconditional approval of the new practice should be examined. Moreover Arnauld's book showed so much zeal against alleged abuses, and he appeared to support his proposals with the authority of the

[1] ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVI., xxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, xli. ; copy of the approbations, *ibid.*, XXVII., 153 *seqq.*, XXVIII., 599 *seqq.*

[3] See his letter to d'Andilly, March 26, 1644, *ibid.*, XXVIII., 627.

[4] Letter to *M. d'Acquin le père, docteur en médicine*, February and April, 1644, *ibid.*, 590. DE MEYER (243) makes of d'Acquin a Dominican.

[5] ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVI., xxvii.

[6] SESS., 24, ch. 7.

[7] *Fréquente communion*, II., ch. 21–32 on the Council of Trent, ch. 33–44 on Borromeo, ch. 45 on other authorities.

Fathers and the Councils with such skill, that it is not to be wondered at if excitable Frenchmen took his side in considerable numbers.

Moreover the principles which Arnauld attacked were those held by the Jesuits, Now on the occasion of the dispute in England between the Vicar Apostolic and the Jesuits, a certain exasperation against the Society of Jesus had got hold of many French Bishops. St. Cyran had exploited the situation thus created; under the pen name of *Petrus Aurelius* he had written several polemical pamphlets, seemingly in defence of the rights of Bishops, and these he collected and published in one volume in 1632. The book created a sensation; on the part of the French clergy the author was promised a reward if he would reveal his identity. The assembly of the clergy of 1641 had the collected works of Petrus Aurelius sumptuously printed and copies sent to all the Archbishops and Bishops of France.[1] A precipitate step by the French Jesuits added fuel to the prevailing ill-feeling against them. When the polemical writings against which Petrus Aurelius inveighed, came to be generally ascribed to the Jesuits, the Superiors of the three houses in Paris, together with the King's confessor, made a joint declaration, on March 23rd, 1633, that the author was none of their number.[2] Now it was quite true that these writings were not from the pen of a French Jesuit but from that of the English Jesuits Floyd and Wilson (Knott), and in 1643 that fact became generally known through Alegambe's catalogue of Jesuit writers. This admission was promptly taken advantage of by the assembly of the French clergy and brought to the notice of all the Bishops of the realm by means of a circular letter.[3] Old condemnations of the Jesuit writings in question dating from 1631 were once more produced. The judgment of the University of Paris was printed anew in 1643, by order of the clergy, that of the assembly of the clergy of 1631 was reprinted in 1644, and again in 1653; in 1645 the assembly of the clergy republished the work of

[1] Dupin, I., 482 *seq.* [2] In Dupin, I., 477.

[3] November 29, 1643, printed in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 613–15.

Petrus Aurelius with a panegyric of the author from the pen of Bishop Godeau of Grasse. At that time rumour alone connected St. Cyran's name with the book. Too late was it realized that Petrus Aurelius was an undesirable auxiliary and that the writings on which so much praise had been lavished, advocated the Jansenist doctrine.[1] The assembly of the clergy of 1656 saw itself compelled expressly to repudiate the book of Petrus Aurelius and to order the suppression of the eulogy which had been inserted in the great compilation of *Gallia Christiana*.[2]

It soon became apparent how greatly the Bishop's annoyance was destined to affect the impending controversy round the question of frequent Communion. The Jesuit Jacques Nouet, subsequently known as a valuable ascetical writer, was the first to dare attack Arnauld's book in a course of six sermons, though fifteen Bishops bestowed praise on it. He was promptly accused of having spoken in disrespectful terms of fifteen prelates. The assembly of the clergy of 1643 took up the matter and compelled Nouet to make a retractation [3] which, however, besides the assurance of his submission to the Bishops, stated no more than that he had not made use of the alleged expressions. The assembly of the clergy nevertheless deemed it expedient to bring the recantation to the notice of the Bishops of France in the above-mentioned circular.[4] It was even proposed to adopt Arnauld's book by general agreement, to condemn Nouet's sermons, and to debar him from all pastoral work until he should have made satisfaction.[5]

[1] *Cf.* (Patouillet), I., 135 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Dupin, I., 475 *seqq.*, 483 ; Rapin, *Hist.*, 211 ; Ste.-Beuve, I., 319 *seqq.*; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, III., 814–17 ; IV., 1134 *seqq.*

[3] Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 618.

[4] *Cf.* November 29, 1643, *ibid.*, 613 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 605. Nouet's sermons are described as : " téméraires et présomptueux, remplis d'ignorances, faussetés, calomnies, impostures, tendants à renverser les plus saintes maximes de l'Évangile, à fonder l'hypocrisie, semer le schisme," etc., De Meyer overlooks the fact that here there is question of a proposal which was not accepted.

Notwithstanding so unpromising a beginning, the defenders of the Church's teaching were not frightened. Soon there appeared a whole series of polemical writings against the book on frequent Communion,[1] the most important of them being from the pen of "that Father of the History of Dogma", the learned Denis Petau (Petavius) whose book[2] went through three editions in the years 1644 and 1645 alone. Petau puts in bold relief the errors which lie at the basis of Arnaulds exposition but which, for the most part, he merely states casually here and there. In the matter of style Petau was no match for his adversary, but as regards the substance he undoubtedly crushed Arnauld.[3] Among these refutations mention must be made of that by the Bishop of Lavaur, Abra de Raconis, because here, among so many episcopal panegyrists, a Bishop raises his voice in condemnation of Arnauld.[4] A pamphlet by Prince de Condé, Henri de Bourbon (died 1646), also carried some weight by reason of the position of its author.[5] Though none of these refutations rivalled the circulation of Arnauld's book, the oft-repeated protests of so many thoughtful men at least attracted the attention of more serious people to the dangers that lurked in Arnauld's assertions. Apart from some isolated exceptions, the spate of episcopal recommendations abated in 1644. It goes without saying that in the face of these attacks the pugnacious Arnauld did not confine himself to the rôle of a silent spectator. As early as May, 1644, he had ready a voluminous work directed

[1] ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVI., lxxii, *seqq.*; DE MEYER, 251–268, 291–300, 315–322.

[2] *De la pénitence publique et de la préparation à la communion*, Paris, 1644, 1645, 1658. We use the Latin translation appended to PETAU'S chief work *De theologicis dogmatibus*, vol. iv, Venice, 1745, 211–332.

[3] For the answer of the Jansenists that Petau had sacrificed understanding and conscience to the interests of his Order and that in the main he agreed with Arnauld, see DE MEYER, 263 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 315–321.

[5] *Ibid.*, 296.

chiefly against his most dangerous opponent, Petau.[1] Perhaps no less fatal than Petau's book was the fact that a Protestant preacher, Brachet de la Milletière, who in point of fact became a Catholic not long after, claimed Arnauld's book for the purposes of his theology of mediation and read into it, not without justification, various questionable propositions which were condemned by the Sorbonne. However Arnauld's reply to Milletière is dated the same day as that on which the Sorbonne met in order to examine those theses.[2] The book against Petau was positively devoured by the reading public; the fifth edition appeared a year after its publication.[3] The rhetorician Balzac lamented the poverty of the French language which failed to provide him with words in which to express his enthusiasm for the book[4]: Arnauld's triumph seemed complete.

Petau, on the other hand, did not long keep him waiting for an answer. When faced with certain statements Arnauld had referred to others in which he had asserted the contrary and in the new book he presented the contested points in a milder form. Thereupon Petau added to the third edition of his first book an appendix in which he gave a complete list of the contradictory statements to be found in various parts of Arnauld's work. He then exposed the real opinions of his

[1] *La tradition de l'Église sur le sujet de la pénitence et de la fréquente communion* (*Œuvres*, XXVIII., 39–460). On the immediate cause of this book, *Grimaldi writes on April 1, 1644 (Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1): that the sponsors of the book on Communion had asked Arnauld to write a defence of all the propositions in his book which had been attacked, "che non rimanga luogo a poter dubitare," that the book "contenga cose aliene da sentimenti della Chiesa". Grimaldi writes that the University of Paris had declared "col motivo di contraporsi alle soddisfazioni de' Jesuiti dopo qualche contrarietà di pareri", that it did not intend to approve Arnauld's book, but to let it stand over until a further decision was reached, and they wished that Arnauld would submit himself and his book to the Pope and the Bishops.

[2] *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 529–567. *Cf.* De Meyer, 285.

[3] *Œuvres*, XXVI., xlvi.

[4] De Meyer, 284.

opponent by means of a connected analysis of the ideas which constitute the basis of the book on frequent Communion but which appear only in fragmentary fashion in isolated passages.[1] These explanations of Petau's were also meant only for serious readers; they had hardly any direct influence on the general public. In the later editions of the book on frequent Communion Arnauld, undisturbed by these refutations, maintained unchanged all the old propositions.

Enthusiasm for Arnauld was fanned by the circumstance that the Government seemed resolved to take strong measures against him.[2] Queen Anne, who was not favourably disposed towards the Jansenists, ordered the two heads of the party, Arnauld and De Barcos, a nephew of St. Cyran, to give an account of their teaching in Rome. This was the signal for immediate and violent protests. Parliament pleaded the Gallican liberties, the University declared that it would have to protect the person of Arnauld, and the Sorbonne protested against the proposed injustice to one of its Doctors. The Queen, nevertheless, repeated her command but Arnauld thought[3] "that he would offend against the precept of the Gospel if he refused to flee from the violence of men in order to shelter in the arms of God"; so he hid "under the shadow of God's wings", that is, in the house of Hamelin, an inspector of roads and bridges, in the faubourg Saint-Marceau.[4] In point of fact Mazarin no longer insisted on the execution of the royal command once Arnauld had given a sworn assurance in writing, on March 14th, 1644,[5] that the book on frequent Communion

[1] *De poenitentia publica*, lib. 7, ch. 1–19; a summary of Arnauld's system in eighteen propositions; ch. 20–8: eight contradictions of Arnauld (*De theol. dogm.*, IV., 298–321). Lib. 8 (*ibid.*, 312–332) deals with each of Arnauld's replies.

[2] De Meyer, 270. According to *Grimaldi (April 1, 1644, Angelica Library, Rome, S. 3, 1), the "risoluzione presa dalla regina" had aroused "gran commozione" because Arnauld's friends declared it to be a machination of the Jesuits.

[3] *Œuvres*, XXVI., xli.

[4] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 34 *seq.*; De Meyer, 270 *seqq.*

[5] *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 36.

was prompted solely by love of truth and zeal for the salvation of souls, and that he submitted it to the judgment of the Roman Church, the Pope, all Catholic Bishops, the Archbishop of Paris and the Faculty of Theology. This assurance would have been more effective had he not lumped the Pope together with authorities which can only demand a conditional assent. The statement that "with all his heart he committed to the Pope as the supreme Vicar of Christ, both his person and his opinions", was rather surprising, seeing that at that very moment he was seeking security for his person from the attentions of the Pope. However, at that time it was not yet deemed necessary to examine too closely the wording of Arnauld's protestations of obedience. His assurance made an excellent impression.

The Bishops who had eulogized Arnauld's book felt not a little hurt when their protégé was summoned to Rome. On April 4th, 1644, they addressed a collective letter to the Pope [1] in which they definitely sided with Arnauld against the Jesuits: "Certain persons," they wrote, "had laid down principles that were dangerous to papal and episcopal authority, turned the use of the Sacraments into a harmful misuse, and instead of applying the true remedies to the decay of manners, had recourse to attenuations and palliations. When the Bishops sought to remedy these conditions, they had had the impudence to speak disrespectfully of the Bishops in the pulpit. This had occurred in particular in connexion with a book on frequent Communion." They then proceed to condemn in severe terms the conduct of the Jesuits in regard to Arnauld and to defend his book against objections.

Petau had forwarded a memorial to Rome against the book on frequent Communion [2] and the Capuchin Yves also lodged a protest in the same quarter.[3] The Holy See was accordingly compelled to take up the matter. On the other hand the nuncio Grimaldi dissuaded it from condemning Arnauld,[4] as this would

[1] *Ibid.*, 628–633.

[2] Sommervogel, VI., 614.

[3] *Œuvres*, XXVI., lxxii; De Meyer, 295.

[4] April 19, 1644, in De Meyer, 427.

also hit his episcopal friends. Accordingly Cardinal Barberini allowed the affair to drag on, and Urban VIII. died in the meantime.[1] At this moment the main elements of Jansenism had attained their full development almost everywhere. The sect would not sever itself from the Church, though it constituted an opposition and a complete novelty. In the dogmatic sphere the new heresy entirely overlooks that which the Christian professes in the opening words of his most habitual prayer, viz. the doctrine that God is our Father in heaven. In the *Augustinus* of Jansenius God is only an implacably stern Lord and Judge. In the same way the other chief product of the Jansenist heresy, viz. the book on frequent Communion, shows no understanding of the loving-kindness and condescension of our Redeemer. As regards moral conduct and the exercises of a devout life, Jansenism is involved in hopeless contradictions. On the one hand its conception of the unapproachable majesty of God impells man to convulsive attempts to propitiate Him, but since the sect denies free will the scoffers were quite consequent when they countered the Jansenist exhortations to penance with the remark that they wished first to wait for the irresistible grace of Port-Royal.[2] Its exaggerated conclusions drawn from the sublimity of the Holy Eucharist and its exorbitant demands for the reception of absolution are likewise based on the idea that the efficacy of the Sacraments depends almost wholly on the effort of the free will in the preparation for their reception. This constitutes yet another contradiction of Jansenism with itself.[3]

Furthermore the Jansenist teaching on grace leads to an undervaluation of nature ; from the first the sect is inclined to sniff the presence of the devil in everything natural. It was assuredly a wonderful thing that a Le Maître should give

[1] *Ibid.*, 427 *seq.*

[2] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 357.

[3] It is often in contradiction with itself. Thus the chief moralist of the party, Nicole, teaches that it is " an essential Christian duty " even for a just man, always to withstand concupiscence by " prière, recueillement, mortification, pénitence " (*Essais de morale*, V., 250 *seq.*).

up a brilliant post to become a hermit at Port-Royal, or De La Petitière, the best swordsman of France, should practise the trade of a cobbler as an expiation for having fought a duel, or that De la Rivière, a former army officer and a Hebrew, Greek and Spanish scholar, should act as a forester.[1] But these acts of abnegation were based on ideas which closely trench on Manicheism and Buddhism, and a man must be vastly prejudiced in favour of Port-Royal if he can admire Pascal, who deemed a broom a superfluous utensil or a Pontchâtean who never changed his body linen.[2] Nor was Angélique Arnauld very far from holding similar opinions.[3] It was in keeping with this unreasonable fear of nature that everything was excluded from Jansenist worship which might stir the senses [4] Isaac Le Maître, the translator of the Bible, styled the world " a reversed Eucharist ",[5] in as much as the devil lay hid behind every object in this world, demanding worship. His comment on the struggle between Descartes and Aristotle was that one thief was but robbing and slaying another, however, " all the better, for the more dead there are, the fewer enemies remain." [6] In their dislike of scholasticism, but because some sort of philosophy was indispensable, the Jansenists as a body took up Descartes [7] though this did not prevent them from regarding philosophy with the same scorn

[1] *Cf.* Ste.-Beuve, II., 233 *seq.*

[2] Perrens in the *Rev. hist.*, LI (1893), 270. Pascal's Jansenist sister does indeed reproach her brother " que vous mettez les balets (balais) au rang des meubles superflus . . . il est nécessaire que vous soyez au moins quelques mois (!) aussi propre que vous êtes sale (V. Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, Paris, 1869, 253, 338).

[3] She makes the following reproach to Zamet : " Il voulut que tout fût dans un grand ajustement *et propreté* " (Cousin, *loc. cit.*). Ste.-Beuve quotes the passage, but omits the last two words.

[4] It was so already at Port-Royal in St. Cyran's time. (Ste. Beuve, IV., 148.)

[5] *Eucharistie retournée* (Ste.-Beuve, II., 338).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See Kohler, *Jansenismus und Cartesianismus*, Düsseldorf, 1905, 5 *seqq.*

with which they treated all mundane knowledge.[1] Strict principles were by no means identical with strictness of conduct even with the Jansenists. True, Port-Royal had its penitents of whom the new sect never ceased to boast.[2] and in the book on frequent Communion,[3] Arnauld was able to point to the parish of Saint-Maurice on the Aveyron, twenty-five miles from Paris, whose pastor, Duhamel, had restored the practice of public penance. Duhamel divided the sinners of the parish into four classes, of whom the last two had to stand during the service, some in the cemetery and others on a hill facing the church, and only for the sermon were they summoned into the sacred edifice.[4] St. Cyran's nephew, De Barcos, imposed on his penitents such penances as wading through rivers with bare feet in the winter time, or he limited marital intercourse.[5] However, on the whole these were exceptions. Of St. Cyran and his friends Vincent de Paul says that he never saw them do an act of penance.[6] Whilst in gaol at Vincennes St. Cyran gave scandal by his daintiness with regard to his food.[7] In the Hôtel Nevers, a rendezvous of the elegant world, the "Patriarchs and Prophets of Port-Royal" did themselves well at a daintily laid table whilst the ordinary Jansenists did penance for the glory of the sect.[8]

The spokesmen of the new sect did not even invariably act on their principles with regard to the reception of the Sacraments. Vincent de Paul says that were he to go by the book

[1] *Cf.* NICOLE's preface to Arnauld's "Géometrie" (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XLVI., 5).

[2] See RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 470.

[3] *Préface*, ch. 39.

[4] RAPIN, *Hist.*, 441. For Duhamel see STE.-BEUVE, II., 543 *seq.*

[5] RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 532, 534; *cf.* 222 *seq.*, 470.

[6] Letter to Dehorgny, September 10, 1648, in COSTE, III., 372. For St. Cyran's successor at Port-Royal, Singlin, who preached penance but only practised it in that he very rarely said Mass, see RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 448 *seq.* Even among the solitaries not all were penitents (*ibid.*, 473).

[7] RAPIN (*Hist.*, 402), learned this from the daughter of the governor of the castle.

[8] RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 403 *seq.*; *cf.* 287.

on frequent Communion, he would never dare to approach the altar, but Arnauld himself, though he demanded a preparation that might have frightened St. Paul, boasted that he said Mass every day.[1] So did St. Cyran ; nor did the latter dare to abolish frequent Communion at Port-Royal. There were others, however, even in the first period of Jansenism, who refrained from Holy Communion even at Easter or on their death bed [2], and there were some who never said Mass.[3] At a later period Jansenist priests deemed it a particularly meritorious thing to reduce the reception of the Sacraments to a minimum ; people were found who, at the age of thirty, had not yet made their first Communion.[4]

In their infrequent reception of the Sacraments and their dislike of the external splendour of divine worship, the Jansenists approximate to the Protestants and are visibly influenced by them. To the same source, no doubt, must be traced their coldness with regard to the veneration of the Mother of God [5] and their recommendation of indiscriminate Bible reading, a practice which they even represented as obligatory [6] and as a " universal sacrament " in the sense of St. Cyran.[7] Accordingly, from 1650, a French translation of the Bible was in progress at Port Royal, under the direction of

[1] To Dehorgny, in Coste, III., 370.

[2] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 466, 532, 534.

[3] *Ibid.*, 522, note.

[4] Sicard, *L'ancien clergé de France*, I., Paris, 1905, 467 ; Rapin, *Mém.*, II., *app.* 520–5.

[5] *Avis de la bienh. Vierge Marie à ses dévots indiscrets* (Lille, 1674), translated from the Latin of the Cologne jurist Wildenfeldt by Gerberon. A small collection of writings grew round this pamphlet (Patouillet, I., 164–176). Already St. Cyran had only the adjective " terrible " for the honour due to the Blessed Virgin Mary (Ste.-Beuve, I., 353). *Cf.* proposition 26 condemned by Alexander VIII., in 1690 (Denzinger, 1316) ; (Fontaine), *Constitutio " Unigenitus "*, IV., 535 *seq.* ; (Patouillet), I., 193, 231, 302, II., 201, 226.

[6] Constitution " Unigenitus ", propositions 79–85 (Denzinger, n. 1429 *seqq.* ; (Patouillet), I., 183, 280 ; II., 38, 275, 277, 331.

[7] Ste.-Beuve, I., 447.

Le Maître de Sacy.[1] The New Testament appeared in 1667. It was printed at Amsterdam, not at Mons, as was alleged, but the whole Bible, in four volumes, was only ready in 1717. Owing to the text having been given a Jansenist bias in many places, prohibitions of the Book of Mons were published as early as 1668 by Archbishop Péréfixe of Paris and Pope Clement IX. Together with the Bible, the Jansenists wished to see the liturgical books, that is the Missal and the Breviary, in the hands of the faithful, in the vernacular tongue ; however, in consequence of their Jansenist colouring, these translations were frequently condemned by the Church.[2] It was only in the eighteenth century that attempts were made to restore in the liturgy practices which it was claimed were those of the primitive Church.[3]

On the other hand the attitude of the new sect towards the universal Church became clearly defined in its very first years. Since it did not wish to break openly with the Church, it needs must acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. Like Jansenius,[4] Arnauld gave public expression to his regard for the Holy See and in this respect the Jansenists of a later period followed suit, but whilst for ever professing respect for the Pope they systematically refused to obey him.

In opposition to the numerous encomiums bestowed by the Holy See on the Jesuits, Jansenism pursued them from the first with deadly hatred.[5] Personal motives may have had a part in this : it is said that as a young man Jansenius had sought admission into the Order and that, to vent his

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 359 *seq.* ; Nicole, *Essais de morale*, VIII., 2. 442 *seqq.*

[2] (Patouillet), I., 199 ; II., 59, 177 ; III., 131, 498.

[3] *Missale s. Ecclesiae Trecensis* (by the younger Bossuet), 1736. *Cf.* (Patouillet), III., 126 *seqq.* ; 409 ; Lafiteau, *Hist. de la Constitution " Unigenitus "*, II., 94 ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXIV (1874), 730.

[4] *Cf.* above p. 100.

[5] " que les jésuites sont grandement nuisibles à l'Église, pour le bien de laquelle il est nécessaire de les détruire " (St. Cyran, *Maxime*, 18, in De Meyer, 498).

spite, because he was rejected, he joined the ranks of its enemies. In the sequel, the more he approximated to Calvin, walking as he did in the steps of Baius, the more his aversion grew, in fact it did not even stop before Ignatius of Loyola: in a letter to St. Cyran [1] he scoffs and derides the great Founder on the occasion of the latter's canonization by Gregory XV., 1622. When shortly after the question arose at Louvain of limiting Jesuit competition in the scholastic sphere, Jansenius worked against them in Spain in 1624 and 1626.[2] Even after his return he gave himself no rest: "It seems to be God's will," he wrote to St. Cyran on May 19th, 1627, "that I should exert myself everywhere against the Jesuits." He now initiated against the hated adversaries the paper war which, continued by his friends and admirers, has not yet come to an end after all these centuries. A first work of some importance against the Jesuits was completed by Jansenius in 1627, however he did not dare to publish it.[3] St. Cyran had opened hostilities already in the preceding year with an attack on the Jesuit Garasse [4] who had several times got mixed up in a somewhat unfortunate way with the freethinkers of the day; after that he carried on the campaign on a wider scale under the pseudo-name of *Petrus Aurelius*. Meanwhile Jansenius had made up for past omissions with the most violent attacks on the Jesuit theologians in the pages of *Augustinus*. In this he was followed by Arnauld, first in the pamphlets against the Bull of Urban VIII. and thereafter,

[1] Of June 13, 1621, in RAPIN, *Hist.*, 128 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1875, II., 275.

[2] *Cf.* above p. 75.

[3] RAPIN (*Hist.*, 193) is mistaken in thinking that Jansenius was speaking of his *Historia Pelagianorum* at the beginning of the *Augustinus*. As the passages quoted by RAPIN (*ibid.*, 208), from the letters of Jansenius show, it was a special work against the Jesuits.

[4] ALEXANDRE DE L'EXCLUSSE (St. Cyran), *La somme des fautes et faussetés capitales, contenues en la somme théologique du P. F. Garasse*, Paris, 1626; ANNA PRZYREMBEL, *La controverse théol. et morale entre St.-Cyran et le P. Garasse* (Thèse), Paris, 1917. For Garasse's book, *cf.* PRAT, *Recherches*, IV., 491 *seqq.*

in most effective fashion, in the book on frequent Communion [1] and in many other writings. In the sequel the intrigues and the writings of the Jansenists took increasingly the form of a campaign against the Jesuits.[2]

This opposition was not the result of chance ; an observer as dispassionate as Vincent de Paul has said in so many words that Jansenism was born of the desire to discredit the Jesuit Order [3] and historically the new heresy can best be understood if Jansenius is viewed as the antithesis of Ignatius of Loyola, as the contradiction of, and a reaction against, the Jesuits' teaching on grace, their ascetical and moral theology, their principles on the frequent reception of the Sacraments and their strong attachment to Rome.

At the close of the eighteenth century Jansenism seemed to have triumphed all along the line. The Jesuits were out of the fight ; even in the seminaries of Italy, the teaching was

[1] *Cf.* above p. 136 *seq.*

[2] In the 18th century says STE.-BEUVE, " le caractère distinctif du Jansénisme se reduit à un point : être ennemi du Jésuite " in PERRENS, LII., 36). " Ils (the Jansenists) sont plus anti-jésuites ou anti-romains que sérieusement jansénistes. Leurs dogmes les occupent beaucoup moins qu'on ne le croirait (BREMOND, IV., 299 *seqq.*). According to the Jansenist GAZIER (d. 1922) there never was a doctrinal Jansenism (I., 1) ; Jansenism is the opposition of Catholic circles to the Jesuits, who from selfish motives, uphold the omnipotence of the Pope against the Bishops, and who corrupt dogma, morals and ecclesiastical discipline, so that since 1870, there is no faith to be found anywhere on earth (*ibid.*, II., 274).

[3] " Aussi est-ce " (the diminution of the reception of the Sacraments in consequence of Arnauld's book) " ce qu'a prétendu feu M. de St.-Cyran pour désaccréditer les Jésuites. M. de Chavigni disoit ces jours passés à un intime ami, que ce bon Monsieur lui avait dit, que lui et Jansénius avaient entrepris leur dessein pour désaccréditer ce saint Ordre-là, à l'égard de la doctrine et de l'administration des sacrements. Et moi je luí ai ouï tenir quasi tous les jours quantité de discours, conformes à cela." Letter to Dehorgny, June 25, 1648, in COSTE, III., 322.

based on rigoristic books of moral theology. Yet at that very time a reaction was preparing. The Society of Jesus was restored and to-day, apart from some scanty remains, Jansenism has no more than a tenuous existence in the books and in the admiration of a few literary men: the essential tenets of the sect concerning grace, conduct, the reception of the Sacraments, have all been rejected and condemned by the Church.[1]

The Jansenists were not wanting in zeal and strenuous effort. By means of a mass of books and booklets they meant to influence in their favour contemporary public opinion, and the opinion of posterity through voluminous works on their own history. They had at their service scholars like Arnauld and Tillemont and even men of real genius such as Pascal, Boileau and Racine.[2] It may be affirmed, says Rapin,[3] that never was error more skilfully sown among the people or defended in more spirited fashion; its success was due

[1] The most recent condemnation is in Pius XI.'s encyclical "Miserentissimus Redemptor" of May 8, 1928.

[2] The literary skill of "Messieurs de Port-Royal" is demonstrated by the success of their writings and the admissions of their opponents, *e.g.* RAPIN (*Mém.*, I., 22, 36). However recent history of literature only values as stylists Pascal and perhaps D'Andilly. In the opinion of the Jansenist Gazier (in PETIT DE JUVILLE, *Hist. de la langue et de la littérature française*, IV., Paris, 1897, 567) Singlin's sermons have "ni ornement, ni politesse, ni éloquence, ni science humaine". The pleadings of Antoine Le Maître, "ne répondent pas à la réputation du grand orateur," (*ibid.*, 570). Of Nicole he says: "comme écrivain, il arrive à peine au troisième rang" (*ibid.*, 587). Even the "great" Arnauld, "n'est malheureusement pas un grand écrivain . . . c'est écrit trop vite, et le trop d'abondance appauvrit la matière" (*ibid.*, 579, 582). Cf. also the opinion of RAPIN (*Mém.*, II., 196) who esteems their translations but denies them poetic feeling and invention. "Colourlessly and monotonously, uninterrupted by any picturesque expression or flash of inspiration, the chain of their ideas" (the Jansenists') unwinds itself. A haphazard glance at any of Arnauld's writings confirms the praise and blame of this criticism. (*J. v. Kunow* in *Romanische Forschungen of Vollmöller*, XXXIX (1921), 72). [3] Mém., I., 1.

solely to cleverness and craftiness, not to violence, as in the case of other heresies. For all that the story of Jansenism is that of a great failure. Renewal of the Church, moral strictness, holiness, these were the slogans with which Jansenists justified their enterprise. It must be acknowledged that as regards moral conduct, Port-Royal was above reproach, apart, of course from the obstinacy and rebelliousness which developed at a later period. However, in the seventeenth century, France possessed a vast number of men and women distinguished for real sanctity, such as the Bishops of Marseilles and Cahors, Jean Baptiste Gault (d. 1643), and Alain de Solminihac (d. 1659), the great missionaries Jean Eudes (d. 1680), Grignon de Montfort (d. 1716), the Apostle of Brittany, Michel Le Nobletz (d. 1652), the founder of the Brothers of Christian Schools, Jean Baptiste de Lasalle (d. 1719), the founder of the Lazarists and the Sisters of Charity Vincent de Paul (d. 1660) and his co-foundress Louise de Marillac (d. 1660), as well as other women, such as the two Marys of the Incarnation, one the Carmelite Madame Acarie (d. 1618), and the other the Ursuline Madame Gruyart (d. 1672), Jeanne de Lestonnac (d. 1640), Jeanne Françôise de Chantal (d. 1641), Margaret Mary Alacoque and, lastly, among the much maligned Jesuits, the two missionaries Francis Regis (d. 1640) in the Cevennes and Julian Maunoir in Brittany (d. 1683), the devout Claude de la Columbière (d. 1682), and the eight missionaries martyred in Canada whose leaders were Isaac Jogues (d. 1646) and Jean de Brébeuf (d. 1649).

Before the achievements of such heroes of self-sacrifice and brotherly love, the theologizing nuns of Port-Royal and the handful of penitents among its hermits, sink into insignificance, even as regards mere numbers. Outside convent walls it may be that many lay people, especially in the early days of the sect, felt themselves encouraged to greater fervour by their rigour, but on the religious life of the masses Jansenism could only have a chilling effect. True, the new teachers were not immediately interested in the masses: Jansenism was above all the heresy of the *salon* and the study, the mass of the people was only the hapless victim of its exaggerations.

One result of this exclusiveness was that Jansenism did nothing for popular missions, for the spread of Christianity overseas nor did it make any monastic foundation worth mentioning.[1] But after a number of priests had gone over to the sect, it brought its action to bear on the masses also. To very many the new teaching could not but be welcome inasmuch as it more or less did away with the irksome duty of confession, in fact abstention from the Sacraments became transfigured with the halo of a higher perfection.[2] Large sections of the people were thus first alienated from religious practices and thereby from religion itself. Furthermore the excessive rigorism of the parish priests led to a cleavage between them and their flock ; a small number of particularly devout souls remained loyal to the priests but the latter saw themselves increasingly abandoned by the bulk of the faithful. For many the end could only be the ruin of all religion.[3] The absurdity of the Jansenist teaching which made of God a tyrant and an executioner, and of man a machine and a marionette, the exaggerations of Jansenist moral teaching which was for ever at variance with sound reason,[4] were bound to lead to the following

[1] Towards political life the Jansenists also adopt, for the most part, an attitude of indifference ; *cf.* P. HONIGSHEIM, *Die Staats- und Soziallehren der französischen Jansenisten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Diss), Heidelberg, 1914.

[2] *Abra de Raconis* spoke in this sense already in 1644 (DE MEYER, 317). SICARD (*L'ancien clergé en France*, I., Paris, 1905, 467) says : " Les Jansénistes, avec leur tendence d'esprit à la Tertullien, ne voyaient pas qu'ils faisaient déserter l'église et qu'à force d'épurer les fidèles . . . ils finissaient par n'en avoir rien . . . Sous prétexte de n'ouvrir les trésors spirituels qu'aux âmes vraiment converties, ils finissent dans quelques diocèses par en priver des populations entières."

[3] The opinion that such was the real object of the sect arose already in 1654, see p. 73, n. 2.

[4] " On peut le dire aujourd'hui, sans craindre de passer pour le complice du P. Annat et du P. Le Tellier : c'étaient les Jésuites alors qui défendaient la bonne cause (COUSIN, Jacqueline Pascal,[6] Paris, 1869, 6) ; L'Église se rangea du côté du bon sens et de la liberté (SICARD, *L'ancien clergé en France*, I., 463).

result [1]: in 1641 Jansenius magnified the omnipotence of divine grace at the expense of human freedom; in 1789 the French National Assembly exalted the rights of man at the expense of those of God.

[1] *Goethe* is of opinion that "Voltaire, Hume, Lamettrie, Helvetius, Rousseau and their whole school did far less harm to religion and morality than the stern, sickly Pascal and his school" (*Werke*, edit. Hempel, XXIX., 43). Voltaire would assuredly have been rejected with loud protests had not the ground been prepared for him by Jansenism also. The French envoy to Venice, D'Argenson (d. 1651) lamented already on May 31, 1651, in a letter to the nuncio of Turin, that the new teaching was gaining ground, "avec péril très-grand qu'il ne se forme un athéisme de cette secte, particulièrement pour la noblesse" (in Rapin, II., 122).

CHAPTER II

Creations of Cardinals by Urban VIII—Relations with Poland—Struggle against the Cæsaro-papalism of the small Italian States, of Venice and Spain—The Portuguese Revolution.

During the twenty years of his pontificate Urban VIII. saw the death of twenty Cardinals,[1] among them that of the nephew of each of his two predecessors, viz. Ludovico Ludovisi (November 18th, 1632) and Scipio Borghese (October 2nd, 1633). In nine creations he appointed seventy-eight Cardinals of whom four were reserved *in petto*. After he had bestowed the purple on his nephew Francesco Barberini, on October 2nd, 1623, and, on October 7th, 1624, on his brother Antonio Barberini, as well as on Lorenzo Magalotti and, out of gratitude towards Paul V., on Pier Maria Borghese,[2] a considerable time passed before a further creation. In this respect the Pope was chiefly guided by the view that only outstanding men should be summoned to the supreme senate of the Church.[3] Delay was likewise caused by the various and conflicting proposals of candidates by France and the Emperor.[4] A

[1] See the names in Ciaconius, IV., 637 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 531 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of October 14, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library. See also the *report of the envoy of Este, September 16, 1623, State Archives, Modena.

[4] The French Government first suggested Marquemont, and immediately afterwards the Archbishop of Tours, Bertrand d'Eschaux, but finally, through the good offices of the nuncio Spada, decided to leave the choice between these two to Urban VIII.; see *Nicoletti, II., 1261, Vatican Library. Urban VIII. had at first only given a vague promise about Marquemont: see *Brief to Louis XIII., November 18, 1623, *Epist.*, I., 1, Papal Secret Archives. It appears from the *Brief to Ferdinand II. of August 31, 1623 (*ibid.*), that the Emperor first suggested G. D. Spinola, whereupon Urban demanded that a German should be nominated, since according to the decrees of the Council of Trent

fairly large creation took place on January 19th, 1626, for fifteen wearers of the purple had died since the election of Urban VIII.[1] Those elected were: one Frenchman, Denis Simon de Marquemont, Archbishop of Lyons; one German, Ernest Adalbert von Harrach, Archbishop of Prague[2]; one Spaniard, Enrico Guzmán de Aros; and nine Italians, viz.: Luigi Caetani, Archbishop of Capua, a man full of zeal for the reform; Bernadino Spada, who had been nuncio in Paris since 1623[3]; the Prefect of the Palace, Laudivio Zacchia, who had been nuncio at Venice under Gregory XV.[4]; Berlingherio Gessi, who had distinguished himself at the time of the acquisition of Urbino[5]; the son of the Doge of Venice, Federigo Cornaro, Bishop of Bergamo; Giulio Sacchetti, Spanish nuncio since 1624[6]; the Uditore di Camera, all nations were to be represented in the College of Cardinals. The Swiss desired the red hat for their nuncio (see *Brief of September 7, 1624, *ibid.*).

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 539 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 249 *seq.*, for further details on those nominated.

[2] For Harrach *cf.* Vol. XXVIII., p. 117 *seq.* The Cardinal's correspondence is preserved in the Archives of Count Harrach at Vienna. *Cf. Archivalien zur neuren Gesch. Österreichs*, I., 4, Vienna, 1913.

[3] His marble bust is in the Spada Palace at Rome. G. B. TARABUCCI writes in his **Relation* of 1643 with regard to Spada: "É un signore desideroso d'honore, di gloria e di riputatione"; the Pope and Cardinal Barberini very frequently avail themselves of his services, "nelle consulte più ardue"; the Cardinal is said to be overwhelmed with work and therefore difficult of access. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] For Algardi's wonderful bust of Zacchia, see *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI., 170 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., p. 58 *seqq.* For Gessi, see besides MIGNE, 991, the **Vita card. Gypsii a se ipso conscripta* in *Barb.* 2552, p. 82 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[6] G. B. TARABUCCI bestows high praise on Sacchetti in his **Relation* of 1643 ("è uno de'più qualificati soggetti ch'il habbia s. Collegio"), Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, and in the **Relatione dei cardinali papabili* of 1644, in *Cod.* C. 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Giandomenico Spinola[1]; the head of the Dataria, Jacopo de'Cavalieri and Lelio Biscia, Prefect of the Annona. The brother of the Duke of Lorraine, Nicolas François, the President of the Romagna, Girolamo Vidoni, and the Maggiordomo Marzio Ginetti were named *in petto* and only proclaimed on August 30th, 1627. On the same date the nominations took place of the Governor of Umbria, Fabrizio Verospi, Alessandro Cesarini and, at the request of the Kings of France and Spain respectively, those of Pierre Bérulle and Egidio Carillo Albornoz. Five Cardinals were again reserved *in petto.*[2] Two of the latter, Antonio Barberini and Girolamo Colonna, were published on February 7th, 1628.[3] There was to be no other promotion in the immediate future though many vacancies occurred in the Sacred College,[4] but in February,

[1] For Spinola see BOGLINO, *La Sicilia* (1884), 59 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* for those nominated, CIACONIUS, IV., 556 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 277 *seq.*, and NOVAES, IX., 234 *seq.* For Ginetti see also the Appendix to *Ciaconius*, Romae, 1791, 6 *seq.* Of Verospi, a **Relatione de'cardinali papabili fatta al princ. del a.* 1630, records his "costumi integri", and his "grandissimo valore" (*Cod.* C. 20 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome). Albornoz became "capo della fattione Spagnola"; G. B. TARABUCCI says of him in his *Relation of 1643: "*A lui sono appoggiati tutti gl'interessi della corona" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The question of reservation "in petto" is treated by MICH. LONGINO in a *Discorso*, dedicated to Urban VIII., *Barb.* 4504 and 5243, Vatican Library. *Cf. Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXI., 421 *seq.* For Bérulle's Cardinalate see *Lettres de Richelieu*, II., 276 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*, 310, 625; WIENS, *Faucon*, 101. A letter of Bérulle to Richelieu, dated Paris, October 28, 1627, is in FILLON, *Autogr.* 2509. Urban VIII. allowed Duke Nic. François of Lorraine, who was in Minor Orders, to resign his cardinalate in order to marry; see **Bull* of May 5, 1639, Papal Secret Archives, XI., 49, p. 200. A similar case is reported in **Acta consist.* (MS. in my possession); December 1, 1642, *Dimissio pilii card*^lis^ *Mauritii de Savoia*; 13 *April.* 1643 *Acceptatio* of this *dimissio.*

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 565 *seq.*

[4] The *Avviso of April 12, 1627, reports that when the death of Bevilacqua occurred on April 7, there were 12 vacant places in the College of Cardinals. *Urb.* 1097, Vatican Library.

1629, shortly after the death of Cardinal Cavalieri (January 28th) a creation was confidently expected.[1] Cardinal Pietro Valiero died at the beginning of April, and Cardinals Bandini and Peretti in the first days of August. It now appeared certain that the gaps in the Sacred College would be filled in the near future.[2] In the sequel the deaths took place of Carlo Madruzzo, Millini and Bérulle, but it was only on November 19th, 1629, that Urban VIII. proceeded to a fresh creation. On that day two of those reserved *in petto* in August, 1627, viz. the nuncio of Madrid, Giovan Battista Pamfili and the nuncio of Paris, Guido del Bagno [3] together with eight others, were proclaimed ; they were Peter Pázmány, proposed by the Emperor ; the Viennese nuncio, Giovan Battista Pallotto ; the Polish nuncio, Antonio Santa Croce ; Richelieu's brother, Alphonse Louis, Archbishop of Lyons ; Gregorio Novis, President of the Annona ; the auditor of the Rota Luca Antonio Virili ; the Milanese Teodoro Trivulzi and the Archbishop of Seville, Diego Guzmán de Naro.[4] With the inclusion of two reserved *in petto*, the supreme senate of the Church was once more complete.

On the occasion of the elevation of the church of St. Charles al Corso to the dignity of a cardinalitial title, on October 6th,

[1] See the *report of Fabio Carandini Ferrari of February 3, 1629, State Archives, Modena.

[2] See the *report of Carlo Camillo Molza, August 13, 1629, *ibid.*

[3] The mortuary chapel of Cardinal Bagno, one of great interest for the history of art, is unfortunately little known. It is next to S. Alessio on the Aventine and contains the statue of the Cardinal by Dom. Guidi ; see FORCELLA, VIII., 364 ; L. ZAMBARELLI, *S. Alessio e Bonifacio*, 22.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 570 *seq.* ; CARDELLA, VI., 284 *seq.* ; for the Cardinal of Lyons, see DE MUN, *Un frère de Richelieu*, in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XVIII. (1904), and NAVENNE, I., 163 *seq.* Virili was buried in S. Trinità de'Monti, Rome. (See CIACONIUS, IV., 582) ; his brother also raised a monument to him in the Abbey church of Farfa adorned with a bust of the Cardinal. G. B. TARABUCCI, in his *Relation* of 1643 praises the ability of Pallotto, but says he was difficult of access. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

1627, by Urban VIII.,[1] a decree of the Congregation of Ceremonies dated May 14th, 1630, on the political rank and the style of preconized Cardinals was read in a consistory of June 10th, 1630. By its terms they were to rank immediately after kings, and they alone, together with the ecclesiastical Electors and the Grand-Master of the Order of St. John, were to have a right to be styled "Eminence".[2] On June 15th the Duke of Savoy protested against this decree, for on account of his pretensions with regard to Cyprus, the Duke claimed royal rank for himself.[3] The lengthy negotiations with Poland on the subject of a Cardinal led to the bestowal of the purple, on December 20th, 1632, on the Bishop of Cracow, John Albert, a son of Sigismund III. That excellent prelate was unfortunately carried off by death as early as December 16th, 1634.[4] One Cardinal died in 1630, another in 1631, two in 1632, and a third on October 3rd, 1633.[5] This necessitated a considerable promotion which took place on November 28th, 1633. Accordingly the two prelates

[1] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2986, Vatican Library.

[2] *Ibid. Cf.* *Nicoletti, II., ch. 20, p. 1675 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Khevenhüller, XI., 1410; *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1855, p. 1921; Hinschius, I., 357. An "Oratio in Eminentiae titulum" in *Barb.* 1807, Vatican Library. Urban VIII. showed at the very beginning of his pontificate that he wished to see special honour paid to the Cardinals; see **Avviso* of September 6, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, *ibid.* Early in November, 1623, the Congregation of Rites deliberated upon a reform of titles; on November 6 it was reported that they had decided on the title of "Eminentissimo" for the Cardinals (*Avvisi of November 1 and 6, 1623); but on November 29, the envoy of Este *reported that: "Il titolo d'Eminentissimi che si doveva dichiarare per li sig. cardinali pare che sia svanito" (State Archives, Modena). Urban VIII., however, did not abandon the idea; *cf.* the *letter of Lorenzo Belli of 1635 in *Barb.* 6443, Vatican Library.

[3] See Siri, VII., 293 *seq.*; P. Brayda, *Il titolo di Eminenza ai cardinali ed i Duchi di Savoia* (*Tre documenti del* 1630), Bene Vagienna, 1922.

[4] See Ciaconius, IV., 580.

[5] *Ibid.*, 597 *seq.*

reserved *in petto* in 1629, viz. Ciriaco Rocci, nuncio in Switzerland from 1628 to 1630 and after that in Vienna, and Caesare Monti, nuncio in Madrid since 1630, were proclaimed. Six other prelates were likewise raised to the Sacred College; they were: Alessandro Bichi, nuncio in Paris since the autumn of 1630; Francesco Maria Brancaccio, who as Bishop of Capaccio had steadfastly defended the rights of the Church against the viceroy of Naples; Ulderico Carpegna, Bishop of Gubbio; the treasurer Stefano Durazzo; Agostino Oreggi, Secretary of the Congregations of the Inquisition and of Rites and the intimate friend of the younger Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Benedetto Monaldi Baldeschi.[1] The Bishop of Lucca, Marcantonio Franciotti, who was nominated *in petto*, was only proclaimed on March 30th, 1637.

Year by year death was thinning the ranks of the Sacred College. In 1634 it lost three of its members; two died in each of the next three years, viz. 1635, 1636, 1637, four in 1638 and six in 1639; yet the fresh recruits so eagerly desired by the Curia [2] were not forthcoming.[3] Only when a further five Cardinals had died in the course of 1641, did the Pope

[1] See **Acta consist. Urbani VIII.*, 1631–4, original MS. from the library of Cardinal Gentili, bought by me in 1902 in Rome. According to this document the Pope, when proposing the candidates, said: "Qui omnes adeo Curiae et vobis sunt cogniti, ut de illorum erga hanc sanctam sedem meritis plura dicere sit superfluum." For those nominated see CIACONIUS, IV., 584 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VI., 302 *seq.* *Cf.* NANI, 30 *seq.* For Bichi *cf.* *Rev. hist.*, XXIX., 472 and F. BANDINI PICCOLOMINI, *Notizie di documenti Senesi relat. alla monarchia francese nei tempi del card. Richelieu*, Siena, 1894. Bichi was, as G. B. TARABUCCI shows in his *Relation* of 1643, a favourite not only with the French, but also with the Spaniards. It is further stated here that Carpegna lived a quiet and devout life; Brancaccio was very polite and capable and "partialissimo del card. Antonio Rocci e un amabilissimo signore". Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See NANI, 32 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* also FAGNIEZ, II., 405 *seq.*, for the years 1637–8. In March, 1640, eight red hats were available and there were many candidates for them; see DENIS, *Nouvelles*, I., 11.

at last decide to make a fresh creation on December 16th, 1641.[1] The purple was bestowed on the following candidates: Francesco Maria Machiavelli, a kinsman of the Barberini; Ascanio Filomarino, Archbishop of Naples; the Venetian Marcantonio Bragadino, Bishop of Vicenza; the Genoese Ottaviano Raggi; the Treasurer Pier Donato Cesi; the Dominican Vincenzo Maculano; Francesco Peretti Montalto, the last descendant of the family of Sixtus V.; the Roman Girolamo Verospi, a nephew of Cardinal Fabrizio; Giulio Gabrielli and Virginio Orsini, Rinaldo d'Este, at the request of the Emperor and, lastly, the ruling minister of France, Mazarin.[2] After the death of another five Cardinals in 1642 and that of a sixth at the beginning of 1643, Urban VIII. proceeded to his last creation on July 13th, 1643. In it a

[1] CIACONIUS, IV., 599, and CARDELLA, VI., 1, leave it undecided whether the creation took place on December 10 or 16. **Acta consist.* (*loc. cit.*) give 16th, but the *Nouvelles*, ed. Denis, I., 14, give 13th by mistake.

[2] For those nominated see CIACONIUS, IV., 599 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 1 *seq.* From the *Brief to Duke Francis d'Este of Modena of October 4, 1636 (*Epist.*, XIII–XIV., Papal Secret Archives), it appears that he had already then made a request for the red hat for his brother; later Ferdinand III. warmly supported the request; see the *Brief addressed to him of June 11, 1639, *loc. cit.* For Mazarin's cardinalate see *Rev. des Guest. hist.*, XVI. (1874). On A. Filomarino *cf. Arch. stor. Napolet.*, 1880–1; REUMONT, *Carafa*, I., 299 *seq.* For the grave of Filomarino designed by Borromini in the church of the Holy Apostles at Naples, see WEISBACH, *Baukunst*, 192. An anonymous characterization of the Cardinals refers to Machiavelli's "buona indole et natura", to Filomarino's "buoni costumi", but misses scholarship both in him and Bragadino; Raggi was "di buoni costumi e ingenuo", also "intelligente", but unstable; Cesi, "nel tesoriato è stato tenace, libero nel parlare, di natura gagliarda, intelligente de'negozii e di lettere mediocramente"; Maculano loved his relations more than befitted a religious; Peretti had been made a Cardinal through the favour of the Spanish ambassador; Gabrielli was "intelligente e capace di negotii"; the same is said of Orsini. Papal Secret Archives, XI., 49, p. 239 *seq.*

number of papal diplomatists were rewarded for their services: these were Cesare Facchinetti, nuncio in Madrid from 1639 till 1642, as well as his successor, Gian Giacomo Panciroli; also Lelio Falconieri who had been appointed nuncio in Brussels in 1635 but whom the Government refused to accept; Gasparo Mattei, since 1641 nuncio in Paris and Cardinal Rossetti, the Pope's representative at the Peace Congress of Cologne. The Secretary of State, Francesco Adriano Ceva, Fausto Poli, Maggiordomo and Administrator of the possessions of the Barberini and Antonio Giori, Maestro di Camera, owed the purple to their close relations with the Pope. To these were added besides the Jesuit Juan de Lugo, a man as learned as he was humble, and Achille d'Estampes, known as Cardinal of Valençai, who had rendered great services in the war of Castro, a number of men who had distinguished themselves in the service of the Court and in the administration: they were the Romans Giambattista Altieri, Mario Teodoli, Angelo Francesco Rapaccioli, Vincenzo Costaguti, Paolo Emilio Condinini and the Genoese Gian Stefano Donghi.[1]

[1] See CIACONIUS, IV., 617 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 21 *seq.* For Costaguti as a lover of music see AMBROS, IV., 340. F. Poli is sharply criticized in the *"Characterization" quoted above, p. 163, note 2. "Di nessuna letteratura, incapace e giovane e non ha altro merito che di essere accetto a tutti Barberini havendo loro ministrato l'entrate." Of Lugo it is said (*cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 284 *seq*; SOMMERVOGEL, V., 176 *seq.*, IX., 619 *seq.*): "La nuova del cardinalato li fu portata mentre stava nel refettorio, et all'aviso venne preso, ma si riebbe subito" (Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*). Lugo (see ASTRÁIN, V., 82 *seq.*), gained great merit by propagating the use of quinine as an antidote to malaria; *cf.* also the essay by A. CANEZZA in the *Corriere d'Italia* of October 4, 1925. A very unfavourable opinion of Poli, Ceva and Gori is contained in the **Discorso dei cardinali papabili* of 1644 in *Cod.* 20 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. In his uncritical work on Clement XIV., Theiner asserts the existence of a medal of Urban VIII.'s with the legend: "Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos," which was intended as an allusion to the fact that all the Cardinals who had elected him were dead. This assertion is quite wrong for at the death of

The Popes have at all times found it difficult to satisfy the wishes of the various Governments in the creation of Cardinals. Urban VIII. also experienced this more than once. Repeatedly the Emperor [1] and the Kings of Spain and France were dissatisfied. It was a particularly embarrassing practice of nuncios to try to obtain the purple with the help of the Princes to whom they were accredited. Already Pius IV. had issued a Bull against this abuse,[2] but he failed to root out the evil. Again and again exceptions had to be made, but just as often the requests of Princes had to be rejected. Thus Sigismund III. had vainly sought to obtain the red hat for the nuncio Rangoni.[3] In 1627 he sought to obtain it for the nuncio Lancellotti who had been at Warsaw since 1622.[4] The Pope resisted this demand but yielded in 1629 when he granted the purple to Antonio Santa Croce, Lancellotti's successor.[5] On December 20th, 1632, the Pope gave satisfaction to the new King Ladislaus IV. by raising to the Sacred College the deserving son of Sigismund III., John Albert. When the latter died in 1634, Ladislaus demanded the same honour, in 1640, for Onorato Visconti, nuncio in Poland from 1630 to 1635.[6] The Pope could not see his way to accede to the

Urban VIII. seven Cardinals of Paul V.'s time and one of Gregory XV.'s were still alive; moreover, MARTINORI (78) has been unable to trace any such medal.

[1] As early as 1626, because the Nuncio at Vienna had not been nominated; see Altoviti's *report from Vienna, dated February 4, 1626, State Archives, Florence.

[2] See BIAUDET, 26. [3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 237, 219.

[4] See the *Briefs to Sigismund III. of June 12, 1627, and April 1, 1628, in the *Epist.*, V., Papal Secret Archives. For Lancellotti's nunciature see *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1893, 110 *seq.*

[5] Urban VIII. did not like doing so for as early as May 11, 1624, he had written to Sigismund that he should rather propose a Pole; see THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 372.

[6] *Cf.* the *Brief to Ladislaus IV. of November 17, 1640, *Epist.*, XV–XVII., Papal Secret Archives. Italian music spread in Poland through the influence of O. Visconti, see O. F. TENEAJOLI, 'Musica e musicisti ital. in Polonia," in *Ars et Labor*, 1906.

request. When Visconti was passed over in the creation of December, 1641, the King was very angry,[1] so much so that when his candidate was also passed over in July, 1643, the situation developed into a formal rupture with the Holy See. In vain Savelli, Protector of Poland, endeavoured to smooth out the quarrel; in 1643 the nuncio of Warsaw, Mario Filonardi, was handed his passports whilst simultaneously the Polish envoy in Rome was recalled.[2] Such a step was bound to hurt the Pope all the more as from the beginning of his pontificate he had bestowed numerous favours upon Poland and had taken the greatest interest in the welfare of that kingdom which was afflicted with the same religious troubles as Germany.[3]

The Pope fully appreciated the religious sentiments of Sigismund III. which prompted the latter to win over to the Church, "with gentle pressure," the Polish nobility, and he placed great hopes on Poland not only with regard to the war against the Turks, who in this way were to be prevented from attacking Austria,[4] but likewise for the reunion of Russia to the Church by means of the union of the Ruthenians.[5] A thousand favours had been bestowed on the Polish King, the Venetian ambassador Angelo Contarini wrote in 1629.[6] In the previous year the Pope had authorized him to levy a subsidy from the clergy for the war against the Turks[7]; it was the Pontiff's thanks for the Catholic zeal of the King who gave further proof of his good disposition by co-operating with Urban VIII. in the reform of the Polish monasteries.[8]

[1] In a *Brief of March 31, 1643 (*Epist.*, XIX., *loc. cit.*), Urban VIII. sought to pacify the Polish king.

[2] See Siri, *Mercurio*, III., Lione, 1652, 493 *seq.*; Ciampi, II., 73–7; Biaudet, 51.

[3] *Cf.* R. Zeno, 177.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pietro Contarini, 217; Ang. Contarini, 295.

[5] See Urban VIII.'s remark made in 1629, in Harasiewicz, *Annales eccl. Ruth.*, Leopoldi, 1866, 323.

[6] See Ang. Contarini, 295. *Cf.* Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 378.

[7] See Theiner, 381.

[8] See the *letter of thanks to Sigismund III. of August 1, 1626, *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, *Epist.*, V.,

When Sigismund III., whom Rubens glorified as the subduer of heresy,[1] died on April 30th, 1632, the Pope favoured the election of his son Ladislaus.[2] The new ruler of Poland appointed Prince Jerzy Ossolinski as his *obbedienza* ambassador. Ossolinski was instructed to carry out his mission in the same style as the representatives of the King of France and even to surpass them: "Where the French had silver he was to take gold; where they had gold he was to have precious stones; and where they had precious stones he was to use diamonds."[3] On November 20th, 1633, Ossolinski arrived before the Porta del Popolo with a retinue of 300 men, twenty carriages, and ten camels. He was met by Cardinal De Torres, Protector of Poland, and by the Roman nobility with 160 carriages and escorted to his lodgings. Ossolinski's solemn entry was fixed for November 27th. Stefano della Bella, in a copper engraving, has perpetuated the magnificent spectacle which all Rome flocked to see.[4] The procession was headed by mounted men; then came the camels in gorgeous harness carrying the ambassador's luggage; four mounted trumpeters dressed in green velvet followed. Then came Ossolinski's body-guard of Cossacks and thirty-four knights in full armour, behind whom rode the aged shield-bearer of the envoy, also in full armour, with wings on his shoulders, and a group of pages with bows and quivers adorned with silver. The astonishment of the Romans was specially roused by six Turkish horses which followed, whose trappings were studded with emeralds and rubies whilst harness, stirrups and even the shoes were of

*Brief to Sigismund III. of July 2, 1628, with regard to the mission of the new Commissary-General of the Franciscan Province, Prosp. Gabbiati, as "Restaurator s. disciplinae".

[1] See B. Antoniewicz, "Un Rubens ignoré," in *Bullet. de l'Acad. de Cracovie*, Cl. de Phil., 1905, 16 *seq.*

[2] See Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 387 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* for what follows, L. Kubala, *Jerzy Ossolinski* (in Polish), 2 vols., Lemberg, 1883; and Chłędowski, II., 119 *seq.* See also the *Avvisi of December 3 and 10, 1633, *Ottob.* 3339, Vatican Library.

[4] *Entrata in Roma dell'ecc. ambasciatore di Polonia* 1633, Roma, 1633, partly reproduced in Chłędowski, II., 128.

pure gold. The members of the embassy, too, were resplendent in cloaks set with diamonds. Ossolinski's *zupan* (Polish coat) of black cloth shot with gold, glittered with diamonds; his sword, set with precious stones, was valued at 20,000 scudi. On December 10th the *obbedienza* audience took place in the Sala Regia at which Ossolinski delivered an address [1] which Urban declared to be worthy of Cicero.

As early as January 3rd, 1634, Rome received within its walls yet another guest from Poland, Prince Alexander Charles. The latter immediately called on the Pope and dined with him on the 17th; on the 22nd he was honoured with the gift of the Golden Rose,[2] but he left the Eternal City on the following day without waiting for the tournament which Cardinal Barberini had arranged on the advice of Marchese Cornelio Bentivoglio. His departure was probably due to disputes over questions of precedence.[3] The fantastic festival was held on February 25th, 1634,[4] without the Prince in the Piazza Navona which had been turned into an arena by means of stands. Mascardi has left us a description. The chariot of Fame opened the proceedings; then the tournament began, at the end of which there appeared on the scene a richly decked galley with Bacchus surrounded by musicians.[5]

Whilst all Rome was still talking of the Polish visitors, reports of a very disturbing nature concerning Ladislaus IV. arrived in the Eternal City. These made it abundantly clear that the King had not inherited the staunchly Catholic sentiments of his mother. In fact he was so lukewarm in his religion [6] that he even thought of marrying Elizabeth,

[1] See Ciampi, I., 305 *seq.*

[2] See **Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2919, Vatican Library.

[3] This is Chłędowski's opinion (II., 133).

[4] Not 1631, as Chłędowski (II., 133) says.

[5] See the monograph dedicated to Cardinal Barberini by *Vitale Mascardi: Festa fatta in Roma alli* 25 *di Febbr.* 1634 *sotto gli auspici del card. Barberini,* pubbl. da L. Passarini, Roma, 1882 (Nozze-Publ.). *Cf.* Posse, *Sacchi,* 7.

[6] *Cf.* the *report of the nuncio O. Visconti, July 13, 1636, in the *Relacye,* II., 189 *seq.*

the daughter of the Calvinist Winter King.[1] It was not to be expected that he would further the interests of the Church. How little Catholic feeling he had was shown by his attitude towards the dissident Ruthenians as well as towards the Uniats when, on November 12th, 1623, the latter's Martyr, the splendid Archbishop of Polozk, Josaphat Kuncewicz, expired at Witebsk under the axes of the schismatics.[2] However, even the greatest difficulties were unable to shake "the holy work of the Union". Sigismund III. had obeyed the repeated requests of the Pope[3] to protect the Union against the schismatics. Urban VIII. never wearied of urging the Ruthenian Bishops to remain steadfastly loyal to the Union.[4] In 1630 he had the joy of seeing the Archimandrite of Vilna, Meletius Smotrziski, return to the Catholic faith[5] and in the same year the Armenian Bishop of Lemberg, Nicolas Toroszewicz, promised obedience to the Roman Church.[6]

[1] How much the abandonment of this plan was appreciated in Rome appears from *Nani's* report (38).

[2] *Cf.* Iac. Susza, *Cursus vitae et certamen martyrii b. Iosaphat Kuncewicii*, Rome, 1665, and Brussels, 1865; N. Contieri, *Vita di S. Giosafat*, Roma, 1867; D. Guépin, *St. Josafat Martyr*, Poitiers, 1874 (new edition in 2 vols., *ibid.*, 1897/98); G. Hofmann, *Der heilige Josaphat*, Rome, 1923. The remains of the Martyr, whom Pius IX. canonized in 1867 and whose process of beatification had been begun by Urban VIII. in 1635 (see Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 11, and Hofmann, *loc. cit.*), were hidden in a safe place when Russia, in 1875, suppressed Cholm, the last of the Uniat dioceses. The body was translated to the Greek-Catholic Church of St. Barbara in Vienna in 1920; at the identification the cleft of the mortal wound in the skull was clearly visible. The old pontifical vestments were removed to the national museum at Lemberg.

[3] See Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 371 *seq.*, 373, 377, 380.

[4] *Ibid.*, 378, 382.

[5] *Ibid.*, 383 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 387; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.[2], 1731 *seq.*, with further details on the activities of N. Toroszewicz for the union and on his journey to Rome, when Urban VIII., in 1625, confirmed him as Metropolitan of the Uniat Armenians.

Now as before, the Metropolitan Rutski [1613–1635 [1]] whom Urban VIII. had surnamed the "Atlas of the Union" and compared with St. Athanasius, worked unceasingly on behalf of the Union.[2] Difficult days came for the Union with Ladislaus IV., who already in his election capitulation had made extraordinary concessions to the schismatics, to the great injury of the Union.[3] The protests of the Ruthenian Bishops as well as the repeated complaints of the Pope against this action remained without effect.[4] In 1633 Ladislaus once more officially recognized the schism by confirming in their position the opposition Metropolitan and four opposition Bishops and by sanctioning the erection of a schismatical academy at Kiev. Even towards the Arians and the Calvinists he did not take the side of the Church to which he belonged. None the less Urban VIII. still hoped that the King would change his mind when, in April, 1635, Mario Filonardi succeeded Visconti in the Polish nunciature. In addition to promoting the Union of the Ruthenians and the Armenians, Filonardi was instructed to exert himself on behalf of the Catholic restoration in Poland where in recent times, in addition to the Jesuits,[5] the Capuchins had also begun to work for the religious renewal of the people. Before all else, in accordance with the decrees of Trent, the nuncio was to see to the reform of the clergy, to prevent pluralism, and to enforce the enclosure in convents of nuns. As regards politics, Filonardi's Instruction reveals the fact that the Pope counted on Poland to fight against the Turks and the Swedes.[6] However, on September,

[1] See CHOTKOWSKI in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CIV., 545.

[2] See HEFELE in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1853, 391; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 4.

[3] *Cf.* THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 398.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* ZALESKI, *Jesuici w Polsce*, II. and IV., 3. See also *Script. rer. Polonic.*, XVII. and XIX.

[6] See the **Instruttione* for Filonardi, in the extract in *NICOLETTI, VI., 494 *seq.*, Vatican Library. The *reports of Filonardi are in *Barb.* 6161 (1635–9), 6160 (1635–6), 6162 (1639–1642), 6065 (1635–9), 6067 (1642), *ibid.*

12th of the same year Ladislaus concluded a twenty-six years' armistice with Sweden whilst at the same time he renounced the title of King of Sweden and his claim to Livonia. The Swedish army in Poland was now free to turn against Pomerania. As for the Turks, in view of the war with Russia, Poland had already concluded a peace treaty with them a year earlier.

Urban VIII. worked on behalf of the Union until the end of his reign, and again and again he also recommended it to the King,[1] but the support of the Government was inadequate.[2] At that time the Jesuit Matthias Casimir Sarbiewski sang the advantages of unity of faith in an ode addressed to the nobility of Poland which is one of the gems of the Polish Horace: "Polish knights," we read,[3] "prophesying I foretell the coming destiny. If once again one common faith unites you round the altar of the Virgin, if Poland's entire people greets the noble Queen with incense and hymns, if as in the days of our fathers, devout crowds flock to her image and the ancient battle song resounds, then shall come the time when the waters of the Vistula and the Dniester shall once more peacefully and freely roll down from the snow-capped Carpathians, and no longer shall we fear the eagle of the East, no longer the Danish bear." [4]

(2)

All historians are agreed that Urban VIII. deemed it one of his chief duties to defend the independence of the Church.[5] To this end, as early as December, 1623, he set up a special

[1] See THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 412 *seq.*, 416 *seq.*, 417 *seq.*, 435 *seq.* *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 318 *seq.* The Ruthenians received the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, in Rome; see *Bull.*, XV., 91 *seq.*

[2] See the details in LIKOWSKI, *Die ruthenisch-römische Kirchenvereinigung*, German trans., Freiburg, 1904. On the union of the Ruthenians in North Hungary see FIEDLER in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. XXXIX., 487 *seq.*

[3] See DIEL in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV., 357.

[4] *Lyrica*, IV., Ode 1.

[5] See R. ZENO, 182.

Congregation of Cardinals whose duty it was to see to it that Gregory XV.'s Bull on ecclesiastical jurisdiction was observed.[1] Such a measure was all the more imperative as the ever-increasing State absolutism was giving rise to endless disputes. This was the case in a most acute form, in Savoy where the aged nuncio Pietro Francesco Costa showed excessive indulgence so that Urban VIII. recalled him in the spring of 1624 and replaced him by the energetic Lorenzo Campeggi.[2] The new nuncio was instructed to recover what had been lost in respect of ecclesiastical prerogatives.[3] The chief question was the right of nomination to episcopal sees, far beyond mere recommendation, to which the Duke laid claim: also the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, the safeguarding of the immunity of monasteries and the taxation of the clergy. The Instruction also draws the nuncio's attention to the heretics in Pinerolo, to the furthering of the Capuchins and the Barnabites, the support of the action of Propaganda in the districts threatened with Calvinist contagion from Geneva and the necessity of stimulating the Archbishop of Turin in the discharge of his duties.[4] The execution of the decrees of Trent

[1] See the *Avisso of December 20, 1623, Vatican Library. *Nicoletti (II., 862, *ibid.*) places the creation of the Congregation in the year 1625, Moroni (XVI., 208), and Reusch who follows him (II., 372), in the year 1626. A decree on the subject cannot be found. According to the inventaries, the Papal Secret Archives (X., 1) preserved the minutes (protocols) of the *Congregatio immunitatis* from 1633, but since the removal of the archives to Paris, these have not been seen.

[2] The "uditore" of Campeggi was Bernardino Campello, known also as a writer (*cf.* Cristofani, *Della vita e degli scritti del conte B. Campello*, Assisi, 1873, and *P. Campello della Spina Il castello di Campello*, Roma, 1889). His detailed report on the nunciature of 1627, was published by Pagnotti in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 454 *seq.* Campeggi's *reports and the instructions sent to him are in the *Nunziat. di Savoia*, 42–4, 45, 167, 168, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] "*V.S. vada riacquistando il perduto." *Instruttione a Msgr. Campeggi vesc. di Cerano per la Nunziatura di Torino, Cod.* X,V. 14, of the Casanat. Library, Rome.

[4] *Ibid.*

wherever they had not been carried through was to be the principal duty of the nuncio of Turin, as it was that of every other nuncio.[1] Campeggi's successor, Fausto Caffarelli (after 1634), was engaged in several conflicts for the preservation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,[2] and his successor Cecchinelli in his turn had to fight a bitter struggle against an edict published by the Regent Maria Christina on April 30th, 1643, which encroached on ecclesiastical immunity. In the end the nuncio suggested the proclamation of an interdict but to this Urban VIII. would not consent.[3]

As with Savoy so did conflicts arise with Tuscany, not only over the possessions in the Romagna but likewise over the clergy's exemption from taxation which nearly led to a rupture.[4] In that quarter relations with Urban VIII. were still further adversely affected by the circumstance that the Grand-Duke Ferdinand II. showed himself wholly dependent on Spain.[5] With regard to ecclesiastical affairs it was a fatal thing that the Grand-Duke was badly advised by his confessors, the Jesuit Maurizio da Curtis, Fr. Giovan Francesco Centurione, a Discalced Carmelite, and the Barnabite Francesco Casallo.[6]

[1] *Cf.* PAGNOTTI in *Arch. d. Soc. Roma,* XVI., 467.

[2] *Cf.* the work of MAGGIOROTTI (p. 26 *seq.*) quoted in note 3.

[3] See A. BAZZONI, *La reggenza di Maria Cristina,* Torino, 1865, 273 *seq.* MAGGIOROTTI, *Il Piemonte dal* 1637 *al* 1642. *I contrasti nella reggenza di Maria Cristina e l'opera dei Nunzi papali,* Città di Castello, 1913, shows (122), that the chief credit for the peace between Savoy and France (June 14, 1642), which was furthered by Urban VIII., belongs not to Cecchinelli, but to his predecessor Caffarelli.

[4] *Cf.* NANI, 38 ; REUMONT, *Toskana,* I., 413.

[5] *Cf.* REUMONT, *loc. cit.,* 414.

[6] *Cf.* the account dedicated to Urban VIII., **La Nuntiatura di G. Fr. Passionei in Toscana,* 1634–1641, in *Barb.* 5678 *seq.,* p. 31, Vatican Library. Here we read of P. Centurione : " *Alla libertà ecclesiastica è contrario sopra modo, se bene pare a lui di fomentare la giustizia e sostentando li pareri contrarii alle risolutioni delle Sacre Congregationi di Roma in favor del Gran Duca, crede diffendere l'innocenza. Mostra di amare il Gran Duca con amore tanto straordinario che eccede ancora gli affetti

The result was a number of violations of ecclesiastical liberty and immunity.[1]

A very grievous conflict with the Republic of Lucca arose out of a similar cause in 1638. There can be no doubt of the survival, in that city, of the anti-Catholic spirit which had led it to the verge of apostasy from the Church already in the days of Paul III.[2] Gregory XV. had complained that Lucca allowed German Protestants to reside within its walls, a fact which constituted a danger of heretical contagion.[3] Violations of ecclesiastical immunity were the order of the day at Lucca. Another source of harm lay in the circumstance that the aged Bishop Alessandro Guidiccioni was quite unequal to his task. Urban VIII. was unwilling to proceed against him because Guidiccioni had at one time opposed him and the Pope feared lest action on his part should have the appearance of revenge.[4] When Guidiccioni died in 1637, the Pope gave the see to the excellent Cardinal Marcantonio Franciotti. The latter, a descendant of an old aristocratic family of Lucca, did all he could to improve ecclesiastical conditions in his native city.[5] But the Government of Lucca, which had at one time complained of Bishop Guidiccioni, was not yet satisfied. It created one difficulty after another for the Cardinal and continued to violate ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The disputes became so serious that on September 1st, 1639, Urban VIII. commanded the Cardinal to leave the city to

dei cortigiani non che i termini de'religiosi. È amicissimo del Vettori et conferiscono insieme i studi de'casi più gravi. . . ." Here also indications of the Spanish tendencies of the Grand-Duke. The author declares that: *" Il card. de Medici, zio del Duca, non s' ingerisce nei negocii." The Codex contains all the *Lettre, Cifre* and *Informazioni* of *Passionei.*

[1] See **La Nuntiatura di G. Fr. Passionei*, n. 47 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XII., 498 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Relation* in the *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, 184, note 2.

[5] See *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 20, Vatican Library; Moroni, XXVII., 145 *seq.*

which he then dispatched Cesare Raccagna, Bishop of Città di Castello, as Apostolic Commissary.[1] When every exhortation had proved in vain the latter saw himself at last compelled to lay an interdict upon the city of Lucca and its territory. The sentence was proclaimed on April 2nd, 1640.[2] The clergy observed the interdict but the Government would not yield even now, for it was aware that both the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and Spain were on its side.[3] Lucca's conduct grieved the Pope all the more as he had bestowed many favours on the city, and in 1633 he had assigned to its people a church of their own in Rome.[4] After prolonged negotiations a satisfactory compromise was reached, whereupon Urban VIII., on March 31st, 1643, raised the interdict.[5]

But most of the Pope's worries and continual annoyances were caused by Venice. The attitude of the Republic of St. Mark in every important political question was as damaging

[1] *Brief to Lucca, October 22, 1639, *Epist.*, XVII., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The action of Lucca was defended by G. Beraldi: *Difesa per la republica di Lucca*, Colonia, 1640; and *Relatione d'alcuni successi occorsi alla republ. di Lucca negli anni* 1638–1640 *dopo la venuta a quel vescovada del s. card. Franciotti*, Colonia, 1640. The name Beraldi and the place of printing are fictitious; the documents are of no historical value. For a corrective see the *reports in *Cod.* G. VIII., 244, of the Chigi Library, Rome, especially p. 1 *seq.*: *Narratione di quanto è seguito in Lucca contra il card. Franciotti e suoi fratelli*; 43 *seq.*: *Relatione di Msgr. Raccagna spedito commiss. apost. contro la republ. di Lucca* (1639). This Relation is also in *Barb.* 4, p. 1; *cf. ibid.*, 4607, and *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 20, Vatican Library. See also *Vat.* 8460, p. 1 *seq*: Franc. Maria Febei, **Memoria sopra l'interdetto contra Lucca* 1641 *cavata dal diario del Febei*, Vatican Library.

[3] See Nani, 39.

[4] The church of St. Bonaventure which was henceforth called Sta. Croce dei Lucchesi; see A. Guerra, *Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca*, Lucca, 1881, 174 *seq.* *Cf.* also Cancellieri, *Lettera sopra il Tarantismo*, 313.

[5] See **Acta consist.* for March 31, 1643, MS. in my possession; *Nicoletti, VI., ch. 20, *loc. cit.*

to Catholic interests as was its ecclesiastical policy. Though fully cognizant of the situation, Urban was nevertheless anxious, after his election, to do everything that could be done without sacrificing the Church's rights, so as to establish tolerable relations with Venice.[1] In conversation with the Venetian ambassador, Renier Zeno, the Pope expatiated on the merits of the Venetian Constitution whilst at the same time he stressed Venice's importance for the preservation of the independence of Italy in opposition to Spanish preponderance, though he also strongly warned the Republic against allying itself with the Protestant Powers.[2] Nor did the shrewd Venetians fail to realize how much they would benefit by being on good terms with the Pope; accordingly, yielding to the strong protests of the Secretary of State[3] and the Pope,[4] they cancelled the proposal of setting up an inscription in honour of Sarpi.[5] For all that the spirit of that sinister personage was still at work in the City of the Lagoons and the new nuncio in Venice, Giovan Battista Agucchi, was to have ample evidence of the fact when he took the place of Laudivio Zacchia towards the end of 1623.[6]

Agucchi's Instruction enumerates the following complaints of the Holy See: Venice's alliance with the German Protestants, especially with the Duke of Halberstadt and with Mansfeld, by which, as well as by its hostility towards the Emperor, the Republic did grave injury to the Catholic religion; the reception of the envoys of Bethlen Gábor and Holland; its friendship with the Turks; the toleration

[1] *Cf.* **Avviso* for August 26, 1623, *Urb.* 1093, Vatican Library.

[2] See R. Zeno, 181 *seq.*, 183.

[3] The same called for the intervention of France; see the *Instruction to the nuncio Corsini at Paris, October 23, 1623, in *Cod.* X., VI., 16 of the Casanat. Library, Rome.

[4] See R. Zeno, 183.

[5] See R. Zeno, 183. *Cf.* above, p. 41. See also *Carte Strozze*, I., 2, 83 *seq.*

[6] See the *Brief to Venice, December 16, 1623, *Epist.*, I.[a], Papal Secret Archives. For G. B. Agucchi, *cf. Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 487 *seq.*

of Protestant worship in the houses of foreign envoys and the printing of anti-Catholic writings and lastly the long-standing encroachments on the rights of the Church.[1]

During his stay in Venice, Agucchi displayed the utmost consideration and prudence in defending the rights of the Church whilst the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Pietro Contarini, had recourse to threats in the hope of rendering the Pope more accommodating. In the summer of 1624 he demanded for an utterly worldly young man, whose only recommendation was that he was his kinsman, the wealthy Abbey of St. Zeno at Verona. As was to be expected the Pope refused and when a second request also remained fruitless, Contarini remarked that the Pope must not be surprised if Venice also took no notice of his wishes.[2] The new Doge, Giovanni Cornaro, who entered on office at the beginning of 1625, assured the nuncio that he was anxious to be on the best of terms with the Holy See,[3] but Venice's policy in the question of the Valtellina and that of Urbino was utterly at variance with these promises.[4] Among other things, Agucchi had to complain of the fact that, in order to deceive the people of Venice, the Protestant envoy Thurn was allowed to assist at Catholic services.[5] But the pretensions of the Venetian Government to a right of nomination to ecclesiastical

[1] **Instruttione a Msgr. Agucchio Nunzio destinato alla republ. di Venetia*, MS. in my possession. *Barb.* 6049 contains the **Lettere decifrate di L. Zacchia e G. B. Agucchi*, from October, 1623, to March, 1625; *Barb.* 6055 has the *reports of Agucchi from December, 1623, to December, 1624; *Barb.* 6052, *those of 1627; *Barb.* 6053, *those of 1628; *Barb.* 6082, *those from December 29, 1629, to December, 1630; *Barb.* 6059, *those of 1630; *Barb.* 6055, Agucchi's *reports of 1631, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also in the Papal Secret Archives, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 44–9 (**Lettere del Nunzio di Venezia*), 273–5 (**Lettere al Nunzio di Venezia*).

[2] See Agucchi's *reports of June 1 and 8, 1624, in *Nicoletti, II, ch. 8, Vatican Library.

[3] See Agucchi's *report of January 2, 1625, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., p. 94 *seq.*

[5] See *Nicoletti, II., ch. 8, *loc. cit.*

dignities as extensive as that granted to Francis I. by the concordat of 1515 must have appeared even more alarming to the nuncio.[1]

In the sequel Agucchi's experiences were so bitter that in April, 1627, he sent a very gloomy report on the situation to Rome. In that message he sketches in broad outline the growth of Venice's Caesaro-papalism. During the last 400 years the Government had been violating the Church's immunity and jurisdiction in consequence of its desire to exercise unlimited domination over all its subjects, including the clergy. The situation had been further embittered by the political teaching of men who were Catholics only in name. The Servite Sarpi, learned, cunning and outwardly of blameless life, had so skilfully defended his Caesaro-papistic ideas, that even good men had been deceived. To this was to be added the weakness of the clergy, especially the regular clergy, who for the sake of their personal interests invariably took the part of the Government and showed excessive indulgence towards the nobility. Small wonder, then, if the Government looked on its usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as a right and made bold to lay down the law even in purely spiritual matters and to threaten priests in order to compel them to give absolution from censures. Of the Senators still sincerely Catholic one part had died and the other, for reasons of personal interest, did not dare to offer opposition; in this way the reins had passed into the hands of the younger generation which was wholly under the influence of Sarpi's ideas. Private negotiations, such as were customary in other States, were declined at Venice. Without as much as listening to any argument to the contrary, the most weighty decisions were taken on the advice of Fra Fulgenzio, a follower and colleague of Sarpi. The regular clergy stood on the side of the Government, were it only because they were afraid lest the nuncio and the Pope should interfere with their free and easy life. In vain Cardinal Cornaro had appealed to the Doge, his father; in vain he himself had pointed out to the Doge that Urban VIII. could not tolerate the violation of

[1] *Ibid.*

ecclesiastical immunity which had become the rule since the interdict of 1605. Even the request that at least these innovations should cease, remained unheeded. The Doge declared that he was powerless against the Senate. Accordingly, Agucchi's advice was that the dispute should be settled with the Venetian ambassador in Rome, for the latter could not refuse to negotiate.[1] But from that quarter also there was nothing to be hoped for. In vain the Pope complained to the ambassador of the action of the Signoria in ecclesiastical matters and of the interference by Venice with the people of Ferrara and Bologna.[2] The negotiations were all the more hopeless as Urban VIII., the common father of Christendom, would not depart from the duty of maintaining his impartiality in political questions as requested by Venice.

Meanwhile ecclesiastical affairs were managed at the discretion of Fra Fulgenzio by whose advice the politicians, above all the influential Domenico da Molino, decided everything. The Friar was being blindly obeyed though it was known that he had Calvinist learnings, was on terms of greatest intimacy with the Protestant envoys and led an immoral life. Fulgenzio's influence was greater than that of the nuncio and the Patriarch because all papal ordinances concerning benefices passed through his hands. The degenerate Frate openly boasted of his efforts to foment dissension between Venice and the Holy See.[3] In 1629 the bestowal of the See of Padua on Cardinal Cornaro, to which Venice objected, and the nomination of a coadjutor to the ailing

[1] See Agucchi's *report of April 10, 1627, in *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* Fulgenzio was "deputato della Republica a rivedere le bolle apostoliche e le provisioni degli ordinandi che si presentarono in collegio per ottener i possessi temporali de'beneficii ecclesiastici". *Cf.* Agucchi's *report, June 22, 1624, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Ang. Contarini, 300 *seq.*

[3] See Agucchi's *report of November 20, 1627, *loc. cit.* For the interference of the Venetian Government, especially in the affairs of the Inquisition, *cf.* the **Informatione* of December 25, 1627, in the *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 45, p. 68 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

Patriarch of Aquileia, Gradenigo, led to violent disputes with Rome which Richelieu tried in vain to smooth.[1] Authentic reports prove how tense the situation had become. When in November, 1629, the Venetian ambassador, Angelo Contarini, complained that at the last creation of Cardinals no Venetian had received the red hat, the Pope replied that the Venetians would at least have no opportunity to ill-treat a Cardinal.[2]

At the end of 1629 Contarini was replaced by the haughty Giovanni Pesaro, a circumstance which aggravated the situation. Counting on the anti-Roman feelings of the new Doge, Niccolò Contarini, Pesaro resolved to bring matters to a head.[3] However, the Pope would not yield on the question of Padua. In September, 1630, the political situation made some attempt at a compromise imperative, though all such efforts were unlikely to lead to a successful issue owing to the usurpation of Church property by the Venetians who were in need of money in consequence of the war in Mantua, an action that had given rise to fresh disputes. In April, 1631, Francesco Orizzo became Doge and the Patriarch of Venice died about the same time. In June a compromise was arrived at; instead of Padua, Cornaro received the patriarchal see of Venice.[4]

However, even so there could be no lasting peace seeing that Pesaro gave sanctuary in his palace to every miscreant, sought to corrupt the Pope's servants, surrounded the Vatican with spies and got into a dispute with the Prefect of Rome, Taddeo Barberini, over a question of etiquette in consequence of which a violent scene took place between the representative of Venice and the Pope. On Pesaro's return from the Vatican, a fresh encounter occurred between him and the Prefect of

[1] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, IV., 732 *seq.*, 742 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] *"Che li signori Venetiani così non harebbono haver occasione di maltrattare i cardinali." Letter from the Secretary of State to Agucchi, November 19, 1629, *ibid.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, IV., 767 *seq.*, 776 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 790 *seq.*, 811 *seq.*, 817 *seq.*

Rome, near S. Andrea della Valle.[1] Thereupon the ambassador left the Eternal City on September 20th.[2] Once more it was France which, for political reasons, sought to mediate.[3] When a compromise seemed at last in sight, in March, 1632, it was put in jeopardy by a quarrel between Venetian and Papal soldiers in the territory of Ferrara.[4] Diplomatic relations were only resumed in July, 1632, with the mission of Alvise Contarini. At the same time the nunciature in Venice received a new occupant, Agucchi having died on January 1st, 1632. The latter was at first succeeded by an internuncio, but at the end of June Francesco Vitelli was named nuncio. This new representation should have resulted in better relations, all the more so as the elevation of Cardinal Cornaro to the patriarchal See of Venice and that of his brother to the See of Padua, had given universal satisfaction. However, this time a dispute broke out over questions of frontiers.[5] Owing to his failure in getting the Pope to join the anti-Spanish League, Alvise Contarini became a bitter enemy of the Barberini at the very time when France was working for a settlement of the frontier disputes and various other difficulties between Rome and Venice,[6] an incident sufficiently trivial in itself —the so-called inscription quarrel—led to a diplomatic rupture.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 839 *seq.*, 850 *seq.* *Cf.* also Siri, VII., 441 *seq.*; Dengel, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 118.

[2] See *Nicoletti, IV., 859, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 881 *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, 934 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 948 *seq.*, 953 *seq.*, 1421 *seq.* From September to December, 1632, mutual relations were strained by controversies about the waters of the River Po (see *ibid.*, V., ch. 3 *seq.*).

[6] See *Nicoletti, V., chs. 15 and 18; VI., ch. 11, *loc. cit.*

[7] The dispute about the inscriptions was carried on in behalf of the Venetians by Alv. Contarini (399 *seq.*), Nani (17 *seq.*), the dispatches in Dengel (*Palazzo di Venezia*, 118 *seq.*), and on the side of the Pope by *Nicoletti (VI., ch. 11; VII., ch. 5). That on the question of historical fact the Pope's advocates were in the right was subsequently admitted even by Venice; see A. Zon's account in Cicogna, *Iscriz. Venez.*, IV., Venezia, 1834,

By command of Pius IV., Giuseppe Porta di Castelnuovo had painted a large fresco in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, to commemorate the peace concluded on August 11th, 1177, between Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa. The Venetian Cardinal Mula was in charge of the work.[1] This circumstance, joined to inadequate historical knowledge, accounts for the fact that the inscription beneath the fresco described the part played by Venice in that event as far more important than it was in reality : with enormous exaggeration of the facts it stated that Alexander III. had recovered his papal dignity with the help of Venice.[2] The wording was based on the data of Venetian historians which the progress of historical studies had shown to be untenable. But Venice firmly clung to the ancient tradition and when an authority like Baronius pronounced against it, the Republic had pamphlets written against him. However, when the archivist Felice Cantelori, whom Urban VIII. held in great esteem, took the side of Baronius in a pamphlet published in 1632, the Pope had the inscription painted over, whilst in order not to offend Venice, he ordered at the same time the correction of other inscriptions, both in the Vatican and elsewhere, which were at variance with historical truth.[3] The painting-over

574 *seq.* Recently, G. B. Beltrami in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III., 1 *seq.*, had discussed the whole affair in detail and also printed Gigli's report which deserves attention because this chronicler, who is not usually favourable to the Popes, takes their side in this matter.

[1] See Vasari, *Vita de'pittori*, XII., Firenze, 1856, 121. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XVI., 419 *seq.*

[2] According to Siri, VIII., 430, the inscription ran as follows : " Alexander Papa tertius Frederici Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens abdidit se Venetiis, et a Senatu perhonorifice susceptum, Othone imperatoris filio navali praelio a Venetis victo captoque Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat, fidem et obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venetae Reipublicae beneficio restaurata est." It may still be read there, with a few slight alterations ; see Taja, 20.

[3] See G. B. Beltrami, *loc. cit.*, 4 *seq.*, 9 *seq.* *Cf. Cod.* I., VI., 205, p. 546 *seq.*, of the Chigi Library, Rome.

of the inscription in the Sala Regia greatly annoyed the Venetians, but their excitement knew no bounds when, at the end of 1635, a new inscription was put up in which the event was described in accordance with facts, the unhistorical praise of the city of the Lagoons being omitted.[1] The Venetians felt they could not allow such a diminution of the fame of their ancestors; threats were uttered against Rome; there was even question of expelling the nuncio. The passionate excitement of the Venetians was reflected in the final report drawn up by Alvise Contarini in 1635, on the termination of his embassy.[2] Spaniards and Dutch fanned the dispute to such an extent that the new ambassador, Vincenzo Gussoni, who was appointed on July 5th, 1635, never took up his post.[3] In his place the secretary of the embassy, Francesco Maria Rossi, who had stayed behind after Contarini's departure, demanded the immediate restoration of the old inscription. When he was given to understand that he should not get excited over a trifle such as a couple of words, all the more so as everyone was master in his own house, he left the Eternal City in obedience to his instructions, at the beginning of 1636, without a farewell audience.[4]

The Government of Venice continued to insist on the restoration of the old inscription and rejected France's offer of mediation.[5] It was hoped to induce Urban VIII. to give way by oppressing the clergy; but all was in vain. The efforts of the nuncio and those of France for a compromise,[6] remained barren until the Turkish peril led to a change.[7] When Urban VIII. announced his readiness to help the Republic

[1] It runs thus: "Fredericus primus Imperator Alexandrum tertium Pontificem, quem diu insectatus fuerat, post constitutas cum eo pacis conditiones et damnatum schisma Venetiis supplex veneratur." See SIRI, VIII., 430.

[2] *Cf.* a criticism of this *Relation* in Appendix I., vol. xxvii.

[3] See BAROZZI, *Relazioni, Italia,* II., 7.

[4] See DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[5] See *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 5, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* the *report in *Ottob.*, 3238, Vatican Library.

[7] See *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

to meet the danger which threatened it from the East, the Signoria resolved, on December 11th, 1638, to dispatch an extraordinary ambassador to Rome in the person of Giovanni Nani. The latter met with an extraordinarily friendly reception and found the Pope prepared to give to the Republic all the support within his power in the struggle with the Turks.[1] Meanwhile, thanks to Cardinal Cornaro,[2] who had exerted himself to the utmost in order to bring about a compromise, the new inscription had been painted over; Nani, however, failed to obtain the restoration of the original inscription on which Venice had set its heart [3]; that wish was only fulfilled by Urban VIII.'s successor.

In the relations between Rome and Spain, as in those with Venice, political differences were frequently mixed up with ecclesiastical ones. The principles of Spanish Church policy remained under Philip IV. the same as under his predecessors: obstinate insistence on rights claimed on the ground of a far-reaching Caesaro-papalism and, if possible, their further extension, though without letting things go as far as an open

[1] See NANI, *Relazioni*, 9 *seq.* Towards the expenses of the war Venice was granted a tenth from the clergy.

[2] Cardinal Cornaro *wrote on January 8, 1639, to the Senate, describing the very friendly reception he had received on the part of the Pope. In a *letter of February 12, 1639, he reports on an audience in which Urban VIII. had emphasized his friendly dispositions towards Venice " e professava di esser buon Italiano et che un Papa buon Italiano non può se non amare e stimare sommamente la republica di Venezia." State Archives, Venice.

[3] When Nani left, Urban VIII. regretted his departure, and in the farewell audience, on March 23, 1640, told him that he considered the rupture of diplomatic relations to be very prejudicial to Venice. In point of fact, Nani was given a successor on April 20, 1640, in the person of Angelo Contarini (see BOROZZI, *loc. cit.*, 45). But relations remained strained and occasions of dispute arose thereafter. Urban VIII. judged in 1641, *" che in Venezia non si corrispondeva a nulla per quel che se le faceva, nè si guardava se non al proprio interesse, e con tutte le grazie sempre si stava come fosse da principio." (*NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 8, *loc. cit.*)

rupture, for that seemed inadvisable both on political and on religious grounds.

Similar calculations also inspired the efforts of Urban VIII. to remain on good terms with Madrid, in so far as this was at all possible. If he granted numerous favours to the Spanish Government, he did so less from inclination than from a cautious instinct of self-preservation, in the interests of the Holy See. The loss of the important revenues which the *Dataria* drew from Spain would have been a serious matter in view of existing financial circumstances. Though the power of Spain had considerably declined, she still held Milan and Naples and from the latter Kingdom she was able to exercise strong pressure on the States of the Church.[1]

During the pontificate of Urban VIII., both Philip IV. and his ministers were at pains to have their Caesaro-papistic pretensions and their practical consequences defended by means of books and pamphlets. In this campaign more than one of their champions went to such extremes that their writings had to be put on the Index. Such a fate befell a work of Jerome de Cevallus in 1624, and one by the Franciscan Salgado de Somoza in 1628.[2] The latter, the most important of Spanish regalists of his time, had defended the so-called *Recurso de fuerza* in a book published in 1626 with Philip IV.'s privilege, but the King of Spain forbade the Bishops to publish the condemnation of the book on the plea that, in accordance with long-established custom, this could only be done within his realm by the Spanish Inquisition.[3] On April 10th, 1634, he wrote to Cardinal Borgia that he had been informed that Rome encouraged the publication of books supporting Roman views on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whilst such writings as defended the rights of kings were being prohibited; the Cardinal was to expostulate with the Pope and to ask that in matters concerned not with the faith but with questions of jurisdiction, everyone should be allowed to state his own views; if Urban VIII. forbade books that favoured the King, he would

[1] See Ang. Contarini, 293 *seq.*; Alv. Contarini, 379.

[2] See Reusch, *Index*, II, 370 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 373.

retaliate by prohibiting those written in support of the Pope.[1] Another Spanish lawyer, Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, in a book on the Spanish patronage in America, propounded no longer as a theory but as an established fact, the idea of an Apostolic Vicariate of the Catholic King confirmed by a hundred years' prescription and the silent assent of the Holy See. Since in virtue of the legitimate patronage which Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella had acquired, ecclesiastical appointments and the administration of the temporalities lay in the hands of the Government, the theory of the royal vicariate threatened to loosen still further the connection between the Church of America and Rome. Accordingly, the fiscal advocate general of the Camera Apostolica, Antonio Lelio, published a refutation of Solórzano's work and demanded its condemnation, whereupon it was put on the Index on March 20th, 1642.[2] However, no notice was taken of the sentence of the Index either in America nor in Spain: the clergy of both these countries continued to correspond with the Holy See almost exclusively through Madrid.[3]

The theory of the *Monarchia Sicula* constitutes a counterpart of the Spanish patronage in America. It rests on a Bull of Urban II. to Count Roger I., of the year 1098, which granted to the latter the rights of a papal Legate. Although this extraordinary concession had been abolished by the Concordat of 1192, the Spanish Court divines erected on it a fantastic structure of ecclesiastical privileges for their kings as heirs to the rights of the Normans and the Hohenstaufen in Sicily.[4] This gave rise to constant conflicts under Urban VIII. as it had done under his predecessors.[5] The tribunal of the *Monarchia Sicula*, with its permament judge who was wholly

[1] See (Llorente), *Colección dipl. de varios papeles* [2] (1822), no. 7.

[2] See the excellent account by Leturia in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XLVI., 30 *seq.*, 53 *seq.* *Cf.* Reusch, II., 374.

[3] See Leturia, *loc. cit.*, 54.

[4] See E. Kaspar in the *Quellen und Forsch. des preuss. Instituts*, VII. (1904), 189 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account vol. xviii, 60 *seq.*; xix, 349 *seq.*; xxv, 8 *seq.*

dependent on the Governor, threatened to destroy all legitimate jurisdiction and whatever survived of the ecclesiastical independence of the Bishops of Sicily.[1] The protests of the Bishops of the realm, in 1629, against the illegal procedure of the tribunal and the non-observance of the decrees of Trent on the subject, remained without result.[2] With a view to undermining all episcopal authority the so-called *Lettere di Salvaguardia* were invented. These were issued to persons who represented and accused their Bishop as their personal enemy in so far as the tribunal deemed such action justified. Anyone holding such a "letter" was exempt from the jurisdiction of his Bishop in civil and criminal affairs, so that impunity for crimes was practically legalized. Urban VIII. condemned this abuse and set up a special Congregation composed of Cardinals Ginetti, Gessi, Verospi and Pamfili and five other prelates, with mission to devise a remedy. Great exertions were needed on the part of the Spanish ambassador, Count De Monterey, and the Cardinals devoted to Philip IV., to prevent the Congregation from taking extreme measures against the *Monarchia Sicula*.[3] When on the retirement of the Viceroy, Albuquerque, the Archbishop of Palermo, Cardinal Giovanni Doria, became Lieutenant, he strongly opposed any extension of the competence of the tribunal of the *Monarchia*. In doing so he appealed to the decrees of the Council of Trent; he also relied on the support of the King, but the latter, in a very ungracious letter, met his demands with a negative answer and in the sequel deprived the Archbishop of the Lieutenancy.[4]

In the Kingdom of Naples also violations of ecclesiastical immunity were frequent,[5] especially during the viceroyalty

[1] See SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, Freiburg, 1869, 130.

[2] *Cf.* CARUSO, *Discorso*, 120; SENTIS, *loc. cit.*

[3] See CARUSO, 120–3; SENTIS, 135. The successor of Count Oñate (1626–8) as ambassador was Monterey from 1628–1631.

[4] See CARUSO, 123 *seq.* *Cf.* SAVAGNONE, *Contributo alla storia dell'Apost. Legazione in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1919, 24 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *letter to the Spanish nuncio of January 1, 1628, in *Barb.* 4336, p. 1 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and the *Brief of August 6, 1636, in the *Epist.*, X., Papal Secret Archives.

of the Duke of Medina (1637–1644). The latter inaugurated his rule by imposing fresh taxes. A Theatine who protested against this oppression of the people was banished from the Kingdom.[1] When the General of the Dominicans visited Naples, the Viceroy demanded that he should present him with a valuable painting by Raphael, a fact which, as in duty bound, the Prior of S. Domenico reported to Rome. To punish him for this act, he was escorted to the frontier by a guard of fifty soldiers whilst at the same time the Viceroy forbade all Dominican convents to receive in future any Fathers from other territories, without his permission.[2] With the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Filomarino, the Viceroy also promptly picked a quarrel over a question of etiquette. On this occasion the representative of the Catholic King made the remark that a red biretta did not make a Prince. But far more serious were the disputes over ecclesiastical jurisdiction which at one time nearly led to an interdict.[3]

In the Spanish Netherlands ecclesiastical jurisdiction was violated in sundry ways, especially after the departure of the nuncio Fabio de Lagonissa (1634).[4] When after the death of the Archduchess Isabella, the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand assumed the lieutenancy of the Netherlands, Lelio Falconieri was given the Flemish nunciature in April 1635. The latter was suspected of leanings towards France. Accordingly, the Government of Brussels made so many difficulties against receiving him, that Cardinal Barberini advised him not to enter upon office until the feeling against him should have abated. Falconieri would not follow this advice and, owing to the troubles caused by the war, travelled via Paris, an act by which he still further roused the distrust of the Government of Brussels which persisted in its refusal to receive him, so that in 1637 he was obliged to return to Italy. During this

[1] See *Arch. stor. ital.*, I, Series IX (1846), 321.

[2] *Ibid.*, 325.

[3] *Ibid.*, 326 *seq.*, 335 *seq.* *Cf.* Reumont, *Carafa*, I., 298 *seq.*

[4] See Cauchie-Maere, *Instructions*, 179.

[5] *Ibid.*, xxxvi. *Cf.* also *v. d. Essen* in *Bullet. de la Commiss. Royale d'hist. Belge*, LXXVIII. (1909), 272.

difficult period the business of the Brussels nunciature was transacted by Richard Paul Stravius, himself a Netherlander, until the arrival, in April, 1642, of a new papal representative in the person of Bichi.[1]

Spanish Caesaro-papalism, which also reacted on the Court of Vienna in consequence of the ties of kinship between the two Courts,[2] rendered the task of the Madrid nuncio all the more difficult as he had to contend not only with the despotism of the authorities of the State, but likewise with the distrust of not a few ecclesiastical bodies.[3] His position became extraordinarily difficult after Cardinal Borgia's protests against the Pope's attitude in the struggle between France and the House of Habsburg, which the former made in the name of Philip IV. in the consistory of March 8th, 1632.[4] In order to heal the estrangement to which that incident had given rise, Madrid decided, in the autumn of 1632, to send two royal commissaries to Rome. The little that transpired concerning the purpose of this mission could not but considerably disquiet the Pope, but he failed in his efforts to prevent its dispatch.[5] The two plenipotentiaries set out towards the end of October, 1633: they were the Councillor of State Juan Chumacero and the Bishop of Córdova, the Dominican Domingo de Pimentel. Their task was not so much to settle the affair Borgia as to constrain the Pope to take up a partisan position in favour of

[1] See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* KOCH, *Gesch. Ferdinands III.*, Vol I, 102, on the Emperor's veto of the publication of a papal Bull; see also HINSCHIUS, III., 756. On the disturbance of the cordial relations between the Pope and the Emperor in 1641, see FIEDLER, *Venet. Relationen*, in the *Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXVI., 284 *seq.*

[3] After the recall of J. Morosini, the nuncios were: Guilio Sachetti (January, 1624, to end of May, 1626), G. B. Pamfili (May, 1626, to March, 1630), Ces. Monti (March, 1630, to January, 1633), Lorenzo Campeggi (January, 1633, to August, 1639), C. Facchinetti (1639 to January, 1642), G. G. Panciroli (January, 1642, to July, 1643). *Cf.* BIAUDET, 207 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 283 *seq.*

[5] See LEMAN, *Urbain VIII.*, 205, 338.

the House of Habsburg against France.[1] In view of the fact that Spain seemed determined to go to extremes, Urban VIII. took every precaution so as to guard against any injury to his dignity. Before the two plenipotentiaries were received in audience, at Christmas, 1633, they were made to show their credentials so as to make sure that they did not intend to offend the Holy See. In the course of the protracted negotiations it became only too evident that what Spain expected from Urban VIII. was the abandonment of his impartiality, a one-sided partisanship in favour of the Habsburgs and a break with France.[2] To this end the most alluring promises were made, but Urban VIII. refused to yield. In order to win him over, Madrid ended by going so far as to sacrifice Borgia. On April 22nd, 1635, the Cardinal received a letter from Philip IV. recalling him to Madrid.[3] In March, 1635, Urban VIII., yielding to the insistent request of the King of Spain, had allowed him to raise a tenth, to the amount of 600,000 scudi, on the benefices of Portugal, Naples, Sicily and the Indies, though with the reservation that these sums were to be spent solely on the support of the Emperor in his struggle against the Protestants and in the event of peace being concluded between them, on the war against the Turks, so as to preclude the possibility of the money being used against France.[4] The two delegates had extorted this weighty concession by broaching, on December 15th, 1634, besides the request for help for the war against the Protestants, the thorny question of the limitation of papal jurisdiction in Spain. They began by submitting an autograph letter of Philip IV., dated October 1st, 1633, praying the Pope to remove the abuses which had crept into the Court of Rome and the Spanish nunciature, to the disadvantage of Spain.[5] They then presented two memorials,

[1] *Ibid.*, 323. For Pimentel, *cf.* MORTIER, *Hist. des Maîtres généraux*, VI., 392.

[2] See LEMAN, 340.

[3] *Ibid.*, 385 *seq.*, 478.

[4] See *Bull.*, XIV., 468 *seq.* The two agents had at first asked for a million ; see LEMAN, 507, note 2.

[5] An authentic *copy is in a codex (pp. 7–8) bought by me in 1902 from the Corvisieri Library.

one dealing with the support of the House of Habsburg in its struggle with the French,[1] the other with certain grievances against the Dataria and the nunciature. Ten such grievances were mentioned, viz. the imposition of pensions on Spanish benefices in favour of foreigners; their excessive amount, especially in the case of curacies; the granting of coadjutorships *cum jure successionis* without regard for canonical limitations; the *resignatio cum reservatione* of curacies; excessive taxes and fees for dispensations and other official documents; the reservation of benefices for the benefit of foreigners; the strictness displayed in collecting such property of Bishops (spolia) as belonged to the Apostolic Camera, as also in collecting the revenues of vacant bishoprics; excessive delays in filling the latter and lastly, the disadvantages of the judicial power exercised by the nunciature.[2]

Urban VIII. commissioned the Secretary for Briefs Maraldi to draw up a detailed reply to this memorial which was then handed to the Spanish envoys.[3] In view of the numerous complaints against the nuncio and his officials, in consequence of which a request had been made that ecclesiastical tribunals should be composed of nationals, a special Instruction was also sent to the Madrid nuncio.[4] Maraldi's reply, which was also communicated to the nuncio, was to the effect that without

[1] **Scrittura presentata alla S^tà di N.S.P. Urbano VIII. dalli ambasc. straordinarii del Re cattolico . . . sopra i sussidii che domandano per S.M^tà Catt.* (*Cod. Corvisieri*, pp. 41–7). On p. 2 is a statement that both memorandums were handed in on December 14, 1634.

[2] **Scrittura presentata alla S^tà di N.S.P. Urbano VIII. dalli ambasc. straord . . . sopra i pretesi aggravii della Dataria et abusi di essa e della Nuntiatura di Spagna.* (*Cod. Corvisieri*, pp. 11–37).

[3] **Risposta*, etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 51–9). RIGANTI (*Comment. in Reg. II Canc.*, S. 2, no. 44, p. 237 (ed. Romae, 1744)), quotes a passage of this *Risposta*. The *Risposta* was published together with the memorandums of Chumacero and Pimentel, at Madrid, but copies of it are very rare outside Spain.

[4] **Risposta piena . . . sopra i pretesi aggravii et abusi della Dataria e Nuntiatura mandata a Mons. Nuntio di Spagna solamenie* (*Cod. Corvisieri*, p. 63–81).

doubt the complaints came not so much from the clergy as from laymen who were ill-disposed towards the Holy See; however, since the King made them, they would be answered. This was done calmly and objectively, and most of the contested points, if not all, were justified.[1] Thereupon the delegates withdrew their memorial.[2] Only then did the Pope have the other memorial examined, that is, the one demanding a money subsidy, after which he granted the great tenth asked for. But the grievances against the Dataria and the nunciature still remained to be disposed of. Though there was much exaggeration and one-sidedness, as well as a desire to circumscribe still further the influence of the Holy See, it was undeniable that more than one demand was justified. However, the true aim of the Madrid Cabinet was not so much zeal for the removal of real abuses, as a desire of rendering the tribunal of the nunciature wholly subservient to the King by packing it with Spaniards and making of it but one more tool of the Government, as the Inquisition already was to a great extent.[3] In accordance with instructions from Madrid, the delegates persisted in their demands and in a fresh memorial sought to refute Maraldi's reply.[4]

The negotiations suffered an interruption when the Pope was taken seriously ill at Castel Gandolfo, on May 10th, 1637. On June 6th it became possible to bring him back to the

[1] *Cf.* also the dissertation: **I pretesi ai quali i Regii appoggiano, le presenti novità intorno alla Nunziatura di Spagna*, in *Cod.* 92, p. 108 *seq.*, of the Campello archives, Spoleto, in which some abuses are admitted, especially with regard to the granting of favours and benefices, and remedies are suggested especially against the conduct of certain agents who demanded "emolumenti".

[2] *Letter from Pimentel and Chumacero to Cardinal Barberini, dated February 13, 1635, *Cod. Corvisieri*, p. 83–6.

[3] See the opinion of HERGENRÖTHER in the *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 35 *seq.*

[4] This *memorandum is in *Cod. Corvisieri*, pp. 87–161, undated. According to *Colección de los Concordatos . . . entre los reyes de España y la S. Sede* (Madrid, 1848), 28 *seq.*, it may have been presented in January, 1636.

Quirinal though his condition continued to inspire grave anxiety.[1] The Spaniards felt so sure of his death that they began preparations for the conclave. The way in which Spain's extraordinary envoy, the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo, sought to force the stricken Pontiff to receive him in audience, was universally resented. He failed and negotiations for the conclave continued. Cardinal Carlo de Medici arrived in Rome. He was accompanied by a band of armed men and there were fears of disturbances owing to the fact that the Medici were on bad terms with the Colonna, because the latter refused to the Grand-Duke the title "Altezza".[2] The Barberini had already engaged the services of 300 Corsicans when happily the Pope recovered. By St. Peter's day, Urban VIII. was so much better that, though still in bed but arrayed in pontificial vestments, he was able to receive at the hands of Castel Rodrigo the customary feudal tribute for Naples. By August 6th, the anniversary of his election, the Pope was fully recovered.[3] Thereupon the Spanish envoy began to press for the bestowal of the red hat on the Abbate Francesco Peretti.[4] The latter lacked the qualities that would have justified such an honour. Urban VIII. also explained that as a rule the Popes only took into account the recommendation of Princes when these concerned their own subjects and that he must be as free in the choice of Cardinals as Princes are in that of their advisers.[5] The Spanish envoy's importunity having led to no result, it was decided to exercise even stronger pressure. At the close

[1] See the *reports of Scipio Gonzaga, Prince of Bozzolo, to Ferdinand II. of May 16, June 6 and 13, 1637. State Arch., Vienna. *Ibid.*, Moltmann's *reports to Ferdinand II. of May 2 and July 25, 1637. **Relatione delle cose occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Msgr. G. B. Spada*, MS. of the Library of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, Rome, and the reports in *Period. d. Soc. stor. p. la diocesi di Como* XVI., 188 *seq.*

[2] See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 139 *seq.*

[3] See the *report of Moltmann to Ferdinand II. of August 8, 1637, *loc. cit.*; *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 7, Vatican Library. CANCELLIERI, *Lettera sopra il Tarantismo*, 113, 308.

[4] See *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 8, p. 502 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* the **Instruction* for Facchinetti on p. 195, note 4.

of February, 1638, a fresh memorial on the abuses in the Dataria and the nunciature was handed in, but its exaggerations were such that it was not so much a petition as a libel.[1] Even so Peretti failed to get the red hat, which was explicable enough. The support which the Spanish Government gave to Cardinal Borgia, who entertained hostile feelings towards the Pope, betrayed its real dispositions. These were also evidenced by its opposition to the bestowal of the office of camerlengo, rendered vacant by the death of Cardinal Aldobrandini (July, 1638), on Cardinal Antonio Barberini.[2] The tension between Rome and Madrid was considerably increased by the circumstance that Philip IV. appointed Cardinal Borgia President of the Council of Italy, in consequence of which he demanded for him a dispensation from the duty of residence. When Urban VIII. refused, Olivares told the nuncio that he appealed from an angry Pope to one better advised.[3] Now as before Madrid was exceedingly annoyed at the Pope's attachment to his old principle of the greatest possible impartiality in the struggle between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. Whilst the Spaniards strove to induce him to abandon this attitude, they permitted themselves the worst encroachments in the ecclesiastical sphere. Both at Naples and in Lombardy, the immunity of the Church was being most grievously violated. After the death of Bishop Landriani, the Governor of Milan, the Marquis de Leganés and his underlings, arrogated to themselves rights which simply did away with all ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction. They justified their conduct by appealing to the royal Economate.[4] Perhaps even

[1] See *Nicoletti, VII., ch. 8, p. 515, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, ch. 9.

[4] See *ibid.*, ch. 9, p. 567 *seqq.* A detailed statement of the interference at Pavia (*cf. Bull.*, XV., 210 *seq.*), which Galante (*Il diritto di placitazione e l'economato dei benefici vacanti in Lombardia*, Milano, 1894), describes most one-sidedly and in part incorrectly, is in the **Instruction* for Facchinetti quoted below, p. 195, note 4. The end of the quarrel at Pavia did not come until July, 1642; see *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 586.

worse was the oppression to which the Apostolic Collector in Portugal was being subjected.[1]

In these critical circumstances a change took place in the Madrid nunciature in August, 1639: the Bolognese Cesare Facchinetti replaced the aged Lorenzo Campeggi who died not long after his recall.[2] The Instruction of the new nuncio[3] throws light on the alarming increase of Caesaro-papalism in the dominions of the Catholic King. At Naples, under plea of the *Monarchia Sicula*, exorbitant encroachments were being perpetrated in internal ecclesiastical questions, the Pope's jurisdiction was impeded, that of the Bishops almost wholly absorbed by the tribunal of the monarchy, laymen judged in cases of higher appeals and episcopal nominations were held up. In the Netherlands nominations to abbeys were made without Indult and in the Milanese territory ecclesiastical immunity was desrtoyed by the royal Economate. This was Philip's thanks to Urban VIII. who had bestowed on him more favours than any Pope had ever granted before, to such an extent, in fact, that the Spanish clergy complained bitterly of the tenths imposed on them with papal authorization. As a result of the Church's dependence on the State, ecclesiastical discipline suffered severely. Facchinetti was instructed to take action in this respect and especially to impress on the Bishops both the duty of resistance and that of personally reporting in Rome by means of *ad limina* visits.[4] However, in the ecclesiastico-political field the new nuncio was destined to have the same

[1] *Cf.* p. 196 *seq.*

[2] See the *Brief to Philip IV., of August 8, 1639, in *Epist.*, XVII., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, XV., a *Brief to Philip IV. of May 12, 1639, according to which Facchinetti was already destined then to go to Madrid on an extraordinary peace mission.

[3] In order to increase Facchinetti's prestige, Urban VIII. nominated him Archbishop of Damietta; see the *Brief to Philip IV., September 6, 1639, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Instruttione data a Msgr. Facchinetti, Nunzio straord. alla M^tà Catt.*, s.d., MS. from the library of Cardinal Gentili, bought by me in Rome in 1902. The date (summer 1639) is ascertained from the fact that the first disputes with Castracani are already mentioned, but not his dismissal, which occurred in August.

sad experience as his predecessor.[1] It looked as if Spain judged that the time had come to avenge herself, by fresh violations of the Church's liberty, for the Pope's impartiality in the struggle between France and the Habsburgs and to compel him even now to forgo his neutrality. The refusal of the red hat to Peretti had embittered the Spaniards; accordingly the cry went up on all sides, and louder than ever, that the Pope favoured France. The utter falseness of the accusation appears from the fact that just then the Pope was offering a firm refusal to the Cabinet of Paris which pressed him to bestow the purple on Mazarin.[2]

A particularly grave attack on the liberty and immunity of the Church occurred in Portugal, in August, 1639. Ever since his entrance upon office in 1634, the Apostolic Collector, Alessandro Castracani, had had a bitter struggle with the ill will of the authorities. A convert Jew of the name of Tommaso Pignero de Vega, who held the office of a royal procurator, on the authority of a doubtful law on Church property, succeeded in depriving the churches of certain annual legacies, the so-called *Capillas*.[3] As in duty bound Castracani opposed

For the intervention of the State in the Netherlands, see CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions, passim*, especially 197 *seq.* *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXXVI., 518. For the **Relatio Belgarum rer. sub nuntiatura Dom. della Lionessa*, 1627–1634 (Papal Secret Archives), see GOEMANS, VI., 279, and CAUCHIE in the *Anal. p. l'hist. ecclés.*, 1906.

[1] Facchinetti was informed of the difficulties which he would have to meet immediately on his arrival, by his fellow countryman, the Marchese Malvezzi, then at the Spanish Court; see *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 12, Vat. Libr. *Ibid.* the information that it was believed that Campeggi's death was due to mental suffering rather than to old age, inasmuch as the Spaniards suspected him of being in collusion with Richelieu.

[2] See *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 12, p. 672, *loc. cit.*

[3] The **Instruttione a Facchinetti* quoted above, p. 195, note 4, defines the *cappelle* thus: "Cosi chiamano in Portogallo quei beni che vengono lasciati alle chiese con obligo di messe et altre pie opere." For details on the dispute see *NICOLETTI, VII., ch. 10, VIII., chs. 5 and 7 (p. 327 *seq.*, an historical investigation into the

this measure and the Pope supported him.[1] The dispute began in 1636 and reached a point when towards the end of 1638 the Collector was threatened with expulsion from Portugal. Basing his opposition on an ordinance of Urban VIII. of June 5th, 1638, Castracani threatened with ecclesiastical censures those who violated her immunity.[2] From Rome he received instructions to lay the country under an interdict if he were expelled, though he was to hold on to his post as long as possible. Towards the end of 1639 the Jesuits were likewise threatened with expulsion in the event of their encouraging Castracani's resistance. On August 18th Pignero presented himself with a posse of police at Castracani's house and ordered him to leave Portugal. Castracani protested and laid all the churches of Lisbon under an interdict. On

controversy about the *cappelle*.). The office of Collector is here described as " differente nella nominazione, ma nelle prerogative e nelle facoltà equivalente al Nunzio ". Conditions in Portugal were already very difficult even before Castracani assumed office. Concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction we read in the **Instruction* for Giov. Batt. Palotta, appointed Collector for Portugal in June, 1624 : " La giurisdittione eccles. in quel, regno è forse più travagliata che in qualsivoglia ultra parte christiana e l'offese e gli abusi e gli strappazzi sono arrivati a segno d'intolerabilità." The Collector Ant. Albergati (1621–4), had already sent in a summary of the : " aggravi che sono fatti all'immunità della chiesa della corte secolare " ; Palotta was to discuss it with the King in Madrid and draw his attention to the danger of the state of affairs : *" caminando questi abusi ad un manifesto scisma et alterandosi per questa via la religione cattolica può con ragione temere il Re di qualche alterazione nel suo dominio." There follows a summary of the pretensions of the " regii ministri " in Portugal to the detriment of the Church (MS. in my possession). Under Palotta's successor, Lorenzo Tramollo (1627–1634), the Pope was obliged to address a *Brief to Philip IV. as " rex Portugalliae ", on November 3, 1629, begging him to cancel the edict of the " Lusit. magistrat. contra libertatem ecclesiasticam " (*Epist.*, VII., Papal Secret Archives).

[1] *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 560 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 655 *seq.*

August 19th he was summoned to withdraw his censures or to leave the realm and his house was seized. He was not allowed to leave his room or to say Mass. On 30th he succeeded in escaping into the adjoining Franciscan convent whilst the sentries were asleep, but on September 4th he was forcibly escorted to the frontier. Thereupon he excommunicated all who had been concerned in this act and repaired to Badajoz from whence he reported to the nuncio.[1]

At the same time Madrid sought to paralyse the tribunal of the nunciature.[2] Henceforth Spaniards alone were to issue its decisions, a pretension which led Cardinal Barberini to remark that even St. James had been a foreigner.[3] Facchinetti protested and hinted at the penalties laid down in the Bull *In coena Domini* against those who interfere with the Church's jurisdiction. However, in view of the fact that recourse to the tribunal of the nunciature had been declared a punishable offence, not many people availed themselves of it.[4] The Spanish ambassador, Castel Rodrigo, did his utmost to induce the Pope to agree to the reduction of the Church's nunciature to the rank of a State department, though just then the Pontiff was very angry because of Castracani's expulsion.[5] With this object in mind the ambassador threw out hints

[1] See Castracani's *reports of August 24 and 28 and September 13, 1639, in *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 7, *loc. cit.* Everybody in Lisbon observed the interdict, except the Dominicans; Urban VIII., therefore, commanded the Procurator General of the Dominicans to punish the disobedient (*ibid.*, p. 374 *seq.*).

[2] At first regret was expressed for the death of the nuncio, but at the same time the intention was betrayed of limiting the powers of the papal representative; see the two Briefs to Philip IV. of October 31, 1639, *Epist.*, XVII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Nicoletti, VII., ch. 12, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *" Stimò l'eccesso così scandaloso che altamente si commosse e fatto chiamare il marchese di Castel Rodrigo per palesarvi i suoi giustissimi sentimenti e esaggerò seco con straordinaria indignatione il fatto rimonstrandoli che non solo era stata empiamente l'immunità ecclesiastica, ma che barbaramente violata la ragione delle genti." *Nicoletti, VII., ch. 12, *loc. cit.*

that he might yield in his quarrel with the Prefect of Rome, Taddeo Barberini. But when this proved in vain, he had recourse to threats. Cardinal Barberini told him that he could not believe that the Viceroy of Naples woud be so foolish as to attack the States of the Church; moreover Madrid might bear in mind the fact that the Chair of Peter was not occupied by a feeble woman but by a strong man.[1] Spain's conduct towards the Holy See was something unheard of, Barberini declared; the Spaniards acted as if Urban VIII. were a French soldier, nay, as if he had robbed Philip IV. of Naples and Milan.[2] If the Spaniards wished for a reform of the tribunal, the Pope was willing to remove all real abuses, but he was not prepared to sacrifice one jot or tittle of the Church's jurisdiction. Barberini comforted Facchinetti with the assurance that the Spaniards only harmed themselves; that he prayed, and was getting prayers said to the end that this dreadful situation might soon take a turn for the better.[3] In the affair Castracani the Pope had addressed three sharp Briefs, all dated October 31st, 1639, to Philip IV., the Vicereine Marguerite and Olivares respectively: "The action against the Collector was illegal," he wrote, "by it not only the Holy See but the law of nations had been injured. Castracani must be permitted to return."[4] When Facchinetti handed these Briefs to Olivares, the latter was so upset that, throwing his cap to the ground, he exclaimed: "So I am excommunicated!"[5]

Very different was the conduct of Urban VIII. when on December 16th, 1639, Chumacero, accompanied by the ambassador Castel Rodrigo, handed to the Pope a letter of

[1] "Sopra la cathedra di S. Pietro non sedevan le asserte Papasse Giovanne, ma una santissima intention in un petto forte e rigoroso." *Ibid.*

[2] *"I modi che si usano con S. Pietro sono da disperati. E che più si farebbe se Papa Urbano fosse nell'esercito Francese? o havesse al Re di Spagna tolto Milano e Napoli?" *Ibid.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 692 *seq.*

[4] See *Bull.*, XV., 20 *seq.*, 23 *seq.*

[5] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 697.

Philip IV. in which the latter stated that in the interests of his subjects as well as those of the Holy See, the Pope must put an end to the abuses of the nunciature. Chumacero spoke in support of the King's demand, insisting in particular on the venality of the tribunal. Urban VIII. having heard him out without interruption, said that he had expected to hear that the King was about to put an end to the encroachments which had occurred in his domains, especially in the action against Castracani; instead of this he was now informed of fresh and most grievous usurpations, to the injury of the Holy See. If the King really had at heart the honour of the Apostolic See, he should not have suppressed the judicial power exercised by the nuncios for centuries. Under pretext of abolishing abuses the institution itself had been attacked; all schisms and heresies had invariably begun with alleged reforms. The nuncio had orders to remove abuses, but the only judge in these matters was the Pope. Heretics might seek to destroy the visible Head of the Church, but he had not thought it possible that Catholics would seek to deprive him of his jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. When Chumacero obstinately defended the rights of the monarchy, Urban remarked that he had no intention to argue with him but that it was clear that no sovereign had more authentic titles for his rights than the Pope. Chumacero permitted himself the rejoinder that Christ had said that His Kingdom was not of this world; to which Urban replied with ready inspiration in the words of St. Augustine: *Mundi dixit tenebrarum harum*! In the course of the discussion Chumacero expatiated on all that Philip IV. had done for religion. Urban replied that thereby the King had only defended his own domains; the defence of religion was a duty, for without it States must collapse. He himself would not give way; neither threats of injury nor promises of advantages for his family, would cause him to swerve from the path of duty.[1]

[1] *"Ne tener conto de torti o de vantaggi di sua casa, perchè sapeva per servizio di Dio sprezzar intrepidamente il tutto" (*Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 704). The whole discussion is given there, pp. 700–4. The *Brief to Philip IV., of January 25, 1640,

Accordingly, towards the close of the stormy year 1639, Barberini wrote to Facchinetti that measures of violence would not induce the Pope to yield.[1]

On the occasion of the forcible action against Castracani, Urban VIII. had foretold that Spain would be punished by heaven.[2] The prophecy was to be verified sooner than might have been expected. In June, 1640, an insurrection broke out in Catalonia which threatened to assume dangerous proportions owing to France's support. Catalonians and Spaniards alike appealed to the Pope. Urban VIII. immediately declared himself ready for friendly intervention and sought to prevail on France to refrain from supporting the rebels—a step that made a deep impression in Madrid.[3] In October Facchinetti seized the favourable opportunity to negotiate a compromise which might satisfy both parties, on the question of the nunciature. By its terms Spain renounced the pretension that the officials of the nunciature

bears out this conversation: "Io. Clunacerum tuum oratorem audivimus. Dum in Lusit. regno a laico magistratu Ecclesiae dignitatem violatam conquerimur, congrua remedia a tua pietate potius expectabamus, quam ut de imminuendis Nuncii facultatibus isthic ageretur." He had always put a stop to excesses and hoped for remedial steps from the King. "Significabit Cæsar archiep. Damiatensis Nuncius." *Epist.*, XVII. to XVIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 708.

[2] See Barberini's *letter of December 17, 1639, in *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 7, p. 372, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Briefs to Philip IV. of October 13 and 20, 1640, in *Epist.*, XVII., *loc. cit.*; Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 10, p. 496 *seq.*, 501 *seq.*, 520: *"Altri ammiravano i modi pellegrini e discreti, co'quali il Papa offeriva le sue parti al Re. Altri anche più critici confessavano, che S.S. non poteva con più chiare espressioni nell'acerbità di quelle congiunture mostrare il suo affetto verso la corona, la quale doverà perpetuamente restar obbligata a S.B., e finalemente tutti a piena bocca col confessare la rettitudine di Papa Urbano, benedicevano il suo nome e con encomii celebravano la sua generosità veramente paterna." Here p. 532 *seq.*, further details on the failure of the papal mediation because Olivares would not listen to the advice of Urban. Vatican Library.

must be subjects of the King. On his part Facchinetti agreed to every just demand, such as the regulation of taxes, acceptance of any kind of money current in Spain, foregoing the right of granting benefices during a vacancy of an episcopal see and the concession of the faculties of a Legate *a latere*.[1] Facchinetti, who had remained firm on one point, namely, that the nunciature must remained unaltered in all essentials, insisted on the reopening of its tribunal; if this was done, he promised ratification of the compromise within eight months.[2] However, the Caesaro-papalists would not even now accept defeat. In contravention of what had been agreed upon, they immediately published the compromise which so far only engaged Facchinetti's personal responsibility, and added to the text a note by the royal council which represented the whole transaction as a unilateral act of the State.[3]

[1] See TEJADA Y RAMIRO, *Colección de Concordatos*, Madrid, 1862, 74 *seq.* *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 36 *seq.* According to *NICOLETTI (VIII., ch. 10, p. 535 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*), "infinite giunte" with 26 members, were held under Olivares' presidency, without any agreement being reached. MERCATI (*Concordati*, 282, note 1), has conclusively shown that the so-called "Concordia Facchinetti" was not, as was long thought, a concordat between the Holy See and Spain.

[2] See *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 536.

[3] From the correspondence of FACCHINETTI (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 83–4, Papal Secret Archives, and *Barb.* 8451, Vatican Library), to which MERCATI (*loc. cit.*) first drew attention, it appears that the nuncio went further than his instructions warranted, and that the enemies of the nunciature *"per imprimere in tutti li vassalli di questi regni, che se dal Conseglio si erano levati gli'impedimenti havean anco riportato a sodisfattione delle riforme, che istampate per ordine loro si leggevano, et per ciò a'piedi della mia riforma posero un atto del Conseglio, nel quale nominando le mie leggi con titolo falso di Concordia (cosa mai non pensata nonche consentita da me, nè pretesa dai deputati) che per ordine di S. Maestà venivano a riferirmi ciò che si era avanti il signor conte Duca di volta in volta risoluto in quelle giunte, davano ad intendere di haver tolto gli ostacoli in gratia quasi della Concordia" (Letter of Facchinetti, November 10, 1640. *loc. cit.*).

However, Rome quickly saw through the manœuvre [1] and skilfully countered it. A Brief of April 6th, 1641, annulled the act on the ground that the nuncio had not been empowered to negotiate, and that the pact had been concluded without the Pope's knowledge.[2] On the other hand Rome was fully aware of the material value of the compromise, as notwithstanding the restrictions it imposed on the nuncio, it saved the independent existence of the nunciature and prevented that institution from becoming a mere tool of the State. Accordingly, on April 27th, 1641, the text of the settlement was despatched to Madrid, with a few modifications and the necessary regulations, as a papal ordinance.[3] On August 12th, 1641, Facchinetti published the Brief and the regulations in the tribunal of the nunciature, whereupon that court began to function once more.[4]

[1] The instructions of the Secretary of State of December 8, 1640, contain this passage: "Chi l'ha fatto stampare, non solo ha mancato alla parola data a V.S., ma ha voluto far vedere, che il tutto dependeva da esso. . . . Si è ancor avvertito, che in alcuni luoghi della stampa si usa la parola Concordia in modo che il Conseglio pretende che V.S. habbia concordato, et pattegiato con la giunta quanto va nella stampa, quasi che non appartenesse alla giurisdittione apostolica il fare la riforma, ma alla regia egualmente" (MERCATI, *loc. cit.*).

[2] See *Bull.*, XV., 108 *seq.*

[3] See MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 283 note, who first drew attention to the new "*Regolamento*" of the tribunal preserved in *Barb.* 8475, p. 33, as the *Reformacion del Tribunal de la Nunciatura de Espagna.* A passage from the *Brief of April 27, 1641, has been published by PIGNATELLI (*Consult.*, II., cons. 1, no. 15). The Brief and the Regolamento are the "Constitutioni Urbane" mentioned by *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Facchinetti's *report of August 21, 1641, on the publication of the Brief and the "ordinationi nella stanza dove in questo tribunale se da l'audienza all'hora consueta a porte aperte presenti molti curiali". For this reason, he says, he had had the "ordinationi" translated into Spanish and printed, but that document would remain secret until it had been approved by Madrid; the President of Castile had already privately acknowledged the Brief, *Barb.* 8475, p. 27 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

If the Spanish authorities yielded in this dispute over the nunciature, that fact was due to an event which had occurred in the meantime and which compelled the Government to show the greatest consideration for the Pope. On December 1st, 1640, Portugal, following the example of Catalonia, had rebelled against Spain. The Duke of Braganza, a scion of the ancient royal house, was proclaimed King by the nobility. He arrived at Lisbon on December 5th and at once ascended the throne under the name of John IV.[1] One of the causes which had contributed to the revolution was the conduct of the advisers of the Vicereine Marguerite against the Apostolic Collector in Portugal, Alessandro Castracani, which had excited great indignation among the population.[2]

The new King of Portugal protested his devotion to the Holy See, promised to handle ecclesiastical affairs satisfactorily, and decided to send to Rome his nephew, Don Miguel of Portugal, Bishop of Lamego, to do homage to the Pope in his name.[3] Spanish diplomacy did all it could to induce Urban VIII. to refuse the embassy. The demands made by Juan Chumacero in an audience of February 2nd, 1641, aimed at reducing the Pope to the status of a mere tool of the Spanish Government. Urban VIII. was requested to publish a Brief condemning the action of the Portuguese in

[1] *Cf.* besides SCHÄFER, *Portugal*, IV., 475 *seq.*, RANKE, *Osmanen*[4], 477 *seq.*, and A. CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Estudios sobre Felipe IV*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1888, also the interesting *report addressed to Cardinal Barberini by the two officials Famiano Andreucci and Vinc. Mobili, dated Lisbon, December 29, 1640, who had been left behind by the Collector Castracani, in *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 10, p. 509 *seq.*, where there are also further details on the suspension of the interdict by the Sub-Collector Battaglini. Vatican Library.

[2] See *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 7, p. 368 *seq.*, *ibid.*; FILIPPO CARPINO, *Relazione al card. Barberini dell'inumani trattamenti fatti da'ministri regii secolari della città di Lisbona a Msgr. Alessandro Castracani vescovo di Nicastro e collettore generale apost. in Portogallo li* 18 *d'Agosto*, 1639, MS. of the Corvisieri Library, Rome (lately sold). For Castracani, *cf.* also BRUZZONE in *Cosmo illustrato*, IV., Rome. 1903.

[3] See *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 10, 514 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

throwing off the Spanish yoke, to refuse to give ear to the rebels and to allow Spanish judges to sentence priests who had had a share in the rebellion.[1]

In view of Spain's power and the uncertain issue of the Portuguese rising, the position of the Pope was a particularly delicate one. He proclaimed a jubilee in order to implore the help of God and appointed a special cardinalitial Congregation to advise him as to his future conduct. Chumacero was told that the divergent accounts of events in Portugal rendered an unbiassed opinion impossible and that nothing definite was known of the dispatch of an embassy by the Duke of Braganza ; hence for the moment it was impossible to arrive at a decision. Chumacero, dissatisfied with this answer, resolved to exercise even stronger pressure. In a second audience on March 2nd, he presented a memorial which accused the Pope of injustice and reproached him with acting not as a shepherd but as a hireling ![2] Notwithstanding this provocation the Pope remained calm. In a third audience on March 16th he replied that he would do his duty as a good shepherd but that he must protest against Spain's management of ecclesiastical affairs. He had in mind in particular the expulsion of Castracani which had called forth the indignation not only of the whole Curia but that of every ecclesiastical circle.[3] Madrid realized its blunder and Castracani was allowed to return, though on condition that he would promote the interests of Spain in Portugal. Castracani was willing to agree to this condition though Facchinetti sought to dissuade him. Urban VIII. settled the matter by recalling Castracani.[4] This step was in keeping with his policy of preserving his impartiality for as long as possible in the ticklish Portuguese question ; hence also Chumacero's efforts to get the Pope

[1] *Ibid.*, ch. 11, the *Brief of February 16, 1641, to Philip IV. shows that Chumacero had replaced Castel Rodrigo, *Epist.*, XVII., ch. 10, p. 314 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 11, p. 549, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Ademollo, *La questione della indipendenza Portoghese a Roma dal* 1640 *al* 1670, Firenze, 1878, 20. [3] *Cf.* Ademollo, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*

[4] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 556.

to side unreservedly with Spain, which he renewed particularly in the audiences of May 22nd and 25th, were doomed to failure. When Urban VIII., in order to show that he was not hostile to Spain, further strengthened the Portuguese Congregation with four Hispanophil Cardinals, viz. Lante, Roma, Caetani and Bentivoglio, Chumacero demanded that in future its meetings should no longer be held in presence of the Pope, as this would hinder the free expression of opinion![1]

The Bishop of Lamego had left Lisbon on April 15th, 1641, journeying to the Eternal City viâ Paris. In Rome his arrival was awaited with a good deal of concern. In view of the Bishop's statement that he came to make his visit *ad limina* (namely to report on the state of his diocese) the Pope could not forbid his entering Rome though the Spaniards described his being allowed to do so as a great crime. Cardinal Barberini had done his best to prevent the journey, but Lisbon and Paris insisted on its taking place. On the Spanish side a rumour was spread that Chumacero and the Spanish Crown Cardinals would leave Rome on the Bishop's arrival. Urban VIII., however, did not suffer himself to be intimidated. He consulted the Congregation once more. Its answer was that there could be no question of refusing to receive the Bishop as such.[2] As a matter of fact it was not possible for the Pope to suspend ecclesiastical relations with Portugal without grave risk to his authority in that country.[3] But Urban VIII. entertained no delusions as to the difficulties of the situation. Cardinal Barberini wrote to the Spanish nuncio that he had never seen the Pope look so worried; the Holy Father prayed a great deal and asked for prayers, but he could not refuse to do his duty as a shepherd.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 556, 594. For the Congregation, *cf.* ADEMOLLO, 23, 24.

[2] See *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 12, p. 568 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* STAUDENMAIER, *Gesch. der Bischofswahlen*, Tübingen, 1830, 368.

[4] *"Nel pontificato di S. Stà non ho mai veduto l'animo di S. B. così ansioso come negli affari e mutazioni di Portogallo e singularmente nella missione del vesc. di Lamego, etc." Letter of November 16, 1641, in *NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 571.

Meanwhile, towards the end of October, the Bishop of Lamego landed at Civitavecchia where the new French ambassador, the Marquis de Fontenay, had him met by a group of his servants. The Bishop was accompanied by the Portuguese Inquisitor Pantalião Roiz Pacheco, who was to serve as agent for ecclesiastical affairs in Rome. On their arrival in Rome on November 20th, 1641, both lodged at the house of the French ambassador.[1]

On April 23rd, 1642, the Marquis de los Velez appeared in Rome as envoy extraordinary of Spain and demanded the unconditional dismissal of the Bishop of Lamego. Urban VIII. refused to comply with this request since there was question of ecclesiastical business: Rome, he declared was a free city; anyone could approach the Pope, that was why Pacheco also had been received.[2] The Bishop was at first referred to Cardinal Barberini who forbade him to appear publicly as an ambassador and did not hide from him Rome's grave displeasure at the violation by the new King of ecclesiastical immunity, in particular by the arrest of the Archbishop of Braga and other priests who had remained loyal to Spain.[3] In the sequel the Bishop of Lamego was allowed to take up residence in the palazzo De Cupis, in the Piazza Navona, but he was warned not to appear with an escort. When the Bishop refused to comply, the Pope instructed Cardinal Bichi to forbid him formally to do so. This step was necessary not only because the Spaniards would have concluded that the Pope recognized the Bishop as an ambassador, but because there was reason to fear disorders, for the new Spanish envoy, the Marquis de los Velez, did not disguise his intention of picking a quarrel with the Bishop in the street and, if possible,

[1] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 575 *seq.* Whereas Siri attributes the admission of the Bishop of Lamego to the representations of Cardinal Bichi, Ameyden says that Fontenay had secured it by threatening his departure; see Ademollo, 26.

[2] See *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 13, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Ademollo, 38.

[3] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* For the Archbishop of Braga, Sebast. de Matos de Noronha, who wished to subject Portugal once more to Spain, see Schäfer, IV., 499 *seq.*, 507.

of driving him out of Rome. Meanwhile tempers became more and more heated and writings for and against the admission of the Bishop as John IV.'s envoy began to appear.[1] The Spaniards uttered threats; one of their sympathizers, Theodore Ameyden, went so far as to declare in the papal antechamber that since Spain was the right arm of the Holy See, the Pope was bound to lend support to Philip IV. against the rebels, even to the extent of selling his chalices, if need be, in order to help him to recover Portugal![2]

In view of the delay of a decision the Bishop of Lamego sought to force it. He demanded an audience, as ambassador of Portugal, from Cardinal Lante, Dean of the Sacred College. When he was told that the "Bishop of Lamego" would be received at seven o'clock in the evening, he repaired to Lante's palace only to find that the Cardinal was out. The Spaniards made capital of the incident and complained that the envoy of John IV. had been received by the Dean of the College of Cardinals. This the Pope denied, but the City refused to give him credence. It was no secret that the Marquis de los Velez was resolved to employ force against the Bishop and that he was gathering armed men for the purpose, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Governor, Giovan Battista Spada. Accordingly, in order to avoid a conflict, Urban VIII. forbade the Bishop of Lamego to leave his house for a few days.[3] The Bishop refused to obey; on August 20th, 1642, he left his house with an armed escort. Not far from the Piazza Colonna and near the church of S. Maria in Via, he encountered the Marquis de los Velez who was also accompanied by an armed band. A clash ensued, firearms went off and there were several dead on both sides. The two hostile envoys fled and the police only succeeded in arresting three of the culprits.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 19 *seq.* *Cf.* below, p. 210, note 2.

[2] See ADEMOLLO, 35, note 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 36 *seq.*

[4] Besides the sources used by SCHÄFER (IV., 529 *seq.*), see the report of *Ameyden* in ADEMOLLO, 41 *seq.* (*ibid.*, 42 *seq.*, corrected by the *Diario* of Governor Spada and the report of Gigli), and

The incident excited and disturbed all Rome. The Marquis de los Velez maintained that the police had favoured the Bishop; he felt injured in his honour and would leave Rome. He was told that if any one had a right to feel offended, it was the Pope. However, every attempt to appease him proved unavailing. Together with Cardinals Albornoz and Montalto and the Spanish auditors of the Rota, he left Rome on August 27th. This action of the Spanish envoy called forth universal resentment: more than anyone else Urban VIII. felt justly indignant.[1] He nevertheless preserved his impartiality and the Bishop of Lamego's hopes of success were frustrated. The Congregation laid the blame on the latter; some of its members even advocated his expulsion, in any case he could not be received as the representative of Portugal because he had not obeyed the Pope. An escort was now forced upon the Bishop, but at the same time he was given the written assurance of personal safety which he had asked for.[2]

Whilst at Madrid the nuncio was doing his best to set the incident in its true perspective, the French envoy De Fontenay, who had been angered because the nomination of Michel Mazarin had received no support, presented himself before the Pope to announce his departure. He handed in a memorial from the Bishop of Lamego in which the latter held the Pope responsible for the injury to the Church which must follow from his refusal to receive the homage of the King of Portugal. The Bishop decided to leave Rome at the same time as the envoy since his King had instructed him to return home if after a year's stay he should have failed to accomplish his purpose. He declined the private audience which the Pope offered him as a Bishop. On December 18th, 1642, together

also *NICOLETTI's account (*loc. cit.*) who wrongly reports the conflict as having taken place on August 25. A Spanish *report in *Barb.* 3561, p. 269 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Even if reports differ in many respects, the main facts are as stated in the text. The **Processo* of the quarrel is in *Barb.* 6212, *loc. cit.*

[1] See BIRAGO, *Hist. d. regno di Portog.*, lib. 4, p. 332; ADEMOLLO, 48 *seq.*, 53 *seqq.*

[2] See *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 13, Vatican Library.

with the French envoy, he left Rome whilst Pacheco remained behind. The latter was instructed to obtain for King John IV. the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics which now as before the Spaniards claimed as a privilege of their king.[1] Fontenay, whose conduct was disapproved by Paris, returned to Rome on February 10th, 1643, whilst the Bishop took boat at Leghorn for Portugal.[2]

Even before news of the Bishop of Lamego's departure

[1] *Ibid. Cf.* ADEMOLLO, 64 *seq.* On the very rare memorandum of R. PACHECO: *Alla Stà di Urbano VIII. N.S.* (Roma, 1642) in favour of John IV., see ANTONIO DE PORTUGAL DE FARIA, *Portugal e Italia,* Leorne, 1898, 13. The question whether Urban VIII. should have received the Bishop of Lamego as *obbedienza* ambassador, was answered in Rome in various ways; *cf.* the documents published by SIRI (*Mercurio,* I., Casale, 1646, 602 *seq.*). These and other papers are frequently found in MSS.; see (1) **Discorso col quale si prova che sia licito e ragionevole, anzi necessario che la Sede Ap. ammetta il vescovo di Lamego, amb. di Giovanni, acclamato dai popoli Re di Portogallo, Barb.* 5218, Vat. Libr.; (2) **Discorso* of similar content, *ibid.*, 5219, p. 149 *seqq.*; (3) **Allegatione per il vesc. Lamego,* Library of St. Mark, Venice VII–MCCLXI (*cf. Cod.* 53 of the Corsini Library, Rome); (4) **Agosto,* 1642. *Ultima allegatione giuridica nella quale si prova che Msgr. vescovo di Lamego deve dalla Santità di . . . Urbano VIII. ricerversi come ambasciatore della Maestà di D. Giovanni IV. Re nuovo di Portogallo, Cod.* 6745, p. 226 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna.

[2] See ADEMOLLO, 66 *seq.* Nicoletti quotes the following from a *letter of GRIMALDI of February 20, 1643: "Il Nuntio scrivendo al cardinal Barberino gl'insinuò, che fin dal tempo di Richelieu si erano avanzate certe propositioni, che tendevano evidentemente a far credere, che si poteva ritenere la purità della religione cattolica senza haver bisogno della Sede Apostolica e della corte di Roma, e che all'incontro il card. Mazzarino haveva offerto ad esso Nuntio, che seguendo il ritorno dell'ambasciatore Fontanè con qualche honesta soddisfattione, egli havrebbe havuto campo d'adoprarsi in servitio della Santa Sede in cose di maggior rilievo; vero si fu che il card. Barberino usò tutte le diligenze possibili, acciochè l'ambasciatore non partisse da Roma." *Barb.* 4738, p. 409, Vat. Lib.

reached Madrid a great change had taken place there. Not long after the news of Richelieu's death had filled all Spain with joy, the hitherto all-powerful Olivares was dismissed, on January 15th, 1643. His dismissal met with universal approval. "When the apple is ripe," the nuncio Giovan Giacomo Panciroli wrote, "a small shock is enough to cause its fall." [1]

With the fall of Olivares a man disappeared in whom Panciroli rightly saw the chief instigator of the disputes between Spain and the Holy See.[2] But now as before Spain's Caesaro-papistic traditions and fear for her preponderance in Italy, were obstacles to the restoration of good relations.[3] Madrid greatly resented the refusal of the archiepiscopal See of Toledo to Cardinal Borgia. This was due to the circumstance that the latter would offer no apology of any kind for his conduct towards the Pope.[4] Facchinetti and Panciroli, who had so long held the difficult post of the Madrid nunciature, obtained the purple on July 13th, 1643.[5] A year later Urban VIII. passed out of this world.

[1] *"Quando il pomo è maturo, basta ogni picciolo crollo a far che cada" (letter of January 28, 1643, in *Nicoletti, VIII., ch. 14, p. 709, *loc. cit*). On Olivares' downfall, *cf.* Ranke's Osmanen [4], 487 *seq.*; Justi, *Velasquez*, II., 198.

[2] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Nani, 37.

[4] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, p. 724 *seq.*, 735 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* above p. 164.

CHAPTER III

Propaganda and the Missions

On the south side of the Piazza di Spagna in Rome there rises a plain but vast building, the façade of which bears the arms of the Barberini Pope and the inscription *Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide.* Among the many monuments of Rome that recall the memory of Urban VIII., this building is one of the most important for within its walls the central authority of the missionary work of the Catholic Church had its first home. The ground for its work was prepared by a noble Spanish prelate, John Baptist Vives, the representative in Rome of the Lieutenant of the Netherlands, the Infanta Clara Eugenia. At the very first sitting of the Congregation of Propaganda of which he was a member, and at a time when a suitable home was still being sought for it, Vives put at its disposal his palace in the Piazza di Spagna. The building was valued at 14,000 ducats and had formerly been the property of Cardinal Ferratini.[1] On June 1st, 1626, Vives made over to Propaganda the house and all its appurtenances, to serve as a seminary for ten priests or clerics from every nation [2]; at the same time he also assigned to the Congregation, for the maintenance of the students, besides various revenues, the whole of his estate, reserving to himself only the usufruct for his lifetime. At his request, on August 1st, 1627, Urban VIII. confirmed this donation, having in mind his duty to provide zealous apostles for the spread of the faith

[1] For Vives see Castellucci in *Alma Mater*, I., Romae, 1920, and in *Le conferenze al Laterano*, Marzo–Aprile, 1923, 191. *Cf.* also Arens, *Handbuch der kath. Missionen* (1920), 16, and especially Schmidlin in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss*, XII. (1922), 12. A reproduction of the fine bust of J. B. Vives is in *Alma Mater*, 1927, 15 (*Colleg. Urb. de Prop. fide*). *Ibid.*, 16, a facsimile of the *Bull. Immortalis Dei Filius* of August 1, 1627.

[2] *Cf.* Pollak Frey, 213 *seq.*

among all nations as well as the uprooting of heresies. At the same time the Pope also erected a College, or Apostolic Seminary, under the patronage of the Princes of the Apostles, and under his own name, for the reception and training of pious and learned priests who would spread the Catholic faith among the infidels of the whole world, if need be even at the cost of their lives. As Governors he named three Canons of the patriarchal basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Mary Major, with right to appoint or depose the Rectors and other officials of the College, to lay down statutes and to alter them. The College was to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the City authorities and the payment of taxes, and the privileges of all the other Seminaries were likewise conferred upon it.[1]

A second Bull of 1637 confirmed the establishment of a Seminary in the Urban College for twelve youths, viz. Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites and Copts—two of each nationality. The Seminary was to be under the direction of Propaganda and the Rector and an annual income of at least 850 ducats was assigned to it by Urban VIII.'s brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberini.[2] The

[1] See *Bull. S. Congr. de Prop. fide*, I., 65 *seq.*, and *Ius pontif.*, I., 87 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHWAGER, *Die kath. Heidenmission*, I. (1907), 19 *seq.* See also STANGHETTA, *La scuola di cantori nel Pontif. Collegio Urbano di Roma*, 1627–1925, Roma, 1926.

[2] See *Ius pontif.*, I, 170 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 180 *seqq.* a Bull of 1639 : the erection of a seminary in the Urban College for seven Abyssinians and six Indian Brahmins, failing these for Armenians. The Urban College was intended above all to educate a native clergy for those nations which had no College of their own in Rome ; see SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 208. The Bulls require, in conformity with the prospectus of the College (see *Collect. S. Congr. de Prop. fide*, I. (1907), 134), that the pupils should have good health, should be from 15–20 years old, and know either Latin or Italian. On May 18, 1637, Urban VIII. granted to the scholars and interns of the College the special privilege of being ordained, after three years' residence, *ad titulum missionis* (*Ius pontif.*, I., 173 *seq.*). The names of the first students are in the **Compendio.* mentioned below, 214, n. 4. For the Rectors see CASTELLUCCI in *Alma Mater*, 1921, no. 3, p. 61 *seq.*

latter had become Prefect of Propaganda on the death of Ludovisi in 1632. In his enthusiasm for the spread of the faith, he gave Propaganda the sum of 200,000 ducats and left to it the whole of his estate.[1] To him Propaganda also owes both its church and its splendid expansion which was rendered possible by the purchase of a whole block of houses. The reconstruction of the somewhat ruinous palace was decided upon on October 1st, 1639,[2] that of the erection of the principal façade facing the Piazza di Spagna, on November 12th, 1642. The plan for the latter was drawn by Bernini, whilst Gaspare de'Vecchi directed the erection of the wing facing the Via Due Macelli which was destined to house the students.[3] The foundation stone of the church was laid on May 5th, 1634.[4] Bernini[5] designed the sacred edifice dedicated to the Three Wise Men, the first fruits of the pagan world. Since the year 1633 the feast of the Epiphany of our Lord has always been appropriately celebrated by Propaganda with the so-called feast of tongues.[6] Every year one may hear there speeches in Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, Polish, Russian, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Persian, Chinese, Japanese and in divers dialects of India. All the nations are represented and proclaim, each in its own way, the oneness of the Church which by God's providence is founded on diversity—a faithful image of the task miraculously performed by the Apostles on the first Pentecost—the task of loving devotion to the welfare of all nations.

In 1641 Urban VIII. made a change in the government of

[1] See SCHWAGER, 21. *Cf.* ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 45, note 3.

[2] *Cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 218.

[3] See CASTELLUCCI in *Alma Mater*, III. (1921), 54 *seq.*, 58. *Cf.* BALDINUCCI, ed. by Riegl, 101 ; POLLAK-FREY, 231.

[4] See BERNARDINO LARIZZA (*sacerdote di S. Girolamo d. Carità*, 1636, for a time Rector of Propaganda), **Compendio cronologico dello Collegio Urbano de Prop. fide* (dedicated to Card. Francesco Barberini, *Barb.* 4477, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* HEMPEL, *Bernini*, 159 ; POLLAK-FREY, 216.

[6] *"*Prima Academia fatta nel Collegio d. Propaganda l'epifania*, 1633 ; see *Miscell. Clementis XI.*, vol. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

the Urban College by withdrawing it, in the interest of uniformity, from the three Canons and assigning it to Cardinal Barberini, at whose death it was to pass under the control of Propaganda.[1] Before long Barberini entrusted the Theatines with the task of training the Seminarists.[2] In 1643, in which year the first pupil of Propaganda, the Belgian Jacob Foelich, died for the faith,[3] Urban confirmed the donation made to Propaganda by the Benedictine Abbot of St. Barontius of the so-called Gregorian College in Rome, together with its library and other appurtenances.[4]

Propaganda, whose faculties Urban VIII extended,[5] owes to him not only its new home but likewise its financial consolidation by means of large contributions of money.[6] To all this must be added the magnificent legacies of Cardinals Calamina, Ubaldini, Cornaro, Giustiniani, Capponi and the Secretary of Briefs, Savenier,[7] as well as the considerable sums collected by the Carmelite Dominic of Jesus and Mary, and the founder of the Congregation of the Mother of God,

[1] See *Bull. S. Congr. de Prop. fide*, I., 113 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, I., 202 *seqq.*

[2] See Ferro, *Istoria delle missioni Teatine*, I., 406 *seqq.*; *Ius. Pontif.*, I., 209 *seqq.*; *Alma Mater*, 1927, 30, 55.

[3] *Cf. Alma Mater*, 1927, 35 *seq.*

[4] See *Ius Pontif.*, I., 216 *seq.* *Cf.* **Avviso*, of November 27, 1627, *Urb.* 1097, Vatican Library. In 1639, Urban VIII. had placed two Colleges at Avignon under the care of Propaganda; see *Ius Pontif.*, 1781.

[5] On March 13, 1640, the superiors of Orders were forbidden to open new convents, houses, seminaries, hospices, or chapels under the name of the Propagation of the faith without the permission of Propaganda (*Ius pontif.*, I., 199). *Cf. La Propagande. Notices hist.*, Rome, 1875, 26.

[6] *Cf.* Schmidlin in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss*, XIII. (1923), 58; *idem.*, *Anima*, 499 *seq.*

[7] From the *Testamentum Io. Savenier Leod. secret. apost.*, printed Romae typis Prop., 1638. On the great legacy of Cardinal Ubaldini see *Avviso of April 28, 1635, *Urb.* 1103, Vat. Libr.

Giovanni Leonardi, so that by 1633 the annual income of the Congregation had risen to over 6,000 scudi, by 1638 to nearly 12,000, and subsequently to twice that sum.[1]

An important adjunct to the Congregation of Propaganda was its polyglot printing press. As early as 1622 it was decided to found a printing press provided with Greek, Latin, Arabic, Armenian and Illyrian type. Part of the plant already existed in the Vatican Library and in the printing shop set up by Sixtus V. ; the remainder was provided by the printer Stefano Paolino. The press of Propaganda was finally set up on July 14th, 1626. It was warmly supported by Urban VIII. who was ever a patron of scholarship. The first catalogue of its publications, drawn up by Giovanni Domenico Verusi, appeared in 1639.[2]

The great hopes which Urban VIII. set on Propaganda from the beginning[3] were destined to be amply fulfilled. One circumstance which greatly contributed to this result was the special attention paid by Propaganda to the various Seminaries in which good priests were being formed both within and outside Rome. Gregory XV. had already decreed the visitation of the Roman Colleges. Urban VIII. in his turn approved the measure[4] and extended it to foreign Colleges. For its execution he made use partly of Propaganda, partly of the nuncios. In 1623 the Generals of Orders were instructed to establish schools of languages for missionaries.[5] In 1624

[1] See SCHMIDLIN in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss*, XII. (1922), 14.

[2] *Cf.* M. GALEOTTI, *Della tipografia poliglotta di Propaganda*, Torino, 1866, *App.*, I. and II. *Ibid.*, III., on the share of Ingoli. *Cf.* also MORONI, XIV., 238 *seq.* ; F. L. HOFFMANN, in *Bullet. du Bibliophile Belge*, IX., Brussels, 1852 ; FALKENSTEIN, 212 *seq.* ; *Serapeum*, 1867, 106 *seq.* ; *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 158 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *Instructions for the nuncios of 1624, especially that for Agucchi in Venice (*cf.* above p. 176), and Sachetti in Madrid (*cf.* vol. xxviii, p. 65).

[4] See **Visite*, VIII., 186, Propaganda Archives, Rome.

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionwiss.*, XII. (1922), 14, note 1.

the Bulgarian College was subjected to a visitation,[1] and the Greek College was given new statutes.[2] On December 18th, 1626, Propaganda reported that the various visitations which it had carried out had brought to light the fact that, with the exception of the Germanicum, the Roman Colleges fell short of what might be expected from them ; accordingly a reform was indispensable.[3]

Visitations seemed the most appropriate remedy and from the first years of Urban's pontificate they were also held in Colleges abroad, as at Vilna,[4] Olomouc,[5] in the Cologne Seminary of the Congregation of Bursfeld,[6] in the English College at Douai.[7] Between the years 1627–8 the visitation of the papal Colleges of Prague,[8] Vienna,[9] Fulda,[10] and

[1] April 9, 1624 ; see **Visite*, I., 1 *seq.* **Visite*, V., 438, for the index of the " alumni Bulgari " since Clement VIII.'s time.

[2] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 34 *seqq.* ; *La Semaine de Rome*, 1909, 452 *seq.*, where further details are found of Urban VIII.'s efforts, which were unfortunately unsuccessful, to increase the revenues of the College.

[3] See **Memorie per i collegii pontif.*, **Visite*, IV.

[4] See **Sommario della visita del collegio pontif. di Vilna*, February 22–3, 1624 (by Urban VIII.'s command), **Visite*, IV.

[5] Visitation by the nuncio C. Carafa, 1624, **Visite*, I., 6. *Ibid.*, 17, **Catalogus alumnorum* since the foundation by Gregory XIII.

[6] **Relatione del seminario di Colonia*, 1616, erected by the nuncio Ant. Albergati, with the consent of Paul V., for the spread of the Faith in Germany ; in a bad way through the negligence of abbots ; reformed by Urban VIII., *Visite*, III.

[7] **Visita del collegio degli Inglesi a Duaci* by the nuncio of the Netherlands, Fr. G. del Bagno, *Visite*, V.

[8] **Visite*, III. and IV. *Cf.* **Visite*, V., the decision of the Congr. de Prop. fide on the erection of a new seminary at Prague ; Bull. of 1627, *Ius pontif.*, I., 78 *seq.*

[9] *Nova institutio collegii Viennen.*, *Ius pontif.*, I., 82. *Cf.* DUHR., II., 1, 627.

[10] **Visitatio collegii Fuld.* 4 *febr.* 16 *ab abb. Fuld.*, *subdelegato Nunc. Colon.*, *Visite*, IV. ; *Nova institutio collegii Fuld.* 1628, *Ius pontif.*, I., 105 *seqq.* *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 623 *seq.*

Dillingen[1] led to a reform of those establishments. The nuncio Carafa took a prominent part in the reform of the Colleges of Olomonc, Vienna and Prague. In 1625 a College was erected for the Maronites on Mount Lebanon,[2] and in 1627 the Slavonic College at Loreto was restored.[3] In the thirties of the century the Maronite College in Rome,[4] the Carmelite Seminary at S. Maria della Vittoria [5] and the newly erected Arab College at S. Pietro in Montorio [6] were also subjected to a visitation. The Roman College for Catechumens was given a new domicile by Urban VIII. and his brother Antonio.[7] In 1643 the missionary College erected at Cologne by the Premonstratensian Abbot of Steinfeld was placed by the Pope under his own protection and that of Propaganda.[8]

Urban VIII. also took a lively interest in the Catholics of the Turkish Empire and the remaining possessions of Venice, sending them visitors with mission to report to Propaganda. Thus in the summer of 1624 Ottaviano Garzadori, Archbishop of Zara, was named visitor of Dalmatia. He carried out his task with great zeal and visited all the dioceses and all the islands in the course of 1624 and 1625.[9] When

[1] **Visitatio collegii Dilingae*, 1627, *de mandato Congr. de Prop. fide, Visite*, V. *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 626.

[2] **Regole del collegio de'Maroniti nel monte Libanon erigendo*, approved by Propaganda, May 2, 1625, *Visite*, VIII., 469 *seq.* *Cf. Bull.*, XIII., 358 *seq.* *Ius pontif.*, I., 50 *seq.*

[3] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 73 *seqq.*; *Mon. Slav. merid.*, XXIII., 373 *seq.* *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, II., p. 1286 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] See **Visite*, VIII., 187 *seqq.* *Cf. Vat.* 7262, 31 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[5] See **Visite*, XIII., 1 *seqq.* *Cf. Ius pontif.*, I., 133 *seqq.*, and **Visite*, XVIII., 171 *seqq.* (*Visite* of 1639–1640).

[6] *Visite* of 1631; see **Visite*, VIII., 473 *seqq.*

[7] See FORCELLA, IX., 375, 382.

[8] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 217 *seq.*

[9] *Brief of nomination, July 13, 1624. *Cf.* the letter of recommendation to the Doge of June 15, 1624, in THEINER, *Mon. Slav.*, 122. **Diarium visitationis*, in **Visite*, II., 31–131, with the reform decree. **Visite*, III., contains the reports of Garzadori.

at a later date complaints reached Rome from Dalmatia, Propaganda, in 1628, resolved to apply a remedy, urging in particular the erection of a seminary.[1] Reforms were applied by the Pope in 1631 [2] and in 1640 by the Archbishop of Zara, Benedetto Capello.[3] In the summer of 1625 Propaganda received from Archbishop Luca Stella, of Crete (Candia) [1624–1632] a report on his work as Apostolic Visitor in Zante and Cerigo. The Visitor pointed out existing abuses and suggested remedies.[4] Ragusa was visited in 1627,[5] the islands of Zante and Cefalu in 1635,[6] Corfu in 1636 and 1637 by Stella's successor, Alvise Mocerigo, Archbishop of Crete, who likewise displayed great activity in his own diocese.[7]

In 1638 Ingoli, the indefatigable secretary of Propaganda

In *that of Zara, April 15, 1625, he reports that there were only three Greek churches in Dalmatia and that the Greek priests did not overstep their rights. The letter says: "Non essendo al presente io scisma de'Greci senza molte eresie, non si può in alcuna maniera celebrare in quelle."

[1] See **Visite*, VIII., 234 *seqq.*

[2] *Brief of November 10, 1631, "per la riforma d. chiesa di S. Simeone di Zara," *ibid.*, 278.

[3] **Decreti della visita del arciv. di Zara, Visite*, XVIII., 221.

[4] *Report, dated Crete, February 21, 1625: In Zante "90 Latini & 12000 Greci; le chiese in malissimo stato; dottrina christiana non s'insegna", only "frati convent.", no secular clergy. Cerigo: two churches "mal tenute, pochi Latini" (*Visite*, III.). Extension of the visitation to the Ionian Islands; *cf. Bull.*, XIII., 82 *seq.*, 140. "*Laudo cantato dal clero greco di Candia per il P. Urbano VIII. e l'arcivescovo L. Stella*" in *Bessarione*, XXVI. (1922), 16 *seq.*

[5] **Relatione al Papa della visita della provincia di Ragusa*, 1627 (by command of Urban VIII.), *Visite*, V.

[6] **Visite*, XIV., 143 *seq.*

[7] **Visita di Corfu*, 1636, by the Archbishop of Crete, Mocenigo, with his decrees, *Visite*, XIV., 1 *seqq.*, 35 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*; **Visita di Corfu*, 1637 (Rites), *ibid.*, XV., 320 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, XIX., 291 *seqq.*, **Visita delle chiese dei Greci soggette al dominio Veneto et in partic. di quella di Candia di Msgr. Mocenigo* (by order of Propaganda).

and a man of great initiative,[1] summed up in a memorandum the various causes of the retrogression of the Latin Rite in Crete and the other Greek possessions of the Venetians. He mentions the following: the dearth of priests owing to the fact that there was no seminary; non-compliance with the duty of residence by the Italian holders of episcopal sees; the bestowal by the Dataria of canonries (under pressure on the part of Venetian ambassadors) to subjects of Venice who failed to carry out their duties and the increased difficulty for Latins to obtain matrimonial dispensations. Both Propaganda and the Pope took immediate steps for the removal of these abuses. Urban VIII. consented to a native being given the sees of Sitia and Hierapetra seeing that he complied with the duty of residence and that he would be able to do good work by reason of his knowledge of the language.[2] In 1643, with a view to remedying the shortage of priests, Propaganda contributed towards the erection of a seminary in Crete.[3] The diocese of Sitia had been visited by its Bishop in 1638.[4]

Far more difficult than in the Venetian possessions was the condition of Catholics in the vast Turkish Empire, for there they were threatened not only by schismatics and heretics, but likewise by the Mohammedans. From a report by the Bishop of Antivari, Marino Bizzi, on the situation of the Latin Christians in the diaspora of Macedonia, Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria who had remained loyal to the Pope, notwithstanding their many trials, we get a good idea of the difficulties of their position.[5] Bizzi's successor, Pietro Massarechio

[1] Ingoli well deserves a monograph for which the Archives of Propaganda, Rome, contain abundant material.

[2] Ingoli, **Della visita de Candia, Visite*, XVI., 312 *seqq.*

[3] See **Visite*, XXII.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVII., 223 *seqq.*

[5] See **Informatione intorno allo stato della christianità dei regni di Macedonia, Albania, Servia, e Bulgaria in partibus infidelium*, by *Archbishop Marino Bizzi* (*cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 379), *Ottob.* 2536, p. 282 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.*, 265 *seqq.*: **Modus iuvandi catholican religionem in dioecesi*

(1624–1635) held a synod in 1625 and visited Belgrade and the adjoining Turkish part of Hungary where he beheld on all sides the ruins of churches and monasteries.[1] Massarechio's successor, George Bianchi, in his capacity as Primate of Serbia (1636–9), undertook the visitation of his diocese and of the whole of Serbia. Everywhere he found a great shortage of priests.[2] He also preached and confirmed in Montenegro, held a synod of Serbian priests and appointed as his Vicar-General the excellent Giovanni Zilli.[3] In 1642 Bianchi revisited Serbia.[4]

The Turkish part of Hungary [5] as well as Bosnia was chiefly evangelized by the Franciscans. Thomas Juvcovich, Bishop

Zagrabiensi ac vicinis regnis et provinciis utentibus lingua Illyrica (see LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 45). *Cf.* the *Informatione di Fra Bonaventura di S. Antonio*, 1632, about Albania published by RANKE without indication of source (*Serbien und die Turkei*, Leipzig, 1879).

[1] See **Visita di Samandria et altri luoghi della Ungheria sotto il Turco dell'arcivescovo di Antivari* (the Hungarians like to hear singing in Hungarian, which the Jesuits do; they almost prefer sermons to Mass, which is due to widespread Calvinist influence), *Visite*, XI., 150 *seqq.*; *cf.* 10 *seqq.*; **Ordini sinodali dell'arcivescovo di Antivari*, *ibid.*, X., 1 *seqq.*: **Relatione della visita di Belgrado et altri luoghi della Ungheria sotto il Turco dell'arcivescovo di Antivari P. Massarecchio.* For Massarecchio, *cf. Illyria sacra*, VII.

[2] See **Visita di servia dell'arciv. di Antivari et primate di Servia* (report from him 1636), *Visite*, XV., 306 *seqq.*; **Visita d'Antivari e della Servia sup. et inf. dell' arciv. G. Bianchi*, 1637–8, *ibid.*, XVI., 234 *seqq.*; **Visita di Antivari di Msgr. Giorgio arciv.* 1638, *ibid.*, XVII., 239 *seqq.*

[3] See **Relatione della visita di Msgr. arcivescovo d'Antivari nella sua diocesi et in altri luoghi di Servia*, 1639, *Visite*, XVIII., 229 *seqq.*

[4] **Relatione della visita della Servia fatta dal arciv. di Antivari*, 1642 ("anime cattoliche in tutta la Servia sono adesso 3522"), *Visite*, XX., 49 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* **Instruttione per il P. Benedetto Radzinense nin. conv. per la visita di Scioli di Transilvania e delle parochie d'Ungheria sotto il Turco*, dated January 24, 1633, *Visite*, XI., 183 *seq.*

of Scardona and Bosnia, was a Franciscan.[1] Between 1626 and 1630 he confirmed 34,479 Catholics, but he had to bribe the Turks to make it possible for him to discharge his functions.[2] The Bishop of Drivasto, Jerome Lucich, also a a Franciscan, confirmed 20,000 persons in Bosnia between 1637–9.[3]

In 1625 the Bishop of Alessio reported to Urban VIII. and to Propaganda on the very difficult situation in Albania. In the course of a visitation of his diocese, which was subject to the Turks, he had found that the Catholics were excellent but to minister to them there were only a few secular priests besides the Fathers of two Franciscan convents. The Bishop visited the whole of his diocese, zealously carried out various reforms and restored the ruined churches.[4] Notwithstanding the establishment, in 1634, of a Franciscan mission in Albania,[5] and repeated visitations in 1634, 1637 and 1641, the situation grew steadily worse. In 1637 thirteen towns had only one priest each, every one of whom had to serve an area of 40 miles. Small wonder that the population deteriorated and adopted Mohammedan customs. They observed Friday instead of Sunday; many men had two wives; Christian women who had married Turks declared that they did not know that this was forbidden. The visitation of 1641 also

[1] *Cf. Illyria sacra*, IV., *passim*.

[2] *Report of July 26, 1630, *Visite*, VII., 147.

[3] **Visita di Bosnia di Msgr. Girolamo vescovo di Drivasto, amministrat. apost. di Scardona e vic. apost. nelle chiese del regno di Bosnia*, 1637–1639 (in the diocese of Scardona and the "regno di Bosnia" there were only four secular priests, but 457 frati) *Visite*, XVII., 173 *seqq.*

[4] *Report to Urban VIII., dated Alessio, April 20, 1625, and **Sommario della visita del vesc. d'Alessio dello stato della diocesi* to Propaganda, same date, *Visite*, III.

[5] *Cf. Orbis Seraphicus. Missiones*, II., Quaracchi, 1886, 393 *seq.*; H. Mattrod, *Albanie au XVII. siècle*, in *Bull. de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe Sud-Orientale*, IX., Boukarest, 1922, 56 *seq.*

revealed a state of profound ignorance in consequence of the dearth of priests.[1]

In Bulgaria Catholics were in a much better position. There the Province of Kiprovac enjoyed a certain independence owing to its being the apanage of the mother of the Sultan, hence it had become the refuge of Catholics who there enjoyed full liberty to practise their religion. The Bishops of Sofia, who were all Franciscans, had resided in Kiprovac since 1600. In 1623 Urban VIII. appointed to the see of Sofia Elias Marini, a member of a noble family of Kiprovac. This splendid prelate converted many heretics, such as the Paulicians, and in 1625 he persuaded Propaganda to erect a Bulgarian Franciscan Province (custody). On July 21st, 1631, Marini renounced all parochial rights in favour of the Franciscans, only reserving to himself the privilege of sharing their table. In 1632 he opened a school in the convent, for the religious and secular instruction of youth. In 1638 Urban VIII. granted to him, at his own request, in view of his increasing age, a coadjutor in the person of Peter Deodat, Superior of the Bulgarian Franciscan Province and Bishop of Gallipoli.[2] When Marini died, Peter Deodat, a Bulgarian, succeeded him in the episcopal see of Sofia and Urban VIII. assigned to him an annual pension of 200 scudi. Deodat visited his new diocese [3]

[1] **Visita di Msgr. Sapatense* (*Georg. Grillus de Blanchis*) *in Albania*, 1634, July, *Visite*, XIII., 64 *seqq.*; **Visita di Msgr. vescovo Sapatense* (*Franc. Blanca*), 1637, *ibid.*, XVI., 193 *seq.*; **Visita de'popoli di monti di Albania di fra Gregorio Romano*, 1641, *ibid.*, XIX., 225 *seqq.*; **Visita di Durazzo et altre chiese d'Albania di fra Marco arciv. di Durazzo*, 1641, *ibid.*, XXI., 33 *seq.*

[2] See J. PEJACSEVICH in *Archiv. für österr. Gesch.*, LIX. (1880), 342 *seq.* The *letter of *Fra Benedetto Emanuele Remondi de Milano, min. conv., missionario di Moldavia et Vallachia*, to Cardinal Barberini, dated Pera, September 14, 1636, is interesting; it is accompanied by a *report on his visitation journeys 1635–6, *Visite*, XIV., 294 *seqq.*

[3] **Visita di Moldavia di fra Pietro vescovo di Sofia*, 1641, with suggestions as to how the Catholics of that district should

and held a synod in 1643, after which he went to Rome where the Pope named him Archbishop of Sofia. Reviving the metropolitan dignity of Sardica, Urban VIII. also entrusted to him the supervision of Riparian Dacia, which included Lower Bulgaria and Thrace (East Rumelia). The boundaries of the new archdiocese of Sardica were ill defined, hence a dispute arose with Mark Bandin whom Urban VIII., in 1643, had appointed Archbishop of Martianople, with residence in Bacău. The dispute was composed on February 6th, 1644. It was settled that, besides his own diocese, the Archbishop of Sardica should administer the province of Thrace (Eastern Rumelia, Riparian Dacia, and Valachia), and the Archbishop of Martianople, in addition to his own diocese, the adjoining one of Tomi (Dobrudja) and Moldavia.[1]

For the benefit of the Catholics of Transilvania, Propaganda entrusted to the Bosnian Franciscan Stephen Salines, the duty of making a visitation for which the Government also gave its permission. Salines found 44,000 Catholics and fifty-eight parishes of which twenty-one were without a priest. Transilvania had not had a Bishop for thirty years, so that grave abuses had crept in. Most of the priests were married. Propaganda did its utmost to remove these abuses.[2]

be cared for. "Dall'esempio della Bulgaria, nella quale la congregazione ha eretta una custodia di minori osservanti," the Congregation is advised to do the same for Moldavia and Wallachia; in Bulgaria there were formerly only three priests; now there are forty, "tutti del paese" (Propaganda Archives, Rome). On Moldavia see also EUBEL in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XII., 113 *seq.*

[1] See PEJACSEVICH, *loc. cit.*, 346 *seq.* *Cf.* also CANDEA, *Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern* (1917), 97 *seq.*; HUDAL, *Die serbisch-orthodoxe Nationalkirche*, Graz, 1922, 14; **Visita della Vallachia e Bulgaria di fra Pietro Diodato arciv. di Sofia e Sardica.*, 1644, *Visite*, XXV., 207 *seqq.*

[2] See **Visita de'Sicoli di Transilvania* by order of Propaganda by *P. Stefano Salines, prefetto de'padri Bosnei in Transilvania*; **Domande per servitio della religione in Transilvania*; **Discorso del segr. Ingoli* (appointment of a Bishop a pressing need). *Visite*, XVI., 244 *seqq.*, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

In north-western Greece, the oppression of which by the Turks was a source of grievous sorrow to Urban VIII.,[1] Propaganda provided for a mission in 1639.[2] The Jesuits laboured under severe difficulties in Bosnia,[3] in the Greek islands,[4] in Naxos, Syra [5] and Paros [6]; also at Aleppo, Patras and Athens [7]; and since 1642 at Santorin.[8] Throughout the Levant the French Capuchins vied with the Jesuits. The former were greatly favoured by the French Government, on national grounds.[9] The idea of this mission proceeded from Fr. Joseph who interested Richelieu in it. Accordingly Propaganda bestowed on Fr. Joseph the title of "Prefect of the Eastern Missions", and both he and Fr. Leonard of Paris were given the widest faculties. In concert with Richelieu the undertaking was organized as follows: To the Capuchin Province of Paris were assigned the missions in Greece, Asia Minor and the Archipelago; to the Province of Tours, the missions in Egypt, Cairo, Aleppo and Persia; to the Province of Brittany the missions in Palestine, Beirut and Damascus. Even if this ambitious scheme was only partially realized, important results were nevertheless obtained, thanks to the support of the French Government. In 1634 there were Capuchin missions in Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios, Naxos, Beirut, Aleppo, Cairo, Bagdad and Tripoli.[10]

The Bishop of Santorin, the Dominican Pietro de Marchis, whom Gregory XV. had appointed visitor of Pera and Constantinople, continued his reforming activities under

[1] See the letter in THEINER, *Mon. Slav.*, II., 123.

[2] See BESSARIONE, XVII. (1913), 130 *seq.*

[3] See *Mon. Slav. merid.*, XXIII., 373 *seq.*

[4] See ZINKEISEN, IX., 361 *seq.*

[5] See *Fouqueray*, IV., 348 *seq.*, 358 *seq.*, V., 372 *seq.*, 376 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, V., 381 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 382 *seq.* *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, *Gesch. von Athen*, II., 416.

[8] See FOUQUERAY, V., 386 *seq.*

[9] See FAGNIEZ, I., 314 *seq.*, 355. *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 529 *seq.*, and L. DE VANNES, *Deux martyrs Capucins*, Paris, 1905.

[10] See FAGNIEZ, I., 357.

Urban VIII.[1] He was able to send in a good report about the island of Syra (Syros) which was wholly Catholic.[2] At Naxos there still remained 400 Latins with two churches in the town, two in the suburbs, and six in the surrounding district. The Archbishop, the Venetian Sebastiano Quirini, knew no Greek, though such knowledge was essential as de Marchis stated emphatically.[3] On the other hand, at Andros there remained only sixty people of the Latin Rite.[4] At Paros there still remained two noble families of that Rite, but owing to the lack of priests the population had gone over to the Greek Rite.[5] At Santorin there were 700 Latins with five churches,[6] but in the sequel conditions deteriorated to such an extent that Pietro de Marchis, who in 1625 had entrusted the care of the Latins of Smyrna to a Jesuit,[7] had to leave the island because of the risk to his life. In 1640 he was made Bishop of Smyrna. In a detailed report to Propaganda he advocates the following reforms: the nomination of a Vicar Apostolic for Smyrna; that of a coadjutor for Chios whose Bishop was eighty years old; for Milo, a Bishop or a Vicar; for Andros, help for the Jesuit mission; for Constantinople, the appointment of a suffragan and the erection of a College. In the

[1] See **Decreti et ordini di Msgr. Pietro de Marchis, vesc. di Santorino, visit. apost. nelle parti d'Oriente per le chiese di Pera e di Constantinopoli, emendati d'ordine della s. congregazione de prop. fide nell'anno primo di Urbano VIII.*, *Visite*, I., Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[2] *Report dated Syra, July 12, 1624: "L'isola di Sira sola in Levante tutto del nostro rito latino et per la riverenza che hanno alla chiesa Romana et al s. pontefice vien detto l'isola del Papa." Only 70 Greek schismatics there; 167 churches; two bad priests, who must be removed. *Visite*, I.

[3] See the *report from Naxos of March 29, 1624, *ibid.*

[4] *Report of June 12, 1624, *ibid.*

[5] See the *report from Paros, April 8, 1624 (qui è quasi estinto il nostro rito). *Visite*, I., Archives of Prop., Rome.

[6] **Relatione dello stato della chiesa di Santorino, ibid.*

[7] See Fouqueray, IV., 343. For the difficulties which arose for the Jesuits through the establishment of the Capuchins in Smyrna, see *ibid.*, V., 360 *seq.*

interests of all the isles he deems it necessary that the Christian galleys should put in an appearance there every year, as had formerly been their practice, otherwise the Christians would be too heavily oppressed by the Turks.[1]

One of the points of supreme importance for the missions in the Levant was Constantinople where in 1609 the Jesuits reopened their establishment which the plague had compelled them to close.[2] Their activity in that city was all the more urgently needed as since November 4th, 1620, the Greek patriarchal see was occupied by a man whose hatred for the Catholic Church and the papacy was unsurpassed either by his own co-religionists or by his Dutch friends, viz. Cyril Lukaris.[3] This crafty Cretan, who lacked a really solid

[1] See **Compendio dello stato dell'isole dell'Arcipelago e de'remedii da farsi per bene di quelle chiese* (*Visite*, I.). A legacy of the noble Cardinal Giustiniani made it possible for the Greek islands to be visited regularly. This was carried out in 1635 and 1636 with the help of the Jesuits; in 1638 the Capuchins also took part; see **Della visita dell'isole dell'Arcipelago in virtù del legato del defunto card. Giustiniani* (*Visite*, XIII., 211 *seqq.*); **Relatione della visita dell'isole d'Andro, Sira, etc., fatta dal P. Michael Albertino e suoi compagni Giesuiti*, 1635, *Dec.* (*ibid.*, XIV., 173 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 174: *Letter from the Jesuit Dom. Mauritio, dated, Chios, January 25, 1636; proposals for the cure of souls); **Visita delle isole dell' Arcipelago di Lorenzo Tulina e di due padri Cappuccini*, 1638 (*ibid.*, XVII., 45 *seqq.*); **Visita delle chiese di Scio*, 1643 (*ibid.*, XXIV, 299 *seqq.*); visitation of the isles by Dom. Mauritio, 1643 (*ibid.*, XXV., 8); **Visita dell'isole dell'Arcipelago del P. G. B. Alessio*, 1644 (*ibid.*, XXV., 187 *seqq.*). Urban VIII. paid special attention to the Italo-Greeks in southern Italy and Sicily. A first visitation of these was undertaken at the end of 1629 (see *Visite*, VIII., 302 *seq.*), a second in 1630 (*ibid.*, 318 *seq.*), a third and fourth in 1635 and 1636 (*ibid.*, XIII. and XIV., Archives of Propaganda, Rome).

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 378.

[3] The extensive literature on this man, who had a more varied career than any other Greek patriarch, has been collected and summarized by Ph. Meyer in HERZOG'S *Realenzyklopädie*, XI.[3], 683 *seq.*, and Emereau in VACANT'S *Dict. de théol.*, IX., 1018 *seq.*

theological formation,[1] had before this opposed the union of the Ruthenians of Poland,[2] and as Patriarch of Alexandria (1602–1620) he had entered into relations both with the Anglicans and the Calvinists. The danger which thereby threatened the efforts of the Holy See on behalf of the union had already alarmed Gregory XV.[3] It was to become even more acute under Urban VIII. for in his new position Lukaris made it the aim of his life to instil into the Greek Church the spirit of Calvin. It goes without saying that in Constantinople he had to reckon with the opposition of the Jesuits. Through the French ambassador, De Césy, they secured his banishment to Rhodes in April, 1623, but already in October he was able to return to his post with the aid of the ambassadors of Holland and England.[4] His first act was to have printed at Wittenberg, under the name of one of his pupils called Zacharias, a catechism destined to spread Protestant ideas among the Greeks. But he failed in his attempt to obtain the support of the French ambassador for his plans [5]; the latter, as a matter of fact, did all he could to get out of the way an agitator who seemed to know no fatigue,[6] and who was all the more dangerous as he sought to mask his dark designs. He proceeded with the utmost caution and reserve; two of his sympathizers who were preaching heresy, he decried in public whilst he allowed them to go on with their work. The English and Dutch ambassadors likewise did their best to disguise the object of their close relations with Lukaris by pretending that they frequented his company out of mere

[1] This is the opinion of Ph. Meyer in the article mentioned in the preceding note.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 136, 139.

[3] *Cf.* **Lettera di Msgr. Agucchi al Nuntio di Francia*, January 25, 1622, *Cod.* X., V., 31, Casanatense Library, Rome.

[4] See Fouqueray, IV., 316 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 319.

[6] *Ibid.*, 319. *Cf.* Urban VIII.'s *Brief to Césy, January 11, 1625, *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

courtesy.[1] On May 24th, 1624, Schiattini, who subsequently became Bishop of Naxos, reported that whilst Lukaris pretended to work for the union of the Greeks with Rome he was, in point of fact, bestowing ecclesiastical dignities on priests of Calvinist sentiments.[2] Popular opinion accused Lukaris of the worst immoralities.[3] The Greek Bishops whom he summoned to a synod in July, 1624, accused him of seeking to overthrow the ancient dogmas of the Eastern Church and burdening the Bishops with heavy taxes in order that he might be able to reward his own adherents.[4] At the close of October, 1624, Schiattini reported that the Calvinism of Lukaris, who was on closest terms with the Protestant ambassadors, was plain to anyone not blinded by passion or interest; he had deposed the Greek Bishop of Corinth and replaced him with one of his own supporters.[5]

Lukaris rightly judged that his chief opponents were the Jesuits, whose enemy he had ever been.[6] Already in 1624 he had sought to obtain from the Porte their banishment from Constantinople; he failed because France held a protecting hand over the Fathers; however, their position became dangerous when not only the envoys of England and Holland but the representative of Venice also began to plot against them.[7]

Besides unfavourable reports about Lukaris, Rome also received very optimistic accounts concerning his person. In February, 1625, the Congregation of Propaganda dispatched

[1] See **Lettera del Schiattini (hora arcivescovo di Naxia)*, dated Constantinople, April 13, 1624, in the **Relatione data al card. Millini alli* 31 *Maggio* 1628 *per recitarla nel s. Officio*, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[2] See **Lettera del Schiattini arcivescovo di Maxia*, dated Constantinople, May 24, 1624, *loc. cit.*

[3] *" Si parla anco di lui assai sinistramente intorno al peccato nefando, et hoc rumor populi "; this is stated in the letter quoted in the next note.

[4] See **Lettera di Schiattini*, dated Pera, July 9, 1624, *loc. cit.*

[5] See **Lettera di Schiattini*, dated Pera, October 28, 1624, *loc. cit.*

[6] See PH. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 687. [7] See FOUQUERAY, IV., 321.

to Constantinople a priest of the Byzantine Rite of the name of Cannachio Rossi, with mission to demand from Lukaris a confession of faith in harmony with the Union of Florence; if he complied the Holy See would not be chary of its favour and assistance.[1] Acting on the advice of the English ambassador,[2] Lukaris put off Rossi for a considerable time when the latter reached Constantinople in July, 1625. A master in the art of deceit, Lukaris played his hypocritical rôle so successfully that Rossi was completely deluded. He assured Rossi of his willingness to accept the Council of Florence and requested him to arrange for an interview with Césy.[3] Césy had frowned on Rossi's mission because he was anxious to have the negotiations exclusively in his own hands. He therefore demanded Rossi's recall as well as that of the Franciscan-Observant, Ambrogio della Pola [4] and the Archimandrite Philotheus of Jerusalem who had also allowed themselves to be completely deceived by Lukaris.[5] So convinced was Rossi of Lukaris' sincerity [6] that at the beginning of 1627 he complained to Propaganda of its refusal to believe in the Patriarch's readiness to accept the Union. Lukaris,

[1] The Instruction for C. Rossi (in Roe, *Negotiations in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, 1621–8, London, 1740, 470 *seq.*) is dated February 21, 1625. For his arrival, on July 25, 1625, see Hammer, V., 90. For Rossi's visit to Mount Athos in 1628, where a Catholic school was erected later (in 1636) and maintained until 1641, see G. Hofman, *Athos e Roma*, Roma, 1925.

[2] *Cf.* Roe, 469.

[3] See *Rossi's letter to F. Ingoli, dated Constantinople, November 4, 1626, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[4] See Césy's *letter to the Cardinals of Propaganda, dated Pera, November 13, 1626, Archives of Propaganda. The hostile disposition of Ambrogio della Pola against Césy appears in his **Relatione* of May, 1627, *ibid.*

[5] See the *reports of Philotheus to Ingoli, written in Greek, dated Constantinople, December 12, 1626, and September 27, 1627, *ibid.*

[6] *" Il patriarcha Cyrillo è tutto in favor de'cattolici non modo verbis sed etiam operabus." C. Rossi to Ingoli, dated Constantinople, November 16, 1626, *ibid.*

he wrote, was prepared to accept the Council of Florence and Césy alone was to blame if the Union did not progress as rapidly as there was reason to hope.[1]

On January 26th, 1627, Propaganda had unanimously decided to leave further negotiations in the affair Lukaris in the experienced hands of Césy, and if the latter deemed it advisable Ambrogio della Pola and Philotheus were also to be excluded from the discussions ; in any case they were to follow the directions of Césy.[2] To the latter's demand that not only the two last named but Rossi also should have nothing more to do with the question of the Union, the Congregation would not agree ; on the contrary, it decided, on January 30th, 1627, that Rossi should remain in Constantinople as its representative.[3] This decision was a fatal mistake. Subsequently (June 13th) Propaganda decided to send to Constantinople the Oratorian Orazio Giustiniani of Chios on a secret mission in connection with the negotiations concerning the Union, but the latter declined and the mission did not materialize.[4]

In November, 1627, reports reached Propaganda which left no doubt about Lukaris' duplicity when he assured Rossi of his readiness to accept the Union. In confirmation of Césy's reports the Greek Archbishop of Naxos, Jeremias Barbarigo wrote on August 1st, 8th and 12th both to the Pope and to

[1] *Letter of January 20, 1627, in which it is stated that Cyril was " prontissimo all'unione . . . ; è una colonna inconcussa et immobile che da 300 anni in qua non v'è stata simili soggetto ! " *Ibid.*

[2] **Congregatio partic. in pal. card. Bandini sup. negotio unionis Graecorum, Jan.* 26, 1627 ; present, Bandini, Klesl, Ludovisi, Magalotti and Barberini ; the above resolution was unanimously approved. *Ibid.*

[3] The resolution was passed by the same Cardinals, with the exception of Magalotti who was not present, *ibid.*

[4] **Congregatio partic. in thalamo seu camera prope consistorium cui interfuerunt card. Bandinus, Cleselius, Magalottus et Barberinus,* 1627, *June* 13, *ibid.* At the same time O. Giustiniani was chosen as " coadiutor of the episc. Chiensis cum fut. successione ". *Ibid.*,

Propaganda that Lukaris was assiduously spreading Protestant opinions among the Greeks and that he proved himself an avowed enemy of the Catholic Church. He rejected auricular confession, the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, free will and the intercession of the Saints. It was also said that he had obtained from the Sultan the removal of the Archbishops of Smyrna and Edessa and the erection in Alexandria, of a College to be governed by a Greek Calvinist; that he sought to induce the Porte to banish the pupils of the Greek College in Rome, in a word, that he was endeavouring to overthrow all that had been built up by Propaganda. These dark manœuvres, Barbarigo further reported, were not only supported in every way, even with money, by the English and Dutch ambassadors, but they were also favoured by the representative of Venice.[1]

The members of Propaganda, above all Ingoli, fully realized the magnitude of the peril and they were of opinion that

an undated suggestion on the negotiations with Lukaris, in consequence of which O. Giustiniani refused the commission; the unnamed author of the proposal remarks that as the Jesuits were unsuitable for it, on account of Lukaris' hatred for them and their too great friendship with Césy, he was proposing Giov. Maria Gallo, Bishop of Santorin, now in Candia, who though a Venetian was primarily "buon ecclesiastico e poi Venetiano",

[1] See the *reports of G. Barbarigo to Propaganda, dated August 1, 1627; to Ingoli, dated Constantinople, August 8, 1627; to Dr. Pietro Arcudio at Rome, dated Galata, August 12. 1627; to the Pope, dated Galata, August 12, 1627, Archives of Propaganda, Rome. The interest of Venice in Lukaris is explained by Césy in a letter in code to Béthune, dated April 27, 1628: "Premièrement il est Candiote et par consequent leur subject et oultre en ceste qualité qui leur est advantageuse ils aymeroyent mieux qu'un patriarche soit heretique que de bonne opinion car arrivant quelque decadence a cest empire ils croyent bien qu'un patriarche catholique portera plustot les volentez des ecclesiastiques et des peuples a recourir a d'aultres potentats qu'à la Republique de Venise. C'est pourquoi ils veulent un patriarche qui depende entirement d'eux et qui soit totalement alienè de l'Église Romaine." *Ibid.*

Lukaris must be opposed by every possible means[1]: Rossi alone persisted in his optimism. Lukaris, so he assured the Prefect of Propaganda, was sincerely in favour of union with Rome; all reports to the contrary were based on calumny; hence he adjured the Congregation to continue its negotiations with him for the Union.[2] It was fortunate that Propaganda did not allow itself to be deceived. The authentic reports which it had received made it clear that the question was no longer whether it was necessary to proceed against that astute personage, but solely how he might be rendered harmless. On November 13th, 1627, the Congregation resolved as follows: (1) The Calvinist Catechism disseminated by Lukaris to be combated by means of a refutation in the Greek tongue; (2) Cardinal Bessarion's letter on union with Rome to be widely diffused; (3) Lukaris to be declared a preacher of the Calvinist heresy; (4) Césy to press for Lukaris' deposition, if possible, by using the name of his sovereign; support to be given him, even money, if necessary, though it would be better to spend the latter in a literary campaign against Lukaris; (5) the French nuncio to influence Louis XIII. in favour of Lukaris' deposition; (6) the Porte to be induced to shut down the latter's printing press at Constantinople; (7) the owners of Greek merchant ships to pronounce against Lukaris; if they refused they should forfeit the protection of the Christians; (8) the French King to be made to see the great danger that would arise out of an alliance of the schismatic Greeks with England, Holland and the German Protestants.[3]

Towards the end of January, 1628, with the aid of the

[1] Ingoli's addition to Barbarigo's *letter to the Pope of August 1, 1627, Archives of Propaganda, Rome. *Ibid.*, an undated *draft of Ingoli's: *Modo di far il processo contro Cyrillo con facilità et senza pericolo.* [2] *Letter of September 10, 1627, *ibid.*

[3] **Congregatio partic. in pal. card. Bandini, Nov.* 13, 1627. Present: Cardinals Bandini, Millini, Ludovisi, Magalotti and Barberini; reading of the letters of the Archbishop of Naxos, of the French envoy and of C. Rossi; there follow the decisions recorded above (Archives of Propaganda, Rome). The *Estratto* in *Söltl*, III., 374 *seq.*, is short and unreliable.

English and Viennese ambassadors, Lukaris succeeded in obtaining from the Porte the arrest and banishment of the Jesuits of Constantinople, a manœuvre in which the Dutch ambassador, who was on terms of close friendship with the Patriarch, secretly concurred.[1] However, Césy worked indefatigably on behalf of the Fathers, notwithstanding the opposition of the representative of Venice, and he secured in the same year the liberation and readmission of men falsely suspected; in the sequel also he watched over an institute that was dear to him and against which Lukaris and the representative of Holland and Venice plotted unceasingly.[2]

Césy's report on the Calvinist propaganda kept up by Lukaris and his confederate, the preacher Antony Leger[3] who had been summoned from Geneva to Constantinople in 1628, was read at a meeting of Propaganda on July 21st, 1628. The Congregation decided that all the missionaries should unite with the Greek Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem in a joint action against Lukaris so that proceedings might be initiated against the sectary. The Venetian nuncio should enlighten the Senators on Lukaris' Calvinism, to press them to put an end to the support which their representative was giving to him and to urge the Turks to depose him. The subsidy of 12,000 thalers for which Césy had prayed should be forwarded, but the Patriarchs who co-operated in the efforts for Lukaris' deposition were to receive the money only when that matter was an accomplished fact. Lastly it was proposed that the Capuchin Fr. Joseph should go to Constantinople under pretext of visiting the missionaries of his Order in the Levant, with a view to promoting the deposition of Lukaris.[4] On July 25th, 1628, Propaganda met once

[1] See Fouqueray, IV., 326 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 331 *seq.* *Cf. Études*, CXIII. (1907), 70 *seq.*, 384 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Legrand, IV., 484.

[4] *" Mittendum esse Constantinopolim P. Iosephum Parisiensem Capuccinum praetextu visitationis missionum orientalium sui ordinis, quarum est praefectus, ut non solum negotio depositionis Cyrilli assistat, etc." *Congregatio partic. in pal. card. Barberini, July* 21, 1628, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

more, this time under the presidency of the Pope who approved the resolutions of July 21st, to discuss the details of the procedure to be adopted against Lukaris.[1] Three methods were considered: a canonical process through the Roman Inquisition, a process through a synod of the Greek Metropolitans and Patriarchs or, lastly, the expedient of gifts of money to the Greeks or to the Turks. The two first were most to Urban's liking but they were difficult of execution and very lengthy, hence the third method was advisable, but in applying it care must be taken to safeguard both divine and human justice as well as the dignity and honour of the Apostolic See. The Roman Inquisition must be consulted on the point and all the relative documents submitted to it.[2]

By this time the credulous Rossi had come to see things in their true light. In a report to Propaganda dated July 25th, 1628, he admitted that he had been deceived by Lukaris

[1] *"Die 25 Iulii coram S^mo^ praesente d. card. Barberino," *ibid.*

[2] The questions were as follows:—

(1) An attentis relationibus, quae de Cyrillo habentur, iure divino ac humano illius depositio per pecuniam promoveri possit.

(2) An expediat et Sedis Apost. dignitati conveniat huiusmodi pecuniae medio uti pro obtinenda depositione praedicta.

(3) Si in praecedentibus articulis affirmativa (sententia) ad evitandum gravissimum in ecclesia Dei malum sustineri possit, an in conscientia tutius sit ac magis Sedi Apost. deceat pecuniam pro depositione praedicta Turcis solvere an potius metropolitis vel aliis Graecis habentibus ius eligendi patriarcham Constantinopolit.

(4) An aliquibus conditionibus licita et honesta reddi poterit dicta depositio.

(5) Et ultimo si canonice et brevi iuxta negotii exigentiam sententia depositionis Cyrilli a s. Officio ferri posset vel a metropolitis synodaliter convocatis promulgaretur, an liceret iure divino et humano atque Sedis Apost. dignitatis conveniret executionem sententiae vel a Turcis vel a Graecis per pecuniam, si aliter illa haberi nequiret, procurare? et maxime, si pacto cum Graecis conveniri possit, ut Cyrillus depositus ad inquisitionem Melitae vel Messanam ad archiepiscopum duceretur."

who had made great promises with regard to the Union, none of which he had carried out, in fact he had ended by openly persecuting the Catholics and through the agency of the Protestant ambassadors had set such snares against himself that he came near losing his life.[1]

On August 19th, 1628, Urban VIII. instructed Cardinals Millini and Scaglia to proceed against Lukaris,[2] after which the Inquisition began its discussions which were very protracted. It was only on March 23rd, 1629, that the Pope was in a position to inform Propaganda, under the secret of the Holy Office, that the Inquisition had concluded its process against Lukaris. The latter might now be deposed and to that end even money might be spent; these sums were to be handed to Césy's confidential agent.[3] The rest of the acts cannot be found in the Archives of Propaganda,[4] but from an authentic declaration of Cardinal Barberini in 1635 we learn that the sentence of excommunication was not pronounced against Lukaris because, though every care had been taken, the case of the Patriarch was not proved with all the required clearness. The Patriarch, Barberini went on to say, had printed a wholly Calvinist confession of faith, and in public opinion he was a perfidious heretic; nevertheless the proofs which had been collected with the utmost diligence were not enough to condemn him.[5] The judgment

[1] **Lettera di Cannachio Rossi alla Congreg. di Propaganda*, dated Messina, July 25, 1628, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[2] See *Bull.*, XIV., 2 *seq.*

[3] *" 22 Martii 1629 in congregatione de Propaganda: S.D.N. sub sigillo s. Officii significavit: (1) Fuissc in tribunali S. Inquisitionis formatum et absolutum processum contra Cyrillum"; (2) After this step, Cyril could be deposed, "ctiam soluta pecunia, quia sumus in casu, quo vexationem medio pecuniarum redimere licet."

[4] Information could only be obtained from the archives of the Roman Inquisition which, unfortunately, are not open to the public.

[5] In the Instruction of April, 1635, to the nuncio in Flanders, Lelio Falconieri, the question of the excommunication of the French king, which had been requested by Spain at that time,

passed on the "Confession" which the Dutch ambassador had had printed in March, 1629, under Lukaris' name,[1] is fully justified, for that document is one that the Calvinists could hail with joy. Many of its clauses are evident proof of apostasy from the teaching of the Greek Church.[2]

For lack of authentic information it is not possible to ascertain to what extent Lukaris, that past master in the art of simulation and deceit,[3] gave yet another display of his tricks. At any rate he constituted so imminent a peril for the Union that it was a duty for the Holy See to do its utmost to get him removed from the Patriarchal see. To that end the most diverse suggestions were offered. In view of the Porte's pressure on the patriarchal elections it was only natural

was dealt with and answered in the negative on account of the evil consequences of the excommunication of Henry VIII., Elizabeth of England, and Navarre. There follows the further note: "Finalmente fu detto che in ogni caso per venire alla sentenza della scommunica si voleva giuditio formato, che in fine era dificillissimo mettere in chiaro il fatto come si ricerca. Et a questo proposito fu allegato il esempio di Cirillo, falso patriarca di Constantinopoli, quale haveva publicato in stampa una Confessione piena di Calvinismo e vi corre fama publica che egli sia perfido eretica; con tutto ciò le prove procurate con ogni diligenza non bastano per condannarlo (CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions*, 238).

[1] *Confessio fidei rev. dom. Cyrilli patriarchae Constantinopolitani nomine et consensu patriarcherum Alexandrini et Hierosolymitani aliorumque ecclesiarum orientalium antistitum scripta, Constantinopoli* (actually in Geneva) *mense Martio*, 1629; see LEGRAND, IV., 315 *seq.* *Ibid.*, I., 270 *seq.* for the French and English translations. *Cf.* PH. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 688; EMEREAU, *loc. cit.*, 1008 *seq.*

[2] See HEFELE in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1843, 585, 588 *seq.*

[3] See EMEREAU, *loc. cit.*, 1014. The Protestant TRIVIER (*Cyrille Lukaris*, Paris, 1877) also says (p. 90), "que la loyauté la plus élémentaire lui fait défaut," and JORGA (IV., 27, note 4), who would like to make a Greek national hero of Lukaris, is obliged to allow this judgment to stand.

to take advantage of that circumstance. The Archimandrite of Constantinople, Euthymius, gave it as his opinion that it would be easy to overthrow Lukaris if it were pointed out to the already distrustful Porte that he was the author of the inroads of the Cossacks into Turkish territory. He proposed his replacement by a man of sound Catholic sentiments, of blameless life and one who spoke Turkish. To bring this about use should be made of the representatives of Venice and Ragusa whom the Turks trusted much more than Césy, though the mutual jealousy of the two diplomatists would have to be reckoned with.[1] In Rome itself it was realized that, notwithstanding all his zeal, Césy could not overthrow Lukaris single-handed. There could be no question of using the Venetian ambassador in the affair, owing to his anti-Roman bias. However, at the beginning of 1628 the nuncio in Vienna had succeeded in interesting the Emperor in the matter [2] and the instructions of Hans Ludwig von Kufstein, who had been appointed ambassador in Constantinople, were in accordance with this policy.[3] However, Kufstein, who became a Catholic in 1629, accomplished nothing [4]; it was reserved to his successor, Rudolph Schmid, to carry the affair to a successful conclusion. Schmid opposed to Lukaris, who had dealings with Bethlen Gábor [5] and the Swedes,[6] a dangerous

[1] **Relatione di Euthimo archimandrita di Constantinopoli intorno alli modi di far un patriarcha cattolico.* Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[2] By letter, dated Prague, 1628, the nuncio informed Propaganda that the Emperor had commanded that in the instruction for the ambassador about to be sent to Constantinople it should be stated that he was to work against Lukaris, *ibid.*

[3] Further details in Kiewning, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 260, note 1. Kufstein left Vienna on June 20, 1628; see Khevenhüller, XI., 252 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, IV., 459 *seq.*

[4] See Kiewning, II., 46, note 4.

[5] *Cf.* the **Relatio magni archimandriti Constantinopolitani facta s. Congreg. de Prop. fide circa res gestas contra Cirillum patr.* Archives of Propaganda.

[6] *Cf.* Klopp, *Tilly*, II.[1], 482 *seq.*

rival in the person of the schismatical metropolitan of Beroea, Cyril Contari, who, stimulated partly by personal passion, posed as a defender of the ancient Greek faith.[1] There now broke out a struggle for the Patriarchate which led to an explosion of the long suppressed discontent of the Greek clergy with the heretical conduct of its hierarchical head whose policy it had been, without further delay, to introduce Calvinism among the Greeks. In this struggle the representatives of the European States sought to win the help of the Sultan who needed money, by means of financial contributions. The ambassadors of England and Holland, whose influence was very great,[2] were in favour of Lukaris whilst against them the representatives of France and the Emperor defended the cause of union with Rome. In May, 1630, Lukaris had been forced to resign the patriarchal See for a brief period, but at the end of it he maintained himself in the See until October, 1633.[3] It was of advantage to him that in 1631 his chief opponent, Césy, who had got into grievous financial difficulties, had to be relieved of his post by the French Government.[4] His successor, Count De Marcheville, was instructed to extend his protection to the religious of every nationality throughout the Levant, particularly to the Jesuits in Constantinople. However, the choice of De Marcheville turned out a very unhappy one. He was as arrogant as he was ignorant of the situation; consequently he became at once involved in such difficulties that any action of his was paralysed from the outset. This was all the more disastrous as the Dutch and Venetian representatives continued to support Lukaris in every way and to press for the expulsion of the Jesuits and all Catholic priests. The indiscreet conduct of De Marcheville, who ostentatiously displayed his contempt for oriental manners, involved him in constant conflicts with the Government. At last the patience of the Porte gave out. On May 2nd, 1634, De Marcheville was

[1] See Emereau, *loc. cit.*, 1006. *Cf.* Fouqueray, V., 353.

[2] *Cf.* Jorga, IV., 25 *seq.*

[3] See Emereau, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Fouqueray, V., 341 *seq.*

ordered to leave Constantinople, whereupon the representation of the interests of France was temporarily entrusted to Césy whom his financial obligations still detained in Constantinople.[1]

In October, 1633, Lukaris was forced to resign to Patriarchate for a few days ; he then resumed it until March, 1634, and after yet another interruption in April, 1634, he held it until March, 1635.[2] Again it was Cyril Contari who, with the help of Rudolph Schmid, had him deported to Rhodes. However, Contari alienated his own adherent by his arrogance and by sundry mistakes. In June, 1636, he was obliged to resign his dignity in favour of an insignificant protégé of Lukaris who, however, also laid it aside before long. Thereupon, in March, 1637, to the joy of the Calvinists, Lukaris recovered his See.[3] But when Contari returned to Constantinople from his exile in Rhodes, Lukaris' glory came to an end. Schmid, who had obtained subsidies from the Emperor, did not rest until he had overthrown his enemy. He accused him to the Sultan of having urged the Greeks to rebel and of having had a hand in the loss of Azov which had been captured by the Cossacks. After that Lukaris was lost. He was deposed, imprisoned and strangled on June 21st, 1638. The accusation spread by the Huguenots that the Jesuits had brought about the tragic end of their old opponent is an invention of the Greeks. As a matter of fact Lukaris was the victim of a plot hatched by Contari, by a Pasha of the name of Bayram and by the Greek pope Lamerno.[4]

After Lukaris' death the reaction against his tendencies [5] showed itself in its full force. A synod held at Constantinople in September, 1638, condemned both his person and his

[1] See *ibid.*, 346 *seq.*, 351. [2] See Emereau, *loc. cit.*, 1006 *seq.*

[3] See Emereau, 1007. A **Relazione di Constantinopoli d'ell anno*, 1637, by Paolo Vecchia is in *Barb.* 5192, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* V. Semnoz in *Échos d'Orient*, VI. (1903), 97 *seq.*

[5] Of the three refutations of Lukaris' *Confessio*, which appeared in his life-time, that of the Archbishop of Iconium, J. M. Cariophyllis, is dedicated to Urban VIII. : **Censura Confessionis fidei seu potius perfidiae Calvinianae, quae nomine*

teaching. On December 15th, 1638, in presence of Rudolph Schmid and the Latin Patriarchal Vicar, Angelo Petricca da Sonnino, Contari signed a profession of faith drawn up by Propaganda and forwarded it to Urban VIII.[1] However, the new Patriarch was not destined long to enjoy his dignity. At the instigation of the Metropolitan of Larissa, a favourite of Sultan Murad, he was banished and like his predecessor, strangled. He was succeeded on July 1st, 1639, by the Metropolitan of Adrianople, Parthenius I.[2]

Philippe de la Haye, who was appointed French ambassador in Constantinople in 1639, was instructed to lend support to the Patriarch Contari, to assist the Jesuits and the Capuchins, and to help the Latins to recover their rights to the Holy Places in Palestine of which they had been robbed.[3] When de la Haye reached Constantinople he found the Patriarchal throne occupied by Parthenius who showed himself a friend of the Jesuits and an opponent of Lukaris' innovations.[4] The Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mohila, took steps against

Cyrilli patriarchae Constant. edita circumfertur, Romae, 1631. *Cf.* LEGRAND, I., 288. A *paper by the Armenian *Tilenus* on the *Confessio* of Lukaris is in *Barb.* 3506, Vatican Library.

[1] *Cf.* the *Brief to Contari, April 30, 1639, *Epist.*, XV.–XVI., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, on the same day *letters of praise to the Imperial Resident, R. Schmid, the Polish chancellor and the Polish king on their attitude. ANGELO PETRICCA compiled a *treatise on the sacrament of the altar and the impossibility of a union of the Orthodox Church with Calvinism, and dedicated it to Urban VIII. (see CERVELLONI in *Bessarione*, XVI., 9), and also a **Relazione dello stato della christianità di Pera e Costantinopoli*, in *Barb.* 5166, note 2, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, a *Brief addressed to him by Urban VIII., April 30, 1639: he was to continue his labours and deliver the enclosed letter to Contari.

[2] See EMEREAU, *loc. cit.*, 1015 *seq.*

[3] See FOUQUERAY, V., 353 *seq.* On Ph. de la Haye and the establishment of the Capuchins in Constantinople through him in the interests of French policy, *cf.* also FLAMENT in the *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XV. (1905). A laudatory *Brief to De la Haye of March 9, 1642, is in *Epist.*, XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See FOUQUERAY, V., 355. *Cf.* JORGA, IV., 30.

the Calvinist teaching which had penetrated into Moldavia. In 1640 he convened a synod at which he condemned the opinions of Lukaris. This condemnation took the form of a solemn declaration by the Greek Church, at a synod held at Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, which lasted from December, 1641, till October, 1642. On March 11th, 1643, Parthenius, who had already refuted and condemned the teaching of Lukaris in a synodal letter of 1642, gave his adhesion to the decisions of Jassy. Thus the Calvinist tendencies of Lukaris had resulted in the Greek Church defining her teaching, and thereby securing an official profession of faith.[1]

Whilst the troubles caused by Lukaris inflicted grievous injury to the cause of the Union of the Greeks, the mission and the union of the Eastern Christians, for whom Urban VIII. had drawn up a special *Professio fidei*,[2] were able to register various successes in the Near East. The Maronites remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Pope. To their College in Rome Urban VIII. added yet another on Mount Lebanon,[3] and in 1635 he erected a third at Ravenna.[4] On May 15th, 1625, he exhorted the Maronite Bishops to fulfil the duty of residence.[5] Towards the close of 1628 he wrote to Patriarch Peter that he prayed for the Maronites, and that he would gladly appeal to the Christian Princes to go to their defence were it not that Germany, Poland and Italy were under arms.[6] In 1631 he recommended the French Capuchins to the Patriarch.[7] On the condition of the Catholics in Armenia

[1] See EMEREAU, *loc. cit.*, 1015 *seq.* *Ibid.* for further details on the Synod held at Jerusalem in 1672.

[2] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 227 *seq.* [3] See *Bull.*, XIII., 358 *seq.*

[4] See MORONI, XLIII., 120.

[5] See *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Brief to *Petrus patr. Maronit. Antioch.* of November 25, 1628, in which the Pope praises the Prince of Sidon: "illum bellatorem, qui se ex christianis ducibus progenitum gloriatur." *Epist.*, VI., *loc. cit.*

[7] *Brief of February 28, 1631, *Epist.*, VIII., *loc. cit.* A decision of Propaganda on the election and name of the Patriarch is in *Ius pontif.*, II., 1, 74 *seq.*

the Dominican Gregorio Orsi presented a detailed report on his return to Rome in 1626.[1] Both Patriarch Moses III. of Ecmiadzin [1630–3], and his successor, Philip I., were won over to the Union. The Dominican Paolo Piromalli whom Urban VIII. had dispatched to Armenia in the interests of the Union, taught in the monastic school which Philip had reopened.[2] Piromalli likewise succeeded in inducing the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyriacus of Erivan, to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope.[3] In 1635 Urban exhorted the Archbishop of the Armenians in Jerusalem to do the same.[4] Urban founded burses for Armenians in the College of Propaganda and wrote his thanks to Prince Mirza of Mogor in 1631 for the establishment of a Jesuit College in Armenia.[5]

Urban VIII.'s pastoral solicitude embraced also the Tartars, the Circassians and the Georgians. At the close of 1626 the Dominican Giovanni da Lucca[6] and some

[1] **De statu christianae religionis in Armenia aliisque multis ad fidei propagationem proficuis et necessariis relationes sincerae . . . a fr. Gregorio Ursino Romano ord. Praed. in suo ab Armenia in Urbem reditu*, 1626 (to Urban VIII. and the Cardinals of Propaganda), *Barb.* 2642, Vatican Library.

[2] See HERGENRÖTHER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I.², 1339. From the *Brief to *Philippus patr. Armen.* of July 16, 1640, it appears that Piromalli sent to the Patriarch, at the Pope's request, the Armenian translation of the Acts of the Council of Florence and the Bull of Eugen IV. (*Epist.*, XVII., *loc. cit.*). *Cf. Ius pontif.*, P. II., 159 on the title of the Armenian Archbishop, p. 61 on baptism among schismatic Armenians, p. 68 on matrimonial dispensations and the liturgy.

[3] See BESSARIONE, XII. (1918), 120 *seq.* *Cf.* HENRION, *Hist. des miss. cath.*, II., 309 *seq.*

[4] See the *Brief of May 12, 1635 (the transmission of Pope Eugen IV.'s *Bull.*, translated into Armenian), *Epist.*, XII., *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *Brief to *Princeps Mirza Zulcurna in Mogor* of February 24, 1631, *Epist.*, VIII., *loc. cit.*

[6] See **Itinerario fatto da me fra Giov. da Lucca Domenicano missionario alli Tartari e Circassi, Mengelli, Giorgiassi e Trabisonda* (beginning with his departure from Rome, November 20, 1626),

Theatines[1] were sent to them. No country, however distant from Europe was overlooked by the Pope.[2] It gave him immense satisfaction when in 1627 King Theophilus of Iberia dispatched to Rome the Basilian Nicephorus Erbacius with mission to pay homage to the Pope.[3] After receiving a report by the Theatine Pietro Avitabilis, he told the King of Iberia, Taimaras Kan, in 1631, that he prayed that he might be victorious like Constantine and that he would then submit to Rome[4]; at the same time the Metropolitan Zacharias received a letter of thanks for handing over a church.[5]

In 1624 Urban VIII. wrote to the Carmelites who had been labouring in Persia since the reign of Paul V., encouraging them in their task of spreading the faith and confirming their privileges.[6] In 1629 he recommended them to the new Shah whose favourable dispositions toward Christianity he praised.[7] In 1639 he similarly recognized the merits of the Dominican Thomas Vitalis.[8] The missionary Baldassar di S. Maria stressed the importance of such letters in his report

Barb. 5319 *seq*, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 251 *seq.*, his *report on the races mentioned above. *Cf.* CIAMPI, II., 51 *seq.*

[1] See **Origine delle missioni de'P. Teatini nell'Oriente, ne'regni della Mengrelia, Georgia, etc.*, 1625–1630, *descritta dal P. Castelli missionario nella Mengrelia*, Archives of the Theatines, Rome, *Cassetta*, 33. *Ibid.*, the *decree of Propaganda on the Theatrines in Georgia, 1635.

[2] *" Non Europae finibus includitur Pontificis sollicitudo." Brief to the " rex Persarum " of October 13, 1637, *Epist.*, XV., *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *Brief of November 22, 1628, *Epist.*, VI., *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Brief to " *potentiss. rex Taimaras Kan, rex Iberiae* ", of June 14, 1631, *Epist.*, VIII., *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Brief to " *Zacharias totius Iberiae metropolita nuncup* ". of June 14, 1631 (" Apparent flores gratiae in Iberia "), *ibid.*

[6] See *Brief of March 9, 1624 (together with faculty for celebrating in Arabic, see *Ius pontif.*, P. II., I., 18 *seq.*, *Epist.*, I.[le]). A *letter of recommendation of the Carmelites and the Persian Christians to the Shah, March 9, 1624, in *Epist.*, *loc. cit.*

[7] See *Brief to the *rex Persarum*, March 8, 1624, *Epist.*, VI., *loc. cit.*

[8] See *Brief to the *rex Persarum*, October 13, 1637, *ibid.*, XV.

of March 21st, 1630.[1] In 1630 Urban granted a number of faculties to the Prefect of the Carmelite Mission in Bassora and in 1632 to the Bishop of Ispahan,[2] whilst in 1638 the generosity of a noble French lady enabled him to provide an endowment for the diocese of Bagdad, or Babylon, which had been erected in 1632. The Carmelite Bernard of St. Teresa was appointed Bishop but the conquest of the city by the Turks entailed the ruin of that mission.[3] In 1636 Elias, Vicar of the Chaldean Patriarch of Mosul, made profession of the Catholic faith.[4] At this time French Capuchins made foundations at Mosul and Diarbekr; the same Fathers had been established at Aleppo since 1627 and at Bagdad since 1629.[5] On the other hand Propaganda strove in vain to win the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, Elias, for the union; he remained obstinate in his Nestorian errors.[6] For the Indian

[1] **Lettera del P. Baldassar di S. Maria dello stato delle missione in Persia*, dated *Aspahan*, March 21, 1630, *Visite*, IX., 11 *seq.*, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

[2] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 125, 146 *seq.* In 1632, Propaganda, that is a *Brief, assigned to the Bishop of Bagdad, Assyria, Mesopotamia, etc., to the Bishop of Ispahan, the rest of Persia and Armenia, except Nakschiwan (*ibid.*, P. II., I., 60). In 1628 Capuchins had also arrived in Persia and Mesopotamia; see Rocco da Cesinale, II., 234 *seq.* *Cf.* J. Lammeyer, *Gesch. der unierten syrischen Kirche auf Grund des syrischen Patriarchatsarchiv*, in the periodical "*Der Aar*", III. (1913), 667.

[3] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 174 *seq.*; Fagniez, I., 363; Lemmens, *Hierarchia lat. Orientis, Orientalia christ.* (1924), 279 *seq.*

[4] See Neher in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, III.², 43. Since 1629, two of the Franciscans sent out by Propaganda had laboured to bring about the return to the unity of the Church of the Patriarch himself, an obstinate Nestorian; see their report in Lämmer, *Analecta*, 43 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* besides the account of Lammeyer quoted in note 2, also Rabbat, *Documents inéd. p.s.à. l'hist. du Christ. en Orient*, and with regard to Aleppo, see the essay by O'Connor in the *Americ. Quart. Review*, XLV. (1920), 540 *seq.*

[6] See *Itinerarium P. Francisci Quaresmii*, 604; Lemmens in *Antonianum*, I., 217.

mission field Urban VIII. renewed in 1629 the privileges of the Jesuits, especially with regard to matrimonial questions.[1] Of even greater importance was another decision. In consequence of Portugal's protectorate over the missions, all missionaries had been obliged until then to travel via Lisbon where they were the victims of all kinds of petty vexations. In 1608 Paul V. had exempted the Mendicant Orders from this obligation[2] and on February 22nd, 1633, a Bull of Urban VIII. allowed all religious to journey to the East Indies by any route, so as to facilitate the preaching of the Gospel. At the same time he prescribed the use by the missionaries of the Roman Catechism of Bellarmine, forbade them to engage in any kind of trade and reserved to himself the decision of the major controversies that might arise between the missionaries.[3]

In India the Jesuits continued their apostolic labours and the establishment of new stations, as at Salsette in 1632 and at Kanara in 1643, whilst in Madura, Nobili proceeded with his method of accommodation, but the disputes with archdeacon George continued to stir up trouble among the Christians of St. Thomas.[4] Through Urban's mediation, for the purpose of founding a Mission in Burma (Pegu), the Franciscans were joined by Dominicans, Augustinians and Carmelites and in 1640 by Italian Theatines under Avitabile and in 1642 by French Capuchins under Fr. Ephrem of Nevers.[5] Native Oratorians laboured at Bejapor under Matthew de Castro. In 1637 the latter, together with Archbishop Francis Anthony of St. Felix, was sent by the Pope to India as Vicar Apostolic, bearing letters of recommendation

[1] *Ius pontif.*, I., 111 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 444 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 143 *seq.* *Cf.* JANN, *Die kathol. Missionen in Indien*, 191 *seq.*, and for the prohibition of trade see GRETRUP in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XV. (1925), 259.

[4] See MÜLLBAUER, 171 *seq.*, 287 *seq.*; DAHMEN, *Nobili*, Münster, 1924.

[5] See MÜLLBAUER, 259 *seq.*, 350 *seq.* *Cf.* JANN, 195 *seq.*, and ROCCO DA CESINALE, II., 202 *seq.*

to the Superiors of the Mendicant Orders of those parts.[1] The Grand Mogul Djihan who rose to power in 1628, was hostile to Christianity. In 1632 he ordered the destruction of the Augustinian mission at Hugli in Bengal.[2] Sixteen Jesuits and twenty-four Franciscans were at work in Ceylon in 1626 but after 1630 missionary activity was hampered by dynastic quarrels and insurrections.[3]

In Siam a missionary of the name of Margico built a beautiful church at Juthia in 1624. In 1639 the King begged for the services of priests for the Portuguese soldiers in his army, whereupon Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans established themselves in that country. In 1629 the Dominicans erected a church at the Court of Cambodia.[4] The Jesuit Alexander of Rhodes penetrated into Cochin China in 1624 and to Tonkin and back to Cochin in 1630, after which Fr. Amaral and four other Jesuits took up the evangelization of Tonkin. Signal successes crowned their labours: in 1640 the Christians in Tonkin numbered 94,000 and 30,000 in Cochin China.[5] Franciscans and Dominicans laboured successfully in the Moluccas. The Franciscans, who had laboured at Sanguir since 1637, baptized two Kings and built a church and convent. In 1630 Fr. Miguel Rangel reopened the mission in Solor and converted the Emperor of Endeh. In 1640 a reaction in favour of Christianity led to the baptism of the principal chieftains of Timor.[6] The Philippines were being christianized by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits. In

[1] See *Brief to "*provinciales et superiores Mendicant. in India Orient.*", of September 30, 1637, *Epist.*, XV., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 349 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 341 *seq.*, 383 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HOLZAPFEL, 543; CIVEZZA, VII., 3, 219 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 256.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 252 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the *Relatione*, addressed to Urban VIII., *della nuova missione delli PP. della Comp. di Gesù nel regno della Cocincina*, Roma, 1631; PACHTLER, *Das Christentum in Tonking und Cochinchina* (1861); SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 253 *seq.*

[6] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 257; BIERMANN in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 12 *seq.*

1637 the Jesuits also started a mission in the island of Mindanao and in 1638 in the island of Joló.[1]

The Portuguese Jesuit, Antonio d'Andrada, made a bold advance into all but inaccessible Tibet. In 1624 he established a mission at Tsaparang, and in 1626, a church also, with the help of the King of that country. In 1632 his brothers in religion Azevedo, Cacella and Cabral succeeded in penetrating into western Tibet, but the mission was short lived—its last remnants perished in 1640.[2]

In China the Jesuits were enabled to return to the Court of Peking in 1625, thanks to their mathematical skill, and up till 1633 they were also able to found a number of new stations.[3] Since 1629 the Jesuits Longobardi and Terenzio had been members of the commission for the reform of the Calendar, and in this way they had won the favour of the Emperor. Fr. John Adam Schall, who was summoned to the Imperial Court in 1631 from Cologne, took advantage of this circumstance to forward the work of conversion,[4] with the result that in 1636 the number of Christians in the Empire of the Middle was reckoned at 40,000, and at over 67,000 by 1640.[5] As

[1] *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, V., 687 *seqq.* In 1626 Urban VIII. ratified the decisions of Propaganda for the Archbishop of Manila; in 1627 all religious with cure of souls were placed under his authority; in 1633 he granted facilities to the Augustinians for the reception of Holy Orders (*Ius pontif.*, I., 60 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* besides the report of the discovery in 1627 and the *Litterae annuae* (Romae, 1628), also HUC, *Hist. du Christianisme en Chine*, 209 *seq.*; WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721, HAAG, 1924, 69 *seq.*; FRANCKE in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XV. (1925), 269 *seq.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 272; THOMAS, 92 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* HUONDER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X.², 1753 *seq.*; HUC, II., 347 *seqq.*; THOMAS, 104 *seqq.* According to Thomas, Schall was accused of having laboured to the detriment of his priestly vocation; but the assertion that he apostatized and married is an invention; see *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, III., 280 *seq.*, and DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 319 *seq.*

[5] See MARTINI, *Relatio de numero et qualitate christ. apud Sinas*, Romae, 1654, 10.

early as 1626 the Pope granted numerous privileges both to the Bishop of Funai, who was appointed administrator of Macao, and to the members of the Society of Jesus in China.[1] In 1632 Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans of the Philippines founded missions in China, the island of Formosa being their base and starting point.[2] The opinion that the founders of these missions, the Franciscan Antonio Caballero di S. Maria and the Dominican Juan Morales, were the first instigators of the disputes concerning the lawfulness of certain Chinese customs and ceremonies (rites)—an opinion which prevailed for a long time—has been shown to be untenable. Differences of opinion on these questions had arisen before that within the Jesuit Order itself.[3] In 1626 the Visitor, Andrew Palmeiro, forbade the use of the words *Shang-Ti* (viz. "highest Ruler") and *Ti'en* (viz. "Heaven") to describe the God of the Christians, but in 1630 the General Vitelleschi revoked the prohibition. In 1635 the Archbishop of Manila, an Augustinian, denounced the Jesuits to Urban VIII. in connexion with this question of

[1] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 62, 63 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 274. The Franciscan O. MAAS has published a monograph "*Die Wiedereröffnung der Franziskanermission in China in der Neuzeit*" (Münster, 1926), which makes valuable new evidence available and gives a detailed account of the work of Caballero. The question of the rites, however, is treated in such a way as to evoke a protest by the Jesuit VÄTH in the *Kathol. Missionen*, 1927, 218 *seq.* The latter maintains that the unpublished *Relations* of 1635–6 preserved in the Franciscan Archives of Pastrana, and quoted as reliable by Maas (*cf. Arch. Francisc.*, II., 553, IV., 51), give a false picture of the methods of the Jesuits. A similar work by the Dominican B. BIERMANN, *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominikanermission in China*, Münster, 1927, is more measured though his statements on the Jesuits are questioned on several points by VÄTH in the *Innsbrucker Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, LII. (1928), 420 *seq.*

[3] See HUONDER, *Ritenstreit*, 8, whose opinion is confirmed by the documents of Propaganda; see PIEPER in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XIV. (1924), 3 *seq.* *Cf.* our account, vol. XXV., 353 *seq.*

rites. Although the Archbishop withdrew his accusation within the same year, owing to its having been based on erroneous information, the question of the rites, from being chiefly a matter concerning the Jesuit community, now became one of general interest.[1]

The main reason why in China the question of ritual developed into a quarrel of ritual, was due to a divergence in missionary methods. From the very beginning the Jesuits, basing themselves on the early Christian and medieval policy of adaptation as practised by St. Paul and St. Gregory the Great, had gone to the utmost limits in their concessions to the existing, deep-rooted ideas and customs of the native population. Instead of proclaiming from the first the integral teaching on the nature of God, they proceeded on lines of sound pedagogy, seeking to link up with what they found, especially with the Chinese classics, and to put profane science at the service of the apostolate, a policy which was all the more in order as there was question of a people with a very ancient civilization, which maintained its peculiarities with the utmost tenacity and in its proud over-estimation of itself, despised everything foreign.[2] The Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans, in whom there survived something of the spirit of the *Conquistadores*, would not hear of such discretion. In their zeal for souls they adopted methods which were quite unusual in China and which created no small stir. Crucifix in hand they preached in the open streets and public places, condemned to the deepest hell Confucius who was held in high esteem as a wise man and a learned lawgiver, and proclaimed that every kind of veneration of ancestors was unlawful; the Jesuits' caution with regard to Confucius and the veneration of ancestors they condemned as connivance at idolatry.[3] The inevitable disputes, which were not a little fostered by mutual rivalry, became still more acute in consequence of the strong national divergences between the Portuguese Jesuits and the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans. The results

[1] See PIEPER, *loc. cit.*, 4 and 11.

[2] See HUONDER, *Ritenstreit*, 18 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 35 *seq.*

of the activities of the older Orders did not speak in favour of their methods ; instead of attracting the Chinese they repelled them. At Fukien, in 1637, the storm broke with such fury as to endanger also the Jesuit missions. The Superior of the Dominican missions, Juan Garcia, now recognized not indeed the lawfulness of the veneration of ancestors, but at least that his subjects had been too violent in their manner, and the Franciscan, Francis of Ascalona, also realized that the conversion of China was not the work of one day or the result of one bold stroke, but that on the contrary, it required accurate acquaintance with the peculiarities and the language of the people. "If the Jesuits," he declared, "had adopted a different method from the one they have pursued for so many years, it would long ago have been impossible to find a single missionary or a Christian in China." [1]

Strong divergences between the older Orders and the Jesuits existed also in Japan. This circumstance was all the more deplorable in view of the continuation of the bloody persecution which in the end restored to Buddhism its position as the State religion.[2] However, all the missionaries displayed a like constancy in giving their lives for the faith. In doing so they gave proof of a heroism which recalled the early Christian centuries. Soon after his accession, Urban VIII. comforted the Japanese Christians in his answer of June 18th, 1624, to their letter addressed to Paul V. Where the Roman Empire had not penetrated, the Pope wrote, there the Church

[1] *Ibid.*, 39 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the work of the Japanese Anesaki, based on research in the archives and discussed by H. Heuvers in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CIX. (1925), 315 *seq.*, under the heading "*Eine Wende in der japanischen Geschichtschreibung*". Anesaki examines, in his first chapter, the policy of extermination from the time of the suppression of the rising of Shimabara (1638), in which many Christian peasants had also taken part on account of the tyranny of the Daimio. In chapter 5 the documents found by Anesaki are discussed ; these had been taken from the Christians ; among them are some moving exhortations and preparations for martyrdom.

had sent her messengers with mission to dispel darkness. This angered hell. However, let them not despond; their martyrdom was a triumph, and one day the ships which now merely went out to fetch pearls would pay homage to their martyrs; hence he prayed that they might have, if not earthly happiness, at least heavenly protection and above all devoted priests.[1] On October 14th, 1624, Urban VIII. wrote in the same strain to the Japanese Christians of the five Kingdoms of Iyo, Agui, Bicchu, Bisen and Farima, sympathizing with their sufferings, praising their perseverance and extolling their fortitude.[2] To the Bishop of Japan, that is, of Funai, who resided at Macao, he granted a number of faculties in 1626 and 1627,[3] whilst Propaganda dealt with divers matrimonial problems and some questions in connexion with ordinations.[4] When in 1633 the Pope abolished the Jesuit monopoly in the East Indies, thereby throwing open Japan, he gave permission to all Japanese Christians, in view of the fierceness of the persecution, to receive the Sacraments from any priest whatsoever.[5] In consequence of the terror to which the Christians of Japan had been subjected since 1625, the number of missionaries had become greatly reduced. Terrible details have come down to us of the tortures to which those were subjected who remained steadfast in the faith. In 1627 a new form of death was invented: the Christians were plunged into the boiling sulphur springs of a volcanic mountain near Nagasaki. By this process the victims were flayed alive. In order to prolong their torture they were not completely submerged but were scalded limb by limb, and the torture repeated for as long as possible. Thus towards the end of 1630

[1] See **Epist.*, I^b., no. 553, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PAGÈS, *Hist. de la relig. chrét. au Japon*, II., 320, and DELPLACE, *Le catholicisme au Japon*, II., 200.

[2] See **Epist.*, IV., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* DELPLACE, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 62 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*

[4] Thus among others with that of marriage without the presence of a priest, by permission of the Pope (*Ius pontif.*, II., 123 *seq.*; *Collect.*, I., 7 *seq*).

[5] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 145.

the martyrdom of three Augustinians, one Jesuit, one Franciscan lay Brother and two Portuguese women lasted thirty-three days ! [1]

When the tyrant Fide-Tada died in 1632, he was succeeded by his son Yemitsi with the title of To-Shogun-sama. Yemitsi had persecuted the Christians even whilst only co-regent ; he now completed the work of destruction, and in doing so he proceeded with a cruelty perhaps unparalleled in history. To the boiling in the sulphur springs there was now added the so-called water and pit torture ; this consisted in the martyr being suspended head downwards in a pit whilst his tortures were prolonged for as long a time as possible by tightly lacing his limbs so as to impede the circulation of the blood and by bleeding at the temples. The majority endured this martyrdom with unflinching fortitude, but one of their number, the Jesuit Provincial, Christopher Ferreira, who had heroically laboured in the mission for twenty-three years, overcome by pain, apostatized after five hours of torture.[2] When news of this occurrence reached Europe, thirty-three Jesuits, led by Father Marcello Mastrilli, set out in 1633 for the purpose of atoning for the scandal with their deaths. Mastrilli was seized and martyred on landing. Notwithstanding the continuation of the cruel executions, courageous missionaries continued their attempts to go to the assistance of the orphaned Christians of Japan, as, for instance, a Dominican in 1637, the Jesuit Antony Rubino with four Fathers, among them a Pole, in 1542, in 1643 the Jesuit Marquez with four brothers in religion. All these were arrested on landing and suffered the martyr's death. The surviving Christians of Japan died partly in prison, partly in the forests.[3] But though under pressure of the persecution,

[1] See SPILLMANN in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 1253.

[2] Ferreira subsequently expiated his apostasy by a martyr's death ; see POUPLARD, *Vie du vén. M. Mastrilli*, Paris, 1903.

[3] See SPILLMANN, *loc. cit.*, 1253 *seq.* *Cf.* CHARLEVOIX, *Hist. du Japon*, 9 vols., Paris, 1736 ; CRASSET, *Hist. de l'Église du Japon*, 2 vols., Paris, 1715 ; PAGÈS, *Hist. de la relig. chrét. au Japon*, II., Paris, 1869 ; PROFILET, *Le martyriloge de l'église du Japon* (1549–1649, 3 vols., Paris, 1897) ; M. CZERMINSKI, *Vie*

the religion of the cross disappeared from the surface, it continued to live in secret. For this reason, during two centuries, the authorities periodically examined all suspects. They were summoned to tread under foot the image of the Crucified or that of His Mother, either in the temple or in the "conversion office"; only those who complied were set at liberty. In the harbours also every fresh arrival was compelled to deny Christianity. The Calvinist Dutch, with their shopkeepers' souls, who now carried on a profitable trade with Japan instead of the Portuguese, submitted to the most humiliating conditions: they were not permitted to hold any religious services even on their own ships.[1]

Whilst in Japan Christianity was being stifled in a sea of blood, in Africa the Church won the empire of Ethiopia when Seltan-Sagad, known as Emperor Socinius, after the defeat, in 1624, of the rebellious Monophysites, made profession of the

du P. Alb. Mencinski S.J. (†1643), Troyes, 1900; *The Month*, CV. (1905), 506 *seq.*; GOFFREDI, *Vita del ven. M. Mastrilli*, Napoli, 1900, also the documents published by TACCHI VENTURI in the *Civ. Catt.*, of May 6, 1911; M. VOLPE, *Ant. Capece S.J.* (†1643), Napoli, 1912; BÖHLEN, *Die Franziskaner in Japan*, Trier, 1912; P. LOR. PEREZ, *Relaciones de fray Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del cristianismo en el Japon*, 1625–1632, Madrid, 1914; *Arch. Ibero-Americ.*, I., 335 *seq.*, 514 *seq.*, II., 246 *seq.*, XV., 5 *seq.*

[1] It is not established that the Dutch agreed to trample on the Cross, as Carreri asserts; but as SPILLMANN rightly remarks (*loc. cit.*, 1256), it was not necessary to add this to their other concessions as external evidence of their apostasy from the Christian faith. It is remarkable, as DÖLLINGER says (*Kirchengesch.*, 396), that *v. Haren* in his apologetic work *Recherches hist. sur l'état de la religion chrétienne au Japon relativement à la nation Hollandaise* (Paris, 1778), rather glides over these points. Nevertheless v. Haren defends the missionaries and Christians from the reproach that they had fomented risings in the country and had been the cause of the revolution. He asserts that in the two civil wars that arose, the Christians always took the side of the rightful ruler, and as the usurpers remained the victors they revenged themselves on the Christians.

Catholic faith and on February 11th, 1626, did homage to the Pope before the newly appointed Patriarch, the Jesuit Alonso Mendez.[1] In view of the numerous dogmatic, moral, liturgical and canonical heresies and irregularities of the Ethiopians, their union with Rome through the labours of the Jesuits was a notable success. In his letter of January 30, 1627, in which Urban VIII. replied to the letter of the Emperor to Gregory XV., the Pope told him that he wept for joy on hearing that nearly the whole empire obeyed the laws of the Supreme Pontiff and that the Sovereign had raised the trophy of the cross on his castles. He also warned him to be on his guard against the followers of false doctrines and to repress those who sought to foment revolution, assuring him that he himself would request the King of Spain to assist him in this undertaking.[2] The mission in Ethiopia was reorganized, provided with churches, schools, colleges and seminaries for priests, a rich theological literature was created for apologetical purposes, a printing press, with Ethiopian type and other equipment was procured from Rome and even a bold plan for a native University was submitted to the Holy See. When the General of the Jesuits presented the Royal Oath, sealed by the Patriarch, the Pope on March 6th, 1628, expressed to Alonso Mendez his satisfaction at the reconciliation of Ethiopia and his hope that the emperor would dispatch an embassy to do homage to the Holy See.[3] In a letter of February 24th, 1631, Urban VIII. compared the Emperor to Constantine the Great who had subjected the Roman Empire to the Church and

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 233. The letter of Mendez of June 1, 1626, is in LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 117 *seq.* The *Informatio status ecclesiae imperii Aethiopiae oblata Urbano VIII. nomine Alphonsi patriarchae Aethiopiae* from the archives of the Congr. of the Council in *Bessarione*, XVII. (1913), 485 *seq.* *Cf.* BECCARI, *Rer. aethiop. Script.*, XIII., *passim.*

[2] See the *Brief to the *Sultanus Sagad. Aethiopiae imperator*, of January 30, 1627, *Epist.*, IV., Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, *Brief to Philip IV. of January 30, 1627, directing him to support the Emperor of Ethiopia.

[3] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 103 *seq.*

defeated hell with the emblem of the cross.[1] He also wrote to Facilidas (Basilides),[2] the Emperor's son, and to his brother the brave general Zelachrist whose piety he eulogized.[3] However, a reaction was preparing which was destined to destroy all these hopes. A schismatical opposition party arose, including the majority of the governors who disliked the strict moral code of the new religion. They were joined by the prospective heir to the throne Facilidas, at first secretly and eventually quite openly. Whilst on his part Mendez committed several blunders, every means was made use of to alienate the Emperor from the new teaching and ritual and to lead him back to the traditional Alexandrian form of religion. For a time Socinius remained faithful to the Church, but he too became hesitant when he realized the ferment which had spread to the whole country. He persuaded the Patriarch Mendez to make concessions, such as the use of the native rite at Mass, all of which were interpreted as tokens of weakness. When Zelachrist suffered some reverses in the struggle with the rebels, his enemies succeeded in overthrowing him, thus depriving the Mission of its strongest support. The reaction came to a head in an imperial edict of 1632, reintroducing the Alexandrian teaching and liturgy.[4] In the midst of these upheavals Socinius died on September 16th, 1632. His successor,

[1] The *Brief (*Epist.*, VIII., *loc. cit.*), ends with the question, "When will be the day of the baptism?"

[2] *Brief to *Faciladas primogenit. Aethiopiae imperatoris filius* of February 24, 1631, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Brief to *Zelachristus Aethiopiae imp. frater* of February 24, 1631, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Beccari, *Rer. aethiop. Script.*, especially Vol. VI. *seq.*, and the discussion by Huonder in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXX., 65 *seq.*, who emphasizes the fact that the Jesuits were not exclusively to blame for the breakdown, as was done in many of the reports sent to Propaganda. The Emperor felt offended when he received no replies from either Rome or Madrid (see Beccari, XII, no. 78). But this was certainly not the only or even the chief reason for his change of policy, as Prätorius points out in his review of Beccari's 12th volume (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1913, 111).

the impious Facilidas, began at once to persecute the Catholic Church. Zelachrist was banished. In 1636 Facilidas likewise ordered the banishment of the Patriarch, the Jesuits and the missionaries. The Franciscans and Capuchins sent by Propaganda, among them the zealous Agathangelus, all suffered martyrdom.[1] However, Rome did not forget the Christians of Ethiopia. In 1639 Cardinal Barberini founded an Ethiopian seminary attached to Propaganda.[2] As late as 1640 the Pope sent the Carmelite Jacob Weemers to Ethiopia,[3] but by then the Mission in that country was definitely lost.[4] In February, 1631, Urban VIII. dispatched Capuchins to Egypt. They were the bearers of a letter to the heads of the various Catholic Churches. The letter made reference to St. Anthony and his

[1] See HOLZAPFEL, 531 *seq.*; ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 379 *seq.*; FAGNIEZ, I., 365 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* above p. 213. An *Avviso of January 29, 1633, states that a youth, who claimed to be a son of the King of Ethiopia, had entered the College of S. Pietro in Montorio (*Ottob.* 3339, Vatican Library). The anxiety of the Holy See for the unhappy Ethiopians is also apparent from the reply of the Congregation of the Council on September 20, 1641, in BESSARIONE, XVII. (1913), 488. A decision of Propaganda on the right to consecrate of the Patriarch, who had been driven to Goa, in *Ius pontif.*, P. II., I., 88.

[3] See the *Briefs to *Sultanus Sagad, imperator Aethiopiae*, to *generalis monachor. Aethiopum ord. s. Antonii* and to *archiepisc. Aethiopiae*, of July 28, 1640, *Epist.*, XVII–XVIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] SCHMIDLIN (*Missionsgesch.*, 233) believes that in Ethiopia as elsewhere throughout the black continent, missionary ventures were too sporadic and intermittent so that they were doomed to fail in the end, notwithstanding the most heroic exertions. The failure was due not only to the material difficulties of the climate and the caprice of rulers, but also to the lack of method, especially to precipitation which resulted in Christians who were only nominal converts, and the too close alliance with Portuguese policy, which exploited its missionary connexions for selfish purposes. DUENSING (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1911, 705 *seq.*) and LITTMANN (*ibid.*, 1915, 441 *seq.*), see the chief reason of the failure in the fact that the missionaries proceeded with too great violence and did not sufficiently allow for the character of the people.

mastery over the demons and to the Nile, the source of Egypt's fertility.[1] Since 1624 the mission in Morocco had the strong support of Richelieu and Fr. Joseph : it failed none the less ; on the other hand the Andalusian Capuchins successfully established themselves in that country.[2]

By command of Propaganda, French Capuchins established themselves on the coast of Guinea. In 1635 Fathers Alexius and Bernardine baptized several chieftains at Cap Verde, Sereno and Joal. In 1637 Fr. Columbinus of Nantes preached with success at the Court of the Moorish King of Besné.[3]

In East Africa, in 1624, twenty Jesuits laboured in eight separate missionary stations ; in 1625 twenty-five Dominicans were established in thirteen different localities and their activities extended far into the Gold Coast. In 1628, after the Christians, led by the Dominican Luiz, had defeated Monomotapa Kaprazine and acclaimed his uncle Manuza as his successor, the latter received baptism and granted full liberty to the missionaries. In 1633 he defeated Kaprazine in a second decisive battle.[4] In 1630 a similar revolution in the more northerly Mombasa brought about the rise of Prince Yussuf who had received a Christian education at the hands of the Augustinians. Whilst still only a pretender to the throne, Yussuf had written to Urban VIII., declaring his submission, but in the same year he returned to Islam and massacred all the Christians. In addition to these external vicissitudes, after 1630, certain internal adverse circumstances led to the gradual decay of the Zambesi Mission.[5] In a memorial of that year the Jesuit Borri prayed the Pope to send missionaries to

[1] See the *Briefs to the "Rectores catholici ecclesiae Aegypti" and to the "Rectores eccles. Syriae et Palaestinae" as well as to the "patr. Maronit. Antichenus" of February 28, 1631, *Epist.*, VIII., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 368 *seq.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 229.

[4] See KILGER in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, VII., 101 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* STRANDES, *Die Portugiesenzeit in Ostafrika*, Berlin, 1899, 195 *seq.* ; KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 103 *seq.* ; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 231.

Madagascar and to lend support to Prince Andrew who had received Baptism.[1] In 1643 Propaganda dispatched some Carmelites but owing to the opposition of the French they were unable to consolidate themselves in the island.[2]

In January, 1624, at a sitting of Propaganda, Juan Bautista Vives did homage to the Pope in the name of the Christian King of Congo.[3] Vives had taken the place of Antony Nigrita, the envoy of Congo who had come to Rome in the reign of Paul V., where he had lodged at the Vatican, but had succumbed to the Roman climate.[4] Urban VIII. completed the monument which Paul V. caused to be erected to his memory in St. Mary Major. It stands in the atrium of the Sacristy. The black marble bust with its coloured drapery, perhaps carved from the death mask, is a striking reproduction of the negro type whilst it also reveals marked intelligence.[5] The Capuchin Bonaventura, whom Propaganda dispatched to Congo in 1635, having fallen into the hands of the Dutch,[6] six missionaries of the same Order were sent out in 1638, but these only reached their destination after a voyage of several years.[7] In 1640 the Congo mission was assigned to the Capuchins of the Roman Province.[8]

[1] See SCHMIDLIN in the *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, XII. (1922), 197 *seq.* Borri proposed Madagascar as the metropolis for the austral missions.

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 232.

[3] See *Avviso of January 13, 1624, *Urb.*, 1094, Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 368.

[5] See MUÑOZ in *L'Arte*, 1909; F. COLONNA DI STIGLIANO in the periodical *Roma*, III. (1925), 163 *seq.* The Pope inspected the memorial; see *Avviso of August 16, 1628, in POLLAK-FREY, 174.

[6] See DE JUNGHE-SIMAR, 9 *seqq.*, quoted in SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 227.

[7] See **Compendio della relatione del regno del Congo scritta dal P. Giov. Franc. da Roma, minor Capuccino, inviato colà con altri padri del medesimo ordine con carattere di missionari da Urbano Papa VIII., l'anno*, 1639, *a richiesta di D. Alvaro VI., re di quel reame, Cod.*, 136, p. 728 *seq.*, of the Angelica Library, Rome.

[8] See *Ius pontif.*, P. II, 1, 86.

In South America Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, Jesuits and secular priests zealously continued their apostolic labours. From Peru both Dominicans and Augustinians were able to inform Propaganda of splendid successes. Between 1636 and 1639 that Congregation repeatedly sent Augustinians to Peru where Paul of Rozas in particular laboured with extraordinary success as apostolic missionary and preacher.[1] In 1642, whilst on a journey to Europe, the Procurator of the Jesuits in Peru, Bartolomeo Tafur, brought with him to Rome the first sample of the chinchona bark of whose remedial virtue against malaria he informed his brethren.[2] Augustinian missionaries also laboured zealously in Darien (New Granada). In 1629 they reported the conversion of 8,000 Indians in Vraba (Uraba), and that of 1,400 in Guaymi (Duchy of Veragua). By 1642 the Dominican Adrian of Uffelde had converted twenty pagan towns of the *Terra firma*.[3]

In 1628 forty-three Jesuit Fathers set out for Paraguay.[4] Ten years later they undertook the evangelization of Marañon (Upper Amazon).[5] In 1624 the Jesuits of Brazil were joined by French Capuchins in ministering to the Catholics of Pernambuco and evangelizing the pagans. In 1644 the Jesuits saved Maranhão for the Portuguese from the Calvinist Dutch.[6] After the conquest by the French of the Lesser Antilles, French religious established themselves there ; the Jesuits settled in the island of St. Christopher in 1625, and the Capuchins in 1635, and in the same year the Capuchins and Dominicans

[1] See the important essay of SCHMIDLIN : *Die ältesten Propagandamaterialien zur Amerika-Mission*, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XV. (1925), 183 *seq.* ; *cf.* the same author, *Missionsgesch.*, 308, note 2.

[2] Besides CELLI, 371 *seq.*, see A. CANEZZA, *Pulvis Iesuitica*, Rome, 1925, and *Civ. Catt.*, 1926, *fasc.*, 182, p. 533 *seq.*

[3] See SCHMIDLIN, *Propagandamaterialien*, 185 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 187.

[5] See ASTRÁIN, V., 443 *seq.*, 513 *seq.*

[6] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 330 ; *cf. Propagandamaterialien*, 187.

went to Guadeloupe and Martinique, the Jesuits joining them in the latter island in 1640.[1]

In Mexico the Augustinian Valdes worked successfully among the Otomi and the Totopec between 1636–1638.[2] From Mexico the Franciscans penetrated into Yucatan, the Jesuits to Sinaloa and Sonora,[3] and isolated members of the Order as well as secular priests into Lower California.[4] The Franciscans laboured for the conversion of New Mexico and established stations there ; by 1631 they had baptized 86,000 Indians.[5] In Florida they had forty-four stations and thirty thousand neophytes in 1634.[6]

In the colony of Maryland, which Charles I. in 1632 gave to Lord Baltimore, for a Catholic settlement, English Jesuits established themselves and likewise laboured among the Indians ; however, the Puritan revolution of 1644 put an end to their activity.[7] Acting on a report of the nuncio of Brussels of the year 1630 on the emigration of the Puritans to North-America, and in answer to his request for help, Propaganda dispatched in the same year both French and English Capuchins to Virginia or New England.[8] In Canada, or New France, the Gospel was being preached by the Capuchins to the Penobscots, by the Recollects, until their dispersal in 1627, to various tribes, and by the Jesuits from 1627–1629 and again after 1632 to the Hurons and other tribes.[9]

With regard to the American missions, Propaganda's

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 295 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 342, note 3.

[3] See ASTRÁIN, V., 326 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 349.

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, *Propagandamaterialien*, 189.

[6] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 351.

[7] *Cf.* below, XXIX., ch. 4.

[8] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 352 ; *Propagandamaterialien*, 190.

[9] See SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch*, 353 *seq.*, 356 *seq.* ; *Propagandamaterialien*, 191 ; FOUQUERAY, IV., 491 *seq.*, V., 290 *seq.* ; *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XIV., 85 ; GOYAU, in *Correspondant*, 1924.

action was more marked than that of the Holy See. The Bulls of Urban VIII. deal chiefly with the Orders and with ordinations and faculties.[1] A measure of general interest was the re-enactment, on April 22nd, 1639, by the Pope of Paul III.'s Bull against slavery,[2] excommunicating anyone who presumed to reduce to slavery, to buy, sell, exchange or make a gift of an Indian, whether he was a Christian or no, to part him from his wife and children, to rob him of his property, to transport him to another country or in any way to deprive him of his freedom or to keep him as a slave.[3] The storm of protests to which this ordinance gave rise in Brazil, showed how deeply rooted Indian slavery was in that country. The Jesuit Peter Claver toiled with superhuman endurance, until his death in 1654, for the conversion and the alleviation of the wretched condition of the slaves who were landed at Cartagena. In the discharge of this sublime office of an apostle of the blacks, to which he devoted nearly forty years of his life, he converted more than 300,000 negroes.[4]

The intense interest with which Rome watched the progress of the missions in the West and the East Indies [5] appears from

[1] In 1625 the Pope decided that the doctors in theology of the Augustinians should be tested by the examiners of the Chapters (*Ius pontif.*, I., 146 *seq.*); in 1626, that all confessors in Peru were to be examined by the Archbishop of Lima and that the people were to make their Easter Communion in their own parishes (*ibid.*, 64 *seq.*); in 1627, that in convents of nuns only women in the habit were to be received within the enclosure; he also issued rules for the conferring of degrees, after five years' study, in the Colleges of the Dominicans and Jesuits (*ibid.*, 155); in 1634, various faculties for the Ordinaries and for the Jesuits (*ibid.*, 160).

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XII., 519 *seq.*

[3] See MARGRAF, *Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerikas*, Tübingen, 1865, 148 *seq.*, 220 *seq.* *Ius pontif.*, I., 176 *seq.* *Cf.* STREIT, I., 513.

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV., 385 *seq.*

[5] See RANKE, *Päpste*, II.[6], 320, and *Osmanen*[4], 348, 352, 554 *seq.*, for the **Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occident.*, in *Barb.* 3584, Vatican Library, written in 1640 for Cardinal

the reports demanded by Propaganda. Thus a memorial of the year 1625 by the Franciscan Gregory Bolivar, exposes to the Pope existing abuses in the Church of the East Indies, especially among the clergy, and suggests various remedies.[1] The Augustinian Prior, Peter Nieto, of Havana, urged the need of a nuncio for the West Indies as well as that of a native clergy. In 1629 he drew up a memorandum on the necessary reforms.[2] In this document Gregory Bolivar openly complains that in both Indies, but especially in the West Indies, not enough was being done for the conversion of the pagans, notwithstanding that there were six archbishoprics and forty bishoprics ; he laments the lack of suitable priests for the Indians, because both seminaries and religious concentrated their attention for the most part on the parishes of Christians ; also the covetousness of numerous Bishops and the passion for gambling of many priests and the latter's trading in slaves and wine to the grave injury to their reputation, and lastly, the drawback that almost all the parishes were in the hands of religious. On the evidence of these reports, in the years 1625, 1628 and 1644, the Secretary of Propaganda, Ingoli, drew up memorandums on the abuses obtaining in both Indies and on their remedies. He mentions as the chief sources of these abuses the exaggerated claims of the Portuguese and Spanish patronage by which the publication of Papal Bulls was hindered and the nomination to episcopal sees frequently delayed, and lastly the disputes between the secular and regular clergy for which he lays all the blame on the Jesuits whom he hated because of their autonomy.[3] If in this Ingoli goes too far, he is completely right

Barberini, in 6 volumes (only the first and part of the second are in print) ; *ibid.* (Ranke), 557, for a description of the Spanish colonies in 1625, with special regard to their ecclesiastical organization.

[1] See KILGER in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XII. (1922), 19 *seq.*

[2] See SCHMIDLIN, *Propagandamaterialien*, 183.

[3] Ingoli, usually so reliable, was, like Melchior Cano, filled with passionate dislike of the Jesuits ; see KILGER in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1922, 26.

in his bitter complaints of the interference and the mania for tutelage of the secular power and the repression and exploitation of the indigenous elements. As chief remedies he lays stress on the training of a native clergy, a more extensive employment of secular priests, and an increase of the hierarchy.[1] These directions were destined to be carried into effect in the near future, especially through the missionary seminaries for secular priests and the creation of Apostolic Vicariates.

[1] See KILGER, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *Propaganda-materialien*, 184.

CHAPTER IV.

The Situation of Catholics in Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland and Scotland.

(1)

A large part of the Swiss Confederation was likewise missionary territory. Out of thirteen Cantons, seven had remained wholly Catholic, viz. Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Ober and Unterwalden, Zug, Solothurn, and Fribourg; four, viz. Zürich, Bern, Bâle and Schaffhausen had fallen away completely from the ancient Church and two others partially, viz. Glarus and Appenzell. The four Protestant Cantons did not tolerate any exercise whatever of Catholic worship. A third of the population of Glarus still remained sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, half of that of Appenzell was also in sympathy with the ancient Church and there, as in all the other Cantons, the Capuchins helped to an extraordinary degree to maintain loyalty to the faith. The Grisons and Valais were completely mixed from the religious point of view.[1]

None of the six ancient bishoprics, viz. Bâle, Constance, Chur, Lausanne, Sitten, and Como, into which Switzerland was divided, had been completely destroyed, but their territories had been greatly diminished by the apostasy of the Protestant sections. In each diocese there was a Catholic, a Protestant, or

[1] *Cf.* R. Scotti (*Vesc. del Borgo di S. Donino*), *Helvetia profana e santa, Relat. del dominio temporale de' potentiss. XIII. cantoni Svizzeri detti della gran lega, e relat. de' vescovati, abbatie et altre dignità subordinate alla nuntiatura Helvet.*, 2 parts in 1 vol., Macerata, 1642. A copy of this important work, dedicated to the Vice-Chancellor Cardinal Barberini, dated Macerata, 1642, was found in the Corvisieri Library, which was sold in 1901. This copy formed part of the legacy of Cardinal Gentili and was entitled: *Relatione della Nuntiatura Elvetica lasciata per modo d'instruttione da Msgr. Scotti, vesc. del Borgo S. Donino, Nuntio ap., a Msgr. Farnese, arcivesc. di Patrano, suo successore, alla partenza per Franza a 2 Maggio, 1639.* At the end is the note, "Di Lucerna li 30 (*sic !*) di Maggio, 1639."

a mixed district; the latter was considered as missionary territory and, accordingly, as subject to Propaganda. The Bishop of Geneva had been compelled to withdraw to Annecy, that is, into Savoyard territory: the Bishop of Bâle had had to seek a refuge outside his diocese, at Pruntrut, which, for the rest, was his own territory and the Bishop of Lausanne had taken up residence at Fribourg which alone had remained faithful to him. The Bishop of Chur lived in a wholly Protestant town, his palace being his own property as a Prince of Empire.

The Bishops found strong support in the papal nuncio at Lucerne. Rome attached great importance to the Swiss nunciature, for its holder occupied a post from which he was able to make his influence felt in France, Germany, and Austria, and because he represented the Pope in a country which, if it were to fall away completely from the Church, could have cut or hindered communications with Germany whilst it might have opened the way for Protestantism into Italy.[1]

The holders of the Swiss nunciature under Urban VIII were Alessandro Scappi, Ciriaco Rocci (June, 1624–May, 1630). Ranuccio Scotti (till May, 1639), Girolamo Farnese (till October, 1643), and lastly the Theatine Lorenzo Gavotti.[2] The nuncios deemed it their chief duty to further in every way the Catholic cause, especially its champions, the Bishops and the Orders. They also had at heart the suppression of such abuses as had crept in. In this respect Scappi[3] and Scotti

[1] See MEJER, *Propaganda*, I., 108.

[2] See BIAUDET, *Nonciatures*, 214 *seq.* *Cf.* also STEINER, *Die Päpstlichen Gesandten in der Schweiz*, Stans, 1907, and BENZIGER in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, VI., 127 *seq.* An essay on the papal nuncio's visit to Altdorf, 1628/29 is in *Anz. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, New Series, XIV. (1911), no. 3. The captain of the Swiss Guard, whose office was much coveted, was considered as the Resident of the Catholic Cantons with the Holy See; *cf. Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X. (1916). 233 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, II., 1, 275. For Scappi's reform of the relaxed Benedictine monasteries of Disentis and Pfäfers see the **Decreta* of November 15 and December 5, 1623, in the *Visite*, III., Propaganda Archives, Rome. *Ibid.*, *Visite*, V. for the **Visitatio monast. Campidonen*, November 22, 1626, by Scappi.

showed particular zeal. The latter, on his retirement at the beginning of May, 1639, drew up a detailed memorandum for the benefit of his successor which throws a most interesting light on the religious and political situation in Switzerland,[1] a country that had been but little affected by the great war.[2]

Of the Bishops, Scotti has nothing but good to report. The Bishop of Constance, Truchsess von Waldburg, was a very pious man but lack of money prevented him from building a much-needed seminary. A *grand seigneur* himself, he left the work of visitation to his suffragans. Almost the whole of Constance had been brought back to the Catholic Church by the Jesuits, so that not more than thirty Protestants remained there. The Bishops of Bâle were in a position of great difficulty, not only because Protestantism had made extensive inroads into their diocese but because their temporal territory was hard hit by the upheavals caused by the war, in consequence of which they had lost their revenues. Bishop Wilhelm Rink von Baldenstein (1608–1628) received both consolation and help from Urban VIII.[3] The Bishop's zeal for the Catholic restoration was shown by his action against the only remaining Protestant community, Allschwill, in the Birseck.[4]

Of his successor, Johann Heinrich von Ostheim (1628-1646), Scotti says that his zeal was such as to leave nothing to be desired, but that the troubles of the war had reduced him to destitution. Equally zealous in the fulfilment of his ecclesiastical duty, according to Scotti, was the Bishop of Lausanne,

[1] What follows is from the memorial quoted in n. 1, p. 265.

[2] *Cf.* HÜRBIN, *Handbuch der Schweizergesch.*, II., Stans, 1908, 371 *seq.* For the "affair Klus" which France settled in order to preserve the Federation as its undivided recruiting field, see F. FÄH, *Der Kluser Handel und seine Folgen*, 1632/33, Zürich, 1884.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to the Bishop of Basle, November 25, 1623, and the Brief in his favour, addressed to the Archduke Leopold William of Austria as Bishop of Strassburg, dated May 31, 1625, and *that to the Emperor, May 25, 1628, *Epist.*, I.ª II., V., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* K. GAUSS in the *Basler Jahrbuch*, 1900.

Jean de Versoix, who resided in staunchly Catholic Fribourg. The Bishop of Chur, Joseph Mohr (1627-1635), as well as his predecessor, John Flugi V., and his successor John Flugi VI., had at heart the visitation of their diocese.[1] The spiritual care of the religiously very mixed population of the Grisons, and the protection of the faith there, found valuable support in the Capuchin mission of Brescia.[2] Scotti likewise obtained Capuchins from Milan who, notwithstanding the difficulties arising out of the political circumstances, threw themselves into their task with burning zeal, with the result that many Protestants were converted.[3] In Sitten also, from which the Jesuits had been banished in 1627,[4] a Capuchin convent was founded in Scotti's time. Geneva constituted a perennial danger of religious perversion for the diocese which also suffered from a great dearth of priests, so that Urban VIII. urged the foundation of a Jesuit College.[5] In the Italian districts of the diocese excellent priests of the school of St. Charles Borromeo were still at work.[6]

Scotti singles out for special praise the admirable state of

[1] *Cf.* the essays of Dr. J. Simonet in the *Bündner Monatsblatt*, 1916, 2 *seq.*, 48 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*, and 1925.

[2] *Cf.* Rocco da Cesinale, II., *passim.*

[3] Scotti says so expressly.

[4] See Duhr, II., 1, 303 *seq.*, where there are further details on the intervention of the nuncio Scappi and Urban VIII. on behalf of the Fathers.

[5] A *letter of encouragement to the Bishop of Sitten, Hildebrand II., Jost, of November 25, 1623, in which we read : " Sed ecclesiae vulnera non patiuntur Nos gratulantium plausibus delectari : notissimum istius dioc. miseriae." Arm yourself for the cause of God, " cum haeret. pestilentiac contagio ex finit. Gehennae fluctibus in istius populi viscera irrepserit." The nuncio would stand by him. A *Brief to the magistrates of Sitten, June 22, 1624 : They should give the Jesuits a College in the town. Similar *Briefs to the magistrates of Sitten and to the Swiss, August 17, 1624, *Epist.*, I.[a], I.[b]. A laudatory *Brief to the new Bishop, Adrian III. von Riedmatten, November 21, 1643, *Epist.*, XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] Here as in my other statements, I am using Scotti's report.

the monasteries and convents of Catholic Switzerland. In the Swiss Benedictine Congregation, which included the famous Abbeys of St. Gall,[1] Einsiedeln, Muri, Rheinau, Fischingen, Engelberg, Pfäfers, and Disentis, both Abbots and Monks observed the Rule with the greatest fidelity. The Abbey of Fischingen in Thurgau, the only one that was still relaxed, was reformed by Scotti.[2] All the Abbeys of the Swabian Congregation were likewise reformed but the wars had reduced them to great straits. Among these was St. Blasien which at one time had had an income of 100,000 florins. Scotti draws a gloomy picture of the destitution of the monasteries of Swabia and Alsace, many of whose monks had been driven from their homes by warlike disturbances; some of these escaped into Switzerland. The excellent Cistercian Abbots of Salem and Tennenbach were likewise in exile.

In the Catholic Cantons Scotti busied himself with the reform of the convents of nuns. For their confessors he usually appointed Jesuits. The latter had five Colleges within the area of the Swiss nunciature, viz. at Constance, Freiburg im Breisgau, Fribourg in Switzerland, Lucerne, and Pruntrut. In addition to these they also had establishments at Ensisheim, Colmar, and Lindau. Scotti reports that they did excellent work everywhere, especially at Lucerne and at Fribourg, where they had many pupils.[3] Scotti also recommended to his successor the Somaschans of Lucerne who had settled in one of the suburbs during the pontificate of Clement VIII. But of all religious in the whole of Switzerland the Capuchins were the most popular.

Not only the nuncios but Propaganda paid assiduous attention to the Swiss mission.[4] The same was true of the

[1] Laudatory *Brief to the Abbot of St. Galle, November 14, 1643, *Epist.*, XIX., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Brief of May 24, 1642 to *Abbas Helvet. congreg. ord. S. Benedicti.* Similarly on May 24, 1642 to the Swiss nuncio, *Epist.*, XIX., *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Duhr, II., 1, 263 *seq.*, 266, 268 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*, 275 *seq.* (the efforts of nuncio Scappi on behalf of the house at Colmar) 287 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 296 *seq.* [4] *Cf.* Rocco da Cesinale, II., *passim.*

Provinces of the United Netherlands, though with this difference that there were no longer any Bishops left in that country and the nuncios could only make their influence felt from Brussels.[1] Philip Rovenius, who was appointed Vicar Apostolic for the Dutch mission in 1614, when he was also given the title of Archbishop of Philippi,[2] could only work from a distance.[3] The oppression of the Catholics of Holland, who were still numerous, continued.[4] In view of the fact that the law of February 26th, 1622, which forbade the exercise of Catholic worship, even in private, under penalty of heavy fines, could not be carried out everywhere in its full stringency, it was enforced afresh in 1624, 1629, and again in 1641.[5] Almost everywhere priests could only give spiritual comfort at night.[6] In 1628 the Bishop of Bruges wrote to Urban VIII. to lament the complete suppression of the old religion in the deanery

[1] *Cf.* CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions aux Nonces de Flandre*, Bruxelles, 1904, *passim*. The nuncio in Paris, Scotti, also attempted to intervene in favour of the Dutch Catholics. He reports as follows: * "Per le notitie ch'hebbero gl'heretici degl'affari de' cattolici d'Olanda, anzi del nome loro, trovatane la nota fra le scritture levate in Utrecht all'arcivescovo Filippense Vicario Apostolico, che con la fuga miracolosamente si salvò, per esser stato scoperto l'essercitio della sua carica, si levò una fiera persecutione contro li medesimi cattolici; onde furono passati da me offitii in voce, lasciandome memoria in scritto, acciò si dessero da Sua Maestà ordini efficaci al suo ambasciatore appresso le provincie unite per la protettione della religione cattolica etc." (SCOTTI, **Relatione della sua Nunziatura*, XI., 71, pp. 91–2, Papal Secret Archives). BLOCK gives a survey of the contemporary material dealing with Holland preserved in the Archives of Propaganda [1625 to 1662], in *Archief. v. d. geschied. v. h. aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XXVII., 329–376.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 123, n. 3.

[3] *Cf.* KNUIF DE JONG, *Phil. Rovenius*, Utrecht, 1925.

[4] As is clearly shown, as against Fruin, in the monograph quoted in the preceding note, Catholics did not enjoy any liberty of conscience and they were being persecuted not for their Spanish sympathies but for their adherence to the old faith.

[5] See HUBERT, 71.

[6] *Cf. Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XII., 432.

of Ardenbourg.[1] In certain Provinces the severe general ordinances against the private exercise of Catholic worship were made stricter still. How greatly afraid the Government was of every manifestation of Catholic life is proved by the firmness with which it rejected, in 1630, the request of the French ambassador who asked that Catholic worship might go on in conquered Bois-le-Duc ; in 1631 all the Catholic churches there were closed.[2] At Groningen, in the same year, a Dominican was condemned to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 florins.[3] In 1640 all Catholic priests were banished from Leiden on the plea that they did all that they could to bring about the triumph of the Pope and of Spain.[4] At the Hague, where in consequence of the great number of Catholics —there were 6,000 of them—supervision had been somewhat less strict,[5] everything was now done to make it impossible for them to hear Mass in the chapels of the French and Venetian ambassadors.[6] In Seeland and Frisia, according to the report of the envoy Francesco Michiel, the number of Catholics had been greatly reduced by 1638 ; for that reason they were being treated with increased harshness.[7]

In 1639 the Vicar Apostolic Rovenius drew up a memorandum on the intolerable condition of the Dutch Catholics. He stated that the law guaranteed liberty of conscience to all the subjects but that Catholics did not enjoy this freedom since they were prevented from receiving the Sacraments at the hands of their priests. The Government's treatment of

[1] See *Anal. p. s. à l'hist. écclés. de la Belgique*, III., 68.

[2] See HUBERT, 71, 90.

[3] See *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht* VI., 14 *seq.* Other religious also, *e.g.*, the Augustinians were at work in Holland ; see the dissertation quoted below, p. 273, note 5, by MEIJER.

[4] See HUBERT, 76.

[5] *Cf.* the account of the envoy Fr. Michiel of 1638 in BLOCK, *Relaz. Venez.*, Hague, 1909, 266. [6] See HUBERT, 77 *seq.*

[7] See FR. MICHIEL, *loc. cit.* According to the *Descript. episc. Leoward.* A° 1640, the number of Catholics in Friesland was still fairly high. Thus at Groningen 4,000 yearly communicants were recorded and about 1,000 from the neighbouring district ; see *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, IV., 90 *seq.* *Cf.* HUBERT, 103 *seq.*

Catholics was as if it told them : " I allow you to live but forbid you to eat." [1] However these representations were just as useless as the suggestion that a cessation of the persecution would be to the interest of the Republic. Whilst all other religious parties were tolerated,[2] those continued to be oppressed who remained true to the faith of their fathers. The oppression made itself especially felt through the imposition of exorbitant fines.[3] In 1642 Rovenius reckoned that the fines paid during the preceding four years amounted to 50,000 florins.[4] None the less the desired end, that is, the destruction of the old religion, was not realized, partly because notwithstanding the insistence of the Calvinist preachers, a strict execution of the edicts was not possible, and because many of the officials allowed themselves to be bribed. The reports of Rovenius to Propaganda and other sources make it quite clear that there could be no question of a radical extirpation of the ancient Church. Whereas in 1616 the secular clergy numbered 200, it had risen to 246 in 1631, and to 300 in 1642. In 1616 there were 16 Jesuits in Holland, in 1631 nearly 50, in 1634 65, and in 1638 there were 70. In 1617 the Franciscans numbered 7 ; in 1634 they were 25.[5] We even hear of numerous conversions : in 1635 there were no less than 2,500.[6] To what petty devices the Government had recourse, appears from the fact that in 1636, at Utrecht, the immemorial custom of placing a rosary in the hands of the dead was forbidden under penalty of a fine of 50 florins.[7] and in 1644

[1] See the memorandum in *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, II., 1 *seqq*. *Cf*. KNUTTEL, *Toestand d. Nederl. Kathol.* (1892), 141.

[2] *Cf*. LEMAN, *Instructions*, 141.

[3] See WILDE in *Studiën v. Godsdienst, Wetenschap, Letteren*, New Series, LX. (1903), 265 and KLÖNNE in *Katholiek*, XCVII. (1890), 17 *seq*. *Cf*. HUBERT, 97.

[4] See WILDE, *loc. cit.*, 271.

[5] KNUTTEL, *loc. cit.*, I., 61 *seq*. In the Instruction for the nuncio of Brussels in 1635, the number of priests is given as only 150 ; *cf*. LEMAN, *Instructions*, 172, note 1.

[6] See *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XVIII., 1 *seq*. ; HUBERT, 98.

[7] See KRONENBURG, *Marias Heerlijkheid in Nederland*, VII., Amsterdam, 1911, 164.

all childless Catholic women were forbidden to make a will ! [1]

The differences between the Vicar Apostolic and the regular clergy had long proved one of the difficulties of the Dutch mission. The situation became even more acute when certain Mendicant Friars from neighbouring countries, having penetrated into Holland, frequently committed grave imprudences. Rovenius also became involved in fresh disputes with the Jesuits. Although in 1644 he had arrived at an understanding with the Provincial of the Jesuits,[2] and both the Pope and Propaganda insisted on the arrangement being honoured,[3] fresh conflicts were for ever arising. In a memorial to Propaganda of the year 1649, both Jesuits and Franciscans defended themselves against Rovenius' accusations.[4] Propaganda, on its part, strictly enjoined on the missionaries, especially the Capuchins, not to meddle in any way with political matters during the war between Holland and Spain.[5]

One of Holland's noblest and most gifted sons, the poet Joost van den Vondel, who for a time had professed Arminianism, became a Catholic in 1641. The literary importance, the depth of feeling and wealth of thought of the famous "conqueror of the Parnassus of the Netherlands" have in

[1] See HUBERT, 87.

[2] *Cf. Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, IV., 341 *seq.*

[3] See BROM, *Acta der Propaganda voer de Hollandsche Missië, 1622–1698*, in *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XXXI. (1906), 298 *seq.* *Ius pontif.*, I., 54 *seq.*

[4] See *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XXXIII. (1908), 14 *seqq.*, 77 *seq.* The controversy of Rovenius with the Jesuits is treated in detail in the monograph of KNUIF DE JONG quoted above, p. 270, note 3.

[5] See BROM, *loc. cit.*, 333, 336, 365. For the *Congregatio particularis Hollandiae* created in 1637, see *Mededeelingen v. het Nederlandsch Hist. Institut te Rome*, VII., Haag, 1927, xl. Besides the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, the Augustinians were also active in the Dutch mission ; see G. A. MEIJER, *Volmachten door Urbaan VIII. gegeven aan Michael Paludanus, prefect der Augustijnen in der Holl. Missië* (1635), in *Arch. v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XXXIV. (1909).

recent times met with universal recognition. In a splendid poem written in 1645, he sang the glory of the Church.[1] In 1644 another intellectual giant of Holland, Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law, " the miracle of his century ",[2] whose aim was the reunion of divided Christendom, returned sincerely and humbly to the bosom of the ancient Church.[3]

The Dutch Catholics may also have found some consolation for the insults which the Calvinists were wont to proffer against the Blessed Virgin Mary in the fact that Jan Pieters Sweelinck, the organist at one of the Calvinist churches of Amsterdam and the mightiest predecessor of Sebastian Bach, composed three splendid musical pieces in her honour and that Rembrandt, in a work of art of the first rank, gave expression to the Catholic conception of the greatness and holiness of the Mother of Our Lord.[4]

Throughout seven centuries the kingdoms of the North had shone like a pearl in the ring of Catholic Provinces which encircle the Chair of Peter, until the storm of the Reformation came to destroy the rich religious life which had unfolded itself

[1] *Cf.* the biographies by ALBERDINGK THYM (Amsterdam, 1869), BAUMGARTNER (Freiburg, 1882), and KOLFF (Haarlem, 1896).

[2] Vossius' expression.

[3] F. X. Schulte, the author of the most important work, on the Catholic side, on the religious views of Grotius, says: " Especially the question whether Grotius ' became ' a Catholic, is still ' sub lite ' " (BROERE, *Grotius' Rückkehr zur katholischen Kirche*, Trier, 1871, VI. KROGH-TONNING (*H. Grotius und die religiösen Bewegungen im Protestantismus seiner Zeit*, Köln, 1904) has nothing further to add to this. SOPHIE GÖRRES (*Ist. H. Grotius katholisch gestorben?* in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLIV., 1 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*) has again taken up the question and on the basis of a newly discovered letter of Balde to Grotius dated March 4, 1644, has answered it in the affirmative. The nuncio F. CHIGI had already hinted at the possibility of Grotius' conversion from Cologne in 1641 and 1642; see KLÖNNE, *Amsteldamensia*, Amsterdam, 1894, 183 *seq.*; ORBAAN. *Bescheiden*, I., 296.

[4] See KRONENBURG, *loc. cit.*, 188.

there. Through the absolutism of secular Governments and their lust of gain, the Catholic religion was abolished by force and the preaching of her doctrine and the exercise of her worship punished with the loss of life and property. Church property was confiscated, the sacred edifices were stripped of their ornaments, not a few of them were destroyed and the monasteries suppressed. However painful all this may have been, the Holy See never relaxed its efforts to save what might yet be saved. As it was, the hope which had still been a lively one under Clement VIII., that the most important of the northern Kingdoms, viz. Sweden, would return to the Church, soon vanished completely.[1] But there still remained those in Sweden who secretly professed the Catholic Faith. The attempt of the Jesuit Henry Schacht to administer the Sacraments to them ended towards the close of 1624, as a result of treachery. In 1625 a young Swede who had made his studies in the papal seminary of Braunsberg, was executed for being a Catholic.[2]

Denmark, whither Propaganda sent a few Jesuits and Dominicans, exhibited the same hostility towards Catholics. The Jesuit Colen was banished in 1624 whilst the merchant who had given him hospitality was put to death. A royal ordinance of February 24th, 1624, forbade under pain of death all Catholic priests and religious to reside in the country.[3] The Dominicans who fled from the persecution devoted themselves to the Catholics of Hamburg and Friedrichstadt.[4] In 1626 Propaganda resolved to send two Jesuit missionaries to Norway; however the plan could not be carried out owing to the stringent Danish law which was operative there. In 1637 Propaganda despatched the priest Rhugius to Norway, his native country, together with a Dominican. The latter was

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIV., 341, *seqq.*

[2] See PIEPER, 12 *seq.*; METZLER, 15.

[3] See RÓRDAM, *Danske Kirkelove*, III., Köbenhavn, 1889, 104 *seq.*; PIEPER, 9 *seq.*; METZLER, 14 *seq.*; A. LYSANDER, *Jesuiterna i Malmö, 1624*, Lund, 1922.

[4] See PIEPER, 16 *seq.*; DE WEDEL-JARLSBERG, *Une page d'histoire des Frères-Prêcheurs. La Province Dacia : Danmark, Suède et Norvège*, Rome, 1889, 246 *seq.*

promptly expelled whilst Rhugius succeeded in staying until 1642, but he was unable to carry out any of the functions of his ministry.[1] In 1630 Propaganda sent a Scottish priest to Sweden but nothing is known of his missionary activity.[2] In 1644 Sweden was placed under the pro-legate of Avignon. Two Superiors of the mission were appointed and faculties for Denmark and Sweden were also granted to them, but it would seem that owing to the obstacles put in their way they never even reached their destination.[3]

(2)

At the time of Gregory XV.'s death the heir to the British Crown, Charles, was still in Spain for the purpose of personally bringing to a head the negotiations for his marriage with the sister of the King of Spain which had been pending for so long a time. For a while it looked as if he were about to succeed. True, from the first the leading Spanish statesman, Olivares, would not hear of the English wedding ; consequently he kept making ever larger and even impossible demands from the English. To the minister's astonishment and despair, Charles suffered himself to be driven from one concession to another until he ended by granting all that was asked of him. James I. also proved unexpectedly accommodating. By the terms of certain articles to which he secretly swore on July 20th, 1623, an end was to be put to the persecution of English Catholics, and they were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion within their own homes. Even the Infanta ended by overcoming her reluctance to marry the Englishman.[4] The decisive factor in this change of mind was the hope that thereby she might procure for the English Catholics an alleviation of

[1] See PIEPER, 36 *seq.* ; METZLER, 16.

[2] See METZLER, 16.

[3] See PIEPER, 46 *seq.* ; METZLER, 16 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 188 *seqq.* ; for the Spanish marriage see also OPEL, I., 517 to 533. Further literature in *Arch. stor. ital.*, LXXI., 1 (1913), 291. See also *Relazione del viaggio di Carlo principe di Galles a Madrid 1625*, in SAGGIATORE, II., 442 *seq.*

their lot and perhaps bring back the whole island kingdom to the old religion.[1] With a view to giving the King of England time to prove the sincerity of his promises, it was decided that the Infanta should only set out for her new home in the spring of 1624, but the wedding was to be solemnized as soon as information should have come in that James I. had signed the secret conditions submitted to him and that the new Pope sanctioned the marriage, for news of Gregory XV.'s death had by then reached Madrid.[2] However, the newly elected Pope fell seriously ill immediately after his enthronization, hence nothing was done until October.[3] As a Cardinal, so Urban VIII. wrote to James I.,[4] he had been Protector of Scotland and as a member of the commission of Cardinals he had been in favour of the matrimonial alliance and still desired its realization. It grieved him that James I., the son of so saintly a mother, had departed from the religion of his ancestors; as for the future, he hoped the King would protect the Catholics: already once before Britain had given a Constantine to the Church of Christ. On the same day the Pope also sent a most friendly reply to the letter which Prince Charles had written to Gregory XV.; the Pope told him, that his letter was the first document to come into his hands after his election.[5]

Meanwhile the Prince had made up his mind to leave Spain,

[1] English concessions on religious questions raised exaggerated hopes. A member of the French embassy in London, Denis Lazzari, even thought that: "per guadagnare l'anima del re non credo che vi fosse molta difficoltà;" that James I. was indifferent in religious matters; if he was allowed to retain the Church's property and the Spanish marriage or the restitution of the Palatinate were promised to him, his indifference would be no obstacle, especially if Buckingham could be won through his wife who secretly professed Catholicism (GARDINER, IV., 281; *Tilliers* in RAUMER, II., 328 *seq.*); see **Relatione fatta alla Congregatione di Propaganda Fide da Dionisio Lazzari*, Corsini Library, at Rome, 35 B. 9, p. 48 *seqq.* *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 147 *seqq.*

[2] GARDINER, V., 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, 113.

[4] October 15, 1623, in KUNSTMANN, 198–201.

[5] *Ibid.*, 201–204.

August 29th being fixed for his departure. In order to justify this action in the eyes of his bride, he requested James I. to send him a formal command to return. This he received on August 10th.[1] Meanwhile the Prince sought to induce the Spanish Court to consent to his bride accompanying him at once to England,[2] but to this the Spaniards would not agree. However, Philip IV. suggested that the Prince should prolong his stay until Christmas; meanwhile the marriage might be solemnized though even so the Infanta would only accompany him to England in the following spring. The seriousness of the situation was apparent, for if in the meantime a son should be born to the Prince of Wales, the Spaniards would have in their hands as hostages not one but two heirs to the British Crown. Once again Charles' thoughtlessness induced him to consent to remain until Christmas.[3]

The Prince's vacillation occasioned a series of unpleasant incidents. There were so many chances of friction between the Spaniards and the English that sharp conflicts were scarcely to be avoided. Thus it happened that when one of the cavaliers in the Prince's suite fell suddenly ill, he asked for a priest, that he might die a Catholic. Now already another companion of Charles, Cottington, when dangerously ill, had been anxious to enter eternity as a Catholic, though when he recovered he judged it easier to go on living as a Protestant. The repetition of such an incident infuriated the English: they gathered before the door of the dying man to prevent the priest from going to him. When the priest nevertheless appeared on the scene, one of the men struck him in the face with his clenched fist. Only with difficulty were the Spaniards restrained from taking a bloody revenge for this outrage. But the incident had a wide repercussion: "What can English Catholics expect from people who behave thus towards foreign ones?" it was said "What is the worth of English promises?" Philip IV. insisted on stern punishment whilst Charles, on the contrary, demanded the punishment of the *alcalde* who had arrested the author of the outrage. The King put an end to the

[1] Gardiner, V., 93, 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 101.

dispute by informing the Prince that if he wished to remain in Spain until Christmas he must dismiss all his English servants.[1] Apart from this incident, Buckingham had made himself very unpopular in Spain in consequence of his immorality and his haughtiness, so much so that people said that they would rather cast the Infanta headlong into a well than hand her over to such a man.[2]

In addition to everything, Olivares, in an unguarded moment, had allowed the remark to escape him that he never seriously contemplated the wedding.[3] The Prince ended by realizing that he had better leave Spain as soon as possible, and on August 20th, he wrote to his father to that effect.[4] The wedding was to be arranged by someone else, perhaps by Philip IV. himself, or by his brother, power to conclude the bargain remaining in the hands of Bristol, the English ambassador, the marriage to take place ten days after the arrival of the papal dispensation. Before setting out for home Charles took a solemn oath by which he bound himself to the marriage contract, on August 28th,[5] and on September 2nd he took his leave.

Meanwhile the conditions of the marriage contract were being examined in Rome. As a Cardinal, Urban VIII., had been definitely in favour of the Spanish wedding, for he hoped that it would lead to an improvement in the situation of the English Catholics. Immediately after his election he discussed the matter with the Spanish ambassador, and as soon as he had recovered from his illness he once more gave it his whole attention.[6] Cardinals Bandini, Millini, Cobelluzio, Scaglia, Pio, and Ludovisi were commissioned to study the question. Subsequently they were joined by Antonio and Francesco Barberini and, during the latter's absence in France, by the particularly energetic Magalotti.[7] It appeared that the

[1] *Ibid.*, 102 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, 111 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 103.

[5] *Ibid.*, 113 *seq.*

[6] A *letter of Barberini to the Spanish nuncio, October 25, 1623, in *Nicoletti, LII., 7 *seq.*, 253, Vatican Library.

[7] *Nicoletti, LII., 7 *seq.*, 263, *loc. cit.*

alterations insisted upon by Rome had not been taken into account in the Madrid contract. Thus Rome had demanded that the governesses of the royal children must be Catholics, whereas the contract merely stated that they might be Catholics.[1] Rome wished the royal children to be under the care of the Infanta up to their twelfth year ; of this the Prince was not merely to give a hope but a firm promise ; but in the Madrid contract there was question of the tenth year only, and no mention whatever was made of the further condition that up to that age the entire domestic staff of the royal children was to be composed of Catholics. This last demand was bound to be of very great importance in the event of the premature death of the Infanta.[2] Urban VIII. was particularly alarmed by an alteration in the clause which granted to the Catholics liberty to practise their religion within their own homes and to attend the chapel or public church of the Infanta. The Prince had put in a claim that this could not be included among the points to which he had to swear, though in a document which the nuncio forwarded to Ludovisi, he promised to the Catholics silent toleration in respect to this point. The Cardinals' comment was that they failed to see why the Prince should not swear what he was ready to promise ; the Madrid nuncio should do his utmost to secure this point ; if he failed he must not deliver the marriage dispensation.[3] A last difficulty, and it was a big one, was the oath which Catholics were required to take on assuming office or on similar occasions. It was inadmissible that Rome should examine every individual oath, nor could the Pope prescribe a form of oath which the English Government would be obliged to adopt. In the end the Cardinals arrived at the conclusion that they would be satisfied with the Prince's promise that no oath would be demanded which was irreconcilable with the Catholic religion.[4] The nuncio was to be instructed not to deliver the dispensation until these two main points had been settled and the King of Spain had guaranteed by oath the

[1] Barberini's *letter, *ibid.*, 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, 258 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 260 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 262 *seq.* Two secondary points, *ibid.*, 265 *seq.*

execution of the marriage contract. A copy of the sworn contract, signed and sealed by both Kings and by the Prince, was to be forwarded to Rome.[1]

When on October 25th, 1623, the nuncio in Madrid, Massimi, was informed of these decisions, the Roman authorities were still ignorant of the events which had occurred there since the latter's last report dated August 26th, nor could they know that their objections would arrive too late. These were nevertheless presented because it was impossible to ascertain with complete certainty whether the marriage dispensation had already been handed over and because the Pope had the matter very much at heart. He would deem his Pontificate an exceedingly happy one, he wrote to Massimi, if at the very outset of his government he could introduce once more the Catholic religion into a country from which it had been so long banished and where at one time it had been so flourishing.[2]

Meanwhile at Madrid the situation had changed considerably. When Charles undertook his journey south, for the purpose of looking for a bride, he had imagined that his personal appearance in Madrid would sweep away every obstacle to his marriage to the Infanta, whilst he would be in a position to intervene effectively on behalf of his sister, the exiled Palatine Electress. Greatly disillusioned and deeply wounded in his pride, he returned to England without a bride. Already on the return journey and whilst still on Spanish soil, he looked for pretexts to put off the wedding for as long as possible. From Segovia he wrote to Bristol, the English ambassador in Madrid, that even before this he had confessed his fear to him lest after the wedding the Infanta should wish to enter a convent, thereby robbing him of a wife. This remark of the Prince was not meant seriously ; all he wanted was to make it impossible for the wedding to take place on the appointed day. To this end the bearer of the letter was instructed to hand it to Bristol only after the papal approval of the marriage should have arrived. Bristol would then have to ask for fresh instructions from London ; three weeks must then elapse before a reply could reach him, so that it would be

[1] *Ibid.*, 266.

[2] *Ibid.*, 267.

impossible for the wedding to be solemnized ten days after the arrival of the papal dispensation.[1] However, the plot miscarried because, in answer to a remark of Bristol's, the messenger said that Rome's answer had already arrived, and he handed over the letter much too soon,[2] viz. two months before the arrival of the Pope's answer.

Three days after the Prince's embarkation, Bristol, as a result of careful inquiry, was able to reassure him with regard to his fears,[3] but he realized that London was on the look-out for pretexts for putting off the wedding; accordingly he drew attention to the bad impression which such a step could not fail to create in Madrid, since in the faculties granted for the marriage settlement it was expressly stated that the Prince could not revoke or alter them. However London continued to search for fresh pretexts. Though Bristol had insisted on the fact that the faculty expired at Christmas, James I. deemed it opportune [4] to fix the wedding for the day after Christmas and to lay down retrospectively a supplementary condition for the match, namely the restoration to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick of their Palatine principality. Through the intervention of Philip IV. Bristol now found himself in the greatest perplexity. Could he appear before Philip IV. to demand that the wedding should take place on the very first day after the expiration of the time limit previously agreed upon? To do so would be an insult. Should he insist on the restoration of Frederick, which had never been mentioned as one of the clauses of the marriage treaty? Surely this was too much like a pretext for getting out of the marriage, quite apart from the fact that a demand of this kind would lead to an indefinite postponement of the wedding. Bristol urged his reasons in a respectful letter,[5] but even before he could receive an answer, his perplexity grew still further as news reached Madrid that Urban VIII. had granted the necessary

[1] GARDINER, V., 118 *seq.*

[2] September 11, 1623, *ibid.*, 120.

[3] September 21, 1623, *ibid.*, 121 *seq.*; *cf.* 133.

[4] October 8, 1623, *ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

[5] October 24, 1623, in GARDINER, V., 140.

dispensation for the marriage. Everything was to be settled within ten days after the arrival of the document, hence it was necessary to act quickly. Bristol made haste to write to London [1] to the effect that he thought he would be interpreting the mind of the King if he delivered the faculty for the marriage by proxy as soon as ever it was asked for, whilst at the same time endeavouring to put off the day of the wedding for as long as possible, pending further instructions. However, such procrastination was not without its difficulties. The Pope's consent to the marriage duly arrived on November 12th, and on the 19th it was in the hands of the King of Spain, who at once took the required oath, namely, that James I. would discharge his obligations. The 29th November was fixed as the last term for the wedding ; if it did not take place by then, the marriage treaty would be null and void.[2]

Meanwhile James I. had drawn up the letter which effectively nullified the marriage plans.[3] To Bristol's reminder that the faculty for Charles' proxy at the wedding expired on Christmas Day, he answered by issuing a new one, which was to be good until March, 1624, but at the same time he commanded him not to hand over the document until Philip IV. should have promised in writing that he would procure the restoration of the Palatine either by peaceful means or by force of arms. If Bristol failed to receive a favourable answer within twenty days he was to take his departure.

Naturally enough Philip IV. refused to submit to these demands, since they aimed at nothing less than that James I. need not move a finger for the restoration of his son-in-law, whereas the King of Spain might conceivably be compelled to go to war. James' instructions arrived in Madrid three days before the day fixed for the wedding. The Infanta now gave up her study of English and ceased to style herself Princess of England.[4] On December 30th Bristol was definitely ordered to return to England ; he received but scanty thanks from

[1] November 1, 1623, *ibid.*, 148 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 150.

[3] *Ibid.*, 145.

[4] *Ibid.*, 153.

James for his faithful service.[1] However, though a considerable time passed before James formally cancelled the plans for a Spanish marriage,[2] in reality everything was at an end.

Whilst the negotiations for a marriage with the Infanta were still pending James felt that he must take some steps with a view to bringing his promise of religious toleration for Catholics nearer execution. After prolonged discussions with the Spanish ambassador in London, both parties signed an agreement [3] for a future amnesty for those Catholics who had been condemned to fines for refusing to attend Anglican services. A royal declaration, also to be made at a future date, would suspend all penal laws against Catholics. Further negotiations took place as to the form of the future amnesty and declaration.[4] On August 28th the King put his signature to both ordinances; at the same time he instructed the Keeper of the Great Seal, Williams, to draw up a warrant for the liberation of imprisoned priests and a letter to the magistrates ordering them to take note of the amnesty and granting permission for it to be pleaded in court. The Spanish envoy nevertheless failed to obtain a formal prohibition of the prosecution of Catholics. The Keeper of the Seals was in no hurry to publish the royal command. He knew full well that these ordinances had only been extorted from James I. by the fear lest his son should be forcibly detained in Spain and that as soon as Charles should be back in London, his father would not be greatly interested in them.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 159, 232, 236, VI., 92 *seq.* Later on, Bristol was given back all the presents which the Prince had made to the Infanta, as well as thirty-six letters which he had written to her; the latter were all still unopened and unread. ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 269; RAUMER, *Briefe*, II., 340.

[2] GARDINER, V., 116 *seq.*, 178, 201; GOLL, 2, 5. According to KHEVENHÜLLER (May 29, 1624), Gondomar and others still tried to bring about the Spanish match. W. GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 1, 540.

[3] August 8, 1623, GARDINER, V., 97–9. *Cf.* ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 270, note 2

[4] GARDINER, V., 124 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 125–128.

Williams was not mistaken in his surmise. On the Prince's return to London, the priests were indeed released from prison, but no further favour was granted.[1] However, even the mere, cessation from persecution had its effect. The Jesuits alone reckoned at 2,600 the number of those who returned to the ancient Church in the year 1623 alone.[2] On the other hand the embitterment of the Protestants also grew apace, as was shown by their brutality on the occasion of an appalling catastrophe. On October 26th, whilst a Jesuit was preaching on the third floor of the French Embassy, a beam of the floor gave way hurling the congregation of about three hundred below and carrying away in its fall the storey beneath as well. The Protestant populace saw in the catastrophe a judgment of God, for in the old Calendar October 26th corresponded to November 5th in the new, that is Gunpowder Plot day. When the injured and the dead were dug out of the ruins, insults were heaped on them, and dirt and stones thrown at them.[3] A Protestant writer of the time [4] remarked that it was to be feared that under pretext of rooting out Popery, extreme savagery would penetrate into the Church. However, a Jesuit's account of the occurrence lays these manifestations of inhumanity exclusively to the charge of the Puritans.[5] "Those who behaved in this way were not Englishmen; the latter are much too generous by nature; neither were they English Protestants—heresy has not turned them into savages—but Puritans; nor was there question of the whole country, or even of all London, but only a district of the city which the Puritans boast of as their peculiar den."

The hope of the Spanish dowry having thus vanished, the need of money forced the King to convene his Parliament once more. The speech from the throne [6] plainly betrayed James I.'s perplexity as he endeavoured to justify before the public the concessions made by him in the Spanish marriage

[1] *Ibid.*, 142.
[2] FOLEY, I., 74.
[3] FOLEY, I., 76–7: *The Blackfriars Accident.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 89.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] February 19, 1624, in LINGARD, IX., 216; GARDINER, V., 183 *seq.*

treaty. He did not even shrink from actual falsehoods when he asserted that there were times when he contemplated applying the penal laws against Catholics less rigorously, but that he had never thought of dispensing from them or of mitigating them. The truth is that he had not only promised a milder application, but non-application. Not long afterwards Buckingham gave to Parliament such an account of the events and negotiations in Spain [1] that the envoys of the Spanish Court declared that if any one in Spain had spoken in such terms of the King of England, he would have risked his head. However, Parliament expressed itself satisfied with Buckingham's account, and turned its attention to the Catholics. The plan for a Spanish marriage and the success of the imperial arms in Germany combined to rouse the House of Lords. On April 3rd it demanded that the penal laws should be applied in their full rigour and that the King should give a promise that "upon no occasion of marriage or treaty or other request on that behalf from any foreign Prince would he slacken the execution of these laws." [2] A further request by both Houses [3] even aimed at increased stringency of the anti-Catholic laws. These demands produced their effect. James I. called God to witness that at no time had he promised any dispensation from the penal laws and that he would never agree to any clause in any treaty which would entail consideration or toleration for Catholics.[4] At the same time the Prince of Wales took an oath which was destined to create more than one difficulty for him, for he swore that should his future wife be a Catholic, he would only grant religious freedom to herself and her servants.[5]

Thus was an end put to every plan for an alleviation of the lot of Catholics. A royal proclamation fixed a date by which all missionaries must have left the country, under pain of death.

[1] February 24, 1624, LINGARD, IX., 217; GARDINER, V., 185, 188.

[2] GARDINER, V., 208 *seq.*

[3] April 23, 1624, LINGARD, IX., 217.

[4] *Ibid.*, 219, GARDINER, V., 222.

[5] April 5, 1624, GARDINER, V., 222.

Judges and magistrates were instructed to apply the anti-Catholic laws. as before, the Lord Mayor was to arrest all persons who were seen to leave the Embassy chapels, and the Bishops and the Privy Council were consulted as to the best means of making Protestants of the children of Catholic parents.[1] With the help of certain members of the Lower House a list was drawn up of persons suspected of being adherents of the old religion with a view to proceeding against them. The plan failed, however, owing to certain juridical objections by the Upper House.[2]

The sharp persecution which now began was all the more painful for Catholics, as they had enjoyed comparative tranquillity since the beginning of the preceding year. True, the death penalty was not applied but, as we read in the annual reports of the Jesuits for the year 1624,[3] " it is hardly possible to imagine how many Catholics will be driven into exile by the recrudescence of the persecution and it is impossible to calculate the numerous and heavy losses that are bound to ensue. No more terrible storm has befallen Catholics within the last thirty years. For the present it rages only in some of the counties around London, but within a few months it will have become general. For the time being Catholics are in great fear for their possessions ; however, whilst a few of them prefer property and freedom to their faith, the majority give proof of unshakable constancy, notwithstanding the prospect of spoliation, imprisonment and chains."

As soon as the heir to the throne had reassured the Protestants with regard to the mere possibility of a Catholic Queen, a fresh matrimonial plan was devised for him. During the Prince's stay in Spain, Buckingham was visited by an English Friar who spoke to him of his influence with Marie de Medici and expressed the opinion that she would probably

[1] LINGARD, IX., 219. About this time Urban VIII. encouraged the Carmelites who wished to settle in England, and admonished them to endure all things for the sake of the Faith. *Briefs of April 27 and May 11, 1624, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] LINGARD, IX., 220.

[3] FOLEY, VII., 2, 1100 *seq.*

be willing to give her youngest daughter, Henrietta Maria,[1] in marriage to the heir to the English throne. In Paris the Friar saw the Queen-Mother who agreed to his proposal and sent him on to London with a message for Buckingham. James I. was ready to take up the plan, the Spanish marriage project having failed.[2] On March 15th Buckingham threw out a hint to Parliament but though the suggestion was ill-received, it called forth no open expression of disapproval.[3]

On February 15th, 1624, that clever courtier, Henry Roche, Viscount Kensington and future Earl Holland, came to Paris as James's envoy for the purpose of sounding the Court.[4] He found both Louis XIII. and Marie de Medici favourably disposed towards the marriage; they hoped that better conditions for English Catholics would be the result; closer relations between France and England were also desirable because both Powers were opposed to Spain—England in consequence of the question of the Palatinate and France by reason of the dispute over the Valtellina. An alliance with powerful France against Spain could not fail to appear desirable even in the eyes of English Protestants, in fact, it was calculated to reconcile them, to some extent, to the idea of a Catholic Queen. Notwithstanding the destruction of the Armada, an almost superstitious fear of the uncanny Catholic Southern Power still dominated English Protestants, and this fear became intensified by the circumstance that just then the Catholic Powers enjoyed an obvious preponderance over the Protestant ones. In the opinion of James I., so an English

[1] J. A. Taylor, *The Life of Queen Henrietta Maria*, London, 1905; I. M. Stone, in *The Dublin Review*, 3rd Series, XXI. (1889), 321–341; *Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, her Letters*, ed. by Mary A. Everett Green, London, 1857; Ermanno Ferrero, *Lettres de Henriette Marie à sa sœur* (*Christine of Savoy*), Turin, 1881. The Papal Legate Con, on August 15 (25), 1636, on Henrietta's strict moral conduct and piety, in Gardiner, VIII., 237. J. Goll, *Die französische Heirat, Frankreich und England, 1624* und *1625*, Prag, 1876.

[2] Gardiner, V., 175. The French ambassador in London, Tillières in Goll, 80.

[3] Gardiner, V., 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, 215 *seqq.*

statesman of the period wrote,[1] all the Protestant Powers together could not withstand Spain. A reinforcement precisely through Catholic France could not but seem doubly desirable, for if none but Protestants allied themselves against Spain, an impression would be created, so the King of England thought, that the war was one of religion, a circumstance which would virtually compel all Catholics to side with Spain. The anxiety of the Protestants just then was clearly betrayed by the fact that when the adventurer Mansfeld came to London to beg James I.'s help for the Palatinate, he could not show himself in the street without being mobbed by a populace eager to kiss the hem of the garments of the champion of Protestantism.[2]

On May 17th, 1624, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, who was commissioned to negotiate the marriage treaty, left London for Paris where the Court gave him a cordial reception.[3] True, a hitch occurred at the very start when the Protestant envoys refused to give to Richelieu the precedence which the latter claimed as a Cardinal. However, Richelieu knew a way out: he pretended sickness and in consequence conferred with the envoys from his bed. It was less easy to settle the religious part of the marriage treaty. The King of England had instructed Carlisle and Kensington not to yield on this point; it was better for the English Catholics themselves, he claimed, that they should remain completely in his own hands, for if they were granted their freedom they would become presumptuous and he would be compelled to proceed against them with even greater severity.[4] In accordance with these directions, the English envoys laid stress on the circumstance that in the previous negotiations for the marriage of the Prince with the elder sister of Henrietta Maria, freedom of religion

[1] NETHERSOLE, *ibid.*, 246. "Protestantism," GARDINER, judges (*ibid.*), "could only defend itself by ceasing to be aggressive, and by appealing to the political sympathies of Catholic States." For the political significance of the French marriage see also OPEL, II., 197–201.

[2] GARDINER, V., 222 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 248 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 250.

had only been insisted upon for the person of the Princess and her servants. To this Richelieu replied that the Spanish Princess had been given a guarantee that no Catholic would be molested because of his religion. The Cardinal was told that no one was being persecuted in England for being a Catholic, but if a man went to Mass he incurred the penalty inflicted for such an act solely because he disobeyed the law. Sophisms of this kind were bound to render the French even more cautious. In the end they declared they would be content if James gave a secret promise that Catholics would not be molested on the ground of religion, but they insisted on the concession being made in writing.[1] To this the King would not consent, and the Prince even less so, hence the negotiations seemed doomed to failure. Accordingly, towards the end of June, James I. issued fresh orders for the application of the penal laws, whilst at the same time he looked for a bride for his son at the Protestant Courts of Germany. The Elector, John George of Saxony, a fervent Lutheran, told him that he would not marry his daughter to a Calvinist.[2]

In Paris, on the other hand, an attempt was made to reopen negotiations. Already in June the French Minister, La Vieuville, had dropped the ambiguous remark that some concession should be made which would satisfy the Pope. Carlisle interpreted this as meaning that the French made their big demands only for appearance' sake, that is, out of consideration for the Catholic party and in order to obtain more easily from Rome the necessary dispensation for the marriage, whilst with regard to the execution of the promise, the King might do

[1] GARDINER, V., 250 *seq.* The French perpetually abated their demands. Religious tolerance for Catholics was to be attained first by open treaty, then by secret articles, then by a written promise of the King, and finally by " écrit particulier ". Further details in GOLL. 24, 26, 34, 38. *Ibid.*, 10 *seqq*, 46 *seqq.* for other particulars, as for example the concession of a public church, the position of the French ambassador Tillières, that of Buckingham, Conway, etc.

[2] Cardinal Barberini to the French nuncio Spada, October 2, 1624, in BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 488.

as he pleased.[1] In other words, both religion and the Princess were to be betrayed, but the proposal emanated neither from Louis XIII. nor from Richelieu. La Vieuville took yet a further step. On his advice Kensington returned to London to represent to James I. the necessity of making at least a written promise in favour of English Catholics, even if he was unwilling to sign a formal treaty. The new French ambassador in London, the adroit Antoine de Ruzé, Marquis of Effiat, supported the plan. He had found his way to the heart of the King by patiently listening to his endless hunting stories, and what was more, he also won over Buckingham. James I. agreed to the proposal.[2]

However Effiat's efforts in London proved in vain. Vieuville's offer to forgo a formal guarantee on the part of James had been made without the consent of his Sovereign. When Louis XIII. heard of the arbitrary conduct of his minister he dismissed him. Richelieu stepped into his place and insisted, as a matter of course, that the matter should be settled in due form.[3] However, James I. and his son insisted on Effiat's concession. Thereupon Richelieu proposed a middle course. He was prepared to forgo a formal treaty clause though he would not be satisfied with a simple promise in writing; on the contrary he demanded a formal and binding document signed by King James, the heir to the throne and one of the Secretaries of State; the promise of freedom for Catholics to practise their religion within the four walls of their houses was to be given on the faith and word of a king, on his word and oath given on the Holy Gospels.[4]

This proposal roused Carlisle's indignation, but his colleague, Kensington, entered into secret communication with Richelieu, who won him over by his affability, assured him of his friendship, and threw the blame for his exigency upon the Pope. At the same time the French Government made a show of going to the assistance of Mansfeld. The effect of these shrewd measures was soon felt in London. Buckingham was anxious to bring off the marriage in order to secure France's help, and

[1] GARDINER, V., 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, 253 *seq.*
[3] *Cf.* ZELLER, *Richelieu*, 263 *seq.*
[4] GARDINER, V., 258 *seq.*

through Buckingham the Prince was also won over: thus James stood alone; soon he too ended by giving way.[1] The King imagined that everything was now settled: Kensington was created Earl Holland and the Privy Council consented to a suspension of the laws against the recusants. However, in view of the difficulty of justifying such concessions before Parliament, the King prorogued the House until February 26th, 1625.[2]

James' satisfaction was premature. His representatives in Paris were informed that a mere letter of their King was inadequate, even though it was signed by his heir and a Secretary of State; that there could be no question of an offensive league with Protestants against Catholics because such action would offend the Pope and render a marriage dispensation unobtainable. This angered the English envoys in Paris and Carlisle advised his Sovereign to speak "in strong terms" to Effiat.[3] But James was unwilling to forgo the prospect of a league and the restoration of the Palatinate; consequently Carlisle and Kensington were instructed to bow to the French demands even though they were denied a written promise of help for Mansfeld. On November 10th [20th] they signed the marriage treaty; all that was now wanting was James' signature and the papal dispensation.[4] Louis XIII. dispatched his secretary, Ville-aux-Clercs, Count of Brienne, to London for the purpose of receiving James' oath as to the concessions to Catholics. On December 12th [22nd] the marriage treaty was signed by James I. and the Prince.[5] The conditions of the treaty were formulated in thirty articles. In regard to religion it was stipulated that the Queen, her children, and her household were to have full liberty to practise their religion; she was to have a chapel in all the royal palaces, and her suite was to include one Bishop and twenty-eight ecclesiastics. Her children were to remain under her care until their thirteenth year, and the King would not attempt

[1] *Ibid.*, 259–262.
[2] *Ibid.*, 263.
[3] *Ibid.*, 267 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 270. [5] *Ibid.*, 276, 277.

to seduce her from her faith.[1] In a secret article the Prince, in accordance with his father's promise, on the faith and word of a Prince, both for the present and the time to come, in everything that lay in his power and in view of his wife, guaranteed to all the Catholic subjects of the British Crown the full religious liberty which the marriage treaty assured to them. They were not to be molested for their profession of the Catholic religion, neither in their persons nor in their property so long as they remained obedient and loyal subjects; he also promised that no oath contrary to these conditions would be required of them. The document was signed by Charles and the Secretary of State Conway.[2]

Charles had given his royal word. Whether he ever intended to keep his royal word may be questioned. He subsequently explained that he had only signed the engagement because the King of France wished him to do so in order to deceive the Pope.[3]

Urban VIII. had warned the King of France from the first against the English marriage.[4] However, Louis XIII. held to his plan and dispatched the Founder and Superior of the French Oratory, Pierre Bérulle and De Béthune to Rome for the purpose of obtaining the marriage dispensation.[5] By that time Urban VIII. had resigned himself to what was virtually unavoidable. In April, 1624, he wrote to the King of England and likewise reminded the heir to the throne of his promise not to take any hostile measure against the Catholic religion.[6]

[1] *Art.* 6–9 and 16; see DUMONT, V., 2, 477; LINGARD, IX., 229; BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 431.

[2] GARDINER, V., 277 *seq.* According to Brienne and Effiat, (letter of December 22, 1624, in GOLL, 90) James promised, "qu'il ne persécutera jamais ses sujets cath. Rom. ni désirera d'eux aucun serment qui parlât ni du Pape ni du spirituel, ainsi seulement un acte de reconnaissance de la domination temporelle."

[3] GARDINER, V., 278.

[4] LINGARD, IX., 229; OPEL, II., 49.

[5] Instruction for Bérulle, July 31, 1624, in BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 429. It was drawn up by Brienne; see GOLL, 92.

[6] *Briefs of April 13, 1624, *Epist.*, II., 398, Papal Secret Archives.

In the negotiations which now ensued in Rome, the Pope insisted especially on the Catholics not being compelled to take either the oath of supremacy or that of allegiance; at most they were to take an oath which would meet with the approval of the Roman Congregation. He also strongly insisted on the Queen's chapel being a public one and open to all Catholics. Bérulle's suggestion, that only those should be admitted whom the Queen should invite, he declared to be inadequate, for in that case the lower classes would be excluded and other drawbacks would ensue. Bérulle replied that such demands could not be realized, but the Pope met him with the Prince's Spanish marriage treaty in which all these things were conceded, nor would he accept Bérulle's explanation that at that time the Prince was almost a prisoner of the Spaniards, so that it was anxiety to escape from the snares set for him that caused him to promise things which he had no intention of carrying out. On the present occasion, Urban VIII. replied, France guaranteed that he made no such reservations.[1]

On November 21st (December 1st) the commission of Cardinals presided over by Cardinal Barberini, pronounced in favour of the dispensation and on November 24th the Pope spoke cheerfully of his hopes for the future of English Catholics.[2] However, the demands of Urban VIII. went far beyond what had been conceded in London and Paris. The Pope insisted in particular on the religious liberty of Catholics being guaranteed by a public document. These demands so annoyed the English that for a time everything was put in jeopardy. The King made a show of getting once more in touch with Spain when Richelieu announced that the marriage would be celebrated with a dispensation of the French Bishops only. To this James I. would not agree for fear lest the validity of

[1] Cardinal Barberini to the nuncio Spada in Paris, October 2, 1624, in Bellesheim, III., 488 *seqq*. On November 19, 1624, a *Brief to Louis XIII. announces the decision that a Bishop must be in the retinue of the future Queen of England. *Epist.*, II. *loc. cit.*

[2] *Briefs to Louis XIII. and "Ioanni Colletono decano cleri Anglicani", *Epist.*, II., 96, 98, *loc. cit.*

the marriage should be questioned at some future time.[1] In the end Urban VIII. had to be satisfied with a sworn promise by Louis XIII. that he and his successors would do everything in their power to hold James and his son to the execution of the marriage treaty.[2] Thereupon the French nuncio, Spada, was authorized to hand over the dispensation. However, the aged King did not live to see the actual wedding; James I. died on March 27th, 1625.

The wedding was accordingly put off until May 1st. Charles had been eager to repair in person to Paris, but he was given to understand that his presence was not desired.[3] In order not to shock either Catholics or Protestants, it was decided that Charles should be represented by a proxy, that the ceremony should be performed in front of the porch of Notre Dame by a Catholic Bishop, and that there should be no religious ceremony after the bride's arrival in England. The Duke de Chevreuse acted as the King's proxy at the ceremony in front of Notre Dame, and Buckingham came over to fetch the Princess to England, where she arrived on June 12th.[4] The clergy in the Queen's suite consisted of the Bishop of

[1] LINGARD, IX., 231; GARDINER, V., 307; GOLL, 58 *seq.* The text of the dispensation is in ROSKOVÁNY, *De matrimoniis mixtis*, I., 21; KUNSTMANN, 204. How keenly the French minister desired the marriage is shown by a remark of Jocher to the Capuchin Hyacinth, February 25, 1625 (GOETZ, *Briefe und Akten*, II., 2, 61), namely, that Richelieu was ready to grant to the rebellious Huguenots anything, even if it were to the detriment of the catholic religion, so long as he secured the marriage and the attack on Spain.

[2] *Lettres patentes* of March 21, 1625, in GOLL, 92. "Nous promettons à Sa Sainteté . . . et jurons sur les S. Évangiles . . . que de tout nostre pouvoir et en tant qu'à nous est et sera, le contenu ésd. articles . . . sera gardé et accomply, tant ce qui nous concerne ensemble nostred. très chère sœur, comme en ce qui depend du pouvoir dud. Roy de la grande Bretagne et Prince de Galles." As early as April 11, 1625, Urban VIII. had *written to Louis XIII. that he would favour his wishes as far as possible. *Epist.*, II., *loc. cit.*

[3] GARDINER, V., 306.

[4] GARDINER, V., 326.

Mende and several French Oratorians under their founder Bérulle. The Oratorian Robert Philippe acted as confessor to the Queen until his death.[1]

On December 24th of the preceding year the courts had been forbidden further to prosecute Catholics under the penal laws. On the 26th an order was issued to set at liberty all Catholics imprisoned for religion. At the same time all proceedings pending in the ecclesiastical courts against those who professed the old religion were stopped and the Lord Treasurer was commanded to refund all fines; for the future such fines were indeed to be raised, to save appearances, but the money was to be restored at once to those who had paid it.[2] On the day of the wedding the Keeper of the Seals was instructed by the King to put an end to the persecution of the Catholics. Three thousand letters to the judges to this effect were ready to be sent out, but their dispatch was put off until the end of the parliamentary session.[3] On hearing of these measures Urban VIII. felt that he might exhort Charles to return himself to the Catholic Church.[4]

On June 18th, 1625, Parliament met, breathing Protestant and Puritanical hatred against Catholics. On the very day of the opening the Speaker expressed the House's hope that the King would "execute the laws against the wicked generation of Jesuits, seminary priests and incendiaries ever lying in wait to blow the coals of confusion".[5] The Commons began by keeping a day of penance and intercession and imposing a similar observance on the whole country; they listened to four sermons on one day and received Communion the day after.[6] On June 22nd a motion was introduced concerning the execution of the laws against priests and Jesuits; after some discussion it was referred to a committee of the whole

[1] On him, see BATTEREL, I., 222–232.

[2] GARDINER, V., 278. By March, 1625, 17,710 pounds had been paid back; see GOLL, 50.

[3] GARDINER, V., 326, 329.

[4] *Brief of August 21, 1625, *Epist.*, II., 342*b*, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] GARDINER, V., 339.

[6] LINGARD, IX., 242.

House.[1] On the following day Eliot made a speech on the need of religion, which he called the "tie of all friendship and society", and on its purity and unity. The loss of unity, he said, constituted a constant danger for the State, hence the necessary laws should be amended or at least seriously carried out. As a result of the debate which now ensued, a petition was drawn up in which the King was requested "to execute the penal laws in all their strictness and to take other measures to prevent the spread of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church".[2]

Charles I. had previously assured Parliament that his French marriage would not benefit English Catholics, though in the marriage treaty he had solemnly promised the opposite. To which of the two parties should he now prove false? Considerations of expediency proved decisive. From his marriage he had hoped for an alliance against Spain, which, however, did not materialize, whilst large grants of money could only be obtained from Parliament on condition that he proceeded against the Catholics. Domestic difficulties with his vivacious, less than sixteen years old wife, did not dispose him favourably towards France. Shortly after the opening of Parliament, Charles begged the French envoys not to take it in bad part if he held out hopes to his Protestant subjects of the execution of the penal laws, and to shut their eyes if one or two Jesuits were condemned, for the sentences would not be carried out. After that Catholics were the object of yet one more favour. James I. had allowed foreign ambassadors, on their departure from England, to take imprisoned priests with them. Accordingly, when the French envoys left, Charles I. allowed seventeen captive priests to accompany them.[3] The very day after the grant of this concession, on July 11th, he adjourned Parliament until August 1st when it was to meet at Oxford; there he would explain his attitude in regard to the penal laws, meanwhile their actual execution would be his answer.[4] Curiously enough the pardon granted to a Jesuit bore the date of July 12th, the very day after this announcement.[5]

[1] GARDINER, V., 342. [2] *Ibid.*, 342–4.
[3] *Ibid.*, 375–7. [4] *Ibid.*, 373. [5] *Ibid.*, 397.

It was natural that conduct so contradictory should call for comment when Parliament met at Oxford on August 1st. When the pardon of the Jesuit came up for discussion, none ventured to speak at first, out of regard for the King, but at length John Eliot, the outstanding orator of the House, rose to speak. He could not believe, he said, that the pardon proceeded from the King, hence they must try to discover who was the person responsible. The Attorney General sought to prevent an inquiry, but his excuses met with sharp opposition which was only quieted when the House resolved to present a petition to the King.[1] On August 7th the Court deliberated with a view to finding a way out of existing difficulties. Starting from some remarks which had been dropped in the course of private conversations during the negotiations in Paris, it was decided to advance the pretension that neither side had taken the promises of the marriage treaty seriously, but that their only object had been to deceive the Pope.[2] For the first time Charles I. dared to say so openly, though he had ratified the contract two months after the wedding, at a time when there was no longer any need to deceive the Pope.[3] On August 8th Buckingham informed the House of Commons that all its demands touching religion had been granted; if they were keen on the execution of the recusancy laws, their wishes would be complied with.[4] Both the Queen's almoner, the Bishop of Mende, and Bérulle, remonstrated in vain with Buckingham who sought to reassure them with a promise that the laws against Catholics would be mildly applied and that the seeming strictness was necessary in order to satisfy the populace.[5]

Accordingly, orders were issued for a strict execution of the

[1] GARDINER, V., 397–9. [2] *Ibid.*, 417.

[3] LINGARD IX., 266, note. GARDINER also says (V., 418): "For impartial judges it is enough to condemn so monstrous a proposition, that it was now heard of for the first time, and that Charles had already acknowledged by his actions, when his wife was on her way to England, that he considered his engagement to her brother as a reality."

[4] GARDINER, V., 419. [5] *Ibid.*, 422.

laws against Catholics ; a commission was set up to collect the fines which were to go towards defraying the expenses of the war ; parents and guardians were commanded to withdraw their sons or wards from seminaries over-seas ; all priests were to leave the country by a certain date, the recusants were to surrender their arms and not to go beyond a radius of five miles from their domicile. The ecclesiastical courts were likewise instructed to proceed against Catholics.[1] When the King of France protested, Charles I. excused himself with the plea that the marriage treaty had not been seriously meant ; that it had only been a ruse to deceive the Pope.[2] Thereafter it became the practice of the English Court, on this very ground, to consider the promises as non-existent.[3] The next Parliament, which met on January 6th, 1626, four days after the King's coronation, expressed the view that the calamities which of late had befallen the country, must be ascribed to the growth of Popery, hence it desired a further increase of rigour in the laws against Catholics. Accordingly schoolmasters were summoned from the most distant parts of the country to give an account of the sentiments of their pupils and every member of Parliament was called upon to denounce all persons in authority or office who were either personally suspect of leaning towards the old religion, or whose wives and children were thus disposed.[4]

The persecution which now broke out was all the harsher as the negotiations with the Catholic Powers had added fuel to popular hatred of Catholicism, whilst the priest-hunters were anxious to make up for their prolonged inactivity during the preceding year of peace. The prohibition for Catholics to be in possession of arms supplied the latter with a pretext

[1] LINGARD IX., 247. On August 14, 1625, the Privy Council confirmed the proclamation banishing the priests (GARDINER, VI., 3), on October 5 the order for the disarming of recusants followed, on November 3 the commission for the enactment of the penal laws was set up, on November 7 the order on minors and schoolmasters was signed (*ibid.*, 32 *seq.*).

[2] GARDINER, VI., 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, V., 418.

[4] LINGARD, IX., 297.

for searching and plundering every Catholic house; under this plea they were able to upset everything and not even persons belonging to the highest nobility were exempt from domiciliary searches.[1] No capital executions were carried out but in the opinion of a Jesuit report,[2] even the days of Elizabeth were milder, for in that reign only a few were executed and their death procured for the rest both protection and honour. At the present time they envy us so glorious a triumph, hence they reduce us to extremity by robbing us of our property; thus we suffer the greatest hardships but these do not call forth the sympathy of men. James' oath of fidelity was likewise demanded. Consequently Urban VIII. dispatched three Briefs addressed respectively to Louis XIII., to the Vicar General Smith, and to the English Catholics;[3] the latter he implored rather to die than to take the oath. In the following year a check was temporarily put on the activities of the priest hunters,[4] but in 1628 a Jesuit and a layman were executed at Lancaster in pursuance of the penal laws, though probably without the King's knowledge.[5]

At this time an incident occurred which once again drew public attention to the Catholics. Crowds of London Catholics were in the habit of flocking to the chapel of the French ambassador. On February 26th, 1626, the King ordered the arrest of every English subject who came out of the chapel. However, the ambassador's servants would not look on in silence; in the scuffle which ensued two men were wounded. The populace threatened to intervene, but the Bishop of Durham succeeded in restoring order. The ambassador was naturally indignant at this infringement of the law of nations, as he expressed himself.[6] If Charles I.'s measure against those who attended the French Embassy chapel was prompted by a desire to prove himself a good Protestant, the same motive

[1] Yearly report of the Jesuits for 1625, in FOLEY, VII., 2, 1115.

[2] For 1626, *ibid.*, 1123.

[3] *May 30, 1626.

[4] LINGARD, IX., 265; GARDINER, VIII., 130.

[5] FOLEY, II., 24 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, IV., 212 *seqq.*

[6] GARDINER, V., 142 *seq.*

may well have inspired his exploitation of another incident in 1628. An isolated house belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury served the Jesuits as a retreat where they gathered from time to time in order to strengthen themselves, in silence and solitude, in the spirit of their holy vocation. The dispatch thither of an unusual quantity of food excited curiosity, and ten Jesuits fell into the hands of the pursuivants at a single stroke. Nothing of a compromising nature was found among their papers, accordingly a letter was forged in order to give substance to an alleged Jesuit conspiracy, the object of which it was alleged, was to sow discord between Parliament and Buckingham. An attempt was made to frighten Parliament with the revelation that only a mile away the Jesuits were hatching a conspiracy. However, the Commons attached but little weight to this information,[1] but the incident had a sequel in the following year. A complaint was made in Parliament that only one of the ten Jesuit prisoners had been condemned and that he had received a pardon, whilst the nine others had been released on bail by order of the King. In the eyes of Parliament this was a grave crime against Protestantism. However, the various speakers all laid the blame not on the King but on his officials, and the matter was allowed to drop.[2]

The persecution of the Catholics naturally weighed heavily on the heart of the youthful Queen. She had consented to marry a Protestant in the hope of thereby procuring for her co-religionists freedom to practise their religion: now she saw that all the agreements to that effect were treated as non-existent. The circumstance was hardly calculated to increase the concord between the royal couple, which was none too great. The King, for his part, ascribed the painful situation to Henrietta Maria's French entourage. Accordingly he committed yet another violation of the marriage treaty by sending back to France, in the summer of 1626, the sixty

[1] GARDINER, VI., 238.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII., 57. The sources for the "Clerkenwell Discovery" have been collected by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLLS in *Camden Miscellany*, II. (1852/3). *Cf.* FOLEY, I., 98–141. The faked letter, *ibid.*, 116–121.

servants of the Queen, on the plea that their maintenance was too costly.[1] In a letter to her mother's confessor, the Jesuit Suffren, Henrietta Maria described herself as the unhappiest of women.[2] She complained of being left alone among barbarians; but though they sought to do violence to her conscience, all their efforts would only make her a keener Catholic. Urban VIII. complained of the breach of the marriage treaty to Louis XIII., to Richelieu, to the Spanish ambassador in London, and to the King of Spain. He also sent a letter of comfort to the Queen.[3] Louis dispatched the skilful Bassompierre to London on a special mission. By his wise counsels he successfully reconciled the royal couple, so that at a later date, after Buckingham's assassination, a really tender attachment sprang up between them.[4] Instead of the twenty-eight ecclesiastics who had previously formed part of her Court, the Queen now contented herself with three English chaplains. Six ladies, two of them Protestants, constituted her immediate entourage.[5]

However, Louis XIII. was not satisfied with Bassompierre's settlement of the situation and insisted on the full execution of the marriage treaty. In England the demand was resented as an insult: Buckingham informed Richelieu that the King now considered himself as freed from all the obligations of the

[1] LINGARD, IX., 262 *seqq.*; GARDINER, VI., 3 *seq.*, 38, 56 *seqq.* 134 *seqq.*, 141. For a few complaints against the household, *ibid.*, 135. According to RANKE (*Engl. Gesch.*, II[4], Leipzig, 1877), the Queen was persuaded on one occasion to take part in a procession to Tyburn, the place of execution of the English Martyrs *Cf.* on this LINGARD, IX., 265, note. On the way in which the agreement on the education of the royal children was broken, see GARDINER, VII., 142; *cf. ibid.*, VIII., 137 *seq.*, 140.

[2] September 23, 1626, in FOUQUERAY, V., 51 *seq.* On the poverty of the Queen's household and the King's extravagance, *cf.* the reports of the Venetian ambassadors Giovanni Soranzo, June 21, 1630, and Angelo Correr, August 16, 1635, in BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 118, 130.

[3] September 21, 1626, *Epist.*, II., 325, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] GARDINER, VI., 141 *seq.*, 145, 367; VII., 106.

[5] LINGARD, IX., 264.

marriage treaty.[1] In the sequel war broke out between the two Powers. When in April, 1629, peace was signed between England and France, the treaty was silent on the question of religion.[2] The King nevertheless allowed his Queen to send to France for some Capuchins for the service of her chapel: the priest who had acted as her confessor up till that time as well as an Oratorian were also permitted to remain.[3]

(3)

At the urgent request of the English Catholics and notwithstanding some misgivings, Gregory XV. had appointed a Bishop for England in the person of William Bishop.[4] The extent to which the hopes set on Bishop's appointment were to be fulfilled was to become evident during the pontificate of Urban VIII. From the French nuncio Corsini, Bishop received an Instruction [5] in which the former sums up briefly the dangers of the situation; he exhorts the new Bishop to ascertain the dispositions of the King, for much depended on his good or ill will; above all he should promote concord and charity among the faithful as well as obedience to the civil power; such an attitude became Catholics who were wont to refer all things to the invisible Head of the Church, that is, Christ, and to His representative on earth. In the performance of his office Bishop should do all in his power to compose the disputes between the secular and the regular clergy, an object easily attained if the Bishop respected the privileges of the regulars, especially those of the Jesuits.

[1] GARDINER, VI., 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII., 100.

[3] *Ibid.*, 106. *Cf.* CYPRIEN DE GAMACHES, *Mémoires de la mission des Capucins de la province de Paris près la reine d'Angleterre depuis l'année, 1630–1669*, publiés p. Apollinaire de Valence, Paris, 1882; O. KAMSHOFF in *Wissenschaftl.* Beilage to *Germania*, of August 25 and September 1, 1910, nos. 24 and 35, pp. 261–4, 273–5.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXVII., p. 157.

[5] Dated July 15, 1623, in BELLESHEIM, *Cath. Church in Scotland* (Engl. trs.), III., p. 435 *seqq.*

Bishop interpreted these exhortations in his own way [1]: his conduct seems to have been inspired by the principle that in order to restore peace it was enough to drive the Jesuits out of England and out of the English Colleges in Rome and Spain. In other respects also he proceeded without the necessary caution. Though he had received episcopal consecration for a missionary country, he imagined that he could do all that lay within the sphere of Bishops living amid the ordered conditions of the Continent; accordingly he erected Chapters and divided England into archdeaconries and rural deaneries—measures that caused a sensation and roused the King, Parliament, and the Protestant Bishops against him. Rome examined these measures. The Instruction for the French nuncio Spada shows clearly that these proceedings, as well as Bishop's attitude towards the religious, especially towards the Jesuits, met with scant approval in Rome.[2] Another difficulty arose for Bishop from the circumstance that the Scottish Catholics protested to Urban VIII. against their being subjected to an Englishman. There was no great need of a Bishop in their country, they maintained, since the Scottish priests received ordination in the continental seminaries; it was no doubt a loss to be deprived of Confirmation, but there were weighty reasons for submitting to this disadvantage. Urban VIII. listened to these representations: Scotland retained its independence. Even in England Bishop's rule was of short duration. After fleeing from one hiding place to another he died on April 16th, 1624. He was succeeded by Richard Smith who was also given authority over Scotland.[3] Smith [4] was a convert and had been educated at the English College in Rome. For a while he taught at the English Colleges of Valladolid and Seville; he then spent some time at Paris where he engaged in controversy and entered into friendly relations with the future Cardinal Richelieu. However, in his

[1] Cordara, I., 435; Fouqueray, V., 53 *seq.*; Bellesheim, *Scotland*, III., 436; Gillow, I., 218; Reusch., II, 385 *seqq.*

[2] Instruction of January 23, 1624, in Leman, 47.

[3] Bellesheim, IV., 39.

[4] *Cf.* about him, *National Biography*, LIII., 102 *seq.*

relations between the secular and regular clergy, he adopted the views which, as a sequel to Richer's theories, were held at that time by many Bishops and priests in France, views that encroached even on the prerogatives of the Holy See in so far as they refused to recognize the privileges granted to the Orders by the Popes.[1] Although he was only granted the title of Bishop of Chalcedon, at the beginning of January, 1625, and that of Vicar-Apostolic so far as England was concerned, Smith considered himself as invested with all the rights enjoyed by Bishops on the Continent. Accordingly he set up an ecclesiastical tribunal whose duty it was to prove wills and testamentary dispositions, to watch over pious foundations, baptisms, marriages and even to inspect private houses. For his own support and that of his clergy he imposed a tax on the laity; above all he caused extreme confusion when he declared those confessions to be null which were made to priests other than those approved by himself.[2] These imprudences annoyed the Pope; through the Paris nuncio and the Queen's confessor he caused a decree of the Inquisition [3] to be sent to the Vicar Apostolic to the effect that Smith was not the Ordinary of England, but of Chalcedon in Asia, and that in the Island Kingdom of the North he only enjoyed the restricted faculties which the Pope delegated to him as his representative: priests who held faculties to hear confessions from the Pope himself were not in need of further approval by the Vicar Apostolic.

This did not end the dispute. The Bishop of Chalcedon had written a letter to the Catholics of England and Scotland in which he stated his pretensions,[4] but in 1628 the English nobility, in a reasoned memorial, represented to him [5] that the setting up of a tribunal such as the one erected by him, was treason in English law, hence any one who had recourse to it

[1] On this FOUQUERAY, V., 38 *seqq.*

[2] HUGHES, I., 202 *seq.* (based on the memorandum of Cardinal Albizzi).

[3] December 16, 1626, *ibid.*, 203. A *letter of condolence to Smith, February 21, 1626, in *Epist.*, III., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] CORDARA, II., 108.

[5] HUGHES, I., 204-6.

became liable to the penalty of high treason. Thereupon some of the partisans of the Bishop of Chalcedon asserted that this document was a forgery of the Jesuits and when Lord Baltimore, who in all probability had drawn it up, lodged a protest, it was urged that at least the larger and sounder part of the nobility was on the side of the Vicar Apostolic, the authority of the French ambassador Fontenay being likewise quoted in support of that assertion. When questioned by Baltimore, Fontenay denied having made the utterance attributed to him.[1] Excitement grew steadily. A number of pamphlets appeared. Kellison's exposition of the rights of Bishops, published at Douai in 1629,[2] was followed by other learned works on the same subject.[3] The dispute attracted the attention of the Government. On December 11th, 1628, a writ was issued for the arrest of the Bishop of Chalcedon and on March 24th, 1629, a reward of a hundred pounds was put up for his capture.[4] The Vicar Apostolic wrote letter upon letter to Propaganda accusing the Jesuits,[5] and his partisans complained of the conduct of certain members of the nobility whilst the opposition urged that it was precisely the most deserving members of the Catholic body that were being calumniated in Rome and that it was wrong to say that a number of noblemen were adherents of the Bishop of Chalcedon.[6] In Rome the controversy was now taken out of the hands of Propaganda and entrusted to the Inquisition. None the less Bishop Smith, in a letter to Propaganda, expressed his hope that the Congregation would maintain two of its own decrees in his favour, those namely which ordered regulars, on their arrival in England, to show their faculties to him and the Jesuits to dissolve their Sodality of

[1] Baltimore to Lord Petre, August 8, 1631, *ibid.*, 209–211.

[2] BELLESHEIM, *Allen*, 223.

[3] Especially from the Jesuits Knott and Floyd.

[4] *Dictionary, loc. cit.*, 103. [5] HUGHES, I., 214.

[6] *Ibid.*, 212. In 1630, the Cardinals and Consultors of Propaganda were asked " an attento statu et circumstantiis catholicae ecclesiae, quae est in Anglia, in eadem restitui debeant episcopi ". LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 37.

the Blessed Virgin. He gave as a reason for the enforcement of the latter decree the circumstance that in England priests depended upon the laity for their support, but through their sodalities the Jesuits attracted the bulk of the laity to themselves, that as a matter of fact this was the explanation of the ill-feeling against them and against regulars in general. As for his quarrel with the Catholic laity, the Bishop claimed that less than a third of the faithful and not one in a hundred among the nobility were opposed to him and that it was not true that he had set up a tribunal in opposition to the secular courts.[1] Propaganda replied that Cardinal Caetani would discuss the question of the Sodality with the General of the Jesuits and that the Inquisition had already given a decision on the question of the regulars.[2]

On May 9th, 1631, a decree was published quashing the controversy between the Bishop of Chalcedon and the regulars and the laity and reserving to the Holy See the settlement of all differences that might arise and declaring valid both in the past and in the future, confessions made to regulars.[3] When the decree was communicated to him through the French nuncio, the Bishop was so annoyed that he crossed over to France on the plea that after this his presence in England would be useless. He offered his resignation to Urban VIII.[4] who accepted it. The Pope desired the nuncio to demand a resignation in due form and to deny to Smith permission to return to England. The latter now regretted his step and begged to be allowed to return to his post. His request was refused and England remained without a Vicar Apostolic for a period of fifty-five years.[5]

[1] London, June 14, 1631, in HUGHES, I., 215–220.

[2] *Ibid.*, 220 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 221; *Ius pontif.*, I., 125 *seq.*; CORDARA, II., 108. In the **Brevia.* VIII., no. 141 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives), there is a decree to the same effect dated April 3, 1631.

[4] HUGHES, I., 223 *seq.* The year of his flight to France is usually given as 1628 or 1629; however on June 14, 1631, he is still writing from London.

[5] HUGHES, I., 228. For suggestions for the nomination of a Vicar after Smith's death (1655), see BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, IV.,

The papal decision did not put an end to the strife. The partisans of the Bishop described the Brief as surreptitious and rejected it accordingly, thereby adding to the general confusion. The spectacle of priests calmly brushing aside an unwelcome Brief, so a contemporary Benedictine wrote,[1] was a grave scandal for the laity. As for the latter, they declared that they had submitted to the papal decision about the oath of allegiance, though compliance was liable to result in the forfeiture of their property or in imprisonment, and despite the fact that many of them felt that the oath was not at variance with the faith. Unless the whole controversy was got rid of, it would be impossible to see how things would end. There were far more nobles against Smith than for him. It was of course most gratifying to have a Bishop in their midst, because of his power to bless and confirm, but when he laid claim to judicial and coercive power there could be no question of submission. The partisanships, inventions, artifices, hatreds and jealousies which had been called forth by the Bishop's claims, were beyond description; here there was matter for regret for years to come.

The papal Brief only dealt with Smith's relations with the Orders and left his dispute with the laity untouched, consequently the Catholic nobles presented a petition to the Pope in which they expressed the hope that, in view of prevailing circumstances, they would not be compelled to recognize Smith's authority as that of an ordinary Bishop. An overwhelming majority of the nobility, the petition stated, unanimously shared this hope; of twenty-six members of the highest nobility twelve had signed in person; five had signified their concurrence by word of mouth and allowed use to be

40 *seq.*; *Istruzione per Msgr. Ceva* (since March, 1632, nuncio extraordinary in Paris; see LEMAN, 192), "circa le cose del clero d'Inghilterra: how the English Church should be organized after the resignation of Bishop Smith (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 131). Cardinal Barberini as Protector of England and Scotland was given special powers on May 18, 1630; see *Bull.*, XIV., 136 *seq.*

[1] November 2, 1631, to Propaganda, in HUGHES, I., 222 *seq.*

made of their names; two others favoured the Bishop, but not the exercise of episcopal authority in mixed questions; the remainder were in part undecided, others were absent or not yet of age; only one declared himself unconditionally in favour of Smith. The gentry produced about 300 signatures.[1]

These disputes provided a pretext for a renewal of violent attacks on the Jesuits in England.[2] The General directed his subjects not to reply to the numerous pamphlets written against them, for thereby they would only pour oil on the flames.[3] How opportune this admonition was, appeared when the Jesuits Knott and Floyd intervened not indeed in the pamphlet strife but in the learned controversy originated by Kellison.[4] Floyd was a highly gifted man and of Knott the papal emissary Con says that even in the opinion of his opponents he was one of the most learned and prudent men in England; moreover the tone of his writings was invariably temperate.[5] Nevertheless the books of the two Jesuits, which for the rest appeared without the knowledge of the General, enkindled a paper war in England and France which was to last for years.[6]

With a view to collecting information on the controversy round the person of the Bishop, Urban VIII. dispatched an envoy to England as soon as the improvement in the situation of the Catholics rendered it possible.

(4)

Though the accession of a Catholic Queen did not bring religious freedom to her co-religionists on the whole their situation under Charles I. was more favourable than in recent years. It is probable that the religious discussions in which Charles had engaged as Prince of Wales during his stay in Spain,

[1] Information for Rome and a protest, October, 1631, in HUGHES, I., 224–6; a list of signatories, *ibid.*, 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, 226 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 71.

[4] *Ibid.*, 59; FOLEY, IV., 237, VI., 185; SOMMERVOGEL, III., 814 *seqq.*

[5] HUGHES, I., 71. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, IV., 1134 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* above p. 305.

had not been without making some impression on him. His views, as manifested in particular in his discussions with the papal envoy Con in 1636,[1] approximated closely to those of the Catholics.[2] He loved to speak of the blessings of confession and himself went to confession. He realized that according to Catholic teaching an Indulgence did not consist in the remission of sin but in that of the penalty due to sin, and he believed that the Church had power to grant such pardons, only according to him it was presumptuous on the Pope's part to claim it for himself alone. He likewise firmly believed in Saints and miracles and in the veneration of images and relics. When the Queen claimed for herself a relic of the true Cross which had been found in the Tower, Charles kept it for himself on the ground that he venerated it no less than she did. He observed the fasts and gave to the poor what remained from the royal table.[3] With regard to dogma he recognized the first four Councils and the first three Creeds and called himself a Catholic inasmuch as he counted himself among the vast body of the faithful. Union with Rome he did not deem necessary since one could save one's soul equally well in the English Church, though reunion was something which everyone should do his best to bring about. However, he made it a point of honour that, as a preliminary condition of reunion, Rome also should make some concessions, such as Communion under both kinds, the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, and above all, the Pope must not claim the right to depose Princes.[4]

These sentiments of the King easily account for the fact that during his reign only a few priests were executed for religion, nor is he to be held responsible for these few exceptions.[5] Whenever a tribunal passed a death sentence, Charles was wont to listen to his wife's prayer for mercy.[6] He also adopted greater leniency towards the lay recusants who refused to attend Anglican services. The law left it to the

[1] See below p. 319.

[2] See A. O. Meyer in *The American Hist. Review*, XIX. (1913–14), 13–26.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, 15, 19.

[5] Spillmann, IV., 231–272.

[6] Examples, *ibid.*, 231, 243, 248, 301. *Cf.* Lingard, IX., 307.

Government to levy from them a fine of twenty pounds per lunar month or to confiscate two-thirds of their personal estate. The King now allowed the recusants, in place of these penalties, to compound for a fixed annual sum. The amount was determined at the pleasure of the commissioners; sometimes it was a tenth, at other times a third of their annual income which was thus taken from them.[1] For the Government this leniency was most profitable. In 1619 the fines for absence from church amounted to £6,000, but in 1635 to as much as £35,000. The reason was that the mitigations of the law made it possible to fine a greater number, and individual Catholics found the burden less heavy because a smaller sum was demanded from them.[2]

The number of English Catholics had shrunk to 150,000 out of a population of three millions [3] but the old religion still possessed a great power of attraction. More than one nobleman who outwardly lived as a Protestant, secretly kept a priest so that he might at least die a Catholic.[4] Many Anglican divines abandoned the tenets of Calvinism and approximated

[1] LINGARD, IX., 308.

[2] GARDINER, VIII., 130. Paris was informed through the Abbé Du Perron, that English Catholics were freer than ever before, that the King spoke of Urban VIII. with esteem; see *NICOLETTI, *Cod. Barb.*, 4734, p. 133, Vatican Library. "In alcuni si vedono lettere d'Inghilterra con aviso, che quel re non usava più tanto rigore contro li cattolici, de'quali in Londra si trovano più di 30m, et un altro buon numero di fuori, tolerandosi che potessero essercitarvi la religione catt., ma però occultamente, onde nelle case di diversi signori si celebrano le messe et altri divini officii" (note, dated February 12, 1628, Angelica Libr., c. 7, 27). Against this *ibid.*, News from Cologne, February 18, 1629: "D'Inghilterra s'ha avviso, che quel Re faceva descrivere li beni di tutti li cattolici, che sono nel suo regno, con pensiero di volere da loro una nuova contributione."

[3] PANZANI, **Relatione*, part 2 (*cf.* below, p. 313, note 3). According to a report of 1632, RANKE, *Englische Gesch.*, VIII.[3] (*Werke*, XXI.), 129, the number of Catholics was larger than had been thought, "e forse erano li più e specialmente fra la nobilità, ma non apparivano."

[4] PANZANI, *loc. cit.*

to the teaching of the Catholic Church at least on some points. In 1624 Richard Montague, who became successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, caused a sensation which found an echo even in the debates of Parliament, by the publication of a book in which he rejected Calvin's teaching on predestination, declared that the Roman Church was not absolutely unchristian, expressed himself in favour of auricular confession and advocated the use of holy pictures in churches, at least by way of ornament.[1] William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 and consequently the first prelate in the realm, maintained the doctrine that the Church must of necessity be a visible body; accordingly he insisted on the greatest ceremonial and ritual uniformity within the Anglican Church, though he showed great laxity with regard to divergences of teaching. In his view the Church of England was a branch of the one Church of Christ which was divided into several such branches; although the Catholic Church was not in his opinion, *the true* Church, she was nevertheless *a* true Church.[2] Certain circles actually thought of a reunion of the Christian Churches and the King shared their sentiments. Laud relates that "someone" had seriously offered him a Cardinal's hat, but that he was unable to accept an offer of the kind "till Rome were other than it is".[3] After December, 1634, to the terror of the Protestants, London actually sheltered a papal envoy in the person of Gregorio Panzani,[4] a man who had confidential dealings with the Oratorians as well as many conversations with the Secretary of State Windebank, on the subject of the reunion of the Churches.

As a matter of fact Panzani was entrusted with no such negotiations, nor was he a properly accredited envoy. He was merely commissioned to study conditions and public opinion in London and to report to Rome on the advisability

[1] GARDINER, V., 352.

[2] CHESNAY YORK in the *Encyclop. Brittanica*, XVI.[11], 276 *seq.* *Cf.* GARDINER, V., 356, VII., 301. [3] LINGARD, IX., 312, note.

[4] According to *NICOLETTI (*Cod. Barb.* 4766, Vatican Library), Panzani d'Arezzo was a secular priest who lived for a long time at the Oratory, Rome.

of giving England a Bishop.[1] This was Panzani's foremost purpose as well as the last. He knew no English and his French was inadequate ; his wordy reports are vague. Gifted with a vivid imagination but not with sound judgment, he was full of prejudices, especially against the Jesuits. Con, who succeeded him, frankly describes him as " a dangerous lunatic ".[2] At the conclusion of his mission Panzani drew up a report on the situation in England.[3] In this document he

[1] HUGHES, I., 354. A *Brief of October, 1634, to the English Catholics which announced Panzani's arrival, in *Epist.*, XII., 127, Papal Secret Archives. **Minute di lettere e di cifre scritte da Greg. Panzani in Londra al card. Barberini ed altri* (from November 25, 1635, to May 21, 1636), Chigi Library, Rome, M.I., 23. Panzani left Rome on September 7, 1634 (**Lettere del Greg. Panzani al card. Barberini*, 1634–5, *Cod. Barb.* 8633, Vatican Library). A *letter of recommendation of February 12, 1635, for Panzani to the Queen, whom the Pope called the protectress of the Catholics, in *Epist.*, XII., 235, *loc. cit.* On September 26, 1635, the Pope *rejoices that the Queen had praised Panzani ; gladly had he granted her request by making Du Perron Bishop of Angoulême (*ibid.*, XIII.). Du Perron is praised in a *Brief of January 10, 1632, for setting out for England (*ibid.*, IX.).

[2] " Pazzi maligni," see HUGHES, I., 232. Between Panzani and Con there was " poco concordia " (*Con, January 1, 1637, *Cod. Barb.* 8640, *loc. cit*). Panzani allowed himself a curious ruse towards Windebank, the Secretary of State : " Diedi al Windebanch una finta cifra nella quale fingevo che V. Em. desiderasse che costà venisse il figlio, per rendergli le cortesie che egli mi fa ; et egli giubilò per allegrezza, e spera che circa la prossima Pasqua habbia da esser costà " (to Barberini, August 8, 1635, in HUGHES, *History*, I., 361 ; *Documents*, I., 150). For another ruse also recommended by him see *ibid.*, 150, July 11, 1635.

[3] Printed in an English translation by JOSEPH BERINGTON, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman cath. religion in England . . . including the Memoirs of Gr. Panzani*, London, 1813. We use the relation from the MS. in *Cod. Barb.* 5222, Vatican Library. Here is a proof of Panzani's unreliability : he states that Lord Baltimore died a few days after signing the protest against Bishop Smith, " and some saw in this a judgment of God." In point of fact Baltimore lived for another eight months

unreservedly takes the part of Bishop Smith, describes the presence of the Jesuits in England as a calamity for the English mission and recommends the appointment of one or more Bishops for the Island Kingdom, this being in accordance with the wishes of the secular clergy and the Queen. On the other hand the King would not hear of the appointment of a Catholic Bishop for England and Cardinal Barberini instructed Panzani to desist from his efforts for such a nomination.

Charles I. could not very well treat openly with a representative of the Pope, hence he referred Panzani to the Secretary of State, Windebank. The King hoped that the conversations would show whether it was possible to come to terms with the Pope on an oath of allegiance so worded as not to hurt the conscience of Catholics. For seven months all Panzani's reports to Rome speak of a formula drawn up with the help of the Jesuits by the younger Lord Baltimore whom Panzani wrongly imagined to be a friend of theirs. In this oath all reference to the Pope and his authority was omitted. Panzani ended by realizing that Baltimore's formula was intended, not for England, but for Maryland and was not only not inspired by the Jesuits but actually condemned by their General. The Secretary of State, Cardinal Barberini, likewise rejected it.[1] A number of Catholics, however, defended it, in particular many Benedictines, especially Preston who wrote under the name of Widdrington. Others pleaded the alleged declaration of the King that the oath only demanded obedience in civil

after signing the document (HUGHES, *Hist.*, I., 232). Other inaccuracies are shown *ibid.*, 355 *seq.* Part I. of the Relation gives a historical summary of the religious development since the schism, Part II. an account of the religious conditions in Panzani's time, Part III. a discussion as to whether a Bishop was desirable for England.

[1] HUGHES, *History*, I., 355–9; *Documents*, I., 151–6. PANZANI remarks in his *Relation*, that during his stay in England the oath of loyalty had only been required of a very few; "anzi alcuni principali consiglieri mi fecero intendere di volerne mutare la forma, levando quello che da V. Santità non è approvato, se bene non parve alla S. V., che io accettassi."

matters, so that it might be taken on the ground of this explanation. However, the majority refused it unconditionally.[1]

Panzani's conversations with Windebank turned for the most part on the question of the reunion of the Church of England with the Roman Church. Just then the Franciscan Christopher Davenport (Francis of St. Clare) had published a book in which he endeavoured to read a Catholic interpretation into the Thirty-Nine Articles with a view to facilitating the reconciliation of Anglicans with Rome.[2] It must have come as a ray of hope to the sanguine Panzani that the book pleased the King. But the reaction was all the more painful when it was disapproved in Rome so that Panzani wrongly concluded that it had been prohibited there. Only with difficulty did the Roman envoy succeed in reopening negotiations.[3] For the rest Windebank seemed to favour a settlement: "If it were not for the Jesuits and the Puritans," he said, "we should perhaps unite with Rome."[4] By way of concessions to the English Church he demanded Communion under both kinds, the use of the vernacular in the liturgy and for the clergy freedom to marry. The King, he declared, would grant

[1] PANZANI, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV.[3], 96; REUSCH, II., 406; GARDINER, VIII., 134, 137. Similar documents: **Somnium de Magnae Britanniae cum s. Ecclesia Romana conciliatione*, 1640 (*Cod. Barb.* 1215, Vatican Library). *D. Francisci Mariae de Monaco Drepanitani* (Theatine) *ad Carolum magnum Britanniae, Hyberniae, etc., regem de orthodoxa fide amplectanda sive de fidei unitate libri tres* (*ibid.*, XIX., 35; also in print: Paris, 1647; see VEZZOSI, *Scrittori de'cherici regolari*, II. (1780), 75). That Urban VIII. himself hoped for the conversion of the English King is affirmed by the Venetian ambassador Angelo Correr, September 18, 1636, in BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 143 *seq.*

[3] "Un giorno mi disse (Windebank) che prima haveva determinato volermi aiutare tanto nel negotio del vescovo, quanto in qualsivoglia altra cosa, ma che a adesso vedendo, che in Roma non si portava rispetto al re, al quale piaceva detto libro, non volerne saperne altro." PANZANI, *Relatione* (towards the end).

[4] GARDINER, VIII., 135.

freedom of religion on condition that Catholics took the oath of allegiance.[1]

Panzani saw everything in rosy hues. In March, 1635, he reported that two sermons had been preached before the King in commendation of sacramental confession and that they had been subsequently discussed at the royal table.[2] In July he reported a conversation in the course of which the Earl of Carlisle had declared himself ready to accept whatever Rome taught, except the Pope's power to depose Kings; that Lord Cherbury acknowledged the Roman Church as the Mother of all the Churches and that he would be glad to submit his book *De Veritate* to the judgment of the Pope[3]; that Bishop Montague stated in November, 1635, "that he did not know why the reunion should not be realized"; and that the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London and several others, as well as the most learned among the clergy agreed with Rome in regard to dogma, especially in respect to the authority of the Pope. As for himself (viz. Carlisle), he regarded the Pope as the Vicar of Christ and the successor of St. Peter without whom nothing could be defined for the universal Church, nor a Council convened. "He openly declared," Panzani adds, "that he believed exactly as I do, with the exception of transubstantiation."[4] Equally good news followed at the beginning of 1636. Lord Goring, the envoy wrote, read Catholic books, the Anglican Bishop of Gloucester recited the Roman Breviary and had asked leave to keep an Italian priest to say Mass secretly in his house.[5] Panzani also speaks of this approximation to the old religion in his *Relation* in which he ascribes the prevailing favourable disposition to the aversion of the Protestants for the Puritans which drove them towards Catholicism.[6] This attraction

[1] *Ibid.*, 136. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 138 *seq.* [5] *Ibid.*, 139 *seq.*
[6] "Certo è che alcuni hanno detto, desiderare essi unirsi in qualche maniera con i cattolici, per humiliare i Puritani." The approach, especially towards the moderate among the Catholics, appears in published works, in conversations, "e nel modo di trattare, non dubitando talvolta nelle publiche prediche

ended in many instances in a complete return to the ancient faith. Thus the Lord Treasurer, Portland, died a Catholic.[1] Walter Montague, who stood in high favour with the Queen, went to Italy in order to enter the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.[2] In Panzani's opinion [3] this improved feeling towards the old religion was in large measure due to the influence of the Catholic Queen. In addition to her private chapel, he writes, she also had a public one in which the Capuchins, who had taken the place of the Oratorians, said Office in choir, clad in their habits, and celebrated Mass. On great feasts the Queen attended with her whole suite. The sight of the chapel and the altars, the splendid services and the sermons of the Capuchins, greatly impressed the Protestants. In addition to the royal chapel there were also several Embassy chapels which served as so many places of refuge for the Catholics as well as numerous oratories in the houses of the gentry. It was commonly said that, relatively speaking, circumstances had never been so favourable to Catholics.[4]

avanti al re e tutta la corte detestare lo schisma con Roma, lodare li cattolici moderati, et esortare il re ad usare con loro clemenza, avvicinarsi alli dogmi cattolici con lodare la confessione auricolare, la riverenza al nome di Gesù, al segno della croce, et alle chiese, non aborrire l'imagini e gli altari all'usanza cattolica, dir bene del sommo Pontifice et Chiesa Romana, conoscere questa per chiesa primaria et nobilissima et quello per patriarcha d'occidente, al quale come tale non vengano d'esser soggietti. Non solegnano ancora il sentir trattare della reunione, etc.," *Relatione*, part 2.

[1] GARDINER, VII., 378.

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII., 138. Buckingham's mother had also become a Catholic and harboured a Jesuit (report of the Venetian ambassador Alvise Contarini, March 12, 1627, in BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 56).

[3] *Relatione*, part 2.

[4] "Se bene è vero che considerati li tempi scorsi, mentre io era in Londra, ognuno per il più confessava che non mai si erano veduti tempi migliori, non è però che l'uso della religione sia libero . . ." (*ibid*). Later it is said: "Mi volevano far credere (probably the Jesuits are meant) che in Londra vi fosse grandissima persecutione, mentre vi vedeva, particolarmente nella quaresima

Windebank's conversations with Panzani were not altogether barren. The Secretary of State proposed the dispatch of a papal agent to the Queen's Court and that of an agent of the Queen to Rome.[1] For the post in Rome the choice fell first on Robert Douglas, but he died suddenly. His place was taken by Arthur Brett [2] who also died in the following April. He was replaced by the Scotsman William Hamilton.[3] From Brett's instructions we are able to gather what was the King's chief object in this mission. It was mainly concerned with the Palatinate on behalf of which Charles I. was anxious to enlist the services even of the Catholic Powers.[4] As papal envoy there came to the Queen's Court the Scotsman George Con [5] who was kindly received by the King. On the occasion of the festival of the Order of the Garter Charles kept the assembled Knights waiting for the beginning of the service until he had finished showing Con his collection of pictures.[6] As a matter of fact the King was a great art lover and the

un esercitio quasi libero della religione." Nevertheless the Queen said: "che non pretendeva essere la più gran regina, ma si bene la più miserabile per non havere il marito cattolico" (PANZANI, December 25, 1636, *Barb.* 8637, Vatican Library).

[1] GARDINER, VIII., 134. [2] *Ibid.*, 138.

[3] *Ibid.*, 144. On Douglas's mission see also *NICOLETTI, *Barb.* 4734, p. 147. Vat. Libr.; on that of Hamilton, who lived in Rome "non con titolo di agente o residente, ma di gentilhuomo della regina (according to a letter of Cardinal Fr. Barberini to Panzani, July 3, 1636), *ibid.*, 4736, p. 85". *Gugl. Hamilton partì da Londra per venire a Roma. Molto pubblica era a Londra la missione del Coneo, piaceva poco agli Inglesi, perchè il Coneo era Scozzese", writes PANZANI on May 28, 1636 (*Barb.* 8637). "Per tutti li corti si parla molto del agente reciproco" (June 10, *ibid.*). Cardinal Barberini announced Hamilton's arrival on July 3, 1636 (*ibid.*, 8637); Con and Panzani are received by the Queen and bring her presents (Panzani, August 10, 1636, *ibid.*).

[4] GARDINER, VIII., 139.

[5] *Ibid.*, 138, 144. For G. Con (Cuneo), *cf.* GABRIELI, *Carteggio*, 202. Panzani announces his departure, December 25, 1636, *Barb.* 8637, Vatican Library.

[6] GARDINER, VIII., 236.

dispatch of valuable pictures occupies much space in the correspondence of Panzani and Con.[1]

In their exchanges of opinion Charles I. and Con soon entered on a formal discussion of the chief difficulty for Catholics, viz. the oath of allegiance.[2] If the Pope was unable formally to approve the oath, the King thought he might at least take up such an attitude as would morally compel Catholics to take it. Con replied that the latter could not do this without injury to their conscience, and when the King opposed to him the opinion of the Sorbonne, Con said that it was a mistake to affirm that that body had given its approval to the oath. "But what was there in the oath," the King retorted, "except that the Pope cannot depose a Prince?" There was more than that in it, Con replied, for it described the opposite opinion as heretical; now, a Catholic may not, on his own authority, label an opinion as heretical; to do so belonged to the Church, and the oath had been devised by people who wished to sow the seeds of endless opposition between Rome

[1] Cardinal Barberini had sent the Queen pictures by Albani, Aless. Veronese and Stella (**Panzani*, April 11, 1635, *Barb.* 8633, Vatican Library); also a picture by Leonardo (*id.*, September 12, 1635, *ibid.*, 8635). "*Piacquerà straordinariamente alla regina et al re quel del Vinci e quelli di A. Sarto e di Giulio Romano (*id.* January 30, 1636, *ibid.*, 8636). A "Caterina della Rota" by A. Caracci and a reliquary with a cross after a drawing by Bernini was taken by Con as a present for the Queen (May 15, 1636), and presented on June 25 (*ibid.*, 8639). "*Della statua di Adone (in the Pighini Palace) e d'altro non mi ha mai parlato il re" (Con, January 15, 1637, *ibid.*, 8640). "*Presentai il crocifisso e il quadro di S. Michele mandato dal card. di S. Onofrio alla regina", a picture also for the King (Con, February 26, 1637); the Queen wishes to have a picture by G. Reni for the ceiling of her room (Con, May 1, 1637, *ibid.*); the King is enchanted with an antique head (*id.*, July 31, 1637, *ibid.*, 8641), is pleased with a statue (*id.*, August 7, *ibid.*). Rossetti records the Queen receiving a present of a Titian, December 28, 1640 (*ibid.*, 8648).

[2] Con to Card. Barberini, September 16, 1636, in RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, VIII.[3] (Works, XXI.), 136 *seqq.* *Cf.* A. O. MEYER in *American hist. Review*, XIX. (1913/14), 20.

and England. Charles replied that in so far as he was concerned, the oath was only meant to demand true obedience without encroaching on the spiritual rights of the Pope over Catholics; the oath was enforced for the purpose of discovering the Anabaptists and other enemies of the royal authority. In that case, Con answered, he regretted that the oath stated its purpose so badly, for its wording was such as to make it seem exclusively aimed at the papal authority; in purely civil questions the King would find Catholics ready to defend the honour of the Prince even with their blood. Charles I. now played his trump card: the oath could not be altered without the concurrence of Parliament! When Con exclaimed that the King was above Parliament, Charles added that though that body might perhaps give its approval, it was nevertheless easier for the Pope than for himself to give affairs a more favourable turn. Towards the end of the long conversation Con begged the King at least to protect the Catholics from the pursuivants and priest-hunters. Charles replied that that institution was just as necessary as that of the *sbirri* in Italy; if it did not exist Catholics would become arrogant. Finally the King referred him to his ministers.[1]

The papal agent subsequently returned to the subject of the oath of allegiance. With a view to avoiding the difficulties connected with a formal abolition of the formula in use, he suggested that the oath might be allowed to stand but that Catholics should be dispensed from taking it provided they declared their readiness to do so as soon as an irreproachable formula should be devised. This suggestion was not acted upon. More than once Con's comments on the evil of schism among Christians and its perils seemed to impress Charles I.[2]; however, no tangible results were obtained.

[1] Letter of January 7, 1637, in RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, VIII., 139 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 136, 140; *cf.* II., 256. "*Il re, come fa spesso, maledisse gli autori di questa disunione," writes Con on January 29, 1638 (*Barb.* 8642, Vatican Library). His conversion is, however, "cosa da desiderare più che di sperare" (Con, November 6,

Con realized that a reunion of Canterbury and Rome was not to be thought of and that there could only be question of bringing back individual Protestants to the old religion, the Queen using her influence to protect them. About this time the devout wife of Endymion Porter, who was frequently employed on confidential missions during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., succeeded in obtaining a not inconsiderable number of conversions in the highest social circles.[1] One conversion in particular caused a great sensation and threatened to entail grievous consequences for the Catholics, namely that of the wife of Lord Newport. Her husband lodged a protest with Archbishop Laud; the latter laid the facts before the next meeting of the Privy Council and the King promised to provide against a repetition of such an occurrence. However, on the advice of Con, the Queen remonstrated with her husband and Charles did not dare to oppose her. Laud made a second appeal to the King who told him to discuss the matter with Henrietta Maria. Instead Laud suggested to the Privy Council that they should forbid all English subjects to attend the Queen's chapel or the Embassy chapels. The Queen, now fully roused, determined to measure her strength with Laud's and so warmly did she fight for the freedom of her chapel that Con counselled her to moderate her zeal. The dispute lasted throughout November 1637; in December Con learnt that secret orders had been issued for a proclamation against Catholics. In vain did he endeavour to induce the King to change his mind. Something had to be done, Charles said; Catholics must be made to see that they lived in England, not in Rome.[2] In the end, however,

1636, *ibid.*, 8639). *Cf.* A. O. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.* Abbé Du Perron, on his return to Paris from England, on the contrary thought, "*credersi da alcuni più pratici ed intendenti che saria stato facile il ridurre il re medesimo alla religione cattolica tuttevolte che l'arcivescovo di Cantuario e il gran tesoriere havessero voluto congiuntamente addossarsi l'impresa." *NICOLETTI, 153 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] RANKE, *loc. cit.*, II., 236–9.

[2] Con, December 18, 1637, *Barb.* 8641, Vatican Library.

the King struck out of the proclamation whatever might have offended the Queen so that, in Con's opinion, the document was a fatherly exhortation rather than a threat.[1] The proclamation was published on December 20th, and on Christmas Day all the converts, as if to spite the King, received Holy Communion in a body in the Queen's chapel: "You see what has come of the proclamation," Henrietta Maria remarked to Con immediately afterwards.

The Queen's example heartened the Catholics in other directions also. At no previous time had Mass been said so frequently in the Embassy chapels, or with less secrecy in Catholic houses. "Before her coming," Lady Arundel said to Con, "not for a million would I have cared to have a priest at my table; now, you see how general the custom has become."[2] A Puritan nobleman[3] gave it as his opinion that Barberini's courteous attentions did more harm than all former Roman threats and excommunications.

Con left England on a man-of-war on September 9th, 1639,[4] before he could receive a Brief dated September 10th, empowering him to give a spiritual head to English Catholics.[5] His successor, Count Carlo Rossetti, a scion of a noble family of Ferrara, landed in England on August 28th.[6] On his

[1] Con, January 8, 1638, *ibid.*, 8642. On January 22, 1638, *ibid.* "*La proclamatione ha dato più tosto disgusto che sodisfattione alli Puritani"; they called it a "burla" for it did not harm the Catholics at all.

[2] GARDINER, VIII., 236–242. The Venetian ambassador Angelo Correr writes on September 18, 1636, that in England the Catholic clergy had never enjoyed such freedom as at present (BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 144).

[3] "*Il conte d'Arcrum Puritano disse: fa più danno questa cortesia, che non hanno fatto tutte le minacce e scommuniche di Roma." Con, February 12, 1638, *Barb.* 8642, *loc. cit.*

[4] BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 161.

[5] *Bull.*, XV., 4.

[6] *Con, September 2, 1639, *Barb.* 8644, Vatican Library. *Rossetti to Card. Fr. Barberini, September 2, 1639, *ibid.*, 8648. Description of his journey to England: *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal sec. XIII. al XVII., fondata e diretta da Franc.*

arrival Rossetti wondered at the way in which Windebank spoke to him; for, as he wrote, he spoke like a fervent Catholic and offered to give him any information of which he might stand in need.[1] However, the papal envoy soon perceived that, as a matter of fact, the favour of the Court constituted a serious danger for the Catholics. The Puritans, he reported,[2] disliked the Queen's relations with Rome; eight days later he wrote that discourses against the Catholic religion, and especially against these relations, were the ordinary topic of conversation in London.[3] In point of fact the favour of a King who was getting more and more hated by his people could not avail to soften public opinion in regard to Catholics. In Presbyterian Scotland Charles' religious innovations had already provoked open rebellion and Ireland was in a ferment. In view of his financial straits the King felt compelled, after a prorogation of eleven years, to convene Parliament, a circumstance that boded nothing but evil for Catholics. "An anti-Catholic Parliament is preparing," Rossetti wrote [4]; "the Puritans and Protestants are infuriated against the Catholics and the Court's relations with Rome." At the beginning of the following year he notes that the Puritans were getting more ill-disposed towards those who professed the old faith and that protests were being raised in Parliament against the freedom granted to Catholics.[5] In the King's ante-room he read the following inscription

Zambrini, disp., 212, Bologna, 1885 (see below, p. 328). For Con's early death, Rossetti's eulogy by the Queen and Rigby's arrival in Rome, see *Brief of May 12, 1640, **Brevia*, XVII., 159, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] GARDINER, IX., 87.

[2] December 23, 1639, *Barb.* 8646, *loc. cit.*

[3] "*Oggi pare che d'altro non si parli che contro la religione cattolica e molto più contro questa intelligenza reciproca che passa con N.S. et V.S. insieme questa Ser. Regina" (December 30, 1639, *ibid.*).

[4] "*Si prepara un parlamento contro i cattolici. I Puritani e i Protestanti sono arrabiati contro i cattolici" and the Queen's relations with Rome (January 6, 1640, *ibid.*).

[5] *January 10 and May 4, 1640, *Barb.* 8647, *loc. cit.*

scratched on a window-pane with a diamond: "God save the King; God confound the Queen with all her party; God grant power in this realm to the Count Palatine."[1] He reports that the Archbishop of Canterbury never ceased agitating against the Catholics in order to court popularity with the Puritans[2]; as for the Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, Laud had ordered his arrest because of his opposition to the Archbishop's action against the Catholics.[3] The House of the Clergy had prescribed the so-called "Etcetera Oath" by which a man bound himself to approve the teaching, discipline and government of the Church of England, not to introduce the opposite Popish doctrine, not to consent to any alteration in the government of the English Church by any Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, "etcetera," or to suffer the Church to be made subject to the pretensions and superstitions of the Roman See. Among the seventeen resolutions there was one aimed at the Catholics which Goodman refused at first to sign. He ended by subscribing but was nevertheless arrested by order of the King.[4]

Soon Rossetti was to experience in his own person how greatly hatred of the King as well as of Catholics had grown. A rumour spread among the masses that persons in the Queen's entourage were plotting the massacre of all Protestants.[5] Archbishop Laud, though an opponent of the Catholics, was suspected, by reason of his love for ceremonial, of being a tool of the Pope. The King's minister, Strafford, was viewed with similar suspicion. In 1640 it was rumoured that the latter planned to bring over to England an army of 10,000 Catholic Irishmen in order to enforce the King's demands. In the eyes of the common people this was synonymous with permitting a horde of rough savages to throw themselves upon the gentle, God-fearing Protestants. A few incidents were exploited by certain crafty agitators in order to confirm the populace in

[1] "*Dio salvi il Re, Dio confunda la Regina con tutta la sua parte, e Dio faccia regnare in questo regno il Palatino," Rossetti, June 8, 1640, *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *January 15, 1640, *ibid.*

[4] GARDINER, IX., 146 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 123, 126.

these opinions. In 1639, in view of the King's financial straits, Henrietta Maria begged the Catholics to come to his assistance, whereupon they raised 10,000 pounds—enough to keep the army for at least one week.[1] In the following year she had recourse to the Pope for the same object, through Windebank and Rossetti.[2] In his distrust of the Puritans, Charles I. thought he could rely on the loyalty of the Catholics and he had accordingly given them commands in the army, a privilege from which he had barred the Puritans.[3] In 1640 an apostate priest spread a tale to the effect that the Jesuits were plotting the assassination of the King and Laud.[4] Pym, the outstanding orator of the Long Parliament and eventually its leader, asserted in one of its first sittings that there were those who planned to alter both the laws and religion and that

[1] *Ibid.*, 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, 134 *seq.* Even before this she had received not a few papal letters, thus, on May 30, 1625, a *Brief to accompany the Golden Rose (*Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives); on August 9, 1625, a *reply to the Queen's letter of thanks for the marriage dispensation (*ibid.*); February 12, 1626, an *exhortation to be zealous on behalf of the Catholics, after the example of Esther, Clothilda, Aldiberga, and to be mindful of the holincss of Mary Stuart (*ibid.*, III., 103); on May 30, 1626, the Pope *praised her piety in going to church on foot (*ibid.*, 211), on September 21, 1626, he sent her a *letter of comfort (*ibid.*); on February 12, 1632, *he praises her zeal against heretics, exhorts her to protect the Scottish Catholics against them (*ibid.*, X.); on December 31, 1633, he *congratulates her on a happy delivery (*ibid.*, XI.). On May 3, 1642, he *comforts her: "tot vexationes te passam audivimus" (*ibid.*, XIX.); on October 18, 1642, he *congratulates her on a happy turn of events (*ibid.*); on January 31, 1643 *on a victory over the rebels and rejoices on hearing of her desire to return to England; is pleased with her praise of the Bishop of Angoulême which he has heard of (*ibid.*, 237); on October 15, 1643, he *admonishes her to act on behalf of the Catholics, as Parliament was attempting to harm them during the peace negotiations; let the King observe the marriage contract; he recommends the Irish Catholics (*ibid.*, XIX., 414).

[3] GARDINER, IX., 159.

[4] *Ibid.*, 228.

the scheme proceeded from the Papists who were bound by one of the principles of their faith not only to maintain their own religion but to extirpate all others.[1] The inevitable reference to the great Popish plot[2] kept cropping up in subsequent speeches. The Puritan member for Wigan proved its existence by appealing to a letter in which Catholics were requested to fast for the pious intentions of the Queen.[3] When a woman pretended that an Irish priest had told her that "many thousands were in pay to be ready to cut all Protestants' throats", and to begin by killing the King, that piece of gossip was deemed worthy of serious discussion by both Houses of Parliament.[4] The constant repetition of such statements was sufficient proof for the mass of the people and there was nothing the populace heard with greater pleasure than tales of popish plots.[5] Parliament resolved to take the Communion in a body, so as to discover such as might be secret Catholics.[6] In consequence, on November 8th, 1640, the King deemed it advisable to inform the House that he was thinking of driving the recusants out of London.[7]

In these circumstances tumults and acts of violence were inevitable. In the night of May 11th, a band of 500 people, headed by a drum, marched up to Lambeth Palace, threatening to set it on fire, but Laud had already escaped.[8] Posters were stuck on the houses summoning the people to attack the house of the Queen-Mother, Marie de'Medici, whom[9] Richelieu had forced to seek shelter with her daughter in England in 1638[10]; the posters incited the populace to

[1] *Ibid.*, 230.
[2] *Ibid.*, 233; *cf.* 234.
[3] *Ibid.*, 233.
[4] *Ibid.*, 237.
[5] Secretary Nicholas to the King, in *Lingard*, X., 58.
[6] GARDINER, IX., 237.
[7] *Ibid.*, 232. In Holland, too, the opinion was current that Charles I. was favourably disposed towards the Catholic faith and people blamed the Prince of Orange for supporting him (letter of the Venetian ambassador at the Hague, Zuanne Zon, December 24, 1642, in BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 186).
[8] GARDINER, IX., 133.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, VIII., 379 *seq.*

destroy her chapel and to ill-treat her priests. Others demanded the death of Laud. On the occasion of a military mutiny at Aylesbury, thirty-two houses were burnt. In the night of May 14th the prisons were forced and the rioters set at liberty.[1] It was inevitable that the safety of the Papal envoy in particular should be endangered, since it was precisely his presence at Court which supplied fuel to the popular hatred of Catholics. Consequently, as early as September, 1639, when the convocation of Parliament was first mooted, Rossetti sought the protection of the Queen. Charles replied that he would insist on the fact that his wife's freedom to communicate with Rome was part of the marriage treaty. However, this statement was an untruth and Coke was not slow in publicly branding it as such.[2] In Rossetti's letters of the following year there is more than one allusion to attempts against himself and against Catholics. On May 4th, 1640 he speaks of a plot to set fire to his house; on June 1st he reports tumultuous gatherings of the populace in front of the Queen's palace and the Capuchin convent in Somerset; eight days later he writes that he had spent the night at the house of the Queen-Mother in consequence of threats to his life.[3] He repeatedly sends similar information; for instance, that on the night of August 31st, 1640, the Scotch wanted to destroy the chapel of the Capuchins and to kill himself; and on October 26th, that they had planned to set his house on fire.[4] During the night of November 4th, 1641, he once again sought shelter in the Queen's palace.[5] However, he suffered no harm as his secretary, Vincenzo Armanni, wrote,[6] and though the populace seemed on the point of using violence, they nevertheless refrained, contenting themselves with stupidly staring at the envoy without going any

[1] *Ibid.*, IX., 133 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 88.
[3] *Barb.* 8647, Vatican Library.
[4] *Ibid.*, 8648.
[5] *Ibid.*, 8649.
[6] *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4 series, XI. (1883), 175. From a report of the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani, it appears that it was intended to summon Rossetti before Parliament (Brosch, *Cromwell*, 213, note).

farther. This may have been due, in no small degree, to Rossetti's courageous attitude. On October 19th, 1640, he wrote that he would only leave if it became necessary; on his part Cardinal Barberini encouraged him, on December 1st, to remain with the Queen if at all possible.[1] Meanwhile. as Rossetti's reports prove,[2] the King's position was growing more and more desperate. The ruin of the royal House, hence that also of the Catholic cause, was to be foreseen, Armanni wrote. All the politicians were raising their voices against a King who was both foolish and good, neither loved nor feared, neither esteemed and revered nor obeyed.[3] On April 19th Rossetti writes that Cardinal Barberini approved of his leaving and that the Queen was anxious for him to look to his own safety. In effect, on July 8th, 1641, he set out for Cologne and on September 25th he wrote to thank the Pope for his appointment as nuncio extraordinary in that city.[4]

[1] *Barb.* 8648, *loc. cit.*

[2] January 11 and 18 and February 2, 1641, *ibid.*, 8649.

[3] " *Le voci di tutti i politici gridano contra quel re di sciocca bontà non amato, non temuto, senza stima, senza rispetto, senza ubbidienza." *Arch. stor. ital.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Barb.* 8649, *loc. cit.* On Rossetti's journeys, *cf.* G. Ferraro, *Diario del viaggio fatto in Inghilterra nel* 1639 *del Nunzio pontificio Rossetti scritto da Domenico Fantozzi Parma*, Bologna, 1885 (for a MSS. of this, which contains also an account of the return journey, see J. Ph. Dengel in the *Forsch. u. Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols u. Vorarlbergs*, I., 266, and an extract from it, *ibid.*, 264–281); G. Ferraro, *Viaggio del cardinale Rossetti fatto nel* 1644 *da Colonia a Ferrara scritto dal suo segretario Armanni Vincenzo*, in *Atti di Romagna*, VI. (1888). According to Ferraro (*ibid.*, 2) both accounts were by Armanni, but the fragment published by Dengel (*loc. cit.*, 268 *seqq.*) on the journey in the Tyrol, does not in any way correspond with the style of the parallel passage in Ferraro (72 *seqq.*). See also Cuvelier in the *Bullet. de l'Institut hist. de Belge à Rome*, VI., 127 *seq.*, and the same author in *Bullet. de l'Acad. de Belgique*, 1927. The Queen praised Rossetti to the Pope on the occasion of his departure. Brief to the Queen, August 10, 1641, *Epist.*, XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

From Cologne Rossetti kept in touch with England. Armanni, his secretary, passed on the news that reached Rossetti from England to his brother Francesco Maria Armanni at Gubbio.[1] Besides a full report on the circumstances which led to the overthrow of the monarchy, he supplies much information on the position of Catholics; as, for instance, that the King wished to reprieve seven priests who had been condemned to death but that Parliament raised loud protests against such a measure [2]; that anti-Catholic meetings were being held in London; that a procession of several hundred people had paraded through Holborn, where many Catholics lived, shouting: "Where are the houses of the Catholics?" [3] that a crowd of some three or four thousand people who had been summoned to London from the country, were surging round Parliament with printed petitions demanding that Catholics and Bishops should be excluded from the House [4]; that the martyrdom of the secular priest, Thomas Reynolds, and that of the Benedictine, Alban Roe, had fired the Catholics with extraordinary eagerness to suffer themselves.[5]

Fresh measures against the ancient faith were inevitable, were it only because of the intense public excitement. Further fuel was added to this state of mind by the act of a madman. On November 23rd, as a Justice of the Peace of the name of Heywood was walking through Westminster Hall with a list of recusants in his hand, a certain James made a sudden rush at him and wounded him with a knife. The wound was a superficial one but the incident was taken as proof of the existence of a vast popish plot. Various means were suggested for the safety of the House, one taking the form of a demand for a fresh enforcement of the penal laws.[6] An order was

[1] Published by GIUSEPPE MAZZATINTI in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XI., XII., XV., XVIII., XIX.

[2] January 12, 1642, *ibid.*, XI., 187.

[3] February 2, 1642, *ibid.*, 189. [4] March 1, 1642, *ibid.*, XII., 163.

[5] *Ibid.*, 164. Armanni says of Reynolds: "il quale era mio amico, e, nel vero, di grande innocenza."

[6] GARDINER, IX., 239 *seq.*

issued for the weeding out of the army in the North of all Catholic officers. For some time, one protest stated, priests and Jesuits had remained almost wholly untouched by the anti-Catholic laws and during the last seven or eight years no less than seventy-four pardons had been granted to them, signed for the most part by Windebank. Accordingly the Justices of the Peace in the capital and the surrounding districts were directed to give effect to the laws against the recusants, regardless of any order to the contrary. Windebank escaped being called to account by flight.[1]

Priests were once more being executed, though in small numbers. The first capital sentence was pronounced on January 21st, 1641, against John Goodman, brother of the Anglican Bishop of Gloucester. When Rossetti heard of it he informed the Queen, who was assured by her husband that Goodman would not be put to death solely for being a priest. His pardon raised a storm in the Protestant camp. The City of London had agreed to a loan of 60,000 pounds, but withdrew the promise in consequence of the pardon. Thereupon the Lower House appealed to the Lords with a view to both Houses demanding the execution of Goodman.[2]

Charles I. now summoned both Houses into his presence, though not exclusively because of Goodman, but chiefly in order to open his mind on the subject of the so-called root-and-branch party, which derived its name from the fact that its aim was the destruction of episcopacy, root and branch. He promised reforms in this respect but not the complete suppression of the episcopate. As for Goodman's reprieve, they would soon receive a message on the subject.[3] The message was to the effect that Goodman was only to be banished, but both Houses insisted on the full execution of the anti-Catholic laws, beginning with Goodman's death. The King yielded in so far as he left the condemned priest to the judgment of Parliament, whilst expressing the hope that, in view of the disapproval which the action would provoke abroad, the sentence would not be carried out.

[1] *Ibid.*, 243. [2] *Ibid.*, 264 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, IV., 231 *seqq.*
[3] GARDINER, IX., 268.

At this stage Goodman presented a petition to both Houses in which he prayed the King not to insist on his reprieve in as much as he thought his blood would not be shed in vain if it helped to remove the estrangement between King and people.[1] Whether such generosity impressed Parliament, or whether consideration for the King's wishes also contributed, the fact is that Goodman died only in 1645 from the effects of his confinement in the foul dungeon of Newgate gaol.[2]

At the same time as Charles I. abandoned Goodman to Parliament, he promised a proclamation which was actually published. By its terms any priest found on English soil after April 7th, 1641, was to fall under the full rigour of the law. Accordingly, in 1641, William Ward and the Benedictine Barlow [3] were executed solely for being priests. In the following year five secular priests and three regulars suffered a similar fate,[4] but in 1643 only two Franciscans were executed.[5] The arrest of the Benedictine Barlow shows to what extent ceaseless agitation had roused popular hatred of Catholics. On Easter day, 1641, Barlow was in the act of saying Mass when a preacher of the neighbourhood came to hear of it. Instead of holding his own service, the latter told his congregation that instead of preaching and hymn singing they would be better employed if they put an end to the activities of the popish priest. Accordingly 400 people left the church and, led by their minister, succeeded in capturing Barlow.[6]

The fear of a vast conspiracy on the part of the Catholics continued. The chatter of any gossiping woman was deemed worthy of Parliament's earnest consideration and appropriate ordinances. In May, 1641, as a result of such gossip, an order was issued for the arrest of every priest in England and there were many who judged this measure not severe enough.[7]

[1] NALSON, *Impartial collection of great actions of State*, I., 738, 746, in SPILLMANN, IV., 232 ; LINGARD, X., 4, note.

[2] SPILLMANN, IV., 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, 235 *seqq.*, 238 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 242–272.

[5] *Ibid.*, 274.

[6] *Ibid.*, 240.

[7] GARDINER, IX., 374 *seq.*

In November of that year a certain tailor declared that he had overheard a conversation concerning a plot for the assassination of no less than 108 members of both Houses of Parliament, the 18th of the month being the date fixed for the stroke. The House of Lords seriously examined the tailor's story, only to find that it offered no basis for action.[1]

The Queen, as the alleged centre of the conspiracy, was the chief object of popular hatred. Amid the dangers which threatened to overthrow the English throne, Henrietta Maria displayed far greater courage than her husband; she was sprung from a father who did not know what fear was and from a people that never retreated, she told Rossetti.[2] In May, 1640, she sent Windebank to Rossetti to obtain through him the Pope's assistance with troops and money.[3] Already in the previous year, with a view to giving satisfaction to the King, Cardinal Barberini had spontaneously offered money against the Scots.[4] The Queen now turned to him once again in view of the fact that her chief opponents in Parliament were not immune to bribery.[5] The Cardinal contributed 15,000 scudi out of his private purse.[6] However, as a condition of further help, Urban VIII. demanded that Charles I. should first embrace the Catholic faith,[7] and he persisted in this demand when Henrietta Maria renewed her request to Rossetti in December, 1640.[8] The King, however, was not prepared formally to take such a step, but when the Queen renewed her request for 150,000 pounds, and in the event of its being granted, held out the prospect of religious liberty for the Irish Catholics and for those in England, free attendance at her chapels and those of the ambassadors, as well as,

[1] *Ibid.*, X., 72.

[2] *Rossetti, May 17, 1641, *Barb.* 8649, Vatican Library.

[3] GARDINER, IX., 134.

[4] Con, February 4, 1639, *Barb.* 8644, Vatican Library.

[5] January 21, 1641, *ibid.*, 8659; discussion of the letter by S. HERRLICH in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LVI. (1886), 238–251. *Cf.* BELLESHEIM, *Scotland*, III., 434.

[6] *Rossetti, April 5, 1641, *Barb.* 8649, *loc. cit.*; HERRLICH, *loc. cit.*, 248. [7] GARDINER, IX., 175. [8] *Ibid.*, 251, 310.

in the event of the King's victory, the free exercise of religion throughout the realm, Charles I. himself put his signature to a letter addressed to Cardinal Barberini.[1] In point of fact the Cardinal's liberality was not yet exhausted; as we learn from Rossetti's letters written from Cologne, he was prepared, in 1642, to contribute 30,000 scudi and he mortgaged his own Abbeys so as to be in a position to lend help to the Catholics of England.[2]

Henrietta's courage led her adversaries to take several harsh measures against her. Parliament took care that the young hereditary prince should not see his mother too often, for no good could be looked for from her, either for body or soul.[3] Her confessor, the Oratorian Robert Philippe, was cast into prison and only set free on condition that he no longer saw her,[4] in fact there was even a plan to arraign her before Parliament for conspiring against the liberty of the country and for having a secret understanding with the Irish rebels.[5] On the pretext of accompanying her daughter, the bride of the Prince of Orange, to the Hague, the Queen left for Holland in the spring of 1642 and lived there for a time.[6]

By now Charles I.'s contest with the Long Parliament had become so acute that the King declared war on it.

(5)

Urban VIII. only saw the beginning of the Civil War which, after the execution of Charles I., and under his successor, turned England into a republic. However innocent Catholics

[1] *Ibid.*, 383; *Rossetti, June 14, 1641, *Barb.* 8650, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Rossetti, February 22 and July 13, 1642, *ibid.*, 8651, 8652. For Barberini's solicitude for England, *cf.* **Monumenta varia collegii Anglorum de Urbe Francisc. seniore et juniore cardinalibus Barberini protectoribus*, *Barb.* 2606, *loc. cit.*

[3] GARDINER, X., 42.

[4] *Ibid.*, 42, 54, 98.

[5] *Ibid.*, 128.

[6] *Ibid.*, X., 168. "A la fin, la violance du Parlement a esté sy grande contre moy que pour estre en seureté de ma vie, il m'a falu en aler," she wrote on April 4, 1642, to her sister. *Ibid.*

were of political interference there is nevertheless frequent mention of them in the long-drawn struggle between King and Parliament, so much so that the blame for the Civil War is wholly laid on them. In the opinion of a contemporary, all Charles I.'s misfortunes were due to his violent and obstinate attachment " to the infamous Anglican Bishops " who " without a doubt were resolved before all else, with the help of the Jesuits and the Papists, to extirpate all religion both at home and abroad, and to plunge us into ignorance, superstition, and idolatry ".[1] The King was withal considered as the head of a vast Catholic conspiracy ; in fact his army was described as " the northern papist army ".[2] Months before the actual outbreak of the Civil War, Parliament had declared, in a petition, that the King's intention to alter religion was to be traced to the papal nuncio and the Queen's agent in Rome ; that the war in Scotland had been caused by the Catholics and was being supported by them in order to make way for the change of religion, the proof being the contributions of money made by the adherents of the old faith through the nuncio. The rising in Ireland was also said to have been brought about in consequence of an understanding with the English Catholics.[3]

It may be, it is even likely, that the hated Catholic religion was no more than a pretext for Parliament to mask its revolt against a lawful King. Suspicion may have found some foundation in the fact that the Catholic gentry were " among those who showed the greatest eagerness to serve the King ; their loyalty could never be doubted ".[4] Accordingly from Chester Charles I. called the Catholic gentry to arms in the first months of the war, and shortly afterwards he summoned

[1] D'Ewes in GARDINER, *Civil War*, I., 5, note.

[2] *Northern Papist Army, ibid.*, 45. *Cf., ibid.*, 284, Newcastle's jest on the inefficiency of the Royalists : " You hear us called the Popish army, but you see we trust not in our good works."

[3] Armanni, April 29, 1642, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XII., 171.

[4] GARDINER, *Civil War*, I., 41. For a list of Catholic noblemen who fell for the King and of those who lost their fortune for his cause, *cf.* CHALLONER, *Memoirs*, etc.

all the Catholics of the realm to support him with their money and their blood. In September, 1642, he wrote that the revolt had assumed such proportions that he could no longer inquire into the opinions of those who were ready to serve him.[1] The admission into the army of Catholic officers naturally added strength to the belief in a Catholic conspiracy.[2] When, in November, 1642, Parliament called upon the Scotch for help against the King, it justified its action by pleading that Catholics had been enrolled in the royal army.[3]

The alleged friendliness of Charles I. towards Catholics provided a pretext for various ordinances against both the King and the Catholics. In January, 1643, the leader of the House, Pym, spoke in support of the alliance with Scotland on the ground that in this way they were able to counter the Catholic conspiracy. True the House refused to agree to the proposal, but it decreed that all the children of Catholics were to be brought up as Protestants so as to put an end to the old religion.[4] Someone moved in Parliament that all Papists in arms should be declared traitors, and when one of the members remarked that the chief papist under arms was the Queen, Henrietta Maria was formally arraigned.[5] About the middle of 1643 the King contemplated bringing together all his London adherents for a *coup de main* against Parliament. When the plan was discovered, the Lower House resolved almost unanimously to give its support to the Parliamentary troops, "so long as the papists, who were now openly at war with Parliament," had the support of the King.[6] Not long after certain symptoms showed that,

[1] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 41. Charles I. acknowledged himself to be in debt to the Catholic son of the Marquis of Worcester, Lord Herbert of Raglan, for the sum of over 250,000 pounds, *ibid.*, II., 108. [2] *Ibid.*, I., 45. [3] *Ibid.*, 62.

[4] "To oppose that Catholic league which he believed to have been formed in support of the king." *Ibid.*, 95.

[5] May 23, 1643, *ibid.*, 170.

[6] "So long as the Papists now in open war against the Parliament shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof." *Ibid.*, 174.

with or without the King's knowledge, a rising in his favour was in progress and that it would have the support of the Irish Catholics. This intelligence did the King's cause untold harm; it now appeared "that there was a determined resolve in the Popish party to extirpate the true Protestant religion" in England, Scotland and Ireland.[1] When Charles I. received Communion at Oxford, he deemed it necessary to declare that he would maintain the Protestant religion "without any connivance at popery".[2] In London this declaration was received with incredulous laughter. When on top of everything, two English regiments returned from Ireland which were erroneously believed to be composed of Irishmen, there seemed to be no longer any doubt that Charles I. had become a party to a dreadful popish conspiracy.[3] John Pym, the most influential man in Parliament, was a bitter enemy of the Catholics. Though personally neither an episcopalian nor a presbyterian, he was for ever talking about religion and acting as champion of Protestantism.[4] In his very first speech in the House he moved that they should swear to unite their forces in the defence of the country against the Catholics. This proposal, the result of the Association of 1584, became the germ of the Protest of 1641 and of the Parliamentary Covenant of 1643, if not of the Solemn League and Covenant itself,[5] that is, the Covenant with the Scots,[6] which led to the final overthrow of the monarchy. If not the Catholics themselves, then at least hatred and enmity towards them, were responsible, to an enormous extent, for the troubles of that period. Day by day Parliament published fresh ordinances; there are very few among them, even when they deal with indifferent matters, which do not state that the war had been instigated and was being continued by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 208. [2] *Ibid.*, 212.

[3] "The belief, which had always been strong, that Charles had made himself the instrument of a terrible Popish conspiracy, was raised to absolute conviction." GARDINER, *Civil War*, I., 288.

[4] *Ibid.*, 300, 303.

[5] Gardiner's opinion, *ibid.*, 301.

[6] On the Solemn League and Covenant, *cf. ibid.*, 269.

papists in order to exalt the papacy on the ruins of Protestantism.[1]

The everlasting talk of popery and Catholic conspiracies, whether sincerely meant or no, could not but be fraught with disastrous consequences for those who professed the old religion. When Parliament began to levy troops, and these undisciplined bands entered on a campaign of plunder and robbery, Catholics were the greatest sufferers. Thus, damage to the amount of 40,000 pounds was done to the property of Lady Rivers of Colchester.[2] Wherever Parliament gained the upper hand, the adherents of the old religion had to endure ill-treatment and spoliation.[3] The City of London granted to Parliament a loan on the property of those whom, characteristically enough, they styled "papists and criminals".[4] When the multiplicity of religious parties prompted Roger Williams to demand toleration for them all, he nevertheless insisted on one solitary exception—Catholic worship must be forbidden as idolatrous, though the penal laws against Catholics should be repealed.[5] Nevertheless at that period there were only isolated cases of Catholics executed for their faith. Nor were any new laws passed against them, though on December 16th, 1642, Parliament published an ordinance for the arrest of all wealthy or dangerous Catholics and the confiscation of their property. This measure was adopted in consequence of a rumour that twenty convicted recusants were in arms against Parliament under Newcastle.[6] The Capuchins who served the Queen's chapel, after enduring many vexations, were at last arrested and banished from the country; the images in the chapel—they were spoken of as idols—were

[1] LINGARD, X., 126 *seq.*

[2] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 14; ARMANNI, *loc. cit.*, XII., 345. Armanni writes of the "inestimabili danni" of the Catholics in several counties (XV., 16), October 5, 1642; especially in Essex where all their houses were plundered; many were left without as much as a chair or a bed; their cattle was driven off, their barns stripped. [3] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 41; LINGARD, X., 127.

[4] April 13, 1644, GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 400.

[5] *Ibid.*, 342. [6] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 88.

destroyed and Rubens' altarpiece was thrown into the Thames.[1] Shortly afterwards the Lower House set up a committee with mission to destroy every trace of what its members might deem a superstition and idolatry.[2] Thereupon the stained glass windows of the churches were smashed and the remaining statues of the Saints beheaded; this was done in Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's. The City of London did not wish to lag behind in such heroic deeds. As early as 1642 stormy scenes occurred around the famous Cheapside cross, one of the finest monuments of old London, when some were for overthrowing it whilst others defended it. A concourse, by night, of some 6,000 persons had to be broken up by the military.[3] A year later,[5] in presence of the chief City magistrates, the image of the Crucified—" antichrist "—was thrown into the flames whilst the bells pealed, volleys were discharged, and the spectators celebrated the triumph with acclamations.[4] Even St. Edward's tomb was in danger.[5]

Notwithstanding their loyalty to the King, Catholics could not feel sure of his loyalty to them, for that weak monarch was quite capable of dropping them should his own advantage make it appear advisable.[6] On the other hand, according to Armanni,[7] Parliament, in spite of its hatred of Catholics, was believed to have held out to them the prospect of the repeal of the penal laws on condition that they

[1] March 30, 1643, *ibid.*, 118. *Cf.* ARMANNI, *loc. cit.*, XII., 164. XVIII., 8, 13 *seq.*, XIX., 172; *Rossetti to Barberini, May 17, 1643, *Barb.* 8653, Vatican Library (*ibid.*, for the execution of the Franciscan Heath). May 8, 1643, *Rossetti notes the increase of the persecution of the Catholics in London (*ibid.*); on January 3, 1644, the execution of a Franciscan (Arthur Bell); *ibid.*, *Barb.* 8654.

[2] April 24, 1643, GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 154.

[3] ARMANNI, *loc. cit.*, XII., 164. Yearly report of the English Jesuits for 1645, in FOLEY, VII., 1146.

[4] On May 14, 1643 (according to GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 154, the 2nd); ARMANNI, *loc. cit.*, XVIII., 116. *Cf.* LINGARD, X., 127, note.

[5] ARMANNI, *loc. cit.*, 16 *seq.*

[6] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 125.

[7] August 30, 1642, *loc. cit.*, XII., 342.

took up arms against the King. A refusal could only spell bitter persecution for them. All that Urban VIII. could do was to send them a comforting letter [1] and to recommend them to Queen Anne of France.[2]

(6)

Soon after the accession of Charles I., Ireland was threatened with the possibility of Spain retaliating for England's unsuccessful attack on Cadiz by effecting a landing on the soil of the Emerald Isle. It was therefore advisable, for the time being, not to provoke the Irish Catholics, and in point of fact, for a period of about three years, Ireland enjoyed a respite from the customary oppression and spoliation. Accordingly, Catholic life asserted itself once more in public. Chapels and convents arose and even a college was opened.[3] In a Brief to Louis XIII.,[4] Urban VIII. exhorted the King to intervene with the husband of his sister, the Queen of England, on behalf of the Irish Catholics. As a matter of fact the hopes which many people had based on the accession of a Catholic Queen, seemed on the verge of realization as far as Ireland was concerned. After the Irish had made a grant to the King of 120,000 pounds, they ventured to present their own requests summed up under fifty-one headings. On the whole all they asked for was to be put on an equal footing with the Protestants. Charles I. promised to grant their requests and confirmed these so-called " graces " with his own signature.[5]

However, even during the three years' truce, there were not wanting forebodings of the coming storm. Falkland, the Viceroy, suppressed the newly erected college, the building being handed over to the Protestants. The scholarly Archbishop of Armagh, Ussher, convened a meeting of eleven

[1] *November 2, 1641, *Epist.*, XIX., 11, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *October 15, 1643, *ibid.*, 415. *Brief of October 22, 1639, with a present for the English College at Douai, *ibid.*, XVII.

[3] BELLESHEIM, *Irland*, II., 332 *seqq.*

[4] July 12, 1625, *ibid.*, 732 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 336; GARDINER, *Hist. of England*, VIII., 13, 17.

other Bishops and together with them published a declaration [1] in which he described the Catholic religion as a superstition and idolatry which it was a great sin to tolerate. On January 31st, 1629, the Viceroy Falkland and the Protestant Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, requested the Privy Council to allow them to proceed against the Catholics. Thereupon the Viceroy decreed [2] that all chapels, convents and schools of the papists were to be used for other purposes, and priests were forbidden to preach, to hold services or to impart instruction. The day after Christmas 1629, the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin invaded the church of the Franciscans of that city at the head of an armed band and destroyed all he found there.[3] A few days later a decree was issued ordering the sequestration of all chapels, convents, etc., in Ireland.[4] However, consideration for opinion abroad soon enforced a certain amount of mitigation of the latter decree.[5]

Moderation only began with the recall of Falkland, when the government of Ireland passed into the hands of four judges. But these, too, were soon replaced (in 1632) by a new Viceroy in the person of Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford,[6] was a shrewd politician and a man endowed with unusual energy. His loyalty to his sovereign, which eventually led him to the scaffold, has surrounded him with the glory which never fails to transfigure the victims of iniquitous arbitrariness. As Viceroy of Ireland he successfully promoted industry, improved the fighting forces and

[1] November 26, 1626, in Bellesheim., II., 335.

[2] April 1, 1629, *ibid.*, 337.

[3] Bellesheim, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 338.

[5] *Ibid.*, 339. Documents on the persecution of the Catholics in Ireland, 1642–1714, in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1877 and 1878. On Ireland at the time of Urban VIII. see Giunti, *Vita di L. Ludovisi*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[6] *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Despatches*, London, 1739; for the life of Strafford by John Forster (in *Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. 1, London, 1836), by Elizabeth Cooper, 1866 (*cf. Dublin Rev.*, N.S., XXVII. (1876), 469–499), by Traill (London, 1889).

increased the revenue. His one motive in all he did seemed to be the desire to provide the King with as large an income as possible ; in pursuit of that object he was utterly unscrupulous in the choice of means. By assuring them that Charles would grant the promised " graces ", he induced the credulous Irish Parliament to vote the extravagant sum of 300,000 pounds ; for all that he subsequently represented to the King that the concession of the promised " graces " would endanger the Crown so that it need not be put into effect. Wentworth expropriated the rightful owners of land throughout County Connaught which thus became Crown property.[1] Seeing that he was of opinion that England could never rely on a Catholic Ireland,[2] it was to be expected that he would suppress the traditional religion of the country as soon as he should feel strong enough for such a step.[3] Small wonder, then, if Thomas Wentworth, " Black Tom " as they called him, incurred the hatred of the victims of his violence to such a degree that in 1640 his recall was judged necessary.

But it was too late. Wentworth's violence was only a continuation of what had been done by James I. and the other rulers of Ireland, even under Charles I.[4] His two successors, William Persons, an adventurer who had enriched himself with Irish landed property, and John Borlase, an old soldier, were no better.[5] In the end all that remained to the Irish was " either to turn Protestant, to leave the country or to allow themselves to be strung up in front of their own

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 346 *seq.* ; GARDINER, IX., 94 *seqq.*

[2] " I see plainly that so long as this kingdom continues popish, they are not a people for the crown of England to be confident of (*Letters*, I., 345). *Cf. Dictionary of National Biography*, LX., 274 ; BELLESHEIM, II., 350.

[3] GARDINER, X., 144. Examples of the sophistry whereby the Irish were robbed of their property, *ibid.*, VIII., 1–28. For a general account see M. J. BONN, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1906.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 372 *seq.*, who there refutes the fable that at the time of the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641 religious liberty reigned in Ireland.

[5] GARDINER, X., 44 *seq.*

homes".[1] Much inflammable material had accumulated which, owing to the absence of any prospect of better conditions, was bound to flare up on the slightest provocation,[2] especially in view of what was happening in Scotland where the people were victoriously defending their faith by force of arms.[3] A gentleman of ancient descent, Roger Moore, who had been robbed of almost the whole of his ancestral estates, journeyed all over Ireland where his exhortations to take up arms fell upon willing ears. An attempt to rush Dublin failed but from the end of October, 1641, bands of mostly unarmed men roamed over the country, driving the Protestant interlopers from their domains. Blood flowed, of course, though at first the Irish had not contemplated such an eventuality. At a later date the number of victims was enormously exaggerated, in fact, beyond the limits of all possibility, when grounds were looked for to justify a refusal to restore to the Irish their own property.[4] In point of fact the massacres were started by the Scots who slaughtered 500 Catholics in the Isle of Magee.[5] After the English Parliament's decision, on December 8th, 1641, not to tolerate the Catholic religion in Ireland, the Justices ordered the troops to wipe out the rebels by every means in their power, a command which was pitilessly executed, regardless of age or sex, guilt or innocence. Only the dogs remained, a Protestant Dean wrote, and these

[1] BELLESHEIM, II., 375 *seq.*

[2] "Everything that had been done in Ireland since the flight of the Earls in 1607 (*cf.* our account Vol. XXVI., 213 *seq.*), had been of a nature to lead up to such a catastrophe." GARDINER, X., 43.

[3] LINGARD, X., 41, note. For the plans of the rising see GARDINER, X., 49, 53.

[4] LINGARD, X., 45 *seq.* For the number of the victims see *ibid.*, 401–7; BELLESHEIM, II., 377 *seqq.*; for a proof that (at a gathering at Mullifarvan) the total annihilation of all "heretics" had not been previously arranged, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, C. (1887), 122. BONN (*loc. cit.*, II., 23), speaks of a Brief of May 25, 1643, granting absolution for the extermination of all Protestants. In the *Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., Papal Secret Archives, no such Brief is listed.

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 378.

fed on human flesh. The fact that the Irish lacked arms was an additional motive for the Justices to proceed with the utmost rigour.[1] A subsequent memorandum of theirs betrays the motives of this conduct with the utmost cynicism.[2] Until then, so we read, the Irish had been too numerous to make it possible to carry out the laws ; hence their numbers must be reduced by hunger and the sword.

Notwithstanding the cruelty of the English reprisals, nearly the whole island fell into the hands of the insurgents. As soon as these had seized the harbours and some of the wealthy merchants had sided with them, the Irish no longer suffered from a lack of lead and powder, whereas that want was keenly felt by the English, hence the insurgents had the advantage in the struggle.[3] True, even now there was no question of a plan of war or ordered procedure on either side. We read only of skirmishes, sieges and raids for the purpose of destroying the cattle which constituted the country's chief source of wealth.[4] The prosecution of the war continued to bear the stamp of cruelty : "Wherever an English armed troop penetrated, the path of its advance was marked with fire and the gallows." [5] Humane incidents only occurred on the Irish side : "Whenever in the summer of 1642 the Irish forces were led by officers of rank and distinction, they distinguished themselves by acts of humanity in circumstances which were strongly provocative of a contrary action. The garrisons of fortified posts captured by the Irish were uniformly allowed to escape to a place of refuge." [6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 384.

[2] March 18, 1643, in GARDINER, *Civil war*, I., 143 *seq.* "Cynicism," says Gardiner (*ibid.*) of this memorandum, "has seldom gone further than the cool anticipation of slaughter which followed."

[3] *Ibid.*, 133. [4] *Ibid.*, 131. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] "The garrisons of fortified posts captured by the Irish were uniformly allowed to find their way in safety to a place of refuge" (*ibid.*, 132). GARDINER says, in note 1, that he can remember no exception to this, although the letters and documents of that year came exclusively from English sources.

The Catholic clergy of Ireland had no share in the rising of 1641.[1] Not until March of the following year did the Bishops of the Province of Armagh meet in council at Kells, under the presidency of the Archbishop. They laid a three days' fast on their flocks as well as a General Communion ; pronounced the penalty of excommunication for murder, robbery, unlawful seizure of landed property or for supporting the enemies of Ireland. They also made provision for the spiritual needs of the army. But the chief object of their deliberations was the main defect in the whole movement, viz. the lack of subordination and unity ; hence they realized the necessity of establishing a legislative and administrative council and of the Bishops and nobles maintaining contact and the clergy lending help for the prosecution of the war. They also removed the chief obstacle to the greatly needed unity, namely the fear entertained by many Catholics that they would have to give up Church property in the event of an Irish victory.[2]

In May 1642 a fresh convention of the clergy was held at Kilkenny. It was decided that an oath of federation should seal their agreement and that the clergy should interest themselves in its promotion. No differences or jealousies should be suffered to trouble the harmony of the Catholic clans. Each Province was to have its own Council ; a Council General was to be placed over the provincial Councils, and no Province was to conclude a separate peace. Anyone abandoning the Catholic league and abetting the enemy was to be excommunicated ; the Bishops were to proceed even against neutrals.[3] Simultaneously with the clergy, the various orders of the nobility also held a convention. Their decisions dealt with the oath of federation, the introductory clauses of which demanded the restoration, for the Church, of the status that had obtained previous to Henry VIII. as well as the setting up of a General Council composed of nine members, for the administration of the country. A general assembly of all Irishmen should decide what further measures should be taken.

[1] Bellesheim, II., 386 ; Hassenkampf in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVI. (1885), 340–353.

[2] Bellesheim, II., 388 *seq.* [3] Bellesheim, II., 390 *seq.*

The Protestant reply to these decisions was a prohibition by the Justices on May 28th of all intercourse with the Catholics, and on June 21st, the exclusion from the Irish Parliament of those who refused the oath of supremacy.[1]

The general assembly of all Irishmen met at Kilkenny on October 24th. It elected a Supreme Council of twenty-five members, with Lord Mountgarret as chairman, and four Governors for the four Provinces of Ireland.[2] In reality the assembly at Kilkenny was a Parliament, though it refrained from adopting that title out of consideration for the King who had not sanctioned the gathering.[3] So far from viewing themselves as rebels the Irish were, on the contrary, anxious to take the King's side against Parliament. The Kells' meeting of Bishops began by declaring that the war was a just one seeing that the people of Ireland were defending their religion, their life and property, as well as the rights of the King and the royal family.[4] On the seal of the Catholic League the following motto was engraved : "The Irish united for the cause of God, King and country."[5] After several fruitless efforts they at last succeeded in getting in touch with Charles I.[6] The King hesitated for a few weeks but at length he appointed representatives[7] to confer with the leaders of the Catholics and a conference of both parties took place at Trim on March 17th, 1643. The Catholics stated their grievances and demanded an independent Parliament for Ireland for the purpose of putting order into the situation ; to show their gratitude they were prepared to send an army of 10,000 men to the King's assistance.[8]

Already in March 1642 Charles had alluded to their help but his letter had been intercepted, to the very great damage of his cause.[9] The appearance on English soil of 10,000 Irishmen would have roused against him all the Protestants of England.

[1] GARDINER, *Civil war*, I., 131. [2] BELLESHEIM, II., 391 *seqq.*
[3] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 135. [4] BELLESHEIM, II., 390.
[5] "Pro Deo, rege et patria Hiberni unanimes." GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 137.
[6] *Ibid.*, 130, 131, 137. [7] January 11, 1643, *ibid.*, 139.
[8] *Ibid.*, 142. [9] *Ibid.*, 130.

None the less he was unwilling to drop the negotiations; if Ireland could be pacified, at least for a time, by half-promises, his troops in that country could be released for service in England against Parliament. Accordingly he empowered the Vice-Chancellor Ormond [1] to negotiate a year's truce with the Irish.

Whilst these negotiations were pending there landed in Ireland a papal envoy who was destined to make his weight felt in the deliberations. In April, 1642, the Irish had appealed for help to France and Spain,[2] but especially to the Pope whom they requested to intervene on behalf of their sacred cause by excommunicating the lukewarm in the country itself and by recommending it to the various Princes.[3] Already on a previous occasion Urban VIII. had sent to them letters of encouragement[4] and a subsidy of 20,000 scudi, and on his part Barberini promoted the equipment of five ships with soldiers and munitions.[5] Whilst negotiations for an armistice were in progress, the distinguished Oratorian, Pier Francesco Scarampi, arrived in July, 1643, in the capacity of a papal agent.[6] The papal envoy soon perceived that the chief danger to the cause of the Irish lay in their lack of unity. There were two parties, that of the Old-Irish and that of the descendants of the English who had settled in Ireland from the end of the Middle Ages onwards but who were also Catholics. The Old-Irish were in favour of an energetic prosecution of the war whereas the Anglo-Irish advocated a truce and a compromise, even if by the latter they obtained no more than permission to practise their religion in their own homes.[7] Scarampi wholeheartedly took the part of the Old-Irish. The salvation of Ireland, he argued, would come from arms and intrepid action, not from a truce and from lukewarmness. Peace between the King and

[1] April 23, 1643, *ibid.*, 145. For what he was willing to concede see *ibid.*, 140 (to Ormond, January 12, 1643).

[2] Bellesheim, II., 393, 395. [3] *Ibid.*, 393 *seq.*

[4] February 1, 1642, *ibid.*, 387. [5] *Ibid.*, 388.

[6] *Brief of nomination, April 12, 1643, *Epist.*, X., 19, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] Bellesheim, II., 400.

Parliament was unlikely, and should it come about, they would join forces for an attack on Ireland. If the English Parliament triumphed, Ireland was lost ; if the King was victorious, his Protestant partisans would deem it sufficient if the country reverted to the miserable pre-war condition. On the other hand, if at the end of the struggle in England, the victorious party was faced with a strong Ireland, powerful by reason of a well-equipped army and its foreign connections, England would take care not to commit any acts of violence or to suppress religious freedom.[1]

Scarampi's arguments did not prevail ; on September 2nd, 1643, a twelvemonths' truce was arranged. With the exception of a few strong places, a strip of coast in the north-east and round Cork in the south, the whole of Ireland was to remain in the hands of the Catholic league. The Scots, who held a strong position at Carrickfergus, were to be free to accept the truce ; if they refused, Ormond and his troops were not to hinder the Irishmen's attack on them. In exchange for these concessions the united Catholics undertook to provide a subsidy for the maintenance of the English garrison at Naas and the transportation of the English regiments to England.[2] When this transportation became a fact, it did the King's cause incalculable harm in consequence of the erroneous notion that he had summoned them to assist him in his struggle against Parliament.[3] Charles, however, only sought to obtain from Ireland the 10,000 men [4] who had been promised to him at an earlier date,[5] but the Irish made it a condition that they should have freedom of religion and a Parliament of their own.[6] This the King could not and would not grant ; the envoys of the Catholic league were graciously dismissed and the negotiations for a treaty of peace were left in the hands of the Viceroy Ormond.[7]

Urban VIII. was annoyed when he learnt of the conclusion of

[1] GARDINER, *Civil war*, I., 261 *seq.* ; BELLESHEIM, II., 401 *seq.*
[2] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 264. [3] *Cf.* above, p. 345.
[4] In February, 1644, in GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 300.
[5] *Cf.* above, p. 345. [6] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 392.
[7] *Ibid.*, 409 ; BELLESHEIM, II., 402.

the armistice. He sent the agent of the Irish Bishops in Rome, Edmund Dwyer, to Ireland, with letters [1] addressed to the whole Irish nation, the Supreme Council and the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh and Tuam. They contain exhortations to constancy and concord, to the end that the struggle might be brought to a happy termination. That the Pope was not disposed to approve the armistice is made plain enough. To the people of Dublin Urban VIII. sent a Brief in praise of their constancy in the faith.[2] When Dwyer returned to Rome with replies to the papal letters, the Pope was no longer among the living. Urban VIII. had spent about 80,000 gold florins for the liberation of Ireland.[3] In other ways also he had shown his solicitude for the Emerald Isle. In Rome itself a distinguished and scholarly friar, Luke Wadding, took great interest in the Irish and in 1642 he became their representative in Italy. In 1625 Wadding, through whose hands nearly all the ecclesiastical affairs of his native country passed, had founded in Rome the College of St. Isidore for the benefit of his brethren in religion.[4] In 1628 he and Cardinal Ludovisi between them made it possible for Urban VIII. to found the Irish College which had already been planned by Gregory XIII., and to whose pupils the Barberini Pope granted in 1631 the privileges enjoyed by the students of Propaganda.[5] Wadding became the first Rector of the College but in 1635 he had to hand over its government to the Jesuits [6] who transferred the institution to

[1] February 18, 1644, in BELLESHEIM, II., 408.

[2] April 27, 1644, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 409. A Jubilee for Ireland granted on May 15, 1640, *Bull.*, XV., 260.

[4] *Cf.* F. HAROLD, *Fr. L. Waddingi Vita*, in *Epit. Annal. Ord. Min.*, I., Rome, 1682, 7 *seq.*; *Collegium S. Isidori de Urbe et S. Mariae de Plano Capranicae FF. Min. Recoll. Hiberniae fundatio a P. Luca Wadding*, Romae, 1892; G. CLEARY, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College, Rome. Biographical and historical notes and documents. A contribution to the tercentenary celebrations*, 1625–1925, Rome, 1925.

[5] *Cf.* the controversial work of CARD. MAREFOSCHI: *Relaz. d. visita del Collegio Ibernese*, Roma, 1772, 65 *seq.*, 73 *seq.*

[6] See *Ibid.*, 80 *seq.*

a house near the Dominican church of S. Annunziata. Cardinal Ludovisi remained attached to the establishment and in his will he left it his great vineyard at Castel Gandolfo.[1]

(7)

The Catholics of Scotland might well have hailed Charles I.'s French marriage with hopes similar to those of their co-religionists in England. Like them, they too were involved in the troubles arising out of the dispute concerning the Vicars Apostolic. In Scotland, too, there were many who longed for a Superior invested with episcopal authority. This wish was fulfilled by the appointment of William Bishop and Richard Smith, even though Scotland was again temporarily withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Bishop. When Bishop had made himself impossible his place as Prefect Apostolic for Scotland was taken by the Benedictine Silvanus who was, however, relieved by the Abbot of St. James of Würzburg as early as 1627.[2] On the representations of the Scottish missionary, David Camerarius [Chambers], Propaganda decided in 1631 to give to the Scottish mission another Superior in episcopal orders, one reason being the fact that the number of Catholics had risen to 10,000, and another the need of neutralizing the influence of the Protestant Bishop of Lismore. However, the decision was not carried into effect.[3]

On being consulted by Propaganda, the Jesuits declared themselves opposed to the appointment of an ecclesiastical Superior in Scotland[4]; their opinion carried great weight

[1] *Cf.* Moroni, XIV., 175 *seq.* More on the Irish seminaries in Bellesheim, II., 357. Briefs of December 24, 1624 (for Louvain), and of July 20, 1636 (for Lille), in *Bull.*, XIII., 266 (*cf.* 273), XIV., 543. At Lisbon there was the Dominican College of the Holy Rosary and that of St. Patrick for the Irish; see *Collegi*, 370, Archives of Propaganda, Rome. At Louvain also there was an Irish Dominican College, see *ibid.*

[2] Bellesheim, *Scotland*, IV., 41, *cf.* 81.

[3] Bellesheim, IV., 41.

[4] Documents of Propaganda for August 5, 1630, *ibid.*, 43, n. 1.

since the cure of souls in Scotland was for the most part in their hands.[1] Under James I., and as late as 1661, the secular priests never numbered more than five or six [2] so that a Vicar Apostolic would have been like a general without an army. Besides the Jesuits, the principal missionaries in Scotland were the Franciscans who had a mission in the north of the country since 1619.[3] The Capuchins had one even previous to that date. The outstanding figures among these were Epiphanius Lindsay and Archangel Leslie, both of them sprung from noble families and educated in the Scots' Colleges of Louvain and Rome. They were instrumental in bringing back many Protestants to the ancient Church, among them persons of high rank.[4] The same applied to the Jesuits Christie and James Mambrecht ; up to 1628 Christie reconciled no less than four hundred persons to the Church.[5]

Special mention must be made of the Franciscan mission in the Hebrides. In these islands, access to which is rendered difficult by rough seas, there existed a remnant of the ancient Church which, as a matter of fact, has maintained itself up to our own days. However, in consequence of the lack of priests, the moral standard of the population had sunk to a very low level. Thousands were now strengthened anew in the faith, in particular by the Franciscan Patrick Hegerty.[6] In 1640, the Bishop of Down, in Ireland, endeavoured to get that zealous priest appointed Bishop of the Hebrides, but Propaganda refused to fall in with his views.[7] Hegerty's confrère, Ward, reconciled 382 Protestants to the ancient

[1] *Ibid.*, 58. For a time they were the only priests in Scotland (*ibid.*, 64).

[2] *Ibid.*, 49, n. 1. [3] *Ibid.*, 70 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 78 *seqq.* For Leslie, *cf.* G. B. Rinuccini, *Il Capuccino Scozzese*, Rome, 1645 ; *American Cath. Quarterly Review*, XXXIII. (1908), 29–56.

[5] Bellesheim, IV., 48 *seqq.* ; yearly report of the Jesuit mission of 1627 to 1773 in W. Forbes-Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1909.

[6] Bellesheim, IV., 69 *seqq.* [7] *Ibid.*, 42, note 1.

Church but paid for his zeal with fifteen months' strict imprisonment and nine months of lighter detention in London.[1] It is noteworthy that, in spite of adverse circumstances, even some Protestant preachers in Scotland returned to the Church.[2]

In the reports on the activities of the Scottish priests there is constant question of imprisonment, pursuit from place to place and endless privations. A proclamation of the year 1628 describes the priests as "the most pernicious pests in the commonweal"; no one must receive them, or give them food, drink, lodging, or escort.[3] However, death sentences were hardly ever carried out in Scotland. Subsequently to the execution of the Jesuit Ogilvie at Glasgow, in the year 1615, the capital sentence was passed on the latter's brother in religion, John Mambrecht, who was, however, reprieved at the intercession of the Queen, and on the Capuchin Lindsay, who likewise escaped execution.[4] By means of prohibitions of the old religion, confiscation of property, forcible upbringing of Catholic children as Protestants and by banishment, regardless or either age or sex, the Catholics were oppressed to such an extent [5] that an eye-witness reported to Urban VIII. that one could wish for a return of the times of Queen Elizabeth.[6] At the beginning of his reign Charles I. published stringent penal laws against Catholics, with a view to countering the suspicion that he cherished leanings towards the ancient Church.[7] In subsequent years he occasionally mitigated the merciless severity of the law, but the preachers never ceased from pressing for the execution of the proclamations.[8]

Cardinal Francesco Barberini was the Protector of the Scottish Catholics,[9] but all he was able to do was to interest himself in impoverished Scottish families or to give hospitality to pilgrims from that country as, for instance, during the jubilee of 1625. The Pope had granted him extensive faculties

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 69 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 68, 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, 37.
[4] *Ibid.*, 73, 76.
[5] *Ibid.*, 9 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 9, note 1.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 18 *seq.*
[9] Since October 2, 1623, *ibid.*, 38.

for the benefit of Scotland.[1] The Congregation of Propaganda appealed to Queen Henrietta Maria [2] to use her influence with her husband "with a view to putting an end to the cruel persecution". The Pope himself addressed a letter to the Queen to the same purpose.[3] According to information soon after received by Propaganda,[4] there was a hope that this request had not been in vain, However, in a letter of December 17th, 1640, a Jesuit gave it as his opinion that what they had endured up till then was only a foretaste of worse to come. "Within the last ten days," he wrote, "orders have been published throughout Scotland, not to sell anything to Catholics or to buy from them. Many are already deprived of their rents and revenues, others have offered three-fourths of their property in the hope of saving the remaining fourth for the maintenance of themselves and their familes. The threat is heard that not a single Catholic shall be allowed to live or to remain in Scotland by the end of the year." [5]

(8)

It was during the pontificate of Urban VIII. that the Catholic Church for the first time secured a firm footing in English North-American territory which was destined eventually to form part of the United States. The event was one of paramount importance. Even previous to England's first attempt at colonization in those territories, the harshness of the penal laws had caused more than one daring Catholic to think of seeking beyond the ocean the freedom which the Mother Country denied them. As early as 1574, Humphrey Gilbert and George Peckham took some tentative steps in this direction. Characteristically enough, letters-patent issued to Gilbert and his companions except them from the law against "fugitives overseas" which had been devised against Catholic recusants. On June 6th, 1582, Gilbert informed Thomas Gerrard and George Peckham of the privilege thus granted and these appealed in their own names to Walsingham

[1] May 18, 1630, *ibid.*
[2] November 16, 1632, *ibid.*, 26.
[3] February 12, 1633, *ibid.*
[4] September 16, 1632, *ibid.*, 27.
[5] *Ibid.*, 62.

with a request that other recusants might be allowed to sail with them.[1] At that time the whole undertaking was represented to Walsingham as a Catholic venture,[2] and as far as Gerrard and Peckham were concerned, the Jesuit Persons, who was then in Rome, shared that view.[3] A Catholic gentleman of the name of Winslade had consulted Persons on the question of the emigration to America of about a thousand Catholics of the poorer classes; some of their more well-to-do co-religionists would be asked to sell their estates and apply the proceeds to the enterprise which should be urged from the pulpit and recommended to Catholic Princes.[4]

Within the next eighty years no less than fifty-nine licences for colonial enterprises in America were granted, but Catholics were everywhere excluded since the law demanded the oaths of supremacy and loyalty, the only exception being Maryland, a foundation of George Calvert, a Catholic.[5]

On completing his studies at Oxford, Calvert acted at first as private secretary to Salisbury. In 1619 he became one of the two Secretaries of State and in that capacity dealt chiefly with foreign affairs. He had been a member of Parliament since 1609; in 1617 he was knighted and in 1620 he acquired the south-eastern portion of Newfoundland in the possession of which he was confirmed by James I. on April 7th, 1623. His colonizing plans probably had something to do with his intention of embracing the Catholic religion. This intention he carried into effect in the following year and on February 12th, 1625, he resigned his office. He was, however, given an Irish peerage with the title of Lord Baltimore; he was also able to retain his extensive estates in the Emerald Isle. But it was impossible for him to remain in the Privy Council since he could not take the oath of allegiance.[6]

In the summer of 1627 Lord Baltimore paid a visit to "Avalon", as he called his estate in Newfoundland, after the

[1] HUGHES, I., 146 *seq.*, 148. [2] *Ibid.*, 147. [3] *Ibid.*, 154.

[4] Parson's unfavourable opinion, March 18, 1605, *ibid.*, 153 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 151 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 176 *seq.*; G. F. BETTANY in *Dictionary of English Biography*, VIII., 269 *seqq.*

cradle of Christianity in Britain.[1] He paid a second visit thither in the spring of 1628, but finding the climate too rough, he returned to England for the purpose of exchanging "Avalon", by royal decree, for a strip of territory in Virginia.[2]

The plan met with opposition from Virginia: accordingly a piece of land further north was allotted to him which, in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, he called Maryland.[3] However, Lord Baltimore died on April 15th, 1632, before the seal had been put on the royal grant. A man of lofty character and wide outlook,[4] Baltimore set up an imperishable monument to his name in the charter for his colony of Maryland, a unique document at that period and one that marks an epoch in the evolution of History. Whereas the foundation charters of the other American colonies contain clauses against "the superstitions of the Romish Church", Baltimore's charter for Avalon, though drawn up by him when still a Protestant, only speaks of "God's holy and true Christian religion", which must not be injured. In the grant for Maryland, the King expressly guaranteed to Baltimore unlimited freedom to erect churches and chapels, the right of patronage over all churches to be erected thereafter, and the removal of all the barriers which, in accordance with the English law on *mortmain*, limited the rights of corporate bodies with regard to immovable property.[5] All the liberties and privileges of the realm of

[1] HUGHES, I., 180. [2] *Ibid.*, 200. [3] *Ibid.*, 233 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.* *Cf.* the testimony of the Protestant bishop Goodman, *ibid.*, 179. The French ambassador Tillières wrote thus about Baltimore, on November 25, 1621: "the third man (after the King and Buckingham) in whose hands affairs presumably rest, is the Secretary of State, Calvert. He is an honourable, reasonable, well-disposed man, courteous to strangers, very respectful towards ambassadors, zealous for the welfare of England, but on account of these virtues wholly without prestige or influence (in RAUMER, *Briefe*, II., ii).

[5] HUGHES, I., 237–243. Churches and chapels were to be consecrated "according to the ecclesiastical laws of our realm of England". But according to the language of the time this did not refer in any way to the Protestant or Anglican communities. *Ibid.*, 237–9.

England were extended to Maryland, hence the English laws against Catholics did not operate there.

Baltimore's death was a heavy blow for Maryland. His son and heir, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, had outwardly returned to the ancient Church at the same time as his father, but at heart he was out of sympathy with Catholic thought.[1] Thus during the voyage to the new colony he forbade every outward practice of Catholicism although the only Protestants among the emigrants were the servants and other persons of lower degree, whereas the upper class consisted exclusively of Catholics.[2] His action for the further development of Maryland also betrayed his lack of nobility of character: his one aim was, apparently, by just or unjust means, to get out of his colony as much profit as he could, irrespectively of the means employed. The first Lord Baltimore's second son, Leonard Calvert, who was Governor of Maryland, considered himself as his brother's tool and left to him the responsibility for the execution of the orders of London. Cecil remained permanently in London; after 1637 his plans and intentions for the colony were in the hands of John Lewger, who had been a Protestant minister, became a convert to the faith but remained wholly impregnated with the spirit of Caesaro-papalism.[3] Lewger was entrusted with the legislation of the new colony. A first draft, of which Baltimore himself was the author, was rejected by the free proprietors of Maryland in 1638[4]: a second, drawn up by Lewger, met with better success; its forty-three articles were read and approved in some ten sittings of half a day's duration each between March 12 and 24th, 1638,[5] although they guaranteed to the noble owner of the colony the most exorbitant powers over the colonists. The whole of the territorial property which the English colonists had lawfully appropriated, was declared to be Baltimore's property, which the allodial owners could only hold in fief from him,[6] whilst the coercive powers of his representatives were so slightly limited by law, as to make them almost

[1] HUGHES, II., 671–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., 260, 332 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 350 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 380 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 388 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 398.

entirely arbitrary.[1] A third legislative draft, of which only a few fragments were actually enforced, was no better.[2] Lewger's laws were such, so we read in a memorial to the Inquisition at a later date,[3] that it was possible to tear his shirt off any man's back if it was in the interest of the State. With regard to the right of ownership in particular, the secular power was allowed the most arbitrary interference. Thus if an heiress was not married by the time she attained her twenty-fifth year, her inheritance was forfeit.[4] Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was confined within the narrowest sphere of the conscience ; whatever appeared outwardly came under the jurisdiction of the State and could only claim validity in law if the civil power gave its approval.[5] The acceptance of such a scheme by the assembly of free proprietors can only be accounted for by the fact that many concurred in it because they had nothing to lose, or because they were Protestants,[6] and because they were given no time for reflection. However, by degrees, their better judgment asserted itself and the most authoritative voices warned Lord Baltimore against granting to these proposals an approval that would have given them force of law.[7] With regard to the intrusion into the ecclesiastical sphere in particular, the clergy offered a determined opposition.

Up till that time all the priests in Maryland had been Jesuits. The younger Lord Baltimore had requested their co-operation [8] but when they reached Maryland, no provision had been made for them [9] so that, like the rest of the planters, they were compelled to keep themselves. They submitted to circumstances and established themselves so successfully that, in accordance with the laws of colonization, the number of their servants entitled them to 28,500 acres. Four years after the arrival of the Jesuits, one of their number wrote [10] that though their chief object was to save souls, no one had even approximately done as much as they had for the colonization and

[1] *Ibid.*, 402.
[2] *Ibid.*, 427 *seqq.*, 449 *seqq.*
[3] Of the year 1642, *ibid.*, 515.
[4] *Ibid.*, 418.
[5] *Ibid.*, 417.
[6] *Ibid.*, 391 *seqq.*, 419.
[7] *Ibid.*, 405 *seqq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 246 *seqq.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 255.
[10] *Ibid.*, 264 *seq.*

cultivation of the country. They laboured not unsuccessfully for the spread of Christianity among the Indians.[1]

The Jesuits refused to fall in with Lewger's conception of Canon Law. The latter informed Baltimore of the fact, with the consequence that Baltimore became estranged from them.[2] He sought to apply at least to the Jesuits the laws on property which, on the whole, proved impossible of application in the colony.[3] He forcibly took from the Fathers an estate which a convert Indian Chief had made over to them.[4] The situation of the Jesuits became so straitened that their Superior thought of withdrawing from Maryland.[5] Of this the missionaries would not hear: "As far as I am concerned," one of them wrote,[6] "I would rather labour here for the conversion of the Indians and die of hunger under the vault of heaven, bereft of all human comfort, than through fear of want entertain so much as a thought of abandoning so holy a task." Baltimore sought in vain to persuade the Provincial of the English Jesuits to fall in with his ideas.[7] There can be no doubt that it was at his instigation that an attempt was subsequently made to remove the Jesuits from Maryland. In a petition to Propaganda [8] it was stated that a new colony had arisen in that country and that the number of Catholics was on the increase; accordingly the petitioners prayed for priests to be sent out, provided with ample faculties, but not a word was breathed of the fact that Jesuits were already labouring in Maryland. Thereupon the Congregation sought information about the colony from the nuncio Rossetti [9] and on February 14th, 1642, some further steps were taken in the matter.[10] In the meantime, however, the dispute between Baltimore and the Jesuits had been taken before the Roman Inquisition; a fortnight before publication of the decree of Propaganda,

[1] *Ibid.*, 336, 481.
[2] *Ibid.*, 419.
[3] *Ibid.*, 399.
[4] *Ibid.*, 477, 489.
[5] *Ibid.*, 481, 514, 529.
[6] Ferd. Poulton, May 3, 1641, *ibid.*, 482; *Documents*, I., 121.
[7] HUGHES, *Hist.*, I., 501 *seqq.*, 529.
[8] July 6, 1641, HUGHES, I., 493.
[9] *Ibid.*, 496 *seqq.*
[10] *Ibid.*, 519.

the former decided that for the time being things should be left as they were.[1] The secular priests destined for Maryland vainly waited for a long time for the extensive faculties for which they had petitioned the nuncio Rossetti. At last they inquired from Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon and former Vicar Apostolic for England, whether the faculties they held in England were available also for British America and asked his permission to start on their voyage.[2] Rossetti sought to dissuade them.[3] In the end the Jesuits themselves took steps in Rome to obtain the required faculties ; two English secular priests set out for the colony which Baltimore had just forbidden two Jesuits to enter.[4]

Meanwhile the straits of the Jesuits in Maryland continued. From one of them Baltimore bought the whole of his property though on the conclusion of the transaction he would neither pay the purchase money nor restore the estate.[1] At last the General of the Order decided [2] that everything should be done so as to secure the goodwill of Baltimore, lest in consequence of a dispute over temporal goods the Indians should forfeit eternal ones. The landed estates already in their possession could not be surrendered without leave of the Pope, since there was question of Church property, but in the future the missionaries must not accept immovable property without Baltimore's permission. The latter, however, was not yet satisfied ; on the contrary, he insisted on the estates which had previously come into the possession of the Jesuits, being surrendered to him. To this the Assistant of the ageing General Vitelleschi replied [3] that he would submit the matter to the Roman Congregation but as far as the Order was concerned, they would act on the principle : " Let us have the souls, the rest you may take for yourself " ; in view of the fact that the Jesuits only sought to spread the faith it could not but be painful to them if the seed of the Gospel so happily scattered were to be

[1] *Ibid.*, 520.
[2] *Ibid.*, 521.
[3] *Ibid.*, 524.
[4] *Ibid.*, 532, 536 *seq.*, 555.
[5] *Ibid.*, 541 *seq.*
[6] October 31, 1643, *ibid.*, 557 ; *Documents*, I., 29 *seq.*
[7] November 5, 1644, HUGHES, I., 561 ; *Documents*, I., 32.

stifled by the weeds of such disputes. Not long after Baltimore's order that the two secular priests of Maryland should be maintained not at his but at the Jesuits' expense,[1] the revolution broke out in England and for the time being, provided a radical solution of existing difficulties. Some of the Jesuit missionaries were shipped back to England ; the others fled and perished miserably.[2] In the end Baltimore himself was destined to experience at the hands of the Government difficulties similar to those which he had created for others in his colony.

[1] HUGHES, *Hist.*, I., 561.
[2] *Ibid.*, 562.

CHAPTER V.

The States of the Church and the War of Castro.

(1)

The warlike nature of the period of Urban VIII.'s pontificate made the military weakness of the States of the Church painfully evident.[1] Everything was lacking: trained troops, armaments, and adequate fortresses. Apart from Ferrara, Ancona, and Civitavecchia, the fortifications of the other strong places of the Pontifical States were for the most part obsolete and, to a large extent, in an utterly neglected state.[2] From the beginning of his reign Urban VIII., who was unwilling to depend on the favour of other Powers, showed great keenness for such an improvement of his armed forces as should render them capable of guaranteeing the security of the States of the Church. As early as the beginning of 1624 he planned the construction of a citadel at Bologna, and because the Bolognese saw in the scheme a means of surveillance rather than of security,[3] he resolved to transform Castelfranco, a locality situate on the borders of Modena, into a powerful fortress.

In addition to this, extensive work was in progress in Rome

[1] This weakness had been on the increase in the latter years according to R. Zeno (143).

[2] *Cf.* P. Contarini, 201, and a detailed account apparently based on ocular evidence, **Descrittione dello stato ecclesiastico data al S. Marchese di Pianazza* in *Cod.* 1776, of the town library, Trent; this was written at the time of the conflict between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. and contains interesting retrospects of the period of Urban VIII.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso of May 15, 1624, *Urb.* 1094, Vatican Library.

since 1624,[1] for the purpose of turning the Castle of S. Angelo, the fortifications of which dated for the most part from the time of Alexander VI. and were inadequate, into an impregnable bulwark.[2] The advanced works were strengthened, the bastions which enclose from the side of the plain the square of the castle properly so called, with its towers at the four corners, were begun, the moats were widened, and barracks, magazines, a gun factory, and mills established.[3] In 1625 and 1627 the Pope personally inspected the constructions then in full swing. They were planned for the accommodation of 6,000 men.[4] "Every day," so we read in a report drawn up in the last days of August 1627, "work proceeds on this royal fortress."[5] Inscriptions of 1628, 1630, 1631, 1636, and 1641, show that the transformation of S. Angelo into "a modern fortress" went on throughout the pontificate of Urban VIII.[6] The work, in the course of which the Barberini Faun now at Munich, was found,[7] was directed first by Giulio Buratti, then by the

[1] See FORCELLA, XIII., 147.

[2] The *legend of the *Pianta di Borgo e di Castel S. Angelo* (*Barb.*, 4409, n. 40, Vat. Libr.), is thus worded: "*Fortezza da S. S.tà resa per cosi dire inespugnabile*".

[3] See M. BORGATTI, *Castel S. Angelo*, Roma, 1890, 146 *seq.*; BOSSI, *La Pasquinata* (1898), 39 *seq.*, 74 *seq.*

[4] See the *Avvisi of September 20, 1625, and February 13, 1627, *Urb.*, 1095 and 1097, *loc. cit.*; P. CONTARINI, 202, and the *Avvisi in FRASCHETTI, 80. A **Discorso sopra il risarcimento del Castel S. Angelo fatto l'a. 1625*, by PIETRO EGIDII, was in the Corvisieri Library, Rome, which, unfortunately, has been dispersed, **Errori notabili nelle nuove fortificazioni di Castel S. Angelo considerati da Franc. Scala da Faenza per rappresentarli a S. S.tà* in *Barb.*, 4344, p. 42 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avvisi of August 28 and September 8, 1627, *Urb.*, 1097, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MARTINORI, 73.

[6] See FORCELLA, XIII., 148–150; TOTTI, 3–4. *Cf.* *Avviso of August 2, 1628, *Urb.*, 1098, Vatican Library. For the restoration of the passage leading to Castel S. Angelo see BAGLIONE, 178.

[7] *Cf.* A. E. POPP, *Der Barberinische Faun*, in *Wiener Jahrb. f. Kunstgesch.*, new series, I. (1921/2), fasc. 4. For a find of coins of Alaric, in 1633, see KHEVENHÜLLER, XII., 792.

Dominican and future Cardinal Maculano, and lastly by Peter Paul Floriani and Bernini.[1]

The work at Castelfranco, which was given the name of "Forte Urbano", was pushed forward with no less ardour.[2] Although the Duke of Modena and the Bolognese were greatly annoyed at the rise of this fortress, Urban VIII. held fast to a plan which swallowed vast sums of money owing to subsidences of the soil and the fact that the district was fever-infested.[3] The fortifications of Loreto,[4] Ancona,[5] Sinigaglia, Pesaro,[6] Rimini,[7] and those of the Castle of Orvieto [8] were also completed. At the beginning of the forties, the Quirinal was surrounded by a protective wall.[9] At this time also a start was made with the vast constructions on the Janiculum. These works were necessitated by the war of Castro; they were under the direction of the Dominican Vincenzo Maculano, famous for his engineering skill.

Urban VIII. also cherished great plans for Civitavecchia which was declared an open port at the end of 1630, whilst it was also decided to make it a military harbour with a view to the maintenance of communications by sea with some friendly

[1] *Cf.* Baglione, 178; Morus, IV., 187; C. Promis, *Ingegnieri milit. della Marca d'Ancona*, Torino, 1865, 81 *seq.*; Marchese, *Mem. dei pittori, etc., Domenicani*, II., 306; Fraschetti, 80.

[2] The place was raised to the dignity of a town (*Città Urbana*), see *Avviso of July 7, 1635, *Urb.*, 1103, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 17 *seq.* See also *Barb.*, 4409, n. 85, Vatican Library.

[3] See G. Pesaro, 330; Alv. Contarini, 359; Khevenhüller, XI., 792; Nani, 23; Brosch, I., 397; Martinori, 74. *Cf.* *Avviso of February 14, 1629, *Urb.*, 1099, Vatican Library, Giulio Buratti, **Breve relazione delle spese fatte per la fortezza Urbana dal principio di essa fin alli 27 di Settembre, 1634, Vat.*, 6922, p. 87 *seq.*, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf. Guida di Loreto*, Siena, 1891, 27, 30.

[5] See Ciaconius, IV., 518.

[6] See Brosch, I., 398.

[7] See Novaes, IX., 294.

[8] See Pardi, *Guida di Orvieto*, Orvieto, 1896, 36.

[9] *Cf.* below, ch. VI.

Mediterranean Power.[1] Pompous inscriptions and a beautiful medal extolled the work executed at Civitavecchia, viz., the improvement of the harbour, the restoration of the old lighthouse, the construction of a new one and the strengthening of the fortifications.[2] The Venetians watched these undertakings all the more jealously as the Pope's efforts for the furtherance of Ancona's trade filled them with anxiety.[3]

In the production of engines of war Urban VIII. displayed an activity which has been described as feverish.[4] The arms factory erected by Paul V. at Tivoli was enlarged; its working was exceedingly costly so long as the necessary iron had to be imported from abroad. To the Pope's extreme satisfaction, mines of iron ore were at last found in the Papal States,[5] though their output did not equal the demand, so that a cargo of iron from Granada in Spain at a later date (in 1643) proved very acceptable.[6] For the fabrication of guns even the antique bronze girders of the portico of the Pantheon and an antique door of S. Adriano were melted down, an act which inspired the famous epigram of Giulio Mancini, the Pope's physician:

[1] See besides G. Pesaro, 330, and Nani, 22, also Guglielmotti, *Squadra*, 410 *seq.*; Calisse in *Bauer's Zeitschr. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, VII. (1899), 191 *seq.*; Brosch, I., 398. *Cf.* also Cauchie, *Instruct. des Nonces de Flandre*, 246.

[2] See Bonanni, II., 586; Venuto, 232; Martinori, 73; Calisse, 450 *seq.*; Guglielmotti, II., 412 *seq.*; Pollak-Frey, 416. Claude Lorrain drew the harbour of Civitavecchia, with the bastions and the lighthouse, from nature; see Friedländer, *Claude Lorrain*, 172 *seq.*

[3] See G. Pesaro, 330 *seq.*; Alv. Contarini, 385.

[4] See Brosch, I., 398.

[5] See *Avviso of June 23, 1629 (the iron in the new "miniera nella montagna di Cascia" was very good for "corsaletti, morioni, archibugi"), *Urb.*, 1099, Vatican Library. For the "miniere alle ferriere di Monteleone nell'Umbria", first exploited by Urban VIII., see Martinori, 75, and A. Morini in *Bollett. d. Deput. p. l'Umbria*, IX. (1903), 3.

[6] See the *Brief to Philip IV., dated July 10, 1643, *Epist.*, XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

"What the Barbarians failed to do, that the Barberini have done."[1]

Already in 1625 and 1626 the armaments accumulated in Castel S. Angelo were very considerable for those times.[2] Urban VIII.'s interest in military matters is strikingly revealed by the fact that under the Vatican Library he had fitted out an arsenal in which were stored manual weapons for an army of 28,000 men[3]; a special medal was struck in its honour, and it was considered one of the sights of Rome.[4] In 1631, 100,000 scudi were spent on buying arms from the niece and heiress of the Duke of Urbino.[5] Diplomatists soon discovered that nothing gave the Pope greater pleasure than when they praised

[1] See the *Avvisi of August 23 (a present for the casting of 60 pieces of canon), and September 20, 1625 ("Giulio Mancini, medico secreto" of the Pope, said, "motteggiando, che quello che non hanno fatto i Barbari, facevano i Barberini"), *Urb.*, 1095, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, 1097, *Avviso of July 22, 1627, on eighty new bronze cannon which were brought to S. Angelo when the smaller ones were removed for the purpose of recasting.

[2] See CERASOLI, in the *Studi e documenti*, XIV., 59 *seq.*, who published the inventory in *Cod. Barb.*, 6310.

[3] See FORCELLA, VI., 148, 153; TAJA, 487 *seq.*; EHRLE, *Maggi-Mascardi*, 10; SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 50; NANI, 23; MARTINORI, 74. RANKE is mistaken when he says (II.[8], 352) that the rooms of the Vatican Library were intended for use as an arsenal. The Armeria which lies below the Library is now used as a mosaic workshop; over the entrance, Urban VIII.'s fine coat of arms may still be seen.

[4] The pen and ink sketch of the *plan in *Barb.*, 4409, n. 33 (Vat. Libr.), is thus headed: *Armeria posta sotto la libreria Vaticana, cosa unica al mondo, fatta d'ordine di N.S. per sicurezza di Roma e d'Italia, dove da diversi parti del mondo vengono principi a vederla. Ibid.*, n. 35: *Porta d'Armeria fuori* with an inscription; n. 36: *Parte di dentro della Armeria*; n. 37: *Prospetto della Armeria.* JOHN EVELYN, who visited Rome in 1644, observes in his *Diary* (129): "I hardly believe any prince in Europe is able to shew a more compleately furnish'd library of Mars for the quality and quantity."

[5] See *Avviso of August 9, 1631, *Ottob.*, 3338, II., Vatican Library.

his military preparations.[1] Urban himself often turned the conversation to this topic. In January, 1625, he remarked to the Venetian envoy, Pietro Contarini, that the States of the Church had plenty of men able to bear arms and that 15,000 could be mobilized at a moment's notice; there was no lack of arms, 15,000 scudi had been spent on them recently; the fortresses which had been neglected were being put in good condition and the battle fleet was being improved; it was his intention to raise the number of his galleys to twelve and to put a stop to the practice which had formerly obtained of using them on occasion for commercial purposes.[2] In 1628 Urban told the envoy of Lucca that he had already spent 800,000 scudi on the fortifications of Castle S. Angelo and that he had other works in view for the security of Rome, and that he would be glad if the envoy would inspect the store of arms and the magazines in S. Angelo. The envoy did so and reported to his Government on the excellent arrangement of everything and how he had seen arms of every kind, among others petards "which must have been invented by devils".[3]

Inventories of provisions of this kind were frequently made throughout the States of the Church.[4] At the beginning of the forties the Venetian envoy reported that there were arms in Rome for 28,000 men, as well as 130 pieces of artillery; that 3,000 infantry and 450 horse were distributed in the various garrisons, and that the recruiting lists bore over 30,000 names. Accordingly, as he often remarked, Urban VIII. felt in a

[1] See NANI, 23.

[2] See the report of January 11, 1625 (State Archives, Venice), translated in BROSCH, I., 396.

[3] See *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 213 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 364, note 2, and below, 366, note 4 *Barb.*, 5067 (Vatican Library): **Descrittione di tutte l'armi offensive e defensive, artiglierie, etc., nelle città e fortezze della Marca, Romagna, Ferrara e Bologna*, 1625; LIII., 75: *Inventario d'artiglierie, armi, etc., che si trovavano nello stato di Urbino dopo la morte di Francesco Maria VI. ed ultimo duca, 1634*; LV., 31: **Descrittione di tutte le armi et munitione di guerra dello stato eccles^co^*, compiled by command of Urban VIII., by FED. SOLERTI, in September, 1634.

position to raise within a very short time, an army of at least 20,000 men.[1] He also took keen interest in the navy and in coast protection. Though he failed to raise the papal fleet to twelve ships, those he had were put in better condition so that they proved serviceable against the Berbers.[2] With a view to coast protection, the fortresses of Circello and Nettuno were strengthened in 1625.[3] The excellence of the provisions in this respect is shown by an inventory drawn up in October 1631, of the store of weapons and munitions in the fortresses and watch towers along the Tyrrhenian coast. Terracina, Ostia, Palo, and Civitavecchia could be considered as fortresses. Moreover a great number of watch towers, manned by armed men, had been put up at intervals of two, three, and five miles. A special fort protected the mouth of the Tiber.[4]

The Commander-in-Chief on land and sea was Carlo Barberini, who was succeeded in the same office by his son Taddeo. His Lieutenant for the fleet was Alessandro Filicaja who, in 1627, was succeeded by Battista Naro [5] who, in 1630, was entrusted with the arduous task of preventing the victims of the plague from landing on the coast.[6] In 1630 the risk of the plague being carried into the States of the Church was exceedingly great. In the preceding winter the oriental plague had made its appearance in Upper Italy ; from thence it gradually spread over the whole country which was full of troops and sunk in misery ; it claimed over half a million victims.[7] From Mantua the disease spread to the Venetian

[1] See NANI, 23.

[2] *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 202 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of March 15 (construction of the fortress of La Barberina at Monte Circello), and April 2, 1625 (departure of Carlo Barberini for Nettuno), *Urb.*, 1095, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also TOMASSETTI, II., 336. A *memorandum on the protection of the coasts from Capo d'Anzio to Terracina with a coloured plan, in *Varia polit.*, 140, p. 155 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See the *Inventario* published and annotated by F. CERASOLI in the *Riv. Marittima*, 1891, from MS. *Barb.*, 6311.

[5] GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 286 *seq.*, 383 *seq.* [6] *Ibid.*, 410.

[7] BELOCH in *Bulletin de l'Institut internat. de statistique*, III. Rome, 1888, 39. *Cf. Miscell. di stor. ital.*, V., 148 *seq.* (Piedmont) ;

mainland; at Verona half the population succumbed.[1] The victims were equally numerous at Brescia [2] and Bergamo.[3] In July the disease broke out in Venice which had escaped until then, thanks to its insular position. The outbreak was a mild one at first, but by degrees it advanced irrepressibly until it reached a climax in November, with 12,000 dead.[4] At Saluzzo the population dropped from 20,000 to 6,000.[5] Piacenza,[6] Parma,[7] Modena,[8] Florence and Pisa [9] were also severely stricken. At Milan the devastation was appalling. In that city a superstitious belief that certain *untori*—smearers—smeared the walls of houses with some contagious stuff added to the horror of the situation.[10] Among the Orders, the

HAESER, III.[3], 404 *seq.*, 409; *Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch.*, II., 708 *seq.*

[1] FR. PONA, *Il gran contagio di Verona nel 1630*, Verona, 1727; L. RUOZI, *La pestilenza in Verona l'a. 1630*, Verona, 1838; C. CIPOLLA, *Storia di Verona*, Verona, 1900; BÜHRING, 90; C. FERRARI, *Il censimento d. popolo nel territorio Veronese dopo la peste del 1630*, Verona, 1904.

[2] ROMANIN, VII., 303, note 1.

[3] FINAZZI in the *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, VI., 448 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*; BENAGLIA, *Della carestia e peste di Bergamo*, ed. Rinazzi, Torino, 1869; *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, VI., 409 *seq.*; A. MEASSI, *Carestia e febbre maligna in tempi di peste*, Udine, 1888.

[4] CUSONI, *La peste di Venezia*, Venezia, 1830; ROMANIN, VII., 306; BÜHRING, 91.

[5] C. F. SAVIO, *Saluzzo nel secolo XVII.*, Saluzzo, 1915.

[6] MORANDI E BOSELLI, *La peste del 1630 in Piacenza*, Piacenza, 1867.

[7] E. CASA, *La peste bubbonica in Parma, 1630*, in *Arch. stor. per le prov. Parmensi*, IV. (1903).

[8] RASELLI in *Atti d. Emilia*, VII., 1 (1881), 189 *seq.*; VALDRIGHI, *Contagio di peste bubbonica in Formigine*, Modena, 1897.

[9] FR. RONDINELLI, *Relaz. d. contagio stato in Firenze l'a. 1630 e 1633*, Firenze, 1634 and 1714; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 379 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XX. (1897). *Cf.* A. FEROCI, *La peste bubbonica in Pisa*, Pisa, 1892.

[10] *Cf.* MANZONI, *I promessi sposi*, Livorno, 1827 (GALLI shows in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 3rd series, XXX. (1903), that Manzoni

Camillans [1] and the Capuchins [2] specially distinguished themselves in tending the plague-stricken.

In the Papal States Bologna suffered heavily: in many parishes the mortality rose to 25 and in one to 32 per cent. of the population. The Cardinal Legate Spada did everything in his power to alleviate the misery of the population. The final cessation of the scourge was ascribed to the Rosary, a fact recalled to this day by the great Plague Pillar with the statue of the Madonna del Rosario in the Piazza S. Domenico. In November, 1630, the Magistrates commissioned Guido Reni to make a large banner, now preserved in the picture gallery: the upper part shows the Blessed Virgin surrounded by small angels with rosaries, whilst in the lower half we see the seven Patron Saints of the city, the ethereal figure of St. Francis forming the centre of the group. This magnificent piece of work was long carried in the annual procession of thanksgiving.[3]

Rome, where great watchfulness over public health was exercised from the beginning,[4] owed it chiefly to the precautionary measures of Urban VIII. that it was preserved from the

kept pretty close to the narrative of Cardinal F. Borromeo); CANTÙ, *Ragionamento sulla storia Lombarda del sec. XVII.*, Milano, 1832; *idem, Processo orig. degli Untori*, Milano, 1839; RIPAMONTI, *La peste di Milano del 1630*, ed. F. Cusani, Milano, 1841; MANZONI, *Storia della Colonna infame*, Milano, 1840; *Arch. stor. ital. app.*, I., 489 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, V., 749 *seq.*; also MUTINELLI, IV.; F. NOVATI, *Milano prima e dopo la peste del 1630*, in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 3rd series, XXXIX. (1912); *cf. ibid.*, 1923, 388 *seq.*, and LI. (1924). See also BOGNETTI, *Il lazzaretto di Milano e la peste del 1630*, Milano, 1923; BOLLEA, *Untori Piemontesi e Milanesi nella peste di 1630*, in *Bollet. stor. Subalp.*, XXVII. (1925), 198 *seq.*

[1] See the account of S. Camillus de Lelli's life in Vol. XXI., p. 140, note 1. *Cf.* ARATA. *La peste del 1630 in Borgonovo Val Tidone*, in *Boll. stor. Piacent.*, XI. (1919), 5.

[2] See *Katholik*, 1855, II., 517 *seq.*, and V. BONARI, *I conventi ed i Cappuccini Bresciani*, Milano, 1891, 584 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* LOZZI, *Bibl. ital.*, I., 171; BÖHM, *G. Reni*, 96 *seq.*

[4] See **Editti* of 1624–5, *Editti*, V., 61, Papal Secret Archives.

destroying angel, whose work is recalled by Poussin's picture of the Plague in the Louvre. Already in 1629 a special Health Congregation had been set up with Giambattista Spada as its Secretary.[1] The strictest quarantine was enforced, and in 1629 an observation hospital for suspect cases was established at Ancona.[2] In 1630 two hospitals were opened in Rome, one before the Porta del Popolo, the other on Monte Mario[3]: subsequently a third was added near S. Pancrazio, on the Janiculus.[4] But the Pope did not confine himself to applying all the precautions suggested by the physicians, he also had fervent prayers offered for help from above.[5] For the destitute who came from the Campagna, special hospitals were established in the summer, before all the eight city gates.[6] Communications with Bologna[7] were completely interrupted as early as July and with Florence in September,[8] and a strict guard was kept on the coast.[9] A number of precautionary measures in Rome proved extremely useful. With a view to

[1] See **Lettere, istruzioni, bandi ed altre scritture del 1629 e 1630 relat. alla congregaz. della sanità formata per preservare Roma e lo stato eccl. dalla peste che afflisse l'alta Italia, raccolta da Giov. Batt. Spada segret. di Consulta e della congregaz. med. e dedicate al card. Franc. Barberini prefetto specialmente deputato dalla med. congregazione, Barb.*, 5626, Vatican Library, *ibid.*, 5627; 3. *item* for 1631; *item* 5628 for 1632–4; *item* 5629, *Bandi stampati*, 1629–1634. *Cf.* also **Editti*, V., 61, *loc. cit.* The **Istruttione per Gasparre Mattei in Romagna e Marca per la sanità 1630* in *Varia polit.*, 109, p. 209 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[2] MARTINORI, 74.

[3] See *Avvisi of April 17 and 24, 1630, *Urb.*, 1100. Vatican Library. *Cf.* **Disegni di Ospedali e lazzaretti fatti da Carlo Rainaldi architetto d'ordine del sig. card. Barberini in occasione della peste, Barb.*, 4411, Vatican Library. *Cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 405.

[4] See *Avviso of July 27, 1630, *Urb.*, 1100, *loc. cit.*

[5] See *Avvisi of March 20, June 15, July 3, 10, 17, and 24, 1630, *ibid.* *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 148 *seq.*

[6] See *Avviso of July 27, 1630, *loc. cit.*

[7] See *Editti of July 1 and 15, 1630, *Editti*, V., 61, *loc. cit.*

[8] See *Avviso of September 11, 1630, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, IV., 358 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

preventing the poor from falling sick—for they were particularly exposed to infection owing to malnutrition—abundant alms were distributed by special commissaries in every quarter of the city. The commissariat was strengthened, all the streets and canals were cleaned ; so also were the prisons. Particular attention was given to the Ghetto, famous for its filth.[1] In consequence of the plague continuing in Lombardy in the following year, from where it spread to the Romagna and Piedmont,[2] these precautionary measures remained substantially unaltered. It was not until March 24th, 1632, that the Pope was able to sing a solemn High Mass in S. Maria in Aracoeli, in thanksgiving for deliverance from all danger of the plague. An inscription on the façade of the church proclaimed all that the Pontiff had done for the city.[3]

The Papal Government exercised the utmost vigilance so as

[1] *Ibid.*, 370 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Atti d. Romagna*, VIII., 104 *seq.* ; MAZZATINTI, *Archivi d'Italia*, I. (1897), 196 ; R. BERGADANI, *Documenti*, in *Alba Pompeia*, I. (1908), 4 ; G. RODOLFO, *Il combattimento al ponte sul Po il 6 agosto 1630, la pestilenza e la carestia nel 1630 e 1631 a Carignano*, Carmagnola, 1909.

[3] See *NICOLETTI, IV., 382 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* The plague gave rise to many, often very curious suggestions for self-preservation from infection. Of those printed the most noteworthy are, first, the treatises of ALVARIUS CRUCIUS VINCENTIUS : *Providenza metodica per preservarsi dalla imminente peste, Roma*, 1630, and *Consilium prophylacticum a lue pestifera grassante, Romae*, 1631, as well as a pamphlet published by the sanitary authorities in Venice (see on this, *Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 241). The following works have not yet been printed : (1) ANTONE SPONTA, *Trattato della peste e della cura et preservatione d'essa ornato di molti boniss. et optimiss* [!] *rimedii* (dedicated to Urban VIII.), *Barb.*, 4301, Vatican Library; (2) *Antidoton contra pestem in aphorismis iuridicis composit. a Ces. Locatello Romano ad card. Franc. Barberinum, Barb.*, 300 ; (3) LEON. FIORAVANTI, *Epilogo del reggimente della peste*, also dedicated to Cardinal Barberini as the "*sopraintend. gen. d. stato eccl.*", *Barb.*, 4262, *loc. cit.* ; (4) treatises by MOD. BRUNELLI in the Angelica Library, Rome (see NARDUCCI, 544–556).

to preserve the States of the Church from epidemics.[1] In October, 1635, the Conservators resolved to erect a statue to Urban VIII., on the Capitol, for having preserved Rome from pestilence and war, added the Duchy of Urbino to the Papal States, and maintained the security of the State in time of greatest need and peril.[2] In June, 1640, Bernini finished the statue, and on September 29th it was unveiled in the great hall of the palace of the Conservators. Previously a High Mass was sung at S. Maria in Aracoeli, in presence of the whole Senate and at the conclusion of the ceremony, bread was distributed to the people.[3]

Urban VIII. showed great zeal in assuring the grain supply of the Eternal City by prohibiting export, reforming the management of the Annona, and improving agriculture,[4] for at the very beginning of his reign he had been obliged to buy

[1] *Cf. Franc. Lucretii viceprotomedici universalis status eccles.* **Perlustrationes factae a 1632 omnium provinciarum ac civit. s. Sedi Ap. subiect.* (autograph), *Barb.*, 2243, *loc. cit.*; continuation, *ibid.*, 2244 (for 1635), and 2245 (for 1636). An *Avviso of September 15, 1635, records that the "Congregatione di Sanità" ordered the cessation of traffic with the Tyrol on account of the plague (*Urb.*, 1103, Vatican Library). **Editti* of September 10, 1636, and May 8, 1637, arranged new traffic prohibitions with Milan, and one on July 27, 1644, with Spoleto. *Editti*, V., 61, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Borboni, 265. *Cf. Cod.* G. III., 78, p. 217 of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Ibid.*, p. 215b, the *cancellation of the decision of August 28, 1590, not to raise statues to living Popes, dated June 26, 1634.

[3] See Fraschetti, 152; Steinmann, *Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol.*, Rome, 1924, 14 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* De Cupis, 239 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 249. With regard to Urban VIII.'s veto on export, Grupp, in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CXVII., 807, draws attention to the fact that this was customary in almost all States and that Ranke conceals this circumstance in the same way as he omits to say, when discussing the comments of a Venetian in 1627, on the poverty of the peasants and the depression of the cities, that at that time things were no better elsewhere.

wheat in Sicily.[1] In 1640 he established new granaries near the baths of Diocletian and inspected them in person.[2] His biographer is able to bestow on him the eulogy that under him Rome never suffered from a shortage of provisions.[3]

Coats of arms and inscriptions recall what Urban VIII. did for the roads and bridges of the Papal States.[4] At Spoleto he sought to introduce the wool and silk industry [5] and at Viterbo that of wax bleaching.[6] A particularly beneficent institution for Rome which also owed its origin to Urban VIII. was the so-called *Depositeria Urbana* which removed the disadvantages arising from the unregulated mortgage system. In this way the Pope provided for the security of the lenders whilst at the same time he guarded the debtors from injury. The surplus income of the new institution was allocated to the orphanage near S. Euphemia.[7] The Pope was unwearied in his

[1] See the *Brief to *Philippus a Sabaudia Siciliae prorex* of August 20, 1623, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.* II., *Brief to Cardinal Soria of November 9, 1624.

[2] See *Avviso of September 22, 1640, Vatican Library; a medal in MARTINORI, 74; inscription: photograph Moscioni 24505.

[3] See *NICOLETTI in RANKE, III., 163*.

[4] See POLLAK-FREY, 2 *seq.* The arms and motto of the Barberini-Pope are preserved on the Ponte Felice near Borghetto; on the bridge at Tivoli (Anno 24), and on the Via Appia Nuova (1635). The road to Viterbo, which Urban VIII. improved, is mentioned by FR. UBALDINI in his *notes on Urban VIII. (*Barb.*, 4901, p. 5, Vatican Library). On the road to Norcia see CIACONIUS, IV., 516; on the new road to Monte Rotondo, see *Avviso of January 16, 1628, Vatican Library. In a Roman antiquary's shop I saw, in 1909, the following inscription which had come from Orvieto: In honorem | Deiparae Virg. | et s. Phil. Nerii | Urbanus VIII. P.M. | annuente | Cong. orat | viam aperuit | plateam stravit. | A. 1628.

[5] See SANSI, *Saggio di docum. d. Arch. di Spoleto*, Foligno, 1861.

[6] See *NICOLETTI, II., p. 1477, Vatican Library.

[7] See the very scarce treatise by N. M. NICOLAI: *Della Depositeria Urbana*, Roma, 1786, 2 *seq.*

support of the poor and the needy of all classes.[1] In 1643 he erected an orphanage near the church of SS. Quattro Coronati.[2] Numerous ordinances of Urban VIII. dealt with the plague of beggars and tramps[3] and with public immorality[4]; however it was not easy to extirpate these long standing evils in a city to which people flocked from every part of the world.[5]

Public security in Rome was very precarious. The nobles and the ambassadors and even many Cardinals, such as the younger Antonio Barberini and Carlo de Medici, surrounded themselves with armed men and took even ex-bandits into their service. Small wonder that tumults and bloody scuffles

[1] See NOVAES, XV., 80, note. On the regular alms, *cf.* TOTTI, 200; *NICOLETTI, VIII., ch. 15, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf. Bull.*, XV., 232.

[3] See **Editti contra gl'otiosi e vagabondi* of December 19, 1623, *Editti*, V., 66, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* **Editti sopra li Zingari*, of September 24, 1631; **Editto sopra li mendicanti che anderanno mendicando per le chiese, strade e luoghe di Roma*, March 7, 1626; **Editto per gli mendicanti*, August 7, 1627; **Editto di proroga*, from August 26 to September 5, 1627; **Eddito sopra i vagabondi, mendicanti et altri che stanno nelli portici e scali delle chiese*, May 17, 1628 (*Editti*, V., 9, *loc. cit.*). In the Consistory of September 20, 1627 (see **Acta consist., Barb.*, 2986, Vatican Library), the Pope pleaded for alms for the hostel for beggars near Ponte Sisto which he had subsidized with a gift of 2,000 scudi; accordingly Cardinals Bentivoglio and Ludovisi gave abundant alms (*Avviso of September 25, 1627, *Urb.*, 1097, Vatican Library). An *Editto of March 3, 1627 (*loc. cit.*), contains "ordini generali da osservarsi nelli hospedali di Roma per sovvenimento de' poveri ammalati".

[4] *Cf.* **Bando che le donne dishoneste non vaddino in carozza ne portino manto*, of October 18, 1624; **Editto delle meretrici e donne dishoneste et loro fautori e ricettatori*, November 27, 1625 (*Editto*, V., 60, *loc. cit*). An *edict against bathing in the nude in the Tiber, 1637 and 1642, *ibid.*, V., 51.

[5] The number of prostitutes did at least not increase, in fact, it remained almost stationary; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 177.

with the police were of frequent occurrence.[1] The conditions bore a striking resemblance to the wildest periods of the Middle Ages. More than anything, national opposition between Spaniards and Frenchmen, as well as disputes over rank and precedence, gave rise to quarrels and made the task of the Governor of Rome a very thorny one. We get a very striking, and from the point of view of culture, a very interesting picture of conditions in a diary which begins with the entry upon office of Governor Giovanni Battista Spada (January 18th, 1635) and was kept up until his retirement in September, 1643.[2]

The difficulties which this plucky official had to contend with in his efforts to maintain law and order in Rome, are almost past belief. An abiding source of annoyance was the meticulous attention, incomprehensible to a later generation, which that age paid to everything connected with the protocol. The French and Spanish ambassadors had at all times striven for precedence. In addition to this, other disputes of the same kind were the order of the day, as for instance between the ambassadors and the higher officials, especially the Governor, and between the Cardinals and the ancient noble families. At the papal Court, the Master of Ceremonies was a most important personage and he jealously saw to the marks of honour due to the various dignitaries. One curious mark of honour, which was first paid to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Marchese Mattei, and which had established itself since, consisted in

[1] *Cf.* **Discorso sopra il fatto tra li Spagnuoli e sbirri occorso in Roma del 1627*, *Vat.*, 7850, p. 233 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 250; **Relazione di un fatto seguito in Roma nel 1636 tra sbirri e gentiluomini per la carcerazione di Evandro Balata*, Vatican Library. **Relatione del seguito tra Spagnuoli e sbirri in Roma l'a. 1629*, *Cod.* VIII., G. 28, p. 319 *seq.*, of the Liechtenstein Library, Vienna.

[2] **Relatione de' casi e contese gravi con cardinali, ambasciatori et altri principi seguiti in Roma dalli 18 Gennaio 1635 per tutti li 18 Settembre 1643 scritta da Msgr. G. B. Spada Lucchese in detto tempo governatore di Roma*, *Vat.*, 10318. **Relaz. d. conclavi I.*, 1–128, Library of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, Rome. *Cf.* *Barb.*, 4848, 4863, 4975; *Ottob.*, 2710, Vatican Library; EHRLE, *Spada*, 17 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 96 *seq.*

having one's carriage stopped when meeting that of a personage of superior rank.[1] If salutations on the occasion of visits had always been an extremely complicated business, driving in town now became subject to a great deal of formality. The new custom added considerably to the already numerous disputes over questions of precedence. Serious incidents were of no rare occurrence in this connexion. Thus in 1634, on such a point as to which carriage should pass first on the occasion of the usual *corso* on September 1st, a duel was fought by Gregorio Caetani and Carlo Colonna. Caetani was killed and Colonna and five of his followers were wounded. The police came too late on the scene.[2] In the summer of 1637, during Urban VIII.'s grave illness, tumults threatened to arise from similar causes.[3] In the summer of 1642, on the occasion of the arrival in Rome of an envoy of the new King of Portugal, a serious street fight took place near the Piazza Colonna.[4] Already previously to this, the privileges claimed by the foreign ambassadors in Rome had led to some very grave incidents. Starting from the point of view that everything was allowed in their own houses, they tolerated there games of chance which had been forbidden elsewhere. This was done even by the imperial ambassador, Prince Bozzolo, whose residence was the Palazzo Cupis, in the Piazza Navona. On November 22nd, 1636, Urban VIII. forbade all games of chance in all places whatsoever, but the French ambassador, Marshal de Cœuvres, took no notice of the prohibition.[5]

[1] I have been unable to discover the document mentioned by RANKE (III., 42), as being in the Barberini library, but without shelf-mark. *Circa il fermar le carozze per complimento e come s'introdusse in uso.* On the other hand I saw a **Discorso sopra l'abuso di fermar le carozze*, in *Urb.*, 1756, Vatican Library. *Cf. Cod. ital.*, 552, p. 148, of the State Library, Munich.

[2] See REUMONT, III., 2, 619. For a similar dispute between the French and Spanish envoys with regard to precedence of their carriages, in March 1642, see *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV., 183 *seq.* [3] *Cf.* below, p. 401. [4] *Cf.* above, p. 208.

[5] See the **Relazione* of Spada, quoted above, p. 374, note 2, Library of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, Rome.

Besides their palaces, the ambassadors also claimed immunity for the adjoining streets and houses. No prisoners could be marched past their doors. Pretensions of this kind were advanced not only by the representatives of the Great Powers, such as France and Spain, but even by the envoy of little Savoy! The latter had to be satisfied when the Pope roundly told him that he meant to be master in the streets of his own capital.[1] But in 1639 the Great Powers violated this right in flagrant fashion; on that occasion the conduct of the French ambassador nearly led to a rupture between Rome and Paris.[2] The Spanish ambassador, Castel Rodrigo, refused to lag behind his colleagues; on Christmas night, 1639, he had the Prince of Sanza, who was accused of plotting against Spain, seized by a band of hired bandits, in the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte, after which he had the unhappy man executed.[3]

In 1623 the population of Rome numbered 111,727; in 1624 it rose to 113,814; in the jubilee year 1625 to 115,444; in 1626 it reached 116,454 and remained at that level for three years, but in 1629 it sank to 115,549 and kept falling until 1633 when it began once more to rise slowly. In the last year of Urban VIII.'s pontificate Rome counted 110,608 souls.[4] The number of families presents a different picture from that of the population. Here also there is no lack of fluctuation, but it is undeniable that the number of unmarried men who came and went was diminished, whilst that of resident families was on the increase. In 1623 there were 26,854 resident families and 31,758 in 1641.[5]

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., Ch. VI., p. 412.

[3] *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, *Il principe di Sanza*, in the *Riv. Europ.*, XI. (1879), 53 *seq.* See also *Arch. stor. Napolet.*, III, 726 *seq.* The Florentine ambassador wrote on January 14, 1640: "Il Papa e irritatissimo dell'attentato nella sua città e più dell'impotenza di vendicarsi, poiche il processo non approdava nulla" (see ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 221).

[4] See *Studi e docum.*, XII., 177.

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* RANKE, III., 44 *seq.*, where, however, some of the figures are wrongly given.

A survey of the Roman families of the period from the pen of Theodore Ameyden [1] begins with the great nobles, the Colonna, Orsini, Conti, and Savelli as the oldest of them all. These families still lived on their ancient glory but they were heavily in debt and in need of assistance which, in point of fact, Urban VIII. did not withhold.[2] Next to these four noble families stood the Caetani on whom the spirit of Boniface VIII. seemed still to rest; they too had incurred heavy liabilities which Cardinal Luigi strove to pay off. Then came the Cesarini and the Cesi and lastly the Altemps who were related to many Roman families. The old Roman nobility were rivalled by the new papal families: the Bonelli, Boncampagni, Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese, Ludovisi, and Barberini. The Peretti and Aldobrandini were already extinct in the male line; the Borghese and Barberini commanded princely wealth which they constantly increased by their parsimony. Ameyden divides the remaining noble Roman families into three classes, fifty being over 300 years old, thirty-five 200, and sixteen 100 years old. Most of them had risen from modest circumstances. Their ancestors

[1] See *Relatione della citta di Roma* in *Cod.* N., II., 50, p. 246 *seq.*, of the Chigi Library, Rome, used by RANKE, III., 41 *seq.*, who gives no indication of source. A second copy is in *Varia polit.* 150, p. 646 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Date of composition: 1649.

[2] *Cf.* ALV. CONTARINI, 358. The author of the "Relatione" quoted in note 1, says in connexion with Savelli: "È costume di quella casa che le donne di rado o mai escono di casa e uscendo vanno in carozza chiusa et incognite, costume lodevole tratto dal antico Romano . . . Ho osservato che li Conti e Savelli espongono nelle loro case i ritratti degli pontefici delle loro famiglie come trofei della loro nobiltà e nelle case degli Orsini non si vede mai la figura di Niccolò III. ne in quella de' Colonnesi la di Martino V. La ragione sarà che le dette famiglie non possono raccontare tanti pontefici quanto ne raccontano le due prime o vero per mostrare che la grandezza loro non dipende da' Papi." Many details may be found in "La storia delle famiglie Romane di Teodoro Amayden con note di C. A. Bertini, 2 vols., Rome, 1910 and 1914.

had been notaries, apothecaries, and even tanners. Nine families, especially such as came from Genoa and Florence, had won great wealth by carrying out the lucrative financial transactions of the Datoria. Italian families were not the only ones that enriched themselves in this way: Ameyden also mentions Portuguese, French, and Flemish ones.[1] The institution of the *Luoghi di Monti*, especially such as were *vacabili* and represented an annual rent, and the existence of offices that could be purchased, at all times attracted to Rome distinguished families from all parts of Italy.[2]

For the purpose of settling frontier disputes in the Papal States, the population of which was reckoned at one and a half million in 1625,[3] Urban VIII. set up a special Congregation in 1627.[4] Another Congregation busied itself with the regulation of watercourses, especially those of the Po and the Tiber.[5] Giovanni Battista Doni dedicated to Urban VIII.

[1] See *Relatione, loc. cit.* [2] See RANKE, III., 44.

[3] See *Bull.*, XIII., 599 *seq.*; THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III, 579 *seq.*; NICOLETTI, II., 1286 *seq.*, Vatican Library; *Acta congreg. sup. controversiis confinium status eccl. 1627–1643. Vat.*, 8311, *ibid.*

[4] See the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* ambassadors in BAROZZI-BERCHET, Roma, I., 228.

[5] See *"Scritture in materia delle acque dello stato pontif." (reports of the Congregatione delle acque and opinions of experts on the Po and the Tiber, beginning in 1626), *Barb.*, 4346, Vatican Library; "Scritture in materia del Reno alli cardinali della congreg. delle acque" (on Ferrara), *Barb.*, 4301, *ibid.*; dissertation by Livio Maria Paselli on the waters of the Rhine "ad istanze di Msgr. Gasparo Carpegna, secret. d. Congre. delle acque", *Barb.*, 4366; *"Capitoli conchiusi tra la S. Sede e il Gran Duca di Ferrara sopra gli affari delle chiane sotto Urbano VIII.," *Barb.*, 4383, p. 59 *seq.* Floods of the Tiber are mentioned in the *Avviso di Roma of February, 1631, and February 28, 1637 (Vatican Library). Bernini's comedy entitled "*Inondazione del Tevere*" which was acted at the carnival of 1638 at the Barberini palace refers to the latter; see *Chledowski, Rom*, II. (1912), 402 *seq.* For precautionary measures taken, *cf. Ciaconius*, IV., 518; *Armellini, I Papi e il Tevere*, Roma, 1877, 11. *Cf. Bull.*, XIV., 705.

his work on the improvement of sanitary conditions and the colonization of the Roman Campagna; his description of the bands of labourers who year by year came down from the Abruzzi, Umbria, and the Marches, to work in the Campagna, tallies almost exactly with the conditions that obtain to this day.[1] An attempt by Giambattista Sacchetti to carry out the ideas of Doni failed in consequence of malaria carrying off the workers.[2] An improvement was only possible if the marshes were drained. When the mathematician Domenico Castelli presented to Urban VIII. various memorials on the work of draining the Campagna,[3] Benedetto Castelli, a professor at the Roman University, submitted similar plans for the territory of Ferrara and Bologna,[4] together with a scheme for draining the Pontine Marshes.[5] In the spring of 1633 the Pope entrusted the work to a company of Dutch Catholics but their attempts were without permanent results.[6]

[1] I. B. Doni, *De restituenda salubritate agri Romani, Florentiae, 1667* (*Barb.*, 301). *Cf.* De Cupis, 250; Sombart, *Die römische Campagna* (Forschung. by Schmoller, 8), Leipzig, 1888.

[2] See *Arch. Rom.*, XX, 78.

[3] Domenico Castelli, **Trattato della bonificazione dell' acque di Romagna* (dedicated to Urban VIII., with a plan), *Barb.*, 4242, *loc. cit.*

[4] Benedetto Castelli, **Discorso sopra la bonificazione del Bolognese, Ferrarese e Romagnolo, Barb.*, 4267, *loc. cit.*; *id.* "Della misura delle acque correnti" (dedicated to Urban VIII.), *Barb.*, 4392, *loc. cit.*

[5] Benedetto Castelli, **Discorso sopra la bonificazione delle Palude Pontine, Barb.*, 4267, p. 68 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] "Di questa settimana soo partiti di ritorno in Olanda alcuni deputati Olandesi cattolici, dopo haver aggiustato di venire ad habitare con più di 500 famiglie cattoliche della loro natione a Nettuno, Corneto, Ostia et in altri luoghi della spiaggia Romana, dove vogliono seccare alcune paludi con ridurli alla coltura, disegnando venire quanto prima con un numero de' vascelli non solo carichi de' genti, ma anco obligati di fare in questi luoghi altri bonificamenti, che renderanno l'aria piu salutifera, se gli concedano diverse essentioni et altri privilegii della Camera Ap." (Avviso of March 5, 1633, *Ottob.*, 3339, Vatican Library.)

All these measures, especially the military ones, were very costly. To them must be added the expenditure in connexion with the Valtellina [1] and Urbino, and the sums devoted to assisting the German Catholics, especially Maximilian I., to Propaganda,[2] the vast constructions in Rome, and the papal nephews.[3] All this expenditure upset the State finances.[4] At the beginning of Urban VIII.'s pontificate, these were in a bad way; the debt amounted to between sixteen and eighteen millions,[5] and within the first twelve years of his reign Urban added another thirteen millions.[6] In 1635, out of the total revenue of the State, only 600,000 scudi were available for the expenses of administration, and in 1640, when the debt had grown to thirty-five millions, only 300,000 scudi: 85 per cent was swallowed by interest on the public debt.[7]

On this subject see MORONI, IV., 72 *seq.*; *Brom, Archivalia in Italië*, Haag, 1908, 160; ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I, 217 *seq.*; KORTHALS-ALTES, in the *Mededeelingen v. h. Nederl. Hist. Institut.*, 1926, 193 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., p. 92 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 215.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXVIII., p. 45 *seq.*

[4] Urban VIII. confirmed Costanzo Patrizi Tesoriere of his predecessor, in his office. After his death in 1625 the latter was succeeded by Girolamo Vidoni. Vidoni was made a Cardinal on August 20, 1627, when he was replaced by Stefano Durazzo who received the purple on November 28, 1633. Durazzo was followed by Pier Donato Cesi who also became Cardinal on December 16, 1641. His successor, the Genoese Giovanni Battista Lomellini, died soon after. He was followed by Ang. Franc. Rapaccioli, who was replaced by Paolo Emilio Rondinini during the time he spent with the army in the war of Castro. They were both raised to the Sacred College on July 13, 1643, when another Genoese became Tesoriere, viz. Lorenzo Raggi; see MORONI, LXXIV., 301.

[5] R. ZENO (1623), gives (p. 144) the figures of the debt as 15–16 millions; that of 22 millions given by BROSCH (I., 400), is probably exaggerated. P. CONTARINI (1623–7), speaks (p. 202) of a debt of 15 million gold scudi; the *obbedienza* ambassadors (1624–5) say "più di 18 millioni" (p. 230); ANG. CONTARINI (1627–9), says (p. 258): "tra li di nuove e venti millioni."

[6] See ALV. CONTARINI, 361. [7] See NANI, 24. *Cf.* RANKE, III., 10.

The Pope began by looking for relief from a reduction of interest, but not long after he raised a fresh loan which swallowed the revenue thus freed. Most of the money was advanced by Genoese bankers.[1] To meet interest Urban was compelled to impose fresh taxes, however much he shrank from such a course.[2] In the first twelve years of his reign no less than ten taxes are mentioned which he either imposed or increased ; they were all the more onerous as they were put, for the most part, on the indispensable necessaries of life.[3] Further taxation was rendered necessary when, to fill the measure of misfortune, Urban, towards the end of his reign, became involved, through the action of his nephews, in an exceedingly costly war. This struggle was destined to demonstrate in an alarming manner, the inadequateness of all the military measures hitherto taken for the security of the States of the Church.[4] Military organization had certainly been improved, but the troops were untrained and, moreover, the Italians of that time were anything but soldiers ; there was also a lack of capable officers [5] ; above all it became apparent that notwithstanding every effort, a State governed by ecclesiastics cannot be turned into a military Power.

[1] See Brosch, I., 400. On the Monti (see *Bull.*, XIII., 421 *seq.*, XIV., 119 *seq.*, 547 *seq.*), *cf.* Coppi, *Discorso sulle finanze dello stato Pontificio*, Roma, 1855, 15 *seq.* See also Moroni, XL., 156. On Urban VIII.'s coins and medals, see Martinori, *Annali d. Zecca di Roma 1621–1644*, Roma, 1919, 27 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Arch. Lomb.*, IV., 295 *seq.* ; Serafini, *Le monete del Museo Vaticano*, II. (1912), 189 *seq.* On the concession of the Zecca to A. Fr. Farsetti, 1643, see *Raccolta Veneta*, 1 Series I., Venezia, 1866, 47 *seq.* ; A. Telluccini, *Castel S. Angelo e l'officina monet. pontif.*, 1642 *seq.*, in the *Riv. ital. numismat.*, XXV., 3.

[2] Bossi, *La Pasquinata* (1889), 30 *seq.*

[3] See Alv. Contarini, 361 ; Ranke, III., 24. For salt taxes see **Avvisi* of 1625 *passim* ; milling taxes, see Ademollo in the *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, II., 424 *seq.* ; for a rise in the taxation of meat and wine see *Arch. Rom.*, II., 262, note.

[4] *Cf. Descrittione dello stato eccl. al Marchese di Pianezza, Cod.* 1776 of the town library, Trent.

[5] *Cf.* the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* embassy, *loc. cit.*, 230 *seq.*

(2)

With the acquisition of Ferrara under Clement VIII., and of Urbino under Urban VIII., the Papal States had become a compact territory stretching from the Po to the frontiers of Naples. Such a success early roused the jealousy of the Powers. The most hard hit were two States which, for the rest, were in sharp opposition to each other, viz. Venice and Spain. The Republic of St. Mark feared for its trade, Spain for its mastery of Naples where a rising was preparing against the crushing Spanish taxation.[1] But the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Modena and Parma also cast envious eyes on the States of the Church and on the wealth and power of the Barberini. Disputes were also pending with Francesco, Duke of Modena, over the abbeys of Pomposa and Bodeno, whose revenues Cardinal Barberini enjoyed, the refusal of the purple to an Este and the construction of "Forte Urbano" to which the erection of a citadel at Modena was the reply.[2]

Relations with Duke Odoardo Farnese of Parma,[3] the first

[1] *Cf.* G. Pesaro, 231; Alv. Contarini, 358.

[2] See Alv. Contarini, 384.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief of Urban VIII. to him on September 14, 1624: "Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem. Poesim, quam Socraticae sapientiae edicta tamquam mendaciorum parentem et obstetricem vitiorum e republica exulare iusserunt, non temere aliqui introducunt in regum praetoria et ecclesias sanctorum. Si enim modesta quaedam superbia pestiferam lascivorum lusuum utilitatem despexerit, potest cantus suavitate humanas aures pelliciens edere oracula virtutis et angelicos choros imitari. Hanc si in isto aetatis constituta vere Nobilitas tua colet, fructus ex ea colligere poterit tibi iucundos, populis salutares. Medicamenta enim libidinum, quae tamquam fellis amaritiem tenerior aetas solet aversari, in nectaris dulcedinem miscens utile dulci poetice convertit. Adolescentia vero Nobilitatis tuae iucundissimo nutrita pabulo salubrium praeceptorum eas vires concipiet, quibus poterit de cupiditatum impotentia triumphare et gentium salutem tueri. At enim quam tibi cohortationem scribimus, eam in laudes vertere persuadet, quam nuper Nobis dicasti, elegantissima illa

among the feudatories of the Church, also became difficult. That ambitious Prince had taken the part of France against Spain but was disappointed in his hope of obtaining the Duchy of Milan through the intervention of Richelieu.[1] Odoardo never forgave Urban VIII. and Cardinal Barberini their opposition to the dangerous plan with regard to Milan. On account of the abruptness displayed by Cardinal Barberini on that occasion, Odoardo looked on him as a deadly enemy of the House of Farnese.[2] Odoardo was in a position to make the Barberini feel his ill will all the more easily as he owned a small State so to speak at the very gates of Rome. This was the Duchy of Castro and Ronciglione which the Farnese had received in fief from Paul III.[3]

Urban VIII.'s nephews took advantage of the Pope's resentment of this proximity to win him over to a plan of

Ode, quae Pindarici fontis haustus non expalluit. Elucet in ea ingenii vis et industriae labor. Quam tamen Nostrae vitae imaginem affingere ibi pro tua in Nos pietate voluisti, eam longe pulchriorem ostentat carminum tuorum elegantia quam speculum conscientiae Nostrae. Complectimur te paternae caritatis bracchiis, dilecte fili, qui contemnens insanias falsas, tanto studio laboras, ut populis tuis antecellas non minus sapientia quam authoritate. Id est verum principem agere et probare se dignum imperio. Servus enim coronatus ille habendus, qui rerum omnium ignarus et luxu perditus, quamvis latissime dominetur, cogitur tamen alienae prudentiae quasi iustiori principatui semper subiici. Solatium quidem vel maximum fuerit paternae caritatis Nostrae, si iis virtutibus animum instruxeris, ut caeteri principes exemplar curandae felicitatis publicae suscipere possint in Nobilitate tua, cuius vita pontificiarum cognationum soboles, cuius principatus Apostolicae munificentiae beneficium est. Quod Farnesiae domui exoptantes gaudium et decus, benedictionem Nostram Nobilitati tuae peramanter impartimur. Dat. ut supra (September 14, 1624)," *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See *Nicoletti, IX., 6 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Nicoletti, IX., 10, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XI., 316 *seq.*; *Informatione economica d. città di Castro*, by Benedetto Zucchi, 1638, in *Barb.* 4844, Vatican Library.

theirs for getting the Farnese fief into the Barberini family. If possible the thing was to be done by peaceable means.[1] When Duke Odoardo came to Rome on November 21st, 1639, he met with a most honourable reception not only on the part of the Pope but on that also of the Barberini Cardinals who gave splendid banquets in his honour[2]. The Duke was received in audience by the Pope almost every evening when the conversation turned not only on Urban's poems but on political topics also, on the feudal relations of the Duke, the wiping out of his huge debts, the bestowal of the purple on a young Farnese.[3]

From the first, the Duke of Parma displayed the greatest arrogance towards the Roman nobility and the Barberini whom he detested. The latter were made to feel how greatly superior he thought himself, as a Prince of ancient race, to the upstart nephews; in particular he refused to recognize Taddeo Barberini's privileges arising out of his dignity as Prefect of Rome.[4] The differences to which this gave rise were further embittered when Urban VIII. refused to sanction Odoardo's adventurous plan for wresting Naples from the Spaniards.[5] When the project was betrayed to the Spaniards by an Augustinian friar, the Duke at once threw the blame on the Barberini.[6] The latter's offer that he should give up Castro to them in return for a large sum of money and become connected with them through a matrimonial alliance, was scornfully rejected by the Farnese.[7] In vain the Pope sought to mediate: at the farewell audience granted to the Duke, he made a last effort to induce him not to lend ear to evil tongues. Odoardo left Rome on January 22nd, 1640. In order to hurt Cardinal Francesco Barberini as much as possible,

[1] *Cf.* NAVENNE, *Rome et le Palais Farnese*, I., 165; GROTANELLI, *Ducato di Castro*, 73 *seq.*; DEMARIA, 197.

[2] See NAVENNE, I., 172.

[3] See *NICOLETTI, IX., 16, 22 *seq.*, 25, *loc. cit.*; DEMARIA, 198 *seq.*

[4] See *NICOLETTI, IX., 20 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, 29 and 37.

[7] See NAVENNE, I., 174.

he omitted to pay him a farewell visit.[1] To his representative, Carandini, he gave orders to avoid all intercourse with the nephews and when, out of courtesy, Carandini exchanged a few words with the Cardinal, he was at once recalled.[2]

No sooner had the aggrieved Duke reached home than he gave orders for Castro to be put in a state of defence.[3] Such provocative conduct was most imprudent, for the impecunious Prince was only too dependent on the Pope's favour. In virtue of a papal privilege he had raised loans (*monti*) the interest of which was to come out of the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. However, this hope was not realized and soon Rome resounded with the laments of unsatisfied creditors. When Urban VIII. refrained from immediate action, he was reproached with excessive regard for the Duke; Julius II. and Sixtus V., he was told, would have acted very differently.[4] In the end the Pope was compelled to take up the affair and to summon the Duke to pay his debts and to put a stop to his armaments. Odoardo answered his liege lord by strengthening the garrison of Castro and by making further warlike preparations, in order, as he openly declared, to render himself for ever formidable to the Popes.[5]

Thereupon Urban VIII. resolved to act. The Farnese were

[1] See *Nicoletti, IX., 35 *seq.*; Navenne, I., 174; Ranke, III.[8], 18, who refers to the *Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di Duca di Parma* (*Inf. polit.*, XLV., State Library, Berlin).

[2] See *Nicoletti, IX., 37, 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, 36, 55.

[4] *" Sparsa la nuova della rivolta del Duca (fortification of Castro) si udirono maggiori querele del popolo di Roma contro la magnanimità e contro la piacevolezza del Pontefice usata verso il Duca nel suo venire alla corte. Ne mancava chi desiderasse in Papa Urbano il calore di Giulio II. e di Sisto V., e nel card. Barberini l'animo del card. Pietro Aldobrandini in abbassare il Duca, prima che a più alte imprese rivolgesse il pensiero, havendo già alla disubbidienza aggiunto delitto di lesa Maestà." (*Nicoletti, IX., 55.)

[5] " *Per rendersi, com'egli diceva, una volta per sempre formidabile ai Papi." (Nicoletti, IX., 56.)

indebted to a privilege of Paul III. for the fact that the great high road between Rome and Tuscany passed from Monterosi, instead as before from Sutri through Ronciglione, as well as for the free export of grain from Castro. On March 20th, 1640, the road was once more made to pass through Sutri, the lucrative export of grain from Castro forbidden and the permission to raise loans withdrawn.[1]

These measures were a big blow for the heavily indebted Duke. But he did not lose heart for he hoped for help from Richelieu. The French Cardinal's interest in the Farnese encouraged the latter in his resistance.[2] In Castro itself a rumour was already current that a French army was on the way[3]; instead of this, at the beginning of August, the Duke received a papal summons to demobilize his troops within thirty days and to raze the fortifications of Castro. When he refused to comply, he was granted a further delay until September 26th, under threat of severer penalties.[4]

Relying on French help, Odoardo had no intention to

[1] Nicoletti emphasizes the circumstance that the Pope saw himself constrained to take more severe measures in order to uphold his authority: "*Questa dunque (che così curiosamente stata fin hora cercata, e che ha fatto abbagliar tanti scrittori e sciorre tante lingue) fu la cagione, altretanto giusta quanto necessaria, di privare il Duca di Parma de'favori della s. Sede, nell particolare delle tratte de'grani dello stato di Castro, che senz'alcun titolo oneroso egli godeva, e d'intimargli l'estintione de'Monti." This is followed by a detailed account of the historico-judicial aspects of the "tratti de'grani", *ibid.*, 56–9. On April 10, 1641, the Paris nuncio was instructed on the "tratti"; the Camera had cancelled the privilege granted by Clement VIII. on account of abuse; see *ibid.*, 87 *seq.* Chledowski's remark is amusing: "In Rome there was great scarcity & Farnese forbade the export of grain from Castro!"

[2] See *Nicoletti, IX., 63 *seq.*; Demaria, 208.

[3] See *Nicoletti, IX., 65.

[4] *Ibid.*, 66 *seq.* On August 16, 1641, Urban VIII. commanded Lud. Piccardo to visit Castro and to order all the new military measures to be cancelled (*Bull.*, XV., 134 *seq.*).

give way and continued his preparations.[1] Thus war became inevitable.[2] Accordingly, Urban VIII. convened a special

[1] *Nicoletti (IX., 68 *seq.*) gives an account of the deliberations which took place at that time on the basis of a diary of September 28, 1641.

[2] For the "War of Castro" *cf.* for the French side, V. Siri, *Mercurio ovvero historia de'correnti tempi*, III., Casale, 1640 *seq.*, and *Memorie recondite*, Roma, 1676 *seq.* (very prolix and therefore justly criticized by Muratori (*Ann.*)). The Venetian view is represented by Batt. Nani (*cf.* for him F. N. Mocenigo, *B. Nani*, Venezia, 1899), *Historia d. republ. Veneta*, I., 1686); the Tuscan by Galuzzi, *Storia del granducato di Toscana*, VII. (1822), the Papal, by *Nicoletti, IX. (*cf.* app. no. 26). See also *Théâtre europ.*, vol. IV and V. For a description of the conduct of war at that period, which bordered on the comic, see Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. Monmerqué et P. Paris, II. (1862), 241 *seq.* More recent authorities are especially, Reumont, *Beiträge*, V., 141 *seq.*, and *Toskana*, I., 422 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 775 *seq.*; G. Demaria in *Miscell. di storia ital.*, 3rd series, IV. (1898), 193 *seq.*; Corna, *I Frati minori di Piacenza durante l'interdetto di Urbano VIII. nel ducato di Parma e Piacenza* (1643), in *Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, IV. (1901), 4. In *Iani Nicii Erythraei Epistolae ad diversos* (2 vols., Coloniae, 1645–9), the events of the war are described day by day (*cf.* Cerboni, *Giano Nicio Eritreo*, Città di Castello, 1909, 95 *seq.*). See also G. Rosalba, 15 *lettere inedite di F. Testi*, in the *Studi dedic. a Fr. Torraca*, Napoli, 1912. Much that is relevant is still unpublished, thus: Giambatt. Rinalducci, **Dell'una e l'altra guerra di Castro libri*, XII. (from Urban VIII. to Clement IX.), in CCXXIV., *Cod.* 264 of the Marucelliana Library, Florence, and *Barb.* 5060 and 5061, Vatican Library; **Diario della guerra di Castro* (September, 1641 to July, 1644), 3 vols., in the Communal Archives at Orvieto; **Diario dell'a.* 1642 *nel quale principalmente si narrano gli avvenimenti d. guerra di Castro.*, in *Barb.* 4852, *loc. cit.*; **Li progressi dell'esercito Veneto e collegati contro l'armi pontificie nel papato d'Urbano VIII.*, *Cod.* 6190, p. 1 *seq.*, of the State Library at Vienna. *Letters of A. F. Rapaccioli and others to Cardinal Fr. Barberini on the war, 1641–3, in *Barb.* 6091–3, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, 4341, p. 22 *seq.*: **Fortificazioni fatte ai confini nello stato di Ferrara.* A **Libro di casi militari discussi e risoluti da Virgilio Crispoldi da Riete auditore del campo, nelle guerre di P. Urbano*

Congregation and informed it that the Duke owed his creditors in Rome 1,500,000 scudi, that he refused to pay them, was preparing for war and rousing France. Since it was the Pope's right and duty to see to it that so many Roman citizens obtained their rents, it was his intention to seize the mortgage. Warlike measures, which might lead to intervention by the other Italian Powers, seemed too risky to not a few members, but the majority were of opinion that the defiance of the rebellious vassal could not be tolerated and indulgence would be a disastrous precedent; nor was it likely that Tuscany and Venice would assist Farnese; on the contrary, if they showed they were in earnest, the latter would soon yield, but prompt action was essential.[1] This view finally prevailed, though a few expressed the opinion that as small a body of troops as possible should be employed, perhaps about 800 Corsicans, so as not to rouse the jealousy of the other Italian Princes.[2] However, Urban VIII. deemed it safer to make a display of force and Taddeo Barberini was instructed to collect near Viterbo 12,000 infantry and 3,000 horse and artillery, under the command of Marchese Luigi Lante.[3]

A section of these forces took the Castle of Montalto and soon after Castro itself (October 13th, 1641). The expedition, in the success of which Florence had refused to believe, cost only one fatal casualty.[4] But though France urged him to yield,[5] the Duke remained obstinate, hence he was served with a third summons.[6] Venice offered to mediate, but the Pope declared there could be no discussion between an overlord and his vassal.[7] Accordingly the proceedings continued

VIII. in *Cod.* A. VI., 8 of the Communal Library, Foligno; **Relat. dell'esercito di Urbano VIII. contro il Duca di Parma schierato in Città Castellana sotto la condotta del card. Antonio Barberini* in *Ottob.* 2175, p. 69 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, p. 73 *seq.*, **Relatione dell'entrata del Duca di Parma nello stato eccles.*

[1] See *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, 68 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, IX., 69 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] *Ibid.*, 98b. [5] *Ibid.*, 93, 135. [6] *Ibid.* 126.

[7] *"Che ciò si poteva ammettere tra principe e principe, ma non già tra'l supremo e suddito"; neither did he interfere in

their course. On November 26th the Duke's allodial possessions in Roman territory, including the Palazzo Farnese, were sequestrated and ordered to be sold to satisfy his creditors.[1] The action against Odoardo ended, as announced by the Pope in a Consistory of January 13th, 1642, in the obstinately rebellious vassal being excommunicated and in his forfeiting all his fiefs as one guilty of high treason.[2]

Before long the struggle claimed the attention of every chancellery of Europe. The Duke sought to make propaganda in his own favour by means of publications in which the dispute was misrepresented.[3] The Pope was at pains to refute him with circulars addressed to all the nuncios; in these he did not disguise the fact that things had reached such a pass that arms alone could lead to a decision.[4]

the affairs of the subjects of Venice (November 14, 1641). Urban VIII. declared to the Spanish ambassador, "che l'interpositioni de'principi con la S.S. non erano riputate a proposito per la dignità pontificia, ma sariano stato più a proposito col Duca, acciochè facesse il suo debito." (*Nicoletti, IX., 142, 148.)

[1] See Brosch, I., 406; Navenne, I., 176.

[2] *"Modo lata fuit sententia in qua praefatus Oadoardus declaratus fuit excommunicatus et damnatus in penam criminis laesae Maiestatis, devolutionis, privationis et confiscationis omnium feudorum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, locorum et bonorum, eaque fuerunt Camerae Nostrae applicata et incorporata et prout in eadem sententia latius continetur. Haec, quae patere omnibus debent, per Nos in hoc sacro loco Urbis nota esse voluimus uti gesta ad conservandam Sedis Apost. dignitatem" (*Acta consist.*, Urbani VIII., 1630–1643, MS. in my possession).

[3] Farnese published a *Vera e sincera relazione delle ragioni del Duca di Parma contro la presente occupazione del ducato di Castro.* In refutation of this there appeared: *Lettera scritta ad un Signore in risposta del libro stampato sopra le ragioni del seren. Duca di Parma contro la presa di Castro eseguita dall'armi pontificie nell'anno,* 1641, as well as several other pamphlets; see Raimondo di Soragna, *Bibliografia Parmense,* Parma, 1866, 67 *seq.*, and Lottici-Sitti, *Bibl. generale Parmense,* Parma, 1901, No. 1380–1400.

[4] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, IX., 121, 157 *seq.* (Instruction for Facchinetti, February 8th, 1642; for all the nuncios, February 22, 1642.)

The grave problem whether Urban VIII. should also proceed against Parma and Piacenza, was maturely examined in Rome. The elder Cardinal Antonio Barberini was of opinion that it would be enough to dismantle Castro. He dwelt on the danger of intervention in favour of Odoardo by the jealous Italian Powers, more especially by the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena who were kinsmen of his.[1] The State Congregation held similar views, but at the decisive meeting Cardinal Francesco Barberini rose and, turning towards the Pope, declared that since the army had been mobilized it was impossible to keep it indefinitely on a war footing; war was unavoidable for the stake was the safeguarding of the interests of the Holy See. The meeting broke up amid the greatest excitement but soon after all but one expressed their approval, in writing, of the plan of proceeding to extreme measures.[2] The step was a fateful one and one that was bound to fill the Italian Powers with anxiety.

What Cardinal Barberini had deemed impossible now became a reality: Venice decided to send 40,000 scudi to the Duke and Florence 30,000.[3] Richelieu also secretly supplied Odoardo with money [4]; by this means the latter was able to complete his preparations.

In a Consistory of August 11th, 1642, Urban VIII. explained that the threatening attitude of the Duke obliged him to see to the security of the frontiers of Bologna and Ferrara; instead of submitting Odoardo, in contempt of the censures, assisted at divine service and armed actively; accordingly he, the Pope, had made up his mind to compel him by force to submit; he had already informed the Princes of his resolve and he now did the same for the Cardinals. Some members of the Sacred College made private remonstrances on the risks

[1] See *Nicoletti, IX., 167. [2] *Ibid.*, 202 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 247. The elder Venetian Senators were opposed to support being given to the Duke; the younger ones pointed out that it was the Pope's intention to act, even if it were to the detriment of the other Italian States. *Cf. ibid.*, 160, 163.

[4] According to *Nicoletti (IX., 163), Richelieu promised the Duke 30,000 scudi a month. Demaria, 213, No. 3.

of the threatened intervention by the other Powers, but Urban replied that he trusted in the righteousness of his cause.[1]

When France pleaded on behalf of her protégé, the Pope replied that he could not restore Castro after the Duke had scorned the Church's censures and banished the ecclesiastics who observed them; as for the League of Italian Princes with which he was threatened, he trusted he was strong enough to withstand it.[2] Urban assured the Tuscan envoy that he wanted Parma neither for himself nor for his nephews; the Duke was the disturber of the peace and it was wrong to support a rebel against his sovereign.[3] All was in vain; on no account must Urban become still more powerful. On August 31st, 1642, Venice, Tuscany and Modena concluded a defensive alliance which it was left open to Farnese to join.[4] Richelieu had no objection against it, for he hoped, in the capacity of a mediator, to fish in troubled water.[5]

Odoardo sold his jewellery, contracted fresh debts and resolved to start the war on his own account. To the amazement of his friends and heedless of their advice, he undertook, with France's encouragement, the task of recovering Castro.

[1] See *Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession; *Nicoletti, IX., 250; Grottanelli, *Ducato di Castro*, 571, *cf.* Corna, *loc. cit.* (See above, p. 387, n. 7); *Libri commem. di Venezia. Regesti*, VII., Venezia, 1907, 194 *seq.*; Romanin, VII., 335.

[2] *"Uno de'principali motivi che S.S. ha havuto di muoversi è stato il disprezzo che il Duca facea delle censure ecclesiastiche, il mettere sotto sopra tutte le case de'religiosi e l'haver infino levato dalla propria chiesa il suo pastore." Letter to the French nuncio, August 25, 1642, in *Nicoletti, IX., 360. *Cf.* besides *Bull.* XV., 188 *seq.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, IX., 255.

[4] See Lünig, *Cod. ital. dipl.*, II., 1551. On December 6, 1642, Urban VIII. gave Cardinal Barberini full power to bring an action against the Duke of Modena; see *Bull.*, XV., 217 *seq.*

[5] *"Per quanto comprendo, qui non si ha disgusto che la republica di Venezia, il Gran Duca e Modena siano uniti a difesa di Parma e Piacenza, desiderando il Re di mantenersi in qualità di mediatore." Grimaldi's report, September 19, 1642, in *Nicoletti, IX., 318.

On September 10th, 1642, he set out with 3,000 horse and as many infantry but without artillery, to invade the Papal States. Forte Urbano did not delay him ; the 18,000 men of the papal army scattered like chaff. Drawing their swords, Marchese Mattei and Marchese Malvasia, who commanded under Taddeo Barberini, sought in vain to rally the fleeing army. On September 13th Odoardo appeared before Bologna and unfurled the banner of a *Gonfaloniere* of the Church, a dignity which was hereditary in his House. In a letter to the Papal Legate, Cardinal Durazzo, and to the Magistrates of the town, he assured them that he made war only against the Barberini, not against the Pope.[1] Leaving Bologna on one side, he continued his march on the following day in the direction of Imola, when the papal army appeared on his left. He ordered his cavalry to attack at once ; this created such a panic that the Pope's men sought safety in flight. Imola also, in order not to run the risk of pillage, opened its gates without opposition and Odoardo's army marched through without a trace of disorder. Cardinal Franciotti of Imola even called upon the Duke who declared here also that he came not as an enemy, but in order to wrest their prey from the Barberini. At one moment Faenza thought of defending itself, but there also the precedent of Imola was repeated. At Forlì Odoardo had to threaten to burn the city before it would admit him After one day's rest he crossed the Apeninnes to re-enter the Papal States from Tuscan Arezzo. By the end of September Odoardo Farnese was encamped on the shore of Lake Trasimeno. In October he advanced as far as Acquapendente where not even the churches escaped pillage.[2] The irresistible progress of the enemy caused consternation in Rome where people recalled to mind the days of Clement VII. Everybody feared another sack. Many of the inhabitants fled, others hid their belongings or took them into the Leonine City, in the conviction that it would be able to withstand attack.[3] The Pope hastened the construction

[1] See Grottanelli, *Ducato di Castro*, 577.

[2] *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XXXVII., 401 *seq.*

[3] See Cerboni, *G. N. Eritreo*, 95.

of the powerful bastions which began at the Porta Cavallegieri and were intended to protect the crest of the Janiculus as far as the Porta Portese. The work was conceived in accordance with the new science of fortification and advantage was also taken of the terrain.[1] The Pontiff himself took up residence in the Vatican in order that if it became necessary, he might flee into the Castle of St. Angelo. However, Odoardo was no more a statesman than he was a military leader: he lacked the moral courage to carry through his daring undertaking [2]; had he possessed it he would have realized his purpose, for the troops on which the Pope had to rely were worthless. Amusing details are related of the latter's courage. On one occasion, when a cavalry man, having presumed to go too near the enemy, was shot, it was said: "The fool! to have allowed himself to be killed in French fashion"—*Che pazzo! S'è fatto ammazzar alla Francese.*[3] The French envoy, Hugues de Lionne, was negotiating with Cardinal Spada for a compromise by the terms of which Castro would be entrusted to the safe-keeping of the Duke of Modena, under a guaranty of Louis XIII. To this Odoardo was ready to accede but in addition he also insisted on the reimbursement of his heavy expenses.[4] To this the Pope could not assent. At this point Cardinal Antonio Barberini resolved to compel the Duke to beat a retreat. To this end he had recourse to the services of the Frenchman Achille d'Estampes-Valençay, an expert in the art of war. The latter, having collected a considerable

[1] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 55; NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma*, Roma, 1820, 338, 364, 368, 381; ROCCI, *Le piante iconografiche e prospettiche di Roma*, Torino, 1902, P. III., Append.; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 388 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, III., 192 *seq.*; *id.*, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, III., 2, 743, 868; BORGATTI, *Le mura di Roma*, in *Riv. d'Artiglieria*, XVI. (1899), 400 *seq.*

[2] Opinion of BROSCH (I., 407).

[3] See REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 149. *Cf.* also CERBONI, 95 *seq.*

[4] See DEMARIA, 215 *seq.* For a critique of VALFREY'S book: *Hugues de Lionne, ses ambassades en Italie* 1642–1656, Paris, 1877, *cf.* ADEMOLLO, in the *Rassegna settiman.*, 1878, no. 19, p. 356 *seq.*

force, constrained Farnese, whose troops were beginning to desert at the approach of the cold season, to break up his camp at Acquapendente and to consent to negotiations. Owing to the fact that the Duke of Tuscany gave him no support, Odoardo's position grew steadily worse. Fresh negotiations for an accommodation which were conducted at Castel Giorgio, near Orvieto, were foiled by the intrigues of Lionne. The aim of that astute negotiator was either to drive the Pope completely into the arms of France or to kindle a general war of the allies against the Holy See.[1] Accordingly when Rome began to prepare for resistance, the French Government laid all the blame on the Pope.

The Paris nuncio, Girolamo Grimaldi, found himself in a difficult situation. The King heaped reproaches on him and on one occasion he roundly told him that he knew very well that Rome wished to enter into an alliance with Spain and was ill-disposed towards France.[2] Relations between Urban VIII. and the Bishop of Lamego became so strained that the French ambassador, Fontenay, left Rome on December 18th, 1642.[3] Louis XIII. endeavoured to justify this step in a conversation with the nuncio in the course of which he complained bitterly of the Pope's attitude towards Mazarin, Lamego and Odoardo Farnese. The nuncio replied that His Majesty forgot the injury done to the Pope in consequence of his having been given the reputation of partiality towards France. The King retorted that the injury he himself had suffered was far greater; he had recalled Fontenay from Rome because he could do

[1] This has been proved by DEMARIA (217 *seq.*).

[2] See *NICOLETTI, IX., 378. Cardinal Barberini answered the nuncio: *"È ben vero che secondo le bravate dell'ambasciatore di Francia e del sig. di Lione se e pensato di trovar modo a poterci buttar dall'altra parte parendo strano il modo tenuto da N.S. in tanti anni di pontificato senza riguardo di continui dispiaceri de' Spagnuoli." Barberini continues "My House is the first which for hundreds of years has never accepted a single 'giulio' from Spain". Letter of January 1, 1643, in *NICOLETTI, IX., 381-6.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 206.

nothing there ; Rome did everything to oblige the Spaniards whereas he himself was badly treated.[1]

There can be no doubt that France was working not for an agreement but for the continuation of a war by which Spain was prevented from levying troops in Italy, and which presented a possibility of mobilizing the Italian Powers against Milan. With this end in view Mazarin took the part of Odoardo Farnese from whom he promised himself more than from Rome. In March, 1642, Fontenay returned to Rome seemingly in order to work for the re-establishment of peace, but in reality to fan the flames of war.[2] Now as before Urban VIII. insisted on Odoardo Farnese seeking absolution from his censures, abandoning his claims to Castro and Montalto and satisfying his creditors. For the rest Cardinal Barberini informed Mazarin that if France wished to mediate, she must make haste for the season was already far advanced.[3] As a matter of fact in the spring of 1643 the league resumed the war with increased forces.[4] Fortunately for the Pope there was a lack of unity among the confederates, as so often happens in coalitions.[5] Odoardo felt hurt because he was not given the supreme command ; accordingly he resolved to act on his own, but his attempt to surprise Montalto failed. The Barberini entered into fresh negotiations with Tuscany. The Grand Duke was prepared to leave the league, provided the Pope gave the purple to his brother and granted certain concessions to himself in the ecclesiastico-political sphere. When Urban VIII. declined such bartering, the Grand Duke broke off the negotiations.[6] On May 26th, Tuscany, Venice and Modena concluded a new treaty by the terms of which two armies were to march simultaneously into the States of the Church, one from Venetian territory into the Romagna, the other from Tuscany.[7] The pretext for their action was the

[1] See *Nicoletti, IX., 387 *seq.*

[2] See Demaria, 223 *seq.*

[3] See *Nicoletti, IX., 460, 466.

[4] See *Libri commen.*, VII., 196.

[5] *Cf.* Nicoletti, IX., 501 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Demaria, 227.

[7] *Cf.* Lünig, *Cod. ital. dipl.*, II., 2039, *Nicoletti (IX., 510, reports : " In Roma giunse quasi improvisa la nuova di tal

re-establishment of peace in Italy which, it was alleged, had been troubled by the Barberini [1]; in reality everybody pursued his own particular ends and the Duke of Modena in particular cherished the hope of securing Ferrara for himself.[2] On May 29th the Florentine envoy, Niccolini, left Rome without taking leave of the Pope,[3] thereby provoking yet another panic.[4] In June the war broke out anew [5]; however, Odoardo Farnese, who had penetrated into the territory of Ferrara and occupied the important positions of Bodeno and Stellata on the Po, would not hear of a joint action. Venice and the Duke of Modena also acted on their own account. This enabled Marchese Mattei, who commanded under the Cardinal Legate, to enter the territory of Modena and to lay siege to the fortress of Nonantola. However, Raimondo Montecuccoli, who was to become famous at a later date, hastened to its relief and defeated the papal troops. This enabled Duke Francesco of Modena to advance against Bologna, but the danger which threatened that town was averted when the Pope's men succeeded in taking the fort near Lagoscuro in consequence of which the Venetians recalled their troops and Duke Francesco saw himself compelled to retreat.[6]

unione, poichè, sebene vi era penetrata qualche sospizione, tuttavia per le relationi delli due Nunzii di Venetia e di Firenza si credeva che quei principi non sarebbono mai venuti a tal deliberatione tanto più che per la morte del cardinale Richelieu, che si teneva fomentatore del Duca di Parma, era succeduto il cardinale Mazzarini nell'autorità di quello, e questi era Romano, promosso alla purpura da Papa Urbano et intrinseco del cardinale Antonio."

[1] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, IX., 515.

[2] See Pallavicini, *Alessandro VII.*, vol. I., 118.

[3] See Grottanelli, *Ducato di Castro*, 585.

[4] See Cerboni, 96.

[5] The Papal *Commissio auditori Camerae procedendi contra rempubl. Venetam, magnum ducem Hetruriae ac Mutinae et olim Parmae duces nonnullarum terrarum S. Apost. Sedis invasores*, June 26, 1643, in *Bull.*, XV., 273 *seq.*

[6] See Muratori, *Annali, ad* 1643; Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 425 *seq.*

The Tuscan troops had better luck at first; they advanced victoriously into Umbria,[1] but their successes also were neutralized by the lack of unity among the other confederates. This enabled Cardinal Antonio Barberini to stem the advance of the Tuscan troops. The attack on Pistoia, which the Cardinal caused De Valençay to undertake on October 2nd, 1643, failed,[2] and in consequence of the repulse of an advance by the Pope's soldiers against Pitigliano from Castro, the Tuscan troops were at least able to maintain their positions. Odoardo Farnese, for whose sake the whole war was being fought, remained inactive on the Po whilst these events were taking place.[3] All the participants grew increasingly weary of a war which, though not a bloody one, proved exceedingly costly.

The conduct of France sufficiently accounts for the fact that, notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Viceroy of Naples, Cardinal Barberini kept looking towards Spain; but from Madrid there only came fair words.[4] Yet somehow an end had to be put to the struggle,[5] for Urban VIII.'s resources threatened to give out altogether though he had imposed fresh taxes; in September, 1642, he had even gone so far as to take 500,000 scudi out of the treasure of Castel S. Angelo and by an ordinance of June 16th, 1643, he had commandeered all the silver objects in Rome in return for promissory notes.[6]

[1] *Cf.* GROTTANELLI, *Ducato di Castro*, 795 *seq.*

[2] PIETRO BRACALI, *Relazione dell'assalto e della battaglia dell'esercito de'Barberini contro la città di Pistoia nel giorno due ottobre del* 1643, Pistoia, 1896. This pamphlet, of which only a few copies were printed, was written in honour of the Sanesi-Crocini marriage and is rich in interesting items about the Castro war; its author is Niccolò de'Cancellieri of Pistoia, who addressed it to Pier Colonna, at Pistoia.

[3] See REUMONT, *Toskana*, 8, 426 *seq.*

[4] See *NICOLETTI, IX., 620 *seq.*, 682.

[5] On August 21, 1643, Urban VIII. gave Cardinal Donghi full authority to begin peace pourparlers with Venice and her allies; see *Bull.*, XV., 278.

[6] According to *NICOLETTI (IX, 688), Raggi overcame Urban VIII.'s opposition to touching the treasure of St. Angelo. All the Cardinals at the Consistory of September 22, 1642, voted in

Moreover, since the death of the aged Pontiff was only a matter of time, a settlement could not be further delayed. It came about through French intervention. Louis XIII. had died on May 13th, 1643, and Mazarin had the re-establishment of peace in Italy very much at heart. His representative, Cardinal Alessandro Bichi, who repaired to Venice at the end of 1643, displayed feverish activity.[1]

Bichi's eloquence and Venice's threats ended by inducing Farnese to yield. Rome was in a ferment and loud laments resounded throughout the Papal States. Many accusations were heard to the effect that the Barberini were deriving personal profit from the sums spent on the war.[2] When in the middle of March, 1644, the Venetians defeated the Papal army at Ponte Lagoscuro, on the Po, not far from Ferrara, and Cardinal Antonio Barberini narrowly escaped being made a prisoner,[3] the need of haste was realized. On March 31st, 1644, peace was signed at Venice between the Pope, the Republic of Venice, Tuscany and Modena respectively and on the same day also between the Pope and the Duke of Parma. Urban VIII. saw himself compelled to grant Odoardo Farnese's request for absolution from his censures and to surrender Castro and all the other confiscated property. On his part Odoardo bound himself to surrender his conquests and everything was to be restored to its former condition. France guaranteed the agreement.[4]

favour of 500,000 scudi being borrowed from it (*Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession). The "Chirografo" of June 16, 1643, is in MARTINORI, 103 *seq.*

[1] See *NICOLETTI, IX., 692 *seq.*, 703 *seq.*; DEMARIA, 230 *seq.*; GROTTANELLI, *Ducato di Castro*, 797 *seq.*, who used an account of the negotiations written by Bichi, in the Bichi-Ruspoli archives at Siena. An "Ode" by Fulvio Testi to Cardinal Bichi on the conclusion of the peace of 1644 is in *Barb.* 3888, p. 75 *seq.*, Vatican Library. [2] See NICOLETTI, IX., 716 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* BALAN, VI., 778; DEMARIA, 232.

[4] See DUMONT, *Corps dipl.*, VI., 1, 297 *seq.*; THEINER, *Cod. dipl.*, III., 583 *seq.*; ROMANIN, VII., 339; CARABELLI, *Dei Farnesi e del ducato di Castro e di Ronciglione*, Firenze, 1865, 159. The appointment of plenipotentiaries "ad recipienda loca

Thus ended the war of Castro which cost little blood but a vast amount of money, benefited nobody and inflicted grievous injury on all concerned.[1] Perhaps the Pope was the hardest hit. In his fairest provinces, viz. Umbria, part of the Romagna and the territory of Ferrara, large tracts of territory lay devastated, his finances were completely exhausted and his subjects burdened with further heavy taxation.[2] The total expenditure amounted to over 12,000,000 gold scudi.[3] But far worse was the moral damage: a rebellious vassal in conjunction with the Italian Powers had defeated the ruler of the States of the Church and inflicted a most grievous humiliation on his nephews. The Berlin Museum preserves the portrait of a corpulent military captain (so far the name has not been ascertained) proudly trampling on a banner bearing the coat of arms of the Barberini.[4] Urban VIII., who professed great admiration for Countess Matilda, found it all

status eccles. occupata occasione nuperi belli", April 6, 1644, is in *Bull.*, XV., 309 *seq.* In the consistory of May 2, 1644, the Pope said: "Capitulationes initas inter partes, quia vobis innotuerunt, referre omittimus. Gratiae omnipotenti Deo actae sunt, reliquum est, ut negotii executionem curemus, prout diligenter et attente curabimus" (*Acta consist.*, MS. in my possession).

[1] See RICCIUS, *Rer. ital. sui temporis narrationes, Narr. XIX.*, p. 590; REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 428.

[2] See CALISSE, 456 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Veneti* (1884), 77; ADEMOLLO, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, II, 426 *seq.*; CERBONI, 26. *Cf.* * "Nota dell'impositioni messe dalla s. mem. di Urbano VIII. nel tempo della guerra passata e prima" in *Cod.* H. II., 40, p. 1, Chigi Library.

[3] See BAROZZI-BERCHET, Roma, II., 53, * "Spese per la guerra contro Parma et la lega da 22 settembre 1642 per tutto luglio 1644 in Roma solamente: sei milioni centocinque mila seicento diciotto scudi" (*Ottob.* 2435, p. 256 *seq.*, Vatican Library). The **Conti di Msgr. Scotti, vesc. di Borgo S. Donino, già governatore della Marca, in tempo della guerra* 1642–3, is in *cat.* 414, p. 44, of K. W. Hiersemann of Leipzig, 1913.

[4] The portrait acquired in 1873 in Florence, supposedly by Ribera, was subsequently ascribed to Velasques, though certainly

the more difficult to recover from this heavy blow, which had shown up before the eyes of the whole world, both the weakness of the States of the Church and the futility of so costly a display of military force. So imbued was he with the memories of the splendour of the Papal States in the Middle Ages that in 1635 he dropped the remark that he would rather lose his life than abandon the rights of the Holy See.[1] Small wonder then that he survived this peace by only four months. During that time Bichi had to remove the manifold and great difficulties which barred the way to the execution of the agreement.[2] When, on July 18th, 1644, Odoardo Farnese

quite wrongly; then to Pietro da Cortona and to others and finally, by Hedberg, to Peter Franchoys of Malines (see *Kunstchronik*, XVIII., 493). Voss (*Monatshefte für Kunstwiss.*, III. (1910), 18 *seq.*: "*Wer ist der Meister des sog. Alessandro dal Borro?*") is inclined to ascribe the picture to Sacchi (*cf.* also Voss, *Malerei des Barock*, 531), but Posse (*Sacchi*, 4, n. 2) is decisively against this attribution. It is nevertheless ascribed to Sacchi by U. Oietti (*Il ritratto ital. dal Caravaggio al Tiepolo*, Bergamo, 1928, 9 and table 16). It is a mistake to identify the personage of the portrait with Alessandro dal Borro of Arezzo, who was indeed an opponent of Urban VIII., but an authentic portrait of him in the municipal buildings of Arezzo shows different features and a slim figure. *Cf.* W. Bombe in *L'Arte*, XII., 374 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* a conversation which throws extraordinary light on Urban VIII.'s character which the Pope had in July, 1635, with Fulvio Testi whose account has been published by Negri (180 *seq.*).

[2] In addition to Grottanelli, *Ducato di Castro*, 807, *cf.* especially the full account in Nicoletti, IX., 730 *seq.* *Ibid.*, details about Malatesta Albani's mission to Mazarin (751–9): * "Circa poi di me potrà assicurare S. Emza, che conducendosi ad effetto questo affare, io di buonissima e prontissima volontà, cedendo a quello che non mai pensai di fare, cioè di accettar già mai il particolar servitio di una delle corone, dopo la vita di S.B. accetterò il servire alla Francia publicamente, et in quei modi, che siano leciti ad un card. italiano, et al medesimo s. card. Antonio, sia con ritenere entrate ecclesiastiche, o altra conveniente dimostratione. Et intanto non lascerò di servire nei particolari

once more took possession of Castro, his supreme feudal lord lay on his death-bed.

Urban VIII. possessed an iron constitution and neither the enormous burden of affairs nor the many commotions which occurred during his reign, were able to injure his health. In 1635 Alvise Contarini stated that, though the Pope was 69 years old, he was free from any disease and perfectly fit in mind and body.[1] Urban VIII. had indeed been seriously ill on two occasions, the first time in consequence of an outbreak of malaria during the conclave, and again in the summer of 1639 when his death seemed imminent.[2] But he made so complete a recovery that even the Spaniards had to reconcile themselves to a considerable prolongation of his pontificate. In February, 1639, Urban told Cardinal Corner that he felt the weight of his seventy years, though on the whole he was quite well.[3] The new Venetian envoy, Nani, also found the

e nel modo che sarà conveniente al carico et al ministerio, che esercito appresso S.B." Mazarin insisted on a written promise by Barberini that after the Pope's death he would enter into the service of France and concluded with the words "che all'hora era tempo, che S.S. procurasse di ricuperar il regno di Napoli, perchè da Francia gli si mandarebbe un armata navale da poter sbarcare 6,000 combattanti" (NICOLETTI, *loc. cit.*, 736). Barberini declared his readiness to give "scrittura secreta ad esser del partito francese", and commended Albani for having refused to agree with the proposal in respect of Naples. Mazarin had Barberini advised to try to detach the Duke of Tuscany from the league. In subsequent discussions Albani demanded that the King should give a written guarantee that in the event of Spain depriving Barberini of his revenues, he would grant him similar ones at once, either in France or in Italy. (Nicoletti, *loc. cit.*, 770–785). At that moment Urban VIII. died.

[1] ALV. CONTARINI, 366.

[2] *Lettres de Richelieu*, IV., 42 *seq.*, *ibid.*, 289: Bagno as Richelieu's candidate for the tiara. On the Pope's illness *cf.* above p. 192.

[3] *Letter of Cardinal Corner to the Senate, dated Rome, February 12, 1639. Of the Pope the Cardinal says: "Quanto al suo stato di sanità, io l'ho trovato nell'aspetto invecchiato,

Pope very active.[1] In 1642 a Portuguese astrologer promised him another nine years [2] but this prophecy was not to be fulfilled. In all probability the excitement of the war of Castro hastened Urban VIII.'s death. In the spring of 1644 a Mantuan envoy wrote that though the strong physique of the seventy-six years old man was weakened, his mental vigour remained unimpaired, as could be seen by the promptness of his replies and his undiminished flow of words. However, as much as possible Cardinal Francesco only brought to his notice such affairs as did not trouble his tranquillity; moreover, after a pontificate of twenty years, a thing that had not occurred since Paul III., the Romans were eager for a change.[3] This wish was to be fulfilled sooner than was expected. In June, 1644, such a diminution of strength was witnessed in the Pope that the worst was to be feared. Cardinal Francesco Barberini kept the real condition of the patient secret as long as possible and only when the physician gave him up did he summon Cardinal Antonio Barberini from Ferrara.[4]

incurvato et magrito, ma quanto alla sua vivacità, discorso et spiriti, non mi pare che habbia fatto gran mutatione." State Archives, Venice.

[1] Nani, 35.

[2] See Ademollo, *Indipendenza Portoghese*, 36.

[3] G. B. Tarabucci, **Stato della corte di Roma nel* 1643, dated Mantua, May 20, 1643, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *" Era già vicino a cominciar il ventesimo secondo anno del pontificato, quando negli ultimi giorni di giugno del 1644 si vide in maniera languido e destituto di forze e di vigore, che fu creduto dalla corte di Roma, che poco gli rimanesse di vita; anzi si divulgò sempre più, che stassi ogni giorno quasi moribondo. Il cardinale Barberini usò tutte le diligenze possibili per tener segreta l'infermità, et in se stesso manteneva la solita et imperturbata franchezza, et il medesimo tenore nel trattare, facendo anche spesso uscir voci da Palazzo, che il Papa andava migliorando, et che fra pochi giorni farebbe il concistorio e crearebbe i cardinali. Quanto poi alla cura del Papa procurò, che fosse esattissima, e che le stanze del pontifice si tenessero ben chiuse, acciochè tolti i suoi più confidenti, niuno potesse penetrare lo stato della vita di S.S. Et in questo particolare fu Urbano in

In view of the fact that there were eight vacancies in the Sacred College just then, Cardinal Barberini sought to induce the Pope to make a last nomination; but Urban VIII. would not hear of it. On the other hand, though mortally stricken, he thought of holding a consistory, because seventeen nominations of Bishops had to be proclaimed and the ceremony of the "closing of the mouth" had not yet been carried out for Cardinal Grimaldi. The Pope clung to his resolution, notwithstanding Cardinal Barberini's advice to the contrary, nor would he listen to the request made in the name of the City of Rome by Monsignor Roscioli, that he would not endanger his precious life. On July 1st, 1644, notwithstanding the great heat, Urban held the consistory as planned; at its conclusion he was taken back to his rooms in an exhausted condition. On the next day the Pope sent for several outstanding theologians, among them Cardinal Lugo, from whom he could expect a candid opinion. He submitted to them a list of all the benefices bestowed on the Barberini family, begging them to examine whether in granting them he had exceeded his powers, for if that were the case, it was his intention to revoke whatever he had illegally conferred on his nephews. The theologians calmed the Pope's conscience, with what arguments cannot be ascertained.[1]

Repeatedly the sick Pontiff gave utterance to his grief over the attitude of the Italian Princes in the war of Castro and the fact that the Barberini were not included in the peace. However, Cardinal Francesco attached no particular importance to this circumstance; on the other hand he would have liked to see his party reinforced by a fresh nomination, but all his efforts were in vain. Even when Cardinal Lugo drew

tutto il tempo del suo pontificato assai ben servito da suoi servitori e familiari, riuscendo pieni di fede, di segretezza e di amore verso la sua persona, onde furono anche largemente rimunerati e ben provisti dal loro benignissimo e liberalissimo principe" (NICOLETTI, VIII., c. 15, p. 751). The details that follow have been published by RANKE (III., 159*–162*).

[1] Nicoletti (in RANKE, III., 160*) only reports what was rumoured.

his attention to the fact that several Cardinals had died since the last nomination, so that the publication of those at least who remained *in petto* was desirable, Urban refused to listen to him: this action was deemed praiseworthy.[1] Urban's remark in the course of his illness, to the *Tesoriere* Lorenzo Raggi, throws light on the dispositions of the Pontiff: he only wished to live for another two months, he said, in order to do penance for his sins, to complete the treasure of S. Angelo which had been grievously affected by the war and to see Rome secured against all attacks by the completion of the ring of walls round the Borgo and the Trastevere.[2] His wish was not granted. On July 23rd the Pope's weakness was such that his death was hourly expected.[3] On the morning of July 29th, 1644, after devoutly receiving the Sacraments, Urban VIII. expired at the age of 76, having preserved all the vigour of his mind to the last.[4]

[1] *Cf.* A. Marchesan, *Lettere di O. Rinaldi*, Treviso, 1896, 21. According to this information those reserved *in petto* were Casimir, the brother of the King of Poland, G. B. Spada, *segretario de'brevi de'principi e confidentissimo del s. card. Barberini*, the nuncio in Venice, Vitelli, and the *Tesoriere* Lorenzo Raggi.

[2] Nicoletti in Ranke, III., 163*.

[3] See Fed. Savelli's *report to Ferdinand III., dated July 23, 1644, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* **Avviso* of July 30, 1644 (Vatican Library) in Appendix XXII.; Marchesan, *loc. cit.*; Coville, *Mazarin*, I., n. 1. Nicoletti (*loc. cit.*) reports that "when someone suggested to the dying Pontiff the words of the Gospel: 'Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori,' the latter replied: 'Deus propitius esto mihi maximo peccatori.'" Cardinal Barberini was not present, "et alcuni pensarono, che ciò facesse per non gli aggiunger dolori; altri, per non esser veduto dolersi; et altri credettero più tosto che ciò facesse per liberarsi da pericoli d'imputationi di haver formati Brevi surrettitie per interesse della sua casa." The post-mortem revealed healthy viscera, an extraordinarily small heart, like that of a child, and gravel in the "borsa del fiale". *Cf.* also Cassiano del Pozzo's notes in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV., 185. A. Sacchi painted part of the decorations for Urban VIII.s catafalque in St. Peter's; see Posse, *Sacchi*, 11.

The love of the Romans for satire is well known, as testified by two world-famed antique marble statues. If already during the war of Castro there had been no dearth of biting satires,[1] now that Urban VIII. was dead, the Romans could not do enough to castigate in pitiless fashion the Pope's weakness for his nephews and to vilify the dead man in every conceivable way.[2] It was natural that the poisoned arrows aimed at the fiscal oppression, which had become heavier still in consequence of the war of Castro, met with most

[1] See FERRANTE PALLAVICINO, *Baccinata overo Battarella per le api Barberine in occasione della mossa delle armi di N.S. Papa Urbano ottavo contra Parma, all'illustriss. e reverendiss. Monsignor Vitellio Nunzio di Sua Santità in Venetia, nella Stamperia di Pasquino a spese di Marforio* 1642. Against this there appeared: *L'Antibaccinata overo apologia per la mossa delle armi di N.S. Papa Urbano ottavo contra Parma di Leopardo Leopardi Romano, Macerata* (without date). Both publications are very scarce; the former is found in MS. in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, *Cod.* L. 20, as well as "**Franc. card. Barberini somnium ad nepotes suos et alios Parthenio Vasario Graeco authore*". On the *Baccinata* and other pamphlets against the Barberini, *cf.* the *Letter of Alex. Ficher, S.J., in *Barb.* 6027, p. 72, Vatican Library. The *Baccinata* also appeared in a French translation: *La Bassinade c'est à dire bastement de Bassina pour les abeilles Barberini à l'occasion de ce que le Pape Urbain VIII. a prins les armes contre le Duc de Parma*, s.l. et a. (Copy in the State Library, Munich.) Ferrante Pallavicino also wrote: *Il divortio celeste cagionato dalle dissolutezze della sposa Romana. Villafranca* 1643. But there also appeared bitter satires against Odoardo Farnese (*cf.* FRATI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XXXVII., 394 *seq.*) one of which begins as follows:—

Dove avete il cervello, o signor Duca?
Credete aver il Papa capellano?
Non andate a scherzar col sacristano
Che vi sepellirà dentro una buca.

A poem by G. GANDIOSI: *Il pianto d'Italia* is discussed by CIMEGOTTO in *Riv. Abruzzese*, XIV., 3–4.

[2] Ameyden declared that a whole volume could be filled with the satires then current; see *Arch. Rom.*, II., 260, note. *Cf.* FRASCHETTI, 157. A number of satirical *poems of this kind are

applause on the part of the populace. One satirical poem, which derides all these taxes, concludes with the following statement: "Urban VIII. and his nephews have done greater injury to my beautiful Rome than either Goths or Vandals."[1] This was an extravagant assertion.[2] Assuredly the unwarrantable influence and the immense enrichment of the Barberini, are the worst stain on Urban VIII.'s reign of nearly twenty-one years, as he himself felt; but this blame, which is justified, must not make us forget how well he deserved of the Church as Pope, or what he did to further literature and art, to the great material advantage of the Eternal City. Even a Venetian, Giambattista Nani, gave it as his opinion that had

in *Inf. polit.*, XXXIX., 428 *seq.*, 431 *seq.*, State Library, Berlin, among them two epitaphs, one of which begins thus:

PAUCA HAEC URBANI SINT VERBA INCISA SEPULCRO:
QUAM BENE PAVIT APES, TAM MALE PAVIT OVES.

Ibid., 428 *seq.*, a satirical *poem against Urban VIII. complaining chiefly about taxation, with the refrain: *O Papa Gabella.* The 15th strophe runs thus:—

Han fatto più danno
Urbano e nepoti
Che Vandali e Gothi
A Roma mia bella—O Papa Gabella.

A collection of *satires against Urban VIII. is also found in *Cod.* 278 of the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Further *satires are in the *Bibl. Communale* of Ancona and in *Cod.* 10806 of the British Museum. A most venomous *satire entitled *Giuco di primiera* is in the town library of Frankfort, II., 42 (in folio), no. 12. Satires against the Barberini in *Vat.* 7098, p. 280 *seq.*, Vatican Library. The sarcastic remark at the expense of his nephews which is often put in the mouth of Urban VIII. (see MORONI, IV., 113), and which Gigli has preserved, is probably one of these satires; see also ADRIAN, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*, Frankfort, 1846, 318 *seq.* GROTANELLI, *Ducato di Castro*, 816 *seq.*

[1] See preceding note.

[2] Even Ameyden comments thus on the contemporary satires: Partim probanda, quia vera referant, partim improbanda, quia falsa et calumniosa (*Arch. Rom.*, II., 260, n. 1).

he been less weak towards his relatives, Urban VIII., by reason of the purity of his life, his learning and political wisdom, would have ranked among the greatest Princes of his time.[1]

[1] *Cf.* NANI, *Hist. Venet.*, II., 8.

CHAPTER VI.

Urban VIII. as Patron of Literature and Art—Rome a Baroque City.

(1)

If all the Popes of the Catholic Restoration were keenly interested in the advancement of learning, it was particularly so with Urban VIII. who stood in the very centre of the learned and artistic life of his time and personally entered into it with his poetical compositions.

Love of poetry was a tradition in the Pope's family, seeing that among his forbears there was one Francesco da Barberino,[1] a contemporary of Dante, to whom a monument has recently been erected in the family's place of origin. Urban VIII. preserved Francesco's moral and philosophical poems, written in pure Tuscan, as a precious heirloom, in the library of the family palace. In 1640 he had the joy to see them published by Francesco Ubaldini. He began to compose Latin and Italian poems in his early youth and some Greek verses of his have also been preserved. With great mastery of form he knew how to express brilliant thoughts in the metre of his favourite poets, Horace and Catullus. The Barberini library preserves Maffeo's earliest poems written in Italian.[2] They date from the eighties of the sixteenth century and owe their production to the influence of Aurelio Orsi, a poet in the service of the Farnese, to whose criticism Maffeo willingly submitted.[3] At that time the thought of

[1] *Cf.* Mazzuchelli, II., 1, 25 *seq.*; Tiraboschi, VIII., Napoli, 1781, 402 *seq.*

[2] Thirteen *sonnets in all have remained unnoticed up till now. *Barb.* 4009, pp. 1 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] See Maffeo's *autograph letters from Rome to Aurelio Orsi at Caprarola, of the years 1585 to 1589, *ibid.*, p. 17 *seq.*

becoming a priest had not yet taken shape in his mind, hence it is not surprising to find several love poems among them [1]; but in course of time he turned from profane topics to devote himself to religious subjects. A beautiful sonnet laments the fact of his having allowed himself, in his early youth, to be enmeshed by profane love.[2] The first Latin poems of Maffeo Barberini appeared in 1606, at Perugia, in a collection of poems by members of the Academy of the "Insensati" dedicated to Cardinal Carlo Emmanuele Pio of Savoy.[3] Here we find an ode to Aurelio Orsi as well as poems on contemporary events, such as those addressed to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini

[1] The first sonnet **Amante disturbato dal latrar d'un cane*, *ibid.*, p. 1, and **Bella donna veduta a l'improviso* (*Dolce mio sol*), *ibid.*, p. 5.

[2] *Mentre di basso Amor nel laccio involto
la mia primiera età sforzò, ch'io gissi
quasi in sen de l'oblio spirto sepolto,
fuor ch'a me stesso a tutti ignoto io vissi.

Ma poi che gli occhi ove risplende affissi
ritratto il Paradiso in un bel volto
da quei d'impuro ardore oscuri abbissi,
l'angelica beltà m'hebbe ritolto.

E di desio di gloria acceso il petto
trasse per non segnato ampio sentiero
oltre le stelle il debile intelletto.

E da tal luce scorto, ancora io spero
del bello di là sù sommo e perfetto
lasciar l'imago, e vagheggiare 'l vero.

loc. cit., p. 9.

[3] Aurelii Ursini, Maphaei Barberini, Claudii Contuli, I. B. Lauri, Vinc. Palettarii, M. A. Bonciarii, *Academicorum Insensatorum Carmina ad ill. Carolum Eman. Pium cardinalem, Perusiae*, 1606. A copy of this rare and hitherto unnoticed publication is in the Bibl. Barberini (GGG., II., 41); Barberini's five poems are on pp. 191 *seqq.* According to Vermiglioli (*Scritt. Perugini*, II., Perugia, 1829, 27 and 137) before printing his poems M. Barberini submitted them to G. T. Giglioli and to G. Neri; see *ibid.*, 63 *seq.*, on G. B. Lauro. *Cf.* Iani Nicii Erythraei, *Pinacotheca*, I., 257 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 164 *seq.*, on A. Orsi.

on the conquest of Ferrara and the peace negotiated by the nephew of Clement VIII. (*Pax Allobrogica*). In other poems he bewails the death of Mary Stuart and extols the victories of Alessandro Farnese in the Netherlands. Maffeo's ode on Mary Magdalen was printed at Paris in 1618. Two years later the King's printer, Antonius Stephanus, published, also in Paris, a larger collection of the products of Barberini's muse.[1] After the Cardinal's elevation to the See of Peter, editions of his Latin poems appeared repeatedly, as in 1624, 1627, 1628, 1631, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1640, 1642 and 1643.[2] Maffeo Barberini's *Poesie Toscane* were less frequently reprinted.

Two editions of Urban VIII.'s Latin poems deserve special attention. The edition in quarto of 1631, published in Rome by the Jesuits of the Roman College, is remarkable for the great elegance of its production. No less a personage than Bernini collaborated in this publication. The charming ornamentation, in which the Barberini bees appear repeatedly, are his work as well as the beautiful portrait of the author and two other illustrations, one of which, viz. "David overpowering the lion," displays all the genius of the master.[3]

The Paris edition of 1642 is likewise a masterpiece of the printer's art. It is the work of the King's printing press. The title-page shows two allegorical figures; between them we behold the tiara and the arms of Urban VIII., above which two *putti* hold a laurel wreath. Not without reason one of the two figures holds a cross as well as a lyre, for Urban VIII. conceived his poetical work as an act of religion.[4] At the very beginning of the collection we find a burning appeal to youth not to make of paganism the burthen of its song, but rather

[1] Maffeius Card. Barberinus, *Poemata, Parisiis*, 1620.

[2] *Cf. Index bibl. Barberinae*, I., 109 *seq.*; *L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 190. On the Plantin edition see Orbaan, *Bescheiden*, I., 337.

[3] *L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 190 *seq.* The Barberini Library possessed two copies of this *édition de luxe*, one of them in parchment, destined for the Pope.

[4] Manucci in *Atti Ligure*, XLII., 279; Travaglini, *I Papi cultori della poesia*, Lanciano, 1887, 64 *seq.*

the Christian ideal: "Why do we sing Orpheus descending into the nether world instead of the Saviour ascending into heaven, with the victorious emblem of the cross in his hand? May it be granted to me, like the ancient Fathers, to spread useful thoughts by means of my poems! May Moses be my guide who led the people through the Red Sea!" He then sharply castigates the degradation of poetry when it is made to sing the false gods, Jupiter and Venus; instead, he celebrates St. Helen who, extirpating the worship of the goddess of love, raised the cross. In burning words he calls on the youth of Italy to sound David's lyre.[1]

In conformity with this appeal the reader perceives in every one of the poems a strictly religious spirit, even when the sacred story is not the poet's immediate theme. On the other hand, as has been said already,[2] Urban is not fortunate when he clothes the ancient hymns of the Church in a classical dress. He is much more successful in his own original compositions. Thus the birth and passion of Christ are sung by him in spirited verses.[3] There is deep feeling in his hymn to God,

[1] The Pope also attacked indirectly the abuse of poetry for lascivious ends which then prevailed in Italy. A notorious work of the kind, the "Adonis" of Giovanni Battista Marini, together with other poems by the same writer, was put on the Index by the Pope's command in 1627 and 1628 (see REUSCH, II., 162). As a Cardinal he had withdrawn the favour he had at first shown to Marini. A follower of Marini, Claudio Achillini, specialized in exaggerations and literary tricks; thus, when speaking of the cupola of St. Peter's, he said that Michelangelo had given wings to marble, and in a poem in honour of Urban VIII. he expressed the wish that "every gun might scatter olive balls!" He extols the Pope who *col pletro e con lo scetro in mano diede termini al Merto e metro al regno* (see BAUMGARTNER, VI., 452). One Cl. Achillini, *cf.* GABRIELI, *Carteggio*, 197.

[2] See Vol. XXVIII., p. 16.

[3] Not printed are the **Disticha et epigrammata de morte Christi*, the autograph of which is in *Barb.* 1717, p. 149 *seq.*

In sepulcro Christi.

Insons noster Adam moritur fons vivus amoris,
Noluit et veteris crimina sontis Adae.

and in the dialogue of Christ and His Mother at the beginning of Holy Week. A special poem is dedicated to Mary's wedding ring, preserved at Perugia. In numerous poems he sings the praises of the Saints: John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, St. Lawrence, SS. Peter and Paul, Pope St. Leo III., King Louis of France, Elizabeth of Portugal, SS. Martina and Bibiana. Charles Borromeo is celebrated together with Cardinals Nobili and Bellarmine. One poem, inspired by Bellarmine's booklet "Of the ascent of the mind to God", explains that heaven can only be reached by means of Jacob's ladder and by walking in the footsteps of Borromeo and Bellarmine. Another paraphrases St. Augustine's saying: "Our heart is restless until it rests in God," whilst his "Thoughts of an old man" breathe profound earnestness.

The collection includes also the poems on contemporary events already published in 1606 at Perugia, to which were added others on the deaths of Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Pallotto. Among Maffeo Barberini's friends the following receive poetic honours: Aurelio Orsi, Giovan Battista Strozzi, Marcantonio Rossi, Giovanni Ciampoli, Virginio Cesarini, Gabriele Chiabrera, Bernardino Capponi and Flaminio Figliucci. To Clement VIII. he offers comfort amid

Mortis ab imperio moriens nos vita perennis
Eripit; hinc nobis vita perennis erit.

In ligno quondam vicit mors impia, victa est
In ligno. Poterit quid sua dextra? Nihil.

Also the following *poems of which I only give the first line:—

Ad Christum.

p. 149: Quommodo, si Deus es, mortali sanguine victus?
p. 150: Cernite mortales Christum pro crimine vestro.
p. 151: Si Rex es noster, tua sunt ubi regia sceptra?
p. 152: Pro servo Dominus moritur, pro milite ductor.
p. 153: Mors vitae mortem dat morti, vitaque mortem.

The following *epigram on the cross (p. 154) forms the conclusion:—

Una dedit nobis quondam letale venenum
Arbor, bisgemina est hac renovata salus.

his sufferings caused by the gout. To his nephews the Pope addresses religious exhortations. To this series belong the moralizing poems against flattery and pusillanimity. True wisdom, another poem explains, consists in remembering death. The power of truth is exalted in most pleasing fashion. A beautiful hymn beseeches God and the Mother of Our Lord to preserve Italy, already severely tried by war and various cataclysms, such as the eruption of Vesuvius, from the fresh tribulations threatening from the savage enemy who was even then ravaging South Germany with fire and sword.[1]

Maffeo Barberini's enthusiasm for learning is attested by his praise of the library and the collections of Ulisse Aldobrandi. His love of art is shown by the elegant distichs devoted to the Niobedes of the Villa Medici, a picture of St. Sebastian, Guido Reni's pictures in the Vatican, Bernini's fountain of the Barcaccia in the Piazza di Spagna and his group of "Daphne and Apollo". His praise of country life, the glorification of the rose and the flowers of a mild

[1] Te votis adeo : nova
  Nos discrimina terrent :
Armis hosticus impetus
Oras Vindelicas premit,
Complens omnia caedibus,
Vicinisque minas parat,
  Vincla, incendia, clades.
Tu, Virgo, meritam Dei
Iram comprime : conscios
Urget nos scelerum cohors :
Haec nobis magis, hostium
  Quam sint arma, timenda est.
Rerum conditor omnium,
Rex aeterne ter optime,
Qui terram regis ac mare et
Caeli sidera temperas,
  Nostras excipe voces.
Obliviscere criminum,
Clemens parce precantibus,
Da natis veniam, Pater,
Tantis pone modum malis.

winter, and lastly the justly famous invitation to Lorenzo Magalotti to visit the Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo, breathe a warm appreciation of the beauty of nature.[1]

Some of the poems appear both in Latin and in Greek. The collection ends with an exhortation to the Holy War; it belongs to the last period of the pontificate: Italy, so we read, has been delivered from war and pestilence; even the Gothic King, who was ravaging South Germany and already threatened Italy, has fallen in battle; the Emperor Ferdinand triumphs; may the Lord God now bring the Kings together for a Holy War, in order to break the power of the heretics and the Turks.[2]

Taking them all in all, it cannot be denied that the Latin poems of the Barberini Pope are distinguished not only for their carefully chiselled classical form, but also for their wealth of lofty thoughts and warm feeling, though they suffer greatly from the exuberance of a period which is also characterized by the lavish overloading of the paintings and sculptures of Baroque art.[3] This is even more true of the Pope's Italian poems. They exhibit still more plainly the defects of the period, especially that of excessive ornamentation,[4] though they, too, rise above the majority of the productions of the time. The Italian poems also appeared in Paris

[1] See Vol. XXVIII., p. 53.

[2] Fac, precor, o Deus, ut coeant in foedera reges,
Fidentesque tua nos tuearis ope;
Haeresis infestas frangat tua dextera vires,
Dissipet et Turcas Odrysiasque rates.
Tu, Deus omnipotens, iusti sis sanguinis ultor,
Perde truces hostes, qui fera bella volunt.

This concluding poem is missing in the edition of 1631.

[3] Reumont, III., 2, 615, 702; Ambros, IV., 126, 129; Posse, *Deckenfresko*, 106. How much Urban VIII. polished his poems appears from the pieces collected in **Barb.* 2027 of which, however, only the first is in his own hand, the rest being copies with corrections in the Pope's hand. Vatican Library.

[4] Tiraboschi, VIII., 19; Renazzi, III., 108; Travaglini, *loc. cit.*, 70. *Cf.* also the article, *L'opera poetica di Urbano VIII.*

in 1642 in an *édition de luxe.* The latter collection begins with two sonnets against those who devote their art to the glorification of earthly love. In contrast with these Urban VIII. chooses only spiritual and religious themes. He combats the vices of pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, and sloth, and praises the virtues, especially the queen of them all, charity.[1]

A few sonnets are addressed to the Pope's relatives; to his brother Carlo he expounds the vanity and peril of earthly pleasures; Cardinal Antonio is reminded that virtue is only obtained as the reward of toil; to his nephew Taddeo he depicts the dangers of human life and to a Capuchin novice he points out the duties of his state. A particularly beautiful sonnet is devoted to the death of the Pope's mother whilst another is dedicated to his friend Giovan Battista Strozzi.

Deep religious feeling characterizes the sonnets on the sufferings of Christ, His birth, His goodness, the unspeakable bliss of heaven and the power of grace. In touching accents he implores the Saviour's forgiveness of his sins. The peril of a soul which fails to rise above the things of earth he

in the *Rassegna Settimanale,* 1879, February 16, p. 131 *seq.* CHLEDOWSKI (II., 105 *seq.*), on the other hand ranks the Latin poems higher than the Italian ones. Contemporaries were of a different opinion; see I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, *Pinacotheca,* I., 153.

[1] Sonnet 19, *Lodi della carità* runs as follows:—

Non luce si tra le minute stelle
In bel seren con l'argentato corno
La luna, e 'l sol quando è più chiaro il giorno,
Come alma carità fra le sorelle.
Sembran l'altre virtù saggie donzelle
In atti humili, e con sembiante adorno,
Che stanno a lei, quasi reina, intorno
Ad ogni cenno ubbidienti ancelle.
È viva fiamma, che dal cuor mortale
I più bassi pensier disperge, e madre
D'affetti accesi da pietoso zelo.
All'opre sue non può farsi altra eguale:
Mostrollo all'hor, che fè dal sen del Padre
Scender Dio in terra e l'huom salir'al cielo.

compares to the condition of a caged bird. He emphatically rejects the vain ambition of acquiring fame by means of the poetic craft. Fame is described as a sound that comes and goes; not an array of fine words but good works open the gates of heaven.[1] The ruins of ancient Rome also remind Urban of the transitoriness of all things earthly. As he contemplates, from his beloved Castel Gandolfo, the wonderful panorama of lake and sea, his soul rises to the vision of heavenly beauty.[2] Among the sonnets in honour of Saints, the first rank is justly assigned to those in praise of the Princes of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. Others treat of the stigmata of the

1 Che fai, Maffeo, che pensi ? a che con arte
Emula all'età prisca si ti cale
Formar' inni canori ? a che ti vale
Vegliar la notte, per vergar le carte ?
La fama è suon ch'in un viene e si parte,
È di fugace rio qual bolla frale
Da permesso l'honor finto immortale,
E invano altrui quel che non ha comparte.
E pur ami l'inganno e 'l dolce errore :
Eternar credi le cose passate
Con cetra armoniosa, e fugir morte ?
Folle speranza ti lusinga il core :
Non alla pompa di parole ornate,
Al ben'oprar del ciel s'apron le porte.

2 Quì dove il lago Alban le limpide onde
In vago giro accoglie e 'l mar Tirreno
Lo sguardo allctta col ceruleo seno,
Il sol per l'aria i raggi d'or diffonde.
S'ammantan gli arbosci di verde fronde,
Di fiori il prato e 'l ciel di bel sereno,
Dolce mormora l'aura, a cui non meno
In dolci note il rusignuol risponde.
Chi non rinvigorisce, e al cor non sente
Gioia stillar ? O s'erga pronta e ascenda
Per questi gradi al gran Fattor la mente.
Deh squarci homai del van desio la benda
Drizzando al vero ben le voglie intente,
E nel ben ch'è lassù d'amor s'accenda.

Poverello of Assisi and St. Charles Borromeo. The seventy sonnets are followed by two hymns in honour of the Mother of God, of David, the royal psalmist, and by an ode to Countess Matilda. This splendid luminary of the female sex, we read, who loved virtue rather than silk and purple, was the shield of the Roman Church ; the praise of her liberality resounds in the Vatican to her everlasting glory.

The extent to which poetry played a vital rôle in the existence of a Pontiff engaged in the most important business of Church and State, appears from the circumstance that in the midst of all the cares of government he never neglected that gracious comforter. At all times he managed to devote an hour to it.[1] In a report of August 23rd, 1634, Fulvio Testi, the envoy of the Duke of Modena, draws a vivid picture of the Pope-poet. Business over, so we read, the Pope rose, and whilst walking up and down the room, he asked the envoy, who was also a poet, how things stood with the muse. When Testi excused his neglect of poetry on the ground of his manifold occupations, Urban remarked : " We too are busy with affairs, but for all that we compose a poem from time to time, by way of relaxation. You shall hear one of our latest Latin poems." The Pope then fetched a sheet of paper from his adjoining bedroom and read to Testi an ode written in the manner of Horace. Testi could afford to be all the more lavish of praise as he was convinced that, as far as Latin poetry was concerned, few if any equalled the Pope. Subsequently Urban VIII. showed him another most beautiful ode, and finally his latest Italian poems.[2] On occasion the shrewd envoy sought to take advantage of the Pope's interest in poetry during the transaction of business.[3]

The numerous editions of his poems, which the Court

[1] An *Avviso of October 26, 1624, reports : S. Stà. invitata dalla solitudine della Villa ha composto a Mondragone alcuni epigrammi in lode delle delitie del Tusculano. *Urb.* 1094, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Opere scelte del conte Fulvio Testi*, II., Modena, 1817, 59.

[3] G. De Castro, *F. Testi e le corti italiane*, Milano, 1875, 88 *seq.*

poets exalted as "a golden book",[1] gratified Urban VIII. exceedingly. When thanking the Jesuits Wangnereck and Laurence Forner, who brought out an edition of his Latin poems in 1640, at Dillingen, the Pope dwelt on the fact that he had always blamed those who considered religious subjects unsuitable to poetry, and who misused this noble art for impure imaginations; accordingly he had sought to make use of it in order to promote religious and moral ideals.[2] Urban wrote in the same strain to Cardinal Richelieu to whom Cardinal Barberini had sent a copy of the Pope's poems. He was not concerned with the acquisition of fame, we read, what he wanted was to foster piety in the hearts of his readers, whilst a few things had also been inserted with a view to

[1] L. Guidiccioni, *Delibatio mellis Barberinae*, Romae, 1639, 31.

[2] "*Eorum opinionem plurimum semper improbavimus, qui censent res sacras minus idoneum esse carminis argumentum nec parum doluimus, poesim praestantissimam artem impuris blandimentis ac dedecorum maculis foedari." Hence, "ex iis quae ad curarum levamentum quandoque exaravimus, dignosceretur, christianam religionem amplissimum patefacere campum ad scribendum poetis, illosque posse mortalium ingenia ad rectam humanae vitae institutionem, ad morum innocentiam, ad veram gloriam cum voluptate excitare" (*Epist.*, XVII.–XVIII, no. 402, Papal Secret Archives). Urban VIII. restates the same idea in a *Brief of the year 1640, addressed to H. Wangereck and Jos. Ilsungh, Diling. acad. moderatoribus: "Cum autem in ejusmodi lucubrationibus illud in primis propositum habuerimus, ostendere, veram poesis gloriam non voluptatum illecebris et perniciosis inanium rerum blandimentis, sed pietatis aliarumque virtutum celebratione magno plurimorum bono quaerendam esse, voti plane compotes efficiemur, si legentium animi, quemadmodum significastis, Musarum castimonia et innocenti carmine invitati a venenato abstinuerint eorum poematum pabulo, quae nil aliud prae se ferunt quam vanitates et insanias falsas" (*Epist.*, XIX.–XXI, no. 405, *ibid.*). *Cf.* also the Brief to Peter Joh. Justinianus, dated January 12, 1635, in which the Pope thanks him for a poem dedicated to him (*ibid.*, XII., 208); printed in *Lettere mem. dell'abbate Michele Giustiniani, Roma*, 1675, 163 *seq.*

exhorting the advisers of the Catholic Princes to bring about peace.[1]

Numerous translations were made of Urban VIII.'s poems. Federigo Morelli translated the ode to St. Louis into Greek.[2] Leone Allacci translated into the same idiom the sonnet addressed to Urban's nephew Carlo.[3] Giovan Francesco Ferranti published an Italian translation of the Pope's Latin poems [4] and Pierre de Reviglias a French one.[5] Some of the poems were translated into Spanish,[6] others into Dutch.[7] Commentaries were provided by a number of writers,[8] among

[1] See **Epist.*, XIII.–XIV., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Ode in s. Ludovicum Francorum regem a Federico Morello Graece reddita*; copy in Barberini Library.

[3] L. ALLATII, *Apes Urbanae*, 15 *seq.*

[4] *Poesie latine tradotte in verso sciolto da Giov. Franc. Ferranti*, Roma, 1642; MS. in *Barb.* 3820, 3850. *Barb.* 1890 contains: * "Urbani VIII. hymni in S. Martinam italicis numeris expressi a Io. Ant. Erolato," with a letter of the author to Urban VIII., dated Vicenza, January 1, 1638, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* the *letters of J. Pierre de Reviglias in *Barb.* 6521, *ibid.*

[6] By Gabriel del Corral; see L. ALLATII, Apes Urb., 114; *cf.* *Barb.* 1864, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* ROOSES, *Rubens*, Stuttgart, 1890, 552. The Pope presented his poems to the great Dutch scholar Erycius Puteanus; see ALLARD, G. Vossius en Erycius Puteanus, Roermond, 1892, 13.

[8] *Poemata Urbani VIII. cum explicatione Henrici Dormalii*, Romae, 1643; **Carmina quaedam Urbani VIII. commentario illustrata a Julio Caesare Capacio*, *Barb.* 2165, Vatican Library; **Poesie del cav. Maffei Barberini, hoggi N.S.P. Urbano VIII. Compositioni di Tommaso Leva* (with dedication of 1639) *Barb.* 3653, *ibid.*; *Commento et allegoria di Scip. Francucci Aretino sopra le poesie dell'ill. card. Barberini, hoggi Urbano VIII.* Original MS. 1905 in the catalogue of the Roman antiquary Luzzietti. The majority of the commentaries are from the pen of Magno Perneo of Anagni; *Barb.* 3259, 3293. *Explanation of the poem *De Poenitentia*; 3262 and 3297. **Tractatus in Paraphrasim Magnificat ad Urbanum VIII.*; 3264, 3296, 3298, 3299. **Explicatio* of the reformed Breviary hymns; 3295. **Explicatio odarum Urbani VIII.* A **Discorso sulle poesie di Urbano VIII.*, the original presentation copy of which is in *Barb.* 3836, Vatican Library, appeared anonymously.

them the unfortunate poet-philosopher Tommaso Campanella, who owed to Urban VIII. his liberation from the dungeons of the Inquisition [1] as well as financial assistance.[2] John Jerome Kapsperger set the Pope's poetical productions to

[1] See above, ch. I., p. 40.

[2] *Cf.* AMABILE, *Campanella*, I., 314 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*, 336 *seq.* Campanella obtained from Urban VIII. a monthly allowance of 15 scudi and when, towards the end of 1634, he escaped with the Pope's aid from the snares laid for him by the Spaniards, first to Aix and then to Paris, he continued to receive papal support. As for Campanella's *Parole universali del governo ecclesiastico per fare una grege et un pastore* which Ranke made use of (III., 113*), in Inf. polit. of the State Library, Berlin, the date of which he was unable to fix, according to Amabile (II., 370), they were composed as early as March, 1605, but were recast during the reign of Urban VIII. Ranke attaches too much weight to the sentiment there expressed by the greatest Utopian of his time, as B. Croce (*Arch. stor. Napol.*, XX., 4, 1895) calls Campanella, namely that the Pope was supreme in secular matters. In his very full index Ranke omits the following important passage concerning the Pope's universal monarchy: "Si deve forzare il Papa di arrivare a questo per il ben commune degli animi e di corpi di tutti i principati fatti tributarii alla Chiesa facendone un solo." Campanella's inconsistent character is plainly revealed by his relations with Ferdinand II. He made repeated appeals to the latter for assistance, protesting his devotion to the House of Habsburg. But when the poet-philosopher escaped to France, he put himself at the disposal of French diplomacy and inveighed against the Habsburgs as fosterers of heresy! *Cf.* KVAČALA, *Th. Campanella und Ferdinand II., in Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., Philos. hist. Kl. Bd.*, 159, Vienna, 1908. L. BLANCHET (*Campanella*, Paris, 1920) compares (p. 104) the philosopher's attitude as regards religion to that of A. Loisy, whilst G. Gabrieli, in his critique of Vincenzo Spampanato's new edition of the letters of Campanella, defends his "ortodossia dottrinaria" during his last stay in Rome (1627–1634), basing himself especially on the poet-philosopher's friendly relations with Calasanzio and the Scolopi. Campanella's correspondence with Calasanzio is in the Archives of S. Pantaleo, Rome. *Cf.* GIOVANNOZZI, *Scolopi Galileiani, pubblicaz. del Gabrieli Osserv. Ximeniano, Firenze*, 1907; *Corriere d'Italia* of July 9, 1927.

music [1]; his dedication to Urban VIII. is a classical model of flattery, an art much in vogue with the men of letters of that period. In view of the fact that since Pius II. no Pope had appeared in the capacity of a poet, the numberless poets of the period were enormously excited when Urban VIII. ascended the papal throne. Caspar Scioppius drew up a long list of scholars then living in Italy who, in his opinion, deserved the Pope's patronage [2] and Andrea Vitorelli added more names to the catalogue.[3]

Urban VIII.'s election was sung by Francesco Bracciolini, Lelio Guidiccioni,[4] the Jesuit Stephanus Bubalus de Cancellariis [5] and by Magno Perneo [6]; the latter also sang the coronation.[7] The Pope's *Possesso* was treated by Alexander Rainaldus,[8] the opening of the Holy Door by the Pole John Bronissuchus,[9] the nomination of Cardinals of the year

[1] *Poemata et carmina composita a Maffeo Barberini olim S.R.E. Card., nunc autem Urbano octavo P.O.M., musicis modis aptata a Jo. Hieronymo Kapsperger, Romae,* 1624 (in-fol., 56 pages). *Cf.* AMBROS, IV., 126 *seq.*, who is only acquainted with the copy in the collection of music at the Chiesa Nuova; a second copy is in the Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome (32, 10, H. 25). For Kapsperger who, in 1631, also published an *in folio* vol. *Missarum Urbanarum*, lib. I., *cf.* besides AMBROS, IV., 125 *seq.*, 309; also L. ALLATII, *Apes Urbanae*, 159 *seq.*

[2] **Viri docti in Italia, quos Caspar Scioppius novit quique ab Urbano VIII. S.P. ac litterarum patrono ornentur ex animi sententia dignos censet, Barb.* 2645, p. 85 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 89 *seq.*

[4] L. GUIDICCIONI, *De Urbano VIII. ad summum pontificatum evecto elegia, Romae,* 1624.

[5] L. ALLATII, *Apes Urb.*, 236.

[6] MAGNUS PERNEUS, **Canticum super electione Urbani VIII.*, *Barb.* 3261, 3291, 3294, Vatican Library.

[7] MAGNUS PERNEUS, **Canticum super coronatione Urbani VIII.*, *Barb.* 3292, *ibid.*, 3652, an anonymous **Canzone* on the coronation.

[8] *Cf.* L. ALLATII, *Apes Urb.*, 22.

[9] JOH. BRONISSUCHUS POLONUS, **In aperitionem portae sanctae et novi anni* 1625 *inchoationem ad S.D.N. Urbanum VIII. P.M., Barb.* 1704, Vatican Library.

1626 by Flaminio Figliucci,[1] the work for peace by Francesco Balducci,[2] the finding of the relics of St. Martina by Andrea Baiano,[3] the ciborium under the dome of St. Peter's [4] by the Burgundian Vernerey [5]; to the latter work of art Lelio Guidiccioni also devoted two poetical encomiums.[6] Nicoletti, Urban VIII.'s biographer, mentions a number of scholars and men of letters with whom the Pope was on familiar terms and whom he was wont to gather round his person in the garden of the Belvedere, at the Vatican, or at the Villa Borghese. He also frequently invited them when he withdrew to his beloved Castel Gandolfo for his annual vacation in the Alban Hills.[7]

[1] Romae, 1626; *cf.* L. Allatii, *Apes Urb.*, 98.

[2] *La Pace Urbana. Canzone, Napoli* 1632. *Cf. Rime di Fr. Balducci alla S. di Urbano VIII., Barb.* 3860, Vatican Library.

[3] *Andr. Barianus ad Urbanum VIII. *De inventione S. Martinae virg. et mart. carmen, Barb.* 1964, p. 30; *cf.* 1797, p. 2, *ibid.*

[4] See below, p. 462.

[5] *Urbano VIII. P. O. M. erectis aeneis in Vaticana basilica quatuor columnis non plus ultra,* Ioannes Guillelmus Vernerey Burgundus, *sacrum dicat elogium,* Romae, 1629. There we read:

> "Quid mihi munificos iuvat obiectare Leones?
> Quidve Pios studio sacrorum Culmen adeptos?
> Quid mihi Clementes et mansuetudinis arctae
> Subiicere archetypum, pietatis amabilis arcem?
> Maiora Urbanus spectacula pandit: in uno
> Christoicolae maiora vident et vertice prono
> Orbis adoratis figit merita oscula plantis."

[6] *Ara maxima Vaticana ab Urbano VIII. exstructa,* in Guidiccioni's collected poems, *Romae,* 1633 (copy in Ottob. 2420, p. 383), and *De ornato Apostolorum sepulchro,* in his *Delibatio mellis Barberinae, Romae,* 1639, 41. In the collection of poems of 1633 there are some on the Navicella and one addressed to Bernini on his marble busts of Urban VIII.

[7] *Nicoletti, LII., 6, Vatican Library. Besides well-known literary men, such as Chiabrera, Ciampoli, Ant. Querenghi (*cf.* L. Allatii, *Apes Urb.*, 49). Nicoletti also mentions G. B. Rinuccini (*cf.* on him Moroni, XXIV., 37, XXXIII., 72), Angelo Grillo (see *ibid.*, X., 151), Vincenzo Gramigna, Fabrizio Verospi and the historian Paolo Emilio Santori (*cf.* Tiraboschi, VIII., 91).

One of the Pope's intimates was Francesco Bracciolini [1] who had previously been in his service and had accompanied him in his French nunciature, after which he, however, returned to his native place, Pistoia. In 1618 Bracciolini published an heroi-comic poem entitled *Lo Scherno degli Dei.*[2] Remarkable for the finish of its form, the poem pours ridicule on the mythology of the ancients, more particularly on Venus and Cupid. This was wholly in keeping with the ideas of Barberini. So was Bracciolini's castigation of those poets who chose mythological subjects for their own sake, thus misleading the simple-minded who could not grasp the real meaning of such compositions. After the elevation of his one-time patron to the papacy, Bracciolini hastened to Rome where, later on, he was charged to provide poetic themes for the pictorial decoration of the ceiling of the great hall in the Barberini palace.[3] Urban's election was celebrated by him in a special epic poem. The inspiration and composition of this piece are closely akin to the scheme of the ceiling decorations ; in both, divine Providence occupies the central plan. Bracciolini had at first intended to entitle his poem *La Divina Provvidenza,* in accordance with the *leitmotiv* of the epic in which, he boasts, he had kept well away from the beaten track of the poetic art. His "unexampled novelty" lay in the fact that, unlike Virgil, Ariosto or Tasso, he did not sing an historical or imaginary hero, but setting aside all that captivates the average reader, and like another Daedalus, soaring to unwonted heights, he introduced directly as actors the virtues and vices which,

[1] *Cf.* Mazzuchelli, II., 2, 1958 *seq.* ; Renazzi, III., 113 *seq.* ; Belloni, *Gli epigoni della Gerusalemme Lib., Padova,* 1893 : Bardi, *Vite e opere di Fr. Bracciolini, Firenze,* 1892. A marble bust by Algardi perpetuates the features of Bracciolini ; *letters from him to Maffeo Barberini, the first from Milan, October 12, 1592, the last, March 16, 1630, as well as some *poems, in *Barb.* 6459, Vatican Library.

[2] Morsolin, *Storia lett. d'Italia. Il Seicento, Milano,* 1880, 33 *seq.* Belloni, *Seicento,* 175 *seq.* ; Baumgartner, VI., 456 *seq.*

[3] See below, p. 500.

as mere abstract concepts, had until then spoken only indirectly in the poetic action; this he had done in order to spur the reader more forcibly either to imitation or avoidance. In order to enhance the vividness of the allegorical action, which is described with great mastery of language, he wove into it the most varied episodes of ancient and biblical history which deal with the opposition between virtue and vice.[1] This was done with so much detail that the modern reader finds it irksome to work his way through an epic of nearly 500 printed pages. It is divided into twenty-three cantos, and only in the fifteenth does Bracciolini come to the biography of the "Great Maffeo" whose life and activity he depicts poetically, concluding with the elevation of his hero to the papacy, a consummation brought about by Providence. In the edition of 1628, each canto is preceded by a summary of the contents drawn up by Bracciolini himself.[2] It seems strange that an epic wholly devoted to the praise of a Pope who only cared for religious poetry should be full of mythological allusions. Even the author of a poem burlesquing the old gods could not resist the infinite wealth of imagery of the ancient fables, but he introduces them only as allegories, to illustrate his fundamental thought, and welds them together with religious allegories, as if they were of equal value.[3] Urban VIII. rewarded the epic by granting to Bracciolini the right to charge his arms with the Barberini bees. The poet, who from that time styled himself Bracciolini dell'Api, occupied in Rome the honourable post of secretary to Urban's brother Antonio. As early as 1625 the Pope had created him a Roman citizen.

[1] These particulars from Posse's *Deckenmalerei*, 109 *seq.*, reproduce exactly what is said in the preface and the appendix by Giulio Rospigliosi (the subsequent Clement IX.) which were added to Bracciolini's new edition of *L'elettione di Urbano Papa VIII.* (Roma, 1628).

[2] *L'elettione di Urbano Papa VIII. di Francesco Bracciolini dell'Api all' ill. et rev. S. il S. Card. Barberini con gli argomenti a ciascuno canto di Giuliano Bracciolini dell'Api*, Roma, 1628.

[3] Opinion of Posse (*Deckenmalerei*, 107 *seq.*).

Another intimate of Urban VIII.'s was the famous Gabriele Chiabrera, surnamed the Pindar of Italy. Like Bracciolini he was a forceful character and a genuine and extraordinarily productive poet, whom all the Italian Princes held in the highest esteem. The Pope, whilst still a Cardinal, had dedicated an ode to him in which he exalted the prerogative of poetry which enables it to confer immortality on virtue,[1] and he had scarcely been raised to the Apostolic See when he honoured the poet with a special Brief dated November 29th, 1623. In this document, drawn up by Ciampoli, Urban VIII. singles out as Chiabrera's peculiar merit the fact that he had raised lyric poetry from the baseness of unworthy sensuousness to the heights of natural and Christian idealism and had shown to the world that poetic genius was able to fulfil itself without becoming the slave of folly and unclean vices.[2] Urban VIII. was anxious to summon Chiabrera to Rome, but the poet, who dedicated several splendid *canzoni* to his patron on Peter's chair,[3] refused to leave Savona, his native city, whose glory he was. The Pope honoured Chiabrera by himself composing his epitaph.[4]

The lofty purpose which Urban VIII. had before his eyes in furthering poetry, viz. to lead the poetic art into worthier paths, which had also been the aim of Chiabrera, was likewise the guiding principle of the Florentine Giovanni Ciampoli who had early come in contact with Maffeo Barberini.[5] Ciampoli, who in the words of Bentivoglio,[6] had imbibed

[1] *Poemata*, ed. 1631, p. 257.

[2] BAUMGARTNER, VI., 467 *seq.*, who prints the Brief. *Cf.* also the Brief of November 23, 1634, in *Lett. mem. dell'abbate M. Giustiniani* (1675), 251 *seq.*

[3] An unpublished poem, probably of the year 1629, was published by REDI from a MS. in the Barberini Library: CHIABRERA, *Canzone in lode di Urbano VIII.*, Roma, 1828.

[4] TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 283; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 464 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* FAVARO in *Atti d. Istit. Veneto*, 62 (1902/1903), 8 series, V 2, 103 *seq.* *Cf.* also the bibliography in GABRIELI, *Carteggio*, 192. A portrait of Ciampoli is in *La Canonizzazione di S. Ignazi, Roma*, 1923, 59.

[6] *Memorie*, 114.

poetry with his mother's milk, banished from his poems, as his friend Pallavicini remarked, everything unseemly and sought to keep his lyre, even more than Orpheus', attuned to heavenly themes. Though Ciampoli did not wholly succeed in extricating himself from the traditional mythological stock-in-trade, his *poetica sacra* went counter to the old classical form in theory and to its unlimited encroachments in practice.[1] Urban VIII. named him Secretary of Briefs in 1623 and thus a brilliant career seemed to open before him, as previously before Silvio Antoniano. However, his character, no less than his style differed completely from that of his great predecessor; his Briefs were poetry rather than prose.[2] Ciampoli advanced in the Pope's favour especially because as a poet also he was a convinced Christian. He nevertheless wrote verses on the coronation of Urban VIII., the struggle in the Valtellina, the Pope's action for peace, the fall of La Rochelle, the wedding of Taddeo Barberini. One of his poems describes the gathering of the grapes at Castel Gandolfo.[3]

Ciampoli's relations with the Pope were at first so intimate that the nephews grew jealous,[4] hence great was the astonishment of the Court when, in the autumn of 1632, Ciampoli fell into utter disgrace. The reason of his fall has been looked for in his dealings with Galileo. Others thought that a contributory cause was the haughty, arrogant manner with which the chief representative of the bombastic, overloaded style passed judgment on honoured poets such as Virgil and Horace. The real cause of his fall, however, was the fact that Ciampoli, disappointed at being passed over at various nominations of Cardinals, entered into relations with the party of Cardinal Borgia which stood in acute opposition to the Pope. This led to various incidents in the spring of 1632, with the result that in September Ciampoli was relieved of his office of Secretary.[5]

[1] Baumgartner, VI., 466.

[2] Bentivoglio, 117 *seq.*

[3] C. Pulcini, *Msgr. G. Ciampoli*, in *Riv. Abruzzese*, XXXIII., Teramo, 1918, 170 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*

[4] Favaro, *loc. cit.*, 111.

[5] *Ibid.*, 118 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*

Urban VIII. nevertheless softened the blow by bestowing on him the office of President of Montalti.[1]

The ideals of the high-minded Pope were realized in splendid fashion by two poets of the Jesuit Order, the Pole Casimir Sarbiewski, and the Alsatian, Jacob Balde. The two men—the greatest Latin poets of the period—had familiarized themselves with the ancient Roman literature to such a degree, "that Latin, with its rich treasure of metrical forms, had become for them a living language, a handy instrument with which to give expression to the most delicate emotional nuances". They display such depth of religious feeling, so wide an outlook on history and human life, that their odes have not lost their usefulness to this day.[2]

Balde, the singer of the Catholic League,[3] paid tribute to Urban VIII. in more than one poem whilst Sarbiewski came into personal contact with him.[4] He came to Rome in 1622 and in 1625 he extolled the new Head of the Church in a long panegyric entitled: "The Golden Age."[5] A collection of similar poems in honour of Cardinal Francesco Barberini was

[1] PALLAVICINI, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 74.

[2] Opinion of BAUMGARTNER (VI., 467). BRÜCKNER, in his history of Polish literature (Leipzig, 1905), styles Sarbiewski Poland's greatest Latin poet (p. 176).

[3] WESTERMAYER, *J. Balde*, Munich, 1868.

[4] For Sarbiewski, besides the older works by LANGBEIN (Dresden, 1753), RATHSMANN (Breslau, 1800), KOLANOWSKI (Berolini, 1842), WEICHSELMANN (Laibach, 1864), DIEL in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IV., 159 *seq.*, 343 *seq.*; V., 61 *seq.*, 365 *seq.*; KULCZYNSKI (Krakow, 1875); KRYSTYNIAKI, *Fasti Sarbevienani* (Chronology of his poetic activity), Lemberg, 1886; WINDAKIEWICZ in *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci, wydzial filogiczny*, XV., Cracow, 1891; VON RÓZYCKI in the periodical *Der Aar*, III., 2, Regensburg, 1913, 225 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*; F. M. MÜLLER, *De M. C. Sarbievio Polono e Soc. Iesu Horatii imitatore, Monachii*, 1917.

[5] *Aureum saeculum Urbano P. O. M. Orbi invectum a°* 1625, *Barb*, 2105, Vatican Library. *Cf. Rozprawy*, XV., 213, of Cracow.

published under the title: "The Gate of Honour."[1] Urban was not slow in recognizing Sarbiewski's merit and made use of him in the alteration of the Breviary hymns.[2] Several odes of the Polish poet testify to the intimacy of his relations with the Pope. If these effusions and his panegyrics are not free from dithyrambic exaggerations, they nevertheless bear witness to the gratitude and admiration which Sarbiewski felt towards his noble patron. In one of his odes he hails the Pope as a kindred-spirit poet who on the triumphal chariot of fame ascends with him towards heaven; the cloud-enfolded earth with its towns, seas, rivers, is left far beneath them; the tops of the highest mountains bow their heads to do them homage; everything proclaims Urban's fame; they rule alone in the vast heights of heaven.[3] Sarbiewski's admiration for his patron appears even more strongly in a panegyric of the latter's *Carmina*, which he compares to the murmur of a rivulet and the roar of a foaming torrent. Urban VIII. must have been particularly gratified by Sarbiewski's "Turkish Odes" in which he summons the Christian Princes of Europe to recover their mastery over the Orient.[4]

When Sarbiewski left Rome, Urban VIII. honoured him with the gift of a gold medal, whilst on his part the poet, in an enthusiastic ode, expressed his gratitude for all he owed to Rome, "the mother of the fine arts." He further extols Rome as a city over which spreads an eternally serene sky; where a beneficent genius empties a cornucopia of splendid gifts; where the Muses are enthroned and the world's choicest men pour out the treasures of their minds.[5]

[1] *Porticus honoris per quam Franc. card. Barberinus ad delubrum honoris poetico opere in Romano Soc. Iesu collegio extructum ingressus est, Barb.* 1941, *loc. cit. Cf. Rozprawy* of Cracow, XV., 216.

[2] See ch. I., p. 16.

[3] See v. Rozycki, *loc. cit.*, 227; *cf.* Müller, *loc. cit.*, 68.

[4] v. Rozycki, *loc. cit.*, 227; Müller, *loc. cit.*, 72.

[5] "In Rome," so writes von Antoniewicz in the *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Literaturgesch. und Renaissance Literatur*, new series, II., Berlin, 1889, "Sarbiewski composed his purest, choicest and

Two poets, who were also distinguished for their learning, Antonio Quarenghi of Padua (died 1633) and Giambattista Doni of Florence, were named secretaries of the College of Cardinals by Urban VIII.[1] Another scholar whom Bellarmine used to style the Pico della Mirandola of his time, the Roman Virginio Cesarini, whose Italian and Latin poems were famed for their elegance, was appointed *Maestro di Camera* by Urban VIII.[2] and on the celebrated traveller and Orientalist Pietro della Valle, the Pope bestowed the dignity of a Papal Chamberlain.[3] Agostino Oreggi, equally distinguished for his virtues and learning and who had acted as Maffeo Barberini's theologian, was further employed in this capacity in the Congregations of the Index and Rites. At a later date he became papal almoner, Canon of St. Peter's and finally Cardinal in 1633. Oreggi's theological works were first published in 1637 ; a second edition appeared in 1642.[4]

The number of poems dedicated to Urban VIII. is extraordinarily great ; their worth varies very much and we have no cause to regret that many of them were never printed.[5] In these poems the Barberini crest—bees—are a favourite motif. They are exploited to satiety as symbols of poetic gifts, for the glorification of the Pope, himself *Apis Attica*. The thing began with Francesco Bracciolini's poem on Urban VIII.'s election, in which bees appear as vignettes at the end of each

serenest melodies and all the four subsequent editions of his Latin poems published during the poet's life-time, that of Vilna in 1628 and the three of Antwerp in 1630, 1632 and 1634 (the last two by B. Mont, the first with a frontispiece designed by Rubens) are in large part the splendid fruits of his stay in Rome."

[1] Renazzi, II., 117 *seq.* On Doni's *Lyra Barberini*, *cf.* Ambros, IV., 167.

[2] For Cesarini (died 1624), a special friend of Ciampoli, *cf.* the Monographs by Favorito (*Romae*, 1672) and N. Ratti (1735) as well as Gabrieli, *Carteggio*, 191.

[3] *Cf.* Ciampi, *Pietro della Valle*, Roma, 1880 ; Gabrieli, 205.

[4] Ciaconius, IV., 593 *seq.* ; Cardella, VI., 314.

[5] *Cf.* Appendix 23.

canto. Many other writers produced similar works.[1] Bees also play a great rôle in the learned literature of the period, as appears from the works of Federigo Cesi [2] and Leone Allacci.[3] It is worth mentioning that even Princes, as for instance Odoardo Farnese, sought to win the Pope's favour by writing odes in his honour.[4] We can best get an idea of the output of poetry at that period from the fact that on the occasion of the wedding of Taddeo Barberini to Anna Colonna, over a score of such congratulations were published. Among the authors appear the names of Lorenzo Azzolini,[5] the Dutchman Lukas Holste [6] and Sforza Pallavicini.[7] The last named, who became subsequently famous as the historian of the Council of Trent, was sprung from the Parma branch of the ancient noble family of the Pallavicini. He dedicated to Urban VIII. his extensive collection of religious poems [8] and other

[1] *Cf.* the **Apiarium* of Christophorus Maria Monaldus in *Barb.* 2123, Vatican Library, and BERNARDUS TURAMINUS, *Barbara sacra alle Api Barberine*, Viterbo, 1632. To this category also belong: IGNAZIO BRACCI, *Occulta corrispondenza tra l'arme, e il cognome de'Barberini con l'aggionta di cinquanta epigrammi*, Roma, 1623 (and 1633); LELIO GUIDICCIONI, *Delibatio mellis Barberinae*, Romae, 1639; CHRIST. CRIARDA, *Apis religiosa*, Mediol., 1625, and the scarce poem by JOH. CHRYSAPHULLUS: *Urbanosiridos libri duodeviginti*, Neapoli, 1632.

[2] F. CAESIUS, *Apiarium*, Romae, 1625; *cf.* MORONI, XC., 437 *seq.*

[3] *Apes Urbane*, Romae, 1633.

[4] See the Brief to O. Farnese of September 14, 1624, above, p. 382, note 3.

[5] Urban VIII. raised L. Azzolini to the episcopate; see MORUS, Bibl. *Picena*, I., Osimo, 1790, 279 *seq.*

[6] ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 301.

[7] *Cf.* ALLATII, *Apes Urbanae*, 63, 64, 84, 99, 106, 111, 116, 127, 132, 133, 144, 149, 157, 159, 161, 174, 182, 185, 203 *seq.*, 223, 234, 237.

[8] The original dedication copy of Pallavicini's *Fasti sacri* is in *Barb.* 4916, Vatican Library; time of composition 1630; see the letter in J. MACCHIA, *Relaz. fra Sf. Pallavicini con Fabio Chigi, Torino*, 1907, 15.

works,[1] among them nine books *De universa theologia*,[2] but he fell into disgrace because of his friendship with Ciampoli. In 1632 he became Governor of Orvieto and in 1637 entered the Society of Jesus. On the completion of his novitiate, in 1639, he taught philosophy at the Roman College; four years later he succeeded Juan de Lugo as professor of theology on the latter's elevation to the cardinalate.[3] Lugo had dedicated to Urban VIII. the first part of his excellent work: *De Justitia et Jure*,[4] in which he reveals his accurate knowledge of Roman and Canon Law. The Pope, who had not yet made the acquaintance of the scholar, was astonished at their first meeting, by his learning and mental acumen and thereafter frequently consulted him. The humble son of St. Ignatius had to be formally compelled by the Pope to accept the purple.

Among the many learned works dedicated to Urban VIII. a distinguished place is held by the third volume of the classic work of the Jesuit Francis Suarez on the virtue of religion [5] and by the excellent work of the famous liturgist Bartolomeo Gavanti: *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, a manual which enjoyed the widest diffusion. It describes the Church's sacred ceremonies of Mass and Office, explains their origin and meaning and the manner of carrying out the sacred functions.[6] Besides Gavanti many other scholars were called upon to co-operate in Urban's reform of the Breviary.[7]

The following scholars also presented their works to Urban

[1] **Poesie volgari in lode di Urbano VIII.* in *Cod.* X., IV., 35, p. 267 *seq.* of the *Bibl. Casanat.*, Rome: *ibid.*, p. 271 *seq.*: **Dialogo tra la pace e la guerra* (on the occasion of Urban VIII.'s election); p. 413: *Poesia nel settimo anniversario dell'esaltatione d'Urbano VIII.*; p. 459: **Poesia nel quinto anniversario d. esalt. d'Urbano VIII.* (1628). [2] Romae, 1628.

[3] Affò, *Memorie d. vita e degli studi di Sf. card. Pallavicini*, Venezia, 1780. [4] Lugduni, 1642.

[5] *De virtute et statu religionis*, III., Lugduni, 1623. The dedication by the Jesuit College of Coimbra of the posthumous work is dated September 13, 1623.

[6] Renazzi, III., 137; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V.², 123.

[7] See above, p. 13 *seq.*

VIII.: the Benedictine Angelo Maria Cherubini, his new, enlarged edition of the Bullarium [1]; the celebrated canonist Giovan Battista Coccini, a commentary on the Bull on the election of a Pope [2]; Leonardo Novelli, a dissertation on the Pope's authority [3]; Ignazio Bracci one on the title "Pope" [4]; Ovidio de Amici, a dissertation on the Church's authority in things spiritual and temporal [5]; Michele Lonigo one on the reservation *in petto* of Cardinals [6]; Cristoforo Borri, a report on the Jesuit missions in Cochin China [7]; Constantino Gaetano, a treatise on the States of the Church.[8] Other writings dedicated to the Pope are purely theological; for example: George Conaeus' Defence of Catholic doctrine [9]; Giovanni Falce's work on the characteristics of heresy [10]; the *Index* published in 1640 by Maddaleno Capiferreo, secretary to the Congregation of the Index [11] and Giovan Battista Novati's

[1] Romae, 1634, 4 vols. *Cf.* PHILLIPS, IV., 483.

[2] **Ad bullam Urbani VIII. de electione pontificum glossemata Io. Bapt. Coccini, Barb.* 1616, Vatican Library.

[3] LEONARDUS NOVELLUS, **De auctoritate s. pontificum, Barb.* 1265, *loc. cit., cf.* 975: **Ad S.D.N. Urbanum VIII. de ejus primatu ac suprema poteste tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus in universo mundo.*

[4] I. BRACCI, *La etimologia de'nomi Papa et Pontifex*, Roma, 1630.

[5] See ALLATII, *Apes Urbanae*, 208.

[6] **Barb.* 5243, 453, and *Vat.* 8630. *Cf.* GASPAROLO in *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 25 *seq.* Gasparolo does not note the *dissertations on questions of ceremonies dedicated to Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 2969 and the *dissertation on the *Confessio* of St. Peter's in *Barb.* 4516, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Relatione della nuova missione delli Padri della Comp. di Giesù nel regno della Cocincina*, Roma, 1631.

[8] CONSTANTINO GAETANO, **Del dominio temporale et patrimonio del pontefice Romano*, 1623, *Barb.* 4489, *loc. cit.* On the author see RENAZZI, III., 135.

[9] G. CONAEUS, *Assertionum catholicarum libri III.*, Romae, 1626.

[10] JOH. FALCES DE S. STEPHANO, *Methodus ad cognoscendas haereses*, Romae, 1630.

[11] REUSCH, II., 24 *seq.*

disquisition on the Immaculate Conception.[1] The Augustinian friar Fortunato Scacchi studied the conditions for beatification and canonization.[2] Among the "Lives of Saints" dedicated to Urban VIII. mention may be made of those of St. Yves by Peter Chevet [3]; of St. Bibiana by Domenico Fedini [4]; of Pope Urban I. by Francesco Maria Torrigio.[5] Urban VIII. was extremely gratified when Francesco Maria Fiorentini, who had deserved well of the city of Lucca, dedicated to him his work on Countess Matilda, the importance of which was emphasized by no less a man than Leibniz.[6]

The Barberini Pope was greatly interested in history and antiquities.[7] Agostino Mascardi, author of the *Arte istorica* [Rome, 1636], became his private chamberlain with a salary of 500 scudi a year; at a later date the Pope gave him an appointment at the University.[8] On two occasions he sought to attract to Rome the learned Jesuit Denis Petau who had made himself famous by his "Chronology", but the plan could not be realized owing to the delicate health of the scholar

[1] I. B. Novatus, *De eminentia Deiparae virginis Mariae semper immaculatae*, Romae, 1632.

[2] F. Scacchi, *De notis et signis sanctitatis beatificat. et cononizandorum*, *Vat.* 7064, printed *Romae*, 1639. *Cf.* Moroni, LX., 188; Lämmer, *zur Kirchengesch.*, 68.

[3] *Vat.* 7070, printed *Romae*, 1640.

[4] *Vat.* 7070, printed *Romae*, 1627.

[5] **Barb.* 4486, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Memorie della Gran Contessa Matilda.* Reumont, too, describes these *Memorie* as the most important work on that great woman and her time (*Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1882, no. 115). *Cf.* also Sforza, *F. M. Fiorentini*, Firenze, 1879.

[7] The Pope perused at once Benedetto Mellini's *dissertation: *Dell'arco di Portogallo* (the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius in the Corso), *Barb.* 4304 and 4305, *loc. cit.* To this class also belong the following writings: **Relazione delle reliquie antique trovate con l'occasione della nuova chiavica scritta da Cipriano Cipriani* (arciprete d. Rotonda), *ibid.* 4301 and 4311, and **Discorso del cavalier Gualdi del conservare le memorie et edificii antichi et in particolare per risarcire il Ponte di Rimini* (1640), *ibid.*, 4309.

[8] Renazzi, III., 97.

and because in the pursuit of his studies he could not do without the libraries of Paris.[1] The celebrated Leone Allacci was commissioned by Urban VIII. to study the question of Pope Joan: his work appeared in Rome in 1630.[2] Ten years later the history of the Barberini family by Carlo Strozzi was also printed there and its author received a call to Rome.[3] The history of the Order of Malta, with which Cesare Magalotti had been entrusted, remained unwritten.[4] A similar fate befell a far more important and extraordinarily opportune plan of Urban VIII., which was to oppose to Sarpi's tendentious history of the Council of Trent an authentic account based on a comprehensive use of the documents of the papal archives. This task was entrusted to the Jesuit Terenzio Alciati. In the autumn of 1626 the Pope instructed his theologian and private chamberlain Agostino Oreggi to put at the disposal of the scholar all the acts of the great assembly which were preserved in the Papal Secret Archives. In August, 1629, he directed the Augustinians of S. Giovanni a' Carbonari, at Naples, to give Alciati access to the papers left by Cardinal Seripando and all other acts referring to the Council of Trent.[5]

[1] KNELLER in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.[2], 184 *seq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, II., 1902; FOUQUERAY, 280 *seq.*; *ibid.*, IV., 266 *seq.*, on the attempt to attract J. Sirmond to Rome. A Brief of thanks to Petavius, of December, 1640, in *Epist.*, XV–XVI., Papal Secret Archives. *Originals of letters of Petavius to Hier. Aleander, Cardinal Francesco Barberini and Urban VIII., in *Barb.* 2185.

[2] *Commentatio in Ioannae Papissae fabulam. Cf.* L. ALLATII, *Apes Urbanae*, 177; DÖLLINGER, *Papstfabeln* [2] (1890), 1 *seq.*

[3] On the copy of the Chronicle of Dino Compagni which Carlo Strozzi presented to Urban VIII. and of which the Pope is said to have personally prepared the binding, see REUMONT in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 151 *seq.* According to RENAZZI (III., 118) Urban VIII. summoned Giambattista Strozzi to Rome and assigned to him a lodging in the Vatican. Strozzi subsequently returned to Florence.

[4] *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, I., 127 *seq.*; *ibid.*, on another work by Magalotti also dedicated to Urban VIII.

[5] See EHSES in *Röm. Quartalschr*, XVI., 297 *seq.*

Alciati applied himself most conscientiously to his task, and notwithstanding the difficulties created for him by the keeper of the archives, Contelori, he obtained the loan of the original notes drawn up by the secretary of the Council, Massarelli. But Alciati's high aspirations and, no doubt, his inability to master such a mass of detail, prevented him from doing more than collecting these materials. He died in 1631 without having written his history.[1] This does not diminish the credit due to Urban VIII. His action also refutes the assertion, repeated even in our own days, that the Roman Curia was anxious to keep secret the conciliar Acts of Trent.[2]

The Pope's interest in history had a beneficent influence on the deve'opment of historical studies in Rome where men like Ughelli, Wadding, Andrea Vittorelli, Fioravante Martinelli, Francesco Maria Torrigio and the great Oderico Raynald undertook substantial works which have won them lasting fame. Urban VIII. lived long enough to see the beginning of the publication of that gigantic work, the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which it was proposed to give a critical account of the lives of all the Saints based on the most reliable sources. The first two folio volumes, written by the Jesuit John Bollandus and comprising the month of January, appeared at Antwerp in 1643. The *Acta* show the Jesuit Order at the peak of its scholarship.[3] Five years earlier the Jesuit Alexander Donatus had published his description of ancient and modern Rome and dedicated it to Urban VIII.[4] The work is distinguished by thorough philological knowledge and a genuine historical conception. In the first book Donatus expatiates on the

[1] PALLAVICINI, Storia del concilio di Trento, Introduzione, V., 6; EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 305.

[2] Thus RANKE (Päpste, III.[6], 41*.)

[3] Opinion of G. VOIGT in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, X., 19. On the Bollandists, on whose labours Mabillon, the founder of the study of Diplomatics, based his own work, *cf.* BERNHEIM, *Hist. Methode*, 131 *seq.*; *Les Bollandistes et l'hagiographie*, Paris, 1866, and DELEHAYE, "A travers trois siècles," *L'œuvre des Bollandistes*, Brussels, 1920.

[4] ALEX. DONATUS, *Roma vetus ac recens*, Romae, 1638.

circumference, the walls and gates of Rome, and describes the characteristics of the principal epochs of the history of the city; in the second and third books he speaks of the hills and valleys of ancient Rome whilst the fourth extols the new Rome.[1]

The name of Urban VIII. is also linked with another important work. The end of 1634 saw the publication of *Roma Sotterranea* by the Maltese lawyer, Antonio Bosio. The work, which was dedicated to the Pope, was edited by the Oratorian Giovanni Severano.

From the year 1593 Bosio had devoted his life to the exploration of underground Rome, that is the immense network of the burial places of the early Christians. Whereas up till then barely four or five catacombs had been accessible,[2] he explored thirty of them. He lived a life of complete solitude, so much so that legends and calumnies grew round the name of a scholar [3] who, with unparalleled enthusiasm, buried himself in antiquarian material unique of its kind, constituting one of the most precious treasures of the wonderful city round which the axis of the world's history has now revolved for more than two thousand years. The material collected by Bosio, now preserved in the Vallicellian library, shows the vastness of his

[1] See PLATNER, I., XXXVII.

[2] Already then visits to the Catacombs proceeded on lines similar to those in use to-day. Thus we read in the "Wegzeiger zu den wunderbarlichen sachen der heidnischen etwann nun Christlichen stat Rom . . . durch HERMANNUM BAVINCK" (Rome, 1625), p. 55: "It is impossible to go down and to move about without a light. The wax tapers which you see in these churches and in S. Lorenzo cost a quatrin each; thus one gets five for a baiocco or a kreutzer. The money is cast in the box close by." On the removal of relics from the Roman Catacombs between 1638 and 1640 by Cardinal Pallotta see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXXIII., 123 *seq.*

[3] On the calumnies against Bosio by Eritreo *cf.* DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 43 *seq.*; A. VALERI, *Cenni biogr. di A. Bosio*, Roma, 1900, 65 *seq.*, see also ORBAAN, *Rome onder Clemens VIII.*, Gravenhage, 1920, 234 *seq.*; P. FREMIOTTI, *La Reforma Cattolica del secolo XVI. e gli studi di archeologia christiana*, Roma, 1926.

preliminary labours.[1] The manuscripts also prove that the alterations introduced by Severano were only minor ones, that only a few pages were suppressed and that everywhere the author's ample material was carefully utilized. When Bosio died in 1629 most of the text was ready and nearly all the tables were engraved. Bosio follows a strictly topographical order, describes the various galleries of the cemeteries with their crypts and paintings and puts together all the historical details he has been able to establish. Recent research has shown that nothing which it was possible to ascertain in his day has escaped him. In his designation of the various catacombs he had to rely, for the most part, on tradition, since only in rare instances did he succeed in finding monuments that confirmed or modified it.[2] Notwithstanding this and other shortcomings, his is a wonderful piece of work [3] and one of the most valuable fruits of the scholarship of the era of Catholic restoration in which, after classical Rome, the subterranean Rome of the first Christians was likewise rescued from oblivion.[4] Publication of the gigantic work was made possible by Cardinal Francesco Barberini [5] who followed the example of the Pope as a munificent patron of learning.

Like his uncle, Francesco Barberini had such a mastery of Greek as to enable him, at a later date, to translate the soliloquies of Marcus Aurelius into Italian.[6] The extent of his

[1] *Cf.* besides De Rossi, *loc. cit.*, especially Valeri, 31, 37 *seq.*

[2] De Rossi, *loc. cit.*, K. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der Christl. Archäologie*, Paderborn, 1913.

[3] Kraus-sauer, II., 2, 691; *cf.* Hülsen in *Ausonia*, VI. (1911).

[4] Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, Wien, 1924, 456.

[5] Valeri, 60 *seq.*, who shows that the work was only published in 1634 though the title-page bears the date 1632, for the Brief with the privilege against reproduction is dated October 6, 1634. Orbaan, *Rome onder Clemens VIII.*, 235, must be corrected accordingly.

[6] Printed in Rome in 1667, MS. in *Barb.* 3897, Vatican Library, *ibid.*, 2068, numerous poems of Card. Fr. Barberini, but not in his hand (*cf.* Mazzuchelli, II., 1, 293 *seq.*); some are printed in Tetius, *Aedes Barb.*

interests is attested by the number of works dedicated to him not only by Italians but by Frenchmen also with whom he had many contacts since his Paris legation. Besides many poems, we come across numerous works of sacred and profane learning and names such as those of Lugo, Lessius, Cornelius a Lapide.[1] In addition to theology, the Cardinal was particularly interested in history.[2] He also paid great attention to the natural sciences, to botany in particular.[3] To the history of art he rendered a unique service when he had copies made of the pictures of the old churches of Rome, with their mosaics and paintings and other works of art, as for instance, the bronze door of St. Paul's.[4] Totti dedicated to the Cardinal his description of the new Rome,[5] Severano the two volumes of his

[1] *Cf.* Appendix 24.

[2] Burgus dedicated to him his book *De Bello Suecico* (1633); G. Ciammarucone his *Descrittione d. città di Sezza*, Roma, 1641. *Cf. Barb.* 3571; **Elogios de los Papas y cardenales que a tenido la nacion española*, by Balt. Porreño; also a sonnet to the Cardinal. Magnus Perneus wrote *De vita card. Barberini, Barb.* 3316 *seq.* Vatican Library.

[3] Jessen, *Botanik*, 258. A **Botanologia esotica*, dedicated to the Cardinal, is in *Barb.* 4252, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, 4278: **Trattazione della coltivazione di alcuni fiori cioè degli anemoni, de' giacinti, de' narcissi, de' tulipani, de' garofani*, by Fr. Mingucci da Pesaro; 4283: **Trattato della coltivazione di alcuni fiori cioè gelsomini e delle rose doppie*, by the same; 4326: **Fiore diversi coloriti dal naturale* by the same, with dedication dated August 21, 1637; 4327: **Ucelli diversi coloriti dal naturale* by the same; 4265: *Giardinetto secreto del em. sig. card. Barberini*, with plan.

[4] The copies are partly in the *Vaticana*, partly in the *Barberini* Library now transferred to the former. *Cf.* Platner, I., LIX.; Müntz, *Sources d'archéol. chrét.*: *Mél.*, VIII., 101 *seq.*; Scaglia, *I Mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1910. The "figure e iscrittioni" on the bronze door of St. Paul's, "copiate d'ordine del card. Fr. Barberini, 1634" in *Barb.* 4378, Vatican Library. The Cardinal had copies of this kind made in France also; see "Disegni e piante di palazzi etc. da alcune città di Francia" executed for the Cardinal by an architect. *Barb.* 4398, *ibid.*

[5] See below, p. 517.

Memorie of the seven principal churches of the Eternal City [1] and Ferreria and Falda, at a later date, their splendid work on the palaces of Rome.[2]

Francesco Barberini was an eager collector not only of books, but of antiques and other rare objects. His collection of ancient inscriptions [3] and coins [4] was especially famous. But his collection of antiques [5] was left far behind by his valuable library. He founded the Barberini library which, next to that of the Vatican, became the first in Rome.[6] Many scholars, among them Aleander, Holste, Doni and Suarez, were commissioned by him to secure further additions to the collection,[7] but its nucleus consisted of the literary treasures

[1] *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma e di altri luoghi che si trovano per le strade*, Roma, 1630.

[2] P. Ferreiro e G. B. Falda, *Palazzi di Roma*, Roma, s.a. (*ca.* 1660). *Cf.* Cicognara, 3719; Brunet, II., 1235.

[3] *Cf.* Tiraboschi, VIII., 47; Renazzi, III., 111.

[4] *Instruttione sopra le medaglie degli imperatori antichi Romani di Marco Baldanza familiare di N. Sig. Papa Urbano VIII. all em. sig. card. Franc. Barberini* (MS. in 40, *ca.* 250 pages), which passed from the library of A. Manzoni into the possession of Nardechia's antiquarian shop in Rome (Catalogue of 1922).

[5] Giulio Piccolomini, *Descriz. dell'antichità dell'ecc. casa Barberini* (dedicated to Card. Barberini, 1637). *Barb.* 4817.

[6] See Nicoletti in *Barb.* 4730, p. 533 (fu stimata una delle più insigni e più celebri che siano in Europa), Vat. Lib.; Mabillon, 131; Blume, III., 132 *seq.*; Reumont, V., 167 *seq.*; Orbaan, *Bescheiden*, I., 271; Jensovsky, *La Bibl. Barberini e le ricerche Boeme a Roma*, Prag., 1927. *Cf. Barb.* 3021 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] *Cf.* especially the letters of Giuseppe Maria Suarez (between 1633–1666 Bishop of Vaison, died 1677) to Cardinal Fr. Barberini, 1633–1676 in *Barb.* 6482, *loc. cit.* The literary remains of Suarez, *ibid.*, 2991–2997 (*Adversaria*), 3001, 3010, 3018 (*Lettere*), 3016 (*Omelie*), 3017 (*Epistolae*), 3020 (*Insignia pontif. Avenion.*), 3018 (*Praenestes antiquae libri duo* for *Maffeo Barberini princ. Praen.*), 3022, 3023 (*S. Nili opuscula*), 3026 (*Excerpta*), 3027 (*Opuscula*), 3028 (*S. Augustin.*), 3029, 3030 (*Excerpta de rosa aurea*), 3031 (*De praefecto Urbis*), 3032, 3033 (*Excerpta*), 3034, 3040, 3047, incl. *Adversaria*, 3035 (Ital. MSS.), 3036–3040 (*Carmina*, 3039

gathered by Maffeo Barberini. The Barberini library continued to expand as time went on. Notwithstanding some sensible losses suffered by it, its amalgamation with the Vatican Library in 1902, rendered possible by the munificence of Leo XIII., meant a very great gain for the latter. It includes at this day, 10,659 MSS.—9,902 Latin, 593 Greek and 164 Oriental ones. The printed works number 31,671, works in several volumes being reckoned as one item.[1] Among its treasures we may mention autographs of Bembo [2] and Galileo.[3] Many printed works bear signed notes by Tasso.[4] Precious treasures also are the collection of drawings by Sangallo,[5] a polyglot of the thirteenth–fourteenth century, the Samaritan Pentateuch, a French Bible with miniatures dating from the end of the thirteenth century, a copy of the forty-two column Bible and a parchment edition of *Orlando Furioso* of 1532. The library was made accessible to the public and a special guardian appointed.[6] In 1636 the post of librarian of the Barberiniana was given to one of the most distinguished theologians, archæologists and critics of the period, Luke Holste, or Holstenius, as he himself spelt his name.[7] Born at

(*Poesie*), 3048 (*Epistolae*) (1617–1677), 3049 (*Lett. Ital.* (*item* 3052), letters in French, among them copies of two letters of St. Francis de Sales, 3053 (*Lettere*), 3054, 3055 (*Opuscula*), 3056 (*Mon. eccl. Vasionen.*), 3167 (Catalogues of Roman libraries). These rich remains are worthy of closer examination.

[1] Information supplied by Mgr. A. Mercati, prefect of the Archives.

[2] *Cod. Lat.*, 2157 and 5963. [3] *Cod. Lat.*, 6479/6481.

[4] *Cf.* SOLERTI, III., 183 *seq.* [5] Published by Hülsen.

[6] See TOTTI, 273. For the loan of a MS. to Paris see the publication by Tamizey de Larroche, p. 37, mentioned in n. 4 of p. 444, *ibid.*, pp. 40 and 49 *seq.*, for the dispatch of French books for the Cardinal's library.

[7] See [WILKEN'S] Leben L. Holstenii, Hamburg, 1723; RÄSS, V., 186 *seq.*; BURSIAN, in *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XII., 776; F. WAGNER in *Zeitschr. für Ham. Gesch.*, XI. (1903), 395 *seq.*; FRIEDENSBURG, *ibid.*, XII., 9 (1908), 95 *seq.* *Cf.* also PALMIERI in *Spicil. Vat.*, I., 263; GABRIELI, 204. For Holstenius' literary

Hamburg in 1596, the son of a dyer, Holste had been in touch, even whilst still a student at the University of Leiden, with philologists of mark such as John Meursius, Daniel Heimsius and Philip Cluverius. In 1618 he travelled in Italy with the last named. In 1622 he stayed in England where he worked in the libraries of Oxford and London in the interests of his Dutch friends and the collection of Greek geographers which he himself was planning. In 1624 he went to Paris where, moved by the same inspiration as St. Augustine, he entered the Catholic Church.[1] As librarian of the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Henri des Mesmes, he came in contact with the most eminent French bibliophiles and scholars. He became a close friend of the librarian of the King, Nicholas Rigault, as well as of Gabriel Naudé, the subsequent founder of Mazarin's library, the Jesuit Sirmond, the librarians Pierre and Jacques Du Puy and Nicholas Claude Fabre de Peirex, councillor of Parliament.[2] Pierre Du Puy, in conjunction with Peirex and Girolamo Aleander, recommended Holstenius to Cardinal

remains, *cf. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XII., 441 *seq.*, XIII, 186, XIX., 321 *seq.* The Barberini family archives, of which the House has retained possession, have not been exploited as regards Holstenius.

[1] In a letter to his nephew, Petrus Lambecius (1646), published by Friedensburg (*loc. cit.*), Holstenius explains the motives of his return to Catholicism. According to this evidence the change of opinion occurred already in 1620, that is, during the period at Leiden. This completely disposes of the idea that Holstenius took this step at the suggestion of his Paris friends or as a result of his relations, at a much later date, with Italy and the Roman curia (*loc. cit.*, 103). In like manner the surmise that Holstenius changed his faith because he had failed to obtain a post he had hoped for in his native town, falls to the ground as a result of the evidence furnished by Friedensburg that, at that very time, his fellow townsmen sought to secure him for a secretarial post which he had to refuse owing to his change of religion.

[2] *Cf.* L. G. Pélissier, *Les Amis d'Holstenius*, in *Mél. d'archéol.*, VI., 554 *seq.*, VII., 62 *seq.*, and *Rev. des langues Romanes*, 1891. G. Naudé has published a *Panegyricus dicatus Urbano VIII. ob beneficia in M.Th. Campanellam collata, Parisiis*, 1644.

Francesco Barberini [1] who assigned to so promising a scholar a permanent post in the Eternal City by entrusting to him the management and completion of his library. Holstenius left Paris in 1626, in company with the nuncio Spada who was returning to Rome, to take up his new post. In Rome he by no means confined himself to the administration and increase of the library,[2] but read widely for himself. The works of the Neo-Platonists and the Greek Fathers occupied him no less than the Greek geographers. History and theology also entered into the ambit of his studies which were rewarded with important discoveries, such as that of the *Liber diurnus*.[3] He also wrote poetry. However, in consequence of this frittering away of his energies, only too many of the works begun by him remained incomplete,[4] which is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that he had to undertake repeated journeys in order

[1] PÉLISSIER, *loc. cit.*, VII., 69 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* L. HOLSTENII, *Index librorum manuscript. et typis edit. quos Urbanus VIII., Franc. card. Barberinus aliique ad hanc Bibliothecam miserunt vel idem emit Holstenius, Barb.* 3075, Vatican Library ; *ibid.*, 3062, *Index codicum graecorum bibliothecae L. Allatii.*

[3] *Cf.* A. RATTI, *La fine d'una leggenda ed altre spigolature intorno al Liber diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, Pavia, 1913.

[4] On Holstenius' collection of Lives of the Popes *cf.* GLASSCHRÖDER in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, IV., 125 *seq.* ; Holstenius planned, among other things, an edition of the *Liber pontificalis* and the *Liber diurnus* ; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 85. The Barberini Library has the following works by him : 2049, *Epigrammata* ; 2104, poem to Motmann ; 2182, 3063–3074 and 6535, *Adversaria, Opuscula et Varia*. *Cf.* also 6428 and 6419. A small selection of his extensive correspondence has been published by BOISSONADE (*L. Holstenii epistolae ad diverso*, Paris, 1817), PÉLISSIER (see above p. 441, n. 2) and others (see *Riv. d. biblioteche*, 1890, nos. 18–19). The many letters of Holstenius in the Barberini library would well reward fresh study. *Cf.* especially 2177, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2183–9, 3539 (French, German and English letters to Holstenius), 3630 (French letters to Holstenius), 3631 (German and English letters to Holstenius), 6488 (letters to Card. Fr. Barberini, 1636–1642), 6489 (*item* 1643–1660), 6490 (*item* 1646–8),

to secure additions to the Library.[1] Accordingly he only published a Greek-Latin edition of several works of Porphyry with a learned introduction on his life and writings (Rome, 1630), a collection of axioms of the later Pythagoreans (Rome, 1638), notes on Gabriel Naudé's edition of the Neo-Platonist Sallustius' treatise on the gods and the world (Rome, 1638) and on Arrian's book on the chase (Paris, 1644). He also collaborated in the editions of Athanasius and Eusebius published in Paris in 1627 and 1628. To all this must be added theological dissertations and Latin poems.[2] The Pope made provision for the versatile scholar by the grant of ecclesiastical benefices in North-Germany and when the war choked this source of income, he gave him a canonry at St. Peter's.[3] Cardinal Barberini remained at all times a good friend to his protégé who, under Innocent XI, obtained the long-desired post of Custodian of the Vatican Library. When Holstenius died on February 2nd, 1661, Barberini erected a monument to him in S. Maria dell'Anima, with this inscription : " Famous in Rome, more famous in Germany, Holstenius' mind embraced the history and Christian traditions of all peoples and times ; he knew accurately the territories and names of the various countries through which he travelled, also their different languages, besides Greek and Latin, the writers of which he

6491, Card. Fr. Barberini's letters to Holstenius, 1629–1638, 6492 (*item* 1646–8), 6493 (letters of Princes to Holstenius), 6494 (letters of Bishops), 6495, 6496 (various letters), 6497 (letters of Cardinals), 6498, 6499, 6480 (letters of famous personages to Holstenius). The *Fondo* Leone Allacci of the Vatican Library has not yet been exploited and catalogued ; *cf. Arch. Rom.*, VII., 580 seq.

[1] His **Iter per Etruriam*, 1641, has been described by Holstenius himself (MS. F. 192 of Dresden Library) ; extracts in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, X., 340 *seq.* ; on Holstenius' journey to Lower Italy to visit libraries and his purchases of books for Cardinal Barberini see his *Letters in *Barb.* 6488, Vatican Library.

[2] See Bursian in *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XII., 776.

[3] *Cf.* Friedensburg, *loc. cit.* During the war of Castro, Holstenius was sent to Umbria *per esaminare le fortezze* ; see letters in *Barb.* 6489.

thoroughly explained, and he was versed in ancient philosophy." [1]

It was appropriate that Holstenius should find a resting place in the German national church seeing that he was, as it were, the advocate with Cardinal Barberini of all Germans who came to Rome, obtaining audiences for the rich, and for the poor succour or money for their journey. It was he who, in the spring of 1637, after thoroughly instructing him, induced the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse to return to the Church. With what interest Holstenius watched the destinies of his native land is revealed by his letters and a scheme for a German fleet which he drew up for the imperial Resident Motmann.[2]

Cardinal Barberini kept up relations with numerous foreign scholars.[3] His house in Rome was the rendezvous of literary men of every description. When any celebrities from abroad came to Rome, the Cardinal gave them a most friendly reception and furthered their studies, even if they did not belong to the Catholic Church.[4] The great Dutch philologists Heinsius and Vossius and other learned Netherlanders gave poetic expression to their gratitude for the kindly reception the Cardinal gave them.[5] But the most famous personage received in the Palazzo Barberini was, without doubt, John Milton, whose masterpiece, "Paradise Lost," was to win for him the highest recognition even from Catholics, though, as a Puritan, he combated them most vehemently. Milton arrived in Rome in October, 1638, when Holstenius introduced him to Cardinal Barberini who invited him to his parties.[6]

[1] SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 501. [2] *Ibid.*, 477 *seq.*

[3] Numerous *letters to him, mostly on literary topics, from scholars, among them many Jesuits, Cardinals and Bishops, in *Barb.* 6455, 6457, 6458, 6515, 6517, 6521.

[4] Jean Jacques Bouchard also secured the eagerly longed-for post of secretary to Fr. Barberini: *cf.* TAMIZEY DE LARROCHE, *Les correspondants de Peiresc*, III., Paris, 1881, p. v.

[5] See ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 305 *seq.*, 308 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*, 328 *seq.*; *cf.* 219 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* T. GUAZZARONI, *G. Milton in Italia*, Roma, 1902, and J. MARTIN, *Milton en Italie*, in *Bullet. italien*, X., No. 4, Bordeaux, 1910, 9 *seq.*

On one such occasion the poet made the acquaintance of the most celebrated singer of the time, Leonora Baroni, of Mantua. Like the rest of the poets of Rome, he too paid exuberant homage to the artiste, singing her praises in Latin and Italian verses. Such was his enthusiasm that from a Puritan it almost turned him into a pantheist. The Roman men of letters extolled Milton in no less florid language. Selvaggi placed him by the side of Homer and Virgil, whilst Salsilli, a member of the *Accademia dei Fantastici*, did not hesitate to award him the triple crown of Latin, Greek and Italian poetry. Milton replied in a poem crammed with mythological allusions. He even accepted an invitation to a dinner in his honour at the English College, but the ecclesiastical atmosphere did not agree with him in the long run ; in December he left for Naples.[1]

All the scholars and poets of the city collected round this most cultivated Prince of the Church, whose palace near Quattro Fontane became Rome's first Academy. In an extensive work illustrated by Cornelis Bloemaert [2] and dedicated to the Cardinal, Count Girolamo Teti [3] described not only that magnificent edifice, its works of art, collections of antiquities and its library, but likewise the whole circle of *beaux esprits* who met there. "Nothing so characterizes the scholarly tone which obtained among the *habitués* of the House of Barberini than this work written in studied Latin, in the manner of Cicero, with its wealth of imagery and flowery rhetoric. In its pages the gatherings at the palazzo near Quattro Fontane were compared to Parnassus, on whose peaks the nephews of Urban were enthroned like *alteri Appolines*." [4] In addition to the librarian Holstenius, one of the intimates of the circle was another official of the library, Carlo Moroni, author of a book on the origin and nobility of the Barberini family [5] and as able a cicerone as he was a courteous one. The

[1] MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 10.

[2] ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 133, 272.

[3] *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem a comite Hieronymo Tetio Perusino descriptae, Romae*, 1642.

[4] G. POSSE, *Deckenmalerei*, 103.

[5] *Dell'origine e nobiltà della famiglia Barberini, Roma*, 1640.

collection of coins also had its own learned director in the person of the antiquarian Leonardo Agostino who provided explanations of its treasures.

From the very beginning of his uncle's reign, Cardinal Barberini gathered the most distinguished and most learned writers of Rome in an Academy.[1] On the completion of his palace, its meetings were held in the exedra, adorned with antique statues, which adjoined the gallery painted by Pietro da Cortona. At these gatherings not only were poems recited in praise of the master of the house and the literary men present, or clever epigrams made on works of art, but speeches were also delivered on philosophic, moral or æsthetic themes. Ancient eloquence was recalled, so Teti boasts, when Francesco Bracciolini spoke on the splendours of antiquity and Gaspare de Simeonibus read his *Praelectio contra laudem.*[2]

Among the other Roman Academies it is worth while mentioning one likewise promoted by the Cardinal in the Basilian monastery founded by Urban VIII. in 1631, the secretary of which was the Florentine Giovan Battista Doni. Its members included Holstenius, Allacci, Francesco Arcudio, Vincenzo Riccardi, Pietro Ligaridis and Giovan Battista Rinuccini. The subjects of the discussions were the points controverted between Greeks and Latins.[3] Between 1623–1627 Cardinal Maurice of Savoy likewise gathered the choicest spirits in an Academy at his palace on Monte Giordano.[4] But the most important of all was the Accademia dei Lincei founded by Federigo Cesi, of which Francesco Barberini became a member on October 1st, 1623.[5] Besides history and poetry, the natural sciences were the chief pursuit of its members. When Cesi died in 1630, this particular association broke up but its scientific material was rescued by Cassiano del Pozzo who had

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of July 17, 1624. Vatican Library.

[2] Posse, *loc. cit.*; on the extensive literary activity of Gaspare de Simeonibus of Aquila *cf.* Allatii, *Apes Urbanae*, 120 *seq.*

[3] See Moroni's account (XXXIII., 71 *seq.*), based on the now scarce History of this Academy by Ignazio de Lazaris (*Roma*, 1682),

[4] See Gabrieli, *Carteggio*, 201.

[5] *Ibid.*, 199.

been Francesco Barberini's companion on his legations to France and Spain in 1625 and 1626.[1] The palace of this scholar in the Via dei Chiavari, which also housed, besides works of art, a museum of natural history, was the meeting place of a circle whose main interest was classical antiquity. Pozzo had been in touch with the Pope whilst the latter was still a Cardinal. His collection of drawings of classical works of art, which is one of the treasures of the library of Windsor, as well as his journals, constitute to this day a rich mine for archæologists. Pozzo was in relation with a number of scholars and artists. Through him Poussin acquired that practical and theoretical knowledge of archæology which largely influenced and furthered his artistic conceptions.[2] Together with Pozzo, Cardinal Barberini took his share in the explanation of the famous mosaic floor with Egyptian motifs which, after its discovery, was first taken to Rome, but in 1640, at the instance of the people of Palestrina, was transferred to the magnificent palace of the Barberini in that locality.[3]

In 1627 Urban VIII. placed Francesco Barberini at the head of the Vatican Library, a position which the Cardinal retained even after his appointment (in 1632) as Vice-Chancellor. However, in 1636, he resigned it in favour of the Pope's brother, Cardinal Antonio. This measure sufficiently shows the importance which the Pope attached to the Vatican Library. One of his first ordinances had been an edict for the preservation of its treasures.[4] The Cardinal was alone empowered to remove any manuscript from the Vaticana, either for his own or another's use.[5] The guardians were enjoined to keep a sharp eye on visitors to the library. A law was also made by which a copy of all books printed in Rome had to be presented

[1] Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano del Pozzo*, in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV, *Torino*, 1876, 129 *seq.*; Premoli in *Atti d. Arcadia*, II. (1918), 181 *seq.*, 90 *seq.*; Gabrieli, 197 *seq.*

[2] Friedländer, *N. Poussin*, 13.

[3] *Cf.* Sante Pieralisi, *Osservazioni sul mosaico di Palestrina*, Roma, 1858; *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV. (1875), 176 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*

[4] See *Avviso* of September 23, 1623. Vat. Lib.

[5] Beltrani in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, II., 197.

to the library.[1] At the same time the Pope made provision for a fitting exhibition of the manuscripts of the Heidelberg library, assigning to them a suitable room to the left of the main hall of the Vaticana.[2] In March, 1624, he himself inspected the collection,[3] the beautiful bindings of which bear witness, even at this day, to the solicitude of the Barberini Pope.

The Vatican Library was considerably enriched by various legacies. The Bishop of Belluno, Alvise Lollini, an old personal friend of the Pope, presented to it his rich collection of Greek manuscripts [4] and Paolo Emilio Santori assigned to it the books and manuscripts left by his uncle, the great Cardinal. The famous Syriac Bible of Sergio Risi, Archbishop of Damascus, was bought for the library.[5] Magnificent printed books as well as manuscripts came from France, the Pope expressing his thanks to the donor in a special letter.[6] In 1628

[1] *Ibid.*, 198.

[2] Nicoletti (VI., c. 2, *Barb.* 604, Vat. Lib.), writes: "Non si tosto Urbano fu sublimato a qual grado, che desiderando quanto primo di vederla in Roma, ordinò che speditamente vi fosse trasportata e che fossero pagate molte spese fatte da Leone nell'andare in Germania, e tornare con la medesima condotta. Intanto preparolli un nobile e sontuoso luogo in un lato della Biblioteca Vaticana verso la parte di occidente, che prima era rozzo e dishabitato, e quivì con lungo ordine di armarii e di fenestroni di fino vetro per render più luminoso e maestoso il luogo medesimo, collocò la detta libreria, chiamata oggi Palatina, dove per memoria immortale della vittoria, pietà e generosità di Massimiliano Duca di Baviera fece porre questa iscrittione . . . (text in *Forcella*, VI., 147).

[3] See **Avviso* of March 23, 1624, Vat. Lib.

[4] See Mél. d'archéol., IX. (1889), 38 *seq.*; Nicoletti (*loc. cit.*), remarks on this collection: Se bene per la quantità de' volumi era assai inferiore alla Palatina, tuttavia fu degna per la grandezza dell'animo del donatore e per la qualità de' libri per lo più manuscritti e greci, della stima che ne fece Urbano, e del luogo che assegnolli appresso la Palatina.

[5] Carini, Bibl. Vatic., 83.

[6] *"Dilecto filio Domino de Noyers Urbanus P. P. VIII. Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Volumina,

Urban VIII. had the manuscripts and printed books of the Ethiopian Hospice of S. Stefano degli Abessini transferred to the Vaticana together with manuscripts from the Capranica College, from the Minerva and from Assisi.[1] A catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts, dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, was published by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher who supplied at the same time interesting information on his own Egyptian studies.[2]

Urban VIII. caused the inventory of the manuscripts of the Vaticana to be proceeded with,[3] Leone Allacci being one of those engaged on the work. However, the latter fell out of favour with the Pope when he resigned his chair at the Greek College against the Pontiff's will and because he had passed some sharp criticisms on Urban's Greek poems ; moreover he had laid himself open to blame in the performance of his duties. Neither his apologia nor his book on the fable of Pope Joan regained for Allacci the Pope's favour.[4] By way of compensation,

quae non ita pridem Parisiis e typographia regia prodierunt, eam quavis ex parte prae se ferunt elegantiam ac splendorem, ut nihil concinnius, nihil ornatius cerni possit. Cum sane tanto operi tua auctoritate praefueris, plurimum tibi debent literarum studiosi, quippe qui tam insignibus monumentis optime de illis promeritus es, et qui omni virtutum genere excellere praediearis, hoc etiam nomine singularem tibi laudem peperisti. Nobis autem codices, quos una cum epistola detulit dilectus filius Dominus de Chantelon tibi propinquitate coniunctus, gratissimi acciderunt, et in eiusmodi significatione consuetam tuam erga nos observantiam atque humanitatem, quarum merito non minus quam ob eximias alias animi dotes te paterne semper complexi sumus, lueulenter agnovimus. Magnifacimus praecipui tui in hanc sanctam sedem obsequii atque affectus officia, tibique a supremo bonorum auctore diuturnam felicitatem precantes pontificiam benedictionem ex animo impertimur. Datum ut supra (31 January 1643). *Epist.*, XIX.–XXI., n. 236, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* BELTRANI, *loc. cit.*, 198 *seq.* ; CARINI, *loc. cit.*, 83 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BRISCHAR, *P. A. Kircher*, Würzburg, 1877, 45 *seq.*

[3] CARINI, *loc. cit.*, 82.

[4] See HERGENRÖTTER in *Freib. Kirchenlix.*, I.², 549.

Cardinal Francesco Barberini interested himself in him. To the Cardinal, Allacci dedicated his work entitled *Apes Urbanae* which deals with the numerous writers who lived in Rome between 1630 and 1632. By praising Urban's poetical activities in his preface and with a Greek translation of the Pope's ode to Carlo Barberini, Allacci sought to obtain oblivion for his former criticism.[1] To Cardinal Barberini he introduced the learned Cistercian Ughelli and encouraged the latter's *Italia Sacra*.[2] A work similar to the *Apes Urbanae* was published by Giovanni Vittorio Rossi, known as Janus Nicius Erythraeus, who, after a stormy career, retired to Monte Mario where he founded the church of the Madonna del Rosario; there also he found his last resting place.[3] Erythraeus' *Pinacotheca*,[4] unlike Allacci's work, is not a dry list of literary achievements but a lively account of the careers of contemporary writers and artists, though not without partiality and ironical exaggerations.[5]

If the three tomes of the *Pinacotheca* of Janus Nicius Erythraeus describe, in original fashion, the weaknesses of even the greatest celebrities of the period, the four volumes of his letters present a colourful picture of life in the Rome of Urban VIII. His seventeen "Dialogues" complete this work. They are equally important for the history of culture whilst their cold sarcasm reminds the reader of the "Colloquies" of Erasmus. The shadows in the picture of the Rome of the Barberini are even more mordantly described in the satire entitled *Eudemia*, which, under more or less transparent disguises, castigates certain men of letters and other personalities then alive.[6]

[1] See *Apes Urbanae*, 13 *seq.* A Greek poem on the Villa Barberini by L. Allacci was published in Rome in 1640 (Copy in *Bibl. Casanat.*).

[2] MANACORDA in *Studi storici*, XII., 4 (1903).

[3] FORCELLA, XII., 268–9.

[4] The *Pinacotheca* was prepared for the press by Fabio Chigi in 1643; see L. CERCONI, *G. Nicio Eritreo*, Città di Castello, 1909, 15 *seq.* [5] ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, London, 1911, 199.

[6] See the monograph by Cerboni quoted above, n. 4.

Urban VIII. has deserved well not only of the Vatican Library, the bronze door of which is adorned with his arms, but of the Roman archives also. Here practical and historical interests concurred. At that time the archival treasures of the Vatican were kept in two different places, viz. in Castel S. Angelo and in the Secret Archives set up by Paul V., near the Vatican. From that time onwards the prefect of the Vaticana was likewise head of these archives. On the death of Niccolò Alemanni, Urban VIII., on July 9th, 1626, entrusted that important and responsible post to Felice Contelori, but in 1630 he divided the management of the Library from that of the Archives.[1]

The Pope's choice of Contelori was a very happy one, for the latter had been prepared for his task by arranging the Coccini and Barberini libraries ; he was, moreover, possessed of immense diligence as well as a shrewd historic sense. It was chiefly he who, after Baronius' death, kept alive in Rome the study of archives.[2] When Cardinal Barberini was named librarian of the Vaticana, Contelori made a valuable report on the library and the adjoining archives.[3] Though he also held the trying post of a Commissary of the Apostolic Camera, which was charged with the supervision of income and expenditure, he still found time for important archival research work which resulted in valuable historical works which may be consulted with profit even at this day. Mention must be made, in the first instance, of the two comprehensive collections of sources for a history of the States of the Church ; these were followed by another collection of materials for the war of Parma under Julius III. Contelori's collection of papal Bulls and Briefs, from Leo I. to Julius III., fills four volumes. This keen scholar devoted prolonged and extensive study to the history of the office of the Prefect of Rome and his privileges, the result being a book published in 1631 which caused no small stir. The question of the reconciliation of Alexander III. with

[1] Beltrani, *loc. cit.*, 190 *seq.*

[2] Beltrani, 168. On Contelori's personal library, *cf.* Totti, 234.

[3] Information in *Vat.*, 7763, given by Beltrani, 191 *seq.*

Frederick Barbarossa, which formed the core of the dispute with Venice, was treated by Contelori with equal thoroughness in a book printed in 1630.[1] Contelori also did useful work when he began a catalogue of the existing volumes of *supplicas* from Martin V. up to his own time.[2]

The research work of Contelori would have been impossible had not Urban VIII. effected the transfer to the Papal Secret Archives of the most important relevant documents. He ordered the transfer to the Secret Archives of the registers originally preserved by the Apostolic Secretaries of Bulls issued *per viam secretam*, from the time of Sixtus IV. to that of Pius V., and the registers and minutes of Briefs from Alexander VI. to the year 1567, as well as several bound volumes forwarded from Avignon for the *Segretaria de' Brevi*.[3] He also ordered the transfer thither, from the Library of the journals of John Burchard and Paris de Grassis as well as the original Acts of the Council of Trent.[4] Not content with this he devoted his attention to yet another important category of sources. The correspondence with the nuncios, with Legates and foreign Courts, had until then been incorporated in the archives of the Roman families. To replace these the nuncios were instructed, in 1628, to forward to Rome copies of any documents of this kind in their respective archives. In 1635 a considerable number of volumes of nunciature reports was transferred from the Guardarobba to the archives.[5] Simultaneously with Contelori's nomination, another historian, Giovan Battista Confalieri, was appointed Prefect of the Archives of Castel S. Angelo, of which he drew up an accurate catalogue.[6] In addition to these the Pope established yet

[1] See details in Beltrani, *loc. cit.*, II., 201 *seqq.*, 263 *seq.*; III., 5 *seq.* See above p. 180.

[2] See Eihrle, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XV., 252.

[3] *Cf.* Marini, 37; Beltrani, II., 208; *Studi e docum.*, VIII., 13.

[4] Beltrani, II., 208. *Cf.* Sickel in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. Hist. Kl.*, CXXX., 121 (1895).

[5] *Cf.* Marini, 37.

[6] Beltrani, *loc. cit.*, 191; Palmieri in *Spicil.*, I., 117. Confalonieri died October 29, 1648; see A. Mercati, *Sussidi p. la consultaz. d. Arch. Vatic.*, I., Roma, 1926, 221.

another collection of Archives, namely those of the Sacred College, better known under the name of Consistorial Archives, for the purpose of preserving the Consistorial Acts and the processes in connexion with episcopal nominations.[1] In this way a place was created for the safe preservation of documents of high value for practical purposes and constituting an invaluable source for historical research.[2] As director the Pope appointed Giovan Battista Lauro with whom he had become acquainted even before his election through the latter's poetical works.[3]

Yet a fourth set of Archives owe their origin to Urban VIII., viz. the *Archivio Urbano*, destined to house the acts of notaries scattered in the latter's offices. This was a great boon for the Romans because the dispersion of these documents, which had obtained until that time, had been a source of considerable

[1] *Cf. Bull. XIII.*, 402 *seq.*, and our account Vol. I., 387 (where instead of *Arch. Rom. I.*, 189, read : *II.*, 189). Mercati, in *Sussidi*, I., 203 *seq.*, has given a useful account of the contents of the *Archivio concistoriale* which has recently been transferred to the Papal Secret Archives in the Vatican.

[2] *Fu questa erettione stimata di molta prudenza, imperciocchè per il passato le sopradette scritture così importanti conservavansi in un officio venale di notaro con poca sicurezza e minor decore. Vedonsi per memoria scolpite in un marmo queste parole :

Urbano 8º Pontifici Maximo
Quod Archivium sacri Collegii
Camerarius ejusdem
Interregni tempore in Vaticano
destinaverit
Pontifex aperuerit
S.R.Ecc$^{\underline{æ}}$ Cardinales
Grati animi monumentum posuere
1625
Jo. Baptista Laurus Perusinus
Proth. Ap$^{\underline{cus}}$ Sacr. Coll. Secretarius.

NICOLETTI, LII., p. 1628. Vat. Lib.

[3] *Cf.* LAUROS' correspondence in J. B. LAURUS, *Centuria selecta, Romae*, 1630.

inconvenience. In 1625 Cardinal Francesco Barberini became the Protector of these Archives which were founded in the teeth of the opposition of the notaries.[1]

The Roman University also received many proofs of Urban VIII.'s solicitude. Immediately after his election he took steps against the abuse of the professors giving their lectures in their own houses.[2] In 1628 he founded a chair of rhetoric which he gave to Agostino Mascardi.[3] When Andrea Argoli retired, the Pope summoned to the chair of mathematics Galileo's foremost pupil, the celebrated Benedictine Benedetto Castelli.[4] Pompeo Caimo, a man distinguished not only as a physician but as a classical scholar, was created a Count before he left for Venice.[5] The Carmelite Paganino Gaudenzi was appointed professor of Greek and the Maronite Abraham Ecchellense taught Arabic and Chaldean.[6] Urban VIII. was anxious to secure for the College of Propaganda the services of Antonio Giggeo, of the Ambrosiana at Milan and editor of the best Arabic dictionary. Giggeo was about to obey the Pope's summons when he was carried off by death.[7] In 1637 the Pope filled once more, for the benefit of his physician Taddeo Collicula, the vacant chair of practical medicine.[8] Among the Protectors of the University he

[1] See the **Avvisi* of July 30 and October 4, 1625, Vat. Lib.; *Bull.*, XIII., 387; *Nicoletti, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Gli archivi ital.*, VI. (1919), 237.

[2] See **Avvisi* of November 1 and 18, 1623, Urb. 1093, Vat. Lib.

[3] See Renazzi, III., 97; *Bull.*, XIII, 657 *seq.* For Mascardi, whose book *Le Pompe del Campidoglio per la S^tà^ di N.S.P. Urbano VIII., quando pigliò il possesso*, appeared in 1624 in Rome; see Tiraboschi, VIII., 275, and Manucci in *Atti Ligure*, XLII., 135 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*, separately, Genova, 1908.

[4] See Renazzi, III., 87. [5] *Ibid.*, 93. [6] *Ibid.*, 98.

[7] Tiraboschi, VIII., 278.

[8] See *Bull.*, XIV., 599; Renazzi, III., 95, 246 *seq.* From Carlo Cartari's *report, dated February 1, 1658, to Alexander VII., which is based on the *Ruoli*, in the archives of the Roman University, the number of professors appears to have been as

included his nephews, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio. The meetings of the Protectors were occasionally held in presence of His Holiness.[1]

The construction of the University buildings was continued. In 1632 Francesco Borromini was appointed architect.[2] He gave to the University church of St. Yvo the shape of a bee, as a compliment to Urban VIII.[3] The Pope's arms, with an inscription, were likewise affixed to the outer walls of the University. The Barberini bees frequently meet the eyes of the traveller, for the patronage which the highly cultivated Pope bestowed on the arts was even more brilliant than that extended by him to letters.[4]

(2)

With the pontificate of Urban VIII. the efflorescence of Roman baroque reached its climax. The Pope's commissions for monumental works furthered the complete triumph of this tendency and for a period of close on a century assured its almost exclusive prevalence.[5] Just as in Michelangelo

follows: in 1623, 31; in 1625, 31; in 1626, 30; in 1628, 28; in 1629, 1630 and 1631, 33; in 1636, 32; in 1637 and 1639, 36; in 1640, 36; *Cod.* H., III., 62, of Chigi Library, Rome.

[1] Renazzi, III., 71.

[2] See the Brief of September 25, 1632, in Renazzi, III., 236; Hempel, *Borromini*, 59 *seq.*; Guidi, *Borromini*, 46.

[3] Ratti, *Notizie d. chiesa interna dell'Archiginnasio Romano*, Roma, 1833, 19 *seq.* On the reconstruction, *cf.* Pollak-Frey, 159 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the opinion of Reumont, III., 2, 702, and that of Isidor del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, I., 2, 771, and among contemporaries that of A. Taurelli, *Heros in solio divinitatis sive de rebus gestis Urbani VIII.*, *Bononiae*, 1639.

[5] See Escher, *Barock*, 20. According to the **Avviso* of September 11, 1624, Urban VIII. was then thinking of abolishing the "Camerieri secreti di spada e cappa parendogli superflua questa spesa", whilst he held a congregation of the *camerali* for the purpose of paying all the artists who had worked under his predecessors, for which a sum of 100,000 scudi is said to have

Julius II. had been given a titanic genius endowed with unheard-of versatility, so in the person of Lorenzo Bernini the Barberini Pope was granted a master of the first rank for the execution of his plans. Whilst still a Cardinal, Urban had been in relation with a number of artists [1] and already then, thanks to that discernment which was his peculiar gift, he recognized Bernini as the greatest and most gifted of them all, hence, as soon as he became Pope, he admitted him into the circle of his most intimate familiars and loaded him with tokens of his goodwill. On one occasion he went so far as to visit him in his palace in the Via Mercede, an incident which was subsequently immortalized by a fresco on the walls of the palace.[2] At the first audience granted to the artist soon after his election, Urban greeted him with the significant words: "It is a piece of good luck for you, Cavaliere, to see Cardinal Maffeo Barberini Pope, but far greater is our good fortune that the lifetime of Cavaliere Bernini should fall into our pontificate." [3]

Bernini's biographer, the Florentine Filippo Baldinucci, who has preserved this remark, also relates that Urban VIII. expressed a wish that the artist, who until then had devoted himself exclusively to sculpture, should likewise apply himself to architecture and painting. He was given two magnificent commissions in this sphere: for the simple baldacchino erected over the High Altar of St. Peter's under Paul III., he was to substitute a work of monumental proportions whilst

been required (*Urb.* 1094, Vat. Lib.). On Urban VIII.'s staff of architects and their fees see O. Pollak in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. der. Architektur*, III. (1910), 207 *seq.*; for Bernini's fees see *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.*, XXXII., 254 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* O. Pollak, *Künstlerbriefe* in suppl. to *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIV. (1913).

[2] Via Mercede, No. 11. *Cf.* Muñoz, *La casa di Bernini e suoi dipinti*, in *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 111 *seq.* At present the house is the property of the *Dames de Sion*. Sir Walter Scott once stayed there. An inscription to that effect, which was affixed to the adjoining house in 1898, is therefore in the wrong place.

[3] See Baldinucci, edited by *Riegl*, 79.

he was also instructed to carry out the pictorial decoration of the benediction loggia of the basilica. Bernini gladly undertook to comply with the behest of his high patron and applied himself with the keenest enthusiasm to the study of two branches of art with which he had been unfamiliar until then.[1] Little remains of his pictorial work [2] and the big commission for the benediction loggia was not carried out by him; on the other hand his productiveness in the field of sculpture and architecture was all the greater. His creations in those two spheres are so important that the splendid picture of modern Rome is unthinkable without him.

Bernini's first important creation was destined for St. Peter's.

[1] *Ibid.*, 80 *seq.*

[2] Baldinucci who (p. 235) speaks of 150 pictures by Bernini, only describes two: the master's portrait by himself (to-day in the Uffizi), and the giant canvas: "The Exploits of St. Maurice" for the chapel of the Bl. Sacrament in St. Peter's (to-day in the *Galleria de' Musaici* of the Vatican) which was replaced by a mosaic: reproduction in FRASCHETTI, 232.

TITI (11) ascribes the painting to Carlo Pellegrini. This is confirmed by the accounts for 1636, 1638, 1639, 1640, which O. Pollak found in the archives of the *Fabbrica di S. Pietro*: see *Kunstchronik*, new series, XXIII. (1911/12), 597. From this Pollak argues that the attribution of other pictures, chiefly attempted by Fraschetti, rests on slender grounds. Thus to judge Bernini's activities as a painter we have only his decorative drawings, especially his illustrations for the book of Urban VIII.'s poems published in 1631 (see above, p. 410), and a moving drawing of the aged master, engraved by Spierre and reproduced in Fraschetti (420), who speaks of "the morbid mysticism" (*misticismo morboso*) of the artist. In reality the composition is a magnificent profession of faith in the expiatory virtue of Christ's saving death. Here we behold the crucified Saviour suspended above a sea of blood; above God the Father spreads His hands, Angels are on either side, to the left the Blessed Virgin is seen looking towards her Son from whose five wounds gush forth streams of saving blood by which, as we sing on Good Friday, in Venantius Fortunatus' hymn, *Crux fidelis*, "the earth and the sea, the stars and the whole universe are cleansed."

From the outset of his pontificate and imitating his predecessors, Urban VIII. devoted his constant care to the adornment of "this greatest architectural wonder of the world". It was his good fortune to be able to consecrate "the vastest and most magnificent cathedral of all time",[1] the construction of which had occupied twenty successive Popes for a period of 174 years and to which the most talented artists had given of their best. This most important event falls in the same year as that in which decisive successes over Protestantism were won in Germany. On September 20th, 1626, Urban VIII. celebrated Tilly's victory over the Danes at Lutter, on the Barenberg, with a solemn function in the Anima.[2] Shortly afterwards he fixed on November 18th for the consecration of the new basilica of St. Peter, this being the day on which, according to tradition, Pope Sylvester had consecrated the Constantinian basilica 1,300 years earlier. On November 17th the Pope set out from the Quirinal for the Vatican and in the afternoon of that day the Roman clergy preluded to the solemn function with a procession from St. Marco to St. Peter's.[3] On the morning of the 18th, the Cardinals and the ambassadors assembled in the Vatican: from there they escorted the Pope into the porch of St. Peter's where a throne had been erected. Seated on the throne, the Pope himself blessed the twelve crosses of red mosaic which were to be fixed on the walls of the basilica. At the end of the long function, during which salvoes of guns were fired from Castel Sant Angelo, the Pope said a Low Mass in the new choir of the Canons, after which he returned to the Vatican. The Romans had flocked to the basilica in their thousands not only in order to witness the solemn function, but also to gain the Indulgences which had been granted for the duration of the Octave.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Totti, *Roma moderna*, 7. [2] See Vol. XXVIII., p. 17.

[3] See **Diarium p. Alaleonis, Barb.* 2818, p. 305, Vat. Lib., and **Avviso di Roma* of November 18, 1626, *Urb.* 1096, *ibid.*

[4] See the detailed description in **Diarium P. Alaleonis, loc. cit.*, 306–311, the **Avviso* mentioned in the preceding note and *Gigli* in Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 180.

Even previous to the consecration of St. Peter's, on June 30th, 1626, at a spot designated by Bernini, that is, about ten feet from the *Confessio* and on the epistle side of the High Altar, a start had been made on the extensive excavations for the first of the four foundations required for the gigantic, cupola-shaped bronze baldacchino which it was intended to erect under Michelangelo's dome and over the tomb of the first Pope, with a view to giving adequate prominence to this all-important spot, both liturgically and spatially.[1]

Before the work was started the Pope had commissioned the Keeper of the Vatican Library, Niccolò Alemanni, to draw up a memorandum on any doubts, objections or dangers that might be urged against excavations on so memorable and sacred a spot. Alemanni dwelt particularly on the possibility of the preservation of the body of St. Peter, whose stay in Rome was denied by the Protestants, being called in question, if no traces of any other sepulchres were found in the proximity of the *Confessio* ; he also drew attention to the danger of the Apostle's tomb being damaged by the excavations. After these objections had been dealt with work began on the south-east corner of the altar.[2] Both Christian and pagan sarcophagi were found almost at once. On July 11th Alemanni was taken ill and on the 14th he died. Further deaths, among them that of the Pope's private Chaplain, Franz Schinder, and finally an illness of Urban VIII.

[1] See Böhn, *Bernini*, 58, who rightly describes the *Confessio* as the spiritual centre of the vast structure.

[2] There are several accounts of the work ; one by Canon Ubaldi, written in Italian, not very accurately published by Armellini in the periodical : *Il Corrispondente del clero* 1882, and a second time in his book *Chiese di Roma* [2] (1891), 697 : a second one, in Latin, the beginning of which is unfortunately missing, was utilized by De Waal in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, I., 1 *seq.* *Cf.* also D'Achille, *I sepolcri dei Romani Pontefici*, Roma, 1867, 28 *seq.* A new and careful examination of these accounts was published by Lietzmann (*Petrus und Paulus in Rom* [1915], 140 *seq.*). *Cf.* Cecchelli, 11 *seq.* On the memorandum of Alemanni, *cf.* G. Wilpert, *La tomba di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1922, 22.

himself, gave rise in Rome to the fear that all this was a punishment for their having dared to lay hands on the immediate surroundings of St. Peter's resting place. People recalled to mind a passage in a letter of St. Gregory about certain excavations near the tomb of St. Paul. Accordingly, on July 26th, the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro decided to suspend the work.[1] Such was then the state of the science of archæology that the discovery of pagan tombs in immediate proximity to the resting place of St. Peter created a great sensation. However, a memorial by the Oratorian Severano disposed of the scruples to which the discovery had given rise. These were quite unfounded because pagan sepulchres are found in close proximity not only in the Catacombs of St. Agnes, St. Callixtus and elsewhere, but in 1850 a pagan columbarium was found at St. Paul's, in close proximity to the tomb of the Apostle.[2] When the fears occasioned by several sudden deaths had likewise been allayed, Urban VIII. ordered the resumption of work on the foundations: he took, however, the most meticulous precautions so as to prevent every danger of profanation and to make sure that an accurate record was kept of the finds and for their careful preservation. Giovanni Battista Nardone, notary of the Capitol, was commissioned to keep an official record of all the finds whilst the painter Giovanni Battista Calandri was instructed to make a drawing of all the more important ones.[3]

For the purpose of laying down sure foundations for the four corner pillars of the baldacchino, as many pits were excavated, measuring 9·9 feet by 9·9 and 14 feet in

[1] See the quotation from the **Diarium* of the secretary Laurus (*Cod.* T. 3, 10, p. 105, of Bibl. Angelica, Rome), in De Waal, *loc. cit.*, 4.

[2] De Waal, *loc. cit.*, 16; Stevenson in *Nuovo Bull. crist.*, 1897, 319. *Cf.* De Rossi, *Inscript. christ.*, II., 1, 349.

[3] See the report in Armellini, 706. Calandra's drawings have unfortunately not been found so far; they may be in the hitherto inadequately explored archives of the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's. On Calandra, *cf. Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV., 212 *seq.*

depth. The objects found in the course of this work were substantially the same. The pits for the columns on the north side yielded but slender results, in particular no pagan remains were found, whereas in those on the south side there appeared at once, under the floor of the old basilica, traces of Christian burial places and at a still lower level, numerous pagan sarcophagi and funeral urns. Part of the ancient presbyterium was also exposed. Near one of the northern foundations large and beautiful marble sarcophagi were found which radiated from the altar like the spokes of a wheel. One of them contained two bodies wrapped in ample garments of many folds, one of which still showed the outlines of a chasuble. The sarcophagi were believed to be those of Martyrs ; accordingly Urban had the bodies carefully buried and an inscription put up. Part of the earth thus dug up was given by the Pope to the Theatines of Naples as a relic for the church which they were building in honour of St. Peter.[1] One of the pagan sarcophagi was that of a certain Flavius Agricola of Tivoli the inscription of which was at once destroyed by order of Urban VIII. because of its revoltingly cynical materialism.[2] As a matter of fact, many of the pagan sarcophagi had been made use of in the Christian era, hence it seems doubtful whether the sepulchre of St. Peter was situate in the heart of a pagan cemetery still in full use between the years 150 and 300.[3] On the other hand, one monument uncovered in one of the pits on the south side and still *in situ*, was certainly pagan. The account of the discovery describes it as a chamber with a simple decoration in stucco and a recess destined to receive dead bodies. Two coins were likewise found on the spot, one buried in ashes and dating from the period of Maximianus [286–305], the other in the mouth of a skull

[1] See the report in ARMELLINI, 713, 717.

[2] See *Cassiano del Pozzo* in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV. (1874), 175 *seq.* ; *Corpus inscript. lat.*, VI., 17975 a 34112.

[3] This is used by CHR. HÜLSEN in the *Neue Jahrb. f. Altertumskunde*, 1918, Part 1, XLI., 285, against *Lietzmann* when he points to similar agglomerations of graves under the floor of ancient Roman churches, as in S. Maria Antiqua.

and identified as a coin of Salonina, wife of the Emperor Galienus.[1]

More important than these finds, though this was not realized at the time, was the fact that the excavations confirmed one of the chief proofs of the existence of the tomb of St. Peter on the site of the *Confessio*, so that the result was the very opposite of what had been feared at first. As already pointed out by Petrus Sabinus at the end of the sixteenth century, St. Peter's tomb beneath the crypt of the old basilica is not in the centre of the apse but further north.[2] This absence of symmetry points to the very important fact of the existence of the grave previous to the erection of the Constantinian basilica, for otherwise the architects would have placed it in the axis of the apse and of the whole building.[3]

Extraordinary difficulty was experienced in procuring the necessary bronze for the baldacchino, the original plan of which underwent some further alterations.[4] The metal secured at great cost from Venice and Leghorn proved insufficient.[5] The existing political situation compelled Urban VIII. to increase his armaments [6]: accordingly, in the autumn of 1625, and on the advice of Bernini, he ordered the removal of the bronze girders of the porch of the Pantheon. So great was the yield of metal that eighty guns were made for the Castle of S. Angelo, whilst another portion was set apart for the baldacchino of St. Peter's.[7] This use of the only untouched

[1] See HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*, in whose opinion these sepulchral chambers on the sides of the excavations may also have been by the side of the ancient street which passed Nero's race-course.

[2] See DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ.*, II., 1, 231.

[3] See LIETZMANN, 153 *seq.*, and HÜLSEN in *Neues Fahrb. für Altertumskunde*, 1918, 1 *Abt.*, XLI., 285.

[4] In the first sketch the baldacchino is supported by four colossal angels (see BONANNI, Numismata templi. Vat. tav. 50; FRASCHETTI, 56), the second closely approximates to the plan actually executed; see GURLITT, 349.

[5] See BOSSI, 34 *seq.*; FRASCHETTI, 58.

[6] See Vol. XXVIII., p. 74.

[7] See BOSSI, 40 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 53; FRASCHETTI, 58 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 173 *seq.*

monument of antiquity filled the Romans with bitter grief.[1] The enthusiasts for antiquity expressed their disapproval in sharp terms, among them being the Pope's personal medical attendant, Giulio Mancini, who coined the epigram : *Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini.*[2] However, the oft-quoted witticism is quite unfair for no work of art was melted down, but only girders which were not even visible, hence no one could justly complain that the monument had been damaged.[3] So little was Urban VIII. conscious of any wrong that in an inscription set up by him in the Pantheon, he boasts " of having made use of a useless ornament for the decoration of St. Peter's and the defence of Rome ".[4] Domenico Bernini, too, praises his father for having advised the Pope as he did.[5] The bronze of the seven ribs of the cupola of St. Peter's was removed in like manner and replaced with lead.

Gregorio de Rossi,[6] a Roman, superintended the casting of the four gigantic columns of the baldacchino, a process which

[1] See GIGLI in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 180.

[2] See above p. 363, BOSSI (57 *seq.*), on the basis of the **Giornale di Urbano VIII.* in *Urb.* 1647, attributes the epigram to the *Agente del Duca di Mantova*, Carlo Castelli (died December 4, 1639) ; but much more authentic than this late evidence is the contemporary one of the **Avviso di Roma* of September 20, 1625 [see above, p. 361, n. 1], which has escaped all students up till now. According to this evidence Castelli did no more than spread the epigram.

[3] Opinion of BÖHN (*Bernini*, 88). [4] See BOSSI, 51.

[5] See *Vita di G. L. Bernini, Roma*, 1713. *Cf.* BOSSI, 104 ; FRASCHETTI, 64. In his edition of Baldinucci's *Vita di Bernini* (p. 87), RIEGL makes the following comment on Fraschetti's accusation of the latter's want of regard for antiquity : " This was a healthy period which knew no sentimentality ; the bronze girders were of no artistic value ; to spare them simply because they were ' antique ', the age was too sure of itself and too free from all sickly sentimentality." JARO SPRINGER says : " The removal of the bronze girders cannot be described as the ruthless destruction of a work of art." (*Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XII., 122 *seq.*)

[6] See BAGLIONE, *Nove chiese*, 38. *Cf.* PASSERI, 263.

Bernini was all the better able to watch as Urban VIII. had already in 1623 appointed him master of the papal foundry.[1] The work was completed in 1626, when the Pope inspected the columns and ordered them to be gilded. Each column, together with its base and capital, weighed 27,948 pounds and the total weight of the baldacchino amounted to 186,392 pounds.[2] The work of the erection of the columns began in September, 1626,[3] and on St. Peter's Day, 1627, they were unveiled.[4] Bernini submitted a small model of the roof and when the *Fabbrica* di S. Pietro had approved it, he bound himself, on April 14th, 1628, to execute that part within the space of three years and four months. However, the time limit proved inadequate. On August 11th, 1631, an extension was granted which was again exceeded, so much so that in December, 1632, the Pope pressed for the termination of the work.[5]

At last, in the summer of 1633, Urban VIII.'s wishes were fulfilled; the gigantic work was unveiled on the feast of St. Peter. The cost amounted to the large sum of 200,000 scudi.[6]

Bernini was lavishly rewarded. His monthly salary, which had been 100 scudi at first, had already been doubled in 1627. On February 5th, 1629, after the death, on January 30th, of Maderna who had retained the post of Court and State

[1] Bernini kept this post to the end of Urban VIII.'s pontificate. In 1623 he was likewise given that of *Revisore delle Fontane di Piazza Navona* and that of *Sopraintendente dell'Acqua Felice*; see FRASCHETTI, 41. [2] See FRASCHETTI, 61; BOSSI, 79.

[3] See Avviso of September 26, 1626, in FRASCHETTI, 61, n. 7.

[4] *The Avviso of June 30, 1627 (*Urb.* 1097, Vat. Lib.), says: "Yesterday feast at St. Peter's: scoperte le 4 grosse et bellissime colonne di bronzo indorato a similitudine di quelle che stavano nel tempio di Salomone, alcune delle quali si vedono di marmo in Basilica Vatic., et vi si deve porre la cuppola con altri ornamenti pur di bronzo attorno l'altare delli SS. Apostoli.

[5] See FRASCHETTI, 62. The **Avviso* of April 8, 1628, mentions an accident: three workmen fell "accomodando la cupola sopra le 4 grosse colonne di bronzo" near the altar of St. Peter's. *Urb.* 1098, Vat. Lib. [6] See BOSSI, 82; FRASCHETTI, *loc. cit.*

architect, Bernini was also appointed architect of the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's; in this way his was a paramount position in the artistic sphere. On the completion of the work he received a further gift of 10,000 scudi, his brother Vincenzo was given a canonry at the Lateran, his son obtained a benefice at St. Peter's and his brother Luigi became head of the *Fabbrica*.[1]

No one protested against the Pope's liberality. The contemporaries were unanimous in their praise of the gigantic baldacchino as a magnificent enrichment of the basilica. A spate of epigrams, sonnets and poems in praise of the master and his patron ensued.[2] Everyone felt that this work, inspired by Urban VIII.'s piety, would vie with the noblest creations of antiquity and that it was one of the most wonderful products of the whole century.[3] The new type of altar (altare alla Romana) was soon reproduced beyond the Alps.[4] So favourable a judgment on this work of genius has long held

[1] See Bossi, 85 *seq.*; Fraschetti, 63 *seq.* *Cf.* Hempel, *Borromini*, 11. The payments to Bernini as well as all decisions on building plans have been extracted from the Archives of the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's by O. Pollak; Dr. Frey is to publish them in the second volume of his work on Urban VIII.'s artistic activities. On Bernini's sketch for the baldacchino of St. Peter's of 1624 or 1638, see Egger, *Architekt, Handzeichnungen Taf.*, 24.

[2] See Bossi, 83 *seq.*

[3] *"È veramente la magnificenza di quest'opera, si come viene giudicata, non inferiore a quelle antiche suntuose de' Romani, così ha fatto meravigliosamente crescere la maestà della basilica Vaticana. . . . La vaghezza, l'ordine e la proportione sono inestimabili, imperciochè per esser macchina così vasta, non impedisce punto il prospetto del tempio, et ella si vede da ogni lato tutta nobile e tutta piena di maestà e di magnificenza, che riempiendo gli occhi di stupore, viene da tutti stimata fra le cose più meravigliose di questo secolo, e che rende tanto più venerabile il sepolcro de' Santi Apostoli e la memoria della pietà di Urbano" (Nicoletti, II., 829, 831, Vat. Lib.). *Cf.* also Totti, 11.

[4] On reproductions of the domed baldacchino see Muñoz in *Vita d'arte*, 1911, 33 *seq.*; on the most famous of them, due to Bernini himself, in the church of Val de Grâce in Paris, *cf.* M. Reymond in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1911, 367 *seq.*

the field. As late as 1739 De Brosses gave it as his opinion that the bronze baldacchino over the High Altar of St. Peter's was the finest work of its kind in the whole world.[1] However, the neo-classic period completely reversed this judgment; no longer was the work looked upon as an artistic triumph, on the contrary, it was belittled and vilified as one of the worst degeneracies[2]; only the most recent art criticism has once more done justice to it.[3] In the first instance, later critics have rightly stressed the difficulty of the undertaking. In view of the enormous proportions, the erection beneath Michelangelo's dome, of an altar which would not break the harmony of the lines, whilst it drew the eye of the visitor as soon as he entered, to what is the true centre of the building, and that without entirely hiding the choir, was a task that might well have baffled an artist of the first rank. Yet notwithstanding the fact that he was but 26 years old and though until then he had not tried his skill as an architect, Bernini applied himself to his task with wonderful courage. His solution of the problem is probably the only possible one.[4] His fundamental conception alone seems an exceedingly

[1] De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie*, letter, XXXIX. (Paris, 1858), Vol. II., p. 6.

[2] See Fr. Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti*, II., 160. Burckhardt (*Cicerone*, 228), still speaks of "the definitely restricting effect of the dreadful baldacchino" and judges that "with his bronze baldacchino Bernini had the temerity to assert the theory that an altar is a piece of architecture of which all the elements have got into motion. His twisted, flower-adorned columns, his soaring baldacchino with its four corner volutes have done more mischief than Borromini's façades". The most recent unfavourable criticism is that of Brinckmann (231).

[3] See especially Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, 133 *seq.*, on whose excellent account our own is based. *Cf.* also Gurlitt, *Barockstil*, 348 *seq.*; Riegl in his editon of Baldinucci, 90; Reymond, 35 *seq.*; Benkard, 11 *seq.*; Sobotka, *Bildhauer*, 32.

[4] Bergner (*Barockes Rom*, 49) justly remarks that those who are dissatisfied with the work should ask themselves how it could have been done better. *Cf.* also Braun, *Der christl. Altar*, II., 439, who points out that a Ciborium in harmony with

happy one. In place of the customary ciborium of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, he conceived a new type in the shape of a baldacchino resting on four columns which allowed a view of the terminal apse of the choir and, so far from diminishing the impression of length produced by the basilica, enhanced it still further. Its proportions, too, are in complete harmony with those of the huge church.[1] Thus there rose up beneath Michelangelo's dome an epoch-making baroque creation, a marvel in which imposing magnitude is allied to delicacy in the execution of every detail.[2]

The domed ciborium measures 77½ feet to the top of the cross. Its four gigantic bronze columns rise on four marble bases adorned with the arms of Urban VIII.[3] In order to

the colossal proportions of the dome was as impracticable as a baldacchino suspended from the roof of the cupola. For the justification of Bernini see also the remarks of Böhn, 58 *seq.*; Neumann in *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXXVIII., 21 *seq.*; Kuypers, *Rom*, Leipzig, 1927, 479, 484; Dvorak, *Gesch. der ital. Kunst*, II., Munich, 1928, 209.

[1] How colossal the dimensions of the baldacchino really are may be gathered from the drawing in Durm, *Baukunst der Renaissance* [2], 889, where it is set side by side with the Palazzo Farnese.

[2] *Cf.* Th. Hoffmann, *Entstehungsgesch. des St. Peter in Rom*, Berlin, 1928, 274 *seq.*, 277.

[3] "Ogni stemma [see photo. Alinari, 26419], says Bossi (81, n. 1), è sormontato da un viso di donna di cui lo scudo con le tre api costituisce il corpo, e quella intera figura muliebre sembra sia stata rappresentata nelle varie fasi della gestazione," a statement which Curatolo (*L'arte di Juno Lucina in Roma*, Roma, 1901, 141 *seq.*), endeavours to substantiate. Female bodies, such as those here represented by Bernini, are nothing unusual in the art of the period; *cf.* Frey, *Barockarchitektur*, 99. The legend, inspired by the expression of the female heads, is first found, as far as I know, in J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, 579, publ. in 1876. The utter unlikelincss of such unseemly allusions being tolerated and the strict watchfulness exercised in this respect, appears from a memorandum in *Barb.* 1196, p. 112. *"Occasione statuarum ex marmore albo repraesentantium angelos nudos imagines Pontificum in sacellis basilicae

recall to mind the venerable columns of the High Altar of old St. Peter's, the shafts are twisted and divided into three sections, the two upper ones being entwined with laurel Vaticanae sustinentium, in quibus verenda conspiciuntur, quidam dubitavit, . . . an debeant permitti. . . . Porro si in picturis omnis lascivia vitari debeat, quanto magis quicquid ad libidinem provocat ? ut merito hic exclamat Ambrosius Catharinus : quod vero omnium est teterrimum hac tempestate in excelsis templis sacellisque offendas picturis tantae lasciviae ut quicquid natura occuluit turpe nostrum, ibi liceat contemplari ad excitamdam non devotionem sed cuiusvis demortuae carnis libidinem. Quasi, inquit Olaus, historicus septemptrionalis, interior caro non sufficeret sibi in deiiciendo homine in mille tentationes, fragilitate tandem sua collapsuro, nisi et externae augerentur provocationes. Notum est pictores saepe infantem Iesum nudum sculpere aut pingere, sed ob hoc male audiunt a multis non exiguae pietatis et prudentiae viris. Quid enim in hac nuditate esse poterit aedificationis ? Atque utinam nulla hinc oriretur in parvulis destructio, nullum in pusillis scandalum. Viderint ergo pictores, ne suo malo discant, quid sit, quod Dominus ait : Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credunt, expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo eius et demergatur in profundum maris. Vae homini illi, per quem scandalum venit. Certe si antiquas picturas consulere velint, facile advertent in eis puerum Iesum decenter et honeste depictum esse ac sese multum a maiorum simplicitate degenerasse. His adde quod Guilelmus Durandus Mimatensis episcopus scribit de quibusdam grecanicis [sic] ecclesiis in Rationali divinorum officiorum : Greci, ait, utuntur imaginibus, pingentes illas, ut dicitur, solum ab umbilico supra et non inferius, ut omnis stultae cogitationis occasio tollatur. Prohibet deputatio Tridentinae synodi omnes libros, qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant aut docent, cum non solum fidei, sed et morum, qui eiusmodi librorum lectione facile corrumpi solent, ratio habenda sit ; quanto ergo magis prohibendae sunt huiusmodi picturae non tantum in sacris imaginibus, sed etiam in prophanis. . . ." With regard to Urban VIII.'s attitude in particular, the new statutes for the Academy of St. Luke approved by him on October 1, 1627, lay down that " che nelle opere sacre si osservasse il decreto del concilio di Trento nè si dipingesse cosa che contenesse falsi dogmi o ripugnasse alla s. Scrittura o

wreaths and enlivened with *putti* and the Barberini bees. From the Ionic-Corinthian capitals of the columns, which are joined together by a cornice, the baldacchino rises in the shape of a light cupola the summit of which is crowned with a globe surmounted by a cross whilst a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost, hovers in the space within. Four gigantic angels holding garlands of laurels in their hands, stand on the capitals of the columns. In the space between, both in front and behind, the cornice is surmounted by two smaller angels which, in reality, exceed the average height of a man: they hold the tiara and Peter's keys. To them correspond two angels in each of the lateral interstices, holding the emblems of the Apostle of the Gentiles, viz. a sword and a book symbolizing his epistles. At the base, close to the Confessio—on a spot where the soft light of three great lamps burning day and night drew the attention of the pilgrim to the principal shrine of the basilica as soon as he entered,[1] Urban VIII. had put up a form of prayer to the Princes of the Apostles to which he attached precious Indulgences. The formula consists partly of texts of St. Augustine and in part it is the Pope's own composition.[2]

The baldacchino is, in a sense, completed by the decoration of the flat surface of the enormous pillars of the dome. Bernini suggested that the upper niches should be provided with

alle tradizioni della Chiesa, e si fugisse ogni invenzione brutta ed oscena" (see MISSIRINI, 92). That the curious decorations on the marble pedestals were not intended from the first appears from the sketch in *Barb.* 4409 (*Prospetti e piante di tutti gl' edifici eretti si dentro come fuori di Roma dalla f. m. di Urbano VIII. dissegnati da Dom. Castelli*), p. 6.

[1] The reproduction in TOTTI (10) shows that originally there were only three lamps, one of them in silver worth 2,000 scudi and given by the magistrates of Rome in March, 1632; see GIGLI in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 180.

[2] Hence the name *Orazioni Urbane*; see NICOLETTI, II., 382, Vat. Lib. On the Indulgences attached to St. Peter's by Urban VIII., see *Bull. Vatic.*, III., 238 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*, 242 *seq.*; MIGNANTI, II., 100; on money assigned to the *Fabbrica*, see *Bull.*, XIV., 199 *seq.*, 483 *seq.*, 601 *seq.*

loggias from which the most precious of the numerous relics of St. Peter's could be shown to the people, such as Veronica's handkerchief, the large fragment of the cross found by St. Helen, the lance of Longinus and the head of St. Andrew. Larger but empty niches at the base were to be adorned with colossal statues referring to these relics. On December 10th, 1629, the Congregation of the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's approved the project and entrusted the execution of the statue of Longinus to Bernini, that of St. Helen to Andrea Bolgi, that of St. Veronica to Francesco Mocchi and that of St. Andrew to François Duquesnoy. The latter, a Fleming, was the first to complete his task. When his model had been put up in its niche, the work was greatly admired and the other sculptors were urged to make haste with their task.[1] For all that there was a delay of several years.[2] A crack in the dome gave rise to the rumour that the marvellous structure was about to crash to the ground. The extraordinary favour which Bernini enjoyed with Urban VIII. drew on him the envy of his many enemies. The latter spread a rumour that Bernini was responsible for the crack through excessive drilling into the pillars of the dome which were no longer equal to the weight they had to carry. Injurious pamphlets described

[1] See PASSERI, 81 *seq.*; FRASCHETTI, 69 *seq.* On A. Bolgi fresh information has been published by L. MUSSI in the *Corriere d'Italia* of December 31, 1924. FRASCHETTI (74), gives the information that the sum of 6,000 scudi was paid for each statue. TOTTI, in his *Roma Moderna*, of 1630, mentions on page 530 of the appendix the transposition of the statues of S. Longinus and St. Andrew; critique of the statues in RIEGL, 94 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*; BRINKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, 233 *seq.*, 259, 265 *seq.*; L. DAMI in *Dedalo*, 1924–5, 130; A. PETRONELLI, *Fr. Mocchi*, Piacenza, 1926, 14 *seq.*; CECCHELLI, 26; BÖHN, 18, 62; BENKARD, 11 *seq.*; KNAPP, *Ital. Plastik* (1925), 127 *seq.*

[2] According to the *Diario* quoted by FRASCHETTI (74, n. 2), the last statue, that of Veronica, was only unveiled on November 11, 1640. According to the **Avviso* of November 10, 1640 (*Avvisi*, 90, in Papal Secret Archives), Urban VIII. inspected the statue at once, "opera del Fr. Mocchi scultore Fiorentino, stimata di tutta eccellenza dalli periti dell'arte."

the danger to the dome in such lurid colours that the whole city became greatly alarmed. Ferrante Carli, a deadly enemy of Bernini, is said to have been the author of these rumours. The master remained perfectly calm before the storm; he even wrote a comedy in which he made fun of the rumours then circulating. But when, in the course of the carnival, a fresh attack was preparing against him, he appealed to Cardinal Barberini who took up his cause. Moreover when it was seen that the crack had no further consequences, Bernini was soon again completely master of the situation.[1]

In April, 1638, the loggias were completed and in July the relics were deposited there.[2] The lower niches, which were destined to receive the giant statues, were faced with alabaster and the turn of their arches adorned with the arms of Urban VIII., with appropriate inscriptions.[3] From these niches a staircase leads down to the chapels of the pilasters of the dome which were redecorated by the Pope.[4] These semi-circular chapels correspond to the upper niches; another

[1] See the reports on the envoy of Este of 1636, 1637, and 1638, in FRASCHETTI, 70 *seq.*, and the *Avviso* of January 24, 1637, in FREY, *Barockarchitektur*, 7. On Bernini as *comediografo*, *cf. Fanfulla d. Domenica*, 1890, n. 19; as a *caricaturista* Bernini is discussed in *L'Arte*, IX. (1906), 205.

[2] See FRASCHETTI, 72 *seq.*

[3] MIGNANTI, II., 95; FORCELLA, VI., 148; MUÑOZ, *S. Pietro*, *tav.*, 18. The coat of arms beneath the balustrade of the loggia of St. Andrew is by Bernini, according to an order for payment; *cf.* MUÑOZ in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1919, 108. *Cf.* HEMPEL, 13.

[4] *"Fabbricò parimente quattro capelle nella parte inferiore sotteranea dei medesimi pilastroni; chiamata le Grotte, e vi fondò otto capellanie chiamate Barberine, facendole Jus patronati di casa Barberina, e dotandole di buone entrate per la celebratione delle messe quotidiane e pel mantenimento delle suppellettili sacre, alle quale cappellanie gli heredi aggiunsero poi la nona." (NICOLETTI, II., 837. Vat. Lib.; BAGLIONE, 179.) Borromini worked in these chapels, together with Agostino Radio; HEMPEL, 12, table 3. The altar pictures which glorify the four chief relics are by A. Sacchi (see PASSERI, 318 *seq.*; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 55 *seq.*; VOSS, *Malerei*, 531); they are now in the palace of Castel Gandolfo.

staircase within the pillars themselves gives access to the loggias which are provided with a balustrade for the exhibition of the relics.[1] Each niche is adorned with two of the twisted columns which had formed part of the high altar of the old basilica. A gilded grating between them indicates the spot where the relics are preserved whilst sculptured emblems held by angels, and appropriate inscriptions above them, also refer to the relics: the inscriptions run as follows: "They shall call on thy face"; "He opened His side with a lance"; "Hail precious cross"; "In this sign thou shalt triumph."[2]

Urban VIII.'s love for the church which enshrines the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles was not exhausted by the two great works described above. He also took so much interest in the adornment of a number of altars and chapels that Passeri declares that it seemed as if the golden age of painting had returned.[3] In the execution of these works, which continued throughout the pontificate, Rome's first artists vied with each other in giving of their very best. First among them ranks Pietro da Cortona who, between 1628 and 1632, executed the centre piece of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament representing the Holy Trinity, as well as the cartoons for the mosaics of the dome of that chapel and those of the Cappella del Crocifisso.[4] The decoration of the chapel of the Madonna della Colonna occupied not only Andrea Sacchi, Romanelli and Giovan Battista Calandri, but likewise Giovanni Lanfranco.[5] The latter was given a further monumental

[1] Urban VIII. granted a special Indulgence for the veneration of the relics; *cf.* BARBIER, II., 469 *seq.*

[2] MIGNANTI, II., 96. [3] PASSERI, 312.

[4] TITI, 11; THIEME, VII., 487; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 116. On the picture of St. Mauritius, see above, p. 452, n. 2. Urban VIII. had the monument of Sixtus IV. erected in the chapel of the Bl. Sacrament; see BAGLIONE, *Nove Chiese*, 22, *cf.* CASCIOLI in *Messagero* of November 12, 1926.

[5] BAGLIONE, *loc. cit.*, 33; TOTTI, 530; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 49 *seqq.*; the cartoons by Lanfranco are in the possession of the Barberini family.

commission, viz. a large altarpiece depicting St. Peter walking on the sea which was placed on the altar to the right of the main front pillar of the dome. For this work the Pope bestowed on the artist the Order of Christ.[1] Facing it and above a door, Andrea Camassei painted a fresco of the baptism of SS. Processus and Martinianus, the gaolers of St. Peter.[2] The altar in the tribune of the north transept, where the relics of these Saints repose, was adorned with two columns of porphyry and two great columns of *giallo antico*. The altarpiece was painted in 1639 by Valentin de Boulogne, a pupil of Caravaggio : it represents the martyrdom of SS. Processus and Martinianus.[3] Almost at the same time Poussin painted the "Martyrdom of St. Erasmus" for the second altar.[4] In 1630 Domenichino painted for the second altar to the right of the main entrance [5] the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian", "an unusual composition of powerful movement and inspiration and characterized by a dramatic tendency in the manner of high baroque." [6]

In 1626 the Pope transferred to the choir chapel, in which Michelangelo's *Pietà* then stood,[7] the relics of St. John

[1] This picture, of which only a fragment remains, was subsequently replaced by a copy in mosaic (TITI, 13 ; *cf.* POLLAK, *Künsterlerbriefe*, 25) ; it was completed in 1628 ; see **Avviso* of September 20, 1628, which says that on Sunday the *Vicegerente* of St. Peter's consecrated some new altars when two new paintings were unveiled, viz. "Peter's denial" by Guidotti of Lucca and the picture by Lanfranco. *Urb.* 1098. Vat. Lib.

[2] TITI, 13.

[3] Now in the Vatican Gallery, *cf.* BAGLIONE, 337 ; VOSS, *Malerei*, 105, 455. According to the **Abozzi di Fr. Ubaldini* Urban also gave commissions to Caravaggio. *Barb.* 4901, p. 13. Vat. Lib.

[4] Now also in the Vatican Gallery, *cf.* FRIEDLÄNDER, *Poussin*, 34 *seq.*

[5] PASSERI, 30.

[6] VOSS, *Malerei*, 511. The picture, later on replaced by a mosaic, now adorns S. Maria degli Angeli.

[7] BAGLIONE, *Nove chiese*, 23. On the choir chapel, *cf.* LETAROUILLY, *St. Pierre*, I., 40–1.

Chrysostom.[1] The Doctor of the Church is seen in the act of worshipping the cross together with St. Francis and St. Anthony, in the colossal altar picture by Simon Vouet of Paris.[2] Guidotti of Lucca was commissioned to paint Peter's denial[3] and Domenico Passignano the Presentation of Mary in the temple.[4]

Without a doubt the most important of the new altar pictures destined for St. Peter's was that executed in 1625 by Andrea Sacchi for the Cappella Clementina in which repose the bones of St. Gregory the Great. It represents a miracle related by Paul the Deacon: A man had begged for a relic from the treasury of the Church. He was given a linen cloth with which the chalice is purified at Mass. The man seemed to doubt the value of the gift but Gregory convinced him of its worth for when he pierced the cloth with a dagger, blood issued from it.[5] The incident is represented with dramatic force: "In no contemporary painting do we see the immediate effect of a miracle represented with more forceful concentration and greater psychological penetration and in a clearer gradation of the emotions: astonishment in all its degrees up to speechless, frightened recoil on the part of the spectators, in contrast with the calm assurance and dignity of the wonder-worker himself and the self-possessed

[1] **Diarium P. Alaleonis* on May 1, 1626: "Corpus S. Joh. Chrysostomi de mandato Papae remotum de altare ss. reliquiarum sub altare chori novi S. Petri processionaliter intus capsam plumbeam et cipressam: adfuerunt alumni collegii Graecorum" (*Barb.* 2818, p. 282. Vat. Lib.). *Cf.* *Nicoletti, II., 838 *seq.*, *ibid.*; Forcella, VI., 149.

[2] Titi, 18; Voss, *Malerei*, 478.

[3] On Guidotti, see **Avviso* of 1628, above, p. 473, n. 1.

[4] Passignano's picture perished (*cf.* Pollak, *Künstenbriefe*, 32), and was replaced by another by G. Fr. Romanelli, now in S. Maria degli Angeli (a mosaic copy is in St. Peter's); see Baglione, 323; Voss, *Malerei*, 267, 549. Voss is mistaken when he says that Possignano's picture dates from 1639–1642, for the **Avviso* of December 22, 1627, speaks of its having been unveiled (*Urb.* 1097. Vat. Lib.).

[5] Passeri, 312; Pistolesi, *Vaticano*, I., 220.

attitude (which serves as a gauge for all the tense and excited emotions) of the youthful acolyte in the centre who, kneeling as he is behind the Pope, seems unaware of the sensational occurrence. The figure of the deacon seen from behind, on the right-hand side, with its striking expression of intense surprise, constitutes, by its *bravura* of pictorial treatment, one of the best creations of contemporary Roman art." [1]

Urban VIII. cherished a special predilection for the Archangel Michael [2] who, as a matter of fact, in his capacity as the destroyer of heresy, was a frequent subject for the art of the period of the restoration.[3]

In addition to Sacchi, Romanelli and Pellegrini were also employed on the decoration of the chapel of the Archangel.[4] Cesare d'Arpino was entrusted with the altarpiece—"The Fall of Lucifer," which was executed in mosaic, after his cartoons, by Giovanni Battista Calandra (d. 1644). This work failed to win universal approval so that the Pope gave up the idea of replacing the other paintings in the basilica by mosaics.[5]

To Giotto's *Navicella* Urban VIII. assigned a better position over the main entrance of St. Peter's.[6] The first chapel of the left transept, where St. Peter's chair stood, was set apart as a baptistry. Gregorio Celio decorated its ceiling.[7] Towards

[1] Opinion of Posse, *Sacchi*, 24. *Ibid.*, table 10; a copy of the picture is now in the Vatican Gallery.

[2] See *Nicoletti, II., 389, Vat. Lib.

[3] See below, p. 488, G. Reni's picture. St. Michael is also seen on the façade of St. Michael's church at Munich and, subsequently, on the tomb of St. Ignatius.

[4] See Baglione, *Nove chiese*, 31; Posse, *Sacchi*, 52 *seq.*

[5] Passeri, 167 *seq.*; Baglione, 372; Mignanti, II., 99; Thieme, V., 372.

[6] Fraschetti, 83. *Cf.* **Avviso* of July 25, 1629, *Urb.* 1099, Vat. Lib., and Cascioli, *La Navicella di Giotto*, Roma, 1916, 17 *seq.*

[7] Titi, 20. The **Avviso* of May 8, 1624, says: On Sunday the Pope, accompanied by the Archpriest, Cardinal Borghese, who was convalescent, the Cardinal Vicar Millini, and Cardinal

the end of the pontificate, and as a supreme token of his favour, Urban VIII. gave a significant commission to Bernini: this was the execution of a bas-relief representing the institution of the primacy and destined to be placed over the atrium of St. Peter's. Urban did not live to see the work completed for it was only finished in 1656. The work is perhaps "the most picturesque and realistic relief ever produced previous to modern times".[1]

St. Peter's, which thus increasingly became the real centre of artistic activity in Rome, also owes to Urban VIII. the jubilee door,[2] the pictures in mosaic of the Princes of the Apostles on the lateral walls of the niche in which the palliums are deposited over the tomb of the Apostle,[3] artistic gratings for the choir and the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament,[4] new choir stalls,[5] a portable organ,[6] a magnificent reliquary for the particles of the true cross [7] and, lastly, two magnificent sepulchral monuments.

By reason of the importance which the Barberini Pope

Barberini, carried out the visitation of St. Peter's when he ordered that "che si trasporti il fonte di battesimo nella prima cappella a mano sinistra dell'entrar nella chiesa. *Urb.* 1094, *loc. cit.*

[1] See Baldinucci, edited by Riegl, 103–6. *Cf.* Benkard, 20; Cecchelli, 23.

[2] Forcella, VI., 149; Hempel, *Borromini*, table 2.

[3] Executed by Giov. Batt. Calandra; *cf.* Passeri, 166 *seq.*

[4] Hempel, 13. [5] Mignanti, II., 89.

[6] According to *a payment of 1636 (communicated by the late Dr. O. Pollak to whom I am greatly indebted for other information).

[7] *April 10, 1629: "Papa donavit crucem argenteam cum ligno crucis basilicae S. Petri (Diarium P. Alaleonis, *Barb.* 2818, p. 443[b], Vat. Lib., and *Diarium of Laurus in *Cod.* T. 3, 10, of the Angelica Lib. in Rome). The *inscription on the reliquary is as follows: "Urbanus VIII. suae in sanctissimam crucem pietatis et benevolae in sacrosanctam basilicam voluntatis monimentum extare voluit" (**Nicoletti*, II., 834, Vat. Lib.; *cf.* Barbier, II., 465 *seq.*). In 1634 Urban bestowed the Golden Rose on the basilica (**Nicoletti*, II., 481).

attached to the States of the Church,[1] he held in special reverence Countess Matilda of Tuscany who, by the donation of all her possessions, had assured the Holy See's material security. Whilst still a Cardinal, Urban had written a poem in her honour,[2] as Pope he was anxious to see her mortal remains laid to rest in a worthy monument. From the Abbey of S. Benedetto near Mantua the Countess' body was transferred to Rome where it was at first placed in the Castle of S. Angelo, following its identification by Cardinal Barberini. On March 10th, 1634, it was translated to St. Peter's where her monument was to be erected near a pillar of the right lateral nave, facing the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.[3] Bernini furnished the plan, but he himself only executed the idealized head of the Countess; all the rest he entrusted to his brother Luigi and to his pupils.[4]

The noble statue of the Countess stands in a niche adorned with her arms and motto: *Tuetur et unit*; the beautiful, youthful figure, expressive of courage and energy, holds a sceptre in the right hand and in the left the tiara and the keys of Peter. The marble relief on the sarcophagus below represents the incident of Canossa. The inscription above it, which is held by two *putti*, was composed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. It states that in 1635 Urban VIII., urged by a sense of gratitude, had erected this sepulchre for the remains of Countess Matilda when they were removed from the Abbey of S. Benedetto, a well-deserved monument to a champion of the Apostolic See, a woman of virile spirit, outstanding piety and well-known liberality.[5] The effect of the monument,

[1] See above, p. 360. [2] Above, p. 417.

[3] Tosti, *La Contessa Matilde*, Roma, 1886, 387 *seq.* *Cf.* the special number of *Voce della Verità* on the occasion of the centenary of St. Gregory VII., and Intra, *Il cenobio S. Benedetto Po*, Mantova, 1897, 16 *seq.*; *cf.* also the *Avviso* in Gregorovius, *Urban VIII.*, 160; *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1897, 312; *Epigrafi relativi al trasporto del corpo d. contessa Matilde nel 1634, in *Regin.* 2018, p. 225 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

[4] *Cf.* Riegl, *Baldinucci*, 106 *seq.*; Fraschetti, 98.

[5] Forcella, VI., 153.

which is characterized by great simplicity and balance, is due to the nobility of its conception.[1] It was only completed in 1637: on March 13th of that year the Pope inspected it.[2]

Long before this, towards the close of 1628, Urban VIII. had decided to have a monument erected for himself within St. Peter's.[3] For its location he selected the niche on the right of the apse; in that on the left he had put up, about the turn of the year 1628–9, the magnificent monument of Paul III. by Guglielmo della Porta.[4] Precious antique marbles from the temple of the sun on the Quirinal were used in the decoration of the two niches.[5] It goes without saying that Bernini, who had carved many busts of his patron and in 1640 the

[1] Böhn, 66. *Cf. Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 253 *seq.*; Benkard, 14. A statuette of Countess Matilda after a model by Bernini is in the private possession of Princess Barberini; *cf. L'Arte*, XX. (1917), 188 *seq.*

[2] See **Avviso* of March 14, 1637 (*Urb.* 1105, Vat. Lib.): Yesterday the Pope inspected in St. Peter's "la vaga sepultura fattasi in quella basilica alle ceneri della regina [*sic!*] Matilde, stata vera propugnatrice della S. Sede".

[3] See **Avviso* of December 27, 1628: "the Pope decided on the transfer of the 'bellissima sepoltura" of Paul III. which then stood against the pilaster of the dome where we now see the statue of St. Veronica [*cf.* data in Vol. XII., p. 453, of this work and the excellent monograph by Steinmann, *Das Grab Pauls III.*, Roma, 1912, 10 *seq.*], "nel nichio" on the left of the tribune in St. Peter's, together with his bronze statue and other ornaments [there was no room in the niche for the figures of Plenty and Peace, they were accordingly transferred to the Palazzo Farnese] because he wishes to erect his own sepulchre in the right-hand niche." *Urb.* 1098, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *Avviso* of December 6, 1628, in Fraschetti, 155, and *that of January 17, 1629 (*Urb.* 1099, Vat. Lib.): Monday night the Chapter of St. Peter's walked in procession at the translation of the body of Paul III. ("in cassa di piombo foderata d'un altra di cipresso e d'un altra di pietra") from the niche beneath the dome to that on the left of the tribune and facing the sepulchre which is now being prepared for the Pope.

[5] Bonanni, 92; Lanciani, *Scavi*, II., 249 *seq.*

great statue of the Pope destined for the Capitol,[1] was likewise entrusted with the execution of the monument. By 1639 the work was well forward [2] but the Barberini Pope did not live to see it completed : it was only three years after his death, at the beginning of 1647, that the monument could be unveiled in presence of his successor. Its influence was considerable : for a long time it served as a model for every monumental sepulchre destined to create a strong effect and to dominate a large space.[3] Every artist endeavoured to profit by this new type, the fruit of the genius of high baroque. Only certain particular elements resemble those of the *Cinquecento* : on the one hand, the portrait statue of the dead man, on the other allegorical statues typifying his virtues ; the composition differs, account having been taken of the monument that faces it, namely that of Paul III.[4]

Bernini set the monument in a deep, shadowy niche adorned with a gigantic coat of arms of the Barberini from which the figures emerge as if alive. The impression of realism is heightened by the choice of the materials used : coloured marbles and gilt bronze in marvellous harmony.[5] On a base of polished, dark red marble, rests the boldly drawn, jet-black sarcophagus, decorated with gold stripes and with supports of gilt bronze : above it there rises a lofty pedestal of white marble on which is enthroned the Pontiff in the act of giving his blessing. The female allegorical figures on either side of the sarcophagus are not represented in a

[1] See Vol. XXVIII., p. 33.

[2] Baglione (*Nove chiese*, 1639) mentions (p. 35) the bronze statue of Urban VIII. of which the flanking figures " hora si vanno terminando ".

[3] See Knapp, *Ital. Plastik* (1925), 125.

[4] Muñoz, *Bernini*, Roma, 1926, 12 ; also Sobotka, *Die Bildhauer der Barockzeit*, edit. by Tietze, Vienna, 1927, 30 ; *Archiv. für Kunstgesch.*, II. (1914).

[5] Posse in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI. (1903), 189 *seq.* *Cf. Baldinucci*, edit. Riegl, 115 *seq.* ; Escher, 108 *seq.* ; Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, 193 *seq.* ; *id. Bernini*, 13 ; Weisbach, *Barock*, 33 ; Sobotka, *loc. cit.*

recumbent position, as in the Medici tombs of Michelangelo and on the tomb of Paul III., but erect and in close relation to the figure of the dead man. Both are fully clothed, for the stricter outlook of the age of the Catholic restoration would allow nudity in church at most in the *putti*.[1]

On the right of the beholder, the figure of Justice, carved in white marble and over life size, leans against the sarcophagus: it is flanked by two *putti* and gazes sadly towards heaven.[2] The figure of Charity on the opposite side, with a child in its arms, wears an expression of grief but its look of pity is not directed on high but to a little child close by which, pointing upwards, laments the loss of the great Pope. Upon the sarcophagus, with its back turned to the spectator and its head half veiled, a skeleton of gilt bronze crouches whilst with a bony hand it writes in letters of gold on a black scroll the words: *Urbanus VIII. Barberinus Pontifex Maximus.* The initial letter of the name of Urban's predecessor is also seen on the scroll—an amazing inspiration, says Baldinucci, which called forth universal admiration and suggested to Cardinal Rapaccioli the verses in which he declared that Bernini had reproduced the great Urban so vividly and stamped his soul so deeply on hard bronze that, lest the beholder should think that he had the living Pope before his eyes, Death itself appeared on the sepulchre in order to attest his demise.[3]

[1] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 266, and the memorandum quoted p. 471, n. 4. The female figures in the painting on the ceiling of the Palazzo Barberini (see below p. 501), are all draped.

[2] "It would have offended every canon of taste," says BENKARD (15), "to give to Urban's sepulchre excessive movement and it is precisely in this adaptation to circumstances that Bernini's greatness revcals itself."

[3] See *Baldinucci*, edit. RIEGL, 112 *seq.* FRASCHETTI (155), wrongly ascribes the verses to Cardinal Panciroli. On the much blamed addition of the skeleton, REYMOND (77) aptly remarks: "Le Bernin, en évoquant l'idée de la mort, ne fait que reprendre la tradition du moyen-âge et se conformer à l'âme des pensées les plus chères au christianisme. . . . Le squelette, fin dernière

The appropriateness of these verses is proved by a glance at the imposing figure of Urban VIII. of jet-black bronze, clad in vestments resplendent with gold, enthroned in majesty above the monument where, unlike Guglielmo della Porta's Paul III., who quietly gives a blessing, Urban throws aside, with violent gesture, his magnificent flowing robes in order to bestow his blessing *urbi et orbi*.[1] The magical shimmer of the gold spread over the folds of the cope reminds the beholder of the gold tone of the contemporary pictures of Rembrandt.[2]

Just as Urban VIII. did not live to see the completion of his sepulchre, so was it not granted to him to behold the realization of yet another plan with which he hoped to crown his work for St. Peter's. It had been Urban's intention to attenuate the disproportion between Michelangelo's dome and the crushing width of Maderna's façade, which was severely criticized by everybody.[3] To this end towers had already been planned by Maderna himself. At last the time had come when they were about to be erected. In January, 1637, Bernini's project triumphed in a competition organized by the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's.[4] His towers consisted of three light and airy storeys crowned with a dome adorned with

de cette chair, à laquelle l'homme voudrait s'attacher, doit toujours être devant nos yeux, pour nous dire que nous ne devons pas agir en vue de notre corps mortel, mais pour notre âme immortelle."

[1] *"La vaghezza de' marmi pretiosi e de' bronzi e la nobiltà del desegno non solo eccitano lo stupore in chi rimira tutta l'opera insieme, ma vien giudicata una delle cose più cospicue et ammirande, che adornano quella sacrosanta basilica," says NICOLETTI (VII., 767, Vat. Lib.). *Cf.* REYMOND's praise of the work (73 *seq.*). The cost amounted to 25,000 scudi; see FRASCHETTI, 158.

[2] BENKARD, 16.

[3] See **Discorso* in *Barb.* 4264, Vat. Lib.

[4] See RIEGL, *Baldinucci*, 124, 126 *seq.*; FRASCHETTI, 161 *seq.*; EHRLE, *Spada*, 17. On the other tower plans, see BONANNI, *Templi Vat. hist.*, tables 63–6; GURLITT, 352. On a *proposal to alter the façade after the model of the Pantheon, see *Barb.* 4264, *loc. cit.*

Urban VIII.'s arms and surmounted by a cross.[1] In 1639 work was in full swing,[2] but it was St. Peter's day, 1641, before the first storey of one of the majestic towers was terminated on the side where the German Campo Santo is situate. However, already at the end of July, to the great delight of Bernini's many enemies, the Congregation of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's ordered work to be suspended.[3] The grief of the master was such that he fell seriously ill. This step was due to the fact that wide cracks had appeared in the façade in the direction of the Campo Santo which gave rise to grave anxiety.[4]

Urban VIII.'s interest in St. Peter's did not make him forget the other churches of the Eternal City. In particular he sought to preserve from ruin the venerable old churches dedicated to the Martyrs of the era of the persecutions. Medals, most of them struck by Gaspare Mola, record these and other artistic undertakings of the Pope.[5]

In February, 1624, in the course of certain restorations undertaken by the Canons of St. Mary Major in the very ancient church of St. Bibiana, near the Porta S. Lorenzo, they found the body of the titular Saint who had been

[1] Drawing in the possession of Prince Chigi, reproduced by FRASCHETTI, 163. *Cf.* BALDINUCCI (Riegl's edition), 128 *seq.*; REYMOND, 79 *seq.*; BRIGGS, *Barockarchitektur*, 34.

[2] The tower towards the Campo Santo "si va terminando" BAGLIONE writes in *Nove chiese* (1639), 15.

[3] EHRLE, *Spada*, 17.

[4] Besides FRASCHETTI, 163, see RIEGL's remarks in his edition of *Baldinucci*, 130 *seq.*; POLLAK, *Künstlerbriefe*, 5, and EHRLE, *Spada*, 21 *seq.* In the museum of the Campo Santo al Vaticano there is a marble tablet found in an antiquary's shop by Mgr. De Waal bearing the following inscription: A.M.D.G. | Urbanus VIII. P.M. | Hoc ad campan. aeris | Opus ab equi. Jo. Lauren° | Bernino pict. scult. et | archit° fieri mand. | Cum assist^a Aloysii | Bernini suprast. | ac Petri P. Drei factoris | a die XX m. Maii | A.D. MDCXXXIII.

[5] Besides the great work of BONANNI, *Numismata*, II., *cf.* even now MARTINORI, 70 *seq.*; 72 *seq.*, 76, 78. On G. Mola see *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, III., 256 *seq.*

martyred under Julian the Apostate.[1] Urban VIII., who had written a poem in honour of the Martyr whilst still a Cardinal,[2] resolved to reconstruct the sacred edifice. It was the first task Bernini received at the Pope's hand. In 1625 the work was completed. He had given the church a plain façade and executed the charming marble statue representing the Saint leaning against a column and directing an ecstatic look towards heaven.[3] Pietro da Cortona also executed his first commission for Urban VIII. in this church; his paintings on the left wall of the central aisle completely put in the shade those by his rival Agostino Ciampelli on the one on the right.[4] For the tombs of St. Bibiana, her sister St. Demetria and their mother, St. Dafrosa, who were likewise victims of the persecution of Julian, the Pope, in 1627, had three reliquaries made [5] which he placed beneath the High Altar in a large ancient basin of oriental alabaster.[6]

Yet another church, on the Via Pia and close to San Bernardo, namely that of the holy Pope Caius who had suffered under Diocletian, was rebuilt by order of Urban VIII. by Francesco Peparelli and Vincenzo della Greca and adorned with altars by Giovan Battista Speranza, Andrea Camassei and other artists.[7]

[1] See the *Avvisi* in POLLAK-FREY, 22. In the same year relics were also found under the high altar of SS. Quattro Coronati; see **Avviso* of July 27, 1624, *Urb.* 1094, Vat. Lib.

[2] *Cf.* *NICOLETTI, II., 905, Vat. Lib.

[3] BALDINUCCI (Riegl), 97 *seq.*; FRASCHETTI, 52 *seq.*; BÖHN, 10 *seq.*, 56; BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 231; BENKARD, 12; LUBOWSKI, 51 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 23 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*; FORCELLA, X., 109.

[4] BAGLIONE, 320; PASSERI, 403 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 28 *seq.*

[5] POLLAK-FREY, 29.

[6] Fr. Maria Torrigio at that time wrote a *Historia del martirio di S. Bibiana which he presented to Urban VIII.; see *Vat.* 7752. Vat. Lib.

[7] BAGLIONE, 179; DONATUS, *Roma vetus*, 399; FORCELLA, XII., 273; POLLAK-FREY, 30 *seq.*; A. PRESENZINI, *G. Camassei*,

The church of St. Sebastian, on the Palatine, in the Vigna of Carlo Barberini, was likewise saved from ruin by Urban VIII. Its reconstruction was carried out by the Florentine Luigi Arigucci.[1] When in 1634 the façade of the church of St. Anastasia, situate at the foot of the Palatine, beneath the imperial palaces, collapsed during a hurricane, the same architect erected a new and plain brick building, in the centre of the gable of which appears the coat of arms of Urban VIII. The church was also given a new roof.[2]

Arigucci, assisted by the Capuchin Michele da Bergamo, also restored, by order of the Pope, the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian created by Felix IV. [526–530] out of the round temple built by Romulus, son of Maxentius, in 307, and two other ancient edifices, but which could not be made use of owing to its dampness. On this occasion the floor was raised by a whole storey, so as to harmonize with the then existing level of the Campo Vaccino, in consequence of which the ancient marble floor with its mosaics (*opus sectile*) disappeared. On the other hand Felix IV.'s mosaics in the apse—which

Assisi, 1880, 69 *seq.* The pen and ink sketches of Dom. Castelli in *Barb.* 4409 (Vat. Lib.) give the plan in no. 57, the façade and high altar in 58, in 59 the remaining altars of the church, and no. 60 the epitaph of Pope Caius. The church was demolished in 1880.

[1] Baglione, 180. Inscription of 1632 in Totti, 151. A. Uccelli (*La chiesa di S. Sebastiano sul colle Palatino e Urbano VIII.*, Roma, 1876), in (p. 61 *seq.*) an extract from a report by the secretary of the Congregation of the *SS. Visite* addressed to Urban VIII., gives the text of an order issued by the Pope on March 9, 1626, for the restoration and decoration of the church for which Andrea Camassci painted the altarpiece ; see Presenzini, *loc. cit.*, 68 *seq.* *Cf.* also **Barb.* 4409, p. 71 and 72, *loc. cit.* ; Tripepi, *Papato*, IV., 67 *seq.*, V., 71 *seqq.* ; *Anal. Boll.*, XVI. (1897), 248 ; Pollak-Frey, 193 *seq.*

[2] Baglione, 180 ; Martinelli, 44 ; Ciaconius, IV., 517 ; F. Cappello, *Notizie di S. Anastasia*, Roma, 1772, 12 *seq.* (*cf.* 26 *seq.*) ; Pollak-Frey, 20 *seq.* ; see also **Barb.* 4409, p. 80, *loc. cit.*

are among the finest in Rome—remained untouched.[1] Domenico Castelli, whom the Barberini employed by preference, gave to the church a new high altar, a magnificent ceiling and a campanile.[2] Towards the marble shrine designed by Bernini for the relics of St. Frances of Rome which had been rediscovered in 1638 in the church of the same name, Urban contributed 1,700 scudi.[3] He also subsidized the construction of St. Isidore's which Luke Wadding had undertaken [4] and he restored SS. Quiricus and Julitta,[5] S. Lorenzo in Fonte,[6] and the ruinous churches of SS. Peter and Marcellinus near Torre Pignattara and that of St. Urban near the Bosco Sacro.[7] The church of SS. Quattro Coronati, which was restored and embellished by Cardinal Millini,[8] owed a new ceiling to the liberality of the Pope,[9] whilst to Santa Marta he gave a new porch.[10] Restorations were also carried out in the porch of the Pantheon and in 1626, as if to

[1] MARTINELLI, 106; EGGER, *Codex Escorialensis*, Vienna, 1906, 100; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 21; POLLAK-FREY, 158; **Barb.* 4409, p. 65 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] BAGLIONE, 150; TOTTI, 155; MARTINELLI, 61; CIACONIUS, V., 519; FORCELLA, IV., 59; F. A. POMPA, *La Basilica di SS. Cosma e Damiano*, Roma, 1727, 31 *seq.*; B. MEZZADRI, *Disquisitio de s. mart. Cosma et Damiano*, 1747, 61 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, 559 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 116 *seq.*; HÜLSEN, *Das Forum Romanum* [2], Rome, 1905, 210 *seq.* *Cf.* **Barb.* 4409, pp. 69–70, *loc. cit.* On D. Castelli see THIEME, VI., 140.

[3] L. RABORY, *Vie de Ste. Françoise Romaine*; LUGANO, *S. Maria Nuova, Roma*, 1923, ill. 9 and 20, with text. *Cf.* FORCELLA, I., 56. [4] *Cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 158, and above, p. 348.

[5] CIACONIUS, IV., 517. [6] FORCELLA, IX., 425.

[7] BAGLIONE, 130; TOTTI, 128; MARTINELLI, 139 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 192, 195. In the Consistory of September 16. 1626, the Pope gave orders for the restoration of the churches at Ostia, Porto, Frascati and Magliano (Sabina); see **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[8] MUÑOZ, *Il restauro della chiesa di SS. Quattro Coronati, Roma*, 1914, 72 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*

[9] See *the notes of Fr. Ubaldini on Urban VIII. in *Barb.* 4901, p. 2. Vat. Lib. [10] BAGLIONE, *Nove chiese*, 47.

crown the temple, the two small turrets were added for which Bernini has been so often blamed and which were removed in 1882.[1]

More extensive works of restoration and embellishment were carried out by Urban VIII. in the venerable old Baptistry of the Lateran—San Giovanni in Fonte. The ambulatory of that octagon was given a magnificent wooden roof and a new pavement and above the central space was erected a cupola with eight circular windows. Cardinal Cueva was at first charged with the supervision of these works; in 1632 he was succeeded by Angelo Giori, a former tutor of the Barberini nephews. Domenico Castelli was the architect. It was likewise decided to give to the Baptistry a rich pictorial decoration. In 1639 the Pope commissioned Andrea Sacchi to execute for the octagon of the cupola eight colossal oil paintings of scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist and to decorate the walls with historical frescoes illustrating the life of the Emperor Constantine, its founder, and his building activities in the service of the Church. However, Urban VIII. did not live to see the completion of this great commission.[2] By order of the Pope the church of S. Salvatore in Campo was reconstructed in 1639, but on another site. This translation was necessitated by the enlargement of the *Monte di Pietà* which was being carried out by Francesco Peparelli.[3]

[1] Ciaconius, IV., 520; G. Eroli, *Raccolta di iscrizioni nel Pantheon di Roma, Narni*, 1895, 268 *seq.*; Fraschetti, 78 *seq.*; Pollak-Frey, 179 *seq.* Lubowski (p. 80), shares Böhn's view (p. 64) that the removal of the turrets diminished the effect of the building.

[2] **Barb.* 4409, pp. 74, 75; Baglione, 180 *seq.*; Passeri, 162, 320 *seq.*; Martinelli, 147; Lauer, 326 *seq.*; *Jarbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIV. (1913), 61; Posse, *Sacchi*, 79 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*; Presenzini, *A. Camassei*, 81 *seq.*; Voss, *Malerei*, 532 *seq.*, 552; Pollak-Frey, 132 *seq.*; *cf.* also Ciaconius, IV., 516; *Bull.*, XIII., 621. Sacchi's paintings have recently undergone an excellent restoration; see Steinmann in "Cicerone", XVII. (1925), 945 *seq.*

[3] Baglione, 180; Cancellieri, *Notizie ist. d. chiese di S. Maria in Julia, di S. Giovanni Calibita*, etc., Bologna, 1823, 23; Forcella, VII., 207; Tamilia, 105 *seq.*

To Urban VIII.'s predilection for the Capuchin Order, of which his brother Cardinal Antonio was a member, that body owed the erection of a new church and convent in Rome. The church hitherto used by the Capuchins, S. Bonaventura on the Quirinal, with which the ancient small church of S. Nicola de Portiis was connected,[1] had long ago become inadequate. Characteristically enough the new Capuchin church was situate in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Barberini and it eventually became the property of that family.[2] The foundation stone of the new convent was laid by Cardinal Antonio on March 16th, 1626, and that of the church by the Pope himself, in presence of eleven Cardinals, on St. Francis' Day, October 4th, of the same year.[3] The plan of the church, a single nave with five chapels on either side,[4] was drawn up by the Capuchin Michele da Bergamo and Antonio Casone.[5] The Pope showed the greatest interest in the new structure [6] and made such lavish contributions that it was with difficulty that the Capuchins succeeded in preserving the simplicity prescribed by their Rule for their buildings [7]: but they were unable to prevent the High Altar ordered by the Pope from turning out to be more sumptuous than seemed becoming to them; moreover for the side chapels, commissions for valuable pictures were given to the best artists.[8] On the left-hand side the first chapel was adorned with a picture of the

[1] *Cf.* the exhaustive monograph by Ed. D'Alençon: *Il terzo convento dei Cappuccini in Roma*, Rome, 1908. By the same: *Il primo convento dei Cappuccini in Roma, S. Maria de'Miracoli*, Alençon, 1907, and: *De primordiis ord. Fratr. min. Capucinorum*, Romae, 1921, 89 *seq.* [2] *Cf. Bull. ord. Capuc.*, II., 71 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Domenico da Isnello, *Il convento della S. Concezione de'Padri Cappuccini in Piazza Barberini*, Viterbo, 1923, 48 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 65 *seq.* *Cf.* Pollak-Frey, 165 *seq.*

[4] Baglione, 181, 339.

[5] Fr. Michele was given the title of a Papal Architect; see *Bull. ord. Capuc.*, II., 55.

[6] **Avviso* of June 6, 1629. Vat. Lib.

[7] See Dom. da Isnello, 75 *seq.* *Cf.* Pollak-Frey, 167 *seq.*

[8] Baglione, 181; Passeri, 79 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 161, 318; Dom. da Isnello, 79 *seq.*

"Conversion of St. Paul" by Pietro da Cortona[1]: in the second, in which Felix of Cantalice, canonized by Urban VIII., has found his resting-place, Alessandro Turco painted that Saint in the act of worshipping the Child Jesus; for the third, Andrea Camassei painted the descent from the cross; for the fourth, Lanfranco did a Nativity of Christ and in the fifth Sacchi painted the Blessed Virgin Mary appearing to St. Bonaventure.[2] On the right-hand side, in the first chapel, Guido Reni's famous "St. Michael fighting Satan"[3] found its place; in the second Mario Balassi's "Transfiguration"; in the third "St. Francis' Ecstasy" by Domenichino[4]; in the fourth "Christ in the Garden" by Baccio Ciarpi[5] a pupil of Cortona, and for the fifth yet another masterpiece of Sacchi's, the raising of a dead man by St. Antony.[6] For the High Altar Urban VIII. gave a picture by Lanfranco which subsequently perished in a fire, viz. "Maria Immaculata"[7] to whom the church is dedicated. When the building was completed, Urban VIII. said the first Mass in it on September 8th, 1630, and made a gift to the church of the vestments used on the occasion as well as of relics of Saints and a copy of Giotto's Navicella.[8] A further proof of his love for this church is the circumstance that he had a chapel built for himself near the High Altar where he could give himself unobserved to prayer.[9] On more than one occasion he also celebrated Mass publicly in the new church.[10] The spacious convent, which included rooms for the Superiors of the Order and for the holding of General Chapters, was so far advanced by the spring of 1631, that the Capuchins were able to migrate from old St. Bonaventure to the new

[1] One of the most famous and most frequently copied religious paintings; *cf.* Voss, *Malerei*, 547; Dom. da Isnello, 80.

[2] Dom. da Isnello, 80 *seq.*; Posse, *Sacchi*, 99 *seq.*

[3] Passeri, 79; Dom. da Isnello, 82.

[4] Dom. da Isnello, 82 *seq.*

[5] Passeri, 50.

[6] Posse, *Sacchi*, 60.

[7] Dom. da Isnello, 84 *seq.*; Pollak-Frey, 171 *seq.*

[8] Dom. da Isnello, 93 *seq.*

[9] *Id.*, 78.

[10] **Avviso* of July 31, 1632. Vat. Lib.

convent.[1] The church of St. Bonaventure was assigned to the people of Lucca and received the name of S. Croce de'Lucchesi.[2]

Urban VIII.'s nephews vied with him in furthering Christian art. His brother Antonio made himself chiefly responsible not only for the erection of the Capuchin church, but likewise for that of the College of Neophytes near S. Maria de' Monti and the Palace of Propaganda.[3]

The two other nephews proved even more munificent patrons of art. Cardinal Francesco Barberini restored the triclinium (dining hall) of Leo III., the apse of the Lateran basilica, the church of SS. John and Paul and the convent of St. Bartholomew.[4] Above all, the Cardinal had at heart S. Lorenzo in Damaso. There a magnificent tribune, a new High Altar and two organs were erected from plans by Bernini.[5] Domenico Castelli was commissioned by the Cardinal to erect on the Lungara the church of St. James and the convent of Penitents and a convent of nuns near St. Peter-in-chains.[6] He also subsidized the building of S. Carlo al Corso. The Pope himself contributed to the decoration of that church in which the heart of S. Charles Borromeo was deposited in 1626.[7] Cardinal

[1] When the convent was demolished in the spring of 1926, it became possible to examine more closely the vast store-rooms for wheat and wine which the Barberini family had had laid down in the monastery (see DOM. DA ISNELLO, 98 *seq.*).

[2] See ED. D'ALENÇON, *La chiesa di S. Nicola de Portiis*, 36 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 124.

[3] See above, p. 213.

[4] BAGLIONE, 181; TOTTI, 452 *seq.*; ROHAULT, 277 *seq.*; *Inventario*, 341. On the Pope's concern for an ancient mosaic in S. Martino ai Monti see CIACONIUS, IV., 527.

[5] BAGLIONE, 181; MARTINELLI, 30; A. FONSECA, *De basilica S. Laurentii in Damaso, Romae*, 1745, 194 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*; FRASCHETTI, 86; LUBOWSKI, 77 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 163. A *poem on the translation of the ancient image of Our Lady into the new chapel "dominica die intra octavam assumptionis 1635", in *Barb.* 1797, p. 3. Vat. Lib.

[6] BAGLIONE, 180. *Cf.* the pamphlet *Per la riapertura d. chiesa di S. Giacomo alla Lungara, Roma*, 1900.

[7] POLLAK-FREY, 35 *seq.* *Cf.* B. NOGARA, *S. Ambrogio e S. Carlo al Corso, Roma* (without date).

Francesco also greatly furthered the erection of yet another church of St. Charles in Rome by the Trinitarians, near Quattro Fontane.[1] The church is one of Bonomini's masterpieces and was completed in May, 1641, but it has only been fully appreciated by modern critics.[2] The Cardinal's interest in painting showed itself especially by his solicitude for the Academy of St. Luke,[3] and his efforts to attract Guido Reni once more back to Rome.[4] Gian Francesco Romanelli enjoyed the Cardinal's patronage in a marked degree.[5] Pietro da Cortona, and later on Maratta, were also employed by the art-loving Prince of the Church.[6] Among the commissions which the Cardinal gave to other painters, mention may be made of "St. Francis of Assisi's Nuptials with Poverty" by Andrea Sacchi, a picture distinguished by the originality of its conception and its deeply religious tone.[7] In 1635 Cardinal Barberini, with the co-operation of the Pope, commissioned Pietro da Cortona to build the upper church of SS. Martin and Luke. The edifice is a Greek cross, largely developed through the addition of semi-circular apses. The crypt with its sumptuous altar of St. Martina was restored by Pietro da Cortona at his own expense and here the master found his last resting-place.[8]

The restoration of S. Agata alla Subura was begun by Cardinal Francesco and continued by his brother Antonio.

[1] Baglione, 181; Forcella, III., 261; Pollak-Frey, 36 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Hempel, 37 *seq.*, who refutes the objections brought up against this inspired work of Borromini by tracing the story of its construction. *Cf.* also Frey, *Beiträge zur Barockarchitektur* (1924), 81 *seq.*; Pollak-Frey, 36 *seq.*

[3] Passeri, 60.

[4] *Id.*, 76.

[5] *Id.*, 320 *seq.*

[6] *L'Arte*, XXVII, 63.

[7] Posse, *Sacchi*, 75 *seq.*

[8] *Cf.* *Nicoletti, V., 20, Vat. Lib.; Baglione, 180; Missirini, 101 *seq.* Brinckmann, *Baukunst*, 72, 113; Pollak in *Kunstchronik*, N. S., XXIII. (1911–12), 563 *seq.*; Muñoz, *P. da Cortona*, 6 *seq.*; Moschini in *L'Arte*, 1921, 189 *seq.*; Frey, *L'architettura*, 29 *seq.*; Pollak-Frey, 185 *seq.* See also *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XVII. (1903), 222 *seq.*

This church owes the restoration of its portico, new wooden ceiling, High Altar and other decorations, to the two Cardinals.[1] To the Jesuits Cardinal Antonio presented for the High Altar of the Gesù a golden *paliotto* with scenes from the life of St. Ignatius.[2] For the Dominicans Paolo Marucelli built a new noviciate at S. Maria Sopra Minerva, at the Cardinal's expense. In the same church the Cardinal had the room in which St. Catherine of Siena died, transferred to the space behind the sacristy ; the Pope contributed to the decoration of the room. The sacristy was also restored ; it was enriched with a new altarpiece by Andrea Sacchi representing Christ on the cross surrounded by four Dominican Saints and St. Catherine of Siena—one of the most impressive creations of the master.[3]

Other Cardinals also, together with several religious societies, displayed considerable building activity at that period. New churches arose in rapid succession such as, for instance, S. Maria della Vittoria,[4] S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case,[5] S. Maria della Pietà e Francesco Saverio,[6] SS. Gesù e Maria in the

[1] MARTINELLI, 87 ; POLLAK-FREY, 19 *seq.* ; BAGLIONE, 181 ; CIACONIUS, IV., 564 *seq.* ; FORCELLA, X., 350 ; HÜLSEN E CECCHELLI, *S. Agata dei Goti, Roma*, 1924, 79, 157 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*

[2] *" Il nuovo suntuoso paliotto tutto di lastre di argento massiccio fatto fare dal s. card. Antonio con spesa di più di 5,000 scudi sendovi scolpita alli lati la vita di S. Ignazio Loyola di figure d'argento di basso rilievo " was set up on New Year's Day, 1641. *Avviso* of January 5, 1641, *Avvisi*, 90, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] BAGLIONE, 181 ; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 69 *seq.*, 71. *Cf.* BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome, 1910, 283 *seq.* ; POLLAK-FREY, 182 *seq.*

[4] PASSERI, 31.

[5] The laying of the foundation stone of this church, erected by the calced Carmelites, is announced in the **Avviso* of May 31, 1628, *Urb.* 1098, Vat. Lib. See POLLAK-FREY, 144.

[6] The inscription on the façade is of 1633 ; subsequently it became known as Oratorio del Caravita ; see FORCELLA, XI., 525 *seq.*

Corso,[1] Madonna di Loreto on the Ripetta,[2] SS. Domenico e Sisto,[3] S. Francesco di Paola,[4] S. Trinità della Missione [5] and S. Maria Regina Coeli.[6] Cardinal Ginnasio rebuilt the ancient church of St. Lucy in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure and joined it to a College for twelve boys from his native place.[7] S. Niccolò de' Lorinesi, with its rich internal decoration, was likewise entirely reconstructed.[8] The church adjoining the Roman College and dedicated to the founder of the Jesuits, of which Cardinal Ludovisi laid the first stone in 1626, promised to become an exceptionally magnificent sanctuary.[9] But though that munificent Prince of the Church provided the necessary sums with the utmost liberality, the building took a long time to complete. Domenichino furnished the plans and the Jesuit Orazio Grassi worked them out.[10] The façade also was based on a drawing of Grassi; it was probably influenced by Maderna and Grassi's successor, Father Antonio Sasso, introduced several alterations.[11] Though still unfinished, the church was opened on the feast of St. Ignatius, in 1640, that day being the centenary of the foundation of the Society. The Jesuit General, Vitelleschi,

[1] MARTINELLI, 103; GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 398; POLLAK-FREY, 130; laying of foundation stone, 1633.

[2] POLLAK-FREY, 173.

[3] Begun by Vincenzo della Greca in 1628, nave completed in 1630. See BERTHIER, *Chronique du monastère de S. Sisto et S. Domenico e Sisto à Rome*, II., 199 *seq.*

[4] POLLAK-FREY, 127 *seq.*; D. TACCONE-GALLUCCI, *Monografia d. chiesa di S. Francesco di Paola dei Calabresi in Roma*, Roma, 1916.

[5] See NIBBY, 141. The church was demolished in 1913.

[6] Laying of foundation stone in 1643.

[7] FORCELLA *passim*.

[8] ARMELLINI, 389. FORCELLA, III., 173.

[9] *Ragguaglio della solennità con che illustrissimo signor cardinale Ludovisi pose la prima pietra della nuova chiesa di S. Ignazio nel Collegio Romano della C.d.G., Roma*, 1626.

[10] See FREY, *Beiträge zur röm. Barockarchitektur*, 11 *seq.*, 41; POLLAK-FREY, 148 *seq.*

[11] FREY, *loc. cit.*, 41 *seq.*

said the Mass. The church was decorated with the precious tapestries given by its founder, Cardinal Ludovisi, and in view of the fact that the Pope had granted a Plenary Indulgence, there was not a vacant place in the sacred edifice. The afternoon witnessed the baptism of a Jewish family. On the following day Urban VIII. himself came to visit the church of St. Ignatius when he also inspected the *cortile* of the Roman College which had been completed shortly before.[1]

But the most important and sumptuous baroque church of Rome was that of the Theatines, S. Andrea della Valle. Its founder, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, who spent 160,000 gold scudi on the edifice, lived long enough to see the completion of the cupola (November 6th, 1622), the largest in Rome after that of St. Peter's. For the completion of the church the Cardinal left at his death (June 3rd, 1623), an annuity of 6,000 scudi to be raised from his revenues for a period of ten years.[2] The Cardinal's relatives, among them the Abbate and future Cardinal Francesco Peretti, also made large contributions.[3] Thus it became possible to carry out Maderna's plan and to have the first Mass said in the church on Palm Sunday, 1625, when Urban VIII. was present with seven Cardinals. For his family chapel there, the Pope commissioned Bernini to carve the statue of St. John the Baptist.[4] Urban did not live to see the dedication of S. Andrea della Valle (in the jubilee year 1650). The façade of travertine was only executed between 1655–1665 by Carlo Rainaldi, who preserved no more than the main lines of Maderna's original design.[5]

[1] See the Avvisi of August 4 and 11, 1640, in POLLAK-FREY, 156.

[2] ORTOLANI, *S. Andrea della Valle, Roma*, 6 *seq.*

[3] **Avviso* of December 4, 1624, *loc. cit.* A *Canzone per la reale fabbrica della chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, dedicated to Fr. Peretti, was printed in Rome in 1627.

[4] POLLAK-FREY, 22.

[5] See ORTOLANI's explanations, p. 8 *seq.*, which are directed against A. BONI (*La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle, Roma*, 1907).

Under Urban VIII., and through the liberality of Cardinal Borghese, S. Maria della Vittoria and St. Gregory on the Coelian Hill received new façades. The plans were drawn up by Giovan Battista Soria.[1] The latter also erected the porch of the new church of the Dominican nuns of S. Catherine of Siena a Monte Magnanapoli.[2] Cardinal Giovan Battista Leni built the façade of S. Carlo ai Catinari [3]; the churches of S. Girolamo della Carità [4] and S. Maria in Publicolis [5] were restored or rebuilt. The crypt of Bramante's Tempietto in S. Pietro in Montorio, was richly decorated.[6] A number of churches were provided with new altars, as St. Sebastian's on the Via Appia,[7] S. Maria sopra Minerva,[8] S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini,[9] S. Agostino and S. Maria in Via Lata. The

[1] Inscription on the façade of S. Maria della Vittoria: *Scipio card. Burghesius* 1626; on that of St. Gregory's on the Coelian Hill: *Card. Burghesius* 1633; *cf.* V. Moschini, *S. Gregorio al Celio, Roma*, 12, 27. The porch of S. Gregorio, also by Soria, was only completed in 1642.

[2] This church, richly adorned with marble and gold, the internal effect of which is very striking, was consecrated in 1640; see Berthier, *loc. cit.*, 593 *seq.* Cardinal Borghese contributed to this building also; see **Avviso* of April 8, 1633, Vat. Lib.

[3] Inscription on the façade (painted): "J. B. Card. Lenius, 1635." *Cf. Memorie intorno alla chiesa de'SS. Biagio e Carlo a' Catinari, Rome*, 1661; Posse, *Sacchi*, 95.

[4] The **Conti per la fabbrica della chiesa e casa di S. Girolamo*, 1633–5 in Archives of the *Compagnia di S. Girolamo della Carità*, Rome. *Ibid.*, *the information that Domenichino's famous "Communion of St. Jerome" (painted in 1614), was transferred to the high altar in 1659.

[5] Forcella, IV., 453. [6] Inscription of 1628.

[7] The founder was Duke Maximilian of Bavaria; see Forcella, XII., 153.

[8] **Avviso* of October 8, 1625 (*Urb.* 1095, Vat. Lib.): on Sunday "the Madonna della Cappella del Rosario nella Minerva" was deposited in a most beautiful "ornamento" in the form of a baldacchino supported by four columns, at the expense of Costanza Barberini "Priora della Compagnia".

[9] See *Avviso* of July 1, 1634, in Pollak-Frey, 131.

designs for the altars in the two last-named churches are by Bernini.[1] That man of genius likewise superintended the decoration of the magnificent Cappella Raimondi in S. Pietro in Montorio, the Chapel of Maria Leonora Alaleone in SS. Dominic and Sixtus, and the Cappella Poli in S. Maria in Trastevere.[2] The Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy created a masterpiece with his statue of St. Susanna, completed in 1634 and destined for S. Maria di Loreto, near the forum of Trajan, the church of the bankers' guild.[3] For S. Maria della Vittoria, Domenichino painted, previous to his leaving Rome [1630], "St. Francis worshipping the Child Jesus and its Mother." [4] Lanfranco decorated the Blessed Sacrament chapel at St. Paul's outside the Walls and the chapel of the Papal Master of Ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, at S. Lorenzo in Lucina,[5] for which Simon Vouet of Paris painted the "Temptation and Clothing of St. Francis".[6] Giacomo Mola, whom Urban VIII. chose for his architect,[7] built and decorated the chapel of Blessed Ludovico Albertoni in S. Francesco a Ripa [8] and Giovanni Baglione his own family chapel in SS. Cosmas and Damian.[9] The cupola of the Cappella Bandini at S. Silvestro, on the Quirinal, was decorated with frescoes from the Old Testament by Domenichino [10] whilst Algardi adorned it with the statues in stucco of St. John and St. Magdalen.[11] Simple but noble lines distinguish Domenichino's frescoes in the four pendentives of the cupola of S. Carlo ai Catinari representing the cardinal

[1] Fraschetti, 42, 89; Reymond, 39 *seq.*

[2] Fraschetti, 88, 89, 90; Reymond, 61 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*

[3] Passeri, 87 *seq.*; Thieme, X., 186, 190; Muñoz in *Annuario d. Accad. di S. Luca*, 1912, and *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 137.

[4] Voss, *Malerei*, 513.

[5] Passeri, 132. *Cf.* Baglione, *Nove chiese*, 64 *seq.*

[6] Voss, *Malerei*, 139, 477.

[7] Architectus Cam. Apost et arcis S. Angeli; *cf.* Bertolotti, *Art. Svizz.*, 36, and *Art. Lomb.*, II., 15 *seq.*

[8] Titi (1763), 48.

[9] Voss, *Malerei*, 465.

[10] Baglione, 381; Titi, 281; *Serra, Domenichino*, 78.

[11] Muñoz in *Annuario d. Accad. di S. Luca*, 1913, 38 *seq.*

virtues together with other allegorical figures referring to St. Charles Borromeo.[1]

However, every creation in the field of painting in Rome during the pontificate of Urban VIII. was eclipsed by the frescoes at St. Andrea della Valle. Just as the cupola of this Theatine church vies with that of St. Peter's, so did its internal decoration rival that of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Here, "in passionate rivalry," Lanfranco and Domenichino gave of their very best.[2] Lanfranco's fresco in the cupola represents the Blessed Virgin Mary soaring upwards, towards Christ, on a sky of clouds supported by angels and having at her right hand St. Andrew with the founder of the Theatines, St. Cajetan, and on her left St. Peter with the other great Theatine Saint, Andrew Avellino.[3] In this work, which is his masterpiece, and on which he began work in 1621,[4] Lanfranco outstripped "all similar attempts of the period immediately preceding, by his conscious calculation of perspective and adaptation to the given architectural proportions and by the grand manner of his pictorial treatment which enabled him so to combine the great masses of figures as to create the illusion of a single picture".[5] At the end of June 1627, the Pope inspected this latest creation of decorative painting.[6] Lanfranco also painted the picture

[1] BAGLIONE, 382; [Cacciari] *Mem. di S. Carlo ai Catinari*, Roma, 1861, 21; SERRA, 80 *seq.*

[2] BAGLIONE, 382; PASSERI, 23 *seq.*, 135 *seqq.*; A. BONI, *La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, Roma. 1908; SERRA, 70 *seq.*; ORTOLANI, *S. Andrea della Valle*, Roma.

[3] C. CESIO, *La cupola del cav. Giov. Lanfranco, dipinta in Roma nella chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle, disegnata et intagliata, Roma*, 1680 (with nine plates). [4] ORTOLANI, 11, 17.

[5] POSSE, *Sacchi*, 20; *cf. id. Deckenmalerei*, 115, 146.

[6] *"On Monday the Pope inspected the cupola of St. Andrea della Valle, the painting of which" con bellissime figure ("l'ascensione della B.M.V.) was completed", we read in the *Avviso* of June 30, 1627, *Urb.* 1097, Vat. Lib. Consequently the year 1625 given by PASSERI (138) for the unveiling of Lanfranco's "Assumption of Our Lady", a date also accepted by ORTOLANI (17), cannot be correct. Copy in ORTOLANI, figure 5.

for the altar of St. Andrew Avellino; in it the Saint, struck with apoplexy whilst saying Mass at St. Paolo, in Naples, is seen looking up to heaven from which angels come down towards him.[1]

Almost simultaneously [1624–8],[2] and in consequence of a commission of Cardinal Peretti Montalto, Domenichino painted the frescoes of the choir vault and the pendentives of the cupola of the same church. These mark an epoch "owing to the absolutely natural combination of architectural effect in its entirety and its vigorous, sober presentment of detail and pregnant conception of each dramatic moment". It has been justly emphasized that the master's creation appears even more wonderful when account is taken of the gigantic proportions of S. Andrea della Valle, more especially of the unusual height of the vault of the choir.[3]

The architecture of the building conditioned the division of the work: in the centre of the arch of the cupola, we behold in a magnificent landscape, John the Baptist pointing out the Messias, the Lamb of God, to the future Apostles Andrew and John (John i, 35). Of the triangles of the half-cupola, the middle one shows, also amidst magnificent scenery, the call by Christ of the fishermen Peter and Andrew to be His Apostles; on the right soldiers leading Andrew to execution; on the left the martyrdom of the Apostle; and on top, in the lunette, his ascent into heaven.[4] Between the windows Domenichino painted six virtues: Faith holding a chalice and Host, Hope, Charity, Fortitude, Piety, and Religion with the Cross.[5]

Domenichino's four evangelists in the pendentives of the cupola also rank as masterpieces: Matthew, a powerful

[1] Ortolani, fig. 17. [2] Bossi, *S. Andrea della Valle*, 21.

[3] Voss, *Malerei*, 510.

[4] Serra, 74 *seq.* Ortolani (in his remarks on fig. 8 *seq.*) is of opinion that the original scheme for the decoration of the choir vault was the work of Maderna. The magnificent stucco decorations are by Algardi. Voss, *Malerei*, 204–7, gives better reproductions of Domenichino's choir frescoes than Ortolani.

[5] Serra, 73 *seq.*

giant, grasps his gospel in his left hand, whilst on his right an angel holds a cross ; Luke, a bearded old man wrapped in an ample cloak, holds a scroll with the words of his gospel : *Fuit sacerdos* [Zachary] ; Mark, also an old man, reads from a tablet ; a lion crouches at his feet ; the youthful John, with an eagle and an angel who holds up a book before the Apostle is enthroned on clouds ; as he raises ecstatic eyes towards heaven, another angel hands him an inkpot and the Apostle is about to write the Apocalypse in the book held by the first angel.[1]

After his first visit to the church of the Theatines, Goethe wrote : " I can only record the happiness of this day in a few words : I have seen Domenichino's frescoes at St. Andrea." Since these words were penned unnumbered admirers have marvelled at this wonderful creation, one that may well represent the greatest achievement of baroque in the sphere of religious painting.[2]

By far the most important secular building of the pontificate of Urban VIII. is the imposing family palace of the Barberini, on the north-western slope of the Quirinal, which absorbed the palace of the Sforzas bought by the Pope at the end of 1625 for Cardinal Francesco Barberini and subsequently presented by him to his brother Taddeo.[3] Several plans were submitted for the new construction, among them one by Carlo Maderna, the leading architect of the period. However, it was not Maderna but Bernini who was destined to stamp the building, which was practically completed by 1633,[4]

[1] Voss, *Malerei*, 208–9 : Ortolani, figs. 6, 7 ; the three large frescoes on the walls of the choir representing scenes from the martyrdom of St. Andrew are by Mattia Preti (" il cavaliere Calabrese "), 1650–1 ; see Ortolani, figs. 13–15. The frescoes of Carlo Cignani and Alessandro Taruffi over the lateral entrances of the sanctuary were executed at a still later date (1660).

[2] Opinion of Voss in *Thieme*, IX., 401.

[3] Pollak-Frey, 251 *seq.* *Cf.* also V. Ehrle, *La pianta di Roma Maggi Maupin-Losi*, *Roma*, 1915, 18 *seq.*, 23 *seq.* Rose, *Spätbarock*, 107 *seq.* ; Hempel, 18 *seq.*

[4] P. Ferrerio (*Palazzi di Roma de' più celebri architetti*, plate 7), who is followed by Fraschetti (82), gives 1630 as the

with the seal of his genius.[1] The palace marks a turning-point in Roman architecture. It constitutes "something between a city palace and a suburban villa".[2] The four-square plan is abandoned, the result being an approximation to the ground plan of a villa such as that of the Farnese. The rear is likewise carried out in the villa style; the gardens are laid out both here and on the sides, on lining walls and terraces. The main façade, facing south-east, shows three storeys with wide, round openings between the supporting pilasters, framed, on the ground floor, with engaged Doric columns, whilst in the middle floor they are intended as windows between engaged Ionic columns. The round openings and windows of the upper storey between Corinthian pilasters give an impression of depth, thanks to a trick of perspective. The whole is one of the most magnificent constructions in the baroque style and produces an effect which is as harmonious as it is imposing. The main structure is flanked on either side by vast lateral wings.[3]

On the ground floor of the main building a vestibule opens

year of completion. This is certainly untenable; *cf.* GOLZIO, *Pal. Barberini*, 10 *seq.* The chapel was only completed in the autumn of 1632; see POLLAK-FREY, 329. On the heavy cost of the building, *cf.* besides the letter quoted by POSSE (*Deckenmalerei*, 96, n. 3), of Fr. Niccolini, dated June 8, 1630, the *report of the Florentine envoy dated March 13, 1632, State Archives, Florence, *Med.*, 3351, p. 189. HIER. TETIUS (Perusinus) published an illustrated description: *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae, Romae*, 1642. The statement that the materials were taken from the Colosseum is wrong; *cf.* BOSSI, 10.

[1] HEMPEL (15 *seq.*, 19 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*), has shown that Borromini executed only secondary parts (Urban VIII.'s arms on the principal façade, some windows at the back). For the rest, as FREY (*L'architettura barocca*, 22) points out, the story of the building of the palace is still so obscure that it is not yet possible to disentangle with any certainty the share of Maderna and that of Bernini in the work.

[2] HEMPEL, 16; GOLZIO, 27 *seq.*, 36, 49.

[3] BALDINUCCI (edit. RIEGL), 102 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, *Edifices* II., 181 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 90 *seq.*

in the centre of the magnificent double portico with a passage to yet another portico in the direction of the raised garden at the back. The staircases are at the other end : the one on the right, oval in shape and copied from Vignola's staircase at Caprarola, leads to the library on the top floor ; the large, square staircase on the left serves as the main stairway [1] to the " piano nobile ", the centre of which consists of an immense magnificent hall which takes in two storeys. The ceiling was decorated by Pietro da Cortona with a fresco in the new " illusionistic " style creating the impression of vast spaces. This magnificent fresco was executed according to a scheme drawn up by the Court poet Francesco Bracciolini.[2] and is the fruit of years of toil and scrupulous care.[3] Urban VIII. took the greatest interest in the work which began in 1633 [4] ; when it was completed in 1639, he compared it to the works of Raphael.[5]

The praise was deserved. Pietro da Cortona who, with Bernini, inspired the high baroque movement in Rome,[6] has here produced " one of the greatest and most important creations of all time in the sphere of decorative fresco work.[7] His ceiling is an epoch-making achievement with which he displaced the hitherto preponderant influence of the Bolognese school in Rome. It ushers in a new era of the decorative arts ". In place of sham architecture, the weight of which was suggested by caryatids and pilasters, there succeeds a cunningly painted framework, the material of which is no longer to be imagined as stone, but actually consists of the lighter stucco.[8] The

[1] Golzio, 42 *seq.* On the configuration of Bernini's stairs, *cf.* Rose, *Spätbarock*, 189 *seq.*

[2] Tetius, *Aedes Barb.*, 44 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 423.

[3] Posse, *Deckenfresko*, 98 *seq.*, 102 ; O. Pollak in *Thieme*, VII., 489 ; Pollak-Frey, 327 *seq.*

[4] See J. V. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, II.², Nürnberg, 1675, 200.

[5] See the report of Fr. Niccolini of December, 1639, in Posse, *loc. cit.*, 102, n. 2. *Cf.* Golzio, 15 *seq.* ; Pollak-Frey, 328.

[6] Voss, *Malerei*, 319. [7] *Ibid.*, 533 ; *cf.* 537 *seq.*

[8] Posse, *loc. cit.*, 156–7. *Cf.* also Rose, *Spätbarock*, 218 *seq.*, and Weisbach, *Barock*, 43.

subject of the giant fresco is in itself of the greatest interest: with inexhaustible wealth of figures and accessories it blends allegorica and mythological reminiscences with an essentially Christian conception. Contemporary [1] as well as subsequent critics [2] have been alike mistaken when they imagined that the marvellous frescoes exalted the earthly Prince rather than the Vicar of Christ. The exact reverse is the truth: the personality of Urban VIII. recedes before the glorification of the divinely-founded papacy. In keeping with the taste of the period, this fundamental religious notion coalesces, together with allegory and mythology, into a majestic and harmonious whole which forms like a triumphant pæan to the greatness of the Apostolic See and its occupant for the time being.[3] In the centre the figure of divine Providence is seen enthroned in heavenly glory and resplendent with dazzling light; Immortality floating upwards holds a crown of stars with which to crown it; at its behest winged genii carry towards heaven the tiara, Peter's keys, and a poet's laurel wreath shaped like a shield and bearing the Barberini bees.

The representations of the longitudinal and transverse sides are likewise subordinate to the main group. The former show Minerva casting down the Giants, viz. Heresy and Unbelief; at the bidding of Justice, Hercules slays the Harpies whilst Plenty pours out its cornucopia over the earth; human Wisdom and its spring, Religion, overcome the passions of the body; Papal Sovereignty, guided by Prudence, fetters War and holds it in check by the creation of an armed force (Vulcan's smithy).[4]

For the walls, Francesco Ubaldini suggested six frescoes recording the chief events of Urban's pontificate; viz. his election as Pope, the opening of the Holy Door, the furthering

[1] See Domenichino's letter in Bellori, 223.

[2] Voss, *Malerei*, 539.

[3] Posse, *loc. cit.*, 106 *seq.*; 118, whose excellent account serves as a basis to what follows. *Cf.* also Passeri, 406 *seq.* and the detailed description by Fabbrino (45 *seq.*). Reproductions in Posse, 110 *seq.*, 112, 114 *seq.*, and Voss, 243–5.

[4] Posse, 108 *seq.*

of the publication of religious books, the acquisition of Urbino, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, and his exertions for the defence of the States of the Church.[1] Eventually, it was decided not to include the walls in the scheme of decoration,

[1] *" Abbozzo per le pitture alle parieti della Sala Barberina. Le attioni principali di Papa Urbano ottavo distinte in sei quadri :

1° La creatione di esso Papa Urbano, con esprimersi la reiteratione dei suffragi. Per ciò si potrebbe ricorrere al poema del Bracciolini maestro di Rosichino nel luogo ove egli tratta di questo, per farvi figure in aria dinotanti le virtù che concorsero a un atto tanto eroico. . . .

2° L'aprimento della Porta Santa co' ritratti de' principi che vennero all'indulgenza dell'Anno Santo, come sarebbe a dire l'arciduca Leopoldo, Vladislao principe di Polonia, etc.

3° La correttione dei riti e de' libri ecclesiastici, la riforma delle ceremonie, la stampa per la Propaganda Fede.

4° L'acquisto dello stato di Urbino. Il Metauro che si sottomette al Tevere. Ha il Metauro per sua insegna un dente di elefante per la vittoria che hebbesi quivi di Asdrubale. Sarebbe etiamdio bello a farvi un gran tronco di quercia d'onde eschino le api per quell' : Et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. Nè forse sarebbe fuor di proposito finger angeletti per aria con corone di quercia dette civiche per dimostrare che tale acquisto si fece conservando i cittadini dalla guerra.

5° Il tener lontano la peste, la fame e la guerra dallo Stato ecclesiastico. Si potrebbero queste tre cose esprimere con le tre Furie, ciascheduna con qualche segno a tali calamità appropriato, e che le discacciassero Apollo per la sanità, Cerere coronata di spiche per l'abbondanza, e Mercurio col caduceo per la missione de' Legati e Nuntii.

6° La diffesa dello Stato della Chiesa. Farei Matilda con lo scudo, con la sua arma, con una spada sfoderata avanti la sua sepoltura, la quale Papa Urbano le inalzò nel Vaticano, e la detta Matilda discacciasse i nemici espressi in qualche mostro significante la lega de' principi.

L'introdur Matilda con allusione allegorica non è nuovo, havendolo fatto Dante nel fine del suo *Purgatorio*, etc., per la vita attiva, che, come si ha da san Gregorio Magno, è la propria del Sommo Pontefice. Vedansi le sue prime epistole, etc. *Barb.*, 4901, p. 61, Vatican Library.

as had been done in the Galleria Farnese, but to adorn them instead with a series of gobelins representing scenes of the life and passion of Christ, for which Gian Francesco Romanelli furnished the cartoons.[1] Scenes from the life of Christ were painted by Pietro da Cortona in the chapel of the palace, in the pictorial decoration of which other artists also took part.[2]

In the north wing of the main storey, Andrea Camassei, a protégé of Domenichino, painted the creation of the Angels.[3] He had already executed in another room a representation of Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses.[4] Of much greater significance is the fresco in which Andrea Sacchi,[5] whom Cardinal Antonio Barberini employed at a fixed salary, decorated the ceiling of the great hall in the north wing of the palace. Its subject corresponds to that of the hall of ceremonies, for it was essentially meant to represent the guidance of divine Wisdom, of which the Church stands ever in need ; but, as the execution shows, here the grave Roman gave expression to a current of baroque painting contrary to that of the versatile Tuscan Pietro da Cortona, for Sacchi aimed before all else at simplicity and unity in the presentment of his theme. All-embracing divine Wisdom, personified as a noble maiden in a robe of azure and resplendent white mantle, is seen seated on a golden throne surrounded by eleven female figures symbolizing the attributes of Wisdom as described in the Book of Wisdom and pouring out its blessings upon the earth beneath. In contrast with the serene tranquillity of these noble figures, two winged youths are seen floating in the air—they are intended to represent love and fear. This fresco, which conjures up memories of Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura, is justly singled out for praise in the inscription on the artist's tomb

[1] F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno*, V., 544. *Cf.* below, p. 504, n. 2.

[2] Posse, *Deckenfresko*, 97, 99. *Cf.* Golzio, 19.

[3] Passeri, 159 ; *cf.* Pollak-Frey, 330.

[4] Posse, *Deckenfresko*, 99. *Cf.* A. Presenzini, *Vita ed opere del pittore A. Camassei, Assisi*, 1880, 62 ; Pollak-Frey, 330.

[5] Passeri, 313 *seq.*

in St. Mary Major ; it is a significant proof of the survival of the classicist movement in baroque.[1]

For the weaving of the gobelins, Cardinal Francesco Barberini established a special factory in 1627. The institution worked until his death [1679] and produced many excellent works, among them being copies in oil on canvas of Raphael's tapestries in the Vatican. The Fleming Giacomo della Riviera (Jakob van den Vliete) was appointed director of the factory.[2] The Cardinal had acquired a special interest in this kind of art, and at a later date he also bought old tapestries.[3] Louis XIII. made him a present of seven tapestries representing the story of the Emperor Constantine,[4] which have not been preserved, but to this day the Palazzo Barberini possesses a series of ten tapestries on which the Cardinal had had depicted some of the events of the life of Urban VIII.[5] such as the conferment of the doctorate on Maffeo Barberini, his activities on Lake Trasimene under Clement VIII., his elevation to the cardinalate, his election as Pope, the annexation of Urbino

[1] In his monograph of Sacchi (38 *seq.*), Posse has once more drawn attention to this fresco of which he gives an excellent explanation. It may be that it was inspired by Sarbiewski's epode " Of Divine Wisdom " composed by the latter towards the end of his stay in Rome. (*Epodon*, l.c., transl. by Silbert in " Dom heiliger Sänger ", Vienna, 1820).

[2] *Cf.* Müntz, *L'atelier de tapisseries du card. Franc. Barberini à Rome*, in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts* (Chronique, 1876, 229 *seq.*) ; Müntz, *Les tapisseries de Raphael*, Paris, 1897, 48, 296, 364 : Posse, *Sacchi*, 69 *seq.* ; *L'Arte I.* (1898), 354, XXVII., 66 *seq.* Also Gentili, *Cenni storici sulle origini e vicende dell' arte degli arazzi in Roma*, Rome, 1915, and H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, II., 1, Leipzig, 1928, 417 *seq.* Collection of letters referring to the factory in *Barb.*, 4373, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Orbaan, *Bescheiden*, I., 353 *seq.*

[3] *L'Arte I.*, 355.

[4] Orbaan, *Documenti*, 496 ; Göbel, *loc. cit.*, 419.

[5] The tapestry was executed in the years 1663–1679. The factory also furnished the following series ; (1) 1627–1630, *Serie dei Castelli*, 6 pieces ; (2) 1630–1641, *Vita di Constantino*, 5 pieces ; (3) 1637–1642, *Giuoco di fanciulli*, 5 pieces ; (4) 1643–1656, *Vita di Christo*, 10 pieces.

to the Papal States, the fortification of Rome, the dedication of St. Peter's, the restoration of peace in Italy. One tapestry shows Urban VIII. in the act of receiving envoys ; Countess Matilda stands on his left and the City Prefect, Taddeo, on his right ; in another the Pope invokes the protection of the Prince of the Apostles against plague and famine.[1]

The Barberini palace, the furnishing of which Cardinal Antonio Barberini the younger pursued with prodigal ardour,[2] contained many other artistic treasures, as we learn from the description of Count Girolamo Teti. First place among these belongs to the picture gallery, one of Rome's largest and choicest. It contained several pictures of the greatest value, such as Raphael's " Fornarina ", Sebastiano del Piombo's " Clement VII.", Titian's " Paul III.", Corregio's " Espousals of St. Catherine ", as well as works by German painters, for instance, Dürer's " Death of Mary ". Italian masters were the most numerously represented ; among them Perugino, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Sarto, Caracci, D'Arpino, Guido Reni, Lanfranco, and Sacchi.[3] Besides numerous antique statues, among them a river god found in the course of work in Castel St. Angelo, the Faun now at Munich [4] and a bust of Cicero preserved in the museum of the Capitol, one also admired works by more recent sculptors, such as Bernini's marble bust of Urban VIII. and an equestrian statuette of Carlo Barberini by Francesco Mocchi.[5] A special room was

[1] The Barberini family has in its possession all Romanelli's cartoons. Prince Urbano Barberini, who very kindly allowed me to see them, and who gave me some valuable information about them, is thinking of publishing a special work on them based on documents in the family archives of the Barberini (**Libri mastri, Filze di giustificazioni, etc.*).

[2] See the report of Fr. Mantovani of May 12, 1635, in Posse, *Sacchi*, 6, n. 2.

[3] Tetius, 17, 153 *seq.* *Cf.* Orbaan, *Documenti*, 497 *seq.* ; G. Incisa della Rocchetta in *L'Arte XXVII.*, 70 ; de Villa-Urritia, *El Palacio Barberini*, 37 *seq.* ; Pelluti, I., *Musei d'Italia*, Roma, 1922, 353 *seq.* ; Pollak-Frey, 333 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*

[4] Cassiano del Pozzo in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV. (1875), 177.

[5] Tetius, 169 *seq.* ; de Villa-Urritia, 38 *seq.* *Cf.* Golzio, 20.

assigned to an extensive collection of antiques of the pagan and the Christian era, among them being the Roman weapons which Maffeo Barberini had found in the course of his work on Lake Trasimene.[1] To the valuable library founded by Francesco Barberini there was added a valuable collection of antique coins and gems.[2] A special room contained the portraits of famous men, among whom the Florentines were particularly well represented.[3] In the gardens, which were adorned with statues, fountains, rare flowers and laurel trees, there were also housed stags, ostriches, and camels.[4] From Lisbon the Spanish ambassador, Castel Rodrigo, had sent to the Pope a present of orange, lemon, and cedar trees, all of which had until then been unknown in Rome.[5]

Adjoining the palace was a theatre [6] capable of seating 3,000 persons. It was inaugurated in February, 1634, with the presentation of the drama " St. Alexius " written by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, the future Clement IX., and set to music by Stefano Landi. In this play, as in Pietro da Cortona's pictures, classical elements formed a harmonious blend with Christian ones. The excellent music and the splendid staging, the flight of the angels in mid air and the apparition of Religion on a chariot of clouds with which the illusion reached its climax, called forth the enthusiastic applause of the spectators.[7]

[1] TETIUS, 30 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 23 *seq.*; N. HEINSIUS, *Clar. Belg. ad Magliabech. epist.*, I., 285; BLUME, III., 137.

[3] TETIUS, 18; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 130, n. 2.

[4] TETIUS, 37 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 331.

[5] See the data of Cassiano del Pozzo, *loc. cit.*, XV., 191, *cf.* JESSEN, *Botanik*, 258.

[6] It stood to the left of the palace and had probably been built to the plans of Pietro da Cortona; see GOLZIO, 11, 46.

[7] ADEMOLLO, *Teatri* (1888), 8, 10 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*; GOLDSCHMIDT, *Studien zur Gesch. der ital. Oper*, Leipzig, 1901, 147 *seq.* *Cf.* also GIONA, *I primi melodrami a Roma e il teatro Barberini*, in the *Rassegna internaz. di musica*, 1909, and H. PRUNIÈRES, *L'opéra italien en France*, Paris, 1913, who devotes the first chapter of his book to the development of the opera in Rome at the period of Urban VIII. See also ZUCKER, *Die Theaterdekoration des*

The rapture of the contemporaries over these first musical dramas in the Palazzo Barberini may be gauged by the accounts of Janus Nicius Erythraeus who cannot find words with which to describe the actors dressed in cloth of gold and silver and the changes of scenery and perspective.[1] In the following year, when the melodrama, "The life of St. Theodora," also composed by Cardinal Rospigliosi, was presented, an attempt was made to surpass the success of 1634. Whilst musical drama of a religious kind was being cultivated in the monasteries of Rome, especially by the Jesuits, secular subjects were also acted in the theatre of the Barberini, such as Rospigliosi's comedy "*Chi soffre speri*", in 1639, when Milton was one of the audience.[2]

The memory of the Barberini is kept alive in the Eternal City, not only by the Barberini palace—perhaps Rome's most magnificent,[3] but by many other buildings. We have already spoken of the extensive work on Castel St. Angelo, the fortifications for the protection of the city of Rome and the alterations and reconstruction of the Palace of Propaganda.[4] The school of the Roman mission to the Jews was also given a worthy home. To its protector, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, as well as to the Pope's assistance, was due the new College of the Neophytes erected by Gaspare de' Vecchi [5] near the

Barock, Berlin, 1925. The famous singer, Marcantonio Pasqualini, whose crowning by Apollo has been depicted by Sacchi's brush, was likewise in the service of Cardinal Antonio; see POSSE, *Sacchi*, 107 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* AMBROS, IV., 187 *seq.* [2] ADEMOLLO, 25 *seq.*

[3] "If I had to give the preference to one building above all others I would choose the Palazzo Barberini. It surpasses the Vatican by the symmetry of its plan, equals the extent of the Quirinal and the Villas Farnese and Altieri and yields in nothing to the Villas Borghese, Giustiniani, Chigi, Colonna and Pamfili as regards its internal arrangement and its collections of ancient and modern works of art. Moreover, seen from outside, it looks more beautiful and more imposing than all the others." (Confidential letters from Italy of President de Brosses to his friends at Dijon, 1739–1740.)

[4] See above, p. 212 *seq.* and 360 *seq.* [5] BAGLIONE, 181.

pilgrimage church of the Madonna de' Monti.[1] Mention must also be made of the repairs to the city walls and to the house of refuge for penitents in the Lungara,[2] the extension of the Sapienza, of which Borromini was appointed architect in the autumn of 1632,[3] the alterations in the palace of the Inquisition,[4] the enlargement of the hospital near the Lateran,[5] and that of the grain stores near the baths of Diocletian.[6]

The *Tabularium* on the Capitol was saved from ruin when the Pope transferred elsewhere the salt stores which were situate there. The prisons on the Capitol were enlarged and the decoration of the palace of the Senate was continued.[7] Urban VIII. also carried out extensive restorations and alterations in the Vatican [8]; the *Galleria Lapidaria* was vaulted,[9] and the *Galleria Geographica* restored.[10] On the second floor of the new palace, in 1632, Urban had a passage made to join up with the old one and in honour of Countess Matilda, the supporter of Gregory VIII., he furnished the room which bears her name

[1] See HOFFMANN in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XI., 81, who ascribes the building to the year 1634. The inscription in the *Inventario*, 19 *seq.* gives 1635, but an **Avviso* of October 8, 1639, reports that Urban VIII., on that date, inspected the construction of the College of Neophytes *che si fa per ordine del card. S. Onofrio* (*Urb.*, 1107, Vatican Library).

[2] POLLAK-FREY, 2 *seq.*; NOVAES, IX., 294. On the restoration of the city walls, *cf.* NIBBY, *Le mura*, 338, 364, 368, 381; FORCELLA, XIII., 8 *seq.*; *Inventario*, 23, 224, 272, 284, 285, 286, 315, 318.

[3] See above, p. 455.

[4] MARTINELLI, 12; CIACONIUS, IV., 515; on the first floor of the Palace of the Inquisition we read above a door: "Urbanus VIII., P.M."

[5] *Inventario*, 14.

[6] See above, p. 372. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 182; FORCELLA, XIII., 181; *Inventario*, 349, 350; TOTTI (55), mentions the construction of a staircase in the corn store near Porta Portese which had been restored by Gregory XV.

[7] FORCELLA, I., 51, 55; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 43, 104, 126.

[8] MORONI, 4, 265 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 372 *seq.*; CECCHELLI, 98.

[9] FORCELLA, VI., 152; BARBIER, II., 90.

[10] TAJA, 286, 290; FORCELLA, VI., 150; BARBIER, II., 148 *seq.*, 154; *Mél. d' archéol.*, XX., 295 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 386.

and adorned it with pictures of historical scenes, among them that of Canossa. A pupil of Pietro da Cortona, Gian Francesco Romanelli of Viterbo, executed them and likewise decorated the adjoining room with frescoes.[1] Near the Stanza dell' Incendio, Urban VIII. fitted out a private chapel for himself; its stucco and pictorial decoration had for its theme the Passion of our Lord. The beautiful fresco over the altar is the work of Pietro da Cortona.[2] A second chapel, on the third floor, derived its name from a picture by Romanelli representing the birth of Christ.[3] Besides the above-named painters, Agostino Ciampelli and Agostino Tassi were also employed in the decoration of the Vatican. To this day the friezes of the ceilings of three rooms on the first floor of the Sistino-Clementine part of the palace recall the memory of the Barberini Pope.[4] In 1625 all the frescoes of the Sistine chapel were subjected to a thorough cleaning, the dust being removed by rubbing the figures with bread.[5] The corridor between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo, which had become very ruinous, was also restored.[6]

[1] TAJA, 198 *seq.*, 200; FORCELLA, VI., 151 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 389; in 1907 Pius X. turned the Sala Matilde into a chapel.

[2] TAJA, 271 *seq.*; BARBIER, II., 65; THIEME, VII., 488; POLLAK-FREY, 385.

[3] TAJA, 495; MORONI, IX., 155.

[4] Since 1907 these rooms serve as reception rooms of the Cardinal Secretary of State. On the *Armeria* in the Vatican, see above, p. 364; on the new door of the Vatican Library, p. 451. On other minor works and alterations executed by Urban VIII. in the Vatican see TAJA, 138, 175, 186, 194. In the collection of pen and ink sketches in *Barb.*, 4409, there are reproductions on p. 20, "Porta nel Vaticano" leading into the "Cappella Segreta" (1624); p. 21, a view of the *Cappella Segreta* (cf. p. 26); p. 22, doors in the Vatican; p. 24, "Ristaurationi delle 4. facciate del cortile del Palazzo nuovo edificato da Sisto V."; p. 27, the restored "Galleria Geografica"; p. 30, the door communicating between the old and the new palace.

[5] STEINMANN, *Sixt. Kapelle*, II., 779, 783.

[6] FORCELLA, XIII., 179.

Repairs and decorations were also carried out in the Quirinal[1]; Andrea Sacchi was employed in the private chapel of that palace, besides several other painters. In 1638 Bernini built the small loggia over the main portal.[2] To the left was constructed a bastion and on the right a room for the Swiss guards.[3] The garden of the Quirinal was adorned with new fountains, statues and a sun dial; it was likewise considerably enlarged and surrounded with a strong wall in 1628.[4] The piazza in front of the Quirinal had already been enlarged by Urban VIII. by the purchase of part of the gardens of the Colonna; he also levelled it, in view of the crowds of pilgrims who flocked there to receive the papal blessing. This caused the disappearance of the remains of the temple of the Sun which towered above a large part of the city. In 1634 the Pope gave orders for the removal of the erroneous inscriptions on the statues of "The Horse Tamers" in favour of those seen to-day.[5] The piazza before the church of

[1] *Cf.* MORONI, 4, 234 *seq.* In the collection of pen and ink sketches in *Barb.* 4409 there are reproductions on p. 46 of "Facciata di dentro nel Palazzo del Quirinale" (restored); p. 47. "Facciata d'horologio in Quirinale abbellita, ristorata e ridotta in quella vaga forma che di presente si vede, dalla S. di P. Urbano VIII. con havervi fatto li due corritore che dividono li appartamenti da una e l'altra." *Cf.* BARBIER, III., 305 *seq.* 308; *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1910, 220.

[2] POLLAK-FREY, 370. On Bernini's loggia, *cf.* FRASCHETTI, 87.

[3] TOTTI, 278 *seq.*; POSSE, *Sacchi*, 66 *seq.*

[4] See the pen and ink sketches in *Barb.* 4409, pp. 45, 48, 49, 50, 51. The inscription above the sun-dial runs thus: "Urbanus VIII. Barberinus. | Recurrentium temporum lex | a luce prima in vesperam, sic tota | decurrit dies currens per anni | circulum."

[5] Besides DONATUS, *Roma*, 399; TOTTI, 281 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 156; POLLAK-FREY, 355 *seq.*, NICOLETTI, II., 875 *seq.*: "*Erano contigui al palazzo Pontificio alcune case ed orti posseduti parte da D. Cesare Estense Duca di Modena e parte dalla famiglia Grimana; onde comprando gli uni e gli altri incorporolli all'antico giardino del Quirinale riducendolo con larga spesa a luogo di amene e vaghe delitie. Ricinse poi tutto l'ambito di esso con forti et alte mura in vece di siepe fragile,

St. Magdalen[1] and that of the fountain of Trevi, were similarly widened. The latter had only three simple spouts. Urban VIII. conceived the plan of erecting here, as for the Acqua Felice and the Acqua Paola, a monumental façade which would provide a " mostra ", that is, the magnificent spectacle of water rushing downwards. Bernini, who was commissioned to carry out the plan, thought of obtaining the required materials by demolishing the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The opposition of the Roman people prevented this; in fact Bernini's plan

che per avanti lo circondava, e con baloardi si bene intesi, che dalla parte di tramontana sembra al di fuori a guisa di fortezza. Si vede scolpito in medaglia il palazzo Pontificio del Quirinale con queste parole: 'Ad aedium Pontificum securitatem.' Fabricò parimente in un lato di esso giardino verso la parte di oriente un commodo palazzuolo e dispose anco l'habitatione per le guardie di soldati Svizzeri per maestà e sicurezza de' Pontefici. Si leggono in un marmo queste memorie:

URBANUS OCTAVUS PONT. MAX.
SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM COMMODITATI ET OBLECTATIONI ET SECURITATI
VIRIDARII SPATIUM AMPLIORI PROTENDIT ACCESSIONE,
QUAM COMPLANAVIT
HINC VALLIS IMAE SUPERFICIEM ATTOLLENS,
COLLIS INDE SUMMITATEM DEPRIMENS.
AREAS ADDITAS APTE DISTINXIT, IRRIGAVIT FONTIBUS ET DECENTER EXCOLUIT,
IN ANGULO ORIENTALI DOMUM CURARUM INTERMISSIONE RECESSUM CONSTITUIT,
EXCUBIIS MILITUM HELVETIORUM CONTUBERNIA CONSTRUXIT ET DISPOSUIT,
HORTOS AMBITU PARIETUM UNDEQUAQUE CONCLUSIT
ANNO SALUTIS 1628 PONT. ANNO 6°.

Cf. also **Avviso* of May 10, 1625, *Urb.*, 1095, Vatican Library.

[1] See AMICI, *Mem. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis*, Roma, 1913, 148 *seq.* *Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 656; POLLAK-FREY, 437.

Besides the inscription here given, I also saw in 1908 the following in the shop of a Roman antiquary: "In honorem | Deiparae virg. | et S. Phil. Nerii | Urbano VIII. Pont. Max. | Annuente | congreg. Oratorii | viam aperuit | plateam stravit | A° sal. 1628."

was never carried out: only the spout of the fountain was given its present position.[1]

In the autumn of 1629 Bernini was appointed superintendent of the Acqua Virgine, a post which his lately deceased father had also held. The latter's last work was the well-known "Barcaccia" in the Piazza di Spagna: this is an oblong barque in a sunk basin from which jets of water are thrown inside and out.[2] This was the first example of a new type of fountain, different from the architectural type hitherto in use,[3] in the development of which the son surpassed the father. In the life-time of Urban VIII., as appears from the shield displaying the Barberini bees, he erected in the Piazza Barberini the famous fountain of the Triton, placed in a straight line with the street ascending from the lower city: three water-spouting dolphins support on their twisted tails a basin in the shape of a shell; on this the Triton kneels whilst through a slender tube he blows high into the air a thin jet of water which bathes his body as it falls back.[4] The arms of the Barberini provided Bernini with a motif for a fountain in the Vatican [5] and for the "Fountain of the Bees" which at one time adorned the bend of the Via Sistina and the Piazza which at that time derived its name from the palace of Cardinal Domenico Grimani. Of

[1] "In quest' anno 1643 la S. di N.S. Urbano VIII. fa rinovare il fonte con disegno del cavalier Bernini (MARTINELLI, 96). *Cf.* FRASCHETTI, 127 *seq.*; BALDINUCCI (edit. RIEGL), 91 *seq.*, 93; GUIDI, 81 *seq.*; POLLAK-FREY, 14 *seq.* As against FRASCHETTI see VOSS' arguments in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1910, 127 *seq.* (who is supported by DOMARUS [BACCI, 45] and EGGER, *Architekt. Handzeichnungen* 10. *Cf.* BENKARD, 24.

[2] That the Barraccia is not by Lorenzo but by Pietro Bernini appears from the documents quoted by O. POLLAK in *Vita d'arte II.* (1909), 458 *seq.*, 515 *seq.* *Cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 12 *seq.*

[3] BALDINUCCI, 35; GUIDI, 41; FRIEDLÄNDER, *Römische Brunnen*, Leipzig, 1922, 8 *seq.*

[4] BALDINUCCI (edit. RIEGL), 91; FRASCHETTI, 123 *seq.* *Cf.* VOSS in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXI., 107 *seq.*; GUIDI, 43, 71 *seq.*; WEISBACH, *Barock*, 31; BENKARD, 23; COLASANTI, XXXV., dissert., 215.

[5] TOTTI, 22; FRASCHETTI, 122; COLASANTI, dissert., 212.

late the fountain has been once more put up not far from this spot.[1] On the other hand the two interesting fountains erected by Bernini in the Villa Mattei, have disappeared.[2]

Urban's predilection for the fountains which constitute so characteristic an ornament of Rome, is shown by the ordinances of the years 1624, 1629, and 1631 issued for the purpose of ensuring the cleanliness of works of such importance for the health of the people.[3] Nor did he bestow less care on the cleanliness of the streets and on their pavement.[4] New roads were opened from S. Eusebio to S. Bibiana, near the Chiesa Nuova,[5] near S. Caterina de' Funari [6] and along the Ripa Grande.[7] To this day the beautiful street near St. Mary Major bears the name of Urban VIII.[8] The two arches of the bridge of S. Angelo near the right bank of the river were cleared: in this both the safety of Castle S. Angelo and the danger of floods were kept in view.[9] Ponte Molle and Ponte

[1] CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 10; *Inventario*, 412; FRASCHETTI, 121 *seq.*; GUIDI, 147; POLLAK-FREY, 17.

[2] GUIDI, 42 *seq.*

[3] See *Editti, V., 51, p. 118, 120; V., 74, p. 161, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See **Avviso* of August 21, 1624; (a beginning had been made of "selciare la piazza del Popolo", the street from St. Mary Major to the Latern and from the latter to the Colosseum; the money to be raised by means of a new tax on the adjoining estates and vineyards), and August 24, 1624 (edict of the Camerlengo on cleaning of streets with a view to public health), *Urb.* 1094, Vatican Library. *Cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 405.

[5] See **Avviso* of February 20, 1627, *Urb.* 1097, *loc. cit.*; TOTTI, 225, 228; HEMPEL, 65; STRONG, *Chiesa Nuova*, 64.

[6] TOTTI, 174.

[7] *Id.*, 55. Urban's coat of arms in the Piazza Marta near S. Ignazio flanked by two cornucopias and surmounted by the Barberini sun and underneath a cartouche with the inscription; "Urb., VIII., P.M.A., XVIII." (1640), no doubt points to some repairs of the streets.

[8] *NICOLETTI, LII., 7, p. 906, Vatican Library. *Cf. Inventario*, 20.

[9] See the inscription of 1628 in TOTTI, 242; *cf.* POLLAK-FREY, 7.

Quattro Capi were also repaired and Ponte Sisto was repaved.[1]

We get a comprehensive view of the appearance of the Eternal City at that period from the plans of Rome, more particularly the large one of 1625,[2] from engravings, etchings, and drawings[3] as well as from numerous travel books.[4] There existed already then professional guides of whom the best known was Johann Hoch, an officer in the Swiss Guards,

[1] POLLAK-FREY, 7–8.

[2] EHRLE, *Roma, cf.* HUELSEN, *Saggio*, 25. On a view dated 1631, see *Mél. d' archéol.*, XX. (1900), 296 *seq.*

[3] Notably those of Stefano della Bella : see below, p. 540.

[4] Among the guides one of the most remarkable was *Italia Antiqua*, by Philip Cluver, published in 1624. A popular Guide to Italy, one which drew attention to everything worth seeing, was the *Itinerarium historico-politicum* of Jakob Grasser of Bâle, also published in 1624. The Jubilee year of 1625 saw the publication of *Mercurius italicus*, with pictures of towns and small maps (new edition Lugduni, 1628 ; on Rome : pp. 260–440). In 1627 Jos. Furttenbach published at Ulm his *Itinerarium Italiae*, a kind of Baedecker with many engravings (see *Bollet. d. Soc. Geog. ital.*, V. [1919], 620 *seq.*). *The Teatro delle città d'Italia, Padova*, 1629, with very pretty illustrations, appeared anonymously. A capital work, the real Baedecker of the period, is Martin Zeiller's *Itinerarium Italiae*, 1640, at Frankfort on the Main, published by Merian (see FRIEDLÄNDER in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876, 241 *seq.*). The copper plates are justly esteemed. (*Cf. P. Zeiller, M. Zeiller*, in *Annuaire du Club Alpin, Français*, XIV. [1887]. Only a few travel descriptions deserve to be mentioned. Jean Jacques Bouchard, a frivolous Frenchman with a taste for art who came to Rome in February, 1632, gives a detailed description of the Roman Carnival and of his adventures : some of his information makes a useful contribution to the history of civilization ; see L. MARCHEIX, *Un Parisien à Rome et Naples en 1632*, Paris, 1897 and 1907. The journey of the archæologist Justus Rycynius (1624), is discussed by ROERSCH, *De Gand à Rome* in the *Mél. Kurth II.* On the journey to Italy of the two Margraves of Baden (1644), see *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins N.F.I.* (1866).

who called himself Giovanni Alto.[1] For the benefit of pilgrims during the Holy Year of 1625, a second edition was published of Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti dell'alma città di Roma.* Far more important was the new edition of a book by the Servite Pietro Martire Felini on "the wonders of Rome"—*Le meraviglie di Roma*—for here interest in the monuments asserts itself decisively. Much information may be derived from the numerous illustrations showing the contemporary exteriors of numerous churches which subsequently received new façades.[2]

In 1624 Urban VIII.'s personal physician, the Sienese Giulio Mancini, completed his *Viaggio per Roma* (journey through Rome). Here a fine connoisseur, one interested in everything and an acute observer, provides an accurate, topographically ordered survey of the artistic wealth of Rome, though one limited to pictorial works.[3] Until then guide-books had confined themselves to the art of the Renaissance, starting from Giotto, whereas Mancini also gives numerous examples of the art of the early Christian and medieval periods. He enumerates so many works of art and artists that in this respect he surpasses all his predecessors ; he is also very reliable.[4]

Whilst this unique source of information on the history of art, owing to the abundance of the material supplied, remained unpublished for three centuries, a number of publications appeared under Urban VIII. which in part inaugurated a new era, in the literature of which Rome was the theme. In 1638

[1] J. Hoch published a popular illustrated work for Rome travellers entitled *Splendore dell'antica e moderna Roma . . . dato alle stampe da Giov. Alto* (with engraved portrait of Urban VIII.), Roma, 1641. *Cf.* below, p. 538, n. 2.

[2] P. M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, Rome, 1625 (see Schudt, *Mancini*, 30 *seq.*, 123). On p. 161 Felini gives "La facciata della Consolatione come era prima", on p. 162 the new façade.

[3] On this work, written under Paul V., see our account in Vol. XXVI., p. 438 *seq.*

[4] This is the result of the researches by Schudt in his excellent edition of Mancini's *Viaggio per Roma.* Leipzig, 1923, especially p. 38 *seq.*

there appeared at Naples a work written eighteen years earlier by the painter Gaspari Celio.[1] This work constitutes the first printed guide-book which, leaving aside the hagiographical element, deals exclusively with the monuments. Celio, whose artistic conceptions resemble those of Mancini, though he writes quite independently of him, also devotes his attention chiefly to pictures, but he likewise notes the more important works of sculpture. An alphabetical list of churches is followed by an enumeration of the palaces and the paintings on façades but, contrary to Mancini, he only mentions contemporary works of art.[2] In 1639 the Jesuit Alexander Donatus of Siena published a description of old and new Rome.[3] However, he concentrates on old Rome, and only one of his four tomes, the last, deals with the Christian epoch down to Urban VIII., to whom the work is dedicated. His is an excellent summary, as regards old Rome, of the results of research ever since the epoch-making second edition of Marliani's *Topography* published in 1544, and is distinguished for learning and maturity of judgment.[4]

The year 1639 also saw a new edition of a guide-book by the Westphalian Hermann Bavinck, a chaplain at the Anima,[5] in which the author describes the wonders of the city of Rome, and the seven most famous churches throughout Christendom out of her three hundred and fifty. The same year also saw the publication of a description, by the painter Giovanni Baglione, of the nine churches which most interested the pilgrims.[6] The German Guide starts from the national church of the Anima and departs in many ways from the routine of

[1] *Memoria fatta dal sig. Gaspare Celio delli nomi dell'artefic, delle pitture che sono in alcune chiese, facciate e palazzi di Romai* Napoli, 1638.

[2] See SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 41 *seq.*

[3] A. DONATUS, *Roma vetus ac recens utriusque aedificiis ad eruditam cognitionem expositis*, Romae, 1638.

[4] RICHTER, *Topographie Roms*, Munich, 1901, 19. *Cf.* also J. B. CASALIUS, *De Urbis splendore*, Romae, 1650.

[5] The first had appeared already in 1620: SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 122.

[6] G. BAGLIONE, *Le nove chiese di Roma*, Roma, 1639.

existing guide-books, though he gives no fresh information. On the other hand, Baglione, who dedicated his "Description" to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, produced a much more important work, owing to the fact that he takes equal account of architecture, painting, and sculpture.[1]

Pompilio Totti's description of modern Rome, first published in 1637 and republished in 1639, was dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini.[2] This publication, the most important after Felini's treatise, and which also contains numerous interesting illustrations, spreads the visits to churches, convents, hospitals, oratories of confraternities, colleges, seminaries, palaces, libraries, museums, and villas over a period of six days, each of which is devoted to a visit of two or three *Rioni*. Though here hagiographical interest still remains very great, references to works of art are nevertheless increasingly numerous, though mostly to those of the period.

In 1643 Giovan Domenico Franzini published a new and greatly enlarged edition of Felini's guide-book [3] and the year 1644 witnessed the appearance of a new work on Rome which its publisher dedicated to the antiquarian Cassiano del Pozzo.[4] Its author, Fioravante Martinelli, provides a somewhat dry but wholly new census of everything worth seeing, together with many sidelights on the manners and culture of the period. He spreads the visit of the city over ten days. On the first day he takes the visitor from the old foreign quarter in the streets dell'Orso and Tor di Nona to the Vatican *Borgo*. The second day is devoted to the Trastevere. On the third day he starts from the church of the Florentines, S. Giovanni, near the entrance to the Via Giulia, whence he visits part of the Old City and the Isle of the Tiber. On the fourth day he sets out from the Cancelleria to take the visitor through the *Rioni*

[1] SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 43.

[2] P. TOTTI, *Ritratto delle grandezze di Roma*, Roma, 1637: the second edition was published in 1639 by Totti's son, Ludovico; our quotations are from this edition.

[3] SCHUDT, *Mancini*, 126.

[4] F. MARTINELLI, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarii*, Roma, 1644.

Regola and S. Angelo as far as the Aventine. The fifth excursion starts from the Pasquino and leads to the Palatine and the Celian Hill ; the sixth goes from S. Salvatore in Lauro, through the centre of the town as far as the Forum Romanum and back to the Palazzo di Venezia. The seventh visit starts once more from the foreign quarter near S. Apollinare, and the eighth from the Piazza Nicosia. The former is mainly devoted to the Viminal and the Quirinal, the latter ends at the baths of Diocletian. On the ninth day a start is made from the Piazza Borghese whence the northern part of the city is visited as far as the Porta Pinciana. The tenth day Martinelli devotes to visits to the nine principal churches, and he points out that a pilgrimage to these places sanctified by the blood of Martyrs, and which the Popes had enriched with numberless Indulgences, should be undertaken only after receiving the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.[1]

With these guide-books in our hands, and on the basis of Totti's partition into *Rioni*,[2] let us in our turn take a walk through the Rome of that period.

[1] MARTINELLI, 114. The nine principal churches are, according to Martinelli : *St. Peter's*, *St. Paul's outside the Walls* (on the road to the latter the memorial, recently destroyed in barbarous fashion, of the parting of the Princes of the Apostles and the *Vigna* of St. Frances of Rome on the outer walls of which were depicted the miracles of that Saint), *SS. Vincent and Anastasius alle Tre Fontane* (together with the small churches of *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane* and S. Maria Scala Coeli), *S. Annunciata della Compagnia del Gonfalone* per amministrare li sagramenti alli coloni delle circovicine tenute, l'a. 1640 ristorata dal card. [Franc.] Barberini protettore (probably the *Annunziatella* mentioned by TOMASETTI, II., 40 and 416), *S. Sebastiano*, *St. John Lateran*, *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, *St. Laurence outside the Walls*, and *St. Mary Major*. A detailed description of these nine churches is found in the above-quoted work of BAGLIONE, *Le nove chiese di Roma*.

[2] Up to the new order established by Benedict XIV. in 1743 (*cf.* B. BERNARDINI, *Descriz. del nuovo ripartimento de' Rioni di Roma*, Roma, 1744), the boundaries of the Rioni were very ill-defined.

The most interesting for strangers was the *Rione di Borgo* which fell into six subdivisions, viz. Borgo di S. Angelo, Borgo Angelico, Pio, Alessandrino, Vecchio, and S. Spirito. Here St. Peter's and the Vatican, with their choice art treasures, presented sights such as no other city in the world had to offer.

From the bridge of S. Angelo one still beheld, on the left, in the Tiber, between two mills, the remains of the Pons Vaticanus, whilst on the right the river bank, with its medley of houses, grey with age, and their small balconies and verdant terraces, presented a most enchanting view to the painter. The newly fortified Castle of S. Angelo and the arsenal established in the Vatican, gave proof of Urban VIII.'s solicitude for the security of his capital. On entering the Via Alessandrina, so called after Alexander VI., (since the time of Pius V., *Borgo Nuovo*), the finest of the three streets leading up to St. Peter's, the visitor had on his left the imposing pile of the hospital of S. Spirito, which was immediately subject to the Holy See. Its nucleus consisted of the new structure by Sixtus IV. with its two wards of a thousand beds which adjoined a central chapel crowned with a graceful cupola. Annexed to the hospital, which still had its marble gateway and open porticoes beneath, was a home for foundlings and an establishment for the education of 450 boys and 500 girls. Adjoining it was the palace constructed by Ottavio Mascherino under Gregory XIII. for the Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghost who was at the head of the administration of the institution. Both this hospital as well as that of the Lateran, were in excellent condition.[1]

In the main street, viz. the Borgo Nuovo, on the left and facing S. Maria in Transpontina, a church served by the Carmelites, one beheld the prison of the Borgo. From there one reached the small Piazza Scossa Cavalli embellished with a fountain by Paul V. Here stood the classical Renaissance palace of Cardinal Adriano of Corneto, erected towards the end

[1] *Cf.* the account by H. Marchstaller in *Carinthia*, LXXI. (1881), 274.

of the fifteenth century.[1] On the south and facing it rose the palace erected under Sixtus IV. by Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, which at that time belonged to the Madruzzi, a family of Trent ; on the west side, opposite the church of S. Giacomo Scossa Cavalli, stood the palace in which Raphael spent the last years of his life,[2] and further to the right, towards St. Peter's, two small churches which have disappeared and the Rusticucci palace. The piazza of St. Peter's, with Paul V.'s magnificent fountain and Sixtus V.'s obelisk, presented a most picturesque scene, though at that time it had only half its present width.[3] When the pilgrim has inspected the artistic treasures of the basilica of St. Peter's, Martinelli advises him to make the ascent of the dome up to its highest point, so as to get the full impression of the gigantic building, after which he should visit the marvels of the papal palace : the Scala Clementina, the Stanze, the Sala Regia and the Sala Ducale, the Sistine Chapel, the Loggias, the apartments newly restored by Urban VIII., the library, the armoury, the antiques of the Belvedere, and finally the lovely garden. The visit to the Borgo where, near S. Marta, Urban VIII. had established the seminary of St. Peter's, should conclude with an inspection of the collection of antiques of the Cesi and the Hospital of S. Spirito.[4]

The *Lungara*, which leads from the Porta S. Spirito to the Porta Settimiana (Settignana) had by then completely lost its rural character and was built over on both sides, as we see from Maggi's plan. This street, which was included in the *Rione* of the Trastevere, in addition to the Palazzo Salviati and the Camaldolese church of S. Leonardo, included two Barberini

[1] BRADY, *Anglo-Roman Papers*, London, 1890, 9–93, gives the fullest account of the vicissitudes of the palace which, at this time, is the property of the Torlonia.

[2] EHRLE, *Spada*, 55 *seq.* [3] *Id.*, 47 *seq.*

[4] Not far from the Porta Cavallegieri, near the Oratory of St. Peter and on the spot once occupied by the *Schola Francorum*, stood the barracks of the lancers whom Innocent VIII. had chosen for his bodyguard ; see EHRLE in *Roma Aeterna*, VI. (1926), 143 *seq.*

foundations, viz. the churches and convents of S. Maria Regina Coeli [1] and S. Giacomo in Settimiana [2] as well as the Farnesina (Giardino dei Farnesi) and the palace of the Riarii. The street to the right of the Porta Settimiana led to S. Onofrio. Whilst this church rose on the northern section of the Janiculus, on the southern there lay the imposing Acqua Paola and the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, the High Altar of which was adorned with Raphael's "Transfiguration".

The populous *Trastevere*, with its many towers and churches, was perhaps the most picturesque district of Rome. Among its sacred edifices Martinelli singles out S. Maria della Scala with the convent of the reformed Carmelites, S. Maria in Trastevere with the adjoining palace of S. Callisto occupied by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Justina,[3] S. Crisogono, S. Giovanni de' Genovesi, S. Francesco a Ripa and S. Cosimato. The last-named churches as well as S. Maria dell'Orto, were completely surrounded by gardens. The Porta Portese and the Porta S. Pancrazio were rebuilt by Urban VIII. on the occasion of the works of fortification executed in 1643.[4] The cemetery of the Jews was situate near the Porta Portese.[5]

The *Rione di Ripa* on the left bank of the river and facing the Trastevere, which also included the picturesque island of St. Bartholomew, embraced the Aventine and the district between the Tiber and the Gates of St. Paul, St. Sebastian, and the Latin Gate. The churches of St. Sixtus, St. Gregory, SS. John and Paul, St. Anastasia, St. George in Velabro, and the Palatine, which were subsequently included in the Rione Campitelli, were then considered as belonging to the Rione di Ripa. The State salt store was situate at the foot of the

[1] "Chiesa e monasterio ch'ora fabbrica la signora D. Anna Colonna Barberini" says Martinelli (14).

[2] *Cf.* Totti, 48, and above, p. 489.

[3] The illustration in Totti (65), substantially shows the same picture as that which presents itself to the beholder at this day.

[4] Borgatti, *Le mura di Roma*, in *Riv. di Artiglieria*, XVI., 400; Vasi, I., LXVII., LXXV, with picture of the old Porta Portese previous to its reconstruction.

[5] Martinelli, 18.

Aventine where the name of *Marmorata* still recalled the ancient *Emporium*. Apart from some imposing remains of Roman times and some venerable old churches and convents, the whole of this district was occupied by gardens and vineyards. Houses were only found in the northern section of the Rione, with the churches of S. Maria in Cosmedin [1] and St. Nicholas in Carcere. The ancient round temple opposite S. Maria in Cosmedin had been turned into a church, viz. S. Stefano delle Carrozze (later on S. Maria del Sole); the Garden of the Cenci was near by.[2] The graceful temple of Fortuna Virilis had become the church of the Armenians under the title of St. Mary of Egypt. The medieval house facing it was called House of Pilate by the ignorant populace, Totti informs us. Within the buildings near S. Giovanni Decollato was the burial place of those who had undergone capital punishment.[3]

The palace of the Savelli, built into the theatre of Marcellus, is still included in the Rione di Ripa by Tittone. Later on it was considered as belonging to the *Rione di S. Angelo*, so called after the church of S. Angelo built into the portico of Octavia. The surname "in Pescaria" is due to the nearby fish-market. From there one entered the Jewish Ghetto which was shut off by means of gates. In striking contrast with this filthy quarter, which was also the abode of the tanners,[4] there arose in the Rione di S. Angelo, on the ruins of the Circus Flaminius, the two magnificent palaces of the Mattei; before the older of the two stood the beautiful fountain of Taddeo Landrini. The nearby palace of the Patrizi had passed into the hands of the Costaguti. From there a narrow lane led to the church of S. Ambrogio della Massima, rebuilt in 1606, with its adjoining convent of Benedictine nuns. The remarkable house of Lorenzo de' Manili [5] dates from the Quattrocento and the church of S. Caterina de' Funari from the Cinquecento.

The *Rione della Regola* which followed along the river bank,

[1] In 1639 Urban VIII. presented to the church a mosaic from old St. Peter's (*cf.* FORCELLA, IV., 308), which is still there.

[2] MARTINELLI, 33.

[3] *Id.*, 43. [4] *Id.*, 186.

[5] PASTOR, *Rom zur Ende der Renaissance*, 66.

also called "Arenula", from the sand of the river, likewise abounded in striking contrasts. On the one hand one saw dark, still wholly medieval lanes, on the other the splendid palaces of the Santa Croce, Cenci, and Spada,[1] the latter with a beautiful garden towards the Tiber, the Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari near the Monte di Pietà, and, eclipsing everything else, the gigantic palace of the Farnese with its treasures of ancient and modern art. In the piazza in front, which was called after the Duke of Parma, and was adorned with two fountains,[2] there rose the Palazzo Pighini which housed some famous antique statues. Besides numerous old churches of no great size, this quarter was adorned with the magnificent new church of the Barnabites, S. Carlo ai Catinari and S. Trinità de' Pellegrini, in the oratory of which a sermon was preached to the Jews on Saturdays. In the main street, called after S. Maria di Monserrato, the national church of the Aragonians, there also rose S. Girolamo della Carità containing the room of St. Philip Neri, greatly revered by the Romans,[3] S. Caterina della Rota and the English College, and at no great distance from there, the prison of Corte Savella.

The *Rione di Parione* which spread in a northerly direction, also boasted some splendid buildings. The Orsini had two palaces there, one near the Pasquino [4] and another in the

[1] Erected by Cardinal Capodiferro, it first passed into the hands of the Mignatelli and later on into those of Cardinal Spada (Totti, 210), who altered and decorated it (see Hempel, 49). In the thirties Borromini, Bernini's great rival, erected the magnificent colonnade in the second *cortile*; *cf.* Panofsky in *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 249 *seq.*

[2] Water was carried to them in 1626 from the Acqua Paola; *cf.* Pollak-Frey, 11.

[3] "Camera di molta bellezza e devotione, ornata dal cavalier Pantera (Martinelli, 23). The chapel of the confraternity, towards the restoration of which, subsequently to a fire, Cardinal Fr. Barberini contributed, was famous for the *bellissimi oratorii* which were held there during the winter months (Totti, 202).

[4] A picture of the statue, which differs from the present one, in Totti, 235.

Campo de' Fiori remarkable for its crooked appearance at the back, a peculiarity that made it possible to make out quite clearly the position of the ancient theatre of Pompey, the ruins of which gave its name to the nearby church of S. Maria di Grotta Pinta. The former *Circus* of Domitian—now Piazza Navona—which Gregory XIII. had embellished with three fountains, was almost completely shut in by buildings. Totti extols this Piazza as the finest in Rome, nay, in all Italy and perhaps in the world.[1] The hospital and church of the Spaniards, S. Giacomo, and the palaces of the Pamfili, the Cibo, Princes of Massa, of Urbano Mellini, the Gottifredi and Rivaldi families, of Francesco de Cupis, which was occupied by the imperial ambassador, and that of Cardinal Torres, formed a frame for the piazza. Other famous buildings in this district were the palaces of the Massimi and the elegant houses of the Pichi and Caccialupi, of Bishops Turci and Thomas Le Roy. However, all these buildings were eclipsed by the Cancelleria, the residence of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor : S. Lorenzo in Damaso formed part of the palace. The new popular church of the Oratorians, S. Maria e S. Gregorio in Vallicella, the façade of which produced its full effect thanks to the new street that led up to it, rivalled in its magnificence the church of the Cancelleria. A large parish was attached to Chiesa Nuova.[2]

The *Rione di Ponte* was still a densely populated business district and the Strada de Banchi Nuovi was the chief money mart. Sangallo's *Zena* at the terminus of that street already showed signs of incipient baroque. The Quattrocento quarter, to-day unhappily in a very dilapidated condition, shows beautiful middle-class dwellings in the Strada de' Coronari. In the Strada de Banchi Nuovi stood the magnificent palaces of the Niccolini and Alberini (Cicciaporci), and near the bridge

[1] Totti, 234 ; *ibid.*, 232, pictures of Piazza Navona and Piazza Madama. *Cf.* the excellent dissertation by L. De Gregori : *Piazza Navona prima d' Innocenzo X.*, *Roma*, 1926, where there is a reproduction of the drawing by A. Sacchi (inc. F. Collignon), 1634, and of the engraving by Israel Silvestre of 1642.

[2] Illustration in Totti, 235.

of S. Angelo the Palazzo Altoviti which has disappeared.[1] These buildings were rivalled by the former cardinalitial residence of Alexander VI., the old Cancelleria, which subsequently passed into the hands of the Sforza and at the time of Urban VIII. was occupied by Cardinal Sacchetti. The district was as rich in churches as it was in palaces. A number of small churches stood along the Via Giulia laid down by Julius II., which Paul V.'s wall-fountain (Fontanone) worthily terminated at its southern end; these were S. Biagio della Pagnotta, S. Maria del Suffragio, facing the Palazzo Ricci. SS. Faustina and Jovita de' Bresciani, rising on the substructures of the palace planned by Julius II. But these sacred edifices were completely eclipsed by the magnificent churches of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, S. Maria della Pace, S. Maria dell'Anima, and S. Agostino. S. Apollinare, the church of the adjoining German College, was famous for its musical performances on feast days. Connected with the church of SS. Simon and Jude was the Orsini palace on the Monte Giordano, the residence, at that time, of Cardinal Maurice of Savoy, a great patron of the arts. The church of S. Simeon the Prophet was connected in the same way with the Palazzo Cesi (Acquasparta) in the piazza Fiammetta, which the French ambassadors rented since 1641.[2] There were many inns along the Tiber, the most famous of them being the "Orso". One of the most picturesque districts of that quarter was that of S. Maria in Posterula, which has recently fallen a victim to the regulation of the Tiber. In the Via Maschera d'Oro the façade paintings of Polidoro Caravaggio and Maturino, representing the story of Niobe, were then still in good condition. To-day they are almost unrecognizable.[3] Totti repeatedly mentions house decorations of the same kind which had become popular under Leo X.; to-day the frescoes on the Ricci palace give us the best

[1] *Cf.* PASTOR, *Rom zu Ende der Renaissance*, 32.

[2] The rent of 1,700 scudi a year seemed unduly high; see AMEYDEN, *Diario*, under date of June 15, 1641, printed in *Il Cracas*, 1888, no. 48, p. 23.

[3] TOTTI, 252.

idea of what they were like.[1] Mention may also be made of the palaces of the Lancelotti and the Altemps ; the latter boasted a splendid chapel and a rich library.[2]

The *Rione di Campo Marzio* became increasingly important as a centre for strangers and foreigners. The largest building there was the Palazzo Borghese. At no great distance, on the Piazza Nicosia, stood the Palazzo Cardelli and the palaces of the Grand-Duke of Florence and Cardinal Gonzaga. There were also two remarkable palaces in the Corso, viz. that of Cardinal Quiñones, contiguous to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which had been bought by the Peretti,[3] and the palace which Vincenzo Ammanati built for the Rucellai family, which boasted one of Rome's most beautiful staircases. At that time the palace belonged to the Gaetani,[4] from whom it passed into the hands of the Ruspoli. In the Corso, which only now became the real spinal cord of the City,[5] stood the great hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, surnamed " in Augusta ", after the Mausoleum of Augustus which rose in the neighbourhood. Many foreigners, especially artists, took up residence by preference in the Piazza Trinità de' Monti (Piazza di Spagna) and in the adjoining streets. Here stood the house of Lelio Guidiccioni whose library and picture gallery were held in high repute.[6] S. Maria del Popolo was a kind of museum, more particularly of renaissance sculpture. At that time both the Villa Medici and the Villa Borghese, which Totti includes in the Rione di Campo Marzio, still possessed in their entirety their famous collections of statues. These artistic treasures, as well as the natural charm of the district, specially attracted the artists who flocked to Rome and it was these incomparable villas which directed them towards landscape painting.[7]

[1] See our data Vol. XIII., 378, and *Rom zur Zeit der Renaissance*, 37 *seq.* [2] Totti, 261.

[3] In 1655 the palazzo was sold to Costanza Pamfili-Ludovisi and in 1690 to Marco Ottoboni : at present it is the property of the Duke of Fiano ; *cf.* Baraccioni, *I Rioni di Roma, Torino*, 1905, 212. [4] Totti, 337.

[5] Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, edited by Rose, Munich, 1926, 242. [6] Totti, 336, 344. [7] Justi, *Velasquez*, I.[3], 310.

The *Rione di Trevi*, which stretched from the Upper Corso as far as Porta Salaria and Porta Pia,[1] had developed into one of the most beautiful quarters of the City. Besides the Quirinal, which was increasingly taking the place of the Vatican as a papal residence, the district included the old palace of the Colonna near SS. Apostoli, the palaces of the Muti-Papazzurri, Bonelli, Aldobrandini, and Cesi, to which was then added the imposing new family palace of the Barberini.[2] The advisers of Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini in all antiquarian matters, Claudio Menidret and Leonardo Agostini, who themselves possessed valuable collections of antiquities, lived in this neighbourhood.[3] To the old churches of SS. Apostoli, S. Maria in Via Lata and S. Marcello, new ones were added ; they were S. Niccolò di Tolentino, S. Isidoro, and S. Maria della Concezione. The Capuchin convent built by Urban VIII. which adjoined the latter church, was reputed one of the sights of Rome by reason of its size ; it possessed a very large garden. Since 1633 a work of art of the first rank and one which contemporaries considered as equalling Raphael's pictures, adorned the high altar of the recently demolished small church of St. Romuald ; this was Andrea Sacchi's " Vision of the Founder of the Camaldolese : The Saint appears pointing out to his devoutly attentive Monks a resplendent ladder amid glittering clouds, by which the members of his Order are seen ascending to heaven. The picture is one of the most solemn and most original creations of baroque art.[4] The whole of the eastern section of the Rione consisted of gardens and villas. The villa Ludovisi with its famous antiques is included by Totti in the Rione di Trevi ; later on it was assigned to the

[1] By the side of the new gateway of Pius IV. one still saw the old walled-up gate ; MARTINELLI, 174.

[2] The " Platea Barberina " is first mentioned in 1640 ; GOLZIO, *Il Palazzo Barberini* (1925), 7.

[3] TOTTI, 275–6.

[4] POSSE, *Sacchi*, 62 *seq.* Sacchi's picture now adorns the Vatican Gallery. A sketch for the picture is in the Dresden collection of engravings ; see *Mitteil. der sächs. Kunstsamml.*, III., Dresden, 1912, 49 *seq.*

Rione di Colonna which owes its name to the column of Marcus Aurelius. Here stood the palaces of the Aldobrandini, Bufallo, Chigi, Spada, and Veralli. Propaganda had its seat near S. Andrea delle Fratte ; Bernini lived in the house opposite. The principal churches were S. Maria in Via and S. Maria in Aquino near the Capranica College. S. Lorenzo in Lucina stood on the border of this quarter. At that time it was included in the Rione di Campo Marzio. For the better religious care of the people, Paul V. had entrusted this, the largest parish of Rome, which was also a collegiate church, to the so-called Minor Regular Clerics (*Chierici Regolari Minori*) of St. Francis Caracciolo who did excellent work there. Five smaller parishes were subject to this church, viz. S. Nicola in Campo Marzio, S. Ivo alla Scrofa, S. Lucia della Tinta, La Madonna dell'Orso, and S. Biagio di Monte Citorio.[1]

Like the Rione di Campo Marzio, that of *S. Eustachio* had acquired an increasing importance, a fact sufficiently explained by its central position. The Roman University was situate in its centre and not far from it, near the very ancient church of S. Salvatore in Thermis, stood the Palazzo Medici which Leo X. had occupied as a Cardinal. The beautiful Lanti and Cenci palaces also dated from the time of that Pope. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II., had had the Palazzo Medici (Madama), rebuilt and altered by the Florentine architect Paolo Marucelli.[2] Rallying centres for the French and the Spaniards in Rome were their national churches, S. Luigi and S. Giacomo. At that time the main entrance to the Spanish national church was not from the Piazza Navona but opposite the University. In the neighbourhood of S. Luigi lived the art-loving Marchese Giustiniano, Duke of Bassano, who had established in his palace not only an extensive library,[3] but likewise a valuable collection of antiques, the best pieces of which he rendered available to the general public by means of

[1] Totti, 332–3.

[2] O. Pollak in *Kunstkritik*, new series, IV. (1912/13), 57 *seq.* ; *cf.* Barracco, *Il Palazzo Madama*, Roma, 1904

[3] Totti, 359.

magnificent copper plates executed by Joachim von Sandrart.[1] The Rione S. Eustachio held yet a further attraction for art lovers, viz. the third of the new popular churches, that of S. Andrea della Valle. Here one could admire, besides the magnificent side-chapels of the Rucellai, Strozzi, and Barberini, the epoch-making frescoes of Lanfranco and Domenichino. The Barberini chapel was reputed one of Rome's finest.[2] The Theatines, who owned the church, had likewise begun to build their new convent adjoining the sacred edifice. Three famous scholars lived in the neighbourhood, viz. the Dean of the Rota, Coccini, the archæologist Cassiano del Pozzo and the eastern traveller Pietro della Valle. Besides a choice library, Cassiano del Pozzo owned a valuable collection of antique bas-reliefs, statues, coins, pictures, and drawings. The palace of Pietro della Valle, in the street of the same name, was also rich in antique treasures, but it was rather some objects from the remote Orient, more especially three mummy cases and their pictorial decoration, that called forth the wonderment of the Romans.[3]

The *Rione della Pigna* included an important educational establishment, viz. the Roman College, as well as the principal churches of the Jesuits and the Dominicans, viz. the Gesù and S. Maria sopra Minerva, the latter being the only large Gothic building in Rome. Among the remaining churches mention may be made of the Polish national church, St. Stanislaus, situate in the street of the Botteghe Oscure, the Pantheon, dedicated to all the Saints and the church of the Venetians, S. Marco, embodied in the Palazzo di Venezia; the great church of St. Ignatius, of which the first stone had been laid on August 5th, 1626, was still building.[4] The ground near the imperial forums had been rapidly covered with houses since the days of Gregory XIII.[5] Near S. Maria in Campo Carleo,

[1] *La Galleria Giustiniani del Marchese Giustiniani*, Roma, 1631. *Cf. J*, v. SANDRART'S *Academie*; new edition by Paltzer, Munich, 1925, 383.

[2] TOTTI, 372. [3] *Id.*, 373.

[4] *Cf.* FREY, *Barockarchitektur*, 12 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

[5] MARTINELLI, 71.

Francesco Gualdo had established in his house a museum "rich in rare and beautiful objects", to quote Totti.[1]

The chief sights of the *Rione Campitelli* were the palaces of the Capitol and the church of Araceli which Totti describes in detail.[2] This quarter, which also included a forum covered with a thick layer of rubbish and serving as grazing ground, hence called Campo Vaccino,[3] owed to Urban VIII. the new church of SS. Martina and Luke, and the restoration of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Here also there was no lack of palaces of the nobility, such as those of the Serlupi, Patrizi, Paluzzi, and Capizuchi near S. Maria in Campitelli.

The vast *Rione de' Monti*, of which the ancient church of St. Mary Major constituted the centre, had retained its isolated character in its southern section, notwithstanding the new Lateran palace, though the street from the Colosseum to the basilica was now built over; otherwise one only saw gardens and villas, among which Martinelli and Totti single out for special admiration the Villa Mattei on the Celio.[4] The streets leading from S. Croce and the Lateran to S. Martino ai Monti were almost exclusively lined with gardens. The built-over section began at S. Eusebio, S. Martino and S. Pietro in Vincoli. Near S. Maria de' Monti the College of Neophytes had arisen. Close by stood the Villa Aldobrandini and in the direction of the Quirinal there rose a palace famous for its artistic treasures which from the Borghese passed to the Bentivogli and from them into the hands of Mazarin.[5] However, the reputation for being the most beautiful park of Rome went to the Villa Montalto, the property of the Peretti, which spread north of S. Mary Major. There, says Totti, the wealth of vegetation vied with the beauty of the fountains whilst the magnificent apartments were adorned with frescoes and statues.[6]

[1] Totti, 473. [2] *Id.*, 403–413.

[3] Illustration, *ibid.*, 428.

[4] Martinelli, 437; Totti, 437 *seq.*

[5] Martinelli, 88; illustration in Totti, 504; the palace finally became the property of the Rospigliosi.

[6] Totti, 505.

To the west of St. Mary Major, which marked the boundary of the Villa Montalto, several Orders had established themselves in the street of Quattro Fontane, as for instance, in 1626, the Praemonstratensians at S. Norbert's and the French Trinitarians at St. Denis' in 1619. In the long Via di Porta Pia with which Pius IV. had begun his regularization of the streets, with a view to opening access to the Monti,[1] Urban VIII. founded for the Carmelite nuns the convent della Santissima Incarnazione styled *Le Barberine*, after the Pope's family. The continuation of this street, the Via del Quirinale, showed a whole series of ecclesiastical edifices ; thus, for the Spanish Trinitarians, Bonomini had created his masterpiece, S. Carlino ; to this must be added the hospice of the Spanish Carmelites near SS. Anne and Joachim ; the Villa Bandini ; the Jesuit novitiate of S. Andrea with a very beautiful garden ; the church and convent of the Capuchin nuns of S. Chiara, and, lastly, facing the angle of the Quirinal palace, the convent of the Dominican nuns, S. Maria Maddalena.

Though a wide stretch of the district contained within the walls of Aurelius was not yet built over, it was calculated in 1626 that the built-over area would have increased to the extent of two-thirds within the next half-century.[2] This was chiefly due to Sixtus V. who had been the first to render habitable the higher, airier, and sunnier quarters, viz. the

[1] *Cf.* Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 239.

[2] *"Essendo cresciuta la città di Roma quasi due terzi con più nobili edifitii e bellezza et ampiezza della città vecchia da 50 overo 60 anni in quà, cioè dall'arco di Portogallo insino al Popolo, dal Corso insino a Porta Pinciana, a Capo le Case insino a Termini e S. Maria Maggiore stendendosi le habitationi per le strade che vanno a S. Giovanni e parimente a Monte Cavallo, S. Lorenzo in Paneperna et Pantani insino de là dal Coliseo et in Trastevere S. Francesco a Ripa, S.Pietro a Montorio, la Longara et Borgo Pio insino alli bastioni," so we read in a memorial of Mgr. Vives and the "interessati nella piazza della S. Trinità de' Monti ; they prayed that the piazza should be cleaned ; when this was done the air became much better in that locality. *Mem.*, 1652, T. 2, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

Rione de' Monti, by carrying water there. More and more the hill district began to compete with the narrow, populous quarters in the low-lying region along the Tiber. In the Campo Marzio also there had been an increase in the number of houses, and no longer was the Corso built over only as far as the Arco di Portogallo in the Via Frattina, but the houses spread as far as the Piazza del Popolo ; the same was true of the district between the Corso and Porta Pinciana and Piazza delle Terme. For the Monti, a Saturday market was established under Urban VIII., near the church of the Madonna.[1] Building activity was general and intense. New piazzas, streets, and churches were founded, palaces and monasteries enlarged.[2] The development of the Quirinal was greatly furthered by the fact that the Pope had his residence there, and by the erection of the huge family palace of the Barberini. The approach to the lower town, Via del Tritone, with its continuation, Angelo Custode and Via Rasella, which gave into the main artery opened by Sixtus V., became filled with houses. The new Capuchin convent and the churches of SS. Concezione, S. Niccolò da Tolentino and S. Isidore gave a quite new aspect to a region until then covered with gardens and vineyards. The change which took place here found striking expression in the fact that the name of the street, Capo le Case, was no longer deemed appropriate.[3] Notwithstanding the progress of building on the Monti, the lower town, especially the quarters near the bridge S. Angelo, the Cancelleria, the Campo de' Fiori, and the Piazza Navona, remained the business centre of the city, but it was impossible not to notice the shifting of the centre of gravity towards the Piazza della Trinità which had begun about the middle of the century.[4] When the Spanish ambassador, Albuquerque, took up residence in the Palazzo Monaldeschi, the Piazza della Trinità came to be called Piazza di Spagna.[5] In view of the fact that the hostelries along the

[1] *Cf.* the *Memorial quoted in the preceding note.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] This is stressed by Totti (297).

[4] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XIII., 398.

[5] De Villa-Urritia, *El Palacio Barberini*, 18 *seq.*

Tiber, in Via dell'Orso and Via di Tor di Nona, were fever-infested,[1] the movement of strangers increasingly directed itself towards that district. Accordingly, a proposal was made in 1626 to establish a third market in the Piazza di Spagna in addition to the ones held every Wednesday in the Piazza Navona and every Saturday near the Madonna de' Monti, but this project was never realized.[2] The Piazza Navona retained its importance, thanks to its favourable position; in 1643 it was looked upon as the true centre of Rome.[3] Here every kind of trader displayed his wares, even those who had old books to sell. Here wandering artists gave exhibitions. At the nearby Pasquino the latest newspapers were on sale as soon as they were delivered at the Milanese Post Office, which had its office there. Here also lived the Stampatore Camerale, the book and paper merchants and the glove makers.[4] In the Piazza Madama, which was contiguous to the Piazza Navona, flowers and plants were sold on Wednesdays. On Thursdays and Fridays there was great animation in the Campo Vaccino, where oxen, cows, calves, pigs, sheep, and chickens were sold. A special horse and donkey fair was held in May near the Baths of Diocletian. On Saturdays the vendors of fruit, vegetables, and kitchen utensils foregathered near the Madonna de' Monti. Every day brisk business was done in the Campo de' Fiori, where horses, donkeys, hay, and grain were on sale. Cobblers and armourers mostly lived here. The two harbours of Rome presented a picture of extraordinary animation. At the Ripetta the smaller ships landed wood, wine, and fruit, whilst the bigger ones unloaded every kind of import at the Ripa Grande.[5] As in medieval Rome so in the era of baroque, traders and merchants had their own streets. The clothes and linen merchants lived near the Customs house (Dogana), not far from S. Eustachio. The goldsmiths lived near

[1] *"Gli Oltramontani, che lasciato gl'allogi dell'Orso, dove s'infermavano o morivano tutti, habitano in questi contorni senza conoscere, benchè all' hora arrivino differenza d' aria da loro paesi" we read in the memorial referred to in n. 2, p. 531.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] TOTTI, 236.

[4] MARTINELLI, 179, 181.

[5] *Id.*, 179, 182.

S. Maria della Pace, the oil merchants near the Palazzo Capranica, the mattress makers near S. Pantaleone. Wood of every kind, also fuel, was on sale in the Piazza Nicosia. The men who let carriages and sedan chairs lived in the Via dell' Orso, from Piazza Nicosia as far as the College of the Celestines; those who let horses, in the continuation of this street, the Via di Tor di Nona, as far as Castle S. Angelo; the merchants of pious objects, the gold and silver smiths and the furriers in the Via de' Coronari, from the Piazza di Tor Sanguigna as far as Via di Panico; the makers of cross-bows in the Campo de' Fiori; the confectioners and soap-makers in the Piazza Capranica; the booksellers and copyists in the Via di Parione, from Pasquino as far as Chiesa Nuova; the vendors of bedding in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, a name derived from the arches of the Circus Flaminius; the wood merchants, turners, and rope sellers in the Via de' Catinari.

A number of streets owed their names to the artisans who lived in them, as for instance, the Via de' Calderari (coppersmiths), Cartari (paper merchants), Pianellari (slipper merchants), Chiavari (locksmiths), Cappellari (hatters), Calzettari (stocking weavers), Pollaroli (poulterers), Ferravecchi (scrap-iron dealers), Liutari (lute merchants), Cordari (rope sellers), Giubbonari (clothes dealers), Vascellari (crockery merchants).[1]

The Via degli Orefici and the Via del Pellegrino, where trinkets, hats, caps, stockings, tape, straps, and things of that kind were on sale, was a medley of shops of every description. In the Via de' Banchi, which stretched from the bridge of S. Angelo as far as Monte Giordano, there were to be found, besides many banks, shops in which banners, vestments, lace, wearing apparel, and gloves could be obtained.[2] Already then agricultural labourers gathered in the Piazza Montanara and the bakers at S. Andrea della Valle. There was a special vegetable market in the Piazza del Paradiso where there were inns for muleteers. Provisions of every kind were on sale in the most diverse places. Among others, Martinelli mentions

[1] E. Simonetti, *I nomi delle vie di Roma, Roma*, 1898.

[2] Martinelli, 183–8. On the *Via degli Orefici*, see Totti, 224.

the bridge of S. Angelo, the Via di Panico, the district of the Pozzo Bianco near Chiesa Nuova, the Piazzas of St. Peter's, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Croce, S. Maria del Popolo, Piazza Colonna, Sciarra, Rotonda, Giudea and Montanara, and, finally, the districts of Tor de' Conti, the Fountains of Trevi, Tor Sanguigna, the Scrofa and Ripetta, Ponte Quattro Capi and Ponte Sisto; in the Trastevere, S. Apollonia and the region round the Porta Settiminiana.[1]

The life of the small people which spent itself with southern vivaciousness in the narrow streets and the piazzas of the old city, has been splendidly recorded by several painters, such as Michelangelo, Cerquazzi [2] and Pieter van Laar.[3]

Among the many foreign artists which Rome received within its walls at that time was Velasquez, who paid his first visit to the Eternal City in 1630; Cardinal Francesco Barberini gave him many tokens of his favour.[4] That German artists were but poorly represented in Rome at that time is not surprising in view of the Thirty Years' War.[5] All the more numerous were the Dutch who made more or less lengthy stays there, as Van Dyck who painted Maffeo Barberini's portrait shortly before the latter's elevation to the papacy,[6] the brothers Jan and

[1] MARTINELLI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MORONI, *Vie voci e viandanti, Roma*, 1894, 55.

[2] Of his interesting popular scenes the Galleria Nazionale of Rome preserves the following: No. 982, "Dentist in Piazza Navona"; No. 984, "Wandering Minstrel"; No. 1058, "Peasants before a public house"; *cf.* THIEME, VI., 298.

[3] His *genre* paintings mark the beginning of Bambocciata painting; see HERMANIN, *Incisioni e disegni*, I., Roma, 1912, 10.

[4] JUSTI, *Velasquez*, I.[3] (1922), 291 *seq.*

[5] Elsheimer of Frankfort (Elsheimer, 1578–1610), who lived in Rome from 1600, belongs to an earlier period. *Cf.* THIEME, X., 483–6.

[6] M. VAES (*Le séjour de Van Dyck en Italie* in the *Bullet. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge*, IV. [1924], 102 *seq.*, proves that the master came to Rome in February, 1622, where he remained until August; in March, 1623, he paid a second visit to the Eternal City. *Cf.* also NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 352 *seq.*, and TOMASETTI, *V. Dyck a Roma*, in *Cosmos Cath.*, 1900, 6 *seq.*

Andries Both, Hermann Swanevelt, Cornelis Bloemart,[1] François Duquesnoy.[2] Between 1625 and 1630 the artists from the Low Countries formed a kind of Society, the so-called "Schilderbent" (Painter's Association) which was destined to become an important factor in the artistic life of Rome. German artists were admitted to membership at an early date, as, for instance, the engraver Joachim von Sandrart of Frankfort who had come to Rome in 1628. The leading spirit of this high-spirited and clever group of fellow nationals was Pieter van Laar, surnamed Bamboots, who "depicts with bold brush, in all its rude and manifold variety, the life of the lower classes of Rome in its hovels and taverns built into the ruins of antiquity.[3] Both in regard to numbers and importance, the French artistic colony competed with that of the Low Countries; Jacques Stella and Simon Vouet held an important place in it.[4] To them must be added Nicolas Poussin, Jean Dughet and Claude Lorrain who brought to perfection classical, idealized landscape painting. Italy was their land of predilection, they responded fully to the spell of its beauty and missed nothing of the force of its enchanting colouring.[5]

Poussin, a native of Normandy, lived in Rome from 1624 up

[1] See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, IV., 405.

[2] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Olandesi e Belgi in Roma*, Florence, 1880; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, IV., 405; HERMANIN in the work quoted above, p. 535, n. 3; GRAUTOLFF, N. POUSSIN, I., Munich, 1914, 365 *seq.*; *Bullet. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge.*, I. (1922), 96 *seq.*

[3] NOACK, *loc. cit.*, 7–9. On the Schilderbent, see VAES in *Bullet. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge*, I. (1914), 303 *seq.*, and HOOGEWERFF in the periodical *Roma, II.* (1924), 120 *seq.*

[4] BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Francesi in Roma, Mantova*, 1886; GRAUTOLFF, *loc. cit.*

[5] See GERSTENBERG, *Die ideale Landschaftsmalerei. Ihre Begründung und Vollendung in Rom*, Halle, 1923, 81 *seq.* *Cf.* the excellent monographs by W. FRIEDLÄNDER of *Poussin* (Munich, 1914), and *Claude Lorrain* (Berlin, 1921). Also P. DESJARDINS, *N. Poussin*, Paris; MAGNE, *N. Poussin*, Bruxelles, 1931, MARC PATTISON, *Claude Lorrain*, Paris, 1884; NOLHAC, *Cl. Lorrain et le paysage Romain*, in *Etudes ital.*, I. (1919); *id. Souvenirs d'un vieux Romain*, Paris, 1922, 65 *seq.*

to the time of his death in 1665, except for a two years' stay in Paris [1640–1642]. Like Claude Lorrain, who also permanently settled in the Eternal City in the autumn of 1627, he lived in the Via Paolina (Via del Babuino).[1] For a time Claude Lorrain and Joachim von Sandrart were the guests of Marchese Giustiniani.[2] In company with the two French artists, who were fundamentally kindred spirits though they differed profoundly from him in their art and work, Sandrart made numerous excursions "for the purpose of sketching landscapes from life".[3] The impressive loneliness of the Campagna cast a peculiar spell upon the strangers from the North. Where former travellers had seen nothing but hopeless desolation, they discovered unsuspected beauties and created pictures of high poetical conception. Who could forget the solemn stillness of Poussin's picture of the country at Acqua Acetosa in which an angel suggests to the Evangelist Matthew the text of his Gospel? [Berlin Museum.] Who is not carried away by Claude Lorrain's Tiber landscape with Tobias and the Angel? [Prado Museum, Madrid.] The beauty of these works is often equalled by Dughet's landscapes. All these masters beheld a highly idealized picture of the character of the country around Rome, but each of them shows to the spectator a different aspect of it: Dughet its sternness, which is almost threatening; Poussin its historic greatness; Claude its luminous solemnity.[4] Like so many other painters, Claude Lorrain has also perpetuated in a painting and in an etching the life of the Campo Vaccino, "that most Roman of Rome's piazzas". This small picture, now in the Louvre in Paris, is a real "Ricordo di Roma", though not so much for connoisseurs and antiquaries as for those for whom the beauty of the

[1] Claude Lorrain's tombstone in S. Trinità de' Monti was destroyed in 1798 by French soldiers. Thiers had his bones transferred to S. Luigi de' Francesi where Poussin also reposes; see FRIEDLÄNDER, *Poussin*, 20, and *Claude Lorrain*, 30 *seq.*

[2] SPONSEL, *Sandrarts Teutsche Academie Kritisch gesichtet Dresden*, 1896, 101.

[3] *Cf.* SANDRART, *Academie*, edit, Paltzer, 31 and 184.

[4] GERSTENBERG, *loc. cit.*, 103, 109 *seq.*, 129.

Eternal City consists not in a sentimental romanticizing of ruins but in that ineffable aroma which its atmosphere breathes over great artistic creations.[1]

Only a very small number of Rome pilgrims could acquire such souvenirs, but it may be taken for granted that every one carried away with him etchings, engravings, or woodcuts of the ancient monuments, the principal churches, palaces, fountains, and piazzas, in all their picturesque setting.[2] In many of these prints, to the execution of which Roman engravers had long devoted their energies,[3] the overwhelming impression of the Eternal City is reflected with elemental forcefulness. The etchings were for the most part the work of foreigners. Among Italians mention must be made chiefly of Giovan Battista Mercati whose collection of views of Rome, which he dedicated to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, appeared in 1629. Here we

[1] FRIEDLÄNDER, *Claude Lorrain*, 37, 131 *seq.*

[2] Engravings of the seven principal churches were particularly popular, such as those published by G. B. de Rossi (see C. E. RAPPAPORT, *Roma aeterna, Catalogue*, XXVII., no. 468) and Jacobus Laurus, 1626 (copy in *Bibl. Hertziana*). Laurus also published *Antiquae urbis vestigia quae nunc exstant, Romae*, 1628 (dedicated to the Cardinal of Savoy), a work which contains a number of interesting views. A very original work was that published by GIOV. RIDOLFO ALTO, *Swizzero da Lucerna, officiale della Guardia Suizzera Pontificia in Roma, interprete dell'ill. inclita natione Alemana*, who, in conjunction with Giacomo Lauro, brought out a book enriched with 166 engravings, under the title: *Splendore dell'antica e moderna Roma, nel quale si rappresentano tutti i principali tempii, teatri, anfiteatri, cerchi, naumachie, archi trionfali, obelischi, etc., etc. Con li più segnalati giardini de gli antichi e moderni Romani. Et in questa ultima impressione . . . in quattro linguaggi Latino, Italiano, Tedesco e Francese dato alle stampe*, Roma, Andrea Fei, 1641. On Giov. Alto (died 1660, 83 years old), *cf.* the article by A. BACCHINI, *Un Suizzero ufficiale Pontificio, "Cicerone" di Roma*, in the periodical *Il Piccolo* of January 3, 1925. See also the essay by H. K. SCHÄFER on Hoch's books of heraldry in the Chigi Library, in *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1914, no. 147.

[3] See KRISTELLER, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt* (1905), 267 *seq.*

have excellent views of the Piazza Colonna, the neighbourhood of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and the forum looking towards the Arch of Titus.[1] The number of engravers from the Netherlands is exceedingly great. Mention may be made of Bartholomew Beerenbergh, Willem van Niewlandt[2] and Hermann Swanevelt.[3] But all these are left far behind by Israel Silvestre, a native of Lorraine, who came to Rome in the last year of Urban VIII.[4]

His views are remarkable for their accurate and delicate reproduction of the monuments. He gives an extraordinarily vivid picture of the life and animation of the piazzas in front of St. Peter's and S. Maria del Popolo. He has also perpetuated, in most graceful fashion, the Ripa Grande, the Piazza Colonna, the Vigna Ludovisi and, above all, the forum.[5] Several plates of outstanding beauty show panoramas of the Eternal City.[6] As in the work of Silvestre, so in the etchings of Claude Lorrain, the influence of Callot makes itself felt, more especially in the wonderful view of the Campo Vaccino of 1636.[7] François Perrier, a friend of Lanfranco's, divided his time between Paris and Rome but, like several other artists, he confined himself to etchings of antique statues and frescoes.[8]

[1] G. B. Mercati, *Alcune vedute et prospettive di luoghi dishabitati di Roma, al serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana Ferdinando . . . Roma*, 1629 (in 4°, 52 sheets in all). E. Rodoconachi of Paris possesses a copy of this extremely rare collection.

[2] His view of Torre delle Milizie is reproduced in F. Schneider, *Rom und der Romgedanke*, Munich, 1926, 18.

[3] *Cf.* Wessely, *Gesch. der graph. Künste*, Leipzig, 1891, 183 *seq.*

[4] See Singer, *Künstlerlexicon*, III., Frankfurt, 1898, 279.

[5] See Rappaport, *loc. cit.*, n. 472–5. *Cf.* also Hermanin's catalogue of the collection in the "Gabinetto delle stampe" in Rome; see *Le Gallerie naz. ital.*, III. (1897).

[6] Rappaport, *loc. cit.*, nos. 629, 631–3, 635. The charming panorama of 1642 has been acquired by the Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[7] Lippmann, *Der Kupferstich*, Berlin 1896, 155.

[8] Fr. Perrier, *Icones et segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum quae Romae extant* (with engraved inscription, 100 copperplates and two sheets of engraved indices, in fol.), Romae, 1638; *id.*

Often enough the preliminary sketches of artists are of greater interest than their finished etchings inasmuch as they reflect the impression of the moment. Here we meet once more with Claude Lorrain, who, though he paints landscapes for choice, also gives us pictures of certain localities of the city, such as the banks of the Tiber near the so-called Temple of Vesta, and the Piazza of S. Mary Major with its bustling life.[1] Jan Asselyn, Bartholomew Beerenbergh, and Willem van Niewlandt have also left beautiful drawings of Roman scenes.[2]

The drawings of Stefano della Bella are conspicuous for the virtuosity of their technique and the nobility of their conception.[3] The Uffizi Gallery of Florence preserves two valuable albums by him bearing the date 1636: the one contains sketches of horsemen, carters, men tending herds of horses and buffaloes, beggars and lazzaroni, just as the artist drew them for future use in his landscapes; among them there are a few preliminary sketches for the famous picture of the entry of the Polish embassy of 1633.[4] Of incomparably greater value is the album of views of Rome and the Campagna; this forms a collection which has been justly styled a revelation.[5] Whereas at a later date Piranesi expressed with incomparable power the grandeur of the ancient Roman remains, Stefano della Bella reproduces their picturesque beauty with truly Tuscan grace and refinement. He made excellent use of his three years' stay in Rome (1633–1636), and visited every place of pictorial interest. Far more than Dosio, Du Pérac, Giovanoli, Hermann van Swanevelt and Poelenburg, he saw Rome with the eyes of an artist. Only a few plates are devoted to the noisy and brilliant life of the city, but they too are excellent, as, for

Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum, quae Romae adhuc extant delineata incisa et ad antiquam formam lapideis exemplaribus passim collapsis restituta, Romae (with 51 plates).

[1] FRIEDLÄNDER, *Cl. Lorrain*, 181 *seq.*

[2] H. EGGER, *Römische Veduten, I.*, Vienna, 1911.

[3] *Cf.* DE VESME, *Le peintre graveur*, Milan, 1913, 66 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 167.

[5] E. MAGUNCO, *Stefano della Bella*, in the periodical *Dedalo*, VI. (1925), 209 *seq.*

instance, the harbour of the Ripetta with its many ships, and Castle S. Angelo after the alterations executed by Urban VIII., with its bridge, to the right of which one sees the place set apart for executions whilst in the foreground we get a glimpse of the motley traffic.[1] All Stefano della Bella's love was for the Rome that merged into the Campagna, that verdant wilderness where, among ruins and trees, shepherds tended their flocks and countrymen and huntsmen roamed. Plates of incomparable delicacy and tender poetry depict the loveliness of the Circus Maximus, the Colosseum, the fountains of the Campo Vaccino, the Pyramid of Cestius, the Latin Gate, the Baths of Caracalla, the Aventine seen from the Tiber, the Temple of Minerva Medica, a view of the Villa Medici from the Villa Borghese. The drawings of the lonely road from the Baths of Caracalla to the Celio recall the art of Callot. The picture of the Trofei di Mario clearly shows the changes Rome has undergone: the place was then an almost deserted spot where, besides a few small houses, there was nothing to see but the remains of the Nymphaeum in which a wilderness of flowers had taken root.[2]

If Rome, by the end of the renaissance period, had outstripped all other cities of the world both by reason of the number of its churches with their mosaics, frescoes, pictures, and sculptures, and its palaces, that precious treasure had been considerably increased during the epoch of the Catholic restoration. A crowd of painters and sculptors vied with each other in adorning with the fruits of their art the vast spaces of the new churches and the palaces of high Church dignitaries and those of the aristocracy of blood and finance. Domenichino, one of the pupils of Annibale Caracci, greatly developed the large-scale decorative fresco. He, and his rival Guido Reni, represent the idealistic style of the seventeenth century which spread over a large part of Europe in the wake of the Catholic restoration as the herald of its achievements.[3] These pupils of Caracci were still in possession of all their creative power when, under

[1] *Ibid.*, 215, 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, 216, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227.

[3] FRIEDLÄNDER, *N. Poussin*, 6.

the patronage of Urban VIII and his nephews Francesco and Antonio Barberini, a new race of artists arose. Its forerunner was Lanfranco. The moving spirits of high baroque were the painter Pietro da Cortona and the sculptor-architect Bernini, who vied with each other in respect of versatility and the sublimity of their conceptions.[1] The new style stamped its imprint on the Papal City more deeply than any that had preceded it. Everything came under its spell. Numerous buildings of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance underwent alteration or were decorated at least internally in the baroque style. To this must be added the many new churches, palaces, and other dwellings, the monumental fountains and shady villas with their ornamental waters and statues. Thus the general aspect of Rome differed fundamentally from that of the end of the Renaissance period.

The transformation of Rome into a large modern town was begun by Sixtus V. Until then the city, in consequence of its irregular plan, had preserved that medieval character which the Renaissance had not greatly altered. With his vast scheme for new streets, Sixtus V. had laid down the main lines ; with his obelisks he had introduced an entirely new kind of decoration, whilst by providing plenty of water he had rendered the higher part of the city (the Monti) not only habitable, but a favourite quarter.[2] The Romans were at last able to return to their ancient abode and the town had room in which to expand. The Jubilee years of 1600 and 1625 were milestones in this process of reconstruction and new building, especially as regards churches. The city's wealth and beauty grew steadily ; it attracted innumerable foreigners, a circumstance which gave to its life that cosmopolitan character which is observable in the world's great towns. Even more remarkable than the sumptuous palaces of the Borghese and Barberini were the imposing churches of the new Orders—real sanctuaries built for the people. The Gesù of the Jesuits was now rivalled by the Chiesa Nuova of the Oratorians, S. Andrea della Valle of the

[1] Voss, *Malerei*, 519.

[2] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXII., 208 *seq.* ; Pastor, *Sisto*, V. See also Frey, *Barockarchitektur*, 45.

Theatines, S. Carlo ai Catinari of the Barnabites, which were all adorned with most important works of religious art.[1] Instead of the numerous crenellated towers which, together with the graceful campanili of the early Middle Ages, were still so characteristic a feature of Rome at the end of the Renaissance,[2] the panorama of the city was now dominated by many large and small cupolas, all of which were eclipsed by Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's.

Urban VIII. worthily continued the patronage which Sixtus V., Clement VIII., and Paul V. had bestowed on the arts, and the bees of his coat-of-arms have become the hall-mark of the high baroque art which then flourished in the Eternal City.[3] His name is intimately linked with those of artists such as Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, and Andrea Sacchi. Besides Carlo Maderna, Domenico Castelli, Vincenzo della Greca, and Bartolomeo Breccioli were also permanently in his service as architects.[4] On occasion other architects were likewise

[1] In his *report of the year 1649 on Rome, *Ameyden* says that the city numbered 3 patriarchal churches and 11 *collegiate secolari*, 10 *basiliche antiche unite a diverse collegiate*, 106 parish churches, 43 monasteries (including those outside the walls), 27 national churches (*le più con hospitali*), and 64 public oratories of lay confraternities. *Varia polit.*, 150, p. 709, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] One of the biggest towers, the Tor de' Conti, partially collapsed in September, 1630; see Justi, *Velasquez*, I.[3] (1922), 293.

[3] Aless. Donato singles out this fact in the dedication of his work, *Roma Vetus et recens*, and writes: "Tu enim ut caetera Pontificatus tui decora sileam, Romae quantum splendoris ac maiestatis adiecisti! Templa passim instaurata et exculta sunt, nova inchoata aut perfecta: palatia Pontificum ornata et munita: restitutae, auctae, erectae quadam Principis aemulatione civium ac dynastarum aedes: refecta moenia; validis munitionibus instructae arces: apertae, stratae, complanatae viae: extructi fontes; substructae ac repurgatae cloacae: elatae valles: demissa iuga: Basilica Vaticana marmoreis operosisque ornamentis illuminata: Moles admiranda ex aere auroque Apostolorum sepulchro imposita, ut iam Roma te non magis praesidem suscipiat religionis quam suae dignitatis propagatorem."

[4] Pollak-Frey, 341 *seq.*

employed, for instance, Luigi Arigucci and Francesco Contini. Among contemporary painters there were not many who did not get commissions. In this way, notwithstanding the unpropitious conditions of the time, Rome's wealth in works of art grew from year to year, religious works predominating.[1] When the reign of the Barberini Pope came to a close, the transformation, which in the age of the Catholic restoration had made of the seat of the Popes the most splendid capital and the greatest wonder of Europe, had so far progressed that it only needed the activity of his two successors, Innocent X. and Alexander VII., to complete the wonderful baroque city, of the unique charm of which there will soon remain nothing but the memory.

[1] Dvorak in *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeiger*, 1910, 58.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

1. Nuncio Sacchetti to the Cardinal Legate, Fr. Barberini [1]

Madrid, July 2nd, 1625.

Non mancano giornalmente di comparire in questa corte lettere di cattivo ufficio contro le candide attioni di S.S.tà, onde con la venuta di V.S.R. si toglierà ogni diffidenza, correndo qui universalmente concetto ch'ella sia ben affetta a questa Corona, anchorche N.S.r venga stimato dubbioso o almeno inclinato a dar gusto a Francia, anchorchè tanto retto che gli stessi maligni non sanno in qual cosa in particolare attacarlo. E fra l'altre lettere malediche capitone una di un cardinale, il cui nome fin'hora non ho potuto sapere, che per quanto mi vien detto trovasi fuori da Roma, e sotto coperta di zelo di carità dice che il Papa con le sue irresolutioni si dimostra poco amico dal Re di Spagna e manco della religione cattolica, la quale va coll'invasioni nemiche sempre ricevendo aggravii. Io [2] trovo che Urbano leggendo questa cifra scrisse in margine di suo pugno al card. Magalotti: Vi diremo chi possa essere tal card.le a bocca.

[Copy. Nicoletti II, 1250, Vatican Library.]

2. Pope Urban VIII. to Cardinal Richelieu [3]

[Rome], February 27th, 1627.

"Occlusa tandem sunt in Galliis ora loquentium iniqua et Sorbonensis theologorum senatus temerariam illam censuram damnavit, qua videbatur extra b. Petri ovile princeps quodammodo segregari. Plaudit Roma pietati Ludovici regis. . . . Te vero senatus Apostolicus vocat in societatem regiae laudis consiliisque tuis magnam tanti beneficii partem acceptam refert. Nos certe optatissimum auctoritate tua partum sollicitudini Nostrae solatium fatemur tibique cupimus paternam caritatem rebus potius quam oratione declarare. Iam vero quas non laudes promeritus es iis officiis, quibus pontificii Nuntii dignitatem ab externorum oratorum

[1] See XXVIII, p. 93. [2] Nicoletti. [3] *Cf.* XXVIII, 397.

legibus secerni curasti? Non decebat sane catholicis populis familiaritatem interdici eius antistitis, qui cum pontificiae mentis interpres sit ea semper consilia meditatur, quae habeantur lumina Spiritus Sancti et praesidia regiae Maiestatis."

[*Epist.* IV., p. 35, Papal Secret Archives.]

3. Pope Urban VIII. to Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland [1]

[Rome], February 26th, 1628.

Nobili viro duci Friedlandie.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem. Feliciter in Germania agitur cum religione catholica. Haec enim non solum in Caes. M^tis^ solio Imperatorem nacta est rei christianae studiosissimum, sed eos quoque principes ibidem circumtuetur, qui pia Imperatoriae mentis vota gloriose exequantur. Quota harum laudum pars ad Nobilitatem tuam pertineat, non latet Ecclesiam Romanam. Perge, nobilis vir, et Dei omnipotentis patrocinium et fidelium plausus hisce actibus promereri. Nos autem Nobilitatis tuae triumphos Apostolicarum litterarum laudatione non modo prosequemur, sed patrem misericordiarum assidue quoque precamur, ut generosis tuae religionis consiliis addat foelicitatem. Quam impense tui nominis gloriae faveamus et quantam spem in te constituerit pontificia sollicitudo, uberius ex Nuntio Nostro cognoscere poteris, etc.

[*Epist.* V., p. 51, Papal Secret Archives.]

4. The French Ambassador Béthune to [D'Herbault] [2]

Rome, September 23rd, 1628.

Monsieur, Je vous ecrivis par le dernier ordinaire le 20e de ce mois, et vous donnois advis comme depuis vos lettres du 6e du passé je n'en avois receu aulcunes, ce qui me faict desirer avecq plus d'impatience d'en avoir, et advis de ce qui se passe à la Rochelle : est que hier le Pape eust des lettres de son Nunce du 20 qu'il m'a dict avoir esté apportées jusques à Suze par nostre ordinaire, lesquelles il m'a faict voir, ou ledit Sr Nunce luy donne advis que l'armée d'Angleterre avoit donné à travers et avoit esté du tout dissippée par une grande tempeste, et

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 178.

[2] *Cf.* XXVIII, 221.

par un postscript à la fin de la lettre l'asseure de la confirmation arrivée de ceste nouvelle et que l'armée estoit du tout ruinée. Sa S^té^ a faict voir la lettre à tous les ambassadeurs qui furent hier à son audience, et le jour de devant à plusieurs cardinaux qui se trouverent assemblez pres l'elle à la congregation du St. Office, lorsqu'elle la receut, ayant voulu, ainsy qu'elle me l'a dict, par ce moyen justiffier ceste nouvelle à cause que je n'en avois point d'advis pour ne sembler qu'elle l'eust inventée, elle luy a esté d'aultant plus agreable que par la dite lettre le Nunce mandoit que la Rochelle estoit preste de rendre les derniers abois, un chacun tenant que dans peu de jours les habitans seroyent contraints de se rendre à la misericorde du Roy. Je ne vous saurois assez representer le contentement que le Pape a faict paroistre universelement de ce bon succez, non plus que celuy qu'en a receu le cardinal Barberin, lequel S. S^té^ me dict depuis son assomtion du pontifficat il n'avoit jamais recogneu une si grande joye dans son visage. Je luy dicts que je ne pensois point estre necessaire de luy tesmoigner par paroles combien l'advis qu'elle m'avoit donné me touchoit et le sentiment de joye qu'elle m'avoit faict recevoir, mais que je luy en exprimerois un qui n'estoit pas commun, qui estoit que j'estimois un plus grand avantaige pour Sa M^té^ la dissippation et ruine de l'armée angloise arrivée par les vents et la mer que si c'eust esté par la puissance de ses armes, pour ce que le bonheur de ce succes ne peult estre attribué qu'à Dieu seul, lequel d'avoir favorable est beaucoup plus advantageux que le secours et assistance de plusieurs armées adjoustant, qu'oultre le bien evident et present qui se recevoit d'une telle et si visible protection de la divine bonté, l'on en pouvoit tirer cet aultre bien que ceux qui combattront pour le Roy et soubs son autorité, en deviendront plus hardis et ses ennemis au contraire plus retenus estimans d'avoir Dieu et les hommes à combattre. Sa S^té^ me respondit qu'elle avoit la mesme opinion que moy et qu'aussy se promettoit elle que Dieu l'assisteroit en la deffence qu'elle esperoit qu'elle estoit pour prendre de la justice d'un prince que l'on vouloit depouiller sans alleguer aucun pretexte contre luy, tenat pour certain que S. M. venant à Lyon et faisant avancer son armée en ces quartiers elle feroit changer de face aux affaires, qu'elle estimoit tant S. M. et les forces de la France qu'en telle compagnie elle ne craignoit rien, que les Venitiens monstroient

de leur part de ne vouloir rien espargner pour empescher ceste usurpation que vouloient faire les Epagnols. Je luy dis lors : V. S^té^ monstre de se promettre ainsi du Roy et de la Republique mais je ne vois poinct que de sa part elle offre ny asseure aucune chose. Elle me respondit que je me pouvois souvenir qu'elle m'avoit tousjours dict qu'elle vouloit voir la Rochelle prise et V. M. à Lyon devant touttes choses qu'il faillot essayer de retirer M. de Savoye d'avec les Espagnolz dont le moyen seroit de luy asseurer qu'une bonne partie de ce qu'il avoit occupé luy demeureroit et qu'aucun ne pouvoit garantir une telle promesse que Sa M^té^ qui seulle la pouvoit faire observer au Duc de Mantoue lequel ne la dediroit d'aucune chose pour n'avoir autre esperance qu'en elle, selon ce que je decouvre de jour en jour par les propos et deportement du Pape. Ilz tesmoignent une tres grande animosité contre les Espagnolz et de laquelle je tiens ma creance bien fondée, c'est qu'elle n'est pas appuyée seulement sur le particulier du Duc de Mantoue ny sur l'injustice que l'on commet en son endroict, mais pour estre tres asseurée S. S. que les Espagnolz la mesprisent et haissent pour estime, qu'elle a une aversion contr'eux. Ce que je vous dis icy pourroit passer pour conjecture sans que le cardinal qui parlant moins que le Pape me declara hier qu'il estoit tres asseuré que les Espagnolz haissoient luy, son oncle et toutte sa maison, et ensuitte me discourut de tous les lieux de l'Eglise confinans avec le royaume de Naples dans lesquels S. S. pouvoit loger des gens de guerre pour faire teste aux Espagnolz, me disant que leurs frontieres n'estoient pas meilleures que celles de l'estat ecclesiasticque, et qu'un cardinal qui luy avoit remonstré que S. S. devoit vivre en respect avec les Espagnolz, considerant le peu de chemin qu'il y avoit de Naples à Rome, il luy avoit respondu qu'il n'y avoit pas moins de Rome à Naples. Bref, je le voy si picque que le Roy prenant resolution, c'est a dire ayant pris la Rochelle, de vouloir entendre à la conservation du Duc de Mantoue et à empescher que de son oppression les envieux de la France ne s'en accroissent l'on feroit entrer le Pape de la partie conjoinctement avec les Venitiens, ce que presupose lesdits Espagnolz auraient à penser à eux, et d'autant plus que la reputation du Roy et l'estime que l'on a de luy est telle, tant pour le continuel employ de la guerre auquel il s'est occupé depuis sept ou huict ans, que

pour l'opinion comme certaine que Dieu l'a en une particuliere protection feroient que ses armes seroient grandement redouttées lesquelles tant publicquement on dict qu'elles ne seroient moins justes en cette occasion de l'assistance du Duc de Mantone que contre ceux de la Rochelle, et cela S. Sté mesme me l'a dict. Au reste l'on est detrompé des dits Epagnolz, qui avoient tousjours pris la religion pour pretexte et lesquels en ceste consideration trouvoyent plusieurs qui favorisoyent leurs armes de leurs voeux et au contraire accusoyent le Roy, comme nous l'avons veu par les libelles qui ont couru, de se lier avec les heretiques et les deffendre là où maintenant l'on dict publiquement que les armes de S. M. sont aussy justes comme celles des aultres sont injustes.

Comme j'estois arrivé jusques icy de ceste lettre, l'ordinaire est arrivé avecq vostre despesche du 20 qui m'a confirmé la nouvelle de la dissippation de l'armée angloise et ensemble l'obstination que monstrerent ces opiniastres, lorsque l'on leur envoya le herault. Je veulx croire que depuis avoir appris la dissipation de cette flotte en laquelle ilz mettoyent l'esperance de leur secours, ilz auront changé de resolution et que vos premieres me donneront des nouvelles de quelque commancement de traité.

Je vous baise les mains et suis, Monsieur

Votre tres humble serviteur

Bethune.

[Orig., Paris, Archives of Foreign Affairs, *Rome* 41, p. 217 *seq.*]

5. The French Ambassador Béthune to [D'Herbault].[1]

Rome, October 7th, 1628.

Monsieur. Je vous escrivis le 5e de ce mois par l'ordinaire de Rome et le mesme jour au soir je receus vostre lettre du 5e du mois passé par laquelle vous me faisiez sçavoir de n'avoir receu aulcune despesche de moy depuis que vous m'escrivistes le 20e d'aoust et neantmoings je n'ay manqué à tous les ordinaires d'escrire au Roy et à vous, comme j'ay encores une fois faict par Venise et une aultre à l'occasion d'une personne qui alloit en diligence à Lion et que prenoit la voye de la mer ; ce qu'estant, je ne puis assez m'estonner veu

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 222.

que les rencontres des empeschements des courriers ne sont pas allans en France, mais venants seulement deça, quelle doncq peust estre l'occasion que mes despesches sont si long temps à arriver jusques à vous ? Je ne la puis deviner. Je vous diray que je demeuray fort mortiffié ayant appris qu'un courrier de M. le Duc de Mantoue estoit party de la Rochelle le 14e et qu'il eust esté chargé de lettres de M. le Nunce pour le Pape et non d'aulcunes des vostres pour moy. Par ceste despesche l'on a appris icy la bonne nouvelle de la mort de Bouquinquam, laquelle a depuis esté confirmée par lettres du 22e de Paris, et ensemble ay appris comme ceux de la Rochelle avoyent faict sortir quelques uns des leurs pour traicter de se remettre à l'obeissance du Roy et avecq lesquels il n'avoit esté neantmoings rien conclu, mais seulement leur avoir esté dict qu'ilz retournassent et que dans six jours apres avoir concerté entre eulx la resolution qu'ilz avoyent à prendre l'on les entendroit. Ce commancement joinct avecq la mort de Bouquinquam, laquelle leur fera perdre l'esperance de secours, nous fera bientost icy apprendre, selon le desir que j'en ay, la reddition de ceste place, laquelle est si ardemment desirée du Pape et du cardinal Barbarin, ainsi que je le conneus hier que j'euz audience que j'oserois quasi dire que S. M. ne le souhaite pas davantage. S. S. me dict d'abord que j'entray dans sa chambre que Dieu continuoit ses miracles en faveur du Roy et qu'il paroissoit par la mort de Bouquinquam, mais que pour comble de ses graces il falloit la reddition de la Rochelle. Je luy dis que je l'esperois, apres Dieu, de la necessité où elle estoit reduicte et de ceste mort qui leur feroit perdre l'esperance de ce secours. En suitte je luy parlay des affaires publiques, c'est à dire des affaires de M. de Mantoue afin d'essayer de la porter a quelque resolution qui peust empescher les Espagnolz de s'accroistre si injustement en le ruynant comme ilz pretendent de faire, de laquelle je n'euz du commancement que les mesmes discours cy devant repettez par mes despesches, c'est à dire qu'elle ne se pouvoit fier en personne qu'au Roy, mais qu'avec luy elle feroit paroistre qu'elle n'estoit poinct sans courage et qu'elle n'avoit abondonné jusques icy la deffence de la justice que parce qu'elle ne s'estimoit puissante de la deffendre sans la France. La prudence ne permettant point que par un zele indiscret et sans mesurer ses forces on joignist sa ruyne à

celle de celuy qu'on vouloit assister, adjoustant que S. M. venant à Lyon avec intention de se declarer pour la protecttion du Duc de Mantoue et la liberté d'Italye et que pour cet effet elle fist passer une armée, que S. Sté mettroit en mesme temps à la campagne douse mil hommes de pied et douse à quinse cens chevaux et que ce nombre d'hommes avec le nom de S. Sté, qui n'estoient pas seuls capables de deffendre le Duc de Mantoue le seroient joinctz avec les forces du Roy, de donner à penser à ceux qui mettant sous pied la justice, l'honneur et la raison se vouloient accroistre à quelque prix que ce soit. Je n'ay pas neantmoins compris de son discours que son intention soit de joindre ses forces avec celles du Roy qu'apres avoir fait entendre aux Espagnolz qu'en cas qu'ilz ne se voulussent desister de leur entreprise, alors il s'uniroit avec les forces du Roy et celles de Venitiens pour la conservation de la liberté d'Italye. Pour confirmation de son intention à l'ambassadeur de Venise qui entra apres moy, elle demanda combien de gens de pied et de cheval la Republique mettroit en campagne. S. Sté n'estoit jamais passé si avant, aussi vous puis je asseurer que de jour à autre s'accroist en elle l'aversion qu'elle a des Espagnolz. Je luy dis que cependant qu'elle alloit differant de se declarer, il estoit à craindre que Casal se ne perdist. Elle me respondit qu'elle n'estimoit pas que cela fust pour arriver y ayant des vivres et de bons hommes, mais qu'en tout cas l'on pourroit contraindre les usurpateurs de le rendre ne les croyant si imprudens que de vouloir mettre au hasard les estatz qu'ilz avoient en Italye pour se conserver une injuste usurpation, et sur ce que je dis à S. Sté qu'il falloit donc dès cette heure elle mist sur pied ce nombre d'hommes qu'elle m'avoit dit vouloir employer pour une si juste cause affin qu'elle les eust presty quand l'occasion s'offriroit de s'en servir, elle me respondit que bien qu'elle n'eust pas plus de quatre mil hommes maintenant qu'elle avoit fait comme les bons et prudens mesnagers qui voulant bastir preparent et assemblent tous materiaux desquels ilz se veulent servir et qu'aussi elle a tellement touttes choses preparées qu'en un instant elle mettroit en campagne les forces dont elle se vantoit, ce que d'avoir fait plustost n'eust de rien servy sinon à luy faire dependre inutilement de l'argent puisqu'elle n'avoit jamais intention de les employer qu'avec S. M., prenant ouvertement

la protection du Duc de Mantoue et la deffence de la liberté les Espagnolz voulans continuer à apprimer l'un et l'autre. J'estime quant a moy, que S. Sté faisant ce qu'elle m'a dict, promettant de nouveau ce que dessus, lorsque S. M. me commanderoit d'en tirer asseurance, c'est autant comme si du commancement elle avoit fait une ligue ouverte avec le Roy ainsi que je l'en avois requis, puisque l'on vient à luy engager par consequence lorsque les Espagnolz ne se voudront desister, qui est, ce me semble, tout ce que S. M. peut desirer, mais il ne faut rien esperer par effect de tout cecy selon mon jugement que la Rochelle prise S. M. estant à Lyon et prenant en son nom la protection du Duc de Mantoue estimant que de Turin le Roy est punctuellement adverty de ce que M. Marini peut descouvrir des intentions de M. de Savoye, cela sera cause que je ne vous diray rien sur ce subject sinon qu'en une rencontre que j'ay eue avec son ambassadeur il m'a semblé qu'il ne seroit pas difficile de destascher son maitre d'avec les Espagnolz pourveu qu'il eust promesse du Roy qu'une bonne partie de ce qu'il a occupé du Montferrat luy demeureroit pour les pretentions que ses predecesseurs et luy ont de longue main comme aussy pour la restitution et payement d'anciennes et nouvelles debtes, m'ayant fait paroistre ledit ambassadeur que ledit Duc estoit demeuré grandement content et satisfait des bonnes paroles qui avoient esté données au comte de Morette et estimant ceste despesche digne de venir promptement à la cognoissance de la S. M., je l'ay adressé a M. d'Avaux pour y avoir encores quinze jours jusques au partement de l'ordinaire par lequel je vous envoyeray un duplicata. Sur ce je vous baise les mains et suis, Monsieur

Vostre tres humble serviteur
Bethune.

[Orig., Paris, Archives of Foreign Affairs, *Rome* 41, p. 925 *seq.*]

6. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio Guido del Bagno.[1]

Con l'occasione di condurre Mr della Riviere a piedi S. Stà l'altr'hieri rinovò Bettune l'instanze di qualche dichiaratione per le cose di Mantova, già che il Re è disposto a soccorrerlo.

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 227. See also Kiewning, I., 331, n. 4.

Rispose S. Beat^{ne} co' soliti termini, senza impegnarsi in dichiaratione alcuna, eccetto di voler armarsi et haver in pronto X^{m} *huomini in caso che le armi regie calino* [1] in Italia, affine che, attaccandosi le mischie, si trovi lo Stato Ecclesiastico con buona difesa e non già per esser contrario alle armi altrui. Aggiunse *ancora che* harebbe parlato più altamente e ferventemente *per disporre* le parti a pensieri di pace. Premé *Bettune che S. S^{tà} armasse, prima che i Francesi venissero,* adducendo che subito giunti potrebbe darsi qualche battaglia con la parte avversa e conseguentemente trovarsi lo Stato Ecclesiastico in bisogno di difesa, oltre l'haver S. S^{tà} accennato altra volta di voler star armata, venendo il Re a Lione. Ma replicò S. Beat^{ne} d'haver presupposto non solo S. M^{tà} o altro capo in Lione, ma anche le genti di lui in Italia, et esser certa non poter venir colta all'improvviso, havendo disposte le cose in maniera che in un mese o minor tempo haverà in punto la detta soldatesca effettiva ogni volta che la voglia. Battè l'ambasciatore per cavar maggior esplicatione dell'animo di S S^{tà}, ma questa si tenne sempre nello stesso tuono di volersi trovar armata e parlar forte per la pace, senza discendere ad altro. Soggiunse bene che in caso di mossa di S. M^{tà} spedirà Nuntio straordinario come ha fatto all'*Imperatore e Re Cattolico.* Replicò S. E. che il Nuntio non harebbe fatto nulla mentre volesse trattenere il Re dall'impresa, e che ciò non li pareva conveniente, mentre gli altri tiravano avanti contro Nivers. Ma S. Beat^{ne} rispose che la *missione del Nuntio* sarebbe *honorevole* per il Re e che porterebbe a S. M^{tà} sensi ragionevoli, e S. S^{tà} *si lascerebbe* intendere parimente con gli altri che si mettessero nella via della ragione e della giustizia e nel cessamento dell'armi acciò gli ufficii di S. Beat^{ne} havessero efficacia.

Quanto poi alla richiesta del card. Richelieu riferitami da V. S. con la sua cifera de 2 passato. cioè di voler *risposta categorica se S. S^{tà} assisterà con 8^{m} fanti et 800 cavalli,* quando le armi *regie siano nel Monferrato* et habbiano fatto qualche effetto, V. S. prevenne saggiamente rispondendoli che *S. Beat^{ne} non harebbe data cotale risolutione* categorica *in modo alcuno,* ma solamente d'armarsi e di farsi sentire altamente per indur le parti alla pace nel modo di sopra

[1] The passages in italics are in code.

accennato e discorso coll'ambasciatore. E questo senso di S. Stà potrà Ella insinuare e farne rimaner capace S. S. Illma con le ragioni scritte altre volte e con quelle che li verran dettate dal proprio avvedimento ; perchè in effetto S. Beatne non vuol venir a queste promesse.

Uscì *l'ambasciatore a ritoccar lo sbarco a Civitavecchia e 'l passo per lo Stato Ecclesiastico* a soldatesca francese da inviarsi al Mantovano. Sopra di che non s'impegnò S. Bne in cosa veruna, ma sempre rimise S. E. a parlarne meco. Io così all'improvviso risposi che nulla rilevarebbe questo sbarco, se non s'otteneva prima *il passo dal Gran Duca per il suo,* overo *dal Duca d'Urbino,* benchè questa ultima sarebbe strada molto lunga. E soggiunsi che tali missioni, le quali, quando pur si facessero, sarebbono alla sfilata, poco effetto potriano operare, e meglio senza dubbio saria il mandar denaro al Duca di Mantova, perchè delle genti non le ne mancherebbono. Non premè più oltre l'ambasciatore et il discorso passò senza venirsi alle strette e senza conclusione alcuna. . . .

[*Barb.* 8070 (pages not numbered) towards the end. Vatican Library.]

7. The French Nuncio G. del Bagno to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[1]

Rome, April 3rd, 1629.[2]

" . . . Ho scoperto nel card. Richelieu qualche spirito di desiderio della legatione di Francia ad tempus come per benemerito del fatto et incitamento a proseguire la depressione dell'heresia in Francia, della quale speditosi mostra inclinatione di modificare l'autorità de' parlamenti verso il Re e verso le materie ecclesche. Ma io ho fatto sentire che della legatione non può in niun conto concedersi, e me son valso d'un avviso che già mi diede il Sr Sacchetti, che D. Gonzalo haveva detto che una simile harebbe preteso l'infante cardle per li regni di Spagna, che sarebbe cosa perniciosissima alla Sede Apost. e perciò mai si concederà come nè anche quella di Francia specialmente per il rispetto di poter più arditamente negar quella di Spagna."

[*Barb.* 8071, Vatican Library.]

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 414.

[2] Decifrato l'11 aprile.

8. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio G. del Bagno.[1]

Rome, April 14th, 1629.

". . . Ha gradito straordinariamente N. S. l'officio interposto da V. S. per tener dietro il motivo di Richelieu circa il voler la legatione di Francia, poiche l'essempio non solo sarebbe pernicioso in riguardo di Spagna, si come ella ben ponderò a S. S. Illma, ma anco potrebbe destar a medesimi pruriti col tempo nel Imperio e Germania, Boemia, Polonia, e in somma metter scompiglio nel christianesimo cattolico."

[*Barb.* 8071, Vatican Library.]

9. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to Ciriaco Rocci, Nuncio in Germany.[2]

Rome, September 28th, 1630.[3]

". . . La premura che si fa costì in voler disfare et disunir la Lega cattolica, è un gran punto et di gran conseguenza, e con ragione par che il sigr Duca di Baviera e gli altri Elettori se ne mostrino alieni ; col qual sigr Duca V. S. può liberamente discorrere, che il desiderio di Nro Sigre e mio sarebbe che la detta unione si conservasse *come quella che ha rimesso in piedi la religione cattolica* in Germania e che tende direttamente a mantenerla e stabilirla ; ladove par che gl'altri eserciti mirino più al politico che ad altro, e massime *hora che i moti del Re di Suecia* ed i sospetti *d'altri nemici della religione danno più che mai occasione* di conservar la detta Lega, la quale ha difeso i cattolici senza aggravarli o disgustarli. . . ."

[*Barb.* 7063 n. 13, Vatican Library.]

10. Pope Urban VIII. to Tilly.[4]

Rome, June 18th, 1631.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Impia illa virgo, quae coelesti sponso nubere noluit,

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 414.

[2] *Cf.* XXVIII, 262.

[3] Messo in cifra li 28 settembre 1630.

[4] *Cf.* XXVIII, 276. See also Klopp, *Tilly*, II. (1861), 479.

cum facta esset adultera satanae, Magdeburgensis civitas, experta tandem est ultoris numinis furorem coruscantem in dextera Nobilitatis tuae. Contorqueri voluit Omnipotens per manus catholicorum exercituum fulmina coelestis indignationis, quae incolas et tecta civitatis Ecclesiam aspernantis devorarunt sicut stipulam. Tu vero post tot stipendia et trophaea, triumphalis senex, tanta auctus victoria, potuisti lavare victrices manus in sanguine peccatorum [Ps 57 (58), 11]. O decus dignum, cui coelites plaudunt, quod reges cupiant! mutata est per te rerum facies in septentrione. Ubi enim haeretici, furentes audacia, minitabantur incendia templis, catenas principibus, contumeliam sanctis, nunc in Magdeburgensi clade consternati coguntur formidare impiae potentiae finem. Vive ac triumpha feliciter, nobilis vir, tu laus Israel, tu honorificentia populi nostri, qui convertere Nobis potuisti sollicitudinem in gratulationem et metuentem religionem galea salutis et framea ultionis armasti. Nulla plane natio in hoc Urbis theatro de tuis laudibus conticescet. Diceris enim munivisse semper sanctimonia fortitudinem, nec minus feliciter cupiditates in corpore quam hostes in variis provinciis edomuisse. Iam vero tantarum laudum commemoratione augetur publica spes, quae freta Deo in catholicis castris excubanti, et principibus pii belli auspicibus, videtur non temere in Germania diadema perfecti decoris catholicae religioni a tua virtute polliceri. Eia age, nobilis vir, sequere Deum, qui te hac victoria vocat ad integrum devictae impietatis triumphum. Omnino vero enitere, ne quid in consulentium deliberationibus decernatur, quod dimicantium militum odia irritet et haberi possit victrici religioni inutile aut indecorum. Benedicimus tibi, dilecte fili, intimo paterni cordis affectu atque oramus Deum, cui omnia vivunt, ut in senio Nobilitatis tuae velit ad publicae spei felicitatem inutile robur revirescere. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die XVIII Iunii MDCXXXI anno pontificatus Nostri octavo."

"Ioannes Ciampolus."

[Orig., State Archives, Brussels.]

In the Epist. Urbani VIII. of the Papal Secret Archives this piece cannot be found, the only information is a marginal note in the Brief to Maximilian I. (cf. above p. 276, n. 1) that a similar one had been sent to Tilly.

11. The French Nuncío Alessandro Bichi to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[1]

Paris, June 20th, 1631.[2]

" . . . Ho passati nuovi uffici, *acciò S. M^tà Christ^ma s'interponga per l'accomodamento delle alterationi tra l'Imperatore e il Sveco,* atteso che quelle d'Italia si trovano hormai quasi in tutto accordate. Si continua di darmi certa speranza che, quietata affatto l'Italia, il Re si adoprerà vivamente con inviar anche persona espressa, e fra tanto che *non più daranno aiuto al Sveco. . . .*"

[*Barb.* 8079, p. 29, Vatican Library.]

12. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio Alessandro Bichi.[3]

Rome, November 22nd, 1631.[4]

" Dalli discorsi di costà intorno alle cose di Germania e specialmente da quello che V. S. riferisce haver tenuto col Sig^r card^le Richelieu nella sua prima cifra, *si raccoglie che* la missione del Charnassi e l'intentione di cotesta parte *mira alla separatione di Baviera e di tutta la Lega cattolica dall'interessi dell'Austriaci,* e di far *che lo Sveco* e suoi adherenti *salvino quelli, ma non già questi ; il che non so come possa riuscire senza detrimento della religione cattolica ;* nel qual *punto, riuscire senza detrimento della religione cattolica ;* nel qual punto, *ch'è il principale,* sono e debbono essere uniti tutti, e dannificandosi questa in una parte della Germania, non può essere che anche l'altre non ne patiscano. Quanto all'osservanza delle *promesse del medesimo Sveco in preservatione* della stessa religione cattolica, fin'hora se n'attendono gli avisi di Germania : par che non camini bene, poichè le chiese e le persone ecclesiastiche e tanti prelati Ollandesi [! ?] della Lega cattolica ne son rimasti spogliati e maltrattati insieme con tutti i religiosi, eccetto Cappuccini, come si narra ; ma di questi non è maraviglia, piochè cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator. V. S. dunque ha fatto lodevolmente e conforme al suo zelo, mentre è tornata a raccomandare

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 276.

[2] Decifrato li 16 luglio [1631].

[3] *Cf.* XXVIII, 280.

[4] Scritto in cifra li 22 novembre 1631.

gli interessi de' cattolici di Germania, e motivar che l'autorità di Sua M^{tà} Christ^{ma} s'impiegasse per la quiete dell'Alemagna. Avisi freschi di Augusta portano che lo Sveco sia stato rotto e preso prigione dal Tilly. Si aspetta con ansietà di saper, se sia vero. Ma quel che non è, può essere ; onde possono S. M^{tà} e 'l sig^{r} card^{le}, con la consideratione della varietà degli humani accidenti, dar luogo maggiormente alla conservatione della quiete universale. . . ."

[*Barb.* 8114, Vatican Library.]

13. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the French Nuncio Alessandro Bichi.[1]

Rome, December 13th, 1631.[2]

" . . . Torno bene a dirle che gli eretici, com'è lo Sveco, *non osservano promesse*, e si vede chiaramente dalli danni gravissimi et nelle occupationi di città e piazze fatte contro l'Elettor di Colonia, ch'è pur anche fratello di Baviera, contro Magonza e contro Erbipoli, Bamberga, Fulda et altri prencipi della Lega cattolica, temendosi che, passando il Reno non invada anche Treveri, Magonza medesima, Colonia stessa e tutto quel tratto. L'aura della fortuna e la superbia che si scopre in lui naturale, lo farà anche sprezzatore delli offitii e delle richieste di cotesta Maestà, s'ella non lo atterrisce con l'interminatione e con gli effetti anche della sua potenza ; e realmente non si può in Germania, massime rispetto a' nemici della religione cattolica, distinguer i danni delli altri prencipi da quelli dell'Imperatore o delli Austriaci, e tutti ridondano in detrimento della fede cattolica, e conseguentemente anche in disutile del regno medesimo di Francia, almeno a lungo andare. E consideri S. M^{tà} e 'l sig^{r} cardinale i mostruosi progressi fatti da Gostavo in un sol mese, e che la piena, quando è tanto ingrossata, non si può talvolta riparare. . . ."

[*Barb.* 8114, Vatican Library.]

14. Cardinal Francesco Barberini to the Spanish Nuncio Monti.[3]

Rome, March 8th, 1632.

" . . . Hora pendente il termine della convocatione di detta congregatione il card. Borgia alli altri suoi mali termini ne

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 480.

[2] Scritto in cifra li 13 dicembre 1631.

[3] *Cf.* XXVIII, 287.

have aggiunto *un pessimo* ; et è stato che nel concistoro hodierno, mentre si proponevano alcune chiese, egli senza accennar prima cosa alcuna del suo pensiero a N^ro^ Sig^re^, si è posto a *recitare ad alta voce un' ambasciata che portava seco scritta in latino* ; ma da tutti s'è conosciuto che la spiegatura e frase di essa *non era farina del medesimo cardinale,* della quale scrittura io mando a V. S. la copia B. Sua Santità, benchè meravigliatasi di tale improvvisata, nondimeno, per usar della sua benignità, stette *pazientemente ad udire,* finchè il cardinale proferì quelle parole : *Et adhuc Sanctitas Vestra cunctatur,* e seguitava alla *protesta.* Allhora dunque Sua Beatitudine gli ordinò che tacesse, dicendo e ripetendo più volte : *Taceas.* E proferì queste parole : *Loquerisne uti cardinalis an uti orator ?* Rispose : *Uti cardinalis.* Replicò Sua Santità : *Cardinales in concistorio non loquuntur palam nisi praecedente littera super materia vel interrogati et cum petitur consilium, quod etiam sequi non tenemur.* E soggiungendo il cardinale che *parlava anche come ambasciatore,* ripigliò Sua Santità : *Non habes locum in hoc consessu uti orator, et hic oratoris nullae sunt partes. Sed te privatim audivimus et audiemus.* Allhora egli disse che non havea potuto haver *udienza.* Falsità grande, perchè oltre *l'ordinarie che ha sempre commodamente,* ne ha havute egli, anzi anco i cardinali nationali, quante ne han volute delle *straordinarie.* V. S. haverà veduto dai ragguagli che io li ho dati di mano in mano. Haverà egli voluto intendere dell'*udienze strane* e di insolita forma che egli ha *dimandate,* cioè di venire a Sua Santità *conducendo seco ambasciatori Cesarei, cardinali italiani e cardinali spagnoli,* onde il *Mastro di Camera di Sua Beatitudine* li fece intendere che *se Sua Em.^za^ come ambasciatore* voleva venire, venisse pure, ma che la forma *d'udienza di tanti insieme* era *inusitata* e non poteva darsi, e però lo consigliava a venir da sè. Ond'egli il *giovedì seguente ebbe l'udienza solo,* come di sopra ho detto e come ho signato a V. S. in altre mie. E. poi ha fronte di asserire di *non haver potuto havere udienza.* Anzi questo *aggrava l'eccesso* da lui commesso questa mattina, perchè, mentre Sua Beat^ne^ permise *ch'egli venisse a parlarli con sette altri compagni,* molto meno doveva *parlare* in presenza di *tutto il sacro collegio* contro ogni stile et ogni *modestia.*

Procurando dunque pur egli di finir *la sua diceria, Nostro*

Signore soggiunse: *Donec non es egressus, exhortationem ad ferendas suppetias patienter audivimus. Modo taceas: ita iubemus. Mereris, ut praeciperemus te egredi,* e cosa simile. E di più li disse: Quando *actum fuit de subsidio Nobis dando a cardinalibus pro Statu ecclesiastico, tu solus contradixisti, et debebamus in te animadvertere; sed te dileximus plus quam mereris.* Egli a ciò *rispose* che prima nelle congregationi haveva *assentito, e Sua Beat^ne* ripigliò: *Tanto peius, quia recessisti a bono consilio.*

Intanto che egli non si quetava *ai comandamenti di Sua Santità e voleva pur seguitare a dire, il sig^r card^le di S. Honofrio zelante del poco rispetto,* che vedeva portarsi *dal sig^r card^le Borgia al Papa suo fratello,* se li accostò *sgridandoli che tacesse e ripetendo più volte, Taceas* a fine di cancare maggiori rumori; e perchè forse *Borgia* rappresentarà alterata *la detta attione di Sant' Honofrio,* V. S. avverta bene di risponder, dove bisogna, con dimostrare *lo zelo del cardinal congiunto con una esemplare purità e rettitudine,* e che, *vedendo disobedito un Papa tanto a lui congiunto,* non è gran fatto *che si movesse dal suo luogo* in essecutione delli iterati *commandamenti che Sua Santità faceva a Borgia di tacersi,* benchè ad un sol cenno di S. Beat^ne *si ritirò subito* da quello a che lo zelo e l'animo *et habito religioso lo spingevano.*

Quando *Sisto 5° santa memoria* parlò al S. Collegio *contro Enrico 3° Re di Francia* sopra *la morte del cardinale di Ghisa* era presente il *card. Gioiosa protettore di Francia,* capo *de' cardinali Franzesi,* e volse solamente allegare con ogni modestia *e con haver prima chiesta licenza al Papa* alcuna *eccettione in scusa del Re,* e nondimeno Sisto quinto li comandò che tacesse, ma anco lo riprese agramente, et alcuni voglion dire che lo facesse uscir di concistoro, e che si ritirò parimente per qualche giorno *da Roma.* Il card. *Santa Severina* una volta che li parve essersi trasportato tropp'oltre *dal suo zelo* sopra una materia che pur era stata proposta dal *Papa in concistorio,* subito in presenza de' cardinali s'andò a *inginocchiare e chieder perdono ai piedi del medesimo Papa.* Ma il cardinal Borgia, trattato più benignamente da Nostro Signore, nè meno si è *degnato di domandar perdono,* sebene privatamente a *me ha detto due parole,* cioè *che lo scusassi,* perchè quelli altri *cardinali nationali* erano stati di parere ch'egli così facesse; tal che ha *raddossata agli altri la colpa.*

Io ancora, vedendo la sua *contumacia*, mi son levato in piede e ho detto alcune cose così: Prima li ricordai che *egomet obtuli Dominationi suae pleraque ex his quae petebat, et ipsa respuit*, e lo replicai due volte essendo vero ch'egli ha ricusato le *missioni* offerte altre volte per negotiare *l'aggiustamento fra le corone*. Inoltre, perchè egli diceva di parlar anco *come protettore*, risposi (si come anco fece Nostro Signore), che *la protettione* non ha annesso *questo uffizio*, ma riguarda *solo le chiese*. Finalmente aggiunsi che *per haec dissidia et dum hoc pacto agimus sacrificamus haereticis*, volendo inferire il gusto che gli heretici haverebbono di sentire *così fatte esorbitanze*. Riferii ancora che di già *hesterna die de ordine SS^mi^ erat intimata congregatio super iisdem negotiis et plerique cardinales in concistorio existentes hoc sciebant*.

Il sig^r^ card. Colonna, al quale tocca hora *sonar la campanella*, quando fa di bisogno che entri alcuno de' serventi, la *sono*, perchè, Sua Em^za^ dice, *alcun cardinale li accennò che la sonasse*, e poi anch'egli disse alcune parole a *Borgia*, perchè si quietasse. Al che *il card. Borgia rispose con sdegno*, che egli non parlava *o non voleva parlare con esso lui*, ma concluse: *Obedio Suae Sanctitati, e così si tacque;* ma poi soggiunse che *Sua Santità si contentasse* di ricever la scrittura che li sarebbe data, e *Sua Beatitudine*, benchè potesse con giusta ragione rimetterlo *alla udienza privata*, nondimeno *con eccesso di benignità la prese*, proferendo l'infrascritte parole: *Ad Nos pertinet cura religionis catholicae, cui et incubuimus et incumbimus, et dilectum filium Nostrum regem catholicum amamus, prout ex effectibus ostendimus*.

Questa nell'essentiale è la *vera e semplice serie del successo*, che ha *scandalizato tutti gli huomini da bene. . . .*"[1]

Then follows (p. 89–90). Aggiunta alla cifra di Msgr. Monti, from which we quote this passage: "Il s. card. S. Honofrio stava nel medesimo banco e fra lui e Borgia erano di mezzo tre o quattro cardinali, quando si levò a far tacere il cardinale che faceva renitenza al comandamento del Papa; sia anche per notitia di V. S. ch'egli lo prese per la mano gridandoli che tacesse et obedisse, trasportato dal zelo e della bruttezza

[1] On the back: "A Msgr. d'Antiochia Nunzio. Messo in cifra l'8 marzo 1632. Decif. a Msgr. Nunzio Panzirolo et a Msgr. Nunzio a Napoli li X detto."

di quella disobedienza in faccia del Sommo Pontefice et in esentione de' comandi che S. B. reiterava al medesimo Borgia."

[*Barb.* 8376, p. 85 s., Vatican Library.]

15. P. Savelli to Emperor Ferdinand II.[1]

Rome, April 3rd, 1632.[2]

" Sacra Cesarea Maestà.

Nel concistoro di lunedì passato con occasione di dar parte al collegio de' cardinali della speditione de' Nontii straordinarii S. Stà fece un ragionamento nel quale parve che volesse rispondere al cardinal Borgia, sebene con parole molto modeste, che furono che S. Stà non haveva mancato mai di servire alla causa publica, come haverebbe fatto sempre fin col proprio sangue, e che se non haveva communicato al collegio, quanto era stato operato et opera tuttavia, e che per farlo hora constare, haveva deputato una congregatione de' cardinali, nella quale si erano mostrate tutte le lettere, con che si vedea finalmente che in ordine a tutto questo haveva presa la risolutione di spedire li sudetti tre Nontii straordinarii. Il concistoro fu cominciato ad hora molto solecita e finì anco assai presto, si che più di dodeci cardinali non arrivorono a tempo per intervenirvi, fra quali Sandoval, Spinola et Albornoz, vi fu ben Borgia: dicono che questo si facesse per ovviare che a quanto diceva il Papa, non fosse replicato dalli cardinali Spagnuoli, il che però non fu fatto da Borgia benchè presente.[3]

Dio N. S. guardi V. M. Ces. con ogni augumento di felicità e di gloria.

Roma li 3 aprile 1632.

Di V. M. Ces.

humiliss° e obligatiss° servre

Paolo Savello." [4]

[Orig., State Archives, Vienna, *Romana*, fasc. 49, pp. 55–7.]

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 294.

[2] Cifra; decoded text herewith.

[3] End of text in code.

[4] Autograph.

16. Instruction of Cardinal Francesco Barberini for the Nuncios Ceva and Grimaldi.[1]

Rome, May 1st, 1632.

" . . . Si divide adunque lo scopo della sua Nuntiatura in due principali capi : cioè il 1°, riconciliare i principi cattolici fra di loro : il 2°, unire le loro armi e forze contro gl'heretici. Ma chi non vede che, quando si conseguisse il 1° di questi capi, ne deriva poi facilissimamente il 2° ?, poichè, tolte che fossero le gelosie et i disturbi che corrono fra le due Corone e fra altri principi cattolici per loro puntigli et interessi, non ha dubbio che si congiungeranno a ribattere il nemico della commune religione. Anzi il 2° de' sopradetti capi ha da servire come mezo overo argomento per ottenere il 1°, dimostrando che sempre mai gli avversarii della religione cattolica, o siano stati infedeli o eretici, si son serviti, per avanzare le loro false sette et errori e per opprimere la fede ortodossa, delle discordie e delle guerre, che il demonio, fautore di essi, ha di quando in quando seminate tra potentati cattolici. Di questi esempii sono piene le historie antiche e moderne, e non accade rammemorare la miseranda captività dell'imperio greco, oppresso dal Turco per la sopradetta cagione, poichè ne son fresche le memorie nella Germania e nella Francia medesima, nelle quali provincie, se si considera attentamente, si troverà che i velenosi semi della empietà di Lutero e di Calvino, a guisa di perniciosa zizania, radicarono e si distesero già più d'un secolo, mentre per interessi di stato ardevano parimente le guerre fra le corone Austriache e quella di Francia, le quali tiravan seco le fattioni degli altri principi del cristianesimo cattolico, si che, mentre accesi di sdegno fra di loro attendevano vicendevolmente a oltraggiarsi, non hebbero nè applicatione nè agio di avvertire o di reprimere l'incendio allhora sorgente delle heresie, alle quali conosciute che furono, indarno poi procurarono di por rimedio quelli che per le loro discordie et interessi di stato le havevano lasciate non pur radicare, ma anche germogliare e diventare adult e.

Hora di che altra opportunità si vale Gostavo e i suoi aderenti per avantaggiarsi con tanto danno della religione cattolica, se non della disunione e discordia de' principi che la professano ? E se questi, ostinatamente combattendo

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII. 304 *seqq.*

fra di loro, lasceranno che il detto Sveco et i suoi settarii caminino avanti ad abattere hoggi un principe cattolico e domani un altro, come fin hora van facendo, chi non scorge che, crescendo tuttavia così di avidità, di gloria e di dominio come di riputatione e di forze, non si conterrà ne' limiti di Alemagna, ma minaccerà all'Italia, alla Fiandra, alla Francia, alla Polonia et a tutto il cattolico cristianesimo? Et allhora (che Dio benedetto il cessi) si accorgerebbono quei principi, che hora o trascurano le imprese di lui o anche li danno qualche calore per odii o per interessi particolari, quanto era meglio, deposti e sopiti questi, concorrer prontamente a porgere aiuto alli cattolici oppugnati dall'heretico, e procurare di domare o reprimere in casa d'altri l'incendio, prima che lasciar aumentare et approssimare o entrare nella casa propria? E tanto più chiarendosi tuttavia la proterva mente dello Sveco, il quale non stima nessun altro che se stesso e procede con superbia et alterigia anco verso quelli che nel principio delle sue prosperità come amico mostrava di apprezzare et honorare, e senza udirli o tener conto di essi e de loro interessi fa solo quello che giudica di suo proprio profitto. I quali termini orgogliosi e violenti se usa adesso, che farebbe poi quando arrivasse più oltre a ingagliardirsi e crescer di stati, di riputatione e di forze? Si sono vedute le sue propositioni di neutralità, con le quali voleva che gli Elettori cattolici pattuissero seco, et alcune altre capitolationi che offeriva alla città di Colonia ad effetto che stessero neutrali e non si opponessero a lui, nè aiutassero gli altri cattolici. Dalle quali capitolazioni o propositioni si comprova evidentemente quanto di sopra si è detto, perchè contengono così manifesti e gravi pregiuditii della religion cattolica e così dure et inique conditioni, che sono più tosto leggi che un vincitore impone al vinto, che conventioni e patti da stabilirsi con un neutrale. Quali sariano dunque le leggi ch'egli imporria ai soggetti, quando tali sono quelle che ardisce di prescrivere a coloro, con i quali intende ritenere amicitia? E chi eleggerà di rimanere amico o al meno neutrale verso un huomo che disprezza gli amici e tratta coi neutrali come con nemici? Il Re christ^mo^ con gli affari di Pinerolo, de' passi Retici, delle cose di Metz e di Lorena par che habbia preteso di tener somma cura de' passi, per poter sovvenire i suoi alliati in Italia et in Germania, e perchè la Francia e suoi aditi

siano liberi da queste bande: e così fatte ragioni allegano i suoi ministri qualvolta si ragiona delli sudetti negotii. E nondimeno comporterà S. M^tà^ che, invece de' cattolici, un heretico vada a poco a poco serrando et occupando i detti passi e rinchiudendo la Francia di maniera, che nè S. M^tà^ possa soccorrer i suoi amici, nè questi ricorrere alla M^tà^ Sua. Che lo Sveco aspiri a tutto suo potere alla occupatione di detti passi, è chiarissimo, e si sà l'animo che hebbe et ha d'impadronirsi dell'Alsatia e di Brisac, per possedere anco il passo del Tirolo, le ambascerie inviate a Svizzeri, tanto cattolici quanto heretici, per metter il piede ne' passaggi delle Alpi, e le occupationi di tanti luoghi lungo il Reno, per le quali il medesimo Re christ^mo^ s'è trovato impedito dal poter mandare aiuti a qualche Elettore e principi cattolici, benchè non le sia mancata la volontà e 'l desiderio di farlo. Similmente s'è manifestamente scorto l'animo suo d'occupar Confluenza e quinci Colonia e quegli aditi che dia paesi di Fiandra portano dentro la Germania, e tutto per chiudervi ogni strada alle due più potenti corone del christianesimo cattolico.

Se dunque è vero, come è verissimo, che lo Sveco e gli heretici hanno fondati i loro disegni sopra la disunione e discordia de' principi cattolici, e col medesimo fondamento attendono a proseguire, non vi è altro rimedio che l'unione delli animi e de' voleri de' medesimi principi cattolici per sovvertire i disegni de' nemici e sottrarre il fondamento ai loro pensieri e machine, su le quali è da credere fabrichino gagliardamente le loro speranze gli Ugonotti di Francia, quali, abbattuti con tanta gloria sua dal Re christ^mo^, pensano a risuscitare il loro partito con la vicinanza dello Sveco, e fin d'adesso è verisimile che ne concepiscano ardire, e tanto più vedendo in piedi le dissensioni della casa reale. Le quali considerationi maggiormente devono muovere il Re christ^mo^ a giuntarsi con l'Imperatore e co' principi cattolici, sicome dall'altro canto li Spagnuoli devono anch'essi tor le difficoltà della detta unione, considerando l'audacia che s'accrescerà all'heretici de' Paesi Bassi e della Fiandra, se le prosperità di Gostavo camineranno avanti. . . .

. . . . . .

. . . A molti vien dato a credere che il Papa possa dar monti d'oro per la guerra contro gli heretici e che per poca

volontà e non per impotenza nieghi di farlo. Bisogna dunque metter loro avanti gli occhi il piccolissimo dominio temporale e le pochissime rendite della Sede Apostolica a petto di quelle di altri potentati cattolici; l'impegno delle entrate fatto non da lei sola, ma dalli antecessori di S. S^{tà}; le spese gravissime e necessarie dal principio del pontificato fino a questo giorno et che tuttavia continuano; la desolazione estrema della povera Italia per la guerra e per la peste. E con tutto ciò altri pontifici passati in simili occorrenze non hanno fatto più di quello che hoggi fa la S^{tà} Sua. Che il danaro di Castello non si è voluto toccare da altri Papi in simiglianti bisogni, nè si può senza periurio, nè meno senza pericolo, per i grandi richiami de' popoli; e che finalmente la S. Sede per le sudette strettezze, in che si trova, non ha altro sangue che il detto danaro, et è anche poco per ogni necessità propria che gli avvenisse. Similmente quanto alle leghe o confederationi; che S. Beat^{ne} manda a posta i Nuntii per unire i principi cattolici insieme contro li heretici, che questi uffitii gli han sempre fatti i suoi ministri e che ella non ha ricusato mai di impiegarvisi, mentre si fussero fatte propositioni, che sodisfaccessero a' principi cattolici. Se diranno poi della lega proposta a nome di Cesare, si potrà in bel modo far conoscere che molti articoli principali di essa non erano in modo alcuno proportionati o decenti al Sommo Pontefice. Finalmente, per ribatter in generale le calunnie di connivenza o di tardanza di S. Beat^{ne} nel fare uffitii con Francia e con tutti, si può e deve andare insinuando che, sebene senza pompa di legati, che harebbono accresciute notabilmente le spese e ricercavano tempo e de' quali nè meno si curavano alcuni de' principi interessati, nondimeno S. S^{tà} non ha tralasciato, senza pure esserne richiesta, fin dal principio di questi moti d'interporre la sua efficace intercessione col Re chr^{mo} e con gli altri, per mezo de' suoi Nuntii ordinarii, suoi Brevi, sue lettere et in qualunque modo; e che, se ciò non havesse fatto a tempo, hoggi non vi sarieno le aperture di negotiatione che vi sono tra S. M^{tà} Ces^{ea} e il Re christ^{mo}. Doversi considerare che i sospetti, le gelosie e le turbolenze tra i primi prencipi della christianità hoggi son tanto radicate e grandi che il disgombrarle e diradicarle, oltre la lunghezza e fatica, richiede la mano onnipotente di Dio. E quanto al Papa, vi si ricerca una sincera e disombrata confidenza

delle parti verso S. Beat^{ne}, la quale ha desiderato e desidera con tutto il cuore una tal filiale fiducia e leale corrispondenza, dolendosi acerbamente che per falsissime sospicioni e congetture senza fondamento alcuni siano andati freddi e dubbiosi con la S^{tà} Sua. E qui esagerar si deve la candidezza e rettitudine delli pensieri della S^{tà} Sua, l'indifferenza paterna verso tutti senza veruna partialità, la svelata apertura del suo cuore et il non haver già mai covati nell'animo designi nè fini chimericamente imaginati da alcuni, eccetto quelli della pace e unione de' cattolici, e del bene e servitio della nostra s. religione, per i quali fini si è adoperata sempre ferventemente dal suo lato fra tante difficoltà e discordie del christianesimo cattolico, nè mai ha voluto troncar il filo delle sue interpositioni, benchè il demonio gli habbia orditi incontro mille impedimenti di diffidenze, di calunnie e di giuditii erronei. Molti de' quali col tempo e colla verità son restati chiariti, et il medesimo potersi e doversi credere et argomentare de gli altri, cioè che sempre saranno trovati mendaci e senza alcuna reale sossistenza.

Questi e simili concetti e ragioni, le quali a V. S. et alli altri Nuntii somministrerà la loro prudenza, si hanno da andar imprimendo e divulgando, come di sopra ho detto, acciocchè i prencipi, i nobili, i popolari, gli ecclesiastici e tutti ributtino e discaccino le contrarie o maligne o ignoranti persuasioni e credano e sentano della persona e della volontà di S. Beat^{ne} quello che è fondato in irrefragabile verità, nota agli occhi del tremendo giudice Dio benedetto, il quale illuminerà il buio delle tenebre e manifesterà i consigli e i sentimenti de' cuori. . . ."

[*Arm.* 3, t. 47, p. 1 s. Papal Secret Archives and *Barb.* 2629, p. 155 s., Vatican Library.]

17. Draft of a Brief of Pope Urban VIII. to Emperor Ferdinand II.[1]

Rome, July 21st, 1635.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Ferdinando Hungariae et Bohemiae Regi illustri in Romanorum Imperatorem electo.

Urbanus PP. VIII.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex egregiis Maiestatis tuae conatibus pro

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 347.

Ecclesiae catholicae defensione summa cum laude susceptis Nobis semper polliciti sumus, nihil animo tuo sese offere quod vehementius cupias, quam gloriam christianae reipublicae, quae merito magnam futurae suae amplificationis in tua virtute ac pietate spem posuit, quam ut consequeremur, officio Nostro pastorali non defuimus. Monuerunt pluries Maiestatem tuam dilectus filius Noster cardinalis Roccius et venerabilis frater Malatesta episcopus Pisaurensis, ac tibi nomine Nostro insinuarunt, ut caveres, ne quid isthic detrimenti rei ecclesiasticae catholicae in conficiendis pacificationis tractationibus inferretur. Secus tamen non sine gravi animi Nostri sensu accidit, idque praeter exspectationem Nostram; quaedam enim ad nuperae pacis conditiones pertinentia Nobis tuus orator nomine tuo significavit, non undequaque auctoritati tuae ac pietati iure debita constituta fuisse, et in iis sane, quae ad religionem spectant, minus quam ex tuis votis, qui singulari animi magnitudine Ecclesiae dignitatem semper tibi cordi fore declarasti, obtineri potuisse. Fusius hac de re tecum agent venerabilis frater Marius archiepiscopus Avenionensis et venerabilis frater Malatesta episcopus Pisaurensis, quibus a te integram fidem haberi cupimus. Deum precamur, ut religionis causam superno praesidio tueatur, teque caelestibus suis beneficiis affatim ditet. Maiestati tuae Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die XXI Iulii MDCXXXV pontificatus Nostri anno XII.

(Ad improbandas aliquas conditiones pacis eccl. adversantes scriptae fuerant litterae in super. exemplari. Deinde opportunius visum respondere Imperatori sequenti epistola [see next No., et iniunctum Nuntiis, ut eam consignantes simul ei exponerent, pactiones S. S. plur. sollicitudines attulisse.)

[*Epist.* XIII.–XIV. n. 31, Papal Secret Archives.]

18. Pope Urban VIII. to Emperor Ferdinand II.[1]

Rome, July 21st, 1635.

Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Ferdinando Hungariae et Bohemiae Regi illustri in Romanorum Imperatorem electo.

[1] *Cf.* XXVIII, 347.

Urbanus PP. VIII.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex egregiis Maiestatis tuae conatibus pro Ecclesiae catholicae defensione summa cum laude susceptis Nobis semper polliciti sumus, nihil animo tuo sese offere, quod vehementius cupias, quam gloriam christianae reipublicaė, quae merito magnam futurae suae amplificationis in tua virtute ac pietate spem posuit. Itaque ubi aliquas nuperae conditiones pacis cognovimus, quas nobilis vir Scipio princeps Bozuli orator tuus Nobis nomine tuo significavit, cum gravi animi Nostri sensu accidit, non omnia auctoritati tuae ac pietati iure debita fuisse constituta, et in iis sane, quae ad religionem spectant, minus quam ex tuis votis, qui singulari animi magnitudine de Ecclesiae dignitae te valde sollicitum praestas, esse firmata. Serio hac de re tecum agent venerabilis frater Marius archiepiscopus Avenionensis et venerabilis frater Malatesta episcopus Pisaurensis, quibus a te integram fidem haberi cupimus. Deum precamur, ut religionis causam praesidio tueatur teque caelestibus beneficiis affatim ditet. Maiestati tuae Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die XXI Iulii MDCXXXV, pontificatus Nostri anno XII.

[*Epist.* XIII–XIV n. 32, Papal Secret Archives.]

19. Protocol of a Cardinalitial Congregation "de redditibus ecclesiasticis" 1642/3.[1]

Sitting of November 11th and 12th, December 3rd, 16th, 23rd and 30th, 1642. Decisions: how much the Pope may take out of Church revenue, signed (on January 18th, 1643) by Cardinal Lugo also.

"Quaesitum est in congregatione facta die 28 Augusti 1643 [?] in palatio coram [?] card. Alterii, an et quale iudicium practicum et prudentiale ferri possit circa quotam aliquam, quam Summus Pontifex possit libere et quasi bona patrimonialia distribuere ex iis quae ratione suae dignitatis percipit, et resolutum fuit ab omnibus, posse ad minus ob rationes

[1] *Cf.* XXVII, 48.

alias consideratas stipendii, laboris et aliorum titulorum assignare centum millia scuta monetae Romanae annua ultra pretia officiorum omnium, de quibus quomodo et quantum possit dispensare ut de bonis patrimonialibus dictum iam fuit in aliis congregationibus, atque etiam id quod ex sua congrua parcius in ea expendendo sibi ad liberam dispositionem reservare potest. Die et mense supradicto."

There follow the autograph signatures of: "Ioh. Bapt. card. de Alteriis, M. A. Maraldus, Valentinus Mangonius, Io. Bapt. de Lugo, Torquatus Cuppis." [1]

[Archives of Foligno, now in the Papal Secret Archives. *Instrum. Miscell.* n. 4196.]

20. The Nuncio Extraordinary F. Chigi to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[2]

Münster, April 1st, 1644.

". . . Quando chiesi la instruttione all'em. sig. card. Rossett con fargli leggere le parole intiere che in tal fine me ne scriveva V. Em. sotto li 26 di Dicembre, mi consegnò la cifra che haveva ricevuta due anni prima di V. Em." Poichè adesso non è più possibile interrogare personalmente il cardinale "come Vostra Eminenza mi ingiunge con i suoi scritti del 27 febbraio e 3 marzo", così mi son rivolto a lui per lettera; temo però, che egli sia già partito da Colonia.

[*Barb.* 6144, Vatican Library.]

21. The Nuncio Extraordinary F. Chigi to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[3]

Münster, May 27th, 1644.[4]

"La nuova della pace dell'Italia è stata intesa qua con grandissima consolazione particolarmente de' buoni cattolici, poichè si vedevano insolentire gl'heretici con pazze induttioni e con istravaganti conseguenze che a loro prò si sforzavano di cavar da questa guerra, si come hanno fatto ristampare

[1] *Cf.* Moroni on the above-named.

[2] *Cf.* XXVIII, 372.

[3] *Cf. ibid.*

[4] Decifrato il 15 giugno.

in varii luoghi et in altre lingue la Baccinata, il Divortio, il Corriero et altre infamie,[1] che ho procurato sempre di supprimere in questa Nunziatura."

Last Sunday (Trinitatis) I had a Te Deum sung for this peace "in questa chiesa de' Conventuali, dove habito." Opening of the Congress on May 10th.

[*Barb.* 6144, Vatican Library.]

22. Avviso di Roma of July 30th, 1644.[2]

"Essendo la S^tà^ di N. S. caduta ammalata da molti giorni in qua di catarro con dissenterie, martedì mattina si comunicò per viatico, et l'em^mo^ Barberini ne mandò a dar parte alli ss. cardinali, quali poi tutti furono a Palazzo a condolersene con S. Em., et mercoledì notte su le 5 hore furono trasportati in Castel S. Angelo tutti li prigioni criminali di cause gravi, che si trovarono in queste carceri. Hiermattina poi su le 11 hore aggravatasi S. S. nel male, dopo haver ricevuto il giorno precedente l'oglio santo e fatta la raccomendatione dell'anima, rese lo spirito al creatore in età di c^a^ 77 anni." Questa notte sono state spezzate l'anello e la matrice della bolla del papa. Il mattino i cardinali Francesco e Antonio Barberini han lasciato il palazzo per tornare alle loro abitazioni, altrettanto Onofrio, Ceva, Giori, Lugo e Valençay.

[*Avvisi*, 96, Papal Secret Archives, 1644.]

23. Writings Dedicated to Urban VIII.

Ciaconius' survey of such publications (IV. 513 *seq.*) is all the more incomplete as he only considers printed matter. But even here he is very incomplete, as appears from *Allatii*

[1] *Cf.* XXIX, 405.

[2] See above, p. 404. *Cf.* also the letter of *O. Rinaldi*, dated July 30, 1644, on the death of Urban VIII. who had ended by being nothing but "pelle e ossa", in Marchesan, Lettere di O. Rinaldi, Treviso, 1896, 21. The **Avviso* of August 6, 1644, says: "Lunedi sendo stato posto in una cassa di cipresso e poi di piombo, fu messo nel sepolcro, che la S^tà^ Sua s'era fatto fare in vita sotto la nicchia grande di quella chiesa. Papal Secret Archives, 96, Avvisi, 1644.

Apes Urb.; CERROTTI, *Bibliografia* I. (1893) 507 *seq.*[1] There is an extraordinary number of discourses delivered before the Pope and dedicated to him. I saw a very rare printed work in the Bibl. Borghese (since sold): *Io. Bapt. Spadius, De Urbani VIII. P.O. M. Erato ex Virgilio,* Placentiae, 1627. Little known and rare are the following also: *Le Morali del sig. Fabio Albergati alla S^tà^ di N.S. Papa Urbano VIII.*, Bologna, 1627. By way of supplement I here add a number of works which exist only in manuscript: —

I. *Barb.*, Vatican Library.[2]

1204. Io. Bapt. Catumsyritus (Italograecus), Decem falsa fundamenta M. A. de Dominis, olim ep. Spalat., mox apostati relapsi, et eius discipuli Corydalepti, olim alumni huius collegii graeci Romani, contra veritatem sanct. sacram. Eucharistiae.

1717. Poems, etc. Nr. 8: In summum Urbani VIII. pontificatum panegyricus Benedicti Milani Sublacens. Ivi p. 155–60: Applausus Vissani populi in creationem S. P. Urbani VIII. (six poems of the seminarists). *Ibid.*, pp. 161–70: Georgius Camerarius Scotus [Professor at Padua], Ad Urbanum VIII. P. M. Scotiae quandam protectorem Silva.

1732–3. Silvae Barberinae Stephano Simonino auctore. Cfr. Cat. Bibl. *Barb.* II., 381.

1749. Poem to Urban VIII.

1750. Poem to Urban VIII. by Augustinus Arata, cler. reg.

[1] Here also the data are incomplete, thus there is missing "Laurentii Pignorini presbyt. in Patavi Carmen as Urbanun VII.", s. 1, 1623. On the work "Apis religiosa" by Cristoforo Giarda (Mediolani, 1625), dedicated to the Pope in the Jubilee year, *cf.* PREMOLI, *C. Giarda,* Monza, 1914, 4. The great Armenian–Latin dictionary by the Dominican Paolo Pieromali has been lost; *cf.* MICHELANGELO MACRI, *Memorie* intorno alla vita e alle opere di Mgr. frate Paolo Pieromali Domenicano, arcivescovo di Naxivan, Napoli, 1824.

[2] The following date from the period before the election: *Cod.*, X., 131: Ad Maffeum card. Barberinum de locis dialecticis auctore A. Gallerio Bonon. and X., 132: Compendium moralis Phil. by A. Gallerio, also dedicated to the Cardinal.

1751. Poem on the election of Urban VIII. (according to Catalogue perhaps by Stef. de Bufalo).

1755. Nicolai de Malpas Burgundi Thyara pontificalis (Oratio seu epistola in laudem Urbani VIII.).

1756. Io. Pagani sacerdotis Carmen in laudem Urbani VIII.

1772. De s. Michaele ad Urbanum VIII. carmen.[1]

1782/3. Carmina Dominici Frescobaldis ad Urbanum VIII.

1794. Poems to Urban VIII.

1815. Poems to Urban VIII., ex. gr. by Ant. Liporus (Sardus).

1819. Poems to Urban VIII., ex. gr. by Franc. Boninsegni.

1825, 1829, 1831, 1851, 1869, 1874, 1875, 1877. Poems to Urban VIII.

1890. Poem by Joh. Ant. Brolatus to Urban VIII.[2]

1893. Discorso by Ios. Grisendius on Urban VIII.'s coronation.

1897. Discorso of Ioh. Baptista Donius, Lyra Barberina.

1898. Poem *Duodevicennalia Urbani VIII. ab auctore Steph. Simonimo* (cf. above 1732, 1733).

1905. Poems by Rutilius Cecchius (1625) to Urban VIII.

1909. Poems by Ios. Grisendius to Urban VIII.

1913. Poem to Urban VIII.

1916. Dramatic Allocution to Urban VIII.

1941, 1955. Poems to Urban VIII.

1957. Poems to Urban VIII. by a Jesuit.

1965. Poems to Urban VIII. by Barth. Lagius.

2050, 2060, 2078. Poems to Urban VIII.

2079. Carmina in laudem Urbani VIII. et Franc. card. Barberini by: Laur. Arrighus, Hipp. Nanius, Balth. Bonifacius, Ferd. Bardus, Iac. Tortolettus, Io. Iac. Buccardus, Franc. de Armis, Terent. Alciati, Dom. Orpheus, Hier. Brivius, Phil. Guillerie, Caesar Zarottus, Io. Bapt. Laurus, Fabius Leonida, Tadd. Donnola, F. A. Pupura, ep. Montis Marani, Georg. Porcius,[3] Io. Bapt. Donius, Bonif. Beaminus, De

[1] On St. Michael see Vol. XXIX., p. 475.

[2] On his translation of Urban VIII.'s hymn to St. Martina see Vol. XXIX, 419, n. 4.

[3] The following works by Porcius are in print: "Urbano VIII. panegyrica Ode," Romae, 1633, and "Barberina Clio", Romae, 1634.

Laureis, Thomas Biscia, Io. Ant. Bernabeus, Io. Lud. a Burigliasco, Curtius Castruccius, Sebast. Fantonus, Phil. Baldassarus, Iulian, Blancarius, Io. Bartolettus, Gabriel Nandaeus, Petrus Bertius, Claudius Achillinus, Hier. Serlupius, Laelius Gratianus, Iul. Caesar Stella, Aug. Favoritus, Attilinus Marcellius, A. a Puteo, episc. Burgi s. Donini, Io. Casean Bituntin, Io. Bapt. Stella, Hier. Aleander, Vespas. Crispoltus, Famian. Strada, Gaspar Mustola, Iac. Manaraeus, Rob. Le Chevalier, Gallus, etc.

2080, 2081, 2083, 2104. Poems to Urban VIII.

2015. To Urban VIII. (Sarbiewski's " Aureum Saeculum ", cf. above, p. 427.

2123. Apiarium di Christ. Maria Monaldus (cf. 430, n. 1.

2129. Eclogae by Guy de Souvigny (in French).

2130, 2131. Poems on Urban VIII.

2151. A large collection of poems on Urban VIII., for instance by Hier. Mercatellus, Andr. Tamantinus, Nic. Fagius, Petrus Dubot, Steph. de Bubalo, etc.

2153. Poems by Gauco Gaukema (cf. ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 307, who quotes various other poems).

3571. Madrigale a Urbano VIII. by Balt. Porreno.

3672. Popeo Tomasini, Il nobiliss. martire Sebastiano (prose and verse).

3709, 3710. Poem to Urban VIII.

3712, 3740. Italian poems to Urban VIII.

3744. Latin poems to Urban VIII.

3749, 3750. Italian poems to Urban VIII.

3754. Spiritual poems.

3759, 3768. *Canzone* to Urban VIII.

3770. Poems to Urban VIII.

3776. Poems to Urban VIII. among them (p. 1–7) " Canzone sopra la fortezza di Castel S. Angelo ridotta a somma perfettione da S. Beat^ne^."

3677. Poems to Urban VIII.

3779. Franc. Carducci, Latin ode to Urban VIII.

3782. Canzone to Urban VIII.

3786, 3806, 3814. Italian poems to Urban VIII.

3815. Epigr. lat e sonetti in lode di Urbano VIII.

3816, 3825. Italian poems to Urban VIII.

3826. Latin poems to Urban VIII.

3830. La gloria Barberina, Canzone in lode di Urbano VIII. by Giacinto Gigli Romano.[1]

3831, 3835, 3844, 3849, 3875, 3886. Panegyrics of Urban VIII.

3901. Poems to Urban VIII.

4055. Italian poems to Urban VIII.

4260. (1) Carlo Petrucci, Trattato sopra alcune eminenze che possono nuocere alla fortezza di Castel S. Angelo. Del modo d'assicurarsi di quelle e ridurlo alla sua intera perfezione. Di alcune varie forme di fortificazione che si potrebbero fare sopra le colline di S. Honofrio sino a S. Pancrazio et includervi tutta ovvero parte di Trastevere (pp. 1–7). (2) By the same: Discorso sopra il porto et fortezza di Civitavecchia (pp. 8–9).

4364. Latin ode to Urban VIII.

5386. Discorso intorno a'tributi, gabelle etc., che si pagano nel regno di Napoli, dell'abbate Giulio Ces. Braccini.

II. Vatican Library.

Ottob. 1729, p. 195 *seq.* Panegirico di Bartolomeo Fortaletti alla S^tà^ di N.S. Urbano VIII. 1634 (Italian poem).

2896. Poesie in lode di Urbano VIII.

Regin. 2044. Poem to Urban VIII.

Vat. 6424. Cipriano arciprete di S. Maria n. Rotonda, Relazione di reliquie sotteranee trovate con l'occasione della nuova chiavica fatta dalla ripa del fiume sino alla strada de' Condotti, alla S^tà^ di N.S. Urbano VIII.

III. Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

Cod. T. 1, 2. Iconum S. P. Augustini aliorumque sanctorum ac ven. eremitarum quibus medici poeticique flores ex hortis eremitanis decerpti asperguntur (partly in verse) cf. Narducci, 533.

24. Writings Dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

To complete the data of Ciaconius (IV., 528) which, as a matter of fact, are full enough, there is a good deal of information

[1] Also in Cod. Sessor. 359, p. 137 *seq.* of the Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome, with the note "present. al Papa 23 Agosto, 1632".

in the "Apes Urbanae" of L. Allacius, but the most important printed works are all given by Ciaconius.[1] Among unpublished works dedicated to Card. Francesco Barberini I noted also the following in *Barb.*, Vatican Library :—

800. Mauritius Roganus episc. Fundanus destinatus, Compendium sacr. oec. concilii Trid. decretor. de mor. ref. et ecclesiastica disciplina.

954. Philippus Rovenius, Tractatus de missionibus ad propag. fidem et conversionem infidelium, paganorum, iudaeorum, haereticorum ac scismaticorum.

979. Franc. Maria del Monaco (Drepanitanus, Theatinus, Adversus nostri temporis usuras irae.

980. Luca Castellino (Ord. Praed.), Disputat. theologicae.

1674. Hier. Ferrarius, Carminium ad Urbanum VIII. et card. Franc. et Ant. Barberinos.[2]

1717. Poems to Card. Fr. Barberini.

1721. Iter Barberinum. Carmen Iacobi Albani Gibbesii Angli, Romae, manu authoris 1648. p. 4 : Ad Franc. card. Barberinum e Gallis ad Urbem reducem carmen ; p. 24[b] : Ode to the same.

1770. Hercules Barberinus sive virtutes herculeae in Franc. card. Barberino recognitae (Franc[ci] Stephanii congreg. Somasc. dat. Romae ex collegio Clementino 1639).

1851. Aemilii Sibonii Vinea card. Franc. Barberini (pp. 17–24) ; also other poems "in laudem Franc. Barberini".

1895. Poems to Card. Fr. Barberini.

1912. Poems to Card. Barberini by Marcus Barotta "Romanus".

[1] Missing : *Alvaro Semedo S.J., Relatione della grande monarchia della Cina*, Roma, 1643 (with portrait of the author in Chinese attire).

[2] To Ciaconius' list (IV., 367), of works dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger, we must add : *Barb.*, 3456 : *Le tableau de la vie humaine du baron St. Germain Ronurou* [*sic !*] ; *ibid.*, 4269 : *Del offitio di commissario generale degli eserciti.* Discorso di Giovan. Batt. Reggi Romano. *Ibid.*, 3738, 3739, poems to Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger (Vatican Library). To this also belongs *Malatesta Leonelli, Oblatione* poetica ad Card. Antonio Barberini, Legato di Bologna, Ferrara e Romagna : Opere diverse, Bologna, 1644.

1915. *Discorso* on Card. Fr. Barberini.

1950. Horti Barberini Quirinales illustrati ad ill. card. Fr. Barberinum.

2088. "Hierothriambus Lat." Poem on Card. Fr. Barberini's return from France by Lambert Vossius Belga, Rome XIV. Kal. maii 1627.

2099. Poem on Card. Barberini.

2283. Alberti Moroni S. J. De pontificalibus Urbani VIII. comitiis historia.

2489. Series actorum Urbani VIII. auctore F. Marcellino de Pisis Gallo Matisconensi, praedic. Capucin. prov. Lugdun. (dedicated to Cardinal Fr. Barberini and Urbano VIII.).

3251. Sonetto sopra il dente gigantico donato al card. Fr. Barberini da F. Ughelli (p. 567).

3471. French poems dedicated to Card. Fr. Barberini.

3647. Sonnets to Card. Fr. Barberini by Jac. Guglielmi.

4308. Ottav. Castelli, Sopra i mimi e pantomimi degli antichi.

25. The Elogia and Avvisi of Theodore Ameyden.

In the catalogues of Roman libraries, we often meet with the name of Theodor Ameyden, or Amydenius, or again Amidemenius and even Almaden. The following works of his are found in print :—

(1) Chori publicae de philosophia disputationiis etc., Romae, 1605.

(2) Della natura del vino e del ber caldo e freddo, Roma, 1608.

(3) De pietate Romana, Romae, 1625.

(4) Panegyricus ad Urbanum VIII., Lugduni, 1625.

(5) Relazione della festa fatta alla Riccia, Roma, 1633.

(6) Il can dell'ortolano. Commedia, Viterbo, 1642.

(7) Oratio in funere Elisabethae Borboniae, Romae, 1645.

(8) De officio et iurisdictione Datarii, Venetiis, 1654.

(9) Consultationes duae . . . in materia cambiorum, Piacenza, 1669.

(10) "Relazione di Roma," in *Tesori della corte di Roma*, Bruxelles, 1673.

(11) *La donna frullosa. Commedia dallo Spagnuolo*, 2. ediz. Bologna, 1678.[1]

To these must be added the works not printed in his lifetime, of which only that on Roman Families has recently been published by Bertini, cf. note 4.[2]

In collections of MSS. the work most frequently found is: "Th. Amydenii Summorum Pontificum et S.R.E. cardinalium omnium suo aevo defunctorum Elogia," with a prefatory dedication by his son Philip.[3] For an appreciation of this piece, which covers the years 1600–1655, it is necessary to review briefly the life of the author. Dirk Ameyden was born in 1568 at Hertogenbosch in Northern Brabant, and was therefore a subject of Philip II. He first came to Rome in the Jubilee year 1600, in the train of Cardinal Andrew of Austria. There he went through his humanities with the Jesuits; he then returned home, only to set out once more for the Eternal City. After the death of his uncle Christian Ameyden, in 1605, he succeeded him in the office of Abbreviator, but soon resigned it to act as attorney and agent for the Spanish Government of Milan at the Curia.[4] This appointment was destined to influence very greatly his activities as a historian. A biased judgment is meted out to Popes as well as to Cardinals, according to the angle from which the excited and passionate partisan of the Habsburgs viewed them. True,

[1] Of these works, nos. 2 and the first edition of No. 11 can no longer be found. See ADEMOLLO, *Gigli*, 112.

[2] The **Commento sopra le rime del card. P. Bembo* in the Corsini Library, Rome and the **Discorso sopra l'essere stato interdetta la chiesa di S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli nel 1628*, in *Barb.* 5275, p. 226 *seq.*, Vatican Library, are not in print.

[3] Among these MSS. I noted: Bibl. Altieri, Rome, X., 62; Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 238; Vatican Library, Vat., 8810, 8747, 9549; Ottob., 2568; Vittorio Emmanuele Libr., Rome, *Cod.* Sessor, CCXLVI. and CCLII.; Papal Secret Archives, Bolognetti, 41.

[4] Besides SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 476 (but read "Henzen" for "Henze"), *cf. Freib. Diöz. Archiv.*, I. (1865), 439; CIAMPI in *Arch. Rom.*, I., 409 *seq.*; ADEMOLLO, *G. Gigli*, 8, 110 *seq.*; AMAYDEN-BERTINI, *Storia di famiglie Romane*, I. (1910), 3rd note; HENZEN in *De Katholiek*, CXXIV. (1903), 22 *seq.*, CXXVII.

in 1625, Ameyden published a panegyric of Urban VIII.,[1] but at a later date, according as relations between the Pope and the Habsburgs became more strained, he showed increasing opposition to the Barberini Pope. This is so obvious in his "Vita Urbani VIII.", that Pieper, in his critique of Gregorovius' "Urban VIII.", considers that this biography deserves the same criticism as that which Ciampi (Innocenzo X., p. 263) pronounced upon Ameyden's "Vita d'Innocenzo X": "It is more than a satire, it is a libel" (*Hist. Polit. Blätter*, XCIV., 489). However, Ameyden did not merely take the standpoint of a Habsburg partisan against a Pope like Urban VIII., who strove to fulfil his duties as the common Father of Christendom; the preface to the *Vita* makes it abundantly clear that Ameyden was strongly opposed to the temporal power of the papacy. There he says, for instance: "Efferant encomiis unius principis imperium, qui sub principe vivunt. Ego contra inferam et praesentibus exemplis ostendam, duo illa, quibus respublica continetur, praemium nempe et poenam, apud aristocraticum magistratum suo loco esse, a monarchia exulare. Quid miserabilius quam ad unius tumidi arbitrium sapere, loqui? Quid infelicius quam sub unius impotenti dominatu, latenti immo morienti reipublicae opem ferre non posse? . . . Admittat pluribus commune imperium populares turbas, civiles motus et damnatas dissensiones; non ista quamtumvis perniciosa comparanda sunt cum quibus sub principatu absoluto premimur malis, ubi unius libidini exponimur, rapimur, diripimur, occidimur."

It is clear that Ameyden's work was not meant for the public (non extra privatos parietes prodibit). In the preface he explains its origin and source: "Quandoquidem belli tumultibus e Belgio natali solo eiectum me Roma suscepit et in Urbe domina domicilium et necessitudines contraxi, uxorem duxi, filios procreavi, quorum tu aetate minimus et quem solum ex multis superstitem esse Libitina voluit, ne ociosus

(1904), 421–454; MOLHUYSEN-BLOK, *Nieuw Nederl. Woordenboek*, II., Leiden, 1912, 32 *seq.*; ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 76 *seq.*, 133 *seq.*; VAES, *Bullet. de l'Institut Hist. Belge de Rome*, I. (1919), 280 *seq.*; Pieper had planned a detailed study of Ameyden, of which I only saw a fragment of five pages which was of great use to me.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 579.

aut negligens videar fuisse civis, visum est ea annotasse, quae vel ipse observavi vel constans de Summis Pontificibus et S.R.E. cardinalibus huius imperii principibus ferebat fama." Ameyden never thought of investigating the truth of the gossip, the "fama" peculiar to Rome, the classical city of "dicerie" and satire. He busily jotted down everything he heard, and his political standpoint being what it was, he eagerly listened to evil and unfavourable reports, so that it is no wonder that his "Elogia" contain numerous errors, as Pieper pointed out and proved by examples to the point (*loc. cit.*, 489–91). Ameyden was a passionate party man whom Gregorovius wrongly imagined to be well informed (p. 52). The latest Italian research entirely confirms Pieper's judgment of the *Elogia* (v. M. Rosi, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXII., 353; Orbaan, *Rome onder Clemens VIII.*, 38 *seq.*; Hülsen, *Kapitol*, 29; cf. also De Waal, *Campo Santo*, 123, A. 1). The popularity of the *Elogia* to which the numerous manuscript copies bear witness, is due to the preference which the general public always shows for light and spicy reading; but they are not a source for history. First and foremost the author lacks a sense of justice. An acknowledged Dutch authority rightly estimates him as "più caustico chè giusto".[1] Ameyden nowhere attempts any profound analysis; he prefers to deal in anecdotes. The majority of the personages of note whom he describes are dragged down to the plane of everyday life. Nor does he disdain to relate, with much detail, jokes of doubtful quality. Very few of the Cardinals escape his attentions: Baronius is an exception, but even here he cannot refrain from noting the ridiculous rumour that the first volume of the "Annals", was not the work of the celebrated Cardinal at all![2] The greater number of the members of the chief Senate of the Church appear in Ameyden's work as morose or foolish old fellows, or as incapable persons who had risen to eminence through the influence of money or protection. There is scarcely one of whom nothing of the sort

[1] Orbaan (*Documenti*, 33).

[2] Primum (volumen) non a Baronio, sed a cardinali Sirleto scriptum quod apud eruditos constans est fama, quod facile crediderim, cum primum volumen et quoad praxim et quoad texturam historiae reliquis longe praestet (!).

is said. Hence these "Elogia" are of very little historical value; though full of rhetoric they give but few facts and nowhere any real character sketches. It is surprising that such poor work should for so long have passed muster as unquestionably authoritative.

The *Avvisi* of Ameyden are far more valuable and interesting; they have won for him the title of father of Italian journalism.[1] They cover the period of 1640 to 1650 and constitute a sort of Diary. Ranke's attention was drawn to this because there exists a copy in the *Inform. polit.*, 40, 42, 43, 47, of the State Library, Berlin. He made use of it and gave extracts in his *Popes, III.*, 168 *seq.* With regard to the author, he was at first of opinion that he was a Spaniard seeing that he spoke of the "Sacred Spanish Monarchy" with almost religious reverence, as if the Barque of Peter would surely founder without its support; eventually he came to the conclusion (p. 170) that the author may be identical with "Almaden", the author of the *Relatione di Roma.* As a matter of fact, the author's name DEONE HORA TEMEDIO in the Berlin manuscript is the anagram of Teodore Ameiden.[2] Ranke might have deduced as much from the work of CANCELLIERI, *Il Mercato* (Roma, 1811), in which the *Avvisi* of Ameyden are frequently utilized. Cancellieri probably used the collection of Ameyden's *Avvisi* in the Casanatense Library at Rome. They fill three volumes: *Cod.* XX., III., 19 (1640/3), 20 (1644/7), and 21 (1648/9). The year 1650, which is missing here, is in MS. at the National Library, Naples. On the copy among the *Capponi* MSS. in the National Library, Florence, see *Arch. Rom.*, I, 413. The copy in the Alessandrina Library, Rome (*Cod.*, 114*a*), only covers the period August 18th, 1640, to January 1st, 1642.

However interesting the incidents reported by Ameyden in the *Avvisi* may be for the study of civilization, they must be used with great caution as sources of historical information, for here also the author appears constantly as a passionate partisan of Spain and as such he puts in a false light anyone who does not agree with him in all things. The sharp

[1] See BERTOLOTTI, *Giornalisti, astrologi e negromanti in Roma nel sec. XVII.*, Firenze, 1878.

[2] Elsewhere: *Deone hora temi Dio* (*Arch. Rom.*, I, 409).

criticism of him by CIAMPI (*Innocenzo*, X, p. 261), and ADEMOLLO, in the monograph, *Giacinto Gigli e i suoi Diarii del secolo XVII*, Firenze, 1877, 110 *seq.*, and in *Independenza Portoghese*, 16, *seq.*, and 42, are fully justified. An example will show how bold Ameyden sometimes is in his statements. He relates that Urban VIII. died without a blessed candle being at hand; at last one was brought from the *Anima*, on which the imperial eagle was stamped, so that the Pope actually died holding the symbol which he had so abhorred throughout his life. Ademollo first drew attention to this malicious invention.[1] From a private letter of Ameyden it transpires that even he did not fail to perceive how little disinterested the religious zeal of the Spaniards was.[2] But he supported them in all things since he was in their service. He could not well relinquish this position, for he had a very numerous family. He married twice but saw all his seventeen children, except one, die before him. It was equally tragic that this jovial Fleming, in whose house comedies were acted, should at the end of his life, have been obliged to leave the Eternal City which he loved so dearly. He published a book without the necessary permission; for this offence the punishment of exile from the States of the Church was inflicted on him in 1654.[3] Alexander VII., who was elected a year later, granted his prayer for pardon, so that he was able to close his eyes in Rome, in 1656.[4] His house in the parish of S. Biagio alla Pagnotta is still extant; it is the fine spacious Renaissance house in Via di Monte Giordano, No. 7–8, over the door of which we read the characteristic inscription: "Unde ea omnia."

26. ANDREA NICOLETTI'S LIFE OF URBAN VIII.

The Barberini, like the Boncompagni and the Ludovisi, were anxious to provide an historical memorial for the Pope who had made the name of their House famous throughout the world and raised them to a position of respect and consideration. The nephew of Urban VIII., Cardinal Francesco Barberini, undertook to fulfil this duty of gratitude. It was

[1] See *Il Macinato a Roma*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, II., 439.

[2] See the letter of 1632 in ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 135.

[3] See ADEMOLLO, *Gigli*, 112. [4] See *ibid.*, 150.

indeed no easy task. The historical presentment of contemporary events always encounters special difficulties owing to personal considerations. Such difficulties were especially certain to be encountered when there was question of the personality of one who, like Pope Urban VIII., had taken so great a part in political life, and who had found himself placed between two great Powers in deadly opposition to each other, during almost the whole of his reign. Yet not only political parties, but numerous individuals still living and occupying the highest ecclesiastical and social positions, were bound to be directly affected by a narrative of this kind. In the conflict between such considerations and historical truth, Cardinal Barberini fell back on the plan which had been adopted in the case of Gregory XIII., namely, to collect all the available material before it was dispersed or destroyed. As the preservation of all the Acts of a deceased Pope in the Papal Secret Archives was only just beginning to be taken for granted, and the abuse of allowing the Pope's family to retain large quantities of documents [1] still prevailed, there was no lack of the necessary manuscript material. This could be supplemented by the reminiscences of the persons concerned. Cardinal Barberini decided to make such a collection of material, probably with the idea that it would serve later on as a source for an historical narrative free from the above-mentioned considerations.

Cardinal Barberini appointed for this work, for which historical research will ever be in his debt, a Canon of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Andrea Nicoletti, author of a biography, printed in 1610, of Francesca a Jesu Maria,[2] foundress of the Poor Clares of the Strict Observance in Italy, of whom the Cardinal was the special protector.[3] As Nicoletti himself states in the dedication of his biography of Urban VIII.,[4] Barberini placed at his disposal, through his librarian, Carlo Moroni,

[1] *Kiewning*, I., xix, A. 1.

[2] *Vita della ven. Suor Francesca Farnese detta di Giesu Maria*, Roma, 1610.

[3] *Cf.* Moroni, XXVI., 185.

[4] Nicoletti's dedication, at the beginning of the second volume, is as follows: Alla gloriosa memoria del sig^r cardinale Francesco Barberini, Vicecancelliere e Decano del Sacro Collegio, Andrea

all the necessary material out of his family archives and his celebrated library, and in addition gave him much oral information. The Cardinal impressed on Nicoletti that he was simply to do his duty as an historian and, whilst avoiding

Nicoletti. Mi recherei a somma gloria, se potessi presentarmi innanzi a V. Em. per presentarle insieme questi nove volumi da me scritti in italiana favella sopra la vita di Papa Urbano VIII. suo zio di san. mem. e sopra l'istoria del suo Pontificato. E fin da quando V. Em. mi fece l'honore di commettermi questo carico, che fu di gran lunga eccedente il mio ingegno e sapere, dubitai che havrei ricoperto l'oro dell'eroiche virtù di quel sapientissimo Pontefice con la creta del mio poco talento ; proposi nondimeno, se mai havessi condotta a fine l'opera, di dedicarla a V. Em., poichè l'essere ella stata mio benignissimo principe e benefattore, era anche mio debito il darle questo tributo, e tanto più che le notitie più certe e più sincere per si grande argomento mi furono somministrate per mezzo del sig^r can^co Moroni suo bibliotecario, non meno dagli archivii e dalla famosa libreria della sua ecc^ma casa, ove giacevano quasi in profonda oblivione, che dalla voce viva dell'Em^za Vostra, stimata come oracolo di verità.

Ma giacchè V. Em. per divina dispositione ha cambiato il tempo coll'eternità et è stata tolta al mondo per arrichir l'anima sua di un regno più stabile, ho giudicato di dedicare questi volumi (benchè l'opera non sia per ancora compita) alla sua gloriosa memoria, acciocchè facciano ritorno colà, d'onde trassero la nobil materia, alla quale dalla mia penna è stata data una imperfetta forma. E sarà appunto a guisa dei fiumi, li quali havendo havuta la loro scaturigine dal mare, tornan dapoi al mare istesso, ut iterum fluant ; cioè a dire se in alcun tempo si divulgheranno, mentre havranno in fronte lo splendore di V. Em., il quale può dar chiarezza alle cose oscure e diffettuose, acquisteranno riputatione e pregio a se stessi e maggior veneratione al nome et alle attioni di Papa Urbano.

Nè dovrà parer inusitato ch'io dedichi quest'opera alla mem. di V. Em., poichè mi vaglio di due nobili esempii : l'uno dell'eruditissimo Padre Pietro Possini della Comp. di Gesù, il quale in questi ultimi tempi nel dare alla luce l'opera di Giorgio Pachimero da lui tradotta dal greco al latino, introduce quel famoso istorico come risorto al mondo, il quale dedica la vita dell'imperatore Michele Paleologo alla santa mem. di Papa Urbano VIII. ;

all flattery and rhetorical exaggeration, to keep to facts rather than fine words.[1]

Nicoletti devoted himself to his task with the greatest zeal. With justifiable pride he could say, as his work neared its conclusion, that he had consulted the most authoritative persons and the most authentic sources, viz. Briefs, Consistorial Acts, diaries, letters from nuncios and Princes (IX, 3). The material which he thus obtained was so abundant that his *Vita di Urbano VIII.* grew to nine large volumes of approximately 15,000 pages. At the beginning of 1666 he was compiling the seventh volume (see VII, 584). Cardinal Barberini, who died December 10th, 1679 at the age of 82, did not live to see the completion of the work. Nicoletti dedicated it to his memory, seeing that the Cardinal had given the impulse to the task and had been Urban VIII.'s chief minister. The dedication states that the biography was not

l'altro è di V. Em. istessa nel traslatare dall'idioma greco al Toscano la vita di Marc'Aurelio Antonino imperatore che dedicolla alla rationale et immortale anima di se medesima, quasi che V. E. essendo in grado segnalato arrichita di tutte le virtù christiane, non isdegnò di proporre all'animo suo anche le virtù morali di un principe gentile per imitarle.

Aggiugnasi a ciò l'essere stato V. Em. il più congiunto di sangue a Papa Urbano e il ministro principalissimo del suo Pontificato ; onde si come furono comuni gli affari, con la subordinazione però che il braccio destro riceve tutto il suo potere dal capo, così ciò che si dice della grand'anima di Urbano, ridonda in gloria ancora di V. Em.

Finalmente se nell'aspetto e visione d'Iddio come in lucidissimo specchio si vedono anche le cose di quaggiù, spero che V. Em. rimirerà queste mie fatiche con quella benignità, con la quale rimirò sempre le cose mie, e tanto più che contenendo queste, oltre la vita di Papa Urbano, gl'interessi e la riputatione della Sede Apostolica, di cui V. Em. oltre ogni credere fu sempre zelantissimo, m'impetrerà da Dio la sanità, se sarà per sua gloria, e che mi si somministrino gli altri aiuti per dar compimento all'opera, e che dopo questa fragil vita possa riveder Vostra Em. gloriosa in celo, sicome per le sue virtù è stata ammirata in terra.

[1] Ranke, III., 163.

yet completed; in fact, the manuscript shows many pages left blank for additional matter and notes on small pieces of paper have also been stuck in. Only the right-hand pages are written on, whilst the left bear numerous corrections. Most of these are by Nicoletti himself who, with the exception of the last volume, wrote the whole book himself. Nevertheless other hands are to be seen, among them that of Cardinal Pallavicini [1] to whom Nicoletti submitted his work. Each of the seven volumes is divided into chapters, the contents of which are tabulated in an index. Yet another hand has added an alphabetical index of names and subjects.

Ranke was the first to use Nicoletti's work. He remarks (III, 158) that it contains "the family recollections of the personality and acts of Urban VIII., but that which gives it body and accounts for its bulk, is the inclusion of the entire diplomatic correspondence of the whole of the twenty-one years of Urban's reign. This biography is primarily a compilation of the reports of nuncios". Ranke rightly points out that "the official flavour cannot be denied [2] in view of the source and first conception of the work, but that the author is entirely trustworthy when he is only quoting". Kiewning came to the same conclusion (1., XXVIII). He compared the reports of the nuncios in the Vatican with Nicoletti's version and found them "quite accurate". Kiewning also rightly notes that even when the nuncio's reports are available, Nicoletti's work cannot be dispensed with, since he adds many important notes from his personal recollection. Still more valuable are the passages which rest on communications made by Cardinal Barberini; but these are not numerous. An example will show their special interest. In describing the Conclave in the first volume of the *Vita*, Nicoletti gives, almost word for word, the report from the *Conclavi de' Pontefici Romani* (1667), p. 397, *seq.* In the margin he adds notes supplied by Cardinal Barberini on October 19th, 1665. The first addition deals with the conversation

[1] *Arch. Rom.*, XXII., 355.

[2] RANKE gives as an instance NICOLETTI's remark on Urban VIII.'s attitude at the conclusion of peace between England and France. But, as KIEWNING (I., 299), shows, the example is badly chosen, though in itself Ranke's remark is justified.

of the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Pastrana, at the Conclave of Gregory XV., with Francesco Barberini concerning Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. Pastrana said that the French sympathies of Maffeo would stand in the way of his election, seeing that these were such that he could only speak of France with tears of tenderness. To this Francesco answered: "che il cardinale suo zio non era così tenero che piangesse per alcuna cosa e molto meno per la Francia; che egli in quel ministerio aveva servito alla Sede Apost. et al Pontefice suo principe, e che in tanto era restato affetionato a quella corona in quanto aveva ricevuto honori segnalati, ma che nel rimanente se dal Papa fosse stato mandato Nuntio in Spagna, la casa Barberini non havrebbe speso tanto come nella Nuntiatura di Francia, che nel rimanente esso cardinale suo zio haveva soddisfatto alle parti di ministro della Sede Apost. e che, o riuscisse o non riuscisse la sua esaltazione, esso Francesco sarebbe sempre stato buon servitore della corona di Spagna e di Sua Eccellenza, con altre parole piene di modestia dal che si raccolse che l'ambasciatore haveva voluto vedere, conoscere e sentire esso Francesco Barberini, a lui per il passato totalmente ignoto."

Cardinal Francesco Barberini told Nicoletti that at the Conclave of the year 1623 Maffeo's conclavist Ceva had acted most skilfully. He gave the following instance: "Mentre si era dato principio alla pratica per (Maffeo) Barberini, alcuni vecchi (cardinali) la sentirono con amarissimo animo, e specialmente uno di essi passando avanti alla sua cella ad arte e mostrando di discorrer con un altro, alzò la voce, acciò Barberini lo sentisse e prorompesse in qualche atto indecente e risentito che potesse scandalizzare il conclave et in questa guisa da se medesimo si precludesse la via al pontificato. Disse dunque (the name of the Cardinal follows but unfortunately it has been made quite illegible) queste parole come per ischernire e provocare: Vogliono far Papa questo matto." When Maffeo heard this he wanted to reply with equal passion but Ceva prevented him by force from doing so. "Urbano fatto Papa alludendo a questo successo disse più volte di esser molto tenuto al Cueva, quale poscia inalzò al cardinalato."

The important part of Nicoletti's work is the very full collection of the correspondence of the nuncios. Ranke remarks

that he could not incorporate in his own work such immense material. He therefore confines himself to reproducing in Appendix III, 159 *seqq.*, Nicoletti's report of the last days of Urban VIII. In his book on the Osmanlis (4th ed., p. 471, *seq.*, and 564, *seq.*), Ranke quotes two lengthy passages from Nicoletti, the second of which is especially interesting as it is a report of January 18th, 1643, on the effect of the death of Richelieu on the Spaniards. Ranke's opinion on the trustworthiness of Nicoletti is borne out by KIEWNING (see above), BROSCH (in *Cambridge Modern History*, IV., Cambridge, 1906, 928), and P. NEGRI (*La guerra per la successione di Mantova*, Prato, 1924, 14), the latter rightly qualifying Nicoletti's work as an "erudita e indigesta compilazione". W. N. WEECH (*Urban VIII.*, London, 1905), gave a summary of it, which of course is of little value in a work that depends on an accurate verbal reproduction of the documents.

Everyone will gladly bear witness to the enormous industry of Nicoletti though he had not received the historian's call. He lacks altogether the capacity for mastering, digesting, and arranging his vast material. He sets to work in mere chronological order, giving us, as it were, the annals of the long reign of Urban VIII., for the story of which he provides inexhaustible data. Scarcely any event of the reign remains unnoticed. The sections dealing with the building activities of the Pope are also valuable, but the most important part will always be the full quotations from the diplomatic correspondence.

At the re-numbering of the Barberini MSS. the volumes of Nicoletti also received fresh shelf-marks. To facilitate reference I give the new marks :—

Volume	I	(42 chapters) :	*Barb.* LII.	6	now	4730
,,	II	(24 ,,) :	,, LII.	7	,,	4731
,,	III	(16 ,,) :	,, LII.	8	,,	4732
,,	IV	(18 ,,) :	,, LII.	9	,,	4733
,,	V	(21 ,,) :	,, LII.	10	,,	4734
,,	VI	(20 ,,) :	,, LII.	11	,,	4735
,,	VII	(13 ,,) :	,, LII.	12	,,	4736
,,	VIII	(15 ,,) :	,, LII.	13	,,	4737
,,	IX	(9 Guerra di Castro.) *Barb.* LII. 14 (now 4738). *Barb.* LII. 15 (now 4739) contains the Indexes, *Barb.* LII. 16–24 (now 4740 to 4748) Nicoletti's minutes.				

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXIX.

Acarie [Mary of the Incarnation], 63, 154.
Agathangelus (Capuchin), 257.
Agazzari, Agostino, 11.
Agostini, Leonardo, 527.
Agostini, Paolo, 12.
Agucchi, Giovan Battista, 40, 176–9.
Alacoque, Marguerite Marie, 154.
Alaleone, Paolo, 495.
Albizzi, Mons. Francesco, 116, 121.
Albizzi, Antonio, 36.
Albornoz, Cardinal, 159, 209.
Albricio, Luigi (S.J., preacher), 7.
Albuquerque, Duke of (ambassador), 187, 532.
Alciati, Terenzio, 13, 434 *seq.*
Aldobrandini, Cardinal Pietro, 194, 409.
Aldobrandini, Ulisse, 413.
Aleander, Girolamo, 439, 441.
Alemanni, Niccolò, 451, 459.
Alexander III., Pope, 182, 451.
Alexander VI., Pope, 360, 361, 452, 519, 525.
Alexander VII., Pope, 544.
Alexander [Charles of Poland], 166.
Alexius (Capuchin), 258.
Algandi (sculptor), 495.
Allacci, Leone, 419, 430, 434, 446, 499 *seq.*
Allegri, Domenico, 12.
Allegri, Gregorio, 11.
Althan, Count, 29.
Altieri, Cardinal, 164.
Alto, Giovanni *see* Hoch, Johannes.
Alvarez, Ferdinand, 39.
Amaral, Fr. (S.J.), 257.
Ameyden, Theodore, 377.
Amicis, Ovidio de, 432.
Andrada, Antonio, 248.
Andreucci, Famiano, 204.
Andrew (prince of Madagascar), 259.
Angelis, William (Abbot), 116, 124.
Anne (Queen of France), 144, 339.
Antoniano, Silvio, 426.
Archangel, Fr. (English Capuchin), 82.
Arcudio-Francesco, 446.
Argoli, Andrea, 454.
Arigucci, Luigi, 484, 543.
Aristotle, 147.
Armanni, Francesco Maria, 329.
Armanni, Vincenzo, 327, 338.
Arnauld, Angélique, 79, 83 *seqq.*
Arnauld, Agnes, 79, 87.
Arnauld, Antoine, 78, 93, 123, 130–153.
Arnauld, Antoine (sen.), 78.
Arnauld, Henri (bishop of Angers), 78.
Arpino, Cesare d', 475.
Arundell, Lady, 322.
Ascalona, Francis of (Franciscan), 251.
Asselyn, Jan, 540.
Avellino, Andrew, Bl., 9.
Avitabilis, Pietro, 244, 246.
Azevedo, Fr. (S.J.), 258.
Azzolini, Cardinal, 430.

Bach, J. S., 274.
Baglione, Giovanni, 415, 516, 517.
Bagno, Guido del, Cardinal, 160.
Bajano, Andrea, 422.
Baius, M., 67 *seqq.*
Balassi, Mario, 488.
Baldassarre, di S. Maria, 244.
Balde, Jacob (S.J.), 427.
Baldenstein, Wilhelm Rink von, 267.
Baldeschi, Benedetto Monaldi, Cardinal, 161.
Baldinucci, Filippo, 456, 480.
Balducci, Francesco, 422.
Baltimore, Lord, 260, 306, 353, 355.
Baltimore, Lord (junior), 314, 355-9.
Balzac, 143.
Bandin, Mark (archbishop of Mastianople), 224.
Bandini, Cardinal, 160, 279.
Barbarigo, Jeremias (Greek archbishop of Naxos), 231 *seq.*
Barbarossa, Frederick, 452.
Barberini, Anna, 430.
Barberini, Antonio (brother of Urban VIII.), 390, 487.
Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal (nephew), 22, 34, 157, 159, 194, 213, 279, 373, 393, 397 *seq.*, 400, 415, 447, 455, 488, 490, 503, 505, 507, 527, 542.
Barberini, Carlo (brother of Urban VIII.), 366, 415, 450, 484.
Barberini, Costanza, 6.
Barberini, Francesco, Cardinal (nephew), 4, 6, 34, 46, 54, 109, 121, 157, 188, 200, 207, 215, 236, 257, 279, 313 *seq.*, 327, 332 *seq.*, 346, 351, 382, 385, 390, 395, 397, 400, 437, 439, 441, 452, 455, 477, 488, 490, 498, 504, 516, 527, 535, 542.
Barberini, Taddeo (nephew of Urban VIII.), 22, 180, 366, 385, 388, 392, 415, 430, 498.
Barberino, Francesco (poet), 408.
Barcos, de, 144.
Barlow, Fr. (O.S.B.), 331.
Barnes, Fr. John (O.S.B.), 40.
Baroni, Leonora, 445.
Baronius, Cardinal, 182.
Bassompierre (French envoy), 302.
Battaglini, 204.
Bavinck, Hermann, 516.
Bayram (Turkish pasha), 240.
Beerenbergh, Bartholomew, 539 *seq.*
Bell, Arthur (Franciscan), 338.
Bella, Stefano della, 166, 540 *seq.*
Bellarmine, Cardinal, 24, 47, 117.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 25.
Bentivoglio, Cornelio Marchese, 168.
Bentivoglio, Cardinal, 30, 139, 206, 425.
Bergamo, Michele da, 484 *seq.*
Bernard of St. Teresa, 244.
Bernardine, Fr. (Capuchin), 258.
Bernini, Domenico, 463.
Bernini, Lorenzo, 20, 214, 362, 371, 410, 457 *seqq.*, 462, 464, 466, 470, 476 *seq.*, 480, 488, 493, 510, 512, 528, 543.
Bernini, Luigi, 465.
Bernini, Pietro, 512.
Bernini, Vincenzo, 465.
Bérulle, Cardinal, 77, 159 *seq.*, 293 *seq.*, 298.
Besné, King of, 258
Bessarion, Cardinal, 233.
Béthlem, Gabor, 176, 238.
Béthune, Philippe de, 293.
Beusecom, Christian, 110.
Bianchi, George, 221.
Bichi, Alessandro, Cardinal, 161, 398, 400.

Bichi, Antonio (nuncio), 119, 121, 124, 207.
Biscia, Lelio, Cardinal, 158.
Bishop, William (bishop), 303 *seq.*, 349.
Bivero, Fr. (S.J.), 106.
Bizzi, Marino (bishop of Antivari), 220.
Blacas, d'Aulps, Duke, 54.
Blaise, Jacques (bishop of St. Omer), 27.
Bloemaert, Cornelius, 445.
Boileau, Despréaux Nicolas (poet), 153.
Bolgi, Andrea, 470.
Bolivar, Fr. (Franciscan), 263.
Bollandus, J. (S.J.), 435.
Bonaventura (Capuchin), 259.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 46.
Bonomini (architect), 490, 531.
Boonen, Jacob (archbishop of Mechlin), 102, 110–127 *passim.*
Borghese, Pier Maria, Cardinal, 157.
Borghese, Scipione, Cardinal, 157, 494.
Borgia, Francis, 9.
Borgia, Gaspare, Cardinal, 185, 189 *seq.*, 194, 210, 426.
Borlase, John (Irish viceroy), 341.
Borri, Fr.(S.J.), 258, 432.
Borromeo, St. Charles, 136.
Borromeo, Frederick, Cardinal, 28.
Borromini, Francesco (sculptor), 455, 508.
Bosio, Antonio, 436 *seq.*
Bossuet, Jacques (bishop of Meaux), 130.
Both, Andrew (painter), 536.
Both, Jan (painter), 536.
Bozzolo, Duke of, 375.
Bracci, Ignazio, 432.
Bracciolini, Francesco (poet), 421, 423, 429, 446, 500.
Bragadino, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 163.
Braganza V. [John IV.] (King of Portugal).
Bramante, 494.
Brancaccio, Cardinal, 161.
Brébeuf, Jean de, 154.
Breccioli, Bartolomeo (architect), 543.
Brett, Arthur (English agent in Rome), 318.
Brienne, Count of, *see* Villeaux-Cleres.
Bristol, Earl of, 281–3.
Bronissuchus, John, 421.
Brosses, de, 466.
Buckingham, Duke of, 279, 286, 288, 291 *seq.*, 298, 301.
Buratti, Giulio (architect), 361.
Burchard, John, 452.
Bus, Cesare de, 63.
Bzorio, Abraham (O.P.).

Caballero, Antonio di S. Maria, 249.
Caballo, Francesco, 14.
Cabral (Jesuit missionary), 258.
Cacella (Jesuit missionary), 258.
Caetani, Antonio, Cardinal, 12, 14, 206, 377.
Caetani, Gregorio, 375.
Caetani, Luigi, Cardinal (archbishop of Capua), 158.
Caffarelli, Fausto (nuncio), 173.
Caimo, Pompeo, Conte, 454.
Calamina, Cardinal, 215.
Calandra, Giovanni Battista, 460, 472, 475.
Calenus [van Caelen], Henry, 76, 102, 110–14.
Callot, Jacques, 537 *seqq.*
Calvert, George, *see* Baltimore.
Calvert, Leonard, *see* Baltimore.
Calvin, 89 *seqq.*, 155.
Camassei, Andrea, 473, 483, 487.
Camerarius, David [Chambers], 349.
Campana, Francesco Maria (Dominican), 7.
Campanella, Tommaso (Dominican), 40, 48, 420.
Campeggi, Lorenzo (nuncio), 172, 195.

Camus, John Peter (bishop of Belley), 65.
Cancellariis, Stephanus Bubalus de. (S.J.), 421.
Canigiani, Alessandro (bishop of Aix), 65.
Cano, Melchior (Dominican), 263.
Cantalice, Felix, Bl., 9.
Cantelori, Felix, 182.
Capello, Benedetto (archbishop of Zara), 219.
Capiferro, Maddaleno, 432.
Capponi, Bernardino, 412.
Capponi, Luigi, Cardinal, 215.
Caracci, Annibale, 541.
Caracciolo, Francis, St., 528.
Carafa, Pier Luigi (nuncio), 30, 31.
Carandini, Ferrari Fabio, 385.
Caravaggio, Michaelangelo, 473.
Carli, Ferrante, 471.
Carlisle, Earl of, 290, 291.
Carpegna, Ulderico, Cardinal, 162, 163.
Casalla, Francesco, 173.
Casimir (brother of king of Poland), 404.
Casone, Antonio (architect), 487.
Castelnuovo, Giuseppe Porta di, 182.
Castelli, Benedetto, 49 n., 50, 59, 379, 454.
Castelli, Domenico, 379, 485 *seq.*, 489, 543.
Castracani, Alessandro (apostolic collector), 196 *seqq.*
Castro, Matthew de (oratorian), 246.
Cavalieri, Jacopo de', Cardinal, 158, 160.
Cecchinelli (nuncio), 173.
Celio, Gaspare, 516.
Celio, Gregorio, 475.
Centini, Felice, Cardinal, 37.
Centini, Giacinto, 37, 38.
Centurione, Giovanni Francesco (Carmelite), 173.
Cerquozzi, Michaelangelo, 535.
Cesarini, Alessandro, Cardinal, 159.
Cesarini, Virginio, 45, 412, 429.
Cesi, Federico, 446.
Cesi, Giovan Federico (duke of Acquasparta), 46.
Cesi, Pier Donato, Cardinal, 103.
Césy, de (ambassador), 228 *seqq.*
Ceva, Adriano, Cardinal, 104.
Cevallos, Jerome de, 185.
Chantal, Madame de, 82, 154.
Charles (Prince of Wales), 276–295.
Charles I. (King of England), 297–349 *passim.*
Cherubini, Angelo Maria (O.S.B.), 432.
Chevet, Peter, 433.
Chevreuse, Duc de, 295.
Chiabrera, Gabriel, 412, 425.
Chigi, Fabio (nuncio), 105, 109, 116, 119 *seq.*, 139.
Christie (Jesuit), 350.
Chumacero, Juan, 189, 199 *seq.*, 205.
Ciammacurone, G., 438.
Ciampelli, Agostino, 483, 508.
Ciampoli, Giovanni, 45 *seq.*, 50, 412, 425, 431.
Ciarpi, Baccio, 488.
Cigmani, Carlo (artist), 498.
Claver, St. Peter, 262.
Clement VII., Pope, 392.
Clement VIII., Pope, 382, 412, 543.
Cluverius, Philip, 441.
Cobelluzio, Cardinal, 46, 279.
Coccini, Giovan Battista, 432, 529.
Colen, Fr. (S.J.), 275.
Collicola, Taddeo, 454.
Colomba, da Rieti, 10.
Colombière, Claude de la, 154.
Columbinus, Fr. (Capuchin), 258.
Colonna, Anna, 430.
Colonna, Carlo, 375.

Colonna, Girolamo, Cardinal, 159.
Colonna, Pier Francesco (duke of Zagarolo).
Con, George (papal agent), 309, 318–322.
Conaeus, George, 432.
Condé, Prince de, 143.
Condinini, Emilio, Cardinal, 164.
Condren, Charles de (oratorian), 85.
Confalonieri, Giovan Battista, 452.
Conrius (Irish Franciscan), 76, 108.
Contari, Cyril (metropolitan of Beroea), 239 *seq.*, 241.
Contarini, Alvise (ambassador), 180, 183, 401.
Contarini, Angelo, 160, 180.
Contarini, Niccolò, Doge, 180.
Contarini, Pietro (nuncio), 177, 385.
Contelori, Felice, 13, 435, 451.
Contini, Francesco, 543.
Conway (Secretary of State), 293.
Cornaro, Federigo, Cardinal, 158.
Cornaro, Giovani, Doge, 158, 177, 180, 184, 215.
Cornaro, Marcantonio (bishop of Padua), 180.
Corner, Cardinal, 401.
Corneto, Adrian, Cardinal, 519.
Correr, Angelo, 302, 315.
Corsini, St. Andrew, 9.
Corsini, Ottavio (nuncio), 303.
Cortona, Pietro da (painter), 487 *seqq.*, 500, 503, 508, 542 *seq.*
Cospéau, Philippe (bishop of Nantes), 78.
Costa, Pietro Francesco (nuncio), 172.
Costaguti, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 164.
Cottington (English envoy), 278.
Cremonini, Cesare, 41.
Cueva, Alfonso della, Cardinal, 108, 114, 486.
Cupis, Francesco de, 524.
Curtis, Maurizio da (S.J.), 173.
Cyriacus of Erivan (Armenian patriarch of Constantinople), 243.

D'Andilly, Arnauld, 78.
Davenport, Christopher (Franciscan), 315.
Deodat, Peter (bishop of Gallipoli), 223.
Descartes, 147.
Digby, *see* Bristol, Earl of.
Dietrichstein, Cardinal, 29.
Djihan, Grand Mogul, 247.
Domenichino, 488, 495 *seqq.*, 529, 541.
Domenico of Jesus and Mary (Carmelite), 27, 215.
Dominis, de Marcantonio (bishop), 40, 41.
Donatus, Alexander (S.J.), 510.
Donghi, Gian Stefano, Cardinal, 164.
Doni, Giovanni Battista, 378 *seq.*, 429, 439, 446.
Doria, Giovanni, Cardinal, 187.
Dosio, 540.
Douglas, Robert (agent in Rome), 318.
Dubois, Engelbert (bishop of Namur), 124.
Dubois, Susanna, 64.
Dughet, Jean, 536 *seq.*
Duhamel, 148.
Du Pérac, 540.
Du Perron (bishop of Angoulême, 311.
Duquesnoy, François, 470, 495, 536.
Durazzo, Stefano, Cardinal, 161, 392.
Dwyer, Edmond (Irish agent in Rome), 348.

Effiat, Antoine de Ruzé, Marquis of, 291.
Elias IX. (Nestorian Patriarch in Mossul), 245.

Eliot, John (M.P.), 297.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 351.
Elizabeth (wife of Frederick Palatine, Elector), 281.
Elsheimer (artist), 535.
Ephrem of Nevers (Capuchin), 246.
Erasmus, 450.
Erbacius, Nicephorus Basilian, 244.
Erythraeus, James Nicius, 450, 507.
Eschaux, Bertrand d' (bishop of Tours), 157.
Estampes, Achille d', Cardinal, 163.
Este, Francesco d' (duke of Modena), 163.
Este, Rinaldo d', Cardinal, 163.
Estrées, Annibale d' [Marquis de Coeuvres], 375.
Eudes, Jean, St., 64, 154.
Euthymius (archimandrite), 238.

Facchinetti, Cesare, Cardinal, 164, 195, 197, 199 *seqq.*, 210.
Falce, Giovanni, 432.
Falconieri, Lelio, Cardinal, 128, 164, 188.
Falda, 439.
Falkland (Irish viceroy), 339, 340.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 374.
Farnese, Girolamo (nuncio), 266.
Farnese, Odoardo (duke of Parma), 382–400, 430.
Fedini, Domenico, 433.
Felini, Pietro Martire, Servite, 515, 517.
Felix IV., Pope, 484.
Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, 29, 130.
Ferdinand II. (grand-duke of Tuscany), 173, 528.
Ferdinand (archduke of Bavaria), 27.
Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante, 188.
Ferdinand II. (Emperor), 27.
Fère, Maria de la, 64.
Ferrante, Giovan Francesco, 419.
Ferratini, Cardinal, 212.
Ferreira, Christopher (S.J.), 253.
Ferrerio, 439.
Ficher, Alexander (S.J.), 405.
Fide-Tada (Japanese persecutor), 253.
Figliucci, Flaminio, 412, 422.
Filicaja, Alessandro, 366.
Filomarino, Ascanio, Cardinal, 163, 188.
Filonardi, Mario (nuncio), 106, 170.
Fiorentini, Francesco Maria, 433.
Floriani, Peter Paul, 362.
Floyd, John (S.J.), 140, 309.
Flugi, John V. (bishop of Chur), 268.
Flugi, John VI. (bishop of Chur), 268.
Foelich, Jacob, 215.
Fontenay, Marquis de (ambassador), 207–210, 306, 394.
Forner, Laurence (S.J.), 418.
Fourier, Pierre, 63, 65.
Francesco (duke of Modena), 382, 396.
Franciotti, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 161, 174.
Franzini, Giovan Domenico, 519.
Frederick (Elector Palatine), 281.
Frederick (Landgrave of Hesse), 444.
Frescobaldi, Girolamo, 12.
Fromondus, Libertus, 76, 82, 102, 110, 115, 117.
Fulgenzio, Fra Servite, 178 *seqq.*

Gabrielli, Giulio, Cardinal, 103.
Gaetano, Constantino, 432.

Galilei, Galileo, 42–62, 426.
Gallo, Giovanni Maria (bishop of Santorin), 232.
Gandiosi (poet), 405.
Garasse, François (S.J.), 151.
Garcia, Juan (O.P.), 251.
Garzadori, Ottaviano (archbishop of Zara), 218.
Gaudenzi, Paganino (Carmelite), 451.
Gault, Jean Baptiste (bishop of Marseilles), 154.
Gavanti, Bartolomeo Barnabite, 13, 431.
Gavotti, Lorenzo (nuncio), 266.
Gazier, Augustine, 151, 152.
Gentili, Cardinal, 162, 195.
George (archdeacon), 246.
Gerberon, Gabriel, 149.
Gerrard, Thomas, 352 *seq.*
Gessi, Berlingherio, Cardinal, 158, 187.
Gibieuf (oratorian), 77.
Giggeo, Antonio, 434.
Giglioli, G. T., 409.
Gilbert, Humphrey, 352.
Ginetti, Marzio, Cardinal, 159, 187.
Ginnasio, Domenico, Cardinal, 491.
Giori, Angelo, Cardinal, 480.
Giori, Antonio Maestro de Camera, 164.
Giotto, 475–480.
Giovanoli, 540.
Giustiniani, Cardinal, 215, 216.
Giustiniani, Marchese, 528, 537.
Giustiniano, Orazio (oratorian), 231.
Godeau (bishop of Grasse), 141.
Gondi, Jean François de (archbishop of Paris), 83, 123.
Gonzaga, Cardinal, 44, 526.
Goodman, Godfrey (bishop of Gloucester), 324.
Goodman, John (brother to above), 329, 331.
Goring, Lord, 316.
Gradenigo (Patriarch of Aquileia), 180.
Grassi, Orazio (S.J.), 42, 45, 47 *seq.*, 491.
Grassis, Paris de, 452.
Greca, Vincenzo della, 483.
Greca, Domenico della, 543.
Gregory the Great, 460.
Gregory VIII., 508, 519.
Gregory XIII., 348, 529.
Gregory XV., 2, 19, 24, 28, 172, 174, 216, 276 *seq.*, 303.
Grignano, Ludovico, 13.
Grillo, Angelo, 422.
Grimaldi, Girolamo (nuncio), 108 *seq.*, 113, 124, 394, 400.
Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal, 512.
Grotius, Hugo, 106, 274.
Gruyart, Madame, 154.
Gualdo, Francesco, 530.
Guerrero, Ferd. (bishop of Manila), 249.
Guevara (Franciscan), 48.
Guicciolone, Diego (hermit), 37.
Guidi, Domenico, Cardinal, 160.
Guidiccioni, Alessandro (bishop of Lucca), 174.
Guidiccioni, Lelio, 22, 526.
Guidotti of Lucca, 474.
Guiducci, Mario, 46.
Gussoni, Vincenzo, 183.

Hamelin, 144.
Hamilton, William (agent in Rome), 318.
Harrach, Cardinal, 29, 158.
Harrison (English archpriest), 28.
Hay, James, *see* Carlisle.
Haye, Philippe de la, 241.
Heath (Franciscan), 338.
Hegerty, Patrick (Franciscan), 350.
Heinsius, Daniel, 441, 444.
Helvetius, Claude Adrien, 156.
Henry IV. (King of France), 69, 79.
Henry VIII. (King of England), 237, 344.

Henrietta Maria (Queen of England), 32, 289, 301 *seq.*, 321 *seqq.*, 332 *seqq.*, 352, 354.
Heywood, J. P., 329.
Hoch, Johann, 514.
Hesse, Frederick, Landgrave of, 444.
Hesse, George. Landgrave of, 7.
Hohenzollern, Frederick, Cardinal of, 40, 47.
Holste or Holstenius, 430, 439 *seq.*, 446.

Ingoli, Francesco (secretary to Propaganda), 27, 29, 219, 232, 263.
Innocent X., 544.
Innocent XI., 443.
Isabella (archduchess), 28, 188.

James I. of England, 276–296, 341, 350, 353.
James (would-be assassin of Heywood), 329.
Jamson, Jacob, 67, 68.
Jansenius, Cornelius, 62–94.
Joan, Pope, 449.
Jognes, Isaac (S.J.), 154.
Johannes a St. Thoma, 126.
John of God, St., 10.
John, Albert, Cardinal (son of King of Poland), 161, 165.
John IV. (King of Portugal), 204, 205, 208, 210.
John George of Saxony, 290.
Jonault, Jean (abbot), 89.
Joseph, Fr., 225, 234, 257.
Judoci (S.J. provincial), 109.
Julius II., 385, 455, 525.
Julius III., 451.
Julian the Apostate, 483.

Kaprazine (Emperor), 258.
Kapsberger, John Jerome, 420.
Kellison (writer), 306.
Kensington (Secretary of State), 291.
Kepler, 49.
Kircher, Athanasius (S.J.), 449.
Klesl, Cardinal, 29.
Knott (Jesuit), 309.
Kufstein, Hans Ludwig von, 169.
Kuncewicz, Josaphat (archbishop of Polozk), 169.

Laar, Pieter van [Bamboots], (painter), 535, 536.
Ladislaus IV. (King of Poland), 105, 166, 170–1.
Lagonissa, Fabio de (nuncio), 188.
Lairuel, Servais, 65.
Lamego, Miguel (bishop of), 204, 207–210, 394.
Lamerno (Greek pope), 240.
Lancellotti, Orazio, Cardinal, 28.
Landriani (bishop), 194.
Lanfranco, Giovanni (painter), 472, 487–8, 495 *seqq.*, 529, 539.
Lante, Cardinal, 206 *seqq.*
Lante, Luigi, Marchese, 388.
Lanuvio, Girolamo, 12.
Lapide, Cornelius a, 438.
Lasalle, St. John de, 154.
Laud (archbishop of Canterbury), 312, 321, 324, 326.
Lauro, Giovan Battista, 453.
Leganés, Marquis de, 194.
Leger, Antony (Calvinist preacher), 234.
Le Gras, *see* Marillac.
Leibnitz, 43.
Lelio, Antonio, 186.
Le Maître de Sacy, Isaac, 147, 150.
Le Maître, Antoine, 92, 146.
Leni, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 494.
Lenobletz, Michel (missionary), 154.
Leo I., 451.
Leo X., 325, 528.
Leonard, Fr. (Capuchin), 225.
Leonardi, Giovanni, 216.

Leopold (archduke, brother to Emperor Ferdinand II.), 7, 8, 43.
Leopold, William (archduke), 267.
Le Roy, Thomas (bishop), 524.
Leslie (Archangel, Capuchin), 350.
Lessius, Leonard (S.J.), 438.
Lestonnac, Jeanne de, 154.
Lewger, John, 355.
Ligaridis, Pietro, 446.
Lindsay, Epiphanius (Capuchin), 350–1.
Lionne, Hughes de, 393.
Lodron, Paris de (archbishop of Salzburg), 21.
Lollini, Alvise (bishop of Belluno), 448.
Lomellini, Giovanni, Battista (treasurer), 380.
Longobardi (S.J.), 258.
Lonigo, Michele, 432.
Lorrain, Claude (painter), 536 *seqq.*
Lucca, Giovanni da, 243.
Lucich, Jerome (bishop of Drivasto), 222.
Ludovisi, Cardinal, 6, 157, 214, 279, 348–9, 491, 493.
Louis XIII. of France, 288, 291, 300, 339, 394, 398.
Louis XIV., 360.
Lugo, Juan de, Cardinal, 164, 403, 431, 438.
Luigi, Cardinal, 377.
Luiz, Dominican, 258.
Lukaris, Cyril (patriarch of Constantinople), 227–242 *passim.*

Mabillon, 435.
Macchiavelli, Francesco Maria, Cardinal, 162.
Maculano, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 59, 60, 163, 362.
Maderna, Carlo (architect), 491, 498, 543.
Madruzzo, Carlo (bishop of Trent), Cardinal, 160.
Magalotti, Cesare, 434.
Magalotti, Costanza, *see* Barberini.
Magalotti, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 156, 231, 233, 279, 414.
Maggi, 520.
Malvasia, Marchese, 392.
Malvezzi, Marchese, 196.
Mambrecht, James (S.J.), 350.
Mambrecht, John (S.J.), 351.
Mancini, Giulio (physician), 363, 463, 515, 516.
Manili, Lorenzo de, 522.
Mansfeld (military leader), 291 *seq.*
Manuza (African ruler), 258.
Manzoni, Alessandro, 439.
Maraldi (Secretary for Briefs), 191.
Maratta, 490.
Marca, Jacopo della (bishop), 9.
Marcheville, de (French ambassador), 239.
Marchis, Pietro de, 225, 226.
Marchstaller, Jerome (abbot), 8.
Marcigo (missionary), 257.
Margaret (vicereine of Portugal), 199, 204.
Maria (infanta of Spain), 276 *seqq.*
Maria, Christina (Regent of Savoy), 173.
Marillac, Louise de, 154.
Marini, Elias (bishop of Sofia), 223.
Marini, Giovanni Battista (poet), 411.
Marion (advocate general), 79.
Marliani (topographer), 516.
Marquemont, Denis Simon de (archbishop of Lyons), 158.
Marquez, Peter (Jesuit Martyr), 253.
Martin V., Pope, 452.
Martinelli, Fioravante (historian), 435, 517, 520 *seqq.*, 530, 534.
Marucelli, Paolo (architect), 491, 528.

Mascardi, Agostino, 433, 454.
Mascardi, Vitale, 168.
Mascherino, Ottaviano (architect), 519.
Massarelli (Secretary to Council of Trent), 435.
Massarechio, Pietro (bishop of Antivari), 220.
Massimi, Innocenzo de' (nuncio in Madrid), 281.
Mastrilli, Marcello (Jesuit), 253.
Matilda (Countess of Tuscany), 399, 477.
Mattei, Gaspare, Cardinal (nuncio at Vienna), 164.
Mattei, Luigi (Marchese), 374, 392, 394.
Maturino, 525.
Maunoir, Julian (S.J. missionary), 154.
Maximianus (Emperor), 461.
Maximilian I. (duke of Bavaria), 8, 19, 27–8, 380, 494.
Mazarin, Cardinal, 129, 144, 163, 196, 394, 395, 398.
Mazarin, Michel, 210.
Medici, Carlo de', Cardinal, 193, 373.
Medici, Marie de' (Queen of France), 106, 287 *seq.*, 327.
Medina, Duke of, 188.
Mellini, Urbano, 524.
Mello, Franz von, 125.
Mendez, Alonso (S.J.), 255 *seqq.*
Menidret, Claudio, 527.
Mercati, Giovan Battista, 538.
Mesures, Henri des, 441.
Meursius, John, 441.
Michele da Bergamo (Capuchin), 484, 487.
Michelangelo, 456, 535.
Michiel, Francesco, 271.
Milletière, Brachet de la, 143.
Millini, Giangarzia, Cardinal, 160, 236, 279, 485.
Milton, 444 *seq.*, 507.
Mocchi, Francesco, 470, 505.
Mocenigo, Alvise (archbishop of Crete), 219.
Modena, Francesco, Duke of, 360, 382, 391 *seqq.*
Mogor, Prince Mirza, of, 243
Mohila, Peter, of Kiev, 241.
Mohr, Joseph (bishop of Chur), 268.
Mola, Gaspare, 482.
Mola, Giacomo, 495.
Molina, Antonio de (Carthusian), 133 *seq.*
Molino, Domenico, 179.
Monaldus, Christophorus Maria, 430.
Montague, Richard (bishop of Chichester and Norwich), 312, 316.
Montague, Walter (oratorian), 317.
Montalto, Francesco Peretti, Cardinal, 163, 209.
Montalto, Alessandro, 493, 497.
Montecuccoli, Raimondo (military leader), 396.
Monterey (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 187.
Monti, Cesare, Cardinal, 162.
Moore, Roger, 342.
Morales, Juan (O.P.), 249.
Morandi, Orazio (abbot), 36.
Morelli, Federigo, 419.
Moroni, Carlo, 445.
Morosini (nuncio in Madrid), 189.
Mortaigne (Jesuit), 26.
Moses III. (patriarch), 243.
Mothe, Daniel de la (bishop of Mende), 296, 298.
Motmann (auditor of the Rota), 444.
Mountgarret, Lord, 345.
Mourgues, Abbé de, 106.
Mula, Cardinal, 182.
Murad, Sultan, 241.

NANI, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 184, 401, 406.
Nardone, Giovanni Battista, 460.
Nari, Gregorio, Cardinal, 160.
Narni, Girolamo da (Capuchin), 21.

Naro, Battista (papal commander-in-chief), 366.
Naro, Diego Gusmán de, Cardinal, 160.
Naudé, Gabriel, 441.
Neri, Philip, 523.
Neri, G., 409.
Nero, Francesco del (Capuchin), 7.
Newport, Lord, 321.
Nicolas, François (brother of Duke of Lorraine), Cardinal, 159.
Niccolini (Florentine envoy), 396.
Nicole, Pierre, 93.
Nicoletti, biographer of Urban VIII., 422, and appendix, 26 (vol. xxix).
Nieto, Peter, 263.
Niewlandt, Willem van, 539 *seq.*
Nigrita, Antony (Prince), 259.
Nobili, Cardinal, 24.
Nobili, Roberto de', 246.
Novelli, Giovan Battista, 432.
Novelli, Leonardo, 432.

Ogilvie (Jesuit Martyr), 351.
Olier, 64.
Olivares (Spanish minister), 199 *seqq.*, 210 *seqq.*
Orange, Prince of, 326, 333.
Oreggi, Agostino, Cardinal, 161, 429, 434.
O'Reilly, Hugh (primate of Annagh), 344.
Orizzo (Doge of Venice), 180.
Orleans, Antoinette of, 65.
Ormond (vice-chancellor), 346, 347.
Orsi, Aurelio, 409, 412.
Orsi, Gregorio, 243.
Orsini (family), 523.
Orsini, Virginio, Cardinal, 163.
Ossat, Cardinal D', 80.
Ossolinski, Prince Jerzy, 166 *seq.*
Ostheim, Johann Heinrisch von (bishop), 267.

Pacheco, Pantalião Roiz, 207, 210.
Paepe (jurist), 127 *seq.*
Pallavicini, Ferrante, 40, 426.
Pallavicini, Sforza, Cardinal, 430 *seq.*
Pallotto, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 28, 30, 160, 412.
Palmeiro, Andrew (S.J.), 249.
Palotta, Giov. Battista (collector in Portugal), 197.
Paludan, Louvain (Professor), 106.
Pamfili, Giovan Battista (later Innocent X.), 128, 160, 187.
Pamfili, Ludovisi Costanza, 526.
Panciroli, Gian Giacomo, Cardinal, 164, 211.
Panciroli, Ottavio, 7, 515.
Panzani d'Arezzo, Gregorio (papal agent), 312.
Paolino, Stefano (painter), 216.
Parthenius I. (metropolitan of Adrianople), 241 *seq.*
Pascal, Blaise, 93, 147, 153.
Pascal, Jacqueline, 147.
Passeri, 471, 496.
Passignano, Domenico, 474.
Patrizi, Costanzo (treasurer of Urban VIII.), 380.
Paul III., 174, 383, 386, 400, 456, 480, 481.
Paul V., 40, 103, 251, 363, 451, 519, 525, 528, 543.
Pázmány, Cardinal, 14, 160.
Pazzi, St. Mary Magd., 10.
Peckham, George, 352, 353.
Peirex, Nicolas Claude Fabre de, 441.
Pellegrini (painter), 475.
Peparelli (architect), 483, 486.
Péréfixe, Hard. de Beaumonts (archbishop of Paris), 150.
Peretti, Francesco, Cardinal, 160, 493.
Peretti, Abbate Francesco, 193–4.
Pereyra, Juan de Salórzano 186.

Perneo, Magno, 421.
Perrien, François, 539.
Persons, William (Irish vice-roy), 341.
Persons, Fr. (Jesuit), 353.
Perugino, Pietro, 505.
Pesaro, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 180 *seq.*
Petau (Petavius), 142 *seqq.*, 433.
Peter, Maronite (patriarch), 242.
Petitière, de la, 147.
Petricca da Sonnino, 241.
Petrucci, Girolamo (Jesuit), 13, 16.
Petrus, Aurelius (St. Cyran), 140 *seqq.*, 151.
Petrus, Sabinus, 462.
Philip I. (patriarch of Ecmiadzin), 243.
Philip IV. of Spain, 189, 190, 199, 200, 278 *seqq.*
Philippe, Robert (oratorian), 296, 303, 305, 333.
Philotheus (archimandrite of Jerusalem), 230 *seq.*
Piccolomini, Ascanio, Cardinal, 59.
Pignatelli, Cardinal, 203.
Pignero de Vega, Tommaso, *see* Vega.
Pimentel, Domingo de, 189.
Pinthereau (Jesuit), 71.
Piombo, Sebastiano del (painter), 505.
Piranesi (painter), 540.
Piromalli, Paolo (Dominican), 243.
Pio, Cardinal, 279.
Pius IV., 165, 182.
Pius V., 452, 519.
Poelenburg (painter), 540.
Pola, Ambrogio della, Franciscan, 230 *seq.*
Poli, Fausto, Cardinal, 164.
Polidoro (painter), 525.
Pontan (syndic of Louvain), 102, 106, 117, 119.
Porta, Guglielmo della, 478 *seqq.*
Porta, Giuseppi (painter), 182.
Porter, Endymion, 321.
Portland (Lord treasurer), 317.
Poussin, 473, 536 *seqq.*
Pozzo, Cassiano del, 446 *seq.*, 517, 529.
Preston, Thomas [Roger Widdrington] (O.S.B.), 314.
Puteanus, Erycius, 419.
Puy, Pierre Jacque Du, 441.
Pym, John, 335 *seq.*

Quarenghi, Antonio, 429.
Quirini, Sebastian (archbishop of Naxos), 226.

Raccagna, Cesare (bishop of Città di Castello), 175.
Racine (poet), 93, 153.
Raconis, d'Abra de (bishop of Lavour), 142.
Raphael (painter), 500, 503 *seq.*, 521, 528.
Raggi, Lorenzo, 404.
Raggi, Antonio, Cardinal, 163.
Raglan, Lord, 335.
Rainaldi, Carlo (architect), 493.
Rainaldus, Alexander, 421.
Rancati (Abbot), 13.
Rangel, Miguel (Dominican), 257.
Rangoni (nuncio in Poland), 165.
Rapaccioli, Cardinal, 164, 480.
Rapin, 153.
Raynald, Oderico, 435.
Régis, Francis, 154.
Rembrandt, 274, 481.
Remondi da Milano (Franciscan), 223.
Reni, Guido, 368, 488, 490, 541.
Reviglias, Pierre de, 419.
Reynolds, Thomas, 329.
Rhodes, Alexander of (S.J.), 257.
Rhugius (priest), 275 *seq.*
Ricasoli, Canon, 36.
Riccardi, Niccolò (Dominican), 7, 13 *seq.*, 46, 48.

Riccardi, Vincenzo, 446.
Riccioli, J. B., 43.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 91, 108, 109, 129, 180, 210, 225, 257, 289, 294, 300, 304, 383, 386, 418.
Richelieu, Alphonse Louis (archbishop of Lyons), 160.
Richer, Gallican, 304.
Riedmatten (bishop of Sitten), 267, 268.
Rieti, Columba of, 10.
Rigault, Nicolas, 441.
Rinucci (friend of Galileo), 45.
Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista, 446.
Risi, Sergio (archbishop of Damascus), 448.
Rivers, Lady, 337.
Riviera, *see* Vliete.
Rivière, de la, 147.
Rocci, Ciriaco, Cardinal, 161, 266.
Rocheposai, Henri Louis (archbishop of Poitiers), 72–3.
Rodrigo, de Castel (Marquis), 193, 199, 376, 507.
Roe, Alban (O.S.B.), 329.
Roger I. of Sicily, 186.
Rohan-Guémené (Princess), 134.
Roma, Giulio, Cardinal, 206.
Romanelli, Gian Francesco, 472, 475, 490, 503, 508.
Romillion, J. B., 63.
Rondinini, Cardinal, 164, 380.
Rooze (president), 114, 126.
Roscioli, Mgr., 403.
Rospigliosi, Giulio, Cardinal, 506, 507.
Rossetti, Carlo, Cardinal (Cologne nuncio), 32, 164, 322, 324–330, 332, 333, 357, 358.
Rossi, Carmachio (Greek priest), 230–5.
Rossi, Giovanni Vittorio, *see* Erythraeus.
Rossi, Gregorio de, 463.
Rossi, Marcantonio, 412.
Rosso, Francesco Maria, 183.
Rovenius, Philip, 270–3.
Rovere, Dom. della, Cardinal, 520.
Rozas, Paul de, 261.
Rubino, Antony (S.J.), 253.
Rutski (metropolitans), 170.

Sablé, Marquise de, 134.
Sacchetti, Giambattista, 379.
Sacchetti, Giulio, Cardinal, 158, 189, 525 (appendix i, vol. xxix).
Sacchi, Andrea (painter), 22, 472, 474, 475, 488, 490 *seq.*, 503, 510, 527, 543.
St. Cyran (Du Vergier), *passim*, 69–131, 148, 149, 151.
Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin, 73, 147.
Sales, Francis de, St., 82, 133.
Salgado de Samoza, 185.
Salines, Stefano, 224.
Salisbury, 353.
Salsilli (poet), 445.
Sandrart, Joachim von, 528 *seq.*
Sangallo (sculptor), 524.
Santa Croce, Cardinal, 160, 165.
Santarelli (S.J.), 7.
Santori, Paolo Emilio, 422, 448.
Sanza, Prince, 376.
Sarbiewski, Matthias Casimir (S.J.), 16, 170, 427–8.
Sarmiento de Acusta [Count Gondoman], 284.
Sarpi, Paolo, 40.
Sarto (painter), 505.
Sasso, Antonio (S.J.), 491.
Sauvage (Jesuit), 73.
Savelli (family), 522.
Savelli, Giulio (nuncio in Vienna), 166.
Savenier (secretary), 215.
Savoy, Carlo Emmanuele, Cardinal of, 47, 409, 446, 525.
Scacchi, Fortunato, 12, 433.

Scaglia, Cardinal, 236, 279.
Scappi, Alessandro (nuncio), 266.
Scarampi (oratorian), 346.
Schacht, Henry (S.J.), 275.
Schall (Jesuit), 258.
Scheiner (Jesuit), 43.
Schiattini, Raphael (archbishop of Naxos), 239.
Schinchel, John, 116, 117, 119, 124, 126 *seqq.*
Schinder, Francis, 459.
Schmid, Rudolf (imperial envoy), 238, 240, 241.
Schioppius, Caspar, 421.
Scotti, Ranuccio (nuncio), 266, 267.
Seltan-Sagad [Socinius] (emperor of Ethiopia), 254 *seq.*
Selvaggi (poet), 445.
Serafino, Cherubino (Franciscan), 37.
Seripando, Cardinal, 434.
Sesmaisons (Jesuit), 134 *seq.*
Severano (oratorian), 436, 438, 460.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 301.
Sigismund III. (King of Poland), 165–9.
Silvanus (Benedictine), 349.
Silvestre, Israel (engraver), 539 *seq.*
Simeonibus, Gasparedi, 446.
Singlin (chaplain of Port Royal), 92, 148, 153.
Sinnich (professor at Louvain), 105, 117, 119, 124, 125, 128 *seq.*
Sirmond (Jesuit), 441.
Sixtus IV., 452, 519, 520.
Sixtus V., 37, 216, 385, 530, 532, 542, 543.
Smith, Richard (bishop), 27, 302, 304–9, 314, 349, 358.
Smotziski (archimandrite of Vilna), 169.
Soldati, Francesco de', 36.
Solminihac, Alain de (bishop of Cahors), 154.
Soranzo, Giovanni (venetian envoy in London), 302.
Soria, Giovan Battista, 494.
Sourdis, Cardinal de, 66.
Spada (nuncio in Paris), Cardinal, 36, 128, 157, 295, 368, 442.
Spada, Giovanni Battista (Governor of Rome), 208, 369, 374.
Spada (family), 523.
Speranza, Battista, 483.
Spinola, Cardinal, 158.
St. Felix, Francis Anthony of (Vicar Apostolic), 246.
Stefani, Inquisitor, 51 *seqq.*
Stella, Jacques, 536.
Stella, Luke (bishop), 219.
Stephanus (painter), 410.
Strada, Faminio, 16.
Strafford, Earl of, 340.
Stravius (internuncio), 102–19, 189.
Strozzi, Giovan Battista, 412, 415.
Strozzi, Carlo, 434.
Suarez, Francis (Jesuit), 431.
Suarez (librarian), 13, 439.
Suffren (Jesuit), 302.
Swanwelt (painter), 536 *seq.*
Sweelink, Jan Pieters (organist), 274.

Taimaras Kan (King of Iberia), 244.
Tarabucci, G. B., 158 *seqq.*
Tassi, Agostino, 508.
Tegrimi, Tegrimio (bishop), 12.
Teodoli, Cardinal, 164.
Teophilus (King of Iberia), 244.
Terenzio (Jesuit), 258.
Testi, Fulvio, 400, 417.
Teti, Girolamo, 445, 446, 505.
Thibault, Philippe, 65.
Tiene, Gaetano da, 10.
Tillemont, 153.
Tillirèes (French envoy in London), 290, 354.
Tilly, 458.
Toroszewicz, Nicholas (bishop), 169.

Torres, Cardinal, 524.
Torrigio, Francesco Maria, 433, 435.
Totti, Ludovico, 438, 518, 525, 530.
Turci (bishop), 524.
Turco, Alessandro, 487.
Trivalzio, Teodoro, Cardinal, 160.

Ubaldini, Cardinal, 215.
Ubaldini, Francesco, 500.
Ughelli, 435, 450.
Urban II., 186.
Urban VIII., *passim*.
Ussher (Protestant archbishop of Armagh), 339.

Valdes (missionary), 261.
Valençai, Cardinal, *see* d'Estampes.
Valentin de Boulogne, 473.
Valiero, Pietro, Cardinal, 160.
Valle, Pietro della, 429, 529.
Van Dyck, 535.
Van Werm, 106, 117.
Vasquez (S.J.), 117.
Vecchi, Gaspare de', 214, 507.
Vecchietti, Girolamo, 40.
Vega, Tommaso Pignero da, 196 *seq*.
Velasquez, 535.
Velez, Marquis de loz, 207 *seq*.
Vernerey (poet), 422.
Verospi, Fabrizio, Cardinal, 159.
Verospi, Girolamo, Cardinal, 163.
Versoix, Jean de (bishop), 268.
Verusi, Giovanni Domenico, 216.
Vidoni, Girolamo, Cardinal, 159.
Vieuville, La (French minister), 290.
Vignola, 500.
Ville-aux-Cleres, Count de Brienne, 292.
Vincent de Paul, 64, 89, 148, 152, 154.
Virili, Luca Antonio, Cardinal, 160.
Visconti (Dominican), 51.
Visconti, Onorato (Polish nuncio), 165, 170.
Vitalis, Thomas (Dominican), 244.
Vitelleschi (Jesuit General), 249, 358, 491.
Vitelli, Francesco (nuncio in Venice), 181 *seq*.
Vittorelli, Andrea (historian), 421, 435.
Vives, Mgr., 531.
Vives, Juan Baptista (Spanish prelate), 212, 259.
Vliete, Jacob van den, 504.
Voit, Gilbert (Calvinist preacher), 106.
Vondel, Yoost van den (poet), 8, 273.
Vossius, J. G., 444.
Vouet, Simon (painter), 474, 495, 536.
Vulponi, Jacopo (oratorian), 13.

Wadding, Luke, 13, 348, 435, 485.
Walsingham, Lord, 352, 353.
Waldburg, Truchsess von (bishop of Constance), 267.
Ward, Mary, 24–34.
Ward, William (priest), 331.
Ward (Franciscan friar), 350.
Wangnereck (Jesuit), 418.
Wentworth, Thomas, *see* Strafford, Earl of.
Weemers, Jacob (Carmelite), 257.
Wigmore, Winefred, 30–2.
Widdrington (English Benedictine), *see* Preston.
Williams (Great Seal), 281.
Wilson (Jesuit), 140.
Windebank (Secretary of State), 312, 314, 325, 330, 332.
Winslade (gentleman), 333.
Wladimir (son of King Sigismund of Poland), 5.

Yemitsi, Mikado, 253.
Yussuf (King of Mombasa), 258.
Yves (Capuchins), 145.

Zacharias (metropolitan of Iberia), 244.
Zacchia, Laudivio, Cardinal, 158, 176.
Zamet, Séb. (bishop of Langres), 82–8.
Zanconi, Domenico, 37, 38.
Zeiller, Martin, 514.
Zelachrist (Ethiopian General), 256 *seq.*
Zeno, Renier (Venetian ambassador), 176.
Zilli, Giovanni, 221.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED BY

DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

MONK OF BUCKFAST

VOLUME XXX

INNOCENT X. (1644–1655)

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To His Eminence
CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL
the last Roman caller
at the deathbed of my beloved husband,
in token of reverence,
Constance Pastor.

MOTTO.

Comment peut-on être chrétien sans être catholique ? Et comment peut-on être catholique et refuser au pape l'entière soumission qui lui est due ?

QUEEN CHRISTINE OF SWEDEN, *Pensées, éd. De Bildt,* p. 34.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXX.

	PAGE
Foreword to the German Edition.	xi
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXX., XXXI. and XXXII. . . .	xiii
Complete Titles of Books in Volumes XXX., XXXI., XXXII.	xv
Table of Contents	xliii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix. . .	xlvii
Innocent X., 1644–1655—Introduction . . .	1
The Conclave of 1644. Innocent X. and the Pamfili. .	14
Mazarin and Innocent X.—The Intrigues of the Barberini—The Imprisonment of Cardinal Retz—Relations with Spain and Portugal—The Rising at Naples	48
The Peace of Westphalia and Religious Conditions in Germany and Holland—The English Catholics under Cromwell—Ireland's Fight for Freedom; Her Defeat	94
Innocent's Work Within the Church—The Jubilee Year.	177
Jansenism in France and the Netherlands . . .	215
Innocent X.'s Relations with Venice—The Pontifical States—Death of the Pope	351
Innocent X. as a Patron of Art.	381
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	415
Index of Names.	457

FOREWORD TO THE GERMAN EDITION.

EVEN one glance at the title page of the present volume suffices to show that this time the author strove to condense the vast material much more than had been his wont. When he had kept his seventieth birthday in 1924, he remarked that after this each year, as it came, would have to be viewed as a gift, as a kindly favour of Providence, which one should accept gratefully but on which one could not count. If many of the latter volumes had embraced the life of but one Pope, such fullness of treatment had been justified because there was question of climaxes in the story of the later papacy. Now, however, less important matter must be ruthlessly eschewed so as to make it possible to complete the history of the Popes, for up to the last, the great historian of the Roman Pontiffs cherished the hope of being able to complete what had been his life-work. A word of encouragement from Pius X., whom he held in highest reverence, gave him courage to undertake the seemingly impossible and he did his utmost to realize his noble ambition. Once again he strained his incomparable capacity for work to the utmost limit ; from the mountain of material collected during fifty years of tireless toil, he omitted everything that would have led him too far.

The widow of the deceased historian, Her Excellency Baroness Constance Pastor, has religiously taken up the literary inheritance and entrusted its publication to competent persons. Volume XIV. appears as it was found, in two sections (in the German original), the only thing missing being the introduction and in Chapter VI. of Book II. the section dealing with Alexander VII.'s patronage of learning together with some concluding remarks on the smaller churches of Rome, and the secular buildings erected by that Pope. Both sections were completed by Fr. Kneller (Munich) on

the basis of notes left by the author. Most of the missiological part is based on work by Professor Schmidlin (Münster). In the second half of this volume, and in all subsequent ones, the authors of the few sections which are missing in the MS. will be given, so that the deceased may not be held responsible for what is not from his pen.

We are greatly indebted to Fr. Kneller and Dr. W. Wühr (Munich) for the great care they have bestowed on the publication of the work.

The publishers will deem it an honour and a privilege to issue in rapid succession the remaining volumes (XIV^2.; XV. and XVI.) of which, except for a few gaps, they have the author's complete MS.

FREIBURG IN BREISGAU. THE PUBLISHERS.
Autumn, 1929.

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXX., XXXI. AND XXXII.

Aix (Provence)—Méjanes Library.
Arezzo—Bibl. della Fraternità di S. Maria.
Ariccia—Chigi Family Archives.
Avignon—Bibl. de la Ville.

Berlin—State Library.
Bologna—State Archives.
——— University Library.
Bregenz—City Library.
Brescia—Bibl. Queriniana.

Campello near Spoleto—Campello Archives.
Capua—Archiepiscopal Library.
Como—Monti Archives.
Cortona—Communal Library.

Einsiedeln—Stiftsbibliothek.
Empoli Vecchio—Azzolini Archives.

Florence—State Archives.
——— Magliabecchi Library.
——— Marucelliana Library.
——— National Library.
——— Riccardiana Library.
Frankfurt a. M.—City Library.
Freiburg i. Br.—University Library.

Genoa—Civic Library.
——— University Library.
Gubbio—L. Benveduti Library

Hague, the—Library.
Hannover—Library.

Innsbruck—Pastor Library.

Lodi—Communal Library.
London—British Museum.
Lyons—Library.

Mantua—Gonzaga Archives.
——— State Archives.
Massa—State Archives.
Modena—State Archives.
Monte Cassino—Library.
Montpellier—Library.
Munich—State Archives.
——— State Library.

Naples—National Library.
——— Bibl. della Società di storia patria.

Orvieto—Piccolomini Archives.
Ottenstein (Schloss)—Lamberg Archives.

Paderborn—Theodorianische Bibliothek.
Paris—Archives of Foreign Affairs.
——— National Library.
Parma—State Archives.
Perugia—Communal Library.
Pistoia—Fabroniana Library.

Ravenna—Bibl. Classense.

ROME—

Archives :

- Altieri Archives.
- Archivio dell' arciconfraternità dell SS. Nome di Maria.
- Azzolini Archives.
- Boncompagni Archives.
- Costaguti Archives.
- Doria-Pamfili Archives.
- Archives of the Dominicans.
- Archives of the Society of Jesus.
- Archives of the Greek College.
- Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.
- S. Lorenzo in Damaso Archives.
- Odescalchi Archives.
- Papal Secret Archives.
- Propaganda Archives.
- Ricci Archives.
- Archives of the Congregation of Rites.
- Archives of the Roman Inquisition.
- Archives of the Roman Vicariate.
- Rospigliosi Archives.
- Sacchetti Archives.
- Sforza-Cesarini Archives.
- Archives of the Spanish Legation.
- State Archives.
- Archives of the Theatines.
- SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio Archives.

Libraries :

- Albani.
- Angelica.
- Dell' Anima.
- Barberini.
- Casanatense.
- Chigi.
- Corsini.
- S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
- Lancisiana.
- Pignatelli.
- S. Pietro in Vincoli.
- SS. Quaranta.
- Vallicelliana.
- Vatican.
- Vittorio Emanuele.

SALZBURG—Consistorial Archives.

——— Studienbibliothek.

SIENA—State Archives.

ST. GALL—Stiftsarchiv.

STOCKHOLM—State Archives.

——— Library.

——— Library of the Academy of Art.

TRENT—Communal Library.

VENICE—State Archives.

——— Library of S. Mark.

VERONA—Communal Library.

VICENZA—Communal Library.

VIENNA—Liechtenstein Archives.

——— Archives of the Austrian Legation at the Vatican.

——— State Archives.

——— State Library.

COMPLETE TITLES OF BOOKS QUOTED IN VOLUMES XXX., XXXI. AND XXXII.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXX.

INNOCENT X. 1644–1655.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF 1644.—INNOCENT X. AND THE PAMFILI.

A.D.		PAGE
1644	The Conclave: its Members	15
	The Thirteen Papabili	16
	Candidature of Cardinal Sacchetti	17
	He is excluded by the Spanish leader, Albornoz	20
	Cardinal Pamfili is elected as	22
	Innocent X.	23
	His ancestral home at Gubbio	24
	His Family and early Studies	25
	His Personal Appearance and	28
	Characteristics.	31
	The influence of Olimpia Maidalchini-Pamfili	32
	Panciroli made Secretary of State and	35
	Camillo, Son of Olimpia, becomes Cardinal-Nephew	36
1647	He resigns the Purple to marry	37
	Camillo Astalli succeeds him and becomes	39
1650	Camillo Pamfili, Cardinal-Nephew	40
	The Fall of Olimpia followed by that of Panciroli	41
1652	Fabio Chigi is appointed Secretary of State	42
	His excellent reputation and impartiality.	43
	The restoration of Olimpia to the favour of the Pope	44
	Her intrigues against Chigi	45
	Her revolting avarice and ingratitude	46

CHAPTER II.

MAZARIN AND INNOCENT X.—THE INTRIGUES OF THE BARBERINI—THE IMPRISONMENT OF CARDINAL RETZ—RELATIONS WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—THE RISING AT NAPLES.

	Relations between the Pope and Mazarin	48
1644	The latter's measures of revenge	49
	His alliance with the Barberini, who	51
1646	Make secret flight from Rome in spite of	55
	The Pope's Bull	57
	Tension between Spaniards and Frenchmen in Rome	58
	Violent affray in the Piazza Gesù	59

A.D.		PAGE
1646	The French attack the States of the Church	60
	The Pope, intimidated, pardons the Barberini	61
1647	Mazarin's change of Policy and its results	62
	Further difficulties with France	67
	Papal-Spanish relations	72
	Attitude of Innocent X. towards Portugal	74
	Anti-Spanish revolt near Naples, which town	79
	Declares itself independent of Spain	81
	The Papal Policy in Naples	83
	Spanish rule re-established	85
1648	Second Marriage of Philip IV. of Spain	88
	Difficulties between Spain and the Holy See	91

CHAPTER III.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AND HOLLAND—THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS UNDER CROMWELL—IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM; HER DEFEAT.

1644	Chigi's task as Nuncio in Cologne	94
1645	Peace proposals of France and Sweden at Münster	96
	The Emperor's terms	99
	Demands of the Protestant Princes	100
	Divisions among the Catholics	101
	Increasing concessions to the Protestants.	103
1646	Inopportune Pamphlet, signed E. de Eusebiis	108
	Adds fresh difficulties to Chigi's Task	111
1648	The Emperor's command to yield	118
	The Peace of Westphalia	122
	Papal Protests against the Church's Losses	125
1649	Chigi withdraws to Aix-la-Chapelle	127
	The Papal Brief	130
	Yields no practical result	132
1653	The Diet of Ratisbon	133
	Religious conditions in Bohemia and	134
	Hungary	135
	Conversions to the Church	137
	Catholicism in the Netherlands	141
	In England	143
	The Career of Cromwell	144
1650	His simulated toleration of the Faith	149
1643	Charles I. and the Irish Catholics	153
	The Pope's influence in Ireland	156
	Rinuccini appointed Nuncio in that country	157
	His negotiations with Glamorgan fail	159
	The position in Ireland grows worse	163
1649	Cromwell's campaign	167
	The Massacre of Drogheda	169
	The final subjugation of the whole country	171

CHAPTER IV.

INNOCENT'S WORK WITHIN THE CHURCH—THE JUBILEE YEAR.

A.D.		PAGE
	The Work of Innocent X. within the Church	177
	Reforms of the Orders	178
1650	The Year of Jubilee	180
	Innocent X.'s Creations of Cardinals	185
	His furtherance of Missions	190
	Those in the East and in Africa	195
	In China and Japan	199
	The Question of the Chinese Rites	201
	Missions in South America	206
	The career of Palafox, Bishop of los Angelos	207
	His Controversy with the Jesuits	208
	Canadian Missions	213

CHAPTER V.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE; AND THE NETHERLANDS.

	Its tool—the Press	217
	The heresy becomes fashionable in Paris through	219
	The influence af Port Royal	221
	And spreads to the Provinces and abroad	223
	Refutations by Vincent de Paul and Olier	226
	Further heretical publications and	232
	Continued rejection of Urban VIII.'s Bull	236
	The Sorbonne and Jansenism	237
1650	The intervention of Vincent de Paul	252
	He seeks the collaboration of the Bishops	254
1651	They dispatch their letter to Rome	257
	Jansenist retaliation by another letter	259
	Envoys are sent to Rome	261
	A Congregation appointed to deal with Jansenism	265
	Its proceedings and	266
1653	Its findings	277
	Evasions and intrigues of the Jansenists but	279
1653	The Constitutions are finally accepted	285
	Bishop Henri Arnauld renews the attack and	289
	Finds support from certain Bishops	290
	Measures taken against them by	293
	Cardinal Mazarin and	297
	Innocent X.	299
1645	The course of the heresy in Flanders	300
	Hindrances to the publication of the Bull	305
1646	Which is ultimately published by Bichi's authority, then	307
	Torn down	308
	Protracted obstinacy of the Flemish Jansenists	309

A.D. PAGE
1647 Archduke Leopold William becomes Governor . . 312
His goodwill at first 313
His increasing slackness 318
1651 The Bull published in all Flemish Dioceses . . 321
The intrigues of Archbishop Boonen of Malines . 325
He is cited to appear in Rome but 329
Refuses to go and 330
Being censured 334
Recants 335
The evil he has done remains 336
1653 Differing receptions accorded to the Bull . . . 241
The attitude of Louvain University. . . . 342
The position of the Jesuits in Flanders . . . 348

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT X.'S RELATIONS WITH VENICE—THE PONTIFICAL STATES—DEATH OF THE POPE.

Innocent X. and Venice 351
The incident of the Inscription 352
More cordial relations established 353
1645 Military aid sent by the Pope, followed by . . 354
A subsidy 355
Negotiations lead to 356
1646 The campaign in Dalmatia 361
Venetian infringements of ecclesiastical immunities . 362
The situation in the States of the Church. . . 366
Famine and flood cause scarcity 367
1649 The assassination of the Bishop of Castro . . 370
Total demolition of that city 371
The decline of the noble families of Rome . . 372
The health of the septuagenarian Pope . . . 374
His sudden collapse and. 377
1655 Death on January 7th 378

CHAPTER VII.

INNOCENT X. AS A PATRON OF ART.

The parsimony of the Pope in relation to art . . 382
Work in St. Peter's 385
Restoration of the Lateran Basilica. . . . 387
Other buildings 391
1652–5 The Prison Reforms of Innocent X. . . . 393
Parks and Villas restored 397
The reconstruction of Piazza Navona and . . 401
Bernini's Fountain therein 403
The Church of S. Agnese designed by Rainaldi . 408

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
1	The Cardinal Secretary of State to the Spanish Nuncio. December 17th, 1650, Rome.	415
2	The Holy See and the Peace of Westphalia. . .	
3	Paolo Casati, S.J., on the conversion of Christine, Queen of Sweden. November 19th, 1655. . . .	420
4	Memorandum of P. Sforza Pallavinico for Alexander VII. on the benefices bestowed on the nephews. May 9th, 1656	424
5	Instructions for the Swiss Nuncio, Baldeschi. 1665 .	425
6	The "Vita di Alessandro VII." by Sforza Pallavicino	430
7	Bargellini to Rospigliosi. September 25th, 1668, Paris	436
8	To Bargellini. October 11th, 1668, Rome. . .	437
9	Session of the Inquisition, of December 23rd, 1668 .	439
10	Rospigliosi to Bargellini. January 20th, 1669, Rome.	442
11	To the Spanish Nuncio. August 31st, 1669, Rome. . .	444
12	To the Spanish Nuncio. August 13th, 1672, Rome.	445
13	Cardinal Altieri to Cardinal Nerli. July 11th, 1673, Rome.	446
14	Clement X. to Louis XIV.	448
15	Biographies of Pope Innocent XI.	449
16	Instructions to A. Pignatelli (Innocent XII.), Nuncio in Germany, 1688.	451

INNOCENT X. 1644–1655.

INTRODUCTION.

The powerful progress of the Catholic Church in the era of the Catholic reform and restoration, which constitutes one of the most wonderful spectacles in the whole history of the Church, comes to a standstill in the second half of the 17th century, when a period of decline follows. Thus the reign of Urban VIII. marks a turning point in the same way as, a century earlier, that of Paul III. had ushered in such a crisis.

The cause of this decline is not to be looked for in the leaders of the religious movement, the Popes; on the contrary, it is due to such altered conditions as would have prevented even a Pius V. or a Sixtus V. from accomplishing what they did in their time. By the middle of the 17th century the state of the world had undergone a profound change. Germany which—were it only because of its Emperor—the nations had looked upon as the hub of the world, no longer counted as a great Power. Though under Ferdinand II. it looked repeatedly as if the imperial power were about to reassert itself, the Peace of Westphalia put an end to all such hopes. The Empire had resolved itself into a couple of hundreds of States and miniature States which obeyed the Emperor when it suited them, whilst their isolation and impotence left them helplessly at the mercy of their all-powerful western neighbour. Germany was notably paralysed by its religious divisions. Luther was mistaken when he imagined that his death would be the death of the papacy: a large part of Germany remained Catholic. However, Luther's opponents were likewise disappointed in their hope that Germany would return to the ancient faith. The Peace of Westphalia recognized the religious cleavage as insurmountable and definitive, and both parties dropped the principle that full political privileges could only

be enjoyed by those who clung to the true religion. Contrasts have now become petrified; German Catholics and German Protestants now have their own separate territories and face each other like two hostile peoples; thus when it chanced that foreign co-religionists were oppressed, it might happen that a Protestant government would practise reprisals on their own Catholic subjects and vice versa. Moreover, in the sociological sphere, the humiliating realization of the country's depopulation and impoverishment after the war weighed heavily on the nation and stifled all enterprise. If a German wrote poetry, it was in a French metre; if a prince raised some luxury building, at the expense of his impoverished subjects, France gave the impulse and supplied the model. When the new learning essayed its first steps, Germany was splendidly represented by her Copernicus and her Keppler. After 1650 she may indeed boast yet another great scholar and historian in the person of Leibnitz, the co-discoverer of the infinitesimal calculus, but in the proper sphere of the natural sciences Otto von Guerike was for a long period the only inventor whose name history has recorded. The dispirited Germans had lost all self-reliance, all consciousness of the former greatness of their country. In such a mood how could they have asserted themselves abroad? A large section of the nation was, as it were, under a kind of religious necessity to look on the Catholic Middle Ages, that is the great centuries of German hegemony, as an era of darkness and barbarism, and if the mere name of the Emperor was still surrounded by a kind of luminous halo, it called forth no more than vague, melancholy memories and a longing that its bearer might awake from slumber.

Like Germany, Spain too had fallen from her pinnacle. Under Charles V. and Philip II. that country had enjoyed its century of hegemony in Europe, but with the 17th century there began a period of decline into ever-increasing political impotence. It is remarkable that it was just then that with Lope and Calderon, Spanish poetry attained its highest efflorescence, as did painting with Velasquez and Murillo. But in Spain literature and art were chiefly rooted

in the deep and intimate Catholic faith of a people which had decisively rejected the religious innovations as soon as these sought to strike root, and thus preserved the inestimable blessing of religious unity ; no literature or art is so deeply stamped with the imprint of Catholic religious feeling as the Spanish.

On the whole France also had preserved religious unity. During the Huguenot wars that country was, as it were, the tongue of the balance. Had France at that time swerved towards Protestantism, the consequences would have been incalculable ; in that eventuality the Reformation would in all probability have swept over the whole of Europe. This was not to happen. The French people itself had no love for the new religion ; it wanted to be and to remain Catholic and it compelled its reluctant King to become a Catholic. The horror of the Huguenot wars only served to fan the Catholic spirit and when the dice had been cast in favour of the old religion, there passed over the land a Catholic spirit like a warm breath of spring. Priests, splendidly endowed, energetic and full of religious enthusiasm, arose ; the secular clergy became once more conscious of its lofty vocation ; the religious Orders were rejuvenated ; new religious institutions for educational and charitable purposes arose on all sides and the laity, too, gathered its strength in the service of the Church. The achievements of the humanistic age, in alliance with Catholic mentality, issued in an efflorescence of French literature which in Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Massillon, gave expression to Catholic thought. The poets of the period of Louis XIII. and XIV., Corneille, Racine, Molière, Lafontaine, are classics even at this day ; Poussin, Claude Lorrain, Le Sueur are the finest flowers of French painting, Descartes with his new philosophical views, together with Viète, Fermat, and Pascal, is a pioneer in the sphere of mathematics which he enriched with a new branch, that of analytical geometry. In the theological field a new science arose with Petau, that of the history of dogma, which was carried still further by Morin and Thomassin. Critical patristic studies owe to Fronton du Duc, Sirmond and Labbe

a development which, towards the close of the century, and thanks to the French Benedictines, laid the foundations of the modern historical method. Bossuet first sought to carry light and order into the medley which men call the history of the world. Distinguished minds of foreign lands, such as Huygens and Cassini, if they would be put on the candlestick, must needs repair to Paris where the Academy of Science and that of Inscriptions, the Observatory and the rich collections, opened their doors to them. More obvious than these achievements in the intellectual order was the way in which Colbert raised France's trade and industry; Louvois created the modern army organization and by feeding troops from magazines, made possible the mobilization of large masses; Vauban laid down the foundations of the modern art of fortification, whilst under generals such as Condé, Turenne and Catinat, France marched from victory to victory in the opening years of Louis XIV.'s reign.

However, the authors of these brilliant achievements, who thereby made of France the first country in the world, were only the stars that prepare the rising of the sun itself, at whose appearance, as willing planets, they ranged themselves in a luminous setting around one man, the real luminary among these lesser lights—the youthful Louis XIV. A born ruler, full of great plans and designs, bent on extending the realm and humiliating Germany and Spain, a prince who really worked and governed as his own minister and only allowed the decrees of his ministers to be issued in his own name, handsome and energetic, a king in his appearance and in his every gesture, the twenty-three year old ruler quickly became the pride and the idol of the French who basked in his glory and who, because they stooped before him as the expression and embodiment of France, felt themselves exalted above all other nations.

It was unquestionably an advantage for the Catholic cause that the most powerful King of Europe, the richest country in the world and the most brilliant literature of the period, should be on the side of Catholicism. This is proved by the numerous conversions among the upper classes in Germany

and in the ranks of intellectual men. None the less the rule of the *roi soleil* proved a calamity for the Church. Louis XIV. was the most determined representative of State absolutism and the very brilliance with which he embodied the new conception of the State led to its triumph, for the other princes, even the Catholic ones, proved only too ready pupils of the great Louis. If Louis did not say in so many words, "L'État, c'est moi!" he certainly said it equivalently and took it for his line of conduct. According to him all right is vested in the State and all authority proceeds from the Sovereign, nay, he even owns all that the country owns, not excluding the property of the Church.[1] The aim of his policy is the honour of the nation whilst the glory of the nation is the greatness of the King.[2] Accordingly the great mass of the people and its welfare are of much less consequence. The Sovereign may pour out its blood in endless wars, provided his greatness is assured; it may be impoverished by crushing taxation, so long as the ruler lives in splendour in castles that surpass all the wonders of the world. In effect Louis XIV. was the only man who counted in France; the wars of the Fronde had broken the power of the nobles and the fall of La Rochelle that of the Huguenots; the States General had not been convened since 1614, and Parliament only dared move after the death of Louis XIV. Hence there remained only one power that could act as a brake, the Church, "whose greatest enemy," in view of his principles, Louis was bound to become, one, too, whose action was fraught with greater danger than open violence.[3]

Absolutism was everywhere bent on domination, even in

[1] Les rois sont seigneurs absolus et ont naturellement la disposition pleine et libre de tous les biens, tant des séculiers que des ecclésiastiques, pour en user come sages économes, c'est à dire selon les besoins de leur État. Louis XIV. in DREISS, I, 209; E. LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, VII, 1, Paris, 1905, 391.

[2] CH. KOCH, *Das unumschränkte Königtum Ludwigs XIV.* (Progr.), Berlin, 1888; P. SSYMANK in *Hist. Vierteljahrschr.*, II. (1899), 39–71; LAVISSE, *loc. cit.*, 119 *seqq.*

[3] O. KLOPP, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, I, 346; X., 200.

the religious and spiritual sphere. Such aims were all the more natural in France as Gallican teaching was gaining ground. Spain too had its Cæsaro-papalism, but this was derived from papal concessions and Philip II. carried it into effect because he imagined that, in the event of the downfall of the Roman Curia, he would be called upon to assume the care of the Catholic Church.[1] French Gallicanism was a quite different thing. In so far as it looked for theoretical foundations at all, it based itself not on papal privileges, its claim was that it preserved the original conditions of the primitive Church. In the Gallican view the Roman See had by degrees subjected all the nations to itself, France alone had preserved the conditions which generally obtained throughout Christendom in the 6th century[2]; hence the genuine Catholic Church was found exclusively on the soil of ancient Gaul. Such views explain Louis XIV.'s conduct towards the Pope. He acknowledged the Pope's precedence in the purely spiritual sphere, but this "purely spiritual" sphere was by him set within very narrow boundaries, and all that went beyond them he felt justified in resisting as Roman pretensions. Hence the attitude towards Alexander VII. and Innocent XI., as if the Pope were a foreign enemy whom one could not confine too sternly within his own boundaries.

In the other great European courts, and even in the little ones, this striving for the complete autonomy of the State found a willing echo, especially when, after the Peace of Utrecht, the Spanish war of succession, the great civil war between the Catholics, the Protestant Powers, England, Holland, Prussia, began to rise. Politics became completely secularized, regard for right and justice sank into the background and the Pope's influence was almost completely eliminated. No papal delegate was present at the Peace of the Pyrenees and that of Monzón. Such a representative appears for the last time at the congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle and Nymegen, but thereafter the men in power thought that

[1] *Cf.* P. Leturia in *Estudios eclesiasticos*, January, 1929, 106–114.

[2] Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, III., Ratisbon, 1848, 339 *seqq.*

they might dispense with the Pope's mediation.[1] Rome ceased to be the centre of gravity of European politics; in the great crises of modern history she either plays no rôle at all or only a very limited one. Henceforth the importance of the nunciature reports lies solely in the fact that they proceed from men well able to judge the events they record.

Thus by 1650 the European situation had undergone a great change, one very unfavourable to the Church and the papacy: in the North there was Sweden, the deadly enemy of Catholicism; Germany and Spain, with their conservative principles pushed into the background; in the centre of western Europe, France still Catholic but already, under Richelieu, dangerously near a schism and, moreover, the second home and the true focus of one of the most dangerous heresies, Jansenism, one all the more to be feared, as it not only avoided open rupture with the Church but, on the contrary, by various subterfuges, preserved the appearance of submission whilst it claimed to be the genuine orthodox Church, as against the 'Molinists'.

Grievous peril thus brooded over the Church. However, Providence is never asleep. Youthful Louis XIV. may indeed have cherished the dream of acquiring Spain by marriage, winning the imperial crown of Germany and, by establishing real imperial rule, of paving the way for world power. What became of such dreams? Louis was to learn by bitter experience that the sword is not the only weapon. His arrogance arrayed all Europe against him and he owed it solely to the lack of unity among his opponents if the last of his campaigns ended not unsuccessfully. To this must be added the impoverishment of the land, the embitterment of the people against the *roi soleil* it had at one time idolized, misfortune upon misfortune in his own family, no heir to make it worth while to toil during a whole lifetime, nor any successors to the men of genius who had shed such lustre upon the beginning of his reign.

[1] At the Peace of Utrecht Passionei was only papal agent and at the Congress of Cambrai the participation of a papal envoy was imposed by force by Dubois.

Nor did Louis succeed in enforcing his will on the Pope. Gallicanism was a half-truth and self-contradictory. If in the early Christian centuries the influence of the Roman See was less to the fore, it was nevertheless there; if Rome gave a free hand to an Athanasius or a Cyril of Alexandria in the distant East, it was because there was no need to interfere, whilst all the time she was fully conscious that she had the right to intervene. Louis XIV. himself had to experience the inconsequence of Gallicanism: again and again he had need of the Pope, both in dogmatic disputes and otherwise, and when faced with insoluble complications he had to request the Pope to speak the decisive word.[1] For all that anti-Roman tendencies and encroachments on the Church's sphere grew constantly. Things came to such a pass that in the 18th century it was no rare thing for Bishop's letters to be burnt, or the Last Sacraments to be administered by order of the police, until at last, by the civil constitution of the clergy, a new ecclesiastical order was dictated by the authority of the State alone and without reference to either Bishops or Pope. However, this extreme

[1] "Cette domination du roi, cependant, n'était pas, ne pouvait être complète. Le gallicanisme, placé à mi-chemin entre le schisme et l'infaillibilité papale, était un système plein d'inconséquences, qui devait inévitablement un jour se briser contre la logique d'airain de Rome. Même à son apogée, il ne savait pas se passer de Rome. A chaque instant le pouvoir royal avait besoin de ce pape, qu'il combattait si volontiers et avec tant d'obstination. Il fallait souvent solliciter à Rome, quand on aurait voulu commander. On le voyait chaque fois qu'il s'agissait d'une question d'hérésie ou de doctrine, ou simplement d'un chapeau de cardinal. De là une sourde irritation dans l'esprit du roi, qui sentait qu'il y avait à l'intérieur même de cet État, qu'il identifiait avec soi-même, une autre puissance imposant des limites à la sienne. De là aussi cette inconséquence dans les relations avec le pape, mélange de menaces et de sollicitations, de violence et de déférence, de corruption scandaleuse et de persécution mesquine." (HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, I, CIX. CH. DE. BILDT, *Christine de Suède et le Conclave de Clément X.* (1669–1670), 60.)

measure of Cæsaro-papalism provided the occasion for the papacy's supreme triumph. When Napoleon resolved to put order into the religious chaos, he saw himself impelled to invoke the Pope, thereby supplying the opportunity for a display of pontifical power of unprecedented magnitude in the whole history of the Church.

Even in his political contests with the Popes, Louis XIV. experienced unforeseen disappointments. True, he forced Alexander VII. to yield in the dispute over the Corsican guards, so as to preserve the States of the Church from an invasion of the King's soldiery, but no one can admire the brutal conduct of an arrogant youth towards a father and an aged man. However, this did not put an end to all conflicts. After a short period of peace under Clement IX. they were renewed under his successor, eighty-years-old Clement X., and they became extremely acute under Innocent XI. On the other hand this was the moment for the beginning of an extremely interesting spectacle. On one side Europe's mightiest King, in all the force of his manhood, relying on a trained army and all the arts of policy and diplomacy, glorified by poets as the one who saw more clearly than the Pope and who sustained the whole structure of religion,[1] and this

[1] Thus Racine in 1689 in the prologue to *Esther* has this address to God :

De ta gloire animé, lui seul de tant de rois
S'arme pour ta querelle, et combat pour tes droits . . .
Tout semble abandonner tes sacrés étendards.
Et l'enfer, couvrant tout de ses vapeurs funèbres,
Sur les yeux les plus saints a jeté ses ténèbres.
Lui seul, invariable et fondé sur la foi,
Ne cherche, ne regarde et n'écoute que toi ;
Et bravant du démon l'impuissant artifice
De la religion soutient tout l'édifice.
Grand Dieu, juge ta cause. . . .

The fabulist Lafontaine also wrote of Innocent XI. (Letter of August 18, 1689, to Prince De Conti, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. C. H. Walckenaer, II, Paris, 1838, 743) :

embodiment of all the worldly greatness of the period faced by an unarmed old man, a Pope in whom, on the whole, there was nothing of the skilled statesman or the wily diplomatist. Simple and straightforward, but consequent, the Pope defended what he knew to be the cause of right and justice, ready, if need be, to die a martyr to his cause.[1] "To this we are called," he wrote to Louis, "and we do not value our life more than ourselves; not alone with constancy, but even with joy, we must bear tribulations for justice' sake and glory in them and in the cross of Jesus Christ."[2] He would sooner be flayed alive, like the Apostle St. Bartholomew, than consent to anything that could redound to the injury of the Holy See.[3] Such speech, no doubt, would meet with but

Celui-ci véritablement
N'est envers nous ni saint ni père.
Nos soins, de l'erreur triomphants,
Ne font qu'augmenter sa colère
Contre l'ainé de ses enfants.

[1] "His policy presents no surprising features, on the contrary, amid the incredible intrigues of the 17th century and the constantly changing relations between the various States, it is remarkable by reason of its simplicity and constancy. It is characterized by the sense of justice that inspired its guide, by the firmness with which he met encroachments on the pontifical power and suppressed abuses, and above all by the high aim that he had set himself . . ." (M. IMMICH, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Orleanischen Krieges*, Heidelberg, 1898, XVI., *seq.*).

[2] Neque tamen ullum inde incommodum aut periculum, nullam, quantumvis saevam atque horribilem tempestatem pertimescimus. Ad hoc enim vocati sumus, neque facimus animam Nostram pretiosiorem quam Nos, probe intelligentes non forti solum, sed etiam laeto animo subeundas tribulationes propter justitiam, in quibus et in cruce Domini Nos unice gloriari oportet. Brief of Dec. 29, 1679, in BERTHIER, I, 330.

[3] che più tosto si sarebbe lasciato scorticare, come s. Bartolomeo, che fare o consentire a cosa pregiudiciale alla S. Sede Apostolica et alle ragioni della medesima. Process of Beatification, *Informatio*, Testimony of Maracchi.

little understanding on the part of the diplomatists, it might even call forth their sneers. But the incredible happened: it was not the unworldly ascetic who was beaten in the dispute; moral victory would have been his in any case. On other questions also Louis XIV.'s endeavours failed owing to the opposition of the Pope, as the King's efforts for the Electoral See of Cologne; in the dispute over the freedom of the quarter he also gave in after the death of Innocent XI.; he restored the confiscated papal possessions in France, viz. Avignon and Venaissin; the convocation of a General Council was now without point, and under Innocent XII. Louis had to give up the four Gallican articles of 1682; the quarrel over the *régale* met with a solution with which Rome could, on the whole, be satisfied.

But we have not yet as much as hinted at Innocent XI.'s greatest triumphs. From beginning to end his government was inspired and dominated by the lofty thought of uniting Christendom for a grand struggle against the traditional enemy in the East—at first sight, and judged by appearances, a hopeless undertaking in view of the utterly secular policy of the States at the time, an enterprise that must have looked like a dream of long ago, which only an unpractical idealism could think of evoking! However, though Innocent XI. did not realize all he would have wished to accomplish, he could nevertheless register many successes. The salvation of Europe and the anti-Turkish league are for the most part his work; he was the real soul of the opposition against the rising tide of Islam. Great events rapidly succeeded each other during his pontificate; the deliverance of Vienna, the conquest of Ofen, the Grand Alliance. The new Austro-Hungarian Imperial State was a result of the wars of the time, and a stop was put for ever to the conquest of the Osmanlis.[1] Even in purely secular matters and in affairs of State the greater political wisdom was on the side of the unpolitical Pope. If France had not robbed his plans of complete success, there would have remained no Eastern question and Europe

[1] IMMICH, *Zur Vorgeschichte*, XVII.

would have been spared incalculable complications.[1] The reign of Innocent XI. is the epilogue of the age of the great reforming Popes of the 16th and 17th centuries. Whereas under Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. and even after them, Rome, notwithstanding its continual decline in the political sphere, still remained the centre of the civilized world, chiefly by reason of its great creations in the artistic field, up to the French Revolution the Apostolic See knew indeed excellent priests but no longer any great men. The most remarkable Pope of the period was Benedict XIV., a scholar whose works are not yet out of date, a man of high and liberal spirit, whose ready repartee could be pungent ; he knew how to yield but likewise how to go cautiously forward. For the rest the 18th century is one of the saddest in the history of the Church, and outwardly one of steady decline. To the three hostile forces of the 17th century, viz. Jansenism, Gallicanism, Cæsaro-papalism, a fourth came to be added, viz. an infidel philosophy, deism, naturalism, rationalism, which only worked themselves out completely in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its aim was to attack and to undermine Christianity in its foundations. Added to this was the fact that the other hostile powers became even more aggressive than in the past. The French Parliament, which under Louis XIV. had sunk into political insignificance, acquired new strength during the Regency and permitted itself, as the guardian of Gallicanism, encroachments on the ecclesiastical sphere such as the *roi soleil* would not have dared to perpetrate. Jansenism seemingly vanished after Clement IX., but under Clement X., through Quesnel, it became a fresh and even greater danger ; under Louis XIV. it had been opposed by the Government, but now it was the object of the solicitous protection of Parliament. By then State absolutism had become an established thing ; it might

[1] " Il faut le dire, à l'honneur de la diplomatie pontificale, que c'est à Rome qu'on a premièrement compris l'importance de la question de l'Orient. Que de maux auraient été épargnés à l'Europe si la voix des papes avait été mieux écoutée ! " BILDT, *loc. cit.*, 4.

be said that the princes vied with one another in making the Pope feel his political impotence ; thus Clement XI., in the course of his long and peaceful pontificate, found himself, during the Spanish war of succession, between France and Austria as between the hammer and the anvil ; Benedict XIII. had to become reconciled to the *Monarchia Sicula* so long opposed, whilst Clement XII. was forced to make fresh concessions. It looked as if the papacy's very power to live was to be tested and the fact that it stood the test is one of the most memorable facts of all history. The great pioneers of royal absolutism, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis XIV., however clear and far-sighted they may have seemed, failed to perceive that by exaggerating the royal prerogatives they conjured up the revolution, and that by setting at nought the most legitimate authority of all, that of the Church, they were undermining all authority, theirs included. Royal absolutism dug its own grave ; when it fell, its fall included that of Gallicanism and Jansenism. For a time it looked as if the deluge was about to sweep away the papacy too. However, the nadir of its depression in the 18th century also marks the starting point of a fresh and unexpected rise, even though not in the political sphere. In the 19th century the papacy remained as a world power with which every State had to reckon, and though it may no longer intervene in world politics, the nations have nevertheless been taught that it would be greatly to their advantage if there still existed a peaceful power, enthroned above the strife of parties, with its superiority and impartiality recognized by all.

When Pius VI. died in captivity, men wrote the epitaph of the papacy, for they fancied that it would rise no more. If ever prophecy was stultified, it was this one.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave of 1644. Innocent X. and the Pamfili.

When Urban VIII. died on July 29th, 1644, the Cardinals' first care was to remove the mercenaries, French for the most part, who had been enrolled for the recently concluded war of Castro. This seemed all the more urgent as the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and the Viceroy of Naples had drawn up their troops along the borders of the States of the Church and were threatening to take action unless the foreign soldiery was disbanded and Taddeo Barberini deprived of his command. The Emperor's representative, Savelli, worked in the same sense. In the end it was decided that the foreign troops should be evacuated towards Bologna whilst Taddeo Barberini should remain General of the Church, but his authority was to be limited by two Cardinals who were to be placed by his side.[1] These measures had a calming effect on the people, for in Rome the situation had taken on so warlike a character that all the palaces had been put in a state of defence.[2]

On August 9th the Cardinals went into conclave.[3] Contrary

[1] Report of Cardinal Harrach to Ferdinand III., dat. Rome, August 6, 1644, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See the report in Petrucelli, III., 91 ; I. Nicii Erythraei, *epist.* LXVIII. *ad Tyrrhenum* ; Coville, 3 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* on the conclave of Innocent X., H. Conring, *Comment, hist. de electione Urbani VIII. et Innocentii X.*, Helmstadt, 1651 ; *Conclavi*, II., 356–499 ; Petrucelli, III, 95 *seqq.* ; Wahrmund, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 128 *seq.* in *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademie*, Hist. Kl. 122 and 170 ; Eisler, 48 *seq.*, 88 *seq.* ; a diary of Cardinal E. A. Harrach on the conclave of 1644 in Harrach Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* F. Mencik, *Volba Papeze Innocence X., Praze*, 1894, where the election capitulation (*cf. Quellen u. Forsch.*, XII., 299) is given on p. 42. Its date (Sept. 10, 1644) can be ascertained from the copy in *Boncompagni Archives*,

to what had been planned at first,[1] it was not held at the Quirinal nor at the College of the Jesuits, but notwithstanding the objections of the physician Collicola, who warned against the "miasmas and the risk of infection", at the suggestion of the two Francesco Barberini and in accordance with established custom, it was held at the Vatican.[2] The electoral hall remained open all day, thus enabling the envoys of the Emperor and those of the Kings of Spain and France to confer with the Cardinals.[3] In view of the great heat the cells had been made more spacious than usual.[4]

The Sacred College consisted of 62 members [5]; six were absent, viz. the Spaniards Borgia and Sandoval, the French Mazarin and La Rochefoucauld and the Italians Spinola and Orsini. Most of the 56 Cardinals who took part in the election were Italians. There were among them only the three Spaniards Albornoz, Cueva, and Lugo, the two Frenchmen Alphonse Louis Richelieu and Achille d'Estampes de Valençay and the German Harrach. Sixteen Cardinals were Romans, viz. Lante, Crescenzi, Pamfili, Rocci, Cesi, Verospi, Montalto, Panciroli, Mattei, Altieri, Teodoli, Rapaccioli, Antonio Barberini, Colonna, Gabrielli, Rondinini; seven were Florentines, viz. Capponi, Francesco Barberini, Sacchetti, Machiavelli, Falconieri, Medici and the elder Antonio Barberini. There were also five Genoese, viz. Spinola, Costaguti, Durazzo, Donghi and Grimaldi. To these must be added three Milanese—Roma, Trivulzio and Monti; two

Rome, C. 20. A few relevant letters in MARCHESAN, *Lettere inedite di O. Rinaldo*, Treviso, 1896, and CHINAZZI, *Sede vacante per la morte di Urbano VIII.*, Rome, 1904. Register of *spese occorse per il conclave 1644* in Arch. Doria-Pamfili, Rome, 1–5.

[1] See *Conclave di Innocenzo X.*, Vat. 8781, Vat. Lib.

[2] *Cf.* CELLI, *Storia della malaria nell'Agro Romano*, Città di Castello, 1925.

[3] *Avviso* of August 13, 1644, Papal Secr. Arch.; *Avvisi*, 96.

[4] *Avviso* of August 6, 1644, *loc. cit.*

[5] Not 61 as given by CIACONIUS (IV., 642–3). *Cf.* the authentic data in the *Pianta del conclave d'Innocenzo X.*, ed. Calisto Ferranti, Rome, Piazza Navona, Vat. Lib.

Venetians, viz. Cornaro and Bragadino; two Neapolitans, viz. Brancaccio and Filomarino. Siena was represented by Cennini and Bichi, and Ferrara by Bentivoglio and Rossetti.

The only survivor of Gregory XV.'s Cardinals was Cueva. Seven owed their elevation to Paul V., viz. Lante, Crescenzi, Cennini, Bentivoglio, Roma, Capponi and Medici; all the others were created by Urban VIII.

Previous to the opening of the conclave the following were spoken of as *papabili*: Lante, Crescenzi, Bentivoglio, Capponi, Sacchetti, Mattei, Pamfili, Rocci, Maculano, Altieri,[1] and besides them also Spinola, Monti and Roma. Concerning the latter everybody took it for granted that if he were elected he would make an end of nepotism, for he gave nothing to his relatives but bestowed all he had on the Church and on the poor. In view of his eighty years Cennini could not be seriously considered; Pamfili had a reputation for ability but he was definitely rejected by France and even in the Sacred College he had many opponents. Giulio Sacchetti had the best prospects; he was a priest of blameless life, liberal and highly cultured, the only thing against him being the circumstance that he was not yet sixty years old. Sacchetti was likewise on excellent terms with Mazarin, a circumstance which everybody thought sufficient by itself to range the Spaniards against him.[2]

[1] *Avviso* of Aug. 6, 1644, Papal Sec. Arch. Altieri fa gran rumore e se non fosse giovine et sano, potrebbe facilmente colpire (Fr. Mantovani, report of August 6, 1644, Modena State Archives).

[2] See O. Rinaldi's letters of July 30 and August 6, 1644, in A. Marchesan, *Lettere inedite di O. Rinaldi*, Treviso, 1896, 23 *seq.*, 28 *seq.* For Sacchetti see Moroni, LX., 100; Pallavicino, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 55. Alaleone calls him *vir summae virtutis et incomparabilis doctrinae et vitae integritatis* (* *Diarium*, Vat. Libr.). G. B. Tarabucci wrote of Sacchetti in 1643: *"Ha in grado eminente tutte le qualità desiderabili in un cardinale papabile: età provetta, bontà di vita, dottrina, cortesia, piacevolezza, prontezza, grande sincerità di spirito, in somma degno del pontificato" (*Stato della corte di Roma nel 1643*, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Franc. Mantovani, envoy of Este, says of Sacchetti: "Gode un aura grande e forse si parla troppo di

On the other hand Sacchetti's most intimate friends were the Barberini. How close these relations were, as well as the Cardinals' artistic sense, appears even at this day in his Villa of Castel Fusano, near Ostia, situated in a magnificent pine forest planted by himself and now the property of the Chigi. Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Baldassare and Francesco Lauri had adorned it with paintings.[1] In the gallery on the second floor, where maps painted on the walls recall the extensive travels of his highly cultured brother Marcello, at one time depositary of the Apostolic *Camera* under Urban VIII., one may see in the corners by the side of Sacchetti's arms, those of Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini and those of Urban VIII. over the main entrance, so that one has the impression of being in a property of the Barberini. The gravity of Sacchetti's character appears from Oderico Rinaldi's remark to the effect that he did not move a finger to secure his election.[2] The data of the diplomatic reports on the strength of the various parties differ greatly; it was thought that France could rely on 4–6 votes and Spain on 8–24! One and the same Cardinal was often reckoned as belonging to opposite parties.[3] On the whole the following

lui." Of Pamfili the same writes: "Lodano i suoi meriti e l'habilità, ma li si oppongano la rozzezza della natura e l' [gap] della cognata. Li Francesi poi l'escludono apertamente . . . e nel s. collegio ha più di dieci cardinali che li sono contrarii" (*report of August 6, 1644, State Archives, Modena).

[1] CAMPORI, *Lettere artist.*, Modena, 1866, 505; PASCOLI, *Vite di pittori*, II., Rome, 1730; POSSE, *Einige Gemälde des A. Sacchi*, in *Mitteilungen der sächsischen Kunstsammlungen*, III. (1912). According to the *Documents of the Sacchetti Archives, Pietro da Cortona received 100 scudi on Sept. 7, 1626; Andrea Sacchi 60 scudi on April 3, 1628; Andrea Camassei 25 scudi on Nov. 24 and Pietro Berrettini da Cortona 266½ scudi in 1630 for their paintings *in casale di Ostia*. *Cf.* the rare work *Villa Sacchetta Ostiensis cosmographicis tabulis et notis per Ioannem Tomcum Marnavitium illustrata. Rusticanis legibus officinarumque inscriptionibus annotata*, Rome, 1630.

[2] MARCHESAN, *Lettere inedite di O. Rinaldi*, 28.

[3] COVILLE, 9–10.

parties may be said to have constituted themselves, viz. the old Cardinals, Urban VIII.'s Cardinals, those who entertained French or Spanish sympathies.

The Spanish-Imperial party was headed by Cardinal Albornoz who was also the depositary of "the secret of the Catholic King". In addition to the Spanish nationals, Cardinals Medici, Este, Trivulzio, Colonna and Harrach also belonged to this party, whilst that of the old Cardinals, led by Cardinal Mattei, was also closely allied with it. The party of Urban VIII.'s nephews was led by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, but he could only rely with certainty upon barely one half of the forty-four Cardinals who owed the purple to the late Pope.[1] All the same he was strong enough to prevent at any time the elevation of any one candidate unacceptable to himself. The French party was headed by the youthful Antonio Barberini, Cardinal Protector of France, and by Richelieu, Mazarin's confidant.

The two nephews of Urban VIII. fully realized how much they had exploited to their advantage the exceptionally long pontificate of their uncle; they were afraid of being called to account, hence they were anxious to secure the election of a Pope of whose favour they could feel assured. At bottom they did not care whether the Pontiff leaned towards France or Spain, so long as he guaranteed their security. In order to preserve the greatest freedom of action, the nephews wrapped their plans in deepest mystery.[2] They were by no means in complete agreement as to their candidate; Francesco's first choice was Giulio Sacchetti and after him Giambattista Pamfili, but Antonio Barberini, and with him all the French, definitely declined the latter whereas they were

[1] *"Per certissimo si dice che l'Eminenza Sua non ha seguito sicuro se non di 26 voti, et se durerà nelle sue stitichezze, correrà rischio di provare una ribellione totale e che si faccia il Pontefice senza di lui, perchè insofferibile la sua irresolutezza." Report of Fr. Mantovani dated Aug. 20, 1644. Modena State Arch.

[2] At the opening of the conclave, Mantovani *reports on Aug. 10, 1644: "Barberini haveva dichiarato la sua intentione con le creature, di chi se dolevano assaissimo." State Arch., Modena.

very keen on Sacchetti.[1] At the imperial court, where there was much dissatisfaction with Urban VIII.'s attitude during the Thirty Years' War,[2] little attention had been paid to the papal election. In vain Savelli asked for fuller instructions, neither he nor the Protector of the German nation, Cardinal Colonna, succeeded in obtaining them. All that Savelli secured was the dispatch of a special Spanish plenipotentiary, Count Sirvela, who reached Rome shortly before the opening of the conclave.[3]

On the other hand the leader of France's policy, Cardinal Mazarin, displayed all the more zeal. As early as February 1st, 1644, he had instructed the French envoy in Rome to work, in the first instance, for Bentivoglio and in the second for Sacchetti, but to oppose with all his might, secretly, but if necessary openly, the election of Pamfili.[4] The instructions were repeated after the death of Urban VIII., on August 11th. However, the execution of this programme was hampered by the circumstance that the French ambassador, the Marquis Saint-Chamond, was both new to his post and sickly, whilst Cardinal Valençay could not be depended upon. Only of Richelieu, Bichi and Grimaldi could Mazarin be quite sure; but the wily politician did not despair; he sent money to Rome and ordered Admiral De Brézé to be prepared to appear before Civitavecchia. He also sent to Rome a report of the victory near Freiburg (August 3rd and 5th).[5]

[1] See *Conclavi*, II., 357 *seq.*; *Report of Marchese Cesare Guerrieri on his *obbedienza* embassy in 1645, Gonzaga Archives. Mantua; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 130 *seq.* Cardinal Antonio Barberini had grievously offended Pamfili (SIMEONI, *Francesco I. d'Este e la politica italiana del Mazarino*, Bologna, 1922, 55).

[2] See **Considerazioni e prognostici per la sede vacante di Urbano VIII.* in *Cod.* 1172, of Bibl. Riccardiana, Florence.

[3] WAHRMUND, 129.

[4] Mazarin's hostility towards Pamfili was not exclusively due to the insinuations of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, but was also based on the fact that Pamfili was closely allied to Cardinal Panciroli whom the French Cardinal considered as a personal enemy. SIMEONI, 55.

[5] COVILLE, 5 *seq.*, 12.

An enormous sensation was created when, at the very beginning of the conclave, the leader of the Spaniards, Albornoz, openly pronounced the exclusion of Sacchetti. The old Cardinals, and not a few of those of Urban VIII., such as Cesi and Mattei, took the side of the Spaniards. Barberini nevertheless upheld Sacchetti and sought to induce Albornoz, though in vain, to withdraw the exclusion. When asked on what grounds Sacchetti was to be excluded, Albornoz declared that his sovereign was not bound to give explanations on the subject, that it must suffice that he did not trust him: all the Cardinals must reckon with this. As a matter of fact not a few theologians were of opinion that they were bound to take that fact into account; thus the confessor of the conclave, the Jesuit Valentino Magnoni, thought that it was not possible to resist the will of so powerful a King without imperilling the Church, hence they must choose the lesser evil. This view was opposed by some of the Cardinals. For the time being Barberini upheld Sacchetti's candidature, but Count Sirvela informed the Spanish Cardinals that if they supported Sacchetti, they ran the risk of forfeiting the favour of the King of Spain and with it their benefices and pensions.[1]

Nothing was more unwelcome to Cardinal Sacchetti from the first than the ardour of the French in supporting him. A report circulated in the conclave that money had come from Paris in furtherance of his election, nay, it was even affirmed that Mazarin had written a letter to Sacchetti in which he addressed him as Pope.[2]

By degrees the difficulties of Sacchetti's candidature had manifestly become so great that Barberini saw himself compelled to consider that of Pamfili and in this sense he got in touch, by letter, with the French ambassador. However, even though Antonio Barberini was now prepared to resign himself to Pamfili's election, Saint-Chamond declared that

[1] Eisler, 93, 95 *seq.*, 97.

[2] *Memorie del conclave d'Innocenzo X. scritte dal card. Lugo in *Barb. lat.*, 4676, p. 255 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

he could not possibly go against the will of his King.[1] Accordingly another effort had to be made to bring off Sacchetti's election, but at the ballot of August 30th only twelve Cardinals declared themselves in his favour whereas the three-quarters' majority which was required for the election was thirty-eight.[2]

This failure led to a new phase of the conclave. The candidature of Pamfili, whose prospects had been serious from the beginning of the conclave,[3] was now definitely put forward. Cardinal Francesco Barberini got in touch with Lugo [4] and the latter removed Antonio Barberini's last scruples so that thereafter the latter strove to shape circumstances in such wise as to remove every appearance of the election being directly aimed against France.[5] To gain time he began by urging the election of Maculano.[6] Meanwhile he sought to win over Bichi with the promise of a French archbishopric. Bichi declined. Much depended on the French ambassador, but the latter declared that he must first consult Paris. Mazarin replied in a letter of September 19th in which he emphatically pronounced against the candidature of Pamfili.[7] However, Mazarin's objections came too late; even before

[1] COVILLE, 17. The *Report of Cesare Guerrieri mentioned in note 1 of p. 19 knows nothing of this.

[2] EISLER, 98.

[3] In a MS. entitled **Caratteristica dei papabile*, from an imperialist source, we read of Pamfili: "Potrà egli correr la sua fortuna essendo di gran letteratura e di profondo sapere." State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Memorie del card. Lugo, *loc. cit.*

[5] COVILLE, 19.

[6] CHINAZZI, 44 *seq.* From the letters of Michelino here given, which are preserved in the Archives Sforza-Cesarini, Rome, it appears that an attempt was made to overthrow Maculano, a Capuchin, by recalling a certain trial before the Inquisition which, however, in no way touched the Frate. Fr. Mantovani wrote on Aug. 6, 1644: *"Maculano non ha applauso nel senato apostolico, e dicono che Pio v fu eletto per la santità della vita e Sisto v per la letteratura: parti che non militano nel frate presente." State Arch., Modena.

[7] COVILLE, 19-21.

he had penned his reply Pamfili's election had taken place on September 14th. How was it that events thus precipitated themselves ?

September has the reputation in Rome of being the unhealthiest period of the year and the Cardinals were terrified at the prospect of having to remain together, within the narrow confines of the conclave, even during that month.[1] It soon looked as if their fears were to be realized. The first to fall ill with malaria was Bentivoglio (he died on September 7th) and after him Cardinals Mattei and Gabrielli and lastly also Francesco Barberini. Like his colleagues, Francesco had to leave the conclave, but before doing so he passed on the leadership of the party to his brother Antonio so that the latter found himself at the head of both the French party and that of the nephews.[2]

Mazarin's reply to Saint-Chamond's consultation could not arrive in Rome before September 23rd, but in view of the great heat and the bad state of health of the Cardinals, it was impossible to draw out the conclave for so long. In these circumstances Saint-Chamond suffered himself to be persuaded by the Marquis di San Vito, Cardinal Teodoli's brother, to discuss the eventual election of Pamfili [3] and on this basis Antonio Barberini forthwith announced that France had withdrawn its opposition to Pamfili.

A particular circumstance caused Barberini to hurry his negotiations in favour of Pamfili. This was that at one scrutiny old Cardinal Cennini, who was no friend of his, and who had supported Spain, had secured 25 votes. Antonio realized that further delay would be highly dangerous, hence he decided to act without waiting for Mazarin's reply.[4] On the evening of September 13th a decisive conversation took

[1] On Aug. 24, 1644, Fr. Mantovani reports : *"Molti scommettono che non havremo Papa per tutto Settembre." State Arch., Modena.

[2] *Memorie del card. Lugo, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib. ; *Conclavi*, II., 473 *seqq.* ; EISLER, 101.

[3] COVILLE, 22, 42 *seqq.*

[4] EISLER, 101–2.

place in Spada's cell between Antonio Barberini, Rapaccioli and Facchinetti.[1] Lugo was informed in the morning and Facchinetti treated with Albornoz. The conditions were as follows: The Spanish party would maintain towards the *pratica* for Pamfili the same attitude as that for Maculano; should France feel injured by Antonio's action, the Barberini would be assured of Spain's protection. Albornoz accepted these conditions and promptly obtained the assent of fifteen of his followers.[2] The Cardinal likewise sent word to the Spanish ambassador, but the latter's distrust was such that he only saw in the whole thing a manœuvre the object of which was to weaken the Spanish party and to push through Sacchetti's candidature.[3] On the morning of September 15th Lugo repaired to Pamfili's cell, to inform him of his impending election to the papacy. He recommended to him, in the first instance, the interests of the Church and peace between the princes, and lastly the House of the Barberini. In the ensuing scrutiny Pamfili was elected by a large majority, only the French Cardinals Valençay and Richelieu as well as Bichi, Grimaldi and Maculano having voted against him.[4] The thunder of the guns of Castel S. Angelo and the clanging of the bells of the city proclaimed to the Romans that St. Peter's Chair was once more occupied.[5] The new Pope took the name of Innocent X.[6] in view of the fact that his family had settled in Rome under Innocent VIII.; for his motto he chose the words of 2 Kings iii, 9: "Give to thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people."[7]

The Romans were overjoyed that a fellow citizen was to

[1] *Memorie del card. Lugo, *loc. cit.*

[2] EISLER, 102–3.

[3] *Memorie del card. Lugo, *loc. cit.*

[4] COVILLE, 22. Interesting details on the scrutiny in *Memorie del card. Lugo (*loc. cit.*).

[5] A. TAURELLI, *De novissima electione Innocentii X., Bononiae*, 1640, 24 *seq.*; NOVAES (X., 8) mentions similar writings.

[6] It was at first thought that he would take the name of Clement IX.; see Harrach's report of September 15, 1644, in MENCIK, 47.

[7] CIACONIUS, IV., 643.

wear the tiara. Cardinal Harrach expressed his satisfaction at the election of a Pope who was not only a great lover of peace, but likewise well disposed towards the House of Habsburg; the Spanish party, he wrote, notwithstanding its weakness, may well boast of having not only paved the way for a good Pope, but one whom France had excluded and whose attainment of the supreme dignity looked like a miracle.[1] The coronation took place on October 4th [2] and on November 23rd the Pope took possession of the Lateran. According to custom many triumphal arches had been erected and these were adorned with pompous inscriptions, pictures and statues; one arch was especially admired, even by the Pope himself; it had been erected on the Capitol, from a design of the architect Carlo Rainaldi. Between the Arch of Titus and the Colosseum the Jews had spread sixty tapestries bearing texts from the Old Testament.[3]

Giambattista Pamfili was sprung from a very ancient family of the delightful hill town of Gubbio. In the last quarter of the 15th century one branch of the family settled in Rome. Camillo Pamfili, whose brother Girolamo became a Cardinal under Clement VIII., married Maria Flaminia del Bufalo. Four sons sprang from this union: Pamfili, Giambattista, Angelo Benedetto, Alessandro, and two daughters, Prudenzia and Agata who both took the veil.[4]

[1] Harrach's report, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf. Relazione delle ceremonie per la coronazione di P. Innocenzo X.*, Rome, 1644. *"Fu tanto il concorso del popolo, che non ci è memoria di cosa simile" (Fr. Mantovani on October 5, 1644, State Archives, Modena).

[3] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 208 *seqq.*, 248 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 255 *seq.* To the reports here indicated must be added an **Avviso* of November 26, 1644, Papal Secret Archives. EVELYN, *Diary*, 118 *seq.*, also gives a description of the *possesso*.

[4] On Innocent X.'s family and antecedents, *cf.* besides the Venetian embassy reports in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 50 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*: A. TAURELLI, *De novissima electione Innocenti X., Bononiae 1644*; F. F. MANCINI, *Compendio della vita di Papa Innocenzo X.* (copy in Bibl. Casanatense, Rome); N. A. CAFERRIUS,

The family coat of arms showed a dove with an olive branch in its beak surmounted by three golden lilies.[1] The family mansion stood near the Pasquino in the Piazza Navona. Here Giambattista Pamfili was born on May 7th, 1574 and three days later he was baptized in the parish church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso.[2] His uncle Girolamo undertook to educate the bright youth[3] and in all probability it was due to him that his pupil ended by embracing the ecclesiastical state. After taking a doctorate in both laws at the Roman University, he was ordained priest on September 27th, 1597. In 1601 Clement VIII. made him a consistorial advocate. When uncle Girolamo was raised to the cardinalate, Giambattista succeeded him, on June 9th, 1604, as auditor of the Rota. At that time he became an intimate friend of his colleague

Synthema vetustatis sive flores historiarum, Romae, 1667; CIACONIUS, 570 *seq.*; AMEYDEN, ed. Bertini, II., 124 *seqq.*; for BAGATTA, *Vita di Innocenzo X.* (in PLATINA-PANVINIO, *Vite*, ed. Venezia, 1730) sèe MAZZUCHELLI, III., 63; for his correction of the name of the Pope's mother: *Lettere di Michele Giustiniani*, Roma, 1675, 7; *Spicil. Vat., I., Roma*, 1890, 116 *seq.* (excellent data from Vat. MSS.); CIAMPI, *Innocenzo X.*, 14 *seq.* Much is to be added to the judgment passed by ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST (in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LII., 118 *seqq.*) and by EHRLE (*Spada*, 2, note 2) on the defects and qualities of Ciampi's biography of the Pamfili Pope. Ciampi is very far from having made adequate use of the Roman material; from the Papal Secret Archives he quotes nothing and from other collections of MSS. for the most part only secondary details; the Doria-Pamfili Archives, which he should have used in the first instance, were closed to him. Innocent X.'s sister Prudenzia died on April 25, 1650, at S. Marta. Alaleone describes her as "femina maximi spiritus et incomparabilis prudentiae et pietatis et erga omnes benevolissima" (*Diarium*, Vat. Lib.).

[1] PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906, 43 *seq.*

[2] Baptismal register in Archives of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, I., 170; copy in Doria-Pamfili Archives, 93–46.

[3] These and the following dates in MSS. *Notes to BRUSONI, *Historia d'Italia* in Doria-Pamfili Arch., 93–46, p. 61 *seq.*

Ludovisi, the future Pope Gregory XV.[1] A mighty quarto volume in the family archives bears witness, even at this day, to his activity as auditor.[2] Small wonder that on March 26th, 1621, Gregory XV. appointed the keen and skilful auditor nuncio in Naples, a post he retained for four years.[3] Without sacrificing any of the Church's rights, Pamfili knew how to avoid disputes with the Government.[4] When Urban VIII. sent his nephew Francesco Barberini to France and Spain, Pamfili was assigned to him as *datarius*. In this capacity he won the confidence of the nephew to such an extent that the latter hardly undertook anything without his advice.[5] The Pope was so pleased with his services that he gave him the title of Patriarch of Antiochia and on May 30th, 1626, he entrusted to him the difficult Spanish nunciature.[6] At Madrid everyone remarked on his reserve and reticence.[7] Against the will of the Spanish minister Olivares, Urban VIII.

[1] *Cf.* Accarisio, **Vita Gregorii*, XV. (*cf.* our data XXVII. Appendix 5).

[2] **Decisioni rotali in sua* [G. B. Pamfili] *ponenza*, 1605–1617. Doria-Pamfili Arch., 1–8.

[3] See besides, Biaudet, 206; N. Capece Galeota, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii Apost. di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877, 50 *seqq.* The *reports of Pamfili in *Barb.*, 7467–7477, Vat. Lib. An **Inventario di mobili di proprietà di G. B. Pamfili nella nunziatura di Napoli*, in Doria-Pamfili Arch., 1–5. *Ibid.*, unsigned. **Lettere del card. G. B. Pamfili* (original), among them a number addressed to his brother Pamfilio, beginning April 3, 1621 ("Hiersera giunsi in Napoli") up to 1641. Other *letters, 1621–1646, *ibid.*, 1–4. Here also the *original of Pamfili's Instruction as nuncio in Naples signed by Card. Ludovisi; the same also in Papal Sec. Arch. *Misc.* A, II., T 177, p. 93 *seqq.*, and *Ottob.* 2206, p. 212 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.; it treats of immunity, faculties and *spolia*.

[4] A. Contarini in Berchet, II., 68.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Biaudet, 207; *reports in *Barb.* 8326–8343, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 66[a], 71, 274; *Nunziat. diverse*, 119–121.

[7] See report in Justi, *Velasqueq*, II., 181, n. 1.

admitted him, *motu proprio*, into the Sacred College.[1] At first Pamfili was retained *in petto* at the creation of August 30th, 1627; his nomination was only published on November 19th, 1629, S. Eusebio being assigned to him for his titular church. He tarried for a time in Madrid and it was only on July 6th, 1630, that he received the red hat at the hands of Urban VIII. In Rome he worked assiduously in various Congregations, especially in that of the Council of which he was Prefect. It was said that he was wont to speak very freely to Urban VIII. and that he sought to dissuade him from embarking on the Castro war, the unfortunate issue of which he foresaw.[2] Already in 1632 he was deemed worthy of the papacy[3] whereas a few years earlier he had had no prospects whatever.[4] As nuncio his rigidity earned for him the nickname of *Monsignor non va*—"Monsignor, it is impossible." As a Cardinal he became even more strict. He was ever most cautious and even in the Congregations he would not obstinately maintain his own opinions.[5] With the Spaniards he was on good terms. His prospects of attaining the supreme dignity rose so high that by 1640 he was considered one of the chief *papabili*.[6] Three years later the Mantuan envoy gave it as his opinion that Pamfili excelled both in questions of Canon Law and in affairs of State.[7]

The new Pope, though seventy years of age, enjoyed the best of health, thanks to his imperturbable nature. A contemporary thus describes his outward appearance: "He is

[1] *Spicil. Vatic.*, I., 116, and BERCHET, I., 278. *Cf. Colleccion de docum. inéd.*, LXXXVI., 169.

[2] **Note* on Brusoni in Doria-Pamfili Arch., 93–46, p. 116b.

[3] Report of Peter von Quren, Canon of Trèves, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, X., 562.

[4] BERCHET, I., 279.

[5] A. CONTARINI in BERCHET, II., 69.

[6] BERCHET, II., 30.

[7] *"Card. Pamfilio Romano è un soggetto eminente, non solo nelle materie legali, ma anche in quelle di stato." G. B. TARABUCCI, *Stato della corte di Roma nel 1643*, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

tall and thin, has small eyes, large feet, a thin beard, an almost olive green complexion, his head is bald "[1]—that is, he was no less ugly than Leo X. Just as the latter had the good fortune to have his portrait painted by Raphael, so Innocent X. by Velasquez. In 1650 that great master was treading for the second time the classic soil of the Eternal City where he witnessed the solemn functions of the jubilee year and frequented the Roman artists, especially Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, Algardi, Salvatore Rosa and Nicolas Poussin. It was on this occasion that Velasquez painted in a short space of time and without the Pope having given him a single sitting, the marvellous portrait which at once called forth the wonder of all Rome whilst it roused the resident artists to the greatest admiration.

The plan of the picture does not differ from the usual papal portraits. Innocent X. is seated in an armchair lined with red plush. The right hand, on which is seen the fisherman's ring, hangs over the arm of the chair with extraordinary plastic effect whilst the left holds a sheet of paper bearing the name of Velasquez. The dazzling whiteness of the rochet, the red mozzetta, the red round cap, the so-called *camauro*, stand out against the background of a crimson curtain. The colours are singularly fresh—white, grey and a symphony of every shade of red; the characterization is unsurpassed. Whereas Raphael beautified and idealized the unpleasing appearance of Leo X, though without falsifying it, Velasquez gives a realistic portrait of the Pamfili Pope, so that if one has once seen this jewel of the Doria gallery, it is impossible ever to forget it: it is one of the most magnificent papal portraits.[2] The head is that of a seventy-three years old man of coarse, unpleasing features, but the fresh complexion and the piercing, searching glance of the blue-grey eyes show the essential youthfulness of the old man who fixes on the beholder a keen, thoughtful, questioning glance.

[1] CIAMPI, 14, note 3.

[2] GENSEL (*Velasquez*², Stuttgart, 1908, XXII.) calls it the most magnificent male portrait in existence. *Cf.* JANSSEN, *Briefe*, ed. Pastor, I., Freiburg, 1920, 226.

There is a fascination in this look, proceeding from the depths of the character of the suspicious, secretive old Statesman and characterizing the whole man.[1] *Troppo vero !*—too true ! the Pope is reported to have said ; however, he was so delighted with the work that he bestowed on Velasquez, who refused to accept money, a gold chain with a medal bearing his portrait and recommended him to Philip IV. for a Spanish knighthood.[2] Other aspects of Innocent X.'s character, his dignity and his coldness tinged with kindliness—are faithfully reproduced in the plastic works of contemporary Roman sculptors, especially in Algardi's great bronze statue in the palace of the *Conservatori*.[3] The Pope's grave, sullen features also appear in the powerful bust of the Bologna museum, likewise a work of Algardi. As regards ruthless vividness of conception and characterization,[4] the busts of the Doria gallery in Rome, executed after a model by Bernini, one in

[1] Iusti, *Velasquez*, II., 183 ; Tomasetti, *Velasquez a Roma* in the periodical *Cosmos catholicus*, 1899, October ; Beruete, *Velasquez*, Paris, 1898, 118 ; Calvert, *Velasquez*, London, 1908, 115 *seq.* ; E. Stowe, *Velasquez*, 61 ; A. Artioli, *Il ritratto meraviglioso* in *Arte e Storia*, XXIX. (1910), 10 *seqq.* According to Iusti, p. 190 *seq.*, of the copies only the half-length portrait in Apsley House is certainly by Velasquez and probably also the so-called sketch in the Eremitage at Petrograd. Iuste sees in the Eremitage sketch a copy by the master, Beruete a preliminary sketch ; Voll (*Velasquez*, Munich, 1913) is undecided, as is Gensel ; *loc. cit.*, XXII. (here, plate 82, reproduction of the Eremitage sketch). Beruete does not think the Apsley House portrait is authentic. Iusti considers as the best copy by another hand the picture in Lord Bute's gallery in London. An old copy is also in the museum of Stockholm. *Cf.* also Aug. Mayer, *Gesch. der span. Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, 414.

[2] Iusti, II., 231. The *recommendation of Card. Panciroli, dated December 17, 1650 (Papal Sec. Arch.), in XXX., Appendix I.

[3] *Cf.* below, ch. VII.

[4] *Cf.* Bergner, 97, who considers Bernini's conception to be more calm and objective and more feelingly rendered than by the Spanish masters, as regards the forehead, eyes, and nose.

marble, another in bronze and a third in bronze and marble,[1] vie with the work of Algardo and even with that of Velasquez himself. The marble bust in particular is a masterpiece of its kind. It impresses by its simplicity and repose ; it shows a resigned old man, shut up within himself, but conscious that he is the master. The beholder has an impression that the Pope, in the midst of the difficulties created for him by the great Powers and by his own family, with shrewd deliberation overlooks many things which he cannot alter, though without forgoing his own point of view. The eyes, which gaze into the distance, seem to express the weariness of the old man and his annoyance at the endless quarrels between the Pamfili. The contemplative nature of Innocent X., his distrust as well as his real kindliness, are reflected in that look. The ugliness is attenuated, yet so that the resemblance does not suffer.[2]

[1] Also in the Palazzo Doria a coloured terracotta bust by Algardi ; *cf.* Iusti, II., 185. Muñoz (in *Annuario dell'Accad. di S. Luca, 1912*, Roma, 1913, 43) was the first to make known Algardi's bust. On the statue in the Capital, see below ch. VII. The bust of Innocent X. in the museum of Ravenna can hardly be ascribed to Bernini. Of the London bronze bust (see C. Drurye E. Fortnum, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the South-Kensington Museum*, London, 1876, 7) there is a marble copy in the Palazzo Doria-Pamfili in Rome, together with other busts of the Pope. Another bronze bust of Innocent X. also attributed to Algardi, found its way into the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in 1907. Among other busts mention may be made of a marble one in Piazza Navona, a large one, of white marble, in the right aisle of the Lateran basilica and another in the Villa at S. Martino al Cimino with an inscription printed by Bussi, 332 ; *cf. Boll d' Arte*, VII. (1913), 261. On Algardi's bust in Trinità de'Pellegrini (see Forcella, VII., 211), *cf.* below ch. VII. The terracotta bust of Innocent X. in the Lib. Vallecelliana is a fine piece of work. It bears the following inscription : "Ioaneus Gambassi civis Volaterranus cecus fecit." On Cieco da Gambassi (Gonnelli), see Thieme, XIV., 370.

[2] Reymond, *Bernini*, 108 and plate XV. ; *cf.* also Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur*, II., 246. The bust is now in the private apartments of Prince Doria, which are not easy of access. On

The masterpieces of Bernini and Velasquez gather together all the characteristics on which contemporary observers dwell; between them we get a full length picture of the very complicated nature of Innocent X.

Without a doubt the Pamfili Pope possessed many excellent qualities.[1] Moderation characterized his manner of life; he readily granted audiences and heard everyone patiently. He assisted punctually and with great dignity at all ecclesiastical functions, even the Lenten and Advent sermons. He was genuinely pious and had a keen sense of justice and order. People saw a happy omen of his great love of peace in his arms which showed a dove with an olive branch.[2] The Pope applied himself diligently to affairs but owing to his being a late riser he was for the most part forced to work far into the night, all the more so as he wished to study and to examine personally all the more important documents, and he was slow in making up his mind. All this was in keeping with his mistrust of everyone, especially his entourage, a trait by which he himself embittered his existence. This,

Innocent X.'s coins, *cf.* SERAFINI, IV., 238. A beautiful medal of the Pope by J. J. Kormann in NOAK, *Deutschtum in Rom.*, I., Berlin, 1927, 140. In his catalogue, XVIII., p.108 *seq.*, E. LANGE registers a great number of prints of Innocent X.

[1] In addition to the Venetian embassy reports in Berchet and the reports of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e documenti*, XXII., 218 *seq.*, *cf.* on the bright and dark spots of Innocent X.'s character the exhaustive *report of Leonard Pappus to Ferdinand III., dat. Rome, September 26, 1652, State Arch., Vienna. See also **Avviso* of May 18, 1647, Papal Secr. Arch. ("propriissimo della Sua Santità il pensar assai et il risolver poco"); ARNAULD, *Négociations*, II., 383; *Fr. Albizzi to Chigi, dat. Rome, September 24, 1644, Cod. A. III., 55 of Chigi Library; CIACONIUS, IV., 660 *seq.*; SERVANTIUS, **Diaria* for December 12, 1644, Papal Secr. Arch.; DE ROSSI, **Istoria*, Vat. Libr., and the *material of Girolamo Brusoni for a *Vita d'Innocenzo X.*, in Doria-Pamfili Archives, 93–46, 4. Fr. Mantovani already complains of Innocent X.'s slowness in his *reports of October 19 and November 5, 1644, State Archives, Modena.

[2] See Harrach's report of September 15, 1644, in MENCIK, 47.

no doubt his greatest fault, joined to his violence, made it difficult to treat with the sulky man with whom favour and displeasure were subject to rapid fluctuations according to the impression of the moment. The diplomatists likewise complained of his obstinacy in debate and the skill with which he knew how to hide his real opinions. Parsimony, which the financial situation fully justified, he carried to great lengths [1]; always suspicious, he had the treasure kept not in Castel S. Angelo but in his own apartments.

Innocent X.'s Italian temperament showed itself both in his parsimony and in his strong attachment to his family; of the latter trait he gave public proof during the solemn progress to the Lateran when, contrary to the ceremonial, he had the procession halted in front of his parents' house in the Piazza Navona, to enable him to give his blessing to his little niece who was held at a window by her nurse.[2]

Innocent X. would not be taught by the difficulties in which Urban VIII. became involved in consequence of his reckless nepotism, and it never entered his mind to do away with the post of a Cardinal nephew reputed indispensable for running the court. It was the misfortune of the Pamfili Pope that the only person in his family circle possessed of the requisite qualities for such a position, was a woman, viz. his sister-in-law Olimpia Maidalchini-Pamfili, whereas all the nephews whom he successively adorned with the purple proved utter failures.[3]

Donna Maidalchini, born at Viterbo in 1594,[4] was first

[1] *" Ha il Papa soppresso diversi uffici a Palazzo che portavano via da cento mila scudi, compresovi ancora gli emolumenti che si sono sminuti al generale di s. Chiesa." Fr. Mantovani on October 8, 1644. State Arch., Modena.

[2] See the Diary of Deone (Ameyden) in Ciampi, n. 1.

[3] Iusti, II., 182.

[4] Olimpia's fortress-like Gothic palace at Viterbo is to-day the *Ospizio degli Esposti*. On Olimpia's country residence at S. Martino al Cimino and its decoration, see Ciaconius, IV., 648; Chledowski, II., 246; Ehrle, *Spada*, 11, 13; Ciampi, 205; Bussi, *Istoria di Viterbo*, Rome, 1742, 331 *seq.*

married to Paolo Nini. She contracted a second marriage with the Pope's elder brother Pamfilio Pamfili to whom she bore a son, Camillo, in 1622, and subsequently two daughters, Maria and Costanza. The former was married in 1644 to Prince Nicolò Ludovisi.[1]

Olimpia, whose energetic, resolute but anything but attractive features are admirably portrayed in Algardi's bust in the Doria Gallery,[2] was a very gifted woman [3] but exceedingly ambitious and domineering.[4] She had had a rich dowry; she accordingly managed to become the most important person in the Pamfili family. Her clerical brother-in-law, Giambattista, she supplied with the requisite funds to enable him to rise, thereby putting him under great obligation to her. The influence she exercised over him continued even when Giambattista had to leave Rome: both as nuncio at Naples and at Madrid he kept up a lively correspondence with his shrewd sister-in-law.[5] On one occasion, whilst at Madrid,

[1] CIAMPI, 11 *seq.* The Pope officiated at Costanza's wedding on December 21, 1644, in the Sistine Chapel (SERVANTIUS, **Diaria*, Papal Secr. Arch.). Twenty-six persons were present at the wedding breakfast, among them being Cardinals Medici, Barberini, Colonna, Orsini and Este (**Avviso* of December 24, 1644, *ibid.*).

[2] CIAMPI, 200, and below, ch. VII; reproduction in MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 319. Perhaps an even more unpleasant impression is conveyed by the portrait of Olimpia with little Olimpuccia in the private apartments of the Palazzo Doria-Pamfili, reproduced by CHLEDOWSKI, II., 236.

[3] All the contemporaries insist on this fact; it is also emphasized in the *"Instruttione del sig. Baili de Valencè, ambasciatore Christ. a Roma al suo successore" (1653), of which there exist numerous manuscript copies (Rome, Chigi Library, N. III., 88. *Barb.*, 53, 32; *Ottob.*, 2175 (also in Bibl. communale of Verona). The Lyons Library has a * detailed report, in 3 vols., on his Roman embassy, by Henri d'Estampes-Valençay. Valençay's reports in GÉRIN, I., and CHANTELAUZE, II., 315 *seqq.*

[4] See Venetian reports in BERCHET, II., 50, 69 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*

[5] Part of these *letters (original text) in the *Lettere del card. G. B. Pamfili*, T. IV., in Doria-Pamfili Archives; they include *a letter, partly in code, dated Naples, February 15, 1625.

he sent her a gift of luxury articles and some glass-ware.[1]

Hence it was not surprising that on the elevation of her brother-in-law to the papacy, Olimpia should have acquired considerable importance.[2] "Olimpia's influence," so the Florentine envoy wrote on February 11th, 1645, "grows daily; she visits the Pope every other day and the whole world turns to her."[3] But there were not wanting enemies who, by word of mouth and in writing, spread such evil reports that Olimpia lodged a complaint with the Governor of Rome, whereupon a number of arrests were made.[4] However this did not put an end to the libels.[5] Later writers have woven divers myths around the Pope's relations with his sister-in-law, even representing them as criminal; these assertions are calumnies; the best information goes to show that there is not a word of truth in the whole myth.[6] However,

[1] *"Invio a V.S. certi galantarie e de' vetri." Letter from Madrid, dat. May, 1627, *ibid.*

[2] Prince Andrea Giustiniani, husband of her daughter Maria, became castellan of S. Angelo as early as October 5, 1644; *cf.* PAGLIUCCHI, II., 77 *seq.*

[3] State Archives, Florence, *Lett. di Roma*, F. 3373.

[4] *Report of Florentine envoy dat. June 24, 1645, *ibid.*

[5] One of these publications bore the title: *La Olimpiade del governo del Pontefice Innocenzo X.* *Report of the Florentine envoy of June 26 and July 1 and 23, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[6] Niceroni (*Notices of the Writings of famous scholars*, III., 326) already describes Gualdi's *Vita di Donna Olimpia Maidalchini* (Cosmopoli, 1666, and often reprinted, last of all in Rome in 1849[!], translated into French by Renoult, Leyden, 1666) as a romance and an extravagant libel. For all that SCHRÖCKH *Kirchengesch.*, III., Leipzig, 1805, 393) thought that the story was substantially true seeing that it had never been contradicted. RANKE (III., 172) examined it briefly with the above result. *Cf.* also E. ROSSI in the periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 385 *seqq.*, where, on p. 391 light is thrown on Ameyden's inventions (*cf.* on Ameyden our data, XXIX., Appendix 25). ADEMOLLO (*I narratori*) *della vita di Donna O.P.*, in the *Rassegna settimanale*, 1878, No. 6, p. 94 *seq.*) has established the fact that not G. Leti but

1227282

Olimpia's excessive influence over the aged Pontiff is only too well established. It did grave injury to his prestige for soon all Rome knew how much in all temporal matters a word of the wily intriguer weighed with Innocent X. The nobility, ambassadors, Bishops, Cardinals showed the utmost regard for Olimpia and strove to secure her goodwill by means of rich presents, an easy matter in view of the woman's great covetousness. Even some of their Eminences adorned their apartments with Olimpia's portrait. She made frequent appearances at the Vatican and the Pope on his part often called on her.[1] From time to time the artful woman made as if she were about to retire, but this she did merely in order to save appearances. The truth was that the Pope attached great weight to her opinion, especially in family matters, yet, self-willed as he was, he would often refuse her most persistent requests.[2]

Whilst this strange relationship arose, Innocent X. took an important step for the development of an institution which was destined, in course of time, to do away with nepotism, in that, for the first time, he named as Secretary of State a Cardinal who did not belong to his own family. His choice fell on Giovanni Giacomo Panciroli, a former auditor of the Neapolitan and Spanish nunciature who had only received the purple in 1643. Panciroli's talent and accomplished manners

Gualdi is the real author of the above-mentioned *Vita*, a fact also insisted upon by DUBARRY (*La belle-sœur d'un Pape*, Paris, 1878). Dubarry wrote a romance about Olimpia and so did Delécluze, whose work is based on a second revision of Gualdi's *Vita* which appeared at Florence in 1781. In France Olimpia was represented as a poisoner; see RENÉE, *Nièces de Mazarin*, 5th edit., 219. *Cf.* also the anecdote in J. RACINE, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Mesnard, V., Paris, 1887, 168. Roman satires against Olimpia in CIAMPI, 142 *seq.*; one such in the library of St. Gall; see catalogue of its MSS., 409.

[1] *Cf.* *Diary of Deone (Ameyden) and the **Avvisi* in Papal Sec. Arch.; Giov. Giustinian in BERCHET, II., 102; PALLAVICINO, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 190.

[2] EHRLE, *Spada*, 5 *seq.*; *cf.* E. ROSSI, *loc. cit.*, 390.

made him an excellent interpreter of the papal policy. Both he and the datarius Cecchini were assigned apartments in the Pope's palace. Innocent X. attached great weight to his opinion.[1] Besides Panciroli, who surrounded himself with excellent secretaries,[2] there also arose a Cardinal nephew in the person of Camillo, Olimpia's son.[3]

Camillo had at first been destined for the post of a lay nephew. On September 27th, 1644, the Pope had named him General of the Church, on October 1st Commander-in-Chief of the papal fleet and the Guards as well as Governor of the Borgo and the chief fortresses of the Pontifical States.[4] Soon, however, Camillo laid aside all these offices in order to become a Cardinal nephew. On November 14th, 1644, he was raised to the Sacred College [5] when the full tide of papal favours poured itself over him. In that same year, 1644, he was given the legation of Avignon, the supreme superintendence of the Papal States and an abbey at Capua ; to this came to be added in the ensuing years a great number of benefices and other favours. He also became Prefect of Briefs and of the *Segnatura delle grazie*.[6]

[1] Ciaconius, IV., 627 ; Venetian reports in Berchet, II., 52, 71.

[2] *" Ha chiamati a se buoni segretari, onde si spera rinoverà quell'antica e buona scuola e dei Feliciani e degli Aguchia." Fr. degli Albizzi to Chigi, dat. Rome, September 5, 1644. Cod. A. III., 55, Chigi Library, Rome.

[3] The title was no longer *Cardinal Padrone* but *Cardinale sopraintendente agl' affari maggiori* ; see Filippo de Rossi, *Istoria giornale della corte de Roma scritta negl' anni 1653 e 1654*, Vat. 8873, Vat. Libr. Numerous *letters of congratulation to Camillo Pamfili on the occasion of the election of Innocent X. in Rospigliosi Archives, Rome, 207, n. 2.

[4] See *Index bullarum expeditarum ad favorem card. Pamphili, Doria-Pamfili Archives, 1–9.

[5] Acta consist., Papal Secr. Arch. It is impossible to control the assertions of Deone (Ameyden) in his *Diario (see Ciampi, 123) and the **Avvisi* on the proceedings at the consistory.

[6] *Index bullarum ad fav. card. Pamphili, *loc. cit.*

The new Cardinal nephew was by no means destitute of talents [1]; he was fond of poetry and the plastic arts and had such a grasp of technical problems as to enable him to submit a plan for galleys at Civitavecchia.[2] In the Secretariate of State it was his duty to sign letters and dispatches, as had been done by former Cardinal nephews; incoming correspondence came to him and Panciroli, and the ambassadors had to present themselves before both Cardinals.[3]

At first Camillo performed his duties with assiduity, but as Innocent X. did not suffer him to have any influence,[4] his zeal soon cooled [5] until it gave out altogether. If this circumstance alone was bound to annoy the Pope, his displeasure was further increased when he learnt that Camillo was resolved to lay aside the purple and to marry a beautiful, wealthy and gifted young widow—Olimpia Aldobrandini, Princess of Rossano.[6] This plan was vehemently opposed by Olimpia Maidalchini who feared that her position would be shaken by a sister-in-law of a higher social rank and of outstanding intellectual gifts. Accordingly she did all in her power to thwart the projected alliance and she persisted in her opposition even after Innocent X. had yielded to his nephew's importunity. In view of the fact that the Pope had previously dissuaded his nephew from taking priest's orders, people surmised that he had from the first looked on the cardinalate as no more than a transition and that there had existed between the Pontiff and Camillo a secret understanding concerning the match.[7]

[1] Portrait by G. B. Gaulli in the Doria Gallery; see Voss, *Malerei*, 587. Another portrait now in the museum of the Hispanic Society of America, New York; *cf.* Iusti, *Velasquez*, II.[3], 179.

[2] Ciampi, 122.

[3] *Cf.* Richard in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, XI. (1910), 735.

[4] **Avviso* of January 26, 1647, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] See the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 219.

[6] *Cf.* Savelli's *report to Ferdinand III., dat. January 5, 1647, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] See above, p. 36. *Cf.* reports in Coville, 144 *seq.*

In a consistory of January 21st, 1647, the Pope granted the requisite dispensations and accepted Camillo's resignation of the cardinalate.[1] Even after the marriage contract had been concluded, on February 2nd,[2] Olimpia continued to give public expression, in all sorts of ways, to her strong disapproval.[3] In vain the Pope sought to calm her.[4] Neither she nor Innocent X. assisted at the wedding of Camillo and Olimpia Aldobrandini which took place, very quietly, on February 10th, 1647, at the Villa Torre Nuova, six miles outside Rome.[5] The young couple immediately withdrew to the Castle of Caprarola and thence to Frascati, a circumstance that gave rise to all kinds of rumours.[6] For the time being the couple had to remain out of Rome as the jealousy of Olimpia could not endure the presence of her sister-in-law in the city.[7]

In the sequel Olimpia's influence grew as much as her wealth, for the money-loving woman exacted good payment for the smallest service, and since everyone knew how well she could manage Innocent X., thanks to her knowledge of the latter's peculiar character, and that her opinion had great weight, the whole world turned to her and gold flowed to her in an ever growing stream. She was frequently closeted for as long as four to six hours with the Pope who did nothing of importance without consulting her.[8] Even Cardinal Panciroli

[1] *Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Camillo's declaration together with other details regarding this affair in *Cod.* N. III., 69, p. 305, of the Chigi Libr., Rome. To escape his having to surrender the red hat in person Camillo left Rome ; see Savelli's report to Ferdinand III., January 19, 1647, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] SERVANTIUS **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] **Avviso* of February 2, 1647, *ibid.*

[4] **Avviso* of February 9, 1647, *ibid.*

[5] Savelli's *report to Ferdinand III., dat. January 9, 1647, State Arch., Vienna ; ADEMOLLO, *Gigli*, 121.

[6] **Avvisi* of February 16 and March 6, 1647, Papal Sec. Arch. ; Deone in CIAMPI, 131 ; Gigli in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 108.

[7] ARNAULD, *Négociations*, IV., 25 ; *cf.* 116.

[8] *Cf.* **Avvisi* of May 18, June 22 and July 27, 1647, Papal Sec.

kept on good terms with her. The two joined forces when the question arose of giving a successor to Camillo Pamfili; in effect, on October 7th, 1647, Francesco Maidalchini, Olimpia's seventeen years old nephew, was raised to the cardinalate.[1] However, to the Pope's painful surprise, Francesco proved utterly unfit for the position of a Cardinal nephew, a fact which created great difficulties in the transaction of business.[2] Even Innocent X. was forced to see that a more capable person must be found for treating with the ambassadors. Panciroli induced the Pope to entrust this post to the thirty years old Camillo Astalli, a distant relative of Olimpia.[3] To the general amazement Innocent, always hasty and capricious, bestowed on Astalli, on one and the same day (September 19th, 1650), the purple, his name, his arms and all the privileges of a nephew; at the same time he made him a present of the palace in Piazza Navona and the Villa before Porta S. Pancrazio.[4] It was generally believed that Olimpia, who had at one time secured for Astalli the

Arch. *" Se raccontare se volesse i casi della sua nauseante ingordigia da lei esercitata," says Fr. de Rossi of Olimpia, " se ne empirebbero i volumi (**Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vat. Libr.).

[1] See **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; F. de Rossi, **Istoria Vat.* 8873; Vat. Lib.

[2] See A. Contarini in BERCHET, II., 72 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 126 *seq.* Maidalchini's limited intellectual gifts roused the irony of Pasquino; but his conduct was blameless and his liberality great; *cf.* besides STEINHUBER, I.², 398, *Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi (a. 1689), Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[3] De Rossi **Istoria* (*Vat.* 8873, Vat. Libr.), according to whom Astalli's elevation was thought of already in 1647. *Cf.* also G. Riccardi's *" dissertation on the College of Cardinals in 1652 ", in *Cod.* C. III., 60, Chigi Library, Rome.

[4] **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; AMEYDEN, **Diary, Barb.* 4819, Vat. Lib.; Gigli in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 109; CIAMPI, 150; Giustinian in BERCHET, II., 127; *Diary in *Cod.* 93–46 of Doria-Pamfili Archives; DENIS, I., 255 *seq.* Magalotti says in his *" Osservazioni sopra la futura elezione del S. Pontefice ", that people could not understand how Innocent X. could have

post of a consistorial advocate and later on a clericate of the *Camera*,[1] had brought about the rise of this mediocre personage. In point of fact Olimpia had had nothing to do with it; her prestige, which in June, 1649, was still such as to enable her, with the help of Panciroli, to bring about the fall of the influential datarius Cardinal Cecchini,[2] had begun to wane already in the autumn of that year.[3] She now fell into complete disgrace for, roused by her sons-in-law Giustiniani and Ludovisi, she had allowed herself to be carried away by perfect fits of fury on account of Astalli's elevation. The Pope, in consequence, forbade her the Vatican. Even before this occurrence, Panciroli had counselled such a step by dwelling on the scandal which Olimpia's rule created everywhere, especially in Germany.[4]

In October Olimpia's fall was looked upon as definite. The Princess of Rossano was triumphant,[5] and with good reason. Three months after Olimpia's fall, at the request of his sister Agata, a nun in the convent of Tor de' Specchi, Innocent received Camillo Pamfili back into his good graces. When, on January 8th, 1651, the latter presented himself at an audience with his two years old little son, the Pope was unable to restrain his tears. To the child he gave a silver statue of his patron Saint, John the Baptist.[6] On January

hit on Astalli; Magalotti sees in it a sudden *capriccio*, *Cod.* C. III., 60, Chigi Libr.

[1] *De Rossi, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Fumi in *Arch. Rom.*, X., 317 *seq.* The resignation of the Dataria which Cecchini offered at once, was only accepted by Innocent X. on September 15, 1652, together with a declaration of complete disgrace; see Servantius, **Diaria, loc. cit.*; *De Rossi, *loc. cit.*

[3] Denis, I., 154.

[4] Pallavicino, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 155 *seq.*, whose account is confirmed by *De Rossi (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also Giustinian in Berchet, II., 103, and *Arch. Rom.*, X., 318.

[5] See **Diaro* del a. 1650 (by Ameyden) *Barb.* 4891, p. 118, Vat. Lib.

[6] Servantius **Diaria, loc. cit.*, who remarks: "Post spatium tandem quinque annorum Camillus Pamphilius nepos Papae

20th it was learnt that Camillo's wife had been with the Pope for three hours and had received rich presents from him [1]; shortly before she had given birth to her second child.[2] Thereafter she visited the Pope almost every week and won a not inconsiderable influence, whereas Camillo had none at all.[3]

Old Cardinal Panciroli had hoped, after Olimpia's fall, to retain his influence with the Pope through Astalli who owed him everything. In this he was greatly deceived; very soon he had to realize that Astalli would not be guided by him, on the contrary, grown proud by reason of his sudden exaltation, the latter broke with him and in the end became a successful rival. Together with Camillo Pamfili he intrigued against Panciroli.[4] The latter's bad state of health also helped to contribute to a gradual estrangement between him and the Pope.[5] No one sympathized with the Secretary of State, had he not prepared a similar fate for so many others? Almost in disgrace, Panciroli died on September 3rd, 1651.[6] It became evident that Cardinal Pamfili could not carry out unaided the duties of a Secretary of State; his inexperience and indolence were such as to cause Innocent X. to regret his elevation. Moreover the Pope did not really trust him and repeatedly reproached him with being far more

ob dimissam card. dignitatem contumax fuit a gratia pontificis et modo extra urbem exul, modo vero Romae ignotus privatim vitam duxit una cum principessa Rossano eius uxore."

[1] Servantius **Diaria, loc. cit.*

[2] According to *records in the Dora-Pamfili Archives the following children were born to Camillo and Olimpia Aldobrandini: 1, Giov. Battista, born June 24, 1648; 2, Flaminia, b. January 5, 1651; 3, Benedetto (a future Cardinal), b. April 25, 1653; 4, Teresa, b. October 16, 1654. On the splendid palace erected by Camillo in 1662 at Valmontone, see TOMASSETTI, III., 457.

[3] De Rossi, **Istoria*, Vat. 8873, Vat. Lib.

[4] See the *Dissertations by Magalotti and G. Riccardi quoted above, p. 39, nn. 3 and 4 Chigi Lib., Rome.

[5] PALLAVICINO, *Alessandro*, VII., I., 156.

[6] Servantius, **Diaria, loc. cit.* *Cf.* Giustinian in BERCHET, II., 94 *seq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, X., 318 *seq.*

interested in the affairs of the Pamfili than in those of the Pope. Cardinal Borghese, he remarked, though sprung from the House of Caffarelli, became a complete Borghese.[1] Outwardly, however, Pamfili enjoyed all the prerogatives of his position; he occupied the apartments set apart for the nephews and was given rich benefices.[2]

Nevertheless a new Secretary of State had to be appointed. Astalli sought in vain to direct the choice to his cousin Francesco Gaetani or to the very gifted Decio Azzolini. Cardinal Spada, whom the Pope often consulted in the most important affairs, proposed Fabio Chigi, until then nuncio in the Rhineland.[3] To this Innocent agreed. He did not know Chigi personally but he set great value on his reports.[4] In the first days of October, 1651, Chigi left Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had lodged with the Canons Regular. Whilst Chigi was still on the way, Astalli sought to circumvent his appointment and to prejudice the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Infantado, against him, but all in vain.[5]

[1] De Rossi, **Istoria*, Vat. 8873, and **Diaro* del. a. 1650 (Ameyden), *Barb.* 4819, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* Giustinian in BERCHET, II., 127 *seq.* In the **Instruttione del sig. Baili de Valencè*, quoted p. 33, n. 3, we read: "Il card. Pamfilio è adottivo e adiettivo nella casa del Papa, e buon per lui, se assieme colla berretta se gli fosse potuto dare il cervello. Nel principio non era in grazia, ed in progresso di tempo ha vacillato di tal maniera che talvolta parse stabilito sicuramente e talaltra, vicino a' precipitii et alle ruine. Non sono in lui qualità singolari, e certo che sarebbe stato proclive a' passatempi piuttosto che adattato al negotio, quando non l'havesse ritirato il genio del Papa. Di amore è piutosto francese, ma non sa pigliare la congiontura di mostrarlo all'occorrenza; è romanesco nè mai è partito da Roma. *Ottob.* 2175, p. 7[b], Vat. Lib.

[2] *De Rossi, *loc. cit.* On November 21, 1650, Cardinal Pamfili had received the Avignon legation. **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] PALLAVICINO, I., 157 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* De Rossi, *Istoria, Vat. 8873, Vat. Lib.

[5] Infantado's conduct was wholly in keeping with the intentions of his sovereign who invited him to support Chigi in a

Chigi, who was preceded by an excellent reputation, reached Rome on the last day of November.[1] At their very first meeting the Pope was completely won over by him, consequently the last minute intrigues against him also failed completely. About the middle of December he took up residence at the Vatican. Both the party of Cardinal Pamfili and that of the Princess of Rossano sought to win him over but Chigi would ally himself to neither. As Secretary of State, he declared, it was his duty to mind political and ecclesiastical affairs, not those of a particular family.[2]

When, at the beginning of February, 1652, Pamfili, by order of the Pope, informed Chigi of his impending elevation to the Sacred College, the latter replied that he would be far better able to serve His Holiness in his present condition. On the same evening Chigi had an audience with the Pope. Of what Pamfili had told him he never said a word, so that Innocent X. thought that the Cardinal had failed to carry out his instructions. When he was informed that this was not so, he exclaimed: "I have never yet met such a man!" On the eve of his elevation to the cardinalate, which took place on February 19th, 1652, Chigi remarked to a friend that if he could strike out his name from the list, he would do so since dignities merely added to responsibility.[3]

Previous to his nomination as a Cardinal Chigi had rendered the Pope a signal service when he exposed the shameful conduct of the Sub-datarius Francesco Canonici, surnamed Mascambruno, whom Innocent X. held in great esteem. To enrich himself Mascambruno had not scrupled to falsify documents for which he surreptitiously obtained the papal signature.[4] He was tried together with his accomplices;

*letter in code dated Madrid, November 29, 1651. Arch. of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[1] "Personnage discret, sage, spirituel et sans vicieuse ambition, homme d'intelligence et de probité," writes Gueffier, the French Resident, CHANTELAUZE, *Ritz.*, II., 340.

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 166–170.

[3] *Ibid.*, 172.

[4] See **Scritture contro Msgr. Mascambruno, Barb.* 5323,

on April 15th, 1652, severe sentences were passed. Mascambruno was executed and died repentant.[1]

The fall of Mascambruno, who had been hostile to Olimpia, proved very advantageous to the latter,[2] but she benefited even more by the constant disputes between Camillo, the Princess of Rossano and Cardinal Pamfili, disputes that greatly vexed the Pope. Thus it came about that Innocent's attachment to his sister-in-law, which had never been wholly extinct, came once more to life; her shrewdness, so he thought, would restore peace in the family. The majority of the Cardinals and the other prelates also favoured a pardon, for, they remarked, Olimpia would have been taught by misfortune and would henceforth keep within becoming bounds. Chigi alone thought otherwise, but his warnings were not heeded.[3] After the Pope's sister Agata had brought about a reconciliation between the two rivals, the Princess of Rossano, on March 11th, 1653, conducted Olimpia into the presence of the Pope who received her graciously.[4] The last state,

p. 188–211, and Chigi Library, N. III., 69, p. 570–595; G. B. Rinalducci, **Prosperità infelice di Francesco Canonici detto Mascambruno* (Bibl. Casanat., X., VII., 46, Urb. 1728 and *Barb.* 4898, Vat. Lib.; Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; Magl. Cl., XXV., n. 457, National Lib., Florence), anonymous, printed with variants in *Miscell. di varia lett.*, V., Lucca, 1765. *Cf.* **Römisches Tagebuch* in *Cod.* 93–46 of Doria-Pamfili Arch.; Pallavicino, I., 186 *seq.*; Berchet, II., 149; Ciampi, 154 *seq.*; Reusch, *Index*, II., 495, 1225; Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 604; Chantelauze, *loc. cit.*, 383 *seq.*, 393 *seqq.*, 403 *seqq.*, 435 *seqq.*, 463, 465 *seqq.*, 469 *seqq.*, 474 *seq.*

[1] "*In atrio Turris Nonæ," says Servantius (**Diaria*), who describes Mascambruno as "ingeniosissimus, habilissimus et cujuslibet licet maximi negotii capax" (Papal Sec. Arch.). The *sentenza* of April 15, 1652, in Arch. of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Cf.* *Decio Memmoli, *Relaz. della morte di Fr. Mascambruni*, in *Barb.* 4885, Vat. Lib.

[2] De Rossi **Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vat. Lib.

[3] Pallavicino, I., 191 *seqq.*

[4] Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.; Gigli in Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 110, and Ciampi, 166.

however, was destined to be worse than the first: Olimpia's influence waxed greater than ever[1] and she exploited it as before. One of the victims of her intrigues was Cardinal Pamfili whom the Pope had mistrusted already for some time by reason of his relations with the Medici and the Spaniards. On February 2nd, 1654, it was decided to remove him from Rome by offering him the see of Ferrara. When Pamfili declined, he was forced to leave the Eternal City; his disgrace was public and he forfeited everyone of his positions and dignities. In July, 1654, a similar fate overtook Niccolò Ludovisi. Cardinal Chigi, who had vainly endeavoured to save Pamfili, was now entrusted with the duty of signing dispatches in the latter's place. However, this extension of power was only apparent for Olimpia was bent on undermining his position after she had unsuccessfully attempted to make this strong and honourable character subservient to her interests.[2]

How successfully Olimpia undermined Innocent X.'s confidence in Chigi is shown by the fact that the final decision concerning the nomination of Cardinals in March, 1654, was made without the Secretary of State having been consulted, and since on this occasion the purple was bestowed on Decio Azzolini,[3] Secretary of the *cifra*, an avowed follower of Olimpia, it was thought that he would also obtain the Secretariate of State. However, Innocent X. could not part with Chigi, but Olimpia at least secured this much, namely that Azzolini

[1] "*Erario unico onde uscivano le grazie," says De Rossi (**Istoria, loc. cit.*).

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 194, whose account is confirmed by De Rossi, **Istoria* (*Vat.* 8873, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also DENIS, I., 302; ADEMOLLO, *Gigli*, 113 *seqq.*; CIAMPI, 169 *seqq.*, 376; *Quellen und Forschungen*, IV., 243; PICCOLOMINI, *Corrisp. tra la corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta*, II., Florence, 1910, 7; on Ludovisi's fall, *cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 135.

[3] Azzolini, born 1612 (see MORONI, III., 314 *seq.*; G. de MINICIS, *Notizie biogr. del card. D. Azzolino*, Fermo, 1858), was also Secretary of the *Epistolae ad principes* since 1653. His predecessors in that office were, from 1644–7, Gaspar de Simeonibus, and from 1648–1653, Franc. Nerlius. Papal Sec. Arch.

should always be present at the audience of the Secretary of State.[1] Had Innocent's life been prolonged Chigi would probably have been overthrown, for Olimpia was unwilling to share her influence with anyone. Innocent X. ended by painfully realizing that he had become "a tool of a woman's greed for power and gold"; but how was he, an octogenarian and one who had always found it difficult to make up his mind, to muster sufficient strength to break these unworthy shackles, which could not fail to injure the prestige of the Holy See? Olimpia's avarice revealed itself in most revolting fashion after the Pope's demise (January 7th, 1655): the woman who owed to the dead man such vast sums of money[2] refused, as did Camillo Pamfili, to pay for the customary wood and lead coffins so that, after it had been exposed in St. Peter's, the body had to be kept for several days in a damp corner of the sacristy and to be buried in the most simple manner imaginable[3]: "a stern warning for the

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 206 *seq.*

[2] See *Arch. Rom.*, IV., 252 *seq.*, 259; CIAMPI, 337 *seqq.*, 344 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of May 18, 1647. Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] De Rossi, **Istoria*, Vat. 8873, Vat. Lib.; PALLAVICINO, I., 213; Gigli in NOVAES, X., 60, and CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 115; *Deone's *diary in *Cod.* 93–46 of Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome. On January 13, 1655, Riccardi, the Florentine envoy, wrote: "*Il Papa non è ancora sotterrato, perchè non si trova chi voglia fare la spesa. D. Camillo dice di non havere havuto niente da Sa Bne e toccare di farlo alla Sig.a Donna Olimpia; et essa dice: che ella non è l'herede. E così Sa Bne se ne sta là in un canto, in una cassaccia." On January 30, 1655, the same wrote: "*Dopo la morte del Papa la Siga Donna Olimpia ha detto che ella resta più... mortificata del modo che tiene Maidalchini, essendo unito con i suoi nemici, che della morte del medesimo Papa e delle tante pasquinate e scritture uscite contro di lei. Che sebbene gli era stato innanzi detto che il card.le suo nipote era stato guadagnato dalli Spagnuoli e dai Fiorentini, non l'haveva mai creduto, se non quando l'ha visto." The same on the same day: "*[D. Olimpia]) si chiama malissimo sodisfatta del signor card.le suo nipote che (come si scrisse) ella cacciò di case e gli fece mettere le sue masserizie in casa del signor principe Ludovisio;

Popes," says Cardinal Pallavicino, "one showing what gratitude they may expect from relatives for whose sake they have often enough risked both honour and conscience." [1]

e intendo che in conclave egli continui a dir male della zia, come faceva di fuora." State Archives, Florence.

[1] PALLAVICINO, *lòc. cit.* On Olimpia's end, *cf.* CIAMPI in *N. Antologia*, 1877.

CHAPTER II.

Mazarin and Innocent X.—The Intrigues of the Barberini—The Imprisonment of Cardinal Retz—Relations with Spain and Portugal—The Rising at Naples.

(1.)

Innocent X.'s election meant a sensible defeat for Cardinal Mazarin, the leader of France's policy. He had done his utmost to procure the tiara for a friend of his and now he had to witness the elevation of the very Cardinal whom he had expressly excluded, and it had so happened that the Cardinal Protector of France, Antonio Barberini, and even the French ambassador had substantially contributed to bring it about !

For a moment Mazarin seriously considered whether France should not refuse to recognize the new Pope on the plea that his election was illegal, but in the end he shrank from taking so dangerous a course.[1] He began by venting his tremendous anger on those whom he regarded as the authors of the election. In October, 1644, Antonio Barberini was deprived, in brutal fashion, of his Protectorate of France, an event which caused an enormous sensation in Rome.[2] About the middle of December the French ambassador, Saint-Chamond, was recalled from his post. The punishment was excessive forasmuch as Saint-Chamond was guilty, not of treason, but merely of grave imprudence. Accordingly the latter thought that he might successfully invoke the clemency of the King and Queen, but Mazarin would not be softened. The whole affair weakened the prestige of Innocent X. inasmuch as it

[1] See Mém. du P. Rapin, I., 89; Coville, 27 *seq.*; cf. Bougeant, *Hist. des guerres et négotiat. qui précéd. le traité de Westphalie*, IV., Paris, 1759, 59.

[2] See *report of Card. Harrach to Ferdinand III., dat. Nov. 19, 1644. State Archives, Vienna.

created a suspicion that he had obtained the papacy through some intrigue.[1] For the rest, Mazarin was soon made to feel that his punitive measures had isolated France in dangerous fashion, for the Barberini now turned to Spain.[2] Thereupon the Cardinal-Minister promptly changed his tactics. In November, 1644, Monsieur de Grémonville, until then accredited to Venice, was dispatched to Rome for the purpose of offering to the Pope the homage of the French royal couple. He was to seize the opportunity to obtain the elevation to the cardinalate of Michel, Mazarin's brother, on the ground that by this means the Pope would best refute the accusation of partiality towards Spain.[3] At the same time Mazarin resigned the Abbey of Corbie, reputed the second richest in the realm and yielding 12,000 scudi a year, in favour of Cardinal Camillo Pamfili. The latter accepted the gift, but his uncle remained deaf to Grémonville's prayers and representations. Michel Mazarin's candidature for the red hat failed completely, he himself contributing not a little to this result by his impetuosity and want of tact.[4]

At the promotion of March 6th, 1645, eight new Cardinals were proclaimed, all of them excellent men, but favouring Spain and hostile to the Barberini.[5] France's representatives, who had already made bitter complaints,[6] became still louder

[1] COVILLE, 37 *seqq.*

[2] COCHIN, *H. Arnauld*, 67. Simeoni (above p. 19, n. 1) justly remarks (p. 56) that Mazarin's policy towards Rome was from the first "meschina e personale".

[3] Instruction of Dec. 26, 1644, in ARNAULD, *Négociations*, I., 128 *seqq.*, 137 *seqq.* When informing the Queen-Regent Anne of his election, Innocent X. had assured her that he would not forget the honours paid to him by Louis XIII. during his stay in France. Letter of Sept. 16, 1644, in FILLON, n. 2457.

[4] COVILLE, 55 *seqq.* On Mich. Mazarin, cf. G. de MUN in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, IV. (1904), 497 *seqq.*

[5] The hostility of the newly elect towards the Barberini is insisted upon by the Florentine envoy in his *report of March 12, 1645. State Arch., Florence, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso* of Feb. 23, 1645, Papal Sec. Arch.

with their protests.[1] As for Mazarin, when he was informed, his fury knew no bounds. Henceforth, he muttered, he would change his tune. Even Queen Anne spitefully remarked that the Pope was mistaken if he imagined that he could treat great kings like the small prelates of the Roman court. In Paris there was talk of a schism. Grémonville was ordered to adopt a manner that would frighten Rome; the nuncio also had to hear many remarks to the same effect.[2]

Mazarin's speeches and writings of the period bear witness to his rage. Many people, he remarked, had their own ideas about the election of Innocent X.; until now he had kept silent and enforced silence, but those who roused him would have cause to regret it.[3] Nor was he content with words. On March 27th, 1646, Grémonville was ordered to betake himself at once to Venice. This interruption of diplomatic relations did not as yet imply a complete rupture because the nuncio stayed on in Paris and a number of French agents remained in Rome, but they only dealt with secondary matters, not with affairs of State. Mazarin maintained contact with Rome only in so far as this made it possible for him to create difficulties for Innocent X.

Michel Mazarin was indemnified by his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Aix which had just then become vacant and the Pope was compelled to approve the nomination.[4]

[1] **Avviso* of March 11, 1645, *ibid.*; *report of Savelli, April 15, 1645, State Arch., Vienna. Cf. also the *letter of the Secretary of State to Rinuccini dated April 10, 1645: "Fu inviata a V. S. la Rosa Pontificia, acciò ella compiacesse di presentarla in nome di Nostro Signore alla Maestà della regina di Francia; ma perchè sono giunte lettere da quel Monsignor Nunzio, nelle quali avvisa che si mostri in quella corte molto sentimento per non esser stato posto nella promotione il Padre Mazzarino, sarà bene che ella non pigli in modo alcuno risolutione di presentarla se non vede acquietato il disgusto, et non sia più che certo che il dono potesse essere accettato volentieri. Il che si lascia alla molta prudenza di lei." Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Coville, 57 *seqq.*

[3] *Lettres du card. Mazarin*, éd. Chéruel, II., 131, 135.

[4] Coville, 60 *seqq.*

But this was not revenge enough for Mazarin. He sought to create opponents for Innocent X. in Rome itself. To this end he resolved to make his peace with the Barberini. This was not easy because as soon as the latter realized that Mazarin needed them, they changed their tactics, seeking to get the utmost in return for as little as possible.[1] However, in the end events compelled the Barberini to accept so powerful a patronage. Besides, they were not united among themselves and their counsels were divided.[2]

Such was the hatred which Urban VIII.'s nephews had drawn on themselves in Rome that according to a report of the envoy of Este in October 1644, everyone wished to see them punished. The Romans witnessed with satisfaction the depressed air of those who had once been so proud.[3] In these circumstances it was no small comfort for the latter, when it was reported that the new Pope was prepared to forgive them.[4] But after a long period of suspense between hope and despair, the Barberini were forced to realize that they would be called to account for the enormous wealth they had accumulated during the reign of Urban VIII. In March, 1645, Cardinal Giustiniani said that the Pope was bound in conscience to try the Barberini and to punish them should their guilt be established.[5]

When in June, 1645, an inquiry was begun into the administration of public money during the war of Castro, the memory of the fate of the relatives of Paul IV. must have haunted Urban VIII.'s nephews like a nightmare.[6] However,

[1] *Ibid.*, 70 *seq.*

[2] See the interesting *report of Walter Leslie to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, May 5, 1645, State Arch., Vienna.

[3] *Report of Fr. Mantovani of October 5, 1644. State Arch., Modena.

[4] *Report of Fr. Mantovani of October 19, 1644, *ibid.*

[5] *Report of the Florentine envoy, March 30, 1645, State Arch., Florence, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *the reports of the Florentine envoy of June 3, 11, 24, 1645, State Arch., Florence. Cf. P. LINAGE DE VAUCIENNES, *Différend des Barberini avec le pape Innocent X.*, Paris, 1678. A

it was very difficult to bring home to the Barberini any real defalcations for they had covered themselves betimes with divers decrees of Urban VIII. Innocent X. himself said as much to the Florentine envoy who reported that the Pope was particularly incensed against Antonio Barberini.[1] The Pope's anger so alarmed the latter that the threatened man, who of all his brothers had always entertained the strongest sympathy towards France,[2] decided on a desperate step. On the evening of September 28th, 1645, he let it be known that he was about to drive to Monterotondo whither his servants had preceded him. In reality, disguised beyond recognition, he repaired to Santa Marinella, a small hamlet on the coast between Palo and Civitavecchia, where, accompanied by only one servant, he embarked on a small boat with the intention of sailing for Genoa, but a violent storm compelled him to seek shelter in the harbour of Leghorn, from whence, disguised as a sailor, he safely reached the

**Discorso per eccitare Innocenzo X. ad procedere contro i Barberini* (written shortly after the death of Urban VIII.) in *Barb.* 5650, p. 90 *seqq.* Vat. Lib.

[1] See the *letter of the Florentine envoy, July 5, 1645: "Mi disse [il Papa] ancora che havea fatto vedere le spese fatte a la Camera di tanti milioni, e che non può ritrovare niente da potere attaccare i Barberini, havendo bene aggiustato le scritture. E dicendogli io: B^do^ P^e^, gli è una gran cosa quello raconta il sig. Card^e^ Cornaro pubblicamente, che venendo egli a Roma poco tempo prima che morisse Papa Urbano, egli fu a baciargli i piedi, e S. St^à^ gli disse: Sig. Card^le^, siamo stati assassinati da nostri nepoti, che ci hanno fatto far la guerra e perdere la vita e la riputazione; da che si vede chiaramente, dissi io, che Papa Urbano fu aggirato; e per capriccio de' Barberini, e non del Papa, è stato rovinata la Chiesa Apostolica e lo Stato ecclesiastico. Mi rispose S. St^à^: V. S. dice bene; ma si sono aggiustati e fortificati con brevi, bolle e chirografi, che non si può far niente a voler far la giustizia . . ." State Arch., Florence.

[2] *"Cardinal Antonio has French sympathies and imagines he cannot live unless he becomes reconciled with France," W. Leslie wrote on May 5, 1645, to Ferdinand III. State Arch., Vienna.

coast of Provence.[1] He sent his excuses to the Pope for his disappearance without farewell audience; the motive of his departure, he claimed, was the desire to clear himself in France of the accusations of which he was the object.[2]

Both Cardinal Francesco and Taddeo Barberini made common cause with their brother when, on October 15th, they put up on their palaces the arms of France.[3] Thus the alliance of the Barberini with Mazarin, which had seemed unlikely only a short while ago, became suddenly an accomplished fact: it also bore an anti-papal character. In vain Innocent X. admonished the King and Queen of France and Mazarin not to shelter the Barberini[4]; so far from complying with the request, Mazarin invited Antonio to Piedmont, after which he sent ironical congratulations to the Pope on so happy a solution. When the French minister was informed that Francesco and Taddeo had likewise sought French protection, he exulted. The Venetian envoy Nani, who saw him after the reception of this piece of news, wrote: "I have never seen him so jubilant, not even after the greatest victories."[5] In effect, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mazarin, for the Barberini had become his unconditional allies and this in such circumstances as compelled them to serve all his interests.

Thereafter the arrogance of the French Government knew no bounds. On November 16th, 1645, the French Chancellor,

[1] On the flight, see the letter in GUALDO PRIORATO, *Scena d'huomini illustri*, Venice, 1659; and TOMMASO RAGGI, **Fuga de' Barberini*, in *Cod.* 3481 of the Bibl. Casanat., Rome; also the *Avvisi* in *Arch. Rom.*, III., 26 *seq.*, and *Collección de docum. inéditos*, LXXXVI., 217.

[2] Innocent X. told this to Savelli, Ferdinand III.'s representative; see the latter's *report of October 7, 1645, State Arch., Vienna.

[3] Only on his official residence in the Cancelleria did Antonio not put up the French arms; Savelli's *report of October 21, 1645, State Arch., Vienna.

[4] COVILLE, 89; *Annales de St. Louis*, II. (1897), 361 *seq.*

[5] See *Corresp. de Mazarin*, II., 252; COVILLE, *loc. cit.*

speaking in the name of the King at a crown council, addressed to nuncio Bagno a speech full of invectives, which was a real masterpiece of its kind. He began with the ironical remark that their Majesties found it hard to understand that Innocent X. should request them to "oppress" the Barberini, seeing that these were being so badly treated in Rome. The Curia was dominated by the Spaniards, the French were relegated to the background, as was shown by the refusal of the purple to Mazarin's brother. However, the King was not embarrassed for there were a hundred ways in which he could reward Mazarin's faithful services. He then went on to complain about the intrigues in Rome which included even the prospect of the assassination of Mazarin. Not without reason the Spaniards had proclaimed that a blow would be struck in France. In view of all this it could not be expected that the French Government should sacrifice the Barberini. Antonio's secret journey was justified; he would not have received permission had he asked for it. The speech ended with a threat to the effect that their Majesties might be compelled to seek means by which to protect their good name. After the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé had expressed their approval, Mazarin concluded with the blunt and unequivocal statement that the King would know how to avenge a persecution of the Barberini.[1]

This pronouncement was also made known to the Venetian ambassador and to the representatives of Tuscany and Florence,[2] and copies were circulated both in France and in Rome. Contemporary Italian and French publications, both for and against Mazarin, show how excited public opinion had become. Thereafter the conflict was passionately discussed in endless publications.[3] With a view to alarming the Pope

[1] ARNAULD, *Negociat.*, I., 141 *seq.*; COVILLE, 90 *seqq.*

[2] See Bagno's *report dated Paris, November 24, 1645, in *Nunziat. di Francia*, 92, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] COVILLE, 93. Italian *documents from *Cod.* I., III., 87 of Chigi Libr. enumerated by CIAMPI (31, n. 2). Partly the same *documents, but others also bearing on this point in *Barb.* 4673,

Mazarin caused the rumour to be circulated that the Barberini would be indemnified out of the revenues of Avignon and that there was a possibility of convening a Council of all the anti-papal malcontents.[1] Yet shortly afterwards he told the nuncio that though he was held but of little account at the Roman court, he would nevertheless prohibit a book by Salmasius against the Pope's primacy which was being circulated in Paris from Holland, so that all might see the high regard in which the Apostolic See was held in France.[2]

Meanwhile a Congregation had been set up in Rome, presided over by Cardinal Sforza, for the purpose of examining expenditure in connexion with the war of Castro. In obedience to an autograph letter of October 20th and a decree of December 16th, 1645, the Barberini submitted their books to an examination, but there were many gaps and errors in their accounts. Consequently their bank deposits were sequestrated and they themselves subjected to surveillance.[3] Thereupon Cardinal Francesco as well as Taddeo Barberini, the latter with his four children, fled in the night of January 16–17th, 1646, to France where Mazarin had offered them an asylum. Taddeo remained in Provence. On March 1st Francesco reached Paris, where Antonio had met with a solemn reception on the part of Mazarin already on January 6th.[4] Even before the flight of the two Barberini, vehement

5112, 5257, 5393. The *Fuga del cardinale Antonio male interpretata e peggio calunniata*, by the Genoese Raffaelo della Torre, was printed at Perugia in 1646. Of the **Relazione della fuga di Barberini nel pontificato di Innocenzo X.*, in *Cod.*, 277 of the library of Aix I have in my possession a contemporary copy bought in 1902 in Rome. A **Discorso contro il card. A. Barberini fuggito da Roma*, in *Ottob.* 1289, p. 27 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

[1] Bagno's *report of November 24, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[2] Bagno's *report of December 8, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[3] See LINAGE DE VAUCIENNES, 32 *seq.*, 52 *seqq.*; COVILLE, 96 *seqq.* The autograph of October 20, 1645, is in *Barb.* 4903, n. 2, Vat. Lib.

[4] COVILLE, 103 *seqq.*; FRATI, *Una fuga storica* (account from the University library of Bologna), in *N. Antologia*, 1911. As yet unpublished are *the report of Servantius (*Diaria*, Papal

altercations had taken place at a consistory between the Pope and Cardinal Grimaldi, when the latter had insinuated that, if need be, France would give them armed assistance. Besides Grimaldi, six other Cardinals spoke in favour of the Barberini. They were: Valençay, Rocci, Rondinini, Rapaccioli, Lugo and Colonna.[1]

When the Barberini, notwithstanding every precaution, made good their escape, the Pope fell into the greatest consternation.[2] He referred to the matter in a consistory on February 5th, 1646, when he pointed out that by their unlawful flight the two Cardinals had spontaneously avowed their guilt.[3]

Thereafter the Barberini were treated as *contumaces*; accordingly all their possessions were sequestrated, their palaces seized and their offices disposed of.[4] There was little sympathy for them; a large section of the nobles and the majority of the people were against them; their fate was deemed a just retribution. Already on February 20th, when a meeting on the Capitol decreed the abolition of the tax on flour, which had been introduced by Urban VIII., a suggestion was made that the consequent loss of revenue should be covered with Taddeo's property. If the protest of Anne Colonna, Taddeo's plucky wife who had remained in Rome, could not prevent the abolition of the tax, it at least prevented this use of her husband's possessions.[5]

Sec. Arch.) of January 18, 1646; T. RAGGI, **Fuga de'Barberini* (above, p. 53, n. 1); the **Avvisi* of January 20 and 24, 1646 (Papal Sec. Arch.) which give many details of the flight, as well as Savelli's *reports of January 17 and 20, 1646, State Arch., Vienna.

[1] **Avviso* of January 13, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Avviso* of January 20, 1646, *ibid.*

[3] **Acta consist.* (where the Pope's speech is given in full), *Barb.* 2928, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also DENIS, I., 21 *seq.*, 27.

[4] LINAGE DE VAUCIENNES, 72 *seqq.*; COVILLE, 108; *cf.* Savelli's *report of February 5, 1646, State Arch., Vienna.

[5] Deone (Ameyden) in RANKE, III., 27 and 169, (*on Ranke's superficial and erroneous use of Ameyden *cf.* ADEMOLLO, *Macinato*

On the previous day a Bull had been published forbidding the Cardinals to leave Rome without the Pope's express permission; those who contravened this order were to be punished with confiscation of their property; if one of them stayed away from Rome for more than six months, he would forfeit all his benefices and offices and in case of obstinacy, after the lapse of a further three months, even the cardinalitial dignity, without the possibility of reinstatement.[1]

Publication of the Bull was forbidden in France, and when it was nevertheless passed from hand to hand, Mazarin summoned to the defence "of the rights of the King and the liberties of the Gallican Church" both Parliament and clergy; these bodies proved only too subservient to the wishes of the Government. There was even question of a refusal of obedience and a schism.[2] But as Innocent X. remained firm, Mazarin resolved to have recourse to extreme measures, namely to armed force. True, the Pope was to be attacked only indirectly inasmuch as the French advanced on the fortresses on the coast of Tuscany occupied by the Spaniards. In this way Mazarin hoped to hit the Pope in a threefold manner: in his friends, the Spaniards, in his nephew, Prince Ludovisi who, under Spanish suzerainty, ruled over the territory of Piombino, and lastly in his own security since it was an easy thing for the French to invade the States of the Church from Tuscany.[3]

Connected with these plans was the mission of the Abbé St. Nicolas, Henri Arnauld, a brother of the famous Jansenist. He had been dispatched about the middle of December, 1645, by Mazarin, with mission to intrigue against Spain at the smaller courts of Italy. In Rome Arnauld was to agitate in favour of the Barberini and to induce the Pope, on the plea of the Church's interest, to recognize the separation

di Roma, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, II., 442); *Savelli's *report of February 24, 1646, *loc. cit.*; DENIS, I., 26; *ibid.*, 30, on A. Colonna's successful protest; *cf.* also CIAMPI, 106.

[1] *Bull.*, XV., 441 *seqq.*; *cf.* HINSCHIUS, I., 349.

[2] COVILLE, 109 *seqq.*

[3] COVILLE, 118 *seqq.*; SIMEONI, 80

of Portugal and Catalonia from Spain by recognizing the episcopal nomination that had been made there. In addition to all this, not the least duty of Arnauld was to further certain private interests of Mazarin, especially the extradition of Count De Beaupuy, who had had a hand in the conspiracy of the Duke of Beaufort and who had fled into the States of the Church, and, lastly, the bestowal of the red hat on Michel Mazarin.[1]

At Parma Arnauld achieved nothing. Modena gratefully accepted Cardinal Rinaldo Este's nomination as Protector of France at the Curia, but they would await more propitious times before siding with France. From the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. of Tuscany Arnauld likewise only obtained fair words.[2]

Arnauld reached Rome on March 17th, 1646, where he was given lodgings at the palace of Cardinal Este[3]; four days later Este himself arrived. Innocent X. imagined that it was Mazarin's intention, through Arnauld, to resume the diplomatic relations which had been interupted, but the latter had strict orders not to seek an audience. Arnauld at once put himself at the head of the French party and established close contact not only with Este and Valençay, but likewise with Cardinal Grimaldi, who was particularly hostile to the Pope.[4] The general excitement is revealed by an incident which came like a prelude to the war of the French against the Spaniards in Italy.

On March 24th, 1646, there arrived in Rome as *obbedienza* ambassador, Cabrera, Admiral of Castile.[5] From the first

[1] Arnauld, *Négociat.*, I., 161 *seqq.*; Cochin, H. Arnauld, 68 *seqq.*

[2] Cochin, 70 *seqq.*

[3] At the end of February, 1646, Card. Este had had the imperial arms removed from his palace, retaining only the French and the papal ones, a fact which caused a sensation. Savelli's *report of February 24, 1646, State Arch., Vienna.

[4] Coville, 123 *seqq.*

[5] The Spanish ambassador Sirvela left Rome in August, 1645; Cabrera's wife made her entry into Rome together with her

Cabrera struck a most arrogant attitude; he caused it to be rumoured that he would not call on Cardinal Este and would not greet him should he happen to meet him. The Cardinal promptly replied that he would compel him to do so. Cabrera, who had had several thousand men dispatched from Naples to Rome, boasted that he would make a prisoner of Este. The latter refused to be intimidated. He made arrangements with the French party and likewise raised a few thousand armed men.[1] Cardinal Grimaldi also took 200 mounted men into his service.[2] Consequently the Pope took measures for the preservation of tranquillity.[3]

On April 29th Cabrera decided to call on Cardinal Lante, Dean of the Sacred College. Innocent X. sought to persuade Este not to leave his house that day, but the Cardinal would not hear of it. Thus it came about that, on returning from his visit, Cabrera fell in with Este in the Piazza of the Gesù. A bloody encounter took place between their respective suites, in which the Spaniards were worsted.[4] The incident was soon disposed of through the Pope's mediation but Cabrera, who had become the butt of Pasquino's gibes, had now but one thought, namely to get out of Rome as quickly as possible.[5] A quite disproportionate importance was attached

husband, "che non più si è veduta in questa città"; she was greeted by Olimpia Pamfili before Porta S. Giovanni. Savelli's *report of March 24, 1646, State Arch., Vienna; *cf.* **Avviso* of March 31, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] COVILLE, 124–5: *Writings on the dispute in *Cod.* N., III., 69, of Chigi Lib., Rome.

[2] Savelli's *report of May 19, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[3] ARNAULD, *Négociat.*, II., 122.

[4] Besides ARNAULD, *Négociat.*, I., 155 *seq.*; II., 3 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, 145 *seq.*, and the reports used by COVILLE (125 *seq.*), *cf.* also Savelli's letter of May 3, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cabrera journeyed to Loreto on June 4; on May 2 Count Oñate, the new Spanish ambassador, arrived in Rome; see **Avvisi* of June 9 and July 7, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch. An ironical poem *L'Amirante fugitivo*, in *Cod.* N. III., 69, p. 255 *seq.* of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* also SIMEONI, 83.

to this trifling incident. The French in Rome raised shouts of victory and there was no less enthusiasm in France; Mazarin himself, though as a rule a past-master in self-control, paid exuberant compliments to Este.[1]

A more serious drama opened on the confines of the States of the Church. On May 10th the French took the fortresses of Talamone and S. Stefano; five days later the trenches of Orbetello were forced whilst the fleet advanced as far as Civitavecchia. These first successes, together with the incident in Rome, appeared to lend support to Mazarin's diplomacy. He hoped to intimidate Innocent X. and accordingly allowed Arnauld to seek an audience. The latter saw the Pope on June 7th and 11th, but for the Barberini he could obtain nothing.[2]

About the middle of June the military situation of the French grew worse. Admiral De Brizé was killed in a fierce naval engagement with the Spaniards and the fleet, though victorious, returned to Provence. The French also fared badly before Orbetello which was being gallantly defended by the Neapolitan Carlo della Gatta[3]: their ranks were decimated by fever. In these circumstances Arnauld, naturally enough, could do nothing for the Barberini. On July 16th the French were compelled to raise the siege of Orbetello, to the huge satisfaction of their enemies in Rome.[4]

This defeat in Italy gave fresh courage to Mazarin's enemies in France, so much so that in Rome his fall was deemed imminent. However, the Cardinal succeeded in stifling the

[1] COVILLE, 126.

[2] ARNAULD, *Négociat.*, II., 287 *seqq.*, 294 *seqq.* CHÉRUEL, II., 196 *seqq.*; COVILLE, 127 *seqq.*; COCHIN, 81 *seqq.* Orbetello, "*guerra propria di Mazarino*," Chigi says in **Diario* of his stay at Münster, Chigi Lib.; see XXXII., Appendix 2.

[3] CAPECELATRO, *Istoria dell' assedio posto ad Orbetello dal principe Tommaso di Savoia*, edit. by Prince Belmonte, Naples, 1857; ADEMOLLO, *L'Assedio di Orbetello dell a'* 1646, Grosseto, 1883. **Versi satirici sopra il campo e guerra d'Orbetello* in *Cod.* N. III., 69, p. 597, of the Chigi Library. *Cf.* also CERBONI, *Eritreo*, 96.

[4] CHÉRUEL. II., 212 *seqq.*; COVILLE, 130; COCHIN, 84.

discontent and the upshot of it all was the decision to equip another fleet and to resume military operations in central Italy.[1] The idea was to intimidate the Pope and this was fully realized. Even before the French troops had effected a landing opposite the isle of Elba on September 17th, Innocent unexpectedly sent for Cardinals Este and Grimaldi, when he informed them that he had made up his mind to grant a pardon to the Barberini ; they might repair to Avignon and all that had been confiscated should be restored to them.[2]

Thereupon Mazarin's attitude underwent a complete change. His friendliness was such that one hardly knew him. He protested that he was the most reliable and most sincere servant of the Holy See, spoke with enthusiasm of universal peace, of a league of all the princes against the common enemy of Christendom and of the undying glory of the present pontificate.[3] Nor was he content with words ; when Piombo fell on October 11th, 1646, out of regard for the Pope, Ludovisi was allowed to retain his principality, of course under the overlordship of the Most Christian King. Lastly Mazarin promised to send an ambassador who would be acceptable to the Pope in every respect.[4] It was not easy to find such a person. Many undesirable candidates offered their services, whereas those who were offered the honour sought to escape it Thus the Cardinal of Lyons and the Marquis of Noirmoutiers declined. Finally the choice fell on the Marquis of Fontenay-Mareuil, who demurred at first on the plea of age and health, but ended by accepting.[5]

[1] COVILLE, 131 *seqq.*

[2] Besides the accounts consulted by COVILLE (137), *cf.* Servantius, **Diaria* (Papal Sec. Arch.) on September 17, 1646, and Savelli's *letter of September 22, 1646, to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch. A **Discorso* addressed to the Pope, praying him not to pardon the Barberini, to the injury of the Apostolic Camera, in *Barb.* 5748, Vat. Lib.

[3] Letters to a Roman confidant, October 13 and 15, 1646, in COVILLE, 138.

[4] *Ibid.*, 138–9.

[5] *Ibid.*, 142–3. Fontenay-Mareuil had been French ambassador in Rome, 1639–1644 ; *cf.* BAGUENOT DE PUCHESSE in *Rev. des*

Mazarin's inquiry whether Fontenay would be agreeable to the Holy See, promptly met with an affirmative reply, in fact Rome awaited his arrival with impatience.[1] Innocent had long desired the resumption of normal diplomatic relations with France and just then he had additional grounds for it; in view of the intrigues of the French Jansenists [2] a great deal depended on the attitude of Mazarin.

Some time elapsed before Fontenay reached Rome. The difficulties in the mutual relations were happily removed by concessions on both sides. The first thing to be dealt with was Ludovisi's position at Piombino, then the full pardon of the Barberini, towards whom there appeared to have been a certain cooling off on the part of Mazarin, for in February, 1647, he had written to Arnauld that it was not worth while, for their sakes, to become involved in fresh complications. In the end Innocent X. gave leave to Francesco Barberini to return to Rome.[3]

On May 24th, 1647, Fontenay made his entry into the Eternal City, with a magnificent retinue. Cardinal Este went out to meet him with eighty-four carriages and escorted him into the presence of the Pope. In order to impress the Spaniards the greatest possible pomp was likewise displayed on the occasion of the visits to Olimpia and the Princess Ludovisi.[4]

Fontenay met with an all the more friendly reception from the Pope as shortly before, in connexion with the Jansenist affair, Mazarin had adopted a line of conduct which earned for him a special Brief of praise and thanks.[5] However, Mazarin demanded something in return, viz. the red hat for

quest. hist., XVIII. (1875), 160, and the *Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil*, éd. Michaud-Poujolat, 2nd series, V. (1837), though these are not always reliable.

[1] COVILLE, 143.

[2] Particulars in Ch. VI.

[3] COCHIN, 94.

[4] Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.; COVILLE, 149; COCHIN, *loc. cit.*

[5] Text in *Annales de St. Louis*, II. (1897), 362 *seq.*

his brother Michel. Though he was well aware of the obstacles,[1] he nevertheless hoped for speedy success, seeing that it was precisely Fontenay that had obtained it for himself under Urban VIII. However, at all times undecided, Innocent X. hesitated even more in this instance—notwithstanding the pressure of the French agents—for Mazarin's brother was a very mediocre personality[2]; moreover the representatives of the Emperor and Spain opposed the promotion.[3] The Pope complained that the French diplomatists gave him no peace[4] but in the end Fontenay, whom the Pope always treated in the friendliest fashion, obtained his assent to Michel's promotion; and since no time limit was fixed, its execution could be delayed indefinitely. For the rest Michel, who came to Rome against Mazarin's will, spoilt his cause by numerous imprudences, and the Spanish party, still very influential with the Pope, continued to make energetic remonstrances.

At this time certain agitations at Naples held everyone in suspense. Mazarin was suspected—assuredly not without good reason—of having a hand in the risings. By reason of the feverish excitement which the events of Naples called forth, every favour done to one party was construed into an act of hostility towards the other. If Innocent X. named a Cardinal at the request of France, he must needs appoint another to please Spain. A considerable time had to elapse before the answer concerning Mazarin's promotion could arrive, accordingly the Spaniards did not despair of inducing the Pope to change his mind.[5] Other difficulties were due to Mazarin himself. He who always protested that he asked nothing for his own, now insisted that his brother should be raised to the cardinalate on the recommendation of the King of Poland, whereas Innocent would rather have a

[1] *Cf.* Venetian report in BERCHET, II., 54 *seqq.*

[2] COVILLE, 165, 170 *seqq.*

[3] See Savelli's *report of August 31, 1647, State Arch., Vienna.

[4] COVILLE, 172.

[5] *Ibid.*, 173 *seqq.*, 175.

recommendation from the French Queen-Regent. At the end of September Mazarin suddenly announced that he would be satisfied with any mode of promotion that was agreeable to the Pope; accordingly on October 7th, Michel Mazarin was at last raised to the Sacred College. The event was a considerable diplomatic triumph for Mazarin, whilst it also satisfied a desire of his heart. He was anxious to create for his family as splendid a position as Richelieu had done for his; ambition of this kind characterizes the upstarts of every age, but in the 17th century this passion was even more imperious for it was the only guarantee against the whims and storms of fate.[1] Mazarin himself was not to be spared the experience.

Disagreements with the Apostolic See by no means came to an end with the elevation of Michel Mazarin who, in point of fact, died as early as August 31st, 1648.[2] On February 27th, 1648, Cardinal Francesco Barberini had returned to Rome. His brother Taddeo had died in Paris the year before.[3] Cardinal Francesco met with a kindly welcome from the Pope[4] as did Cardinal Antonio who returned to Rome on

[1] COVILLE, 165 *seqq.*, 175 *seqq.* On Mich. Mazarin, *cf.* DE MUN in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XVIII., 497–530.

[2] Mich. Mazarin succumbed in his palace on the Quirinal to a fever which he caught at Palidoro on his return to Rome. Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.). "*Quanto s'è travagliato per vestirlo di porpora, e poi non ha potuto terminare l'anno delle sue grandezzi," Fr. Albizzi wrote to Chigi as Mazarin lay on his death-bed, dated Rome, August 29, 1646, Chigi Lib., Rome. *Cod.* A. III., 55.

[3] Taddeo's somewhat plain sepulchre (by Bernardo Cametti, a pupil of Bernini) in S. Rosalia, close to the family palace, at Palestrina (*cf. Zeitschr. für bild. Kunst.*, new series, XXV. [1914], 326), shows how much the splendour of the family had waned. The coffin stands in the adjoining mausoleum.

[4] "*Fuit receptus maxima cum benignitate . . . confabulantes super mediam horam" (Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.). *Cf.* DENIS, I., iii.; ARNAULD, *Négociat.*, V., 413; *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV. (1875), 199.

July 12th, 1653, when the people greeted him with enthusiasm.[1] A painting entitled "The Sacrifice of Diana", for which Cardinal Francesco gave a commission to Pietro da Cortona—the most vivid modern representation of a Greek sacrifice—was intended as an allegory of the return of his family from exile.[2] But as all the wishes of the Barberini were by no means fulfilled, they repeatedly invoked France's patronage with the Pope.[3] To this annoyance others came to be added. In April, 1648, the French Government conceived the notion of publishing the condemnation which Parliament had passed the year before on a papal censure of certain Jansenist writings. A strong protest by the papal nuncio followed. Not long afterwards the French ambassador in Rome gave grave offence by sheltering a criminal accused of sacrilege and robbery.[4]

However, these disputes were not remotely comparable to the previous ones when Mazarin, by means of brutal attacks, forced the Pope to a kind of capitulation. The warlike conflagration which had broken out in Italy at that time had done much to increase the minister's unpopularity in France. Everyone could see how this upstart put his personal gain before that of the State and it was generally felt that he made war in his own interest, not that of France.[5] To begin with, the Italian Mazarin was hated as a foreigner whilst the greed that caused him to pile up gold for himself still further alienated all hearts. The enormous expenditure on the army and the consequent intolerable taxation, brought about the triumph of his enemies, the so-called *Fronde*, in the autumn of 1648. Banished as an enemy of the State, at the beginning of 1649, Mazarin was forced to leave Paris and in

[1] *Servantius, *loc. cit.* Antonio's audience with the Pope on July 14 lasted two hours, *ibid.*

[2] Voss, *Malerei*, 545, on the picture in the Barberini Gallery.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIV. of June 11, 1650, *Epist.*, IV.–VI., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Coville, 185 *seq.*

[5] Gérin, I., 3 *seqq.*

February of the following year even France itself. He withdrew to Brühl, near Cologne,[1] from where he kept in close touch with Queen Anne. In the end he came out triumphantly from the dangerous struggle.[2] During those troubles Innocent X. did all he could to preserve the Church in France from injury.[3]

Innocent X. was fully justified when, at the beginning of 1651, he remarked that from the beginning of his pontificate Mazarin had been a stumbling block in the relations between France and Rome ; from him had proceeded every unpleasantness and every dispute ; that minister would end by ruining both France and the Holy See.[4] In December, 1651, the tension was such that the French ambassador, Valençay, ceased to seek audiences with the Pope.[5]

When the nuncios of Vienna, Madrid and Paris were changed in the autumn of 1652, Innocent X. named Neri Corsini, Archbishop of Damietta, for France. Although the French ambassador in Rome described the new nuncio as worthy of confidence,[6] Corsini was arrested on landing at Marseilles and interned in a monastery. In an audience on November 25th Valençay endeavoured to justify this action

[1] By a *Brief of July 8, 1651, Innocent X. approved Mazarin's leaving France as this would preserve his ecclesiastical dignity from injury (*Epist.*, IV.–VI., Papal Sec. Arch.). *Ibid.*, under date of October 23, 1651, *the Pope's congratulations to Louis XIV. on his assumption of the reins of government, with an exhortation that he should defend the Church and honour the Holy See.

[2] " *S'egli esce con riputazione, sarà il compimento delle sue fortune," Fr. Albizzi wrote to Chig on February 27, 1649, from Rome. Chigi Lib., *Cod.* A. III., 55.

[3] See the *Brief to the French clergy dated May 20, 1652, Papal Sec. Arch., *loc. cit.*

[4] See Valençay's letter dated Rome, November 13, 1651, in Chantelauze, *Retz.*, II., 338.

[5] See Gueffier's letter dated Rome, December 18, 1651, *ibid.*, 461.

[6] Gérin, I., 21. On N. Corsini *cf.* Moroni, XVII., 280 *seq.*, 285 *seq.*

and in doing so adopted a grossly offensive attitude towards the Pope.[1] It was solely due to the unfavourable military situation—the Spaniards had just recaptured Barcelona—that Corsini recovered his freedom and was allowed to proceed to Avignon. However, France's policy towards Rome remained unaltered and a fresh conflict broke out within the same year.

October, 1652, witnessed the restoration of royal absolutism, before which disappeared both the aristocracy and Parliament. Only one man remained as Mazarin's competitor: this was Jean François Paul de Gondi, known as Cardinal de Retz.[2] Born in 1613 and destined, against his inclination, for the ecclesiastical state, Retz had been given a Canon's stall at Notre Dame when he was only thirteen. In 1643 he became coadjutor to his uncle, the Archbishop of Paris, with the title of Archbishop of Corinth. Talented and endowed with high political ability, but restless, immoral and an adherent of the Jansenists, Retz headed the Fronde between 1648 and 1649. But it was hoped that he might be won over and the King proposed him for the cardinalate which he received on February 19th, 1652. However, Retz continued an irreconcilable opponent of Mazarin whom he was anxious to succeed at all costs. He believed that the purple would protect him in his intrigues, but Mazarin, who in his disputes with the Pope had often threatened to free the French from

[1] GÉRIN, I., 22 *seq.*, for Valençay's report of November 25, 1651. *Instruction for Corsini in State Lib., Vienna 5645, p. 28 *seqq.*

[2] CHANTELAUZE, *Le card. de Retz et l'affaire du chapeau*, Paris, 1878; NORMAND, *Card. de Retz, ibid.*, 1895; RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, III., 71 *seqq.*, V., 199 *seq.*; FUETER, *Historiographie*, 156 *seq.*; *Œuvres de Retz*, éd. FEILLET, GOURDAULT, and CHANTELAUZE, 10 vols., Paris, 1872–1896. CH. COCHIN, who died in 1918, intended to write a new life of Retz; the following fragment of his papers has been published: *Suppl. à la corresp. du card. de Retz*, Paris, 1920, with an appendix on his elevation to the cardinalate. See also D. OGG, *Card. de Retz*, London, 1912; BATTIEOL, *Le card. de Retz*, Paris, 1927.

"the Roman phantom", was not the man to allow himself to be frightened by an obstacle of this kind.[1] In a secret memorandum he advised the King to have the Cardinal arrested. Retz allowed himself to be deceived: on the occasion of a call at the Louvre, December 19th, 1652, he was arrested and taken to the dungeon of Vincennes.[2] The Cardinal-Minister wished the public to believe that he had had nothing to do with this act of violence; but there can be no doubt that it was he who had instigated the arrest. His enemy and rival should be kept in custody for as long as seemed good to him, irrespectively of the circumstance that the Pope alone has jurisdiction over the members of the Sacred College.[3]

The French ambassador in Rome began by boldly denying the act of violence; it was not likely, he declared, that a Cardinal would throw a colleague into prison.[4] But the Pope had been fully informed of the incident by the Paris nuncio, Bagno, whose report dated December 27th, 1652,[5] he communicated to the College of Cardinals at a consistory held on January 8th, 1653.[6] By special courier the Pontiff sent a fatherly letter to the young King, Louis XIV., urging him to set at liberty a man who had been unjustly imprisoned and whom he himself had recommended for the purple.[7] Though some of the Cardinals, for instance Capponi, sought to defend the action against Retz, the majority thought

[1] CHANTELAUZE, *Retz*, I., 477.

[2] *Ibid.*, 477–8.

[3] GÉRIN, I., 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, 28.

[5] *Cf.* "*Ristretto delle lettere per il negotiato fatto da Mons. Nunzio Apost. per la liberatione del card. di Retz", *Miscell. Clement.*, XI., t. 123, p. 106 *seqq*,. Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; *cf.* *Card. Colonna's report to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, February 7, 1653, State Arch., Vienna.

[7] "*Regi Francorum," dated January 20, 1653, *Epist.*, IX., Papal Sec. Arch., *ibid.*, same date, a similar *Brief to the Queen-Regent Anne.

otherwise. Cardinals Colonna and Trivulzio counselled the severest counter-measures, but Cornaro recommended moderation [1] and the Pope referred the matter to a special congregation.

Mazarin, who had returned to Paris in triumph on February 3rd, 1653, became more powerful than ever,[2] a circumstance that was decisive for Retz' fate. To the representations of the French episcopate, when it spoke up in defence of ecclesiastical immunity, Mazarin only replied in general terms. The nuncio, who on March 3rd and 4th was at length received by the King and Queen, likewise failed to obtain anything.[3] Domenico Marini, Archbishop of Avignon, whom the Pope dispatched as nuncio extraordinary, was refused admittance at court.[4] To justify his conduct Mazarin referred to former imprisonments of Cardinals, as Balue and Klesl. The nuncio's suggestion to send Retz to Rome to have his guilt examined by the Pope, Mazarin rejected on the ground that Retz would go on agitating from there by means of his skilful pen.[5]

When, in July, the prisoner declared his readiness to furnish hostages until he should have reached Rome, Mazarin came forward with a fresh demand: this was that Retz should resign his coadjutorship with the right of succession to the archiepiscopal See of Paris. This Retz emphatically declined to agree to—he would rather remain in prison for ten years and die there, he declared.[6]

Meanwhile the Jansenists had expressed their sympathy with the imprisoned Cardinal. Mazarin seized the occasion

[1] De Rossi, **Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vat. Lib.

[2] DONAVER, *Il card. Mazzarino*, Genoa, 1884, p. 274, for report of Genoese envoy on Mazarin's return.

[3] See Bagno's *reports of January 30, February 28, March 5, 1653, in **Ristretto*, etc., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Bagno's *reports of April 4 and May 30, 1653, *loc. cit.* The *Briefs which the Archbishop was to hand to the King, Queen Anne and Mazarin, in *Epist.*, IX., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] Bagno's *letters of May 9 and 16, 1653, *loc. cit.*

[6] Bagno's *letter of July 11, 1653, *ibid.*

to enforce with all his energy the papal Bull of May 31st, 1652, condemning the five theses of Jansenism. In a consistory of September 22nd the Pope expressed his satisfaction, but refused to drop the affair of the imprisoned Cardinal for in this matter an inalienable prerogative of the Holy See was at stake.[1] On September 24th the Paris nuncio was instructed to make representations to the King on the scandal and the injustice of detaining a Cardinal for so long a time in an unhealthy dungeon, and on the fact that the prisoner had not even been confronted with his judges ; as for the promise that in the event of his acquittal, Retz would not return to France, it could not be given.[2] The nuncio's representations, though supported by special Briefs to the King, Queen Anne and Mazarin [3] proved unavailing.[4] Even the Pope's proposal to allow Retz' trial to be conducted in France by the Archbishop of Avignon was rejected by the Government. Yet even so Rome did not desist in its efforts and in March and April, 1654, the nuncio was again instructed to intervene on behalf of the prisoner.[5]

Meanwhile the situation underwent a change inasmuch as in consequence of the death of his uncle, on March 21st, 1654, Retz became Archbishop of Paris. A renunciation of the dignity was now extorted from the prisoner to which Cardinal Este strove in vain to obtain Innocent X.'s assent.[6] On August 8th Retz succeeded in breaking prison and escaping into Spain.[7] He now declared his resignation to be null and void and appointed a Vicar General. The Pope,

[1] GÉRIN, I., 32.

[2] The *Brief for Bagno, dated September 24, 1653, with the exhortation : " Viriliter age," in *Epist.*, X., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Text of *Briefs, *ibid.*

[4] See Bagno's *report of December 29, 1653, in **Ristretto*, etc., *loc. cit.*

[5] Instructions for Bagno, March 16, and April 6, 1654, *ibid.*

[6] *Letter of the Secretary of State to Bagno, June 8, 1654, in **Ristretto*, etc., *ibid.*

[7] See L. MAÎTRE, *L'évasion du card. Retz hors du château de Nantes d'après des documents nouveaux*, Nantes, 1903.

who learnt of the escape on September 4th,[1] approved his step in a letter in which he congratulated Retz on his deliverance and assured him of his protection.[2]

The report of his opponent's escape hit Mazarin as news of a lost battle might have done. He now did his utmost to deprive Retz of his archiepiscopal dignity; the Cathedral Chapter, which had at first sided with Retz,[3] was forced to nominate Vicars Capitular as if the See were vacant! At the same time orders were issued for the rearrest of Retz.[4]

The French ambassador in Rome, Valençay, had been recalled at the end of 1653. So as to avoid the semblance of a diplomatic rupture, François Bosquet, Bishop of Lodève, was dispatched to the Pope. Bosquet's first audience was a very stormy one. Unheard of things were happening in France, Innocent X. exclaimed, for there nuncios were being expelled and Cardinals imprisoned.[5] When, a little later, the Pope had calmed down, Bosquet entertained hopes of a compromise; however, this proved impossible owing to the fact that the Pope refused to accede to Mazarin's demand for the removal of Retz from the archiepiscopal see of Paris. Mazarin nevertheless hoped to gain his point through the new Secretary of State, but in this respect he deluded himself.[6]

Bosquet had already left Rome when Retz arrived there on November 30th, 1654. The Pope gave orders for his reception with all the honours due to a Cardinal. On December 1st Retz had an audience lasting an hour and a quarter.[7] What he told the Pope confirmed Innocent X.'s bad opinion of Mazarin. The latter now dispatched to Rome one of his

[1] On Bagno's *report in code dated August 14, 1654 (Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Spagna*), we read: "decifrato 4 settembre."

[2] *Brief of September 30, 1654, *Epist.*, X., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] See Bagno's *reports, dated Paris, August 14 and 22, 1654, *ibid.*, *Nunziat. di Spagna.*

[4] Bagno's *reports, Paris, August 28, September 4, 1654, *ibid.*

[5] GÉRIN, 153.

[6] *Ibid.*, 35 *seqq.*

[7] Servantius, **Diaria, ibid.*

most daring and most unscrupulous agents, Hugues de Lionne, for the purpose of negotiating the deposition of his enemy from the archiepiscopal See of Paris.[1] However, Innocent X. had died before Lionne reached the Eternal City.

(2.)

Innocent X., in view of the struggle which France and Spain were waging against each other in every quarter and with unexampled bitterness, remarked on one occasion that it was not easy for him to keep his equilibrium seeing that he had to walk for ever as on a silken thread.[2] The truth of these words is shown by a glance at the Pope's relations with Spain. French diplomatists, foremost among them being Mazarin, never wearied of accusing Innocent X. of partiality towards that nation whilst in Spain the opposite view prevailed, viz. that the Pope did not sufficiently consider the Catholic King and was too accommodating towards France.[3] Now, as in the days of Urban VIII., the cabinets of Madrid and Paris were each equally insistent that the Pope should take its part, an action which could not be reconciled with his duty as the universal father of Christendom.

[1] GÉRIN, I., 43.

[2] COVILLE, 148.

[3] See Giustinian in BERCHET, *Relaz.*, *Spagna*, II., 182; BASADONNA, *ibid.*, 220 *seq.* Chigi fared like Innocent X.; on December 7, 1646, the former wrote to Melzi from Münster: "*Giustiniani says you are Spanish! Io non mi curo di niente per me. Finchè visse Urbano, gridavano gli Spagnoli che io era Francese, per due anni d'Innocenzo gridavano i Francesi che io era Spagnolo, dipoi ritornan gl'altri come prima et invece di conciliarsi il Papa e gli altri principi italiani gli irritano. Avanti quattro mesi si diceva, che per perseguitare i Barberini S. Stà prolongava le guerre, hora si dice, che per restituirgli guasta la pace. Io non credo che si guasti, se non col abbandonare la religione cattolica, come si fa, e vorrei essere in Persia in cambio d'essere qua." *Cod.* A., I., 23, Chigi Library.

Each Government watched with Argus' eyes Rome's every step to see whether it was in its favour or not. On the occasion of any important decision, especially when it was a question of the appointment of Cardinals, a bitter struggle always broke out at the Curia between the French and the Spanish diplomatists. To satisfy both parties was impossible and the Pope had to resign himself to reclamations both from France and from Spain.

If, on the whole, Innocent X. inclined rather towards Spain, the reason is not difficult to see. Mazarin's brutal treatment of him might indeed intimidate him and compel him to yield for the moment, but it could not win him over. The cautious, slow temperament of the Pope was in sympathy with the Spanish character rather than with the restless nature of the French. Innocent X. had likewise grateful recollections of the support he had received from Spain ever since his nunciature in that country. Philip IV.'s preponderance in Italy lay heavily in the scales. Any Pope would have to reckon with a King who was master of Milan and Naples.[1] Lastly, notwithstanding the decline of Spanish power, its significance for the Catholic Church remained very great.

It is, however, a mistake to think that Innocent X. favoured the Spaniards unduly. If these, because of the share they had had in Innocent's elevation, imagined that the new Head of the Church would at all times energetically promote their particularist interests, they were soon undeceived.[2] A signal proof of this is the testimony of the Venetian envoy, Giustinian, who expressly states in his report of 1651 that every observer of the Pope's conduct since his elevation, had to admit that he had shown no undue partiality toward Spain.[3] Giustinian further relates that every Spanish ambassador in Rome, beginning with Count Oñata, then

[1] Giustinian in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 131 *seq.*, 151.

[2] See Maffei's report in PELLEGRINI, *Relazioni inedite degli ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Madrid*, Lucca, 1909, 79.

[3] Giustinian, *loc. cit.*

Cardinal Albornoz and lastly the Duke of Infantado, had complained to him of the anything but accommodating disposition of Innocent X. not only in important but even in small matters: of all the ambassadors those of Spain had received fewest favours. For the prevailing notion that Innocent X. was Hispanophil, these diplomatists had nothing but bitter scorn.[1] There were two affairs in particular in which Innocent X. was supposed to have shown special preference for Spain, viz. his attitude towards Portugal and his conduct during the sedition in Naples. In the days of Urban VIII., Innocent X. had been a member of the Congregation dealing with Portuguese affairs.[2] Accordingly for him there was nothing new in the question whether the Apostolic See should recognize King John IV. of Braganza whom, after eighty years of subjection to Spain, Portugal had put at its head, and at the same time grant him the right to nominate Bishops. In Portugal it was said that under Urban VIII. Cardinal Pamfili had favoured a compromise.[3] At the beginning of 1645 Nicolas Monteiro, Prior of Sodofeita, came to Rome as representative of the Portuguese clergy in order to promote John IV.'s nominations to the vacant sees.[4] By this means it was hoped to obtain his recognition as King of Portugal, a step to which Spain offered the most determined opposition. The Pope was determined to dissociate the political aspect of the matter from the ecclesiastical one; hence he resolved himself, as Head of the Church, to appoint the Bishops, *motu proprio*, without any reference to the right of royal nomination. Accordingly, in May, 1645, he filled, *motu proprio*, the vacant sees of Guarda, Miranda and Viseu.[5] Spain had no cause to complain of this proceeding

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* our data, XXIX., 203.

[3] See **Cifra* of the sub-collector Girolamo Battaglia, dated Lisbon, April 28, 1645, *Nunziat. di Portogallo*, 24, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Ademollo, *Indipendenza Portoghese*, 67.

[5] See **Acta consist., Barb.* 2918, P. 1, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* Fea, *Nullità delle amministrazioni capitolari abusive*, Rome, 1815, 76.

since it had likewise been in force during the Spanish occupation of Portugal.[1] However, the King of Portugal, who had recently threatened with a national council [2] and in June, 1645, had arbitrarily appointed Bishops for Lisbon, Evora and Braga,[3] whose confirmation by the Pope was not to be expected, now, at the instigation of Mazarin, opposed this solution, which he had seemed willing at one time to agree to.[4]

There now broke out a diplomatic struggle at the Curia on the subject of the recognition of John IV. Whereas the Spanish ambassador, Count Sirvela, offered the strongest opposition to it, the demand found a most enthusiastic advocate in the French ambassador, Grémonville, who had arrived at the beginning of 1645.[5] Neither the French nor

News of the Pope's action *"fu inteso con qualche comotione" the nuncio of Naples, Altieri, writes on May 23, 1645, Altieri Archives, Rome, XX., A. 3. On May 29, 1645, the Secretary of State wrote to Rinuccini on the Pope's action: "Hanno procurato questi signori ministri del Re di Spagna di far che N. S. si astenesse da ogni sorte di propositione, mentre non si proseguiva nel possesso, che tuttavia dicono che civilmente ritiene il Re loro nella provista di quelle Chiese; ma N. S. ha voluto in questo sodisfare alla propria coscienza e al precetto di Christo signor nostro: Pasce oves meas, senza riparare ad altro interesse humano, e le ha proposto come di suo proprio moto. Subodoratasi la risolutione dai signori cardinali spagnuoli, si come poi si è veduto, dovettero havere per bene di non intervenire quella mattina nel concistoro, per non esser posti in necessità di approvare questa risolutione, che essi impugnavano, lodando la provista, come è solito di farsi nella provisione di tutti li vescovati, e disapprovandola per non intaccare il rispetto et la riverenza dovuta a Nostro Signore. Di tutto questo si dà parte a Vostra Signoria per sua notitia." Rospigliosi Arch., Rome.

[1] See **Cifra al Nuntio di Venetia*, October 14, 1645, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cifra* of G. Battaglia, dated Lisbon, June 6, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[4] SCHÄFER, *Portugal*, IV., 538. Ismael Bullialdo's memorial was printed in 1653.

[5] ADEMOLLO, 68–9.

the Spaniards were really interested in the affair ; each party pursued its own particularist political aim and their meddling could but injure the interests of the Church. What the French aimed at was revealed by Grémonville's demand for the admission of an *obbedienza* embassy whose members had already been named by the Portuguese King.[1]

Fearing lest the Pope should yield to the powerful pressure of the French, the Spanish party in Rome had perpetrated an act of violence. In the first days of April, 1645, Monteiro's carriage was attacked in the Ripetta by twenty armed Spaniards who killed the steward of the Portuguese agent. When the police intervened all the Spaniards gathered in arms before the palace of their ambassador.[2] It was soon seen that the latter had himself had a hand in the affair. Thereupon the Pope no longer received him in audience and this attitude he maintained even when Cardinal Medici pleaded on behalf of Sirvela.[3] Thus much did the Pope connive with the Spaniards' act of violence, though the enemies of the Holy See at Lisbon sought to persuade John IV. that this was so, in order to induce him to expel the papal sub-collector Girolamo Battaglia.[4]

Even Spain's representatives at Naples had to admit that the Pope's treatment of Sirvela was fully justified ; for all that they sought to excuse the ambassador and to induce the Pontiff, through the nuncio, to pardon Sirvela. All was in vain.[5] Meanwhile the ambassador had gone to Frascati, Cardinal Albornoz transacting current business in the meantime. Sirvela ended by realizing that his position at the Curia had become untenable : on August 5th he left Rome

[1] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[2] Besides the partial and exculpating reports of Ameyden in ADEMOLLO, 68, *cf.* **Avviso* of April 8, 1645, Papal Sec. Arch., and Savelli's *report of April 8, 1645, State Arch., Vienna.

[3] **Avviso* of April 29, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* **Cifra* of G. Battaglia, dated Lisbon, June 6, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* Altieri's *reports, Naples, April 22, May 22 and 23, June 3, 1646, Altieri Arch., Rome.

without a farewell visit to the Pope.[1] The question of replacing him at the embassy raised many difficulties. In September the Bishop of Pozzuoli told the nuncio of Naples that if the Duke of Medina de las Torres were to come to Rome, the Pope would treat him worse than even Sirvela.[2] Eventually, towards the end of the year, Count Oñate was appointed Spanish ambassador in Rome.[3]

The struggle for John IV.'s right of nomination, which included his recognition as King, continued during the following year. The French supported it in every way whilst the Spaniards fought it no less obstinately. Innocent X. maintained the principle that his position as common father of all Christians laid on him the duty of impartiality in the dispute. Nor could he be made to swerve from his determination by the circumstance that John IV. sought to force him to accept an embassy by expelling the Apostolic sub-collector Girolamo Battaglia from the realm in November, 1646.[4] The King also sought the opinion of scholars and universities on the question of further forcible measures. In 1647 he presented to the Pope, through his agent Nuno da Cunha, a memorial in the concluding paragraph of which he stated that some very learned men had assured him that in a case of urgent necessity, like the present one, the Chapters were qualified to elect the Bishops whom the sovereign had nominated. The Portuguese Inquisition condemned this thesis which was defended by the one-time Calvinist Ismael Bullialdo. The Pope, the Inquisition declared, as Head of the Catholic and Roman Church, possessed full monarchical

[1] *Cf.* Ademollo, 72. Altieri *reports Sirvela's departure for Spain from Naples, February 8, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Altieri's report of September 9, 1645, *ibid.*

[3] *Altieri's report of December 31, 1645, *ibid.*

[4] See Siri, *Mercurio*, VIII., 701 ; Ademollo, 73. An attempt had been made before this to remove Battaglia, the Pope's faithful informant, from Portugal, by proposing to him a mission to Rome, a task which, failing a command by the Pope, he was bound to decline. **Cifra* of G. Battaglia of June 27, 1645, Papal Sec. Arch.

power and was the fount of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which could only be conveyed to the ministers of the Church by his express will and consent. Thereupon the King desisted from his purpose [1] and when in March, 1652, Mazarin provoked an intervention of the French hierarchy in favour of the Portuguese right of nomination,[2] the action, in view of the circumstances, could only do harm. A memorial presented at Rome by the Estates of Portugal in 1653 also remained without result.[3] Whatever may have been the arrogance of the friends of John IV. at the Curia,[4] the Portuguese Government was shrewd enough to refrain from going to the extremity of filling the vacant sees independently of the Pope. There can be no doubt that the Spaniards benefited by the fact that the Portuguese problem remained unsolved, though this was certainly not due to any consideration for them,[5] on the contrary, the failure of every attempt at a compromise must be ascribed to the conduct of the King of Portugal and his friends the French. For a long time the Pope hoped for a satisfactory solution. In 1651 the Venetian envoy, Giustinian, asserted that he knew from an excellent source that Innocent X. was for ever considering how he might fill the vacant Portuguese sees and so happily settle the disputes to which those vacancies had given rise.[6]

No less anxiety for the Pope arose out of an anti-Spanish revolt in neighbouring Naples.[7] Its cause was the intolerable

[1] SCHÄFER, IV., 540 *seq.* A *eulogy of the "episc. Aegitanen. Inquisit. Portug.", of October 15, 1650, in *Epist.*, VII.–VIII., *loc. cit.*

[2] The document is in FEA, *Nullità delle amministrazioni capitolari abusive*, 45 *seqq.*

[3] SCHÄFER, IV., 540 *seq.*

[4] ADEMOLLO, 75.

[5] This is stressed by Giustinian in BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Rome, II., 133. SCHÄFER's contrary view (IV., 536 *seq.*) is based on an anonymous report the passionate partiality of which is so manifest that one is amazed that Schäfer should follow it unreservedly.

[6] Giustinian, *loc. cit.*

[7] G. PRIORATO, *Massaniello*, Paris, 1654; PALERMO, *Narraz.*

burden of taxation arbitrarily laid on the people, so that Dante's words were applied to the Viceroy, Rodrigo Ponce de León, Duke of Arcos: "*Dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria*—he is more hungry after eating than before." In consequence of excessive taxation, risings occurred in May, 1647, first at Palermo and in other towns of Sicily. The movement soon spread to Naples. It was directed not only against the excessive imposts of the Spanish Government but equally against the privileged nobility. Its leader was Masaniello, a man of the lowliest origin, a native of Amalfi and a fishmonger by trade. Masaniello went about barefooted, dressed in a white shirt and white trousers—the uniform of the fisherfolk—without covering on his head. He quickly became the idol of the people and the terror of the Viceroy. An armed mob noisily surrounded the Viceroy's palace who had to flee for his life into a neighbouring monastery. The anger of the populace vented itself in an appalling fury of destruction. In order to avoid bloodshed the Cardinal Archbishop Filomarino, an excellent man who was also most highly esteemed by the people, intervened in an effort to bring about an accommodation between the rebels and the Viceroy.[1] The Cardinal was soon forced to realize how difficult it was to calm such an angry sea. The people's demands grew daily, but Filomarino did not lose heart. On July 11th he succeeded in wresting extensive concessions from the Government by means of a pact the terms

e documenti, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX. (1846); SAAVEDRA DE RIVAS, *Insurrection de Naples en 1647*, Paris, 1849; REUMONT, *Carafa*, II., 109 *seq.*; CAPASSO, *La casa e la famiglia di Massaniello*, Naples, 1893, and the works on Massaniello quoted in n. 2, p. 80. To these must be added the monograph by E. VISCO: *La politica della S. Sede nella rivoluzione di Masaniello. Da documenti dell' Arch. Vatic.*, Naples, 1923.

[1] See Filomarino's report to Innocent X., dated July 8, 1647, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 379 *seqq.*, and VISCO, 22 *seq.*, 25, 191 *seq.* (Altieri's report of July 9, 1647). On Filomarino's attitude see DE BLASIIS, in *Arch. Napolet.*, VI., 774 *seq.*, and especially VISCO, 20 *seq.*, who pays a high tribute to the Cardinal.

of which he published in the Cathedral on July 13th.[1] The fishmonger saw his wildest dreams fulfilled, but he fell a victim to megalomania and was assassinated in a monastery on July 16th.[2] It is not certain whether the bloody deed was inspired by the Viceroy and a former follower of Masaniello, the aged Giulio Genoino. The hope of Filomarino and Innocent X. that the rebellion was now at an end,[3] remained unfulfilled. The revolt flared up once more. Again Filomarino, supported by the nuncio Emilio Altieri, took up the task of mediation, and on this occasion he spoke some bitter truths to the foolish Viceroy. "I know," Filomarino wrote to the Pope on July 19th, "that my province is solely the ecclesiastical government, but in order to prevent the destruction of this unhappy city, I have been compelled to venture into the political arena."[4] The troubles continued throughout August, as did the work of pacification of the indefatigable Filomarino[5] to whom the Pope dispatched a laudatory Brief. At the beginning of September, 1647, the Cardinal brought about a fresh compromise, but the excitement would not die down in Naples. On September 13th a manifesto summoned the populace not to trust the Viceroy and by means of a fresh rising either to win independence or to proclaim the Pope immediate Sovereign of Naples.[6]

[1] Filomarino's reports of July 12 and 16, 1647, *loc. cit.*, 381 *seq.*, 386; Visco, 28 *seq.*

[2] The chief source on the rising is the *Diario of* Franc. Capecelatro, I., Naples, 1850. Among the more recent writers on Masaniello, *cf.* Reumont, *Die Carafa von Maddaloni*, vol. II., the monographs of Capasso (Naples, 1919) and Schippa (Bari, 1925) (*Arch. stor. Napolet.*, 1926, 394 *seqq.*). See also the article by Niehues in *Jahrbuch des westfäl. Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, 1874; letter of the Duke of Arcos to the Duke of Parma on the death of Masaniello in *Arch. stor. Napolet.*, XXXII., 4.

[3] Visco, 30, 31.

[4] *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 387 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 390 *seq. Cf.*, 351, the report of Vinc. de' Medici, Altieri's reports in Visco, 196 *seqq.* The laudatory *Brief to Filomarino, July 20, 1647, in *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] Visco, 39–40.

It has been made a reproach to Innocent X. that he did not take advantage of so favourable an opportunity. However, though tortured on the one hand by a fear of the revolt spreading to the States of the Church, and on the other grievously afflicted by the injury done to the Church at Naples,[1] he was equally unwilling to abandon the impartiality which he had hitherto observed and allow himself to be dragged into so dangerous a venture. Thereupon it was seriously contemplated at Naples to invoke the help of France.[2] Spain, however, was first on the spot. In the first days of October, 1647, a Spanish fleet appeared before Naples. It was under the command of Don Juan, a natural son of Philip IV. But the people of Naples had no intention to surrender, they accepted battle. During the bombardment of the city the papal nunciature was hit several times.[3] The Spaniards bombarded indiscriminately not only the quarters of the city which were in the hands of the rebels but those also which had remained loyal to the king. Innocent X. instructed the nuncio to work for an accommodation, but his efforts were in vain.[4] The upshot was that Naples declared itself independent of Spain. The royal arms were torn down and in some districts of the city the cry was raised: "Long live France!"[5]

From the very beginning of the outbreak the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Oñate, had requested the Pope to proceed against the rebels with the penalties of the Church. His demand fell on deaf ears. Since it was by no means immediately evident that right was on the side of the Spaniards, the Pope could not unconditionally pronounce in their favour. Nor did he allow himself to be induced by the representations of the French ambassador, Fontenay, to assert his right as feudal overlord of Naples and to claim the kingdom for the States of the Church, as was desired by many people in Naples,

[1] *Ibid.*, 45 *seq.*, 53, 134 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 59.

[4] *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*

[5] See Hermes Stampa's report of September 27, 1647, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 400.

where the Pope was still very popular from the time of his nunciature.[1] However, Innocent X. continued in his impartial attitude. The bombardment of the city was openly condemned in Rome. The Pope, so the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio on October 27th, 1647, was greatly surprised that the representatives of the King of Spain only sought salvation by means of guns and rifles and that they had given free vent to the nobility's thirst for vengeance. Weeks ago the Holy Father had offered his mediation but the Spanish authorities would not hear of it; all they thought of was to cool their ardour for revenge, heedless of the fact that the burning of houses and churches, the breaking of the enclosure of nuns' convents and the profanation and violation of churches were the order of the day. Yet Catalonia showed them what came of the use of force! The Secretary of State ended by expressing his amazement at the fact that in view of such conditions in a city not far removed from Rome, it had not entered the mind of any one of Spain's representatives to invoke the Pope's mediation, which would obviously have been the proper thing to do.[2]

The position of the nuncio Altieri, difficult enough in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstance that his own brother was implicated in the troubles.[3] The Spaniards were annoyed with Altieri and reproached him with arbitrariness. In Rome also the nuncio had given offence. To a letter of vituperation of the Secretary of State, dated October 26th, Altieri replied that it was solely at the request of the Viceroy and of Cardinal Trivulzio that he had sought to mediate, because the Spaniards were dissatisfied with Filomarino; in future he would refrain from participating in any negotia-

[1] See Filomarino's report of July 12, 1647, *ibid.*, 384; *cf.* also Visco, 70, and the report of A. Contarini in Berchet, *Relaz.*, Rome, II., 77.

[2] *Cifra al Nuntio di Napoli* of October 27, 1647, in Visco, 138 *seq.*

[3] See N. Capece Galeota, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii Apost. di Napoli*, Naples, 1877, 56.

tions.[1] To a fresh exhortation, dated October 27th, Altieri replied on November 12th that he had obeyed at once; that he had never assumed the smallest obligation in the Pope's name; that he had always been at pains not to offend either party and not to jeopardize the papal authority.[2]

Altieri failed to give satisfaction to the Viceroy [3] quite as much as to the Curia, so that he conceived an increasing distaste for his post. Already at the end of October he had asked permission to leave Naples and to betake himself to some other town of the realm. No sooner was this granted,[4] than he changed his mind once more. On January 4th, 1648, the Secretary of State wrote to him: "If you think it better to remain at your post, the Holy Father allows you to do so; but His Holiness wishes that in future you refrain from issuing manifestos to the people or, in general, from publishing anything at all, seeing that this gives rise to false interpretations and misunderstandings." [5]

The Curia's policy was to wait for events to develop, and it pursued this course even when the situation became increasingly unfavourable to the Spaniards.[6] Maintenance of this standpoint was rendered very difficult in consequence of the pressure of the French ambassador Fontenay and the rest of France's supporters in Rome, and because a number of Cardinals urged the Pope to intervene.[7] The French had openly hailed the outbreak of the revolt and had immediately

[1] "*Hora mi asterrò da ogni trattato per conformarmi col commandamento che V. E. me ne fa." Altieri's report of November 2, 1647, Altieri Arch., XX., A. 3.

[2] Altieri's *report of November 12, 1647, *loc. cit.*

[3] See *Cifra al Nuntio di Napoli*, December 7, 1647, in Visco, 142.

[4] *Cifra* of November 2, 1647; *ibid.*, 139 *seq.*

[5] *Cifra* in Reumont, *Carafa*, II., 192. In a *Cifra* of February 15, 1648, Altieri was ordered to defer his departure on account of the arrival at Naples of Oñate (Visco, 144).

[6] See the *reports of L. Allacci to Fabio Chigi, dated Rome, January 18 and 31, 1648, *Cod.* A., III., 59, of Chigi Lib.

[7] Giustinian in Berchet, Roma, II., 132.

established relations with the rebels.[1] They pressed Mazarin to give direct support to the insurrection, but this the Cardinal Minister deemed too risky; open participation, he feared, would induce the Viceroy to become reconciled with the rebels.[2]

The Spaniards' bombardment of the city from the *castelli* led to a complete break with Spain and to a powerful increase of Francophile feeling in Naples. The leaders explained to the populace that, unless they were willing to submit once more to the Spaniards, only three courses were open to them: viz. to offer the crown either to the Pope, their feudal overlord, or to the King of France, or to proclaim a republic.[3] They chose the latter. They would not hear of the papal peace mediation proposed by Innocent X.,[4] instead they invoked the help of the ambitious Duke Henry II. of Guise who was in Rome at the time in connection with the dissolution of his marriage. Guise has asserted that the Pope had encouraged him to put himself at the head of the rebels. Though Siri, who was anything but friendly to the Pope,[5] already described this assertion of Guise as a lie, it has been repeated in our own days.[6] In reality at that moment the Pope was anything but prejudiced in favour of France. It was precisely just then (November, 1647) that Innocent X. was reported to have said that every one of France's gains was the Roman Church's loss, and only on Spain could the

[1] See Savelli's *report of November 2, 1647, State Arch., Vienna; *cf.* Fr. Albizzi's *letter to Chigi, Rome, November 2, 1647, in which he says: "la monarchia di Spagna divenuta un panno fracido, che s'egli ricuce in un luogo, s'apre in un altro." *Cod.* A., III., 55, Chigi Lib.

[2] Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, V., 176.

[3] Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, V., 176.

[4] **Cifre al Nuntio di Napoli*, of November 9 and 15, 1647, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Visco, 74 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*

[5] Siri, *Mercurio*, Casale, 1668, 520, against *Mém. de feu M. le duc de Guise*, Paris, 1668.

[6] Zöppfel-Benrath, in Herzog, *Realenzyclopädie*, IX (1901), 142.

Holy See securely rely.[1] This remark has come down to us only from Spanish sources and may very properly be questioned; for all that it contains a kernel of truth, for now as always there was no one Innocent X. was more afraid of than his old opponent Mazarin. Consequently he preferred Spanish to French domination in Naples.[2] He could only view with grave misgivings the negotiations which his bitter enemy, Cardinal Grimaldi, and Du Plessis-Besançon conducted at Naples in the spring of 1648 by order of Mazarin. The object of these discussions was not the consolidation of the Neapolitan republic or the setting up in authority of the ambitious, unreliable Guise; Mazarin's scheme was to transfer the crown of Naples from the King of Spain to his pupil Louis XIV, who, so he asserted, had numerous claims to it.[3] However, this plan which, had it succeeded, would have altered the whole course of history, was to prove a complete failure.

On January 30th, 1648, Spain had signed a treaty of peace with the Republic of the Netherlands. Secure from that side she cherished the hope of continuing the war against France with better prospects of success. On April 5th the Spaniards succeeded in recovering Naples where the new Viceroy Oñate, hitherto ambassador in Rome, to whom Innocent X. expressed his high hopes,[4] re-established the sovereignty of Philip IV. on easy terms. Guise had committed the imprudence of leaving the city for an expedition against the island of Nisida; he now thought of fleeing into the Abruzzi, but he fell into the hands of the Spaniards near Capua.[5]

[1] Deone (Ameyden) in CIAMPI, 38.

[2] Giustinian in BERCHET, *Spagna*, II., 182; *cf.* VISCO, 72.

[3] RANKE, *loc. cit.*, 179; VISCO, 73.

[4] VISCO, 94.

[5] LOISELEUR et BAGUENAULT DE PUCHESSE, *L'expédition du duc de Guise à Naples*, Paris, 1875, and CARUTTI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3rd series, XXII., 497 *seq.* How anti-Spanish most of the Cardinals were is shown by the fact that only five of them were present at the *Te Deum* sung at S. Giacomo on the occasion of the

Mazarin, however, did not consider this occurrence sufficient reason for giving up his intentions with regard to Naples. As early as May, the French in Rome spoke of a new fleet about to sail for Naples ; in view of the scarcity of provisions this caused the Spaniards not a little anxiety.[1] At Naples a real famine prevailed. Innocent X. sanctioned the export of provisions both for the Spaniards and the French. Now, as always, he would not side with either party.[2]

For the success of his enterprise against Naples Mazarin reckoned particularly on the nobility of that city, for he imagined that nothing but fear of the preponderance of the popular party had driven them back into the arms of Spain. In this he was mistaken for now both the nobility and the upper middle class felt that they were once more under obligation to the Spanish Government.[3] When in September Prince Tommaso of Savoy appeared before Naples with a French fleet, no one stirred. When French troops were landed at Salerno, they received no support and were defeated by the Spaniards.[4] The revolutionary fire was spent and Philip IV. found himself freed from the fear of losing his South-Italian possessions.

Innocent X's joy over the end of the Neapolitan complications is intelligible enough.[5] How easily these troubles might have spread to the Papal States ! Moreover the revolution had had a paralysing effect on trade and industry in Rome.[6] But the mere fact that Spain retained Naples gave

capture of Naples (viz. Cueva, Montalto, Cesi, Lugo, Colonna). Deone, **Diario*, in *Cod.* XX., III., 26., Bibl. Casanat.

[1] *Cf.* L. Allacci's *letter to F. Chigi, dated Rome, May 9, 1648, in *Cod.* A., III., 59, of Chigi Lib.

[2] Giustinian in Berchet, Rome, II., 132 *seq.*

[3] Ranke, *loc. cit.*, 184 *seq.*

[4] Garignani in *Arch. stor. Napolit.*, VI., 661 *seq.* ; *cf.* IX., 485 *seqq.*

[5] Servantius **Diaria*, April 8, 1648, Papal Sec. Arch. ; *cf.* also *Brief to Philip IV. of May 20, 1648, in *Epist.*, IV.–VI., *ibid.* ; also Visco, 104 *seq.*

[6] Deone **Diario*, 1648, in *Cod.* XX., III., 21, *loc. cit.*

satisfaction to the Pope inasmuch as in the circumstances, the choice lay between French and Spanish hegemony in Italy, hence the Pope was bound to prefer the weakened domination of Spain to France's rising and disturbing power.[1] Moreover, Catholic interests were, on the whole, better safeguarded by Spain than by France.[2] On the other hand Innocent X. could not approve the cruel severity with which the Spaniards re-established order in a land ruined by the rebellion.[3]

On the conclusion of the exhausting struggle with the Dutch Republic and the reconquest of Naples, a new period opened for Philip IV., so sorely tried, even in his domestic life. On October 6th, 1644, the King had lost his wife Elizabeth Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV. Though pressed by the Cortes, Philip did not, for the time being, contemplate a second marriage. Ever since 1645 Innocent X. had been endeavouring, through his nuncio Giulio Rospigliosi, to persuade the King

[1] A picture of the relations of the Italian States with Spain is drawn in "*Lettera di confidenza scritta in cifra della Maestà di Filippo IV., Re della Spagna, al conte Ognate vicere dii Napoli, fedelmente tradotta dallo Spagnuolo in Italiano," dated Madrid, September 18, 1649, in *Cod. lat.* 12547, p. 355 *seq.* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The letter, which is also found in *Cod. ital.* 341 of the City Library, Munich, with date of September 27, 1649, is interesting in itself, but apocryphal; *cf.* Reumont, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, N.S. XVII. (1863), P. 2, 140 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *letter of Fr. Albizzi to F. Chigi, dated Rome, September 7, 1647, in *Cod.* A., III., 55, of the Chigi Lib.

[3] Visco (p. 11–12) examines Innocent X.'s conduct during the Neapolitan troubles and expresses the opinion that on this occasion the Pope showed true greatness: "Non solo prova dolore alla vista del popolo oppresso, quanto sdegno, nel dover riconoscere così abbietto e feroce quel governo straniero, sotto il quale sono costretti a vivere i miseri Napoletani. Innocenzo X. non volle Napoli per sè nè per i Francesi, poichè vide che l'unica soluzione per il momento era il ristabilimento del governo spagnuolo, ma ne desiderò sempre un vero e profondo miglioramento. La sua voce fiera di protesta si eleva sola tra tutti i principi d'Europa contro i crudeli rigori usati dal conte d'Ognate

to overcome this reluctance.[1] The Pope had in view, in the first instance, the daughter of the Archduchess Claudia of Innsbruck but when, in February, 1646, the Council of State discussed the marriage of his son Baltasar Carlos, the King would not have his own re-marriage mentioned. However, the heir to the throne died unexpectedly on October 9th, 1646, after a short illness. Thereupon the King felt compelled to contract a new alliance in order to prevent the extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs in the male line. On November 19th, 1646, the nuncio, after a previous understanding with the minister Luis de Haro, represented to the King in such forcible fashion the complications that were bound to arise should he die without an heir, that Philip IV. yielded [2]

The heir to the throne had been betrothed to Marianne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III. and Princess Maria, Philip IV.'s sister, born in 1635. The imperial ambassador suggested that the King should step into his son's place, but against this proposal there militated the princess' tender age and the near kinship. However, all the ministers whom the King consulted spoke in favour of an alliance with the Emperor's daughter for which there existed also political motives of the greatest weight. The King was attracted to such a union by his great affection for his sister Maria who, twenty years earlier, had gone to Vienna as a bride: in Calderon's words, Germany was now to make a return to Spain for this gift.[3]

The marriage treaty was signed on April 2nd, 1647, and the wedding celebrated, by proxy, at Vienna in November of the following year. In December, 1648, the new Queen repaired to Trent where she was delayed until the spring of 1649 by

verso i ribelli e la fede mancata da Filippo IV. alle giurate capitulazioni e al perdono generale."

[1] For what follows *cf.* the work of VITI MARIANI: *La Spagna e la S. Sede. I: Il matrimonio del Re di Spagna con D. Maria Anna arciducissa d' Austria*, 1646–9, Rome, 1899, 21 *seqq.* This work is based on documents in the Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.*, 28 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 30 *seqq.*; *cf.* IUSTI, *Velasquez*, II., 137, 285.

the circumstance that the Master of the Ceremonies, the Duke of Nájera y Maqueda, only arrived with her suite at the end of April. Count Lumiares brought to the Queen a portrait of Philip IV. adorned with twenty-two diamonds. On June 23rd she finally arrived at Milan whither Cardinal Montalto had repaired by order of the Pope.[1]

Innocent X., who had taken the liveliest interest in the match, was anxious to give expression to his joy by sending a legate *a latere*. For this mission his choice fell on Cardinal Ludovisi who was also the bearer of the Golden Rose for Marianne. Wearisome and protracted disputes arose with the Spaniards with regard to the legate's entry into Milan, for the former were unwilling to pay to the Pope's representative the honours which the Holy See had to insist upon. In that era of conflicts over questions of etiquette enormous weight was attached to matters of this kind. The affair was further complicated by the jealousy that existed between the Duke of Nájera y Maqueda and the Governor of Milan, Marchese di Caracena.[2]

Cardinal Ludovisi set out from Bologna on July 9th. No sooner had he arrived on Spanish territory, at Cremona, than it was seen that the Spaniards were unwilling to abide by the terms of their agreement with the Pope concerning the reception of the legate. They only yielded when the Cardinal threatened to return to Bologna. On August 3rd the Cardinal legate was at length able to make his solemn entry into the capital of Lombardy. The Spaniards now courted oblivion for their former conduct by heaping honours on the legate. The Cardinal offered to the Queen, in the name of the Pope, not only the Golden Rose but other presents also, among them the relics of St. Beatrice in a silver shrine.[3] Queen Marianne set out from Milan on August 9th and on the 25th she embarked at Finalmarina. A fleet of forty-four ships, commanded by Don Juan, escorted her. She landed at

[1] See Collección de docum. inéditos, LXXXVI., 641 *seq.*; VITI MARIANI, 32 *seqq.*, 39 *seqq.*

[2] VITI MARIANI, 44 *seqq.*; FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 63.

[3] VITI MARIANI, 55 *seqq.*, 61 *seqq.*, 67.

Denia and reached Navalcarnero on October 6th, two and a half years after her betrothal. On the following day the Cardinal of Toledo celebrated, in the utmost privacy, the marriage of the fourteen years' old princess with the king, twenty-six years her senior.[1] The external celebrations were reserved for the entry into Madrid which took place on November 15th. According to the reports of nuncio Rospigliosi, the magnificence displayed on that occasion surpassed anything ever seen before. Architects, sculptors and poets had vied with one another; the scheme for the triumphal arches which glittered with gold, each of which cost 25,000 scudi, had been suggested by Calderon. The statues and paintings which adorned them represented Spain's possessions in the four quarters of the globe. "The court was determined to show," so we read in a report of Basadonna, the Venetian ambassador, "that they could still perform miracles at a time when everybody thought they lay prostrate."[2]

In view of the financial straits of the Spanish State, Madrid had always been anxious to obtain revenues from ecclesiastical sources, from subsidies by the clergy and from the so-called *cruzada*; under Philip IV. this tendency was stronger than ever. In this respect Innocent X. granted all that could be conceded[3]; consequently he could not but feel all the more deeply hurt by the constant encroachments on the Church's sphere and the manifold injuries done to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity which the Spanish authorities allowed themselves especially at Milan and Naples. Complaints on this subject began as early as 1645[4] and they continued throughout his pontificate, though a settlement was usually secured.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 42–3, 81–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 84 *seqq.*, and Justi, *Velasquez*, II., 286 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Bull.*, XV., 331 *seqq.*, 342, 347 *seqq.*, 350 *seqq.*, 377 *seq.*, 465 *seqq.*, 559 *seqq.*, 661, 665.

[4] *Brief to Philip IV., September 30, 1645, in *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Cf.* besides the *reports of Rospigliosi in *Nunziat. di Spagna*,

A more serious conflict arose towards the end of Innocent X.'s pontificate. After the Spaniards had reconquered Barcelona in 1652, they demanded from the Pope that Philip IV. should once more have the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics. In view of the fact that the struggle for Catalonia was by no means at an end, Innocent X. refused, on the ground that it was necessary first to see who would secure the mastery there, France or Spain. As a result of this incident and various fresh encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially at Naples,[1] a tension existed between Madrid and Rome which was further increased by a fresh incident.[2]

Francesco Gaetano, Archbishop of Rhodes and a nephew of Cardinal Pamfili, had been nuncio in Spain since September, 1652, in succession to Rospigliosi. Gaetano proved unequal to this difficult post.[3] Complaints reached Rome concerning the conduct of the nunciature and Gaetano failed to carry out the Pope's instructions with a view to the recovery of the ecclesiastical revenues of Cardinal Barberini. Consequently Innocent appointed a new nuncio for Spain in the person of Camillo Massimo to whom he granted the title of Patriarch

Papal Sec. Arch., *ibid.*, 347, the *letters of the Secretary of State to Rospigliosi, especially those of December 16, 1645, January 5, March 23, May 11, June 8, July 19, August 30, 1647, June 18, October 30 and 31, 1651, as well as the **Cifre al Nuntio di Napoli* of June 6, 1647, July 25, 1648, and December 21, 1650, *Nunziat. Napol.*, 39 A., *ibid.* *Cf.* also *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 344. Also a *dissertation of Carolus Maranta, "pro libertate ecclesiastica," directed against an ordinance of the Spanish authorities at Naples, January 4, 1652, dealing with the conflicts of jurisdiction with Archbp. Filomarino of Naples, *Cod.* 12547, p. 365 *seqq.*, in National Lib., Paris; see De Blasiis in *Arch. stor. Napolet.*, VI., 758 *seq.*

[1] See *warning Brief of March, 1653, to Philip IV. in which the blame is laid on the King's ministers ("Acria timemus, sed, ut ait etiam Bernardus, quia acriora (divine chastisements) timemus"). *Epist.*, IX., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Denis, I., 207, 286.

[3] *Cf.* Meister in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 466 *seq.*

of Jerusalem. However, Cardinal Trivulzio, at that time Spanish ambassador in Rome, was a strong opponent of the new nominee, owing to his being a partisan of Olimpia and the Barberini; he declared the appointment null because it had been made without previous agreement with the King of Spain. Innocent X. would not admit the existence of an obligation in this respect and ordered Massimo to set out for his post.[1]

On his arrival in Spain in February, 1654,[2] the new nuncio was informed that the King would not receive him. Though every prince was perfectly free in the choice of his ambassadors, the Madrid Cabinet declared, the Spanish nuncio was no mere political official; in view of the wide range of his faculties in regard to ecclesiastical administration and jurisdiction the King could only accept a person agreeable to himself.

Innocent soon learnt that this action was Spain's revenge for his conduct in respect to the Catalonian bishoprics as well as for the fact that on March 25th, 1653, he had married his niece Olimpiuccia Giustiniani to Matteo Barberini and granted the purple to Carlo Barberini on June 23rd.[3] Moreover it was evident that France's "bad example" had also contributed to this result, the latter having just then refused to accept Domenico Marini as nuncio.[4] More than by all this the Pope, who on October 31st had appointed a new nuncio for Spain, in the person of Francesco Mancini,[5] was greatly annoyed by the conduct of nuncio Gaetano who was determined to remain at his post at any cost and who, accordingly, was secretly in league with the Spanish Government. The Pope's command to hand over to Massimo a third of the

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 306 *seqq.* On C. Massimo see MORONI, XLIII., 230 *seq.*

[2] His *correspondence in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 107 and 108, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] **Cifra del Fiscale* (of the nunciature), dated Madrid, February 18, 1654, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 107, *loc. cit.*

[4] See above, p. 69.

[5] *Brief to Philip IV. of October 31, 1654 (*duplic. et tripl., Nov. 2, 1654*), *Epist.*, X., Papal Sec. Arch.

revenues of the nunciature he executed only very imperfectly.[1] Thereupon the Pope gave orders for the Spanish nunciature to be closed. On December 13th Mancini informed Gaetano of this decision [2]; the command to take his departure which he received at the same time, Gaetano likewise refused to obey, notwithstanding the exhortations of Cardinal Sandoval [3]; he was, however, compelled to close the nunciature since his jurisdiction had been withdrawn. Massimo now hoped to be received at least as nuncio extraordinary,[4] but the Spanish Government put off a decision in the matter for it had been informed of Innocent X.'s fatal illness.

[1] PALLAVICINO, *loc. cit.* Gaetano affirms in a *letter of June 3, 1654, that he had done everything to remove the "impediments" against Massimo; but Massimo himself, in a *letter of March 1 1654, declares that Gaetano had worked against him in order to maintain himself at his post. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 107, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See Mancini's *report, dated Madrid, December 16, 1654, *ibid.*

[3] See Mancini's *report, Madrid, December 25, 1654, *ibid.*

[4] *Letter of Massimo, January 3, 1655, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

The Peace of Westphalia and Religious Conditions in Germany and Holland—The English Catholics under Cromwell—Ireland's Fight for Freedom; Her Defeat.

(1.)

Of all the diplomatic representatives of Urban VIII. the Cologne nuncio, Fabio Chigi, Bishop of Nardò, had the most difficult task of all, for it was his duty to represent the Holy See in the supremely important peace negotiations at Münster.[1] A skilful diplomatist and an accomplished gentleman, Chigi won for himself an honourable position in that assembly which eventually grew into a European congress, but the Spaniards were at first dissatisfied with his attitude because his foremost concern was always the good of the Church, not the particularist interests of individual States.

With the election of Innocent X. the Spaniards believed

[1] For Chigi's *reports and correspondence during the period of the congress (in the Papal Sec. Arch. and the Chigi Lib., Rome), see XXX, Appendix 2. At Münster Chigi lodged at the Convent of the Friars Minor, as an inscription recalls to this day; see *Zeitschr. des westfäl. Gesch. Ver.*, 3 series, II., 372. The dwelling was damp and dingy and as a southerner he suffered not a little from the German climate (Tourtual, 25 *seq.*). *Viaggio che fece Msgr. Ill. da Colonia a Münster, 1644 (departure from Cologne, March 14) in Q., II., 48, p. 183–7 of Chigi Lib. "*Discessi aspero coelo et infirmo corpore, convalui utcunque . . . Huius tractatus a divini numinis imploratione facto exordio feliciter atque alacriter fundamenta iacere videbamur, cum repente cessatum est ab eo fervore et lente coeptum progredi." Chigi to Erycius Puteanus, Münster, May 26, 1644, *Barb.* 2575, Vat. Lib.

the time had come when they might use the papal diplomacy for their own ends, but Chigi was not the man to lend himself to such manœuvres. A partisan neither of Spain nor of France, he deemed it his first duty to labour for the Church.[1] The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Count Sirvela, at the instigation of the Spanish plenipotentiary at Münster, Diego Saavedra and the one-sided Hispanophile Cardinal Rossetti, pulled every imaginable string in order to get the new Pope to remove Chigi from his post. But it was precisely this passionate persistence which set the Pontiff thinking. He asked to see the reports of the Cologne nuncio ; after studying them he remarked to the Secretary of State, Panciroli : " Chigi is the right man ! " and to Sirvela he said that the Holy See had no better nuncio than Chigi.[2] A Brief of October 5th, 1644, confirmed Chigi in his position as the Holy See's representative at the peace congress. That document describes his task negatively rather than positively : he was to further peace with all his might, yet so that religion and the Church suffered no injury ; he must neither consent to, nor even merely connive at, what might be in any way incompatible with the prerogatives and the welfare of the Church, on the contrary, he should boldly and with all his might stand up for her defence and, if necessary, withdraw from the deliberations, for human considerations must give way when one's duty to God is at stake.[3]

Chigi's patience was put to a fresh test even after the imperialists had at last opened the way for the beginning of the discussions properly so called by their proposals of November 23rd and December 4th to the Swedes and the French. " Here," he wrote to a friend at the close of 1644, " labour, discussions and sittings are on the increase but we make no progress ; often I go home at night my head burning with the discussions and the heat of the stove, so that I am

[1] See Chigi's letter of February 11, 1645, in Brom, III., 391. *Cf.* above, p. 72, n. 3.

[2] Pallavicino, I., 126 *seq.*

[3] Brom, III., 388–9.

only able to write a couple of lines. May the name of the Lord be blessed." [1]

From the first Chigi kept in close touch with the representative of Venice, Alvise Contarini, his fellow mediator. Their mutual relations were so friendly that between them they frequently displayed greater harmony than the plenipotentiaries of one and the same Power, who often quarrelled among themselves.[2]

On a motion of the imperial delegates, the sole object of the discussions was to be peace between the Empire and the Kings of France and Sweden, and the determination of boundaries. However, very soon the Swedes, in concert with the French, demanded not only an increase of their territories but likewise effective influence on the new internal constitution of the German Empire, hence they insisted on all the Estates of the Empire being invited to take part in the peace negotiations. The Emperor resisted this demand but in the end he was forced to give way and to summon to the peace congress all the Estates entitled to vote. As a result business, the slowness of which Chigi lamented, was bound to become even more involved.[3]

In the first days of June, 1645, Chigi wrote to his friend the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino: "We have reached port; three days hence the French and the Swedes will come out with their peace conditions. Great dangers will then arise for the Church for I foresee that the Swedes will reveal the purpose for which they went to war, because so long as they needed France's money and support, they pretended to have none but political motives. Pray!" [4]

The peace proposals which the French delegates presented at Münster on Trinity Sunday, 1645 (June 11th), through Chigi and Contarini, whilst the Swedes presented theirs to the imperialists at Osnabrück, are justly described by Chigi

[1] Chigi to Albizzi, *ibid.*, 390.

[2] See Contarini's report in *Fontes rer. Austr.*, II., 26, 28.

[3] *Letter to Pallavicino, April 28, 1645. *Cod.* A., II., 28, Chigi Lib.

[4] *Letter of June 9, 1645, *ibid.*

as the high demands of a victor.[1] Both Powers demanded a general, unlimited amnesty, including Bohemia, the restoration of all the Estates of Empire to the condition of 1618, a guarantee of the constitution of the Empire, abolition of the custom hitherto observed of choosing a successor to the Emperor under the title of King of the Romans during the lifetime of the Emperor, the preservation of all the liberties of the Estates of the Empire, especially in respect of their right to enter into alliances with foreign Powers for the purpose of their security, lastly an indemnity for expenses incurred, guarantees for the future and payment for their armies as well as for their allies, especially for Hesse and Transilvania. The French left it to the Swedes to present the demand made in the interest of the Protestants for a definitive settlement of all ecclesiastical conflicts over the religious peace and the holding of Church property. The Imperialists were well justified when they remarked that by peace conditions such as these the Empire would not be reformed but destroyed. The Swedes openly avowed that they had waged a religious war and that now they were resolved on making a peace that would redound to the damage of the Catholics. Chigi felt obliged to delay expressing his opinion for fear of losing France's confidence in his capacity as a mediator, all the more so as just then relations between Rome and Paris had become such that an interruption of diplomatic intercourse had ensued.[2]

Most of the summer of 1645 was spent in endless disputes over preliminaries in connection with which the ceremonial, titles and visits gave rise to no small difficulties.[3]

Special difficulties arose for Chigi as the Pope's delegate with regard to immediate contact with Protestants. During his six years' stay in Germany he had made it a strict law unto himself, especially out of consideration for his dignity

[1] *Letter to Pallavicino of June 23, 1643, *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, *cf.* also Chigi's *letter to Ropigliosi, nuncio in Madrid, June 11, 1645, *Cod.* A., I., 25, Chigi Lib., and *ibid.*, A., I., 22, *Albizzi's letter of June 16, 1645.

[3] *Chigi to Sf. Pallavicino, June 19, 1645, *ibid.*

as representative of the Apostolic See, to avoid all contact with people who denounced the Pope as Antichrist. By this rule he resolved to abide now also, for attempts to approach him had been made, from political motives, first by the delegates of the Duke of Brandenburg [1] and after them by those of the Dutch Republic who had arrived in 1646 for the peace negotiations with Spain. However, Chigi very skilfully avoided giving offence by brusquely repelling the above-named Powers, for such conduct might have done grievous injury to the Church. He likewise avoided intercourse with those who had fallen away from the Church, lest they should be able to say afterwards that he had angered them by threats or cajoled them by promises and flatteries. He knew his History, hence he was well aware of the accusations of which his predecessors, Cardinals Contarini and Cajetan, had been the objects in this respect. Accordingly he decided on a middle course, that is, neither to allow himself to be carried too far by the Protestants—conduct that might have been misinterpreted later on—nor to repel them altogether. He was careful to remove, by his general attitude, any offensiveness there might have been in this reserve. He avoided most scrupulously any offensive expression and showed a conciliatory disposition. If a non-Catholic delegate wrote to ask a favour he replied, not indeed in writing but by fulfilling the request. If a Protestant man of letters, duly recommended, expressed a desire to have speech with him, he granted the request on condition that controversial questions were not discussed and that the interview took place in presence of witnesses. By this prudent and conciliatory attitude, which clearly evidenced both his devotion to the Church and his freedom from hatred or contempt for those who did not share his religious convictions, he won the respect and even the veneration of many Protestants.[2] However, this reserve which he had imposed on himself,

[1] *Cf.* HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 360 *seq.*; PALLAVICINO, I., 132 *seq.*; BROM, III., 482 *seq.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, *loc. cit.*, *cf.* TOURTUAL, 23.

robbed him of any influence he might have had on the Protestant delegates, and he would surely have been better advised had he unhesitatingly treated with them, as did the Jesuits of Münster.[1]

Though the Turkish peril counselled haste, the negotiations at Münster made no progress,[2] the real cause of the delay being the hope cherished by each party, that the military situation might shift in its own favour.

On September 25th, 1645, the delegates of France and Sweden were made acquainted with the Emperor's answer to their demands. It fixed 1630 as the year of the amnesty, Bohemia and the imperial Hereditary States being excluded. With regard to the question of religion, the Emperor declared his readiness for an amicable settlement, only it must be brought about in conformity with the Constitution of the Empire. He would tolerate alliances of the Estates of Empire with foreign Powers in so far as these were not directed against himself and the Empire and injured neither the public tranquillity nor the oath which bound each Estate of Empire to the Emperor and the Empire. The proposal not to choose a successor during the Emperor's lifetime was irreconcilable with the Golden Bull and the rights of the Electors. With regard to Spain, before concluding peace, the Emperor must have a guarantee that neither France nor Sweden would lend help to his enemies ; only then could he give the desired promise not to intervene in Franco-Spanish disputes. It was not the affair of France or Sweden to demand compensation, but rather the Emperor's, for the violent and unprovoked invasion of the Empire and his Hereditary States. A compromise was being negotiated with the Landgravine of Hesse, but as for the Prince of Transilvania, he was neither one of the Estates of Empire nor a German ally of Sweden.

So as to be prepared for any emergency in respect of the religious questions, Chigi drew up in December 1645, a protest against any direct or indirect injury to the Church

[1] Duhr, II., 1, 488.

[2] *Cf.* Chigi's *letter to Sf. Pallavicino, August 11, 1645, *loc. cit.*

as a result of the treaty of peace. As a model he made use of a similar document with which Cardinal Truchsess had protested, on March 23rd, 1555, against a religious settlement within the Empire which favoured the Protestants.[1] As for the proper moment at which to make his protest, Chigi determined it in concert with Contarini who promised his support.[2]

Not long afterwards, the Protestant princes and towns presented to the Councillor of Empire at Mayence and to the imperial delegates their very considerable demands, styled by them "religious grievances", to which the Catholics, on February 8th, 1646, replied with their counter-claims.[3] The Protestants demanded from the Catholics unprecedented sacrifices, viz. abolition of the ecclesiastical reservation which represented the best bulwark against further secularizations; the abandonment by them of all Church property usurped after the treaty of Passau in 1552; the free practice of their religion by the Protestant subjects of Catholic princes, whereas the same right was to be denied to Catholic subjects; lastly in regard to religion and property, restoration of the situation as it existed previous to the outbreak of the great war in 1618.

One thing was in favour of the Catholics, namely the circumstance that in this question the two most powerful Protestant princes pursued opposite aims. The Elector of Saxony did not wish to go beyond the Peace of Prague, would not hear of linking himself to the Swedes and refused to assume the presidency of the Protestant separate assembly. Nor was the Duke of Brandenburg prepared to take his place for he knew well how much the Lutherans were opposed to him by reason of his being a Calvinist; moreover he was bound to consider the Emperor because the Swedes threatened

[1] *Cf.* our data XIV., 339.

[2] Chigi's letter to C. Pamfili, December 15, 1645, in Ciampi, 55. The text of the *protest (undated) in *Cod.* A. I., 45, p. 60b-61, Chigi Lib.

[3] Meiern, *Acta*, II., 522 *seqq.*, 540 *seqq.*; Gärtner, VII., 237 *seq.*

his interests in Pomerania. Consequently the Protestant princes, counts and towns saw themselves compelled to stand up for their demands without the support of the two Electors. However, the advantage the Catholics might have derived from this circumstance was neutralized by the fact that they too were not united and that the Swedes gave unconditional support to all the demands of the Protestants. Although, in the great question as to how far they might go in their concessions to the Protestants, the Catholics firmly held to the fundamental principles, in regard to their application to German conditons, the opinions of the princes, Statesmen and theologians diverged considerably.[1] The more intransigent clung firmly to the lofty but by then unattainable ideal of unity in the Catholic faith and they condemned any concession of importance to the Protestants, even at the risk of wrecking the peace. This group, which had found a resolute spokesman in the Dillingen Jesuit Henry Wangnereck and strong backing from nuncio Chigi, included in the first instance the Bishop of Osnabrück, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, a cousin of Maximilian of Bavaria, the delegate of the Bishop of Augsburg, Henry von Knäringen, the first Spanish delegate, Count Peñeranda, the Benedictine Adam Adami who represented the threatened monasteries of Württemberg and the delegate of the Catholic council of Augsburg, Dr. Johann von Leuxselring.

This intransigent group was faced by another set of men more opportunist, yielding and conciliatory, who, taking into account existing circumstances, were for peace at any price, even that of wide concessions in the religious sphere. This view was defended by the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, his confessor, the Jesuit Johann Vervaux, a native of Lorraine, and by Count Maximilian von Trauttmansdorff, first master

[1] *Cf.* for what follows the work (based on extensive research in archives), of L. STEINBERGER, *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage*, 1635–1650, Freiburg, 1906. This work adds considerably to our knowledge; also RITTER in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, C. (1908), 253 *seqq.* See also F. ISRAEL, *Adam Adami und seine Arcana pacis Westfalicae*, Berlin, 1910.

of ceremonies and a trusted councillor of Ferdinand III., who arrived at Münster, on November 29th, 1645, at the head of the imperial delegation and armed with the most ample powers.

The divisions among the Catholics, the slow progress of the negotiations, Trauttmansdorff's tendency to influence the Swedes by satisfying the Protestants so as to isolate the French, the great dangers for the German Catholics which became increasingly threatening, and lastly the unfavourable turn of the war after the battle of Alerheim in August, 1645, and even more so after the junction of the French army with that of the Swedes which was effected in August of the following year—all this filled Chigi's heart with bitter grief. In confidential letters to friends he poured out his heart. He expected no good from this peace, he wrote to Sforza Pallavicino on February 9th, 1646, and wished himself out of Münster.[1] In a letter of April 6th to Francesco Albizzi he wrote that there was truth in what the people were saying just then; namely that hell must be empty since all its denizens had come to Münster to prevent a true peace.[2] Again and again he begs Pallavicino's prayers; this he did with special insistence during the conferences, with a view to a compromise, which were held at Osnabrück from April 12th to May 5th, 1646, between the representatives of the Catholics and the Protestants. Chigi did his utmost to induce the Catholic delegates to oppose a determined refusal to the Protestant demands, but he found that many of the adherents of the ancient Church had become greatly dispirited.[3] The course of the negotiations was such that on April 27th the nuncio came to the sorrowful conclusion that all his representations and protests were unvailing to prevent a most grievous injury being done to the Catholic religion.[4] In a letter of the same date Chigi laments the great

[1] *Letter in *Cod.*, A. II., 28, Chigi Lib.

[2] *Ibid.*, **Cod.*, A. I., 22.

[3] Chigi's *report to the Secretary of State, April 13, 1646, in Paci, 20, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] **Cod.*, A. II., 28, *loc. cit.*

readiness with which people spoke of the necessity of throwing everything overboard to save what remained.[1] Chigi's fears grew when, on May 19th, Count von Trauttmansdorff was charged to continue the negotiations with the Protestants at Osnabrück. The Count was full of the best goodwill in the world but he was only moderately endowed, credulous, timorous, and burning with a misguided keenness for a settlement which Chigi sought in vain to moderate.[2] Trauttmansdorff showed excessive readiness to yield—the Bishop of Osnabrück was one of those who bitterly lamented the fact—with regard to the definitive cession of Catholic dioceses to the Protestants.[3] Chigi had hopes that on this point the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian, would support him against the imperial delegate, but he was mistaken: about the middle of May, Maximilian took the side of his imperial brother-in-law in this matter. In view of the fact that both princes based their conduct on the judgment of their respective spiritual advisers, Chigi and together with him the nuncio in Vienna, Melzi, made powerful but fruitless efforts to exorcize from the courts of Vienna and Munich this excessively accommodating spirit.[4] The French delegates had promised to support Chigi in the matter of the dioceses, but from the first the nuncio felt very doubtful whether, in view of her

[1] "*La prontezza che si chiama necessitate a far gettito per salvar il resto." *Cod.* A. I., 22, *loc. cit.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 134 *seqq.* *Cf.* Chigi's views in his reports to Rome quoted by STEINBERGER, 58, n. 10, and 61, n. 6. The Spanish reports (*Colecc. de docum. inéd.*, LXXXII *seq.*) depict Trauttmansdorff as a man of sanguine disposition who was all too easily deluded by the false promises of his opponents and who allowed them to see far too much of his own game. Chigi wrote in his **Diarium*: "Trauttmansdorff e Volmar due neofiti [both had been Protestants] non si curano di religione che fredissimamente, solo del patrimonio Cesareo sono zelanti," Chigi Lib.

[3] Chigi's *report to the Secretary of State, May 18, 1646, *Paci*, 20, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* BAUR, Sötern, II., 157.

[4] STEINBERGER, 60–2.

close alliance with the Swedes, France would be able to obtain anything in the face of their opposition.[1] His fears could but be confirmed when he had to witness the fact that France's representative, the Duke of Longueville, who before Chigi posed as a supporter of staunchly Catholic principles, simultaneously endeavoured to bring about the nomination to the coadjutorship of Paderborn of a son of the Calvinist Landgravine Amalia.[2]

When on May 19th the Catholics entrusted to Count Trauttmansdorff the task of continuing the negotiations with the Protestants it was arranged that any terms arrived at should be submitted to them for confirmation. But how did the imperial delegate act? Without consulting the Catholics he guaranteed to the Protestants, for a hundred years, the possession of whatever ecclesiastical property they had held since 1627. This weakness so whetted the appetite of the Protestants that they promptly renewed their demands for possession of all Church property held by them since 1618.[3] "The danger for the Church," Chigi wrote after presentation of the Protestants' demands at Osnabrück on July 29th,[4] "grows daily, but I am helpless; soon no Catholic will be able to feel sure that his nephews, if not his sons, will not become Protestants, so bad has the situation become.[5]

To Chigi's moral sufferings there were added physical ones for he suffered from the climate of Westphalia. He speaks of it in his letters as early as 1646,[6] but since he says

[1] "*Non so già, se quando lo vogliono, lo potranno fare, se gli Suedesi prevaglino con le armi." Letter to the Secretary of State, May 26, 1646, *Paci* 20, *loc. cit.*

[2] BAUR, *Sötern*, II., 167.

[3] ISRAEL, *Adami*, 43 *seq.*

[4] Chigi's *report to the Secretary of State, June 29, 1646, *Paci*, 20, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Cod.* A. I., 22, Chigi Lib. *Cf. ibid.*, A. II., 29, *letter to the nuncio in Venice, June 22, 1646.

[6] *Letter to Fr. Albizzi, July 13 and 27, 1646, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 94.

nothing about German cooking, the story that he dispatched to Rome a huge loaf bearing this inscription: *Ecce panis Westphalorum*, is probably an invention.

Whilst the real peace negotiations were in a state of stagnation during the summer of 1646, because everyone was waiting for the issue of the operations in the field,[1] the imperialists went a step further in the path of concessions upon which they had entered, when they decided to consider as the norm for the practice of religion in the Cities of Empire and the ownership of ecclesiastical property the year 1624, that is, a year in which the restoration of confiscated Church property had not yet been enforced. They were prepared to leave Church property in the hands of the Protestants for a hundred years, before the lapse of which a friendly settlement would have to be made. Chigi gave all the support he could to the counteraction of the intransigents,[2] nevertheless in a declaration of November 19th the year 1624 was conceded to the Protestant delegates who had come over to Münster.[3] Chigi was beside himself. Notwithstanding all the assurances with which Trauttmansdorff sought to calm the nuncio, the former had so encouraged the Swedes in the course of his private negotiations, that they cherished the hope of retaining the Church's property not for a hundred years only but for all time; as a matter of fact this too was granted by the Count on November 30th. He started from the point of view that peace alone could save the Catholic Church in Germany, hence peace must be secured at any cost,[4] and he was prepared for more and more concessions. In view of this fact Chigi and the more determined among the Catholics sought to save the little which it seemed

[1] Chigi's *reports in code to the Secretary of State, June 15 and July 27, 1646, *Paci*, 20, *loc. cit.*

[2] Chigi's *report in code to the Secretary of State, November 23, 1646, *ibid.* *Cf.* Chigi's **Diarium* for September 17, 1646, Chigi Lib.

[3] Israel, *Adami*, 45 *seq.*

[4] Chigi's *report in code to the Secretary of State, November 30, 1646, *Paci*, 20, *loc. cit.*

possible to save.[1] Chigi never ceased to warn the Emperor's representatives.[2] He often wondered that he did not break down under the weight of his labours and anxieties, he wrote on December 7th.[3] His one comfort was that Rome was perfectly satisfied with his conduct. Just as the Secretary of State had approved his timely protest,[4] so he repeatedly expressed his unreserved satisfaction with his line of action.[5] It was realized in Rome that the nuncio strictly maintained the point of view of the Holy See, which was to preserve established rights and conditions and where these could not be saved, at least not to sanction their loss. Particular instructions were deemed all the more unnecessary as Chigi possessed so much sound judgment and such wide experience that details could very well be left to his discretion.[6]

Rome fully shared Chigi's opinion as to the Emperor's deplorable weakness. With him the Secretary of State condemned a state of mind which caused men to drop that for which they had so long fought arms in hand,[7] and that a political theology sought to find a theoretical justification for this ruinous policy of concession.[8] Chigi was under no delusion as to the magnitude of the peril which was bound to arise out of a peace bought at any price.[9] With deepest grief

[1] Chigi's *reports in code to the Secretary of State, December 7 and 14, 1646, *ibid.*

[2] Chigi's **Diarium*, December 3, 1646, Chigi Lib.

[3] *Letter to Albizzi in *Cod.* A. I., 22, *ibid.* On the same day Chigi wrote to Pallavicino: "*Agli Suedesi offeriscono gli imperiali grandi stati, e quel che peggio è a costo della religione cattolica. Io grido alle stelle e le chiamo a vendetta contro questi pregiuditii." *Cod.* A. II., 29, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Pamfili to Chigi, January 6, 1646, *Cod.* A. II., 47, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* especially Pamfili's instructions of January 13 and 20, May 5, June 30, and December 22, 1646, *ibid.*

[6] Pamfili emphasizes the Pope's confidence in Chigi especially in the *instructions of December 15, 22 and 29, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Pamfili to Chigi, August 11, 18, 25, 1646, *ibid.*

[8] Pamfili to Chigi, July 7, 1646, in Brom, III., 404.

[9] *Cf.* Chigi's **Diarium*, December 21, 1646, *loc. cit.*

he watched the continuous decline of the Catholic Church which was about to lose for good to the Protestants three archbishoprics and thirteen bishoprics, that is, sixteen large territories with thousands of churches, monasteries and pious foundations.[1] The decision was drawing near, Chigi wrote to Pallavicino on December 14th, perhaps it would come suddenly; as long as it had been possible he had issued his warnings and he would continue to do so, regardless of persons; since the cause of God had been abandoned by all, he could only grieve and protest.[2] Chigi's indignation against Trauttmansdorff rose so high that in a moment of exasperation he remarked that the Count would give up St. Peter's in Rome to the Protestants should they ask for it. In the course of his representations the nuncio did not fail to observe that the policy of the imperialists was a mistake even from a political point of view, inasmuch as the endless concessions merely served to sharpen the Protestants' appetite.[3]

Chigi's ceaseless warnings were exceedingly awkward for Trauttmansdorff; accordingly he attempted to silence the tiresome mentor by informing him that his elevation to the cardinalate had been proposed in Rome both with a view to doing honour to the Congress and to rewarding the nuncio's labours in the cause of a general peace. Chigi bluntly replied that he would not hear of such an honour, for the cause of God was being so greatly injured by the proposed peace that he would consider it a sacrilege to receive any recognition of whatever kind. To a French delegate Chigi observed that what he deserved was not reward but punishment since he had achieved nothing on behalf of the Catholic cause which was being neglected by one party and injured by the other. In Rome the nuncio pleaded for his recall; after vainly working day and night to bring about a tolerable peace he did not wish, by prolonging his stay, to create an impression

[1] See letter of December 11, 1646, in Brom, III., 407.

[2] **Cod.* A. II., 28, *loc. cit.*

[3] Letter of December 19, 1646, in Brom, III., 407-8.

that he approved a settlement which inflicted the most grievous wounds on the Church. Innocent X. refused to listen to his pleading. He bade him hold on forasmuch as his departure would hearten the Protestants whilst his presence would at least lessen the evils that threatened.[1]

A glaring light was thrown on the contrast between the intransigent and accommodating parties in the Catholic body by a pamphlet published at the end of 1646, under the signature of one *Ernestus de Eusebiis*. This pamphlet submits to a close and searching analysis the question how far one might in conscience yield to the demands of the Protestants. For a time the identity of the author remained a secret; eventually it became known that he was none other than the Jesuit Henry Wangnereck of Lindau. The pamphlet was sent to press without the author's knowledge, probably by the Bishop of Osnabrück, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, as a counterweight to the concessions in the question of the peace by the Munich and Vienna divines, and in order to rouse the conscience of the Catholic princes by means of an uncompromising statement of the principles which had been considered authoritative during the era before the religious divisions.[2]

The publication of the treatise came as a complete surprise for Chigi. For reasons of opportuneness he disapproved of its publication, though not of the contents, although as representative of the Church he rejected more than one concession accepted by de Eusebiis. With a view to preserving the Holy See from the slightest stain, Chigi had striven from the first to prevent even such concessions as the strict Catholic party was prepared to make. He was anxious thereby to strengthen their attitude as much as possible, for he knew only too well how ready human weakness is, in circumstances

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 143–4, who here quotes, in part textually, a *letter of Chigi of December 15, 1646, which I found in *Cod.* A. II., 28, of the Chigi Lib.

[2] STEINBERGER, 63 *seq.*; RITTER in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CI., 265 *seq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, VIII., 982 *seq.*

of such difficulty, to be content with what seems at least tolerable.[1]

Chigi's view was also that of Rome. The Secretary of State, Cardinal Panciroli, expressed the hope that the pamphlet would strengthen the resistance of such Catholics as were too ready to yield to Protestant demands. When he had been informed of the contents of the publication, Innocent X. expressed his approval by sending his blessing to the author.[2]

How well founded Chigi's misgivings were as to the opportuneness of the publication was soon made evident when the Swedes began to use it in order to rouse Protestant feeling. In effect, not content with defending the Catholics' claim to the ecclesiastical possessions of which they had been robbed through an infraction of the religious peace of Augsburg, a claim which could not be legally contested, Ernestus de Eusebiis also condemned that peace itself, and from this he argued that it was morally wrong to agree to a fresh confirmation, not to speak of an extension, of the treaty. The way in which de Eusebiis sought to explain away the awkward fact that even Peter Canisius had declared it lawful to tolerate the religious peace of Augsburg, drew down on him the just blame of a highly placed member of his Order.[3]

[1] See Chigi's letter of January 25, 1647, to Panciroli in STEINBERGER, 196 *seq.*

[2] STEINBERGER, 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, 76 *seq.* Wangnereck's irreconcilable attitude as an uncompromising protagonist of canon law, is severely condemned by the historian of the German Jesuits. This shows, he says, "the confusion and disaster which the upholding of medieval opinions in an entirely altered situation was bound to cause. Where there existed but the one Catholic religion, such principles might have been defended; but once the force of circumstances had secured for non-Catholic confessions vast and permanent possessions, opinions of this kind could no longer be maintained, unless there was a willingness to declare a war of all against all and so to put weapons into the hands of other confessions against Catholics. If, in Wangnereck's opinion, it was unlawful for

Naturally enough Count Trauttmansdorff was exceedingly annoyed by de Eusebiis' pamphlet. When the Protestants suggested that the Inquisition should proceed against the unknown author, he expressed the opinion that the book was only scholastic nonsense, that it was, in fact, an extravagance—*Bachantenwerk*. His colleague and successor Isaac Volmar described all such writings as "lauter sofistische *cavillationes* und närrische Träume"—nothing but sophistries and foolish dreams. But the imperial court, where the influential Capuchin Quiroga condemned the pamphlet in the most severe terms, ordered the learned Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Prague, Johann Caramuel y Lobkowitz, to write a reply, the publication of which Chigi vainly strove to prevent.[1] De Eusebiis' pamphlet had had an enormous circulation and it had swept many fresh adherents into the camp of the intransigents from the ranks of those Catholics who, until then, had been of a more accommodating disposition,[2] but neither this nor any other literary production produced any substantial change in the decision of Münster.

At the beginning of 1647 Chigi did all he could to encourage

Catholics to conclude a lasting peace with Protestants, the latter were bound to conclude that any peace might be broken by the Catholics as soon as they were strong enough to oppress the Protestants with some prospect of success." This opinion of DUHR (II., 1, 482) refers to Wangnereck's "Responsum Theologicum", written against the Jesuit Vervaux and printed at the beginning of 1648 by the Bishop of Osnabrück, though not in a public press but in a private one, so that it only circulated among Catholics. On the strife between the Jesuits of moderate opinion and the extremists, in which the moderates were in the majority, *cf.* STEINBERGER, 76 *seqq.* In the end the General of the Society imposed a penance on Wangnereck but the Curia's pressure forced him to revoke it (*ibid.*, 136).

[1] STEINBERGER, 78 *seq.*, 80 *seq.* Steinberger had no access to the Chigi Library; *Cod.* A. III., 69, contains *Caramuel's letters to Chigi from 1647 to 1649, which cannot be further considered here.

[2] STEINBERGER, 73.

the more intransigent Catholics to resist the imperialists' policy of concessions so as to save at least some of the threatened bishoprics. The cession of Bremen and Verden was to be condemned for its own sake, he said, but even more so because of the deplorable precedent it established. In his direct appeals to Trauttmansdorff the nuncio observed that such trafficking with bishoprics was an infamy, quite as much as if for fear of the Swedes the Emperor were to deny the Catholic faith.[1] When Trauttmansdorff and the French promised to save at least the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Minden, the nuncio, who was accurately informed by Wartenberg, knew only too well the value of such comfort.[2]

The Catholic position became worse when, at the negotiations which opened at Osnabrück on February 7th, 1647, not only the Catholics yielded to the imperialists but the Protestant delegates acted in the same way towards the Swedes, whereupon the latter took charge of the discussions whilst remaining all the time in close touch with a committee of Protestants.

Chigi had persuaded the strictly Catholic deputies to go to Osnabrück in order to restrain the imperialists from making concessions.[3] He remained in close touch with them through Wartenberg,[4] but he soon learnt that they were able to do so little that in their disappointment they had withdrawn once more. In effect, on March 9th the Swedes renewed their demand for the unconditional surrender of all Church property which had been in Protestant hands in 1624; on this they insisted with the utmost obstinacy.[5] Trauttmansdorff, for his part, maintained that the success of the Franco-Swedish arms forced him against his will to give way, whilst he pointed out that by their treaties of neutrality Cologne and Bavaria had deserted the Emperor.[6] The Elector

[1] See Chigi's *report in code, January 18, 1647, *Paci*, 21, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See Chigi's *report in code, February 8, 1647, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Chigi's *report in code, January 18, 1647, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Chigi's *report in code, March 8, 1647, *ibid.*

[5] Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 263; *cf.* Israel, *Adami*, 57 *seq.*

[6] Chigi's *report in code, March 8, 1647, *Paci*, 21, *loc. cit.*

Maximilian of Bavaria had imagined that with the conclusion of an armistice with the Swedes, on March 14th, at Ulm, he was furthering the cause of peace, but in reality that treaty rendered it more remote, for now the demands of the Swedes and the Protestants grew beyond all bounds.[1] They now hoped to wrest from the Emperor freedom to practise their religion for the heretics of the Imperial Hereditary States, viz. the so-called autonomy, by which, according to a remark of the Swedish delegate Salvius, the roots of Austria's power would be gradually eaten into.[2] This danger of a political order did not escape Trauttmansdorff; he declared that he would refuse to sign a contract of the kind even if he were a prisoner at Stockholm; the Emperor could not possibly forgo in his Hereditary States the right embodied in the axiom: *Cujus regio ejus religio*, to which even the most insignificant lords laid claim.[3] When the Swedes stuck to their demands, Trauttmannsdorff left Osnabrück for Münster on April 24th. However, negotiations were not broken off. In May an agreement was reached concerning the religious situation of the subjects within the Empire. In the first days of June the representatives of Sweden and the Protestants repaired to Münster for further negotiations. The draft of the peace treaty which the imperialists drew up in the chancellery of Mayence on June 3rd, represented their definitive concessions to the Protestants: the year 1624 was to be considered as the norm for the ownership of Church property. The eight monasteries in Württemberg and the diocese of Minden which, like Osnabrück, still had a Catholic Bishop, were now sacrificed though in November they had been excepted from the cession made by the Catholics. Other concessions followed. As late as November the right had been insisted upon for the Catholic authorities to expel their Protestant subjects. This right was now

[1] Steinberger, 98 *seq.*

[2] Odhner, *Die Politik Schweden's im westfäl. Friedenskongress*, Gotha, 1877, 203 note.

[3] Menzel, VIII., 186 *seq.*; Huber, V., 605.

subjected to a threefold limitation: 1° Those subjects who had had the exercise of their religion at any period of the year 1624, were to retain it; 2° those who up to the year of the peace had been subjects of Catholic princes, without the right of practising their religion, were to enjoy freedom of conscience but without the practice of religion; 3° those who only adopted the Protestant confession after the year of the peace, or who came into the country as Protestants, might be banished, but only after a time limit of ten years which in cases of exceptional difficulty, could be prolonged for a further period of five years. These three limitations were not to apply to the Imperial Hereditary States and the whole agreement was to be in force not only until the restoration of religious unity at some future date, but "for ever".[1]

This draft was submitted for examination to the Catholic Estates on June 12th. The more intransigent among the Catholics, headed by Wartenberg and Adami and warmly supported by Chigi, naturally refused to assent to the arbitrary procedure of the imperialists, though they feared already then that, as at Prague, the head of the Empire would force them to yield. Trauttmansdorff declared that his master was the Emperor of the Protestants as well as of the Catholics, hence he was bound to consider his non-Catholic subjects.[2]

Chigi's efforts to strengthen the Catholics in their resistance received support from the Spanish ambassador, and even from the French. The latter sought to delay the conclusion of peace until such time as the Emperor should have dropped the Duke of Lorraine and promised, not only as Emperor but as Sovereign of Austria also, to give no further assistance to the Spaniards.[3]

If all Catholics were united, Chigi wrote on June 14th, they

[1] RITTER, *loc. cit.*, 275–6.

[2] Chigi's *report in code, June 14, 1647, *Paci*, 21, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Adami's *report to Chigi, June 29, 1647, in *Cod.* A. III., 69, Chigi Lib.

[3] HUBER, V., 605.

would influence the deliberations to a considerable degree; they could force the Portestants to drop some of the demands which Trauttmannsdorff had already conceded.[1] Presently the Count himself was to realize whither his weakness was leading him, when the Swedes came forward with fresh and impossible demands as, for instance, that their Queen should be given the first place on the secular princes' bench and that they should have an Elector of their own. They likewise meant to insist on their demand for private Protestant services in the Emperor's Hereditary States. Thereupon Trauttmansdorff threatened his departure, a step for which he had long ago obtained Ferdinand III.'s permission.[2] From Trauttmansdorff's son Chigi learnt that the Count had remarked that he would not be able to show himself at court unless he had concluded peace [3]; accordingly he sought to bring pressure to bear on the intransigent Catholics not only by means of promises but likewise by threats, a proceeding to which Wartenberg offered strong opposition.[4]

On July 16th the Count carried out his long standing threat to take his departure. The Protestants would have liked all the envoys of the Electors, princes and cities to press him to remain, but this the strict Catholics would not do [5]; the latter in fact now began to hope if not for complete success, then at least for a considerable lowering of the Protestant demands, a thing which in their and Chigi's opinion, had to be secured, if necessary, by force of arms. A favourable turn for the Catholics did not seem impossible now that Cologne and Bavaria stood once more by the Emperor's side and the Swedes had been forced to evacuate Bohemia. In August Chigi exerted himself more than ever in order to fan the opposition to the Protestant demands, on the basis of the arguments expounded by Ernestus

[1] **Paci*, 21, p. 274, Papal Sec. Arch.
[2] Huber, V., 605–6.
[3] Chigi's *report in code, June 14, 1647, *loc. cit.*
[4] Chigi's *report in code, June 28, 1647, *ibid.*
[5] Chigi's *report in code, July 19, 1647, *ibid.*

de Eusebiis; these efforts were eagerly seconded by Wartenberg and Adami.[1] A memorial, in the drawing up of which Adami had the principal share and which the Catholics presented on October 7th, rejected a notable part of the concessions made to the Protestants up to that time.[2] "More could not be secured," Chigi wrote to Rome, "because the Catholics are not united and are no less threatened by their co-religionists than by their enemies."[3] He had previously reported, in August, that the delegates of the Bavarian Elector and the Bishops of Salzburg, Bamberg, Würzburg and Fulda, had been instructed to yield to the imperialists as much as possible.[4] The Catholics experienced a sensible loss through the death, on October 9th, of the Elector of Mayence, Anselm Casimir von Wambold, whose representative, notwithstanding all the efforts of Bavaria, had hitherto sided with the stricter party.[5]

However, a decision could only be brought about by the attitude adopted by the Emperor and Bavaria. On October 15th Ferdinand III. directed his envoys Lamberg and Crane to explain to the Catholics that he intended to abide by the concessions already made; should they refuse to yield he, as head of the Empire and in virtue of his supreme imperial power, would take such steps for the tranquillity of the Empire as he would be able to answer for to God and the world; he had done all that was possible, but in view of the superiority of the enemy it was necessary to give way. The Elector Maximilian was of the same opinion; though one of the chief promoters of the edict of restitution he now threw away all the advantages it had hitherto yielded. He counselled the Emperor to come to terms with France, Sweden and the Protestants, assuring him that the more important among the Catholic Estates would side with him.[6] In a subsequent

[1] Chigi's *reports in code, August 9, 16, 23, 1647, *ibid.*

[2] ISRAEL, *Adami*, 65.

[3] Chigi's *report in code, October 25, 1647, *Paci*, 21, *loc. cit.*

[4] Chigi's *report in code, August 9, 1647, *ibid.*

[5] MEIERN, IV., 816 *seq.*; ISRAEL, *Adami*, 66 *seq.*

[6] MEIERN, IV., 777.

letter to Ferdinand III., dated October 21st, Maximilian's exhortations to peace were mingled with undisguised threats.[1] When the imperial plenipotentiaries at Münster, the Count of Nassau and Isaac Volmar, in obedience to their sovereign's command, urgently pleaded with the Catholic delegates to yield, they pointed to the fact that the Catholic fighting forces were hopelessly inadequate, notwithstanding a few isolated successes, and that if they continued the struggle they would have to expect far worse conditions; since everybody was weary of the war, let them also change their minds, else the Emperor would have to act in the fulness of his personal power.[2]

Though taken by surprise by this declaration the stricter Catholic party did not lose heart and maintained its opposition. The representative of Cologne declared: "We are subject to the Emperor in worldly matters but not in ecclesiastical questions."[3] This firm attitude infuriated not only the Protestants and the Swedes, but even the imperialists. Volmar so far forgot himself as to exclaim that "for the sake of a few stinking Abbots" one could not delay the peace any longer![4] On November 14th he left Osnabrück for further negotiations. By Chigi's advice the Catholics followed him for the purpose of restraining the imperialists from making too sweeping concessions.[5] However, this turned out to be impossible. Bavaria, utterly exhausted, pressed for peace at any price quite as much as the Emperor, for both Powers saw the hopelessness of any attempt to reduce the demands of their opponents to more reasonable proportions by force of arms. For all that the intransigent Catholics, who hoped for a favourable turn from a fresh military enterprise,

[1] SATTLER, *Gesch. Württembergs*, VIII., *Beil.* 62. RIEZLER (V., 647) observes: "Maximilian, for the sake of peace, sacrificed to France and the German Protestants both his national sentiments and his religious convictions."

[2] ISRAEL, *Adami*, 67 *seq.*

[3] Chigi's *report in code, November 1, 1647, *loc. cit.*

[4] ISRAEL, *Adami*, 69.

[5] Chigi's *report in code, November 15, 1647, *Paci*, 21, *loc. cit.*

continued their opposition. To compel them to yield, recourse was had, without scruple, to any means, even the worst. When threats failed Volmar did not shrink from a clumsy lie. To some Catholic delegates he declared that the papal nuncio was not against concessions being made to the Protestants![1]

At that time the staunch Catholic deputies Adami, Leuxselring, together with Wartenstein ironically styled the *triumviri*,[2] saw themselves threatened even in their personal safety: the Swedish envoy Salvius declared that these zealots might be silenced with a musket-shot.[3] In order, as it were, to add weight to these threats, the servants of Adami and Leuxselring were subjected to severe ill-treatment; after that the intransigents, feeling no longer safe, returned to Münster.[4] It was an evil omen for them that at that time, through the influence of Bavaria, the Bishop of Würzburg, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, for Schönborn was exceedingly compliant in matters of religion.[5] Already in 1643 his representative, Vorburg, had said at Frankfort that the ecclesiastical reservation must be allowed to lapse in regard to its retrospective effects, whereas at that time Maximilian was ready to go on with the war for another hundred years rather than make such a concession.[6] Now, however, the ruler of Bavaria told Chigi and the Pope that it was better to save what could be saved than to run after what was lost at one's

[1] Chigi's *report in code, November 29, 1647, *ibid.*

[2] PUFENDORF, *De rebus gestis Frederici Wilhelmi electoris Brandenburgensis. Berolini*, 1695, 170; *Mitteil. des Hist. Vereins zu Osnabrück*, XII., 328; ODHNER, *Schwedens Friedenspolitik*, 122.

[3] Chigi's *report in code, November 15, 1647, *loc. cit.*

[4] ISRAEL, *Adami*, 70, 73.

[5] Chigi's *report in code, December 6, 1647, *Paci*, 21, *ibid.*; CONTARINI in *Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXVI., 328. *Cf.* MENTZ, *Schönborn*, I., 34 *seq.*, 41; also PALLAVICINO, II., 187.

[6] MENTZ, *loc. cit.*, 34. In 1646 Schönborn was also in favour of abandoning to the Protestants what had been conceded to them by the religious peace and the peace of Prague; see *ibid.*

present risk.[1] At the beginning of May the Emperor and Bavaria had the support of the Eectors of Mayence and Trèves as well as that of the delegates of Salzburg, Bamberg, Würzburg, Liège, Freising, Münster, Ratisbon, Hildesheim, Eichstätt, Worms, Bâle, Spires, Paderborn and Fulda; some others, such as the delegates of the Teutonic Knights and those of Strassburg and Passau, were still undecided. The only ones who remained intransigent were, in addition to Wartenberg and Adami, the envoys of Neuburg, Augsburg, Trent, Brixen and the representatives of a few of the lesser Catholic Estates of Empire.[2]

After the Emperor's command, by letter of February 15th, 1648, to yield all along the line, Chigi too felt that, humanly speaking, there was no longer any hope.[3] In November, 1647, he had written to a friend that he was resigned and ready to bear with patience the cross God laid on him, however heavy it might be. However keenly he longed for his Tuscan home, he would prefer to it, if it were God's will, the swamps of Westphalia as if they were so many jewels.[4] Without considering the protests of the strictly minded Catholics who had returned to Münster, the imperialists negotiated with the Swedish envoys at Osnabrück from February 28th onwards, whilst plenipotentiaries of the Protestants and of those Catholics who favoured a compromise waited in an adjoining room.[5] In view of the fact that the Swedes displayed great arrogance and threatened to have recourse to arms,[6] a compromise on the ecclesiastical questions was arrived at already on March 24th: this deed was entered, almost unaltered, in the peace treaty. In it a few concessions were made to the Catholics.[7] It was an important clause that in the Emperor's

[1] December, 1647; *cf.* RIETZLER, V., 648.

[2] Chigi's *report in code, January 11, 1648, *Paci*, 22, *loc. cit.*

[3] Chigi's *report in code, February 28, 1648, *ibid.*

[4] Letter of November 22, 1647, in CAMPORI, *CIII. Lettere inedite di Sommi Pontefici*, Modena, 1878, 47 *seq.*

[5] ISRAEL *Adami*, 79 *seq.*

[6] Chigi, **Diarium* on February 14, 1648, Chigi Lib.

[7] RITTER, III., 635 *seq.*; *cf. Hist. polit. Blätter*, LI., 570 *seq.*

Hereditary States the normal year was not to be in force, whilst for Silesia the Peace of Prague was to remain substantially operative.[1] On the other hand a serious retreat of the Catholics before the demands of the Protestants was implied in the settlement in respect of parity in the composition of the Diet of deputies, of the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber and the Imperial Court Council, in disputes concerning questions of religion.[2] The Catholics could view with some indifference the inclusion of the Reformed in the religious peace which was carried through notwithstanding the opposition of the intransigent Lutheran element.[3] But an enormous loss for the adherents of the old faith was implied in the fact that with regard to possession of ecclesiastical property, the year 1624 was fixed upon, with supreme arbitrariness,[4] as the normal year, instead of the Peace of Passau of 1552. Thus all the bishoprics, abbeys and canonries which the Protestants had seized up to that date, were irrevocably lost. Of what use was it that the ecclesiastical reservation was recognized as operative for the future? it no longer had any practical meaning.

In Rome, Chigi's conduct met with complete approval.[5] Bitter regret was felt at the fact that Bavaria pursued its own private interests in preference to those of religion and that Ferdinand and Maximilian were prepared to accept a peace which did such grievous injury to religion when together they might have driven the Swedes from Germany.[6]

In November, 1647, Chigi had asked for copies of the documents attesting the Holy See's protest against the

[1] MENZEL, VIII., 190 *seq.*; HUBER, V., 607 *seq.*

[2] RITTER, III., 637.

[3] H. RICHTER, *Die Verhandlungen über die Aufnahme der Reformierten in den Religionsfrieden auf dem Friedenskongress zu Osnabrück*, 1645–1648, Berlin, 1906.

[4] *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LI., 567.

[5] *Cf.* the *instructions of the Secretary of State of 1647 and 1648 in *Cod.* A. II., 47, Chigi Lib.

[6] *Cf.* the *instructions of November 2 and December 14, 1647, and March 28, 1648, *loc. cit.*

Interim and the religious peace of Augsburg. He evidently wished to make use of them for the protest which he had prepared long ago; however, the documents were not to be found in Rome.[1]

After the compromise on the religious questions in the spring of 1648, the Swedes haggled throughout the summer with the imperialists about the payment of their troops and the extension of the amnesty to the Emperor's Hereditary States. The discussions were so violent that time and again there was reason to fear that the entire work for peace would be wrecked at the last moment. At last, on August 6th, an agreement was reached, and thus the treaty of peace with Sweden could be confirmed at Osnabrück, with a handshake, by the representatives of the Emperor, the Estates of Empire and those of Sweden.[2] However, Oxenstjerna and Salvius refused to sign until peace should have been made with France also. In this respect the chief difficulty lay in Ferdinand III.'s unwillingness to leave Spain in the lurch. But on this point also both the Elector of Mayence, Johann Philipp von Schönborn,[3] and Maximilian of Bavaria pressed him to yield; they even threatened to come to terms with the Swedes on their own account should he make difficulties.[4]

Thereupon, on September 22nd, the Emperor commanded his envoys to sign the treaty immediately. But at this juncture the representatives of France and Sweden raised fresh difficulties. Only after these had been cleared out of the way, did it become possible to proceed, on October 24th, 1648, to the solemn act with which the peace negotiations were to be closed, namely the signing and exchanging of the documents. Chigi had seen to it that neither his own name

[1] *Instruction of December 14, 1647, *ibid.*

[2] See Chigi's *letter to Abbate Altoviti, August 7, 1648, in *Cod.* A. II., 28, Chigi Lib.

[3] MENTZ, *Schönborn*, I., 39.

[4] This was communicated by Chigi in his *report in code of January 10, 1648, *loc. cit.* On the pressure exercised by Maximilian, *cf.* ODHNER, 281.

nor that of the Pope appeared in the instrument of a peace by which, as he lamented, a deep wound was inflicted on the Catholic religion every time it was mentioned.[1]

It was not only the compliance of the Emperor, Bavaria and the Elector of Mayence which caused the religious and political clauses of the treaty to turn out to so great a disadvantage for the ancient Church. Of no less consequence was the fact that the hopes which many fervent Catholics in Germany had placed on Catholic France turned out to have been in vain.[2] In this connection a remark of the French ambassador, Longueville, speaks volumes. When there was question of giving the rich abbey of Hirschfeld to the Landgravine Amalia of Hesse-Kassel, a lady who was the object of the ambassador's particular goodwill, Wartenberg represented to him that it did not redound to the honour of the Most Christian King to rob Christ and His Mother of their garments in order to deck out with them a heretical woman. Longueville replied that it was impossible to do too much for so virtuous a lady.[3] The French diplomatists only thought of their political interests and in this respect they secured nearly all they wanted—the Rhine frontier, the utter weakening of the imperial federation and the reduction to impotence of the imperial power. The fate of their German co-religionists left them cold. The Swedes were more far-sighted: whilst pursuing their political ends no less keenly than the French, they at the same time lent the strongest support to their Protestant co-religionists.

[1] *Chigi to Marcello Virgilio Malvezza, December 4, 1648, in *Cod.* A. II., 29, Chigi Lib. *Cf. ibid.*, the *letter to nuncio Bentivoglio at Florence, November 13, 1648. In *Cod.* A. II., 28, p. 350 *seq.* **Elegia Chisii super pacem Westphal*, sent to Altoviti on September 18, 1648. To Albizzi Chigi wrote on November 29, 1649: "Del resto gli fautori dell'infausta pace . . . si avvedran, crede, di aver donato più con essa agli Svezzesi x volte tanto di quel che non potevano havere con la guerra." (*Accad. dei Lincei. Mem., class. di scienze mor.* 3, Series I [1877], 395).

[2] Israel, *Adami*, 60.

[3] See *Adami*, ed. Meiern, Lipsiae, 1737, c. 27.

The Peace of Westphalia, "the worst humiliation Germany had ever experienced until then,"[1] meant the definitive wreck of the Catholic restoration the triumph of which had seemed so near at hand only a score of years earlier. It set the seal on the system, first introduced by the Protestant party, of the princes' dominion over religion and conscience.[2] The fresh confirmation of the so-called religious peace of Augsburg meant the solemn recognition of the fundamental principle of the new system of territorial Churches: "Who owns the territory orders the religion," a principle with no other check except the basic year 1624. Apart from the fact of possession guaranteed by this time limit, every Estate of Empire, even the smallest, secured the right to determine the faith of its subjects so that every Catholic could be compelled by his Protestant lord, every Protestant by his Catholic lord, either to change his religion or to emigrate. This "right to reform", which in 1555 had been guaranteed only to the Catholic Estates of Empire and to those of the Confession of Augsburg, was now extended to the followers of Calvin. That which the peace treaty secured for the victors, the Swedes and the French, in the political sphere, viz. an extreme weakening of the Empire through territorial losses and its disintegration into several hundred small States, was completed by the religious divisions. The German people, once so strong in the oneness of its faith, was now definitely split up into Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists: the price of the juridical existence of the new religion was the impotence of the Empire.[3]

An enormous injury to the Church and her rights was implied in the fact that the peace treaty included the ratification of the treaty of Passau and the religious peace of Augsburg and that January 1st, 1624, was fixed as the norm for the practice of religion and the ownership of ecclesiastical goods.

[1] KASER, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation*, Gotha, 1922, 204.

[2] DÖLLINGER, *Kirche und Kirchen*, 58 *seq.*

[3] Opinion of STEGEMANN, *Der Kampf um den Rhein.*, Berlin, 1925, 236.

In consequence of the latter disposition only the following free cities remained Catholic in their entirety: Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle and a few small towns of Empire in Swabia. As against this the Protestants became sole masters at Hamburg, Lübeck, Goslar, Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, Worms, Spires, Wetzlar, Swäbisch-Hall, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Wimpfen, Schweinfurt, Nuremberg together with its considerable territory, Ulm and Lindau. Frankfort on the Main remained almost wholly Protestant but the Collegiate Church of St. Bartholomew, in which the election and coronation of the Emperors was wont to take place, as well as a few other churches, were left to the Catholics. The same thing happened at Ratisbon where Protestants were in the majority. In the religiously mixed Cities of Empire, Augsburg, Dinkelsbühl, Ravensburg, Biberach and Kaufbeuren, the posts of councillors and other offices were to be equally divided between the Catholics and the Protestants.[1]

Even more sensible were the losses of the Catholic Church with regard to ecclesiastical property with which, as Chigi lamented, the congress trafficked in a manner that cried to heaven,[2] so much so that a contemporary could write: "To pass the time, these gentlemen play with bishoprics and monasteries as boys play with nuts and marbles."[3] Only the four archdioceses of Mayence, Trèves, Cologne and Salzburg were saved from the wreck, together with the dioceses of Bamberg, Würzburg, Worms, Eichstätt, Spires, Strassburg, Constance, Augsburg, Freissing, Ratisbon, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Bâle, Liège, Chur, Hildesheim, Paderborn,

[1] Whilst at Augsburg Maximilian insisted on the execution of the clauses of the peace treaty concerning religious parity and withheld his protection from recalcitrant Catholics, he resisted with the utmost energy the Swedish demands for the free exercise of their religion by the Protestant subjects of the Upper Palatinate which had only been re-Catholicized since January 1, 1624. RIEZLER, V., 652 *seq*; DOEBERL, I. (1906), 567 *seq*.

[2] *Chigi to Abbate Altoviti, August 28, 1648, *Cod.* A. II., 28, Chigi Lib.

[3] *Adami*, ed. MEIERN, c. 26.

Münster and Osnabrück, though for the latter place the truly monstrous arrangement was made that the see should always be held alternately by a Catholic and a Protestant Bishop ![1] Of the abbeys the following remained in Catholic hands: Fulda, Stablo, Korvei, Prüm, Kempten, Ellwangen, Berchtesgaden, Weissenburg, and the two principalities of the Teutonic Order and the Order of St. John. On the other hand the Catholics lost besides the vast bulk of the "mediate" ecclesiastical possessions which had been appropriated by the princes and the towns, the "immediate" archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen and the bishoprics of Lübeck, Halberstadt, Verden, Meissen, Naumburg, Merseburg, Lebus, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Minden, Kammin, Schwerin, the Abbeys of Hirschfeld, Walkenried, Gandersheim, Quedlinburg, Herford and Gernrode.

In presence of these gigantic losses, which were now legally sanctioned by the treaty of peace, the Pope and his representative would have failed in their duty had they remained silent. The fact that Chigi had stayed away from the decisive negotiations[2] achieved as little as did the protests of about a score of Catholic Estates.[3] Consequently, foreseeing what was

[1] "Scelerata alternativa," Chigi calls these dispositions in his *report in code of October 16, 1648 (Papal Sec. Arch.). *Cf.* F. Freckmann, *Die capitulatio perpetua und ihre verfassungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung für das Hochstift Osnabrück* (1648–1650), Osnabrück, 1906.

[2] See Chigi's *report in code, October 25, 1648, *loc. cit.*

[3] Israel, *Adami*, 81; Widmann, *Salzburg*, 297 *seq.* Chigi would have liked the Catholics to refrain from signing; this he says himself in his *report in code of October 16, 1648. On October 30 he wrote to Rome: "Quanto a questa soscrittione, io nel male godo che tanti buoni cattolici habbiano protestato, i quali saranno forse due dozzine. Ho obligatione a Monsignore vescovo d'Osnaburgh, che ha tenuto saldo, e a quei di Trento e di Brissenone, che son dependuti da me espressamente. Ancora l'arciduca Leopoldo per quello di Argentina e di Alberstat, ha rimesso il suo agente al consiglio di Mgr. vescovo d'Osnaburgh, et con questo ha fatto le sue proteste, le quali tutte si può sperare in Dio che gioveranno in qualche tempo . . ." Chigi Lib., *loc. cit.*

to come, Chigi had drawn up from the beginning a general protest against every injury that might be done to the Church and to her rights [1]; its definitive form had been left to his discretion by Rome.[2] Even before the conclusion of the negotiations, on October 14th, 1648, Chigi made a solemn protest which he repeated on October 26th.[3] In it the nuncio called to witness the delegates of the Catholic Powers, and Contarini in particular, that lest by his presence he should have seemed to give some kind of approval to the negotiations, he had mostly absented himself from them and had refused to sign them.

The first protest, that of October 14th, was approved by the Pope as soon as he received the text of it, in fact the Pontiff exhorted Chigi to repeat it publicly on some future occasion seeing that, as a result of the deplorable compliance of the Catholics, the agreements were doing grievous injury

[1] See above, p. 119.

[2] PALLAVICINO I., 137. *Cf.* BROM III., 451, 456.

[3] Both protests are printed in CONRING, *De pace perpetua*, Helmstadii, 1657, 116 *seqq.*; *De pace civili, ibid.*, 1677, 371 *seqq.* The protest of October 26, 1648, in Italian, in PALLAVICINO, I., 138 *seq.*, in Latin, in BROM, III., 448 *seq.*, and previously in POLLIDORUS, *Vita F. Chisii*, in *N. Raccolta d'opusc. scientifici*, IV., Venezia, 1758, 315 *seq.* On October 16, 1648 (*decif. Nov.* 6) Chigi reports to Rome: "*Publicandosi assai chiaramente i pregiuditii fatti alla religion cattolica dagli Stati cattolici in Osnaburgh, sotto la guida del Magontino e del Bavaro, ho stimato bene far nuova protesta con solenne istromento nella forma, che rappresenterà la copia autentica che mando, riserbandomi a farne altra, se quà ancora siano i medesimi ratificati o soscritti, come par che siano pronti a fare." On 30 Oct. he writes: "*Mando i fogli, co quali mando anco la nuova protestazione che ho stimato bene reiterare per altro pubblico instrumento ch'è l'unico rimedio, che dopo ogni opera adoperata, perchè non seguano i pregiuditii alla s. religione, potiamo adoperare con gli huomini che per preservare la ragione e per consolare in parte il zelo sanctissimo di S. B^ne^, già che per altro non potrà godere intiero di questa pace . . ." *Paci* 24, Papal Sec. Arch.

to the Catholic religion.[1] For these reasons, the Secretary of State wrote on November 14th and 21st that the Pope could derive no pleasure from the settlement, though he appreciated Chigi's conduct most highly.[2] There is as yet no mention in these Briefs of a protest by the Pope. Rome precipitated nothing. It was only in January, 1649, that a congregation of Cardinals, presided over by the Pope, decided that Chigi's protests should be confirmed by a solemn Bull though the nuncio was instructed to keep this document secret for the time being.[3] Chigi made a third protest on February 19th, 1649, on the occasion of the ratification of the treaty of peace.[4] All three protests were approved in Rome by all the Cardinals,[5] and this approval was renewed in March [6]

[1] " *É alla Stà Sua sommamente deplorabile il danno che alla religione cattolica reca la facilità de' cattolici nelle continue cessioni che sempre con augmento si stabiliscono a favore degli heretici per il capitolato della pace fra le corone collegate e l'imperio, e V. S. ha corrisposto al desiderio del suo ministerio nell'astenersi dalla mediatione e nel fare solenne protesta a pregiuditii della nostra s. fede. Egli dove proseguire," etc. Panzirolo a Chigi, dated November 7, 1648, *Cod.* A. II., 47, Chigi Lib.

[2] The *letter of November 14, 1648, in *Cod.* A. II., 47 (*loc. cit.*) ; that of November 21, in Brom, III., 449 *seq.* The peace was at once universally condemned in Rome, see Servantius, **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch., and Deone, **Diario*, 1649, *Cod.* XX. III., 21, Bibl. Casanat. The reproach passivity here made against Chigi was quite unjustified.

[3] " *Nella congregazione fu col parere di 9 cardinali deliberato da S. Stà di confermar con una bolla apostolica in amplissima forma li protesti di V. S., questo però finchè non si mandi ad effetto, dovere ella tenerlo in se." Panzirolo a Chigi, January 9, 1649, *Cod.* A. II., 47, Chigi Lib.

[4] Text in Garampi, 94.

[5] " *Nella congregatione di stato tenutasi avanti N. S. furono lette le proteste fatte e reiterate costì e commendate da tutti signori cardinali, come prima erano da N. S. state approvate." Panzirolo to Chigi, January 9, 1649, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Panzirolo a Chigi*, *cifre of March 6 and 13, 1649, *Cod.* A. II., 47, *loc. cit.*

In view of the fact that most of the delegates, even Contarini himself, had left Münster, Chigi also begged to be allowed to return to Italy. Permission was given him on September 11th, 1649, but it was at once cancelled,[1] inasmuch as the French desired the presence of a papal representative in view of the peace negotiations between France and Spain, a happy issue of which Innocent X. also had very much at heart. Consequently Chigi decided to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, but a serious illness prevented him from doing so at the beginning of November, as he had intended, so he only got there a month later.[2] In consequence of the peace being so unfavourable to the Church, he left very quietly on December 13th, 1649.[3] The famous baths and the mild climate of the imperial city agreed with him so well that he decided to stay. [4] But though his great diplomatic skill won him the continued confidence of both hostile Powers, all

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 145 *seq.*, where there is also Chigi's letter to the Emperor, dated May 7, 1649, refusing the present intended for him, since it was a principle with him to decline even the smallest gift ; *cf.* BROM, III.,454 *seq.* *Cf.* also Chigi's *letter to M. V. Malvezzi, dated Aachen, December 24, 1649, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* a letter of the same date to Albizzi in *Atti dei Lincei, Scienze mor. Mem.*, I., 396.

[2] MACCHIA. *Relazioni del P. Sforza Pallavicino con Fabio Chigi, Torino 1907.*

[3] See his letter of December 24, 1649, in MACCHIA, *loc. cit.*, and in CIAMPI, *Epistolario*, 395. *Cf.* REUMONT, *Fabio Chigi* (*Papst Alexander VII.*) *in Deutschland*, Aachen, 1885, 15 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* besides the letters published by CAMPORI (*CIII. Lettere*, 52 *seq.*), Chigi's *reports to Panciroli, 1650–1651, in *Paci*, 26–8, Papal Sec. Arch. These reports substantially supplement Reumont's data in the work quoted in the preceding note, who for Chigi's relations with Mazarin and the Dane Corfits Ulfeldt also uses the letters in Ciampi. Chigi's recall to Rome only occurred on September 9, 1651 (BROM, III., 475). Chigi *reports on his journey in a *letter to Albizzi, dated Frankfort, October 14, 1651. *Cod.* A. I., 22, *loc. cit.* On memories of Alexander VII. at Aachen *cf.* J. LAURENT, *Aachener Stadtrechnungen aus dem. 14 Jahrb.*, Aachen, 1866, 45.

his efforts to reconcile them failed.[1] The papal intervention was completely put in jeopardy when Mazarin requested the Dutch to mediate.[2] Although the situation looked hopeless, the Pope, to leave nothing undone, issued on November 26th, 1650, a fresh exhortation to peace to the Kings of France and Spain, to Olivares, Mazarin and other influential personalities.[3] Chigi's happy solution of the difficulties in connexion with the election of a co-adjutor for Trèves was a fine success for him,[4] but his pleasure was completely spoilt for him by his having to witness the execution of the fatal peace of Westphalia. His letters of the period are full of bitter laments over the "tragedy of Germany", an ever recurrent theme in them being his grief that it was chiefly Bavaria which, by its readiness to yield, induced the Protestants to demand ten times more than they had dared at first.[5]

Meanwhile the Bull protesting against the peace treaty was still being withheld, for its publication would have raised grave dangers so long as the Swedish troops remained in Germany. The imperial ambassador Savelli, in defence of the Emperor,

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 148. *Cf.* MACCHIA, 65. On March, 1650, Chigi *wrote to L. Allacci: "Dissi, nisi videro et tetigero. Così è stato, perchè dopo tre mesi non se ne parla più e le parti non pensano che alla campagna." Arch. of Greek College, Rome.

[2] BROM, III., 465.

[3] **Epist.*, VII.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch. On December 30, 1653, Innocent X. renewed his exhortations to peace in *Briefs addressed to the Kings of France and Spain (*ibid.*).

[4] PALLAVICINO, I., 150 *seq.*; BAUR, *Sötern*, II., 286 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 28 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Chigi's *letters to Albizzi, dated Aachen, January 14, March 12, and September 17, 1650, Chigi Lib. On June 24, 1651, Chigi *writes to Albizzi from Aachen (*ibid.*, *Cod.* A. I., 22): "Quella infame pace di Munster che tanto cede agli heretici, dopo haver essi eseguito eccessivamente tutto ciò che era a lor pro, e dopo haver impedito l'esecutione di quel poco che era a favor dei cattolici restato, ecco che hanno rotta sfacciatamente assalendo Brandeburg gli stati di Giuliers all'improvviso. O tempora, o mores!" On July 29, 1651 he writes to *Albizzi:

pleaded his difficult position[1] whilst at the same time he drew a forceful picture of the strength of the enemy and the weakness of the Catholics who, he told Innocent X., would presently appeal to Rome for assistance. In order to get the Bull suspended he had recourse to the support of Cardinal Capponi whom the Pope held in high esteem at that time. The Cardinal drew attention to the advantages which would accrue to religion in the Imperial Hereditary States out of the peace; these would outweigh the loss of the North German dioceses which could only be held by means of an endless war. Savelli believed that in this way the Pope would become reconciled to the peace treaty for the unfavourable clauses of which Bavaria was held chiefly responsible, as a result of

"Ho fatto una solenne risata in leggere, che si trovasse prelati, che facessero condoglienza, con la Stà di Papa Urbano VIII. per la morte del Re di Suetia parendomi una scempiaggine dello stile di quelli che diceva: mi Papezzo, mi Papezzo, e non volendo sospettare di altro senso maligno che havesse il complimentatore sotto la maschera di quella semplicità. Certo è che io trovai in Germania 12 anni sono religiosi gravi che havevano prestato fede a relationi di Hollanda, che ivi si fosse un reggimento con le chiavi e con le api: tanto sono stolidi anco i men mal sensati. Ma quanto al lodare l'imperatore ed il Duca di Baviera, e che hanno fatto bene a far questa pace e che non potevano far altrimenti, e che Caramuel parla da S. Tommaso, si sparge che siano prelati e cardinali, e molti, e così si scrive poi in Germania, contro le quali voci io sgrido e contradico più di prima, come ho pur accennato a Palazzo più volte. Sia benedetto il cardinal di Cueva che si serviva di vomitorio il leggere le due paci di Münster." On October 25, he writes: "*In Francoforte mi scusai di dar audientia a quei deputati principali autori della pace di Munster." On Maximilian's determined attitude towards the execution of the peace in the Upper Palatinate and at Augsburg, see RIEZLER, V., 651 *seq.*

[1] "*Di che S. B. se ben non contenta non ha ricusato affatto di appagarsene, sapendo quanto sia il zelo di V. M. Ces. e di tutto l'august. suo sangue verso la religione et rispetto verso la S. Sede." Savelli to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, March 6, 1649, State Arch., Vienna.

its forcing the Emperor to yield.[1] Grave accusations were also made at the Curia against the Elector of Mayence.[2]

After the evacuation of Germany by the Swedes had begun, as a result of the decree for the execution of the peace treaty published at Nuremberg on June 26th, 1650, the Pope gave orders, on August 20th, for his protest against the peace treaty to be sent to all the nuncios so that they might publish the judgment of the Holy See.[3] However, this was not done in the form of a solemn Bull, as had at first been intended, but by a simple Brief.[4] Chigi's proposal of the publication of a fourth protest was declined by Rome.[5] The Brief, retrodated to November 26th, 1648,[6] did not condemn the peace as such, nor all its articles, but only those which injured the Church. The agreements and decisions arrived at at Osnabrück and Münster, the document states, have given great pain to the Pope because they gravely curtail and injure the Catholic religion and its exercise, the Apostolic See, the Roman Church and its subordinate Churches, the ecclesiastical state, the

[1] This according to a hitherto unknown *report of L. Pappus to Ferdinand III., of September 20, 1652, in State Arch., Vienna.

[2] Deone **Diario*, 1649, *Cod.* XX. III., 21, of Bibl. Casanat.

[3] Panciroli to Chigi, August 20, 1650, in Brom, III., 463.

[4] The frequently made statement, the most recent instance being Mirbst (*Quellen*, 202), that Innocent X. had protested with a Bull, is erroneous; the document is a Brief dated *Romae . . . sub annulo piscatoris.*

[5] " *Io proposi 3 settimane fa di fare una quarta protesta contro la esecuzione della pace, come havevo fatte le tre antecedenti contro la sottoscrittione di Osnabruk, contro altra di Munster e contro la ratificazione dei principi stessi, e ne chiedeva la formula a palazzo; ben è vero che voleva attendere che fossero gli Suedesi usciti di Germania per liberarne che doppo essa non facessero renuntiare gli stati cattolici anco a questa, come ultimamente si fecero renuntiare a Norimberga alle altro tre." Confidential letter of Chigi to Albizzi, assessore del S. Officio, September 17, 1650, *Cod.* A. I., 22, Chigi Lib.

[6] Meieren, *Acta pacis execut. publ.*, II., Göttingen, 1737, 781 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XV., 603 *seqq.* (with several misprints which alter the meaning), and elsewhere; see Menzel, VIII., 242.

jurisdiction, liberties, privileges, possessions, goods and rights of the Catholic Church. They surrender for all time to the heretics and their successors the property of the Church seized by them. In a number of localities the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg obtain the free exercise of their heretical religion and the right to erect churches; they share with the Catholics a great many dioceses and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices as well as the right of first requests (*jus primarum precum*) which the Apostolic See had granted the Emperor Ferdinand. As against this We are precluded from our rights in regard to the *Annates*, pallium fees, the papal months and reservations in the ecclesiastical property of the followers of the Confession of Augsburg; confirmation of elections or postulations to the confiscated archbishoprics and bishoprics and prelatures is attributed to the secular authorities of the aforesaid Confession; many archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, bailiwicks, commendas, canonries, and other ecclesiastical benefices and properties are granted in perpetuity as secular fiefs to heretical princes and their heirs, the ecclesiastical right of nomination being revoked." The extension of the College of Electors and the bestowal of a new electoral title, the eighth, to a Protestant prince, is disapproved and a protest lodged against it by reason of its having been done without the consent of the Holy See. Finally the Brief declares null and void the clause by the terms of which no law, be it ecclesiastical or civil, general or particular, no conciliar decree, monastic Rule, oath, concordat with the Pope or any secular or ecclesiastical decree, dispensation, absolution or exception of any kind could be adduced, heard or received against the peace and any of its articles.[1]

Other princes also raised their protests, as for instance Duke Charles of Mantua, Duke Charles of Lorraine, the King of Spain, the Archbishop of Salzburg and others. All these protests, like that of the Pope, had not for their object the

[1] Research in the archives was made on this point in Rome; *Arch. Rom.*, III., 27 *seq.*, 30 *seqq.*

peace itself but merely some of its clauses. Since these inflicted so enormous an injury on the Church, its Head could not have remained silent without failing in his duty, hence the blame to which Innocent X. was subjected by reason of his protest [1] was quite unjustified [2] and even non-Catholics have slowly come to see that in his position the Pope could not have acted otherwise.[3] The papal protest yielded no practical result. The Emperor Ferdinand forbade its publication,[4] the Archbishop of Trèves being the first, but also the last German Bishop to publish it.[5] A number of theologians also were of opinion that in practice the papal condemnation of the peace amounted to no more than a censure or a disapproval.[6]

[1] List of polemical writings in CONRING, *loc. cit.*; SCHRÖCKH, *Kirchengesch.*, III., Leipzig, 1805, 402 *seq.* The *Examen Bullae* of John Hoornbeeck (Ultraiecti, 1653) comprises 300 pages.

[2] PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, III., 450 *seq.*, 476; DÖLLINGER, *Kirche u. Kirchen*, 49 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche und Staat*, 703–711; MALET, *Hist. dipl. de l'Europe au 17e et 18e siècles*, I., Paris, 161. *Cf.* also GRAUERT, *Königin Christine*, I., 251 *seq.* The protest was likewise justified on the ground that since the peace there existed the possibility of a Protestant Emperor; see GÜNTER, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVII., 380.

[3] K. A. MENZEL writes (VIII., 244) that "the Pope was only anxious to fulfil the duty of his office and to do, as Head of the Church, what no head of any other body could have omitted in similar circumstances without rendering himself liable to the reproach of neglect of duty." HILTEBRANDT (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 321) says that "from the standpoint of view of the Curia Innocent X.'s protest was a natural step." See also ERDMANNSDÖRFFER, *Deutsche Gesch.*, I, Stuttgart, 1892, 6 *seq.*, and PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *Weltgeschichte, Neuzeit*, II., 101 *seq.*

[4] MEIERN, VI., 794. When the Vienna nuncio handed the protest to the Emperor, it seemed to the Venetian ambassador "che non malvolentieri la ricevè" (*Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXVI., 395).

[5] BAUR, Sötern, I., 291.

[6] DÖLLINGER, *Kirche und Kirchen*, 62; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, III[5]., 744.

Notwithstanding the enormous gains which the Peace of Westphalia guaranteed to the Protestants, the latter remained unsatisfied. They regretted, on the one hand, the maintenance of the ecclesiastical reservation which put a stop to further secularizations, and on the other the decision in regard to the Protestants in the imperial Hereditary States. When the Emperor began to carry the latter into effect by means of the edict on religion of January 4th, 1652,[1] strong complaints and protests were raised by the Protestant party and these came up for discussion at the Diet of Ratisbon, the first to be held after the conclusion of peace.

The Pope's representative at that assembly was the new nuncio in Vienna Scipione d'Elce, Archbishop of Pisa, a splendid man,[2] whose task it was to prevent further injury to the Catholic cause.[3] In April, 1653, a warning letter in the same sense was dispatched to the Emperor.[4] Before the Diet opened the discussion of questions of religion, the nuncio, toward the end of August, issued yet another solemn protest dated May 17th, 1653, against those clauses of the Peace of Westphalia which were to the disadvantage of Catholics.[5]

[1] WIEDEMANN, V., 25 *seq.*; MENZEL, VIII., 277 *seq.*; GRÜNHAGEN, II., 318 *seq.*; STIEVE, *Abhandlungen*, 293 *seq.*; LEHMANN, *Preussen*, I., 55 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXVI., 406. Since some time already Ferdinand III. had kept no ambassador in Rome; relations between the two courts were not lively; see *ibid.*, 395.

[3] *Cf.* ELCE's *report, dated Ratisbon, April 28, 1653, *Barb.* 6112, p. 41 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. Copies of all Elce's *reports from 1652–1657 also in *Cod.* 33 D., 19–20 of Corsini Library, Rome (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 170 *seq.*) and *Barb.* 6109–6112, *loc. cit.* In the latter codex, p. 132 *seqq.*: **Osservazioni hist. delle cose più notabili occorse in Germania et alla corte dell'imperatore durante la nunziatura di Msgr. arcivescovo di Pisa.* See also FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, VI., 103, 105, 107, 110 *seq.* Elce's **Diarium nuntiat. apud imperatorem*, 1652–1658, in *Vat.* 10423, p. 105–318, Vat. Lib.; *Letters of Elce during his nunciature in *Vat.* 10440, *ibid.*

[4] See ELCE's *report of April 7, 1653, Corsini Lib.

[5] On September 1, 1653, Elce *reports from Ratisbon to

Besides the situation within the Empire, religious conditions in Bohemia and Hungary also claimed the nuncio's anxious attention just then. In Bohemia, where merchants from Hamburg sought to spread Protestantism, the Capuchin Valerian Magni [1] and the Jesuits showed great zeal, in the spirit of the Catholic restoration. The Jesuits counselled gentleness in the attempts at conversion; so did Cardinal Harrach, but the latter's adviser, Caramuel y Lobkowitz, and the lieutenants were for stern measures. Though the Emperor Ferdinand gave his approval to the lieutenants' proposals, he nevertheless substantially altered some of their provisions.[2]

Like the Peace of Westphalia, the religious compromise

Cardinal Pamfili: 'Ancorchè non si sia ancora stabilito in Dieta il punto della deputazione per le cose ecclesiastiche, nondimeno potendo essere che segua ad ogn'hora e si dia principio al trattato di questa materia, stimai bene due giorni sono di fare la mia protesta alla presenza di due notari et di quattro testimonii nella forma che mando qui acclusa a V. Emza e perchè mi è stato confermato da molti che nelle capitolazione giurate dal Re de' Romani in Augusta e non pubblicate però sin'hora in Dieta, vi sia stata tra l'altre cose aggiunta l'osservanza dell'instrumento della pace di Munster e di tenerla per leggi fondamentali dell'imperio, mi è parso d'inserirvi quelle parole che l'Emza Vra vedrà lineate, senza venire a maggior specificatione dell'atto così consigliato da questi bene affetti alla Santa Sede, per non esservi esempio che nelle capitolationi passate li ministri apostolici habbino mai interposte simili proteste, non ostante vi fussero inscritti punti pregiuditiali alla religione. Ma, se giudicherà bene Vostra Eminenza che se ne debba fare maggior dichiaratione, starò attendendo i suoi comandamenti, già che conservo appresso di me la protesta, senza haverla per anche publicata. *Barb.* 6112, p. 66b–7, Vat. Lib. Cf. LUNDORP, VII., 717; F. GARAMPI, 94.

[1] LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 170.

[2] SCMIDL, V., 661 *seqq.*, 668 *seqq.*, 672; REZEK in *Mitteil. des Vereins für die Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXXI., Lit. 16; RADDA, *Zur Gesch. des Protestantismus in Teschen*, Teschen, 1885; REDLICH, VI., 219 *seqq.*; KRÖSS in *Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie*, XL., 772 *seq.*

realized in Hungary by means of the Peace of Linz and the Recess of Empire (Reichsabschied) of 1647, satisfied neither Catholics nor Protestants. It guaranteed to the Protestants and Calvinists a legal status and considerably extended the concessions already granted to them but failed to meet all their wishes inasmuch as the Catholic Church preserved her dominant position, whilst the most dreaded of their enemies, the Jesuits, whom it had been hoped to uproot, also retained their possessions and all their strong positions. The clergy, trained as they had been by the Jesuits, co-operated with them whilst the Primate, George Lippay, was resolved to work in the spirit of Pázmány. In 1649 Lippay founded a general Seminary for the Hungarian clergy at Tyrnau, its direction being entrusted to the Jesuits.[1] The Jesuits displayed great activity not only at Tyrnau, the heart of Catholic Hungary, but likewise at Pressburg, Ödenburg, Raab, Warasdin, Agram, Trentschin, Neusohl, Kaschau and Ungvár. Despite every obstacle they were indefatigable in strengthening the faithful, supporting the waverers and bringing back the apostates. They even succeeded in getting a foothold in the Turkish territory of Fünfkirchen, and their missionary activity also extended itself to Moldavia.[2] Innocent X. had shown his concern for the Catholics of that province already in 1645 [3]; he also supported the Franciscans in Wallachia.[4] Amid the appalling misery and decay of the ravaged German Empire, the Jesuits, with undismayed courage, were busy rebuilding what had been destroyed and, notwithstanding every difficulty, they continued their pastoral, educational and scientific

[1] KRONES in *Archiv. für österr. Gesch.*, LXXIX (1893), 281 *seqq.*, 307 *seqq.* On Lippay see FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 68, 100, 102.

[2] KRONES, *loc. cit.*, 311 *seqq.*, 321 *seqq.*, 324 *seq.*, 339 *seq.*, 345 *seq.* *Cf. id.*, *Zur Gesch. des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn seit dem Linzer Frieden*, Vienna, 1893.

[3] *Brief to "princeps Moldaviae", May 20, 1645, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Brief to "princeps Walachiae", May 20, 1646, *Epist.*, I. *loc. cit.*

work. The most recent research has shown how, true to their old ideals, wherever they laboured, they worked most beneficially for the well-being of a generation that had sunk to a very low level.[1]

Innocent X. gave particular support to the Jesuit seminaries at Braunsberg, Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, and Dillingen,[2] for he knew how much depended on the formation of a well-trained clergy. With a view to a general regeneration of the German clergy he addressed, on April 4th, 1652, a circular letter to the German Bishops, exhorting them, by means of synods and visitations, to see to it that the reform decrees of Trent were carried into effect.[3] During the latter stages of the Thirty Years' War the ecclesiastical authorities had sought to stem the moral decay of the population by means of popular missions [4]; now that peace had been restored, missionaries, especially Jesuits, with the encouragement of the Bishops, zealously devoted themselves to the unobtrusive and exacting task of giving such missions.[5] Ecclesiastical restoration began on all sides. In the dioceses of Münster, Paderborn and the part of the diocese of Cologne situate on the right bank of the Rhine, the Franciscans established new convents and wherever this was at all possible, they likewise founded mission stations in the Protestant districts.[6]

[1] See the documented presentment in DUHR, *Geschichte*, III., 660 *seqq.*

[2] *Chirografo d' Innocenzo X. con l'ordine fermo per le provisioni de' seminarii, June 12, 1646, Arch. of Propaganda 362, p. 17.

[3] *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter* by TILLE, XVI, (1915), 10 *seqq.* The reform was also furthered by the efforts of the Swiss nuncios to secure for the stricter Order of the Jesuits in the Canton of Lucerne some of the rights enjoyed by the Cistercians, which led to dissensions that brought to light Innocent X.'s opposition to France; *cf.* V. LIEBENAU in *Jahrbücher für Schweizer Gesch.*, XI. (1886), 167 *seqq.*, 184.

[4] DUHR, *Gesch.*, II., 2, 38 *seqq.*

[5] DUHR in *Hist. Iahrb.*, XXXVII. (1916), 601; *id. Gesch.*, III., 660 *seqq.*

[6] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXXVII., 312; WOKER, *Gesch. der norddeutschen Franziskanermissionen*, Freiburg, 1880.

One of the most remarkable phenomena of the period following the Peace of Westphalia is the return to the ancient Church of many distinguished and influential men in Germany. In the course of a few years the following were converted: the Silesian Christoph, Count of Rantzau, the Westphalian Johann von der Recke, George Christian, Landgrave of Hesse, John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and his daughter Mary Anne, Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels, a great-nephew of bigamous Philip of Hesse, the Governor of Silesia, Count von Wetzhausen, George Frederick Philip von Griesheim, Gustaf Adolf, Count zu Nassau-Saarbrücken, the Chancellor of Mayence, Johann Christian von Boyneburg, the archæologist and historian Heinrich Julius Blume, the Countesses Palatine Elizabeth Amalia and Anna Sophia, the celebrated poet and controversialist Angelus Silesius, author of the lofty didactic poems of the "Cherubinische Wandersmann", Count Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar, the Lutheran preacher Heinrich Schacht and many others.[1]

Thus the converts were for the most part highly cultivated men and members of the upper clases,[2] of whom many lived

[1] *Cf.* RÄSS, VI., 366 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 465 *seq.*, 501 *seq.*, 513 *seqq.*, 526 *seqq.*, 536 *seqq.*, 558 *seqq.*, 572 *seqq.*; VII., 1 *seqq.*, 528 *seqq.*, 551 *seq.* Also ERDMANNSDÖRFER, I., 480 *seqq.*; *Allgem. Deutsche Biogr.*, III., 222 *seq.*, X., 187, XIII., 157 *seq.*, XIV., 177 *seq.*; HEINEMANN, *Braunschweig*, III., 130 *seq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVII., 790 *seq.*; KÖCHER, *Gesch. von Hannover*, I., 351 *seq.*, II., 32 *seq.*; W. KRATZ, *Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels und die deutschen Jesuiten*, Freiburg, 1914; on A. Silesius see the monographs by LINDEMANN (1876), SELTMANN (1896), KRALIK (1902), and G. ELLINGER (1927). *Cf.* RICHSTÄTTER in *Stimmen der Zeit.*, CXI. (1926), 377 *seqq.*, and in *Zeitschr. für Aszese und Mystik*, III. (1928), 79–85. A Brief of September 13, 1651, to George Christian of Homburg, Landgrave of Hesse, congratulating him on his conversion, in FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 91; *ibid.*, 114 on the Princess of Darmstadt.

[2] HARNACK (*Dogmengesch.*, III., 691) gives as one reason of

in circumstances that rendered conversion not easier but more difficult; thus Alexander Heinrich, son of Duke Alexander of Sonderburg, who came over with his wife, forfeited his inheritance and became so destitute that he had to appeal to the Pope for help.[1] In the case of Boyneburg, a man distinguished both as a statesman and a scholar, it was the idea of the necessity of the unity of the Church that led to his conversion[2]; he was also influenced by certain efforts to bring about reunion such as those pursued at that time by George Calixt. That scholar and professor at the University of Helmstedt, who in the course of four years' travelling for purposes of study, had become personally acquainted with Catholic countries and who had made a thorough study of Christian antiquity, no longer stood on the platform of orthodox Lutheranism. In 1645 he openly advocated his views at the peace conference convened at Thorn by Ladislaus, King of Poland; they were to the effect that all those who held fast to the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed, or more accurately to the faith of the first five centuries, must be considered as brethren in the faith and cannot be excluded from salvation.[3] In the case of more than one German convert Prince of that period, especially in that of John Frederick, Prince of Brunswick, and the Landgrave Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels, the change of religious conviction was furthered by travel in Catholic countries, especially in Italy, where they saw Catholic personalities and Catholic institutions in a

these conversions the fact that at that period Catholicism kept better pace than Protestantism with the progress of cultivated circles.

[1] FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 80.

[2] MENTZ, II., 279, who insists that Boyneburg was moved by real conviction and not by any personal consideration.

[3] *Cf.* E. L. TH. HENKE, *Georg Calixt und seine Zeit.*, Halle, 1853–1860; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II², 1711 *seqq.* On the *colloquium* of Thorn, *cf.* the specialized works of IKIER (Halle, 1889) and IACOBI (Gotha, 1895). Reasoned decision of Propaganda on disputations with Protestants in *Collect. Propag.*, I., 30 *seq.*

light that differed greatly from what they had been taught in their youth.[1]

When Prince John Frederick of Brunswick, whom the Pope recommended to the Emperor in a special Brief,[2] informed his brothers in a letter from Rome, dated December 29th, 1652, of his reception into the Catholic Church which had taken place secretly in February, 1651, he gave as his reason his realization of the unity of the Catholic Church, a Church that was in agreement with the ancient teaching of the Fathers and the Scriptures in her moral teaching, her customs and her Sacraments, under one visible supreme Head, whereas in the opposite camp, disunion prevailed and each day witnessed fresh divisions which were bound to lead to the utter destruction and ruin of their beloved German fatherland. John Frederick was refused permission to practise the Catholic religion in private so that he had to resign himself to live abroad.[3] In like manner Landgrave Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels, intellectually the most distinguished prince of his time, was shaken in his convictions by his repeated stays in Catholic countries, though he had been brought up along strict Calvinist lines and his tutor had taken the utmost care that he came under no Catholic influence. He laid his scruples before three divines, viz. Calixt of Helmstedt, Crocius of Marburg, and Haberkorn of Giessen, and summoned them to enter into a disputation with the Capuchin Valerian Magni on some of the controverted questions. Haberkorn alone consented to do so but broke off the discussions because of Valerian's attacks on Luther. Thereupon, in his joy at having found in the old Church sure teaching as against the divided opinions of Protestantism, Ernest, together with his wife, made profession

[1] Menzel, VIII., 298.

[2] Friedensburg, *Regesten*, V., 95; *cf.* 103, on the bestowal of canonries. This shows the erroneousness of Köcher's assertion (*Allgem. Deutsche Biographe*, XIV., 178) concerning Innocent X.'s utter indifference towards these converts.

[3] J. K. Schlegel, *Kirchengesch. von Norddeutschland*, III., Suppl. 14; Köcher, II., 372 *seq.*

of the Catholic faith on Trinity Sunday, 1652.[1] He wrote to the Pope to inform him that he had openly professed the faith from which his fathers had strayed and that he had returned to the Lord to whom they had become disloyal. Innocent X. congratulated him in a Brief, exhorting him at the same time to persevere in his resolve.[2] The conversion of the Landgrave, who admitted the Jesuits into the county of Katzenelnbogen, nearly cost him his territory ; though he escaped this extremity he forfeited his rights as a sovereign.[3] The nuncio in Vienna, Scipione d'Elce, energetically intervened on behalf of Ernest.[4]

These conversions could have no substantial bearing on the religious situation in the Empire, were it only that since the Peace of Westphalia the year 1624, which had been agreed upon as the norm, had force of law. Landgrave Ernest told the celebrated Lukas Holste in February, 1654, that his efforts to bring the Lutheran and Calvinist preachers to a better frame of mind had proved fruitless ; alone Georg Calixt had deigned to send a reply. The Landgrave nevertheless resolved to get his confessor to publish a book entitled *Invitation to the Catholic Faith.* He was however, of opinion that the Holy See should concede Communion under both kinds as well as the marriage of priests after the manner of the Greeks. In his letter he likewise expressed the hope that the King of Denmark and the Queen of Sweden, "both potentates of extraordinarily high gifts," would come to see the futility (*ineptias*) of the Protestant teaching.[5] In the case of Queen Christina of Sweden that hope was fulfilled but Innocent X. lay on his death-bed when news of that event reached Rome.

[1] STRIEDER, *Hessische Gelehrten-Geschichte*, III., Göttingen, 1783, 413 *seq.* ; MENZEL, VIII., 301 *seq.* ; ROMMEL, *Leibnitz und Landgraf Ernst von Hessen*, 2 vols., Frankfort, 1847 ; RÄSS, VI., 465 *seq.*, and especially KRATZ, *loc. cit.*

[2] Brief of February 17, 1652, in FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 98.

[3] MENTZ, II., 205.

[4] See the **Osservazioni*, 188, Vat. Lib., quoted above, p. 133, n. 3.

[5] Original of *letter, dated Rheinfels, February 16, 1654, in *Barb.* 3631, n. 64, Vat. Lib.

On January 30th, 1648, a peace treaty between Spain and the United States of the Netherlands was signed at Münster, but that settlement was so disadvantageous for the Catholic Church in Holland that on this occasion also the nuncio lodged a protest in the name of the Pope.[1] The Spaniards had almost completely kept the negotiations from the knowledge of the representative of the Holy See,[2] because they could obtain no advantage for religion. As a matter of fact Spain ended by renouncing its full sovereignty over the almost wholly Catholic parts of Brabant, Flanders and Limburg, which it ceded to the States General, and for its own territory it consented to silent toleration of Protestantism. This situation was ruthlessly exploited by the States General. Scarcely had the Treaty of Münster been signed when the Bishop of Ghent saw his diocese swept by a flood of preachers, whereas at the very same time Holland refused to admit Spanish priests, even though they were duly provided with passports.[3] Already in May, 1648, an order of the States General had been issued throughout the newly acquired provinces for the removal from the churches of images, statues and other ornaments. At Bois-le-Duc all Church property was confiscated and the expulsion of priests and religious was a daily occurrence. All the remonstrances of the Spanish Government on the subject proved as unavailing [4] as the protest against the illegal oppression of the Catholics in the county of Lingen. Nevertheless nuncio Chigi continued to work in favour of the Dutch Catholics by diplomatic means [5] but the results amounted to next to nothing.

In July, 1648, a synod of Dutch preachers expatiated on the dangers threatening from Rome and demanded fresh measures against the Catholics, but the States General declared that the

[1] This protest, which was strictly kept secret for the sake of the Dutch Catholics who were already hard pressed enough, has only become known through BROM (III., 437 *seq.*), *ibid.*, 489.

[2] BROM, III., 425 *seq.*

[3] HUBERT, 113, 158.

[4] HUBERT, 115; *cf.* BROM, 439 *seqq.*

[5] BROM, III., 446 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*

ordinances of August 30th, 1641, were adequate, in fact they agreed to a few "mitigations" of the decisions taken at that date: thus collections for Catholic purposes were no longer to be punishable by death and arrested Jesuits were not to be whipped out of the country; they were merely banished.[1] In 1651 the preachers raised fresh cries of alarm on the plea that there was reason to fear that, as in Ireland, the Catholics were planning a massacre of the Protestants; accordingly they demanded the withdrawal of the few privileges still enjoyed by the former as well as new penal laws and compulsory attendance at Protestant services. However, the States General rejected these measures as impossible of execution.

Though the preachers never ceased to clamour for the destruction of the Catholics, the Government refused to stir; there can be no doubt that this was due to consideration for the interests of trade.[2] The condition of the Catholics in the Dutch Republic nevertheless remained an anxious one and it became increasingly difficult to minister to their spiritual needs. When, in 1649, James de la Torre, Archbishop of Ephesus and Coadjutor of Rovenius, the Vicar Apostolic, wished to hold a confirmation at Zijdewind in North Holland, the Catholics had to guard him from insults. The consequence was the banishment of the Archbishop and the Catholic priest, the destruction of the chapel and a fine of 8,300 florins for the burgher who had called upon the Catholics to protect their chief pastor.[3] The tribulations of the Dutch Catholics continued during the ensuing years.[4]

(2.)

Far worse were the sufferings of the Catholics in many parts of Great Britain, but there also they maintained

[1] Even the representative of the province of Holland protested against this measure; *cf.* KNUTTEL, I., 251.

[2] HUBERT, 250, 253 *seq.*

[3] See *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem*, III., 161 *seqq.* On Jesuit missions in Holland, *cf.* PONCELET, *Les Jésuites en Belgique*, 33 *seqq.*

[4] BLOCK, V., 53, 133.

themselves with " wonderful fortitude ".[1] In the first years of Innocent X. that unhappy monarch, Charles I., had given his Catholic subjects some hope of religious toleration, as he had done under Urban VIII. On one occasion, in the year 1646,[2] he observed to his Catholic wife that if the adherents of the old faith would stand by him with all their hearts, he would promise them freedom of conscience on his royal word. At the beginning of June, 1647, he caused a letter to be presented to Innocent X. through Somerset, in which he prayed for pecuniary assistance and hinted at recognition by himself both of papal supremacy and the Catholic faith.[3] The Pope replied that since his assistance was chiefly given to Catholic princes, he prayed that God would enlighten the King so that he might find the way to the true Church.[4] When a *rapprochement* took place between Cromwell and the King, Charles I. and his army were inclined to extend the general religious freedom to those Catholics also who were prepared to take a modified oath of allegiance. A draft for an oath of this kind, after it had been examined by some Catholic theologians, was dispatched to Rome for the Pope's approval, together with a petition bearing

[1] This is the opinion of the strict Protestant MEYER (*Propaganda*, II., 9).

[2] March 12, 1646, GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 443.

[3] LINGARD, X., 418 *seq.* In 1645 Glamorgan showed to the Irish nuncio Rinuccini the heading of a royal letter which reads thus: " Beatissimo Patri Innocentio Decimo " (AIAZZI, 81). A royal letter of recommendantion for Glamorgan to Rinuccini of April 30, 1645, *ibid.*, 82. Already on May 10, 1645, the nuncio of Naples was told in a *letter that the English oath was being studied by the Inquisition (*Nunziat. di Napoli*, 39 A., Pap. Sec. Arch.). A letter from London, July 19, 1647, according to which the Independents were ready to grant limited religious liberty also to the Catholics, is found in RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, III³., 281.

[4] *Brief of June 29, 1647, in *Innocentii X. Epist.*, II.–III., 188, Pap. Sec. Arch. The hope of the conversion of Charles is also expressed in Servantius, *Diaria of March 12, 1649, Pap. Sec. Arch. The Catholic zeal of the Duchess of Buckingham is commended in a *Brief of June 24, 1647, in *Innocentii X. Epist.*, II.–III., 186, *ibid.*

the signatures of fifty laymen.[1] Rome, however, could not countenance the fact that laymen should presume to decide whether in certain circumstances the Pope could absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to the secular power, hence the Roman Congregation rejected the petition.[2]

On the other hand after Urban VIII.'s death, Charles I. no longer counted so far as the destiny of England was concerned. Shortly before Innocent X.'s elevation the battle of Naseby, June 14th, 1645, had dealt a decisive blow to English kingship. From that moment Cromwell gradually became the real master of the country and though he lacked the royal title, he gathered more power in his hand than any English King had ever wielded [3]; in fact the title "Emperor of the British Isles" was actually suggested as an appropriate one.[4]

Cromwell's conduct after his victory could but fill the Catholics with anxious forebodings. On October 14th, 1645, his victorious army stood before the magnificent, strongly fortified castle of Basing House. Its owner, the Catholic Marquis of Winchester, had remained loyal to the King; "Loyalty House" was the Marquis' favourite name for his castle whereas his enemies nursed a particular hatred for it as "a nest of Romanists"; as for Cromwell, he looked upon himself, during the siege, as God's champion against the powers of darkness, against the idolaters sheltering behind these walls with their idols. "Let them that make them become like unto them, and all such as trust in them," he quoted from the psalm, in order to justify what followed the storming of the place. After the fall of the place there was no longer question of sparing the lives of either men or women. Six out of the ten priests who had found a refuge in the castle were killed on the spot, the others were reserved for the gallows and the knife and about a hundred of the defenders of the

[1] GARDINER, *Civil War*, III., 187.

[2] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 90; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 335.

[3] SAGREDO in LINGARD, XI., 55.

[4] A. D. MEYER, in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, X., Rome, 1907, 235.

castle were massacred.[1] A contemporary newspaper says that "the enemy desired no quarter and I believe that they had but little offered them; you must remember what they were; they were most of them Papists; therefore our muskets and our swords did show but little compassion".[2]

On the other hand the fears to which these events were bound to give rise were only partially realized in the sequel. In 1646 three priests were indeed executed because of their priesthood but after that, up till 1679, only the years 1651 and 1654 witnessed the death of one priest each, out of all the Catholic clergy.[3] But the position of the Catholics remained an exceedingly difficult one. To what extent they had been impoverished, as a result of the plunderings and violences of the Civil War, is shown by an appeal addressed by the English Jesuits to the other Provinces of the Order in 1645. Their friends, we read, had been robbed by Parliament either of a large part of their property or even of the whole of it, so that they were no longer in a position to give the assistance on which they had to depend both at home and in Flanders; though 200 Jesuits still exercised their sacred functions, as best they could, from their hiding places and amid great privations, there was no possibility of providing for the maintenance of the remaining eighty; hence the foreign Provinces were asked to find employment for them either as teachers or in ministering to English Catholics abroad.[4] Ten years later, in the year of Innocent X.'s death, we learn from a Jesuit report from Lancashire and Staffordshire that the Fathers could be sure neither of revenue nor alms, by reason of the bad times and because the Catholics were ruined.[5] Yet, as another report informs us, notwithstanding the inhuman robberies committed by the heretics, and the utter destruction of their possessions, the faithful continued

[1] GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 344–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 347, n. 2.
[3] SPILLMANN, IV., 309, 319, 320 *seqq.*
[4] FOLEY, VII., 1; CXLIII., *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, CXLVII.

most loyally to do their duty to God and His ministers.[1] In 1653 the College of Saint-Omer [2] still numbered 126 pupils, mostly from the best families, "so little do English Catholics allow themselves to be deterred by the unhappy times from procuring the best education for their children."

Meanwhile the religious divisions among the Protestants were taking the most ominous forms. "At this time of lawlessness," Baillie wrote in 1643, "the disunion of the people grows week by week. The party of the Independents is on the increase, that of the Anabaptists is even more so, and both are surpassed by that of the Antinomians." [3] A publication of the time enumerates the following contemporary sects: the Independents, Brownists, Millenarians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Sceptics.[4] As early as 1641 [5] the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Giustiniani, expressed the opinion that in point of fact the religious disorders could hardly grow worse; persons from the dregs of the populace and even women appeared in the pulpit; there were as many religions as there were heads and any opinion is tolerated so long as it is not Catholic. The idea of universal toleration was bound to arise [6] but it is characteristic that a publication which went furthest in its demand for religious freedom nevertheless excludes Catholics, and this on the plea that they were idolaters, though the writer was in favour of the fines for non-attendance at Anglican services being remitted.[7] Among all the contemporary advocates of liberty of belief Jeremy Taylor is the only one to

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Annual report, *ibid.*, 1169.

[3] GARDINER, *Civil War*, I., 314.

[4] LINGARD, X., 192 note.

[5] BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 211.

[6] A. D. MEYER, *Der Toleranz gedanke im England der Stuarts: Hist. Zeitsch.*, CVIII. (1912), 254–294; GARDINER, I., 324–344; II., 136–140.

[7] Thus the author of *Liberty of conscience or the sole means to obtain peace and truth*, in GARDINER, I., 342.

concede to Catholics a qualified toleration.[1] In 1649 General Fairfax and his officers demanded from Parliament the abolition of all penal laws in connection with religion, with the exception, however, of Catholics, Anglicans and such sects as despise God or His word ; however, a petition of Cromwell of the same period makes no mention of a limitation of this kind.[2]

There are other reasons for thinking that in point of fact Cromwell was by no means opposed to the concession of liberty of religion.[3] Even as a military commander he had for ever the name of God and Scripture texts on his lips, after the manner of the Puritans, but if a man could serve his purposes he did not narrowly inquire into his religious opinions.[4] On one occasion, in 1652, he observed that he would rather see Islam tolerated than a child of God persecuted,[5] though it is not clear what he understood by a child of God. This observation was made by him during the discussion of a bill which, contrary to custom, did not expressly mention Catholics and Anglicans as excluded from religious toleration. However, the bill was conceived in the spirit of John Owen who was unwilling to grant to Catholics the right of freely holding religious assemblies.[6] In order to calm Protestant excitement which had arisen in consequence of rumours of fresh conspiracies by the Catholics, Cromwell had a priest executed in 1654, precisely because of his priesthood,[7] and on occasion he would indulge in violent language against the Pope.[8]

[1] MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 269. To the question of his opponent Cheynell, whether he admitted that anyone can be saved whether he lives and dies as a Turk, a Papist or a Socinian, Chillingworth, the champion of Tolerance answers : That he neither condemned nor absolved. GARDINER, I., 332.

[2] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 192.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 223 ; III., 107.

[4] GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 217 *seq.*, 295.

[5] *Ibid.*, 30.

[6] GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 26.

[7] *Ibid.*, 462 ; LINGARD, XI., 23.

[8] LINGARD, XI., 79, 108.

As a matter of fact on more than one occasion his words and actions belied all he had said in favour of religious toleration.[1]

Whatever may have been Cromwell's personal opinions, Parliament refused to grant toleration to the adherents of the old religion. When after Charles I.'s defeat a compromise had to be negotiated between the Presbyterians and the Independents, Cromwell brought in a bill which the House of Lords passed on October 13th, 1647; by its terms Presbyterianism was to have a privileged position though in such wise that those who held other opinions were not interfered with, so long as they did not disturb the peace, but even so toleration was withheld from those who professed the "popish religion", all those who did not take the standpoint of the Apostles' creed and the adherents of doctrines whom the law barred from the Communion. The fines for non-attendance at Church were to be maintained.[2]

The bill failed to pass through the Lower House, though it gave rise to a curious discussion.[3] The Independent Selden demanded toleration even for Catholics, since they too believed in Jesus Christ, whilst his sympathizer Marten asked why Catholics should not be tolerated, seeing that the Presbyterians were. They were told that Catholics were idolaters and acknowledged a foreigner as their Head. Whereupon Selden

[1] W. Holden Hutton (*The English Church from the accession of Charles I. to the death of Anne*, London, 1903, 150 *seqq.*) thus judges the tolerance of Cromwell: "It is difficult to avoid the dilemma of either convicting him of gross inconsistency or regarding him as a pure opportunist. Passage after passage from his letters and his speeches may be quoted to show his assertion of the right to complete freedom in belief. . . . But, on the other side, there are words as strong and acts much stronger. . . . The possession of religious ideals different from his own was an intolerable crime in his eyes. He could never really allow freedom of belief to Irish Romanists, or Scottish Presbyterians, or English Churchmen. . . . The Puritan position, as he himself saw it, was the only real Christianity for him."

[2] Gardiner, *Civil War*, III., 210 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 212 *seq.*

observed on the next day that veneration of Saints was not the same thing as adoration of Saints, whilst Marten told the Presbyterians that he preferred a single tyrant in a distant country to one in every parish and that the Protestant clergy fought the Catholic clergy solely because of their superior morality.[1] It goes without saying that these arguments proved unavailing. The Catholics, who had flocked in large numbers to the sitting, had presented a petition in which they sought to refute one of the most odious calumnies against their religion, that is, they protested against the accusation that according to Catholic teaching it was lawful to resist or to kill an excommunicated King. The petition was not even accepted.[2]

Nevertheless some hope seemed to dawn for the adherents of the ancient faith when on September 27th, 1650, Parliament repealed the penalties for non-attendance at Protestant services. Henceforth no one was to be fined for such neglect, provided he attended some religious service or other on Sundays and on holy days established by law, but in view of the fact that the prohibition of the Mass was maintained, this alleviation could not be of any great value for Catholics.[3] In February of that year the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were replaced by an assurance of loyalty to the Republic but the oath of 1643 was maintained; by this oath all those doctrines were denied which were considered as specifically Catholic dogmas, namely the Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, Purgatory, adoration of the Host, veneration of the crucifix and the Saints, justification by good works.[4] When the

[1] That the Protestant clergy detested the Catholic priests simply on account of their superior chastity. *Ibid.*, 212.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 396.

[4] "I, A. B., do abjure and renounce the Pope's supremacy and authority over the Catholic Church in general, and over myself in particular. And I believe, that there is not any Transubstantiation. . . . And I do also believe, that there is not any Purgatory, or that the Consecrated Host, crucifixes or images ought to be worshipped. . . . And I also believe, that salvation cannot be merited by works; and all doctrines in affirmation

royalists attempted a rising, a proclamation of April 26th, 1655, demanded the oath not only from the laity but from the priests also and the Jesuits; anyone refusing it was held to be a papist, forfeited two-thirds of his property and nearly all civil rights.[1] Consequently it was of no advantage that the laws against non-attendance at church no longer existed since the Catholics' money was taken from them on the ground of their refusal to abjure papal authority.[2] In 1650 the Government's revenue from confiscated Catholic property amounted to £62,000, the revenue from thirteen districts not being included in this total.[3] The possessions of the Catholics were considered a fruitful source from which the Government might relieve its need of money.[4] By a law of the same year, 1650, the same reward was promised for the discovery of priests or Jesuits and those who sheltered them as for the capture of a highwayman. Judges and accusers were once more busy; Catholics might have their houses searched at any hour of the day or night; however, only one of the arrested priests, Peter Wright, died at the executioner's hand, the others were deported.[5] In 1655 a fresh decree ordered all priests, under pain of death, to leave the Kingdom, and all Catholics were banished to within twenty miles of the capital.[6] In the so-called "Instrument of Government" which established Cromwell's Protectorate in 1653, the adherents of the old religion were excluded from toleration [7]; the same applies also to the Constitution of 1657.[8]

of the said points, I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, etc." RUSHWORTH, *Historical Collections*, V., 141; *The Month*, LXXXIV. (1895), 191; AIAZZI, 482–6. *Cf.* POLLEN in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI., 179; BRIDGETT in *The Month*, *loc. cit.*; GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, II., 322; LINGARD, X., 128.

[1] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, III., 225; LINGARD, X., 393.

[2] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, III., 224.

[3] LINGARD, X., 399.

[4] *Ibid.*, 397.

[5] *Ibid.*, 399.

[6] *Ibid.*, XI., 53.

[7] *Ibid.*. 18.

[8] *Ibid.*, 97. *Cf.* HUGHES, II., 55.

When after a ten years' interruption, Venice sent an ambassador to London, from September, 1655, till February, 1656, the latter reported home that the intention of the English Government was to rob the Catholics of their property whilst letting them have as many Masses as they might wish for.[1] Thus under Cromwell's Government the situation of the Catholics seemed to have become somewhat easier. In the following year [2] the French ambassador, Bordeaux, inferred from the forbearance of the Government, the number of priests in London, the crowds that attended the Embassy chapels, that it appeared that under the Protector, Catholics were better treated than under the governments that had gone before. This did not prevent the arrest, on one occasion, of 400 Catholics as they left the Venetian Embassy Chapel.[3] Inroads into the possessions of Catholics continued even beyond Innocent X.'s pontificate. When, in 1657, they were threatened with a fresh enforcement of the laws of 1655, they ended by offering to buy themselves off with a gift of £50,000 a year; however, Cromwell demanded £80,000.[4]

After the execution of Charles I., his son, the future Charles II., disputed the Protector's power for some time. Towards the Pope and the Catholics he adopted at that time the same attitude as his father. In 1649 he dispatched to Rome Robert Meynell, with letters of recommendation [5] to all such persons as, in his judgment, might further his hope of recovering the throne. In a letter of Lord Cottington to Cardinal Capponi, the young prince promised to show favour to his Catholic subjects if the Pope were willing to lend him pecuniary assistance; as a matter of fact he also hoped to influence the Catholic Powers in his favour through the Pope.[6]

[1] *Sagredo* in GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, 225.

[2] October 5 (September 25), 1656, *ibid.*, 226.

[3] *Ibid.*, 225.

[4] The successor of the Venetian ambassador Sagredo, the agent Giavarina, on October 5, 1657, in BROSCH, *Cromwell*, 429, note.

[5] Of July 28 (August 7), 1649, in GARDINER, I., 79.

[6] *Ibid.*, 219.

However, these efforts proved unfortunate for the young pretender, for a memorial apparently addressed to Innocent X. by Meynell, fell into the hands of the republicans and its publication [1] could not but grievously damage the royal cause in the eyes of the Protestants.[2] The document stated that it was a well-known fact that Charles had cherished sincere leanings towards the Catholic faith, even whilst his father was alive; he had accordingly promised to the Irish Catholics not only freedom to practise their religion but even the restoration of their property.[3] At that time the young prince was under the most diverse influences and it cannot be said that he stood like a rock among these contrary currents. In 1650 the royalists of London advised him to give to the Catholics a secret promise of religious freedom [4] whilst the Scottish divines described such a step as sinful.[5] Charles fell back on equivocations: to the Cavaliers, who took up his cause, he promised freedom of conscience [6] but to the Scots the execution of the anti-Catholic laws, with the exception of the agreements with the Irish.[7] After his defeat by Cromwell at Worcester in 1651 and during his flight, he had some discussions with a Catholic priest to whom he gave to understand that he would return to the ancient Church if the Pope would take up his cause. Innocent X. did not allow himself to be deluded, though Charles renewed his promise to protect the English Catholics and the Irish, if the Pope and the Catholic Powers would intervene on his behalf.[8]

[1] On July 16, 1650.

[2] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 299 *seq.* On the authenticity of the document, *ibid.*, 300, note.

[3] LINGARD, XI., 70 *seq.*

[4] GARDINER, I., 217 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 220.

[6] *Ibid.*, 221.

[7] *Ibid.*, 226.

[8] *Ibid.*, II., 95. *Cf.* LINGARD, XI., 70, note. According to the contemporary testimony of the archæologist Thomas Blount (*ob.* 1679), it was the Catholics who helped the young King on his adventurous flight for safety: "To which I shall add

Even before this he had held out similar promises to the Catholics.[1]

(3.)

The opening years of Innocent X.'s reign were decisive ones both for the fate of Charles I. and for Catholic Ireland. Until then the fortune of arms had smiled on the Irish; apparently little was to be feared from a divided England, and Catholic worship was once more publicly celebrated. But instead of commanding England's respect by a firm and decided attitude and thus compelling her to concede religious liberty, as the Old-Irish and the papal envoy Scarampi desired, recourse was had to the weakly contrivance of negotiations with the King and the Viceroy.[2] These negotiations continued even after the armistice of Castlemartin in 1643. At Oxford Charles I. had only given vague promises, and on September 6th, 1644, the negotiations were resumed at Dublin with his representative, the Viceroy Ormond. The

but this one circumstance, that it was performed by persons for the most part of that religion which has long suffered under an imputation (laid on them by some mistaken zealots) of disloyalty to their sovereign." BLOUNT, *Boscobel*, I., edit. by C. G. THOMAS, London, 1894, 78. *Cf. The Month*, CXLVII. (1926), 212.

[1] GARDINER, I., 270.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXIX., 337 *seqq.*, of this work and the Report of Rinuccini, in AIAZZI, 391–3. *Ibid.*, on p. 397 we read: "Io trovai nel ingresso le cose spirituali in buonissimo termine e l'esercizio della religione splendido e bene ordinato." *Cf.* "*Rerum Hibernicarum ab initio postremi belli gestorum et praesentis status epitome ad Innocentium X. auctore Carolo Francisco Invernitio Mediolanensi," 1645, *Barb.* 2242, Vatican Library. There it is stated, p. 51[b], that after the cessation of the persecution a great many religious returned to Ireland: 1,000 (?) Franciscans, 400 Dominicans, 40 calced and 20 discalced Carmelites, 40 Capuchins, 80 Augustinians, 10 Benedictines, 60 Cistercians; the Jesuits worked with great success, especially among the young. The Pope is asked to help Ireland; he would suffer great loss if Parliament and the Scots were victorious.

Irish demanded the repeal of all the laws against their religious freedom and against appeals to Rome, as well as the suppression of the Statute of *Praemunire*. Meanwhile one party headed by Muskerry was of opinion that the anti-religious laws would fall into abeyance of their own accord once Charles I. had again a free hand, hence all they demanded was a guarantee for the safety of Irishmen's life and property. Thereupon Charles instructed Ormond to promise that, to begin with, the penal laws would not be applied and as soon as he should have recovered his throne, with the help of the Irish, he would abolish them altogether, but the Statute of *Praemunire* would have to remain.[1] Ormond did not relish the risk of acting as a go-between in negotiations of this kind, consequently he offered his resignation to the king, but all that Charles would consent to was to appoint Herbert, Earl of Raglan, as his assistant. With Raglan a fresh personality appears on the stage which once more involved the Pope in the Irish complications.

Raglan, since the beginning of 1645 Earl of Glamorgan, was a fervent Catholic and like his father, the Marquis of Worcester, an enthusiastic champion of the King, convinced as he was that in serving the latter, he was defending a righteous cause against the forces of revolution. To free his Church from the fetters of anti-religious laws, to equip an Irish army for the support of the King in England, to arm half Europe on his behalf—these were Glamorgan's chivalrous plans, or rather dreams. Charles I. approved his efforts: through this Catholic mediator he hoped to win the confidence of the Irish and once they were won over by his promises, his Irish regiments would be free for employment in England. For the realization of his plans Glamorgan set his hopes on the Pope and the Catholic princes, for Charles I. himself had no money for such far-reaching plans. However, if the King's position was hopeless, were it only because of his lack of money, it was made worse by the circumstance that the task of raising an Irish army was entrusted by him to Ormond, who

[1] GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 114 *seq.*

was hopelessly unequal to the task, as well as by his constant fear of offending the English by his reliance on the Irish. This was made evident shortly before Urban VIII.'s death. On May 13th, 1644, the commander of the English and Scottish troops, Monroe, had taken Belfast. To oppose him the supreme council of the allied Catholics placed the whole of its fighting power at the disposal of the Viceroy Ormond, but the latter did not dare to accept the offer without being ordered to do so by the King and Charles lacked the courage to give the order.[1] Thus were the Irish taught that they had nothing to hope from negotiations with the King.

On April 1st, 1644, under the Great Seal, Charles I. appointed Glamorgan commander of three armies which were to consist of Englishmen, Irishmen, and foreign mercenaries. He was authorized to raise money from the royal domains and to bestow titles of nobility at his discretion, his son was to be given the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, with a dowry of three hundred thousand pounds, whilst Glamorgan himself would become Duke of Somerset and a member of the highest Orders. For his negotiations with the Pope and the Catholic princes, who would have to contribute thirty thousand pounds a month for the maintenance of the army, Glamorgan was given royal letters in which he himself was to insert the names: this precaution would enable the King to deny his servant, should the affair come to light, a subterfuge of which Charles did eventually avail himself.[2] On January 12th, 1645, the King granted an even wider concession: any faculty, even if conveyed by word of mouth alone, was to have the same efficacy as if it had been given under the Great Seal, even if it should go beyond the letter of the law.[3] The Supreme Council of the Irish Confederates were satisfied with these powers: at Kilkenny, on August 25th, 1645, they entered into a secret understanding with Glamorgan which guaranteed to the Irish Catholics freedom of religion and the possession of all

[1] *Ibid.*, 109–111.

[2] *Ibid.*, 117 *seqq.*; LINGARD, X., 165, 410.

[3] LINGARD, X., 411.

churches not actually in the hands of the Protestants; in return they bound themselves, and that openly, to raise ten thousand men for the King and to devote two-thirds of the Church's property to his defence.[1]

It is possible that when he made these concessions Glamorgan exceeded his powers [2]; however, be this as it may, they would not be considered adequate in as much as, for one thing, they rested on a secret, not a public treaty and, secondly, because they did not settle the burning question of the Church's property. Moreover Ormond raised objections against the agreement which led to the further concession that future royal guarantees in respect of religion would be considered as an integral part of the agreement just concluded and that instead of any formal guarantees the Irish should be satisfied with Ormond's written assurance that the Catholics would not be molested in their possession of the churches they held at the time, until Parliament should give a definitive judgment.[3] The papal envoy Scarampi attached no value to these agreements, on the contrary he now despaired of the possibility of obtaining anything for the Catholics by political action; accordingly he made it his chief concern to further the religious life in Ireland, and this he did with success.[4] In Rome also the agreement was criticized on the ground that it only bore the King's signature.[5]

Meanwhile the situation had undergone a change in so far as the Pope's influence in Irish affairs had become more effective. On the other hand Queen Henrietta's pleadings with Innocent X. met with but small success. From Paris she did all she could for her husband, pleaded with Queen Anne and Mazarin for support, promised freedom of conscience to the English and Irish Catholics in Charles I.'s name and dispatched

[1] LINGARD, X., 166; BELLESHEIM, *Irland*, II., 403.

[2] According to GARDINER (II., 119) the plenipotentiary powers did not refer to the conclusion of peace but to the negotiations with the Pope and the Catholic Powers.

[3] LINGARD, X., 167.

[4] BELLESHEIM, II., 405.

[5] *Ibid.*, 425.

Kenelm Digby to the Pope as her personal envoy. In Rome, Digby raised hopes of the King's conversion, but all he obtained from the Pope was twenty thousand crowns to buy ammunition for the army.[1] The Irish were more successful; already at the end of 1644 they had dispatched Richard Bellings to Rome to request the Pope and Propaganda [2] to send a formal nuncio to Ireland. Thereupon Scarampi was recalled on May 5th, 1645, though at the Pope's request he remained until the middle of 1646 as adviser to Battista Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, who had been appointed nuncio.[3]

Rinuccini set out in the first days of April, 1645, but he only landed on Irish soil on 21st October. He was detained for a long time in Paris where Queen Henrietta, advised as she was by friends of Ormond and full of prejudices against the Irish, refused to give audience to the papal representative, whilst Mazarin put off paying the subsidies destined for the Irish.[4] Twelve days before his departure from France the nuncio dispatched to Ireland a ship with a cargo of arms, whilst he personally took charge of considerable sums of money.[5] Later on, too, Innocent X. supplied the Irish with considerable subsidies [6] and Spain also lent them aid.[7]

[1] GARDINER, II., 121, 127, 378.

[2] On November 23, 1644, BELLESHEIM, II., 409.

[3] *Ibid.*, 406.

[4] *Ibid.*, 415 *seqq.* About Rinuccini. *Cf.* G. AIAZZI, *Nunziatura in Irlanda di Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini*, Firenze, 1844. His Instruction (AIAZZI, XXXV. *seqq.*, LIII., *seqq.*) was written by Albizzi, as the latter informed *Chigi on July 7, 1644 (Bibl. Chigi, Rome, A. III., 55). *Letters of recommendation for Rinuccini to the Bishops and clergy of Ireland in the *Epist.*, I., p. 18, Pap. Sec. Arch., to the Governor of Belgium of March 2, 1645, *ibid.* It was feared in Rome that Queen Henrietta would not accept the present of the Golden Rose (the Secretary of State to Rinuccini, July 3, 1645, Rospigliosi Archives, Rome).

[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 420.

[6] *Ibid.*, 440, 450. *Cf.* AIAZZI, XV. On the readiness of the Pope to support Ireland see *Brief of March 25, 1644, to the Spanish nuncio in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 347, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[7] See p. 158.

Rinuccini's reports give a very clear idea of the Irish situation ; they draw a gloomy picture of division and discord. Two parties stood face to face : on the one hand the Old-Irish, keenly religious and putting all their hopes solely on decisive action and the exploitation of the successes so far achieved ; on the other hand there were the Anglo-Irish, that is, the descendants of Englishmen who had come into the country during the Middle Ages, had acquired Church property during the period of the religious troubles which they were afraid they would have to surrender should the Church in Ireland be once more publicly recognized. Englishmen in thought and feeling, what they wanted before all else was peace and reconciliation, and their influence, Rinuccini reports, was great. The Supreme Council of the Confederates consisted almost exclusively of Anglo-Irishmen ; it was due to their influence that the armistice came about during which the war fever abated, though in its place the strife between the two parties raged all the more fiercely in meetings, sermons and pamphlets. One of the two leading Irish generals, Eugene O'Neill, was on the side of the Old-Irish whilst the other, Preston, sided with the Anglo-Irish.[1]

The arrival of the nuncio, though seemingly so ardently longed for, came as a heavy blow for the less intransigent party, so much so that Bellings, whose secret instructions ordered him to request the dispatch of a nuncio, remained almost speechless for several days on hearing that a nomination had actually been made.[2] On the other hand the real cause of

The *Letter of the Secretary of State to Rinuccini on July 3, 1645, lays stress on the fact that the Pope does not pursue political aims in Ireland, but " solamente la propagazione della religione cattolica senza un minimo pensiero di pregiudicare al dominio temporale di chi si sia ". Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

[7] Bellesheim, II., 450.

[1] Report of Rinuccini after his return from Ireland in Aiazzi, 391–4. Limerick remained outside the Catholic confederation ; *ibid.*, LV. Innocent X. *commends the city on March 19, 1646, for giving up its neutrality. *Epist.*, II.-III., 31, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] Aiazzi, 394 *seq.*

the dissensions had been fully grasped in Rome and the nuncio was accordingly empowered to drop the restoration of Church property.[1] However, a great many Irishmen were not interested in dispensations and spiritual favours. The Old-Irish, Rinuccini wrote, saw in the nuncio the minister of God and the Young-Irish the dispenser of a prince's money [2] and they would rather have had papal subsidies than a papal nuncio. They did not dare to publish the armistice with Ormond till after Rinuccini's arrival for fear the papal envoy might return at once to Rome with the money of which he was the bearer.[3]

Another serious difficulty, according to Rinuccini, arose out of the fact that the Supreme Council of the federated Irish included forty persons, unanimity of votes was required for the validity of its decisions, and small matters as well as big ones were submitted to its decisions, with the result that its members were overwhelmed with work, and since the Council was bound to deal with Ormond, it showed a tendency to send as envoys men that were acceptable to him, hence only friends of Ormond were admitted into the Council ; in consequence of this conduct the Old-Irish were further irritated and the cleavage between the two parties grew steadily.[4]

On reaching Ireland the nuncio had some serious representations to make, in connection with the peace negotiations. To the Supreme Council he pointed out what a bad impression would be made throughout the whole world if, in the published peace conditions, the Catholic Irish did little more than lightly allude to religion.[5] He found Glamorgan willing to fall in with his views. The Earl was prepared to promise in the

[1] "Per istimolare viepiù i cattolici alla concordia e proseguire nell'impresa, assicuri tutti coloro che posseggono beni ecclesiastici, che non li verranno tolti, nè per motivo di essi soffriranno veruna molestia, ma anzi saranno loro confermati . . ." Secret Instruction of Rinuccini in Aiazzi, LV. ; *cf.* XLVII.

[2] *Ibid.*, 395.

[3] *Ibid.*, 396.

[4] Report of Rinuccini of March 1, 1646, *ibid.*, 104 *seq.*

[5] Report of December 23, 1645, *ibid.*, 76 *seq.*

name of the King that in future the Viceroy of Ireland would always be a Catholic, that the Bishops would sit in the Irish Parliament, and many more things of this kind.[1]

However, the conversations soon came to an unexpected termination. This was due to the agreement with Glamorgan coming to the knowledge of the English Parliament. About the middle of October, 1645, the titular Archbishop of Tuam was killed in an affray. In his carriage was found a copy of the agreement. To save appearances Ormond had the Earl arrested,[2] whilst in a message to both Houses of Parliament, Charles I. told the falsehood that he had given Glamorgan no powers beyond the levying of troops, nor authorized him to enter into any negotiations without Ormond's knowledge; that he acknowledged no agreement with the Irish Catholics and had ordered proceedings to be taken against Glamorgan. When Ormond reminded him of the wide powers granted by him to the Earl of Glamorgan, the King replied that he had no recollection of his having done so; he may possibly have accredited Glamorgan with the Irish but he had never authorized him to enter into negotiations without Ormond's knowledge.[3]

Whilst this letter was being written by the King to Parliament, Glamorgan had already been set at liberty on bail. In order to justify himself, he made public a secret clause of the treaty which stated that the King was not to be bound beyond his own good pleasure.

Even now Glamorgan continued to negotiate with the nuncio. The discussions turned round a peace project devised by Kenelm Digby, Queen Henrietta's envoy, and Innocent X.[4] The draft demanded for the Irish complete freedom to practise their religion, restoration of Church property, an independent Parliament and the admission of Catholics to all offices.

[1] *Ibid.*, 76; GARDINER, *Civil War*, II., 406 *seq.*

[2] Rinuccini, January 1, 1646, in AIAZZI, 85; BELLESHEIM, II., 424 *seq.*; LINGARD, X., 167.

[3] LINGARD, X., 171 *seq.*; *cf.* 408–419, where the proofs of Charles' duplicity are grouped together.

[4] AIAZZI, 459 *seqq.*, 462 *seq.*; *cf.* 96.

A yearly subsidy was guaranteed to the King but religious liberty was likewise demanded for English Catholics. Glamorgan allowed himself to be persuaded to withdraw his draft in favour of that of the Pope,[1] in fact he even wished to go to Rome in order to lay the Irish situation before the Pontiff.[2] Meanwhile, no decisive result could be reached in Glamorgan's negotiations with the Supreme Council, because Rinuccini was not in possession of the original text of Digby's peace plan; none the less the Supreme Council insisted, notwithstanding the nuncio's arguments to the contrary,[3] on concluding peace before the arrival of the papal formula.[4]

On March 18th, 1646, Glamorgan learnt that the King had publicly disavowed both his person and his peace proposals.[5] Thus there was an end to his rôle as a mediator even though for the time being he himself did not take the King's declaration too seriously. In any case there could be no question of sending an Irish army to England as Glamorgan had planned.[6] The King had practically lost all authority, so that nothing was left to Ormond except to choose whether to throw in his lot with the Puritans in England or the Catholics of Ireland. He adopted the latter alternative; accordingly, on March 28th, 1646, peace was concluded between him and the Irish Supreme Council. By its terms the Catholics were relieved from the oath of supremacy and from all such penalties, fines and such disadvantages as profession of the Catholic faith entailed. Thus was peace at last realized after endless discussions and plannings, but it was a peace that could not give universal satisfaction. The concessions in the religious sphere only eased the situation of individual Catholics, as a body, Catholics were not guaranteed the possession of their churches and other Church property, in fact, the final settlement of the religious question was deferred until a message should have come from the King. It is easy to see the reasons why such a peace was kept secret, especially from the nuncio; it was only made

[1] *Ibid.*, 94 *seq.*; *cf.* 91.
[2] *Ibid.*, 159; GARDINER, II., 421.
[3] AIAZZI, 99. [4] *Ibid.*, 98. [5] GARDINER, II., 422.
[6] *Ibid.*, 423, 425 *seq.*

public on July 30th, 1646, when it was criticized from all sides.[1]

The disappointment of the clergy was all the more bitter as during the whole of 1646 the Catholic cause had prospered and as recently as June 5th, 1646, O'Neill had won a brilliant victory over the Scotch at Benburb in Ulster.[2] The Archbishop of Dublin and Cashel, together with six Bishops and six Provincials of Orders lamented the event in a letter to Louis XIV. who had sent important contributions [3] The Irish people would not allow the treaty to be read and the clergy refused to pay its taxes.

In view of such a situation the Supreme Council had to make very large promises in the hope of winning over Rinuccini,[4] but it was in vain that it invoked the help of Ormond, now its confederate. Kilkenny indeed gave the Viceroy a solemn reception, but the assembly of nobles convened at Cashel refused to admit him, and Clonmel shut its gates against him. On the other hand the nuncio entered Kilkenny at the head of an army, the peace treaty was declared null and void, the Supreme Council thrown into prison and another elected in its place on 26th September.[5] This attitude of the Catholics was to a large extent the result of a convention of the clergy which had opened at Waterford on 12th August; that assembly declared that the peace treaty was incompatible with their previous oath, namely that they would do all that was in their power for the preservation of religion. Rinuccini dispatched his auditor, Massari, Dean of Fermo, to Rome, to report to the Pope.[6]

[1] GARDINER, II., 540; Report of Rinuccini about the peace, Waterford, August 16, 1646, in AIAZZI, 153–7.

[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 433. Rinuccini sent the captured standards to Rome where they remained in St. Peter's till the pontificate of Alexander VII.; *ibid.*, 434.

[3] *Ibid.*, 427.

[4] GARDINER, II., 541 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 543 *seq.*; AIAZZI, 158.

[6] Rinuccini, August 16 and September 12, 1646, in AIAZZI, 155 *seq.*; BELLESHEIM, II., 435.

Thus was Ormond forced to realize that his attempt to lean on the Catholics had failed. Accordingly he passed over to the parliamentary side, ready either to prosecute the war or to withdraw from his post at a sign from Parliament, should the King consent to his resignation. This clause delayed his retreat for a considerable time.[1]

If in 1646 the position of the Irish was a favourable one,[2] it grew steadily more and more desperate in the following year. It was a bad omen when an advance on Dublin failed in December, 1646,[3] and this not least in consequence of the lack of concord between the two army leaders Preston and O'Neill, in fact the former went so far as to contemplate sending O'Neill and the nuncio as prisoners to Dublin.[4] A grave danger likewise arose out of the fact that since February 6th, 1647, Ormond was negotiating with the English Parliament with a view to surrendering to the latter Ireland's strong places. On June 28th, 1647, he surrendered Dublin to the enemies of his King in return for a large sum of money; having done so he left Ireland. Henceforth Catholics were forbidden, under pain of death, to spend were it only one night in the Irish capital, and death and confiscation of property was to be the penalty for harbouring a Jesuit or a priest.[5] To fill the cup of misfortune Preston suffered a defeat near Trim in the second half of the year; Taafe was defeated at Knocknamus [6] and the Province of Munster was ravaged with fire and sword by the parliamentary troops under Inchiquin. Appalling horrors marked the storming of Cashel; after the fall of Cork all Catholics were forced to leave the city and none might buy the right to stay even at the price of apostasy.[7] To save itself the Supreme Council conceived the

[1] Gardiner, II., 545 *seqq.*

[2] Rinuccini in Aiazzi, 287.

[3] Report on this of December 29, 1646, in Aiazzi, 177–183. *Cf.* Gardiner, II., 576; Lingard, X., 191.

[4] Bellesheim, II., 437.

[5] *Ibid.*, 440, 442.

[6] *Ibid.*, 442, 447.

[7] *Ibid.*, 442 *seqq.*, 444 *seq.*

idea of looking for a patron abroad. To this end it was decided to dispatch envoys, of course in vain, to Innocent X., Louis XIV. and Philip IV. Rinuccini neither favoured nor discountenanced the plan of papal patronage, but the Secretary of State instructed him [1] that in view of the jealousies of the Princes, the great distance and the exhaustion of the pontifical exchequer, the plan could not be carried out. The Ormondists desired a French protectorate in the hope of bringing over to England the Prince of Wales who was staying with Queen Henrietta in France, and to whom Ormond would have acted as companion and guide.[2] Rinuccini was but little pleased with the choice of the envoys who were to go to France because two of their number, Muskerry and Browne, were opponents of his and only the third, Antrim, belonged to his party; however, he obtained a promise from the General Assembly that no decision affecting religion would be made without the Pope's consent.[3]

Meanwhile Muskerry and Browne were pressing Queen Henrietta to appoint Ormond lieutenant without waiting for the Pope and to sanction an understanding between Inchiquin and the Confederates. The Queen gave her consent and pawned jewels to the value of thirty thousand pounds for the support of Ormond.[4] Shortly before this Inchiquin, until then a bitter enemy of the Irish, had unexpectedly gone over to the King's side: accordingly Ormond's party resolved to conclude an armistice with him. Vainly did the opposite party urge that this was precisely the right moment for attacking Inchiquin and rendering him harmless; if this were done the other commanders of the parliamentary troops would not be able to hold the field for long. Rinuccini, who was unwilling to be

[1] On July 22, 1647, in Aiazzi, 475 *seq.*

[2] Bellesheim, II., 447.

[3] Gardiner, III., 355, 413. The nuncio did not expect anything from the Queen: "Quanto alla Regina non bisogna sperar mai de lei se non concetti perniciosi alla religione, poichè è totalmente in mano di Germen [Jermyn], di Digby e d'altri eretici." January 29, 1648, in Aiazzi, 294.

[4] Gardiner, III., 414.

present at the negotiations at Kilkenny, vainly urged his objections in writing: the fatal treaty was concluded, which four Irish Archbishops and ten Bishops described as the ruination of the Catholic religion and their native land. The Supreme Council countered their further declaration that the armistice could not be observed with a safe conscience by ordering General Preston to take forcible proceedings against the recalcitrants.[1]

The course of events made it evident that the ruin of Ireland could not be long delayed. None of Rinuccini's counsels and warnings had borne fruit; believing his personal safety threatened, he took to flight and on May 27th, 1648, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication and interdict against the adherents of the armistice.[2] The Supreme Council appealed against this sentence, the immediate result being that the national defect of the Irish, lack of unity, broke out into enmities which created irretrievable confusion. Seven of the Bishops supported the nuncio, seven were against him, some defended the justice of the censures whilst others condemned them. The dispute spread to the Orders; divines and canonists argued for and against the nuncio whilst the common people no longer knew whom to believe.[3] Rinuccini had to flee a second time from Preston; he crossed the Shannon by night in disguise and sought a refuge in Galway.[4] His attempt to convene a synod there was frustrated by the Supreme Council who barred the roads and threatened him with imprisonment.[5] Galway had to endure all the horrors of a siege until it surrendered, and its besieger, Clanricarde, withdrew after payment of a ransom.[6] In addition to all this Irishmen now turned their weapons against Irishmen. O'Neill concluded an armistice with the parliamentary generals, Jones and Monk respectively, in Dublin and Ulster, Preston

[1] Bellesheim, II., 451 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 452.
[3] *Ibid.*, 452–8.
[4] *Ibid.*, 453.
[5] *Ibid.*, 457.
[6] *Ibid.*, 458; Lingard, X., 289.

allied himself with Inchiquin in support of the Supreme Council against O'Neill, in fact things came to such a pass that the ablest of all the Irish generals, O'Neill, was denounced as a rebel and a traitor.[1]

The Holy See had good grounds, in a Brief of August 18th, 1648, to exhort the Supreme Council to concord.[2] An embassy composed of the Bishop of Ferns and Count Nicolas Plunkett which had set out for Rome in February, brought this message from Rome to Ireland towards the end of November. It came much too late,[3] the ground was prepared for Ormond. On September 29th, 1648, the latter returned to Ireland. At Kilkenny he was solemnly received by the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel and by them installed in his office as Viceroy.[4] Rinuccini, who had been ordered by the Supreme Council to leave Ireland, now announced that since the Holy See kept no nuncios with Protestant rulers, his nunciature was at an end. He left Ireland on March 2nd, 1649 [5]: his mission had been a complete failure. Innocent X. nevertheless gave him a kindly reception [6] whilst a few Irish Bishops proposed him for the cardinalate [7] and the Bishop of Clonfert described him to the Pope as "the luminary and pillar of the struggling Irish".[8]

On January 19th, 1649, the Catholic Confederates concluded a treaty of peace with Ormond in which the latter guaranteed liberty of conscience and an independent Irish Parliament. In return the Confederates were to furnish Ormond with an army of fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be employed, in the first instance, in the conquest of Dublin.[9]

[1] LINGARD, X., 289.
[2] **Epist.*, IV.-VI., n. 41, Pap. Sec. Arch.
[3] BELLESHEIM, II., 459 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 458.
[5] *Ibid.*, 459, 461.
[6] *Ibid.*, 462; *cf.* 466.
[7] *Ibid.*, 468 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 14 *seq.*, 23; LINGARD, X., 290.

Of the rights of the Church in Ireland there is no mention in the treaty ; all that it grants to the Catholics is the possession of their churches until such time as the King would give a definitive judgment. The Archbishop of Tuam and seven other Bishops forthwith proclaimed the peace by means of pastoral letters.[1]

(4.)

Thus the whole of Ireland had taken sides against Parliament and in favour of the King. The commanders of the parliamentary army, Jones at Dublin, Monk at Belfast, Coote in Londonderry, were almost completely confined within the area of these towns, nearly the whole of the rest of Ireland stood by the King and a considerable army was about to be placed under the command of the royal lieutenant. The Prince of Wales was invited to cross over to Ireland and he seemed not unwilling to accept the invitation.[2]

The English Parliament anxiously watched these developments. In close proximity to England a dangerous Power seemed to be rising and the threatening spectre of the invasion of the country by the hated bands of wild Irishmen appeared to take a tangible form. The peril had to be conjured and Ireland so utterly crushed that she would never rise again. Parliament indeed adopted a resolution that the natives of Ireland were neither to be exterminated nor deprived of their possessions,[3] but the mere fact that such a resolution was deemed necessary speaks only too eloquently. For the subjection of Ireland choice was made of England's most tried military captain, Oliver Cromwell, and Cromwell was prepared for every violence, nor did he for a moment entertain the notion of restoring peace by means of negotiations and treaties with the Irish Catholics. He assumed the supreme command on March 30th, 1649, but refused to embark until

[1] Bellesheim, II., 460.
[2] Lingard, X., 291.
[3] Gardiner, I., 30.

he had assured himself that adequate supplies had been provided for his troops. This entailed a delay of several months during which Parliament, by a series of negotiations, prevented the Irish from striking an immediate blow. A Catholic of the name of Winter, who was loyal to the King, was dispatched to the Confederates with promises of freedom of religion on condition that they rejected the Pope's claim to intervene in secular matters and raised an army of ten thousand men for the Republic.[1] The proposals of the envoy of the Catholics of Ulster, the Cistercian Abbot Crelly, got at least a hearing, though in the end Parliament rejected the proposal of religious toleration for the Irish Catholics.[2] So the decision was left to the sword. On August 15th, 1649, Cromwell landed at Dublin [3]; Ireland's doom was about to be sealed.

Shortly before this time the royalists, under Ormond, had undertaken an attack on the Irish capital, but they were defeated in the neighbourhood, at Rathmines, by the parliamentary general Jones.[4] However, Ormond did not despair. In order to keep open the road to Dublin, he strengthened the garrison of Drogheda, hence Cromwell's first blow was directed against that unhappy town. At the third assault his troops penetrated into the city after promising to spare the lives of all who surrendered.[5] However, once the place was in their power, and whilst a remainder of the garrison was climbing the near-by hill, Cromwell ordered a general massacre. Thereupon sword and pike raged against the dense masses of the fleeing garrison. About a thousand fell near St. Peter's church whilst eighty sought refuge in the tower. Fire was set to the tower when some thirty unhappy men perished in the flames whilst the rest, who had escaped to the roof, met with a violent end there. The heads of the friars in particular were smashed indiscriminately. It is not known how many among the civilian population fell under the sword. Even on the

[1] LINGARD, X., 292; GARDINER, I., 92.
[2] GARDINER, I., 92 *seq.*, 104.
[3] *Ibid.*, 118.
[4] *Ibid.*, 113 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 131, note.

following day a few surviving officers were massacred in cold blood.[1] Cromwell justified these horrors with the plea that such severity would deter others from offering resistance and thus bloodshed would be avoided, moreover this butchery was a judgment of God on those who, in 1641, had killed so large a number of Protestants.[2] However, so appalling a slaughter was calculated to fill the rest with a stronger determination than ever to sell their lives as dearly as possible.[3] In the opinion of a weighty historian,[4] "it is most unlikely that even one of the defenders of Drogheda had had a share in the Ulster butchery." Some of the survivors who had sought a refuge in two towers were more mildly treated by Cromwell. When they were at last forced to surrender only the officers of one of the towers were put to death whilst every tenth man of the rest and the entire garrison of the second tower were shipped to the Barbados islands.[5]

After this Cromwell turned to the coastal town of Wexford whose inhabitants had inflicted severe damage on English maritime trade. After the capture of the town the horrors of Drogheda were repeated. At Wexford priests and friars were massacred without pity and a general butchery followed which Cromwell and his officers refused to stop. A number of the unhappy people sought to escape by water but the overcrowded boats overturned and three hundred of the helpless fugitives were drowned. In his revolting Puritan jargon Cromwell threw the responsibility for his deeds of horror on divine justice.[6]

Cromwell then turned South, to Munster, where the Protestants were strong whilst Inchiquin's troops only

[1] *Ibid.*, 131–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 138 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 140, 175.

[4] *Ibid.*, 139.

[5] *Ibid.*, 134 *seq.* On the evidence of Anthony Wood, *ibid.*, 135, note 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, 140–8. "The horrors of the Irish war turn the judgment of even well-meaning biographers against the general," says WOLF MEYER-ERLACH (*Cromwell*, Munich, 1927, 28).

reluctantly fought by the side of their Catholic allies and many officers had a traitorous understanding with Cromwell.[1] The first place he encountered in his advance was the small town of New Ross. Its commander declared his willingness to admit him on condition that the garrison might freely withdraw together with such citizens as chose to accompany them, and that those who remained should enjoy freedom of conscience. "I don't meddle with anyone's conscience," Cromwell replied, "but if by freedom of conscience is meant freedom for the Mass, there can be no such liberty wherever the Parliament of England is in power."

When Cromwell left Ireland on May 26th, 1650, the subjugation of the whole island was only a question of time. The English were amply provided with everything whereas the Irish lacked indispensables; thus, for instance, during the siege of Clonmel the Irish garrison fought heroically but in the end it had to make its escape under cover of the night because its stock of powder was exhausted.[2] Moreover on November 6th, 1649, the Irish lost their best general, O'Neill, by death.[3] Cromwell's successor Ireton, and after the latter's death on December 2nd, 1651, Ludlow, took one strong place after another, and by the beginning of 1653 nearly all the Irish army leaders had surrendered.[4] By then Ireland had suffered the loss of a third of its population not only by the sword but probably quite as much through lack of food, a situation which was systematically brought about [5] by the English cutting down the growing corn in the fields: on one occasion eighteen thousand sickles were dispatched to them for that purpose.[6]

Besides hunger and pestilence England's mightiest ally was the lack of unity among the Irish. Their one rallying centre was the Bishops but even they were divided in consequence

[1] GARDINER, I., 105 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 174.
[3] *Ibid.*, 155 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, II., 36–63.
[5] *Ibid.*, 62.
[6] BELLESHEIM, II., 532.

of their attitude for or against Rinuccini. In the long run the prelates could not fail to realize the disastrous consequences of such a situation, hence at a meeting at Clonmacnoise they issued a manifesto to the nation [1] in which they declared that henceforth there would be no discord among them where the rights of the Church were concerned, and that in future they would stand as one man for the King and their people. Shortly before, the assembly had warned the people against Cromwell as the latter aimed at no less, so they declared, than the destruction of the Catholic religion by means of massacre, banishment and expropriation of the Catholics. By the terms of a parliamentary resolution their possessions were already forfeit and it was only a question of carrying the decision into effect ; for considerations of prudence the common people were being spared for the time being, but once the conquest was completed, they too would be displaced by English immigrants. The number of those who had been transported to Barbados provided an eloquent commentary on the last point.[2]

No one knew better than Cromwell that this language was the plain truth, without any exaggeration whatever, but perhaps for that very reason he decided "to enlighten a deluded and misguided people" by means of a public explanation.[3] According to him the English were peaceful lambs who had come over to Ireland, bringing with them nothing but blessings. Profound peace had reigned in the land until the wild natives suddenly fell upon and massacred their benefactors and thus brought upon Ireland all the calamities that have befallen it ever since.

Whether by such phrases Cromwell succeeded in quieting his own conscience is an idle question ; words from his mouth had long ceased to impress the Irish and to this day his name is held in execration in Ireland.[4] Unfortunately the

[1] Of December 13, 1649, *ibid.*, 486 ; GARDINER, *Commonwealth*, I., 162.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] In January, 1650, *ibid.*

[4] BONN, II., 21.

words of the Bishops remained likewise without effect. Once again the prelates intervened in the destinies of Ireland when at an assembly at Jamestown, on August 12th, 1650, they dealt with the evil genius of the Irish rebellion, Ormond, the equivocal representative of the King, by forbidding, under pain of excommunication, all intercourse with him.[1] In effect Ormond was compelled to give up his post and to leave the country, his place being taken by Lord Clanricarde, a Catholic.[2] However, this change of personnel could no more alter the fate of Ireland than the appeals for help to the Duke of Lorraine.[3] The subjection of Ireland went on apace and on its completion there took place what the Bishops had predicted for the unhappy land.

As the prelates had reminded their flocks, a parliamentary resolution had been passed in the course of the year following the rising of 1641, by the terms of which two and a half million acres of Irish soil were declared forfeit in favour of the men who would advance money to the Government for the conquest of Ireland.[4] As the triumph of Parliament was drawing near, the execution of this measure was being studied.[5] On April 17th, 1652, a meeting of officials and citizens prayed that action be taken, otherwise they would have to fear the anger of God inasmuch as England had treated the Irish too leniently.[6] Accordingly, on August 12th, 1652, Parliament passed an act of expropriation [7] which, assuredly, was well calculated to allay all the scruples of these tender consciences. The act was Ireland's death warrant. It divided its inhabitants into eight classes; the first five included all those who had been in any way concerned in the rising and the bloodshed of 1641; as such the following were singled out before the rest:

[1] GARDINER, *loc. cit.*, II., 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, 44.

[3] *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.*; BELLESHEIM, 498 *seqq.*

[4] BONN, II., 7.

[5] Since 1651; GARDINER, III., 297.

[6] *Ibid.*, 303.

[7] Table of contents, *ibid.*, 298 *seqq.*; BONN, II., 29 *seqq.*; text in LINGARD, X., 422–8.

the members of the General Assembly of Kilkenny, the Jesuits and other priests instigated by the Pope and a list of others mentioned by name. Other classes included those who had killed or had had a share in the killing of any man, not in battle, especially if the victim was an Englishman, and lastly those who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days. These five classes were condemned to lose life and property; in this way sentence of death was passed in cold blood on over one hundred thousand persons.[1] Of persons not included in these five classes a small number, who had held higher offices, were condemned to banishment and the loss of two-thirds of their landed property; in exchange for the remaining third, land of equal value would be assigned to their families at Parliament's pleasure. The soldiers of the regular army were also allowed to exchange the third of their property in the same way, on condition that they laid down their arms. Persons who had resided in Ireland since the rebellion and had not taken sides with Parliament between August, 1649, and March 1st, 1650, were assigned land in some part of Ireland to the value of two-thirds of what they had owned until then. Lastly there came a milder disposition for those whose possessions amounted to less than ten pounds. They were to forfeit neither life nor goods provided they did not fall into any of the above classes and that they laid down their arms. The preamble of the Act contains the not superfluous remark that it was not Parliament's intention to destroy the whole Irish nation and that this was the reason why the common people were more leniently dealt with.

However, considerations such as these could scarcely benefit anyone except those whose only crime was that they had served in the Irish army.[2] But it was precisely these people whom it was hoped to get rid of by the offer of emigration. In effect some 34,000 Irish soldiers chose to leave a country

[1] "No such deed of cruelty was ever contemplated in cold blood by any State with pretence to civilization," says GARDINER (III., 299). BONN tries to find excuses (II., 31 note).

[2] GARDINER, III., 302.

which was no longer theirs and to take service with the armies of France, Spain, Austria and Venice.[1] On January 6th, 1653, a decree was published ordering all priests to leave the country within twenty days, under pain of being treated as traitors.[2] A reward of five pounds was promised to anyone capturing a priest. "Three beasts we have to destroy," Major Morgan observed in Parliament in 1657, "the first is the wolf, the second the priest, the third the Tory."[3] The name "Tory" was given to those Irishmen who, when driven from their own homesteads, withdrew into the bog and joined forces with robber bands; they became objects of such terror for those who had deprived them of their property that a price of fifty pounds was placed on the head of a Tory.[4] In order to get rid of yet more Irishmen, they were packed in large numbers on boats that carried them off to the West Indies, more particularly to Barbados. From a Government ordinance of March 4th, 1655, we learn that in the course of the four previous years 6,400 men, women and children were taken across seas; poor people, we read in this document, should be attracted into lonely places and then taken aboard ship by force.[5] Ostensibly only tramps and beggars, workless and unemployed were to be transported to America,[6] but a similar fate befell even persons of the more privileged classes.[7] Once arrived in the colonies the victims of transportation were first compelled to work for some years in order to pay for the cost of the voyage[8]; after that they were put out to service, but for a time at least their lot was worse than that of real slaves.[9] Recourse was had to yet

[1] *Ibid.*, 297; LINGARD, X., 365 *seq.*
[2] BELLESHEIM, II., 517.
[3] *Ibid.*, 519.
[4] LINGARD, X., 369.
[5] BELLESHEIM, II., 530 *seqq.*
[6] GARDINER, III., 331 *seq.*
[7] BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*
[8] GARDINER, III., 332.
[9] *Ibid.*, 162, note. GARDINER denies that those thus deported could be regarded as slaves; but from the texts quoted by him

another means with a view to procuring a preponderance of Protestants and Englishmen in Ireland. In 1654 all the Catholic inhabitants of Kilkenny, Wexford and Clonmel, with few exceptions, were compelled to take up their abode outside the city walls. In 1655 a decree was published ordering all "papists and other superfluous Irishmen" to be driven from Dublin, and in the same year every healthy Irishman was ordered to leave the city of Galway.[1] In addition to all this the greater part of the cost of the subjection of Ireland, which amounted to 3,509,396 pounds, namely the sum of 1,942,548 pounds was to be raised by the Irish themselves,[2] that is, by the Irish who, on the Royal Commission's own evidence,[3] were reduced to feed on herbs and carrion in their uncultivated, ravaged land, who died of hunger on the highways, and whose abandoned children fell a prey to the wolves. "Taxation," a contemporary writer of the name of Gookin reports,[4] "takes all they possess, and when want has turned them into robbers and 'Tories', they are hunted with fire and sword. Failure to denounce a Tory leads them to the gallows at the hands of the English, denunciation brings them death at those of the Irish, and if anyone with a heart in his breast shows them the small meed of pity that the law allows, he is accused of favouring the Tories."

For a time the colonization law of 1652 presented the English Statesmen with almost insuperable difficulties. It

(*ibid.*, 161, note 2) it is clear that traders sold Irishmen in America whom they had bought in Ireland at 20 shillings per head (BELLESHEIM, II., 527). RICHARD BAGWELL (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIV.[11], 778) reckons that 9,000 Irishmen were deported to the West Indies "practically into slavery". The texts in BELLESHEIM prove nothing as to the conditions beyond seas, but they do prove the atrocities committed by the Government in Ireland.

[1] GARDINER, III., 335. "To weaken Papists and to strengthen Protestants was the chief object of the Government in Dublin and Westminster," says GARDINER (*ibid.*, 335 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 306 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 307 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 307.

was easy, on paper, to condemn one hundred thousand people to the gallows, but it was not possible to carry out the sentence in practice. A tribunal was set up for the purpose of punishing those involved in the murders of 1641, and this body shed blood enough on its tour of the country,[1] though it is unlikely that the number of the victims went much beyond a few hundreds.[2] Colonization itself made no progress until Cromwell took the matter into his own hands. Besides the "Knights of fortune" it was necessary to provide land for the soldiers of the British army which was breaking up; to make room for them, the natives of Ulster, Leinster and Munster were to be transported to barren Connaught and Clare, in the West of Ireland.[3] However, this plan also could not be carried into effect for Connaught and Clare could not absorb such a multitude of exiles and though the new proprietors from England were afraid of their Irish neighbours, they had to admit that without native labour there could be no agriculture in Ireland; accordingly the authorities contented themselves with settling in Connaught the Irish landowners and the few remaining soldiers of the Irish army,[4] though this was no real solution of the problem. The ghost of murdered Ireland was about to haunt the murderer for centuries to come.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 296 *seq.* LINGARD, X., 364 *seq.*

[2] Perhaps "200–300 notorious criminals", says GARDINER (III., 312).

[3] Acts of Parliament of September 26, 1653. GARDINER, III., 311; BONN, II., 45 *seqq.*

[4] GARDINER, III., 306–341.

[5] Since the end of the Middle Ages, says KATTENBUSCH in *Studien und Kritiken*, the story of Ireland is the "story of great misery, of the gradual but conscious destruction of an ancient and rich civilization by a people in whose way that civilization stood".

CHAPTER IV.

Innocent's Work Within the Church—The Jubilee Year.

(1.)

With regard to Innocent X.'s purely spiritual activities[1] mention must be made, in the first instance, of his efforts on behalf of the religious Orders. The reform of the Benedictine Congregation of Montecassino falls into the opening period of his pontificate.[2] The Society of the Clerics Regular of the Pious Schools founded by Joseph Calasanzio was subjected to a visitation and approved as an Association of secular clerics. In 1647 Innocent dissolved the union between the Doctrinarians and the Somaschans so that the former became once more an independent body.[3] The Pope also approved the reform of the Calced Carmelites of Monte Santo in Sicily. In France he united, in 1646, the Congregation of Val des Ecoliers with that of St. Geneviève of Paris. In 1647 he approved the Congregation of Priests of the Blessed Sacrament founded in 1623 by Christoph d'Authier at Marseilles; these priests devoted themselves to the work of popular missions and the conduct of Seminaries. The founder of the Eudists,

[1] About the additions of feasts in the Calendar made by Innocent X., see Bäumer, *Brevier*, 511.

[2] See *Bull.*, XV., 329.

[3] See Heimbucher, II., 274, 341. On April 14, 1646, the nuncio in Poland was informed that the measure concerning the *Scuole pie* had been taken by a Congregation after mature consideration; on June 9, 1646, the Secretary of State writes that the Jesuits have had no part in it (Nunziat. di Napoli, 39 A., Pap. Sec. Arch.). On the interests of Poland in the clerics of the *Scuole pie*, see A. Checcucci, *Alcune lettere di S. Giuseppe Calasanzio*, Roma, 1852, 5 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*

Jean Eudes, received the Pope's encouragement in his undertakings.[1] He also warmly praised and encouraged the Congregation of secular priests founded by Bartholomew Holzhauser (*obiit* 1658), the object of which was to repair the ruins of the Thirty Years' War by renewing and furthering the priestly life, but the Society never received canonical approbation. The Cologne nuncio Sanfelice and the Elector of Mayence, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, gave their encouragement to the Association.[2] The Jesuits received a Brief on January 1st, 1646, shortly before the election of the new General Vincenzo Carafa; this document ordered the holding of a General Congregation every nine years whilst it restricted the Superiors' term of Office to three years, with the sole exception of the novice master.[3]

In Italy there existed a great many monasteries which no longer fulfilled their original purpose owing to the small number of their inmates. The Pope sought accurate information on the situation which was fraught with serious drawbacks, and he set up a special Congregation to deal with the matter.[4] Reforms began in 1649.[5] In 1650 and 1651 a number of Societies were suppressed, among them the Clerics Regulars of the Good Jesus which had shrunk to only ten members,[6] and on October 15th, 1652, a Bull was published ordering the suppression of such Italian monasteries as, owing to reduced membership, no longer fulfilled the aim of their original founders; their property was to be applied by

[1] See *ibid.*, I., 413; II., 18, 364, 371, 373.

[2] See HUNDHAUSEN in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 185 *seq.*

[3] See *Bull.*, XV., 436.

[4] See *Bull.*, XV., 647; De Rossi, *Istoria, *Vat.* 8873, Vatican Library. On this matter, *cf.* also the "*Relatione dello stato della religione de' chierici regolari Teatini fatta l'anno 1650", Theatine Archives, Rome, *Cass.*, 38, compiled in consequence of the Bull of December, 1649.

[5] See Deone, **Diario*, 1649, *Cod.* XX., III., 21, Bibl. Casanat., Rome.

[6] See *Bull.*, XV., 372, 670, 677 *seqq.*

the Bishops to other pious purposes.[1] There can be no doubt that the measure was fully justified, yet it failed to please the various Italian Governments whose Cæsaro-papalistic ambitions had involved them in many disputes with the Pope.[2] The Republics of Venice and Genoa offered open resistance and some heated remonstrances ensued. To the Genoese ambassador the Pope bluntly declared that the Republic was not at all interested in the reform of the monasteries; all it aimed at was to make itself independent in the ecclesiastical sphere, as Henry VIII. had done in England. When the Genoese ambassador referred to the "proverbial piety" of the Genoese, Innocent X. interrupted him with the words "What piety? We are not speaking of the churches, pious foundations and other external manifestations, but of submission to the Apostolic Authority to which your Government seeks to subtract itself by all manner of pretexts and artifices".[3]

Though the Governments of Florence, Savoy, Parma, Modena and Lucca outwardly submitted to the Bull, they left nothing undone to frustrate its effect.[4] At Naples the measure had already been carried into effect and the Bishops had taken over the property of the suppressed monasteries, when the Viceroy unexpectedly intervened and claimed the property for the State on the plea of the lack of the *Exequatur*.[5] In the sequel there were those in Rome who demanded that

[1] See *ibid.*, 696 *seqq.* *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXXII., 218.

[2] *Cf.* BERCHET, II., 136, 152 *seq.* On the conflict with the nuncio in Florence, see REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 515; for that of Genoa, see *Riv. Europea*, 1878, V., 692. See also *Cifre al Nuntio di Torino of 1645 in *Nunziat. di Napoli*, 39 A, Pap. Sec. Arch., and the Brief to Duke Carlo Emanuele of September 18, 1649, *Epist.*, IV.-VI., *ibid.*

[3] See NERI, *Corrispond. di F. Raggio*, in the *Riv. Europea*, 1878, V., 691. *Cf.* also PALLAVICINO, *Alessandro VII.*, I., 408 *seq.*

[4] See DE ROSSI, *Istoria, *Vat.* 8873, Vatican Library.

[5] See *ibid.* *Cf.* PADIGLIONE, *Bibl. di Museo Naz. di S. Martino*, Naples, 1876, 349.

Naples should be laid under an interdict.[1] However, things did not go so far and Philip IV. promised the nuncio to remedy the situation.[2]

(2.)

The jubilee of 1649, proclaimed by the Bull of May 4th, 1649,[3] and carefully prepared for,[4] opened on Christmas Day. It proved an inspiring manifestation of Catholic life. The Pope opened the Holy Door at St. Peter's in person whilst a similar ceremony was being carried out at St. Paul's by Cardinal Lante, at the Lateran by Cardinal Colonna and at St. Mary Major by Cardinal Maidalchini. Such was the concourse at St. Peter's that the military had to be called out to maintain order, whilst at St. Mary Major, where this precaution had not been taken, Cardinal Maidalchini was in danger of being crushed by the crowd.[5]

Innocent X. eagerly participated in the exercises prescribed for gaining the Indulgence: he visited the four prescribed churches on no less than sixteen occasions and not even bad weather deterred him from making these visits. In order to set a good example all the Cardinals, even the eighty years old Lante, made their visits to the churches on foot. Cardinals Giovan Battista Altieri, Francesco Rapaccioli, Juan de Lugo, Vincenzo Maculano and Luigi Capponi preached at S. Marcello,

[1] See De Rossi, *Istoria, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Letter of the Spanish nuncio, dat. Madrid, 1653, August 6, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 105, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] See *Bull.*, XV., 628 *seqq.* (*cf.* 632 *seqq.*); G. S. Ruggieri, *Diario dell' anno del S. Giubileo 1650*, 2 *seqq.* On October 15, 23 and 25, 1649, respectively, Briefs were sent to the Emperor, to all the Catholic Princes and to the Bishops exhorting them to promote Jubilee pilgrimages to the utmost of their power. *Epist.*, IV.-VI., Pap. Sec. Arch.

[4] See Deone, **Diario, Cod.* XX., III., 21, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[5] See Servantius, **Diaria*, Pap. Sec. Arch. *Cf.* also the copper-plate engravings of Fr. Bosoni.

and the Pope also summoned distinguished preachers from outside Rome.[1]

On January 20th, 1650, the Pope received in solemn audience the Duke of Infantado, Philip IV.'s ambassador, who displayed characteristic Spanish pomp on the occasion.[2] His suite consisted of 300 carriages whilst the extraordinary envoy of the Spanish King's wife, Marianna of Austria, came with a suite of 160 carriages when he presented himself for his audience on January 28th.[3]

Notwithstanding the continuation of the war between France and Spain and the tension in Italy arising out of Spanish military preparations, crowds of pilgrims came from all parts, among them even princely personages. Thus spring saw the arrival of the sons of the Grand Duke of Florence, Princes Matthias and Leopold, who travelled incognito. The Princes spent some time in Rome and for five days (20–25th April) they lodged at the Vatican.[4] Princess Margaret of Savoy arrived in May; she was dressed and travelled as an ordinary pilgrim and lodged at the Convent of Tor de' Specchi. It is related that it was with difficulty that Olimpia succeeded in persuading the Princess to receive her.[5]

During the Holy Week and Easter services the splendour and majesty of the Church's liturgy were seen in all their

[1] See the **Avvisi* of 1650, especially that of December 3, Pap. Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Deone, January 12, 1650, in CIAMPI, 74, and *Diario, *Barb.* 4819, March 12, 1650, Vatican Library; MANNI, 200 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Deone, **Diario, loc. cit.*

[3] See RUGGIERI, 36, 38. Cardinal Albornoz, who had represented Spain up till then, died towards the end of 1649, as also the representative of the Emperor, Duke Federigo Savelli; Deone writes: "*ambedue i più esperti ambasciatori che vedesse mai Roma" (*Diario, loc. cit.*).

[4] See *Report of Vinc. Roseo, dated 1650, April 9, Gonzaga Arch., Mantua; Servantius, **Diaria*, Pap. Sec. Arch., and Alaleone, **Diarium*, Vatican Library.

[5] See Servantius, *loc. cit.*, *Alaleone, *loc. cit.*; RUGGIERI, 134; ADEMOLLO, *G. Gigli*, 123 *seqq.*

overwhelming grandeur. The Pope took a personal part in all the functions; on Maundy Thursday he performed the ceremony of the washing of the feet in the Sala Ducale but he likewise washed the feet of poor pilgrims in the hospital of Trinità de' Pellegrini.[1] The many Confraternities of the Eternal City vied with one another in the adornment of their churches. The altar of repose in the Spanish national church of S. Giacomo surpassed even that of the Vatican basilica; hundreds of lamps and candles formed a resplendent crown of glory around it. The Pantheon, the interior of which was adorned with religious pictures and thousands of lights, presented a fairylike spectacle. At the Good Friday procession the magnificent new banners of the Campo Santo attracted much notice; 12,500 pilgrims were counted in the procession of the Confraternity of Trinità de' Pellegrini.[2]

Universal admiration was aroused by the decoration of Piazza Navona for the procession which was held there by the Spanish Confraternity of the Resurrection in the early hours of Easter Sunday morning (April 17th). This ceremony, in which the Spanish ambassador was wont to take a conspicuous part, had fallen into abeyance during the pontificate of Urban VIII. The Roman Carlo Rinaldi turned the ancient *circus* of Domitian into a court surrounded by columns entwined with garlands of foliage and illumined by 1,600 lights. Choirs of singers were stationed in the centre. At each end rose a magnificent pavilion given by the Castilians and the Aragonese; in one was seen a figure of the risen Saviour, in the other that of His Blessed Mother. A contemporary declared that this exhibition, of which a copper engraving by Dominique Barrière has preserved a faithful picture, was by itself alone worth the journey from Spain to Rome.[3]

[1] See Ruggieri, 75, 78 *seq.*

[2] See De Rossi, **Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vatican Library; Deone, **Diario, loc. cit.*; Ruggieri, 78 *seq.*, 81.

[3] See *De Rossi, *loc. cit.*; Deone, **Diario, loc. cit.*; Ruggieri, 88; Justi, *Velasquez*, II., 166 *seq.*; Hempel, *Rainaldi*, 26 *seqq.*

Already by Easter the number of pilgrims was reckoned at 70,000.[1] May witnessed the arrival of Confraternities from all parts of Italy, each with its own insignia and accompanied by the clergy and the civil authorities; the insignia of the Orvietans were the most admired of all.[2] Unfortunately some regrettable quarrels and collisions occurred between the various Confraternities on account of questions of precedence and even here the great political divergences manifested themselves; thus the Archconfraternity of the Madonna del Gonfalone was favoured by the French whilst that of S Marcello enjoyed the support of the Spaniards. Regrettable incidents were also provoked by the conduct of Spanish recruiting agents. When these interfered even with some of the pilgrims, the latter beat them with their own silver-mounted sticks off St. Peter's square and dragged them to prison. The following threat was posted up on Pasquino: "Masaniellos are born in Rome also".[3] The resentment of the Romans against the Spaniards rose so high that the latter scarcely dared to show themselves in the streets and the Pope experienced the utmost difficulty in maintaining order and tranquillity.[4] Though such incidents were bound to disturb the devotion of the pilgrims, they did not spoil the general impression of the jubilee. "If the innovators could see the devotion of the crowds, which included many men of education, as they went their way to the various shrines, they would not attack the institution of the jubilee," we read in the diary of a Roman of the time[5]; in fact more

[1] See *De Rossi, *loc. cit.*

[2] Deone in Ciampi, 75. Ruggieri (103 *seqq.*) has very detailed accounts of all the entries. *Cf.* Rivetti, *Viaggio di un prete Bresciano a Roma nel 1650*, in *Brixia sacra*, IV. (1913), 32 *seqq.*

[3] See De Rossi, *loc. cit.*; Ademollo, *G. Gigli*, 84 *seqq.*; Justi, II., 165.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed description in Servantius, **Diaria* on July 28, 1650, *loc. cit.*, and the **Diario* of Ameyden, *loc. cit.*, p. 84 *seq.*

[5] **Diario* in *Barb.* 4819, p. 56[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Manni, 196, 202 *seq.*

than one non-Catholic visitor to Rome, such as Duke Johann Friedrich of Brunswick and Count Christoph of Rantzau, were so favourably impressed that they returned to the ancient Church.[1]

The total number of pilgrims was estimated at 700,000 [2] everyone of whom stayed in the Eternal City for at least a fortnight. The consequence was that prices rose at first, but the Pope intervened in order to save the pilgrims from being imposed upon. For poor Bishops he had set aside a special hospice in the Borgo.[3] As at former jubilees, this time also the hospice of Trinità de' Pellegrini distinguished itself; eventually a bronze bust of Innocent X. by Algardi was put up in the hostel in memory of the Pope's benefactions.[4] Even Olimpia put herself at the service of benevolence; she got forty-two ladies to collect money for the maintenance of the pilgrims; between them they collected 16,582 scudi, a sum sufficient to shelter and entertain in the above-mentioned hospice, for the space of three days, 226,711 men, 81,822 women and 25,902 convalescents.[5] The other Roman Confraternities also provided so generously for the entertainment of outside Confraternities affiliated to them, that a contemporary observed that on occasions like this the Romans did not only gain much, but they likewise expended much.[6]

The Pope did all in his power to assure the importation of

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 137.

[2] **Avviso* of December 31, 1650, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] See Ruggieri, 15 *seq.*, 19 *seq.*, 21; Noack, *Deutschtum in Rom*, 56.

[4] Ruggieri, 75.

[5] See Novaes, X., 32. According to the list in the appendix of Ruggieri the total expenses of the hospice amounted to 28,808 scudi, of which 26,539 scudi could be covered by alms. An engraving of Fr. Bosoni represents the "funzioni principali, che si esercitano dalla arciconfraternità della S. Trinità di Roma nel albergare i peregrini 1650".

[6] De Rossi, **Istoria, loc. cit.* The engraving of Fr. Bosoni represents "il modo che tengono le arciconfraternite e compagnie spirit. di Roma in alloggiar le compagnie aggregate, 1650".

provisions. On the occasion of his visits to the churches he showed such willingness to listen to those who drew near to him that the pilgrims were filled with admiration.[1] On November 24th, 1650, he reduced the number of the prescribed visits to the churches and at the conclusion of the jubilee he extended it to the whole Catholic world for the following year.[2]

(3.)

In nine creations Innocent X. raised forty prelates to the purple; most of them Italians.[3] At his first creation, on November 14th, 1644, the red hat was bestowed on his

[1] De Rossi, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Servantius, **Diaria*, Pap. Sec. Arch.; Manni, 208 (here also particulars on the Jubilee coins). *Cf.* also Barbier de Montault, *Une médaille du Jubilé de 1650*, Beauvais, 1900. The publications on the Jubilee are enumerated in Manni (208 *seq.*). On the directors of the pilgrimages and on the publications on the Jubilee, see Schudt, *Mancini*, 126 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für Kunstgesch.* of Sauer, 1928, as also Nogara, *Anno Santo*, Roma, 1928, 1092 *seq.* In the year 1650 appeared the following interesting work from the point of view of the history of art: "*Descrittione delle pitture più insigni che si trovano nelle chiese di Roma come nelli palazzi e faciate di essi con li nomi dell' ecc. pittori che l'hanno depinte, compresovi il palazzo Pontificio Vaticano con la dichiaratione di alcune statue e nomi d' architetti," *Ottob.* 2975, Vatican Library. Here we read: "A mezzo Borgo Nuovo vi è una facciata di chiaroscuro con una Venere — è disegno di Santio."

[3] *Cf.* for what follows, Ciaconius, IV., 667–705; Cardella, VII., 51–120. For G. C. Medici, see Reumont, *Toskana*, II., 435, and G. Pieraccini, *La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, II., 553 *seq.* Quite void of historical value is *La balance des cardinaux vivants*, Paris, 1652 (see about this satire, *Lettres de Richelieu*, II., 558, n. 2), in Italian *Genevra*, 1650, under the name of G. Leti, Castellana (Ginevra, 1656); *cf.* Ciampi, 398. Retz' opinion on the Cardinals of Innocent X. in his *Mémoires*, II., 314.

nephew Camillo Pamfili and Gian Carlo Medici, the art-loving brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, evidently because Tuscany had furthered Innocent X.'s election. Medici had previously nursed very different plans ; his worldly sentiments and loose morals made him so unworthy of this high distinction that he was eventually compelled to leave Rome. At this first creation the Datarius Domenico Cecchini was named *in petto* ; his elevation was not published till March 6th, 1645.[1] Seven Cardinals were created on the same occasion : all of them were thought to be decided supporters of Spain but undoubtedly worthy of the high dignity to which they had been raised ; they were the Bolognese Niccolò Albergati, a kinsman of Gregory XV. and Archbishop of his native city ; the Roman Tiberio Cenci, Bishop of Iesi ; the Neapolitan Pier Luigi Carafa, who had for many years successfully held the nunciature of Cologne under the pontificate of Urban VIII.,[2] after which he had done excellent work in his diocese of Tricarico ; the Genoese Orazio Giustiniani, at first Bishop of Montalto, then of Nocera, a warm friend of the Oratorians ; Alderano Cibo, a scion of the princely House of Massa-Carrara,[3] Innocent X.'s maggiordomo ; the Roman Federigo Sforza and Benedetto Odescalchi of Como. Francesco Maria Farnese, reserved *in petto*, was proclaimed on December 14th, 1645.

The Pope's former relations with Poland—as Cardinal he had been Protector of that Kingdom—explain the elevation, on March 28th, 1646, of John Casimir, King Sigismund III.'s son who, however, had to lay aside the purple on July 6th, 1648, when he was elected King of Poland.[4]

[1] *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, X., 308 *seq.* On Tuscany's good relations with Innocent X., see the *Report of the Florentine ambassador of February 1, 1645, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXVIII., 162 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* L. Mussi, *Il Cardinal Alderano dei principi Cibo-Malaspina*, Massa, 1913 ; E. Jovy, *Les archives du card. A. Cibo à Massa*, Paris, 1918.

[4] See Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 439 *seq.*, 457 ; Ciaconius, IV., 678 ; *Appendix* to Ciaconius, 26 *seq.* *Cf.* Pallavicino,

Another great creation of Cardinals took place on October 7th, 1647. On this occasion Mazarin, after protracted efforts, at last obtained the red hat for his brother Michel, since 1645 Archbishop of Aix.[1] The Spaniards had opposed him up to the last, but in vain ; all they secured was the nomination of Antonio d'Aragona, a candidate agreeable to their King though for the time being reserved *in petto*.[2] Of those raised to the Sacred College on this occasion only the Roman Francesco Savelli and the Venetian Cristoforo Vidman could be described as adherents of the House of Habsburg ; the rest were politically neutral : they were Francesco Cherubini, formerly Innocent's auditor during his nunciatures at Naples and Madrid [3] ; the Genoese Lorenzo Raggi, and the youthful Francesco Maidalchini. Camillo Astalli's elevation to the Sacred College on September 19th, 1650, has already been mentioned.[4]

All these creations were, however, insufficient to fill the gaps in the Church's supreme senate for from the time of Innocent X.'s election to the beginning of 1652, the death had taken place of no less than twenty Cardinals.[5] Accordingly,

I., 293 ; DAROWSKI, in the periodical *Przegląd polski*, 1897, II., iii. See also LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 150 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 63.

[2] Published March 14, 1650.

[3] GIUSTINIAN calls Cherubini " un' angelo di bontà ". BERCHET, II., 157.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 39.

[5] In 1645 died : F. de la Rochefoucauld, P. P. Crescenzi, Fr. Cennini, G. Borgia ; in 1646 : Valençay, D. Spinola, A. Barberini ; in 1647 : Fr. M. Farnese ; in 1648 : M. Mazarin and L. Falconieri (on the latter's marble tomb, see FORCELLA, VII., 39) ; in 1649 : A. Spinola, D. Giustiniani and Egidio Albornoz ; in 1650 : G. Mattei, M. Teodoli, C. Monti and Ant. de Aragonia ; in 1651 : Panciroli and C. Rocci ; in 1652 (January 20) : G. Verospi. See CIACONIUS, IV., 706, who also gives the names of those who died later. (On the tomb of Cardinal Bichi, who died in 1657, see TAURISANO, *S. Sabina tav.*, 20.) Not a few of these Cardinals left an excellent reputation behind them. Servantius, who is often very severe (**Diaria*, Pap. Sec. Arch).,

in a large scale creation of February 15th, 1652, Innocent X. sought to complete the Sacred College once more.[1] A few foreigners among the new members of the College of Cardinals owed their elevation to consideration for the Great Catholic Powers. To France's and Spain's recommendation was due the bestowal of the purple on the Archbishop of Paris, Gondi, and on the Spanish Dominican Domingo Pimentel whose tomb, designed by Bernini, may be seen in the church of the Minerva in Rome.[2] The Emperor succeeded in forcing through the nomination of the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse, a great-nephew of Philip, the author of the religious cleavage in his territory.[3] The remaining seven Cardinals were all Italians, and among them the Secretary of State Chigi and the Auditor of the Rota Pietro Ottoboni were by far the most distinguished figures: the former was destined to ascend the See of Peter under the name of Alexander VII., the latter under that of Alexander VIII. Gian Girolamo Lomellini, Luigi Alessandro Omodei and Marcello Santa Croce had rendered distinguished services in the administration of the Pontifical States. Jacopo Corrado of Ferrara was distinguished both

praises Falconieri as "vir prudentissimus et maximae expectationis"; of Spinola he says: "eius integerrima vita, qua ipse magis cardinalatus dignitatem illustravit quam purpura ipsum decorasset." Of Mattei he says: "Vir fuit summae virtutis, maximi ingenii et prudentiae et non mediocris doctrinae. Maioribus potitus est Sedis Apostolicae oneribus, et numquam lassus, semper autem vigilans adhuc in minoribus Status ecclesiastici quietem sustinuit et ab omni perturbatione totis animi viribus defendere studuit maxime dum pestis anno 1630 totam fere depopulabatur Italiam; tunc enim tanta fuit eius diligentia et virtus, ut ex ipsius vigilantia maior pars ecclesiastici Status propriam usque adhuc recognoscat integritatem."

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 686. See also the *dissertation of G. RICCARDI of 1652, in *Cod.* C., III., 60, Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] See BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome, 1910, 257 *seq*; REYMOND, 111.

[3] See FRIEDENSBURG, *Regesten*, V., 95, 97 *seq.*, 99, 106; NOACK, in *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXX. (1928), 341–386.

for his knowledge of the law and the holiness of his life.[1] Baccio Aldobrandi owed his elevation to his being a kinsman of Olimpia Aldobrandini. Two Cardinals reserved *in petto* were proclaimed on March 2nd, 1654 : they were the Genoese Lorenzo Imperiali who had forced seditious Fermo to surrender, after which he had become Governor of Rome, and Gilberto Borromeo, Secretary of the *Consulta*. On June 23rd, 1653,[2] in order to seal his reconciliation with the Barberini, the Pope bestowed the purple on Carlo Barberini.[3]

Innocent X.'s last creation, on March 2nd, 1654, added seven new members to the Sacred College. Unfortunately among them there were two whose elevation to so high an honour was as worthy of blame as the disastrous nominations of papal nephews. Carlo Gualtieri of Orvieto, a protégé of Cardinal Pamfili, was too young, whilst Decio Azzolini, sponsored by Olimpia, was indeed richly endowed,[4] but his moral conduct was not irreproachable.[5] On the other hand the remaining five were excellent men. Prospero Caffarelli and Ottavio Acquaviva d'Aragona had successfully worked in the administration of the Pontifical States ; Carlo Pio of Savoy, a nephew of Cardinal Carlo Emmanuele, had served Innocent X. in the capacity of treasurer. Giambattista

[1] See BERCHET, *Relaz. Roma*, II., 270 *seq.* The King of Poland, John Casimir, had used his influence on behalf of M. Santa Croce; see THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 475.

[2] Not on February 19, 1652, as Cardella states (VII., 83) ; see **Acta consist.*, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] " *Il Tobia. Composizione musicale per Oratorio," was dedicated to Carlo Barberini by Benedetto Salvetti. *Barb.* 3661, Vatican Library.

[4] DE ROSSI (**Istoria*) extols his " vivacità innarrabile del suo spirito e leggiadro intelletto ". *Vat.* 8873, Vat. Library.

[5] See PALLAVICIO, I., 206. For Azzolini, *cf.* BILDT, *Christine de Suède et le card. Azzolino*, Paris, 1899. For the medals of Azzolini, see BILDT, *Les médailles Romaines de Christine de Suède*, Rome, 1908. A bust of Gualtieri from the Cappella del Corporale is now in the museum of the cathedral of Orvieto.

Spada[1] had been recommended to the Pope by Cardinal Francesco Barberini whilst Francesco Albizzi's excellent qualities were sufficient recommendation. Under Urban VIII. the latter had held the post of an assessor of the Inquisition and had accompanied Cardinal Ginetti on his legation to Germany. Innocent X.'s attention had been drawn to him by his great services to the Church as Secretary of the Congregation set up to deal with Jansenism.[2]

(4.)

As regards missionary work throughout the world, the pontificate of Innocent X. is less important than the reign of his predecessors Gregory V. and Urban VIII., but the Pamfili Pope nevertheless earnestly watched and furthered the cause of the apostolate to the heathen, hence the missions were able to register considerable progress during his reign.

With the foundation and endowment of Propaganda under his two predecessors, the foundation had been laid down, as far as Europe was concerned, of a new orientation and a more powerful development of missionary enterprise, but under Innocent these beginnings were to attain a much wider expansion. In this respect there was no pause even when, in 1649, the death occurred of Francesco Ingoli, the indefatigable secretary of Propaganda and its quickening spirit. His inspiration opened the new paths along which it was desired to develop missionary activities. Ingoli's plan was to place the missions under the immediate direction of Propaganda, to render them independent of the Colonial Powers, to employ secular priests and to create a native clergy in missionary countries.[3] Propaganda's vigilance over the missions extended likewise to the papal Colleges for the training of priests;

[1] *Cf.* our account about him in Vol. XXVIII, 51. Extensive biography by SARDI, *Il cardinale G. B. Spada e il conclave del 1670*, Lucca, 1920, 6 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*

[2] Exact data about the Cardinals of the promotion of 1654 are given by De Rossi, **Istoria, loc. cit.* About Albizzi, *cf.* also below, Ch. VI.

[3] See KILGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XII., 27.

these institutions were to remain subject to canonical visitations.[1] Innocent X. appointed Dionisio Massari to succeed Ingoli as Secretary to Propaganda. During the stay in France of Cardinal Antonio Barberini,[2] Urban VIII.'s nephew, Ludovico Capponi became Prefect of Propaganda, but on his return Antonio Barberini resumed that position and retained it until his death in 1671.[3]

Although we do not hear of any financial assistance of Propaganda by the Pope, he nevertheless strengthened its authority and confirmed its powers. In the Philippines the decisions of Propaganda had been described as no more than the opinions of some Cardinals; thereupon Innocent X. confirmed anew Urban VIII.'s decision that the decrees of the Prefect and Secretary of Propaganda possessed the weight of Apostolic Constitutions and were to be strictly observed by all concerned.[4] The palace which served as Propaganda's headquarters was further enlarged.[5] A number of ordinances

[1] See **Visite*, 26 *seq.* Archives of Propaganda, Rome. *Cf.* "*Instruttione per li Nuntii per visitare i collegi soggetti alle loro Nunziature conforme all' ordine di S. Stà e della congreg. di Propag.", dated 1645, February 25, *Cod.* A. II., 48, p. 136 *seq.* Bibl. Chigi, Rome. "*Chirografo di N. S. Innocenzo X. con l'ordine fermo per le provisioni de seminarii sotto li 12 giugno 1646: Al collegio Inglese in Duaco, già in Reims, scudi 175 moneta il mese." For the seminaries at Fulda, now in Cologne, 146 sc. and 5 soldi, for the seminary at Braunsberg 97 sc. and 10 soldi; for the poor students of Propaganda 24 sc.; for the seminaries in Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, Dillingen, Vilna 115 sc. respectively (Arch. of Propaganda, Rome, 362, p. 17). "*Stato della s. congregatione de Propaganda fide of September 19, 1649" (Expenses and Receipts), *Cod. Barb.* 5086, p. 25b, Vat. Library.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 52.

[3] *Cf.* Moroni, XVI., 256 *seq.*

[4] See decree of June 30, 1652, in *Ius pontif.*, I., 280; *cf.* *Collectio S. Congregat. de Prop. Fide*, I., 35 *seq.*, n. 119.

[5] *Cf.* Castellucci, in *Alma Mater Collegium Urbanum de Prop. Fide*, 1927, III. (1921), and IV. (1922); Hempel, *Borromini*, 157 *seq.*

were issued for the internal consolidation of the institution: thus the oath of the pupils who were ordained *ad titulum missionis* (for the missions) was to bind them perpetually to Propaganda; in accordance with an ordinance of 1654, the money for their journey was to be handed to them only on completion of their studies.[1]

The Pope likewise intervened in the development of the Carmelite Missionary Seminary in Rome when in 1647 he approved the decision of the General Chapter to unite the Seminary and the Provincial house of studies; however, in 1650 he demanded their severance.[2] The centralization of the missions to the heathen was decisively furthered by the foundation of the society of secular missionary priests which was already preparing in Paris.[3] The first impulse was given by a Jesuit missionary from the Far East, Alexander Rhodes, who petitioned Innocent X. to give Bishops to the Church of Annam for, in the event of the expulsion of the missionaries by the native Kings, that Church ran the risk of extinction.[4] At one moment the Pope felt inclined to make Rhodes himself a Bishop but the latter declined the honour on the ground of his being a Jesuit; consequently Innocent X. instructed him to look for suitable men who might be sent as Bishops to the Far East.[5] Propaganda amplified this scheme in the sense that in 1650 it laid before the Pope a scheme for the erection of twelve dioceses, under one or two Archbishops, and the training of a native clergy for the Far Eastern Churches.[6] After a vain search for suitable candidates for the episcopate in Italy and Switzerland, Rhodes visited Paris in 1653. There

[1] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 97, 109, and *Collect.*, I., n. 112–122. About the studies in the colleges see *Alma Mater*, 55 *seq.*

[2] See *Ius pontif.*, I., 250 *seq.* *Cf.* KILGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1915, 213.

[3] *Cf.* CERRI, *Estat présent de l'Église*, Rome, 1677, 300 *seq.*; JANN, 215 *seq.*, and KILGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1922, 27 *seq.*

[4] LAUNAY, I., 8.

[5] *Ibid.*, 9.

[6] *Ibid.*, 10.

his fellow Jesuit, Bagot, introduced him to his small sodality of the Blessed Virgin, whose members declared their readiness to work for the spread of the faith and the foundation of new churches.[1] Innocent X., informed by Propaganda, ordered Bagno, the Paris nuncio, to choose from among the French clergy three priests whom he judged the most worthy of the episcopate. Bagno's choice fell on Pallu, De Laval and Pique, whilst the yearly endowment of 600 francs for each of them was soon raised, mainly through the generosity of Richelieu's niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon.[2] Portugal strongly opposed the appointment of French Bishops in territory included in its Patronage. With a view to circumventing this difficulty, the Archbishop of Rheims, together with St. Vincent de Paul and some other priests, petitioned the Pope in July, 1653, to refrain from erecting new dioceses in the Far East, and whilst having the selected secular priests consecrated Bishops, to send them forth merely as delegates of the Apostolic See.[3] The proposal was favourably received in Rome but remained without effect owing to a campaign against the French secular priests and the Pope himself was reported to have said, when commissioning Rhodes, "Above all, no Frenchmen!"[4] Innocent X. died in 1655, leaving the execution of the project to his successor Alexander VII.[5] On the other hand the foundation of another missionary Society, which was likewise to contribute to the shifting of the centre of gravity of missionary activities towards France, viz. the Lazarists, still falls into the pontificate of Innocent X.

[1] *Ibid.*, 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, 19 *seq.* On the protest of Portugal, *ibid.*, 15 *seq.*, and JANN, *loc. cit.*

[4] LAUNAY, I., 20.

[5] *Ibid.*, 21 *seq.* Rhodes went to Persia in 1654, without having achieved anything in Paris for the execution of the command of the Pope, so that he cannot be regarded as the founder of the Missionary Society of Paris. *Cf.* the controversy about this between HUONDER and SCHWAGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1911, 291 *seq.*

for their founder, St. Vincent de Paul, sent missionaries to Algiers in 1640 and to Madagascar in 1648.[1] Missionary work was likewise greatly furthered when in 1649, at the request of the General of the Jesuits, Innocent X. granted a Plenary Indulgence to all persons who either converted an idolater in the Indies or overseas, or prayed for the conversion of infidels in a Jesuit church after receiving the Holy Eucharist, whilst the Pope also gave extensive faculties to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus.[2] To this period also belong the decisions of Propaganda authorizing missionaries to administer without leave of either Bishops or parish priests, those sacraments the dispensation of which was not the exclusive right of the latter (1647)[3]; another forbade missionaries to abandon their posts even in times of persecution, seeing that it was then that their flocks had most need of their presence (1646); finally it was decreed that the Prefects of Provinces might recall their missionaries to their respective convents after three years so as to preserve the religious spirit (1648).[4]

How firmly the religious Orders, not only the Jesuits but also, and that in a special manner, the Franciscans, clung to their missionary duties and privileges, may be gathered, to give but one instance, from the book of the Franciscan Raymond Caron on the work of evangelization by religious missionaries, in which he discusses the technique of the apostolate.[5] Statistics, obviously incomplete, of the year 1649, enumerate forty-six missions or prefectures subject to Propaganda with over 300 missionaries.[6]

In the East, Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans and Carmelites, in conformity with the Pope's efforts for

[1] See below, p. 197.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, I., 276 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 111.

[3] *Collect.*, I., n. 116.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 109–115.

[5] *Apostolatus evangelicus Missionariorum regularium per universum orbem expositus*, Antwerpiae, 1653. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, I. (1911), 225 *seq.*

[6] See KILGER, in *Zeitschr für Missionswiss.*, XII. (1922), 27.

reunion, continued to labour for the preservation of unity and the return of the schismatics.[1] Innocent X. confirmed the Constitutions of the Basilians in 1647[2]; the Jesuits established new houses in Ruthenian Poland, as for instance at Kieff in 1645,[3] and in Syria many Jacobites were brought back to Roman unity by Archbishop Andrew Abdelgal of Aleppo, himself a convert.[4] The Patriarch of the Maronites Joseph III. (1622–1647) had pronounced a sentence of excommunication against those Maronites who received the Sacraments at the hands of the missionaries of the Holy See, but in 1646 the Archbishop of Aleppo withdrew the sentence and the dispute itself was settled through the intervention of the French consul.[5] In order to preserve the loyalty of the Maronite people to the Holy See, Innocent X., with the help of a donation of the Maronite Victor Scialac, of Accon, founded and endowed a pontifical Maronite Seminary at Ravenna and placed it under Propaganda.[6] In 1655 the *Catholicos* Philip did homage to the Pope in the name of the

[1] The Visitation of the residence of the Jesuits in Constantinople ordered by Propaganda (April 22, 1647), showed that the Jesuits laboured much among the Catholics and also among the Greeks, who liked to go to confession to them. (**Visite*, 29 [1648], Archives of Propag., Rome.) On January 22, 1648, Propaganda bestowed great praise on the Jesuits who had residences also in Smyrna, Naxos, Santorin and Paros. The Visitation of their residence in Chios (May 8, 1648), testifies to the excellent work of the Fathers but also to their poverty; they were supported only by contributions from the Pope which they received since the time of Clement VIII. (*ibid.*).

[2] *Ius pontif.*, I., 273 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, III.[5], 416.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 413. A " *Relation de ce qui s'est passé ès missions de Syrie de la Comp. de Jésus de leur commencement [1625] jusques au bout de l'an 1651, in *Cod.* Z. 104 of The Hague Library.

[5] *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 102, n. 197.

[6] *Ius pontif.*, I., 260 *seq.*; *Bull. Prop. App.*, I., 237 *seq.*; *Bull. Taur.*, XV., 575 *seq.*

Armenians.[1] Among the Persian Chaldeans 40,000 families were still Catholic in 1653,[2] whereas the Indian Chaldeans, the so-called Christians of St. Thomas, at the instigation of the Dutch, expelled the Jesuits in 1653, when they went over in large numbers to the monophysite Jacobites.[3] In 1645, on the advice of Propaganda, Innocent entrusted the administration of the Churches of both Circassias, and of those in Mingrelia and Abbatia, to a neighbouring Bishop.[4]

In Africa the Copts and Abyssinians had relapsed into schism so that the *Reformati* and the Capuchins dispatched thither by Propaganda suffered a Martyrs' death.[5] For the Christians of Barbary, on the recommendation of Propaganda, the Pope appointed the French Lazarist Philip Le Vacher, as Vicar Apostolic of Algiers where this disciple of St. Vincent de Paul displayed the greatest zeal in ministering to the Christian slaves and in converting the Mohammedans.[6] On the coast of Guinea, in addition to the Augustinians (1646), Spanish Capuchins likewise undertook missionary work under the auspices of Propaganda, as for example in 1644, at Commando where they were well received and baptized the King's son. In 1645, under the Andalusian pro-provincial, Caspar of Sevilla, they undertook work among the negroes

[1] HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, III., 414. A *Brief to the Shah of Persia, dated July 13, 1652 (*Epist.*, VII.–VIII., Pap. Sec. Arch.) recommends missionaries returning to Armenia.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, III., 411 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 410. *Cf.* MÜLLBAUER, 302.

[4] "Sigismundo episcopo Chersonensi in Tartaria Praecopensi," *Ius pontif.*, I., 238 *seq.* In the regions of the Caucasus Carmelites and at times also Jesuits, Capuchins and Theatines were at work; see SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 222. In a *Letter to the *Princeps Mengrelliae* (dated February 2, 1646), Innocent X. expresses his thanks for the friendly reception of the Theatines and for sending two young Mingrelians who will be educated at the Propaganda. *Epist.*, II., Pap. Sec. Archives.

[5] See HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, III., 412, 577; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 233, 371; LEMMENS, 180.

[6] *Ius pontif.*, I., 279, P. II., n. 107. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 372.

of Senegal where they also met with a friendly reception; in 1648 in Benin, where they converted the King, in Sierra Leone in 1652, with equal success, notwithstanding Portuguese opposition; in 1655 in Overo where the ruler embraced Christianity.[1] Several large missionary expeditions of Italian Capuchins entered the kingdom of Congo, viz. five Fathers in 1646, thirty-one in 1648, forty-five in 1651, sixteen in 1654. From the Christian Queen Zinga they received powerful support whilst on the part of the Portuguese they met with grievous obstacles.[2] The Portuguese and the Mohammedans between them brought about the ruin of the mission in East Africa, though we read of a short-lived Augustinian mission to Melinda in 1644 and the conversion, by some Dominicans, of the "emperor" of Monomatapa.[3] The Lazarists landed in Madagascar in 1648 but their activity was hampered in many ways as a result of its being involved in France's colonial policy.[4] In India the Jesuits were still making thousands of converts, as in the territory of Madura, in

[1] *Cf.* Rocco da Cesinale, III., 502 *seq.*; Schmidlin, 229, 372. A decree of Propaganda of 1645 for the Andalusian Capuchins among the Negritos, in *Ius pontif.*, P. II., n. 188.

[2] *Cf.* Rocco da Cesinale, III.; Schmidlin, 227, 373; Ciampi, 242. Among the rare printed works of the Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, there is a copy of the "*Breve relatione della missione dei frati minori Cappuccini al regno di Congo*" (Roma, 1649), and "a copia della lettera del Re di Congo a S. Stà", dated Congo, October 5, 1646. Pontifical Letters to the King of Congo on the dispatch of Capuchins, of November 10, 1645, May 20, 1648, January 14, 1651 and November 21, 1653, in *Bull. Congr. Prop. Fide*, VII., 24 *seqq.* In 1653 Propaganda decided that missionaries in the Congo could not exercise any missionary jurisdiction within five hours' walk of the districts of the parish priests without the latter's permission; *Ius pontif.*, P. II., n. 209.

[3] *Cf.* Piolet, *Les missions cath. franc.*, V., 470; Kilger, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1907, 103, and Schmidlin, 231.

[4] Schmidlin, 222, and the bibliography there quoted. A "*Lettera scritta dalli missionarii di Madagascar al sig. Vincenzo di Paolo sup. gen. d. frati delle missioni per darne parte alla S. Congreg. de Propaganda, 1650", in *Barb.* 4546, Vatican Library.

Tanjaur, Sattiamangalam and Tiruchirapalli,[1] in central Cochin, in Travancor, on the fishers' coast, in Canara, Bejapor and Bengal as well as at the court of the Great Mogul.[2] Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Theatines and Capuchins erected new houses besides the existing ones and made them the bases of their missionary undertakings.[3] Between 1645 and 1646 Fr. Rhodes was expelled from Cochin China where he had achieved splendid successes, but in 1646 two Jesuits returned thither and five others went to Tonkin where, between 1645 and 1646, 24,000 persons received baptism whilst 50,000 were converted in Cochin China, so that in a petition to Innocent X. of the year 1653, the French missionaries spoke of 200,000 Christians in the two kingdoms who were, however, deprived of spiritual help and longed for the advent of new shepherds.[4] On the other hand, of the missions in the islands, the only ones that survived were those in Ceylon where the king or emperor Mutale had been converted in 1644 [5]; in Sanguin where the Franciscans baptized the kings of Colonga and Tabuca [6] and in Solor where the Dominican Juan da Costa established the station of Baju in 1650 and received a number of pagans into the Church. On Timor heavy struggles began with the infiltration of the Dutch in 1648.[7] Lastly in the Philippines, Dominicans and Franciscans, Jesuits and Augustinians laboured together in strengthening the Christians and in an attempt at the definitive defeat of paganism. A decisive step towards this consummation was the act of November 20th, 1645, by

[1] See MÜLLBAUER, 204 *seq.*, 208, 214, 225 *seq.*, 228 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 279, 284, 287, 294, 296.

[3] *Ibid.*, 325 *seq.*, 334, 341, 346, 352, 354. *Cf.* 365, on the Indo-Portuguese bishoprics of that time.

[4] LAUNAY, I., 19 *seq.* *Cf.* PACHTLER, *Das Christentum in Tonkin und Cochinchina* (1861), 62 *seqq.*, 163 *seq.* RHODES caused also an Annamite Catechism to be printed in Rome; SCHMIDLIN, 254.

[5] SCHMIDLIN, 255.

[6] CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 929 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 257.

[7] *Cf.* BIERMANN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 36, 41.

which Innocent X., at the request of the King of Spain, raised the Dominican College of St. Thomas at Manila to the status of a University where grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy and theology were taught and the academic degrees could be obtained.[1] In Japan Christianity had been destroyed together with the missionaries so that only a few pitiful remains lingered on in secret, though as late as 1646 Propaganda dispatched thither the secular priest Bonfilz and an Augustinian friar.[2]

In China the number of Christians had risen to 150,000 by 1650 so that in the following year Propaganda was

[1] *Bull. Taur.*, XV., 414 ; *Ius pontif.*, I., 242 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 263 *seq.*

[2] SCHMIDLIN, 286. *Cf.* *Kath. Missionen*, 1922–3, nr. 4. The " *Ragguaglio della missione del Giappone tratto dall'ultima lettera annua del 1649 scritta in lingua Portoghese " says of the College of Macao that " È egli il capo della provincia del Giappone e seminario de' suoi missionanti, campo ancora e teatro in cui essi per apparecchio alle lor gloriose imprese si esercitano, collegio nel quale vivon soggetti di zelo e di fervor si grande che alcuni di lor pregarono instantissimamente quest'anno il Provinciale a far veduta di licentiarli come discoli della Compagnia e dar loro le vesti di secolo, acciochè creduti di non esser dell'ordine potessero acconciatisi per servi a' mercanti Olandesi haver franco passaggio nel Giappone, se bene per saggi riguardi non fu loro in ciò acconsentito. . . . È ivi anche un seminario fondato da un prete Giapponese con capital di dodici mila tais. Quivi s'allevano i putti Giapponesi apprendendo tutto il necessario per ordinarsi sacerdoti e aprendosi il Giappone, entrarvi con la sufficenza sufficiente a predicare e risolver li dubi che occorrono. Si attende in Macao da nostri con sommo studio al bene spirituale de' prossimi, essendovi gran messe di Portughesi e di gente senza conto di altre nationi. Il concorso che in tutte le feste dell'anno è in nostra chiesa per confessarsi sembra un non intermesso giubileo. La pietà in cui per opera della Compagnia son venute le donne e le publiche penitenze che fanno, supera ogni credenza. I più nobili cittadini si ritirano spesso nel collegio a far esercitii spirituali di Sant'Ignatio, e ciò fanno specialmente nella quaresima fin a venti e più insieme." University Library, Freiburg, in Br. *Cod.* 274, p. 94.

considering a plan for a Chinese Patriarchate of twelve dioceses with two or three archbishoprics.[1] The Cologne Jesuit Adam Schall maintained himself at Pekin even after the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Manchurian Tartars 1644 ; he won the goodwill of the new emperor Shung-Ti and though love of pleasure prevented the latter's conversion, he conceived a great esteem for the Christian religion and frequently visited Schall. The Jesuit took advantage of his conversations and his epistolary commerce with the emperor to wrest from him an ordinance favourable to Christianity and to win for it the sympathies of the educated classes.[2]

In southern China the Jesuits succeeded in converting the emperor of the dethroned Ming dynasty who had fled thither, together with three other members of the imperial family, among them the empress' son. The empress was given the name of Helena in baptism and her son that of Constantine.[3] The Vatican Archives still preserve the empress Helena's letter to Innocent X. written on silk, but by the time that document reached Rome the Pope was dead.[4]

[1] See *Rapporto delle missioni di Cina, *Scrit. rif.*, 1874, II., n. 596, Propaganda Archives, Rome. *Cf.* A. LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission de Chine*, Vannes, 1907 ; SCHWAGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1912, 207 *seq.* ; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXXIX., 120 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. .

[2] See SCHALL, *Relatio de initio et progressu missionis Soc. Iesu in regno Sinarum* (1665) ; MARTINI, *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate christianorum apud Sinas* (1654). *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 273.

[3] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 273 *seq.*

[4] The remarkable *Document discovered by Mgr. Ugolini (*cf. Antiquitäten-Zeitung*, 1911, 53), the authenticity of which was attested by the Chinese ambassador in Rome, is in *Arm. VII., caps. III., 36, Pap. Sec. Arch., with a latin translation. The Empress writes that she learnt the Faith from Fr. Andrew Xavier, " et ecce credidi " ; likewise " regina imperatoris mater Maria, regina eius legitima coniux Anna et filius imperatoris princeps Constantinus ". She sends the letter by " P. Andreas Xavier et Michael Boym, S.J., in aula imperatoris pro tempore assistentes ",

After the heroic martyrdom in 1648 of the Dominican, Blessed Capillas, the Dominican Morales, with three companions and the Franciscan Antonio di S. Maria with two companions, returned to Fukien in 1649. In 1650 the latter went to Shantung where he opened the mission of Tsinanfu and many others.[1]

The controversy concerning the lawfulness of the veneration of ancestors which had begun under Urban VIII[2]., became more acute under Innocent X. At Manila, in the Philippines, the question was eagerly discussed. The Dominican Morales of Macao summed up the controverted points under twelve headings and the Franciscan Antonio di S. Maria did so under fifteen. On the part of the Jesuits it was chiefly Francisco Furtado who made it his business to reply to these writings.[3] A proposal by the Dominican Provincial, Clement Gan, to thrash out the whole question in a joint assembly of theologians of both Orders was declined by the Jesuit Provincial Manuel Diaz on the ground that he had already dispatched to Rome one of his subjects, Alvaro Semedo, with a view to obtaining from Propaganda directions for a uniform line of conduct for the missionaries.[4] Thereupon the Dominicans likewise had recourse to Rome. At a Provincial Assembly at Manila in 1640 they unanimously chose Morales

and she asks him to send more Jesuits (dated November 4, 1650). The *reply of Alexander VII. to "Helena Tamingue Sinarum regina", dated December 18, 1655, is in *Epist.*, I., 282, Pap. Sec. Arch. *Cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, IV., Series XVII., 157.

[1] See the letters of Antonio of 1649 in MAAS, *Cartas de Cina*, I. (1917). *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 257.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, XXIX., 249.

[3] CASTNER, *Relatio; BIERMANN, 65; FURTADO, *Informatio antiquissima*, Paris, 1700. Furtado defends the conduct of the Jesuits in a letter of November 10, 1636, to Vitelleschi, General of the Order (FURTADO, 8–13), and in 1640 he replied to the twelve questions of Morales (*ibid.*, 19–52). Both writings are translated in PRAY, I., 32–49, 51–103.

[4] BIERMANN, 50–63. Little is known of the mission of Semedo; *cf. ibid.*, 66, n. 52.

for their representative. The latter sailed at once but only reached Rome towards the end of February, 1643; by that time Semedo had left the Eternal City.[1] A whole year went by before the seven *qualificators* of the Inquisition began their study of the question at fourteen sittings, from March 22nd to June, 1644. The decision was left to a Congregation of eight members under Cardinal Ginetti and at a later date under Cardinal Espada. Their final decisions were published by Propaganda at whose request the Inquisition had likewise taken up the matter.[2]

The queries which Morales submitted on behalf of the Dominicans and the Franciscans were summed up under seventeen headings; the first five were concerned with the Commandments of the Church, such as fasting and so forth, the observance of which met with some difficulty on the part of the Chinese neophytes and the levying of taxes; the two last were about prayers for the dead and the preaching of Christ crucified. The remaining points dealt with the burning question of co-operation in idolatrous acts.[3] The difficulties were presented in the form of queries, not as accusations against the Jesuits. However, a memorial of Morales to Propaganda, which forms a preamble to the seventeen queries,[4] makes some grave accusations against them. Morales starts from the danger of the Chinese missionaries becoming an occasion of spiritual ruin for the souls of the new converts; in fact according to him that ruin was already at work in consequence of the quarrel of the Jesuits in China with the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries; the Jesuits, he asserted, did not take to heart Urban VIII.'s warning to the missionaries, to pursue a uniform line of conduct. This

[1] Biermann, 66.

[2] *Ibid.*, 67.

[3] Decree of Propaganda of September 12, 1645, in *Collectanea*, I., 30–5, n. 114; *Bullarium Prop.* (1839 *seqq.*), I., 123 *seqq.*

[4] *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, III., Paris, 1767, 826.

introduction is in keeping with the eighteenth point [1] at the end of the seventeen. That additional point treats of the penalties which those missionaries are said to deserve who do, teach or tolerate any of the things enumerated in the seventeen points. Though the Congregation did not condemn the procedure described in the seventeen points from every point of view, on the whole its decision was in the sense of Morales' memorial: Propaganda's decree of September 12th, 1645 [2] contains a first condemnation of the Chinese rites.

Contrary to subsequent procedure, on this occasion the Congregation did not consider the question whether Morales' accusations were really justified by the facts. The accused denied it; a pamphlet by the Jesuit Philippucci [3] enumerates no less than forty-two inaccuracies as forming the basis of the accusations. The offerings made to Confucius and to the ancestors were not, in his view, real sacrifices; those who made them were not priests; the rooms in which the offerings were presented were not temples with real altars, nor were prayers offered to Confucius and to the ancestors.[4] Philippucci and the Jesuits generally, strongly protested against the most odious accusation of all, which subsequently made the round of the world in Pascal's "Lettres Provinciales" [5];

[1] *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, III., 829, and *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, n. XXXI. (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXXIV., 373). According to the *Annales*, III., 829, the intrigues of the Jesuits succeeded in suppressing the 18th question, "dont la resolution les eut notés et fait connoitre pour ce qu'ils ont été dans l'empire de la Chine. Un Prélat de Rome en envoya une copie faite sur l'original même, et c'est sur cette copie que nous donnons au public celle-ci.

[2] *Collect.*, n. 114.

[3] *De Sinensium ritibus politicis acta, seu praeludium ad plenam disquisitionem, an bona vel mala fide impugnentur opiniones et praxes missionariorum Soc. Jesu*, Lugd.-Parisiis, 1700.

[4] *Ibid.*, 13 *seqq.*

[5] Letter 4 (s. l., 1767), p. 54: "[dans les Indes et dans la Chine], où ils ont permis aux chrétiens l'idolâtrie même par cette subtile invention, etc."

according to Morales the Jesuits allowed the neophytes, in the ceremonial veneration of Confucius and the ancestors, to hide a crucifix amid the flowers or other ornaments, or to hold it in their hand, and to refer to it the homage which they paid in exactly the same manner as the pagans did to the pictures of the ancestors or the idols.[1] Ceremonies also which every beholder could only look upon as pagan, they were accused of attempting to justify in their conscience by means of a purely internal diversion of intention. However, the Jesuits were quite wrongly accused of such revolting duplicity, but it is true that at times when Christian Mandarins had to take an oath in a pagan temple, they had a table placed there with a large crucifix and before this they took the oath, but this was done quite openly.[2]

The Dominicans based these inaccuracies on information concerning the conduct of the Jesuits obtained by them at Tongtou, about the turn of the year 1635. By then they had been a year in China, yet it was only then, and by chance, that they learnt something about the centre and kernel of Chinese life, the worship of ancestors. Thus they had not as yet acquired a deep knowledge of things Chinese and in all probability their acquaintance with the Chinese language and literature was little better. It is true that at a later date, under Clement XI. and Benedict XIV. the Mendicants won their case against the Jesuits, but it is nevertheless regrettable that, notwithstanding their very inadequate information, they threw themselves so suddenly and so precipitately upon the Jesuits and that their irritation against

[1] *Collectanea*, n. 114, p. 33 (septimo : the veneration of Chimhoam ; octavo : public veneration of Confucius).

[2] BIERMANN, 196 *seq.* ; *Acta Sanctorum Maii Propylaeum, Paralipomena*, Paris, 1868, 144. The Jesuits, says Philippucci (19, n. 20), held the veneration of Confucius which they permitted, to be either lawful or unlawful : if lawful why then this extenuation by means of the hidden cross ? if unlawful, " ista simulatio . . . intolerabilis plane et stultissima videretur, eiusque permissio non esset tam facile sine ullo fundamento in Patres Societatis reiicienda, quasi doctrinam adeo nefariam docerent."

their rivals in the mission field should show itself so plainly. This feeling finds expression in the preamble to the seventeen points [1] and by more than one token it appears that they deemed themselves chosen by God to bring back the church of China into the right path.[2]

All this was bound to make bad blood, hence it was not to be expected that the Jesuits would accept Propaganda's decree of 1645 in silence. This also Morales reported in Rome in his own fashion [3]; on his part the Franciscan Antonio di S. Maria reported from the Philippines that there were "some religious" there who saw in the decrees of Propaganda no more than private opinions.[4] Thereupon Innocent X. confirmed anew [5] in general terms and without mentioning the decree of 1645, a decision of his predecessor by the terms of which the duly accredited decrees of that Congregation had the force of Apostolic Constitutions. For the rest the decree of Propaganda concerning the Chinese rites was not fully carried out even in the missions of the Mendicants,[6] but the Chinese translation for the neophytes mentioned only eight out of the seventeen points and these in a diluted form; in particular the prohibition "under pain of excommunication" was replaced by the expression that this or that "was not seemly".[7]

[1] See above, p. 202.

[2] "Just as Divine Providence had chosen Francis and Dominic in the 13th century to prevent the ruin of the Church, so were their sons now chosen for the Church in China." Antonio di S. Maria; *Arch. Francisc.*, IV., 52).

[3] He "warns" Propaganda "not to believe that the Jesuits will submit to the Roman decisions". BIERMANN, 85, note.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] On July 30, 1652, *Collect.*, I., 35 *seq.*, n. 119.

[6] PHILIPPUCCIUS, 42.

[7] Translation of the Chinese text in PHILIPPUCCIUS, 40 *seq.* After a few historical data the document states that Innocent X. had issued a decree "inquiens: (1) Christianos regiae Sinarum familiae Ta Mim [the Ming dynasty which still ruled over part of China] maioribus defunctis munera offerre non convenit; (2)

In South America, where the religious situation was far from uniformly bright, the mission to the pagans was also grievously neglected. In 1645, at the prayer of the Catholics of Pernambuco, Innocent X. forbade the Bishop of San Salvador (Bahia), to compel the latter to present themselves before him when they had to take oaths in connexion with marriage dispensations.[1] Just as the French Capuchins wrested Pernambuco from the hands of the Dutch for the Portuguese and then established themselves there, so did the Portuguese Jesuits rescue Maranhao from the power of Holland in 1644, their reward being the suppression of slavery in 1652.[2] In 1645 twelve Capuchins took over a mission from Propaganda on the Maranhao whilst in 1646 some of their colleagues went to Tuapel and Nahuelgami in Chile.[3]

In the North, Spanish Capuchins penetrated into Darien, (Panama) in 1646 and into Kumana (Piritu) in 1650; in

Confucio munera offerre non convenit; (3) Insuper Chim Hoam munera offerre non convenit; (4) Tempore praedicationis omnia ad D. N. Iesu Christi Incarnationem, mundi redemptionem et passionem pertinentia convenit promulgare, et Iesu Christi imaginem in Domini altari erigere convenit; (5) Maiorum defunctorum epitaphium in tabella descriptum exponere christianis non convenit; (6) Pecuniam alteri foenerare non convenit; (7) Tempore baptismi convenit, ut sacerdos omnes mulieres sancto oleo vice alterius [sic!] inungat, et sanctum salem gustandum eisdem praebeat, et in earum mortis articulo convenit, ut vice alterius sanctum oleum iis conferat; (8) Omnibus maribus et feminis christianis diem dominicum et magnos dies festos, abstinentiam a carnibus et ieiunia servare convenit." The mention of the Ming dynasty shows that the translation was made immediately after Morales' return and probably by himself. It only came to the knowledge of the Jesuits in 1679 (*ibid.*, 43 *seq.*).

[1] *Ius pontif.*, I., 236 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 330, and the authorities there quoted; GIUSEPPE DA CASTROGIOVANNI O. M. Cap., *Notizie storiche della missione Cappuccina di Rio de Janeiro*, 1650–1910, Catania, 1910.

[3] ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 728, and SCHMIDLIN, 305, n. 6, 309, n. 9.

1647 the two Jesuits Grillet and Bachamel went to Guyana.[1]

In Paraguay, in 1647, the Jesuits had twenty-seven Reductions with 300,000 Indians, but they were involved in a fierce contest with the Franciscan Bishop Bernardino de Cardenas of Asunción on account of the latter's pretension to visit their Reductions and to replace the Fathers by secular priests. In 1652 Cardenas left his diocese for good.[2]

A great stir was caused by a dispute which broke out in 1647 in Mexico between the Jesuits and the Bishop of La Puebla de los Angelos, Juan Palafox y Mendoza.[3] Born at Fitero in Spain and sent to Mexico in 1639, armed with extraordinary faculties, Palafox, to the amazement of everybody, deposed the Viceroy and took his place himself; in addition to this he was also Captain General, Visitor of the Audiencia, Bishop of Puebla and administrator of the archbishopric of Mexico which had become vacant just then. As Visitor, Palafox gave the city of Mexico occasion for grievous complaints to Philip IV. and as Bishop he promptly came in conflict with all the Orders, with the temporary exception of the Society of Jesus. However, his initial friendliness with the Jesuits turned to a profound estrangement in consequence of a dispute over a tenth which he wished to levy from their possessions. On March 6th,

[1] See Rocco da Cesinale, III., 712, and Schmidlin, 302.

[2] *Cf.* Streit, *Bibl. Missionum*, II., 455 *seqq.*, 507 *seq.*, 527; Schmidlin, 318; Astráin, 568 and 596; Lemmens, 331; P. Pastells, II., 1–356 (Documents, 1638–54).

[3] Astráin, V., 356–411; Eguren, *Palafox et les Jésuites*, Madrid, 1878; Genaro Garcia, *Don Juan Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de Puebla y Osma, visitador y virrey de la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1918; *Idem, Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México*, VII.: *Don Juan Palafox y Mendoza, su virreinato en la Nueva España, sus contiendas con los P.P. Jesuitas, sus partidarios en Puebla, sus apariciones, sus escritos escogidos*, Mexico, 1906; Streit, *Bibl. Miss.*, II., 472; Letter of Palafox to Innocent X. of May 25, 1647, *ibid.*, 497, that of January 8, 1649, *ibid.*, 511, 548 *seq.* *Cf.* Mariano Cuevas, *Hist. de la Iglesia en México*, III., Tlalpam, 1924, 283–312.

1647, he forbade them to hear confessions and to preach and demanded that they should furnish proof that they had the required faculties. This the Jesuits refused to do; this was a grave blunder which earned them a severe reprimand from their General. They nevertheless no longer celebrated offices publicly, though at the approach of the first Friday in Lent, which was always observed with particular solemnity, they asked Palafox' permission to preach the customary sermon. Permission was refused. Thereupon the Fathers argued that it was enough to have asked for the permission. The Bishop now laid his case before the general public by publishing a proclamation on March 8th, 1647, to the effect that the Jesuits had no faculties for hearing confessions or preaching, though he himself had at first chosen his own confessor from among them and on his visitations he always took with him a Jesuit as confessor and preacher for the Indians. Palafox now barred the confessional and the pulpit to the Jesuits until they should have asked him for faculties.

In view of the lack of facilities of communications in those days, which often made it difficult to have recourse to Rome, the Jesuits, like the other Orders, enjoyed the right of choosing so-called Conservators who had the power to safeguard their privileges in virtue of special papal faculties. Instead of seeking an amicable settlement with the Bishop, the Jesuits had recourse to this unfortunate remedy and chose two Dominicans for their Conservators. Now although the four Orders established in Mexico, viz. the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Mercedarians, as well as the Chapter of Mexico City and finally even the Archbishop of that city, had declared that the situation was such as to justify the appointment of Conservators, their decision was none the less a mistake for Palafox had not gone beyond his rights. Consequently Palafox refused to recognize the Conservators who, on their part, published a manifesto in which they declared that the Bishop had incurred excommunication—a grievous "exorbitance" as the Jesuit General described it. On April 6th Palafox excommunicated the Conservators.

On June 4th the Bishop reinforced his defence by a most unusual manifestation. On the evening of that day all the bells of the city were rung till far into the night; no one knew why. On the following morning the bells were again rung for a long time. The whole city flocked to the cathedral; at the end of High Mass Palafox, escorted by the entire Chapter, seated himself at the entrance of the choir whilst a document was read inculcating obedience to the Bishop and forbidding acknowledgement of the Conservators. After that the Bishop and Chapter went in procession, preceded by a cross covered with a black veil, to a platform from which he gave an explanation of the decree just read. There followed the recitation of the imprecatory psalm (Ps. CVIII.), so called by reason of its terrible imprecations, and at its conclusion the Canons put out the lighted candles they had carried and threw them on the ground. Palafox had not foreseen that the Jesuits would have their windows smashed and that the ordinances of the Conservators would be bespattered with dirt. More serious disorders were only prevented by the intervention of the Inquisition and the Viceroy who extended the royal protection to the Conservators. On June 7th Palafox drove in state through the streets of the city, to the sound of the bells, whilst his partisans hailed him as Viceroy.

Whilst the Viceroy Salvatierro sought to reconcile the disputants, Palafox suddenly disappeared from La Puebla for a whole four months; no one knew his whereabouts; he himself left word that he was going away in the hope that his absence would promote the restoration of peace. The Chapter of La Puebla now undertook the government of the diocese in the name of the Bishop and at its request the Jesuits submitted their faculties on July 19th, when the Chapter renewed them. In point of fact sixteen of the twenty-four Jesuits of the city had received their powers from Palafox himself. Until November they exercised their ministry without molestation. Thanks to the mediation of the Viceroy the mutual excommunications were raised by Palafox and the Conservators and on November 27th the Bishop made

his solemn entry into La Puebla. Tolerable relations were resumed with the Jesuits and the conflict seemed settled.

In reality it was not so. In May, 1648, a friend of the Bishop, Marcos de Torres y Rueda, Bishop of Yucatan, became Viceroy. Palafox now threw aside all sense of his own dignity and gave full vent to his resentment against the Jesuits. On May 16th he drove through the city in an open carriage, escorted by a crowd of noisy youths, who hailed him with shouts of victory and threw stones against the houses of the friends of the Jesuits. Handbills with the text of alleged excommunications against the Jesuits were scattered and Palafox threatened not to ordain anyone who had studied in their colleges. The hated religious were accused of simony and assassinations and three Canons were detained in incredibly cruel confinement for having protected the Conservators, in compliance with the order of the previous Viceroy.

In September, 1648, a Brief came from Rome, bearing the date of May 14th, 1648,[1] which Palafox considered as a triumph for his cause. In the preceding year he had forwarded to Rome five accusations against the Jesuits, with a request for a papal sentence which, as a matter of fact, was given by a commission of five Cardinals and four assessors.[2] The Brief made a change in the existing law, to the disadvantage of the Jesuits. Gregory XIII. had granted them the privilege of preaching, hearing confessions, saying Mass in their own churches, in any part of those distant countries, without further formality, provided they had been approved by *any Bishop whatever*. Gregory XV. revoked this privilege by insisting on the approval of the Bishop *of the diocese*; Urban VIII. had excepted the Spanish dominions, hence Gregory XIII.'s privilege had revived. Now Innocent X.'s Brief, as if by inadvertence, failed to mention Urban VIII.'s restriction, and took the standpoint of Gregory XV.'s decision. Thus

[1] Reproduced in *Bull.*, XV., 713 *seq.*, and in *Ius pontif.*, I., 253 *seq.*

[2] Spada, Sacchetti, Ginetti, Carpegna and Franciotti; the assessors were: Fagnani, Maraldi, Paolucci and Farnese.

the privilege of the Jesuits was revoked by this decree, but it was evident enough that the latter would lodge a protest against Rome's apparent oversight. Innocent X. also declared that Palafox was within his rights when he forbade all pastoral work within his diocese to those Jesuits who refused to submit their faculties. Consequently the nomination of Conservators and the latter's sentence and excommunication were likewise null and void.

In obedience to this Brief, the faculties of the twenty-two Jesuits in La Puebla were submitted to Palafox; twelve of them he renewed at once, the rest he wished to subject to further study. Palafox might have been satisfied with his triumph, but he would not be content. He insisted that the Jesuits should seek public absolution from their excommunication and, as was rumoured by some officials, with a rope round their necks and a black taper in their hands. However, things did not go so far. In view of a rumour that the original text of the Bull had been tampered with, the Jesuits appealed to the Royal Council which, on the strength of papal concessions, enjoyed in Mexico the most exorbitant powers even in the ecclesiastical sphere. That body gave orders to withhold the Bull and to hand over the deeds to the fiscal. On February 6th, 1648, Philip IV. recalled Palafox from Mexico; in June, 1649, the latter obeyed the order and returned to Spain. He had been removed from the office of Visitor of the *Audiencia* already in October, 1647. Before leaving for Spain he drew up his famous memorandum on the Jesuits addressed to the Pope. Already at an earlier date, viz. May 25th, 1647, he had written to the Pope making accusations which are in part explained by the circumstance that his quarrel with the hated religious was at its height just then. In his letter of January 8th, 1649, his accusations against the Jesuits exceeded all bounds.[1]

[1] The authenticity of the letter is proved by ARNAULD. The author of the *Pratique morale des Jésuites* (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXXIII., 618 *seqq.*), ASTRÁIN (V., 407 *seqq.*), DUHR (*Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 640 *seq.*, and Cardinal Calini in the process of beatification of Palafox (in [BOERO], *Osservazioni sopra l'istoria del pontificato*

Meanwhile the discussion of the tiresome business was proceeding in Rome. At the request of the Jesuits all the facts of the dispute were brought together; out of these fifty-one points thirteen only were recognized as certain by the cardinalitial Congregation (December 17th, 1652).[1] On the whole the thirteen points are not unfavourable to the Jesuits. Thus the first point states that previous to Palafox' prohibition, they had been authorized, either by himself or by his predecessors, both to preach and to hear the confessions of seculars. The last point establishes the fact that the five accusations sent in by Palafox do not prove the Jesuits' guilt, nor did it appear that any one of them had incurred excommunication or that the censures pronounced by the Bishop could be looked upon as justified.

No judgment was pronounced with regard to the past and directions were only given for future conduct. Cardinal Spada[2] wrote to Palafox requesting him privately to give faculties to the superiors of the Jesuits to absolve any of their subjects who might perchance have incurred some censure. Just as the Jesuits were directed to show submission and respect for the Bishop, so was Palafox repeatedly exhorted to treat with due esteem so praiseworthy and useful an Order, and to embrace with fatherly affection a religious Society which had so fruitfully and so laboriously cultivated the vineyard of the Lord.

On the same day a Brief was dispatched to the Jesuits which put an end to the disputes. The Fathers had protested against the Brief of 1648, but the Congregation upheld it on February 14th, 1652. Thereupon they asked once more

di Clemente XIV. scritta dal P. A. Theiner, II., Monza, 1854, 261), do not doubt its authenticity. In Palafox, *Obras*, the letter is found in Vol. XI., 63–120, and in Arnauld, *loc. cit.*, p. 713–760. According to Calini (*loc. cit.*, 263) the letter proves that "Palafoxii in carpenda proximorum fama effrenis malitia, in mendaciis libertas, in conviciis facilitas et obstinatio in sua iniquitate, sine poenitentia factorum et a se scriptorum.".

[1] Published in *Obras*, XII., 552. *Cf.* Astráin, V., 407 *seqq.*

[2] On December 17, 1652, *Obras*, XII., 554.

whether the nomination of Conservators had been lawful at least on grounds other than those enumerated in the Brief. On December 17th, 1652, the Congregation replied in the negative and imposed silence for the future. Innocent X. confirmed both decisions on November 17th, 1652, and on May 17th, 1653.[1] Some difficulties subsequently arose in Spain but these were removed by means of a compromise between Palafox and the Jesuits. The former did not return to La Puebla but became Bishop of Osma in Spain where he died in 1659.

For the rest in 1648 Innocent X. confirmed the erection of a Seminary by Palafox and permitted its students to take the doctorate in philosophy, theology and Canon Law at the University of Mexico even though they did not attend the lectures there. He likewise approved the Constitutions of the Congregations of the priests of St. Peter at Los Angeles.[2] Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians continued their missionary labours in Mexico; the Franciscans penetrated further into Yucatan and New Leon[3]; in 1648 two Jesuits accompanied Bordel into California whilst Jesuits, Dominicans and Capuchins continued their labours in the French Lesser Antilles.[4]

In British territory in North America, at the request of the Queen of England, the Jesuit mission of Maryland was reopened in 1648 by Fr. Fisher, and that of the Capuchins in Virginia in 1650, but both were soon abandoned once more.[5] In 1645 the Capuchin Prefect Pacificus, in Canada, sent Fr. Archangel to France; the Father was accompanied by an Indian who received baptism whilst in France.[6] By 1650 the Jesuits in Canada had converted almost all the Hurons, the Algonquins and the Montagnais, but during the

[1] *Ius pontif.*, I., 281; *Bull.*, XV., 705 *seq.*

[2] *Ius pontif.*, I., 257 *seq.*, 267 *seq.*

[3] SCHMIDLIN, 349; *cf.* 344, n. 7, and 348, n. 6.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 295 *seq.*

[5] SCHMIDLIN, 356, n. 6; *Arch. stor. ital.*, LXXVI., 2 (1920), 250 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

war with the Iroquois (1646–9) several missionaries suffered martyrdom, a number of stations were destroyed and the Christian Hurons exterminated, except for a small remnant which in 1650 was transported to Quebec.[1] Already in 1646 an assembly of the French clergy had prayed for the establishment of a Canadian bishopric, and for this the Queen and the ecclesiastical council had in view the Jesuits; but the latter proposed François de Montmorency–Laval who, in effect, was appointed Vicar Apostolic.[2] Laval proved a splendid Bishop whose merits have received sufficient recognition by the fact that in 1890 he was proposed for beatification.[3] That honour was actually bestowed in 1925 on the above-named Jesuit missionaries. Anyone who undertook to live among the Indians of Canada thereby renounced all the comforts and refinements with which two thousand years has embellished life in Europe, and ran the obvious risk of falling into the hands of hostile Indians who then sought to discover, by means of the most exquisite tortures, how much pain the white man could endure. Of this the Jesuit Martyrs of the years 1646–9 had ample experience, but they also endured the most dreadful tortures with a heroism beyond all praise.

[1] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

[2] DE LA ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle France au XVII. siècle*, Paris, 1895; SCHMIDLIN, 412; A. GOSSELIN, *La mission du Canada avant Mgr. de Laval* (1615–1659), EVREUX, 1909; The Jesuit relations and allied documents. Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610–1671, ed. THWAITES, 73 vols., 1896–1901.

[3] Biography by GOSSELIN, Quebec, 1890. *Cf. The Cath. Encyclop.*, XV., New York [1911], 45 *seq.* Laval was first destined for Tongking; see above, p. 193.

CHAPTER V.

Jansenism in France and the Netherlands.[1]

(1.)

Urban VIII. had raised his voice against Jansenism as soon as it arose, though without marked success.[2] Under his successors also conditions for the further progress of the new teaching were only seemingly unfavourable.

Counselled as she was by the Marquise de Senecey, the governess of the royal children, Queen Anne of France was a decided opponent of "the disciples of St. Augustine",[3] but the high functionary, François Daubray, whom she charged with the surveillance of the party, allowed himself to be intimidated by the Jansenists, with the result that he did his duty badly.[4] On the other hand the Queen had the advantage of having Vincent de Paul to advise her with regard to Church appointments, but even he did not succeed in preventing mistakes. Though Anne had promised him to give no preferment to men suspected of favouring the new teaching, the two most powerful patrons of the sect, viz. Jean François Paul de Gondi and Louis Henri de Gondrin de Pardaillan, were respectively named coadjutors of Paris and Sens in 1643 and 1644.[5]

[1] For this chapter I had at my disposal many documents from various archives left by the late Professor Schill, who was unfortunately not able to make use of them.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXIX., 119 *seq.*

[3] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 112, 137. Rapin gives an account of Jansenism as it works in practical life. We may trust him for his assertions based on personal observation, but otherwise he is not always reliable. *Cf.* for his characterization, Bremond, IV., 312 *seq.*

[4] Rapin, I., 162.

[5] *Ibid.*, 47. On Gondrin see G. Dubois, Alençon, 1902.

The Council of State shared the Queen's religious standpoint. Chavigny, who as castellan of Vincennes and St. Cyran's gaoler, had been won over by the latter for his person and his cause, was the only one of its members to support the party,[1] whilst Henry, Prince of Condé, using Vincent de Paul as his intermediary, was planning measures against the new teaching with the nuncio and chancellor Séguier.[2] Mazarin was but little interested in religious questions. His ambition was to maintain himself in his position, hence his anxiety to stand well with all parties and to play off the one against the other. Even the attitude of the Bishops was not uniformly clear. Though the controversialist François d'Abra de Raconis could write that as against the sixteen Bishops and the twenty Doctors who had praised Arnauld's book on Holy Communion, there were a hundred Bishops and two hundred Doctors who condemned it,[3] it is none the less a sign of the confusion of thought that, as late as 1645, the Archbishop of Auch and the ten Bishops of his Province commanded their clergy to set Arnauld's teaching on Holy Communion before the people.[4] Many of the high prelates were moreover prejudiced in favour of *Petrus Aurelius*, hence for St. Cyran's ideas, forasmuch as he pretended to defend the rights of the Bishops against the regulars. As a matter of fact, France was just then undergoing a movement whose aim it was to limit the privileges of the regulars in favour of the secular clergy. The "disciples of St. Augustine" skilfully exploited this tendency of the period to their own advantage.[5] At the time of Innocent X.'s election most of the senior professors of the Sorbonne were

[1] Rapin, I., 41. [2] *Ibid.*, 40

[3] Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XVI., XLIX.

[4] *Ibid.*, XXVI., XXXIII.

[5] Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 343 s. "L'on peut dire que ce fut, de toutes leur intrigues, celle qui leur réussit le mieux" (*ibid.*, 344). "Ce fut, à proprement parler, l'intrigue des Jansénistes, qui mit en vogue cet esprit de paroisse qui régna depuis si fort à Paris, par où les curés devinrent si importants qu'ils se firent redouter des grands, respecter des petits, considérer de tout le monde" (*Ibid.*, 485).

still hostile to Jansenius, although the brilliant name of the youthful Arnauld won for him an ever increasing number of followers among the younger ones.[1]

Nor were the parish priests of Paris inclined, at that time, to favour the innovations, hence, if they would win over the masses, it was necessary for the party to get an able Jansenist appointed to some prominent parish in Paris. In this they were successful. Hilerin, curé of Saint-Merry, was tortured by a scruple that he had become a priest without a true vocation ; accordingly Arnauld and De Barcos persuaded him that it was best for him to resign his parish. His place was then taken by Henri Duhamel, the man who had introduced the practice of public penance at Saint-Maurice. Duhamel played no small part in the story of Jansenism in Paris ; it was due to the influence of this clever and persuasive man that the aristocratic world opened its purse for Port-Royal.[2]

On the whole, at the time of Innocent X.'s accession, the new teaching was meeting with more disapproval than favour on the part of leading circles in France. On the other hand the efforts of the opponents of the heresy were hampered in sundry ways, whereas its friends and adherents were united, determined, shrewd and above all, exceedingly active.

Their chief tool was the press. Arnauld and " the gentlemen of Port-Royal " did not write in learned Latin, they wrote in French, and in excellent French. Arnauld's book on Holy Communion was positively devoured and the results soon became apparent. The new reformer alienated priests and people from the altar, as Vincent de Paul lamented in 1648.[3] It is possible that some people in France or Italy drew some benefit from the book, he said, but in Paris for one hundred in

[1] " La jeunesse [at the University] court impunément après ces nouveautés," the Jesuit Pintherau tells the older professors in 1646, in PRUNEL, *La renaissance cath. en France au 17e siècle*, Paris, 1921, 285.

[2] RAPIN, I., 60 *seqq*. Duhamel, however, renounced the Jansenistic doctrines some time before his death. DUBOIS, *Hist. de l'abbé de Rancé*, II., Paris, 1866, 17 *seqq*.

[3] To Dehorgny, September 10, 1648, COSTE, III., 372.

whom it had perhaps called forth greater reverence in the reception of the Sacraments, there were at least ten thousand to whom it had done harm by frightening them away altogether from Holy Communion.[1] For quite ordinary sins the new reformers often put off absolution.[2] Even the Easter Communions had diminished: there were three thousand less at St. Sulpice, whilst the parish priest of St. Nicolas-du-Chardonnet who visited the households of his parish after Easter, found that fifteen hundred people had not been to Holy Communion. Hardly anyone, or at least only very few people, went to the Sacraments on the first Sunday of the month or on feast days, and even in the churches of the Orders those of the Jesuits were the only ones where things were a little better.[3]

In 1644 Petau said of the Jansenist teaching on grace that if Calvin were to return from the grave he would find many Catholics ready to defend his errors.[4] It is true that at that time the "Augustinus" of the Bishop of Ypres could only find readers among the learned, but three sermons against Jansenius preached at Richelieu's request by the able theologian Isaac Habert in 1642 and 1643, provided Arnauld with a suitable pretext for publishing two apologies of Jansenius [5] in September, 1644, and April, 1645.[6] According to Arnauld, Jansenius was "the luminary of scholars, the mirror of Bishops, a Master of piety; he appeared as an angel on earth whose spirit dwelt in heaven, who only looked to God and found no rest except in the love of the sovereign and unchanging truth. In him could be seen the penitential spirit of a religious, the gravity of a scholar, the courage of a Bishop, whilst his burning charity made him the father of the poor and the refuge of those in trouble". The Netherlands venerated him "as Augustine returned from heaven" whilst in France

[1] *Ibid.*, 362.
[2] *Ibid.*, 368.
[3] To Dehorgny, June 25, 1648, *ibid.*, 321.
[4] *De poenitentia*, l. 1, c. 1, n. 3, p. 212.
[5] ARNAULD, *Oeuvres*, XVI., XIII., XVI.
[6] *Ibid.*, 39–312; XVII., 1–637.

"his holy teaching", whatever his enemies might say, "yielded wonderful fruits."[1] In similar rhetorical phrases, Habert is then demolished and even now Arnauld describes Urban VIII.'s Bull as a forgery.[2] In his defence of Jansenius against the accusation of heresy he starts from the principle that the question was not whether this teaching was condemned by the Bull against Baius, or by the Council of Trent, but whether it was the teaching of St. Augustine.[3] Here, then, is a plain admission that he has given up the Catholic standpoint: the "disciples of St. Augustine" considered themselves authorized to follow the views of Augustine without any more ado, solely because they were taught by him.

True these writings had no direct influence on the masses, but their elegant French and showy rhetoric succeeded in rousing enthusiasm for the new teaching in the upper classes.[4]

It is a well-known fact that already at that time the salons of Paris and the "preciosity" of aristocratic ladies had begun to exercise great influence upon French intellectual life. Arnauld conquered these salons for the new teaching and turned them into so many centres from which it radiated into wider circles. If even before this "St. Augustine was the only topic of conversation"[5] in that world, it was still more so after the publication of Arnauld's new books. Gentlemen at court and the ladies of the great world discussed, with the air of experts, grace and predestination, bandied about the Councils of Arles and Orange, extolled Augustine and damned Molina. Jansenism became the fashion in leading circles; one had to be a supporter of Jansenius if one wished to be reckoned intelligent and to be considered such it sufficed to declare oneself in favour of Port-Royal.[6] Not a few among

[1] ARNAULD, *Oeuvres*, XVI., 56, 59 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, XVII., 64 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*; DENZINGER, *Ench. Symb.* (1928), n. 1320.

[4] RAPIN, *Mém.*, I., 95.

[5] "On ne parloit que de saint Augustin dans les ruelles" (RAPIN, I., 62). On the meaning of "ruelles", *cf.* KREITEN, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.*, XXVI. (1884), 432.

[6] RAPIN, I., 95; *cf.* 22: "c'étoit être à la mode que d'être de

the most aristocratic ladies and gentlemen built themselves houses in proximity to Port-Royal in order to withdraw thither at intervals or even altogether.[1] Among them was the Marquise de Sablé, of whom it was said that by her example she won almost as many adherents for the new doctrine in the great world as Jansenius had secured for it by his book among scholars.[2] However, the approval of the new penitential teaching did not necessarily imply that this new kind of solitaries personally took up the works of penance.[3]

The broad masses of the people were not overlooked because of these aristocratic circles. In 1647 Jean Jacques Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice, wrote that the new teachers successfully insinuated themselves everywhere under cover of reform and piety, and everybody sided with them.[4] One of their chief means of propaganda was to circulate small books which were soon in everybody's hands.[5] St. Cyran had composed a "household theology" which was prohibited by the Archbishop of Paris in 1643 and by Rome in 1654.[6] In 1650 a "Catechism of Grace" by Feydeau sought to render "Augustinus" intelligible to the people. The booklet, which was prohibited in the year of its publication, nevertheless circulated under divers titles both in France and in the Low Countries.[7] Numerous biting pamphlets, scattered among the general public, brought it about that no one cared any longer to attack the powerful party. Even preachers in their refutations of the new doctrine on grace, no longer dared to designate

ce parti là." The Archbishop of Embrun said to the Duke of Orleans: "que Son Altesse Royale avoit trop d'esprit pour ne pas être du parti de Port-Royal" (*ibid.*, 135).

[1] *Ibid.*, 172, 211.

[2] *Ibid.*, 175. *Cf.* VICTOR COUSIN, *Mme de Sablé*, Paris, 1855. She is the *Parthenie* in the novel *Grand Cyrus* of MADAME DE SCUDÉRY (PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, IV., 101).

[3] RAPIN, I., 174.

[4] DUBRUEL, in *Recherches*, VII. (1917), 258.

[5] RAPIN, I., 137.

[6] [PATOUILLET], IV., 83 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 226 *seqq.* Reprint of the *Catéchisme de la grâce*, in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XVII., 839–848.

its authors by name [1] and things had come to such a pass that loud murmuring arose if the teaching of Jansenius was attacked in the pulpit.[2] By spreading all manner of calumnies about him, special though fruitless efforts were made to intimidate Olier, whose zeal had preserved the whole of the faubourg Saint-Germain from Jansenism. When his associates wished to defend him, Olier threw their apologies into the fire unread, with the remark: "Do you not know that calumny is the reward with which God is wont to honour the defenders of religion?" [3] Olier was not the only victim of the party's evil tongues. Port-Royal was an adept at extolling its own people and in reviling its opponents. To-day a man might be an ignoramus; all of a sudden he got a reputation as a theologian and a preacher, simply by going over to Port-Royal. The broad masses were already impressed by the simple fact that the members of the young sect described themselves as the disciples of the great Augustine and their opponents as the followers of the almost unknown Molina.[4] Great also was the influence exercised by the Abbey of Port-Royal. On one occasion Queen Anne confessed that the strict conduct observed there impressed her not a little, except that she felt repelled by the fact that everybody there spoke ill of those who did not belong to the party.[5] Even the young nuns were brought up with an exaggerated notion of their importance, as if God had specially chosen them to reform His Church; hence arose a presumption which refused to bow even to papal authority.[6] Nevertheless even genuinely devout people were impressed by the fact that the only topic of conversation at the Abbey was the strictness of life in the early centuries of Christianity, the severity of the primitive penitential system,

[1] Rapin, I., 135, 137.

[2] Olier, in Faillon, II., 422.

[3] *Ibid.*, 418 *seqq.*; Rapin, I., 137, 163.

[4] Rapin, I., 133, 197.

[5] *Ibid.*, 64.

[6] Rapin, I., 122. V. Cousin (Jacqueline Pascal[6], Paris, 1869, 9) says of Port-Royal: "Peut-être le don céleste de l'humilité lui a-t-il un peu manqué."

the decadence and abuses of later times.[1] Moreover Port-Royal could point to real achievements, even to such a miracle as the fact that, in opposition to the prevailing fashion, the ladies adopted a more becoming attire.[2] Even the Abbey's wealth,[3] the result of the generosity of friends, was held to be a sign of God's particular favour.[4] Port-Royal became one of the sights and it was the fashionable thing to visit the nuns and to lend a wondering ear as they unfolded the mysteries of grace and predestination to their admiring listeners.[5] Madame de Sévigné has left us an enthusiastic account of the visit she made in 1674.[6]

The spread of the new sect was greatly furthered by the troubles of the Fronde: they diverted the attention of the Government so that the "disciples of St. Augustine" had a free hand.[7] As a matter of fact the party welcomed the struggle with the court for Queen Anne was an opponent whilst Mazarin was at least no friend[8]; moreover the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, the future Cardinal Retz, who was deeply implicated in the intrigues of the Fronde, inclined, from political reasons, towards the Jansenists; the result was that they supported him and his friends both by their influence and by the considerable sums of money which they received from their own adherents.[9] Queen Anne subsequently

[1] RAPIN, I., 64, 134.

[2] *Ibid.*, 333. "Manches à la Janséniste" became the fashion; *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 128, 276, 361, 525.

[4] *Ibid.*, 133.

[5] *Ibid.*, 362, 441.

[6] "Ce Port-Royal est une Thébaide, c'est le paradis, c'est un désert où toute la dévotion du christianisme s'est rangée, c'est une sainteté répandue dans tout ce pays à une lieue à la ronde." Letter of January 26, 1674, *Lettres*, ed. by MONMERQUE, III., Paris, 1862, 390.

[7] RAPIN, I., 248.

[8] *Ibid.*, 237.

[9] *Ibid.*, 268. "J'ai ouï dire au prince de Conty, au même temps qu'il fut fait généralissime des troupes de Paris, qu'il

observed that the Jansenists had shown so much zeal that in a sense the war was their work, a circumstance which the King would remember at some future day; in point of fact at court the troubles of the Fronde were spoken of as properly the Jansenist war.[1] Duhamel, the Jansenist curé of Saint-Merry, specially distinguished himself by his zeal for the Fronde.[2]

By degrees the new teaching took firm roots beyond the capital. It was preached at Amiens during the last years of Urban VIII. At the request of Bishop Caumartin, Port-Royal dispatched thither two ex-Jesuits, Labadie and Dabert, but their teaching caused such confusion in the city that the two emissaries had to be barred from the pulpit. Labadie now embarked on an adventurous career. By permission of the Bishop he preached Jansenism at Bazas, but at Toulouse he narrowly escaped being burnt at the stake for a number of misdeeds in a convent of nuns. At Montauban he turned Huguenot and wrote a book to show that Jansenius and Calvin taught the same doctrine. After founding a peculiar sect known for its fanatical and communistic tendencies he died at Altona in 1674, having been expelled, together with his sect, from Holland and Germany.[3]

By 1650 Jansenism had spread to nearly every province of France.[4] Among the religious Orders Bérulle's Oratory in

avoit grande obligation aux Jansénistes, lesquels, pour soutenir le party opposé à la cour et au roy, venoient tous les jours luy offrir leurs suffrages et les bourses de leurs amis pour entretenir la guerre," *ibid.*, 246.

[1] *Ibid.*, 271.

[2] *Ibid.*, 265, 277.

[3] RAPIN, I., 50; DE MEYER, 322 *seqq.*; GOEBEL-FRANK, in HERZOG-HAUCK, *Realenzyklop*, XI.[3], 191 *seqq.*

[4] RAPIN, I., 309 *seq.* On Jansenism in Marseilles see *ibid.*, 228 and p. 167 *seq.*, in Guyenne and at Bordeaux, p. 291, 339, in the neighbourhood of Blois, p. 338 (*cf.* 130), at Angers, p. 340, at Beauvais, p. 344, in Auvergue, p. 346, at Sens, p. 448, at Amiens, p. 527. In the **Excerpta ex actis s. Officii*, 1653–6, f. 896, the *Letter of the Bishop of Verdun (without date), who

particular included many supporters of the new teaching. The second General, Condren, was an opponent and one of those who denounced St. Cyran to Richelieu; the third General, Bourgoing, bound his subjects to accept the Bull of Urban VIII. and in a memorial to the Queen he drew up a set of principles on the administration of the sacrament of Penance which were diametrically opposed to Arnauld's book on Holy Communion.[1] However, all this was not enough to banish the sympathies for the new views which had infiltrated into the Congregation.[2] At Marseilles in particular the so-called teaching of St. Augustine was spread by the preaching and through the school of the Oratorians. The Fathers were held in high esteem in that city because one of their colleagues, the saintly Bishop Jean Baptiste Gault, had most successfully laboured there for the reform of the diocese. However, the very fervour which he had roused now favoured the spread of Jansenist rigorism.[3] At Bordeaux an Oratorian parish

asks for a remedy from the Pope against the "nova dissidia"; f. 928 *seqq.*, the correspondence between Cardinal Bichi and the Bishop of Marseilles, January, 1651, about complaints on account of Jansenistic sermons in a church at Marseilles; p. 920: Filleau (September 22, 1651), forwards an edict of the "lieutenant criminel" of Poitiers, of August 11, promulgated at his instigation, according to which the defence of the Jansenist doctrine is prohibited under pain of a fine of 1,000 livres (Schill). *Cf.* A. Féron, *Contribution à l'hist. du Jansénisme en Normandie* (diocese of Rouen, 1629–1643), Rouen, 1906; G. Doublet, *Le Jansénisme de l'ancien diocèse de Vence*, Paris, 1901; Herscher, *Analecta Gallicana* (diocese of Langres) in *Rev. d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 1910; Alphonse Auguste, *Les origines du Jansénisme à Toulouse*, in *Bull. de litt. ecclés.*, 1916, 262 *seqq.*, 315 *seqq.*

[1] De Meyer, 305 *seq.*

[2] Olier and his Sulpicians were terrified when the Oratorians tried to establish themselves in their parish. Olier in Faillon, II., 432.

[3] Rapin, I., 288 *seq.* *Cf.* Albizzi's report on the Congregation of Cardinals against Jansenism of June 22 and July 6, 1651, in *Katholik*, 1883, II., 290.

priest likewise revealed himself as an adherent of the sect.[1] At Toulouse, though there existed points of contact for the new teaching, it did not develop to any extent, notwithstanding the undecided attitude of Archbishop Montchal.[2] At Cahors, the splendid Bishop, Alain de Solminihac, successfully closed his diocese to Jansenism. When one professor of theology, the Dominican Mesplède, began to expound the new teaching, Solminihac promptly ordered him to desist and when he refused to obey, the Bishop forbade his students to attend his lectures. Another priest felt he ought to preach against the Dominican but this the Bishop likewise forbade and he promised himself to defend the honour of the professor if the latter would bear the attack in silence. Soon Solminihac was able to write "the fire is out, in a few days no one will remember it".[3]

Similar instructions had been issued in Paris [4] but there the new ideas had struck such deep roots, that the policy of silence was impossible.[5] In point of fact the new teaching was making headway beyond the boundaries of France; thus, through Flanders it had penetrated to the Rhine [6] and its progress was particularly marked in Poland. The Queen of Poland, Marie Louise of Gonzaga-Cleve, a daughter of the Duke of Nevers, married first to King Ladislaus Sigismund of Poland and after the latter's death in 1648, to his brother and successor, John Casimir, had been educated at Port-Royal, corresponded with Angélique Arnauld and had for her confessor the Jansenist François de Fleury. In these circumstances the Latin translation of the book on frequent Communion

[1] Rapin, I., 292.

[2] Alphonse Auguste, *loc. cit.*, 262.

[3] Coste, III., 348–350.

[4] Prohibitions of the Archbishop of March 4 and December 11, 1643, "d'invectiver" against those who in matters of faith are of a different opinion; prohibition of the coadjutor, of November 25, 1644, to speak about grace from the pulpit. Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XVI., XII.

[5] De Meyer, 144.

[6] Rapin, I., 310.

received the approval of the Archbishop of Vilna and Gnesen and of one of the latter's suffragans.[1] John Casimir, who had been a Jesuit and a Cardinal (in 1647) before his elevation to the throne, saw this fresh cause of division with great displeasure. Through the nuncio he referred the matter to Rome. By way of reply the Curia forwarded a copy of Urban VIII.'s Bull and held out the prospect of a papal decision on pending questions. The King was not satisfied with this answer.[2] In a letter to the Pope [3] he lamented the divisions at his court and prayed for a speedy explanation as to which side was in the right. The Archbishop of Warsaw also wrote in the same sense to Rome.[4] A reply now came to the effect that Jansenius' work had already been condemned and the nuncio was instructed to use his influence to obtain silence on the subject.[5] Thereupon Urban VIII.'s Bull was published in Poland but the King persisted in demanding a decision on Arnauld's teaching.[6]

Apart from the personal exertions of such eminent men as Vincent de Paul and Olier, the defence against the rising heresy in France was mainly confined within the literary

[1] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, LXXV.

[2] * Of August 11, 1650, annotation on the back of the report of nuncio Giov. de Torrez of July 2, 1650, in *Excerpta*, 1647–1652, *loc. cit.*

[3] Of September 12, 1650, *ibid.*, in RAPIN, I., 395.

[4] *On September 20, 1650, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] "Acciochè questa controversia resti totalmente sopita nè si permetta alcuna disputatione in contrario," Instruction of November 19, 1650, in THEINER, *Mon. Poloniae*, III., 466.

[6] The nuncio *on January 7, 1651 (*Excerpta, loc. cit.*). The nuncio constantly praises the Queen's piety! *"La quale nè può esser devota nè più ossequiosa verso cotesta S. Sede" (on September 17, 1650, *ibid.*). "*Non posso perciò non confessar d'haver sempre conosciuto nella regina uno zelo purissimo, una (bontà) maravigliosa et una pietà senza esempio. . . . M'avvidi che non haveva notizia alcuna di queste dottrine jansenistiche, e ha lasciato affatto anche la lettione del Arnaldo" (on November 5, 1650, *ibid.*).

sphere. Polemical writings for and against the heresy were bandied about by both sides even in the opening years of Innocent X.'s reign, though a change was visible at least in one respect: weary of subterfuges and misrepresentations as well as of the endless personal attacks of the Jansenists,[1] it was precisely the most learned champions of Catholic teaching who despaired of success in a strife in which, in so far as the broad masses were concerned, the decisive factor was not the goodness of the cause, but skill with the pen. Accordingly they now wrote their refutations exclusively in Latin, for the benefit of the learned circles. Thus Habert, who was made Bishop of Vabres in 1645, notwithstanding Arnauld's efforts to blacken his character, published in 1646 a scholarly work on grace which is esteemed even at this day [2]; in it he refutes

[1] They continually accuse their adversaries that they let themselves be guided solely by egoistical motives or that they do not even believe in the righteousness of their cause, and seek to bring them into contempt. Habert and Petau are also haughtily dealt with. One example of these travesties (another in the next note): Petau had not obtained an episcopal letter of introduction for his work against Arnauld's book on Frequent Communion. Therefore, concludes Arnauld, "la seule qualité de Jésuite (contains according to Petau) une autorité plus vénérable pour la décision des véritéz chrétiennes que celle des évêques" (De Meyer, 276).

[2] *Theologiae Graecorum Patrum vindicatae circa universam materiam gratiae libri tres*, new edition, Würzburg, 1863. On the work and especially on Habert, see Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II., 65. To what exaggerations his adversaries had recourse in order to disparage the work is shown by the remark of Hermant (IV., 17): "Il porta le ridicule jusqu'à mettre les sieurs Gamache, Duval et Isambert, docteurs de Sorbonne, ses amis, au nombre des Pères Grecs," Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XVI., XVII.; *cf.* De Meyer, 195). But Habert states already on the title page of his work that he constantly refers also to the teaching of the doctors of the Sorbonne. In the impugned passage (l. 2, c. 6, Würzburg, 1863, 203), he adduces by way of preliminary to what was to follow, the irrefutable proof that the Sorbonne had always admitted the so-called "sufficient grace".

the innovators without mentioning their names.[1] Petau did the same in 1648.[2] A book by the Jesuit Etienne Dechamps, which shows the untenability of Jansenius' concept of freedom, saw several editions. Dechamps had very skilfully chosen his standpoint by taking the field as a defender of the Sorbonne which, as early as 1560, had condemned the thesis of the compatibility of freedom and necessity. This time Arnauld, always so ready with a reply, deemed it wiser to forgo a refutation: Dechamps never received a reply worth considering.[3] A work of pure scholarship was furnished by the Spanish Jesuit, Juan Martinez de Ripalda, when he added to his great work *De ente supernaturali* (on the supernatural)[4] a third volume directed against the followers of Baius.

With a view to safeguarding the mass both of the educated and the uneducated from the Jansenists, recourse was had to Rome for a decision by the Apostolic See. The first to take this step was Nicolas Sanguin, the excellent Bishop of Senlis[5]; he was followed by Abra de Raconis, the Capuchin Yves, Habert and Petau.[6] Queen Anne, at the instigation of the Jesuit De Lingendes, had expressed a desire to write to Rome already in 1644 but Cardinal Mazarin was opposed to such a step.[7]

Since there already existed a declaration by the Holy See on Jansenius' "Augustinus", Yves, De Raconis and Petau pressed before all else for a judgment on Arnauld's book on Holy Communion. As a matter of fact that dangerous work

[1] He occasionally quotes Jansenius, whenever he is able to agree with him (*loc. cit.*, 238, 323), also Conrius, *ibid.*, 241.

[2] *De lege et gratia*, Paris, 1648 (SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 611).

[3] SOMMERVOGEL, II., 1863. For Fromond's reply, see DE MEYER, 464.

[4] *De ente supernaturali*, Bordeaux, 1634, Lyons, 1663, Paris, 1870 and 1871 (SOMMERVOGEL, V., 640). Other anti-Jansenist writings in DE MEYER, 452 *seqq.*

[5] RAPIN, I., 87 *seq.*

[6] DE MEYER, 184, 295, 320, 428; SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 614.

[7] RAPIN, I., 66.

had been under examination in Rome for some time already. According to a letter of Bentivoglio's secretary, Lutti, to D'Andilly,[1] Albizzi was of opinion that it should be prohibited owing to the many errors it contained; consequently, the Jansenist Sinnich felt that it was essential that a theologian should be sent to Rome to defend Arnauld. In effect, by the end of April, 1645, Jean Bourgeois,[2] an able theologian, arrived in Rome as a representative of the party, whilst the Jesuit Brisacier, was simultaneously pressing the authorities to condemn Arnauld. Rome was not long in doubt as to the erroneous assertions in Arnauld's book [3]; however, not a few French Bishops had given it their approval so that, as the sequel was to show, it was necessary to proceed cautiously.[4] When Abra de Raconis wrote to the Pope, the Assembly of the French clergy of 1645 charged him with having falsely

[1] On December 18, 1644, ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 642 *seq.* *On June 26, 1645, a letter from Rome says: From the book on Frequent Communion "si fa un estratto delle propositioni che patiscono qualche difficoltà, perchè si possano qualificare dai qualificatori della S. Congregatione del S. Officio. Qualche tempo vi correrà prima che si aduni tanta Consulta; onde non vi è pericolo che esca la censura prima che si termini costì l'assemblea dei vescovi di cotesto Stato," *Barb.* 6105, p. 378 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] HERMANT, I., 330; Relation de M. Bourgeois docteur de Sorbonne, contenant ce qui s'est passé à Rome en 1645 et 1646 pour la justification du livre de la Fréquente Communion, in ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 674–725.

[3] BOURGEOIS, *loc. cit.*, 684.

[4] GRIMALDI *writes already on April 19, 1644, to the Secretary of State: "Mi sento in obligo di rappresentare a V. E. che trovandosi impiegati oltre 20 dottori di Sorbona 15 preeati, e fra questi alcuni dei più affezionati alla S. Sede et in reputazione di maggior probità, quali conforme mi hanno detto, vivono con speranza che non si farà alcuna proibizione del medesimo libro, la quale non può seguire senza prejudicio della loro reputazione, che prima non sieno avvisati per poter render ragione della loro approvazione. Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1.

accused his fellow Bishops; they demanded that his Archbishop should proceed against him. De Raconis upheld the substance of what he had written but was forced to drop some of his expressions.[1] The Bishops who had approved the book on Holy Communion wrote a second letter to Rome, July 21st, 1645,[2] in a tone which betrays no desire on their part to be taught by the Holy See.[3] They take it for granted that Arnauld's book was daily doing greater good, that its author was deserving of praise and the Jesuits of blame, whilst by accrediting Bourgeois as their spokesman, they demanded a papal pronouncement in this sense. A further letter to Innocent X., dated March 2nd, 1646, is in a similar strain. In answer to his report to Rome, de Raconis had received a Brief[4]; it was, however, couched in the same general terms as another addressed at the same time to the Archbishop of Sens,[5] the leader of Arnauld's episcopal supporters. None the less the Bishops' new letter[6] takes de Raconis violently to task for the step he had taken in Rome; once more they take it for granted that Arnauld's book is irreproachable, whereas his opponents are wicked men; the Bishops finally summon the Pope at last to raise his voice on behalf of a man so grievously calumniated. This letter only bore the signatures of twelve Bishops for the gaps made by death in their ranks had not been filled. Even more disagreeable for the signatories must have been the circumstance that their leader, Octave de Bellegarde, Archbishop of Sens, when on his death-bed, had rejected Jansenism and charged his entourage to inform the

[1] ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVI., LII.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXVIII., 647.

[3] *Cf.* the editors of the Works of Arnauld (XXVI., XLVII.): "Loin de demander un jugement sur le livre de la Fréquente Communion, ils reconoissoient que ce jugement étoit déjà porté en sa faveur par leurs approbations, et ils le confirmoient de nouveau etc."

[4] *Of October 22, in *Innocentii X. Epist.*, II.–III. (Secretary Gaspare de Simeonibus), p. 88, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 649.

[6] *Ibid.*, 650.

Pope of the dangerous plans cherished by St. Cyran, to which his followers were endeavouring to give effect.[1] Nonetheless, all the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy in a sense took the side of the signatories, when they sent a deputation to the nuncio to protest against the letter of De Raconis [2] forasmuch as it accused the French Bishops of favouring error and dissension. Both Bagno and Panciroli sought to calm them with general assurances.[3] All this could not fail to convince Rome that the French Bishops must not be roused, all the more so as that loyal son of the Church, Bishop Habert, had expressed a fear that the Assembly of the Clergy was quite capable of giving its approval to Jansenius' "Augustinus".[4]

A memorial by Cardinal De Lugo [5] conveys a similar warning against the use of sterner measures, lest the party, which still styled itself Catholic, should be driven into open rebellion. Since precisely at this moment the party was trying to give a Catholic meaning to its teaching, the Pope should take them at their word and whilst exhorting them to concord, stress those points in connexion with the administration of the Sacrament of Penance and that of the Eucharist on which there can be no controversy among Catholics, such as, for instance, that there was no law demanding the performance of the penance before the absolution by the priest, or public penance for hidden sins. All these points—Lugo enumerates

[1] De Meyer, 356. Nuncio Bagno sent this explanation to Rome on March 26, 1646, *ibid.*

[2] By a decision of February 6, 1646. This explains the exaggerated rumour in the *Diario of Ameyden of 1650 (*Barb.* 4819, p. 107): Incomincia dar pensiero la controversia Janseniana prendendo piede in Francia e stando per questa parte la maggior parte de' vescovi di quel regno, ove sono depositati ducentomila scudi per istampare tutto quello che verrà scritto per questa opinione: cosa che potrà cagionare turbolenze grandi," Vatican Library.

[3] De Meyer, 434.

[4] *Ibid.*, 184.

[5] In Lämmer, *Meletemata*, 391 *seqq.*

six of them—Arnauld seems to deny in some places whilst he grants them in others ; accordingly, in any future edition of his book he should be made to make a preliminary statement that he held these points, as well as to attenuate his eulogy of Jansenius in so far as the latter's achievements in the sphere of scholarship were concerned. Besides the fixed points in regard to the administration of the two Sacraments, there were others for which no certain general ruling could be laid down ; these must be left in every instance to the judgment of the confessor, as, for instance, the frequency of reception of the Sacraments.

In Rome there was no inclination to go even as far as Lugo had counselled. A decision on frequent Communion was only issued in 1679 and it was not until 1690 that the questions about Penance raised by Arnauld were authoritatively dealt with.[1] Another point on which De Lugo states that Arnauld should be made to speak more clearly in his book, is his assertion of the quality of the two Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. In the preface of his book Arnauld had represented as models of penance " the two heads of the Church who constitute but one ".[2]

The unostentatious little paragraph was not so innocent as it was made to look. The Catholic dogma of the Pope's primacy over all Bishops is based on the fact that Peter was chosen

[1] DENZINGER, *Euchir. symb.*[16] (1928), n. 1147, 1306, 1312 *seq.* The Jansenists affirmed that Arnauld was not meant in the condemned propositions (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXVI., XCIII. *seq.* DE MEYER, 240, note 2). But who else could have been meant ? An appeal to Viva (DE MEYER, 241) does not hold good, because Viva says expressly : " cum theses fere omnes ab Alexandro VIII. confixae in Iansenii doctrina et propositionibus nitantur . . ." (De Iansenii propositionibus universim : VIVA, *Opera*, VII., Ferrariae, 1757, 120).

[2] " les deux chefs de l'Église qui n'en font qu'un " (n. 6, *Œuvres*, XXVII., 85). The Jansenists asserted that the proposition had been added on his own authority by De Barcos, Saint-Cyran's nephew (*ibid.*, XXVI., LVII. ; DUPIN, *Hist.*, II., 14).

to be the head of the Church and that Peter's successor in the Roman See is also his successor as head of the Church. Now in order to combat the papacy, De Dominis had laid down two propositions: first that Peter was in all things the equal of his fellow apostle, hence he was not head of the whole Church in any higher sense than Paul; second, that Peter was not Bishop of Rome in a different sense than Paul, that is, he was so solely in virtue of his Apostolic office, not by any special link with Rome.[1] Was it Arnauld's intention, with his seemingly casual reflexion, to foster the rise of similar ideas? There was every reason to mistrust the Jansenists whenever they discussed the nature of the Church's authority. Moreover the accusation against Richelieu, that he aimed at the establishment of a separate patriarchate for France, was fresh in everybody's memory. The notion of two heads of the Church could also be interpreted so as to provide support for the plan of another Pope on French soil.[2]

This suspicion was heightened by the publication, in connexion with Arnauld's thesis, of a number of anonymous pamphlets which sought to establish the equality of the two Apostles. On January 18th, 1645, the Paris nuncio, Bagno, forwarded a copy of the first of these publications. A little later he reported that Duke Henry of Bourbon, a fervent Catholic, desired to see these new declarations condemned, that the Queen and Mazarin saw them with displeasure and that Habert was preparing a refutation of which he forwarded the proofs to Rome.[3] At the end of April the Roman envoy of the Jansenists, Bourgeois,[4] learnt that the proposition about the two heads of the Church had been condemned by the Inquisition. Although, as was asserted, the approval

[1] *Cf.* M. Becanus, *De republ. eccles.*, l. 2, c. 7, obi. 7; l. 3, c. 2: *Opera Omnia*, Mogunt., 1649, 1359, 1363.

[2] That such preoccupations were entertained in Rome is attested by Bourgeois in his "Report" (Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXVIII., 677; *cf.* 680).

[3] De Meyer, 437 *seq.*

[4] Report, *loc. cit.*, 677.

of the sixteen Bishops did not include the preface to Arnauld's book,[1] so that there was no great fear of offending these prelates by the condemnation, Innocent delayed its publication and when De Barcos published a small work on the greatness of the Roman Church, the Pope ordered a fresh examination of the whole affair.[2]

Bourgeois and his ally Duchesne naturally did all they could to prevent a definitive condemnation. In Paris people learned from the Roman newspapers and nuncio Bagno from his letters,[3] that they even spread the report that the equality of the two Apostles was taught by the Sorbonne. This falsehood could only damage their cause. Vincent de Paul reported to Cardinal Grimaldi on the whole question [4] and the syndic of the theological Faculty, Cornet, laid it before the Sorbonne. Contrary to Bagno's expectation, the University had at first hesitated to pronounce on the matter, but it now informed the nuncio that it had nothing to do with the assertions of the two Doctors. Accordingly the Holy See no longer put off the publication of the decree of the Inquisition which bears the date of January 25th, 1647. Arnauld is not mentioned by name but the assertion concerning the equality of the Princes of the Apostles is textually quoted from the book on Holy Communion and declared heretical in that form, or in any other, in so far as it was understood as claiming equality for both Apostles in the government of the Church. The two opuscules of De Barcos and all other writings which maintained the condemned opinion were prohibited.[5]

Rome's wisdom in temporarily refraining from a condemnation of the book on Communion soon became apparent. At the nuncio's request Mazarin had had the papal decree examined and allowed it to be printed and Bagno added to it a letter of his own. It was not long before an anonymous

[1] Rapin, I., 32.

[2] The opinions of the *qualificatori* on this in De Meyer, 439 *seq.*

[3] Rapin, I., 116.

[4] On October 4, 1646, *ibid.*, reprinted in Coste, III., 65 *seqq.*

[5] Denzinger, *loc. cit.*, n. 1091 ; Reusch, *Index*, II., 450 *seqq.*

writer, in all probability De Barcos, pounced upon the decree and heaped injuries on the Pope and the Jesuits. The Government ordered his libel to be burnt, but now Parliament took action. On May 8th, at a stormy session, Broussel protested against the promulgation of the decree and the action of the nuncio whom he accused of arrogating to himself undue authority. When a deputation of Parliament repaired to the palace for the purpose of offering its good wishes to the King and Queen who were about to leave the capital, so heated an altercation took place between the first president and the chancellor that the Queen had to call them to order. Mazarin sought to calm the excitement,[1] but Parliament would not yield. Two days later, in the great Chamber, Talon made three protests against the decree of the Inquisition and the action of the nuncio: the Roman Congregations, he claimed, were not recognized in France for the country would not put up with the intolerable Inquisition; furthermore Bagno styled himself nuncio to the King and the whole of France whereas his mission was confined to the person of the King; lastly he talked as if he had territorial jurisdiction in France seeing that he spoke of communicating the papal decrees to the Bishops, and of the "Archives" of the nunciature, whereas the nuncio in France had no such thing; if they allowed these trifles to pass they must be prepared for bigger things.[2]

The nuncio found a defender against these accusations in the person of the chancellor. Bagno, the latter explained, spoke as his five predecessors had done; the papal decree had been printed by the King's permission and the expression "Archives" simply designated the place where the nuncio kept his papers. After these explanations Mazarin felt he could impose silence on Parliament and on May 13th, 1647, the King wrote in this sense from Compiègne. However,

[1] Bagno, May 10, 1647, in COVILLE, 155 *seq.*

[2] Bagno, May 24, 1647, *ibid.*, 156 *seq.*; *Remontrance de M. Talon*, of May 10, 1647, in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XVII., 822; *Arrêt du Parlement* of May 15, 1647, *ibid.*, 825.

Parliament did not take the hint; it decreed that without the King's express permission no one could print any Roman documents and that all copies of the papal decree as well as the nuncio's covering letter must be confiscated. Even these resolutions failed to embarrass the resourceful Mazarin. In fact even before this Talon had himself pointed to a possible way out; this was that the Paris Parliament should pronounce judgment but that the sentence should not be made public; in this way they would satisfy the jurists without unduly offending Rome. Mazarin now fell back upon this expedient.[1] A final decision was thus circumvented, for neither the resolution of Parliament nor the royal permission to print the decree of the Roman Inquisition were valid: the one lacked confirmation by the King, and the other that of Parliament. Innocent X. showed himself grateful to Mazarin: in a Brief of March 30th, 1647,[2] he extolled his zeal for religion.

The resolutions of Parliament in no way affected the attitude of loyal Catholics towards the papal decree; it was repeatedly quoted in subsequent years as a proof of the authority and prestige which the Holy See enjoyed in France.[3] On the other hand the Holy See must have been far more deeply hurt by the fact that Urban VIII.'s Bull against Jansenius' "Augustinus" continued to encounter obstacles in France than by the objections to the decision on the subject of the two heads of the Church. From the first Innocent X. stressed the duty of all theologians to receive the Bull and he ordered a fresh impression of the document; the decree of the Inquisition of July 29th, 1644, concerning its authenticity, was joined to the Bull and thus enforced anew. However, the measure yielded but small results. The Jansenists at once objected that the decrees of the Inquisition had no binding force in France; even when the Pope sought to take the sting out of this pretext by

[1] COVILLE, 158–160.

[2] *Annales de St.-Louis*, II., 362.

[3] See below, p. 246.

ordering Bagno, on February 25th, 1645, to communicate the Bull to all the Bishops and the Doctors of Paris, it was not formally received though its doctrinal decisions apparently met with submission. This conduct was likewise adopted by some religious Orders, such as the Discalced Carmelites and the Feuillants, whereas the Superior General of the Oratory, Bourgoing, demanded from his subjects explicit acceptance of the Bull.[1] Even Alexander VIII. found himself compelled to defend the authenticity of the Bull.[2]

(2.)

From the first the Sorbonne had taken an equivocal attitude in the Jansenist controversy. Though pressed by Richelieu to do so, it refused to make a definite pronouncement on the heresy or to receive Urban VIII.'s Bull without reservation.[3] It is true that the older professors did not countenance

[1] De Meyer, 419–421. *Cf.* above, p. 224.

[2] On December 7, 1690; see Denzinger, n. 1321.

[3] De Meyer, 124 s., 136 s. "*Trovo che la maggior parte de' dottori della medesima Sorbona concorrono in questo senso di non stimare espediente, almeno per adesso, prescrivere cosa alcuna nè per l'una, nè per l'altra parte, non parendo che in tutto si possa approvare nè rifiutare l'opera del Jansenio." Six members of the Sorbonne had approved the book; "i suoi scolari di buono et ardente ingegno con difficoltà si n'asterranno dal publicare qualche scritto in sua difesa. . . . Richelieu mostra desiderio, e per sua parte si vanno facendo diligenze, acciò la Sorbona censuri et riprovi l'Augustinus, ma sin ora non trova disposizione a bastanza in quei dottori, la maggior parte de' quali, quando si venga al cimento, inclinerebbe ad approvare che levate alcune poche cose si possa sostenere il libro come dottrina di s. Agostino et altri padri, e v'è stato tra essi che mi ha accennato che in questa controversia sarebbe molto a proposito qualche consulta e resoluzione della S. Sede. Non lascio di farne motivo al card. di Richelieu per intendere più particolarmente in ciò i suoi sentimenti et procurare d'indurlo in quello di V. E., l'impedire di scrivere all'una e all'altra parte" (Grimaldi, June 13, 1642, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, p. 3, 1). On April 1, 1644, Grimaldi *writes (*ibid.*)

the innovations, but in 1645 Sainte-Beuve began to expound Jansenius' teaching on grace and the younger students adopted his views in ever increasing numbers.[1] Care was taken not to state publicly that the doctrine that was being taught was that of Jansenius, and when the necessity arose it was urged in defence of such conduct that on December 11th, 1643, the Archbishop of Paris had forbidden all reference to Jansenius.[2] Arnauld was even then the unquestioned head of the party; he was represented to the young people as a paragon of ability, learning and genius; as the brother of Mère Angélique, the principal disciple of St. Cyran and the heir of his spirit, the author of the much read book on Communion and the victim of unjust persecution, he enjoyed unequalled prestige and the splendour of his name won over to Jansenism many of the younger theologians.[3]

Before long they found the courage to say that very soon all the Bishops of the realm would follow the example of the Coadjutor of Paris and the Archbishop of Sens; that in six years' time the party would dispose of all the episcopal sees of France, when it would allot them to its members. A

that the Sorbonne had decided not to accept the Louvain letter (see present work, Vol. XXIX., 126 *seqq.*), apparently because it had been directed to the Rector "ma in effetto per non volere in alcun modo interessarsi nelle opinioni di Jansenio". Some were for exhorting the Louvain professors to obedience, "ma la determinazione è stato di non fare altro, per tenersi nelli puri sentimenti della chiesa Romana, senza dar alcun segno d'inclinar ad una parte nè all'altra." In 1645 Olier writes to Caulet on Jansenism. "Maintenant cela fait de tels progrès et s'insinue sous le prétexte de la réforme et de la piété si universellement dans les âmes qu'il n'y a rien presentement pour quoy on doive plus prier. Ces opinions ôtent a Dieu tant d'âmes et de serviteurs que cela n'est pas croyable, tout tourne de ce côté la et arrache ainsi mil âmes et mil serviteurs très disposés," *Bullet. de litt. ecclés.*, 1902, 219.

[1] Rapin, I., 43–6, 113.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93.

[3] *Ibid.*, 113.

spirit of innovation got hold of the young professors; every thesis had at all costs to contain some novelty, above all something of the Jansenist teaching on grace.[1]

In the spring of 1648 the situation became even more tense. François Véron, first a Jesuit and subsequently parish priest of Charenton, a keen and successful opponent of the Huguenots,[2] now intervened in the controversy on grace. In a book against the Jansenists he explained that their teaching on predestination even to eternal reprobation had already been expounded in the 9th century by the monk Gottschalk and no less than five Councils had condemned it in the same century. Moreover their teaching was a throw-back to Calvinism, which as a matter of fact, had been professed by Arnauld's ancestors. The style of Véron's book was violent and it added to the annoyance of the Jansenists that the sub-title of the book should have described it as "The Gag of the Jansenists" and as such it was hawked in the streets, to the merriment of the populace[3]; consequently in May, 1647, they sought a judgment of the Sorbonne in their favour. However, the syndic declared that he must first hear the theologians who had approved the book; as the representative of the latter the Franciscan Charruau spoke in defence of the book under attack and in doing so, made an onslaught on the Jansenists.[4] In the ensuing debate the syndic expressed the opinion that in order to judge Véron it would be necessary to examine Jansenius. Pereyret replied that this would take ten years since it would be necessary to consult the writings of St. Augustine and others. In the end it was resolved to refrain from the examination in question. However, Cornet added, if anyone wished to submit a few propositions to the judgment of the Faculty, he might do so within the ensuing two months.[5]

[1] RAPIN, I., 163 *seq.*, 280.

[2] Concerning him FERET, *Un curé de Charenton au 17e siècle*, Paris, 1881.

[3] RAPIN, I., 227.

[4] *Ibid.*, 229.

[5] SAINT-AMOUR, f. 5.

The Faculty was reluctant to pass sentence on Véron as this was bound to hamper his action against the Huguenots. But for the Jansenists the likening of their master to Gottschalk, and the condemnation of his teaching by five Councils, was all the more serious as just then the Jesuit Sirmond had drawn the attention of the learned world to the condemnation of precisely similar theses in Christian antiquity and in the person of Gottschalk.[1] With a view to facilitating a judgment by the Sorbonne in their sense, they sought to eliminate from the assembly of the Doctors their opponents who, for the most part, were to be found among the religious. As a matter of fact, at the suggestion of the Jansenists Le Roux and Saint-Amour, Parliament re-enacted a parliamentary decision of 1626 according to which only two Doctors from the Mendicant Orders were allowed to take part in the meetings of the Sorbonne. However, the syndic Cornet opposed with all his might a decision which would have delivered the Faculty into the hands of the friends of the Jansenists and which, in point of fact, had not acquired force of law even in 1626. Parliament also no longer insisted on the matter and the troubles of the Fronde drew attention to other things.[2]

Further developments were occasioned by Cornet "a scholar of the old stamp, of the old straightforwardness, the old efficiency, insensible both to flattery and to fear,

[1] He published the so-called *Praedestinatus* in 1643 (cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Lit.*, IV., 520). Writings of Hincmar of Rheims, 1645, of Rabanus Maurus, 1647. About the same time as Véron's work appeared the *Historia praedestinatiana* of Sirmond, 1648. To the publication of *Praedestinatus* De Barcos answered with success (De Meyer, 169). The *Historia praedestinatiana* remained unanswered; it was, however, affected by the condemnation of Véron. To the other publications the Jansenists opposed, under the name of the Mint official, Mauguin, 1650, a collection of writings also unpublished, of the time of Gottschalk; in 1655 the Jesuit Cellot wrote fully about Gottschalk, Rapin, I., 230 *seqq.*

[2] Rapin, I., 235 *seq.*; Saint-Amour, f. 7 *seqq.*

one of the greatest ornaments of the Church and of his century". During the troublous period that was to follow Cornet was to have ample opportunity to justify this tribute paid to him by Bossuet in the funeral oration of his beloved master.[1] At the memorable sitting of the Faculty of July 1st, 1649, Cornet took advantage of the permission to submit some propositions to the Sorbonne's judgment. He began by protesting against the young people's mania for innovations. It had happened that theses which had been struck out by the Faculty nevertheless reappeared on the printed programmes. Others had not dared to go so far, yet they had defended the cancelled theses; moreover Sainte-Beuve had infringed the rights of the president by speaking from the body of the hall and ordering a disputant to hold his tongue. Things could not go on in this fashion, hence he submitted for examination seven propositions which he requested the Faculty to accept.[2]

The step taken by the syndic was a bold one for the first five out of the seven propositions were taken from the "Augustinus" of the Bishop of Ypres and were its very soul and marrow. They run as follows; "first, some commandments of God are impossible even for the just, considering their actual strength, even with the best of wills, and the grace which would make them possible is also lacking; second, in the state of fallen nature we never resist an interior grace; third, to merit, or to demerit, in the state of fallen nature, a man does not need freedom from necessity, freedom from coercion suffices; fourth, the Semi-Pelagians taught the necessity of an interior, preventing grace for every action, even for the beginning of faith; they were heretics forasmuch as they considered grace to be such that the human will can

[1] *Œuvres*, XVII., Versailles, 1816, 616, 619. He calls him "protecteur des pauvres et le soulagement des hôpitaux" (*ibid.*, 635); he extols his "science exacte et profonde" and his "prudence consommée" (*ibid.*, 626).

[2] SAINT-AMOUR, f. 13; RAPIN, I., 280 *seq.*; [DUMAS], I., 5 *seqq.*

either co-operate with it or refuse to do so ; fifth, it is a Semi-Pelagian error to assert without qualification that Christ has shed His blood and died for all men ". These are the famous five theses round which so fierce a controversy was about to rage. The other two propositions are unconnected with " Augustinus " and were soon left on one side. Jansenius' name was left out of the five propositions just as his doctrine was taught without his name being mentioned.

Cornet's proposal at once caused a great stir. Sainte-Beuve, Bourgeois and others would not so much as hear of a discussion of the seven points on the plea that they turned on matters where the Church allowed freedom ; what was aimed at was a covert attack on Jansenius ; the examination of Véron's book had been declined because of the difficulty of the task ; was it any easier now, after the lapse of a whole year ? However, in the end Cornet's proposal was accepted by a majority of votes, a committee of eight members was appointed whose duty it would be to report on the theses in question at the next monthly meeting.

Meanwhile minds were further heated by the prompt appearance of three pamphlets against Cornet. The most important had been thrown into the arena by Arnauld from his hiding place.[1] According to him Cornet's aim was nothing less than an attack on the teaching of the great Doctor of the Church, St. Augustine.[2] If he complained of innovations by the young people it was that, owing to his ignorance and violence, St. Augustine's true and old principles seemed to him new.[3] According to Arnauld, behind the syndic stood the Jesuits who made use of him in order to throw the Faculty into confusion and so to hide the shame of their bad principles.[4] Of the five propositions the first had been textually taken from Jansenius and contained the true teaching of St. Augustine whilst the remaining four were intentionally

[1] *Considérations sur l' entreprise faite par Maître N. Cornet* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 1 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, 11.

equivocal so as to make it possible to use them against Augustine.[1] The book saw four editions in 1649 and helped not a little to strengthen the resistance of the friends of Jansenius.

August 1st was the day appointed for the sitting of the Faculty at which the report on the seven propositions was to be submitted. At the very outset Chancellor Loisel rose to contest the dean's right to preside. The whole sitting was taken up by this dispute and the seven propositions were not submitted at all.[2] Already three days earlier 62 minority Doctors, all of them secular priests, with the exception of one Augustinian, had had recourse to the means by which it was possible to burke almost any ecclesiastical initiative: viz. they appealed to Parliament because of abuse of ecclesiastical authority. However, at the parliamentary sitting of August 18th President Molé, at one time a friend of St. Cyran's, did not allow the appeal to be discussed. The parties exchanged mutual promises to leave the matter alone for three or four months and meanwhile to seek an understanding.[3]

Some four weeks of the four months' armistice had elapsed when the existence of a draft of a censure became known in which the seven propositions were described as partly heretical and partly as contrary to the Scriptures, or as false and scandalous. The minority at once lodged another appeal. In the judicial proceedings of October 5th the genuineness of the censure was not contested but all attempts at mediation failed so that a discussion of the matter was fixed for the day after the feast of St. Martin.

In the meantime another dispute had thrown more oil on the flames. On October 1st Hallier had been elected syndic in succession to Cornet. Again Saint-Amour, under divers pretexts, lodged an appeal with Parliament and as the price of the recognition of his election, Hallier was challenged to

[1] *Ibid.*, 15 *seqq.*

[2] Rapin, I., 285; [Dumas], I., 9.

[3] Saint-Amour, f. 22 *seqq.*; Rapin, *loc. cit.*

carry out the parliamentary resolutions of 1626[1] against the Mendicants and to give a free hand to the party of the juniors at the Faculty.[2] To this Hallier demurred; however, the appeal to Parliament was also without result inasmuch as President Molé was not only unwilling to pronounce sentence, but was bent on conciliation.

Thus the dispute was bound to come up once more at the session of the Faculty in which the Jansenists formed a majority. Consequently, at the stormy session of December 1st, the "disciples of St. Augustine" tried a last artifice: if Cornet's seven propositions were to be discussed, they insisted that seven propositions of Molina together with an eighth from the lecture notes of Professor Pereyret should likewise be examined. A committee was to conduct the inquiry in presence of the Coadjutor of Paris, after which the Faculty would give its decision by a two-thirds' majority.[3]

The Faculty accepted the proposed committee, Saint-Amour being one of its nine members. On December 6th a formula was accepted by all, with the sole exception of Saint-Amour's vote.[4] The formula stated that with regard to the propositions in dispute and the Thomistico-Molinist difference of opinion, sufficient provision had been made by the decisions of the Church and those of the Faculty, hence all that was needed was that syndic Hallier should carry them into effect, appealing to the Faculty if he met with difficulties and in urgent cases to his predecessors. In this way Hallier was acknowledged as syndic but it had also been made clear that a condemnation of Jansenius could not be obtained from the Faculty—consequently Cornet's offensive had failed.

If the opponents of the new teaching gave up the hopes of seeing it condemned, their retreat was probably due in no small measure to the warnings of nuncio Bagno. On July 16th, 1649, Bagno wrote to Rome that the plan of the

[1] See above, p. 240.
[2] SAINT-AMOUR, f. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 38 *seqq.*
[4] SAINT-AMOUR, f. 43.

well-disposed professors was not universally approved, for whatever the decision might be, it would meet with much opposition.[1] After the futile August session of the Faculty, he felt convinced that the affair would not be further discussed at the Sorbonne, in fact this was believed to be the better course ; he himself had done all he could to bring about this result.[2] Rome approved the nuncio's action. The Inquisition instructed him to restrain the Sorbonne from passing sentence on the propositions submitted to it and to persuade the Coadjutor of Paris to forbid all preaching for or against Jansenius.[3] As a matter of fact the nuncio did obtain a promise to this effect.[4] On November 9th Bagno felt he might report to Rome that in view of the obstacles put in the way by the opposite party, as well as his own exhortations to the well disposed among the professors, it was practically certain that the Sorbonne would deliver no sentence ; they might reckon on this with all the more certainty as precisely those who had pressed for judgment by the Faculty had now had recourse to Cardinal Roma with a view to a papal decision.[5]

However, by now matters had gone so far that the nuncio could not promise himself that even a papal decision would meet with immediate submission. "The number and the prestige of the so-called Jansenists grow daily," he wrote on

[1] "*perchè in qualunque modo che la Sorbona havesse dato fuori il suo parere, per la qualità de' tempi correnti havrebbe havuto molte contradizioni, le quali già sono cominciate." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 98, Pap. Secr. Archives.

[2] "*Si può credere che più non sia per trattarsi di questa materia in detta Sorbona, il che vien creduto per meglio, e io vi son concorso con lo poco che ho potuto." *Ibid.*

[3] *Bagno, November 9, 1649, *ibid.*

[4] *Bagno, November 26, 1649, *ibid.*

[5] *"La detta censura per gli impedimenti procurati dalla parte contraria et esortazioni da me fatte a quelli che con buona intenzione mostravano desiderarla . . . si può quasi fermamente credere che più non sia parlarsene." Bagno, November 9, 1649, *ibid.*

October 22nd, 1649. "Despite the Bull and the papal decrees they preach, teach and print books in support of that false doctrine. Some Bishops allow it, others, though more zealous, do not forbid it because they are unable to obtain the royal support; thus there is great danger of a new heresy creeping into this realm. Though the Queen is opposed to the new opinions, she takes no steps against them, perhaps because she doubts whether her commands would be obeyed. Thereupon a few good and zealous theologians of the Sorbonne sought to obtain from the Faculty a censure and explanation of the subjoined propositions, in view of the power of their opponents in Parliament. These theologians likewise requested me to dispatch to your Eminence a sheet setting forth what, in their opinion, the Pope might do by way of remedying this state of affairs. The evil is very great indeed, but unless the Holy See has the assistance of the King, there is little hope that it will be obeyed." [1]

Bagno joined to his report the draft of a censure by the committee of the Faculty as well as some suggestions on the remedies which the Pope might apply to the dangers that

[1] "Giornalmente," he writes on October 20, 1649, "va crescendo il numero e autorità di quei che qua chiamano giansenisti, i quali nonostante la bolla e i decreti dei sommi pontefici predicano, insegnano e stampano libri a favor di quella falsa dottrina con permissione di alcuni vescovi et senza repugnanza degl'altri, che sono più zelanti, non potendosi ottener l'assistenza della autorità di Re. . . . Così esiste pericolo grande di introdurre una nuova eresia in questo regno. La regina si mostra contraria a queste nuove opinioni, ma S. M. non piglia resolutione alcuna, forse per dubbio che li suoi ordini non fussero obbediti. Porro pensorono alcuni buoni e zelanti theologi della Sorbona . . . di procurare la censura e dichiaratione dei dubbii, ch'io mando qui allegati mediante la facoltà perchè i loro avversari sono potenti nel parlamento. Vengo ricercato da medesimi d'inviare a V. E. un foglio che contiene quel che li buoni theologi credono che N. S. potesse fare per provederli. Il male veramente è grandissimo; ma se l'autorità della S. Sede non è assistita dal Re. sarà poco obedita." *Excerpta ex actis s. Officii a.* 1647.

threatened.[1] There was no more powerful means, Bagno wrote, than the intervention of the Holy See; since the decree on the two heads of the Church nothing more had been written on the subject whereas previously each week had brought some fresh publication. If the Pope was willing to give a decision, he might very well base himself on the propositions recently censured by the committee of the Faculty, though on that occasion the party used both violence and cunning to prevent the Faculty from being as much as informed of the occurrence.[2] The propositions were so chosen that their condemnation would be the best antidote against evil teaching, and without a doubt nearly everyone, or certainly the majority, would bow to the papal condemnation.[3] On the other hand, unless God and His Vicar intervened, that poison would before long run through the whole Faculty for nearly all the younger Doctors were infected by it and openly styled themselves Jansenists and "disciples of Augustine".

The seven propositions forwarded by Bagno were now submitted to the consultors of the Holy Office for examination. However, a prompt decision on the affair was not come to. The memorandums sent in to the Inquisition show very

[1] "*Commentarius remediorum, quae Romae adhiberi possunt gravissimis incommodis et periculis, quae iure merito timentur ex factione sectatorum doctrinae D. Iansenii, etc." Draft for the letter of October 22, 1649, *ibid.*

[2] "*Si vero. . . . Sedes Romana aliquid de novo statuit, opportunum forte esset, eas propositiones carpere, quae nuper a deputatis facultatis theologicae Parisiensis censura affectae sunt, sed quominus ea censura in publica mensis, ut assolet, congregatione a tota facultate admitteretur aut etiam ad eam a deputatis referretur, factionis illius et artibus et vi manifesta effectum est" (*ibid.*). It is therefore not true that the draft of the censure of the committee of the Faculty was given as a censure of the Faculty.

[3] "*Nec dubium est, quin, si placuerit SSmo D. N. eas damnare, aut fere omnes aut certe quam plurimi damnationem amplexuri sint." *Ibid.*

clearly what were the causes of the delay[1]: it was feared lest a condemnation of the first five propositions should prejudice the Dominican doctrine on grace and thus hurt a deserving theological school. True, most of the consultors rejected all five, or even the seven propositions, though they were unwilling to describe each particular thesis as heretical in every sense. In his memorandum on the first four propositions[2] the Master of the Palace, the Dominican Candidus, defends them all, though he adds to each of them a note stating that "Jansenius understands this thus",[3] after which he endeavours to prove from Jansenius' book that the latter held the same opinions as himself.

The problem is very fully discussed in the memorial of Hilarion Rancati, the Cistercian Abbot of S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome.[4] According to Rancati the first five propositions do no more than deny merely sufficient grace. Now the Molinists assert that sufficient grace is a dogma and the Thomists dare not deny it; when it is objected to them that the denial of sufficient grace was a necessary sequel of physical premotion, they try to evade the arguments of their opponents; thus they obviously admit that their cause is lost if they are forced to deny sufficient grace. Jansenius says that he is in agreement with the Thomists, but the latter admit a sufficient grace which empowers man to do what is good and to avoid sin, so that man somehow possesses a real capacity, as well as freedom from coercion, whereas Jansenius denies freedom, power and sufficient grace. Sufficient grace was taught by the Council of Trent and the

[1] "*Diversorum vota super 5 propositionibus collecta a fr. Phil. Vicecom. ord. Eremit. S. Aug." Biblia Angelica, Rome, R. 3, 5 f., 1 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 155–167.

[3] "Sensus Iansenii est: . . ."

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 41–9. Also in Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1: **Excerpta ex V. Parte circa librum Iansenii*, f. 94–9 (dated October 31 1649), and in Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., VI., 34, f. 60–2. *Cf.* Ang. Fumagalli, *Vita del P. D. Il. Rancati*, Brescia, 1762; De Meyer, 127, n. 2.

provincial Councils of Sens and Cologne of the years 1528 and 1536, hence theologians cannot be prevented from describing Jansenism as a straying from the faith, and in so doing they did no injury to anyone.[1]

Rancati then examines the five propositions one by one and shows that they are all rooted in the denial of sufficient grace, though it could not be denied that Jansenius supported each of them with texts from St. Augustine which are very difficult to explain. As a matter of fact that which theologians say of the Fathers in general, namely that in the heat of the struggle with pagans and heretics they sometimes allowed themselves to be carried too far, is also true of Augustine who in his fight against the Pelagians speaks too unfavourably of free will. Consequently, however much theologians should be left free to censure Jansenius, Rancati is of opinion that the Holy See had better refrain from intervening in an affair which was not as yet ripe for definition.[2] If, however, it was deemed expedient to go further, it should be done only after long and careful study by a number of theologians, including some from the Thomist and Molinist schools,, for the condemnation of Jansenius would necessarily lead to conclusions being drawn concerning the questions which were the object of such lengthy discussions under Urban VIII., seeing that the defenders of physical premotion asserted its necessity no less strongly than Jansenius insisted on the necessity of efficient grace for every good work. Now if this necessity did not do away with sufficient grace in the Thomist system, though it did in that of Jansenius, the difference was verbal rather than substantial, for what the Thomists called sufficient and Jansenism insufficient grace was one and the same thing.

Accordingly Rancati was of opinion that they should be content with the Bull of Urban VIII. ; the most that could

[1] " *Censeo proinde dotrinam Iansenii sine iniuria (against a theological school) a theologis affici posse nota erroris in fide."

[2] " *Propterea censerem, liberum maneat doctoribus theologis censuris contra Iansenium uti, Sedis Apostolicae auctoritas in hoc negotio plane adhuc immaturo ne oppigneretur " (*loc. cit.*).

be done would be a prohibition to bring these controversies to the notice of the people. At the conclusion of this examination by the theologians, Rome was sufficiently informed on the nature of Jansenism, yet no public definition ensued. In accordance with Rancati's memorial, nuncio Bagno was instructed, by Innocent X.'s order, to induce the Assembly of the Clergy of 1650 to obey the Bull of Urban VIII. and to demand obedience to it from its subjects.[1] His Holiness would give a decision on the new teaching, the nuncio declared, if the King and a large section of the French hierarchy would press him to do so. Vincent de Paul, who supplies this information,[2] adds that the King was willing to write to the Pope and the first President declared that Parliament would accept the Bull if it was not described as a decree of the Roman Inquisition.

Complete silence was, however, impossible for the Holy See. In 1650, on the feast of St. Louis and in Rome itself, the ex-Oratorian Hersent, the same who had written *Optatus Gallus* against Richelieu, went so far as to preach Jansenism in the presence of three Cardinals, to print his sermon, to dedicate it to the Pope and in the dedication to extol the Bishop of Ypres as a man without his equal and another Augustine. Hersent escaped the order of the Inquisition for his arrest by flight but the Dominican Du Four, who had allowed the sermon to be printed, went to prison in his place.[3]

On the same day on which the Inquisition took action

[1] "*Sanctissimus iussit (July 28, 1650), Nuntio rescribi, ut efficaciter interponat officia sua apud Cleri Assembleam, ut non solum sint constanter obedientes Bullae Apostolicae publicatae contra Iansenium, sed ut curent ab eorum subditis eandem obedienter observari. Bagno, April 8, 1650. Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[2] Letter of April 23, 1651, in MAYNARD, II., 328.

[3] RAPIN, I., 322 *seq.*; SAINT-AMOUR, 47, 49, 61; AMEYDEN, *Diario, October, 1650, Barb.* 4819, f. 122 *seq.* (also RANKE, *Päpste*, III.[8], 96). Two **apologetical writings* by DU FOUR to the Inquisition in *Barb.* 1023, pp. 7–18, Vatican Library.

against Hersent, it also prohibited another small book but one that was of great value for the Jansenists.[1] Their *Catechism of Grace* had already been refuted in a number of publications [2] but the worst thing that could befall it was that a Calvinist professor of Gröningen having translated it into Latin, declared that it confirmed the teaching on grace of the Calvinist synod of Dortrecht; consequently he expressed his hope that the Jansenists would end by completely dropping the Council of Trent.[3] The University of Louvain had the opuscule translated into Flemish,[4] but the Inquisition prohibited its circulation on October 6th, 1650. The condemnation was a blow for the Jansenists in Gallican France also. Arnauld defended the Catechism from the attacks of the Jesuits [5] and sought to weaken the impression by a special publication.[6] His introduction is noteworthy. He declares that the Pope had no more devoted sons in France than "the disciples of St. Augustine" [7] since it was owing to the Popes that Augustine had become the Doctor of Grace!

However, relations with the Holy See were none too intimate even on the part of those French Catholics who were sincerely attached to the Church. Notwithstanding the

[1] On October 6, 1650, ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XVI., XXI. *Cf.* above, p. 220.

[2] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, XX.

[3] [PATOUILLET], I., 228, II., 159; ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 697.

[4] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, XX. The royal Council of Flanders confiscated the *Catéchisme de la grâce* (Report of the Belgian nuncio, September 15, 1650, in *Excerpta ex actis s. Officii 1647–1652, loc. cit.*).

[5] *Œuvres*, XVII., 705 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 689 *seqq.* For the same purpose fictitious censures of the University of Salamanca and of the Inquisition were disseminated against a Molinist counter catechism (RAPIN, I., 414), which latter, however, was also suppressed by the Inquisition on October 6, 1650, because it treated of a forbidden subject. *Cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 470.

[7] "qu'il n'y a point de personnes qui soient plus sincerement affectionnées au S. Siège que les disciples de S. Augustin" (*Œuvres.*, XVII., 696).

numerous opponents whom these novelties encountered among the clergy, at court, at the Sorbonne, and in spite of the vigour and zeal displayed in resisting them, there existed a curious shyness to seize the only effective weapon, viz. a request for a papal definition.[1] Rome was resolved to continue its waiting policy until a majority of the French Bishops should request the Holy See to intervene. Hence, for the time being, nothing was done. Individual Bishops had appealed to Rome, on their own initiative, against the innovations, as for instance the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Senlis, Chartres, Aire, Riez, Avranches.[2] But the Assembly of the Clergy of 1650 observed a striking silence; moreover, after Condé's arrest on January 16th, 1650, the country's attention was diverted from religious questions and thus Jansenism spread silently but continuously.[3]

In the universal perplexity as to how to deal with the rising flood, amid the turmoil of opinions which confused even Bishops and scholars, a man was found who stood strong and serene amid the trouble and agitation of his time, as a lighthouse towers above the surging billows—that man was Vincent de Paul. Vincent is known to the world as the apostle of benevolence, but the care of the poor and the destitute by no means exhausted his charity. His far-reaching vision embraced all the needs and wants of the Church; he examined without prejudice at what point it was necessary, or possible, to intervene; having done so he carried through his carefully considered plans with unfailing determination. How consistently he had studied the rising Jansenist movement and with what penetration he saw through the innovation, is shown by his opinion on Arnauld's book on Communion [4] which at the time bewitched almost everybody, as well as his view on Jansenius' teaching on grace.[5] Since as Superior

[1] Rapin, I., 365.

[2] *Ibid.*, 316.

[3] *Ibid.*, 364.

[4] Letter to Dehorgny, September 10, 1648, Coste, III., 362–374.

[5] Letter to the same, June 25, 1648, *ibid.*, 318–332.

he was responsible for the Lazarists' attitude towards the burning questions of the day, we need not wonder when he assures us that these were the usual subject of his prayers.[1] As a matter of fact the sure vision with which he discovered the weak points in the long-winded arguments of Jansenius and Arnauld, the superior simplicity which enables him to show convincingly that their teaching was incompatible with the Catholic faith, give the irresistible impression that a judgment so measured and so sure could only have matured in ceaseless, dispassionate reflection under the eye of God. Naturally enough Arnauld's crafty ways found but little favour with Vincent whose favourite virtues were simplicity and straightforwardness.[2] From his intercourse with St. Cyran he had ascertained the real aims of the sect which Arnauld did not dare to avow; in fact he remarked on more than one occasion that Arnauld played false and sought to hide his purpose behind fine phrases,[3] nor did he trust the attenuations to which Arnauld condescended in a later work,[4] for the explanations there given, which were insidious enough,

[1] *Ibid.*, 330 *seq.*: "Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que j'ai fait quelque petite étude touchant ces questions, et que c'est le sujet ordinaire de mes chétives oraisons.

[2] Jésus, mon Dieu! serais—je réduit à ce malheur qu'il me fallût faire ou dire quelque chose à votre égard contre la sainte simplicité. . . . C'est la vertu que j'aime le plus et à laquelle je fais le plus d'attention dans mes actions, si me semble." Letter to Ducoudray, November 6, 1634, Coste, I., 284.

[3] "Quoique l'auteur [Arnauld] fasse quelque fois semblant . . ., il est certain néanmoins . . . (*ibid.*, III., 363). Je réponds que ce n'est pas de merveille que M. Arnauld parle quelque fois comme les autres catholiques. Il ne fait en cela qu'imiter Calvin, qui nie trente fois, qu'il fasse Dieu auteur du péché, quoiqu'il fasse ailleurs tous ses efforts pour établir cette maxime détestable" (*ibid.*, 365). *Arnauld refrains from the Sacraments "quoiqu'il fasse semblant, pour mieux couvrir son jeu, d'être fort éloigné de ce dessein" (*ibid.*, 369).

[4] *La tradition de l'Église*; see the present work, XXIX., 143, n. 1.

could not clear away existing difficulties.[1] None the less Vincent deprecates any kind of general hue and cry against the new doctrines[2]; on the contrary his Congregation should adopt the following line of conduct: "We never dispute about these things, we never preach about them, we never treat of them in conferences if others do not begin, and if they do we endeavour to speak with the utmost reserve. 'What then' you will tell me, 'do you forbid all discussion of these topics?' I answer 'Yes'!" Those who disobeyed were not to go without a penance.[3]

Though Vincent restrained his companions from a method of attack which would only have attracted more attention to the new opinions, he none the less did not wish them to stand by idly. In his opinion a remedy could only come from the Holy See and its intervention was to be brought about at the request of the French Bishops. Yet it did not seem practical to submit to the Assembly of the Clergy, which met in May, 1650, a draft for a collective letter to the Pope; the consequence would only have been endless and, probably, fruitless discussions and disputes, perhaps even a fresh intervention by Parliament.[4] So there was nothing for it but to undertake the laborious task of winning over the Bishops individually. In concert with some Bishops who had come to Paris before the opening of the Assembly of the Clergy, and with the King's confessor, the Jesuit Dinet, Vincent drafted a letter for Rome the text of which was finally drawn up by Habert, Bishop of Vabres.[5] Some Bishops signed during the Assembly, to the others Vincent addressed a circular letter in February, 1651. The letter states that the dangerous opinions prevalent at the time had already led a goodly number of prelates to write to Rome to request a papal pronouncement on the new teaching. They had been

[1] Coste, III., 323.

[2] "à cor et à cri"; *ibid.*, 328.

[3] *Ibid.*, 328 *seq.*

[4] Rapin, I., 335.

[5] *Ibid.*, 329, 336; [Dumas], I., 12. On the steps which Vincent took in this matter, *cf.* the compilation in Coste, XIV., 279 *seq.*

actuated by the following motives: first, the hope that by this means many people would be confirmed in their loyalty to the traditional teaching; the effect of the Roman decree on the two heads of the Church had sufficiently shown the power of a papal definition. Secondly, if the evil were tolerated it would spread further. In Rome it was thought that the majority of the French Bishops favoured the new doctrine, hence it was imperative to make it clear that this was the attitude of only a few. Lastly, the Council of Trent decreed that Rome should be appealed to whenever new opinions arose.[1]

The grounds on which Vincent's undertaking, notwithstanding his prestige, encountered great obstacles, appear from a letter of Archbishop Montchal of Toulouse to a fellow-Bishop who, like himself, had withheld his signature.[2] A letter to the Pope, he writes, must be decided upon by the Assembly of the Clergy in the name of all the Bishops. In view of their obstinacy both parties would find all kinds of subterfuges to evade a papal definition. How carefully, to give but one example, both Popes and Councils had avoided to hurt either party, for instance in the controversy on grace between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, or in the question of the Immaculate Conception! Were they going to force the Holy See to give up such a wise restraint? Like Montchal, the Bishops of Alet and Pamiers[3] also failed to realize the bearing of the new movement and the reliance they might place on the power of the Holy See; to them[4] as to others,[5] Vincent had to point out that a papal decision would prevent many, if not all, from adopting the new opinions or lead them to renounce them.

However, as during the internal troubles of the Fronde the growth of the new sect took on more and more alarming

[1] Coste, IV., 148 *seq.*; Maynard, II., 326; Rapin, I., 318.

[2] Published by A. Auguste in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés.*, 1916, 272.

[3] Letter of end of May, 1651, in Maynard, II., 333.

[4] *Ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*; Coste, IV., 204–210.

[5] Vincent to the Bishop of Luçon, April 23, 1651, in Maynard, II., 327 *seqq.*; Coste, IV., 175 *seqq.*

proportions,[1] the number of episcopal adhesions very soon rose to seventy,[2] until it reached a total of eighty-eight,[3] among them being the Archbishops of Arles, Bourges, Narbonne, Bordeaux and Rheims. The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons gave as the reason of his refusal to sign the fact that, as a member of the Inquisition, his rôle was that of a judge, not an accuser, whilst Harlay of Rouen declared that he had made his opinion clear enough at his Provincial Council.[4]

The letter had already been dispatched by Dinet to his brother in religion Annat, the French Assistant of the General of the Society, to be forwarded by him to Rome, when the Assessor of the Inquisition, Albizzi, announced that if it was to produce its effect, the document must be handed to the nuncio by the Bishops themselves, without the intervention of a third party. Most of the Bishops objected to their names being known even to the nuncio, but Dinet and Vincent ended by overcoming this difficulty also.[5] The letter [6] begins by stating that it was the constant tradition of the Church to lay the more important affairs before the Holy See, and

[1] Rapin, I., 332.

[2] *Ibid.*, 335.

[3] Gerberon (I., 393) mentions 68 signatories by name. The original text of Habert's letter is in the Acts of the Inquisition, with 24 signatures, also copies with the signatures of one or more Bishops, altogether 39; besides a special document which agrees with Habert's letter of April 25, 1651, signed by 5, and another signed by 8 Bishops, and by two others on special sheets (Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1, **Excerpta ex V. Parte circa librum Iansenii*, f. 135 *seq.*, 137, 252). On August 18, 1651, Bagno transmits further signatures (*ibid.*, 125). Bishop Scarron of Grenoble, in a letter to the Pope, June 6, 1651, complains of the growth of Jansenism; he awaits with impatience the decision of the Pope. *Annales de St. Louis*, XI. (1905), 241.

[4] *Cf.* Rapin, I., 316.

[5] *Ibid.*, 366.

[6] Latin text in Hardouin, *Acta Conc.*, XI., 141; Coste, IV, 632; Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XIX., 73; translation in [Dumas], I., 12 *seq.* Rapin, I., 370.

Peter's faith that never fails demanded the maintenance of this tradition. Accordingly, in conformity with tradition, they submitted to Rome the questions connected with the Jansenist controversy. In reality both the Council of Trent and the Bull of Urban VIII. confirming Pius V.'s and Gregory XIII.'s condemnation of Baius, which Innocent X. had enacted anew, should suffice to put an end to the dispute, but since it was not stated what censure falls on each proposition, some thought that room was left for further subtleties and subterfuges. It was hoped that a clear and detailed papal judgment would bring about a change in this respect. The letter then gives the text of the five propositions and prays for a pronouncement on each of them. The authority of the Holy See had been shown quite recently, when it pronounced in the question of the two heads of the Church. Jansenius had himself submitted his work to the judgment of the Holy See. On April 28th, 1651, nuncio Bagno forwarded the document to Rome.[1] Thus the most important step towards warding off the new teaching had been taken and the Jansenists never forgave Vincent de Paul for having been the means of it.[2]

It goes without saying that this action could not long be kept from those Bishops who thought otherwise. On February 20th, 1651, the Archbishop of Embrun and the Bishops of Agen, Châlons, Comminges, Orléans and Valence called on the papal nuncio in Paris to inform him that Habert's letter was no more than a manifesto on the part of a few individual Bishops signed without the knowledge of the Assembly of the Clergy. The movement in France may indeed be fraught with danger, that is, if judgment was passed without hearing both parties. With regard to the theses impugned, they should make sure in what sense they were taught by "the disciples of Augustine" and above all by Augustine himself, lest they should implicate that holy Doctor in a censure

[1] Bibl. Angelica, Rome, *loc. cit.*, f. 245.

[2] On their opposition to his canonization, *cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 178, 330; II., 479.

and so should give occasion to the heretics to calumniate the Holy See, as if at present it condemned what it had previously approved.[1] Eight days later the Archbishop of Sens called on the nuncio and represented to him in a haughty tone that in this affair the Pope must proceed after mature reflection and in accordance with the canons; if he acted otherwise little notice would be taken in France of his decision.[2] Bagno sought to calm the prelates but already in April he had to report renewed pressure on the part of some of the Bishops. He added that the number of the Jansenists grew from day to day, a large section of Parliament and the University, many monasteries and nobles favoured them and there was no doubt that the situation was becoming serious.[3]

Even before the friends of Jansenism among the Bishops had remonstrated with the nuncio, Arnauld, at their instigation,[4] had published a violent pamphlet against his old enemy Habert.[5] The latter, Arnauld declared, had nothing to answer to the two excellent apologies of Jansenius in which he had exposed the falsehoods contained in Habert's inflammatory sermons and the pitiable weakness of his writings, hence he now had recourse to secret tricks and manœuvres to obtain in clandestine fashion the signatures of a few Bishops for a letter with which to deceive the Pope,

[1] Letter of the Bishop of Valence to the Archbishop of Toulouse, March 3, 1651, in SAINT-AMOUR, 67; RAPIN, I., 336.

[2] RAPIN, I., 337; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XIX., x.

[3] "*replicate instanze fattemi di alcuni pochi vescovi di supplicarla di rappresentare a N. S. gl'inconvenienti che possono succedere, quando si facesse alcuna dichiarazione sopra li capi controversi. . . . Si accresce sempre il numero de' Jansenisti, essendo caduto in quest'errore una gran parte del Parlamento e dell'Universià della Sorbona e de' molti monasterii et ancora molte persone nobili che senz'alcun dubbio possono apportare gran danno." Bagno, April 28, 1651, Biblioteca Angelica, *loc. cit.*

[4] ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XIX., viii.

[5] "Observations sur la lettre composée par M. l'évêque de Vabres," *ibid.*, 43–73.

in order that under the name of Jansenius the latter might condemn St. Augustine himself.[1] The propositions attacked by Habert were the very pillars of St. Augustine's teaching which neither Pope nor Council could oppose without sacrificing the infallibility of the Church, which could not condemn to-day what she had taught for 1,200 years.[2] Habert, the servant of the Jesuits,[3] wanted the Church to turn Molinist, for all Europe to see that an assessor and a handful of theologians of the Inquisition were to-day the judges and masters of the Church's teaching and that they were to be honoured above the Fathers, the Popes and the Councils.[4]

Notwithstanding this violent diatribe Habert's letter secured an ever increasing number of signatures. So as not to leave the ground free for their opponents, the Bishops in favour of Jansenism also wrote to the Pope,[5] but their letter, dated April 14th, 1651, bore only eleven signatures.[6] The document, drawn up at Port-Royal,[7] well characterizes the spirit of the party. It tells the Pope in substance how to proceed in this affair; in fact it utters scarcely veiled threats should he refuse to be taught. The five propositions, the document states, had been brought together arbitrarily and equivocally worded, in order to make of them an apple of discord. The times were not propitious for a solemn definition unless the Pope had the propositions examined, as was done under Clement VIII. and Paul V., in the controversy on grace. If a different procedure was adopted, the defeated

[1] *Ibid.*, 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, 51.
[4] *Ibid.*, 70.
[5] [Dumas], I., 16 *seqq.*; Rapin, I., 380 *seqq.*
[6] Namely, those of Archbishop Louis Henri de Gondrin of Sens, Bishops Barth. Delbene of Agen, Gilbert de Choiseul of Comminges, Le Béron of Valence and Die, Delbene of Orléans, Bernard Despruets of Saint-Papoul, Jean Henri de Salette of Lescar, Félix Vialart of Châlons, François de Caumartin of Amiens, Henri Arnauld of Angers, Nicolas de Buzenval of Beauvais.
[7] Rapin, I., 378.

party might justly complain that it had been condemned unheard, in consequence of the misrepresentations and trickeries of its adversaries. They might even add that their cause had been laid before the Holy See without previous examination by the Bishops, as was required by the practice of Christian antiquity, the legitimate order for the judgment of the universal Church and the customs of the Gallican Church. The letter goes on to describe for the benefit of the Romans, by way of a shining example, how the French would proceed if called upon to deliver judgment in a matter of this kind. "Equity would compel us to examine with the utmost care whether the five propositions had not been arbitrarily brought together, out of hatred for some persons and for the pleasure of sowing trouble; it would compel us to examine in what books, by what authors, in what sense they were stated, to hear the various parties, to study the books written on the theses, to distinguish their true, false or doubtful meaning, to inform ourselves of everything connected with the dispute from its very beginning. After that we would inform the Holy See of all we had done in a matter which touches on the faith, so that our own just declarations might be confirmed by your Apostolic authority." On the other hand, the letter proceeds, if direct recourse was had to the Holy See, by what artifices might not truth be suppressed, by how many calumnies might not Bishops and Doctors be blackened, by how many frauds might not the Pope himself be deceived? For one party maintained that the majority of the scholastics, God's goodness and natural reason were in its favour, whilst those who were integral followers of Augustine asserted that the questions in dispute were questions no longer but a matter decided long since, more particularly by the Council of Trent. For this reason they were afraid of neither an episcopal nor a papal sentence, for they felt confident that the Pope would not swerve in the slightest degree from the teaching of the holy Fathers and that the Holy See would not be made the laughing-stock of the heretics. Hence they prayed the Pope to suffer the continuation, for a short while, of a dispute

which had gone on for centuries without injury to the Church, or to decide it with due regard to legal forms.

Port-Royal did not have to make a long search for someone to hand in the letter of the eleven Bishops. As early as November 1650, ostensibly to accompany a young nobleman, but in reality to spy out the land for the Jansenists, Saint-Amour had been dispatched to Rome, but in view of the strong feeling against the sect called forth by Hersent's Jansenist sermon, he spent the whole of the summer in Venetian territory ; from the Pope he obtained, at a later date, a purely formal audience. Saint-Amour was nevertheless in a position to give his friends one valuable piece of advice, this was that to defend Jansenius they should send a formal embassy to Rome.[1] Notwithstanding every precaution Saint-Amour was in danger of being arrested as a Jansenist, hence on April 13th, 1651, he left in all haste for Genoa.[2]

Meanwhile the dispatch of an embassy to Rome had also been discussed by Cornet's supporters, whereupon Saint-Amour was commissioned by his friends to return to Rome in the capacity of representative of the eleven episcopal supporters of Jansenism, for as their envoy he had nothing to fear.[3] Bishop Henri Arnauld of Angers, brother to the "great" Arnauld, who was known in Rome, supplied him with letters of recommendation to Cardinals Este, Spada and Barberini.[4] Before long, Saint-Amour returned to Rome but, despite the letters of recommendation, Cardinal Este, for his safety's sake, advised him to leave as quickly as possible.[5] From Innocent X., to whom he had presented himself as the envoy of the French Bishops, he received directions than which none could have been unpleasanter for the Jansenists [6] : the Pope referred him to the Assessor of the Inquisition,

[1] Rapin, I., 320, 324, 326, 328.
[2] *Ibid.*, 329.
[3] *Ibid.*, 329, 372 ; Saint-Amour, 83.
[4] Rapin, I., 373 ; Cochin, 149 *seq.*
[5] Rapin, I., 374 *seq.* ; Saint-Amour, 86 *seqq.*
[6] On July 10, 1651, in Rapin, I., 378.

Albizzi, for everything that had not been settled by Urban VIII.'s Bull. Albizzi was feared and hated by the party as no other man. When Saint-Amour hinted that his adversaries gave themselves the air as if they had the Pope's tongue in their mouth and his pen in their hand, Innocent pointed to the crucifix as his counsellor.[1]

To complete the Jansenists' discomfiture the French ambassador was commissioned by his Government to present on October 16th, 1651, a petition praying the Pope to pronounce judgment in the disputes about grace, so that the followers of Jansenius and Molina should no longer be able to call each other Pelagians and Calvinists, to the great delight of the heretics.[2] A second audience with the Pope was hardly more successful for Saint-Amour. This time he came with a message from the Bishop of Grasse, Godeau, who exposed to the Pope familiar grievances of the Jansenists.[3] Innocent received Godeau's message very coldly and stopped Saint-Amour when the latter began to talk of Congregations such as those held under Clement VIII. Urban VIII.'s Bull could not be touched, he said, nor could there be question of resuming the discussions which had taken place under Clement VIII.[4] When Saint-Amour desired to present a memorial, the Pope declined it with the remark that he was old and no theologian.[5] From this Saint-Amour promptly concluded that the Pope had no intention to pronounce sentence, so he wrote to his friends in France that they might dispatch their envoys without hesitation ; a papal sentence, which Port-Royal had every reason to fear, would not be delivered.[6]

Dispatched by the Jansenists, Doctors Brousse, Lalane and Angran, as a matter of fact, did arrive in Rome on December 5th, 1651, describing themselves as representatives of the

[1] SAINT-AMOUR, 96 *seq.*

[2] RAPIN, I., 383.

[3] SAINT-AMOUR, *Documents*, 6.

[4] SAINT-AMOUR, 149 *seq.* ; RAPIN, I., 384.

[5] "Oltra che son vecchio, non ho mai studiato in theologia." SAINT-AMOUR, 150.

[6] RAPIN, I., 384.

Sorbonne. Now it so happened that a month earlier, on being questioned by the new syndic Grandin, the Faculty had protested that Saint-Amour did not represent it [1] and on November 8th, 1651, Hallier had written to the nuncio to put him on his guard against the artifices of the Jansenists; not more than ten to twelve Bishops and less than twenty of the 460 Doctors of Sorbonne favoured them, Hallier wrote; moreover it was a deception to pretend that there was only question of continuing the controversy on grace between Dominicans and Jesuits. The nuncio forwarded Hallier's letter to Rome [2] but of this the Jansenist envoys were ignorant; accordingly, at their first audience with Innocent X., January 21st, 1652, they described themselves as the representatives of the French Bishops. The Pope let this pass and in other ways also he treated them graciously but declared emphatically that he stuck to Urban VIII.'s Bull.[3] Faithful to their instructions, the envoys had prayed for a discussion on the model of the Congregations under Clement VIII. and Paul V.,[4] with the object, as openly avowed in a private letter,[5] to delay and impede a definition. The Pope replied in general terms that they would have no reason to be dissatisfied.[6] It was, however, no happy omen for Brousse and his colleagues that at the time of their arrival the former

[1] *Ibid.*, 420.

[2] *Ibid.*, 418 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 431 *seq.*

[4] "*ut distingui et singillatim examinari iubeat [SS. Pont.] varios sensus 5 propositionum aequivocarum et ad fraudem fictarum . . ., atque ut de praedictis sensibus, prout exiget illorum veritas ac aliorum falsitas, sententiam ferri velit, partibus prius in Congregatione tum voce tum scripto coram auditis et omnibus illarum scriptis mutuo communicatis." Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1, *Excerpta ex V. Parte circa librum Iansenii*, f. 261.

[5] Lalane, July 14, 1651, to SAINT-AMOUR: "Faites tous vos efforts possibles afin qu'on ne prononce rien sur les propositions"; or at least they should try to introduce three clauses into the decision which would have stultified it. RAPIN, I., 373, n.

[6] *Ibid.*, 432.

Cologne nuncio, Fabio Chigi, became Secretary of State, for as a near kinsman of the internuncio of Brussels, Bichi, as well as by his prolonged stay in the North, he was well informed about the Jansenists.[1] For the time being all that the envoys could do was to court prestige by much pomp and display and to try and bring opinion round in their favour by means of personal visits. As a matter of fact they did succeed in influencing in their favour especially the Generals of the Augustinians and the Dominicans.[2]

Meanwhile no steps had as yet been taken in France to send to Rome representatives of the Catholics loyal to the Church. In the end a sarcastic remark in one of Saint-Amour's letters prompted a priest to collect a small sum from his parishioners for the maintenance of representatives in Rome; he also discussed the matter with Hallier; thereupon Hallier decided to go himself to Rome as ambassador, taking Lagault and Joisel as his companions.[3] The three men reached Rome on May 24th, 1652, and were soon after received in audience. Hallier explained to the Pontiff that their undertaking had nothing in common with the dispute about grace under Clement VIII.; they prayed for an examination whether the five propositions had not been condemned long ago and that, if this was the case, the Pope would state it anew.[4] They also requested the Dominicans in Paris to make it clear to their General that the Jansenist dispute had nothing to do with the teaching of the Order of Preachers.[5] They kept out of the way

[1] *Ibid.*, 428 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 459 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 430.

[4] *Ibid.*, 486. *"ut examen fiat 5 illarum propositionum . . . excutiaturque num propositiones illae iam ecclesiasticis definitionibus et traditione proscriptae sint. Quod si iam damnatas fuisse constiterit, supplicant S. Sti, ut pro pace et tranquillitate Ecclesiae id novo diplomate velit declarare. Iidem doctores protestantur, se non petere, ut quaestiones controversae inter Dominicanos et Iesuitas . . . ulli examini aut censurae subiiciantur". Biblioteca Angelica, *loc. cit.*, f. 262.

[5] Letter of Lagault, June 17, 1652, in Rapin, I., 487.

of the envoys of the friends of the Jansenists and an attempt by the French ambassador to bring the two parties together, proved a failure.[1] At this time Queen Anne wrote to the French ambassador and to Cardinal Barberini, requesting them to urge the Pope to decide the question then pending and recommending Hallier and his fellow delegates to him.[2]

(3.)

On April 12th, 1651, before the arrival of the delegation in the Eternal City and before the French Bishops had drawn up their letter, Innocent X. had taken a decisive step in the Jansenist affair by charging a special Congregation to deal with it.[3] It consisted of Cardinals Roma, Spada, Ginetti and Cecchini with Albizzi as secretary.[4] Roma having died on April 11th, 1652, Spada replaced him as chairman from April 11th, 1652. On April 11th, Cardinal Chigi joined as a new member, and Cardinal Camillo Pamfili on October 30th.[5] Innocent X. had deliberately set up an entirely new Congregation owing to the circumstance that the Inquisition, to whose competence the affair belonged in the first instance, was the object of extreme hatred in France.[6] In like manner he had also deliberately excluded from the deliberations Cardinals Maculano and Lugo, both of them able theologians, but who might be suspected of partiality as being the one a Dominican and the other a Jesuit.[7] It was an important

[1] *Ibid.*, 486, 488 *seq.*; SAINT-AMOUR, 241 *seq.*

[2] RAPIN, I., 494 *seqq.*

[3] The official report of the Roman Office, compiled by Albizzi, is published by A. SCHILL in *Katholik*, 1883, II., 282 *seqq.*, 363 *seqq.*, 472 *seqq.* *Cf.* SAINT-AMOUR, *Appendix*, 173. RAPIN (II., 2–31, 66–72 81–5), gives "l'histoire du procès-verbal de ce jugement, prise sur les mémoires du Saint-Office que j'ai copiés fidèlement sur l'original qu'on y garde."

[4] SCHILL, 288.

[5] *Ibid.*, 294, 365.

[6] RAPIN, II., 6.

[7] PALLAVICINO, I., 183.

circumstance for the discussions that Chigi had become acquainted with Jansenius' work during his Cologne nunciature and that, on the basis of an examination by two Dominicans of that city, he had been able to form an independent opinion of the book.[1]

The first nine sittings of the new tribunal were of a preparatory nature. With a view to laying down a solid basis, it began by examining the proceedings against Baius. The more important documents concerning the events of Louvain as well as the censures against him by the Universities of Alcalá, Salamanca and Paris were read and the Paris nuncio was instructed to forward an authentic copy of the Paris censure. The Congregation approached its real task in the seventh session. It was resolved that copies of the Roman memorials of 1649 on the five theses should be submitted and further details on the Jansenist dispute obtained from the Belgian nuncio. At these preliminary sittings the measures to be taken against the Archbishop of Malines, the Bishop of Ghent and against Jansenism at Marseilles also came up for discussion[2]; a Jansenist book of devotion was also prohibited.[3]

At its tenth session, September 28th, 1651, the Congregation took up the discussion of the five propositions. The letter of the French Bishops demanding their condemnation was read. It was decided to have them examined by theologians and to submit the list of these theologians, the so-called qualificators. There followed a pause until September 24th, 1652, probably to give the theologians time to study the subject.[4] In the few sessions during that interlude there was only question of the situation in Flanders, a book by one of the Jansenist delegates was prohibited and it was resolved to give an opportunity to the two delegations of the French

[1] *Ibid.*, 181 *seqq.*

[2] SCHILL, 287–292.

[3] The so-called *Heures de Port-Royal* or *Heures à la janséniste* (*ibid.*, 291), a misleading translation from the Roman Breviary; *cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 177 *seqq.*

[4] SCHILL, 293.

Bishops for and against Jansenius to defend their case either before each of the Cardinals of the Congregation individually or before all of them assembled in general session. At the sessions on 11th and 18th August, Saint-Amour and his friends, as well as Hallier and his colleagues, were informed of this decision. The Jansenist delegates allowed nearly the whole of July and August to go by without taking advantage of the offer, though on August 16th they were reminded of it by order of the Pope. On August 28th they put their signatures to two documents, but under various pretexts its presentation was put off until September 21st. Neither document was to the point ; the one traced the history of the five theses, the other treated of St. Augustine's prestige in the Church. Once again they demanded a formal disputation and that the relevant papers of either party should be communicated to the other.[1] Albizzi had the impression that their only aim was to drag out the affair indefinitely.[2]

The Pope had no intention to allow this and the reason for it was made quite clear to the qualificators before the opening of the sitting of September 24th, 1652, the first at which they were present. A formal disputation, Albizzi explained, only served to inflame tempers, whilst the mutual exchange of papers would unduly protract the business. Meanwhile Spada requested the Cardinals to declare whether they desired an opinion on the five propositions solely as they stood, or as they were understood by Jansenius. When the qualificators were questioned, they replied that no more than the text of the first of the five theses had been communicated to them some time ago, hence a majority of them were of opinion that the propositions should be examined only as they stood, for some of their number had not seen Jansenius' book. The Cardinals adopted this view though it was open to anyone to judge the theses in Jansenius' sense also.[3] At the very next sitting, on

[1] *Ibid.*, 293–7 ; SAINT-AMOUR, 276.

[2] " Relecta quadam scriptura, quae nihil ad propositum, curabant protrahere negotium, petendo contradictoria et communicationem scripturarum." SCHILL, 297.

[3] SCHILL, 297–9.

October 1st, Spada reported that Hallier had objected to the propositions not being examined in Jansenius' sense and Hallier's remonstrances had the support of a learned Carmelite. This view steadily gained ground with the Congregation.[1]

From October 1st onwards the qualificators were the only ones to speak at the sittings of the Congregation. In order to avoid every semblance of partiality against Jansenius, the ordinary qualificators of the Inquisition had been charged to draw up reports.[2] These were taken from the most diverse Orders and belonged to different theological schools. Among them were two Dominicans, the Master of the Palace, Vincenzo Depretis, the General of the Augustinians, Filippo Visconti, whose views closely resembled those of the Dominicans, two Franciscans, the Conventual Modestus Gavazzi of Ferrara and the Observant Luke Wadding. To them were added Raphael Aversa, of the Clerics Minor, the Carmelite Domenico Campanella, the Servite Angelo Maria Ciria of Cremona, the Theatine Tommaso Imbene and the Procurator General of the Capachins, Marco Antonio of Carpineto. There was also included a Jesuit, Sforza Pallavicino, the historian of the Council of Trent.[3] On November 6th, 1652, they were reinforced by the addition of the Discalced Carmelite John Augustine (Tartaglia) of the Nativity.[4] During October, owing to the vacation, only three sittings were held together with the consultors, viz. on 1, 8 and 10, but as the Pope pressed for the termination of the business, two weekly sittings took place from the middle of November, a hitherto unheard of thing in Rome [5]; the labours of the Congregation were not even completely interrupted by the Christmas season.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 363.

[2] "Ne, si eligerentur aliqui ex iis [from the theologians of the Inquisition], daretur ansa dicendi, fuisse selectos eos, qui contra Iansenium sentiebant." SCHILL, 295 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 298. [4] *Ibid.*, 366. [5] *Ibid.*, 368.

[6] Sessions took place on December 23 and 30 and January 13. SCHILL, 377 *seqq.*

From this time onwards the discussions proceeded as follows: the five propositions were examined one after another and each of the thirteen consultors made his report. After the thirty-seventh sitting, January 20th, 1653, all the five theses were examined in order; in two further sessions, on February 3rd and 5th,[1] the consultors were given an opportunity to add further remarks to their reports. At first most of the thirteen consultors took advantage of the permission to abstract from the meaning of the propositions in Jansenius, and to consider only their literal sense,[2] but at the sittings of February 3rd and 5th, 1653, only three did so—they were the General of the Augustinians Visconti, and the two Dominicans Candido and Depretis. At the sitting of February 5th, 1653, these three were likewise called upon to give their opinion on Jansenius' meaning, but on February 27th they declared that they were not prepared for this.[3] After that the Cardinals gave orders to all the consultors to examine Jansenius' book [4] and in the sequel the two Dominicans showed that they were acquainted with the work of the Bishop of Ypres.[5]

In point of fact the two Dominicans and the General of the Augustinians adopted a very different attitude from that of the others, as did the two historians among them, the Franciscan annalist, Luke Wadding, and the historian of the Council of Trent, Sforza Pallavicino. The Jesuit Pallavicino showed remarkable moderation; he qualifies the theses in Jansenius' sense as at most erroneous, and only later on as

[1] SCHILL, 475–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 285.

[3] *Ibid.*, 478.

[4] *Ibid.*, 479.

[5] *Ibid.*, 481. The opinions of the consultors are given in detail in a folio-volume in *the Archives of the Roman Inquisition* which SCHILL was able to consult. "The arguments of the majority endeavour to show for each proposition that it is Jansenistic and they furnish, besides abundant theological matter, the evident proof that their authors had thoroughly examined the work of Jansenius before drawing up their reports." SCHILL, 286, note.

savouring of heresy[1]; the second proposition he declares to deserve no censure in itself and equally the fourth, even in Jansenius' sense.[2] If Pallavicino, notwithstanding his milder sentence, must be included in the first group of theologians, since on the whole he too expresses an unfavourable judgment, the same cannot be said of the other historian, Luke Wadding. In his opinion none of the five propositions deserve condemnation: of the first and third he says so clearly; the second could be saved by making a distinction, in the fourth and fifth Jansenius was misunderstood.[3] The two Dominican consultors go still further, in fact the Master of the Palace, Candido, only drops the second half of the fourth proposition which he describes as erroneous. According to him the first proposition, about the impossibility of keeping God's commandments, is not deserving of censure, on the contrary he holds it to be true in the highest degree and Catholic. The assertion that a man never resists interior grace, is equally blameless according to him; he describes it as true and Catholic; the same holds good with regard to the third proposition to which it is possible to attach a Catholic meaning; the fifth, viz. that Christ did not die for all men may be maintained "as probable and undoubtedly true".[4] The other Dominican, Depretis, does not go quite so far but he too is of opinion that the, condemnation, for instance, of the irresistibility of grace, would hit the teaching of the Thomists and that of St. Augustine's later works.[5] The Augustinian General Visconti must also be ranked with the defenders of Jansenius,[6] but not his brother in religion, Bruni.

Thus, though the overwhelming majority of the consultors was decidedly in favour of Jansenius' condemnation, the final sentence was not pronounced without his friends having had

[1] *Ibid.*, 364, 373, 379; *cf.* for the conclusion of the votes SCHILL's remark on page 285.

[2] *Ibid.*, 370, 376.

[3] *Ibid.*, 365, 371, 373, 377, 381.

[4] *Ibid.*, 368, 372, 375, 378, 472.

[5] *Ibid.*, 371 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 368 *seq.*

their say. His opponents, in their lengthy memorandums, examined the five propositions from every angle, turned them this way and that, and even ended by discovering a sense in which the one or the other might be defended, only that sense was neither the natural one nor that of Jansenius.

After the consultors had stated their opinions before the Cardinals, they were invited, at the forty-first session, to be prepared to expound and substantiate their opinions once again before the Pope himself.[1] This was done between March 10th and April 7th, 1653, in ten Congregations.[2]

The consultors maintained their original opinions in presence of the Pope also. Pallavicino added to his first verdict on the third and fourth proposition that the Pope could pronounce a formal definition on them.[3] Wadding defended Jansenius with energy. On the latter's assertion on the impossibility of keeping the commandments of God he remarked that it could be defended in many senses, including that of the Bishop of Ypres. As for the remaining four propositions, they were not even to be found in Jansenius.[4] An unexpected incident occurred during the discussion of the third proposition, viz. that to merit or de-merit, freedom from necessity was not required, but only freedom from coercion. When the turn of the Dominican Depretis came, he threw himself on his knees, exclaiming that the five propositions were a mere disguise: "let them take care lest by condemning the disguise they condemn Augustine. The third proposition was neither Jansenius', nor was it censurable." Depretis was suceeded by Visconti. "He would speak rather with tears than with words," he said, "for words failed him. Alas! Augustine is being condemned under the name of Jansenius!" A second prostration, this time by the Dominican Candido, lent further emphasis to this cry of despair.[5] A further prostration was executed by Depretis

[1] *Ibid.*, 479.
[2] *Ibid.*, 479–487.
[3] *Ibid.*, 483, 485.
[4] *Ibid.*, 480, 482, 484 *seq.*, 487.
[5] *Ibid.*, 484.

at the sitting of April 3rd, during the discussion of the fourth proposition, viz. that the Semi-Pelagians were heretics forasmuch as they denied the irresistibility of grace ; in the mouth of the Semi-Pelagians the statement was heretical but in the mouth of Catholics, according to him, it deserved no censure. On the other hand Visconti argued that if this proposition was condemned, the Jesuits must likewise be condemned. On this occasion Candido merely stated, in a lengthy speech, that he maintained his opinion.[1] In the last session, on April 7th, Visconti asserted [2] that all five theses were defended by St. Prosper, Fulgentius, Thomas Acquinas and by the Scholastics. He then fell on his knees, calling upon the assembly to beware of bringing back the unhappy times when, thanks to the intrigues of Ursacius and Valens, the whole world suddenly discovered that it had become Arian.[3] "May it not have to realize to-day that it has become Semi-Pelagian ! " From which side Visconti feared a catastrophe, who those were who, in his opinion, intended to strike at St. Augustine under the mask of Jansenius, appears from his outburst against the Jesuits at the sitting of April 3rd, and by his remarks, on April 7th, on " convertible " grace.[4] The latter nickname had been coined to designate the Molinist system of grace. This quite unjustifiable dragging in of the chief opponents of Jansenism lends support to the report that many Roman religious had allowed themselves to be influenced by Saint-Amour.[5]

The Jansenist delegates deemed it one of their chief duties to foment anti-Jesuit feeling by means of visits to prelates

[1] *Ibid.*, 486.

[2] *Ibid.*, 488.

[3] Allusion to St. Jerome's, *Adv. Lucifer*, n. 19 : " Ingemuit totus orbis (after the events of Seleucia-Rimini) et Arianum se esse miratus est." HEFELE, *Konzilien gesch.*, I.², 722.

[4] SCHILL, 488.

[5] RAPIN, II., 11 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 13, in the mouth of SAINT-AMOUR the reproach " qu'on ne cherchoit qu'à déguiser le fait au lieu d' éclaircir ".

and monasteries.[1] A memorial of December, 1652, in which they sought to restrain the Pope from issuing a definition, dwells, in the first part, on the difficulty of the matter. It then turns on the Jesuits as the chief authors and instigators of a conspiracy whose only aim was to destroy the teaching of St. Augustine. Hence it was only right that these hidden enemies should appear before the Congregation of Cardinals to meet the accusations of the Jansenists. Lastly, they demanded that Albizzi, who was hopelessly tied to the Jesuits' apron strings, should cease to be Secretary of the Congregation.[2] Already before this they had demanded the removal of Albizzi who, they stated, behaved like a Turk towards them; at the very least he must be given an assistant Secretary.[3] Spada replied to these recriminations on the occasion of a visit which Saint-Amour and his friends paid to him. He assured them on oath that in this affair the Jesuits did not play the part with which they were credited and as for Albizzi, he had no vote and all he did was to take down in writing what was said by the various members.[4] As the delegates insisted on being confronted with their opponents, Spada replied that neither Pius V. nor Gregory XIII., nor Urban VIII. had reached a decision by means of discussions and that Clement VIII., who tried it, fared very badly. Disputations were excellent things for the schools, as exercises for young people, but no conclusion would ever be reached by their means. The Church did not dispute, she judged; once they consented to disputations they would have to allow them to every *frate*.[5]

These exhortations were, however, in vain. It was the Pope's wish, with a view to providing against future recriminations, that after all the consultors had spoken on the five propositions

[1] They made special efforts with the Roman Dominicans. Lagault, June 17, 1652, in Rapin, I., 488.

[2] Saint-Amour, 363 *seq.*; Rapin, II., 21.

[3] Saint-Amour, 265.

[4] Rapin, II., 22; Saint-Amour, 354.

[5] Rapin, II., 13, 19.

on January 20th, both delegations of the French Bishops should have an opportunity freely to state their respective cases before the Cardinals and the consultors. However, as Cardinal Spada informed the Cardinals of the Congregation on January 27th, Saint-Amour and his associates persisted in declaring that they would only appear at a Congregation at which there would be a formal disputation ; at the same time they repeated their demand with regard to Albizzi ; moreover no Jesuit was to be present.[1] Accordingly the delegates did not appear before the Cardinals. On the other hand Hallier and his companions declared that they had come to Rome to seek instruction, hence they were prepared to obey the directions of the Congregation.[2] Hallier subsequently spoke sharply of the Jansenists in presence of the Cardinals and the consultors.[3] "We raise our voice on behalf of the Church of God against the disturbers of the peace ; on behalf of the faith against innovators ; on behalf of ecclesiastical institutions against troublesome men." The five propositions, he declared, stated, though perhaps not in so many words, the deliberate thought of the Jansenists and they resulted from its two principles, viz. the denial of sufficient grace and the irresistibility of grace. If their opponents attached various meanings to the theses, it was for the purpose of disguising their heresy ; as a matter of fact, there was hardly a single heretical proposition which was not somehow susceptible of a favourable interpretation. In Rome members of the party repudiated the appellation of Jansenists, whilst in Paris they published three apologies and many other writings in favour of Jansenius. Notwithstanding their hostility towards the Molinists, they could not appeal to the Thomists. When Hallier concluded, Joisel spoke of the novelties introduced by the Jansenists in the sphere of morals and ecclesiastical discipline and sketched the activities of the sect from its first beginnings.

[1] SCHILL, 473 *seq.* ; RAPIN, I., 499.
[2] RAPIN, I., 474.
[3] **Excerpta*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1, f. 931–3.

Finally Langault expatiated on the danger of Jansenism for the whole Church.[1]

For the time being, and in the sequel also, the Jansenist delegates contented themselves, by means of visits, with making friends with the Cardinals and other personages. Thus on February 14th they presented their old demands to Cardinal Chigi, and to the Pope himself in a petition of February 17th.[2] In April, 1653, they received reinforcements from Paris. One of their number, Brousse, had left Rome to escape from the hot season and, by a curious choice, he was replaced by the Oratorian Desmares who had been forbidden to preach on account of his Jansenism, and by Manessier who was barred from the lecture hall for the same reason.[3] However, the new-comers were just as unsuccessful when they had their first audience with the Pope on May 4th, 1653. Innocent X. told them he would restore peace to the Church by other means than disputations.[4] Nor had Saint-Amour's efforts to win over the Dominicans the desired effect, though in May 1652, the General summoned to Rome from Toulouse that fanatical opponent of the Jesuits, Reginald Ravaille [5] who, jointly with a brother in religion, sought to influence the French ambassador. On the other hand Hallier's statement to the Dominicans of Rome that he was far from attacking the Thomists, had no further result. A publication in which the Jesuit Annat dwelt on the difference between the Thomist and the Jansenist teaching on grace was favourably received by the French Dominicans, though not by the Roman ones.[6] For all that Saint-Amour failed to win over the Friars Preacher

[1] Letter of Lagault, January 27, 1653, in RAPIN, II., 44, of March 24, 1653, *ibid.*, 48, of the French ambassador, February 3, *ibid.*, 51 *seq.*

[2] SAINT-AMOUR, 393 *seq.*, 396.

[3] *Ibid.*, 428 ; RAPIN, II., 23, 85.

[4] SAINT-AMOUR, 440.

[5] On him, *cf.* A. AUGUSTE in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés.*, 1916, 316 *seqq.*

[6] SAINT-AMOUR, 386 ; RAPIN, II., 64 *seq.*

wholly to his side because he himself did not share their opinions on every point.[1]

Their sad experience in Rome ended by inducing Saint-Amour and his colleagues to alter their policy. After the Congregation had decided, on April 18th, 1653, to hear them if they asked to be heard,[2] they ended by making up their minds to do so and on May 19th they presented themselves before the Pope and the consultors. Lalane spoke first: he commented on the Holy See's duty to safeguard the teaching of St. Augustine. Against this teaching snares were being set. After this exordium he "stormed"[3] for nearly two hours against the Jesuits. Finally he distinguished a threefold sense of the five propositions, the Lutheran-Calvinistic, the Catholic and the Molinist-Pelagian. He and his friends prayed to be allowed to dispute with their opponents on this threefold sense: they would submit to the Pope's verdict.[4] Desmares then expatiated for a further two hours on efficient grace. Lastly the five delegates submitted five papers which they asked permission to have printed, for the purpose of presenting copies to the Cardinals and the consultors. They also prayed for another audience. Innocent answered evasively.[5] Of the five papers only the last two dealt with the business in hand.[6]

Albizzi was now commissioned to draw up a memorial in which, after a general survey of the sessions of the Congregation, he answered the questions whether Jansenius

[1] Letter of Lagault, February 24, 1653, in RAPIN, II., 65: "Ils disent qu'ils craignent en ce rencontre que les Jésuites, à qui ils attribuent la forme de ces propositions, n'en tirent des conséquences contre leurs opinions, et qu'ils ne s'y opposent pas tant pour l'intérêt de la doctrine de Jansénius que pour l'intérêt de leur ordre."

[2] SCHILL, 488.

[3] "debacchatus est."

[4] SCHILL, 489. The *discourse is in *Barb.* 3565, n. 21. Vatican Library.

[5] SCHILL, 491; SAINT-AMOUR, 502.

[6] Their titles, *ibid.*

taught the five theses and in what sense; what censures outstanding theologians, especially from the Dominican school, had passed on them; whether a definition in the sense of the eighty-six French Bishops was advisable and how it should be worded. On Albizzi's advice prayers were offered in all the churches in Rome. At the last moment the Pope felt perplexed whether to issue a definition and thereby still further provoke the recalcitrants. However, Chigi represented to him that failure to publish a definition after such protracted discussions could not but give rise to the impression that Jansenism had been approved. After Innocent X. had examined the document six times, he decided to issue a definition and charged Albizzi to draw it up. Albizzi's first draft, with its historical introduction on the action of Urban VIII. in the matter, failed to meet with the Pope's approval; the second, which the Assessor drew up in collaboration with Chigi, was read four times by Albizzi at a Congregation held in presence of the Pope and consisting of Spada, Ginetti and Pamfili: this was done for the purpose of enabling them to suggest further improvements on points of detail.[1] At last, on Whitsun Eve, May 31st, 1653, the Bull was issued; on June 9th it was published by being affixed at the usual places and on the same day it was dispatched in every direction.[2]

The text of the short Constitution bears evidence of most careful drafting. As the publication of Jansenius' book *Augustinus* had given rise, particularly in France, to a controversy on five propositions,[3] we there read, several Bishops of that country had prayed for judgment by the Pope. Then follows the text of the propositions. The Pope, as having at heart the tranquillity of the Church, had had

[1] SCHILL, 491–3; PALLAVICINO, I., 184 *seq.*

[2] SCHILL, 493.

[3] "Cum occasione impressionis libri, cui titulus: Augustinus Cornelii Iansenii Episcopi Yprensis, inter alias eius opiniones orta fuerit, praesertim in Galliis, controversia super quinque ex illis. . . ."

these propositions examined and had also personally studied them, and after prolonged prayer, both public and private, he now proceeded to give a declaration and definition. Here follows once more the text of the five propositions, each with its own particular censure. To three of their number some minor censures are likewise affixed, but all are the object of the strongest censure of all; the fifth proposition is condemned as heretical, at least in one sense, which is obviously that of Jansenius. Accordingly all the faithful and all ecclesiastical Superiors are warned to act accordingly; the Constitution adds that the condemnation of only these five propositions did not imply approval of the other opinions in Jansenius' book.[1]

The publication of this Constitution is Innocent X.'s most personal merit. When he approached the Jansenist question he soon perceived the tremendous bearing of a movement which affected the innermost core of the Christian life and sought to transplant, on Catholic soil, a but slightly attenuated form of Calvinism. It was an unheard of thing in Rome for a Pope to command a Congregation of Cardinals to hold two sittings a week. They must do all that can be done, he was wont to say, and he himself acted accordingly.

[1] *Bull. Rom.*, XV., 720. The **Excerpta of the Bibl. Angelica*, Rome, S. 3, 1, give at the end two drafts of the Constitution. Variants from the printed text: at the beginning: "inter alias eius *pravas* opiniones"; in the censure of the first proposition: "haereticam" is missing; the censure of the fifth proposition reads: "hanc propositionem impiam, blasphemam . . . declaramus et uti talem damnamus"; the last paragraph: "Non intendentes," is missing. *Covering Briefs for the Emperor, for Spain, Poland, the Empire, for the Governor of Belgium, for Bavaria, France, in *Innocentii X. Epist.*, IX., 168 *seqq.*, 177; *Answers to letters of thanks: to the Bishops of Meaux, September 13, Grenoble and Noyon, September 29, Sarlat, December 13, 1653, Tulle, March 21, 1654, *ibid.*, X., n. 16, 22, 23, 52, 93; to the Dean and Chapter of Poitiers, October 9, 1653, *ibid.*, n. 28; to the Universities of Douai and Poitiers, *ibid.*, 95. Papal Secret Archives.

In delivering sentence he wished to take every possible precaution so as to leave no ground for further recrimination. Every University in Europe was asked for its opinion; the best Roman theologians of every Order were summoned. The Dominicans and Augustinians furnished two each and these could not be suspected of being in favour of Molinism.[1] Whilst the cardinalitial Congregations were in progress, Cardinal Chigi had to make a report each night and this often took from two to three hours.[2] During the final Congregations, in the Pope's presence, he listened with tense attention on each occasion for some four hours; he took no notice of the suggestions of his sister-in-law, Olimpia, that he should spare himself; to the French ambassador he even declared that he would deem himself happy if he were permitted to sacrifice his life for the faith in the pursuit of this task.[3] He thought and spoke of nothing else, one of the delegates of the eighty-six French Bishops wrote; he could have done no more even if the Kings of France and Spain had come to Rome to push the affair.[4] At the first session, on May 27th,

[1] Letter of Lagault, November 20, 1652, in RAPIN, II., n. 11; *cf.* 2, 35.

[2] Lagault, January 20, 1653, *ibid.*, 34, note; *cf.* 35, where RAPIN says: "L'on sut qu'il se faisoit rendre compte deux fois la semaine, en deux heures à chaque fois par le card. Chigi."

[3] *Ibid.*, 73; Lagault, March 17, 1653, *ibid.*, 68, note. Albizzi also writes: "in quibus [sessionibus] maxima cum attentione et patientia semper fere per quatuor horas SS. D. N. adstitit" (in SCHILL, 488). "Il est attentif à tout ce qu'on lui dit, n'interrompt personne (LAGAULT, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Lagault and Hallier to St. Vincent de Paul, June 14 and 16, 1653, in COSTE, IV., 607 *seqq.*, 610 *seqq.*

[4] RAPIN, II., 89. "*Io non so se al nostro tempo sia mai più seguita azzione in cui maggiore evidenza si sia veduta dell'assistenza di Dio; mentre il Papa, che di professione non era teologo, così sagacemente capiva nulladimeno i sensi dei Consultori, che appena proferiti il repeteva e l'applicazione impiegò all'affare, che volle anco separatamente sentire ciascheduna classe di dottori, con capacitare i medesimi della più sicura interpretazione che si doveva al trattato di S. Agostino e per pienamente quelli

1653, Innocent felt justified in saying that he thought he had employed every means which could be legitimately made use of.[1]

(4.)

On the evening of June 9th, 1653, Saint-Amour and his colleagues were in the very act of drawing up their reports to France when news was brought to them that the Constitution on the five propositions was affixed outside the papal Chancellery. They hastened to the Chancellery but by the time they got there the document had been removed; so they hurried on to St. Peter's but there it was just being taken down.[2] All they could do now was to report the fact to France and to make ready, in a very depressed state of mind, for their departure. But according to Albizzi the depression of the consultors who had advocated Jansenius' cause, was even greater[3]; the blow was a particularly hard one for the two Dominicans[4] whose opinions, for the rest, were by no means shared by all their brethren in religion.[5]

Very different were the feelings of the other side. "When

sodisfare, patientemente soffrì lo stare cinque e sei hore ben fisse assistente alla discussione del negozio. Questo finalmente a sufficienza digerito, lunedì 7 di giugno, fu publicata un'ampia Costituzione (De Rossi, *Istoria, Vatic. 8873, p. 105, Vatican Library).

[1] SCHILL, 492.

[2] SAINT-AMOUR, 530; RAPIN, II., 112.

[3] SCHILL, 493.

[4] As Hallier and Lagault wrote, the Pope reprimanded them; in Rome it was already said that a decision on physical predetermination would be made (RAPIN, II., 114, note; 118, note). Wadding submitted explicitly and unreservedly to the decision of Innocent X. ([DUMAS], III., 92).

[5] RAPIN, II., 38. In Paris the Dominicans Nicolai and Guyard defended Thomism against its supposed affinity to Jansenism (FERET, V., 236, 242; HURTER, IV., 39, 67; their confrère Alexander Sebille did the same at Louvain (HURTER, III., 1017).

I think of all the plots and intrigues, I can only say: 'It is the act of God'!" Lagault remarked[1]; "The Dominicans have done all they could; a Cardinal of their Order strove his utmost; the General of the Augustinians was allied with them and on top of everything there was a powerful French plot which time alone will bring fully to light, yet the Pope has not given way." He wrote even more enthusiastically on June 9th, when the impression of the publication of the recent decision was still fresh.[2] He did not know himself for joy, he wrote. The Constitution could not be better if he and his friends had had the framing of it. It contained two master strokes: viz. the name of Jansenius was in it as well as the condemnation of the fifth proposition in the sense therein stated, and when in conclusion the Pope declared that the remaining propositions of Jansenius, though not expressly condemned, were not for that reason approved, he did not know what more could be desired: "God be praised! Good-bye, Jansenism!"

However, these shouts of triumph were premature. The Jansenist delegates were in no mind to allow themselves to be taught by the supreme ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith.[3] In view of the fact that Innocent X. had fixed June 13th for a farewell audience, their first preoccupation was what they should do if the Pope insisted on their signing the definition. They agreed to plead inadequate instructions from their employers and in the last extremity to sign with the reservation of the doctrine of efficacious grace and the

[1] On June 30, RAPIN, II., 118, n. 1. "Il ne se peut dire combien d'obstacles on forma en France, en Espagne, en Flandre, en Italie et à Rome même, pour s'opposer, combien d'intrigues on fit jouer dedans et dehors le palais, dans la ville et dans la maison du pape, pour lui faire changer de résolution, tant par les dégoûts qu'on lui donnoit de l'affaire en elle—même que par les défiances qu'on lui vouloit inspirer contre le France." *Ibid.*, 118.

[2] *Ibid.*, 112, n. 1.

[3] This is clear from the statements in SAINT-AMOUR, compiled by DUMAS (I., 47–51).

teaching of St. Augustine.[1] At their audience, at which they were not requested to sign anything, they asked the Pope, as it were casually, whether he had defined anything on the latter points. The answer could only be in the negative. Thereupon, in reporting to the eleven French Bishops,[2] they stated that the five propositions had only been condemned in the bad sense in which they might be construed, which, in fact, they themselves had condemned. Not only had nothing been done to the prejudice of the propositions, the fully Catholic sense of which they had maintained before the Pope, on the contrary, they may be said to have received papal approbation. They caused their supporters to spread the report in Rome that neither they themselves had been condemned, nor the five propositions as understood by them; that the Pope had, in fact, declared that he had defined nothing concerning efficacious grace and the teaching of St. Augustine.[3] The delegates, in their letters to their patrons, went so far as to extol divine Providence which had guided their steps to Rome that they might discern truth from falsehood in the presence of the Pope and thereby prevent the condemnation of error from recoiling upon truth.[4] Hence the conduct of the Jansenist delegates, when they thanked the Pope for his definition and promised submission,[5] needs no explanation.

However, the cheerful assurance which the delegates exhibited in public could not easily be reconciled with the speed of their departure, which was such that they did not even take leave from the Cardinals of the Congregation. They only reached Paris about the middle of September. In a letter from Florence they suggested to their friends that, in view of the alleged obscurity of the papal definition, they should pray the Holy See to have the propositions

[1] Saint-Amour, 533.
[2] June 16, *ibid.*, 534.
[3] Lagault, June 23, Rapin, II., 116.
[4] Saint-Amour, 534.
[5] Lagault, June 16, Rapin, II., 117, note.

which the delegates had submitted, examined in a public Congregation and to allow them to speak in their defence.[1] From Rome their sympathizers wrote that anyone with any degree of education attached but little importance to a censure which, they said, was the result of passion; let Saint-Amour make sure of the favour of the court—that would be the best deterrent of all.[2] News soon came from Paris that the possible value, for the purposes of the sect, of Innocent X.'s casual remark about St. Augustine, had already been grasped. The Constitution, the message stated, had added to the number of the "disciples of St. Augustine" instead of diminishing it; all felt a new courage and would exploit the Pope's remark to the utmost.[3]

If these observations enable us to make out the main lines of the developments which were about to ensue, the same is true of a document[4] which Hallier left behind at his departure from Rome on September 6th, 1653. In it he suggested that the conventicles of Port-Royal should be stopped, that the Abbey should be once more placed under Citeaux and the nuns distributed in other convents.

However, the success of these plans depended before all else on the co-operation of the court which, at that very time, had incurred Rome's displeasure by the imprisonment of Cardinal Retz.[5] With a view to conciliating the Pope in these circumstances, the French ambassador in Rome counselled that the sentence against the Jansenists should be received with every mark of respect and that expressions of gratitude should reach the Pope from all sides.[6] The Government was all the more willing to fall in with this

[1] SAINT-AMOUR, 549 *seq.*; RAPIN, II., 121.

[2] SAINT-AMOUR, 554.

[3] SAINT-AMOUR, 558 *seq.*

[4] "**Acta in Galliis circa Constitutionem damnantem quinque propositiones Iansenii a.* 1653–6," f. 751 *seq.* Archives of the Roman Inquisition. (Papers left by A. SCHILL.)

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 68.

[6] RAPIN, II., 118.

suggestion as Queen Anne continued in her dislike of the Jansenists and the youthful King was under the influence of Jesuit confessors. Hence Bagno was graciously received when he presented the Constitution on June 3rd and at the same time requested Mazarin to issue a royal ordinance in due form for its execution, whilst he prayed for Queen Anne's protection in view of the opposition [1] which was already being set on foot by various assemblies and in which even some Bishops and parish priests seemed to be involved.[2] A royal ordinance of July 4th "exhorted" the Bishops and commanded the secular officials to do their part for the publication and execution of the papal definition.[3] On July 8th Bagno dispatched the customary 124 copies to the Bishops.

A few days later Bagno reported that there was great need of the help of the secular arm if the Bull was to be carried into effect. So far the papal Constitution had not encountered open opposition, but without the King's patronage many difficulties would be encountered on the part of Parliament and certain powerful gentlemen who favoured the new teaching, including even some Bishops. Already some ill-disposed people were complaining of the fact that the Bull had been first communicated to the King instead of to the Bishops; the expression, "we command," in the royal ordinance,[4] was disrespectful towards the Bishops; the five propositions should have been examined first in France and only then submitted to the Pope's judgment. Others expressed their fear that by the present action the way was opened for the King to decide whether or no Roman ordinances were

[1] **Nunziat. di Francia*, 106, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] ". . . gli dissi, haver inteso che già si facevano alcune congregazioni sopra ciò per muover qualche oppositione alla bolla, giudicandosi che alcuni vescovi e curati di questa città vi concorrino." *Ibid.*

[3] Thus according to the later text at least: D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 271; [DUMAS], III., 73.

[4] The later text has only: "exhortons et admonestons,' [DUMAS], III., 74.

to be received; a French work against the Constitution had already appeared in print.[1]

The Constitution owed its acceptance by the Bishops solely to the skill and prestige of the Prime Minister. At Mazarin's invitation six Archbishops and twenty-six Bishops met on July 11th at the former's rooms at the Louvre. Since the judgment on the five propositions, Mazarin urged, was due to the urgent requests of the King and the French Bishops, as the Pope himself declared in his Brief to Louis XIV. and the Bishops,[2] it followed that they were bound not only to submit to the decision as such, but to thank the Pope for it. The Bishops agreed and commissioned Pierre de Marca, Archbishop of Toulouse, to draw up a letter to that effect. It was also decided to send a circular letter to all the Bishops which Bishop Godeau of Grasse was instructed to write.[3] There was less unanimity when Mazarin ordered the royal ordinance concerning acceptance of the papal decision to be read. It was objected that the Constitution would be forwarded to individual Bishops in any case so that there was no need to receive it in a body. Mazarin had the affair put to the vote; thereupon the Archbishops of Embrun and Rouen complained that the Constitution had only been come to by trampling on the rights of the Gallican Church; the Bishop of Dol asked that its publication be put off, in fact there were those who spoke of having the papal sentence examined by a national council or, alternately, they suggested that the President of the Assembly should alone sign the letter to the Pope. Mazarin conceded that in the royal letter the King's "command" to the Bishops would be toned down to a "wish" and eventually succeeded in getting the condemnation of the five propositions accepted.[4] On July 16th nine Bishops met at Mazarin's residence for

[1] *Bagno, July 11, 1653, *loc. cit.*

[2] May 31, 1653, in [Dumas], III., *Recueil*, 69, 71.

[3] *Bagno, July 18, 1653, *loc. cit.*

[4] Rapin, II., 130; Bourlon, 11; *report in *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 812 *seq.* Bibl. Angelica, Rome, S. 3, 1.

the purpose of examining De Marca's and Godeau's letters. Godeau criticized De Marca's draft and succeeded in getting one sentence struck out; however, even so the text finally agreed upon [1] expressly describes the five propositions as Jansenius' teaching, in fact De Marca draws a parallel between the sentence of Innocent X. and that of Innocent I. against Pelagianism "which was accepted by the Church of that period without hesitation, on the sole basis of the communion and authority of the See of Peter", for in view of Christ's promises and the action of former Popes, especially that of Damasus I., the Church of that time held it as certain that the dogmatic definitions of the Popes rested on divine authority and accordingly demanded the internal assent of all Christians.[2]

Godeau's circular [3] strikes a different note. It invites the

[1] D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 275 *seq.* The *Original letter with 27 original signatures in *Excerpta*, f. 824, *loc. cit.*

[2] In a letter to the Pope of July 19, 1653, De Marca draws special attention to the fact that in these propositions the Gallican doctrine of the superiority of the Council over the Pope has been abandoned: "*Enimvero prae gaudio me continere vix possum, quin Beatitudini Vestrae gratuler, quod eius auspiciis, agente me hac in causa, altera illi laurea placide obvenerit de sententia illa Parisiensium nomine famosa, quae summum de rebus fidei iudicium Papae una cum concilio generali vindicabat. Contrariam epistulae prudens inserui solamque Petri cathedrae communionem et auctoritatem ad damnandas haereses valuisse quondam, eademque nos fide imbutos illam in S. V. hodie colere docui, et ab episcopis ut subscriberetur obtinui. The Bull of Leo X. against Luther had never been published in France, on account of Gallicanism holding sway there, but instead only an extract authorized by the King: "Quae in posterum non sunt subsecutura, postquam non solum exemplo, sed etiam epistolae magisterio, satagente me, contrariam sententiam episcopi profiteantur" (*Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 829 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* BOURLON, 12.

[3] About him A. COGNET, *Ant. Godeau, évêque de Grasse et de Vence, un des premiers membres de l'Académie française 1615–1672*, Paris, 1900; G. DOUBLET, *Godeau, évêque de Grasse et de Vence 1605–1672*, Paris, 1911–13. Godeau was a good Bishop, but

Bishops, for the sake of concord in the Church, to accept the papal decree and to have it published by the parish priests. However, "such discretion should accompany publication" that no one—presumably the Jansenists included—should have cause to complain.[1] The condemned doctrines could not be defended, nor may anyone depart from the language of the Constitution. About Jansenius not a word: his name is not as much as mentioned.

Rome was naturally dissatisfied with Godeau's equivocations. Lagault wrote from the Eternal City [2] that, in point of fact, the drafting of the circular could not have got into worse hands. None the less from now onwards publication of the papal decree followed quickly enough in individual dioceses; by the middle of September only a very few Bishops were behind with it [3] and not a few wrote to thank the Pope as, for instance, the Bishops of Noyon, Cahors, Grenoble, Meaux, Poitiers. De Marca's letter was published together with a French translation and with the signatures of sixty-two Bishops.[4] The King himself thanked the Pope for the Constitution; in a consistory of September 22nd Innocent X. expressed his joy at this action of the monarch.[5]

However, opposition to the papal condemnation was

"il ne sût pas discerner l'hérésie naissante, il flirta avec elle". (*Rev. d'hist de l'Eglise de France*, IV. [1913], 600.) *Cf.* also BAUMGARTNER, *Weltliteratur*, V., 291 ss.

[1] "*Vous ordonnant en outre de vous gouverner en cette publication avec tant de sagesse, que vous ne donniez sujet à aucun de se plaindre." *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 830, *loc. cit.*, 31.

[2] On August 11, 1653, in RAPIN, II., 132.

[3] *Bagno, September 12, 1653, *loc. cit.* Some "l'hanno fatta publicare in lingua latina in alcun luoghi, dove sono poche persone che l'intendono".

[4] **Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 886, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*, f. 842. *Ibid.*, *Letters of thanks for the decision, from the Bishop of Noyon, August 24, Cahors, September 1, Grenoble, August 10, Meaux, August 3. A printed circular of July 29, 1653, to the Oratory from its General Bourgoing, about the acceptance of the decision, *ibid.*, 872. *Answers of the Pope to the Bishop of Meaux, September 13, 1653, in

anything but dead. From Sullay, the "official" of Paris, Bagno learnt that a number of men of position had urged various objections against publication[1]; that the Duke of Ventadour, who was a Canon of Notre Dame, had expressed his regret that some members of the Chapter were against the definition and that he had told the Queen that if the King did not punish a few rebellious Jansenists the sect would raise its head once more.[2] The Bishop of Rennes met with no opposition when he expounded to the Sorbonne the royal decree concerning the Constitution, in fact it was embodied in the acts of the University. Bagno, however, was well aware that if there had been no opposition, it was solely because no one had the courage to offer any.[3] "Come what may," the Sorbonnist Taignier wrote,[4] "we allow things to run their course at the Faculty because in existing circumstances it is impossible to do anything without raising a tremendous storm against ourselves and thus creating difficulties for truth." "Christ Himself," he added, "said: 'My hour is not yet come.'" The shrewder ones among the opponents of the Jansenists likewise avoided everything liable to cause friction and the supporters of the Pope acted in like manner. Vincent de Paul paid several friendly visits to Port-Royal after publication of the papal decree,[5] and

Innocentii X. Epist., IX., p. 16. to the Bishops of Grenoble and Noyon, September 29, *ibid.*, 22, 23, to the Dean and Chapter of Poitiers, October 9, *ibid.*, 28, to the Bishop of Sarlat, December 13, *ibid.*, 52, to the Bishop of Tulle, March 21, 1654, *ibid.*, 93, to the professors of Douai and Poitiers, *ibid.*, 94 *seq.* Pap. Sec. Archives.

[1] *Bagno, July 25, 1653, *loc. cit.*

[2] "* . . . che se il Re non punisce qualcheduno de' Jansenisti disubbedienti, ritornerà in piedi la loro setta, et che la regina rispose che si farà, quando sarà necessario." *Ibid.*

[3] "*che essendosi molti di contrario senso, alcuno non ha havuto ardire di parlare." Bagno, August 1, 1653, *loc. cit.*; *Report of Halliers, *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 848, *loc. cit.*

[4] July 14, 1653, in Rapin, II., 127.

[5] Maynard, II., 349.

the General of the Jesuits forbade all noisy expressions of satisfaction at the decree on the part of his subjects [1] and Olier was anxious to win over the party by friendliness and straightforwardness.[2]

Thus, at least outwardly, everything was quiet for a time. Angélique wrote that the Jesuits must be allowed to enjoy what they looked upon as their triumph ; God would know how to uphold His truth. The five propositions had been condemned solely because a wrong meaning could be attached to them, but the Pope had protested that he was not condemning St. Augustine ; more they did not ask for.[3] However, though in public the Jansenists observed a policy of silence, they spread in underhand fashion the document presented by them to the Pope in which they had distinguished a threefold interpretation of the five theses, viz. the Calvinistic, the one defended by the delegates and, as they claimed, by St. Augustine and, lastly, one which they attributed to their opponents, the Molinists, and which they had asked the Pope to condemn.

The public attack against the Bull was inaugurated by Antoine Arnauld's brother Henri, Bishop of Angers. When publishing the Bull that prelate made use of the formula drawn up by Godeau and approved at the Bishops' meeting, but with two additional clauses of his own. Whereas Godeau had not said a word about the authorship of the five propositions, Henri Arnauld stated that they were being ascribed to Jansenius. After that the Bishop forbids the extension of the papal condemnation of the five propositions " to the sacred and intangible teaching of the Apostolic See and the Church, which up to the present time the Popes had acknowledged to have been preserved in the writings of

[1] Rapin, II., 137.

[2] " Ma pensée serait, dans ce commencement, de ne point blesser les Jansénistes, mais d'agir envers eux avec douceur et grande ouverture de cœur, pour les attirer à l'union." Faillon, II., 456.

[3] July 8 and 10 and August 22, 1653, *Lettres*, II., 341, 343, 345, 362.

St. Augustine and which our Holy Father protested that he had no intention to touch ".[1] Language of this kind was bound to give rise to the suspicion that there was an intention to give the partisans of the five propositions a handle, or, as Bagno wrote, " pretexts ".[2] The Bishop of Angers was followed by Bishop Gilbert de Choiseul, of Comminges.[3] After he had published the papal Constitution at a diocesan synod, the Bishop allowed himself to be persuaded that it was possible to deduct from the text of the definition arguments against the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas to which the University of Toulouse was particularly attached. Accordingly he formally forbade all such deductions.[4] In like manner, during the illness of the Bishop or Orleans, his Vicar General forbade preachers and catechists to speak of the five propositions and the papal Constitution, except with such discretion that no one would have reason to complain. What this meant was soon experienced by a Jesuit who, having spoken with some warmth against the propositions, was forbidden the pulpit.[5] In the same way Bishop Buzenval of Beauvais commanded the Constitution to be published in such a manner that no

[1] The *pastoral of August 14, 1653, in *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 872 (*loc. cit.*). " Propositions que l'on attribue à feu M. Jansenius d'Ipres." Prohibition " de faire retomber cette condamnation sur la doctrine sainte et inviolable du Siège Apostolique et de l'Église que les papes jusqu'à notre siècle on déclarée être enfermée dans les œuvres de S. Augustin et à laquelle notre très—saint et très vénérable Père a témoigné qu'il n'avoit point entendu toucher."

[2] **pretesti*. Bagno, September 12, 1653, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 106, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] Henri Arnauld, personally of irreproachable conduct (RAPIN, I., 340), was a good Bishop, as was Choiseul, subsequently Bishop of Tournai [*ob.* 1689], in spite of his Jansenism and Gallicanism. *Cf.* DESMONS, *Gilbert de Choiseul, évêque de Tournai*, Tournai, 1907 ; A. DEGERT in *Bullet. de litt. éccles.*, Toulouse, 1908, 131–8.

[4] RAPIN, II., 164.

[5] *Ibid.*, 165.

one could feel hit by it ; no one was to make use of the five propositions in order to defend laxity and impenitence.[1]

Archbishop Gondrin of Sens spoke even more clearly than all the above-named.[2] His pastoral letter begins with a eulogy of St. Augustine's teaching on grace ; he then goes on to speak of those who " have recourse to the tricks of the Semi-Pelagians in order to discredit this teaching ; this they did when they drew up five propositions susceptible of a heretical interpretation and ascribed them to the late Bishop of Ypres, of holy memory ". These ambiguous propositions, it was said, did not embody the doctrine of St. Augustine and were equivocally worded out of sheer malice, so as to secure more readily their condemnation. The Pope had only condemned them in general terms and without touching on the doctrine that had been maintained in his presence. Of course sentence should have been first pronounced by the French Bishops. Instead of this the episcopate was being further humiliated from day to day, hence he left it to the faithful to lament with the groans of the dove and the feelings of good and loving children, the eclipse and the abasement both of the episcopal dignity and of the Gallican Church.[3] The letter ends with an order for the publication of the Bull with the explicit declaration that it affected neither the doctrine of efficacious grace nor Augustine, and preachers were not to pass from the general terms of the five propositions to the particular meaning which embodies the fundamental teaching of St. Augustine.

On October 17th the nuncio forwarded the pastoral letter to Rome. He described it as worse than that of the Bishop of

[1] *Ibid.*, 166.

[2] *Ibid.*, 167 *seq.* Printed pastoral of September 23, in *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 931, *loc. cit.*

[3] Complaint that the episcopate " s'abbat de jour en jour par les entreprises de ceux, ou qui en ignorent la grandeur, ou qui en méprisent la sainteté, ou qui en redoutent la puissance. Nous nous contentons de laisser aux peuples qui nous sont commis, à déplorer par des gémissements de colombes et par les sentimens de bons et tendres enfants l'obscurcissement, etc."

Angers and complained at the same time that the Government took no steps against the largely attended gatherings at Port-Royal, although the King's ministers had been requested to do so; hence there was reason to fear that within a short time there would be a considerable increase in the number of the Jansenists.[1] In vain had he drawn attention, through Vincent de Paul and the Grand-Penitentiary of Paris, to the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Angers and to the evils to which it may give rise. He had fared no better with regard to the pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Sens. In the opinion of many, the Jansenists had led astray these two prelates in order that they might be in a position to appeal to Parliament on the ground of abuse of office, so soon as the Pope raised his voice. Consequently he recommended that three or four of the best-disposed Bishops of France should be given power to take action against disobedient prelates and priests, though without naming those of Sens and Angers.[2] Soon after Bagno forwarded a list of the most zealous among the French Bishops.[3]

It is not surprising that Rome was indignant at the conduct of the four Bishops. The nuncio was instructed to inform the court that the Pope resented the pastoral letter of Sens as an insult. At the same time the Bishops and Hallier were asked their opinion as to how the Archbishop could be punished.[4] On December 22nd, 1653 a Brief was dispatched

[1] "*si può dubitare che in breve tempo siano per maggiormente augmentarsi li seguaci di questi errori." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 106. Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] *Bagno, November 7, 1653, *ibid.*

[3] They are the Archbishops of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, the Bishops of Le Puy, Saint-Flour, Vabres, La Rochelle, Bazas, Alet, Lodève, Pamiers, Toulon, Langres, Mâcon, Saint-Malo, Meaux, Sarlat (*Bagno, November 14, 1653, *ibid*). The principal Jansenists of the Sorbonne: Dreux, Sainte-Beuve, Feydeau, Macaron, Carré, Fortin, Loisel, De Lalane, he mentions on November 21 (**ibid.*).

[4] *Commission of November 17, 1653, in *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 345, *loc. cit.*

to the Bishops of Arles, Annecy, Conserans and Mâcon, instructing them to open an inquiry against the Archbishop. The latter's conduct was generally condemned even in France. The Criminal Court of Poitiers prohibited the "alleged" pastoral letter and threatened to punish those who printed and distributed it.[1] Even the Chancellor and the Keeper of the Seals described it as heretical [2] whilst the King refused to receive the Archbishop.[3]

For all that no decisive measure was taken. "The court," Bagno wrote on November 7th, "was more lavish of words than of deeds.[4] When on December 16th he spoke to the King and Queen of the continual meetings at Port-Royal, of the emisssaries who were being sent out from there to spread the old errors, of the four Bishops who had acted more like wolves than shepherds, he was left with the impression that their Majesties' zeal had waxed cold.[5] Mazarin's answers to his protests were also couched in general terms.[6] Hallier submitted tangible plans to the Minister; they were to the effect that the Constitution should be registered in Parliament and the schools and the community of hermits at Port-Royal suppressed. But even he only obtained vague promises.[7]

However, the prelates of Sens and Comminges judged it

[1] *Bull.*, X., 745; **Excerpta*, f. 981, *loc. cit.* In the session of the Inquisition of December 9, 1653, general opinion was in favour of censuring the pastoral letter of Sens. **Ibid.*, f. 953.

[2] **Ibid.*, f. 953; *Bagno, November 7, 1653, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 106, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[3] *Hallier, January 9, 1654, in *Excerpta, 1653–6, loc. cit.*

[4] **Ibid.*

[5] *Bagno, December 19, 1653, *ibid.*

[6] *Bagno, December 20, 1653, *ibid.*

[7] *Hallier to Rome, December 25, 1653, *Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 989. The "petites écoles" were described by Hallier as seminaries, "quae in hac urbe et circa urbem plura sunt, in quibus et pueri et juvenes primariae nobilitatis et alii ad clericatum formandi recipiuntur," the hermits are called "congregatio ista hominum silvestrium".

expedient to write to Innocent X. On December 31st, 1653,[1] they addressed to the Pope a letter of substantially identical tenor. They expressed their regret at the report which had come to their ears that they had offended the Pope; would he point out what was wrong in their pastoral letters and hear their explanations? They would then amend the wrong. But surely it could not be wrong on their part to make a stand for the teaching of St. Augustine and the rights of Bishops. The Pope was naturally not impressed by these explanations. Meanwhile the commission that was to deal with Archbishop Gondrin had been appointed, but it did nothing, though both the King and the Queen renewed to the nuncio the old assurances.[2] Accordingly Hallier suggested at Rome to have the four Bishops tried by their colleagues of their respective Provinces, or Gondrin by the Primate of Lyons; in any case the matter should not be allowed to drift.[3] However, Gallican pride rebelled at the thought of French Bishops being judged by papal commissaries; so on the ground of some antiquated judicial enactments a demand was made for a tribunal of twelve Bishops. Rome consented to the appointment of at least eight,[4] and of another seven for the examination of the pastorals of Beauvais and Comminges.[5] However, several of the commissaries refused to act as judges in the affair and Innocent X. died before anything was done.[6]

[1] **Ibid.*, f. 998, 999.

[2] *Bagno, January 23, 1654, *Excerpta, 1653–6, loc. cit.*; *Bagno pointed out to their Majesties that of the 125 French Bishops, 121 had done their duty. *Ibid.*

[3] "*Eo in loco positae sunt res nostrae, i. e. eatholicae Ecclesiae, ut ulterius non progredi sit cedere, et Ecclesiae unitatem, fidei integritatem, summi Ecclesiae capitis auctoritatem certo periculo exponere." February 12, 1654, *ibid.*

[4] Brief of March 16, 1654, *Bull.*, XV, 760.

[5] Brief of October 26, 1654, *ibid.*, 775.

[6] *Mariscotti's report (1668) for Bargellini, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., XVI., 34, p. 154–162. The fact that the Pope issued his Brief "motu proprio" hurt the French. (*Ibid.*)

It would seem that it was the Princess Guémené who at that time held a protecting hand over the sect.[1] On the other hand there was no lack of opposition to the four Bishops. On September 12th, 1653, Bagno forwarded a document of the Chapter of Angers against its Bishop and another by the Advocate Filleau against Gondrin, and on February 13th, 1654, an appeal by the Chapter of Beauvais which, notwithstanding its exemption, had been threatened by the Bishop with excommunication for giving effect to the Constitution.[2]

Up to the spring of 1654 the Jansenists had not attempted to influence opinion by means of any new publication; they were content to spread further and further their treatise on the threefold meaning of the five propositions. The confusion thus created in many minds led the new royal confessor, François Annat, to take up the cudgels against them. In a Latin work,[3] which soon appeared in French also, he showed that the five propositions were found in the works of Jansenius and that the latter was hit by the papal condemnation. The work also dealt with the Jansenists' appeal to Augustine and with the pastorals of the four Bishops.

Arnauld seemed to have waited for some publication of this kind. Within a short while he published, one after another, four books intended for the next Assembly of the Clergy, due in 1654. These books, with the exception of the fourth, were in fact laid before the Assembly. Now that Annat had fanned the flame with his publication, so Arnauld stated in his first book,[4] it was impossible to remain silent any longer. The honour of the Church was at stake for

[1] Angélique Arnauld, January 3, 1654, *Lettres*, II., 416. Angélique considers the impending action against Gondrin like setting fire to the house of God (letter of January 14, 1654, *ibid.*, 425).

[2] (Printed) *Lettres des doyens, chanoines et chapitre de Beauvais à N. S. P. le Pape* of December 1, 1652, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Cavilli Iansenianorum contra latam in ipsos a S. Sede sententiam seu Confutatio libelli trium columnarum."

[4] "Réponse au P. Annat" (*Œuvres*, XIX., 147 *seqq.*).

Annat ascribed to her the errors of his Society, the honour also of the Pope whom he caused to condemn as heresies what were Catholic doctrines; the honour of St. Augustine of whom, according to Annat, the Pope had made no account; the honour also of several Bishops, distinguished for their dignity and worth, which he trod under foot. After that Arnauld goes on to prove with all his dialectical and rhetorical skill, that the five propositions were not to be found in Jansenius; that, in point of fact, the latter taught something very different. Though Arnauld had taken the opposite for granted in his previous apologies of Jansenius and otherwise also,[1] he ends by throwing at the Jesuits the reproach of duplicity: before the papal sentence they had discovered Calvinism in the five propositions; at present there was no longer question of that, on the contrary, they discovered in them the condemnation of the most celebrated and the most clearly stated principles of Augustine.

A second pamphlet, which followed close on the first, endeavours to substantiate this accusation in detail.[2] According to its author, with regard to the subjects touched by the five propositions, the teaching of Jansenius is identical with that of Augustine; if Jansenius had been condemned by the Pope, Augustine would also stand condemned. This is, briefly, the thesis of the second pamphlet. A third[3]

[1] [Dumas], III., 1–42, Bossuet's opinion: "Je crois donc que les propositions sont véritablement dans Jansénius et qu'elles sont l'âme de son livre. Tout ce qu'on a dit au contraire me paraît une pure chicane et une chose inventée pour éluder le jugement de l'Église." *Letter to Marshal de Bellefonds of September 30, 1677, *Correspondance*, ed. Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque, II., Paris, 1909, 51.

[2] "Mémoires sur le dessein qu'ont les Jésuites de faire retomber la censure des cinq propositions sur la véritable doctrine de S. Augustin sous le nom de Jansénius" (*Œuvres*, XIX., 196 ss.).

[3] "Éclaircissement sur quelques nouvelles objections, . . . où il est montré que ce que les Jésuites s'efforcent de faire, ne peût qu'allumer le feu d'une très-grande division dans l'Église," *ibid.*, 208 *seqq.*

defines still more accurately the point of view which the Jansenists were determined to maintain for the future. It was impossible to believe that the Pope had ascertained whether the five theses were to be found in Jansenius, for if he had investigated the matter he would have discovered that they were simply not to be found in his writings.[1] Rome had only inquired whether the theses were true or erroneous, not whether Jansenius was their author.[2] But now, under the name of Jansenius, the most solid principles of Augustine were to be reprobated ! Let them examine whether Augustine of Ypres agrees with Augustine of Hippo ! If no such investigation is made, if Jansenius is surreptitiously condemned, nothing will be achieved.[3] A fourth pamphlet came too late to be submitted to the Assembly but in 1654 every Bishop was given a copy of the first three.

For all that Arnauld failed to prevent the Bishops from taking some steps against Jansenius. On the advice of De Marca, Mazarin decided to convene all the Bishops then in Paris for the purpose of pronouncing a joint condemnation of the threefold meaning of the five theses. However, the Assembly rejected De Marca's draft of the condemnation,[4] though on March 9th a committee of eight Bishops was chosen for the purpose of examining the affair.[5] On March 26th Aubusson of Embrun presented his report. The only question, he explained, was whether the five theses were Jansenius' and whether they had been condemned as understood by him : the answer to both questions was in the affirmative.[6] The Bishops of Beauvais and Comminges objected and on March 28th Gondrin of Sens heatedly

[1] *Ibid.*, 213.

[2] *Ibid.*, 220.

[3] *Ibid.*, 221.

[4] RAPIN, II., 206 *seqq.*

[5] They were Archbishops Aubusson of Embrun, Bouthillier of Tours, Harlay of Rouen, Marca of Toulouse, and Bishops Attichi of Autun, Bertier of Montauban, Mothe-Houdencourt of Rennes, and Lescot of Chartres. GERBERON, II., 225 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*

advocated for two hours the cause of Augustine of Ypres and Augustine of Hippo, whose teaching must not be condemned. But the meeting did not allow itself to be influenced. A letter to the Pope, drawn up by De Marca, states without equivocation that they had met for the purpose of declaring, in view of the misuse of the Apostolic judgment, that the five propositions were Jansenius' and had been condemned in his sense by the Pope.[1] A circular letter to the French Bishops, drawn up by Lescot of Chartres,[2] renewed this declaration. "The Constitution," we read, "is as clear as possible; it is enough to read it to judge aright the vain arguments of the opponents." Thus, for the first time since the Council of Bâle, the French Bishops solemnly admitted the Pope's right to issue decisions on matter of faith binding in conscience, even without a Council.[3]

Curiously enough both these letters of March 28th bear the signatures of Archbishop Gondrin, Choiseul of Comminges and Choart of Beauvais.[4] However, on April 9th Gondrin and Choiseul explained that they had only signed for the sake of peace and that they were anxious to see St. Augustine's authority safeguarded.[5] The day after they swore once more that they had no intention of departing in any way whatever from the reverence due to the Holy See. On April

[1] D'Argentré, II., 2, f. 278; Bourlon, 14.

[2] D'Argentré, II., 2, f. 277. Valençay (Paris, April 10, 1654), extols to the Pope Mazarin's part in bringing about the letter. There was reason to fear a schism "parmi les évêques qui peu à peu auraient glissé dans l'hérésie. Le cardinal Mazarin n'a rien négligé pour éviter ce malheur, aplanir ces difficultés et faire cesser ces dissensions spirituelles. Par ses efforts il a ramené l'union parmi les évêques." *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (October, 1905), 249.

[3] Thus Pallavicino (I., 186).

[4] **Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 1096, *loc. cit.* The letter bears 31 signatures with the observation that 8 Bishops had left on account of the Easter festivities and therefore their names were missing.

[5] Gerberon, II., 231.

17th, 1654, they and the Bishops of Beauvais and Valence wrote once more to the Pope in justification of their conduct. They began by declaring that they accepted the Constitution without reservation, but in the conclusion they took shelter behind the name of St. Augustine, as was the customary evasion of the Jansenists. For the sake of peace they had signed, though they were uncertain whether the five propositions were Jansenius' own ; in other words, they withdrew their signature.[1] On the same day Choiseul also wrote a personal letter to the Pope though this time there is no mention of any uncertainty as to the five theses being Jansenius' ; the only thing he could be reproached with was undue attachment to Augustine and Thomas.[2] The Pope felt hurt by the letters of the four Bishops. On August 4th Gondrin and Choiseul sought to excuse themselves, though without withdrawing anything.[3]

As a matter of fact by that time Innocent X. had answered both of them by other means. By a decree of the Inquisition dated April 23rd, 1654, all Jansenist writings of the preceding four years were inserted in the list of prohibited books. They were about fifty in number, beginning with the *Augustinus* of Jansenius down to the first two pamphlets addressed by Arnauld to the Assembly of the Clergy of 1654 ; the pastoral letters of Sens and Comminges were likewise included.[4] To the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy the Pope addressed a most kindly Brief.[5] He praised their submission to the Constitution "in which we have condemned, under five headings, the teaching of Cornelius Jansenius contained in his book *Augustinus* ".[6] In Germany

[1] **Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 1119, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 1118.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1141.

[4] [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 82 *seqq.*

[5] September 29, 1654, *ibid.*, 107.

[6] "Damnavimus in quinque propositionibus Cornelii Iansenii doctrinam eius libro contentam, cui titulus Augustinus." *ibid.* Already in the decree of the Inquisition mentioned above it was

and Spain the publication of the Bull met with no opposition.[1]

Innocent X. had every reason to be satisfied with the result obtained and to reward the men who had helped in the drawing up and the publication of the Constitution. Hallier declined the See of Toul but both he and his associates were rewarded with benefices. The Augustinian Bruni who, notwithstanding the strange behaviour of his General, had faithfully fought the new doctrine,[2] was raised to the episcopate. But the most important contribution to the negotiations had come from Albizzi: "God alone knows how much I have toiled in this weighty affair" he writes himself; "may a reward await me in heaven!"[3] His elevation to the cardinalate was richly deserved.

(5.)

During the whole of Innocent X.'s pontificate the Jansenist teaching remained an open sore both for France and for the land of its birth.

With the accession of a new Pope hopes had arisen that a more energetic attitude towards the adherents of the Bishop of Ypres would be adopted in Flanders also. At Madrid the new nuncio, Rospigliosi, the future Pope Clement IX., worked in this sense and the King's confessor, Martinez, showed considerably greater zeal against the Jansenist teaching on grace than his predecessor, John of St. Thomas; in Flanders the internuncio Antonio Bichi, Abbot of S. Anastasia, did all that was possible and the new Governor, Castel Rodrigo, was not unwilling to support Bichi. Yielding to Rospigliosi's repeated requests, the Inquisitor General

said: "post condemnatam sua constitutione . . . in quinque propositionibus Augustini Cornelii Iansenii episcopi Iprensis doctrinam" (*ibid.*, 82).

[1] **Excerpta, 1653–6*, f. 1213–1246, *loc. cit.*

[2] Rapin, II., 138.

[3] *Katholik*, 1883, II., 494.

forbade the passage of Jansenius' book through the harbours of Spain and commanded the Bishops of the peninsula to publish Innocent X.'s Bull against the Bishop of Ypres, whilst a royal ordinance was issued to the effect that, in accordance with the wish of the Pope, the Bull should also be published in the Netherlands. From Rome came Briefs to the same effect addressed to the Bishops of Namur, Ghent, Antwerp, Tournai, Bruges, Saint-Omer and to the Universities.[1] The Bishops of Antwerp, Bruges and Namur obeyed the Pope's command [2] and the University of Douai thanked him for his Brief and promised complete submission.[3] Thus it looked as if every one of those in authority were on the side of the Pope, yet for all that the Jansenists had no cause for despair. The King was weak and it was a long way from Madrid to Brussels. One man, one moreover laid up with gout, namely Archbishop Jacob Boonen of Malines, was powerful enough, in conjunction with Peter Roose, President of the Council of State, to paralyse the royal ordinance.[4] Shortly after the receipt of the latest papal Briefs, internuncio Bichi wrote that, to judge by certain symptoms, he thought

[1] Rapin, I., 20 *seq.* Bichi, arriving at Brussels on April 8, 1642, *reports to Rome on May 6, 1645, that he dispatched 13 Briefs to the Bishops, for the vacant sees of Cambrai, Roermond and Tournai to the Vicars General resp., and the one for the University of Louvain to the Rector (*Lettere del Abbate di S. Anastasia*, t. 29 [37], Pap. Sec. Arch.). He also communicated the Brief to the Archbishop of Malines. Boonen seemed well disposed, so long as he had not spoken to Van Caelen. Castel Rodrigo presented his Brief to the State Council (*Bichi, May 13, 1645, *ibid.*). On May 20 he *announces the execution of the Brief in Antwerp and Bruges (*ibid.*). *Cf.* the Briefs in **Innocentii X. Epist.*, I. (1644 to December, 1645, secretario Gaspare de Simeonibus) : n. 63, to Malines ; n. 97, to Roermond, Namur, St. Omer, Ypres, Bruges, Antwerp, Tournai, Ghent, to the Universities of Louvain and Douai (all of February 20, 1645), and to the Governor. Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] Rapin, I., 75.

[3] *May 26, 1645, *Lettere, loc. cit.*, t. 29.

[4] Rapin, I., 4, 138.

that the Archbishop had conceived fresh hopes for the defence of Jansenism.[1]

Intellectually Boonen was of no great account. He was a mere tool in the hand of his Vicars General, Henry Van Caelen (Calenus) and Libertus Froidmont (Fromondus), who both favoured Jansenism and nourished resentment against the Pope who had refused to confirm their nomination to the sees of Roermond and Tournai.[2] Such was Fromond's prestige at the University of Louvain that he could do what he liked with it, whilst Van Caelen controlled a large part of the secular and regular clergy. Boonen and Roose were at the head of the Council of State of Flanders which played an important rôle in the execution of royal ordinances. This body favoured Jansenism.[3] One of the chief arguments with which its members were for ever intimidating the King and the Governor was the high esteem in which, they alleged, Jansenism was held in Flanders, so that it would be an exceedingly dangerous thing to provoke the people of the Low Countries whilst they were at war with France, by any measures against the Bishops.[4]

With a view to supporting the royal ordinance for the publication of the Bull, the internuncio had obtained a papal Brief for the Governor, Castel Rodrigo,[5] after which he

[1] " *Ho havuti inditii che Msgr. archivescovo di Malines pigli animo di nuovo a difesa del Jansenio sperando di poter vincere con danari a Roma et in Spagna, come ha fatto qua in beneficare i suoi adherenti. Per havere favori dal sig. Marchese di Castel Rodrigo, dice di voler impegnare de' stabili del suo arcivescovato per assistere il Re di Spagna." Bichi, July 1, 1645, *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 27, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] Rapin, 15, 68; *Letter to Bichi, April 29, 1645, *Nunziat. di Napoli*, 39 A, p. 82 *seq.*, Pap. Sec. Arch. Fromond was a personal friend of Jansenius and the excellent Latin of *Augustinus* is attributed to him. Rapin, II., 182.

[3] A survey (from July 19, 1643, onwards), of the ensuing negotiations is given in a " **Summarium* in *Excerpta ex actis s. Officii a. 1647–1652* ", f. 434–449, *loc. cit.* (Schill).

[4] Rapin, II., 74, 76.

[5] *March 2, 1645, *Epist.*, I.

pressed him to take action. He obtained nothing: Castel Rodrigo explained that he was dependent on the Council of State and that, moreover, he was so taken up with the Hispano-French war that he had no time for anything else.[1] The nuncio in Madrid secured a royal ordinance to the Council of State for the publication and Innocent X. himself caused a friend of the Governor, Cardinal Cueva, to write to him.[2] In his reply to the Cardinal [3] Castel Rodrigo declared that the internuncio was over-keen and allowed himself to be too much guided by the Jesuits; in the Low Countries violent measures were inadvisable and the Council of State insisted on the privileges of the country; all the same he hoped to settle the matter before long.

However, for the time being, Castel Rodrigo did not dare to take a decisive step in view of the critical position of Spanish arms in the war with France and even the internuncio, though repeatedly urged by Rome,[4] did not feel inclined to press him in these circumstances,[5] all the more so as the resistance of the University of Louvain, whose prestige was considerable, seemed to him insurmountable just then. From the first the University had led the opposition to the Bull and only a short time after Innocent X.'s accession it had presented to the Governor a memorial in favour of Jansenius.[6] In its opinion the Bishop of Ypres' only fault was his having brought to light the errors of certain modern theologians, such as Molina, Suarez and Vasquez. Hence the hatred of the Jesuits for him. This is why they had obtained a Bull in which it was alleged that Jansenius had

[1] RAPIN, II., 20, 75; *Bichi, May 27, 1645, *Lettere, loc. cit.*

[2] RAPIN, II., 79. *Praise of Bichi's zeal in a letter of the Secretary of State to the "Abbate di S. Anastasia" at Brussels, July 29, 1645, *Nunziat. di Napoli*, 39 A. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] July 8, 1645, RAPIN, II., 79 *seq.*

[4] **Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 28, under July 29, October 21 November 4, 11, 18, 1645, etc. Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] RAPIN, II., 80.

[6] **Cod. Preuckianus*, C. 43, f. 601–5, Library of the Anima, Rome.

reasserted propositions that had already been condemned by the Pope. The delegates of the University of Louvain had failed to obtain in Rome a fresh inquiry into the question whether Jansenius' accusations against the Jesuits were founded on fact, though in a matter of this kind, which was purely one of fact, the Pope was liable to err. Since the innocence of Jansenius and the genuine teaching of St. Augustine were being sacrificed to the violence and the tricks of the Jesuits, the University prayed the Governor for a hearing so that, with full knowledge of the situation, he might obtain in Rome the inquiry which they had demanded before this.

A second memorial of the University [1] offers to prove before a commission that no proposition condemned by the Popes, nor any doctrine contrary to that of Augustine, could be found in the works of Jansenius. The minutes of the discussions of the commission should then be laid before the Pope by the King of Spain: if the Pope decided that the University was in the wrong, they were prepared to accept Urban VIII.'s Bull.

At that time only a minority of the professors of Louvain University sided with the Pope against Jansenius, chief among them being John Schinckel, Christian Beusecom and William ab Angelis.[2] But after the new Pope had addressed Briefs to the Bishops of Flanders, to Douai and to Louvain,[3] the University decided, on May 5th, 1645, to submit unreservedly to the papal ordinances. With this declaration it looked as if everything were settled, but the internuncio, in forwarding the decision to Rome,[4] expressed his misgivings

[1] **Ibid.*, f. 609.

[2] RAPIN, I., 17.

[3] *February 20, 1645 (see above, p. 301, n. 1), *Cod. Preuck.*, p. 497, *loc. cit. Ibid.*, 495, *Letter of Bichi to the Rector of the University, May 2, 1645.

[4] *May 6, 1645, *Lettere del Abbate di S. Anastasia*, t. 29 (37), Pap. Sec. Arch. *Cf.* RAPIN, I., 77 *seq.*—*Fussero quasi tutti concordi a concludere per l'obedienza, e solo reclamassero il Fromondo con due o tre compagni. . . . Non resta in questa

as to whether deeds would follow words, and his doubts proved justified.

Schinckel explained to the Rector what were the practical proofs of submission on which the Roman Inquisition insisted: they were the prohibition of Jansenius' work and its withdrawal both from the trade and from the hands of the students.[1] Vernulaeus, the Rector, was prepared to submit, for though a Jansenist himself, he was a member of the Faculty of arts which was in favour of obedience to the Pope because otherwise it feared the loss of its privileges.[2] Accordingly Vernulaeus replied that, for the moment, he had put off the discussion of the decision of the University because the Jansenists threatened to interfere with it through the court and the officials.

As a matter of fact opposition came from all sides. President Roose, warned by Bichi, avoided the necessity of having to give an answer to the internuncio by going into the country, taking Innocent X.'s Brief with him.[3] Fromond spread the report that Bichi only demanded the publication of the Bull because he wanted to become a Cardinal, that the University's declaration of submission had been tampered with; if it was authentic, the Pope should be requested to grant a delay owing to the opposition of the Council of State.[4] Now it is true that the Council of State did create difficulties, but it did so precisely because the University did not take its own submission seriously.[5] At the beginning of July

Nunziatura alcun sospetto d'inobedienza fuor che lui (the Archbishop) con il suo Caleno, Fromondo e pochi altri theologi di Lovanio (Bichi, June 24, 1645, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* **Summarium, Excerpta, 1647–1653*, f. 434–449.

[1] *Schinkel to Bichi, May 16, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[2] Rapin, I., 69, 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, 77; *Bichi, June 24, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[4] Rapin, I., 76.

[5] *Bichi, September 30, 1645, *loc. cit.* It is false, he writes, when Sinnich speaks in Rome of the obedience of the University, for the "consegli" interfered only because "sollecitati da parti

Bichi wrote to Rome that the assurances of submission were not sincere and already by then the Council of State had forbidden the Rector and those professors who were loyal to the Pope, to obey the internuncio. A memorial by the procurator fiscal explained that on the basis of Flemish privileges, special leave from the King was necessary before the Bull could be published, hence he must put off publication until further orders from the King.[1] Bichi was instructed by Rome to investigate this Flemish privilege. He found that it had never been made use of for the purpose of prohibiting writings forbidden by Rome,[2] but his investigation did not induce the Council to withdraw its prohibition. Small wonder that just then the internuncio should have been in a despairing mood. He wrote to Rome that it would not mean dropping the Bull even if they decided to forgo immediate publication since it had been published in several dioceses in Flanders: this might be deemed sufficient.[3]

To this Rome would not consent. Accordingly Bichi wrote that the only hope lay in a formal royal ordinance strictly enjoining publication of the Bull. Such an order was in fact secured through the intervention of the Spanish nuncio, Rospigliosi,[4] and communicated to the Bishops and the

che vi hanno interesse. Di più mi consta, che il conseglio privato ancora ha stato sollecitato, et a nome del Università di Lovanio, non già di particolari ".

[1] Bichi, July 1, 1645, in Rapin, I., 77. The *Summarium (see above, p. 304, n. 4) reports that on June 2, 1645, the State Council had sent to Bichi " una instanza fatta dal procuratore fiscale, affinchè risponda e fra tanto non innovi cosa alcuna ". The " instanza ", which had been sent already to Bichi's predecessor, said: " che non si venisse a publicatione d'alcuna bolla o decreto senz'il Placeto regio, e che perciò si sospendesse ogn'atto fatto sino alla risolutione di S. Maestà."

[2] Rapin, I., 78 s.; *Bichi, July 8, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[3] Rapin, I., 78.

[4] January 30, 1646: " Ho havuto per bene, che l'Internuntio di S. S. e suoi ministri publichino et esseguiscano la detta bolla, senza che per li miei vi si ponga alcun impedimento. . . . Ho

Universities by the Privy Council. But even so all difficulties were not yet removed. The Bishops of Antwerp and Namur indeed published the Bull a second time, but by the end of 1645 Sinnich was back from Rome and he influenced Boonen, the Archbishop of Malines, in his own sense. Armed with recommendations from Boonen, Sinnich called upon the Bishops of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres who thereupon requested their metropolitan (Boonen) to pray both Pope and King to cancel their order for publication of the Bull. Boonen agreed to this request.[1]

The royal ordinance gave great satisfaction to those professors at Louvain who were loyal to the Pope. Schinkel, though ailing, held a discussion with them at which he exerted himself so much that he died in March, 1646.[2] At a meeting of the University all objections were not considered as overcome even now, but on March 8th, 1646, Bichi published the Bull on his own initiative without meeting with any opposition.[3] The University, however, complained that the Bull lacked the royal *placet*,[4] and when Bichi had it affixed at the University, by a notary, it was at once torn down by one of the students.[5]

The internuncio now thought of applying ecclesiastical sanctions, in accordance with the Pope's orders,[6] but it was represented to him that, for the moment, minds were too excited and that if, in consequence of the unfavourable

voluto anco incaricarvi come v'incarico che diate gli ordin necessarii, perchè senza più dilatione corra questo negotio come lo dispone la detta bolla, per la publicatione della quale si darà al Internuntio l'assistenza necessaria per gli officiali, a' quali tocca." The order arrived in March. **Summarium*, *loc. cit.*; Latin text in Claeys Boûûaert, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1927, 803.

[1] Claeys Boûûaert, *loc. cit.*, 801–817.

[2] Rapin, I., 139 *seq.*

[3] **Summarium, loc. cit.*; Rapin, I., 140.

[4] **Summarium, loc. cit.*

[5] Rapin, I., 144.

[6] May 17, 1646, **Summarium, loc. cit.*

military situation a rising were to break out, the blame would be laid at his door.[1] Accordingly Bichi counselled Rome to think of some other means of coercion. The resistance of the University, he wrote to Pamfili,[2] came only from a few hotheads, not one of whom was a Spanish subject. Fromond, Van Caelen and the Rector, Pontan, hailed from Liège, Sinnich was an Irishman and Van Werm came from Maestricht: if the King were to expel these men there would be peace. However, Innocent X. chose to pursue the course he had adopted; he accordingly urged the Spanish nuncio to make further efforts with Philip IV.[3] Circumstances were more favourable just then as the Council of State no longer opposed publication; as a matter of fact a rumour was circulating that if there was further opposition President Roose might be removed from his post.[4] The Governor also showed more zeal and a last effort by the Archbishop of Malines to win him over proved unsuccessful.[5]

But the hoped-for intervention by the King was long in coming. It was December before Philip IV., on his return from the campaign in Catalonia, expressed his amazement [6] that his orders should have been so badly executed. Meanwhile the Jansenists had pulled every imaginable string with a view to delaying matters in Flanders. They began by pressing to the utmost Van Caelen's candidature for the See of Roermond: by this means they hoped to occupy the internuncio

[1] Rapin, I., 145.

[2] April 14, 1646, *ibid.*, 145 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 146.

[4] *Ibid.*, 144. On May 18 the Council of Brabant gave the order that no obstacle be put to the publication of the Bull., but it added the clause: "modo fiat locis consuetis et in forma ordinaria" (**Summarium, loc. cit.*). The clause, according to Bichi, signified that the publication had to be made by the Archbishop of Malines who, it was well known, would never consent to do so. *Bichi, June 3, 1646, in *Lettere*, t. 30. Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] Rapin, I., 149.

[6] December 7, 1646, in Rapin, I., 154.

elsewhere and to distract his attention. Van Caelen personally discussed his promotion with Bichi and on January 8th, 1646, he agreed to swear obedience to the Pope.[1] However, suspicions concerning his orthodoxy were not removed even by this means and a formal judicial process was opened at which eight witnesses testified that Van Caelen held opinions condemned by the Pope. The affair was nevertheless quashed, out of consideration for the Archbishop and the President and in view of the warlike disturbances and the sensation it would have created.[2]

The University remained the chief hope of the Jansenists. At one time that body resolved [3] that Boonen should obtain a papal pronouncement to the effect that the teaching of St. Augustine had not been condemned and that Jansenius' *Augustinus* contained none of the propositions condemned by the Pope ; two days later they decided to pray the King to appoint a meeting of Bishops with Boonen as chairman.[4] But their real sentiments appeared at a gathering at Grimberghe, where they declared that they would never admit that Jansenius had taught any condemned propositions : moreover Urban VIII.'s Bull did not demand obedience since the Pope was not infallible in questions of fact.[5] When at

[1] *Bichi, November 4, 1645 (*Lettere*, t. 29), and January 13, 1646 (*ibid.*, t. 30, Pap. Sec. Arch.). On January 8, 1646, Van Caelen declared under oath, before the internuncio and before witnesses, that out of reverence for the Pope he would for ever refrain from reading Jansenius, but that he was still convinced that the doctrine of Jansenius was that of St. Augustine. Documentary proof of this declaration is in *Cod. Preuckianus* (without signature), f. 461 *seqq.*, Library of the Anima, Rome. On March 28, 1648, he refused to take a second oath suggested by Bichi and declined the bishopric of Roermond. *Ibid.*, f. 477.

[2] Rapin, I., 156.

[3] June 8, 1646, *ibid.*, 150.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 153 ; *Bichi, September 8, 1646, *Lettere*, t. 30, *loc. cit.*—" che il Jansenio non difende le propositioni dannate nella bolla, che non sono obligati nelle cose che concernono il fatto a cattivar l'intelletto in obsequium fidei." *Ibid.*

last the letter arrived in which the King, under date of December 7th, expressed his astonishment that since January 20th of that year nothing had been done to give effect to his orders, Castel Rodrigo laid the blame on the internuncio whom he accused of lukewarmness in pushing the business. Previously to this Cardinal Cueva had complained to the Governor of the internuncio's excessive eagerness, with the result that Bichi had been studying moderation ever since. Even now he did not dare to employ coercive means though President Roose was once more successfully delaying matters. In effect Roose acted as if he had a mind to publish the Bull himself and he caused the Governor to circularize the Bishops of Flanders for their consent. By this means time was gained and he had an explanation for the King for the delay in the publication of the Bull.[1]

Castel Rodrigo's governorship came to an end without the royal ordinance having been carried into effect.[2] Meanwhile, Jansenism had had time to consolidate itself. The Rector of Louvain University was a friend of Fromond and the Deans of all the Faculties were looked upon as Jansenists.[3] The secular clergy studied the Archbishop of Malines who allotted benefices to those who supported his views.[4] Many religious Orders favoured Jansenism, for instance the Augustinians, inasmuch as it was claimed that Jansenius was an exponent of the teaching of St. Augustine; the Dominicans, because they believed that Jansenius' book decided in their favour the controversy on grace that had broken out during the pontificate of Clement VIII.; other Orders because they felt that the Jansenists counterbalanced the Jesuits or because they allowed themselves to be carried away by the authority

[1] Rapin, I., 154 *seq.*

[2] Only a short time before its close, on March 30, 1647, at the instigation of the internuncio, he persuaded the Privy Council to order the Rector of the University to remove a picture of Jansenius (with verses in his praise). L. Van der Essen in *Bull. de la Commission Royal d'hist.*, Brussels, 1924, 313–18.

[3] *Bichi, September 23, 1645, *Lettere*, t. 29, *loc. cit.*

[4] Rapin, I., 84, 151.

of influential superiors, with the result that, with the exception of the Jesuits, hardly a single Order was free from Jansenism.[1] A great sensation was caused by a sermon preached on the feast of St. Dominic, in the church of the Dominicans at Louvain, by the Augustinian Christian Le Loup: he was reported to have drawn a parallel between the Jesuits and the Jews who had crucified our Lord, to have denied the Immaculate Conception and declared that though truth was being persecuted, it would yet triumph inasmuch as God countered the Pope's precipitancy by means of the secular princes.[2] On Bichi's proposal the Generals of the Orders were made to write to their subjects in Flanders but the measure did not produce the effect that had been expected from it.[3] Efforts were made to create sympathy for the new teaching even among the people by setting it in rhymes which were then spread among the masses.[4]

In view of the fact that authority was in the hands of the Archbishop and his advisers, all of them supporters of

[1] *Ibid.*, 83 *seq.* On March 7, 1647, the Bishop of Antwerp *writes to Innocent X.: "Videntur multi simpliciores facti esse Ianseniani decepti specioso nomine doctrinae s. Augustini, quo et alii abutuntur, qui Iansenianos se profitentur ex aemulatione contra Patres Societatis Iesu, quos in Iansenio et per Iansenium conantur persequi, qui et hac ratione populo imponunt asserentes tantum esse quaestionem inter opiniones Iansenii et dictorum Patrum." Even women call themselves Jansenists. The Bishop had accepted the Bull at once and after the order of the King he published it a second time on May 10, 1646. *Excerpta ex actis s. Officii a. 1647–1652.*

[2] Rapin, I., 82 *seq.*; *Bichi, August 20, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[3] Rapin, I., 84; *Bichi, July 8, 1645, *Lettere*, t. 29, Pap. Sec. Arch. One should try to influence especially the Provincial of the Dominicans, because he was on friendly terms with Sinnich, Van Caelen, and Leonardi, a Dominican professor of Louvain, "che hora essendo de'più ferventi Janseniani e . . . da quella fattione promosso ad esser della stretta facolta theologica, per la quale promozione e in lite con il Schinchelio et altri obedienti che hanno promosso Jacomo Speech prete secolare." *Ibid.*

[4] Rapin, I., 156; *cf.* 179 *seq.*

Jansenism, it was inevitable that the orthodox should fall into discouragement. In 1646 Bichi wrote that there were some at Louvain who, until then, had sided with Schinckel but had now joined the ranks of the rebels for the sake of securing some benefice from the Archbishop,[1] and that when appointments were made deserving men had been passed over because they had rendered service to the internuncio. The Archbishop was to blame for everything; Spain's attention should be drawn to these deplorable conditions and the distribution of benefices should either be entrusted into other hands or no prebend should be granted to anyone who had not previously declared before the nuncio that he accepted the Bull.[2] Baron von Rassenghien, who had been chosen for the See of Tournai instead of Fromond, was the object of special persecution on the part of the Archbishop and Van Caelen.[3] On the other hand the Bishop of Namur was strictly orthodox and there were no Jansenists in his diocese.[4]

There seemed to be a hope of a change when Archduke Leopold William became Governor of the Low Countries in 1647.[5] The Jansenists sought at once to win him over to their side, but the Archduke listened to Bichi's representations. The latter drew up a detailed account of the situation and

[1] *Bichi, June 3, 1646, *Lettere, loc. cit.* Bichi advised the Pope to encourage and praise especially William ab Angelis. A *Brief to him followed on July 7, 1646 (*Cod. Preuck.*, f. 467 *seq.*, Library of the Anima, Rome). The modest man refused all the benefices obtained for him (Rapin, I., 151).

[2] *July 7, 1646, *Lettere, loc. cit.* "Tutto il male viene per l'appoggio di questo arcivescovo, quale mi pare impossibile di guadagnarlo e ridurlo." *Ibid.*

[3] *Bichi, July 21, September 8 and 15, and December 1, 1646, *Lettere, loc. cit.*

[4] *Bichi, August 22, 1646, *ibid.* On August 7 the Bishop wrote: "Omnes, cum saeculares tum regulares, deferre [obedientiam] decreto Apostolico" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* above, p. 301.

[5] He arrived in Flanders on April 11, 1647. *Bichi, April 13, 1647, *Lettere*, t. 31, Pap. Sec. Arch.

as the chief means of checking the progress of the new teaching he recommended that no benefice should be granted to any candidate who was in any way suspect of Jansenism.[1] Leopold William went even beyond this suggestion when he carried zeal so far as to demand a sworn declaration against Jansenius.[2]

Notwithstanding his goodwill, the Archduke did not at once succeed in enforcing the publication of the Bull, though orders to that effect came from Spain, the first of them shortly after the arrival of the new Governor.[3] On the occasion of the marriage of Maria Anna, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand II. to Philip IV., in 1649, the nuncio, instructed by the Pope, prompted her to ask of her husband, as a first token of his affection, that he should publish the Bull in Flanders.[4] The fresh royal order of August 3rd, 1649, was followed by a third in a letter to the Archduke dated July 15th, 1650.[5] However, again and again the opponents' adroitness discovered ways and means to prevent their integral execution. Archduke Leopold William had made

[1] RAPIN, I., 176 *seq.* *Bichi to Rome, April 27, 1647: "Hebbi commodità [April 26] di scuoprirli le arti con le quali li Janseniani si son cercati di avanzare e come alcuni di questi ministri li hanno aiutati direttamente e indirettamente, e le accennai li remedii che credevo più facili . . . e fra l'altri di non promuovere a benefitii li sequaci di quella setta." The Archduke was well disposed. *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[2] "*Particolarmente si dogliono del giuramento che prestano quelli che aspirano a benefitii. Si vede che restano mortificati dal uso di questo giuramento, ma S. A. lo trova bene, e continua avanti di nominare ad abbatie et altri benefitii ecclesiastici da farmi avvisare, che informi se siano Janseniani." *Bichi, September 9, 1649, *Excerpta, loc. cit. Cf. ibid.* *Bichi, December 7, 1647, and January 25, 1648. Innocent X. praised the Archduke on September 9, 1647, for his zeal against the Jansenists (FRIEDENSBURG in *Quellen und Forsch.*, IV., 275).

[3] May 14, 1647, RAPIN, I., 177 *seq.*; **Excerpta*, May 15, 1647, *loc. cit.*

[4] RAPIN, I., 387; *cf.* *Bichi, August 28, 1649, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] RAPIN, I., 389.

a start with the publication of the Bull, and that in Ghent, whose Bishop favoured Jansenism, but he gave up the idea of doing so in all the other towns on receipt of a letter from the Archbishop of Malines [1] in which Boonen spoke of the excitement such a measure would provoke, as well as of the great number of Jansenius' adherents and the fact that the Pope may have allowed himself to be misled when he condemned the book. Should the Archduke refuse to listen to him, Boonen prayed leave to retire to France lest he should have to witness the troubles that would befall his native land.[2] The Bishop of Ghent wrote in the same strain.[3]

Philip IV.'s first order to Leopold William demanded the suppression of Jansenius' *Augustinus* and a search in the bookshops for all Jansenist writings, for the Jansenists exercised considerable influence in the Low Countries by means of the press, especially as they distributed their publications gratuitously.[4] However, Roose knew how to oppose the execution of the order [5] and when this was achieved Fromond and Van Caelen made a show of zeal by counselling the Archduke to suppress, on his own authority, all writings on the subject of grace. Had he done so, the latter would have exceeded his powers, his ordinances would only have caused confusion and Catholic publications, of which the Jansenists disapproved, would have been suppressed. However the Archduke, who as a matter of fact showed himself at all times a sincere Catholic, listened to Bichi [6] who advised him to replace the censor of books, the Jansenist Rector of Louvain University, by a fervent Catholic, William ab

[1] September 17, 1647, *ibid.*, 183 *seq.*

[2] Rapin, I., 183.

[3] *Ibid.*, 184. His *Letter of September 28, 1647, in *Excerpta, 1647–1652*, f. 103, *loc. cit.*

[4] Rapin, I., 393.

[5] *Bichi, June 15, 1647, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[6] Rapin, I., 180 *seq.*; *Bichi, September 19, 1647, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

Angelis.[1] Moreover the Governor gave no credence to the calumnies by which it was sought to make Bichi's position untenable [2] and installed the zealous Baron de Rassenghien in the see of Tournai.[3] His conduct earned him a Brief from Innocent X.[4] All the priests at court were made to swear obedience to the Bull.[5] One Oratorian and three Capuchins were stopped from preaching the new teaching in his presence.[6] He likewise induced the University of Douai to pronounce for the Bull and against Jansenius, a circumstance that could not fail to bring pressure to bear on Louvain.[7] It was probably he too who obtained the sudden recall to Spain of President Roose in 1648.[8] After that Roose's influence in Flanders was at an end ; he died in 1673. On his return from Spain in 1653, the nobility gave him indeed a great reception, but the Archduke informed him publicly that the King thanked him for his services and that he might take his retreat.[9] Roose had been an adroit and resourceful official as well as a personal friend of Jansenius whom he had provided with the material for his *Mars Gallicus*.[10] For reasons of policy he opposed the condemnation of his friend and he was wont to boast that

[1] RAPIN, I., 179.

[2] *Ibid.*, 180. On a "longissimum scriptum" in defence of Jansenism to the Archduke, of which the latter took no notice, see **Excerpta*, September 19, 1647 (Letter of Schega, S.J., the Archduke's confessor), *loc. cit.*

[3] RAPIN, I., 177.

[4] *Brief of September 9, 1647, *Epist.*, II.–III. (October, 1645, to October, 1647), n. 204, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] *Bichi, May 2, 1648, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[6] RAPIN, I., 295 *seq.*

[7] *Declaration of July 27, 1648, to the Archduke, whom it exhorts "ut pergat doctrinam illam iansenianam serio extirpare, qua nequaquam docetur b. Augustini mens". *Excerpta*, t. 29, *loc. cit.*; RAPIN, I., 296 *seqq.* FLEURY, LXI., 572.

[8] RAPIN, I., 299. Recalled December 4, 1648, left on October 15, 1649 (*Biogr. nat. de Belgique*, XX., 68).

[9] RAPIN, I., 536.

[10] *Biogr. nat. de Belgique*, XX., 64.

during his administration the clergy had not gained an inch of ground.[1]

At the pressing request of the Superior of the Premonstratensians and the University of Louvain, Archbishop Boonen had dispatched to Madrid a certain Recht with mission to explain more fully the Archbishop's attitude towards the Bull. In May 1649, Philip IV. informed Boonen that he was willing to receive the envoy and that he would take no definite step before hearing him. However, before Recht's credentials reached him, in October, the order for the publication of the Bull, which the young Queen had obtained from her husband, had been issued on August 3rd. Philip IV. received Recht on January 1st, 1650, though it would seem that the latter had had a secret interview with the King before that date, and when on that occasion Recht asked that account should be taken of Boonen's and the State Council's objections to the Bull, the King replied that he was doing so in any case. Recht promptly reported this answer to Louvain; his letter arrived there at the same time as the royal ordinance of August 3rd, 1649.[2] The Archbishop was not slow in exploiting the new situation in the State Council. Since the King wished the affair to be further examined, so he explained in a long speech, there was nothing

[1] Rapin, I., 295, 299. "*Si vanta che al suo tempo li ecclesiastici non hanno acquistato un dito di terra" (Bichi, November 23, 1647, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* On his friendship with Jansenius, see Rapin, I., 4.

[2] Rapin, I., 304, 388; *Boonen to the State Council, February 5 and 18, 1650, in Appendix to *Bichi's nunciature report of March 17, 1650, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* At the audience of January 1 the King said (according to Boonen): "informatum se esse, quanti ponderis esset haec causa, seseque adhibiturum, quod et Dei et Ecclesiae servitio futurum est" (*ibid.*). According to Bichi's *Despatch of April 20, 1650 (*ibid.*), Recht's instructions were: that the King should induce the Pope to have the book of Jansenius examined by theologians, to decide the dispute *de auxiliis* and to show the King the groundlessness of the prohibition. *Bichi, July 29 and August 28, 1649, *ibid.*

for it but to postpone the publication of the Bull.[1] Thus matters remained until the King renewed his order in the following year.[2] For the rest Leopold William only returned from the theatre of war in November.

Meanwhile the situation in Flanders had undergone a considerable change. Bichi had asked for the help of the secular arm to enforce the publication of the Bull, as otherwise he had no hope that the Jansenists would submit.[3] None the less it was his wish that the formal publication should come from him alone ; all he wanted from the secular power was support for his action.[4] The Madrid nuncio, Rospigliosi, also declared that it was necessary to publish the Bull as soon as possible,[5] to bar ecclesiastical positions to the Jansenists and to grant to the internuncio the help of the secular arm as often as he required it, whether for the purpose of searching bookshops for works forbidden by the Bull, or in order to punish those who acted in contravention of its ordinances. But this did not yet satisfy the representatives of the State. Even during Roose's presidency numerous decrees were drafted with a view to the publication of the Bull ; however, they pleased the internuncio but little and the Archduke rejected them.[6] It would seem that at that time Leopold

[1] Rapin, I., 388 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 313.

[3] "Vedo esser necessario che S. A. vi dia qualche ordine, altrimenti non si leva la scusa alli disobedienti." Bichi, June 13, 1648, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[4] "Continuai le instanze del braccio secolare . . . e con varii argomenti cercai di persuadergli che non deve far altro in questa materia che quello che io li domando" (Bichi, February 22, 1648, *ibid.*). "*Continuando le diligenze per havere l'assistenza del braccio secolare . . . et indirizzando li miei officii per haverla senza che si pubblichi editto, conforme una lettera della S. Congregatione di s. Officio de 1 febbraio" (*ibid.*).

[5] April 30, 1649, *ibid.*

[6] *Appendices to Bichi's letter to Pamfili of December 28, 1647, and May 2, 1648, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

William's sentiments were still strictly those of a devoted son of the Church.[1]

Gradually a change came over him. At the very moment when the royal ordinance seemed to assure publication of the Bull, Madrid had shown great consideration for Boonen and his envoy Recht. A committee was formed for the purpose of discussing their objections[2] and in the order for the execution of the Bull[3] it was said that the King would request the Pope to have Jansenius' book revised and to approve it once it had been amended. Bichi was determined to insist that it was not possible to correct a book whose very root and heart were wrong, but he received instructions from Rome to say nothing on the subject.[4]

More regrettable was the circumstance that Roose's successor as President of the Council of State, D'Hovyne,[5] was an unmitigated exponent of a policy of cæsaro-papalism and that he gained great ascendency over the Archduke.[6]

[1] *Cf.* the *Letter of his confessor Schega to Bichi, September 16, 1648; the Archduke wrote to the King about Bichi: "quod ipsi tamquam ministro Ap. Sedis potissimum conveniat agere hoc negotium, quod est totum iuris ecclesiastici et concernit auctoritatem Pontificiam, quam Ill. D. V. debet prae ceteris defendere ac tueri. Deinde quod Concilium privatum in hac materia non debeat quicquam censere et iudicare, sed solum Ill. Dae Vae. tanquam agenti, nomine SS. D. N. porrigere brachium, saeculare, ubi opus videbitur." *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[2] *Bichi, March 14, 1650, *ibid.*

[3] July 15, 1650, RAPIN, I., 389 *seq.*; *Rospigliosi to Bichi, July 16, 1650, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[4] *Bichi, September 15, 1650, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* There also the Roman *Reply of October 12, 1650.

[5] On the form of the name *cf. Biogr. nat. de Belgique*, IX., 563.

[6] "*Quale [Hovyne] essendo in credito appresso di S. A. gli fa creder quel che vuole" (Bichi, September 16, 1651, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*). Hovyne had his son educated at Tournai in the house of Canon Fromond, a nephew of the professor; the son had already delivered a discourse in favour of Jansenius (*Bichi to the nuncio of Madrid, September 12, 1651, *ibid.*).

Leopold William had set up a commission in connexion with the Bull. It was composed of Counts Fuensaldaña and Schwarzenberg and the Secretary of State Navarro[1]; they were subsequently reinforced by the Bishop of Antwerp and the Bishop-Designate of Ypres, the Chancellor of Brabant, Kinscot, and D'Hovyne and Bereur who were members of the State and Privy Councils.[2] Strangely enough Boonen himself and the Bishop of Ghent ended by obtaining a seat in the commission.[3] The influence of cæsaro-papalism and Jansenism was soon apparent. An ordinance of the Governor did indeed promise the Bishops the support of the secular power in connexion with the publication of the Bull; it even inculcated the various clauses of the Bull and fixed penalties for those who contravened, but all this was done in virtue of the authority of the State and both the order and the penalties were applicable to all, hence to the clergy also, though this was against the principle of clerical immunity. A letter to the Bishops charged them to publish the Bull on March 20th and to see to it that it was complied with; to secure this end they could have the assistance of the secular power. The letter expressly states that the clause in Urban VIII.'s Bull which declares that publication in Rome was sufficient, was not to be recognized; that the King would press for a revision of Jansenius' book, so that it might be republished and that the Bishops must not tolerate anything that might diminish the prestige of St. Augustine and the Fathers. A third decree orders the Councillors of State to have the Bull promulgated, to lend assistance to the Bishops and to denounce them to the Governor should they fail in their duty.[4] Thus by the terms of these drafts the Bull was valueless unless the State published it, clerical exemption from secular tribunals was ignored, whilst the intervention

[1] *Bichi, November 3, 1650, *ibid.*

[2] *Bichi, January 12, 1651, *ibid.*

[3] *Bichi, February 25, 1651, *ibid.*

[4] *Appendices to Bichi's letter to Pamfili, February 25, 1651, *ibid.*

on behalf of St. Augustine gave the Jansenists a pretext, despite every papal condemnation, for holding to their teaching which, so they claimed, was simply that of St. Augustine.

For some time already Rome had watched developments in Flanders with grave misgivings. At the end of 1647 Bichi was instructed to procure the help of the secular arm, but two months later his orders were: "simple assistance, but no edict"; and still later "not even assistance if it cannot be had without a decree"; and at the end of 1649: "on no account must he give his assent to the publication of the Bull."[1] On February 23rd, 1651, the Inquisition decreed once more[2] that Bichi was not on any account to have

[1] The decrees are grouped together in *Bichi's letter of March 17, 1650 (*Excerpta, loc. cit.*): December 28, 1647: "di procurare il braccio secolare"; February 1, 1648: "di non far altra istanza che di una semplice assistenza del braccio secolare" and no edict; June 6, 1648: "che non faccia istanza di publicatione di editto, anzi vi si opponga e lassi dileguare la pretensione che si è havuta di questa assistenza, mentre non ci dia senza publicatione di editto"; December 18, 1649: "di non consentire in verun modo alla publicatione della bolla, e quanto alli altri mezzi per reprimere l'audacia delli Janseniani, lassi la cura a S. A., e quando debbia gastigare, non faccia atto positivo senza parteciparlo prima." The decision of the Inquisition of June 6, 1648, is found once more in the appendix of *Bichi's Letter of March 4, 1651. He finds fault with the assertion that clerics are called subjects of the King and that they are threatened with banishment. Similar "*a tergo" comments on Bichi's dispatches are frequently met with, e.g. December 28, 1647, September 9, 1649, August 18, 1650. In the *Instructions to the Spanish nuncio mention is often made of the Jansenist question in Flanders: *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 347. *Lettere al Nuntio* of March 17 and 24 and July 7, 1646, February 5 and July 13, 1647, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] "*Non potest ibi deveniri ad novam publicationem absque magno praeiudicio auctoritatis huius s. sedis." *Excerpta* (according to Bichi's dispatch of January 19, 1651), *loc. cit.*

anything to do with a new publication of the Bull since it had been published in Rome and had been communicated to the Bishops and had also been handed to the Louvain delegates Sinnich and Paepe before a notary and witnesses; a fresh publication would be greatly to the prejudice of the Roman See. If Bichi desired to reprint the Bull, he might do so though there was no need for it, but no decree about the secular arm or anything else must be added to the text. On the whole Rome would have preferred the whole affair to be dropped [1] and representations were made to Philip IV. with a view to obtaining from him what it seemed so difficult to secure from Leopold William.[2]

The internuncio failed in his attempt to persuade the Archduke to recall the decree. The latter met Bichi's representations with the statement that the deliberations had been held in presence of four ecclesiastics and that was enough to exonerate his conscience. D'Hovyne's answer was that the internuncio overstepped his authority and abused the kindness of the Archduke; the decree would be issued whether Bichi liked it or not.[3]

As a matter of fact the decree was published in all the dioceses of Flanders in the last days of April.[4] The effect

[1] On May 2, 1648, Bichi forwarded the draft of an edict of the Archduke, but "*le fu scritto sotto li 4 junio, che procurasse in ogni maniera, che quel editto non si publicasse in quella forma, anzi non facesse più instanza, ma lasci a poco a poco svanire la pretensione dell'assistenza, quando s'habbia a publicar editto". **Summarium* (see above, p. 304, n. 4).

[2] To the Spanish nuncio "si è scritto, che insista co' suoi ufficii per ottenere il decreto dell'assistenza rappresentando esser hora il tempo opportuno per la presente debbolezza de' Janseniani". March 6, 1649, to Bichi, *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 28, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] *Bichi, March 4, 1651, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[4] The edict of February 28, 1651, in FLEURY, LXI., 750 *seq.* Bichi *reports on April 15, 1651, on the publication in Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Cambrai, Tournai, Namur, Arras, Saint-Omer (*Excerpta, loc. cit.*). The Archbishop of Malines

seemed good: Jansenius' work and the other forbidden books were no longer bought.[1] For all that the internuncio saw himself compelled to protest against the one-sided procedure of the Archduke. He was ordered to do this by Rome on April 1st in case the edict had already been published. In doing so he was to use a formula bearing the date of April 20th which was sent to him from Rome. That document stated that it was enough if the Bull was published in Rome and whatever was contrary to the authority and jurisdiction of the Holy See and the Church's liberty and immunity was null and void.[2] As a matter of fact as early as March 16th Bichi had drawn up a similar formula on his own authority.[3] The ministers were, of course, angry that Bichi should not only have protested but should even have declared the decree null and void. The Archduke ordered the Council of Brabant to take no notice of the protest and caused the printer to be fined.[4] One of the Councillors informed the internuncio that if he quietly accepted the intimation of the decree of the Court of Cassation, the Council of Brabant would take no action, whereas if he acted otherwise recourse might be had to forcible measures.[5]

had his pastoral affixed to all the parish churches and the decree of the Archduke to the town-halls of Brussels, Malines, and Louvain, but the Bull nowhere. *On April 22 Bichi reports that the Bull was published "assai negligentemente" also at Roermond (*ibid.*).

[1] *Bichi, April 15, 1651, *ibid.*

[2] **Excerpta*, Appendix to Bichi's report of March 4, 1651, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Bichi, March 18, 1651, *ibid.*

[4] *Bichi, July 15, 1651, *ibid.* The *circular of the Archduke to the "consegli" is in the appendix of Bichi's *letter of August 12, 1651, *ibid.* The Archduke did not know, however, that the protest was made by order from Rome (*Bichi, July 29, 1651, *ibid.*). The *cassation edict of the Council of Brabant, of August 31, 1651, is in the appendix of Bichi's *letter of September 16, 1651, *ibid.*

[5] *Bichi, July 22, 1651, *ibid.*

Measures of this kind had already been taken on a previous occasion. In a dispute between some convents, Bichi had given judgment without exhibiting his faculties. Accordingly the Council of Brabant caused him to be formally beleaguered in his lodgings until he withdrew his sentence.[1] The internuncio was of opinion that these molestations were instigated by the Jansenists who, by this means, sought to revenge themselves for their exclusion by him from benefices and ecclesiastical offices. The Archduke, who at that time still sided with the papal envoy, advised him to yield since there was question only of the ambition of a couple of monks.[2] When Bichi withdrew his ordinance the Council likewise displayed a conciliatory disposition: it suspended its first judicial executor though the latter had done no more than carry out the decrees of the Council; it did this on the pretext that in dealing with the internuncio, he had exceeded his powers.[3] Innocent X. protested against these proceedings, which he described as breaches of international law, but consented to consider the punishment of the judicial executor, which he ascribed to the Archduke, as a satisfaction.[4] Meanwhile, on August 4th, the Council had taken another violent measure against the internuncio in connexion with a certain Canon Hughes. For the sake of his personal safety Bichi repaired to Saint-Gislain until the Archduke, through his confessor Schega, invited him to his headquarters after which he caused the proceedings to be suspended.[5]

A few months later, Innocent X. adopted a sharper tone

[1] *Bichi, July 15, 1649, *Lettere*, t. 33, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] *Bichi, July 22, 1649, *ibid.*

[3] *Bichi, July 29, 1649, *ibid.*

[4] *Brief to the Archduke of August 28, 1649, *Epist.*, IV.–VI. (May, 1648, to September, 1650, Franc. Nerlio secretario), n. 260, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] *Bichi, August 5 and 18, 1649, *Lettere, loc. cit.* On April 26, 1651, acts of violence were again feared in Rome; in that case Bichi should withdraw to Aix-la-Chapelle. *Nunziat. di Napoli*, Cifre al Nuntio, 39 A, f. 98, Pap. Sec. Arch.

towards the Archduke.[1] After praising his conduct during the first period of his administration, the Pope complained that he had allowed his advisers to induce him to issue a decree which was at variance with the Church's authority. It was an unheard of thing for ecclesiastical persons to be cited before secular tribunals. He (the Pope) had contented himself with protests and a declaration that these proceedings were null and void, but instead of amending his conduct, the Governor had allowed himself to be persuaded by his advisers to issue a fresh circular in which he sought to overthrow even the Pope's judicial power in matters of faith, for those men asserted that Urban VIII.'s decree did not bind in conscience unless it were published anew, with the royal *placet*. In justification of such conduct they had appealed to privileges and customs; but no such privilege had ever been granted by either Pope or Council and no prince had ever claimed anything of the kind; there could be neither custom nor prescription against papal authority, especially in matters of faith. Moreover, the Governor had been induced to declare the protest to be null and void and to punish the printer. The Archduke had become another Absalom; if everybody was free to write against the dogmas to the faith, could the printing of a papal protest be looked upon as a crime? As a loyal son of the Church, Leopold William should have kept an eye on his advisers, for the Pope took it for granted that the Archduke had been deceived by them. Innocent X. wrote in the same strain to Philip IV.[2] The Governor took the Brief in good part but the Privy Council raised loud protests on the plea that its tone was one that should not be adopted towards an Archduke.[3] Bichi's answer was that the language of the archducal ordinance was

[1] *Brief of November 11, 1651, *Epist.*, VI.–VII. (September, 1650, to September, 1652), Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] *Brief of November 11, 1651, *ibid.*, n. 119; *Excerpta*, f. 645, *loc. cit.* Both Briefs were issued by the decision of the Commission for Jansenism, September 7, 1651. SCHILL in *Katholik*, 1883; II., 293.

[3] *Bichi, December 9 and 23, 1651, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

undoubtedly far sharper.[1] Thereupon, Leopold William communicated the Brief to all the Provincial Councils from whom no protests against State usurpations were to be expected. Bichi [2] looked on this proceeding as a manœuvre of d'Hovyne [3] to induce the King to change his mind. The memorials of the Provincial Councils were all against the prerogatives of the Church.[4] At Madrid the King had the matter examined,[5] whilst the Spanish nuncio pressed from day to day for a decision.[6] At last Philip IV. instructed the Archduke to have the Bull carried into effect and to lend the assistance of the secular arm for the purpose.[7] Apparently the King saw in this a virtual withdrawal of the decrees but Bichi insisted on an explicit repeal.[8] To this Madrid would not agree. The Archduke, he was told, had been instructed not to encroach in any way on the Church's immunity and to maintain good relations with the internuncio; by doing so they had done all that it was possible to do.[9]

(6.)

Meanwhile a fresh complication had arisen, one that had been preparing for several years. When, in 1647, Philip IV.'s

[1] *January 6, 1652, *ibid.*

[2] **Ibid.*

[3] *" Direttore principale di tutto il negotio." *Ibid.*

[4] *Bichi, February 3, 1652, *ibid.*

[5] *Bichi, August 12, 1651, *ibid.*

[6] *Rospigliosi to Bichi, October 14 and November 4, 1651, *ibid.*

[7] Rospigliosi to Bichi, December 2, 1651, *ibid.*

[8] *Bichi, December 23, 1651, *ibid.*

[9] " *Che per nessun modo diretta—o indirettamente si facesse preiuditio quantunque minimo all'immunità ecclesiastica e che se usasse ogni termine di buona corrispondenza con il ministro Apostolico; onde pareva loro, non restare al presente da proveder di vantaggio persuadendosi che S. A. haverebbe operato che gli editti rimanghino senza osservanza." Rospigliosi, Madrid, March 16, 1652, in *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

strict injunction for the publication of the Bull arrived, Roose looked for pretexts to put it off. Accordingly he wrote to the Bishops requesting them to inform him why they had not yet obeyed the royal commands.[1] The Bishop of Ghent, Anthony von Triest, replied in a long letter dated March 20th, 1647.[2] He had not published Urban VIII.'s Bull, he states, because it had been obtained by fraud and was unfair to Jansenius, and its publication would only have created confusion. When he had done with the Bull there was not much left in it that was of any use. According to him the Bull is wrong when it asserts that, contrary to Rome's prohibition, Jansenius revived the dispute on grace which had broken out under Clement VIII.; all he did was to expound the teaching of St. Augustine, and the prohibition in question had neither been published nor observed. "It was the blackest of calumnies" we read, to say that Jansenius restated the theses of Baius; so far from doing so, his book ought to be crowned with laurels forasmuch as it shows the agreement of the Holy See with St. Augustine. Not Jansenius, but his opponents were the cause of the scandal. The Bishop of Ypres is then extolled "as a loyal subject, a man of outstanding scholarship and exemplary conduct, an ornament of the University". The Privy Council subsequently consulted the Bishops more than once.[3] Another letter of the Bishop of Ghent [4] in answer to a question of September 1st, restates practically the same sentiments: Jansenius is once more described as an innocent victim; not he is the author of scandal but "the infamous theses and preachments of the

[1] "*Mendicando pretesti colle lunghezze, in luogo d'ordinare che senza replica si eseguissero gl'ordini di S. M., haveva scritto a' prelati di quelle provincie che gl'avisassero le cagioni per le quali non havessero adempiti gl'ordini." Bichi, March 30, 1647, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* RAPIN, I., 155.

[2] *Excerpta*, f. 402 s., *loc. cit.*

[3] "affinchè havessero campo l'arcivescovo di Malines e gli altri disobedienti di scrivere, come poi han fatto." **Summarium* (see above, p. 304, n. 4, June 19, 1647).

[4] September 28, 1647, *Excerpta*, f. 103, *loc. cit.*

Jesuits ".[1] Consequently the Bull should not be made public, but they should demand a Provincial Council from the Pope. Archbishop Boonen also presented a memorial to the King at this time. In it he makes a historical survey of the questions in dispute, the object of which was, since Clement VIII., the doctrine of grace. In his opinion also the Jesuits were the cause of all the mischief. Through Molina these defended new dogmas, persecuted the Bishop of Ypres and had procured a Bull against him. In the Low Countries, Boonen claimed, there was no obligation to publish the Bull on account of that country's privileges; in France also the better part of the clergy refused to acknowledge it.[2] Boonen's memorial and Triest's first letter were thrown to the general public in 1649 by means of the printing press.

This was not Boonen's only offence. During his visitation of the archdiocese, Van Caelen had distributed hundreds of Flemish and French copies of the Jansenist catechism of grace among women and nuns. Thereupon a Douai Doctor wrote an orthodox catechism as an "antidote" against the Jansenist product. Rome, however, prohibited even the orthodox catechism on the ground that it was forbidden to write on certain points of the doctrine of grace and because the topic was too abstruse for the people.[3] But the Archbishop thought he would give Rome a lesson; accordingly, he wrote

[1] "Ex infamibus illis thesibus et concionibus Patrum Societatis ea de re petulanter habitis," *ibid.*

[2] "Rationes, ob quas Ill. et Rev. D. Archiepiscopus Mechliniensis a promulgatione bullae . . . abstinuit, ex mandato Regio allegatae ac catholicae Maiestati exhibitae. E Gallico in Latinum translatae 1649 (4°, 27 p.)." *Cf. Biogr. nat. de Belgique*, II., 705; RAPIN, II., 29 *seq.* The letter is dated September 17, 1647 (**Summarium, loc. cit.*). A Refutation: "**Notanda quaedam circa scriptum Ill. ac Rev. Archiepiscopi Mechliniensis*" in Bibl. Barberini, Rome, XVIII., 51, f. 163 *seqq.*

[3] *Bichi, July 14, 1650, together with the decree of the Inquisition of October 6, 1650, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* *Cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 471.

to the Pope[1] that he could not publish the prohibition of the two catechisms without scandal, danger to souls and grave injury to the reputation and authority of the Apostolic See, for according to that decree the reply to the Jansenist catechism was free of errors whereas Boonen endeavours to show that there were no less than fourteen errors in it. He then goes on to defend himself against the accusations that were being made against him in Rome. "Would that age and health would allow me to throw myself in person at your feet in order to exculpate myself!" But since such a thing was out of the question, he prayed the Pope not to give credence to calumnies against himself and against so many men distinguished for virtue, learning and devotion to the Holy See, as if they were rebels against the Pope. He also prayed that the teaching of St. Augustine be at last examined with becoming impartiality.

If these words, unaccompanied as they were by deeds, were hardly calculated to soften Rome's opinion of the Archbishop, Boonen's ordinance which accompanied the publication of the Bull on March 29th, 1651, was even less likely to produce such a result.[2] The old objections against Urban VIII.'s decision are here reproduced, though not in so many words as the Archbishop's personal view, yet as the view of men "no less pious than learned". The complaint that the Bull had been issued without adequate preliminary inquiry is also renewed in another form. Jansenius' piety and learning are extolled and the accusation of heresy against him is described as a dreadful calumny; when it is finally stated that it was not the Pope's intention, in issuing the Bull, to trench on St. Augustine's teaching, the words can only mean that the Jansenists were free to go on defending their own peculiar views. Thus Boonen. The covering letters with which the Bishop of Ghent[3] and the Vicar General of

[1] *January 28, 1651, *Excerpta*, f. 543, *loc. cit.*

[2] Reproduced (from D'Argentré) in FLEURY, LXI., 758 *seqq.*

[3] March 26, 1651, *ibid.*, 752 *seq.* There it is stated that the observance of the Bull was commanded "saltem quantum colligere potuimus, donec et quousque Sedes Apostolica post

Ypres [1] accompanied the publication of the Bull, were in a similar strain. All three covering letters were condemned by the Inquisition together with the pamphlets with which Boonen and Triest (the latter's pamphlet is dated March 20th, 1647), sought to justify their failure to publish the Bull.[2]

The decree of the Inquisition informed those concerned that recourse would be had to ecclesiastical sanctions against them unless they exculpated themselves as soon as possible. Ypres declared its unquestioning readiness to obey the Pope [3] but the two Bishops remained silent. Accordingly, on November 18th, 1651, both were summoned to appear in Rome.[4] Unless they appeared there in six months, they were to be suspended from the exercise of episcopal functions nor would they be allowed to enter a church. On December 12th and 13th this sentence was communicated to the two prelates.[5] Archbishop Boonen replied that he had justified himself in writing and his seventy-nine years prevented him from going to Rome. Both he and the Bishop of Ghent appealed against the citation to the Royal Privy Council [6] which referred the affair to the Council of Malines; the latter, however, declared its incompetence in the matter. Thereupon the two prelates assured the Pope of their innocence by letter,[7] and prayed that someone be appointed to judge them since their years made it impossible for them to appear

novum examen dicti libri sive illius revisionem, quam se . . . procuraturam edixit, . . . quatenus errores, si qui in illo inveniuntur, expurgentur et . . . quod de doctrina illius tenendum foret declarasset. . . .

[1] March 27, 1651, *ibid.*, 755 *seq.*

[2] May 11, 1651; see REUSCH, II., 465; HILGERS, 424. In the copy of the decree in FLEURY, LXI., the "Raisons" of the Bishop of Ghent are omitted.

[3] *September 19, 1651, *Excerpta*, f. 638, *loc. cit.*

[4] In FLEURY, LXI., 764 *seq.*

[5] *Bichi, December 30, 1651, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[6] *Bichi, February 3, 1652, *ibid.*

[7] *Triest alone on February 28, 1652, *both together on March 2, *ibid.*, f. 696, 698.

personally in Rome ; in fact they could not do so in view of the privileges of Flanders and because as Councillors of State they would have to obtain the King's leave. Accordingly, the two were ordered to send a representative to Rome within two months, to answer for them,[1] but they replied that on the ground of the privileges of Flanders they could not be called to account outside their own country.[2]

Meanwhile Bichi was recalled and was succeeded by Andrea Mangelli as internuncio as well as in the delicate task of coming to terms with the Netherlands, ever most jealous and susceptible where their privileges were concerned.[3] In his very first report the internuncio had to announce that D'Hovyne would not hear of the two Bishops going to Rome. Mangelli vainly insisted that if the two prelates sent their representatives to Rome someone would naturally be appointed to make a judicial inquiry in Flanders, and that if the Pope's judicial authority in matters of faith were circumscribed in one country, it would also be limited and ruined in other countries.[4] He fared no better with the Archbishop. Boonen read to him a decree of the Council of Brabant forbidding him to name a representative under penalty of confiscation of his revenues. He begged for compassion ; all former Popes had acknowledged the country's privileges and there was no question of matters touching the faith.[5] On the other hand the Bishop of Ghent seemed willing to submit to the Pope but expressed a fear of giving scandal were he to appoint a delegate.[6] However, Mangelli remained firm. He refused to allow the appeal to the Council of Brabant ; if Boonen had at once named a representative, he would have forestalled

[1] *To Boonen, July 26, to Trist, August 2, 1652, *ibid.*, f. 809.

[2] *Boonen, July 28, 1652, *ibid.*

[3] The change was decided on by the Jansenist Congregation in Rome (SCHILL in *Katholik*, 1883, II., 294). *Mangelli's credentials for the Archduke, dated January 20, 1652, in *Innocentii X. Epist.*, VII.–VIII., n. 138, Pap. Secr. Arch.

[4] *Mangelli, August 31, 1652, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*

[6] *Mangelli, August 10, 1652, *ibid.*

the decree and there was no doubt that the question concerned the faith. As for the Bishop of Ghent's desire to obey, Mangelli observed that this must be proved by deeds and that the prelate's fears were quite unfounded.[1] A certain advocate of the name of Mortelle who, when speaking on behalf of the Archbishop, dwelt on the scandal which the infringement of the privileges would cause, was told that it was a much greater scandal when an Archbishop and Primate refused to submit to a papal decree: in this matter no Catholic, least of all a Bishop, could appeal to any privilege. For the rest, as internuncio, all he had to do was to carry out the Pope's orders whilst a representative of the Bishops with the Holy See would promote their cause far better than he could.[2] Thereupon the two prelates excused themselves in Rome for their inability to send a delegate,[3] but their pleading was not admitted and the threatened penalties were now pronounced.[4] In doing so the Pope observed that he could not tolerate that Bishops who, at their consecration, had taken a special oath of obedience to the Pope, should refuse submission under such futile pretexts.[5]

The internuncio of Flanders was informed of the sentence by the nuncio of Venice but the document itself was intercepted at the frontier of Champagne by the army of Prince de Condé,[6] and only on February 22nd, 1653, was Mangelli able to acknowledge its reception.[7] Its execution, however,

[1] *Mangelli, August 10 and 31, 1652, *ibid.*

[2] *Mangelli to Cardinal Barberini and the Inquisition, August 3, 1652, *ibid.*

[3] *Mangelli, September 7, 1652, *ibid.*

[4] *On October 19, 1652, dispatched to Mangelli on 21st, *ibid.* Text of the decree with date of December 19, 1652, in FLEURY, LXI., 766 *seq.*

[5] *October 19, 1652, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[6] RAPIN, II., 31.

[7] **Excerpta ex codice S. Officii, cuius inscriptio: Acta in Belgio circa Constitutionem damnantem 5 propositiones Iansenii* a. *1653–1656. Acta in Galliis circa Constitutionem praefatam,* a. *1653–1656* (Schill).

proved difficult. A short time before, on September 14th, 1652, Bereuil, who was the oldest member of the Archduke's Privy Council, had informed Bichi, the then internuncio, that the Privy Council had ordered the Bishops to forgo a judicial procedure and to throw themselves on the Pope's mercy and that the Bishops had consented to act accordingly.[1] However, the letter to the Pope which they then considered, was never written and a few months later the Council of Brabant had changed its mind. The Archduke declared to the internuncio that neither his archducal authority nor that of the King would succeed in persuading the Council of Brabant to allow the Bishops to send a delegate to Rome. Rather than allow their privileges to be curtailed, they would renounce all obedience to the Holy See, to the great injury of Pope and King ; this was bound to happen if they adopted a policy of force towards the Bishops.[2] These were strong words ! Yet the Governor was a gentle nature and opposed to violent measures,[3] nor was anything worse reported from Spain than that a certain Abbate Vasquez had been commissioned to go to Flanders in connexion with the Bull and to induce the two Bishops to obey.[4]

[1] " *Che con humilissime preghiere si gettino alli piedi di S. S., implorando la paterna Sua misericordia, lasciando da parte ogni altera giustificatione, che o per se stesso o per mezzo de procuratore si potesse fare, e promettendo ubbidire ad ogni comandamento di S. B." *Ibid.*

[2] " *Che nè l'autorità del Sr Archiduca nè dei ministri del Re nè del Re medesimo bastava per indurre il Conseglio di Brabante a permettere che si faccia dai vescovi la deputatione del procuratore in Roma, apresa da loro per contraria e derogatoria ai loro privilegii, e che più tosto perderanno la totale obedienza alla Sede Apostolica con mettere in grandi fastidii non meno il S. Pontefice che il re di Spagna, e che altro frutto non si conseguirà dal volere forzare con remedii più rigorosi li sudetti vescovi. Mangelli, March 1, 1653, *ibid.*

[3] " *Placidissima natura con soavissime maniere " : is not able to act " con fervore et efficacia ". Mangelli, March 8, 1653, *ibid.*

[4] *Bichi, November 9, 1652, *Excerpta*, a. 1647 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory reports from Brussels, Rome was determined on the execution of the decree. A notary was found who affixed it at St. Gudula's at Brussels, after which he fled with all speed.[1] The Council proposed a reward of 300 gold florins to anyone supplying information as to the identity of the person who had transcribed and affixed the decree; on May 12th it declared the document to be false and null[2] and forbade the Bishops to present themselves in Rome.[3] Orders were given to have the decree torn down,[4] but the Archduke forbade not only their execution but a commission was convened to deliberate on the means of settling the dispute.[5] The commission found a solution of the great difficulty of safeguarding both the privileges of Flanders and the authority of the Pope[6]: this was that the two Bishops should protest their submission to the Pope, acknowledge their fault, beg the Pontiff's pardon and appeal to his clemency.[7] The commission likewise decided that the citation to Rome was not contrary to the privileges of Flanders; consequently the Archduke should write to the Bishop and urge them to obey; meanwhile the two prelates should abstain from pontifical functions and ask for absolution by the Pope. The Governor, moreover, was requested to order the Council of Brabant to revoke the decree of nullity of May 12th and to make their excuses to the internuncio. As for Mangelli, he might safely return from Spa whither

[1] Rapin, II., 78.

[2] *Mangelli, May, 1653, *Excerpta*, a. 1653 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] Fleury, LXI., 768.

[4] May 22, 1653, reprint, *ibid.*

[5] *Mangelli, July 18, 1653, *Excerpta*, a. 1653 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] The commission consisted of the Bishops of Cambrai, Bruges, Antwerp, Count Fuensaldaña, Dean Le Roy of Malines, the Secretary of State Navarro, and six Councillors of State. The reporter was the passionate Hovyne, who had said that the Pope owed satisfaction to the States. *Mangelli, July 2 and 10, 1653, *ibid.*

[7] *The same, July 10, 1653, *ibid.*

he had fled, for he had nothing to fear.[1] Meanwhile orders had come from Rome to the two Cathedral Chapters not to allow the Bishops to enter their churches.[2]

Even so Archbishop Boonen seemed at first unwilling to submit. In the Council of Brabant he spoke against the commission and begged the Councillors not to forsake him. As a matter of fact the Councillors sent a message to the Governor begging him not to give his consent to any curtailment of Flanders' privileges; otherwise the States would refuse to pay their subsidies to the King.[3] The Archbishop of Cambrai vainly sought to influence his colleague; Boonen told him he could not see that he had incurred any censures [4] and sought to cover himself with the oath by which he had bound himself to defend the rights of his country.

Not so the Bishop of Ghent. From the first he seemed prepared to seek absolution in Rome through an envoy and these sentiments grew stronger under the influence of the newly named Bishop of Antwerp.[5] On July 16th he informed the internuncio at Spa that he was ready to obey the Pope and apologized for his hesitation.[6] When Mangelli exhorted him to give a positive proof of his submission the Bishop sent him on July 23rd a petition in which he named the Carmelite Isidore of St. Joseph as his representative in Rome and asked for absolution in case he needed it.[7] After that he called on the internuncio at Spa and assured him that since the Brief to his Chapter he had refrained from all episcopal functions and had urged his Chapter to elect a

[1] *The same, July 17, 1653, *ibid.*

[2] *Brief of June 28, 1653, *Innocentii*, X., *Epist.*, X. (Decio Azzolino secret.), n. 3, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] *Mangelli, July 10, 1653, *loc. cit.*

[4] *The same, July 17, 1653, *ibid.*

[5] *The same, July 24 and 26, 1653, *ibid.*; RAPIN, II., 79 *seq.*

[6] *Report of the nunciature of Brussels, t. 37; *Letter of Mangelli, July 31, 1653, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[7] *Mangelli, July 31, 1653, *ibid.*

Vicar whilst their Bishop was inhibited, and that this had actually been done.[1]

On July 31st, 1653, Mangelli was able to report a further success when he wrote to Rome that the Archbishop of Malines had likewise expressed his willingness to submit. On August 1st Boonen sent his nephew to the internuncio to confirm the fact that he had named a representative in Rome and that since the arrival of the Brief to his Chapter he had not officiated as Bishop.[2] On August 1st he effectively appointed a representative in Rome in the person of Canon Henri d'Othenin and wrote a letter to the Pope. After Mangelli's return to Brussels, on August 5th, both prelates called on him and renewed their assurances although the Council of Brabant had threatened the Archbishop with the suppression of his revenues if he accredited a representative in Rome.[3] On October 21st, 1653, in virtue of a papal concession, Mangelli was able to absolve the Archbishop.[4]

Boonen's recantation could not undo the evil which he had sown so long. A report by the internuncio on that period [5] draws a gloomy picture of the state of religion in the country. The chief advocates of the new teaching, Van Caelen and Fromond, in conjunction with Boonen and Triest, Mangelli writes, had spread it with so much care, caution and zeal and obtained so many adherents for it, that there was hardly a soul in those Provinces that remained untouched by it. This result was brought about by filling pastoral posts with Jansenists. As Bishops these men had the bestowal of such benefices as were in the gift of the ordinaries; as members of the Council of State they were able to influence appointments to posts where the King enjoyed the right of patronage, with the result that there was no Chapter in any church in

[1] *The same, August 2, 1653, *ibid.*

[2] **Ibid.*

[3] **Ibid.*

[4] *Mangelli, October 25, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* *Brief with plenary powers for absolution, August 23, 1653, *ibid.*, f. 215.

[5] October 4, 1653, *Excerpta*, translated in RAPIN, II., 180–2.

Flanders, into which the Archbishop had not inducted some Jansenist.

In the Mendicant Orders Boonen had promoted Jansenism by the bestowal of abundant alms on its adherents and by furthering their petitions in his capacity as a member of the State Council, the Privy Council and the Council of Brabant. Almost all the Abbots who had a seat in the States General had been won over by his tricks, whilst he took advantage of the prevailing jealousy and aversion for the Society of Jesus to foster Jansenism in all the other Orders, none of which, with the exception of the Jesuits, had fought the heresy. No girl entered a convent or took the vows without being questioned on the Jansenist teaching and receiving some booklet in which it is expounded. No one was allowed to preach in the convents who was not affected by the new teaching. The Oratorians were its most dangerous as well as its most effective exponents; they considered it to be the chief duty of their Congregation to lend help to the Bishops in the pastoral ministry and they stood in sharp contrast to the Jesuits; consequently they preached the evil doctrine more openly and more zealously than the rest and they had also done greater harm in these countries. Their exemplary life and their competence in the pulpit greatly helped towards this result. It was generally believed that, more than anyone else, one of their number, Van den Linden, had induced the Archbishop to persevere in his false road and to disobey the Pope. The report goes on to describe how attacks on the Holy See went hand in hand with the spread of Jansenism. The infallibility of the Apostolic See was called in question with the assertion that in questions of fact the Pope might err and that decisions in matters of faith must come from a General Council. It was said that no Roman theologian understood the subtleties of the doctrine of grace; that the Roman clergy was as full of ignorance as the Roman court of vices.

To zeal for Jansenius, his adherents joined intolerance of the exponents of other views. Thus at Louvain, on a solemn occasion, the Dominican Alexander Sebille had put up for a

disputation[1] theses which met with the displeasure of the Jansenists. They succeeded in obtaining a prohibition of the disputation whereupon Sebille appealed to Rome through the internuncio.

As a matter of fact the University of Louvain was the strongest bulwark of Jansenism in Belgium.[2] In its various Colleges it disposed of over six hundred burses, viz. foundations by which poor youths were enabled to take up study.[3] These burses attracted the youths to the Colleges but the Jansenists saw to it that the Presidents of these Colleges were always men of their party. As soon as a President had died and even before his burial, they inducted his successor; in the College of Luxemburg a lawfully elected President was thrown out the very first night. Another means of spreading their views was the allocation of University chairs. There were nine chairs of theology; the King had the right to nominate to four of them,[4] and over these the Jansenists had but little power, but their influence was all the greater with regard to the remaining five, viz. the so-called ordinary chairs which were endowed with thirteen benefices. The right of presentation to these belonged to the city of Louvain and on those occasions the Jansenists almost invariably got in their candidate. To this had to be added the fact that the

[1] *July 1, 1649, *Excerpta*, f. 253, *loc. cit.*; RAPIN, I., 303. On July 15, 1649, the General of the Dominicans approved the theses and ordered their defence under the presidency of Sebille. *Excerpta*, f. 259, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Memorandum (of the Jesuit Schega ?), Appendix to *Mangelli's report of January 17, 1654, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[3] "The University possesses 13 purely theological colleges with over 300 burses, 11 mixed Colleges with over 100 burses, besides 3 Colleges of jurisprudence, 1 of medicine and 3 of humanities and the "trilingue" with their bursaries. The schools have about 800 pupils and with the "domus Standonica" over 200 burses." *Ibid.*

[4] Namely, one for catechetical instruction on Sundays and feast days, one for Holy Scripture and two for scholastic theology. *Ibid.*

examinations in theology and the conferment of theological degrees were wholly in the hands of the so-called Inner Faculty consisting of eight Doctors, each of whom had an income of eight hundred florins. This college of eight completed itself by election whenever a vacancy occurred through death. Thus once the Inner Faculty became Jansenist it was bound to remain so. Lastly the Faculty had the disposal of benefices. All this made it possible for Jansenism to take root within the space of a few years among the nobility, the scholars and even among the common people and the women. Even in the convents of nuns some of the inmates stood by the Holy See and the others, as the expression was, "with St. Augustine." In these houses the chief means of propaganda was the "Catechism of Grace". The consequence was that from a variety of Orders, appeals reached Boonen not to suffer the teaching of Jansenius to be condemned.[1] In this connexion the attempt of the Provincial of the Augustinians, Rivius, to impose Jansenism on all his subjects by barring all influential offices to the party of the opposition, attracted a great deal of attention. But his efforts failed, chiefly owing to the opposition of Michel Paludan, also an Augustinian and a Doctor of Louvain who had also zealously defended the Pope's cause during the period of confusion in the University. The internuncio reported the matter to Innocent X. who settled the dispute through the General of the Augustinians. Rivius made his submission. In 1650 the internuncio was able to write to Rome that among the Augustinians no one dared to stand up for Jansenius and that this example was having a salutary effect on other Orders.[2] Thus the Premonstratensians had at one time been very enthusiastic for Jansenius; eight of their Abbots had requested Boonen to prevent the execution of the Bull;

[1] *Bichi, December 21, 1647, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[2] *The same, August 4, 1650, *ibid.* "Adesso ogni cosa è acquietata [with the Augustinians] e non vi è chi ardisca parlare per il Jansenio, come a lor esempio succede anco in diversi altri ordini religiosi." *Cf.* RAPIN, I., 302; II., 227.

but now a decree of the General Chapter of Verdun forbade the members of the Order to hold the opinions of Jansenius.[1]

How it was possible that teaching so appalling as that of Jansenius could have been hailed with such enthusiasm and held with so much tenacity, is in part explained by a contemporary memorial to the Archbishop of Malines.[2] On the one hand the *Augustinus* of Ypres was believed to represent the teaching of St. Augustine, the greatly venerated Bishop of Hippo. On the other hand a certain vague sentimentality, rather than intellectual reasons, may have attracted people to Jansenius. The author of the memorial referred to above writes as follows: "Two things particularly delight me in Jansenius: the first is that he so greatly exalts St. Augustine and allows himself to be taught by him, for he takes from him a teaching which is singularly calculated to humble man, to take away all reliance on ourselves and to force us to call unceasingly upon Him Who alone is able to heal humanity's wounds. Words fail me to express the delight I derived from the reading of Jansenius and how the truths of a doctrine which humbles us to such a degree, appealed to me far more than all other writings or opinions which deem it excessive that the humble will of man should be the servant of grace, and which, on the contrary, seek to give it the mastery. I quickly perceived that Augustine agrees with the Apostle Paul and I rejoiced like a thirsty man who has found a spring of refreshing water." The writer goes on to say that he could not think that the Pope had any intention of trenching on the teaching of St. Augustine,

[1] **Cod. Preuck.* (without signature), f. 433–7 (Libr. of the Anima, Rome), April 27, 1651. Printed sheet, Ruremond, 1651, *ibid.* On February 15, 1653, Mangelli *reports that the newly appointed Abbot of the Premonstratensians, Robert van Couwerven, of St. Michael's, Antwerp, accepted under oath the Bull of Urban VIII. on December 13, 1652, and on January 21, 1653, commanded his subjects to receive it. *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 37, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] *November 14, 1646, *Excerpta*, a. 1647 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

hence he prayed the Archbishop to do his utmost so that the Bull might remain in abeyance until the Pope should be better informed, for those deceived the Holy See who said or wrote that the writings of Jansenius had given scandal ; the scandal came, on the contrary, from the teaching with which the envy of Jansenius' opponents countered his, as well as from their attempts to belittle him and even to get him out of the way altogether. The opinions of the writer of this memorial were shared by many people. From the lips of devout and learned men the Bishop of Ghent heard that they never wearied of reading Jansenius and that they derived from him a teaching which was the foundation of a solid Christian piety and humility.[1]

On the other hand, the effects of Jansenism on the people appear from a report on the archdiocese of Malines after Boonen's death (in 1655) ; there we read that throughout the archdiocese the exorbitant penances imposed by the Jansenist confessors had driven many families and nearly entire villages into the arms of Calvinism.[2]

(7.)

Although the two Bishops ended by submitting, experience with the Bull of Urban VIII. up till then showed that there was everything to fear in Flanders when, in 1653, Innocent X. published his Bull in which he solemnly condemned the famous five propositions. Even in the Netherlands many people felt the need of such a decision. Thus, a few years earlier the theological Faculty of Douai had presented a memorial to the Inquisition drawing attention to a number of passages

[1] *The Bishop's letter of September 28, 1647, in *Excerpta*, a. 1647 ss., "cuius [Iansenii] tamen lectione se saturari non posse, sed ex illa haurire fundamentalem doctrinam solidae christianae pietatis et humilitatis."

[2] "*Nella sola diocesi di Malines molte e molte familie e quasi villaggi intieri si sono alienati dalla religione catholica." Origine e progressi del Giansenismo, *Barb.* 3383, f. 140, Vatican Library.

in Jansenius' *Augustinus*, on which a decision was sought.[1] At the same time the Bishop of Tournai also prayed for a papal judgment, if not on every one of the controverted opinions of Jansenius, then at least on the more important ones, or at the very least on the thesis of the love of God as a necessary condition for absolution by the priest and on the question whether sufficient grace was given to all men and whether Christ had died for each and all.[2] Thus the Bishop found fault practically with the same points of Jansenius' teaching as were subsequently condemned in Innocent X.'s Bull on the five propositions.

Mangelli received the Bull on July 17th, 1653: he had it reprinted at once at Cologne and on July 31st he dispatched it in every direction. The two rebellious Bishops had to suffer the humiliation to see the Bull addressed not to themselves but, over their heads, to the three Chapters of Malines, Ghent and St. Gudula at Brussels, together with special covering letters.[3] On July 19th the internuncio communicated it to the ailing Archduke; at the same time he requested support by the State in order that it might produce its full effect and to prevent fresh attacks on the Church's immunity and papal inerrancy. Leopold William conceded everything [4]; he promised the assistance of the secular arm and urged the Bishops to see to it that the papal decision was carried into effect.[5]

[1] *May 31, 1649, *ibid.*, 1025, f. 3–6.

[2] **Excerpta* a. 1647 *seqq.*, f. 276, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Excerpta* a. 1653 *seqq.* *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 37, July 31, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[4] *Mangelli, July 19, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] *The same, August 2 and 9, 1653, *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 37, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* *the same, July 26, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* *Edict of the Archduke, August 11, 1653, to the Bishops; they should see to it "que les intentions de Sa Sainteté soient ponctuellement accomplies et les diffinitions et déterminations observées et suivies par les voies et moyens accoutumés et usités en regard des bulles et diffinitions dogmatiques". Mangelli, October 4, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

As a matter of fact the Bull was received everywhere [1]; by some with joy and unqualified submission, by others coldly and with words rather than with conviction.[2] At Malines and Ghent the Bull was promulgated in such fashion that hardly anyone was aware of it; at Brussels and Louvain not even that much was done, so that Mangelli expressed his displeasure; consequently a second publication ensued and all parish priests and religious Superiors received a copy. With the exception of the Jesuits, no member of any Order had a word to say in praise of the Bull; even among the common people the remark could be heard that the five propositions were not Jansenius', or that they had not been condemned as he understood them and that in such questions of fact the Pope was liable to error.[3] This was preached in Louvain by a Dominican and openly stated by a parish priest whilst in the very act of proclaiming the Bull.[4] "Those who were Jansenists before the Bull are likely to remain Jansenists after the Bull," Mangelli wrote.[5]

The internuncio's chief concern in this respect was the University of Louvain. No sooner had Innocent X.'s Bull been published than some of the Doctors prepared to attack it on the plea that not Jansenius but St. Augustine was the author of the five propositions.[6] On August 9th the Bull was

[1] Published in Antwerp, Tournai, Besançon on 30th, Bruges, July 31, Ghent on 1st, Cambrai 18th, Namur 22nd, St.-Omer August 23, Malines September 2, Ypres, no date. Mangelli, October 4, 1653, *ibid.*

[2] *Mangelli, August 16, 1653, *ibid.*

[3] *Mangelli, October 4, 1653, *ibid.*; *cf.* RAPIN, II., 181.

[4] A professor of Louvain, September 23, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] "*Tutte queste cose fanno dubitare ad alcuni, che quasi tutti quelli che erano Janseniani avanti la bolla, continuino ad essere tali doppo la promulgatione di essa." Mangelli, October 4, 1653, *ibid.*

[6] *Mangelli, July 24, 1653, *ibid.* The Louvain professors were encouraged in their objections by the Archbishop of Sens and his pastoral letter (see above, p. 291). RAPIN, II., 178.

indeed published and accepted by Vianen, the Rector; however, not all the Doctors had been convened, but only a few. Others stuck to the five propositions under various pretexts; some said they were not Jansenius', others that they had not been condemned as he understood them, or again since there was question of propositions taught by St. Augustine, the condemnation by the Bull could do no harm whilst some expressed themselves to the effect that only a general Council could pass judgment in such matters.[1] Accordingly, Mangelli suggested to the Archduke to have the Bull registered in the Acts of the University and to order all the Doctors and students to swear to it and that this oath should be taken before a candidate could be admitted to the University. He also gave it as his opinion that so long as Fromond, Sinnich, Vianen, Van Werm and Pontanus were at the University, there would always be reason to fear that the heresy would raise its head anew; hence he kept urging their removal, or at least that of most of them.[2] However, Rome disapproved of such severity: when the men of Louvain saw the submission of the rest, it was thought, they would submit in their turn.[3] The Government were likewise against sharper measures: Jansenism was finished, it was said, the flame must be allowed to die out instead of being fanned afresh.[4]

The University published a decree[5] which described as false the rumours that it defended a condemned opinion. It also stated that it received the condemnation of the five propositions with due reverence, inasmuch as it emanated

[1] *Mangelli, August 6, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.* Some of the professors even made the remark: "che prima si lasciaranno abbrucciare che recedere dalla doctrina di Jansenio." The same, October 4, 1653, *ibid.*

[2] *Mangelli, August 9, 1653, *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 37, Pap. Sec. Arch.; *August 16 and 23, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[3] *Marginal note in Mangelli's report of August 16, 1653: "per hora non cominci con rigore ect." *Ibid.*

[4] *Mangelli, April 4, 1654, *ibid.*

[5] September 29, 1653, *Mangelli, October 4, 1653, *ibid.*

from the Head of the Church and the Father of all Christians, to whom it submitted all its opinions, now as in the past. Not long afterwards it defended itself in a letter to the Pope [1] against the rumours which were being circulated about its own and Fromond's alleged insubordination. In consequence of a thesis containing an offensive clause having been defended on August 18th, Van Werm, Leonardi and Vianen called on the nuncio, on October 18th, for the purpose of offering an apology.[2] On November 3rd the University published Innocent X.'s Bull once more, together with a "splendid" introduction and an order to submit to the papal decision.[3] However, all this did not satisfy the internuncio. The splendid introduction, he said, consisted of leaves and flowers with few fruits, of sonorous words and phrases which offered little that was tangible.[4] The University, he represented to the professors, had so often shown itself rebellious to Urban VIII.'s Bull in books, letters, pamphlets and theses, that it ought to display no less zeal in its obedience, for instance by swearing to the Bull, by revoking what was done in the past, by combating errors; the excuse that all that had been aimed at was to defend St. Augustine he refused to accept.[5] He admonished Fromond in the same strain [6] when the latter informed him, shortly before his death, that he had received the last Bull with gladness.

Meanwhile the University gave no sign of the zeal which was so greatly to be desired. Not a word was said about Jansenius. Mangelli had requested the Jesuits to report to him on the Jansenist movement, but the latter had no information to give.[7] The orthodox professor Dares wrote to the

[1] *October 24, 1653, Appendix to Mangelli's letter of October 25, *ibid.*

[2] *Mangelli, August 23 and October 11, 1653, *ibid.*

[3] *The same, November 15, 1653, *ibid.*

[4] **Ibid.*

[5] *Mangelli, October 11, 1653, *ibid.*

[6] *October 20, 1653, *ibid.*

[7] "*Le materie di Jansenio in Lovanio passano con sommo silentio." This is likewise attested by the Jesuits: "vigilantissimi

internuncio [1] that in former years the University disputations had invariably dealt with questions connected with Jansenius, but for the last seven months his name had not been as much as mentioned, a fact which seemed to him an ominous symptom; he felt quite sure that Jansenius' adherents considered that his book had been unjustly condemned whilst in his teaching they saw simply that of St. Augustine. A memorial of the period [2] expresses the wish, in view of the fact that the theological Faculty properly so called was "an ever flowing spring of errors" at the University, for a thorough cleansing not by demanding an oath—for all too often the Jansenists had nullified such measures by all kinds of interpretations—but by calling the professors to account on the subject of Jansenism and by dismissing the suspects. As a matter of fact the memorial prays for a papal visitation of the University, such as had taken place in 1617.

Mangelli was in complete agreement with these suggestions. As visitors he submitted in Rome the names of the Bishops of Roermond and the Dominican Capello who had just been named Bishop of Antwerp.[3] He also insisted with the Archduke on the need of a visitation and the removal of three or four zealots.[4] However, Rome would not hear of such stern proceedings and even forbade the internuncio all further talk of a visitation.[5]

Mangelli himself ended by admitting [6] that theses had been defended at Louvain which satisfied the orthodox Dominican Sebille and other theologians. This had been done without any reservation, in the sense that the arguments in favour of the

speculatori, li quali dal Provinciale a mia instanza hanno havuto strettissimi ordini in ogni città di avisare, quanto sentono et intendono in simili negotio." Mangelli, February 28, 1654, *ibid.*

[1] *February 17, 1654, *ibid.* Appendix.

[2] By SCHEGA ? (see above, p. 337, n. 2).

[3] *January 17, 1654, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[4] *October 17, 1654, *ibid.*

[5] *Mangelli, January 16, 1655, *ibid.*

[6] *Letter to Cardinal Albizzi, March 13, 1655, *ibid.*

condemned propositions were strongly emphasized whereas those against them were but lukewarmly stated. Undoubtedly the best thing would be if the whole dispute were buried in eternal silence. There were some, however, who never ceased to uphold and to foster the remains of Jansenism. Thus Mangelli, although he had had to make an inquiry into two very equivocal theses of Professor Van Werm.[1]

If Jansenism had struck such deep roots at the University, it is not surprising that the internuncio should have received reports of offensive utterances by a number of parish priests.[2] A few Dominicans also caused him anxiety: against these he sought the intervention of their General,[3] nor was he completely satisfied with regard to the long-standing difficulties with the Augustinians.[4] On the other hand the Professor of theology at Douai, Valentin Randoutt, received a personal Brief, praising him for his services in the Jansenist dispute.[5]

Mangelli naturally watched with special care the attitude of Archbishop Boonen of Malines. Soon after receiving Innocent X.'s Bull, the internuncio was informed from Brussels that Boonen had summoned the Jansenists to council.[6] When at the death of Fromond [7] there was question of an opponent of the Jansenists becoming Dean of St. Peter's at Louvain,[8] Boonen did not at once confirm the nomination. Mangelli kept pressing him on the ground that so long as he did not take some striking and public measure against the Jansenists, the latter would continue to boast that he was their patron. But, as so often before, this time also he was

[1] August 29, 1654, *Mangelli, January 16 and 23, 1655, *ibid.*

[2] *The same, October 25, November 15, December 13, 1653, and January 17, 1654, *ibid.*

[3] *The same, January 17, February 7 and March 7, 1654, *ibid.*

[4] *The same, April 4, 1654, *ibid.*

[5] *March 21, 1654, *Innocentii X. Epist.*, X. (Decio Azzolino secret.), n. 94, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[6] *Mangelli, July 16, 1653, *Nunziat. di Fiandra*, t. 37, *ibid.*

[7] October 27, 1653. Van Caelen died February 1, 1653.

[8] *Mangelli, November 15, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

told that the Bull had been published and had encountered no opposition ; that he had never been a Jansenist and that his only wish had been that Jansenius' work should be purged from its errors.[1] Suspicion also arose out of the Archbishop's failure to intervene, in a case where this would have been necessary.[2] Acting under instructions from Rome, Mangelli demanded from him the punishment of five Jansenist priests, but all he obtained was vague promises.[3] Five drafts for a pastoral letter against the opponents of the Bull were submitted one after another, but Mangelli could not prevail on Boonen to describe the five propositions as the teaching of Jansenius.[4] Thereupon the internuncio began to discuss with the Government the advisability of giving the Archbishop a Coadjutor, a measure from which the authorities were not averse.[5] For the rest Boonen attested on oath [6] that the letter dated September 17th, 1647, and published in 1649, which had led to proceedings being taken against him, had not been written, occasioned, or published by himself, and that he disapproved all that was said in that document against the Pope and the Roman authorities. Previous to this [7] an ordinance of the Inquisition had informed the internuncio that with regard to that letter and anything connected with the two Bishops, the Pope would be satisfied if they received the Bull of Urban VIII. and his own. In this respect, as well as with regard to the decree of the Inquisition of April 23rd, 1654, the Bishop of Ghent made a full submission

[1] *The same, November 29, 1653, *ibid.*

[2] *The same, December 13, *ibid.*

[3] *The same, February 28, March 7 and May 2, 1654, *ibid.*

[4] *The same, May 2, 1654, *ibid.*

[5] *The same, June 20, 1654, *ibid.*

[6] *May 22, 1655, *ibid.*, f. 726 : "quod libellum nunquam fecerimus aut scripserimus, nec unquam scriberemus quod fieret aut scriberetur, quodque eundem multo minus publicaverimus, improbantes proinde omnia, quae libellus iste continet contra auctoritatem S. Sedis aut honorem S. R. E. cardinalium aut officialium dictae curiae."

[7] *October 3, 1654, *ibid.*, f. 606.

whereas Boonen sought to evade doing so by various subterfuges.[1] The Archduke showed great eagerness to root out the new doctrines but the officials acted coldly and were inclined to pity the Archbishop.[2] Vigorous measures were likewise foreign to Leopold William's gentle disposition.[3] From Madrid came the order to cancel the declaration of nullity in the affair of the two Bishops, which the Council of Brabant had pronounced against the Inquisition. A commission consisting of Fuensaldaña, Navarro and Hovyne, was instructed to discuss the matter and the Archduke published an edict dealing with it. A further ordinance granted the help of the secular arm in the execution of the papal Bulls.[4]

If, on the whole, Innocent X.'s Bull met with much less resistance than that of Urban VIII., the circumstance must undoubtedly be ascribed to the energy with which the Pamfili Pope confronted the two Bishops.[5]

As the internuncio attests, in all these interminable quarrels, petty personal jealousies and susceptibilities greatly obscured the real facts. One drawback to the activity of the Society of Jesus in Flanders was that it gave rise to envy and jealousy on the part of some others.[6]

[1] *Mangelli, January 23, 1655, *ibid.* It was the Dominican Capello who had induced the Bishop of Ghent to make his submission. RAPIN, I., 80.

[2] *Mangelli, November 29, 1653, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[3] *" La lenità grande dell'anima, la blandura del suo naturale et costume, la troppa dependenza dai medesimi consegli secondo le instruzzioni di Spagna, non le danno luogo di pensare al rimedio " (Mangelli, October 17, 1654, *ibid.*). *Cf.* above, p. 332, n. 3.

[4] *Edict of February 18, 1654, and *Mangelli, December 13 and 27, 1653, and February 28, 1654, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[5] RAPIN, II., 177.

[6] " *Li Padri della Compagnia hanno fatto e fanno continuamente servitii rilevantissimi alla S. Sede in queste materie, ma l'invidia, l'emulatione et odio di tutte le communità ecclesiastiche e di gran parte dei secolari verso di loro hanno cagionato anco gravissimi danni in simile affare, et il lasciar correre o fomentarsi per ventura la voce che per loro et a loro instanza la S. Sede et

In order rightly to appraise this jealousy as a powerful incentive to the rise and development of Jansenism, it is necessary to take into account the splendid condition of the Society in Flanders just then, as described by the most recent Belgian historian: "Whereas," this writer says, "the secular schools which were called into life in so great a number by the humanists of the Renaissance period, were depressingly empty, the schools of the Order literally teemed with scholars." [1] Since the beginning of the 17th century the Society's intellectual activity "increasingly overshadowed that of the Universities". No longer in the Faculties of the Universities but "in the Colleges and Residences of the Jesuits, scholarship sought and found shelter. Not only did the latter produce the most eminent theologians" as, for instance, Lessius in dogma and morals and the exegetist Cornelius a Lapide, "but there were to be found among them mathematicians such as D'Aiguillon and Gregory of St. Vincent, philologists such as Andrew Schott and scholars like Bollandus, Henschen, Papebroch; they produced the most important historical work of the 17th century, viz. the collection of the *Acta Sanctorum* The versatility of the members of the Society revealed itself even in the artistic sphere in the painter Daniel Seghers, and the excellent architect Huyssens." [2] The works of the popular writer Poirters, "who pressed the enthusiasm, the strength and good-naturedness of the Flemish character into the service of the Catholic faith, are the best products of contemporary Flemish literature as regards originality and vigour." [3] Moreover it is necessary to bear in mind that the few scholars here mentioned are only "the leaders of a whole army of theologians, polemists, pedagogues, preachers, grammarians

i suoi ministri faccino tutto, et il parlare e predicare con qualche difetto e lesione della religiosa carità non lasciano di cagionare dei nocumenti." Mangelli, January 17, 1654, *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[1] PIRENNE, IV., 504.

[2] PIRENNE, 513.

[3] *Ibid.*, 620.

and scholars of every description! The literary output of the Belgian Jesuits from 1600 till about 1650 is truly amazing".[1] However, as Mangelli observed, in human life, good is strangely mixed with evil. Just as but for the splendid revival of religion in France there would have been no Port-Royal,[2] so without the efflorescence of the Society of Jesus in Flanders it is hardly likely that Jansenism would have arisen and won its tremendous successes. The scholars at the Universities deemed themselves injured in their rights when they saw themselves relegated to the second rank, hence they were only too ready to agree when Molina, Suarez, Vasquez were subjected to severe criticism in the works of Jansenius. Once called into being, hatred for the Jesuits became like a shadow dogging the new heresy's every step, like an inseparable companion. A life and death struggle was inevitable.

[1] *Ibid.*, 615. More particulars in A. Poncelet, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, I., Bruxelles, 1927, 490 *seqq*.

[2] See the present work, Vol. XXIX., 67.

CHAPTER VI.

Innocent X.'s Relations with Venice—The Pontifical States—Death of the Pope.

(1.)

Innocent X. had always been a good Italian. On his return from his Spanish nunciature his love for the land of his birth broke out with irresistible force. Though it was night when he reached Rome, he went at once to the window of his palace in order to taste the joy of his home-coming in the contemplation of the Piazza Navona and Pasquino.[1]

As an Italian he strongly resented Spain's tyranny over Naples but during the troubles of 1647 and 1648 he was shrewd enough not to allow himself to be drawn into an undertaking which would have helped the restless, unreliable French, whose power was on the increase, to secure supremacy in Italy instead of the Spaniards.[2] As an Italian he appreciated from the outset of his pontificate the importance of the Republic of Venice and the value for the Holy See of good relations with that still independent Power.

The election of the Pamfili Pope had been hailed with enthusiasm in Venice[3] but, as a preliminary for the establishment of good relations, the Government demanded the restoration under the picture of "Barbarossa and Alexander III." in the Vatican, of the inscription eulogizing Venice which had been removed under Urban VIII. on account of its unhistoric character.[4] So much importance was attached

[1] See G. Giustinian's *report of October 10, 1650 (State Archives, Venice), used by Iusti, II., 166.

[2] See above, p. 86 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso* of September 24, 1644, Arch. Rom., III., 17.

[4] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXIX., 183.

to this measure in Venice that the dispatch of the customary *obbedienza* embassy was made to depend on it.[1] Innocent X. did not feel justified in alienating so powerful a State on account of so trifling a matter; accordingly, in November, 1644, he had the inscription restored. Cardinal Cornaro thanked the Pope in the name of his native city for this "act of justice" and dispatched an account of it to Venice by a special courier, as if there had been question of a great diplomatic triumph.[2] The affair had a regrettable sequel: in December 1644, the prefect of the Papal Secret Archives, Felice Contelori, who had demonstrated the historical inaccuracy of the inscription, lost his post, having fallen a victim to the hatred of the Venetians and the jealousy of his enemies in Rome: however, at a later date he recovered the favour of Innocent X.[3] A special envoy was dispatched to Rome to express the thanks of the Republic of Venice for the restoration of the inscription. The envoy was Angelo Contarini who reached Rome in December 1644. A cortège of eighty carriages escorted him when he drove up for his solemn audience.[4]

The Venetian *obbedienza* embassy was only dispatched on April 1st, 1645. It consisted of Pier Foscarini, Giovanni Nani, Alvise Mocenigo and Bertuccio Valiero. It repaired amid great display to a consistory held in the Sala Regia. Its reception could not have been more cordial,[5] but the Pope did not neglect to urge the envoys to see to it that the Signoria ceased from encroaching on the Church's jurisdiction

[1] See *Lettera intorno a l' iscrizione rimessa da P. Innocenzo X. nella Sala Regia, *Barb.* 5653, p. 27 *seqq.* Vat. Libr.

[2] See Savelli's *report of November 19, 1644, State Arch., Vienna. *Cf.* BELTRANI in *Arch. Rom.*, III., 17 *seqq.* A Latin *epigram of Gregorius Portius "De inscriptione in aula regia Vaticana suo loco et Venetis restituta ab Innocentio X. P.M." in *Ottob.* 2434, p. 113, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Arch. Rom.*, III., 19 *seqq.*

[4] Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, III., 18, 25.

[5] BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 45 *seqq.*

and immunity in its territory.[1] The nomination of an ordinary Venetian ambassador at the Curia took place on September 18th, 1645.[2] The post was entrusted to Alvise Contarini. As early as March 1645, Innocent X. had appointed Angelo Cesi, Bishop of Rimini, as nuncio to the City of the Lagoons, with special instructions to see to it that the good relations should get increasingly better now that peace had been re-established in consequence of the restoration of the inscription.[3]

The task was a particularly difficult one, for Venice stuck to its peculiar politico-ecclesiastical system whilst simultaneously making heavy demands on the Pope when, in the summer of 1645, rivalry for preponderance in the eastern section of the Mediterranean involved the Republic in a tremendous struggle with the Osmanli. The Turks' attack on Crete (Candia) was a matter of life and death for the City of the Lagoons for if she lost the few *points d'appui* which she still possessed there for her trade with the Levant, the last source of the wealth she had hitherto enjoyed would be dried up. Consequently the Republic exerted itself to its utmost to secure victory in this decisive struggle. The Turks, on their part, did not lag behind their old adversaries. Thus began a war of twenty-five years, fought by land and by sea and with varied fortune.[4]

As on former occasions, so now, the Venetians looked for help from outside, but feeling was everywhere against them. People thought it strange that Venice should expect the whole of Christendom to rally to its defence seeing that the Venetians

[1] See *Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia of October 14, 1645, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 65.

[3] See *Istruttione al Vescovo di Rimini per Venezia, dated March 11, 1645, Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome, Istruz., II. The *credentials bear the date, March 2, 1645.

[4] HAMMER, III., 259 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 570 *seq.*, 730 *seq.* ROMANIN, VII. (1859), 358 *seqq.*; L. BOSCHETTO, *Come fu aperta la guerra di Candia*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, XXXV., 1 (1913); JORGA, IV. (1911), 42 *seq.*

themselves had refused to lend help to others when in the same distress, as for instance, the Knights of Malta.[1]

In the days of Pius V., besides the Holy See, Spain had come to the rescue of Venice. This time also Philip IV. did not shut his eyes to the peril that threatened from the East, and though at war with France he sent a subsidy to Venice.[2] But a league of the Great Catholic Powers was out of question. French troops were fighting not only Spain but the Emperor also, and that on German soil, so that there remained only the Italian States and the Knights of Malta who were themselves more directly threatened.[3]

Innocent X., who had dispatched munitions and troops to Malta and Dalmatia already in March 1645,[4] entertained for a while the idea of forming an Italian league, but the plan failed owing to Venice's distrust, for in that city other motives were suspected behind the Pope's proposals.[5] On the other hand the Pope's offer of five galleys and 2,000 men was gratefully accepted. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Viceroy of Naples on their part were to furnish another five galleys each.[6] The Republic of Genoa, whose co-operation the Pope had likewise requested, made impossible conditions.[7] The Knights of Malta, though they were under an express obligation to fight the infidels, showed but little inclination

[1] See Grémonville's report in DARU, *Hist. de Venise*, IV., 525 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* GRIMALDI, *Le trattative per una pacificazione fra la Spagna ed i Turchi in relazione con i interessi veneziani durante i primi anni della guerra di Candia* (1645–1651), Venezia, 1913.

[3] A **Parenesi o invito ai principi d'Italia contro il Turco*, 1646, in *Cod. N.*, III., 69, p. 103 *seqq.* of the Chigi Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* B. DAL POZZO, *Hist. della s. religione . . . detta di Malta*, II., Venezia, 1715, 105, 111; A. VALIERO, *Guerra di Candia*, Venezia, 1679, 119.

[5] A. BERNHARDY, *Venezia e il Turco nella seconda metà del Sec. XVII.*, Firenze, 1902, 20 *seq.*

[6] GUGLIELMOTTI, *La squadra ausiliaria* (1883), 12 *seqq.*, 18.

[7] NANI, *Storia Veneta*, II., Venezia, 1679, 49. *Cf.* the *Brief of July 12, 1645, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

to come to Venice's assistance. They were also unwilling to fall in with the Pope's demand that, with a view to avoiding all disputes, the auxiliary fleet should put to sea under the banner of the Holy See.[1]

On May 4th, 1645, the Pope named Niccolò Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino, commander-in-chief of the fleet.[2] The papal ships were ready at the appointed time, but not so those of the Maltese. Giovan Battista Gori Pannelini, the Inquisitor of Malta, who also acted as papal nuncio on the island, only prevented with the utmost difficulty the indefinite postponement of the Knights' co-operation.[3] As it was, their delays caused the loss of two precious months. At length, at the beginning of August, Gori Pannelini secured the dispatch of six galleys which joined those of the Pope, of Tuscany and of the Viceroy of Naples, on August 21st; on the 29th they effected their junction with the Venetian Grand Fleet at Corfu.[4] Meanwhile bad news had come from Candia. On August 22nd, after a glorious defence, the fortress of Canea had fallen. The Pope, who was informed of the disaster about mid-September,[5] had granted to the Venetians, at the beginning of August, a subsidy of 100,000 scudi to be raised from Church property within the territory of the Republic; he had likewise sent help to the Knights of Malta [6] and dispatched war material to Ragusa.[7] The Venetian ambassador, Alvise Contarini, now suggested a league of the Catholic princes, a proposal which led the Pope to study the negotiations which had ended in the formation of such a

[1] P. Piccolomini, Corrispondenza fra la corte di Roma e l'inquisitore di Malta durante la guerra di Candia, 1645–1669, Firenze, 1908, 6, 10 *seq.*

[2] Guglielmotti, 14 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Piccolomini, *loc. cit.*, 12.

[5] *Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia, September 16, 1645, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] *Bull.*, XV., 397, 400.

[7] See *Brief to Ragusa, September 12, 1645, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

coalition under Pius V.[1] But the present situation was a very different one. The crusading spirit, which was still alive then, was almost completely dead now[2]; the Catholic Powers were hopelessly estranged from each other, and the irresolute and exceedingly parsimonious Innocent X. was no Pius V. The request of Venice for increased subsidies were met by him with the promise that he would do what was possible in view of the restricted means of the Holy See; but of what use was it if he gave them yet another ship? Venice should appeal to Spain and France; Pius V. had also availed himself of foreign help in his crusade.[3] In November the Pope, to whom the defence of the coasts of the Papal States occasioned considerable expenditure,[4] gave leave to Venice to raise troops in the territory of the Church. At the same time he did his best to hasten the peace negotiations at Münster and addressed an urgent appeal to the King of Poland, pressing him to mobilize the Cossacks against the Turks.[5] Finally he wrote to the Shah of Persia[6] from whom he looked for an attack on Bagdad. On November 20th the Pope examined with the Cardinals what could be done in order to obtain help for Venice from the Catholic Powers.[7] But there was little to hope for from that quarter. France and Spain were irreconcilable enemies, bent on injuring each other, to the exclusion of every other consideration. When the Signoria pressed the Spanish ambassador to work

[1] See *Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia of September 23, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[2] See *Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia of February 2, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *instructions in code to the Venice nuncio, A. Cesi, of October 14 and 21 and November 4, 1645, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] **Avviso* of September 15, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Cifre al Nuntio di Venezia of November 11 and 18, 1645, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Brief of January 30, 1646, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch. As no reply came another *Brief was issued on August 31, 1647, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* *Acta consist., *Barb.* 2918, P. 1, Vat. Lib.

at least for an armistice at sea, so that France might be free to help Venice with all her might, the latter rejected the suggestion with the remark that he was not in the least surprised that France should take up the cause of Venice with so much enthusiasm and even seek to win over Spain for that purpose seeing that the French King was about to lay siege to Tarragona, for in these circumstances nothing could be more welcome to him than that the Spanish fleet should be prevented from relieving that town.[1] The French ambassador in Venice, Grémonville, was of opinion that Spain was playing false when she protested her willingness to join a league against the Turks, for her real object was none other than to exploit the forces thus brought together in her own interest by turning them against France. Grémonville also recalled the Venetians' jealousy of France and their selfishness: "If we found ourselves in the straits in which they are at present," he wrote, "and we had need of them as they need us, they would not give help for nothing, but would know how to get some advantage out of it." [2]

These representations were approved by Mazarin. Though towards the end of 1645 the Cardinal secretly provided the Venetians with 100,000 French thalers, of which not even Grémonville knew whether they were meant as a loan or as a present,[3] the liberality of the French minister probably had no other object than to win over the Republic for his anti-Spanish plans in Italy.[4] As for Spain, towards the end of 1645 rumours were current that discussions were on foot for a separate treaty with the Porte, with the reciprocal obligation of not making war against each other. Rome refused to believe that the Catholic King could act in such a way, and expressed the severest disapproval. The suspicion that the Pope approved these negotiations was indignantly denied in

[1] See ZINKEISEN, IV., 575 *seq.*

[2] DARU, *Hist. de Venise*, IV., 526.

[3] DARU, *Hist. de Venise*, IV., 524.

[4] *Cf.* BATTISTELLA'S observations on G. ZULIAN, *Le relazioni tra il card. G. Mazzarino e Venezia*, Venezia, 1909/11, in *Riv. Stor.*, XXX., 193 *seqq.*

a dispatch of the Secretary of State, dated December 2nd, 1645, to the nuncio at Venice.[1] On October 30th, 1645, the Italian fleet was back in its home port. Though it had achieved

[1] " *Ma quando ciò fusse vero, che sia succeduto senza alcuna partecipatione di Sua Beat^ne^, è vero come qualsivoglia articolo di fede, e quando la Santità Sua non fusse in obligo di detestare una simile risolutione, come capo della Chiesa, sarebbe stato forzato a farlo per il mero interesse politico, poichè quando il Re Cattolico si togliesse fuori della difesa comune contro il Turco, li Stati della Chiesa resterebbero facilissimamente preda delle forze Turchesche. Oltre mille altre ragioni, che si potriano addurre per levare dalla mente altrui un così spropositato sospetto . . ." (Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia, December 2, 1645, Papal Sec. Arch. BROSCH (I., 412) writes : " The Pope's relations with the Republic were bound to be profoundly troubled when the Signoria ascertained that Innocent was working on the court of Madrid with a view to inducing Spain to conclude a separate peace with Turkey, thereby securing the coast of Naples and that of the Papal States from Turkish attack. The plan aimed at the complete isolation and abandonment of Venice. A Pope who could thus deal with the Republic whilst it was at war with the infidels, could hardly expect anything from the latter except distrust and embitterment." By way of proof Brosch adds as a footnote : " The affair came to the knowledge of the Venetian ambassador in Rome through Cardinal Colonna. " Io mostrai," Giustinian writes, " di non poter credere pratiche si empie da Ministri Pontificii, et meno dal papa stesso ; ma replicò Colonna, che sono pur troppo vere." Dispatch from Rome, November 27, 1649. Venet. Arch. : *Inquisitori di St., Dispaccio dagli Amb^ori^ a Roma*, 1628–1649. In the present instance it is possible to demonstrate irrefutably where BROSCH's favourite exploitation of prejudiced Venetian embassy reports leads him to. So far from countenancing Spain's intentions of taking advantage of Venice's difficulties in so indefensible a fashion (*cf.* ZINKEISEN, IV., 813 *seq.*), Innocent X. did everything in his power to dissuade Philip IV. and his ministers from such a course. On November 13, 1649, the following *instructions, in code, were dispatched by the Secretariate of State to the nuncio in Venice : Da Msgr Nuntio in Spagna si continuano le rimostranze a quella Maestà e ministri contro le proposte dello ambasciatore Turco in essecutione degli ordini di Sua Beat^ne^, che li rinoverà con

nothing,[1] Innocent X. was willing to send it out in the following year.[2] In December he had given permission for the raising of troops by Venice up to 8,000 men. Further enrolments he declined at first on the ground that he himself needed soldiers for the defence of the coasts of the Pontifical States, but subsequently he allowed them in the neighbourhood of Rome.[3]

efficacia sempre maggiore in adempimento della pastorale sua cura e della paterna dilettione verso cotesta Republica, come da qui acclusa copia di cifra del medesimo Msgr. Nuntio Ella vedrà (*Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, p. 160). The *Cifra of the Spanish nuncio, dated Madrid, October 9, 1649, is as follows: "Anche dopo la partenza di S. M^tà^ ho continuato di rappresentare a questi sig^ri^ del Consiglio di Stato le ragioni per le quali stimavo non convenire che per alcun modo si desse orecchie alle proposte dell'ambasciatore Turco, procurando specialmente di far conoscere che non erano tali che potessero accettarsi senza comprendervi gli altri principi christiani e senza prima udirne i sentimenti e particolarmente il N^ro^ Signore, e che, quando ciò si fusse lasciato da parte, sarebbe con gravissimo danno di essi et hora massimamente della Repubblica di Venetia; il che ripugnarebbe anche al presupposto fermissimo di Sua Maestà di non esser mai per consentire ad alcun trattato di cui potesse risultar pregiudizio benchè minimo alla christianità" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 99, p. 158). On November 27, 1649, the Secretary of State once more wrote to the nuncio in Venice as follows: "A Msgr Nuntio in Spagna non vi è ordinario nel quale non se gli replichino ordini efficaci in adempimento del desiderio di cotesti signori circa i negotiati dell'ambasciatore Turco; e V. S. potrà di nuovo vederne accresciuti gli effetti nell'acclusa copia di lettera, che se le invia, di Msgr Nuntio sudetto; al quale s'inviarà pur di nuovo il proseguire et accrescer sempre più il calore et la premura delle instanze in beneficio della Republica" (*ibid.*, 161^b^), Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Cf.* ROMANI, VII., 306; GUGLIELMOTTI, 25–39; PICCOLOMINI, 12 *seq.*

[2] *Cifra al nuntio di Venezia, January 27, 1646, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *Instructions, in code, to the Venice nuncio of December 2, 9, 23, 30, 1645, and January 27 and February 24, 1646, *ibid.*

On February 24th, 1646, Pier Foscarini arrived in Rome as extraordinary envoy of Venice for the purpose of requesting the Pope, jointly with the ambassador Alvise Contarini, to raise the number of the pontifical ships and soldiers, and to grant large sums of money, especially to the King of Poland, to enable the latter to raise a force of Cossacks. The Pope explained that he would do his best, but that he too was short of money. He ended by granting 30,000 scudi to the Polish King,[1] and saw to it that his galleys were ready to put to sea by the end of April 1646, from Civitavecchia. A delay was caused by Ludovisi falling ill. His place was taken by Alessandro Zambeccari. Towards the end of May the Pope's ships and those of the Knights of Malta effected their junction with the Venetian fleet.[2] The galleys hitherto provided by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Viceroy of Naples were missing this time in consequence of Mazarin's attack on the Spaniards in Italy.

The operations of 1646 against the Turks were also unsuccessful, for the new Venetian Captain General, the weak and irresolute septuagenarian Giovanni Capello, was unequal to his task. On October 23rd, Zambeccari returned to Civitavecchia ; he died on December 21st, 1646.[3]

Already in the summer of 1646 the Venetian ambassador, Contarini, had pressed the Pope to come to the assistance of the Republic ; he was told that his demands were impossible.[4] He continued to urge his request during the first months of 1647, though on September 19th, 1646, the Pope had allowed Venice to raise a tenth to the amount of 400,000 scudi.[5] Innocent pointed out that he had to spend 40,000 scudi a month on his army, and to assist the Irish and the King of Poland. Not for lack of goodwill, but because the thing was

[1] See the *instructions, in code, to the Venice nuncio, March 3, 10, 17, and April 7, 1646, *ibid.*

[2] Guglielmotti, 44 *seq.*

[3] Zinkeisen, IV., 756 ; Guglielmotti, 50 *seqq.*, 66.

[4] *Cifra al Nuntio di Venezia, of July 21, 1646, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Bull.*, XV., 478.

utterly impossible, he was unable to provide the soldiers and the money which the ambassador demanded at every audience. He had dispatched a thousand men for the protection of Dalmatia, so that he was left with from 5,000 to 6,000 men to guard the coasts of the Pontifical States.[1] This time also the papal ships put to sea at the end of May, and together with those of the Knights of Malta, joined the Venetian armada now under the command of Battista Grimani. For three months Grimani blockaded the Turkish fleet commanded by Fasli Pasha, in the harbour of Chios, and only when the advanced season rendered a longer stay in those rough waters impossible, did Fasli Pasha succeed in escaping from that harbour and in reaching Crete with 87 galleys. Grimani, who at once set out in pursuit, could not follow quickly enough with his heavily manned ships to prevent the Pasha's landing, so he had to be content with maintaining his winter station near the island of Standia from where he dominated the harbour of Candia. In this way he was in a position to prevent the provisioning of the fortress from the sea.[2]

Notwithstanding the Pope's liberality, nuncio Angelo Cesi had had repeatedly to complain of various infringements of ecclesiastical immunity on the part of Venice.[3] When Cesi died, on September 20th, 1646, Innocent X., on December 6th, 1646, appointed the Archbishop of Pisa, Scipio Pannochieschi d'Elce, as his successor.[4] The new nuncio experienced a

[1] See the *instructions, in code, to the new nuncio to Venice, Scipione Pannochieschi, of January 12 and 26, February 2 and 9, March 30, April 6 and 13, 1647, *loc. cit.*

[2] ZINKEISEN, IV., 784 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 73 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* *Cifre al Cesi, of August 26 and September 30, 1645, *Nunziat. di Venezia*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] See MOLMENTI, *Venezia nella metà del sec.*, XVII., in *Atti dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 5 series, XXV. (1916/17), 187 *seqq.*; there, on p. 192 *seq.*, the Instruction of December 19, 1646, stressing the Pope's interest in the Turkish war. The *acts of Pannochieschi's nunciature, 3 parts, in the State Archives, Venice; " *Diarium nunciaturae apud Venetos, 1646/52, in *Vat.* 10423, Vatican Library.

grievous interference with the Church's immunity soon after his entry upon office.[1] In September 1647, it was felt in Rome, that though Venice was for ever making fresh demands for help in its war against the Turks, the city failed in the regard due to the Pope.[2] This referred not only to the circumstance that the Government was slow in making up its mind to refuse its protection to certain apostate religious who were writing against the Pope,[3] and that when it did so at last, it was done most inadequately, but likewise to the fact that fresh demands were being made in regard to episcopal appointments within the territory of the Republic. The Signoria demanded that proposals for vacant sees should only be made in consistory by Venetian Cardinals. This the Pope could not concede ; accordingly the sees remained vacant.[4] The conflict became particularly acute when, on January 18th, 1648, Giovanni Giustinian took over the post of ambassador in Rome. His predecessor, on retiring from office, had given him the sound advice that Venice should avoid ecclesiastical disputes as much as possible, for even those Cardinals and prelates who were most favourably disposed towards the Republic, had bitterly complained of its conduct in this respect.[5] Giustinian took no notice of this advice, and in August, 1648, the Secretary of State had to complain of his pretensions.[6] In such questions as trenched on secular interests, Giustinian pursued a policy which was admirably characterized by the Secretary of State, on December 5th, 1649. In such cases, he said, the Venetians invariably professed complete ignorance and insisted on the need of investigating the affair in question ; by this means

[1] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, February 23, 1647, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, September 14, 1647, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Cifra of May 2, 1648, *ibid.*

[3] *Cifre al Pannochieschi, November 9, December 14, 1647, *ibid.*

[4] *Cifre al Pannochieschi, October 11, December 14, 1647, May 23, July 18, 1648, *ibid.*

[5] Berchet, *Roma*, II., 79.

[6] *Cifre al Pannochieschi, August 29, September 5 1648, *loc. cit.*

they sought to gain time, so that the affair might fall into oblivion. Giustinian, the Secretary of State added, was for ever demanding fresh concessions, and when the Pope remarked that he had granted a great many and only got fine promises in return, the ambassador would display all his eloquence to demonstrate the contrary. However, His Holiness was well acquainted with the true state of affairs.[1]

The tension between Rome and Venice was not eased by the circumstance that, in consequence of the war of Castro, the papal fleet was unable to show itself in the Levant in 1649 and 1650, because it was needed for the protection of the jubilee pilgrims.[2] On the other hand, in July 1649, Innocent granted Venice another subsidy from ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of 100,000 scudi.[3] The value of these concessions must appear all the greater inasmuch as the dispute over the appointment to vacant sees was still unsettled, whilst by his false reports Giustinian was doing what in him lay to poison mutual relations,[4] so much so that in August the Secretary of State formally accused him of duplicity.[5] In November the ambassador's double-dealing was revealed afresh.[6] Though he had the effrontery to assert that Innocent X. held him in the highest esteem,[7] with a view of putting the Pope in the wrong, Giustinian would assert from time to time that Venice also had made concessions; but when he did so he was invariably told that if a man restored part of what he had stolen he had not made adequate satisfaction.[8] When in July 1650, Giustinian lamented the misfortunes of Venice in the war, the Pope told him that he

[1] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, December 5, 1649, *ibid.*

[2] GUGLIELMOTTI, 106 *seqq.* There, 73 *seqq.*, on the campaign of 1647.

[3] *Bull.*, XV., 638 *seq.*

[4] *Cifre al Pannochieschi, December 19, 1648, January 2, May 22, June 5, July 10, 1649, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, August 28, 1649, *ibid.*

[6] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, November 13, 1649, *ibid.*

[7] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, December 11, 1649, *ibid.*

[8] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, February 19, 1650, *ibid.*

too regretted them, but that perhaps God was punishing the Republic for its numerous encroachments on the Church's immunity, and that it was a grievous wrong to prevent the episcopal sees of the mainland and in Dalmatia from being filled because of alleged rights for which there was no foundation whatever. When Giustinian observed that it might be possible to compromise on this question, Innocent replied sharply that nothing would induce him to tolerate any restriction of the full liberty of the Church. After this remark he proceeded to complain of the ingratitude of the Republic.[1] On this point Innocent remained unshaken, however much Giustinian pressed him to yield. A general sigh of relief went up when the ambassador was recalled in November 1651.

Giustinian, who at his farewell audience demanded and obtained a number of favours, showed his gratitude by openly declaring that on his return to Venice he would do his worst against Rome; he even went so far as to remark that the Republic would have no peace until all priests were driven from its territory; this statement someone countered with the remark that in that case the Republic should also turn out all Catholics.[2]

[1] *Cifra al Pannochieschi, July 16, 1650, *ibid.*

[2] See *Cifra al Nuntio in Venezia, a dì due decembre 1651. "Il signor ambasciatore Giustiniani in questi ultimi giorni della sua dimora in Roma, ha in molti luoghi, nei quali gli è accaduto parlare, con maniere sopra modo disconvenienti, a segno di dire, che ritornato egli costà, era per operare sempre il peggio che havesse potuto negli affari di Roma, e nelle materie ecclesiastiche avrebbe ciò procurato con ogni sforzo possibile, e che in somma era per esser costì sempre un altro procuratore da Pesaro: anzi è fin giunto alcuna volta a dire che la Repubblica non farà mai cosa di profitto, se la Repubblica non manda fuori del suo dominio tutti gli ecclesiastici; il qual concetto havendo in molti partorito estremo scandalo, ha ancora indotto qualchuno a rispondere, che era bene ancora cacciare i cattolici. Il signor ambasciatore non ha con tutto ciò lasciato di supplicar nella sua partenza Sua Beatitudine molte grazie, di gran parte delle quali ha voluto Sua Beatitudine compiacerlo, perchè nella profusione della sua

Under Giustinian's successor, Niccolò Sagredo, Innocent X. granted, in the autumn of 1653, the raising of a tenth from the Venetian clergy, and a fresh subsidy of 100,000 scudi from ecclesiastical property, for the prosecution of the war of defence against the Turks.[1] However, no improvement ensued in the ecclesiastical policy of Venice. One Order, which had rendered the highest services to the Church, and which, for that reason, had had praise and favours showered upon it by the Popes, viz. the Society of Jesus, continued to be banished from the territory of the Republic.[2] The Inquisition had only a semblance of existence and only dealt with trifling matters, yet all the time the purity of the faith was constantly in danger in the City of the Lagoons owing to the circumstance that, for purposes of trade, many Protestants, as well as other persons suspected of heresy, were allowed to reside there. The extent of the Signoria's toleration may be gauged from the fact that it conceded to the Protestants burial places in Catholic cemeteries.[3]

benignità apparisca quanto disconvenga l'uso di una si mala corrispondenza" (*Nunziat di Venezia*, 70, p. 186b, Papal Sec. Arch.). Giustinian's two reports, which BROSCH adopts uncritically, contain so many unfair judgments that RANKE (III., 176*) questions their genuineness. Ranke's statement that they are not to be found in the Venetian State Archives, is erroneous; see BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 85.

[1] *Bull.*, XV., 722 *seqq.*, 736 *seqq.* For the plan, at first enthusiastically taken up both by Sagredo and by Innocent X. and subsequently dropped, of enrolling crusaders for Venice's war from all the Franciscan convents, see VALIERO, 321 *seqq.*; WADDING, *Ann. Ord. Min.*, 1654; ZINKEISEN, IV., 819. *Cf. ibid.*, 823, on the unsuccessful plan of the Capuchin Antonio Maria di Raita of collecting money for Venice in Germany.

[2] A *Cifra of March 24, 1646, instructed the Venice nuncio to work for the return of the Jesuits, though not at first in the Pope's name; *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 70, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Cf.* the interesting report addressed to the brother of nuncio Pannochieschi in MOLMENTI, *loc. cit.*, 219 *seqq.*

(2.)

From the first days of his pontificate the situation in the States of the Church had caused grave anxiety to Innocent X.[1] His first care was to get rid of the foreign soldiers whom Urban VIII. had recruited for the war of Castro, for these men had become a heavy burden on the country. To this must be added yet another inheritance of the preceding pontificate, namely, the oppressive taxation which the Pope was unable to relieve to the extent he would have wished because, notwithstanding the greatest economy, his financial situation continued unfavourable; in fact he saw himself compelled to incur a fresh debt to the amount of three million scudi.[2] In view of the fact that the rising in Naples in the summer of 1647 might easily spread to the Pontifical States, the Pope planned a lowering of taxation, and in order to make up for the loss of revenue it was decided to reduce the rate of interest of some of the *Monti* from 7 to 4½ per cent.[3] But even this measure proved no remedy for his financial straits. Like his predecessor, Innocent also left his successor debts which amounted to 48 million scudi. The motives which led to so heavy a burden being laid on the State were all to the honour of Innocent X., as they had been to that of his predecessors, apart from the sums wasted on the nephews. The Popes could not decline the duty of supporting the Catholic Powers in the religious struggles of the 16th and 17th centuries, and especially in the wars against the Turks, with money, troops and ships. From their predecessors

[1] Innocent X. confirmed on December 16, 1644, Pius V.'s Constitution on the inalienability of the Papal States; *cf. Bull.*, XV., 333.

[2] *Cf.* the reports of A. Contarini and G. Giustinian in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 74 *seq.*, 153; PALLAVICINO, I., 302; RANKE, III., 70; BROSCH, I., 413 *seq.*, who overlooks MORONI's data (LXXIV., 304). A **avviso* of February 4, 1645, already mentions measures of economy at the palace (Papal Sec. Arch.).

[3] BROSCH, I., 414. On the *monti*, *cf.* COPPI, *Discorso sulle finanze*, 16.

they had inherited the obligation of acting, in conjunction with Venice, as an advanced post of Christendom in Italy against the traditional enemy in the East. France, but more particularly Poland, Hungary, the Emperor, and even more than all these, Venice, demanded and received large sums of money. All the victims of persecution and spoliation in the countries of the South invariably first turned to the Popes, and as a rule they were given generous assistance.[1]

It was a calamity for everybody when in 1647, and even more so in 1648, the failure of the crops caused great scarcity and want. To this was added an inundation of the Tiber in March 1646,[2] and an even more disastrous one on December 6th, 1647, which did heavy damage.[3] The Pope, who was at all times concerned for the welfare of his subjects,

[1] *Cf.* with this opinion of DÖLLINGER (*Kirche und Kirchen*, 539 *seq.*), also RANKE, I., 422.

[2] See **Avviso* of March 24, 1646, which refers to the Pope's care of the poor, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Cf.* Servantius, **Diaria*, who writes: "Fuerunt factae diversae provisiones ad succurrendum oppressis de necessariis alimentis, in quo multum studuerunt religiosiores Urbis praelati et praecipue Camerae clerici de ordine Papae, qui naviculis pluries regiones, praecipue Lungariae et Burgi, aliasque transfretaverunt et alimonia omnibus praebebant; maiordomus Papae aptari iussit molendinum palatii Vaticani, nullum enim aliud moliri poterat, et triticum sine intermissione moliri ad distribuendam farinam fornariis; et aliae provisiones necessariae factae fuerunt; D. etiam card. Pamphilius transcurrit navicula per regionem Turris novae Ripettae et alias iuxta opus. Spectaculum fuit miserrimum, maxime eorum, qui extra Urbem domunculis rusticis morabantur, qui in quantitate non parva perierunt." Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* DENIS, I., 97 *seq.*; FORCELLA, XIII., 221; *Savelli's *report of December 7, 1647, State Archives, Vienna; *Diary in *Cod.* 93–46 of the Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome. *Cod.* H. II., 43, of the Chigi Library in Rome has this passage, p. 122 *seq.*: "*Dell'antica navigazione del fiume Tevere e del modo da restituirsi. Discorso di Msgr. Bernardino abbate Biscia Romano presentato alla Stà di Innocenzo X., dedicato al card. Camillo Pamphilio, decembre 1653."

though all too often he was badly served by his officials,[1] did his utmost to alleviate the general misery. His alms to the poor were more generous than ever, and he bought grain for Rome wherever it could be had, with his own money.[2] How difficult this proved at times was shown by an incident which occurred at Fermo in the summer of 1648. Though there also bread was lacking, the vice-governor, the Milanese Uberto Maria Visconti, was freighting a grain ship for Rome. This operation was opposed by a section of the population; a mutiny ensued, the Government buildings were sacked and the vice-governor killed. Thereupon troops were dispatched to Fermo and the culprits sternly punished.[3] The terror thus created stopped any inclination to rebellion in other parts of the Papal States; Perugia alone took up a threatening

[1] DENIS, *passim*. See also BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 54 *seqq.*, also NAUDÉ in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1899, 476.

[2] See the very scarce work by F. F. MANCINI: *Compendio della vita ed azioni di P. Innocenzo X.*, 4. *Cf. Bull.*, XV., 591. Also "*Provedimenti per alimentare il popolo Romano nella carestia del 1648", *Barb.* 3206, Vat. Libr., which gives interesting details on the organization of private relief for the 5,000 or so destitute families of Rome. On the heavy expenditure which the Pope was compelled to incur already in 1647, owing to the prevailing want in Rome, see Savelli's *report of September 12, 1648, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also Albizzi's *letter to Chigi, dated Rome, May 2, 1648, *Cod.* A. III., 55, Chigi Library, Rome, and the *Diary in *Cod.* 93–46 of the Doria-Pamfili Archives in Rome.

[3] See BISACCIONI, *Hist. d. guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi*, II., Venezia, 1653, 198–208, and GUALDO, *Historia*, 149 *seq.* RANKE (III., 175*) refers to a **Memoriale presentato alla S^tà^ di N.S. Innocenzo X. dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648*, but does not state where the MS. is kept. I have not been able to find it. CIAMPI (52 and 396) quotes a document in the State Archives, Rome, in connexion with this. *Cf.* also Giustinian's *dispatches quoted by BROSCH (I., 415) (State Archives, Venice), and DENIS, 176, 182 *seq.* In 1653 a fresh rising occurred at Fermo; see DE ROSSI, **Istoria*, *Vat.* 8873, Vatic. Libr.

attitude, but the population ended by allowing itself to be calmed without the use of harsh measures.[1]

Fresh troubles arose in consequence of the suppression of the rising in Naples from whence individual bands fled into the States of the Church, from which they made predatory irruptions into Neapolitan territory. Even Rome beheld some sinister figures from the southern kingdom. They found protection with the French ambassador who extended the right of asylum to the neighbouring houses, where hundreds of "Masanielli", as they were called, could be seen.[2] Grave troubles were subsequently occasioned by the conduct of Spanish recruiting agents which led to bloody encounters in the jubilee year of 1650.[3]

Such incidents were bound to cause particular pain to a man like Innocent X. whose ambition it was to preserve tranquillity and order in Rome, and not to tolerate any oppression of the weak by the strong.[4] It was felt as a public benefit when Innocent X. proceeded to compel the Barons to pay their debts. The worst offender in this respect was the youthful Duke of Parma, Ranuccio Farnese II., who refused to satisfy the creditors of his Roman loan bank (*Monti Farnesi*), the funds of which were based on the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. This action caused serious suffering to many pious institutions, and to many widows and orphans.[5] Innocent X. was averse to warlike undertakings,[6] hence he

[1] Brosch, I., 416, after Giustinian's *dispatches.

[2] Iusti, II., 165.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 183.

[4] See A. Contarini in Berchet, *Roma*, II., 69; Ranke, III., 30; also Ciampi, 108 *seq.* To preserve Rome from the plague, which was doing great havoc at Bologna (see inscription in Keyssler, II., 494), severe measures were taken in 1652; see **Editti*, V., 61, p. 99 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] See Deone (Ameyden) in Ranke, III., 30. *Cf.* also **Acta consist.*, of July 19, 1649, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] "*S. Stà, la quale è alienissima dalla guerra e per propria natura e per la quiete d'Italia" (Savelli on July 10, 1649), State Arch., Vienna. *Cf.* *Deone (Ameyden) on July 17, 1649: "Il

hesitated a long time before taking action, though Ranuccio's conduct was most provoking, even in purely ecclesiastical matters.[1] Whilst, as was his custom, the Pope was still considering the situation, the murder took place, on March 18th, 1649, of the newly appointed Bishop of Castro, the splendid Barnabite Cristoforo Giarda. On March 24th the Pope excommunicated the assassin and his accomplices and offered a reward of 3,000 scudi, a sum soon raised to 5,000 scudi, for the discovery of the criminals. Suspicion fell on Sansone Asinelli, by whose instigation a familiar of the Duke of Parma, the Frenchman Godefroi, had perpetrated the murder.[2]

The Pope, who in a consistory of April 12th, 1649, had protested against an assassination committed "almost before his eyes",[3] saw himself compelled to take action, all the more so as the Duke's creditors, the so-called "Montanists", demanded with increasing insistence that he should help them to obtain what was due to them.[4] By June Innocent could not show himself in the streets without having to hear shouts that he should give satisfaction to the Montanists who had waited for seven years for the interest on their loans.[5] The demand was a just one since the Pope was Castro's overlord, and the Curia had given leave for the foundation of the Ducal bank.

Ranuccio had no thought of yielding; on the contrary, in May he threatened to invade the Papal States so that the Pope was forced to concentrate 4,000 infantry and 1,000 horse

Papa nel primo giorno del pontificato mi disse: Vogliamo che Roma sia allegra, ma non vogliamo soldati." *Cod.* 1833 (XX., III., 21), *cf.* Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[1] DEMARIA, 251.

[2] Servantius, **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.; *Bull.*, XV., 626; CIAMPI, 62 *seqq.* *Cf.* DEMARIA, 252; O. PREMOLI, *C. Giarda, ultimo vescovo di Castro*, Monza, 1914.

[3] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2928, p. 2, Vat. Library.

[4] *Cf.* Savelli's *report of April 24, 1649, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Deone (Ameyden) in RANKE, III., 30.

on the frontier of Bologna and Ferrara.[1] However, the Duke, whom no one would assist, was not strong enough to prevent the Pope from taking action against Castro.[2] In a consistory of June 19th, Innocent X. explained to the Cardinals the necessity of intervention.[3] The siege of the fortress began in the same month, but the garrison only capitulated on September 2nd, on condition of their being granted a free departure.[4] Contrary to the expectation that only the fortifications would be razed,[5] the whole town, including the ducal palace and the churches, was levelled with the ground and a column raised on the spot with the inscription: "Here stood Castro." By a Bull of September 14th, 1649, the episcopal see was transferred to Acquapendente.[6] The Duke was compelled to sign a treaty by the terms of which the fiefs of Castro and Ronciglione passed to the Apostolic Camera with the reservation of their redemption for a large sum of money. The Camera undertook the obligation of satisfying the creditors.[7] Thus disappeared once for all the anomaly of Castro as an autonomous duchy yet a fief of the Holy See.[8] Some other small fiefs, such as those of the Malatesta of Sogliano, the Corgna, and the Malatesta of Baglione came

[1] Savelli's *report of May 29, 1649, *loc. cit. Cf.* DEMARIA, 254.

[2] Savelli's *report of June 5, 1649, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] Savelli's *report of September 4, 1649, *loc. cit. Cf.* CIAMPI, 67–70; DENIS, I., 218 *seq.*, 221, 226.

[5] **Avviso* of October 16, 1649, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Bull.*, XV., 641; CIAMPI, 71; CARABELLI, *Dei Farnesi*, 174 *seq.*; detailed account of the destruction of Castro in DE ROSSI, **Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vat. Libr. The column has disappeared, a small wood stands on the site. Of the town nothing remains except part of the church of St. Francis; see GROTANELLI, in *Rassegna naz.*, LVIII. (1891), 278 *seq.* In justification of the Pope's severity, *cf.* PREMOLI, *loc. cit.*, 31.

[7] MORONI, X., 228 *seq.*, who gives the special bibliography; also CARABELLI, 178 *seq.*; **Acta consist.* of January 24, 1650, Papal Sec. Arch.

[8] CIAMPI, 326; DEMARIA, 256.

under the immediate sovereignty of the Pope by devolution during the reign of Innocent X.[1]

Even though Borgognone and Carlo Maratta glorified the conquest of Castro with a pompous picture now preserved in the Doria gallery, in reality the three months' siege and final capture of that small nest had nothing heroic about it; on the contrary, the battles that took place there, as well as the conduct of Italian captains on the battlefields of Germany, threw a lurid light on the utter decadence of the art of war in Italy. The traditional warlike valour of the Roman Barons was a thing of the past. In other respects also the Roman aristocracy was in decline. The outward pomp which was still being displayed, the titles, orders and honours of every kind, the splendour of the palaces and the number of retainers, were in sharp contrast with the burden of their debts and their diminished influence.[2] True, the Roman nobility was still numerous; there were at that time some fifty noble families three centuries old, thirty-five with a history of 200 years, and sixteen that were one century old,[3] but the financial situation of most of them was deplorable. Thus the Savelli had become impoverished and were compelled to sell Albano to the son of Camillo Pamfili at the end of 1650[4]: the possessions of the Counts of Segni had been acquired by the Sforzas of Santa Fiora, though the latter, as well as the

[1] Reumont, III., 625.

[2] *Ibid.*, 626.

[3] See Almaden, *Relatione di Roma*, in *Tesori*, Brussels, 1672; Ranke, III., 43; T. Amayden, *La storia delle famiglio Romane*, ed. A. Bertini, 2 vols., Roma, 1910. *Cf.* also Bertuzzi, *La nobiltà Romana*, nel 1653, in *Riv. del Collegio arald.*, III. (1905), and the **Discorso sulle famiglie papali moderne che hanno fondato le loro abitationi in Roma dal tempo di Paolo III. sino al pres. tempo*, 1665, in *Barb.* 4910, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] "*Dopo molte rivolte di esclusioni et inclusioni della vendita d'Albano, finalmente conchiusa la vendita, sendone i Savelli sforzati dalla necessità, per il figlio di Don Camillo, al quale Donna Olimpia ha fatto donatione per 400m scudi. . . ." Ameyden's Diary, December 17, 1650, *Barb.* 4819, Vat. Libr.

Frangipani, were themselves in straitened circumstances, and even the Colonna were compelled to seek to maintain themselves by means of rich marriages. At Bracciano and in their palace in the Piazza Navona, the Orsini displayed a princely magnificence, but they had lost all political significance.[1] "When I arrived in Rome," Theodore Ameyden wrote in August 1647, "Virginio Orsini was a Spaniard and on his palace he had the arms of the Catholic King. When his son died he became a Frenchman and shortly afterwards a Spaniard once more; at present he is French again—for how long no one knows."[2] The new papal families had risen beside the old ones; they even surpassed them and had entered into close relations with them, thus, on the one hand, the Orsini, Cesarini, Borghesi, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, Giustiniani were allied to the Pamfili, whilst on the other the Colonna and the Barberini were also closely linked together. Donna Olimpia's reconciliation with the Barberini led to a general reunion which included all the families of some importance.[3] For the rest the Aldobrandini died out in the male line as early as 1631 and the Peretti in 1656.

Not a few families, especially such as had come from Florence and Genoa, and even from Portugal and France, had acquired their wealth by taking charge of the financial transactions of the Dataria. Even from towns in the Papal States, such as Parma, distinguished families had migrated to Rome, attracted as they were by the possibility of buying offices and the varied advantages offered by the metropolis.[4] Whereas the population of Rome had hitherto been a fluctuating one, it now became stabilized through firmly domiciled families. The way in which this change, which began with the 17th century, came about, and what elements constituted the population of Rome, appears from the registers kept by the parish priests for the purpose of controlling the fulfilment

[1] Reumont, III., 2, 626 *seq.*; Ciampi, 211 *seqq.*, 219 *seq.*

[2] Ciampi, 211.

[3] Ranke, III., 41.

[4] *Ibid.*, 43 *seq.*

by their parishioners of their religious duties, especially that of the Easter Communion.[1] According to these registers the population of Rome was made up as follows :—

Year	*Population*	*Families*	*Priests*	*Religious*	*Nuns*
1600	109,729	20,019	1,469	2,148	2,372
1605	99,647	20,419	1,833	1,943	2,140
1614	115,413	21,422	1,426	2,190	2,341
1619	106,050	24,380	1,956	2,455	2,887
1621	118,356	26,364	1,975	2,420	2,756
1623	111,727	26,854	1,582	2,624	2,502
1628	115,874	24,429	2,367	3,066	2,624
1644	110,608	27,274	1,742	3,414	2,726
1650	126,192	30,429	2,256	3,355	2,796
1655	122,978	30,667	2,317	3,000	2,507[2]

That a number of shady characters should have infiltrated into so large a population was natural enough. Attempts to keep them at a distance[3] and to restrain immorality were not wanting under Innocent X.[4]

(3.)

When Innocent X. ascended the Chair of St. Peter, he was endowed with a vigour of mind and body such as is but seldom granted to a septuagenarian. For his almost youthful freshness, so happily shown in Mignard's portrait of him,[5] and which he preserved for a further decade, the Pope had

[1] Hence the Jews are omitted; the first statistics about them are of 1668; they numbered then 4,500 persons (850 families). *Studi e docum.*, XII. (1891), 170.

[2] See CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XII. (1891), 174 *seqq.*; on p. 197 *seqq.* details are given on the parishes of Rome. The statistics given by RANKE (III., 45), on the basis of a MS. of the Barberini Library, not fully indicated by him, are in part erroneous. The higher number of the inhabitants in 1600 and 1650 is accounted for by the fact that these were jubilee years.

[3] *Editto contro gl'otiosi e vagabondi, of January 18, 1649, in *Editti*, V., 66, f. 154, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Editto against "donne dishoneste e loro fautori e ricettatori," of March 5, 1658, *ibid.*, 60, f. 217.

[5] IUSTI, II., 180.

to thank his constitution as well as his simple and abstemious mode of life.

Innocent X. was fond of walking and took a great deal of exercise [1] but contrary to the practice of former Pontiffs, he did not make the customary sojourns in the country. Only on a few occasions during his entire pontificate did he leave the neighbourhood of the city for a short while. On October 12th, 1649, he betook himself to the Castle of San Martino al Cimino which Andrea Maidalchini had built for himself in 1625 ; he remained until the 28th in order to enjoy, amid its chestnut trees, the mountain air and the magnificent view. He made excursions to Viterbo, the Villa Bagnaia and Monte Cimino, from the crest of which a magnificent view opens on the wide campagna and the crown of hills that encircle it.[2] An excursion to Frascati in June 1652, was occasioned by the purchase of Albano for Camillo Pamfili.[3] From October 13th to November 3rd, 1653, the Pope made a second stay at San Martino.[4] In other years he sought recuperation in the magnificent Villas round Rome. Besides the Villa Pamfili before the Gate of S. Pancrazio and Donna Olimpia's garden near Ponte Rotto in the Trastevere, he particularly loved to visit the Villas Ludovisi and Borghese, especially in spring and autumn.[5]

Like most men enjoying good health, Innocent X. would

[1] *Cf.* the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 218.

[2] De Rossi, **Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vat. Libr. *Cf.* **Cod. Bolognetti*, 202, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Denis, I., 267.

[4] *Ibid.*, 289. An inscription in the church of the castle, beneath Innocent X.'s bust, recalls this visit. Text in Bussi (332). *Ibid.*, 331 and 332, the inscriptions in S. Dominico at Viterbo and in the Villa Bagnaia.

[5] Servantius **Diaria* on May 24, 1649 (Papal Sec. Arch.) mentions a visit of Julius III. to the *Vigna*. Olimpia's picturesque garden near S. Maria in Capella (*cf.* Ciampi, 203 *seq.*) was destroyed in 1887.

have nothing to do with physicians.[1] For a long period he remained completely free from the infirmities of old age and it was only towards the end of November 1647, that he had an attack of kidney trouble. This caused at first grave anxiety, but only for a short time.[2] In 1648 the Pope felt as well as ever, but at this time, though his action was disapproved by many, he followed the advice of the physicians and took up his residence at the Quirinal, even in winter, thus avoiding the unhealthy air of the Vatican district.[3] A bout of illness in January 1649, was quickly over.[4] His Holiness, so a chronicler reports in July 1649, is quite well and retains an excellent memory.[5] The discovery of the falsification of Bulls by Mascambruno at the beginning of 1652 so excited the Pope as to affect his bodily health: he began to suffer from sleeplessness and a violent trembling of the right hand, so that, for a time, he was unable to say Mass, but his general condition remained robust enough to allow him even then to take long walks.[6] Even after he had entered upon his eightieth year, he still felt quite well. In June 1654, the rapidity with which he walked in the garden whilst giving audiences, caused general surprise.[7] In July the old man suddenly began

[1] See Giustinian in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 92.

[2] See ARNAULD, *Negociat.*, V., 330, 332, 335, 339. On the curious remedy which a Capuchin with medical knowledge recommended to the Pope, see Ed. d'Alençon, *Poudre de vipère et or potable. Consultation donnée à un Pape par un Capucin*, in *Étud. francisc.*, XXVIII. (1912), 85 *seqq.*

[3] **Avviso* of November 27, 1649, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Deone, **Diario*, 1649, *Cod.* 1833 (XX., III., 21), *Bibl. Casanat.*, Rome.

[5] Deone, **Diario*, for July 17, 1649, *ibid.*

[6] See the report in CHANTELAUZE, *Retz*, II., 469. *Ottob* 2477, p. 587 *seqq.*, from the pen of P. Diana, a "*Theologica dissertatio an S. N. D., qui propter tremorem manus dexterae non potest elevare calicem nec frangere hostiam, possit dispensare super hos ritus et ceremonias, ut missam celebret, et an habeat iustam causam dispensandi, et an teneatur dispensare." Vat. Libr.

[7] **Avviso*, of June 17, 1654, Papal Sec. Arch.

to lose strength but he would not hear of medical assistance.[1] Of a slight attack of illness on August 13th he took no notice whatever. To show that he was the man that he had always been, he had himself carried in a sedan chair to St. Mary Major for the function on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, but he returned more dead than alive. Even now he refused at first to have anything to do with the physicians, but ended by receiving the celebrated Giovanni Giacomo Baldino.[2] All through September the Pope's condition was so serious that the Spaniards constantly held six couriers in readiness. Once again he rallied. After spending 45 days in bed, Innocent X. stultified all the predictions of physicians and astrologers when, on October 5th, he held a consistory, after which he called on Olimpia at the Palazzo Pamfili in the Piazza Navona. Soon he resumed his usual walks and his audiences.[3] In November he repeatedly inspected the building operations at St. Agnese which he had greatly at heart. On December 14th he had himself once more carried into Olimpia's garden, but all of a sudden symptoms of dropsy appeared, quickly followed by complete loss of strength. Thereupon Olimpia put her treasures in a safe place.[4]

The grievously stricken man became a burden both to himself and to those around him. Even Chigi found it hard to bear with him. Trusting in his strong constitution the

[1] De Rossi, *Istoria, Vat.* 8873, Vatican Library.

[2] *Ibid.* On Innocent X.'s physicians, especially on P. Zacchia (*ob.* 1659), see Renazzi, III., 145 *seq.*; Ciampi, 228 *seq.*; *N. Antologia*, XLIV. (1893), 557 *seqq.*; [Zappoli], *Illustr. ai busti d. medici celebri*, Roma, 1868, 89 *seqq.*; *Bibliografia Romana*, I. (1880), 252 *seq.* Another of Innocent X.'s physicians, Fonseca, became famous through his sepulchre executed by Bernini in the family chapel of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The life-size bust testifies to the piety of the deceased for in his right hand he clasps his rosary, that refuge in the storms of life; *cf.* Baldinucci, edit. Riegl, 215; Benkard, 45; Sobotka, *Bildhauer der Barockzeit*, Vienna, 1927, 28.

[3] Denis, I., 311, 316, 318. Ciampi, 173.

[4] De Rossi, **Istoria, loc. cit.* *Cf.* Ciampi, 174.

Pope insisted in continuing his wonted mode of life. This hastened the end. Fits of delirium set in and the physicians feared he might die suddenly: Chigi accordingly had the Pope warned of the gravity of his condition by the Jesuit Oliva. The sick man received the information with wonderful calm, made his confession and received viaticum. The two nephews, Pamfili and Ludovisi, were reinstated in their offices. The Cardinals, who had been summoned to his death-bed, he exhorted to choose a worthy successor. Cardinal Sforza, who shortly before had passed over to the Spanish party, he exhorted to bear in mind that all things in this world were vanity and that the love of God alone endured for ever. To Cardinal Albizzi he said: "May your Eminence preserve the merits and virtues to which you owe your present position." The Pope's former violence now gave place to meekness. He resolved to devote the remaining days of his life exclusively to the salvation of his soul. Troublesome visitors and petitioners were refused admission by Chigi; even the nephews, whom the Pope had exhorted to concord, were no longer allowed to see the dying man. Chigi and Fr. Oliva were alone present at his death which occurred on January 7th, 1655, at midnight, but was kept secret until morning.[1]

Innocent X.'s pontificate of ten years was neither a brilliant

[1] Besides PALLAVICINO, I., 208 *seq.*, *cf.* on Innocent X.'s last illness DE ROSSI, **Istoria, loc. cit.*; Card. Colonna's *report to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, December 28, 1654, State Archives, Vienna; the *reports of Girol. Albergati, dated Rome, January 2 and 5, 1655, State Archives, Bologna. Extreme Unction was administered to the Pope by the parish priest of SS. Vincent and Anastasius; *cf.* *Liber in quo adnotantur obitus summorum Pontif., Archives of SS. Vincent and Anastasius, Rome; see also GERMANO ALITINO, *Relazione dell' ultima malatia e della morte del P. Innocenzo X.* (sine die et anno) and the *Diario of Girolamo Pelacchi da S. Giorgio (dioc. di Fano) candatario del card. Sacchetti, in *Vat.* 8414, p. 10 *seqq.*, Vat. Library. Many satirical poems on Innocent X. were also published. *Cf.* CIAMPI, 308; **Cod.* 656 Q. of the Library of Monte Cassino.

nor a happy one. The thorns which had been foretold him at his accession,[1] were not wanting to him, not only as a result of the attitude of France but of that of Spain as well. There was nothing he abhorred so much as war, yet he was forced to wage one, and though he zealously worked for the restoration of peace among the Christian nations, he failed to put an end to the struggle between France and Spain. It was nothing less than a tragedy that though he lived to see the restoration of peace in Germany, he found himself forced to protest against a treaty which inflicted the most grievous injury on the Church.

A deep shadow is cast upon the pontificate of Innocent X., obscuring the Pope's good qualities and the few external successes he secured, by the almost boundless influence which Donna Olimpia exercised over the weak old man. This, as well as his own moodiness and violence, and the family quarrels to which they gave rise, created for him endless annoyances and involved him in a network of intrigues from which the ablest of his advisers were powerless to extricate him.[2] The avarice which Donna Olimpia exhibited after the Pope's death,[3] was likewise a characteristic of Camillo Pamfili. The Lombard sculptor, Ercole Ferrata, made a model of a large statue for a monument to Innocent X.; however, the Pamfili shrank from the considerable cost on the pretext that the sculptor was too old to execute a piece of work of this kind.[4] The very plain monument which was eventually executed after a design by Giambattista Maini,[5] with the bust of the Pontiff, is so placed in St. Agnes', in the Piazza Navona, over the entrance and under the organ, that many visitors to the church fail to notice it. The monument of

[1] A. Taurelli, *De novissima electione Innocentii X.*, Bononiae, 1644, 32.

[2] Reumont in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch. Vereins*, VII. (1885, 28 *seq.*).

[3] See above, p. 46.

[4] Ciampi, 181.

[5] Copy in Magni, *Il barocco a Roma*, I., Torino, 1911, 65; *Annuaire pontifical*, 1916, 196; Muñoz, *Roma*, 327; *cf.* Ferrari.

a Pope who did so much for the adornment of the churches of Rome,[1] deserved a more honourable position.

La tomba, 156. The body was only translated from St. Peter's to S. Agnese on January 4, 1677; see CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 115 *seq.*, and **Avviso* of January 9, 1677, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] Stress is laid on this in Giacinto Gigli's *Elogio d'Innocenzo X., in *Sers.* 359, p. 128, of the Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome. Besides *Elogi* there were not wanting *Pasquinate* after Innocent X.'s death; for samples see **Cod.* 10806 of the British Museum, London.

CHAPTER VII.

Innocent X. as a Patron of Art.

In contrast with his cultured predecessor, who had occupied the very centre of the learned and literary life of his time, Innocent X. was merely a dry jurist whose main interest lay in practical things. Thus he encouraged the researches in Archives of the brilliant Sforza Pallavicino and the incomparable annalist, Odorico Rinaldi, whose studies were to be of the utmost benefit to the Church,[1] but for literature, not to speak of poetical products, he had little or no liking at all.[2] Of the majority of painters he made as little account as of the *beaux esprits*. Among the former, no doubt, there were some odd characters. He once observed that he did not like to have much to do with these people because they had occasioned

[1] On the favour shown to Pallavicino see Susta, *Die römische Kurie und das Konzil von Trient*, I., Vienna, 1904, ix, and *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1902, 305 *seq.* Odorico Rinaldi (Raynaldus), the splendid continuator of Baronius' Annals, so deservedly eulogized by I. F. Böhmer (see *Regesti* of 1198, 290; *Regesti* of 1241–1313, IV.; *Regesti* of Louis of Bavaria, 218; *cf.* Janssen, *Leben Boehmers*, I., 326), Riezler (Vatik. Akten, I., preface), Grauert (*Hist. Jahrb.*, XI. 820) and Hipler (Geschichtsauffassung, 82 *seq.*), published in 1646 the 13th vol., in 1648 the 14th, in 1652 the 15th and 16th, in 1659 the 17th, in 1663 the 18th; volumes 19 and 20 appeared after his death in 1671. Innocent X. offered the illustrious Oratorian the post of librarian of the Vaticana; see A. Marchesan, *Lettere inedite di O. Rinaldi*, Treviso, 1896, 10 *seq.*, 14 *seq.* The nomination of Luke Holste (September, 1653), as successor to L. Ricciardi at the Vatican Library, met with general approval; see *Miscell. di. stor. ital.*, XV., (1875), 199. L. Allacci received a pension from Innocent X.; see **Barb.*, XXXVIII., 6, Vat. Libr.

[2] Pallavicino, *Vita di Alessandro VII.*, I., 302; **Poesie in lode d' Innocenzo X.*, in *Ottob.* 2896, Vat. Libr.

him nothing but annoyance and deception.[1] It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to deny to the Pamfili Pope lively appreciation and sound judgment in questions of art.[2] The historian of his pontificate has to chronicle a number of artistic creations, though they cannot stand comparison with the great works that arose under Paul V. and Urban VIII.; however, even so they compelled the admiration of Evelyn, notwithstanding that traveller's antipapal prejudices.[3] But the decline is unmistakable, its cause being the adverse financial situation as well as the great parsimony of the Pope who considerably reduced the building personnel.[4]

The temporary disgrace of Lorenzo Bernini who, like the learned Felice Contelori,[5] as a protégé of the Barberini, had to reckon with the numerous enemies of that family, falls into the first period of Innocent X.'s reign. Bernini gave his enemies an opening, for when under Urban VIII. a campanile had been erected over the basilica of St. Peter's, facing towards the Campo Santo, cracks appeared in the façade. Before taking any action in the matter, Innocent X. was anxious to have the opinion of a number of experts. One of the first to be asked for his view, in the spring of 1645, was his almoner Virgilio Spada. The latter's memorandum was favourable to Bernini for Spada declared that the cracks were of a temporary nature and that they were due to the circumstance that the whole structure was not yet fully set.

[1] Passeri, *Vite*, 112. Innocent X.'s exaggerated anxiety on the subject of undraped figures, so greatly in favour just then with many artists, is shown by the circumstance related by Malvasia (*Felsina*, II., 269) who tells us that the Pope took offence at a nude figure of the child Jesus in a picture by Guercino in his possession; despite his opposition, Pietro da Cortona was compelled to clothe it.

[2] Iusti *Velasquez*, II., 168.

[3] *Cf.* C. Segrè, *L'Evelyn a Roma nel 1645*, in *Nuova Antologia*, 1926, April 7.

[4] *Cf.* Pollak in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur*, III. (1910), 208.

[5] Beltrami in *Arch. Rom.*, III., 19 *seq.*

The whole matter was then discussed in detail in five sessions of the Congregation of the *Fabbrica* between March 27th, 1645, and February 23rd, 1646. The Pope assisted in person at the second and fourth session. Besides Cardinals and prelates nearly every architect of note was consulted, as, for instance, in addition to Bernini, Borromini, the two Rainaldi, Paolo Marucelli, Martino Lunghi and others. All this shows that Innocent X. was loath to abandon the work of his predecessor, but in the end, at the last session, it was decided to take down the whole of the campanile.[1] A beginning was made in April, 1646.[2] For the rest, Bernini retained his post as architect of St. Peter's but in the artistic commissions of the new Pope, preference was for a time given to his rivals, Borromini, Algardi and Rainaldi.

Bernini did not lose heart during this painful period. How much he trusted in his star is shown by the fact that simultaneously with the famous "Ecstasy of St. Teresa", executed for Cardinal Cornaro, in S. Maria della Vittoria,[3] he was at work on an allegorical marble group "Time unveils Truth". As a matter of fact, he succeeded already in the following year in recovering the full favour of the Pope with

[1] RIEGL (in Baldinucci's *Vita* of G. L. Bernini, 132 *seqq.*, 140 *seqq.*) first opened the question in his controversy with Fraschetti (161 *seqq.*); EHRLE (*Spada*, 22 *seqq.*) finally cleared it up by drawing on the Acts of the Congregation of the Fabbrica. The sittings of the Congregation were secret, a circumstance that accounts for the inaccuracy of the subjoined *report of the Florentine envoy, dated June 10, 1645: "Fu tenuta hieri sera avanti il Papa la congregatione della Fabbrica, nella quale fu risoluto di atterrarsi il campanile di S. Pietro, alzato in tempo di Papa Urbano dal cav. Bernini; e perchè l'aperture che si allargano nella facciata di quella Chiesa, ogni giorno più fanno temere che non basti, si discorrerà a suo tempo, se convenga demolire la facciata. State Archives, Florence.

[2] See Gigli in FRASCHETTI, 163, and the *Avviso* of April 8, 1646, recently published by DENIS (I., 35).

[3] On this work of "unheard of originality" and which was greatly misunderstood by many, see BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 240 *seqq.*; BENKARD, 17 *seqq.*

his splendid plan for the monumental fountain in the Piazza Navona. Innocent soon gave him two further important commissions, namely that of a design for a monumental equestrian statue of the Emperor Constantine for the portico of St. Peter's and the decorations of the pillars of the six chapels in the nave of the basilica. The statue was only begun under Innocent X., but to the decoration of the pillars Bernini was able to devote himself all the more keenly as he had already made preliminary sketches at the time when he incurred the disfavour of the new Pope.[1] His plan in this work has been very diversely appraised. It is impossible to agree unreservedly with the opinion that it is simple and dignified.[2] The colours have not been happily chosen, yellow predominates too much and in particular, when compared with the decoration of the Gregorian and Clementine chapels, the general effect is unsatisfying. On the coloured marble with which he faced the pillars, Bernini affixed medallions held by *putti*. In the upper and lower ones appear the busts of holy Popes, in the middle ones the emblems of the papacy, viz. the tiara and the keys, and at the bottom, in smaller medallions, the dove with an olive branch, which was the Pamfili coat of arms.[3]

Whilst this work was proceeding Bernini's pupils executed the great stucco statues, representing the virtues, which were affixed to the arches of the pilasters of the six lateral chapels of the central nave. The Pope, who took the liveliest interest in the adornment of St. Peter's,[4] replaced the simple columns in the side chapels by 32 Cottanella columns—so

[1] Riegl, *Baldinucci*, 155 *seqq.*

[2] Böhn, *Bernini*, 84; *cf.* 65.

[3] Bonanni, *Numismata templi Vaticani*, 136, and *tab.* 57: Reymond, *Bernini*, 101–4; Th. Hoffmann, *Entstehungsgeschichte von St. Peter* (1928) 282, 287.

[4] As early as February 3, 1647, that is during the period of Bernini's disgrace, it was reported that: "*P. Innocenzo X. si trasferì da Monte Cavallo a S. Pietro per vedere nella chiesa alcuni disegui del nuovo adornamento a pilastri e le figure a stucco nell' archi delle cappelle." Diary in Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome.

called from a quarry near Castello di Cottanella, in the Sabine province. The splendid tints of these marble columns completed Maderno's architecture but they also modified it profoundly.[1] The Pope also commissioned Giovanni Battista Calandri to adorn the domes of the chapels with mosaics,[2] and he had placed in the interior, before the main entrance of St. Peter's, the circular slab of dark porphyry taken from the old basilica, to which clung so many memories of imperial coronations.[3]

In connexion with this was another work, namely the new mosaic floor of multi-coloured marble of the central aisle, to the designs of Bernini. An inscription of the large coat of arms in the floor states that the work was completed in the jubilee year of 1650.[4] Three years later the floor of the porch and the benediction loggia received a similar marble covering. A colossal inscription by the famous Jesuit Latinist Famiano Strada, which was placed between the inscriptions of Paul V. and Urban VIII. over the interior entrance into the basilica, together with the arms of the Pamfili Pope, informs future ages that the work on St. Peter's was brought to its conclusion by Innocent X.[5] St. Peter's basilica also owes to Innocent X. the erection of a special altar near the Madonna della Colonna for the reception of the relics of St. Leo the Great. This altar, unlike the others, was not adorned with a painting but with a gigantic relief representing the preservation of Rome from Attila by the great Pope.[6]

[1] RIEGL, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.*; REYMOND, 105 *seq.* and Pl. 14. *Cf.* **Avviso* of December 10, 1650, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] PASSERI, 168.

[3] BONANNI, *loc. cit.*; MIGNANTI, II., 105.

[4] BONANNI, *loc. cit.*, 137; there also, "ex libris fabricae," a note on the cost; copy in MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 327. The coat of arms was restored in 1928.

[5] MIGNANTI, II., 105. One medal bears this legend: "Vaticanis sacellis insignitis" (NOVAES, X., 33). The mosaics proposed by G. B. Calandra for St. Peter's failed to please the Pope hence the work was not carried out; see BELLORI, 168.

[6] MIGNANTI, II., 105 *seqq.*

The relief was executed by Alessandro Algardi whose artistic activity reached its zenith under Innocent X. He began it in 1646 and with the assistance of his pupils, more especially that of Domenico Guidi, he completed it in the jubilee year of 1650. Passeri and Bellori cannot find words with which to extol the colossal work, yet it is but a "petrified picture", divided into two sections, in the manner of the school of Bologna and for its effect it depends on the grandeur of its proportions.[1] Innocent X. presented Philip IV. of Spain with a magnificently framed silver copy based on the original model.[2] A comparison of Algardi's relief with Raphael's representation of the same subject in the *Stanze* shows the evolution that had taken place; the work of the latter displays "effective repose", that of the Bolognese passionate movement. The theme lent itself admirably to such treatment; we see the holy Pontiff and the King of the Huns in dramatic contrast; the one surrounded by his clergy, the other by warriors whose faces reflect in varying fashion the effect of the miraculous intervention of the Princes of the Apostles who are seen floating down from the clouds. The violently agitated figures spread beyond the proper field of the picture. The agitation of the heavenly helpers communicates itself to all: the garments flutter as if caught by the whirlwind.[3]

Innocent X.'s interest in the various works in St. Peter's

[1] PASSERI, 203 *seq.*, 207, 211; BELLORI, II., 134 *seq.* *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 256 *seq.*; BERGNER, 106 *seq.*

[2] IUSTI, *Velasquez*, II., 171; MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 306 *seq.*

[3] See POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI. (1905), 200, who, however, draws attention to the absence of skilful concentration of the scene and expresses the opinion that "Algardi had no great sense of the dramatic". *Cf.* on this point MUÑOZ in *Annuario dell' Accad. di S. Luca*, 1912, Roma, 1913, 51. The model for the Attila relief came into the possession of the Oratorians through Virgilio Spada; it was placed by them on the great staircase leading into their library. On a model at Dresden see BRINCKMANN, *Barock-Bozzetti*, 112.

was shown by the fact that he repeatedly inspected them [1] and by his insistence on their completion for the jubilee year.[2] The necessary funds were taken from the revenues of the Spanish Cruzada, though part of these was also devoted to the restoration of the Lateran.[3] Innocent's plans for the gigantic development of the Piazza of St. Peter's, for which Carlo Rainaldi furnished the designs, were not carried out.[4] The Popes had at all times devoted much care to the basilica of the Lateran, "the Mother and Head of all the churches of the city and the world," but the decay of a building dating from the time of Constantine could no more be arrested than that of old St. Peter's. After the inadequate restoration by Eugene IV.,[5] both Pius IV.[6] and Clement VIII. carried out further repairs; the latter Pope, in fact, completely altered the transept of the basilica.[7] A similar restoration of the nave could no longer be put off without risking its collapse. In consequence of many fires and earthquakes it had been

[1] See the **Diario* of Deone for February 1647, December, 1648, and March, 1649 (Doria-Pamfili Archives), and Servantius, **Diaria*, 1649, October 28 (Innocent X. in St. Peter's: "intuitus est res novas in Basilica peractas et deinde accessit ad videndam Navicellam iam erectam in conspectu ingressus palatii apostolici"), December 21 (Innocent X. in St. Peter's: viewed the "circumvallatio ante portam sanctam" and gave Bernini the direction of everything), Papal Sec. Arch. On January 8, 1650, an ordinance was published against the defilement of St. Peter's by snuff; see *Bull. Vat.*, III., 265; periodical *Roma*, IV. (1926), 412 *seq.*

[2] A. Contarini in BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Roma, II., 76.

[3] *Bull.*, XV., 674 *seqq.*, and **Nunziat. di Spagna*, 347 (Lettere al Nunzio), Papal Sec. Arch. Giotto's navicella was given a new place by Innocent X.; see CASCIOLI, *La Navicella di Giotto a S. Pietro*, Roma, 1916, 19. Innocent's arms on the Cantoria of the Sistine Chapel show that he carried out some repairs there.

[4] BALDINUCCI, *Rainaldi*, 362; HEMPEL, 24 *seq.*

[5] LAUER, 331.

[6] See our data, XIV., 395.

[7] See our data, XXIV., 475.

found necessary to erect a brick wall round all the columns of the nave, with the exception of four, thus turning them into octagonal brick pilasters which, linked together by arches, were made to carry the weight of the high longitudinal walls.[1] A plan for a complete restoration had been seriously contemplated during the last years of Urban VIII., and in 1647 he had ordered its execution and himself contributed some of the necessary funds.[2] As supreme supervisor (*sopraintendente*) of the work of reconstruction Innocent X. appointed his almoner, Virgilio Spada,[3] who recommended for the restoration Bernini's rival, Francesco Borromini, born in 1599 at Bissone, on the Lake of Lugano,[4] and who, in 1648, was likewise entrusted with the enlargement of the College of Propaganda.[5] It is not surprising that so convinced and reckless an exponent of baroque as this architect of genius was, should have planned from the first a complete reconstruction from floor to ceiling. Public opinion in Rome supported Borromini and only the Lateran Chapter advocated, on religious grounds, the preservation of the existing building. Innocent X. shared this view. It will always be his great merit that he gave orders, at the time of the restoration of the Lateran basilica, for the

[1] See the valuable dissertation of H. Egger: *Fr. Borromini's Umbau von S. Giovanni in Laterano*, in *Beiträgen zur Kunstgesch.*, dedicated to F. Wickhoff, Vienna, 1903, 156.

[2] See the **conti* in *Cod.* 31, B 14, p. 187, 262, of the Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* the **Bull.* of March 24, 1647, in *Vat.* 9313, p. 259 *seqq.*, Vat. Library; *Bull.*, XV., 675; *report of L. Pappus to Ferdinand III., dated September 26, 1652 (on money from fines being spent on the Lateran), State Archives, Vienna; **Miscell. Clementis XI.*, t. 12, p. 23, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 52 *seq.*; Lauer, 332; Pollak in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur*, IV. (1911), 204; Guidi, *Borromini*, 99. Card. Ehrle has recently written, with his wonted thoroughness, on Virgilio Spada: *Dalle carte e dai disegni di V. Spada* (*ob.* 1662), Roma, 1927.

[4] Passeri, 386.

[5] The *documents on the building in Propaganda Archives, Rome, *Fasc.* 363.

preservation of as much as possible of the old building. Accordingly its proportions remained unaltered and no walls were pulled down; as many of the supporting pilasters remained as could be preserved as well as the whole of Constantine's eastern façade. The frescoes of Gentile da Fabriano and those of Pisanello had to be sacrificed; on the other hand it was found possible to spare the wooden coffer ceiling executed under Pius IV. after the plan of Daniele da Volterra.[1] However, owing to the incapacity of the period to conceive the true character of antiquity and to recall it to life, after Borromini's restoration very few features of an old basilica remained.[2] Apart from this it must be granted that the result was an extraordinarily imposing and splendid interior, in the creating of which Borromini revealed his unsurpassed talent as an architect.[3]

In token of their satisfaction, the Canons of the basilica, who had at first feared for the sanctuary, decided to put up a bronze bust of Innocent X.[4] The memory of the Pamfili Pope is likewise kept alive by inscriptions and by the large coat of arms above the interior of the porch.[5]

The reconstruction of the Lateran basilica was carried

[1] EGGER, *loc. cit.*, 156 *seq.*; DVORAK, *Fr. Borromini als Restaurator*, in *Kunstgesch. Jahrb. der k. k. Zentralkommission für Erforschung u. Erhaltung der Kunst- u. hist. Denkmale*, I. (1907), *Beibl. für Denkmalpflege*, 89 *seq.*; K. CASSIRER in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLII. (1921), 55 *seq.*; CIAMPI, 306; MAGNI, *Il barocco a Roma*, I., Torino, 1911, 93.

[2] PLATNER, III., 1, 527. *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, 83; D. FREY, *Bramantes St. Peter-Entwurf*, Vienna, 1915, 50. A view of the old Lateran basilica previous to Borromini's restoration, *ca.* 1646, in S. Martino ai Monti is reproduced in LAUER, 330, and in *Mél. d'arch.*, V., 379 *seqq.* (Pl. 14).

[3] Pollak's opinion in THIEME, IV., 370. *Cf.* MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 230 *seq.*, and *Borromini*, 8.

[4] **Avviso* of September 7, 1647, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] FORCELLA, VIII., 61 *seqq.*; GUIDI, Borromini, 60 *seqq.* (with illustrations).

out with such speed[1] that it was completed, in the main, by the beginning of the jubilee year of 1650,[2] when the pilgrims were able to admire the high reliefs between the pilasters, executed in stucco, after Algardi's designs, but the statues in the niches and the pictures above them were still missing.[3] The Pope likewise ordered the restoration of the porch[4] and that of the precious marble floor; this work was completed in 1653.[5] In its execution the principle was adopted of preserving as much of the ancient material as could be used. Most of the sepulchral monuments were again put up in the new basilica[6]: in this way a number of Gothic monuments, that of Cardinal Antonio de Chiaves, Vignola's monument of Ranuccio Farnese, and Giotto's famous fresco were preserved. This remarkable act of piety towards the relics of antiquity is nevertheless somewhat diminished by the circumstance that Borromini placed the monuments in flat niches in the walls: this led to an alteration of their former general aspect

[1] "*con celerità non credibile e senza risparmio alcuno" we read in the marginal notes to BRUSONI, *Hist. d'Italia*, in the Doria-Pamfili Archives, 93–46, p. 121. In like manner the **Vita d'Innocenzo* X., *ibid.* In July, 1649, Innocent X. went to the Lateran, "per veder la fabrica" (*Deone, in *Cod.* XX., III, 21 of Bibl. Casanat., Rome.

[2] EGGER, *loc. cit.*, 161. *Cf.* also on the work RASPONI, *De basil. Lateran.*, Romae, 1659, 37, 39; CRESCIMBENI, *Stato d. chiesa Lateran.*, Roma, 1723, 2 (*cf.* 92 on the "ringhiera" round the baldachino with the heads of the Princes of the Apostles); CIAMPI, 306; LAUER, 331 *seq.*; HEMPEL, *Borromini* (1924), 94 *seq.*; EHRLE, *Spada*, 15. *Cf.* also MAGNI, *Barocco*, 93.

[3] GUIDI, *Borromini*, 55. *Cf.* FERRARI, *Stucco*, 104 *seq.*

[4] Il "Papa havendo ristorato la chiesa di S. Giovanni Laterano, ha ordinato che si facci parimente il portico subbito che sarà passato l'anno santo, nel quale quella fabrica haverebbe dato troppo impaccio per rispetto della Porta Santa. . . ." *Diario in *Barb.* 4819, p. 132b, Vat. Library.

[5] **Cod.* 31, B 14, p. 277, of Corsini Library. Inscriptions in CIACONIUS, IV., 649. *Cf.* ORTOLANI, *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, 36.

[6] Not all; *cf. L'Arte*, X. (1907), 97.

and some pieces had to be removed altogether. Otherwise they underwent no modification except that they were given a magnificent new frame of a purely decorative character.[1]

Almost simultaneously with the work in St. Peter's and the Lateran, the construction of the two sister churches of the Gesù, viz. S. Andrea della Valle and S. Ignazio, advanced sufficiently to make it possible to open them for worship in the jubilee year of 1650. S. Andrea della Valle, begun in 1591 by order of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti, was continued with the aid of his nephew Francesco.[2] On September 4th, 1650, Cardinal Francesco Peretti was able to consecrate the spacious church of the Theatines[3]; only the façade was missing and this was completed in 1665.[4]

S. Ignazio had been begun by order of Cardinal Ludovisi in 1626. The façade is not by Algardi but probably by Girolamo Rainaldi.[5] Though by no means completed, this imposing church too was opened on August 7th, 1650, amid a mighty concourse of people.[6] On the following day the Pope came to see the church.[7]

In May 1645, Pietro da Cortona began the mosaic decoration

[1] DVORACK, *loc. cit.*, 92 *seqq.* *Cf.* the reproductions in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLII., 65. On the decoration of the Lateran baptistry, *cf.* ORTOLANI, *loc. cit.*, 104.

[2] A. BONI, *La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, Roma, 1907.

[3] Servantius, **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch.; **Avviso* of September 10 1650, *ibid.*; AMEYDEN, **Diary*, in *Barb.* 4819 Vat. Libr.

[4] HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 55 *seq.*, who was the first to establish the part taken by Rainaldi.

[5] POLLAK, *Algardi* in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur*, IV. (1911), 66 *seq.*, who was the first to throw light on the construction of S. Ignazio.

[6] RUGGIERI, *Annisanti*, 177.

[7] Servantius **Diaria*, Papal Sec. Arch., on August 13, 1650, Giovanni Piazza *reports: "Domenica li Padri Gesuiti apersero la loro nuova chiesa di S. Ignatio con grandissimo concorso di popolo, e la sera al 2° vespro vi si trasferì N. S. nella qual occasione la Signora Donna Olimpia pregò tre volte S. Stà per la licenza di entrare con le dame del suo seguito a vedere il

of the dome and the tribune of the Chiesa Nuova.[1] In 1652 the learned Luke Wadding had the Cappella Alaleona, at S. Isidoro, decorated by Carlo Maratta.[2] At this time also the high altar of S. Nicola da Tolentino was erected after a design by Algardi: the cost was borne by Camillo Pamfili.[3] An extensive restoration was undertaken in 1650 by the General of the Carmelites in the ancient basilica of S. Martino ai Monti.[4] In the same year Martino Lunghi the younger built for Cardinal Mazarin the façade of SS. Vincent and Anastasius which he adorned with many columns,[5] and in 1652 he erected the national church of the Portuguese, S. Antonio, resplendent with magnificent marbles. At this time also, through the generosity of Camilla Farnese, there arose at the foot of the Janiculus, the beautiful church of the Augustinian Sisters, Our Lady of the Seven Dolours, after a plan by Borromini [6] who, in 1654, entered upon the last stage of the erection of S. Andrea delle Fratte.[7] This highly gifted master also designed the spacious oratory adjoining Chiesa Nuova erected

collegio de' Padri, sapendo che gli era stata preparata una nobile collatione. N. S. non rispose mai, e così la sera li Padri gli mandarono alla casa quanto havevano provveduto per rallegrarla." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[1] See Pollak's information based on documents in *Kunstchronik.*, XXIII. (1911–12), 564 *seqq.* *Cf.* Voss, *Malerei*, 542 *seq.*, and Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova*, Roma [1923], 115 *seq.*

[2] Lorenzetti, *C. Maratta*, in *L'Arte*, XVII., 147 *seq.*

[3] Pollak, *Algardi*, *loc. cit.*, 62 *seq.*

[4] Angeli, *Chiese*, 418.

[5] Pascoli, II., 517; *Inventario*, I., 53.

[6] Angeli, 53, 390; Gurlitt, 401 *seq.*; Guidi, *Borromini*, 76 *seq.* Through my intervention the church of S. Maria dei Sette Dolori, which is most difficult of access in consequence of the "enclosure", was opened for O. Pollak, to enable him to take detailed photographs. The monograph contemplated by Pollak has been put in jeopardy by the premature death [1915] of that scholar. Reproduction of the interior in Muñoz, *Roma*, 224.

[7] Guidi, 88 *seq.*

by Virgilio Spada.[1] Here were held at one time, besides the daily evening devotions in Advent and Lent, the celebrated religious concerts to which only men were admitted. Finally, Bernini also built the church of St. Agnes in the Piazza Navona of which more will be said when we come to discuss the adjoining family palace of the Pamfili.

Innocent X.'s pontificate is likewise noteworthy by reason of several secular buildings.[2] Improved prisons are one of the achievements of our time. In this respect, as in so many others, the Popes set a good example [3] and even Innocent X.'s enemies are bound to recognize his good work in this field.[4] Besides Castel S. Angelo there were other prisons in Rome, such as those of the Borgo, the Senate, Tor di Nona on the

[1] P. MISCIATELLI in the periodical *S. Filippo Neri*, 1921, No. 1; STRONG, *loc. cit.*, 143 *seqq.*, and especially GUIDI, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.*

[2] The Porta Portese was completed under Innocent X.; he also repaired the city walls (*cf.* CIAMPI, 308 *seqq.*; NIBBY, *Mura di Roma*, 340, 375; *Inventario*, I., 254; BORGATTI in *Riv. di Artigleria*, XVI., 386), but stopped work on Urban VIII.'s fortifications (*cf.* BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Roma, II., 76), whilst on the other hand he repaired Castel S. Angelo (*cf.* FORCELLA, XIII., 150). Innocent's arms on the right of Ponte Nomentano also recall a restoration. An inscription on the cathedral of Frascati proclaims the fact that its erection was begun under that Pontiff; at Viterbo the Pope's memory is kept alive by the Porta Romana with its statue of St. Rose, the patron saint of the town; and at Ravenna by the Porta Nuova (*ampliata*, 1653, for that reason also described as Porta Pamfilia; *cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 651; KEYSSLER, II., 470; RICCI, *Baukunst der Barockzeit*, Stuttgart, 1912, 205). A most useful work was the construction of the Canale Pamfili to link Ravenna with the sea (CIAMPI, 309). At Ancona Innocent XI. saw to the restoration of the fortifications (CIACONIUS, *loc. cit.*, and **Cod.* 31, B 14, p. 243 *seq.* Corsini Library, Rome).

[3] Particularly in earlier times, by promoting the guilds which provided for the bodily and spiritual wants of prisoners. *Cf.* PLATNER, III., 3, 414.

[4] CIAMPI, 312; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 245.

Tiber, where the Apollo theatre was subsequently erected, and that of the Corte Savella, for the ancient family of the Savelli, besides other privileges, such as that of the dignity of Marshal to the Conclave, also enjoyed that of exercising penal jurisdiction for minor delinquencies; hence they also had their own prison in the Via di Monserrato, near the English College.[1] These prisons were typically medieval, narrow and damp. Even at this day the inscription which Innocent X. ordered to be placed above the entrance of the new prison erected by him (*Carceri Nuovi*) sounds like a protest against the insanitary conditions and other serious evils of the Corte Savella: "Justitiæ et clementiæ, securiori ac mitiori reorum custodiæ, novum Carcerem Innocentius X. Pont. Max. posuit, Anno Domini MDCLV"—For the sake of justice and clemency and for the safer and milder custody of the guilty, Pope Innocent X. erected this new prison in 1655.[2]

Innocent X. withdrew from the Savelli their judicial powers.[3] To replace the inadequate and insanitary prisons of Corte Savella and Tor di Nona, a new and practical building arose in the Via Giulia, not far from Sangallo's Palazzo Sacchetti. Here, for the first time in Europe, the modern system of cells was introduced; this was an immense advance on a prison system which was maintained for years to come in other places—one need only think of the famous prisons of Venice. The erection of the "New Prison", for which the Pope furnished the funds, began in the spring of 1652 and was

[1] MORONI, IX., 266 *seq.*; EHRLE, *Spada*, 12, who establishes the position of the Corte Savella on the basis of TEMPESTA'S *Topografia* of 1593, published by H. Schück, at Upsala, 1917.

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 132. An ordinance providing for adequate food for the prisoners was issued in 1653; BERTOLOTTI, *Le prigioni di Roma nei secoli*, XVI., XVII. e XVIII., Roma, 1890, 33.

[3] *1652, Settembro 22: "Si serrano le carceri di casa Savelli e finivano li Savelli la loro giurisdittione in quel tribunale" (Diary in Doria-Pamfili Archives). *Cf.* MORONI, IX., 267; RATTI, *Sforza*, II., 243.

finished in 1655 under Alexander VII.[1] It is a model of practical architecture and depends for its effect exclusively on the material employed (red bricks with roughly dressed travertine), the distribution of doors and windows and the wide, recessed space which terminates the façade, above which rises the last story like an immense attic. The small gateway, with its broad, simple frame which narrows as it rises, heightens the stern character of the building.[2] The architect was Antonio del Grande, who had already given proof of his skill in the reconstruction of the Spanish Embassy in the Piazza di Spagna. In 1654 he began work on the wing of the Palazzo Colonna, which faces the Via Nazionale and houses the celebrated Calleria Grande on the ground floor.[3]

The palace on the Capitol, which in Michelangelo's plan was meant to form a counterpart to the palace of the Conservators and a museum of the antique sculptures of the City of Rome, also heralded a new epoch. The foundations were laid by Clement VIII[4]; in 1644 Innocent X. gave orders for the continuation of the building, in the great hall of which his coat of arms is still to be seen. Since there was question of a civic building, the City Council was made to bear the cost. The methods used for raising the necessary funds for the work by temporarily discharging officials and other similar measures, caused a good deal of bad blood. Carlo Rainaldi was the architect in charge.[5] The Pope took a lively interest in the building and repeatedly inspected it [in 1650 and 1654],[6] in memory whereof the Roman Senate put

[1] O. Pollak, *Antonio del Grande*, in *Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrb*, der K. K. *Zentralkommission für Kunst.- u. hist. Denkmale*, 1909, 135 *seqq*. *Cf*. E. Rossi in the periodical *Roma*, IV. (1926), 70; Ehrle, *Spada*, 11 *seq*.

[2] Pollak, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 137 *seqq.*, 152 *seq.*

[4] See our data, XXIV., 513; Gigli in Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 53; Passeri, 222.

[5] Rodocanachi, *Capitole*, 126; Hempel, *Rainaldi*, 94 *seq.*

[6] Cancellieri, *loc. cit.*, 53, n. 1.—*October 3, 1645: "Fu levata la statua di Marforio per causa della nuova fabrica e

up a more than life-size statue of Innocent X. in the great hall of the palace of the Conservators, facing Bernini's statue of Urban VIII. The commission for the statue was given to Alessandro Algardi who, for a time, eclipsed Bernini. But his statue does not compare favourably with that of the Barberini Pope. Innocent's head is after Velasquez' painting, "the most living of contemporary portraits, but precisely the most impressive feature in the Spanish master's portrait, namely, the piercing glance which was peculiar to Innocent X., is missing in the statue," because Algardi, in order to avoid a too marked resemblance with the statue of Urban VIII., gives a side view of the Pope's face, in fact the whole artistic treatment is such as to place Algardi's work beneath that of his gifted rival.[1] He nevertheless remained the real court

posta nella piazza vicina al cavallo di bronzo per modo di provisione" (Diary in Doria-Pamfili Archives). *Ibid.*, May 9, 1647: "Si fu accorto come la statua del cavallo di bronzo di Marco Aurelio, che sta alla piazza di Campidoglio, pendeva assai verso la chiesa d'Araceli, e la causa fu perchè si era lograto di ruzza il ferro del perno impiantato nel piede manco dietro, si che li sig. conservatori ordinando subito fosse puntellato con diligenza e fattone consapevole S. S^{tà} ordinando a Msgr. Cessi fosse subito accomodato come fu fatto e messovi mano." May 15: "Furono levati li puntelli della statua del cavallo di bronzo per esser stato di nuovo ricoperto di bronzo e reimbiombato e messi nuovi tasselli di marmo."

[1] Thus Posse (in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI., 193), whereas Muñoz (in Annuario dell' Accad. di S. Luca, 1912, Roma, 1913, 51 *seq.*) assigns the victory to Algardi. The statue was unveiled on March 9, 1650 (*cf.* Ruggieri, *Anni santi*, 61 *seq.*); a decision to that effect had been arrived at in March 1645 (*cf.* Rodocanachi, *Capitole*, 131). The following item in Deone's Diary for September 4, 1645, shows how the authorities managed in the meantime: "*Fu scavata la statua fatta far per papa Paolo IV., ch'era sotterrata nel cortile de' conservatori per ordine di P. Innocenzo X., quale essendo di buona maniera e fatta da valent'huomo serviva per la statua di S. B^{ne} per metterla nel palazzo nuovo" (Doria-Pamfili Archives). *Cf.* Fraschetti,

sculptor of the Pamfili. It was he who created the realistic busts of the Pope for the palace of the Gonfaloniere at Bologna and the dining hall of Trinità de' Pellegrini, as well as that of Innocent X.'s brother, Benedetto, and that of Olimpia Maidalchini in the Doria Gallery, with its energetic features of the masterful head which stands out so effectively from the voluminous widows' veil.[1] In 1649, the year in which Algardi finished his tomb of Leo XI.[2] for St. Peter's, he was given a commission for the architectural fountain with the water-spouting dolphins and the relief on the face of the basin, with which Innocent X. adorned the Cortile of St. Damaso in the Vatican.[3] For the church of St. Agnes he designed a relief representing the martyrdom of the Saint.[4] The premature death of the artist (June 10th, 1654) is said to have drawn tears from the Pope whilst Camillo Pamfili, Algardi's special patron, paid him the honour of a visit as he lay dying.[5]

The large share which Algardi had in the laying out of the great park which the Cardinal nephew, Camillo Pamfili, created before the Porta S. Pancrazio, has only been established in recent times.[6]

154; STEINMANN, *Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 15 *seqq.*

[1] BELLORI, II., 139; POSSE, *loc. cit.*, 194. *Cf.* above, p. 33.

[2] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II. 255 *seq.*

[3] POLLAK, *Algardi*, in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur*, IV. (1911), 61 *seqq.*; POSSE, *loc. cit.*, 194; MUÑOZ, *loc. cit.*, 54 *seq.*; COLASANTI, *Fontane d' Italia* (1926), 203.

[4] It found a place in the crypt. Algardi has given different presentations of the same scene; *cf.* TIETZE, *Ein Bronzerelief Algardi's* in *Kunstchronik*, 1923, No. 26–7, p. 523.

[5] BELLORI, II., 141; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 113. L. Frati (*Varietà storiche artistiche, Città di Castello*, 1912) has published Algardi's will. Frati fixes 1595 as the year of Algardi's birth, instead of 1602, as has been thought up till now.

[6] Castel Gandolfo continued to be the Pope's usual holiday resort. Innocent X.'s throne is still preserved in the castle there, as well as five magnificent gobelins (The Flight to Egypt) made by order of the Pope.

In consequence of the destruction of the Villa Ludovisi and since the Villa Borghese has become increasingly degraded into a place of popular amusement, the Villa Pamfili, even though it has not been spared drastic alterations, alone conveys an idea, even at this day, of the superb Villas with which the papal nephews of the baroque period surrounded the Eternal City. Situate on the summit of the Janiculus, on its western scarp, it has been rightly named by the Romans "Belrespiro" owing to the pure, invigorating air which prevails there even during the hottest months.[1] The terrain, which is crossed by the ancient Via Aurelia,[2] is even more extensive and more varied than that of the Villa Borghese as well as exceedingly picturesque.[3]

The main entrance[4] led to a long alley with an incomparable vista of the Vatican and the dome of St. Peter's which appears isolated like some great shrine between green hills. There is no other hint of the nearness of the metropolis; the visitor has a feeling of being in a vast solitude dominated on the north by the purple outlines of Soracte. Here the aged Pope was wont to seek quiet and refreshment amid his cares and anxieties. Near the north entrance of the almost hidden summer house, a magnificent park, divided into two sections, stretches far away to the west. In the northern section the characteristics of a pleasure garden were specially marked. First there came a wide, open space which no doubt then, as now, served as a playground. Then came copses and orange groves adorned with a fountain and statues. Here,

[1] This name is already found in N. A. CAFERRIUS, *Synthema vetustatis sive flores historiarum*, Romae, 1667.

[2] TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 466.

[3] For what follows, *cf.* above all GOTHEIN, I., 353 *seq.* See also NOHL, *Skizzenbuch*, 175 *seq.*, 182; WÖLFFLIN, *Renaissance*, 177; GURLITT, 403 *seq.*; BERGNER, 64 *seq.*; V. GERSTFELDT-STEINMANN, *Pilgerfahrten in Italien*,[4] Leipzig, 1922, 357; L. DAMI, *Il giardino d'Italia*, Milano, 1924, 42, CXCIII. *seqq.*; COLASANTI, *loc. cit.*, 205, 207, 209.

[4] The section from the present entrance as far as "the valley of the deer" was only added in the nineteenth century.

as in the Villa Borghese, a smaller *Casino di famiglia* stood against the wall of the terrace of the belvedere. The southern section was renowned for its pine wood. Adjoining this wood there was, as in the Villa Borghese, an extensive zoological garden with woods and meadows which, in spring, were studded with anemones. The central point was formed by an oval basin in a little dell which was subsequently transformed into a natural lake which provided an enchanting spectacle in June with its water-lilies. Following a fold in the valley, a canal, starting from this spot, cuts a straight line across the pine wood and ends in an aquatic amphitheatre above which rises a rotunda adorned with statues and a lily-shaped fountain. This artistic creation is so peculiar that some have thought it to be due to French inspiration.[1]

The summer-house in the north-eastern corner of the Villa stands on uneven ground, hence on the northern entrance there are two stories whilst on the south side, facing the garden, there are three. A pavilion rises from the terrace of the roof. Like the Villa Pia, the building is richly adorned with antique and modern sculptures. On either side open-air steps lead into the ornamental garden (*giardino segreto*), surrounded by a wall broken by niches and adorned with fruit-trees and statues. Flower-beds and fountains and flower-pots on the balustrades all around heighten the splendid and imposing impression. The beds of the *parterre* show a pattern of box arabesques filled-in with flowers—a floral tapestry of Italian invention.[2] From the *giardino segreto* two sets of steps lead to a garden at a yet lower level, adorned with flower-beds, fountains, copses and a very pretty theatre. A nymphæum stands between the steps, the so-called "Fountain of Venus" by Algardi.[3]

[1] GOTHEIN, I., 356. It is a mere legend that Le Nôtre designed the garden.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 354.

[3] BELLORI, II., 133 *seq.*; POLLAK, *A. Algardi als Architekt*, in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. der Architektur*, IV. (1911), 53 *seq.*, with numerous illustrations. *Cf.* also BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 7 *seqq.*, and *Barockskulptur*, II., 255.

The progress of the construction can be accurately gauged by examining the account books. It was begun in the last months of 1644, and thereafter the Pope pressed for the prosecution of the work.[1] In the autumn of 1646 it became possible to begin the internal decoration. The ground floor received magnificent stucco ceilings, besides pictorial decorations of which, unfortunately, but little remains. The summer-house was finished in the beginning of 1648. Later payments of the years 1648 and 1649 concern fountains and other mason's work in the garden which was completed in 1651.[2] In 1653 the engraver, Dominique Barrière, began work on copper plates of the Villa and the antique statues. These engravings, together with some others by Falda, were gathered in a work appropriately entitled *Villa Pamphilia*.[3] The account books also supply information on Algardi's share in these splendid undertakings. It was he who procured the antique statues and restored them, designed the magnificent stucco ceilings of the ground floor and superintended the sculptural decorations of the Villa. However, the real architect was Francesco Grimaldi.[4] It is due to him that notwithstanding the great wealth of antique reliefs and busts, of stucco decoration and other charming details, the exterior of the summer-house gives an impression of simplicity and monotony, as was already felt by his contemporaries.[5] The most valuable ornaments were within, but the statues and pictures were removed to the Palazzo Doria at a later date; however, some frescoes and the stucco ceilings of the ground floor remain to this day; they bear witness to a profound study of antique models in the Villa Adriana and as regards their

[1] **Avviso* of March 7, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] POLLAK, *loc. cit.*, who was the first to draw on the Doria-Pamfili Archives.

[3] *Villa Pamphilia eiusque Palatium cum suis prospectibus, statuae, fontes, vivaria, theatra, arcolae plantarum viarumque ordines, Romae* (*sine anno*). *Cf.* POLLAK, 56.

[4] POLLAK (57 *seqq.*) has proved this up to the hilt.

[5] PASSERI, 202.

quality, they belong to the very best Roman products of the kind in the 17th century.[1]

Even more than by the Villa Pamfili, Innocent X.'s name is kept alive in Rome by the large scale works undertaken by him in the Piazza Navona.[2] It goes without saying that the modest palace in the Piazza of that name which he had owned as a Cardinal, was enlarged after his elevation. For this purpose many adjoining houses were bought one after another and their demolition led to the discovery of a number of travertine pilasters and tiers of seats of Domitian's stadium.[3] The building turned out a somewhat plain one; the architect was Girolamo Rainaldi, father of Carlo.[4] The Pope gave orders for the preservation, during alterations, of the paintings executed by his command by Agostino Tassi, a pupil of Paul Bril.[5] The work was pushed on with so much energy that it was hoped that the new palace might be occupied by the summer of 1646,[6] but it only approached completion in July 1648.[7]

[1] Opinion of POLLAK (*loc. cit.*, 60), who gives illustrations of two stucco soffits. *Cf.* BELLORI, II., 131; MUÑOZ in *Annuario dell' Accad. di S. Luca*, 1912, 56.

[2] See **Scritture concernenti le fabriche fatte nel pontificato d'Innocenzo X.* in *Cod.* 31, B 14, 15, and 16, of Corsini Library. *Cf.* CIAMPI, 397 *seqq.*, to which must be added the *documents in the Doria-Pamfili Archives of which Pollak intended to publish a considerable selection.

[3] CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 99; EHRLE, *Spada*, 15 *seq.*; a *specialized list of *Acquisiti delle case che occupavano il posto del moderno palazzo in Piazza Navona*, in Doria-Pamfili Archives.

[4] PASSERI, 221; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 100; L. DE GREGORI (see below, p. 402, n. 4), 33 *seq.* *Cf.* GURLITT, 381; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 92 *seq.*, 121.

[5] PASSERI, III. On A. Tassi, *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *A. Tassi*, Perugia, 1877; GERSTENBERG, *Die ideale Landschaftsmalerei*, Halle, 1923, 88 *seq.*

[6] "Il Palazzo di Piazza Navona si tira avanti con molta diligenza et per tutta l'estate potrà esser finito." **Avviso* of March 7, 1646, Papal Sec. Arch.

[7] EHRLE, *Spada*, 16.

A number of painters were engaged on the internal decoration as, for instance, Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, Ciro Ferri, Andrea Camassei, Gaspard Poussin, who adorned the buildings with landscapes and scenes from Roman history. Francesco Allegrini painted biblical scenes on the soffits. Special admiration was called forth by Pietro da Cortona's scenes from Virgil's Aeneid in the long gallery. The choice of these subjects was inspired by the circumstance that the dove (which the Pamfili carried in their coat of arms), was the bird of Venus, Aeneas' mother. The most famous scene was that of Neptune chiding the winds; for this picture the artist was rewarded with a poem by Battistini. Venus' visit to Vulcan's forge also found many admirers. For the pictures on the ceilings Cortona sought inspiration in the works of Ovid and Homer.[1] These frescoes were completed in 1654 and drawings made from them were sent to Flanders as models for tapestries,[2] whilst Carlo Cesi of Rieti made engravings of them.[3]

Closely connected with the erection of the palace was the correction of the Piazza Navona.[4] The Palazzo Aldobrandini, near S. Giacomo, which protruded too much into the piazza, was demolished[5]; by this means the lines of the ancient stadium of Domitian were once more clearly revealed. For the centre of the piazza, a monumental fountain was to replace the existing one—a very simple one. The Pope gave

[1] Cancellieri, *loc. cit.*, 102 *seqq.*; Fabrini, *Vita del caval. Pietro Berretini*, Cortona, 1896, 102 *seqq.*; Voss, *Malerei*, 543 *seq.*, 554; Muñoz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 10; M. Lenzi in periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 495 *seq.* *Cf.* the payments given by Pollack in *Kunschronik*, XXIII. (1911/12), 564 *seq.*

[2] Cerroti, *Lettere di artisti tratte dai manoscritti d. Corsiniana*, Roma, 1860, 10 *seq.*

[3] Fabbrini, *loc. cit.*, 113.

[4] A view of the piazza before the alterations in P. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1639), 232. *Cf.* the excellent study by L. de Gregori: Piazza Navona prima d'Innocenzo X., Roma, 1926.

[5] *Cf. Spicil. Vat.*, I., 117.

orders for the embodiment in the new fountain of an obelisk of red granite of the time of the Emperor Domitian which lay in several pieces in the *circus* of Maxentius, on the Via Appia. The learned Jesuit Athanasius Kircher made vain attempts to decipher the hieroglyphs of the obelisk.[1] Innocent X. intended to entrust the erection of the monumental fountain in the Piazza Navona to Bernini's rival Borromini, but the latter's design failed to please him. Prince Nicolò Ludovisi, who had married a niece of Innocent X., informed Bernini of the circumstance and urged him to construct in secret a model of the proposed work. Bernini fell in with the suggestion and the Prince so arranged things that the Pope unexpectedly found himself in presence of the model. On Lady Day, 1647, Innocent X. had gone to the Minerva according to custom for the purpose of distributing dowries to poor girls. Afterwards he repaired to the Palazzo Pamfili. After breakfast, Cardinal Pamfili and Donna Olimpia escorted him through the room in which the model stood. The bold conception and the brilliant execution of the design profoundly impressed the Pope. It is said that at the end of half an hour's examination he exclaimed: "We must give Bernini another commission, despite the objections of his opponents: people who do not want his works must not allow them to be brought to their notice."[2]

Bernini was at once sent for and commissioned to carry out the model. Thus a decisive hour of his life had struck: he had recovered the papal favour. Evil tongues spread the rumour in Rome that besides the clay model, the artist had had another made of solid silver which he had presented to the all powerful Olimpia.[3] However, there was no need of such

[1] KIRCHER, *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, Romae, 1650, and *Œdippus ægyptiacus*, 4 vols., *ibid.*, 1632–1654. *Cf* .CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 42 *seqq.*; MARUCCHI, *Gli obelischi Egiziani di Roma*, Roma, 1898, 129 *seq.*; SEURINGER, *Die Obelisken Roms*, Augsburg, 1925, 37 *seq.*

[2] *Baldinucci*, edit. RIEGL, 147; FRASCHETTI, 180.

[3] FRASCHETTI, *loc. cit.*

shifts to win over a connoisseur like Innocent X. Bernini had already given proofs of his mastery by his plans of fountains under Urban VIII.[1] On this occasion also he solved in superlatively brilliant fashion the difficult problem of connecting an obelisk with a fountain. But the task had not been an easy one. Some of his preliminary sketches, which have been preserved, show how he wrestled with the problem. The essential idea, that of an obelisk rising from a rock pierced by caverns, appears already in one of the earliest drawings in which armorial shields held by aquatic divinities form the link between the rock and the immense stone colossus. Another drawing, preserved at Windsor, carries this idea a step further; here the figures of the river gods are seated at the corners; under each of them is a fancifully modelled shell-shaped basin supported by water-spouting dolphins. In the end Bernini rejected this artificial composition; the idea of a grotto, which was only hinted at in the earlier designs, is once more clearly emphasized in the model of the Casa Giocondi. The work was carried out according to a uniform plan in which the worlds' four great rivers were given a predominating expression.[2] To this end the river gods were executed in marble so as to form a strong and picturesque contrast to the warm tone of the cream coloured travertine employed in the construction of the grotto.[3]

This cave, situate in the centre of a circular basin enlivened by the figures of two fishes and lying a little below the level of the piazza, consists of enormous travertine blocks and is pierced on four sides. It is similarly divided into four parts at the bottom and contains the giant figures of the chief rivers of the then known four parts of the world. The Nile, the personification of Africa, veils his head to signify the obscurity which then shrouded his sources. In his right hand he holds a shell adorned with Innocent X.'s coat of arms; to his left rises a palm-tree and a lion issues, roaring, from the grotto.

[1] *Cf.* our data, XXIX., 512.

[2] H. Voss in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXI., 110.

[3] Benkard (22) in particular draws attention to this picturesque effect. See also Muñoz, Bernini, 18 *seq.*

The Danube (Europe) leans back and looks with amazement at the obelisk ; by its side a rose grows out of a cleft in the rock. The Ganges (Asia) holds a long oar in its right hand.[1] The Rio de la Plata (America) is represented as a Moor ; by his side there are some cactuses and a number of coins symbolizing the metal wealth of the new world, and a fanciful monster.

On the summit of the rock, down whose flanks rush the waters of the Acqua Vergine, the slim, reddish obelisk rises securely and gracefully, its tip crowned with a resplendent metal cross and the Pamfili dove. Work on this grandiose scheme began in 1647. In August 1648, the obelisk was in its place. The undertaking proved as difficult as it was costly. The people began to grumble, all the more so as a fresh tax had been imposed to meet expenditure. In June 1651, the work was completed. It was still covered up when the Pope came to inspect it on the evening of June 8th. Four days later the water was turned on and the covering removed.[2] The supreme direction of the work had been in the hands of Bernini who left the execution of the figures to his pupils. They, as appears from the terracottas in the archæological museum in Venice, strictly followed the plastic models of the master. Francesco Barrata executed the figure of the Rio de la Plata, Claudio Porissimi the Ganges, Antonio Raggi the Danube and Giacomo Antonio Fancelli the Nile.[3]

The boldness of the mighty work, its majestic movement, the masterly combination of rock and water, make it impossible for the visitor to Rome ever to forget the fountain of the four rivers. With it Bernini created a new type ; here the characteristics of the element of water and its mysterious powers were for the first time given plastic expression.[4]

[1] This is now missing.

[2] See *Gigli* in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 59 ; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 259.

[3] FRASCHETTI, 180 *seq.* ; VOSS, *loc. cit.*, 111 *seq.*

[4] VOSS, *loc. cit.*, 129. *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 244 *seq.* ; BENKARD, 21 *seq.* ; W. WEISBACH, *Die Kunst des Barock in Italien*, Berlin, 1924, 31 ; FRIEDLÄNDER, *Röm. Barockbrunnen*, Leipzig, 1922, 9.

The genius of the master is likewise revealed by the exceedingly happy manner in which he correlated the fountain with its surroundings. "From whatever angle one looks at it, it presents a complete picture; from whatever point one views it, the beholder is impressed by the grandeur of the design which, with the utmost boldness, as it were, raises the heavy mass of the obelisk into the sky above the everlasting play of the waters." [1]

The full effect of the masterpiece was especially felt on the occasion of the peculiar spectacle which, after 1652,[2] was wont to take place in the Piazza Navona during the heat of August. By stopping the pipes which carried away the water, the whole piazza was flooded. Whilst the people paddled to cool themselves, the gentry, instead of driving in the Corso, drove round the fountain, which as a matter of fact, was the centre of all the many public festivities which used to be held in this magnificent piazza. Probably no fountain in the world has enjoyed the same popularity as that of the four rivers. From the first, legends were woven around it, and charming anecdotes became connected with it. Thus it was said that on the occasion of its unveiling the Pope asked Bernini with some irony: "Is that all? We have come to inspect a fountain, but we can see no water." Thereupon the master pleaded that the monument was still unfinished, but as the Pope was about to leave, he had the taps opened when, amid general admiration, the water began to spout and to gush forth on all sides.[3] Another legend is to the effect that Bernini's enemies having spread the rumour that the obelisk threatened to collapse, the master mingled with the populace and, in order to calm the critics for whom the catastrophe was too slow in coming, he had the

[1] Böhn, *Benini*, 82.

[2] Ciampi, 304. The popular rejoicings only fell into desuetude in the 'sixties of the 19th century. Old illustration in Muñoz, *Roma*, 322.

[3] See *Baldinucci*, edit. Riegl, 154 *seq.*; A. Cassio, *Corso dell' Acque antiche*, I., Roma, 1756, 299.

obelisk fastened by thin threads to the neighbouring houses. Everybody laughed and Bernini left amid the acclamations of the crowd.[1] The symbolism of the fountain also provided matter for ironical comments ; thus it was said that the Nile veiled his head so as not to be obliged to look at Borromini's façade of the church of St. Agnes.[2]

Innocent X. had four inscriptions placed on the fountain. A medal was also struck and he forbade the disfigurement of the piazza by traders' stalls.[3] The inscription on the north side shows the survival of Sixtus V.'s idea of making the monuments of paganism subservient to Christianity.[4] It gives the following explanation of the symbolism of the dove and the cross on top of the monument : "Above Egyptian monsters (supposed to be represented by the hieroglyphs), the guileless dove is enthroned (viz. true religion crushes superstition) ; with the olive-branch in its beak, and crowned with the lilies of the virtues,[5] it makes of the obelisk the symbol of its victory and triumph in Rome." [6] The Pope made the artist a gift of 5,000 scudi, and to his eldest son he granted a canonry at St. Peter's.[7] In 1650, he commissioned the artist to erect another family palace on the site of an antique theatre on Monte Citorio, but that building never got beyond the second story.[8]

How greatly Bernini's fame was enhanced by the fountain

[1] See D. Bernini in CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 41 ; *cf.* A. VALLE, *Una leggenda intorno alla fontana dei quattro fiumi in Piazza Navona*, Roma, 1913.

[2] The fountain was completed by 1651, whereas Borromini only undertook the erection of S. Agnese in 1653.

[3] CANCELLIERI, 44 *seq.*, 59, where there are details on the many poems occasioned by the fountain ; *cf.* also CIAMPI, 301 *seq.* ; GUIDI, *Fontane*, 77.

[4] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXII., 240.

[5] Innocent X.'s arms show three lilies above a dove.

[6] CIACONIUS, IV., 650 ; EURINGER, *Die Obelisken Roms*, 40.

[7] See SAGGIATORE, 1844, No. 1, p. 383.

[8] FRASCHETTI, *L'esposizione Berniniana a Roma*, Roma, 1899, 12 *seq.* *Cf.* W. WEISBACH, *Kunst des Barock*, 28.

of the four rivers appears from the numerous poems it inspired at the time.[1] Someone even wrote a comedy in honour of the Pamfili and the artist. Everybody admired the fountain; by it Bernini had made himself famous for all time, it was said.[2] "The fountain is one of the finest artistic creations in Europe," a Frenchman wrote immediately after its unveiling.[3] It has inspired a number of artists, especially French ones, as well as, at a later date, the German Schlüter's creation of the four slaves on his monument of the Grand Elector in Berlin. The latest adaption of the idea may be seen in the groups of statuary in the gardens of Versailles, Caserta, Aranjuez and Schönbrunn.[4]

When it was decided to reconstruct Gregory XIII.'s fountain opposite the Pamfili palace, it was natural to employ Bernini. He retained the existing structure, but placed in the centre the figure of a marine god holding a water-spouting dolphin. The fact that, as in the personification of Africa on the fountain of the four rivers, he gave the figure the features of a negro, was probably inspired by the reports of foreign missionaries which were very popular reading in Rome just then. The "Moro" was executed by Giovan Antonio Mari.[5]

In order to enhance the harmony and the character of the Piazza Navona,[6] Innocent X. resolved to replace by a new building the old church of St. Agnes which was hidden by houses. He also thought of transferring the fair to another locality, and of concentrating in this most centrally situated

[1] See above, p. 407, n. 3, and M. MENGHINI, *Le lodi e grandezze della Aguglia e Fontana di Piazza Navona. Canzonetta di Fr. Ascione* (1657), published for Nozze-Cian-Sappa-Flandinet, 1894.

[2] *Cf. Spicil. Vat.*, I., 118.

[3] DENIS, I., 263; *cf.* Cassiano del Pozzo's opinion in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV. (1875), 194.

[4] GUIDI, *Fontane*, 78, and VOSS, *loc. cit.*, 112, also draw attention to the direct but stiff and unintelligent imitation on the Columna del Triunfo at Córdoba (1765–1781).

[5] CIAMPI, 305; FRASCHETTI, 201 *seq.*; VOSS, *loc. cit.*, 124 *seq.*; GUIDI, *Fontane*, 78 *seqq.*

[6] BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, Berlin, 1923, 92.

square the offices of the notaries and *cursori* who, until then, had been scattered all over the city, to the great inconvenience of the public.[1]

The new sacred edifice was intended to serve as a family church,[2] like the one the Borghese possessed in the Capella Paolina at St. Mary Major. Here the Pope wished to have his last resting place. A rotunda seemed to recommend itself for this purpose, all the more so as such a structure would best harmonize with the lines of the piazza.

On August 15th, 1652, Cardinal Giovan Battista Pamfili laid the foundation stone of the church of St. Agnes on which Girolamo Rainaldi and his son Carlo worked for a period of one year. The supreme direction was in the hands of the nephew Camillo Pamfili, who instructed Rainaldi to construct a flight of steps of such size as would have disfigured the whole piazza. The Pope noticed this on SS. Peter and Paul's day, 1653. He took the nephew severely to task over it, and both he and Rainaldi were dismissed from their posts of superintendents of the construction, which was thereafter entrusted to Borromini. The work was vigorously pushed forward up to the Pope's death, but it was only completed in the seventies of that century.[3]

[1] This appears from a memorial of Propaganda to Innocent X. in 1652, Propaganda Archives, 363, p. 65.

[2] For this reason the cardinalitial title was transferred to S. Agnese fuori le Mura on October 5, 1654.

[3] CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 109 *seqq.*, 111, 113; HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 29 *seq.* DE ROSSI reports (**Istoria, Vat.* 8873, p. 115 *seqq.*, Vat. Libr.): "Passò dunque [il Papa], come dicemmo, e vidde con ammirazione che i cimenti della fabrica, secondo il disegno datone dal cav. Carlo Raynaldi, si estendevano in occupare non poco spazio di Piazza Navona. Sua S.tà che per render questa più ampia e disbrigata, haveva già fatto buttare a terra le case contigue a S. Jacopo de' Spagnuoli, et oltre al nobile edificio dell'istesso palazzo riceveva la Piazza Navona abbellimento si grande della bellissima guglia e fontana fattevi collocare, quando vidde la sproportione e l'ingombro della fabrica, dimandò subito adiratamente, con quali ordini et autorità fosse stato introdotto.

The church of St. Agnes is a Greek cross with an apse; its sides are entirely faced with white marble up to the frieze where gilt stucco and paintings begin. The effect of the interior is pleasing and imposing, whilst the exterior has met with the approval of the severest critics. It recalls the impression made by the basilica of St. Peter's with Maderna's towers. The detached campaniles harmonize wonderfully with the cupola and dominate the spacious piazza.[1] The church is a perfect example of Borromini's style, both in the slim, pointed shape of the cupola, and the façade which dominates the piazza.

The constructions of the Pamfili in the Piazza Navona and their Villa on the Janiculus are among the most remarkable artistic creations of papal nepotism in the 17th century, and their splendour helps us in part to forget the darker side and the weakness of such a system. Nevertheless, however

Gli fu risposto che D. Camillo l'haveva comandato; sono inesplicabili i risentimenti che ne fece anco in publico, e condottosi poscia alle sue stanze ne sbraviò con tal vehemenza di sdegno il nipote che esso all'incontro non si potè contenere di non esprimere il desiderio che aveva di vedersi una volta disciolto dei continui rancori, nei quali per l'incontri del zio si trovava. Per molti giorni fece il Papa soprasedere la fabrica e poi deputò il chierico di Camera Msgr. Franzoni, toltane ogni incumbenza a D. Camillo per sopraintendervi e proveduto di nuovo architetto, del Borromino." *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 111; GUIDI, *Borromini*, 81 *seqq.* An **Avviso* of January 23, 1672, refers to the consecration of S. Agnese: On Sunday Cardinal Gualtieri consecrated the church of S. Agnese in Navona: "fatta fabricare da fondamenti dalla f. m. d'Innocenzo X. molto vaga et bella ornata di oro e di fini marmi con bellissime colonne et statue, e gl'altari tutti di basso rilievo di marmi, sicome sarà l'altare maggiore con superbissimo organo, mancandovi di dipingere la cuppola, e di farvi il deposito di domino Papa da esservi trasportato dalla Basilica di S. Pietro." Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] BERGNER, 60. *Cf.* MUÑOZ, *Roma*, 234 *seq.*, and *Borromini*, 8; MAGNI, 16, 63, 64; BRIGGS, 24; HEMPEL, *loc. cit.*, 35, and GURLITT's praise (393 *seq.*), who still ascribed everything to Rainaldi.

much we may be compelled to value the continued patronage of the arts, and to pay our tribute of admiration to what was then achieved, the historian of the Church cannot overlook the harm done by the excessive favour shown by Innocent X. and Urban VIII. to their relatives, and the great loss of prestige which the Holy See suffered in consequence. Like his predecessors, Paul III. and IV., Innocent X. also realized this fact in his more thoughtful moments. However, the aged Pontiff was no longer possessed of sufficient energy to do away with an abuse to which an end was only put at a later period by Innocent XII.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

1. The Cardinal Secretary of State to the Spanish Nuncio [1]

Rome, December 17, 1650.

Il sig^r D. Diego de Silva Velasquez della Camera di Sua Maestà Cattolica, il quale, havendo qui dimorato lungo tempo per servitio della M^tà Sua, ha non solo in esso adempito intieramente le sue parti, ma mostrato ancora straordinario valore nel fare il ritratto di Nostro Signore medesimo ha porto materia lui, per lo che mi ha imposto di scrivere a V. Sig^ia che nella alla S^tà Sua d'inclinare benignamente ad ogni giovamento di pretensione, che egli ha, di conseguire da Sua M^tà uno de' tre habiti militari, Ella promuova con ogni efficacia l'istanza del sig^r D. Diego. Et io havendo ancora particolari cagioni di desiderare a lui sodisfazioni et augumento, sono ad accertar V. Sig^ia che recherò a mio debito verso Lei tutto ciò ch'Ella sarà per operare in vantaggio di lui. E le prego dal Sig^re Dio vera prosperità.

2. The Holy See and the Peace of Westphalia [2]

The material for Chigi's activity as a mediator at the Peace Congress of Westphalia, and the Curia's policy at the time is extraordinarily plentiful, and it has been preserved in its entirety. Whatever Chigi wrote, read or had on his table during his stay at Münster, is almost completely before us.

One part of the documents is in the Papal Secret Archives, another and no less valuable a section is in the Chigi Library. In the Papal Secret Archives (*Nunziatura di paci*, 16–28) are preserved the decoded copies of Chigi's reports from Münster and Aix-la-Chapelle : a complete series, together with his letters *en clair*, and lastly the replies and instructions of the Secretary of State in cypher. Steinberger has made use of these documents, though only for the specialized purpose of

[1] Page 29, n. 2.

[2] Page 94, n. 1.

his valuable work on the Jesuits and the question of peace, whilst he unfortunately had no access to the material in the Chigi Library. The first to give some account of this were GACHARD (*La bibliothèque des Princes de Chigi*) and CIAMPI in his essay *L'epistolario inedito di Fabio Chigi poi Papa Alessandro VII*, in *Atti dei Lincei*, Cl. di scienze morali, Serie III., vol. i (1877). BROM used them in the measure in which his particular purpose required it, in the third volume of his *Archivalia*.

When in 1905, in my capacity as Director of the Austrian Historical Institute, I resolved to examine the part played by the Holy See in the great peace negotiations of the 17th and 18th century, the Westphalian Peace Congress was entrusted to the Prague historian, Dr. W. Kybal, who had the co-operation of a number of members of the Institute, especially that of Dr. von Löhr, Dr. Martin, Dr. Stolz, Dr. Haid and Dr. Grosz. It was of the utmost advantage for us that Prince Mario Chigi (*ob.* 1915), who, since 1879, had most liberally seconded my research work in the Archives, gave permission to use all the material preserved in his library. How rich this is appears from the following extract from the catalogue of MSS.:

A I 1. Registro di lettere scritte in Munster per la pace generale al sacro collegio, a Papa Innocenzo X., a'signori cardinali Panzirolo e Pamfilo, dal 1644 al 1645.—Cod. chart., ipsis annis scriptus. In fol.

A I 2—5. Registro ed abbozzo di lettere in confuso a diversi, in IV tomi divisi, dall'a. 1631 al 1644.—Codd. chart. praedictis annis exarati. In fol.

A I 6. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere scritte da 22 di Dicembre 1644 fino a 26 di Ottobre del 1649.—Eorum, ad quos missae sunt, secundum litterarum seriem, index praecurrit.—C. ch., praedicto tempore exaratus. In fol.

A I 7. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere italiane scritte dal 16 di Novembre di 1649, fino tutto il 31 di Dicembre del 1650.—Sequuntur: Lettere latine scritte da' 12 di Dicembre del 1649 fino tutto il 31 di Dicembre del 1650.—Utriusque linguae epistolis index litterarum ordine praecedit.—C. ch., scr. praedictus annis. In fol.

A I 9–13. Scripturarum ad pontificium secretum missarum et per numeros expressarum acta, cum litteris separatis Fabii

Chisii, Nuntii apostolici ordinarii ad tractus Rheni, et extraordinarii Monasterii pro pace generali. ab a. 1644 ad a. 1650.—Quinque voluminibus comprehenduntur: nonnullae italo sermone et gallico exaratae miscentur; singulis voluminibus materiarum index praefixus.—*Codd. ch.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A I 14–18. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere e cifre scritte a Palazzo, mentr'era Nunzio ordinario al Reno e straordinario per la pace generale a Munster di Vestfalia, dal 1646 al 1651, che fu il suo ritorno in Italia, comprese in V tomi.—*C. ch.*, scr. praedicto tempore. In fol.

A I 21. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere a M^or^ Macchiavelli, patriarca di Constantinopoli, e vescovo di Ferrata, poi cardinale, dal 1641 al 1652.—*C. ch.*, praedictis annis exaratus. In fol.

A I 22. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere scritte a monsignor Albizzi, assessore del Sant'Offizio, dal 1639 al 1651.—*C. ch.*, scr. praedictis annis. In fol.

A I 23. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere scritte da Munster di Vestfalia..., e poi da Aquisgrano, a monsignor Camillo Meltio, arciv^o^ di Capoa e Nunzio della Santa Sede appresso l'Imperatore, dal 1644 al 1652.—*C. ch.*, praedictis annis. In fol.

A I 24. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere scritte da Munster di Vestfalia dal congresso per la pace generale, e poi da Aquisgrano, dal 1644 fino al 1651, a monsignor Niccolò de' conti Guido, Nunzio al Re Cristianissimo Luigi XIV.—*C. ch.*, scr. praedictis annis. In fol.

A I 25. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere a monsignor d'Elci, arcivescovo di Pisa e Nunzio apostolico in Venezia, dal 1647 al 1651, e a monsignor Rospigliosi, Nunzio in Madrid, dal 1644 al 1652.—*C. ch.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A I 26. [Fabio Chigi] Negoziato del 1632 fatto da M. Corsini et da M. Chigi, commissari sopra le controversie tra la Sede Ap^ca^ e la Rep^ca^ di Venezia per li confini di Aviano e di Loreo.—*C. ch.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A I 31. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere a familiarj, dal 1632 al 1647.—*C. ch.*, *anep.*, *autogr.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A I 32. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere a diversi, dal 1626 al 1643.—*C. ch.*, titulo carens. *autogr.*, praed. ann. In fol.

A I 39. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere a Don Augusto e Don Agostino Chigi, dal 1648 al 1654.—*C. ch.*, *autogr.*, praed. In fol.

A I 40. [Fabio Chigi] Lettere a Don Mario Chigi, dal 1649 al 1654.—*C. ch., autogr.*, ips. annorum. In 8°.

A I 42. [Fabio Chigi] Memorie, note e polizze circa i trattati della pace in Munster dal 1644 al 1649.—*C. ch., autogr.*, saec. XVII. In 4°. (Cfr. p. quoted as Diarium.)

A II 27–29. [Fabio Chigi] Registro di lettere scritte a varj personnaggi, dal 1632 al 1652, raccolte in tre tomi.—Virorum index singulis libris praemittitur.—*Codd. ch.*, dictis annis scr. In fol.

A I 44–45. [Fabio Chigi] Epistolarum latinarum ab a. 1639 ad a. 1649 variis ex locis datarum acta, in duo volumina divisa : utrique ecrum, ad quos litterae scriptae sunt, iuxta litteras index praecurrit ; intermiscentur quaedam italico et gallico sermone exarata.—*Cod. ch., anep.*, scr. praedictis annis. In 4°.

A II 36–46. Lettere e cifre di Palazzo a monsignor [Fabio Chigi], vescovo di Nardi. Nunzio per la pace generale a Munster in Vestfalia, dal 1629 al 1651, in XI tomi raccolte.—Viri, qui scribunt, singulos tomos praecedunt.—*Codd. ch., autogr.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A II 47. Registro di cifre di Segretaria di Stato a monsignor Chigi, arcivescovo [!] di Nardi e Nunzio apostolico al Reno, dal 1646 al 1651.—Scribentium index praemissus.—*C. Ch.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A II 49. Lettere della Congregazione del Sant'Offizio a monsignor [Fabio Chigi] Nunzio di Colonia, ed in specie circa il matrimonia del duca di Lorena, il Giansenio e le missioni di Olanda, dal 1639 al 1648. Aliquae latiae et galliae immistae.—*C. ch., autogr.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

A II 51 52, III 53–69, B I 1–3. Lettere su varie materie scritte in diversi tempi ad Alexandrum VII, dal 1620 al 1654, in XII tomi raccolte.—*C. ch., scr. saec.* XVII. In fol.

B I 4. Contarini, Alvise, Venetae reipublicae ad Romanam aulam legatus : Lettere scritte, da' 13 agosto 1649 a' 29 luglio 1650, ad Alessandro VII, mentre era Nunzio in Colonia.—*C. ch.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

Q II 46–49. Lettere a varj personnaggi, brevi, decreti, relazioni, e scritture su varie materie politiche, dal 1643 al 1644, ripartite in IV tomi. Alia latine, alia gallice scripta ; singulis tomis materiarum index praefixus. Index IV. tomi est Fabii Chisii manu exaratus. Epistolas et orationes

aliquorum virorum litteris illustrium mistas reperies.—*Codd. ch., anep.*, scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

Q II 54. Scritture diverse spettanti al trattato della pace di Colonia e di Munster.—Materiarum index praecedit: haec italo, illa gallico sermone exarata.—Saec. XVII. In 4°.

Q III 57. Scritture per la pace generale delle due corone di Francia e di Spagna in Munster, dall'a. 1644 al 1649. Legenda nota praemissa et aliae passim insertae manu Fabii Chisii.—Saec. XVII. In fol.

Q III 58. Scritture per la pace tra l'Imperatore e il Re di Francia in Munster dall'a. 1644 al 1649. Legendae notae scriptae manu Fabii Chisii, pleraque gallico et latino scripta sermone.—Saec. XVII. In fol.

Q III 59. Generanda, comes et Hispaniarum Regis legatus et arbiter in pace Monasterii firmanda: Lettere spagnuole per la pace di Munster, dal 1654 al 1649, a Fabio Chigi. Accedunt nonnullae Imperatoris et Galli ministri epistolae ad eundem.—In fol.

Q III 60–63. Scritture diverse del trattato di Munster, dal 1649 al 1650, raccolte in IV protocolli. Praecedunt nonnulla ab a. 1638 ad 1643. Omnia latine, itale e gallice exarata.—Scr. saec. XVII. In fol.

Q III 65–66. Trattati, concordati e lettere diverse per la pace di Munster, dall'a. 1610 al 1646, raccolte in due tomi. Singulis materiarum index praemissus.—Scr. saec. XVII.—In 4°.

Q III 69–77. Scritture, trattati, editi, articoli, rimonstranze, proteste, lettere e cose simili per la pace di Munster, dall'a. 1644 al 1649, divise in IX volumi. Alia latina, alia itala, alia gallica. In I° vol. interseruntur nonnulla poetica et aliqua in hoc et in ultimo Fabii Chisii manu scripta; praeter quatuor prima, cetera indicem materiarum habent praefixum.—Saec. XVII. In 4°.

When all the material had been examined, that is both that in the Chigi Library and that in the Papal Secret Archives, Professor Dr. Kybal, who had bestowed the utmost diligence on the task, began to have all the more important pieces copied. In this he was assisted by the Austrian Ministry of Education. The work had so far progressed that in his book *Das Oesterreichische Historische Institut in Rom 1901–1913* (Vienna, 1914), Dengel was able to express the hope that

publication would begin in the near future. But then the World War broke out. I still hope that somehow, with the coming of better times, the publication on which Professor Kybal has bestowed so much toil, will be realized. Out of consideration for him I have refrained from printing some of the reports.

3. Paolo Casati S.J. on the Conversion of Queen Christine of Sweden [1]

November 19th, 1655.

Al M. R. P. in Christo P. Fran^co Bonelli della Compagnia di Giesù.

Non posso lasciare di sodisfare alla giusta curiosità di V. R. che ha desiderato di sapere in ristretto e brevemente, con qual progresso sia andata la resolutione della Ser^ma Regina di Svetia di lasciare il regno e farsi cattolica. Ecco dunque brevemente il fatto. Cominciò la Regina internamente a dubitare di molte cose della setta Luterana, e tanto più, quanto meno le vedeva spiegate dalli suoi Pastori (che così chiamano colà li predicanti e ministri), onde con maggior attentione e diligenza studiando ne' libri di quella setta, tanto più si confermò ne' suoi dubii, e perciò con sollecitudine e straordinaria agitatione di mente si diede ad informarsi di quante sette sono mai state, e per trovar se in alcuna potesse acquietarsi, et in questo occupò lo spatio di cinque anni continui non mancando di conferire con più dotti homini, che colà capitassero, anche da lei chiamati ; ma non ritrovando sodisfattione in alcuna, si risolse di seguire quella, in cui era allevata, stimando che dal canto suo bastasse nell'opre seguire in tutto il dettame della ragione, nè far cosa, di cui potesse giamai arrossirsi ; parvele di haver trovato quiete, e così stette due anni in circa ; ma il Signore Iddio, che vedeva la sua buona volontà, volle illuminarla nell'intelletto con eccitar di nuovo la sollecitudine per trovar la vera fede. Stava in questa anzietà, quando

[1] *Cf.* this work, p. 343 *seqq.* Extracts in Ranke, III., 61 *seq.*, 183* *seq.* For Casati see Arckenholtz, I., 471 ; Sommervogel, II., 799 *seq.* ; IX., 2 *seq.*

giunse a Stockolm un'ambasciatore di Portogallo, che seco conduceva due Padri della Comp. di Giesù, uno de' quali era il P. Antonio Macedo, che serviva d'interprete all'ambasciatore con sua M^tà^; quest'occasione di trattare col Padre fece che la Regina lo scoprisse per huomo prudente e fidato: onde assicurandosi della di lui secretezza, ne sperando d'haver mai più simile occasione, s'indusse a persuaderlo di partir nascostamente, et all'improviso alla volta di Roma, consegnandoli sue lettere indirizzate al P. Franc. Piccolomini Generale della Compagnia, nelle quali lo richiedeva che mandasse doi Padri, e nominatamente li voleva Italiani, co' quali potesse conferire alcune cose di religione, dando intentione di farsi cattolica, reconosciuta ch' havesse la verità. Giunse il P. Macedo a Roma sul fine di Ottobre del 1651, dove trovando morto il P. Piccolomini, diede le lettere al P. Vicario, che hora è Generale. Egli le aprì, et essendo quelle in lingua francese familiarissima alla Regina, le confidò al P. Anat Assistente di Francia, col quale e col P. Assistente d'Italia e P. Segretario consultò per elettione di chi dovea mandarsi, et a me toccò questa buona fortuna; e si scrisse acciò da Torino si spiccasse il P. Franc. de Malines, e venisse a trovarmi nel luogo assegnato. Partii alli 22 di Novembre di quell'anno 1651, et accompagnatomi per strada col P. Malines arrivammo a Stockolm il giorno di S. Matthia 1652, circa il qual tempo S. M^tà^ ci stava aspettando, conforme a quello che da Roma se l'era scritto. Furono frequentissimi e di molte hore per volta li colloquii (trovando la prudenza di S. M^tà^ l'opportunità del tempo e del luogo) et assicuro V. R. che ho visto con evidenza gli effetti della divina bontà, la quale immediatamente scioglieva i nodi inestricabili che tenevano impegnata la mente della Regina, et operava molto più nel cuore di quello di fuori apparisse. Ella havea tanta cognizione delle cose della religione cattolica, che non havea mestieri d'istruzione, sgombrate le nebbie de' dubii che haveva intorno ad alcune cose particolari; e la perspicacia del suo ingegno, aiutata da una singolar gratia dello Spirito Santo, facea che in un colloquio si potesse discorrere di molte dificoltà, alle quali date che havevamo le risposte, che il Sig^r^ Iddio ci suggeriva proportionate alle interrogationi, lasciavamo che il Sig^o^ Iddio pefettionasse l'opra che havea cominciata. Ella finalmente alla fine d'aprile si risolse d'abbracciare la santa fede cattolica, e perchè già molto prima havea pensato a

ciò, ch'ella dovesse fare in evento che a ciò si risolvesse et, in caso che senza pericolo della sua salute non potesse congiungere allo stato reale la vera fede, vedendo non esser possibile introdurre nel regno la religione cattolica, nè fermarsi nel governo di essa senza pericolo di far cosa ripugnante alla protestatione della vera fede, chiaramente disse, che voleva rinunciare al regno, e dissegnatone il modo, subito spedì me verso Roma, acciò per mezzo del P. nostro Generale si rappresentasse a Nostro Sig^re^ Innocentio X di fel. mem. et acciò io pigliassi alcune informationi spettanti a questo. Partii di Stockolm con suo passaporto sul principio di Maggio di quell'anno, ma non potendomi dar lettera per Sua Santità, poichè non era gionto certo corriere, ch'ella aspettava, mi commandò le aspettassi in Nambourg, ma tardando l'arrivo del corriere, con lettera delli 21 di Maggio m'impose, che partissi con una sola sua lettera al P. Generale, ch'era lettera di credenza a quello, che io haverei esposto, ma con espressa riserva di non parlarne con N^ro^ Sig^re^, sinchè non ricevessi le lettere ch'ella mi havria mandato a Roma per mezzo del P. Malines, che pensava doversi spedire dopo 15 giorni. Non comparve mai il P. Malines, nè le lettere, onde spediti gl'altri negotii commessimi, et havute le informationi necessarie, parte delle quali s'hebbero dall'E^mo^ Chigi ora N^ro^ Sig^re^ Alessandro VII, il quale unicamente era consapevole del butto sin da principio, partii sul fine di Settembre da Roma, et essendomi per strada per varie contingenze trattenuto, giunsi alla fine del 1652 a Nambourg. Ivi trovai lettere di S. M^tà^ che m'ingiongevano di non passar avanti : avvisai del mio arrivo e ricevei ordine di mandare le informationi portate e d'aspettare il P. Malines ; ma tardandoe questi, finalmente hebbi licenza di tornarmene in Italia circa la metà di Marzo 1653, et il penultimo di Giugno giunsi di ritorno a Roma.

Mentre nell'estate del 1653 io era di ritorno a Roma, giunse a Stockolm il Sig^r^ D. Antonio Pimentel inviato dal Re di Spagna, che seco havea il P. Carlo Manderscheidt della nostra Compagnia, et ambedue riconobbero il P. Malines già da loro conosciuto in Fiandra molt'anni prima. In progresso di tempo S. M^tà^ prese confidenza nella prudenza del Pimentel, e communicatagli la risolutione di lasciare il regno per farsi cattolica, e che prima di venire a Roma volea ritirarsi nelli stati di S. M^tà^ Catt^ca^, dovea D. Antonio andare in Hispagna a

rappresentarlo al Re. Ma non potendo egli all'hora andare, si prese ispediente d'inviare un Padre Domenicano Spagnuolo, il quale, quand'io era in Svetia, stava in Coppenhagen cappellano del conte di Rebogliedo ambasciatore di Spagna appresso il Re di Danimarca. Se questo Padre fosse chiamato a posta o ivi si trovasse a caso, non lo so, perchè già erano molti mesi che m'ero partito ; a lui, come a Religioso prudente che havria guardato il segreto, fu communicata la risolutione già presa dalla Regina, e fu spedito in Spagna, dovendo poco dopo seguitare D. Antonio ; ma questi tardando la sua partenza, al Padre Malines, che al fine di Marzo dovea venire per ritornare meco in Italia, mandò la Regina ordine di passare in Spagna, d'onde fu di ritorno a Roma al fine di Giugno 1653.

Non stava la Regina otiosa per l'essecutione de' suoi dissegni, e già inviava la sua biblioteca, come m'avvisò con lettera di Agosto 1653, e con altre lettere scritte al P. Generale mostrava grandissimo desiderio di venire a fine de' suoi dissegni, sempre assicurandoci della sua costanza e della prontezza per superare ogni difficoltà. Quando finalmente con una delli 26 di Febbraio 1654 scritta da Upsal tutta piena d'allegrezza mi avvisò di haver conchiuso la sua rinoncia del regno, e che con pretesto delle acque di Spah saria venuta in Fiandra—il che s'esseguì com'è noto a tutti. Si trattenne qualche tempo in Anversa, poi andata a Bruselles immediatamente avanti la festa di Natale l'istesso anno 1654 alla presenza del Ser^{mo} Arciduca Leopoldo, del General conte Montecuccoli, chiamato da Vienna dalla stessa Regina, di D. Antonio Pimentel e D. Antonio de la Cueva fece privatamente la professione della fede cattolica. E perchè molto si premeva che la cosa si communicasse a quanti meno si poteva, giudicorno di non chiamare altra persona ecclesiastica, havendosi ottenute le necessarie facoltà per il Padre Domenicano, ricondotto di Spagna dal Pimentelli per segretario suo dell'ambasciata ; e questi poi ha sempre segretamente servito la Regina da cappellano e di confessore. Quest'estate poi del 1655 scrisse la Regina a N^{ro} Sig^{re} Alessandro settimo dando a Sua Sta parte della risolutione e di venirsene a Roma, e si concertò che uscita da luoghi mescolati d'eretici, in Inspruck facesse publica professione della fede cattolica, com'ella ha fatto alli 3 di Novembre, con quelle circostanze che per esser note a V. R. non giudico di replicare, bastandomi con questo semplice

e breve racconto di haver soddisfatto al desiderio che ho di dichiararmi.

D. V. R.

dal Collegio Romano li 19 Novembre 1655.

Umilissimo servo nel Sig^re
Paolo Casati
della Compagnia di Giesù ".

[Contemporary copy in the State Archives, Modena, *Documenti di Stati Esteri, Svezia,* B^ta I.]

4. Memorandum of P. Sforza Pallavicino for Alexander VII. on the Benefices of the Nephews [1]

May 9th, 1656.

He thanks the Pope for his confidence. He discusses the reasons for and against calling the nephews. He then proceeds :

" Per evitar i narrati incomodi dell'una e dell'altra parte io non veggo altro modo se non quello che le accennai nell'ultima àudienza, cioè che la S^tà V. col publicare la risolutione di chiamare i signori suoi parenti promulgasse anche una bolla giurata ad lei e da tutti i cardinali, la qual è necessaria a due cose : l'una da assicurar il mondo della sua futura moderazione, della quale non si fidarà mai in altra maniera, havendo veduto questo primo passo ed anche l'esempio degli antecessori, ciascun de' quali ha cominciato protestando di voler esser moderato e poi ha dato in eccessi. L'altra, obligare i successori all'imitazione, già che un motivo principale della chiamata è lasciare un esempio imitabile.

In questa bolla si potrebbe prescrivere quello che i Papi al più dovessero dar a i loro parenti, non già con tanta strettezza quanta V. S^tà disegna rispetto a se, perchè io stimo che a questa i pontefici non siano obligati, ma dentro a quei concetti, tra quali si custodisse insieme la discrezione e la edificazione, aggiugnendosi che quando fusser più il successore, debba ritorlo con tutte le altre cautele, per le quali habbiamo vedute osservate le bolle di Pio e di Sisto.

Oltre a ciò dovrebbe contenere la medesima bolla che non debbano i Papi promuover al cardinalato alcun de' loro parenti

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 22.

se non dopo tanto tempo di vita clericale e di prelatura, il che sarebbe di grand'edificazione per molti capi e terrebbe in offizio fra tanto quello, il qual suol poi esser l'arbitro del pontificato e darebbe commodità al Papa et agli altri di conoscerlo nell'esperienza. E se V. Stà non provede a questo con bolla da se giurata, non potrà difendersi ella medesima dalle violenti istanze de' principi, i quali pensaranno di guadagnarsi il signor D. Flavio con strappar dalle mani di V. Sta in poche settimane un cappello per lui. E pure la sua gioventù e l'essere stato fin hora secolare non par che lo renda maturo a questa dignità nè secondo l'idea di Christo nè secondo di quella della Stà V. E finalmente converrebbe statuire in questa bolla che a sì fatti cardinali non si potesse dar più che una entrata ragionevole, per esempio di 12m scudi, il che sarebbe di gran consolatione al Collegio.

Terzo potrebbe V. Sta ordinare che i signori suoi congiunti trattassero con assai minor altura che non hanno usata i passati nepoti de' Papi. Il che cagionarebbe edificazione et amore. E ciò senza verun pregiudizio, perchè non essendo quella magnifica scena de' nipoti de' Papi durabile dopo la morte del zio, è meglio metterli in posto d'onde poi non debban calare.

Quarto. Potrebbe dichiararsi la S. V. publicamente in concistoro che da' cardinali, i quali elle è per fare in sua vita, non richiede per gratitudine che ne' conclavi futuri seguano altri che Cristo, anzi che riputerà ingrati a lei quelli che procederanno ivi con altro rispetto.

Con questi concettini la chiamata di quei signori può riuscire utile e non dannosa al governo nè scandalosa al cristianesimo, anzi d'edificazione."

[Chigi Library, Rome, C. III, 70, p. 156–9.]

5. Instruction for Baldeschi, Nuncio in Switzerland [1] 1665.

" . . . Quelli Pontefici che mossi da smisurato zelo stabilirono che sotto pena di scomunica non si dovesse pratticar cogli eretici, non ebbero mai la mira d'includer coloro che dovevano affaticarsi alla lora conversione : et in fatti come è possibile

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 148.

di tirar gl'heretici alla nostra fede, se non si pratticano, se non si conversa con essi loro ?

Io non dico che V. S. entri a trattato alcuno con i Cantoni protestanti, nè comunicar con i loro deputati ; ma bensì di levarsi ogni scrupulo di conversar con i loro particolari, et è certo che quei Nuntii, che sono stati li più retinenti a far ciò, sono quelli che hanno meglio riuscito ne' negotiati e che hanno rotto e non risarcito i trattati."

Conviene conoscer prima gl'humori particolari degl'huomini, chi vuol ben negotiare cogl'huomini publici delle nationi ; che però il conversar di quando in quando con le persone civili dei Cantoni protestanti e l'ordinare alli suoi domestici che faccino lo stesso, non può portar che grandi avvantaggi alla sua Nunziatura, perchè in questa maniera imparerà a conoscere li loro humori ; sopra di che le sarà più facile di fondare quel tanto che deve negotiare.

Oltre a questo, conversando V. S. li protestanti con quella gentilezza e prudenza che sono state sempre naturali alla sua persona, portarà un gran beneficio alla nostra religione medesima et aprirà tanto maggiormente la strada alla conversione di quei popoli, quali hanno impresso nell'animo, come ancora tutti gl'altri protestanti del mondo, il cattivo concetto che noi habbiamo di loro e l'avversione che verso di loro hanno i nostri popoli, che si muovono, se non per altra, per questa ragione ad odiarci e a star costanti alla loro durezza ; onde bisogna con la frequentatione disingannarli a puoco a puoco della opinione che hanno che noi li odiamo, e fargli conoscere che il nostro humore è contrario alla loro imaginatione. Così, se una volta saranno spogliati della avversione che hanno per noi, si renderà facile il modo d'istruirli nella nostra dottrina, particolarmente nei punti che essi ignorano e che noi siamo obligati di farli conoscere.

Non sono 20 anni che alcuni deputati d'un certo luogo del..., che non voglio nomare per qualche consideratione, andarono per negotiare nella corte d'un principe d'alto grido, ma quello ch'è più curioso, essi avevano intrapreso la deputatione con ferma speranza di guadagnar tutto, perchè s'imaginavano questa corte piena d'huomini di puoca esperienza, et accettuatone un solo, mettevano tutti gl'altri alla dozzena ; e pure li ministri di questa corte per lungo spatio di tempo si erano assuefatti nel trattare con li ministri di molti principi

negl'affari e negotiati più importanti dell'Europa ; et essi non havevano mai negotiato altro che qualche cause civile di diece scudi, o per lo più essercitati a condannare alcuna puttanella alla frusta ; tanto più che essendo restati puoco men che due mesi in detta corte, si viddero loro stessi ligati con quei medesimi lacci, con i quali credevano ligar gl'altri, e posti in un labirinto, di dove non poterono svilupparsi che con puoca loro riputazione e con danno notabile del loro principe.

Somigliante cosa successe ad un nostro Monsignore assai bene conosciuto da V. S., il quale nel pontificato di Urbano VIII fu eletto per essercitar la Nuntiatura nella Svissa, che abbracciò volentieri, havendo ancor egli negl'affari politici maggior fumo che arrosto, essendosi posto in testa di poter ridurre in breve tutta la parte heretica in cattolica e tutta la cattolica obligar a riconoscere il Pontifice per arbitro sovrano di tutti gl'affari civili e criminali de' Cantoni. Fondava questi suoi pensieri e ventose intraprese sopra alcune historie vecchie lette da lui e sopra certi rapporti interessati riferiti più tosto per ridere che per altro, quali gli havevano preoccupato lo spirito e ridottolo a credere che gli Svisseri erano huomini di grosso legname, mercenarii della loro vita istessa da loro ordinariamente venduta per denari, ignoranti di lettere, puoco assidui nella lettura dei buoni libri e costumati ad imbriacarsi dalla mattina fino alla sera ; che però stimava egli facile di guadagnar tutto sopra lo spirito di huomini si fatti ; onde nel viaggio in quelle parti andava dicendo ad alcuni suoi più confidenti che sperava in breve di poter mettere i Svisseri tutt'insieme in un fiasco.

Ma giunto alla giurisditione della sua Nuntiatura, trovò le cose molto diverse da quello egli si era immaginate, et in cambio di mettere li Svizzeri in un fiasco, si vidde egli medesimo posto dagli Svizzeri in una scatola, e in tre anni di Nuntiatura non potè mai spuntare alcuna cosa che fusse favorevole alla Sede Apost., e pure i Svizzeri spuntarono molti punti in loro favore et in detrimento di Roma, che non havevano mai potuto ottenere in tempo dell'altro Nuntio. Onde, ritornato doppo questo pur buon ministro a Roma, andava dicendo per tutto, che " gli Svizzeri erano grossolani di nome, ma non d'effetti " ; et è certo che questa carica lo fece perder molto di stima, e non per altro forse se non perché si era

addormentato sopra la speranza di dover trattare con popoli rozzi e di puoco valore ; che è un grand'errore proprio a far perdee molti ministri, quali devono sempre immaginarsi di dover negotiar con huomini molto più esperti di loro, perché questa immaginatione l'oblighera a studiar sempre più le maniere di ben negotiare.

Sono veramente li Svisseri puoco inclinati alle lettere, perché il loro mestiere principale è quello dell'armi ; ad ogni modo vi trattengono di buonissime università publiche, dalle quali sono usciti sapientissimi huomini, ma in picciolo numero, essendo vero che generalmente il loro spirito non è delli più sottili del mondo nè dei più speculativi della terra, conservando non so che di rozzo, che si crede generato dall'asprezze di tante montagne che circondano quel paese. Ma, sia come si voglia, havendo da qualche tempo in quà introdotto il costume di far viaggiar la gioventù, hanno dato con questo quasi un'altra natura a quel luogo, e con la prattica delle nationi straniere si sono così bene assottigliati che al presente sorpassano nella finezza quasi tutti gl'altri popoli di Europa. Onde un certo ministro di sperimentato valore che haveva lungamente negotiato con quelli Cantoni, si lasciò intendere che questi popoli erano divenuti tanto sottili, che bisognava stracciare i fogli di tutti quei libri che li descrivevano per grossolani. Et io ho inteso dire ad un Francese, che al presente era più facile d'ingannare un cattivo Spagnuolo che un buon Svizzero. Et in questi sentimenti s'accordano molti altri ministri che negotiano con dette Cantoni.

Bisogna di necessità confessare esser questi popoli molto prudenti et accorti nel maneggiare i loro interessi, e dicano gl'altri quello che voglioni, giachè hanno saputo mantenersi per sì lungo tempo in libertà e vivere nel mezzo d'una diversità si grande di religioni con tanta quiete tra di loro, oltre che sanno così ben fare i fatti loro, che i più grandi principi d'Europa con solenni ambasciate li ricercano per confederarsi con essi loro, e li trattengono con buone somme di danaro, e tra tante rotture tra Francia e Spagna hanno saputo benissimo e con molto ingegno mantenersi con ambe le parti, cavar dall'una e dall'altra immensi tesori, e ben spesso per ragion di politica si sono dati a contrapesar la bilancia, potendosi dire che la liberta dell'Italia è stata più volte mantenuta dal valore e prudenza delli Svisseri ; nè queste cose si operano che da

grandi giudicii ; essendo vero che sotto una cattiva scorza si nasconde spesso un dolce frutto. . . ."

[Papal Sec. Arch. *Nunziat. diverse*, 242 *seq.*, 341–4.]

" . . . La malitia humana è cresciuta et avvanzata sì oltre, che molti principi e senati de' più cattolizzanti si vanno allontanando con ogni industria da quella continua obbedienza che doverebbero prestare alla Sede Apost., e per lo più tengono a gloria di allontanare il Pontefice da tutti li loro negotiati, et, in cambio di sottomettersi a' suoi consigli paterni, non vogliono neanche communicarli quel tanto che da loro stessi havranno negotiato con altri, scusandosi con dire che il Pontefice non deve ingerirsi nelle materie di stato, ma in quelle cose che riguardano l'anima solamente, come se non fosse l'anima quella che dee condurre il corpo ad oprar bene, o che fusse possibile la divisione di queste due parti ; e già si sa che ultimamente nel trattato di pace tra Francia e Spagna li plenipotentiarii da per loro accommodarono tutti gl'articoli e, quel che più importa, anco in ciò dove vi andava l'interesse del Papa, senza che gliene participassero cosa immaginabile, essempio invero di molto pregiuditio alla grandezza della Sede Apost. et alla Maestà pontificia, perchè dicono gl'altri : Se il Mazarino, che era cardinale e per conseguenza obligato a portar inanzi gl'interessi del Pontefice et a render la Maestà di questo di maggior riputatione, non volse nè meno che si sapesse che egli havesse parte alcuna a' trattati di quella pace procurata molto tempo prima dal zelo dello stesso Pontefice, perchè permetteremo noi che detto Papa s'introduca a' maneggi politici de' nostri stati e consigli ?

Li Cantoni protestanti, che sanno molto bene questa puoco buona dispositione de' principi cattolica verso la Sede Apost., ne godono sommamente, essendo un punto di gran conseguenza al loro mantenimento che la Maestà del Pontefice perda di concetto nel mondo e che la corte di Roma non sia chiamata a parte di alcun maneggio ; onde, come già ne ho toccato qualche cosa, studiano ogni industria per divertire i Cantoni cattolici e farli risolvere a fare le cose da per loro, senza mescolarvi l'autorità del Papa ; e fortificano questi loro consigli con gl'essempii de'principi cattolici medesimi. Che però V. S. deve star con gl'occhi aperti in questo particolare, perchè, se una volta s'impossessa qualche sinistro concetto

del Papa nella mente delli Svisseri, potrebbesi in breve rinversare tutta la religione in quei paesi. Certo è che tra tutti li principi del christianesimo non se ne trova alcuno che sia più ossequioso delli Svisseri verso la Sede Apost., onde bisogna saperli conservare procurandoli qualche avvantaggio col fargli vedere che l'intentione di Roma non batte ad altro che ad avvantaggiare sopra tutti gl'altri i loro interessi, et in fatti converrà mostrarlo con l'opere.

Fra le mani de'Cantoni protestanti vi sono un'infinità di beni ecclesiastici alienati e venduti da' loro magistrati a molti particolari, che li godono come proprii e che conviene a nostro dispetto, per così dire, lasciarglieli godere, non trovandosi alcun rimedio sino a che la Providenza Divina non disponga le cose in altra forma e non gli dia altra faccia.

Il parlar di racquistar tali beni, ciò sarebbe il metter tutta la Svissa in rivolta, et in questo s'interessarebbero gl'Olandesi e tutte le altre città de'protestanti, per le conseguenze che da ciò ne risultarebbero a lor detrimento. Ben è vero che tra li confini d'alcuni Cantoni cattolici e protestanti vi sono certe cure e beni di monasterii, che essi protestanti godono, quantunque confinanti con i territorii de' cattolici ; in che potrebbe V. S. adoprarsi per la restitutione, se non in altra forma, almeno con la compra di detti beni, quando però volessero consentire per levargli dalle lor mani. . . ."

[*Ibid.*, 242 *seq.*, 345–6.]

6. The "Vita di Alessandro VII" of Sforza Pallavicino.

At the time of Alexander VII's election, Sforza Pallavicino's famous *History of the Council of Trent*, the first volume of which appeared in 1656, was almost complete in MS. But now he undertook another historical task when he began a biography of the reigning Pope whose friend he had been from his youth.[1] Unfortunately, the work was never completed. The cause was not, as Muratori affirms (*ad a.* 1656) and as was long believed, that his pen fell from his hand when he saw the Pope's nepotism, for he has left a full account precisely of this incident.[2] His account reaches the year 1659. On

[1] *Cf.* Macchia, *Relazioni fra il P. Sf. Pallavicino e Fabio Chigi*, Torino, 1907.

[2] *Cf.* above, XXXI., p. 22 *seqq.*

November 10th of that year Pallavicino was raised to the purple, so that there can be but little doubt that this event was the cause of the interruption of the work, for Pallavicino was as conscientious a historian as he was a conscientious Cardinal. His duties as such were more weighty than those of a historian, hence the latter were put on one side. To this must be added the infirmities of age.[1] The continuation of the *Vita* was put off. It was only a fragment when Pallavicino died on June 5th, 1667, at the age of 60.[2] Though no one thought of publishing it, it was widely spread in manuscript, though often enough with many errors. We find it in the Papal Secret Archives (*Cod. Bolognetti*, 246–7) and in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Ottob.* 2574–5, as well as in the MSS. collections of the Altieri, Albani, Barberini,[3] Corsini,[4] Chigi, and in the Alessandrina.[5] Affò [6] mentions copies at Mantua and Turin, and Novaes one in the library of the Roman Jesuits.[7] Many of these MSS. are so fragmentary that Ciaconius thought

[1] On July 12, 1664, Pallavicino writes to Ang. Correr: "La sterilità della mia età e della mia complessione mi predicano che l'ultimo volume della mia istoria, pur uscito ora a luce, sarà l'ultimo della mia penna" (*Lettere*, III., Roma, 1848, 171). After that Pallavicino wrote his splendid introduction to Christian life and thought (*Arte della perfezione cristiana*) which appeared in July, 1665, inasmuch as he felt an obligation "di scriver alcuna cosa indirizzata meramente ad onor di Dio" (*Lettere*, I., 29). Here also he speaks of his many duties. *Cf.* Luigi Rossi Da Lucca in *La Provincia di Teramo*, 1902, No. 42.

[2] His funeral inscription, of classic simplicity, on the floor of S. Andrea al Quirinale, in FORCELLA, IX., 120.

[3] *Cod.*, LIV., 54 e 55. Latin translation entitled "Alexandri VII. de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi" in *Barb.* 2575, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* RANKE, III., App. No. 130, who, as usual, gives no reference. This whole passage in Ranke, as Reumont (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, V., 636) already observed, has not been altered in subsequent editions so that it is wholly out of date.

[4] *Cod.*, 173–4, 729–731.

[5] *Cod.*, II., L., 9.

[6] *Memorie degli scrittori Parmigiani*, V., 158 *seq*

[7] NOVAES, X., 195.

that there was no question of a *Vita* but merely of a collection of notes for private use, for the purpose of fixing the more important events.[1] In reality, Pallavicino's *Vita di Alessandro VII.* is a finely executed biography of great historical value. At first only selections from it were published, as in 1837 the description of the plague in Rome,[2] and in the following year the Chapter on Queen Christine of Sweden.[3] The first complete edition appeared in 1839 at Prato, followed by a reprint at Milan in 1843.

Although the Prato edition has for its sub-title "tratta dei migliori manoscritti esistenti nelle biblioteche di Roma", it teems with inaccuracies, so that it was only right that Ottavio Gigli, the editor of other works of Pallavicino, should prepare a new edition based on a better manuscript.[4] Unfortunately, as a result of the storms of the revolution, only 240 pages of the first volume appeared, that is the first Book and part of Book II, up to Chapter V. The text breaks off abruptly at the account of Astalli's elevation to the cardinalate.[5]

[1] Ciaconius, IV., 741.

[2] Descrizione del contagio che da Napoli si communicò a Roma nell'anno 1656 e de' saggi provvedimenti ordinati allora da Alessandro VII., estratta dalla vita del medesimo che conservasi manoscritta nella biblioteca Albani, opera inedita del card. Sf. Pallavicino, Roma, 1837.

[3] Descrizione del primo viaggio fatto a Roma dalla regina di Svezia Cristina Maria . . . e delle accoglienze quivi avute sino alla sua partenza, opera inedita del p. Sf. Pallavicino, tratta da un manoscritto della biblioteca Albani, Roma, 1838. The publication gave rise to the erroneous notion, still held by Claretta (*Christina X.*), that Pallavicino had written a special history of the Queen of Sweden.

[4] *Vita di Alessandro VII., Opera inedita, pubblicata secondo la lezione del codice chigiano,* tomo i, Roma, Tipografia della Società Editrice Romana, 1849 (*Opere edite ed inedite del cardinale Sforza Pallavicino,* tomo xiv, 1849: *Biblioteca classica sacra o sia Raccolta di opere religiose di celebri autori edite ed inedite del secolo* xiv *al* xix, *ordinata e pubblicata da* Ottavio Gigli, secolo xvii, tomo xxxi).

[5] At the words: "Fu d'infinita ammirazione alla qual non vedea nel" (Prato edition, 155).

It has become very rare. Giuseppe Cugnoni, Professor at the Roman University and head of the Biblioteca Chigiana up to the time of his death, had planned a new edition, but he failed to find a publisher. Much of his material was given by him to Professor Luigi Rossi Da Lucca for the latter's excellent articles on "Sforza Pallavicino prosatore", unfortunately published in a little-known periodical (*La Provincia di Teramo*, 1902, No. 27–52; 1903, 1–13). I too owe much valuable information to Cugnoni not only for the present dissertation but for the whole of my presentment of Alexander VII.

The Chigi Library has the following MSS. of Pallavicino's *Vita di Alessandro VII*.

(1) E I 1–5. Five small volumes, in 4°.

(2) D III 46 and 47. Two volumes in folio, probably the copy mentioned by Affò, *loc. cit.*, which had belonged to Cardinal Imperiali and of which there are several copies in the Chigiana.

(3) D III 49. One volume in folio, incomplete.

(4) Unsigned: "Vita di Alessandro Papa settimo fino alla sua elezione in pontefice, cioè fino a tutto il secondo libro."

(5) D III 42. Latin translation of the *Vita*, but incomplete.

The first of these MSS. is undoubtedly the best. It is the real original MS. which Pallavicino left by will to Cardinal Flavio,[1] who consigned it to the Roman family library. There the MS. remained long unnoticed, until Luigi Maria Rezzi first drew attention to it.[2] Gigli also recognized its value and based his edition upon it, whereas the Prato edition is for the most part based on the less satisfactory copy in the Albani library.

The Codices E I 1–5 are by different hands, though this should not create any difficulties, for as Pallavicino himself informed the Pope, he had his work written out by copyists, on account of his own extraordinarily bad handwriting.[3] That this text is the best of all is proved by the corrections of the

[1] Affò, *Vita del card. Sf. Pallavicino*, Roma, 1845, 133.

[2] *Cf.* Pietro Giordani al celeb. Mons. A. Mai, 1820 (*Scritti editi e postumi*, III., 404).

[3] *Cod.* C III., 63, p. 231, of Bibl. Chigi, Rome. Pallavicino's bad handwriting may be seen in his letters in the Bibl. Casanat., Rome.

author which mingle with corrections from the hand of Alexander VII. himself, for Pallavicino submitted to the Pope the various parts of his work as they were completed. Alexander VII.'s corrections are for the most part concerned with dates and names, and at times with the text itself.[1] These corrections are either in the text or on the margin, unfortunately some of them were written in pencil and have become illegible. As a result of the Pope's corrections, Pallavicino himself altered many passages and added others. How closely the Pope revised the work appears from the fact that he corrected even minor mistakes.[2]

There can be no doubt of the high value of Pallavicino's biography of Alexander VII., seeing that it was, as it were, written under the very eyes of the Pope and by one of his oldest and most intimate friends, who had been, for the most part, an ocular and auricular witness [3] of what he recounts and whose advice the Pope had often taken in the most important questions.[4] In his preface he himself says that during a period of thirty years he had enjoyed the confidence of Alexander VII. to such a degree (as proved by oral and written communications), that he believed he knew all that the Pope did, and even what he thought. Even after his elevation to the Chair of Peter, Alexander continued to communicate to him all the secrets which he needed to know for his work.[5] The correspondence between Pallavicino and Alexander VII. (*Cod. Chigi*, C III, 63) reveals the intimate relations between the two men, as well as the fact that Pallavicino turned to his friend on the papal throne for

[1] Thus the sentence on Chigi's stay at Münster : " e neppure " up to " Spagnuoli " (I., 132), is an addition by the Pope.

[2] Thus in IV., 9 (Prato edition, II., 73) he changed " nipote " into ' cugino " and " zio " into " cugino ". In IV., 16, Pallavicino had given " Andrea " as Cremonino's Christian name ; this was changed into " Cesare " by the Pope. The Prato edition (II., 125) has this correction.

[3] See the opinion of Luigi Rossi Da Lucca in *Provincia di Teramo*, 1902, No. 38.

[4] *Cf.* Pallavicino's letters to Alexander VII. in Macchia, 67 *seqq.*, 82 *seqq.*

[5] *Vita*, I., 20 ; *cf.* II., 171.

information for his work.[1] They corresponded not only on the contents of the *Vita*, but on the style and even the orthography. How carefully Pallavicino prepared himself for his task is shown by his preliminary studies, many of which are still preserved in the family Archives at Ariccia. The value of the work is further enhanced by the fact that, as appears from several passages,[2] many parts were written at the time when the events took place. Subsequently also no changes were made; thus the curious passage on youthful Louis XIV. was retained,[3] though the subsequent conduct of that monarch did not confirm it.

Real errors occur extremely rarely in the biography,[4] and with few exceptions the author's judgments may be accepted.[5] The freedom with which he describes the shadows in Innocent X.'s rule is worthy of notice. If there are none such in that of Alexander VII., the reason is that the first five years of his pontificate gave no room for criticism. That Pallavicino did not approve of the subsequent lapse into nepotism is shown by his sharp comments before his death.[6] However sincere an admirer of his hero Pallavicino may have been, he never falls into flattery or untruths, for he was aware that a falsehood would have been the surest means to forfeit the favour of the Pope.[7]

If we compare Pallavicino's presentment with the many new documents that we now possess, we find it fully confirmed.[8] Hence it is most regrettable that he only described

[1] See *letters in *Codex* S. 22, 26, 46.

[2] *Vita*, II., 90.

[3] "Ludovico XIV. giovane di 16 anni candido e pio di costumi" (*Vita*, II., 296).

[4] Thus Mazarin is described as "piccolo gentilhuomo di Sicilia" whereas he was born at Pescina in the Abruzzi; see ORLANDINI, *La patria e la famiglia del card. Mazarino*, in *Riv. Abruzzese*, IX. (1911).

[5] Thus (I., 272), Adrian VI. is as wrongly judged as he is in the History of the Council of Trent; *cf.* our data IX., 226 *seq.*

[6] *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. VI., 394 *seqq.*

[7] *Vita*, I., 21.

[8] This has been pointed out by SCARABELLI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. VI., 389, who also shows that where A. Corer disagrees with

the first five years of the pontificate. The passages concerning Queen Christine prove that Pallavicino had access to the very best sources and that he sometimes quotes them textually, If chronological data are less prominent in his narrative, the fault is one that Pallavicino shares with his contemporaries. But there are no inaccuracies. The narrative is as detailed as it is lively, and connoisseurs such as Luigi Rossi Da Lucca praise his style.[1] Certain obscurities are due to the circumstance that the printed edition is not based on the original manuscript.

7. Bargellini to Rospigliosi [2]

Paris, September 25, 1668.[3]

" Con mia estrema mortificatione et infinito dispiacere hieri in occasione di vedere monsieur di Lionne a San Germano, e questa mattina in casa sua propria,ho conosciuti avverati i miei sospetti. Dolendomi confidentemente, e rappresentando a S. Ecc^za^ ciò che hebbi l'honore di portare coll'ultima mia cifra a V. E., mi ha risposto che, quando i quattro vescovi habbino fatto un processo verbale, e che stia nascosto, la Chiesa non deve giudicare delle cose occulte ; che hanno imitato l'esempio di quarant'altri, de' quali non si è parlato, e che le pareva di havermene dato motivo una volta nel bel principio che si fece la prima propositione a V. E. Ho risposto che assolutamente non mi è stato parlato di processo verbale o di altra cosa che potesse intorbidare la pura signatura, e mostrata la copia della lettera scritta a V. E. il primo giugno, ricordato quante volte io mi sono dichiarato che la sottoscrittione doveva essere sincera, S. Ecc^za^ mi ha replicato che

Pallavicino, the latter is more credible. Scarabelli singles out in Pallavicino's *Vita* " la parsimonia delle lodi e delle frasi affettuose, si che proprio non trovi che ciò che l'encomiato non avrà potuto comandare all'amico di togliere ".

[1] *La Provincia di Teramo*, 1902, No. 39. " Bartoli, Pallavicino and Segneri," Wiseman writes (*Recollections of the last four Popes*, II.) " were the only ones who were not affected by the bad taste of the period."

[2] Vol. XXXI., p. 388.

[3] Decoded October 18.

questo colpo era inevitabile, che quando li commissarii havessero proceduto contro li quattro vescovi, li medesimi havrebbero prodotta la loro signatura sincera e libera in questa maniera ; ma con il processo verbale a parte e che all'hora trattandosi giuridicamente, Roma era in necessità o di lasciarla passare, o di proceder contro quarant'altri, e che hora si può dissimular saperlo, e dar la pace alla Chiesa..."

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 339.]

8. To Bargellini [1]

Rome, October 11th, 1668.

1.

"Sentitasi dalla Stà di N. Sre la forma tenuta da V. S. nel rispondere alle lettere che a lei scrissero li quattro vescovi, quando le dettero ragguaglio della sottoscrittione che dicevano haver fatto del formulario, delle quali risposte ha ella inviata copia con le sue lettere delli 18 scorso, come anco il contenuto di tre sue cifre scritte sotto li 21 e 25 del medesimo, me ha comandato la Stà Sua di scrivere a V. S. ch'ella insista per haver l'atto autentico della sottoscrittione del formulario, qual sottoscrittione non importa che in alcuna scrittura sia chiamata libera, ma sarà veramente e qui si stimerà libera e sincera, quando sotto la formula data dalla Sede Apost. si saranno in effetto sottoscritti i detti vescovi senza restrittione nè limitatione alcuna. Mostri però V. S. di haver creduto meglio di non dar parte qua delli processi verbali, che possano esser stati fatti, o possano farsi intorno a quest'atto da i quattro vescovi, et haver ella così operato anche in riguardo del consiglio datole dal signor di Lionne, e perché in realtà si come la Sede Apost. non ha voluto altro da i quattro vescovi che la sottoscrittione pura del formulario, così essendo questa seguita, et asserendosi tale da i quattro vescovi medesimi e da quelli che hanno trattato a nome loro nello scrivere a S. Stà, ella deve presumere, o che non vi sia alcun processo verbale, o che essendovi non sia punto contrario alla sottoscrittione sincera, nè appartenere a lei hora il cercar altro. Si dichiari però col sigr di Lionne, che se mai apparirà in qualunque modo

[1] Vol. XXXI., p. 390

essersi da' quattro vescovi fatto processo verbale che pregiudichi alla sincerità della sottoscrittione, V. S. sarà obligata a scrivere a S. Stà, e saranno gl'inconvenienti maggiori di prima."

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 64b.]

2.

"Procuri V. S. di sapere con la maggior destrezza ch'ella potrà non da monsù di Lionne nè da alcuno di quelli che han trattato a nome de' quattro vescovi, ma con somma cautela e per quella via per la quale potrà ella più assicurarsi della segretezza, e che non sia penetrato da alcuna persona, benchè sua confidente, e particolarmente ministro della corte, se i processi verbali che hanno fatti i sudetti vescovi nell'atto della sottoscrittione, siano stati da loro fatti nel sinodo in modo che siano parte degli atti del medesimo sinodo, e però publici a segno che non possa mostrarsene ignoranza.

Sarà anco opportuno ch'ella s'informi se ne' processi verbali fatti da i quattro vescovi vi sia stata fatta o inserita cosa contraria alla libera e sincera sottoscrittione del formulario, con avvisar poi qua ciò che ne havrà riportato di vero e di sussistente, ma senza mostrare a persona veruna di haver fatta tal diligenza."

[*Ibid.*, f. 65b.]

3.

"Sarà molto opportuno che V. S. dica a monsù di Lionne ch'ella ha stimato meglio di non scriver qua cosa alcuna de' processi verbali fatti da' quattro vescovi, perchè essendosi N. Sre in questo punto mosso ad operare ad instanza del Re e riposando nell'autorità e nel zelo di S. Mtà e dell'istesso signor di Lionne, ha ella stimato che sia il maggior vantaggio di S. Stà l'haver sicurezza della sincera sottoscrittione del formulario dalla parola di S. Mtà e dell'istesso signor di Lionne, senza cercar di più, supponendo che cosa sì grave e che importa egualmente all'interesse et alla pietà di S. Mtà che all'autorità del Papa, non possa S. Stà temer di esser defraudata, mentre

si è appoggiata alla fede della Mtà Sua e di monsù di Lionne medesimo, e per conseguenza vi va dell'honour della Mtà Sua, che non possa mai dirsi essersi in questo punto mancato a S. Bne."

[Ibid., f. 66 b.]

9. Session of the Inquisition of December 23rd, 1668 [1]

"Ginetti: Quatuor episcopos satisfecisse plene. Ottoboni: likewise; neque obstare voces et scripturas informes, quibus dicitur subscripsisse cum reservationibus circa quaestionem facti et iuris et circa materiam gratiae efficacis, quia cum constet per publica documenta de sincera subscriptione, et de contrario non constet nisi de auditu et per scripturas informes, non videtur insistendum pro alia declaratione, maxime cum immineant maxima et gravissima pericula." The four must not be praised "ne elati, ubi sunt audacissimi, ostentent in Galliis favorem et gratiam Santitatis Suae". Borromeo dixit, convenire cum Ottoboni et praecipue quia a principio semper protestatus fuit, quod in rebus facti non potest SS. Pontifex obligare fideles ad actus internos et nunc versemus in quaestione facti quoad illam partem formularii, in qua dicitur: iuxta sensum ab auctore intentum. Albizzi dixit, actum esse de religione in Gallia et de infallibilitate SS. Pontificis, si quando ex constanti rumore et notorietate necnon ex depositionibus canonicorum cathedralis Apamiensis constat de restrictionibus appositis in subscriptione, SS. Pontifex iis postpositis respondet episcopis et declarat, ipsos satisfecisse mandatis Sedis Apostolicae, praecipue cum declaratio episcopi Chalon. sit de voluntate alterius et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis explicet praedictam declarationem iuxta ipsiusmet mentem. Quare addidit, consulendum esse Pontificem [sic!], ut emissa nova Constitutione confirmet condemnationes factas per Innocentium X et Alexandrum VII fel. rec., necnon omnes et singulas prohibitiones tam mandamentorum quam aliarum scripturarum emanatarum adversus praedictas condemnationes. Chisius: Incumbendum esse in exhibitione processuum verbalium et subscriptionibus. Quatenus vero alii EE. DD. aliter censeant, debere responsum [dari] per

[1] Vol. XXXI., p. 394.

breve, in quo S. D. N. dicat, episcopos pure et simpliciter subscripsisse. Rasponus: Esse in voto cum Chisio, sed praecipue animadvertendum, ut in brevi non apponantur verba, ex quibus possit dubitari, quod SS. Pontifex non fuerit certior factus de sincera subscriptione ad formam Constitutionum. Rospigliosi: Respondendum esse ad formam declarationis episcopi Chalon. et Antonii Arnaldi, necnon iuxta declarationes archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, quia ex carum tenore clare percipitur, quod si episcopi contumaces subscripserunt eo modo, ut declarant episcopus et Arnauld necnon Rothomagensis, plene satisfactum fuit mandatis Sedis Apostolicae, nec amplius potest expeti a quocunque episcopo catholico, cum sub illa generalitate remaneant attrita mandamenta et processus verbales, necnon omnia, quae in contrarium adduci unquam possent. Azzolini riepilogando omnia dicta et adhaerendo sententiae Rospigliosi dicit: Respondendum omnino neque protrahendum amplius tam grande negotium, perpendenda tamen esse verba responsionis. Celsius dixit: Si constaret de sincera subscriptione quatuor episcoporum, utique conveniret cum DD., vero pia confessio subscriptionis non est subscriptio, ideo instandum, ut episcopi doceant de reali subscriptione facta in synodis. Tunc em. Ottobonus respondit. regulam procedere in actibus producentibus obligationem, non in casu praesenti. Et em. Borromaeus dixit: Ubi agitur de declaratione animi tantum, sufficit quaecunque manifestatio. Em. tamen Celsius perstitit in sua sententia.

Omnes igitur, exceptis em. Albizzi et Celsio, dixerunt: Respondendum esse episcopis, firmetur minuta brevis; revideatur primum per em. Azzolinium, deinde communicetur omnibus em. cardinalibus Congregationis particularis et mittatur Nuntio iuxta mentem cardinalis Rospigliosi.

Eadem die hora prima noctis retuli S. D. N° omnia acta et gesta in s. Congregatione, necnon singula suffragia EE. DD. et minuta Constitutionis faciendae iuxta sententiam em. Albizzi [he had himself handed in the draft], quibus auditis Sanctitas Sua praecepit mihi Assessori, ut componerem minutam brevis illamque traderem R. P. D. archiepiscopo Florentino, necnon agerem cum em. Rospigliosi et Azzolini, ut quam primum expediantur responsa danda in Galliis, ut cito rediret ad suos tabellarius.

An anonymous letter from a French Jesuit also lay before the meeting.

[From codex : *Iansenio e Formulario* of the Holy Office. Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, S. 3. 1, p. 448 *seqq.*]

There follow in the codex various drafts of the Brief and Albizzi's objections :

" Albizzi : Di più avendo i medesimi vescovi publicato non solamente nei loro sinodi che N. S. Clemente IX meglio informato della dotrina del Jansenio haveva approvati i loro mandamenti ed era receduto dalle Constitutioni de' suoi predecessori, ma fatto ciò publicare per mezzo dei loro adherenti per tutta l'Europa, come si vede dalle relazioni e dalle gazette di Parigi, d'Amsterdam e di Bruxelles, non pareva rimedio bastante per salvare l'onore e la fama di N. S. e l'autorità della S. Sede, di passarlo con una risposta alla lettera dei quattro vescovi, la quale se si manderà alle mani del Nuntio per preservarla [presentarla ?], impegnato a sostenere il suo inganno, Dio sa, che non vi faccia difficoltà in porla nelle mani dei quattro vescovi, e mandi in lungo il negotio che pure fa di mediari [mestieri ?] di finire prestamente. Se poi si mandarà a dirittura ai vescovi, o negheranno d'haverla ricevuta, o la glosseranno o la falsificheranno, come hanno falsificata la mente di N. S. . . .

Io prego V. S. a leggere per disteso questo mio voto a N. S., affinchè io resti sicuro d'haver adempieto quell'obligo, che mi corre come cardinale di s. Chiesa, persuadendomi che S. S. possa avere a me qualche credito più degli altri, perchè per le mie mani è passata la materia del Jansenismo nel suo nascimento e nel suo progresso, nè posso sopportare, che si voglia far parere al mundo esser estinta quest'eresia, mentre nella sua pretesa estintione si vede più che mai rinovata. [January 6th, 1669.]

Celsi was also decidedly against a Brief : Dico dunque brevemente, che o li vescovi suddetti hanno sottoscritto al detto formolario, o no. Se hanno sottoscritto, è necessario che apparisca detta sottoscrittione, et in tal caso forse sarà luogo alle dichiarazioni da essi fatte, di aver sottoscritto puramente e sinceramente. O non hanno sottoscritto, e non può la Sede Apost. senza gran discapito recedere da bolle, decreti e tanti altri fatti. The declarations are inadequate, perchè colui che

deve esseguire un atto, non basta il dire d'averlo fatto, se non consta effet tivamente l'adempimento di esso. Piccolomini, who had not been present, was also opposed to the dispatch of a Brief.

[*Ibid.*, p. 860.]

10. Rospigliosi to Bargellini [1]

January 20, 1669.

1.

" La dichiaratione fatta a V. S. da monsignor di Chalons in assenza degli altri due vescovi mediatori, sottoscritta da monsù Arnauld e confermata poi dall'arcivescovo di Sens, le certificationi autentiche a lei inviate parimente in scritto da i quattro vescovi di haver sinceramente sottoscritto e fatto sottoscrivere il formulario, e le sicurezze che monsù di Lionne ha di ciò date a V. S. con quel di più che l'arcivescovo di Roano et altri ne hanno attestato, pare a N. S^re^ che costituiscano una prova, la qual prevaglia di gran lunga per ogni ragione a quanto si era sparso in contrario su qualche foglietto et avviso particolare del contenuto de' processi verbali, onde possa e deva la S^tà^ Sua su la fede del Re e de' sudetti gravi e replicati testimonii ben appoggiar la sua credenza dell'effettiva et intiera obedienza de' quattro vescovi e della sincera sottoscrittione fatta da loro del formulario.

Ha però S. B^ne^ risposto a i medesimi vescovi nella forma che V. S. vedrà dalla copia del breve che se le manda per loro, la quale V. S. dovrà ben considerare in ogni parte e prenderne a mente il tenore per poter conformarsi ad esso anco ne' discorsi ch'ella havrà occasione di far con chiunque bisogni nella materia. Si è stimato necessario l'accennar nel breve ciò che nell'animo di S. S^tà^ havevano eccitato gli avvisi e le scritture uscite circa i processi verbali, et insieme l'impulso havuto dalle nuove e gravi testimonianze giunte a S. S^tà^ della sincera sottoscrittione e della piena sommissione et obedienza de' quattro vescovi, perchè essendo questo il fondamento, al quale s'appoggia la giustificatione della clemenza che S. B^ne^ usa hora verso di loro, chiunque vedrà mai ciò vegga insieme la ragione che porge a S. B^ne^ giusto motivo di farlo e riconosca haver la Santa Sede ricercato per una risolutione di tanto peso ciò che conveniva per condescendervi.

[1] XXXI., p. 398.

Se per li riguardi altre volte considerati costì di sottrarre a gli spiriti inquieti ogni materia di nuovo cimento, e per conservar più stabilmente l'unione e la pace si stimerà conveniente il non dar fuori copia del breve scritto da S. B^ne^ a i quattro vescovi, potrà V. S. non darla nè far altro per sua parte che possa interpretarsi ad ostentatione e propalatione non necessaria di quanto è seguito.

Ma in termini gravi e generali non lascerà ella di dire ove bisogni, haver S. B^ne^, sodisfatta dell'intiera obedienza de' quattro vescovi, usati verso di loro gli atti della sua clemenza.

Non è già dovere per la libertà che prenda alcun cervello inquieto di spargere o scriver cose contro la verità di questo successo, far publiche dichiarationi e racconti della serie di esso, ma quando si procedesse veramente con doppiezza (il che non si crede, nè si ha hora cagione di credere) e si volesse in pregiuditio dell'autorità della Santa Sede e del candore e decoro col quale si è di qua operato, divulgar menzogne che facessero apparir minore la piena obedienza che si è professato di rendere a S. S^tà^, sarà necessario dar fuori non solo la copia de' brevi, ma quant'altro appartiene al fatto per sincera testimonianza del vero. Onde V. S. dovrà col signor di Lionne fermar bene questo punto per non esser ridotta a simile necessità, nella quale però quando pur ella si trovi, sarà bene che potendo darne avviso qua e riceverne ordini in tempo, lo faccia, schivando di prender impegno, quando non vi sia necessità, per quelle ragioni delle quali si lascia il giuditio alla sua prudenza."

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137 f., 94 f.]

2.

" Non si è stimato che convenga, nominando nel breve il formulario, aggiungervi la parola ' di fede ', perchè essendosi preteso da chi ha havuta sinistra intentione che il formulario havesse due parti, l'una di fede che riguarda il jus, e l'altra non di fede che riguarda il fatto, poteva quell'aggiunta interpretarsi per tassativa e restrettiva nel significato sudetto. Il che si partecipa a V. S. non perchè ella formalizzi o faccia nuova contestatione sopra quella parola, ma perchè sappia tutto ciò che può intendervisi da altri, benchè hora convenga dissimularlo et intenderla a nostro modo.

Sarebbe stato molto gradito il sapere, quali fossero le due parole che l'arcivescovo di Sens haveva lasciate nella dichiaratione sottoscritta, che poi ha egli mandata intiera, essendo in questa materia sì grave importantissima ogni minuzia."

[*Ibid.*, f. 97b.]

11. To the Spanish Nuncio [1]

Rome, August 31st, 1669.

" La pace fra le corone ; la parola ottenuta dal Re Christmo di non offender cotesta per quest'anno ; le concessioni e le proroghe di gratie notabilissime d'impositioni nuove sopra il clero, che ben sa V. S. quanto siano gravi a chi le soffre e questo in tempo non di guerre con gl'infedeli, su le quali eran fondate molte di esse, ma di leghe con essi e di pace con tutti ; la tranquillità ultimamente ristabilita in cotesta monarchia con maniera di tanto impegno e pericolo per Sua Stà, che ogn'altro secondo il solito di qui haverebbe fuggite ; e finalmente la riserva spontanea d'un cardinalato, nel modo e nelle circostanze che il mondo e la corte di Roma ha veduto con ammiratione, mostrano, qual sia la tenerezza di S. Stà verso cotesta corona. E l'havere impegnate in Candia le armi del Re Christmo e fattele servire a defender l'antemurale di Sicilia e di Napoli contro il Turco, fa vedere che, se Sua Stà ha fatto un cardinale alla Francia per averne ottenuta un'armata intiera marittima e terrestre pagata per tutto quest'anno contro il Turco, l'ha fatto per mantener con questo mezzo la pace alla Spagna e difendere gli stati di essa con l'armi di Francia. Il che piaccia a Dio che non apparisca pur troppo vero dall'effettiva incursione di questi barbari nel regno di Sicilia dopo che Candia si sarà perduta. Nel rimanente la mia gita in Francia sa il mondo et i ministri medesimi qui del Re Cattco non essere stata per altro che per procurar di fermar l'armi del Re Christmo dall'inoltrarsi in Fiandra, e se ciò non mi fu permesso, rimasero almeno incaminate le cose al trattato d'Aquisgrana et impegnato il Re a consentir non solo alla pace, ma a prometter che per ragioni delle nuove conquiste non se ne sarebbe impedita l'esecutione. Onde se ben si riguarda costì, sarà facile il ravvisare, in ogni passo che Nro Sigre ha dato verso la Francia, una particolare intenzione

[1] *Cf.* XXXI., p. 341.

e volontà di giovare a cotesta corona, la quale, se per la condizione de' tempi ha in tante cose stimato ella medesima di dover cedere alla fortuna e deferire alle sodisfattioni del Re Christmo, quanto più deve conoscer la necessità che preme S. Beatne come padre comune di tenersi in buona corrispondenza con chi può influir tanto al bene del christianesimo e della pace, e di conservarsi in stato di poter sostentarla, et esser di profitto alla Spagna medesima nell'occasioni.

All'incontro a Napoli si tengono in sequestro ai vescovi l'entrate, si fa violenza d'oppositione alle decime e pregiudicio insoffribile coll'istessa permissione del farle esigere; si suscitano pretensioni sopra le lumiere con una insolita novità senza esempio e riservata solo al pontificato di N. Sre; si nega l'Exequatur agli appaltatori della Camera Apost. per vender l'alume nel regno. Ciò è stato sentito da S. Stà vivissimamente e V. S. non potrà dolersene a bastanza costì, perchè è un sommo torto, che si fa alla S. Sede il metter solo in discorso la pretensione d'aprir lumiere nel regno di Napoli; ma il proceder de facto a negar l'Exequatur agli appaltatori della Camera Apost., dopo il possesso ch'essa ha in contrario, non mai interrotto nè controverso, è un'apparente violazione del giusto et un'aperta volontà di togliere alla Sede Apostolica quel che è suo senza riguardo di ragione.

Le stravaganze del Cappellano Maggiore e tant'altri pregiuditii della immunità e giurisdittione ecclesiastica, le innovationi fatte qui nella Dateria non sono inventioni del sigr. cardinale Litta, il zelo del quale è solo di sostenere i dritti della Chiesa, e non può conseguirlo con tutta la sua virtù. . . .

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136 f., 124–6.]

12. To the Spanish Nuncio [1]

Rome, August 13th, 1672.

"I due discorsi fatti con V. S. dal conte di Peneranda e dall'ambasciatore di Francia sono ben ingegnosi, essendosi ciascheduno di essi prescritto il fine di tirar il Papa ne' proprii interessi, l'uno esagerandone la necessità, l'altro proponendone la gloria.

Quando il Re Christmo opprime gl' eretici, fa risorger la fede sepolta in quelle provincie ed accresce il figliuoli e i sudditi

[1] *Cf.* XXXI., p. 635.

all'autorità spirituale della S. Sede; non può Sua Beat^ne se non render gratie a Dio di sì felici successi. All'incontro con simil paragone i pregiuditii che si ricevono in Fiandra dal conte di Montereij dopo la disapprovata permissione data agli Olandesi, nelle gravezze che vuole imporre a i mendicanti, per trarre dalle loro povere sostanze gl' aiuti da sostenere i ribelle a Dio ed alla religione cattolica, sono troppo sensibili, e prevale tanto nel paterno cuore di Sua S^tà il bene delle anime ad ogni altra qual sia forte consideratione, che non saprebbe dar luogo ai motivi dei pericoli o dei vantaggi temporali, senza un vehemente dubbio di derogare al obligo del suo quasi divino ministero.

È verissimo che i principi uniti potrebbono non solamente resistere, ma assalire i Turchi per imprese assai più vantaggiose che non sono quelle, le quali risultano dalle guerre che tra essi si rimovono e si coltivano di tempo in tempo; ma quanto sia difficile di comporne l'unione, l'esperienza l'ha dimostrato. Ciò che hora conviene è di pregare la bontà divina che faccia risplendere il zelo del Re nella mortificazione degli Olandesi e nella restitutione della libertà ai fedelli, non permettendo che il fuoco più oltre si stenda che a consumar gl' eretici, nel qual caso tutte le nazioni cattoliche rimarranno obligate alle opere grandi del Re, e sarà glorificato Dio nelle prosperità di esse. Gli Spagnuoli havranno in Fiandra migliori vicini; l'eresia non sarà fomentata altrove, ed i Turchi saranno meno arditi, quando tra i cattolici sarà mancata la contradittione e la disunione del credere la verità di fede, che rende i principi meno atti a congregare le forze ed a tentare gl' acquisti dell'Oriente. . . ."

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139 f., 49 f.]

13. Cardinal Altieri to Cardinal Nerli [1]

Rome, July, 11th, 1673.

" Fra le cose, che nel corse di pochi mesi si sono attentate con esempio inaudito in cotesta corte a pregiudizio della Sede Apostolica, non ha certamente l'ultimo luogo l'editto per la creazione degli ufficii di banchieri e spedizionieri per la corte di Roma e legazione d'Avignone, non solo perchè con quello viene a restringersi a' fedeli la libertà di ricorrere al loro padre

[1] *Cf.* XXXI., p. 495.

commune per li bisogni e direttione delle coscienze, ma perchè lo stesso editto si avanza a dichiarare nulli e di niun effetto li rescritti et atti apostolici in altra maniera ottenuti ; onde, conosciutasi questa verità, in una congregazione di cardinali unita per ordine di N^ro^ S^re^, fu in quella risoluta che Sua Beat^ne^ non potea in modo alcuno permettere si fatta innovazione e che dovea, come perniciosa e di pessimo esempio alla cristianità tutta, annullarla e irritarla ; ma in ogni modo, volendo la S^tà^ Sua procedere in questo affare con la solita mansuetudine, et apprendendo che quei che hanno suggerito la pubblicazione di un simile editto, siano poco istrutti della rilevanza di esso e di ciò ch'è succeduto in altri tempi, quando si è voluto attentare, volse col mezzo d'un suo Breve significare i suoi sensi alla M^tà^ del Re, sperando che dalla pietà e giustizia d'un principe sì religioso fusse potuto togliere affatto questo scandalo dal cristianesimo, e ciò s'induceva a sperarlo tanto più facilmente, quanto che, per le notizie havute, s'era conossiuto ch', essendosi in diversi tempi per l'avidità d'alcuni banchieri solo intenti al proprio interesse fatti intorno a ciò alcuni regolamenti, erano sempre stati a richiesta del clero, giustamente interessato nella libertà ecclesiastica, rivocati et annullati, come si credeva che potesse succedere di presente per i rincontri datine da V. E. Hora, vedendosi che non solo si è proceduto alla deputazione de' spedizionieri, ma che se n'è publicato l'editto, si è giudicato bene di dirle che assolutamente qui non si potrà più soffrire un attentato sì pernicioso ; in conseguenza di che sarà obbligato Sua Beat^ne^ con sommo suo dispiacere a pratticare quelle risoluzioni, che in casi simili meditavano di fare i suoi antecessori, e con tutto che si tenghi per infallibile che le pessime conseguenze, che ne deriveranno a pregiudizio de' sudditi di Sua Maestà e a profitto solamente dell'avarizia di pochi, daranno motivo alla Maestà Sua di ritrattar quest'editto e di lasciar che nelle spedizioni si osservi l'antica libertà, in ogni modo non deve Sua Beatitudine aspettare che succedino scandali così inevitabili, ma deve, per quanto puote, prevenirli, come fa col mezzo di questa, incaricando a V. E. di applicar tutto lo spirito nell'imprimere a' cotesti ministri, che Nostro Signore è costituito in questa obligazione e che deve in tutti i modi adempirla.

[Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 432, f. 174 s. (now 148–9).]

14. Clement X. to Louis XIV.

Carissimo in Christo filio Ludovico Francorum Regi Christianissimo Clemens PP. X.

1.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster salutem etc. Strenua Traiecti superioris expugnatio per nobilem virum Ducem Destroeum Maiestatis tuae nomine nuntiata Nobis eximiae iure merito tibi ab Apostolica Sede laudes comparat, cuius profecto praeclara incrementa sunt victoriae tuae. Invisam enim dum Superis gentem, arcibus munitissimis obvallatam atque in multitudine divitiarum suarum gloriantem de sacrilega dominatione deturbas, antiqua coeli iura restituis subiugatisque Ecclesiae perduellibus nationes edoces universas, non execrandum tantummodo, sed infelix quoque tandem scelus esse impiam ab orthodoxa matre defectionem. Excelsos itaque invictae fortitudini tuae et pontificio solio plausus excitantes, te, carissime fili, natum ad palmas, educatum ad triumphos, amantissime in Domino complectimur, indefinitam inclytis conatibus tuis gloriae metam auspicamur, omniumque bonorum authorem Deum accuratissimis precibus obsecramus, ut apostolicam benedictionem, quam Maiestati tuae ex omni cordis Nostri sensu impertimur, profusis ipse quoque beneficentiae thesauris cumulate confirmet.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die XXVI. Iulii 1673, pontificatus Nostri anno 4°.

Papal Sec. Arch., *Clementis X. epist. ad principes, Arm.* IV–V., f. 28 *seq.*[1]

2.

Carissime in Christo fili Noster salutem. Iucundum admodum accidit Nobis praeclarum testimonium, quod de egregie gesta a dilecto filio Nostro Francisco cardinali Nerlio apud Maiestatem tuam Apostolici Nuntii provincia necnon de ipsius virtutibus ac promeritis accuratis ad Nos litteris dedisti ; gavisi enim magnopere sumus impensam eidem praecipuis documentis voluntatem Nostram luculenter tanti regis suffragio comprobatam esse. Eximiae insuper argumentum

[1] *Cf.* XXXI., p. 497.

laetitiae sumpsimus cum ex iisdem litteris tum ex voce praedicti dilecti filii Nostri, qui filialem ergo Nos atque Sanctam hanc Sedem observantiam tuam disertis coram significationibus prosecutus est; effervescentibus autem vicissim in Nobis erga Maiestatem tuam paternae caritatis ardoribus, te orthodoxae religionis decus totiusque christianae reipublicae ornamentum intimi amoris sensu in Domino complectimur, meritum tibi pro Traiecto superiori expugnato ex apostolica statione iterum iterumque plausum damus ac pontificiam benedictionem amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo piscatoris die XXII. Augusti 1673, pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

[*Ibid.*, f. 36.]

15. Biographies of Pope Innocent XI.

For a long time we were reduced to a few small works for the life of Innocent XI.[1] The first is by Giovanni Battista Pistoni, *Vita d'Innocenzo* XI. (Venice, 1891; new edition, 1716). The work cannot offer much, were it only by reason of its brevity. Not much more is to be found in the *Vita* by Giovanni Albizzi, Venice, 1695. More detailed are the writings of Fr. Caccia, O.F.M.; *Leben Innozenz XI.* (Neyss, 1696; Frankfurt, 1697), and Filippo Bonamici's book dedicated to Pius VI.: *De vita et rebus gestis venerabilis servi Dei Innocentii XI. Pont. Max. commentarius*, Romae, 1776, printed in Nat. Alexander, *Hist. eccl. suppl.*, III., 48–92 (without the introduction), and in Berthier, *Innocentii XI. Epistolae*, I., ix–lii (complete). The value of Bonamici's work, written in elegant Latin, lies chiefly in the circumstance that he was able to make use of the notes of Marracci, Innocent XI's confessor. Lebret gave a German translation of Bonamici's work (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1791), with anti-Jesuit remarks in keeping with the superficial "enlightenment" of the period.[2]

[1] The bizarre work of Gasper Saz: *Ecos sagrados de la fama gloriosa de Innocencio XI. S.P.O.M. Panegyrico ecometrico*, Madrid, 1681, is of no historical value.

[2] The *Vita Innocentii XI.* by Comes a Turre Rezzonico has remained in MS. in the Monti Archives, Como.

Three other biographies of Innocent XI. only became known through the Dominican BERTHIER (*Vita d'Innocenzo* XI., Roma, 1889), to whom we also owe an edition of the Latin letters of the Pontiff; they are:

1. An anonymous biography, composed in the year of the Pope's death (BERTHIER, 258–277), but which is wrong on several points and, as a matter of fact, does not give much that is new.

2. The *Vita Innocentii XI. exarata a P. Ludovico Marracci, qui ipsi fuit a confessionibus* (BERTHIER, 240–258), sincere, most trustworthy, and giving much that is new but no real biography.[1]

3. The *Vita del servo di Dio Papa Innocentio XI. raccolta in tre libri per Mattia Giuseppe Lippi.* The original of this biography, which fills a whole volume (BERTHIER, 1–203), is preserved in the Odescalci Archives, Rome. Copies are found in the Bibl. Vallicelliana (K 48) and in Bibl. Corsini, Rome. A third copy, of the year 1719, I found in the Ricci Archives, Rome, and a fourth is in *Cod.* 6306 of the State Library, Vienna. RANKE (III., 202) gives a short extract of this work, whose author remained unknown to him. He quotes in his own peculiar fashion as "Ms. Rom.": he probably used the MS. of the Corsini Library (39 D 3).

Lippi's *Vita* is divided into three books: the first treats of the antecedents of the Pope: the second of his government, with the exception of his efforts for the Turkish war; to this, Innocent XI.'s greatest effort, the whole of the third book is devoted, ending with his death and an account of the veneration of which he became the object after his death. The work is of very great value in many ways, for it is that of a contemporary (composed 1693), who kept his eyes open and who had the assistance of well-informed men, such as Cardinal Colloredo and the Oratorian Carafini. Naturally enough, Lippi was not initiated into the details of diplomatic negotiations; for this we depend on the documents preserved in the Archives. Moreover there are shadows on which Lippi does not dwell. Lippi is completely mistaken with regard to the government

[1] MARRACCI also wrote a book entitled: *L'Ebreo preso per le buone overo discorsi famigliari et amichevoli fatti con i Rabbini di Roma intorno al Messia,* Roma, 1701.

of the Jesuit General Gonzalez (p. 55), but it is his merit to have adopted from the first a critical attitude towards the legends which quickly gathered round the person of the Pope (p. 184).

An apology, obviously written in view of the eventual canonization of the Pontiff, has for its author the learned Dominican and friend of Benedict XIV., Tommaso Maria Mamachi (*Pro Innocentio XI. Pont. Max. liber singularis*).[1] There is a copy in the Odescalchi Archives and in those of the Roman Dominicans. In his Appendix, Berthier has given a few passages from this refutation of the unfounded accusations of which Innocent XI. has been the object. Berthier also quotes the Acts of the process of beatification, but without indicating that important sections of them had already been printed in the *Analecta juris pontificii*, 11th series (1872), 271–327.

New light has been thrown upon Innocent XI.'s aims by the Briefs published by Berthier,[2] and by the partial publication of the nunciature reports.[3] The best recent presentment is that in IMMICH's monograph (1900), but the latter limits himself to the Pope's political activity; where he touches on his ecclesiastical activity, he commits more than one blunder.

MICHAUD's book, *Louis XIV. et Innocent XI.* (4 vols., Paris, 1882) is valuable for the unpublished documents we find in its pages; for the rest it is a tendentious piece of work (see XXXII, p. 126, n. 2).

16. INSTRUCTION FOR A. PIGNATELLI, NUNCIO IN GERMANY (INNOCENT XII.)[4]

1668.

. . . Dalla maggior parte de' politici si crede hoggidì che tra tutte le Nuntiature quella di Germania sia la meno faticosa e

[1] *Cf.* MORONI, XLII., 95 *seqq.*

[2] The text is faithfully but uncritically printed.

[3] To the data collected by IMMICH (p. 9) on this publication must be added the recent but incomplete work of Bojani, though it is not free from grave defects, *cf. Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1914, 59* *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XII., 127 *seqq.*; *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXI., 814 *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. de l'Église de France*, V., 392 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* XXXII., 572.

la più facile da reggere con somma riputazione della Sede Apost., in che pare che vi si trovi qualche fondamento non mediocre, perchè nella Francia ordinariamente il Nuntio trova inviluppi così grandi rispetto a' privilegi della chiesa Gallicana, alla libertà del Parlamento et alle maniere ardite de' popoli, che quasi non sa come svilupparsene. In Spagna s'incontrano difficoltà non ordinarie per la libertà, la gravità del Consiglio di Stato, per le pretentioni de' Spagnoli e per il troppo zelo del Cattolico Re, in che fidati li Nuntii credono di poter ottenere tutto quello che vogliono, ma si trovano ingannati, perchè il Re non cerca altro che a scuotersi da quel predominio che gli ecclesiastici hanno preso sopra di lui e de' suoi Stati, quali esendo amplissimi, danno sempre differenti materie di dispareri, che servono a moltiplicar le fatiche dei Nuntii.

Di Venetia non dico nulla, mentre si sa benissimo dalla corte che questa Nuntiatura serve al Nuntio di prigione, e non bisogna andarvi con una testa di cristallo, perché non vi sarà molto a guadagnare, e portandosene una di ferro, è pure pericoloso, non potendo mai far bene duro con duro ; onde fa di mestieri cercar la strada di mezzo, che non è senza pericolo, havendo da due lati i precipitii et abissi. Quali ragioni non militano nella corte dell'Imperatore, riconoscendo questo, come vogliono questi politici, la sua grandezza dalla grandezza di Roma, essendo obligato per il dovere del suo scettro di conservare et augmentare la maestà della Sede Apost., la quale cosa rende ai Nuntii molto più facili li negotiati, già che Cesare istesso è obbligato di procurar le sodisfattioni del Papa.

Io ad ogni modo non ardisco affermare nè sottoscrivermi a questa opinione, anzi io trovo che non vi è Nuntiatura piè difficile da maneggiare di quella della Germania, perchè l'Imperatore in tempo di pace ha limitata la sua autorità dalla Dieta elettorale, et in tempo di guerra, riconoscendo la sua autorità dalla forza dell'armi, puoco cura di humiliarsi alle dimande di Roma. Ogni trattato si rende nella corte imperiale difficile, contrastando insieme i privilegi degl'Elettori e la suprema M^tà^ dell'Imperatore, gl'uni volendo far dell'impero una republica, e l'altro pretendendo far della republica elettorale una sovranità particolare. Onde per lo più non si sa a qual partito appigliarsi, tanto più che i partiti di Roma danno

al presente una gelosia troppo grande agl'interessi della Germania.

Tuttavia dirò con buona ragione che V. S. I. truova aperta una porta, perdove entrando, se gli renderanno facilissimi i negotiati ; et in fatti la Nuntiatura di Polonia è una scuola de' primi durimenti della Nuntiatura di Germania. Qui s'imparano le prime regole di quei grandi studii che conviene essercitare nella corte imperiale. In Polonia si celebrano le vigilie, et in Germania le feste, trovandosi molti trattati quasi di una medesima specie, costumandosi pian piano il Nuntio nella corte di Polonia a riconoscere la differenza che si trova di vivere in Roma o in altri regni fra huomini d'una stessa religione, e di conversare, anzi trattare con politici di credenza, e però havendo con tanta sodisfattione de' Polonesi, del Re Casimiro e della Sede Apost. esercitata V. S. I. quella Nuntiatura, certo è che non si trovarà alcuna difficoltà di essercitare quella della Germania, servendosi dell'esperienza e prattiche di fresco passate.

Veramente, se non si avesse da negotiare che con il solo imperatore o che questo fosse monarca di disponere ogni cosa a suo beneplacito, i negotiati si renderebbono i più facili che si potessero mai desiderare ; mentre Cesare conservando quel naturale zelo di religione, anzi quello ossequio e riverenza verso la Sede Apost., che sono tanto conaturalizzate nella case di Austria, procurarebbe di far cadere il tutto in sodisfattione del Papa. Ma il male è che si trovano molti traversi, et il numero grande de' protestanti interessati nella corte imperiale rompono per lo più ogni buon disegno, et all'hora appunto quando si crede di haver per guadagnato e vinto qualche punto, sia di religione o di politica, conviene perdere il tutto a ricominciar quasi da capo il trattato, perdendosi molto tempo a rompere i disegni di quelli che non hanno altra mira che a rinversare ogni cosa. . . .

[Papal Sec. Archives, *Nunziat. diverse*, 242, f. 353–5.]

[Means for helping the Church in Germany.]

. . . Il primo è l'aggrandimento et il perpetuo stabilimento dell'imperio in una case cattolica. Il 2º l'unione de' principi cattolici con il partito di Cesare. Il 3º la propagatione della religione Romana. Il 4º la riputatione dell'autorità apostolica e il ristoro della immunità e giurisdittione ecclesiastica. Et

il 5º la riforma de' costumi del clero e della disciplina ecclesiastica . . .

[*Ibid.*, f. 358]

. . . Questo era lo scudo delli Nuntii, quando bisognava star nelle difese ; ma al presente per la di Dio gratia noi siamo a cavallo, perchè sicome i cattolici nei tempi andati temevano gli avvanzi dei protestanti, hora al contrario i protestanti temono gli avvanzi dei cattolici e si guardano più di noi che noi di loro, e questo vuol dir che pensano più tosto a difendersi da' nostri colpi che a tirar verso di noi quei colpi che ci hanno dato per l'addietro.

Corre fama che si tratti da' Calvinisti l'unione delle due religioni Luterana e Calvinista, e benchè questa sia un'opera più tosto da desiderarsene che da vedersene la loro essecutione, con tutto ciò sarà bene d'invigilar negl'andamenti degl'uni e degl'altri, perchè, quando questo si potesse mettere in effetto, la religione Romana correrebbe rischio di vedersi in peggiori calamità di quelle in che si vidde nel tempo di Gustavo Adolfo.

La Francia ad ogni modo dalla sua parte si sforzarebbe di romper tali disegni, quando si vedessero in campo, per non render gl'Ugonotti di quel regno troppo appoggiati nel di fuori ; onde la rottura de' trattati sarà facile, tanto più che materie simili non si possono trattare in segreto ; pure non bisogna addormentarsi sopra la speranza dell'impossibile, per non restar da se stesso ingannato e malamente deluso.

In quanto al 4º potrei dir molte cose, ma sceglierò il più necessario, che pure servirà per istruttione del 3º punto di sopra accennato. E veramente l'autorità apostolica e giurisdittione ecclesiastica hanno sofferto ferite sensibilissime nella Germania, che però sarà bene procurarne la guarigione. Dovrà dunque V. S. I. proteggere e far proteggere con ardente zelo dall'Imperatore tutte le università de' cattolici, acciochè alla gioventù non s'insegnino false dottrine, parimente moltiplicar sempre più il numero de' parrochi cattolici in tutte le città imperiali come ancora in altri luoghi dipendenti dall'imperio, e sopra tutto che vi sia buon numero di maestri di scuola tutti cattolici, e far continuare con assiduità l'uso de' catechismi. Sarebbe da desiderare che nelle città imperiali, e particolarmente nelle più considerabili, non vi fussero altri librari che cattolici, e laddove il numero degli heretici è

troppo grande e potente, ottenere che vi sia trai librari heretici alcuno cattolico che habbia buona provisione di libri concernenti la nostra religione. Ben è vero che i librari di questi tempi sono tanto mercenarii, che si fanno lecito di vender libri contro Christo per tirar dalle mani di un scelerato dieci quadrini. Onde esorti V. S. I. allo spesso Sua Maestà Cesarea, acciò da' suoi commissarii si visitino per tutto tutte le stampe di quando in quando e librarie degli heretici et ancora de' cattolici, acciochè non mettino in publico l'opere degl'empii autori.

Per far rilucere la autorità apostolica non vi è mezzo più efficace che la moltiplicatione de' Gesuiti, che sono veramente quelli che non solo hanno difesa, ma di più propagata la maestà del Pontefice. Quindi è che, conoscendo gli heretici il zelo, bontà, valore e virtù di questi Padri, temono più della dottrina di mezza dozzena di detti religiosi che di tutto il resto della frateria ; onde procurano con tutte le massime più diaboliche di screditarli nel mondo, per levarsi dinanzi gl'occhi questo ostacolo, dal quale preveggono il loro sterminio ; che però conviene che V. S. se la tenghi con essi loro e gli esorti a moltiplicar le missioni, le prediche e le loro opere, le facci correr per tutto e conservi il lor credito nella corte di Cesare e nella mente di tutti.

Si guardi di tener la mano a questi rimedii con troppo rigore, benchè coperto di zelo, e non permetta che usi mai contro gl'heretici la forza o far gran strepito, perchè con questo si potrebbe commover tutta la Germania e metter di nuovo l'armi nelle lor mani, mentre gli heretici ci stanno all'erta, e basta la persecutione d'un solo per dare all'armi, come se fusse una guerra di religione ; ma conviene procedere a puoco a puoco conforme la qualità de' popoli e con l'ardor suave e la piace volezza ardente che suole usare nelle opere sue lo Spirito Santo. E piacesse a Dio che V. S. havesse tanto di gratia che per opera di Lei et a suo tempo si cominciasse a stender nelle parti più heresiarche la cattolica religione ; che certo con l'autorità pietosa di Sua Maestà unita al suo zelo e con le preghiere di Sua Santità se ne potrebbe sperare ottimo fine. . . .

[*Ibid.*, f. 360 s.]

. . . Esorti li prelati a continuare le visite per le loro diocesi

et a tenere la mano alla vergognosa vita degli ecclesiastici et in particolare dei monasterii. Ma sopra l'altre cose egli è mestiere, per la grandissima penuria che vi è di sacerdito e di operarii cattolici, il ritorno indietro a far di nuovo e rimettere in piedi i seminarii et i collegii de' poveri, et il fondarne di nuovo, assegnando a quelli per mantenerli li beni ecclesiastici alienati et occupati dagli heretici, che si dovrebbero con ogni studio ricuperare ; e non meno da questi che da' beneficii più grossi si potrebbe ancora cavare il modo di andare alimentando i poveri convertiti alla fede. . . .

[*Ibid.*, f. 362.]

. . . In quanto poi al pratticare degli heretici, chè un punto tanto essentiale per le cose della Germania, dirò che non conviene dar segno di aborrirli, come hanno fatto altri, tanto che oltre all'usato l'habbiamo ad odiare maggiormente. V. S. ad ogni modo farà maggiore opera, per facilitarne l'essecutione della sua carica, a mostrare di havere loro anzi compassione che odio, e cercarà con la dolcezza del trattare e con termini di benevolenza di renderseli confidenti più tosto che avversi, perchè potrà con questo assicurarsi che non gli riuscirà inutile all'ufficio intrapreso una cotal destrezza di operare, come lo vedrà per esperienza.

Quando occorrono dispute particolari tra gentilhuomini cattolici e protestanti, non dia mai segno nel sentirne discorrere di dipendere, prima delle necessarie informationi, dalla parte de' cattolici ; ma con dovuti termini tenga la parte della ragione e non dia motivo con parole ingiuriose o altro a' protestanti di crederlo troppo appassionato, e, se si può, scusi la debolezza dei protestanti, anco quando conosce il torto esser tutto dalla lor banda. . . .

[*Ibid.*, f. 378.]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXX.

ABDEGAL, Archbishop of, Aleppo, 195.
Aragona, Ottavio Acquaviva d', Cardinal, 189.
Adami, Adam (O.S.B.), 101, 113, 115–18.
Aiguillon, Duchess of, 193.
Aiguillon, d', mathematician, 349.
Albergati, Nicolas, Cardinal, 186.
Albizzi, Francesco, Cardinal, 102, 190, 229, 256–277, 280, 300, 378.
Albornoz, Cardinal, 15, 18, 20, 23, 74, 76.
Aldobrandini, the Family, 373.
Aldobrandini, Baccio, Cardinal, 189.
Aldobrandini, Olimpia (Princess of Rossano), 37–40, 44, 189, 373.
Alexander Heinrich of Sonderberg, 138.
Alexander VII., Pope, 6, 9, 12, 193, 395.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 237.
Algardi, Alexander, 28–33, 184, 383, 386, 390–400.
Allegrini, Francesco (artist), 402.
Altieri, Emilio, Cardinal, 15, 16, 82, 83, 180.
Amalia, Landgravine of Hesse-Kassel, 104, 121, 137.
Ameyden "Deone"-Theodore, 373.
Andilly, Robert d', 229.
Angelis, William ab, 304, 315.
Angran, Doctor, 262.
Anne, Queen (wife of Louis XIII.), 50, 66, 70, 156, 215, 221–8, 265, 284.
Anna Sophia, Countess Palatine, 137.
Annat, François (Jesuit, Asst. Gen.), 256, 275, 295, 296.
Antonio di S. Maria (Franciscan), 201, 205.
Antrim, 164.
Archangel, Fr. (Capuchin), 213,
Aragona, Antonio, Cardinal. 187.
Arnauld, Angélique (sister of Antoine), 225, 238, 289.
Arnauld, Antoine, 57, 216–19, 224–234, 238, 239, 251–3, 259, 295, 296.
Arnauld, Henri (Bishop of Angers), 57, 58, 60, 62, 259 n., 289.
Asinelli, Sansone, 370.
Attichi, Louis d' (Bishop of Autun), 297 n.
Aubusson, George (Bishop of Embrun), 297.
Augustine, St., 216–224, 242–251, 257, 259, 270–282, 289–299, 303, 309, 319–320, 326, 328, 339–343.
Authier, Christoph, 177.
Aversa, Raphael (Cl. minor), 268.
Azzolini, Decio, Cardinal, 42, 45, 189.

BACHAMEL (Jesuit), 207.
Bagno, Niccolò Guido (nuncio), 54, 68, 193, 231–250, 257, 284–295.
Bagot, John (Jesuit), 193.
Baillie, 146.
Baius, Michael, 219, 228, 257, 326.
Baldino, Giovanni, Giacomo, 377.

Baltasar, Carlos, of Spain, 88.
Balue, Jean de la, Cardinal, 69.
Barberini, the Family of, 49–51, 53–7, 60–2, 65, 92, 189, 373.
Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal, 15, 17.
Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal, 15, 18, 20–3, 48, 52, 64, 91, 191, 261, 265.
Barberini, Carlo, Cardinal, 92, 189.
Barberini, Francesco, Cardinal, 15.
Barberini, Francesco, Cardinal, 15–18, 21–6, 53, 55, 62–5, 190.
Barberini, Matteo, 92.
Barberini, Taddeo, General, 14, 53–6, 64.
Barcos, de, 217, 234, 235.
Barrata, Francesco (sculptor), 405.
Barrière, Dominique, (engraver), 182, 400.
Battaglia, Girolamo, 76, 77.
Battistini (poet), 402.
Basadonna, Pietro, Cardinal, 90.
Beatrice, St., 89.
Beaufort, Duke of, 58.
Beaupuy, Count of, 58.
Bellegarde, Octave de (Bishop of Sens), 230.
Bellings, Richard, 157, 158.
Bellori, 386.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 13.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 12, 204.
Bentivoglio, Guido, Cardinal, 16, 22, 229.
Bereur, 319.
Bernini, Lorenzo (architect), 28–31, 188, 382–396, 403–8.
Béron, le (Bishop of Valence), 259 n.
Bertier (Bishop of Montauban), 259 n.
Beusecom, Christian, 304.
Bichi, Alessandro, Cardinal, 16, 19–25, 30, 32.
Bichi, Antonio, Cardinal, 264, 300, 301, 305–325, 330, 332.
Bérulle (Oratorian), 223.
Blume, Heinrich Julius, 137.
Bollandus, 349.
Bonfilz, 199.
Boonen, Jacob (Archbishop of Malines), 301, 302, 307, 309, 314–19, 327–330, 334–6, 338–348.
Bordel, 213.
Borghese, the Family, 373.
Borgognone (artist), 372.
Borgia, Cardinal, 15.
Borromeo, Gilberto, Cardinal, 189.
Borromini, Francesco, Cardinal, 283, 288–292, 403–410.
Bosquet, François (Bishop of Lodère), 71.
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne (Bishop of Meaux), 3, 4.
Bourbon, Henry (D. of), 233.
Bourdalone, Louis, 3.
Bourgeois, Jean (theologian), 229, 230, 233, 234, 242.
Bourgoing (General of Oratorians), 224, 237.
Bouthillier (Archbishop of Tours), 397 n.
Boyneburg, Johann Christian von, 137, 138.
Bragadino, Cardinal, 16.
Brancaccio, Cardinal, 16.
Brézé, de, Admiral, 19, 60.
Bril, Paul (artist), 401.
Brisacier, Jean de, 229.
Brousse, 262, 263, 275.
Broussel, 235.
Browne, 164.
Bufalo, Maria Flaminia del, 24.
Bruni (Augustinian), 270, 300.
Bullialdo, Ismael, 77.
Buzenval (Bishop of Beauvais), 259 n., 290.

Cabrera, Admiral, 58, 59.
Caelen, Henry van (Calenus), 302, 308–314, 327, 335.

Caffarelli, Prospero, 189.
Cajetan, Cardinal, 98.
Calandri, Giovanni, Battista (artist), 385.
Calasanzio, Joseph, 177.
Calderon (Jesuit), 2, 88, 90.
Calixt, Georg (professor), 138–140.
Calvin, 218.
Camassei ,Andrea (artist), 402.
Campanella, Domenico (Carmelite), 268.
Candido, Vincent (Dominican), 269–272.
Canisius, Peter, 109.
Canonici, Francesco (Mascambruno), 376.
Capello, Giovanni (General), 360.
Capello, Giovanni Ambrosio (Bishop of Antwerp), 345.
Capillas, Bl., 201.
Capponi, Luigi, Cardinal, 15, 16, 68, 129, 151, 180, 191.
Caracena, Marquis de, 89.
Carafa, Pier Luigi, Cardinal, 186.
Carafa, Vincenzo (General of Society of Jesus), 178.
Caramuel v. Lobkowiz (Abbot), 110, 134.
Cardenas, Bernardino de (Bishop), 207.
Carlo Emmanuele of Savoy, Cardinal, 189.
Carlo Pio of Savoy, Cardinal, 189.
Caron, Raymond F. M., 194.
Cassini (scientist), 4.
Castel Roderigo (Governor of Madrid), 300–3, 310.
Catinat, General, 4.
Caumartin, Lefèvre de (Bishop of Amiens), 223, 259 n.
Cecchini, Domenico, Cardinal, 40, 186, 265.
Cenci, Tiberio, Cardinal, 186.
Cennini, Cardinal, 15, 16, 22.
Cesarini, the Family of, 373.
Cesi, Angelo (Bishop of Rimini), 353, 361.
Cesi, Cardinal, 15, 20.
Cesi, Carlo, of Rieti (engraver), 402.
Charles I. (King of England), 143–155, 160, 164, 167.
Charles II. (King of England), 151, 152.
Clement VIII., Pope, 24, 25, 259–264, 273, 310, 387–395.
Clement IX., Pope, 9, 12 (Rospigliosi, *q.v.*).
Clement X., Pope, 9, 12.
Clement XI., Pope, 13, 204.
Clement XII., Pope, 13.
Charruau, 239.
Chavigny, 216.
Cherubini, Francesco, Cardinal, 187.
Chiaves, Antonio de, Cardinal, 390.
Chigi, Fabio (Pope Alexander VII.), 42–6, 94–120, 124, 130, 141, 188, 264–6, 275–9, 377, 378.
Choiseul (Bishop of Comminges), 259 n., 290, 298, 299.
Christine (Queen of Sweden), 140.
Cibo, Alderano, Cardinal, 186.
Ciria, Angelo Maria (Servite), 268.
Clanricarde, Lord, 165, 172.
Colbert, J. B., 4.
Collicola, 15.
Colonna, the Family of, 373.
Colonna, Anna, 56.
Colonna, Cardinal, 15, 18, 19, 56, 69, 180.
Condé, Henry Prince of, 4, 216, 252, 331.
Condren (General of Oratorians), 224.
Contarini, Alvise, Cardinal, 96, 98, 100, 125, 353, 355, 360.
Contarini, Angelo, 252.
Contelori, Felice, 352.
Coote (Parliament General), 167.
Cornaro, Federigo, Cardinal, 15, 69, 352, 383.

Corneille, 3.
Cornet, Syndic, 234, 240–4, 261.
Corrado, Jacopo, Cardinal, 188.
Corsini, Neri (nuncio), 66, 67.
Cortona, Pietro da, 17, 28, 65, 391, 402.
Costa, Juan da (Dominican), 198.
Costaguti, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 15.
Cottington, Lord, 151.
Crane (envoy), 115.
Crelly (Cist. Abbot), 168.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 15, 16.
Crocius of Marburg, 139.
Cromwell, Oliver, 143–152, 167–171.
Cueva, Cardinal, 15, 16, 303, 310.
Cunha, Nuno da, 77.
Cyril of Alexandria, St., 8.

Dabert (Jesuit), 223.
Damasus I., Pope, 286.
Dares, Professor, 244.
Daubray, François, 215.
Dechamps, Etienne (Jesuit), 228.
Delbene (Bishop of Orleans), 259 n.
Delbene, Bartholomew (Bishop of Agen), 259 n.
Depretis V. (General of Augustinians), 268–271.
Descartes, René, 3.
Desmares (Oratorian), 275, 276.
Despruets, Bernard (Bishop of Saint-Papoul), 259 n.
Diaz, Manuel (Jesuit), 201.
Digby, Kenelm, 157, 160, 161.
Dinet, Jacques (Jesuit), 254, 256.
De Dominis, Marcantonio, 233.
Donghi, Cardinal, 15.
Duc, Fronton du, 3.
Duchesne, 234.
Duhamel, Henri, 217, 223.
Durazzo, Marcello, Cardinal, 15.

Elce, Scipione d', Cardinal (Archbishop of Pisa), 133, 140, 361.
Elizabeth of Bourbon (Queen of Spain), 87.
Elizabeth, Stuart (Princess), 155.
Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse Rheinfels, 137–140.
Espada, Cardinal, 202.
Estampes de Valençay, Achille d', 15, 23, 56, 58.
Estampes de Valençay, Henri d', 66, 71.
Este, Rinaldo d', Cardinal, 1, 8, 58–62, 70, 261.
Eudes, Jean, 178.
Eugene IV., Pope, 387.
Evelyn, John, 382.

Fabriano, Gentile da (artist), 389.
Facchinetti, Cardinal, 23.
Fairfax, General, 147.
Falconieri, Cardinal, 15.
Falda (engraver), 400.
Fancelli, Giacomo Antonio (sculptor), 405.
Farnese, Camilla, 392.
Farnese, Francesco Maria, Cardinal, 186.
Farnese, Ranuccio (D. of Parma), 369, 370, 390.
Fasli, Pasha, 361.
Fénelon (Archbishop of Cambrai), 3.
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 1, 58, 313.
Ferdinand III., Emperor, 114–16, 119, 120, 132, 134, 313.
Fermat, Pierre, 3.
Ferrata, Ercole (sculptor), 379.
Ferri, Ciro (artist), 402.
Feydeau, 220.
Filleau, Advocate, 295.
Filomarino, Cardinal, 16, 79–82.
Fisher (Jesuit), 213.
Fleury, François de, 225.
Fontenay-Mareuil, Marquis de, 61–3, 81–3.

Foscarini, Pier (envoy), 360.
Four, du (Dominican), 250.
Frangipani, the Family, 373.
Friedrich, Landgrave of Hesse, 188.
Frederick William (Duke of Brandenburg), 98, 100.
Froidmont, L. (Fromondus-Fromond), 302–314, 335, 343–6.
Fuensaldaña, Count, 319, 348.
Fulgentius, 272.
Fustado, Francesco (Jesuit), 201.

GABRIELLI, Giulio, Cardinal, 15, 22.
Gaetani, Francesco (Archbishop of Rhodes), 42, 91–3.
Gan, Clement (Dominican), 201.
Gatta, Carlo della, 60, 61.
Gault, Jean Baptiste (Bishop), 224.
Gavazzi, Modestus (Franciscan), 268.
Genoino, Giulio, 80.
George, Christian (Landgrave of Hesse), 137.
Georg, Frederick Philipp von Greisheim, 137.
Guarda, Cristoforo (Bishop of Castro), 370.
Ginetti, Marzio, Cardinal, 190, 202, 265, 277.
Giotto, 390.
Giustiniani, the Family, 373.
Giustiniani, Giovanni (envoy), 73, 78, 146, 362–5.
Giustiniani, Orazio, Cardinal, 51, 186.
Giustiniani, Olimpiuccia, 92.
Glamorgan, Earl of Raglan, *q.v.*
Godeau, Antony (Bishop of Grasse), 262, 285–7.
Godefroi, 370.
Gondi, Jean François de, Cardinal von de Retz.
Gondrin, L. H. de Pardaillon (Archbishop of Sens), 215, 259 n., 291, 295–9.
Gookin, 175.
Gottschalk, 240.
Grande, Antonio del, 395.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 210, 257, 273, 408.
Gregory XV., Pope, 16, 26, 190, 210.
Gregory of S. Vincent, 349.
Grémonville, M. de, 49, 50, 75, 76, 357.
Grillet, Jean (Jesuit), 207.
Grimaldi, Cardinal, 15, 19, 23, 56, 59, 85, 234.
Grimaldi, Francesco (architect), 400.
Grimani, Battista, 361.
Gualteri, Carlo, Cardinal, 189.
Guerike, Otto von, 2.
Guidi, Domenico (artist), 386.
Guise, Henry Duke of, 84, 85.
Gustav, Adolf (Count of Nassau-Saarbrucken), 137.

HABERKORN, 139.
Habert, Isaac (Bishop of Vabres), 227–233, 253, 257–9.
Hallier, François, 243, 244, 263–5, 268, 274, 275, 283, 292–300.
Harlay, François (Archbishop of Rouen), 256, 297 n.
Haro, Luis de, 88.
Harrach, Cardinal, 15, 18, 24, 134.
Henry VIII., King of England, 179.
Henrietta, Maria, Queen of England, 156, 157, 160, 164.
Henschen, Gottfried (Jesuit), 349.
Hersent (ex Oratorian), 250, 261.
Hilerin, 217.
Holst, Lukas, 140.
Holzhauser, Bartholomew, 178.
Hovyne, d', 318–321, 325, 330, 348.
Hughes, Canon, 323.
Huygens (scientist), 4.
Huyssens (architect), 349.

IMBENE, Tommaso (Theatine), 268.
Imperiale, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 189.
Inchiquin (Parliamentary General), 166, 169.
Infantado, Duke of (Spanish Ambassador), 42, 74, 181.
Ingoli, Francesco (Secretary of Propaganda), 190, 191.
Innocent VIII., Pope, 23.
Innocent X., Pope, *passim*.
Innocent XI., Pope, 6, 9–12.
Innocent XII., Pope, 11, 411.
Innsbruck, Claudia (Archduchess of), 88.
Ireton (Parliamentary General), 170.
Isidore of St. Joseph (Carmelite), 334.

JANSENIUS, Cornelius, 217–223, 226, 228, 238–249, 253–262, 267–281, 286–8, 295–305, 309–328, 336–347, 350.
John Augustine of the Nativity, 268.
John Frederick (Duke of Brunswick Luneberg), 137–9, 184.
John of St. Thomas, 300.
John IV. (King of Braganza), 74, 78.
Joisel, 264, 274.
Jones (Parliamentary General), 165, 167–8.
Joseph III. (Maronite Patriarch), 195.
Juan, Don (son of Philip IV.), 81, 89.

KEPLER, 2.
Kinscot (Chancellor of Brabant), 319.
Kircher, Athanasius (Jesuit), 403.
Klesl, Cardinal, 69.
Kuäringen, Henry von (Bishop of Augsburg), 101.

LABADIE, Jean (Jesuit), 223.
Labbé, 3.
Ladislaus (King of Poland), 138.
Lafontaine, Jean de, 3, 9 n.
Lagault, 264, 275, 281, 287.
Lalane, Doctor, 262, 276.
Lamberg, Leopold Joseph von, 115.
Lante, Cardinal, 15, 16, 59, 180.
Lapide, Cornelius a, 349.
Lauri, Baldassare (artist), 17.
Lauri, Francesco (artist), 17.
Laval, François de Montmorency, 193, 214.
Leibnitz (philosopher), 2.
Leonardi (artist), 344.
Leo the Great, Pope St., 385.
Leo X., Pope, 28, 397.
Leopold (Prince of Florence), 181.
Leopold, William (Archduke of Netherlands), 312–325, 341, 348.
Le Roux, 240.
Lescot, Jacques (Bishop of Chartres), 297 n., 298.
Lessius, 349.
Le Sueur (artist), 3.
Leuxselring, Johann, 101, 117.
Lingendes, Claude de (Jesuit), 228.
Lionne, Hugues de, 72.
Lippay, George (Primate of Hungary), 135.
Loisel, 243.
Lomellini, Gian Girolamo, Cardinal, 188.
Longueville, Duke of, 104, 121.
Lope (Spanish poet), 2.
Lorrain, Claude (artist), 3.
Le Loup, Christian, 311.
Louvois, 4.
Ludlow (Parliamentary General), 170.
Ludovisi, Alessandro (Gregory XV.), 26.
Ludovisi, Ludovico, Cardinal, 89, 378, 391.
Ludovisi, Niccolò, Prince, 33, 40, 48, 57, 61, 355, 360, 403.

Ludovisi, Princess, 62.
Louis XIII., King of France, 3.
Louis XIV., King of France, 3–13, 68, 85, 164, 285.
Lugo, Juan de, Cardinal, 15, 21, 23, 56, 180, 231, 232, 265.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 383, 392.
Luther, Martin, 1, 139.
Lutti, secret., 229.

MACHIAVELLI, Cardinal, 5.
Maculano, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 16, 21, 23, 180, 265.
Maderno, Carlo, 385, 410.
Magni, Valerian (Capuchin), 134, 139.
Magnoni, Valentino (Jesuit), 20.
Maidalchini, Andrea, 375.
Maidalchini, Francesco, Cardinal, 39, 180, 187.
Maidalchini, Olimpia, 32–4, 35–41, 44–6, 62, 92, 181–9, 279, 375–9, 397, 403.
Maini, Giambattista (sculptor), 379.
Malatesta of Baglione, 371.
Malatesta of Goligiano, 371.
Mancini, Francesco, 92, 93.
Manessier, 275.
Mangelli, Andrea, 330-6, 341–7, 350.
Maratta, Carlo (artist), 372, 392.
Marca, Pierre de (Archbishop of Toulouse), 285–7, 297.
Marco, Antonio (Capuchin Proc. Gen.), 268.
Margaret of Savoy, 181.
Mari, Giovan Antonio (sculptor), 408.
Maria, Princess (sister of Philip IV.), 88.
Marianne, d. of Ferdinand III., 88, 89, 181, 313.
Maria Anne (Princess of Württemberg), 137.
Marie Louise of Gonzaga-Cleves (Queen of Poland), 225.
Marini, Domenico (Archbishop of Avignon), 69, 70, 92.
Marten, 148, 149.
Martinez, 300.
Marucelli, Paolo (Architect), 383.
Masaniello, 79, 80.
Massari (Duke of Fermo), 162, 189, 191.
Massilon (poet), 3.
Massimo, Camillo, 91–3.
Mattei, Cardinal, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22.
Matthias (Prince of Tuscany), 181.
Maximilian of Bavaria, 101, 103, 112, 115–121.
Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal, 13–22, 48–75, 78, 84–6, 128, 156, 157, 187, 216, 222–236, 284, 297, 357, 360, 392.
Mazarin, Michel, Cardinal, 49, 50, 58, 63, 64, 187.
Medici, Francesco Maria de', Cardinal, 15, 16, 18, 76, 186.
Medina de las Torres, Duke of, 77.
Melzi, Camillo, Cardinal, 103.
Mesplède (Dominican), 225.
Meynell, Robert, 151, 152.
Michelangelo, 395.
Minden, 111.
Mignard (artist), 374.
Molé, President, 243, 244.
Molière, J. B., 3.
Molina, Luis (Jesuit), 219, 221, 262, 303, 327, 350.
Monk, General, 165, 167.
Monroe, General, 155.
Montalto, Cardinal, 15, 89.
Montchal, Charles (Archbishop of Toulouse), 225, 255.
Monteiro, Nicholas (Prior of Sodofeita), 74, 76.
Monti, Cardinal, 15, 16.
Morales, J. B. de (Dominican), 201–5.

Morgan, Major, M.P., 174.
Morin, Jean, 3.
Mortelle (advocate), 331.
Mothe-Hondencourt, Henri de la (Bishop of Rennes), 297 n.
Murillo, 2.
Muskerry, 164.
Mutale (King of Ceylon), 198.

NANI, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 53.
Nájera y Maqueda, Duke of, 89.
Napoleon, Bonaparte, 9.
Navarro, 348.
Nini, Paolo, 33.
Noirmoutiers, Marquis of, 61.

ODESCALCHI, Benedetto, Cardinal, 186.
Olier, Jean Jacques, 220, 221, 226.
Oliva, John Paul (Jesuit), 378.
Olivares, 26, 128.
Omodei, Luigi A., Cardinal, 188.
Oñate, Count, 73, 77, 81, 85.
O'Neill, Eugene, General, 158, 162–6, 170.
Ormond (Viceroy of Ireland), 153–166, 168, 172.
Orsini, the Family, 373.
Orsini, Cardinal, 15.
Orsini, Virginio, 373.
Othenin, Henri d', Canon, 335.
Ottoboni, Pietro, Cardinal (Alexander VIII.), 188.
Oxenstjerna, Axel, 120.

PAEPE, 321.
Palafox y Mendoza, Juan (Bishop), 207–213.
Pallavicino, Sforza, Cardinal, 47, 96, 102, 107, 268–271, 381.
Paladan, Michel (Augustinian), 338.
Pamfili, the Family of, 373, 393, 408, 410.
Pamfili, Agata, 24, 44.
Pamfili, Alessandro, 24.
Pamfili, Angelo Benedetto, 24, 397.
Pamfili, Camillo (father of Innocent X.), 24.
Pamfili, Camillo (nephew), Cardinal, 36–49, 186, 189, 265, 277, 308, 375–9, 392–7, 403, 409.
Pamfili, Camillo (Astalli), 39–42, 187.
Pamfili, Costanza, 33.
Pamfili, Giovan Battista, 15, 16, 18, 19, Innocent X., *q.v.*
Pamfili, Girolamo, 24, 25, 43, 44.
Pamfili, Maria, m. Prince Ludovisi, 33, 62.
Pamfili, Pamfilio, 24, 33.
Pamfili, Prudenza, 24.
Panciroli, Cardinal, 15, 35–41, 95, 109, 231.
Pannelini, Giovan (Inquisitor of Malta), 355.
Pallu, François (Bishop of Heliopolis, 193.
Papebroch, Daniel (Jesuit), 349.
Pascal, Blaise, 3, 203.
Passeri, 386.
Passionei (Papal agent), 7 n.
Paul III., Pope, 1, 411.
Paul IV., Pope, 51, 411.
Paul V., Pope, 259, 263, 282, 285.
Pacificus (Capuchin), 213.
Pázmány, Peter, Cardinal, 135.
Peñeranda, Count, 101.
Peretti, Alessandro, Cardinal, 391.
Peretti, Francesco, Cardinal, 391.
Petau, Denis, 3, 218, 227 n., 228.
Philip, Catholicos of Armenia, 195.
Philip of Hesse, 137.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 2, 6.

Philip IV. of Spain, 29, 73, 81, 85–91, 164, 180, 199, 207, 211, 308–325, 354, 386.
Philippucci, Francis Xavier (Jesuit), 203.
Pimentel, Doningo, Cardinal, 188.
Pique, Bishop, 193.
Pisanello (artist), 389.
Pius IV., Pope, 387, 389.
Pius V., Pope, 1, 16, 257, 273, 354, 356.
Pius VI., Pope, 13.
Plessis-Besançon du, 85.
Plunket, Nicolaus, Baron, 166.
Poirters (Jesuit), 349.
Ponce de Léon (Duke of Arcos), 79.
Pontan (Pontanus), Rector of Liège, 308, 343.
Porissimi, Claudio (sculptor), 405.
Poussin, Nicolas, 3, 28.
Poussin, Gaspard, 402.
Preston, General, 158, 163, 165.
Prosper, St., 272.

Quesnel, 12.
Quiroga (Capuchin), 110.

Racine, Jean (poet), 3, 9 n.
Raconis, Abra de, 216, 228–231.
Raphael, 28, 386.
Raggi, Antonio (sculptor), 405.
Raggi, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 187.
Raglan, Herbert (Earl of Glamorgan), 154–6, 159–161.
Rainaldi, Carlo (architect), 24, 383, 387–395, 401, 409.
Rainaldi, Girolamo (architect), 383, 391, 401, 409.
Rancati, Hilarion (Cistercian), 248–250.
Randoutt, Valentin, 346.
Rantzau, Christoph, Count of, 137.
Rapaccioli, Cardinal, 15, 23, 56, 180.
Rassenghien, Baron von (Bishop of Tournai), 312, 315.
Ravaille, Reginald, 275.
Recht, 316, 318.
Recke, von der, 137.
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal, 67–71, 188, 215, 222, 283.
Rhodes, Alexander, 192, 193, 198.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 7, 13, 64, 224, 233, 237, 250.
Richelieu, Alfonse Louis, Cardinal, 15, 18, 19, 23.
Rinaldi, Carlo, 182.
Rinaldo, Oderico, 17, 381.
Rinuccini, Battista (Archbishop of Fermo), 157, 159, 161–6, 171, 189.
Ripalda, J. Martinez de (Jesuit), 228.
Rivius (Augustinian Provincial), 338.
Rocci, Cardinal, 15, 16, 56.
Rochefoucauld, Cardinal, 15.
Roma, Cardinal, 15, 16, 245, 265.
Romanelli, Giovanni Francesco (artist), 402.
Rondinini, Cardinal, 15, 56.
Roose, Peter, 301–310, 314–18, 326.
Rosa, Salvatore, 28.
Rospigliosi, Giulio (Clement IX.), 87–91, 300, 306, 317.
Rossetti, Cardinal, 16.
Rovenius (Vicar Apost. in Holland), 142.

Saavedra, Diego, 95.
Sablé, Marquise de, 220.
Sacchetti, Cardinal, 15, 16, 19–23.
Sacchetti, Marcello, 17.
Sacchi, Andrea, 17.
Sagredo, Niccolò (Venetian Ambassador), 365.
Saint-Amour, 240, 243, 261–4, 267–276, 280.

Saint-Chamond, Marquis, 19, 20, 22, 48.
St. Cyran, 216, 220, 224, 231, 238, 243, 253.
Sainte-Beuve, 238, 241, 242.
Salette, J. Henri de (Bishop of Lescar), 259 n.
Salvatierra (Viceroy of Mexico), 209.
Salvius, 117, 120.
Sandoval, Cardinal, 15, 93.
Sanfelice (nuncio), 178.
Sangallo (architect), 394.
Sanguin, Nicolas (Bishop of Senlis), 228.
Santa Croce, Marcello, Cardinal, 188.
San Vito, Marquis, 22.
Savelli, the Family, 372–394.
Savelli, Federigo (nuncio), 14, 19, 128, 129.
Savelli, Francesco, Cardinal, 187.
Scarampi (Papal envoy), 156.
Schacht, Heinrich (Lutheran preacher), 137.
Schall, Adam (Jesuit), 200.
Schega, 323.
Schinckel, John, 304, 305, 307.
Schlüter (sculptor), 408.
Schönborn, J. Philipp, von (Archbishop of Mayeuce), 117, 120, 121, 130, 178.
Schott, Andrew, 349.
Shung-ti (Tartar Emperor), 200.
Schwarzenberg, Count, 319.
Scialac, Victor (Maronite), 195.
Sebille, Alexander (Dominican), 336, 337, 345.
Seghers, Daniel (artist), 349.
Séguier (nuncio), 216.
Seldon, 148.
Semedo, Alvaro, 201, 202.
Senecey, Marquise de, 215.
Sévigné, Madame de, 222.
Sforza, Cardinal, 55, 186, 378.
Silesius, Angelus (poet), 137.
Sinnich, Johann, 229, 307, 308, 321, 343.
Siri, Vittorio, 84.
Sirmond (Jesuit), 3.
Sirvela, Count, 19, 20, 75–7, 95.
Sixtus V., 1, 407.
Solminihac, Alain de (Bishop of Cahors), 225.
Spada, Cardinal, 23, 42, 190, 212, 261–277.
Spada, Virgilio (Almoner), 282, 288, 293.
Spinola, Agostino, Cardinal, 15, 16.
Spinola, Giovanni, Cardinal, 15.
Strada, Famiano (Jesuit), 385.
Suarez, 303, 350.
Sullay, "official" of Paris, 288.

TAAFE, General, 163.
Taignier, 288.
Talon, Denis, 236.
Tassi, Agostino, 401.
Taylor, Jeremy, 146.
Teodoli, Cardinal, 15, 22.
Thomassin, Louis de, 3.
Tommaso, Prince of Savoy, 86.
Torre, James de la (Archbishop of Ephesus), 142.
Torres y Rueda, Marcos de (Bishop), 210.
Trauttmansdorff, Max, Count of, 101–7, 110–14.
Triest, Anthony von (Bishop of Ghent), 326, 327, 335.
Trevulzio, Cardinal, 15, 18, 69, 82, 92.
Truchsess, Cardinal, 100.
Turenne, General, 4.

ULRICH, Duke of Württemberg, 137.
Urban VIII., Pope, 1, 12–20, 26–32, 51, 63, 74, 155, 181, 190, 191, 201 *seq.*, 273, 277, 348, 351, 366, 382 *seqq.*, 411.
Ursacius, 272.

VACHER, Philippe le (Lazarist), 196.
Valens, 272.

Van den Linden (Oratorian), 336.
Vasquez (Abbot), 332.
Vasquez, Gabriel, 303, 350.
Vauban, 4.
Velasquez (artist), 2, 28, 31.
Ventadour, Duke of, 288.
Vernulaeus (Rector of Louvain University), 343, 344.
Véron, François (Jesuit), 239–242.
Verospi, Cardinal, 15.
Vervaux, Johann (Jesuit), 101.
Vialart, Félix (Bishop of Châlons), 259 n.
Vianen, François de (Rector of Louvain University), 343, 344.
Vidman, Christopher, Cardinal, 187.
Viète, 3.
Vignola (sculptor), 390.
Vincent de Paul, St., 193–6, 215–17, 226, 234, 250–7, 288–292.
Visconti, Filippo, 268–272.
Visconti, Uberto Maria, 368.
Volmar, Isaac, 110, 116, 117.
Volterra, Daniele de, 389.
Vorberg, 117.

WADDING, Luke (Franciscan), 268–271, 392.
Wangnereck, Henry (Jesuit), 101, 108, 110, 114.
Wartenberg, Wilhelm von (Bishop of Osnabrück), 101, 108–115, 121.
Werm, van (professor), 308, 343–6.
Wetzhausen, Count von, 137.
Winchester, Marquis of, 144.
Winter, 168.
Worcester, Marquis of, 154.
Wright, Peter,

XAVIER, Andrew (Jesuit), 200 n.

YVES (Capuchin), 228.

ZAMBECCARI, Alessandro, 360.
Zinga, Queen, 197.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXI.

ALEXANDER VII., 1655–1667.

PAGES

Table of Contents . . . . . vii–xii

Alexander VII. and the Chigi—The Papal States . 1–36

The Return of Queen Christine of Sweden to the Catholic Church and her Stay in Rome . . 37–77

Relations of Alexander VII. with France and Venice—Defence Against the Turks and Dispute with Louis XIV.—Last Years of the Pope . . . 78–123

Alexander VII.'s Activity Within the Church—Reforms—Nominations of Cardinals—Religious Conditions in Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia—Missions 124–170

Jansenist Troubles in France and the Low Countries 171–268

Alexander VII.—A Promoter of Science and Art . 269–313

CLEMENT IX., 1667–1669.

CLEMENT X., 1670–1676.

Election, Antecedents and Character of Clement IX—The Rospigliosi—Patronage of Scholars and Artists 314–337

Religious Activities of Clement IX—Jansenism and the So-called Clementine Peace—Missions in the Far East 338–412

Clement IX.'s Efforts on Behalf of Peace Between France and Spain and for the Defence Against the Turks—The Loss of Crete—Death of the Pope . 413–430

Clement X.—His Election and Personality—The New Pope and Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri—Patronage of Art 431–453

Support of Poland Against the Turks—Embassy of the Tsar of Russia in Rome 454–463

Clement X.'s Activity Within the Church—The Jubilee of 1675—Creations of Cardinals—Disputes With Louis XIV.—Death of the Pope . . 464–508

Index of Names 509–519

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXI.

ALEXANDER VII. 1655–1667.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER VII. AND THE CHIGI—THE PAPAL STATES.

A.D.		PAGE
1654	Members of the Sacred College	1
	Papabili	2
	Chigi's candidature	4
1655	His election as Pope Alexander VII.	9
	Antecedents of Fabio Chigi	10
	His early career	12
	Nuncio and	15
	Secretary of State	16
	Chigi as Pope	17
	The Papal Nephews	23
	Reform of the Papal Court but	27
	Abuse of justice	29
	The plague in Rome	33
	Generosity and courage of the Pope	35

CHAPTER II.

THE RETURN OF QUEEN CHRISTINE OF SWEDEN TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HER STAY IN ROME.

1654	Abdication of Christine, Queen of Sweden	37
	Her conversion to the Catholic Faith	38
	Her character and career	39
	Her flight from Sweden leads	52
	To Innsbruck, where	53
	Her Profession of faith takes place	54
	Thence to Rome	57
	Her Solemn Entry	58
	Subsequent difficulties	61
1656	Her journeys to France	65
	And Sweden	69
	Her return to Rome	70
	Her later years	71

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONS OF ALEXANDER VII. WITH FRANCE AND VENICE—DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS AND DISPUTE WITH LOUIS XIV.—LAST YEARS OF THE POPE.

A.D.		PAGE
1654	Papal relations with France	78
	Mazarin's hostility to Alexander VII. met by the	79
	Untiring patience of the Pope	80
	Disaffection of the French Clergy	81
	Peace of the Pyrenees concluded without	82
	Papal participation	83
	Peril from Islam	84
	Papal aid given to Venice	85
	The attitude of France	91
1662	Créqui's anti-papal instructions	93
	He carries them out	96
	The policy of Louis XIV.	98
	His advances to Spain and	103
	Switzerland	104
	His seizure of Avignon	105
1664	The Treaty of Pisa	107
	The battle on the Raab	109
	Chigi goes as Cardinal Legate to France	111
	The illness of the Pope	115
1667	His last creation of Cardinals	118
	Death of Alexander VII. on May 22nd	120
	Appreciation of his Pontificate	121

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER VII.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—REFORMS—NOMINATIONS OF CARDINALS—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND SCANDINAVIA—MISSIONS.

His reforms and personal visitations	124
Canonizations	129
Creations of Cardinals	130
Relations with Germany	135
Intrigues of the Fürstenbergs	141
Notable Converts to the Church	145
The Pope and Propaganda	149
Missions in S.E. Europe	153
In Abyssinia	154
In Africa	155
India, China, and Tibet, and	157
South America	161
The question of the Chinese rites is	163
Settled by the decision of 1656	165

CHAPTER V.

JANSENIST TROUBLES IN FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

A.D.		PAGE
	Jansenist difficulties	171
	Controversy between Arnauld and de Liancourt	172
	And the Sorbonne	176
	Arnauld censured and	181
	His writings condemned	183
	His rescuer—Pascal—	184
	Makes brilliant defence of Jansenism	186
	Against the Jesuits	189
1657	His *Provinciales* declared worthy of reprobation	196
	Further decrees against the heresy	197
	Its defence by the French Bishops	200
	Intervention of the King	203
	Protracted resistance of the Jansenists	205
	Its last champions, Pierre Nicole	206
	Whose works are burnt by the public executioner, and	208
	Nicolas Pavillon	209
1660	The Assembly of 1660	217
	Its measures are	218
	Defied by the Jansenists	219
1661	The evasions of Henri Arnauld	223
	Compromise attempted	225
1664	Jansenist writings condemned and prohibited	231
	The Papal Formula	233
	Opposed and refused	237
	Proceedings against the Four Bishops	243
	Probabilism	246
	Attack upon the Jesuits	253
	Jansenist revival at Louvain	262
1657	Its condemnation by Bull, enforced by	264
	Order of the King of Spain	266
	Further disputes	267

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VII.—A PROMOTER OF SCIENCE AND ART.

The Pope as Patron of Science and Art	269
His support of the *Sapienza*	272
Establishment of State Archives	275
His patronage of Bernini and	278
Great architectural works	279
His Commissions to Pietro da Cortona	283
Immense work on St. Peters	286
Alexander VII.'s care for other churches and	305
The City of Rome becomes	307
Roma moderna	312

CLEMENT IX. 1667–1669.
CLEMENT X. 1670–1676.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT IX.—THE ROSPIGLIOSI—PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS.

A.D.		PAGE
1667	The Conclave	314
	Papabili	316
	Election of Cardinal Rospigliosi—Clement IX.	319
	His literary gifts	320
	His popularity	322
	The "Papal Nephews"	325
	The generosity of Clement IX. to others	327
	His personal poverty and devotion	328
	The Pope and Queen Christine	329
	His patronage of art	331
	The Bridge of S. Angelo and Bernini	333
	The death of the aged Pope	337

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF CLEMENT IX.—JANSENISM AND THE SO-CALLED CLEMENTINE PEACE—MISSIONS IN THE FAR EAST.

	Canonizations by Clement IX.	338
	Relations with Portugal	341
	Creation of Cardinals	345
	Foreign interference repudiated	347
1669	Seven more Cardinals appointed	348
	Among them Giovanni Bona	349
	The "Four Bishops"	350
	Congregation of Cardinals, appointed to deal with Jansenism	351
	Support of the heresy in Paris "salons"	353
	Nineteen Bishops write to the Pope	355
1668	A further circular issued by the "Four Bishops"	357
	Government action	358
	Rome ready to compromise	365
	Arnauld's ambiguities	370
	Action at the Diocesan Synods	375
	Apparent re-instatement of Jansenists	377
	Their embarrassed position	382
	Attempted forgery to secure their safety	383
	Further investigations in Rome	389
	Instructions to the Nuncio	390
	Unproductive negotiations	393

A.D. PAGE
1669 Brief to the "Four Bishops" 397
Opinions on the compromise and 399
Its consequences 403
Reorganization of Missions in the East 406
Further controversy over the Chinese rites . . 409

CHAPTER III.

CLEMENT IX.'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN AND FOR THE DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS—THE LOSS OF CRETE—DEATH OF THE POPE.

Clement IX.'s attempts at mediation between . 413
France and Spain 414
1668 Peace is signed 417
Assistance sent to Venice 419
Supplemented by French volunteers to Crete . 421
1669 The fall of Candia 427
Shock to Clement IX. accelerates 428
His death on December 9th 429

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT X.: HIS ELECTION AND PERSONALITY—THE NEW POPE AND CARDINAL PALUZZI—ALTIERI—PATRONAGE OF ART.

Election of Pope Clement X. 431
1669 Numerous candidates for the Papacy 433
Disensions, but result obtained at 436
1670 Second scrutiny for Cardinal Altieri 437
The antecedents of Clement X. 438
His regularity of life despite age 441
Choice of Paluzzi-Albertoni as Cardinal-Padrone 443
Distribution of offices 443
Encroachments of Paluzzi-Altieri 444
Efforts of Clement X. for the public good . . 446
Support of missions 449
Embellishment of Rome 451

CHAPTER V.

SUPPORT OF POLAND AGAINST THE TURKS—EMBASSY OF THE TSAR OF RUSSIA IN ROME.

Papal support for Poland against the Turk . . 454
Alliance between Poland and Russia 459
1673 Polish victory at Chocim 460
Election of Sobieski as King of Poland . . . 462

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT X.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—THE JUBILEE OF 1675—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—DISPUTES WITH LOUIS XIV.—DEATH OF THE POPE.

A.D.		PAGE
	Demands of secular princes	464
1671	Canonizations and Beatifications, including	467
1672	That of Pius V.	468
1675	The year of Jubilee	470
	Creation of Cardinals	473
	Unreasonable demands of the King of France	478
	His ambassador's outrageous conduct	479
	Six more Cardinals created, among them	480
	Henry Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk	481
	Continued Jansenist propaganda in France	482
	Intriques of Louis XIV. against Holland	491
	Deceive the Pope, who	493
	Protests and insists on certain withdrawals	495
1673	Hope for the freedom of Dutch Catholics	497
1674	War between France and Germany	499
	Tension with Rome	500
	Infringement of ambassadorial rights	501
	Continued labour of the Pope for peace	505
1676	His illness and	507
	His death on July 22nd	508

ALEXANDER VII. 1655–1667.

CHAPTER I.

Alexander VII. and the Chigi. The Papal States.

Shortly before the death of Innocent X. the Sacred College had reached its full complement of seventy members; but on November 25th, 1654, it suffered the loss of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Altieri. Of the remaining sixty-nine Cardinals, sixty-two were in Rome at the time of the Pope's death; seven were absent. These were: Cueva, Sandoval, Mazarin, Filomarino, Durazzo, Frederick of Hesse, and Harrach, but the four last-named reached Rome in time to take part in the conclave.[1] Only two of the sixty-six electors, viz. Carlo Medici and Aloisi Capponi, dated from the reign of Paul V., whilst one half of the rest had been created by Urban VIII. and the remainder by Innocent X.[2]

The grouping of the parties resembled that of the last conclave.[3] The Spanish-Imperial party, headed by the two Medici and the Spanish Jesuit Lugo, comprised Colonna,

[1] *Cf. Dichiaratione delle ceremonie fatte dentro e fuori del conclave* (dedic. al ill. Emerico de Lauris), Rome, 1655, compiled by Gius. Elmi.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 716 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* "*Discorso sopra il conclave, 1655" in *Miscell.*, 126, p. 359 *seqq.*, Vatican Library, according to which the "fattioni Pamfiliana, Barberina e Spagnola", with about twenty Cardinals each, were equally strong, whereas the "Francese" comprised six Cardinals. *Cf.* Pallavicino, I., 214 *seq.*; L. Mussi, *Alcune memorie di conclavi del sec.*, XVII., Assisi, 1915, 7.

Cesi, Montalto, Trivulzio, Capponi, Brancaccio, Rossetti, Gabrielli, Astalli, Maidalchini, Cibo, Aldobrandini, Odescalchi, Vidman, Raggi, Harrach, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The other two parties were almost equally strong; viz. Urban VIII.'s Cardinals led by Francesco Barberini, and those created by Innocent X. The latter party, however, owing to the circumstance that Innocent X. had not left an ecclesiastical nephew, lacked a leader; accordingly its members resolved to keep together and to work exclusively for the election of the best man, without allowing themselves to be influenced by any outside pressure. According to the Spanish ambassador, this party, in consequence of its political neutrality, was nicknamed the "flying squadron"—*squadrone volante.* The French party, headed by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, though small in number, nevertheless wielded great influence owing to certain peculiar circumstances, for the recent marriage of the Duke of Modena, the brother of Cardinal Este, to a niece of Cardinal Barberini, had led to the establishment of valuable relations with the Cardinals of Urban VIII., whilst on the other hand, Antonio Barberini, who had gone over to the French side, exercised great influence over a number of Cardinals.

Mazarin, who desired in the first instance the elevation of Sacchetti, had taken the precaution of linking together Antonio Barberini and Este, whilst the former was dominated by his conclavist Costa. Bichi, who had proved France's most reliable champion at the last conclave, was instructed to keep an eye on all three.[1]

By all accounts the Sacred College was rich in outstanding personalities. Giulio Sacchetti was looked upon as a most likely candidate. He was a splendid man in every respect, but his good relations with the Barberini and Mazarin had earned him the enmity of the Medici and of Spain. Spain had already excluded him in the conclave of 1644, but he had done his utmost to get this decision revoked. In 1655 no one

[1] See PETRUCELLI, III., 150 *seqq.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 139.

could tell whether or no he had been successful in his efforts.[1] Franciotti, Brancaccio, Corrado and Albizzi seemed to possess all the required qualities but they lacked the age which at that time was considered essential. Yet the same objection could be urged against the candidate who was eventually elected. "If Cardinal Chigi were a few years older," a contemporary remarked, "or if the desire to choose the most deserving candidate were to prevail over human considerations, he would certainly obtain the tiara."[2] Another hindrance to Chigi's elevation was the circumstance that the Government of Florence did not favour the election of a subject of its territory, whilst yet another factor against his candidature was his close friendship with Sacchetti, for a number of people were anxious that the latter should not have any influence with the future Pope.[3]

[1] See EISLER, 107. The "*Lettera scritta al Vicere di Napoli da un suddito di S. M^tà Cattolica" intervened very warmly for Sacchetti: "Il card. Mattei, che gli fece oppositione nel conclave passato, venuto al estremo della sua vita non potendo darsi quiete, all' udito de molti esagerava al suo confessore: O Padre, sento cruciarmi che ho escluso un angelo del papato." (Collection of writings on the conclaves from the Library of Cardinal Gentili, purchased by me in Rome, 1902.) Sigismondo Caula reports, February 27, 1655, about Sacchetti: "*Gli stessi cardinali che li sono contrari, non possono di meno di non dire che lui è meritevole." State Archives, Modena.

[2] See *Discorso sopra i cardinali papabili in *Barb.*, 4695, p. 219–224, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DENIS, I., 322.

[3] See *Discorso sopra i cardinali papabili, which says: "Ma finalmente è arrivato ove anelava di giungere il mio discorso, cioè al card. Ghisi, in cui si vedono espresse al vivo tutte le morali virtù e christiane, essendo molto difficile il discorrerne, se in lui sia maggiore o la eminenza della dottrina o l'integrità de' costumi o la santità della vita. Non vi è nel Sacro Collegio chi non lo conoschi dignissimo del pontificato, perchè dovrebbe esser premio della virtù e perchè in questo gran sogetto si vedrebbono rinovate l'attioni de' maggiori pontefici che habbi mai havuto la Santa Sede. Con tutto questo, non so quanto sii lecito di sperare questa publica felicità mercè alla fresca età

Chigi's candidature was first put forward, whilst Innocent X. lay on his death-bed, by Azzolini and Gualtieri, who likewise persuaded Cardinal Barberini to give him his support. After the Pope's death eleven of Innocent X.'s Cardinals agreed to press Chigi's candidature. They were, Giovanni Girolamo Lomellini, Lorenzo Imperiali, Luigi Omodei, Ghiberto Borromeo, Benedetto Odescalchi, Carlo Pio, Ottavio Acquaviva, Pietro Ottoboni, Francesco Albizzi, Carlo Gualtieri and Decio Azzolini. These were joined by Cristoforo Vidman and Giovanni Stefano Donghi, the latter being one of Urban VIII.'s Cardinals. The above-named, however, agreed not to come forward at once with their candidate, and, in general, to precipitate nothing.[1]

The conclave opened in the forenoon on January 20th.[2] The first scrutiny revealed a complete disagreement among the electors. When at the first *accessus* 22 votes were cast bearing the word *Nemini* (for no one), it became evident that the Spanish-Imperial party meant to exclude Sacchetti. At this first scrutiny Carafa had a majority of votes, viz.

del medesimo, se però fresca età può chiamarsi quella che è consumata nelli studii e nelle fatiche, che l'ha reso così gracile e di così debile e delicata complessione, che non le può promettere longhezza di molti anni ; la poca inclinatione che alli loro sudditi tengono i prencipi di Toscana, li quali tirano seco molti altri. Non ponno far giovamento a questo cardinale, come non le giova punto quell'abbate Altoviti, il quale essendo così frequente alle orecchie del medesimo, ha palesato la grande amicitia che passa fra il sudetto cardinal Ghisi e Sacchetti, et ha fatto germogliare non poca gelosia nell'animo de' Toscani e de' Spagnoli, che li sudetti due cardinali siano di un medesimo volere, e che, se fusse Papa l'uno, l'altro fusse per haver gran parte nel dominare." *Barb.* 4695, pp. 843–244[b], Vatican Library.

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 217 *seqq.*, 228.

[2] *Cf.* for what follows, *Conclavi*, II., 499–607 ; PALLAVICINO, I., 229–251 ; PETRUCELLI, III., 156 *seqq.* ; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 139 *seq.* ; EISLER, 110 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 85–6, the enumeration of manuscript sources which, however, is not complete.

21; he was followed by Sacchetti with 20 and Chigi with 18.[1] By the evening of the first day these numbers had dropped to 14, 15, and 12 respectively. On January 21st, Carafa only received 13, Sacchetti 23, and Chigi 11 votes, and the number of ballot papers marked "for nobody" was 26 and rose to 27 on the following day, on which Sacchetti only secured 7 votes, Carafa 10, and Chigi 15. After February 4th, Sacchetti's prospects improved. On the 5th he received 38 and after the 6th he was given, for some time, a steady 33 votes, so that he was nicknamed the *Trentatre*.[2] Though Chigi knew that Sacchetti alone could dispute him the tiara, he nevertheless consistently voted for him as the best and worthiest candidate.

When Cardinal Harrach arrived, the Spanish ambassador, Terranueva, requested him to inform all the Cardinals of his party that the King of Spain had decided to exclude Sacchetti, but so far from allowing themselves to be discouraged by this announcement, Sacchetti's supporters became only more determined. Albizzi drew up a pamphlet in which he rejected as inadmissible Spain's claim to the right of exclusion; this he did in an incisive, masterly and altogether conclusive manner, and basing himself on numerous texts of canonists and papal ordinances. He was answered by a staunch supporter of Spain, probably Lugo, who maintained that one could not vote in conscience for a Cardinal who was excluded

[1] The numbers given in *Conclavi* (518 *seqq.*), which were followed up to now, are partly erroneous; inexact also are the diaries: as the diffuse "*Diario" of Bastiano Casini, "scritto informa di lettera a Zanobi Casini" (*Barb.* 4651), and the "*Diario fatto da me Bastiano Casini negli 80 giorni del conclave per la creazione di Alessandro VII." (*ibid.*, Vatican Library). Even PALLAVICINO (*loc. cit*) gives the figures very summarily. I found authentic "*Original lists" in *Barb.* 4442 and 4443; besides these, a short compilation in *Barb.* 2608, which served as a basis for my data. According to *Vat.* 8414, p. 15[b], in the first scrutiny Sacchetti had 21 votes, Carafa 22, Chigi 19.

[2] *Cf.* the *Reports of Tommaso Suidoni of February 17 and 24, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

by so great and pious a king.[1] Even more than by these lucubrations, Sacchetti's cause was seriously damaged, though unconsciously, by the French ambassador, Hugues de Lionne, who arrived on January 22nd, when he at once wrote to the Sacred College a letter which amounted to a satire on Innocent X., so much so that even Este condemned it.[2]

In view of the fact that Sacchetti's candidature was consistently declined by twenty-three to twenty-five Cardinals, the election was unduly delayed [3] and the drawbacks to so many people being confined for so long a time within the narrow space of the conclave, made themselves gradually felt. Already at the beginning of February complaints were heard of the bad air in the rooms [4]; on February 10th Trivulzio was obliged to leave the conclave; others remained though they felt unwell. Carafa died on the 14th.[5] But the parties continued in their determined opposition to one another. "We shall never succeed in making a Pope," Cesi remarked, "unless we can get Cardinal *Trentatre* and Cardinal *Nemini* to agree.[6]

[1] *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 28; WAHRMUND, Beiträge, 9 *seqq.*, 25 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbullen*, 196 *seq.*; GRANDERATH in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IX., 127 *seqq.*; EISLER, 120 *seqq.*, who, with regard to the paper: "Che le corone hanno ius d'escludere i cardinali da pontificato," rightly adopts the opinion of Sägmüller, that Lugo is the author. Besides the manuscripts cited by EISLER (126), in which the name of Lugo appears on the title page, I can refer to two copies in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, where Lugo is likewise indicated as the author.

[2] See GÉRIN, I., 52 *seqq.*

[3] See *Report of Marcantonio Ranucci of January 27, 1655, State Archives, Bologna.

[4] See **Avviso* of February 6, 1655, Pap. Secr. Arch.

[5] *Report of Cardinal M. A. Colonna to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, February 20, 1655, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Report of Tommaso Suidoni of February 10, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

[6] See *Conclavi*, II., 531. *Cf.* *Report of Ranucci of February 17,

Chigi had obtained eighteen votes at the first scrutiny and in most of the succeeding ones he maintained himself at that level. This did not suit his supporters, who as yet did not want to come out into the open, but notwithstanding their efforts to the contrary, Chigi continued to receive a considerable number of votes.[1] The latter's calm and circumspection were truly admirable. For fear of appearing to aspire to the tiara, he paid no visits to Cardinals, except to those who were sick, but remained in his cell dividing his time between prayer and study. He remained equally unperturbed when it was rumoured that Mazarin would not hear of his elevation on account of his attitude at the peace congress of Münster.[2] Besides Chigi, Mazarin also excluded Rapaccioli, whilst Spada did all he could to induce the French to abide by this policy. Sacchetti acted otherwise: he considered Chigi to be the worthiest candidate of all, whilst he was also anxious to spare France an even heavier defeat than the one she had experienced at the conclave of 1644 in consequence of Mazarin's action against Pamfili. Without saying a word to Chigi, Sacchetti wrote a letter to Mazarin on February 13th,

1655, *loc. cit.* On February 19, a rumour spread in Rome, that Carpegna had been elected. *Cod. Vat.* 8414, p. 15b, Vatican Library.

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 240 *seq.* According to the compilation in **Barb.* 2608 (Vatican Library), Chigi had the following votes :—

January	20	. .	morning	18	evening	12
	21	. .	,,	11	,,	13
	22	. .	,,	15	,,	14
	23	. .	,,	15	,,	24
	24	. .	,,	12	,,	15
	29	. .	,,	17	,,	13
February	4	. .	,,	19	,,	17
	2	. .	,,	16	,,	12
	6	. .	,,	16	,,	14
	17	. .	,,	17		
	27	. .	,,	17		
March	30	. .	,,	14		
April	5	. .			,,	17

[2] See PALLAVICINO, I., 243.

in which he put before the leader of France's policy such arguments as were calculated to make him change his mind.[1] The answer could only arrive six weeks later: accordingly, the conclave had to be protracted for so long. This put everyone's patience to a trial all the more severe, as the discomfort of living in the ill-ventilated rooms constantly increased.[2] At the beginning of March Spada had to leave the conclave owing to sickness, and two other Cardinals followed him not long after.[3] Impatience grew daily. "The world waits," we read in a report of March 20th, "the Church prays, business suffers, but the Gordian knot cannot be cut; day after day votes are cast, to-day for this person, to-morrow for that, but no Peter is found to gather the votes of all."[4] People began to resign themselves to another month in the conclave[5] when, on March 30th, Mazarin's reply arrived. It left the French Cardinals free to vote for Chigi if it was impossible to get Sacchetti elected.[6] Thereupon action on behalf of the latter could be resumed with every hope of success. However, Barberini, who did not favour Chigi

[1] Text of the letter in EISLER, 304 *seq.*, but with wrong date: 17 instead of February 13. See GÉRIN, I., 55; *cf. Conclavi*, II., 533.

[2] See *Conclavi*, II., 559 *seq.* On March 3, Tommaso Suidoni writes: "*Hoggi finiscono 45 giorni che i sig. cardinali entrarono in conclave e pure non ci è novità alcuna da potersi attaccare per la creazione del nuovo Papa." And on March 10: "*Ciascuno è stracco, et questo si lungo indugio dispiace grandemente a tutti" (State Archives, Modena). Cardinal A. Cibo writes on April 17, 1655, to the Duke of Massa: "*Li patimenti del Conclave non sono stati pochi; di freddo, di sonno, vigilie, fatiche et inquietudini sono ben consumati in questa santa elettione, e Dio ci ha fatto gratia a liberarcene, essendo angusta la struttura del conclave, et era non poco il fetore che cominciava a sentirsi." State Archives, Massa.

[3] See *Reports of Cardinal M. A. Colonna of March 6 and 27, 1655, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] **Avviso* of March 20, 1655, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[5] **Avviso* of March 17, 1655, *ibid.*

[6] See EISLER, 305 *seq.*

because of his having been created by Innocent X., was of opinion that another attempt should be made on behalf of Sacchetti. The latter, however, begged the Cardinals not to consider him as a candidate, a fact which created a deep impression.[1] When Medici had also agreed to this proposal, Sacchetti, on the evening of April 6th, together with the two Barberini and Este, as the heads of the parties, repaired to Chigi's cell to inform him of his impending election. The latter received the news with complete calm, his only remark being that they should reconsider the matter once more. It is easy to understand that the Cardinal was unable to sleep that night; he still hoped that the electors would change their minds and took his election so little for granted that he did not even consider what name to assume as Pope. On the following morning (April 7th) he said his Mass quite calmly, after which he repaired to the Sistine Chapel. Owing to Carafa's death there were only sixty-five electors, of whom twenty-five voted for Chigi at once and another thirty-nine did so at the *accessus*. Chigi himself gave his vote to Sacchetti.[2] After a conclave of eighty days, the election was at last an accomplished fact. In memory of his great countryman, Alexander III., the new Pope assumed the name of Alexander VII.

In Rome, where Chigi was known as an excellent Secretary of State,[3] as well as in other Italian towns, the election

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 246 *seq.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] See PALLAVICINO, I., 248 *seq.* "*En menos de dos dias que se introdujo la platica en el card. Ghisi ha quedado executada su exaltacion." Letter of the Duke of Terranueva to Ferdinand III., dat. Rome, April 7, 1655, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* *Report of the Florentine ambassador Gabriello Riccardi of April 8, 1655, State Archives, Florence; **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Papal Secret Archives; *Report of M. A. Ranucci of April 7, 1655, State Archives, Bologna; *Report of Tommaso Suidoni of April 7, 1655, State Archives, Modena. See also *Letter of Cardinal A. Cibo to the Duke of Massa (above, p. 8, n. 1), State Archives, Massa.

was hailed with joy, for the new Pope was known to be as learned as he was pious.[1] At Siena joy was particularly great [2] for the Chigi family had occupied an honourable position in that city since the twelfth century.[3] Its coat-of-arms shows six hills surmounted by a star, to which was added an oak when Julius II. adopted the banker Agostino Chigi and his brother Sigismondo on their settling in the Eternal City.[4]

Agostino Chigi, a friend of Raphael and Leo X., surnamed "il Magnifico" by reason of his lavish patronage of artists and scholars, has perpetuated his name by the Farnesina and the magnificent chapels in S. Maria della Pace and S. Maria del Popolo, but his character is not above reproach and showed the bad side as well as the good one of the era

[1] The *obbedienza* ambassador of Duke Charles of Mantua, Francesco Nerli, characterizes Chigi in his *Relatione della corte di Roma* as "soggetto non meno erudito nelle dottrine speculative e legali che adorno di tutti gl' habiti virtuosi per arrivare al primato di S. Chiesa", State Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf. Diario delle ceremonie e feste fatte in Siena nella creazione di Alessandro*, VII., Siena, 1900. *Letter of thanks of Alexander VII. to Siena for sending four envoys to congratulate him, dat. June 16, 1655, in State Archives, Siena, *Cassa della Lupa*. Concerning the town of Alessandria see *Riv. stor. di Alessandria*, XVIII. (1909); concerning Perugia: *Lettera d'un Perugino con il racconto d. allegrezze fatte in Perugia*, Perugia, 1655.

[3] See Buonafede, *I Chigi Augusti*, Venezia, 1660; Moroni, XIII., 76 *seqq.*; Novaes, X., 66 *seqq.*; *Cf.* also *Materiale inedito nell' archivio del principe Borghese per la storia genealogica della famiglia Chigi*, in *Bollet. araldico storico genealogico*, XI., August, 1912, 57–60; U. Fritelli, *Albero genealogico della nobile famiglia Chigi*, Siena, 1922. See, moreover, **Notizie d. famiglia Chigi*, in *Vat.* 8769, Vatican Library. A "*Discorso sopra la genealogia del presente pontifice Alessandro VII. et di tutta la casa Chigi e loro più prossimi parenti", in *Cod. Cels.*, 13, p. 3 *seq.*, Stockholm Library.

[4] See Pasini Frassoni, *Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 190,64 4. *Cf.* Tourtual, 34 *seq.*

of the high Renaissance.[1] The fabulous wealth of the "prince of Roman bankers" melted rapidly in consequence of the extravagance and carelessness of his son and the line died out. The wealth of the family of Sigismondo, who returned to Siena, also diminished. Flavio Chigi was a descendant of Sigismondo. A relative of Paul V. through his mother Agnese Bulgarini, he sought to retrieve his situation by marrying Laura Marsili, a wealthy widow. Eleven children sprang from this union, viz. seven daughters, of whom four took the veil at Siena, and four sons: Mario, Sigismondo, Fabio, and Agostino.[2] In the family palace at Ariccia there is a most curious collection of portraits of all Flavio's ancestors, as well as of his own family. In this collection we see Fabio, who was born at Siena on February 13th, 1599, at different ages, viz. as a child, as a 29-years-old referendary, as a Bishop at 41, as a Cardinal at 53, and finally as Pope. In

[1] See the present work, Vol. VIII, 117.

[2] See *Ricordo de' figli che nascevano di me Flavio Chigi [*ob.* October 28, 1611] e di Laura Marsilii [*n.* 1566, *ob.* April 7, 1639]:

1591 21 Agosto: Ortensia [with name in religion Alessandra, *ob.* August 4, 1618, at Siena].

1593 25 Giugno: Ersilia [with name in religion Lutgarda, *ob.* July, 1612].

1594 22 Settembre: Mario [*ob.* 1667].

1596 13 Maggio: Gismondo [*ob.* October 21, 1647].

1597 4 Novembre: Agnese.

1598 [st. flor.] A dì 13 [not 12, as Moroni and Novaes state] di Febraro in Martedì a hore tredici nacque un figlio, si battezò il dì detto, fu compare M. Francesco Vanni et hebbe nome Fabio.

1600 ult. Aprile: Flaminia.

1602 6 Ottobre: Caterina.

1605 3 Dicembre: Augusto [*ob.* October 11, 1651].

1607 3 Gennaio: Caterina [with name in religion Marta, *ob.* July 23, 1637, at Siena].

1611 13 Aprile: Elena [with name in religion Flavia, *ob.* October 25, 1678, at Siena].

Autograph note in Family Archives, Ariccia.

all these portraits the striking feature is the sallow complexion of the narrow, finely chiselled face; this paleness is further enhanced by the darkness of the hair. This paleness hints at delicate health, whilst the bright eyes and lofty forehead betray considerable gifts of intellect.[1] Even as a child Fabio

[1] A magnificent bronze bust of Alexander VII. by Bernini was in the Chigi Library; in 1924 it got into the Vatican, as also a marble bust of the school of Bernini, which had been kept there. Another bust of the school of Bernini is in the possession of Prince Chigi (*cf.* besides FRASCHETTI, 287 *seq.*, 290, also BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 249, where reference is also made to the bust in the Palazzo Zondadari at Siena). Bronze busts of Alexander VII. are also in the choir of S. Maria di Monte Santo, Rome, and in the Vestibolo della Sala Capitolare of the Duomo of Siena. A terracotta bust of Alexander VII. passed from the possession of the Torlonia into the collection of L. Pollak, Rome. The monumental marble statue of Alexander VII. in the right transept of the Duomo of Siena was executed from Bernini's design by his pupil, Antonio Raggi. It renders in excellent manner the mild character of this Pope and his expression of weariness, a consequence of his poor state of health; see BENKARD, *Bernini*, 26, 41, ill. 45. *Cf.* FRASCHETTI, 285. There is a bronze statue in the Sala Farnese of the Palazzo Comunale at Bologna by Dorastante d' Osio, 1660. The bronze statue on a column in the Piazza Nuova (Ariostea) at Ferrara was destroyed in 1796, and is only known from a sketch in the State Archives, Rome. The bronze statue of the Pope presented to Ravenna by Cardinal Cesare Rasponi and cast by Bandini in 1673, was removed during the revolution of 1798; it was re-erected in 1821, but in 1867 it was badly damaged by the anti-papal mob and was then stowed away in a warehouse. Finally in 1885 it came into the possession of Prince Mario Chigi, who caused it to be erected in the vestibule of his palace in Rome in 1906. When the Chigi palace was sold to the Italian State in 1918 the statue was once more taken to Ravenna. *Cf.* PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, 215; *Riv. stor.*, 1918, 265; RICCI in *Felix Ravenna*, XXV. (1917); see also the article in the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, October 9, 1892, "*Ein verschollenes Denkmal*," and MUÑOZ, in *L'Arte*, 1917. There is also a statue of Alexander VII. at Fermo. Of the portraits in oil of Alexander VII., the one by G. B. Gaulli

underwent many illnesses and on one occasion his death seemed so near that the candles for his funeral were bought.[1] The precocious youth lost his father when only twelve years old, after which his pious and solicitous mother took charge of his education. The sincerely pious and serious boy gave early proofs of a literary bent and began to write verses. His memory was such that he could retain anything after one reading or hearing. His studies were very thorough; five years were devoted to philosophy and the law at the University of Siena. During this time the learned Celso Cittadini introduced him to the study of archæology,[2] and he also studied the history of art. The Chigi library in Rome (now embodied in the *Vaticana*) preserves many extracts dating from that

(Baciccio) at the beginning of 1660, is no doubt the best. The original, together with its companion piece, the bust of Mario Chigi, was in the Messinger Gallery (Munich) which was sold by auction in 1918; see VOSS, *Malerei*, 586; VENTURI, in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 14 *seqq.*; U. OJETTI, *Il ritratto italiano dal Caravaggio al Tiepolo*, Bergamo, 1928, p. 2, pl. 1; copies are in the Stockholm Museum and in Prince Chigi's house. The latter possesses also a picture which represents Fabio Chigi, afterwards Alexander VII., visiting the Queen-Mother of France at Cologne. Portraits in oil of Alexander VII. are also in the sacristy of S. Carlo al Corso at Rome, and in the papal palace of Castel Gandolfo. The portrait by P. Mignard was engraved by Pitau (see MOÜY, I., 37). The portrait by Cornelius Vischer in W. V. SEIDLITZ, *Histor. Porträtwerk*, I., Munich, 1886. A good specimen of the engraving of Fr. de Poilly (*cf. Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV., 206) is in the Corsini Library, Rome. Other engravings are given by DRUGULIN, *Allg. Porträt-Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860; *cf.* also G. LANG, *Catalogo* XVIII., 5. Among the medallions of the Pope the best is that by Bernini; see VOSS, in *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, XXVIII., Berlin, 1910, 231 *seqq.* On the Hamerans, who since Alexander VII. were in charge of the papal mint and did excellent work, see NOACK, *Deutschtum in Rom* (I., 140, 221). The firm of Hameran in Via dei Coronari, 192.

[1] *Cf.* for what follows PALLAVICINO, *Vita*, I., 27 *seq.*

[2] Celso Cittadini distinguished himself also as a writer; his *Opere* (400 p., in 8°) ed. by GIROLAMO GIGLI, Rome, 1721.

period.[1] Fabio was anxious to become a priest but his prudent mother urged him not to precipitate so weighty a decision. He began by devoting four years to the study of theology at Siena, his guides being St. Thomas, Gregory of Valencia, and especially Suarez. He brilliantly concluded his studies in the autumn of 1626, and dedicated the theses he defended on the occasion to the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi. After this the youthful Doctor set out for Rome, where he arrived on December 10th, 1626. Two more years were devoted to private study and intercourse with men of letters and scholars ; in particular he made friends with the Jesuits, Famiano Strada and Sforza Pallavicino, the Dean of the Rota, Clemente Merlini, and the poet Ciampoli. After his entry into the prelature, Urban VIII. appointed him in January, 1629, referendary of the two highest judicial Colleges (*Referendario della Segnatura di Grazia* and *di Giustizia*). A little later the Pope, who recognized his talents and valued him as a poet also, named him Vice-Legate of Ferrara. During his five years' term of office in that city he gave proof of administrative talent also, especially during an outbreak of the plague. Chigi's relations with Cacchetti, the Cardinal Legate, had the intimate character of those of a son with a father. In 1635 Urban VIII. named him Bishop of Nardò and sent him to Malta as Inquisitor and Apostolic Visitor. There he happily settled a dispute in connection with the election of the Grand Master. Before setting out for Malta he received priest's orders. In a letter of that period he wrote that to serve the Church was the greatest honour.

[1] *Abbozzi e minute dal 1618 fino al 1624 in Siena di Fabio Chigi, in *Cod.*, A. I., 28, Chigi Library, Rome. Numerous manuscripts of the library are enriched with Flavio Chigi's marginal notes. It is from Flavio's **Chigiae familiae commentarii* (*Cod.*, A. I., 1) that CUGNONI, the excellent librarian of the Chigiana, to whom I am indebted for many data on the life of Alexander VII., published the *Vita di Agostino il Magnifico* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.* II., 46 *seqq.* *Cf.* also P. POLLIDORUS, *Vita F. Chisii* in *N. Raccolta di opusc. scientif.*, IV., Venezia, 1758, 267 *seq.*, and PICCOLOMINI in *Bollet. Senese.*, XV. (1908), 99 *seqq.*

He suffered much from the tropical climate of the island but he bore this "exile", and attended to his diocese though separated from it by so great a distance.[1]

Chigi's tried ability, his piety and learning, as well as the recommendations of his friends in Rome, especially Pallavicino's,[2] singled him out as the right man for the post of nuncio at Cologne to which Urban VIII. appointed him in June, 1639. In August, Chigi arrived on the banks of the Rhine where he was to spend the next thirteen years. The transition from the African climate of Malta to that of Germany affected his delicate health adversely, but for all that he scrupulously carried out his duties. His simple ways, his prudence and moderation in defending ecclesiastical immunity, made him so popular that sympathy was universal when, towards the end of 1642, he had to undergo a grave operation for gravel. His prestige in Rome may be gauged from the fact that as early as February, 1643, Cardinal Barberini deemed him worthy of the purple.[3] In the following year Urban VIII. died. The new Pope, Innocent X., left the nuncio at Cologne, though he was not personally acquainted with him. Chigi had obtained a thorough knowledge of the situation in Germany when his nomination as nuncio extraordinary to the peace congress of Münster set him a diplomatic task than which none more arduous could be imagined. At that assembly he boldly stood up for the strictest principles of the Curia, for he loathed every form of dissimulation, but when these were not in question he showed the utmost gentleness towards non-Catholics. It was in keeping both with his prudence and with his Christian feeling, when he showed every kindness towards those who had fallen from high estate, as Queen Marie de Medici at Cologne in 1641, the Duchess of Longueville at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1650 and Mazarin in 1651.[4]

[1] *Cf.* PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 105 *seq.*, 107 *seq.*

[2] On Pallavicino's paternal interest in Chigi, *cf.* the letters in MACCHIA 12 *seqq.*, 16 *seqq.* *Letters of Pallavicino to Alexander VII. also in *Cod.*, C. III., 63, Chigi Library, Rome.

[3] See Pallavicino's letter of February 28, 1643, in MACCHIA, 63.

[4] See TOURTUAL, 18 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*

Chigi's conduct during the peace negotiations so completely satisfied the Pope that he made him his Secretary of State in 1651 and a Cardinal in 1652.[1] One of his strictest principles was " to do much but to speak little ".[2]

Chigi's uncommon gifts sufficiently account for the fact that the highest hopes were set on his pontificate. Even numerous Protestants in France and Germany welcomed his elevation.[3] The favourable opinion of the new Pope, which was universal, was confirmed by his initial measures. Immediately after his elevation he had a coffin made and placed in his bedroom, so that on awakening he might be reminded of the vanity of earthly things. A skull on his writing table, carved by Bernini, served the same purpose.[4] On the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran, on May 9th, 1655, he forbade the erection of triumphal arches, a custom introduced during the Renaissance.[5] His servants were forbidden to accept tips. Superfluous officials were dismissed.[6] Donna

[1] See XXX., p. 43. *Cf.* also PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 117 *seq.* F. Chigi's *Letter of thanks to Siena for the congratulations on his nomination as a Cardinal, dated March 16, 1652, in State Archives, Siena.

[2] " Molto fare e poco dire " (Letter of Rovenius in *Arch. v. d. geschiedenis v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XXXIII. [1908], 13). On a supposed autobiography of Alexander VII., see Appendix No. 6.

[3] See PALLAVICINO, I., 133, 270. On the favourable opinion of Alexander VII. in Paris, *cf.* G. HERMANT, *Mém., éd. Gazier*, II., Paris, 1905, 661 *seq.*

[4] *Report of G. Riccardi of April 8, 1655: " Al Bernini ha ordinato che gli faccia fare una cassa da morto e che gliela porti per tenerla in camera e che prima non gli darà audienza " (State Archives, Florence); **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Pap. Sec. Archives. In his *Musae iuveniles*, n. 66, he writes: " Mortalis regimen vitae meditatio mortis." *Cf.* NOVAES, X., 188. Prince Rosso Scaletta has in his villa in Rome a picture of Alexander VII. with the marble skull on his table.

[5] See PALLAVICINO, I., 268. On the *Possesso*, see CANCELLIERI, 256 *seqq.*

[6] See **Avvisi* of June 19, July 14, and November 5, 1655, Pap. Sec.. Archives. *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 265.

Olimpia Maidalchini, Innocent X.'s sister-in-law, who had played so disastrous a rôle in the Eternal City, was obliged to leave Rome.[1]

Alexander VII. began his day with prayer and meditation, after which he said his Mass and assisted at another. Heedless of the warnings of his physician and of his confessor, the Jesuit Giambattista Cancellotti, the Pope exceeded the measure of his strength. Each day from six to seven hours were devoted to audiences. On Sunday mornings there was a general audience so as to enable the poor also to present themselves before him. The Pope won hearts not only by his kindliness and geniality, but likewise by his eloquence. He spoke Italian with the beautiful accent of Siena, whilst his Latin had a classic gracefulness about it. The more important documents he read himself; he also transacted a good deal of business in person, whilst for some he gave oral instructions to the Secretary of *supplicas*, Lelio Piccolomini.[2] His stays at Castel Gandolfo, which the busy Pontiff allowed himself in spring and autumn, did not make up for the exertions he underwent in Rome, all the more so, as he was continually tortured by gravel and kidney trouble. Fortunately he surrounded himself with excellent assistants. The Dataria was given to Cardinal Corrado, an eminent canonist, as diligent as he was pious; Giulio Rospigliosi, who had given proof of his disinterestedness during his nunciature in Madrid and of his ability as Governor of Rome during the conclave, was made Secretary of State; Natale, a brother to Cardinal Rondinini, a man endowed with

[1] She died end of September, 1657, in San Martino; see CIAMPI, 185 *seq.*, 189 *seq.* "*Povera mia Donna Olimpia è pur morta senza nessuno de' suoi intorno," wrote Cardinal Gualtieri to Nic. Aug. Caferri on October 5, 1657. Orig. in Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome.

[2] See PALLAVICINO, I., 267, 280; NOVAES, X., 190. To the exhortations of his physician and his confessor to take more care of himself, Alexander VII. replied, "che per zelo della sua carica gli conveniva far d'avantaggio di quello faceva." **Avviso* of November 25, 1655, Pap. Sec. Archives

poetic gifts, was made Secretary of Briefs; the learned Mattia Naldi was appointed personal physician to the Pope,[1] whilst Ranuccio Scotti remained Maggiordomo for the time being.[2] As a proof of his love for Germany, Alexander VII. admitted into the ranks of his private chamberlains the learned Ferdinand of Fürstenberg who, a poet himself, had published a new edition of the Latin poems of the Cologne nuncio.[3] Among the Cardinals, the Pope's chief advisers were Sacchetti, Corrado, and Borromeo, the two Jesuits Oliva and Pallavicino and the Oratorian Virgilio Spada.[4] A profound impression

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 263 *seq.* On Corrado, see GÉRIN, I., 277 *seq.*; on the *Poemata postuma* of NATALE RONDININI: *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Westfalens*, LVI., 2 s., p. 41. After Rondinini's death Francesco Nerli succeeded him in his post (*ibid.*, 170). On the Briefs of Alexander VII., see WIRZ, XXVI. Numerous *documents which belong to the Pap. Secr. Archives passed through Giulio Rospigliosi into the Rospigliosi Archives. According to the *Indice dell' Arch. Rospigliosi fatto* 1777, they contain the *Litterae ad princ.* (*Brevi*): of Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., during the whole of their pontificate; those of Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., for the years 1591 and 1592; those of Clement VIII. only for the year 1593; those of Paul V. for the years 1605–1620; those of Gregory XV. only for the year 1621; all those of Urban VIII. (many vols. with corrections); those of Innocent X. "*Litt. ad princ.*, 1644–1655" *con altre lettere di segret. d. stato*; those of Alexander VII. "*Lettere e brevi*, 1655–1665 *con lettere d. segret. d. stato, relazioni e istruzioni per Nuntii*".

[2] *Cf. Cod.*, B. I., 12, Chigi Library, Rome: *Primo ruolo della famiglia di N. Alessandro VII. nell' amministrazione di Msgr. Rannuccio Scotti vesc. del Borgo Sandonnino, Maggiordomo di S. Stà. After Scotti the post was held by Girol, Farnese, Volunnio Bandinelli, Girol. Boncompagni, Giac. Fil. Nini; see MORONI, XLI., 267 *seqq.*

[3] The Poems known under the name *Philomathi Musae iuveniles* were published for the first time at Cologne, 1645, by William, Ferdinand's brother; the second edition, prepared by Ferdinand himself, appeared at Antwerp in 1654; see *Zeitsch. für Gesch. Westfalens*, LVI., 42.

[4] See **Avviso* of February 19, 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives;

was created by the new Pope's determination to avoid every form of nepotism. This resolve did not spring from a lack of feeling, for whilst in far away Germany, Chigi ever cherished the thought of his kindred,[1] but now that he was Pope he was anxious to repress any inordinate affection for them. In vain Cardinals and ambassadors represented to him that it was his duty to do something for his kinsfolk, who were in a by no means flourishing condition. No Siena Chigi was allowed to show himself in Rome.[2] When the Florentine envoy suggested that Mario Chigi should be summoned to Rome, the Pope replied with a smile: "We have many other things to think of besides our relatives, who are doing quite well at Siena." The suggestion that Mario had great aptitude in financial questions left the Pope equally cold, so that the only explanation of the Pope's resistance the envoy could think of was the influence of the Jesuits and the Cardinals of the "flying squadron".[3] To one of his intimates Alexander remarked that as Fabio Chigi he had had brothers and relations but that as Pope he had no kinsfolk.

For centuries only a very few Popes, such as Adrian VI., Marcellus II., and Pius V., had shown such strictness. However, it was soon to be seen how extraordinarily difficult it was to break completely with a custom which had only become so firmly rooted because, in some respects, it was commendable and natural enough. Disinterested friends

SAGREDO in BERCHET, II., 234, and the report of the Luccan ambassador in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 230. *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 278 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 115.

[2] Already, on April 8, 1655, G. Riccardi reported concerning the Pope: "*Stamattina ha ordinato al Nini suo segretario che scriva al suo fratello e nipote che se per il passato si sono portati con modestia, da qui avanti procurino di farlo davantaggio e non si movino nè mutino il loro posto." State Archives, Florence.

[3] See *Report of June 5, 1655, *ibid.* When the ambassador intervened again on behalf of the nephew, the Pope said decisively: "Pensaremo a loro, quando non havremo da fare altro, adesso ci sono gran cose in aria." Report of August 14, 1655, *ibid.*

represented to the Pope that even the stringent decrees of Trent allowed ecclesiastical superiors to assist their relatives, not indeed as such, but as persons in need of help ; and that the kinsfolk of a Pope should be suitably provided for. Alexander was by no means blind to this fact, but he did not consider it lawful to spend part of the secular, and still less any fraction of the ecclesiastical revenues of his office on his relatives. He rejected every compromise proposed to him ; " Time," he said, " will show a solution." [1]

Though during the pontificates of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., some outstanding theologians, among them Lugo and Pallavicino, had declared that the Pope might bestow from 50,000 to 100,000 scudi a year on his relatives.[2] Alexander VII., in the first years of his reign did not spend a single soldo of the funds of the Apostolic Camera on his kinsfolk ; all he did was to compensate them, by small gifts from his private income, for the expenses they had had to incur in consequence of his elevation to the papacy. Even those of his kinsfolk, who, like Antonio Bichi, had rendered valuable services to the Holy See, or who, like Giovanni Bichi, were in close relationship with the Pope, were not allowed to present themselves before him.[3] This stern resolve, apart from Alexander's own principles, was also inspired by the damage which, as he knew from painful personal observation, had been done to the prestige of the Holy See by the conduct of the Pamfili. On this subject he expressed himself with great vigour.[4]

He was wont to tell his intimates that he would only arrive at a decision with regard to his relatives after the first year of his pontificate. Meanwhile he had come to the conclusion that the complete detachment which he had

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 272, 287 *seqq*. *Cf*. DENIS, I., 324 *seqq*. (May, 1655).

[2] Pallavicino, like Lugo, held stricter views on nepotism in the last years of their lives ; see below, Clement IX., Chapt. I.

[3] See PALLAVICINO, I., 416 *seq*.

[4] *Cf*. the *Reports of G. Riccardi of April 17 and May 31, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

hitherto observed, could not go on, though he continued to reject the idea of making use of his nephews in the management of the varied business of the Holy See. When in April, 1656, the Florentine envoy suggested such a course, he replied: "Since we are determined to do everything ourselves, we work all day long, with the result that we are quite exhausted at night. Some help is desirable, but if we were to summon our nephews, we should have to keep an eye on them so that we should only have added to our work."[1] If in the end Alexander VII. made up his mind to summon his nephews to Rome, his action was determined by quite different and very weighty considerations. As Pope, he thought, he would be setting an even better example if he summoned his relatives, but kept them within limits, than if he kept them at a distance; he likewise felt that it was not right that the relatives of the Head of the Church should be simple citizens of Siena, since he could not prevent the people of that city from paying princely honours to his house; moreover he feared lest misunderstandings should arise between it and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[2]

Before taking a final decision the Pope sought the advice of the Cardinals. In a consistory of April 24th, 1656, he called upon them to tell him, either by word of mouth or in writing, whether it seemed good to them that he should employ in the service of the Church such of his relatives as were worthy of the honour.[3] In addition to the Cardinals, most of whom replied in the affirmative, some theologians of mark, especially Pallavicino, were likewise consulted.[4] The latter began

[1] See *Report of G. Riccardi, April 1, 1656, *ibid.*

[2] See PALLAVICINO, II., 5 *seqq.*, 10 *seqq.*

[3] See *Acta consist.*, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 232 *seq.*; PALLAVICINO, II., 11 *seq.* *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 266. An *opinion on the summoning of the nephews to Rome in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 201, p. 131 *seq.* Pap. Sec. Archives; another, anonymous, in FANFANI, *Mescolanze letterarie*, Firenze, 1879, 104 *seq.*

[4] "*Lettere, voti e scritture dei sig. cardinali e teologi circa di chiamarsi da PP. Alessandro VII. a Roma i parenti più stretti e circa di potersi donare dal medesimo liberamente a loro

by examining the arguments for and against the employment of the nephews and ended by suggesting a middle course, namely the publication of a Bull which would confine them within clearly defined boundaries. A nephew should only be raised to the cardinalate after due preparation, and after

somma determinata. Dell'anno 1656" (*Cod. Ottob.* 1061, Vatican Library). "*Lettera e quesiti di propria mano d'Alessandro VII. al Pallavicino circa il chiamare a Roma i parenti" (*Cod.* C. III., 70, p. 143 s., Chigi Library, Rome. "Celebriamo," it says at the beginning, "la messa già più giorni su questo argumento." *Ibid.*, p. 431: "Ex voto P. Pallavicini: ac demum concludit [Pallavicino] posse dare [the Pope] sponsal nepotis occasione nuptiarum scutata 15.000." RANKE (III., 35) writes: "The Rector of the Jesuit College, Oliva, made without doubt the greatest impression, when he declared that the Pope would commit a sin if he did not summon his nephews; the foreign ambassadors would never have as much confidence in a simple Minister as in a blood-relation of the Pope; the Holy Father would be ill-informed and would not be able to administer his office so well." In proof of an assertion which by itself is hardly credible, Ranke refers to a manuscript of the Corsini Library, Rome: *Scritture politiche.* The complete untrustworthiness of this anonymous source is incontestable. In *Ottob* 1061 (Vatican Library), I found the **Vota* of the Cardinals of April and May, 1656, and also **Extracts* from the *Voti di teologi e canonisti*; among them appears Pallavicino, but of Oliva there is no vote. Neither is there such a vote of Oliva in the **Raccolta di voti* of *Cod.* C. III., 70, Chigi Library, Rome, from which I give in Appendix Nr. 4 the vote of Pallavicino, given May 9, 1656, in which there is no trace of the opinions which Ranke ascribes to Oliva. Also among the numerous *Letters of Oliva to Alexander VII. in *Cod.* C. III., 63, Chigi Library, there is no trace of any such advice, hence it must be regarded as a fable. On the basis of an untrustworthy anonymous assertion, Ranke (III., 129) speaks of Oliva as leading the life of a glutton. On the contrary, all trustworthy sources show that Oliva, so long as his health permitted, was a strict ascetic and practised external austerity to an almost exaggerated degree (DUHR, *Gesch.*, III., 6 *seqq.*; *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1907, 372).

his elevation he should be assigned clearly defined revenues.[1] Alexander VII. decided, in substance, to follow these suggestions. On May 2nd he published a Constitution forbidding even his nephews to accept gifts from candidates for offices and benefices; the income from the sale of offices, which until then had, for the most part, gone to the papal nephews, was henceforth to flow in its entirety into the Apostolic Camera; lastly, the *Monti vacabili*, whose renewal and fresh sale had been of considerable profit to the nephews, whilst it had been a heavy burden on the public exchequer, was commuted into a consolidated State rent, the rate of interest being reduced from 10 per cent to 4 per cent.[2] As a result of this measure the nephews henceforth could only look for such revenues as their offices yielded. When these barriers had been set up Alexander VII., on May 12th, 1656, from Castel Gandolfo, where he was spending a short holiday, sent for three of his relatives in Siena. They reached Rome on the 16th May, and met with a kindly reception, though they were made to feel at once the strictness of the new principles.[3]

Flavio, the son of Alexander's eldest brother, was sent to the Jesuit novitiate, there to prepare for the priesthood. Every request that he would hasten the elevation to the cardinalate of the twenty-five years old youth, was consistently rejected by the Pope during the whole of the second year of his pontificate; only after Flavio had adequately prepared himself for his new position was he raised to the Sacred College, on April 9th, 1657. Though he was now granted the customary privileges of a Cardinal nephew and, therefore, together with Rospigliosi, dealt with affairs of

[1] See text in Appendix Nr. 5, Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] Constitution *Inter gravissimas*, *Bull.*, XVI., 156 *seqq.* *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, II., 9, 18; BERCHET, II., 235 *seq.*

[3] See PALLAVICINO, II., 19 *seqq.*; CLARETTA, *Cristina di Suezia*, 68. Original text of the *Briefs "*Abbati Flavio, Mario fratri*, and *adolescenti August.*", in *Epist.*, II., Pap. Sec. Archives.

State, he was nevertheless allowed no influence whatever.[1] The same also happened to Mario who had been made General of the Church and entrusted with the superintendence of the Borgo and the *Annona*, a duty for which he seemed especially qualified in view of his earlier activities in Florence.[2] However, now as before, Cardinals Sacchetti, Rospigliosi, Corrado, and the Jesuits Pallavicino and Oliva, remained the Pope's chief advisers,[3] and for a time all the nuncios were retained in their posts.[4]

In May, 1656, Agostino Chigi, a son of his deceased brother, was appointed by Alexander VII. castellan of Castel S. Angelo,[5] but anxious to be free from all foreign influence, the Pope refused to consider the most tempting offers for Agostino's marriage made to him by the Duke of Modena,[6] by Mazarin, and by the King of Spain. Nor would he consent to an alliance of his family with the Colonna; in the end he decided to marry the twenty-three years old Agostino to Maria Virginia Borghese. Rome was amazed when the wedding (in July,

[1] See PALLAVICINO, II., 23 *seqq.*, 79 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 150 *seq.* *Cf.* A. Correr and Sagredo in BERCHET, *Relaz.*, *Roma*, II., 198, 220, 236; **Avvertimenti dati in voce da P. Alessandro*, VII. *al card. Chigi*, recorded by the latter himself in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 201, p. 133 *seq.* Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] See PALLAVICINO, II., 7; PAGLIUCCHI, II., 84. Mario was also employed on business in the Papal States. Riccardi reports of him on June 17, 1656: "*Il sig. Don Mario travaglia grandemente nelle congregationi di sanità e dello sgravio delle communità dello Stato, si che dalla mattina alla sera è in congregatione e in verita è smagrato, credo con lo stare a sedere." State Archives, Florence.

[3] Already on February 3, 1657, an **Avviso* says that Pallavicino and Oliva are in such high esteem with the Pope that everybody expects that both will soon receive the purple. Pap. Sec. Archives.

[4] See BIAUDET, 59.

[5] See PAGLIUCCHI, II., 84.

[6] See *Report of T. Suidoni, May 20, 1656, State Archives, Modena.

1658), contrary to precedent, was celebrated with the utmost simplicity in the Pope's private chapel and in the presence of only two Cardinals. The wedding feast, too, was held not in the Vatican, but in Agostino's residence, and with complete avoidance of all display.[1]

The Pope also sought the advice of the Cardinals on the subject of the financial provision for his relatives, but they only answered in general terms, leaving it to his own conscience to decide how far he would go. He also privately consulted two theologians whom he held in particular esteem, and two canonists whose moderation commended them to him. Flavio Chigi bought for Agostino the former Castello Farnese, now a principality, for which he paid in part with his own money and in part with a subsidy from the Pope; the annual revenue of the principality did not exceed 5,000 scudi. Agostino received an additional gift of 15,000 gold scudi.[2] At a later date, however, the Pope showed himself more liberal, for he bestowed on Agostino, Ariccia and Campagnano, the Palazzo Aldobrandini in the Piazza Colonna and a number of *luoghi di monti*. Agostino's young son, Sigismondo Chigi, the most talented member of the family, received a few *commendas*.[3]

[1] See PALLAVICINO, II., 226 *seq.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of July 17, 1658, Pap. Sec. Archives. *Documents on the conclusion of the marriage in the Family Archives, Ariccia.

[2] See PALLAVICINO, II., 231 *seqq.* **Breve che conferma la compra d. terra di Farnese*, dat. January 16, 1662, in Family Archives, Ariccia.

[3] See PALLAVICINO, II., 232; RICCI, *Ariccia*, 276, 292 *seq.* RANKE (III., 36, n. 2), reproduces a passage of a **Vita di Alessandro VII.*, the source of which he does not indicate; I found the *Vita* in *Cod. Barb.* 4690, Vatican Library. Ranke supposes the work to date from 1666, but in this he is mistaken, for the author says that Alexander VII. had reigned nine years by then. Ranke also denies that the figures which this *Vita* gives of the nephews' income have any value, but in the *Appendix* (III., 189*) he praises the *Vita*, which evidently was written by a bitter enemy of Alexander VII. The inaccuracy of Ranke's statement that the author is a well-informed, and on the whole

Antonio Bichi, a more distant relative, obtained the purple, whilst his brother was made commander of the papal galleys. All this shows how the ageing Pope, once he had taken the first step, yielded ever more and more ; in the sequel, to the grief of his friend Pallavicino,[1] he bestowed on his relatives more than what was just,[2] so that he was all the more severely blamed as he had raised such high hopes for the complete elimination of the evil. However, his nepotism always remained within reasonable limits.[3]

Neither Cardinal Flavio nor Mario were allowed to meddle with any business except that of their respective departments ;

well-disposed (towards Alexander VII.) contemporary, may be gathered from his remark about the famous colonnade of St. Peter : " *Procura [Alessandro VII.] gloria dai sassi mediante il colonnato di S. Pietro dove spende un tesoro per fabbricare un redotto della baronataglia più infame et un pisciatoio al bisogno de' cani." For the most part, as, e.g. with regard to the above-mentioned indication of figures, the *Vita* follows a forged document, namely the *Relatione di Roma del Pietro Basadonna* of 1663 (now printed in BERCHET, II., 291), which Ranke (III., 187 *seq.*) also quotes and which he (in spite of there being some doubt about it) regards as authentic (III., *Appendix*, Nr. 134). That it is a forgery, see BERCHET, II., 259. Another document also which RANKE (III., Appendix, Nr. 132) and CHANTELAUZE, in his monograph of Cardinal Retz quote, namely the Report of ANGELO CORRARO, which, in 1663, appeared in a French translation at Leiden, is also a forgery, as has been proved by GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LIV. (1880), 570 *seqq.* The authentic text of Corraro's report is in BERCHET, II., 197 *seqq.* According to GÉRIN (I., 258) these reports are satires which mingle truth with falsehood and evident calumnies ; they served the polemic aims of French politics.

[1] See *Arch. stor. ital.*, *App.*, VI., 398. *Cf.* above, p. 20, n. 2.

[2] Raggi says that Alexander VII. gave to his relatives " fra beni ecclesiastici, secolari e offitii vacabili quasi 4 millioni e mezzo " ; see NERI in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 685. Raggi, however, is not a reliable witness, for he is very hostile to Alexander VII., who had many a quarrel with Genoa.

[3] See MACCHIA, 40.

the Bichis, too, had no influence whatever on current affairs.[1] If the secular nephews failed to resist the temptation to enrich themselves by unlawful means, there was no need for Flavio to have recourse to such expedients, for he had been granted such rich beneficies that he was in a position to live in great style. His worldly tastes betrayed themselves by his love of the pleasures of the table, the theatre and the chase,[2] though he did not withhold his patronage from men of learning. The handsome man, with his dark, curly hair, soon won for himself a distinguished position in Roman society.[3]

In the family palace at Ariccia, Flavio, in imitation of some other great people, got together in 1679 a collection of thirty-six portraits of the most beautiful women of Rome, among them being Maria Mancini, Louis XIV.'s first flame.[4]

How difficult it is for a Pope to satisfy the world was proved by the complaints that Alexander VII. allowed his nephews no influence [5]; on the other hand, more equitable judges acknowledged that a strict religious tone prevailed at the papal court. An excellent impression was made by the Chigis' modesty, and by the fact that, in marked contrast to the period of Innocent X., the women of the family were kept

[1] *Cf.* BASADONNA, in BERCHET, II., 267; GÉRIN, I., 272, II., 52 *seq.*

[2] See DU TOT [= Corraro] in RANKE, III., 186,* and A. NERI, *Saggi sulla corrispondenza di Fernando Raggi agente genovese a Roma*, in *Riv. Europ.*, February, 1878, V., 663 *seq.* Journalists (*cf.* SCHEIBLE, *Das Kloster*, VI., Stuttgart, 1874, 39) and satirists also attacked Chigi's moral conduct; but Raggi himself says: "La corte di Roma è maligna" (*loc. cit.*, 674). An *Inventory left by F. Chigi in Family Archives, Ariccia. *Ibid.* **Bolle e brevi spettanti al cardinale Flavio e Sigismondo Chigi.* Beautiful marble busts of Cardinal Flavio and of Sigismondo Chigi, of the school of Bernini, in Prince Chigi's possession, now in his residence in the Farnesina, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* BASADONNA, in BERCHET, II., 265; MORONI, XIII., 87 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 268.

[4] See *Bollet. d'arte*, 1917, 3 *seq.*

[5] See BASADONNA, *loc. cit.*, 265; *cf.* 269.

within very narrow boundaries; if they wished to see the Pope they had to stand in the street with the crowd. For the rest, Mario's wife, Berenice della Ciaja—the exact antithesis of Olimpia Maidalchini—was in complete agreement with the Pope's strictness.[1] She devoted herself exclusively to her domestic duties and to the practice of piety; in fact, she would have liked nothing better than to retire to Siena for good.[2]

Nepotism, to which Alexander VII. paid tribute in the last years of his pontificate, threw its shadow also upon the administration of justice in Rome, so much so that Mario Chigi was accused of abusing his position to enrich himself.[3] Such an example was bound to lead to evil results. Even the hands of the supreme tribunal of the Rota were not clean. One of its officials, who had been in its employ for twenty-eight years, presented to the Pope a list of the abuses that had crept into that body. Though at the beginning of his pontificate Alexander VII. had forbidden the acceptance of gifts in questions of privilege or justice,[4] the memorandum of the aforesaid official reveals the fact that not only the lower officials and the servants, but even the auditors themselves

[1] See BASADONNA, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.* *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 280 *seq.* The Anglican Canon John BARGRAVE, who knew the Rome of Alexander VII. from personal observation, nevertheless disseminated the most scandalous stories in his book, *Pope Alexander VII. and the College of Cardinals* (ed., J. C. Robertson, London, 1867). From Geneva a veritable campaign of calumny against the Holy See was set in motion; Alexander VII. saw the dangers of such a campaign. Already on September 4, 1655, he issued a "*Cifra circolare a tutti i ministri" with orders that the nuncios should take steps against the "gazzettanti's" calumnies directed against the Roman court. *Cod.*, C. III., 76, Chigi Library, Rome.

[2] See the evidence of BASADONNA, in BERCHET, II., 267.

[3] See BERCHET, II, 266. How much Mario was hated in Rome was seen after his death, November 14, 1667; see NERI, *Corrispondenza di F. Raggi, loc. cit.*, 666.

[4] See PALLAVICINO, I., 412.

did not shrink from accepting presents.[1] Is it any wonder if similar abuses in the administration of justice and in the government, were even more grievous in the provinces? In a memorial written shortly before his death in 1663, Cardinal Spada remonstrated with the Pope against these abuses. He paints in the strongest colours the evil of the oppression of the poor who were exposed, without means of defence, to the arbitrariness of the mighty; the lowering of justice when Cardinals, nobles, and palace officials intervened on behalf of one of the parties; the long delays, sometimes of years, in settling affairs that could be disposed of in a couple of days; the victimization to which anyone exposed himself who appealed from a lower to a higher authority; the callousness and harshness of the system of tax collection which seemed to exist simply for the personal enrichment of those who bought the right to gather the taxes and to render odious the head of the State.[2]

[1] "*Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della Rota" (*Barb.* n. 5404, Vatican Library): "Con le male decisioni di questo tribunale supremo si corrompe la giustitia a tutti gli altri minori." *Cf.* RANGONI, n. 28; RANKE, III., 76.

[2] Sacchetti's memorandum of June 17, 1663, is often found in manuscript, e.g. *Vat.* 7497, p. 15 *seq.*, Vatican Library, *Barb.* 6337, p. 37 *seq.*, *ibid.*, in the Communal Library, Vicenza, and in the State Library, Munich, *Ital.*, 86, p. 267 *seq.*, and 93, p. 329 *seq.* It is printed in GALEOTTI, *Della sovranità e governo temporale dei Papi*, 87, and already before in ARCKENHOLTZ, *Mem.*, IV., *App.*, XXXII., p. 395 *seqq.* DÖLLINGER (*Kirche und Kirchen*, 541) says with regard to the diminution of the population—which emigrated to escape oppression—that Sacchetti exaggerates. The text resembles so much the invectives of this period that a falsification of the original text is not excluded. In those days even the final text of Venetian reports was falsified (see above, p. 25, n. 3 on BASADONNA). Equally doubtful seems to be the authenticity of the "*Relatione della corte di Roma del Marchese Fr. Nerli ambasciatore d' ubidienza del Duca di Mantova alla Stà di Alessandro, VII.," in *Barb.* 5191, p. 99 *seq.*, Vatican Library, for the **Relatione* of the same Nerli in Mantua Archives is much shorter.

To do away completely with such deplorable conditions, a longer reign would have been required, and still more greater experience in the art of civil government, as well as a stronger hand than Alexander VII.'s, especially in view of his chronic illness. How greatly he had at heart the welfare of his subjects was shown at the very outset of his pontificate, when the Papal States were visited with bad harvests which caused a dearth. Notwithstanding his financial straits the Pope immediately devoted the sum of 300,000 scudi for the purpose of assuring cheap bread for the poor, but his very liberality eventually led to the weight of the loaf having to be reduced from 8 to 6 ounces. The Romans, who had imagined that the golden age was about to return, could blame neither the Pope, whose solicitude was obvious, nor his nephews, since these had not yet arrived in the Eternal City; for all that they said that if Alexander had summoned his relatives to Rome, he would not have been imposed upon by his officials.[1] The Pope took no notice of this foolish talk and, realizing that lack of provisions was a worse evil than dearth, he did his utmost to provide Rome with corn. These efforts, and other measures on behalf of the poor, did not fail to impress the City, and these steps were followed by various ordinances against the exactions of officials in the Papal States.[2]

In the very first year of his reign Alexander VII. set up a Congregation of thirteen Cardinals, whose duty it was to remedy the state of indebtedness in which many communes

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 313 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Report of Abbate Tini, July 31, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See PALLAVICINO, I., 316 *seq.*; BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 57 *seq.* *Ibid.*, on the useless attempts to drain the Pontine Marshes. The survey of the Agro Romano under Alexander VII. (DE CUPIS, *Le vicende*, 268), and the ordering of the system of feudal titles (CAPOGROSSI GUARNA, *I titolari delle provincie nella seconda metà del sec., XVII.*, Roma, 1893, 5–6), deserve to be mentioned. In 1661 the Jews were exempted from walking in the carnival by paying a sum of money (*Saggiatore*, I., 129).

of the Papal States found themselves.[1] The Pope also entered into an agreement with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with a view to dealing with the plague of brigandage on the Tuscan frontier.[2] His efforts to raise the woollen industry in the Papal States by prohibiting the importation of wool, failed in consequence of the indolence of the parties concerned,[3] just as his attempt to drain the Pontine Marshes with the aid of Dutch engineers also proved a failure.[4] Alexander VII.'s conduct was above all praise when, notwithstanding every precaution, the bubonic plague, after working the most terrible havoc in Naples,[5] also broke out in Rome in May,

[1] See *Letter of the Abbate Tini of June 19, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Reports of M. A. Ranucci of July 7 and August 4, 1655, State Archives, Bologna. On the successful efforts of Alexander VII. to compose the disputes about the payment of arrears of taxes at Perugia, see "*Relatione del governo spirituale, temporale e misto del S. Pontefice", in *Barb.* 5683, p. 415b, Vatican Library, where there is also a good summary of all the public authorities of the time.

[2] See *Report of the Florentine ambassador of May 22, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Cf.* De Cupis, *La lana e la sua industria in Roma*, Rome, 1923, 8.

[4] Ruhmann, *Pontinische Sümpfe*, 135; *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Hist. Institut*, 1926, 193 *seq.*; "*La concessione delle paludi fatta a detto effetto al Nicolao Vanderpellen," by Alexander VII., 1659, *Cod.*, H. II., 43, Chigi Library, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* De Renzi, *Napoli nell'a, 1657* (s. l. e. d.), *Arch. stor. Napol.*, XXI., 204 s.; Rigillo, *La peste del 1656 a Napoli*, Pistoia, 1907; Nicastro, *Contributo alla storia della peste del 1656–57, Melfi, 1912*; Fumi, *La peste di Napoli nel 1656*, Roma, 1895 (according to the reports of the nuncio); P. Emanuele da Napoli, *I Cappuccini nella peste napoletana dell'a, 1656*, pubbl. per Bonaventura da Sorrento, 2a ediz., Sorrento, 1884. Zuccarone (S. I.), "Lamento per la peste di Napoli nell'a, 1656." Boncompagni Archives, Rome, M. 15. The papal letter to the Archbishop of Naples to invite the Regulars to the service of the plague-stricken in *Bull.*, XVI., 200.

1656.[1] The Pope was staying at his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo when the first news of the peril threatening

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, besides the detailed description of PALLAVICINO (II., 21 *seqq.*, 84 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*, 98 *seqq.*, 106 *seqq.* 143 *seqq.*, 165 *seqq.*; with the annotations by the hand of Card. Fr. Barberini, in **Barb.*, LXXIII., 56, Vat. Library); P. A CASTRO, *Pestis Neapolitana, Romana et Genuensis annorum 1656 et 1657* Veronae, 1657; HIERON. GASTALDI, *Tractatus de avertenda et profligenda peste*, Bononiae, 1648 (with illustrations); G. BALESTRA DA LORETO, *Gli accidenti più gravi del mal contagioso osservati nel lazzaretto all'Isola*, Roma, 1657; NARDUCCI, *Notizia del contagio di Roma negli anni 1656 e 1657*, Roma, 1870. A passage from the *Diario* of Gigli in CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 460; DENIS, I., 327; SCHEIBLE, *Alte Zeit*, I., 938. See also PFEIFFER et RULAND, *Pestilentia in nummis*, 103, 109. DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 121; D. RAPOLLA, *Del card. G. B. de Lucca*, Portici, 1899, 89 s.; *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Hist. Institut.*, V., Roma, 1925, 159 *seq.* (here p. 163 *seq.*, also on the new measures taken when in 1663–4 the plague broke out in Amsterdam); the numerous ordinances on this matter are in *Editti.*, V., 61; Pap. Sec. Archives; *ibid.*, the **Avvisi* of 1656. In *Cod.*, 171, Corsini Library, Rome: *Memorie di Roma in tempo del mal, contagioso, 1656*. *Cf.* also **Barb.* 4991, p. 3 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*, and 4236, p. 172 *seqq.*, Vat. Library. *Statistics of deaths from August 26, 1656, to February 10, 1657, in *Ottob.* 3264, p. 20 *seqq.*, *ibid.* (Reports to the nuncio in Venice, August 26–30, 1656: ninety-three cases of death; August 30 to September 2, 1656: fifty-two cases of death.) Two *Letters of Pallavicino on the measures taken against the plague in *Cod.*, A. III., 53, p. 246 and 259, Chigi Library, Rome; *cf.* also *ibid.*, E. 62 and C. III., 6, p. 280, 286. Some private letters belonging to this place are in *Lettere di Casentinesi*, published by A. VIRGILI (Nozze-Publication, Florence, 1893). Unpublished, a *Letter in Azzolini Archives, Empoli Vecchio, now in the Royal Archives, Stockholm. On the work of the Roman physician, PIETRO CASTELLO, which appeared in Messina in 1656: *Flagello della peste nel quale si considerano le cose sospette di contagio e si propone il rimedio di correggerle*, see L. HUETTER, in *Corriere d'Italia* of January 31, 1928.

the Eternal City reached him. He at once returned to Rome [1] in order to superintend in person the precautions taken for the protection of the capital and the Papal States. In this task he was assisted by his brother, Mario. A special health Congregation, headed by Sacchetti, was set up; the Pope's physician was also made a member, as well as his brother, Mario, who greatly distinguished himself during this trying period.[2] Special commissaries were appointed to watch lest the plague should spread from the Neapolitan territory, whilst they were also to see that there was no lack of provisions. Only eight of the city gates remained open and these were carefully guarded. Special commissaries were appointed to watch over the health of each of the fourteen districts of the city. Every case of plague had to be notified at once under pain of death. The Trastevere was for a time completely shut off from the rest of the city. In order to isolate the sick from those who were whole, a hospital for the plague-stricken was established in the Isle of St. Bartholomew. For those who were discharged from hospital as cured a house near S. Pancrazio was used for quarantine, whilst another near S. Eusebio [3] sheltered those who were shut out

[1] See *Report of Riccardi, May 20, 1656, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* " *Relazione del contagio di Roma nel 1656, " in *Cod.*, E. III., 62, Chigi Library, Rome. An inscription in the cathedral of Frascati records the deliverance of the town from the plague which was attributed to the intercession of ss. Sebastian and Roch; see the inscription in CLUZEL, *Frascati*, Souvigny, 1901, 25.

[3] Good illustrations of the hospitals in contemporary woodcuts by Giacomo Molinari. On three large woodcuts Louis Roubier of Dijon showed in twenty-nine pictures all the episodes of the plague. These sheets were published by Giov. Giac. de Rossi under the title: *Ordini diligenze e ripari fatti con universal beneficio dalla paterna pietà di N. S. PP. Alessandro VII. et em. ss. cardinali della S. Congregatione della sanità per liberare la città di Roma dal contagio.* They are also of interest because they give us a picture of the Rome of that time. Three **accounts* of BENEDETTO RITA PROTOMEDICO, about the epidemic of 1656, in *Ottob.* 2485, p. 398 *seqq.*, Vat. Library. *Ibid.*, a pencil

of their own homes because of cases of plague. The victims of ordinary diseases were received in the hospital della Consolazione. Those who died of the plague were buried near St. Paul's, outside the Walls. For these burials the greatest precautions were prescribed,[1] as well as for the religious functions which had been instituted in order to appease the anger of God.[2] The Pope himself gave proof of great courage; he continued his public audiences and repeatedly showed himself in the streets, sometimes in a sedan chair and at other times on foot. From the height of S. Pietro in Montorio he blessed those who had been discharged from hospital, as they made their way to the quarantine near S. Pancrazio. His alms also were more generous than at other times.[3] He only laughed when told that a rumour was circulating that at audiences he sheltered behind a glass screen.[4] His imperturbability was still further admired when the plague carried off several of his servants.

As a result of these stringent precautions the plague did not assume the same proportions as at Naples, though from the end of May, 1656, up to August, 1657, close on 15,000 out of Rome's 120,000 inhabitants fell victims to the epidemic.[5] Nevertheless, the order and tranquillity of the

sketch with the note of 1656: "Habito con il quale vanno i medici per Roma." *Cf.* also *Cod.*, 34, D. 17, Corsini Library, Rome.

[1] *Cf.* MAES, *Curiosità Romane*, III. (1885), 53. As a prayer for the Dead, the so-called *Ave Maria de' morti* (Psalm *De profundis*) was ordered, which has continued down to our own days. *Cf.* **Avviso* of November 25, 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] See *Orationi e devotioni efficacissime contro la peste*, Roma, 1656.

[3] See **Avvisi* of 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives, and Riccardi's *Report of July 8, 1656, State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 267.

[4] See Riccardi's *Report of July 22, 1656, *ibid.*

[5] See GASTALDI, 116. In 1655 the population of Rome numbered 122,978; in 1656, 120,596; in 1657, 100,019; in 1658, 104,965; after that it rose gradually, so that in 1667 it stood at 110,489;

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city were not disturbed during this heavy trial, nor was there at any time a scarcity of provisions. In token of their gratitude the Romans were anxious to erect a statue to the Pope on the Capitol, but Alexander declined the honour with the remark that he deemed himself sufficiently rewarded if his image was engraved on the hearts of the Roman people.[1]

Alexander deserves credit for his efforts to reduce the public debt.[2] If the financial situation nevertheless continued unfavourable, and fresh debts could not be avoided,[3] the cause lay, on the one hand, in the fact that Alexander VII., being by nature of a most generous disposition, left a free

see CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 179. After the census, taken at Easter, 1656, by order of Alexander VII., the population of the provinces of the Papal States was 1,685,934, not counting children under three years of age; with Rome included, it amounted to 1,801,780; see BELOCH, in *Bullet. de l'Institut internat. de Statistique*, III., Roma, 1888, 16; CORRIDORE, *La populazione dello stato Romano*, Roma, 1906, 14. According to the *Carte Strozziane* (1 Ser., II., 769, n. 22 *seq.*) the inhabitants of Rome numbered in 1621: 118,356; in 1663, 105,433 (not counting the Jews); in 1672, 121,064. *Cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 374. In 1657 influenza broke out in Civitavecchia; see A. CORRADI, *L'influenza*, Bologna, 1890.

[1] See PALLAVICINO, I., 166 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 131; STEINMANN, *Die statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 17 *seq.* "Statuam optimus princeps exemplo ad hunc diem inaudito erigi vetuit," says the author of the **Orationi in lode di Alessandro VII.*, in *Cod.*, C. 2, 15, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. But on March 21, 1658, the city put up the inscription: *Alexandro VII. P.M. cum statuam publice sibi decretam ob remotam ab urbe pestilentiam honoris significatione contentus erigi vetuisset* (*Cod.*, G. III., 78, Chigi Library, Rome). An inundation of the Tiber, November 5, 1661, gave occasion to Alexander VII. to take measures against this scourge, which occurred so frequently; see BUONAROTI (1871), 23 *seq.* A second inundation is mentioned in **Avviso* of January 29, 1667, Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] *Cf.* on this, COPPI, *Finanze*, 16 *seq.* See also with regard to Monti, the **Relatione*, p. 459 *seq.*, quoted above, p. 31, n. 1.

[3] *Cf. Analecta iuris pontif.*, 1895, 248 *seq.*

hand to his ministers in money questions [1] and on the other in the conditions of the time. The precautions against the plague and the subsidies for the Emperor and the King of Poland for their wars against the Turks and the Swedes swallowed large sums.[2] To this must be added the patronage extended to art and learning, as well as some extraordinary expenses which he could not help incurring as Head of the Church. To this category belong the sums spent at the very beginning of his pontificate on a worthy reception of the Queen of Sweden, Christine, the convert daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

[1] "S. Stà non è punto economo et assai assuefatto a spendere quel che egli haveva lasciando maneggiare dal maestro di casa a suo modo, e adesso fa il simile con lasciare operare ai suoi, ministri." Riccardi's report of November 20, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Cf.* Coppi, *Finanze*, 80 *seq.* On the money given to the Emperor in 1656 and 1664 and for Poland, see below, Ch. V.

CHAPTER II.

The Return of Queen Christine of Sweden to the Catholic Church and her Stay in Rome.

After Luther and Calvin, probably no man had inflicted such grievous wounds on the Catholic Church as the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, a man equally remarkable as a statesman and as a military leader. His intervention in the epic struggle between the ancient Church and Protestantism put a stop to the Catholic restoration and led to the settlement on which the Peace of Westphalia put the seal. Hence it is easy to understand that a real terror seized the Protestant world when it became known that the Queen of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus's most gifted daughter and his successor on the throne, a woman whose mind and extraordinary attainments were the wonder of all Europe, had returned to the old faith.

Christine's abdication and her hurried departure from Sweden, by themselves alone, gave rise to the greatest dissatisfaction in that country. Even Chancellor Oxenstjerna so far forgot himself as to remark that the Queen must be mad.[1] When her conversion became an accomplished fact, Protestant bitterness vented itself by spreading vulgar rumours and biting satires. No words seemed strong enough with which to brand "the Queen's deliberate return to the darkness of the vain and foolish superstition of the papists". It was stated that she had embraced the Catholic religion without real interior conviction and merely for the sake of certain external advantages; in her craving for the natural beauty and the arts of southern countries, she had arrived at the conclusion that she could live nowhere else; in view of her inadequate income she had hoped to receive help from the Pope or from some of the Catholic princes, and ever since foreign scholars

[1] Grauert, II., 11 n.

had inoculated her with atheistic principles she had been indifferent to all religions and looked on them as purely outward forms.[1] These dishonourable motives, which were put forward not only by the Protestants but by the French also,[2] have long been accepted as historical facts. But all such attempts at an explanation fade into thin air before a thorough historical investigation, and there is not a shadow of proof that Christine was a contemptible hypocrite. To-day no serious scholar denies that the most momentous step in the Queen's life was taken in consequence of a real conviction.[3] A number of excellent and credible sources enable us to trace the long and arduous path which the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus had to traverse up to her reception into the Catholic Church, and the motives which decided her to take it.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 16 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 365.

[3] This has been particularly emphasized by M. LANDAU (*Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1893, No. 296), BILDT (25–6), NAVENNE (I., 205), and BAIN (p. x). The latter observes, as against FRYXELL, that nothing is more certain than that Christine's conversion was sincere. The best presentment of Christine's motives is found in the dispassionate account of GRAUERT (II., 59 *seqq.*) ; it shows that the assertion that the Queen had embraced Catholicism without conviction is devoid of tangible proof.

[4] The chief sources are the accounts of the two Jesuits who were particularly concerned in the conversion, viz. P. MALINES (first published by ARCKENHOLTZ, IV., 382 *seqq.*, App. 27, and again from a copy in the Parma State Archives in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXII., where on p. 257, 4th line, " Guemes " must be read instead of " Generale " ; another copy in the University Library, Bologna) and P. CASATI (in part in RANKE, III., 61 *seq.*, 183* *seq.* ; fully from the Modena State Archives, Vol. XXXII., App. 3). To this must be added the two justifications of November and December, 1655, in ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 511 *seqq.*, II., 129, *seqq.*, App. No. 70, and PALLAVICINO's interesting, documented account (I, 240 *seqq.*). Among recent accounts the best is that of GRAUERT (II., 18 *seqq.*). He corrects Ranke in many places (p. 32, 42, 44, 63, 435, 437, 438), and in particular he refutes the certainly

Born at Stockholm on December 8th, 1626, of a mother, Eleonore of Brandenburg, a Hohenzollern princess, aunt of the Elector Frederick William, who was not only sickly but also mentally abnormal, Christine had the further misfortune to lose her famous father when she was only six years old. Before setting out for Germany, Gustavus Adolphus had given instructions that in order to prepare her for her career as a ruler, his daughter should be given the same bodily and mental training as if she were a prince. These ideas fitted admirably with Christine's inclinations; she hated skirts, despised personal adornment, and displayed complete incapacity for every form of womanly work. On the other hand, she quickly learnt to master the most fiery horses and to shoot a hare on the run. Her intellectual gifts were out of the common; she possessed great acumen of mind, a quick

erroneous and totally unsupported assertion of the Berlin historian that "Christine had often confessed that she could not accuse Protestantism of any error in matters of faith". Though GRAUERT has proved up to the hilt that this assertion is based on a misinterpretation of a grammatical construction by ARCKENHOLTZ—*cf.* on the point SCHAUERTE, *Christine von Schweden*, Freiburg, 1890, 93—RANKE, in later editions, merely struck out the word "often" quite arbitrarily inserted by him, but for the rest repeated his presentment which, clever as it is, betrays a certain embarrassment. Not a word about Christine's careful study. Her leaning towards Catholicism he describes as "unaccountable", her aversion for Protestantism he derives from a feeling, the origin of which it is impossible to trace, but which was heightened merely by circumstances. He looks for no motives or proofs of a religious kind as an explanation of the Queen's step; according to him, self-will, a thousand circumstances, attraction by opposites, of which she had only a dim perception, a woman's need of devotion to an infallible authority, led to a decision which, in such an account, must of course remain an enigma. F. W. BAIN (*Christina*, London, 1890, xiii., *seq.*) also sides with GRAUERT against RANKE. GEJER (*Gesch. Swedens*, III., 419) has nothing of importance to say on the conversion, nor has CARLSON, who continued his work (IV., i., *seqq.*) on the motives of the abdication.

grasp of things, an extraordinarily retentive memory and a rare talent for languages. Filled with a passionate and insatiable keenness for knowledge, she daily devoted twelve hours to study. Small wonder that she became round-shouldered and exceedingly nervous. When, at the age of eighteen, she assumed the government of Sweden, the "Swedish Minerva", as she was called, was universally looked upon as a miracle of learning. She spoke and wrote fluent German, French, Dutch, Italian, Latin and Greek, and had even a smattering of Hebrew and Arabic. Oxenstjerna had initiated her into the principles of statecraft, whilst excellent teachers had made her thoroughly acquainted with ancient classic history, theology, jurisprudence, mathematics and astronomy. Even on the throne, and notwithstanding the weight of business of State, Christine continued her studies and over them completely forgot the care of her delicate health. There can have been but few women who cared so little for their outward appearance. She wore quite ordinary clothes, and only once a week at most did she comb her beautiful hair; only on Sunday did she devote half an hour to her toilet; on other days less than fifteen minutes was deemed sufficient. Just as she was satisfied with from three to four hours' sleep, so was she utterly indifferent to what she ate; she never drank anything but water. During the icy cold nights of winter this truly Spartan woman could be seen driving about for hours, and even attacks of fever did not prevent her from assisting at the sittings of the Senate. Negotiations with foreign ambassadors she conducted in person; at all times she displayed the utmost self-confidence. Generals whose very name struck terror into all hearts in Germany, trembled in silence before her.[1] "Should

[1] The credit of having disposed of mere scandalmongering and of having drawn the first historically accurate picture of the greatly admired but even more maligned Queen of Sweden, belongs to W. H. Grauert, whose monograph (2 vols., 1833–1842) is justly described by Srbik (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Kl., CLXXVI., Abh. 4, p. 45) as "a

war break out," a contemporary wrote, "this woman who is not afraid of heat, cold, or want of sleep, would put herself at the head of her troops." [1]

monument of the most admirable diligence and scholarship". The first vol. of Grauert's work was in print when RANKE (*Päpste*, III., 52 *seq.*) published his short but, as always, clever and vivid sketch for which he was the first to make use of Casati's letter. Grauert had already drawn attention to the falsification of the Mémoires of CHANUT (Paris, 1674–5), from which Ranke made considerable borrowings. A thorough critical examination by WEIBULL, in *Hist. Tidskrift*, 1887, 49 *seqq.*, 151 *seqq.*, and 1888, 1 *seqq.*, 131 *seqq.*, has finally destroyed the prestige of this source. Another Swedish scholar, Baron v. BILDT, has done valuable work in throwing light on the life of the Swedish Queen. He had the good fortune of discovering and decoding Christine's intimate letters to Cardinal Azzolini and he has also drawn upon many other new sources. In his *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolini* (Paris, 1899), he gave a complete bibliography up to 1666. His point of view is that of the modern man of the world. He devotes very little space to the religious evolution. In addition to new sources he also throws light on Christine by studying her pathological characteristics, but in this he probably goes too far. BUSCHBELL (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIV., 151) justly observes: "It must be admitted that Christine was of a nervous temperament which reacted in many ways on her disposition. She was authoritarian, could be cruel, and was abundantly conscious of her own importance. These features of her character are, in our opinion, given too much prominence in Bildt's picture. In fact, it cannot be said that he is excessively well disposed towards Gustavus Adolphus' daughter. At times his judgment seems to be based on the period, in that he ascribes to the Queen the faults of her time." Among more recent writers, *cf.* BAIN (London, 1890), CLARETTA (Torino, 1892), FRIIS (Kopenhagen, 1896, German transl. by KLAIBER, 1899), TAYLOR, *Christina of Sweden*, London, 1909 (the portrait in the book is not of Christine but of her maid of honour, Sparre!), MASI, *Donne di storia di romanzo*, Bologna, 1903, 3 *seqq.*, gives nothing new. CHLEDOWSKI's account (II., 289 *seqq.*) teems with mistakes.

[1] See Manderscheid's letter in ARCKENHOLTZ, II., App. 95 *seqq.* In the Papal Secret Archives, Miscell., I., 19, p. 259, the letter

The thought of marriage must have been intolerable to such an amazon. Only once, as a girl of seventeen, even she paid toll to the universal law of nature, when she experienced a tender sentiment for her cousin, Charles Gustavus of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg, but all too soon she was forced to realize that she had bestowed her affections on an unworthy object. After this cruel disillusionment she declared she would rather die than marry. She was wont to say that she would leave the world as she had entered it, free. On the other hand, her masculine character caused her to love to consort with men, especially with men of learning, just as she despised intercourse with women. The court of Stockholm increasingly became the *rendezvous* for Europe's most famous scholars, for the highly accomplished Queen was anxious to establish closer relations between the North and the culturally more advanced countries of Central and Southern Europe, from which it had been somewhat cut off until then. To this end she shrank from no sacrifice either of money or effort. Isaac Vossius, Gabriel Naudé, and Nicolas Heinsius were busy collecting in France, the Netherlands, and Italy manuscripts and rare books for her library. She also acquired precious stones, coins, and antique statues. Special messengers were dispatched to Rome for the purpose of recovering Swedish documents and deeds which Archbishop Olaus had at one time taken there. Philologists of the first rank, such as Freinsheim, Gerhard Vossius, with whom she read Plato in the original text, the famous critic Salmasius, and the celebrated philosopher Descartes, were invited to Stockholm where favours were showered upon them. She likewise attracted artists and architects.[1] Such was her thirst for knowledge that even when business of State was most overwhelming, she somehow managed to snatch a few hours every day in order to converse in her library with the dead who, as she wrote to Vossius in June, 1650, imparted life

is dated Innsbruck, January 3, 1655, whereas Arckenholtz gives October 10, resp. December 10.

[1] GRAUERT, I., 253, 266 *seq.*, 372 *seq*, 400 *seq.*

to her, whereas the living brought her death at every moment." [1]

It was natural that in view of these extensive studies and her learned associations, so active and acute a mind as Christine's would also busy itself with the greatest problem of the time, the religious question.

In the programme arranged by the Estates for Christine's upbringing, it was laid down that she should be most accurately taught the Lutheran faith, and carefully preserved from every contagion of Calvinism and papistry.[2] She was taught religion by Dr. John Mathiä, a man of gentle and noble character, but no pedagogue. In addition to this Christine was made to frequent, even as a child, the sermons of the preachers. These discourses did not appeal to her, so much so that, though she was religiously inclined by nature, she conceived a repugnance for certain Lutheran dogmas which seemed to her "unworthy of God".[3] What she herself relates concerning her scepticism throws much light on her intellectual precocity: "That which most strengthened my unbelief," so we read in a recently discovered fragment of her autobiography, "was an incident which occurred in my sixth or seventh year. When for the first time in my life I heard a sermon on the Last Judgment, the preacher so terrified me with his exaggerated description of that final cataclysm that I felt as if all were lost. I imagined that heaven and earth would crush me in their own ruin. I began to shed bitter tears for I imagined the catastrophe would happen at once. After the sermon I sent for my teacher and asked him: 'Father, why have you never told me of that dreadful day? What will become of me then? Will it all happen this coming night?' He smiled at my simplicity and said: 'You will go to

[1] "*Je ferois mon possible de desrober quelques heures pour les passer dans mon cabinet en conversation des morts qui me rendent la vie au lieu que les vivants me donnent a tout moment la mort." Letter in WIESELGREN, 65 *seq.*

[2] ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 33; GRAUERT, I., 78, II., 28.

[3] ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 209. On the authenticity of the passage, *cf.* GRAUERT, II., 23, n. 62.

Paradise, but for that you must obey your teachers, and pray and study earnestly.'

"This answer gave rise to thoughts which I could not put out of my mind and which were beyond my age and power of understanding. In the following year I heard the same sermon once more and again I felt shaken as I listened to the description of judgment, though much less than on the first occasion. This time I did not cry and when it was over I again asked my teacher: 'When will the judgment come of which everybody speaks?' He replied: 'It will come! Don't worry about it; God alone knows the time, but we must ever be prepared for it.'

"This answer did not satisfy me and I began to think for myself, to question, and to distrust even my teacher, though I felt great regard and affection for him. And when in the third year, I heard a *réchauffé* of the same sermon, I began to make fun of it and no longer believed anything. I doubted the whole story and one day during lessons I said to my teacher: 'Tell me the truth: is not all we are told about religion just a myth, like the Last Judgment?'

"Thereupon he began to scold me vehemently, saying that it was an awful sin and crime merely to entertain such thoughts and that if I dared to talk again in this strain, he would have me whipped by my governess. This threat made me angry and I told him: 'I promise you never again to speak like this, but I will not submit to a whipping; if you do that you will regret it!'"[1]

After this she hated the frequent and lengthy preachments of the Lutheran clergy. The picture they drew of God seemed to her a caricature. She felt that the way in which the Supreme Being was made to speak was only for the purpose of deceiving her, in order to get her to obey unconditionally. Accordingly, as she grew up, she invented a religion of her own.[2] Contemporary evidence confirms her lack of Lutheran

[1] BILDT, *Christine*, 12 *seqq.*

[2] Autograph note, in ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 209 *seq.*; *cf.* GRAUERT, II., 23, 30 *seq.*

orthodoxy. In a well informed report of the year 1654 on the court of Stockholm, written by an Italian, we read that the Queen had held liberal views from an early age. She professed Lutheranism solely because of her subjects, whilst of outward religious practices, such as grace before and after meals, the Lord's Supper, hearing sermons, she only observed a minimum, sermons in particular wearied her, for the extreme triviality of their content and their rude form, offended her splendid intelligence as well as her refined taste, which she had acquired by the study of the best literary products of the various nations.[1]

Hand in hand with her scepticism there went a religious toleration which was exceedingly rare in contemporary Sweden. In this Christine was supported by her teacher, Mathiä, who cherished dreams of the reunion of all Christian Confessions. The Queen took the liveliest interest in these irenic aspirations, as she did, in fact, in all religious questions.[2]

Whilst her acute intellect clearly discerned the errors and contradictions of Lutheranism, she realized with something like a shock, as a result of her relations with Catholics, such as the French ambassador Chanut and the philosopher Descartes, who assuredly did not seek her conversion, that the teaching of the Catholic Church differed completely from the description given of it by the Lutheran preachers.[3] She was also immensely impressed by a saying which she came across in Cicero, to the effect that among so many divergent opinions on religion only one could be right, though all might be false.[4]

Christine felt a great need of a definite faith. In order to

[1] ARCKENHOLTZ, II., App. 47, p. 90.

[2] GRAUERT, II., 25 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*

[3] Besides GRAUERT, see BILDT, *loc. cit.*, who rightly observes: "Descartes et Chanut ne sont cependant pas les convertisseurs. Bien loin de là. Chanut est même contraire à une résolution qui doit fatalemente entraîner la perte de la couronne et pourra compromettre les intérêts de la France dans le Nord."

[4] CICERO, *De nat. deor.*, 1, 2, *cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 343, and GRAUERT, II., 32 (against RANKE).

find it she studied the Bible, the Fathers of the Church—Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, Minutius Felix, Gregory Nazianzen—the ancient and modern philosophers, and even atheistic writers. What she read she eagerly discussed with men of learning.[1] However, during this five years' search for the true religion she examined everything exclusively in the light of human reason; accordingly, she became entangled in an even worse labyrinth of doubt until at last she found herself on most insecure and shifting ground, where everything positive seemed to dissolve and to vanish before her eyes. Though she did not stray so far as to deny the existence and oneness of God, she nevertheless began to doubt whether Providence concerned itself at all with the moral actions of men and whether God demanded any definite form of worship and a rigidly determined faith. After a minute examination of all religions, she came to the conclusion that none of them was the true one, and for a time she decided to content herself with the outward practice of the religion of her country and to satisfy her conscience by observing the dictates of reason and morality.[2] However, in this she could find no lasting peace; her generous heart thirsted for truth. In fervent prayer she implored God to enlighten her. "Thou knowest," she exclaims in her autobiography, "how often I have besought Thee for this grace in a language unintelligible to common spirits, and how I promised to obey Thee, should it cost my life and happiness."[3]

It was then that Providence so disposed things that she at last found the right men to settle her doubts. In 1650 the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Macedo arrived at Stockholm in the capacity of chaplain to the Portuguese envoy, Pinto Pereira. Pereira, who knew no Swedish, made use of his secretary as interpreter in his negotiations with the Queen.

[1] See ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 511; *ibid.*, II., App. 97; GRAUERT, II., 33.

[2] *Cf.* Casati's *account (State Archives, Modena) in App. No. 3; PALLAVICINO, I., 343; GRAUERT, II., 34 *seq.*

[3] ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 210 n.

When the secretary was taken ill, Macedo took his place. The Queen quickly perceived that she could open her mind to this sensible and reliable man, but she also realized that if her purpose were discovered, she risked her crown, nay perhaps her very life. It was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection. To keep the matter as secret as possible, she discussed the question even during Pereira's audiences. The latter could not help wondering at the lengthy conversations occasioned by the simple questions and brief reports of his interpreter; however, he was all the more ready to accept the latter's explanation that the Queen introduced all sorts of questions of literature, as he hoped to promote his diplomatic business by this means. In any case, relations with Macedo were beset with many obstacles, nor was there any prospect of their continuation, and Christine deemed it equally dangerous to deal with so weighty a matter by means of the post.[1] She accordingly requested Macedo to go to Rome in order to make known her attraction towards the Catholic faith to the General of the Jesuits and to ask him to send two Fathers to Stockholm; these were to be Italians, as they would be less easily recognized in Sweden.

When all was ready an unforeseen obstacle arose owing to the envoy's refusal to allow Macedo to depart. However, woman's cunning found a way out. Macedo was told to set out secretly, whilst officially Christine took steps to have him brought back by force. Of course, he successfully escaped with a passport given him by the Queen.[2] When Macedo reached Rome towards the end of the autumn of 1651, neither the Jesuit General nor Francesco Piccolomini, to whom Christine had addressed Macedo's credentials, were living so that he was obliged to approach the German Assistant,

[1] *Cf.* Malines' *report in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 254.

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 344 *seq.*, who evidently had before him Macedo's report and whose account agrees with that of Malines, *loc. cit.* If in *Divi tutelares orbis christiani*, Lisbon, 1687, 506, Macedo claims the initiative for himself, he is justified; *cf.* GRAUERT, II., 40.

Goswin Nickel. The latter felt that in a matter of such importance he could not act on his own initiative, hence he took the Secretary of State, Chigi, into his confidence. The difficult mission to Sweden was entrusted to Fathers Paolo Casati and Francesco de Malines. Both were sprung from noble families, were able and learned, and spoke French, Christine's favourite language. The circumstance that Casati had been a professor of mathematics provided an excellent pretext for his interviews with the Queen who, in the meantime, had also had several conversations with the Jesuit Godfrey Francken, the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador at Copenhagen.[1]

Casati and Malines took boat with the utmost secrecy on December 12th, 1651, at Venice.[2] After a tiresome voyage, during which they made some acquaintances which stood them in good stead during their stay in Sweden, they at last arrived at Stockholm on March 6th, 1652.[3] They described themselves as Italian noblemen, travelling for the purpose of studying the country and its people. Christine's sharp mind guessed at once that they were the men she had been waiting for and she summoned them to court. After the first presentation they went into the drawing-room and as Casati walked immediately before the Queen, she whispered to him : " You surely have a letter for me ? " He nodded without turning round, on which the Queen added : " Don't mention it to anyone." That very day Christine sent her confidential chamberlain, John Holm, to fetch the letter, and the strangers were bidden to an audience with her on the following morning.

[1] Malines (*Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 255) and Gualdo (17) speak of some conversations with Francken, but as GRAUERT already perceived (II., 43 *seq.*), they were of so little consequence that PALLACINO very properly does not mention them.

[2] For what follows, *cf.* besides Malines' report (*loc. cit.*, 254 *seq.*), especially that of Casati, *loc. cit.*

[3] The date according to Malines (*loc. cit.*, 254) and *Casati, *loc. cit.* In PALLAVICINO, I., 347, 1651, must be understood in *stil. flor.*

This interview lasted an hour. The Queen thanked them both for coming, assured them that they had nothing to fear, but recommended the utmost caution and secrecy. At the same time she observed that if she could feel satisfied, their laborious journey would not have been in vain. "By the end of April," the Queen herself declares in her manifesto, "I had definitely made up my mind to become a Catholic." [1]

From this moment the determination to change her religion appears in intimate connection with her abdication, a step which Christine had already announced in the summer of 1631, on the occasion of Macedo's mission to Rome.

Christine was fully alive to the risks she would run by returning to the Catholic Church and the enmity she would draw on herself by such a step both in Sweden and among the Protestant Powers. Hence it was natural that she should have been on the look-out for support. When at the beginning of May, 1652, Casati had been dispatched, with the utmost secrecy, to Rome, with a letter to the Jesuit General,[2] the Queen took her French physician, Bourdelot, and the Spanish ambassador, Pimentel, into her confidence. Bourdelot was instructed to sound Paris on the possibility of her taking up residence in France after her abdication, but he was not to mention the change of religion. Pimentel represented to the Queen that both the French Government and the Emperor were hampered by numerous considerations for Sweden; he accordingly advised her to make use of the services of Philip IV. of Spain. To this Christine agreed. On May 13th, 1653, Malines left for Madrid for the purpose of obtaining from the King of Spain a letter to Innocent X. in favour of Christine. He was also the bearer of letters of the Queen to the Pope, the Secretary of State, Chigi, the Cardinal nephew, and the General of the Jesuits [3]; in fact, with the

[1] ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 512.

[2] *Cf.* Casati's *report, *loc. cit.* PALLAVICINO, I., 348.

[3] *Cf.* Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 255 *seq.*, which PALLAVICINO evidently had before him (I., 348).

last named the Queen was in constant correspondence.[1] Assumed names were used to veil the subject-matter of these letters.

Pimentel, whose recall was about due, was requested to give personal support to Malines at Madrid, but he was not to travel in his company, for now that several persons were initiated into the secret, the risk of discovery was so much greater. As early as 1652 rumours about the Queen's conversion were circulating at the court of Stockholm which also came to the ears of some Italian musicians then staying there.[2]

[1] Only part of Christine's correspondence with the Jesuit General is preserved in the Archives of the Society because most of the letters were destroyed soon after arrival in view of the necessity of keeping the impending conversion secret. Both parties made use of borrowed names and these were changed on several occasions. Further information will be given by I. Metzler, S.J., in a work on Christine's relations with the Society of Jesus, especially during the period before her conversion.

[2] In a "*Memoria della conversione della Regina Christina di Svetia" (Papal Sec. Arch., *Miscell.*, I., 19, f. 256) we read: "Si comincíò a sentire che la Regina Christina di Svezia che havesse pensiero d'esser cattolica da molte parti dal 1652 et in particolare mediante un musico chiamato Tomasso, che era stato al suo servizio e tornato entrò nel servizio di S. Pietro. Da questo hebbe Mons. Holstenio canonico e primo custode della Biblioteca Vaticana molte notitie delle sue attioni, desiderosa sempre di sentir delle grandezze e fabriche di Roma da quelli che ivi capitavano et in particolare da detto musico, che minutamente raccontava a detto Holstenio, che n'era desideroso di sapere, per esser stato chiamato al suo servizio con haverli mandata una medaglia col suo ritratto di valore di scudi sessanta, restata in mano al signor cardinale Francesco Barberino come suo herede. Non si mancò dal suo padre Gustavo di provederla di molti dotti e virtuosi Tedeschi, Hollandesi e Francesi, come Ugone Grotio. — I predicanti, nel porgere le loro false dottrine, s'accorgevano che sempre teneva libri avanti e leggerli, e spinti dal loro zelo volevano vedere chi autori fossero; ma essa destramente li porgeva poeti etc., benchè n'haveva cattolici, e credo trattati de' Santi."

After Casati's arrival in Rome, on June 9th of the following year, a letter of his to Malines, which revealed the close connection of the two men, was intercepted in Sweden, in consequence of which Casati, who had meanwhile left Rome and reached Hamburg, was not allowed to return to Stockholm.[1]

Malines was held up by contrary winds, so that he only reached Madrid on August 2nd, 1652, where he waited in vain for the arrival of Pimentel, who had, indeed, embarked but had been compelled by storms to return to Stockholm where his Government now ordered him to remain. The Queen welcomed this change of plan, for in Pimentel she had a trusty counsellor and a man in whom she could confide. In place of Pimentel she now dispatched to Madrid the Dominican, John Baptist Guemes, who, by order of the Spanish ambassador in Denmark, Count Rebolledo, set out dressed as a secular priest. However, Guemes's arrival in the Spanish capital was delayed until March, 1654.[2]

Through the Jesuit Manderscheid, Pimentel's chaplain, Christine was in constant correspondence with Casati, Malines, and their General. The General kept the Secretary of State, Chigi, informed, but the latter only gave hints to Innocent X., partly because he feared the instability of the female character and partly because he did not consider it advisable that Christine should come to Rome where Olimpia Maidalchini exercised so much influence.[3] Chigi's doubts as to the Swedish Queen's constancy were without foundation, for the latter pursued her aim with truly virile determination. On June 6th [16th], 1654, at the royal Castle of Upsala, she laid aside the crown in favour of Charles Gustavus of Zweibrücken, whilst reserving for herself an annual income of 200,000 thalers, her property and sovereignty and, in particular, her royal authority over her suite.[4] The whole country was

[1] *Cf.* Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 256.
[2] *Ibid.*, *cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 949 *seq.*
[3] PALLAVICINO, I., 350 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 383, GRAUERT, II., 124, 140.

deeply affected for the people were loath to see the departure of the last descendant of the Wasas. Attempts were made to delay her departure for as long as possible, but she herself felt as if she were walking on hot bricks. Not another moment would she tarry in a country in which "veneration for the Pope was reckoned an unforgivable sin".[1] She was more weary than ever of the government of her subjects. With Virgil's tag on her lips: *Viam fata invenient*—fate will show a way—she escaped from her native land in male attire, traversed Denmark without being recognized, from whence she passed in all haste through Hamburg, Münster, and Deventer, until she reached Antwerp at the beginning of August, 1654, when she resumed female attire.[2]

Notwithstanding every precaution, the rumour of Christine's impending reception into the Catholic Church had spread wider and wider, whilst she herself still thought of keeping her resolution secret. When on Christmas night, 1654, at Brussels, she made profession of the Catholic faith in presence of the Dominican Guemes, the act took place in the private chapel of the Lieutenant, Archduke Leopold, before a small number of trusted persons, among whom was Pimentel who had returned from Spain as envoy extraordinary.[3] In the sequel also she carefully kept from the world all knowledge of her conversion; she only heard Mass and received Holy Communion in secret, though she likewise carefully avoided everything that might have been interpreted as a profession of Protestantism. The consequence was that a rumour arose that she had no faith at all, that in fact she was an atheist. This notion received support from the free and often ill-considered remarks with which she sought to disguise her real belief.

[1] Christine's words in her letter to the Pope of November 5, 1655, in PALLAVICINO, I., 361.

[2] GRAUERT, II., 7 *seq.*; WIRZ, XLVII.

[3] See the Spanish original of J. B. GUEMES' *letter to his General in which he prays to be allowed to remain the Queen's confessor (Papal Sec. Arch., *Miscell.*, I., 19). *Cf.* Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 258; PALLAVICINO, I., 353 *seq.*; GRAUERT, II., 15.

This secretiveness, though she now found herself in a Catholic country, was prompted by the fear that once her conversion became generally known, Charles Gustavus might be forced by the indignation of the people of Sweden, to withhold her annual apanage. Accordingly, she sought to obtain the immediate payment of a round sum by way of indemnity, which she intended to invest in a place of safety.

She informed the King of Spain of this project and likewise prayed him to inform Alexander VII., who had become Pope in the meantime, of the fact of her conversion.[1] Christine's strong leaning on Spain and her thoughtless utterances, extraordinarily embittered the French. They revenged themselves by the publication of calumnious pamphlets in which aspersions were cast on the Queen's morals, though these libels were without the slightest foundation.[2]

On July 1st, 1655, Malines presented to the new Pope a letter of Christine. Philip IV.'s detailed letter arrived only in the first days of September. Alexander VII.'s joy was all the greater as he was one of the few persons who had been initiated in the secret and could even justly claim to have had some share in the event. Through the Jesuit General he sent the Queen an autograph letter expressing his lively satisfaction; at the same time he explained that the distinguished convert could only be received in the Papal States with all the honours due to her rank after she should have made a public profession of faith.[3] Thereupon, on September 22nd, Christine set out from Brussels, where brilliant festivities had been given in her honour, for Innsbruck, accompanied by a suite of 200 persons, among them two Jesuits and the Dominican Guemes, viâ Louvain, Cologne, Frankfort, Würzburg, and Augsburg. The Pope dispatched to Innsbruck to meet the Queen the learned Keeper of the Vatican Library, Luke Holstenius, a convert

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 354 *seq.*

[2] GRAUERT, II., 71 *seq.*

[3] Malines, *loc. cit.*, 258; PALLAVICINO, I., 356. *Cf.* also **Cifra* (to Holstenius) of November 13, 1655, in *Barb.* 6487, p. 58, Vat. Lib., which renews the demand.

himself, who had corresponded with Christine. He was the bearer of a flattering Brief and an invitation to Rome; he was likewise empowered to receive the Queen's profession of faith.[1]

Previous to Holstenius's arrival at Innsbruck, the archducal court had no idea that the stay of the Queen in the capital of the Tyrol would become the occasion of so great a solemnity and one of such significance for the Catholic Church. In accordance with the taste of the period a programme of purely secular festivities had been drawn up in honour of the distinguished guest; the religious function of her public reception into the Church had now to be wedged into this programme.[2]

On November 3rd, 1655, dressed in a plain robe of black silk and wearing no other ornament except a diamond cross on her breast, the Queen went from the royal palace to the Hofkirche, escorted by the Archdukes Ferdinand, Karl, and Sigismond. Kneeling before the altar she read "with clear, easily audible accents and a joyful heart, slowly and distinctly, in a loud and as it were manly voice", the Tridentine profession of faith which Holstenius had handed to her. After she had confirmed this profession of faith with an oath, her public reception into the Catholic Church was carried out with the customary ceremonies, amid the tense emotion of all present. The Jesuit court preacher, Staudacher, preached in German from the text: "Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house: and the King shall greatly desire thy beauty; for he is the Lord thy God, and him they shall adore" (Ps. XLIV., 11 *seq.*).

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 357; GRAUERT, II., 79 *seq.*; in *Barb.* 6487, Alexander VII.'s Brief to Holstenius, dated October 10, 1655, and p. 29 *seqq.*, the **Istruzione* for Holstenius drawn up by G. Rospigliosi, Secretary of State. *Lucae Holstenii* "*Ephemeris itineris Oenipontani, A°, 1655" (beginning on October 6 and ending on December 17), in *Barb.* 2226, Vat. Lib. On Holstenius see our data, XXIX., 440 *seq.*

[2] BUSSON, *Christine von Schweden in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1884, 29, 56 *seq.*

High Mass followed and the *Te Deum* was sung at the conclusion of the religious function. At the end of the banquet pages gave a torch dance and a mythological play was performed.[1] An official account of the transaction at Innsbruck was drawn up by Holstenius and taken by himself to Rome, together with the profession of faith in which the Queen herself had inserted her name, as well as the original text of her abdication. These documents are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives to this day.[2] Christine now informed Charles Gustavus of her conversion. To the Pope she addressed a letter of homage, in Italian, which was read at a consistory of November 15th, 1655. On that occasion Alexander described the conversion and exhorted the Cardinals with grave words to see to it that the new convert was not shocked by their conduct, for during his nunciature at Cologne he had learnt with what sharp eyes the Northerners watched the Romans.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 50 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *letter to Guemes quoted above, p. 52, n. 3, and Holstenius' full *report, dated Innsbruck, 1655, November 5, in *Barb.* 6487, p. 108 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. The "Facultas absolvendi reginam Christinam", dated October 10, 1655, is in *Bull.*, XVI., 74.

[2] In A.C. Inf. I., 81, A.1. The bag in which the documents were taken to Rome contains also the following items: (1) the original Swedish text of Christine's renunciation to the crown, signed by Brahe, Oxenstjierna, and the Senators, with some 300 seals, together with an Italian translation; (2) "Instrumentum publicum actorum Oeniponte," by L. Holstenius, dat. November 3, 1655, original with seal; (3) "Forma professionis fidei," etc., printed by Holstenius (the profession bears the Queen's autograph signature: "Christina"; then follow the names of all the witnesses and finally: "L. Holstenius hanc professionem excepi et subscripsi"). *Cf.* also Holstenius' *letter on the abjuration, dat. Innsbruck, November 5, 1655, in *Barb.*, 6487, p. 108 (minute), Vat. Lib.

[3] The allocution opens with the words: "Iam quintum agi annum ex quo pater luminum ac misericordiarum Deus Christi filii sui sanguine redemptam ovem in remotis septentrionis regionibus aberrantem respexit (Acta consist., *Barb.* 2924, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 363; where there is also the text of the Pope's letter (361 *seq.*).

Meanwhile, after a stay of eight days, the Queen left Innsbruck for Ferrara, journeying viâ Trent and Mantua. Italy shared the joy of the whole Catholic world over her conversion. Almost everywhere she was received with so much pomp that her journey resembled a triumphal progress.[1] When, on November 21st, Christine entered the territory of the Pontifical States, she was solemnly welcomed by two Archbishops acting as papal nuncios, and by two other high prelates. The cost of the rest of her journey and that of the solemn receptions at Bologna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Loreto, Macerata, Foligno, and Assisi, were met by the Pope. Everything possible was done to honour the Queen: triumphal arches, banquets, tournaments, fireworks, pompous addresses, whilst ecclesiastical functions gave expression to the religious significance of her action.[2] At Loreto, Christine offered to the Mother of God a crown and sceptre of solid gold adorned with many diamonds and rubies. From Assisi, where she venerated the tomb of St. Francis, she set out for Caprarola and Bracciano, where the lord of the manor, Paolo Giordano II.

[1] *Cf.* besides PALLAVICINO, I., 368, MARCHESI, *Il passagio d. regina Cristina per li stati Veneti*, in *Atti dell' Accademia Udinese*, II. (1890–3).

[2] *Cf.* FESTINI, *I trionfi della magnificenzia Pontificia celebrati per lo passagio . . . della regina di Suezia*, Roma, 1656; *Relatione dell' viaggio d. regina di Suezia per lo Stato eccl.*, Roma, 1656; BERCHET II., 186; GROTTANELLI 37 *seq.*; GUALDO, 110 *seqq.*; GIORDANI *Mem. patric.*, Bologna, 1839; MALAGOLA, *Cristina di Suezia in Bologna*, 1881; RICCI, *Vita barocca*, Roma, 1912, 20 *seqq.*; CLARETTA, 363 *seqq.*; SOMMI-PICENARDI, *Di Cristina di Suezia*, Pisa, 1889; E. GADDI, *Cristina di Suezia in Forlì*, in *Riv., d'Italia*, 1905; G. BENADUCCI, *La regina Cristina di Suezia in Tolentino*, Tol., 1895 (Nozze-Publ.). *Regin.*, 1109, contains "*Applausi poetici composti dagl' Accademici di Fano alla regina Cristina di Suezia" (Vat. Lib.). A *Libro delle spese fatte nell' allogio d. regina di Suezia per lo stato eccl. in the State Archives, Rome. See also *Bull.*, XVI., 88. In his *report of December 4, 1655, Ranucci, the ambassador, bears witness to Alexander VII.'s satisfaction at the honours paid to Christine at Bologna (State Archives, Bologna).

Orsini, who had previously exchanged poems and letters with her, sumptuously entertained her for a whole day.[1]

Meanwhile at Rome preparations had been made for a reception as magnificent as possible of the Northern Queen.[2] On December 19th she was greeted in the name of the Pope [3] near the Villa Olgiati, 9 miles from Rome, by Cardinals Gian Carlo de' Medici and Frederick of Hesse, who had come out to meet her with a large suite. With them the Queen entered a magnificent carriage designed by Bernini and adorned with pictures and golden statues. It was seven o'clock in the evening when, amid the glare of countless torches, she drove through the Porta Pertusa into the Rome of the Cæsars and the Popes.[4] A great crowd, among them many strangers, had flocked together, for the illustrious guest had been anxiously awaited for weeks.[5] As Christine drove into the Vatican through a side door, she laughingly remarked : " This, then, is how one enters Rome incognito." [6]

Though at other times Alexander VII. strictly insisted that no woman should lodge in the Vatican, he nevertheless made an exception on this occasion. Until her public entry Christine was lodged near Torre de' Venti. The Pope had himself

[1] BILDT in *Arch. Rom.*, XXIX., 8 *seqq.*, 32.

[2] See the *report of Tommaso Suidoni, dat. November 13, 1655 (also that of December 6, 1655), State Archives, Modena also **Avviso* of December 18, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch. Riccardi's *report of November 6, 1655, makes it clear that Alexander VII. forbade Olimpia Maidalchini to come to Rome during Christine's stay there.

[3] *Bull.*, XVI., 97.

[4] RICCI, *Vita barocca*, 21, who, like CLARETTA (31) and FRASCHETTI (274), writes *Porta Portese* (in the Trastevere) instead of *Porta Pertusa*.

[5] **Avviso* of November 27, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch. According to an **Avviso* of December 4, 1655 (*ibid.*), Olimpia also wished to come to Rome, but the Pope prevented her.

[6] GUALDO, 189 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *report of the Bolognese envoy Ranucci, dat. December 22, 1655, State Archives, Bologna ; also the *report of T. Suidoni, December 25, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

superintended the decoration of the rooms with great attention and all the delicate taste that distinguished him. That very evening he received the Queen in a private audience lasting half an hour, and on the following morning Christine visited incognito the Vatican art treasures and the library, when she astonished her guides by the extent of her information.[1]

For the solemn entry, which was fixed for December 23rd, a detailed ceremonial had been laid down, and every effort was made with a view to bringing home to the spectators as vividly as possible the triumph which the conversion of the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus meant for the Catholic Church.[2] The streets, houses, and churches, especially St. Peter's, were adorned with costly tapestries towards which the entire nobility had contributed. Since, according to custom, the entry was to start from the Villa of Julius III., the interior gable of the Porta del Popolo had been decorated with particular care. To this day the inscription drawn up by Alexander VII. himself: *Felici faustoque ornata ingressui anno sal. 1655*—"adorned for the happy and prosperous entry in the year 1655," and the six hills surmounted by a star, viz. the arms of the Chigi, recall Christine's splendid triumph.[3] The Queen, escorted by Cardinals, was mounted

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 371 *seqq.*; FRASCHETTI, 274.

[2] Loose sheets entitled: *Ingresso Solenne in Roma della M^tà di Regina di Suezia* (Giov. Jac. de Rossi, 1655), with pictures of the cortège, the Porta del Popolo, St. Peter's, and the illumination of Castel S. Angelo, were distributed.

[3] See, besides GUALDO, 193 *seq.* PALLAVICINO, I., 375 *seq.*, and the reports quoted by GRAUERT, II., 87, the dispatch in CLARETTA, 33 *seqq.*, and FRASCHETTI, 274; the **Giornale* of Neri Corsino in *Cod.* 1206 of the Corsini Lib., Rome; B. LUPARDI, *Vera e distinta relatione della s. cavalcata fatta in Roma nell' ingresso della M^tà di Cristina, etc.*, Roma, 1656. The cost—often greatly exaggerated—(*cf.* GRAUERT, *loc. cit.*), which had to be met by the Apostolic Camera, amounted to 100,000 scudi; see the justification in PALLAVICINO, I., 366 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Cod.* H. II., 40, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Poem in *Vat.* 7487, p. 93 *seq.* Vat. Lib. *Barb.* 2538, p. 101 (*ibid.*), has a "*Epigramma

on a magnificent white horse, but the Romans were somewhat taken aback by her appearance. In her riding habit and with her small stature and rickety figure, her mannish and unbeautiful features, her aquiline nose and her hair cut short, she presented a curious picture. But her proud, bold bearing impressed the beholders. From those big, dark eyes of hers flashed the genius and energy of her famous father. Everyone agreed that she looked more like a man than a woman and this impression was heightened by her resonant, strong voice. At the Porta del Popolo she was greeted by the entire College of Cardinals, after which she was escorted to St. Peter's amid the blare of trumpets and the thunder of the guns of Castel S. Angelo. On entering the magnificently adorned and illuminated basilica, she prayed before the Blessed Sacrament and the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, after which she repaired to the Vatican where the Pope received her in solemn consistory. Two days later he gave her the Sacrament of Confirmation when he allowed her to take the name of Alexandra. On the following day he invited her to his table when the Jesuit Oliva made a short speech and selections of religious music were performed.[1] For a time Christine took up residence in the Palazzo Farnese which the Duke of Parma had put at her disposal.[2]

de Christina Suecorum regina, cum Romam peteret". View of the Porta del Popolo in 1640 in EGGER, *Veduten*, 69.

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 378; Ranucci's *report of December 25, 1655, State Arch., Bologna. The **Avviso* of January 1, 1656 (Papal Sec. Arch.), gives the menu: first a hot dish, then a cold one followed by *persicata*. A detailed account of the journey to Rome and of the first days in Rome is found in "*Racconto istorico del trionfo in Vaticano di Cristina Regina di Suezia", dedicated to Alexander VII. (*Urb* 1681, Vat. Lib.). On the impression made by the Queen *cf.* besides Raggi's account in NERI, *Riv. Europea*, 1878, V., 668, Suidoni's *letter of December 25, 1655, in which we read: "Questa gran signora ha assai del virile. Piccola di statura, fiera e bizarrissima e non molto bella." State Archives, Modena.

[2] NAVENNE, I., 187 *seq.*; *Rev. hist.*, LXXXVI., 7 *seq.*

At her very first reception the majesty of the Vicar of Christ so impressed the Queen that for a moment all her self-possession left her.[1] Alexander VII., too, was deeply moved when he beheld, humbly kneeling at his feet, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, in whose name the Peace of Westphalia, against which he had been obliged to protest as nuncio, had been concluded.[2] In his subsequent interviews with her, the cultured Pontiff was delighted with the wide information, the acute intelligence, and the witty conversation of the Queen. He recognized in her a pure and noble soul who loved what was good precisely because it was good for, as she herself one day assured Pallavicino, she would not do a wrong action even if God did not see it. The Pope was immensely pleased with the vigour with which Christine affirmed her religious convictions; he was thereby strengthened in his hope that the example of this princess, on whom, more than on any other, the eyes of the world were centred just then, would lead to further conversions in the North. As a matter of fact, the Count Palatine Karl August of Sulzbach, as he himself attested, was led to take a similar step by Christine's example.[3]

However, the brilliant qualities of the new convert were bound to increase the anxiety of the Pope on account of a number of defects and peculiarities which to some extent

[1] PALLAVICINO's statement is confirmed by the **Avviso* of December 25, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch., and the Florentine report in GROTTANELLI, 42.

[2] "*Con i suoi modi artifiziosi et humili ha preso talmente l'animo del Papa, che se ne è fatta padrona." Report of T. Suidoni, December 25, 1655, State Arch., Modena.

[3] PALLAVICINO, I., 379 *seqq.*, who is very well informed, since he often saw both the Pope and Christine. On the conversion of the Count Palatine of Sulzbach, see RIEZLER, VII., 34; MENTZ, II., 206; KOLDE, *Beiträge zur bayrisch. Kirchengesch.*, VI., 133. *Cf.* also the *Brief to Christian Augustus of October 6, 1657, *Epist.*, IV.–V., Papal Sec. Arch. In 1660 Gustavus Adolphus, of Baden, a godson of the King of Sweden, also became a Catholic (WEECH, *Badische Gesch.*, 354).

obscured the impression made by the Queen's magnanimous act. He learnt with amazement that both in dress and manners, this woman of genius rode roughshod over all conventions and clung, even in Rome, to the freedom between the sexes which obtained in the Germanic countries; that, in fact, in her conversation with young men she permitted herself remarks and jests which, though clever, were nevertheless unbecoming. But he was even more grieved by her lack of outward devotion, for the Northern amazon relished neither religious conversations nor the reading of pious books, and she was remiss even in her attendance at church, still less would she perform any bodily austerities; as for leading a strictly cloistered life, as Princess Maria, daughter of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who died in Rome in 1656, had done,[1] there never was question of it, though the ascetic on Peter's Chair had probably hoped for something of the kind from Christine. The peculiar conduct of the Queen in religious matters was in part due to her principle that in order to be unalloyed, virtue must avoid every sham, and aim only at the glory of God, not the applause of men. Alexander VII., nevertheless, drew her attention to the fact that she could not neglect all outward practices of religion, though he did so with the utmost caution. He presented her with pious books and endeavoured to convince her that there was much merit in showing one's devotion outwardly, provided it was done for God's glory alone, hence it was more meritorious to say one "Hail Mary" in public than a whole rosary in private. The Queen was at first taken aback but ended by yielding to these exhortations; her attendance at Church became more frequent and she no longer disguised her devotion during Mass, whilst during Lent religious exercises took the place of the conferences of the learned Academy founded by her.[2]

[1] TELLUCINI, *La traslazione delle salme di due Principesse di Savoia dalla chiesa dei SS. XII. Apostoli* in *Miscell. di stor. ital.* 3 series, XIII. (1911).

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 384 *seqq.*; *cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXIX, 162.

Of her other peculiarities,[1] which were due to her upbringing, she was unable to rid herself. Northern rudeness and mannish feeling were so ingrained in her that womanly reserve and caution were unknown to her. The more we study her character the more evident it becomes that she lacked none of the elements that constituted the Renaissance's ideal of woman—the *virago*. But those days were over, and since the triumph of the Catholic reformation much importance was attached in Rome even to outward decorum. That is why the Queen's unheard of disregard of the conventions gave so much offence. To this must be added yet another circumstance. Filled as she was with a profound sense of her royal dignity, she demanded from others the strictest compliance with the ceremonial in her regard, whilst she herself, in consequence of her extremely vivacious nature, was incapable of maintaining the dignified bearing which, at that time, was expected from crowned heads. Hence there were frequent painful scenes. One day she offended a diplomatist, on another a Cardinal, for she knew no self-control. Heedless of consequences, she gave free scope to her ironical moods, and in the same spirit she exercised her mental acumen at the expense of relics and legends reputed sacred ever since the uncritical Middle Ages. When on the occasion of a visit to the Gesù she was not, in her judgment, sufficiently honoured as a Queen, a coolness ensued even towards the Jesuits, though she owed them so much. Every representation on the subject of her free and easy manners and her cavalier ways she met with the answer that people had to take her as she was.[2]

[1] The embassy reports often speak of the "stravaganze della Regina"; *cf.* Riccardi's *letter of May 27, 1656, State Archives, Florence.

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 386; II., 37 *seq.*; CLARETTA, 57 *seqq.*, 65 *seqq.* In an unfortunately undated *note of Pallavicino to Alexander VII. a "disturbio" of the Queen with Cardinal Ludovisi is referred to. Pallavicino reasoned with Christine for an hour and a half: "nel principio la trovai si turbata, che ha pianto dirottamente in mia presenza. L' ho lasciata assai serena." *Cod.*, C. III., 63, p. 31, Chigi Library.

Christine was anxious to enjoy with the utmost freedom the new world into which she entered at Rome in her twenty-ninth year, that is, not only the ecclesiastical functions [1] and the sights of the Eternal City, its churches, sanctuaries, and convents,[2] or acquaintance with works of art as well as with scholars, she was also eager to enjoy everything that this unique centre of contemporary baroque civilization had to offer, such as pompous receptions, plays, concerts, tournaments and masquerades. Roman society, that is the nobility as well as the higher clergy, did all they could to entertain and honour the exalted guest. Christine's pride, which was great enough as it was, could not but grow under the influence of the adulation paid to her with Southern exaggeration. Wherever she appeared she was greeted with inscriptions, speeches and poems. The students of Propaganda were made to address her in twenty-two different languages and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, presented her with a miniature obelisk bearing an inscription in her honour in twenty-three languages. Similar honours were paid to her by the University.[3]

Many medals were likewise struck in her honour.[4] Her portrait and an inscription perpetuate her visit to the Capitol.[5] During the carnival of 1656, interminable festivals were given in her honour. In the courtyard of their palace near Quattro

[1] "*Alla cappella della Candelara (Feb. 2, 1656) la Regina intervenne a vedere tutta la funzione e stette fuori dei cancelli in una trabucca preparatavi a porta." Note of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, Vat. Library.

[2] *Cf.* the Pope's permission for the visit of churches and convents in *Bull.*, XVI., 105 *seqq.*, 108.

[3] See Suidoni's *report of January 22, 1656, State Arch., Modena; the **Avviso* of January 25 and February 5 and 26, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch.; GUALDO, 229; GRAUERT, II., 89 *seq.*; CLARETTA, 35. In *Cod. Regina*, 1463; **Christina Suecorum reginae laudes sive concordia linguarum collegii de Prop. fide*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* the *collection of poems, *ibid. Cod.* 2021.

[4] BILDT, *Les médailles Romaines de Christine de Suède*, Rome, 1908.

[5] GRAUERT. II., 99; BORBONI, Delle statue, 325 *seq.*

Fontane the Barberini staged a masque, which was watched by the Queen and Cardinals Retz, Imperiali, Azzolini, and Borromeo. At this entertainment, of which a painting by Salvatore Rosa may be seen to this day in the aforesaid palace, there were exhibitions of fights between Knights and Amazons, impersonated by Roman nobles, which were the talk of all Rome. In an opera entitled "Human Life", which was likewise given by the Barberini, most enchanting scenes were staged and ballets filled the *entr'actes*. If the performances given by Camillo Pamfili in his palace in the Corso were not more brilliant, they were at least even more flattering, for during one of them a poem on Christine's abdication was recited, of which the Prince himself was the author. At the palace of the French ambassador she witnessed a performance of Corneille's "Héraclius", and at the German College she saw a dramatic representation of the sacrifice of Isaac.[1] But all these entertainments did not distract her from her scientific and artistic pursuits.

In the midst of this surfeit of amusements the Queen found herself in the most painful financial embarrassment. She had never been good at figures. Her finances were in the same brilliant disorder as her domestic establishment. She would no more hear of limiting her great liberality, or her expensive collecting of books and works of art, than of accepting financial assistance.[2] But when, as a result of the war between Poland and Sweden, her apanage was reduced by one-half and further payments became doubtful, on the advice of her anxious friends she induced Charles Gustavus to transfer to her the claims which Sweden imagined she still had on France from the time of the Thirty Years' War. To get these claims honoured she was eventually compelled to journey to France. It is certain that unpleasantness between

[1] CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 451 *seqq.*, 464 (copy of painting by Salv. Rosa); ADEMOLLO, Teatri, 68 *seqq.* *Cf.* also A. CAMETTI, *Cristina di Suezia, l'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma*, in *Nuova Antologia* of October 16, 1911, 641 *seqq.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 380 *seqq.*; II., 38 *seqq.* BILDT, *Christine*, 31, 35, 44, 46 *seq.*

her and the Spanish party was a contributory cause of this decision. The Spaniards were completely disappointed in their hope that Christine would prove a pliant tool with which to influence the Pope; they also resented her relations with the independent Cardinals of Innocent X., more particularly her friendship with the accomplished Cardinal Azzolini and her frequent interviews with the French ambassador, so much so that they spread dishonourable rumours and calumnies about her. To this was added the danger of the plague. But the decisive factor in her departure from Rome, as she herself, with a sense of profound humiliation, had to confess to the Pope, was her financial embarrassment. Notwithstanding a subsidy to the amount of 10,000 scudi from Alexander VII., she was compelled to pawn her jewels. On July 18th, 1656, with tears in her eyes, she left the Eternal City which she had come to love so much.[1]

Paris received her with royal magnificence. Here her acute mind applied itself to the study of political conditions in France and endeavoured to sound the characters of Mazarin, the widowed Queen Anne, and youthful Louis XIV.[2] The real object of her journey, the settling of her financial situation, receded more and more into the background before a political project which had taken shape in her restless mind either during the journey or perhaps even earlier. The scheme was that the French minister, whose country was still at war with Spain, should help her to win the crown of Naples, she herself undertaking in return to adopt a French prince as her successor. Mazarin pretended not to reject her proposal altogether, for it was at any rate calculated to frighten Spain, but he put her off for the time being, whilst in her optimism the Queen imagined that she could rely on the Cardinal's vague promises. As the plague made it impossible for her to return to Rome, she stayed for a time in

[1] GRAUERT, II., 96 *seq.*; CLARETTA, 74 *seq.*; BILDT, 52 *seq.* (instead of June 18 read July 18). The *donativi* to the amount of 10,000 scudi entered in **Cod.* H., II., 40, of Chigi Library.

[2] In BILDT, 55 *seq.*, her masterly description of the political situation (in a later letter to Azzolini).

beautiful Pesaro, at the Governor's palace, where in her own genial fashion she divided her time between worldly pleasures, study, and pious exercises, but above all she pursued with increasing nervousness her fantastic political schemes. Her confidential agents, Monaldeschi and Santinelli, succeeded in obtaining for her from Mazarin considerable sums on account, the knowledge of which she kept even from Azzolini and which she at once squandered on the Neapolitan scheme. In view of the fact that the coldly calculating Mazarin refused to commit himself definitely to her pet scheme, she decided in the summer of 1657 to pay a second visit to the French court.[1]

During this second stay in France the Queen allowed herself to be betrayed into a deplorable mistake. Her chief equerry, Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi, had shamefully abused his mistress' trust by betraying her secrets to the Spaniards. In virtue of her sovereign rights, Christine ordered in cold blood the execution of the traitor. The sentence was carried out on November 10th, 1657, at Fontainebleau.

Monaldeschi's guilt was as clearly established as was the Queen's sovereign right to punish a traitor in her service; hence there can be no question of an assassination. But the punishment implied an excessive stretch of her extra-territorial rights and a lack of consideration for the hospitality of the French court, which were bound to cast a heavy shadow on the Queen,[2] and which sensibly injured her reputation.[3]

[1] PALLAVICINO, II., 44 *seqq.*; GRAUERT, II., 103 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*; BILDT, *Christine*, 62 *seq.*; GROTANELLI (2nd edit.), 159; NEGRI, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXII., 112 *seqq.*, 134 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the thorough, calm account and discussion in GRAUERT, II., 115–142. To the sources used by BILDT (74 *seqq.*) have been added letters of Azzolini and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian. *Cf.* also PICENARDI, *Di Cristina di Suezia*, Pisa, 1889, 10 *seq.*; GROTANELLI, 68 *seq.* In BILDT's view Christine acted as a neurasthenic, from fear of the consequences of Monaldeschi's treason. He, too, says that the deed was "une affreuse tache sur sa mémoire". See also BAIN, 264 *seqq.*, who adopts Leibnitz' view with regard to the Queen's right.

[3] CLARETTA, 109 *seqq.*

Alexander VII. received her coldly on her return to Rome on May 16th, 1658.[1] In other respects also the Queen's situation, especially her financial plight, became very difficult, for the payments from Sweden had ceased altogether. Her secretary, the convert Davison, whom she dispatched to Sweden for the purpose of upholding her claims, was not received by Charles Gustavus, a strict Lutheran. Perhaps an even greater humiliation for Christine was the fact that, in order to live, she was compelled to pawn her silver plate and other valuables, and in the end even her coronation mantle. But these measures did not remedy her impecuniousness because her *maggiordomo*, Francesco Maria Santinelli, was an accomplished scoundrel who, by his intrigue with the widowed Duchess of Ceri, implicated the Queen in unpleasantness with the Pope.[2]

Previous to this Alexander VII. had been greatly annoyed when, on her return, Christine installed herself immediately opposite the Quirinal, the papal residence, in Mazarin's palace (now Palazzo Rospigliosi) in order to promote from there, amid her entourage of Neapolitan emigrants, her project with regard to Naples. The Pope was anxious to avoid trouble with Spain, hence he forbade under pain of death the enlistment of armed men, and for fear of disturbances, or even a *coup de main*, he took various military precautions. Christine indulged in heavy sarcasms on these measures but ended by giving way before the Pope's stern determination. She disbanded her bodyguard, ceased to favour Santinelli's matrimonial plans and ended by dropping the Neapolitan project which had cost her so much money.[3] Cardinal Azzolini was instrumental in re-establishing good relations with Alexander VII. This result was greatly helped by Christine's eagerness for an anti-Turkish league and by her giving up her lodgings in Mazarin's palace. In July, 1659, she went to live

[1] *Cf.* the *notes of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, Vat. Lib.; also the **Avviso* of May 25, 1658, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Pallavicino, II., 234 *seq.*; Bildt, *Christine*, 83 *seqq.*, 86.

[3] Bildt, 88 *seqq.*, 91.

in the Palazzo Riario (now Corsini), on the other side of the Tiber, whither she now transferred her library together with her collection of pictures and her furniture, which had been stored at Antwerp.[1]

It was a further merit of Azzolini that he unmasked Santinelli and thereby brought about his fall. After that he enjoyed the Queen's entire confidence and gained increasing influence over her, an influence which proved exceedingly wholesome. The Cardinal brought about a thorough purge of the Queen's suite from all doubtful characters, put order into her finances and moderated her eccentric nature. However, even he failed to change completely her highly strung character, but at any rate he succeeded in keeping within bounds her faults and extravagances, in fact, he was the only man from whom she would accept counsel and correction.[2] The question whether the friendship between Azzolini and the Queen bore an unlawful character must be answered in the negative. In the many recently discovered letters of Christine to Azzolini we only read of the gratitude, trust, and affection of a much tried woman towards one who had become a disinterested adviser and a faithful friend—of anything else there is not the shadow of proof.[3]

[1] **Avviso* of July 12, 1659, Papal Sec. Arch.; CLARETTA, 137 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*; BILDT, 93 *seqq.* Also BILDT, Svenska Minnen, 100 *seq.*

[2] BILDT, *Christine*, 94, 96.

[3] *Cf.* BUSCHBELL in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIV. (1900), 151, who like DANIELS (*Preuss. Jahrb.*, XCVII, 1899, 64), does not approve the reserve which Bildt adopts on this question as a sceptical man of the world and recalls the fact that RANKE, whose knowledge of human nature was so profound, absolves Christine. For the rest even the scurrilous pamphlet, entitled *Histoire des intrigues galantes de la Reine Christine*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1697), notwithstanding its hostility to Christine and Azzolini, describes the rumours of an amorous intrigue as unfounded. On this *Histoire*, *cf.* GRAUERT, II., VIII., and 366 *seq.*; on the Italian origin of the pamphlet, see BILDT in *Riv. delle Bibliot. e degli Archivi*, 1895; E. DANIELS, *loc. cit.*, 60 *seq.*

Charles Gustavus' death obliged Christine, in July, 1660,[1] to journey to Sweden where she demanded from the regency and the Diet not only a fresh confirmation of the terms of her abdication, but likewise the recognition of her right to the crown in the event of Charles Gustavus' son, then a minor, dying without issue. However, there could be no question of her ever again ascending the throne of Sweden as a Catholic. She was soon to learn by experience how far hatred for the Catholic religion could go in Sweden. The regency denied her, notwithstanding her sovereign and royal dignity, every freedom to practise her religion, though this was granted in Sweden to foreign princes and ambassadors. The first measure against her was to forbid her to have Mass said with open doors at the royal castle, and her chaplain was expelled from the country so that thereafter she was obliged to attend Divine Service at the French Embassy. When she subsequently retired to Norköping, a private property of hers, the ambassador put his chaplain at her service, but the latter was also banished by the regency though he had said Mass behind closed doors. Now that she saw herself robbed of all religious help, Christine was seized with mortal terror lest she should die suddenly without the Sacraments of the Church. The thought became unbearable; accordingly she left Sweden for Hamburg in May, 1661. There her banker, Isaac Texeira, a wealthy Portuguese Jew, put order into her finances. During her stay the Queen did her utmost to obtain the free exercise of their religion for Catholics in Hamburg and Sweden, but all her efforts were in vain.[2]

On June 20th, 1662, she was back in Rome and presented herself at once, in her travelling clothes, before Alexander VII., who received her very graciously. Owing to some time

[1] See **Avviso* of July 24, 1660 (Papal Sec. Arch.), which corrects the inaccurate statements in GRAUERT, II., 156, and BILDT, 100.

[2] GRAUERT, II., 153 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, 177 *seq.*; BILDT, 100 *seqq.*, 104 *seqq.*, 108 *seqq.* A laudatory *Brief to Christine for her efforts on behalf of Catholics in the North, dated March 18, 1662, in *Epist.*, VI.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

having to elapse before the Palazzo Riario could be ready to receive her, she occupied for six months the so-called *Casino*, viz. the garden house in the beautiful park on the Janiculus, from which one enjoys a wonderful view over the Eternal City.[1] To-day the spot is occupied by a monument to Garibaldi.

The next four years Christine spent in Rome, until anxiety for her apanage forced her to undertake a second journey to Sweden [May, 1666].[2] These Roman years were among the happiest of her troubled life: the period of stress and storm was over. She became acclimatized in Rome and ever more and more identified with Roman Society.[3] But her lively spirit was still busy with a plan for helping Venice against the Turks and she threw herself with immense zest into amusements and festivities, especially the entertainments of the Carnival,[4] though the best of her energy was devoted to her old favourite occupation, learning and art. A better management of her finances enabled her once more to give generous support to men of learning and to make considerable additions to her library and her collections of works of art. The philologist, Ezechiel Spanheim, arranged her valuable collection of coins, one of the most outstanding of the period, and in his gratitude for her patronage he dedicated to her his celebrated work on numismatics, an amazing monument of information.[5] To her library, already rich in literary treasures, she was constantly adding further valuable manuscripts and rare books.[6] It was there she received the celebrated

[1] GRAUERT, II., 181; CLARETTA, 153 *seqq.*; BILDT, 111 *seqq.*

[2] **Avviso* of May 29, 1666, Papal Sec. Arch.; GRAUERT, II., 188 *seq.*; BILDT, 254 *seq.*

[3] BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 286.

[4] CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 471 *seqq.*

[5] GRAUERT, II., 182; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXV., 52. On the collection of coins see BILDT, *Médailles*, 20 *seq.*, and D. H. GAEBLER in *Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906. *Cf. Riv. ital. di numismat.*; XX., 2, 336 *seq.*

[6] The Queen's library fell to her sole heir, Cardinal Azzolini, whose nephew bought it for the *Vaticana* in 1689, with the

astronomer Cassini, and the mathematician Vitale Giordani, in whose researches she took as lively an interest as in those of Luke Holstenius, her adviser in all library matters.[1] The work of the mathematician and physician, Giovanni Alfonso Borrelli, on the mechanics of animal motion, which became so important for the development of physiology, was printed at her expense.[2] In accordance with the manners of the period, she likewise dabbled enthusiastically in alchemy and astrology.[3] Among the artists her preferences went to

exception of a part that went into the Papal Secret Archives and another which went to Cardinal Ottoboni, but which was also embodied in the Vatican Library under Benedict XIV. See ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 270 *seqq.*; BLUME, III., 55 *seqq.*; DUDIK, I., 123 *seqq.*; Stevenson, *Cod. graeci Suec.*, Romae, 1888; CARINI, 91 *seqq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, XVI., 505 *seqq.*, XVII., 197 *seqq.*; *Mél. d'arch.*, XVII., 285 *seqq.*, XVIII., 225 *seqq.*, XIX., 85 *seqq.*; DOREZ in *Reo. des biblioth.*, II. (1892), 129 *seqq.*; H. WIESELGREN, *Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek*, Stockholm, 1901; BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 119 *seq.*; ELTON, *Christina of Sweden and her books*, in *Bibliographica*, London, 1895. From H. Grotius' widow she bought the latter's library and MSS.; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLIV., 163.

[1] TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 26 *seq.*; A. STERN, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. des 16 u. 17. Jahrh.*, in RAUMER'S *Taschenbuch*, 1893. *Cf.* MASI, *Cristina di Suezia e la sua corte*, in *Rassegna naz.*, CIX. On the *Avvertimenti di cavalcare* (Pesaro, 1661), compiled by Christine's *scudiero e cavallerizio*, Almerico Emilii, see the edition Nozze, limited to 70 copies, by G. VANZOLINI: *La briglia d'oro di A. Emilii*, Forlì, 1894. On Giordani, *cf. Biogr. universelle*, XVII., 403.

[2] J. PAGEL, *Gesch. der Medizin*, I., Berlin, 1898, 245; *cf.* 241, 257.

[3] BILDT, *Christine*, 131, 388, and *Svenska Minnen*, 161 *seqq.*, 180. MABILLON dedicated to her his work on the Gallican liturgy; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CVI. (1890), 165. On Marchese Massimiliano Palombara, who was known to Christine and who tried to discover the "Philosopher's Stone" to produce gold, and on his magic gate, now in the garden of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome, see *Nuova Antologia*, XLIII. (1895), 527 *seq.*, and the suppl. to *Allg. Zeitung*, 1895, no. 141.

Bernini.[1] Such was her interest in classical antiquity that she herself had excavations made near the tomb of Cecilia Metella.[2] She owned a number of choice antique sculptures as, for instance, besides the well-known group styled " S. Ildefonso ", the statue of a walking Momus, probably modelled on a work by Praxiteles, a remarkable copy of Polycles' athlete in the act of tying the victor's wreath round his head, as well as other valuable statues, busts and reliefs, now preserved at Madrid.[3] The library and the collection of statues were rivalled by the Queen's picture gallery, the basis of which was formed by works from the art gallery of Rudolph II. Here one could admire works by Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Paolo Veronese, Rubens, and other great masters.[4]

Thus her palace on the Lungara constituted a real museum of sculptures, pictures, and other works of art. The sittings of the Academy founded by her in January, 1656,[5] attracted

[1] GRAUERT, II., 182, 210; FRASCHETTI, 276; on the Queen's painters, *cf.* BILDT in *Nineteenth Century*, LVI. (1904), 990 *seq.*

[2] In the Azzolini Archives at Empoli Vecchio I saw an undated *report on this undertaking; the document was bought by the Swedish Government in 1927 for the Royal Archives in Stockholm.

[3] *Cf.* HÜBNER, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, Berlin, 1862, and *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1897–8, III., 346 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* O. GRANBERG, *Kristinas Tafvelgaleri*, Stockholm, 1896, and *La galerie des tableaux de la Reine Christine de Suède ayant appartenu auparavant à l'Empereur Rodolphe II., plus tard aux Ducs d'Orléans*, Stockholm, 1897. *Cf.* WURZBACH in *Kunstchronik*, 1896–7, 490; ANCEL in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1905), 223 *seqq.*; BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 104 *seq.*, and *Queen Christina's Pictures* in *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1901; BÖTTIGER, *Svenska Stalen Samling af vafda tapeten*, Stockholm, 1895.

[5] The statutes of the Academy in CLARETTA (366 *seqq.*), who on p. 46 gives January 29, 1656, as the date of the foundation, but the first session took place on January 24; see the *note of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also the **Avviso* of January 28, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch. A *report on subsequent sessions in *Ottob.* 1744, from which we may quote the following extracts: " Dominica 11 di Novembre, 1674, fu la prima Academia

the choicest minds in Rome, and in general scholars, artists, and musicians were for ever frequenting the house of the learned and art-loving princess. At her brilliant receptions poetical and musical presentations alternated. In spite of her oddities, all who called on her admired her extraordinary memory, her quick intelligence, the frankness and assurance of her answers and her stimulating and spirited conversation.

The Queen's relations with the accomplished Alexander VII. ended by becoming once more excellent. When work on her palace was completed the Pope paid her a first visit on March 19th, 1663. He began by inspecting her splendid picture gallery, after which he studied the magnificent gobelins which had come from Stockholm. He admired these treasures no less than the vast number of sculptures and other artistic

publica degli Academici reali nel Palazzo della Regina" at which Msg. Suarez, N. Maria Pallavicini, Ant. Cottone spoke. "Presenti 18 cardinali e molti prelati e nobiltà."—December 6, 1674: the following spoke: Angelo della Noce, Archbishop of Rossano, P. Cattaneo (*cf.* STEINHUBER, II., 16), P. Vieira. "Presenti 22 cardinali".—1675, January 8. Speakers: Nic. Maria Pallavicini, S.J., Lud. Casale "in difesa di Platone" and Stefano Pignatelli "in difesa di Aristotele". "Presenti 23 cardinali."—1675, February 5. Speakers: L. Casale, Franc. Cameli, and Giov. Alf. Borelli, on the triremes of the ancients. "Presenti 14 cardinali."—1675, February 25. Addresses on astrology: N. M. Pallavicini, Fr. Cameli, Suarez, Archbishop of Rossano, P. Cattaneo, G. A. Borelli, L. Casale, Cottone. "Conclusione del P. Pallavicini."—1675, November 18. Speakers: Stefano Pignatelli, Alb. Gradini "in favore di Scevola", the Archbishop of Rossano against Scevola. "Presenti 14 cardinali."—1675, December 16. Speakers: Silv. Mauri, S.J., *Avvocato* G. B. de Luca. "Presenti 12 cardinali" (Vat. Lib.). RANKE's mistake, who placed the foundation of the Academy in 1680 (III., 67), has already been corrected by E. MEYER (*Om Drottning Kristinas literära verksamket in Italien*, in *Samlaren Tidskrift*, 1884, Stockholm, 1885, 86). MEYER observes (*ibid.*, 88) that Ranke is likewise in error when he says that the Academy served a political aim. On the Academy, *cf.* ZACCAGNINI in Riv. Abruzzese, XIV. (1898), 7.

objects and concluded his visit, connoisseur as he himself was, by inspecting the matchless library.[1]

The favour of so stern and unforgiving a Pope as Alexander VII. in matters touching morality is the best proof that there is no foundation whatever for the unfavourable rumours which the jealousy of Christine's enemies caused them to spread about her conduct. Like other personages in exalted positions, she too did not escape the hateful gossip of a scandalmongering age, all the more so as by her lack of restraint, her inconsiderate frankness and rudeness, she directly challenged public opinion. When one examines carefully the libels written against her, it becomes apparent that it is precisely those who strive their utmost to calumniate her who can least furnish proof of her alleged immorality.[2] Nor are we without positive testimony in her favour. In a most reliable account of the condition of the Roman court at that period it is expressly stated that those who seek to incriminate the conduct of the Queen during her stay in Rome, merely show that they know nothing about it, or they purposely seek to blacken her character against their better knowledge and the plain truth to which millions might bear witness, nor could it be denied that the Queen had been fervent and exemplary in the performance of her religious duties.[3] For all that there were not wanting those who dragged even her piety in the mire. If it had been previously asserted that she had come over to the Church without anterior conviction, the rumour was now spread that she had not kept the Catholic faith.[4] Proofs, however, there are none. If she

[1] BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 130. Christine promptly returned the Pope's visit; *cf. Avviso* of March, 31, 1663, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GRAUERT, II., 366.

[3] *L'état du Siège de Rome*, Cologne, 1707, I., 193 *seq.*

[4] With a view to confuting the rumour spread by the Protestants that she was thinking of returning to Lutheranism, the Queen, on the occasion of her stay at Augsburg in August, 1660, lodged at the Jesuit College there with her entire suite; see DUHR, III, 125. For all that similar rumours reappeared later on.

adopted a sceptical attitude towards medieval legends and relics, the spuriousness of which her acute mind was quick to discern, or if her sincerity caused her to abhor all affected piety, or sharply to criticize certain politicizing court confessors, she merely used her good right. Such dispositions are in no wise in contradiction with a sincerely religious conviction, or with Catholic dogma.

Her want of outward devotion—she talked even during Mass [1]—was due to the great vivaciousness of her character, and when in later years she became more calm, she improved in this respect also.[2] Even the author of one of the most venomous libels against Christine cannot deny that she often heard Mass, regularly received the Sacraments, that she held the Sacrament of Penance in particular esteem and strictly insisted on her servants fulfilling their religious duties.[3] How deeply penetrated she was with the truth of the Catholic faith is shown by her conduct in Sweden, her efforts to obtain liberty for Catholics in Protestant countries to practise their religion, and the assistance she gave to such as returned to the ancient faith.[4] She was therefore fully justified when she declared that the welfare of the Catholic religion lay nearest her heart ; that if she had a thousand lives she would gladly sacrifice them for it.[5] She affirms with the utmost energy that from the time she came to the use of reason she had given no credence to the teachings of Luther and Calvin, and

[1] In this way she gave offence not only in Rome but elsewhere also ; see C. SARDI, *Cristina di Suezia in Lucca nel 1658, Lucca*, 1873.

[2] The Queen, Basadonna, the Venetian ambassador writes, who came to Rome ignorant of Italian customs and but a recent Catholic, is more orderly in her conduct since her return in 1662. She studies much and only frequents intelligent people. When she goes out she mostly visits the churches. Both the Pope and the court hold her in esteem (BERCHET, *Roma*, 286).

[3] *Hist. des intrigues gal.*, 288 *seqq.*

[4] See above p. 69 and GRAUERT, II., 381 *seq.*, 383 *seq.*

[5] ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 464.

that she subsequently embraced the Catholic religion because it appeared to her as the only true one; to Lutheranism she would never go back, even if she had the misfortune to lose the Catholic faith.[1]

In her highly original and characteristic autobiography, which unfortunately only describes her youth, she condemns in the strongest terms the apostasy of Gustavus I. from the Church, and laments in moving words her inability to ascertain whether her illustrious father was perhaps touched, in the very last moment of his life, by a ray of divine grace.[2] This is an important testimony to her Catholic sentiments, for these memoirs reveal "a seriousness, a sincerity, a free and strong mind, that silence calumny".[3] It might be objected that this autobiography was intended for publication and that it often exaggerates.[4] But the same can assuredly not be said of the "Thoughts and Reflections" (*pensées*) which were found among her literary remains and which had been written down solely for her friends. In these notes, which are remarkable for their terseness and vigour of expression, their psychological subtlety and depth of thought, she says among other things: "God makes known His will by one oracle alone, namely the Catholic and Roman Church, outside which there is no salvation. To her decrees we are bound to submit without question or hesitation. God has deigned to communicate authority to the Pope and to the Church, through so many miracles, so many Councils and other extraordinary events, that no reasonable man can doubt the fulfilment of His magnificent promise, namely that He would give her power over hell until the end of time. He has willed that the government of His Church should be a monarchical one; He has communicated His infallibility to the Pope, not to the Councils: the Pope is everything; they are nothing without him. How can a man be a Christian if he is not a

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 130, note.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., 12 *seq.*, 31.
[3] RANKE's opinion (III., 68).
[4] GRAUERT, II., 379.

Catholic ? And how can one be a Catholic if one refuses to the Pope the submission that is due to him ? "[1]

[1] Christine's aphorisms, which she repeatedly revised, were published by ARCKENHOLTZ (IV., 13 *seqq.*), though with many alterations which greatly diminish the originality of the expression. BILDT (*Pensées de Christine reine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1907) has published the original text together with an instructive preface, thus adding to his work for the great Queen.

CHAPTER III.

Relations of Alexander VII. with France and Venice. Defence against the Turks and Dispute with Louis XIV. Last Years of the Pope.

France's leading statesman, Cardinal Mazarin, having done his utmost to prevent the election of Cardinal Chigi, was as embarrassed by the issue of the conclave as he had been in 1644 by the elevation of Innocent X. He did his best to hide his discomfiture from the public, but he lacked sufficient magnanimity to establish good relations with Alexander VII., though the new Pope held out the hand of friendship from the very outset of his pontificate and chose for his advisers men like Rospigliosi and Corrado, whose appointment ought to have breathed confidence into the French Government.[1] That the Pope was no partisan of the

[1] Gérin, I., 62 *seqq.* In *Arm.*, 45, I., 41, p. 84, of the Papal Sec. Arch. I found Alexander VII.'s first autograph *letter (April, 1655), to Louis XIV., which is missing in Gérin. "Providence," we read, "has raised us to the pontificate. No one can be nearer our heart than Your Majesty seeing that in you long-standing merit is united to piety." "Si accrescono a Noi sommamente le speranze di vedere con la publica pace della christianità segnalati i primi anni del suo regno e del Nostro pontificato e rimosse da per tutto e particolarmente d'Italia quell'armi che l'hanno oppressa fin'hora. Questo è l'unico soggetto, al quale chiama V. M. il bisogno della republica christiana afflitta e lacerata per ogni lato dalle guerre et il danno, che ne deriva alla nostra santa religione. E ciò parimente spinge il zelo della carità Nostra paterna, a procurare non solo per mezo de' ministri, ma con la prontezza di portarci Noi medesimi, dovunque sia opportuno, il frutto di quell'opera, che per tanti anni da Noi imprecata nelle negotiationi di Munster ci fece sperimentare frequentemente la bontà e 'l zelo della M. V. grande anco nell'età sua più tenera verso il publico bene." "We shall always have the welfare of your kingdom at heart."

Habsburgs, as was fairly commonly asserted, became evident when he not only declined to receive the Constable Colonna as imperial ambassador,[1] but insisted on the acceptance, as nuncio in Madrid, of Camillo Massimi, who had been refused under Innocent X.[2] Notwithstanding this and other unpleasantnesses, both the German and the Spanish Habsburgs, with true discernment of what was to their advantage, took care to establish good relations with the Holy See.[3] Paris acted otherwise. The royal letter of congratulations to the newly elected Pontiff was so worded as to cause embarrassment to Mazarin's diplomatic agent, Hugues de Lionne ; in fact, it was so lacking in respect that it could not be presented. Lionne was not appointed ambassador, and no *obbedienza* embassy was dispatched.[4] None the less, in connection with the question of Cardinal Retz, who had fled from France to Rome, an affair which Mazarin had very much at heart,[5] Alexander gave proof of the utmost good will, though this was necessarily limited by the dispositions of Canon Law concerning the safeguarding of ecclesiastical immunity. The Pope insisted on the observance of a legal procedure, whilst Mazarin strove to make of the Holy See a docile instrument of his aversion for Retz, his rival and enemy. Blinded as he was by the passion of hatred, the Cardinal minister seems to have seriously imagined that Retz exercised great influence over the Pope, whereas in reality Alexander VII. treated the fugitive, whose restlessness he feared quite as much as his connection with the Jansenists, with great severity. Retz was but rarely received in audience, and notwithstanding his extensive learning, he

[1] See M. A. Colonna's *report to the Emperor, dat. Rome, 1655, February 6. State Archives, Vienna, and PALLAVICINO, I., 256 *seqq*. *Cf. Cod.* E., VI., 205, p. 582 *seqq*. De sectione cadaveris Alexandri VII., Chigi Library.

[2] PALLAVICINO, I., 306 *seqq*.

[3] BERCHET, *Relaz. Roma*, II., 212 *seqq*., 249 *seqq*., 276. *Ibid. Spagna*, II., 288 *seqq*.

[4] GÉRIN, I., 66 *seq*.

[5] *Cf.* XXX., p. 67 *seqq*.

was not invited to join any of the Congregations.[1] The Paris nuncio, Bagno, adopted a no less conciliatory attitude towards Mazarin than the Pope, though the same cannot be said of Lionne's behaviour towards the latter. On one occasion, when Lionne presumed to reproach Alexander with partiality towards Retz, the Pope replied with the countercharge that Paris was being supplied with reports that were not true. These words hit Lionne all the more painfully as he himself keenly resented the unworthy rôle assigned to him by Mazarin, as appears from the envoy's confidential letters to his uncle.[2]

With untiring patience Alexander VII. was for ever on the look-out for new means with which to satisfy Mazarin in the affair of Cardinal Retz. With the consent of the Sacred College he declared his readiness to allow the archbishopric of Paris to be administered, in the name of its lawful occupant, by a Coadjutor Bishop, approved by the King. This was the greatest concession which it was possible for the Holy See to make. Lionne was triumphant, and even Mazarin was satisfied, but the Gallican members of the French hierarchy, in conjunction with the parliamentary opposition and the intrigues of the Jansenists, defeated this peaceable arrangement.[3]

Mazarin's anger now vented itself on the perfectly blameless Pontiff whose exhortations to peace [4] he resented no less than his neutrality and his intervention on behalf of peace with Spain. He was determined to silence the moderating voice of the Holy See. Accordingly he rejected the choice of Rome as the seat of the congress. The affair Retz was an excellent

[1] Pallavicino, II., 62 ; Gérin, I., 68 *seq.*, 80 *seqq.*

[2] Gérin, I., 85, 92 *seq.*

[3] See the detailed, documented account in Gérin, I., 95 *seqq.*

[4] The first *warnings (to the Kings of France and Spain, to Mazarin and Olivares) dat. September 11 (in *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. ; *cf.* Ranucci's *report of September 25, 1655, State Archives, Bologna), were repeated (to both Kings and the Emperor) on August 12, 1656 (*Epist.*, *loc. cit.*).

pretext for intimidating the Pope. In March, 1656, Lionne was recalled.[1]

Even before he had been informed of this step, the Pope had exhorted the Assembly of the French Clergy in Paris, by a Brief dated March 20th, 1656, to give to the King's efforts on behalf of peace the support of their prayers. This action Mazarin described as an interference with affairs of State, against which he lodged a protest. The reply of the Assembly of the Clergy was so offensive that the nuncio refused to forward the document. All the accusations raised in Paris at that time were as false as was the assertion that Retz was the author of the Brief. In point of fact the latter, realizing that it was impossible for him to remain in Rome, was about to leave. When Retz' flight from Italy clearly showed that there was not the slightest ground for suspicion, it looked at one moment as if better relations were about to be established between France and the Holy See.[2] Alexander VII. recalled Bagno. In the late autumn of 1656, Lelio Piccolomini, the choice of whom Louis XIV. approved, was appointed nuncio extraordinary, whilst Carlo Bonelli was accredited to Madrid. Both were instructed to work for the conclusion of peace.[3]

Mazarin, who could not make up his mind to fill the ambassadorial post in Rome, nevertheless maintained there his secret agents, who did not shrink on occasion from rousing

[1] GÉRIN, I., 103 *seqq.*, 114, 138. *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 379 *seqq.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, II., 63 *seqq.*; GÉRIN, I., 139 *seq.* Retz' excuses to Alexander VII. for having left Rome in *Annales de St. Louis*, IV., 373 *seq.*, and X., 264. In 1662 Retz made his peace with Louis XIV.; see GAZIER, *Les dernières années du card. de Retz*, Paris, 1875, 96 *seqq.*; CHANTELAUZE, *Le card. de Retz et sa mission dipl.*, Paris, 1879; COCHIN in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXVIII. (1908), 97 *seqq.*

[3] See the *Briefs to the Kings of France and Spain and the French and Spanish nobles, dat. 1 and 15 November, 1656, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* PALLAVICINO, II., 59 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 154 *seqq.* Oil portrait of Piccolomini in the Palazzo Piccolomini at Pienza.

his resentment against Alexander VII., even by false reports.[1] If at that time the Pope judged the French Cardinal Minister rather more severely, he had the whole Catholic world with him, for Mazarin's alliance with the usurper Cromwell, the Lord Protector,[2] who had expelled the lawful king and persecuted the Catholics, was a grievous scandal. The Cardinal also extended toleration to the Jansenists [3] and with a view to preventing papal intervention in favour of peace, he sought to strike terror into Rome by urging the Dukes of Parma and Modena to attack the States of the Church.[4] Meanwhile, he worked with cunning and tenacity for a peace with Spain which he intended to be the brilliant consummation of his career as a statesman.[5]

Until this time it had been customary for the Holy See, as a Power raised above all national strivings and the mediator between the various peoples, to send its representatives to all peace congresses, in order to co-operate in the settlement of the disputes of princes and peoples Royal absolutism, to which Mazarin did homage as a fanatical defender of the supremacy of the State, would not hear of this, hence Alexander VII. was not invited to send a representative to the Franco-Spanish peace negotiations and he was kept in complete ignorance of their progress, though matters of concern to him would have to be dealt with. On November 7th, 1659, without any participation on his part, the Peace of the Pyrenees was concluded on the Isle of Pheasants, in Bidasoa, which sealed the end of Spain as a great Power in the same way as the Peace of Westphalia had done in the case of

[1] Gérin, I., 155 *seqq.*, on the reports of the Jesuit Duneau. This degenerate religious shamefully abused the confidence of unsuspecting Pallavicino and suggested to Mazarin to seize the papers of the Paris nunciature. Oliva justly insisted on the expulsion of this subject from the Order (Gérin., II, 140).

[2] Brosch, VII., 353 *seqq.*

[3] See below, Ch. V.

[4] Gérin, I., 175.

[5] *Cf.* L. Simeoni, *Francesco d'Este e la politica ital. del Mazzarino*, Bologna, 1922, 200 *seq.*

Germany. The instrument of peace stated that the contracting parties were determined, by themselves alone, to restore peace to Christendom—a clause which was generally interpreted as a rebuke to the Holy See.[1] The Pope's exclusion from a peace on behalf of which he had done so much, made a deep impression and strengthened the Catholic Governments in their absolutist tendencies, for if Mazarin, who as a Cardinal was surely bound to defend the Holy See, could thus set the Pope on one side. why should others seek his advice in political matters ?[2] To this must be added the circumstance that if the Pope was mentioned in the peace treaty, it was solely in order to proffer an accusation against him, for by articles 99 and 100, France and Spain undertook to support the pretensions of the Este to the salt mines of Comacchio, and those of the Farnese to Castro. Charles Colbert was dispatched to Rome for the purpose of pushing this affair, but he accomplished nothing: Alexander VII. explained that Castro was the property of the Roman *Camera* and as such it could not be alienated.[3]

Notwithstanding this slight discomfiture, Mazarin had achieved the main purpose of his life: Germany and Spain were broken and France was the first Power in Europe; everybody, including his bitterest enemies, bowed before the man on whose head his own countrymen had at one time set a price.[4] However, the Cardinal was not long to enjoy his triumph: his life was drawing to its end. Only as he lay dying did the arrest of the French ambassador at Constantinople bring home to him the magnitude of the peril with

[1] See SAGREDO in BERCHET, II., 233.

[2] See in App., No. 5, the *Instruction for the Swiss nuncio Baldeschi of the year 1665, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] GÉRIN, I., 191 *seq.* Colbert's Instruction in HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 41 *seqq.* Louis' *reply, dat. May 16, 1661, in *Epist.*, VI.–VIII, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] "La paix donne une reputation a M. le cardinal parmi ses enemis même au dela de ce qu'on peut s'imaginer," we read in a Roman *Avviso*, in DENIS, I., 333.

which Alexander VII. had dealt with from the first days of his pontificate—the peril threatening from the East.

In the letter in which he thanked the Doge for his congratulations on his elevation, the Pope had promised to help Venice in its struggle for the defence of Crete against the attacks of the Turks,[1] but his exhortations to the Christian Powers to come to the assistance of the Republic [2] met with no response, for Venice itself seemed to show greater eagerness for a fight with the Spaniards than with the Turks.[3] Alexander VII. himself viewed this with great displeasure, hence he made his help dependent on the Signoria's renouncing all such intrigues and preparing in good earnest for war against the Turks. Though the answer was in the affirmative, it was couched in very general terms [4]; this explains how a rumour obtained credence in December 1655, that Venice was about to conclude a most unfavourable peace treaty with the Turks.[5] Happily things did not go so far. But the Pope was unable to send his galleys for the war as they were needed for the protection of the coasts of the Pontifical States against the English. In view of the fact that, for the time being, the exhaustion of the papal exchequer made a money contribution impossible, Alexander VII. suggested the expedient of suppressing a few Venetian monasteries and the confiscation of their property in order to finance the war against the Turks. The Pope judged that such a measure was all the more justifiable as it was to affect only the "Canons of the Holy Ghost" and the "Padri Crociferi", who had caused a good deal of scandal by their irregular and luxurious

[1] See the *Brief to the Doge, of April 24. 1665, in *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See the *Briefs to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, June 5, 1655; also to Genoa, Savoy, Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, June 12, 1655. *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.* Fresh exhortations with *Briefs of December 11, 1655, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Riccardi's *reports of July 17 and 31 and August 28, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

[4] *Cf.* Riccardi's *report of December 4, 1655, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* Riccardi's *report of December 18, 1655, *ibid.*

lives.[1] However, the Canons of the Holy Ghost were practically independent of the Pope and were only subject to the Council of Ten, hence the Signoria hesitated at first to sacrifice them, but in the end necessity overcame every other consideration. In April, 1656, both Orders were suppressed, their members were guaranteed a modest pension and their property assigned to the Republic for the Turkish war ; its sale yielded close on a million ducats.[2]

In addition to the threatening attitude of England, the outbreak of the plague rendered it impossible to make use of the papal galleys, hence the Pope saw to it that at least the fleet of the Knights of Malta came to Venice's assistance. and by promoting peace between France and Spain he sought to win over these two Powers for the Turkish war.[3]

As the Signoria's cries for help became ever more pressing, Alexander VII. judged the moment opportune for securing for himself also some concession on the part of Venice. He had expressed already to the *obbedienza* embassy his wish that the Jesuits, who had been banished from Venice ever since the dispute with Paul V. in 1605,[4] should be allowed to return to the City of the Lagoons.[5] Weighty reasons decided him to make further assistance dependent on this measure.[6] The Jesuits had been banished for their submission

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 407 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XVI., 149, 152, 154. *Cf.* VALIERO, *Guerra di Candia*, Venezia, 1679, 340, 368 *seq.* ; MOLMENTI in *Atti dei Lincei*, 5 series, XXV. (1916–17), 227. After the suppression of the *crociferi* Alexander VII. assigned their church to the *Padri ministri degli infermi* ; see M. ARMELLINI, *Un monumento di Belisario a Roma e la chiesa di S. Maria in Sinodo* (S. Maria in Trivio), Roma, 1891, 7 *seq.*

[3] PALLAVICINO, II., 57 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* our data Vol. XXV., 172 *seq.*

[5] BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Roma, II., 189.

[6] For what follows, *cf.* PALLAVICINO, II., 124 *seqq.*, and from the Venetian point of view VALIERO, 399 *seqq.* ; also MOLMENTI in *Atti dei Lincei*, 5 series, XXV. (1916–17), 229 *seq.* The *Instructions of the Secretary of State to the nuncio in Venice, 1656–8, in *Ottob.* 3262, 3264, 3265 , Vat. Lib. See also Pallavicino's

to the Pope, hence their continued exile was in reality a standing insult to papal authority. Moreover, it was necessary to react against Sarpi's dangerous tendencies which were still operative in Venice, and the return of the Fathers was indispensable for the formation of youth, seeing that a great many Venetians were obliged, with the tacit consent of the Signoria, to send their sons to the Society's educational establishments in Rome, Bologna, Parma, and Gorizia.

The decisive negotiations were conducted in Rome by the Venetian Cardinal Bragadino, and at Venice by the nuncio, Carlo Carafa. They opened in July, 1656,[1] and proved exceedingly difficult. But the Pope remained firm; his Briefs of August 5th and December 23rd, 1656,[2] left no room for doubt on that point. The Senate's decisive discussion took place on January 19th, 1657. After a violent debate, 116 votes were cast in favour of the return of the Jesuits, fifty-three were against it and there were nineteen abstentions, but this concession was only made in the first instance for a period of three years and without restitution of their property. The Pope was informed by special courier on January 25th; the measure was looked upon as a considerable success,[3] and two days later Alexander sent a cordial expression of thanks.[4]

Soon afterwards the papal galleys and 1,000 men were made ready for Dalmatia and permission was given for the raising of 150,000 scudi from Venetian Church property, for the prosecution of the Turkish war.[5] On February 27th, 1657,

*letters to Alexander VII. in *Cod.*, C., III., 63, p. 5, 10, 13, 18, 28, 33, of the Chigi Library, and *ibid.*, C., III., p. 306, 310--12, *documents relative to this matter. *Cf.* MACCHIA, 67 *seqq.*

[1] See the *Brief to Doge Valiero, dat. July 15, 1656, in *Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] PALLAVICINO, II., 139 *seqq.*

[4] *Brief to the Doge and the Republic, dat. January 27, 1657, and beginning with the words: "Ingenti eximioque gaudio," *Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Bull.*, XVI., 258. *Cf.* the *Brief of March 10, 1657, *loc. cit.*; PALLAVICINO, III., 141 *seq.*

Giovanni Bichi, a relative of the Pope, was named commander of the papal fleet. He put to sea on April 14th, and together with the ships of the Knights of Malta, took part in the battles of the Dardanelles, in which the intrepid but rash Venetian admiral Mocenigo met his death (July 19th, 1657). The Venetians now lost for a second time the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos which they had reconquered the year before. They laid the blame for their loss on Bichi, whom they accused of having precipitately left the scene of action, but the admiral succeeded in convincing the Pope that this reproach was unjustified.[1] After that repeated disputes broke out with the Venetians whose exaggerated demands Alexander was unable to meet.[2] During the whole of 1658, though the Pope had increased the number of his galleys,[3] the war reduced itself to a few unimportant skirmishes in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. An attack on the fortress of Canea in Crete, for which the plan was ready, had to be abandoned because of disputes between the Venetians

[1] GUGLIELMOTTI, 167 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 943 *seq.* Bichi's report was published in 1897 by Cugnoni in *Bollet. Senese di stor. patria.* A *" Relazione del combattimento dell' armata Veneta e Turchesca nel canale de' Dardanelli con morte del cap. gen. Mocenigo," in *MSS. Glaub.*, 38, n. 6, of the City Library, Franckfort. On Bichi's return, see the *Avviso* in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 282.

[2] *Cf.* A. CORRER in BERCHET, II., 203 *seqq.* On the Venetians' greed see GÉRIN, I., 266, who justly observes: " Eût-il donné cent fois de plus, le pape n'aurait jamais satisfait l'avare République." This, and the ecclesiastico-political disputes (see below, p. 88, n. 2) explain how it was that the Venetian reports were often most unjust towards Alexander VII. Against CORRER see the critical notes of SCARABELLI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. VI., 393.

[3] GUGLIELMOTTI, 223 *seq.*, and PICCOLOMINI, *Corrispondenza Fra la corte di Roma e l'inquisitore di Malta durante la Guerra di Candia*, 1645-1669. Firenze, 1910, 23 *seqq.* According to the *" Ristretto di quello si è speso per armamento di sette vasselli di guerra Marzo 1658 " the expenses amounted to 108,433 scudi (*Cod.*, H., II., 40, Chigi Library).

and the captains of the papal galleys.[1] In 1659 the Pope once again sent out his galleys, notwithstanding the fact that the ecclesiastical policy of Venice gave him grounds for complaint.[2] This time the operations were somewhat more successful, though they yielded no major result. One of the consequences of the Peace of the Pyrenees was the appearance of a French auxiliary corps of 3,000 men, but owing to bad leadership it achieved nothing in the campaign of 1660.[3] In the autumn of that year the Pope allowed Venice to levy 100,000 scudi from Church property, and to impose a tenth.[4] In 1661 he was obliged to compose a dispute between the Knights of Malta and the Venetians who could not agree on the division of the Turkish galleys captured near the isle of Tinos.[5] Whilst these quarrels scandalized the whole world, an almost complete armistice occurred in Levantine and Cretan waters in consequence of the Turkish attack being diverted against Hungary and Austria.

On May 22nd, 1660, a Turkish army defeated Prince George Rákóczy of Transilvania, not far from Klausenburg. In this struggle Rákóczy was mortally wounded. By the end of August Grosswardein, the key to Hungary, had fallen into the hands of the infidels.[6] A great attack on the Danube

[1] Valiero, 455, 465 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, IV., 945 *seq.* *Cf.* Ademollo in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 287, according to which the expenditure amounted to 111,899 scudi.

[2] Pallavicino, II., 214 *seq.*; Guglielmotti, 253 *seq.* C. Carafa was nuncio in Venice up till September, 1658, his successor being Altoviti; **Registro* of his reports between 1658 and 1666 in the Altieri Archives, Rome (2 vols.). *Cf. Barb.* 5324, p. 225 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. Altoviti's *instructions for his successor (dat. 1666) in *Cod. Strozz.*, 891, State Archives, Florence.

[3] Zinkeisen, IV., 947 *seq.*

[4] *Bull.*, XVI., 597, 600.

[5] Valiero, 518–522; Zinkeisen, IV., 949.

[6] Zinkeisen, 887 *seq.*; Pribram, *Venez. Depeschen*, I., 446 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 118, 131, 136, 139, 143, 172, on the negotiations for Rákóczy's return to the Catholic Church. A great impression was made by the conversion, in October, 1660, of Rákóczy's widow; *cf.* Pribram, I., 508.

region was to be expected for the following years. At the close of 1660 the Emperor sent a special envoy to Rome, with mission to expose the danger to Austria, should the Turks advance further, and to ask for counter-measures.[1] The Pope was prepared to put himself at the head of a league. He instructed all the nuncios to press the princes to help in the struggle against the Turks, and he dispatched appropriate Briefs to all the Catholic heads of States. To the Emperor he promised help even if the plan for a league did not materialize.[2] To raise the necessary money, tenths were imposed upon the clergy of the whole of Italy, with the exception of Venice.[3]

Shortly before Alexander VII. made these promises, Cardinal Mazarin, who had so long guided France's policy, died on March 9th, 1661.[4] Out of the immense wealth which he had amassed he left the Pope 600,000 livres for the Turkish war. In the place of Mazarin, twenty-two years old Louis XIV., a ruler filled with boundless ambition and insatiable lust of glory, the finished type of an absolutist prince, now took the reins of government in his own hands.

The decision whether or no the whole of the Christian West could be mobilized for a joint defensive war against Islam, lay in the hands of this youthful prince, whose preponderant power on the continent of Europe was at that time unquestioned. However, the difficulties raised in Paris

[1] PRIBRAM, I., 525 *seq.*, 535 *seq.*, 542 *seq.*, 544 *seq.*, 550 *seq.*, 584.

[2] *Ibid.*, 580. The *Briefs to the Emperor, to the Kings of France, Spain, and Poland, and to Venice, dat. February 2, 1661, in *Epist.*, VI.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* the *Briefs to the Italian princes, February 8, 1661. *Cf.* **Acta consist.* of February 21, 1661, Vat. Lib.

[3] March 24, 1661; *Bull.*, XVI., 673.

[4] MIGNET, *Mém. hist.*, 481. On the splendid funeral service for Mazarin at SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, *cf.* **Avviso* of April 30, 1661, Papal Sec. Arch. In Card. Carlo Barberini's collection of poems in *Barb.* 2075, p. 292 *seqq*: **musarum lacrymae in funere Iulii card. Mazzarini.*

against the payment of the 600,000 livres left by Mazarin,[1] proved that no great hopes could be set on France. For the negotiations concerning the league, France did not dispatch an ambassador, as became a Power of her rank, but only a very subordinate agent of the name of D'Aubeville, who arrived in the Eternal City on June 12th, 1661. Ostensibly D'Aubeville's mission was to promote the idea of a league, but in reality he was instructed to thwart it.[2] From the first Alexander VII. saw through France's political game which was secretly to rouse the Porte against Austria; accordingly he was not surprised when everything imaginable was done from that quarter in order to prevent the opening of the discussions. When they began at last D'Aubeville obeyed the secret orders of his chief, Lionne, which were that he should prevent a practical decision. In addition to this he did everything in his power to raise controversial questions and to intimidate the Pope: one day it was the affairs of Comacchio and Castro, another the difficulties with Retz, or the Jansenist troubles, that had to serve as a pretext, in fact the French party already threatened with a national council or "worse".[3]

Faithful to his instructions, D'Aubeville maintained, up to the last, the aggressive tone which he had adopted from the beginning of his mission. He displayed a real ingenuity in finding ever fresh matter for complaint against the Pope. The Papal Maestro di Camera, Nini, was fully justified when he said that this diplomatic agent was for ever working against the Pope. Shortly before his departure in the spring of 1662 he still provoked an incident by claiming for himself rights of immunity such as were not enjoyed even by ambassadors.[4] He achieved his purpose all the more easily as the

[1] GÉRIN, I., 225 *seq.*

[2] See the Instruction for D'Aubeville in HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 61 *seq.* *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 227, and BROSCH, *Gesch. aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha, 1899, 91 *seqq.*

[3] See the French reports in GÉRIN, I., 23 *seqq.*, 240.

[4] *Ibid.*, 245, 252.

Emperor likewise hesitated between lust for war and love of peace.[1] The negotiations about the league had dragged on throughout the winter until it was too late for any action that year. Even so Alexander VII. gave proof of his eagerness to fight the Turks. He not only sent out his galleys to assist Venice,[2] but in March, 1662, he granted to the Emperor also a subsidy to the amount of 30,000 thalers, a considerable sum in view of his financial straits.[3] About this time Louis XIV. at last appointed an ambassador to Rome in the person of the Duke of Créqui. This was done in view of the negotiations for an anti-Turkish league on which the Pope had set his heart. When on June 11th, 1662, the Duke of Créqui made his solemn entry into Rome, with a large suite including 200 armed men, eleven years had gone by during which no ambassador had represented the Most Christian King in the capital of the Catholic world. The Pope gave orders for every mark of honour to be bestowed on the ambassador and wrote to thank Louis XIV. for Créqui's appointment.[4]

France's aim in the dispatch of an ambassador to Rome appears clearly from the latter's Instruction and its secret appendix.[5] Every line of that document reveals the apt

[1] PRIBRAM, I., 600, 608, 657. KÖCHER (I., 308 *seq.*), throws light on the way in which Louis XIV. grievously embarrassed the Emperor by a show of zeal for a war against the Turks.

[2] GUGLIELMOTTI, 279 *seq.*

[3] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 575, 730.

[4] See the *Brief of June 5, 1662, in *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 98 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 283 *seqq.* Moüy starts from the fundamental mistake that with the dispatch of Créqui Louis XIV. sincerely sought to bring about an *accord entre la monarchie et le St. Siège* (II., 427), but feels compelled to admit that *qu'il n'avait pas été heureux dans le choix de son agent* (*ibid.*, 422). GÉRIN's information, based on the *Archives des affaires étrangères*, Paris, is far more detailed than Moüy's, hence he throws a fuller light on Louis's policy. Of permanent value, were it only for its documents and other information, is the *Histoire des desmêlés de la cour de France avec la cour de Rome*

pupil of Mazarin who had instilled into the youthful King distrust and hatred for the Holy See, and for its occupant for the time being. These sentiments were chiefly fostered in Louis' *entourage* by Lionne, the head of foreign affairs, who was himself filled with hatred and a desire for revenge on account of the complete failure of his Roman mission.

"Since the Pope had complained of the absence of a French ambassador," the Instruction stated, "the Duke had been appointed in that capacity, but on no account must he breathe a word of excuse or regret because of the prolonged interruption of regular diplomatic relations; all he was to do was to observe that his mission had been delayed by State interests." Créqui was likewise instructed to take, at the very outset, a step which the Pope was bound to resent as an insult; it was this: as the first among all kings, Louis XIV. pretended that Alexander VII.'s secular nephews should be the first to visit the representative of France. In consequence of this pretension the Chigis were unable to take part in Créqui's reception. The new ambassador's authority to conclude an anti-Turkish league with the Pope and the Catholic princes was a mere feint, because in reality Créqui was instructed, as D'Aubeville had been before him, to prevent a decisive step; but he was also told to proceed with such caution that no one should as much as suspect the existence of such an intention. There is no doubt that the negotiations,

au sujet de l'affaire des Corses (1707), by REGNIER DESMARAIS, Créqui's private secretary. Among the MS. collections of writings and documents on the quarrel mention may be made of the following: AIX, Bibl. Méjanes, *Cod.*, 279–280; CAMPELLO (near Spoleto), Campello Archives; FLORENCE, National Lib., *Cod. Capponi*; MUNICH, Staatsbibl., *Cod. ital.*, 808; ROME, Chigi Lib., *Cod.* C., II, 43; Corsini Lib., *Cod.*, 172; Boncompagni Archives, *Cod.* F., 43 and 44; Vallicelliana, M., 14 and 44; Vat. Lib.: *Ottob.* 24, 68, p. 181–345; *Ottob.* 1382 (collection made by Ant. Baruchi), *Ottob.* 2497; *Barb.* 5640 (this rich collection was made by Card. Carlo Barberini); *Barb.* 5635 contains "*Relazione scritta da Msgr. Cesare Rasponi di tutto che è seguito tra Alessandro VII. ed. il re di Francia."

in Rome, in connection with the league, were merely intended to throw a veil over the intrigues in which Louis XIV. was engaged in conjunction with the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, against the Emperor, whom he desired to keep in a state of constant alarm by means of the Turk.[1]

Not only was the Most Christian King a friend of the Turks, he was likewise eager to continue Mazarin's anti-papal policy; Créqui was accordingly instructed to weary the Pope even more than D'Aubeville had done, by supporting the claims of the Farnese and the Este to Castro and Comacchio. Furthermore, he was to demand that only such men should be appointed to the Paris nunciature as were acceptable to the King, for His Majesty could not tolerate that the Pope should keep at the court of Paris "a secret spy of his enemies and those who envied him". On the other hand he was to refuse a promise of similar action in the appointment of French ambassadors. "It is a fortunate thing," the Instruction states in so many words, "that the Most Christian King is not in need of the favour of the Holy See, whereas the Popes are bound to rely on France, since she is the centre of gravity of European policy." Only then should the Holy See be met halfway if, through the nephew, Chigi, it allowed itself to be entangled in the meshes of France's political net. In view of such sentiments Louis XIV. himself felt that Créqui's embassy would be of short duration; accordingly no special residence was hired for him but the Duke of Parma was asked to put the Palazzo Farnese at his disposal.[2]

The Instruction once given, Louis XIV. insisted on its execution, his only concession being the recall of the prohibition that Créqui was not to be the first to pay visit to the secular nephews. The haughty Duke was compelled to comply with this instruction and the nephews were courteous enough not to show any resentment.[3] If Créqui had been obliged to

[1] GÉRIN, I., 284.

[2] GÉRIN, I., 286, n. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 293, 296. RÉGNIER DESMARAIS (*Histoire*, 10), says that the order should either not have been given or not withdrawn.

yield on this point, he soon raised unusual demands in matters of etiquette to which much importance was attached everywhere in those days, especially in Rome. At a solemn function at the Lateran he refused to kneel before the Pope, though requested to do so by the Master of Ceremonies, and when he came for his audiences he demanded that he should be introduced to the Pope at once, without his having to wait even one moment in the antechamber.[1]

Even more alarming than all this were the demands advanced by Créqui with regard to his diplomatic immunity, viz. the so-called "liberty of quarters", which he wanted to extend beyond his palace, "as far as his eye could see."[2] Accordingly he announced that he could not tolerate that the Corsican soldiers of the garrison should march past the Palazzo Farnese. However, this could not be avoided since the barracks of the Corsicans lay between S. Paolino and Trinità de'Pellegrini,[3] so that on their way to the Carceri Nuove in the Via Giulia, the soldiers were obliged to march past at least the back of the Palazzo Farnese. Créqui also protested against some judicial proceedings in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Farnese, but it was pointed out to him that no Frenchman lived in that house. The Pope, it was explained, could only grant exemption from urban jurisdiction to the palaces of the ambassadors, but not to all the houses of the neighbourhood, if he wished to uphold law and order in his capital; otherwise all kinds of adventurers, even notorious criminals, would be able to escape from the hand of justice. However obvious this was, both the French Government and Créqui refused to see it; the whole thing, they declared, was simply a piece of chicanery of the Governor of the City, Cardinal Imperiali.[4] Though Alexander VII. gave proof of the greatest patience

[1] See E. Cappelli, *L'ambasceria del Duca di Créquy alla corte pontificia* (according to documents in the State Archives, Florence), Rocca San Casciano, 1897, 27, 67. Créqui also made special claims in regard to Queen Christine (Bildt, 115).

[2] Cappelli, 28.

[3] See the plan in Moüy, I. (1893), 205 *seq.*

[4] Gérin, I., 303 *seqq.*

in his dealings with the French ambassador, the latter's treatment of the Pope was such that the Paris nuncio felt constrained to point out that this was not the way to obtain further papal concessions. To this Lionne, the head of the foreign department, replied that none were expected ![1]

Great was the delight of that bitter enemy of Alexander VII. when an incident occurred which he could exploit for his own ends.

In consequence of the provocative behaviour of Créqui's suite, there had been repeated conflicts with the Corsican soldiers, and the resentment to which these had given rise led to an explosion on August 20th, 1662.[2] On the evening of that day, near Ponte Sisto, a Corsican soldier was insulted and knocked to the ground by some of the men of Créqui's suite. When news of the incident reached the nearby barracks of the Corsicans, the soldiers became so infuriated by the insult done to their comrade that, deaf to all the appeals of their commanders, they surrounded the Palazzo Farnese and fired at it from every side. The life of Créqui himself, who went to the windows, was in danger ; his wife's carriage was attacked by the infuriated soldiery on her return from church, and one of her pages was killed. The terrified woman fled for safety

[1] *Ibid.*, 307.

[2] *Cf.* the quite objective account of an onlooker which Cappelli (31–3) published from a MS. of the Corsini Library, Rome. Régnier Desmarais' account from the papal point of view (12 *seqq.*) is confirmed by that of Rinuccini, the Florentine ambassador (*cf.* Cappelli, 31). In his furious report to his king, dated August 21, 1662 (*Revue des quest. hist.*, X., 83 *seq.*), Créqui exaggerates what really happened (*cf.* Cappelli, 36, also the documents published by Lucciana in *Bullet. de la Soc. des sciences hist. de la Corse*, VIII. (1888), and Moüy, I., 211 *seq.*, 227, note). Chantelauze's view that the attack on the Farnese palace had been organized by the papal side is incompatible with documentary evidence and has been strikingly refuted by Gérin (I., 333 *seq.*). Cappelli (p. 59 *seqq.*) also opposes Chantelauze and emphatically asserts that the Pope had had nothing to do with the attack. On the Corsicans, *cf.* A. Da Mosto, *Milizie dello Stato Romano dal 1600 al 1697* in *Mem. stor. milit.*, 1914.

to the palace of the patron of French interests, Cardinal Este, on Monte Giordano. However, she was soon able to leave for her own lodgings, for the Governor of the city, Imperiali, and the commandant of the garrison, Mario Chigi, rushed so strong a troop of armed men to the scene that the Corsicans were forced to withdraw from the Palazzo Farnese and its neighbourhood. The incident had undoubtedly been provoked by the French, but the Corsicans had greatly overstepped the limits of lawful defence and grossly violated the privileges of an ambassador. This was at once realized by Alexander VII. and he was prepared to give satisfaction to the King of France. In accordance with the usual procedure of the Curia, he set up not only a special commission for the punishment of the culprits, but likewise a cardinalitial Congregation for the purpose of studying the question of satisfaction. Cardinal Sacchetti, France's candidate at the conclaves of 1644 and 1655, was appointed president of the Congregation whose members included Cardinals Rospigliosi and Azzolini, both well disposed towards France.[1] Thus there was every guarantee that the affair would be impartially and equitably examined and settled to the satisfaction of the French Government.

However, what Créqui wanted was not conciliation but Alexander VII.'s humiliation, and for this end the incident came most opportunely.[2] On August 21st he forbade the French Cardinals to take part in the consistory in which Cardinal Sacchetti made his report on the question of the canonization of the Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, though in doing so he exceeded his powers.[3] It was only with great difficulty that Cardinal Flavio Chigi obtained an audience

[1] DESMARAIS, 20 *seq.*

[2] "Si dichiarò meco, Rinuccini reports, che era desiderabile un simile avvenimento in Roma per si moderare et porre freno agli abusi radicati nel governo di Roma, che convien tarpare il nepotismo et che i cardinali ritornino nel pristino loro credito et autorità" (CAPPELLI, 71).

[3] DESMARAIS, 17; GÉRIN, I., 312; on the consistory see **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.

from the Duke, on August 26th, for the purpose of offering his excuses. Although this step, undertaken by the nephew by order of the Pope, was equivalent to a handsome apology, Créqui remained unsatisfied. Cardinal Chigi also expressed his regrets to the Duchess into whose presence he had only been reluctantly admitted. The transfer of the barracks of the Corsicans to another part of the city, viz. to Capo le Case, and even the offer to remove those troops altogether from Rome failed to satisfy Créqui.[1] On August 21st, Mario Chigi had made a start with the arrest of the culprits and informed Créqui of his intention of punishing them in exemplary fashion. When some of them nevertheless succeeded in escaping, a pressing request was sent to Florence on August 26th for the arrest and extradition of those who had fled thither.[2] On August 29th a reward was promised for the arrest of the culprits who were not even to benefit by the right of sanctuary.[3] When the trial of the prisoners opened, troops were concentrated for the purpose of maintaining order.

In all this Créqui, who knew nothing of Roman ways, saw only deliberate procrastination and ill will. He was especially confirmed in his unwillingness to yield by Alexander VII.'s particular enemy, Cardinal Este.[4] By the latter's advice he pretended that his personal safety was imperilled. Accordingly he concentrated a troop of nearly 1,000 armed men in the Farnese palace, in consequence of which the situation became increasingly threatening. All attempts at mediation by Queen Christine, the Venetian ambassador, and the Cardinal of Arragon proved in vain.[5] Notwithstanding all the Pope's guarantees and the measures taken by him, Créqui persisted in his assertion that his person

[1] DESMARAIS, 22 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 311 *seq.*, 315.

[2] GÉRIN, I., 338, 339.

[3] MOÜY, I., 306 *seqq.* Text of the "Editto di taglia" in CAPPELLI, 95.

[4] *Mém. du card. d'Este*, II., 113 *seqq.* *Cf.* DESMARAIS, 29. On Este, see GÉRIN, II., 282.

[5] DESMARAIS, 28 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 315 *seq.*; BILDT, *Christine*, 119 *seqq.*

was in danger. By the advice of Este he left the Eternal City, on the morning of September 1st, together with his wife and Cardinal Este, to betake himself to Tuscan territory.[1] He was accompanied by only a few persons, himself thereby furnishing proof that he was not personally threatened.[2] Although he had not informed the Pope officially of his departure, Alexander VII. gave orders to all the authorities to facilitate Créqui's journey. From the frontier station of Radicofani Créqui addressed a circular letter to his diplomatic colleagues in which he stated his demands; they were: Imperiali's deposition from the cardinalate and the extradition of Mario Chigi as the "author" of the "attempt" of which he had been the victim, the execution in the Piazza Farnese of fifty Corsicans and their officers (who had had no share in the affair), the banishment of the remaining Corsicans and, lastly, the dispatch to Paris of a Legate for the purpose of presenting the Pope's excuses.[3] It was doubtful whether Louis XIV. would identify himself with these demands. In his reports Créqui had done his best to rouse the young King who was particularly sensitive in all questions of honour, but on the other hand Pallavicino sought to calm him by a very skilful letter,[4] whilst the Paris nuncio earnestly endeavoured to calm excited minds by explaining the true state of affairs. However, in Paris also there were those who worked against the supporters of the Pope. The foreign minister secured a decree ordering the Pope's representative to leave for Meaux where, on the plea of protecting him, he was placed under a

[1] Desmarais, 28 *seq.*; Moüy, I., 307 *seqq.*, 311 *seq.*

[2] Card. Chigi drew attention to this in his letter of September 2, 1662, to Lionne: "Ou il croyait ou il ne croyait pas à la promesse de sécurité qu'il avait reçue du pape: s'il y croyait, quelle nécessité d'avoir un millier d'hommes au palais Farnèse? S'il n'y croyait pas, comment est-il sorti à la face de tout le peuple et des soldats en plein jour avec une suite si peu nombreuse?" (Moüy, I., 314).

[3] Letter of September 6, 1662, in Desmarais, App. 7 *seq.*; Cappelli, 68.

[4] Macchia, 37.

kind of police surveillance.[1] Meanwhile Lionne spread the worst threats in Rome and everywhere. In Germany as well as in Spain, the incident of August 20th was represented as a carefully prepared attempt by the papal party against the French ambassador.[2] In so doing Lionne acted against his better knowledge for through impartial third parties, such as Queen Christine, he knew quite well that the incident had been occasioned by the men of Créqui's suite who, from the first had acted in the most provocative manner. Information from this quarter likewise made it clear to him that it was not for the sake of his personal safety that Créqui had left Rome. However, whilst the Queen's letters were carefully shut up in the Paris archives, the replies to her were broadcast in French and in Italian. These documents, which contained the most violent accusations against Alexander VII., represented the Pope's relatives and Cardinal Imperiali as the authors of the Corsicans' excesses.[3] This was done even though Cardinal Chigi, in a letter to Minister Lionne of August 30th, and the Pope to the King by Briefs of August 28th and September 2nd, had given an accurate account of what had actually happened, had severely condemned the conduct of the Corsicans and denied any intention of giving offence to France. In his second Brief Alexander VII. expressed his regret at Créqui's sudden departure, protested against hostile machinations and made final appeal to the King's prudence and justice. In view of the impossibility of refuting these documents, though a rupture was desired, they remained unanswered.[4]

In a consistory held on September 4th, 1662, Alexander VII. laid these documents before the Cardinals and in a lengthy address explained all that had happened after the awful crime—*immane facinus*—of August 20th up to the moment of Créqui's departure. He stressed the fact that it was his intention to give Louis XIV. as great a satisfaction as possible

[1] Desmarais, 37 *seq.*; Gérin, I., 322 *seqq.*, 327 *seq.*

[2] Gérin, I, 329.

[3] *Ibid.*, 331 *seqq.*

[4] Desmarais, 45 *seq.*, 70, and App. 11 *seq.*

by punishing the culprits according to their deserts. He ended by expressing the hope that the "goodness and justice" of the King of France would cause him to appraise what had happened otherwise than had been done by his representatives.[1] But at this time others besides Lionne were busy at the French court, rousing the susceptibility and pride of the King. By every possible means it was impressed on the young ruler that he should not believe the Pope when he denied his own and his brother Mario's complicity. The publicist, Vittorio Siri, submitted to the King a special memorial on the Pope's breaches of international law for which, in the interest of His Majesty's prestige, public and lasting satisfaction must be exacted.[2] Nevertheless it looked for one moment as if Paris hesitated to push things to extremes when, on September 11th, news arrived that Créqui had been obliged to leave Rome. This set Lionne going.[3] A whole series of violent measures ensued with the aim of humiliating and intimidating the Pope. A lieutenant of the royal guards was dispatched to Meaux, where the nuncio was detained, to communicate to him the order to leave the kingdom without a moment's delay, and because it was feared that by publishing the papal Briefs, Piccolomini might reveal the true state of affairs, he was not even allowed to return to Paris for the purpose of winding up the nunciature, on the contrary, he was taken at once, as quickly as possible, and like a prisoner, to the frontier of Savoy by way of Lyons.[4] "Even many Frenchmen condemned this act of violence," the envoy of Savoy wrote on September 12th, 1662.[5] Créqui did not seem quite sure of the King, hence he continued to stir up the monarch's feelings. Never, he explained, had occasion been

[1] **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* DESMARAIS, App. 3 *seq.*

[2] See the letter of the Florentine Resident in France, Marucelli, of September 1, 1662, in CAPPELLI, 70.

[3] See Marucelli's report of September 12, 1662, in CAPPELLI, 72. *Cf.* Piccolomini's dispatch in GÉRIN, I., 349, note.

[4] See Piccolomini's report of September 14, 1662, in GÉRIN, I., 349, note, and the Florentine reports in CAPPELLI, 72.

[5] CAPPELLI, 72.

more favourable to humble the Holy See; Rome would only be impressed by an imposing use of force. He accordingly suggested to the King that to this end he himself should be given the command of the troops which it was intended to dispatch to Italy.[1] Even before Créqui's letter was received in Paris, D'Aubeville had been ordered to proceed to Parma and Modena for the purpose of rousing the Farnese and the Este against the Pope. The French ambassador at Madrid had been instructed to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to obtain, in France's interest, the execution of articles 99 and 100 of the Peace of the Pyrenees.[2]

Whilst the populace of Paris was being stirred up by a public manifestation in connection with the attempt on Créqui [3] and by the publication of divers pamphlets,[4] preparations were being made for depriving the Pope of Avignon.[5]

The French Government rejected every attempt at mediation on the part of Parma and the aunt of the King of France, the Duchess-Regent of Savoy. If the Briefs of August 28th and September 2nd had not been answered by the King, a third Brief, dated September 12th, was not even accepted! In it the Pope once more protested, in the strongest terms, that neither he nor his advisers had had a hand in the attempt of August 20th; at the same time he deplored Créqui's unjustifiable departure and protested against the expulsion

[1] GÉRIN, I., 350 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 351 *seq.* On articles 90 and 100, see above p. 83.

[3] See Marucelli's report of September 15, 1662, in CAPPELLI.

[4] In Flèchier's *Plainte de la France à Rome*, wrongly ascribed to Corneille, we find the following apostrophe to the Pope:—

Par un attentat et lâche et criminel
Tu fais de ses faveurs un mépris solennel.
On voit régner le crime avec la violence
Où doit régner la paix avecque le silence.
On voit les assassins courir avec ardeur
Jusqu'au palais sacré de mon ambassadeur,
Porter de tous côtés leur fureur vagabonde
Et violer les droits les plus sacrés du monde.

Œuvres de CORNEILLE (ed. Hachette), X., app. 367.

[5] GÉRIN, I., 354 *seq.* *Cf.* CAPPELLI, 91 *seq.*

of the nuncio.[1] In view of that incident the Supreme Head of the Church had every reason to protest to the Tuscan ambassador that it was not he, but the King, who had infringed the common law.[2] Nevertheless Alexander VII. observed the greatest moderation when, in a consistory of September 25th, he protested against the treatment of his representative in France.[3] Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, in a letter dated September 18th, 1662,[4] and approved by the Pope, also sought to exercise a moderating influence on the King.

To what length Alexander VII. carried his love of peace, appears from the fact that in October he declared his readiness, through his plenipotentiary Rasponi, to agree to a large part of the French demands by consenting to fresh negotiations concerning Castro and Comacchio, to sending Chigi to France as Cardinal Legate for the purpose of making his excuses to the King and to disbanding the Corsican troops.[5] The latter concession was all the more remarkable as the recently concluded trial of the men involved in the attempt of August 20th had clearly shown the utter baselessness of Créqui's accusations; not the slightest proof could be found of the attack having been either prepared or ordered.[6] Moreover, those Corsicans who had gone too far in defending themselves, had been severely punished; two of them had even been executed. Heedless of these facts, Créqui insisted on compliance with all his demands, some of which, such as those concerning Castro and Comacchio, had nothing whatever to do with the personal satisfaction claimed by the Duke.[7]

[1] Desmarais, App. 69 *seq.*; Gérin, I., 359 *seq.*

[2] Cappelli, 69.

[3] See **Acta consist., Barb., loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* Desmarais, App. 71 *seq.*

[4] Macchia, 71 *seq.*

[5] Gérin, I., 365 *seq.*

[6] See Moüy, I., 479, who justly emphasizes the great importance of this result.

[7] In spite of his admiration for Louis XIV., Moüy, as an old diplomatist, severely condemns this conduct: instead of strictly limiting itself to the satisfaction to which it was entitled, "le

In particular he insisted on the deposition of Cardinal Imperiali. This the Pope could not concede though he yielded, to the extent of removing Imperiali from Rome by appointing him Legate of the Marches.[1] When even this measure failed to satisfy the French, Alexander VII. proposed that Imperiali should repair to his native city of Genoa and from there go to Paris for the purpose of justifying himself, should such a course be agreeable to Louis XIV. This plan also was rejected by Créqui: he demanded Imperiali's banishment.[2] In a consistory held on December 11th,[3] twenty-four out of the thirty Cardinals present declared that it was impossible to comply with this demand.[4] Thereupon Créqui broke off all negotiations and took boat for Toulon on December 24th.[5]

Meanwhile the French Government did everything in its power to isolate the Pope. It sought the help of the clergy of France, but only a few of its members, such as Cardinal Grimaldi, Archbishop of Aix, Ondedei, Bishop of Fréjus, declared themselves in favour of Créqui. These two Italians were joined by a Frenchman, Cardinal Retz, who now made his peace with Lionne.[6]

Louis XIV. was particularly anxious to win over to his side Philip IV. of Spain, for, since warlike measures against the Pope had been decided upon, it was necessary to obtain Spain's leave to march through Milan. The King of Spain

cabinet du Louvre . . . entame une suite de négociations étrangères à l'object unique qu'il avait à poursuivre, mêle l'insignifiante question de Castro et Comacchio à ses demandes légitimes, augmente par des réclamations inopportunes les difficultés de l'affaire" (II., 423). A very complete collection of the *documents on the affair of Castro and Ronciglione in *Cod.*, II., 28–36, of the Chigi Library.

[1] See **Acta consist.* on the *congregatio generalis*, of November 3, 1662, Vat. Lib.

[2] GÉRIN, I, 387 *seq.*

[3] In **Ottob.* 1061, p. 277 *seq.* (Vat. Lib.), we read November 11.

[4] See **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*; GÉRIN, I., 387 *seq.*

[5] He reached Fontainebleau on February 2, 1663, and was very graciously received by Louis XIV.; GÉRIN, I., 389 *seqq.*

[6] GÉRIN, I., 371 *seqq.*

had offered his mediation to the Pope,[1] for he was by no means completely on France's side, but by means of a threat of war, Madrid was at last coerced into allowing the passage through the Duchy, nor was Venice able to withstand a similar threat in view of the pressure of the Turks. On the other hand, Louis could get nothing from the Swiss whose help Alexander VII. had invoked. The Swiss saw through Louis XIV.'s hypocrisy when he assured the Catholic Cantons that he was very far from wishing to attack the Holy See; that, on the contrary, he was prepared to shed his blood in its defence—as if there could be a distinction between the Holy See and its occupant!

From Genoa Louis XIV. extorted the banishment of Cardinal Imperiali and his family, and from Florence the promise of a passage for France's troops.[2] Thus nothing was left to the Pope except a faint hope of assistance by the Emperor. The latter's relations with France were strained and he openly expressed his condemnation of Louis XIV.'s arrogant attitude towards the Head of the Church. However, Leopold I. was threatened by the Turks so that the only thing the nuncio in Vienna was able to obtain was leave for the Pope to enlist troops in the Empire and, though secretly, even in the Hereditary States.[3] The ecclesiastical Electors to whom the Holy See likewise appealed, saw that right was on the Pope's side, but they were afraid to go against their powerful patron in Paris, hence their advice was to yield to force as

[1] Alexander VII. accepted the offer and thanked Philip IV. in a *Brief of November 15, 1662, *Epist.*, VI.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GÉRIN, I., 390, who published in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, X. (1871), 129 *seq.*, the above-mentioned letter of Louis XIV. to the Swiss Catholics of February 27, 1663.

[3] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 573, 746, 748 *seq.*, 750 *seq.*, 754. The *Brief to the Emperor appealing for help, like those addressed to Philip IV. and the Swiss, is dated January 20, 1663 (*Epist.*, VI.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). In August, 1663, a second appeal for help was made to Vienna, but in vain (LEVINSON, 758).

quickly as possible.[1] Many persons in the Pope's *entourage* expressed similar opinions.[2]

In point of fact, the means of defence which the weak States of the Church disposed of were so out of proportion with France's overwhelming military power that Alexander VII. made a last attempt to negotiate, but the effort failed owing to the French demand for the unconditional cession of Castro.[3] Whilst the negotiations were still in progress, Louis XIV., basing his action on a resolution of the Parliament of Aix, decreed the incorporation of Avignon in the domains of the Kings of France as inalienable Provençal crown property. The papal Vice-Legate was escorted over the frontier by armed force, as had been done for the nuncio.[4] The Pope's protest was universally regarded as fully justified, but with wise moderation the Pontiff refrained from pronouncing the penalty of excommunication, though such a step would have been abundantly justified.[5]

The annexation of Avignon was but a prelude to further acts of violence. A French army of over 20,000 seasoned

[1] MENTZ, II., 188, 191 *seq.*

[2] To this belongs the " *Consiglio politico dato al P. Alessandro VII. sopra la presa dello stato d'Avignone " in *Cod.* 1776, of the Bibl. Communale of Trent. On the other hand a " *Discorso della guerra che si teme possa haver N.S. col Re di Francia fatto dal Marchese Negrelli senatore di Roma " says that the Pope would be able to defend himself successfully against the French, that " natione superba et hoggidì vittoriosa per tutto " (Collection of writings on the quarrel between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV., III., 3, p. 65 *seq.* Papal Sec. Arch.).

[3] See **Acta consist.* of July 30 and August 13, 1663, Vat. Lib.; GÉRIN, I., 422. On Alexander's defensive measures see P. COLONNA, *Fr. Massimo e i suoi tempi*, Roma, 1911, 18 *seqq.*

[4] P. CHARPENNE, *Hist. des réunions temporaires d'Avignon et du comtat Venaissin à la France*, I., Paris, 1886, 14 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 441 *seq.*; MOÜY, II., 197 *seqq.*, 200 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *Collection of writings in *Cod.* C., III., 49, 50, 53, of the Chigi Library.

[5] **Acta consist.*, August 13, 1663, Vat. Libr. *Cf. Bull.*, XVII., 175 *seqq.*; MOÜY, II., 204 *seq.*, 206.

soldiers was put on a war footing with a view to an advance against the States of the Church.[1] The Pope who, on the strength of false information, had disbanded his troops, on hearing that the French had invaded Italy, commanded that Rome should be put in a state of defence.[2] However, it would have been foolhardy to allow things to come to a real fight. The Sacred College, with which the Pope maintained close contact during the entire conflict, counselled him to yield. Thus was the defenceless Head of the Church compelled to submit unconditionally to the harsh demands of a potentate who styled himself the Most Christian King whilst for lack of legitimate claims, he brought pressure to bear on the Father of all Christians with his bayonets.

An inscription on the façade of the Casa Scorzi at Pisa recalls to this day that there, on February 12th, 1664, through the mediation of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, "peace" was signed between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. by the plenipotentiaries of the Pope and the King, Cesare Rasponi and the Abbé Bourlemont. By the terms of the treaty the Pope's brother, Mario, was compelled to publish a declaration on the attempt of August 20th which injured his honour, and to keep away from Rome until such time as his son, Cardinal Flavio, should have presented his excuses, as papal Legate to the King of France. Only when this was done would Avignon be restored. The Chigi were forced to offer humble apologies to Créqui and Cardinal Imperiali was compelled to justify himself before Louis XIV. Castro was to revert to the Duke of Parma in return for the payment of the debts with which it was encumbered and the Duke of Modena was to be given compensation for Comacchio. The captain of the Roman police was to be banished, the Corsicans were never again to be taken into the service of the Holy See, whilst on the other hand the Avignon insurgents and the unworthy Cardinal Maidalchini were to be granted an amnesty. A pyramid was to be erected in front of the barracks

[1] GÉRIN, I., 460 *seq.*

[2] **Acta consist.*, November 26, 1663, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MOÜY, II., 227 *seq.*

of the Corsicans, with an inscription stating that by reason of their "crime" against Créqui, the Corsicans would be for ever ineligible for the service of the Holy See.[1]

We may well ask ourselves whether a Gregory VII. or an Alexander III. would have submitted to conditions so humiliating. To do Alexander VII. justice it is necessary to take into account the altered conditions. The religious unity of Europe had been destroyed, whilst a large proportion of Germany and Holland, England and the Scandinavian States were bitterly hostile to the Papacy. All the Catholic Powers, with the exception of France, were weakened, whilst the Turkish menace prevented both Venice and the Emperor from lending any help whatever. On the other hand, France's youthful ruler, who disposed of a standing army which, for that time, may be described as vast, as well as of immense pecuniary resources, showed not only to the Holy See, but to all the Powers, that he considered himself as the ruler of Europe. By threatening war he compelled his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain, to grant precedence to the French ambassador. In like manner Charles II. of England was forced to yield to the demand that when his ships met the French, they were to fire the first salute. As for Italy, not only the ruler of the States of the Church, but everyone who still called a piece of ground his own, was terrorized by the domineering attitude of Louis XIV. How everyone trembled at a frown of the potentate of Versailles is shown by the fact that no one dared to give hospitality to Cardinal Imperiali, and Venice and Mantua as well as the Spanish Governor of Milan would not even allow the Cardinal's brother to remain within their respective territories.[2]

On February 18th, 1664, in a secret Bull, the Pope put on record the fact that brute force alone and the necessity of avoiding war in Italy, because of the peril threatening from the Turks, had compelled him to agree to the humiliating

[1] *Traité de Pise*, Paris, 1664; DESMARAIS, App. 145. *Ibid.* Alexander VII.'s Brief of April 26, 1664, on Mario Chigi's declaration.

[2] CHANTELAUZE, *Card. de Retz*, 103; BROSCH, II., 432.

conditions[1] which called forth the sneers of his enemies.[2] The brutality of Louis XIV.'s conduct can only be fully realized when it is borne in mind that the incident of August 20th was simply a skilfully chosen pretext to humiliate the Holy See, for documentary evidence in the Paris Archives shows that neither the King nor his advisers believed for one moment the truth of their allegations against Alexander VII. and his Government, that, on the contrary, they knew perfectly well that the Pope could not be held responsible for the attack on the palace of the ambassador.[3]

In order to attenuate the painful impression which France's action towards the Supreme Head of the Church could not fail to create in the Catholic world, Louis XIV. suddenly manifested an unexpected willingness to join in a crusade against the Turks. In the summer of 1663 the Ottomans, using Belgrade as their base, had launched an attack against Hungary. So great was the peril that Vienna was being fortified.[4] Both Leopold I. and the Sultan were arming feverishly. The Pope, whose resources had been exhausted by the measures he had been obliged to take in defending himself against Louis XIV.,[5] authorized the Viennese nuncio, Carafa,

[1] DAUNOU, *Sur la puissance temporelle des Papes*, II.[2], Paris, 1878, 172 *seqq.* MOÜY (II., 290 *seqq.*) could recently question the authenticity of the Bull of protest only because he did not know of Daunou's book who found the document in the Papal Secret Archives. GÉRIN (I., 496) also believes in the authenticity of the Bull and observes (473) that even Louis XIV. admitted "qu' Alexandre VII. n'y [the Treaty of Pisa] a consenti que 'le poignard à la gorge' et la bulle du 18 février contient la vérité absolue en fait comme en droit".

[2] *Cf.* *Le risate sopra la pace di Pisa (Dialogue between Pasquino and Abbate Luigi) in *Barb.* 5684, p. 1 *seqq.* Vat. Lib. See also **Discorso fatto in Parnasso* (between Pasquino and Marforio) in *Ottob.* 2332, p. 1 *seqq.*, *ibid.* *More satires in *Cod.* 34 C., 20, of the Corsini Library.

[3] See the proof in the papers of the Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris, in GÉRIN, I., 471 *seqq.*

[4] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 755.

[5] In the protest Bull (see above, n. 1), Alexander VII. puts

to alienate the gold and silver of the churches throughout the Emperor's hereditary States, a measure which yielded 100,000 scudi. He also dispatched war material and a body of armed men.[1] To everybody's amazement Louis XIV. detached 7,000 men from the troops with which he meant to fight the Pope to lend them to the Emperor, but for fear of provoking the Turks he did this solely as a member of the Federation of the Rhine; moreover, he informed Constantinople with the utmost secrecy that he had been coerced into lending this assistance.[2] On August 1st, 1664, the French fought with their wonted bravery in the decisive battle on the Raab, near the Cistercian monastery of St. Gothard. However, this brilliant victory was quickly followed by the peace of Vasvár (August 10th), simply because the Emperor could not feel sure that the Empire would continue to help him, whilst he knew that he could rely even less on France's assistance.[3] He cannot be blamed for his action since Louis XIV., so far from wishing to sever a long established connection with the Porte, meditated very different plans.

his expenditure at roughly two millions. Fuller *data in *Cod.* H., II., 40, of the Chigi Library, Rome: "La spesa fatta dalli 20 agosto 1662 per la soldatesca di leva nel passato armamento e pagata per essa a tutto settembre 1664, non compresa quella che era solita tenersi, è importata scudi un millione e otto cento diciotto mila nove cento cinquanta cinque. Non si comprende nella suddetta spesa quello che le comunità di Bologna e Ferrara pretendono sborsato per fieni et utensili che dice Ferrara importare scudi 54,000." Bologna's expenditure was probably no less a sum.

[1] *Bull.*, XVII., 229; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 757, 759, 761, 766, 768, 771, 776. The magnificent chest presented by Alexander VII. to the Emperor shows many allusions to the Emperor Constantine which are likewise allusions to Leopold I.'s war against the Turks. The chest is now in the collection of the Imperial House of Austria; see catalogue, p. 205 *seq.*

[2] IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 51.

[3] ZINKEISEN, IV., 929 *seq.*; ERDMANNSDÖRFFER, I., 360 *seq.*; *Mitteil. des Österr. Instituts*, X., 443 *seq.*; MENTZ, I., 111; RIETZLER, VII., 60 *seq.*

Above all, by means of the Federation of the Rhine, he meant to meddle with the internal affairs of Germany even more than in the past. Already during the Turkish war, whilst the valour of his soldiers caused him to appear as a champion of Christendom, his officers were instructed to spy out Leopold I.'s resources and the tactics of the imperial troops.[1]

Alexander saw through the French King's game though the Abbé Bourlemont, on his return to the Eternal City, assured him that the zeal of the King of France for the service and welfare of religion was without parallel.[2]

Firmly resolved to let bygones be bygones as much as possible,[3] the Pope did his best to carry out promptly and loyally the treaty of Pisa. The attachment of Castro to the *Camera* was revoked at once,[4] the declaration to be made by Mario Chigi drawn up, the amnesty for Cardinal Maidalchini and those who had taken part in the insurrection of Avignon issued,[5] and Flavio Chigi appointed Legate in France.[6] Chigi's credentials addressed to the French royal couple, were couched in the friendliest terms,[7] for the Pope feared that an attempt might be made to humble his representative still further by receiving him badly. As a matter of fact, just then everything was done on the French side to confirm the aged and ailing Pontiff in this fear, and no occasion was missed of showing disregard for him.[8] However, the one thing that must have grieved the Head of the Church more than anything else was the circumstance that a pyramid had to be

[1] Rousset, Louvois, I., 37 *seqq.* *Cf.* also the reports in Gérin, I., 476, 556.

[2] Gérin, I., 491, 557.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] **Acta consist.*, February 18, 1664, Vat. Lib.

[5] *Bull.*, XVII., 253–4; *ibid.*, 262, for Cardinal Maidalchini's absolution which was also extorted at Pisa.

[6] Nomination on March 24 and handing of the legatine cross on April 28, 1664 (**Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.). Gérin (I., 499), must be corrected accordingly.

[7] **Epist.*, IX.–X, Papal Sec. Arch.

[8] Gérin, I., 468, 483 *seqq.*, 497.

erected in his own capital for the purpose of perpetuating his humiliation. A curious light is thrown on the mentality of the French by the fact that they saw to it that the inscription was in the biggest letters possible and that by bribing the papal architects, they persuaded them to make the monument as solid as possible.[1] Not content with this, Louis XIV. had medals struck in Paris to celebrate his "victory" over a defenceless priest and a monument was erected in the Place des Victoires.[2] However, it was soon seen that Louis's victory had been a Pyrrhic one. The King had to pay a heavy price for the satisfaction of receiving at the hands of a specially appointed Cardinal Legate, excuses which the Pope had been prepared to offer from the beginning, for the Legate insisted with grim determination on his being accorded all the honours due to his position, so that his stay in France singularly contributed to enhance the high idea people had of the power of the Holy See.[3]

The Cardinal Legate left the Eternal City on April 23rd, 1664. He embarked at Civitavecchia for Marseilles and arrived at Lyons on May 29th.[4] The Pope had spared no expense [5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 493. The pyramid was only removed on May 31, 1668. Reproductions of it were widely distributed from France (*cf.* JUNG, *La France et Rome*, Paris, 1874, 180). Reproduction of the 40 ft. high monument in DESMARAIS.

[2] MOÜY (II., 424), justly stresses this.

[3] GÉRIN, I., 482, note.

[4] The main sources for Chigi's legation are his **Registratio*, copy in *Cod.* E., II., 35, of the Chigi Lib., and the **Diario* of his companion, Baldini, *ibid.*, E., II., 38, more fully in the Chigi's private Archives at Ariccia. *Cf.* GÉRIN, I., 499 *seqq.* (departure erroneously given as May 5); MOÜY, II., 307 *seqq.*, 310 *seqq.*, and in *La nouvelle Revue*, LXXVIII.–LXXIX. (1892–3); GUGLIELMOTTI, 291; RODOCANACHI in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1894; CL. COCHIN, *Une épisode de la légation*, etc., in *Bullet. de la Soc. d'hist. de Corbeille-Étampes*, 1911. A *poem addressed to Chigi on the peace between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. in *Barb.* 3885, p. 119 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

[5] According to *Cod.* H., II., of the Chigi Library the "spesa d. legatione di Francia" amounted to "scudi 200,000 in circa".

to provide him with a numerous and brilliant suite. The Legate's dignified bearing created a profound impression. The enthusiasm with which the good Catholic people of France received him, was resented at court quite as much as the Legate's great reserve. Accordingly, the Government sought to ascertain his intentions by opening his correspondence ! [1]

When Chigi at last threw aside his reserve, he discovered that he would only be allowed to make a solemn entry into Paris in return for papal concessions in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere. He declined such bargaining. In view of the difficulties made on points of etiquette, he announced that he would forgo a solemn entry into Paris and, in keeping with the terms of the treaty of Pisa, confine himself to a visit to the King. This firm attitude produced its effect ; the French Government yielded all along the line.[2] On July 3rd Chigi had a most gracious private audience with the King at Fontainebleau, and on July 29th, in accordance with the treaty of Pisa, the solemn audience took place at which he made excuses for the incidents of August 20th in the exact terms agreed upon at Pisa.[3] On August 9th the Legate made

Chigi's *Maestro di casa*, Giuseppe Sellori, according to his "*Ristretto delle spese d. legatione" only disbursed 4,375 scudi (Private Archives of the Chigi at Ariccia).

[1] GÉRIN, I., 503 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 505 *seqq.*

[3] "Sire, Sa Sainteté a ressenti avec une très grande douleur les malheureux accidents qui sont arrivés, et les sujets de mécontentement que Votre Majesté en a eus lui ont causé le plus sensible déplaisir qu'Elle fût capable de recevoir : je l'assure que ce n'a jamais été la pensée ni l'intention de Sa Sainteté que Votre Majesté fut offensée ni M. le duc de Créqui, son ambassadeur. . . . En mon particulier, j'atteste à Votre Majesté . . . la joie que j'ai de voir cette entrée ouverte pour faire connaître par les plus soumises et sincères actions de mon obéissance, quelle est la vénération que j'ai, et toute ma maison aussi, pour le nom glorieux de Votre Majesté . . . combien les accidents arrivés à Rome ont été éloignés de nos sentiments, et avec quelle amertume j'ai appris que moi et ma maison ayons été en cela chargés

his solemn entry into Paris, although the Parliament of Paris had raised some petty objections against his doing so.[1] Cardinal Imperiali, the injustice of whose condemnation was recognized too late, was also graciously received, but for the time being the Pope's new representative, nuncio Carlo Roberto de' Vettori, was only received as nuncio extraordinary.[2] The restoration of Avignon took place in July.[3]

During Chigi's return journey to Rome, where he arrived on October 9th,[4] the French Government was not sparing of its attentions, but the Legate remained as silent and reserved as before: the papal concessions which Louis XIV. had expected were not granted.[5] The Pope and his representative did not allow themselves to be deceived by outward appearances, all the more so as the conduct of the Duke of Créqui, who since May 31st, 1664, was once more in Rome as ambassador, made it only too evident that even now the French Government had no desire to be on good terms with the Holy See. Nevertheless, as soon as peace had been made with Louis XIV., Madrid began to fear that in future Alexander VII.

d'imputations sinistres. . . . Si nous avions eu la moindre part dans l'attentat du 20 août, nous nous estimerions indignes du pardon que nous en aurions voulu et dû demander à Votre Majesté, la suppliant de croire que ces paroles et sentiments sont exprimés par un cœur sincère, etc." MOÜY, II., 345.

[1] GÉRIN, I., 520 *seqq.*, 527 *seqq.*; CAPPELLI, 74 *seqq.*, 98 *seq.* Illustrated description in the loose sheet *L'entrée à Paris du card. Chigi, légat en France*, Paris, 1664. A medal in honour of the entry is in the collection of medals of the palace at Ariccia.

[2] GÉRIN, I., 530 *seqq.*, 545. The *Brief to Louis XIV. on the appointment of the nuncio, dated April 28, 1664, in *Epist.*, IX.–X., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] GÉRIN (I., 564 *seq.*) shows Louis's XIV. lack of loyalty in this matter also.

[4] MOÜY, II., 361 *seqq.* A *poem on the "amabilità del suo genio e la soavità delle sue negotiationi" is in the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* Pallavicino's letters to Alexander VII., in MACCHIA, 80. 82.

would side with France,[1] but events were to show that this anxiety was quite unjustified.

Créqui began at once to make impossible demands and to pick quarrels with everybody, in fact that impossible personage ended by quarrelling with his own suite.[2] His recall by the King in March, 1665, came none too soon. "He consorted almost exclusively with gamblers and Jews," a Frenchman wrote, "and thereby ruined both our friends and his own reputation."[3]

For a time the French embassy remained without an occupant, business being transacted by the Abbé Bourlemont. The Jansenist controversy, which now came once more into the foreground, betrayed Louis XIV.'s determination to impose his will on the Holy See even in ecclesiastical questions.[4] But before all else he aimed at reducing the Pope to the rôle of a willing tool of his unscrupulous policy, the object of which was the acquisition of the whole of Spain's possessions in the event of the extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs. To this policy the neutral, or more accurately, the impartial attitude of Alexander VII. towards the great Catholic Powers constituted an obstacle which it was necessary to remove. This was to be the task of the new French ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Chaulnes. Although from the political standpoint the results of the treaty of Pisa proved, as time went on, to be of no value to France,[5] Chaulnes was expected

[1] Gérin, I., 533 *seq.*, 547; Moüy, II., 359 *seqq.*

[2] Gérin, I., 538 *seqq.*, 569, 575.

[3] *Ibid.*, 576. Moüy, who judges Créqui with the utmost leniency, concludes that he was quite unsuited for the post of Roman ambassador (II., 419 *seqq.*), and that his conduct was but a series of blunders (422).

[4] See below, ch. V.

[5] Moüy (II., 424 *seq.*) writes: "Le succès final obtenu avec tant de peine, n'a servi en rien la France et sa politique: il a offensé personnellement le Souverain Pontife sans amener la moindre concession utile, sans modifier en quoi ce soit l'antagonisme gallican et ultramontain, sans même agrandir le duc de Parme, qui n'a pu, comme il était aisé de le prévoir, remplir ses engagements pour Castro et qui a perdu définitivement ce

to continue the system of intimidation which Créqui had adopted in his time. This was the burden of the Instruction of the new ambassador when he was appointed in May, 1666.[1] The Duke, who made his entry into Rome with unusual pomp, on July 10th, 1666, faithfully carried out these directions.

In the following month the Pope experienced several violent attacks of his two ailments, gravel and kidney trouble. It was only with the utmost difficulty that he was able to receive Chaulnes. His condition only improved after a stay at Castel Gandolfo in October.[2] His first care now was to provide assistance for the Venetians in their struggle for

duché huit ans plus tard. Les seuls résultats pratiques ont donc été : d'une part le voyage du légat qui a été pour lui l'occasion d'une marche triomphale à travers la France et d'une entrée magnifique à Paris, et d'autre part l'érection de cette pyramide que si peu d'années après le roi consentait à laisser détruire . . . En un mot, et pour de bien médiocres avantages, le St-Siège fut à la fois opprimé, ce qui justifiait ses rancunes passées et ses résistances futures, et inutilement attaqué dans son amour-propre. Il sortait de la lutte avec l'espoir fondé de reprendre bientôt Castro, et de plus avec le droit de se plaindre des procédés superbes du Fils aîné de l'Eglise. Notre politique avait été constamment désagréable et irrespectueuse dans la forme et débile dans le fond. C'était l'inverse de ce qu'elle aurait dû être et de ce qu'elle eût été si Louis XIV. et M. de Lionne s'en tenant avec fermeté aux réparations nécessaires, n'avaient pas surchargé de négociations vaines une affaire où leur bon droit, indéniable à l'origine, a fini par s'obscurcir et fatiguer à la longue la France et l'Europe." If Moüy suggests that by prompt action against the culprits, Alexander VII., " par quelques démarches gracieuses " would easily (aisément) have calmed Louis XIV.'s anger, that optimistic view is refuted by the documentary evidence in GÉRIN. If action against the Corsicans had been accelerated, Louis XIV. and his advisers would have complained of the absence of the usual judicial procedure.

[1] HANOTAUX, I., 158–225. *Cf.* P. LESOURD, *L'ambassade de France près le St. Siège*, Paris, 1924, 57, 73, 75, 90.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 58 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of November 27, 1666, Papal Sec. Arch.

Crete, for after the failure of the Signoria's negotiations with the Porte, both sides were arming for a decisive fight.[1] On December 21st, 1666, the Pope appealed to the Catholic Princes, including Louis XIV.,[2] and on February 3rd, 1667, he granted to the Venetians a subsidy of 100,000 scudi.[3] He likewise gave orders for the papal galleys to be ready to put to sea in the spring.[4]

At this time Alexander VII. was already stricken with mortal disease. One can only wonder at the will power which enabled him, notwithstanding his delicate health, imperturbably to continue his work for the space of twelve years in a situation of the utmost difficulty, amid endless annoyances on the part of France, and conscientiously to discharge the duties of his office despite his physical sufferings. Alexander VII. had aged prematurely. During his nunciature at Münster he had lost all his teeth,[5] but he stuck to his task by sheer tenacity and will-power. The French, who had hoped for his early demise soon after his elevation, were doomed to disappointment, though the Pope was constantly tortured by disease of the bladder and the kidneys.[6] In his last

[1] ZINKEISEN, IV., 956.

[2] The *Briefs to the Emperor, Louis XIV., Poland, Savoy, Bavaria, and the ecclesiastical Electors, in *Epist.*, XI.–XIII., Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 105 *seqq.*

[3] *Bull.*, XVII., 481 *seqq.* Giacomo Quirini passes over in silence this considerable subsidy in his prejudiced report, BERCHET, II., 322.

[4] GUGLIELMOTTI, 292. The total expenditure of the Apostolic Camera for the papal galleys during the Turkish war, 1655–1667, amounted to 1,626,939 scudi. ADEMOLLO, in *Riv. Europ.*, V., 289.

[5] NOVAES, X., 190.

[6] GÉRIN, I., 132. According to Riccardi's *report of July 3, 1655, Alexander VII.'s death was expected in November (State Arch., Florence). By reason of his infirmities the Pope was unable to carry the Blessed Sacrament at the procession of Corpus Christi, as his predecessors had done. Bernini constructed a portable chair on which the Pope, seemingly on his knees before the Host, was carried (see PALLAVICINO, I., 269; NOVAES, X., 184 *seq.*;

years, when the attacks became increasingly frequent and more dangerous, he saw himself obliged to curtail the receptions of the ambassadors.[1] Thereupon his enemies, with utter disregard of the truth, represented the situation as if the Pope shrank from work, and desired to indulge his learned tastes and his love of quiet to the exclusion of all else.[2] The fact is, that even in the last years of his life he exerted himself to the utmost in dealing with questions of government; indeed he frequently went beyond what his condition allowed, for the last five months of his life were a long chain of grievous bodily trials. At the Farnese palace his death was awaited with impatience. It is with a feeling of indignation that one reads the feeble, and at times indecent witticisms which fill the letters written by the Duke of Chaulnes and his minions to Louis XIV. and to Lionne.[3] More than any other source of information, they reveal the moral decadence of the representatives of the *roi soleil*.[4]

MORONI, IX., 47; CANCELLIERI, *Nercato*, 219). He speaks of his infirmities even in his poems (*Musae Juveniles*, n. 45 and 56). He consoles himself with the thought of St. Francis de Sales (*ibid.*, n. 45).

[1] GÉRIN, II., 52 *seq.* A curious piece of medical *advice for Alexander VII.'s complaint in *Cod.* E., VI., 205, p. 157 of the Chigi Library. *Ibid.*, p. 547 *seqq.*, a "*Discorso sul mal di pietra di Alessandro VII.," by Paolo Zacchia. *Cf.* also **Vat.*, 10, 412, p. 85, Vat. Lib.

[2] See Giacomo Quirini, in BERCHET, II., 317 *seqq.*, whose account is adopted by RANKE (III., 37) and BROSCH (I., 433), regardless of the fact that it is from the pen of a prejudiced partisan who is silent on the good done and who (on p. 320) goes so far as to assert that Alexander VII. had squandered his treasure on buildings, "non a riedificazione ma distruttione della città capo del mondo," quoting in proof the erection of the colonnade of St. Peter's which rendered the Borgo for ever uninhabitable! The same spirit characterizes the anonymous *Vita di Alessandro VII.* (see above, p. 25, n. 3), where the same argument is used in an even more ludicrous fashion.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 113 *seqq.*

[4] How greatly the looseness of French manners at that time

Even the French reports, biased as they are by hatred, make it clear that up to the very end, in the measure in which it was at all possible, the Pope faithfully fulfilled the duties of his sacred office. On January 11th, 1667, though confined to his bed, he received the Duke of Chaulnes, to whom he complained of the bad treatment to which the Paris nuncio had been subjected, as well as of various injuries inflicted on the Church in France; after which he spoke of the Turkish war.[1] On March 7th he made his last creation of Cardinals; his emaciated body, and especially the dullness of his eyes, made it plain that the end could not be far off.[2] Three days later his condition had become so much worse that prayers before the Blessed Sacrament exposed were ordered in all the churches. The Pope asked for Holy Viaticum and made his last dispositions; even Chaulnes wondered at the calm and imperturbability with which he faced death. One report compares him to a candle which flares up for a last time before it goes out.[3] Five or six times a day he sent for the learned and devout Cistercian Giovanni Bona, of whose services he was wont to avail himself besides his ordinary confessor, the Jesuit, Giambattista Cancellati. But these religious conversations did not make him forget his official duties; in fact, it was precisely during those days that two important documents on the Jansenist controversy were drawn up.[4] When his illness compelled him to leave affairs on one side for a few days, Cardinal Chigi was empowered to sign documents the dispatch of which could not be deferred; but as soon as there was any improve-

shocked Italian observers may be gathered from the description of SEB. LOCATELLI, of Bologna: *Voyage de France*, 1664–1665, ed. A. Vautier, Paris, 1905.

[1] GÉRIN, II., 116 *seqq.* On February 1, 1667, Alexander VII. had addressed a warning *Brief to Louis XIV. on the injury done to the Church, *Epist.*, XI.–XIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 122. On the promotions, see below, p. 130.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 151. *Cf.* Cardinal Sforza's *letter to Leopold I., dated March 9, 1667, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See below.

ment, the Cardinal was made to give a detailed account of whatever had been done.[1]

On March 16th, despite the opposition of his physician, Alexander VII. held yet another consistory.[2] During the ensuing weeks his condition grew steadily worse, but on Easter Sunday, April 10th, gathering all his strength for a supreme effort, he had himself carried to the balcony of the Quirinal in order to bestow a solemn blessing upon the people. This exertion brought about a grave relapse in the course of the following night which gave rise to the gravest anxiety.[3] Though his body had shrunk to a mere skeleton,[4] the Pope's mind remained remarkably fresh and vigorous, as is proved by the farewell discourse which he addressed to the thirty-six Cardinals gathered round his deathbed, after he had received Holy Communion on April 15th.[5] Though the voice of the stricken Pontiff was very weak, his mind was as clear as ever. He began by expressing his unshaken trust in God's mercy, after which he made a survey of his pontificate. He had done his best, he said, and had always had the best of intentions. He thought with satisfaction of his solicitude for the divine service, the churches and other buildings, and the help he had been able to give to

[1] GÉRIN, II., 152. "*Chiuse i suoi giorni con rassegnatione vera christiana alla divina providenza" Carlo Barberoni wrote on June 1, 1667, to Leopold I. (State Arch., Vienna). According to the Florentine report in GROTANELLI, 84, a physician was summoned from Siena to attempt a last hour bladder operation.

[2] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 154 *seq.* *Cf.* also the report of M. Jost, dated April 9, 1667, in *Zeitschr. für Schweizerische Kirchengesch*, VIII., 225, and Raggi's report in NERI, *Corrisp. di F. Raggi*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 670 *seq.*

[4] See NERI, *loc. cit.*, 675. *Cf.* also Card. Sforza's *letter of July 17, 1667, to Leopold I., State Arch., Vienna.

[5] See the account of Servantius, master of ceremonies, in GÉRIN, II., 155, and that of LÄMMER (*Melet.*, 250 *seq.*), taken from a MS. of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which is simply the notes of the **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also NERI, *loc. cit.*, 671 *seq.*

the Catholic Powers; the conduct of his family likewise gave him great satisfaction. He begged the Cardinals to forgive the faults he had committed through human frailty and recommended to them the Holy See and a good choice at the forthcoming conclave; let it be blameless as was that of 1655. With grave words he warned the Cardinals not to sell themselves to the Princes, and in self-blame he lamented the fact that at the last creation he had yielded more than was just to the latter's demands. He then gave them his blessing and had the profession of faith read which he once again confirmed with an oath. On April 18th the Pope repeated the substance of this address to Cardinals Orsini, Imperiali, Pallavicino, Paluzzi and Rondinini, who had not been present on the 18th.[1] Towards the end of April another improvement occurred, but it did not last. Despite his weakness and the pain he was in, Alexander VII. gave a few minutes' audience to the Spanish ambassador and after him to Cardinals Vendôme and Delfino. The next day he was worse, on the 19th he communicated once more and received Extreme Unction.[2] As the evening Angelus was ringing on May 22nd, he was released, though only 69 years old, from his prolonged sufferings which latterly had become acute.[3]

[1] GÉRIN, II., 158 *seq.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of May 21, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch. RANKE (III., 37 *seq.*) writes: "If his negotiations failed, he laid the blame on the Cardinals' private interests. He was still heard to speak of it in his delirium shortly before his death." Against this we must note that the text of Alexander VII.'s allocution is not compatible with the assumption of delirium. As regards the private interests of the Cardinals, that is the venality of a number of members of the Sacred College, GÉRIN has proved that Orsini, Azzolini and Maidalchini were accessible to French money. On Spanish pensions for the Cardinals, see the *note in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, I., 46.

[2] *Cf.* the detailed accounts of Ferd. Raggi in NERI, *loc. cit.*, 675 *seq.*, 679 *seq.*, 681.

[3] See **Avviso* of May 28, 1667, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *letter of Card. Frederick of Hesse to Leopold I., dated May 22, 1667, who speaks of the "heroiche virtù" of Alexander VII. (State Archives,

Alexander VII. was no longer among the living when news reached Rome of Louis XIV.'s invasion of the Spanish Netherlands, a step that finally disposed of the plan of an anti-Turkish league to which the Pope had clung to the last.

If the twelve years' pontificate of the Chigi Pope had failed to realize the high hopes set on the elevation of a man so distinguished for learning, ability, and virtue,[1] the fault was not his. He had every quality to make a great Pope but in his case also were to be verified the melancholy words engraved on the tomb of Adrian IV.: "Oh! how much depends upon what epoch the life of even an excellent man falls into!"[2] More than anything else it was the relentless enmity of Mazarin and Louis XIV. that made it impossible for Alexander VII. to realize his lofty aims, and in the end

Vienna). Two "*Relationi della morte d'Alessandro VII." in *Ottob.* 3154, p. 322 *seqq.*, 330 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib., *ibid.*, 338 *seqq.* "*Relatione per la pompa funerale d'Alessandro VII.," by Giacomo Fappalli and 352 *seqq.* "*Relazione della morte e dei funerali di P. Alessandro VII. con alcune iscrizioni, scritta da Giuseppe Baldini." "Deposito di Papa Alessandro VII. eretto nella basilica Vaticana, architettura del. cav. G. L. Bernini" (engraving by Dorigny), Rome, ca. 1680. On the result of the autopsy Raggi writes on May 22, 1655: "Fu aperto il corpo di N. Signore. Non vi si è trovata pietra alcuna; ma bensì il reno manco pieno di marcia bianca, non puzzolente, che ha così contaminata la punta di un de' polmoni, e la milza ancora. Da ciò si accendeva la febre. Il dolore che tanto lo martirizzava nasceva dal calare dell'urina, dal reno infocato e guasto alla vescica. Dentro la vescica vi erano tre grandole; dentro pure si è trovato grasso impastato. Il suo male principiò da una cascata, che fece a Castello Gandolfo, che offese il fianco. Sempre diceva, che il suo male non era pietra, e li medici, stimando il contrario, l'hanno medicato alla rovescia" (NERI, *loc. cit.*, 682).

[1] *Cf.* Riccardi's *report of August 21, 1655, according to which the disappointment was felt already at that time, State Archives, Florence.

[2] Soon after his election Alexander VII. lamented the fact that his pontificate fell into so unfavourable a period; see the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* embassy in BERCHET, II., 184.

broke his strength. To this must be added the Pope's ill-health, which accounts for his occasional slowness and lack of decision. His achievements in the ecclesiastical sphere and in the mission field are beyond dispute. It was not his fault if an end was not put to the intrigues of the Jansenists.

Alexander VII.'s piety, his liberality towards the poor, his ever active solicitude for the city of Rome in time of want and pestilence, could not be denied even by his bitterest foes, though his initial severity towards his relatives, which was excessive, and their subsequent promotion, throw an unfavourable light on his person and gave occasion for the most severe as well as the most unjust condemnation. But though on this point Alexander VII. also paid toll to human weakness, his nephews never won any excessive influence, on the contrary the Pope's chosen counsellors were such distinguished Cardinals as Rospigliosi, Corrado and Pallavicino, though he always reserved to himself the final decision.[1]

Himself an accomplished man, a poet and a scholar, Alexander VII. gave his powerful patronage to learning, and more particularly to art. Accordingly this aspect of his government, which was also emphasized at his obsequies in St. Peter's on his magnificent catafalque,[2] must be described

[1] *Cf.* Sagredo in BERCHET, II., 234 *seq.* According to Basadonna (*ibid.*, 269), relations between Alexander VII. and Rospigliosi became strained in course of time and even Pallavicino saw less of the Pope than at first (*ibid.*, 217 *seq.*). How far this is true remains to be ascertained because Basadonna is not an unimpeachable witness.

[2] **Avviso* of June 4, 1667: "Il gran mausoleo eretto in mezzo di detta basilica con 4 alte guglie alli cantoni di esso piene di candelotti accesi, con molti medaglioni messi a oro rappresentanti le fabriche di chiese, teatro e catedra fatte dal defunto Pontefice, et in mezzo vi era l'urna con sopra il triregno sustenuta da un altissimo piedestallo, il quale alle 4 faccie rappresentava pure posto a oro l'Immaculata Concettione di N. Signora, le 2 canonizationi di S. Tommaso de Villanova e Franc. de Sales, e la beatificatione del b. Pietro d'Arbues Aragonese, attorniato da molti

quite as much as his action within the Church if we are to have a full-length portrait of the Pontiff.

armi, imprese, elogii e inscrittioni, in lode di S.S." (Papal Sec. Arch.). *Cf.* A. FAVORITI, *Oratio in funere Alexandri VII.*, Romae, 1667. The Pope was buried "nell'arca commessa alla prima cappella a mano sinistra" (Contarini, in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 46). On Bernini's monument (sketch in *L'Arte*, IX. [1906], 204), *cf.* BENKARD, 31, 35, 41; *Riv. stor.*, 1907, 373; *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen*, 1910, 27; FREY, *Beiträge*, 99; KEYSSLER, I., 770. *Satire against Alexander VII. by Ant. Magalotti in Bibl. Nazionale, Florence, II., IV., 234. On the erection of the monument between 1672 and 1678, see FRASCHETTI, 386. Of the unveiling and the criticisms that followed at once an **Avviso* of April 23, 1678, says: È stato alla fine scoperto il deposito di Alessandro VII., la di cui statua, come era l'originale, che da una parte appariva diferente dell'altra, e simile se si guardava in faccia, ma in tutto dissimile, se si rimira in scurcio. La Carità che è la 1ª statua riguardevole, lo sta riguardando, ma riguardandosi di essere stata posta in quel posto; la Penitenza, che è la 2ª, si nasconde, vergognandosi di servir per gloria a chi non l'ha mai conosciuta. Un bel ingegno otioso, de' quali a questa città non ne mancano, veduta detta statua orante e situata per appunto in contro al quadro, dove il cav. Vanni dipinse la caduta di Simone Mago, l'interogò, ma in latino, acciochè pochi intendessero: An adoraret Petrum aut Simonem" (Papal Sec. Arch.). Card. Pio, on May 28, 1678 (State Archives, Vienna), wrote: "*Domenica S. Sta. [Innocenzo XI.] fu a vedere il deposito d'Alessandro VII. e parendole tropp'ignuda la statua della Verità, fece dire al S. card. Chigi che la facesse più coprire, come seguirà." A severe criticism of the monument in BRIGGS, 38 *seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander VII.'s Activity within the Church—Reforms—Nominations of Cardinals—Religious Conditions in Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia—Missions.

(1.)

Alexander VII. began his reign with wholesome reforms within the Church, but in so doing he saw to it that no too dark a shadow fell on the memory of his predecessor, for during his stay in Germany he had noticed the bad impression which resulted from an over-emphasis of the contrast between the past and the present.[1]

He made a beginning in July, 1655, with a purge of the personnel of the Vatican.[2] He revived the Congregation of the *Visita* and the functions in the papal chapel were carried out more worthily.[3] Since Rome should set a good example to the rest of the world, a visitation of all the churches, and hospitals of the Eternal City was ordered in January,

[1] Pallavicino, I., 318, 320. To the Florentine envoy Alexander VII. said that in view of the changes that had to be made, it was necessary " salvare più che sia possibile la reputatione al morto (Innocent X.), portando questa similitudine : Quando un pittore ha da rassettare in una facciata una pittura, vi pone davanti una tela, perchè non si veda, e accomodata la leva ; così procureriamo di far Noi ", *report of April 17, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

[2] " *Questa mattina il papa ha fatto licenziare molti del personale, cioè bussolanti e camerieri extra muros, che per la mala loro fama non erano degni di aver alcun officio in Palazzo." Angelo Nardi to Giulio Fiorini, July 17, 1655. *The same to the same on July 21, 1655 : " This policy is being continued," State Archives, Modena.

[3] Pallavicino, I., 318, 410. *Cf.* Novaes, X., 172 *seq.*

1656.[1] The Pope took part in person in the visitation of the four chief basilicas, the Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Mary Major and St. Paul's, when he gave excellent short addresses in Latin.[2] Great strictness was shown.[3] In order to obtain God's blessing the Pope increased his alms to the poor and to charitable institutions for the duration of the visitation.[4] One excellent result was the prohibition of services at night, with the exception of those of the sodalities of men, and the ancient and traditional solemnities of Christmas night, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. A reform of Church music was likewise undertaken.[5] Later ordinances dealt with the reform of regulars, one of them being a prohibition of the use of carriages.[6] Further results of the visitation were decrees for the good administration of Church property the order of the liturgical services in the principal basilicas,[7] and the reform of convents of nuns. The ordinances of Urban VIII. and Innocent X. concerning the support of the destitute sick in Rome were renewed.[8] "The Pope," Sagredo

[1] *Bull.*, XVI., 106, 109, 113 *seqq.*, 125, 127 *seq.*, 130, 138.

[2] Besides PALLAVICINO, I., 411, see the **Avvisi* of January 28, February 5 and March 4, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch. The **Acta visit. bas. S. Petri*, in *Barb.* 2624, the *allocutions of the Pope, *ibid.* 2009, Vat. Lib. A complete collection of all **Acta visit. apost. sub Alexandro VII.* in *Arm.*, VII., 42, 46–73, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Cf.* **Avviso* of May 15, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Cf.* **Avviso* of January 28, 1656, *ibid.*

[5] See the prohibition of "musicae indecentes" of April 23, 1657, *Bull.*, XVI., 275. *Cf.* the *Editto d. S. Visita apost. sopra le musiche" of July 30, 1665, *Editti*, V., 7, p. 101, Papal Sec. Arch., *ibid.*, 107 *seq.* "*Concorsi di musici per la cappella Pontificia," beginning on November 23, 1668.

[6] See **Avviso* of 1658 (no date), *ibid.* Alexander VII. himself composed the Collect for the feast of St. Francis; see Bäumer, *Brevier*, 511, who there speaks of the enrichment of the calendar by Alexander VII.

[7] See the *report of Alata Tini of June 19, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] *Bull.*, XVI., 268, 270, 317, 341; *cf.* 581.

reports in 1661, "rigorously insists on a worthy celebration of the ecclesiastical functions, especially on the observance of silence in the chapel, of which he himself gives the best example. He has also been most careful in the choice of his entourage and only persons distinguished both by birth and virtue are employed in his service." The ceremonial was strictly adhered to; thus everybody had to kneel during the audiences, with the exception of the Cardinals and the ambassadors.[1] The Pope saw with great displeasure some of the worldly-minded Cardinals taking part in the amusements of the Carnival, hence the Jesuit Zucchi was but the interpreter of the Pontiff's feelings when, in a Lenten sermon preached in the presence of the Pope, he sternly rebuked the wearers of the purple. The preacher described the traditional amusements of the carnival as relics of paganism. "Only Jerome of Narni," we read in a contemporary report, "were he still alive, would have dared to do this, but Zucchi resembles the Capuchin by the holiness of his life and by his frankness."[2]

The visitation of Rome was extended to the suburbican dioceses[3] and all the Bishops of Italy and the adjacent isles were urged to hold synods.[4] On April 8th, 1656, Alexander exhorted the German, French and Spanish Bishops to follow Rome's example by holding visitations and synods of their dioceses.[5] In 1657 a similar exhortation was addressed to Poland.[6] The reform of the Orders engaged the Pope's attention from the first year of his pontificate. Before all else he was anxious to remove abuses contrary to common life in monasteries. On April 19th, 1666, he ordered a visitation of

[1] Berchet, II., 243. The Oratorian Mariano Soccino, in his *programme of reform drawn up in 1670 (Library of SS. Quaranti, Rome; *cf.* below, in Innocent XI.), relates that when on the occasion of a papal *cappella*, silence was broken in proximity to the Pope, Alexander VII. said in a loud and solemn tone: "Domus mea domus orationis."

[2] Neri, *Corrisp. di Ferd. Raggi*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 668.

[3] See **Cod.* N., III., 66 of Bibl. Casanat.

[4] *Bull.*, XVI., 168.

[5] **Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] *Bull.*, XVI., 313.

the Cistercians.[1] The reform of the Orders was the particular concern of the canonist Prospero Fagnani, who enjoyed great influence with Alexander VII.[2] One wholesome measure was the limitation of marriage dispensations and the abolition of the cession of benefices by resignation, an abuse by which abbeys and even bishoprics had become hereditary in particular families.[3] The entry on office of nuncios, their expenses and the ceremonial to be observed, were accurately determined.[4]

The Constitution of June 16th, 1659, fixing the conditions for admission into the prelature, was destined to become important for the working of ecclesiastical as well as secular administration. The conditions required in future were: legitimate birth from respectable parents, irreproachable moral conduct, twenty-five years of age, five years' study of the law at a University, the doctorate of both laws, two years' practice at an ecclesiastical tribunal, an annual income of 1,500 Roman scudi and, lastly, an examination by the *Segnatura della Giustizia*. These ordinances made entry into the prelature difficult; only one who fulfilled these conditions could aspire to becoming a referendary of the *Segnatura* and was qualified for all the higher offices, including the cardinalate.[5] Ecclesiastical and civil charges could be exercised alternately, thus the Governor of a town or province

[1] *Ibid.*, XVII., 441.

[2] Basadonna, in BERCHET, II., 273. RANKE (III., 37), even in his last edition, calls him Fugnano. Fagnani was a well-known scholar who died in 1678 at the age of 80; *cf.* MORONI, *Indice*, III., 99; HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV., 253 *seq.*

[3] Sagredo, in BERCHET, II., 248; GÉRIN, I., 278. For the "solenni funzioni di abiura" of the followers of the adventurer and alchemist Borri, 1661, in Rome and Milan, see MAGNOCAVALLO, in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 3 series, XXIX. (1902). Borri had fled to Innsbruck and fought the papacy. The Curia did its utmost to obtain his extradition; see LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 656, 658 *seq.*, 663, 665 *seq.*, 685 *seq.*, 748. *Cf.* also KRONES, 568.

[4] BIAUDET, 59, 63, 312 *seq.*, 314; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, V., 161 *seq.*

[5] MORONI, LV., 144 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, VI., 307; BANGEN, 52; HINSCHIUS, I., 388. According to the *dissertations in *Cod.* N. II.,

of the Papal States might become a Vice-Legate, or a nuncio and eventually a Cardinal, and the road to the purple was likewise open to the prelates of the Rota and the various Congregations.

An event of universal importance was the publication in 1664 of a new Index. In this edition the division into three classes hitherto followed was dropped and the alphabetical order strictly adhered to. An Appendix gives the decrees of the Index published after 1601.[1] In the sphere of the Liturgy mention must be made of a decree concerning the Cistercian Breviary.[2]

Twenty-nine years had gone by since the last canonization, for Urban VIII. had laid down much more exacting conditions for such an honour. Alexander VII. was able to carry out one beatification, that of the Grand Inquisitor Peter de Arbues [*ob.* 1485][3] and two canonizations. On November 7th, 1658, he canonized Thomas of Villanova, Bishop of Valencia [*ob.* 1555],[4] celebrated for his apostolic charity, and on April 19th, 1665, amid great pomp, Francis de Sales [*ob.* 1622],[5]

50, of the Chigi Library (which is perhaps meant by RANKE, III., 70), Alexander VII. subsequently lowered the age to 21, and the annual income to 1,000 scudi.

[1] *Bull.*, XVII., 234; REUSCH., II., 29 *seq.*; HILGERS, 14. *Barb.* 3146–7 contains "*Acta s. congreg. Indicis libror. prohib., 1654–1691, Carolo card. Barberini collecta" (with original remarks by the latter), Vat. Library. On the Bull of June 23, 1665, condemning Gallican opinions, see REUSCH, II., 552 *seq.* On Alexander VII.'s attitude towards the Jews, see *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LIII. (1885), 66 *seq.*; on his relations with the Greeks: GORI, *Archivio*, V., 33 *seq.*

[2] *Zisterzienserchronik*, 1917.

[3] *Bull.*, XVII., 154.

[4] *Ibid.*, XVI., 396. *Cf.* the *notes for September 12 and November 1, 1658, in the *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Bull.*, XVII., 431 (*ibid.*, XVI, 744, the beatification of December 18, 1661). *Cf.* the *notes on *consist. secr.* of September 14, 1662, *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.; also the **Avvisi* of March 14 and April 18 and 25, 1665, and *Epist.*, XI.-XIII.,

a man who by his own life and the Order founded by him, played so important a rôle in the period of the Catholic Restoration and who by his writings exercises a lasting influence upon the Catholic world.[1] The Pope cherished a particular veneration for this great man of whom the Queen of France had given him a relic in 1642.[2] In December, 1661, Alexander VII. renewed the decrees of his predecessors Sixtus IV., Pius V., Paul V. and Gregory XV., in favour of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of Our Lord.[3] The Constitution called forth great joy, more especially in Spain where the genius of Murillo had exalted this mystery by his magnificent, world-famed pictures.[4]

Even the most exacting critic is bound to admit that Alexander VII. only summoned men of blameless character

ibid. Ibid., I., *Brief of November 15, 1665, to Count Buquoy, who had prayed for the canonization of Francis de Sales. On the interests of the French court, see GÉRIN, I., 572 *seq.* *Cf.* also MOÜY, II., 413 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* our data XXIII., 413.

[2] This relic is preserved to this day in the chapel of the palace at Ariccia.

[3] On the Bull and its significance, see NOVAES, X., 147 *seq.*, and DUBOSC DE PESQUIDOUX, *L'Immaculée Conception, Hist. d'un dogme*, I., Paris, 1898, 447 *seqq.* By a *Brief of December 28, 1661, the Bull was also sent to Louis XIV. (*Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). One of Suñer's paintings is connected with the Bull; *cf.* ROTHES, *Die Unbefleckle Empfängnis in der bildenden Kunst*, in Lit. Suppl. of *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1904, No. 49. On an ordinance of 1665 in favour of the dogma *cf.* JUNGNITZ, *Seb. v. Rostock, Erzbischof von Breslau*, Breslau, 1891, 183.

[4] JUSTI, *Murillo*, Leipzig, 1904, 49 *seq.*; GRAUS, *Conceptio immaculata in alten Darstellungen*, Graz, 1905; ROTHES, *loc. cit.*; A. MAYER, *Gesch. der span. Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, 339 *seq.* Philip IV. had requested Innocent X. to define the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; see his letter in App. to *Cartas de la ven. Sor. Maria de Agreda y del Rey Felipe IV.*, p.p. F. Silvela, I., Madrid, 1885.

into the Supreme Senate of the Church.[1] The only fault his contemporaries could find with him in this respect was his predilection for the Sienese, but it was precisely with these that the Pope was best acquainted.

At the first creation, on April 9th, 1657, besides the nephew, Flavio Chigi, nine Cardinals were named, though only five were published; they were Camillo Melzi, a friend of Chigi from the days of his nunciature in Vienna, Giulio Rospigliosi, who became Secretary of State, Count Niccolò Guido Bagno, Girolamo Buonvisi and Francesco Paolucci. Buonvisi had also been long known to the Pope who had made him his Maestro di Camera. Bagno had been nuncio in Paris during the pontificate of Innocent X. Both he and Paolucci, Secretary of the Congregation of the Council and Immunity during a period of thirty years, were already in the seventies.

On April 29th, 1657, two of the Cardinals reserved *in petto* were proclaimed: they were the Sienese Scipione d'Elce, successively nuncio in Venice and Vienna, a splendid man, as was the *Maggiordomo*, Girolamo Farnese, to whom Rome owed the *Scuole delle Maestre Pie*. Another two of those reserved *in petto*, viz. the papal nephew, Antonio Bichi of Siena and the Jesuit, Francesco Sforza Pallavicino, who had been on intimate terms with the Pope for years, were published on November 10th, 1657.

At the creation of April 29th, 1658, in view of the circumstance that up to that date no demand for the red hat had come in from any of the Catholic Princes, the Pope had assured the purple, by reservation *in petto*, to three most deserving prelates,[2] publication of whose names took place on April 5th,

[1] Ciaconius, IV., 727 *seqq.*, whose data agree with Contelorius' *notes in the Papal Sec. Arch., XI., 49. The data on the nomination in Cardella, VII., 122 *seqq.* and Novaes, X., 128 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 152 *seqq.*, 186 *seqq.*, are confused. *Cf.* also Gérin, I., 484 *seq.*, II., 46 *seqq.* Sagredo's opinion on the excellent cardinalitial nominations of Alexander VII. deserve attention, as that writer is not, on the whole, an admirer of that Pope; see Berchet, II., 254.

[2] Pallavicino, II., 207.

1660. They were the Sienese Volumnio Bandinelli, an old friend of the Pope's, his *Maggiordomo*, Odoardo Vecchiarelli and Jacopo Franzoni. Among the rest of those appointed on April 5th, 1660, the elevation of the Archbishop of Ratisbon, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, a trusty collaborator of the Pope at the peace congress of Münster, was due to the recommendation of the Emperor [1] and that of the Polish nuncio, Pietro Vidoni, to the prayer of the King of Poland.[2] Pasquale d'Aragona's nomination had been desired by the King of Spain and that of Francesco Maria Mancini by the King of France.[3] In addition to these the purple was bestowed on the Venetian Gregorio Barbarigo, who was also well known to the Pope from the time spent by both at Münster, whither the former had accompanied the Venetian envoy, Contarini. In 1657 the Pope had named Barbarigo to the see of Bergamo, where the latter, as subsequently at Padua, worked in the spirit of Charles Borromeo and also extended his patronage to men of learning. At a later period Barbarigo was twice on the verge of being elected Pope but his humility caused him to decline that dignity. He was beatified by Clement XIII. in 1761.[4]

[1] See *Brief to Leopold I., dated April 5, 1660, *Epist.*, III.-V. Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cf. Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCV., 10.

[3] GÉRIN, I., 192.

[4] Barbarigo, whom Alexander VII. described as an angel of goodness (BERCHET, II., 256), has not yet been the object of a monograph in keeping with modern requirements. On him, *cf.* RICHINIUS, *De vita beati Greg. B.*, Romae, 1761 : UGHELLI, IV., 510 ss. ; AUDISIO, *Il B. Greg. B.*, Venezia, 1859 ; *Scritti inediti del B. Greg. B.*, p. p. Uccelli, Parma, 1877 ; M. MAMACHI, *Capi trascelti della vita inedita del b. Greg. B.*, Padova, 1883 ; *Lettera del b. Greg. B. ad A. Contarini nel 1649*, Venezia, 1887 ; G. ALESSI, *Vita del b. Greg. B.*, Padova, 1897 ; POLETTO, in *Bessarione*, 1901 ; A. COI, *Visite pastorali del b. Greg. B. card. vescovo di Padova alla sua diocesi*, Padova, 1908. See also [L. TODESCA e S. SERENA], *Il Seminario di Padova*, Padova, 1911. A **Vita del b. Greg. B. scripta pro causa eius canonizationis* in *Cod.* I., 19, of the Bibl.

When Alexander VII. realized that his strength was waning, he deemed it his duty to make sure of the election of a worthy successor by creating a large number of Cardinals. This he did on January 14th, 1664. Six out of the twelve men chosen were reserved *in petto*. Of the new Cardinals, four were Romans, namely Carlo Bonelli, nuncio in Madrid, Angelo Celsi, a noted jurist, Paolo Savelli and Gianniccolò Conti; two were Sienese, viz. Celio Piccolomini, nuncio in Paris, and Jacope Nini, the Pope's *maggiordomo*. To these were added the Archbishops of Bologna and Milan, Girolamo Boncampagni and Alfonso Litta. Carlo Carafa had held the post of nuncio in Switzerland, at Venice and at Vienna. Paluzzo Paluzzi had rendered loyal service to the Holy See over a period of forty years, but his frankness of speech had made him many enemies. Cesare Rasponi had at one time been auditor to the Pope and Neri Corsini had administered the *Camera Apostolica*. It was only on February 15th, 1666, after the lapse of more than two years, that those out of the above-named twelve who had been reserved *in petto*, were proclaimed, four others being created at the same time, though they too were reserved *in petto* until March 7th, 1667; they were Giulio Spinola, who had been very successful as nuncio at Naples and Vienna, Roberto de' Vettori, nuncio in Savoy, Vitaliano Visconti, nuncio in Madrid, and Innico Carracciolo, Archbishop of Naples. To these must be added the following created on March 7th, 1667, when Alexander VII. made his last nomination: Giovanni Delfino, Patriarch of Aquileia, together with three candidates named by three

Magliab., Florence. Another **Biografia* in *Cod.* XXIV., 74, of the Bibl. Comun. of Lodi. A **Ristretto delle gloriose azioni del b. Greg. B.* in *Cod.* F., 39, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A *survey of the Cardinals written after 1686 says of Gregorio Barbarigo: "E tutto zelo, tutto pietà, tutto amore, totalmente impegnato nell'orazione, nell'elemosine et in ogni altro pio esercitio della sua cura pastorale. Fa grandi astinenze . . . Mangia in refettorio con la propria servitù, predica di continuo e non lascia mai d'insegnare la dottrina christiana, di fare missioni e d'assistenza a moribondi," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

Catholic Powers, viz. the Emperor, France and Spain; they were Guidobald Count Thun, Archbishop of Salzburg, Louis Vendôme and Luigi Guglielmo Moncada d'Aragona, at one time Viceroy of Sicily.[1]

If Alexander VII. had such frequent recourse to reservation *in petto*, the fact was due both to the lack of adequate provision for those designated and to the pretensions of the Catholic Powers to the elevation of so-called Crown Cardinals.[2] Thus Poland considered that she had been overlooked at the last nomination in March, 1667, and accordingly lodged a vehement protest in Rome.[3] The intensity of the resentment appears from the proposal made at the time that all the Catholic Powers should combine with a view to compelling the Pope, with a threat of schism, to take their wishes into account in the nomination of Cardinals.[4] Meanwhile, the claims of the Powers had been considered, hence the proposal had no further sequel.

Conduct such as this gave particular pain to Alexander VII. When in 1655 King Charles Gustavus attacked the tottering Polish kingdom, already so hard pressed by the Russians and the Cossacks, the Pope, clearly realizing the peril,[5] at

[1] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 764 *seq.*; BOGLINO, 63 *seq.* G. Spinola distinguished himself during the epidemic of 1656; see N. CAPECE GALEOTA, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii apost. di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877. The tomb of Neri Cossini (*ob.* 1678) is in S. Maria del Carmine, Florence, with a relief from the School of Algardi.

[2] PALLAVICINO, II., 207.

[3] See *Doglianze del Re di Polonia sopra l'ultima promotione d'Alessandro VII., in *Barb.* 5570, Vat. Lib. "*Letter of the King of Poland to Alexander VII., the College of Cardinals and Card. Chigi," dated Warsaw, April 5, 1667, in Campello Archives. Spoleto. *Ibid.* "*Considerationi sopra la nomina della corona di Polonia nella promozione del 7 Marzo 1667 mandate al referendario Monsin li 8 Aprile, 1667."

[4] "*Sopra la nomina de' cardinali delle corone," *Cod.* VIII., G. 29, p. 150[b] *seqq.*, Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna.

[5] *Cf.* Riccardi's *reports of August 28 and September 25, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

once did everything in his power to prevent the destruction of that ancient bulwark of Catholicism in Eastern Europe. He himself contributed a sum of 30,000 scudi and authorized the alienation of Church treasure up to the sum of 100,000 thalers.[1] It was the Pope and his nuncios Vidoni and Carafa who induced the Emperor to lend military aid to Poland, thereby saving that kingdom.[2] All during these troubles the diocese of Ermland, which was immediately subject to the Holy See, was in danger of falling into the hands of the Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg: the latter's troops only withdrew in 1663.[3]

The question of filling the vacant Portuguese sees, which had already greatly preoccupied his predecessor, was likewise a source of anxiety for Alexander VII.[4] Though he exerted all his diplomatic skill and mental acumen, he failed to undo this Gordian knot.[5]

[1] THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 508 *seq.*; PALLAVICINO, I., 325 *seq.*, 388 *seqq.*; *Bull.* XVI., 103, 347; LEVINSON, in the dissertation (p. 57) quoted in the following note.

[2] LEVINSON, *Die Nuntiaturberichte des P. Vidoni über den ersten nordischen Krieg aus den Jahren, 1655–1658* (*Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCV., 7 *seqq.*, 32 *seqq.*, 119), who justly extols the statesmanship of the nuncio. On Vidoni, see also *Zeitschr. der Hist. Gesellsch. f. Posen*, 1915. The instructions of the Secretary of State of April 1, 1656, on the negotiations with the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg in LEVINSON, *loc. cit.* On the Austro-Polish Alliance of December 1, 1658, *cf.* PRIBRAM, *Lisola*, 31 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIV., 365 *seq.*

[4] See XXX., 74 *seqq.*

[5] PALLAVICINO, I., 329, II., 240 *seq.* *Documents on this question in *Cod.* R. I., 4, and C. II., 27, of the Chigi Library. *Cf.* FEA, *Nullita delle amministrazioni capitolari abusive*, Roma, 1815, 54 *seqq.*, 56 *seqq.* A *Brief of February 17, 1663, to the "Inquisitores regni Lusitaniae", says: "Audivimus Odoardum quemdam Hebraeum Lusit., qui nunc Londini commoratur et olim in isto s. Inquisit. tribunali punitus publice fuit, magnam pecuniam et ingentes maritimarum et terrestrium copiarum apparatus Haebr. sumptibus comparaturum esse, turpibus conditionibus:

During his thirteen years as nuncio in the Rhineland, Alexander VII. had become thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Germany; now that he was Pope, he took a lively interest in everything that happened in that country. Thus he gave pecuniary assistance to the city of Aix-la-Chapelle after the great fire of 1656 [1]; but his chief anxiety was to preserve the Catholic religion from further injury within the boundaries of the Empire.

When the Emperor Ferdinand II. died unexpectedly on April 2nd, 1657, leaving the question of the succession unsettled, the Pope, on June 30th, and again on October 6th, begged all the Catholic Electors to safeguard the interests of religion at the election of a new ruler.[2] The exhortation was all the more opportune as the Elector Palatine demanded the election of a Protestant Emperor.[3] The condition of Germany, bleeding as she still was from a thousand wounds, and torn by domestic dissensions,[4] may be gauged from the attempts of foreign countries to meddle in this purely internal question. Sweden, Mazarin and Cromwell were at one in their determination that no member of the House of Habsburg

1. ut Hebraeis locus tutus et commodus assignetur erigendae publicae Synagogae, ad quam ex universo orbe liceat convenire; 2. Iudaizantibus sive delatis sive reis generalis venia concedatur; 3. in processibus defensivis publicentur nomina testium." These will, no doubt, not be accepted since these offences against God would do the realm far more damage than a war, as is the case in those places where the sects have penetrated. If an ear is lent to such suggestions, you must offer determined resistance. *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Cf. Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* (1885), 42. From a *Brief of May 12, 1657, to the council of "Rappsvilla" we learn that the Pope had given a sum of money for the restoration of the church there. *Epist.*, III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See the Briefs to the Electors quoted by LEVINSON in *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LXXIII., 168.

[3] GÜNTER, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXVII., 379.

[4] See the *Discorso* published by A. O. MEYER in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, IX., 155 *seq.*

should ascend the imperial throne.[1] A tense diplomatic struggle began. France, during the short time when the candidature of Louis XIV. was contemplated,[2] was prepared to spend three millions and dispatched her best diplomatists, Grammont and Lionne, to the electoral Diet which met at Frankfort.

At first Alexander VII. felt disinclined to take part in the electoral campaign. Without pronouncing in favour of any particular candidate, he contented himself with recommending the choice of a man who would be powerful enough to uphold the Catholic religion. In the interest both of the Church and of Germany, he sought to hasten the election.[3] After the elevation of the youthful Bavarian Elector Ferdinand Mary, advocated by France, and even more insistently by Sweden [4] had failed,[5] the Pope worked with the utmost energy for the election of Leopold of Habsburg who gave the necessary guarantee that, as King of Hungary, he would defend the Empire against the Turks, whilst his personal qualities made it equally certain that he would uphold the Catholic religion.[6] Neither protests nor cajolings on the part of France could induce the Pope to relax his efforts on behalf of the Habsburg candidate. Besides the Palatine, Leopold's election was particularly opposed by the Electors of Cologne and Mayence. The latter had shown open hostility to the Pope's representative, the Cologne nuncio, Sanfelice, from the moment of his arrival at Frankfort.[7]

During the electoral Diet, which lasted nearly a year,

[1] MENTZ, I., 72; MICHAEL, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXVIII., 501 *seq.*

[2] PREUSS, in *Hist. Vierteljahrsschr.*, VII. (1904), 488 *seq.*

[3] See *Venez. Depeschen*, I., 22; PALLAVICINO, II., 189.

[4] SÄVE, *Keysarvalet i Francfort*, Stockholm, 1869.

[5] RIEZLER, VII., 25 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* WALEWSKI, *Leopold I. und die heilige Ligue*, II., 222; PRIBRAM, in *Archiv. österr. Gesch.*, LXXIII., 167 *seq.*; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 558 *seq.*

[7] *Mém. de Grammont*, II., 132.

Sanfelice was taken seriously ill in consequence of the extraordinary exertions and emotions he underwent,[1] but he had the satisfaction of seeing the unanimous election of Leopold as Emperor on July 18th, 1658. In a letter to the Pope the new ruler gratefully acknowledged the Holy See's large share in bringing about this event.[2]

Four weeks after the election of the Emperor, on August 14th, 1658, as a result of the action of the Elector of Mayence and John Philip von Schönborn, Archchancellor of the Empire, the Federation of the Rhine was formed, an alliance which France promptly sought to exploit, at the expense of Germany, on behalf of her policy of expansion. The three ecclesiastical Electors, the Bishop of Münster and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, together with the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel and the Swedes, bound themselves to uphold the Peace of Westphalia, and to this end to support one another, "irrespectively of the difference of religion." The Federation was in direct opposition to the House of Habsburg, uniting as it did, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist princes. The Cologne nuncio, Sanfelice, was fully justified when he saw in this alliance an injury to the interests of the Church, since by its terms the Catholic princes undertook to lend armed assistance to the Swedes in their defence of two dioceses which had been secularized for their benefit. Trèves and Münster were impressed by Sanfelice's representations, but the Elector of Mayence was as little touched as when, in opposition to Innocent X. and nuncio

[1] The "*Diario dell'elezione dell' Imp. Leopoldo I. da G. M. Sanfelice," in *Cod.* Strozz., 1079 (State Arch., Florence), was published by F. SANFELICE, Napoli, 1717. On Sanfelice's activities, *cf.* PALLAVICINO, II., 191, and PRIBRAM, *loc. cit.*, 168 *seq.* See also the *notes in *Barb.* 6112, p. 320 *seqq.*, 335 *seqq.*, 353 *seq.*, Vat. Library.

[2] PALLAVICINO, II., 191. *Cf.* LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 639. The *congratulatory Brief of August 3, 1658, to Leopold I. in *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch. The *Declaratio* on the imperial election of August 2, in *Bull.* XVI., 359.

Chigi, he had given his approval to the Peace of Westphalia.[1] The independent position with regard to Rome, which the high German prelates arrogated to themselves as princes of Empire, showed itself in other ways also. At the very beginning of the pontificate of Alexander VII., the Cologne nuncio was obliged to rebuke a German Bishop for assisting at a Calvinist sermon; the weak man had hoped thereby to win over the enemies of the Church.[2]

Although quinquennial faculties similar to those held by the nuncios had been granted by Urban VIII. in 1640 to the Archbishop of Cologne, and by Innocent X. in 1653 to the Archbishop of Mayence, disputes with the Pope's representatives were not thereby avoided.[3] More than anything else it was the nuncio's claim to a wide jurisdiction that annoyed the German clergy; hence, at the instigation of the ecclesiastical Electors, Ferdinand IV. had been obliged to swear in his electoral capitulations that he would insist on the removal of the abuses arising out of that circumstance. A similar clause was permanently inserted in the electoral capitulations.[4]

A number of other causes also frequently gave occasion for friction; nor is this to be wondered at, for in matters of Church policy the Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne were often very badly advised. The Archbishop of Mayence, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, who at the beginning of 1658, took some steps with a view to better relations with the Holy See,[5] was under the influence of Johann Christian von Boineburg, a man remarkable both as a statesman and as a scholar. Now, though Boineburg had embraced Catholicism

[1] WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi*, I., 47; MENTZ, II., 174. *Cf. Hist. polit. Blätter*, CLXIV., 531, which justly observe that there were encroachments on both sides.

[2] PALLAVICINO, II., 390.

[3] MENTZ, II., 171 *seq.*; MERGENTHEIM, I., 36 *seq.*, 39, II., 116.

[4] SARTORI, I., 215 *seq.*; MENTZ, II., 173.

[5] MENTZ, II., 176.

with fullest conviction,[1] he nevertheless retained some very peculiar notions. This is shown by his correspondence with the Protestant jurist Conring: "Let the Romans hate us, so long as they fear us," he wrote to the latter on January 23rd, 1659. A year later, on December 13th, 1660, he wrote that a German Bible, according to Ulenberg's translation, had been printed at Mayence by order of the Elector, without Rome's permission, but "of what use could such a permission be in matters of this kind?"[2]

Much worse were the sentiments entertained by the intimate adviser of the Elector of Cologne, Henry of Bavaria, the artful Dean of Cologne cathedral, Francis Egon von Fürstenberg.[3] Fürstenberg was the chief promoter of the Rhine Federation; he sought his own advantage by maintaining a close association with the French Government to which he owed his elevation to the See of Metz in 1658, and to the See of Strassburg in 1663. Just as the boundless ambition of this man led him to betray his country, so did he betray the interests of the Church. Wherever he could do so, he agitated against the Church in secret. His intrigues did not escape the Cologne nuncio who reported as early as February, 1660, that the aim of Fürstenberg was to put an end to the Holy See's influence on religious conditions in Germany, and above all to render it impossible for Rome to make its authority felt when there was question in that country of filling episcopal sees.[4] In view of the fact that it was not the Elector, a pious but weak man, but Fürstenberg, who collated to benefices and often bestowed them on unworthy candidates, Rome decreed that in future the nuncio was to be consulted on all such occasions. This measure irritated the Elector who now agreed to Fürstenberg's plan to convene a German national council

[1] Vol. XXX., p. 138, also SCHROHE, *J. Ch. Boyneburg, Kurmainzer Oberhofmarschall* (1927).

[2] MENZEL, VIII., 332.

[3] *Cf.* Allg. Deutsche Biogr., VII., 297 *seqq.*

[4] MENTZ, II., 176; *cf.* LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 709, 716 *seq.*

for the purpose of fighting "Rome's encroachments". This assembly would then make common cause with the French Gallicans. However, he could get no support from the Emperor, for the latter saw through the intrigue; on the other hand, the Archbishop of Mayence appears to have been not unfavourable, though he, as well as Louis XIV., realized how difficult it would be to bring together so many diverse characters and interests. In March, 1661, documents of a compromising nature about this scheme came into the hands of the Cologne nuncio, Marco Gallio, who at once forwarded them to Rome.[1] Not long after the nuncio in Vienna, Carlo Carafa,[2] and a little later, the nuncio at Cologne became acquainted with yet another document according to which the Archbishop of Mayence, acting in agreement with the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, and the Kings of France and Spain, had laid before the Pope a proposal for a union with the Protestants. The union was to be brought about at a synod consisting of twenty-four persons chosen from both communions, and by means of the following concessions: Mass in German, Communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests and abolition of auricular confession.

It is highly probable that these revelations were purposely allowed to come to the knowledge of the nuncios with a view to exercising pressure on the Holy See in the ecclesiastico-political sphere. But not only was this object not attained, on the contrary, Rome met these threats with impurturbable calm.[3] How little Rome thought of granting concessions of this kind was experienced by the Archbishop of Mayence

[1] MENTZ, II., 178 *seq.*, 183 *seq.*, *cf.* also GUHRAUER, *Schriften von Leibnitz*, II., 341.

[2] Notice of his mission in a *Brief to the Archbp. of Salzburg, dated August 24, 1658, in which Carafa is described as "praesul summa pietate, prudentia et generis claritudine praestans". Konsistorialarchiv, Salzburg.

[3] GRUBER, *Commercium epistolare Leibnitii*, 411 *seq.* GUHRAUER, *loc. cit.*, I., 3 *seq.*; MENTZ, II., 217; HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 32 *seq.*; VEIT, in *Katholik*, 1917, II., 170 *seq.*

in the course of some negotiations with the city of Frankfort, on the subject of the return of its Protestant citizens to the Catholic Church. To the opportunist Archbishop's request that the chalice should be conceded to the laity, the Secretary of State, Chigi, replied firmly that the Pope had not been surprised at John Philip entertaining such notions, seeing that he had always looked for, and suggested, ways and means to satisfy both parties. However, this had always been held to be an impractical notion and one impossible of realization. As for the request for Communion under both kinds, similar demands had been made to several Popes at different times, but after mature examination of the reasons advanced in its support, it had always been deemed inopportune to yield on this point since those who sincerely embrace Catholic truth and return to the bosom of Holy Church from a desire to save their souls, have no need of such a privilege; if, on the other hand, they lack these dispositions, such a means of grace would be superfluous, in fact, it would be wrong to grant it. The nuncio was instructed, in the event of the subject being broached again, to do his best so as to avoid giving a definite answer. If people were bent on appealing to the Pope, he may let them do so, but on no account must he encourage them.[1]

The Roman authorities were fully informed concerning Fürstenberg's intrigues, hence it was with increasing anxiety that they awaited the Diet of Ratisbon which was opened on January 20th, 1663, by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Guidobald von Thun acting as imperial commissary.[2] Through this prince of the Church it had become known that in the preceding year the Elector of Cologne had advocated not only a German national council, but likewise the appointment of a German patriarch and some kind of a replica of French Gallicanism.[3] Accordingly the Curia sought to guide the Electors of Cologne and Mayence into the path of moderation

[1] MENTZ, II., 210, 213 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 33.
[2] MENTZ, II., 186; LEVINSON, I., 734, 745 *seq.*, 752.
[3] LEVINSON, I., 763.

by conferring favours on them, and even to win them over altogether. The attempt succeeded. In the dispute between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. the ecclesiastical Electors supported the Pope who, as a matter of fact, obviously had right on his side, but they did not dare to offer serious opposition to their powerful French ally.[1] In view of recent rumours of an alarming nature concerning hostile action of the German clergy against Rome, the Curia formally declared that the Concordats were to remain in full vigour, hence discussion at the Diet would be superfluous; in fact, that assembly terminated without anything having been attempted against the Pope.

William von Fürstenberg was an even worse character than his brother, Francis Egon. It was chiefly due to the latter's intrigues that almost every year produced a fresh conflict, though things never went so far as a complete rupture.[2] It is not likely that the two Electors on the Rhine ever intended to push things to extremes, for in the domestic administration of their dioceses both displayed a most successful reforming activity wholly in the spirit of Alexander VII. The diocesan synod held by Maximilian Henry in 1662, yielded lasting results.[3] John Philip von Schönborn too was not without merit. He established the office of a Vicar-General and thereby reorganized ecclesiastical administration; he endeavoured to raise the pastoral clergy which during the Thirty Years' War had sunk to a low level, by ordering visitations and supporting the efforts of Bartholomew Holzhauser; lastly he issued salutary ordinances concerning ecclesiastical functions and purity of morals, and promoted religious instruction.[4]

[1] MENTZ, II., 188; *cf.* LEVINSON, I., 764, 767, 769.

[2] MENTZ, II., 189, 193 *seq.*; on William of Fürstenberg, *cf.* LEVINSON, I., 767, 769, 771.

[3] *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXI., 54.

[4] Besides MENTZ, II., 218 *seq.*, 228 *seq.*, *cf.* the excellent work of VEIT: *Kirchl. Reformbestrebungen im ehemal. Erzstift Mainz under Erzbischof Joh. Phil. v. Schönborn, 1647 bis 1673*, Freiburg, 1910.

Whilst the two Fürstenbergs of the Swabian family of that name caused the Pope so much annoyance on the Rhine, the activities in Westphalia of another Fürstenberg sprung from a noble Westphalian family, gave him all the more satisfaction. Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, who had been Alexander VII.'s particular protégé ever since the latter's nunciature in Cologne, became Bishop of Paderborn in 1661. As a priest he had led a blameless life and as a Bishop he made provision, in exemplary fashion, for the education and discipline of clergy and people, erected numerous churches and monasteries and successfully applied himself to the pursuit of learning, especially the study of the history of Paderborn.[1]

In the neighbouring diocese of Münster, Christoph Bernard von Galen had displayed similar activities since 1650. With the same energy with which this distinguished man wielded the sword in defence of his princely rights, he successfully strove to reform the clergy and people of his diocese, so sadly ravaged by the Thirty Years' War, to restore the churches and to preserve the unity of the faith. He paid special attention to the instruction of youth, a task for which he chiefly made use of the services of the Jesuits. In this way he became the reformer of his diocese to which he assured for good its strong Catholic character.[2]

[1] *Cf.* BESSEN, *Gesch. des Bistums Paderborn* II. (1820), 231 *seq.*; EHRHARD, *Gesch. Münsters* (1837), 548 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VI., 702 *seq.*; RICHTER, *F. v. Fürstenberg*, in *Zeitschr. für vaterl. Gesch* [of Westphalia], LVI., 33 *seq.* The "*Relatio episcopalis Ferdinandi a Fürstenberg episc. Paderbornensis ad Alexandrum VII.", dated 1666, Id. Febr., in *Cod.* 130, of the Theodorianische Bibl., Paderborn.

[2] KARL TÜKING, *Gesch. des Stiftes Münster unter Chr. B. v. Galen*, Münster, 1865; HÜSING, *Chr. Bernard, ein kath. Reformator des 17. Jahrh.*, Paderborn, 1887; *Zeitschr. für vaterl. Gesch.* [Westphalia], XLV., 110 *seq.*; J. MINN, *Die Lebensbeschreibung des Fürstbischofs Chr. B. v. Galen* (Diss.), Hildesheine, 1907; KERCKERINCK, *Alt-Westfalen*, Münster, 1913, XIX. *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1927, 379, 395 *seq.*, and in the periodical, *Westfalen*, 1928.

The movement of conversion of outstanding personalities to the ancient Church, which had begun under Innocent X., after the Thirty Years' War, continued under Alexander VII., though the change of religion often entailed the greatest hardships. For the support of the converts the Cologne nuncio, the Archbishop of Cosenza, reopened in that city an establishment founded under Paul V., but which had been destroyed during the war.[1] Even in princely circles destitution was often the lot of those who returned to the ancient Church in obedience to their convictions; thus Duke Alexander Henry of Schleswig-Holstein found himself repeatedly compelled to beg the Pope for financial help as his conversion had cost him his inheritance.[2] At the Pope's request the Emperor gave assistance to Duke Christian of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had returned to the Church in 1663, as well as to Duke John Frederick of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who was hard pressed by his Protestant relations because of his conversion[3]; it was only in 1665 when, on the death of Duke Christian Louis of Celle, he became ruler of Kalenberg-Göttingen and the principality of Grubenhagen, that the establishment of Catholic services in Hanover had to be granted to him after the Peace of Westphalia, on account of his sovereign rights.[4] John Frederick chose for his almoner his chaplain Valerio Maccioni, a native of San Marino who, in April, 1667, was

[1] See the *letter of the Archbishop of Cosenza, dated Innsbruck, October 13, 1659, in *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 31, p. 180 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 645, 649, 673. *Cf.* the *Brief to Alexander Henry, dated February 16, 1658, *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] LEVINSON, *loc. cit.*, 781, 782. The "Facultas absolvendi ducem Christianum Mekleburgensem" in *Bull.* XVII., 187. On the Pope's intercession with the Emperor on behalf of the two convert Dukes, see "*Lettere del segretario di stato di P. Alessandro VII. all' abbate Franc. Ant. Galli internuntio appresso la M. dell' Imperatore Leopoldo I.", in Bibl. della Società di storia patria, Naples.

[4] SPITTLER, *Gesch. Hannovers*, II., 280 *seq.*

appointed by Propaganda and by the Pope Vicar Apostolic of the ducal territories of Kalenberg, Göttingen and Grubenhagen. The Vicariate Apostolic of the North was created at a later date; Maccioni was placed at its head, laboured unsparingly for the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith.[1]

Among the princely converts of that period, mention must be made of the Count and Countess Palatine of Sulzbach,[2] the Countess Palatine Louise Hollandine, second daughter of the "Winter King", Count Ernest William of Bentheim Steinfurth and his nephew, Arnold Maurice William, the Margrave Gustav Adolf of Baden and John Henry von Schwarzenbach of Lusatia.[3]

No less numerous were the converts from the ranks of the scholars, among them such outstanding men as the learned Hamburg historian, Peter Lambeck, the poet von Grimmelshausen, the Orientalist, John Michael Wansleben, the Provost of Berlin, Andrew Fromm, the Calvinist preacher Volusius, the anatomist Nicholas Steno, and the brothers Adrian and Peter Walemburch, the former of whom became Vicar-General of Cologne, and the latter auxiliary Bishop of Mayence.[4] Both became successful controversialists and assisted the Elector of Mayence, Schönborn, in his efforts to bring the Protestants back to the old faith. With him they were instrumental in the conversion of Count Hohenlohe. In 1670 Schönborn won over to the ancient Church the Count

[1] Köcher, II., 33 *seq.*, 375 *seq.*, and especially Metzler 35 *seqq.*

[2] See above, p. 60.

[3] Räss, VII., 137 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, XI., 456 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, X., 186, LII., 102; Mentz, II., 209; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1045, 1058; *Katholik*, 1917, II., 170.

[4] Räss, VII., 156 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, VIII., 139, 796, IX., 696 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XVII., 533, XXXVI., 57 *seq.*, XL., 728 *seq.*, XLI., 159 *seq.* For G. A. Volusius, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVI., 543; Falk, in *Korrespondenzbl. des deutschen Geschichtsvereins*, XXVII., 54; for Steno, see Metzler, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLVIII. (1911), fasc. 2.

of Hanau, but on this occasion he realized that the conversion of a Prince by no means opened possibilities of spreading the old faith among his subjects, for Brandenburg and Hessen prevented the erèction of Catholic churches in Hanau.[1] Besides Schönborn, the learned Landgrave, Ernest of Hessen-Rheinfels, also displayed the greatest zeal for the conversion of Protestants.[2]

During Alexander VII.'s pontificate Roman diplomacy made prolonged efforts to bring about the conversion of John George II., Elector of Saxony. At one time the plan, which would have meant a great triumph for the Catholic cause, seemed likely to succeed. Its eventual failure was largely due to the indecision of the Emperor Leopold and the intervention of the "Protector of the Protestants in Germany", Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who threatened to rally all the followers of Luther for a holy war.[3]

The Emperor, though his conduct was that of a sincere Catholic, occasioned great annoyance to the Pope by the obstinacy with which he insisted on the nomination of Archduke Sigismond of Tyrol to the see of Trent. Alexander VII. refused to confirm the nomination because a further increase of the power of the House of Habsburg in the ecclesiastico-political sphere would give reason to fear even more violent conflicts between Church and State than those that had previously occurred in that country.[4] The growth of State

[1] MENTZ, II., 203 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, 215 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 205 *seq.* *Briefs of October 13, 1655, recommended Ernest of Hesse (see XXX., p. 137) to the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Trèves (*Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.). Alexander VII. sent the Landgrave a contribution for a church; see *Brief of July 7, 1657, *Epist.*, III., *ibid.*

[3] AUERBACH, *La dipl. franç. et la cour de Saxe*, Paris, 1888, 74 *seqq.*; HASSEL, in *N. Archiv für sächs. Gesch.*, XI.; *Venez Depeschen*, I., 39, 48, 232; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaburberichte*, I., 559 *seq.*, 582 *seq.*, 615 *seq.*, 625, 627, 681, 778, 784 *seq.*, 789, 795 *seq.*, 802 *seq.*, 804.

[4] LEVINSON, I., 562, 666 *seq.*, 671, 690, 695 *seq.*, 699 *seq.*, 703 *seq.*, 707 *seq.*, 726, 744, 752, 756, 767.

absolutism in ecclesiastical matters may likewise be seen in the application of the *placet* in the States of the Emperor, notwithstanding the Pope's protests. The negotiations concerning the newly created diocese of Leitmeritz [in 1655] also revealed alarming symptoms of the development of Caesaro-papalism in Austria. In Bavaria, too, the Church was kept under a rigid tutelage. As time went on it became increasingly evident in all the Catholic States of Germany that the assistance of the secular power in the work of the Catholic restoration was not without its drawbacks. In course of time the State interfered more and more in purely Catholic affairs.[1]

Rome paid close attention to Switzerland where the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics. For all that, in 1656 the Villmerger war ended in favour of the Catholics,[2] but the latter did not remain united ; accordingly, Baldeschi the Swiss nuncio, was directed in 1665 to see to the preservation of concord among the Catholic Cantons. He was warned not to underestimate the intelligence of the Swiss, as had been done by a nuncio of the period of Urban VIII., whose three years of office had been quite barren. "It is a mistake," the Instruction goes on to say, "to look on the Swiss as a rude and unskilled people, for though they specialized in the arts of war, they were also clever diplomatists who knew quite well how to exploit to their own advantage their relations with those two mutual rivals, France and Spain." What is said concerning relations with Protestants likewise deserves attention : "Those Popes," we read, "who with excessive zeal forbade, under pain of excommunication, all relations with heretics, never intended to include those who work for their conversion." Accordingly, the nuncio was instructed to abstain from political negotiations with the Protestant Cantons but, on the other hand, not to scruple prudently to enter into friendly relations with individual Protestants ; by this means the way could be prepared for their conversion,

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, III.[5], 744 *seq.* For Leitmeritz, see J. E. SCHLENZ, *Gesch. der Gründung des Bistums Leitmeritz*, Warnsdorf, 1912.

[2] HÜRBIN, II., 394 *seq.*

for thus it would be possible to remove their prejudices and to show them the true face of the Catholic Church. As for the Catholic Cantons, the nuncio should bring home to them that the Holy See only aimed at what was best for them, hence he should also promote the Catholic reform in Switzerland.[1]

Whereas in Sweden the most stringent laws against the exercise of Catholic worship remained in full force, King Christian III. of Denmark showed himself more tolerant and allowed the imperial ambassador to have Catholic services in his house.[2] In some provinces of Holland Catholics had to undergo severe persecution. This was particularly the case in Friesland where the adherents of the ancient faith were not even permitted to bury their dead with head uncovered, on the plea that this would give offence,[3] but in other Provinces the position of Catholics was fairly tolerable.[4]

(2.)

As a youth Alexander VII. had longed for a missionary's life; hence, as head of the Church, he took a lively interest in the Church's world apostolate.[5] His pontificate constitutes

[1] See in App. 5 the *Instruction for F. Baldeschi, 1665, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 694, 727.

[3] HUBERT, 263; *cf.* 268.

[4] *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XVIII., 173 *seq.*, 205; *cf.* HUBERT, 352. A *Brief of July 3, 1661, expresses thanks to Louis XIV. for having secured permission for a public church for the Catholics of Amsterdam (*Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). The papal confirmation of the decree of Propaganda on the dispute between the secular and regular clergy in Holland, dated September 20, 1656, in *Bull.* XVI., 231. *Cf.* **Relatio seu descriptio status religionis catholicae in Hollandia etc. quam Romae collegit et exhibuit Alexandro VII. et cardinalibus congregationis de Prop. Fide J. de la Torre Kal. Septembris anno 1656*, Utrecht, 1883.

[5] In what follows Professor Schmidlin has assisted me from his rich store of information, for which I wish to thank him here also.

a turning-point in the Church's missionary activity, especially as regards the centralistic tendency in favour of Propaganda, whose powers and financial consolidation received considerable increase during his reign.[1] By the advice of the Cardinals of Propaganda, Alexander VII. decreed in 1660, with a view to removing abuses in the Papal Colleges,[2] that the pupils of these establishments, even when they were dismissed or, with Propaganda's leave, entered an Order, remained bound for life by their oath to serve the Holy See in the mission field and, if in Europe, were to report annually to Propaganda, and every other year if outside Europe.[3] In 1665 he empowered the Congregation to acquire several houses for the Urban College of Propaganda, and in 1666 he granted a number of Indulgences to the College Sodality of Our Lady.[4] In 1660 he assigned to Propaganda the house of the Ruthenians near SS. Sergius and Bacchus as well as the property of the Maronite College at Ravenna when this was sold.[5] In the same year

[1] *Cf.* KILGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswissensch*, 1922, 15 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *ibid.*, 1923, 58 *seq.*; also the decrees of Propaganda of 1656 forbidding missionaries under pain of excommunication to publish books without leave of the Congregation (*Ius pontif.*, P. II., 110) of 1659, on subsidies for the missionaries (*ibid.*, 117) and of 1665, that missionaries must not be released by Prefects before they receive information from the Congregation and their successors' arrival (*ibid.*, 132 and 135 for the Prefect). In 1658 the Pope let it be known that in future doubts were to be discussed not by Propaganda but by the Holy Office (*ibid.*, 114).

[2] *Cf.* the interesting **Memoriale presentato alla S. Congregazione de Prop. Fide alli 8 Settembre, 1658, circa i disordini delli collegii pontificii*, Propaganda Arch., Rome, 362, p. 31 *seqq.*

[3] *Ius pontif.*, I., 318 *seq.* On April 8, 1661, Propaganda issued some explanations and answers on this papal decision (*ibid.*, P. II., 121 *seqq.*).

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 358 *seqq.*, 367 *seqq.* *Cf.* Propaganda's decree on two weekly Masses to be said by the students for deceased missionaries, 1658 (*ibid.*, 114), and forbidding the letting of adjoining houses to women of evil life, 1665 (*ibid.*, P. II., 132).

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 318, 360 *seqq.*

he gave orders that the Cardinals Protectors of the German College in Rome should hold their meetings in the hall of Propaganda, in presence of the Secretary of that Congregation.[1] With regard to the Missionary College of St. Paul of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome, he decreed in 1655 that though it remained subject in all things to the Roman Provincial, it should be dependent on Propaganda with regard to the administration, and that the pupils were to bind themselves by oath to work in the mission field. A decree of 1662 transferred the College of S. Maria della Vittoria to S. Pancrazio outside the Walls.[2]

Another undertaking, the foundation and approval of which also date from the pontificate of Alexander VII., viz. the Seminary of the Missions in Paris, was to acquire even greater importance for Catholic missionary action. Already under Innocent X. the idea had been mooted of giving to the missions in the Far East Bishops of their own. After that Pope's death the General Assembly of the French Clergy of 1655, promoted the plan by means of a petition to Pope Alexander.[3] Two years later some French clerics headed by Pallu and at the instigation of the Duchess of Aiguillon, begged the Pope at least to appoint Vicars Apostolic with episcopal powers for China and Tongking where the prospects of Christianity seemed particularly bright. They declared themselves prepared to defray all expenses and that Portugal would surely grant a free passage; if she did not, the missionaries could travel viâ Persia and the kingdom of the Great Mogul.[4] The Pope, to whom the keenness of these priests recalled his own youthful

[1] *Ibid.*, 325 *seqq.* *Cf.* STEINHUBER, II., 6 *seq.*, 11.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, I., 287 *seqq.*, 328 *seqq.* *Cf.* KILGER, *Zeitschr. für Missionswissensch*, 1915, 214 *seq.*, where further sources are quoted.

[3] On April 13, 1665, Bishop Godeau of Vence was entrusted with the drafting of the memorial which was read and approved on May 9; *cf.* LAUNAY, I., 21, according to the protocols of the *Assemblées Génerales*, IV., 375. See XXX., p. 192.

[4] LAUNAY, I., 25 *seqq.*, according to the seminary Archives and the "Expositio eorum quae Romae gesta sunt.", by Pallu.

missionary enthusiasm, promised them his support and charged Cardinals Rospigliosi, Spada, Albizzi and Azzolini with the examination of the matter.[1] However, notwithstanding Pallu's pressure and the Cardinals' promises, no decision was taken until Pierre de la Motte Lambert, after repeated and determined efforts, secured an interview with Alberici, the Secretary of Propaganda, at which he obtained what he wanted.[2] The four Cardinals having sent in a favourable report, Propaganda, on May 13th, 1658, proposed Pallu and de la Motte Lambert as Vicars Apostolic, whereupon the Pope nominated them on August 17th. Whilst presenting the rochet to Pallu, he strongly exhorted him to endure patiently the trials that awaited him in the mission field.[3] By Briefs of September 9th, 1659, Alexander confirmed their nomination, as well as the delimitation of their respective spheres of work; at the same time he empowered either of the two Vicars to assume the administration of the other's territory at his death and to raise to the priesthood candidates who were ignorant of Latin.[4] At Pallu's request Cotolendi was soon after appointed Bishop of Nanking.[5] From Propaganda the new Bishops received instructions full of profound wisdom; these counselled the closest possible adaptation to Eastern conditions, to take the overland route through Asia, so as to avoid Portugal, to appoint a Procurator in Rome and to

[1] *Ibid.*, 29 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34, according to *Acta S. Congreg.*, 1657, p. 202, Pallu was consecrated by Card. Antonio Barberini at St. Peter's, Lambert in Paris, by the Archbishop of Tours (LAUNAY, I., 40 *seq.*).

[4] *Ius pontif.*, I., 313 *seq.*, and LAUNAY, I., 41 *seqq.* It was enough if the candidates were able to read and to explain the Canon of the Mass and the ritual of the Sacraments and they were free to say other prayers instead of the Breviary. This faculty was confirmed anew in Alexander VII.'s Brief of 1665 (*Ius pontif.*, I., 355 *seq.*, and *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 109). *Cf.* GAMS, *Series*, 122 *seqq.*, and JANN, 217 *seqq.*

[5] LAUNAY, I., 45 *seq.*

erect a Seminary in Paris in order to assure a constant supply of secular missionary priests.[1] The foundation of such an institution for the training of missionaries had already been approved by Propaganda in 1658, at the request of Pallu, Lambert and Laval[2]; thus before their departure in 1660 the new Vicars Apostolic were able, with the help of generous benefactors, to authorize its foundation: it was opened in 1663. The Carmelite Bishop Bernard of Babylon had bought a suitable house[3]; the undertaking was officially approved by royal letters patent in 1663, and on August 3rd, 1664, the Pope's nephew, Flavio Chigi, in his capacity as Legate in France, granted it ecclesiastical and papal recognition.[4] In this same year, as well as in the following, a papal Brief to both Vicars regulated the succession in the event of the death of either. It was necessary to make such dispositions in view of the fact that Cotolendi was no longer living.[5]

Thus arose a new creation which was destined not only to lay the foundation to the preponderant rôle played by France in the modern apostolate to the heathens, and to give a powerful impulse to the missions in the Far East, but to be of paramount importance in other respects also, in as much as, for the first time, a missionary hierarchy was created, Portugal's missionary monopoly was broken, secular priests were admitted into the missionary general staff and the training of a native clergy inaugurated.[6] Germany's more active participation in the work of the missions, especially through

[1] *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 115 *seqq.*, and *Collect. Propag.*, I., 42 *seq.*, also LAUNAY, I., 46 *seqq.*, and PIEPER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissensch*, 1922, 34 *seq.*

[2] LAUNAY, I., 39 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 51 *seqq.*, 75 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 81 *seqq.* *Cf.* LETOURNEAU, *La mission de J. J. Olier et les fondations des grandes séminaires en France*, Paris, 1906, 228, 363 *seq.*

[5] *Ius pontif.*, I., 340 *seq.*, 353 *seqq.*; *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 103 *seqq.* *Cf.* JANN, 221 *seq.*

[6] LAUNAY, I., 36 *seqq.*; KILGER, *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1922, 27 *seq.*

the Jesuits, owing to the abolition or at least the limitation of the claims of Portugal, also dates from the pontificate of Alexander VII.[1]

A number of important decisions concerning individual mission fields fall into the reign of Alexander. An ordinance for Holland of the year 1655 decreed that the offerings of the faithful to the missionaries must be applied to the best advantage of the missions. Propaganda's decisions in the disputes between the Dutch secular clergy and the missionaries were confirmed in 1656.[2] Other decisions concerned the faithful of South-Eastern Europe. In 1655 the boundaries between the archdiocese of Ochrida and the diocese of Prisrend, in Serbia, were more clearly defined [3]; in 1659 the pupils of the Greek College in Rome received permission to adopt the Latin manner of observing the fast; in 1660 a decree of Propaganda was confirmed whereby priests belonging to religious Orders were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Sofia and the Bishop of Bosnia: in 1665 certain juridical acts by the Ruthenian Metropolitan Gabriel of Kiew were ratified by a *sanatio in radice*; in 1666 the Carmelite Bishop Joseph Mary of Hierapolis was charged to make a visitation of the Ægean Isles together with Zakynth and Corfù.[4]

With regard to the Near East, Alexander VII. approved in 1655, the privileges of the Franciscans of the Holy Land and in 1659 the consecration of the Archbishop of Aleppo

[1] HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17 u. 18 Jahrh.* (1899), 77 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 21, the circular of the General, Oliva, of November 29, 1664.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, I., 285 *seqq.*, 297 *seqq.* The Vicar Apostolic of the Netherlands, De la Torre, was in exile at this time (*Freib. Kirchenlex.* X², 373). *Cf.* the decree of Propaganda of 1663 on alms for the missions, *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 128 *seqq.*

[3] *Ius pontif.*, I., 284.

[4] *Ibid.*, 284 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 323 *seqq.*, 357 *seq.*, 369 *seqq.* In 1667 he assigned the convent of the Conventuals at Targovist to the custody of the Observants of Walachia (*ibid.*, 273). In 1666 Propaganda confirmed the decree forbidding the ordinaries of Bulgaria to employ the Franciscans (*ibid.*, P. II., 136 *seq.*).

by the Patriarch of the Maronites. In 1660 he suppressed the Maronite College of Ravenna and assigned its property to Propaganda for the benefit of Maronite pupils.[1] In 1662 the Armenian *Catholicos* James, accompanied by twenty-five Bishops, set out for Rome. Whilst still on the way, he made a profession of the Catholic faith at Constantinople, in presence of the Latin Archbishop; this document, as well as a protestation of obedience to the Holy See by the Armenian nation, was taken to the Eternal City by the Dominican Piscop who had been on a mission to Persia.[2] The Patriarch of Lesser Armenia, who had made a profession of the Catholic faith at Rome in 1660, subsequently relapsed into schism.[3] In 1656 the Jesuits opened missions in Antura and the Capuchins at Tiflis and in Georgia in 1666.[4]

A Maronite having reported on the favourable dispositions of the King of Abyssinia, Propaganda in 1666 dispatched Andrade to that country as Vicar Apostolic, but he and his missionaries met with so much opposition that he achieved nothing.[5]

The Dominican Mission in East Africa was also meeting

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 286 *seq.*, 308 *seq.*, 360 *seqq.*, decisions and answers of Propaganda in 1650 on the liturgy at Aleppo, *ibid.*, P. II., 112 *seq.* and in 1654 on the formula of profession and the questions of the Syrian Franciscans, *ibid.*, 130 *seq.* Three letters of "Giov. Pietro Patriarcha d'Antiochia de' Maroniti" (Papal Sec. Arch.) in P. Wenzel, *Lettre di prelati delle chiese orientali*, Roma, 1889, 3 *seq.*

[2] Cerri, *Estat présent de l'église Romaine*, 170; Hergenröther-Kirsch, III., 574.

[3] Though he was entertained at the College and given money for his journey; see Cerri, 168.

[4] Schmidlin, *Missionsgesch.*, 221 *seq.*; Rocco da Cesinale, III., 334 *seqq.*, solutions of doubts by Propaganda in 1656 about the Georgians in *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 135; on the invalidity of the marriage of Nestorian priests after ordination, *ibid.*, 118.

[5] Cerri, 218 *seqq.* According to the Maronite's report the king allowed the exercise of the Catholic religion and there were 30,000 Catholics in one province of Egypt (*ibid.*). *Cf.* Lemmens, 181.

with but small success just then.[1] In 1648 and 1654 Vincent de Paul sent his Lazarists to Madagascar but the mission had to be given up in 1676, after it had cost the Society twenty-seven of its members in the space of twenty-five years. A band of Recollects who were dispatched to the island in 1660, fell into the hands of corsairs.[2] On the other hand, Italian Capuchins worked successfully in Congo; they were reinforced by sixteen new recruits in 1654 and again in 1666; they also laboured most fruitfully in Angola and Matamba, with Loanda as their base.[3] By order of Propaganda, Spanish Capuchins laboured zealously on the coast of Guinea. In 1657 and 1664 some Fathers were sent to Sierra Leone where they built churches and baptized the King, three princes and a vast number of people. They likewise laboured in Overo and Benin whither they had gone in 1655 at the request of the King, but they were unable to maintain themselves in Ardea-Nigritia and in Whida, where they had gone in 1659 and 1666 respectively, though they had been well received and prospects had been good at first.[4]

In India the Jesuits continued to labour zealously and with some success in the various territories of Madura,[5]

[1] According to the Jesuit Barreto's visitation reports of 1667; see *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, by THIEL, III., 436 *seqq.*; KILGER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1917, 104.

[2] COSTE, XIV., 359 *seqq.*; MAYNARD, III., 104 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 232, n. 2. The Prefect Etienne is said to have threatened a chieftain with France's hostility and deprivation of his wives if he refused to become a Christian; *cf.* PIOLET, *Les miss. cath. franç.*, IV., 422 *seqq.*

[3] CERRI, 238 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 373. Decision of 1660 by Propaganda on slavery in Congo, in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 120.

[4] SCHMIDLIN, 372 *seq.*; CERRI, 223 *seqq.*; ROCCO DACESINALE, III., 514 *seq.* In 1655 P. Serafin baptized the emperor of the Sapis (ROCCO, 507).

[5] Conversions and Baptisms obtained by them in Tiruchirapalli in 1656–9 amounted to 2,347, in 1659–1662 *ca.* 18,000, in Madura, 1659–1662, 870, in Candelm, 1656–9, 1,192, and in 1662–5, 584, in Palur, 1656–9, 1,400, 1660–2, 950, in Sattiamangalam 1656–9, 1,639, in Tanjaur, 1656–9 2,268, in 1666, 401, where on

but the missions on the south-west and south-east coast succumbed under the conquests of the Dutch [1] and those in the Kingdom of the Mogul under the persecutions of Orengsib.[2] At the end of 1659 Alexander VII. sent to the Christians of St. Thomas of Malabar, as Apostolic Commissary and Administrator of Angamale, the Carmelite Bishop Joseph of St. Mary, with extensive faculties.[3] A papal Brief of January 18th, 1658, shows that abuses had crept into the Church of India and the Mission in Goa. As a result of complaints by the faithful against their pastors, the Brief confirms the decrees of Propaganda and instructs the parish priests not to subject anyone to forced labour, to deal with due moderation with those who fail to attend church or instructions, to instruct the people with meekness, to receive the nobles also in the Seminary, to admit all to the schools, irrespective of their origin, not to exclude the neophytes from the Orders or the secular priests from the cure of souls, not to meddle with worldly affairs, to preach several times a year in the language of the country, to appoint native priests as confessors, to abolish confession through an interpreter or by reading a list of sins, to admit the natives to Holy Communion and to take Holy Viaticum to the sick, to baptize no one who had not

the other hand 10,000 Christians perished in 1662 from war and want; see MÜLLBAUER, 213 *seqq.*

[1] They conquered Negapatam in 1658, Cranganor in 1662. Cochin in 1663, which led to the destruction of the Jesuit establishments there. In like manner the capture of Meliapur by the King of Golkonda caused the suppression of the houses of the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans.

[2] Since 1658 (*ibid.*, 285 *seq.*). The Theatines' missionary attempts also came to an end with the death of P. Toma and P. Lubello, 1662–3 (*ibid.*, 355).

[3] Among others that of erecting a Chapter, to settle the succession in the archdiaconate, to commit the administration of Angamale to one or two priests in the capacity of Vicar's Apostolic; see *Ius. pontif.*, I., 314 *seqq.* P. Joseph had been raised to the episcopate in Cochin in 1657, in 1661 he returned thither from Rome and held visitations up to 1663; in 1665 he was back in Rome; MÜLLBAUER, 305 *seqq.*

first renounced idolatry, to bring about the conversion of the pagans not by violence or torture, but by instruction and good example, not to ask for anything from their parishioners, to bury the poor gratuitously, not to sanction pagan sacrifices and to see to it that the Regulars preserved the religious spirit.[1] However, there exists a memorandum of the year 1666, that is, from the last period of Alexander VII., in which Manfroni, Secretary of Propaganda, expatiates on the means of reforming the missions in East India. This document reveals the sad state to which they were reduced, the ignorance and immorality of the people, the incapacity of both secular and regular clergy, as well as their slackness and corruption. The cause of the decay, so we read, was the lack of Bishops; hence it was imperative to dispatch thither, without touching Portuguese harbours, Vicars Apostolic and fresh missionaries full of zeal, the latter being chosen especially from the Paris Seminary but also from the various Orders, whilst those who indulged in quarrels and gave scandal by their lives must be recalled.[2]

Whilst the conquests of the Dutch put an abrupt end to Catholic missionary undertakings both in Malacca and Ceylon [after 1658],[3] they were all the more full of promise

[1] *Ius. pontif.*, I., 304 *seqq.*; *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 92 *seq.*; as a decree of Propaganda in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 111 *seq.*, supplemented on July 22, *ibid.*, 113. Also JANN, 301 *seqq.*, and MÜLLBAUER, 255, n. 1. In 1659 the Pope also approved the decrees of the Definitorium and those of the General Chapter for the East Indian Franciscan Province of St. Thomas, and decided that the Commissaries General could not defer the Provincial Chapters; *Ius. pontif.*, I., 306 *seqq.*, 310 *seqq.*

[2] "*Considerationes et media pro reparatione missionum in Indiis orientalibus." Propaganda Archives, *Scritture antiche*, 230 *seq.*, 80 *seqq.* *Cf.* KILGER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1922, 29 *seq.*

[3] In 1665 Propaganda sanctioned the ordination of all refugees without dimissorial letters (*Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 131 *seq.*). In Ceylon the Dutch ostracized catholicism, expelled the missionaries and killed a number of Christians (SCHMIDLIN, 386 *seq.*; LEMMENS, 107).

in the Annamite kingdoms, and this in spite of violent persecutions. According to Jesuit reports there were in Tonkin, about 1659, some 300,000 Christians remarkable for every virtue, and each year saw the conversion of from 8,000 to 10,000 persons.[1] However, in 1658, six missionaries were banished by the King, and in 1663 two of their number who had remained behind followed them into exile.[2] In 1663 a persecution also broke out at the court of Cochin China; from there it spread to the whole country and led to the banishment of the missionaries.[3] In view of the numerous conversions, with which the small band of apostolic labourers was unable to cope, Alexander VII., in 1659, appointed as Vicars Apostolic, with very extensive faculties, two members of the Paris Seminary, viz. Bishop François Pallu of Heliopolis for Tonking and Pierre de la Motte Lambert, Bishop of Bertyus, for Cochin China.[4] Both Bishops, accompanied by four missionary priests, journeyed between 1662–1664, by way of Aleppo and South India, to Siam, settling in the royal city of Juthia where they made a number of conversions, whilst Chevreuil was sent to Cochin China and Deydier to Tonking.[5]

[1] *Cf.* PACHTLER, *Das Christentum in Tonkin und Cochinchina* (1861), 116 *seqq.* (based on P. Tissanier's account; for the latter's journey, *ibid.*, 69 *seqq.*). The above numbers are confirmed by P. Machault in his Relation of 1658 (*ibid.*, 189) and by Portuguese sources (*ibid.*, 151), whereas LAUNAY (I., 91) only gives 100,000 and SCHWAGER endeavours to account for the divergence by apostasies (*Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1913, 147). There were 8 Jesuits, 30 Catechists and 300 churches (*ibid.*).

[2] PACHTLER, *loc. cit.*, 119 *seqq.* (according to TISSANIER), 151 *seqq.*; there also on the increase of conversions (even of Mandarius) during the persecution as well as on the martyrdom and the constancy of many, but also on many apostasies.

[3] *Ibid.*, 166 *seqq.* for the martyrs, as in the Province of Tscham and among the Japanese Christians of Faifo. In 1658 there were 20,000 Christians in Cochin China; see JANN, 208.

[4] *Ius. pontif.*, I., 313 *seqq.*, 430 *seqq.*, 353 *seqq.* (*cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 193); also JANN, 217 *seqq.*, and LAUNAY, I., 128 *seqq.*

[5] LAUNAY, I., 62 *seqq.*, 86 *seqq.*, 115 *seqq.* Deydier gave the Exercises to the Catechists, founded a seminary, brought back

An even richer harvest seemed to await Christianity in China. A somewhat too optimistic French memorandum of 1658 explained to the Pope that the Empire of the Middle had opened its doors wide to the Gospel, and that all obstacles had been cleared from its path ; that the Emperor of the new Tartar dynasty, like a new Constantine, granted the utmost freedom to the preachers of the faith, allowed people to be baptized, churches to be built, and tolerated the open profession of Christianity ; that, in fact, in token of his good will, he had erected a magnificent church in Peking, his capital, and that the Mandarins who opposed Christianity had been removed, and a people hitherto so hostile to foreigners, now tolerated the Europeans.[1] As a matter of fact, according to the Jesuits' reckoning, the Christians numbered 257,000 in 1664, and 264,000 in 1669.[2] The church of Nantang in Peking had been rebuilt and the young Tartar Emperor Shungti was on intimate terms with the Jesuit Schall of Cologne, in fact, in 1657 he even put him at the head of the mathematical and astronomical department, at the same time bestowing on him high titles of honour. However, in 1665, Schall fell a victim to a fresh persecution.[3] It was amid these circumstances

many Christians and baptized 3,000 (up to 1667). According to the Catechists the Christians only numbered 30,000–35,000—many of whom did not practise—and there were 70 churches and 300 oratories (*ibid.*, 131 *seq.*). A decree of Propaganda on the practice of saying Mass with the head covered, see *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 128, and one of 1665 for Siam in reply to questions, *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*

[1] LAUNAY, I., 27.

[2] According to INTORCETTA ; but according to the catalogue of GAMA only 110,000 (*cf.* THOMAS, *Hist. de la Mission de Pékin*, I., 398 *seq.*). On the quality, constancy and piety of the Christians and the state of the mission at court, *cf.* MARTIN, *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate christianorum apud Sinas*, Roma, 1654 ; also SCHMIDLIN, 273.

[3] *Ibid.*, especially on the basis of Schall's *Relatio de initio et progressu Soc. Iesu in regno Sinarum*, Vienna, 1665. *Cf.* BIERBAUM's detailed account, p. 115 *seqq.*

that Alexander VII., in 1659, issued certain ordinances by which the south-western provinces of Jünnan, Kweitchau, Hukuang, Sutchuen, Kuangsi and Laos were assigned to Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Tonking, the south-eastern provinces of Tchekiang, Fokien, Kuangtong, Kiangsi and Hainan were allotted to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochin China, and in the following year, the northern provinces of Kiangnan Tcheli, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Shantung, Corea and Tartary to Cotolendi, Vicar Apostolic of Nanking. However, none of these Vicars, nor any of their priests, succeeded in setting foot on Chinese territory during the lifetime of the Pope.[1]

From the remaining Far-Eastern mission fields only desultory reports reached Rome. In 1661 the Jesuits Gruber and Dorville entered and traversed Tibet on their journey from China to Europe. The King of Katmandu gave them a friendly reception and invited them to return; he even held out to them the prospect of their being allowed to preach freely.[2]

In Japan, by an ordinance of 1666, anyone suspected of being a Christian was made to trample the crucifix and the image of Mary under foot, and entrance into the empire was forbidden to the messengers of the faith under pain of death.[3]

In the Molluccas, with the exception of Solor and Timor, where the Portuguese and the Catholics were able to maintain

[1] *Cf.* the papal Briefs in *Ius. pontif.*, I., 313 *seqq.*, 340 *seqq.*, 354 *seqq.*, besides LAUNAY, I., 73 *seq.*, and JANN, 217 *seqq.* At first Pallu and Lambert had to divide between themselves the widowed vicariate of Nanking; later on Alexander VII., authorized them to consecrate a successor from among their European missionaries although they had requested Rome to appoint a special vicar to replace Cotolendi, for which post they had in view the native Dominican Lopez because he would be able to penetrate into China (*ibid.*, 221 *seq.*). On the controversy over the rites see below p. 163 *seqq.* Further decisions of Propaganda in 1665 on ordinations, Mass, marriage, etc., in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 131, 133 *seq.*

[2] SCHMIDLIN, 390; JANN, 383 *seq.*; HUONDER, 187; C. WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721, La Haye, 1924, 164 *seqq.*

[3] SCHMIDLIN, 295; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 1256.

themselves and to beat off the Dutch attacks,[1] the missions had been destroyed in the struggle with the Calvinist Dutch. As against this, in the Philippine Islands, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians continued to keep the Christian natives true to the faith and to uproot almost completely the last remnants of paganism.[2] For the benefit of the Augustinian missionaries Alexander VII. confirmed the decree of Propaganda, forbidding them to stop on their journey from Europe to the Philippines, either in Mexico or elsewhere, beyond the time required either by the journey itself or the necessity of obtaining provisions.[3]

In Spanish-Portuguese America the religious continued to apply themselves with ardour to their missionary labours, though these were greatly hindered and frustrated by laxity and discord both in their own ranks and in those of the clergy and the people.[4] In Brazil the Jesuit Vieira, the defender of the freedom of the Indians, distinguished himself,[5] as did the French Capuchins who, in 1659, founded some Reductions near Rio de Janeiro.[6]

Other religious besides the Jesuits laboured in Paraguay,

[1] There were battles in 1660 in Solor and in 1656 and 1665 in Timor; in 1660 three Dominicans were captured by the Dutch whilst journeying from Goa to Solor; see BIERMANN, in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1923, 36 *seq.*, 41. After the conquest of Ternate by the Dutch the Franciscans were forced to abandon their mission there (LEMMEN, 119).

[2] SCHMIDLIN, 395, together with the chronicle of the province; LEMMENS, 121.

[3] *Ius. pontif.*, I., 321 *seq.*, at the request of the Procurator of the Order.

[4] SCHMIDLIN, 399 *seq.*

[5] In 1665 he obtained from Lisbon an alleviation of the lot of the Indians, a limitation of slavery and the transfer to the Jesuits of the native villages of Maranhão, but in 1661 he was attacked by the Portuguese, together with some other Fathers, ill-treated and taken to Portugal. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*; CAREL, *Vieira*, Paris, 1878.

[6] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, ROCCO DA CESINALE. III., 703 *seqq.*

Peru, Chile and New Granada. In 1659, the Jesuits restored the mission of the Llanos and in 1666 they founded seven new Indian Reductions.[1] In 1656, under the leadership of Juan de Mendoza, the Franciscans advanced from the Orinoco as far as the Palanques, whom they baptized together with their caciques.[2] Capuchins from Aragon laboured among the Caribs of Piritu,[3] and their Andalusian brothers in religion among the Llanos of Caracas.[4]

Towards the end of the pontificate of Alexander VII. the first French Jesuits appeared in Guienne [5]; Franciscans and Jesuits continued to labour in Mexico, but the rising of the Apalaches in 1657 ruined eight flourishing Franciscan stations in Florida.[6] At the request of Spain, Alexander VII. commissioned the Archbishop of San Domingo in 1663 to detach the island of Trinidad from the far too distant diocese of Portorico and to attach it to the archdiocese of Santa Fé.[7] Otherwise, in so far as South America and Mexico were concerned, the Pope only intervened in some domestic

[1] ASTRÁIN, VI., 646 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405; in 1666 P. Suarez de Figueroa was martyred in the mission of Mauna of Quito.

[2] Six at first and 14 in 1660; *cf.* CIVEZZA, V., 233 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405.

[3] ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 715 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405 *seq.*; FROYLAR DE RIONEGRO, *Relaciones*, ed. 1918, and SILVESTRE's *Vita* for Carabantes. There were 5 missionaries in 1657, 12 in 1663. In a letter of homage to the Pope, 5 convert caciques informed him, in 1666, that the Capuchins had baptized more than 10,000 persons and that they had penetrated as far as Cumana, Caracas, Guarapiche, Guarachara, Aragua and Amama; *cf.* CERRI, 274 *seqq.*

[4] Over 30,000 Christians under Rodrigo of Granada in 1666; *cf.* RUCCO DA CESINALE, III., 730 *seqq.*

[5] According to P. Grillet's letter in 1668; *cf.* STREIT, *Bibl. Missionum*, II., n. 2015.

[6] *Cf.* SHEA, 73 *seqq.*; *Cath. Encyclop.*, X., 385; SCHMIDLIN, 412. In New Galicia the Franciscans founded Labradones in 1659.

[7] *Ius. pontif.*, I., 338 *seqq.*

questions of the religious Orders, either to give a ruling or a decision.[1]

On the continent of North America, Alexander VII., in 1658, erected Canada into an Apostolic Vicariate, the Paris missionary, François Laval, being appointed first Vicar Apostolic.[2] In 1660 he reported to Rome that for the work of the conversion of the Indians he had the assistance especially of the Jesuits who deemed no people so barbarous as not to seek to convert it.[3]

(3.)

Under Innocent X. a decree had been published on the so-called Chinese rites, particularly the lawfulness of the worship of ancestors, which on the whole, it condemned. By its very tenor, the decree was only to remain in force until further instructions[4] and the Cathedral Chapter of

[1] In 1663 he ordained that once elected the Dominican Provincials could exercise their functions but that within two years they must forward the acts of the election to the General for approval or annulment by him (*Ius. pontif.*, I., 335 *seq.*); in 1666, that the Dominican Priors were to be elected not by the parish priests but by the Provincials (*ibid.*, 352 *seq.*). He approved the conditions required for the degree of Master in the Province of Lima of the Mercedarians, the decree of the Congregation of Regulars that the visiting commissaries of the Franciscans of Guatemala were to be taken from the neighbouring Provinces and the constitution of their General Chapters, by the terms of which offices were to be alternately held by Creoles and Cachapines. He also confirmed their Definitorium on the alternation between natives and Spaniards in the seven Provinces of Peru and in that of Yucatan, and the decree of the Dominican General attaching the College of Angelopolis to the convent of Mexico (*ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*).

[2] CERRI, 278; ROCHEMONTEIX, II., 189 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 412.

[3] "Relatio missionis Canadiensis"; *cf.* ROCHEMONTEIX, II., 343 *seqq.*; GOSSELIN, *Biographie*, I., 247 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 413, n. 1.

[4] "donec Sanctitas sua vel Sedes Apostolica aliud ordinaverit."

Manila was commissioned by the Holy See to observe[1] the manner in which the Jesuits preached the Gospel in China and how far they were in conformity with other Orders in this respect.

Before deciding on counter measures the Jesuits were anxious to know the real situation in their own camp. In 1650 the Visitor, Francis Furtado ordered an inquiry in every Jesuit mission in China; the investigation showed that an identical policy was pursued everywhere.[2] In 1651 Martin Martini of Trent and the Pole, Michael Boym, were sent as delegates to Rome. After a delay of many months in the Philippines, Martini was taken by the Dutch to Java, which he was only able to leave, with the Dutch fleet, on February 1st, 1653. On August 31st he landed at Bergen, in Norway. On reaching Amsterdam he superintended the printing of his Chinese atlas which, together with a book on Chinese chronology, he had completed on the voyage.[3] By then it was high time for him to put in an appearance in Rome where, according to what Christoph Schorrer, who acted as Vicar-General of the Society for Goswin Nickel, wrote to him on June 27th, 1655,[4] steps had been taken to have the decree of Propaganda of the year 1645 confirmed anew, before the arrival of the representatives of the Jesuits, a measure which would render his mission useless. Propaganda granted the delay demanded by Schorrer, and Martini also arrived in Rome in September, 1655, when he was authorized to furnish proof of his assertion that the decision of 1645 was based on manifestly erroneous data.[5] At the end of five months of discussion by the Inquisition, a new decree was issued by Propaganda on March 23rd, 1656,[6] and ratified by

[1] Of June 1, 1649 (BIERMANN, 85 *seq.*).

[2] *Castner, c. 2.

[3] Account of the journey in M. MARTINIUS, *De bello Tartarico historia* [2], Antverpiæ, 1654, 9 *seq.*, 159, 165 *seq.* On Martini's Atlas, *cf. Etudes*, CXXXI., 216 *seqq.*

[4] Translation of the letter [PRAY], I., 113.

[5] *Ibid.*, 113 *seq.*

[6] *Collectanea*, I., 36–9, n. 126.

Alexander VII. Martini had limited his demands to four points of the decree of 1645. The first of these concerned the observance of the commandments of the Church by the Chinese Christians. Already Paul III.[1] had limited the law of fasting for the natives of both Indies to the eve of Christmas and Easter and the Fridays of Lent, but he insisted on their refraining from servile work on all Sundays and on twelve holidays. Morales proposed to extend Paul III.'s ordinance to China and the Congregation pronounced in that sense. However, the Jesuits were of opinion that, at least for the time being, the observance of all the commandments of the Church was not possible in China. Annual Confession and Communion and Sunday Mass could not be demanded owing to the lack of priests, whilst the Sunday rest could not be observed by the common people on account of their pagan employers, nor by the officials because their duty required their attendance at the courts and tribunals. The daily food of the abstemious Chinese was so scanty and unsatisfying that the ordinary labourer could not fast on that account and the officials were equally unable to do so by reason of the sittings of the courts which lasted six hours at a time.[2] Martini accordingly asked whether it was necessary to propound these commandments to the converts immediately after their baptism as binding under grave sin. The Congregation answered that they should be proclaimed as grave obligations, whilst at the same time the converts should be told why they were excused from observing them. If it was the Pope's good pleasure he might grant to the missionaries power to dispense [3]; and in effect, such faculties were at once granted to the Jesuits for a period of twelve years.[4]

A second difficulty was in connection with the administration of the Sacraments to women. Extreme Unction implies an anointing, as does the Sacrament of Baptism. Now in

[1] Brief of June 1, 1537, text, *ibid.*, 30 *seq.* note.

[2] Furtado on December 10, 1636, to Vitelleschi, General of the Order [PRAY], I., 37.

[3] *Collectanea*, I., 38.

[4] September 5, 1656, *Ius. pontif.*, I., 290.

China it was impossible to touch a woman, were it ever so lightly, without creating a tremendous scandal. On the advice of Morales the Congregation had decreed that the danger of scandal should be eliminated by exercising caution and by instruction, but that the unctions could not be omitted. However, the Jesuits thought that it was hardly possible to comply with this decision; hence Martini asked whether certain ceremonies could not be omitted in the Baptism of adult women, whether they might not be content with giving Extreme Unction to such women as asked for it themselves, and whether it would not be better to forgo altogether the administration of this Sacrament if, by so doing, they would create a danger for the whole Christian community. The Congregation pronounced in Martini's sense.[1]

Thus on the representations of the Jesuits, Morales' first two questions received an answer that differed substantially from that given eleven years earlier. On the other hand for the next five questions the decision of 1645 remained in force; they concerned the imposition of a 30 per cent interest [2] and contributions to public collections which were also applied to religious purposes.[3] The seventh point concerned the cult of Chim-Hoam (Cheng-Hwangshen), the patron of walled cities, to whom the Mandarins were obliged to do homage on entering office and after that twice in each month.[4] On this point also the former decision was upheld; consequently this cult could not be justified by the practice of hiding a cross amid flowers and inwardly directing one's homage to the Crucified. On these five points Martini had not even made a fresh demand, at least not in his last memorial.

However, all these points were of secondary importance. The main question is touched in Martini's third and fourth demands, which refer to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors. In his eighth objection Morales had spoken of a solemn and another less solemn act of homage which were

[1] *Collectanea, loc. cit.*

[2] n. 3–5, *ibid.*, 32.

[3] n. 6, *ibid.*, 32.

[4] BIERMANN, 195.

performed by the higher officials twice a year in Confucius' temple, and after that on not a few occasions during the year. Martini does not allude to this cult, for the Jesuits did not allow it to Christian officials.[1] Hence the prohibition of 1645 was not affected by the decision of 1656. On the other hand, Martini asked whether they might tolerate the act of homage to Confucius which scholars performed on receiving their degree. No pagan priest was present at that ceremony; only the scholars met for the purpose of acknowledging Confucius as their Master by the performance of purely civil ceremonies, which from the very nature of their institution were intended as a purely civil homage. "All those who are about to receive a degree enter together into the room of Confucius where the chancellor, the doctors and the examiners await them. There is no sacrifice of any kind but, in accordance with Chinese custom, all perform before Confucius' monogram those ceremonies and inclinations which all pupils make before their ordinary, living teachers. When they have thus acknowledged the philosopher Confucius as their Master, they receive their degree from the chancellors, after which they withdraw. Moreover, this room of Confucius is not a temple properly so called, for it is only open to the students." In the light of these explanations the Congregation allowed the ceremonies.[2]

Martini's fourth question relates to the cult of ancestors, but even in the formulation of the demand a distinction is drawn between the cult of ancestors as practised by the educated and by the common people, and it is conceded that superstition enters into the latter. Martini asked whether

[1] Furtado, answer of February 8, 1640, to Morales' 12 questions [PRAY], I, 68. "As regards the more solemn ceremonies in the hall of Confucius, with a view to avoiding all danger or even the appearance of superstition, we have always observed what our Fathers had likewise observed from the beginning, that is, we have absolutely forbidden them to the Christians and even to be present at them." A. de Govea to Navarete, October 3, 1669, *ibid.*, 216 *seq.*

[2] *Collectanea*, I., 38.

the ceremonies, as interpreted by the learned, could be permitted to the Christians, on condition that every superstitious element was eliminated; furthermore, whether the Christians could carry out these ceremonies, if approved, jointly with their pagan relatives, that is whether they might be present whilst their pagan relatives practised superstitious rites, provided there was no scandal and they themselves gave no sign of approval.

There follows a description of the customs observed in the worship of ancestors. The Chinese do not ascribe divine attributes to the spirits of the dead and do not request their help. They pay a threefold homage to them. First of all, whenever a death occurs, they invariably erect in the house where the deceased lies, and in front of the bier, an altar on which they place the image, or the monogram of the dead man, amid fragrant herbs, flowers and candles. The mourners fall on their knees, three or four times, before the picture or the monogram of the deceased, touching the ground with their forehead. They also present candles and perfumes which are burnt on the altar before the image or the monogram.

Another form of homage takes place twice a year. Though all persons of the wealthy classes do not possess a temple of their own, they have at least a special room with the pictures or monograms of their ancestors. In this room all the relatives assemble twice a year and the wealthier ones offer meat, wine, candles and perfumes. Those less well off and unable to set apart such rooms for their ancestors, have at least tablets bearing the monograms of their ancestors which they keep in a special place, or even on the altar where they also place pictures of "saints". They do not venerate these pictures or tablets, nor do they sacrifice to them; they are put on the altar because there is no other place for them. The above-mentioned ceremonies are only carried out if there is an ancestors' hall, otherwise they are omitted.

The third kind of cult refers to the graves of the dead on the hill-tops, outside the towns. At least once a year, about the beginning of May, the relatives visit the grave, clean it of weeds, lament, make their genuflections and

place cooked food and wine on it: a meal concludes the ceremony.[1]

The Congregation approved all this; as a matter of fact it had permitted already in 1645 the customs observed in the mortuary chamber whenever a death occurred,[2] so that in the description of the rites in question it was possible to reproduce textually, at least in substance, the earlier decree.

It was not to be expected that the decision of 1656 would put an end to the disputes. The Jesuits had reason to be satisfied with the decree and since Martini's demands had met with a favourable answer, the ritual questions not expressly decided by the Congregation could not give rise to any serious difficulties. But it was too much to hope that the new decree would dispose of the objections of the opponents, for they could retort that they had not been heard before the decision, just as the Jesuits had not been heard before that of 1645[3]; consequently the Jesuits did not insist on the ordinance being communicated to them in due legal form for this would only have served to irritate the advocates of another opinion.[4] Moreover, though the Jesuits were allowed to act on the decision of 1656, it was by no means forbidden to go by that of 1645; both decrees presupposed that the reports sent to the Congregation were based on facts, but the Congregation had not decided what was the truth in the practice of these rites, hence according as either the one or the other report to the Congregation was judged to conform to facts, the one or the other decree could be followed. The Dominicans ended by deciding that Martini's account of the rites was erroneous, so that it was not lawful to take advantage of the concessions of the Congregation.[5] But though opinion on the interpretation of the rites continued to differ, after the decision of 1656 the Jesuit view increasingly gained ground. Fifty years

[1] *Ibid.*, 38 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* decrees of 1645, n. 12, n. 34.

[3] *Cf.* the opinions of Jesuits in BIERMANN, 95, n. 45.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 101.

later, when the controversy was once more submitted for final judgment by Rome, the Jesuits were able to affirm that in practice the members of other Orders adopted the Society's view, including even those of their number who fought the Jesuits by means of pamphlets and disputations.[1]

[1] "Ultimo loco animadvertere oportet, istos Ill. Dominos Adversarios nihil habuisse, quod opponerent iis, quae deducta fuerant in primo Memoriali n. 59 etc. ad probandum omnes ferme missionarios Chinae cuiuslibet Ordinis in facto sequi praxim Societatis, etiam illos, qui eandem praxim scribendo aut disputando improbant; et quod plus est, nihil omnino respondisse ad facta quaedam particularia, quae referebantur de iisdem Ill^{mis} DD. Cononensi (Maigrot) et Rosaliensi (Lyonne), ut in primo Summario sub n. 2 lit. T pag. 33, et n. 5 lit. HH et JJ, ac praesertim quod D. Cononensis sacramentum Confirmationis impertitus fuisset neophytis Societatis, quos coram S. Sede tanquam indubitatos idolorum cultores accusat, quodque ritum funebrem Tiao, idolatria pariter imbutum, secundum plurium ex adversariis sententiam per se ipsum praestiterit ante feretrum ac tabellam mandarini gentilis defuncti." Another letter of Maigrot shows "dictum Ill^{mum} Dominum non vere credere defunctorum animas frui oblatis secundum doctrinam Sinicam, cum in eo scripto ex libris Sinicis probet oppositum, aliaque ibi habeat, ex quibus mitius interpretanda sunt, quae in suo libello tantopere exaggerat. Noel-Castner, Memoriale ac Summarium novissimorum testimoniorum Sinensium . . . Clementi Papæ XI oblatum (Romae) 27 Aug. 1704, 23 n. 79."

CHAPTER V.

Jansenist Troubles in France and the Low Countries.

(1.)

In order to put an end to doubts and distortions, Innocent X., in a Brief of September 29th, 1654, had explained his condemnation of the famous five Jansenist propositions in the sense that his decision was meant to hit opinions expressed in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius. But when shortly after the Pope's death, Mazarin, on January 15th, 1655, placed this Brief before fifteen Bishops assembled in Paris, they were not wholly satisfied with it, on the ground that in that document the Pope issued a simple statement, not a decision in virtue of his supreme authority.[1] The assembly nevertheless gave it as its opinion that the effect would be a favourable one, provided the papal decree was signed throughout France. It is true that Parliament raised objections on the ground that the new Brief enjoined the acceptance of a decree of the Inquisition of April 23rd, 1654, against Jansenist writings, whereas the Inquisition was not acknowledged in France. However, the King countered this objection by himself prohibiting all Jansenist publications in virtue of his own sovereign authority. The fifteen prelates addressed a circular to all the Bishops of France urging them to put their signatures to the Constitution condemning the five propositions, the Brief of September 29th, 1654, as well as to a formula which expressly ascribed the five propositions to Jansenius and declared that St. Augustine had nothing to do with them. This is the first appearance of the first draft of the formula round which the whole Jansenist conflict was to develop thereafter.

The fifteen Bishops lacked sufficient prestige to induce all their colleagues to take a unanimous step. Thus for the

[1] Gerberon, II., 248 *seqq.*

moment a general calm prevailed in France, but it was a calm such as that which, in the winter time, precedes the fall of an avalanche in the snow-covered mountains: in the midst of a great silence a small quantity of snow is suddenly set in motion when, with irresistible force, mass is piled upon mass with appalling effect. It was a trifling matter that caused the tension, so long repressed on the Jansenist side, to snap at last.

One of the most valuable recruits to the new teaching was the Marquis de Liancourt who, notwithstanding his leaning towards "the disciples of St. Augustine", nevertheless remained in touch with the Sulpicians, to whose founder and superior he had given a written promise that he would submit to the forthcoming papal judgment.[1] At first it looked as if he would be as good as his word.[2] However, his relations with Port-Royal became increasingly intimate. His niece was being educated there from her second year, and he himself gave hospitality to the Jansenist Bourseys by whom he had been won over to the new teaching.[3] Now it so happened that when Liancourt went to confession to the Sulpician Picoté, the latter requested his penitent to give him time to consider whether he could give him absolution. In his embarrassment the Marquis appealed to Vincent de Paul. Vincent discussed the affair with Picoté's superior, Brettonvilliers, as well as with Olier himself, and as both defended Picoté, he submitted the case to some Doctors of the Sorbonne who pronounced in favour of a refusal of absolution, though when consulted a second time, they declared that the Marquis could not be publicly refused Communion.[4]

Liancourt did not keep this affair quiet, so that it created no small stir, especially among the Jansenists. The Marquis was a highly respected man, of irreproachable conduct.

[1] RAPIN, I., 92 *seq.*, 526 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 126 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 236; FAILLON, II., 403, 483 *seq.*

[4] Tronson's report (3rd Superior of St. Sulpice) and Liancourt himself on the matter in App. to RAPIN, II., 512–18. On Picoté, *ibid.*, 509–512.

If he was refused absolution, although he accepted the condemnation of the five propositions, many others would be threatened with a like fate. Thus what was at first Liancourt's purely personal concern developed into a question of principle and Antoine Arnauld took up his pen in defence of the Marquis.

However, his opuscule is a very feeble production.[1] He writes as if there were question of a formal excommunication and attacks his opponents on this assumption. Two statements in Arnauld's outburst deserve attention. The one contains an unqualified assurance [2] that everybody was agreed that the five propositions were heretical, though Port-Royal was anything but unanimous on this point.[3] The other asserts that all Catholics had a right to the Sacraments of the Church and that so long as they remained children of God they could not be denied the bread of God's children.[4] There would be nothing remarkable in the statement were it not that it came from the same pen which wrote the book against frequent Communion.

Arnauld's book bears the date of February 24th, 1655. Refutations appeared promptly.[5] Arnauld replied on July 10th in another somewhat lengthy publication.[6] Only out of regard for a great personage,[7] he says at the beginning, did he take up his pen anew, and he did so with the utmost reluctance. He then discusses, with many a violent outburst and accusation, the affair of the Marquis of Liancourt; in the second part he seeks to prove his own submission to the papal decision. His proof is chiefly based on the customary distinction with which the Jansenists endeavoured to render

[1] *Première lettre à une personne de condition* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 311 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, X., 315.

[3] Rapin, II., 248 *seq.*

[4] *Œuvres*, XIX., 312.

[5] Titles, *ibid.* 337; Rapin, II., 247.

[6] *Seconde lettre à un Duc et Pair de France* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 338 *seqq.*); Rapin, II., 297–307.

[7] The Duke de Luynes?

papal judgments ineffective : he condemned the five propositions, he declared, but defended the teaching of Augustine, for there was question not of Jansenius, but of Augustine.[1] Notwithstanding this definite assurance, Arnauld not only refuses to drop the Bishop of Ypres, but by means of a clever distinction, contrives to give the impression that he accepts the papal decision without forswearing Jansenius. When the Church gives a decision on points of faith, he writes, she can, of course, demand internal assent, but the fact whether Jansenius taught this or that is not a part of the deposit of the faith, which can only contain what is taught by Scripture or Tradition [2] : hence in the case of a decision by the Church on a question of fact, it is enough to observe a respectful silence.[3] Thus, according to Arnauld, the *magisterium* of the Church may declare infallibly whether or no a proposition is in conformity with her dogmas, but when it describes the teaching of this or that man as heretical, its judgment on such a point of fact is not infallible, hence it can never infallibly put the faithful on their guard against the teaching of any particular man, and condemn it without the possibility of error. It goes without saying that such a distinction makes it impossible for the *magisterium* of the Church to fulfil its purpose, yet for all its singularity, the distinction was destined to acquire enormous importance. Lastly Arnauld discusses in detail the teaching of St. Augustine who, according to him, asserts in a hundred places that the grace required to keep the commandments was not given to all.[4] Thus in the person of the Prince of the Apostles the Gospel shows us a just man who lacked the grace without which we are helpless, on an

[1] *Œuvres*, XIX, 443 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 445 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 456. BOULENGER (*Le grand siècle*, Paris, 1911, 285) writes : " Sans doute ces subtilités auraient fort irrité l'auteur des Provinciales, si elles eussent été du fait des Jésuites : n'était-il pas absurde de reconnaître au pape la faculté de déterminer une doctrine et de lui réfuser celle de décider si cette doctrine était ou non d'accord avec celle d'un livre quelconque ? "

[4] *Œuvres*, XIX., 472 *seqq.*

occasion of which it is impossible to say that he did not sin.[1]

This distorted sentence about St. Peter's denial was to prove particularly fatal to Arnauld, though for the moment the new publication of the pope of Jansenism considerably raised the morale of his followers.[2] Under the cloak of a "respectful silence" they might stick to Jansenius and his book, and if the fall of the Prince of the Apostles could be ascribed to the lack of grace, that statement amounted to a denial of sufficient grace. In point of fact this fundamental tenet of Jansenius had, by that time, become so ingrained in the conscience of many that they no longer accused themselves in confession of having sinned so many times, but that grace had failed them on so many occasions.[3] In view of the Jansenists' lack of straightforwardness, of which Arnauld's publication furnished a fresh proof, it is not surprising that just then, that is after 1654, Filleau's book on the alleged conspiracy of Bourgfontaine should have created a sensation, for there it was asserted that, as a matter of fact, the new sect did not take its teaching seriously, but that under cover of fine speeches it aimed at nothing less than the destruction of Christianity itself.[4]

The joy of Arnauld's friends over his new book was paralleled by the excitement in the opposite camp. The dispute had suddenly entered a new phase. There was no longer question of the doctrine of grace but of the Church's infallibility, of what she could decide unerringly, and whether the Pope was justified in claiming the right to pronounce in certain

[1] *Ibid.*, 572 *seq.* The text of St. Augustine (*Sermo* 124 *de temp.*) to which Arnauld appeals is from an apocryphal homily which was already described as spurious in the Louvain edition (*Migne. Patr. Lat.*, XXXIX., 1899; *cf.* ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXV., 33).

[2] "Rien enfin ne rétablit mieux les affaires du party que cette lettre, on peut dire même que tout ce qui se fit d'avantageux et de favorable dans la suite à la cabale ne fut qu'un effet du fracas qu'elle fit dans le monde." RAPIN, II., 307.

[3] FAILLON, II., 453; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XVI., xxxi.

[4] See our data, XXIX., 73 *seq.*

matters. For a time Rome did nothing; it was even said that Alexander VII. had at first blamed the priests of St. Sulpice.[1] However, a commission was appointed to examine Arnauld's book. The latter deemed it expedient to protest his obedience to the Holy See in a most submissive letter.[2] The influence of Rancati, who had been pushed aside by Innocent X., but whom Alexander VII. had reinstated, is said to have prevented decisive measures.[3]

But if, for the time being, everything was quiet in Rome, excitement was all the greater in France, both at court and among the Bishops and the scholars. A few small works against the new book by the Jesuits Annat, Crasset and Deschamps had already appeared, but Arnauld's answer to them was not printed.[4] Meanwhile a much more dangerous adversary appeared on the scene, viz. the Sorbonne.

On November 4th, 1655, the Syndic Guyart announced that some persons in high position had protested against Arnauld's new book, whereupon six members of the Faculty were instructed to examine the work. Saint-Amour and some others tried to offer resistance and when Guyart obtained a decision of the royal council against them, they and sixty-two Doctors appealed to Parliament against an alleged abuse of ecclesiastical authority. On the basis of some ancient parliamentary decisions, according to which only two Doctors of each of the Mendicant Orders were entitled to vote,[5] the Advocate General, Talon, favoured the appellants, but out of consideration for the court the appeal was eventually rejected.[6]

Meanwhile in an anonymous publication,[7] Arnauld had appealed to another tribunal, namely to the general public and to the great mass of the unlearned. His only crime, he angrily declared, was that he did not extend the regard

[1] Rapin, II., 308.
[2] August 27, 1655, *ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Only published in 1702 by Quesnel (*Œuvres*, XIX., 565 *seqq.*).
[5] See XXX., p. 240.
[6] *Œuvres*, XIX., xliv.
[7] *Considérations* (*ibid.*, XIX., 602 *seqq.*).

he felt for the papal decision to the explanation with which the Jesuit Annat had enriched it.[1] After a few sallies against the Jesuits he proceeds in the same tone against his own colleagues, that is the six Sorbonnists who had been charged with the examination of the affair. Very different is the tone of two other contemporary writings which also bear his name [2] and in which he humbly prays the Sorbonne to be good enough to point out to him what was offensive in his letters, so that he might plead guilty to possible errors, or offer an explanation in self-defence. A letter of the same period, to his sister Angélique,[3] proves that he did not want to be shown where he was wrong, in fact, he did not desire even as much as an inquiry. He roundly describes the affair as the cause of God ; he was being persecuted because in his teaching on grace he did not make God subservient to man. On December 1st, Arnauld's letters to the Sorbonne were publicly read at a meeting of that body and the six commissaries reported on the result of their inquiry. Arnauld, they stated, had erred on a point of fact as well as on a point of doctrine. With regard to the question of fact he denied that the five propositions were Jansenius', and as to the other, namely that in presence of a papal decision on a question of fact it was enough to observe an attitude of respectful silence the commission qualifies it as " rash, scandalous, offensive towards the Pope as well as the French clergy and calculated to revive the condemned teaching of Jansenius ". Their judgment was even severer on the so-called question of right, that is on Arnauld's doctrinal error. His thesis that St. Peter's fall was due to a lack of grace, the six commissaries roundly describe as heretical.[4] Towards Arnauld's person, at the request of Bishop Lescot of Chartres, the Sorbonne proceeded with mildness. He was asked to give an undertaking that he

[1] *Ibid.*, 607.

[2] November 24–30, 1655, *ibid.*, 626 *seqq.*

[3] Of November 5, 1655 (*ibid.*, I., 82).

[4] Rapin, II., 316, Rapin's account is chronologically inaccurate here.

would submit to the Sorbonne and requested to appear before that body, not to dispute, but to present his views.[1]

The Jansenists had no thought of submitting. Arnauld forwarded two more letters to the Sorbonne, in which he deals not very clearly with the question whether the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius. As for his view on St. Peter's fall, he declares that it was derived from the purest theological sources and quite free from error. Explanations such as these could lead nowhere; hence Arnauld's friends had recourse to other means. After the letters had been read at the Sorbonne on December 7th and 10th, at the moment when the six commissioners were about to proceed with their report, the Jansenists raised such a din that it was impossible to go on with the reading. Thereupon the Bishops present secured a royal ordinance forbidding members, under severe penalties, to speak out of their turn or to interrupt a speaker. However, if no one might be interrupted, that circumstance provided the Jansenists with a splendid means to delay a decision indefinitely. As a matter of fact, the Jansenist Brousse, in order to demonstrate the uncertainty of human knowledge, gave a veritable lecture on astronomy, so that he took up two whole sessions with his discourse and even then he was not yet at the end.[2] This was too much even for the most long-suffering. At the next meeting an incident occurred for which there was no precedent in the history of the Sorbonne. The chancellor, Seguier, came to the meeting in solemn procession, escorted by halberdiers, and explained that he had been commissioned by the King to see to the preservation of the traditional order. However, nothing daunted, Brousse began again, expatiating this time on the difference between a lie and a delusion. The chancellor summoned him to keep to the subject under discussion, whereupon Brousse started an argument to show that the five propositions could not be found in Jansenius. Again and again the chancellor recalled him to the point in question.

[1] Arnauld to De Barcos (*Œuvres*, I., 83).

[2] Rapin, II., 338.

Brousse then complained that there was no freedom of speech. At last he ended with the statement that it was an offence against the Pope to hold that he was infallible in his judgments on points of fact.[1]

The presence of the chancellor prevented the remaining speakers in support of Arnauld[2] from drawing out their speeches indefinitely. They pointed out that no one had been able to find the five propositions in Jansenius; that in point of fact not one of them was his; that the Pope had issued no definition on the point, nor could he define anything infallibly on the subject. Manessier added that the Roman consultors had not been commissioned to inquire what Jansenius had to do with the propositions.[3] On the other hand, the majority of the assembly considered that these questions had been decided by the pronouncements of the Pope and the Bishops: hence they declined to enter into a fresh discussion of the subject. Bishop de la Barde of Saint-Brieuc, Bishop Godeau of Vence, Bourgeois and Rousse, curé of St. Roch in Paris, made vain attempts to bring about a compromise between utterly irreconcilable opinions. However, Bishops Vialart of Châlons and Choiseul of Comminges, who arrived in Paris at the beginning of January 1656, seem to have succeeded in inducing Arnauld to write a letter to the Faculty,[4] in which he expressed regret for having given utterance to a doubt on the presence of the five points in the writings of Jansenius; but for the rest, he withdrew nothing. Vialart's proposal[5] that they should be satisfied with this explanation met with as little favour as a similar one by Choiseul.

On January 14th, 1656, after more than twenty sessions, the Faculty proceeded to vote: 124 Doctors of the Sorbonne declared Arnauld's doubts about questions of fact rash,

[1] Protocol of the sitting in RAPIN, II., 528 *seqq.*

[2] Bourgeois' *votum* in ARNAULD *Œuvres* XX., 428 *seqq.*; Balan's, *ibid.*, 447 *seqq.*; Manessier's, *ibid.*, 476 *seqq.*; Perrault's, *ibid.*, 480 *seqq.* *Cf.*, *ibid.*, XIX., lvii *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 476.

[4] January 10, 1656 (*Œuvres*, XIX., 664).

[5] *Ibid.*, XX., 494.

scandalous, etc. ; seventy-one Doctors exculpated him, whilst fifteen remained neutral.[1] If from the 124 opponents of Arnauld we deduct the seven Bishops and forty members of the Mendicant Orders, the two parties almost balanced each other.

The first part of the discussions, viz. those on the question of fact, was thus disposed of ; it was now necessary to proceed to deal with the second, viz. the question of right. Arnauld sought to protect himself by means of a pamphlet addressed to the Sorbonne,[2] in which he tried to cloak his views with the teaching of the Dominicans, and in a small work destined for a larger circle,[3] he gave further explanations of his ideas on the fall of St. Peter. He sent the former work to the Sorbonne together with a covering letter,[4] but despite the efforts of his friend Bourgeois, the Faculty refused to have it read. On January 17th, 1656, the discussion opened at once on the basis of Arnauld's former work and in order to put a stop to all attempts at obstruction, it was decided at the outset that when it came to stating opinions, no one should be allowed to speak for more than half an hour. However, this decision was not at first strictly enforced until, on January 22nd, 1656, Bourgeois took two whole hours to expound his views and he had not finished when the sitting terminated. Thereupon, on the 24th, the chancellor presented himself once more in the assembly. Bourgeois, who on this occasion also was unwilling to stop, had the humiliation of being several times angrily interrupted by the chancellor, with the result that he was only able to read one-half of the 112 closely written quarto sheets of his memorandum. After a certain Héron, hitherto a supporter of Arnauld, had dropped him in the

[1] *Œuvres*, XIX., xlviii. *Cf.* two letters of St. Amour of January 14, 1656, in Rapin, II., 532 *seqq.* That Jansenius held the opinions expressed in the five propositions, has often been proved ; *cf.* Yves de la Brière in *Recherches*, VI. (1916), 270–301.

[2] *Apologeticus alter* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 668 *seqq.*).

[3] *Propositiones theologicae duae* (*ibid.*, 705 *seqq.*).

[4] January 16, 1665 (*ibid.*, 666).

matter under discussion, sixty of Arnauld's partisans, on the latter's advice, left the assembly on the plea that there was no freedom of speech; at the same time they protested in advance against the decision which could be expected from the Sorbonne.[1] Matters now moved rapidly towards a decision. After six further sittings, on January 31st, 1656, the text of the censure was drawn up and the assertion that the fall of the Prince of the Apostles was due to a lack of grace was qualified as heretical. A period of grace was granted to the author of the statement until February 15th; if by then he had not subscribed to the censure, he would be excluded from the Sorbonne and his name struck off the list of its Doctors. Thereafter no one was to be admitted to any office, or public function, at the Sorbonne unless he had first signed the censure.[2] The decision had been arrived at by 127 votes against those of 9 Jansenists present, whilst 31 who were absent protested that it was null and void.[3] Arnauld acted in like manner,[4] on the plea that he could not acknowledge an assembly at which theologians were not free to expound their views, or their motives for holding them. Although he had been struck off the list of Doctors, he now styled himself "Doctor" with special emphasis and insisted on being described thus by his friends.

Thus judgment was given in Paris and Rome threatened to confirm it. Arnauld did his utmost to forestall the blow. In a new work on St. Thomas' genuine teaching on sufficient and efficient grace,[5] he endeavoured to show that it was impossible to condemn him without condemning St. Thomas, thereby destroying the whole of the Saint's theological edifice. The desire to win over Roman circles appears plainly

[1] RAPIN, II., 348 *seqq.*, with Aubineau's notes. Text of the protest in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XX., 394 *seqq.*

[2] Text of the decree, *ibid.*, XX., 345 *seqq.*

[3] February 1, 1656, *ibid.*, 397; further objection "of very many doctors" on February 15, *ibid.*, 398. *Cf.* ARNAULD's letter of January 30, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 100.

[4] February 26, 1656, *ibid.*, XIX., 719 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, XX., 39 *seqq.*

in the new work. All of a sudden Arnauld condescended to make admissions which put his teaching in a quite new light.[1] He sent his opuscule to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and to Rancati who just then were being influenced in a Jansenist sense by Cosimo Brunetti of Siena.[2] In a covering letter [3] Arnauld describes himself once more as a follower of St. Thomas from whom he only differed in some trifling details. Rancati's reply was courteous but cold,[4] nor did the Dominican Cardinal Maculano allow himself to be won over by Arnauld's extravagant praise of the Dominicans and their teaching.[5] A further work also addressed to Rancati [6] yielded no better result.

Arnauld had acted as he had done with all the more assurance as under Alexander VII. the French nuncio had scarcely taken any steps to have the Constitution of Innocent X. carried into effect, and Rome had made no comment on Arnauld's second work on the affair Liancourt which the Doctor had forwarded to the authorities there. Accordingly the French Jansenists boasted that they enjoyed the favour of the new Pope. In this they were mistaken. Alexander expressed his satisfaction on hearing of the Sorbonne's attitude towards Arnauld and of the conduct of the chancellor. The nuncio had not been able to do anything because of the great

[1] Thus he now expressly admits that the fall of the just who lacks efficacious grace cannot be ascribed to God ; that the cause of that want was for the most part due to the neglect of prayer (*ibid.*, 66) ; one may not simply assert that a commandment is impossible for a just man or a sinner (73). If he said that Peter, in denying our Lord, had lacked the grace without which we are helpless, he did not mean habitual grace which, according to St. Thomas, represents "grace sufficient to enable a man to avoid sin" (76).

[2] *Ibid.*, XIX., lxv. *seqq.*

[3] March 31, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 107 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 116.

[5] *Ibid.*, 117 *seq.*

[6] *Dissertatio theologica quadripartita*, *ibid.*, XX., 159 *seqq.* Letter to Rancati, June 1, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 129 *seqq.*

difficulty he experienced in obtaining an audience even with Mazarin who showed the utmost favour to the worst Jansenist of all, the Archbishop of Sens.[1] The silence of the Index was due solely to the fact that it was not its practice to issue a special decree for a single book; but it would not be long before something was done.[2] In point of fact on August 3rd, 1656, the Congregation of the Index published a declaration prohibiting Arnauld's two letters to Liancourt, his five memorials to the Sorbonne and his letter to a certain Doctor Holden on St. Thomas's teaching on grace.[3]

With what sentiments Arnauld received this condemnation appears from a letter to his brother, the Bishop of Angers. In France, he wrote, they did not attach much importance to these censures of the Index; besides, for those who know how these things are done, there is nothing more pitiable than these decrees[4]; for the moment he did not know what to do except to lament before God the enormities that were being committed against His sacred truth.[5]

[1] "pessimus Jansenistarum." Later, on August 22, 1664, Annat *wrote to Fabri that Gondrin was not himself a Jansenist, but that he favoured them in every way; he welcomed them all into his diocese. *Excerpta ex codice S. Officii, Acta in Galliis in causa Jansenana*, 1663–5, f. 514, these extracts from the otherwise inaccessible Archives of the Roman Inquisition were left by Schill and were most kindly put at my disposal by the Chapter of Freiburg, for which I wish to express my thanks in this place also.

[2] DUNEAU to Mazarin, July 27, 1656, in GÉRIN, I., 151, n. 3.

[3] The Jansenists sought to cover themselves with the authority of St. Thomas and the Thomists, so that the difference between the latter's teaching and that of the Jansenists was a burning question at that time. The Dominican Nicolai of Paris and the Jesuit Annat in particular showed this difference which Holden had contested (RAPIN, II., 321 *seq.*). *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 291–308.

[4] Letter of September 30, 1656, *Œuvres*, I., 148.

[5] Letter to Desmares, *ibid.*, 125.

(2.)

With Arnauld's condemnation the Jansenist party seemed to have been finally crushed. The Church and scholars, the Pope, the Bishops and the world's first University had united in condemning it. The charter of foundation of the new teaching, Jansenius' *Augustinus*, was torn up, the apologies of its mouthpiece and oracle, together with a dozen other writings, stood in the catalogue of forbidden books. A cartoon in a comic almanac which enjoyed an enormous sale, brought home to the common people what it was all about. This picture was commented upon in every workshop and in every home, amid general laughter.[1] In his latest writings Arnauld had vainly turned and twisted in order to avoid the impending blow ; vainly had Port-Royal groaned and raised its hands to heaven. The blow had fallen and it looked as if only two alternatives remained to the Jansenists, viz. either to submit loyally or to leave the Church openly.

They took neither course, yet a few weeks after Arnauld's condemnation their prestige was greater than ever and they were able to deal their best hated enemy blows of which the effects were to be felt for centuries. If they had nothing more to hope for from the halls of the Vatican and the Sorbonne, they still had the influential *salons* of aristocratic ladies and gentlemen, in fact the cultivated world in general. If they achieved nothing with the heavy artillery of scholarly arguments, they knew that an opponent could be got rid of with the sharp stiletto of pointed irony and ridicule. This was no task for the somewhat crude Arnauld ; but the work was done with incomparable skill by another man who appeared on the scene at the right moment to rescue Arnauld —that man was Blaise Pascal.[2]

[1] Rapin, II., 191–6.

[2] A. Maire, *Bibliographie générale des œuvres de Blaise Pascal* 5 vols., Paris, 1925–7 ; V. Giraud, *Pascal. l'homme, l'œuvre, l'influence* [3], Paris, 1905 ; F. Strowski, *Pascal et son temps*, Paris, 1907 ; *Id.*, *B. Pascal. Œuvres complètes avec une biographie*, I. (*Biographie*), Paris, 1923 ; H. Petitot, *Pascal, sa vie religieuse*

Pascal was a man of genius in more than one sphere. Born at Clermont Ferrand in 1623 he died at the early age of 39. From his eighteenth year his life was one long struggle with illness, but whatever he took up during the brief span of his life, he advanced and improved, with the sole exception of theology. As a youth he invented a calculating machine. In one sleepless night and whilst tortured by toothache, during the latter years of his life, he solved a mathematical problem which until then had baffled human ingenuity, viz. that of the cycloid, and he also threw further light on the theory of probabilities. In physics he demonstrated the weight of the air and formulated the laws of the equilibrium of liquids. In addition to all this he has his place among writers on the philosophy of religion and he is one of the creators of modern French.

Pascal first took up a more serious attitude to life in a Jansenist sense in 1646 and after an interval of worldliness definitely so in 1645. Henceforth we see him as a keen Jansenist.[1] As such he cherished a strong aversion for the Jesuits, a feeling which, as a matter of fact, had been called

et son Apologie du christianisme, Paris, 1911 ; W. Clark, *Pascal and the Port-Royalists*, Edinburgh, 1902 ; W. Kreiten, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLII–XLV ; K. Bornhausen, *Pascal*, Bâle, 1920 ; *Id.*, *Die Ethik Pascals*, Giessen, 1907 ; A. Köster, *Die Ethik Pascals*, Tübingen, 1907 ; *Les pensées de Pascal, disposées suivant l'ordre du cahier autographe* par G. Michaut, Fribourg (Suisse), 1896.

[1] According to E. Jovy (Pascal inédit II. : *Les véritables derniers sentiments de Pascal*, Vitry-le-François, 1910), Pascal renounced, before his death, the Jansenist teaching on grace, though not his dislike for the casuists (*cf.* J. Chevalier, *Pascal* [1922], 37 *seqq.* The following agree with Jovy : H. F. Stewart (*Les lettres provinciales*, Manchester, 1920), Monbrun (*Bullet. de litt. eccl.*, Toulouse, 1911, 153 *seqq.*, 201 *seqq.* ; 1920, 147 *seqq.*), Lahorgue (*ibid.*, 1920, 59 *seqq.*), Yves de la Brière (*Études*, CXXIX [1911], 641 *seq.*), A. Valensinn (*ibid.*, 5 *juin*, 1923, 517). Against Jovy : Aug. Gazier (*Les derniers jours de Blaise Pascal*, Paris, 1911), H. Petitot (*Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, IV [1910], 723 *seqq.*).

forth before this by an encounter with them in the scientific sphere. One very surprising trait in Pascal's character, one that brings out even more markedly the opposition between him and Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuit ascetics, was his susceptibility to extraordinary emotional impressions which he took without question for the voice of God. As a scientist, Pascal was hampered by his Jansenist piety which led him gradually to despise secular knowledge and involved him in a controversy which, whilst it brought his name to the knowledge of the whole world, was from the point of view of scholarship, the feeblest part of his achievement.[1]

In December, 1655, as Arnauld's condemnation by the Sorbonne drew ever nearer, Port-Royal hit on the expedient of representing the whole affair as a discussion about a mere nothing and a question of mere words. If this were done in a striking, witty fashion, they would have most of the laughter on their side and the condemnation with which they were threatened, might be staved off; in any case it would be rendered harmless. Arnauld wrote a pamphlet in this sense but it failed to please his friends; accordingly he appealed to Pascal and pressed him to try his hand at it. Pascal's essay met with hearty approval. It appeared in print on January 23rd, 1656. It consisted of only eight quarto pages bearing the title: *A letter to a person in the provinces from a friend.*[2] It was the first of the *Lettres Provinciales* which immediately created an enormous sensation.

[1] *Cf.* W. Kreiten, *Die Provinzialbriefe Pascals*, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIV. (1893), 24 *seqq.*, 161 *seqq.*, 295 *seqq.*, 456 *seqq.*, 537 *seqq.*; XLV., 25 *seqq.*; Maynard, *Les Provinciales et leur réfutation*, Paris, 1851; A. Brou, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, I., Paris, 1907, 305–9, 343–430; Karl Weiss, *P. Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza als Moraltheologe in Pascals Beleuchtung und im Lichte der Wahrheit*, Klagenfurt, 1908. Rectification of twelve assertions in letters 1–3, 17–18; [Dumas], I., 169–184; examination of all the letters in Rapin, *Mém.*, II., 353 *seqq.*, 394 *seqq.*, 431 *seqq.*, 454 *seqq.*

[2] "Lettre escrite à un Provincial par un de ses amis sur le sujet des disputes présentes de la Sorbonne." Later, under the

In accordance with their agreement, Pascal had thrown ridicule upon the whole affair. "At this moment," he writes, "the most learned body in the kingdom is engaged in a lengthy discussion as to whether or not the five propositions are to be found in Jansenius' book. How ridiculous! Do I need the Doctors of Sorbonne to ascertain such a thing? Have I not Jansenius' book and can I not read it for myself? And is it so weighty a question whether or no Arnauld is 'rash'? Does it affect my conscience?" These thoughts are thrown off at the very beginning of the letter, in a language unheard until then; the whole thing is so bright and arresting, is developed in short, simple sentences, so cleverly turned and so pungently humorous, that the laughter-loving Parisians were bound to be highly diverted, with the result that they would overlook the fact that Pascal was completely beside the point. The question was not whether the five propositions stood textually in Jansenius' book. Arnauld had been unwilling to discover them in order to shield both Jansenius and his book from a papal condemnation. But when the Pope declared that he had condemned *propositions put up by Jansenius*, was it not "rashness", and even worse than rashness, to tell the Head of the Church that Rome was unable to read or to discern the true meaning of a book?

Thus Arnauld's denials touched on a question of principle. The same is true of the second part of his letter in which he states that Peter denied our Lord because he lacked the necessary grace. Here he touches on the question of man's free will, that is on a basic question of morality, so that the affair is by no means laughable. All the same Pascal succeeds in making a discovery on the strength of which he pours ridicule on the Sorbonne. If the will is to perform an act freely, nothing must come between it and its act that might hinder its action, that is, as the expression was, the will must have not only a remote but a proximate capacity or

pseudonym of "Louis de Montalte". In the seventh letter Pascal uses a circumlocution for "provincial" and at the end he writes, "Un de mes amis de la campagne."

ability to act. As to what constitutes this "proximate capacity",[1] was a matter on which the various schools disagreed. Pascal now imagines himself as going from a Jansenist to a Dominican, from a Dominican to a Jesuit, in order to obtain from each of them an explanation of what was meant by "proximate capacity". He then plays off the various answers against each other, thereby creating the impression that the theologians did not know their own minds and that they condemned Arnauld for a meaningless expression. It goes without saying that Pascal makes his theologians give answers such as no real theologian would ever give. But his consultation of them is so entertainingly described that it reads like a farce, with the result that perhaps not one reader in a thousand who laughed at the theologians and their "proximate capacity", was really aware that he was laughing at an attempt to explain one of the profoundest and weightiest questions of philosophy, human life and Christianity, the question, that is, of the freedom of the human will and the relations between nature and the supernatural. In his second letter Pascal indulges in the same sort of banter when treating of the sufficient grace of the Dominicans which, according to him, is called sufficient though it suffices for nothing.[2] His real aim was to persuade the Dominicans of Paris that if they wished to be logical they should side with the Jansenists.

In the meantime Arnauld had been condemned by the Sorbonne; accordingly the third letter pours some fairly clever ridicule on this condemnation. "What grave objections have not been raised against the opinions of the Jansenists! Yet now that an attempt is made to substantiate these objections, and a Jansenist publication is examined for the purpose, three whole lines, neither more nor less, are found to be deserving of blame! Yet what is said in these three lines was taken textually, and according to Arnauld, also in

[1] "pouvoir prochain."

[2] H. Petitot, *Pascal et la grâce suffisante*, in *Revue Thomiste*. XVIII., 577–589.

their sense, from Chrysostom and Augustine! It would seem that an opinion becomes a heresy as soon as Arnauld enunciates it!"

The first and second letter had singled out the Dominicans for ridicule; the third had meted out similar treatment to the Doctors of the Sorbonne; the turn of the Jesuits and their teaching on "efficacious" grace came in the fourth. "There is no sin without a previous illumination by grace as to its sinfulness" Pascal pretends to have been told at an imaginary Jesuit College, and from this equivocal sentence,[1] he draws the conclusion that the less a man thinks of God, the less he sins; after that he proceeds to make fun of the wonderful things that followed from such a conclusion. In that way he also breaks a lance on behalf of the monstrous Jansenist doctrine that even the most complete involuntary ignorance did not exculpate from sin because such ignorance was a consequence of the sin of Adam and to that extent culpable.

By this initial bout with the Jesuits, Pascal prepared the way for the witty irony to which the *Provinciales* owe their celebrity, and the attacks on the Jesuits and their moral teaching which he represents as the acme of hypocrisy and corruption.[2]

The Jesuits had had but a very small share in the Roman condemnation of the five propositions and, as far as we know, none whatever in the Paris proceedings against Arnauld. However, the Jansenists had made up their minds to consider the Society of Jesus as their chief enemy, who must be destroyed at all costs. Whether in good or in bad faith, they saw the hand of their principal opponents in every measure taken against Port-Royal. Moreover, with regard to the dogmatic question which was the real subject of discussion, the Jansenists could furnish no new convincing proofs, and after the first provincial letters, very little could be achieved with the weapon of wit and ridicule. Hence it was a most effective stroke on their part when they carried the affair

[1] Rectification by KREITEN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIV, 181.

[2] *Lettres prov.*, lettres 5–16.

into the sphere of moral theology, where the very multiplicity of particular solutions, often on very delicate points, offered unlimited scope both for justifiable criticism and for distortion.

Pascal's attitude towards the Jesuits was a foregone conclusion; of an impartial appreciation there can be no question. Of their voluminous works on moral theology all he knew was a short summary, compiled to serve as a manual by the Spaniard Escobar, then still living (he died in 1669), and even to the study of this manual Pascal only devoted a few days.[1] He has practically taken no notice of an extensive work in seven volumes in which Escobar treats in detail of all questions of moral theology, although two volumes were already in print.[2] Consequently Pascal was restricted to the material supplied by his henchmen, and out of this he selected anything that might help to render the Jesuits ridiculous or contemptible,[3] or as a student who has recently made a careful study of Escobar puts it: "they (Pascal and his assistants) searched their works (the Jesuits') and when they came across an opinion which seemed piquant and paradoxical and for that reason calculated to create a stir, whether it was true or false, they dragged it before the public at large and, what was still worse, described it not as the opinion of this or that Jesuit, but as the teaching of 'the Jesuits', that is as the teaching of the whole Order. Also, since they strung together a series of opinions extending over the whole range of morals, the ignorant and credulous mob were led to imagine

[1] Kreiten, *loc. cit.*, XLIV, 178; Weiss, *Escobar*, 53. Character sketch of Escobar by Reichmann in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVI (1909), 527 *seqq.*

[2] He only quotes him once (*Lettre* 13, p. 206) [Weiss, 54, 107]. He had heard of the book at the end of May, 1656 (*Lettre* 8, p. 121).

[3] As is shown by G. Lanson (*Revue d'hist. littér. de la France*, VII. [1900], 168–195) the kernel of the *Provinciales* is taken from the *Théologie morale des Jésuites* [2] (1664); *cf.* especially the table on p. 190. This material was subsequently supplemented from the works on moral theology of Diana (Lyons, 1646), Caramuel (Louvain, 1643, Frankfurt, 1652), Lessius (Lyons, 1653), Lanson, 191.

that the Jesuits really had a morality of their own which was the acme of irresponsibility and wickedness."[1] The conclusion that the Jesuits were just hypocrites was inevitable. Pascal encourages it ; he represents the Society of Jesus as a band of criminals. True, he grants that the Society includes stern ascetics as well as lax moralists, but this was only for the purpose of masking the laxity of one man by the strictness of another, and playing them off against one another according as circumstances demanded.[2] Pascal fails to explain how it was that the good elements of the Order did not see the misgovernment of the Society and that they did not turn their back upon it. Nor does he examine whether certain exaggerated opinions were held by individual Jesuits, or

[1] WEISS, *loc. cit.*, 46. The notable jurist Joseph Kohler (*ob.*, 1919), professor at the University of Berlin, is of the same opinion : "Pascal's *Lettres à un provincial*," he writes, "are the very condensation of all the objections then raised against the great moralists and exponents of the natural law. The expert sees at a glance how miserable and petty these attacks were. It is natural enough that in so elaborate an examination of thousands and thousands of decisions, there should occur some errors and deviations and that a few scholastic aberrations should have crept into so huge a crop of *casus conscientiae*. But these are a mere trifle by comparison with the immense mass of moral and juridical considerations which are here piled up and which are seen to extraordinary advantage when set by the side of the miserable moral catechism of Kant and the degrading hedonism of the moderns. A comparison between them gives the impression as if one stood before the mighty emporium of a great merchant instead of the shop of a good provincial tradesman" (*Archiv. für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, X. [1916 *seq.*], 238. After quoting a few particulars (on mental reservation, etc.) Kohler concludes (240) : "This may suffice. These moralists tower above their uncomprehending adversaries." LINSEMANN, the future Bishop of Rottenburg, writes : "As against his (Pascal's) morbidly ascetical flight from the world, the teaching of the Jesuits was the active, current, intelligible morality, the free and progressive conception of the world." (Tüb. Quartalschr., LIV. [1872], 535).

[2] *Lettre* 5, p. 52 *seqq.*

whether they were presented in such wise that the whole Order can be held responsible for them. Pascal observes indeed that every book by a Jesuit is examined by members of the Order previous to its publication [1]; but the fact that an opinion is tolerated does not make it the teaching of the Order, and in many cases it merely shows that the censor was careless. It was soon shown that at times Pascal misquotes or misunderstands texts,[2] and often enough an opinion at which he scoffs is quite blameless.[3] But with the generality of readers these circumstances could not attenuate the effect of the caricature drawn by Pascal by means of mutilated quotations and unjustifiable generalizations. Escobar's name became synonymous with that of a sanctimonious hypocrite.[4] It was Pascal who popularized horror for what is called "probabilism", and who laid the foundation of the accusation that according to the Jesuits the end justifies the means.[5] Just as a century earlier Luther had produced so tremendous an effect by unceremoniously dragging in the mud Popes and Cardinals and, generally, everything that until then had been held in the highest regard, so something like it, though

[1] *Lettre* 9, p. 125.

[2] See p. 193. When in 1660, on the occasion of the "formulary" for Port-Royal, Pascal wrote against his Jansenist friends, the latter raised against his punctiliousness in quoting the same objections as the Jesuits on the occasion of the *Provinciales*. P. Bliard in *Études*, CXXXVII (1913), 394 *seqq*.

[3] Thus in the very first instance by which he tries to show up the Jesuits' laxity in regard to the law of fasting, sound reason is on Escobar's side against Pascal (Reichmann, 524), nor can any fault be found with the text of his first quotation from a Jesuit writer (*Lettre* 4, p. 38), the not altogether irreproachable Bauny (*cf.* Weiss, 73). Hase (*Kirchengesch.*[10] [1877], 537) speaks indeed of the Jesuits' "comfortable piety" and their "immoral morality of the confesional", but grants all the same that they stand "for the interests of the world" and even "those of sound reason".

[4] Littré, at the word "Escobarder".

[5] M. Reichmann, *Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel*, Freiburg, 1903, 83 *seqq*.

on a smaller scale, was now being repeated. An inquisitive mob's appetite for scandalous stories was regaled with alleged revelations ; religious who until then had been looked up to as the protagonists of Catholic restoration, were suddenly pilloried as hypocrites and destroyers of morality. This impression was further heightened by the skilfully devised comical figure of the cunning, stupid, gawky Jesuit who, when questioned by Pascal during his imaginary interviews, unfolds the secrets of his moral teaching whilst his naïve complacency blinds him to the fact that Pascal is merely making a fool of him.

With the tenth letter the bantering tone comes to an end. The reason is that the Jesuits had not stood Pascal's attacks in silence.[1] Though Nouet, the chief author of the replies, lags far behind his adversary as regards smartness and elegance of style, he nevertheless convicted him of a whole series of distortions and misrepresentations. This demonstration created an impression and after the King's confessor, Annat, had likewise thrown himself into the fray,[2] the phrase became current in Paris : " he lies like a Jansenist ".[3] The insolent aggressor was now reduced to the defensive and his letters were no longer addressed to a friend in the provinces but to the Jesuits, the two last to Annat. Without even mentioning the errors of which the Jesuits had convicted him, the clever talker begins all of a sudden to defend, with a wearisome display of learning, both his previous assertions as well as the moderation with which he had stated them, and in order to prove that no credence could be given to the Jesuits, he goes so far as to assert that they taught that calumny was

[1] *Responses aux lettres provinciales publiées par le secretaire du Port-Royal contre les PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus sur le sujet de la Morale des dits Pères*, Liège, 1657 (collected writings). *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, V., 1814 *seq.*

[2] *La bonne foy des Jansénistes en la citation des autheurs reconnue dans les lettres que le secretaire de Port-Royal a fait courir depuis Pasques*, Paris, 1656, 1657. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, I., 404 ; E. RIVIÈRE, Corrections et additions, II., Toulouse, 1912, 13.

[3] RAPIN, II., 410.

lawful.[1] Port-Royal felt particularly hit by some appendices to Nouet's letters in which the latter, passing to the offensive against the Jansenists, put together various things that could not but be distasteful to them. As a result in the sixteenth letter, the man who had hitherto attacked with so much boldness, feels compelled to leave alone the moral theology of his opponents for the sake of his own defence. Thus he meets the accusation, that his friends did not believe in the Eucharist, with a long-winded and detailed defence, characterized by some curious arguments.

But he was compelled to climb down even lower. Annat had drily told him that, because of his views on grace, he was nothing but a heretic, just as Port-Royal was in heresy. The accusation was a dangerous one, hence the ardent front line warrior against the alleged duplicity of the Jesuits now denies all connexion with Port-Royal : he professes to hold the Dominican view on grace though in his first letters he had poured ridicule on that teaching ; he adheres to the condemnation of the five propositions and, when faced with the papal pronouncements, has recourse to Arnauld's wretched distinction between fact and right,[2] and whereas previously he had described the Jesuits as little short of a band of miscreants, he all of a sudden speaks of them as " sons of the same Church ".[3]

This sounds like a longing for peace ; as a matter of fact Pascal gave further expression to this sentiment. In sixteen

[1] *Lettre* 15.

[2] Sicard (*L'ancien clergé de France*, I., Paris, 1905, 472), writes : " On souffre de voir Pascal nier qu'il soit de Port-Royal, les Jansénistes les plus éminents s'enfermer dans les misérables subterfuges du fait et du droit, du silence respectueux, répondre par des restrictions secrètes aux restrictions mentales qu'ils reprochaient aux Jésuites. Au fond il manque aux plus recommandables de ces hommes l'esprit de soumission à l'Eglise qui s'était prononcée, et une vertu bien chrétienne, l'humilité."

[3] Notwithstanding the difference in the appreciation of Jansenius *nous n'en serons pas moins enfants de la même Eglise* (*Lettre* 18, p. 321).

letters he had been the aggressor, yet at the beginning of the seventeenth he complains of the combativeness of his opponents, and whereas in reality it was Port-Royal that flooded the world with literature, the eighteenth and last letter concludes on a note of admiration for the fact that out of love for peace, the Jansenists had borne every accusation in silence.[1] He accordingly calls upon the opponents to leave the Church in peace ; all would be well then ; only in the event of the Jesuits attempting once more to disturb the peace would the " children of peace " defend themselves. It can hardly be said that the Provincial letters end with a triumphant fanfare. But it was a good thing, even for Pascal's reputation as a writer, that he stopped. The last letters are very far from possessing the charm of the first and for the modern reader they are distinctly wearisome. He who at the beginning had shown himself a past master in the use of the finely sharpened weapon of ridicule, displays but little powers of persuasion when, in the concluding letters, he endeavours to give expression to burning indignation. Viewed objectively, the result of the *Provinciales* was anything but a triumph for Pascal, for what could be the impression on serious minds if the letters were indeed universally extolled as a masterpiece of style but were likewise shown up as " a masterpiece of calumny " ?[2] On February 9th, 1657, the Parliament of Provence decreed that the sixteen letters published up to that date, should be burnt by the executioner as a defamatory and pernicious work. After examination by a commission headed by four Bishops, the Council of State, under the presidency of the King, condemned the Latin translation to a like fate on September 25th, 1660. In Spain the Inquisition had condemned the Provincial Letters as heretical and defamatory of the Society of Jesus.[3] Worse

[1] According to the Jansenist GAZIER (I., 206) Pascal put an end to the controversy from a motive of Christian charity.

[2] " Chef-d'œuvre de la calomnie bien écrite,' GÉRIN, I., 146).

[3] [PATOUILLET], II., 498 *seqq.* ; [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 116 *seq.* According to GAZIER (I., 104) the effect of the condemnation

still, by a decree of September 6th, 1657, the Roman Inquisition condemned the *Provinciales* not only as a whole, but each of them singly,[1] thereby declaring every single letter to be worthy of reprobation. When information of this step reached him, Pascal sought to ward off the blow by making his own a saying of St. Bernard: "I appeal to Thy tribunal, Lord Jesus!"[2] Now it is quite true that Bernard of Clairveaux had uttered these words, but only when some people opposed to him a surreptitious Roman dispensation: hence the saying cannot cover Pascal. After the defeat of Jansenism, in addition to these condemnations, Pascal was to know an experience far more bitter than anything he could have foreseen. He himself may have imagined that he had taken up his pen in defence of the Church, but heresy and infidelity made use of the Provincial Letters as weapons with which to attack the Church and her moral teaching, and this even when, long after the papal condemnations, no one thought of defending the objectionable propositions. On the other hand, despite certain individual aberrations, and in the teeth of every opposition, the Jesuit views ended by gaining a preponderant place in the moral theology of the Church.[3] To this result Pascal had himself contributed when, with his Provincial Letters, he secured a temporary triumph for a morality tainted with Jansenism,

of 1660 was that Pascal's name does not appear in the necrology of Port-Royal and that the *Provinciales* could not be printed in France previous to the Revolution. GRÄSSE's *Trésor* (V., 145), however, shows Paris editions of 1741, 1754, 1766.

[1] REUSCH, II., 484.

[2] "Tuum, Domine Iesu, tribunal appello" (S. BERN. *Epist.*, I., n. 7, in *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXII., 74). DREXEL in *Bull. de litt. ecclés.*, 1915, 474. Arnauld also, *Bernardi exemplo*, appeals to the tribunal of Christ (*Œuvres*, I., 196).

[3] "With the high honour bestowed by the Church on Alphonsus Liguori, the pupil and spiritual heir of the Jesuits, the Order which, if it did not invent probabilism and the doctrine of attrition, at least developed it, secured the most brilliant and most effective of its triumphs" (DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., v.).

for by that very means he demonstrated the fact that such teaching could not possibly be carried into effect in practical life and in the cure of souls.

(3.)

For a time the enormous success of the "little letters" did much to revive the spirits of the Jansenists, whilst an alleged miraculous cure at Port-Royal followed, it was said, by eighty further miracles, also contributed to that result. The subject of the first of these cures was Pascal's niece; accordingly her uncle felt more fully convinced than ever that heaven itself approved his attacks against the Jesuits.[1]

However, neither miracles nor Provincial Letters were able to ward off from the Jansenists new and seemingly destructive blows. The Assembly of the clergy had met in Paris in October, 1655. The presence of forty Bishops and twenty-seven other deputies invested it with such solemnity that it could almost be considered as a national council. At the sessions of September 1st and 2nd, 1656, the Assembly made a profession of submission to Innocent X.'s decree of September 29th, 1654, which expressly stated that the condemnation of the five propositions was meant to hit Jansenius. The Assembly likewise renewed the decisions of the three previous Assemblies, and those Bishops who were unwilling to carry out the ordinances contained in the letter of the last Assembly of the clergy were threatened with exclusion from all meetings, both general and particular, of the French clergy.[2] The Assembly took another important step when it drew up a new formula, the signing of which implied the condemnation

[1] KREITEN, *loc. cit.*, XLIV., 546 *seqq.*; Hallier to Rondinini, Paris, May 11, 1656, in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (1905), 261. It is an error to maintain that Pascal's seal referred to the occurrence (GAZIER, I., 109).

[2] [DUMAS], I., 185 *seqq.*, 197 *seqq.*; GERBERON, II., 309; BOURLON, 55 *seqq.*

of the five propositions in the sense specified by the French Bishops on March 28th, 1654, and by the Pope on September 29th following. The Pope was informed by letter of these decisions.[1]

Alexander VII. was in no hurry to yield to the many people who pressed him to publish a new Bull against Jansenism. So long as the party laboriously endeavoured to prove that the five propositions had not been taught by their master, he was unwilling, by a definition in the opposite sense, to drive them to fresh subterfuges and to a denial of papal infallibility. But he hesitated no longer when the French Bishops sent Hallier to Rome as their representative for he did not wish the Bull, which had been ready for a long time, to be looked upon as the work of that determined opponent of the Jansenists. Accordingly the Pope put his signature to the Bull about mid-October, but for the time being it was only posted up in the customary places for about two hours and this at a time when, presumably, no one would read it. After that the Pope had it presented in Paris by the new nuncio Piccolomini.[2] In his Bull Alexander VII. expressly states that the five propositions were taken from Jansenius' book and condemned in Jansenius' sense. The *Augustinus* of

[1] In D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 280 ; [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 122 *seq.*

[2] PALLAVICINO, *Alessandro*, VII., ii., 147 *seq.* On April 27, 1656, a letter to Bagno from Rome stated, " Da molto tempo in qua la S.Stà con pensiero di promulgare una bolla confirmatoria di quella di Innocenzo X. intorno alle cinque proposizioni e di già n'è stesa la minuta, ma andava differendone la publicazione per attendere di farla opportunamente " (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 111, Papal Sec. Arch.). A letter of August 7 repeats that some *zelanti* demanded the Bull ; Bagno should say whether it would not be better to wait for Hallier's arrival in Rome and whether it should not rather be published after the dissolution of the Assembly of the Clergy (*ibid.*). According to the *letters of August 20, 1657, to the nuncio (*ibid.*, 111 A.) the king's confessor, Annat, strongly urged the publication of the Bull, " poichè con essa si sarebbe totalmente abbattuta la dannata dottrina e rintuzzato l'ardire dei suoi seguaci."

the Bishop of Ypres is once more prohibited by the document,[1] whilst the Jansenists are described as "disturbers of the public peace" and "sons of iniquity". The Pope draws attention to the fact that, as Cardinal Chigi, he had personally taken part in the discussions on the five propositions and that the inquiry had been conducted with the greatest possible care. In the spring of 1656 nuncio Bagno prayed for his recall[2]; a letter of October 16th, 1656, informed him that the Sienese Celio Piccolomini, Archbishop of Caesarea, would replace him as nuncio extraordinary.[3] Piccolomini found opinion favourable to publication of the Bull; Mazarin desired it and several Bishops told him that it could not have come more opportunely,[4] whilst the King and the Queen-Mother promised to promote its execution.[5] The Assembly of the clergy received it with applause and it was resolved to convene all the Bishops then in Paris so as to add solemnity to its reception.[6] The Sorbonne also submitted to it.[7]

However, all this only meant that the papal decisions were received with docility in so far as they concerned the sphere

[1] October 16, 1655, in [DUMAS], I., 130 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, XVI., 243.

[2] *Bagno on March 17 and April 7, 1656, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 111, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*; GÉRIN, I., 154, n. 2.

[4] *Piccolomini on March 9, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 110 A., *loc. cit.* On March 16, 1657, Joisel wrote to Rondinini that it had met with an enthusiastic reception (*Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 322).

[5] "*Non poteva in dette MM^tà desiderar maggiore e migliore disposizione.... Mi offersero la loro assistenza, a le Regina mi disse di più, ch'era gran tempo, che haveva desiderata questa confermazione, conoscendo il beneficio che da essa resulterà" (Piccolomini, March 13, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). "*Gratissime risposte [at the audience of March 26], e particolarmente nella Regina trovai ogni desiderabile prontezza, havendomi S. M. replicato più volte che a tutto si sarebbe dato buon ordine" (Piccolomini, March 30, 1657, *ibid.*).

[6] *Piccolomini on March 15, 1657, *ibid.*

[7] GERBERON, II., 343 *seq.*

of faith, but as soon as the Pope attempted to intervene in any other way, Gallican susceptibilities were at once roused in most alarming fashion. Thus the affair of the Bishops whose pastoral letters had caused so much scandal on the occasion of the condemnation of the five propositions under Innocent X., was still pending.[1] By now only three were left, for there was no longer any complaint against Bishop Henri Arnauld.[2] Authorization to hold a formal inquiry into the conduct of the three remaining Bishops, viz. those of Sens, Comminges and Beauvais, was once more given by Alexander VII. to the same seven prelates [3] who had already received it from Innocent X. A symptom of Rome's profound displeasure was the fact that the nuncio informed the Vicars-General of the three Bishops, not the prelates themselves, of the Jubilee Indulgence granted on the occasion of the elevation of the new Pope, and that his action was approved by Rome.[4]

However, the Assembly of the clergy refused to approve such treatment of French Bishops. On May 31st, 1656, it was resolved to present a memorial to the King which was not likely to give much satisfaction in Rome. The colleagues of the three Bishops, the document states, desired nothing so much as an inquiry; for all that, the Assembly prayed the King not to suffer steps to be taken which would prejudice the privileges of the realm and the liberties of the Gallican

[1] See Vol. XXX., p. 289 *seqq.*

[2] COCHIN, 157 *seqq.*

[3] The Bishops of Arles, Toulouse, Annecy, Mâcon, Rennes, Amiens and Soissons (Brief of May 24, 1655, *Bull.*, XVI., 5]. According to Joisel (to Rondinini, April 20, 1656), the matter had no sequel because the Gallicans objected to some expressions in the formula of recantation that had been forwarded to them (*Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 260). *Ibid.*, 262, a letter of the three Bishops, dated June 12, 1656, in which they assure the Pope of their submission and beg for protection from the vexations of the nuncio.

[4] Bagno on March 3, 1656; to *Bagno, April 17, 1656, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 111, *loc. cit.*

Church. The King was the Bishop without, as Constantine styled himself; he was the guardian of the liberties of the Gallican Church; these simply stood for the ancient Canon Law which was more faithfully observed in France than anywhere else. This title of "Patron" was more glorious for the king than any other; Louis XIV., the Bishops felt convinced, would not suffer himself to be robbed of such a name. De Marca protested against this memorial in a letter to Mazarin. He drew the Cardinal's attention to the fact that the principles on which it rested brushed aside the later General Councils of the Lateran and Lyons; that it was bound to destroy the Pope's prestige and to lead to schism; for 550 years the Church of France had had no experience of the application of such principles. At the same time De Marca, artful courtier as he was, observed that here was a chance for Mazarin to represent himself in Rome as the indispensable champion of the rights of the Pope.[1] It would seem that Piccolomini, when at a later date he had become nuncio, was not far wrong when he refused to trust De Marca unreservedly.[2]

The Cardinal did not deem it expedient to take advantage of De Marca's hint. Though on previous occasions he had adopted a friendly attitude towards the Pope,[3] at present he was angry against Rome on account of Cardinal Retz,[4] and he secretly protected the Jansenists. He ordered the Bishops to subscribe to their letter to the King and he induced them to present a further memorial to himself in which the three Bishops were praised for the high regard in which they held the Pope, their concord with other Bishops and their readiness to give the sovereign Pontiff every reasonable satisfaction. It was with good reason that Alexander VII. complained that

[1] Gérin, I., 147–150.

[2] He fears "che non sia un ingegno assai versatile e da voltarsi da quella banda dove trovarà da fare più la sua fortuna." Piccolomini, March 23, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 110 A., *loc. cit.*

[3] Vol. XXX, pp. 286, 297.

[4] Pallavicino, II., 71.

a Cardinal of the Roman Church assured three rebellious Bishops of his protection. One of the three, Choiseul of Comminges, expressed his hope to Mazarin that through the mediation of the minister the King would settle the affair.[1]

Thanks to the efforts of De Marca and the Bishops of Limoges, Rennes, Montauban and Rodez, at least the Archbishop of Sens was prevailed upon to make a recantation.[2] This step caused a commotion among the supporters of the Jansenists. They let Mazarin know that if he allowed things to develop further in this direction, he would draw down upon himself the hatred and enmity of the party. However, Bishop Auvry of Coutances, a friend of the Cardinal, calmed them by pointing out that if they had been able to hold their own for so long, they owed it to Mazarin, for his protection alone had saved them from the wrath of their enemies.[3]

In the first days of May, 1657, after it had lasted a year and seven months, the Assembly of the clergy came at length to an end. Shortly before it had exhibited some Gallican tendencies even in the dogmatic sphere. The Bishop of Montauban took pleasure in expounding various assertions which were unfavourable to the Holy See and there was a danger of his securing the signatures of other Bishops for his proposals. Through the Bishops of Narbonne, Arles, Aire and Toulouse, the nuncio induced the Assembly to put off a decision and in the end he obtained from Mazarin a prohibition to proceed with the matter.[4] The doctrine of the immediate divine origin of episcopal jurisdiction, which had caused so much stir already at the Council of Trent,[5] came up once more for discussion when the Bishop of Montauban interpreted it in the sense that though the Pope enjoyed a certain precedence, he did not possess an absolute right to give orders in any diocese without the consent of its Bishop.[6]

[1] Gérin, I., 150 *seq.*

[2] Gerberon, II., 309.

[3] Gérin, I., 151.

[4] *Piccolomini, March 23 and April 7, 1657, *ibid.*

[5] See our data, Vol. XV., p. 271.

[6] *Piccolomini, March 22 and 30, 1657, *loc. cit.*

With a view to investing the new anti-Jansenist Bull with the prestige of the highest legal court in France, the Assembly of the clergy demanded its registration with Parliament. The court assented to the proposal but in view of the Jansenist and Gallican sentiments of many members of Parliament, its execution met with numerous obstacles. A first royal ordinance for registration dated May 4th, 1657,[1] was withdrawn by the Government itself, at the request of the nuncio, on the plea that it was necessary to await the orders of the King who had joined his army.[2] After his return the Government felt strong enough to enforce its will, but even now much reflexion was required before an unexceptionable text of the royal ordinance concerning registration was drawn up, for the jealousy of Parliament would not have tolerated any expression which would have been too favourable to the Pope or the Bishops.[3] On December 19th, 1657, the King repaired to the house of Parliament with a splendid cortège composed of a regiment of the Guards, his Swiss and his body-guard. There, in the presence of the Duke of Anjou, Prince Conti and all the notables then in Paris, he gave orders for the registration of the Bull of Alexander VII. for, he declared, he was resolved to do away with the teaching of Jansenius as constituting a danger for the State and an insult to religion. Registration followed, but not before Gallicanism had secured a fresh triumph with the speech of the young Advocate-General Talon. In this speech, which was a really splendid rhetorical effort, Parliament was indeed urged to receive the Bull but it was done in a manner amounting to an insult to the Holy See. Talon spoke of gaps in the papal decrees; however, he added as if to reassure his hearers, the presence and majesty of the King makes up for everything. He even had a few

[1] Drawn up by De Marca, text in RAPIN, II., 484 *seq.*

[2] On May 22, 1657, Chancellor Séguier assured Mazarin that registration by Parliament was not only quite unnecessary but even dangerous for Church and State, as it would only encourage the encroachments of Parliament. GÉRIN, I., 152 *seq.*

[3] RAPIN, II., 494 *seq.*

words in praise of the majesty of the Apostolic See, but according to him its roots were in the greatness of pagan Rome. It was necessary to give effect to the Bull, he finally added, but not by means of a kind of Inquisition, for what religion demands is conviction, not measures of violence. The anointing of a King, he said, was more sacred than a priest's and constituted the monarch a judge in religious disputes.[1] The nuncio's protests against this lowering of the dignity of the Holy See Talon only met with a few equivocal explanations. In the end an attempt was made to cover up the whole affair by the King himself writing a letter of homage to the Pope.[2] It is easy to see why Alexander VII. was in no great hurry to reply.[3]

In these circumstances there was no need whatever for the Jansenists to consider their cause as lost. If the ministers had not prevented the inquiry into the conduct of the three Bishops, Bagno wrote on September 7th, 1656, if they had kept their promises to the clergy, carried out the King's orders, punished the transgressors who were still holding their meetings, especially at Port-Royal, there would be no longer any mention of Jansenism.[4] But no energetic measures were taken. Both Bagno and Piccolomini repeatedly urged the "destruction of the nest of Port-Royal",[5] but the steps taken were hardly seriously meant. Again and again Rome pressed for decisive measures against the three Bishops, but always in vain.[6] Representations on the subject of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 496 *seqq.*

[2] Text, *ibid.*, 502 *seq.*

[3] It came on March 18, 1658 (*Epist. Alex.*, VII a. III–V, n. 76, Papal Sec. Arch.).

[4] "*Non sarebbe forsi alcuno che più ne parlasse" (September 1, 1656, *Nunziat. di Francia*, III., *loc. cit.*).

[5] *Bagno on February 18, 1656, *Piccolomini on February 5, 1657; *to Bagno, August 7, 1656; *to Piccolomini, September 17, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, III., III A., * "L'unico repiego sarebbe levare affatto cotesto nido del Jansenismo" (to Piccolomini, October 1, 1657, *ibid.*).

[6] *Ibid.*, *passim.*

Jansenists, the nuncio wrote in June, 1656, would be as useless now as previously, though he had repeatedly spoken on the subject to the King and Queen as well as to Mazarin and the Ministers. The fact was that the party was very powerful, enjoyed the favour both of the court and of many Bishops, even of such as had given their signature. It was rumoured that the Jansenists had been driven from Port-Royal, but this was far from being so ; it was boldly asserted that Rome had eulogized the two letters of Arnauld which had been the object of the Sorbonne's condemnation.[1]

The party's chief means of defence was the press. "Daily," Bagno wrote on February 18th, 1656, "new pamphlets and broadsheets are published,[2] and a year later his successor complains of the huge quantity of printed matter published against the Pope.[3] Protests against the second formula, which had to be signed by order of the Assembly of the clergy, provided ample matter for polemical writings. In view of the fact that this formula demanded acceptation of the Brief of September 29th, 1654, which was itself based on a prohibition of Jansenist books by the Index under date of

[1] "*Saranno inutili le istanze che andarò facendo per reprimere l'audacia de' Jansenisti, come sono fatte sin ad hora, non ostante che più volte io n'habbia parlato al Re, alla Regina et a Mazzarino et ad altri ministri, perchè il partito de' preditti è grande, potente e favorito dalla corte e da molti vescovi di quelli ancora che sottoscrissero." Bagno, June 30, 1656, *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 111.

[3] Piccolomini, February 16, 1657 : "Mi fa star sospeso [in the publication of the Bull] primo le tante stampe che vedo uscir fuori contro l'autorità della S.S. et il sentire che alcuni vescovi dell' Assemblea tenghino mano alla publicatione di tali libri" (*ibid.*, 111 A.). RAPIN (*Mém.*, II., 460) speaks of a "prodigieux nombre d'écrits de France et de Flandre" against the formulary. On June 16, 1657, the nuncio was instructed by the Pope and the Secretary of State, "che in avvenire con ogni applicatione e diligenza maggiore procuri qualsiasi scrittura o stampa che esca in quel regno concernente il Jansenismo" (Vezzani to Cardinal Chigi in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 192).

April 23rd, 1654, the most gruesome tales were circulated to the effect that it was intended to introduce that tribunal in France.[1] Consequently after its acceptance of Alexander's Bull, the Assembly of the clergy drew up a third formula [2] in which there was no mention of the Brief they objected to, that document being replaced by the latest papal pronouncement of October 16th, 1656. But even so, there was no lack of disputed points. The formula, it was said, obliged under pain of heresy; but to deny the fact that Jansenius had taught the five propositions could not be a heresy. And what right had the Assembly of the clergy to lay on the Bishops the obligation of signing anything? [3]

It was to be expected that, more than any one else, Arnauld would not allow his pen to rust. When in the first days of May a royal ordinance was communicated to Parliament, commanding it to register the Bull, he submitted in quick succession three memorials,[4] in which he once again evokes the terrifying spectre of the Inquisition and the threat to the Gallican liberties. The very title of a fourth memorial [5] identifies mere registration with the establishment of an Inquisition worse even than the Roman or the Spanish one.

However, these writings were for the benefit of Parliament. For the purpose of a wider influence on the cultivated classes it was essential to produce a parallel to the Provincial Letters. The right man for this work was found when, in addition to Arnauld and Pascal, Pierre Nicole appeared on the scene as the last of the leading champions of Jansenius. Nicole also was a lawyer's son, born at Chartres in 1625. He read theology at the Sorbonne but never became a priest. In 1645 he became one of the "gentlemen of Port-Royal" and he defended Jansenism in a vast number of publications which all testify to immense erudition; they appeared under a

[1] Rapin, II., 460.
[2] Text, *ibid.*, 463.
[3] *Ibid.*, 449, 462 *seq.*
[4] *Œuvres*, XXI., 61 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 82 *seqq.*

variety of pseudonyms.[1] After 1654 Nicole became Arnauld's companion and complement. Whereas Arnauld was only happy when fighting, Nicole's was a gentler nature, peaceable and accommodating. This trait led him to turn his back on polemics and made him a much admired exponent of moral teaching.[2]

In 1656, writing under the pseudonym of Franciscus Profuturus, Nicole fought the Assembly of the clergy. In the following year he sought to copy Pascal in an effort to rob Alexander VII.'s Bull of its effectiveness. This he did under the pseudonym of Paulus Irenaeus, writing in classical Latin and with occasional flashes of magnificent argumentative power.[3] According to Nicole there is no Jansenist heresy, "it is not the flame of heresy or schism that flares up, but a few evil-minded persons seek to blind the eyes, especially those of the rulers of the Church, with the smoke of malice and hatred, to the end that they might gratify their desires in the dark." His friends only defended the Thomistic doctrine of grace; all their differences turned round the question as to how Jansenius was to be understood. It was an unprofitable dispute which could be settled by agreement in half an hour—were it not for the Jesuits. However, he grants that the first of the five propositions "contains in its true and strict sense not one but many heresies", hence it must be interpreted in an unnatural sense in Jansenius.[4] After many arguments with Jesuit writers and lengthy historical explanations, he at last comes to his main theme in the fifth section, where he tries to show that, owing to Jesuit intrigues, "Rome did not notice that the quarrel was about nothing at all." Under

[1] Attention must be drawn to his Latin translation, with notes, of the *Provinciales*, under the name of Wendrock.

[2] *Essais de morale*, 13 vols, 1671. Jansenism often reveals itself in them. *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 68–91, 344–353. Also BREMOND, IV., 419 *seqq.*

[3] "Causa Ianseniana sive fictitia haeresis sex disquisitionibus theologice historice explicata explosa," Paris, 1657; reprint in SAINT-AMOUR, *Journal, Recueil*, f. 187 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 196.

Innocent X. the Jesuits had successfully prevented a thorough examination of the five propositions, whilst Alexander VII. knew nothing about the matter in dispute, for which his blind trust in the Jesuits was to blame.[1] On the basis of this premiss Nicole then proceeds to demolish Alexander VII.'s declaration that Innocent X. had condemned the five propositions as understood by Jansenius. Alexander VII.'s statement was correct, Nicole writes, for Innocent X. had really intended to condemn the five propositions in Jansenius' sense and had believed that they expressed Jansenius' mind, but though Alexander VII. testified to what had been his predecessor's intention, he by no means proved that the latter's view was based on fact: accordingly the question as to what Jansenius really taught remained undecided as before.[2]

The dissertations of "Paulus Irenaeus" were printed together with the Latin translation of the Provincial Letters and with it they were burnt by the public executioner.[3] For the rest they are not on the same level as Pascal's work, and even the Jansenists must have deemed it too risky to come to grips, after Nicole's manner, with Alexander VII. and perhaps even with the formula.

For the moment the party knew not what to do. Their oracle, Arnauld, went on with his gibes at the expense of country parish priests who, he declared, would be no wiser after attesting, by their signature, the presence of the five propositions in a book which they have never read,[4] and he scoffed at the prohibition of his works by the Index. This measure, in his opinion, was the work of the Jesuits.[5] However, the only advice he could give was silence and absolute trust in God.[6] After the publication of the formula of 1657

[1] *Ibid.*, 243.
[2] *Ibid.*, 244.
[3] *Cf.* the documents in [Dumas], III., *Recueil*, 116 *seq.*
[4] Letter of September 20, 1656 (*Œuvres*, I., 147).
[5] Letter of September 30, 1656, *ibid.*, 149.
[6] Letter of September 20, 1656, *ibid.*, 145.

he repeats the same counsel [1] but warns against expressions of excessive willingness to yield to Rome, for by this means they would only increase the presumption of the party which dominated the Pope. If there was one thing which could still stem the torrent it was the Romans' fear of opposition and loss of prestige. On no account must they give their signature to the Bull.

Despite his exhortations to patience Arnauld now took a step which at least prepared the way for success. In the person of Bishop Nicolas Pavillon of Alet [2] he succeeded in dragging into the controversy a man of no great intellectual eminence, yet one destined to play a leading rôle. With Pavillon a new, strongly marked personality joined a movement whose strength and weakness it was that it had to depend for its vitality on the genius or talents of its leaders.

Bishop Pavillon's episcopal see was an insignificant little town of the Pyrenees, but his personal prestige was very great because he was looked upon as a Saint, in fact another Charles Borromeo.[3] It is characteristic of the period that he should have enjoyed such a reputation, though it is true that he had always been an exemplary priest. When in 1637 the see of Alet was offered to him, he had only reached his fortieth year, but Vincent de Paul told him that he was bound in conscience not to decline the offer.[4] As a Bishop, Pavillon did all he could for his flock ; thus on one occasion he did not hesitate to walk many miles through the snow by night in order to rescue from death some poor women accused of witchcraft.[5] All that concerned divine worship and the priestly ministry was regulated by him, down to the smallest detail,

[1] To Salesse on April 7, 1657, *ibid.*, 164.

[2] [Le Fèvre de Saint-Marc et de la Chassagne], *Vie de M. Pavillon, évêque d'Alet*, Saint-Miel (Chartres), 1733 ; Ét. Déjean, *Un prélat indépendant au dix-septième siècle : Nicolas Pavillon*, Paris, 1909 ; A. Dubruel in *Recherches* VII. (1917), 52 ss. ; Rapin, *Mém.*, III., 64–7.

[3] Dubruel, 53 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 57.

[5] *Ibid.*, 58.

but it must be admitted that his ordinances bear the stamp of a certain narrowness and pettiness. In their internal arrangements, the churches were almost all of one pattern, like the churches of the Capuchins. He laid down at what moments of the service the faithful were to stand or to kneel, and on one occasion Prince Conti was called to order by the sexton for failing to comply with these regulations. All parish priests were obliged to teach at the same hour the same points of religious doctrine as laid down by the Bishop.[1] Public penance was imposed for public transgressions; thus a certain mayor was condemned to fast one day each week for a period of seven weeks, in addition to reciting special prayers for having taken part in a dance.[2] No wonder that even Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, who looked on Pavillon as a Saint on earth and who was enraptured by his humility, was nevertheless of opinion that his methods were dry and but little calculated to make goodness attractive and that his church discipline had about it a roughness which recalled the Spanish councils of the era of the Goths.[3] Nor was this all. After Arnauld's book on Communion had become one of Pavillon's favourite books of spiritual reading,[4] his own spirituality and his guidance of souls turned not only to strictness but even to unjustifiable rigour. Thus when at one place in his diocese some timber rafters were unable to attend church regularly, he demanded that they should give up their work, and when they refused, he forbade them the Sacraments.[5] Missions to the people were suppressed on the ground that they only made a passing impression; absolution in confession was nearly always deferred for all penitents, and confession to priests other than one's own parish priest was made exceedingly difficult. Things came to such a pass that in parishes of six hundred communicants only some two or three hundred received the Eucharist even at Easter,

[1] *Ibid.*, 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, 60.
[3] *Ibid.*, 54.
[4] *Ibid.*, 73; *cf.* 271 *seq.*
[5] DUBRUEL, 60.

and there were people between twenty and thirty years of age who had not yet made their first Communion,[1] whilst the request for ordination to the priesthood on the part of his seminarists was visited with a refusal of absolution.[2] Pavillon's conception of his episcopal dignity hardly squared with Canon Law. His idea was that the priests subject to him should be no more than his tools, blindly carrying out whatever he commanded, and he practically denied to the Pope any right of direct interference in his diocese. When the majority of the Canons of St. Paul, against his will, submitted to Alexander VII.'s formula, he excommunicated them.[3] In 1668 Clement IX. condemned Pavillon's Ritual because it advocated Arnauld's ideas on the administration of the Sacraments, but the Bishop continued to use it.[4] In other respects also the prelate stuck with downright obstinacy to any opinion or resolution he had once formed, defending it to the utmost even against the all-powerful Louis XIV.

This, then, was the man to whom Arnauld turned in his embarrassment, though only a short while before the Jansenist leader had insisted on the wrongfulness of contradicting one's convictions by any public statement, or of having recourse to equivocations when the lawful authorities demanded an explanation on questions of faith.[5] For all that, Arnauld now most respectfully submitted three questions to the Bishop of Alet, viz. whether one was bound to give up an opinion held till then and to believe that the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius, and that they had been condemned in the sense in which he understood them; whether it was lawful to subscribe to the Bull and the formula in token, not indeed of assent, but merely of respect; whether, on the

[1] *Ibid.*, 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, 58; *cf.* [VARET], I., 188 *seq.*

[4] DUBRUEL, 65 *seqq.* MS. instructions of Pavillon are couched in even stricter language than those of the Ritual (*ibid.*, 70 *seq.*). *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], III., 498 *seqq.*

[5] To Salesse, April 7, 1657 (*Œuvres*, I., 164).

contrary, one might not respectfully assume that the Pope had been badly informed in this affair.[1]

In view of Pavillon's turn of mind, Arnauld felt sure of a favourable answer, but for once he had made a miscalculation with his artful questions. Pavillon replied that not only may one sign the Bull, but one should do so, even if it could not be done without giving up a view hitherto held, for the Pope's judgment must be preferred to one's personal opinion; in the present case the question of fact and that of right were indissolubly connected.[2]

Arnauld had not expected such an answer. He countered it with his customary arguments.[3] Surrender of one's convictions could only be demanded by one invested with infallibility, but on a question of fact neither Pope nor Council were infallible.[4] Alexander VII. had merely stated that his predecessor had intended to condemn the meaning of Jansenius, which was quite true, but Innocent X. had not examined the facts.[5] Now it was well known how things were done in the Assembly of the clergy: three or four Bishops, inspired by Annat, arrange everything according to their good pleasure whilst the rest let things run their course, either out of complacency towards the court, or from selfishness, ignorance, blind devotion to the Jesuits, opportunist considerations and so forth.[6] Against the background of such miseries the writer's figure shone, of course, with all the more resplendent lustre, for such was his firmness, at any rate, that he would never condescend to prevaricate against truth by signing the formula, though such again was his humility that at the end of the pamphlet he begged the Bishop for better guidance.[7]

[1] *Œuvres*, XXI., 1 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 14.
[3] *Réflexions* (*ibid.*, 18 *seqq.*). *Cf.* RAPIN, II., 464 *seq.*
[4] *Réflexions*, 23.
[5] *Ibid.*, 35.
[6] *Ibid.*, 34.
[7] *Ibid.*, 44.

The deep impression these arguments made on Pavillon was only to bear fruit at a later period. For the moment peace reigned in France, except for the diocese of Beauvais, where the quarrel occasioned by the Constitution of Innocent X. continued to rage. The Chapter of Beauvais, which enjoyed numerous immunities from episcopal authority, published a number of anti-Jansenist ordinances for the benefit of its own subjects. Thereupon a minority of the Chapter, which favoured Jansenism, appealed to Parliament from the decision of the majority, and again to the royal council; thus the dispute dragged on for years. Moreover, Bishop Nicolas Choart de Buzanval, who subsequently became a column of Jansenism, would not hear of the formula.[1] In the other dioceses the signing of the formula met with no objection, so much so that the Jansenist cause seemed desperate. It seemed as if the fate of the sect would be sealed for good and all if one could but win over its leader. Several attempts were made to this end immediately after Arnauld's condemnation. Armed with letters of recommendation from Bishop Henri Arnauld, the Genovefan Fronteau offered his services as a mediator to the Assembly of the clergy, but Antoine Arnauld very soon disavowed him.[2] In the following year, 1657, a certain Doctor De la Haye negotiated with the nuncio whilst Dean Deslions of Senlis did so with the members of the Sorbonne.[3] From Rome Rancati made several attempts, in a roundabout way, to pass letters to Arnauld in which he invited him to recant.[4] All was in vain. To De la Haye

[1] GERBERON, II., 162 (A.D. 1653), 304 (A.D. 1656), 322 *seqq.* (A.D. 1657), 388 *seqq* (A.D. 1658), 410 *seqq.* (A.D. 1659).

[2] COCHIN, 335 *seqq.*; (337 *seqq.* on the action of "Creväus" and Rancati).

[3] Arnauld on August 20 and December 21, 1657 (*Œuvres*, I., 175, 178).

[4] "Creväus" to Henri Arnauld, June 23, 1659, *ibid.*, 189; Rancati to De la Mirande, October 29, 1661, *ibid.*, 280. Seguenot forwards the letter to Henri Arnauld, *ibid.*, 285, who sends it on to D'Andilly to whom Antoine Arnauld replies on December 29, 1661, and March 21, 1662, *ibid.*, 288, 296.

Arnauld protested his readiness to do all that lay in him [1]: that he would rather lose a thousand lives than rebel against the Roman Church and that on the question of fact he would never contradict a Bull. He even went so far as to maintain before Rancati that he had never openly taught Jansenism and had never taxed the papal Bulls with error; that on the contrary, in so far as the question of fact was concerned, he had shown the utmost respect for them.[2]

At the same time Arnauld identified himself with a conception of the five condemned propositions which seemed to lean on the Dominican teaching on grace. This circumstance raised Rancati's hopes; he urged Arnauld [3] to write to the Pope directly, protesting his devotion to his person. This, too, proved a vain hope. Arnauld deprecated Rancati's mediation and declined to write to the Pope on the ground that he was unwilling to feign.[4] For a like reason he also rejected the idea of a reconciliation with the Sorbonne.[5] It was necessary to persevere in the defence of Jansenism, he wrote to a friend of the party [6]; for their position was impregnable and they must not allow themselves to be frightened by the authorities arrayed against them.

(4.)

However unfavourable the position of the Jansenists may have been at the end of 1657, nothing was done against them in the course of the next few years. Schemes were drawn up for the purpose of rendering Port-Royal harmless and the

[1] *Ibid.*, 176.

[2] "Ego quanto religiosior, qui nec Jansenium aperte defendi, nec errorem facti Pontificiis Constitutionibus imputavi, denique iis semper venerationem praestiti, etiam in facto, quae nulla maior a catholicis theologis exigitur."

[3] "Creväus" to Henri Arnauld on November 24, 1659, *ibid.*, 198.

[4] To Henri Arnauld on January 26, 1660, *ibid.*, 200 *seq.*

[5] To Deslions, January 27, 1661, *ibid.*, 225–230.

[6] To Hermant, February, 1661, *ibid.*, 231.

nuncio pressed for their execution,[1] but nothing was done. Mazarin was wholly taken up with the preliminaries of the Peace of the Pyrenees and had no time for religious questions,[2] the court was far from the capital, the Archbishop of Paris was in exile and De Marca was employed by the King in the demarcation of frontiers.[3] Almost the only thing the King did was to send the Archbishop of Embrun to the general Assembly of the Oratorians, for the purpose of demanding the signature to the formula which, as a matter of fact, that assembly gave.[4] When on the occasion of the registration of the Bull of Alexander VII. at Bordeaux, the Attorney-General, Du Sault, behaved in an offensive manner to the Archbishop, the King also intervened on behalf of the latter, but in the end nothing happened.[5]

Among the hierarchy, the Bishop of Mirepoix earned the praise of the nuncio and the Pope by his zeal against the Jansenists. In his Brief the Pope lamented the fact that not all the Bishops deserved similar praise.[6] In view of the divergent attitude of the Bishops, even the signature of the formula could not lead to unity in the Church of France, for each Bishop published it in his own way.[7] Meanwhile the Jansenists took advantage of the relative tranquillity which they enjoyed in 1658 and 1659 to influence public opinion once more in their favour by means of a spate of big and small books.[8] It was only after the Peace of the Pyrenees that their position seemed to worsen seriously. The reins of government were gradually slipping from the

[1] Rapin, III., 10, 12 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 20, 56 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 58. A laudatory papal *Brief of November 17, 1657, to De Marca for former services against Jansenism in *Alexandri VII. Epist.*, III.–V., n. 25, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Rapin, III., 20.

[5] *Ibid.*, 50–56.

[6] *Brief of October 6, 1657, in *Alexandri VII. Epist.*, III.–V., n. 14, *loc. cit.*

[7] Rapin, III., 14, 59.

[8] *Ibid.*, 20.

hands of the one time all-powerful minister whilst the Queen-Mother was only too glad to efface herself behind her youthful son who, with absolute faith in himself and in the full consciousness of his power, was ready to enter upon the career of an autocrat. Louis XIV.'s hatred for Jansenism was due, in the first instance, to his upbringing by his pious mother, but likewise to the fact that he saw in religious disputes a danger to the State. After assuring the Pope of his zeal, through his ambassador in Rome, and having personally intervened in the registration of the latest Bull against the Jansenists, he deemed it a point of honour to carry the struggle thus begun to a victorious conclusion. Thus it looked as if the most brilliant prince of the period was about to exert all his might in dealing the innovators a blow from which there would be no recovery. In reality, however, the cause of the Jansenists was far from being so desperate as it looked. In dealing with a religious sect, the only rôle of the Government could be that of supporting the measures of the Holy See and giving them effect. However, as Bossuet observed at a later date,[1] no sooner had the King seized the reins of Government, than a policy of humbling Rome and asserting his authority against her was adopted, largely under Colbert's influence, and the royal council followed a similar line of conduct. In the mind of Louis XIV. the Pope was to be no more than the right arm of the King of France, a tool that would exercise its spiritual powers at the bidding of the King and in accordance with the royal will. Thus, as a result of the King's obstinacy, in the struggle against Jansenism papal action was constantly thwarted; Gallicanism proved Jansenism's strongest ally[2] and what was built up by Louis the ruler was pulled down by Louis the Gallican. Moreover none of the three ministers, Lionne, Le Tellier and Colbert, were well disposed towards Rome and they were advised by Jansenists,[3] whilst amid the sumptuous

[1] In Gérin, I., 220.

[2] "Le immanità della chiesa gallicana compagne dell'eresia." Thus Alexander VII., in 1664, *ibid.*, II., 6.

[3] Rapin, III., 193.

amusements of a magnificent court Louis' zeal for religion cooled very quickly; at the close of his long reign the sect was stronger than it had ever been.

However, about the middle of 1660 it looked as if the young King were about to take seriously his coronation oath of safeguarding the religion of the realm. In May, 1660, the Assembly of the clergy met at Pontoise, from whence it transferred its sittings to Paris in September. It had as yet done nothing worth while against Jansenism when the King himself put an end to the equivocal situation.[1] On the morning of December 13th the presidents of the Assembly were summoned to the Louvre where they found the King and the ministers in Mazarin's room. After the ministers had withdrawn, Louis XIV. made a speech in which he declared that honour and conscience no less than the welfare of the State demanded that he should uproot Jansenism. He relied on the zeal of the Assembly and the proved ability of the Cardinal. After that Mazarin also spoke for over an hour. The new teaching, he said, had been condemned by two Popes and by the Bishops; effect must be given to that judgment, and since mildness yielded no result it would be necessary to apply severity.[2]

Thereupon, on December 17th, the first president, Archbishop Harlay of Rouen, convened an extraordinary meeting at which twelve commissaries were appointed to study the matter. These deliberations took up six sessions and the result of their investigation was explained to the Assembly of the clergy in five further sessions.[3] The final deliberation took place on February 1st. It was decided that the formula of the last General Assembly should be signed by the Bishops and that they should have it signed by everybody, down to the school teachers and the nuns. They were to report on the matter to the Assembly of the clergy or to the agents of

[1] Rapin, III., 83; Gerberon, II., 475 *seqq.*; Ste.-Beuve, IV., 109 *seqq.*; Bourlon, 74 *seqq.*

[2] Rapin, III., 84 *seq.*

[3] [Dumas], I., 228.

the clergy within a period of two months; should they fail to do so they would forfeit their active and passive voice at the assemblies of the clergy and incur other penalties as well. The King was requested not to allow any appeal on account of abuse, to suppress schools and associations in which Jansenism was taught, not to allow anyone to enjoy a benefice without previous signature of the formula and to prohibit and suppress all Jansenist writings.[1] The signatures of forty-five Bishops and those of another eighteen deputies were calculated to give weight to this manifesto. On April 13th the King approved the formula and in a circular letter to the Bishops, urged its acceptance; on May 2nd it was submitted to the Sorbonne together with a royal letter of recommendation; that body also accepted it unconditionally.[2] In other ways also the King had given proof of his zeal, for already after the first three months he had asked for a report on the state of the anti-Jansenist negotiations and pressed for their early termination.[3]

However powerful these measures may have appeared, they suffered from a flaw which even the King with all his might could not remedy: whence did the Assembly of the clergy derive authority to give orders to the Bishops? It was possible to invoke earlier measures of this kind by those Assemblies but these did not constitute an unimpeachable right. It might be urged that the Pope, by his silence, had approved the decision of the Bishops, but to make quite sure papal authorization in due form would have been required.

[1] *Ibid.*, 229; RAPIN, III., 129 *seq.*

[2] [DUMAS], I., 230 *seqq.*

[3] RAPIN, III., 89. On May 16, 1661, Alexander VII., wrote to the French clergy: *"Iansenismo exstirpando incumbatis; sed huius mali vivacitas nunquam penitus extinguetur, nisi contra contumaces" the penalties prescribed by Innocent X. and by ourselves, are applied (*Alexandri VII. Epist.*, n. 39, *loc. cit.*). On the same day a *Brief to the king: if he persevered in his zeal and, in accordance with the desire of the Bishops, suppressed the Jansenist conventicles, it would be possible to hope for a complete extirpation of the heresy. Papal Sec. Arch.

Rome was annoyed that no such authorization had been asked for and Alexander VII. was already then thinking of drawing up a formula himself.[1]

The consequences of this juridical uncertainty showed themselves soon enough. On June 8th, 1661, the representatives of banished Cardinal Retz published an ordinance,[2] drawn up by Jansenists,[3] which trimmed the formula in their sense. For the papal decision, whether or no the five propositions were found in Jansenius, nothing more was asked than "the full and sincere respect which is due to such Constitutions". The ordinance created a great sensation. The Assembly of the clergy protested to the King on June 26th. That body was charged to examine it and on the basis of their report a royal decree ordered the Vicars-General to withdraw it. But this step by no means disposed of the matter. The parish priests of Paris who had already signed, declared on July 29th, before a notary, that they had been greatly edified by the ordinance of the Vicars-General and on its part Port-Royal did not fail to support the latter's action by means of a number of writings. To put an end to the confusion both the nuncio and the Vicars-General appealed to Rome. There the authorities were greatly embarrassed as to how they might deliver judgment without hurting Gallican susceptibilities. The Pope's hesitation caused bad blood in Paris. If Alexander VII. did not speak, Lionne wrote, the King would be compelled to convoke a national council for the purpose of seeking a remedy which Rome was unwilling to supply.[4] At last a Brief came from Rome dated August 1st, 1661,[5] in which the Vicars-General were repudiated in

[1] GÉRIN, I., 239, n. 2.

[2] Reproduction in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXII., 607 *seqq*. *Cf*. [DUMAS], I., 232–9; RAPIN, III., 105 *seqq*., 111 *seqq*., 118 *seq*., 123 *seq*.; **Barb*. 1048, f. 275–8, Vat. Lib.

[3] ARNAULD, *loc. cit*., 607 note.

[4] GÉRIN, I., 239 *seq*.

[5] In [DUMAS], I., 235 *seqq*.; III., *Rec*. 136. A *Brief of August 9, 1661, to Card. Retz instructed him: "post acceptum hoc Breve intra mensem unum ambos a vicariatus officio removeas et

very severe terms. However, even so it required a lengthy correspondence with the nuncio before the Vicars-General recanted on October 31st, after which they ordered the formula to be subscribed to without qualification. The situation of the Jansenists became now increasingly precarious. They were indeed able to stave off the dissolution of Port-Royal, the heart and centre of the party, a measure devised by Queen Anne. The royal decree ordering the expulsion of the hermits was badly carried out,[1] but many who had been considered as the pillars of the party gave their signature, though with some curious reservations, in fact they even defended in writing the lawfulness of their conduct: among them were Sainte-Beuve who had lost his professor's post because of Arnauld, the curé Duhamel and the Oratorian Seguenot.[2] Bourzeys, up till then one of the sect's most prolific writers, submitted loyally, and in a pastoral letter of June 18th, 1661, Archbishop Gondrin of Sens made known, in the very terms of the formula, his condemnation of the five propositions.[3]

In these circumstances it is easy to understand the reappearance of the equivocations which had been so strong a feature of Jansenism. In the formula the signatory was made to say that he condemned "with heart and lips" Jansenius' five propositions as they stood in his *Augustinus*. On the other hand, printed works explained that one might sign and at the same time maintain that the five propositions were not in Jansenius, for it was in the nature of things that an internal assent could only be asked for the question of right, whilst for the question of fact only such respect and

alios idoneos sufficias" (*Alexandri VII. Epist.*, VI.–VIII., n. 73, Papal Sec. Arch.). On the same day a *Brief to the king (*ibid.*, n. 74) refers him to the nuncio who will pray him to hasten the extirpation of Jansenism.

[1] Rapin, III., 97 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Arnauld's work: *De la signature du Formulaire* (*Œuvres*, XXI., 259 *seqq.*).

[3] [Dumas], I., 239 *seq.*

submission could be exacted as excluded open contradiction.[1] Others pretended that many Bishops had given their subjects to understand that in respect of the question of fact they demanded no more than an external assent; hence one could sign in their sense without any internal acceptation of the fact.[2] Sainte-Beuve explained that by the signature one merely acknowledged the fact as probable, indeed it was not without external probability seeing that the Pope and the Bishops testified to it[3]; the propositions were in fact to be found in Jansenius, even though in another sense; hence this also might be subscribed.[4] Seguenot was of opinion that the subscription was not a statement of belief but solely of the fact that one would offer no opposition.[5]

This was too much even for Arnauld. In his rejoinder he tore these excuses to shreds and boldly proclaimed the thesis that one who did not believe the fact could not sign the formula; otherwise it would be said of him: "Thou hast lied, not to men, but to God!"[6] Anyone who after a careful study of *Augustinus* felt convinced otherwise than what the papal decision claimed, could not sign the formula, since the Pope was not infallible when pronouncing in questions of fact.[7] For all that, even Arnauld knew a way out of the impasse so as to enable a man to give his signature without accepting the fact: if Bishops who were anxious not to tyrannize over consciences, would publicly declare that signature did not of necessity imply an internal act of faith in the question of fact, it would not be dishonourable to

[1] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 298, 300, 315. It is characteristic of the bitterness of contemporary Jansenists that their denunciations led to the suppression, in 1660, of the Society of the Blessed Sacrament which had done so much good (PRUNEL, *La renaissance catholique en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1921, 174).

[2] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 281, 296 *seq.*, 316.

[3] *Ibid.*, 280, 288. *Cf.* COCHIN, 161 *seq.*

[4] ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 283.

[5] *Ibid.*, 295.

[6] *Ibid.*, 264–276.

[7] *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

give it. Faith as regards right, respect in regard to fact—that was all the signature implied [1]; only by making this distinction could peace be restored to the Church. However much the Jesuits may combat it, it will surely prevail in the end; until then the Jansenists must remain steadfast, ready to suffer all things, even martyrdom itself.[2]

Arnauld's own internal attitude to these events is even more clearly revealed in his letters of the period. He attaches no value to the prestige of the Pope and the Bishops. The Pope has pronounced in the affair of the Jansenists by blindly relying "on seven or eight friars whose ability may be gauged by their printed memorandums".[3] "A priest can never admit that he is in error so long as his conscience bears witness to his Catholic sentiments." [4] "I do not know whether so patent an oppression of the Church by those in authority does not ask for more than impotent tears." [5] He prefers the opinion of his friends to that of the Bishops because the former "understand these matters, seeing that they have carefully studied them, and they sufficiently fear God to stop them from acting against their conscience". "I attest before God that at this moment I know not one Bishop possessed of these two qualities." [6] In an opuscule on "The heresy and schism which were bound to arise within the Church of France as a result of the compulsory signature of the formula",[7] he explains that not the Jansenists but the Bishops were heretics, seeing that they forced people to sign the formula without admitting the distinction between right and fact, for it was a heresy to demand for a fact, such as Jansenism, such faith as is only due to divine testimony.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 318. In like manner in the letter of May 27, 1661, to Hermant at Beauvais (*Œuvres*, I., 247).

[2] *Ibid.*, 319, 326.

[3] To Duhamel on May 3, 1661 (*Œuvres*, I., 242).

[4] To Deslions on January 27, 1661, *ibid.*, 227.

[5] To Hermant on April 24, 1661, *ibid.*, 239.

[6] To Duhamel on May 3, 1661, *ibid.*, 240 *seqq.*

[7] *Œuvres*, XXI., 251 *seqq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 258.

The strangest position of all among the Jansenists was that of Pascal who had fallen out with his friends on account of the formula. In contradiction to his *Provinciales*, he now rejected the distinction between fact and right. He granted that the Popes had condemned Jansenius' interpretation, but maintained that his own sense was covered by the Dominican conception of grace, and that it was the teaching of the Church. Consequently when he gave his decision the Pope erred in a matter of faith. Hence the formula could not be signed except with the reservation that one excepted the sense of Jansenism when doing so.[1] It is impossible to see what Pascal meant by these words.

(5.)

Antoine Arnauld's brother Henri, Bishop of Angers, did not even publish the formula. He sought to justify his conduct in a letter to the King dated July 6th, 1661. In substance his letter contains nothing but the usual distinction between fact and right, but Port-Royal praised it to the sky, especially as it was hoped that Henri's example would lead other Bishops to act in like manner. As a matter of fact Pavillon had written a similar letter to the King on June 22nd, but a friend had kept it back. Three months went by before Bishop Godeau, who had signed the formula, also wrote to the King on October 15th, but for the purpose of combating that document. In a letter of justification to his nephew, the Secretary of State, Lionne, dated October 21st, 1661, Henri Arnauld ascribed the silence of his brother Bishops to cowardice and fear of Annat, the King's confessor.[2]

[1] [Dumas], I., 250–252.

[2] Cochin, 163–178. The writings of Henri Arnauld pass for works of his brother Antoine and for that reason were admitted among the latter's *Œuvres*, XXII., 610 *seqq.*, 614 *seqq.* ; *cf.* XXI., p. xliii. : "Tous les catalogues du temps font M. Arnauld auteur de ces lettres." Cochin speaks differently (167).

Shortly afterwards he also wrote to the Pope, adding a lengthy dissertation on the difference between fact and right, of course all to no purpose. In Rome Cardinal Albizzi made fun of the Gallican theologian who tried to teach Rome in such matters whilst to Henri's keen disgust Alexander VII. did not even do him the honour of answering his letter.[1]

According to what De Marca told the Bishop of Angers on the occasion of a meeting of the two men, Government circles were expecting a papal command ordering all Bishops to sign the formula. However, nothing came from Rome and the Government had to be content with the publication of the Brief to the Vicars-General.[2] This gave Henri Arnauld a welcome opportunity to make another appeal to Louis XIV.[3] When in answer to his objections it was pointed out to him both in a royal letter and by the nuncio Piccolomini,[4] that the Brief was also an answer to Henri's distinction between fact and right, the Bishop wrote once more both to the King and to Piccolomini.[5] The object of his letters appears from the fact that, like his previous communication, they were promptly thrown to the public by means of the printing press.[6] A papal confirmation of the formula, the letter to the nuncio said, would be something so unheard of that one could only believe it on the Pope's own statement; equivocal assertions were inadequate to cover the obvious encroachments of the Assembly of the clergy.[7] In the letter to Louis XIV. he betrays, among other sentiments, his resentment against the Pope. Can the King, so we read, the guardian of Gallican liberties, tolerate that the Pope should not even condescend to write to his brethren, the Bishops, but that, on the contrary, he should refer them,

[1] COCHIN, 179 *seqq.*
[2] On May 1, 1662, *ibid.*, 182.
[3] Letter of July 24, 1662, *ibid.*, 183.
[4] August 28 and 29, 1662, *ibid.*, 376, 377.
[5] September 17, 1662, *ibid.*, 187.
[6] *Ibid.*, 164, n. 1, 183, n. 2, 187, n. 3.
[7] *Ibid.*, 188.

through the nuncio, to decisions which bear no relation to their questions ? [1]

For the moment nothing was done against Henri Arnauld who had been joined by Choart de Buzenval, Bishop of Beauvais.[2] For about a year the signature of the formula was no longer demanded.[3] The dispute over the Corsican Guards [4] turned the King's attention in another direction, moreover towards the end of 1662 an attempt was made to bring about a religious peace by means of a compromise.

The President of the Parliament of Toulouse, Miramont, was on terms of friendship with the Jesuit Ferrier, professor of theology in that city, as well as with Bishop Choiseul of Comminges who happened to be staying at Toulouse and who had dealings with the Jansenists. Accordingly, about the middle of 1662, conferences took place at Miramont's country house between Ferrier and Choiseul on ways and means to put a stop to the disputes without the signature of the formula. Choiseul reported on the first discussion to Jansenist friends of his [5] and Ferrier to the King's confessor, Annat, whereupon the monarch transferred the negotiations to Paris. Between January 25th and February 18th, 1663, five sittings were held at which, besides Choiseul and Ferrier, the Jansenists De Lalane and Girard, also took part.[6] As

[1] *Ibid.*, 190.

[2] *Ibid.*, 186.

[3] [Dumas], 267.

[4] See above, p. 95 *seqq.*

[5] August, 1662 : " Récit de ce qui s'est passé dans l'accommodement de 1663," in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXI., 550. Arnauld's answer is the memorial of September 2, 1662, *ibid.*, 631 *seqq.* First *Projet d'accommodement*, sent from Toulouse on October 20, 1662, *ibid.*, 640 *seqq.* Three memorials by Arnauld, *ibid.*, 643 *seqq.* ; memorial of January 13, 1663, *ibid.*, 677 *seqq.*

[6] [Dumas], I., 273 *seq.* ; Rapin, III., 219 ; Gerberon, III., 58 ; *Récit.*, *loc. cit.*, 549 *seqq.* ; Ferrier.* **Narratio eorum quae Parisiis gesta sunt cum doctoribus Iansenianis sub initium anni 1663*, in *Excerpta* ex codice s. Officii continente *Acta in Galliis in causa Iansenii annis 1663–1665*, f. 115 *seqq.* (Remains of Schill).

was to be foreseen, no result was arrived at. It is nevertheless worth noting that on January 23rd the Jansenists summed up their views on the five propositions of Jansenius in five articles.[1] This document, signed by all the Jansenist leaders, is important as a manifesto of the party. Despite his failure Choiseul refused to give up hope. He succeeded in persuading the Jansenists to accept three Bishops as mediators, viz. himself, Péréfixe, then Bishop of Rodez and subsequently Archbishop of Paris, and the future Cardinal D'Estrées, then Bishop of Laon. These three prelates drew up another five articles in opposition to the five propositions. However, when for an equivocal final sentence in a covering letter of explanation, a simple assurance of their submission to the Holy See, even in respect of the question of fact, was substituted, the Jansenists refused to sign.[2]

The negotiations were thus at an end. "They have had no other result," Annat wrote, "except to demonstrate the obstinacy of the sect to those who were not yet sufficiently convinced of it; it is likewise all I had hoped for."[3] The Jansenists did as if they were prepared to agree to anything,

[1] DUPLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, f. 306; GERBERON, III., 47; [DUMAS], I., 279–285.

[2] [DUMAS], I., 274. The question of this "subiicimus" divided the Jansenists. A letter of Le Nain, dated March 16, 1603 (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, I., 309), takes Arnauld severely to task for his intractability. Arnauld, however, refused to yield: Letter to Lalane, dated March 17, 1663, *ibid.*, 311; to Hermant, March 18 and 20, *ibid.*, XXI., 597, 599. Arnauld's *Mémoire sur la proposition du Subiicimus*, *ibid.*, 686 *seqq.* A proposal to promise the Pope, like the Doctors of Louvain, in general terms, a *religiosa observantia* for the Constitutions, was declined by him (to Hermant, March 28 and 31, 1663, *ibid.*, 601 *seqq.*; to Singlin on April 7, 1663, *ibid.*, 611).

[3] "*Elles [the conferences] ont fini et n'ont eu autre effet que de faire connaître à ceux qui n'en étaient pas assez persuadés l'opiniâtreté de cette secte. C'est aussi tout ce que je m'en étais promis contre l'espérance de M. de Cominges." Annat to the French Assistant of the General of the Jesuits, March 2, 1633, *Excerpta*, f. 10, *loc. cit.*

so long as Jansenius was safe. Their views, they affirmed, differed in no way from those of the Dominicans and these the Pope could surely have had no intention to condemn. However, when Ferrier offered to test this agreement in presence of three Bishops, they replied that they felt so sure of it that their conscience did not allow them to bow to any authority on this point, be it that of the Bishops or the Pope, a council or the whole Church. Even now Choiseul refused to give up hope. He proposed the dispatch to the Pope of a respectful letter condemning the five propositions, adding that if His Holiness wanted anything else, they would be ready to comply with his demands. The letter was actually written; the five articles drawn up on January 23rd were added as a profession of faith in respect of the five propositions.[1]

Arnauld had taken no part in the negotiations, though it was he who guided the steps of his followers and not infrequently opposed the sharpest resistance to their prayers that he would be more accommodating.[2] Even his brothers, Bishop Henri of Angers and Robert d'Andilly, at times remonstrated with him and resisted him,[3] but in the end he invariably prevailed for it was thought that nothing could be concluded or broken off without him. It had been agreed that the deliberations would be conducted in secret, but the Jansenists threw them to the public together with some bitter attacks on their opponents, whereupon Ferrier

[1] [Dumas], I., 277 *seqq.*

[2] Arnauld to Choiseul, February 22 and 28, 1663, *Œuvres*, I., 303, 306; to Singlin, March 21, *ibid.*, 307; Choiseul to Henri Arnauld, March 20, 1663, asking him to induce his brother to change his mind, *ibid.*, 320. At Beauvais also his friends were of different minds; *ibid.*, XXI., 592, 594, 596.

[3] Henri to Choiseul and Antoine Arnauld on March 29, 1663, Arnauld, *loc. cit.*, I., 324; D'Andilly on April 10, 1663, *ibid.*, 349 *seqq.*; Antoine to Hermant and Le Nain on April 1, 1663, *ibid.*, XXI., 609, I., 327; to D'Andilly on April 5, *ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*, on May 6, *ibid.*, 356–371; to Henri on April 6, *ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*

published a rejoinder; in this way the dispute and the mutual recriminations dragged on their course.[1]

In spite of everything, the Jansenists' promise to submit to the Pope's further demands, seemed to have paved the way for a real advance and to have opened a prospect of peace. Ferrier wrote to Rome that it was of the utmost importance that the Pope should receive their submission with fatherly kindness and at the same time insist on their subscribing to the two Constitutions in token of their obedience, and if it were possible to enforce the formula of the Assembly of the clergy by papal authority also; if this were done great satisfaction would be given to the whole clergy of France.[2] Annat wrote in the same strain.[3] Should the Pope prescribe a new formula, he wrote, the Jansenists would triumph and say that even the Pope was not satisfied with the previous one. Choiseul wrote to the Pope and to one of the Cardinals, in splendid Latin, exalting the success achieved, which filled all right-minded people with incredible joy.[4]

In Rome a very sober view was taken of these negotiations, which were represented as so great a success. An extraordinary meeting of six Cardinals took place on July 21st, 1663 [5]; its advice was that the five articles of the Jansenists should not be answered at all as they were characterized by so much hair-splitting that they would lead to endless disputes.

[1] [Dumas], I., 269 *seq.*; Arnauld, *Refutation de la fausse relation du P. Ferrier*, in *Œuvres*, XXII., 250 *seqq.* For a judgment on the dispute and the question whether Arnauld did not hesitate at times, see [Dumas], I., 286–318; but *cf.* 270: to do no more than to explain the course of the discussions, "il faudrait un volume considerable."

[2] *To Fabri on June 15, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 78.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *June 22, 1663, *ibid.*, f. 82, 101. *In like manner D'Estrées to Card. Rospigliosi, June 23, 1663, *ibid.*, f. 105.

[5] **Excerpta*, f. 131 *seqq.*; Rapin, III., 237 *seqq.* The six cardinals were: Ginetti, Corrado, Borromeo, Albizzi, Rospigliosi, Bagno.

Nor should the Pope reply to Choiseul, whose attitude towards Innocent X.'s Bull had not been satisfactory, though he might address a Brief to the whole French episcopate in praise of the zeal they had hitherto shown and to exhort them to continue and to apply even sharper measures, nay even to have recourse to the secular arm. The question of a formula should be dropped for it was impossible to confirm the earlier one of the Assembly of the clergy, seeing that it had been drawn up without proper authority, whilst a new one would hurt the feelings of the Bishops and provide their opponents with an opportunity for recrimination.[1] Only one of the Consultors was of opinion that the Bishops' formula might be considered as the execution of the papal Constitutions. On July 29th a Brief was drafted in the sense of the Congregation[2] whilst Rospigliosi replied to Choiseul and D'Estrées.[3]

Ferrier wrote[4] that the Brief had been put on one side, firstly, because the King, on whose intervention great hopes were set, was travelling; secondly, because Choiseul, who had great influence with the Jansenists, was deeply hurt because his efforts had not received the papal eulogy for which he had hoped; and lastly, because the Brief was silent on the subject of the formula. As a result of this silence the seven or eight Bishops who had not yet subscribed, would only publish the papal Constitutions in their dioceses and demand no signature even if the Assembly of the clergy should order it anew, with the result that it would not be possible to distinguish between Jansenists and non-Jansenists. For the time being, then, the Brief would not be promulgated

[1] "*Considerando che non si può approvare il fatto dall'-Assemblea, mentre s'arroga l'autorità ch'a lei non compete, nè può farsene un nuovo senza dar taccia ai vescovi, pretesto ai loro contrarii d'haver preteso di mettere un vincolo che qui non sia stato approvato." *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 183.

[3] **Ibid.*, 189.

[4] *To Fabri, August 25, 1663, *ibid.*, 199 *seq.*

until information should come from Rome whether it would be possible to obtain another.[1]

Choiseul, who in the meantime had written to Rome in most eulogistic terms of the Jansenists' declaration of obedience,[2] was summoned into the King's presence in September, when he was told to see to it that his friends kept their promises.[3] As the reward of three days' efforts, Choiseul obtained a declaration from Girard and Lalane which was, however, judged inadequate by the royal council.[4] When on October 2nd, the Bishops then staying in Paris, met for an extraordinary conference, for the purpose of receiving the Brief, they too qualified the Declaration of Girard and Lalane as equivocal and hypocritical.[5] For the rest the assembly resolved that the Brief as well as the circular should be forwarded to all the Bishops, and since in these documents the Pope urged the Bishops to take the most appropriate means for the execution of the papal Constitutions, the assembly was of opinion that the most suitable means was for everyone to sign the formulas of 1656 and 1661. The King's co-operation should also be invited; this was granted by an ordinance of October 10th.[6]

A fresh violent controversy now broke out, in which the Jansenists spared neither the Pope nor the Bishops and

[1] "*C'est une chose si nécessaire que sans cela il y a danger que la publication du bref ne fasse plus de mal que de bien." *Ibid.*

[2] *Letter of July 14, 1663, to Barberini (*ibid.*, 214). "*Cette soumission a désarmé tout le monde, réuni tous les esprits et le Roi a été ravi de voir etc." On September 7, 1663, Choiseul *begs the Pope to write to the French Jansenists in the same strain as to the University of Louvain (*ibid.*).

[3] [Dumas], I., 323.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "*Mirifica nostrum omnium quotquot aderamus in his verbis reprehendendis extitit consensio. Visa sunt enim subdola, simulatum dumtaxat obsequium prae se ferentia, mente versipelli et callida concinnata." Letter of the Assembly to the Pope, October 2, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 255.

[6] [Dumas], I., 330.

least of all the Jesuits who, in their opinion, were to blame for everything.[1] It now became clear how they understood their latest assurance of submission to and regard for the Holy See. Fresh light was thrown on the sincerity of the sect by the attempt of the Jansenists to read into one vague expression of the most recent papal document an approval by the Pope of their five articles.[2] Notwithstanding every obstacle on the part of the ecclesiastical and the secular power, the Jansenists continued to gain ground by underhand methods ; " they manage to get their men appointed directors of Seminaries," Ferrier wrote,[3] " they found boarding schools for girls, as for instance at Toulouse," and Annat had information that the sect was spreading in the dioceses of Toulouse and Rheims.[4]

(6.)

However, judging from appearances, the situation of the Jansenists had taken a bad turn in 1664. On January 4th, in the presence of the King, the Council of State severely condemned and prohibited two Jansenist works, one of which was Saint-Amour's diary of the Roman discussions about the five propositions.[5] On April 29th Louis XIV.

[1] *Ibid.*, 330 *seqq.*, ARNAULD, *Les desseins des Jésuites*, in *Œuvres*, XII., 172 *seqq.*

[2] The Bishops, the Brief declares, had brought it about " ut muti, iique caeterorum nomine primarii . . . ad saniorem doctrinam inducti, ea qua par est, ut credimus, animi demissione sese paratissimos exhibuerint " to obey the Pope. From this Arnauld and others concluded that the five articles had been declared *sana doctrina*. [DUMAS], I., 353 *seqq.*

[3] *To Fabri, September 21, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 243. " *Le Jansénisme a des suites qui ne sont pas moins dangereuses que leurs dogmes," Ferrier writes (*ibid.*). For Fabri see RAPIN III., 237.

[4] *To Fabri, February 1, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 374.

[5] [DUMAS], II., 1. SAINT-AMOUR's paper was also put on the Index on March 28, 1664. **Excerpta*, f. 464 *seq.*

attended a meeting of Parliament for the purpose of having a solemn edict against the Jansenist registered.[1] By the terms of this document anyone refusing to sign the formula was to forfeit his benefice, and in future no one was to obtain a benefice, a degree or position at the Universities, to take the vows of religion, or to carry out some conventual charge, without previously subscribing to that document. The motives by which the ordinance was justified, adduce strong charges against the good faith of the innovators. They had begun by defending the orthodoxy of the five propositions; later on they represented them as malicious and arbitrary, inventions of their opponents. Their declarations of submission to the Holy See were insincere for they were given the lie by their speeches and writings; they sought for ever to shelter behind St. Augustine and St. Thomas, and like the heresiarchs of former times, they spread their teaching in secret.[2]

However, notwithstanding this determined language of the mightiest King in Europe, the fundamental mistake made when the formula was first published, became ever more evident. The praise bestowed upon the Bishops in the latest Brief might be interpreted as a tacit approval of their formula, but that document lacked express confirmation by the only competent authority. The Government was fully aware of this circumstance. During the discussion by the royal council of the King's declaration of April 29th, it was decided to admit nothing into its text that would be a criticism of the recalcitrant Bishops, precisely because the Pope had not enforced the formula and the Assembly of the clergy had exceeded its authority.[3] Hence Annat, the King's confessor, was for ever pressing for a papal formula in all his letters. When after the settlement of the dispute in connexion with the Corsican Guards[4] a Cardinal Legate

[1] [Dumas], II., 5 f. Printed, *ibid.*, III., *Rec.*, 156–168.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 6 *seqq.*

[3] *Annat to Fabri, April 11, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 381.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 98 *seqq.*

was expected in France, it was hoped that he would be the bearer of a Brief in which the Pope would state that if the formula was not alluded to in the Papal Briefs, such silence must not be construed as disapproval.[1] Rome did not at once fall in with this proposal. The Legate was instructed to inform the King that the Pope had authorized the Bishops to employ such means as seemed best to them and that Rome did not deem it necessary to invest the Legate with additional powers.[2] Paris, however, maintained its previous demands. Even previous to this Annat had observed to a Bishop that if a formula came from the Pope, people would stone the Jansenists if they refused to subscribe,[3] and a little later the royal confessor wrote that Bishops who had hitherto been recalcitrant, now openly declared that if the Pope prescribed either the old formula or a new one, they would not refuse their signature; until now papal decrees had always been received with the utmost respect in France and this excellent disposition still continued, but nothing would be accomplished without a formula, for they had to deal with people who were prepared to sign anything, so long as they saved their Jansenius.[4]

[1] *Annat to Fabri, February 23, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 381.

[2] " *Che maggior autorità non ha stimato che fusse necessario di concedere a Lei [the Legate] in questo affare. *Ibid.*, f. 400.

[3] *" Cela fera que tout le monde leur jettera des pierres s'ils ne se soumettent. Mais il est absolument nécessaire que Sa Sainteté temoigne que ce n'est pas qu'il y ait eu raison de refuser la signature de l'autre, ni qu'il soit nécessaire, que ceux qui ont signé l'autre, signent encore celui-ci." Annat to Fabri, March 6, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 380.

[4] " *Nous avons à faire à des fourbes qui éludent tous les autres moyens. Ils signeront tout ce que vous voudrez pourvu que vous ne parliez point de Jansenius, c'est à dire pourvu que vous mettiez sa doctrine à couvert . . ." (to Fabri, March 28, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 461). " *Avec cela on ne doute point ici que le Jansénisme no soit annéanti et sans cela qu'il ne se retablisse au mépris du S. Siège et de ceux qui l'ont choqué jusqu'à présent " (to Fabri, April 4, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 462).

The Jansenist objections to the formula did not cease even when the new Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, explained in a pastoral letter dated June 7th, 1664, that for the question of fact the Church demanded indeed an act of faith, but only an act of " human and ecclesiastical faith ".[1]

According to Catholic teaching the Church is infallible not only when she pronounces that this or that truth is revealed by God, but also in all such definitions as are necessary to enable her to fulfil her charge as an unerring teacher as, for instance, when she declares that this or that version of the Bible is authentic, that this or that book is heretical. Catholics are bound to give an adhesion of faith to such definitions precisely because the Church's inerrancy is an article of faith and because the Church defines in virtue of her infallibility. But inasmuch as there is question here of things not immediately revealed by God, the act of faith by which such decisions are accepted is called an act of " ecclesiastical faith ".[2] Péréfixe only threw oil on the flame with his explanation and all he achieved was to let loose another spate of publications.[3]

This endless confusion induced the King to request the Pope, through his Roman ambassador, the Duke of Créqui, either to confirm the Bishops' formula by papal authority or to draw up an entirely new one.[4] The Holy Office in Rome was of opinion that the King's request removed the chief obstacle which had hitherto prevented the dispatch of a new formula, as such a step would have given offence to the Bishops, whilst approval of the old one, which had been enforced without authority, would have injured the prestige of the Holy See.[5] Three Briefs, dated December 16th, 1664, were dispatched to the nuncio in Paris, one for himself and the Archbishops of Paris and Auch, another for

[1] [Dumas], II., 8.

[2] On the distinction between " fides divina " and " ecclesiastica ", *cf.* Chr. Pesch, *Praelect. dogm.*, VIII., n. 256.

[3] [Dumas], II., 9.

[4] *Annat to Fabri, November 14, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 519.

[5] *Ibid.*, f. 537.

the King, and a third for the Bishops.[1] However, Paris was not entirely satisfied with the papal prescriptions concerning the subscription to a new formula, and on January 24th, 1665, the Paris nuncio sent in a memorial in which he suggested three alterations: Rome should issue, not a simple Brief, but a Constitution to be registered by the various Parliaments; a time limit of three months should be fixed for signing; as to the penalties for recalcitrant Bishops, only a general reference to Canon Law should be made[2]; the last demand was in consequence of the Bishops' complaint that, by the terms of the Brief, a simple refusal to sign entailed deposition without summons and process.[3] Alexander VII. complied with all these requests with his Constitution of February 15th, 1665.[4] The Bishops held two meetings; they thanked the Pope and decided to carry out the Bull. Arnauld was soon ready with three memorials, two for the Bishops and a third for the magistrates.[5] To the latter he pointed out that the Bull forbade any modifications of its dispositions, thereby assuming papal infallibility; hence it could not be received.[6] However, this terrifying prospect

[1] **Ibid.*, 578 *seqq.* The Brief to the King in *Epist. Alexandri VII.*, *a.* IX–X., n. 135, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Excerpta*, f. 594.

[3] **Ibid.*

[4] Text in *Bull.* XVII., 335, and [Dumas], III., *Rec.*, 171 *seq.* (*cf.* II., 28 *seq.*). Here the formulary is as follows: "Ego N. Constitutioni Apostolicae Innocentii X. datae die 31 Maii 1653 et Constitutioni Alexandri VII. datae 16. Octobris 1656 SS. Pontificum me subiicio et quinque propositiones ex Cornelii Iansenii libro, cui nomen Augustinus, excerptas et in sensu ab eodem auctore intento, prout illas per dictas Constitutiones Sedes Apostolica damnavit, sincero animo reiicio ac damno, et ita iuro, sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia." The *covering letter to the King, dated February 18, 1665, expresses the hope that "your royal arm will put an end to this affair." (*Epist. Alexandri VII.*, *a.* IX–X., n. 172 f., 217, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Œuvres*, XXII., 572 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 579–583.

did not alarm the King and on April 29th, 1665, he had the Bull registered in Parliament.[1]

But the Constitution was not accepted without strong Gallican protests. The alterations in the original Brief were insisted upon because of a wish to dispute the Pope's right to ordain anything in France by simple, non-registered decrees and to judge Bishops without trial.[2] In the parliamentary sitting in connexion with the Constitution, Talon once again seasoned an otherwise pointless discourse with numerous sallies against the papal power and the Monks.[3] Nuncio Roberti had had the Constitution printed and published. Thereupon the Attorney-General protested at once; the nuncio, he claimed, could not promulgate such documents in France; the Bull could not be published without a royal declaration which alone gave it force of law. Offence was even taken at the title which Roberti had had printed at the head of the Constitution.[4] On May 6th the printing of the Bull was forbidden by a judicial act and the printer fined, but as Roberti had already posted the printed copies, a second decree of June 23rd forbade the Archbishops and Bishops to receive papal Bulls except by order of the King.[5]

If anyone thought that a papal formula would meet with unanimous submission, he was promptly undeceived. As early as August 25th, 1664, Bishop Pavillon of Alet had written to the King on the subject of the formula [6] and excommunicated those priests of his diocese who had signed

[1] [Dumas], *Rec.*, 172–186.

[2] Gérin, II., 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 7, "*M. Talon parle de tout autre chose que du sujet de la déclaration et [donne] toujours quelque coup de dent à l'autorité du Pape." Annat to Fabri, May 1, 1665. *Excerpta*, f. 654.

[4] *Ad christianissimum Francorum regem et Galliarum regna.*

[5] Gérin, II., 7 *seq.*

[6] Ant. Arnauld's letter of congratulations, Arnauld, *Œuvres*, I., 504.

it.[1] On June 1st, 1665, he published a pastoral letter[2] in which he published the formula, but all he asked from its signatories was credence in the question of right and respectful submission in the question of fact.[3] On June 23rd the Bishop of Beauvais gave his adhesion to Pavillon, in fact, he copied the latter's pastoral letter word for word, with the exception of the introduction and conclusion. On July 8th Henri Arnauld of Angers followed at least Pavillon's main line of thought. As early as February the former had praised the Bishop of Alet's clearsightedness in connexion with the expected Bull, and represented both the Pope and the King as the victims of the Jesuits.[4] Pavillon's admirer, Caulet of Pamiers,[5] also reproduced the letter of his model in a pastoral letter of July 31st, that is, at the very time when the Council of State had forbidden the clergy of the recalcitrant prelates to obey the orders of their Bishops in respect of the formula. The decree of the Council of State of July 31st, in addition to the names of the Bishops of Alet, Angers and Beauvais, contains a fourth, namely that of the Bishop of Noyon; but the latter promptly withdrew his pastoral letter of May 28th.[6] Oddly enough the leader of the recalcitrant Bishops was none too strong in his convictions; he sent his Vicar-General to the nuncio with instructions, the gist of which was that he only wanted to save his

[1] *Annat to Fabri, November 14, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 519.

[2] Text in ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, XXIV., 537 *seqq.*

[3] "Soumission de foi vers le droit, et de respect et de discipline vers les faits."

[4] To Buzenval from Beauvais, February 6, 1665, in COCHIN, 319 *seqq.*

[5] For him *cf.* the writings of G. DOUBLET: *Un prélat janséniste, F. de Caulet, réformateur des chapitres de Foix et de Pamiers*, Paris, 1895; *Un diocèse pyrénéen sous Louis XIV.*, Toulouse, 1896; *Les Protestants à Pamiers, ibid.*, 1895; *Le couvent des Dames Salonques, ibid.*, 1896; *F. de Caulet . . . et la vie ecclésiastique dans un diocèse ariégeois sous Louis XIV.*, Foix, 1896; also BERTRAND, III., 19–61.

[6] COCHIN, 199.

reputation; otherwise he would gladly have obeyed the Pope.[1]

Apart from the four Bishops, the papal ordinances met with no opposition on the whole. Port Royal alone offered the most obstinate resistance. Already in 1661 the nuns had objected to the decree of the Vicars-General of Paris, although that document differentiated, in a wholly Jansenist sense, between the questions of fact and of right. We get a glimpse of the state of mind of those theologizing nuns just then in a letter of Pascal's sister Jacqueline.[2] In the ordinance of the Vicars-General she sees no more than a clever trick to get out of confessing the truth[3]; she defies the Bishops, the Pope, the impending excommunication[4]; in her opinion the condemnation of Jansenius implies the condemnation of the grace of Christ[5]; accordingly she is prepared to endure persecution and death itself for him.[6] However, these were only fine phrases. These obstinate

[1] Nunciature report of July 28, 1665 [DUMAS], II., 37 *seqq.*, "que tout ce qu'il a fait, n'estoit que pour conserver sa reputation: qu'il auroit volontiers obéi à Sa Sainteté, mais qu'il avoit crû estre obligé de ne point changer sa conduite pour qui ce soit du Royaume." **Excerpta*, f. 721: "per conservare la sua reputatione."

[2] In COUSIN, 319–328. *Cf.* ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 319; [DUMAS], II., 60, 62.

[3] "J'admire la subilité de l'esprit que je vous avoue qu'il n'y a rien de mieux fait que le mandement," etc. COUSIN, 323.

[4] "Puisque les évêques ont des courages de filles, les filles doivent avoir des courages d'évêques" (324 s.). Depreciation of Papal Bulls, *ibid.*, 325. "Mais peut-être on nous retranchera de l'Eglise? Mais qui ne sait que personne n'en peut être retranché malgré soi?" (321).

[5] It seeks to avoid the appearance, "que nous condamnons la doctrine de Jansénius qui est clairement condamnée dans la dernière bulle"; or "que nous condamnons ou la grâce de Jésus-Christ ou celui qui l'a si divinement expliquée" (*ibid.*, 324–7).

[6] *Ibid.*, 320 *seqq.*

women, who would not be taught by either Archbishop or Pope, bowed in all humility and gave their signature as soon as ever the "great" Arnauld had decided they should do so.[1] However, Rome rejected as inadequate the document thus signed, and when the Vicars-General submitted a fresh one, Port Royal-des-Champs only signed a formula couched in general terms.[2]

A three years' pause now ensued until the new Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, by order of the King, began a visitation of the convent. The nuns, however, had been adequately prepared by their Jansenist advisers; they were resolved to carry things to extremes. Their attitude towards the Archbishop can only be described as outrageous; even some defamatory pamphlets against his person were published.[3] Accordingly, on August 21st, 1664, the Archbishop laid an interdict on both convents of Port Royal. For the rest, from the point of view of morals, no fault could be found with the nuns; they were as pure as angels and as proud as the devil, the Archbishop was wont to say.[4] As a result of the King's intervention the interdict had some further consequences. On August 26th, 1664, the Archbishop arrived accompanied by secular officials and some armed men. From the carriages which had followed him there alighted some sisters of St. Francis de Sales' Order of the Visitation, to whom were assigned the post of superior and the chief offices at Port Royal; the ringleaders among the Jansenist sisters, above all the members of the Arnauld family, were removed and distributed among various convents. The Archbishop and the new Superioress did their utmost to win back the remaining Jansenist nuns, but they only succeeded with ten or twelve; the rest defied all their efforts, even when the papal Constitution of February 15th, 1665, was laid before

[1] *Ibid.*, 228.

[2] Text in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 329 *seq.*; *cf.* RAPIN, III., 264.

[3] RAPIN, III., 256 *seq.*

[4] ARNAULD, Apologie pour les religieuses de Port Royal, I., ch. 13, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 259 *seq.*

them. The Pope, the rebellious nuns objected, had no more power than the Archbishop.[1] Rome, they said, was ruled by politics, selfishness, intrigues, and the Jesuits; the Pope had no knowledge of Jansenius' book; whilst it was being examined in his presence he slept; the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility was idolatry; it did not matter if they were deprived of the Sacraments, etc.[2] In July, 1665, the sisters who had been removed to other convents, were allowed to gather once more at Port Royal-des-Champs where they were kept under observation, but even so they successfully eluded the vigilance of their guardians.[3] Their friends, among them Pavillon,[4] did not fail, by means of smuggled letters, to exalt these disobedient women as heroines of virtue and to strengthen them in their rebellion. Arnauld wrote three voluminous apologies of the nuns [5] which led to another lengthy controversy. Meanwhile, the Visitation nun whom Péréfixe had appointed superioress at Port Royal in Paris, returned to her own convent together with all her sisters. The nuns of Port Royal in the city, who had given their signatures, remained together and were given an Abbess chosen from among themselves, but the thirty-five nuns of Port Royal in the country continued in their insubordination.[6]

Notwithstanding the Archbishop's strong opposition, Jansenism grew steadily in Paris. A celebrated preacher of the period, the Jesuit De Lingendes, publicly deplored in the pulpit the coldness with which people listened to the preaching of the ordinary truths of Catholicism. But "were I to preach novelties, as is done to-day, people would run after me; I should have followers and create a stir, for we have lived to see ladies giving up their jewels and

[1] Rapin, III., 263–275.

[2] *Ibid.*, 299 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 303 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Œuvres*, XXIII., 165–828. Appreciation of his arguments in [Dumas], II., 46 *seqq.*

[6] Rapin, III., 415 *seq.*

others sacrificing everything, even their shirt, for the new opinions".[1] In 1666 nuncio Roberti reported to Rome[2] that the clergy daily showed a more pronounced leaning towards Jansenism. It was high time for the ecclesiastical and the secular power to take joint action against the four Bishops, but when Queen Anne died in 1666 the chief opponent of the Jansenists also disappeared.[3] The Jansenist ministers paralysed the King's zeal and Gallicanism rendered the co-operation of the two powers impossible.

In March, 1666, the King charged the Archbishops of Paris, Rouen, and Toulouse and the Bishop of St. Malo to review the situation.[4] They ended by recommending the execution of the papal proposals but expressed a wish that the Pope should appoint more than one commissary to judge the four prelates.[5] It goes without saying that the Jansenists made capital out of these protracted negotiations and through their friends at court did all they could to delay still further the appointment of judges of the four Bishops.[6] In point of fact a year after publication of the four pastoral letters of 1665, all that had been done was the dispatch, by the King, of four gentlemen to threaten the disobedient prelates with the nomination of commissaries.[7]

About this time, however, it looked as if the King were about to carry out his threat, though in a manner that could not possibly satisfy Rome. He demanded that the Pope should appoint no less than twelve Bishops as judges. This demand rested on ancient and antiquated legal dispositions of the primitive Church according to which the

[1] *Ibid.*, 417.

[2] *On May 5, *Excerpta*, 1666 *seq.*, f. 39.

[3] Rapin, III., 374; *cf.* 354 *seq.*: "ce royaume qu'on peut dire qu'elle a sauvé du malheur qui le menaçait par l'hérésie de Jansénius."

[4] *Roberti on March 22 and 26, 1666, *Excerpta*, f. 67, 69.

[5] *The same, April 27, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 69.

[6] *Annat to Fabri, April 9, 1666; *ibid.*, f. 26; *Roberti on March 26, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 69.

[7] *Roberti on June 29, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 43.

Metropolitan, should a Bishop have offended, had to appoint twelve Bishops to act as his judges. Now the Pope was more than a Metropolitan, hence he was bound to resent the attempt to tie his hands with Gallican Canon Law. Worse still, the twelve would have pronounced sentence by an usurped judicial authority. According to the Roman conception their only task was to establish the fact of the obstinate insubordination of the four Bishops and, if their disobedience continued, to inflict the penalty determined by the Pope. On the other hand in Louis XIV.'s opinion the twelve were to examine whether Pavillon, and those who shared his sentiments, had done well when they refused to obey the Pope: in other words the twelve were to act as a supreme tribunal to judge between the Pope and the four. To this was added the difficulty of bringing together twelve reliable Bishops; even Lionne confessed to the nuncio that this was no small task.[1] If the examination of the affairs of Pavillon was entrusted to a commission of Bishops, the nuncio pointed out, the Jansenists would object to this or that one of their number and demand a provincial council or a papal pronouncement on the obligation of adhering by faith to facts that were not part of revelation; in this way the proceedings would be dragged out indefinitely and in the meantime the sect would gather strength.[2] A judicial college of so many heads would by itself alone render an early decision difficult. Moreover, a pronouncement whether Pavillon was right or wrong would be a judgment in a matter of faith, on the question, that is, of the extent of papal infallibility.[3] To

[1] "*Che haveva durato gran fatiga a trovare dodeci." Roberti on October 8, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 96. On the number 12 of the judges *cf.* VACANDARD in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IV., 500, 508 *seq.*

[2] **Ibid.*

[3] "Que les décisions des opinions de foi appartiennent au pape seul, et si Sa Sainteté donnait des juges, il ne se pourrait qu'ils n'entrassent en partage de cette autorité réservée au pape." The four, that is, would defend their distinction between right and fact and the 12 would then give their opinion. Albizzi to Chaulnes, in GÉRIN, II., 100.

pronounce judgment on such a point was the Pope's province, not the Bishops', quite apart from the fact that the Pope himself sought to avoid a decision in so delicate a matter.[1]

Thus on the one hand it was quite impossible for Alexander VII. to agree to the French proposals, whilst on the other hand the King was determined to have his will at all costs. In these circumstances the negotiations were bound to drag on indefinitely. In November, 1666, the French ambassador in Rome prayed the Pope [2] to issue two Constitutions, one to command the four Bishops to retract and to subscribe to the formula, and the other to charge the twelve commissaries with the conduct of the process. On the other hand the Roman Inquisition decided to appoint no more than two or three judges, whose sole duty it would be to carry out the papal sentence.[3] The debates of three further sittings [4] led to the decision to put on the Index of prohibited books the pastoral letters of the four Bishops together with various writings in their favour: this was done on January 18th, 1668. On January 4th the French ambassador was informed that the Pope insisted on his proposal to communicate his decision to the four Bishops through the Archbishop of Paris or, perhaps, to entrust the task to three Bishops.[5]

[1] *"Cette cour était dans de grandes alarmes que les dits juges ne voulussent entrer dans les matières du droit et du fait, ce que S. S. même éviterait de décider; mais tout s'est assuré en specifiant et ordonnant les signatures." Chaulnes to Lionne, April 26, 1667, GÉRIN, II., 101, n. 2.

[2] *November 28, 1667, *Excerpta*, 1666 *seq.*, f. 117; *cf.* f. 116.

[3] *Sitting of December 4, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 123. There were present Cardinals Ginetti, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Rospigliosi, and the assessor Marescotti. At the sitting of January 3, 1667, Cardinals Rasponi and Celsi were also present (*ibid.*, 210). A *memorandum, at first intended for the ambassador but eventually dispatched as his Instruction to the nuncio (*ibid.*, f. 149–157). A *dissertation by Pallavicino on infallibility in facts, *ibid.*, f. 169–172.

[4] *January 3, 5, 13, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 210, 226, 227.

[5] **Ibid.*, f. 212.

On March 20th, by order of the Inquisition,[1] the assessor Marescotti discussed the matter with the ambassador, and Cardinal Albizzi did so on the 28th.[2] The appointment of twelve commissaries, the assessor was charged to explain,[3] was an unusual procedure and a useless one, for in that case the Jansenists would demand a provincial council; it was dangerous because of the waste of time and because a door would be opened to Jansenist intrigues. Albizzi explained [4] that the Pope could not appoint real judges because he had already judged the matter himself and because there was question of a dogma of the faith. When the ambassador admitted that the only task of the commissaries would be to decide the question of the obstinacy of the four, Albizzi expressed his satisfaction that Chaulnes and himself were in agreement; commissaries would, no doubt, be appointed by the Pope, only not as many as might be wished for. Many people felt uncertain, the ambassador continued, whether they were bound to hold as an article of faith that the five propositions had been condemned in Jansenius' sense and whether a distinction may be drawn between right and fact; why then had not the Pope defined this matter? Albizzi replied that the Pope was anxious not to give the Jansenists a pretext for more publications, hence he had contented himself with prohibiting the four pastorals. In that case Chaulnes observed, he should have issued a Brief ordering the four Bishops to withdraw their pastoral letters. A Brief merely ordering the withdrawal could easily be obtained from the Pope, Albizzi replied; all that they wished to avoid was an order for an express withdrawal because they were anxious to glide lightly over certain ticklish theological questions.[5] Chaulnes finally expressed a few wishes in regard

[1] *Sitting of March 5, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 267; of March 26, *ibid.*, f. 300.

[2] *Report of the assessor, *ibid.*, f. 280; Albizzi's, *ibid.*, f. 319.

[3] *Instruction for him, *ibid.*, f. 280.

[4] **Ibid.*, f. 319.

[5] "Non darebbe S. S.tà breve, che i vescovi revocassero i mandati, per non impegnarsi nella questione, se possa farsi articolo

to certain clauses of the Brief. Albizzi now worked on two Briefs,[1] the text of which was settled by the Inquisition at the sitting of April 18th.[2] The day after they were laid before the ambassador with a request to keep the matter secret because the Jansenists, as their writings showed, had very able spies at the Curia. Though already mortally stricken, Alexander VII. had taken an active interest in the Briefs even in his last days.[3]

The next day the Briefs, dated April 22nd, came into the hands of the ambassador in their final shape. In the first, which was to remain in force for a year, the Archbishops of Toulouse and Bourges, the Bishops of Lavaur, Lombez, Lodève, Saint-Malo, Soissons, Mende and Dol were called upon to summon their four recalcitrant colleagues to withdraw their pastorals within a period of two months; if they failed to do so they were to proceed against them in virtue of the apostolic authority. The second Brief charged the nine Bishops to order the four recalcitrants to subscribe to the formula under pain of suspension and interdict.[4] Three years had gone by before these Briefs were drawn up, and all that time the four Bishops had continued without molestation in their insubordination, thereby greatly strengthening their position. Alexander VII. touched on the reason of this delay when he told the ambassador, on December 3rd, 1666, that he regretted that the King's measures against the heresy were so inadequate and that it seemed strange that Louis would not admit it.[5] On the other hand the Pope and the Cardinals had had to put up with almost incredible conduct

di fede ciò che depende da fatto non revelato, e se questo del qual si tratta, sia tale ò no." *Ibid.*

[1] **Ibid.*, f. 350.

[2] **Ibid.*, f. 357.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 165.

[4] *Bull.*, XVII., 509, 510. The subscription must be given, 'pure, simpliciter, absque ulla omnino protestatione, exceptione vel declaratione."

[5] GÉRIN, II., 94.

on the part of the French ambassador.[1] Louis XIV. always imagined he knew better than the Roman Law experts how to deal with the Jansenist problem and he had instructed his ambassador to treat the Romans with haughty contempt. If they only wished to punish the four prelates for their disobedience, without trying them for heresy, Chaulnes observed with heavy humour, the four would henceforth be able to style themselves not only Bishops by the grace of God, but likewise Jansenists by favour of the Pope. On another occasion, when spoken to on the subject, the ambassador replied that he had forgotten all about it, the affair was dragging on so long! Louis XIV. repeatedly threatened to drop the whole thing if Rome refused to comply with his will. He did not come before the Pope as a suppliant, he declared, on the contrary, the Pope should be grateful to him for giving effect to his Bulls; the Pope should have yielded to the King's representations, for he was surely better acquainted with the situation in France than were the Italians or an imprudent nuncio.

In Paris Lionne adopted a similar tone towards the nuncio, in fact the King went so far as to forbid him even to discuss the affair of the four Bishops with the nuncio. It is an unheard of thing, Roberti observed, that a prince should be prevented to treat with another prince through his ambassador; they would not dare to behave like this even towards the Republic of San Marino.[2]

At the time of the Pope's death the two Briefs had not yet produced any effect.

(7.)

During the last years of his life Alexander VII. had been obliged to take notice of a contest in which Pascal had powerfully intervened with his *Provinciales*, the contest, that is, with certain aberrations in the sphere of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 93 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*

Church's teaching on morals. The dispute had broken out before Pascal's time and it outlived him. That a collision was inevitable, and that the Jesuits would have to bear the brunt of the attack, has its cause in the historical development of the Order and in its zeal precisely for all questions of moral theology.

The ardour with which the Jesuits applied themselves to the development of moral theology derives in direct line from their founder. The clearness of judgment which distinguished Ignatius of Loyola, the need he felt of accurately accounting to himself for his personal conduct, naturally led the keen ascetic to clarify for his own benefit, in the first instance, the leading principles of moral theology's sister science, that of ascetic theology. One need only compare the book of his *Exercises*, or his letter on obedience, with such a work as, for instance, the *Imitation of Christ*, to realize the advance he thereby brought about in the development of ascetics. Thomas a Kempis' masterpiece reveals indeed the deepest realization of that which constitutes the essence of the interior life, and its teaching is made up of the very marrow of the principles of asceticism, but as regards its style the booklet proceeds in an easy, conversational tone; nowhere is there a definition, a searching exposition or motivation of ideas. All this is found in Ignatius, and he thereby laid the foundation for a fuller application of theology to ascetics and his disciples followed in his footsteps. Numerous and voluminous expositions of the science of ascetics have been compiled by them,[1] and the Jesuits' guiding principles for a truly Christian life must be looked for, in the first instance, in those writings.

From ascetics to moral theology it was only one short step A new scientific exploration of this field commended itself particularly to the Jesuits, because of the stress laid

[1] The whole field of ascetics is treated especially in the works of Álvarez de Paz, 1608 (3 folio vols.); Alphonsus Rodriguez, 1609 (3 quarto vols.); De Puente, 1612; Crombecius, 1613; Saint-Jure, 1634; Le Gaudier, 1643, etc.

by them on frequent Communion and, in connexion with it, on frequent confession. Moreover the medieval manuals were not abreast of the greatly altered conditions of the 16th century and in other respects also they were quite inadequate. The medieval *Summas* of Sylvester Prierias, Angelo de Chiavasio, and others, were collections of cases of conscience in alphabetical order, but for their solution they relied, for the most part, on particular decisions of Canon Law which it was impossible merely to generalize, and there were no clear principles which alone could make possible a uniform treatment of particular cases.[1] Even before the Jesuits, the theologians of the 16th century had opened new paths in this field and the new Order eagerly took up their heritage. The principles by which particular cases of conscience must be solved were further clarified by the Jesuit theologians and applied to the social and economic conditions of the time. Hence the final elaboration of moral theology is largely their work; when at a later date St. Alphonsus Liguori frequently describes the Jesuits as "the Masters of the science of morals", he had this fact before his eyes.[2]

But as in all other sciences, the advance of moral theology did not come about without exaggerations in the criticism of what was old, nor without individual errors and mistakes.[3] The new orientation in the science of morals no more escaped the opposition which, from isolated mistakes, forges for itself a convenient weapon, than any other movement which could be described in any way as new.

Misunderstandings on the part of the uninitiated were easy. In every one of these particular decisions, the question was to determine the exact boundaries of what was and what was not, lawful. However, the point was not to give the advice

[1] ALBERT SCHMITT, *Zur Gesch. des Probabilismus* (1904), 7 *seqq.*

[2] JANSEN-HENZE, *Der hl. Alfons von Liguori und die Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg, 1920, 11 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* below, on the moral propositions condemned under Alexander VII. On this DOM. VIVA, *Damnatae theses ab Alexandro VII., Innocentio XI. et Alexandro VIII. ad theologicam trutinam revocatae*, Padua, 1708.

to go in every instance to the uttermost limit of the permissible and to be satisfied with the absolute minimum in moral questions; the sermons and ascetical writings of the Jesuits prove the exact opposite. The aim of moral theology is to advise the confessor in his perplexities, for if a penitent makes up his mind to do no more than his strict duty, the confessor must know the limits of an obligation, lest he impose an obligation where there is none. For all that there were those whose feelings were hurt by the use of the dissecting knife of logic in the sensitive sphere of conscience. Moreover, again and again Canon Law repeats the adage that when in doubt we must choose the safer course. Even well disposed persons may have been puzzled when they saw this axiom limited to jurisprudence and practical doubt.

In effect the principles by which the Jesuits, like all moral theologians of the first part of the 17th century, decided doubtful cases of conscience, were provided by what is called "probabilism".[1] This term by no means implies that it is lawful to act on a judgment of the conscience which is purely "probable", the word being taken in the sense of "doubtful". No one called in question that before acting one must be morally certain of the lawfulness of the act. But experience shows that there exists an immense number of cases in which it is doubtful whether this or that detail falls, or does not fall, under any law. Probabilism was to provide a means for arriving at a practically safe judgment in such cases, notwithstanding any theoretical doubts. If it is probable, that is if there are good and reasonable grounds for thinking that this or that detail does not come under the law, or in other words when the existence of the law is doubtful in a given instance, the probabilists allow us to go by the principle that a doubtful law creates no obligation since in this instance it must be considered as not promulgated, and whenever it

[1] De Blic, in *Dict. apolog.*, III., 302–339; Vermeersch, *ibid.*, 339–362; Astráin, IV., 119–171; A. Schmitt, *loc. cit.*; Degert in *Bullet. de littérat. ecclés.*, V. (1913), 401 *seqq.*; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 3 *seqq.*

cannot be shown that a thing is forbidden, it must considered lawful.

However, probabilism may not be followed when there is question not of what is lawful or unlawful, but of the rights of a third party, or when there is an obligation to realize by the most certain means a definite purpose. Thus one may not argue: "I have probably paid my debts, hence I have no further obligation in the matter; a judge must decide between various parties in accordance with the greatest probability; a physician must apply the best possible remedy: where the validity of a Sacrament is concerned, the minister must follow the safest opinion, etc.[1]

However, this limitation of probabilism to its own proper sphere was the result of a gradual process of clarification, for though we find traces of probabilistic views in the works of some of the Fathers of the Church and in the writers of the Middle Ages,[2] their precise definition was the work of the 16th and 17th centuries. It was initiated by the great Dominican theologians of Salamanca, more particularly by the school of the real founder of this modern theology, Francis of Vitoria.[3] Its essential principle was first clearly worked out in the works of the Dominican Bartholomew of Medina.

Up till the middle of the 17th century practically all theologians professed probabilism, and what the great theologians had set down in their bulky Latin tomes was made accessible to confessors and to the pastoral clergy in general by means of small manuals in the vernacular. Thus in the country of Pascal such a *Guide of Parish Priests*, by

[1] This is the conception of Probabilism generally held by Catholics. Döllinger would have it that it is nothing but "the art of transforming grave sins into venial ones, or even into blameless actions" (*Akad. Vorträge*, I., Nördlingen, 1888, 397). In like manner HARNACK (*Dogmengesch.*, III³. [1897], 671), who considers strict tutiorism as "alone moral" whereas probabilism is "the divorce of morals from morality, of religion from religion" [*Grundriss*], Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893, 350).

[2] DE BLIC, 304.

[3] *Ibid.*, 315 *seqq.*

the Benedictine Milhard, saw a vast number of editions between the years 1596 and 1631, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, De Sourdis, commanded all his priests to procure the book. An abridged manual of the science of casuistry by the secular priest Bertin Bertaud, a probabilistic work like that of Milhard, was reprinted twelve times between 1637 and 1639, and after that it had a further twenty-five impressions.[1] Escobar's more voluminous work had reached its 37th edition in the original Spanish when its author provided a Latin version by which he made it possible for Pascal to pour ridicule on it.[2] Among the Jesuits the most valuable contribution to the full development of the system came from the greatest of their theologians, Francis Suarez (*ob.* 1617)[3]; on the other hand among the first opponents of probabilism were the Jesuits Comitoli and Rebello.[4] As typical representatives of excessive mildness in moral decisions two non-Jesuits are usually mentioned, viz. the Theatine Diana and the Cistercian Caramuel.[5]

On the whole the probabilist casuistry shows a humane tendency, an attempt not to make the path to heaven narrower than it need be, an understanding of man as he is and of the difficulties with which he has to contend in this life. The more immediate orientation towards the perfection of Christian life is left to the ascetics, but precisely by exactly circumscribing the sphere of strict duty, probabilism makes room for magnanimity and charity which aim at something higher than the mere fulfilment of duty. The moral teaching of the opponents of the Jesuits, the Jansenists, stood in sharpest possible contrast to these tendencies. According to Jansenism, inculpable ignorance never excuses from sin; any action which cannot be reconciled with the law, even though the agent is unaware of the fact, is imputed to him as sin because ignorance is the consequence of original sin,

[1] Degert, 403 *seq.*
[2] Weiss, 76.
[3] Schmitt, 119–129.
[4] De Blic, 318; Döllinger-Reusch, 31 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 30.

hence it does not exculpate.[1] Such premisses leave, of course, no room for probabilism since according to them, however much a man may be convinced of the lawfulness of an action, it will always be sinful if it is not in material agreement with the law. Accordingly probabilism roused Jansenius to indignation [2]; in his view, in any doubt about the lawfulness or otherwise of a given action, there can be but one rule, namely to choose the safest course. In his opinion it is no mere counsel but a strict obligation, always to follow the opinion which excludes every infringement of the law, were it a purely material transgression. The soil of such opinions became the seed plot of rigorism which took, as it were, a tangible and bodily form in Pascal's life and teaching. The Christian life, according to Pascal, demands that the soul should be wholly detached from all love of the world; the soul must part even with what the heart holds dearest; in fact it must be made to die to itself so that it may turn to God and cling to Him alone.[3] Such views, which no longer distinguish between strict Christian duty and higher perfection, help us to understand how it was that Pascal could only read with indignation the casuists' discussions on what was generally lawful. In reality, however, the exorbitant demands of the Jansenists are no longer human, for apart from a few exceptions, they consign the whole of mankind to everlasting damnation; they are unchristian because for no one had Christ sterner words than for those who laid intolerable burdens on men's shoulders; and even in the sphere of a higher perfection, they rob the fairest flowers of virtues of their lustre and fragrance; instead of being the spontaneous service of a loving heart, the highest ethical aspirations become a dull service of the pipe-clay type. It is one of Jansenism's many contradictions that it exalts the love of God as the one and only virtue, whereas in reality it exalts

[1] *Augustinus, tom.*, 2, l. 2, c. 2, p. 117.
[2] *Ibid., lib. prooem.*, c. 8, 28.
[3] *Lettres provinciales*, lettre 5, p. 56.

fear and trembling as the most important thing in the life of its adherents.[1]

Thus two ethical conceptions faced each other and between them compromise was impossible and a shock inevitable. However, the first blow came not from the Jansenists but from the Calvinists who, in the first instance, attacked not the Jesuits, but the Catholic Church. In 1631 their champion Dumoulin published a catalogue of objectionable propositions extracted by him from the works of Catholic theologians.[2] Ten years later, on the occasion of a dispute between the University of Paris and the Jesuits of that city, the same

[1] The passages in KREITEN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLV. (1893), 171. A. M. [OLINIER] says of Pascal: "La moindre contradiction le met hors de lui; esprit purement géométrique, il ne sait rien de la complexité de la nature humaine. Dans les Petites Lettres déjà ce défaut se fait jour, quand il a la prétention d'appliquer à l'humanité entière les règles d'une morale austère qu'à peine quelques hommes sur des millions pourraient pleinement pratiquer." (*Rev. crit.*, LVI. [1903], 52.) Of Jansenist morality in general the Franciscan F. BONAL (*Le chrétien du temps*, 1655) writes: According to the Jansenists "il n'y a rien de vertueux, s'il n'est pas héroique, rien de chrétien, s'il n'est miraculeux, rien de tolérable, s'il n'est inimitable. Cela tient plus de la roideur du stoïque on du faste du phariséen que de la mansuétude du chrétien" . . . "à force de hérisser le christianisme et d'en faire une religion épineuse, effroyable et inaccessible, feront, peut-être avec quelque petit nombre d'austères suffisants, beaucoup d'infirmes désespérés et plus encore de libertins impenitents." In like manner Clement XI. judges severely the pretended moral strictness of the Jansenists: "Caritatem nulli impensius laudant, nulli impudentius violant; divinae gratiae veritatem praedicant, quam catholicus nullus negat, sed damnatis erroribus faventes spiritui gratiae contumeliam faciunt. Quod vero nos de pusillorum scandalo sollicitos plurimum excruciat, illud est, quod, dum plerique eorum haec faciunt vel consentiunt facientibus, adhuc specioso quodam ementitae severitatis amictu se contegentes, rigidioris doctrinae gloriam captare non cessant." Bull *Pastoralis* of August 28, 1718, Bull XXI., 811.

[2] DE MEYER, 514.

idea was once more taken up.[1] In 1618, to the great disgust of the University, the Jesuits were given back their College in Paris. Thereupon the professors sought to render the tiresome rivals harmless in the teaching sphere by means of an ordinance which practically debarred the pupils of the Jesuits from all academic degrees. The dispute on this point broke out afresh in 1642 when the Jesuits demanded for their professors and pupils the same rights as those enjoyed by the other colleges. In order to deal them a blow, the speaker of the University, Godfrey Hermant, first drew the attention of wider circles to the moral teaching of the Jesuits. In his opinion that teaching was[2] "the chief stumbling block, a snare for the credulity of the people, a sweet poison ruining souls by flattering them, a deceptive charm hiding the strictness of divine justice; in one word, one of the most evident causes of the decadence of the last century." The Rector of the University of Paris, Saint-Amour, even addressed a memorial to Urban VIII. against the Jesuits' "innovations in dogma and morals".[3] In the same year Arnauld also took the field. After the manner of Dumoulin he too drew up a list of Jesuit theses which, so he alleged, offend against Christian moral teaching in general, against the ten commandments, the teaching on the Sacraments, the Church, and the hierarchy.[4] These writings seem to have achieved their purpose; at any rate the Jesuits succumbed in their fight with the University. In view of the fact that all the champions among the Paris Doctors, Hermant, Saint-Amour, Arnauld, were also leading Jansenists, their writings may be considered as an offensive on the part of the sect. After it had succeeded, the Jansenists remained silent on the subject of Jesuit moral teaching. Feeling against the Jesuits ran very high just then, not because of

[1] *Ibid.*, 374 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 378.

[3] *Ibid.*, 378 *seq.*

[4] *La théologie morale des Jésuites, Extraict fidellement de leurs livres*, Paris, 1643, 1644 (*Œuvres*, XXIX., 1 *seqq.*). On the sources for Arnauld's writing *cf.* De Meyer, 510–549.

their moral teaching, but because they were accused of having exported large quantities of wheat to Spain, thereby causing a famine.[1] Hermant's writings may have influenced the passions even of the common people, but Arnauld's learned work achieved practically nothing at all; in fact it was publicly burnt by order of the Parliament of Bordeaux.[2] A revulsion only took place when Arnauld's incriminations were recast by Pascal in the entertaining mould of his Provincial Letters. These Letters roused the clergy to indignation. The seventh Provincial Letter had hardly been published when the parish priests of Paris demanded the condemnation either of the incriminated moral theses or that of the Provincial Letters. An inquiry was however impossible owing to Paris being without an Archbishop at the time. Thereupon the parish priests of Rouen decided to take action. They summarized the Provincial Letters in thirty-eight propositions and then invited their colleagues of Paris to join them in their efforts to obtain their condemnation.[3] From Paris the invitation was extended to the parochial clergy of other towns,[4] and a request was made to the Assembly of the clergy, which happened to be sitting at the time, to take steps against the incriminated propositions, and even more so against probabilism which was the cause of all the mischief. The Assembly of the clergy refused to comply with the request and contented itself with ordering a reprint and the diffusion of St. Charles Borromeo's "Instruction" for the guidance of confessors.[5]

Thus the attack on probabilism was apparently repulsed,

[1] *Ibid.*, 380; *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, IV., 884 *seqq.*, V., i., *seqq.*

[2] As containing "des faussetés et des impostures" (De Meyer, 391).

[3] Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXX., xiii.

[4] [Minard], *Divers écrits des curés de Paris, Rouen, Nevers, Amiens, Evreux et Lisieux contre la morale des Jésuites* (1762); *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, IV., 843 *seqq.*; reprinted in the tendentious pamphlets of Récalde.

[5] Degert, 406 *seqq.*

when the Jesuits, through a serious indiscretion, themselves put weapons into the hands of their adversaries. One of their number, Georges Pirot, a learned canonist, wrote a very clumsy defence of the casuists in which he harked back to such topics as Pascal had rendered ridiculous, in an endeavour to justify them, although he had the whole current of established opinion against him. The Superior of the Province of Paris refused his *imprimatur*, but the General granted it at the instigation of the French Assistant, a friend of Pirot's. Even so the Provincial hesitated to allow the book to go to press as the ablest Paris Jesuits were against it, but he ended by giving way. The book appeared towards the end of 1657 when it let loose a fresh storm against the Jesuits and their teaching, for it was naturally felt that the Jesuits really held the opinions which Pascal had attacked.[1] For a whole year a fresh mass of pamphlets appeared, whilst the parish priests of Paris, Rouen, and many other dioceses renewed their protests. Once a start had been made by the Bishops of Tulle and Orleans, not a month went by between September, 1658, and the following May, without the publication of one or more episcopal condemnations of Pirot.[2] Many Bishops condemned probabilism together with other theses; a number of them described it as the source of all evil.[3] On August 21st, 1659, the episcopal condemnations were supplemented by one of the Roman Inquisition.[4]

Pirot's condemnation by about twenty prelates might have been neutralized by the silence of the remaining hundred Bishops of France when, seven years later, there was published at Lyons a French edition of a Spanish work which fanned the smouldering fire into fresh flame. In 1654 a Spanish Dominican published at Coimbra a book against the moral teaching of the Jesuits. He was attacked in his turn, in 1657, by the Jesuit Mateo de Moya writing under the *nom*

[1] Rapin, III., 14–16.
[2] Degert, 409 *seqq.*; Sommervogel, VI., 857–863.
[3] Degert, 411.
[4] Reusch, 486.

de plume of Amadeus Guimenius, who endeavoured to show that the incriminated propositions were either not taught by the Jesuits, or not by them alone, but that, on the contrary, they were advocated in particular by the Dominicans. Unfortunately he also sought to excuse or justify much that was not worth justifying.[1]

On February 3rd, 1665, the Sorbonne censured de Moya in the severest terms, describing him as a deadly enemy of the peace of the Church and an apologist of every kind of crime and abomination.[2] The censure grants that here and there de Moya expressly repudiates the propositions quoted by him, but as against that it is said that, for him any opinion is probable if it is held by teachers of repute; in this way all the propositions of his book are declared probable; accordingly the Faculty condemned them all, for they wished to hit not alone Moya, but all the advocates of a degenerate moral teaching.[3]

The Sorbonne's action was to have an even more important sequel. The Faculty had taken the liberty to repudiate likewise a proposition in de Moya's book and in one by the Carmelite Vernant, concerning papal infallibility. This the Pope could not suffer in silence. As he told the French ambassador,[4] such teaching aimed at reducing him to being no more than the Bishop of Rome, and if pontifical infallibility was of no value, the papal decrees against Jansenism lost all their authority. Accordingly Alexander VII. protested at once to Louis XIV., and when his representations remained unheeded he published a Bull, on June 16th, 1665, on the two censures passed on Vernant and Guimenius. The Bull declares the condemnation by the Sorbonne null and void

[1] Astráin, VI., 150; Degert, 411 *seqq.*; Reusch, 497; Dupin, III., 178–345; D'Argentré, III., 106–114; III., 2, 352 *seqq.*; Sommervogel, V., 1349–1355.

[2] Dupin, 274.

[3] "Afin que du même coup de censure elle ne punit pas un écrivain seulement, mais aussi tous les auteurs trompeurs quels qu'ils soient." Dupin, 277.

[4] Bourlemont to the King, June 16, 1665, in Gérin, II., ii.

and reserves to the Holy See the further examination of the affair. Among the propositions on which the Sorbonne is said to have passed a "presumptious" censure, mention is made of "such as are concerned with the standard of moral actions".[1] Pascal was therefore not mistaken when he saw in the Bull a papal confirmation of probabilism.[2] The Pope's decision furnished Parliament with a pretext for complicating the situation still further. After a venomous speech by the Attorney-General Talon, on July 29th, it prohibited the Bull; no one was to be permitted to defend the censured propositions and this decision was to be promulgated in all houses of theological studies. The Sorbonne was invited to go on with its censures as occasion served.[3] The Assembly of the clergy would have had all the more cause for protesting against a parliamentary decision in ecclesiastical matters, as Talon, on December 12th, had expressly claimed for secular rulers the right to pronounce in matters of faith and Church discipline. Against this claim the Bishops protested to the

[1] "Censura praesumptuosa notantur [by the Sorbonne] aliquae propositiones eaeque praesertim, quae ad . . . actionum moralium regulam pertinent, et aliae, quae et gravissimorum scriptorum auctoritate et perpetuo catholicorum usu nituntur," Bull XVII., 369.

[2] "Remarques sur la bulle contre les censure (*Œuvres*, X., 743): puisqu'il appuye en particulier le principe de la probabilité qui est cette règle des mœurs dont il est parlé dans la bulle." *Cf.* DEGERT, 413. For the rest Arnauld's work is based on a gross distortion. From the passage in the Bull quoted in the preceding note, Arnauld concludes (X., 741): "Le Pape n'a pas craint d'approuver . . . toutes ces propositions censurées . . . Ainsi . . . si l'on dit que c'est une erreur et une impiété de soutenir qu'il soit permis de tuer en secret un homme qui médit de nous, on est téméraire, scandaleux et présomptueux." Arnauld's opening remarks are: "La nouvelle bulle . . . est peut-être la chose la plus monstrueuse et la plus étonnante que l'on ait jamais su dans l'Église catholique . . ."

[3] DEGERT, 414. The parliamentary decree was only a provisional one and was only passed by 14 against 11 votes; GÉRIN, II., 15 *seqq.*

King, not altogether unsuccessfully, but they did nothing to uphold the papal Bull.[1] The King, through his ambassador, had sought to induce the Pope to withdraw the Bull.[2] Alexander VII., naturally enough, would not hear of this; judgment on Guimenius, which he had reserved to himself, was pronounced when the Index forbade his book.[3]

The Roman Congregation had long since paid a great deal of attention to all works on moral theology, but their criticism differed fundamentally from that of the Jansenists. No fault was found with probabilism and a few mistaken solutions were not deemed a reason for a wholsesale condemnation of the whole of casuist literature. Thus the year 1603 saw the condemnation of a small casuistical book by the Jesuit Emanuel Sa, which gave solutions in alphabetical order of cases of conscience, without lengthy explanations. The Congregation ordered a revision of a number of passages, but in its improved form the book was allowed to be reprinted nearly thirty times in as many years.[4] Other books fared in like manner. Bauny's book, so violently attacked by Pascal in 1656, had already been condemned, and that unreservedly, in 1640; in the same way some objectionable statements in the work of the Jesuit Amico—another victim of Pascal—had been dealt with by the Inquisition in 1654.[5] Consequently, if their only concern was the purity of moral teaching, Arnauld and Pascal might well have left the care of it to the Roman Congregations.

Alexander VII.'s zeal against the exaggerations of moral theologians yielded in no way to that of his predecessors. On the occasion of the Dominican General Chapter in 1656, the Pope informed the Fathers of his weariness of the mass of new opinions with which men diluted the teaching of the Gospel and played with the human conscience, to the detriment

[1] *Ibid.*, 17 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 36 *seqq.*
[3] April 10, 1666; see Reusch, 500.
[4] Reusch, II., 312.
[5] *Ibid.*, 316.

of the soul. For that reason he desired the Dominican theologians to compile a work which, basing itself on the teaching of St. Thomas, would oppose a barrier to the prevailing licence of manners and opinions.[1] The Pope's wish was destined to have far-reaching consequences: the whole Order of Friars Preachers forsook probabilism in favour of probabiliorism; since that time no Dominican has advocated the probabilist system.[2] This was carrying obedience too far because Alexander VII. personally inclined towards probabilism [3] and in the above-mentioned Bull he had spoken approvingly of it.[4] It is said that he had had in mind a special Constitution in which he would have laid down the principles by which cases of conscience were to be solved; however, on the advice of Cardinal Pallavicino, he contented himself with the condemnation, on September 24th, 1665, and March 18th, 1666, of a number of propositions which went too far. Some of these forty-five condemned propositions fringe on some of the theses attacked by Pascal [5] others are important for the delimitation of probabilism [6]; the greater part of the remaining ones refer to the duties of priests, the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, the recitation of the Breviary and the celebration of Mass. In the introduction the decree speaks in severe terms of the ever-growing "arbitrariness of extravagant minds". Opinions contrary to the strictness of Christian discipline and the salvation of souls were being rescued from oblivion or formulated anew, in opposition to the simplicity of the Gospel and the teaching of the Fathers; if this new way of thinking were adopted by the faithful as a safe rule, terrible injury would be done to the Christian life.

[1] Vinc. Baron, O. P. in Astráin, VI., 146; De Blic, 330; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 38.

[2] Mandonnet, in *Dict. de théol.*, VI., 919.

[3] Texillus (in De Blic, 330) speaks of it as a well-known fact (*notorium*).

[4] See p. 258, n. 1.

[5] n. 1, 17 *seq.*

[6] n. 26, 27.

For the rest, previously to this the authorities of the Society of Jesus had spoken in similar terms. As early as 1617 their General, Vitelleschi, had protested against the excessive liberalism of some Jesuits and warned them to stand by such opinions as were safest and were maintained by the best theologians.[1] In 1651 Vitelleschi's second successor, Piccolomini, received complaints against men who inclined towards excessively liberal views and who promoted new opinions or revived obsolete ones.[2] At the next election of a General one of the requisite qualities demanded of a candidate was that he should have the strength to restrain his subjects from lax opinions.[3] The German General, Goswin Nickel, repeated these warnings in 1654 and again on May 12th, 1657. In the latter document there are unmistakable allusions to the Provincial Letters. "No accusation," we read, "was put forward with such an air of triumph by the Jansenists and other opponents as that we teach lax moral principles. Hence let no pretext be given to those who are on the lookout for a pretext! Our theologians are reproached with attaching too much weight to subtleties and paying inadequate attention to piety; they are said to have drifted far from the well-known strictness of the first Jesuits; to have widened the path of sin and the decline of morals by representing as probable and lawful much that at one time was thought unlawful, more especially in questions concerning the duel, the fifth commandment, calumny, usury, and simony. Many conscientious persons were afraid of putting themselves under the guidance of the Jesuits because they preferred wholesome strictness to perilous mildness"[4]

The success of the Provincial Letters sufficiently shows by itself alone that the severity of the Jansenist principles, excessive though it was, operated in favour of the party.

[1] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 32.

[2] *Instit. Soc. Iesu.*, II., Pragae, 1705, 226.

[3] "[Ne] laxi adeo sint in opinando circa res morales, cum harum disciplinarum dedecore, conscientiae et externorum offensione" (in Astráin, VI., 145).

[4] *Ibid.*, 146.

Despite Alexander VII.'s personal views, his pontificate marks the opening of a long-drawn fight against probabilism. In France, from Pascal's time onwards, public opinion turned against it and the papal decrees were interpreted not merely as a condemnation of exaggerations, but as a repudiation of the moral system that had prevailed until then, and after Alexander VII., the powerful Dominican Order also opposed it. It was only with St. Alphonsus Liguori that ideas became gradually clarified.

(8.)

Archbishop Boonen of Malines who, in consequence of his preventions in favour of the Jansenists, had created so many difficulties under Innocent X., died on June 30th, 1655, a few weeks before the elevation of Alexander VII. His opponent, the internuncio Andrea Mangelli, survived him but a short time, for he too died on October 31st of that year.[1] The University of Louvain soon took up its old game under the new Pope also. On August 23rd, 1656, the professor of theology, VanWerm, arranged for a defence of some theses on grace which were, to say the least, equivocal.[2] Alexander VII. saw himself obliged to complain to the new Governor of the Netherlands, John of Austria, that, in contravention of the prohibition of the Holy See, the condemned Jansenist propositions were still being defended and that to this end the sense of the condemnation was being distorted.[3] Mangelli's

[1] Nunciature report of December 18, 1655, "*Excerpta ex codice s. Officii, cuius inscriptio: Acta in Belgio circa Constitutionem damnantem quinque propositiones Iansenii à. 1653–1656" (Schill's remains).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] On December 23, 1656, in Fleury, LXII., 326. Already in his *letter of thanks, dated August 21, 1655, for the Faculty's congratulations on his elevation, Alexander VII. inserts a warning "ut Apost. Sedis decreta reverenter accipiant". *Epist.*, a., I, Papal Sec. Arch.

successor, internuncio Girolamo de' Vecchi of Siena, Abbot of S. Maria di Monte Reale, experienced great difficulty in getting an unequivocal recognition of the Bull of Innocent X.; the University sought to save itself by declaring that it hoped for a new Bull from Alexander VII. which would give a fuller explanation of the definition of his predecessor.[1]

A new Bull of Alexander VII. appeared as a matter of fact, but it was only the well-known decree deciding that the five propositions were really Jansenius' and that they were condemned as understood by him. Fresh difficulties arose at once at Louvain. On April 7th, 1657, the new Bull was read to the University and unanimously accepted by all the Faculties, and it was decided to promulgate it solemnly.[2] This seemed unequivocal enough, yet intrigues began immediately. On the plea of making quite sure that at Louvain nothing was taught in opposition to the papal definition, and with a view to removing every suspicion, the theological Faculty, on its part, resolved to present to the Pope a statement of its constant teaching in regard to the five propositions and to declare that it would never deviate from it, and especially that it would not swerve from its censure of Lessius of the years 1588 and 1613, unless the Church or the Pope should decide otherwise; that the aim of this step was the desire to make sure, by a judgment of the Holy See, that the University taught the true doctrine. Internuncio De' Vecchi was not greatly edified by this exuberant submissiveness. When Sinnich and Pontan, who were both suspected of Jansenism, brought him the text of the declaration on April 12th, he observed that either the Faculty felt hit by the new Bull, in which case the declaration was a proof of disobedience, or it did not feel hit, and in that case the declaration was superfluous; it

[1] RAPIN, III., 30. *Brief of November 9, 1655, conferring on De' Vecchi full powers for a judicial procedure and, in fact, the powers of a nuncio, in the *Extracta e codice s. Inquisitionis continente Acta*, a. 1657, f. 519 (Schill remains).

[2] What follows is based on a report of De' Vecchi, *ibid.*, after f. 479.

should, accordingly, be struck out of the acts whilst they themselves submitted in all simplicity. Thereupon the Faculty cancelled the declaration but informed the internuncio that this had been done because the Pope's representative had reassured the Faculty by guaranteeing that its teaching would not be touched and that any attack in this respect would find an opponent in him. However, the purpose of this information was really too obvious. De' Vecchi received orders from Rome to inform the Faculty, in presence of a notary and witnesses, that he had not in any way attested that the Louvain Doctors agreed with the Bull. The Pope's will was perfectly clear, hence his decision must be accepted without reservation or explanation.

De' Vecchi put off the execution of this order until after the solemn promulgation of the Bull by the University because, as he explained, in this affair of the Jansenists the whole country modelled itself on Louvain, hence it was best not to clash with the promulgation.[1] Only on June 29th did he carry out the Pope's command.[2] The whole University submitted and only the inner theological Faculty, consisting of Van Werm, Pontan, Sinnich, Van Vianen and Laurent, who was absent, refused to withdraw the declaration, but they were overruled by the remaining divines.[3] The Rector wrote [4] that the latest papal definition had met with unanimous and unconditional submission, and on July 13th the theological Faculty also announced its assent to the decision of the rest of the University.[5]

For all that De' Vecchi did not feel reassured. Past experience led him to think that the submission of the Faculty was one of words rather than deeds.[6] He was obliged to have the Bull printed a second time for the benefit of the

[1] *Letter of June 23, 1657, *ibid.*

[2] *De' Vecchi to the University, June 29, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 488.

[3] **Id.*, July 7, 1657, *ibid.*

[4] *Of July 1, 1657, *ibid.*

[5] **Ibid.*, f. 502.

[6] "*Più tosto di parole che di fatti." De' Vecchi, July 21, 1657, *ibid.*

Vicariate of Malines because the first impression had been maliciously tampered with.[1] On his part the Rector of Louvain begged for some copies, on the plea that the University was too poor to have it printed; as a matter of fact the printing cost no more than two scudi whereas the "poor" University had spent a hundred thousand scudi on the spread of Jansenism! The same Rector had described his opponents as traitors because they corresponded with the internuncio.[2] The truth was, as De' Vecchi wrote, that every one of the Jansenistically inclined superiors only received the Bull with the utmost reluctance.[3] Van Werm, whose theses gave the internuncio occasion for legal proceedings against him, is described by De' Vecchi as so hardened in his opinions as to be quite incorrigible, and as a man who had recourse to the most extravagant expedients in order to deny that the five propositions stood in Jansenius' book.[4] Two delegates who had been sent to Rome to promote the cause of the University rendered themselves so suspect in the Eternal City that they were subjected to a domiciliary visit.[5] Nothing of a nature to incriminate them personally was discovered, on the other hand a great many letters of the University were found which clearly established its Jansenist sentiments.

Like his predecessor Mangelli,[6] De' Vecchi considered the

[1] "*Mentre la prima volta vi havevano usato malitia." De' Vecchi, June 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

[2] *Letter of July 7, 1657, *ibid.*

[3] *Non vi è stato alcun Superiore adherente al Jansenismo che non mi sia bisognato tirarlo come la serpente all'incanto ad una piena notificatione et accettatione della bolla." De' Vecchi, June 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

[4] He is "così allucinato che sia incorrigibile quanto al intelletto, e che al più si possa sperare d'obligarlo col timore a tenere in se i suoi erroi". The texts of Jansenius in question he explains, "sciocchissimamente con sensi diversi dal genuino." Letter of July 28, 1657, *ibid.*

[5] *Report of June 17, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 79 *seqq.* *Cf.* RAPIN, III., 31.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 333 *seqq.*

so-called inner theological Faculty of the University as the chief seat of the evil. This body had become the real parent of Jansenism because it completed itself by co-optation, hence always with Jansenists; accordingly, in his opinion, this particular Faculty should be utterly done away with.[1] Meanwhile the internuncio summoned it to receive the Bull as the University had done[2] and he likewise asked Rome to authorize him to regulate the procedure by which the College kept up its full complement.[3] Thereupon a Brief was sent to the Governor, Archduke John, requesting him not to admit anyone to a vacant post at the University who did not profess the orthodox teaching.[4]

On January 28th, 1658, the Archduke, by express order of the King of Spain, addressed a circular to the Bishops[5] to the effect that it was the King's will, as well as his own, that the papal Bulls concerning the five propositions should be unequivocally observed and that no one should presume to call in question the declarations issued regarding them. The Bishops were to punish any infringement of these decrees and to report to him from time to time on the subject; the help of the secular arm would not fail them.

Meanwhile a fresh dispute had arisen between the secular and the ecclesiastical authority. On September 6th, 1657, the Roman Inquisition condemned a number of Jansenist books and the Archbishop of Malines had the decree promulgated without asking for the *placet* of the civil authority. There-

[1] "*Tutto il male sta nel collegio della stretta facoltà theologica, ora consistente in sei persone, che bisogneria estirparlo funditus." June 23 and July 7, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

[2] *Letter to Rome, dated July 14, 1657, *ibid.*

[3] *July 21, *ibid.*

[4] *Brief of August 25, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 520. A similar *Brief was sent to the Archduke on October 13, 1657: "Let him see to it that sound professors are appointed at Louvain and that 'janseniani a gradibus et honoribus arceantur'." *Epist.*, Alexandri VII., a. III.–V., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] **Excerpta e codice s. Inquisitionis continente Acta a. 1658* (Schill remains), f. 398.

upon the Council of Brabant declared the promulgation null and void,[1] whilst the Roman Inquisition did the same for the nullity decree of the Council of Brabant.[2] When the internuncio brought the affair to the notice of Archduke John, the latter replied that he must report the matter to Madrid,[3] which was also the conclusion arrived at by a commission consisting of two Spanish gentlemen, of President Hovyne and of the Archbishop of Malines, which had studied the question.[4] However, De' Vecchi had the decree of the Inquisition affixed on the Chancellery of Brabant and two churches even before the arrival of the King's answer.[5] The Council of Brabant accordingly resolved to expostulate with the internuncio and to report to the Archduke [6] and at the same time to inform the latter that they were determined to issue a fresh nullity decree.[7] However, previously to this the Governor had forbidden the Council to act in this matter without him [8] and on July 6th he repeated his prohibition of any further step, as it was necessary to wait for the King's decision.[9] This came towards the end of the year: it was to the effect that the decree of the Index prohibiting Jansenist writings, which had led to the outbreak of the dispute, was to be promulgated at once.[10]

It goes without saying that Rome had not remained silent in the face of these encroachments by the Council. In a letter

[1] *Edict of November 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 383.
[2] *On March 14, 1658, *ibid.*, f. 389.
[3] *De' Vecchi, April 13, 1658, *ibid.*
[4] **Id.*, on May 11, 1658, *ibid.*
[5] *On May 13, 1658, *id.*, on May 17, *ibid.*
[6] **Ibid.*, f. 443.
[7] *May 22, 1658, *ibid.*
[8] *De' Vecchi, May 18, 1658, *ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, f. 445.
[10] *Letter of the Madrid nuncio, November 13, 1658, *ibid.*, 472. *Ibid.*, 500 *seq.*, two memorials by Rubeis and Laurea showing that in Belgium the *Placet* could not be extended to dogmatic questions.

to the Archduke[1] the Pope gave expression to his grief at the Council's recalcitrance against Rome's prohibition of heretical books. Papal Constitutions and the definitions of General Councils, the letter said, were not subject to the *placet* of the State. Let the Archduke cancel the Council's prohibition and have it removed from the registers so that no trace may remain of it: meanwhile the Pope would take no further steps in the matter.

[1] *March 30, 1658, *Epist. Alexandri VII.*, a. III.–V., n. 84. A *Brief of August 7, 1660, once more expresses the hope that the University would submit to the measures against the Jansenist errors, *ibid.*, a. VI.–VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

CHAPTER VI.

Alexander VII.—A Promoter of Science and Art.

(1.)

As a young man Fabio Chigi had essayed the poet's craft [1] and a special love of literature accompanied him through his maturer years. As Ferdinand of Fürstenberg, subsequently Bishop of Paderborn, reported in the year 1657, he was in the habit even as Pope and during the hottest hours of the day to forgo the customary siesta of the Italians. He invited instead, as it were in rotation, some of his poetically endowed friends such as Natale Rondinini, Alessandro Pollini, Agostino Favoriti and Fürstenberg himself, and during the midday meal and afterwards he would discourse with them and Sforza Pallavicino for a couple of hours on literary and scientific topics.[2] Thus on one occasion, during this time of recreation, he discussed for a whole hour some verses of Ovid with Favoriti, Magalotti and the learned Cistercian Ughelli, and he never appeared more cheerful as when, over these humanistic and philological trifles, he seemed able to forget his disputes with Louis XIV.[3] On another occasion,

[1] Of him we have *Philomathi Musae inveniles*, ed. by Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, Cologne, 1645, by Ferdinand von Fürstenberg at Antwerp, 1654, and at Amsterdam, 1660; édition de luxe, Paris, 1656 (Richter in *Zeitschr. für vaterländ. Gesch. und Altertumskunde Westfalens*, LVI, 42). *Cf.* in Chigi Arch., Rome, the codex *Scritti di vari soggetti* with autographs of Alexander VII., a poem *Iter Aquisgrano Romam*, 1651, a *Discorso sopra l'erario del Papa*, sketches for consistorial and other addresses, and a dissertation: *Che cosa sia più riguardevole nel cavaliere, il valor o la prudenza.*

[2] Ferd. von Fürstenberg to Francis van der Veken, June 23, 1657, in Richter, *loc. cit.*, 43.

[3] Ferd. Raggi in Neri, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 662.

when conversing with the learned Athanasius Kircher, he put to him a question of an archæological kind which prompted the latter to write a formal dissertation for the Pope's benefit.[1] Writing of his stay in Rome between 1652–61, Ferdinand of Fürstenberg says that he still cherished the most delightful memories of that golden age when "under the government of Alexander VII., the sciences and the fine arts reached their highest efflorescence and men of learning vied with one another in exalting, in their writings, the Pope's munificence".[2] Cardinal Chigi also had an Academy in his "Vigna".[3]

In point of fact Alexander VII. only felt really happy among scholars and humanists and he favoured them in every way. Among the letters of Janus Nicius Erythraeus there are many addressed to "his beloved friend" Tirreno, who was no other than Fabio Chigi[4]; it was this "beloved friend" who made possible the publication of Erythraeus' *Pinacotheca*.[5] During the time of his nunciature in Cologne, Chigi extended his patronage in a particular manner to the Jesuit Van der Veken, a professor of theology in that city and the author of a learned theological work.[6] He kept up a

[1] "*Il P. Atanasio Kircher fra otto giorni trasmetterà a piedi di V. S. un intiero opusculo sopra i dubbii da lei mossigli intorno alle figure de' numeri. Serviranno i foglii del padre per materia de' quegli innocenti et eruditi trattenimenti che a. V. Bne sono il divertimento della Villa et ad ogni altro sovrano anche pontifice sarebbero paruti occupationi stentate e soggetti da porsi tra le cure più gravi." Oliva to Alexander VII., April 20, 1662, *Chig.* C. III., 63.

[2] *Autobiography*, in RICHTER, *loc. cit.*, 44.

[3] *Accademia delli sfaccendati*; its secretary, about 1655, was Benedetto de Rubeis, a former internuncio at Vienna (information supplied by Canon Luigi Delbello, from the Archives at Montegiorgio [Ascoli].

[4] L. CERBONI, *Un umanista nel secento: Giano Nicio Eritreo*, Città di Castello, 1907, 2; *cf.* 36 *seq.*, 77 *seq.*, 105.

[5] *Ibid.*, 75.

[6] HURTER, *Nomenclator*, III., 49. Van der Veken's **Epistolae Latinae ad Alexandrum VII.*, 1642–1663, 2 vols., Bibl. Chigi,

correspondence with Veken and eventually called him to Rome. He likewise gave proof of his gratitude to his teacher, the celebrated canonist Clement Merlin to whom he set up a monument at St. Mary Major.[1] If he thus honoured the exponents of scholastic theology and Canon Law, his stay in the North had likewise convinced him that the new age could not afford to neglect the study of Church history and archæology. During his nunciature at Cologne Fabio Chigi corresponded with the archæologist and historican Erycius Puteanus (Hendrick van Putte).[2] At this time too he gave assistance to the Bollandists, encouraged them by letter to continue their great work and as Pope inquired about its progress. At his invitation Henschen and Papebroch came to Rome in December 1660, when Alexander VII. furthered their labours in every way.[3] Thus, notwithstanding his predilection for humanism, the Pope had realized that the important element in the writing of history is not the rhetorical effect but the presentment of truth. Hence he encouraged writers who were no humanists but research workers. On January 15th, 1661, the learned Greek Leo Allatius was able to announce to a friend that he had been named guardian of the Vatican Library.[4] The author of the voluminous history of the Italian dioceses,[5] the Cistercian Ughelli (*ob.* 1670), was one of the more intimate friends of the Pope to whom he was permitted to dedicate his sixth volume. Ughelli would have been raised to the episcopate had not the modest scholar declined the honour. The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher,

a. II., 32 *seq.* *Ibid.*, F., IV., 98–99. Van der Veken's **Ephemerides sanctorum*, 1643–1659, with dedication to Alexander VII.

[1] Posse, *Sacchi*, 128 *seq.* A poem of Alexander VII. to Merlins in *Musae iuveniles*, n. 4.

[2] Five *letters of Chigi to Puteanus, 1643 and 1644, in *Barb.* 2575, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, February, Vol. I., in the dedication to Alexander VII. ; see Pelster in *Stimmen der Zeit.*, Ic (1920), 536.

[4] **Cod. Barb.*, XLV., 18, p. 275, Vat. Lib.

[5] *Italia sacra*, Rome, 1644–1662 ; *Freib. Kirchenlex*, XII².,
183 *seq.*

who was held in great repute in his time and who attempted to decipher the hieroglyphs of the Roman obelisks, received from the Pope financial help to enable him to publish the result of his studies which, however, could not then yield a useful result. For the costly printing of Kircher's *Egyptian Oedipus*, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic and Samaritan type had to be specially cast.[1] Alexander VII. likewise took an interest in the rising natural and technical sciences. The famous astronomer Cassini was summoned to Rome as the Pope desired to have his opinion on various questions,[2] and a Dutch expert was asked for his advice on the oft-attempted draining of the Pontine Marshes.[3] His friend, Sforza Pallavicino, the historian of the Council of Trent and an acknowledged master of the Italian tongue, he honoured by calling him into the Church's Supreme Senate.[4]

How greatly he had at heart the advance of knowledge Alexander showed by his solicitude for the Roman University, the so-called Sapienza, the building of which was completed by him. For over a century and a half work on a worthy seat for the Roman University had been in progress, but the execution of the plan advanced only by very slow degrees.

[1] KIRCHER'S *Autobiography*, translated by N. Seng, Fulda, 1901, ch. 7. Appreciation of Kircher in DUHR, *Gesch.*, III., 592 *seqq.*; NOACK, *Deutschtum*, I., 189 *seq.*

[2] RENAZZI, III., 139. An unfriendly attitude on the part of the Pope towards astronomy might be deducted from a remark of F. X. KRAUS; following H. REUSCH, (*Bonner Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1870, 813; *cf.* 1867, 752 *seqq.*, he notes in his *Synchronistische Tabellen zur Kirchengeschichte* (Trèves, 1894, 142) for the year 1664: "Alexander VII. condemned the Copernican system as false in a Bull." However there exists no formal Bull against Copernicus. All that Alexander VII. did was to confirm by a Bull the previous decrees of the Index, hence also that against Copernicus, but this confirmation gave the decrees of the Index no higher authority than that which they enjoyed as decrees of the Index. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CII., 345.

[3] See p. 31.

[4] See p. 130.

Alexander VII. may well claim that he was the first to take energetic steps in this matter and to have carried the work to its consummation. He assigned to the Rector, Emmanuele Vizzani, the sum of 10,000 scudi to defray current expenditure on the new structure.[1] The existing building was promptly completed and a new wing added[2]; the only thing still lacking was a suitable room for the accommodation of the students between lectures. For this purpose Alexander VII. provided a large hall and he also remedied the want of a large library. In the small town of Urbania the Minor Clerics Regular had inherited from the last Duke of Urbino a collection of books which they could not use. After indemnifying the town and the community the Pope had the books transported to Rome by Faustus Naironus, thus providing professors and students with a library which he further enriched by the addition, in particular, of the valuable books collected by the Benedictine Abbot Constantine Gaetano for the use of the Benedictine hostel.[3] A bronze bust of the Pope by Guidi in

[1] *Chirografo* of April 7, 1659, in RENAZZI, III., 254.

[2] *Ibid.*, 153, *Archigymnasii Romanae Sapientiae ab Alexandro VII. P. M. perfecti, lustrati, consecrati postridie idus novembres descriptio*, Romae, 1661; KEYSSLER, II., 17, 32; MORONI, LXXXV., 41 *seqq.*; AMEYDEN, *De pietate Romana*, 108 *seq.*; *L'Université de Rome*, Rome, 1927. Various *documents: *Sapienza e sua fabrica*, in Chigi Library, H., III., 62; also p. 15; ceremonial for Alexander VII.'s visit on November 7, 1660; pp. 16–18: number of professors from 1539–1658 (highest number in 1549 is 40, lowest in 1552, 19); p. 25, 36, 40; list of professors 1658–1660; p. 43: plans for reform, p. 57; "Alla lettura delle controversie dogmatiche concorrono P. Macedo, Osservante, P. Bonaventura Bontempi min. convent., P. Peri min. convent"; p. 64: "Concorrenti per la catedra di matematica"; p. 144: Fabrica e diversi conti, p. 175: "Costruzione della nuova chiesa per Alessandro VII"; p. 186: "Giardino a S. Pietro Montorio."

[3] RENAZZI, III., 156 (*cf.* 135); *Lettere di M. Giustiniani*, Roma, 1675, 134 *seq.* Bull for erection of the library and the appointment of the librarian and two keepers in CARAFA, *De gymnasio Romano*, Romae, 1751, 600–607; NARDUCCI, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Alexandrinae*, Romae, 1872, 36–41.

this so-called *Biblioteca Alessandrina*, together with an appropriate inscription,[1] perpetuated the memory of this fresh service to knowledge which Alexander VII. further enhanced by the restoration of a botanical garden which had been laid out in the 16th century but had become a complete wilderness with the lapse of time.[2] The internal development of the University was ensured by the foundation of six new chairs; four of which were devoted to the law. In all probability they must be considered as a renewal of an older foundation. A fifth chair was devoted to controversial theology and a sixth to the teaching of Church history; the latter was an entirely new creation of far-seeing Alexander VII.[3] On September 29th, 1659, the Pope inspected everything and on November 16th, 1660, the University church of St. Yves, the work of Borromini,[4] was solemnly consecrated by Lorenzo Gavotti, Bishop of Savona. On the following day the Pope personally inaugurated the new University. Of the professors who delivered speeches on this occasion, two bear well known names, viz. the professors of Syrian and Arabic Abraham Ecchelensis and Ludivico Maracci.[5]

Besides the *Libreria Alessandrina* another and much more important collection was taken to Rome in 1657 and incorporated in the *Vaticana* by order of Alexander VII., namely the library of the Dukes of Urbino whose heirs in law the Popes now were. At all events, treasures of this kind were far safer in Rome and more readily accessible to scholars. The library was valued at 7,400 scudi but the Pope paid the city of Urbino the sum of 10,000 scudi by way of compensation.[6]

In those days it was not very difficult to collect valuable

[1] Renazzi, III., 255. [2] *Ibid.*, 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, 159; *cf.* 179 *seq.*

[4] See below, p. 307.

[5] Renazzi, III., 166 *seq.*

[6] A. Valenti, *Sul trasferimento della Biblioteca ducale di Urbino a Roma*, Urbino, 1878 (Defence of the Pope against the criticism of *Riv. Europ.*, of October 1, 1877); F. Raffaelli, *La isuparziale e veritiera istoria della unione della Bibl. ducale*

manuscripts; their owners no longer attached the same importance to their possession since the same text could be had in printed books, and much more legibly. Alexander VII., who could appreciate the value of this heritage of bygone days, was a keen collector of manuscripts. As a young man, in his native Siena, he had examined all the literary remains of the Sienese Popes Pius II. and III., and what was most valuable he had added to his own library.[1] His travels in France and Germany enabled him to acquire many more such treasures; to them were added manuscripts from Italian monasteries; in this way the Biblioteca Chigi, one of Rome's most valuable libraries, was built up.[2]

Alexander VII. rendered yet another important service to the historical studies of future ages. Until his time it had been taken for granted that on relinquishing office the Secretary of State kept as his own property the reports of the nuncios and other official documents, leaving them to his family by will. During his term of office as Secretary of State, Alexander VII. had collected documents of this kind for the Holy See, and as Pope he established special archives for them, viz. the "Archives of the Secretariate of State"; he also created special archives for the Acts of the Roman Congregations, which until then had been preserved by the secretaries at their private lodgings.[3]

d'Urbino alla Vaticana di Roma, Fermo, 1877; FRASCHETTI in *Fanfulle della Domenica* of May 29, 1907; *cf.* on the library *Giornale stor. di letteratura ital*, XLIX., 467; STORNAJOLI, *Codices Urbinatenses graeci*, Romae, 1895.

[1] CUGNONI in *Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di scienze morali*, etc., VIII. (1882 *seq.*), 319–686 *seq.*

[2] J. GIORGI, *ibid.*, *Rendiconti*, XXVII. (April 21, 1918), 151 *seqq.*; MABILLON, *Iter Italicum*, 91; GACHARD, *La bibliothèque des princes Chigi à Rome*, in *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'hist.*, 3 series, X., Bruxelles, 1869, 219 *seqq.*; A. MUÑOZ in the periodical *Il Marzono*, January 28, 1917.

[3] G. MARINI, *Memorie istoriche*, 31; LAEMMER, *Mon. Vatic.*, 451; TAJA, 483; NOUAES, X., 174 *seq.* *Cf.* the draft of an inscription (in I. B. PITRA, *Analecta novissima*, I., Paris, 1885,

The example of the occupant of the Apostolic See as a patron of scholarship could not fail to have a beneficial and encouraging effect on the pursuit of knowledge in the Eternal City. It became now the fashion for Roman prelates to take up collecting ancient manuscripts.[1] Ughelli's *Italia sacra* was written prior to a work of the same kind by the French Maurists, viz. *Gallia Christiana*, and if France can claim the honour of having created the first literary periodical with *Le Journal des Savants*, Rome could soon boast a similar organ with the *Giornale de' Letterati*,[2] the first of its kind on the Apennine Peninsula. The famous Kircher Museum also dates from the reign of Alexander VII. Alfonso Donnino, a native of Tuscany but living in Rome in the capacity of "Secretary of the Roman People", had got together a collection of curious and rare objects of every kind which he left to the Roman College. Athanasius Kircher was appointed guardian of the collection which, in the sequel, was still further enriched until its dissolution in 1913, when its contents were distributed to other museums.[3]

158): "Alexander VII. Pont. Max. sacri scrinii Palatini de gravissimis rei christianae negotiis epistolas, mandata, responsa, aliaque scripturarum monumenta quotquot reperiri potuerunt novo hoc tabulario recondi et ad sedis apostolicae usum posteritatisque memoriam adservari voluit, an. Chr. 1656 Pont. II." But the following inscription was eventually put up: "Alexander VII. P. M. | Variarum congregationum | de rebus ecclesiasticis | archiva | incertis antea locis dispersa | ad maiorem Sedis Ap. | securitatem dignitatemque | in Vaticanum | cubiculis, armariis foculisque | notis ad eam rem exstructis | adunanda transtulit | A.D. 1658, A. P., IV."

[1] Ora che il genio del papa è fatto pubblico, tutti i prelati fanno alle pugna per buscar manoscritti (Lorenzo Magalotti in GIORGI, *loc. cit.*, XXVII., 152).

[2] Since 1663. RENAZZI, III., 151.

[3] E. RINALDI, *La fondazione del Collegio Romano*, Roma, 1914, 121; Ph. BONANNI, *Musaeum Kircherianum s. musaeum a. P. Ath. Kirchero iam pridem incoeptum, nuper restitutum, Romae*, 1709; MAU, *Katalog der Bibliothek des Deutschen Instituts*, I, 1250; *Kunstchronik*, XXV. (1914), 411.

The natural consequence of the Pope's patronage was that he was sung by the poets and a number of poems and scientific works were dedicated to him.[1]

[1] Among the poets who may be mentioned here the outstanding one is Jakob Balde who in 1663 dedicated to the Pope his *Urania victrix*. Among the scientific works dedicated to Alexander VII. are the 1st vol. of February of the BOLLANDISTS and the 6th vol. of UGHELLI's *Italia sacra*. The following also are of some interest: FAM. NARDINI, *Roma antica*, Roma, 1666, and ROSSI, *Teatro di Roma*; also *Musarum plausus Alexandro VII. P. M. renuntiato* (by POLLINI), Romae, 1656; B. VIRGILIO, *Rime per la felice dimora di Alexandro VII. in Castel Gandolfo*, Roma, 1662; ASCANIUS DE SILVESTRIS, **Romuleus sol s. de Alexandro VII. P. M. carmen* (*Cod.*, D. III., 34, Bibl. Chigi); TIBALDUTIUS SOLINDRIUS ROMANUS, **Alexandro VII. carmina* (*ibid.*, D. II., 30); Lod. Tingoli, *Per clemenza insigne del glorioso Pontefice Alessandro VII. Ode (*ibid.*, D III., 33); Sigisbertus Pleniplanus, De solis actione. L'oro nascente, idillio musicale del fabro imperfecto al Pp. Alessandro VII. et alla Reina di Suetia (*Reg.* 2021, p. 156, Vat. Lib.). A volume of Latin poems to Alexander VII. is also found in the Costaguti Archives Rome. DOM. JOVACCI, **Notizie di Castel Gandolfo, di Albano, della Riccia, di Genzano e di Nemi, dedicate ad Alessandro VII.* (edited by the *Ottoboniana*, in CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 100). A *poem by REYER, *Votum Alexandri VII.* for peace, which must proceed from Rome, against Louis XIV., 1660

Da, Pater omnipotens, ut sancta Ecclesia mater,
Praevaleat,
Extollat generosa caput Stygioque tyranno

in *Vat.* 6910, p. 339, Vat. Lib. (*cf.* ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 57); ANNIANO SILVESTRO (Carmelite), **Breve relazione dell' imperio Turchesco di Levante*, 1664 (for Alexander VII.), *Cod.* G. IV., 103, Bibl. Chigi; OCTAVI WORST (Capuchin) **Apologia sacra* of the primacy and infallibility of the Pope (to Alexander VII.), *Cod. Barb.*, XX., 7, Vat. Lib., and *Bibl. della fraternità di S. Maria* at Arezzo, *Cod.* 270; LAURENTIUS PIZZATUS DE PONTIREMOLO, **Totius urbis et orbis in multis rudis reformatio propter bonum publicum ad Alexandrum VII.*, 1659 (*Reg.*, 1507) and (in Italian), 1925; *Cod. Barb.* XXXII., 262, and LIX., 20, Vat. Lib.

(2.)

Alexander VII.'s pontificate, fruitful and important as it was for literature, was incomparably more so for the arts. Immediately after his elevation he made up his mind to take up once more in good earnest the Pope's traditional patronage of the arts. This aim he was destined to realize all the more brilliantly as a great number of artists were available, among them Bernini who had enjoyed his favour whilst Alexander was only a Cardinal and whom he appreciated even more than Urban VIII. had done. The sun had not yet set on the day of Alexander VII.'s election, so Baldinucci relates, when he sent for the master and with expressions of the utmost goodwill requested his co-operation in the vast plans he meditated, more especially for St. Peters'.[1] Thus there opened before Bernini, then nearing his sixtieth year, a new and most fruitful period of work to which belong several of his most brilliant creations.

As early as 1626 Fabio Chigi had interested himself in the restoration of the magnificent chapel erected by Antonio Chigi, one of his ancestors, in S. Maria del Popolo.[2] When he became a Cardinal in 1652, and took up permanent residence in Rome, he had the work taken up anew by Bernini.[3] and what he had begun as a Cardinal he completed as Pope. He came repeatedly to see how the work progressed [4] and

[1] Baldinucci, edit. Riegl, 168.

[2] Cugnoni, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, IV., 58 *seqq.*; L. Ozzola, *ibid.*, XXI., 22 *seq.* A *letter to Fabio Chigi, dated November 8, 1625, says of the chapel del Popolo that " è veramente un poco mal tenuta da questi padri, poichè la polvere che non si è in piccola quantità, non lassa godere le bellissime pitture che vi sono ". *Chig.* A. III., 64, Vat. Lib.

[3] Cugnoni, *loc. cit.*, 72 *seq.*

[4] **Avviso* of March 4, 1656 : on Sunday the Pope held a visitation of St. Mary Major and went to S. Maria del Popolo, " che S. Beatitudine fa tuttavia restaurare et abellire a proprie spese " (Papal Sec. Arch.). An **Avviso* of February 10, 1657 (*ibid.*), speaks of a papal visit on Thursday and another of March 3 of

as a result of his insistence on speed, everything was completed by the middle of 1657.[1] The chapel was finished off with a balustrade, the marble floor was repaired, the lunettes were adorned with the paintings of the Sienese Raffaele Vanni [2] and the pyramid-shaped sepulchral monuments of Agostino and Sigismondo Chigi were restored.[3] The chief ornament, however, consisted of two new magnificent works of sculpture for the execution of which Alexander VII. had at first thought of giving scope to the rivalry between Bernini and Algardi [4]; in the end, however, he decided to give the whole commission to Bernini. By way of contrast to Lorenzetto's "Jonas and Elias", Bernini created the figures of two other prophets of Christ's resurrection, viz. Habacuc, with an Angel at his side, "rising inspired as from a dream," and Daniel, an admirable youth behind whom is seen a lion; kneeling with hands folded and expectant eyes raised to heaven, he invokes the help of God.[5]

After restoring the Chigi chapel, Alexander VII. did the

the same year mentions a visit on Wednesday to S. Maria del Popolo. It adds that the new building "si va perfettionando; che a spese della S.S. si va con celerità terminando".

[1] See besides the letter of Francesco Gualengo of July 31, 1659, referred to by FRASCHETTI (280, n. 1) the **Avviso* of September 7, 1657 (Papal Sec. Arch.): the church "è fat a bellissima di ornamento e doi organi che fanno una bellissima vista".

[2] *Order for the payment of 300 scudi for Raffaele Vanni "per haver fatto diverse pitture nella chiesa del Popolo" in *Cod.* H. II., 40, Bibl. Chigi, Rome.

[3] GNOLI shows in *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, II. (1889), 322 *seqq.*, that the monuments were only restored and slightly altered in 1652, but not newly erected, a fact overlooked by BÖHN (39). Payments for two bronze chandeliers given by Alexander VII., by BERTOLOTTI, *Art.*, Bolognesi, 196.

[4] See Alexander VII.'s *autograph letter to L. Holstenius in *Cod.* C. III., 62, of the Chigi Library about an inscription which it was proposed to put up in the chapel.

[5] See the excellent appreciation of these statues by BENKARD (27 *seq.*; reproductions 46 and 47); see also REYMOND, 124 *seq.*

same for the whole church.[1] Bernini adapted the quattrocento structure to the taste of his period and gave it that character of joyous freedom which distinguishes it even at this day.[2] Typical children of the inexhaustible fancy of the master are the many figures of angels on the arches and vaults of the central aisle, at the entrance to the chancel and on the organ where the Chigi coat of arms proclaims the name of the man who ordered the restoration.[3] These stucco decorations [4] as well as the magnificent statues of angels by the side of the two altars of the transept, were executed to the design of Bernini by his pupils, among whom the Lombard Antonio Raggi distinguished himself by his great technical skill and a nice sense of the intentions of the master.[5]

Raggi also carved a marble statue of Alexander VII. for the Cathedral of Siena, the Pope's native city, after a design by Bernini. Siena likewise possessed the family chapel of the Chigi, constructed of purest marble and richly adorned with gold and lapis lazuli. Alexander VII. put up within its walls two impressive marble statues, viz. of St. Jerome and St. Magdalen, both Bernini's own work.[6]

[1] ALVERI, *Roma*, II., 11; FORCELLA, I., 387; COLANBUONI, *S. Maria del Popolo*, 182. In March 1658, Alexander inspected the work in company with Bernini; FRASCHETTI, 283, n. 1.

[2] BÖHN, 89; *cf.* also REYMOND's appreciation.

[3] He also put up the Chigi arms on the apex of the central gable of the façade. On the alteration of the façade, see REYMOND, 122 *seq.*

[4] FERRARI, *Lo stucco nell' arte italiana barocca*, 97 *seqq.*

[5] TITI, 389, 390 *seq.*; DVORAK in *Der Palazzo di Venezia*, 71. Reproductions of the Angels on the altars of the transept in RICCI, *Baukunst*, 85; *ibid.*, 95, the organ loft with the coat of arms of Alexander VII. (1658); *ibid.*, 84, the high altar, also designed by Bernini.

[6] FRASCHETTI, 285 *seq.*, where there is a good illustration of the statue of Alexander VII. *Cf.* REYMOND, 126 *seq.*; BENKARD 29 *seq.*, illustr. 48 and 49. Alexander VII. gave the precious altar furniture for the chapel founded in 1661. These objects called forth universal admiration at the *Mostra d'arte* of Siena, 1904. They are Roman work, finest polished rock crystal, very rich

However, Bernini was employed by his exalted patron not only as a sculptor, but likewise as an architect. In that capacity also he gave proof of his greatness, especially in his churches, for which he created a new ornamental style, such as suited the altered character of the time.[1] Besides the arsenal at Civitavecchia [2] and the beautiful water reservoir of the Acqua Acetosa,[3] he enlarged the Quirinal [4] and the hospital of S. Spirito.[5] In 1665,[6] by command of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, he completed in such splendid fashion the monumental Chigi Palace [now Odescalchi], opposite SS. Apostoli, the erection of which had been begun by Carlo Maderna, that with its façade he may be said to have fixed the canon of the palace style for the ensuing period.[7]

By order of Alexander VII., Bernini added to the papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo, the façade and the gallery from which one has a view of the sea.[8] In 1661 the

work in gold with intaglios of *email translucide* recalling the best work of the Cinquecento (*cf.* L. v. Bürkel in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1904, suppl. 131). At the above-mentioned exhibition one also admired the Golden Rose bestowed on the Duomo of Siena by Alexander VII. Novaes (X., *Alessandro VII.*, n. 79 *seqq.*) recounts all that the Pope did for the churches of Siena.

[1] Reymond, 127 *seq.*

[2] Thieme, III., 465.

[3] According to an inscription of 1661 (*cf.* Fraschetti, 299), but not completed then for in an **Avviso* of March 11, 1662 (Papal Sec. Arch.), we read that on Monday the Pope inspected the "nuova fabrica" at "Acqua acetosa che S. S^tà fa fare". The inscriptions are mostly somewhat antedated.

[4] 1656; see Fraschetti, 299.

[5] Inscription of 1664; Fraschetti, 297 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 298; Hübner, II., 407.

[7] Opinion of Böhn (90). *Cf.* Fraschetti, 298 *seq.*; Briggs, 36 *seq.*; Reymond, 140. After Cardinal Flavio's death the palace was let in 1694 and in 1745 it became the property of the Odescalchi; see Ashby in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VIII. and IX.

[8] Alexander VII.'s inscription of 1660 on the façade of the palace in Guidi, *Colli Albani*, 61. *Cf.* also Gurlitt, 416;

Pope instructed Bernini to erect a church in honour of St. Thomas of Villanova, not far from the palace,[1] for which the artist chose the form of a Greek cross. Besides this building of extraordinarily harmonious proportions both within and without,[2] and which Alexander VII. consecrated in person in May, 1661,[3] Bernini erected between 1664–1665 at Ariccia, the church S. Maria Miracolosa opposite the Chigi Palace.[4] This edifice is a plain rotunda preceded by an arcaded porch flanked on either side by porticos. Like the exterior, the interior of the church is quite plain, only the entablature supporting the dome is charmingly enlivened by a wreath of angels holding garlands in their hands.[5]

Bernini furnished yet another proof of the richness of his imagination when Alexander VII. commissioned him to erect the small obelisk found in the garden of the convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1665. The Chigi library still has in its possession the seven sketches drawn by Bernini for the purpose: some of them are so bold that it would hardly

FRASCHETTI, 292; CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 115 *seqq.*, 177 *seq.* FEA (*Varietà di notizie sopra Castel Gandolfo*, Roma, 1820, 37 *seq.*) gives the *Descrizione dell' acqua e scandaglio della spesa che si stima anderebbe a condurla in Castel Gandolfo*, from Bibl. Chigi, H. II., 42. The Chigi arms are also seen on the garden gate.

[1] Inscription of 1661 in GUIDI, *loc. cit.*, 63.

[2] REYMOND (134) has particular praise for the cupola. SCHRADER (*Campagna*, 175) describes the high altar, by Pietro da Cortona, as a masterpiece; reproduction in RICCI, 87.

[3] See **Avviso* of May 21, 1661, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] GUIDO, 84 *seq.*; illustration of cupola in RICCI, 72; an **Avviso* of May 16, 1665 (*loc. cit.*), states that on Sunday the Pope said the first Mass at Ariccia.

[5] GURLITT, 414; BÖHN, 91; REYMOND, 134 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI, II., 245 *seq.*, and especially the rare work by E. LUCIDI: *Mem. stor. del municipio Ariccia*, Roma, 1796, where on p. 336 *seqq.* there are the fullest details on the erection of the church, and p. 295 *seq.* on the Pope's solicitude for Ariccia. *Ibid.*, 452, the deed of the purchase, in 1661, of the palace of the Savelli by Mario, Flavio and Agostino Chigi.

have been possible to carry them out.[1] Prompted by an illustration in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of the Dominican Francesco Colonna, published at Venice in 1499, Alexander VII. finally decided that an elephant should carry the obelisk on his back.[2] The monument was begun in April 1666, and completed in February of the following year[3]; it was Bernini's last work for Alexander VII.

Besides Bernini, the Chigi Pope also gave a great many commissions to that other great exponent of baroque art in Rome, Pietro da Cortona. In 1655 he charged this highly gifted artist with the direction of the frescoes with which it was intended to decorate the gallery of the Quirinal palace. In 1656, Cortona executed several pictures for the Pope, who created him a knight.[4] This honour was Cortona's reward for the splendid way in which he had carried out another commission of the Pope. As at S. Maria del Popolo, the question was the restoration of a building of Sixtus IV., S. Maria della Pace, that is the church in which Agostini Chigi had founded the chapel which became famous by reason of Raphaels' "Sibyls". Alexander VII. had had it repaired and decorated already in 1627.[5] As the many Chigi emblems show even at this day, a complete restoration of the interior of the church was now undertaken and a new floor laid down.[6]

[1] See reproductions in FRASCHETTI, 300 *seq.*; GNOLI, *Disegni del Bernini per l'obelisco della Minerva*, in *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, 1888; Keyssler, I., 724.

[2] The copy of the *Hypenerotomachia* in the Chigi Library shows many marginal notes by Alexander VII. Bernini's model of the elephant with the obelisk is in the Galleria Barberina in Rome. *Cf.* GIEHLOW, *Hieroglyphenkunst*, in *Jahr. der k.k. Sammlungen*, XXXII. (1915), 15.

[3] See Cervini's diary in FRASCHETTI, 306. *Cf.* the **Avviso* of March, 1667, *loc. cit.*

[4] See POLLAK in THIEME, VII., 492, and *Kunstchronik*, new series, XXIII. (1911–12), 565 *seq.*

[5] CUGNONI, in Arch. Rom., IV., 57 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, 72 *seq.*; *cf.* MUÑUZ, *Cortona*, 12.

[6] *Cf.* C. FEA, *Promemoria per la chiesa di S. Maria della Pace*,

Like most of the other chapels, the Chigi chapel was given a marble balustrade and the niches received statues of the Sienese Saints, Catherine and Bernardine, the latter by Ercole Ferrata and the former by Cosimo Fancelli. These two artists shared between them the execution of the *putti* on either side of the chapel. The bronze relief on the altar representing Christ being taken down from the cross is by Cosimo Fancelli.[1] For the wide spaces of the cupola above the chapels, where one already beheld Peruzzi's celebrated "Mary in the temple", the Pope ordered large paintings, among them a crowded picture by Carlo Maratta representing Mary's visit to Elizabeth.[2] The Pope, who inspected the work twice in 1657,[3] was even more pleased with Pietro da Cortona's masterpiece in front of the plain, but slightly modified façade [4] of S. Maria della Pace, where he erected on the ground floor a semi-circular portico formed by eight coupled Tuscan columns, "a charming motif, the value of which is further enhanced by the supreme delicacy of its execution." The upper storey of the façade is also designed with equal simplicity and beauty.[5] It is matter for surprise that the master should

Roma, 17, 9 *seq.* The expenditure between 1656–1661 amounted to 51,583 scudi (*ibid.*, 12). *Cf.* **Avviso* of December 23, 1656 (*loc. cit.*): Yesterday the Pope came into Pace "a dare una vista a quella nuova fabrica che si va terminando a spesa della S.S."

[1] TITI, 414; THIEME, XI., 242, 465.

[2] FEA, *loc. cit.*, 9; BELLORI, III. (Pisa, 1821), 147; VOSS, *Barock malerei*, 602. C. Maratta painted a "Visitation of Mary" and a "Flight to Egypt" for the Chigi chapel in the Duomo of Siena; see BELLORI, III., 149; *ibid.*, for further commissions for Maretta.

[3] See **Avviso* of September 1 and November 10, 1657, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] The entrance door, with the arms of Sistus IV. and the inscription: "Templum pacis Virgini dedicatum per Sixtum PP. IV.," was given another cornice. The arms of Sixtus on the gable of the façade was also retained.

[5] GURLITT, 376; BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 78; MUSCHINI, in *L'Arte*, 1921, 192 *seq.*

have succeeded in the short time between 1656 and 1658,[1] in carrying through this important architectural undertaking whilst at the same time he also laid out the piazza in front of it.[2] Here also he revealed all his skill, for the problem was not merely to widen the piazza but to give it a harmonious appearance. The task was a difficult one because two streets terminated to the right and the left of the church, and houses of the most varied styles rose near by. Pietro da Cortona regulated the two sides of the piazza by means of a double-storied row of pilasters bearing on the side facing the Anima the medallion portrait of Sixtus IV., and on the other that of Alexander VII.[3] "The piazza gives the impression of a quadrilateral; only by degrees does the eye notice the splendidly calculated relations between the church, the walls of the piazza and the piazza itself."[4] The great importance the Pope attached to these creations appears from the fact that he threatened the severest penalties for any alteration.[5]

All these undertakings sink into the background by comparison with the stupendous work at St. Peter's which,

[1] The two inscriptions are correctly given by FEA, 10. CIACONIUS, IV., 724, wrongly gives the date of 1657 instead of 1658. The inscription: "Alexandro VII. quod votis," etc., which Fea places within is now outside, facing the Anima; the second: "Virgini pacis," etc., is within, above the entrance. According to the **Avviso* of October 4, 1659, on the Pope's visit, operations on S. Maria della Pace were "quasi finita" (Papal Sec. Arch.). *Cf.* FORCELLA, V., 506; MARTINELLI, *Roma ricercata* (1660), 73; BONANNI, *Numismata* (1699), 644.

[2] *Cf.* the *Chirografo* of July 4, 1657, on the purchase of houses in FEA, 36 *seq.*, and SCHMIDLIN, 463.

[3] The inscriptions beneath the medallions, the best of which, so far as I know, has not yet been published, are as follows: for Sixtus IV.: "Erit opus institiae pax et cultus institiae silentium securitas usque in sempiterum"; for Alexander VII.: "Orietur in diebus nostris iustitia et abundantia pacis, donec auferatur luna."

[4] BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, 78 *seq.*

[5] See the text of the prohibition in FEA, 22.

under Alexander VII., became once more the centre of artistic activity. The reorganization by the Chigi Pope of the Congregation of the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* was but a symptom of the new spirit.[1] One of his first measures was to order,

[1] In *Cod.* H. II. *seq.*, *cf.* the Bibl. Chigi, there is a note on the subject in the Pope's own hand :

Nota dell'opere da farsi dalla ven. fabrica in S. Pietro con li suoi assegnamenti e della sua entrata et uscita.

Opere ordinate e disegnate di fare dalla reverenda fabrica.

Altare di metallo per la cattedra circa a scudi centomila	sc.	100,000
Candelieri e croci di metallo circa a sc. dodicimila .	sc.	12,000
Il residuo delle colonne di cottanello ordinatesi qui a sc. tremila	sc.	3,000
Il pavimento del portico circa a sc. dodicimila .	sc.	12,000
Somma in tutto la spesa . .	sc.	127,000

Assegnamenti della reverenda fabrica per le dicontro opere.

Li depositari della reverenda fabrica hanno in mano circa a sc. quarantamila	sc.	40,000
Al signor Francesco Nunez Sanchez per rimesse di Portogallo sc. quattromila cinquecento . .	sc.	4,500
Monti diversi da vendersi sc. ventimila . . .	sc.	20,000
Cruciata di Spagna debitrice per l'anno 1656 di sc. ventimila	sc.	20,000
Cruciata di Portugallo debitrice come sopra di sc. settantamila	sc.	70,000
Debitori diversi, che si esigeranno circa a sc. dodicimila	sc.	12,000
Sommano tutti detti assegnamenti	sc.	166,500
Somma la spesa di contro.	sc.	127,000
Sopravanzo dell'assegnamenti.	sc.	39,500

Nota dell'entrata che ha di presente la reverenda fabrica.

Cruciata di Spagna l'anno sc. ventimila . . .	sc.	20,000
Detta per S. Giovanni Laterano sc. mille cinquecento	sc.	1,500

in August, 1655, the laying down of the marble floor of the basilica ; Bernini furnished the plan for the work. At the same time he gave orders that no vendors should trade in the portico, which he commanded to be shut at night.[1] Bernini was likewise commissioned to lay down the floor of the benediction loggia and to restore its ceiling. This period also saw the completion, in his studio, of the bas-relief begun under Urban VIII., now placed over the main entrance,[2] representing Christ in the act of appointing St. Peter His Vicar and the shepherd of His flock, with the words : "Feed my sheep." Bernini's brother, Luigi, furnished the stucco decorations of the chapel of the choir and that of the Blessed

Cruciata di Portugallo sc. sedicimila . . .	sc.	16,000
Tribunale di Napoli avanti il contagio sc. dodicimila	sc.	12,000
Gabelle di Napoli avanti il contagio sc. novemila .	sc.	9,000
Incamerationi di Roma e Stato Eccles. sc. ottomila in circa.	sc.	8,000
Frutti di diversi Monti sc. mille	sc.	1,000
Somma l'entrata l'anno	sc.	67,500
Somma l'esito l'anno	sc.	41,417
Sopravanza l'entrata all'esito	sc.	26,083

Ma è da avvertire, che l'entrate di Napoli che prima erano sc. 21^{m}, come sopra, Dio sa per l'avvenire quello renderanno.

Et che l'entrate di Spagna e Portugallo alle volte tardano gl'anni a riscuotersi.

Nota dell'esito, che ha di presente la reverenda fabrica.

Per li frutti de' suoi Monti passivi paga l'anno sc. sedicimila ventisette	sc.	16,027
In manuali, musaici, cartoni, indorature, calce, puzzolana, pietra et altro circa a sc. ventiquattro mila .	sc.	24,000
Provisionati sc. mille centosettanta . . .	sc.	1,170
Elemosine sc. ducentoventi	sc.	220
Somma la spesa l'anno	sc.	41,417

[1] FRASCHETTI, 324.

[2] *Ibid.*, 324 *seq.*

Sacrament in the basilica of St. Peter.[1] Bernini's magnificent monument of Alexander VII. in St. Peter's, which the Pope had planned for himself already in September 1655, was only completed under Innocent XI.[2] The Pope also thought of building a new sacristy,[3] but it was not granted to him to carry the plan into effect. On the other hand, he lived to see the wonderful structure in which it was intended to preserve the chair—*cathedra*—of St. Peter.[4]

The internal decoration of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, on which he bestowed many valuable gifts,[5] went hand in hand with other important works. The entrance to the Vatican built by Ferabosco under Paul V.,[6] was to be

[1] *Ibid.*, 213.

[2] "*Il Pontefice meditando continuamente la brevità della vita humana, oltre la scritta cassa fattasi fare per riporvi il suo cadavero, intendesi che hora faccia fare il disegno della sua sepoltura componendo egli medesimo l'inscrittione, che in essa dovia farsi" (*Avviso* of September 18, 1655, *Avvisi* 102, Papal Sec. Arch.). *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, *Grabmäler*, 56; REYMOND, 159 *seq.*; BERTEAUX, *Rome*, 149, 151; R. CECCHETELLI in *Riv. d'Italia*, 1915, I., 546; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIX., 36. Severe critique in BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 252.

[3] *Cf.* "*Osservazioni del. card. Castello sul progetto della nuova sagrestia [di S. Pietro] nel disegno del cav. Morelli fatti per commissione di Alessandro VII.," *Cod.* M. VIII., LXVI., Bibl. Chigi.

[4] See p. 299.

[5] The precious damask hangings of red silk with gold fringes which Alexander VII. gave to the basilica to cover the marble pilasters are in use to this day on great festivals. Another splendid work of art is the Missal richly adorned with miniatures, and bearing as its title page the portrait of Alexander VII. (1663). It was returned to Rome under Louis XVIII. and is now kept in the treasury of the Sistine Chapel (*cf. Annuaire cath. pontifical*, 1909). Three *paliotti* with precious embroideries given by Alexander VII., "anno nono," as the inscription says, to the basilica of St. Mary Major, are still among the treasures of that Church.

[6] See XXVI., 426.

remodelled, the papal palace and St. Peter's were to be joined, and a piazza was to be laid out in front of the basilica which would worthily express the significance of the world's greatest shrine. The difficulty of this task, which was great enough in itself, was further enhanced by the fact that in consequence of the centuries' old and anything but uniform architectural story of the Vatican and the basilica of St. Peter, many contradictions and defects had to be removed, or at least minimized, if unity was to arise out of so mighty a complexity.[1]

The old piazza of St. Peter's, where the faithful received the blessing of every Pope at his election and at Easter, was out of proportion with the importance of the basilica to which pilgrims flocked in crowds from every part of the world[2]: above all, it was far too small. Already under Innocent X., Papirio Bartoli and Carlo Rainaldi had drawn up plans for a new arrangement,[3] but remarkable as these were, they were inadequate. A happy solution was only found when Alexander VII. put the matter in the hands of Bernini who succeeded in creating a wonderful unity out of the monumental piazza before St. Peter's, the entrance to the Vatican and the rooms connecting them.

Baldinucci relates that Bernini once remarked that an architect did not show what he could do when, unhampered by any obstacle, he was able to realize the harmonious conceptions of his imaginations; only then did he do so when he was compelled to deal with what was imperfect or bad and yet, despite every hindrance, succeeded in creating a thing of beauty.[4] This was realized by the master in wonderful fashion, in the first instance, in the radical alteration of the staircase connecting the oldest part of the Vatican with the porch of St. Peters'. By overcoming great technical and practical difficulties, he replaced the dark, narrow and irregular ascent to the Sala Regia and the Sistine chapel

[1] Voss, *Bernini as architect*, 2 *seq.*

[2] Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument*, 66.

[3] Voss, *loc. cit.*, *seq*; Hempel, *C. Rainaldi*, 24 *seq.*

[4] Baldinucci, edit. Riegl, 240.

by a commodious, admirably lighted staircase whose imposing beauty and decoration are deservedly famous.[1] His skilful hand turned the defects of the old staircase into new beauties. To quote Baldinucci, it was by a stroke of real genius that he succeeded in this, the most difficult of all the works undertaken by him, " by means of splendid perspectives of steps, columns, architraves, pediments and vaults, in bringing the wide entrance and the narrow exit into a harmony pleasing to the eye." [2]

The great staircase, which was given the name of Scala Regia, was begun in 1663 and by June, 1665, the main part of the work was complete ; in the following year it received the beautiful stucco decoration of the barrel vaulting.[3] At the entrance an armorial shield held by two trumpet-blowing genii, proclaims the glory of Alexander VII., its builder.[4]

In front of the staircase was a bright and lofty space where, in a niche on the right hand side, it was intended to put up on a high pedestal Bernini's colossal equestrian statue of Constantine the Great. Though executed under Alexander VII. this statue of the founder of St. Peter's was only unveiled in 1670.[5] To this " violently agitated equestrian figure of the most dramatic impressiveness ", was to correspond a statue of Charlemagne on the opposite side, at the end of the portico of St. Peter's.

There is profound historic significance in the circumstance that in the vestibule of St. Peter's the two first great protectors of the universal Church, the one the founder of the eastern,

[1] *Cf.* besides PANOFSKY, *Die Scala Regia im Vatikan,* in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml,* XL. (1919), 241 *seq.*, and VOSS, *Bernini als Architekt,* 6 *seq.* On the controversy between them on the subject of expedients for perspective see FREY, *Barock architektur,* 10.

[2] BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 176 *seq.*

[3] FRASCHETTI, 318.

[4] FERRARI, *Lo stucco nell'arte ital. tav.*, 80.

[5] FRASCHETTI, 318, 320 ; BENKARD, 41 ; CECCHELLI, 23. *Cf.* DVORAK, *Gesch. der ital. Kunst,* Munchen, 1928, 208. A *satire on the statue in *Barb.* 4331, Vat. Lib.

the other the creator of the western Roman Empire, should stand on guard before the tomb of the Galilean fisherman.

With the famous colonnade of the piazza of St. Peter's, also executed by order of Alexander VII., Bernini created an even greater masterpiece than the Scala Regia. When the idea of a forecourt for St. Peter's first came up for discussion by the Congregation of the Fabbrica, at the beginning of 1656, Cardinal Pallotto raised several difficulties. There was reason to fear, he explained, that the digging of the foundations would cause noxious evaporations, spreading disease, as had happened more than once in Rome; moreover, the work would prove exceedingly costly since a number of valuable houses would have to be demolished, and lastly, in view of the unfavourable economic situation, so heavy an expenditure might prove a pretext for an attack by foreigners.[1] Against this it was argued with good reason that the work would precisely relieve the adverse situation, since it would provide employment for a large number of men.[2] This view was shared by Alexander VII. and, of course, that settled the controversy. In conformity with the Pope's orders the Congregation of the Fabbrica resolved, on July 13th, 1656, to entrust the arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's to the experienced hands of Bernini.[3] Work was to begin on the left side; accordingly, on August 19th, 1656, the Congregation ordered the demolition of all the houses starting from the Palazzo del Priorato as far as the Campo Canto. It would seem[4] that at that time Bernini's project still conformed to a

[1] FRASCHETTI, 314. [2] See Chigi *MS.

[3] FRASCHETTI, 314.

[4] FRASCHETTI, 315, whose data are substantially supplemented by an *Avviso* of August 19, 1656, "*Si è resoluto mettersi di breve mano al gettito delle case contigue alla Penitentiaria nella piazza della Basilica Vaticana, cominciando dal Palazzo del Priorato sino a Campo Santo, per poi ambedoi le parti di essa piazza edificare con loggie coperte, appartamenti et altre commodità per li canonici, Penitentieri e tutto il corpo del Capitolo di S. Pietro con ogni magnificenza." (*Avvisi* 103, Papal Sec. Arch.

drawing preserved to this day, according to which, behind a two-storied portico, a palace corresponding to the Vatican, was to be erected on the left, for the purpose of housing the Canons and penitentiaries.[1] The work of demolition began in September.[2] A letter in the Pope's own hand, of December, 1656, ordered the purchase of more houses, all of which were to be demolished.[3] At a sitting of the Congregation on March 17th, 1657, at which seven Cardinals were present, Bernini submitted his whole plan,[4] the fruit of prolonged study and a great number of sketches. It was approved and Bernini's fees were likewise settled.[5] In June 1657, it was announced that the necessary funds were ready and that the work would begin the following week.[6] This proceeded with

[1] The drawings in the possession of the architect Busiri-Vici and first published by him in *La Piazza di S. Pietro in Vaticano nei secoli III., XIV. e XVIII.*, Roma, 1893, and subsequently by FRASCHETTI, 309, and RIEGL, *Baldinucci*, 174, are not even considered as copies after Bernini by VOSS (*Bernini*, 22, n. 2); he is exclusively for Bernini's authentic sketches in the Chigi Library.

[2] "*Si è cominciato a cavar su la piazza di S. Pietro vicino alli Tedeschi [Campo Santo] per veder se terrà il fondamento" (*Avviso* of September 29, 1656, *loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, an **Avviso* of September 8, 1656: "Il disegno de' portici da far a S. Pietro si è intorbidato, perchè il disegno non era del Bernini, al quale si crede habbi fatto far de' mali offittii."

[3] "*N.S. ha spedito chirografo per la compra e demolitione di molte case sopra la piazza di S. Pietro da fabricarvi attorno il disegnato teatro" (*Avviso* of December 23, 1656, *loc. cit.*).

[4] **Cod.* H. II., 22, Bibl. Chigi.

[5] Decree of the Congregation dated August 17, 1657, in FRASCHETTI, 315.

[6] **Avviso* of June 7, 1656: "Della prossima settimana ha ordinato il Papa doversi principiare la magnifica fabrica del già desegnato teatro sopra la piazza di S. Pietro, trovandosi per tale effetto all'ordine il contante necessario, come anche quello per l'accennato gettito delle case contigue alla chiesa della Rotonda per farvi isola in maggior decoro di quel tempio," Papal Sec. Arch. V. PRINZIVALLI, in the periodical *Catholicon*,

such speed[1] that already on August 28th the Pope was able to lay the foundation-stone of the colonnade.[2] The medals which were buried in the ground on the occasion bore the legend: *Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis*: the foundations thereof are in the holy mountains. (Ps. LXXXVI. [LXXXVII.], 1). The design on their face shows Bernini's plan for the forecourt which included a third portico destined to close the magnificent circle of the colonnade in front, at a spot where the approaching spectator beholds the whole overwhelming grandeur of the basilica of St. Peter's and its dome.[3]

In November, 1657, Alexander VII. inspected Bernini's model.[4] In the ensuing years the Pope followed the work with the intensest interest and inspected it several times, first in September, 1659,[5] and again in September[6] and December,

I. (1899), 6 *seqq.*, gives some unpublished "**Scritture* sulla controversia d'appalto dei lavori per i portici di S. Pietro fra il cav. Bernini e gli appaltori" which register in the form of a diary the differences that arose day by day and give valuations of the work of excavations and the construction of the foundations of the gigantic portico.

[1] **Avviso* of August 18, 1657, *loc. cit.*

[2] Besides the note of Giuseppe Cervini in FRASCHETTI, 315, see the **Avvisi* of August 31, 1657 (Tuesday) [August 28] "andò [the Pope] a S. Pietro e gettò la prima pietra nelli fondamenti con alcune medaglie d'oro, e poi entrò in chiesa e disse la messa bassa nel choro de' canonici"; and of September 1, 1657 ("**Tuesday the Pope inspected the new construction in 'Pace' and laid the foundation-stone for the *teatro*"), *Avvisi* 105, Papal Sec. Arch. MIGNANTI is mistaken when he says (II., 111) that the laying of the foundation-stone took place on the feast of the Assumption, 1660.

[3] Reproduction of the medal in FRASCHETTI, 306.

[4] *Avissi*, p. 9, *loc. cit.*

[5] See Franc. Gualengo's account in FRASCHETTI, 315.

[6] **Avviso* of September 11, 1660: "Venerdi il Papa visitò in S. Pietro la nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro, come anco dove si fabricano le statue da mettersi all'altare della cathedra di S. Pietro a capo di detta basilica, che sono di gran meraviglia, opera inventata dal celebre et famoso architetto sig. cav. Bernini," Papal Sec. Arch.

1660.[1] Although work was pushed on with the utmost ardour, the gigantic task could not be completed as quickly as the Pope wished, but that it would be a magnificent thing was clear even then.[2] When he inspected the work in June, 1661, Alexander VII. distributed gifts of money to the workmen.[3] In August he again went to see for himself the progress of the work on the foundations, which had now begun on the right hand side also.[4] In the first days of October he was there again.[5] These visits were repeated in March, June and September, 1662.[6] By the middle of November, 1662, he saw half the colonnade finished,[7] but it was only in November,

[1] **Avviso* of December 18, 1660: "Venerdi il Papa visitò la nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro attorno la piazza, che riesce di gran bellezza, tirandosi avanti con celerità." *Ibid.*

[2] See Card. D'Elce's letter of September 11, 1659, in OZZOLA, 13, and the **Avviso* of February 26, 1661. On Sunday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "fabrica di quel teatro intorno aquella piazza che riesce di tutta bellezza". Engravings of the *piazza* were soon in circulation; on September 6, 1659, two such were sent to the Inquisitor of Malta; see PICCOLOMINI, *Corrisp. tra la corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta*, Firenze, 1910, 36.

[3] Friday the Pope inspected the "fabrica del nuovo teatro e fece regalare quei operarii di buona somma di danari, tirandosi avanti con ogni sollecitudine." *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avviso* of August 20, 1661: On Tuesday the Pope examined the "nuovi fundamenti di quel teatro comminciati dall' altra parte" (*loc. cit.*). On the pagan sepulchres which were brought to light during the process of digging the foundations see GRISAR, *Gesch. Roms*, I., 219 *seq.*

[5] **Avviso* of October 8, 1661: On Friday the Pope inspected the "nuovo teatro" at St. Peter's, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avvisi* of March 11, 1662 (on Friday the Pope visited the "fabrica del teatro" of St. Peter's); of June 24, 1662 (on Monday the Pope inspected the work on the "nuovo teatro" and went into Bernini's house to see the statues he was making for him); of September 9, 1662 (on Monday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's, "nella fonderia le statue grandi di bronzo che vi si perfettionano da porre attorno la cathedra). *Ibid.*

[7] **Avviso* of November 18, 1662: On Monday the Pope inspected "quel teatro, la metà del quale è già compita. *Ibid.*

1665, that the end of the huge undertaking came within sight, though even a year later it was not quite completed.[1] April, 1666, saw the demolition of the last houses near the colonnade.[2] At the beginning of 1667 work was begun on the magnificent sloping flight of steps in place of those of Paul V., and the rising corridors which join the colonnade to St. Peter's. At the same time the foundations were laid for the second monumental fountain corresponding to that of Carlo Maderna.[3] About the middle of March 1667, the corridors were approaching completion.[4] Meanwhile, a whole band of sculptors, under Bernini's direction, was at work on the statues of Saints, five metres high and 96 in number, with which it was intended to crown the balustrade of the colonnade.[5]

The arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's is Bernini's greatest architectural work.[6] With his colonnade he has produced a piazza which "by reason of the grandeur of its conception, its spaciousness and finely calculated exploitation of perspective, was equal to the highest demands".[7] A more

[1] **Avviso* of October 9, 1666: On Wednesday the Pope inspected the work on the "teatro che si va terminando". *Ibid.*

[2] **Avviso* of April 17, 1666: "Essendo hormai perfettionato il teatro di S. Pietro, si demoliscono li palazzi e case, che restono fra mezzo di esso." *Ibid.*

[3] **Avviso* of January 22, 1667: In front of St. Peter's, "si è dato principio a fare la nuova scalinata, et al braccio che unisce il teatro col portico, com'anco al fondamento della fontana, simile all'altra di qua e di là della guglia." *Ibid.*

[4] **Avviso* of March 19, 1667: "Si termina il braccio, che unisce il teatro col portico di S. Pietro, col dimolirsi il palazzo del Priorato et altri, per fare la poca parte di mezzo, che manca per terminarlo." *Ibid.*

[5] According to Sandrart Bernini himself made the models for 22 statues. Considerations of style lead to the conclusion that a number of statues were at least sketched by Bernini, Voss, *Bernini*, 25.

[6] TH. HOFFMANN, *Entstehungsgeschichte des St. Peter in Rom* (1928), 294 *seq.*

[7] WEISBACH, *Stadtbaukunst in Terza Roma*, in *Preuss. Jahrbüchern*, CLVII. (1914), 83.

beautiful and worthy forecourt for a church of world-wide importance it is hard to imagine. Bernini gave it the form of an ellipse to which is joined a quadrilateral widening out in the direction of the basilica. This quadrilateral is framed by rectilinear, closed-in corridors leading to the portico of St. Peter's, and on the right hand side form the entrance to the Vatican. Their oblique shape widens the space and the inclination given to them and to their entablature by Bernini, softens the impression of excessive breadth of the façade of the basilica, pushes it back, as it were, and so makes it appear loftier.

The colonnade is linked to the corridors: it consists of two imposing porticos, open and semi-circular and formed by four rows of Doric columns which thicken outwardly. These 284 travertine columns, 15 feet high, are divided into groups by 88 pilasters bearing a plain, strong entablature and the attica above it with its statues. The colonnade forms three corridors, of which the middle one is vaulted and wide enough to allow the simultaneous passage of two carriages. Their practical purpose, that of sheltering the pilgrims to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles from the heat of the sun and the rain, had already been present in the mind of Nicholas V. when he planned three approaches to St. Peter's.[1] A plan in Bernini's own hand now in the British Museum, states this practical purpose in some explanatory notes [2]; it is likewise pointed out in an inscription which Alexander VII. put up at the eastern entrance to the central corridor.[3]

Besides the practical purpose, which was particularly realized at the great procession of Corpus Christi,[4] Alexander VII. and Bernini had also an aesthetic one. When the Pope asked the master how it would be possible to increase the effect of height of St. Peter's, which was inadequate by comparison with its breadth, Bernini suggested the addition of wings of lesser height which would cause the façade to seem loftier

[1] See our data, II., 173 *seq.* [2] Voss, *Bernini*, 23 *seq.*

[3] "In umbraculum diei ab aestu, in securitatem a turbine et a pluvia" (Bonanni, 158; Martinelli, II, 112).

[4] Pallavicino, II., 181 *seq.*

than it is. He explained his idea by means of a comparison: the wings of the colonnade would add to the impression of height of the façade because they would be in the same relation to it as the arms are to the trunk.[1] As a matter of fact, the wings of the colonnade stretch out, as it were, two gigantic arms towards the approaching pilgrims, as if to invite them to worship God at the tomb of the first Pope. Two inscriptions put up by Alexander VII. express this thought in words taken from the psalms and the prophets: *Venite, procidamus ante Dominum in templo sancto ejus et nomen Domini invocemus* [Come, let us prostrate ourselves before the Lord in His holy temple and let us call upon the name of the Lord], says the first inscription, whilst the other is thus worded: *Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini, adoremus in templo sancto ejus* [Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, let us worship in His holy temple].[2]

The merits of the incomparable portico which St. Peter's owes to Alexander VII. are thus extolled by one of Bernini's contemporaries: "The beautiful panorama of the piazza makes a most satisfying impression, as would not be the case if, in keeping with the sketches of some architects, the forecourt were rectangular, thereby constituting a peristyle, as Vitruvius would say. In the present arrangement the inward curves of the colonnade form, as it were, niches adorned with fountains. If, standing in one of these curves, and slightly in front of the great middle line, one looks in the direction of Monte Aureo, the effect is amazing. The obelisk rises in front of the spectator and on either side of it the two

[1] CHANTELOU, *Tagebuch über die Reise des Cavaliere Bernini nach Frankreich*, edit. by ROSE, Munich, 1919, 36, 49; also PANOFSKY in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 269, and VOSS, *ibid.*, XLIV, 20. *Cf.* also FREY, *Barockarchitektur*, 105.

[2] MARTINELLI, II., 112. In a MS. of the Bibl. Chigi (H. II., 22) we read: "Essendo la chiesa di S. Pietro quasi matrice di tutte le altre doveva haver un portico che per l'appunto dimostrasse di ricevere a braccia aperte maternamente i cattolici per confermarli nella credenza, l'heretici per riunirli alla Chiesa, e gl'infedeli per illuminarli alla vera fede."

roaring fountains throw shimmering masses of water towards the sky. Their mighty sound, as they fall back, together with the green of the gardens which is glimpsed between the columns, thrills the spectator and brings home to him the wonder of this spacious and magnificent panorama. And though each particular feature is magnificent, all of them are but the setting of the supreme, mighty temple." [1]

With good reason a modern scholar describes the arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's as Alexander VII.'s just claim to undying fame. Whereas until then the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles had been hidden away and hemmed in, with only a small piazza crushed by the great mass of the church, it was now given sufficient space to make it stand out as the chief shrine of the Catholic world, not only in the eyes of art lovers, but also in those of pilgrims.[2] Bernini's forecourt, an architectural masterpiece of supreme stateliness and immense simplicity, is able to stand comparison with the highest achievements of antiquity, such as, for instance, those of Palmyra.[3] We see here a triumph of spirit over matter no less admirable in its way than Michelangelo's dome.[4]

[1] Carlo Fontana, *Il tempio Vaticano*, Roma, 1694, 183 *seq.*, 228, transl. by Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument*, 72 *seq.* A Latin poem on the piazza of St. Peter's in honour of Alexander VII., in Forcella, I., 95.

[2] Escher, 27. Cicognara has said that for a just distribution of Bernini's triumph among his three great works for St. Peter's, viz. the baldacchino, the chair and the colonnade, one must bear in mind that by the first and second he won the applause of his contemporaries and by the last the admiration of posterity (*Storia della scultura*, VI., 143). Briggs (*Barockarchitektur*, 35) and Reymond (115 *seq.*) concur in this opinion.

[3] Brinckmann, *loc. cit.*, 66. In his *Stadtbaukunst* (Berlin, 1920, 57), Brinckmann speaks of the Piazza of St. Peter's as the most important architectural square of the world, and elsewhere (p. 103), he says that this square, though it is not even completed, would always remain the most important event in urban architecture.

[4] Opinion of Rose (*Spätbarock*, 88). The gigantic dimensions are not easily realized. Briggs (*loc. cit.*) gives the following

Both are unparalleled in the world; they show forth the soul of the universal Church, her unique greatness, her sublime beauty, her admirable harmony and her unity.

At the same time as the colonnade there came into being another and no less stupendous work which forms, as it were, "the coping stone, crowning the architectural lay-out of the entire complex of the basilica." [1] This was the placing of the Chair of the Prince of the Apostles in the choir of St. Peter's, which had not possessed until then any distinctive adornment. A sepulchre of a Pope in the choir of the church, between the two that were already there, would have been out of place; only a personal memorial of the Prince of Apostles could have occupied this place of honour in the basilica dedicated to St. Peter. In view of the fact that his tomb was beneath the dome, Alexander VII. enriched the choir of the church with another most venerable relic of St. Peter, his episcopal chair. This greatly venerated relic was originally a perfectly plain oak chair; in the ninth century its front and back had been decorated with antique ivory tablets, and by adding rings through which staves could be passed, it was altered into a *sedia gestatoria*. In this state it had already occupied a place of honour in old St. Peter's, where it stood in Pope Damasus's baptistry. We know from unimpeachable evidence that already in the third century this *Cathedra Petri* was looked upon as the token and symbol of apostolic succession and authoritative teaching, and that it was the object of a special

measurements: from the portico of the basilica to the west side of the ellipse 240 m., principal axis of the ellipse, 190 m., total area 34,000 sq. m. (BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 67).

[1] The chronological sequel already stressed by BALDINUCCI (edit. RIEGL, 178 *seq.*) is supplemented by H. VOSS. "The widening of the space before the entrance of the basilica," he writes (*Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 26 *seq.*), "but more particularly the enormous lengthening and emphasizing of the great axis of the whole, created the unavoidable necessity of fixing as forcibly as possible the focal point in which the gathered rhythmic energies discharge themselves. This was the real architectural task of the Cattedra di S. Pietro."

feast observed on February 22nd. In the course of the Middle Ages we find particular reference to the *cathedra* in the accounts of papal enthronizations and in liturgical books. It was the object of similar veneration in Christian antiquity and for a long time it used to be solemnly carried, on February 22nd of each year, to the high altar of St. Peter's where the Pope sat in it.[1] Urban VIII. had placed it in the new baptistry [2] and had it decorated,[3] and Innocent X. had it enclosed in a new bronze reliquary.[4] In March 1657, Alexander VII. decided to place it in the apse of the choir, between the monuments of Paul III. and Urban VIII.[5] The erection of the structure which was to enshrine it was entrusted by the Pope to Bernini; the Pontiff also provided the necessary funds.[6] The master's fee was at first fixed at 150 scudi a month; later on it was raised to 200.[7]

Bernini sketched a small model from which his pupils executed a larger one.[8] Alexander VII.'s keen interest in the work appears from the fact that he inspected it repeatedly,

[1] De Ross (*Bull. d. arch. crist.* V. [1867], 33 *seq.*), who examined the relic in 1867, shows that the oak chair goes back into the remotest time whilst the decorations belong to a later period. *Cf.* Kraus, *Roma sotterranea* [2], Freiburg, 1879, 568 *seq.*; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéol. et de Liturgie*, III., 1, 40–47; *Freib. Kirchenlex*, II.[2], 262.

[2] Baglione, *Vite*, 179, 379.

[3] See orders for payment in Fraschetti, 331.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] A letter of March 16, 1657, says: "Dove sono le due sepulture di Paolo III. et Urbano VIII. in mezzo vi si porrà la Catedra" (*Avvisi* 105, Papal Sec. Arch.). *Ibid.*, an **Avviso* of March 17, 1657: "D'ordine della S. di N. S. è stata levata dalla capella del battesimo, dove da molto tempo in quà si trovava posta, nella basilica Vaticana, la cathedra dell'apostolo S. Pietro, e trasportata con ornamento più decente nella tribuna in faccia l'altare de' SS. Apostoli." On the Cathedra, 1657, see *Kunstgeschichtl. Mitteilungen*, 1906, 96.

[6] See p. 301, n. 8.

[7] Bernini received 8,000 scudi in all; Fraschetti, 332.

[8] *Ibid.*

viz. in September 1658,[1] in September[2] and October[3] 1659, and again in September 1660,[4] and towards the end of September 1661.[5] In June 1662 and 1663, he repaired to Bernini's studio for the purpose of inspecting the statues of the four Doctors of the Church who were to support the Cathedra.[6] In view of the admiration which Bernini's model called forth, particularly from the Pope, no great importance was attached to the cost. In view of the fact that more bronze was required than even for the baldacchino of the cupola, viz. 191,383 pounds,[7] the cost amounted to 100,000 scudi.[8] The casting was directed by Giovanni Artusi da Piscina[9] and was only completed in 1665. Carlo Mattei superintended the gilding.[10] The Pope went several times to the foundry

[1] See Fr. Gualengo's letter of September 18, 1658, *ibid.*, 333.

[2] See the letter of Fr. Gualengo of September 13, 1659, in OZZOLA, 10.

[3] See **Avviso* of October 4, 1659; on Monday the Pope inspected the "sontuoso altare che si fa fabricare al capo d'essa (chiesa) per collocarvi la Cathedra d'esso glorioso apostolo, et doppo dati gl'ordini necessarii per la continuatione della fabrica del gran teatro attorno la piazza della medesima restò a desinare in quel palazzo."

[4] See **Avviso* of September 11, 1660: On Friday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro, come anco dove si fabricano le statue da mettersi all'altare della Cathedra di S. Pietro a capo di detta basilica che sono di gran meraviglia, opera inventata dal celebre et famoso architetto il cav. Bernini." *Ibid.*

[5] See Muzzarelli's letter of October 7, 1661, in FRASCHETTI, 333.

[6] See the **Avviso* of June 24, 1662: On Monday the Pope inspected the work on the "nuovo teatro" and went into Bernini's house to see the statues on which he was at work. The same information is contained in an **Avviso* of June 9, 1663, on a visit on Tuesday, *loc. cit.*

[7] FRASCHETTI, 333.

[8] FRASCHETTI (333) gives 82,000, *Cod.*, Chigi H. 140, p. 136. 100,000 scudi.

[9] *Ibid.*, 332.

[10] *Ibid.*, 333.

and subsequently to St. Peter's, in order to inspect the work.[1]

On January 18th, 1666, feast of St. Peter's Chair,[2] the venerable episcopal chair was carried by the Canons of St. Peter's into the choir of the basilica where it was enclosed in Bernini's structure.[3]

The voices that condemned this colossal reliquary of the *cathedra Petri* as sharply as they had condemned the baldacchino under the dome,[4] have been silenced long ago. The most recent critique has done full justice to this achievement and acknowledged that Bernini carried out his task in a way than which none more magnificent and imposing could have been imagined.[5] Only his third sketch satisfied him[6]; it

[1] See the **Avviso* of September 9, 1662 (On Monday the Pope inspected in St. Peter's "due statue di bronzo delle quattro che S. B. fa fare con spesa grandissima, rappresentanti li quattro dottori di s. Chiesa, con altri ornamenti dell'altare, che si farà in quella tribuna, ove si esporrà la Cathedra"). On September 22, 1663 (On Monday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "Cathedra di S. Pietro in Antiochia e statue di bronzo, che si vanno indorando"), *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XIV., 242.

[3] The ceremony took place not in 1665, as stated by BENKARD (30), but a year later; see **Avviso* of January 23, 1667, *loc. cit.*

[4] BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone*, 228, 469 *seq.*, who styles it "the Master's coarsest work, a mere decoration and improvisation," an opinion which BENKARD (41) condemns as "Protestant prejudice". In like manner GURLITT (417): "Bernini's worst work." RIEGL, in his edition of Baldinucci also speaks in depreciating terms (p. 179).

[5] Voss in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 26. MUÑOZ describes the *Cattedra di S. Pietro* as "la più bella decorazione absidale che un tempio cristiano abbia avuto mai" (*Roma barocca*, 355). See also BÖHN, 88 *seq.*, and BENKARD, 30 *seq.*, with whose excellent appreciations I associate myself.

[6] The first sketch in a drawing at Windsor (Voss in *Archiv. für Kunstgeschichte*, II., fasc. 2–4), the second in METZ, *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings*, both side by side in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 27. Bernini's *bozzetto* for the Chair in the collection of Prince Chigi, *cf.* FRASCHETTI, 331.

alone gave prominence to the precious relic and caught the eye of the worshipper from the moment he entered by the great door, allowed for the baldacchino of the dome and the two monuments of Popes in the choir, and adapted itself not only to the gigantic proportions but, in the measure in which this was possible, to the given architectural setting.[1] Thus a work arose which belongs to "the most highly imaginative and supra-terrestrial achievements of Western art.".[2]

The base of the gigantic, multi-coloured masterpiece, constructed of precious marbles and adorned with the arms of Alexander VII., leans against the wall of the choir and from there soars freely upwards. White-spotted black marble forms the first storey of the base, and brilliant red and yellow-flaked jasper the second. Above this, surrounded by clouds of pale gold, is seen floating the magnificent chair [3] of dark bronze adorned with resplendent gold ornamentation, within which the precious relic is preserved. Two magnificent figures of angels stand on either side, whilst above the back of the chair, which bears a relief of the scene when Christ said to Peter: "Feed my lambs," [4] two winged genii appear in the air bearing the tiara and Peter's keys. The chair is surrounded by the gigantic figures of four Fathers of the Church, each statue being over five metres in height: they are those of two Latins, viz. Augustine and Gregory, and two Greeks, Athanasius and Chrysostom, just as at the Pope's Mass the Gospel is heard in Latin and Greek. "Only the heads

[1] Voss, *loc. cit.*, 27 *seq.*

[2] Benkard, 31. *Cf.* Reymond's opinion (120 *seq.*).

[3] Reymond says of the chair: "D'un très beau dessin architectural, elle est malgré ses dimensions colossales, traitée comme un délicieux bijou d'orfèvrerie; elle est charmante par ses formes courbes, par le gras bas-relief qui orne le dossier, par cette grille du siège faite pour laisser entrevoir la relique qu'elle recouvre, par toutes ses ciselures qui la décorent."

[4] For an appreciation of this bas-relief, which Fraschetti describes as *brutto* (334), see Benkard, 33.

and hands of the figures show the natural colour of bronze, the drapery and mitres being resplendent with gold." [1]

These figures, distinguished by great dignity and gravity,[2] do not give the impression of carrying or supporting the chair which must be imagined as floating in the air. In order to create an illusion that "here a supernatural element enters into a space created by the hand of man, doing away with its laws of weight and gravitation", Bernini calmly preserves the given architectural disposition of the choir apse; in this way the dark *cathedra* stands out even more strongly against its white background and heightens the impression that the Apostle's chair is floating in space.[3]

The luminous clouds round the chair, from which golden rays break forth on either side, are intimately linked to the second main element of the structure, with what has been called the "miracle in the heights". There, in the midst of the luminous effect which is further heightened by means of a sheet of coloured glass, the Holy Ghost is seen in the form of a dove, as the mediator between heaven and earth, surrounded by bands of exulting Angels. From this spot, where "by a stroke of genius, the window of the choir is drawn into the composition", a flood of unearthly light spreads in a downward direction unto Peter's chair.[4]

[1] BENKARD, *ibid.*

[2] It is incomprehensible that RIEGL (*Baldinucci*, 179) and later on FRASCHETTI (333 *seq.*) should say that the Fathers of the Church" are in an extremely agitated state". Let anyone study the reproduction of "St. Augustine" in BENKARD, ill. 53. The *bozzetto* of St. Gregory the Great is in the possession of L. Pollak in Rome; see BRINCKMANN, *Barock Bozzetti italienischer Bildhauer*, Frankfurt, 1923, 100.

[3] BENKARD, 33.

[4] BÖHN, 88. *Cf. Baldinucci*, edit. RIEGL, 240. "Jamais l'hymne de la lumière n'a été chanté avec une telle ivresse" (REYMOND, 120). IOS. MARIAE SUARESII, **Racematio circa cathedram S. Petri apost. principis S° D° N° Alexandro VII. P. M.*, in *Cod. Barb.*, XXXVIII., 69, Vat. Lib., HONORATI FABII, **Extemporanea gratulatio de collocatione cathedrae s. Petri in throno gloriae per Alexandrum VII.*, in *Cod.* D. VII., 110,

Like Raphael's *Disputa*, Bernini's chair can only be fully understood if viewed in the full light of the Catholic faith.[1] A mystical enchantment issues from this "ecstasy of light and gold" of baroque art[2]; the full effect is particularly felt in the play of sunlight at the time of the evening "Angelus"[3]; when seen lit up by electricity, the impression is one that can never be forgotten. Bernini's colossal creation proclaims in its own way the same message as that of the gigantic letters of the luminous inscription of the dome; the message of the papacy's charter of foundation: 'Thou art Peter, the undying shepherd and Teacher of the Church into whose hands the Son of God has entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the Rock on which Christ built his Church.' Here, as there, a profession of loyalty to the pastoral and teaching authority of Peter and his successors, founded by Christ upon an unshakeable rock which throughout the vicissitudes of all the centuries no storm can shake, no power, not even that of the Gates of Hell, can overcome.

To have opened the way for the final completion of St. Peter's and its adornment would, by itself alone, have shed sufficient lustre upon any pontificate. However, with all his solicitude for this centre of the whole Catholic world, Alexander VII. did not overlook the other churches of the Eternal City. Almost all over Rome we find traces of his zeal for restoration and embellishment. His predecessor had begun work on the restoration of the ancient church of the Lateran.[4] In 1663, Alexander VII. reconditioned the mosaics of the apse. Already in 1660 he had had the antique bronze doors of S. Adriano transferred to the Lateran, after enlarging them.[5] Provision

Bibl. Chigi; O. FALCONERIUS, *De Petri cathedra ab Alexandro VII. in Vaticanae basilicae apside collocata*, Romae, 1666.

[1] BENKARD (32 *seq.*) first drew attention to this. *Cf.* DVORAK, *Gesch. der ital. Kunst.*, München, 1928, 209 *seq.*

[2] ESCHER, 28.

[3] TH. HOFMANN, *Entstehungsgesch. des St. Peter in Rom.*, Zittau, 1928, 287.

[4] See Vol. XXX., 387.

[5] ORTOLANI, *S. Giov. in Laterano*, 36, 46; CRESCIMBENE,

had been made there for the addition of four small chapels to the outer lateral aisles; the greater part of the plan was carried out during Alexander VII.'s pontificate.[1] At this time also, several churches in honour of the Mother of God were built in Rome, with the active co-operation of the Pope. S. Maria in Campitelli was rebuilt from its foundations. After the plague had abated in Rome in 1656,[2] the Senate resolved, in the name of the Roman people, to erect a new church for the picture of S. Maria in Portico, in the Rione di Ripa, and for this it craved the Pope's permission on November 29th. Alexander VII. personally inspected the site and finding it unsuitable gave orders for alterations to S. Maria in Campitelli in the Piazza Capizucchi, which would make of it a new church. On January 23rd, 1660, he deposited the sum of 15,000 scudi in the bank of Pietro and Filippo Neri; on March 7th the demolition of houses was begun for the purpose of obtaining the required space for the new structure, and on September 29th, the first stone was laid. Work proceeded round the old church which was allowed to stand for a time: "Nothing may be undertaken in honour of the Mother of God unless it be something great," Alexander VII. one day observed in connexion with the preparations for the new church which was only completed under Clement X.[3]

Stato della chiese Lateranense, Roma, 1723, 68, 92, 116, 143, 147; LETAROUILLY, 477; LAUER, 334; KEYSSLER, I., 686; FORCELLA, I., 245, VIII., 65; Brief of December 18, 1657, in *Bull.*, XVI., 332; *Brief of May 10, 1660, in *Cod. Vat.* 9313, f. 414, Vat. Lib. On the bronze doors, see LANCIANI, *Wanderings through Ancient Rome* (1924), 2121; HÜLSEN, *Forum*, 110.

[1] HEMPEL, *Borromini*, 108.

[2] See p. 33 *seq.*

[3] HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 36 *seqq.*; GURLITT, 394; PASCOLI, I., 308; FORCELLA, IX., 93. *Cf.* the Senate's decision of May 13, 1658: "Li conservatori e priori furono ai piedi di S. B. e gli portarono i disegni e pianta della chiesa da farsi in Santa Maria in Campitelli, e li disegni e piante per la ristaurazione delle mura di Roma incominciate già a ristaurarsi, come anche

Two other churches, S. Maria di Monte Santo and S. Maria de'Miracoli, were likewise to constitute a further embellishment of the Piazza del Popolo. In the north of Rome the Monte Pincio has its base so near to the Tiber as to allow of only a narrow entrance into the Eternal City. The Porta del Popolo stands there, together with an adjoining piazza of the same name; three rectilinear streets also meet here in a sharp angle. The two churches within these angles were to serve as two lateral pilasters of a majestic gateway into the city of the Popes. The work was entrusted to Carlo Rainaldi, who was eventually succeeded by Bernini; however, S. Maria di Monte Santo was only completed in 1675 and S. Maria de'Miracoli in 1679.[1] By order of the Pope another church of our Lady, that of S. Maria in Via Lata, was given a new façade between 1658–1662 by Bonomini; this church had received a porch in 1661.[2] Alexander VII. is likewise entitled to the honour of having completed the church of the Roman University, dedicated to St. Yves, Bonomini's most daring and original work. November 13th, 1660, saw the consecration of this sacred edifice resplendent with gold and rich colouring and flooded with streams of light. On the following day, after the consecration of the altar, Alexander VII. came to celebrate Mass. The retable of the altar, the work of Pietro da Cortona, represents St. Yves, the holy lawyer, Leo the Great, the holy theologian, Pantaleon, the holy physician, together with other Saints connected with learning. The inscription put up in the church: *Initium sapientiae timor Domini* [the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom] and the legend of the medal struck for the occasion: *Omnis*

dello stato nel quale si trova la sepultura di Caio Cestio" (*Cod. Chig.* G. III., 78, p. 224*b*.

[1] HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 47 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, 518. For a letter of Rainaldi to the future Cardinal Gastaldi on the building and on the medal of Alexander VII. which was placed in the foundations of S. Maria di Monte Santo, see GIOV. INCISA DELLA ROCCHETTA in *Il Messagero* of April 9, 1926.

[2] THIEME, VII., 495; FORCELLA, VIII., 403; MUÑOZ, *Cortona*, 12; ESCHER, 29.

sapientia a Domino [all wisdom is from the Lord], secured the name of "Sapienza" for the University.[1] The Pope made himself particularly popular with the people of Rome when he completed the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, the façade of which was finished as a result of his co-operation.[2] The restorations in the Pantheon were confined to the east side of the pronaos where two columns were erected.[3] In a number of other Roman churches the arms of the Chigi Pope attest that they owe some improvement or other to his liberality; thus the seven hills surmounted by a star are seen in S. Giovanni in Fonte and in the church of the Crociferi.

The restoration and completion of the churches went hand in hand with the widening and laying out of the piazzas in front of, and the streets leading up to, them. Thus the piazza

[1] *Cf. Opere del cav. Borromini*: *La chiesa e fabrica della Sapienza di Roma con le vedute in prospettiva, pianta*, etc., Roma, 1720; N. Ratti, *Notizie della chiesa interna dell' Archiginnasio Romano*, Roma, 1833; Pollak, in *Jahrb. der Wiener Zentralkommission*, 1911. The church, which had been secularized in 1870, was restored to its original purpose by Professor Fedele, minister for public worship in Mussolini's Cabinet, on the proposal of Gilberto Martire and P. Giovanni Genocchi. On this occasion the periodical *Italia sacra* published a special number with valuable contributions by A. Muñoz, Alessandro Canezza and Paolo Romano (*cf. Corriere d'Italia*, of January 21, March 5 and 21, 1926). The *ceremonial for Alexander VII.'s visit, arranged on November 7, 1660, is in *Cod.* H. III., 62, p. 15, of the Bibl. Chigi, where (p. 158) there are also the accounts for the *Fabrica della Sapienza.*

[2] Hempel, *Rainaldi*, 54; A. Boni, *S. Andre della Valle*, Roma, 1907; Moschini in *L'Arte*, 1921, 194; Pallavicino, I., 281.

[3] Fraschetti, 299. Memorial on the embellishment of the Pantheon by Cipriano Cipriani in the accounts of the transactions of the *Kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXXVII. (1885), 124 *seqq.* Del Pantheon il maestro (Bernini) era ammiratore appassionato e ne studiò la cupola per le sue chiese di Sant'Andrea e di Ariccia, e diceva che la Basilica di San Pietro ha cento difetti e la Rotonda neppur uno (Muñoz, *Bernini*, 27).

before S. Maria della Pace was widened and embellished by Alexander VII.[1] Inscriptions show that the same was done for the Chiesa Nuova and the Chiesa di Monte Giordano as well as for S. Carlo ai Catinari.[2] In 1659 the Pope ordered the Jesuits to buy the Salviati palace and to demolish as much of it as was required for the purpose of giving a more symmetrical appearance to the piazza in front of the Roman College.[3] In like manner a few streets of the city were improved by order of the Pope. Thus the Corso was levelled and widened here and there; the street leading from S. Marco to the Gesù, and the street which started at the Porta Portese, were widened in the same way.[4] The Pope also interested himself in the restoration and embellishment of the fountains which provided Rome with water, viz. the fountains in the Piazza Colonna, on the Capitol,[5] in Trastevere, in the Piazza Navona, the Fontana delle Tartarughe.[6] In 1667 the fountain of the Vatican was transferred to the hospital of S. Spirito.[7] To

[1] See p. 283. *Motu proprio " di Alessandro VII. sull'allargamento delle piazze e vie di Roma dato del Nostro Palazzo Apost. di Monte Cavallo," *Cod. Chig.* H. III., 57, p. 159 *seq.* *Ibid.*, N. III., 80, p. 3, a *description of the embellishment of Rome.

[2] OZZOLA, 36 *seq.*; ESCHER, 29.

[3] E. RINALDI, Fondazione, 122. A *letter of Pallavicino to the Pope, dated December 8, 1660, probably refers to this: he prays for an audience for "il P. Giattino col modello della facciata della piazza e di quanto occorre, acciochè la S. V. possa ben giudicare, in qual modo debba riuscir meglio l'ingresso della porta maggiore dello stesso collegio, avanti che si ponga mano all'opera".

[4] OZZOLA, 37 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 34 *seq.*

[6] Orders for payments of 1659 and 1660, *ibid.*, 35. *Cf.* FEA, *Storia delle acque*, Roma, 1832, 32, 46, 148, 327, 330; GUIDI, *Le fontane barocche di Roma*, Zurigo, 1917, 47; FALDA, *Fontane di Roma*, 32. On the *Fontana delle Tartarughe* we read the old inscription: "Alexander VII. a. IV°. restauravit ornavitque." On Bernini's fountain in the Piazza Navona, see XXX., p. 403. *seqq.*; *Kunstchronik*, XIX. (1907), 179.

[7] OZZOLA, 32.

this must be added repairs to the bridges of S. Angelo and Quattro Capi, the Pyramid of Cestius and the walls of Rome.[1]

The solicitude which Alexander VII. lavished on Rome's great basilicas, St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Pantheon, he also extended to the great palaces. The Vatican was connected with St. Peter's by means of a magnificent staircase, the *Scala Regia*; Bernini also further adorned the *Scala Ducale*.[2] The Quirinal, which had already been embellished with the frescoes of Pietro da Cortona,[3] was enlarged by the addition of a new wing for the purpose of accommodating the papal household.[4] A new mint was also built,[5] the University secured a worthier seat,[6] the lateral façade of the palace of Propaganda was given its definite form in 1662 [7] and the façade at the back of the hospital of S. Spirito, facing the Lungara, was completed in 1664.[8]

Thus nearly all the more important institutions of Rome benefited by Alexander VII.'s munificent liberality, and if he employed the architects he also gave work to the painters. A whole band of the latter was engaged in the decoration of the great gallery of the Quirinal, the Pope's favourite residence.[9] Pietro de Cortona was in charge of the execution

[1] Ozzola, 36. *Cf.* the inscription: "Urbis moenia a porta Pinciana ad Flaminiam usque restaurata a-s., 1661, *ibid.*, *Cf.* also above, p. 306, n. 3.

[2] Fraschetti, 324; Letarouilly-Simil, II., 22; Escher, 28; Moroni, IX., 153; Reymond, 142 *seq.*; Taja, 196; Ferrari, *Stucco*, 81.

[3] See above, p. 283.

[4] Novaes, X.: *Alessandro*, VII., n. 77; Fraschetti, 297.

[5] Ciaconius, IV., 726.

[6] See above, p. 272 *seq.*

[7] Hempel, *Borromini*, 160 *seqq.*; Gurlitt, *Barock*, 362; Weisbach, 29. In the Archives of Propaganda (*Fabrica*, 1663, p. 354, 1659–1660) payment to "Gius. Paglia Domenicano aintante architetto della fabrica del Collegio Urbano de prop. fide."

[8] Fraschetti, 297; Forcella, VI., 441.

[9] The question arose at this time whether it would not be better for the Pope to reside at the Vatican; *cf.* "Scritture contrarie

of the frescoes which represented scenes from the Old and New Testament,[1] but there was hardly a painter in Rome who was not given a share in this work, and besides the Italians Pier Francesco Mola, Ciro Ferri, Lazzaro Baldi, Guglielmo Cortese (Borgognone), Carlo Maratta, Giovanni Francesco Bolognese, the names of some foreigners likewise appear, such as those of Gaspard Poussin and the two brothers, John Paul and Aegidius Schor of Innsbruck.[2]

All over Rome one encounters the arms of the Chigi Pope, or some inscription perpetuating his work.[3] His example prompted more than one Cardinal to contribute to the

del card. Sf. Pallavicino e del M. Luca Olstenio, sulla questione nata a tempo di Alessandro VII., se al Pontefice più convenga di abitare a San Pietro che in qualsivoglia altro luogo della città." Roma, 1776. *Cf.* FORCELLA, I., 112.

[1] MUÑOZ (*Pietro da Cortona*, 16) says of him : " Tra il Bernini animatore di masse poderose e il Borromini cesellatore di fini gioielli, Pietro da Cortona è l'artista che seppe equilibrare in opere perfette le due opposte tendenze dell'architettura barocca."

[2] The frescoes of 1660 are for the most part hidden since 1870. *Cf.* PASCOLI, *Vite*, I., 138, 150 ; BELLORI, *Vite*, III., 148 ; NOACK, *Deutsches Leben in Rom*, 11 ; On the two Schors *cf.* also OZZOLA in *Corriere d'Italia* of March 31, 1908 ; BENEDETTI, *Palazzi Reali*, I. (1911), 52 *seq.* Salv. Rosa also painted in the Quirinal for Alexander VII. ; see OZZOLA, *Vita ed opere di S. Rosa* (1908), 133 *seq.* Sacchi also did some work for the Pope ; see POSSE, *Sacchi*, 111. On Salv. Rosa's dwelling in Rome : NEM in *N. Antologia*, May 1, 1909, and PERRONE DI MARTINO, **Memor. in Biblioteca Hertziana* ; on his landscapes, WOERMANN, I., 200.

[3] A number of such reminders of the Chigi Pope in OZZOLA, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXI., 1 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Cod.* I., VI., 205, pp. 269–505, *Bibl.* Chigi. Outside Rome also we encounter traces of Alexander VII.'s restoring activity, as at Orvieto (inscription in PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, *Guida*, 236), at the " Rocca " of Nettuno and that of Città Castellana (arms of the Pope), on the bridge of S. Gennaro (TOMASETTI, II., 297). On the Torre Alessandrina at Fiumicino, 1662, see GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 495 ; on the hospital at Civitavecchia, *id.*, *Squadra*, 40. There is an inscription of Alexander VII. on the arsenal there.

embellishment of Rome,[1] in fact so many new palaces and churches arose by degrees that the custom of describing Rome of the baroque period as " new " or " modern " Rome, gradually established itself.[2] Alexander VII. ordered a model of his capital to be made in wood,[3] to enable him to see

[1] The Cappella S. Giovanni in Oleo restored in 1658 by Card. Franc. Paolucci (HEMPEL, *loc. cit.*, 182), the Cappella Spada in S. Girolamo della Carità 1660 (*ibid.*). In S. Isidoro the chapel of the Immaculate Conception was decorated by Lopez de Silva, Knight of St. James, with the co-operation of Bernini, see FRASCHETTI, 300. To this period belongs the foundation of the French Academy in Rome, 1666 ; *cf.* MORONI, I., 557 ; FRANCHI-VERNEY, *L'Acad. de France à Rome*, 1666–1903, Turin, 1903 ; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1872 ; LAPAUZE, *Hist. de l'Acad. de France à Rome*, Paris, 1924 ; *id.*, *La première liste des pensionnaires de l'Acad. de France à Rome* (1668), *et le premier logis de l'Acad.*, in *Bullet. de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1912, 53.

[2] CHLEDOWSKI, II., 275 ; G. J. ROSSI, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edifici in prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Roma, 1665. Descriptions of contemporary Rome : NIC. DE BRALION (Oratorian), *Les curiosités de l'une et de l'autre Rome* (with many details on the Catacombs), Paris, 1655 ; a French description of 1662 ; PICOT, *Bibl. von Rothschild*, III., 228 ; ALVERI, *Roma* (1664), 39 (Piazza del Popolo), 108 (Bridge S. Angelo) ; T. ASHBY, Lievin Cruyl e le sue vedute di Roma, 1664–1670, in *Atti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di archeol.*, Mem. 3, series I., Roma, 1923–4 ; CHRIST. VON EISSLINGEN, *Breviarium itineris Italiae*, Norimberg, 1664 ; CORNELIUS POELENBURG (*ob.* 1667), sketches in the Uffizi, Florence. On Rome in 1667 *cf. Arch. des miss. scientifiques*, 2 series, IV., 95.

[3] " Il Papa ha tutta Roma di legname in camera distintissima e curiosissima, come quello che non ha maggior sfera che di abellire la città " (F. RAGGI, quoted in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 676). The Chigi Library in Rome (H. II., 22, p. 223) still preserves a *note in Alexander VII.'s own hand on his plans for the beautifying of Rome : " La fontana di piazza Colonna metter in quella di S. Marco — La fontana qui di Monte Cavallo in piazza S. Apost. — La guglia di Campo Marzo rizzarla qui a Monte Cavallo. — I cavalli portarli di qua e di la al portone di acqua disegnato con tagliar il canto di quello muro. — Rifinire

what should be done for the further embellishment of the metropolis. Following the example of Sixtus V., Clement VIII. and even more so Paul V., Urban VIII. and Innocent X. created Rome such as it existed up till 1870. With Alexander VII. this incomparable line of patrons of the arts reached an apex which likewise marks a kind of finale.

Porta Pia e che in faccia sia l'acqua predetta. — Portare la mostra della fontana di Trevi in piazza Colonna. — A. S. Pietro gli (1) scalini alla chiesa et al (2) teatro ; la (3) fontana a suo luogo ; (4) l'altra fontana di nuovo ; il passo per le (5) carozze alla fine dei due bracci ; le (6) guide a tutta la piazza, buttare (7) a terra il priorato." To this is added this observation : " 1. La portione di dentro retta, quella di fuori circolare. — Bastano di travertino e con meno ripulitura. — 3. Nel trasportarla accrescerla nel più largo giro. — 4. Se la tazza di Campo Vaticano è buona ; si no, di travertino. — 5. Farci il disegno puntuale di questi passi di carozze. — 6. Per le guide che sorti di lastroni e de' loro profili. — 7. Far la stima e disegno di ciò che resta senza questo appoggio." For Alexander VII.'s building activity see also Brosch, I., 470 ; *cf.* 426.

CLEMENT IX. A.D. 1667–1669.

CLEMENT X. A.D. 1670–1676.

CHAPTER I.

Election, Antecedents and Character of Clement IX—The Rospigliosi—Patronage of Scholars and Artists.

At the moment of Alexander VII.'s death the Sacred College numbered the legal maximum of seventy members, but during the interregnum the learned Jesuit Pallavicino and Cardinal Bandinelli died on the same day, June 5th.[1] Four Cardinals were absent, so that there were sixty-four electors in all.[2] The period of the interregnum produced a number of satires

[1] From his deathbed Pallavicino, whilst fully acknowledging all that Flavio Chigi and Barberini had accomplished, earnestly warned the Cardinals to make provision against the excessive nepotism of the new Pope. In particular he desired "che per avvenire non si dessero più alli parenti delli Papi titoli di Principi, Duchi etc. che tutto il denaro che si cavava dallo Stato, dalla Dataria, dalla vendita degli officii e da altri diritti della Sede Apostolica, s'impiegasse unicamente in benefizio delle anime et in isgravamento delli popoli, etc." (*Archivio storico italiano*, App. VI., 398 *seq.*). Taught by experience, he said, Card. De Lugo had adopted stricter views on nepotism in the last years of his life and had left him a paper on the subject with the request that he should make it known. The Pope could not spend more than 50,000 scudi on his relatives. *Cf.* also Silv. Maurus, *Relatione della morte del sig. card. Pallavicino*, MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus.

[2] Ciaconius, IV., 779.

on Alexander VII. and the forthcoming conclave,[1] but no troublesome incident of any kind occurred.[2]

A glance at the Sacred College reveals a number of splendid men. Even enemies of the Curia [3] acknowledged Borromeo's knowledge of theology and Ottoboni's of Canon Law, the

[1] MS. copies of such satires are widely spread. I note : Cortona, Bibl. Comm., *Cod.* 323 ; Florence, Bibl. naz. Cl. VII., n. 369 and 370, and State Archives (see *Carte Strozz.*, I., 2, 389) ; Gubbio, Bibl. L. Benveduti ; Rome, Boncompagni Archives, *Cod.* C., 15 and 16 ; Vat. Lib., *Barb.*, 3870. *Il conclave delle donne nella periculosa infermità di P. Alessandro VII. sequita il mese di Agosto, 1665," *Barb.*, 4709 is filthy. Pasquinades of this kind are mentioned by GUYOT DE MERVILLE, *Voyage d'Italie*, La Haye, 1729 (Germ. transl., Frankfurt, 1736).

[2] See **Avviso* of June 18, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] See the passage in *Relazione della corte di Roma fatta alla Maestà del Re Christ. dal s.* DUCA DI SCIONE, *ambasciatore della sudetta Maestà alla S^tà di N. S. Clemente IX., tradotta dal Francese*, 1669 in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch*, 55. LÄMMER describes this account which was widely diffused in print both in Italian and in French as well as in MS. (Munich, *Cod. Ital.* 310 ; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, 5814, p. 177 *seqq.* ; Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana B. III., 20) more accurately than RANKE (III., No. 137) who observes : " I doubt if this work is from the pen of a French diplomatist unless it be the Duc de Chaulnes ; in any case it is from a not uninformed contemporary. Some of the material is textually taken from Grimani." The " Duca di Chaulnes " is designated as the author in *Barb.* 5259, p. 530, a MS. known to Ranke but not quoted by him. The *Relatione della corte di Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX.*, 1676, referred to by RANKE (III., No. 138) and much used by him (in MS. also in Paris [see MARSAND, I., 603] and in *Barb.* 6154, p. 11 *seq.*, Vat. Lib., [partially] printed in *Tesori della corte di Roma*, Bruxelles, 1672) is not as Ranke and after him ADEMOLLO (*Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 291) and many others thought, from the Venetian ambassador, for the latter's account, the original of which is in the State Archives of Venice and in print in BERCHET, II., 349 *seqq.*, reads quite differently. I made no use of what Pseudo-Grimani says in praise of Clement IX. because I am unwilling to follow a report which presents itself under a false

shrewdness of Imperiali, the comprehensive erudition of Altieri and Azzolini and the prudence and skill of Rospigliosi. Barbarigo [1] combined holiness of life with learning. Carpegna, too, was universally beloved by reason of his blameless life and his gentle nature, though he was reproached with partisanship for the Medici.[2] Palotto had given proof not only in Rome, but in Germany and at Ferrara, of ability, energy and piety. He had a great reputation for his knowledge of statecraft but the various Governments were not favourably disposed towards him because of the unyielding vigour with which he defended the Church's liberty. Brancaccio was widely read in Church history and Canon Law, but it was thought that the Spaniards would object to a Neapolitan and that they had not yet forgotten his encounter with the Viceroy of Naples in connexion with ecclesatisical jurisdiction.

Many more were thus mentioned, all fit candidates for the papacy by reason of their excellent qualities; on the other hand, there were also serious objections to most of them. Albizzi's skill in dealing with ecclesiastical and political questions was not contested, but his violence prejudiced the princes against him, more especially the Chigi, towards whom he had used language of unusual freedom. The princes, and the majority of the Cardinals, would have liked the aged Spada as Pope. His many years' governorship of Rome was not forgotten, but the circumstance that he came from Lucca was against him and though he had been named by Innocent X., he was thought to be too partial to the Barberini. D'Elce had distinguished himself in every office he had held, especially in his German nunciature; calm, modest, pious, of blameless conduct and learned as he was, he had the unconditional support of Alexander VII.'s Cardinals;

name. Moreover I had at my disposal contemporary sources of undoubted authenticity.

[1] See p. 131.

[2] These and the following character sketches are based on the "*Relatione sopra 15 cardinali papabili a S. A. elettore duca di Baviera" in *Barb.* 4504, p. 16 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

however, the Medici did not want a Sienese. Farnese was also held in high esteem. He had carried out the various offices entrusted to him with universal approval, but it was thought that the princes would not care to have a Pope possessed of so much business ability. Rospigliosi was popular at the Curia and with most of the Cardinals. He was on good terms both with the Spaniards and the French, but his chances were prejudiced by the fact that he was born a subject of the Medici and that he had a great many relatives. No one doubted Buonvisi's knowledge and ability as a ruler, but he was thought too young. "Rospigliosi and Buonvisi," Cardinal Harrach wrote to the Emperor Leopold I., on the eve of the conclave, "encounter the least opposition among all the *papabili*, but it is felt that the former has too many nephews and is too delicate; however, people think he may live another two or three years and it is precisely this circumstance, more than anything else, that will contribute to his election." [1]

The Sacred College was divided into two great parties, viz. the 24 Cardinals of Alexander VII., headed by Flavio Chigi, and Urban VIII.'s 16, led by Antonio Barberini.[2] Between them, under the leadership of Azzolini and Imperiali, stood the ten Cardinals of the *Squadrone volante* and those of French and Spanish sympathies: these parties were of almost equal strength. The imperial Cardinals, Harrach and Hessen, sided with the Spaniards whose leader, Sforza, was, however, most unpopular with his own party. Harrach wrote to Leopold I. that the Spanish fraction was small and for the time being unable to do more than prevent the election of an enemy of the Habsburgs.[3] The Cardinals with French sympathies, namely Este, Antonio Barberini, Orsini,

[1] Letter of June 2 and 16, 1667, State Arch., Vienna.

[2] See *Conclavi*, III., 72. The number of Chigi's followers is here given as 34, an obvious misprint but one that WAHRMUND (144) and EISLER (154) unhesitatingly followed.

[3] WAHRMUND, 144, 275–276.

Grimaldi, Retz, Maidalchini and Mancini were very closely united.[1]

On June 2nd, 1667, sixty-one Cardinals entered the conclave; later on this number rose to sixty-four.[2] The conclave had not been prepared at the Quirinal, as many would have wished, but at the Vatican, and it was more spacious than on previous occasions.[3] The very first discussions showed that only three candidates were seriously in question: Farnese, D'Elce and Rospigliosi.

Farnese was declined by the *Squadrone volante* and the prospects of D'Elce, for whom Chigi worked with all his might, were nipped in the bud by an excess of zeal on the part of a conclavist.[4] Thus there remained only Rospigliosi, but his supporters only put forward his candidature with the utmost caution. At the first scrutiny on June 3rd, he received two votes; on the morning of the 7th he had eleven, but on the evening of the same day he had only seven; on the 8th his votes fell as low as four; on the 9th they rose again to eight; on the 10th he had five; on the 12th he had four and on the 17th only two. On the 19th he rose to seven only to sink back to five votes. On the morning of June 20th he had no more than five votes, but in the evening of the same day 61 out of the 64 Cardinals pronounced in his favour.[5] This result was by no means solely due to Louis XIV.'s effective support, as was subsequently claimed by the French whose chief candidate had been D'Elce, whilst Rospigliosi only came in the second place.[6] The Spaniards, who were unaware of

[1] The above-named are expressly described as *borbonici* in a *note of Alexander VII. from the beginning of 1667 for the eventuality of a conclave. Family Archives at Ariccia.

[2] *Diario nella sede vacante 1667, *Barb.* 4436 (Vat. Library), with a plan of the conclave.

[3] *Conclavi*, III., 40, 66. [4] *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.*

[5] See the *lists in *Barb.* 4436, p. 46 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

[6] HANOTAUX, *Instructions*, 222; *cf.* GÉRIN, II., 181 *seq.*, who exhaustively and impartially exposes the utter falsehood of the French reports, but even he was not able to ascertain accurately how far Rospigliosi went to meet the French in 1661.

France's support of Rospigliosi, favoured him because of the excellent impression he had made during his nunciature in Madrid.[1] The "flying squadron" saw in the pious and able Cardinal the right man to guide the Church. Flavio Chigi was the main obstacle but he ended by dropping his opposition. The last and decisive negotiations were conducted by Cardinal Azzolini who belonged to the *Squadrone volante*,[2] hence it was an exorbitant boast on the part of the French ambassador when he wrote to Paris that Rospigliosi's election was exclusively due to the favour of Louis XIV., so much so that the King "appointed no more autocratically the head of the merchants' guild of Paris than he had named the Pope on the present occasion".[3]

Giulio Rospigliosi, who took the name of Clement IX., sprang from an old and honourable family originating from Lombardy but which had settled at Pistoia, in Tuscany.[4] He was born in that city on January 28th, 1600.[5] As a youth of seventeen he came to Rome to pursue his studies at the Jesuit College, where the celebrated historian Famiano Strada, was one of his teachers. He subsequently studied at the University of Pisa where he obtained the doctorate of philosophy and theology, and from 1623 to 1625 he taught philosophy there. He was a poet as well as a scholar. On

[1] See XXX., p. 87.

[2] *Conclavi*, III., 84 *seqq.*, 93; *cf.* WAHRMUND, 144 *seq.*; **Diario nella sede vacante, 1667, loc. cit.*

[3] GÉRIN, II., 192.

[4] FABRONIUS, *Vita Clementis IX.* in *Vitae ital.*, II., Pisis, 1778. Also AMEYDEN, *Famiglie Romane*, II., 174; G. BEANI, *Clemente IX. Notizie storiche*, Prato, 1893. For Clement IX.'s arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 45.

[5] See the extract of the Baptismal Register in BEANI, 133. *Cf.* *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX. S. P. fatto da Ant. Mattioli archivista dell' ecca casa Rospigliosi 1744, Rospigliosi Archives N. 50, where we read: "*Ebbe il nome di Giulio a contemplazione di altro suo antenato di simil nome, stato eccellente nell' armi." The data that follow are taken from this *Compendio*. See also G. CANEVAZZI, *Papa Clemente IX. poeta*, Modena, 1900, 48 *seq.*, 57 *seqq.*

April 25th, 1632, he became a referendary of both Segnaturas and Secretary to the Congregation of Rites; on December 24th, 1636, he was made a Canon of St. Mary Major; an honorary citizen of Rome on April 28th, 1637; a Domestic Prelate and Secretary for Briefs to Princes on April 29th, 1641; on January 4th, 1643, Canonist and Consultor to the Penitentiaria,[1] and on July 14th, 1644, nuncio in Spain with the title of Archbishop of Tarsus. He had been in Spain on a previous occasion in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Francesco Barberini.[2]

Besides his other excellent qualities, Urban VIII. and his nephews had attached special value to Rospigliosi's gifts as a poet, in fact it may be said that it was his fine literary formation which opened to him the highly polished Barberini circle. Rospigliosi expounded his lofty conception of poetry in a dissertation on Bracciolini's poem on the election of Urban VIII. In 1629 he wrote some poems on the wedding on Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna [3]; he also composed a sonnet in honour of the famous singer, Leonora Baroni, who had been the object of Milton's homage.[4] For the inauguration of the Barberini theatre in 1634, he wrote his first melodrama, "Sant' Alessio," which was set to music by Stefano Landi. The *mise-en-scène*, of which Barberini had taken charge and the delightful music, made of the representation of this touching

[1] A Brief of July 27, 1643, appointed Rospigliosi "sigillatore della Penitenziaria e vicario della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore"; *cf.* **Compendio, loc. cit.*

[2] Rospigliosi's *nunciature reports in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 89, 90, 91, A. 92, A. 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 99 A., 100, 101, 102, 104, 346, 347, 348, etc.; his **Lettere famigliari* of the period of his nunciature 1644–1653 in Rospigliosi Archives, T. 4 and 5; *ibid.*, T. 1–3 his **Lettere famigliari* from Rome, 1630–1643. ADEMOLLO (*Teatri* 84) wrongly places the nomination as nuncio in the year 1646, BILDT (*Conclave*, I.) in 1663.

[3] ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 78 *seqq.*, 86 *seqq.*; CANEVAZZI, *loc. cit.*, 57 *seq.*, 59 *seqq.*

[4] ADEMOLLO, *La Leonora di Milton e di Clemente IX.*, Milano.

legend an event in the artistic life of Rome.[1] Rospigliosi's other musical dramas—*Santa Teodora, San Bonifazio, Chi soffre speri, Sant' Eustachio*—were equally successful.

The very titles of these and other melodramas show the influence of the Spanish "Comedias de Santos" on the author who successfully kept free from the prevailing mannerisms of the period. These Spanish models were Rospigliosi's standard not only in his sacred dramas, but likewise in his profane ones. In them faith and virtue triumph over unbelief and vice, hence the author was acclaimed by reason of his good influence on the stage in Rome. In some pieces, such as, for instance, *Dal male, il bene*, the scene of which is laid at Madrid, the influence of Calderon is unmistakable.[2] During his nunciature in Madrid, Rospigliosi wrote the drama, *La comica del cielo*, which was repeatedly performed during the carnival of 1668, in the home of the Rospigliosi, the palazzo Ludovisi [to-day Fiano] in the Corso, when it earned great applause. Bernini was responsible for the scenery, Antonio Maria Abbatini for the music. The piece represents the conversion of a fair Spaniard, Baltesara; it betrays reminiscences from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, but the plot is based on a Spanish model.[3]

Rospigliosi successfully conducted the Spanish nunciature for a period of nine years.[4] His disinterestedness was proved

[1] ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 7 *seqq.*; CANEVAZZI, 65 *seqq.*; FRASCHETTI, 261 *seq.*

[2] ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*; BEANI, 139, 173 *seqq.*; J. SANESI, *Poesie musicali di G. Rospigliosi* (Nozze-Publ.), Pistoia, 1894; CANEVAZZI, 77 *seqq.*, 86, 96 *seqq.*, 103 *seqq.*, 123 *seqq.*, 136. *Cf.* ALALEONA, *P. Clemente IX. poeta* in *Bullet. de Soc. filologica Romana*, 1905; SALZA, *Drammi inediti di G. Rospigliosi* in *Riv. music.*, XIV. (1907); FRASCHETTI, 270 *seq.* Part of Clement IX.'s private library, consisting mostly of printed, beautifully bound works, among them many musical ones, is preserved in the Rospigliosi palace in Rome. *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXVIII, 352, XXIX, 506; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 509 *seq.*; Library at Naples, XIII., E. 7, E. 25.

[3] ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 99 *seqq.*; CANEVAZZI, 145 *seqq.*

[4] Not eleven, as given by NOVAES (X., 199) and others.

by the fact that he returned poor from that "Prelates' India" as Pallavicino described it.[1] He did not obtain the purple which he so fully deserved, because under Innocent X. he shared the disgrace of his friends, the Barberini. At the death of that Pope the College of Cardinals made him Governor of Rome; in this difficult post he gave splendid proofs of his ability. Alexander VII. greatly valued Rospigliosi's merit as well as his literary talents. He made him Secretary of State. On April 9th, 1657, he was named Cardinal priest of S. Sisto,[2] to Pistoia's great satisfaction.[3]

As Secretary of State, Rospigliosi won the good opinion of everyone by reason of his blameless life, his modesty, kindliness and application to duty.[4] He nevertheless temporarily forfeited the Pope's confidence for having entered into a correspondence with the French court with a view to assuring for himself France's support in the event of a conclave. However, he promptly dropped the French and thus maintained himself in his position.[5] The issue of the conclave. brought it about that for the second time a Secretary of State became Pope: a circumstance that greatly enhanced the prestige of that office.[6]

According to the consistorial acts, Rospigliosi took the name of Clement because he wished to encourage the hopes inspired by his election.[7] His conception of mildness is sufficiently revealed by the legend of one of his medals:

[1] PALLAVICINO, I., 264. *Cf.* the report from Lucca in *Studi e docum*, XXII., 232, and the **Vita Clementis*, IX., in *Ottob.*, 2481, p. 440, Vat. Lib.

[2] *Cf.* Alexander VII.'s *Brief to Pistoia in BEANI, 159.

[3] ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 84.

[4] P. BASADONNA in BERCHET, II., 269.

[5] GÉRIN, I., 274 *seqq.*

[6] RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 737.

[7] "*Confirmandae spei de se conceptae nomen sibi Clementis IX. imposuit" (*Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2931, Vat. Lib. Hence it is an error to say that he took the name because he was born under Clement VIII., as TERLINDEN (47) does.

Aliis non sibi Clemens: "kind to others, not to self."[1] Another and characteristic proof of the excellent reputation Rospigliosi enjoyed in Rome is the circumstance that naughty Pasquino greeted him with an ode, an exceptional treatment of which none of his predecessors could boast. He praised Rospigliosi's justice and prophesied that his reign would bring back the golden age for the Christian peoples.[2] Unfortunately, the 67 years' old Pontiff was frail and sickly,[3] a fact which is confirmed by his excellent portrait by Maratta.[4] For this reason he preferred to live in the salubrious Quirinal rather than at the Vatican.[5] Doubts had been expressed during the conclave as to whether Rospigliosi would be equal to the exertions of the liturgical functions; but during the first year of his pontificate his health was so robust in this respect that he put healthier and stronger Popes in the shade.[6] The coronation was celebrated on June 26th, 1667, and on July 3rd the Pope took possession of the Lateran.[7]

Until this time every new pontificate had meant a more or less considerable change of officials. Clement IX. would not hear of such a thing. Apart from a few higher posts, he retained most of the officials of his predecessor.[8] Emilio Altieri became

[1] On Clement IX.'s medals see BEANI, 189 *seq.*

[2] Havrà il mondo di pace ancor tesoro | Godrà il popol di Cristo un secol d'oro (CHLEDOWSKI, II., 271). The Cardinal of Hesse and John Emmerix bestow great praise on the new Pope in their *reports to Leopold I., dated June 20, 1667 (State Archives, Vienna). See also the **Avviso* of June 25, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] "Essendo gracile di corpo e di complessione delicata, tanto che le accidentali sue indisposizioni di calcolo e di hernia acquosa l'hanno qualche volta indebolito e sconvolto." A. Grimani in BERCHET, II., 328.

[4] See p. 331.

[5] BILDT, *Un banchetto al Quirinale nel seicento*, Roma, 1901, 10.

[6] See the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum*, XXII., 232 *seq.*

[7] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 275 *seqq.*

[8] Report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 234. The Florentine Archbishop, Franc. Nerli, was retained as Secretary of Briefs to Princes; **Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. G. F. Nini also continued

Maestro di Camera, the Jesuit Ambrogio Spinola, his confessor, Pietro Ottoboni was made Datarius[1] and Decio Azzolini was appointed Secretary of State; the two last named belonged to the "flying squadron". Their influence was great in other ways also, inasmuch as they were considered to have been really responsible for the election.[2] Azzolini was soon joined by a Cardinal nephew in the person of Jacopo Rospigliosi who was raised to the purple on December 12th, 1667. This son of the Pope's brother was acting as internuncio at Brussels at the time of the conclave. On his return he remained under the direction of Azzolini although himself experienced in diplomacy and 38 years of age.[3] The real management of State business the Pope reserved to himself.[4] The revenues assigned to the nephew were modest, and with regard to his other relatives also, the Pope followed the warning given by Cardinal Pallavicino shortly before his death.[5] He broke with the custom of providing for the nephews at the expense of the State, thereby dealing nepotism a sensible blow.[6] "The Pope thinks of everybody, except his own family," wrote the Duke of Chaulnes, who saw his hope of influencing the Pope through his nephews go up in smoke.[7] In this ticklish matter, Clement IX. acted with a tact only equalled by his caution. His relatives in Pistoia, where the election of a fellow citizen had been hailed with enthusiasm,[8]

for a time as *maggiordomo*, in 1669, he was succeeded by B. Rocci; see Moroni, XLI., 268.

[1] **Avviso* of June 25, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.; Moroni, XIX., 138, XLI., 135; Quirini in Berchet, II., 332. The "*Ruolo di famiglia di Clemente IX.," dated November 1, 1667, in *Cod.* J. II., 48, Chigi Library.

[2] Report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, XXII., 233.

[3] Quirini in Berchet, II., 331; Richard in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 737.

[4] Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 235.

[5] See p. 314, n. 1.

[6] Brosch, I., 435; Chledowski, II., 272.

[7] Gérin, II., 277.

[8] Ademollo, *Teatri*, 98 *seq.*, 227 *seqq.*; Beani, 49 *seqq.*

were allowed to come to Rome at the beginning of July 1667,[1] only for the lifetime of the Pope. They were refused the customary title of "Don". Though they were given administrative posts—Clement IX.'s brother, Camillo, was named General of the Church in September 1667, and his son, Tommaso, castellan of Castel S. Angelo[2]—they nevertheless had to be content with the revenues of these offices. And since the Pope insisted that his relatives should live in a becoming style, it was impossible for them to pile up wealth or to lay the foundation of a new family of nephews at the price of an increase of the public debt.[3] If the Rospigliosi, who occupied the Ludovisi palace in the Corso,[4] ended by entering into the circle of the great families of Rome, it was solely because Camillo's son, Giambattista, the commander of the papal guards, married a wealthy Pallavicino of Genoa. Even this alliance was only reluctantly sanctioned by the Pope, for his original intention had been that after his death the Rospigliosi should go back to Pistoia.[5]

Though Clement IX. yielded on this point, he rigorously insisted on his relatives refraining from meddling with affairs that were not of their competence. The Rospigliosi fully complied with the Pope's lofty intentions. Camillo Rospigliosi lived very quietly and after the death of Lucrezia Cellese, his wife, he devoted himself mainly to piety and works of charity; the only thing he occasionally complained of was that his brother, whom he had always assisted in former days, made him far too small an allowance.[6] Only in 1669 did he receive a considerable gift from the Pope, but this was taken from the Pope's private property.[7]

A contemporary describes Camillo's character as that of

[1] **Avviso* of July 9, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Avviso* of September 3, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 233; QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 331 *seq.*; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avviso* of October 1, 1667, *loc. cit.*

[5] Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.* [6] *Ibid.*, 236.

[7] *Donazione di Clemente IX. al suo fratello Camillo di tutta la sua porzione patrimoniale paterna e materna, dat. Roma,

an old world gentleman. Though he was no good at compliments, he nevertheless treated everyone with great courtesy. For the rest the Pope had restricted his official powers by transferring the office of the Governor of the Borgo to the Governor of Rome, with a view to eliminating complications such as those that had crept in during the last pontificate.[1] Of Camillo's many sons mention has already been made of Cardinal Jacopo and of Tommaso and Giambattista. Vincenzo, the next in age after the Cardinal, received the command of the papal galleys; Felice, who was an ecclesiastic, was only given two abbeys in the Kingdom of Naples which did not yield more than a 1,000 scudi.[2]

All the Rospigliosi were remarkable for their modest, meek and reserved nature. Their conduct towards the aristocracy is likewise described as most considerate.[3] When Tommaso Rospigliosi was carried off by a fever in the summer of 1669,[4] at the early age of 28, a statue was put up in his honour in the palace of the Conservators in recognition of the services he had rendered to the city.[5]

Monte Cavallo 1669 gennaio 7; with *Chirografo* for the "fideicommisso Rospigliosi di Pistoia," Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

[1] Report of Lucca envoy, *loc. cit.* The "Constitutio super reformatione iurisdictionis tribunalis Burgi", dated Cal., September, 1667, in *Bandi*, V., 46, Papal Sec. Arch., printed in *Bull.*, XVII., 547 *seqq.*

[2] QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 332. Vincenzo's portrait by Fred. Voigt, in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, reproduced by TERLINDEN, 240.

[3] Report of Lucca envoys, *loc. cit.*, 235. *Cf.* QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 331 *seq.*

[4] See the *reports of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, August 3 and 10, 1669, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* **Avviso* of August 10, 1669, which says that the Pope called upon the sick man incognito, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] According to the **Avviso* of August 17, 1669 (*ibid.*), the Senate decreed the statue chiefly by reason of the interest which Tommaso had taken in the silk and woollen industry. The inscription of the statue, which exists to this day, is in FORCELLA, I., 64. T. Rospigliosi was buried at St. Mary Major; see **Avviso* of August 10, 1669, *loc. cit.*

Clement IX.'s popularity with the Roman people could not have been greater. He quickly won all hearts by an heroic decision, one by which he earned the encomiums of the Venetian ambassador, when he lowered the duty on flour, though a heavy loss of revenue was bound to be the consequence. As Alexander VII. had already thought of this step, Clement IX. saw to it that in the ordinance to this effect the late Pope's name, not his own, should be mentioned.[1] The encouragement given by the Pope to agriculture and the wool and silk industry, his solicitude for the proper administration of justice and the fact that he admitted into his presence even the humblest plaintiff, were felt as a very great blessing. Immediately after his election he had a confessional put up in St. Peter's in which he himself heard confessions.[2] Clement IX. was by nature extraordinarily inclined to kindliness—*concediamo* was his favourite saying [3]—and his liberality knew no bounds. On the other hand, for his own person he was parsimonious: he would not allow more than 15 baiocchi a day to be spent on his table.[4] Within a short time he spent the sum of 600,000 scudi on necessitous persons of every description.[5] Daily thirteen poor persons were fed at the Vatican, the Pope himself waiting upon them.[6] In November 1667, Clement IX. visited the sick in the hospital of the Lateran, questioned them on their illness, distributed generous alms and gave orders that they should be well looked after. In January 1668, he visited the hospital della Consolazione; on Maundy Thursday he entertained 400 poor pilgrims and on Holy Saturday he heard confessions in St. Peter's for three and a half hours. In September, and again in December,

[1] QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 329; **Avviso* of July 2, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.; NOVAES, X., 202.

[2] BENIGNI, 58 *seq.*; NOVAES, X., 223. *Cf.* "*Compendio della vita di Clemente IX," Rospigliosi Archives.

[3] RAPIN, *Mém.*, III., 396.

[4] BILDT, *Un banchetto*, 9.

[5] QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 328 *seq.*, 333.

[6] **Avviso* of July 30, 1667, Papal Sec. Archives.

he repeated his visit to the hospital of the Lateran.[1] Despite his age and infirmities he went up the *Scala Santa* on his knees in Advent 1668.[2] Although in 1669 the physicians forbade him to take part in church functions, because of his gravel, he nevertheless assisted at the function of Palm Sunday, which fatigued him greatly.[3] Only a short time before his death he visited the seven principal churches of Rome.[4]

That so cultivated a Pope should have shown favour to scholars, artists and musicians, is not surprising. Thus he gave his patronage to the learned Jesuit Kircher, the archæologist Giovanni Ciampini, the historian of literature Leone Allacci, the astronomer Cassini, and the anatomist Blaise Benginus.[5] By his orders Giovanni Bona and Michelangelo Ricci founded an Academy for the study of Church history.[6]

Of great consequence for the literary and artistic life of Rome was the return, on November 22nd, 1668, of the highly cultivated Queen Christina, after an absence of two and a half years in Sweden. Clement IX. had been on friendly terms with her whilst still a Cardinal and the Queen had furthered his election through Azzolini and by influencing Louis XIV.[7]

[1] See the **Avviso* of November 12, 1667, January 8, September 29 and December 22, 1668; *ibid.*, and the French reports in GÉRIN, II., 229.

[2] **Avviso* of December 22, 1668, *loc. cit.*

[3] Report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 20, 1669, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] **Avviso* of November 2, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[5] BEANI, *Clemente IX.*, 110 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 108.

[7] Information on this point (GRAUERT, II., 213, and especially BILDT, *Christine et le card. Azzolini*, 195 *seq.*, 208 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*) is confirmed by an autograph letter of Clement IX. to Christine, dated June 22, 1667, in which the Pope thanks her for her co-operation in the same terms as the Kings of France and Spain and assures her of his special affection as "eletta dal S. Dio a sì grande et straordinaria maniera di suo servitio, e che con tanta virtù e costanza, dopo haver sacrificati i suoi regni alla vera fede di Christo, mostra anche con tante fatiche e disastrosi viaggi al sua prontezza a sacrificargli la vita e fa risplendere la gloriosa

The Pope wished to show his gratitude for this as well as for the interest Christine had taken in Catholicism in the North.[1] Accordingly, he did all he could in order to surround her return to Rome with the utmost splendour, and as soon as she arrived he received her in an audience which lasted three hours and a quarter.[2] Later on also, he paid her much honour. At the beginning of December, he called on her in her palace on the Lungara and remained a whole hour. The Queen received the Pope on her knees at the foot of the staircase.[3] On December 9th, 1668, he gave a brilliant banquet in her honour at the Quirinal. This entertainment has been perpetuated by an engraving and an aquarelle by Pierre Sévin, a member of the French Academy of painting in Rome, founded by Louis XIV. in 1666.[4] The ceremonial of the feast was arranged beforehand, down to the smallest detail. The Pope's table stood on a dais surmounted by a baldacchino: in close proximity, on a lower dais, was the Queen's table. The Queen went into the room first and shortly afterwards the Pope came in by the opposite door. After they had greeted each

e degna perseveranza nella sua somma pietà". On September 3, 1667, Clement IX., in answer to her letter informing him of her arrival on August 10, wrote that he had anxiously awaited her from the beginning of his pontificate as her presence was a comfort to him (*Lettere di propria mano*, Arm., 45, t. 41, p. 102, 104, Papal Sec. Arch., printed from a copy in *Bullet. stor. Pistoiese*, I. [1899], 153 *seqq.*). In the *Lettere*, p. 140b, *Letter of October 28, 1668: Joy over her speedy arrival.

[1] *Cf.* p. 69.

[2] GRAUERT, II., 216. *Cf.* **Avviso* of November 24, 1668 (Papal Sec. Arch.), and *report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated November 24, 1668 (State Archives, Vienna), who says of Christine: "Es scheinet woll das Ihro die Raisz nichts geschadet, weillen sie faister zurückgekommen als abgereist."

[3] **Avviso* of December 8, 1668, *loc. cit.*

[4] See H. LAPAUZE, *La première liste authentique des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome 1668 et le premier logis de l'Académie*, in *Le Bulletin de l'art ancien et moderne*, 10 février 1912, 46–98; 17 février 1912, 53–6. "Da documenti dell'Archivio della parrocchia di S. Spirito, con lista dei pensionati 1665–1671."

other, the Maggiordomo was about to hand the Pope his napkin when the Queen herself presented it to him. Instrumental and vocal music enhanced the feast. Clement IX., who never touched wine, drank the Queen's health in red lemonade. The dinner ended with dessert prepared *alla francese*, that is sweet pastry; so-called *trionfi*, representing for the most part religious subjects, were put on the table in silver baskets and vases. The meal over, another chair was placed near the Pope's table for the Queen, when they entered into a short conversation, for up till then they had sat so far apart that the master of ceremonies, Faber, who stood between them, had to act as intermediary for their mutual courtesies. At the end the two sovereigns withdrew in the same order as they had come in. The Queen had been met by the nephew, Giambattista Rospigliosi and officers of the Swiss Guard, with a numerous escort, and she was conducted back to her palace in the same way.[1] On other occasions also, such as the New Year, Christine was the object of particular attentions on the part of the Pope,[2] and in 1669, evidently at the instigation of the Secretary of State, Azzolini, the Pope granted her an annual pension of 12,000 scudi.[3] The Queen called on the Pope almost every month[4]; the latter was one of the few people who knew of her aspirations to the crown of Poland.[5] Christine showed her gratitude by bestowing a diamond cross on Clement IX.'s sister, and by intervening with De Witt, a former member of the Dutch Council, with a view to restraining the calumnies that were being spread in Holland about the first personages of the Curia.[6]

Conversation between Clement IX. and the gifted Queen

[1] BILDT, *Un banchetto*. To the sources there mentioned must be added an **Avviso* of December 15, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Avviso* of January 5, 1669, *ibid.*

[3] BILDT, *Christine et le card. Azzolini*, 199, n. 2.

[4] *Cf.* the **Avvisi* of May 18, June 8, August 10 and September 28, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[5] GRAUERT, II., 218; BILDT, *Christine*, 441; ANDRÉ, in *Rev. hist.*, 1908.

[6] GRAUERT, II., 229, 242.

was not confined to ecclesiastical and political questions, the most important of which was the warding off of Turkish aggression, on the contrary, it very much included literary, musical and artistic topics. On the occasion of his visit to the palace on the Lungara, the Pope made a minute inspection of the Queen's famous picture gallery.[1]

Like Clement IX.,[2] his brother Camillo also took a lively interest in art. Up to this time an exhibition of the works of living artists was held every year on the feast of St. Joseph in the porch of the Pantheon, under the auspices of a Guild of artists, the so-called *Virtuosi al Pantheon*, founded under Paul III.[3] It was an innovation when Camillo Rospigliosi, on August 29th, 1669, organized an exhibition of pictures by old masters, for which Queen Christine's gallery was particularly drawn upon. On this occasion, Salvatore Rosa managed to get his picture "Saul and the witch of Endor", now in the Louvre, exhibited by the side of Raphael and Titian. The admiration it called forth is deserved, for it is a most effective composition despite its peculiarities.[4]

Whilst still a Cardinal, Clement IX. had had a great deal to do with the painter Carlo Maratta, a pupil of Andrea Sacchi. As Pope he saw him repeatedly and gave him divers proofs of goodwill. Maratta was commissioned to paint the Pope's portrait. The Pope sat for him in the convent of S. Sabina whither he was wont to withdraw during the carnival. During one of these sittings the Pope was taken with

[1] **Avviso* of December 8, 1668, *loc. cit.*

[2] An **Avviso* of November 12, 1667 (*ibid.*), announces the Pope's visit to the "chiesa di S. Maria in Portico, fabricata in adempimento del voto, che fecero l'anno 1656 la f. m. di P. Alessandro VII. e il popolo Romano per la liberatione dalla peste, e diede una vista al sontuoso ornamento fatto attorno alla miracolosa imagine con architettura del S. Giov. Ant. de Rossi".

[3] See our data, Vol. XII., 600.

[4] CESAREO, *Poesie e lettere di S. Rosa*, II., Napoli, 1892, 129 *seq.*; L. OZZOLA, *Vita e opere di S. Rosa*, Strassburg, 1908, 148 *seq.*; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 438. *Cf.* above, p. 310, n. 9.

one of the sudden fainting fits to which he was subject. The biographer of the artist praises the tact with which his hero dealt with this delicate situation.[1] Maratta's protrait of Clement IX., now owned by the Pallavicini in Rome, ranks among the classical portraits of Popes. The portrait, for which Maratta drew inspiration from Valasquez' "Innocent X.", is a half length one and shows the Pope seated in a chair lined with carmine velvet and wearing a red cap; a cape of the same colour forms a striking contrast to the white cassock. The Pontiff holds a book in one hand, the other rests on the chair. On the small table in front of the Pope is a bell and a scroll bearing the words: *Per Carlo Maratta.* The contemporaries admired the realism of the portrait which betrays the fatigue of age, though without allowing the beholder to forget the majesty and intelligence of the model. The pale, furrowed, nervous face with the pointed nose, grey beard and the bright, big, vivacious eyes, is superbly rendered.[2] On the other hand, Clement IX. looks much younger in the no less splendid portrait by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, surnamed Baciccia, which is seen in the Accademia di S. Luca, in Rome.[3]

Of all Rome's artists Bernini, an architect as well as a sculptor of genius, was held in highest esteem by Clement IX. Whilst the days of Pietro da Cortona and those of Borromini were drawing to a close,[4] the master who had served so many

[1] Bellori, III., 155 *seqq.*

[2] Excellent reproduction in Venturi, *Tesori d'arte inediti di Roma,* Roma, 1896. Copies in the Eremitage, Petrograd (Iusti, *Velasquez,* II., 188), in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Pistoia (Beani, 196), and in that of Rome, where there is also a marble bust of Clement IX. and of Card. Rospigliosi and a portrait of the Pope's sister. In the garden house there is a good bronze bust of Clement IX. A very characteristic pastel of the head of Clement IX., attributed to Maratta, is in the *Palais des Arts,* Lyons (P. Marcell, *Les Musées de France,* 1912, no. 1, p. 17).

[3] Reproduction in Ricci, *Gesch. der Kunst in Norditalien,* 303 (*cf.* 305). A small but excellent copy is in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome. *Cf.* Thieme, XIII., 277.

[4] Borromini died on August 28, 1667, Pietro da Cortona on

Popes was still at the height of his powers. Immediately after his election Clement IX. entrusted to him both the completion of the left wing of the colonnade of St. Peter's and the embellishment of the bridge of St. Angelo. Clement VII. had put up on the bridge the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul.[1] For the reception of Charles V. by Paul III. in 1536, Raffael da Montelupo had adorned the bridge with fourteen terracotta figures.[2] It was now decided to replace these by ten, more than life-size, marble statues of angels holding the instruments of the Passion. It was impossible to conceive a more appropriate decoration than this *Via Crucis* for the monumental bridge which all pilgrims to the shrine of the Prince of the Apostles must cross. It was the christening of a monument of pagan antiquity similar to that of the imperial columns and the obelisks by Sixtus V.

Sixty-seven years old Bernini set to work with youthful ardour. He personally executed two statues, viz. the angel with the crown of thorns and the one with the inscription of the cross.[3] However, the Pope was unwilling to see these magnificent works exposed to the injuries of the elements, hence copies by the hand of Paolo Naldini and Giulio Cartari were substituted for them on the bridge and the originals eventually found a place in the choir of S. Andrea delle Fratte.[4] The remaining giant marble statues were executed from Bernini's designs by Cosimo Fancelli, Antonio Raggi, Domenico Guidi, Ercole Ferrata, Antonio Giorgetti and other pupils of the Master. Even severe critics of these angels in fluttering draperies, grant that, viewed as a whole, and mainly as part of the decorative scheme of a bridge, they produce an excellent effect in the bright sunshine of the

May 16, 1669. For Borromini, *cf. Bollet. d. Svizz. ital.*, IX., 105 *seq.*

[1] See our data, Vol. X., 358.

[2] For the decoration of Rome at that time, see Vol. XI., 242.

[3] BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 274.

[4] Reproductions in FRASCHETTI, 366, 367, and RICCI, *Roma barocca*, 373.

South. The softness which characterizes in particular Bernini's female figures is so strongly marked here that the lines produce something akin to the sensations called forth by music.[1] The Master seems to have had a hand in the carving of the slim figure of the angel with the cross, the work of his son Paolo.[2]

In July, 1668, the Pope examined the statues in Bernini's studio where the equestrian statue of Constantine, ordered by Alexander VII., was nearing completion.[3] On January 12th, 1669, that imposing monument was transferred to St. Peter's where it was destined to adorn the portico.[4] In 1675 Giotto's mosaic of the Navicella, after many translations and yet another restoration, was finally placed on the inner wall of the porch above the main entrance.[5]

In September 1669, the Pope inspected six of Bernini's ten statues of angels placed on marble pedestals on either side of the bridge of S. Angelo.[6] On this occasion the bridge

[1] BERGNER, *Barockes Rom.*, 101 ; RICCI, *loc. cit.*, 372.

[2] FRASCHETTI, 370 *seq.*

[3] On Sunday, so we read in an **Avviso* of July 28, 1668, the Pope inspected the " ornamento, che fa fare alli capi e sponde del Ponte S. Angelo di travertini bianchi tramezzati con finestre ferrate, e sopra a piedestalli principali otto angeli grandi, che terranno in mano li misterii della Passione, fatti dal cav. Bernino et altri principali scultori, et al ritorno visitò l'altra chiesa di detta Santa delle monache Domenicane, et prima fu nell'officina del cav. Bernino a vedere la statua, che questo ha fatto del Gran Costantino imperatore da porsi incontro al portico di detta basilica ". Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] " *Dalla casa del S. cav. Bernino famoso scultore è stata portata nel Palazzo Vaticano la statua di marmo a cavallo dell'imperatore Constantino magno, ch'egli ha fatto d'ordine di Papa Alessandro VII. da collocarsi a piè della scala Regia di rimpetto al portico della basilica." *Avviso* of January 12, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[5] G. CASCIOLI, *La Navicella di Giotto a S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma, 1916, 20 *seqq.*

[6] See besides the data from the *Diario* of Cervini in FRASCHETTI, 368, the **Avviso* of September 21, 1669 : On Monday

was given a marble parapet the openings of which are closed by a bronze grating. In his great modesty Clement IX. would not perpetuate the memory of what he had done for the bridge by means of either inscription or coat of arms; he would allow only quotations from the psalms to be carved on the pedestal of the statues.[1] It was Clement X. who put up the arms of his predecessor and a short inscription [2] on the two statues facing the Borgo.

Clement IX. also gave instructions for the completion of the College of the Barnabites [3] and he put up an iron grating for the protection of the porch of the Pantheon.[4] At S. Sabina he saw to the decoration of the chapel which had been at one time St. Dominic's cell.[5] To this day an inscription on the Palazzo del Banco di Santo Spirito recalls the fact that the Rospigliosi Pope transferred the Mint to this building in 1667.[6]

the Pope inspected the marble angels on the Ponte di Castello, "che si vanno erigendo sino al numero di 10, d'altezza circa 15 palmi ciascuno, tenenti li misterii della Passione, fatti per ordine di S. Stà d'altretanti scultori per ornamento del medesimo ponte." Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] The inscriptions (not previously published) which Clement X. put up (**Avviso* of March 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.), are as follows for the five pairs of statues beginning from the town side: "Tronus meus in columna — Flagellis paratus sum — In aerumna mea dum configitur spina — Respic[e] faciem [Christi] tui — Super vestem meam miserunt sortem — Aspiciant ad me quem crucifixerunt — Regnavit a ligno Deus — Cuius principatus super humerum eius — Potaverunt me aceto — Vulnerasti cor meum."

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 55.

[3] *Ordinance of February 18, 1668, based on a *Chirografo* of August 14, 1667, in *Editti*, V., 15, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] On Sunday the Pope inspected the "portico di S. Maria del Panteon ornato di cancellate di ferro intrecciate con l'armi di S. Stà". **Avviso* of March 30, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] FORCELLA, VII., 314; BERTHIER, *S. Sabine*, Rome, 1912, 53; GUIDI, *Borromini*, 105, who does not admit Borromini's collaboration.

[6] FORCELLA, XIII., 184.

Bernini was likewise employed on various commissions for Pistoia, the Pope's native city. He adorned the tomb of Clement IX.'s parents with their busts and designed the magnificent altar of St. Ignatius which was presented to the Jesuit church there, together with a picture by Pietro da Cortona.[1] The Villa di Spicchio, erected for the Rospigliosi at Lamporecchio, near Pistoia, is based on plans by Bernini.[2] Recently a terracotta model of a fountain by Bernini was found at Florence. This was to be a gift of Clement IX. to his native city; the model shows dolphins holding a shell, a pair of Tritons blow into horn-shaped shells and the centre is occupied by the arms of the donor.[3]

For Rome the Pope conceived yet another vast plan which shows how much artists might have expected, had a longer reign been granted to Clement IX. In August 1669, Bernini was commissioned to reconstruct the ruinous *tribuna* of St. Mary Major where Clement IX. wished to have his last resting place. A sketch [4] in the Archives of the basilica shows on what imposing lines the reconstruction had been conceived: in fact it was planned as a counterpart of the Sistine and Pauline chapels. The foundation stone was laid in September and work started at once. To meet the cost the Pope put aside the sum of 150,000 scudi [5]; it was,

[1] BEANI, 9, 57, 133 *seq.*; GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 417. The *deed of donation of four columns of verd-antique from the Villa Giulia for the altar of St. Ignatius at Pistoia, in Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

[2] FRASCHETTI, 374; GURLITT, *loc. cit.*, 434.

[3] *Kunschronik*, XVIII. (1906–7, No. 8, p. 114. A mutilated fountain related to this sketch is in the Palazzo Antemoro, Via della Panetteria, Rome. An *Editto sopra mantenere nette le fontane fabricate nella piazza de' Barberini a capo le case, dated August 14, 1668, in *Editti*, V., 51, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Reproduction in FRASCHETTI, 381.

[5] Together with the reports in FRASCHETTI, 379 *seq.* *Cf.* also the **Avviso* of September 7, 1669: "Si è dato principio a far li fundamenti della fabrica, che fa fare S. S^tà alla basilica di S. Maria Maggiore d'una nuova et magnifica tribuna, che sarà ornata

however, reckoned that this amount would be inadequate. Both the Venetian and the imperial ambassadors were of opinion that the building would require 400,000 scudi.[1] The Rospigliosi made objections for they feared that in the event of the Pope's death the onerous duty of completing the work would be laid on them. The Chapter of St. Mary Major also opposed the plan because it was intended to transfer the old *tribuna* of Sixtus III. to another place, a proceeding that would have endangered the precious mosaics.[2] The pictorial decoration of the new *tribuna* was to be carried out by Carlo Maratta.[3] Clement IX. stuck to his plan in spite of all opposition. In November 1669, he gave orders for a large model in wood,[4] and only his death, not long after, brought the undertaking to a standstill.

tutta di pietre pretiose et lavorate con portico al di fuori sostenuto da colonne correspondente alle due sontuose cappelle collaterali de' Pontefici Sisto V. et Paolo V." Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] BERCHET, II., 329, and the *report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, August 31, 1669, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] FRASCHETTI, 381. Illustration of the exterior of the old apse of St. Mary Major previous to Clement X.'s restoration, in *Bollet. d'arte*, 1915, 144.

[3] BELLORI, *Vite dei pittori*, III., Pisa, 1821, 159.

[4] FRASCHETTI, 381 *seq.* Hence the statement in *Arch. Rom.*, VIII., 520, that in September, 1669, Rainaldi took Bernini's place, cannot be accurate.

CHAPTER II.

Religious Activities of Clement IX.—Jansenism and the so-called Clementine Peace—Missions in the Far East.

(1.)

By order of Clement IX. the visitation of all the Roman churches ordered by Alexander VII. was concluded in the first year of his pontificate.[1] In like manner, in pursuance of an ordinance of his predecessor, he granted to the city of Rome and the Papal States the Office and Mass in honour of Mary's Immaculate Conception.[2]

On April 15th, 1668, he beatified Blessed Rose of Lima (*obiit* 1617) in the sumptuously adorned basilica of St. Peter.[3] In view of the fact that Rose had been a Dominican tertiary, the Dominicans organized splendid celebrations of their own at the Minerva, whilst the Spaniards did so at S. Giacomo, owing to her having been a Spanish subject.[3] April 28th, 1669, witnessed the canonization of Peter of Alcántara and Mary Magdalen de'Pazzi,[4] for which preparations had been in progress since December 1668.[5] The Pope drew attention

[1] *Bull.*, XVII., 572.

[2] *Ibid.*, 583.

[3] **Avvisi* of May 19 and June 16, 1668, *ibid.* *Cf.* also **Avviso* of September 1, 1668, *ibid.* An inscription on Rose's canonization is seen in S. Sabina; see Forcella, VII., 313. Decrees on her cultus in America in Streit, I., 515 *seq.* *Cf. Bull.*, XVIII., 68, 70, 73, 232.

[4] *Acta canonizat. S. Petri de Alcantara et S. Mariae Magd. de Pazzis*, Romae, 1669; Novaes, X., 213 *seq.* Bulls of May 11, 1670, *Bull.*, XVIII., 1 *seq.*, ii *seq.* *Cf.* the *Brief to Leopold I. of May 29, 1669, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] **Avviso* of December 15, 1668, *loc. cit.*

to the significance of these canonizations in an address at the consistory.[1] For the function itself St. Peter's was adorned not only with the pictures of the new Saints and thousands of lights, but likewise with Raphael's tapestries.[2]

1668 saw the reorganization of the Congregation of Regulars.[3] Clement VIII. had provisionally created a special Congregation to deal with questions concerning Indulgences. By a Bull of July 6th, 1669, Clement IX. erected a permanent Congregation whose duty it was to examine and grant Indulgences, to pronounce on the authenticity of relics and to suppress any abuses that might creep in in this particular sphere.[4] This measure marked the conclusion of the system of permanent Congregations first introduced by Sixtus V.

At this time Rome had a living Saint within its walls in the person of a simple Franciscan Friar, Carlo da Sezze. Born in 1613, Carlo spent his youth as a shepherd in the Campagna. At the age of twenty-two he donned the habit of St. Francis; in 1640 he was sent to the convent near S. Pietro in Montorio and still later to that of S. Francesco a Ripa. Though without higher education, he nevertheless wrote a series of devotional books which ranked among the most popular works of edification of the 17th century. Many persons both from the lower and the upper classes chose him for their spiritual guide; Clement IX. also held him in high esteem and repeatedly sent for him. In many ways Carlo da Sezze recalls Philip Neri; like Philip he cherished a special devotion to the Catacombs of St. Sebastian. When this true image of the Poverello of Assisi, by reason of his simplicity and purity, died on January 6th, 1670, in the convent of S. Francesco a Ripa, the great veneration in which the people had held him, showed itself in moving

[1] **Acta consist.*, April 5, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Avviso* of May 4, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Bull.*, XVII., 654 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 805; MORONI, XVI., 216 *seqq.*; BANGEN, 247 *seq.*; *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1855, 2270; PHILLIPS VI., 659, HINSCHIUS, I., 473 *seq.*

fashion.[1] For a whole generation numerous complaints from secular princes had been reaching Rome concerning abuses in connection with the immunity of churches. On July 5th, 1668, Clement IX. announced his intention of dealing with this matter.[2] A special Congregation was charged to examine whether, and to what extent, it was possible to alter the dispositions of Gregory XIV.'s Bull on the immunity of churches.[3] Cardinals Brancaccio, Gualtieri, Spinola and, though less regularly, Borromeo, took part in the meetings of the Congregation; the Secretary was Giacomo Altoviti, Patriarch of Antioch, and Rocci, Archbishop of Damascus, was likewise called in. At the first session of the Congregation, on September 6th, 1668, it was resolved that Spinola and Rocci, both of whom had been nuncios at Naples, should submit the observations they had made whilst they were in that city, for it was chiefly with the Spanish authorities that conflicts had arisen. Two further sessions were held on July 12th and October 2nd, 1669, but at this time Clement IX.

[1] Ant. Maria Da Vicenza, *Vita del b. Carlo da Sezze*, Venezia, 1881, 242 *seq.*, 256, 261 *seq.* The earthly remains of Carlo were first buried in the chapel of St. Antony, now dedicated to St. Hyacintha, but in 1711 they found a new resting place near a pillar in the centre of the church. On November 4, 1881, on the occasion of the impending beatification, the grave was opened when some of the bones were found, whereas all else had crumbled into dust. The heart, however, and the reliquary containing it, which had been walled up in the former cell of St. Francis, turned into a chapel, was found incorrupt though shrivelled up. The primitive funeral inscription is in Forcella, IV., 417.

[2] What follows is based on a MS. from the remains of Cardinal Gentili, which I acquired in Rome in 1902: "*Atti della Congregazione particolare deputata dalla santa memoria di Clemente IX. e confermata da N. S. Clemente X. sopra le doglianze de' principi secolari contro l'osservanza della bolla di Gregorio XIV. in materia dell'immunità, libertà e giurisdizione ecclesiastica 1668–71." The collection with its many documents is the work of Giac. Altoviti.

[3] See our data, Vol. XXII., 394.

died. That very year, 1669, the Pope had had to complain of grievous injury done to ecclesiastical immunity by the civil authorities in the kingdom of Naples.[1] An eruption of Etna in April 1669, provided the Pope with an occasion to warn the authorities to cease from provoking the divine anger by their ever recurring violations of the rights of the Church.[2] The warning remained unheeded. In the summer encroachments of such gravity took place at Milan and Naples that the infliction of ecclesiastical penalties was considered in Rome.[3] In the course of the year the Pope saw himself compelled to repeat his protest against the continued infringement of the Church's rights in those territories [4] and things went on in this strain until his death.[5]

Affairs in Portugal also caused Clement IX. much anxiety. On November 23rd, 1667, Alfonso VI., a man of no ability, had been deposed and his place taken by his brother Pedro II. On February 13th, 1668, peace was at length concluded with Spain; this ended a 26 years' war between these two Powers and secured for the ruler of Portugal recognition as legitimate King. This made it possible at long last for the Holy See to put order into the religious situation of that country.[6] It was high time because, as a result of the vacancy of many

[1] See the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, April 9 and 16, 1669, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, April 30, 1669, *ibid.*

[3] "*Qui si conosce la necessità di venire all'uso delle armi date da Dio alla Chiesa per la necessaria difesa de' suoi diritti." Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of July 6, 1669, *ibid.* *Cf.* the *Cifra of July 20, 1669, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* in App. 11 the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of August 31, 1669, *ibid.* Further complaints of encroachments in Naples and Milan in the *Cifre of September 14, 15, 17 and 28, and October 26, 1669, *ibid.*

[5] *Cifra of November 9, 1669, *ibid.*

[6] On Clement IX.'s efforts for peace and the filling of the Sees, see the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of June 24, August 29, September 27 and October 4, 1667, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, *loc. cit.*

Sees, a situation of so much danger had developed, that there was reason to fear a schism.[1]

The Portuguese revolution and the peace with Spain were a heavy blow for Louis XIV. who, through Mary Frances of Savoy, Alfonso VI.'s wife, had kept Portugal harnessed to his political chariot ; so he promptly conceived the plan of marrying Mary Frances to Pedro II., without recourse to the Pope for the necessary dispensations.[2] By Louis' advice the Queen appealed not to Rome but to the Cathedral Chapter of Lisbon for a declaration of nullity of her marriage on the ground of non-consummation. On April 28th, 1668, a favourable sentence was issued in this sense, but this did not remove the impediment of "public honesty" which forbids marriage with a brother's wife and from which the Pope alone has power to dispense. However, Louis XIV. was determined on keeping the Holy See out of the affair. The Queen's uncle, Cardinal Vendôme, who had been sent to France as papal legate for the Baptism of the Dauphin, was weak enough to exceed his powers by granting the dispensation. Thereupon the wedding took place. However, it was not long before the Queen began to experience scruples as to the validity of the dispensation ; accordingly she sent her confessor to Rome, but Louis XIV. put every imaginable obstacle in the latter's way with a view to preventing his departure. The King of France would not allow the Pope to take cognizance of the judgment of Lisbon ; in fact he threatened to contest, on Gallican principles, the Pope's right to deal with the matrimonial affairs of princes should Clement IX. refuse to submit to his will.[3]

But Clement IX. was not to be browbeaten. He insisted on all the documents being submitted for examination

[1] *Cf.* César d'Estrées's memorial in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (1905), 360 *seq.* See also P. Coquelle, *Hist. du Portugal et de la maison de Bragance*, Paris, 1889.

[2] Gérin, II., 251 *seqq.* Schäfer's account in *Gesch. Portugals*, IV., 630, 634 *seq.*, V., 160 *seq.*, is in part erroneous.

[3] Gérin, II., 295.

by a Congregation of Cardinals including Rospigliosi, Ottoboni and Azzolini and the celebrated Canonist Fagnani. Subsequently Bona and Brancati were added to them by the Inquisition. The Congregation decided that Vendôme had exceeded his powers. The examination of the validity of the first marriage was most carefully conducted, all legal forms being observed ; the conclusion was that it had been invalid. The Pope confirmed the verdict, dispensed from the impediment of public honesty in the plenitude of his apostolic authority and ratified the new marriage.[1]

The conclusion of peace with Spain and the settlement of this matrimonial tangle made it possible for Rome to accept a Portuguese ambassador. Francisco de Sousa, Count del Prado, was nominated but he only reached his post after the Pope's death.[2]

Though it was not granted to Clement IX. to effect a final settlement of Portuguese difficulties, he had at least the satisfaction of learning that the Patriarch Jacob of Greater Armenia had recanted his errors.[3] Archbishop Péréfixe de Beaumont of Paris, who had suppressed various holy days by his own authority, also submitted to the judgment of the Holy See which insisted on the withdrawal of the Archbishop's

[1] **Avviso* of January 5, 1669, State Archives, Vienna ; GÉRIN, II., 296 *seqq.*, who has demonstrated Clement IX.'s perfectly correct attitude in this affair. This disposes of VOLTAIRE's calumny (*Le siècle de Louis XIV.*, c. 10). When ADEMOLLO (*Indipendenza Portoghese*, 79) asserts that Clement IX. had legitimized the Queen's " passione adultera ", the fact need not surprise us in so uncritical a writer. Unfortunately a German historian, SCHÄFER (*Gesch. Portugals*, V., 160), has also taken it on himself to affirm that " the See of Rome abandoned its wonted strictness in these matters when it approved and confirmed the dissolution of the marriage and the surprising nuptials with a lightheartedness unheard of in history.

[2] Below, ch. VI.

[3] *Cf.* the *Brief to Patriarch Jacob, dated August 6, 1667, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec Arch. ; CIACONIUS, IV., 779 ; NOVAES, X., 207.

ordinance.[1] In 1667 Clement IX. erected a special Apostolic Vicariate for North Germany the first titular of which was Valerio Maccioni.[2] In Upper Germany the Pope divided the Capuchin Province into two,[3] and in Bavaria he had the joy of witnessing the restoration of the monasteries which had remained secularized under Maximilian I. A special Congregation had been created to deal with this matter.[4]

When Clement IX. bestowed the red hat on his nephew, Jacopo Rospigliosi, on December 12th, 1667, he at the same time admitted to the Sacred College, out of gratitude to his predecessor, the latter's relative Sigismondo Chigi and the brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold de' Medici. In spite of his youth, Sigismondo Chigi, who had been carefully trained by Alexander VII., showed himself worthy of the purple.[5] Leopold de' Medici, a warm friend of art and learning, became the most outstanding figure among the Medici Cardinals. At Florence he was at the head of the Accademia del Cimento which busied itself mainly with physical research. By contributing hitherto unpublished material, he inspired and promoted the first edition of the collected works of Galileo published at Bologna in 1656; he also furthered the work of the Accademia della Crusca, viz. the preparation of the third edition of the dictionary and the publication of

[1] *Briefs to the Archbishop of Paris, dated July 10 and December 8, 1668, *Epist.*, II.–III., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 291, 375 *seq.*

[2] MEJER, II., 251, 258 *seq.*; F. W. WOKER, *Gesch. der Kath. Kirche und Gemeinde in Hannover und Celle*, Paderborn, 1889, 29; for Maccioni, *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

[3] MENTZ, II., 223.

[4] RIETZLER, VIII., 547 *seq.*; H. RÄBEL, *Die Restitution der chemaligen Benediktiner Adelsabtei Weissenohe im Zusammenhang mit der Wiedererrichtung der übrigen oberpfälzischen Klöster* (1669), München, 1904 (Diss.).

[5] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 351; CIACONIUS, IV., 787; CARDELLA, VII., 189 *seq.* *Cf.* *Compendioso raggaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X., *Barb.* 4704, Vat. Lib.

texts from the golden age of the Italian language. Leopold gave proof of the greatest keenness as well as discrimination in collecting works of art ; a vast number of pictures, antique statues, coins, gems, inscriptions, sketches were brought together by him. Part of these treasures went into the Uffizi Gallery at his death in 1675, the rest at a later date ; the collection of artists' portraits owes its origin to Leopold. All visitors to this gallery, unique of its kind, will ever remember Foggini's marble statue of the Cardinal with his motto : *Semper rectus, semper idem* (Always straight, always the same). At Rome the Cardinal restored his titular church of SS. Cosmas and Damian.[1]

At the very first creation of Cardinals, France and Spain claimed a right to the appointment of so-called crown Cardinals, but the Pope would not hear of such a pretension.[2] Despite every kind of pressure [3] he only met the wishes of these two great Powers on August 5th, 1669, in order to secure their help for the Turkish war. Spain's candidate, Louis Emanuel Portocarrero [4] was reserved *in petto* for the

[1] Besides CIACONIUS, IV., 786, and CARDELLA, VII., 188 *seq.*, *cf.* A. FABRONI, *Elogi d'alcuni ill. Toscani*, I., Pisa, 1784 ; G. PIERACCINI, *La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, II., 103 ; CONTI, *Firenze*, 27 *seqq.*, 30 *seqq.*, and especially REUMONT, *Gesch. Toskanas*, II., 435, 445, 557 *seqq.*, 603. Reumont (560) shows that the dissolution of the Accademia del Cimento, to which Leopold's elevation to the cardinalate gave the last blow, was not due, as has been maintained, to the Holy See's fear of physical research. Gaulli's bust of the Cardinal (*ca.* 1675) is in the Uffizi ; *cf. Riv. d'arte*, 1909, 337.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 233 *seq.*, 291. In the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of February 8 and 15, 1667, stress is laid on the Pope's absolute freedom in the nomination of Cardinals ; *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 363 *seqq.*

[4] CIACONIUS, IV., 789 ; CARDELLA, VII., 193 *seq.* Portocarrero (*ob.*, 1709) became Archbishop of Toledo where, so we read in a *report of ca. 1686, on the College of Cardinals, " al presente vive tutto applicato alla buona custodia della sua gregge. É generosissimo, pio, galante, cortese, affabile, officioso, di buon'indole e

time being, but France's candidate, Emanuel de la Tour, Duke of Albret, known as Cardinal Bouillon, was proclaimed at once. The celebrated poet Jean de Lafontaine sang the merits of the new Cardinal whose uncle, Marshal Turenne, had recently returned to the bosom of Holy Church.[1] But Paris was not yet satisfied; on the contrary, the candidature of César d'Estrées was now urged with the utmost insistence, though the latter was as unsuitable a candidate for the purple as was Bouillon. In the case of the latter the Pope had been obliged to yield in view of the war against the Turks, but this time he resolutely declined to carry out an impossible promotion.[2]

Clement was no less firm with the court of Vienna. Whilst France worked for the candidature of the Duke of Albret and in consequence thereof, Spain urged the admission of the Jesuit Nithard into the Sacred College, the Cardinal of Hesse suggested to Vienna that the Emperor should likewise demand a Cardinal.[3] Thereupon the Abbot of Fulda, Margrave

di miti costumi, dilettandosi di conversar con dame, nelle quali ha speso eccedentemente e niente meno che nelle publiche elemosine che diffusamente faceva" (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A, f. 3). *Cf.* GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 355.

[1] F. REYSSIÉ, *Le card. de Bouillon*, 1647–1715, Paris, 1899, 39 *seq.* On Turenne's conversion, see FLOQUET, Vie de Bossuet, III., 196 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*

[2] See Clement IX.'s *letter to Louis XIV. of September 24, 1669, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 152b, Papal Sec. Arch.; GÉRIN, II., 368 *seq.* On the motives of Bouillon's elevation we read in the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of August 5, 1669: "Non solo N. S. ha havuto riguardo ad impedir la pace de' Venetiani col Turco nella promotione del card. di Buglione, ma ha sperato che impegnandosi il Re Christianissimo nella difesa di Candia, anco per l'avvenire sarebbe ciò di gran sicurezza alla conservatione della pace fra le due corone." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the *letter of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I. of January 19, 1669, State Archives, Vienna. At a later date the Spanish Government desired to accredit Fr. Nithard as its ambassador in Rome, a proposal which Clement IX. rejected on the ground that a religious could not be an ambassador; see *Cifre

Bernard Gustave of Baden-Durlach was proposed for that honour,[1] but the efforts made on his behalf were in vain. The nuncio in Vienna, Pignatelli, made it plain to the Emperor why it was necessary to postpone the nomination of an imperial Cardinal. It was an act of sheer favour on the part of the Pope if he had taken into consideration the wishes of France and Spain; he had only done so for the sake of Christendom, because the help of those countries was necessary for the war against the Turks; it was hoped that this act of grace would spur on Louis XIV. to more intense military action on behalf of Crete for there was danger of Venice making peace with the Turks, thereby exposing both Italy and the Emperor's own territories to Turkish aggression. As for the act of grace towards Spain, the Pope had found himself compelled to satisfy that Power in the same way as France. The Pope was under obligation, in this his first creation, to safeguard the independence of the Church and to act, not in the Princes' interest, but in his own. What he had done was a pure act of grace and for the reasons stated he could not do the same for the Emperor; also there would be no point in what he had done and France would feel under no obligation.[2]

Leopold I. described these motives of policy and statecraft as subtleties which were not understood in Germany and he maintained his contention that the Pope could have shown him equal favour. The minister Lobkowitz used far more violent language for he spoke in the most insulting terms to the nuncio and swore that if the Pope refused to nominate the Emperor's candidate, the monarch would certainly join hands with the heretics. Moreover, the nuncio reported,

al Nuntio di Spagna of July 6 and 20, 1669, 823–835, *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVIII., 139 *seq.*, CLIV., 465 *seqq.*

[1] *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, XX., 293 *seq.*; RÜBSAM, *Kard. Bernh. Gustav von Baden*, Fulda, 1924.

[2] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 817, 824 *seq.* *Cf.* an *autograph letter of Clement IX. to Leopold I., dated September 7, 1669, with which Levinson was not acquainted, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 151[b], Papal Sec. Arch.

they were thinking of expelling himself and of breaking off relations with the Holy See. It was a remarkable thing, the nuncio wrote, that Lobkowitz and Auersperg, otherwise deadly enemies, should be at one on this point.[1] It soon became evident that Auersperg was the author of these threats for that man of boundless ambition was striving with might and main to secure the red hat for himself, nor was he ashamed formally to court France's intervention on his behalf. In the sequel, the situation became still more acute. The Council of ministers decided to forbid the nuncio to present himself at the Hofburg and to expel him from the hereditary States. If this step was not carried into effect it was mainly because of the need of papal assistance in view of the threatened attack of the Turks. In the end the nuncio succeeded in bringing about a calmer state of mind in Vienna and in getting some appreciation of the Pope's point of view in the matter.[2] As for Auersperg, fate soon overtook him: when the imperial Resident with the Holy See, Freiherr von Plittersdorff arrived unexpectedly in Vienna on November 5th, 1669, to expose Auersperg's secret connexion with France, the latter was banished from court.[3]

At a third promotion, November 29th, 1669, shortly before his death, Clement IX. proclaimed Portocarrero and raised seven splendid men to the Senate of the Church,[4] all of whom had rendered valuable service to the Holy See. After thirty years' work in the Rota the jurist Carlo Cerri had become Dean of that tribunal.[5] The Genoese Lazzaro Pallavicino,

[1] LEVINSON, I., 817 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 602 *seq.*, 818 *seq.*, 830. *Cf.* Clement IX.'s *autograph letters to the Emperor and Empress, dated October 17, 1669, to calm them because of Bouillon's elevation (Papal Sec. Arch., *loc. cit.*, pp. 155–6b).

[3] *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, XX., 299 *seq.*

[4] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 355 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, IV., 790 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 197 *seqq.*

[5] After a stormy youth and after having been married, Cerri had embraced the ecclesiastical state under Urban VIII. "*É di bello aspetto," says the report in the Liechenstein Archives,

Dean of the Clerics of the Camera, had administered the *Annona* in difficult times. The highly cultivated Florentine Francesco Nerli, Archbishop of his native city, where he had held four synods, had been Secretary for Briefs to Princes first under Innocent X., then under Alexander VII., and lastly under Clement IX.[1] Niccolò Acciajoli, a man of many parts, was also a Florentine; he won universal appreciation as Auditor of the Camera.[2] Buonaccorso Buonaccorsi, a native of the Marches, was treasurer of the Camera and had accompanied Cardinal Chigi during his legation to France. The Roman Egidio Altieri occupied since 1667 the post of Maestro di Camera to the Pope whom he was himself to succeed.

It may be said that the most outstanding personality among all those named on November 29th, 1669 was the Cistercian Giovanni Bona, a native of Mandovi, who had been General of the reformed branch of his Order in Italy from 1651 to 1654. Alexander VII. called him to Rome, charged him once more with the government of his Order and employed him in various Congregations, especially the Index and the Inquisition. Clement IX. named him a Consultor of the new Congregation of Indulgences and Relics. Equally remarkable as a religious and as a scholar, Bona enriched ascetical, mystical and moral literature, Church

Vienna, quoted above, p. 345, n. 4, "gioviale, loquace, magnanimo et amorevole," quickly moved to anger but easily appeased.

[1] *Cf.* **Epist. Innocentii X.*, **Epist. Alexandri VII.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] The author of the above-named *report in the Liechenstein Archives defends Acciajoli against the unfair accusations of his enemies: "Io l'ho sempre conosciuto per soggetto dignissimo, facile, spedito, giusto, applicato, indefesso, caritativo e pietoso, di costumi incorregibili, di pensieri vasti e di giustitia immacolata. Ha sufficiente scienza, di gran talenti, di maggior capacità et abilissimo a qualunque gran commando. É dotato di somma prudenza, di uguale acutezza d'ingegno, di gran maturità ne' consigli e nel risolvere. É libero di linguaggio et ingenuo di cuore."

history and above all liturgical scholarship, with solid works. His Guide to the spiritual exercises was translated into French and Polish. The learned Cistercian even tried his hand at poetry. Among his many still unpublished works, his *Hortus coelestium deliciarum* has recently been made accessible in an excellent edition.[1] Such was the depth of Bona's piety and humility that there has been question of his canonization.[2]

(2.)

Thanks to Louis XIV.'s Gallicanism, during the reign of Alexander VII. the four Bishops of Alet, Pamiers, Angers and Beauvais, had been able to refuse with impunity, for three whole years, their subscription of the papal formula. The execution of the two Briefs which were at length issued against them, became once more problematic in consequence of the Pope's death. However, after Clement IX.'s elevation, the French Government seemed determined to deal with the matter in good earnest. Its ambassador in Rome, Chaulnes, asked for confirmation of the Briefs against the four Bishops, which was granted by Clement.[3] Nor did the new Pope make any difficulty when a request came from Paris for an

[1] *Hortus caelestium deliciarum . . . a D.* Ioanne Bona *e Monte regali b. Mariae apud Vicum congreg. S. Bernardi ord. Cisterc. abbate*, ed. M. Vattasso (Roma, 1918), who, on p. xxv *seqq.*, gives an excellent though brief biography of Bona based on MS. documents. *Cf.* the biographies by Bertolotti (Asti, 1677), A. Ighina (Mondovì, 1874), and G. B. Ressia (Mondovì, 1910); I. Bonae, *Epistolas*, Taurini, 1755, Lucae, 1759; *Civ. Catt.*, 1910, II., 568–572; Brief of Pius X. of April 25, 1910, which describes Bona's writings as opportune for those days: "cum praesertim haeresis ianseniana per Ecclesiae ordines late serperet et quacumque virus iniecisset suum, omnem religionis fervorem extingueret."

[2] F. Tonelli, in *Riv. stor. Benedett.*, V. (1910), 253 *seqq.*, 321 *seqq.*

[3] *Brief of August 23, 1667, in *Excerpta*, 1666, f. 384 (Schill remains).

alteration in the clause of the Briefs forbidding the four Bishops to decline some of their judges.[1] That this concession provided the accused with the means of delaying the proceedings indefinitely did not escape the Pope.[2] A new Congregation of Cardinals was created for the purpose of dealing with the Jansenist question.[3] When the Briefs were at last dispatched on December 23rd, 1667, events had occurred which rendered their execution impossible. The Jansenists considered Clement IX. an opponent of Alexander VII.[4]; accordingly the four Bishops felt that now was the time to justify their previous conduct to the new Pope.[5] At bottom their self-complacent apology is nothing but a series of strictures on the Holy See. The disputes that began with Innocent X., they said, would have been forgotten by now had the right means been employed.[6] The demand that they should acknowledge, by subscribing to the formula, the fact also, was a false step since all theologians agreed that when judging of facts the Church was not infallible. Such a demand could only breed perjury, trouble of conscience, and the persecution of upright men.[7] With regard to doctrine, they had failed to discover anyone whom they could justly accuse of error[8]; in other words, according to the four

[1] *Fresh drafting of Briefs, December 23, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 396. On the clause "recusatione et recursu remotis", see GÉRIN, II., 244, n.; RAPIN, III., 425.

[2] MARESCOTTI, **Relazione* (1668), Bibl. Casanat., Rome, X., vi., 34, f. 154 *seqq.*

[3] Composed of Cardinals Ginetti, Ottoboni, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Piccolomini, Rasponi, Rospigliosi, Azzolini, Celsi. **Excerpta*, f. 422, *loc. cit.*

[4] [VARET], I., 114.

[5] Letter of August 28, 1667, in [VARET], I., 391–8. As a matter of fact, Caulet and Pavillon only subscribed to it at the end of September and the other two prelates in October; see DUBRUEL, 222.

[6] [VARET], I., 114.

[7] *Ibid.*, 395.

[8] *Ibid.*, 394.

there was no Jansenism at all in France. Among the remaining Bishops there were many who held the same views as they did with regard to facts. As for the Roman Index, the four treat it in most high-handed fashion: they write as if they had never heard of the prohibition of their pastorals by that Congregation, but merely of a suspicion, and even that only as a vague rumour.[1] The authors of this letter to the Pope sent it to the King, whose attention they drew to the fact that the judicial proceedings which it was intended to take against them could not be reconciled with the Gallican liberties.[2] The Roman Inquisition decided to leave the letter unanswered.[3]

The four were not altogether wrong when they spoke of sympathizers among the clergy. With regard to the Bishops' formula of the Assembly of the Clergy, Annat had observed that the difficulty lay not in the signature but in getting a sincere signature.[4] Rome was aware of this, hence when a request was made for a Brief against the recalcitrant Bishops, the papal officials observed that it would be useless as there were too many people who felt like them.[5] For the time being these sympathizers remained in the background; but they were at hand, and the party felt stronger for their presence. At this very time it received a fresh increase of strength owing to the fact that an influential personality had recently put itself at its disposal.

It is a strange fact that the story of a party which, in the first instance, catered only for the most cultivated persons,

[1] *Ibid.*, 397.

[2] *Ibid.*, 66–8.

[3] *On March 8, 1666, *Excerpta*, f. 440. Same decision for the *letter of the nineteen, of April 12, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 472.

[4] "*Nous ne sommes pas en peine de faire souscrire le formulaire, il y en a peu qui le refusent. Toute peine est d'obtenir d'eux qu'ils le fassent sincèrement. Car ils se forment une conscience je ne sais quelle, que pour souscrire il n'est point nécessaire de changer de sentiment." Annat to Fabri, August 22, 1664, *Excerpta*, 1663, f. 514.

[5] Gérin, II., 245.

which spread through clandestine channels and by means of clever subtleties and readily fought its opponents with poisoned weapons, should be to a large extent the work of women's hands. The focal point of the whole movement was a convent of nuns; the new teaching was expounded and advocated in the *salons* of aristocratic ladies.[1] One of the principal manifestos of the sect, Arnauld's book on Communion, was connected with a dispute between two ladies of noble lineage.[1] Angélique Arnauld cannot be separated from Saint-Cyran, by the side of Pascal we see his sister Jacqueline, and even of the unbending Pavillon it was said that he too bowed respectfully to the pronouncement of Mothers Angélique and Agnes Arnauld.[2]

Since 1657 or thereabout, one of the mainstays of the party was a princess of the royal blood, viz. Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchess of Longueville and sister to the Princes Condé and Conti. After playing a great rôle during the disturbances of the Fronde, which had earned her a kind of banishment from court, she devoted herself at Rouen to a pious life in a Jansenistic sense,[3] hence it was not long before she became for the party what she had previously been for the Fronde. Of the subtleties of the doctrine of grace she probably understood but little, but for her mastery in the art of intrigue and for her wonderful gift of captivating everybody by her conversation, Jansenism offered a new and promising field. It was said that her burning zeal did more for the party than all the writings that issued from Port-Royal.[4] Stimulated by the Duchess, other court ladies took up the defence of the Jansenists after the Queen's death; once more the salons resounded with sighs over the persecution of the saintly nuns of Port-Royal and the no less saintly four Bishops, nor was there any lack of blame of the Archbishop and the Jesuits.[5] As a princess of the blood the Duchess

[1] *Cf.* our data, XXIX., 135.

[2] RAPIN, III., 78.

[3] *Ibid.*, 423 *seqq.*, 445 *seqq.*; [VARET], I., 69 *seq.*

[4] RAPIN, III., 429.

[5] *Ibid.*, 430 *seq.*

could take it on herself to write to Clement IX. in order to plead with him on behalf of the nuns of Port-Royal, and to enlighten him, in view of her superior knowledge, on the situation in France.[1] She likewise appealed to Cardinal Azzolini,[2] and when internuncio Rospigliosi passed through the French capital on his way from Brussels to Rome, she saw to it that a memorial drawn up by Arnauld was presented to him.[3] Over the Sorbonne too she exercised considerable influence. The fact that, except for a quite insignificant number, the Doctors from the Mendicant Orders were excluded from the sittings, so that the anti-papal party enjoyed a preponderance in that body, is ascribed to the efforts of the Duchess' friends. It was the Doctors of the Duchess' party who suggested to the King that the doctrine of papal infallibility constituted a danger for the State since it gave the Pope the right to depose Kings.[4]

At Rouen the Duchess had won over to Jansenism the majority of the parochial clergy and more than one Bishop.[5] She now continued her efforts.[6] It was said [7] that among those who had come under her influence were the nineteen Bishops who, at the instigation of Archbishop Gondrin of Sens and Bishop Vialart of Châlons, had appealed to the Pope on behalf of their four colleagues.[8]

The letter of the nineteen [9] was an event of far-reaching

[1] [VARET], I., 72–85. [2] *Ibid.*, 86–9.

[3] July 31, 1667, *ibid.*, 90–5.

[4] BARGELLINI, in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 51.

[5] RAPIN, III., 430 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 431.

[7] *Ibid.*, 432, 439. In Paris the nineteen were described as "les champions de la duchesse de Longueville et les nouveaux Jansénistes de sa façon". *Ibid.*, 440.

[8] December 1, 1667, in [VARET], I., 388–391; *cf.* 40 *seqq.*

[9] They were: the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Châlons, Boulogne, Meaux, Angoulême, La Rochelle, Comminges, Couserans, Saint-Pons, Lodève, Vence, Mirepoix, Agen, Saintes, Rennes, Soissons, Amiens, Tulle, Troyes. [VARET] I., 43.

significance. Their number, however, was not large and the signatures of the relatively few Bishops had only been obtained with difficulty as a result of a circular trip by Papin.[1] Even with regard to its contents the letter was not remarkable. After an assurance that the French Bishops would not lag behind anyone in their respect for the Holy See, there follows a eulogy of the virtues of the four recalcitrants coupled with a complete misrepresentation of the real matter at issue. They complain that infallibility was claimed for decisions on facts "such as occur day by day".[2] The truth was that no one had ever made such a claim; infallibility was only claimed for so-called dogmatic facts, that is for such as are inseparably bound up with a definition of a dogma of the faith.[3] But whatever may have been the contents of the letter it was, at any rate, an ominous symptom of the state of mind of the clergy that nineteen Bishops should rise against Rome; moreover they had good reason to assert in their letter that the principles held by Pavillon and his three adherents were also held by not a few Bishops, some of them distinguished ones. This statement was repeated by three of the signatories of the letter in another communication to Rome in which they roundly told one of the Cardinals that the Pope allowed himself to be influenced by party tricks, in opposition to the canons and the rights of Bishops; let the Pope at last be enlightened on the true state of things for, without a doubt, he had been carefully kept in the dark up to now by the intrigues of certain persons.[4]

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, 95–114, 119.

[2] "Decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur." *Ibid.*, 389.

[3] DUBRUEL, 228.

[4] *The Bishops of Châlons, Angoulême and Rennes, on March 1, 1668, *Excerpta*, f. 448: "S. Pontificis maiestatem adversus canones, adversus omnium episcoporum iura improvide nonnulli ob privatas forsan utilitates in partes trahere moliuntur." They urge that the Pope be informed of the true state of things which "quorundam hominum artibus semper apud vos studiose, ut patet, hactenus dissimulatum et tectum."

Propaganda was also made in favour of these accusations among wider circles by giving publicity at least to the substance of the letter of the nineteen. The same end was even better served by a circular addressed in the name of the four to the whole French hierarchy and reproduced by the press.[1] This document declared before the public, in as many words, that Pavillon and those who thought like him, would never submit to a papal sentence.[2] The true core of the dispute, whether, that is, the Pope can decide what is heresy and who is a heretic, the document passed over in silence; instead the papal judicial procedure against the four is attacked with a great show of historical learning. "There is question," it says at the very beginning, "not of the oppression of our persons but of the distortion of the most sacred laws of justice, of an injury to the first principles of natural equity, of the deepest degradation of our common dignity"[3] The document treats the Pope as if he were the enemy of the episcopate, against whom it is necessary to be on the defensive. It raises the question whether the episcopate was not doomed if it was unconditionally subjected to the will of him who is the head of all Bishops; it hints that such an act would amount to a claim for the Pope not only of infallibility but of impeccability.[4] What Bishop, we read, could feel secure in his church if powerful enemies could bring about his deposition merely by accusing him of insufficient regard for the Pope?[5] If so disastrous a policy were to get a footing within the Church, there would scarcely be a truth which could not be suppressed, not an error that might not be introduced under the influence of powerful

[1] Dated April 25, 1668, but only published in June; *cf.* [VARET], II., 19–55. Arnauld is the author both of this letter and of the others which the four addressed to the Pope and the King; *ibid.*, 149. *Cf.* ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIV., 549 *seqq.*, 148.

[2] "On nous doit faire un commandement, auquel on sait bien que nous n'obéirons jamais." [VARET], II., 38.

[3] *Ibid.*, 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 38.

[5] *Ibid.*, 39.

personalities.[1] For the Holy See and its precedence the letter still has an occasional word of recognition [2]; but by way of compensation it attacks all the more fiercely its advisers, especially the religious, who know how to surprise the Pope and extort from him decrees against the Bishops.[3] These people delight in teaching by their deeds what the Roman theologians expound in their books, namely that the Pope is sovereign and absolute Lord of the Church whereas the Bishops are merely his lieutenants to whom he listens or does not listen according to his good pleasure.[4] The circular is particularly severe on the prohibition, by the Index, of the pastoral letters of the four [5]; "it is well known how things are done in the Congregation of the Index, where four or five religious decide whatever is done by it. Is it a thing to be borne that such people should pretend to act as absolute judges of the ordinances issued by Bishops for the government of their dioceses?" Moderation and silence would be out of place in the face of such injustice for they would only encourage further encroachments; that was why the four Bishops now appealed to their colleagues.[6]

It was after much hesitation, and relying on the King, that Rome had decided to take action against the four Bishops, a step for which there were not many precedents in recent Church history.[7] After the letter of the nineteen, and even more so after the wholly revolutionary circular of the four, it was impossible not to realize that rigid insistence on the letter of the Briefs would lead for decades to a schism of the most dangerous kind.

Consequently feeling in Rome was favourable to a compromise; it was no less so in France. The King, indeed, was angry with the four for having dared to oppose his will,

[1] *Ibid.*, 42.
[2] *Ibid.*, 44.
[3] *Ibid.*, 35, 40, 45.
[4] *Ibid.*, 47.
[5] *Ibid.*, 47–50.
[6] *Ibid.*, 50.
[7] RAPIN, III., 394, 423.

but his three ministers secretly favoured the Jansenists; moreover, by reason of their Gallicanism, they were against an increase of Rome's prestige as a result of a trial of strength with the four Bishops: lastly they could not but be extremely anxious that the internal tranquillity of the realm should not be troubled by religious strife.[1] Out of regard for the King, the ministers made a great show of interest in the papal commission. When the Archbishop of Sens remarked to Le Tellier that if the King took action against the four, he would have to do so against forty others, as well as against himself, he was told that after the four they would deal with the forty, beginning with the Archbishop of Sens.[2] When the nineteen wrote a letter to the King in defence of Pavillon and his three adherents,[3] they were not allowed to present it [4]; a decree of Parliament [5] forbade its publication by means of the printing press and condemned the "unlawful meetings", at which it had been drawn up together with the ideas which it advocated. In like manner the Council of State [6] suppressed the circular of the four to their fellow Bishops. On the other hand, the attack on their right of free assembly roused the Bishops to the utmost, with the result that both the King

[1] Lionne and Le Tellier were influenced by personal motives also (RAPIN, III., 445 *seq.*). Le Tellier was under the influence of his son, the future Archbishop of Rheims, who had just brilliantly terminated his studies (*ibid.*, 450). *Cf.* the nuncio's *report of January 30, 1665 (Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 126): Lionne and Colbert did not wish the Sorbonne to act as it did (against papal infallibility), "ma il petulantissimo abbate Tellier è capo di tutta questa cabala ed il padre che crede che suo figlio sappia più di san Thomaso," supports the Sorbonne in the Council of State. *Cf. ibid.*, *April 16: Young Le Tellier will soon get a bishopric and will be "molto peggiore" than his friend Gondrin.

[2] RAPIN, 440; *Bargellini on June 19, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 149.

[3] [VARET], I., 44–51.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] March 19, 1668, *ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

[6] July 4, 1668, *ibid.*, 57 *seq.*

and high officials received a number of protests, some of which were made public, thus increasing the ferment.[1] Gondrin of Sens repeatedly told Le Tellier that if it came to the condemnation of the four, he would allow his head to be chopped off rather than have anything to do with those who would pronounce the sentence.[2]

For the rest, despite the measures against the four and the nineteen, the Government was not more friendly disposed towards Rome than usually. The Jansenists had had the New Testament translated into French,[3] a piece of work which increased the party's prestige almost more than anything else.[4] Pavillon had published a Ritual for his diocese in which the administration of Penance was treated in close conformity with Arnauld's ideas.[5] Rome put both books on the Index,[6] but in France the nuncio did not dare to publish the decree against the Ritual. He had already printed the papal condemnation of the so-called *New Testament* of Mons when a royal prohibition stopped him from dispatching the printed copies.[7] The Jansenists could describe the condemnation of the above mentioned translation as null and void with complete impunity, whilst in the following year Pavillon's Ritual was publicly eulogized by 29 Bishops.[8]

[1] [VARET], I., 140 *seqq.*, II., 105; Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 30, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] [VARET], I., 156.

[3] *Ibid.*, 226–250.

[4] RAPIN, III., 391.

[5] [PATOUILLET], III., 498 *seqq.*, IV., 45 *seqq.*

[6] April 9 and 20, 1668, *ibid.* The Archbishop of Paris, who had many imitators, had censured the translation on November 18, 1667, and on April 20, 1668; see RAPIN, III., 397. *Ibid.*, the motives of the censure; prohibition of the translation by the royal council, November 22, 1667, *ibid.*, 399. Clement IX.'s Brief in [DUMAS], III., *Rec.*, 210. *Cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 669.

[7] GÉRIN, II., 246, 291, 374.

[8] [VARET], II., 498 *seq.* Pavillon thought of publicly defending his Ritual in a pastoral letter (*ibid.*, 460–498). He upheld the book; his letters of 1678 on it in E. JOVY, *Les archives du card. Alderano Cybo à Massa*, in *Bullet. du Bibliophile*, 1919, 51.

About this time Marescotti, a very able man, had been chosen in Rome for the post of nuncio in Paris, but Lionne, in view of his peace plans, succeeded in getting him replaced by Niccolò Bargellini, a personality of no weight who, by reason of his naivety and timidity, was no match for the astute French diplomatists.[1] Bargellini entered on office in April 1668.[2]

The new nuncio's first task should have been, in pursuance of the papal Briefs, to initiate proceedings against the four recalcitrant Bishops. As a matter of fact, when the Archbishop of Toulouse arrived shortly after Whitsunday, to act as chairman of the college of judges,[3] Bargellini did his best to fan the latter's none too great eagerness for the business.[4] The Bishops of Lodève and Soissons, who had begged to be excused, were replaced by two other judges [5] and the King was induced to utter a few threats against the four [6]; but the Government was not very much in earnest for it was anxious not to provoke an agitation in the country.[7]

[1] Cauchie, who lays stress on Bargellini's good qualities, nevertheless speaks of his "Incommensurable naïveté" and his "tendance à grossir les difficultés" (*Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1902, 975).

[2] GÉRIN, II., 244 *seq.*; RAPIN, 446.

[3] [VARET], I., 299.

[4] *Ibid.*, 295–8.

[5] *Ibid.*, 14, II., 106. The Bishop of Lodève was replaced by that of Glandève, and after that by that of Séez, whilst the Bishop of Soissons was replaced by that of Evreux. *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 3, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] *The King "subito mandò a chiamare l'arcidiacono di Tolose e due altri vescovi de' commissarii . . . e ordinò che si procedesse con ogni rigore e sollicitudine contro li quattro vescovi" (Bargellini, June 8, 1668, *ibid. Cifre*). On June 12 the nuncio *writes that the Bishops were furious over the King's action; the latter, according to Bargellini's *dispatches of June 15 and 19, remained firm (Papal Sec. Arch.).

[7] [Bargellini] *Il Giansenismo estinto*, in DUPIN, III., 188:

Soon there was question only of a peaceful settlement of the disputes and Bargellini allowed himself to be won over to this view though outwardly he continued to show great keenness for the judicial commission.

A few weeks after his arrival in Paris [1] Bargellini reported that in view of the wide diffusion of Jansenism in so extensive a realm, a great revolution seemed inevitable. He laments the fact that during the dispute with Alexander VII. the Jansenists obtained the suppression of the *Conseil de Conscience* consisting of the King's confessor, the Archbishop of Paris and other staunch supporters of the Holy See. As a result of this measure the nomination of Bishops got into the hands of the ministers and those of aristocratic ladies. At the same time the Jansenists succeeded in obtaining a restriction of the right of voting of the members of religious Orders at the meetings of the Sorbonne; thus the way lay open for unorthodox theses and books. The party was getting more and more formidable owing to the patronage of two ladies, the one the Duchess of Longueville, an adept in every intrigue, and the other the Princess Conti whose excessive eagerness [2]

"Il vero desiderio di S. M^tà fu che non si venisse alla condannatione dei quattro vescovi, per non far nascer disturbi nel regno." RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, III.², 225), who made use of Bargellini's report from a MS. in the British Museum, overlooked the fact that it has long been in print. An anonymous *report (Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., vi., 24, f. 33) says: "The commission took such a long time in coming together che si vedea chiaramente che non si facea da dovero, scoprendosi ogni dì tra li ministri ed altri personaggi più qualeficati della corte una gran propensione verso i quattro vescovi et una plausibile approbazione di tutte le scritture che davano fuori in loro difesa."

[1] *May 15, 1668; *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, p. 246 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] "Per troppa sua bontà." *Cf.* RAPIN, III., 77: "Cette princesse étoit janséniste de meilleure foy que tous les autres, puisqu'elle donna toutes ses pierreries, qu'on estimoit près de deux cent mille écus, aux pauvres, qui passa pour une des plus belles actions de ce siècle en ce genre."

had caused her to fall into the snares of the Jansenists. In addition to this, Prince Conti had done his best to influence the King in favour of the sectaries. Among the ministers, Le Tellier was under the influence of Roquette, Bishop of Autun and a friend of the Jansenists, Colbert was on terms of close friendship with the Jansenist Bourzeys, whilst Lionne's confidant was Le Camus, also an adherent of the party.[1] "The evil was further increased by those whose office made them the defenders of the Holy See, namely the Bishops. Notwithstanding every pressure on the King and the ministers, nothing is done against Jansenist writings, or it is done so lukewarmly as only to lead to further insubordination. Their pointed sayings are admired and their writings are allowed to circulate. The King seems, indeed, well disposed, but he is surrounded by people in sympathy with Jansenism. Moreover it is not so easy for the nuncio to see the King as it was only ten years ago, on the contrary, he has 'to blow the trumpet' if he wants an audience and when he obtains one, he finds the monarch in a prejudiced mood." Meetings were being held in Cardinal Retz's house at which the Bishop of Autun and the Abbé Le Tellier, the son of the minister, were present: at those meetings the possibility of a compromise in the affair of the four Bishops was discussed.

The Pope caused an answer to be sent to these complaints, together with an expression of his profound grief. The nuncio was told to make the King[2] and the ministers[3] see that the new sect constituted a danger, not alone for religion, but for the State as well; in view of his present power and greatness,

[1] Even Queen Anne said "que les trois ministres avoient chacun leur janséniste: Le Tellier avoit Coquelin, Colbert l'abbé du Bourzeys, de Lionne Gaudon, tous trois, à ce qu'on disoit, favorables au party." RAPIN, III., 193. For Colbert and Bourzeys, *ibid.*, 138; for Colbert's support of Jansenius, *ibid.*, 137.

[2] *To Bargellini, June 16, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, *Cifre al Nuntio*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *To Bargellini, July 9, 1668, *ibid.*

the King should stifle the hydra before it becomes invincible [1]; extreme watchfulness was particularly necessary when there was question of filling episcopal sees.[2]

Meanwhile in June 1668, the frankly rebellious letter of the four Bishops, dated April 25th, 1668, had come to the knowledge of the public. In consequence of pressure on the part of Bargellini, Annat had represented to the King that that document aimed a blow not only at the Holy See, but at the secular power as well, and that it embodied false doctrines.[3] Louis XIV. appeared to be aware of this.[4] However, when the letter reached Rome [5] it was realized there that judicial action against the four would lead nowhere and that it was necessary to give fresh instructions to the nuncio.

On July 13th, the Congregation charged to deal with Jansenism decided that the nuncio should insist on the execution of the Briefs against the four, but if they were prepared to subscribe without subterfuge, the Congregation would not oblige them to make any further recantation.[6]

[1] "*Per hora che S. M^tà è si gloriosa e potente, può e deve estinguere quest' Hidra prima ch'ella cresca e segno d'essere insuperabile"; June 16, 1668, *ibid.*

[2] "*Se veramente S. M^tà preme in estinguere il veleno di questa setta, è necessario somma vigilanza nell'elettione di soggetti per le chiese"; July 12, 1668, *ibid.*

[3] *Bargellini, June 19 and 29, 1668, *ibid.*

[4] **Id.*, on June 12 and 15, 1668, *ibid.*

[5] Forwarded by the nuncio *on June 12, 1668, *ibid.*

[6] "*Omnes dixerunt: quod Nuntius instet pro executione Brevis. Secreto vero moneatur, quodsi episcopi velint subscribere pure et simpliciter, mens S. Congregationis est, ut non compellantur episcopi ad aliam retractationem. Nuntius procuret evitare epistolam omnium episcoporum, quod vero ad epistolam scribendam per quattuor, non exigat, sed mittentur Nuntio formulae, quibus uti debent, quando scribent SS. Pontifici. Sed non communicet, nisi opportune et quando subscriptio fuerit secuta pure et simpliciter" (Biblioteca Angelica, Roma, S. 3, 1, p. 139, from a MS. of the Holy Office "Jansenio et formulario"). The

A letter in this sense was sent to Bargellini the very next day, but it was also stated, with the utmost clearness, that a recantation would not be insisted upon, on condition that the signature was given "without clauses, simply, sincerely and clearly", that it contained no reservations, interpretations or additions of any kind and such as might be suspected of equivocation or connected with pastoral letters, for in that case the affair would not be ended; on the contrary it would lead to more grievous evils and to a greater lowering of the prestige of the Holy See.[1] For the present Rome would not hear of the four writing to the Pope; if they did the letter must be short so that nothing unseemly could creep into it.[2] As Lionne, in particular, insisted on their writing, the Secretary of State explained on August 27th, 1668,[3] that all that mattered was a sincere subscription of the formula [4]; it was necessary to avoid whatever might diminish the value of the signature.[5]

commission consisted of Cardinals Ginetti, Brancaccio, Ottoboni, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Piccolomini, Rasponi, Rospigliosi, Azzolini, Celsi and the assessor Casanale (*ibid.*).

[1] "*Se i quattro vescovi vedendo inevitabile la loro condemnatione offerissero di sottoscrivere il formulario, è mente di N. S., che V. S. accetti e faccia che sottoscrivano subito. . . . Avverti però sopra tutto che la sottoscrizione sia pura," etc. "In caso dunque che effectivamente la sottoscrizione sia libera e tale quale si desidera, conviene non accadene (?) per la raggione detta di sopra, che V.S. insisti nella retrattatione." Rospigliosi, July 14, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, Cifre al Nuntio, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, July 20, 1668, *ibid.* In a *report we read that a letter of this kind was not wanted "per dubbio che in dette lettere non fossero per parlare così circospettamente, che non dassero occasione di dubbitare della sincerità, che si desiderava nella loro sottoscrizione". Bibl. Casanat., X. vi., 24, f. 34.

[3] *Rospigliosi, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Purità di sottoscrizione del formulario."

[5] "Che possa destruggere il frutto della sottoscrizione."

Thus, with all its distrust of the four Bishops, Rome was not unwilling to forgo judicial action and to consent to a friendly settlement. But at the very time when the Roman Congregation made known its readiness for gentler measures, detailed negotiations for a compromise had been concluded in France, in fact they had begun before Bargellini's arrival in Paris, only these negotiations were based on very different premisses from the Roman ones which included, as the very first condition of peace, the sincere and unreserved subscription of the formula.

The intermediary of the compromise was Bishop Vialart of Châlons. After Louis XIV. had rejected the letter of the nineteen Bishops, Vialart, as the senior among them, had made personal representations to the King who referred him to Le Tellier. It was not difficult to convince the minister that the whole fault of the Bishop consisted exclusively in an indiscretion, namely that of having published, by means of the press, what others said in unpublished writings. Accordingly, Le Tellier was not averse to a peaceful settlement of the dispute, but he insisted that, since the King had gone so far with the matter, it was the business of the four Bishops to show him an honourable way out of the impasse.[1] To find such an escape was now Vialart's affair. He took counsel, in particular, with Archbishop Gondrin of Sens, who was more intimate with Le Tellier. Gondrin was informed by the latter that they must begin by giving satisfaction to the Pope; after that the King would calm down of his own accord.[2]

As soon as Bargellini arrived, Archbishop Gondrin represented to him what honour would accrue to the Pope and to the nuncio himself if they restored peace to the French Church. Bargellini was easily persuaded.[3] Gondrin now entered into further negotiations, a preliminary condition of which was that both in Rome and in Paris everything should be kept absolutely secret from the Jesuits, hence also from

[1] [Varet], I., 216 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 218.

[3] *Ibid.*, 218–222.

the Archbishop of Paris.[1] Gondrin acted shrewdly when he laid down this condition, but the nuncio committed an imprudence in accepting it for Annat, the King's confessor, was better informed on all that concerned Jansenism than almost anyone and he would have been Bargellini's best adviser. Like Gondrin, Vialart also worked on the nuncio both by personal influence and through the Bishop of Laon, the future Cardinal D'Estrées, for he knew that Bargellini had been directed by Rome to seek counsel from the latter.[2]

Just as these conversations with the nuncio were kept most secret, so was the nuncio kept in ignorance of some other negotiations, the object of which was to induce the leader of the four, Bishop Pavillon, and through him his three adherents, to yield, at least, to some extent. Vialart of Châlons wrote on the subject to Choiseul of Comminges,[3] who on June 23rd, 1668, went to confer with Pavillon, together with Caulet of Pamiers. Choiseul explained to the Bishop of Alet that there could be no question of a recantation or a revision of the pastoral letters being made a condition of peace; it would suffice if they subscribed anew to the papal formula, though they might first make a secret declaration qualifying the meaning of their signature. This had been done at Sens and in many other dioceses. Afterwards they could address a letter to the Pope which need contain nothing disagreeable to the Bishops, but only some general assurances of respect and submission.

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 222; [Dumas], II., 186; Rapin, III., 454, 475. *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 21, 1668: "Notwithstanding my close relations with Annat nè esso nè alcuno della Congregatione [S.J.] è consapevole del segreto"; and *on September 7, 1668: "Passando questo affare con somma segretezza tra il Re, li ministri, li vescovi scelti per mezzani et me, non devo participarlo a M. arcivescovo di Tolosa nè al P. Annat" (*Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). As the nuncio *wrote on September 4, 1668, Annat still exhorted to "ardore"; besides the subscription "qualche atto di penitenza publica" was necessary (*ibid.*).

[2] [Varet], I., 223, 224.

[3] May 26, 1668, in [Varet], 65–9.

Pavillon could not understand what purpose would be served by a subscription which merely confirmed what was already in the pastoral letters. He suspected a trap to force him to further concessions. That the reverse might be the case, that it was intended to deceive not him but the Pope, by public declarations of submission and secret reservations, does not seem to have entered his mind at all. Consequently his reply was cautious: besides Caulet of Pamiers, who happened to be present, it was necessary for him to have the views of his two other adherents, the Bishops of Angers and Beauvais; he made his consent subject to the condition that the four Bishops should be allowed to insert what they liked in the preliminary declaration before the subscription as well as in the letter to the Pope, and that the Doctors who had been dismissed from the Sorbonne and the nuns of Port-Royal should be included in the peace.[1] Caulet and the two other Bishops approved the decision of their leader, Pavillon.[2] It was not so easy to win over Arnauld and the Doctors; they too feared a deception, though not a deception of the Pope, in which they were expected to co-operate.[3] Arnauld suggested a theological disputation before the King for which Pavillon should come to Paris,[4] but Louis XIV. would not hear of it.[5]

When no further objections were to be looked for either from the four Bishops or from Arnauld, the point was to persuade the nuncio to support the compromise. This task was undertaken by the King's minister, Lionne, after consultation with Gondrin. It was not long before weak Bargellini was left without an answer to the arguments of the minister.

Bargellini's reports to Rome at that period are very puzzling. About the middle of July he writes to the Secretary of State [6]

[1] Relation de ce qui d'est passé entre MM. les évêques d'Alet, de Pamiers et de Commenge," *ibid.*, 64–78.

[2] *Ibid.*, 86.

[3] *Ibid.*, 88.

[4] *Ibid.*, 115, 128 *seq.*

[5] Pavillon's letter of July 16, 1668, *ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*

[6] " Fu scritto dal Nuntio a Roma, che se S. S. si contentasse

that if the Pope were to content himself with the submission of the four Bishops and their sincere subscription, Lionne gave some hope of his being able to induce them to take such a step; that this concession had already been obtained from the four, Lionne had not yet told him. Bargellini also passes on the remark of the minister that it was unnecessary to insist on a formal recantation since the declaration of submission completely disposed of the question of the pastoral letters. For the rest it is in vain that one looks in Bargellini's dispatches in cypher for information on his conversations with Lionne. They are in the main a repetition of the previous lamentations over French conditions. He also lays particular stress [1] on the fact that no one raised a hand in the defence of the Holy See except the Jesuits; that though these wrote well, they did so in an exaggerated, passionate style; moreover their exceptional position had the disadvantage of making the whole thing look like a party struggle between Jansenists and Jesuits.[2] So far the other Orders had not written one page on behalf of the Pope's prerogatives and they but rarely spoke of them as they should; yet it would be only right if all the Orders united in a courageous defence of religion, both by the spoken and the written word. Since a decree of September 25th, 1663, had excluded the Doctors of the Mendicant Orders from the Sorbonne, anti-Roman publications had become more numerous; they were being distributed gratis throughout France; the Jansenists had a fund for the purposes of propaganda for this party and the censors

dell'obedienza de i quattro vescovi, con la sincera sottoscrizione del Formulario, Mons. de Lionne havea gli dato sopra questo punto qualche speranza di poterlo ottenere da loro." In DUPIN. III., 190.

[1] *July 20, 1668, *loc. cit.* (Cifre), partly in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1902, 979.

[2] " *Questi scrivevano bene, ma con qualche ardore eccessivo, ed io, che ho bisogno delle loro penne, non posso dir loro, [non] vorrei che la causa della S. Sede si facesse (come da molto tempo in qua hanno cominciato a dire) di due partiti tra Jansenisti e Gesuiti, perchè le cose s'inasprirebbero maggiormente," *loc. cit.*

favoured them at the expense of their opponents. A new feature of Bargellini's dispatches is the circumstance that he appears to have derived a hope for a happy issue of his mission from his conversations with the minister. He now makes suggestions in Rome as to how the situation might be improved. With regard to the religious, he is of opinion that the Secretary of State should get in touch with their Generals so as to bring about a change. If all the Orders were to unite, the affair would be considered as one concerning everybody and not merely the Jesuits; then the Jansenists and their friends would take alarm; if the Orders had shown some courage before this, the Sorbonne would not have been betrayed into heretical propositions on papal infallibility; if that body changed its attitude, the Orders too would find themselves in a very different position. It is true, he goes on to say, that at the time of Alexander VII., when religion was in peril in France, action on behalf of the Pope was impeded. Nor were the friends of the Holy See adequately rewarded, for in Brittany at least the disposal of benefices had not been restricted by the concordat.

Eight days after this report [1] Bargellini is full of hope for a happy issue of the affair as the King was determined to make an end of it. He promises to carry out faithfully the instructions received from Rome, except that it seemed to him that it would be better for the prestige of the Holy See if the "sincere subscription" of the four Bishops and their letter to the Pope were to come only after the summons by the papal commission.

Though little can be gathered from Bargellini's cyphered reports concerning the compromise, he had been won over for it and the great thing was to get the ship into port as quickly as possible. Nearly all the Bishops of the papal commission had come together [2] and though attempts were made, under a variety of pretexts, to induce its chairman, the Archbishop of Toulouse, to put off the negotiations, the

[1] *July 27, 1668, *ibid.*

[2] [VARET], II., 146.

opening of the proceedings could not long be delayed. Accordingly Le Tellier proposed to draw up at once in Paris the document by which, as had been agreed upon, the four Bishops were to inform the Pope that they had subscribed to the formula.[1] But this was contrary to the agreement with Pavillon who had made it an express condition that no one, apart from the four, should have anything to do with the tenor of that declaration of obedience.[2] However, apart from all else, Arnauld was at hand in Paris, Arnauld who, in point of fact, was the author of Pavillon's latest writings,[3] and it needed a skilled pen to draw up a document capable of being interpreted in two different senses. On the one hand it was intended to convince the Pope that the four Bishops had subscribed without additions or reservations, whilst on the other hand the four did not really wish to give such an assurance. It is characteristic of the Jansenists' state of mind and their attitude towards the Holy See, that all the time this unworthy double-dealing was in progress, they multiplied their protestations of their truthfulness and "Christian sincerity".[4] These Gallicians came pretty near looking upon the Pope as an enemy; to deceive him seemed to them almost a meritorious act.

It was only after lengthy discussions and with due regard to the wishes of the three ministers, that the document was at last drawn up and submitted to the King.[5] In it Arnauld has produced one of his masterpieces: from first to last it is a tissue of ambiguities [6] and, for the initiated, nothing less than a downright mockery of the Pope.

[1] *Ibid.*, 145.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 367.

[3] [Varet], II., 149.

[4] As the Jansenist Varet puts it (II., 147): nothing was to be in the letter "ni qui pût ou offenser le Pape, on blesser la délicatesse de conscience des IV. évêques . . . ni qu'ils eussent fait rien d' indigne de la sincérité chrétienne [!]."

[5] *Ibid.*, 150. Text of the letter in [Dumas], III., *Rec.*, 187.

[6] This is the opinion of Cochin, who is friendly to the Jansenists (215): "On est forcé de reconnaître que la lettre au

Not a word is said as to what took place when the latest signature was given, nor about the fact that the preliminary declaration robbed it of all value. All it says, with ambiguous phraseology, is that the four Bishops had acted after the example of " the French Bishops " or, for the words can also be thus construed, " after the example of some French Bishops " with whose sentiments they were in full agreement.[1] It goes without saying that the four who but a short while ago, had spoken of Rome in the most bitter terms, now overflow with assurances of their regard for the Holy See.

pape . . . montre une ambiguïté extrême, une sincérité presque insuffisante. Toutes les questions en jeu y sont laissées dans une ombre si dense, que le regard le plus habitué aux subtilités théologiques ne saurait voir si les évêques rétractaient ou non leur doctrine. Henri Arnauld trouvait fort heureuse cette obscurité voulue."

[1] " Nam cum in exequenda . . . Constitutione Gallicani episcopi, nobiscum sensibus coniunctissimi, eam disciplinae formam amplexi sunt, quam Sanctitati V. acceptiorem fuisse intelleximus, Nos. . . ." Thus the original dispatched to Rome, the nuncio's register [DUMAS], III., 186 *seqq.*, the *copy of the letter in *Cod.* 60 of the Bibl. of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, f. 375 *seq.*, Bargellini's *letter to Rome, dated November 16, 1668 (see below). The Jansenist printed texts run thus: ' multi gall. episcopi nobiscum licet sensibus coniunctissimi " ([VARET], II., 155), which made it possible to refer the passage to Gondrin and his friends, whose example the four had imitated. However, " multi " occurred only in the first draft and was cancelled at the instance of the nuncio (*cf.* [DUMA], III., 164 *seqq.*). Though he had not seen the words " multi " and " licet ", Bargellini, in his letter of November 16, 1668, gives expression to his concern that the four might refer them to " quelli vescovi della Francia che si dice habbino fatto processo verbale ". But he continues, " la risposta per la S. Sede è prontissima perchè le sudette parole non si possono mai intendere se non per quello che hanno fatto publicamente i vescovi dell'assemblea del clero descritta nel libro intitolato: ' Relations des deliberations du clergé de France ' a carte 83, dove consta che tutti segnarono senza alcuna restrittione, anche quelli che si dice habbino fatto alcuni particolari nascostamente." Papal Sec. Arch.

In conforming to the example of " others ", or " the others ", they had attested before the whole Church their love of ecclesiastical unity, the motive of this attestation being the honour of the Apostolic See and the regard in which they held it. The conclusion of the document is a string of protestations of attachment to the Pope, though a skilful turn in the phrasing makes it clear that they are only meant in a Gallican sense and so were of doubtful value. Even the date of the letter, September 1st,[1] was bound to embarrass Rome since the document supposes that the new subscription had already taken place whereas on September 1st none of the synods at which the subscription was given, had as yet been held.

Meanwhile, Bargellini had information that Rome was satisfied with the compromise,[2] on the supposition, of course, that the four would sign without reservation. Gondrin now submitted to him the text of the letter to the Pope. After he too had asked for a few alterations,[3] both he and Gondrin thought that they could indulge the hope that the four would subscribe and that the Pope would also be satisfied[4]; in fact the nuncio went so far as to sign the draft in the name of the Pope, an act of rashness which seemed hardly credible, so that it appeared like a miracle to the Jansenists themselves.[5] Even Arnauld felt he could assure Gondrin that Pavillon would not refuse to assent to the letter to the Pope since it contained nothing contrary to " truth and sincerity ".[6]

However, if Arnauld really thought that Pavillon would comply without protest, he was mistaken. The Bishops of Angers and Beauvais subscribed at once without difficulty. They even forwarded, either spontaneously or by request—

[1] [Dumas], III., 180. The copy dispatched to Rome bears the date of September 1, whilst the nuncio's register ascribes it to 15 and Rospigliosi's report to September 26.

[2] Rospigliosi, in [Dumas], II., 188 (*fol.*, H. III.); Bargellini, in Dupin, III., 192.

[3] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, October 12, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] [Varet], II., 152.

[5] *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 153 *seq.*

with a view to future possibilities—a blank sheet of paper bearing their signature, on which it was possible to write anything in their name.[1] However, when De Saint-Laurens was dispatched to Pavillon, on August 12th, 1668, he realized that the headstrong Saint of Alet could be tiresome for other people besides his opponents, for whereas the Paris diplomatists had taken immense trouble so as not to touch upon certain topics in the letter, or at least to glide lightly over them, Pavillon insisted that the document should tell the Pope to his face that the four upheld their pastorals which had been put on the Index of forbidden books. In that case there was no need to write and the whole compromise might as well be torn up. But Pavillon was not to be moved. It was of no use for Gondrin to explain, in a covering letter,[2] that the compromise guaranteed freedom for the "so-called" Jansenists whilst it also dealt a heavy blow to the Jesuits, and that with the great Arnauld's consent, Gondrin had pledged his word that Pavillon would subscribe. That inflexible man persisted in his demand and, as he had done previously, Caulet of Pamiers stood by him.

Embarrassment was great in Paris. A Bishop in the Pyrenees, a man of no consequence whatever, had suddenly become the Pope of France and a decisive factor in a weighty affair. For a whole month Pavillon held up his friends, and that at a time when the papal commission should have begun its judicial proceedings so that repeated requests for a delay had had to be made to the Archbishop of Toulouse.[3] Letter

[1] *Ibid.*, 170, 173.

[2] August 12, 1668, *ibid.*, 163–167.

[3] *Ibid.*, 168, 172, 229. *Cf.* Bargellini's *reports to Rome (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.) : August 17, 1668 : "After taking counsel with Annat and the Archbishop of Toulouse, I have granted a delay of 2 weeks" ; on August 30 : "The fortnight is over and I made no reply to a demand for a fresh delay" ; on September 4 : "We must wait another 10 days for the return of the courier" ; September 11 : "The King is only willing to wait till Saturday at the most" ; September 17 : "Another full fortnight's delay is being asked for."

upon letter was dispatched to Alet [1]; when the first negotiator came back without having achieved anything, a second and a third were dispatched.[2] Twice Choiseul and Caulet journeyed to the little town in the Pyrenees [3]: for a time all seemed in vain, but Pavillon ended by yielding and signing.

The signed document arrived in Paris on September 14th. Gondrin at once passed on the good news to the nuncio and the document was soon in Bargellini's hands [4] who, after he had had an audience with the King, described the affair of the four as ended and more than ended.[5] The commission of Bishops for the trial of the four now no longer served any purpose; it was accordingly dissolved on the nuncio's own proposal,[6] though he appears to have felt some scruple at the last moment. He forwarded to Rome not the original letter of the four but a copy, so that the Pope should feel more free to reject it.[7] In other ways also the weak man began to suspect that he had allowed himself to be led astray. On one occasion, during a discussion with Gondrin and Vialart, he seized a knife and cut the letter from top to bottom [8];

[1] Arnauld, on August 22, 1668, in [Varet], II., 175 (incomplete also in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, I., 621); Gondrin, on August 25 and September 3, 1668, in [Varet], II., 181, 225; Buzenval, on September 1, 1668, *ibid.*, 216; the Canons of Beauvais on August 13, 1668, *ibid.*, 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, 194 *seq.*, 230, 236.

[3] *Ibid.*, 186, 230.

[4] *Ibid.*, 245, 250; [Dumas], II., 173 *seq.*

[5] [Varet], II., 255.

[6] *Ibid.*, 252, 255, 256. On August 26, 1668, *Gondrin had written to him that the Bishops of Angers and Beauvais were "prêts d'executer les choses que je lui [to the nuncio] ai promises", and that he hoped the others were similarly disposed (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 412). On August 31, 1668, *Vialart informed him that Caulet was of the same opinion as the other two and that what he had written to him on August 22 "ne me laisse aucun doute qu'il n'execute ce qu'il faut", and that he hoped for the same from Pavillon (*ibid.*, 416, Schill remains).

[7] [Varet], II., 258 *seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

however, his disquietude vanished under the influence of the soothing assurances of his friends.[1]

There now followed the synods of the four Bishops at which they had the formula of Alexander VII. subscribed to by their clergy.[2] The Bishops of Angers and Beauvais took the precaution, in order to avoid creating a stir, of calling together only a small number of their clergy, and that outside their episcopal cities. Buzenval of Beauvais held his synod on September 14th, at his country seat of Bresle; Henri Arnauld held his on the following day at Saumur, at the house of the Oratorians; he only convened sixty clerics, all men on whom he could rely.[3] On September 18th, Pavillon of Alet and Caulet of Pamiers acted in like manner in their episcopal cities. The preliminary declaration qualifying the sense of the subscription was the same, word for word, at all the four synods [4]; like the letter to the Pope it had been drafted by a skilled hand in Paris and forwarded to the four Bishops.[5]

The declaration consists of three parts; it condemns the five propositions, upholds the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, that is, the doctrine of efficacious grace, but as regards the question of fact, the only obligation it acknowledges is that of respectful regard. Henri of Angers added a clause to the declaration, to the effect that the absent secular and regular clergy were to sign the document within a period of two months. This ordinance, however, was not carried into effect.[6] Buzenval of Beauvais, who had issued a similar ordinance, submitted the formula as well as the declaration of the year before, to the rest of the clergy at his next synod held in July 1669, but he did not insist on their being subscribed to.[7] As a matter of fact it was hardly possible to

[1] *Ibid.*, 263–6.

[2] [Dumas], II., 187 *seqq.*

[3] [Varet], II., 184.

[4] [Dumas], II., 190, 196.

[5] [Varet], II., 163. Pavillon contributed at least one sentence of his own [Dumas], II., 197.

[6] *Ibid.*, 200.

[7] *Ibid.*

obtain a general subscription to the formula and the declaration since the latter was to remain secret and was in fact rigorously kept so.[1] Even in 1680, Henri Arnauld did not dare to make it public.[2]

The synod of Pamiers had a sequel four days later. On September 22nd nine Canons called on the Vicar-General and explained that their Bishop had stated at his synod that, after a fresh examination in Rome, his pastoral had not been censured in any way, nay, that more than forty Bishops and the best brains in the realm had recast it in a new form in which it had to be subscribed to. The preliminary declaration that had been read to them contained the distinction between right and fact ; to their repeated requests that the document should be handed to them in writing, the Bishop had drily replied that he would see whether that was necessary. Except for the first subscriptions, all the others were on loose sheets which consequently could be used in confirmation of anything. For all that the nine Canons had not refused to subscribe, as the Bishop had told them that both the Pope and the King would be greatly pleased if the four Bishops subscribed once more, and ordered their clergy to do the same. Subsequently their conscience began to trouble them because the subscription was against the Pope's will ; for this reason they made their present declaration, which they insisted on being inserted in the minutes.[3]

The September synod of the Bishop of Angers also received a complement of another kind. In view of the altered situation, Antoine Arnauld expressed a desire to sign the formula, though not in Paris, whose Archbishop, Péréfixe, did not hold the Jansenist view on the distinction of right and fact. This difficulty did not exist with his brother, the Bishop of Angers, but instead there was the circumstance that he himself did not belong to the diocese of Angers. However, a way out of the difficulty was found. Arnauld was given a benefice which

[1] [Varet], II., 277 ; Cochin, 218 *seq.*

[2] Cochin, 223.

[3] [Dumas], II., 202–7.

existed only on paper, having been invented specially for the benefit of Arnauld; as incumbent of this benefice the great Arnauld subscribed to the September synod of Saumur although he had not been at Saumur at all in the month of September.[1] At that synod, for reasons which it is impossible to account for, Bishop Henri had made all the parish priests of Angers sign their names on two copies of his declaration.[2] Antoine Arnauld's name was inserted in one of these as appears from two copies.[3]

Arnauld's whole destiny seemed now, all of a sudden, to take a new turn. The days were over when he was forced to flee from one hiding place to another. On October 13th, nuncio Bargellini received him in audience. Arnauld protested that he had signed the formula at Angers through a representative, and Bargellini exhorted him to devote his "golden pen" in future to the service of the Church.[4] There followed his presentation to the King who urged him to let bygones be bygones.[5] The most distinguished people now vied with one another in paying homage, in his retreat at the house of the Duchess of Longueville, to a man whom they had previously shunned.[6]

As a matter of fact everything seemed to point to the dawn of a new era, though the attempt to secure Arnauld's readmission as a Doctor of the Sorbonne proved a failure [7] and his reception by Bargellini let loose a storm of indignation against the nuncio.[8] But the Jansenist Canons of Beauvais recovered their honours and dignities, and the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs were once more admitted to the Sacraments in February 1669, though they were compelled to surrender two-thirds of the income of both houses to their sisters of the

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 220 *seq.*; COCHIN, 219–222.
[2] [DUMAS], II., 199.
[3] COCHIN, 219.
[4] [VARET], II., 297 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 314.
[6] RAPIN, III, 478 *seq.*
[7] [VARET], 414 *seq.*; CAUCHIE, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 50.
[8] CAUCHIE, *ibid.*, 94.

convent of Port-Royal in Paris who had submitted before them.[1] The nuncio received letters of thanks from the four Bishops,[2] and for a time so many callers came to congratulate him that he took alarm. In view of the fact that the Generals of the Cassinese Congregation, the French Benedictines and the Bernardines, the Provincials of the Dominicans, Friars Minor, the Augustinians, the Calced and Discalced Carmelites, came to pay him their compliments, he began to fear that Jansenism had perhaps struck deeper roots in the Orders than was generally believed.[3]

On their part, the men who had negotiated the peace reported to Rome in the same strain as that of the four Bishops' letter to the Pope. These reports pass over in profound silence the one all-important point, whilst they indulge in rhetorical assurances of the obedience of the four prelates who, they write, had done all that could be asked of them. Vialart of Châlons wrote that the affair had been settled to the greater honour of the Holy See ; as soon as the four Bishops had realized in what way they might satisfy the Pope, they had shown the utmost readiness to yield, and had complied, with the greatest sincerity, with every measure that made for peace ; and the same was to be said of the theologians.[4]

[1] [VARET], II., 416 *seq.* Ordinance of Archbishop Péréfixe of Paris in favour of the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs, *ibid.*, 418 ; [DUMAS], II., 267 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, November 23, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch. " *Lodato Dio," the nuncio writes at the end of February, 1669 (*ibid.*), that the nuns have subscribed without reservation—thus is " eradicata questa radice del Jansenismo a gloria del felicissimo pontificato di N. S."

[2] Buzenval in September 1668, in [DUMAS], II., 208 ; *joint letter of Pavillon and Caulet, dated September 10, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 436 ; Henri Arnauld, on September 12, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 437.

[3] CAUCHIE, *loc. cit.*, 1902, 890.

[4] " *Eo tandem perducta res est, ut ex omnium sententia atque consensu cum summo Apost. Sedis honore transigeretur . . . Simul ac illis episcopis oblata est ratio, qua Sanctitati V. fieret satis, nihil fuerit ipsis ad amplectenda sincerissime pacis consilia

Gondrin of Sens, too, protested that everybody had submitted to the Pope, so that it could be truly said: "The earth was quiet before the face of Your Holiness!"[1] D'Estrées of Laon's language was more sober, but at bottom it was equally ambiguous.[2]

The assurances of the nuncio were calculated to inspire greater confidence in Rome than these rhetorical phrases; his reports led to the conclusion that the four had been sincere when they subscribed to their letter to the Pope,[3] and

flexibilius aut promptius (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 456). The letter bears no date. Another *letter of Vialart (undated) to a Cardinal, *ibid.*, 465.

[1] "*Paruere enim sine cunctatione et alacri animo, ut primum mentem Sanctitatis V. propositumque acceperunt, eosque sponte secuti sunt, quotquot erant iisdem difficultatibus implicati theologi, ut vere dicendum sit, terram siluisse in conspectu Sanctitatis Vestrae" (1 *Mach.*, 1, 3), *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 448. In like manner, *Gondrin to Rospigliosi, September 17, 1668 (*ibid.*, f. 450): The four "se sont portés avec joie à faire tout ce qui leur a été possible pour satisfaire Sa Sainteté et pour lui rendre l'obéissance qu'ils lui doivent . . . ils ont agi en cette occasion avec les sentiments de religion et de soumission".

[2] *Letter of September 22, 1668, to the Pope, *ibid.*, f. 467, and in [DUMAS], II., 212 *seqq.*, III. *Rec.*, 189 *seq.*, and to Card. Rospigliosi, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 476, and [DUMAS], II., 214. *Cf.* [VARET], II., 511 *seqq.*

[3] Thus *on August 14, 1668: Yesterday a courier informed the mediating Bishops that all the four had subscribed "senza riserva alcuna"; *on August 28: From Gondrin's letter I gather that two Bishops have subscribed "sinceramente"; *on September 4: Gondrin and Vialart report that Pavillon "s'è indotto a sottoscrivere con ogni sincerità"; *on September 21: when fresh difficulties arose "io risposi che per esser sincerissima la sottoscrizione de' quattro vescovi era necessario fosse senza mandamenti o processi verbali"; *on the same day: the Bishop of Laon has repeatedly assured me of the sincerity of the four and "che il nome e il libro di Jansenio restarà abolito affatto". *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137 (Cifre del Bargellini), Papal Sec. Arch.

that Bargellini was able to guarantee to Lionne that their subscription of the formula had likewise been given without any reservations.[1] But all these smooth words did not completely satisfy Rome. One reason for this reserve was the circumstance that the nuncio had only forwarded a copy of the letter of the four, and no document was forthcoming that might have served as an unequivocal proof that the four had subscribed. Together with these letters of courtesy there had also come a curious dispatch from Lionne to Cardinal Rospigliosi, which stated that the minister could not believe that Bargellini had overstepped his instructions, but if that was nevertheless the case there was no going back now, since the position of the four Bishops was the same as that of thirty or forty others ; it would not be possible to take action against so many and the judges would unanimously pronounce in their favour. Moreover, the nuncio had agreed to the discharge of the judicial commission ; it would be all but impossible to convene it again ; as it was three or four of the commissaries had hesitated whether or no to accept the office of a judge ; they would certainly refuse to do so now. For the rest, it may be said that Bargellini simply had to consent to the discharge of the commission when things had gone so far. Lionne also made two further submissions, viz. whether it would not be a good thing if the Pope answered the letter of the four, for they might interpret his silence as a sign of displeasure and, secondly, whether it would not be best to

[1] " *Circa il particolare de' quattro vescovi nel principio del discorso dissi a M. de Lionne che si desiderava la retrattatione formale de' mandamenti, ma conoscendo dalla risposta di S. S. che era impossibile ottenerla, mi restrinsi che sottoscrivessero e giurassero il formolario e lo facessero giurare e sottoscrivere al loro clero, ma sopra tutto che le sottoscrittioni fossero *pure, semplici, sincere, schiette* ; che per non perder tempo di mandare a Roma la lettera, che li quattro vescovi devono scrivere a N. S., S. E. facesse sottoscriverli perchè in tanto la havessimo concertata assieme di sodisfattione commune e mandata quando fosse ridotta al segno che conviene." Bargellini, August 3, 1668, *loc. cit.*

keep the whole affair a profound secret and not to publish the letter of the four, lest there should be another outbreak of controversy.[1]

Lionne also laid these arguments before the French ambassador in Rome,[2] and from what Albizzi told the minister,[3] these decided the further course of the affair in Rome. Even if Bargellini had exceeded his instructions—and Lionne hinted at it clearly enough—it was impossible to recall the concessions made by him in Paris in the Pope's name.

The bearer of the declaration of submission of the

[1] " *Gran negotio et maggior di quello che se possa immaginare per la conseguenza si è concluso " ; What Piccolomini and Roberti failed to accomplish has been brought about by Bargellini's " patienza " and " dolcezza " with the only " capaci " mezzani. " L'anima del negotio è stata il segreto che si è guardato . . . Io son securo che Ms. Nuntio ha troppa prudenza et essatezza per havere deviato un sol punto dalli suoi ordini et instruttioni ; pur quando havesse trascorso in qualche cosa, il partito che ha pigliato fin qua volontariamente, si trova hoggi essere di mera necessità per molte raggioni, delle quali ne addurrò solo due brevemente. . . ." The nuncio had to consent to the dissolution of the commission when the " vescovi mezzani " asked " se i quattro vescovi havendo compito tutto quello che paresse desiderato da loro per parte di S. Bne havessero anco da temere che si potesse ripensar di nuovo al far loro il processo." However, on dismissing the commission, the King would tell them that they would be recalled if their services were required. He submits : 1. " se parerà alla Santità sua con li termini che stimerà più proprii respondere alla lettera dei quattro vescovi . . . ; 2. se li parerà di tenere segretissimo tutto quello che si è trattato et aggiustato per non dare occasione " to fresh controversial writings. It would be best to say in general terms " che Ms. Nuntio ha aggiustato l'affare a sodisfattione di S. Santità ". Lionne to Rospigliosi, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 457.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 305.

[3] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, October 20, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch. ; E. DE JEAN, *Un prélat indépendant*, 224, n. ; DUBRUEL, in *Bullet. de littérat. ecclés.*, 1918, 387 ; RAPIN, III., 467.

four arrived in the Eternal City on September 25th. The cardinalitial Congregation for Jansenism met for deliberation on the very next day. The letter of the four, they decided, was so worded that the Holy See could accept and acknowledge it without loss of prestige. If the original was in the nuncio's hands, he should forward it ; if not, let him ask Lionne to return it and explain to him that if he himself had dispatched only a copy to Rome, it was solely that the Holy See might have a freer hand. Let him also forward the original of the letters of the four to himself as they would " clearly show the regard of those Bishops for the Holy See and their submission to the orders of the Pope ". Moreover, it was the nuncio's business to use his ingenuity with a view to securing proof of the subscription of the four, so that the fact may be established for all time. Until such a document was in their hands it would not be proper for the Pope to reply to the letters of Gondrin and Vialart. But the nuncio should assure these two Bishops of the Pope's goodwill and explain the reason of the delay of the reply. Lastly, Bargellini must keep the secret which Lionne desired.[1]

[1] *Quod scribatur Nuntio : Excepisse laeta fronte S. D. N. gratiasque Deo retulisse nuncium de subscriptione formularii executioni demandata per episcopos etc., lectamque fuisse copiam epistolae, qua praedicti quatuor episcopi scripserunt Sanctitati Suae, indicatumque fuisse, eandem ita fuisse conceptam, ut cum dignitate Sedis Ap. possit recipi, illique responsum dari. Verum quia ex epistola Nuntii Ap. non bene percipitur, utrum originale sit apud se vel restituerit, censuere EE. PP., ut eidem Nuntio scribatur, quod quatenus sit penes se, transmittat quam primum, si minus, dicat Dno de Lionne, qualiter ipse, ne S. Sedem induceret in aliquam necessitatem et ad cautelam, misisse [*sic !*] copiam et repudiasse originale, verum quia pro comperto habet . . . velit idem D. de Lionne, ut denuo tradatur ipsi Nuntio, in quo industriam suam adhibeat, ut id faciat cum proprii ministerii honore. Idem Nuntius mittat originales epistolas eidem scriptas per quatuor episcopos, cum ex earum tenore clare pateat eorundem episcoporum observantia erga S. Sedem atque resignata obedientia erga mandata S. D. N. Pariter resolutum fuit, ut idem Nuntius

A letter to this effect was then dispatched to the nuncio.[1]

Besides these instructions to the nuncio, it was also necessary to answer the letters which had been received. Consequently, on September 28th, the Pope issued a Brief in which he took care, for the moment, to acknowledge not the letter of the four, but LouisXIV.'s covering letter. He expressed his satisfaction at the "obedience and submission" of the four who had "subscribed to the formula, sincerely and without reservation". If there was anything more to do in the affair, the Pope prayed the King to step in and complete the work.[2] This Brief reached Paris on October 8th; two days later everybody knew of it,[3] to the annoyance of the Jansenists, for the Pope's words could only confirm the great public—which knew nothing of the secret declarations—in its opinion

dextre et apposite curet habere actum authenticum subscriptionis formularii, ut de eo in futurum constare valeat. Et quia non videtur convenire, quod S. S. respondeat archiepiscopo Senonensi et episcopo Chalon., qui scripsere. . . . Sanctitati S. atque Eminentissimo Rospigliosi antequam constet de subscriptione per actum authenticum, Nuntius sumpta occasione illos certiores faciat non modo animi et propensae in eos voluntatis Sanctitatis S., verum etiam de causa dilationis. . . . Retz also should be thanked. Tandem quia D. de Lionne summa et singulari sollicitudine petiit ab eodem Nuntio, ut omnia gesta hucusque pro felici exitu huiusmodi negotii alto silentio involverentur, idque fuisse caute praestitum in Galliis, ut optimum consilium solerti atque amanti animo datum cum utilitate et beneficio religionis catholicae coniungatur, et dempta ansa iurgiorum tandem novisque rumoribus et dissensionibus, quae oriri ex malitia hominum possent, sedentur atque comprimantur. Bibl. Angelica, S. 3, 1, from the MS. of the Holy Office, entitled "Jansenio et formulario", Session of September 26, 1668, p. 320.

[1] *September 28, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 61, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] [DUMAS], II., 217. "Tanta sane cum laetitia cognovimus in simplici ac pura subscriptione formularii quatuor illorum episcoporum obedientiam et obsequium." *Ibid.*, III., *Rec.*, 191 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 220.

that they had submitted sincerely and without subterfuge. They were even more annoyed by a decree of the Royal Council of October 23rd, 1668. That document stated [1] that the Pope had been completely satisfied with the "submission" of the four to the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. and with their personal subscription, as also with their demand of the subscription from their subjects and with their letter to the Pope assuring him of their obedience to the said Constitutions; all this had induced the Pope to forget the past. In pursuance of the Pope's exhortation to use the royal authority in dealing with the disputes "connected with the condemnation of Jansenius's book", the King now commanded the observance of the said Constitutions and forbade the two parties to use the expressions "heretics, Jansenists" as well as the publication of books on the controversy or of offensive remarks about those who had signed the formula. For the Jansenists it was too much that the King's ordinance should speak of the "obedience" of the Bishops. When the Bishops promulgated papal Constitutions, such an action, according to them, was merely a token of approval, not of submission. They were also hurt by the suggestion that there was anything that the Pope could forget and that there should be question of the "condemnation" of Jansenius' book.[2] For the rest there is reason to suspect that the ministers, who really favoured Jansenism, chose these expressions in order to cover up their share in the deception practised by the four.[3] Moreover, the ordinance was issued before the Pope's declaration of his satisfaction with the "obedience" of the four: it was evidently intended to drive him further along the road of concessions.[4]

If it was to achieve its real purpose it was necessary for

[1] *Ibid.*, 224 *seq.*

[2] [VARET], II., 324 *seqq.*

[3] GÉRIN, II., 306.

[4] To the nuncio Lionne explained that he could not delay any further as otherwise pamphlets against the agreement would have been published. **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 976. *Report of the nuncio on the subject, dated October 26, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 974.

the Government to produce unimpeachable evidence of the submission of the four, such as Rome demanded. This was seemingly an impossible task, for how was Pavillon to be induced to furnish such proof? However, Lionne was a resourceful man; he produced an attestation by Pavillon without a fresh demand of Pavillon: "I have handed the four attestations to the nuncio," he wrote to the King, "for by good fortune we found some blank sheets bearing the signatures of the four Bishops." [1] In other words, he simply wrote the required attestation on the blank sheets and dispatched them to Rome [2] where, as Rospigliosi wrote to Bargellini, together with the four declarations, information was likewise received that they were not sincere.[3] None the less with his latest move Lionne had beaten the Pope for, though people in Rome might well distrust the Saint of Alet and his followers, would it be wise to admit publicly that they suspected some trick behind the signatures of four Catholic Bishops? In the end Rome had to be content with the

[1] "J'ai . . . fourni les quatre certificats au Nonce, s'étant trouvé ici heureusement des blancs signés des quatre évêques." Arch. des affaires étrangères, Paris (*France*, t. 416, f. 122), in DEJEAN, 225 n.; DUBRUEL, in *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, 1918, 338.

[2] The four certificates are in **Excerpta*, f. 835 (Alet), 836 (Angers), 838 (Ponniers), 840 (Beauvais); also in **Cod. Vat.* 7405, f. 24, Vat. Lib. Pavillon's attestation is as follows: "Nous Nicolas évêque d'Aleth certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra que nous avons assemblé notre synode dans notre église cathedrale aujourd'hui [!] mardi 18 sept. 1668 et que dans iceluy nous avons signé et fait signer sincèrement par les ecclésiastiques de notre diocèse le formulaire de foi contenu dans la Constitution de N. S. P. le Pape Alexandre VII. d'heureuse mémoire conformément à la lettre que nous en avons écrit à N. S. P. le Pape." The attestation of the Bishop of Beauvais in [DUMAS], II., 231.

[3] "*Che l'atto di sottoscrittione non è stato fedele e sincero, ma con circostanze di gravissimo peso e di pessime conseguenze." Letter of November 6, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

subscription of the four and to take its sincerity for granted. "The Pope only judges of external actions," Cardinal Rospigliosi observed at a later date.[1]

Although Arnauld and other exponents of the strict morality were for ever talking about "Christian uprightness", they nevertheless approved of the trick which Lionne was playing on the Pope with his blank sheets; the only condition they insisted upon was that the conclusion of the four attestations should state that the subscription had taken place in conformity with the letter of the four.[2]

Lionne was far less free from preoccupation than the Jansenists. If the four only subscribed "in conformity" with their letter, they had not subscribed unconditionally; such phrases might well raise suspicions in Rome. And what would happen if in some future Roman document reference should be made to a subscription by the four of which they themselves were in complete ignorance? It was necessary for him to take his precautions. In a letter to Cardinal Rospigliosi, dated October 12th, he explained that the clause had been necessary, for it represented the only way out and the only bond between the two parties; a subscription without reservation was more than impossible. He then expressed a wish that no one should be allowed to see the four attestations, and that in his Brief the Pope should only speak of a "sincere", but not of an "unconditional" subscription. The fact was that in the person of the Bishop of Alet they had to deal with a wrong-headed man; if they adopted another course than the one suggested by him, they would fall from the frying-pan into the fire and undo in a moment what it had cost so much effort to build up.

[1] "Le cardinal Rospigliosi me répéta . . . que le Pape ne jugeait que des actes extérieurs"; Bourlemont, on January 20, 1669, in COCHIN, 230.

[2] "Nos Messieurs ne sont point effariés du certificat, pourvû qu'il soit relatif à la Lettre. Mais ils imaginent un tour qu'ils vous diront demain qui ne rend pas la chose plus difficile. Enfin cette affaire ne rompra la paix de leur côte." The Duchess of Longueville to Gondrin [VARET], II., 292 *seq.*

In that case even the King's authority would not stop Pavillon from publishing his letter to the Pope, with its glosses, and from letting loose a flood of manifestos for the purpose of informing the world, in his own peculiar fashion, of the course of events. For the same reason the letter to the King should not be made public either; above all the forthcoming Brief to the four must on no account allude to the four attestations. At the beginning of his letter, Lionne lightly touches on, or rather disguises, the story of the origin of the four attestations. They had only been secured with the utmost difficulty, he writes. So as not to jeopardize the prestige of the Pope in an affair where success was uncertain, he had advised the nuncio not to deal personally with the Bishops who were acting as mediators; hence he had taken the matter into his own hands and thrown into the scales not only arguments, but the weight also of the King's name, a step that had perhaps not been useless.[1] In a second letter of the same

[1] "*La clausola di detto atto autentico relativa alla lettera scritta a S. Santità ci ha dato finalmente il modo da uscire del passo et è stato il solo legame che vi poteva essere per conciliare con soddisfattione ambe le parti; poichè sicome era impratticabile anzi impossibilissimo di cavarlo assolutamente libero [of clauses] per le considerationi che V. E. comprenderà molto bene, così habbiamo havuto M. Nuntio et io ogni ragione di credere che mentre S. Santità si era degnata di explicarsi che havrebbe havuto la bontà di ricevere detta lettera e di rispondervi favorevolmente, non poteva non esserli anco grata detta clausola remissiva alla medesima lettera . . . Havendo noi da fare con un cervello della tempra del vescovo d'Alet, se in questi due punti ch'io tocco se ne usasse costì altrimente che secondo il mio in ciò debole parere, caderessimo senza dubbio come si dice dalla padella nella brace, si rovinarebbe in un istante tutto quello che habbiamo edificato con tanta fatiga . . . e non facesse [Pavillon] manifesti a diluvio per instruire il mondo a suo modo di come siano passate le cose etc. The Brief to the Bishops need only explain, sicome la Santità Sua è restata sodisfatta e della lettera loro e delle prove effettive e asseverante che hanno dato della loro ubbidienza alle Constitutioni, non nominando specificamente gli atti authentici delle sottoscrizioni per restare più

date Lionne complains of the Jesuits who accused him of having deceived both the nuncio and the Pope.[1]

It was, of course, impossible in the long run, to throw a veil over what had happened at the synods of the four. Anonymous letters reached Rome from Pamiers, Alet and Paris, furnishing proof of the insincerity of the four.[2] Bargellini began to realize that his confidence had been abused and he complained bitterly to Lionne on September 24th and 25th.[3] The minister replied that if the preliminary declaration was a secret one, the Church need not judge of what was a secret ; forty other Bishops would have acted in exactly the same way, in fact he had dropped a hint to that effect before the event. This was emphatically denied by Bargellini ; he had never heard a word of a preliminary declaration or of anything else that might have altered the sincerity of the subscription ; in proof he submitted a copy of his letter of June 1st to Rome, and reminded Lionne how often he had repeated that the subscription must be sincere. Lionne replied that it had to come to this, and that Rome had only one alternative, viz. either to leave things as they were or to take proceedings against forty other Bishops.[4]

che si puote nei termini generali, which would cover the Pope's authority, schivando con applicata industria i termini che potessero anche da lontano dar occasione a credere ad altri che habbino fatto più di quello che veramente hanno fatto per la loro ubbidienza alla S. Sede" (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 861). *Cf.* DEJEAN, 225 n.

[1] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 862.

[2] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 740 *seq.*, 742, 748. The letter of Alet is dated September 18, 1668.

[3] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi on September 25, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 339, Papal Sec. Arch. ; see App. 7.

[4] *Loc. cit.* According to Varet (II., 143 *seq.*, 258, 281 *seq.*) Bargellini had been willing that the four "fissent signer de nouveau sur des Procès-verbaux." That this is inaccurate is proved by this passage and by the whole context. Bargellini was no diplomatist, but neither was he a traitor. *Cf.* [DUMAS], III., 149–192.

Even Annat, with whom Bargellini had been in consultation up till the beginning of the month, though without letting him into the secret,[1] expressed the hope that in his goodness the Pope would content himself with the submission of the four without inquiring into their secret declarations.[2]

By October 8th, Bargellini's letter had been decoded in Rome and the Congregation for Jansenism met for a session. The main result of the deliberation was to the effect that the nuncio should be instructed to ascertain tactfully and with the utmost secrecy, whether a protocol had been drawn up on the conduct of the synods and what it contained, in particular whether there was anything in it against the sincerity of the subscription. At the same time the nuncio should be warned to be more circumspect in his speech; he must not speak so openly of what he wrote to Rome, for in this way he would restrict the Pope's freedom of action.[3]

[1] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, September 7, 1668 (see above, p. 368).

[2] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi (*Cifra*), September 25, 1668, *loc. cit.*

[3] Ottoboni was of opinion that the nuncio should not trouble at all about the *procès-verbal* of the Synods; on the other hand Borromeo wished him to find out whether the subscription was qualified in any way; Albizzi said that the nuncio should forward a copy of the *procès-verbal*. Omnes tandem dixerunt, scribatur Nuntio, quod curet habere actum subscriptionis factae per quatuor episcopos formulario et quod subscriptio sit sincera et libera, advertendo quod ista verba "sincera et libera" nihil aliud significant, quam quod episcopi non possint apponere restrictionem aliquam, non vero quod teneantur expresse dicere "sincere et libere subscribo". Curet idem Nuntius, ut pateat, quibus opus est, quod ipse non certioraverit S. D. N. de processibus verbalibus factis seu faciendis per dictos quatuor episcopos occasione dictae subscriptionis, imo dicat Domino de Lionne, ipsum non scripsisse inhaerendo suis consiliis et suasionibus. Curet etiam, sed singulari solertia et impenetrabili silentio scire, quid actum fuit in synodis celebratis per quatuor episcopos occasione subscriptionis formularii, et utrum super actis synodalibus formatus fuerit processus verbalis, quid in illis contineatur et utrum aliquid

In pursuance of these instructions three letters, under date of October 11th, were dispatched to the nuncio.[1] The first [2] explains that it was not enough that some sort of document should attest that the subscription of the four was sincere. Bargellini must endeavour to get hold of the authentic document with the subscription; only when it was proved that the signature of the four stood under the papal formula without reservation of any kind, could they feel sure of the four Bishop's sincerity. Let the nuncio exert himself to this end and declare that he had thought it best not to write to Rome concerning a preliminary declaration which may possibly exist. This had been Lionne's advice and, as a matter of fact, nothing beyond their sincere subscription had been demanded of the four; since credible witnesses attested that this had been given, the Pope must assume that a preliminary declaration either does not exist or that it contains nothing against the sincerity of the subscription. On the other hand, the nuncio must point out to Lionne that he would have to inform the Pope if anything affecting the sincerity of the subscription came to light. The second letter [3] charges him to search, in the greatest secrecy, for the preliminary declaration on the subscription of the four and to ascertain

insertum sit, quod repugnet sinceritati et libertati purae subscriptionis. Et cum aliis notatum fuerit, quod dictus Nuntius facile pandit, quod de iis quae ad eius aures perveniunt, certiorem reddit SSum et inde videtur indecora et praeiudicialis tolerantia, quae aliter honeste praetermitti possit et sperni, omnes EE. PP. dixerunt, ut scriberetur Nuntio, qualiter in posterum, ut vigens necessitas non consulat in contrarium, taceat et dissimulet scripsisse ad Urbem, ut tum ipse quam s. Congregatio libere possint deliberare iuxta normam verae prudentiae et ut praesens temporum conditio tulerit. Quod vero ad notulam transmissam per Nuntium atque exaratam de consilio P. Annat S. J., omnes dixerunt, nihil pro nunc respondendum, sed laudandam pietatem dicti Patris. *Bibl. Angelica*, S. 3, 1, p. 360.

[1] See App. 8, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 64, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 65.

two things in particular: first, whether that declaration was embodied in the synodal acts, thereby acquiring public validity, in which case it would not be possible to remain silent on the matter, and, secondly, whether it contained anything against the sincerity of the subscription. The third letter [1] states that it would be a good thing if the nuncio would draw the minister's attention to a few particulars, namely that he had thought it best not to mention the declaration of the four about their subscriptions because the Pope had only decided to act as he had done at the urgent request of the King and because he relied on the authority and the zeal of His Majesty and the minister himself; accordingly His Holiness had judged it best, with regard to the sincerity of the subscription, to rely on the word of the King and the minister and to refrain from further inquiries. In acting in this way the Pope took it for granted that in so important a matter, which equally trenched on the interests and the piety of His Majesty and the Pope's authority, His Holiness had no reason to fear a deception seeing that everybody trusted in the loyalty and the faith of the King and the minister, so that His Majesty's honour was at stake, of which no one would ever be able to say that it had failed His Holiness.

It was impossible to speak more clearly to an all-powerful King. During the ensuing week, Bargellini comforted himself as best he could for his bad luck. On October 19th he speaks of his satisfaction at the submission of the four; even the Jesuits were coming round to the view that the prelates had done their duty. If they had failed to do so, so much the worse for them, for in that case their duplicity would be exposed before the whole world.[2] A few weeks later the nuncio was worried by the fear that the four might relapse, when they might try to escape from the shame of perjury by pointing to the conduct of some other French Bishops. However, he calmed himself with the thought that one passage in their

[1] **Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, 66.

[2] *To Rospigliosi on October 19, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 368.

letter to the Pope to which they might appeal, obviously referred only to the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy, who had all subscribed without a preliminary declaration.[1]

Rome was less credulous. If the nuncio, the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote,[2] succeeded in obtaining from the Bishops who had acted as mediators, or from the four themselves, a written assurance such as that which they had so often given by word of mouth, namely that their subscription was unaccompanied by any restricting clause, they would have obtained all that they could wish for. But Bargellini's steps in this direction must not give rise to the suspicion that in Rome they believed in the existence of such declarations. If he failed to get the required attestation, he was to go on as before, unless proof of the existence of such declarations was actually forthcoming.

Meanwhile, it became increasingly evident that there was good reason for throwing a veil over the proceedings at the synods of the four. On October 30th, 1668, Bargellini passes on information concerning the synods which he had obtained from the Jesuits.[3] He adds that he cannot guarantee the accuracy of the report but, as a matter of fact, the report was quite correct. On November 1st an Amsterdam newspaper published the information that the four had only subscribed in the spirit of their pastorals and that the Pope had agreed to this.[4] A few days later the Secretary of State, Cardinal

[1] *To the same, November 16, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 400.

[2] *October 30, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 69 *seq.* For the words in the letter of the four Bishops: "Episcopi Gallicani nobiscum sensibus coniunctissimi" and the controversy they raised because the Jansenists, in their printed copies, inserted "multi" before "episcopi". *Cf.* [Dumas], III., 164 *seqq.* "Multi" stood in the first draft but was removed at the instance of the nuncio. It is also missing in the letter of November 16, quoted in the preceding note and in the copy of the letter in *Cod.* 60 of the Library of S. Pietro, in Vincoli, Rome, f. 37 *seqq.*

[3] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1,000.

[4] [Varet], II., 378.

Rospigliosi,[1] wrote that he had received the original of the letter of the four together with the authentic acts concerning their subscription, but added that he had been informed that the document about the subscription was not truthful and sincere. So far the Pope had not made up his mind whether or not to believe the information; the nuncio must try and find out what the truth is. The true facts were gradually coming to light. On November 27th the nuncio forwarded the protest of the nine Canons of Pamiers against Caulet's action at his Synod.[2] On the same day Clement IX. felt so sure of his ground that he sternly requested the French ambassador for further information; in his embarrassment the latter answered that he had no instructions.[3] Thereupon the Pope asked Paris for further light; this Lionne supplied after his own fashion. Through Archbishop Harlay of Rouen he persuaded Vialart to attest once more the complete sincerity of the four Bishops. In a long letter of December 5th,[4] the minister informed Rome of Vialart's attestation, which also bore Arnauld's signature. The latter's name on this document, Bargellini wrote at the same time, had more weight than if all four had signed together, for these would not dare to contradict in any way a man whose writings had been the main support of their activities.[5]

Vialart's declaration reduces itself merely to one more ambiguity. The four Bishops, he began, had acted in perfectly good faith. They had condemned the five propositions with absolute sincerity, without exception or reservation. "With regard to the relation of these propositions to Jansenius'

[1] *To Bargellini on November 6, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1,039. *Cf.* above, p. 376.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 306.

[4] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1072; [VARET], II., 402. *Cf.* Vialart's attestation of December 15, 1674, of the declaration in ARNAULD, *Fantôme du Jansénisme*, chap. 19 (*Œuvres*, XXV., 127); [VARET], II., 403.

[5] Bargellini on December 4, 1668, in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 51.

book, they had exhibited, and had had exhibited to the Holy See, all the regard and all the submission due to it according to the teaching of theologians," etc.[1] To give further weight to these explanations Lionne instructed the French ambassador in Rome to represent to the Pope, on December 14th, that if he rejected the letter of the four and insisted on their trial, he would have between seventy and eighty Bishops against him, and the rest would make common cause with them, were it only because action was being taken against a colleague; the affair might even lead to a national council.[2] In a previous letter to Rome, Harlay had described it as a kind of miracle that the Jansenists were allowing themselves to be persuaded to make greater concessions than ever before.[3]

It was a thorny problem for the cardinalitial Congregation to decide on a course of action. The Pope had to insist on the four Bishops declaring the five propositions to be heretical in Jansenius' sense; on this point, as Cardinal Rospigliosi expressly stated at a later date, Clement IX. would not yield in the slightest degree. But was it certain, in view of the latest reports from France, that the four maintained Jansenius' orthodoxy? A number of seemingly straightforward attestations stood in the way of such a supposition, for they appeared to establish beyond a doubt that the prelates had subscribed to Alexander VII.'s formula with complete sincerity. Even though the four might not hold it as a dogma of the faith that Jansenius was a heretic, they nevertheless appeared to give an internal assent to the definition relative to that matter, and could they not be satisfied with that? Neither

[1] [Dumas], II., 239 *seqq.*

[2] Gérin, II., 308.

[3] "*En effet, jamais le parti des Jansénistes, n'était venu jusque là que c'était une espèce de miracle de les avoir menés aussi avant, etc." (December 5, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1063). The declaration agreed with previous utterances of the four and even with those of the nineteen ([Varet], II., 406 *seq.*). On December 10, 1668, *Gondrin also gave his adhesion to Vialart's attestation (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1079 *seq.*).

the infallibility of the Pope in dogmatic facts, nor papal infallibility itself, had been defined as dogmas of the faith.

When, therefore, after reception of Vialart's attestation, the question was put to the Congregation of Cardinals on December 23rd, 1668, whether the four had done their duty, Ginetti and Ottoboni answered in the affirmative. Ottoboni thus substantiated his answer: the sincerity of the subscription was vouched for by a public document, whereas the opposite rested solely on rumours and unreliable writings. Borromeo was of the same opinion; he added that he had maintained from the beginning that with regard to facts the Pope could not command internal acts. These views were sharply opposed by Albizzi; persistent rumours about a notorious fact, he contended, together with the testimony of the Canons of Pamiers, proved that the subscription was only given with reservations; were the Pope to overlook this fact, and were he, in his reply, to tell the four that they had complied with the command of the Holy See, it would be all up with religion and France and papal infallibility; Vialart's declaration was only an attestation of the views of other people, whilst Harlay put his own construction on it. Accordingly, Albizzi's advice was that the Pope should promulgate once more, by means of a new Constitution, the previous judgments of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., the prohibition of the pastorals of the four and other attacks against the Papal Constitutions. Chigi was of opinion that they should try to get hold of the protocols of the Synods and the subscriptions; in any case the Brief in answer to the letter of the four, should emphasize the fact that they had subscribed without addition or reservation. Rasponi agreed that the Brief must put it beyond a doubt that the Pope felt certain of the sincerity of the subscription. Rospigliosi counselled that they should go by the declaration of Vialart and Arnauld and Harlay's covering letter; if the four Bishops had acted as those documents stated, they had fully complied with the papal command and more could not be asked of a Catholic Bishop; by comparison with such ample assurances the pastorals, etc., did not count. Azzolini was of

opinion that an answer must be given to the four, and that at an early date, but it must be a cautious one. Celsi still had his misgivings; if, he said, there was no doubt about the sincerity of the four, he would side with his colleagues, but an attestation of the subscription was not the subscription itself, hence they must insist on the Bishops furnishing proof of their signature. Ottoboni and Borromeo objected to this, but Celsi stuck to his opinion though his objections could not alter the final decision; it was unanimously decided, with the sole exception of Albizzi and Celsi, that a reply should be sent.[1]

When the Brief to the four, after undergoing many alterations and improvements,[2] was submitted to the Congregation, Albizzi renewed his objections. The four, he said, assert in their synods that after a thorough examination of their pastorals, Clement IX. had approved these documents and set aside the Constitutions of his predecessors. From various accounts and from the newspapers of Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels, it appeared that they had spread this report throughout Europe. In view of this circumstance it seemed to him that it was not enough for the honour and reputation of the Pope and the prestige of the Church, that they should content themselves with merely answering the letter of the four Bishops. If this answer was dispatched to the nuncio, God alone knew whether, in order to hide the fact that he had been deceived, the latter would not make difficulties to hand it to the four, thereby delaying a matter that ought to be disposed of as soon as possible. If they sent it direct to the four, they would either deny ever having received it, or they would wrap it up in glosses, or misinterpret it, as they had misinterpreted the Pope's intentions. The real remedy was the Constitution advocated by himself; it would comfort the Catholics and prevent lies. In conclusion Albizzi observed: "I beg of you to read the whole of this

[1] See App. 8. As early as November 1, 1668, Albizzi had laid before the Pope "alcune scritture e lettere" concerning the insincerity of the Bishops. Anonymous *report, Bibl. Casanat., X., vi., 24, f. 35.

[2] Two *drafts *ibid.*, f. 850 and 856; *cf.* 898.

memorandum of mine to the Pope; I shall then feel happy in the thought that I have done my duty, incumbent on me as a Cardinal of Holy Church. And I feel that His Holiness may in a sense, depend on me more than on all the rest, seeing that the whole of the Jansenist business has passed through my hands, from the beginning to its present development, and I cannot suffer that an attempt should be made to persuade the world that this heresy had been destroyed, seeing that in spite of its seeming destruction it appears more vigorous than ever." Like Albizzi, Celsi also was against the dispatch of a papal message to the four; so was Piccolomini, who had not been present at the sitting.[1] However, their opposition was powerless.

Thus the long desired Brief to the four Bishops came finally to be written [2]; on February 2nd, 1669, it was in the King's hands. In it Clement IX. refrains from too severe expressions concerning the past; he does not even mention Jansenius by name, thus avoiding a discussion of the distinction between fact and right. On the other hand, the four Gallicans are clearly reminded of the obedience they owe to the Pope and that the fatherly benevolence which the Holy See once more bestowed on them, was based on the supposition that their subscription was sincere.[3] In other words: if the subscription was not meant seriously, the four would not be able to appeal to the Brief. There is only one passing allusion to the rumours about the Bishops' dishonest game, whilst it is emphatically stated that Clement IX. had never consented to any exception to or restriction of, the Constitutions of his predecessors.[4] As for the future, the Pope expresses the hope

[1] App. 9.

[2] January 19, 1669, in [Dumas], III., *Rec.*, 189.

[3] In their letter to Rome we read of the four "cum ingenti obsequii nobis et huic S. Sedi per vos debiti testificatione significabatis vos iuxta praescriptum Literarum Apostolicarum sincere subscripsisse et subscribi fecisse Formulario".

[4] "Dictorum praedecessorum Nostrorum constitutionibus firmissime inhaerentes nullam circa illud [negotium] exceptionem aut restrictionem admissuri unquam fuissemus," *ibid.*

that the four would persevere in their sincere submission. These same thoughts are even more forcibly expressed, if possible, in the covering letter to Vialart and Gondrin [1] as well as in subsequent communications of the Pope to Louis XIV. and of Rospigliosi to Lionne.[2]

A letter to the nuncio [3] enumerates the motives which inclined the Pope to leniency: they are Vialart's attestation, signed by Arnauld and confirmed by Gondrin, the authentic guarantee by the four of the sincerity of their subscription, the assurance given by Lionne to the nuncio and the testimony of the Archbishop of Rouen and others. All this constituted a proof which, in the Pope's opinion, far outweighed all accounts to the contrary in certain news sheets and private reports concerning the contents of the protocols of the synods. Hence the Pope could, and even had to allow himself to be persuaded, by the King's word, and by so many weighty attestations, of the true and full submission and the sincere subscription of the four Bishops. Let the nuncio familiarize himself with the text of the Brief and be guided by it; but he need not give it further publicity if by so doing fresh occasion would be given to restless spirits. But whenever necessary let him stress the fact that the reason of the pardon of the four was their complete submission. Only if real duplicity showed itself and lies were spread, to the detriment of the full obedience of which the four had made profession, should the nuncio publish the Brief together with an account of the facts. But on this point he must first come to an understanding with Lionne.[4]

[1] [Dumas], II., 246.

[2] Of February 26 and March 5, 1669, in Gérin, II., 310. By "sincera e totale obbedienza" the four had deserved the Pope's mildness, says Rospigliosi.

[3] **Cf.* January 20, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 94, Papal Sec. Arch., see App. 10.

[4] A *letter of the same date explains to the nuncio why the words "di fede" were not added to the word "formulario" in the Brief. To do so might have led to fresh chicaneries on right and fact (*ibid.*, f. 97). On January 20, 1669, *Rospigliosi

The Brief was hailed in France with the most exuberant praise and extolled as a masterpiece. A letter of thanks of the King to Clement IX. and Cardinal Rospigliosi[1] was followed by the eulogies of the Archbishop of Rouen[2] and the Bishop of Châlons.[3] Lionne had a letter written to Rome which stated that the Brief was the most beautiful of all the documents that had emanated from the Holy See for more than a century[4] and that the least word in it was a masterpiece.[5] Bargellini wrote that copies were being made of the Brief which was meeting with universal approval; everybody desired to see it in print.[6] Clement IX. took advantage of his letter in answer to that of the King to stress once more the fact that his Brief was exclusively based on the supposition of the sincere submission of the four, and that he hoped that in future the King would lend the Pope the support of his royal authority should there be a revival of the old troubles.[7]

Besides all this praise, expressions of anxiety were likewise heard. An anonymous publication[8] was forwarded to Rome which enumerated ten evil consequences of the compromise. All that had been done up till then with regard to the distinction between right and fact had been thrown to the

also writes that the Pope refused to take notice of a pamphlet on the insincerity of the four, the author of which was said to be Albizzi. But the more publications of this kind appear, the greater the duty of the four, of the mediators, of Lionne and the king, to stress the "sincerità" of the subscription on the basis of which the Pope had declared himself satisfied. *Cifre al Bargellini, Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Of February 7 and 8, 1669, *Excerpta*, 1669, f. 25.

[2] *To Card. Rospigliosi, February 15, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 34.

[3] *To the Pope, *ibid.*, f. 91.

[4] To Bourlemont, February 8, 1669, in GÉRIN, II., 309.

[5] To Rospigliosi, February 8, 1669, *ibid.*, 310.

[6] *To Rospigliosi, April 5 and 10, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

[7] *Brief of February 26, 1669, *Excerpta*, 1669, f. 42; GÉRIN, II., 310.

[8] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1045.

sneers of the Calvinists; people said that the authorities of the Church trimmed their sails according to the wind, that infallibility in dogmatic facts was being jettisoned, etc. The Bishop of Evreux [1] prayed the Pope to enlighten the faithful on what had happened, and to give some hint as to what they were to think and to do in so obscure a matter, lest some ill-disposed persons should delude the incautious with a deceptive peace. The Bishop of Lombez informed the Pope that it was generally believed that the mediating Bishops had given an inaccurate account of what had taken place at the synods of the four. He was unwilling to accuse anyone, but the benevolence shown to the returning prodigal should not injure his elder brother who had never left his father's house. But now for the space of about four months the men whose submission and readmission the Pope had desired, conducted themselves as if the judge had pronounced them innocent and victorious against false brethren who had been convicted of calumny.[2] Bishop Abelly of Rodez also asked for further information on the peace; it was rumoured, he wrote, that the Pope had approved the conduct of the four, and abrogated the Constitutions of his predecessors, the mere thought of which would be wrong. Accordingly he prayed for a fresh confirmation of the previous Constitutions.[3]

The three Bishops received laudatory Briefs,[4] and were

[1] *February 18, 1669: "Quid actum sit in hac causa et quid deinceps sentiendum et agendum ad sedandos animos in tam obscura ac turbulenta materia, ne subdola pace decipiant incautos maligni quidam homunciones." *Excerpta*, f. 164.

[2] "*Aliter credi actum esse a quatuor episcopis in synodis, quam a mediatoribus significatum fuerat; [this is certain] notorietate publica. Ita bene sit minori filio . . . revertenti, ut nihil adversi contingat maiori, qui nunquam a patre discessit . . . A quatuor circiter mensibus sic gesserunt se, quos subditos et reconciliatos vult S. T., quasi sint probati a iudice innocentes et victores adversus falsos fratres de calumniae crimine convictos." *Ibid.*, f. 165 (no date).

[3] **Ibid.*, f. 166 (no date).

[4] *May 21, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 174 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report in Bibl. Casant., X., vi., 24, f. 40.

referred to the nuncio who was charged to explain [1] that the Jansenist controversies had been decided by Innocent X. and Alexander VII. from whose Constitutions Clement IX. could not and would not deviate.[2] The four had furnished proof of complete submission, accordingly the Pope had assured them of his goodwill in a Brief, though he would not allow that document to be published, for the Brief did not touch on the Jansenist question as a whole, which had been ended and unalterably decided; it was merely a special token of goodwill towards the four Bishops.[3] The Pope would see to it that the Constitutions were observed, but since they were sufficiently clear he did not deem it necessary to issue a fresh ordinance. As a matter of fact Rome did uphold these Constitutions and refused to yield to Lionne's pressing demands that subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula should no longer be enforced.[4]

The Jansenists did not consider their readmission as a favour. The author of a communication to Rome [5] complained that they were more arrogant than ever; according to the reports spread by them in Holland and Flanders and by means of the newspapers, the four had only subscribed in the sense of their pastorals; the Pope had realized that his predecessors had made a mistake with their Constitutions, and that the so-called Jansenists were right. To describe the whole business they coined the phrase "The Clementine Peace", as if there were question of a treaty between them and the Pope, as between two powers of equal standing. A medal was even struck for this peace, with the legend:

[1] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 176 *seq.*

[2] "*Dalle quali S.St^tà non ha voluto nè potuto recedere nella causa particolare dei quattro vescovi."

[3] "*Come quello non tocca la causa publica delle controversie de' Jansenisti già terminata e definita inalterabilmente, ma solo un atto particolare di benignità di S. B^ne verso i quattro vescovi."

[4] GÉRIN, II., 311.

[5] **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1045.

"Grace and Peace from God," and "In memory of the restoration of concord within the Church".[1]

Clement IX. felt greatly hurt both by these rumours, which put him in opposition to his predecessors before all Europe, and by the medal which made of him the restorer of peace and concord. He protested that he had done nothing of the kind; all he had done was to receive again Bishops who had not as yet subscribed the formula. At first he had been unwilling to receive their letter, although it was full of protestations of submission and sincerity, because he had been informed that they only signed with certain reservations. But when he received from themselves fresh assurances of their loyalty, and testimonies from other Bishops, their friends, he had written to them, but in a way that showed that he had not only no intention of prejudicing in any way the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., but that, on the contrary, he would uphold them even at the cost of his life, for the honour of the Holy See and its infallibility as well as for his own honour; had he done that with which he was credited he would be unworthy to live.[2]

After the lapse of a few months Clement IX. was probably in a better position to realize how the Jansenists understood sincerity; but to publish now a supplementary Constitution, and thereby to raise fresh trouble in France, seemed hardly

[1] Gratia et pax a Deo-Ob restitutam Ecclesiae concordiam ([Dumas] II., 248 *seqq.*; [Varet] II., 424 *seqq.*; Rapin, III., 498 *seqq.*). Reproduction of the medal in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXII., 192. For the inscription in the publications of the Académie des Inscriptions see Dupin, III., 209; [Patouillet] III., 220. On May 27, 1669, *Rospigliosi protested to Bargellini against the "scandalosa medaglia" which put the king on a footing of equality with the Pope. "Quel chiamar poi, 'concordia' l'obedienza dei quattro vescovi non è conforme nè al vero nè al dovere alla S. Sede, onde non dovrebbe parlarne in altro modo che di obedienza" (Cifre al Bargellini, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Bonfils to Lionne, June 4, 1669, in Gérin, II., 312 *seq.*

advisable.[1] The obligation to subscribe to the formula of Alexander VII. continued to bind all newly appointed clerics, and there could be no doubt as to the sense in which Rome demanded this subscription. Thus there seemed to be a justifiable hope that the Jansenist ideas would die a natural death.

When a fuller light was at length thrown on the way in which the so-called Clementine Peace had come about, the displeasure of the Holy See revealed itself in the fate of the men who had negotiated it. After the conclusion of peace Barbellini vainly strove to call into being another religious enterprise, viz. an institution for the assistance of convert Protestant preachers.[2] He was recalled in August 1671, was Vice-Legate at Avignon for a few years, and subsequently lived another twenty-five years without either office or dignities.[3] The Jansenists themselves, as well as the French diplomatists, felt nothing but contempt for the weak man.[4] As early as December 1668, Albizzi had roundly described him as a very silly man.[5]

At the Sorbonne the "Clementine Peace" brought about

[1] RAPIN, III., 502. Bossuet writes: "Comme pourtant la chose était à un point qu'on ne pouvait pas pousser à toute rigueur la signature du Formulaire sans causer de grands désordes et sans faire un schisme, l'Eglise a fait selon sa prudence d'accommoder cette affaire et de supporter par charité et condescendance les scrupules que de saints évêques et des prêtres, d'ailleurs attachés à l'Eglise, ont eus sur le fait. Voilà ce que je crois pouvoir établir par des raisons invincibles." To Marshal De Bellefonds, September 30, 1677, in *Corresp.*, éd Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque, II., Paris, 1909, 51.

[2] AUG. et CLAUDE COCHIN, *Le grand dessein du Nonce Bargellini et de l'abbé Desisles contre les réformés* (1668); *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. de France*, 1913. *Cf.* *Bargellini's letter to Rospigliosi, February 26, 1669, *Cifre del Bargellini, loc. cit.*

[3] [DUMAS] II., 270; RAPIN, III., 503.

[4] [VARET] I., 219; GÉRIN, II., 452 *seq.*

[5] "Très grand coillon" (to Lionne, December 18, 1668, in CAUCHIE, 1902, 975).

a revulsion of feeling, which had been until then, definitely Gallican. After the Brief of January 19th, 1669, extraordinary manifestations in honour of the Pope were organized.[1] But there were others for whom the turn of things was less pleasing: "If no Jesuit hangs himself it will be a great miracle," wrote Le Tellier's son on hearing of the conclusion of the compromise.[2] As a matter of fact, the Jesuits became for a time objects of ridicule at court, until the preaching of Bourdaloue in particular restored their prestige.[3]

As soon as the contents of the papal Brief became known, the King's confessor, Annat, wrote to the monarch, protesting his own and his brethren's complete submission to the Pope.[4] A papal command to their General, which Lionne had obtained through the nuncio, ordered the Jesuits to leave controversy alone.[5]

Soon after the peace, the influence of the Duchess of Longueville also came to an end. The King viewed the meetings in the house of the old conspiratress with suspicion, and when the nuncio drew his attention to the political danger of these conventicles, Louis XIV. was easily persuaded; the Duchess was told to retire to her country seat.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 1903, 47.

[2] RAPIN, III., 471.

[3] *Ibid.*, 497 *seq.*, 506.

[4] *Ibid.*, 471.

[5] Anonymous *report in Bibl. Casanat. X., vi., 24, f. 41. On April 2, 1669, *Rospigliosi writes to Bargellini that the Jesuit Maimbourg must not publish his book, all the more so as people were excited by reason of a letter attributed to the Jesuit Fabri, on the subject of the subscription of the four (*Nunziat. di Francia*, Papal Sec. Arch.). Fabri's letter had been burnt on March 26, 1669, by order of Parliament (SOMMERVOGEL, III., 516). *Rospigliosi does not wish Bargellini to meddle with the matter (to Bargellini, April 30, 1669, *loc. cit.*).

[6] Nunciature reports of May 3 and 17, and October 22, 1669, in CAUCHIE, *loc. cit.*, 1903, 51 *seqq.* *Bargellini was of opinion that the former Fronde simply masked itself behind Jansenism, that the Cabale received money from Holland and England (*Cifre*

Despite the atmosphere of peace, Arnauld failed to get himself readmitted into the Sorbonne. The King would not allow him to enter there except by the ordinary door, namely by signing the formula like everybody else, and by submitting to the condemnation of his book. Bargellini deemed it a point of honour for the Holy See that the door of the Sorbonne should not be opened to him by some exceptional measure, and that the nuns of Port-Royal should not recover possession of their convent in Paris.[1] The Archbishop of Paris pressed Arnauld to recant, but he replied that there was no need for him to do so since he had written nothing against the Holy See,[2] and Rome instructed Bargellini [3] not to insist on a recantation as the danger of insistence appeared greater than any advantage to be hoped for from it, or from Arnauld's future writings. After the peace, and acting in accordance with the exhortations of the nuncio,[4] Arnauld had in fact dedicated his pen to the defence of the Catholic faith against the Calvinists. The year 1669 saw the publication of the first volume of a great work, the scope of which was to demonstrate that the Catholic belief in the real presence of

al Bargellini, November 16, 1668, and January 23, 1669, *loc. cit.*). On March 3, 1669, *he wrote that the Cabale now met under pretext of the sermons of the Jansenist Desmares (*cf.* *Bargellini, on May 24, 1669, and *Rospigliosi, on October 22, 1669, *ibid.*). As Bargellini *wrote on May 17, 1669 (*ibid.*), when dealing with the King and the court, he made use for choice of the word "cabale" to designate the Jansenists, "per sepelire affatto quello [nome] de' Jansenisti. . . . Questo nome [cabala] opera meraviglie, perchè ferisce il cuore del Re." Rome also sensed danger in the fact that there was question of translating Choiseul from Comminges to Tournai; there he would be able to do even more for Jansenism as he enjoyed an irreproachable reputation. However, the King stuck to his decision (*Rospigliosi, on September 24 and November 19, 1669, *ibid.*).

[1] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, May 17, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 628, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Bargellini, October 16, 1668, *ibid.*

[3] *Rospigliosi, on March 23, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 116.

[4] See above, p. 377.

Christ in the Eucharist was the belief of the whole of Christian antiquity. The first three volumes are by Nicole and Arnauld jointly and Renaudot added two more.[1] Of the first volume Bossuet was able to say that "it was in perfect conformity with the Catholic faith".[2] Nevertheless Arnauld had not wholly overcome his resentment against Rome,[3] but Bargellini was directed to take no notice of it.[4] Clement IX. refrained from touching on the submission of the four Bishops in the consistory in view of Lionne's wish that the matter should be discussed as little as possible.[5] Somewhat later, however, Lionne expressed the opinion that one could now speak without any risk, since the Brief was better known in France than in Rome [6]; but the Pope decided that it was too late for mention in the consistory or in any other way; the less said about the affair, the better.[7]

(3.)

The new organization of the missions, which had begun especially under Alexander VII., was carried a stage further

[1] *Perpétuité de la foi catholique touchant l'Eucharistie défendue contre le ministre Claude.* The first germ of the book was a dissertation by Nicole, destined to serve as an introduction to a translation of the Office of the Blessed Sacrament. After an attack by the Protestant preacher Claude, Nicole published in 1664 the so-called small *Perpétuité*, which, as a result of further attacks by Claude, grew into the large work (DEGERT, in *Bull. de littérat. ecclés.*, Toulouse, 1924, 314).

[2] F. MOURRET, *L'ancien régime*, 395.

[3] *Livre*, 7.

[4] *Rospigliosi, April 2, 1669, *loc. cit.*, f. 120.

[5] *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, March 25, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137 (Cifre al Bargellini), Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, May 10, 1669, Cifra del Bargellini, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, June 4, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 137, *loc. cit.* For the literature on the Clementine Peace, see CAUCHIE, in *Rev. d'hist et de lit. rel.*, III. (1898), 481–501.

under Clement IX. by means of a great number of ordinances in favour of the Vicars Apostolic in the Far East. One Brief in particular, which was promulgated shortly before the death of Clement IX., is of special importance. Jacques Bourges, the companion of the Vicar Apostolic Lambert, had come to Rome from Siam in the lifetime of Alexander VII. He suggested that all missionaries should be placed under the Vicars Apostolic, that a common seminary for native priests, with rules approved by Rome, should be established, and lastly, that a solution should be found for the difficulties of the missionaries with regard to Church teaching and discipline. He also desired the establishment, in the proximity of the mission fields, of a place of refuge for the heralds of the faith, and especially that the missions should remain in close touch with the Pope, Propaganda, the Seminary in Paris, and that one of the great European Powers should take them under its special protection.[1]

Bourges' representations were successful. A Brief of September 13th, 1669,[2] subjected the missionaries, in a large measure, to the authority of the Vicars Apostolic; they were ordered to submit their faculties to the latter, and were forbidden to use them without their consent. They might be compelled to undertake pastoral work and in their parochial duties they were subject to the Vicars Apostolic who were empowered to divide parishes, to call for the services of members of other Orders, and to settle any disputes that might arise between the religious. They were entitled to hold visitations, to issue decisions on the observance of holy days and on ecclesiastical customs and to publish papal documents and concessions. Vows of obedience made by Catechists to religious were not to tie the hands of the Vicars.[3]

[1] Kilian Stumpf Missionis Sinicae " *Succincta Chronologica relatio et historia Missionis Sinicae, in Europam missa mense oct. 1710, ad a. 1665, Bavarian Reichsarchiv, *Jes. in genere*, fasc. 14, Nr. 281.

[2] Ius pontif, I., 399.

[3] The decree contains the answer to questions addressed to Propaganda by Pallu and Lambert, to which the Congregation

Alexander VII.'s pontificate was likewise marked by certain occurrences which led to disputes destined to outlast the lifetime of Clement IX. and Clement X. During the minority of the Emperor Kanghi of China, the regency succeeded in getting the Christian religion condemned and all missionaries banished. On March 20th, 1666, more than twenty of these reached Canton where they were confined in the house of the Jesuits. Most of the prisoners were Jesuits but there were also among them three Dominicans and the Franciscan Antonio a S. Maria. The Jesuits took advantage of their enforced leisure to discuss important missionary problems and they invited the other captive missionaries to join in their deliberations. At first they only discussed certain less difficult matters, as for instance whether in China they might say Mass with the head covered, whether the Chinese who fasted from superstitious motives should be compelled to give up these fasts before Baptism or whether it was enough to substitute another motive, how the form of Baptism should be rendered in Chinese, and so forth. The deliberations were concluded after forty days when the Dominican Sarpetri brought up the question of the worship of Confucius and that of ancestors, a subject that had been avoided until then.

It was not without danger to submit this question to fresh discussion, in fact the danger was greater than they imagined, for the result of Sarpetri's proposal was that the chief opponent of the Chinese rites now took the field. This was none other than the Dominican Domingo Fernandez Navarrete who had gone to the Philippines in 1649 with Morales and who ranks next to the latter as an opponent of the rites. Sarpetri himself sided with the Jesuits on the question of the Chinese rites and his proposals seemed at first to work in favour of the Fathers. The two other Dominicans and Antonio a S. Maria protested indeed, when the meeting passed a resolution on the rites in the sense of the Jesuits, but the aforesaid

had replied on March 22, 1669 (*Collectanea S. Congreg. de Prop. Fide*, n. 178 ; *cf.* n. 174, 180, 182). On the opposition to the decree, see SCHMIDLIN, 378.

Franciscan and Navarrete agreed that the question should be decided by a majority of votes; the decision went, of course, in favour of the Jesuits.[1] The document in which this decision, together with forty-one other points, was set down, bore the signature of all the members of the meeting.

However, this did not clinch the matter. Antonio a S. Maria withdrew his signature and both he and the Dominican Felipe Leonardo wrote to the General of the Jesuits to whom the resolutions were forwarded, stating their disagreement on three points. Navarrete sought to prevent the inclusion of the decision on the rites among the rest and asked for a delay in the dispatch of the minutes until he should have had time to explain his difficulties.[2]

A controversy was started. Navarrete's arguments were combatted by the Jesuits Le Favre and Brancati, whose views were also defended by Sarpetri in several publications. The Jesuits Jacques de Faure and Intorcetta also took up their pens.[3] Brancati's arguments are said to have impressed Navarrete; at any rate on September 29th, 1669, a written agreement was arrived at with the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, Antonio de Govea, by the terms of which the Dominicans undertook to adopt, on the whole, the same line of conduct as the Jesuits in the question of the rites.[4]

However, it was not long before Navarrete regretted his concessions; he does not breathe a word about them in his subsequent writings.[5] On December 9th, 1669, he escaped

[1] With regard to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors, it was resolved to go by the decisions of Alexander VII., "quia fundantur in valde probabili opinione, cui nulla contraria evidentia opponi potest. Qua posita probabilitate non est occludenda ianua salutis innumerabilibus Sinis, qui arcerentur a christiana religione, si prohiberentur ea facere, quae licite ac bona fide facere possunt, et non sine gravissimis incommodis praetermittere cogerentur" (BIERMANN, 119, n. 23).

[2] BIERMANN, 121.

[3] *Ibid.*, 121 *seq.*, and *CASTNER, c. 2.

[4] BIERMANN, 122.

[5] *Ibid.*, 124; *cf.* 123, n. 34.

from the Canton prison without taking leave of his companions, for the guards had been withdrawn long ago, but the prisoners remained together even without coercion because escape might have had unpleasant consequences for the others. In their prisons they were able freely to receive the visits of the Christians and, with proper precautions, it was possible for them, in some measure, to exercise their ministry even outside. Navarrete appealed to Rome: he submitted no less than 119 doubts in connection with Chinese conditions. Two consultors answered the queries in Navarrete's sense, but Propaganda confirmed them neither during Navarrete's sixteen months' stay in Rome nor at any time after his General had called him to Madrid in 1674 to act there as Procurator for the Philippines.

What he had failed to obtain in Rome Navarrete hoped to secure with the publication of a three volume work on China, the second volume of which was to bring the disputes on the Chinese mission to the notice of the world and to prove the Jesuits wrong.[1] This work also did not lead to any action by the Roman authorities, whilst in Spain the second volume was sequestrated by the Inquisition even before its completion. In 1677 Navarrete went to the West Indies as Archbishop of those parts and from that time onwards he had nothing more to do with the disputes in China. The few copies of his second volume that were saved became a weapon for the Jansenists and all other enemies of the Jesuits, one they made much use of against the hated Order, for in his work Navarrete does not spare the Fathers of the Society. Whilst in China he had jotted down various incautious remarks made in the course of confidential conversations as soon as they had been uttered, and things of this kind he afterwards exploited against them.[2] Navarrete failed to induce the Roman Congregation to alter their attitude in

[1] Vol. I.: *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676, Vol. II.: *Controversias antiguas y modernas de la mision de China, ibid.*, 1679. *Cf.* Biermann, XIX., 127.

[2] *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*

regard to the question of Chinese rites under Clement X. His colleague, Juan Polanco, had been equally unsuccessful in this respect under Clement IX. In 1661 Polanco was chosen by the Chapter of the Chinese Dominican Province as its representative at the forthcoming General Chapter in Rome. In consequence of a report drawn up by him, the Dominican Provincial Felipe Pardo had given orders for a new examination, at Manila, of the question of the rites on the basis of the books of the Chinese. He went so far as to dispatch a few Christians of Manila to China so that they might judge for themselves of the nature of the *sacrifices* to Confucius,[1] although both in Martini's report [2] and in the decree of 1656,[3] there is no mention whatever of *sacrifices* to Confucius. The inquiry led to the conclusion that Martini's data did not agree with facts and that one could not go by the concessions of the decree of the Congregation of 1656. Polanco took the minutes to Rome. He obtained a decree confirming the decree of the Congregation of 1645,[4] but the document secured by him expressly takes it for granted that the decree of 1656 was likewise valid. Both ordinances were to be observed according to circumstances.

Among Clement IX.'s ordinances in connection with the missions special mention must be made of a stringent prohibition forbidding all missionaries to indulge in trade.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 101.

[2] See above, p. 164 *seqq.*

[3] See above, p. 164 *seqq.*

[4] Decree of November 13, 1669, Collectanea 64, n. 189: "Decretum S. C. de Prop. Fide datum sub (die) 12 septembris 1645 [XXX., 203] secundum tunc exposita in dubiis, esse in suo robore, neque per decretum S. C. S. Off. latum sub die 23 martii 1656 [above, 164 *seq.*] fuisse circumscriptum, sed omnino, secundum quaesita, circumstantias et omnia in dictis dubiis expressa, esse servandum, ut iacet; quemadmodum servandum declaravit decretum S. C. S. Off. latum ut supra, die 23 martii 1656 iuxta quaesita, circumstantias et omnia in eis expressa."

[5] *Bull.* XVII., 798 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, I., 390 *seqq.*, 402 *seqq.* A first prohibition for missionaries to indulge in commerce was

The Pope also appealed to the Shah of Persia to extend his protection to the Catholics [1]; he also wrote to the King of Siam for the same purpose.[2]

published by Pius IV. on October 4, 1563. The Brief provides the Portuguese Government with a handle against clerics infringing the royal trade monopoly with India by abolishing their exemption from secular courts (*privilegium fori*). When Urban VIII. allowed missionaries to journey to India by other routes than through Portugal, and thus removed a Portuguese privilege (Constitution of February 22, 1633, *Ius pontif.*, I., 143), he renewed the prohibition to trade as unseemly for clerics, thus indirectly safeguarding the Portuguese trade monopoly. Clement IX.'s Bull of June 17, 1669, is the first papal document to deal exclusively with the prohibition to trade for the clergy of the whole world. It is so exhaustive that nothing now remains to be added to the subsequent decrees of Benedict XIV., 1741, and Clement XIII., 1759. *Cf.* TH. GRENTRUP, in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissensch.*, XV. (1925), 257 *seqq.* However, missionaries are not forbidden "to trade in order to maintain themselves if there are no other means of supporting their personal existence". But apart from this extremity, it is laid down that "the needs of the mission or any advantage for the spread of the faith are not a sufficient motive for allowing the missionaries to indulge in commerce" (*ibid.*, 268).

[1] *Regi Persarum, dated May 19 and October 13, 1668, and February 13, 1669, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Regi Siam, dated August 24, 1669, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

Clement IX.'s Efforts on Behalf of Peace Between France and Spain and for the Defence Against the Turks—The Loss of Crete—Death of the Pope.

The war for the possession of the isle of Crete, the Venetians' last bulwark in the eastern Mediterranean, which had begun in 1645 and had continued with varying fortune, had entered a decisive phase at the time of the elevation of Clement IX. By degrees the Turks had obtained possession of the whole island; only the capital, Candia (to-day Megalo Kastro), situate on the north coast and reckoned one of the strongest fortresses in the world, had remained in the hands of the Venetians. The whole of Christian Europe as well as the Mohammedan world watched a struggle in which the war between the cross and the crescent was concentrated, so that the siege had assumed an importance similar to that of Ptolemais during the crusades or that of Sebastopol in the 19th century. An attack in May 1667, by the Grand Vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, the son of Mohammed Köprülü, with a force of 70,000 men, on the fortress whose seven principal bastions and extensive secondary and outer works were defended by more than 400 cannon, had only yielded small results. However, the Turks had no thought of raising the siege which went on throughout the winter, though with diminished violence.[1]

Fully aware of the peril that threatened Christendom from the Crescent, Clement IX. did all he could to ward it off, from the first day of his pontificate. In his anxiety to help Venice on a large scale, he examined at once how an end could be put to the war which Louis XIV. had started in May 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands. On June 21st, 1667, he addressed an autograph letter to the French King in which he urgently begged him to enter into

[1] *Cf.* Hammer, III., 618 *seqq.*; Zinkeisen, IV., 971 *seqq.*

peace negotiations with Spain, seeing that the Turks threatened not only Crete but Dalmatia also. The Pope offered to act as mediator with Spain.[1] On June 21st, he wrote in a similar strain to the Queen-Regent of Spain, Maria Anna, who ruled during the minority of Charles II.[2] On June 22nd he appealed also to the Emperor Leopold II. for the restoration of peace.[3]

The Paris nunciature was vacant[4]; accordingly, on June 23rd, the Pope ordered his nephew, Jacopo Rospigliosi, internuncio at Brussels, to repair to Paris for the purpose of working there in favour of the acceptance of the Pope's mediation with a view to an armistice.[5] In the consistory of July 18th, at which Clement IX. made a moving appeal for the Cardinals' support in the execution of his arduous duties, he was able to announce that the Queen of Spain had accepted his mediation.[6] Louis XIV. likewise agreed though he declined

[1] GÉRIN, II., 206 *seqq.*, 314, n. 1.

[2] See *Lettere scritte dalla Stà di Clemente IX. di propria mano, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 99, Papal Sec. Arch. On June 21, he writes: "*Haveremmo desiderato, che estinte o sospese le agitationi, che da si gran tempo tengono in armi cotesti regni, si fusse a Noi aperto l'adito di poter con intera sodisfattione di V. M. sgravar la Nostra conscienza col proveder alla necessità di tante anime in estremo bisognose di chi le guidi e conservi all'ovile di Christo. Onde tanto piu sente il cuor Nostro con amarezza, che in vece di goder la quiete da Noi bramata in cotesti regni, insorghino hora in Fiandra nuove cagioni d'inquietudini et di turbolenze." He prays her to work with him for peace.

[3] **Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 92, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] M. A. Vibu acted as *chargé d'affaires*; see TERLINDEN, 52.

[5] See the *Brief to Louis XIV. of June 23, 1667, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* the *Brief to the Queen-Mother of Spain, dated July 7, 1667. *Cf. Compendio della vita di Clemente IX.*, in TERLINDEN, 52. Also the *report of John Emmerix to Leopold I., dated Rome, June 23, 1667, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] See **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2931, Vat. Lib. Of the Cardinals' co-operation, Clement IX. said: "Nunquam navis regitur solo nauclero; Ubi multa consilia, ibi multa salus (*Prov.*, XI., 14)." *Cf.* also the *Brief to Leopold I., dated July 16, 1667, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

Rome as the place of negotiations and suggested a neutral city, such as Münster had been on a former occasion. Spain could not accept Louis' conditions,[1] consequently on October 4th, Clement IX. made another appeal to the King, at the same time drawing his attention to the fact that the Turks threatened not only the Venetians in Crete but the kingdom of Poland also.[2] For the seat of the negotiations he now proposed either Cologne or Liège [3] and on October 21st he named as his mediator the nuncio in Cologne, Agostino Franciotti, who had at one time been Vice-Legate at Avigon.[4]

If Louis XIV. consented to peace negotiations, it was with the *arrière-pensée* of inducing the Spaniards to lay down their arms, when he would be in a position completely to crush the defenceless.[5] When the Spanish Government declined both Liège and Cologne, as too near to Paris and too far from Madrid, and demanded that the Congress should be held at Rome, Louis XIV. replied that in the Eternal City

[1] TERLINDEN, 55.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 314, n. 1.

[3] *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, October 5, 1667, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Bull.*, XVII., 582. *Cf.* *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, of October 25, 1667 (*loc. cit.*), praising the "capacità et prudenza" hitherto displayed by Franciotti in his various offices. In the *Brief of October 25, 1667, to Louis XIV., we read: "Pacificationi filiorum instantes, ut prompta persona sit futuro congressui nomine Nostro, fr. August. archiep. Trapezuntis in tractu Rhenano Nunt., qui audito Elect. loci praesto erit, cum pacis tractatui tempus hybernum favet in tam necess. opus curam collaturus. Absque mora plenipotentiarios illuc allegare velis, quo pax revocari et rei Christ. ab immani hoste graviter divexatae et pericula maiora pertimescenti subveniri queat" (*Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*). *Cf. ibid.*, the *Brief to Leopold I., dated October 29, 1667. For Franciotti, see REUMONT, in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 1883. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 222. The *Registro di lettere tanto in piano quanto in cifra del card. Azzolini on the peace negotiations, in *Cod.* X., A. 1, of the Bibl. Altieri, Rome.

[5] QUIRINI, in BERCHET, II., 334.

the Spaniards would be able to negotiate by themselves alone.[1]

Whilst the King of France was delaying the congress,[2] his ambassador in Venice, the unscrupulous Sieur de Grémonville, won over the Emperor's ambitious and vain minister, Auerspach, with a promise of support for the latter's aspirations to the cardinalate.[3] By the advice of this disloyal servant Leopold I., on January 19th, 1668, agreed to the project of an eventual division of the Spanish heritage, by the terms of which Spain, the West Indies, Milan and Sardinia were to fall to the Emperor whilst France should have the Netherlands, Burgundy, Naples and Sicily.[4] On the following day Louis XIV. informed the Pope—out of filial reverence, as he put it—of his intention to invade the Franche-Comté an act which would render Spain amenable to peace, in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness.[5] On the very day on which his troops began this predatory attack on a widow and her child, the King of France could still write to Clement IX. of his great longing for the restoration of peace.[6]

Meanwhile the Pope had made a fresh attempt to put an end to the conflict by deciding, on January 14th, 1668, to send out three extraordinary nuncios. Pietro Bargellini, Archbishop of Thebes, was to go to Paris, Federigo Borromeo, Patriarch of Alexandria, to Madrid, and Galeazzo Marescotti, Archbishop of Corinth, to Vienna.[7] Bargellini reached Paris

[1] GÉRIN, II., 222 *seq.*

[2] Clement IX. had urged as speedy a meeting as possible; see *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, of August 30, 1667, *loc. cit.*

[3] See above, p. 348.

[4] KLOPP, Stuart, I., 212 *seq.*; REDLICH, 188; F. SCHEICHL, *J. B. v. Grémonville*, Berlin, 1922.

[5] GÉRIN, 224.

[6] TERLINDEN, 59.

[7] Marescotti was also to be the bearer of the "fascie" for the new-born Archduke; see *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX., Rospigliosi Archives, Rome. On January 16, 1668, Card. Vendôme

on April 9th; he found Louis XIV. completely changed. Out of consideration for the Pope, he informed the nuncio, he had consented to an armistice. On April 16th the King wrote in the same strain to Clement IX.[1] In reality, Louis XIV. shrank from the danger which lurked in the triple alliance concluded between Holland, England, and Sweden.[2] Pursuant to a proposal made on his own initiative by Castel Rodrigo, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, the free city of Aix-la-Chapelle was chosen as the place of negotiation, and the decision communicated to nuncio Marescotti.[3] France and Spain also secretly agreed on the terms of peace at Saint-Germain, so that the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle sank to the level of a mere formality. On May 2nd peace was signed; it abandoned to the King of France his conquests in the Netherlands, but in return he gave up the Franche-Comté; in the introductory part of the treaty honourable mention is made of the mediation of Clement IX. and his nephew, Rospigliosi.[4] The Pope's satisfaction at the peace grew still further when on May 31st, the French ambassador, the Duke of Chaulnes, ordered the demolition in Rome of the pyramid whose inscription, ever since the treaty of Pisa, had so offensively proclaimed the triumph of Louis XIV.

was named legate in France, to act as godfather for the Pope at the baptism of the Dauphin; see **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib. Bargellini was ordinary nuncio; see the *Brief to Louis XIV., February 11, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

[1] The *Brief was read at the consistory of April 30, 1668. see *Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* TERLINDEN, 61 *seq.*; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 811.

[2] KLOPP, *Stuart*, I., 219 *seq.*, 223. *Cf.* MENTZ, I., 144.

[3] TERLINDEN, 59. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 223. The *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of July 31, 1668, complains that Castel Rodrigo had shown but little "attentione" to the Holy See and the Pope in the "mediatione della pace" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.)

[4] TERLINDEN, 63 *seqq.* *Cf.* MENTZ, I., 143. The articles of the peace treaty were read at the consistory of May 14, 1668; see *Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

over the Pope.[1] This was the answer to the concessions recently granted by Clement IX. in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy.[2] In June Chaulnes gave a great display of fireworks, arranged by Bernini, in which the Pope was extolled as a prince of peace.[3] The Pope's satisfaction at the termination of the war was all the keener as he now hoped for effective help from the Christian princes, more especially from the hitherto indifferent King of France,[4] for hard pressed Crete.[5] He himself had already done all that lay in his power.

In July, 1667, Venice received a present of 30,000 scudi from the Pope, as well as permission to raise troops in the pontifical States, and the Pontiff doubled the number of troops destined for Dalmatia. In October troops and war material were dispatched to the City of the Lagoons.[6] In November he gave the Republic leave to raise a tenth from all Church property within its territory.[7] Although the Republic

[1] See XXX., p. 106. *Cf.* *the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., May 26, 1668, State Arch., Vienna. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 230 *seq.* On the other hand, when the pyramid was demolished Chaulnes demanded the removal of an inscription from the column erected in memory of Henry IV.'s absolution, though it contained nothing offensive (*cf.* our data, XXIII., 134; see LANCIANI, *Pagan Rome*, 37. Benedict XIV. restored the column in 1745 and dedicated it "Deiparae Virgini".

[2] See the indult of nomination for the Abbeys in the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, dated March 23, 1668, in *Bull.*, XVII., 636, and *ibid.*, 6747 *seq.*, the concession of the right of nomination for the diocese of Arras and the new possessions in Belgium, dated April 9, 1668. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 225.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 227.

[4] TERLINDEN, 66 *seqq.*

[5] *Brief to Louis XIV., of May 7, 1668, in answer to the King's communication "de pace iam certa et paene perfecta" (*Epist.*, I.), and an autograph *letter of the same day, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 109, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] ZINKEISEN, IV., 926; TERLINDEN, 76; GÉRIN, II., 311 *seq.*

[7] *Bull.*, XVII., 60 *seq.*

showed itself anything but grateful, and even provoked a conflict on the frontier of Ferrara,[1] Clement IX. continued in his readiness to help all through the following year. The papal fleet was overhauled and placed under the command of Vincenzo Rospigliosi, and 20,000 scudi were put at the disposal of the Republic for the equipment of one regiment.[2] Not content with all this, the Pope was incessantly urging the Christian Powers to go to the assistance of Venice. After the termination of the war between France and Spain he hoped that his exhortations would fall on better soil.[3] With a view to diverting the Turks from Crete and occupying them elsewhere, he sought to influence Russia through Poland,[4] and the Shah of Persia by directly writing to him.[5]

Towards the end of May 1668, the papal galleys, under Vincenzo Rospigliosi, put to sea in order to effect their junction with the Venetian fleet commanded by Francesco Morosini.[6] Soon after Abbot Airoldi was sent as special agent to obtain help for Crete from the Italian and German princes.[7] In a

[1] GÉRIN, II., 318 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 77. For Venice's egoistical policy in the question of the League, see LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 580 *seq.* The Elector Schönborn severely blames the ingratitude with which Venice rewarded the Pope's efforts (MENTZ, II., 196).

[2] GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 312 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 85.

[3] On May 1, 1668, *Briefs were dispatched to the Cardinal of Aragon, to the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy and to the Emperor (to the latter also on May 12), and on May 19 to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] See *Brief of February 11, 1668, *ibid.*

[5] See *Briefs of May 19 and June 9, 1668, to "Rex Persarum", *ibid.*

[6] **Avviso* of May 30, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 315 *seq.*; BIGGE, *Guerra*, 32 *seqq.*; Rospigliosi's reports in the periodical *Il Muratori*, Roma, 1892, 123 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*; II., 167 *seqq.*

[7] See the *Briefs to Card. Harrach and numerous German Bishops and princes, dated June 2, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.* On the subject of aiding Venice, Clement IX. had already dispatched *Briefs to Genoa, January 21, 1668, to Cardinal Thun

consistory of July 9th, the Pope gave an account of what had been achieved so far, basing his remarks on the reports of Airoldi and the nuncios.[1] Unfortunately results did not correspond to the straits in which the Venetians found themselves when, in the spring of 1668, the Turks began an attack on the two bastions facing the sea.[2]

The Government of Madrid had promised 50,000 scudi and the dispatch of its galleys based on Naples and Sicily, and possibly those of Catalonia, but it put off the execution of its promise until the autumn. The same happened with the twelve companies promised by Genoa. Tuscany sent four hundred foot soldiers. The Duke of Savoy contributed two regiments, and he allowed Guiron François de Ville, a marshal in the service of Savoy, to assume supreme command of the Venetian auxiliaries destined for Crete. The Governments of Parma, Modena, and Lucca promised to furnish war material.[3] Cardinals Barberini and Rospigliosi contributed considerable sums from their private means.[4] The Emperor, to whom the Pope [5] and nuncio Pignatelli made the most pressing representations, promised an auxiliary corps of 3,000 men but, as always happened at Vienna, their equipment proceeded exceedingly slowly.[6] From the German Protestant princes nothing could be obtained for the common cause of Christendom; among the Catholic ones, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, whose zeal the Pope had encouraged by granting them various favours, distinguished themselves specially, for they gave 3,300 of their best troops; these, under the command of an experienced captain, Count Josias von Waldeck, were to maintain the reputation of German

and the Duke of Bavaria on May 3, to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights on March 3, 1668, *ibid.*

[1] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib.

[2] BIGGE, 44 *seqq.*

[3] ZINKEISEN, IV., 967; TERLINDEN, 84 *seqq.*

[4] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 352, 353.

[5] *Brief of March 31, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

[6] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 812.

valour in the distant island. The ecclesiastical Princes of Cologne, Paderborn, Trèves, and Salzburg provided gunpowder. The Teutonic Knights furnished a hundred men. The negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria proved sadly disappointing. In like manner also the vast promises of Duke Charles of Lorraine, on which great hopes had been built in Rome, came almost to nothing in consequence of various untoward circumstances.[1]

In view of this situation Clement IX. deemed it a considerable success when Louis XIV. at last began to abandon his equivocal attitude. This was partly due to consideration for public opinion; zeal for the crusade, fanned as it was by preachers such as the youthful Bossuet, began once more to glow in the hearts of the chivalrous French. To this must be added the efforts of nuncio Bargellini, though the latter greatly overestimated his influence.[2]

In July, 1668, Louis XIV. authorized the Duke De La Feuillade to go to the assistance of the hard-pressed island with a body of volunteers, an act which Clement IX. promptly rewarded with important ecclesiastical privileges.[3] These troops, however, were not to take the field under the banner of France but under that of the Knights of Malta because the King of France was unwilling to break openly with the Porte. The corps of volunteers, six hundred strong, which embarked in the last days of September and arrived in Crete at the

[1] *Cf.* besides **Acta consist.* for July 18, 1668 (*loc. cit.*), and GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 352; ZINKEISEN, IV., 964 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 92 *seqq.* An article in *Allg. Zeitung*, suppl. 152: *Braunschweigische Truppen im Dienste der Republik Venedig*, is based on a contemporary diary. A capitulation between Bavaria and Venice was only concluded on March 13, 1669 (RIETZLER, VII., 64).

[2] GÉRIN, II., 317 *seq.*; *cf.* 192 *seqq.* for Bargellini's character.

[3] "Ius nominandi ad eccl. Tornacensem," August 27, 1668, in *Bull.*, XVII., 702; *ibid.*, 704, for Abbeys in the territory severed from Belgium. *Cf.* the very warm autograph *letter of thanks to Louis XIV., dated August 26, 1668, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 115*b*, Papal Sec. Arch.

beginning of November, considerably raised the spirits of the beleagured garrison, but by reason of its foolhardiness it accomplished very little. At the beginning of 1669, 200 men returned home; the rest were either disabled or killed.[1] At that time the entire garrison of the fortress numbered no more than 7,000 men, hence energetic support was necessary if a catastrophe was to be prevented.

No one proclaimed this peril more incessantly or more loudly than the Pope. Even before the departure of De la Feuillade's expedition, he had made special efforts and called upon God's help. On August 18th, 1668, Venice was authorized to alienate Church property in aid of the Turkish war,[2] and, subsequently, to raise a million ducats from suppressed monasteries.[3] In a consistory of September 17th the Pope discussed the critical position of Crete and the peril which would threaten Poland in the event of the abdication of King Casimir; he ended by exhorting all to pray.[4] He had the Blessed Sacrament exposed in all the churches of Rome and distributed generous alms. A plenary Indulgence was proclaimed for all who would take part in a penitential procession from the church of S. Stanislaus to that of S. Mark. Clement IX. personally took part in the function. In the first days of October he visited St. Mary Major and S. Maria della Vittoria where, as in the other churches, the Blessed Sacrament was again exposed.[5] About mid-October, Vincenzo

[1] Gérin, II., 322; Zinkeisen, IV., 985 *seq.*; Terlinden, 97 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XVII., 701.

[3] *Ibid.*, 739 *seq.*, 748 *seq.*, 781. *Cf.* Grimani, in Berchet, II., 351.

[4] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* For Poland, whose throne John Casimir had renounced on September 16, 1668, see Chledowski, II., 331 *seq.* In a special covering letter of the *Brief of July 21, 1668, the Pope had deprecated such a step (*Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 138*b*, *loc. cit.*).

[5] **Avvisi* of September 15 and 29, and October 6, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch. The Indulgences in *Bull.*, XVII., 727, 729. Indulgence and prayers were renewed in the following year. The Pope himself

Rospigliosi was back in Rome. He gave an account of the naval campaign to the Pope at Castel Gandolfo where Clement was making a short stay.[1] The enterprise had been prematurely broken off owing to the pretensions of the Knights of Malta and the result was not in proportion to the effort spent on it, but Rospigliosi could at least point to the fact that his presence had prevented the Turkish fleet, for a long time, from landing fresh troops, and to that extent he had been of use to the Venetians.[2]

Since reports concerning participation in the Turkish War by France sounded favourable, Clement IX. had recourse to every imaginable means to induce Spain also to take part in it. But Madrid was afraid, not without cause, of an attack by France. It was with great difficulty that the Pope obtained from Louis XIV. a promise guaranteeing Spain from such an eventuality for the duration of the Holy War. He ended by obtaining it, as well as a French auxiliary corps of 6,600 men and a fleet of 42 sailing ships and 18 galleys—an important contribution for those days.[3] In return, despite grave misgivings, he was forced to admit the Duke D'Albret into the College of Cardinals.[4]

On February 4th, 1669, Clement IX. who, in November, 1668, had given 30,000 scudi for the defence of Ragusa which was also threatened by the Turks,[5] granted a jubilee for France by means of which no less a sum than 100,000 scudi was raised. As the sums provided by Louis XIV. were equal

visited the principal basilicas at this time, to pray for the safety of Candia; see **Avvisi* of July 21 and 27, and August 3 and 10, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[1] **Avviso* of October 20, 1668, *loc. cit.*

[2] BIGGE, *Guerra*, 43.

[3] TERLINDEN, 136 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 144 *seqq.*, 149, 165 *seqq.* Spain's promises were not fulfilled; see, *ibid.*, 179 *seqq.*

[4] See above, p. 346. In his autograph *letter to Louis XIV., dated August 5, 1669, the Pope stresses the fact that he had had many grave misgivings with regard to D'Albret's elevation. *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 149, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Bull.* XVII., 763; TERLINDEN, 158, 160 *seq.*

to the needs of the military expedition, it was decided to spend the money on a great international hospital in Crete.[1]

Both the Pope and Bargellini, his nuncio, urged the speeding up of France's armaments,[2] for the siege of the fortress of Candia, after an almost complete standstill during a rainy winter, had been resumed in the spring of 1669 by Ahmed Köprülü with an immense force of men and material. The situation had become so critical that at the beginning of April a rumour was current in Rome that the fortress had capitulated.[3] In these circumstances one could justly ask oneself whether the last minute help of Louis XIV. would arrive in time to avert a supreme disaster. In March, 1669, Vincenzo Rospigliosi was named commander-in-chief of all the forces, both French and Venetian. The whole expedition was to be carried out in the name and under the banner of the Pope, because Louis XIV. was unwilling even now to break off diplomatic relations with the Porte.[4]

At the beginning of May 1669, Clement IX. informed François de Vendôme, Duke of Beaufort, and the Count of Vivonne, that he had made them papal admirals; at the same time he also sent them a magnificent scarlet banner adorned with the image of the Crucified and the inspiring inscription: *Dissipentur omnes inimici ejus*: let all his enemies be scattered.[5]

On May 18th the seven papal galleys sailed from Civitavecchia to Messina from whence they put to sea for

[1] **Avviso* of November 3, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See the *autograph letter of Clement IX. to Louis XIV., March 22, 1669, in which the Pope states that he would also call upon the other Christian princes though the King of France was powerful enough to deliver Crete without foreign help (*Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 145, *loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, an autograph *letter to the Queen of Spain, dated March 25, 1669, begging her help for Crete.

[3] TERLINDEN, 187 *seq.*, 194; BIGGE, 64.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 326; TERLINDEN, 171 *seq.*

[5] *Mém. du voyage de M. le Marquis de Ville, p.p.* D'ALQUIÉ, Amsterdam, 1671, 293. *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, IV., 987; TERLINDEN, 177 *seqq.*

Crete. On June 15th, together with the ships of the Knights of Malta, they were joined by the thirteen galleys of Count de Vivonne, who had set out from Toulon on May 21st. The eighteen galleys and seventeen troopships under the Duke of Beaufort only sailed on June 6th from the same harbour but, owing to a favourable wind, they made a speedy passage and effected their junction with the Venetian fleet under Taddeo Morosini near the island of Cerigo. On the evening of June 19th both squadrons dropped anchor in the harbour of Candia. To avoid the fire of the Turks, the troops were disembarked in the dead of night on June 20th.[1] The fortress was by then in a terrible condition. Part of it was no more than a heap of ruins, and it was with difficulty that one could get a firm foothold on a terrain covered with wreckage and ploughed up by mines. "The aspect presented by this city was appalling," a French officer wrote, "streets strewn with cannon balls of every calibre, splinters of bombs and grenades; not a church or building whose walls were not riddled with shot and almost turned into ruins; all the houses mere pitiful holes. Everywhere a horrible stench, and wherever one looked, one only saw corpses or wounded and crippled men."[2]

On June 25th the French carried out with reckless bravery a sortie in which the Duke of Beaufort met a hero's death.[3]

[1] GUGLIELMOTTI, 327 *seq.*; BIGGE, 60 *seqq.*, 71 *seqq.*; TERLINDEN, 197, 204 *seq.*; G. BRUZZO, *Francesco Morosini nella guerra di Candia e nella conquista della Morea*, Forlì, 1890.

[2] DARU, *Hist. de Venise*, IV., 616; ZINKEISEN, IV., 991.

[3] By the Pope's order (**Avviso* of August 17, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.), the funeral service for Beaufort in Araceli was celebrated with special solemnity. An **Avviso* of September 28, 1669 (*ibid.*), gives the following details: "il sontuosissimo mausoleo desegnato [dal S. cav. Bernino], circondato da circa 50 gran torcieri d'argento, eretto nel mezzo della chiesa tutta apparata di lugubre, et illuminata al di sopra di torcie, rappresentante uno scoglio coperto di tutte le sorti di armi, con sopra una piramide tutta historiata di varie battaglie et in cima la statua del defonto in piedi con la spada alla destra e le scudo con la croce alla sinistra,

The attempt failed and led to disputes between the French and the Venetians.[1] A similar fate attended nearly every effort for the relief of Candia. On June 29th six ships brought the Bavarian auxiliaries, all of them in a state of prostration owing to the fact that during the crossing, in spite of the great heat, they had been pressed together "like herrings in a barrel". Still more deplorable was the fate of the corps levied by Duke Alessandro Pico della Mirandola with the help of a papal subsidy of 30,000 scudi [2]; when it arrived on August 25th, sickness had reduced it from 1,500 to 600 men.[3] On July 3rd the French, Papal, and Maltese galleys arrived. At a joint war council it was decided to carry out a bombardment of the Turkish siege works in front of the bastion of S. Andrea from the fifty-eight ships which disposed of over 1,100 guns; as soon as a sufficient effect should be produced, a sortie was to drive the enemy from his advanced positions. However, the bombardment had but little effect because the Turks had entrenched themselves from the side of the sea also, and their artillery was able to reply to the ships' fire from sheltered positions. The sortie which had been planned also failed.[4] The failure of both these enterprises led to fresh disputes between the French and the Venetians. So great was the disagreement that on August 20th the French re-embarked their troops with the exception of 300 men. Modest, gentle Rospigliosi was not the man to prevent such a step.[5] On August 24th, the Turks made a general assault; it was beaten back, mainly through the bravery of the German auxiliaries. Nevertheless the fortress was no longer tenable, for the garrison was being decimated not only by the projectiles of the Turks, but by the heat of the climate also. Pico della

il tutto posto a oro et chiari e scuri con varie inscrittioni et elogii alle quattro faccie delle base e piramide in sua lode, sicome l'oratione funebre, che fece il P. Adami Giesuita.

[1] Bigge, 64 *seqq.*; Terlinden, 220 *seqq.*

[2] See **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 123, p. 226. Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Valiero, 737, 739; Zinkeisen, IV., 994.

[4] Bigge, 37 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 88; Terlinden, 225 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.*, 275.

Mirandola's six hundred men could not make up for these losses. The fortifications were pulverized, so that they looked like mole hills, and the withdrawal of the French had produced general discouragement. Accordingly on August 28th, Morosini decided to open negotiations for the surrender of the place. In order not to witness the fall of Candia, Rospigliosi, together with the Maltese and the Savoyards, followed the example of the French. Besides the Venetians only the men from Brunswick and Bavaria held out till the last. A capitulation under honourable conditions was signed on September 6th.[1] The fortress fell after a defence of unparalleled obstinacy; the garrison had beaten off forty-five assaults and made ninety-six sorties. The Venetians exploded more than 1,100 mines, and the besiegers three times that number. About 30,000 Christians and more than 100,000 Turks found their grave in the blood-soaked soil of the ancient isle.[2] The long struggle, "Venice's Iliad," as Byron calls it, was at an end. In the opinion of military experts the main cause of the disaster is to be looked for in the fact that the Christians did not take sufficient advantage of their superiority at sea.[3]

The retreat of the French troops was an all the more grievous blow for Clement IX. as Louis XIV., in response to the Pope's repeated exhortations, and in contrast with the inactivity of Spain, had shown some willingness to give further assistance.[4] It is a wonderful spectacle to see the Pope, who

[1] BIGGE, 91 *seqq.*; TERLINDEN, 239, 283 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 994; RIEZLER, VII., 65.

[2] HAMMER, III., 635. That in those days irony stopped at nothing is shown by the fact that pasquinades were composed even on the fall of Candia; see **Codicilli della città di Candia*, in Cl. VII., *Cod.*, CCXI. of the Library of St. Mark, Venice; on the other hand, there is a *poem in the Venetian dialect (by Cesare Tebaldi) in honour of Clement IX., because of what he had done for the war against the Turks in Candia, 1668, in *Cod. Ottob.* 2481, p. 444, Vat. Lib.

[3] BIGGE, 103 *seq.*

[4] TERLINDEN, 241 *seqq.*, 244. Urgent request for further help in Clement IX.'s autograph *letters to Louis XIV., dated October 1 and 8, 1669, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 153*b*–154*b*, Papal Sec. Arch.

heard of the fall of Candia about mid-October, not only not losing heart, but at once making plans for the creation of a league of defence. To this end he created a special Congregation with Rospigliosi as president and consisting of Cardinals Azzolini, Ottoboni, Barberini, Spinola, Chigi, Borromeo, and Imperiali.[1] But on hearing of the fall of Candia, and that the Venetians had concluded an armistice, Louis XIV.'s attitude changed and he put a stop to all his armaments. On December 5th, in spite of the efforts of the Paris nuncio to prevent it, he received in solemn audience a representative of the Sultan [2]!

Clement IX. did not live to hear of this incident. On October 25th he visited the seven principal churches, overtaxing his strength in doing so. During the following night he had a slight stroke.[3] Even before he was completely recovered he resumed his duties; on November 1st, All Saints' Day, he again visited the seven churches [4]; on the 16th he gave orders for the setting up of the above-mentioned Congregation [5]; on the 29th, from his sick bed, he made a

Clement IX. contributed 30,000 scudi in September, 1669, towards the equipment of Marshal De Bellefonds; see *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX., Rospigliosi Archives, Rome; *Miscell. di Clemente XI., t. 123, p. 226, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] GÉRIN, II., 388; TERLINDEN, 286, 293 *seqq.* It was thought in Rome that one of the consequences of the fall of Candia would be that Sicily would now be threatened: "Questo pericolo si sarebbe evitato con soli tre mila huomini e forse anco meno, she di Napoli si fossero nel Agosto mandati in Candia." A defencive league was imperative (*Cifra to the Spanish nuncio, November 9, 1669, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch. "*La pace di Venetia col Turco fa che già tutta Europa aspetti l'armi di esso in Ungheria o in Sicilia. L'unica via per divertirvele è una diversione, che si faccia col mezzo de' Cosacchi" (*ibid.*, November 23, 1669).

[2] TERLINDEN, 297 *seqq.*

[3] GÉRIN, II., 388 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 304; BILDT, *Conclave*, 11 *seq.* Clement IX. had already suffered a similar attack during Vespers on January 5, 1669; see **Vat.* 8414, p. 64*b*, Vat. Lib.

[4] **Avviso* of November 2, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] **Avviso* of November 16, 1669, *ibid.*

creation of Cardinals,[1] but his strength was spent. On December 2nd he received the Last Sacraments and on the 9th, when just short of seventy, he breathed forth his noble soul after an agony of thirty hours.[2] It was generally felt that grief for the loss of Candia had carried him prematurely to the grave.[3]

The Pope died in the Quirinal. His body was taken to St. Peter's where it was provisionally laid to rest next to Alexander VII.[4] Vast numbers of people flocked thither, eager to honour the body as that of a Saint.[5]

Clement IX. wished to rest in front of the *Confessio* of

[1] *Report of the Card. of Hesse, Rome, November 30, 1669. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* above, p. 348.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 390. *Cf.* **Avviso* of December 14, 1669: The Pope "sendo stato da un mese e mezzo travagliato da varii accidenti e dolori di pietre et calcoli con febre e debolezza grande, ricevuti con gran divotione e rassegnatione li sacramenti, rese lunedì mattina 3 hore avanti giorno lo spirito [70 years old]; sin all'ultimo dal S. card. Rospigliosi e da molti prelati e religiosi, com'anco negl'ultimi giorni della sua infermità assistito dalla regina di Suetia e da sig. cardinali" Papal Sec. Arch. See also *Relatione della infermità e morte di Clemente IX.*, Roma, 1669.

[3] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 353; GÉRIN, II., 387; BERNHARDY, *Venezia e il Turco*, Firenze, 1902, 59; BILDT, *Conclave*, 16.

[4] **Avviso* of December 14, 1669, *loc. cit.*

[5] In 1675 the veneration was still so great that there was danger of the coffin being forcibly opened for the purpose of securing relics. Accordingly, the body was secretly removed, on April 26, 1675, to an unknown place (CARTARI, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto). The bones were only taken to St. Mary Major in 1680; see the **Ricognizione del cadavere di Clemente IX.*, dated February 9, 1680, according to which the bearded corpse was still clearly recognizable. The tomb was closed under the direction of the architect Matthias de Rubeis, and provided with the following inscription in letters of gold: "Clemens IX. P.M. Liberianae basilicae olim canonicus et vicarius hic iacens eius praesidium quae ianua coeli est, et fidelium preces implorat. Obiit die IX. Dec. A.S., 1669, aetatis 69°, vixit in pont. annos 2, menses 5 et dies 19." Note in Rospigliosi Arch., Rome, T. 26, pp. 322 and 727.

S. Mary Major and only the words : *Hic iacent ossa Clementis IX.* (Here rest the bones of Clement IX.), were to mark the spot. As a token of gratitude, his successor put up a beautiful monument in his honour near the entrance to the basilica, but in compliance with the wishes of the deceased, he contented himself with a short inscription extolling the Pontiff's zeal for the faith, his liberality and his labours for the defence of Christendom. The chief merits of his short pontificate—two years and five months—are thus well summed up.

His unfailing solicitude for the poor and the sick as well as his deep piety, had won for the Pope the veneration of the people of Rome.[1] Inspired though he was by the best intentions as a ruler, Clement IX. was not favoured by good fortune. The peace with the Jansenists did not put an end to the dissensions. The many sacrifices which he made for the war against the Turks, for the Venetians, for Louis XIV., were rewarded with ingratitude ; and in the end all his efforts to save Candia proved in vain.

Nevertheless, the self-sacrificing zeal with which Clement IX., faithful to the traditions of the Holy See and though bent by age and sickness, sought to protect Christendom from the aggression of Islam, constitutes the supreme glory of his pontificate. He undoubtedly ranks among the best Popes, and for that reason, and as a happy omen, his name was chosen by more than one of his successors.

[1] See the **Avvisi* of December 14 and 21, 1669 (Papal Sec. Arch.). In the latter the catafalque erected for the obsequies is thus described : Il gran mausoleo eretto in mezzo in forma di tempio, sostenuto da colonne, tutto illuminato di candelotti, et in mezzo l'urna con sopra il triregno sostenuto da un altissimo piedestallo con 4 eloggi alle sue faccie in lode di S. S., il 1° posto dalla Chiesa cattolica per la pace fatta tra li principi christiani con haverli infiammati alla guerra contro l'inimico commune, il 2° dal popolo Romano per haver eccitate [?] nuovè arti a publica utilità, il 3° dalle vedove et orfani piangenti il loro padrone et tutore, et il 4° dal popolo dello Stato ecclesiastico per haver sollevata l'annona et diminuite le gabelle, e ultimamente fece l'oratione funebre il S. Agost. Favoriti.

CHAPTER IV.

Clement X: His Election and Personality—The New Pope and Cardinal Paluzzi—Altieri—Patronage of Art.

There exists a surprising wealth of reliable sources for the conclave whose task it was to give a successor to Clement IX. Numerous reports of ambassadors, and accurate lists of the votes, make it possible to follow the electoral proceedings in every detail, even though they were drawn out over a period of more than four months. To this must be added a very peculiar source, namely the correspondence between Cardinal Azzolini and Queen Christine of Sweden. Whilst through his confidant, Zetina, Azzolini kept that clever woman fully informed on all that went on in the conclave, Christine informed her friend of the situation in the city of Rome and acted as intermediary between the ambassadors of France and Spain. Christine's keenness was astonishing; she frequently wrote as many as three letters a day, often very long ones, and all in her own hand.[1]

Of the seventy members of the Sacred College, sixty-five

[1] French accounts in Gérin, II., 391 *seqq.*, Italian ones in Petrucelli, III., 224 *seqq.*, the imperial ones, incompletely, in Wahrmund, 276 *seqq.*, the Venetian ones with numerous other documents, especially the correspondence of Card. Azzolini and Queen Christine in the exceedingly interesting work of Baron De Bildt: *Christine de Suède et le conclave de Clément X.*, Paris, 1906 (hereafter quoted as Bildt, *Conclave*). See also De Bildt, *The Conclave of Clement X.* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*) [Oxford, 1906], and G. Sardi, *Il card. G. B. Spada e il conclave del 1670*, Lucca, 1920, who utilized the Spada family archives at Lucca and supplements De Bildt in many places. Sardi (157 *seqq.*) justly stresses the fact that the conclavists were not always well informed and that their reports cannot stand comparison with the accounts of the party leaders. *Scrutiny lists in *Barb.* 4440, Vat. Lib. and in the Consistorial Archives of

took part in the election, though not all of these were present in Rome when the conclave opened at the Vatican on December 20th, 1669. At the first scrutiny, on December 21st, only fifty-six Cardinals were present [1]; the rest arrived gradually. The grouping of the parties was almost the same as in 1667. The French faction was made up of seven Cardinals, viz. Antonio Barberini, Orsini, Retz, Maidalchini, Mancini, and Bouillon, Renauld d'Este being their leader. The Spanish party was captained by Leopoldo de'Medici; it included, besides himself, six members, viz. Sforza, Raggi, Acquaviva, Pio, Visconti, and the Cardinal of Hesse. Francesco Barberini led the older Cardinals of Urban VIII.'s time, and Flavio Chigi the twenty-four of Alexander VII. The *Squadrone volante* numbered twelve members, but its leader, Azzolini, who stood for the independence of individual Cardinals against the wishes of the Powers, could only feel sure of Ottoboni, Imperiali, Gualtieri, Omodei, and Borromeo. The eight Cardinals of the late Pope grouped themselves round the Cardinal nephew, Giulio Rospigliosi. Thus none of the parties commanded the necessary two-thirds' majority of forty-four votes; but Chigi alone, with his followers, was powerful enough to exclude any candidate.[2]

Since there was no outstanding personality in the Sacred College, the number of *papabili* was very considerable; contemporary reports mention twenty-one,[3] including Ginetti,

the Vatican, *C.* 2943 (see BILDT, 269). *Cf.* also the **Avvisi* in the Papal Sec. Arch., t. 115, and another collection of *Avvisi* which I discovered in the Archives at Campello, near Spoleto. Plan of the conclave, by G. B. Falda, in Vat. Lib. List of conclavists, *Bull.*, XVIII., 30 *seqq.*

[1] "Praesentes in conclavi 58, aegroti absentes a scrutinio 2" (*Barb.* 4440, *loc. cit.*). DE BILDT (269) must be corrected accordingly. For the dates of the arrival of individual Cardinals, the **Avvisi* in the Papal Sec. Arch. are the best source of information. GUARNACCI'S statement (I., 7) that 69 Cardinals took part in the conclave is wrong.

[2] BILDT, *Conclave*, 29 *seqq.*, 48.

[3] *Conclavi*, III., 123 *seqq.*

Carpegna, Gabrielli, Facchinetti, and Brancaccio from among the old Cardinals and Odescalchi and Spada from among those of Innocent X. D'Elce, Celsi, Buonvisi, and Vidoni, who had been created by Alexander VII., and Nerli, Bona, and Alteri who had been named by Clement IX., could also entertain hopes, but all of them, as well as such exemplary Princes of the Church as Spada, Odescalchi, and Bona, had to reckon with strong opposition so that it was extremely doubtful whether any one of them would obtain the tiara.[1]

Pietro Vidoni, a former Polish nuncio, seemed to have the best prospects. He was a very able, energetic man, still in the full vigour of his years and acceptable both to the French and the Spaniards. A close friend of the members of the *Squadrone volante*, he was the candidate of Azzolini and Christine, but in him, too, the proverb was to be verified: "Who goes into the conclave as Pope comes out a Cardinal." Yet Vidoni's friends observed the utmost caution, in keeping with Azzolini's principle that secrecy and silence are decisive factors in a conclave *pratica*![2] Queen Christine, too, endeavoured at first to divert attention from Vidoni as much as possible; when she visited the locale of the conclave previous to its closure, she remarked on coming to Vidoni's cell: "Another who is not *papabile*."[3] The decisive factor in the failure of Vidoni's candidature, besides the unwillingness of Medici, was the determined opposition of Chigi who did all in his power to bring about the defeat of Azzolini's candidate.[4]

[1] BILDT, 51 *seqq.*

[2] "Arcanum taciturnitatis est anima conclavis in negotio alicuius capitis." *Cf. Candidatus papalis dignitatis eiusdemque promotor probe instructus, hoc est* EM. CARD. AZZOLINI *aphorismi politici*, 1670, printed at the beginning of J. F. MAYER'S work: *Commentarius de electione Romani pontificis*, Lipsiae, 1691. To Azzolini are also ascribed: *Regole eruditissime esemplari, necessarie per ogni cardinale per il conclave (copy bought by me at Rome in 1902). Another *copy with the title: "Aforismi politici del cardinale Azzolino per il conclave del 1667" (Archives at Campello, *Miscell*).

[3] BILDT, 28.

[4] SARDI, *Spada*, 109.

Soon after the opening of the conclave it became apparent that the Cardinals were split into two camps. On the one side stood Chigi with his followers, reinforced by the Spaniards, and on the other the parties of Barberini, Azzolini and Rospigliosi.[1] The winter of that year was a very severe one and the cold was keenly felt in the badly heated cells,[2] but no decisive step could be taken before the eagerly awaited arrival of the French.[3] On January, 16th, 1670, Retz and Bouillon together with the French ambassador, the Duke of Chaulnes, reached Rome at last. They observed at first complete neutrality,[4] but when Chigi began to work with increasing ardour for the elevation of D'Elce, Chaulnes made use of his powers and on February 10th pronounced his exclusion by France. After that Medici and Chigi dropped D'Elce's candidature.[5] A veritable confusion now ensued as there was no chance of any one of the prospective candidates succeeding.[6] Towards Buonvisi, whom Chigi put forward

[1] BILDT, 77 *seqq.*

[2] *Report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., January 11, 1670, State Arch., Vienna. One great inconvenience was the circumstance that owing to faulty chimneys the rooms were filled with smoke, especially when there was a *tramontana*; see *the *Avvisi* of December 25, 1669, and January 8, 1670, in the Campello Archives.

[3] " *Pare a tutti ogn'ora un anno, che vengano i cardinali Francesi " (*Avviso* of January 8, 1670, Campello Archives).

[4] " *Galli nihil suam intentionem declarant et videntur captare tempus rei bene gerendae, affectibus tum in unum aliquem inclinantibus," Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., on February 8, 1670, *loc. cit.*

[5] BILDT, 119 *seqq.*, 123 *seqq.*

[6] In a *letter of February 22, 1670, the Card. of Hesse discusses the prospects of the various candidates: of the Chigi party Litta alone remains acceptable but even he has had frictions with the Spaniards at Milan. The Barberini candidates—Francesco Barberini, Ginetti, Brancaccio, and Facchinetti—have but slender prospects. The two *papabili* of the Pamfili party are Spada and Odescalchi. Spada is unpopular with the French by reason of an incident during his governorship. The *papabili* of the

on March 5th, Chaulnes remained passive and the affair failed.[1]

Meanwhile Azzolini and the men of the Squadron, as well as Queen Christine, were untiring in their efforts on behalf of Vidoni. The French, too, did their best for Vidoni's election but met with the utmost resistance on the part of the Spaniards whose ambassador, Marchese Astorga, hinted that the Queen Regent had excluded Vidoni.[2] Odescalchi's candidature fared no better, despite keen support by Spain and Chigi. Although most worthy of the tiara in every respect, and though without an enemy in the Sacred College, it was enough to bring about the failure of his candidature that the French ambassador declared that no Cardinal could be elected who was not in some way under obligation to the King of France. Odescalchi's chances were likewise greatly damaged by the too impetuous support of his candidature by the followers of Chigi in particular. An attempt to bring about the elevation of the Neapolitan Brancaccio was thwarted by the exclusion pronounced on April 11th by Astorga, the Spanish ambassador.[3] April 19th, 1670, saw the long awaited arrival of Cardinal Portocarrero and the day after that of an extraordinary courier of the Spanish Government who

Rospigliosi party are Altieri, Nerli, Bonapede (Buonaccorsi ?) "In primum [Alterium] non videntur consensuri neque Barberinus, qui post obitum Urbani huius cardinalis fratrem a pontificatu reiecit, neque Pamphiliani ob privatas simultates tempore Innocentii X., neque Chisiani, propterea quod Alexander VII. eum bonum senem e proceribus Romanis et suae familiae ultimum in promotionibus praeterivit." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] BILDT, *Conclave*, 144 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 105 *seqq.*, 120 *seqq.*, 131 *seq.*, 137 *seqq.*, 159 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 164 *seqq.*, 175, 192 *seqq.* On the tempestuous intervention of the followers of Chigi on behalf of Odescalchi the Card. of Hesse wrote as follows to Leopold I., March 22, 1670: "*Haec cursatio velut praematura, sincere an malitiose facta, mihi sane magnopere displicuit" (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* the report of March 29, 1670, in WAHRMUND, 278.

announced that the Queen Regent excluded neither Vidoni nor any other Cardinal; however this disavowal of Astorga could not longer alter the situation.[1] Chigi now broke with the Spaniards and sought the help of the French. At this time, thanks to the skilful intervention of Grimani, the Venetian ambassador, the ambassadors of France and Spain agreed on the election of one of Clement IX.'s Cardinals. On this occasion Chigi obtained a promise from Chaulnes that Vidoni would be excluded. The only remaining question now was which of the Cardinals of the Rospigliosi party should be elected. In a secret meeting on April 28th, Chigi, Chaulnes, and Rospigliosi fixed on Emilio Altieri to whom even Barberini could not object. Thus dawned April 29th.

At the first scrutiny, out of 56 votes only three went to Altieri.[2] Thereupon Rospigliosi revealed to the members of the *Squadrone volante* that Chigi, Medici, and Barberini had fixed on this candidate. Azzolini, completely surprised, sought in vain to obtain at least a delay. An unexpected difficulty arose from the fact that Altieri, with tears in his eyes, earnestly besought the electors not to think of him as he was both too old and unworthy of such a position. They told him that it was not possible to comply with his request and he was led with gentle violence to the Sistine Chapel where the second scrutiny was immediately held.[3] They had

[1] BILDT, 212 *seqq.*, 220.

[2] VATASSO, *Hortus caelest. deliciarum a D. I. Bona*, Roma, 1918, XLVII., note.

[3] " *Subito si andò in cella del medesimo Altieri, che cominciando a piangere disse assolutamente che non voleva esser Papa, e chiamati i cardinali Paluzzi e Gabrielli li pregò, che come parenti dovessero far desistere gli altri cardinali dall'esaltarlo. Quanto più il cardinale Altieri ricusava con dir di esser troppo vecchio e non meritevole di tal carica, tanto maggiormente da' cardinali veniva pregato in modo tale, che tutti quelli ch'erano presenti, tanto cardinali quanto conclavisti, cominciarono a piangere. Durò il contrasto gran tempo, finalmente più sforzato che vinto fu portato su le braccia di Medici, Chigi et altri in cappella senza

not even waited for the arrival of the Cardinals who lived in the city on account of sickness.[1] The scrutiny yielded 21 votes and 35 *accessus*; thus out of 59 electors 56 were for Altieri.[2] The hour was three o'clock in the afternoon. But it took a whole hour before the elected Pontiff gave his consent. In memory of Clement IX., his benefactor, he took the name of Clement X. Among the first to congratulate him was Queen Christine.[3]

The extraordinary duration of the conclave, which called forth lively complaints both in Rome and abroad together with a spate of caustic comments,[4] was due not least to the unblushing interference of the secular power of which the Cardinal of Hesse complained in his report to the Emperor Leopold with a bitterness that was fully justified.[5] In the

pranzarsi" (*Avviso* of April 30, 1670, Campello Archives). *Cf.* **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch; the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 29, 1670, State Archives, Vienna, and *Diario del conclave, 1670, in *Barb.* 4672, p. 262*b*, Vat. Lib.

[1] D'Elce had died on April 12, 1670; Grimaldi, Moncada, and Aragona were absent; Ant. Barberini, Orsini, Ludovisi, Ginetti, Acquaviva, Caracciolo, and Buonaccorsi were staying in the city owing to illness; see BILDT, 222.

[2] *Barb.* 4440, Vat. Lib.

[3] BILDT, 222–3.

[4] Part of the pasquinades composed during the conclave of Clement X. have been printed; see G. LETI, *L'ambasciata di Romolo a' Romani*, Bruxelles, 1671, and *Li segreti di stato dei principi dell'Europa*, Bologna, 1671. Among MSS. *cf.*: Florence, Bibl. Nazionale, *Cl.* VII., n. 886; Rome: Bibl. Corsini, *Cod.* 45 F., 34589; Vat. Lib., *Barb.* 4482, 4492, 4504, p. 198 *seqq.*, 5039.

[5] "*Quorsum tandem haec evadent, nemo facile dixerit; utcumque fiet, deplorandum sane est, in hoc sacrosanctum pontificiae electionis negotium, quod cardinalium dumtaxat esse deberet, laicos sic intromitti, idque ad mera politices trutinam remitti, prorsus ut verendum sit, ne Deus tantam contra Christos suos iniuriam severe vindicet. *Report of April 5, 1670, State Archives, Vienna.

end, however, the decision was not due to the representatives of the Great Powers. When Astorga, the Spanish ambassador, asserted that the new Pope owed his elevation to the Spaniards, he was no less wrong than Chaulnes, the French ambassador, who pretended that Louis XIV. alone had brought about the election. The real victor was Chigi: on that very day, April 29th, Chigi's relative, Cardinal Paluzzi, was proclaimed Cardinal nephew of the octogenarian Pontiff.[1]

Emilio Altieri was sprung from an ancient Roman patrician family[2] and had had an excellent father. A contemporary depicts old Lorenzo Altieri as a man of fiery spirit and imposing aspect, but also of the greatest modesty, as his very looks show. He was likewise distinguished for the purity of his morals and his great piety.[3] From Lorenzo's union with Vittoria Delfino, a sister of Gentile Delfino, Bishop of Camerino,[4] sprang several sons, viz. Giambattista, who became a Cardinal in 1643,[5] Girolamo, representative of the Knights of Malta in Rome, Marzio, a Knight of the Order of St. James, Francesco, an officer who fought in Germany during the Thirty Years' War and in the war of Castro (*obiit*

[1] Diario del conclave, *Barb.* 4672, p. 268*b*, Vat. Lib.; BILDT, *Conclave*, 223–5. Of Azzolini, who stood for the Cardinals' independence of the Powers, BILDT, writes (p. 2): "Azzolini a perdu la bataille, mais ce sera toujours pour lui un titre d'honneur, d'avoir indiqué la voie à suivre et préparé l'avènement dans la curie Romaine d'une politique exclusivement dévouée aux intérêts de l'Eglise."

[2] BONANNI, II., 722; AMAYDEN, *Famiglie Romane*, ed. Bertini, I., 41 *seq.* For the family arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, 45.

[3] Carlo Cartari (**Memorie*), who had known Lorenzo Altieri quite well, writes: "Visse egli fino all'età molto senile, ma con spiriti vigorosi, maestoso nel portamento, accompagnato però da una modestia singolare che fino negli occhi gli lampeggiava, di altrettanto bella canitie nell'esterno ricoperto quanto di una candidezza di costumi, e di una rara pietà a meraviglia dotato, fortunato anche ne' figli." Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto.

[4] UGHELLI, I., 567.

[5] See our data, XXIX., 164.

1644), and, lastly, Emilio, born on July 13th, 1590, in Rome where he studied first at the Roman College and afterwards at the University.[1] After obtaining his doctorate in jurisprudence (October 17th, 1611) he worked for a time with Giovan Battista Pamfili, the future Innocent X., then an auditor of the Rota. Although Emilio made a great name for himself as an advocate,[2] he nevertheless embraced the ecclesiastical state, as his brother Giambattista and other members of his family had done.[3] In 1623 he acted as assessor to Giambattista Lancellotti during the latter's nunciature in Poland.[4] On his return he became Bishop of Camerino, in 1627, in succession to his brother Giambattista. He did much useful work in his diocese, held a synod in 1630 and established the Oratorians at Montecchio.[5] He enjoyed Urban VIII.'s confidence in a high degree. The Pontiff made him Governor of Loreto and twice, though only for a short time, Governor of the Marches. He also entrusted to him the task of ensuring Ravenna against floods, a task which Altieri carried out successfully by the erection of powerful dykes. The war of Castro prevented him from entering on the duties of an Apostolic Visitor of the whole of the Papal States.[6] Innocent X. also was at first well disposed towards Altieri and in 1644 he sent him as nuncio to Naples. During the rising against

[1] For what follows *cf.* the authentic data in C. Cartari, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[2] V. Argenti (*Alteria Sydera*, Macerata, 1625) calls Emilio "advocatus peregregius".

[3] "*Secondando il genio che alla vita clericale lo persuadeva, a questa si applicò," says C. Cartari (*loc. cit.*), "da gli esempii di Mario Altieri, zio paterno [author of *De censuris ecclesiasticis*], dell' accennato Gentile Delfino, zio materno, e del descritto G. B. Altieri suo fratello." According to Cartari he was ordained priest about 1623.

[4] See our data, XXVII., 141, n. 4.

[5] Ughelli, I., 570, who speaks of "Constitutiones synodales a S. D. N. Clemente X. a° 1630 tunc eccl. Camerin. moderante in comitiis synodalibus editae". They were printed in 1672.

[6] Cartari, **Memorie*.

the Spanish domination there Altieri's position became extremely difficult [1]; however, he succeeded in maintaining himself in it until 1632 when he, too, did not escape Innocent X.'s displeasure; he accordingly withdrew into his diocese. During this period he suffered a grievous loss by the death of his brother Giambattista in 1654. The latter's position in the Sacred College was such an outstanding one that the prospect of the tiara was repeatedly held out to him.[2] During the conclave of 1655, Emilio Altieri was commissioned by the College of Cardinals to work for the restoration of peace in Upper Italy. After that Clement VII. recalled him to Rome, named him Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1657, and subsequently a Consultor of the Inquisition, but the purple which he had earned long ago was not bestowed on him. In 1657 Clement IX. made him his Maestro di Camera and at last, on November 29th, 1669, raised him to the cardinalate. He had not received the red hat and the ceremony of the opening and closing of the mouth had not been carried out for him when, almost an octogenarian, he entered the conclave from which he issued as Pope.

Clement X. was of middle height and imposing appearance, but gentle and engaging in his dealings with others.[3] "Everybody agrees," wrote Antonio Grimani, the Venetian ambassador, "that his disposition is like that of an Angel; he has a humble heart, is sincere, kind, liberal, and most indulgent; his face betrays the pain he feels when he is obliged to refuse a favour. Up to the present his elevation to the supreme dignity brought with it no change in his simple living, or in the ordering of his household." Grimani singles out for praise the sparing use Clement X. made of

[1] *Cf.* XXX., p. 82 *seq.*

[2] For 1644, see MENCIK, 50; for 1648, BERCHET, II., 80, and *ibid.*, 151, for 1651. The Capuchin Seb. Mele da Bitonto, in his **Pensieri sul Pontificato* (dedication dated October 2, 1649), prophesied the tiara to Altieri. (I saw the original MS. in 1906 in the shop of the Roman antiquary Luzzietti.)

[3] "*Fu di statura mediocre, d'aspetto maestoso, di matura piacevole" (CARTARI, *Memorie*).

the Church's money, of which he was wont to say he was only the administrator who would one day have to give an account to an all-knowing judge.[1] This serious disposition was allied to sincere piety; despite his great age Clement X. repeatedly made the tiring pilgrimage to the seven principal churches of Rome.[2]

Though the Pope was blessed with a strong constitution, it was only too evident that he felt the weight of his years. However, there was nothing to point to his early death; on the contrary, his condition was such that people prophesied him many years, especially as his forbears had been extraordinarily long-lived.[3]

The Pope led a very regular life, but one that differed from that of most people. At all seasons he rose two or three hours before dawn, dressed unaided, said his Mass and performed his private devotions; after that he often gave audience as early as five o'clock in the morning. The result of his early rising was that after taking his principal meal two hours before the evening *Angelus*, he was compelled to go to bed at sunset. When in his later years representations were made to him on his early rising, even in the cold of winter, he observed that he had always done so, and since it served him well he had no intention of giving it up.[4]

The eighty-years'-old Pontiff needed help to enable him to bear the burden of office, consequently, immediately after his election, he chose for this duty Cardinal Paluzzi degli Albertoni

[1] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 356.

[2] *Cf.* the **Avvisi* of May 2 and November 14, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 356; GÉRIN, II., 408 *seq.* The Pope's sister Virginia, a Dominican nun in the convent della Maddalena, near the Quirinal, where she lived a holy life, died on February 21, 1673, aged 71 (CARTARI, **Memorie*; **Avviso* of February 25, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.).

[4] See *CARTARI, *loc. cit.*, who quotes the testimony of Clement X.'s physician. *Cf.* the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, Vat. Lib., and GÉRIN, II., 408 *seq.*

whose nephew, Gaspar, had married Laura Caterina Altieri, a niece of Clement IX. and the sole heiress of the Altieri [1]—a woman as beautiful as she was modest. The Pope bestowed the name of Altieri on both the Cardinal and the niece.[2] Gaspar was made General of the Church and castellan of Castel S. Angelo; Angelo, his father, who had taken part in the campaign against Crete, was appointed inspector of the galleys.[3] Gaspar, on whom depended the continuation of the family, received the Pope's private estate and the Palazzo Altieri, but like Angelo, he had to be satisfied with his post,

[1] In the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*, Laura is described as beautiful, lively, affable, and modest.

[2] It was reproached to Clement X. that with the unexpected elevation of Paluzzi to the position of *Cardinale Padrone* and the latter's adoption, he had excluded Card. Gabrielli, "suo naturale nipote." A contemporary offers the following explanation: "*Il vero motivo politico di questa novità è nato da ciò che non avendo il fratello del Pontefice lasciato che una figlia herede delle sue facoltà a condizione che chi volesse sposarla per conseguire la sua eredità, dovesse prendere insieme il cognome di casa Altieri, e non essendosi trovato alcuno nella nobiltà Romana che abbia voluto accettare questa heredità con si fatto peso, la sola casa Paluzzi . . . si accommodò a questa fortuna. Onde sebene il cardinale Paluzzi non appartenesse nulla al Pontefice in quanto alla sua propria persona, gli apparteneva però, molto in vitrù di quella del marchese (ora principe) suo nipote che avendo sposato la nipote di S. B^ne^, ha sposato insieme tutte le ragioni di casa Altieri. Con qualche ragione adunque ha il papa anteposto Paluzzi a Gabrielli." For the rest Clement X. had compensated Gabrielli for his exclusion from the "ministerio" by various favours, so that "se non contento, può rimaner sodisfatto della presente fortuna". Thus the author of "*Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di P. Clemente X. con aggiustamento seguito tra li due cardinali nipoti di S. S^tà^ Altieri e Gabrielli", *Barb.* 5435, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, State Archives, Vienna, and the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avviso* of May 10, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch.; GUGLIELMOTTI, 365 *seqq.*; CALISSE, *Storia di Civitavecchia*, 469.

and though the Pope was fond of him, he was not permitted to meddle with other matters.[1]

The distribution by Clement X. of offices at court was in keeping with his generous disposition. An excellent and learned Roman, Camillo Massimo, became Maestro di Camera; on his elevation to the cardinalate he was followed by another Roman, Alessandro Crescenzi, who is described as a strict, truly apostolic man. Bernardino Rocci, an able man and a Roman also, was appointed Maggiordomo.[2] The Pope retained the confessor he had had before his elevation. As this office had been held by Jesuits under Alexander VII. and Clement IX., many people concluded that the new Pope was not well disposed towards the Society of Jesus. However, such an assumption was groundless, for Clement X. was well acquainted with the merits of the Order and showed his esteem for it by deeds.[3]

The *Cardinale-padrone*, Paluzzi-Altieri, to whom had been allotted the second place at the Roman court, and to whom were assigned all the honours and dignities of a Cardinal nephew,[4] soon became the real manager of affairs, so much so that the Secretary of State, Federigo Borromeo, who was succeeded by Francesco Nerli in 1673, had to take the second place; a similar fate befell the learned Gaspar Carpegna who had been nominated *datarius*.[5]

Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, now Altieri, was sprung from an old Roman family whose family chapel may still be seen

[1] *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[2] MORONI, XLI., 135, 268. Crescenzi and Rocci became Cardinals in 1675; they were succeeded by Antonio Pignatelli and Orazio Mattei. For Crescenzi, see GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 357, and above, Ch. III.

[3] *Nuovo governo di Roma, *Barb.* 5435, Vat. Lib.

[4] **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch.; CARDELLA, VII., 168 *seq.*

[5] *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.* John Walter Sluse of Liège became Secretary of Briefs (eulogy of him in Mocenigo's *letter of October 7, 1673, Vat. Lib.; GÉRIN, II., 511); Mario Spinola was made Secretary of the *Brevia ad principes*.

at the church of Araceli. Alexander VII. made him a Cardinal.[1] He owed his rise to Cardinal Flavio Chigi [2] who accordingly secured the greatest possible influence.[3] Born in 1623, Paluzzi Altieri was in the full vigour of his years, though his dark hair had begun to turn grey.[4] People admired him for the fact that he paid a daily visit to his aged mother when he never failed to beg her blessing. Of blameless life, extremely talented, extraordinarily hard working, possessed of much skill and great experience in dealing with affairs, he soon became indispensable to the aged Pontiff.[5] As the memory of the octogenarian often failed him, he frequently promised the same favours to several people, thereby creating confusion.

[1] See p. 132.

[2] Fl. Chigi had made him an auditor of the Camera ; he also intervened effectively in his elevation to the cardinalate. During the conclave he had obtained an assurance from Altieri that he would make him his *nipote adottivo* ; see *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avviso* of May 31, 1670, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[5] Impartial pictures of the Cardinal are drawn by A. Grimani, in Berchet, II., 358, the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna (*loc. cit.*), and the author of the *Report on the Cardinals, *ca.* 1686, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3. Chaulnes and Bonfils also spoke of him very favourably at first ; see Gérin, 409 (but *cf.* 483, on the causes of the Frenchmen's change of opinion). On the other hand, P. Mocenigo (in Berchet, II., 382) paints him in the darkest colours. Brosch (I., 437 *seq.*) has accepted this caricature, although it is clear that Mocenigo, who had had some very violent quarrels with the Cardinal, writes *ab irato* and does not shrink from obvious falsehoods, as, for instance (p. 382), that Clement had never acted as nuncio, or (p. 386) that he hardly ever saw Laura Altieri. *Cf.*, on the other hand, the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna (*loc. cit.*). For the rest, Ranke (III., App. No. 144) has already expressly observed that Mocenigo's remarks about Card. Altieri " are the aftereffects of personal misunderstandings ", and that he speaks in a like strain of all other personalities and treats of other matters " in his irritated fashion ". *Cf.* also Gérin, II., 471.

To prevent this Paluzzi Altieri allowed only a few persons to obtain private audiences, and he took care to ascertain their wishes beforehand.[1] Worse still was the fact that the Cardinal did his best to prevent the aged Pope from being upset by disagreeable reports.[2]

At first Clement X. refused to lend a hand in the enrichment of the Altieri family,[3] thereby giving rise to many complaints on their part.[4] For a time Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri disguised his desire to acquire wealth [5]; but he nevertheless eagerly sought his own advantage, as did the other nephews, only he did it less blatantly. For the rest, his position provided him with the opportunity of enriching himself as it were automatically.[6] As the Pope grew older and his weakness increased, he became less strict with regard to the enrichment of his nephews who received numerous proofs of his goodwill.[7] The Cardinal made provision for his family by marrying his nieces into aristocratic houses, such as the Colonna and the

[1] **Avviso* forwarded to Leopold I. by the Card. of Hesse on May 10, 1670, State Arch., Vienna.

[2] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 358.

[3] **Avviso* of July 5, 1670: "mostrandosi il Papa già qualche tempo inesorabile in certe cose, massimamente quando è eccitato da qualcheduno. Onde è certo che il cardinale nipote non ha quella authorità che molti pensano, singolarmente nelle cose dove il Papa tiene qualche scrupolo di conscienza, come sarebbe a dire di slargar la mano a pro de' parenti. Egli liberamente dice e torna a dire che i Paluzzi non gli sono niente, e che se hora gli fusse intiero, non li dichiarerebbe per tal più. E che in tutti i casi vuole salvare l'anima sua e non perderla per arrichirli; haver esso vissuto 80 anni intatto di tali peccati, non volere hora per pochi mesi di pontificato deviare dal dovuto sentiero" (Papal Sec. Arch.).

[4] *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[5] GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 358.

[6] Thus the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also *Nuovo governo di Roma, *Barb.* 5435, Papal Sec. Arch.

[7] "*Index brevium et bullarum Clementis X. ad favorem Alteriorum." *Cod.*, I., G. 13, Altieri Archives, Rome.

Orsini.[1] He succeeded in winning the Pope's confidence from the first by coming to the rescue in several public calamities, as, for instance, in December, 1670, on the occasion of a great fire, and again during an inundation of the Tiber.[2]

These acts of generosity impressed Clement X. all the more as he was extraordinarily solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, though he was unable to lighten the burden of taxation,[3] the great liberality of Clement IX. having emptied the treasury. Prolonged discussions took place with a view to discovering means of restricting all superfluous expenditure both in the palace and in the State. Clement X. refused to undertake a fresh reduction of the *Monti*, because such a step would have caused loss to very many families, and to

[1] See the *Report in the Liechtenstein Archives referred to above, p. 444, n. 5. The Pope himself celebrated the nuptials of Ludovica Altieri with the Duke of Gravina, April 9, 1671, as well as those of Tarquinia Altieri with the Duke of Anticoli, June 14, 1676; see Cartari, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto, and ADEMOLLO, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria, al secolo Livia Cesarini: Memorie particolari*, Roma, 1883, 22 *seqq.*, 28 *seqq.* According to the *Avviso of September 30, 1673 (Vat. Lib.), the latter marriage had already been arranged at that date.

[2] Cartari, **Memorie, loc. cit.* The latter reports that in 1676 the Tiber rose on several occasions and threatened the Strada Flaminia near Ponte Molle: "e talmente ad essa strada erasi il fiume avvicinato che poteva dubitarsi in breve tempo di vederlo giunto. Stimatosi pertanto necessario il rimedio, fu eletta persona forestiera e prattica nelle operazioni delle acque, che nel mese d'aprile diede principio con passonate e con lo scavo della sponda opposta, ma dagli architetti di Roma si stima infruttuosa l'operazione, o sia per dispiacere di non essere stati essi impiegati, o sia, come gli stessi dicono, assai diverso essere l'operare nelle lagune che nel Tevere." In a letter of February 17, 1674 (Vat. Lib.), to A. Contarini, P. Mocenigo speaks of a project of making the Tiber navigable as far as Perugia.

[3] An **Avviso* of January 3, 1671, speaks of the suppression of the "gabella del quattrino" of the "artisti" in Rome. Papal Sec. Arch.

the pious foundations.[1] But he economized wherever possible. All revenues that used to flow into the Pope's private purse were deposited in the *Monti di Pietà* in order that they might serve the public good.[2] Clement's efforts in promoting agriculture and in provisioning Rome with grain were universally recognized.[3]

The understanding way in which the Pope was wont to proceed is shown by the foundation by him of a public bank of payments for the purpose of protecting the small tradesman from the abuses of the so-called system of credit. This measure was occasioned by the bad habit of butchers and fishmongers of unduly putting off paying the wholesale dealers, hence it applied at first only to those two trades, but in the end it was extended to all provision merchants. The vendor was paid at once from this bank whilst the latter, equipped as it was with special powers to that effect, recovered from the debtors the money it had paid out.[4] The prohibition of dangerous knives,[5] and of games of chance,[6] was also a

[1] "*E perchè vedevasi per esperienza che (per la cattiva qualità de' tempi) le spese della Camera sopravanzavano alle rendite della medesima, dopo diverse congregazioni tenutesi per questo affare, non havendo il Pontefice voluto indursi alla reduttione de' luoghi de monti, ben considerando il danno che a tante famiglie et in particolare a' luoghi pii ne resultarebbe, si era resoluto di resecare le spese che in qualche parte parevano superflue, e perciò dicevasi che si scemarebbe il numero delle galere pontificie, che si riformarebbe la soldatesca di Roma, e si andava tuttavia pensando ad altre riforme, anzi il cardinale Altieri con molta generosità si esibì pronto a rilasciare in utile della stessa Camera la provisione che come a cardinale sopraintendente dello Stato ecclesiastico annualmente si pagava (Cartari **Memorie, loc. cit.*)."

[2] See *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

[3] Benigni, 59. *Cf.* De Cupis, 276 *seq.*

[4] Rodocanachi, *Les corporations ouvrières à Rome depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1894; Gottlob, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XVI., 132.

[5] Mentioned by Cartari, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso* of October 10, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

wholesome measure. The Jews were forbidden to make deposits in the *Monte di Pietà* and great strictness was shown in making them wear their badges.[1] Several ordinances were also issued with a view to stemming the devastation of forests in the Pontifical States.[2] In 1674 a subsidy was granted for repairs to the canals in Valdichiana[3] and like his predecessor, Clement X. sought to promote the wool and silk industry.[4] A number of measures bear witness to the Pope's humanity; thus he made provision for the bodily and spiritual welfare of labourers in the Campagna who had fallen ill,[5] for the burial of persons who died in the hospitals of Rome[6] and for the spiritual ministration to the sick whilst they were being treated in these institutions.[7] In 1675 he gave orders for the liberation of some aged galley slaves in the papal fleet.[8]

[1] *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] **Chirografo* of December 5, 1674, *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 151, Papal Sec. Arch.; *cf.* *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[4] Grimani, in Berchet, II., 366. Permission for the nobility to take up trade in *Bull.*, XVIII., 229. The population of Rome, which in 1667 amounted to 110,489, and to 115,480 in 1670, rose to 127,907 under Clement X.; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 180.

[5] *Edict of June 20, 1672, in *Bandi*, V., 9, p. 1, Papal Sec. Arch., and that of June 5, 1675, in De Cupis, 279 *seq.*

[6] **Decretum* of August 8, 1675, *Bandi*, V., 9, p. 21, *loc. cit.*

[7] **Decretum* of February 10, 1676, *ibid.*, p. 25.

[8] To the Treasurer General, July 3, 1675: *Compatendo Noi la vecchiaia et indispositioni respett. delli infrascritti schiavi delle Nostre galere, ancorchè Turchi, per li quali si sono ridotti inabili al servitio, habbiamo risoluto di dargli libertà." We order the liberation of Ali di Mustafa di Bona (65 years old), Giuseppe di Maumetto di Natolio (aged 59), Saino d'Asanne di Corone (70), and Musa di Alemana di Salenichi (58 years old) "schiavi tutti nella galera padrona, dandogli la commodità di potersene andare alle loro case per mare e per terra, come a loro più piacerà, senza che paghino cosa alcuna alla Nostra Camera". We order that measures be taken to this end and these we hereby confirm. *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 234, Papal Sec. Arch.

Notwithstanding the adverse condition of the finances Clement X. was generous in the distribution of alms. Like Clement IX. he daily entertained thirteen poor persons at the Vatican. He annually distributed 39,000 scudi in secret and in addition to this he did his utmost in supporting hospices, colleges, and necessitous convents in Rome. Alms were regularly sent to the Jesuits of Constantinople and Chios, and the Colleges of Cologne, Braunsberg, Vienna, and Prague. Through the Spanish nuncio the Pope annually sent the sum of 400 scudi to the missionaries in Japan, and through the nuncio in Savoy he supported the missionaries in the Alpine districts where the faith was in danger. The sums spent in alms in the year 1672 amounted to 125,946 scudi.[1]

Although Clement IX. had declined a monument for himself,[2] Clement X. had one put up to his benefactor at S. Maria Maggiore, to a design by Carlo Rainaldi. It is almost the exact counterpart, even as regards the coloured marble, of Sixtus V.'s monument of Nicholas IV. which faces it. The seated figure of the deceased, whose hand is raised in blessing, is by Domenico Guidi, whilst the figures of Faith and Charity that flank it, are the work of Cosimo Fancelli and Ercole Ferrata.[3]

[1] See the *Register of receipts and expenses of the Apostolic Camera for 1672, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3, n. 3336. *Cf. Miscell.*, I., of the Altieri Library, Rome. The Pope also supported colleges in Italy. Cartari gives the following inscription from Sant Angelo in Vado : *Clementi X. P. O. M. | cuius paterna liberalitate | Collegium hoc Barberinum | auctum fuit praediis Valentinianis | ac annua perpetua pensione | . . . 1674.

[2] See above, p. 430.

[3] Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Escher, 104 ; Hempel, 82. Reproduction in Jozzi, *Storia di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, tav. 21. According to Cartari (*loc. cit.*), the monument was originally " nella sinistra parte della tribuna ", where that of Nicholas IV. also stood ; subsequently both were moved to the right and the left of the main entrance of the nave.

Clement IX.'s vast plan for the reconstruction of the *tribuna* of St. Mary Major was dropped by his successor as too costly; in this way the exceedingly risky transfer of the precious mosaics was avoided. Two pieces which had already been removed were put back again. After the ruinous *tribuna* had been made sufficiently safe the Pope, in 1673, instructed Carlo Rainaldi, who had replaced the aged Bernini as official architect, to give to the outside a very plain facing with travertine, to adorn it with statues on top, on the balustrade, and to construct before the outer wall of the apse of the basilica a great flight of steps. As a result of this work the slope of the hill received its present shape.[1]

Just as Clement X. lived to see the unveiling of Bernini's statue of Constantine near the Scala Regia,[2] so was it granted to him to see the completion of the decorations of the bridge of S. Angelo by the addition of four more marble statues carved from the design of Bernini.[3] Here the Pope honoured the memory of Clement IX. by putting up an inscription to him together with his arms. In the same way, when the magnificent doorway leading from the left arm of the colonnade into the portico of St. Peter's and the statues on top of the colonnade were completed during his reign, he put up, not his own arms, but those of Alexander VII. and Clement IX.[4]

The Altieri arms only appear on the floor of the portico which Clement X. paved with various kinds of marble.[5] Giotto's mosaic known as the "Navicella" (Peter's Barque), which had been removed from old St. Peter's under Paul V., was assembled once more by order of Clement X., at the

[1] See above, p. 337. FRASCHETTI, 382 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Cartari. "Rainaldi's work," writes BRIGGS (*Barockarchitektur*, Berlin, 1914, 21), "displays no extravagance; everything is in its place and in full harmony both with the papal chapel and its surroundings. It is an excellent example of the best baroque." *Cf.* HEMPEL, 60 *seqq.*

[2] See *Cartari's data, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.* *Cf.* **Avviso* of March 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[5] FRASCHETTI, 395.

instigation of Cardinal Barberini, after a copy made under Urban VIII.[1]; it was then put up in the lunette above the central door of the basilica.[2] For the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament he had a precious tabernacle made by Bernini, in 1674, in the shape of a rotunda for which Bramante's *tempietto* in S. Pietro in Montorio served as a model. Its material is gilt bronze adorned with lapis lazuli; the figures of the Apostles form a circle around it and the whole is crowned by the figure of Christ with the cross. On either side are seen two kneeling Angels in bronze, on magnificent marble pedestals bearing the arms of the Altieri.[3]

The Piazza of St. Peter's received a wonderful embellishment under Clement X. Paul V. had had erected there, by Maderna, on the Vatican side, a magnificent fountain throwing up water to a height of fourteen metres. Clement X. resolved to put up a corresponding one on the other side. To this end it was necessary to begin by moving Paul V.'s huge fountain to its present position. It was then discovered that the Acqua Paolina could not provide sufficient water for both fountains, so that it became necessary to enlarge the aqueduct from the lake of Bracciano. The Pope died whilst this work was in progress.[4]

The decoration of the family chapel of the Altieri in S. Maria sopra Minerva was a work of filial piety on the part of the Pope. To this day the visitor sees there the slabs over the tombs of Altieri Corraducci, who died in 1431 at the age of 110 years, and of Angelo Altieri, Bishop of Sutri, who lived to be ninety. Two of the Pope's brothers, Cardinal

[1] This copy is now over the entrance of the Capuchin church, Rome, to which it was presented by Urban VIII.

[2] See *Cartari.

[3] TITI, 11; FRASCHETTI, 394 *seq.* (with App.). The Pope's inspection of the tabernacle is reported by the **Avvisi* of July 7 and September 13, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch. In the Lateran basilica Clement X. had steps erected to the tabernacle containing the heads of the Princes of the Apostles; see CRESCIMBENI, *Stato della chiesa Lateran.* Roma, 1723, 92.

[4] *Cartari, *loc. cit.* FRASCHETTI, 396.

Giambattista and Marzio, as well as his father, Lorenzo, are buried there. Clement X. had the chapel sumptuously adorned with decorative work, marbles and paintings, after a design by Cardinal Massimo. For the graves of his father and his brother Giambattista, Cosimo Fancelli executed marble busts. The new high altar was adorned with a picture by Carlo Maratta representing St. Peter presenting to the Mother of God the five Saints canonized by Clement X. The paintings on the soffits are by Baciccia.[1] The total cost came to 12,000 scudi.[2] On August 12th, 1672, Clement X. inspected the splendidly embellished chapel.[3] On the other hand the Pope deliberately never set foot within the family palace, one of the most magnificent and spacious palaces of Rome,[4] which

[1] TITI, 158 *seq.*; BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve*, Rome, 1910, 200 *seq.* *Cf.* FORCELLA, I., 416, 420, 502; BELLORI, III., 159 *seq.*

[2] *Cartari.

[3] **Avviso* of August 13, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 433. On account of the uncertain state of Clement X.'s health, Card. Altieri pushed the construction as much as possible; see the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 2, 1672, State Archives, Vienna, and the *letter of P. Mocenigo to Alvise Contarini, dated June 3, 1673, in which he says that work went on day and night: "E finita, la scala maestra che riesce molto lucida et è tanto magnifica maestra e bella, che Roma non ne ha un altra che l'appareggi. Si perfectionarà presto la prima facciata del palazzo." *Cf.* a *letter of the same, dated November 4, 1673: "Il palazzo sara capace per cinque corti, che tanto ne fanno quei signori, compreso quella del sig. cardinale." See also Cartari, **Memorie*, and ADEMOLLO, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria*, 17–19. The above-quoted report of the Card. of Hesse describes the Pope's library (see RANKE, III., App. 196; *cf.* BLUME, III., 176 *seqq.*), but does not mention the famous staircase (see GURLITT, *loc. cit.*). According to Cartari the cost amounted to 300,000 scudi. Carlo Maratta decorated the ceiling of the principal room with a fresco (see BELLORI, 160 *seqq.*). *Accounts of the paintings in the palace, in Bibl. Altieri, *Miscell.*, I.

Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi erected by command of Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri near the church of the Gesù.[1]

[1] "*È però degno di riflessione che in sei anni di fabrica mai il Pontefice habbia havuto curiosità di vederla." This was all the more remarkable, Cartari observes (**Memorie*, *loc. cit.*), as every year, during the Carnival, he attended the Forty Hours' prayers at the Gesù. The construction of a new street near Chiesa Nuova, served to embellish Rome; see **Chirografo al Tesariere* of November 9, 1673, *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 32, Papal Sec. Arch., and FORCELLA, XIII., 90. *Ibid.*, 151, an inscription on restoration work in Castel S. Angelo; CALISSE, 474, inscription on the restoration of the harbour of Civitavecchia.

CHAPTER V.

Support of Poland against the Turks—Embassy of the Tsar of Russia in Rome.

As a young man Clement X. had spent a considerable time in Poland as assessor to nuncio Lancelloti, and in this way he had come to know from personal observation the extraordinarily complicated situation of that country both in the religious and the political sphere. Little could he suspect at that time how much anxiety Poland would give him as Pope; but he fully realized even then the importance of this eastern bulwark of Catholicism and Western civilization against Islam. When he became Pope he referred to the danger threatening from the common foe of Christendom in his very first consistory, on May 16th, 1670.[1]

Conditions in Poland had become deplorable. Difficult days had dawned for the kingdom, when after the abdication of John Casimir (September 1668) at a stormy Diet, Michael Wisnowiecki, said to be a prince of the House of the Yagellons, was elected King, contrary to all expectation and against the will of the Senate. Michael was young, sickly, and obstinate, and listened to the advice of only a few persons, chief among them being the Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, Pac, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown Olszowski; on the other hand, he kept at a distance most of the nobles, more especially the Grand Marshal Sobieski whom his victories over the Cossacks and the Tartars had made exceedingly famous. When, therefore, in July 1672, the thirty-eight-years-old Turkish Sultan Mohammed V. advanced against Poland with an army of 100,000 men, he found the Kingdom in the greatest confusion. The fortress of Kamieniec, the key to southern Poland, fell on August 30th. This meant the loss of the

[1] [A. Bartolini], *Alcuni atti concistoriali della S^tà di Clemente X.*, Roma (Nozze-Publ.), 13.

whole of Podolia; soon the Turks, reinforced by Cossacks and Tartars, appeared under the walls of Lemberg where Sobieski's bravery alone stopped their advance.[1]

When the news of the fall of Kamieniec arrived in Rome in mid-October, it caused a general panic. Clement X., who previous to the Turkish aggression had vainly sought to induce the Emperor to lend help to Poland,[2] convened a special Congregation by whose advice he took steps with a view to meeting the grievous peril in the East.[3] He began by proclaiming a universal Jubilee, the Indulgences of which were promulgated during the same month of October. In November, despite his great age, the Pope personally joined in the procession from S. Maria sopra Minerva to the Polish national church of St. Stanislaus.[4] On October 20th he wrote to the Emperor that the peril in the East preoccupied him day and night.[5]

Previously to this Clement X. had exhorted the Poles to put an end to their internal divisions.[6] To promote such a consummation it was resolved, in the last days of October 1673, to dispatch the nuncio of Cologne, Francesco Buonvisi, to Warsaw. A considerable subsidy towards the cost of the war was not forgotten.[7] At the end of October Briefs were

[1] HAMMER, II., 661; ZINKEISEN, V., 70 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Relazione della presa di Cameniz fatta da' Turchi, da Stefano Gradi per relatione di Mathia Gondola testimonio oculato, *Barb.* 2594, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 590; Tscharykow, 25; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 93 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*

[3] *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avvisi* of October 22 and 29, November 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Brief of October 20, 1672, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, a similar Brief to the Queen-Regent of Spain, on October 20, 1672.

[6] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 604.

[7] T. TRENTA, *Memorie per servire alla storia politica del card. Fr. Buonvisi*, I., Lucca, 1818, 68 *seqq.*; **Acta consist.*, for November 14, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 608. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 521.

dispatched to all the Catholic Princes pressing them to assist Poland in the struggle against the hereditary enemy.[1] The Emperor's attention in particular was drawn to the fact that Poland's danger constituted a threat to Austria.[2] Sweden's co-operation, by reason of its political significance and its geographical situation, seemed particularly important; accordingly Clement X. resolved to address a Brief even to the Protestant ruler of that Kingdom, Charles XI.[3] This step was probably suggested to the Pope by Queen Christine, who frequently saw the Pontiff.[4] Christine joined to the Brief

[1] The letters mentioned in the Brief to the King of Poland, dated October 15, 1672 (THEINER, III., 605), to the Catholic Princes, viz. the Emperor and the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany, dated October 29, 1672, in **Epist.*, II.–III., *loc. cit.* A Brief of February 5, 1673 (*ibid.*), commended John Philip von Schönborn for the support he had given to Poland.

[2] *Brief of October 29, 1672, *loc. cit.*

[3] Text in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 607–8.

[4] Visits of Christine are recorded in the *Avvisi* of March 7, October 10, November 28, 1671, January 20 (thanks for "gran cereo"), May 21, October 1 and 29, December 31, 1672, June 17, August 12, 1673, January 20, July 21, 1674, May 18, June 8, September 21, 1675, January 4, May 2, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch. Christine's life under Clement X., her participation in religious and secular festivities, especially in the theatre and the Carnival, is well described by GRAUERT (II., 229 *seqq.*). *Cf.* also ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 129 *seqq.*; CLEMENTI, 500 *seqq.* There is no proof for CHLEDOWSKI's statement (II., 338) that Christine conducted a secret campaign against Clement X. Christine's greatest rival in Roman society was Mazarin's niece, Maria Mancini, Louis XIV.'s youthful flame, whose beauty is attested by the portraits of Mignard and Netscher in the Colonna gallery. She came to Rome in 1661 as the wife of the Grand-Constable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, where she broke through the seclusion which still restricted the womenfolk of the great houses. She lived in great style in the palazzo Colonna, where she gathered around her both the ladies of Rome and those from abroad. On May 29, 1672, Madame la Connétable, as she was called, fled from the jealousy of her husband to France, together with her sister Hortense,

a very skilfully worded letter to Charles XI.; she also recommended the matter in most pressing terms through her agent, Marchese del Monte. The latter was to represent to the King of Sweden that once they had subjugated Poland, the Turks would greatly endanger the Swedish possessions of Pomerania and Livonia, dominate the Baltic and attack Sweden itself. Foreseeing that the staunchly Protestant court of Stockholm would object to a correspondence with the Pope, the Queen drew her agent's attention to precedents of similar relations with Rome on the part of non-Catholic Princes, nay, even on the part of the Sultan. However, all her arguments failed to impress Charles XI. In his letter to Christine, the King paid indeed homage to the Pope's zeal and to her own, but gave only vague promises and declared in so many words that he could not deal directly with the Pope.[1]

In Rome, from which a first subsidy had been sent to Poland in November 1672,[2] the development of the situation in that country was being watched with ever growing anxiety. The shameful peace which brainless King Michael had concluded with the Turks on September 18th, 1672, was disapproved, not only by the Pope, but likewise by a very large section of the Polish people. Excitement rose to such a pitch that the Kingdom split into two parties, facing each other like two hostile armies.

Thus the situation was extremely critical when Buonvisi, the extraordinary nuncio, who had previously besought both the Rhenish Electors and Vienna to go to the help of Poland,

Duchesse de Mazarin. *Cf.* for this adventurous woman, who was the first to introduce in Rome the freer manners of France, REUMONT, III., 2, 805 *seq.*; L. PEREY, *Une princesse romaine au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1894; *Arch. Rom.*, XX., 95 *seqq.*; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 341 *seqq.*

[1] ARCKENHOLTZ, II., 159 *seqq.*; III., 438 *seqq.* The return to Rome of Marchese del Monte with a present of Charles XI. for Christine is noted in the **Avviso* of May 27, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See **Cam. div.*, III., State Archives, Rome.

arrived at Warsaw on January 27th, 1673.[1] He did all that it was in his power to do to prevent the outbreak of civil war, by exhorting both parties to moderation: this he did with a zeal only equalled by his frankness. He showed with much eloquence that internal strife was the Turk's best ally and that unless concord was restored, all the Pope's efforts against the external foe would be barren of result. When the ground was at last ready for a reconciliation, the arrival of a French envoy suddenly put everything in jeopardy; however, in the end Buonvisi succeeded in winning over to his views the head of the malcontents, Sobieski, and in effecting a reconciliation with the King.[2] In April 1673, Clement X. put 10,000 florins at Buonvisi's disposal for the Turkish war.[3] Such was the Pope's satisfaction with the latter's work that on July 15th, 1673, he appointed him ordinary nuncio to Poland in place of Ranucci.[4] After the rejection by the Diet of the peace with the Turks, Buonvisi seconded with the utmost zeal the organization of resistance to the dangerous foe. It was high time for a Turkish army was on the march.

Whilst in Rome impending events were being watched with trembling[5] envoys of the Tsar of Russia and the Shah of Persia arrived in the Eternal City. Two Dominicans were

[1] TRENTA, I., 71 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.* *Cf.* "*Diario del viaggio di Mons. Buonvisi da Colonia verso Polonia," in *Cod.* R., II., 53, Chigi Library.

[2] TRENTA, I., 98 *seqq.*, 305 *seqq.* Buonvisi's reports are here published in part. *Cf.* also ZALUSKI, *Epist. hist. famil. Tom. I. Continens acta regum Michaelis et Iannis III., Brunsbergae,* 1709; FRAKNÓI, *Ungarns Befreiung,* 12 *seq.*

[3] See the nunciature reports in TSCHARYKOW, 72.

[4] TRENTA, I., 132 *seqq.*; THEINER, III., 620; KARTTUNEN, *Nonciat. Apost.*, 234. For the position of Ranucci and Buonvisi, see P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, dated August 26, 1673, Vat. Lib.

[5] August, 1673: *Cartari, *loc. cit.* He writes in April, 1673: "Per qualche sospetto di legni Turcheschi furono mandati soldati a cavallo alla marina e rinforzati li presidii nei luoghi vicini al mare."

the bearers of the answer of the ruler of Persia to Clement's exhortation to take part in the Turkish war.[1] The answer was in the negative.[2]

The activity of the Russian envoy in Rome has only been brought to light in recent times, as the result of extensive research.[3] Russia's friendly relations with the Turks were broken off when Sultan Mohammed IV. accepted the submission of Doroschenko, the hetman of Little Russia. Tsar Alexis Mikhailowic now felt himself threatened. In 1667, by the armistice of Andrussow, he put an end to the thirteen years' war with Poland, and entered into an alliance with his former enemy, by the terms of which Russia and Poland bound themselves to help each other in the event of a Turkish aggression. Such a case arose when, on July 11th, 1672, the Sultan crossed the Danube with 100,000 men, and made himself master of the fortress of Kamieniec in Podolia. Thereupon the Tsar conceived the plan of a league of all the Princes of Europe against the common enemy. He sent three ambassadors to the West, viz. Ukrainzeff to Stockholm, Copenhagen, and the Hague, Vinius to Paris, London, and Madrid, Paul Menzies von Pitfodels to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and Rome.[4] Menzies was a Scottish Catholic who had been compelled to leave his country because of his faith and who had taken service, first with Poland and in 1621 with Russia. He left Moscow on October 20th, 1672, was given fair words at the secular courts and arrived in Rome on August 18th, 1673. The Pope received him in audience on August 28th,[5] when he presented the letter of his sovereign.[6]

[1] They were received in audience on Sunday; **Avviso* of September 9, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Barb.* 6337, p. 55, Vat. Lib.

[3] N. Tcharykow (Ministre-Résident de Russie près le Saint-Siège), *Une ambassade russe à Rome au XVIIe siècle : Paul Menzies de Pitfodels* (Extrait du *Cosmos catholicus*), 1901.

[4] Tscharykow, 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, 14.

[6] *Ibid.*, 4, Facsimile of the Russian text; Latin translation in A. Theiner: *Monuments hist. relatifs aux règnes d'Alexis Mikhailovitch, Théodore III. et Pierre le Grand*, Roma, 1859.

In his answer the Pope expressed his joy at the step the Tsar had taken: he himself, he said, had never failed to give both warning and support against the Turkish peril, and for the future also he would not cease to exhort the Christian princes.[1]

Meanwhile the situation in the East had undergone further changes. John Sobieski, with the help not only of the Pope, but that also of a subsidy of 20,000 florins contributed by the noble Cardinal Odescalchi,[2] had raised an army of 50,000 men. This remarkable man, who was not unworthy of the surname of the "Lion of the North", would not await the enemy in his own country, but boldly went forth to meet him. Fortune favoured him. On November 11th, 1673, St. Martin's day, he fell upon the camp of the Turks, which was too widely spread, near the fortress of Chocim on the Dnjestr, and in a murderous battle destroyed nearly the whole of the Turkish army.[3] King Michael died at Lemberg the day before this victory, at the early age of 35, the victim of a malignant disease.[4]

Clement X. was informed of Sobieski's victory on December 15th, 1673 [5]; he celebrated it with a High Mass at St. Peter's.[6] At the end of April 1674, he received from the hands of Sobieski's envoy the great banner of green silk taken from the Turks at Chocim; he ordered it to be hung up in St. Peter's, as a token of Christendom's triumph.[7] With a view

[1] Tscharykow, 18.

[2] Trenta, I., 315.

[3] Hammer, III. (1840), 665 *seq.*; Coyer, *Hist. de J. Sobieski*, Paris, 1767, 221 *seq.*

[4] Trenta, I., 134 *seqq.* The **Avviso* of March 10, 1674 (Papal Sec. Arch.) describes the funeral service for Michael at St. Stanislaus', Rome.

[5] *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini of December 16, 1673, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso* of December 23, 1673, *loc. cit.* A similar service was held at St. Stanislaus'; see **Avviso* of January 13, 1674, *loc cit.*

[7] **Avviso* of April 28, 1674, *loc. cit.*, and P. Mocenigo's letter of April 28, 1674, *loc. cit.* Sobieski's letter of November 20, 1673, announcing the victory and the dispatch of the banner in Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 622. *Cf.* also Trenta, I., 136. Cartari (**Memorie*,

to giving effective help towards the Turkish war, the Pope decided to impose three tenths on the Italian clergy.[1] Unfortunately, the fruits of the victory could not be gathered, as all minds in Poland were busy with the question of the election of a King.[2] This question was one of the utmost interest for the neighbouring States—Austria, Brandenburg, Sweden, Russia, and even for France. There were no less than sixteen candidates. The Holy See's first concern, as at the time of the interregnum of 1668 and 1669, was that no heretic or schismatic should obtain the crown of the Yagellons, and that the Catholic character of the Polish State should remain unimpaired. Moreover, in view of the Turkish threat, it was imperative that the new King should be a good soldier; all else was of minor importance for the Holy See. Accordingly, in January and April 1674, the Pope exhorted the ecclesiastical and secular Estates of Poland, though only in general terms, to proceed without delay to the election of a prince who was both a good Catholic and a man of spirit.[3] On his part, Buonvisi took a similar line of conduct in regard to the requests of the many candidates for the throne at the Diet of Convocation, which opened at Warsaw on January 15th.[4] At his reception by the electoral Diet, on May 5th, he recommended no particular candidate, but contented himself with exhorting its members to select a sincere Catholic; if this was done he assured Poland of the Pope's continued goodwill and support.[5] The nuncio had been not a little embarrassed by a letter from Nerli, the papal Secretary

loc. cit.) says that the banner could be seen hanging "sotto la loggia di mezzo nella parte interiore della chiesa". A medal was struck in its honour; see BONANNI, II., 731.

[1] *P. Mocenigo's letters to A. Contarini, March 17 and April 14, 1674, *loc. cit.*

[2] TRENTA, I., 137 *seqq.*, 143 *seqq.*; HIRSCH, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 224 *seq.*

[3] THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 623 *seqq.*, 626 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Acta consist.* for February 19, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] TRENTA, I., 140.

[5] THEINER, III., 626 *seq*

of State, dated February 3rd, which, in view of the confusion which prevailed at the electoral Diet, put forward the candidature of the papal nephew, Gaspar Altieri. However, Rome promptly dropped the plan as soon as the nuncio explained, with complete frankness, the impossibility of such a candidature.[1]

Buonvisi exerted himself to the utmost, with a view to preventing either the Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg or one of his sons from securing the crown of Poland. He spared neither exhortations to the Bishops nor promises of subsidies for the Turkish war, nor even the threat that in the event of a Protestant being elected, the Pope would break off diplomatic relations. For all that, in view of the uncertainty of the Polish character, he felt none too sure of success,[2] hence it was a great relief for him when at last, through the unexpected election of Sobieski on May 20th, 1674, the danger of a non-Catholic King was eliminated.[3] Clement X. had a *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving in the chapel of the Quirinal [4]; but the hope expressed in his letter of congratulations [5] that the illustrious hero of so many battles would prosecute the Turkish war with energy, was not to be immediately realized, owing to a lack of the necessary forces; in fact in the summer of 1674, Sobieski was even compelled to withdraw his troops from the Ukraine in order to cover Lemberg against a fresh attack by the Turks. On August 24th a battle was fought near this last bulwark of the Empire, which ended in an unexpected victory for Sobieski.[6] Two months earlier Clement X. had

[1] TRENTA, I., 147 *seqq.*, 322 *seqq.*

[2] HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 334 *seq.*

[3] TRENTA, I., 326–331; THEINER, *Monuments*, 84 *seqq.*; HIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 249 *seq.*

[4] **Avviso* of June 23, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch.; *cf.* *the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., June 23, 1674, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] TRENTA, I., 342.

[6] COYER, *loc. cit.*, 288 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 77. Buonvisi was transferred to Vienna at this time; see TRENTA, I., 163 *seqq.*,

dispatched a further subsidy to Poland.[1] As the war continued he sanctioned, in May, 1676, the imposition of a tax on the Polish clergy,[2] but he did not live to see the issue of the struggle.

Francesco Martellio was appointed in his place on September 15, 1675; see THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 635.

[1] *Cf. Cam. div.*, III., State Archives, Rome.

[2] THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 638.

CHAPTER VI.

Clement X.'s Activity within the Church—The Jubilee of 1675—Creations of Cardinals—Disputes with Louis XIV—Death of the Pope.

(1.)

Among the many encroachments in the sphere of papal authority which Louis XIV. permitted himself, was an ordinance of the Council of State of March 1669, by which the French Crown arrogated to itself the right to pronounce in purely ecclesiastical controversies between the Bishops and the Regulars. The protests against this innovation, which the Holy See caused to be made through the nuncio, remained unheeded by the King of France.[1] The affair was not yet settled at the time of Clement X.'s death. This was done by his successor in his celebrated Constitution of June 21st, 1670, which laid down rules, in force even at this day, about preaching and the administration of the Sacrament of Penance by Regulars. Before they can be allowed to preach publicly in a church belonging to their Order, Regulars must present themselves to the Ordinary of the place and obtain his blessing: outside the churches of their Order, in addition to the authorization of their Superior, Regulars must have the express permission of the Ordinary concerned before they may enter the pulpit, but no Bishop may issue a general prohibition forbidding Regulars to preach in their churches. Regulars receive from their own Superior, both jurisdiction and approval for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance in respect of their own brethren and all persons, even seculars, in the service of the monastery or who have food and lodging there, that is quite independently of the Bishops. But for other persons a religious must not only be approved by his

[1] Gérin, II., 380 *seq.*

Superior, but likewise by the Bishop in whose diocese he is to hear confessions. Difficulties about the privileges of Regulars must be submitted, not to the metropolitan, but to the Pope.[1] Whilst these ordinances were put in practice by all countries, a parliamentary decree of September 12th, 1672, forbade their application in France.[2]

The Pope had likewise to deal with the protests of the secular princes, more especially with those of the Spanish Government, against Gregory XIV.'s decrees regulating the right of asylum. Clement X. had become accurately acquainted with these questions during the pontificate of his predecessor, both as Bishop of Camerino and as Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. He ordered the continuation of the deliberations on the subject by the special Congregation set up by Clement IX. for the purpose.[3] However, the suggestions made by it at the end of 1671, with a view to a settlement of the disputes with the Spanish authorities at Milan and Naples, were not approved. At Milan the pretensions of the Duke of Osuna grew steadily, and Cardinal Litta had to protest against injuries to his dignity,[4] and at Naples also there was a recrudescence of disputes.[5] At Milan

[1] *Bull.*, XVIII., 55 *seqq.* *Cf. Dict. de théol.*, III., 95 *seqq.*

[2] GÉRIN, II., 477.

[3] Sittings took place on September 24 and December 17, 1670, February 13, March 19, April 8, 19, and 30, July 9, October 5, November 6 and 18, December 3, 7, and 27, 1671. On December 28, 1671, Card. Altieri informed the Pope of the outcome of the deliberations. The Pontiff decided to lay certain proposals before the Spanish Government through nuncio Marescotti. Thus end the " *Atti della congregatione particolare deputata dalla s. m. di Clemente IX. e confermata da N. S. Clemente X. sopra le doglianze de' principi secolari contro l'osservanza della bolla di Gregorio XIV. in materia della immunità, libertà e giurisdizione ecclesiastica, 1668 al 1671 ". MS. in my possession.

[4] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, January 16, April 23, July 2, August 13, November 5, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, December 3, 1672, *ibid.*

the situation had become intolerable; complaints about it mark the entire pontificate of Clement X.[1] This circumstance by itself alone shows how unfair it was to represent the Pope as unduly partial to the Spaniards.[2] Madrid was anything but satisfied with Clement X.; on the contrary, complaints were heard that no favours could be got from Rome. According to Mocenigo the Spanish Government was particularly irritated by the refusal of the permission, urgently demanded on more than one occasion, of raising a tenth from the clergy in America. In the secular sphere also numerous conflicts arose between Madrid and Rome. Thus the Viceroys of Naples alleged that escaped bandits found a refuge in the Papal States. On the occasion of a rising at Messina the Spaniards complained that out of consideration for France, the Pope did not lend a hand in the suppression of the rebellion.[3] On the other hand, Rome was very dissatisfied with Spain's attitude on the Turkish question.[4]

With no secular Power was Clement X. on better terms than with the Emperor, whose deep piety was much appreciated in Rome. It was, however, impossible to overlook Leopold's lack of energy and consequent dependence on his ministers, as well as Vienna's habitual dilatoriness. The result was that even a nuncio of Albrizzi's energy failed to obtain satisfaction in cases of manifest interference by the Government in ecclesiastical affairs.[5] The German clergy also had their grievances, especially in respect of the way in which the Concordat was carried out; the three ecclesiastical Electors complained of these infringements to the Pope in 1673 in a

[1] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, February 11, April 22, 1673, February 10, September 8 and 22, 1674, March 9, 1675, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *the Brief to King Charles of Spain, January 5, 1676, *Epist.*, IV.–V., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] This opinion is strongly held by the anonymous author of "*Nuovo governo di Roma sotto P. Clemente X.", *Barb.* LIX., 57.

[3] MOCENIGO, in BERCHET, II., 390.

[4] See above, p. 423.

[5] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 47 *seq.*

special memorial.[1] The Curia was not wholly satisfied with the attitude of the Electors during the war in Holland, were it only because it considered the defence of Poland against the Turkish aggression as very much more important.[2] In Portugal orderly conditions were at last replacing a long-drawn confusion. A Portuguese ambassador was once more appointed, and he arrived in Rome during the lifetime of Clement IX. He was Francisco de Sousa, Count of Sousa, who did homage to the new Pope on May 22nd, 1670.[3] Thereupon the Lisbon nunciature also received a new occupant. Francesco Ravizza was appointed to the post on August 12th, 1670; he was also the bearer of the Bulls of confirmation of the Bishops and other prelates whose names had been submitted by the Regent. Peace was thus initiated, but even so there was no lack of difficulties in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy.[4]

With a view to the observance of discipline in the Italian convents of nuns Clement X. tightened the regulations concerning the enclosure.[5] These were carried through in Rome by Carpegna, the splendid Cardinal Vicar.[6]

Clement X. undertook a number of beatifications and canonizations.[7] On April 12th, 1671, after the prescribed

[1] GAERTNER, *Corp. iur. eccl.*, II., 322.

[2] MENTZ, II., 199.

[3] **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. The Pope's *address in *Epist. ad princ.*, I., p. 16, *ibid.* *Cf.* also ADEMOLLO, *Indipendenza Portoghese*, 80 *seq.*

[4] SCHÄFER, V., 162. *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 82.

[5] *Bull.* XVIII., 606 *seq.*

[6] Cartari, **Memorie, loc. cit.* On Gaspare Carpegna and his reforming activities there are many *documents in the Archives of the Roman Vicariate. *Cf.* DE SANTI, *Quarant' hore* (1919), 312 *seqq.* Carpegna (see MORONI, X., 101) owned a rich library and a valuable collection of coins; see MONTERCHI, *Scelta di medaglioni più rari nella biblioteca del card. G. Carpegna*, Roma, 1679 (Lat. Amstelodami, 1685).

[7] "Decoro suo è la gloria de' santi" he had engraved on one of his medals; *cf.* E. ARISIO, *Memorie sulla vita di Clemente X.*, Roma, 1863, 27.

preliminaries had been carried out,[1] the canonization took place in St. Peter's of Cajetan of Tiena, the founder of the Theatines; Francis Borgia, General of the Jesuits; Philip Benizi, a reformer of the Servites; Louis Beltram, a relative of St. Vincent Ferrer; and of Rose of Lima.[2] In the person of the latter South America was given its first Saint.

On May 5th, 1672, St. Peter's witnessed the reading of the Brief of beatification of Pius V.,[3] after which his picture was unveiled above the altar of the Chair and the *Te Deum* sung. The basilica was richly adorned with hangings made under Alexander VII. and Clement IX. The picture of Pius V., seen in the act of beholding in a vision the battle of Lepanto, was by Lazzaro Baldi, whilst the music for the occasion was directed by the famous conductor Onorato Benevoli.[4]

In 1675, there were further beatifications; in April that of John of the Cross; in July that of Francis Solano; in November that of the Martyrs of Gorkum.[5] By a Brief of January 22nd, 1671, Clement X. approved the cult of Ludovica

[1] *Acta consist.* for March 3 and 16, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Avviso* of April 18, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.; NOVAES, X., 234 *seqq.*; *Bull.* XVIII., 187 *seqq.*, 215 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 1 *seqq.*, 11 *seqq.* the decrees for the canonization of Peter of Alcantara and Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi (these were not published by Clement X.).

[3] April 27, *Bull.* XVIII., 304. See **Avviso* of May 7, 1672, *loc. cit.* The **Avviso* of May 28, 1672, says: "Nella basilica di S. Maria Maggiore nella gran cappella del Pontefice Sisto V. sotto il bellissimo deposito e statua di marmo del beato Papa Pio V., che li fece fare il detto Pontefice Sisto, si è fatta una piccola cappella sotterranea, nel cui altare vi si è posta la cassa di piombo con il suo santo corpo per celebrarsi in avvenire la messa."

[4] Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Avvisi* of April 27, July 6, November 30, 1675, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Bull.* XVIII., 526, 528, 600; *Cartari, *loc. cit.*; NOVAES, X., 252 *seq.* *Cf.* MEUFFELS, *Les Martyrs de Gorcom*, Paris, 1908, 182. NOVAES, X., 249 *seqq.*, on the canonization by simple decree of St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, *ibid.*, 244 *seqq.*, and 247 *seqq.*, on his work on behalf of other Beati. *Cf.* also FORCELLA, VI., 366.

Albertoni (*obiit* 1533) whose tomb in S. Francesco a Ripa was adorned by Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri with the Beata's statue of a profound religious inspiration.[1]

A decree of July 30th, 1672, laid down detailed directions concerning the removal of relics from the Catacombs, which were to be exposed to public veneration only after examination by the Cardinal Vicar. Severe penalties were laid down against those who gave new names to relics, or who demanded money for the execution of documents of authentication.[2]

Already in the days of Clement VIII. a small house had been founded opposite S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini for the reception of such converts to the Catholic faith as became destitute in consequence of their conversion. Prompted by the splendid Oratorian Mariano Soccino, Clement X. acquired a palace in the Ripetta to house the institution which was also suitably endowed by him. At a later date the establishment was transferred to the neighbourhood of the church of S. Maria delle Grazie, not far from the Porta Angelica.[3]

Clement IX. had sought to obtain the extradition of the adventurer Francesco Borri, a physician and alchemist who was also accused of heresy[4]; this his successor secured at length. In August 1670, the wretched man was confined in

[1] FRASCHETTI, 396 *seqq.* At Rome I saw in private hands an "*Istoria della b. Ludovica Albertoni descritta da P. F. F. Gennaro de Malta d'Hero Napolet. Min. Ref., dedicata al cardinale Paluzzi Altieri 1671". In print, but extremely scarce (the only copy in Rome is in the library of the convent of Tor de' Specchi), is the *Vita della b. Lud. Albertoni scritta da* FR. GIOV. PAOLO . . . *predicatore dei Min. Rif. e procuratore nella causa della sua canonizzazione*, Roma, 1672.

[2] NOVAES, X., 246 *seqq.*

[3] *Bull.* XVIII., 545 *seqq.*; MORONI, L., 15 *seq.*; NOVAES, X., 254 *seqq.* The foundation of the capital for the new house of converts, especially those of German nationality, was the property of Card. Rasponi who, on the advice of the Card. of Hesse, left it by will for this purpose; see the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., December 7, 1675, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See above, p. 127, n. 3.

the dungeon of the Roman Inquisition.[1] His trial was concluded two years later; he abjured his errors in the Minerva and was condemned to imprisonment for life.[2]

It was a particular satisfaction to Clement X. that he was able to celebrate the jubilee of 1675. On Christmas Eve 1674, he opened the Holy Door. Queen Christine and other princesses, as well as some German princes, were present at the function.[3] On this occasion the Romans saw for the first time the rich tabernacle in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, executed after the designs of Bernini and said to have cost 40,000 scudi.[4] The Pope likewise bestowed on the church of the Prince of the Apostles a magnificent carpet which is used to this day on solemn occasions.

In consequence of the troubled situation the number of pilgrims was somewhat lessened, but even so it was considerable; thus, the German national hospice of the Anima took care of over 10,000,[5] and the celebrated Archconfraternity of Trinità de' Pellegrini provided for 280,496 strangers.[6] Laura Caterina Altieri contributed largely to the necessary funds, as did the treasurer Giovanni Francesco

[1] **Avviso* of August 16, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Fr. Colonna, *Fr. Massimo* (1911), 30; Levinson, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 7 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*

[2] **Avviso* of October 1, 1672, *loc. cit.* When the Duke D'Estrées fell sick Borri was allowed to treat him; see a letter of P. Mocenigo, July 6, 1675, in Gérin, II., 609. Card. Nerli also received medical treatment at the hands of Borri; *cf.* *letter of Mocenigo, dated July 20, 1675, Vat. Lib. This happened repeatedly at a subsequent period; see Ademollo, in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 1880, No. 24; *id.*, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria*, 167; Fr. Colonna, *Fr. Massimo*, 43 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 44, for Borri's death (1695).

[3] **Avviso* of December 29, 1674, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Manni, 211 *seqq.*

[4] Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* F. M. Phaebeus, *De origine et progressu solemnitatis anni iubilaei, Romae*, 1675.

[5] Schmidlin, 465. An **Avviso* of March 23, 1675 (Papal Sec. Arch.), announces the arrival of Prince Charles Ernest of Hesse for the jubilee.

[6] Manni, 214. *Cf.* **Avviso* of April 6, 1675, *loc. cit.*

Giannetti, who entertained more than 2,000 pilgrims at his own expense.[1] Queen Christine also made generous contributions and in Holy Week she washed the feet of thirteen women pilgrims in the building of the Archconfraternity.[2] On September 18th, Clement X. repaired to Trinità de' Pellegrini to wash the feet of twelve pilgrims.[3] An inscription in the entrance hall, near his bust by Bernini, recalls the memory of the rich alms which the Pope bestowed on the institution.[4]

If in the course of the jubilee year the Pope was only able to bless the people on seven different occasions, and to visit the seven churches only five times,[5] the explanation was the bad state of his health. The eighty-five-years-old man was tortured by gout and catarrh. For all that during the octave of the feast of the Rosary he took part in the function at S. Maria sopra Minerva, when he himself led the recitation of the Rosary, to the great edification of the vast congregation.[6] Gladly would he have done more. "At this time," he observed to one of the prelates, "when we should like to be an eagle, our state of health impedes us more than ever."[7] Among the Cardinals, Francesco Barberini's piety was particularly remarked.[8]

In the processions of the Confraternities, many of which came from outside Rome, one saw, as on former occasions, a

[1] *Cartari, *loc. cit.*; MANNI, 214.

[2] "*Si trattenne tre hore, lavò li piedi a tredici pellegrine, a ciascuna delle quali donò un doblone da sei scudi, e di più fece dare un testone a ciascuno pellegrino che giungeranno al numero di 1700; donò alla confraternità 200 doble e vi lasciò la biancaria della quale si era servita calcolando che il donativo ascendesse a mille e dugento scudi compreso quello de' pellegrini" (Cartari, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] FORCELLA, VII., 215.

[5] **Avvisi* of 1675, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso* of October 19, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*

number of symbolical representations.[1] The Spaniards' traditional celebration of the Resurrection in their national church in the Piazza Navona, at which Queen Christine was also present, is said to have been particularly splendid.[2] Various churches in Rome were restored and embellished during the jubilee year,[3] and that of Gesù e Maria in the Corso was consecrated on January 28th.[4] In the course of the restoration of the high altar in the Pantheon a metal casket was found containing the bones of Saints which Boniface IV. had placed in it on the occasion of the consecration of the church in 606.[5] Advantage was also taken of the jubilee year to revoke the permission granted in 1671 by Cardinal Altieri to hold bull-fights in the Colosseum. A large cross was erected within the immense structure in which, as was generally believed, many Martyrs had suffered. Clement X. also put up frescoes representing the martyrdom of some of the heroes of the faith.[6]

One of the most responsible duties of the Head of the Church is the choice of new Cardinals. At that period selection was rendered extraordinarily difficult owing to the jealousies of the secular Powers and their struggle to secure so strong a representation in the Sacred College that to grant it would have been tantamount to abdicating. The young King of

[1] **Avvisi* of April 13 and 20, 1675, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Avviso* of April 27, 1675, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cartari, *loc. cit.* For Rainaldi's altar in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, see HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 76 *seq.* When S. Giuliano de' Belgi was restored the statue of the Patron Saint was put up on the façade; see reproduction in *Catholicon*, I. (1899).

[4] HEMPEL, 68 *seqq.*

[5] **Avviso* of March 9, 1675, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* the *note by Bartol. Nappini in *Vat.* 9200, p. 255, Vat. Lib. Rome received several new churches under Clement X. The **Avviso* of September 27, 1670 (*loc. cit.*), says: On Sunday Cardinal Barberini consecrated "la nuova chiesa che fece fabricare da' fondamenti della Santissima Incarnatione del Verbo Divino delle Carmelitane scalze di S. Maria Maddalena de Pazzi."

[6] COLAGROSSI, L'anfiteatro Flavio, Firenze, 1913, 214 *seqq.*

France especially sought to increase his influence in Rome, through Cardinals wholly devoted to his person ; to this end he very skilfully managed to get his efforts seconded by letters of recommendation from the friendly rulers of Poland and Portugal.

The election of Clement X. was hardly over before the French renewed their pressing demands for the red hat for César d'Estrées, Bishop of Laon, whilst the Emperor Leopold promoted the candidature of the Margrave Bernard Gustavus of Baden-Durlach, Prince Abbot of Fulda.[1]

All the courts, especially that of Paris, were exceedingly annoyed when Clement X., in his first creation of Cardinals, on December 20th, 1670, only considered the three men who had rendered substantial services to the Holy See. These were the Secretary of State, Federigo Borromeo, a Milanese who had been nuncio in Madrid under Clement IX. ; the Maestro di Camera, Camillo Massimo, who had also been nuncio in Madrid ; and the *Datarius*, Gaspar Carpegna.[2]

The Powers, above all France, did not relax their efforts because of this initial failure ; on the contrary they redoubled them. On Lionne's advice, Louis XIV. dispatched César d'Estrées to Rome as envoy extraordinary, so as to enable him to forward his elevation in person.[3] The pressure of France was such that the Pope was at last compelled to yield. All Europe was amazed at the success that had hitherto marked the young King's undertakings, and appeared as it were spellbound by the conviction of his irresistible might. A

[1] GÉRIN, II., 412 *seqq.*, 414 *seqq.* ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 107, 109 *seq.*

[2] GUARNACCI, I., 11 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VII., 203 *seqq.* A contemporary describes F. Borromeo as " *di natura nobile, generoso, disinvolto, di maniera dolce e magnanima. Sarebbe buon Papa et è uno de' confidenti di S. Stà ". Of Massimo he says : " *Soggetto di gran meriti e di molta modestia e cortesia, habile per esser Papa, amico delle virtù, amato da' Romani, stimato nella corte " (Compendioso ragguaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X., *Barb.* 4704, Vat. Lib.).

[3] GÉRIN, II., 439 *seqq.*

letter in code from the papal Secretary of State to the Spanish nuncio, dated August 1st, 1671, shows that this state of mind prevailed even in the highest circles in Rome.[1] D'Estrées was promised that the Pope would admit him into the Sacred College, together with the Abbot of Fulda, at the next creation; but already France was demanding that Poland should also be given satisfaction by the elevation of Pierre de Bonsy, Archbishop of Toulouse.[2] The Cabinet of Madrid, on its part, also forcibly insisted on its claims being met at the next promotion. Weary of so much pressure, the Pope named D'Estrées and the Abbot of Fulda Cardinals *in petto* at a consistory of August 24th, 1671.[3] D'Estrées's arrogance now became intolerable. He let a fortnight go by before presenting himself at the Quirinal; and when he did so at last, it was, as he himself writes, not to express his thanks, but in order to give the Pope an opportunity to explain himself on the subject of the promotion. As Clement X., in view of the negotiations with Spain, was obliged to put off the publication of D'Estrées's nomination, the latter had the effrontery to express to the Pope his astonishment that more consideration should have been shown to weak Spain than to a prince who disposed of an army of 200,000 men and a powerful fleet![4]

[1] " *Le fortune della Francia, le forze unite, gli eserciti pronti, gli acquisti fatti hanno cagionato lo spavento in tutta Europa, e vorrebbono gli Spagnoli che solo il Papa resistesse alle permissioni divine, opponendosi alla felicità di quella nazione, unicamente capace hora di soccorrere alla depressa christianità. Solea dire Clemente IX. che il maggior servitio, il quale potesse farsi alla monarchia di Spagna, era di obligarsi la Francia per haver in essa un capitale di gratitudine, di cui potesse usarsi in benefitio della monarchia medesima." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, pp. 13*b*–14, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 439.

[3] GUARNACCI, I., 25 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 208 *seqq.* *Cf.* A. RÜBSAM, *Kard. Bernhard Gustav, Markgraf von Baden-Durlach, Fürstabt von Fulda*, 1671–7, Fulda, 1923. As a Benedictine, Margrave Gustav Adolf took the name of Bernhard Gustav.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 444 *seqq.*

Discussions on the cardinalitial promotions with the Cabinets of Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, continued throughout the autumn and winter. In consequence of the furious mutual jealousy of these Powers it was exceedingly difficult, in fact it was almost impossible, to find a solution that would satisfy everybody. Threats, in part quite brutal ones, were not wanting on the part of both Spanish [1] and French Governments.[2]

In a consistory of February 22nd, 1672, Clement X., who had already guaranteed D'Estrées's elevation by a Brief of September 21st, 1671,[3] announced the following decision: of the two reserved *in petto* on August 24th, 1671, the Prince Abbot of Fulda was proclaimed, whilst the other continued *in petto*; at the same time the following were raised to the cardinalate and published at once: Pierre de Bonsy, Archbishop of Toulouse, the Dominican Vincenzo Maria Orsini; a third Cardinal was reserved *in petto*.[4] It was an open secret that the latter was none other than the Jesuit Eberhard Nidhard, a native of Mühlviertel,[5] who, as confessor to the Queen of Spain, became Inquisitor-General and first minister in 1666, and in 1671, was named Archbishop of Edessa to enable him to become Spanish ambassador in Rome.[6] This appointment was intended as a compensation for the fact that Nidhard had been obliged to yield to his opponents in Spain. Nidhard had been the Emperor's candidate for the cardinalate

[1] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, August 29, September 12, 1671, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 446 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 448.

[4] **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; GUARNACCI, I., 30 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 211 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *Briefs to Bonsy and the Prince Abbot of Fulda, February 21 and 28, 1672, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, the *Brief to Orsini of March 1, 1672, pressing him to accept the cardinalate.

[5] For E. Nidhard, see SOTWEL, 441 *seqq.*; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, IV³, 108 *seqq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVIII. (1887), 139–154.

[6] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of November 7 and 21, 1671, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

already in 1669; at the present moment his publication was still dependent on the issue of the negotiations with the Spanish Cabinet.

Although Clement X. had considered all the great Catholic Powers, none of them were wholly satisfied. Spain's bitter complaints were particularly unjustified, since each branch of the House of Habsburg had been given a Cardinal.[1]

When the Duke D'Estrées, César's brother, came to Rome as Louis XIV's ambassador, Francesco Nerli took up the post of nuncio in Paris.[2] On May 16th, Cardinals D'Estrées and Nidhard, until then reserved *in petto*, were proclaimed; the former was ordered to remain in Rome as French Crown Cardinal.[3]

It grieved Clement X., who cherished grateful memories of his predecessor, that he had been compelled to give precedence to the candidates of the Powers over Felice Rospigliosi. He now made good that omission by raising the latter to the purple on January 16th, 1773.[4] On June 12th, of the same year, there took place, to the surprise even of the majority of the Sacred College,[5] the creation of five new Cardinals, one of whom was reserved *in petto*.[6] They were all

[1] See the justification of the promotion in the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, 139, of February 24 and April 23, 1672 (*loc. cit.*). In the first we read: "È stranissimo . . . che gli Spagnuoli si figurino di poter dar legge e por confini alla independente libertà del Papa nelle promozioni."

[2] GÉRIN, II., 460 *seq.*

[3] **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; GÉRIN, II., 465. In a *Brief of May 16, 1672, Clement X. announces the nomination of D'Estrées to the Kings of France and Portugal, and that of Nidhard to the Queen-Regent of Spain. *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] See P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, January 26, 1673, Vat. Lib.; GUARNACCI, I., 46; CARDELLA, VII., 219.

[5] See *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, June 17, 1673, *loc. cit.*

[6] General notices on the career of the nominees in GUARNACCI, I., 49 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 220 *seqq.* (the creation is here erroneously assigned to June 13).

Italians and men of such outstanding merit that the choice met with general approval.[1] Francesco Nerli, nuncio at Warsaw [1670–71] and in Paris [1672–73], had become Secretary of State on the death of Federigo Borromeo [2] Conscientious and of angelic innocence, as a contemporary writes, he was feared by reason of his strictness.[3] The Genoese Girolamo Gastaldi had earned a great reputation as Alexander VII.'s General Commissary at the time of the plague in Rome,[4] and he retained it as Clement X.'s treasurer. His name is known to all pilgrims to Rome through the two circular churches at the entrance to the Corso which he built at his own expense,[5] a fact which inscriptions on the gables proclaim to posterity.[6] The memory of Girolamo Casanata is kept equally fresh in the Eternal City by the magnificent library in the Dominican convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which bears his name. Its beginnings go back to Cardinal Torquemada and Giovanni Maria Castellani, Gregory XV.'s physician. A marble statue of Cardinal Casanata by Le Gros still adorns the great hall of the library, erected by Carlo Fontana. Casanata attached to his foundation a yearly income for the purchase of books, a theological school and two

[1] See *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, June 17, 1673, *loc. cit.* Mocenigo mentions the illumination of the palace of St. Mark, of which he says that it surpassed anything hitherto attempted in this line.

[2] F. Borromeo died on February 19, 1673, at the early age of 56, whereupon Altieri took over the Secretariate of State also (**Avviso* of February 25, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.; *letters of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, February 16, 18, 25, 1673, Vat. Lib.) until Nerli's return from France, (see Cartari, **Memorie. loc. cit.*). Nerli's gratitude appears in the unmeasured praise of Clement X. in an inscription of 1677, in S. Basilio (see FORCELLA, XII., 120).

[3] *Cf.* *Scrittura politica sopra il conclave con la descrittione di tutti i cardinali" of 1686, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3.

[4] On the plague, *cf.* p. 34.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 307.

[6] FRASCHETTI, 399 *seqq.*

chairs for public lectures on the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas.[1] He was one of Clement X.'s old friends, and had rendered him great services at the time of his disgrace under Clement IX.[2] Pietro Basadonna was named out of consideration for the Republic of St. Mark. He was a scholarly man and had represented his native city in Rome under Alexander VII. The fifth of the new Cardinals, Federigo Baldeschi Colonna, was reserved *in petto*, and only proclaimed on December 17th, 1674.[3] He was related to the Pope, had acted as nuncio in Switzerland from 1665 to 1668, and distinguished himself as Secretary of Propaganda and Assessor of the Inquisition.

Though France had been adequately considered in the previous creations, Louis XIV. raised further pretensions. He wanted the Pope to name a Frenchman, Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Marseilles, as Polish Crown-Cardinal, and a German, Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, as French Crown-Cardinal![4] The Duke D'Estrées, supported by his brother the Cardinal, supported this scheme with the utmost eagerness. The Pope was being incessantly asked for extraordinary audiences, on the plea that urgent dispatches from the French Government required an immediate reply. This happened, for instance, on May 21st, 1675, when D'Estrées spoke with great violence of his dispute with Cardinal Altieri, and stressed the vast military resources of his King. He particularly pointed to the French fleet sent to the support of Messina, which had risen against the Spanish[5]; the fleet happened to lie at anchor at Civitavecchia. The Pope referred the ambassador to the mediator chosen by himself for the settlement of the dispute, and added: "For a long time you have been speaking, not of

[1] *Mon. ord. Praed. hist.*, XIII., 335; BLUME, III., 126 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve*, 401 *seqq.* M. D'ANGELO, *Il card. Girolamo Casanata*, 1620–1700, Roma, 1923.

[2] See the **Scrittura politica*, quoted above, p. 477, n. 3.

[3] **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 558 *seqq.*, 561 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 583. On the rising at Messina, see F. GUARDONE, *Storia della rivoluzione di Messina contro la Spagna* (1671–1680), Palermo, 1906.

the affairs of your King, but of your own ; we know that this is not his Majesty's intention, and we shall inform him accordingly." The ambassador now besought the Pope to refrain from doing so, after which he turned the conversation to Forbin's nomination, when he once more poured forth the most violent accusations against Cardinal Altieri. Clement X., anxious to put an end to this painful altercation, rang his bell, an act which the ambassador sought to prevent by seizing the Pope's hand. Meanwhile the *Coppiere* had entered the room. D'Estrées told him in a superior tone that he had further information to submit to the Pope. There now ensued a scene almost unparalleled in the history of diplomacy. D'Estrées accused the Pope of having broken his word in connection with the nomination of Cardinals. Clement X. wished to put an end to the audience but D'Estrées refused to go, and repeated his previous accusations in even more violent terms ; as the Pope, after ringing his bell three times, was about to rise, D'Estrées laid his hands on the chest of the eighty-five-year-old man and forced him back into his chair. The incensed Pontiff exclaimed " You are excommunicated ! " and put an end to the audience.[1]

[1] See an authentic account of the audience in the report in cypher, dispatched to the French nuncio, Spada, by Altieri, on May 22, 1675, for submission to Louis XIV., printed by GÉRIN, II., 585, n. 3. The Card. of Hesse's *report to Leopold I., dated May 25, 1675, agrees in substance with this account. The final scene is thus described by the Cardinal of Hesse : " Obligò [D'Estrées] il Papa non solo a sonar la terza volta il campanello, ma a muoversi dalla sedia, al che l'ambasciatore s'oppose con altro atto più irreverente del primo, anzi inimaginabile, havendo alzate, stese e portate le sue mani verso la Stà Sua per impedirglielo, et all'hora N. S. con senso di savio biasimo dell'atto medesimo gli disse ch'egli era scommunicato per la violenza, che usava alla persona della Stà Sua. Questo è il racconto historico del successo, le cui particolarità parrebbero incredibili, se così precisamente, si come le ho descritte, non mi fussero state riferite dalla viva voce di N. S." Mocenigo's account of the audience in his *letter of June 1, 1675 (*loc. cit.*), to A. Contarini is based on rumours.

This incident, which caused an enormous sensation all over Rome, by no means intimidated the aged Pontiff; on the contrary, Clement X. accepted the challenge and hastened the projected nomination of Cardinals, at which France's candidates were passed over. A consistory was held on May 27th, 1675, at which six Cardinals were created. They were four Romans, viz. Galeazzo Marescotti, Alessandro Crescenzi, Bernardino Rocci, and Fabrizio Spada; furthermore, the Neapolitan Mario Alberizzi, and an Englishman, viz. Philip Thomas Howard.[1]

Galeazzo Marescotti, assessor of the Inquisition under Alexander VII., nuncio in Poland from 1668–1670, and in Spain from 1670 to 1675, was distinguished for many excellent qualities, especially for his great devotion to the Holy See, so that a contemporary could say of him that he had a heart of bronze for the defence of the papacy.[2]

Fabrizio Spada had filled the nunciature of Turin from 1672–74, and that of Paris from 1674–75. He was learned and liberal and his piety was such that there were those who reproached him with eccentricity.[3] Great also was the piety of the Somaschan Alessandro Crescenzi, first nuncio in Turin from 1646–1652, and after that, Bishop of Bitonto, where he practically gave all he possessed to the poor. Clement X. made him his Maestro di Camera.[4] Bernardino Rocci held the

[1] On the nominees, *cf.* GUARNACCI, I., 71 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, 230 *seqq.*; GÉRIN, II., 595 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* **Scrittura politica*, quoted on p. 477, n. 3. Marescotti's papers were unfortunately scattered. The largest portion went into the Corvisieri Library, Rome, which was sold by auction in 1901 (see *Biblioteca Corvisieri*, II., 31 *seqq.*, 413 *seqq.*, 425 *seqq.*, 453 *seqq.*). A MS. dealing with the Polish nunciature at Hiersemann's (Leipzig), Catalogue 477 (1920), No. 67. For Marescotti's Polish nunciature *cf.* also CIAMPI, I., 55 *seqq.*, 317 *seqq.* There is a marble bust of the Cardinal in the Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome. *Cf.* LITTA, 43.

[3] "**Dotto, arguto, generoso, caritativo et officioso . . . assai propenso alla divotione, in che tal volta ha usato qualche semplicità per li modi improprii, che prattica di spirituale," *Scrittura politica, loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* above, 443.

nunciature of Naples from 1661 to 1668 ; he was Maggiordomo to Clement IX. and Clement X.[1]

Mario Alberizzi had been secretary to two Congregations under Alexander VII., viz. to Propaganda and to the Congregations of Bishops and Regulars. From 1671 to 1675 he was nuncio with the Emperor.[2] In addition to great piety he was distinguished for wide learning : his select library he left to Propaganda.

Philip Thomas Howard, a son of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and accordingly described as Cardinal Norfolk, had entered the Dominican Order at an early age. He had sacrificed the whole of his patrimony for the spiritual needs of his countrymen in Flanders. In 1662 he returned to England to act as chaplain to Catherine of Portugal, Charles II.'s Queen, and as Vicar Apostolic he spent himself in the service of his persecuted fellow Catholics until he, too, was banished from the country in 1674.[3]

Not only Cardinal D'Estrées but all the other Cardinals of French sympathies refused to call on the new Cardinals, and avoided all intercourse with them. Such was theDuc D'Estrées's excitement and annoyance that he was taken seriously ill. Clement X. returned good for evil by giving proof of sincere concern for the Duke. It took D'Estrées eight months to recover ; during that time business was transacted by his brother, the Cardinal.[4] Louis XIV. refused to accept the

[1] See above, p. 443.

[2] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 498 *seqq.*

[3] TOURON, *Hist. des hommes illustres de l'ordre de St. Dominique*, Paris, 1743–49, V., 698 *seqq.*, and the monograph by PALMER, London, 1869. In a *Brief of March 27, 1674, Clement X. eulogized Norfolk's " heroica pietas " in the midst of persecution ; *Epist.*, IV.–V., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, the *Brief of Howard's nomination, dated June 4, 1675, and another of July 30, to the Queen of England. Howard's letters, published by Bede Jarret, O.P., in *Publications of the Cath. Record Society*, XXV. (1925), 1–92.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 608 *seq.*

letters of the new Cardinals; on the other hand he did not refuse papal Briefs for, he affirmed, his opposition was not aimed at the Pope, but at Altieri.[1]

(2.)

France, that permanent theatre of the sectarian intrigues of which she had become a second home, continued to be a source of fear and anxiety for the Holy See.

As soon as the conclusion of the so-called Clementine Peace [2] was assured, the general public seemed, for a time at least, to lose all interest in the Jansenists. The papal reply to the four Bishops, which was to set the seal upon the whole affair, was indeed anxiously awaited, but the very day before its arrival in Paris, February 1st, 1669, Bargellini wrote that a most extraordinary quiet prevailed with regard to the Jansenist question, as if Jansenius had never existed.[3] Two years later the Venetian ambassador in Paris, Giovanni Morosini, was of opinion that the Jansenists were of no practical consequence.[4] The fact was that the able pens which had drawn so much attention to the sect, were no longer allowed publicly to advocate its principles for Louis had forbidden all publications for or against it.[5]

But the apparent calm was deceptive. The very concessions made by Clement IX. helped to strengthen attachment to the sect; even in Italy and in Rome itself, a doubt arose whether

[1] See P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, dated August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[2] See above, p. 401 *seqq.*

[3] "*Qui si desidera e si aspetta con passione particolare la risolutione circa le materie janseniste, intorno alle quali si vive con tal quiete, che è cosa incredibile, a segno che pare non sia mai stato nel mondo Jansenio." To Rospigliosi, February 1, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 491, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] "quasi che totale depressione de' Giansenisti e altri religionari in Francia" (Barozzi-Berchet, *Francia*, III., 218).

[5] Gérin, II., 306.

Alexander VII. had not gone too far in condemning Jansenism.[1] Foscarini, who succeeded Morosini in 1678,[2] speaks of the "old cockle" to the uprooting of which Louis XIV. still had to apply himself in order to maintain the internal tranquillity of the realm. As a matter of fact the author of an account of the situation of the French Church at that time[3] does not draw a brilliant picture of religious conditions. The King, so we read, is being told that not a day passes without the Pope making some attack on the royal authority; Jansenism has simply been a phantom of the Jesuit mind; even if it had been different at first, and if it were not wholly suppressed, it would die a natural death in time provided no one was allowed to talk about it. Now it was precisely this silence which enabled Jansenism to live and to wax stronger from day to day. The King was well disposed on the whole, but his ministers took care he did not see everything. According to this account the first of these ministers, Colbert, had at first not been altogether in sympathy with the innovations of the sect, but from the moment he took the General of the Oratorians (Sainte-Marthe) for his confessor and adviser in

[1] "*L'apparenza di queste ragioni haveva talmente operato nell'animo del popolo, che non solo in Francia e in Fiandra, ma in Italia et in Roma medesima pareva, che troppo si fusse avanzato Alessandro e troppo si pretendesse dal successore in volerlo sustinere." Relatione del succeduto nella causa di Giansenio, of March 1, 1693, probably by Bargellini, *Vat.* 7405, f. 16 s.

[2] BAROZZI-BERCHET, II., 388.

[3] *Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., VI., 24, f. 179–189; drawn up during Pomponne's ministry, 1672–79. The conclusion states that the Monks of St. Germain-des-Prés (Maurists) had spent more than 10,000 scudi in the last six years on a new edition of St. Augustine. The publication was begun in 1669. "Non dubitamus," it says, "quod facient de operibus doctoris huius, quod alii de Novo Testamento falsificato pro sustinendis erroribus suis." On the story of the Maurist edition of St. Augustine, *cf.* KAKULA, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wienerakademie*, CXXI. s., CXXVII. s.; INGOLD, Paris, 1903, and *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXVIII., 320 *seqq.*

spiritual matters,[1] he favours them, for it is well known how much that Superior of the Oratorians is implicated in these errors and how ill disposed he is towards the Holy See. The minister has little love for the Jesuits and persecutes the Order in every way, as must be expected from a Jansenist. The second Minister (Le Tellier), for the sake of his sons, supports the sect as much as possible. The third (Louvois) is the son of the second. Everybody knows how he lives, but of his faith and religion nothing is known. His zeal, not in defending but in persecuting the Holy See, is sufficiently shown forth by the affair of the Knights of St. Lazarus, which he initiated, prosecuted, and concluded without leave from Rome, though there was question of Church property.[2] The last of the ministers (Pomponne) belongs to Arnauld's family. He has openly stated that the religious were the ruin of the State and the realm; accordingly many people suspect him of secretly favouring the new sect, but up to the present there are not many outward signs of this being so.[3] The greater part of the nobility and the officials are for the Church; so are the princes of the royal house, though not the Duchess of Longueville.

Previous to Jansenius' condemnation, scarcely four, or perhaps half a dozen of the Bishops were in his favour, but that number has since risen because of their dislike of the Holy See. The keenest among them are the Bishops of Sens, Tournai, Beauvais, Auxerre, Châlons, Angers, Agen, Nevers, Alet, and Pamiers. All these display such zeal either in regard to the administration of the Sacraments or the privileges of the religious Orders that there is no end to the scandals in their dioceses.

Of the Orders, the Congregation of St. Geneviève, the Oratorians, and the Benedictines of St. Maurus are almost wholly caught in the meshes of these errors; the Cistercians

[1] Colbert was under his guidance for a time. BATTEREL, *Mém.*, IV., 19.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 490.

[3] MOROSINI, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, III., 212.

only partly, and only a few among the Dominicans. The other Orders are not affected, in particular the Franciscans and the Carmelites, especially the discalced ones.

With the exception of Port-Royal, almost all the convents are sound in the faith. Some of them were indeed grievously affected at one time, but the nuns now realize that they had been misled, with the result that they have lost all confidence in the sect. But they had conceived such disregard for the Holy See that the Pope had become an object of terror for them. There are many Jansenists in the Sorbonne, but they constitute only a minority.

The common people are scarcely aware of the conflict, but they are not unaffected by the new teaching concerning the reception of the Sacraments, which has decreased at Sens especially.

The genuine Jansenists remain unchanged; of the Clementine Peace they say: "Without moving a finger, we went to bed last night as heretics, and as without the Church—this morning we rose as Catholics." The Peace provides them with an occasion for scoffing at the Pope. Though the papal Brief is favourable to them, it was not made public as a result of their pressure on the nuncio; for they feared lest it should seem that they had altered their opinions.

In a list of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, created between 1650 and 1673,[1] 356 are described as Catholics, 193 as Jansenists, 36 are said to be fervent Catholics, and 60 keen Jansenists. The list also gives some information on the results of the Clementine Peace. Among the Jansenists, some are described as "supporters of the Jansenist Peace"; these are the men who, previous to the peace, opposed Jansenist opinions, but who subsequently, either from fear or from motives of prudence and personal advantage, had adopted, wholly or partially, a different line of conduct in the last Assemblies.[2] In like manner, after 1650, twenty-eight of the

[1] *Bibl. Casanat.*, X., VI., 24, f. 200–218.

[2] "*Qui quidem a die dictae pacis ab ipsa veritate, quam antea contra Iansenistas defenderant, vel si opus fuisset etiam strenue

Catholic Doctors are described as "political and accommodating Catholics"; they are the men who, since the Clementine Peace and the beginning of the rule of the new Archbishop of Paris [Harlay de Champvallon since 1671] adopt many Jansenist views for political considerations, or try to strike a middle course, or demand silence when judgment must be given on some Jansenist publication. In many ways, these do more harm than the Jansenists themselves.[1]

The Jansenists themselves, on their part, had renounced neither the pen nor the printing press, their chief weapons up till then. After "peace" had become the watchword in the religious sphere they could no longer think of furthering their cause by means of writings in Arnauld's manner, but there remained other and wide fields of activity for their men

propugnassent, iam vel ex metu aut pusillanimitate seu nimia prudentia carnis, non spiritus, vel ex propriae utilitatis aut honoris commodo aliquatenus aut etiam in totum deflexerant in postremis comitiis."

[1] "*catholici politici et molliors, in ceteris omnibus bene sentientes, verum plus quam par sit, quandoque politici et molliores, quique a die praetensae pacis ecclesiae et Dni Arch. Parisiensis moderni ad sedem Paris. promotione ita politice se gesserunt et adhuc se gerunt ut vel Iansenistarum sententiam sequantur in pluribus, vel medias quasdam vias ineuntes, aut silentium postulantes, ubi occasio est vel necessitas statuendi aliquid contra iansenianas theses, libros, conciones, iam non modo inutiles religioni et sanae doctrinae contra iansenianum virus nondum emortuum facti sint in facultate, sed saepe fiant ipsis Iansenistis quodam modo nocentiores." The list describes as keen Jansenists the following Bishops: Le Tellier of Rheims, Choiseul of Tournai, Marmiesse of Conserans, Colbert of Auxerre, Le Sauvage of Lavaur, Tonnerre of Noyon, Hocquincourt of Verdun, Barillon of Luçon. The following are just Jansenists: De La Borde of St. Brieuc and Bertier of Montauban; political Jansenists: Guron Rechigne of Comminges and Etienne Le Camus of Grenoble; political Catholics: Bourbon of Soissons and Bossuet of Condom. Harlay of Paris is said to be a fosterer of Jansenism; De la Motte Houdancourt of Auch and Loménie de Brienne of Coutances are described as excellent Catholics.

of letters. They had begun early to advocate their views by means of publications of a seemingly purely devotional character. Previous to the "Clementine Peace", Le Maître de Sacy had published some of his Jansenistically coloured translations of the Bible.[1] The work advanced gradually; when completed it became, for the French Jansenists, something like Luther's Bible for the German Lutherans. There followed French translations of the liturgical books, the Missal and the Breviary, or at least parts of them.[2] All these books were condemned by the French Bishops and even by the Pope himself. These liturgical adaptations were followed by a number of ascetical and devotional works, all of which advocated, in an underhand way, the Jansenist view on grace. Nicole's work of moral theology in particular, obtained a wide circle of readers; begun in 1671, it eventually grew into thirteen volumes.[3] The prolific Maurist writer, Gerberon, besides ascetical literature, devoted himself especially to the study of history; his account of the Jansenist controversy and its development is wholly in keeping with the spirit of the party.[4]

The Government indulged in no delusions about the situation. The means by which the Jansenists had won the so-called peace were such that at the death of the Pope, there

[1] "Nouveau Testament de Mons."

[2] The Missal was translated by Voisin in 1660 ([PATOUILLET], III., 199), the Breviary by Le Tourneux in 1687 (*ibid.*, I., 199); *Heures de Port-Royal*, translated by Le Maître (*ibid.*, II., 177); *L'année chrétienne ou les messes des dimanches*, etc., by Le Tourneux (*ob.*, 1686), etc.

[3] On their Jansenistic tone see [PATOUILLET], II., 68–91; on their influence up till the 19th century see SÉCHÉ, I., 235 *seq.*, 244, 251. Nicole published the writings of Hamon, the physician of Port Royal, *ob.*, 1687 ([PATOUILLET], IV., 157 *seqq.*).

[4] *Histoire générale du Jansénisme*, Amsterdam, 1700; *Histoire abrégée du Jansénisme*, Cologne, 1698; *Mémorial historique de ce qui s'est passé depuis l'année 1647 jusqu' à l'an 1653* (1676); *Traités historiques sur la grâce et la prédestination par l'Abbé de St. Julien* (1699).

was every reason to fear for its continuance. Even during the conclave, the French Government instructed its ambassador in Rome to lose no time in strongly representing to the new Pope that he could not rely on its support were he to follow the advice of Albizzi or the Jesuits, by laying hands on his predecessor's work of peace; the ambassador, on the contrary, was to renew the efforts made with Clement IX. with a view to obtaining the elimination of Alexander's formula, so that subscription to it would be no longer required.[1] On March 7th, 1670, the King empowered his representative to demand a formal promise that no innovation would take place.[2] Accordingly the ambassador represented to the new Pope that though the formula had been a salutary remedy, now that the wound was healed, the plaster could only do harm. To this the Pope replied that he was not so sure that the wound was properly healed; the Secretary of State, Altieri, felt even less convinced than the Pope.[3] However, during Clement X.'s reign no steps were taken against the French Jansenists.

If the religious situation in France was unsatisfactory, it was no better in the sect's birthplace. The Jansenist Ritual of Alet, though condemned by Rome, was in everybody's hands in Flanders; the Mons translation of the New Testament, though tainted with Jansenism, was openly sold. Jansenius' *Augustinus* was read without scruple, and a book against the honour paid to the Blessed Virgin, from the pen of an attorney of Cologne of the name of Widenfeldt, was obstinately defended. To this must be added other errors on the subject of the veneration of the Saints and their images, and the administration of the Sacrament of Penance. There were those who taught that Bishops received their powers immediately from Christ; hence they argued that the Pope could not curtail them. Dislike of the Mendicant Orders

[1] Louis XIV. and Lionne to Chaulnes on January 3 and 17, 1670, in GÉRIN, II., 411.

[2] *Ibid.*, 411 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 412.

also grew because of the esteem in which these held both Scholasticism and the Pope's authority.[1]

The Pope had likewise had to complain of the Governor of Flanders, owing to the attempt of the latter to interfere with the free communication of the Pontiff with his subjects, as happened, for instance, when Rome protested against the unbecoming inscription on the grave of Jansenius.[2]

(3.)

Thus the dangerous religious movements in Flanders and France were only seemingly dead. France in particular might at any moment become a danger to the peace of Europe in the sphere of religion; in the political sphere, France's ruler was already such a danger, especially by reason of his attitude towards the Turkish wars. Whilst Rome was concerned with the defence of Christendom and its civilization against the peril of Islam, the King of France, exclusively intent on his private interests, dispatched an envoy to Constantinople at the beginning of 1670, in the person of the Marquis de Nointel, with mission to re-establish the good

[1] *Disordini ecclesiastici in Fiandra 1675*, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 397.

[2] "*A. V. S. incarica S. B. di rappresentare con fortezza di cuore e di lingua la non mai usata temerità del governatore di Fiandra, arrivato a pretendere che il Papa non possa scrivere a chi gli pare e intorno a materie, che sono intieramente del servitio di Dio e della religion cattolica, sicome succede nel fatto d'Ipri in ordine alla lapide, la quale è stata posta con iscrizione impropria sopra 'l sepolcro di Cornelio Jansenio; e faccia Ella ben considerare a S. M. ed al Conseglio l'ingiustitia e 'l mancamento di rispetto che si prattica verso S. S^tà^, a cui si vuol torre quella libertà che nè pure a nemici è prohibita; e protesti che, ove non si dia proporzionato rimedio a si grandi disordini, sarà S. B. posta nella necessità di cambiare il tenore delle sue paterne inclinationi e provedere al decoro delle sue pontificie determinazioni etc." To the Spanish nuncio, September 19, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, f. 56, Papal Sec. Arch.

relations which had suffered from the participation of France in the defence of Crete. Nointel met with no small obstacles. When he laid stress on the power of his sovereign, the Grand Vizier told him that the French "emperor" was of course a mighty monarch, but his sword was still new. When Nointel spoke of an ancient and sincere friendship, the Grand Vizier observed that though "the French are indeed our friends, it is strange that we should always find them at the side of our enemies".[1] Louis XIV., so sensitive where his "honour" was concerned, especially in his dealings with the Popes, put up with these remarks and continued to negotiate with the infidels, a fact which caused anxiety in Rome.[2] He was making vast military preparations at this time. For a time no one knew against whom he was arming, but eventually it was seen that he was planning a crushing blow against the Dutch Republic, where the idea of a coalition in opposition to his preponderance had struck deep roots and yielded its first fruits in the Triple Alliance. At this time Leibnitz sought to direct the ambition of the King of France towards Egypt; by an attack on that country France would have averted the Turkish peril, and would have been rewarded with the supremacy in the Mediterranean and the East, which England obtained at a later date. However, Louis' minister, Pomponne, replied that since the days of Louis IX. crusades were no longer fashionable.[3] Versailles' only anxiety was its nearest frontier.

[1] ZINKEISEN, V., 20. *Cf.* VANDAL, *L'odyssée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, 2e édit., Paris, 1900. In 1673 Nointel obtained the renewal of the capitulations which were of the utmost importance for French trade and a measure of recognition of France's protectorate of the Latin Christians in the East.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 521.

[3] See the works of Leibniz, edit. by O. KLOPP, 1st series, II., Hanover, 1864, 3–159, 177–426; GUHRAUER, *Kurmainz in der Epoche von 1672*, I., Hamburg, 1839, 37, 213 *seqq.*, II., 351; PLATZHOFF, *Ludwig*, XIV., 30; *Leibnitii de expeditione Aegyptiaca Ludovico Franciae regi proponenda scripta*, ed. O. KLOPP, Hanover, 1864.

Whilst Clement X. strove to stem the Turkish advance by means of an alliance between the Emperor and Poland,[1] Louis XIV. continued his preparations for his attack on Holland. He began by detaching England from the Triple Alliance by the treaty of Dover, and subsequently Sweden also; he then won over to his side the Elector of Cologne and the Prince Bishop of Liège, Maximilian Henry, a Bavarian Prince, together with the warlike Prince-Bishop of Münster, Bernard von Galen, who had long been on bad terms with the Dutch. Thus little Holland could be attacked from every side with overwhelming forces. The military operations were so rapid and so brilliant that the last hour of the Dutch Republic seemed at hand. French cavalry was scouting within a few miles from Amsterdam.[2]

The rapid success of France called forth a general panic in Europe. In Rome opinion on the situation was divided. Clement X. had watched the outbreak of war with anxiety.[3] His greatest fear was that the storm of war might also break over Catholic districts,[4] with the consequence of a war between France and Spain.[5] Many politicians, even in Rome, lamented the Dutch losses as if they were themselves hit by them[6]; but ecclesiastical circles felt differently. For more than a hundred years the Catholic subjects of the Dutch Republic had seen their most sacred rights curtailed; they had suffered,

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 454 *seq.*

[2] Block, V., 309 *seqq.*

[3] See the *Briefs to the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, dated March 20, 1672, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Brief to Galen, Prince-Bishop of Münster, April 30, 1672, *ibid.*

[5] *Brief to the Queen-Regent of Spain, April 18, 1672, and to Louis XIV., May 13, 1672, *ibid.* *Cf.* Buonvisi's letter and the Brief to Cologne in Brom, *Archivalia*, III., 553 *seq.*

[6] "*Utcunque fiet, Gallis aegerrimum est videre etiam Romae Italos quam plurimos Batavis saltem animis aspirantes et illorum ruinas quasi suas existimantes." The Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, July 16, 1672, State Archives, Vienna.

and were still undergoing, every kind of oppression.[1] Again and again the Hague Cabinet had made common cause with the Church's bitterest enemies, and every anti-papal scribe was sure of an asylum in the Low Countries. Accordingly they could but rejoice if the Most Christian King was about to overthrow this bulwark of Calvinism and, according to his loud and solemn assurances, to exploit his victory for the good of the Catholic religion.[2] This optimistic feeling was strengthened in Rome when it was learnt that in all the towns taken by the French the principal churches were being handed over the the Catholics by order of Louis XIV.; that the Bishops of Münster and Cologne had restored to its original purpose the property of the Church of which it had been robbed by the Dutch; that the altars had been set up again in the magnificent cathedral of Utrecht, and that solemn Catholic services were once more being held.[3] This explains how it came about that a number of preachers in Rome extolled France's victories in Holland as the work of God. Even the aged Clement X. seriously believed for a time that the aggression against Holland had for its object the furtherance of the Catholic religion. Hence he rejoiced sincerely in every fresh victory of Louis XIV.[4] An envoy of Louis went so far as to request the Pope to order processions of intercession for the triumph of the French arms and to warn the Catholic Princes not to disturb, by envy or jealousy, an undertaking of such importance for the Church.[5] The Paris nuncio suggested that

[1] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXV., 120 *seq.*, XXIX., 268 *seq.*

[2] WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi I.*, Vol. I., 377; KLOPP, Stuart, I., 306.

[3] *Cifre del Nunzio di Parigi, June 21 and August 12, 1672, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 148, Papal Sec. Arch., and the reports in BROM, in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XX., 393 *seqq.*

[4] *Letter of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., Rome, July 16, 1672, *loc. cit.* RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, III. [1855], 371), is quite wrong when he asserts that the Pope, who took up government in 1670 "undoubtedly" sided with the anti-French party in Europe.

[5] WAGNER, *loc. cit.*, 277.

the Pope should thank the King of France.[1] Consequently, laudatory Briefs were addressed not only to the Prince-Bishop of Münster, but to the French General Marquis d'Estrées, also, urging them at the same time to persevere in an undertaking so favourable to the Catholic cause.[2]

How strong the Curia's confidence in France was at the beginning of August, 1672, appears from certain instructions of the Secretariate of State to the Spanish nuncio. If the Most Christian King, the nuncio was told on August 13th, overthrows the Dutch heretics, His Holiness can only give thanks to God; just as, on the other hand, he can but lament the fact that the Dutchmen's ally, the Governor of the Flemish Netherlands, Count Monterey, should crush the convents of the poor Mendicants by heavy taxation. It would assuredly be far better if the Christian Princes were to unite in a joint attack on the Turks; but experience had shown how difficult it was to form a coalition. Hence they could only pray that God would bless Louis XIV.'s efforts for the liberation of the Dutch Catholics, and to confine the conflagration of war within the territory of the heretics.[3]

When in September the imperial troops, reinforced by 14,000 Brandenburgers, marched from Bohemia to the Rhine, Rome was not a little displeased. Leopold I.'s abandonment of neutrality was ascribed to Spanish influence, and regret was expressed that the Emperor's troops were not used for the protection of Poland, which would also make for the safety of Hungary. Spain was warned to see to the protection of its valuable Italian possessions against Turkish attack; the nuncio was told to emphasize that this would be impossible if

[1] *Cifra of June 21, 1672 (*decif.*, July 14), Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *To Louis XIV., on May 3 and July 12, 1672, April 26, July 26, and August 22, 1673, *Brevia*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., Rome, August 24, 1672, State Archives, Vienna. On September 7, 1672, the same *reports that he had failed to obtain a similar Brief for Leopold's efforts for catholicizing Hungary; *ibid.*

[3] *Cifra of August 13, 1672.

they helped the Dutch.[1] The Pope's displeasure grew still further as a result of the grievous encroachments by Spain in the ecclesiastical sphere, both in the Netherlands and at Naples and Milan.[2] The Paris Cabinet was much shrewder than that of Madrid, for during the first year of the war, the former avoided every ecclesiastical conflict with the Pope.[3] The important thing was to disguise the true aims of the Dutch adventure and to deceive the Pope on the subject. When it appeared that this aim had been sufficiently realized, there was no longer any need to consider the Pontiff. At the end of 1672, Louis XIV., without previous understanding with the Holy See, published an edict by which he assumed the government of the Order of St. Lazarus and of that of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, whilst he also suppressed a number of other ecclesiastical Institutions with a view to using their revenues to defray the enormous cost of the war. A beginning had been made with the execution of the measures before news of it reached the public; as for the Pope, he was requested simply to sanction them.[4] Nor were these the only trespasses on the Church's sphere. In 1673 Louis XIV. began to extend the right to seize the revenues of bishoprics during vacancy, and to appoint to vacant benefices (the so-called *régale*), to those ecclesiastical provinces where it had not hitherto obtained.[5] Extraordinary resentment was caused in

[1] *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, November 19, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, p. 54 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.* A *warning Brief to Monterey, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, dated July 16, 1672, in *Epist.*, II.–III., *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, *a similar Brief to "Marchese de Astorga, Prorex Neapol", of November 1, 1673, *Epist.*, IV.–V., *loc. cit.* A fresh attempt against the rights of the Church at Naples compelled Clement X. to raise his voice in protest in *Briefs to the Queen-Regent of Spain, to Astorga, and to the nuncio at Naples, September 10, 1673, *ibid.*

[3] GÉRIN, II., 479.

[4] *Ibid.*, 490 *seq.*

[5] For the dispute over the *régale*, see the next Vol., Innocent XI.

Rome[1] by an edict published in March 1673, at the instigation of Colbert, which in the harmless guise of a fiscal measure, namely the surveillance of money sent to Rome, gravely interfered with the liberty of the Church. The Pope insisted on the withdrawal, or at least the suspension of this decree together with that dealing with the above mentioned Orders. On April 22nd, 1673, he complained to the King himself, but previously to this the Paris nuncio, Nerli, had been informed in the most emphatic terms that the Government had no intention to withdraw the ordinances.[2] It was whilst these incidents were in progress that the Cabinet of Madrid accused Clement X. of pursuing a Francophile policy! Rome was amply justified in replying that the Holy See took no sides in the warlike complications; that its attitude was prompted exclusively by the interests of religion, and that in the widest sense.[3] For this reason Clement X.'s first care at this time was the defence of Poland, that ancient outpost of the Church in the east of Europe. "If Poland succumbs," the Secretary of State wrote on March 11th, 1673, Hungary and Germany are likewise lost, and Italy herself is threatened with enslavement.[4] The Curia accordingly disapproved of the Emperor's and Spain's intention to lend armed assistance to Holland, as this would have made it impossible for them to go to the help of Poland.[5]

[1] *Cf.* P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, April 24, 1673, *Barb.* 6449, Vat. Lib.

[2] GÉRIN, II., 494 *seqq.* *Cf.* App. 13. Altieri's *letter to Nerli, July 11, 1673. Nerli's successor, F. Spada, was directed by his *Instruction, dated January 2, 1674, to protest energetically against the edict (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 432, p. 164 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.). F. Spada, who reached Paris on February 15, 1674, at once brought up the subject at his audience with Louis XIV.; "fu risposto che è un affare meramente politico" (*ibid.*, *Giornale di Msgr. F. Spada).

[3] *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, January 28 and February 25, 1673, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Cifra of March 11, 1673, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 627 *seq.*

Clement X. was unwilling to fall out with Louis XIV., because of the latter's ecclesiastical encroachments, for the King had promised that in the peace negotiations with Holland he would insist on the Dutch Catholics being granted the free exercise of their religion. In this way Rome hoped to secure some compensation for the Church's losses in England.[1] Accordingly the Pope's Brief to Louis XIV., dated April 26th, 1673, besides renewed protests against the March edict also contained warm praise for the repression, by the King's efforts, of the Huguenots and the Jansenists, and his defence of the oppressed Catholics of Holland.[2] As a matter of fact, the King of France did his best in the sequel to confirm the Curia in its belief that his attack on Holland was made chiefly for the advantage of the Catholic religion. From Brussels the nuncio reported that Louis XIV. had condemned seven Englishmen to be burnt at the stake and three other men to be shot because of sacrileges committed by them in some churches. It was further announced that by order of the King Cardinal Bouillon had reconsecrated several churches which had been profaned by the Calvinists, and that money had been set apart for the celebration of religious services.[3]

[1] *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, Rome, April 29, 1673, Vat. Lib.

[2] "Strenue orthodoxae religionis tuendae et propagandae zelo succensus tuo non tantum in regno eiusdem in incrementum totus incubuisti, compressis scilicet eis qui a via veritatis aberrabant et ad debitam Constitutionibus Apostolicis obedientiam authoritate tua reductis, sed fines quoque ditionum tuarum egressus extulisti fidei vexillum, quo gementes sub potestate iniquae dominationis Christi-fideles in pristinam divini cultus exercendi libertatem vindicares." Brief of April 26, 1673, *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] "*Per avvisi di Brusselles come era qui male inteso il poco rispetto portato alle chiese dall'esercito Francese nel passare per li Stati catholici della Fiandra, così ha molto edificato la pietà dello stesso Re dimostrata nel condennare al fuoco sette Inglesi et altri tre alle moschettate in pena dell'indegnità e sacrilegi commessi in alcune chiese nello Stato del Re catholico in Fiandra,

A deep impression was likewise created in Rome by the news that the Vicar Apostolic, John Neerkassel, had been able to appear openly as a Catholic Bishop, and to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi with great pomp as in Catholic times, and that on that occasion four French officers had carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament. At the same time it was learnt that the Jesuits had opened a school at Zwolle and that they were about to do the same in some of the other conquered towns.[1] When news came of the fall of Maastricht the French in Rome had endless stories to tell of the piety of their King, who, they said, had at once given orders for the restoration to the Catholics of all their churches and of their property.[2] Clement seized the opportunity, on July 26th, 1673, to congratulate the King on this success, and to thank him in the warmest terms for all he had done for the Catholics.[3]

However, notwithstanding Rome's great joy at this favourable turn of events, the war was deplored, especially in view of the Turkish peril, and in July, 1673, the nuncios were instructed to work for the conclusion of peace.[4] Similar instructions were also issued to them in August, and the hope was expressed that the peace about to be concluded would procure for the Dutch Catholics lasting religious freedom.[5]

per la rebenedizione delle quali ha mandato il s. card. di Buglione con ornamenti e con buona somma di contante da lasciarsi per il buon culto e per la commodità di quei luoghi sacri non senza merito della religiosità dell'animo della M. sua." Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, July 1, 1673, *loc. cit.*

[1] Brom, *Archivalia*, III., 387 *seqq.*, 408 *seqq.*

[2] *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, July 22, 1673, *loc. cit.* D'Estrées promptly informed the Pope of the taking of Maastricht. "*In questa occasione hanno procurato i Francesi far spiccare la pietà della M. S. publicando il benefitio che ha fatto alla religione col levare tutti i tempii agl'eretici e coll'obbligarli a la restitutione dei beni che erano anticamente della Chiesa."

[3] Appendix 14, *Brief of July 26, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch. Renewed thanks in *Brief of August 22, 1673, *ibid.*

[4] *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, July 29, 1673, *loc. cit.*

[5] *The same to the same, August 12, 1673, *ibid.*

After Rome's fears of the outbreak of war between France and Spain had been realized,[1] Clement X. promptly agreed to the Emperor's suggestion that he should act as a mediator for peace.[2] His nuncios in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, worked indefatigably in this sense, but met with the greatest difficulties. Because the Holy See stood above both parties it did too little for the one and too much for the other! The Elector of Cologne, who sided with Louis XIV., described nuncio Buonvisi as a supporter of Austria, because the latter spoke very frankly; Vienna, on the other hand, accused nuncio Mario Alberizzi of partiality towards France, and the nuncio in Madrid was the object of similar reproaches.[3] The publication of Alberizzi's reports during his nunciature has shown the untenability of these accusations. The only object of the Vienna nuncio's efforts to prevent a rupture between Leopold I. and France was to make sure that the Emperor's troops would be available for the defence of Poland against the Turks. Both he and the Pope could only watch the march of events with sorrow, for whilst Poland, and consequently Hungary too, was threatened by the hereditary enemy of Christendom, the danger of the three Christian rulers of Austria, France, and Spain tearing each other was steadily drawing nearer, and this with the assistance of Protestant States, and even in their defence. Consequently all the Holy See's efforts were for peace[4]; however, though a peace congress promoted by Sweden was held at Cologne, no result was arrived at. On August 28th, 1673, the Emperor and Spain concluded a treaty with the object of forcing France back into her frontiers of 1660, and on August 30th Holland also became a partner to this pact. The effects of this new anti-French coalition, which soon received further reinforcements, were promptly felt in the field also. The Dutch were able to breathe again, more

[1] *Id., ibid.*

[2] *P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, November 18, 1673, *ibid.*; LEVINSON, II., 157, 159.

[3] These instances are given in the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of March 11, 1673, *loc. cit.*

[4] LEVINSON, II., 18 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*

especially as the Anglo-French alliance came to an end in 1674.[1]

In January, 1674, the Cologne nuncio had reported that Holland declined a papal peace mediation[2]; however, undeterred by this disappointment, the papal diplomatists continued their task. By April all the Catholic Powers had accepted the Pope's mediation in principle,[3] but the conflict spread further when the German Empire declared war against France on May 24th, 1674, and the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, on July 1st, entered once more into an offensive league with the Emperor, Spain, and Holland against France.

The Catholic districts did not remain untouched by the vicissitudes of the war. This happened already at the end of 1673, when the Dutch and their allies invaded the territories of the Archbishop of Cologne and the Prince-Bishop of Münster, and the former was forced to flee.[4] In the following year the Governor of the Low Countries, Monterey, garrisoned

[1] IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 78 *seq.*

[2] Letter of O. Pallavicino of January 14, 1674, in BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 796. In his utterances Pallavicino had endeavoured to avoid "di far apparire che la guerra di Olanda non è di religione"; he said that the Pope's Briefs gave no ground for such a view! (see his letter of July 31, 1673, in BLOCK, *Verslag van onderzoekingen naar Archivalia in Italie belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland*, La Haye, 1901, 41). In the spring of 1676 Pallavicino made a trip to Holland, of which he left a description (ed. by BROM, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Hist. Genootschap van Utrecht*, XXXII., 64 *seqq.*). Of the religious conditions, little is said here, seeing that these were the business of the nunciature of Brussels. On the whole peace reigned, Pallavicino wrote, but he feared that the Catholic religion would always remain "serva, e la differenza sarà solo nell'esser trattata più o meno duramente".

[3] *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, May 19, 1674, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 167 *seq.*

[4] Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, November 18, 1673, *loc. cit.*

Catholic towns with Dutch troops, when the Protestant soldiery committed such sacrileges that the Pope saw himself compelled to make representations in Madrid and Vienna.[1] Clement X. was greatly hurt by a report from Brussels to the effect that the French commander in the conquered territories had forbidden all relations with the internuncio in Brussels.[2] To this was added information that Condé's troops behaved no better in the Catholic churches of Flanders than the Protestant Dutch.[3] These reports, which subsequently became even worse,[4] gradually caused the Pope to realize that he had been deceived when he had been assured that the only motive of the French aggression against Holland was the welfare of the Catholic religion. Clement X. no longer hesitated to condemn the undertaking,[5] all the more so as Louis XIV.'s attitude betrayed an intention to reject the Pope's peace mediation. To this end advantage was to be taken of a dispute which broke out in Rome in the autumn of 1674, between the French ambassador, D'Estrées, and Cardinal Altieri.

The extra-territoriality enjoyed by ambassadors in Rome had led to grave abuses, not only in consequence of the right of asylum, but that also of exemption from customs' duties on imported goods allowed to representatives of foreign States. The French envoy, D'Estrées, who was for ever in financial difficulties, took advantage of his privileges in truly cynical fashion, to the loss of the Apostolic Camera.[6] In order to stop this abuse Cardinal Altieri issued a stringent edict on

[1] *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, May 26, 1674, *ibid.*

[2] "*Dice [the nuncio of Brussels] che da' capi Francesi in Tornay, convocatosi un consiglio, si hanno concluso di prohibire ai sudditi delle nuove conquiste il riconoscere l'autorità dell'Internuntio." P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, March 2, 1674, *loc. cit.*

[3] P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, June 9, 1674, *ibid.*

[4] *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, *ibid.*

[5] WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi I.*, Vol. I., 277.

[6] GÉRIN, II., 539 *seqq.*

September 11th, 1674, imposing a duty of 3 per cent on all incoming goods.[1] D'Estrées protested that this was an infringement of his "rights". It was an easy task for him to win over to his view the representative of the Emperor, the Cardinal of Hesse, who had already occasioned a number of disagreeable situations for the Pope and his Government,[2] and not long after he also persuaded the Spanish Cardinal Nidhard and the Venetian envoy Mocenigo to side with him.[3] The four diplomatists resolved to present their grievances to the Pope in a collective audience. When Cardinal Altieri refused to grant their request, as something unusual and unprecedented, they determined to make a joint remonstrance at least with the Cardinal, but the latter informed them that he too could only receive them one at a time. Though the envoys tried to create an impression that they would compel the nephew to receive them collectively, they were refused an audience; Cardinal Altieri even went so far as to put the Quirinal in a state of defence, as if he feared a formal

[1] For what follows, *cf.* the *documents in *Barb.* 5306 and 5640, pp. 309–444 (Vat. Lib.). This last collection is the work of Card. Carlo Barberini. Mocenigo's account in BERCHET, II., 399 *seqq.*, is tinged with one-sided Venetian partiality as are the envoy's *letters in *Barb.* 6449. GÉRIN's account (II., 539 *seqq.*, 568 *seqq.*, 613) is based on French reports. Wholly hostile to Altieri is the "*Narrazione de' disturbi accaduti 1674 fra i quattro ambasciatori di Francia, Spagna, Venezia e dell'Impero con il cardinale Paluzzi-Altieri", which is often found in MS. (ex. gr. *Urb.*, 1693, p. 36 *seqq.*; *Cod. Bolognetti*, 57 and 76). See also LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 174 *seqq.* The quarrel of the ambassadors plays a great rôle in the *Cifre scritte dall' em. Altieri ai Nunzii di Vienna, Madrid, etc., 1674–75 (*Cod.* 26, E. 3 of the Altieri Archives, Rome).

[2] *Cf.* LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 92, 108 *seq.*, 112, 130.

[3] This was all the more remarkable as, according to a report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I. (November 11, 1673, State Archives, Vienna), Hesse and Nidhard had decided, in view of the war between Spain and France, to confine their relations with the French ambassador, within the strictest limits of bare courtesy.

assault. Thereupon, public opinion, which resented the abuse of the exemption from customs dues and had until then supported Altieri, turned against the Cardinal. Almost every day saw the publication of some fresh criticism of his government.[1] All knowledge of the incident had at first been kept from the Pope; it was bound to be particularly painful to him as he was just preparing to offer his mediation for peace.[2] But though they continued to press for a collective audience, the envoys were only received singly. When they declared that they could no longer treat with the Cardinal nephew until he should have given them satisfaction, Clement X. told them that he was prepared to hear them at any hour of the day or night.[3] D'Estrées began to hope that he would succeed in overthrowing Altieri and replacing him by Rospigliosi. The nuncio in Vienna, Alberizzi, fearing lest the Pope should yield unreservedly, urged him to offer a firm resistance to the envoy.[4] The Cardinal of Hesse, in his own impetuous way defended the envoys' rights with even greater vehemence than D'Estrées himself, so much so that even gentle Clement X. found his conduct unbearable, and suggested that he should leave Rome.[5] The four envoys insisted with the utmost obstinacy that they must be given satisfaction. Discussions went on in this sense and in that, until a solution was found at last. The stringent edict of September 11th, 1674, was revoked,

[1] Thus *P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, on December 29, 1674 (*loc. cit.*). These writings include those discussed by RANKE (App. 145), though he does not state where they are to be found, and the following *satires: (1) *La republica christiana* (*Cod.* 33, A. 14, of Bibl. Corsini); (2) *Discorso satirico sopra le simonie della Dataria* (*Cod.* B., IV., 19, p. 79 *seqq.*, of Bibl. Queriniana, Brescia).

[2] *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Emperor and the Queen-Regent of Spain, December 8, 1674, and to Louis XIV., January 5, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.–VII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] GÉRIN, II., 550.

[4] See the characteristic letter of November 21, 1674, in LEVINSON, II., 173 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 56.

on condition that a milder one of June 28th of that year should remain in force; moreover, Cardinal Altieri was made to call on Nidhard and the Cardinal of Hesse to make his excuses.[1] As the Venetian envoy contented himself with this retreat,[2] D'Estrées' plan for the overthrow of the nephew was thwarted; however, he and the Cardinal of Hesse had succeeded in humbling Altieri and in creating many fresh enemies for him.[3] Altieri had also fallen out with Queen Christine. Already at the opening of the Holy Door at Christmas 1674, and again at the blessing of the *Agnus Dei*, Christine had taken offence because she thought she had been slighted. An open quarrel broke out at Easter 1675, when the Queen desired to offer her good wishes to the Pope and Altieri rejected her demand for an audience.[4] Deeply hurt in her royal dignity, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus was loud in her complaints, and even went so far as to utter threats. Cardinal Azzolini, and finally Clement X. himself, endeavoured to calm her, and promised to obtain a written apology. When the Queen insisted on a personal visit of Altieri, the Cardinal made his excuses in so low a tone that Christine's suite could scarcely hear a word. The Queen answered in a very loud voice and an insulting tone that she would forget the offence and inform the Pope on the following day of all that had happened. This she did in fact. Hesse, who was for ever plotting against Altieri, reported with

[1] *Agreement of July 11, 1675, *Barb.* 5307, p. 7 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* GÉRIN, II., 569 *seqq.* It is generally said that Card. Colonna had brought about the agreement, but in his *letter of July 20, 1675 (*loc. cit.*), P. Mocenigo states that it was done "per opera del P. Generale de' Min. osserv. di S. Francesco".

[2] See *Mocenigo's letter of July 27, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[3] Altieri made many enemies for himself from the first, as soon as his influence with the Pope became apparent; see the report of the Card. of Hesse of May 10, 1670. State Archives, Vienna. On May 30, 1671, the latter *reports a dispute between Altieri and the Spanish ambassador (*ibid.*).

[4] For what follows, *cf.* the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated May 11, 1675, *loc. cit.*

great satisfaction to the Emperor on the courage of the woman and the humiliation of the Cardinal nephew.[1]

Clement X. did not allow the persistent conflict between Cardinal Altieri and the French to interfere with his work for peace,[2] on the contrary, he continued it with undiminished ardour though all he earned was sneers from Cardinal D'Estrées and annoyance from Louis XIV. The King suggested as the place of the congress first Breda and then Nymeguen, both of them towns with a predominantly Calvinist population, in which a representative of the Pope could only appear with difficulty.[3] This insistence was very properly interpreted as a proof that France did not want the impartial mediation of the Pope.[4] As Clement X. continued to hope for a change for the better, he put off the nomination of a papal representative to the peace congress; in April, 1675, the nuncios of Vienna,

[1] "*Obstupuit Roma tantum videns in femina animum et tantam in cardinali abiectionem," says the Card. of Hesse in his above-mentioned report. After that it is not surprising that Christine's attempts to get Cardinal Azzolini into the Secretariate of State failed in consequence of Altieri's opposition (*Letter of Mocenigo of July 20, 1675, *loc. cit.*).

[2] "*Dissidium quoque inter regem Gallum et cardinalem de Alteriis perennat." In spite of various, most favourable offers to the French, which were put before the King through Cardinal Bonsy "tamen ad omnia respondisse dicitur nullam cardinali de Alteriis redeundi in gratiam fore viam, nisi sequestri et mediatore suo in urbe legato regiorum consiliorum maxime conscio". Those in the know think "regem nempe hoc toto pontificatu iram demonstraturum, ut Alterianas quas appellant creaturas, ad summum gradum aspirantes metu offendendi regis ab earum promotore alienas reddat." For all that Card. Altieri seeks by every means to recover the favour of the French King "nec tamen proficit hactenus". Report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., September 7, 1675, State Archives, Vienna. The same report says: An old man of Padua, aged 104, was presented to the Pope yesterday "ubi de vita et vivendi ratione ultro citroque dictis, tandem senex donatus a sene dimissus est".

[3] GÉRIN, II., 637 *seqq.*

[4] LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 181.

Paris, and Madrid were instructed to urge the choice of another seat for the congress.[1] By way of a solution of the problem the Spanish ambassador suggested that the papal plenipotentiary should betake himself to some Catholic locality in the neighbourhood of Nymeguen.[2]

The Pope busied himself day and night with his mediation for a peace from which he hoped to derive some advantages for the Catholic religion. At the beginning of October 1675, he resolved to dispatch special nuncios for this purpose to Paris, Vienna, and Madrid. Pompeo Varese, Archbishop of Adrianople, was to be accredited to Louis XIV.; Luigi Bevilacqua, Patriarch of Alexandria, to Vienna, and Peter, Archbishop of Nicomedia, to Madrid.[3] In view of the circumstance that the Spanish nuncio, Fabrizio Spada, had been raised to the cardinalate, Varese was to take his place as ordinary nuncio on completion of his peace mission. However, Louis XIV. demanded that further candidates for the nunciature should be submitted. The Pope refused to comply with this demand, whereupon Louis declared that he would only discuss the question with Varese. As a matter of fact, he did so when Varese arrived in Paris in the spring of 1676.[4]

Though the seat of the peace congress was not yet fixed, the

[1] *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, April 20, 1675, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, the *Cifra of June 15, 1675; also the *Brief to Louis XIV., June 27, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.–VII., f. 269, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cf.* P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, May 18, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Briefs to Louis XIV., the Emperor and the Queen-Regent of Spain, October 5, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.–VII., *loc. cit.* The "*Instruttione per li Nuntii straordinarii spediti alle corti per procurar la pace", *Cod.* 381 of the Library of S. Croce, in Gerusalemme, Rome. Some passages are given by LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 30.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 640 *seqq.* Varese's Instruction (*cf.* LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 32) refutes Morosini's assertion, adopted by RANKE (III., 111), of a "naturale partialità del cardinale Altieri per la corona cattolica".

Pope, on October 5th, 1675, named his plenipotentiary in the person of Fabio Guinigi, Archbishop of Ravenna.[1] When his Instruction was drawn up, it became necessary to decide to what extent the Pope's representative at the congress might enter into relations with those who had fallen away from the Church. At the congress of Münster, Cardinal Chigi, the future Alexander XII., had strictly adhered on this point to the ancient discipline of the Church,[2] with the consequence that his influence on its deliberations had been inadequate. At the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, under Clement IX., the Cologne nuncio, Franciotti, was allowed to depart somewhat from the rigid attitude of Chigi. Franciotti's successor, Buonvisi, received instructions from Clement X. in October 1671, to the effect that he should establish humane relations with non-Catholics and not refuse on principle to have speech, in private, with Protestant envoys. Courtesy, the hall-mark of a cultivated man, was not incompatible with the character of a papal envoy who could display it with excellent results, especially in dealing with such persons as respond more readily to gentle treatment than to the strong impulses of conscience and reason.[3] To Guinigi a middle course was recommended. He was instructed to make a difference in his relations between Catholics and heretics for it would be unreasonable to treat the sworn enemies of the Church as brethren. On the other hand, he must avoid all pettiness by which he would offend the Protestants, irritate the Catholics, and hinder the real purpose of the congress. In particular cases prudence must regulate his zeal; for the sake of the peace of Europe one could make concessions which, without so powerful a motive,

[1] Brief of October 5, 1675, to Louis XIV., *loc. cit.*, f. 335.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 97 *seq.*

[3] TRENTA, I., 294. Here also Buonvisi's account of the invitation to a banquet given by him, with Altieri's leave, to the envoys of Denmark and the Rhine Palatinate, a step that made a great impression and even induced the Elector of Brandenburg to drink the Pope's health at a banquet given by the town.

might give scandal.[1] On February 15th, 1676, Clement X. assured the Emperor that day and night his thoughts were occupied with the peace negotiations.[2] On June 19th, he adjured the Emperor,[3] and on the following day the King of France,[4] to consent to an armistice as a preliminary of peace. On July 15th, he recommended his plenipotentiary for the peace congress, Fabrizio Guinigi, to the German princes.[5] By the time these various letters were dispatched, death had laid its hand on the eighty-six-year-old Pontiff.

With truly amazing energy, Clement X. had stuck to his task all this time and endeavoured to fulfil the duties of his office to the best of his ability. Though from the very beginning of his pontificate he suffered much from gout, and the state of his health was subject to frequent changes, his condition gave no real cause for anxiety.[6] In the jubilee year of 1675, his activity, in view of his age, was still amazing.[7] His entourage only became anxious in 1676, when symptoms of dropsy showed themselves.[8] The Pope, nevertheless, continued to give audiences up till mid-July [9]; but then he was seized with a malignant fever, which the physicians failed to diagnose: this precipitated the end. On July 22nd the Cardinals were

[1] HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 366 *seq.*, who overlooked the fact that LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 31 *seq.*) had already printed a passage of the Instructions and analysed the whole document.

[2] "*Imperatori," on February 15, 1676.

[3] **Epist.*, IV.–V., Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] GÉRIN, II., 641.

[5] **Epist.*, IV.–V., *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* the *reports of the Card. of Hesse, especially those of September 20, 1670, and May 20, 1673, State Archives, Vienna, and the very accurate *reports of P. Moenigo to A. Contarini, August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* above, p. 471; also GÉRIN, II., 595, and P. Mocenigo's *report of August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

[8] GÉRIN, II., 643.

[9] As late as Wednesday, says the **Avviso* of July 17, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch.

summoned to his death-bed ; Queen Christine was also present. Clement X. received the consolations of religion with great devotion and died in the afternoon of the same day.[1]

[1] See the *report of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., dated Rome, July 22, 1676, State Archives, Vienna, and **Avviso* of July 25, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* also the **Avviso* of August 7, 1676, on the burial " vicino la cappella del SS. Sacramento ". Contari (**Memorie, loc. cit.*) accurately designates the " deposito sopra la porta nel pilastro che è di rimpetto al nobile sepolcro della contessa Matilde ".

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXI.

ABBATINI, Antonio Maria, 321.
Abelly (Bishop of Rodez), 400.
Acciajoli, Cardinal Niccolò, 349.
Acquaviva, Cardinal Ottavio, 4, 432, 437 n.
Adrian VI., Pope, 19.
Aiguillon, Duchess of, 150.
Airoldi (abbot), 419 *seq.*
Alberizzi, Cardinal Mario, 151, 480, 498, 502.
Albizzi, Cardinal, 3, 4, 151, 224, 244 *seq.*, 316, 364 n., 381 *seqq.*, 389 n., 395 *seqq.*, 403, 466, 488.
Aldobrandini, Cardinal, 2.
Alexander III., Pope, 107.
Alexander VII., Pope, *passim* 1–313, 314 *seqq.*, 318, 322, 327, 331 n., 334, 338, 344, 349 *seq.*, 361, 369, 375, 385 n., 394, 401 *seqq.*, 403, 406–409 n., 429, 432 *seqq.*, 468, 477 *seq.*, 480 *seq.*, 483, 488.
Alexander Henry (Duke of Schleswig-Holstein), 144.
Alexis Mikhailowic (Tsar), 459.
Alfonso VI. (King of Portugal), 341 *seqq.*
Algardi, 279.
Allaci, L., 328.
Allatius, Leo, 271.
Alphonsus Liguori, Saint, 196 n., 248, 262.
Altieri, Cardinal Aegidio, 349,
Altieri, Angelo (Bishop of Sutri), 436 *seqq.*, 451
Altieri, Cardinal Emilio (afterwards Pope Clement X.), 433, 435 n., 436.
Altieri, Cardinal Giovanni Battista, 316, 323, 433, 438, 452.
Altieri, Gaspar (formerly Paluzzi), 442, 462, 469.
Altieri, Girolamo, 438.
Altieri, Laura Caterina, 442.
Altieri, Lorenzo, 438, 452.
Altieri, Marzio, 438, 452.
Altieri, Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri, 443, 445 *seq.*, 453, 465 n., 472, 478, 481 *seq.*, 488, 500 *seqq.*–504.
Altoviti, Giacomo, 340.
Amadeus Guimeneus, *see* Mateo de Moya.
Amico, S.J., 259.
Andilly, Robert d', 227 *seq.*
Angelo de Chiavasio, 248.
Annat, S.J., 176 *seqq.*, 183, 193 *seqq.*–212, 223 *seqq.*, 352 *seqq.*
Anne (Queen of France), 65, 220, 241, 362 n.
Antonio a S. Maria (Franciscan), 408 *seq.*
Aragona, Cardinal Luigi Guglielmo Moncada d', 133.
Aragona, Cardinal Pasquale d', 131.
Arnauld, Mère Agnes, 353.
Arnauld, Mère Angélique, 171 *seq.*, 353 *seqq.*
Arnauld, Antoine, 173 *seqq.*–268, 353 *seq.*, 359, 366 *seq.*–406, 486 *seqq.*
Arnauld, Bishop Henri of Angers, 183, 200, 223 *seqq.*–268, 350, 371, 376.
Artusi, Giovanni da Piscina, 301.
Astalli, Cardinal, 2.
Astorga, Marchese, 435, 438.
Aubeville, d', 90 *seqq.*, 101.
Auersperg, 348.

Augustine, St., 174 *seq.*, 189.
Auvry (Bishop of Coutances), 202.
Azzolini, Cardinal Decio, 4, 41, 64, 65 *seq.*, 96, 120 n., 151, 316 *seq.*, 319, 324, 330, 342, 354, 364 n , 428, 431 *seqq.*, 433 *seqq.*–503.

Baciccia, 432.
Bagno, Cardinal Niccolò Guido, 81, 130, 198 n., 199, 204 *seqq.*
Balde, Jakob, 277 n.
Baldeschi, 147.
Baldi, Lazzaro, 311, 468.
Baldinucci, 289 *seqq.*
Baltesara, 321.
Bandini, 12.
Barbarigo, Cardinal Gregorio, 131, 316.
Barberini, Cardinal Antonio, 2 *seqq.*, 15 n., 317, 428, 432, 434 *seq.*, 437 n.
Barberini, Cardinal Francesco, 2 *seq.*, 15, 50 n., 182, 320, 420, 432, 451, 471, 472 n.
Barberini, Taddeo, 320.
Bargellini, Cardinal Niccolò, 360 *seq.*, 363 *seqq.*, 366 *seqq.*, 369–377, 379 *seqq.*, 381–406.
Bargellini, Pietro (Archbishop of Thebes), 416, 424, 482 *seqq.*
Barillon (Bishop of Luçon), 486 n.
Baroni, Leonore, 320.
Bartoli, Popario, 289.
Basadonna, Cardinal Pietro, 478.
Bauny, S.J., 259.
Beauvais, Bishop of, 350.
Bellefonds, Marshal of, 403 n., 407 n.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 412 n., 418 n.
Benevoli, Onoratio, 468.
Benginus, Blaise, 328.
Bentheim, Arnold Maurice William of Bentheim-Steinfurth, 145.
Bentheim, Count Ernest William of Bentheim-Steinfurth, 145.
Berenice della Ciaja, 28.
Bernard, St., 196.
Bernard of Babylon (Bishop), 152.
Bernard of Galen (Bishop), 491.
Bernard Gustav of Baden-Durlach (Margrave, Abbot of Fulda), 347.
Bernini, 13, 16, 72, 278–310, 321, 332 *seqq.*–337, 418, 450 *seqq.*, 470 *seqq.*
Bertaud, Bertin, 251.
Bertier (Bishop of Montaubon), 468 n.
Bevilacqua, Luigi (Patriarch of Alexandria), 505.
Bichi, Cardinal Antonio, 20, 26, 130.
Bichi, Giovanni, 20, 87.
Bitonto, Seb. Mele da, 440 n.
Bona, Cardinal Giovanni, 118, 328, 343, 349, 433.
Boncompagni, Cardinal Girolamo, 132.
Bonelli, Carlo, 81, 132.
Boniface IV., Pope, 472.
Bonsy, Cardinal Pierre de, 475.
Boonen (Archbishop of Malines, 262.
Borghese, Maria Virginia, 24.
Borrelli, Giovanni Alfonso, 71.
Borri, Francesco, 469 n.
Borromeo, Federigo (Patriarch of Alexandria), 416, 443, 473, 477.
Borromeo, Cardinal Ghiberto, 4, 8, 64, 315, 340, 362 n., 389 n., 395 *seq.*, 428, 432.
Borromini, 274, 332.
Bossuet (Bishop of Condom), 216, 403, 406, 486 n.
Bouillon, Cardinal, 346, 432, 434 *seq.*, 496.
Bourbon, Anne Géneviève, 353.
Bourdelot (physician), 49.

Bourgeois, 179 *seq.*
Bourges, Jacques, 407.
Bourlemont, Abbé, 106, 110, 114.
Bourseys, 172, 220, 362 n.
Boym, Michael (S.J.), 164.
Bragadino, Cardinal, 86.
Bramante, 451.
Brancaccio, Cardinal, 2, 3 *seq.*, 316, 340, 364 n., 432, 434 n.
Brancati (S.J.), 343, 409.
Brandenburg, Elector of, 134, 134 n., 146, 506.
Brettonvilliers, 172.
Brousse, 178 *seq.*
Brunetti, Cosimo, 182.
Bruno, St. 408 n.
Bulgarini, Agnese, 11.
Buonaccorsi, Buonaccorso, 349, 437 n.
Buonvisi, Francesco, 455, 457 *seqq.*, 461, 506.
Buonvisi, Cardinal Girolamo, 130, 317–433 *seqq.*
Buzenval, Bishop Nicholas Choart de, 213, 225, 375.

CAJETAN of Tiena, St., 468.
Cancellotti, Giambattista (S.J.), 17, 118.
Capponi, Aloisi, Cardinal, 1, 2.
Carafa, Cardinal, 4, 6, 86, 132, 134, 140.
Caramuel (Cistercian), 251.
Carlo da Sezze, 339.
Carpegna, Cardinal, 316, 432, 443, 467, 473.
Carracciolo, Cardinal Iñigo, 132, 437 n.
Cartari, Giulio, 333.
Casanale, Carlo, 364 n.
Casanata, Cardinal Girolamo, 477.
Casati, Paolo (S.J.), 48, 49 *seqq.*, 51.
Casimir (King of Poland), *see* John Casimir.
Cassini (astronomer), 71, 272, 328.
Castellani, Giovanni Maria, 477.
Catherine of Portugal, 481.
Caula, Sigismondo, 3 n.
Caulet (Bishop of Pamiers), 237, 350 *seqq.*, 366 *seqq.*, 393 *seqq.*, 406.
Cellese, Lucrezia, 325.
Celsi, Cardinal Angelo, 132, 364 n., 396 *seqq.*, 433.
Cerri, Carlo, 348.
Cesi, Cardinal, 1, 6.
Chanut (French Ambassador), 45.
Charles II. (King of England), 107, 481.
Charles V., Pope, 333.
Charles XI. (King of Sweden), 456 *seqq.*
Charles (Duke of Lorraine), 421.
Charles Gustav of Wittelsbach (Count Palatine), 41.
Charles Gustavus of Zweibrücken (King of Sweden), 51, 53, 55, 64, 67, 69, 133, 146.
Chaulnes, Duke of, 114 *seqq.*, 117 *seq.*, 244, 324, 350, 417 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*
Chevreuil, 158.
Chigi, Agostino, 10, 23, 25, 279, 282 n.
Chigi, Antonio, 10, 178.
Chigi, Cardinal Fabio (afterwards Alexander VII., Pope), 3, 49, 78, 269 *passim.*
Chigi, Cardinal Flavio, 23, 25–7, 96 *seqq.*, 102, 106, 110–113, 118, 130, 141, 152 *seq.*, 281, 282, 317 *seq.*, 319, 362 n., 395, 428, 432, 438, 444, 500.
Chigi, Mario, 11, 18, 24, 26, 28, 33, 96 *seqq.*–100, 110, 282 n.
Chigi, Sigismondo, 10 *seq.*, 25, 279, 344.
Choiseul (Bishop of Comminges), 179, 202, 225, 227 *seq.*, 366, 486.

Christian III. (King of Denmark), 148.
Christian of Schleswig Mecklenburg, 144.
Christine of Sweden, 37 *seqq.*–77, 94 n., 97, 99, 328 *seqq.*–431, 456, 470, 472, 503, 508.
Chrysostom, St., 189.
Ciampani, Giovanni, 328.
Ciampoli, 14.
Cibo, Cardinal, 2.
Cittadini, Celso, 13.
Clement VII., Pope, 440.
Clement VIII., Pope, 313, 339.
Clement IX., Pope, 314 *passim* to 431, 433, 440, 446, 449, 465, 467, 468, 474 n., 478, 488.
Clement X., Pope, 314, 335, 337 n., *passim* 431–508.
Clement XIII., Pope, 131, 412 n.
Colbert, Charles, 83, 216, 362, 483, 495.
Colbert of Auxerre, 486.
Colonna, Anne, 320.
Colonna, Cardinal, 1.
Colonna, Francesco, 283.
Colonna, Constable, 70, 79, 456 n.
Colonna, Cardinal Federigo Baldeschi, 478.
Comitoli (S.J.), 251.
Confucius, 166 *seq.*, 408 *seq.*
Conring, 139.
Contarini, 131.
Conti, Cardinal Giovanni, 132.
Conti, Prince, 203, 210, 362.
Conti, Princess, 361.
Coquelin, 362.
Corrado, Cardinal, 3, 17, 18, 24, 78, 122.
Corraduci, Altieri, 451.
Corsini, Cardinal Neri, 132.
Cortese, G., 311.
Cortona, *see* Pietro da Cortona, 283 *seq.*
Costa, 2.
Cotolendi, Bishop, 151, 152, 160.
Cottone, A., 73 n.
Crasset (S.J.), 176.
Créqui, Duke of, 91 *seqq.*–107, 112 n. *seq.*, 115, 234.
Crescenzi, Cardinal Alessandro, 443, 480.
Cromwell, Oliver, 82.
Cueva, Cardinal, 1.

Damasus, Pope, 299.
Davison, 61.
Delfinio, Cardinal, 120, 132.
Descartes, 42, 45.
Deschamps (S.J.), 176.
Deslions (Dean of Senlis), 213.
Deydier, 158.
Diana, Theatine, 251.
Donghi, Cardinal Giovanni Stefano, 4.
Doroschenko, 459.
Dorville (S.J.), 160.
Duhamel, Curé, 220.
Dumoulin, 253 *seq.*
Duneau (S.J.), 82 n.
Durazzo, Cardinal, 1.
Du Sault, 215.

Ecchelensis, Abraham, 274.
Elce, Cardinal Scipione, 130, 318 *seq.*, 433 *seq.*
Eleonore of Brandenburg, 39.
Emmerix, John, 323 n.
Erythraeus, Janus Nicius, 270.
Escobar, 190 *seq.*, 251.
Este (Duke of Modena), 2.
Este, Cardinal Rainoldi d', 2 *seqq.*, 96, 97, 317, 432.
Estrées, Cardinal César d', 226, 346, 366, 473, 476, 478 *seq.*, 481, 500 *seqq.*, 504.
Estrées, Duke d', 476, 478 *seqq.*, 481.
Estrées, Marquis d', 493.
Evreux, Bishop of, 400.

Faber, 330.
Facchinetti, Cardinal, 433 *seq.*
Fagnani, Prospero, 127.
Fancelli, Cosimo, 284, 333, 449, 452.
Farnese, Cardinal Girolamo, 130, 318.

Faure, De (S.J.), 409.
Favorito, Agostino, 269.
Fedele, Professor, 308 n.
Felipe Leonardo (O.P.), 409.
Ferabosco, 288.
Ferdinand II. (Emperor), 135.
Ferdinand IV. (Elector), 138.
Ferdinand (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 106.
Ferdinand Mary (Elector of Bavaria), 136.
Ferdinand of Fürstenberg, 18.
Ferrata, Ercole, 284, 333, 449.
Ferri, Ciro, 311.
Ferrier (S.J.), 225, 227 *seqq.*
Feuillade, Duke de La, 421 *seq.*
Filleau, 175.
Filomarino, Cardinal, 1.
Foggini, 345.
Forbin-Janson (Bishop of Marseilles), 478 *seq.*
Foscarini, 483.
Francesco de Malines, 48, 50, 53.
Franciotti, Cardinal Agostino, 3, 415, 506.
Francis Borgia, St., 468.
Francis de Sales, Saint, 96, 128.
Francis of Solano, Bl., 468.
Francis of Vitoria, 250.
Francken, Godfrey, 48.
Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, Cardinal, 131.
Frederick of Hesse, Card., 157.
Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, 39, 499.
Freinsheim, 42.
Fromm, Andrew, 145.
Fulda, Abbot of, *see* Bernard Gustav.
Fürstenberg, Bp. Ferdinand von, 143, 269.
Fürstenberg, Francis Egon von, 139, 141 *seq.*
Fürstenberg, William von, 142, 478.
Furtado, Francis (S.J.), 164.

Gabriel of Kiew (Metropolitan of Ruthenia), 153.
Gabrielli, Card., 2, 432, 442 n.
Gaetano, Abbot Constantine, 273.
Galen, Bernard von, 143.
Galileo, 344.
Gallio, Marco, 140.
Gastalli, Card. Girolamo, 477.
Gaudon, 362 n.
Gaulli, G. B., 332.
Gavotti, Lorenzo, 274.
Genocchi, G., 308 n.
Gerberon (O.S.B.), 487.
Gianetti, Giovanni Francesco, 471.
Ginetti, Card., 364 n., 395, 432, 434 n., 437 n.
Giordani, Vitale, 71.
Giorgetti, Antonio, 333.
Giovanni, Francesco Bolognese, 311.
Girard, 225, 230 *seq.*
Godeau, Bp., 179, 223.
Gondini (Abp. of Sens), 183 n., 220, 354, 358 *seqq.*–384.
Gorkum, Martyrs of, 468.
Govea, Antonio (S.J.), 409.
Gregory VII., Pope, 107.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 340, 465.
Gregory XV., Pope, 129, 477.
Grémonville, Sieur de, 416.
Grimaldi, Card., 103, 318, 437 n.
Grimani, Antonio, 440.
Grimmelshausen, 145.
Grotius, 50 n.
Gruber (S.J.), 160.
Gualtieri, Card., 4, 340, 432.
Guemes, John Baptist (O.P.), 51, 52.
Guidi, 373, 333, 449.
Guimeneus, Amadeus, *see* Moya.
Guinigi, Fabio (Abp. of Ravenna), 506 *seq.*
Gustav Adolph (Margrave of Baden), 145, 473 *seqq.*
Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 37 *seqq.*, 39.
Guyart, Syndic, 176.

Hallier, Bp., 198.
Hameran, 13 n.
Hamon, Dr., 487 n.

Harlay de Champvallon (Abp. of Paris), 486 n.
Harlay de Péréfixe (Abp. of Paris), *see* Péréfixe.
Harlay (Abp. of Rouen), 217, 393, 395 *seqq.*, 399 *seqq.*
Harrach, Card., 1, 2, 5 *seq.*, 317.
Haye, Dr. de la, 213.
Heinsius, Nicholas, 42.
Henri (Bp. of Angers), 375.
Henry (Elector of Bavaria), 139.
Henry IV. (King of France), 418 n.
Henschen, 271.
Hermant, Godfrey, 254 *seqq.*
Heron, 180.
Hesse, Landgrave of, Card., 2, 146, 317, 323 n., 346, 432, 437, 469 n., 479 n., 501, 503.
Hessen-Rheinfels, Ernest of, 146.
Hocquincourt (Bp. of Verdun), 486 n.
Hohenlohe, Count, 145.
Holden, Dr., 183.
Holm, John, 48.
Holstenius, Msgr., 50 n., 54, 71.
Holzhauser, Bartholomew, 142.
Hortense (Duchess de Mazzarin), 456 n.
Houdancourt, De la Motte (Bp. of Auch), 486 n.
Hovyne, President, 267.
Howard, Card. Philip Thomas, 480 *seq.*

Ignatius of Loyola, St., 247.
Imperiali, Card. Lorenzo, 4, 64, 94 *seqq.*, 103, 113, 120, 317, 428, 432.
Innocent X, Pope, 1, 2 *seqq.*, 15, 17, 20, 49, 51, 78, 125, 137 *seq.*, 144, 150, 163, 176, 182, 197, 200, 208, 212 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*, 263, 289, 300, 313, 316, 322, 349, 351, 395, 401 *seq.*, 433, 439.
Innocent XI., Pope, 288.
Intorcetta (S.J.), 409.

Jacob (Patriarch of Greater Armenia), 343.
James (Armenian Catholicos), 154.
Jansenius, 171 *seqq.*–268; 350–406; 482 *seq.*–489.
Jerome of Narni, 126.
John of Austria, 262, 265 *seq.*
John Casimir (King of Poland), 422, 454 *seq.*
John of the Cross, St., 468.
John Frederick of Brunswick-Lüneburg, 144.
John George II. (Elector of Saxony), 146.
Joisel, 199 n., 200 n.
Joseph Mary of Hierapolis, Bp., 153.
Joseph of St. Mary, 156.
Juan de Mendoza (O.F.M.), 162.
Julius II., Pope, 10.

Kanghi (Emperor of China), 408.
Kircher, Athanasius (S.J.), 63, 270 *seq.*, 276, 328.
Köprülu, Grand Vizier Ahmed, 413, 424.
Köprülü, Mohammed, 413.

La Borde (Bp. de St. Brieuc), 179, 486 n.
Lafontaine, 346.
Lalane, de, 225, 230 *seq.*
Lambeck, Peter, 145.
Lambert, Pierre de la Motte (Vicar Apostolic), 151 *seq.*–158, 407.
Lancellotti, Giambattista, 439, 454.
La Tour, Emanuel de, *see* Bouillon.
Laurens, 264.
Laval, François, 152, 163.
Le Camus (Bp. of Grenoble), 210, 364, 486 n.
Le Favre (S.J.), 409.
Leibnitz, 490.

Le Maitre de Sacy, 487.
Leopold I. (Emperor), 52, 104, 108, 110, 136 *seqq.*, 146, 317, 347, 416, 437, 466, 473, 479 n., 493, 498, 501 n.
Leo X., Pope, 10.
Le Sauvage (Bp. of Lavaur), 486 n.
Lescot (Bp. of Chartres), 177.
Lessius, 263.
Le Tellier, 216, 358 *seqq.*, 367, 484, 486 n.
Le Tellier, Abbé, 362 *seq.*, 404.
Le Tourneux, 487 n.
Liancourt, Marquis de, 172 *seqq.*
Lingendes, de (S.J.), 240.
Lionne, Hugues de, 6, 79, 80 *seqq.*, 90, 92 *seqq.*, 98 n., 99, 115 n., 117, 136, 216, 219, 223, 242 *seq.*, 246, 360, 362 n., 364, 366–406, 473.
Litta, Card. Alfonso, 132, 434 n., 465.
Lobkowitz, 347 *seq.*
Lombez, Bp. of, 400.
Lomellini, Card. Giovanni Girolamo, 4.
Loménie de Birenne (Bp. of Coutances), 486 n.
Longueville, Duchesse de, 15, 353 *seq.*, 361, 377, 404, 484.
Lopez (O.P.), 160 n.
Lorenzetto, 279.
Louis Beltram, St., 468.
Louis XIV (King of France), 65, 89 *seqq.*, 103 *seqq.*–105, 110 *seqq.*–121, 136 *seqq.*, 140, 201, 211, 216 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*–268, 318, 328, 242, 347, 350, 363 *seq.*, 380 *seqq.*–398, 406, 413 *seq.*, 416, 417, 423 *seqq.*–428, 473, 478, 483, 490 *seq.*, 493, 494 *seq.*, 498, 504.
Louis XVIII (King of France), 288.
Louise Hollandine (Countess Palatine), 145.
Louis of Celle, 144.
Louvois, 484.
Ludovica Albertoni, Bl., 468.
Ludovisi, Card., 437 n.
Lugo, Card. (S.J.), 1, 15, 20, 314 n.

Maccioni, Valerio, 144, 145, 344.
Macedo, Antonio (S.J.), 46, 49.
Maculano, Card. (O.F.M.). 182,
Maderna, Carlo, 281, 451.
Magalotti, 269.
Maidalchini, Card., 2, 106, 110, 120 n., 318, 432.
Maidalchini, Donna Olympia, 17, 28, 51.
Mancini, Card. Francesco Maria, 131, 318, 432.
Mancini, Maria, 27, 456 n.
Manderscheid (S.J.), 51.
Manessier, 179.
Manfroni, 157.
Mangelli, Andrea, 262 *seq.*, 265.
Mantua, Duke Charles, 10 n.
Maracci, Ludovico, 274.
Maratta, Carlo, 284, 311, 323, 331, 337, 452.
Marca, De, 201, 214 *seq.*, 224.
Marcellus II., Pope, 19.
Marescotti, Card. Galeazzo, 224, 360. 416 *seqq.*, 465 n., 480.
Maria-Anna (Queen Regent of Spain), 414.
Maria (Princess of Savoy), 61.
Marmiesse of Conserans, 486 n.
Marsili, Laura, 11.
Martello, Francesco, 463.
Martini, Martin (S.J.), 164 *seqq.*–169, 411.
Martire, G. 308 n.
Mary Frances of Savoy, 342.
Mary Magdalen di Pazzi, St., 338, 468 n.
Massimo, Camillo, Card., 79, 443, 452, 473.
Mathia, Dr. John, 43 *seqq.*, 45.
Mattei, Card., 3 n.
Mattei, Carlo, 301.

Maximilian, Henry, 142, 344, 491.
Mazarin, Card., 1, 2, 7 *seqq.*, 15, 65, 78 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.*, 89, 121, 135, 171 *seq.*, 182, 199, 201.
Medici, Card., 1 *seqq.*, 57.
Medici, Carlo, Elector, 1.
Medici (family), 316 *seqq.*, 433 *seqq.*
Medici, Card. Leopoldo, 344 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*
Medici, Marie de (Queen), 15.
Melzi, Card. Camillo, 130.
Menzies, Paul von Pitfodels, 457.
Merlin, Clement, 271.
Michelangelo, 298.
Milhard (O.S.B.), 251.
Milton, John, 320.
Miramont, President, 225.
Mirandola, Alessandro Pico de la, 426 *seq.*
Mocenigo (Admiral), 87.
Modena (Duke of Este), 2.
Mohammed IV. (Sultan), 459, 466, 501.
Mohammed V, Sultan, 454 *seq.*
Mola, Pier Francesco, 311.
Monaldeschi, Gian Rainaldo, 66.
Moncada, Card. Luigi Gug. Moncada d'Aragona, 133.
Montalto, Card., 2.
Monte, Marchese del, 457.
Monterey, Count, 493, 499.
Morales (S.J.), 165 *seq.*, 408.
Morosini, Francesco, 419, 482 *seq.*
Morosini, Taddeo, 425 *seq.*
Moya, Mateo de (S.J.), 256 *seqq.*–258.
Murillo, 129.
Mussolini, 308 n.

Naironus, Faustus, 273.
Naldi, Dr. Mattia, 18.
Naldini, Paolo, 333.
Naude, Gabriel, 42.
Navarette, Domingo Fernandez, 408 *seqq.*
Neerkassel, John (Vicar Apostolic), 497.
Nerli, Card. Francesco, 10 n., 18 n., 323 n., 349, 433, 443 n., 476, 477, 495.
Nicholas IV., Pope, 449.
Nickel, Godwin (S.J.), 48, 164, 261.
Nicolai (O.P.), 183 n.
Nicole, Pierre, 206 *seq.*, 406, 487.
Nini, Card. (G.F.), 90, 132, 324.
Nithard, Eberhard (Abp. of Edessa), 346, 475 *seq.*, 501, 503.
Nointel, Marquis de, 489 *seq.*
Norfolk, Cardinal, 480, 481.
Norfolk, Henry, Duke of, 481.
Nouet (S.J.), 193 *seqq.*

Odescalchi, Card., 2, 4, 281 n., 433, 460.
Olanus, Archbishop of, 40.
Olier, 172.
Oliva, Card. (S.J.), 18, 22 n., 24, 59.
Olivares, 80 n.
Olszowski (Vice Chancellor of Poland), 454 *seq.*
Omodei, Card. Luigi, 4, 432.
Ondedei (Bp. of Fréjus), 103.
Orsini, Card., 120 n., 317, 432, 437 n.
Orsini (family), 441.
Orsini, Card. Vincenzo Maria, (O.P.), 475
Osuna, Duke of, 465 n.
Ottoboni, Card. Pietro, 4, 315, 324, 342, 364 n., 395 *seq.*, 428, 432, 434 n. *seq.*
Oxenstjerna (Chancellor), 37, 40.

Pac (Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania), 454.
Pallavicino, Card. Lazarro, 348.
Pallavicino, O., 499 n.
Pallavicino, Card. Sforza 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 60, 73 n., 82 n., 98, 102, 120–2, 130, 260, 269, 272, 314, 322, 324.

Pallu, François (Vicar Apostolic), 150 *seqq.*, 152, 158, 160, 407 n.
Palombara, Massimiliano, 71 n.
Paluzzi, Angelo, 442, 451.
Paluzzi, Card. degli Albertoni, -Altieri, 120, 132, 438, 441, 443, 445 *seq.*, 453, 469.
Paluzzi, Card. Gaspar, 442.
Pamfili, Card., 7, 64, 439.
Paolucci, Card., 130
Pardo, Felipe (O.P.), 411
Pascal, Blaise, 184 *seqq.*–262, 353 *seqq.*
Pascal, Jacqueline, 238 *seq.*, 353.
Pasquino, 323.
Paul III., Pope, 165, 300, 333.
Paul V., Pope, 1, 11, 129, 144, 288, 295, 313, 451.
Paulus Irenaeus, *see* Nicole, Pierre.
Pavillon, Bp. Nicolas of Alet, 209 *seqq.*, 236 *seqq.*, 240, 350 *seqq.*, 353 *seqq.*–406.
Pedro II. of Portugal, 341.
Péréfixe, Hardouin de (Abp. of Paris), 225, 234, 239 *seq.*, 343, 376 *seq.*
Pereira, Pinto, 46.
Peruzzi, 284.
Peter of Alcantara, St., 338, 468 n.
Peter de Arbues, St., 128.
Peter (Abp. of Nicomedia), 505.
Philip Benizi, St., 468 *seq.*
Philip IV. of Spain, 49, 53, 103, 107.
Philip Neri, St., 339.
Piccolomini, Card. Celio, 132, 199.
Piccolomini, Francesco, 47, 261.
Piccolomini, Lelio, 17, 81, 100, 198, 201 *seqq.*, 244, 264 n., 381 n.
Picoté, 172.
Pietro da Cortona, 283 *seqq.*, 310, 332, 336.
Pignatelli, Mario, 347, 420.
Pio, Card. Carlo, 4, 432.
Pirot, George, 256.
Piscop (O.P.), 154.
Pitfodels, Paul Menzies von, 459.
Pius V., Pope, 19, 129, 468.
Plittersdorff, Freiherr von, 348.
Polanco, Juan (O.P.), 411.
Pollini, Alessandro, 269
Pomponne, 484, 490.
Pontan, 263 *seq.*
Portocarrero, Card. Louis Emmanuel, 345, 348, 435 *seq.*
Poussin, Gaspar, 311.
Prieras, Sylvester, 248.
Profuturus, Franciscus, *see* Nicole, Pierre.
Puteanus, Erycius (Hendrik van Putte), 271.

RAFFAEL da Montelupo, 333.
Raggi, Antonio, 280, 333.
Raggi, Card., 2, 432.
Rainaldi, Carlo, 289, 307, 449 *seq.*, 472 n.
Rakoczy, Prince George, 88.
Rancati, 176, 182, 213 *seq.*
Raphael, 10, 305.
Rasponi, Card. Cesare, 12, 102, 106, 132, 346 n., 466 n.
Ravizza, Francesco, 467.
Rebello (S.J.), 1.
Rebolledo, Ct., 51.
Rechigne, Bp. Guron de, 486.
Renaudot, 406.
Retz, Card., 64, 79, 90, 103, 201, 219, 318, 362, 432, 434 *seqq.*
Ricci, Michelangelo, 328.
Riquette (Bp. of Autun), 362.
Roberti, 236, 241, 246, 381 n.
Rocci, Card. Bernardino, 443, 482.
Rocci, Abp. of Damascus, 340.
Roche, 179.
Rondinini, Card., 17, 120.
Rondinini, Natale, 17, 269.
Rosa, Salvatore, 331.
Rose of Lima, St., 338, 468.

Rospigliosi, Camillo, 325, 331.
Rospigliosi, Card. Felice, 326, 476.
Rospigliosi, Giambattista, 325 *seq.*, 330.
Rospigliosi, Card. Giulio, afterwards Pope Clement IX, 17, 18 n., 24, 78, 96, 122, 130, 151, 229, 316, 317 *seqq.*–319 *passim.*
Rospigliosi, Card. Jacobo, 324, 326, 343, 344, 354, 364 n. *seq.*, 386, 398, 406, 414, 417, 420, 428, 432 *seqq.*
Rospigliosi, Tommaso, 325 *seq.*
Rospigliosi, Vincenzo, 326, 419, 423 *seqq.*
Rossi, Giovanni Antonio de', 452.
Rubeis, Benedetto de, 270 n.
Rubeis, Matthias de, 420 n.

Sa, Emmanuel (S.J.), 259.
Sacchi, A., 331.
Sachetti, Card., 2, 3 *seqq.*, 18, 23, 33, 96.
Sacy, *see* Le Maitre de Sacy.
Sagredo, 125.
Saint-Amour, 176, 231, 254.
Saint-Cyran, 353.
Saint-Laurens, De, 373.
Sainte-Beuve, 220 *seqq.*
Sainte-Marthe, 483.
Salmasius, 42.
Sanchez, Francesco Nunez, 286 n.
Sandoval, Card., 1 *seq.*
Sanfelice, Nuncio, 136 *seq.*
Santinelli, Francesco Maria, 66, 67 *seq.*
Sarpetri (Dominican), 408.
Sarpi, 86.
Savelli, Card. Paolo, 132, 282 n.
Savoy, Duchess Regent of, 101.
Scaletta, Prince Rosso, 16.
Schall (S.J.), 159.
Schönborn, John Philip (Elector of Mayence), 137 *seq.*, 141, 145, 456 n.
Schor, Aegidius, 311.
Schor, John Paul, 311.
Schorrer, Christopher (S.J.), 164.
Schwarzenbach, John Henry of, 145.
Seguenot (Orat.), 220 *seqq.*
Séguier, Chancellor, 176, 203 n.
Sévin, Pierre, 329 n.
Sforza, Card., 317, 332.
Shungti (Emperor of Tartary), 159.
Sigismond of Tyrol, 146.
Sinnich, 263 *seq.*
Siri, Vittorio, 100.
Sixtus III., Pope, 337.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 129, 285 313.
Sixtus V., Pope, 333, 449.
Sobieski, John, 454 *seq.*, 458, 460 *seq.*, 462.
Soccino, Mariano, 126 n., 469.
Sourdis, De, 251.
Sousa, Francisco de, 343, 467.
Spada, Card., 7, 8 *seq.*, 18, 29, 151, 316, 431 n., 433 *seqq.*
Spada, Card. Fabrizzio, 495 n., 505.
Spanheim, Ezekiel, 70.
Spinola, Ambrogio, 324.
Spinola, Card. Giulio, 132, 340, 428.
Staudacher (S.J.), 54.
Steno, N., 145.
Strada, Famiano (S.J.), 14, 319.
Suarez de Figuera (S.J.), 162 n.
Suarez, Francis (S.J.), 73 n., 251.
Sulzbach (Ct. Palatine), 60, 145.

Talon (Advocate General), 176, 203 *seq.*, 236 *seqq.*–258.
Terranueva (Ambassador), 5.
Texeira, Isaac, 69.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 478.
Thomas a Kempis, 247.
Thomas of Villanueva, St., 128, 282.
Thun, Card. Guidobaldi, 133, 141.
Tonnerre (Bp. of Noyon), 486 n.
Torquemada, Card., 477.

Tour, Emmanuel de La (Duke d'Albret). 346, 422.
Trivulzio, Card., 2, 6 *seq.*
Turenne, Marshal, 346.
Tuscany, Grand Duke of, 31.

UGHELLI (Ord. Cist.), 269, 271.
Ukraintzeff, 459.
Urban VIII., Pope, 1, 2, 14, 15, 20, 125, 138, 287, 300, 313, 317, 320, 412 n., 439, 451.
Urbino, Duke of, 273 *seq.*

VALIERO, Doge, 86 n.
Varese, Abbot Pompeo, 505.
Van der Veken (S.J.), 270 n., 276 *seq.*
Van Vianen, 264.
Van Werm, 262 *seq.*
Vanni, Rafaele, 279.
Vecchi, Girolamo de', 263 *seqq.*
Vecchiarelli, Card. Odoardo, 131.
Vendôme, François de (Duke of Beaufort), 424 *seqq.*
Vendôme, Card. Louis, 120, 133, 342.
Vettori, Card. Carlo Roberto de', 113, 132.
Vialart (Bp. of Chalons), 179, 354, 365 *seqq.*–406.
Vidman, Card. Cristoforo, 2, 4.
Vidoni, Card. Pietro, 131, 134, 433.
Vieira (S.J.), 161.
Ville, Guiron François de, 420.
Vincent de Paul, St., 155, 172, 209.
Vincent Ferrer, St., 468.
Vinius, 459.
Visconti, Card. Vitaliano, 132, 432.
Vitelleschi, Muzio (S.J.), 14, 261.
Vivonne, Count of, 424 *seq.*
Vizzani, E., 273.
Voisin, 487 n.
Volusius, 145.
Vossius, Gerard, 42.
Vossius, Isaac, 42.

WALDECK, Count Josias von, 420.
Walemburch, Adrian and Peter, 145.
Wansleben, John Michael, 145.
Widenfeldt, 488.
Wisnowiecki, Michael, 454 *seq.*, 457.
Witt, De, 330.

YAGELLONS, House of, 454, 461.

ZETINA, 431.
Zucchi (S.J.), 126.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXII.

INNOCENT XI., 1676–1689.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	v–xii
Election, Antecedents and Character of Innocent XI.	1–37
Innocent XI. and the Defence against the Turkish peril—The Pope's efforts for peace among the Christian Princes—The Congress of Nymeguen—Formation of an anti-Turkish League	38–167
The Relief of Vienna, The Holy League and the war against the Turks in Hungary	168–245
Innocent XI.'s Struggle against Louis XIV.'s Absolutism and Gallicanism—The Assembly of the French Clergy and the four Gallican Articles of 1682	246–325
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Louis XIV.'s violent measures against Innocent XI.	326–405
Innocent XI.'s activity within the Church—Reforms and creations of Cardinals—Jansenism and controversies on moral Theology—Beginnings of the Schism of Utrecht—Condemnation of the Quietist Molinos—State of the Missions	406–467
The North German Diaspora and the Movement for Reunion—Catholics in Holland and the Beginning of the Schism of Utrecht—Innocent XI. and the Revolution in England—Death of the Pope	468–524

ALEXANDER VIII., 1689–1691.
INNOCENT XII., 1691–1700.

Pontificate of Alexander VII., 1689–1691	525–560
The Conclave of 1691—Antecedents and First Measures of the new Pope—Reforms in the Papal States—Building activity in Rome	561–594
Compromise with France—Decisions in Jansenist and Quietist Controversies—The struggle against probabilism—Abolition of Nepotism—Creation of Cardinals—The missions and the question of the Rites	595–658
Misunderstandings between Innocent XII. and the Court of Vienna—The peace and the Clause of Rijswijk—The Election of Augustus, Elector of Saxony, as King of Poland and his conversion to the Catholic faith—The question of the Spanish succession—Death of Innocent XII.	659–690
Index of Names	691–706

For Bibliography, see Vol. XXX.

70955

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXII.

Innocent XI. 1676–1689.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF INNOCENT IX.

A.D.		PAGE
1676	Anticipations of the Conclave	1
	Members of the Sacred College	2
	Odescalchi's candidature	5
	French interference	6
	Election of Cardinal Odescalchi who becomes	10
	Innocent XI.	11
	His early studies	12
	His life of charity, devotion, and asceticism, but	14
	Lacks political acumen	17
	Cardinal Cibo made Secretary of State	19
	The Papal entourage	20
	The finances of the Camera	23
	Innocent XI.'s avoidance of nepotism	24
	His restriction of luxury and entertainments	27
	A review of Rome during this pontificate	31

CHAPTER II.

INNOCENT XI. AND THE DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKISH PERIL—THE POPE'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE AMONG THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES—THE CONGRESS OF NYMEGUEN—FORMATION OF AN ANTI-TURKISH LEAGUE.

1676	Turkish aggression revived under Kara Mustafa	38
	His character and career	39
1678	Plans for offensive against the Turk are	40
	Submitted by Fra Paolo da Lagni to the Pope	41
	Frustrated by Louis XIV. by	45
	Intrigues with Sobieski, leading to	48
	Poland's peace with Turkey	49
	To the surprise of Innocent XI.	51
	His efforts to achieve peace in the West	53
	While himself uncompromised	58
	Bevilacqua appointed nuncio at Nymeguen	59
	His reception there and	63
	Subsequent courteous and tactful attitude	64
1679	The Treaty of Nymeguen signed	71
	Further efforts for peace impeded by	72

A.D. PAGE

The dispute over the papal Brief 74
Results of the peace treaties 77
A Russian–Polish League 84
Negotiations between Poland and the Turks . . 87
Protests of the Holy See 88
Polish–Imperial alliance sought . . . 89
The position in Hungary endangered by . . . 91
French intrigues 93
Denunciation of Poland by the Emperor . . . 97
Endorsed by a papal Brief 98
1679 The Diet of Grodno votes for war and . . . 99
Poland repudiates alliance with Russia . . . 101
French diplomacy 105
Directs the Turkish attack against Austria and . 107
Renders Radziwill's embassy to Austria and Italy fruitless 109
A league desired between Poland and Austria only to be 112
Frustrated by Louis XIV.'s ambassador . . . 113
The Pope strives to create an Imperial–Polish league 118
French intrigues against it cause 120
Grave anxiety at Rome 123
1682 Deceptive relations of Louis XIV. with the Turks . 129
Undermine the attempts for peace 131
War breaks out in Hungary 134
Estrangement between Poland and France leads to . 135
Suggestion of alliance between Warsaw and the Emperor 137
This is delayed by French intrigues in Poland . . 138
Renewal of the negotiations 144
Terms of the agreement 147
1683 The League established 149
The Papal satisfaction expressed by . . . 151
Financial assistance to Vienna, leading to . . 153
Economies and reductions at the Vatican and . . 154
In Rome 157
The personal liberality of Innocent XI. . . . 159
Taxation of Church property supplemented by . 160
Voluntary contributions and 163
A gift, at moment of supreme need, from the Pope . 166

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIEF OF VIENNA, THE HOLY LEAGUE AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS IN HUNGARY.

The War 168
The opposing armies, Turkish and Imperial . . 169
The siege of Vienna 170

A.D. PAGE

Arrival of relief forces 174
Victory over the Crescent 177
Relief of Vienna 178
Thanksgiving in Rome 180
Recognition of Innocent XI.'s share in the achievement 184
His further plans and 185
Successes endangered by 187
The attitude of Louis XIV. 188
Attempts to gain Venice for the League are . . 192
Stimulated by Buonvisi, Nuncio 197
1684 The Treaty of the Holy League finally signed . . 198
Preparations for war against the Turk are . . 200
Jeopardized by the policy of the King of France . 201
His secret purchase of Casale and 202
Siege of Luxemburg 203
Armistice between Spain and the Empire is signed at Ratisbon 204
Papal subsidies for the war in the East . . . 205
The campaign of 1684 is 206
Unsuccessful. 210
1685 That of 1685 demands huge subsidies . . . 217
A new Russo-Polish offensive planned . . . 219
The strenuous efforts of Buonvisi are rewarded. . 221
The fall of Ofen and the death of Abdurrhaman . 225
Further success achieved by Venice. . . . 230
Relations between the Pope and Louis XIV. . . 233
Tension between France and the Emperor . . 236
The Pope's attempts at mediation rendered fruitless by 239
Louis XIV.'s lust for conquest 241

CHAPTER IV.

INNOCENT XI.'S STRUGGLE AGAINST LOUIS XIV.'S ABSOLUTISM AND GALLICANISM—THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FRENCH CLERGY, AND THE FOUR GALLICAN ARTICLES OF 1682.

Gallicanism 246
Embraced and furthered by Louis XIV. . . . 247
The dispute over the *droit de régale* leads to . . 251
The intervention of Innocent XI. 256
His Briefs to Louis XIV. only met by . . . 259
Fresh encroachments on Church prerogatives in France 261
A third and sterner Brief is sent 265
Insubordinate action of the Assembly of French Clergy 271

A.D. PAGE

The affair of the Nuns of Charonne results in . . 273
Increase of tension 275
1681 Four decisions of the " Small Assembly " are . 279
Submitted to Louis XIV. and tolerated by him . 280
An Assembly of Clergy is ordered by the King . 282
Its procedure 283
With regard to the *droit de régale* 289
The " Four Articles " 292
The Pope's distress at the " Four Articles " . . 296
His Brief in response 297
The rôle of La Chaize 299
The dissolution of the Assembly, but . . . 303
Louis still endorses his edict in favour of its resolution 305
Parliament and the University disapprove of the Four Articles 306
Which are also rejected in Spain and Hungary . 310
Further proofs of the Pope's goodwill towards France 313
Ranuzzi sent there as Nuncio 315
His efforts at mediation 318
Meet with little success 320
1688 Final condemnation of the " Four Articles " . . 325

CHAPTER V.

REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES—LOUIS XIV.'S VIOLENT MEASURES AGAINST INNOCENT XI.

The causes leading to the 326
1683 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes . . . 330
Its results 331
1685 An Assembly is convoked by Louis XIV.. . . 332
The Profession of Faith is drawn up and . . . 333
Sent by the Nuncio to Rome 335
The Papal Brief disappoints the King . . . 338
Innocent's further attitude of disapproval . . 341
Encroachments of ambassadors in Rome . . . 342
The so-called " Franchise of the Quarter " . . 343
Venice and Spain the principal offenders . . . 344
Their " Quarters " confiscated 345
France remains unyielding 346
The long dispute is aggravated by 347
1687 Lavardin's embassy to Rome 353
His aggressive conduct and 365
Intrigues with Queen Christine 369
The intervention of the King of England proves useless 371
The election of a coadjutor at Cologne is . . . 376
A direct challenge to the Pope 377

A.D. PAGE

1688 The death of the Elector Maximilian Henry . . 378
Rival candidates for the succession, Fürstenburg and Clement of Bavaria 379
The former vetoed by the Pope in spite of . . 380
The support of his candidature by France . . 381
A threatening letter sent to Rome by Louis XIV. . 384
Infamous treatment of Ranuzzi, nuncio in Paris . 387
Invasion of the Palatinate by the French . . 393
Failure of further attempts at negotiation . . 396
The Papal reply to the demands of France . . 399
Terms proposed by the Holy See 400
Complete failure of Lavardin's embassy and his departure 404
Recall of Ranuzzi 405

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT XI.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—REFORMS AND CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—JANSENISM AND CONTROVERSIES ON MORAL THEOLOGY—BEGINNINGS OF THE SCHISM OF UTRECHT—CONDEMNATION OF THE QUIETIST MOLINOS—STATE OF THE MISSIONS.

Ecclesiastical Reforms, first 406
In Rome and 407
In the Religious Orders 408
Bull is published against nepotism 411
Admonition to members of the Sacred College . . 412
1681 First Creation of Cardinals reluctantly made by Innocent XI. 414
1686 Second and last creation 416
The new members of the Sacred College . . . 417
Correction of the Portuguese Inquisition . . . 421
Papal censures in Poland 422
Innocent XI. and Jansenism 424
The Controversy only interrupted by his death . . 441
Quietism preached by 442
Michael Molinos ; his antecedents 444
His widespread influence 445
His deception of Innocent XI. 446
He is arrested, tried, and condemned to life-long imprisonment 449
1687 Proceedings against Cardinal Petrucci . . . 454
1688 He recants, and is shielded by the Pope . . . 457
The missionary interests of Innocent XI. . . . 458
Difficulties created by the suggested oath of obedience 459
Survey of missions drawn up by Secretary of Propaganda 461
Its contents and findings. 462

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTH GERMAN DIASPORA AND THE MOVEMENT FOR REUNION—CATHOLICS IN HOLLAND AND THE BEGINNING OF THE SCHISM OF UTRECHT—INNOCENT XI. AND THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND—DEATH OF THE POPE.

A.D.		PAGE
	The Pope's attempts to regain the German Protestants and	469
	His consistent firmness are rewarded by	471
	The movement of conversion	473
	His welcome to the converts	474
	Spinola's efforts to reconcile Protestants with the Church	476
	The condition of the Church in Holland	483
	Wonderful religious fervour there	486
1665	Increase of Priests	487
	Invasion of the Jansenist heresy;	488
	Its sinister success	489
	Perils to the Faith in England;	495
1678	Titus Oates' Plot	496
1685	The accession of James II.	499
	His imprudent zeal;	500
1686	He appoints Castlemaine as ambassador to Rome	502
1688	The Revolution in England	509
1689	The last days of Innocent XI.;	515
	His death on August 12	518
	Eulogies and appraisements of the late Pope	519

ALEXANDER VIII. 1689–1691.
INNOCENT XII. 1691–1700.

CHAPTER I.

PONTIFICATE OF ALEXANDER VIII, 1689–1691.

The election of a successor to Innocent XI.	525
The members of the Conclave;	526
Papabili	529
Cardinal Ottoboni becomes Alexander VIII.	530
His early career and character	531
His accessibility and popularity, but	534
His excessive generosity to his relatives	536
His acceptance by all the European Powers	539
His anxiety for religious peace in France;	542
His creation of Cardinals with this end in view	543
His relations with Louis XIV. and with	544
Leopold I.	549

A.D. PAGE

1690 The illness of the aged Pope 550
Last efforts for peace. Brief signed on his deathbed . 551
1691 He expires at the age of 81 552
The pronouncements of Alexander VIII. on . . Gallicanism, on 555
Moral Theology and on Jansenism 556
He erects new dioceses in the Far East 559

CHAPTER II.

THE CONCLAVE OF 1691—ANTECEDENTS AND FIRST MEASURES OF THE NEW POPE—REFORMS IN THE PAPAL STATES—BUILDING ACTIVITY IN ROME.

1691 The opening of the Conclave 561
Its internal divisions 562
Candidature of Cardinal Barbarigo fails 563
Pignatelli's succeeds. He becomes 564
Innocent XII. 571
His previous career 572
His first appointments refrain from all nepotism . 575
A serious accident cripples him for months . . 577
His reforms and innovations are impeded by . . 580
National calamities during his pontificate . . 581
Notwithstanding opposition he achieves success . 582
Controlling luxury and suppressing bribery . . 583
His extensive building schemes 584
His patronage of art 589
The cultural importance of Rome grows during his reign 591

CHAPTER III.

COMPROMISE WITH FRANCE—DECISIONS IN JANSENIST AND QUIETIST CONTROVERSIES—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PROBABILISM—ABOLITION OF NEPOTISM—CREATION OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS AND THE QUESTION OF THE RITES.

Compromise with France ; 595
The peril of schism in France averted 603
The career of Madame Guyon 607
Implication of Fénelon 609
His dispute with Bossuet and 614
His condemnation by the Inquisition 619
His submission 620
Controversies about Probabilism 621
The interference of the King of Spain 624

A.D. PAGE

In favour of Gonzalez, whose book 625
Innocent XII. sanctions 627
Gonzalez' further triumphs 631
1705 His death, still maintaining his opinions . . . 633
Bossuet's attack on Probabilism 634
The Assembly of 1700 635
Its great influence 636
The action of Innocent XII. against nepotism . . 637
His reforms in Rome and among the clergy . . 639
1695 Creations of Cardinals 641
Innocent XII. and Propaganda 645
His solicitude for Christians in Persia and Armenia . 647
1700 The question of Chinese Rites still undecided at his death 648
Jansenism revives in Holland 651
Its protagonist, Codde, summoned to Rome . . 657

CHAPTER IV.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN INNOCENT XII. AND THE COURT OF VIENNA—THE PEACE AND THE CLAUSE OF RIJSWIJK—THE ELECTION OF AUGUSTUS, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, AS KING OF POLAND AND HIS CONVERSION TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH—THE QUESTION OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—DEATH OF INNOCENT XII.

1692 Tension between the Holy See and Leopold I. is . . 660
Augmented by the Viennese envoy, Liechtenstein, and 662
His successor, Martinitz, whom 668
The Pope refuses to receive 671
1699 Peace Congress at Niewburg at which . . . 674
The "Clause of Rijswijk" obtains acceptance . . 675
1696 The death of Sobiesky 676
The election of Frederick Augustus and . . . 677
His profession of Catholicism for political reasons . 678
French intrigues in Rome 681
Illness of the Pope 684
1700 The Year of Jubilee 685
The Question of the Spanish succession . . . 686
Further attack of illness to which 688
Innocent XII. succumbs on September 27 . . 689

INNOCENT XI. 1676–1689.

CHAPTER I.

Election, Antecedents and Character of Innocent XI.

In view of Clement X.'s great age, the Cardinals who entered the conclave in the first days of August 1676,[1] had been concerned for some time already with the election of a new Pope. There exist memorandums from as far back as the year 1672 about the candidates who were considered to have a chance of securing the triple crown,[2] though several of their number had died in the meantime and others, who were not mentioned then, had since come into the foreground. It was impossible to make a sure prophecy about any of the many candidates, for none of the parties disposed of the power of exclusion and still less of that of inclusion[3]; hence it was necessary to reckon with a long conclave.[4]

The Sacred College numbered 67 members, of whom only

[1] Plan in **Barb.* 4438, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Giussani, *Il conclave di Innocenzo XI.*, Como, 1901.

[2] "*Discorso dell' anno 1672 sopra l'elettione del futuro pontefice," *Barb.* 4673, p. 316 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Another copy, *ibid.*, 4653, which has the title: "*Discorso de' cardinali papabili del pontificato di Clemente X." Concerning the conclave, see also *Memorie inedite di Nitard, in the National Library, Florence, *Ms.* 8363 (Maura, *Carlo*, II., Vol. II., 320).

[3] See the *Pronostico* in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, III., 434 *seq.*, and *Discorso primo sopra il conclave de 1676*, in *Conclavi*, III., 5.

[4] See "*Discorso sopra alcuni cardinali papabili, 1676". State Library, Munich, *Cod. ital.*, 178.

44 were in Rome at the beginning.[1] None of the various factions constituted a really compact body. Three of Urban VIII.'s seven Cardinals,[2] six of the thirteen of Innocent X.[3] and two of Clement IX.'s eight [4] followed a course of their own, whilst five out of Clement X.'s nineteen [5] and another five out of Alexander VII.'s twenty [6] refused to follow their respective leaders, Altieri and Chigi.[7]

In addition to D'Estrées the following were considered as avowed partisans of France: Retz, Bouillon, Bonsi, Maidalchini, Grimaldi and Virginio Orsini, to whom must be added, as a result of the dispute with Altieri, the four Venetian

[1] The names of the 67 are given in GUARNACCI, I., 121 *seq.* The gradual arrival of the absent may be gathered from the scrutiny list given below. Cardinals Orsini the elder and Bonelli died during the conclave; see **Avvisi* of August 29 and September 5, 1676, Papal Secret Archives, *Avvisi*, 118. Three were of French nationality: Retz, Bouillon, D'Estrées; two Spanish: Aragona, Portocarrero; three Germans: Bernard Gustavus of Baden, Frederick of Hesse and Nidhard; one English: Howard; all the others were Italians. This disproportion in the representation of the non-Italian nations was bitterly complained of by the Cardinal of Hesse in a *Report to Leopold I. dated Rome, November 3, 1674. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Francesco Barberini, Carpegna the elder, Gabrielli, Orsini the elder, Facchinetti, Grimaldi and Rossetti.

[3] Ludovisi, Cibo, Odescalchi, Raggi, Retz, Omodei, Ottoboni, Albizzi, Pio, Maidalchini, Frederick of Hesse, Barberini the younger and Azzolini.

[4] Giacomo Rospigliosi, Bouillon, Portocarrero, Cerri, Pallavicini, Sigismondo Chigi, Acciaioli and Buonaccorsi.

[5] Massimo, Carpegna the younger, D'Estrées, Bernard Gustavus of Baden, Bonsi, Nidhard, Vincenzo Maria Orsini, Colonna, Nerli, Gastaldi, Crescenzi, Marescotti, Rocci, Albizzi, Spada, Howard, Felice Rospigliosi, Casanata and Basadonna.

[6] Flavio Chigi, Buonvisi, Bichi, Franzoni, Vidoni, Barbarigo, Aragona, Boncompagni, Litta, Corsini, Bonelli, Piccolomini, Carafa, Paluzzi-Altieri, Conti, Nini, Spinola, Caracciolo, Delfino and Savelli.

[7] See *Discorso primo in Conclavi*, III., 40.

Cardinals Ottoboni, Barbarigo, Delfino and Basadonna and some others, especially among the Cardinals created by Clement IX., so much so that the French ambassador, D'Estrées, brother to the Cardinal of the same name, could count on twenty votes. The Spanish-Imperial party was likewise imposing, for the two Spaniards and the three Germans were reinforced by a number of Alexander VII.'s and Clement X.'s Cardinals who were in receipt of Spanish pensions. Though the so-called *Squadrone volante* consisted of only seven electors, viz. Ludovisi, Cibo, Odescalchi, Raggi, Omodei, Azzolini and Albizzi, its influence was considerable on account of the personal qualities of its members and their independence of the secular Powers.[1]

In view of Louis XIV.'s well-known hostility to Cardinal Altieri, none of the many members of the Sacred College who were reputed *papabili*,[2] could be considered as a possible candidate if he had anything to do with Clement X.'s nephew.[3] In like manner none of the *papabili* of Chigi's party had any serious prospects [4]; on the other hand two of Innocent X.'s Cardinals could cherish extraordinary hopes, viz., Cibo and Odescalchi. They were close friends as well as men of merit; Odescalchi in fact enjoyed the reputation of a Saint. People spoke of him as the Charles Borromeo of the Sacred College [5] and it was known that not only did he not aspire to the tiara but that, on the contrary, he sought to escape it. All contemporary reports are full of his praise; they describe him as an extraordinarily devout man, a stern defender of the Church's immunity, a father to the poor, an enemy of

[1] See *Discorso secondo, ibid.*, 42–4.

[2] The *Discorso secondo* (*ibid.*, 47) gives 14; the *Discorso* in Giussani, 49 *seqq.*, gives the characteristics of 20 " concorrenti al papato ".

[3] See " *Lettera politica sopra l'elettione del futuro pontefice ", dated August 3, 1676, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, f. 3, n. 3334.

[4] See *ibid.*

[5] See Lippi, ed. Berthier, 37, n. 1.

nepotism and an advocate of ecclesiastical and secular reform.[1] Small wonder if public opinion had it from the outset that he would be the next Pope, though it was feared that the circumstance of his having been a subject of the King of Spain would render him suspect to the French who had already opposed him in the previous conclave.

None of the Cardinals could fail to realize how much depended on the attitude of the powerful King of France. Even Altieri had sought to conciliate the French immediately after his uncle's death. But this attempt at a rapprochement failed.[2] How little the French King, in his pride over his political triumphs, was disposed to conciliation, appears from the fact that he did not even deign to answer Altieri but contented himself with the remark, in a letter to Chigi and Rospigliosi, that he left it altogether to the judgment of his ambassador and the members of his party whether or no they were prepared to hold out to Altieri a hope of forgiveness.[3]

[1] See the *Discorso politico* in GIUSSANI, 44. *Cf. Discorso primo, loc. cit.*, 24, where Odescalchi is called "la gloria del sacro collegio"; the *Pronostico* in DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 436 *seq.*, and the "*Compendioso ragguaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X." in *Barb.* 5704, Vatican Library. The author of the *Lettera politica of August 3, 1676 (*cf.* above, p. 3, n. 3), which Cerri and Facchinetti also designate as very hopeful, says: "Odescalchi tiene il primo luogo nel merito de' porporati, la di cui bontà è così grande nell' opinione di Roma tutta che non ha alcuna difficoltà di canonizzarlo per santo. E tale lo disse ultimamente il card. Chigi alla principessa di Rossano, pregiandosi d'haverlo in conclave vicino alla propria cella. Questa prima base tanto necessaria a formare il solio del supremo sacerdotio si stima così solida in questo soggetto che quando fosse esaltato alla cattedra di Pietro fosse per renderla adorata agl' istessi nemici della chiesa" (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna). On Cibo, see L. MUSSI, *Il Cardinale Alderano dei principi Cibo-Malaspina*, Massa, 1913.

[2] See the *Report of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., July 22, 1676, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] See PETRUCELLI, III., 285.

The conclave received his royal answer on August 15th: its consequence was that Altieri, heedless of the French, began to work openly for the election of Odescalchi. His first step was to come to an arrangement with Cardinal Nidhard, the leader of the Spanish party.[1] However, at first Odescalchi, like all the others, failed to secure any considerable number of votes; only on the afternoon of August 15th did he obtain eight votes, and ten on the following day.[2]

[1] See the report in DÖLLINGER, III., 442; GIUSSANI, 66; WAHRMUND, *Ius exclusivae*, 155.

[2] Instead of the quite unreliable accounts of the scrutinies hitherto known through the *Discorso terzo sopra il conclave* (*Conclavi*, III., 98 *seqq.*), we give here the *account of *Cod. Barb.* 4438 of the Vatican Library. (The second number indicates the *Accessi*):

p. 4, die 3 [Augusti]: Cybo 2/2, Odescalchi 11/3, Bonvisius 1, Fransonus 1/1, Corsinus 5/2, Bonellus 1/1, Piccolomini 2/2, Carafa 3/3, Rospigliosi 2, De Maximis 1, Nidardus 1, S. Sixti 1/2, Columna 1, Nerlius 3/1, Marescotti 2, Albericius 2/1, De Nortfolck 3/1, praesentes 44, aegr. abs. 2: abs. a curia 7, extra concl. 16, nemini 25.

p. 6, die 3: Cybo 1/3, Odesc. 9/4, Carafa 3/5, Spinola 3/1, Nerlius 4/3, nemini 19, praesentes 45.

p. 8, die 4: Odesc. 7/2, Carafa 2/5, Spinola 1/4, Carpineo 2/2, Maresc. 5, nemini 18.

p. 10, die 4: Odesc. 5/6, Barbadicus 1/3, Nerlius 4/3, Maresc. 5/2, nem. 19.

p. 12, die 5: Odesc. 4/6, Carafa 5/2, Maresc. 4/3, nem. 14, praes. 46.

p. 14, die 5: Odesc. 4/3, nem. 13.

p. 16, die 6: Odesc. 4/5, nem. 16.

p. 18, die 6: Barb. 1/5, Odesc. 6/5, nem. 12, praes. 47.

p. 20, die 7: Odesc. 3/7, Rosp. 3/4, nem. 14, praes. 48.

p. 22, die 7: Odesc. 3/7, De Albit. 2/1, nem. 14.

p. 24, die 8: Odesc. 4/4, De Albit. 1/4, nem. 14.

p. 26, die 8: Barb. 1/5, Odesc. 2/8, De Albit. 1/6, Barbadicus 4/6, nem. 13, praes. 49.

p. 28, die 8: Odesc. 2/8, Barbad. 4/6, nem. 3.

p. 30, die 8: Odesc. 4/7, Carafa 6/1, nem. 18.

Contrary to Altieri's view, Chigi and Rospigliosi were of opinion that D'Estrées, as France's representative, should be sounded on the subject of Odescalchi's candidature. The latter declared that he had no objection to Odescalchi's person, but that he objected to the way in which propaganda was being made for him. On the following day the Cardinals learned even more definitely, through Cardinal Delfino, how much D'Estrées resented the fact that the Spaniards worked for the election of "a vassal" of Spain, especially as he had been put forward by Altieri, the enemy of his sovereign; they must wait for the arrival of the French Cardinals, he had said, otherwise he would be obliged "to put his hand to his sword", that is, to make use of the right of exclusion.[1] This threat made such an impression that most of the Cardinals gave way. It was resolved to wait for the arrival of the French and with a view to removing all suspicion, only a few electors voted for Odescalchi, nor did a change occur after the arrival in Rome, at the end of August,

p. 32, die 9: Odesc. 4/7, Carafa 5/3, nem. 19, praes. 50.
p. 34, die 9: Odesc. 4/8, Barbad. 3/4, nem. 15.
p. 36, die 10: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 26, praes. 51.
p. 38, die 10: Odesc. 2/4, Barbad. 1/5, Carafa 8/1, Maresc. 4/2, nemini 27.
p. 40, die 11: Cybo 3/4, Odesc. 4/3, Alberic. 6/2, nem. 25.
p. 42, die 11: Odesc. 3/4, Piccol. 6/1, nem. 25.
p. 44, die 12: Odesc. 5/4, nem. 25, praes. 52.
p. 46, die 12: Odesc. 2/6, Barbad. 3/5, nem. 16.
p. 48, die 13: Odesc. 4/5, Barbad. 4/6, Carafa 7/3, Crescent. 4/1, nem. 21.
p. 50, die 13: Odesc. 5/3, Barbad. 3/11, nem. 21.
p. 52, die 14: Odesc. 5/6, nem. 24.
p. 54, die 14: Odesc. 3/3, Alberic. 5/3, nem. 20.
p. 56, die 15: Odesc. 5/8, Carafa 6/2, nem. 20.
p. 56, die 15: Odesc. 5/8, Carafa 6/2, nem. 20.
p. 58, die 15: Odesc. 8/13, Alberic. 7/2, nem. 17.
p. 60, die 16: Odesc. 10/9, Carafa 3/4, Rosp. 2/4, nem. 21.

[1] See Card. Carlo Pio's report of August 22, 1767, in WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 279.

of Cardinals Retz, Bouillon, Bonsi and Maidalchini.[1] The French ambassador received the latter with unusual pomp.

[1] Already in the second scrutiny of August 16, Odescalchi had only 5/7, Rocci 3/2, nem. 25 votes; in the third scrutiny of the same day Odescalchi had 5/7, Carafa 4/3, nem. 25. On the further scrutinies, *Cod. Barb.* 4438 (Vatican Library) reports:

p. 66, die 17: Augusti: Odesc. 3/9, Barbad. 5/3, Carafa 8/3, nem. 20, praes. 53.

p. 68, die 17: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 31.

p. 70, die 18: Odesc. 2/9, nem. 30, praes. 54.

p. 72, die 18: Odesc. 2/5, nem. 31.

p. 74, die 19: Barb. 4/1, Odesc. 1/7, Alber. 6/3, nem. 33, praes. 55.

p. 76, die 19: Odesc. 2/9, Caracc. 3, nem. 31.

p. 78, die 20: Odesc. 3/5, nem. 32.

p. 80, die 20: Odesc. 3/6, nem. 30.

p. 82, die 21: Odesc. 1/9, Carafa 8/2, Alber. 5/2, nem. 31.

p. 84, die 21: Barb. 6, Odesc. 2/6, Ottob. 2/4, nem. 31.

p. 86. die 22: Odesc. 2/7, Alber. 5/2, nem. 30.

p. 88, die 22: Odesc. 3/6, nem. 29.

p. 90, die 22: Barb. 4/2, Odesc. 3/6, nem. 29.

p. 92, die 23: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 30.

p. 94, die 23: Barb. 5/3, Odesc. 2/8, nem. 28.

p. 96, die 24: Odesc. 4/10, Carafa 6, nem. 26.

p. 98, die 24: Odesc. 1/8, nem. 28.

p. 100, die 25: Odesc. 2/7, nem. 28.

p. 102, die 25: Odesc. 2/6, Cresc. 3/5, nem. 25.

p. 104, die 26: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 28.

p. 106, die 26: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 26.

p. 108, die 27: Odesc. 2/7, nem. 24.

p. 110, die 28: Odesc. 3/8, Piccol. 3/2, nem. 26.

p. 112, die 28: Odesc. 2/8, Alber. 4/5, nem. 24.

p. 114, die 29: Odesc. 2/8, nem. 24.

p. 116, die 29: Odesc. 2/5, nem. 25.

p. 118, die 29: Odesc. 2/5, Carafa 5, nem. 25.

p. 120, die 30: Odesc. 2/5, Spin. 3/2, Rocci 3/2, nem. 31.

p. 122, die 30: Odesc. 2/4, Alber. 4/2, nem. 30.

p. 124, die 30: Barb. 6/2, Odesc. 3/6, nem. 29, praes. 56.

The French Cardinals entered the conclave on Sunday according to Carlo Luigi Scappi's *report of September 2, 1676, State Archives, Bologna.

When on August 20th he escorted them to the conclave with a splendid retinue, he forcibly tore away the chain in front of the steps of St. Peter's which it was customary to remove for the Pope alone. The newcomers' conduct was no less arrogant; they openly declared that, in obedience to the command of their King, they could have nothing to do with Altieri and the Cardinals of the last promotion.[1]

However, the French party could not long maintain such an attitude. One of its members, Cardinal Grimaldi, who entered the conclave on September 7th, observed towards Altieri and his followers the same courtesy as towards all the others. With the arrival, within the next few days, of the Emperor's representative, the Cardinal of Baden, and Cardinal Ludovisi, the number of the electors rose to 63,[2] though none of the subsequent scrutinies yielded any result.[3] The cause of this failure lay in the fact that already

[1] See PETRUCELLI, III., 289; WAHRMUND, 156–157.

[2] See the **Avvisi* of September 5 and 12, 1676, Papal Secret Archives, and the *Report of C. L. Scappi of September 9, 1676, State Archives, Bologna.

[3] **Cod. Barb.* 4438 (Vatican Library) reports:

p. 126, die 31 [Augusti]: Odesc. 4/4, Barbad. 7/1, nem. 29, praes. 56.

p. 128, die 31: Barb. 6/3, Odesc. 1/5, Retz 2/4, nem. 27.

p. 130, die 1 [Sept.]: Odesc. 3/6, Rosp. 4/3, nem. 30.

p. 132, die 1: Barb. 7/3, Grim. 3/1, Odesc. 2/6, nem. 32.

p. 134, die 2: Odesc. 3/6, Rosp. 3/4, nem. 35.

p. 136, die 2: Barb. 8/4, Odesc. 4/4, nem. 33.

p. 138, die 3: Odesc. 3/9, nem. 31.

p. 140, die 3: Odesc. 2/7, Alber. 4/4, nem. 32.

p. 142, die 4: Odesc. 3/6, nem. 32.

p. 144, die 4: Barb. 7/1, Odesc. 1/9, Alber. 6/3, nem. 30.

p. 146, die 5: Odesc. 2/5, Cresc. 1/4, Nortfolck 1/4, nem. 27.

p. 148, die 5: Odesc. 2/5, nem. 27.

p. 150, die 5: Odesc. 2/4, Alber. 5/3, nem. 28.

p. 152, die 6: Odesc. 2/6, Alber. 5/4, nem. 27.

p. 154, die 6: Grim. 4/1, Odesc. 1/6, nem. 27.

p. 156, die 6: Odesc. 3/7, Carafa 6/2, Cresc. 1/6, nem. 23.

p. 158, die 7: Odesc. 2/7, Cresc. 1/6, nem. 28, praes. 61.

on August 22nd D'Estrées had dispatched a courier to Louis XIV. to ask for his consent to Odescalchi's election. The same courier was likewise the bearer of letters of Cardinals Chigi and Rospigliosi in which they very warmly recommended Odescalchi, representing him as if he were the victim of Altieri's manœuvres. In this way an impression was created that the King's ardent wish to see the election of a Pope

p. 160, die 7 : Grim. 4/3, Odesc. 4/4, Cresc. 1/7, nem. 28.
p. 162, die 8 : Grim. 5/2, Odesc. 5/6, Baden 1/3, nem. 28, praes. 62.
p. 164, die 8 : Odesc. 2/5, Rosp. 4/3, nem. 26.
p. 166, die 9 : Odesc. 4/4, nem. 25.
p. 168, die 9 : Odesc. 4/4, Vidonus 3/1, nem. 25.
p. 170, die 9 : Odesc. 2/5, Alber. 6/4, nem. 28.
p. 170, die 9 : Odesc. 2/5, Alber. 6/4, nem. 28.
p. 172, die 10 : Odesc. 4/5, Cresc. 2/5, nem. 28, praes. 63.
p. 174, die 10 : Odesc. 3/9, nem. 28.
p. 176, die 11 : Odesc. 4/3, Cresc. 1/7, Alber. 7/3, nem. 29.
p. 178, die 11 : Odesc. 4/8, nem. 28.
p. 180, die 11 : Odesc. 4/8, nem. 28.
p. 182, die 12 : Odesc. 1/7, nem. 27.
p. 184, die 12 : Odesc. 2/6, nem. 31.
p. 186, die 13 : Odesc. 3/3, nem. 26.
p. 188, die 13 : Odesc. 3/3, Alber. 4/4, nem. 26.
p. 190, die 13 : Odesc. 3/6, Alber. 6/2, nem. 28.
p. 192, die 14 : Odesc. 1/7, nem. 28.
p. 194, die 14 : Odesc. 4/6, Alber. 5/4, nem. 28.
p. 196, die 15 : Odesc. 2/7, Rocci 5/1, nem. 27.
p. 198, die 15 : Odesc. 3/6, Carafa 7/3, nem. 28.
p. 200, die 16 : Odesc. 3/6, nem. 27.
p. 202, die 16 : Odesc. 5/3, nem. 31.
p. 204, die 17 : Odesc. 4/6, Carafa 7, nem. 29.
p. 206, die 17 : Odesc. 3/4, Alber. 4/5, nem. 30.
p. 208, die 18 : Odesc. 2/6, Alber. 3/6, nem. 27.
p. 210, die 18 : Odesc. 3/5, nem. 32.
p. 212, die 19 : Odesc. 6/2, Alber. 5/5, Casanata 1/4, nem. 30.
p. 214, die 19 : Odesc. 4/5, nem. 28.
p. 216, die 20 : Odesc. 4/7, nem. 31.
p. 218, die 20 : Barb. 6/1, Odesc. 4/4, Rosp. 4/1, Alber. 5/2, nem. 30.

who would be hostile to the Cardinal nephew, could not be more effectively fulfilled than by the elevation of Odescalchi. The correctness of this surmise was seen when Louis XIV.'s answer arrived on September 13th. In it the King said he approved Odescalchi's election, with the reservation that his own royal prerogatives should not be tampered with.[1] In pursuance of this instruction the French ambassador, D'Estrées, presented himself on September 20th at the door of the conclave, for the purpose of delivering the King's reply to the letter by which the Sacred College had informed him of the death of Clement X. On this occasion D'Estrées made a speech in which he urged the election of a suitable Pope; he did not mention Odescalchi's name, but everyone knew that the latter was meant.[2]

There followed the scrutiny of September 21st at which Odescalchi received 20 votes and 42 *accessi*.[3] Odescalchi reluctantly accepted the election, but only after insisting on the fourteen articles of a reform already proposed at the last conclave being signed and sworn to by all the Cardinals. This election capitulation was the personal work of Odescalchi who had had no thought of his own elevation to the Chair of St. Peter. The document, which now became the programme of his government, had for its main object the care of the Congregations of the Holy Office and Propaganda, a general moral reform, the choice of Bishops and parish priests, the diminution of clerical luxury, the restriction of expenditure in view of the exhaustion of the Camera, the regulation of

[1] *Cf.* F. A. Pelzhoffer, *arcana status*, Frankfurt, 1711, lib. 7, p. 340 *seqq.*; Wahrmund, *loc. cit.*, 157 *seq.*

[2] See the account of the conclave in Eisler, 166. The *Discours de M. le duc D'Estrées in *Barb.* 4664, p. 69-70, Vatican Library.

[3] **Barb.* 4438 (Vatican Library) reports on p. 226, concerning the scrutiny of September 21: Barb. 7/1, Fachinettus 1, Grim. 2, Cybo 1, Odesc. 20/42, Retz 1, Chisius 1, Bonvis. 1, Fransonus 1, Vidonus 1, Barbad. 2, De Arag. 1, Boncomp. 1, Litta 1, Cors. 3, Piccol. 3, Carafa 5, Caracc. 1, Rosp. 4, Cerrus 2, Nidardus 4, nem. 20, praes. 63.

the grain trade, the reform of justice and public administration especially with regard to taxes and monopolies, regard for the advice of the Cardinals in ecclesiastical and governmental questions, confirmation of their traditional privileges, and lastly, the peace and concord of Christendom.[1] Odescalchi's election was hailed in Rome with loud jubilation.[2] His excellent qualities, wrote the envoy of Bologna, were well known.[3] In memory of the Pope who had raised him to the purple Odescalchi took the name of Innocent XI.

Benedetto Odescalchi was a native of Como, where to this day the house can be seen in which he was born on May 19th, 1611.[4] His was an old family which had become rich by trade; it could also boast a number of outstanding personalities distinguished in the service of the Church, notably Bernardo Odescalchi, a friend of Michele Ghislieri, the future Pope Pius V., who was instrumental in settling the Jesuits and the Capuchins at Como, and Pietro Giorgio, the saintly Bishop, first of Alessandria and subsequently of Vigevano (*obiit* 1620).[5]

Benedetto Odescalchi began his studies with the Jesuits at

[1] See the Report in Döllinger, III., 441, and Giussani, 67. Giussani, 69 *seqq.*, and Bojani, I., 31 *seqq.*, give the text of the election capitulation; on the same, Lulvès in *Quellen u. Forschungen*, XII., 231 *seqq.*

[2] *Report of the Florentine ambassador Montauti of September 21, 1676: "Nè può dirsi quanto sia grande il giubilo del popolo, perchè veramente era [Odescalchi] in somma stima," State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Letter of C. L. Scappi of September 21, 1676, State Archives, Bologna.

[4] See M. G. Lippi, *Vita di P. Innocenzo XI.*, ed. Berthier (*cf.* Appendix, 18).

[5] See *ibid.*, 3 *seq.*; Novaes, XI., 3. Concerning Bernardo Odescalchi, *cf.* the present work, Vol. XVII, 48, *ibid.*, for the papal diplomatist Paolo Odescalchi. An "*Albero genealogico" in the Odescalchi Archives, Rome, *Arm.*, I., D. VIII., n. 1. For the Family, see also Ciampini, *Elenco degli Abbrev.*, XXV.; for the Army, see Pasini Frassoni, *Armorial*, 45 *seq.*

Como, and in 1636 he went to Genoa and Rome.[1] At that time he had not thought of becoming a priest. His ambition was, on the contrary, to embrace a military career. This desire was not realized,[2] for the Spanish Cardinal, Cueva, to whom he had been recommended, persuaded him to read law. He took his doctorate in this branch of learning at Naples. At the same time, as a result of his relations with two Capuchins, the desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state matured in him. Returning to Rome, he found influential patrons in Cardinals Francesco Barberini and Pamfili who recommended him to Urban VIII. The Pope made Benedetto a *Protonotario participante*, and a Commissary General in the Marches where he gave proof of great gentleness in the collection of the taxes for the war of Castro. After he had splendidly discharged the functions of Governor of Macerata, Pope Innocent X., then newly elected, made him a cleric of the Camera, and on March 6th, 1645, he raised him to the cardinalate.[3]

So rapid a rise of a man only thirty-four years old gave occasion for the calumnious insinuation that Odescalchi had bought, by means of presents, the favour of the influential

[1] Letters of Odescalchi from Rome, 1637, have been published by MONTI in *Period. della Soc. stor. per la dioc. di Como*, XVI.; 188 *seqq.*

[2] The assertion that B. Odescalchi performed military service is contested with good reason by A. I. A. TURREREZZONICO (*De suppositiciis militaribus stipendiis B. Odescalchi*, Comi, 1742), and by MAMACHI (**Liber singularis*, cap. 4, 4, Odescalchi Archives, Rome; *cf.* Appendix, Nr. 18). The Pope himself could deny it with good reason (see LIPPI, 7). The assertion is already found in P. A. Pancetti, "*Descrizione della vita di molti pontefici da Alessandro IV. sino al regnante Clemente XI." (completed 1718), in the *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich; the assertion rests on a confusion with another Odescalchi; FRAKNOI (*Innocenz* XI., 21) seems inclined to give it credit. However, already SCHRÖCKH (*Kirchengesch.*, VI., 334) recognized the weakness of the proofs adduced by Bayle. *Cf.* also PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, III., 303, and below, p. 40.

[3] See LIPPI, 7–10.

Olimpia, but there is no proof of this.[1] The elevation is accounted for by Odescalchi's previous relations with Innocent X. who appreciated Benedetto's sincere piety, especially his great liberality towards the poor, of which he had given proof even in his youth.[2]

Innocent X. sent the new Cardinal, the "father of the poor", as Legate to Ferrara which had been visited by famine: he did excellent work there until 1650. During the next four years he occupied the See of Novara where by means of visitations and synods, he strove to reform the clergy of that diocese. Besides his liberality, another feature of his character began to show itself then: this was a conscientiousness degenerating into scrupulosity when there was question of appointments to ecclesiastical positions, with the result that there were eventually 300 vacant posts.[3] As the climate of Novara was bad for his health, he prayed the new Pope, Alexander VII., to bestow the bishopric on his brother, Giulio Maria Odescalchi. He only reserved for himself an annual pension of 300 scudi which he ordered to be distributed to the poor of Novara; as a matter of fact all his life he retained a strong attachment to his diocese on which he never ceased to bestow considerable subsidies.[4]

Since 1656 the Cardinal had led a quiet and retired existence at the Curia. He was indefatigable in his works of mercy which attracted universal attention during the plague and on the occasion of the inundation of the Tiber.[5] He took

[1] See besides Lippi, 11 and 209, the detailed statement of Mamachi against Bayle. *Cf. Anal. iur. pontif.*, XI. (1872), 297 *seqq.*

[2] See the evidence of the acts of canonization in Lippi, 4, n. 5.

[3] See Lippi, 14 *seqq.* *Cf.* Ughelli, IV., 729 *seq.*; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés suisse*, IX. (1915), 39 *seqq.*; *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XI. (1872), 302. The conscientiousness of Cardinal Odescalchi is emphasized in the "*Compendioso ragguaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X.", *Barb.* 4704, Vatican Library.

[4] See Colombo, 6, and the Letters of Innocent XI. there, 59 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Lippi, 25, and XXXI, 31 *seqq.*

particular interest in the hospital of St. Galla,[1] he also gave proof of the nobility of his generous disposition by liberally assisting the Poles in their struggles against the Turks.[2] At the conclave which elected Clement X. he begged his friends not to think of his person. He expressed his gratitude to Cardinal Imperiali who had opposed his elevation on that occasion, and after the latter's death he had 3,000 Masses said for him. At Rome Cardinal Odescalchi was hardly ever seen, except at the Congregations and in the churches; he never missed the devotions for a good death which were held every Friday at the Gesù.[3]

Benedetto Odescalchi was determined to continue as Pope the life he had led as a prelate and a Cardinal. He was retiring, devout, conscientious, strict, most liberal towards those in want, exceedingly parsimonious for himself. In this respect he went so far as to use the clothes and ornaments of his predecessors though they were too short for his lofty stature. For ten whole years he wore the same white cassock until it became quite threadbare, and only when a certain prince commented on the subject did he have the old garments replaced by new ones.[4] By his orders his rooms were furnished with apostolic simplicity. In his study there was only a wooden table with a simple ivory crucifix, a few religious books, three old pictures of Saints, a wooden chair and an old, silk-covered chair for visitors of mark.[5] Many an Abbot had to confess, to his shame, that he was more splendidly lodged than the Head of the Church. In order to set an example to the wealthy Prince-Bishops of Germany, the

[1] On this Institution he also bestowed his special care as Pope; see Bull., XIX., 669; Novaes, XI., 50 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* XXXI., p. 460.

[3] See Lippi, 26 *seqq.*, 221. P. A. Pancetti (*loc. cit.*) says of Cardinal Odescalchi: "*Chi scrive questi successi lo ha visto frequentare giornalmente le chiese ove era esposto il Venerabile." State Archives, Munich, *Cod. ital.*, 93.

[4] See Lippi, 44, 63.

[5] See Marracci in Lippi, 242. *Cf.* Loridan, *Les voyages à Rome des Ursulines de Flandre*, Tours (s. a.), 109.

Pope gave orders for the greatest possible reduction of his stables. At the Quirinal, where after much hesitation he at last took up residence in May, 1677,[1] he chose for himself the worst rooms, from which there was no view. The personnel of the ante-rooms was reduced to a minimum. As a Cardinal, he was wont to say, he had been rich, as Pope he wished to live in poverty. Accordingly he only allowed a few *giulii* to be spent on his table.[2] On the occasion of the taking possession of the Lateran, on November 8th, 1676, he insisted on the avoidance of all display and expressly forbade the erection of the customary triumphal arches.[3] At first he wished to carry out the ceremony without the participation of the College of Cardinals,[4] and instead of having money thrown to the crowd, as had been the custom hitherto, he had wheat and money distributed in all the parishes of Rome.[5] He abolished altogether the celebration of the anniversary of his coronation (October 4th).[6] The Pope's profound humility, of which his confessor relates touching examples,[7] made the acclamations of the people painful to him; to escape them he showed himself as little as possible in public. In consequence of his gout and kidney trouble this retirement, for which he was often blamed, grew still further in his latter years.[8] We are reminded of St Charles Borromeo when we read that Innocent

[1] See **Avviso* of July 3, 1677, Vatican Library.

[2] See MARRACCI, *loc. cit.*, and LIPPI, 63.

[3] See the *Report of Montauti, September 30, 1676, State Archives, Florence; LIPPI, 42; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 296 *seqq.*

[4] "*Ma ha ceduto alla convenienza ch'intervenghino in un atto da loro tanto bramato," *Avviso* of November 7, 1676, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See **Avviso* of November 16, 1676, *ibid.*

[6] See **Avviso* of October 8, 1678, *Barb.* 5831, Vatican Library.

[7] See MARRACCI, *loc. cit.*, 241, 243, confirmed by the **Avviso* of August 6, 1678, Vatican Library. To the Florentine ambassador, Montauti, Innocent XI. said, "*che quello avesse operato in buono, sarebbe stato effetto della divina misericordia, et gl'errori parti delle sue imperfettioni." State Archives, Florence.

[8] See MARRACCI, 243 *seqq.*, 273; LIPPI, 192.

XI. not only renounced the customary villegiatura at Castel Gandolfo, but that he did not even allow himself the relaxation of a walk. He never entered the beautiful gardens of the Vatican and the Quirinal,[1] and rarely drove into the city. From morning till night he sat in his plain rooms like a devout hermit, engaged in work and prayer.[2] His very exterior, his tall, spare figure and stern features reveal the ascetic. Numerous busts perpetuate his strongly marked features, the lofty forehead, the aquiline nose, the prominent chin.[3] In conformity with custom he grew a beard and moustaches. His bearing and expression were always dignified and grave, even on

[1] See MARRACCI, 242. *Cf.* **Avviso* of October 15, 1678, according to which the Pope made over Castel Gandolfo to Cardinal Howard. Vatican Library.

[2] The **Avviso* of October 15, 1678 (*loc. cit.*) speaks of the "genio anacoretico solitario della S. Stà, tutta applicata allo spirito e contemplatione".

[3] Terra cotta bust of Innocent XI. in the private apartments of the Palazzo Doria, Rome; bronze busts in the Bibl. Vallicelliana (signed: Ioh. Gambassius civis volaterranus caecus), and in S Maria di Monte Santo in Rome; oil-painting from the Palazzo at Bracciano now in the Palazzo Odescalchi in Rome, where there are also many other memorials, among them the death mask of the Pope (reproduced in Berthier's edition of the *Vita* of LIPPI); marble busts in the duomo of Como and in the Ambrosiana at Milan. Marble relief portraits (Italian workmanship) in the Museum of Arts at Copenhagen and in the Historical Museum of the city of Vienna (Room IV.); the most beautiful marble relief portrait (life-size, Roman School), in the Palais Lanckoronski, Vienna; oil-painting by Baciccia (THIEME, XIII., 277) in the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome; oil-painting by an unknown artist in the sacristy of S. Carlo al Corso, Rome. For the half-length portrait in the Pinakothek of Munich, formerly supposed to be that of Clement IX., see Voss, 600. For the portrait of the Pope as Cardinal in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan, *cf.* A. CASTAN, in *Courrier de l'art*, 1890, Nr. 42. Copperplate engravings by Alb. Clouet (in GUARNACCI, I., 106), and by Vandersypen (Fideikommissbibliothek of the Imperial House, Vienna). *Cf.* also DRUGULIN, *Porträt Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860, 9828/30.

joyous occasions; his mood was often melancholy[1] for he felt the weight of his high dignity doubly by reason of his scrupulous conscientiousness.[2] This, as well as his health, accounts for the fact that, as a rule, he only said Mass on Sunday,[3] and he never did so without first going to confession.[4] Another consequence of his scrupulosity was an occasional pettiness[5]; and the fact that he habitually proceeded with extreme caution and only came to a decision with difficulty[6]; but once he had made up his mind nothing could induce him to change it.[7] Another of his peculiarities was that in view of the self-seeking which he had repeatedly observed in the persons around him, he was unwilling to trust anyone or to take advice, and wished as much as possible to do everything himself.[8]

These characteristics had their good as well as their bad side, all the more so as Innocent XI., an unworldly ascetic who had never been a nuncio and had at no time been out of Italy, was but very inadequately acquainted with the political conditions of Europe.[9] He also lacked knowledge of

[1] See MARRACCI, 242; LIPPI, 188.

[2] See above, p. 13. *Cf.* LIPPI, 188, 191; **Avviso* of July 30, 1678, Vatican Library.

[3] See MICHAUD, I., 157.

[4] See MARRACCI, 243.

[5] Cardinal Omodei remonstrated with the Pope on this account; see **Avviso* of February 6, 1677, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* *Report of the Marchese Montauti of September 22, 1676, State Archives, Florence. This "naturale e longhissima irresolutezza fa dire a molti che *Ars longa, vita brevis*", says the **Avviso* of April 23, 1678, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the *Reports of Alberto Caprara to Leopold I. of June 24, July 1, 8, 29, 1684, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] See LIPPI, 189.

[8] *Cf.* **Avviso* of April 16, 1678, Vatican Library, and the complaints in the report of Alberto Caprara to Leopold I. of July 1, 1684, *loc. cit.* See also the opinion of Giov. Lando in BROSCH, I., 446.

[9] This deficiency was immediately taken advantage of against him. A year after his election to the papacy an *Epistola (State Library, Munich, *Cod. ital.*, 178, p. 987 *seq.*), defends the Pope

men, so that it was easy to deceive him. There were likewise serious gaps in his theological training, hence the Quietist Molinos and his high patrons found it an easy task to mislead him.[1] The Pope's strong point was his lofty conception of the rights of the Church; he would rather be flayed alive, he told his confessor, than allow them to be even slightly curtailed.[2] But in his audiences, notwithstanding his gravity, he was ever courteous and kind. Towards the diplomatists he observed great reserve; when delicate matters were touched upon he would remain silent, or smile, without renouncing his own view.[3] For the improvement of the situation in the Papal States his experience and skill in financial questions were of the greatest importance, as was for his general policy the conviction which he had arrived at whilst still a Cardinal, namely, that everything depended on the restoration of peace between the European States and the uniting of them in a league against the enemies of Christendom and European civilization, the Turks.

The Secretariate of State received its modern constitution under Innocent XI. On September 23rd, 1676, the office was bestowed on Cardinal Alderano Cibo,[4] though without the position of a Cardinal nephew and Superintendent of the Pontifical States. Cibo's memory is kept alive by his sumptuous chapel in S. Maria del Popolo.[5] He was an old

by quoting Sixtus V., Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., who also had never acted as nuncios yet had been very good Popes.

[1] *Cf.* below, Chap. V.

[2] See MARRACCI, 247.

[3] *Cf.* the French Reports in MICHAUD, III., 122. Concerning the initial ordering of audiences, see the Report of October 8, 1676, in COLOMBO, 15.

[4] See **Avviso* of September 26, 1676, Vatican Library; Luccan Report of 1687, in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 236. Concerning the State Secretariate, see RICHARD, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI. (1910), 740 *seqq.*

[5] The chapel is one of the earliest creations of Carlo Fontana. The altar piece, "Mary and the four Fathers of the Church," was painted by C. Maratta who did also some other work for Cibo, such as the famous "Death of Mary", now in the Villa

friend of the Pope, and despite the intrigues of Queen Christine and Cardinal Altieri,[1] and occasional misunderstandings,[2] he maintained himself in office during the whole of Innocent XI.'s pontificate. The Pope held him in high esteem,[3] the only thing he disapproved of being the fact that Cibo was not insensible to the favours of foreign Powers. That Cibo, even as Secretary of State, continued to receive a French pension, was kept from the Pope's knowledge [4]; but a feeling that he was on too intimate terms with France led the Pope to give his confidence rather to the Secretary of the Cypher, Agostino Favoriti, who had also long been one of the Pope's friends.[5] When Favoriti died, on November 14th, 1682,[6] he was succeeded by his kinsman, Lorenzo Casoni. This clever man found it all the easier to reduce Cibo to being no more than nominally in charge of affairs, as the Cardinal could not stand a prolonged stay in the overheated rooms in which the Pope had the full text of all letters read to him.[7]

Albani; see Voss, 598. The two large lateral paintings are by Daniel Seiter. *Cf.* Bellori, III., 174 *seq.*; Voss, 590 *seq.*; Angeli, *Chiese*, 374; Gurlitt, *Barockbau*, 438; Mussi, in *Arte e storia*, XXXV. (1916), 114.

[1] *Cf.* about this the *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio of December 5, 1676, State Archives, Vienna, and the **Avissi* of January 9, 16 and 30, 1677, Vatican Library.

[2] Of such mention is made already in the **Avviso* of January 9, 1677, Vatican Library. An **Avviso* of February 6, 1677 (*ibid.*) even says that the Cardinal was about to hand in his resignation.

[3] During an illness Innocent XI. visited him personally; see **Avviso* of February 18, 1679, Vatican Library.

[4] See Gérin, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 439 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Gérin, *loc. cit.*; Richter, in the *Zeitschr. für westfäl. Gesch.*, LII., 2 (1894), 140 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* the *Reports of Cardinal Carlo Pio of November 14 and 22, 1682, State Archives, Vienna. Concerning the tomb of Favoriti in S. Maria Maggiore, see Forcella, XI., 83. *Cf.* Brinkmann, *Barock-Bozzetti*, 134, where Favoriti is styled a Cardinal by mistake.

[7] See the *Reports of Cardinal Carlo Pio of October 20, 1685, August 17 and October 12, 1686, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* also the Luccan

Among the other trusted advisers of Innocent XI. mention must be made of the Auditor and subsequent Secretary of Memorials, Giambattista de Luca, and the Secretary of Briefs, John Walter Slusius. At the beginning of 1679 people talked of the triumvirate of Cibo, De Luca and Slusius.[1]

De Luca, born at Venosa, was a celebrated canonist.[2] He was believed to be the instigator of the stern reforms in the Orders carried out by the Pope; he was, accordingly, an object of hatred for many.[3] Slusius, a native of Liège and a former *Provisor* of the Anima, in the Church of which he found his last resting place, was credited with rough manners, but he was esteemed for his uprightness, his wide scholarship, his untiring industry and his prodigious memory.[4] The Romans were greatly struck by the fact that Slusius, who was raised to the purple with De Luca, did not obtain a single benefice during his forty years of service, and was not even granted a dispensation from the recitation of the Breviary.[5] As Datarius and Secret Almoner the Pope appointed Stefano Agostini, and as Secretary of Briefs Mario Spinola. Clement X.'s Maggiordomo, Orazio Mattei, was also retained in his

Report of 1687, *loc. cit.* Already on June 24, 1684, Cardinal Carlo Pio *wrote of Casoni: "É nella confidenza ed è il sol' huomo ch' entri con libertà al Papa e si trattenga seco longamente, ed in ogni occasione di volere fare rappresentare alcuna cosa è il migliore." State Archives, Vienna. For Casoni's relations with the Jesuits, *cf.* DUBRUEL, *En plein conflict*, 30, 57.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso of January 7, 1679, Vatican Library.

[2] See MORONI, XIX., 220, XLIV., 190; D. RAPOLLA, *Il Card. G. B. Di Luca*, Portici, 1899. (The author writes "Di Luca" and defends this in the *Riv. d. coll. arald.*, VII. (1909), 107.)

[3] See the **Avvisi* of July 10 and December 24, 1677, *loc. cit.* Luca, who towards the end of his life got into serious conflict with Cibo apropos of the reform of the coinage, died on February 5, 1683; see the *Reports of Cardinal C. Pio of January 30 and February 6, 1683, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 490; BROM, *De nederlandsche kardinalen*, Leiden, 1911, 241 *seqq.*

[5] See SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

post ; when he became a Cardinal in 1686, he was succeeded, two years later, by Ercole Visconti.[1]

Innocent XI. also held in high esteem his confessor Ludovico Marracci, the preacher of the palace Bonaventura da Recanati, several Oratorians, especially Mariano Sozzini, Bonaventure of Barcelona, a member of the convent founded on the Palatine in 1675,[2] and finally, Cardinal Ottoboni, by reason of his experience in the business of the Church. The Pope's personal physician was the celebrated Giovanni Maria Lancisi who taught at the Roman University and was given a canonry at S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1688.[3] Lancisi was a man after Innocent XI.'s own heart. The piety of the noted physician is attested by the accurate transcriptions made by him of the Lenten sermons preached by Padre Casalini in the above named basilica in 1691.[4]

The Pope showed the utmost consideration for the persons of his entourage, both those who held high offices and those who discharged the humbler duties. If he sent for any official, he was wont to add that he should come if he was not otherwise engaged. But he would stand no moral delinquency or any act of venality. Women were forbidden to enter the Vatican ; the only exception he made to this rule was for sovereigns, as for instance, Queen Christine.[5]

[1] See Lippi, 40 *seq.* ; Moroni, XLI., 268 *seq.* On Mario Spinola, see Berthier, *Epist.*, IV. On the Briefs of Innocent XI., see Wirz, XXVI.

[2] *Cf.* E. Crivelli, *Vita del b. Bonaventura di Barcellona*, Quaracchi, 1901.

[3] The taking possession of the canonry on November 21, 1688, is recorded in the *Registri del Capitolo di SS. Lorenzo e Damaso.

[4] See " *Ristretto delle prediche del P. Casalini fatto dal solo averlo udito nel Ornaresimale del 1691 nella basilica dei SS. Lorenzo e Damaso dal canonico G.M.L. ", Bib. Lancisiana, Rome. *Cf.* A. Canezza in *Corriere d'Italia* of March 28, 1922. Lancisi " fa publiche lezioni colle necroscopie ", it is stated in E. Curatolo, *L'arte di Juno Lucina in Roma*, Roma, 1905, 127.

[5] See Lippi, 41, 190. *Cf.* the *Reports of Montanti of December 4 and 19, 1676, State Archives, Florence ; **Avisso* of May 13,

Innocent XI. carried the strictness and simplicity of his private life into the administration of the State and the Church.[1] His first care was the improvement of the financial situation. It was high time that in this respect an end was put to conditions which threatened to lead to bankruptcy. In 1677 expenditure amounted to 2,582,296 scudi but was only met with a fixed revenue of 2,408,500 scudi; thus there was a deficit of 173,796 scudi.[2] Innocent XI. at once took strong measures. His own personal expenses were reduced to the strictly necessary; he renounced all taxes (*sportula*) in favour of the Camera,[3] insisted on a wise economy in every department of the administration and suppressed the office of a General of the Church and other useless honorary posts which had, for the most part, only benefited the papal nephews. In this way he effected, by a single stroke, a saving of 100,000 scudi a year.[4]

The College of the Apostolic Secretaries, which consisted of six members at the time of Calixtus III. and had gradually grown to twenty, was reduced to two members on April 1st,

1679, Vatican Library, and **Avviso Marescotti* of November 17, 1685: "Ha ordinato S.S. a tutti suoi familiari che si trovino alle loro stanze in Palazzo a mezz' hora di notte, nè possino uscire più doppo detta hora." Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[1] Grants of favours were rare; see the **Avvisi* of February 6, 1677, and February 12, 1678, Vatican Library. Because the Pope answered petitions mostly in the Milanese dialect with the word "Minga!" he was called "Mingone"; see ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 149.

[2] See *Entrate ed uscite della R. Camera Apost., 1677, *Cod.* 34, A. 7, Bibl. Corrini, Rome. The manuscript of the Bibl. Albani, Rome, quoted by RANKE (III., 172) (but no longer extant) gives somewhat different figures.

[3] See LIPPI, 44.

[4] The *Pronostico* in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 444–5 (*cf.* the *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of October 3, 1676, State Archives, Vienna, and LIPPI, 45), reckons the economies at 200,000 scudi. But this is an exaggeration. An accurate account in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, f. 3, n. 3336, puts all the economies at 100,835 scudi.

1678.[1] However, fresh debts of the Camera were for ever coming to light.[2] According to a statement by a well-informed contemporary, it was found that they amounted to fifty millions.[3] But the Pope did not despond. In February, 1679, he was able to confound his self-appointed critics with the information that he had paid five million scudi towards the extinction of the debt and that he had balanced his budget.[4] In 1684, in order to meet the expenditure for the war against the Turks, he reduced the interest of the debt of the Camera (*Monti*) from four to three per cent.[5] In this way, and by means of fresh taxation, he succeeded not only in getting a revenue equal to expenditure, but even a surplus.

Innocent XI.'s financial policy, which, however, did not always make sufficient allowance for the paying capacity of

[1] See *Bull.* XIX., 88. *Cf.* the **Avissi* of January 22 and April 9, 1678, Vatican Library, and MORONI, LXIII., 261. The measure taken by the Pope, which was strongly, but unjustly, attacked by the interested parties, was justified in a " *Discorso sopra la soppressione de'Secretarii Apost. per Innocenzo XI. ", quoted by RANKE (III., 203*) without indication of place; there we also find a discussion of the mode of compensation. The " Discorso " is found in *Cod.* 35, D. 2, Bibl. Corsini, Rome. With reference to this, see *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1906, III., 68 *seq.*

[2] The two **Avvisi* of June 5, 1677, report : " Il Sommo Pontefice si infastidisce assai, perchè vede, che non li giova radunare denari, per far alcun bene a' sudditi, e se ne vede tuttavia troncare le strade, perchè si scoprono sempre più debiti della Camera dal 74 in quà, onde non bastano per pagare quel che S. S. si trova avanzato in 8 mesi, perchè vi sono 280^{m} sc. di debito anco dell'annona. — Negli avanzi fatti dal Pontefice si ritrovano sino or posti da parte 400^{m} sc. de' proprii, non havendone spesi che 100^{m} in tutte le fonzioni fatte, dachè è Papa, ma con tutto ciò la Camera non si può riporre in piedi, ritrovandosi il depositario con debiti sino agli occhi." According to the **Avviso* of June 18, 1677, a fresh debt had been incurred. Vatican Library.

[3] See the " *Epistola " of the State Library, Munich, quoted above, p. 17, n. 9.

[4] See **Avviso* of February 18, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[5] See LIPPI, 46; MICHAUD, I., 321 *seq.*, *Civ. Catt.*, 1906, III., 601 *seq.*

the people and for the safeguarding of production, had for its result that in addition to a yearly surplus of 300,000 scudi, the public exchequer disposed of one million scudi in ready money. "Since Sixtus V.," says an opponent of the papacy, "no Pope had taken such intelligent interest in the revenues of the Pontifical States and reaped such important results from his solicitude." [1]

The financial situation benefited to an extraordinary degree from the determination with which Innocent XI. refrained from every form of nepotism. On the very evening of his election he sent for Livio Odescalchi, the son of his brother Carlo, whose guardian he had been [2] and to whom he was greatly attached. He explained to his nephew that he must not expect any revenues, but that he should continue to live quietly as a private person and not meddle in the business of government.[3] In vain did great personages and ambassadors importune the Pope that his nephew should at least be assigned apartments at the palace. Innocent replied that precisely because he was fond of Livio he did not wish him to endure for ever the pain of not receiving any favours.[4] It was in vain that ambassadors [5] and Romans alike looked out for some serious token of the papal favour for the nephew. Equally in vain did the latter hope for a time that he would be raised to the purple.[6] This was not to be thought of in

[1] See Brosch, I., 447. *Cf.* Bischoffshausen, 2, 62.

[2] See Bojani, I., 7 *seq.*

[3] See *Pronostico, loc. cit.*, 444; Lippi, 4, 6. C. L. Scappi calls Livio in his *Report of October 3, 1676 (State Archives, Bologna) "giovanetto che non fa figura". To the Senator Erba in Milan the Pope sent this message: "*che Innocenzio XI. non haveva parenti, e se gli havesse, non voleva haverli, e la sera disse al sig. D. Livio, suo nipote, ciò che haveva ordinato . . . di dire al senator Erba soggiungendo, nè dovrà dolersi, mentre trattiamo Noi nella medesima forma." Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio of November 21, 1676, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See Lippi, 47.

[5] *Cf.* the *Reports of Marchese Montauti of September 29 and October 13, 1676, State Archives, Florence.

[6] *Cf.* for this the *Reports of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of

view of the strictness of the Pope who, for instance, insisted on Livio returning a present he had received from the Duchess of Rossano.[1] At first he was allowed to see the Pope daily, but only to recite the Rosary with him; later on his visits were more and more restricted.[2] The Romans were amazed, hence when they wanted to wish someone bad luck they used to say: "May you fare like Livio Odescalchi!"[3]

The Pope observed a like strictness towards his other relatives. Some of these were in real want; to them the Pope granted a subsidy, but out of his own patrimony for, as he observed, he did not consider himself the master, but merely the steward of the resources of the Holy See and he felt that he must use them impartially and equitably and not according to the dictates of his affection for his kinsfolk.[4] Innocent XI.'s great solicitude for the welfare of his subjects appears from the fact that he was unwearied in works of charity,[5] and he shrank from no expense for the purpose of importing wheat from abroad, especially from Holland and Dantzig when bad harvests occurred during the first years of his pontificate.[6] For the draining of the Pontine Marshes the

December 23, 1679, January 27, 1680, November 8 and 15, 1681, *loc. cit.* Later on the rumour was revived; see **Avviso Marescotti*, of December 14, 1686, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[1] See LIPPI, 47.

[2] *Cf.* the **Avvisi* of January 7, 1679, Vatican Library, the report of P. Negri of July 26, 1679, in COLOMBO, 11, and **Avviso Marescotti* of January 12, 1686, *loc. cit.*

[3] See MARRACCI, 241.

[4] See LIPPI, 47 *seq.* The strictness of Innocent XI. towards his relatives showed itself also in his private correspondence with his family; *cf.* the short letter of condolence, full of supernatural spirit, in the *Epist.*, ed. BERTHIER, I., 279.

[5] *Cf.* MARRACCI in BERTHIER, 252 *seq.*; NOVAES, XI., 77.

[6] See the *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of November 12, 1678, *loc. cit.*; LIPPI, 51 *seq.* *Cf.* BOJANI, II., 578 *seqq.*; BENIGNI, 61. Inundations of the Tiber are mentioned in the **Avviso* of April 24, 1677, Vatican Library, and the **Avvisi Marescotti* of November 9 and 16, 1686, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele,

Pope had recourse to the services of the Dutch engineer Cornelius Janszoon Meyer, though this time too the undertaking proved a failure.[1] He also sought to raise the finances of the communes of the Pontifical States. In Rome he took steps with a view to the repression of the evils of mendicancy [2] and usury; the latter had been practised from time immemorial especially by the Jews of the Ghetto.[3] On the

Rome. Cardinal Carlo Pio relates in his *letter to Leopold I. of December 14, 1686, *loc. cit.*, in what fatherly manner the Pope cared for those who had suffered loss. A " *Relazione sul Tevere present. da Innocenzo Boschi ai Card. Colonna e Azzolini deputati del Papa sopra la nuova navigazione del Tevere ", 1677, December 16, in *Ottob.* 2479, p. 124 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Monetary ordinances under Innocent XI. in GARAMPI, 160 *seqq.*

[1] See RUHEMANN, 136; KORTHALS, in *Mededeelingen v. h. Nederl. Hist. Institut te Rome*, VI. (1926), 201 *seq.* *Cf.* HOOGEWERFF in Oud-Holland, XXXVIII. (1920), 89 *seq.*; " *Cornelio Meyer ingegnere Olandese " to Innocent XI. on the draining of the swamps. On the reverse is written: " Alla congr. delle paludi Pontine per il voto per l'em. Chigi." Appendices: (1) On the efforts of Alexander VII. (see Vol. XXXI., p. 30, n. 2); (2) Report on what happened afterwards (Cardinal Carpegna); (3) " La visita fatta del 1677 dall' abate Boschi e Cornelio Meyer d'ordine d'Innocenzo XI."; (4) " Considerationi fatte dopo detta visita, sentiti i più vecchi e prattici del paese "; (5) " Scrittura tradotta dal spagnuolo fatta dal colonello D. Fernando Gravemberg, ingegnere regio Fiamingo," who in 1679, by order of the Neapolitan merchants, came to reside at Sezza in view of the draining of the swamps, planned by those merchants. (Bibl. Chigi, Rome, H. II., 43, p. 514 *seq.*) Cornelius Meyer was also consulted about the inundations of the Tiber (**ibid.*, 172 *seq.*). His plans for rendering the Tiber navigable (*cf.* his " L'arte di restituire a Roma la tralasciata navigazione del Tevere ", Roma, 1685), and for draining the Pontine swamps failed on account of the opposition of the commissary of the Camera; see NICOLAI, *De' bonificamenti delle Terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 145; HOOGEWERFF in *Bullet. v. h. Nederl. Oudheid.*, 1914, 205.

[2] *Cf.* the **Avvisi* of February 20, 1677, and August 20, 1678, *loc. cit.*

[3] See **Avviso* of February 5, 1678, *loc. cit.*; LIPPI, 52 *seqq.*

other hand he energetically protected the Jews when they were threatened by the populace in August, 1686.[1] He insisted with inflexible severity on a sound administration of justice, though he did not succeed in suppressing all abuses in this respect.[2] One of the chief duties of princes, he was wont to say, was the administration of justice, not the granting of favours. Another of his maxims was that God appointed the sovereigns for the sake of the people, not the people for the sovereigns.[3]

The Romans were less agreeably impressed by the Pope's measures, as numerous as they were stringent, for the reform of public morality [4] and for the restriction of luxury which had grown enormously since the days of Urban VIII.[5] For so ascetic a Pope as Innocent XI. this was an abomination. How strict his views were appears from the fact that he had the semi-exposed bosom of Guido Reni's Madonna painted over.[6] No small stir was caused by the Pope's fight against the unseemly fashions of the Roman ladies. Mainly in

[1] See **Avviso Marescotti* of August 31, 1686, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* **Avviso* of February 8, 1677, *loc. cit.*; *Diar. Europ.*, XXXV., 9; LIPPI, 88; MARRACCI, 249 *seq.* List of executions in *Arch. Rom.*, IV., 442 *seqq.* The account of the Marchesa Massimi of the execution of the Brothers Missori, condemned to death for murder (1685) in *Arch. stor. Rom.*, V., 353 *seqq.* *Cf.* P. COLONNA, *Fr. Massimo*, Rome, 1911, 33 *seqq.*

[3] See the notes of Count de Gubernatis in COLOMBO, 52.

[4] Examples of the corruption of morals are given in the **Avvisi* of October 22 and 29 and November 5, 1678, *loc. cit.*

[5] In a memoir written, circa 1670 (still under Clement X.), about the necessary reforms in Rome, the Oratorian Mariano, Sozzini says: "In quarant' anni ch'io sono in Roma il lusso è cresciuto evidentemente a gran segno." A palace opposite the Collegio Clementino, which once accommodated two Cardinals, is now occupied by only one prelate. We are told here, among other things, that Cardinal Bandini introduced in Rome the "sedie di velluto" (manuscript of the monastery of SS. Quaranta, Rome). This memoir had a great influence on the reforms of Innocent XI.

[6] See BELLORI, III., 176.

consequence of the example of Mazarin's niece, Maria Mancini,[1] the French fashion had crept in for women to bare their arms and neck in an unbecoming manner. When warnings proved useless Innocent XI. published an edict by the terms of which only public courtesans were allowed to follow such a fashion.[2] Great was his indignation when he nevertheless saw at S. Maria in Campitelli a great many ladies of Roman society dressed in the new fashion! A fresh edict ensued but this too was laughed at.[3] But the Pope was not to be beaten. Preachers were instructed to urge a return to the old Roman mode, and when this too failed to bring about a change, he ordered in the following year, that unbecomingly attired women should be refused Holy Communion.[4] How deeply rooted the abuse had become appears from the fact that edicts against it had to be published in the years 1681,[5] 1683,[6]

[1] *Cf.* L. PEREY [L. HERPIN], *Louis XIV. et M. Mancini*, Paris, 1894, and: *Une princesse Romaine*, *ibid.*, 1896.

[2] See **Avviso* of April 23, 1678, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 513.

[3] See the *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of August 6, 1678, *loc. cit.*, and **Avviso* of August 13, 1678, *loc. cit.*

[4] See second **Avviso* of August 13, 1678, and **Avviso* of March 11, 1679, *loc. cit.*; *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of November 18, 1679, *loc. cit.* According to the "Ristretto della congregatione tenuta contro l'immodestia delle donne", the Pope's confessor and other theologians were for the application of temporal penalties as spiritual penalties would do more harm than good. *Cod. ital.*, 552, p. 345 *seqq.* State Library, Munich.

[5] See the *Reports of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of July 26 and August 6, 1681 (prohibition to absolve persons immodestly dressed), *loc. cit.*

[6] See **Avvisi Marescotti* of July 10 and 17, October 30, November 27 and December 4 and 10, 1683, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Text of the *edict of November 30, 1683, in *Editti*, V., 60, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of December 4, 1683, *loc. cit.*

1685,[1] 1686[2] and 1687.[3] In the end an improvement did take place.[4]

In other ways also the Pope sought to raise the moral level of his capital,[5] by dealing with the vice of gambling[6] and by measures against abuses connected with the stage and music. That he was not a man for half-measures is shown by his conduct on the occasion of the very first carnival; it was with the utmost difficulty that he was prevailed upon to allow the representation of two operettas in a small theatre, but no women were allowed to take part in it. The new theatre, erected at great expense, was turned into a grain store.[7] The Pope resolutely upheld his prohibition of public operatic representations for money and even saw the private theatres with displeasure and, of course, much more so the amusements of the carnival. In view of the seriousness of

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of July 21, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti* of July 13, 1686, *loc. cit.* *Edict of June 22, 1686, *Editti*, V., 7, p. 14, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of January 25 and March 1, 1687, *loc. cit.*

[4] See **Avviso Marescotti* of August 19, 1684, *loc. cit.*, and P. A. Pancetti, *Stato di Roma (1718–1721), *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

[5] Decrees against prostitutes and adulterers are frequently recorded; see **Avvisi* of May 29 and September 4, 1677, January 1, August 27, September 24, 1678, *loc. cit.* *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of September 26, 1682, *loc. cit.*

[6] See *Report of Montauti of October 6, 1676, State Archives, Florence; *Report of Card. Carlo Pio of October 10, 1676, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso* of December 31, 1678, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso Marescotti* of December 8, 1685, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Lippi, 64 *seq.*

[7] Montauti reports on December 30, 1676: "*Finalmente ha acconsentito N. S. che si recitino in questo carnevale due operette in musica, una delle quali si rappresentò due anni sono, in un piccolo teatro, che sarà mezzo publico e si pagherà qualche cosa all' entrare, a condicione però che non si cantino donne. Ma, all' incontro, ha ordinato che si riduca a uso di granai il teatro nobile che si era fatto con molta spesa, non volendo in modo alcuno luoghi fermi di recite. Et passate le feste, si comincerà a demolire." State Archives, Florence.

the times he forbade the latter altogether in the years 1684, 1688 and 1689. In the other years he allowed them but took successful measures to prevent all excesses.[1] His scrupulosity appears from the fact that even in the seminaries the customary representation of harmless plays during the carnival met with some objection.[2] To this feature of his character must likewise be ascribed the prohibition, under severe penalties, for women to take music lessons from men.[3] The customary boat races on the Tiber on the feast of St. Roch were likewise forbidden and the money thus saved was assigned to an orphanage.[4]

The ridicule which these measures called forth, and the laments that life in Rome was losing its ancient brilliance,[5] Innocent XI. bore with characteristic equanimity [6]; he bore in the same way the ingratitude of the eternally dissatisfied Romans who completely forgot the sacrifices made by the Pope in order to provision the city during the year of scarcity 1679, and his solicitude in providing bread of good quality.[7] Only when those who scattered insulting publications against him exceeded all bounds did he at last take stern measures.[8]

[1] A number of details in CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 511 *seqq.*, 526, 530 *seqq.*, and ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 149 *seqq.*

[2] See CLEMENTI, 523, 529.

[3] *Edict of May 4, 1686, *Editti*, V., 7, p. 104, Papal Secret Archiv s. *Cf.* **Avviso* of May 11, 1686, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Chirografo di Innocenzo XI. of 1681, *Cod. Ottob.* 2483, p. 240 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of December 30, 1684, *loc. cit.* The ambassadors continued to display great splendour; this was especially the case at the delivery of the *Chinea* of 1684; *cf.* C. PADIGLIONE, *Della Chinea e del modo come veniva offerta ai Romani Pontefici*, Napoli, 1911.

[6] See MARRACCI, 250.

[7] See the **Avvisi* of March 11, August 12 and October 7, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[8] See the **Avvisi* of July 8 and 14, 1679, *loc. cit.* The collection of pasquinades mentioned here " *Il Vaticano languente dopo la morte di Clemente X. con i remedii purparati da Pasquino e Marforio per guarirlo, stampato ad instanza degli amici 1677 "

The growth of Rome up to the last quarter of the 17th century may be seen in Falda's plan of the city dedicated by him to Innocent XI. During the Pope's pontificate of thirteen years the population did not grow, on the contrary, it rather decreased.[1] The city's treasure of antiquities was enriched by various finds,[2] but also suffered serious loss when in 1677

is ascribed to G. Leti. In 1685 the Pope had to proceed against the excesses of the writers of Avvisi; see **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 12, June 2, July 28, and August 25, and September 1, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[1] The population in 1676 was 127,907, it fell in 1681 to 119,722; it rose again slowly to 126,440 in the year 1689; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 181.

[2] About the *Scavi per l'apertura della Via Graziosa nel 1684*, see LANCIANI, in *Bullet. d. commiss. archeol. com.*, XXV., 2. The **Avviso Marescotti* of January 26, 1686, reports: "Il S. Duca Santi havendo fatto cavare con la permissione della Camera et assistenza d'un ministro 12 miglia lontano da Roma per la strada della Colonna, si è principiato a trovare alcune statue superbissime antiche, tra quali sin'hora si vedono quelle di Agripina et altra di Claudio Nerone scolpite da eccelso scalpello dell'antichità, et hieri appunto l'Em.mo D'Estrées con l'ambasciatore suo fratello si portarono con alcuni virtuosi Francesi a riconoscerle con molta lor sodisfattione." *Ibid.*, March 30, 1686: "*Fra antichità Romane essendosi ritrovate nel giardino de' SS. Mathei due bellissime tavole di porfido negro, la cui pietra è unica e di singolare bellezza; furono ambe comprate dal S. card. D'Estrées, a' quali li fa far li piedi di bronzo dorato con gran spesa sotto la direttione del S. Domenico Guido scultore, e subito che saranno perfettionate, saranno da S. Em. mandate a presentare alla Maestà christianissima grand'amatore delle rarità." *Ibid.*, April 13, 1686: "*Nel fabricarsi una casa dietro il Monte di Pietà da un tale che fu già agiutante di studio del fu card. Taia, ha trovato ne' fondamenti una bellissima statua di una Venere della vera e buona maniera antica, e poscia un'altra più piccola et un vaso di bronzo con quantità de marmi e pietre fine, sperando di ritrovare altre cose di valore." *Ibid.*, April 10, 1683: "*S'è trovato in distanza a 3 miglia da Roma per la strada de Marino un bellissimo cimiterio con quantità grande de corpi Ss. de martiri, i quali con gran concorso vengon hora venerati dalla

the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III., removed the Medici Venus, the "Skater" and the "Wrestlers" from his Villa on the Pincio to Florence.[1] Demand for antique objects remained great and trade was lively. To prevent further losses a decree was published forbidding the export of antiques.[2]

Building activity was slack in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XI. Besides the palaces Muti-Papazzurri and Colonna di Sonnino,[3] work was continued on the palace for the papal officials on Monte Citorio. The Pope took such interest in these buildings that he was induced, as a very exceptional thing, to inspect them in person, as well as the

curiosità e divotione del popolo." Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[1] See Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 604. An **Avviso* of August 12, 1679, reports: "Un fulmine, che cadde mercordì sul mezzo giorno, diede nella Colonna Antonina di Piazza Colonna e l'ha dannificata notabilmente, havendola non solamente scrostata in 3 luoghi e buttato abasso alcuni pezzi di quei bellissimi rilievi, ma anco fattavi una picciola apertura et una maggiore nella base di essa." Vat. Library.

[2] See Lemonnier, *L'art au temps de Louis XIV.*, Paris, 1911, 112 *seqq.*; *L'arte*, XVI., 5 *seq.* In a *Cifra for the nuncio in Paris, dated 1686, June 11 (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 172*a*, Papal Secret Archives), it is said that the Pope had to prohibit the exportation of thirty-six cases of statues for the King, because so many statues had already been taken away during his reign. From the *Cifra of September 17, 1686 (*ibid.*), it is manifest that the statues were destined for the most part for merchants. *Cf. Mél. archéol.*, XXX., 58. That the Pope was also very particular that no unauthorized excavations should be made, is clear from the following *Report of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I., dated January 19, 1686 (State Archives, Vienna): "La regina di Suezia con licenza di questo Mons. Tesoriere ha fatto aprire una cava a' Termini in faccia alla chiesa di Nostra Signora degli Angeli, dove le è stato supposto vi siano molte statue. Il Papa fece viva doglianza col S. card. Cibo che si rivoltasse Roma senza sua licenza. Il card. si scusò col non haverlo saputo."

[3] See Escher, 32.

Hospice of St. Michael in the Trastevere founded by his kinsman Tommaso Odescalchi.[1] Livio Odescalchi founded the church of S. Galla.[2]

Among other new churches mention must be made in the first place of Bernini's beautiful rotunda, S. Andrea al Quirinale, erected by the Jesuits.[3] The two splendid Jesuit churches in Rome received their internal decoration at this time; in the Gesù, Giovan Battista Gaulli, surnamed Il Bacciccia, depicted on the soffit of the central aisle the triumph of the name of Jesus [4]; at S. Ignazio that virtuoso of perspective,[5] the lay brother Andrea dal Pozzo, adorned

[1] See **Avvisi Marescotti* of October 13 and 29, 1685, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; also for the construction of the "nuovo teatro di Tor di Nona."

[2] See *Inventario*, 253".

[3] See GURLITT, 414; ANGELI, 37; FRASCHETTI, 400; the old church of S. Andrew, near S. Maria Maggiore, was demolished on account of its dilapidated condition; see GRISAR, *Rom*, I., 389.

[4] The **Avviso* of August 12, 1679 (Vatican Library) records: when the decoration and gilding of the vault of the Gesù was finished, eight Cardinals and several good artists were invited to give their opinion, "che conclusero tutti, che sarebbe bellissima, se fossero pitture meno spropositate et di qualche altra mano." **Avviso* of January 6, 1680 (not 1683, as stated in THIEME, XIII., 276), State Archives, Vienna: "Nella chiesa di Gesù fu scoperta la pittura di quella volta fatta da Baciccio pittore fra primi di questa città, quale ha riportato un applauso universale sì per la vaghezza della pittura, come per la disposizione di diversi stucchi che hanno reso quell'opera maggiormente plausibile." **Avviso* of August 4, 1685 (*ibid.*): On the feast of S. Ignatius the unveiling of the ceiling of the chapel of this Saint, "tutta messa a oro e dipinta da Baciccio." Baciccia was at that time also busy at S. Silvestro, but his work there met with little approval; see **Avviso Marescotti* of January 6, 1685, *loc. cit.* Concerning Gaulli's activity in Rome, see *L'Arte*, 1916, 206 *seq.* *Cf.* THIEME, XIII., 276 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* ILG, A. *Pozzo* in *Berichte des Altertumsvereins zu Wien*, XXIII. (1886); GURLITT, 454 *seq.*; VOSS, *Malerei*, 580; *Civ. Catt.*, 1922, II., 25 *seq.*; *Corriere d'Italia* of June 22, 1926. In

the vault of the central aisle with a picture of St. Ignatius' triumphant entry into heaven.[1] This celebrated work of Pozzo [2] surpasses that of Gaulli. Giacinto Brandi's fresco on the soffit of S. Carlo al Corso, representing the casting into hell of the fallen angels, was completed in 1679.[3] The autumn of the same year saw the opening of the church of S. Maria di Monte Santo at the entrance to the Corso, erected by Cardinal Gastaldi. The chief object of admiration there was the chapel of Carlo Rossi with its pictures by Salvator Rosa.[4] The chapel of S. Girolamo in S. Maria in Trastevere with its charming dome erected by Antonio Gherardi, also belongs to the period of Innocent XI., as does the gigantic picture on the ceiling of the principal room of the palazzo

the ceiling decoration of S. Ignazio, Pozzo extols the missionary activity of the Jesuits.

[1] See **Avviso Marescotti* of June 23, 1685 (*loc. cit.*): ' Questi Padri Gesuiti han scoperta la cuppola dipinta in prospettivo da uno de' loro Padri Savoiardo [sic !] nella chiesa di S. Ignatio del Collegio Rom., la quale riesce assai vaga et artificiosa, et credesi vi starà molti anni avanti risolvino di farla materialmente." **Avviso Marescotti* of August 11, 1685 (*ibid.*): On the Sunday after the feast of S. Ignatius one could see in S. Ignazio " scoperta la fabrica nuova delle due cappelle laterali e dell'altare maggiore con la cuppola finta, fatta da un Padre della Compagnia di Gesù, famoso pittore di prospettive." SCHMERBER, *Ital. Malerei*, 215 *seq.*, who puts the completion in the year 1689, must be corrected accordingly.

[2] See VOSS, 579.

[3] *Cf.* besides TITI, 372, the accounts of the **Avvisi* of November 6, 1677 (State Archives, Vienna): " Si videro scoperte le bellissime pitture della tribuna, angoli della cuppola et una navata fatte nuovamente da Giacinto Brandi, che è uno de' famosissimi pittori di questa città." **Avviso* of November 11, 1679 (Vatican Library): " On Sunday the Pope visited the " chiesa di S. Carlo che resta adesso affatto finita e per ogni respetto vien stimata una delle più belle di Roma." For Brandi, see VOSS, 529. *Ibid.*, 593 and 601, about the gigantic altar-piece painted by Maratta, 1685–1690, for Cardinal Omodei. *Cf.* BELLORI, III., 179.

[4] **Avviso* of September 9, 1679, Vatican Library.

Colonna, which is also the chief work of Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi.[1]

Innocent XI. himself did but little for the arts, though not from lack of interest. As a Cardinal he had had his titular church of SS. Cosmas and Damian decorated, as well as S. Maria de' Monti,[2] and as Pope he made provision for the protection of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican.[3] But the conditions of the period frustrated the hopes for building activities to which he had at first given rise.[4] It is characteristic of him that by his orders Bernini transformed the Lateran palace into a home for the poor.[5] The state of the finances required the utmost economy; to what lengths the Pope went in this respect appears from the fact that he would not appoint another architect for St. Peter's.[6] Carlo Fontana obtained the post at a later date. Fontana was instructed by the Pope to make an accurate survey of the dome of St. Peter's; the examination demonstrated the baselessness of the current rumours about its insecurity. This survey led Fontana to write a comprehensive work on the basilica, which like the new impression of a similar work by Giovan Costaguti,[7] was dedicated to the Pope.[8] In this work Fontana

[1] See Voss, *Malerei*, 511.

[2] He would not allow that any inscription should record his merits; see Lippi, 191.

[3] See Bellori, III., 177.

[4] *Gazette, 1679, n. 6: "Le Pape pour faire subsister les pauvres de cette ville, a résolu de presser ceux qui sont obligez par des testaments à faire bâtir des églises et des chapelles d'y faire travailler incessament; et mesme on dit qu'il veut faire achever la colonnade de St. Pierre, qui a esté commencée par Alexandre septième. *Nunziat. di Francia*, 160, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] See Fraschetti, 398.

[6] See *Letter of Cardinal Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of December 7, 1680, State Archives, Vienna.

[7] Costaguti, *Architettura di S. Pietro* (Reprint according to the edition of 1620), Roma, 1684. *Cf.* Bibliofilo, XXVII. (1925–26), 19 *seq.*

[8] D. Frey, *Michelangelostudien*, Vienna, 1920, 99. The

suggested the extension of Bernini's colonnade as far as the Piazza Scossa Cavalli and its rounding off with a triumphal arch and a clock tower.[1] However, the execution of the plan could not be thought of in view of the economic straits of the Papal States. As early as the beginning of 1679 the Pontiff had refused permission to the Chapter of St. Peter's to complete the colonnade.[2]

Within the Vatican itself the Pope contented himself with various restorations.[3] He instructed Carlo Fontana and Giovan Battista Centini to provide the second great fountain in the Piazza of St. Peter's with water from Bracciano.[4] He also contributed to the restoration of the fountain near St. Mary Major,[5] as well as that of S. Maria de'Monti.[6] In 1676

magnificent Rotonda of the Jesuit College at Loyola was built according to the plans of Fontana; see BRAUN, *Spaniens alte Jesuitenkirchen*, Freiburg, 1913.

[1] *Arch. d'arte*, II. (1889), 142; ROSE, *Spätbarock*, 89; THIEME, XII., 171.

[2] The **Avviso* of January 28, 1679 (Vatican Library), which records the famine in Rome and in the Papal States, says: "Si è ricusato da S. B. di dare licenza al Capitolo di S. Pietro di potere abbellire la piazza col fabricare quel braccio, che gli manca, non regnando nel Pontefice l'ambitione di lasciare di se eterne memorie, ma la sola pietà, acciò nel fortificarsi la Camera con li contanti si possano fare l'esequie a quelli, che hoggi nel panolo di speranze si muoiono della fame."

[3] **Avviso* of November 18, 1679 (*loc. cit.*): "Nella prossima settimana andò il Papa ad habitar al palazzo di S. Pietro, ove si son fatte per tal effetto riparationi, che ascendono a molte migliaia di scudi, in diversi luoghi, che minacciavano rovine, essendosi scoperto con tal occasione, che il maggior pericolo soprastava alla sala del Concistoro." Already in January, 1679, on the feast of the Chair of St. Peter, there occurred a *caduta accidentale di alcune delle famose pitture del Buonarota (*Avviso* of January 21, 1679, *ibid.*). The arms of Innocent XI. in a chapel are mentioned by MORONI, VII., 154.

[4] COSTAGUTI, *loc. cit.*, XIV.; FRASCHETTI, 396.

[5] **Avviso* of November 26, 1678, Vatican Library.

[6] Inventario, 18.

he had repairs carried out on the bridge of Quattro Capi.[1]

If Innocent XI. did but little for the adornment of the city [2] and the advancement of the arts,[3] his excuse was that more pressing claims, such as the need of remedying the food scarcity in the States of the Church and the struggle against the Turks, claimed all his resources.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 256. On the bridge over the Paglia I read the following inscription : " Innocentii XI. P. M. iussu—Aquarum inundantium—Vi pontem hunc ab utroque—Latere dirutum Ioseph de—Aste Cam. Apost. dec. et—Viar. praeses reparari curavit—Ad compescendum quoque—Proruentium [?] aquarum—Impetum trabe—Atas interpositiones—Adauxit ut leniter inde per—Alveum percurrentes innoxiae—Redderentur. A. D. 1683."

[2] Beautiful views of Rome of the year 1683 by Van Witel (Vanvitelli) are to be seen in the Galleria of the Palazzo Corsini, Rome.

[3] Innocent XI. presented to St. Peter's a valuable tapestry signed : Innocentius XI. A° 1°, which is still preserved in the treasury.

[4] The works of fortification at Civitavecchia were carried out from necessity ; see, besides the inscription in CALISSE, 474, the **Avvisi Marescotti* of April 9 and 24, 1689, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome ; MICHAUD, I., 306.

CHAPTER II.

Innocent XI. and the Defence Against the Turkish Peril—The Pope's Efforts for Peace among the Christian Princes—The Congress of Nymeguen—Formation of an Anti-Turkish League.

(1.)

A few weeks after the election of Innocent XI., viz. on October 30th, 1676 the death took place of the Turkish Grand Vizier, Ahmed Köprülü.[1] He was succeeded at the Porte by the man who had been for many years the soul of the re-awakened spirit of aggression against the West, Kara Mustafa, then about fifty years of age.[2] Mustafa was the son of a poor fruit merchant of Asia Minor. He grew up without any schooling whatever ; it was only at a later date, when he already held high office, that he learnt to read and write. Chance got him into the Seraglio where his ready grasp of things was noticed. An aptitude for affairs, knowledge of men and determination, led to his rise. He soon became indispensable to Sultan Mohammed IV. and his Grand Vizier Mohammed Köprülü, the powerful reformer of a State which had been in a condition of decline and disruption for half a century. Since the death, in 1661, of Mohammed Köprülü, Kara Mustafa had held under the latter's son and successor, Ahmed Köprülü, the post of Kaimakam, the highest office after that of Grand Vizier. The Venetian envoys Morosini and Civrano, who personally knew Kara Mustafa, describe him as a man of handsome and dignified appearance, genial

[1] On the general history of Turkey, *cf.* Zinkeisen, IV. and V. ; Hammer, III. ; Iorga, IV.—Chapter 2 was finished by Rob. Leiber.

[2] According to the Report of Giovanni Morosini, the Venetian ambassador at the Porte in 1680, Barozzi-Berchet, Turchia, II., 207.

and extremely religious, though his real character was very different. They say that he was cunning, cruel, dissolute, venal, unjust and exceedingly covetous, haughty, and above all, an irreconcilable enemy of the Christians; a man, in short, born to be a scourge of the nations. His mind was the workshop in which were elaborated the plans the aim of which was the destruction of the Christian princes.[1] Terrifying tales circulated in the West about the intention of the all-powerful minister.[2] It was said that he was bent on the conquest of Pressburg, Vienna and Prague; after which he would march through Germany in order to measure himself with Louis XIV. on the banks of the Rhine. After defeating the latter he would hasten to Rome where he would stable the Sultan's horses in St. Peter's.[3] Though fear of the Turks no doubt greatly magnified these rumours from the East,[4] it is certain that the ambitious man had set his heart on the possessions of the Habsburgs, and probably on Italy also. The conquest of Candia in 1669, and the favourable issue of the war with Poland in 1676, considerably raised the hopes of the Turks: under the pressure of his Kaimakam, Ahmed Köprülü had secretly planned to invade the Emperor's territory the very next year, 1677.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 207, 209, 259. Pietro Civrano's report is of the year 1682. KLOPP, *the year 1683*, pp. 49–51, 377.

[2] Morosini calls him (*loc. cit.*, 207) "imperatore d'effetti", "the actual sultan."

[3] DALERAC, *Anecdotes de Pologne*, I., 74 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*, in DU HAMEL DE BREUIL in *Revue d'hist. dipl.*, VIII. (1894), 72. The Marquis de Saint-André-Montbrun also speaks of the designs of the Turks on Rome according to MICHAUD, II., 25 (without indication of source).

[4] Kara Mustafa undertook the attack on Vienna only after he had assured himself of the neutrality of Louis XIV.; see below, p. 46. *Cf.* KÖHLER, *Oriental Politik*, 58–68, who bases himself on the correspondence between Louis and his ambassadors at Constantinople; also GÉRIN in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIX., 104–111.

[5] BAROZZI-BERCHET, *loc. cit.*, 209, 235. *Cf.* below, p. 47. The Viennese nuncio, Buonvisi, insists over and over again

At the time of his elevation Innocent XI. had no accurate knowledge of these plans [1] though he thought he would be in a position to forestall any Turkish attack. To the grave responsibility for the Christian cause in the East and in the West which, as Head of the Church, he knew to be his, there was added his own personal enthusiasm for a crusade against the Crescent. As a young man it had been his ambition to fight against the Turks and, if necessary, to give his life in such a struggle.[2] It is said that as a Cardinal he gave the huge sum of 90,000 gold scudi for the struggle with Turkey.[3] From the first days of his pontificate he set his heart on the creation of a defensive league of the Christian princes, the aim of which would be to advance into the heart of the Ottoman empire, to conquer Constantinople and to drive the Turks out of Europe. At the beginning of 1678 he told Cardinal Rospigliosi that peace, the spread of the faith in lands where it had not penetrated up till then, and war against the Turk would be the salvation of Europe.[4] In 1677 the Duc D'Estrées, Louis XIV.'s ambassador at the papal court, reported to his master that war against the Turks was the Pope's favourite

on the fact that with the fall of Vienna the fate of Rome would also be sealed.

[1] *Cf.* p. 51.

[2] Bonamici, XV., *seq.* Bonamici adds that the Pope denied that he had done military service as a young man; *cf.* above, p. 12. Evidently the legend sprang up early.

[3] Bonamici, XXI., maintains that Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi had sent subsidies to the amount of 90,000 "aurei" to the Emperor Leopold and to King Casimir through Francesco Buonvisi. Put in this way the assertion cannot possibly be accurate. King Casimir died in 1669, whereas Buonvisi was nuncio in Warsaw only from June, 1673, onwards, and in Vienna from September, 1675, onwards. Accordingly, Bojani, I., 5, must also be corrected. Of a subsidy of 20,000 florins to Poland by Cardinal Odescalchi we know from the report of nuncio Buonvisi, dated January 31, 1674; see Fraknói, *Papst. Innozenz*, XI., 21, n. 2, and above, p. 460, n. 2.

[4] Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV. on January 5, 1678, in Michaud, II., 75.

topic of conversation [1]; it was his opinion that Constantinople should be conquered and that the undertaking was less arduous than was generally believed. The French and the Spaniards must conclude an armistice and march together against the Turk.[2]

In 1678 the Capuchin Fra Paola da Lagni, who had long lived in Turkey, submitted four memorials, perhaps at the Pope's request, on the prospects of an offensive against the Turks.[3] The great mistake of the Christian States in their struggle with the Crescent, the Capuchin explains, is that until then the Christians had invariably allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by them. They must attack themselves. What restrains the Christian Princes is the fear of the Turks. But this fear is quite groundless. Since the battle of Lepanto the Turks retain only a shadow of their former power. The Crescent is on the wane. One reason of it is the very extent of the Ottoman Empire: it is too vast to make it possible to ward off all attacks if these come from different sides. Another cause is the bad government. During a whole century the former strong rule, founded on reason and justice, has been replaced by tyranny. The pashas have but one aim, to squeeze money out of their provinces, and to this end any means is good enough for them. Hence the people's cry of distress. When they send envoys to complain at Constantinople, the pasha is recalled and deprived both of his money and his head and his place is taken by another who, if possible, behaves even worse than his predecessor.

The administration of justice is equally corrupt. The cadis sell it to the highest bidder and practise extortion. The consequence is the impoverishment and decline of the population and general discontent and embitterment. Turkey has

[1] Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV. on November 16, 1677, *ibid.*

[2] Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV. on September 7 and November 9, 1677, *ibid.*, 74 *seq.*

[3] **Vat. Lat.* 6926 f., 1–45, Vatican Library. The date is proved from f. 22b, where there is question of the clearing of Messina by the French "in questo anno": the Spanish viceroy, Gonzaga, re-entered Messina on March 25, 1678 (Balan, VII., 424).

now less than a tenth of its former population. Under Venice, Cyprus had a population of two millions: at this day it was a bare 50,000. In Negroponte the population had fallen from a million to 200,000 and in Crete from two millions to 100,000. There is a big surplus of women because military service and especially epidemics in the army, devour vast numbers of young men. The Christians suffer most. As things are, they are poorer than the Turks; they alone are made to pay all the taxes whilst they are barred from all the better posts. However, not only they, but the Arabs, the Mamelukes of Egypt, the Armenians, the Giezides of Mesopotamia, the Druses and the Maronites of Syria, the Mainots of Morea, the Greeks, the Bulgars and many others, sigh with them for the hour of deliverance.

The military equipment of the Ottoman Empire, Fra Paolo continues, is no longer up to the mark. Owing to the State's lack of money, a condition that must be traced to the fall of the tax-paying Christian population, the Turks had never had more than 90 galleys during the whole of the Cretan war. On the other hand the mastery of the Archipelago and communications with Egypt by sea, on which the empire, more especially Constantinople, is completely dependent, can only be maintained with a powerful fleet. A blockade of the Turkish harbours would not prove difficult. The Turkish fortifications have been neglected and their armament and provisioning are extremely inadequate. In Asia and Africa not one fortress is really completed; as regards the others, their old walls have crumbled in part and they have not been rebuilt. The old spirit of the Janissaries and the Spahis who once inspired so much terror, has likewise vanished. The troops have become soft in the rich provinces conquered by them. Formerly they were all unmarried, but to-day they have wife and family and are more interested in these than in their military duties. Formerly nearly all the Janissaries and Spahis were the descendants of Christians taken from their parents in their youth, as a kind of tribute or tax in boys, brought up with strict discipline, without home or country and completely devoted to the Sultan and to their

military service. To-day the married Janissaries endeavour to get their own sons enrolled in the army. Positions in the army are bought not with a view to going to war but as a means towards the acquisition of profitable posts and as an opportunity for robbing, tormenting and tyrannizing with impunity Christians, Jews and needy Turks, and of committing a thousand injustices against them. When the army takes the field, Turkish officers buy exemptions for themselves. In fact there is no baseness which a Turk will not commit for money. On paper the Sultan has 100,000 Janissaries and 30,000 Spahis, but in reality they only amount to 40,000 men altogether. Formerly the Sultans were themselves a pattern of bravery to their soldiers. That, too, is a thing of the past. For the last forty years the Sultans have abandoned themselves in their seraglios to luxury and sensuality amid their " troops of women ". There is no need to be afraid of Tartars : they are brigands, not front line soldiers. The Corsairs of Algiers and Tunis no longer obey the Sultan ; for the rest they are pirates and will have nothing to do with a regular war.

Fra Paolo suggests a concentric attack on Turkey. The war should be started simultaneously by the Shah of Persia who, according to the reports of the Capuchins of Babylon, was only waiting for combined action by the West ; in the East by the Tsar of Moscow, by the King of Poland in the Ukraine, by the Emperor in Hungary, by Venice in Dalmatia, by Louis XIV. of France, from whom the writer expected particularly great things,[1] in Palestine or Egypt, by the King of Spain on the coast of Barbary and by the Pope in the Archipelago. The King of Arabia and the pashas of that country, as well as those of Syria and Egypt, would join in, for they were only waiting for an opportunity to free themselves from the tyranny of the Grand Vizier. The empire of the Sultan may be compared to a colossus, or to Nebuchadnezzar's statue, which will collapse as soon as it is attacked in the name of God, the Lord of hosts.

The author of the memorials adds the warning that if the Pope does not destroy the Turkish power, the Tsar of Moscow

[1] F. 39b.

will do so. But there lurked a grave peril in such an eventuality. The Muscovites were hostile to the Holy See and the Greeks shared these feelings. Moreover the internal organization of the Russian State was extraordinarily strong. Everything was decided by the will of the Tsar. And it was a fact that the Muscovites were eager to push forward as far as the Black Sea. They would even go further and with their fleet dominate the Caspian, the Black and the Baltic Seas, to the great injury of the Catholic and Roman West.

Above all it was necessary to act quickly. "We cannot wait until the Turks have come to terms with Poland and Moscow and thus gain a breathing space. However, if war is to benefit the cause of Christendom, it must be a holy war. Discipline must be enforced, especially in regard to cursing, wine and women. To the Turk, woman is sacred. If Christian officers treat women in outrageous fashion, the consequence will be that the Turks will despise us Christians. During the war in Crete the moral excesses of the Christian soldiery exceeded all bounds. Hence the Pope must issue stringent orders with regard to morals."

Fra Paolo da Lagni was certainly right in thinking that the Crescent would not be able to withstand a combined attack by the Christian hosts. On the other hand he probably underrated Turkey's power of resistance in the field It is true that contemporary accounts confirm his view of the decline of the Turkish army,[1] but Simon Reniger, who was for many years imperial Resident on the Golden Horn, and the Venetian ambassador at the imperial court, Giovanni Sagredo, remark on their part that "Turkey is a great Power, a dangerous, cool and watchful enemy, who can become dangerous once more as soon as a warlike Sultan puts himself

[1] *Cf.* Leslie's secret report to the court of Vienna of 1665, published by ADAM WOLF in *Archiv. für osterr. Gesch.*, XX.; REDLICH, 246 *seq.* De Nointel to Louis XIV., dated August 23, 1679, in KÖHLER, 118 *seq.*; GUILLERAGUES to Louis XIV., December 20, 1679, in GÉRIN, 104 *seq.*; May 24, 1680, June 14, 1683, in KÖHLER, 119, 124.

at the head of the army".[1] This was precisely what was happening just then and events were about to prove Reniger and Sagredo right. In any case da Lagni's view coincided completely with the plan of the Pope, and Innocent XI. was all the more bound to make the Capuchin's ideas his own as the information forwarded to him not long after, in February, 1679, by the French ambassador to the Sultan, De Nointel, through the Carmelite Angelo of St. Joseph,[2] confirmed Fra Paolo's observations and likewise counselled a simultaneous attack from several sides. The great offensive against the Turks on land by the Persians, the Muscovites, the Poles and the Emperor, and by sea by Louis XIV., the Pope, Malta, Florence and Genoa, in which Louis XIV. would play a decisive role,[3] now became the Pope's dominant thought and on occasion he spoke of it with enthusiasm.[4]

However, Louis XIV. and his policy proved a very great obstacle to Innocent XI.'s designs against the Turks. The King of France had three objects in view, viz. the rounding off of France's frontiers in a northerly and easterly direction as far as the Rhine, the Spanish succession and the imperial

[1] Reniger, *Hauptrelation*, 144; Sagredo, report of 1665, published by Adam Wolf, *loc. cit.*, 305; Fiedler, *Fontes*, II. 27, 101; Redlich, VI., 247.

[2] Brief of Innocent XI. to De Nointel, February 21, 1680, in Berthier, I., 324. An *extract from Nointel's communications (of February, 1679), written by Fra Angelo a Sancto Josepho himself, is in the Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 106, f. 68–71. Nointel, of course, had to act according to the instructions of his king, but he wrote to Paris in the sense of an alliance of the Christian States against the Turks (Gérin, 100–4), and was therefore, in the opinion of Gérin, replaced in Constantinople by Guilleragues.

[3] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., February 20, 1680, in Michaud, II., 80.

[4] Cardinal D'Estrées to Louis XIV., July 12, 1682, in Gérin, 125: "Il prononça toutes ces choses avec tant d'ardeur que je ne puis le représenter à Votre Majesté qu'en lui disant que ce fut un torrent d'eloquence qui m'entraîna presque dans ses sentiments."

dignity.[1] But none of these aims could be realized without a conflict with the Emperor Leopold. As head of the Empire, as a Habsburg, as wearer of the imperial crown, Leopold was bound to offer the strongest opposition possible to Louis' aspirations. The question, therefore, was for the King of France to destroy the German Habsburgs, or at least to reduce them to the same insignificance as the Spanish ones. To realize this purpose Louis took advantage of the Hungarian rising. He gave it extensive material and moral support, with a view to immobilizing valuable fighting forces of the Emperor which could have been used for the protection of the western frontier.[2] The Hungarian peril was bound to hold the Emperor all the more firmly in check, as the incomparably greater Turkish danger loomed even more largely behind it. To make this peril subservient to his policy, hence not merely in the interest of trade, Louis XIV. had entered into closer and more friendly relations with the Porte since the year 1673, when the war in the Netherlands assumed the proportions of a European conflict. However, to enter into a formal alliance with Turkey was not at all in his interest; it would have damaged his popularity with his people who were thoroughly hostile to the Turks and keen

[1] Immich, *Staatensystem*, 29–32. On Louis XIV.'s aspirations to the imperial crown, *cf.* also Klopp, 27, 66 *seq.*, 68–70, 100–2, 130 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*; Vast, in *Rev. hist.*, LXV. (1897); Köhler, 33–40; Platzhoff, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXI. (1920), 377–412; Redlich, 53, n. 1. That Louis XIV. aspired to the imperial crown can hardly be doubted after the above evidence (*cf.* especially Klopp and Köhler). Whether he followed up his three anti-Habsburg aims in a definite order, and in which and for which of them he made use of the Turkish affair, is to us a matter of indifference.

[2] Klopp, 40, 47, 54, 72, 86 *seq.*; Du Hamel, whose sources are the documents from the Polish and Paris State Archives, published by Waliszewski and Kluczycki in *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, Vols. III, V–VII (the 4 vols. comprise the years 1674–1683); Redlich, 288 *seq.* A valuable supplement to this are the reports of the nuncios in Vienna and Warsaw.

on a crusade,[1] and robbed him of every prospect of obtaining the imperial crown. The *roi soleil's* sole object was to take advantage of his relations with the Porte to fan disturbances in Hungary and to let the Turks know that if they attacked the territory of the Emperor or the possessions of the Habsburgs in Italy, they need have no fear of opposition on his part whereas if they attacked in any other direction, as for instance Poland or Venice, they would have to reckon with France's armed forces. This was bound to stimulate Kara Mustafa's aggressive mood, for the only thing he feared was the intervention of the powerful King of France, whilst it also determined the object of his conquests: their only aim could be the Habsburgs' lands.[2] Louis himself attached the utmost importance to the attitude of the Porte. Although it was an inflexible principle with him that a State suffers loss of power when it permits even the slightest diminution of prestige,[3] yet in the Franco-Turkish conflicts of those years, which were not altogether rare, he departed from this principle and submitted to some sensible humiliations on the part of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier [4] rather than break with the Porte and throw away a trump card in his conflict with Leopold and the Habsburg policy.

The King of France's policy implied one necessary consequence which grievously interfered with Innocent's plan for a crusade. It was necessary for Louis to detach from the enterprise against the Turks the King of Poland, John III. Sobieski, "the bulwark of Christendom" as the Pope had styled him because of his victories over the Turks,[5] and to

[1] *Cf.* IMMICH, *Innozenz XI.*, 16 *seq.* How much what is stated there applies also to France is shown, for instance, by the report to Rome of the Paris nuncio Ranuzzi, dat. September 24, 1683 (BOJANI, III., 759 *seq.*), on the reception in Paris of the news of the deliverance of Vienna.

[2] GÉRIN, especially 104–111; KÖHLER, 58–68.

[3] IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 48 *seq.*

[4] KLOPP, 58, 179; KÖHLER, 78 *seq.*, 85–90, 96 *seq.* ZINKEISEN, V., 43–9.

[5] To the Duke D'Estrées (D'Estrées to Louis XIV., 1676, October 14, in MICHAUD, II., 72).

make of him another link in the chain with which he sought to restrict the imperial policy. His idea was that Sobieski should be the same danger for Leopold in the north-east as the Turks were in the south-east. The plan did not seem too difficult of realization. Sobieski's wife, Maria Casimira, was a Frenchwoman, the daughter of the Marquis d'Arquien,[1] and Sobieski himself had drawn a French pension since 1665 and Maria Casimira also received one in 1669.[2] When, then, after the death of King Michael Wisnowiecki, the husband of the Emperor's sister Eloenore, Sobieski, the strongest opponent of the imperial candidate, Charles of Lorraine,[3] was elected King, the event was generally interpreted as a triumph for French policy.[4] As a matter of fact Louis XIV. had spent 550,000 livres for the purpose of protecting his interests in the electoral struggle, a sum of which perhaps

[1] The remark in SALVANDY, *Sobieski*, I., 297, that Innocent XI., as nuncio in Poland, blessed the marriage of Sobieski with Maria Casimira, is erroneous. Innocent XI. was never nuncio in Poland.

[2] DU HAMEL, VII., 481.

[3] Sobieski remarked to Forbin Janson that he would rather let himself be hacked to pieces than tolerate Charles of Lorraine on the throne. Forbin Janson to Louis XIV., May 11, 1674, in DU HAMEL, VII., 484.

[4] FERD. HIRSCH, *Die Wahl Ioh. Sobieskis zum König von Polen*, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII (1901), 224–269; DU HAMEL, VII., 481–6. At the court of Vienna Buonvisi, then nuncio at Warsaw, was reproached with having done too little for Charles of Lorraine. Buonvisi justified his conduct in a letter to Albizzi, nuncio in Vienna, dat. May 13, 1674 (BOJANI, I., 409, n. 1, and TRENTA, I., 332); he had thoroughly examined the difficult position of Eleonore and had warned the imperial ministers, who thought that the election was only a question of looking for a new husband for the widowed queen; to work openly for the cause of Eleonore had been strictly forbidden him by Rome. HIRSCH, who takes for his sources, inter alia, ZALUSKI's *Epistolae historico-familiares*, I., and the *Acta Poloniae*, III., confirms on p. 249 the justification of Buonvisi. *Cf.* DOUAIS, *Forbin Janson év. de Marseille et l'élection de Jean Sobieski*, in *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France*, I. (1910), 257–271.

one half came into the hands of the new King himself.[1] So it is not surprising that France had him pretty well in tow. On October 28th, 1676, the nuncio Martelli reported to the Pope that the King never conferred with his counsellors without Louis XIV.'s ambassador being present.[2] Louis soon let Sobieski know his intentions through Bishop Forbin Janson who looked after the affairs of his sovereign in Poland: they were that he should conclude peace with the Turks, foster the troubles in Hungary, revive Poland's ancient claims to Silesia with a view, as he put it, "to alarming Vienna and forcing the Emperor to recall his troops from the Rhine to the North."[3] On June 13th, 1675, King John III., in return for a large money subsidy, to be spent on military objects, bound himself to these points by a special agreement.[4]

However, the King of the Poles was in no hurry to carry them out. Notwithstanding the brilliant victories of Chocim and Lemberg, Poland's situation was none too favourable and Sobieski would have been glad to improve it by going on with the war against the Turks, a project which the papal nuncios did their utmost to encourage.[5] However, in the following year, whilst he was besieged in the fortified camp of Zurawna by a superior Turkish force, he decided to open negotiations which led to peace on October 27th. Poland was compelled to surrender to the Turks the greater part of Podolia with the important fortress of Kamieniec.[6] The peace of Zurawna had not been concluded without the active intervention of French diplomacy at Constantinople and Warsaw,[7] and it is

[1] *Acta Pol.*, III., 33, 49 *seq.*, 95–7 (Du Hamel, VII., 486, 490).

[2] Bojani, 413. Also December 30 (*ibid.*, 429). *Cf.* what Béthune, the French ambassador in Poland, reports of him to Pomponne on October 14, 1674: *Acta Pol.*, III., 151 (Du Hamel, VII., 493 *seq.*).

[3] Louis XIV. to Forbin Janson, June 9, 1674; *Acta Pol.*, III., 55 *seq.* (Du Hamel, VII., 488). *Cf. Recueil des Instructions, Pologne*, I., by Louis Fages (1888), LII.

[4] Klopp, 48; Du Hamel, VII., 488–495; Köhler, 43.

[5] Immich, *Staatensystem*, 81. [6] Zinkeisen, V., 78–82.

[7] Du Hamel, VII., 496–502; Köhler, 40–3.

difficult to say whether French influence saved King John Sobieski from an even more disastrous termination of the war or whether it induced him to accept an inglorious peace which the military situation did not necessitate.[1] In 1677 a memorial was submitted to the Polish Diet in which it was stated that the peace was the work of the French who hastened its conclusion in order that they might drag Poland into the war against the Emperor.[2] Both Sobieski himself and Maria Casimira, in a letter to Louis XIV. in July, 1677, lamented the fact that they had concluded, without urgent necessity and only out of consideration for him, a peace so unfavourable to Poland, whereas Louis had not yet paid the compensation that had been agreed upon.[3]

In any case Louis XIV. had achieved his purpose. Long before the conclusion of peace, as early, in fact, as January, 1676, Sobieski was able to inform Paris that Kara Mustafa's influence had definitely triumphed in the council of the Sultan and that the former was bent on peace with Poland and on breaking with the Emperor.[4] Shortly afterwards Mohammed IV. caused the French King to be informed, through Nointel, that he would invade Hungary in the following year on condition that Louis promised him not to make peace with the Emperor without his consent. Louis was not prepared to go so far, though he instructed Nointel to assure the Sultan by word of mouth that he would give no help to the Emperor, neither now nor at any future time.[5] Thus the Porte's war against the Emperor seemed certain, to

[1] Zinkeisen (*loc. cit.*) and Immich (*loc. cit.*, 88) seem to accept the first alternative.

[2] *Bedencken eines Polnischen Patrioten, warum sich König Iohannes in Polen durch die Frantzösisch- und Schwedische Ministres zu keinem Kriege wider den Römischen Keyser und Chur-Brandenburg verleiten lassen solle, de Anno 1677* (Lünig, *Europ. Staatskons*, II., 927–934).

[3] *Acta Pol.*, III., 407, 469; see Du Hamel, VII., 516, 513, where *Porte* must be read instead of *Pologne*.

[4] Du Hamel, VII., 498.

[5] Rousset, *Louvois*, II., 212, n. 2; Klopp, 51 *seq.*

Louis XIV.'s great satisfaction,[1] and presumably it would have been carried into effect had not certain complications with Moscow necessitated a delay.[2]

It is not likely that Innocent XI. was adequately acquainted with these schemes[3]; Louis XIV. did everything to disguise them. His ambassador in Rome was instructed to praise the Pope's efforts on behalf of peace and his plan of an anti-Turkish league as a Christian thought, one worthy of His Holiness' piety. But this approval was to be in general terms; it was useless to enter into particulars since his policy differed completely from that of the Pope.[4] Hence Innocent XI.'s surprise was all the greater when he heard of the Polish peace.[5] He had hoped that Moscow would presently fight the Turk by the side of Sobieski,[6] and to make

[1] Louis XIV. to Forbin Janson, dat. January 31, 1676: "In this case I hope for a double diversion against the emperor" (*Acta Pol.*, III., 249; see DU HAMEL, VII., 499).

[2] ÜBERSBERGER, I., 32–5.

[3] Innocent XI., who had little of the politician and of the diplomatist in his entire composition, and who had never in his whole life crossed the frontiers of Italy, was a tyro when in 1676 he had to face the infinitely complicated political and ecclesiastico-political questions in Eastern and Western Europe. Hence it is easy to understand IMMICH's remark (*Innozenz*, XI., 17) that in general the Pope was not a man of great knowledge of the world and of men, nor an acute statesman, but rather a short-sighted and narrow-minded person. But it was a piece of good fortune that Innocent XI. was well informed about the real state of affairs by his nuncios in Paris, Vienna, and Warsaw. However, Innocent XI. largely compensated for his lack of diplomatic ability by the resolution (which was characteristic of him) with which all his political aims were subordinated to the Turkish question.

[4] Louis XIV. to the Duke D'Estrées, November 5 and December 25, 1676; see MICHAUD, II., 72 *seq.*

[5] Innocent XI. to John III., January 2, 1677; see BERTHIER, I., 43 *seq.*; *Diar. Europ.*, XXXIV., 282.

[6] Cibo to Nuncio Martelli, October 23, 1676, in BOJANI, I., 413, n. 1.

of this junction the starting point of his projected league. The peace just concluded was bound to affect him all the more disagreeably as he appears to have sensed its connexion with a policy hostile to the Emperor.[1] For the rest, immediately after his élevation, the Pope had dispatched to Warsaw, for the war against the Turks, the sum of 50,000 ducats taken for the greater part from his private purse, the papal exchequer not being equal to it. The money came too late and as a measure of precaution nuncio Buonvisi kept it at Vienna.[2] It was not long before Sobieski made excuses for the peace in Rome. The agreement, he explained, was a very advantageous one in the circumstances; it had not yet been ratified and he could break it at any time; if the Christian princes would lend him help he would gladly renew his attack on the Turks.[3] These explanations were calculated to reassure the Pope to some extent. He cherished the hope of a speedy conclusion of the war in the Netherlands, which would enable him to create the league before the ratification of the peace of Zurawna.[4] Accordingly his chief

[1] Already on October 28 and December 30, 1676 (Bojani, I., 412 *seq.*, 429) Nuncio Martelli reported the possibility of a Polish attack on Moscow and Brandenburg and on the support of the Hungarian rebels. On December 26, 1676 (Bojani, I., 429 *seq.*), Cibo charges him to remonstrate with the King on the enrolment of Polish soldiers in the army of the Hungarian rebels, because good relations with her neighbours were a necessity for Poland.

[2] Cibo to Martelli, October 10 and November 8, 1676 (Bojani, I., 411, n. 1), to Buonvisi, October 31, 1676 (*ibid.*, 414, n. 1). The statements in Bernino, 5 *seq.*, and in *Diar. Europ.*, XXXIV., 282, must be corrected accordingly. 50,000 ducats represented in those days about 100,000 florins. *Cf.* the currency accounts in *Diar. Europ.*, XXXV., 7–28.

[3] Sobieski to Innocent XI. from the camp of Zurawna, October 21, 1676; see Berthier, I., 457, n. 16, and Theiner, *Monuments hist. de Russie*, 106. Martelli to Cibo, January 13, 1677; see Bojani, I., 413.

[4] *Cf.* the Brief of Innocent XI. to John III., dat. May 28, 1678 (Berthier, I., 175) and the reports of the nunciature for 1677 and 1678.

and immediate preoccupation was to procure the pacification of the West.

The courier who reached Vienna on October 5th[1] to announce to the Emperor Leopold the election of Innocent XI., was also the bearer of a letter from the Pope in which the Pontiff urged the Emperor to conclude an armistice.[2] However, in view of the military situation Vienna deemed it necessary to decline. The Swedes had been beaten, it was argued, and there was a prospect that the recent conquest of Philippsburg would open the way to Lorraine and France.[3] Nor could the Pope derive more encouragement from the answers to inquiries which reached Rome from Paris and Madrid. Madrid shared Vienna's fear that an armistice might be the occasion of the break-up of the coalition, a circumstance that would spell the ruin of Spain, and if the military operations were interrupted, Messina would be

[1] Bevilacqua from Vienna to Varese in Paris, dat. October 6, 1676, in Bojani, I., 251, n. 1. The courier sent by Cardinal Barberini immediately after the election of Innocent XI., presumably to Warsaw, carried the news of the election to Vienna on September 28. *Cf.* *Buonvisi to Cibo, October 2, 1676, Pap. Sec. Archives, *Nunziat. di Germ.*, 196 f., 452.

[2] The Pope's letter is not among the original copies of the Pap. Sec. Archives. According to the *autograph answer of Emperor Leopold from Ebersdorf, October 17, 1676 (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 103, f. 181) it was dated September 24, as were the instructions to Buonvisi and Bevilacqua to support the Pope's request (*ibid.*, *Germ.*, 36 f. 2). A summary of the Papal letter is contained in the *Memorandum of the Emperor to Cardinal Pio, a copy of which Buonvisi sent to Rome, October 18, 1676 (*ibid.*, *Germania*, 196, f. 488–490). The Brief "*Ex quo visum*" which Trenta (I., 354–6) and Bojani (I., 41–3) give under date of September 28, 1676, as the first letter of the Pope to Leopold, is from November 13, 1677; *cf.* Pap. Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 73, f. 27*b*–29*b*, and Berthier, I., 131 *seq.* The contents of the Brief show that it cannot date from the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent XI.; *cf.* p. 82, n. 4.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, dat. October 11, 1676 (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Germania*, 196, f. 471–4; *cf.* Fraknói-Iekel, 26–8) and the

irremediably lost to Spain.[1] Louis XIV. repeated to nuncio Varese the declaration which he had made to Clement X. on two occasions, viz. that he was ready for an armistice but that this step did not depend on him alone.[2] In reality his great concern, as well as that of the Powers of the Coalition, was to secure, by means of fresh military successes, the most favourable basis possible for the peace negotiations [3] which were due to begin at Nymeguen.[4]

Jenkins, the envoy of Charles II. of England who had assumed the rôle of a mediator, had arrived at Nymeguen on January 16th, 1676.[5] The Emperor Leopold was anxious that the Pope should also be represented. At the same time as he rejected an armistice, he informed the Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo, that the Pope would best serve the cause of peace if he were to make haste to dispatch a nuncio to the peace congress, overlooking the circumstance of the choice of non-Catholic Nymeguen and other religious difficulties, since there could hardly be question of transferring the congress to some other town.[6] Innocent was prepared to

memorandum of Leopold to Cardinal Cibo (*cf.* the preceding note).

[1] Mellini to Cibo, October 29, 1676, and March 4, 1677, in Bojani, I., 662, 278, 636. In the autumn of 1677, when on account of the disquieting news from Constantinople Innocent XI. asked again for an armistice, Don Juan of Austria gave the same answer ; *cf.* Mellini to Cibo, December 23, 1677, *ibid.*, 680. The Spaniards reconquered Messina in the course of the war ; *Cf.* above, p. 40, n. 4.

[2] Abbé Siri from Paris, October 30, 1676, in Bojani, I., 251, n. 1.

[3] *Cf.* the conversation of Don Gerolamo d'Eguja with Nuncio Mellini in Madrid : Mellini to Cibo, March 4, 1677, in Bojani, I., 636.

[4] *Cf.* on the peace negotiations in Nymeguen, Immich, *Staatensystem*, 89–97 ; Redlich, 193–9 ; Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, III., 430–7 ; Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, II., 1–162.

[5] Redlich, 193.

[6] *Leopold to Cardinal Cibo from Ebersfeld, October 18, 1676, Pap. Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 103 *seq.*, 184 *seq.*

co-operate in the work of peace, but showed greater anxiety than the Emperor with regard to the religious question. With a view to avoiding a papal mediation between Catholic and Protestant Powers, whilst unwilling to leave everything to the English plenipotentiary,[1] Innocent XI. was anxious that another Catholic mediator besides the nuncio should attend the congress. He thought of Venice, remembering probably the peace congress of Münster where the Venetian envoy had co-operated with the Papal nuncio.[2] With the help of Venice he also hoped to obtain, instead of Protestant Nymeguen, which his predecessor had also deemed unsuitable for a papal representative,[3] a Catholic locality as the seat of the negotiations.[4]

However, mediation by Venice was difficult just then owing to the marked tension between the Republic and the two Habsburg courts. With a view to the suppression of a rising against the Spanish Crown which had broken out at Messina in 1674, the Spaniards had sought to transport troops levied in Austria to Sicily through the Adriatic. However, for fear of Louis XIV., who had had a hand in the troubles at Messina, Venice forbade the passage of the troops. The two Spanish ships were compelled to return and disembark the men.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, January 22, 1678, in Bojani, I., 318, and below p. 67, n. 6.

[2] *Cf.* XXX., p. 96.

[3] *Cf.* the Memorandum of Bevilacqua to the Emperor Leopold in *Actes et mémoires de Nimègue*, I., 134–6. Under Clement X. the question was examined whether the Papal nuncio could not take part in the negotiations from Cleve; *cf.* Pallavicini to Altieri, May 10, 1676, in Hiltebrandt, *Preussen und die röm. Kurie*, 53 *seq.*

[4] Cibo to nuncio Airoldi in Venice, October 7 and 31, 1676, in Bojani, I., 628 *seq.* Accordingly Immich's doubt (*Innozenz, XI.*, 12) whether Innocent XI. had any confessional scruples at all, must be somewhat restricted.

[5] Antonio Battistella in *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XXXV. (1918), 84 *seq.*, according to *Reale Arch. di Stato di Venezia, Consult. in iure*, filza, 135.

Innocent XI. had cherished the hope of settling the dispute. Even before Leopold had expressed a desire for a papal nuncio to go to Nymeguen, the Pope had begun negotiations with the Signoria, Vienna and Madrid,[1] on the subject of the dispute in the Gulf and the participation of Venice in the peace negotiations. These discussions continued until the middle of 1678. Innocent XI. proposed that out of regard for the Pope, Spain should declare the incident closed.[2] Vienna would have been satisfied with such a declaration, but Madrid refused to content itself with a friendly compromise: what was wanted was satisfaction.[3] Moreover the courts of Vienna and Madrid did not altogether trust an intervention for peace by Venice, especially if, as even Innocent XI. suggested,[4] the chosen agent was to be the Venetian historian Battista Nani, a man well qualified for dealing with affairs, who in a recently published historical work had treated the Habsburgs most unkindly.[5] Venice would have been glad to accept as early as the spring of 1677, the mediation which it was proposed to entrust to her.[6] At the papal court an appropriate formula was devised to give satisfaction to both parties: it was that in a letter to the Pope, which would contain expressions of attachment to the King of Spain, the Republic was to express regret for what had been done. With its

[1] Cibo to Airoldi (*cf.* above, p. 55, n. 4); to Buonvisi, November 7 and 21 and December 19, 1676; Bionvisi to Cibo, October 18, November 22, and December 20, 1676, in Bojani, I., 262–7.

[2] Cibo to Mellini, November 28, 1676, *ibid.*, 630 *seq.*

[3] Mellini to Cibo, January 1, 1677, *ibid.*, 632 *seq.*

[4] Thus Cardinal Nidhard according to the report of Airoldi to Cibo, December 26, 1677, *ibid.*, 632.

[5] Mellini to Cibo, January 21 and November 12, 1677; Cibo to Airoldi, January 27, 1677; Airoldi to Cibo, November 7 and 13, 1677, *ibid.*, 633, 651, n. 2, 634, 629, n. 1, 647. Battista Nani is the author of the *Historia della Republica Veneta* which had appeared in 1676. Don Juan especially complained of the work; see Mellini in the report of November 12, 1677.

[6] Cibo to Mellini, May 15, 1677, in Bojani, I., 637; Memoirs of the imperial ambassadors for the mediators, May 3, 1677, in *Actes et mém.*, I., 241 *seq.*

consent, the Pope would then forward the letter to Madrid, where it would be kept in the archives for an everlasting memory.[1] The court of Madrid ended by agreeing to this solution; more than that, when at the beginning of 1678 it became evident that England was about to enter the war, thereby putting an end to all thought of her mediation,[2] Don Juan of Austria, who was at that time responsible for Spain's policy, formally urged Venice's participation in the peace congress and even dropped his objections to Battista Nani.[3]

However, the whole affair failed owing to one condition which Spain made soon after the opening of the negotiations and to which she stuck tenaciously and with which, in all probability, Cardinal Portocarrero's journey to Rome in the spring of 1678 was also connected: this was that simultaneously with the papal and Venetian mediation at the peace congress, steps should also be taken, under the inspiration of the Holy See, for the formation of a league of all the Italian princes, among whom the Habsburgs were naturally included.[4] As the object of the league, Spain designated, in the course of the negotiations, the defence against the Turks and against whosoever disturbed public tranquillity.[5] This amounted to an admission of a fact which papal diplomacy had recognized from the beginning, that the projected league was aimed against France in the first instance. It looks as if the Turks had been included solely for the purpose of rendering the proposal a little less unpalatable to the Pope.[6] Innocent XI. at once opposed a league of this

[1] Cibo to Mellini, November 19, 1677, in Bojani, 648–650.

[2] Klopp, *Stuart*, II., 86 *seqq.*; Cibo to Bevilacqua, January 22, 1678, in Bojani, I., 318.

[3] Mellini to Cibo, December 24, 1677, and April 2, 1678; Cibo to Airoldi, January 22, 1678, *ibid.*, 652 *seq.*, 654, n. 7, 653.

[4] Mellini to Cibo, February 5, March 4, June 8, 1677; Cibo to Mellini, May 15, 1677; *Avviso di Roma*, April 3, 1678, *ibid.*, 633 *seq.*, 635 *seq.*, 638 (with note), 637, 655, n. 1.

[5] Thus expressly the Spanish ambassador in Venice. Airoldi to Cibo, January 25, 1678, *ibid.*, 654.

[6] *Cf.* the report of Mellini, March 4, 1677, quoted above.

kind with as much vigour as Spain advocated it. The Italian States, he observed, were politically far too dependent on the Great Powers to enable them to form a league of their own; the moment for the formation of an alliance against the Turks would come after, not before the conclusion of peace, and lastly, the papal mediation at Nymeguen was incompatible with such a league.[1] This last was the capital point for Innocent XI. He was anxious to avoid even the appearance of being mixed up in these European contests and of having taken up a position hostile to France.[2] As the French ambassador shortly afterwards reported to Paris, the Pope had observed to the Spanish ambassador: "We are the Head of Christendom; we may not be the head of a league or an army."[3]

[1] Cibo to Mellini, March 2 and 4, November 19, December 23, 1677, and May 29, 1678, *ibid.*, 643 *seq.*, 636 *seq.*, 649, n. 1, 651 *seq.*, 656 *seq.* In the instruction of Cibo dated May 29, 1678, we find an observation which sounds strange in the mouth of Innocent XI.: "His Holiness thinks also that a league is not the proper means of resisting the Turks. It would be difficult to preserve unity among the Allies, as is shown by the experience of the league of Pius V. against Selim. Clement IX. also, in the extreme dangers of the war of Candia, did not want a league, but counselled the separate action of the Powers." Evidently at that moment Innocent XI. was completely dominated by the idea of rejecting the project of a Spanish League.

[2] *Cf.* the instructions of Cibo to Mellini, dated November 19, 1677, in Bojani, I., 649, n. 1.

[3] The Duke D'Estrées to Pomponne, April 18, 1679, in Gérin, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXIII. (1878), 18. Immich (*Innozenz*, XI., 12, n. 2) rightly rejects the assertion of F. Petrucelli della Gattina (III., 304) that the Pope had offered his mediation for peace more from sympathy for Spain and the Emperor than for France, as "quite unproven". One could even notice in the Pope a certain reserve with regard to Spain which, of course, can be explained in part by his dissatisfaction with Del Carpio, the Spanish ambassador in Rome. *Cf.* the story of the conflict about the quarter and the efforts made by Del Carpio to promote in Rome itself a mediation of the Pope for peace.

It had not been possible to bring about the co-operation of a Venetian envoy in the Pope's mediation for peace.[1] For the rest Innocent XI. had given priority to the cause of peace over this question and as early as the first days of December, 1676, he had entrusted the duty of representing him at Nymeguen to the titular Archbishop of Alexandria, Luigi Bevilacqua, whom Clement X. had dispatched to the court of Vienna as nuncio extraordinary on matters relating to peace.[2] However, certain obstacles stood in the way of Bevilacqua's departure. Though Charles II. had expressed, in confidence, his personal satisfaction at the Pope's mediation, out of consideration no doubt for his Parliament, or for Louis XIV., who just then hardly desired any other mediation than that of the King of England who was wholly devoted to him, he had been compelled to instruct his plenipotentaries not to enter into relations with the papal nuncio and to persuade the envoys of the Powers forming the Coalition to act in like manner.[3] To this the latter refused to agree. The Protestant Powers declared that, of course, they would not

Cibo to Bevilacqua and Bevilacqua to Varese, September 18, 1677, Cibo to Buonvisi, October 16, 1677, Buonvisi to Cibo, December 5, 1677, in Bojani, I., 299, 280, n. 3, 300 seq.

[1] For Innocent XI.'s plans to induce Portugal to mediate, instead of Venice, *cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, March 21, 1677, and Cibo to Mellini, March 20, 1678, *ibid.*, 280, 325.

[2] Two *dispatches of Cibo to Buonviri, December 12, 1676, in Pap. Sec. Arch. *Germ.*, 36, f. 19*b*–20*b*. The Florentine ambassador Montanti had already reported on November 22, 1676: " *Tra i prelati che vanno in predicamento per la Nuntiatura al trattato di pace, Mons. Bevilacquaè assai considerato, sentendori che i Francesi non vogliono ni Buonvisi in Pallavicino (State Archives, Florence). For Bevilacqua *cf.* Moroni, XXXII., 45. The credentials for his mission to Nymeguen are in Berthier, I., 28–31.

[3] Internuncio Tanari in Brussels to Cibo, December 26, 1676, Buonvisi to Cibo, May 16, 1677, in Bojani, I., 252, n. 2, 274 *seq.* That Louis XIV. had a hand in the game was the opinion of the Court of Vienna; *cf.* Bevilacqua to Cibo from Vienna, January 24, 1677, *ibid.*, 259.

make use of the papal intervention, but that they would recognize the nuncio as a royal envoy[1]; the States General alone, with whom the two Habsburg courts were negotiating at Rome's request for a suitable reception of the nuncio,[2] refused at first to issue a passport to Bevilacqua so as not to be compelled to mention the Pope's name in an official document. The latter, they declared, they could at most style "Most Serene", nor could they make any promises with regard to the practice of the Catholic religion in the locality where the peace congress would be held. For the rest they would treat the nuncio with every mark of honour and he would be free to settle at Nymeguen as he pleased.[3] It was only on May 8th, 1677, that the States General, at the request of Vienna, issued a safe conduct in which the Pope was mentioned.[4] Innocent XI. decided to forgo the use of one of the churches of Nymeguen in order not to impede the cause of peace. Instead of this a large room was fitted up as a chapel at the nuncio's lodgings and to this, as to the chapel of the French Embassy, Catholics had free access.[5] In order to avoid a dispute over precedence between the Pope and the King of England, it was agreed that in the letters accrediting the various plenipotentiaries, the mediating courts should only be mentioned in general terms.[6]

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo, January 10, 1677, *ibid.*, 255 *seq.*

[2] *Cibo to Buonvisi, December 12, 1676 (*cf.* above, p. 59, n. 2).

[3] Bevilacqua to Cibo, January 17, 1677, Buonvisi to Cibo, March 7, 1677, in Bojani, I., 257–9, 279 *seq.*

[4] Bevilacqua to Cibo, May 16, 1677, *ibid.*, 274. The Dutch safe conduct of May 8, 1677, in *Actes et mém.*, I., 448 *seq.* The nuncio is styled: "l'Illustrissime et Reverendissime Seigneur Bevilacqua. . . . Nonce du Pape."

[5] Cibo to Bevilacqua in Cologne, April 24, 1677, in Bojani, I., 269. The Pope was ready even to renounce an outer door for the nunciature if that were to create difficulties. Saint-Disdier, *Hist. des nég. de la paix de Nim.*, 68 *seq.*

[6] Bevilacqua to Cibo, January 10, 1677, Varese to Cibo, January 15, 1677, in Bojani, I., 252–5, 256, n. 1. The Emperor Leopold issued a double faculty: in the one the Pope is described

Bevilacqua left Vienna on February 9th, 1676, even before the last difficulties had been overcome.[1] On March 21st he arrived at Cologne [2] where he waited until the ceremonial was fixed, after which he continued his journey through Düsseldorf and Cleve. At the summer residence of the Duke of Neuburg, at Düsseldorf, he met with a splendid reception. All down the Rhine he was greeted with the sound of bells and the thunder of guns.[3] The Elector Frederick William had given strict orders to his officials in the territory of Cleve to receive the nuncio with every mark of honour.[4] On June 1st, after nightfall, and seen by only a few persons,[5] Bevilacqua arrived at Nymeguen,[6] with a suite of over fifty persons, among whom were Casoni and two experts in controversy.[7]

as mediator, in the other the King of England; see *Actes et mém.*, I., 274, 277. The Bishop of Strassburg, Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, names both mediators expressly, first the Pope, then Charles II. of England (*ibid.*, 290).

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo from Tuln, February 12, 1677, in Bojani, I., 260. The Papal letter of safe-conduct for Bevilacqua, February 26, 1677, in *Actes et mém.*, I., 252–4, and in Lünig, *Lit. Proc. Europ.*, II., 844–7.

[2] Bojani, I., 261.

[3] Bevilacqua to Cibo, May 29th, 1677, in Bojani, I., 276 *seq.* A full account of the reception at Düsseldorf is given in the "*Istruttione data da persona erudita e politica a Mons. Bevilacqua," in Pap. Sec. Archives, *Miscell.*, III., vol. 10, f. 114*b*–117*b*. This instruction, which (f. 112–123) at the same time gives directions and reports events, occupies itself exclusively with the ceremonial. *Cf.* on this and on the escort of Bevilacqua, *Nuova antologia*, 1926, Dic. 1.

[4] Hiltebrandt in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 2, 362.

[5] *Istruttione, f. 118.

[6] Saint-Disdier, 65. The statement in *Actes et mem.*, I., 252, that Bevilacqua arrived in Nymeguen on May 22 must be wrong since the report of the journey of the nuncio and his first reports from Nymeguen agree only with Saint-Disdier.

[7] Bevilacqua sent from Cologne, on April 18, 1677, to Cibo a list of his personnel and an account of his expenditure. The monthly expenditure amounted to 1463,50 scudi for 53 persons

As a measure of precaution he had left two Capuchins at Cleve, for the time being at least, as he wished to ascertain whether they could show themselves without difficulty at Nymeguen, for not so long before a Spanish Jesuit had caused too great a sensation by appearing in the town in his long gown.[1]

Bevilacqua was the first papal representative to tread the soil of Holland since the religious division. Saint-Didier, Secretary to D'Estrades, the head of the French delegation to the Congress, has left a vivid description of the reception of the nuncio by the population of Nymeguen. On the evening of June 5th, he writes, the nuncio received the imperial envoys at 5 o'clock, and the French ones at 7.[2] The

and 25 horses (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Paci*, 34, f. 139 *seq.*; *cf.* BOJANI, I., 268, n. 1). For Casoni see Bevilacqua to Cibo, May 16, 1677; on the two controvertists May 2, 1677, in BOJANI, I., 274, 272. Saint-Disdier calls special attention to the splendid style and the good order at the nunciature.

[1] SAINT-DISDIER, 69 *seq.* The author of the *Istruttione says (f. 120): "Averta di non condurre frati seco di qualsivoglia religione, perchè in quei sorti di paesi non riescono, e ne parlo per esperienza."

[2] Bevilacqua sensed how his visit would be taken by the Protestant delegations. When he noticed that it would be unwelcome, he thought he was dispensed from the duty of presenting himself. He communicated the motives of his conduct to the Catholic delegates who resolutely defended him against the complaints of the Danish, Brandenburg, and Dutch ambassadors, who protested that he had slighted them (Bevilacqua to Cibo, June 4 and 11, 1677, in HILTEBRANDT, *Verkehr*, 367, n. 2, 368, n. 1). In his *final Report Bevilacqua says: "Per corrispondere alle cortesie, che avevo ricevute nel mio viaggio da' ministri d'alcuni principi protestanti, stimai bene dichiararmi, che sarei stato pronto di praticare le dovute civiltà con i ministri de' principi eretici ogni volta che avessi avuta sicurezza di ricevere la dovuta corrispondenza." (Barb. 5171, f. 3b *seq.*, Vat. Lib.) Bevilacqua's final report is also in *Barb.* 5176, f. 1–73, *Ottob.* 1655, *ibid.*, and in Pap. Sec. Arch., *Borghese*, IV., 256b, n. 3, f. 1–62 v, *Miscell.*, II., 159, n. 47.

curiosity of the burghers was exceptionally great on this occasion for the people were determined to see for themselves what a papal nuncio looked like. The burgomaster of the city and a number of persons had taken their places at the windows of the neighbouring houses in order to watch the nuncio when he received the envoys as they alighted and again when he escorted them back to their carriages. When he appeared he was seen to wear a simple purple cassock with red piping, and a cross set with diamonds. Otherwise he usually went about in a short coat. The simple country people, Catholics and Protestants alike, came all day in great numbers to Nymeguen. The Catholics derived comfort for their souls in so doing whilst the others gratified their curiosity by the sight of a representative of the Pope of whom their ministers had drawn terrifying pictures. The municipality of Nymeguen which, as a matter of fact, did its best to facilitate the free exercise of the Catholic religion during the congress, subsequently called on the nuncio—Burgomaster Welderen, heading the deputation.[1] In his reply to the burgomaster's speech, Bevilacqua observed that he would like the Protestants to render to him the honours given to a secular ambassador ; above all he was anxious to establish contact with the English delegates for the purpose of co-operating with them in the work of peace. He then invited the municipal councillors to his table when he entertained them elegantly after the Italian fashion, six courses and various wines being served. As for his own person, he excused himself from not taking part in the feast on the plea of not feeling well and he had his place taken by his auditor. Religion was not mentioned at table.[2]

One of the first tasks undertaken by the nuncio, at the request of the French delegates, was to draw up rules of conduct for the personnel of the embassy. Bevilacqua's regulations met with so much approval that all the Catholic delegates adopted them and the English expressed their

[1] Saint-Disdier, 67–9.

[2] *Actes et mém.*, I., 444–6 ; *Istruttione f. 122b.

satisfaction with them.[1] The nuncio's work for peace was circumscribed by the instructions from Rome. They were as follows: He must mediate between the Catholic princes, but not in the interest of the Protestant ones, though he should try to obtain from the Protestant Powers a wider measure of freedom for religion.[2] It was not his duty, as a mediator, to find out the plans and intentions of the various parties, or those of the English, or to pursue a peaceful policy of his own. If the English, on their part, made peace proposals and wished to act as arbiters of peace, he should let them do so. The Holy Father was not seeking his own glory, but the glory of God and the peace of Christendom. The nuncio need not insist on himself appearing as the author of the peace: his main purpose would be fulfilled if only peace came about.[3] His duty was to communicate the suggestions of one party to the other, but this he should do in such wise as to avoid all asperity and to promote peace.[4]

Within these somewhat narrow limits Bevilacqua fulfilled his task with great skill. The various memorials and proposals submitted were forwarded by him in an Italian translation

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo, June 18, 1677, in Bojani, I., 289 *seq.* The ruling is in *Actes et mém.*, I., 494–9. The principal directions are: Prohibition of duels; prohibition of carrying arms and of wandering about at night for the lower personnel. Disobedience to these rules, quarrels and disputes are punished with immediate dismissal, without distinction between the aggressor and the attacked. For offences against people of other nationalities there are special penalties. In the case of an offence against the laws of the country, the culprit ceases to be a member of the delegation from the moment the penal action is committed, and is to be handed over to the city police. When two carriages meet in the narrow streets that one must always turn aside which can do so most conveniently, though without prejudice to any precedence.

[2] Cibo to Bevilacqua, May 29 and June 20, 1677; *cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, July 19, 1677, in Bojani, I., 276, 293, 294 *seq.*

[3] Cibo to Bevilacqua, September 25, 1677; *cf.* Cibo to Varese, July 13, 1678, to Bevilacqua, July 23, 1678, *ibid.*, 298 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*

[4] Cibo to Bevilacqua, May 29, 1677 (*cf.* above, n. 2).

and by a skilful turn in the wording he eliminated whatever might have offended the other party. It was precisely on this point that he excelled over the English manner, which was too rough, in fact he roused English jealousy.[1] Judging by existing reports the mediation of the nuncio was especially made use of during France's discussions with the Habsburg Powers.[2]

From Rome the nuncio received repeated injunctions to observe the strictest neutrality,[3] in fact the authorities there desired to see neutrality carried to such lengths that they wished the nuncio's lodgings to be at equal distance from the French and the Spanish embassy.[4] Owing to the extreme sensitiveness of both parties and the intractibility and

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo, November 19, 1677; *cf.* the letters of Bevilacqua to Cibo and those of Cibo to Bevilacqua, July 9, 1678, in Bojani, I., 303–5, 349, 351. As for the rest, the relations between the nuncio and the English seem to have been very good; *cf.* the incident reported by Bevilacqua to Cibo, November 29, 1678, *ibid.*, 383, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Cibo to Varese, November 2, 1678, Cibo to Bevilacqua, April 15, 1679, Buonvisi to Cibo, March 30, 1679, *ibid.*, 374, n. 1, 405, n. 1, 405. The most peculiar case in which the mediation of Bevilacqua (July 7, 1678) was invoked, was undoubtedly that of the Duke of Tremouille, who made claims to Naples, and that with the approbation of Louis XIV., on the plea that he was sovereign of the kingdom in virtue of being a direct descendant of King Frederick of Naples, whereas Charles II. of Spain possessed the country only as a result of the invasion of Ferdinand the Catholic; see Lünig, *Lit. Proc. Europ.*, II., 879–881.

[3] On June 11, 1677 (in Bojani, I., 228 *seq.*), Bevilacqua reports to Cibo that he had reminded Ronquillo (one of the two Spanish members of the congress) that it was useless to demonstrate at such length the injustice of the French arms; the French had also something against the Spaniards. On June 11, 1677 (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Paci*, 37, f. 8) Cibo blames Bevilacqua for his remarks to Ronquillo; the Spaniards might have accused him of partiality. He, the Cardinal, had not dared to show to the Pope the nuncio's letter (in code) dated June 11, 1637). *Cf.* Cibo to Bevilacqua, June 25, 1678, in Bojani, I., 345.

[4] Saint-Disdier, 65.

obstinacy of the French in their demands,[1] the path of impartiality was an exceedingly narrow one; the nuncio, however, succeeded in pursuing it until the end. The best proof of it is that the Emperor Leopold would have been glad if, from Nymeguen, Bevilacqua had gone as nuncio to Paris. Bevilacqua, the Emperor declared, enjoyed the full confidence and goodwill of Louis XIV. and might possibly induce him to adopt a different policy towards the Turks.[2]

The mistrust which the English mediation met with from the first very soon—in fact as early as March 1677—raised the question whether the Pope's representative might not act as mediator even in the affairs of the Protestants. Even Holland seems to have expressed a wish in this sense.[3] More than the rest the Grand Elector was anxious to avail himself of Bevilacqua's services. Since about the end of the first half of the year the Emperor sought to win over the Pope for this plan, on the plea that the coalition was a league of the Catholic as well as the Protestant princes.[4] However, neither the Emperor himself nor the Cardinal Protector of the Habsburgs, Pio,[5] could induce the Pope to change his mind. Because Catholics, Innocent XI. firmly replied, formed unlawful coalitions, of the kind that the Church reproves, that was no reason for the Pope to commit the same error

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo October 30, 1678, Bevilacqua to Cibo, April 15, 1678, in Bojani, I., 345, 329 *seq.* *Cf.* the conflict over the Briefs, p. 74 *seq.*, and Gust. Gutmensch, *Heiteres und Ernstes vom Nimeghener Friedenskongress*, in *Schweiz. Rundschau*, 1919–20, fasc. 4. About the difficulties which arose at this time for the Holy See on account of a real or supposed violation of its neutrality by French or Spanish ships in papal waters, *cf.* the reports in Bojani, I., 662–687.

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo, June 18, 1679, *ibid.*, 548. The Vicar Apostolic of Holland, Ioh. Hubens, also reported to Rome on the beneficent activity of the papal nuncio at the Peace Congress; *cf.* the Brief to Hubens, September 4, 1677, in Berthier, I., 119 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, March 21, 1677, in Bojani, I., 280.

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 11, 1677, *ibid.*, 294.

[5] Cibo to Buonvisi, October 16, 1677, *ibid.*, 300 *seq.*

and, as it were, to canonize these coalitions by himself meddling with the affairs of heretics and carrying out their wishes.[1] It would be most unseemly for the Apostolic nuncio openly and directly to act in the interest of Protestant princes[2]; to do so would be to go against the ancient and invariable discipline of the Church. After Clement X. had done his best to restrain the Emperor from entering into a league with the Protestants, and Leopold had taken no notice of the just protest of the Pope, it was not possible for him to direct the nuncio to busy himself with the wishes of the heretics unless there were a clear prospect that some important advantage would accrue to the Catholic Church from such a mediation.[3]

Leopold felt he could justify his conduct. He requested nuncio Buonvisi to inform Rome that if he had entered into a league with the Protestants, it was in self-defence, whereas Louis had allied himself with them for the purpose of a war of aggression and even now he still made common cause with the Hungarian rebels, to the great advantage of the Turks.[4] However, the Pope remained firm. In December, 1677, and in January, 1678, the Cardinal Secretary of State once more pointed out to Bevilacqua that he must make it his rule not to meddle with the affairs of heretics. He should offer his excuses to the Protestant Powers. Such action may look like an act of revenge; but in reality it was inspired by a desire for their conversion and for the sake of safeguarding the Holy See.[5] In the event of England failing as a mediating power, the Pope considered once more the possibilities offered by Venice.[6] In his personal intercourse Bevilacqua was told carefully to avoid whatever might seem like a disparagement

[1] Cibo to Bevilacqua, September 25, 1677, *ibid.*, 298 *seq.*

[2] Cibo to Buonvisi, October 16, 1677 ("in forma publica e direttamente"), Pap. Sec. Arch., *Paci*, 37, f. 14.

[3] Cibo to Buonvisi, November 27, 1677, in Bojani, I., 301, n. 1.

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, December 19, 1677, *ibid.*, 311, n. 1.

[5] Cibo to Bevilacqua, December 18 and 25, 1677, *ibid.*, 311 *seq.*

[6] Cibo to Bevilacqua, Jan. 22, 1678, *ibid.*, 318. *Cf.* above, p. 55, n. 1.

of the Protestant princes, in fact he should speak well of them; but he must not act in their interest.[1] Accordingly Innocent XI. was not altogether sorry when a dispute with France, in connexion with Bevilacqua's Brief accrediting him as a plenipotentiary, provided the Holy See with an excuse for withholding its signature from the peace treaty, "for the Head of the Church and the Vicar of Christ," Cibo was instructed to write to Varese, the Paris nuncio, "may not have the slightest part in arrangements in which room is likewise made for men who are enemies of the faith and rebels against God and His Church."[2]

By his distinguished and courteous manner Bevilacqua greatly softened the stern directions of Innocent XI. and on the whole he was on excellent terms with the delegates, even with those of England.[3] He had early obtained leave from the Inquisition to enter into relations with the heretics whenever the public good should demand it.[4] The Congress had an impression that Bevilacqua's attitude towards the Protestants differed extraordinarily from that of former nuncios. An eminent personage of the States General observed that it was all very well for their own ministers to preach that the Pope was Antichrist; as far as he himself was concerned, he was convinced that the present Pope could not be Antichrist.[5]

[1] Cibo to Bevilacqua, July 17, 1678, in Bojani, I., 358. *Cf.* Bevilacqua to Cibo, November 26, 1678, *ibid.*, 381 *seq.*; the nuncio refuses to make express mention of the Dutch in a memorial of mediation and restricts himself to the formula "the belligerent Powers".

[2] July 20, 1678, *ibid.*, 358 *seq.* *Cf.* Hiltebrandt, *Verkehr.*, 368–371; on the conflict concerning the Brief, see p. 74, *seqq.*

[3] Saint-Disdier, 65 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 65, n. 3.

[4] Bevilacqua to Cibo, June 15, 1677, in Bojani, I., 289. But already before, on June 4, Cibo had warned him that he should not show any partiality towards the English, beyond the limits laid down by the Holy Office (*ibid.*, 288).

[5] Saint-Disdier, 143 *seq.* Bevilacqua also reported to Cibo on June 25, 1678, that people gave proofs to him of great veneration for His Holiness (Bojani, I., 345 *seq.*).

Though it was too late to alter in any way the ecclesiastico-political stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia by diplomatic means, it would have meant a moral victory for the Catholic cause precisely in the sphere of Protestant preponderance if, in view of the favourable state of opinion at Nymeguen, the nuncio had acted as a mediator even in the purely political and material interests of the Protestant princes. But for ideas such as these the memory of the wars of religion and the year 1648 were too recent, and in purely Catholic countries men had not yet sufficiently learned to distinguish between formal heretics, that is people who knew they were in the wrong, and material heretics who were in good faith, between a league for a religious object and a purely political coalition of Powers of different faiths which could be justified by grave motives, such as the European equilibrium or the defence against the Turks, even from the standpoint of Catholic morality. The rigid Innocent XI., who had never set foot in a land of mixed religion, was not the man to be ahead of his time in this respect. It is, nevertheless, a fact that heretics, even Protestant princes, came away charmed from their personal interviews with the Pope and could not sufficiently extol his goodness and courtesy.[1]

The Holy See was fully aware of the limited possibilities of papal intervention on behalf of peace. A few years later, on July 18th, 1683, Cardinal Cibo wrote to the nuncio at Madrid, Mellini, that the congress of Nymeguen had clearly shown the futility of papal mediation. The Holy See had no army and was unable to negotiate on behalf of Protestant sovereigns, though the latter's affairs were everywhere linked with the work for peace. This robbed papal mediation of all efficacy.[2] For the rest we must not forget that, in point of

[1] *Cf.* MARRACCI, 242 *seq.*, and his evidence, and that of others, in the process of beatification : *Positio*, p. 29, §§ 2, 3, 4 ; p. 30, § 11, p. 26, § 69, p. 40, §§ 101,

[2] Pap. Secret. Arch., *Spagna*, 161, f. 9 : " *Il congresso di Nimega ha insegnato troppo bene, quanto sia inutile la mediazione pontificia, allorchè s'incontra con un'altra di principe protestante et in affari implicati con quelli di principati eretici, mentre non

fact, peace was not made at Nymeguen, rather was it the result of Spain's weakness and the lust of conquest and the diplomatic skill of Louis XIV. that succeeded in breaking up the league and in preventing intervention by England, by cunningly playing off its King and its Parliament against each other. Innocent XI. had made four different attempts to dispose Louis XIV. in favour of conciliation by Briefs [1] and through Cardinal Bouillon of Paris. Bouillon was instructed to tell the King that the war then in progress could not procure him a victory at all comparable with the glory of giving peace to Christendom and of saving the blood of Christians for glorious triumphs in the land of the infidels.[2] The Pope also strove, by means of personal negotiations with the French ambassador in Rome and through nuncio Varese in Paris, to obtain for the Duke of Lorraine possession of his own territory,[3] for Spain a more favourable peace and, in accordance with the English negotiations of 1678,[4] the surrender of Tournai, Condé and Valenciennes.[5] However, Louis XIV. proved intractable. When in the affair of the imprisoned friend of the French, Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, the court of Vienna proposed to the Pope that Leopold should hand over the prisoner to Innocent XI. who would

può caminare concordemente nè le è permesso di porre le mani in tutto. Oltre che detta mediazione, come disarmata, non può operare con tutta quella efficacia che sarebbe necessaria, nè di lei si fa per lo più tutto il conto che si dovrebbe."

[1] February 10, April 29, November 17, 1677, in Berthier, I., 66, 88 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*

[2] January 12, 1677, *ibid.*, 49 *seq.*

[3] Cibo to Bevilacqua, June 11, 178; Bevilacqua to Cibo, June 18, 1678, to Varese June 21; Buonvisi to Bevilacqua, February 26, 1679, to Cibo, March 5; Cibo to Buonvisi, March 25 and April 1, 1679, in Bojani, I., 338, 341, 343, 400, 402, 402 n. 1, 404. The Brief of which Cibo speaks in his letter to Buonvisi, April 1, 1679, in Berthier, I., 249 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Klopp, *Stuart*, 80.

[5] Varese to Cibo, February 7, 1678, Cibo to Mellini, March 21, 1678, Mellini to Cibo, April 29, 1678, in Bojani, I., 320, 325 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*

then procure his freedom, Paris rejected even this compromise which would have safeguarded the imperial dignity.[1]

On August 10th, 1678, peace between the States General and France was signed and on September 12th Spain was forced to submit to Louis' conditions. The question now was whether the Emperor would continue the war or make peace. It was the task of Buonvisi, the nuncio, to induce him to adopt the latter course. Buonvisi was personally a determined protagonist of the European equilibrium. At the beginning of the peace negotiations in February, 1677, he wrote to Cibo that France could not be left in possession of all her conquests, which had mader her the arbiter of Europe, even to the detriment of the Curia.[2] The Vienna nuncio favoured a strong Flanders in Spanish hands, an imposing English sea power and a German Alsace,[3] but these were aims which hardly entered into the political considerations of Innocent XI.[4] His policy was wholly dominated by the thought of warding off the Turkish attack and the real or imaginary advantages of the Catholic Church. If, he said at this time, the French military successes had not been opposed, it might have been possible to restore the Catholic religion in Holland and perhaps even in England. Instead of this, the Emperor and his Coalition, had defended Holland against a prince whose victories were also conquests for religion. What the Emperor did may have been in the interest of the German

[1] Flassan, III., 455.

[2] Buonvisi in his report to Cibo, February 28, 1677, about a conversation with the Emperor, in Levinson, II., 689.

[3] In his (undated) *Memoria* in Trenta, I., 194–205.

[4] Fraknói (23) refers, however, but with a wrong indication of sources in n. 1, to the remark of the Venetian ambassador at the imperial court, Domenico Contarini, in his final report of 1685 (Fiedler in *Fontes rer. Austr.*, XXVII. [1867], 259): "ben conoscendo la Santità Sua, che la conservazione dell' equilibrio fra principi christiani e la venerazione de' popoli sono i cardini del Papato"; but the passage is from the year 1685, and Contarini probably attributed to the Pope his own views, instead of giving those of the Pope.

Empire, but the progress of religion had been hindered thereby. In future he should refrain from such alliances for they cried to heaven for vengeance.[1] At the present moment the Pope was anxious for peace at any price. If a general peace was not possible, the nuncios were told to support every effort for the conclusion of separate treaties of peace.[2] If the Emperor, so we read in the Instruction for Buonvisi, recognizes the need of coming to an understanding, in view of the Turkish menace, he may have the satisfaction of knowing that his action was inspired by heroic virtue and enjoined on him for the sake of the general good, by the will of God made known to him by His Vicar.[3]

The nuncio in Vienna worked in this sense. He represented to the Emperor how much anxiety and money he had to expend on the preservation of even one place in the West, and that his frontiers towards France could not undergo any considerable change, whereas he could prosecute the war in Hungary with far fewer sacrifices and much more glory, guarantee the safety of Vienna and extend the boundaries of his Empire. Leopold should have these aims all the more at heart as the imperial Resident at Constantinople wrote that the Turks were preparing an attack on Austria.[4] However, the difficulties were great. Leopold was anxious to save Freiburg and Philippsburg and not to drop the northern Powers of the Coalition. For a long time Buonvisi hoped that the two plans might be saved. In the course of negotiations it was suggested that instead of Freiburg, Louis XIV. might be indemnified by the offer of some equivalent territorial concessions near Breisach, a kind of bridge-head.[5] In exchange

[1] Cibo to Buonvisi, July 22, in Bojani, I., 557.

[2] Cibo to Bevilacqua, June 25 and 30, 1678, to Buonvisi, June 25 and July 12, *ibid.*, 344 *seq.*, 346 *seq.*, 355 *seq.*

[3] Cibo to Buonvisi, July 12, 1678, *ibid.*, 355 *seq.*

[4] *Buonvisi to Cibo, June 12, 1678, Pap. Sec. Arch., *Germania*, 198, f. 284–7.

[5] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 24 and December 4, 1678; *cf.* the reports of Bevilacqua to Cibo, August 29, September 3, 9, 18, 1678, in Bojani, I., 377 *seq.*, 385 *seq.*, 365–8.

of Philippsburg the Holy See appears to have suggested Nancy in Paris.[1] But Louis demanded Nancy in any case.[2] In the end the Emperor had to deem himself fortunate to keep Philippsburg for the Empire. With regard to the northern allied Powers, Buonvisi maintained at first that they could not be allowed to stand in the way of peace. The Emperor, he urged, need not sacrifice both himself and the public good in order to support princes who might possibly redouble their violence against him if they remained in possession of their conquests. In the event of their becoming dangerous to the Emperor, it would be a very good thing if they had the Swedes at their back.[3] In the course of the negotiations Buonvisi came to understand the difficulties better. If the Emperor drops his northern allies, he wrote to Rome, there is a danger that they too will make separate treaties with France, and that against him.[4] To restore everything to the Swedes and to allow the French a right of way through the Empire he deems intolerable, for it would mean saving one half of the Empire by destroying the other. This would be a peace of the Archduke of Austria but not of the Emperor.[5] On the other hand if France remains intransigent in her demand, the Emperor would have ground for a secret promise not to oppose it, so as to save at least the appearance of the imperial dignity. But a durable peace was impossible under such conditions.[6] There can be no doubt that Leopold was impressed by Buonvisi's advice,[7]

[1] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, October 30, 1678, *ibid.*, 376 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Art. 13 of the Franco-Imperial Peace Treaty of February 5, 1679.

[3] *Buonvisi to Cibo, June 12, 1678 (*cf.* p. 72, n. 4), and Trenta, I.,361–7, where, however, the date (July 17) is wrong.

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, November 27, 1678, in Bojani, I., 382 *seq.*

[5] *Buonvisi to Cibo, October 16, 1678, Pap. Sec. Arch., *Germania*, 198, f. 375.

[6] Buonvisi to Cibo, November 27 and December 4, 1678, in Bojani, I., 383, 385.

[7] *Cf.* the reports of Buonvisi, June 12 (see above, p. 72, n. 4), June 19 and October 16, 1678, the last two in Bojani, I., 340 *seq.*, 373.

though the final decision was not brought about by its means but rather by the pressure of the so-called third party in the Empire, that is, the large number of princes who wanted peace at any price and who thus enabled France constantly to raise her pretensions.[1] On February 5th, 1679, at a time when the court of Vienna as well as Buonvisi had not yet made up their minds what to do,[2] there was signed at Nymeguen a peace which is admirably characterized by Leopold's well-known saying that one must thank the good God even for calamities.

The peace treaties of the two Habsburg courts with France contain no mention of the papal intervention nor Bevilacqua's signature.[3] The reason was the dispute between the Holy See and Louis XIV. on the subject of Bevilacqua's Brief accrediting him as plenipotentiary. In that document only the Emperor was mentioned by name whilst the other Kings and princes were all included in a general designation. When the Brief was submitted to them in June, 1677, the French delegates, with Louis' approval, insisted that their King must be named immediately after the Emperor. The Holy See declared that it could not accede to this wish seeing that the Brief had been drawn up in the customary style of the Curia and in the same form as that which had been made out for nuncio Chigi at Münster. For the rest, in Briefs in which France and Spain had to be named, the formula "the two kings—*utrumque regem*" was used without further differentiation.[4] There the matter remained.

[1] *Cf.* the interesting reports of Buonvisi to Cibo, December 30, 1678, and January 27, 1679, *ibid.*, 387 *seq.*, 390.

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo, February 5, 1679, *ibid.*, 391–3. The Viennese nuncio maintained that the prosecution of the war could only be beneficial to Catholic interests since it would mean assistance for the Catholics on the part of the Protestant Powers.

[3] *Cf.* Du Mont, VII., 1, 365–9, 376–380; *Actes et mém.*, II., 729–751, 405–420. In the Peace between France and Münster the Pope is not mentioned either. (Du Mont, VII., 1, 399 *seq.*).

[4] Bevilacqua to Cibo, 1677, June 11 and 25, July 25, August 6 and 20, to Varese, June 11, August 21; Cibo to Bevilacqua,

Bevilacqua already thought that the French were satisfied when, in June, 1678, they informed the nuncio that if the Pope was unable to make up his mind to name their King after the Emperor, separately and apart from the other heads of States, it was Louis' will that in the instrument of peace no mention whatever should be made of the papal mediation. Bevilacqua suggested four different solutions: viz. either to name no one personally, or to issue two separate Briefs for the Coalition and the King of France, or three Briefs, for the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, or to oppose in one Brief the Emperor and the Coalition on the one hand to the King of France on the other. The two last solutions were at once rejected by the French, the two others they wished first to submit to their sovereign.[1] Rome ended by consenting to alter the Brief and to designate no one by name, not even the Emperor, but to confine itself to the formula "Christian Kings and Princes" or simply "Christian Princes", provided the Emperor Leopold was willing.[2] At Vienna the suggestion that because of an unjustifiable demand of France, the Emperor's precedence, though already formulated, should now be sacrificed, was deemed exorbitant.[3] As the French persisted in their demand, Innocent XI. announced that he would forgo all mention of the papal mediation in the peace treaties. He had sent his nuncio to Nymeguen, he explained, for the sake of peace and because of the Turkish peril, not with a view to creating difficulties. Bevilacqua was, however, requested to remain in order to watch over Catholic interests up to the last and to be at the disposal of the many people who sought his mediation.[4] However, Innocent XI. felt

July 3 and 10, August 7, September 4, 1677, in Bojani, I., 284–8 (at the bottom of p. 287 "Regem" must be read instead of "Regium"; *cf.* Pap. Secr. Arch., *Paci*, 38, f. 145).

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo and Varese, June 21, 1678, in Bojani, I., 342–4.

[2] Bevilacqua to Cibo, July 3, 1678; Cibo to Bevilacqua, July 9, 1678, to Buonvisi, July 9 and 12, *ibid.*, 348, 350–4.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 24 and 26, 1678, *ibid.*, 351, n. 1, 361,

[4] Cibo to Bevilacqua, July 16 and August 13, 1678, to Buonvisi.

deeply hurt by France's treatment of him [1]; it was all the more difficult for him to forget it as the very formula proposed in his Brief but which was rejected, viz. compromise between the Coalition and the King of France—was used in the letters accrediting the English plenipotentiary and in the peace treaties between Spain, the Emperor and Louis.[2] When an offer was subsequently made to the Pope to mention him in an appendix to the treaty, he absolutely rejected the proposal as unworthy of the Holy See: "Do not forget," Cibo wrote to Bevilacqua, "to give the right answer if anyone speaks to you about it." [3]

August 13, to Varese, July 13 and 20, *ibid.*, 356–363. The change in the Peace proposals between France and Spain on August 12, as also the signing of the Peace on September 12, did not take place at the residence of the nuncio but in the house of the Dutch ambassador (*Actes et mém.*, II., 694, 713, 729).

[1] In the *Réflexions pour servir de réponse sur la lettre en forme de manifeste que M. le cardinal D'Estrées distribue*, subsequently published by order of the Pope, article 10 reads thus: "On refusa à Nimègues d'exprimer dans le traité de paix qu'il s'était fait par la médiation du Pape, sous prétexte que dans la commission du Nonce on s'était servi selon le style et l'usage ordinaire des termes [utrumque regem], sans distinguer le roi de France de celui d'Espagne, encore qu'on n'eut point fait cette difficulté à l'égard des ambassadeurs d'Angleterre qui se trouvaient dans le même cas; et qu'ensuite, lorsqu'il fallut signer le traité chez les ambassadeurs des États généraux de Hollande, on convint de choisir une salle tellement disposée pour les portes et les sièges qu'il ne parut point que l'une des couronnes eût été préferée à l'autre" (Gérin, *Assemblée*, 420).

[2] For the English plenipotentiary powers, *cf. Actes et mém.*, I., 220, and Cibo to Bevilacqua, August 13, 1678, in Bojani, I., 362. The respective formulas in the Peace-instruments are: "entre . . . Louis XIV . . . et ses Alliez, d'une part; et . . . Charles II . . . et ses Alliez, d'autre; Leurs Majestez . . ."; "inter . . . Leopoldum . . . imperatorem . . . ex una, et . . . Ludovicum XIV. . . . ex altera parte" (Du Mont, VII., 1, 365, 376 s.).

[3] Bevilacqua to Varese, September 20, 1678; Cibo to Varese, November 2, to Bevilacqua, November 5 (here the passage quoted in the text), in Bojani, I., 368 *seq.*, 374, n. 1.

For the Catholics in the Protestant North, over whose interests Bevilacqua was charged to watch up to the end of the congress, it was impossible to obtain any alleviation at Nymeguen. The States General refused the request for freedom of religion for Maastricht. The town had to be satisfied with the small concessions which had been granted to Amsterdam and a few other localities.[1] After the Swedes had been driven from Germany, attempts were made by Rome to compel the then Protestant Administrator of Osnabrück, Duke Ernest Augustus of Brunswick and his successors, to exchange their alternate right to the Bishopric for the hereditary possession of Verden, a step by which the diocese itself would once more have become wholly Catholic.[2] Efforts were likewise made to get the Elector of Brandenburg to surrender the dioceses of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Kammin and Minden together with some abbeys which had been granted to him in 1648 in compensation for the territories which he had forfeited to the Swedes.[3] All these plans failed. Louis XIV. forced the Empire to restore all the territories taken from the Swedes [4] and the Catholics had to deem themselves lucky that Hildesheim and Osnabrück were not entirely secularized.[5]

[1] Bevilacqua to Cibo, June 25 and July 3, 1678, *ibid.*, 349.

[2] Buonvisi to Bevilacqua, *ibid.*, 386.

[3] Cibo to Bevilacqua, December 3, 1678, January 21, 1679, *ibid.*, 384, 390. The "Memoria" of Bevilacqua to the imperial negotiators for the exchange of the conquests in Brandenburg and Brunswick for the possessions secularized in 1648, is in the *Actes et mém.*, III., 326–8.

[4] Bevilacqua made every effort at least to protect Münster from fresh injury; *cf.* his reports to Cibo, February 17, 1679, and to Lauri, February 24; Lauri on his efforts with Pomponne; to Cibo, March 3, 1679, in Bojani, I., 395, 397 *seq.*, 400–2. Bevilacqua's memorial for Münster of February 20, 1679, in *Actes et mém.*, III., 513–15. By the treaty of March 19, 1679 (Dumont, VII., 1, 401 *seq.*, Münster was compelled to surrender all conquests and received 100,000 thalers in compensation for the fortifications erected in those territories.

[5] *Cf.* Bevilacqua's pressing exhortation of November 10, 1678, to the imperial, Spanish and French negotiators not to

The Holy See hoped that Louis XIV. would at least obtain from Sweden the free practice of the Catholic religion for its German possessions as this would have been a compensation for the favourable peace which that Power, after its defeat in the field, owed solely to the King of France; however, when Paris was sounded on the subject, the answer was that in this respect nothing could be obtained.[1] It proved even impossible to remove the grievances of which the Catholics complained after 1648 because the Emperor's separation from his northern allies diminished the imperial authority and adversely affected the dispositions of the Protestant Princes towards Catholics.[2]

permit the complete secularization of Osnabrück and Hildesheim, in *Actes et mém.*, III., 111–15; the Briefs of Innocent XI. to the cathedral clergy of Hildesheim, January 30, 1677, and to the Elector Max Heinrich of Cologne, dat. January 8, 1678, on behalf of Osnabrück, in BERTHIER, I., 60, 143 *seq.*

[1] Cibo to Bevilacqua, February 25, 1679, Buonvisi to Bevilacqua, March 16, Lauri to Cibo, March 3, in BOJANI, I., 398, 404, 400 *seq.* For the efforts of the Holy See to obtain for Queen Christine of Sweden the restitution of her possessions in Pomerania, *cf.* Cibo to Bevilacqua March 19, 1678, *ibid.*, 324, and the *final report of Bevilacqua in *Cod. Barb.*, 5176, f. 31*a*, Vatican Library. According to the *Diarium Europ.*, XXXIV., 277 (for November, 1676) the Queen received from the Pope 12,000 crowns yearly, in compensation for her possessions in Pomerania, which were inaccessible to her during the war.

[2] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Bevilacqua, February 16, 1679, and to Cibo, March 12, in BOJANI, I., 393, n. 1, 403. On the efforts of the Holy See to retain Dinant and Bouillon for the diocese of Liège, see Bevilacqua to Cibo, February 6, 1679, and Cibo to Bevilacqua, February 18, *ibid.*, 394 *seq.* According to Bevilacqua the Bishop of Liège did not sufficiently defend his rights. The documents about this affair are in LÜNIG, *Bibl. deduct.*, 387 *seq.* On the final fate of Bouillon see Art. 28 of the Peace of February 5, 1679, on that of Dinant, IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 106. For Innocent XI.'s anxiety lest the English should establish themselves in the cities of Flanders, to the detriment of the Catholic religion, *cf.* Tanari to Cibo, January 29, 1678, Bevilacqua to Cibo, April 15, 1678, and the strong letters of Cibo to Tanari

In view of the fact that the negotiations and stipulations of Nymeguen were based on the Peace of Westphalia, the Holy See felt compelled to renew its protest of 1648.[1] This was done by Bevilacqua in general terms, on October 20th, 1678,[2] but more specifically against some clauses of the Spanish-Dutch treaty,[3] and against the peace treaty between the Emperor and France and that of February 5th, 1679, between the Emperor and Sweden.[4] The protest bore a more formal character: there was to be no derogation to the dignity of the Holy See and precautions must be taken against the possibility of scandal arising from a wrong notion that the Pope, by participating in the peace negotiations, had submitted to the ecclesiastico-political stipulations of Münster, or even approved them.[5] However urgent it was to make a

and Bevilacqua, May 7, 1678, in Bojani, I., 310, 330, 333. The English withdrew already towards the end of 1678 and the beginning of 1679.

[1] Cibo to Bevilacqua, June 12, 1677, Bevilacqua to Cibo, July 9, 1678, *ibid.*, 289, 349 *seq.*; the Brief of Innocent XI. to Bevilacqua, May 15, 1678, in Berthier, I., 172.

[2] Du Mont, VII., 1, 374; *Actes et mém.*, III, 93 (not III., 87, as Du Mont indicates).

[3] Cibo to Bevilacqua, October 8, 1678. The nuncio must protest to the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries (Bojani, I., 370).

[4] Protest of February 19, 1679, in *Actes et mém.*, III., 501–3. Bevilacqua and Buonvisi did not take part in the official congratulations in Vienna and Nymeguen, with the approval of the Emperor; *cf.* Buonvisi to Bevilacqua, February 16, 1679, in Bojani, I., 393, n. 1. No protest was made against the Franco-Dutch treaty because not only was it not disadvantageous to the Catholic religion but, on the contrary, many disadvantageous clauses, introduced by the States General against the capitulation of 1632, were removed by it. Bevilacqua to Cibo, November 4, 1678, Cibo to Bevilacqua, November 26, 1678, in Bojani, I., 378, 382, n. 1.

[5] In his *final report Bevilacqua says that he protested, "acciò non potessero dalla mia taciturnità indurre alcuna nemeno tacita approvazione" (*Cod. Barb.*, 5176, f. 28b, Vatican Library).

protest, Cibo wrote to Bevilacqua on February 18th, 1679, they must act with prudence, so as to forward peace without creating an impression that they were going counter to the protest.[1] As a matter of fact Rome weighed for a long time the question whether a fresh protest against the Peace of Westphalia was at all necessary, though in the end the Holy See felt it could not be avoided.[2] Before leaving Nymeguen the nuncio called on the first burgomaster of the town. He was received with every mark of honour by the assembled City Fathers. He once more commended the Catholics to them and begged of them to take steps for the preservation of the chapel of the nunciature. The councillors answered the request in a decided affirmative. To the Catholics themselves and their priests Bevilacqua recommended taking advantage of the peace which the papal mediation had obtained for them with prudence and moderation, and giving an example of a religious, truly Catholic modesty, if they wished the liberties granted to them to be lasting.[3] On the return journey, at Ferrara, the nuncio was presented by the court councillor Stratmann, in the name of Leopold I., with a diamond cross as a token of gratitude for his mediation.[4]

[1] Cibo to Bevilacqua, February 18, 1679, in Bojani, I., 395. Innocent expresses himself in the same sense: Brief to Louis XIV., March 15, 1679, in Berthier, I., 241 *seq.*

[2] Cibo *writes on October 1, 1678, to Bevilacqua (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Paci*, 37, f. 35b): "Quanto al protestar contro la confermazione della Pace di Munster, mentre non si aggiungono nuovi pregiudizi alle cose sacre, non par necessario di rinovar le proteste. Con tutto ciò colle seguenti le scriverò sopra questo particolare più accertatamente." On October 8 the Cardinal Secretary of State sent copies of Chigi's protests in Münster, where he said that a repetition of the protest cannot be avoided (*ibid.*, f. 35b–37b). *Cf.* also Cibo to Buonvisi, February 25, 1679 (Trenta, I., 368 *seq.*); Rome's protest was not meant to upset the work of pacification.

[3] *Final report of Bevilacqua, *Cod. Barb.*, 5176, f. 32, Vatican Library.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 32 *seq.*

He reached Rome with only half his suite, the rest had died on the way, the victims of the plague which was causing terrible ravages in central Europe just then. The nuncio himself does not seem to have escaped unscathed. To this, as well as to the damp climate of Holland, which caused him much inconvenience at Nymeguen, we must, no doubt, ascribe his death soon after his return to Rome, in April, 1680.[1]

It was fully realized in Rome how onerous this not very honourable peace [2] was bound to prove for the Emperor and for Spain, seeing that it had been imposed by the victors,[3] and that on this ground alone it was calculated to raise fresh perils within the Empire and in Hungary.[4] On February 25th, 1679, the Secretary of State wrote to Buonvisi that he should encourage the Emperor in the Pope's name, if he found the conditions of peace too hard. It had been a question of choosing the lesser of two evils, for to continue the war in existing circumstances would certainly have been a greater one. The Holy Father had spoken in the same sense to the Spanish ambassador. For the rest his Majesty the Emperor had already declared his readiness to offer this sacrifice to God so that it was not really necessary to exhort him to resignation.[5] The Holy See refrained from public demonstrations of joy [6]; instead the Pope gave more abundant alms and dowries

[1] GUTMENSCH in *Schweizer. Rundschau.*, 1919–1920, fasc. 4.

[2] "una pace poco degna"; thus Cibo to Buonvisi, March 11, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 532, n. 2.

[3] Bevilacqua to Cibo, February 6, 1679, *ibid.*, 394. In his *final report Bevilacqua says: "Con la pace di Nimega cessarono le stragi e le operazioni militari, succedendo ad una guerra molto favorevole alla Francia una pace non meno vantaggiosa alla gloria che agl'interessi di quel regno" (*loc. cit.*, f. 39[a]).

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, May 13, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 532 *seq.*

[5] Cibo to Buonvisi, February 25, 1679, *ibid.*, 398 *seq.* The same view in Cibo's letter to the Viennese Nuncio, March 11, 1679, *ibid.*, 403.

[6] **Avvisi Barberini*, March 11, 1679: "Stupisce il volgo, perchè sin qui non si faccia a Palazzo minimo segno d'allegrezza della pace." *Barb.*, LXXXIII., 23, Vatican Library.

for poor girls. A *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung, but after the fashion of the Capuchins, *in forma paupertatis.*[1]

On the whole, however, Innocent XI.'s predominant feeling was one of satisfaction. The long, devasting war was at last ended and, so he thought, the armed forces of the Christian armies would be free for the war against the Turks.[2] Reports of Turkish armaments and projects of aggression against Italy and imperial Hungary had come in in increasing number, especially since the spring of 1677.[3] This was the reason why, in the autumn of that year, the Pope besought the great Catholic Powers with so much earnestness to conclude an immediate peace on the basis of a compromise and mutual concessions.[4] In Whit week of 1678 he, together with the Sacred College, had joined in the three processions for peace from St. Peter's to S. Spirito, to implore peace from God with prayers and tears.[5] This aim had now been attained. At a consistory at the beginning of March, 1679, the Pope concluded his address with an expression of his hope that now the war against the Turks would begin [6]; in May he ordered a triduum for Rome, to which he attached a plenary

[1] *Ibid.*, *March 18.

[2] *Cf.* the letters of Cibo quoted above, p. 81, n. 3.
and the papal Briefs to Louis XIV., March 15, 1679, and to the Emperor Leopold, March 18, in BERTHIER, I., 241 *seq.*, 243.

[3] These reports came from Venice and Naples (Mellini to Cibo, March 4, 1677, in BOJANI, I., 635; *cf.* Cibo to Mellini, October 14, 1677, *ibid.*, from Ragusa and from religious in Constantinople (BERNINO, 35), and finally from the imperial Resident on the Golden Horn (see Buonvisi to Cibo, May 1 and June 12, 1678, in BOJANI, I., 464, 338–341, *cf.* above, p. 72, n. 4.

[4] Briefs of Innocent XI. to the Emperor Leopold, November 13, 1677, to Charles II. of Spain, November 14, to Louis XIV., November 17, in BERTHIER, I., 131 *seq.*, 134–6. For the dates see above, p. 53, n. 2.

[5] **Avvisi Barberini*, dated June 4, 1678, *loc. cit.*, 6418. The processions were held on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th day in Pentecost Week.

[6] Servient to Pomponne, March 8, 1679, in MICHAUD, II., 76.

Indulgence, for the purpose of obtaining from God that the Christian Princes would unite in a great alliance against Christendom's traditional enemy.[1] The Pope did not suspect that the enormous difficulties of his enterprise against the Turks were scarcely lessened in any way by the peace just concluded.

* The following sections of this Chapter (to p. 156) were added by the Rev. Fr. Leiber, Berlin, according to the plan of the late author.

(2.)

Ever since the year 1677 it had been the constant aim of papal diplomacy, both in the East and in the West, from Persia to the Pyrenese peninsula,[2] to prepare the ground for a vast league against the Crescent.

Reports coming in from the East were calculated to encourage the Pope in his endeavours. From Persia the Dominican Piscopo brought a letter to the Pope from the ruler of that country; he likewise informed him that, in answer to the Pope's summons, the Shah was prepared to go to war against Turkey provided the Christian princes also made a joint attack.[3] To nuncio Buonvisi Piscopo further represented that it was not practicable to attack the Turks from Babylonia; the barrenness of the land, which had already proved a hindrance for the Romans of old, continued to offer a similar obstacle. Armenia offered the only open gateway but the King of Persia would have to proceed with the utmost caution because the Tartars of Samarkand and the Great Mogul might create difficulties for him, whilst his

[1] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., May 23, 1679, *ibid.*, 77.

[2] *Cf.* the Briefs of November 28, 1677, to Don Pedro, brother of the King of Portugal, January 23 and May 29, 1678, and of June 11, 1679, to Charles II. of Spain, in BERTHIER, I., 137 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*, 176, 246. Also BOJANI, I., 653 *seqq.*

[3] The Cardinal Secretary of State Cibo to Martelli, nuncio in Warsaw, November 30, 1677, in BOJANI, I., 306, n. 1.

contact with the Christian princes could only be a slender one. But if the prospective expedition against Turkey by the Muscovite empire with which Persia had a common frontier in Astrachan, were to develop successfully, it would doubtless be possible to persuade the Shah to induce the Georgian princes who were his tributaries, to undertake military raids which would of necessity lead to open war.[1]

If the reports from Persia did not justify any exaggerated hopes, a feeling prevailed in Rome that a great deal more could be hoped for from Moscow. Tsar Feodore had been at war with the Porte since March, 1677,[2] the first war between Russia and Turkey. In the circumstances one might think that he would not be averse to an alliance with the western Powers. But it hardly seemed advisable for the Holy See to take diplomatic steps in this direction. A few years previously Feodore's father and predecessor, Alexis, had vainly sought to get in touch with Rome,[3] for when in 1672 the Porte threatened Poland, Alexis, though he knew that the treaty of Andrussow of the year 1672 bound him to go to the assistance of his western neighbour, fearing for his own realm, sought to win over the Pope for a great crusade of all Christians against the Crescent. However, the mission of the Scotsman Menzies led to no result because the aged Clement X. and his nephew Altieri took up a negative attitude. Altieri would not even grant to the Muscovite prince the title of Tsar, an attitude which meant a diplomatic rupture with Russia. However, Innocent XI. was able to explain—and he now expressly did so—that he had never approved Altieri's Russian policy and that both he and Cibo, his present Secretary of State, had been among those who voted in favour

[1] Piscopo to Buonvisi, in Buonvisi to Cibo, November 21, 1677, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, V., 82–7; E. HERRMANN, *Gesch. des russ. Staates*, III., Hamburg, 1846, 700–11; UEBERSBERGER, 29–35; Sobieski's estimate of the capabilities of the Muscovite army in his letter of September 29, 1679, to nuncio Martelli, in BOJANI, I., 588.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI. p. 459 *seq.*

of the concession of the title,[1] nor had he altered his standpoint in the meantime. The general good, it was said in an Instruction he ordered to be sent to Martelli, the nuncio in Warsaw, on March 6th, 1677,[2] was above such subtleties; accordingly the nuncio was told to get in touch with the Grand Duke through the Polish envoy who was about to set out for Moscow, on the subject of an anti-Turkish league consisting of the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Poland and the Tsar.

Polish opinion was in favour of the Pope's proposal. Following the example of Gregory XIII., Innocent XI. was to be proposed, in the first instance, as best able to bring about the formation of the league, though nuncio Martinelli raised some objections against this suggestion on the ground that a century earlier the Russians had themselves invoked the Pope's mediation whereas this time the suggestion of a papal intervention originated with Poland.[3] Poland desired that an Italian should take the place of the Ruthenian Basilian Monk whom Rome had suggested as a companion to the Polish embassy to Moscow and who had been dispensed from fasting and from wearing the monastic habit.[4] After the whole affair had been laid before a council of Cardinals in June, the Holy See let it be known that in the event of a diplomatic action similar to that of Possevino, it would prefer to any other diplomatist Paul Menzies, the Russian agent at the Vatican from 1672 to 1673.[5] On the other hand Rome was anxious to avoid religious disputes with the Muscovites, so as not to create in the minds of a distrustful population, a suspicion that other aims, besides the anti-Turkish league, were being pursued.[6]

[1] Pierling, 48 *seqq.*; Cibo to Martelli, April 10th, 1677, in Bojani, I., 434. *Cf.* Tcharykow, 18 *seq.*

[2] March 6, 1677, in Bojani, I., 431.

[3] Martelli to Cibo, March 10, 1677, *ibid.*, 431 *seq.*

[4] Martelli to Cibo, May 29, 1677, *ibid.*, 435 *seq.*

[5] Pierling, 71–3. On the mission of Possevino, *cf.* the present work, Vol. XX, 437.

[6] Cibo to Buonvisi, May 7, 1678, in Bojani, I., 465 *seq.*

It was precisely this insuperable mutual distrust of Poles and Russians that caused the whole plan to collapse in the first instance. It was proposed to discuss the league with the Russian envoys, whose presence was expected at the next Polish Diet to be held at Lemberg in April, 1678. According to the report of the nuncio the members of the Diet favoured the idea of a league with Moscow [1]; but on their arrival the Muscovite envoys declared that they had come, not for the purpose of concluding a league against the Turks, but merely to prolong for another two years the armistice of Andrussow; as for a papal mediation, they would not even hear of it. For the rest, they said, Moscow was not averse to an alliance, but on condition that Poles and Russians would make a separate attack on the Turks and the Tartars.[2] If we may believe a later report transmitted to Vienna by the imperial Resident at Constantinople, and communicated to Poland by nuncio Buonvisi, it would seem that the Muscovite envoys had no powers of any kind.[3]

Apart from the intrigues of Béthune, France's ambassador at Warsaw, who sought to frustrate the league with Moscow,[4] the question of Kiew stood somehow in the way of an understanding between Sobieski and Russia. By the treaty of Andrassow Poland had been compelled to give up to Russia not only that part of the Ukraine which lay on the other side of the Dnjepr, but Kiew as well, the latter, however, only for two years, according to the letter of the convention. But the Grand Duke had no inclination to restore in 1669 what he had once got hold of, and in Poland it was felt that, for the time being at any rate, it was necessary tacitly to forgo such a restitution if, in the event of a Turkish war, the country was to be sure of at least the benevolent neutrality

[1] Martelli to Cibo, April 11, *ibid.*, 457–9.

[2] Martelli to Cibo, April 18, 1678, *ibid.*, 460–3.

[3] Buonvisi to Martelli, May 1st, 1678, *ibid.*, 465, according to a courier of the imperial Resident in Constantinople to Leopold I.

[4] Béthune to Pomponne, July 24, 1678, *Acta Pol.*, V., 106 *seq.*

of its eastern neighbour.[1] An alliance, however, with Moscow might very well have for its consequence a formal and definitive surrender of Kiew, and this was what actually happened in 1686. Hence if from the first the King of Poland could not be wholeheartedly in favour of an alliance with Russia, the peculiar conduct of the Muscovite envoys could only increase his distrust. From the mediation of the Emperor, or that of others, which nuncio Martelli proposed, the King hoped for no results at all; in fact the nuncio was terrified when Sobieski spoke to him of a plan he had conceived of entering into an alliance, after the ratification of the treaty of Zurawna, with the Turks, or at any rate the Mohammedan Tartars, against the schismatical Russians who, he said, were no better than the Mohammedans[2]; for the rest that treaty would not be confirmed by oath so that it could be broken at any time.

There may possibly have been in the King's remarks more than the expression of a passing impression, for a year earlier Martelli had informed Rome that the Turks were anxious to come to an understanding with Poland with a view to joint action against Moscow, but that the King's answer had been that he would never make war against Christians.[3] This time also things did not go so far: "I have come to the conclusion that an alliance with the Turks is out of the question," nuncio Martelli wrote in June, 1678.[4] All the same the peace of Zurawna was ratified by King John soon after the Diet.

Innocent XI. had done all he could to prevent this ratification for his plan was precisely to bring about the Russo-Polish alliance during the course of the Russo-Turkish war and before the definitive conclusion of peace between Poland and Turkey. His aim was an offensive league of the Christian princes. "The Pope," Cibo wrote to the nuncio at Warsaw,[5]

[1] *Cf.* Uebersberger, 29–35.

[2] Martelli to Cibo, April 18, 1678, in Bojani, I., 460–3.

[3] Martelli to Cibo, March 24, 1677, *ibid.*, 433.

[4] Martelli to Cibo, June 20, 1678, *ibid.*, 472 *seq.*

[5] On May 21, 1678, *ibid.*, 467.

"is unable to resign himself to the cession of the four strong places[1] to the Porte, because this surrender robs the inhabitants of their freedom and substance. By the surrender of the two towns in the Ukraine the door is left open for the Turks into Poland, and by the loss of the two places in Podolia the heart of Poland is left bleeding, and all this at a moment when Moscow is engaged in a victorious war against the Turks and there is a prospect of a general European peace." In official Briefs the Pope appealed not only to Poland by means of a pressing request to Sobieski to refrain from the ratification,[2] but he also urged eleven Polish magnates and his nuncio at Warsaw to oppose the ratification.[3] He also pressed the courts of Paris and Vienna to hasten the peace negotiations and to go to the assistance of Poland where the joint interests of Christendom hung in the balance.[4] For Sobieski himself the ratification of the almost impossible peace[5] was a heavy sacrifice and a bitter disappointment. At the very time of the ratification, information reached him from Constantinople that the Porte did not abide by the stipulations; even the restoration to the Catholics of the Holy Sepulchre and the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was refused, though this was one of the conditions of the treaty.[6] When the

[1] Bucsacs, Bar, Bialov and Cerkov are meant. *Cf.* HAMMER, VI., 324.

[2] Briefs of June 25, July 2 and 9, 1678. *Cf.* the next note.

[3] Brief of May 28, 1678, in BERTHIER, I., 175 *seq.*

[4] Briefs of July 1, 1678, to Louis XIV. Colbert, Pomponne, Le Tellier, Louvois, of July 12, 1678, to the Emperor Leopold, the Elector Palatine, Philipp Wilhelm, Hocher, Fr. Emmerich. The Briefs to Poland, Vienna and Paris are all in BERTHIER, I., 186–194. BOJANI refers (I., 468, n. 1) erroneously only to the Briefs sent to Vienna on July 12.

[5] So he expressed himself to nuncio Martelli (Martelli to Cibo, May 20, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 466).

[6] In paragraph 5 of the Peace treaty. The text in HAMMER, VI., 728. *Cf.* also Sobieski's letter to Innocent XI., dated Marienburg, June 10, 1677, in which he says that he commissioned his ambassador in Constantinople to do all in his power to get

Polish ambassador expostulated with the Grand Vizier he was told that since two dogs wished to guard the bones it was better to throw them to the house dog, viz. the Greeks, than to a stranger, viz. the Catholics.[1] When Sobieski discussed the matter with nuncio Martelli he added in bitter tones: "The Christian princes should know how much the Turk gains by their disunion. At Nymeguen they quarrel over one town whilst whole provinces are lost in the meantime; there they scatter blood and gold whereas, were they united, important conquests could be effected." [2]

The negotiations at Nymeguen, however, were not merely concerned with a single town. John III.'s complaint about the Christian princes was in no small degree applicable to himself. The Turks' unscrupulous conduct in his regard was doubtless encouraged by the struggle of the parties in Poland itself, [3] a circumstance that paralysed its Turkish policy. Now King John was in large measure responsible for these party struggles. They turned essentially round the question which, together with Louis XIV.'s attitude towards the Turkish war, constituted the cardinal point of the Pope's plan for a league, namely Poland's alliance with the Emperor Leopold.[4] There were not a few people in Poland who favoured such an alliance which, in view of the enormous Turkish preparations, seemed the most natural thing, one, in fact, that simply imposed itself. Among these persons were included nearly all the delegates of the local Diets to the Diet of the

the Holy Sepulchre restored to the Franciscans (Pap. Sec. Arch., *Lett. di Princ.*, 104, f. 182).

[1] *Avviso* from Constantinople, May 1, 1678, in Bojani, I., 465, n. 1. About the cruelty and arrogance of the Turks towards the Christians, *cf.* the letter of Cibo to Buonvisi, July 27, 1679, *ibid.*, 551, n. 2.

[2] Martelli to Cibo, June 10, 1678, *ibid.*, 469 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, June 11, 1678, *ibid.*, 470 *seq.*

[4] What this alliance meant for Austria and Poland, Esaias Pufendorf, the Swedish Resident in Vienna, had already pointed out in 1673; see Redlich, in *Mitteil. des Instituts für österr. Gesch.*, XXXVII., 557–560.

realm, the senators, headed by the Bishop of Cracow, the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania and the two commanders-in-chief of the army.[1] The generals did not trust Sobieski. They were of opinion that he desired discord, so as to weaken their authority, inasmuch as they had always been opposed to his friendship with Sweden and France. They felt that if the King were really in earnest with regard to the Turkish war, he would pursue a different policy.[2]

Strange as it may seem, Queen Casimira was also one of those who came to swell the ranks of the party that favoured the Emperor. The reason of this conduct lay in the embitterment of that passionate woman against Louis XIV. who had cheated her of her pension to which she attached no small importance. But another factor weighed even more seriously with her, this was her wish that her father, Baron D'Arquien (who subsequently, though not under Innocent XI., obtained a Cardinal's hat), should be made a Duke or a *Pair*. This she desired not only from personal ambition,[3] but to some extent from fear also of Sobieski who, she felt, after his election to the throne, might be tempted to look on his marriage with an ordinary French noblewoman as no longer suitable to his new status. Ever since her husband's elevation to the throne Casimira's requests to Paris had become increasingly insistent and by the end of 1677 a note of irritation crept into them. However, Louis XIV. turned a deaf ear to all her entreaties because D'Arquien's scandalous conduct made him the laughing stock of the court.[4] By the turn of 1678–1679 the Queen's change of mind was complete. According to a

[1] Martelli to Cibo, March 3, 1677, in Bojani, I., 431. The French reports agree on this; *cf.* Du Hamel, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, VII. (1893), 504. The enmity between the Pacs and the Sapiehas naturally played a great part in the party strife.

[2] Martelli to Cibo, January 30, 1679, in Bojani, I., 499 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* her letter to Vidoni, the Cardinal Protector of Poland, *ibid.*, III., 366, n. 1.

[4] Du Hamel, *loc. cit.*, 505–7, 513–16. *Cf.* Klopp, *Das Jahr, 1683*, p. 44, 57, 75; Béthune to Louis XIV., March 22, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 203 *seq.*

contemporary report of the French ambassador at Warsaw, she obeyed in all things the papal nuncio and the imperial Resident.[1] None the less the dominant influence in political decisions was wielded not by the imperial, but by the French party. This party included the Grand Chancellor Wilopolski, the Vice-Chancellor, The Great Treasurer Morstein, the Palatines of Posen and Lublin, the Bishop of Kulm and King John himself,[2] whilst at its head stood the French ambassador Béthune, the master of them all in the arts of diplomacy and a man whose power at court was unlimited.[3] As for the point of attack against Austria, in view of the fact that after 1677 there was no longer any hope of open war by Sobieski against the Emperor, the French party fixed on Hungary as the most vulnerable spot in Austria's eastern policy.

In the narrow strip of territory remaining from old Hungary, between the Austrian lands and the Turkish conquests, two questions stood in the way of a settled condition, the one of a political, the other of a religious character. Hungary was in no position to defend its territory unaided against the Turks, she needed the help of the Empire and this aid the Emperor granted in a generous measure. Vienna, it is true, deemed a stronger centralization and a more vigorous military administration in Hungary indispensable for the defence of the country, a point of view for which the absolutist spirit of the period may have been largely responsible, whilst the Hungarians were anxious that the military protection should be granted without any interference whatever with their national rights and liberties. This caused a political tension between the imperial court and Hungary which led to the conspiracy of 1670 in which Catholic as well as Protestant magnates were engaged but which, as far as the Protestants were concerned, seeped down very much deeper into the

[1] Béthune's memorials to Louis XIV. of October 31, 1678, *Acta Pol.*, V., 153–7, and of February 11, 1679, *ibid.*

[2] Béthune to Louis XIV., February 11 and April 7, 1679, and March 24, 1680, *ibid.*, 193, 219 *seq.*, 358–369.

[3] Martelli to Cibo, March 3 and April 14, 1677, and January 30, 1679, in Bojani, I., 431, 535, n. 1, 500.

lower strata of the population. The Catholic clergy, in marked contrast with the Protestant ministers, had remained loyal to the Emperor and had helped to bring the conspiracy to light, a circumstance of which nuncio Buonvisi subsequently took advantage in his negotiations with the Emperor, to induce him to adopt a conciliatory attitude in the Hungarian question.[1]

The second difficulty, that is the religious one, cut across the political one: it consisted in the confessional struggle between the Catholics and the religious innovators in the country itself. These two questions threatened to become a catastrophe for Austria when the Protestants who had fled to Transilvania after the above-mentioned conspiracy (the *Curuzzes*, Crusaders—as they proudly styled themselves), began a war of revenge against the hated Germans and the Catholics. Since 1672, by means of an insidious guerrilla and predatory incursions, they had caused incredible devastations in the north-easterly parts of Hungary for which it must be admitted, they were called to account with implacable severity whenever they fell into the hands of the imperial troops. Naturally enough the Curuzzes sought and arrived at an understanding with the Emperor's enemies, Louis XIV. and the Sultan. The peril of the Hereditary States and the Empire became still greater when the rebels, in 1678, found a capable leader in young Count Emmerich Thököly, a born popular leader and ruler of men, and when behind their hostility Kara Mustafa's tremendous armaments against Austria came to light. It was necessary for the Emperor to master the Hungarian troubles at any cost, for he could not suffer Hungary to serve as a base from which the Turkish hosts might march to the attack of his hereditary lands. But it was precisely the foreign complications—first the war with France, and after the peace of Nymeguen, the policy of Louis XIV.—which favoured the design of the Grand Vizier, complicated the Hungarian question exceedingly for Leopold and made it almost insoluble.[2]

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo, December 27, 1676, in LEVINSON, II., 588.

[2] *Cf.* REDLICH, 248–291.

Sobieski's understanding with the Hungarian rebels was consequently bound to be a particularly sensible blow to the Emperor. Against the will of the nation [1] Poland served during those years as the headquarters of all the opponents of the Habsburgs. Although a special article of the peace of Nymeguen of February 5th, 1679, forbade the support of the Hungarian rebels, the French ambassador at Warsaw, Béthune, entered into a formal alliance with them. He was anxious to levy troops for them in Poland and to provide them with French officers as well as with arms and money, in exchange of which they bound themselves not to treat with the Emperor without Louis XIV.'s consent.[2] The chief tool for the execution of Béthune's plans in Hungary was the Polish Knight Jerome Lubomirski. Not only are the nunciature reports of those years full of complaints about the intrigues of Béthune, [3] but the Pope himself protested vehemently against his recruiting activities in favour of the insurgents. On October 30th, 1677, the Cardinal Secretary of State informed the nuncio at Warsaw [4] that seven hundred Polish soldiers and eighty officers of other nationalities, under the command of Lubomirski, had joined the Hungarian insurgents. He added that this was ill in keeping with the declarations given by the King to the imperial Resident; the action was not correct towards the Emperor who, as everybody knew, had delivered Poland from the Barbarians,

[1] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, October 17, 1677, in Bojani, I., 444 *seq*,

[2] Du Hamel, VII., 507–510; Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, chap. 2, esp. p. 72 *seq.*, the reports of the nunciatures of Vienna and Warsaw, 1677–9; on Béthune's machinations in particular, Martelli to Cibo, July 19, 1678 (Bojani, I., 477, n. 1), and the letter of protest of the imperial Resident in Warsaw to John III., May 9, 1678, *Acta Pol.*, V., 79, 462.

[3] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, August 5 and 29, 1677; Martelli to Cibo, August 18, 1677, in Bojani, I., 441–3; also *Acta Pol.*, III., 382, 539. On the abuse of the pontifical college of the Theatines at Lemberg for political ends: Martelli to Cibo, February 21 and July 10, 1678, in Bojani, I., 454, 476.

[4] *Ibid.*, 445. *Cf.* Cibo, November 6, 1677, *ibid.*

and it was likewise an injustice towards a neighbouring sovereign.

Cibo's complaint of King John himself was not groundless. It could not be said that the king only yielded under compulsion and against his will to France's overwhelming pressure.[1] Though Sobieski's enthusiasm for Louis XIV. waned in course of time, his enmity towards the Emperor underwent no change in the immediate future.[2] It was generally felt that recruiting in Poland on behalf of Hungary would be impossible if it met with the King's disapproval,[3] for Sobieski was feared by the people. However, this was not all. Not only Béthune but even Sobieski himself had entered into an agreement with the rebels,[4] by the terms of which the latter guaranteed to them his protection as well as a refuge on his various estates and that at his own expense. To the French Bishop Forbin Janson he confessed quite openly that not only had troops been enrolled in Poland against Austria, but that the whole rebellion had started by his direction.[5]

Sobieski's opposition to the Emperor was at times so marked that he simply refused to listen to any other opinion on the part of the persons of his entourage. Even nuncio Martelli, though he was really popular at court, complained at the end of 1677 [6] of the bad reception of his exhortations to the effect that the way should be paved for better relations with the Emperor. The court would not realize that he had to act as he did in the Pope's name and that he could not accommodate himself in every way to the party in power, as

[1] This was his and Casimira's excuse to the nuncio ; see Martelli to Cibo, July 19, 1678, *ibid.*, 477, n. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, October 3, 1678, *ibid.*, 482–4.

[3] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, August 29, 1677, *ibid.*, 441.

[4] Casimira in her letter of complaint to Louis XIV., § 2–7, *Acta Pol.*, III., 470. *Cf.* Du Hamel, VII., 513 *seq.*

[5] Forbin Janson to Louis XIV., September 26, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, VII., 24 *seq.*

[6] To Cibo, November 16, 1677, in Bojani, I., 466. *Cf.* Martelli's report to Cibo, April 14, 1677, *ibid.*, 435, n. 1.

those were bound to do who wished to enjoy the King's favour. Even the conversation on the subject of the alliance with Moscow had been put off for over a month, whereas otherwise he had had access to the King every week and even several times a week.

In Sobieski's anti-Austrian policy in regard to Hungary lay the chief obstacle to the alliance with the Emperor Leopold. After the peace treaty of Nymeguen the Emperor was prepared, in principle, to enter into an alliance with Poland and Moscow, precisely for the sake of Hungary, for he saw clearly that the deliverance of that country from the Turkish peril was a vital question for Austria in the East.[1] Now it was precisely the support given to the Hungarian rebels by France and Poland that was of the greatest benefit to the Turks. The confusion of the whole situation is reflected in a letter of the nuncio of Vienna, dated September 4th, 1678, to the Cardinal Secretary of State.[2] Both himself and Martelli, Buonvisi writes, worked unceasingly in order to remove the tension between the Emperor and the King of Poland. But since on Poland's part deeds belie words, he could not tell whether, in his heart, the Emperor trusted the Poles. Reasons of State made the alliance advisable, but mistrust prevented its realization. Poland's help for Hungary was a great evil. Either Sobieski and Casimira had completely sold themselves to France, or they lacked all authority in the country. In the latter alternative their impotent friendship would form an inadequate basis for an alliance.

The attitude of the King of Poland, who in the north gave his support to Sweden's anti-German policy,[3] was a source of grief for Innocent XI. Realizing that existing conditions did not allow of a league between the Emperor and John III.,

[1] *Cf.* Buonvisi's report to Cibo, November 21, 1677, *ibid.*, 306, n. 1.

[2] Bojani, I., 481 *seq.* Buonvisi expresses himself still more strongly in his letter to Martelli, October 24, 1678 (*ibid.*, 489–491).

[3] Cibo to Martelli, October 15, 1678, *ibid.*, 488. *Cf. Acta Pol.*, V., 23, 60, 86, 93, 219, 459, 462–4, 469, n. 49.

he strove at least to prevent an open rupture and to pave the way for an alliance at some future date. The nuncio at Warsaw was instructed, by friendly intervention and at times by serious remonstrances, to obtain this much, that at least outwardly the attitude of the Polish court should be that of a friendly neighbour. The King would not find this difficult owing to the Emperor's kindly and upright character. For the rest the nuncio should collaborate with the imperial Resident at Warsaw, prudently, of course, so as not to incur the reproach of partiality.[1] As for the Emperor, Innocent XI. exhorted him to overlook Sobieski's hostile sentiments, to refrain from unmasking him, out of a supernatural motive to return good for evil and even to lend him help in the domestic affairs of Poland, in the interests of Germany and in order to forestall a catastrophe which would bring about the ruin of religion together with that of Poland.[2]

It was not always easy to calm the Emperor. During the critical summer months of 1677, when the intrigues of Sobieski, Béthune and Lubomirski in Hungary reached their climax, Leopold ended by requesting a formal protest by the Pope to the court of Warsaw. Innocent XI. would have preferred to confine himself to remonstrances through his nuncio, for he feared lest Sobieski should throw off all restraint, whilst the French, who would be sure to see the pontifical letter, would accuse the Holy See of partiality, on the plea of the Emperor's understanding with Protestant princes. Their complaints, the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio at Vienna, would be groundless, but His Holiness was very well aware that the war psychosis[3] sees shadows even where there are none

[1] *Cf.* Cibo to Martelli, January 9 and November 6, 1677, and October 15 and November 19, 1678, in Bojani, I., 430, 445, 488, 491 *seq.*; Martelli to Sobieski, January 31, 1678, *ibid.*, 453. The letter was passed from Sobieski to Béthune; see Paris Archives of Foreign Affairs, *Pol.* 58, n. 38 (*Acta Pol.*, V., 458).

[2] Cibo to Buonvisi, November 6 and December 18, 1677, in Bojani, I., 445 *seq.*, 449.

[3] "le gelosie di guerra."

whatever.[1] The Emperor Leopold was very dissatisfied with the papal objections to an official step at the court of Warsaw. Poland's attitude in respect to Hungary, he told nuncio Buonvisi, amounted to positive support of the Turks. After all, his own league with the Protestants differed greatly from the alliances of the King of France. His federation with them was defensive, whereas that of France with England and Sweden had been an aggressive alliance for the purpose of ruining Europe. In Holland the situation of the Catholics was surely better than in England and Sweden. If the Pope was going to study France so very much, he would pay a heavy price for her mediation at Nymeguen where, after all, she had had England on her side. Buonvisi added that the Emperor was greatly annoyed and that he had carefully weighed his answer; but his final remark had been: "In any case, I submit to the wishes of His Holiness, for I hope that the Pope will see in me a more dutiful son than the King of France. The latter holds the Pope fast by threats whereas I seek to win him over by my devotion."[2]

Excitement was great at the court of Vienna. The Cardinal Secretary of State had to warn the nuncio in Vienna to moderate his usually somewhat sharp language and to be discreet when speaking about Poland.[3] The Pope, nevertheless, felt that he must yield to the Emperor's wish. On September 18th, 1677, he addressed a Brief to King John,[4] a copy of which was dispatched to Vienna where it gave much

[1] Cibo in his letters to Buonvisi and Martelli, July 10, 1677; Buonvisi to Cibo, August 5, 1677, in Bojani, I., 437 *seq.*, 441 *seq.*

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 25, 1677, *ibid.*, 438–440.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, June 27 and November 20, 1677; Cibo to Buonvisi, January 8 and 29, 1678, *ibid.*, 436 *seq.*, 448, 450 *seq.*, 453.

[4] Berthier, I., 122: . . . "Etiam atque etiam Maiestatem tuam hortamur et obsecramus, ut ea omnia istinc removeri studeas, quae carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Leopoldo . . . iustae adversus regnum istud querelae materiam praebere possent."

satisfaction to the Emperor.[1] At the court of Warsaw, however, it produced no effect whatever. Without breaking off their understanding with Hungary, both the King[2] and Lubomirski, whom the Pope had threatened with canonical penalties,[3] assured the Pontiff and the Emperor that they had never had anything to do with the troubles in Hungary. Innocent XI. nevertheless stuck to his policy which was to prevent an open rupture between Vienna and Warsaw and to promote the foundation of a league. The nuncios, it was laid down in the papal instructions to Martelli for the following year, must not give up the plan of a league. If human efforts do not suffice, the aid of God must be implored, to the end that He may render Poland worthy of the abiding miracle of being saved despite herself and in circumstances as difficult as the existing ones, when her internal divisions could not but rob her of the strength she needed in fighting her external enemies.[4]

The papal policy proved right. In the long run it gave additional weight to the influence of those parties in Poland and at the court of Vienna which were in favour of war against Turkey and the formation of a league. This fact came to light at the very beginning of 1679 at the Polish Diet of Grodno. Notwithstanding some lively recriminations, which were mainly concerned with the support given to the Hungarians, to Lubomiski and the Swedes, disputes that nearly led to bloody strife,[5] a majority vote in favour of war

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo, October 17, 1677, in Bojani, I., 444.

[2] *Letter to Innocent XI. of November 5, 1677, *Lett. di princ.*, 104, f. 328, Pap. Sec. Arch.; Cibo to Buonvisi, January 8, 1678; Buonvisi to Cibo, January 9 and 20, 1678; Martelli to Cibo, March 21, 1678, in Bojani, I., 450, 452, 451, n. 1, 456.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, August 5 and 29, 1677; Martelli to Cibo, August 18, 1677, *ibid.*, 441 *seqq.*

[4] Cibo to Martelli, January 7, 1679, *ibid.*, 494.

[5] The nunciature reports for January are full of observations on the internal discussions between Lithuania and the Sapiehas, between the King and the General Staff; *cf.* Bojani, I., 493–9, 508–510; Béthune to Louis XIV., January 27, 1679, *Acta*

against Turkey was given on February 25th, at the very moment when news came from Danzig of the conclusion of peace between the Emperor and France. The Bishops voted unanimously for war and those of Posen and Przemysl even offered on the spot one half of their revenues as a war contribution. On the proposal of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, the leader of the advocates of the league, it was resolved to leave the decision about war or peace to the King and to a council of Senators and thirty Knights, without consultation of yet another Diet, and to send extraordinary ambassadors to the courts of the Christian princes. The embassy to Vienna, Venice, Florence and Rome was entrusted to Prince Radziwill, who had been in Rome at the beginning of 1678, when Innocent XI. requested him to promote the league in Poland and at Vienna. The Grand Treasurer, Morstein, one of Béthune's most intimate political friends, was dispatched to France, England and Holland.[1] King

Pol., V., 183 *seq.* For the Austro-Brandenburg faction in Poland directed against Sobieski, in which, however, the court of Vienna had no part, *cf.* the memorial of Béthune to Pomponne of October 31, 1678, *ibid.*, 153–7; Cibo to Buonvisi, March 4 and May 6, 1679; Buonvisi to Martelli, April 16, 1679, in Bojani, I., 505 *seq.*, 527, 506, n. 1. About the attempt, discovered some time after by the Polish Postmaster in Vienna, of the two Italians Piccinardi and Zefirini, to send to the court of Vienna, especially to the Empress-mother, aggravating material against Sobieski, *cf.* the reports of the nunciature in Bojani, III., 356–361. But the Empress-mother, according to the report of Buonvisi, refused to have anything to do with the affair, in fact she refrained from politics altogether.

[1] Martelli to Cibo, February 27, March 6 and 13, and April 10, 1679, in Bojani, I., 504, 508–511, 520–2; Béthune to Louis XIV., March 22, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 203. On Radziwill's former journey to Rome, *cf.* *Avvisi di Roma* of February 26 and March 5, 1678, in Bojani, I., 453, n. 1.; Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, March 12, 1678; Cibo to Martelli, March 2, 1678, *ibid.*, 455. But the question of title (see below, p. 109) made it impossible for Radziwill to do anything in the Turkish question in Vienna; *cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, June 19, 1678, *ibid.*,

John congratulated the papal nuncio and the imperial Resident on their success. He himself hoped, he said, to raise 46,000 men even before the return of the ambassadors, and to go into winter quarters with them on hostile territory. If the Emperor, Poland and Moscow made common cause, victory was certain. There was even talk of co-operation by France in the Mediterranean.[1] Nonetheless the nuncios at Warsaw and Vienna remained doubtful. "Everything seems to show," Martelli wrote, "that there is question not so much of going to war against the Turks as of talking about it, with a view to extracting contributions from the pockets of the well-to-do among the Poles."[2] In all probability King John seriously thought at one time of going to war against Turkey.[3] It is also possible that he would have liked to head a league of all the Christian princes, a prospect which, according to a report of the French ambassador at Warsaw to Louis XIV.,[4] the Pope was for ever dangling before him. John III., however, really wished to make war on Turkey with the help and support of Louis XIV. and the purpose of Morstein's mission was precisely to make sure of his assistance before all else.[5] On the other hand he did not fulfil any of the preliminary conditions, which required among other things a league between the Emperor and Moscow; on the contrary, he only rendered them more difficult. To begin with, the dispatch of ambassadors who, in point of fact, were not to set out until

471 *seq.* On the political conduct of Morstein, *cf. Acta Pol.*, V., 451 *seq.*, and Béthune to Louis XIV., February 11, 1679, *ibid.*, 193.

[1] Martelli to Cibo, April 15, 1679, in Bojani, I., 522.

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo, April 16 and May 21, 1679; Martelli to Buonvisi, April 16, 1679; Martelli to Cibo, April 10, 1679, *ibid.*, 525, 537 *seq.*, 521 *seq.* The complaints of Sobieski to Martelli against the suspicions of the court of Vienna, *ibid.*, 587–9.

[3] *Cf.* Béthune to Louis XIV., June 5 and 22 and August 25, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 239, 249 *seq.*, 482.

[4] On March 22, 1679, *ibid.*, 203 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. inter alia* John III.'s instructions to Morstein and the letter of Louis XIV. to Béthune of May 10, 1680, *ibid.*, 239 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*

the end of May, could only delay the formation of alliances.[1] Moreover the real stumbling-block, namely the alliance with Sweden and the support of the Hungarian rebels, was not cleared out of the way. The King obstinately defended his alliance with Sweden.[2] With regard to Lubomirski, Béthune had threatened to wreck the Diet if that Knight were condemned. As a matter of fact, under pressure by the King, the Diet pronounced a general amnesty in regard to the Hungarian question and the intrigues went on as before.[3]

The King's opposition likewise wrecked the alliance with Moscow. In the autumn of 1678 the Tsar had renewed the Treaty of Andrussow with Poland for another period of thirteen years and in this way a decision about Kiew was at least put off once again. To the delight of the Polish court the Grand Duke also restored the territories in dispute and paid a sum of 200,000 roubles, all with a view to preparing the ground for an alliance.[4] Though the Russian delegates lacked full powers to arrange for a definitive league, it was possible, this time, to put more trust in their offer because the experience of the Turkish war must have shown to the Tsar the value of an alliance and he himself now offered favourable conditions.[5] Innocent XI. himself,[6] his nuncio at Warsaw and the whole imperial party in Poland, worked with so much determination

[1] *Cf.* Béthune's report to Louis XIV. of March 22, 1679, *ibid.*, 203 *seq.*

[2] Béthune to Louis XIV., January 27 and April 7, 1679, *ibid.*, 183 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*

[3] Béthune to Louis XIV., January 16, February 5, March 22 and April 3, 1679, *ibid.*, 471, n. 15, 189, 472, n. 42, 205, 218. *Cf.* Martelli to Cibo, March 22 and April 3, 1679, in Bojani, I., 516 *seq.*

[4] Martelli to Cibo, October 5, 1678, *ibid.*, 485 *seq.*

[5] Martelli to Cibo, March 27, 1679, *ibid.*, 513 *seq.*; Übersberger, 29–35.

[6] By a Brief to John III., of March 25, 1679, in Berthier, I., 247. *Cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, March 25, 1679, in Bojani, I., 513. By a Brief of March 18, 1679 (Berthier, I., 244 *seq.*), the Pope urged Venice also to join the league against the Turks.

for the league that, according to Béthune's report, the negotiations should have led to a positive result. This was the moment chosen by Sobieski to request the French ambassador secretly to induce the anti-imperial party to oppose the alliance so long as they were not sure of the co-operation of Louis XIV. and of that of all the Christian princes in the Turkish war, a condition which in existing circumstances was, of course, impossible of realization. Béthune easily secured a sufficient number of vetoes. His secret intrigues at the Diet only cost him 12,000 livres, of which Lubomirski undertook the distribution.[1] Thus was the plan of a league thwarted ; on the other hand Casimira and the generals were so angered by Béthune's intrigues, that the French ambassador had to be warned not to go out alone at night.[2]

Undecided as he was by nature and distrustful by reason of his painful experiences with his previous alliances, in view of the events in Poland the Emperor was more unwilling than ever to enter into an offensive league. This was seen as soon as, at the end of June, the Tsar's envoys arrived from Poland in Vienna. In obedience to instructions from Rome, Buonvisi welcomed them most courteously ; he called on them and received their return visits. Presents were exchanged. The Muscovite envoys presented the Pope's representative with four sable cloaks. He replied with material from his native city of Lucca. This so pleased the Russians that they declared that clothing so costly only became their lord. They embraced the nuncio and kissed his hand. Buonvisi even risked touching on the question of religious freedom. The Grand Duke's representatives expressed the opinion that if Moscow, with a view to securing recruits, granted the private exercise of their

[1] *Acta Pol.*, V., 221. 12,000 livres are 3,664 ducats and 2 livres ; *cf.* Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 73.

[2] Béthune to Louis XIV., February 11, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 193 ; Louis' letter of thanks to John III., of March 10, 1679, *ibid.*, 211 ; Martelli to Cibo, February 20 and 27, March 6 and 13, 1679, in Bojani, I., 502 *seq.*, 504 *seq.*, 508, 511 ; Cibo to Martelli, March 18, 1679, *ibid.*, 572. *Cf.* the report of Pietro Civrano in Barozzi-Berchet, Ser. 5, *Turchia*, 275 ; Du Hamel, VIII., 56.

religion even to the Lutherans and the Calvinists—those bestial sects—the same privilege would much more readily be granted to the western Catholics seeing that the Russians agreed with them on almost every point.[1] Meanwhile the court of Vienna treated the Russian embassy with coolness: it would not even concede to the Grand Duke the title of "Majesty".[2] Buonvisi's attempts to bring about within a short time an agreement between the Emperor, the Poles and the Tsar, an attempt which was to be furthered by an exceedingly flattering letter of the nuncio of Vienna to Sobieski,[3] proved utterly hopeless. On top of everything the plague broke out in Vienna. To escape it the Emperor withdrew into the country,[4] perhaps not without the secondary intention of thereby avoiding the necessity of treating with the Russians. The envoys of the Grand Duke left Vienna disappointed and dissatisfied, and nuncio Buonvisi had to deem himself lucky to have at least made sure that the conversations would be continued at a later date.[5]

[1] Cibo to Buonvisi, July 15, 1679; Buonvisi to Martelli, June 19 and 25, 1679; Buonvisi to Cibo, August 5, 20 and 27, 1679, in Bojani, I., 557, 549, 551, 565, 573 *seq.*, 575–8; Trenta, 376–385.

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo in the report of August 27, 1679, in Bojani, I., 575 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* July 24, 1679, in Trenta, I., 375. Buonvisi compares Sobieski to Alexander Severus and Skanderbeg.

[4] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, August 11 and 27 and September 3, 1679, in Bojani, I., 571 *seq.*, 575, 578 *seq.* On the plague in the house of the nuncio see Trenta, I., 386. *Cf.* Klopp, *loc. cit.*, 85.

[5] Buonvisi to Cibo in the letter of August 27, 1679; to Martelli, September 4, 1679, in Bojani, I., 579 *seq.*; Martelli to Cibo, September 6, 1679, *ibid.*, 580–3 (reports of his conversation with John III. on the affair). In 1679 the Saxon adventurer Lorenz Rinhuber came also to Rome with oral commissions, so he pretended, from Menzies. He set forth his proposals in two memorials which were in complete harmony with the ideas of Innocent XI.: An alliance of Poland with Moscow, a mission to the Tartars and to China, recognition of the title of Tsar,

The formation of the alliance, as Buonvisi clearly recognized, depended fundamentally on the attitude of France.[1] After the Peace of Nymeguen, opinion in Vienna, on the whole, was not unfavourable to an offensive alliance against the Porte. With the exception of Schwarzenberg, whose authority, however, carried great weight, everybody at court, even Hocher and Montecuccoli, were in favour of it.[2] Buonvisi reported that the strength of the army was considerable and the financial situation not too difficult and that Montecuccoli maintained that now that peace had been concluded, he would be able with the troops still mobilized in Hungary and in the Empire, to win back for the Emperor both Gran and Ofen within a month, after which the important place of Neuhäusel would fall spontaneously.[3] But a preliminary condition of the court of Vienna was that Louis XIV. should support the war against the Crescent, were it only with his benevolent neutrality.[4] Herein lay the great obstacle to the alliance, one which until then had been greatly under-estimated on the papal side. Small wonder that Innocent

papal representation in Moscow and commercial relations between Russia and Louis XIV. By his fascinating manners the man succeeded in winning the confidence of the Vatican. He was sent, supplied with financial means, to nuncio Martelli, who was to attach him to the Polish legation in Moscow. Rinhuber, however, went to Moscow only in 1684, but to work there for the Protestant interests (PIERLING, 73–5). *Cf.* PIERLING, *Saxe et Moscow*, 127; THEINER, *Monuments*, 164, Nr. 151.

[1] *Cf.* Letter of Buonvisi to Martelli of March 22, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 515. Also WAGNER (*Hist. Leopoldi*, I., 498): "Gallia cogitationes omnes abstulerat."

[2] Buonvisi to Cibo, June 18, 1679, in BOJANI, 547 *seq.* Cibo draws the attention of the nuncio in Vienna (on June 24) to the fact that they had ascertained from a reliable source that the Venetian ambassador in Vienna was working against the alliance. This Buonvisi contradicted on July 16 (BOJANI, I., 550 *seq.*).

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, February 19, 1678, April 16 and June 18, 1679, in LEVINSON, II., 718–723. LEVINSON does not seem to know BOJANI's work.

[4] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, August 12, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 569.

XI. who, according to Cibo's report,[1] busied himself day and night with the Turkish question, and who had hoped for great things as a result of the Peace of Nymeguen, should have been considerably annoyed by the hesitations of Vienna. It is evident that vehement altercations on this subject occurred between him and Cardinal Pio, the Emperor's Protector, at a consistory held in mid-June.[2] In reality, as Innocent XI. was bound to learn precisely during those weeks both from his own diplomatic steps with Louis XIV. and the reports of his nuncios, French diplomacy constituted as great a difficulty in the question of the Turkish war after the Peace of Nymeguen as it had done before. Louis XIV. was at the height of his power. From the political point of view Italy and Germany lay open to invasion by his armies. The electoral Palatinate, Mayence, Cologne, Trèves, Brandenburg, Saxony and Bavaria were completely under his influence, in fact he had compelled the three last named, by a special treaty, to vote for him at the next imperial election. Spain was powerless against Louis ; the King of England was completely dependent upon him financially and at the court of the King of Poland, French influence was still predominant.[3] In addition to all this Louis' plan of so-called *reunion*, with which his policy of hostility towards the Emperor and of friendship with the Turks was intimately linked, began to assert itself at this time. An echo of it is also found in nuncio Buonvisi's reports. " France," the latter reported to Rome, " refuses to restore the towns in Alsace which the Peace of Westphalia assigned to Austria, she fortifies Schlettstadt and Hüningen and gives cause for the fear that she has a mind to annex also Cologne and Strassburg. The imperial ambassadors are of opinion that since the signature of the last Treaty at Nymeguen they have more ground for anxiety than even during the war."[4]

[1] To Buonvisi on July 22, 1679, *ibid.*, 558.

[2] On June 17, 1679 ; see **Avvisi Barb.*, LXXIII., 23, Vat. Lib.

[3] *Cf.* REDLICH, 199.

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 23 and 30, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 563, 555, n. 1.

Innocent XI. met the obstacles against an anti-Turkish alliance which arose from France's policy with all his characteristic vigour. During the summer of 1679 he made repeated attempts in Rome itself and through his nuncio in Paris, to induce Louis to join the alliance or at least to declare that France would not disturb the Powers which were resolved to join in the war against Turkey. However, the replies from Paris never went beyond the vaguest promises; in fact a hopeless attempt was even made to secure from Innocent XI. certain advantages in the field of ecclesiastical policy in exchange for these promises.[1]

On August 3rd Cibo had to inform Buonvisi that it had not been possible to obtain a clear answer from Louis XIV. whether he would help or remain neutral.[2]

In view of this attitude of the "lord of Europe" it was a foregone conclusion that the Polish embassies, whose mission it was to pave the way for an offensive alliance, were doomed to failure. When the Grand Treasurer Morstein, in the course of a conversation with Louis, expressed his fear of an early Turkish attack on Poland, the King interrupted him with the remark that the Porte was still too deeply committed in its war with Moscow.[3] Louis spoke more clearly when

[1] Cibo to Buonvisi, May 20 and 27 and July 8, 1679; to Lauri in Paris, June 21, 1679; to Martelli, July 1, 1679, *ibid.*, 537–9, 555, 548, n. 1, 552 *seq.* Buonvisi to Béthune, June 26, 1679 (Trenta, I., 369): In order to decide the Emperor for the anti-Turkish alliance "è necessario che S. M. Cristianissima assicuri di voler sospendere il corso delle sue conquiste con mantenere stabilmente la pace già conclusa . . .". Cardinal D'Estrées to Cibo, July 14, 1679 (Michaud, II., 79 *seq.*): D'Estrées refers to the "just and reasonable" demands, which Louis XIV. proposes to the Emperor and which must first be fulfilled. If, moreover, the Pope shows condescension in French affairs, there is every reason to believe that work for the Turkish question will not be in vain.

[2] Bojani, I., 565.

[3] Pomponne to Béthune, November 3, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 312.

Morstein, with the knowledge and approval of Innocent XI.,[1] informed him that the Pope had dispatched 500,000 florins to Poland for the Turkish war. He would never advise Poland to declare war on Turkey, he said ; on the other hand, should the Turks attack Poland he would not leave her in the lurch. When Morstein asked him what would be his contribution in such an eventuality, the King replied that he could make no definite statement for the moment ; he would first wait and see whether the Turks attacked the Poles.[2]

These declarations of the King become intelligible when it is borne in mind that Morstein's mission synchronized with the relief of Nointel, until then French ambassador at Constantinople, by Guilleragues.[3] This change of ambassadors was made for a definite purpose. Louis XIV. was determined to use Guilleragues in the pursuit of a more intensive Turkish policy, the aim of which was to protect Poland from a Turkish attack and to divert the Grand Vizier's aggressive energies from Poland and Venice by directing them towards Hungary and Austria.[4] A formula to justify a policy of this kind had long ago been devised by Louis XIV.'s council. This is how the council reasoned : generally speaking it was, of course, immoral to lure the Turks into a Christian land, but it was lawful in the present extraordinary circumstances, when a Turkish irruption into Austria, that is into a country hostile to France, would have the effect of saving Poland, a friendly Power.[5] Already now the King probably felt certain that, on the whole, his policy would prove successful.

[1] *Cf.* Cibo's instructions to Lauri, January 3, 1680, in BOJANI, III., 345, n. 1.

[2] Lauri to Cibo, February 1, 1680, *ibid.*, 352, n. 1.

[3] Guilleragues arrived in Constantinople on November 3, 1679. His instructions are dated June 10 of the same year ; see KÖHLER, 72, 74.

[4] *Cf.* KÖHLER, 72–100. Buonvisi reports to Rome on April 16, 1679 (BOJANI, I., 524, n. 2) that Louis XIV. had sent a new ambassador to Constantinople in order to make an alliance with the Turks.

[5] DU HAMEL, VII., 500 *seq.*, according to ROUSSET, *Louvois*, II., 212–15.

Even before this reply to Morstein and about the very time when the latter informed Lauri, the Paris nuncio, of Louis XIV.'s general assurance that he would grant Poland considerable assistance,[1] at the same time also as Martelli, the nuncio at Warsaw, was circulating over the whole of Poland a letter of Sobieski according to which Louis XIV.'s ambassador at the imperial court, the Marquis de Vitry, had been instructed by his sovereign to give the Emperor every guarantee of security on the part of France in the event of an Austro-Polish anti-Turkish alliance being formed,[2] Louis had let his ambassador at Warsaw know [3] that he had given Morstein no hope of assistance. As for Sobieski, it was enough to tell him that in the event of the Emperor and the other Christian princes assisting him in a war for the greater good of Christendom, the King of France would also give him such support as would openly testify to his zeal for the defence of holy religion against its natural enemy, as well as to his goodwill towards Poland.[4] Morstein, to whom Sobieski wrote in a somewhat angry tone that he had asked the King of France for money, not for good advice,[5] understood the nature of the answer, if he did not already then work in Louis XIV.'s interest, as his subsequent conduct leads one to suspect. At the beginning of the following year Buonvisi wrote to Rome that according to Morstein Louis XIV. gave fair words, though without binding himself in any way, with a view to inducing the Emperor to undertake a war against Turkey, a circumstance which would give the King of France a free hand elsewhere.[6]

[1] Lauri to Cibo, September 4, 1679, in Bojani, I., 580.

[2] Béthune to Louis XIV. and Pomponne, November 17, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 316 *seq.*, 485, Nr. 45 and 46.

[3] On September 14, 1679, *ibid.*, 296.

[4] Louis XIV. to Béthune, October 24, 1679, *ibid.*, 311.

[5] Martelli to Cibo, January 24, 1680, in Bojani, III., 348–350.

[6] Buonvisi to Cibo, January 28, 1680, *ibid.*, 349, n. 1. *Cf.* King John III. in his "Deliberatoriae" of September 10, 1680 (*Acta Pol.*, VII., 24): "A Serenissimo Rege Galliae quamvis honorifica recipiamus promissa, quod rebus nostris tam pro

If Morstein's mission to Paris resulted at least in throwing light, to some extent, on the intentions of Louis XIV. with regard to the Turkish question, Radziwill's embassy to Austria and Italy was utterly fruitless precisely in consequence of the negative attitude of the King of France. The dispatch of a Polish *obbedienza* embassy to the new Pope had been under consideration since the beginning of 1667, for there had been no Polish envoy in Rome for about fifty years.[1] Innocent XI. himself cared but little for formalities of this kind, and his remarks on the Polish embassies of 1679 in particular, namely that they would be of little use, would cost much money and would only delay the Turkish affair,[2] were fully justified by events. According to Sobieski's reckoning, the total cost of the embassies amounted to over a million.[3] Radziwill in particular, to whom had been entrusted the embassy to the South, was well known, and disliked, in Poland and Vienna by reason of his love of display and titles.[4] He only reached Vienna by mid-July.[5] His mission which, as a matter of fact, did not empower him to conclude a treaty,[6] would probably have come to grief from the first owing to his claim to being styled "Highness", a title which the court of Vienna denied him, had not nuncio Buonvisi found a way out of the impasse: this consisted in that

offensivo quam defensivo bello deesse nolit, huc usque tamen (licet integrum annum magnificus Legatus noster ibi transegerit) eam non habemus declarationem, qua certum quantum et quando adferet."

[1] *Cf.* the nunciature reports in Bojani, I., 415–19.

[2] Cibo to Martelli, May 13, 1679, *ibid.*, 527 *seq.*

[3] Letter to Martelli of September 29, 1679, *ibid.*, 587.

[4] Martelli to Cibo, June 14, 1679, *ibid.*, 546 *seq.*

[5] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 16, 1679, *ibid.*, 557. On the delay, *cf.* Martelli to Cibo, May 17, 1679, *ibid.*, 528–530. Martelli cannot say for certain when Radziwill would set out, "perchè in questo paese le cose appena si possono dar per sicure quando son fatte." John III.'s letter of recommendation for Radziwill in Trenta, I., 374.

[6] Buonvisi to Cibo, August 6, 1679, in Bojani, I., 565.

conversation was carried on in the third person.[1] In a solemn address Radziwill reminded the Emperor of his duty to protect Christendom; that was why the King of Poland requested him to enter into an alliance against the traditional enemy of Christendom.[2] The negotiations themselves were overshadowed by the court of Vienna's fear of France.[3] The Emperor, Radziwill observed to Jacobelli, the nuncio at Venice, did not trust the Peace of Nymeguen; all his thoughts run in the direction of Cologne, Strassburg, Casale, Milan and Genoa. He was for an offensive league, provided the Pope granted subsidies and Moscow joined in, otherwise only for a defensive one.[4]

If Radziwill really summed up in this way the result of his negotiations at Vienna, we may surmise that he put too favourable a construction on what he had been told there. In that city fear of a Turkish war was far too great, in view of Louis XIV.'s uncertain and threatening attitude, for the Government to risk anything beyond a defensive league.[5] The mere thought that information on the negotiation for a league of offence might reach Constantinople and rouse the haughty Kara Mustafa, caused Leopold no small anxiety.[6] For the rest Radziwill's mission was obviously looked upon, to a large extent, as a mere demonstration; nuncio Buonvisi

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 23, 1679, *ibid.*, 559–561.

[2] The speeches of Radziwill during his embassy in LÜNIG, *Orationes procerum*, II., 443–466; the two speeches to the Emperor Leopold, *ibid.*, 443–452.

[3] *Cf.* Béthune to Pomponne, September 6, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 284. The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV. from Rome (MICHAUD, II., 80): the Pope said that the Emperor seemed to be full of goodwill but that he was afraid of the mighty power of France. *Cf.* KLOPP, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 73 *seq.*

[4] Iacobelli to Cibo, December 16, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 604 *seq.*; DU HAMEL, VIII., 58 *seq.*

[5] According to WAGNER (*Hist. Leopoldi*, I., 499) the reply of Vienna was: "de Turcico bello ne cogitare quidem posse."

[6] *Cf.* Buonvisi to Cibo, May 28, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 540 *seq.*

compared it to a stage play in which the public saw a picture of war and then went home in peace.[1]

From Vienna Radziwill went to Italy where, in consequence of the risk of the plague, he found the frontiers of Venice and the Papal States closed against him,[2] so that the nuncio in Venice, Jacobelli, had to treat with the Polish embassy at the frontiers whilst observing all the prescribed sanitary precautions.[3] Jacobelli and Radziwill met on December 14th at Pontebba. The Polish envoy's chief request to the Pope was for financial assistance. Poland, he urged, had resolved to go to war with 50,000 men, but 30,000 of these must be maintained with the contributions of other princes. The Pope should set a good example before the next Polish Diet which was due to open in the following year, otherwise there remained nothing for Poland but to carry out the peace of Zurawna.[4]

As soon as the frontiers were opened the Polish embassy continued its journey. On August 8th, 1680 it was solemnly received at the Quirinal when Radziwill did homage to the Pope in the name of Poland and its King, praying him at the same time to grant a subsidy for the holy war to his country which had at no time incurred the reproach of schism. The Pope replied that he would spare no effort to further any work that was for the well-being of Christendom.[5] But Radziwill's further negotiations with the ambassadors of the various European courts were wrecked in the end by questions of etiquette: the ambassadors in Rome refused to address

[1] Buonvisi to Conte Lorenzo Magalotti in Florence, August 3, 1679, in TRENTA, II., 317.

[2] Cibo to Martelli, October 28 and November 11, 1679, in BOJANI, I., 594 *seq.*

[3] Cibo to Iacobelli, November 29, 1679, *ibid.*, 597 *seq.*

[4] Iacobelli to Cibo, December 16, 1679, *ibid.*, 603–6; Cibo to all the nuncios, January 7, 1680, *ibid.*, 609 *seq.*

[5] LÜNIG, *loc. cit.*, 458. The reply of Innocent XI. to Radziwill's speech is in BERTHIER, I., 361. *Ibid.*, 382, the corresponding Brief of October 14, 1680, to King John III. *Cf.* KLOPP, *loc. cit.*, 73.

each other even in the third person. Radziwill died at Bologna, on his return journey, burdened with debts contracted with the Apostolic Camera, so that what he left scarcely sufficed to meet them.[1] The only result of the embassies was a protest by the Porte on the ground that they were at variance with existing peace treaties.[2]

If the imperial court received the Polish envoys with considerable reserve in the summer of 1679, the reason, quite apart from its distrust of Poland and France, lay in the negotiations which the imperial Residents in Constantinople were conducting just then for the prolongation of the armistice of 1664 between the Emperor and Turkey. However, the negotiations proved abortive,[3] as did Moscow's attempts to end the Russo-Turkish war.[4] The result was that towards the close of the year a marked readiness for a league with Poland showed itself both at Vienna and at Moscow, in fact this disposition was so strong at Vienna that the Emperor empowered his ambassador at Warsaw to conclude one.[5] Vienna nevertheless sought to keep out of an offensive league whilst there was reason to fear for the safety of the west of the Empire from Louis XIV.'s policy and so long as the attitude of Bavaria and Brunswick remained doubtful. On the other hand Leopold desired his Resident and the papal

[1] Cibo to Martelli, September 4, 1680; to Pallavicini, November 23, 1680, in Bojani, III., 404, n. 1 *seq.*, 418.

[2] Pallavicino to Cibo, December 11, 1680, *ibid.*, 419.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, October 22, 1679; Cibo to Buonvisi, November 11 and 25; Cibo to Martelli, November 11, *ibid.*, I., 593 *seq.*, 595 *seq.*; Klopp, *loc. cit.*, 71 *seq.*

[4] Sobieski to Martelli, October 9, 1679, in Bojani, I., 590–2. *Cf.* Béthune to Louis XIV., November 17, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 316 *seq.*

[5] Martelli to Cibo, January 3, February 14 and March 27, 1680; Buonvisi to Martelli, March 3, 1680, in Bojani, III., 346, 360, 373, 357, n. 2. The fact that they made much better proposals than was expected speaks for the sincerity of the Muscovite negotiators; *cf.* Béthune to Louis XIV., April 28, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 417 *seq.*

nuncio to promote with the utmost energy the creation of a league of defence.[1] Innocent XI. seconded the Emperor's efforts in a fashion which impressed Poland and which was calculated to prepare the ground for the Diet about to open at Warsaw. On December 30th, 1679, whilst Prince Radziwill was still waiting at the Austro-Venetian frontier for leave to enter Italy, he dispatched 500,000 florins to nuncio Martelli, to be consigned to Poland as soon as that Kingdom should have begun war against the Crescent.[2]

Almost at the same time Louis XIV., at whose court Morstein was still negotiating with a view to getting help against the Turks, issued instructions to his ambassador in Poland in regard to the discussions at the forthcoming Diet concerning the league. They were to the effect that Béthune should do all in his power to defeat every effort of the papal nuncio and the imperial Resident in favour of the league.[3] Béthune eagerly applied himself to this task in which he had the collaboration of the Grand Elector.[4] Poland's domestic troubles, of which nuncio Martelli complained bitterly,[5] and the deliberately spread rumour that the King of France would not fail adequately to support Poland against the Turks,[6] made the Frenchman's task easy, all the more so as he still wielded a preponderant influence.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 111, n. 3; Béthune to Louis XIV., December 7, 1679, *Acta Pol.*, V., 486; Martelli to Cibo, October 11, 1679, in Bojani, I., 592; Buonvisi to Cibo, January 7, 1680, *ibid.*, III., 346, n. 1 (Vienna is afraid of a matrimonial alliance between Max Emanuel and the second daughter of the Duke of Orleans); Buonvisi to Martelli, February 18, 1680, *ibid.*, 361. *Cf.* the nunciature reports, *ibid.*, 379–386.

[2] Cibo to Martelli, December 30, 1679, *ibid.*, I., 608 *seq.*

[3] Louis XIV. to Béthune, January 5, May 30 and June 20, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 371, 374, 444.

[4] Béthune to Vitry, February 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 377.

[5] Martelli to Cibo, December 6, 1679, in Bojani, I., 598–601.

[6] *Cf.* for this and for what follows the *Mémoire de M. de Béthune* on the Polish Diet from January 11 to February 3, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 349–357.

The Diet opened on January 11th, 1680. The result of the first four sessions was a commission charged to discuss the question of the league with the imperial Resident. However, Béthune had secretly so worked upon the feelings of the members of the Diet that of the seven Bishops who were the first to vote and who, at the last Diet, had been unanimously in favour of the league, all now expressed themselves definitely against it, with the sole exception of Queen Casimira's Chancellor, the Bishop of Przemysl. The sharpest opposition to the league came from Bishop Wierzbowski of Posen, until then a decided adherent of the Austrian party, who seasoned his objections with the most extravagant encomiums of Louis XIV. and Béthune. Eight out of the ten Palatines and two-thirds of the senators were against a defensive league. In the last few weeks King John, in his confidential communications to nuncio Martelli, had expressed himself in favour of the league,[1] and he voted accordingly at the Diet. However, when he asked the senators and deputies for their opinion, the Bishop of Posen, perhaps out of spite because he had not been given the See of Cracow, indulged in a violent attack on the King, reproaching him with treading the freedom of Poland under foot and of selling the interests of the State for private profit. Sobieski called God to witness that he was being falsely accused, whereupon the Bishop left the room in tears. But he was not without supporters, though his accusations were so enormous that the King felt compelled to suspend the sitting. Queen Casimira complained bitterly of Béthune whom the court suspected of having instigated so painful a scene. The papal nuncio called the otherwise zealous but indiscreet Bishop to order, took him into the King's presence and pleaded for forgiveness for him, whereupon Sobieski embraced the prelate.[2] But all this could not make good the mischief

[1] Martelli to Cibo, January 24, 1680, in Bojani, III., 348–350. Also the nuneiature reports, *ibid.*, 590–610.

[2] Besides the *Mémoire* of Béthune, see Martelli to Cibo, February 7 and 21 and April 10, 1680; Cibo to Martelli, March 9,

done. The King yielded all the more readily to the excited passions, which were unfavourable to him, as his own hostility towards Leopold continued to sway him. He promised Béthune to bring the Diet to a close on his own initiative, before it had concluded anything.

On the other hand nuncio Martelli and the imperial Resident did not yet give up all hope. They laid before a special commission, which had been formed at their request, a proposal for an immediate defensive league, to be altered into an offensive one as soon as a guarantee would have been obtained from the King of France that for the duration of the league he would in no way attack either the hereditary States or the Empire. As at this very time a pasha, at the head of a considerable army, had arrived at Kamieniec to carry out a regulation of frontiers, the proposal was not unwelcome to the court of Warsaw and it also won many supporters among the senators; Béthune, however, forced the Grand Chancellor to withdraw from the commission and to protest against the league negotiations. This told. Instead of a league, a decision was arrived at to dispatch a courier to Paris to communicate to Louis XIV. the Emperor's proposal and to induce him to comply with the request both of the Pope and the Poles and to leave the Emperor free to join an offensive league, or at least to allow Poland to conclude a defensive one. Béthune was anxious to prevent this embassy to Paris. He urged that it was injurious to the peace of Nymeguen; it was necessary, on the contrary, to await the return of Morstein who would surely be the bearer of a favourable answer. But the court no longer trusted Morstein for the latter had not availed himself of the last six postal facilities between Paris and Warsaw. Béthune was obliged to give way; he thereupon dispatched to Paris a Frenchman of the Queen's court.[1] As a matter of fact, he had every

1680, in Bojani, III., 353, n. 1, 356, n. 2, 362, n. 1, as also the two letters of admonition to Bishop Wierzbowski of March 9 and October 11, 1680, in Berthier, I., 327 *seq.*, 378.

[1] Béthune to Louis XIV., April 28, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 416 *seq.*

reason to be satisfied with the result: the whole plan of the league had been adjourned once more, in fact it had actually got into the hands of French diplomacy.

Louis XIV. at first avoided giving the desired declaration. The demand, he said, betrayed a want of confidence and was quite superfluous; so long as the Emperor gave no cause for him to act otherwise, he would remain friendly.[1] To Sobieski himself, however, he spoke more clearly and this at Béthune's instance who feared that otherwise events would of themselves lead to the formation of a league.[2] By his orders Béthune had to warn the King of Poland against a war with Turkey, as well as against any kind of league, whether offensive or defensive,[3] with the Emperor; in its form this warning was not unlike a threat. Even if the league took shape, Béthune explained, his sovereign was sufficiently strong and resourceful to defeat its purpose. On the other hand he gave reassuring promises in the event of Poland being attacked by Turkey: were this to happen Louis would not leave Poland in the lurch.[4] At the same time French anti-Austrian machinations in Hungary and Transilvania were taken up with renewed vigour.[5] Evidently in these circumstances the fresh negotiations for a league between Moscow and Poland, which as a matter of fact caused grave misgivings in the latter country, were bound to come to nothing, notwithstanding the wide powers of the Russian negotiators.[6] Reassured as against the Porte by

[1] Lauri to Cibo, July 19, 1680, in Bojani, III., 402. *Cf.* Martelli to Cibo, February 7, April 3 and 7, 1680; Cibo to Martelli, March 2, 1680, *ibid.*, 356, 374, n. 2, 378, 363.

[2] Béthune to Louis XIV., May 17, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 427 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* paragraphs 3 and 4 in *Projet de traité entre Sa Majesté T. C. et le Roi de Pologne, ibid.*, VII., 81 *seq.* The document was sent from Paris to the French embassy in Warsaw.

[4] *Cf.* Béthune to Louis XIV., July 20, 1680, *ibid.*, V., 446–450.

[5] Martelli to Cibo, March 13, 1680, in Bojani, III., 368; paragraph 5 of the above-mentioned *Projet de traité.*

[6] Martelli to Cibo, March 27, 1680; Cibo to Martelli, April 20, 1680, in Bojani, III., 373, 369, n. 2. The account of the

Louis XIV.'s declarations, Sobieski entered, with the Grand Vizier, upon the stipulated regulation of frontiers on the basis of the Peace of Zurawna.[1]

Rome had left nothing undone in order to pave the way for a league, though not an offensive one, in the first instance, for it was realized that in view of Louis XIV.'s equivocal attitude such a league would be dangerous to the Emperor [2]; on the other hand the Pope had all the more eagerly promoted a defensive league for which he offered fresh subsidies. His nuncio at Warsaw was equally active. On one occasion, after a three hours' conference with Martelli on the subject of the league, Sobieski observed to Béthune that never had he met so partial a man. The French ambassador himself remarked that Martelli seemed to conduct himself as an ambassador of the Emperor rather than as a representative of His Holiness.[3] All the greater were Rome's annoyance and disappointment at the failure of the plans for a league, as well as its distrust of Poland, which was accused, with some bitterness, of having acted dishonestly. "Deeds are sadly in disagreement with big promises," wrote the Cardinal Secretary of State: "in the question of the Turkish war, Poland is not acting straightforwardly and feeds us with fairy-tales, but by so doing she only serves the covetousness of others, not her own security."[4]

conferences with the Russians is in Martelli's report of June 19, 1680, *ibid.*, 396–9. Béthune to Louis XIV., April 28, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 417 *seq.* The oral reply of Béthune to the proposals of the Russian embassy and his reports to Louis XIV. of June 11 and 18, 1680, are in *Acta Pol.*, V., 431 *seq.*, 492 (67), Nr. 27 and 29.

[1] Béthune to Louis XIV., July 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 449 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Cibo to Martelli, March 2 and October 12, 1680, in Bojani, III., 363, 406, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* two letters of Béthune to Louis XIV., of April 2 and 8, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 406–412, 490 (66), Nr. 51 and 53.

[4] Martelli to Cibo, March 27 and April 24, 1680; Cibo to Martelli, March 30 and May 11, to Martelli and Buonvisi on July 8, 1680, in Bojani, III., 374, 384 *seq.*, 374, n. 1, 388 *seq.*, 393, n. 1.

(3.)

Such was the situation with regard to the anti-Turkish alliance in the latter half of the year 1680 and thus it substantially remained until the middle of 1682. When he realized that an offensive league was unattainable, Innocent XI. strove consistently for the creation of a defensive league between the Emperor and Poland. Louis XIV., whose superior diplomacy repeatedly turned the scales at the decisive moment both at the Polish Diets and at the court of John III., worked just as deliberately against every kind of anti-Turkish alliance and strove to direct Kara Mustafa's lust of aggression against Austria. The Polish Diet waxed keen on the league but it lacked unity and perseverance whilst the King vacillated between his feelings for Louis XIV.—though these cooled in course of time—and his aversion for Austria and Leopold; between the influence of the arrogant French ambassador and the exhortations of the papal nuncio who was very strongly supported by the King's French consort; between the alluring and reassuring promises of Louis XIV. and the disquieting anxiety of compelling the Emperor, by rejecting the league, to come to terms with the Sultan and thus to draw the massed Turkish forces against his country, knowing that in the hour of need France would give him no assistance.[1]

The end of the year 1680 and the beginning of 1681 brought with it a change in the nunciature at the Polish court. Martelli resigned his post owing to sickness; he was replaced by Pallavicini who promoted the affair of the league with the same ardour as his predecessor.[2] Louis XIV. also recalled his ambassador from Poland, apparently because in the

[1] The reports of the French ambassadors, Vitry and Forbin. Janson to Louis XIV. of March 21, May 27, July 18 and 26, September 8 and 19 and October 24, 1681 (*Acta Pol.*, VII., 120–3, 143 *seq.*, 398, Nr. 104, 155–7, 399, Nr. 114, 157–9, 399, Nr. 115, 167, 399, Nr. 122, 171 *seq.*, 399, Nr. 126 *seq.*, 175, 399, Nr. 130) show up the King's inconsistency.

[2] Vitry and Forbin to Louis XIV., January 1 and February 25, 1680, *ibid.*, 78, 101 *seq.*

King's judgment, Béthune underestimated France's opportunities at the court of Sobieski.[1] Béthune was succeeded by Louis Nicolas de l'Hospital, Marquis de Vitry, to whom Louis adjoined, for the purpose of recovering Casimira's friendship, the Bishop of Beauvais, Forbin Janson, who was popular at the court of Warsaw whilst Rome, not without cause, viewed him with suspicion.[2] That Béthune had seen more clearly than his sovereign when he stressed the growing difficulties encountered by French policy in Poland,[3] appears from his last conversation with John III. He himself, the

[1] Du Hamel, VII., 525 *seq.* According to the nunciature reports defalcations by Béthune seem to have been contributory causes.

[2] Gérin, 1683, p. 97 *seq.*; Cibo to Pallavicino, February 8, 1681, in Bojani, III., 484 *seq.* The first of the repeated petitions of Sobieski and Casimira for a Cardinal's hat for Forbin Janson came to Rome already on October 21, 1676. Sobieski says: "*Consuetudini insuper, et iuri, quod Serenissimis Praedecessoribus meis regnoque Poloniae cum ceteris semper commune fuit coronis innixus Reverendissimum Tuscanum de Forbin de Janson . . . Sti Vrae pro cardinalatu denuo proponendum nominandumque duxi, veluti reverenter propono et nomino." In Rome the words "consuetudini" to "innixus", "proponendum nominandumque duxi", "propono et nomino" were underlined, and at the bottom of the letter the following observation was written: "Avvertasi che questa lettera fu abietta per rispetto delle parole lineate in essa: non competendo nè al Re di Polonia nè ad alcun altro principe, per grande che egli sia, dritto alcuno di nominare alla sacra porpora, la cui dispensatione dipende dal libero arbitrio del Sommo Pontefice, sì per ragione, come per uso, e l'ultimo esempio di questa libertà fu la promotione ultima di Clemente X. Oltre questa lettera in pergamena, ne scrisse il Re di Polonia un'altra in carta ordinaria, in idioma Italiano e sotto la medma Data. Alla quale, perchè era scritta in ogni più reverente riguardo e senza alcuna delle frasi qui lineate, S. Stà si degnò di rispondere benignamente, ma senza impegno alcuno." Pap. Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 103 f., 204.

[3] *Cf.* especially Béthune's *Mémoire sur les affaires de la Pologne* of March 24, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, V., 358–369.

King observed in a bitter tone, had served Louis XIV. regardless of his own interest, nay even at some risk to himself and his family, whereas England and Bavaria were in receipt of gigantic sums from France, not for the purpose of securing her help, but merely to prevent them from opposing her. He himself had been badly treated whilst the Elector of Brandenburg and other declared enemies of France had favours showered upon them day by day. Sobieski openly threatened the departing ambassador with a change of policy.[1] Vitry and Forbin Janson were confronted by no easy task if, in accordance with the express instructions of their sovereign, they were to prevent every kind of defensive or offensive league between Poland and Austria and, on the other hand, to obtain Polish troops not only for Hungary but likewise for France's designs on the western frontier of the German Empire.[2]

The opponents of France's policy at the court of Warsaw—the papal nuncios—did all in their power to secure a decision in favour of a defensive league with the Emperor at the Polish Diet which opened at the beginning of 1681.[3] Their efforts upset French plans to such an extent that in consequence of a letter from Forbin Janson, the Duke D'Estrées protested to the Pope and asked whether it was permissible for the envoys of a neutral sovereign, nay those of a common father, to show so much partisanship as did the nuncios Martelli and Pallavicini. Innocent XI. replied that the best thing would have been if all the princes had united in an offensive league against the Turks, but since this had not been realized, it was all the more necessary

[1] Du Hamel, VII., 527. *Cf.* Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 75.

[2] Gérin, 1683, p. 97 *seq.* *Cf.* *Projet de traité* quoted on p. 116, n. 3, and Louis XIV. to Vitry and Forbin, December 18, 1680, *Acta Pol.*, VII., 319 (68), Nr. 142; Pallavicini to Cibo, February 26, 1681, in Bojani, III., 487, n. 1.; Köhler, 44–50.

[3] Cibo to Pallavicini, January 25, 1681; Pallavicini to Cibo, January 8 and 22 and February 26, 1681, in Bojani, III., 480, n. 1, 481 *seq.*, 482, n. 3, 487, n. 1. Nuncio Martelli remained for some time with Pallavicini at the court of John III.

to promote this defensive alliance.[1] He himself appealed once more to all the Christian princes to go to Poland's assistance.[2]

After some grievous disputes, in the course of which even blood flowed, the cause of the league at the Polish Diet was in so favourable a situation that it was possible to count on a treaty being concluded. This result was due in no small measure to Pallavicini's activity as a mediator and to the hope of papal subsidies held out by him.[3] But the cunning Forbin Janson, with the secret aid of the Palatine Jablonowski of Reussen, who was in receipt of a fat pension from Louis XIV., and that of the Berlin agents, successfully persuaded the Palatine of Posen, at the price of a thousand ducats, to bring about the dissolution of the Diet by means of his *veto* before any decision was arrived at.[4] In this way the new negotiations with the Muscovite envoys for an offensive alliance were once more broken off. Though the Muscovites would not grant to the Pope more than the title "Doctor", Pallavicini had successfully intervened in the negotiations with them, in fact the Polish Senate had already agreed to the formation of a league. For the rest on this occasion the Grand Duke did not act with absolute straightforwardness in the question of the league. His aim was, by means of discussions with Poland, to bring pressure to bear on the Porte with which he was just then engaged in secret negotiations and with which he shortly afterwards concluded peace.[5] This peace, the failure of the negotiations for a league at the Polish

[1] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., March 29, 1681, in MICHAUD, II., 81 *seq.*

[2] Cibo to Pallavicini, April 12, 1681, in BOJANI, III., 505.

[3] SALVANDY, II., 116–19; Pallavicini to Cibo, March 26, 1681, in BOJANI, III., 501 *seq.*, 502, n. 1.

[4] Pallavicini to Cibo, May 27 and 28 and June 11, 1681, July 29, August 5 and 19 and September 9, 1682, *ibid.*, 513–524, 566–9, 572; Vitry to Louis XIV., April 4, 1681 and August 21, 1682, in GÉRIN, 111 *seq.*, 117. GÉRIN says (121, n. 2) that the Berlin agents had again a hand in the affair.

[5] Pallavicini to Cibo, February 12, March 5 and 19, April 2 and 23, May 7, 9, 14 and 28, 1681, in BOJANI, III., 490 *seq.*,

Diet and the false report spread in Poland that the Emperor had prolonged the armistice with the Turks for a further twenty-five years, made Sobieski more amenable to France's demands. Vitry felt sure of his affair in Poland and the French ambassador continued to support the Hungarian rebels with men and money on a larger scale than ever, whilst the Polish King looked on half willing, half unwilling.[1]

Louis XIV. was well pleased. It was surely better for the common good of Christendom, he wrote a little later to his ambassador Vitry, that the House of Austria should be occupied in Hungary and prevented by the troubles in that country from fanning anew the flames of war in Europe, than that Poland should be invaded by the Turks without a single Christian prince being able to come to her rescue. For the rest the Emperor had a simple means by which to put an end to everything: let him but make peace with France.[2] Peace, however, in Louis' mind, implied the recognition of the "reunions" which were in full progress since 1679 and by which Strassburg was torn from the Empire on October 1, 1681, on the day, that is, on which Casale, the strongest place in upper Italy, was surrendered to the French, for money, by the Duke of Mantua.

Innocent XI.'s disappointment and displeasure were in inverse ratio to the satisfaction of the King of France. The Pope now gave up all hope of a defensive league between the Emperor and Poland,[3] though he would never agree to the

494–500, also 506, 524, n. 1, 504, 506–510, 519 *seqq.*; Vitry and Forbin to Louis XIV., March 7, 14, 21 and 28, April 18, May 6 and 27, June 13 and July 26, 1681, *Acta Pol.*, VII., 113–18, 397, Nr. 88 and 96, 124 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 398, Nr. 104 and 109, 157, 399, Nr. 115, 242, 246.

[1] See above, p. 118, n. 1, and Pallavicini to Cibo, August 27 and November 19, 1681, in Bojani, III., 542, 549 *seq.*

[2] Louis XIV. to Vitry, May 21, 1682, *Acta Pol.*, VII., 226 *seq.*; Köhler, 88, n. 2.

[3] Cibo to Pallavicini, January 3, 1682, in Bojani, III., 553. *Cf.* the Briefs of May 31, July 12 and November 8, 1681 to Poland, in Berthier, I., 420, 426, II., 6.

surrender by King John III. of the Ukraine to the Turks, for in the event of the latter attacking imperial Hungary, Poland would be in a position, even without a league, to advance into the territory which had recently passed into the hands of the Turks and so divide their forces. The Pope was prepared to grant subsidies to this end.[1] Innocent XI.'s preoccupation and anxiety were further increased by reason of the enormous excitement called forth in Italy since about the middle of 1681 by the anticipation of an imminent Turkish attack on Sicily.[2] The Generals of Orders were instructed to have prayers offered up in all their houses, to the end that God would avert the peril.[3] On September 11, 1681, the Pope published a plenary indulgence similar to that of the jubilee, in order to obtain, through the prayers of the faithful, the unity of Christian princes in the Turkish question, a unity so lamentably lacking yet so eagerly longed for.[4]

The Pope's anxiety as well as his hopes centred on Louis XIV. and France. On July 9 of the following year, 1682, in a conversation with Cardinal César D'Estrées, brother of the French ambassador at the papal court, François Annibal D'Estrées, he expounded his view of the situation as well as his plans. He observed [5] that Louis XIV.'s extensive acquisitions since the Peace of Nymeguen and the abundant means for their exploitation, were viewed with considerable misgiving by the Emperor, the King of Spain and the other princes, his

[1] Cibo to Pallavicini, June 21, July 2 and 12 and September 26, 1681 ; Pallavicini to Cibo, July 2, 1681, in BOJANI, III., 529 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*, 534, n. 1, 573.

[2] Already in 1679 Louis XIV. instructed Guilleragues to inquire what truth there was in the rumours that the Turks were about to invade Italy ; see KÖHLER, 118.

[3] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., August 12, 1681, in GÉRIN, 110 *seq.*

[4] The Bull " Onerosam " ; see *Bull.*, XIX., 417–420.

[5] Cardinal D'Estrées to Louis XIV., July 12, 1682, in GÉRIN, *Le Pape Innocent et le Siège de Vienne en 1683*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIX. (1886), 123–5 ; MICHAUD, II., 78 *seqq.* *Cf.* IMMICH, *Innozenz*, XI., 22.

neighbours. They felt that they could not be sure that the King of France would put a limit to his exigencies and that he had no further surprises in store for them. They would be less disinclined to come to terms with Louis XIV., even at the price of some sacrifices, if only they could feel assured that the treaty would be exactly and peacefully executed. But in view of the pressure under which they laboured, fear and distrust prevented them from acquiescing in any cession of territory whatever which would not guarantee to them the possession of the remainder. The only way in which the King of France could give them such a guarantee would be by allying himself with them against the infidels and by binding himself to go to war against the Crescent. If the other sovereigns were to see the King of France engaged in such a task, so greatly in keeping with his power and his glory, they would have better hopes of a lasting peace with him. Even as he, the Pope, could not think of any other means of preserving peace and concord among the Christian princes, so was there nothing on earth that could render so vast a plan difficult of execution. The Pope gave it as his opinion that the league planned by him could beat to the ground the Ottoman power in less than three campaigns. The Emperor and the King of Poland would attack the Sultan by land, whilst the King of France would simultaneously press him by sea. As it was the French fleet was far superior to the Turkish one ; moreover it would receive reinforcements from Italy, the Knights of Malta and perhaps also from Spain. This imposing force would advance against Greece and even as far as Constantinople which would not be in a position to defend itself. After that it would be open to the King to make what conquests he chose on the soil of Asia Minor, and not only to acquire provinces but to distribute Kingdoms among the princes of the blood ; he would likewise have an opportunity of gratifying his zeal for the spread of religion, of acquiring earthly crowns and of preparing for himself far more beautiful ones in heaven. The Pope was so carried away by his enthusiasm for his plan, Cardinal D'Estrées relates, that he already pictured to himself

Louis as a crowned Emperor of Constantinople. At this audience, as well as at the next, he got so excited that the Cardinal himself was nearly swept off his feet by the torrent of his eloquence.[1]

Cardinal D'Estrées, however, told the Pope that the age of the crusades was over.[2] As a matter of fact, Innocent XI.'s vast plan may seem somewhat "fantastic",[3] but as a criterion of papal policy it is invaluable. To Innocent XI.'s thinking there was but one political question, namely that of averting the Ottoman peril, and this could be brought about by means of concord among the Christian princes and by as wide a league as possible against the hereditary enemy. Other political aims the Pope knew none; from the political conquests of Europe, in so far as they did not trench on the Turkish question, he held himself utterly aloof.[4] This was his attitude previous to the peace of Nymeguen, when he sought to mediate between Spain and Venice.[5] When at a later date the Marquis de Louvigny, a Spanish agent, submitted to the Pontiff a plan for a secret alliance of all princes having possessions in Italy, the Pope interrupted him with a declaration that he would neither conclude such a league nor have anything whatever to do with it. Should his neighbours be drawn into war, he would be sorry for their misfortune and gladly act as a mediator with the King of France on their behalf, if it were in his power to extricate them from the peril of war. But he would not do anything against the King; even if Louis attacked the Pontifical States, all he would do would be to go out to meet him, cross in hand, as far as Viterbo.[6]

[1] Cardinal D'Estrées to Louis XIV., July 15, 1682, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 125, n. 1.

[2] Cardinal D'Estrées in the report of July 12, 1682 (*cf.* p. 123, n. 3).

[3] IMMICH, *loc. cit.*

[4] IMMICH rightly called special attention to this fact (*loc. cit.*, 14, n. 4).

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 57.

[6] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., March 18, 1682, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*

In like manner Louis XIV.'s contests with the German Empire only interested Innocent XI. in so far as they delayed the formation of the anti-Turkish league or, in later years, jeopardized the prosecution of the war against the Turks. He used all his influence with the two D'Estrées with a view to an end being put to the " reunions ", because they made it extremely difficult for the Emperor to decide on war against Turkey ; none the less he told the Duke D'Estrées on September 11, 1682, that he definitely wished Strassburg to remain in the hands of Louis XIV. and he added with a smile that if Cardinal Pio knew how he had spoken about Strassburg, he would be none too pleased.[1]

Pio was the Emperor's Cardinal Protector. The above remark of the Pope sufficiently shows that it would be a great mistake to stamp him as an opponent of France.[2] Louis XIV.'s ambassador at the papal court, the above-mentioned Duke D'Estrées, pays homage to the Pope's impartiality.[3] In his report of the year 1684, the Venetian ambassador in Paris, Sebastiano Foscarini, even goes so far as to assert that the Pope's reserve in political affairs had been in reality of very great advantage to France.[4] Innocent XI.'s Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo, a secret pensioner of Louis XIV,[5] may have encouraged his master's reserve because of that circumstance. On their part the French agents at the papal court naturally did all in their power to inspire the Pope with distrust of Austria ; to this end they even sought to exploit his zeal for religion and his political inexperience. The Duke D'Estrées' answer to the Pope when

[1] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., September 12, 1682, in Michaud, II., 52.

[2] As does Michaud. Immich (7 *seq.*) remarks, referring to the latter's work in 3 vols. : " The writer's lack of judgment is at times comical."

[3] To Louis XIV., March 16, 1683 (Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 130). *Cf.* Immich, *Innozenz XI.*, 21, n. 3.

[4] Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni, Francia*, III., 428. *Cf.* Immich, 40, n. 2.

[5] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 100.

the latter, at the beginning of December 1679, lamented with tears the injury done to the anti-Turkish cause by the plague in Austria, is characteristic of this attitude. The plague must be attributed to the anger of God, D'Estrées said: it was a divine chastisement for the Emperor's alliance with heretical Powers by which that monarch had hampered the French successes in heretical countries, when, for instance, France had secured liberty of conscience in Holland.[1] For the rest Innocent XI., who was by nature inclined to be suspicious, allowed himself to be but little influenced by the people around him.[2]

The sphere in which serious conflicts arose between Innocent XI. and Louis XIV. was that of Church policy; the Pope knew quite well how to draw the line between ecclesiastical policy and his other relations with the King of France. The above conversation with Cardinal D'Estrées, in which it is assuredly not possible to detect any trace of prevention against France, took place shortly after the proclamation and the condemnation of the Gallican articles.[3] It may even be said that the Pope's esteem for Louis XIV. gave him a considerable advantage over all the other princes, even over the Emperor Leopold. Even as late as 1685 Innocent XI. is reported to have said to the Abbé Servient that Louis was the only sovereign in Christendom for whom he felt any regard. If it were lawful to give to Christendom a single secular head, and if he had power to do this and could in conscience depose the other princes, he would not hesitate for one moment. Louis alone was able to lay low the Ottoman power.[4] To Louis the Pope had assigned in his own mind the decisive rôle in the struggle against the traditional foe of Christendom and to him too, despite his keen disappointment in the question of the league, he long continued

[1] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., December 5, 1679, in Michaud, II., 80.

[2] This opinion is confirmed by the nunciature reports.

[3] *Cf.* Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 123.

[4] Report of February 17, 1685, in Gérin, XXIV., 415; Immich, 41, n. 1.

to look for the fulfilment of his hopes. On occasion we indeed hear the Pope complaining to Cardinal Pio that the court of Paris misled and deceived him.[1] After 1682 political events in south-eastern Europe required an immediate decision; it was then that the force of circumstances led to a close co-operation between Innocent XI. and Emperor Leopold.[2]

The imminence of the Turkish peril even induced Innocent XI. to give way, to some extent, in his ecclesiastico-political conflict with France, though as a rule the Pope would not hear of a compromise in this sphere. This became apparent in the conflicts which occurred in 1678 in connexion with the funeral of the Paris nuncio Varese.[3] Innocent XI. left the nunciature vacant though in 1683 he once more adopted a more conciliatory attitude, as soon as an occasion presented itself. There can be no doubt that anxiety with regard to the Turkish question alone inspired this spirit of accommodation in a Pope otherwise inflexible in Church matters. His most important instruction to Ranuzzi, the new nuncio, was that he should recall to the King's mind the duty of protecting the threatened Catholic faith.[4] But the nuncio's mission yielded no result. Ranuzzi was only received by the King in August 1683, when the Turks had been besieging Vienna for some time already,[5] and it was precisely Louis XIV.'s policy which had caused the long cherished plan of attack on the hereditary territories of the Habsburgs to mature at Constantinople.

As early as July, 1681, when it was generally believed that the Sultan was bent on moving towards the northern frontier of the Empire, Louis' ambassador at Constantinople, Guilleragues, caused the report to circulate that the French were

[1] *Cf.* Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, May 15, 1683 ("accertando la M. V., havermi detto Sua Santità più volte, non volere li Francesi la pace, benchè dimostrino il contrario"), in Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 161, n. 4; Immich, 28, n. 1.

[2] On the whole one must agree with what Immich says (110 *seq.*).

[3] See below, Ch. IV.

[4] Immich, *loc. cit.*, 25, 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, 27 *seq.*

about to carry out great works of fortification in Alsace and to concentrate there considerable bodies of troops. When asked whether his King was at peace with the Emperor Leopold, he replied that this was indeed the case at the moment; on the other hand his sovereign was not in the habit of leaving his army of 300,000 men unoccupied for any length of time.[1] In the second half of 1682 relations between Louis XIV. and the Sultan became indeed somewhat strained in consequence of the so-called sofa dispute and the bombardment of Chios by the French admiral Duquesne. This may have been due to the fact that the King of France, in view of the great power he had attained by then, hoped to be able to carry out his plans in Europe without the help of the Turks. But it was not long before his attitude underwent yet another change. He who, as a rule, was most unyielding, even on the slightest point of etiquette, allowed his ambassador to the Porte to be arrested without protest. Duquesne who, to avenge Guilleragues, had sailed up the Dardanelles, was recalled and Louis even consented to offer very humble apologies to the Sultan for the happenings at Chios.[2] On April 8, 1682, he instructed Guilleragues to contradict all rumours to the effect that in the event of a Turkish attack Leopold might hope for French assistance, and to declare that any such help was out of the question.[3] This amounted to an invitation to invade the Austrian hereditary States. The Pope was therefore being deceived when, towards the end of 1681, Louis XIV. assured him through his Roman ambassador that he would undertake nothing against the German Empire whilst the war between the Emperor and the Sultan lasted,[4] and when, at the beginning of 1682, he took everybody by surprise with the announcement that the blockade of Luxemburg had been raised in consideration of the peril threatening from the

[1] Köhler, 81.

[2] *Cf.* for the affair of Chios, Flassan, IV., 33 *seqq.*; Klopp, 102 *seq.*; Köhler, 25 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, 97.

[3] Köhler, 121 *seq.*; *cf.* 87 *seq.*

[4] Louis XIV. to the Duke D'Estrées, November 28, 1681, in Michaud, II., 83.

Turks. Public opinion allowed itself to be deluded and the deception was not without effect even in Rome.[1]

About the middle of 1682, at a time when a division of opinion was still observable in the Sultan's council with regard to the invasion of the imperial territories, at the time also of Innocent XI.'s long conversations with Cardinal D'Estrées on the subject of Louis' part in the war against the Crescent, Guilleragues produced the instructions of April 8th, which made it clear that Leopold could not count on French help in the event of a Turkish attack. He added, however, that his sovereign would not withhold assistance from Poland and Venice if they were attacked by Turkey. This information, as Guilleragues reported to Paris, produced its effect on the Seraglio [2]; in fact it proved decisive in Constantinople. In view of the superior strength of the French King, the Porte could not have risked an advance on Vienna without an assurance of France's benevolent neutrality.[3]

To-day all this is quite clear, whereas at the time precisely those most concerned, that is Innocent XI. and the court of Vienna, could not discern it at all, or only very inadequately. Even Civrano, the Venetian ambassador at the Porte during that period, on returning to his native city in the summer of 1682, was unable to state with certainty whether Kara Mustafa's plan of campaign was directed against the Emperor or, perhaps, after all, against Venice.[4] Now though the court of Vienna was in favour of a league and of war against Turkey, its readiness was dependent on the safety of the western frontier being assured, and up to the last it was thought that

[1] *Cf.* the report of the Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., April 16 1682, *ibid.*, 84.

[2] Köhler, 97 *seq.* *Cf.* Louis XIV.'s instruction to Vitry, October 29, 1682, *Acta Pol.*, VII., 284, and Platzhoff, 404.

[3] *Cf.* Köhler, 72–100, especially 99 *seq.* Ranke (*Französ. Gesch.*, III., 463–5) judges the policy of Louis XIV. too favourably when he says: it cannot be maintained that Louis exercised a real influence on the march against Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* his final report of 1682 in Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 107–9.

such a guarantee might be obtained independently of the Hungarian and the Turkish question, in fact that the latter might be put on one side for the time being, or settled by peaceful means.[1]

In 1678 and 1679 four agents were successively dispatched to Constantinople for the purpose of prolonging the peace of Vasvar of 1664, which was due to expire in 1684. Everyone of these envoys died even before the opening of the negotiations. When at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war and as a result of the peace of Radzin in 1681, the threat from the south-east increased and Thököly, at a time when the armistice which he had concluded with the Emperor at the beginning of 1679 was still in force, dispatched an embassy to the Grand Vizier openly asking the Porte's assistance for the Hungarian rebels, the imperial court sought to meet the difficulty by convoking a Hungarian Diet. That assembly met on April 28th at Ödenburg.[2] Politically this meant a return to constitutional conditions. The Diet also secured for Hungary a considerable easing of taxation and a greater financial autonomy. This settlement was due in no small measure to the influence of nuncio Buonvisi, who personally attended the Diet in June. Already in 1678, both on his own initiative and by order of Rome, he had sought to influence the court of Vienna and the Hungarian magnates with a view to a milder treatment of the rebels, an amnesty and an equitable compromise.[3] On his own admission,[4] that which facilitated his task as against Hungarian obstinacy and the unyielding temper of the imperial minister, was the never failing mildness of the Emperor.

Meanwhile it was not so much the constitutional problem

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, Klopp, *loc. cit.*, ch. 2–4; Redlich, VI., 299–310.

[2] The nunciature reports on the Diet of Ödenbury in Bojani, III., 429–479.

[3] Buonvisi to Cibo, November 8 and December 27, 1676, March 7 and September 9, 1677, May 5 and June 19, 1678, in Levinson, III., 586–8, 709; Bojani, I., 45–8; Fracknói-Jekel, 29–32, 34.

[4] On May 5, 1678 (*cf.* n. 3).

as the religious question that constituted the most difficult task of the Diet of Ödenburg, a task all the more arduous as Thököly, who refused to come to Ödenburg, broke the armistice whilst the Diet was in full progress, and allied himself with Transilvanian troops and the Turkish pashas of Temesvár and Grosswardein. The very peril compelled the Emperor Leopold to accept a compromise. Basing itself on the terms of the peace of Vienna of 1606, the Diet granted general freedom of religion, though with reservation of the rights of the lords of Catholic estates and territories. In places where freedom of religion was in force, or where the landed owners belonged to a different confession, the churches were to remain the property of the present owners; elsewhere they were to belong to those who had held them since 1670.[1] The religious compromise of Ödenburg was in accordance with nuncio Buonvisi's advice to the Emperor. Already in 1677 and 1678, when Rome felt anxious because of the concessions granted to the Protestants, in answer to inquiries on the point, Buonvisi had made the following statement: "The Emperor has been accused of having unduly oppressed consciences. Excessive demands have made the people obstinate; hence it was necessary to show a more accommodating spirit. The Emperor's firmness, reverence and loyalty in all that concerns the Catholic religion are very great, but it was equally necessary to settle the confusion provoked by the Turks and kept up by them. Nothing should be left undone to win over the Hungarians by meeting some of their demands, by allowing the exercise of the Protestant religion and by granting them churches."[2] Though on December 27th, 1681, by order of Innocent XI., Buonvisi protested against the concessions which the Ödenburg articles

[1] Wagner, I., 564–570; Katona, vol. 34, *ad ann.*, 1681. The religious decision, the royal decree of November 9, 1681, passed as articles 25 and 26 into the resolutions of the Diet of December 30. The decree is in Katona, 669 *seqq.*, and in Joh. Graf Mailáth, *Gesch. des Österreich. Kaiserstaates*, IV., Hamburg, 1848, 149–152.

[2] Cibo to Buonvisi, August 2, 1677; Buonvisi to Cibo, August 29, 1677, and November 6, 1678 in Bojani, I., 379, 440 *seq.*

of religion granted to the heretics, this was done solely for the purpose of emphasizing, as at Münster and Nymeguen, the principles that inspired the attitude of the Holy See. When handing in his declaration, the nuncio added that there was no intention thereby to embitter either the Hungarians or the court, or to call forth fresh troubles.[1] Unfortunately the religious decisions of Ödenburg failed to fulfil their purpose. They satisfied neither Catholics nor Protestants. The latter lodged a formal protest against them because they considered that all their demands were not fully complied with, but the Catholics also were very dissatisfied as they considered that the suggested sacrifice of churches was excessive and in opposition to the will of the founders.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory issue of the Diet of Ödenburg, despite Thököly's traitorous duplicity, despite also the warnings of George Christoph von Kunitz, the imperial Resident on the Golden Horn, Vienna continued to hope that

[1] Fraknói-Jekel, 59. Rome took up the same position with regard to the negotiations with Thököly in the following year (Thein, 32 *seq.*). When towards the end of 1683 the general amnesty and the concession of freedom of religion for the Protestants in Hungary were again discussed, nuncio Buonvisi communicated to the court the assent of the Pope to both propositions. The Venetian ambassador, Contarini, mentions this in his report of December 26, 1683 (in Klopp, *loc. cit.*, 374): "[Il cardinale Buonvisi] allega che il Papa capo della chiesa non solamente adherisce al perdono et alla permissione della loro religione per valersi, quietati che fossero, contro gl'infedeli, conoscendo molto bene, che non possono essere forzate le conscienze." If this statement about the liberty of conscience is not merely a sentiment put by Contarini in the mouth of the Pope, but an explicit declaration of Innocent XI., it is indeed for that time and in the mouth of a Pope, a most remarkable statement (*cf.* Immich, *loc. cit.*, 36, n. 1), especially as even at the beginning of 1680, Innocent XI. expressed himself with extraordinary severity against an agreement which Morstein, the Polish ambassador to France and England, is said to have made in England with the heretics (*cf.* Cibo to Martelli, March 2, 1680, in Bojani, III., 351, n. 1).

the troubles in Hungary and the Turkish peril could be mastered by means of compromise and negotiations. In December, 1681, a fresh armistice was concluded with Thököly. On February 16th, 1682, Albert Caprara went to Constantinople as imperial internuncio, with mission to save the peace with the Porte. Meanwhile the chief anxiety of the court of Vienna lay in the West. In the course of the year 1681 it was decided to maintain a standing imperial army. In the autumn the Emperor joined the Treaty of Association between the Netherlands and Sweden, and in the so-called alliance of Laxenburg of June 10th, 1682, the Union of the Circles of the Empire and the lesser princes which had been called into being by the energetic George Frederick von Waldeck. In their disgust with Louis XIV.'s policy of "reunion", John George III. of Saxony and Max Emmanuel of Bavaria were turning increasingly away from the King of France to side with the Emperor. On January 26th, 1683, a defensive alliance was arrived at with the Elector of Bavaria. Shortly before, Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover had guaranteed to the Emperor a corps of 10,000 men. All these alliances and warlike preparations were for the protection of the Empire against its western neighbour, but in point of fact they were destined to be first tested in the struggle with the Turks before Vienna and in Hungary.

The attempt to master the eastern situation by peaceful means turned out a failure. Thököly's envoys arrived in Constantinople before Caprara, not indeed for the purpose of working on behalf of peace between the Emperor and the Sultan, as their master gave the court of Vienna to understand, but in order to make sure of the help of Turkey against the Emperor's forces in Hungary. Thököly was successful. The Porte recognized him as Prince of Hungary. On June 24th, 1682, he denounced the armistice with Vienna: open war began in Upper Hungary and with it, in effect, the Porte's war against the Emperor.[1] When at last, in October, money and an imperial letter reached Caprara from Vienna—which

[1] Redlich, 306.

was even now unwilling to understand the gravity of the situation—it was too late. Guilleragues' declaration in August of that year finally silenced all objections in Constantinople to Kara Mustafa's war plan. In the first days of October the Sultan and his Grant Vizier set out from Constantinople for Adrianople. Caprara could only inform Vienna that nothing remained now but to take up the sword.

(4.)

Meanwhile the over-astute policy by which Louis XIV. and the Porte sought to overwhelm the Emperor, led to an event, at another point, namely in Poland, and at the court of John III., which was bound greatly to annoy these two. Up to the middle of 1682 Sobieski's attitude remained ill-defined and hesitating and French influence was still supreme at his court.[1] Innocent XI. felt it incumbent on him to represent to Sobieski, through the nuncio, how strange he thought it that the King should continue to help France in her assistance of heretics who had risen against their sovereign and invited a Turkish attack against Christendom.[2] However, the old friendship between Warsaw and Paris was rapidly cooling, and from the second half of 1682 onwards, Sobieski's attitude underwent a rapid and decisive change. The powerful Turkish armaments and the report of the Sultan's departure for Adrianople worked powerfully on his mind. Henceforth he was dominated by a great fear that, after conquering Hungary, the Turkish hosts would, as a matter of course, overrun Poland. If, as the

[1] The correspondence between Louis XIV. and Vitry at this time in *Acta Pol.*, VII., 183, 187, 191, 415, Nr. 17, 197 *seq.*, 416–18, 258, 249.

[2] Vitry to Louis XIV., April 7, 1682 (Gérin, 115). Pallavicini's reports to Rome on the assistance which France gave to Thököly at this time and the gradual alienation of Sobieski from the French policy in Hungary on April 1 and 29, June 17, August 5 and September 16, 1682, in Bojani, III., 560, 562, 564, n. 2, 567 *seq.*, 573.

French asserted, the Emperor intended to ally himself with Mohammed IV. against Poland, in order to avert the peril to his own territory, the best way of preventing such a thing from happening was to conclude an alliance with Leopold, thereby forcing him, willingly or unwillingly, to make war on the Turks.[1] All assurances on the part of France that Louis would defend Poland against a Turkish attack were now useless, as was the offer at last of the dignity of a Duke, or even that of a *Pair*, for Marquis D'Arquien. Sobieski told the French envoys that it was against his conscience further to support King Louis' policy and to the imperial Resident Zierowski he expressed his willingness to enter into a league.[2] In September, 1682, Warsaw forwarded to Vienna a plan for a league though for the time being neither nuncio Pallavicini nor the Pope felt that they could really rely on it.[3]

That which decided John III. to alter his policy was a correspondence which had come into the hands of the imperial Resident at Warsaw. It contained grave accusations against France's agent in Poland and Hungary, the Abbé Duvernay, and established the fact of his relations with Thököly and the Turks in opposition to Sobieski's express prohibition.[4] It

[1] Klopp, *loc. cit.*, 162–4, 167, 379; Du Hamel, VII., 218; Vitry to Louis XIV., October 24, 1681 (Gérin, 113), and August 7, 1682 (*Acta Pol.*, VII., 249), and October 1, 1682 (Gérin, 116 *seq.*). *Cf.* also the reports of Vitry in *Acta Pol.*, VII., 275, 284, 419, and the instruction of John III. for the Polish local Diets in 1682, *ibid.*, VI., 6.

[2] Pallavicini to Cibo, July 18 and August 5 and 26, 1682, in Bojani, III., 566–8, 570; Louis XIV. to Vitry, May 21, June 11, July 9 and 16 and August 27, 1682, in Gérin, 115 *seq.* *Cf.* Thein, 13 *seq.*; Köhler, 55 *seq.*

[3] Pallavicini to Cibo, September 16, 1682 (the letter is remarkable for the judgment Pallavicini passes on Sobieski: "the King, he says, does not want any more wars, so he tries to add to his glory by magnificent projects"), on September 23 and October 7, 1682; Cibo to Pallavicini, October 24, in Bojani, III., 574, 577 *seq.*, 581.

[4] Exact report in Vitry's letter to Louis XIV., October 8, 1682, in Gérin, 117 *seq.* *Cf.* Du Hamel, VIII., 61–4.

was in vain that De Vitry now offered the sum of 100,000 francs. The King rejected them, an act by which he earned great praise from the nuncio.[1] On December 15th, 1682, the King of Poland informed Innocent XI. through his envoy at the papal court, the priest Casimir Dönhoff, that he was prepared to enter into an alliance with the Emperor Leopold, to be negotiated in the course of that winter.[2] On his part, when accrediting Count Charles Ferdinand Waldstein as ambassador extraordinary to Warsaw, the Emperor formally proposed an Austro-Polish defensive and offensive alliance. In order to remove all misgivings he bound himself at the same time not to enter into any negotiations with the Turks until the conclusion of the Polish Diet.[3] The Pope replied to Sobieski's letter on February 20th, 1683, granted to Poland a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in the event of an alliance being realized and held out the prospect of considerable subsidies from Rome.[4]

A month earlier the Pope had made yet another attempt at mediation between the Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV. in the interest of the anti-Turkish cause.[5] On January 20th, 1683, he prayed and exhorted King Louis in a pressing letter, to help in warding off the threatening Turkish peril or at least to refrain from exercising political pressure on the Emperor and his allies during the forthcoming Turkish war.[6] Louis XIV. replied on February 12th, that he had long ago anticipated the Pope's wishes and that he had remained far below his just demands from the German Empire; he would be content if no more than the conditions presented by him to the Diet of Ratisbon through his envoy Verjus, were accepted; instead of this the Emperor treated with the Turks with a view to directing the latter's lust of conquest against his eastern

[1] TRENTA, II., 178 *seqq.*; THEIN, 18.

[2] THEINER, *Monuments*, 244; THEIN, 12 *seq.*

[3] Pallavicini to Cibo, January 13, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 31 *seq.*: BOJANI, III., 634.

[4] BERTHIER, II., 74; KLOPP, *loc. cit.*, 167.

[5] For what follows, *cf.* KLOPP, 150–160.

[6] BERTHIER, II., 64 *seq.*

neighbour to the end that he himself might resume undisturbed his war against the Christian princes and peoples.[1] The two D'Estrées made even stronger efforts to influence the Pope in the sense of their King. It would seem that at this time the French even thought of suggesting a congress in Rome for the purpose of settling their conflict with the German Empire. If the German Protestant princes refused to send representatives, the fact would lead to tension between them and the Catholic princes, to France's advantage. If the Catholic princes refused to attend the congress without their Protestant colleagues, it was to be expected, in view of Innocent XI.'s character, that the refusal would lead him to distrust the Emperor and the German princes and draw him closer to France.[2] However, no congress took place in Rome, but the Pope sent Briefs to the Emperor and to the King of Spain, urging them to come to terms with King Louis from whose letter one could gather that he had at all times been willing to settle peaceably the disputes within the Christian community.[3] At Vienna the Brief called forth no small annoyance for it seemed to show that in the controversies between the Empire and Louis XIV., Innocent XI. only lent ear to the French statements of them. However, Vienna was too cautious. But it is probably true to say that the Pope would have been pleased if, in view of the Turkish question, the Emperor and the King of Spain had given way to the King of France of their own accord.[4] The whole action of the Pope was as barren of result as was the dispatch, immediately afterwards, of Ranuzzi as nuncio extraordinary to the court or Louis XIV. In the course of the next few months Louis repeated his assurance to the Porte

[1] Klopp, 151 *seq.*

[2] Report of Cardinal Pio of March 13, 1683, to the Emperor Leopold, *ibid.*, 153.

[3] Berthier, II., 79 *seq.*

[4] Klopp, 154–160. *Cf.* Cardinal Pio's report of August 14, 1683, to the Emperor Leopold, *ibid.*, 339, and Immich, 38, n. 2. For the whole affair, *cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, January 16 and March 13, 1683, Buonvisi to Cibo, April 4, 11 and 18, in Bojani, III., 608, n. 2, 621 *seq.*, 629 *seq.*, 631 *seq.*; Gérin, 127–132.

that it could count on his lending help neither to the Emperor nor to Poland in the forthcoming struggle.[1]

More fruitful were the exhortations which Innocent XI., together with his reply to Sobieski's letter, addressed to the Polish senators and knights on the projected league with the Emperor,[2] for on their attitude depended the fate of the negotiations for an alliance with the latter at the Diet which opened on January 27th. The uncertainty of the issue of these negotiations was due to the fact that the French party at the Diet still numbered many members and that Louis XIV.'s agents did their utmost to wreck both Diet and league. The only purpose of the league, so they proclaimed all over Poland, was to provide Polish troops for the Emperor for his struggle in Hungary. As for Poland herself, she was sufficiently protected against the Crescent by the King of France, whereas the league would expose her to attack from two sides, viz.—from the Tartars whom the Turks would mobilize against the country, and from the Elector of Brandenburg who disposed of French help, whilst in the meantime the Emperor might have come to terms with the Porte.[3] At Rome Cardinal D'Estrées sought to use the Polish envoy Dönhoff for the purposes of French policy, in fact he induced the very man who should have advocated, at the pontifical court, an alliance with the Emperor, to speak about it to the Pope in the opposite sense. Dönhoff, the Cardinal reported to Louis XIV., has represented to the Pope that at bottom Sobieski wished for peace with the Porte. Moreover the latter's corpulence, age, health and whole way of life seemed to render him incapable of undertaking anything. On hearing this the Pope sighed and remarked that this was a great misfortune for Christendom. The result of all this will be, the Cardinal told his sovereign,[4]

[1] His instructions to GUILLERAGUES of April 30, May 21 and June 9, 1683, in GÉRIN, 121–3.

[2] BERTHIER, II., 74 *seq.*; THEIN, 12 *seq.*, 16.

[3] Pallavicini to Cibo, December 8, 1682 and January 27, 1683, in BOJANI, III., 587 *seq.*, 637.

[4] December 24, 1682, in GÉRIN, 125 *seq.*

that the Pope will not hope for much from the negotiations for a league about which the court of Vienna makes such an ado at present, on the contrary he will base his hopes for Christianity exclusively on the might and power of the King of France. On January 8th, information reached the Vatican from the papal *chargé d'affaires* in Paris, that a few days previously a courier had left for Poland with instructions for the French ambassador to bring about the dissolution of the Diet at any price, regardless of the cost ; the ministers believed that they would achieve their purpose ; their only fear was the nuncio at Warsaw and the possible dispatch of papal Briefs to the Diet.[1] As a matter of fact, as mentioned above, Innocent XI. did address hortatory Briefs to the members of that assembly.

The most valuable help for France's underground activities against the league came from the agents of Brandenburg. Already in the summer of 1682 the Grand Elector had sent his emissaries to Poland for the purpose of creating discontent in view of the coming Diet and securing adherents for himself. Nuncio Pallavicini saw quite well that if Brandenburg could be detached from France, French action would be paralysed, for in this way that country would be deprived of an appropriate tool for its Polish policy seeing that it was precisely the Elector's partisans who displayed most resolution, courage and even recklessness. Quite apart from Frederick William's secret pact with Louis XIV., excitement in Berlin, as Pallavicini wrote to Rome, was in large measure due to the report that Sweden was about to send a delegate to Poland for the purpose of forming an alliance with that country. As a matter of fact, so Pallavicini wrote, King John had actually solicited the dispatch of a Swedish agent. On the other hand the Elector would in any case look on a Polish-Swedish alliance as aimed against himself, hence he would endeavour to get the Diet dissolved. He, that is, the nuncio, had drawn Sobieski's attention to that danger and the King had accordingly arranged

[1] Bojani, III., 635.

that the Swedish envoy should arrive neither before nor during the Diet.[1]

The head of the French party in Poland was Morstein, the Grand Treasurer.[2] It was unfortunate for him and his friends that in consequence of the capture, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, of three Brandenburg couriers, at the beginning of February, correspondence had come into the hands of Sobieski which grievously compromised Morstein and Vitry. Among other things these letters charged Morstein with having undertaken, for a sum of money, to wreck the Diet. There was even a plan to make a French prince, or Jablonowski, King of Poland in Sobieski's place, and Morstein had had a hand in these designs. More dead than alive the latter was confronted with the captured documents. Sobieski wished to inflict on him at once the severest penalty. Happily the nuncio succeeded, though only after repeated prayers, in preventing such a step and in getting all judicial proceedings in the matter indefinitely postponed. At Vienna also Buonvisi, to whom Morstein appealed in his distress, did not answer him with a refusal. Let him lend a hand in the formation of a league, he told him, and do what lay in his power to prevent the dissolution of the Diet; he would then give him the desired recommendations. In his report to Rome Buonvisi added that it was a good thing that he and Pallavicini had lent help to Morstein, for if driven to despair, a man of his wealth and ability might do grievous harm.[3] The progress and issue of

[1] Pallavicini to Cibo, November 11, December 9 and 23, 1682, in Bojani, III., 582, 588 *seq.*, 590 *seq.*, and February 24, 1683, in Hiltebrandt, *Preussen und die römische Kurie*, I., 71. *Cf.* also Contarini's report of April 20, 1683, in Du Hamel, VIII., 69, n. 2; Thein, 18.

[2] Pallavicini to Cibo, December 8, 1682, in Bojani, III., 587 *seq.*

[3] Klopp, 170, and Du Hamel, VIII., 67–9, according to Contarini's report of April 3, 1683. *Cf.* Pallavicini to Cibo, March 24, 1683 (to the report is added an extract of the confiscated letters of the French ambassador in Warsaw; see *Acta Pol.*, VI., 62 *seq.*); Buonvisi to Cibo, March 7 and 21, 1683, in Bojani, III., 619 *seq.*, 625.

the Diet were to show how right had been the nuncio's judgment.

Under the impression of the revelations contained in the intercepted correspondence of Vitry and Morstein, the Diet unanimously agreed to the suggested alliance with the Emperor. A deputation consisting of thirty-eight members, viz. five Bishops, five senators, and twenty-eight nuncios of the provincial Diet was appointed for the purpose of negotiating with the imperial ambassador. The first session, February 26th–March 10th,[1] brought to light the intentions of the court of Vienna. Leopold wished to bargain in his capacity as King of Bohemia and as Archduke of his hereditary States, and to furnish an army of 60,000 men. Though the accession of the Empire to the league and a previous settlement of political disputes with France were desirable, they must not be allowed to delay the conclusion of the alliance, for time pressed. By means of the alliance Poland should recover what she had forfeited to the Turks. The question of joint warlike action would only arise if the whole of the hostile power were to be exclusively directed against any one of the two States. The protection and guarantee of the College of Cardinals and the Pope were to be solicited for the alliance. Nuncio Pallavicini, however, observed that the consideration which, as common father of Christendom, the Pope owed to other nations, would make it difficult to comply with this request, unless some precedents could be found. The imperial envoy, Count Waldstein, allowed himself to be persuaded by Pallavicini to agree to the restoration of the instrument which the Poles had been made to hand over to the Emperor during the Swedish war, by the terms of which they were bound to pay a sum of more than two million florins, and at no time to elect a King who was not agreeable to the Emperor. Moreover the Emperor was to advance 200,000 imperial thalers for Polish armaments, a sum which was to be in part covered by one half of the subsidies which the Pope

[1] According to the nunciature reports in *Acta Pol.*, VI., 46–56, and in Bojani, III., 641–8; Thein, 21–3. The third session took place on March 3.

had forwarded to Vienna up to that time. Whilst these discussions were in progress, news arrived that Moscow's envoys were on the way. It was to be foreseen that the opponents of the league would insist on Moscow being admitted as a member, in the hope of thereby drawing out the negotiations and even of wrecking them. Pallavicini forestalled this danger by proposing the insertion in the instrument of the league of a clause whereby new members might join the alliance, with the consent of the contracting parties. In this way, he said, the door would be left open for negotiations with Moscow without delaying the settlement with the Emperor. Under the pressure of disquieting reports from Turkey the proposal was accepted, and in the following year it found a practical application when Venice and Moscow joined the alliance.

However, the negotiations ran the risk of being wrecked on another point. The Polish deputies insisted on the rulers of the contracting Powers taking a personal oath to guarantee security and loyal observance of the alliance. After lengthy discussions, in this sense and in that, Waldstein and Zierowski (the latter had been adjoined to the former for the purpose of the negotiations), as decisively rejected the demand, as offensive to the Emperor, as the Poles insisted on its acceptance. The extraordinary danger for the alliance which this incident brought to light, lay in the fact that the anti-Turkish league had to reckon with influential opponents not only in Poland but even at the court of Vienna. Count Quintin Jörger, Hermann of Baden and above all Borgomainero, the Spanish ambassador, worked against it and were in favour of negotiations with Thököly and the Turks. Their most vigorous opponent was nuncio Buonvisi who advocated an agreement with Thököly, but in the sense of an anti-Turkish league in which he would have been glad even then to include Moldavia and Walachia.[1] On hearing, through Pallavicini, of the difficulties of the negotiations at the Polish Diet, Buonvisi did all he could to dispose the Emperor favourably and he

[1] THEIN, 31–4.

succeeded at least in preventing a negative decision. Those concerned gained the impression that the Emperor would not disavow his ambassador at Warsaw if he went beyond his instructions and agreed to the oath.[1]

However, things did not go so far. As soon as the crisis had arisen, King John had informed the nuncio at Warsaw that he desired his mediation. Pallavicini accepted but at once met with opposition by both parties, though they ended by accepting to negotiate on the same spot under his mediation. Accordingly the parties took their places on either side of the hall of the sessions, separated from each other, so that neither side could hear the other. Nuncio Pallavicini acted as a go-between, crossing from one side of the hall to the other, offering suggestions and receiving answers. This led to a result acceptable to both parties. It was decided that the oath should be made in the hands of the Pope ; consequently it was to be taken by persons other than the rulers. The two Cardinals Protector, Pio and Barberini, were subsequently chosen for this duty, the former for Austria, the latter for Poland. The formula of the oath was to remain secret, nor was it to be inserted in the instrument of the treaty. The King and the ministers having given their approval, a start was made with the drafting of the treaty.[2]

The negotiations between the imperial and the Polish deputies continued their course, though with tiresome delays on account of utterly irrelevant matters. There was an enormous amount of talk. The nuncio's loud remonstrances and protests were countered by the King with the remark that the senators made such long speeches to show off their talent as orators rather than in the interest of the affair in question. Comfort, luxury, humanistic studies and the consequent neglect of the profession of arms did great harm

[1] Klopp, 168, according to Contarini's reports of March 20 and 27, 1683.

[2] *Acta Pol.*, VI., 55 *seq.* ; Bojani, III., 647 ; Thein, 23–6. Barberini was Cardinal Protector of Poland since the spring of 1681 ; *cf.* the letter of King John to Innocent XI., dated April 30, 1681, Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 678.

to the realm. He, the King, feared that the Polish libraries would one day become the stables of the Turks' horses, just as the Tartars stabled horses in the libraries of China. The fall of Vienna would be far more disastrous than that of Cracow. Before Cracow the Turks would be caught in the Austrian and Polish pincers; hence Cracow would be reconquered. But if Vienna were lost, Poland would be severed from the rest of Christendom. For the rest, the delay in the negotiations was also due to the opponents of the league who sought to gain time and were waiting for the money with which France bribed them. However, the unwearied efforts of the papal nuncio and the imperial plenipotentiaries, with the help of the King and Queen, who now gave their unstinted support to the league, ended by overcoming every obstacle.[1]

A final difficulty for the league, which was precisely due to Queen Casimira, was likewise removed. Since 1678 there had been question of the betrothal of the Archduchess Maria Antonia to James, the son of Sobieski and Casimira. The marriage, so the parents calculated, might possibly prove the foundation of a hereditary kingship for the Sobieskis, especially if the people were roused to enthusiasm by the father's brilliant victories over the Turks. It was even said in Poland that the Emperor would consent to the match for the sake of the league and assign Hungary to the Archduchess for her dowry. As a matter of fact the court of Vienna seems to have held out for a time some such hope.[2] Rome, however, would not hear of the

[1] *Cf.* Pallavicini's reports to Rome, March 21, 24 and 31, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 58–62; BOJANI, III., 652, 656, 659. An embassy of Thököly to the Polish Diet was one of the obstacles to the negotiations (report of Pallavicini, March 31, 1683). The nuncio and the imperial ambassador opposed its reception at court. However, it must not be forgotten that the court of Vienna was still negotiating with Thököly; *cf.* THEIN, 25 *seq.*, 31–4.

[2] So says Vitry in his report to Louis XIV., March 14, 1682 (*Acta Pol.*, VII., 198). This would be in accordance with the fact that Buonvisi did not at first report unfavourably to nuncio Martelli in Warsaw; *cf.* Martelli to Cibo, May 3, 1678, in BOJANI, I., 423, n. 1.

plan because the Archduchess was at first destined for Charles II. of Spain, and, later on, when Charles II. became engaged to Marie Louise of Orléans, because it was desired to marry her to the young Elector of Bavaria. By this means it was hoped to forestall the plan of a marriage of Max Emmanuel with Eleonore Erdmuth of Sachsen-Eisenach, for Innocent XI. was strongly opposed to such a match on religious grounds, even in the event of the conversion of the Saxon princess,[1] and it was likewise necessary to bring about closer relations between Max Emmanuel and the Emperor. This plan had already been agreed upon by Vienna and Munich at the time of the league negotiations and to nuncio Pallavicini fell the no light task to reconcile Casimira to her disappointment. He represented to her that James' union with Maria Antonia would precisely constitute a great obstacle to his election as King of Poland for they would have to reckon with French, Spanish and Polish opposition. This argument proved effective and when the imperial ambassador informed her that the Archduchess already belonged to another, the King and Queen of Poland insisted no longer.[2]

The question now was to get the Diet to approve the treaty of alliance. It had become clear that Morstein's partisans in that assembly were much more numerous than could have been foreseen. Moreover a great many of them were so heavily compromised by the intercepted correspondence with Paris

[1] The dispensation for a mixed marriage, even in view of a probable conversion later on, would not have been granted by the Pope.—Brief of Innocent XI. of August 16, 1681, to Max Emmanuel (Berthier, I., 435–7) : "in the marriages of princes the beauty of the bride is of secondary importance." *Cf.* K. Th. Heigel, *Quellen u. Abhandl. zur neueren Geschichte Bayerns*, new series, Munich, 1890, 78–88 ; Duhr, III., 639, 851 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Cibo's instructions to Martelli, May 28 and July 9, 1678, in Bojani, I., 423, n. 1 ; Buonvisi to Cibo, February 19, 1682, Cibo to Buonvisi, July 25, 1682, Pallavicini to Cibo, March 10, 1683, *ibid.*, III., 593, n. 2, 645, n. 1 ; Du Hamel, VIII., 57, according to Contarini's report of November 26, 1682.

that, were it only out of fear for their personal safety, they were unwilling, by approving the league, to put into the King's hands the power and the weapons for their own destruction. The intrigues of Vitry, who still remained at Warsaw, did the rest. Some very violent scenes took place at the Diet and a bloody scuffle among the senators was only narrowly avoided.[1] Furious and dangerous was the storm, nuncio Pallavicini reported to Rome on Sunday, March 21st,[2] which convulsed the Diet from Tuesday to Saturday. That had unfortunately happened which he, the nuncio, had so often foretold, when he had earnestly pleaded and prayed that the affair of the intercepted letters should be dropped. The nuncio proposed various solutions but they were rejected.[3] The storm abated at length and on the evening of March 31st the Chancellor was able to read to the Diet the draft of the treaty of alliance that had been agreed upon. In addition to the clauses already mentioned, the draft contained the following additions and alterations. The alliance was to be aimed exclusively against the Turks and have for its further object defence from their attacks and the recovery of lost territory. It was to be personally subscribed to by the rulers. Peace could only be concluded by mutual agreement. Further dispositions were the mobilization of an imperial army of 60,000 men and of a Polish one of 40,000, but a joint advance was to be made only in the event of Vienna or Cracow being besieged and, lastly, the addition of further allies acceptable to both parties, especially that of Moscow. The Emperor was to pay Poland the sum of 200,000 imperial thalers for which he was to be

[1] Klopp, according to Contarini's report of April 17, 1683.

[2] *Acta Pol.*, VI., 57 *seq.*; Bojani, III., 648–651.

[3] A law was passed instead which considerably restricted the stay of the ambassadors of foreign Powers in Poland; this was done to protect the country against their intrigues. The attention of the Diet was drawn to the fact that the papal nuncio should be expressly exempted from such laws, "but the King said—with profound respect for the Holy See and the honour of the nuncio—that the Apostolic nuncio was never included in any laws of this kind," Bojani, III., 651.

indemnified with the subsidies he received from the Pope; Poland was not to be asked at any future time to refund the above mentioned sum. An ecclesiastical tenth which the Pope was to impose on Milan and Naples, was likewise to fall exclusively to Poland.[1]

Contrary to all expectation, the Diet approved the draft and on the morning of April 1st, previous to the session of the Diet, the deputies of the Polish Republic put their signature to it. That same morning, without warning and without giving them time to consider the matter, the imperial plenipotentiaries were likewise requested to sign. The reason of this proceeding became clear to them as they hastily examined the document submitted to them. Some points, especially the financial stipulations, were differently stated in the instrument of the treaty and were more unfavourable to the Emperor than had been agreed upon in the course of the negotiations. Violent disputes with the Polish ministers ensued, but to all the representations of Waldstein and Zierowski the Poles made the one reply; either you sign, or the negotiations are at an end. After resisting for the space of six hours the imperial envoys, against their will, ended by putting their names at the bottom of the document. Nuncio Pallavicini calmed them and praised their conduct. It was better, he assured them, to have yielded than to have jeopardized the whole work; the Emperor would approve their conduct. As for himself, he did not like the freedom with which the Diet had disposed of papal subsidies and ecclesiastical tenths. With a view to forestalling possible difficulties at Vienna, the nuncio suggested that for the ratification by the Emperor Leopold and King Sobieski, a text should be submitted which agreed in substance with the treaty instrument of April 1st, whilst it departed from it in the unacceptable clauses: only this text, bearing the rulers' signature, should be published. However, the nuncio's proposal was rejected.[2]

[1] THEIN, 26 *seq.*

[2] Pallavicini to Cibo, April 7, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 70 *seq.*; BOJANI, III., 656–660; THEIN, 27–9.

Thus the Diet had happily accepted the league, but that assembly itself was not yet concluded and the whole work of the treaty would be in jeopardy if the meeting were to be dissolved before its normal termination. Towards this end the opponents of the league now directed their efforts, by putting every imaginable obstacle in the way of a solution of the questions not yet settled. To avoid a complete failure the King was repeatedly compelled to extend the duration of the session. Nuncio Pallavicini, who had fallen ill as a result of all his exertions and excitement, urged the Bishops who were taking part in the Diet to protect themselves against violence with a guard of a hundred or more armed men. On Wednesday in Holy Week, April 14th, grave disorders occurred once more, especially on the part of the Lithuanians. During the night of Good Friday to Holy Saturday the Grand Treasurer Morstein, the French ambassador and the two brothers Noblet, who had been especially sent from Paris to assist Vitry, rushed through the whole city for the purpose of recruiting adherents. To their underground activities must be ascribed the violent scenes which took place at the sittings of the following day, and in the night of Easter, April 17th–18th. Three times in the course of that night the Diet was on the point of breaking down. But when the King appeared in person at dawn on Easter Sunday, to urge approval of a treaty already concluded, as well as the termination of the Diet, no one dared to interpose his veto. The battle was won.[1]

"Last night," nuncio Pallavincini reported to Rome on Easter Sunday, "the Diet came to an end, and thus the league and war against the Turks are accomplished facts. This is an extraordinary favour granted by God to Christendom in answer to your Holiness' prayers and supplications. It must be openly acknowledged that this is not the work of men, for no exertion, no eloquence and no diplomatic skill could have brought it about." This conviction, he wrote, forced

[1] Klopp, 171, according to Contarini's report of April 17, 1683; Pallavicini to Cibo, April 14 and 18, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 79, 87; Bojani, III., 658–661 (*cf.* 660, n. 1); Thein, 29 *seq.*

itself upon him when he considered Poland's poverty and the discord, the fury and the hatred which had sprung up amongst the members of the Diet in consequence of the affair of the letters.[1] The Marquis de Vitry was obliged to leave Warsaw for Berlin ; from there he wrote to Paris that, in accordance with the instructions of his Sovereign, he had done his best to create difficulties for the Diet and even to wreck it. He had hoped to find someone who would bring about its dissolution in return for 1,000 ducats ; but no matter how much money he offered, no one would lend himself for the task. The papal nuncio had been one of his bitterest opponents and it was he who had succeeded in reconciling the Grand Marshal of Lithuania with the King.[2] For purposes of bribery, Vitry had ended by sacrificing his own table silver.[3] This time, however, the other side had outdone him, even on this point. For the purpose of obtaining votes the French had only spent 50,000 florins, whereas the imperial party had expended 66,000. Pallavicini had encouraged Waldstein and Zierowski to make use of gold and he himself contributed at least 14,700 florins of the Pope's money. Jablonowski, Jerome Lubomirski, who had entered the Emperor's service in the meantime,[4] and the Lithuanian Sapiehas, saw their opportunity and allowed themselves to be paid by both sides, by the French and by the Imperialists.[5]

[1] Pallavicini to Cibo, April 18, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 87 *seq.* ; Bojani, III., 660 *seq.* On the sentiments of the Polish King and the nuncio, *cf.* Trenta, II., 180, and Theiner, *Monuments*, 245 *seq.* On the financial conditions of Poland *cf.* the very interesting statements of Pallavicini given in Bojani, III., 379–386 (a tax on alcohol that would scarcely be felt would bring in 20 million florins !), 583 *seq.*

[2] Reports of April 17 and 22, 1683, in Gérin, 120.

[3] Klopp, 171, according to Contarini's report of May 1, 1683,

[4] *Cf.* the Emperor Leopold to Count Schaffgotsch, on February 14, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 40–3.

[5] Thein, 20, according to Zierowski's accounts in *Acta Pol.*, VI. (to the numbers given by Thein must be added No. 12) ; report of Pallavicini, February 10, 1683 (Sauer, 168), and No. 58 in *Acta Pol.*, I. ; Redlich, 309, n. 1.

On April 23rd news of the conclusion of the league reached Vienna. "The joy of the public is indescribable," Buonvisi said in a letter to Rome in which he bestowed the highest encomiums on the Warsaw nuncio. He at once dispatched a courier to Venice in order to acquaint the Pope as speedily as possible with the joyful event.[1] Innocent XI. had accompanied the Warsaw negotiations with his prayers. In the course of Lent, he went more than once from the Quirinal to St. Peter's for the Stations. For the Fridays of March he published Indulgences and general Jubilees for the purpose of obtaining concord among Christian princes. He ordered the prayer against the infidels to be said at Mass and prescribed other public prayers for the pressing needs of the Church. The carnival was prohibited; in its place the faithful were exhorted to pray for the preservation of Christendom from the danger that threatened it.[2] In Rome there was now great jubilation and in his joy at the successful conclusion of the alliance the Pope at once forwarded to the Emperor the sum of 100,000 crowns.[3]

The Emperor signed the treaty on May 2nd at Laxenburg. The oath in the Pope's hands by Cardinal Pio and Barberini, which by the terms of the secret article should have been taken within two months, was only taken on August 16th when Vienna was already invested by the Turks and the Polish army of relief was on the march. After the ceremony the Pope, greatly moved and full of joy, drew the two Cardinals into his arms.[4] In 1682 the Venetian ambassador, Civrano,

[1] Letter to Cibo of April 24, 1683, in Bojani, 662; Letter of Buonvisi to Sobieski in Trenta, II., 23 *seq.*

[2] Lippi, 141 *seq.*

[3] Klopp, 173. The Briefs of congratulation to King John and the Emperor Leopold, dated May 8 and 12, 1683, in Berthier, II., 94 *seq.*; Sauer, 3.

[4] Klopp, 173. The Pope's answer to the taking of the oath, *ibid.*, 539; Thein, 26, n. 5 and 6. The text of the treaty of alliance in Du Mont, VII., 2, 62–4 (literal German translation in Klopp, 173), in *Codex dipl. regni Poloniae*, I., Vilna, 1758, 337–342 (an extract in *Acta Pol.*, VI., 63–70), and in Andreas

wrote as follows in his final report to the Senate, after his return from Constantinople: "The Pope is held in particular respect by the Turks. They feel that he has power to unite the Christian princes in a league against them, in fact he is the only bulwark against their power they are afraid of."[1] In point of fact the concentric attack on the Crescent by the whole Christian world was a bold inspiration of Innocent XI. Though he had not been able to realize this conception, there existed at least a league capable of warding off the immediate Turkish peril. The alliance was in an outstanding degree the work of the Pope, in which his nuncios had co-operated with decision, untiringly and with extraordinary prudence, namely Buonvisi at Vienna and above all, as the Polish Senate unreservedly acknowledged in a letter to Innocent XI. immediately after the happy conclusion of the Diet, by Pallavicini at Warsaw.[2]

(5.)

In the reports of the nuncios of Vienna and Warsaw previous to 1683 we frequently meet with the remark that a definite guarantee of papal subsidies would greatly promote the chances of the alliance.[3] About the middle of March, 1683, when the projected league was about to be become a reality, nuncio Buonvisi found the Emperor almost in despair because he could not see how he was going to meet the financial

CHR. ZALUSKI, *Epistolarum historico-familiarium*, I., 2, 803–9. ZALUSKI gives the treaty in the formula of Poland, the others give it in the formula of the Emperor.

[1] In KLOPP, 147.

[2] On April 19, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., 89.

[3] *Cf.*, *inter alia*, the reports of the nunciatures of Vienna and Warsaw in BOJANI, I., 452, 503, 535 *seq.*, 538 *seq.*; also the Briefs to the Emperor, dated August 23, 1681 and August 22, 1682, in BERTHIER, I., 441; II., 46 *seq.* On the Pope's subsidies against the Turks, *cf.* MAURER, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVIII. (1886), 569 *seqq.*

conditions to which Waldstein had agreed at Warsaw.[1] However, for the time being Innocent was unable to go beyond general promises. The Pope was most willing to give, the Secretary of State wrote on June 3rd, 1679, to the nuncios at Vienna and Warsaw, but since the coffers of the Apostolic Camera were empty, no one could complain if His Holiness failed to give what he did not possess.[2] Innocent XI. had taken over the Papal States with a burden of debt which must have considerably exceeded fifty million scudi.[3] Added to this was the fact that, according to a report of the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo in the year 1675, the population of the country had diminished by a third within less than forty years, and the number of homesteads by over 40 per cent, whilst annual taxation had been doubled.[4] For all that the public income continued to show a yearly deficit of about 200,000 scudi.[5] Some time after his accession Innocent XI. lamented the fact that as a Cardinal he had been wealthy, but that now that he was Pope, he was reduced to misery.[6] The aim of his financial policy was an administration which, without fresh taxation, would yield a surplus to cover the public debt and to

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo, March 21, 1683, in Bojani, III., 622–4.

[2] Cibo to Buonvisi and Martelli, June 3, 1679, *ibid.*, I., 541–3.

[3] The *Diarium Europaeum* (XXXIV., 150) puts the debt at 65 millions, Servient gives 30 million thalers (Michaud, I., 305), the Venetians Querini and Grimani (in Brosch, I., 469) give for the years 1667 and 1671, 50 million scudi. Information on the value of money about 1680 is given in the *Diar. Europ.*, XXXV., 7–28, and in the reports of the nunciatures of Vienna and Warsaw, Bojani, I., 485 *seq.*, III., 397, 629, n. 1. According to these accounts 2 thalers = 3 Austrian florins, 1 Austrian florin = 2 (or up to 4) Polish florins (the indications of Redlich [309] agree with this), 1 ducat = 3 florins and 12 kreuzer, 1 scudo = 3 Austrian florins and 20 kreuzer.

[4] From Mocenigo's report of 1675, in Brosch., I., 458 *seq.*

[5] *Cardinal Pio to Leopold, October 3, 1676. State Archives, Vienna. Ranke (Päpste, III., 112) therefore, when speaking of 170,000 scudi, gives too low a figure. *Cf.* Immich, 19, n. 2.

[6] *Cardinal Pio, *loc. cit.*

subsidize the Turkish war ; the means for its realization was a wide system of saving and strict watchfulness over the finances.

The Roman people had early proof of the economic views of the new Pope. He would not hear of any expenditure to celebrate his elevation, nor were there any clothes and new coins for the domestic staff of the papal court, as was customary at the accession of a new Pope. In like manner the five score gold and silver coins which were annually distributed among the personnel of the court on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul went henceforth to the Apostolic Camera. Foreign Powers, more particularly the Catholic Swiss and Venice, were requested to refrain from sending *obbedienza* embassies and instead to spend the money for the benefit of the Catholic cause. The presents which the Popes were wont to bestow on their relatives out of the funds of the Apostolic Camera were abolished under Innocent XI.[1] The money from the sale of his furniture which he ordered after his elevation to the papacy, was given to the poor.[2] Don Livio, the Pope's nephew, only received a slender allowance.[3]

The office of a general superintendent of the Papal States and the legation of Avignon, two posts that used to fall to the nephews, Innocent XI. bestowed on his Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo, but without salary. The posts of a General of the Church, of commander of the navy and governor of Castel St. Angelo were left vacant by him. By this measure alone he saved 70,000 scudi a year.[4] The Pope relieved Cardinal Chigi of the office of Librarian of the Church and conferred it on a cleric of lower degree to whom he was able to pay a

[1] *Proc. summ.*, 136 *seq.*, 153, §§ 48–50.

[2] *Diar. Europ.*, XXIV., 152.

[3] *Proc. summ.*, 136.

[4] *Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, September 25 and October 3, 1676, *loc. cit.* ; *Proc. summ.*, *loc. cit.* The statement of *Diar. Europ.*, XXXIV., 153, namely, that the Princes Pamfili, Borghese and Savelli had received the two abovementioned posts of generals and also the post of governor of the castle of S. Angelo, is evidently based on a premature report.

lower salary.[1] The Secretariates for Briefs,[2] the posts of inspectors general in the Papal States[3] and other offices the only purpose of which was to make provision for certain families,[4] he allowed to lapse. In December, 1677, another twenty-four secretarial posts were abolished.[5] Those who held two or three posts at the palace had to be content with the salary of one. Extraordinary expenses for the benefit of palace officials were abolished.[6]

The Vatican gardens, those of the Quirinal, the *Vigna* of Pope Julius and other parks which used to be put at the disposal of high papal officials, were let by Innocent XI., the rent going to the Apostolic Camera.[7] The Pope was even credited with the idea of selling the water of the public fountains.[8] The papal guard was reduced and expenditure on the army curtailed, whilst the police force was increased.[9] The income of every papal official, from the Cardinals down to the lowest employee, was curtailed.[10] It was said that in September 1687, Cardinal Ottoboni had freely remonstrated with the Pope for allowing several members of the Sacred College to suffer from hunger.[11] Heavy taxes were laid on Bulls of confirmation.[12] Instead of the papal medals of gold and silver, he introduced medals made of wax from the very

[1] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXVI., 111 *seq.*; **Avviso* of August 14, 1677, *Cod. Barb.* 6417, Vatican Library.

[2] **Avviso* of January 22, 1678, *ibid.*

[3] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXV., 274.

[4] *Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, January 21, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXVI., 497 (dated December, 1677).

[6] *Proc. summ.*, 136 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] **Avviso* of August 18, 1677, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXIV., 153; **Avviso* of January 23, 1677, *loc. cit.*

[10] *Diar. Europ.*, *loc. cit.*

[11] Michaud, I., 308.

[12] *Ibid.*, 309–311.

beginning of his pontificate; in this way, it was said, an economy of 6,000 crowns was effected annually.[1]

Innocent XI. put a stop to the squandering of the funds of the Apostolic Camera, from which, so it was said, 80,000 to 100,000 thalers were missing.[2] In October 1676, the Secretary of State told Cardinal D'Estrées that when the expenditure for Civitavecchia was submitted to examination, a defalcation of 20,000 thalers was discovered and that this sum had gone to Cardinal Altieri and Don Angelo.[3] Cardinal Cibo maintained that the taxes could be made to yield a third as much again as they actually produced; that even so, the tax-gatherers were willing to pay for the privilege of collecting them, because in consequence of the elimination of secret contributions they would make the same profit as before.[4] The Pope abolished the exemption from customs dues both for himself and his court.[5] The heavily indebted communes of the Papal States, which had to pay as much as 7 per cent and 8 per cent interest, so that they never were in a position to create a sinking fund, he assisted by the following means: he advanced the money they required to pay off the capital debt out of a newly founded State finance department which replaced the former *Monti* and only demanded 3 per cent interest. This was to the advantage of the communes, as well as that of the Apostolic Camera which, thanks to the low rate of interest, gradually recovered the capital it had advanced.[6]

The corn chamber of Rome was taken over by Innocent XI. with the burden of a deficit said to have exceeded 300,000 scudi. Moreover there was a scarcity of bread at the beginning of his

[1] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXVI., 8.

[2] Thus the Abbé Louis de Bourlemont to Pomponne on October 27, 1676, in MICHAUD, I., 307 *seq.*

[3] MICHAUD, I., 307.

[4] *Cf.* the report quoted in note 3.

[5] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXVI., 9.

[6] *Proc. summ.*, 137, § 49. The new bank was called "Communità a' trè scudi di frutto per luogo di Monte"; *cf.* MICHAUD, I., 319–323.

pontificate ; this the Pope remedied by imports of grain from Holland.[1] In the autumn of 1677, he ordered the sequestration of the private grain stores of Count Falconieri and others, because they sought to sell corn at usurious prices. They were made to sell the sack of corn for seven crowns.[2] At the beginning of 1679 Cardinal Pio informed the Emperor that a list had been put into the Pope's hands of the names of those who enriched themselves by means of the corn chambers ; they were removed from their posts. The affair was bound to create a great sensation, for a number of people were implicated.[3] For the requirements of the bakers of Rome, the papal corn chamber bought each month a fixed quantity of corn from private owners. On their part, the bakers could only buy flour from the corn chamber and they had to furnish bread of a standard weight. The result was that the city always had good, moderately priced bread, whilst the corn chamber was able to meet its liabilities and to cover the higher cost of the Dutch grain. When someone told the Pope that the Dutch flour was bad, he sent for bread from various bakeries, tasted it and declared that the flour was good but the baking bad.[4] In Cardinal D'Estrées' estimation, the meat tax yielded 70,000 thalers annually. On the other hand, the soap tax brought in very little. Towards the end of his pontificate, Innocent XI. did away with the meat tax.[5] He

[1] *Proc. summ.*, 132, § 7, 137, § 47 *seq.*

[2] *Diar. Europ.*, XXXVI., 353. *Cf. ibid.*, 422, on the fraud of the French ambassador in the exportation of biscuits to Sicily.

[3] *Report to the Emperor Leopold of January 27, 1679, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Proc. summ.*, 137, § 47 *seq.*, 140, § 70 *seq.* Abbot Carlo Antonio de Prosperis says, *inter alia*, that the Pope always kept the weight of the bread unit at eight ounces ; in the years of the poorest crop he asked 12 scudi for a quarter of corn. This must be compared with what MICHAUD (I., 317–19) says. Quite possibly there was only question of a passing necessity in 1688.

[5] Cardinal D'Estrées in MICHAUD, I., 325 ; GUARNACCI, 110 CD.

would not hear of new taxes; he was even prepared to lower existing ones and would have done so had not the Turkish war and the conflict over the question of the quarters rendered even fresh taxation necessary.[1] The Pope also put a stop to the usurious interest which the Jews were in the habit of demanding.[2]

The ordering of the Apostolic Camera caused the Pope a good deal of anxiety. "Day by day Innocent XI. reckons up, in detail the income of the Camera," Cardinal D'Estrées wrote to Louis XIV.[3] In February, 1679, the Pope observed to Cardinal Barberini that when he took over the Camera it was burdened with a debt of five millions, but that by now he had balanced income and expenditure.[4] Yet when not long after his wish to assist the Duke of York out of the funds of Propaganda was opposed by that body, on the ground that its work was exclusively for the conversion of heretics and infidels, and that the present case concerned the Apostolic Camera, the Pope answered in an excited and loud tone that could be heard at a distance, that Cardinal Barberini knew quite well how great was the deficit of the Apostolic Camera whilst, on the other hand, in his opinion, Propaganda annually wasted 20,000 scudi.[5] Where money was concerned the Pope was strict and suspicious. One day he made a gift of fifty gold scudi to the establishment of the catechumens and neophytes of S. Maria dei Monti; he, however, ordered the money to be cast into the alms box. Later on he had special inquiries made to ascertain how much money had come out of the box when it was emptied. The fifty gold scudi had really been found in it.[6] On another occasion Fr. Marracci begged the Pope to remit the taxes of which an exalted house had defrauded the State. Innocent replied that he was not the

[1] *Proc. summ.*, 137. *Cf.* **Avviso* of July 1, 1679. *Cod. Barb.* 6420, Vatican Library.

[2] *Proc. summ.*, 148, § 9.

[3] MICHAUD, I., 314.

[4] **Avviso* of February 18, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, May 20, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Proc. summ.*, 117, § 17.

master of the money of the Apostolic Camera. When Marracci objected that it was a very probable opinion that one guilty of fraud in the payment of taxes was not obliged to restitution, the Pope's curt reply was that: "others may think what they like; we have *our own* opinion."[1] He was anxious that the poor should not suffer in consequence of his policy of economy. The process for the beatification of Innocent XI. has much to say of the Pontiff's liberality.[2] His personal alms amounted to 70–80 scudi a month.[3] When there was question of any work of mercy, the usually rigid Pontiff could be liberal, even in the bestowal of benefices. Thus he conferred the vacant archdeaconry of Cefalù on Don Giacomo Spinola, a deserving priest originating from a poor and numerous family, to enable him to provide for his five sisters.[4]

The Pope's large-heartedness was particularly marked when there was question of the Turkish problem. When bishoprics or abbeys or other rich prebends became vacant in Dalmatia, benefices which, as a rule, had hitherto fallen to the Cardinals and the prelates of the court, Innocent XI. bestowed them on members of the native clergy, without burdening them with yearly payments, in order to enable those who enjoyed them to undertake works of charity and to contribute to the upkeep of the churches which had been so often plundered by the Turks.[5] When Ragusa was compelled, in 1678, to raise the sum of 80,000 scudi as a ransom for its envoys whom Kara Mustafa held captives, Innocent XI. made a contribution of 10,000 ducats.[6]

The Pope refused to follow the advice of certain over-zealous persons who advised him to suppress the Camaldolese, the Silvestrines and the Alexians for the purpose of obtaining money for the Turkish war, without fresh taxation, by

[1] *Ibid.*, 147, § 4 *seq.*

[2] In the *Informatio*, 29–34, in the *Summarium*, 104–131.

[3] *Proc. summ.*, 126, § 82.

[4] *Ibid.*, 130, § 105 *seq.*

[5] Lippi, 135.

[6] Bernino, 7–9.

confiscating their property.[1] But he taxed ecclesiastical property all the more heavily in view of the war. On December 27th, 1679, Cardinal Vidoni, the then Protector of Poland, reported to Warsaw that the Pope had instructed all the nuncios to devote the revenues of vacant sees to the furtherance of Poland's war against the Turks.[2]

On January 7th, 1680, all the nuncios were ordered to collect the *spolia* and other ecclesiastical revenues for the Turkish war.[3] In June 1679, at the suggestion of the Viennese nuncio, the Pope put at the Emperor's disposal, for war purposes, the 100,000 florins of the Bohemian salt chamber which had been set apart for the erection of a new episcopal residence in Prague.[4] Great expectations were set in Rome on a tenth laid on ecclesiastical possessions in the Spanish dominions in Italy. However, to the Pope's grievous disappointment, the court of Madrid only consented to impose it on condition that the royal *placet* should precede it and that one half of the sum raised should go to Spain as royal dues.[5] On top of everything Louis XIV. taxed the measure with partiality.[6]

In the autumn of 1682, when the Turkish peril became imminent, the Emperor Leopold laid on all property, ecclesiastical possessions not excluded, a tax of 1 per cent. At the same time he sent Count Martinitz to Italy with mission to obtain money and allies. Nuncio Buonvisi, and not least Innocent XI. were at first indignant at the Emperor's action which, they said, injured ecclesiastical immunity, but in view of the pressing need, and on the advice of a special Congregation of ten Cardinals, the Pope gave his consent,

[1] **Avviso* of June 24, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[2] Martelli to Cibo, December 27, 1679, in Bojani, I., 608 *seq.*

[3] Circular letter of Cibo of January 7, 1680, *ibid.*, 609 *seq.*

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, May 14, 1679, Cibo to Buonvisi, June 3, 1679, *ibid.*, 535 *seq.*, 539.

[5] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 29, 1679, Cibo to Mellini, October 29, 1679, *ibid.*, 594 *seq.* *Cf.* the report of the French ambassador D'Estrées on his audience of August 16, 1682, in Michaud, II., 67.

[6] Louis XIV. to D'Estrées, November 12, 1681, *ibid.*, 50 *seq.*

provided there were precedents; he also gave leave for a special imposition of 500,000 florins on the Austrian clergy and himself at once contributed 200,000 crowns and 50,000 florins.[1] He also consented to the sale of the property of Janowitz in Bohemia which was part of the endowment of the archiepiscopal See of Prague: this transaction yielded 48,000 florins.[2] Cardinal Ludovisi even urged the Pope, in view of the lack of money, to take the treasures of the Jesuit sacristies for the war.[3] As a matter of fact, Buonvisi was given full power, with the utmost secrecy, to touch the treasures of the churches and in view of the extreme necessity the letter proposed to the Emperor to mint the silver of the churches and the treasure of Maria-Zell, and to pawn the jewels at Venice, seeing that the millions of souls were of greater value than the treasures of the churches. He also urged the Holy Father to empower the Elector of Bavaria to raise large subsidies from the clergy of that country, a step that was actually taken. Buonvisi even suggested to lay hands on the treasure deposited in Castel S. Angelo, since the fall of Vienna would mean that of Rome.[4] A little later, in November 1683, the Pope himself

[1] Buonvisi to Cibo, October 18 and 25, 1682, April 25 and May 2, 1683; Cibo to Buonvisi, November 21, 1682, January 2, 9 and 16 (particulars are there given on the papal subsidies; among them are the 112,000 florins which Radziwill still owed to the Apostolic Camera), February 13 and 20 and April 17, 1683, in Bojani, III., 601 *seq.*, 662, n. 1, 664 *seq.*, 603, n. 1, 608, 606, n. 1, 609, 612 *seq.*, 631; the Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., December 23, 1682, in Michaud, I., 53. *Cf.* Klopp, 148.

[2] *Theatr. Europ.*, XII., 608 *seq.*; Buonvisi to Cibo, April 25, 1683 (see n. 1, and Sauer, 124); Thein, 55 *seq.* Rome desired that the sale of ecclesiastical property should be avoided as much as possible; *cf.* Cibo to Buonvisi, March 27, 1683, in Bojani, III., 625.

[3] *Report of Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, October 3, 1682. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Cibo to Buonvisi, April 17, 1683, in Bojani, III., 631; Buonvisi to Cibo, May 16 (Sauer, 128), July 12, 21 and 28, 1683 (Bojani, III., 692–6, 700); Brief to Max Emanuel, August 7, 1683, in Berthier, II., 115, Sauer, 30; *cf.* Thein, 56.

studied the possibility of using the silver of the Spanish churches and sanctuaries in the struggle against the Turks.[1] Whilst the Diet was still in progress Pallavicini exhorted the Polish Bishops to make voluntary contributions for the purpose of raising troops.[2] The Polish army, he wrote to Rome on April 7th, usually suffers from the lack of two things, provisions and field hospitals, in consequence of which a great number of soldiers die without the Sacraments. Consequently the Pope should assign to this object the money destined for the beatification of a Monk of Andreovia, adding to it the revenues of the non-resident Abbot of that place, of which the Pontiff had the disposal for a period of five years: these amounted to 120,000 florins.[3] The Diet then demanded from the Polish clergy a war contribution of 500,000 florins in return for which it would be exempted from all other war charges.[4] In September 1683, Innocent imposed a contribution of 6 per cent, for a period of ten years, on all church property in Italy, not excepting the possessions of the Cardinals.[5] To this he added in 1685, at the request of the Emperor, the third part of all property acquired by the wealthy Abbeys and by the Jesuits in the course of the last sixty years,[6] and in the same year he raised a tenth from the clergy of Spain.[7] The first of these two financial measures yielded, up to the end of 1687, the sum of 1,600,000 florins [8];

[1] Cibo to Mellini, November 7 and 21, 1683; Mellini to Cibo, December 16, 1683, in Bojani, III., 848 *seq.*

[2] Pallavicini, April 7, 1683, *ibid.*, 659 *seq.*

[3] *Acta Pol.*, VI., 74 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 83.

[5] *Gazette de Paris* of September 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 712, n. 1 *seq.*

[6] *Cibo to Buonvisi, January 13 and 27, 1685; *Nunziat. di Germania*, 28, Pap. Sec. Arch.; *Buonvisi to Cibo, February 4 and 25, March 18 and August 12, 1685, *ibid.*, 210 f., 75[b], 161, 238, CCXI., f. 121.

[7] *Cibo to Buonvisi, November 17 and December 1, 1685, *ibid.*, 28 f., 620, 626.

[8] Redlich, VI., 374 *seq.*; particulars in Maurer, 194; Károlyi, 105 *seq.*; Fraknói, 186, 209 *seq.*

on the other hand the various tenths laid on ecclesiastical property for the war against the Turks brought in very little.[1]

In the spring of 1683 Innocent XI. also appealed for help to the Archbishop of Gran, the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany, the Bishop of Bâsle and the Benedictine Abbeys of Switzerland.[2] The result, however, was inconsiderable. Fear of France or friendship for her tied the hands of the Electors of Mayence, Cologne and Trèves.[3] Some of the other Bishops no doubt felt that they were already sufficiently burdened by the regular war contributions of troops, munitions and money.[4] The most unsatisfactory contribution, in Buonvisi's opinion, was that of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Max von Kuenburg; the latter only sent 5,000 thalers' worth of powder to Vienna when, in view of his wealth, he could have given more. Subsequently also the nuncio blamed the Archbishop somewhat unjustly, reproaching him for doing no more than what he was strictly bound to do.[5] At a later date, namely in 1685, the Bishop of Trent with his clergy contributed 200,000 Austrian florins.[6] The Swiss Abbeys excused themselves or gave fair promises; the most generous was the poorest of them all, namely the Cistercian Abbey of Altaripa (Hauterive).[7]

[1] *Cibo to Pallavicini, February 23, 1686 and January 18, 1687, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 185 f., 294[b], 186 f. 6, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] The Briefs in Berthier, II., 76 *seq.*, 82–4, 99.

[3] Klopp, 155; Thein, 51 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Cherofini's report to Cibo, July 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 687.

[5] *Buonvisi to Cibo, April 15 and May 27, 1685; *Cibo to Buonvisi, May 5 and June 16, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 210 f., 323[a], 423, 38 f., 528, 550[b] *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cibo to Buonvisi, March 24, 1685, *ibid.*, 38 f., 497[b] and 500[a].

[7] Cherofini to Cibo, July 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 687–9. The later contributions from Switzerland were also very small: *Cibo to Buonvisi, July 7, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 38 f., 584, *loc. cit.*

From Portugal, for whose help Innocent XI. prayed on April 11th, 1683,[1] he received 100,000 thalers. As soon as he was informed of the fact he at once assigned the same amount to the Emperor from the funds of the Apostolic Camera. It was his intention to refund the Camera with Portugal's contribution but in the end the money was immediately assigned to Poland.[2] From Spain, to whose clergy Innocent XI. made another appeal about the middle of August,[3] the Emperor received 200,000 florins.[4] If we may believe French reports, the Pope was annoyed at the smallness of the sum which, it would seem, had at first been put at an even lower figure in reports to Rome; "it was a contribution of a couple of pence," he said, "and a shame, and the Emperor had been undignified enough to accept it."[5]

After the conclusion of the Austro-Polish alliance Innocent XI. appealed to the Italian States for subsidies, viz. to Grand Duke Cosimo of Tuscany, to the Dukes of Parma-Piacenza, Mantua, Modena, Massa and Mirandola, to Lucca, Genoa, Venice and to the Duchess-Mother Maria of Savoy. To the three last named he also appealed through Count Martinitz who was on his way home.[6] Tuscany offered its galleys and promised subsidies, promises which Vienna interpreted as evasive answers[7]; however, people there were to be pleasantly undeceived for the Grand Duke eventually gave to the Emperor 100,000 pounds of powder[8] and to Poland the sum

[1] Berthier, II., 84.

[2] Cibo to Pallavicini, October 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 770, n. 1.

[3] By Briefs of August 15, 1683, in Berthier, II., 119–122.

[4] Buonvisi to Cibo, October 5, Cibo to Buonvisi, October 16, 1683, in Bojani, III., 767, n. 1, 773, n. 2.

[5] The Duke D'Estrées to Louis XIV., December 7, 1683, in Michaud, II., 55 *seq.*

[6] The Briefs in Berthier, II., 95–8; Thein, 53.

[7] Buonvisi to Cibo, July 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 687.

[8] Thein, 54.

of 100,000 florins.[1] Genoa contributed 30,000 thalers, Lucca 20,000 florins, the Duke of Massa 1,000 gold doublons, Savoy 50,000 ducats, the Prince of Castiglione 30,000 florins and various other princes and States smaller sums.[2] In Upper Italy it was very necessary to take into consideration the proximity of the King of France,[3] but Venice nevertheless ended by taking the side of the Pope and the Emperor.[4]

At this moment the Pope looked once more towards Persia. When the Archbishop of Naxivan returned to his mission, he was the bearer not only of the instructions of Buonvisi and Pallavicini, but of a Brief of Innocent XI. in which the Pope urged the Shah of Persia to march into the territory of the Turks from the east now that the bulk of their forces were concentrated in Hungary.[5] But little could be hoped for from Persia as the Porte had meanwhile cooled the warlike ardour of her eastern neighbour by means of money and various facilities for the Persian pilgrims to Mecca.[6]

Considerable sums were given for the war by the Cardinals in Rome. According to a report from Paris, nine of them contributed together 41,700 thalers of which 15,000 came from Cardinal Borghese and 2,500 from the Cardinal Secretary of State.[7] Cardinal Ludovisi sold his silver plate for the sum of 4,000 thalers for the common cause of Christendom [8] whilst Cardinals Pio and Barberini sacrificed the best pieces

[1] According to Pucci's report of August 24, 1683, *Acta Pol.*, VI., Nr. 183 ; THIEN, 55.

[2] Cibo to Pallavicini, June 12, 1683, in BOJANI, III., 679 *seq.* ; THEIN, 53 *seq.* A gold doublon is a little over 6 florins.

[3] *Cf.* GÉRIN, 132 *seq.*

[4] Iacobelli to Cibo, July 31 and August 21, 1683, in BOJANI, 837 ; *cf.* 834–6.

[5] Brief of June 19, 1683, in BERTHIER, II., 105 *seq.* Pallavicini to Cibo, August 19, 1683, in BOJANI, III., 720.

[6] Pallavicini to Cibo, June 3, 1682, *ibid.*, 564, n. 1, according to the report of the Polish ambassador in Persia.

[7] *Gazette de Paris* of August 14 and 31, 1683, in BOJANI, III., 712, n. 1.

[8] *Ibid.*

in their galleries and wardrobes.[1] Don Livio gave 10,000 thalers.[2] The Pope informed Queen Christine through Cardinal Azzolini that he had assigned to Hungary the 12,000 scudi which the Holy See had until then annually paid to her. The Queen was at no loss for a sharp answer to this sharp measure. The Pope had done her a favour, she informed Cardinal Cibo, when he applied the money to Hungary in her place; she herself had thought of doing so on her own account but had refrained for fear of hurting the Pope's magnanimity.[3] By August 1683, the Apostolic Camera had provided Poland with 500,000 florins[4] and the Emperor with one million by September.[5] The 500,000 florins previously promised to Poland had in the meantime been employed by the Pope, beginning in 1683, in assisting Hungary. In acting thus, he explained, he was not alienating the money from its original destination, for what was done for Hungary would also benefit Poland.[6] A number of smaller contributions, which happened to be due to the Apostolic Camera in this place or that, and which Innocent XI. devoted to the struggle against the Turks, may have to be added to the above sums. At any rate, by unanimous consent, it would have been impossible to provide the army with food and munitions without the Pope's help.[7] When at a moment of supreme

[1] Lippi, 147.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Report of Cardinal Pio to the Emperor Leopold, January 11, 1683, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] This is quite clear from Cibo's report to Pallavicini, October 9, 1683, in Bojani, III., 770, n. 1.

[5] According to Buonvisi's exact statement in his report to Cibo of September 14, 1683. Accordingly other statements, e.g. the figures given by Bernino (5, 9, 65, 66, 92), by the French reporters (Michaud, II., 54–8; Gérin, 136), by Pucci (in *Acta Pol.*, VI., 325) and Redlich (VI., 300 *seq.*, according to Fraknói and Newald), must be supplemented or corrected.

[6] Cibo to Pallavicini, January 2 and 16 and February 20, 1683; Pallavicini to Cibo, March 31, in Bojani, III., 633, 636 *seq.*, 639, 653 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.*, *inter alia*, Buonvisi's report quoted above, n. 5.

need, in August 1683, the Pope dispatched to the Emperor the sum of 500,000 florins by the most rapid means, nuncio Buonvisi wrote to Rome that he had taken the good news to the Emperor during the night, immediately after the arrival of the money and that such had been the Emperor's emotion that tears streamed from his eyes.[1]

By the end of the pontificate of Innocent XI. the sums received by the Emperor from the Apostolic Camera for the Turkish war amounted to over five million florins.[2] According to a report of Lando, the Venetian ambassador, in the year 1691,[3] the Apostolic Camera was at that time burdened with a debt of forty-two millions on which it paid interest at the rate of 3 per cent. Of that sum fifteen millions had been spent for the common good of Christendom whilst two million Roman scudi, that is six to seven million florins, had been expended on the Turkish war. What was above five millions in this sum went to Poland and Venice.

[1] Brief to the Emperor Leopold, August 7, 1683, in BERTHIER, II., 114; SAUER, 29 *seq.*; Cibo to Buonvisi on the same day, Buonvisi to Cibo, August 18, in BOJANI, III., 706, 719.

[2] TRENTA, II., 104. On page 104, Nr. 101, Trenta writes: "Da un libro in cui teneva il Buonvisi registrate tutte le partite del danaro, che gli venivano rimesse d'ordine del Pontefice, apparisce il quantitativo del contante, che oltrepassa i 5 milioni di fiorini." *Cf.* IMMICH, 98, n. 1.

[3] BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, I., 414.

CHAPTER III.

The Relief of Vienna, The Holy League and the War against the Turks in Hungary.

(1.)

On the very day on which the long sought alliance between the Emperor and Poland was effected, the Turkish army set out from Adrianople in the direction of Belgrade, headed by the Janissaries who were followed by Sultan Mohammed IV. and the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, the real originator of the expedition. The troops marched to the accompaniment of rousing music. Their path was marked by small mounds of earth. At sunset prayer was said in common, ending with a petition for the welfare of the Sultan and shouts of Allah! Belgrade was reached in the first days of May. Here the army paused to wait for the troops from Asia, Moldavia and Walachia. The Sultan, who was accompanied by his entire harem, remained at Belgrade where he handed to Kara Mustafa the green banner of the prophet in token of his appointment as commander-in-chief.[1] Another pause was made at Esseg. The imperial ambassador, Count Caprara, was told that his sovereign had broken the peace by erecting fortifications on the territory of the Sultan, the most powerful of all the Kings of the earth, whose sword, by the will of God, cast its shadow across the whole world.[2] Caprara was first taken to Ofen, whilst the imperial Resident Kunitz was detained as a prisoner with the army; he nevertheless managed to forward valuable information to the imperialists.[3]

[1] Hammer, III., 730 *seq.*

[2] Röder von Diersburg, I., *Urk.*, 6; Klopp, *Das Jahr 1683*, p. 191.

[3] Redlich, 214 *seq.*

Caprara reckoned the total strength of the Turks at 160,000 men, not counting the immense train.[1]

To this enormous force the Emperor could only oppose at first 30,000 men,[2] under the command of his brother-in-law, Duke Charles of Lorraine.[3] In view of the Turks' superior strength it became necessary to abandon the offensive which had been planned at first, but soon even the defensive became impossible. When Thököly, whose duplicity the imperial party had failed to discover up to the very last moment,[4] openly went over to the enemy, all hope of cover by means of the Hungarian strong places vanished. When the Turkish hordes, after pushing forward through Stuhlweissenburg, appeared before Raab in the first days of July, the imperial army was in danger of being cut off. Charles of Lorraine decided to retreat : the slow moving infantry and artillery was ordered to cross over to the left bank of the Danube whilst he himself, with his cavalry, made for Vienna in order to cover the capital against a *coup de main*. However, the Turks, who did not stop to invest Raab, followed hot on his heels. On July 7th his rearguard was attacked by the Tartar bands which accompanied the main army near Petronell, not far from the ruins of ancient Carnuntum. Rumour exaggerated the

[1] Rumour enormously exaggerated the strength of the Turkish army when it spoke of a million. Sobieski estimated it at 300,000 but Kara Mustafa gave it as 160,000 (*cf.* VACHON, 751) ; so also KLOPP, *loc. cit.*, 187, whilst ZINKEISEN still put it at 200,000. REDLICH makes the cautious statement that the Turkish army ended by attaining a strength of 100,000 men. VANCSA (*Gesch. des Stadt Wien*, IV., 137) states that Kara Mustafa set out from Adrianople with 200,000 men but on p. 141 he adopts the estimate of the Imperial Resident Kunitz who stated that the able-bodied troops employed against Vienna cannot have exceeded 90,000.

[2] REDLICH, 313, 315.

[3] On Charles of Lorraine, Governor of Tyrol since 1678, see *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XV., 302–8 ; EGGER, *Gesch. Tirols*, II., 460 *seq.*

[4] REDLICH, 313–14.

misfortune of this encounter with the result that a dreadful panic succeeded to the confidence which had hitherto obtained in Vienna. All who were able to do so took to flight; the Emperor also, who could not run the risk of capture, left the capital together with the court and the ambassadors.[1]

On July 8th Kara Mustafa crossed the Raab, stormed Altenburg and Hainburg, whose garrisons he massacred, and set the greater part of the grain stores on fire. Columns of fire illumined the sky far and wide; on every side there was nothing but incendiarism, murder and outrage.[2]

It was necessary for Kara Mustafa to await the arrival of his siege guns and ammunition, hence the defenders of Vienna were given six precious days which the energetic and intelligent commander-in-chief, Count Ernest Rüdiger von Starhemberg, used to excellent purpose. Only on July 12th did the Turkish vanguard appear in the neighbourhood of Vienna, destroying everything with fire and flame, whereupon Starhemberg decided to sacrifice the suburbs; a sea of flames, which endangered even the city itself, reduced them to ashes on July 13th. On the following day the Turks completed the investment of the ancient imperial city. Starting from the bank of the Danube near St. Max, the line of encirclement extended through Gumpendorf, Ottakring, Hernals, Währing and Döbling as far again as the Danube, near Nussdorf. A forest of 25,000 tents marked the camp from which there now daily rose at sunset the Moslems' terrifying shouts of Allah! On July 16th the imperial cavalry abandoned the untenable position in the Leopoldstadt after setting it on fire, and withdrew to the left bank of the Danube; after that the encirclement of Vienna extended itself to that side also.[3] Thus began one of the most memorable sieges of all

[1] Vancsa, 137 *seq.*

[2] Hammer, III., 735.

[3] Vancsa, 141. *Cf.* Leander Anguissola's plan in Klopp, 219, and that of Daniel Suttinger, in Camesina, in *Berichte des Wiener Altertumvereins*, VIII. (1865), 102.

time.[1] It was a great good fortune for Vienna that the Emperor had just the right men in the right places. The energetic Starhemberg was admirably supplemented by the aged yet youthfully vigorous general of artillery Count Kaspar Zdenko von Kaplirs, who was also a skilled administrator, and the excellent burgomaster John Andrew von Liebenberg. At their side stood the Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt, Leopold Count Kollonitsch who had at one time fought the Turks in Candia as a Knight of Malta. Kollonitsch came to Vienna of his own accord, where by his charity towards the wounded and the orphans, by which he fanned the spirit of the defenders, he won a fame no less lasting than that of the two above-named.[2]

The 10,000 men whom the Duke of Lorraine had thrown into the town were inadequate for its defence ; accordingly Starhemburg called the citizens to arms for the preservation of their lives and liberty. His appeal met with a tremendous response. Burghers, artisans, students, even the domestics of the court, took their share in defending the city by standing on guard and by labouring on the works of defence. All were animated by the one thought : to hold the city at all cost until relief came. The worst mistake in war is to underestimate the opponent. Kara Mustafa committed it, hence the siege was not at once conducted with vigour and only on July 20th did he start mining operations, a work in which the

[1] VANCSA (*Gesch. der Stadt Wien*, IV., 40 *seq.*, 136, n. 1) gives the fullest information on sources and the literature on the subject. For the literature on the jubilee of 1883, *cf.* also UHLIRZ, in *Mitteil. des Instituts für österr. Geschichtschreibung*, V., 326 *seqq.*, and HELFERT, in *Abhandl. der böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. 1884.* The most recent account of the special literature published since then in REDLICH, 319 *seqq.* A Turkish source, the little known diary of Alex. Maurokordatos, Grand Dragoman of the Porte, has been recently discussed by O. BRUNNER in *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. des Stadt Wien*, V. (1925).

[2] For Starhemberg see the monograph by Count THÜRHEIM, Wien, 1882 ; for Kaplirs, REDLICH, 318 ; for Liebenberg, VACSA, IV., 139, and the special writings quoted there ; for Kollonitsch, the biography by MAURER, Innsbruck, 1888.

Turks excelled.[1] To this mistake the Grand Vizier added another and one no less fatal. Misled by an engineer whom he held in high esteem, one Ahmed Bey, an apostate Capuchin [2] who, by order of Thököly, had made a plan of the fortifications of Vienna in 1682, he directed his main attack against the Burg bastion and that of Löwel and the ravelin between them, which constituted the strongest point of the fortifications. Hence the first assaults failed completely.[3] With incomprehensible blindness Kara Mustafa nevertheless obstinately persevered in this strategic blunder. After a series of bloody combats, in the course of which the Turks discharged a hurricane of projectiles and poisoned arrows against the besieged, they at length succeeded, on August 3rd, in penetrating into the counterscarp in front of the Burg ravelin and on August 12th they established themselves in the city moat in front of the ravelin. The situation of the garrison was rendered still more critical by the intervention of yet another foe when the summer heat caused an outbreak of dysentery. However, Starhemberg, though wounded as early as July 15th, did not lose heart. On August 3rd, through a cunning native of Raiz of the name of Koltschitzky, who managed to slip through the Turkish lines in disguise, he sent the following message to the Duke of Lorraine: "Up till now we have disputed the ground to the enemy foot by foot and he has not won an inch of it without leaving his skin there, and however often he came up to the assault, he was thrown back by our troops with such losses that he no longer dare put his head out of his den. My men have no fear of the Turks; thirty or forty of them are always prepared to take on a hundred Moslems." [4] However, as time went on, the situation changed to the disadvantage of the besieged. On August 27th Starhemberg was obliged to send this message

[1] Klopp, 230.

[2] *Ibid.*, 221, 540, 542.

[3] The Burg ravelin was on the spot now occupied by the *Volksgarten*.

[4] Klopp, 233 *seq.*

to the Duke of Lorraine by another daring messenger: "It is time to come to our aid; we lose many officers and men, more by dysentery than by the fire of the enemy; sixty persons die daily. We have no more grenades which were our best means of defence; our guns have either been rendered useless by the enemy or their tubes are worn out." In a postscript Starhemberg added: "This very moment my miners tell me that they can hear the enemy working underneath them, that is, under the Burg bastion. Consequently, my lord, there is no time to lose." [1] Kaplirs made a similar report at this same moment, and he concluded: "The danger is greater than may be said on paper." [2] Rockets were now fired nightly from the tower of St. Stephen's as signals of extreme distress. In the night of September 2nd to 3rd the blood-soaked ravelin—"the rock defended by all the sorceries of the Christians," as Kara Mustafa described it, had at length to be evacuated. On September 4th the explosion of a formidable mine made a breach of 10 metres in the flank of the Burg bastion. Once again the defenders succeeded both here and at the Löwel bastion in repelling the furious onslaughts of the Turks. Nevertheless the city could not hold out much longer. One half of the garrison and a third of the armed citizens had fallen in the bitter struggle or succumbed to disease, and munitions and provisions were almost exhausted.[3] At last, in the night of September 10th to 11th, five rockets went up from the summit of the Kahlenberg—a signal that the army of relief was at hand.

After beating back Thököly's troops on July 29th and August 7th, Duke Charles of Lorraine had marched up the Danube for the purpose of effecting a junction with the relief forces which were expected from the Empire and from Poland. These, however, advanced but slowly. The first to arrive were 11,000 Bavarians under the command of Freiherr von Degenfeld who reached Krems about the middle

[1] *Ibid.*, 240.
[2] *Ibid.*, 241.
[3] On the ravages of dysentery cf. Bojani, III., 747.

of August, but the arrival of the troops from the Circle of Franconia and the Upper Rhine, of the Saxons under John George III., and that of the Poles had still to be waited for. The Duke was nevertheless resolved, even if this help did not come, to deliver Vienna single-handed " or to perish in the attempt ".[1] Both the Duke and the Emperor sought to hasten the march of the Poles by every possible means.[2] The latter, only 26,000 strong instead of 40,000, as had been stipulated in the treaty,[3] only crossed the Silesian frontier on August 22nd.

Sobieski hastened ahead of his troops and on August 31st he and Charles of Lorraine met at Oberhollabrunn. The meeting of the two men, who had at one time disputed each other the crown of Poland, was a painful one, but the Duke succeeded in compelling the respect, nay even the admiration of his former rival and in inducing him to approve his plan of attacking the Turks through the Wiener Wald. Another problem was less easily settled: the ambitious Sobieski claimed for himself the supreme command of the combined Christian army. Leopold I. had at first intended to be present at the decisive battle, but he eventually gave up the idea, partly at the instigation of the Capuchin Marco d'Aviano who had been sent to him by Innocent XI. The further difficulty, that of the subordination of all the German auxiliary troops to the Polish King, an arrangement particularly desired by the vanity of Maria Casimira, Sobieski's consort,[4] was solved by the prudence of Charles of Lorraine who divided the whole of the army into a series of independent commands.[5] Thus on September 9th the army of relief,

[1] See General Taafe's letter of August 17, 1683, in V. U. Renner, *Wien im Jahre 1683*, Vienna, 1883, 409.

[2] Thein, 91; Du Hamel, VIII., 219.

[3] Du Hamel, VIII., 231.

[4] Thein, 92 *seq.*

[5] Vancsa, IV., 150; Klopp, 292 *seq.*, 295 *seq.*; Redlich, 326; Du Hamel, VIII., 224 *seqq.*

70,000 strong [1] and nominally under the supreme command of Sobieski, was able to begin its forward march towards Vienna. The nature of the ground and the bad weather greatly impeded its progress. However, on the evening of September 11th the Christian army occupied the heights of Kahlenberg which the blinded and badly informed Kara Mustafa [2] had failed to fortify. The firing of guns announced to the hard pressed imperial city that its salvation was at hand. "From the mountain in view of Vienna," Marco d'Aviano headed a letter to Leopold I. in which he comforted him by assuring him that the greatest concord reigned among the Christian generals and princes. This harmony would in all probability have been destroyed should the Emperor have arrived without a previous ordering of the ceremonial. "The Duke of Lorraine neither eats nor sleeps; he visits the outposts in person and carries out to perfection the duties of a good general. The army is in excellent condition. To-morrow, God willing, we attack." [3]

On September 12th, a Sunday, Marco d'Aviano said Mass before sunrise in the Camaldolese monastery on the Josephsberg,[4] Sobieski acting as acolyte. Afterwards the famous preacher took his stand at a point from where he could be seen from a great distance. There, in the sight of all, holding a crucifix in his hands, he prayed for victory over the Crescent.[5]

[1] Röder von Diersburg, I., 31, and particularly *Das Kriegsjahr 1683 nach Akten dargestellt*, in *Abteil. für Kriegsgesch. des K. K. Kriegsarchivs*, Wien 1883, 232 *seqq.*

[2] Du Hamel, VIII., 233 *seq.*; G. Guillot, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXV. (1911), 528.

[3] Text in Klopp, 532, and again in his edition of *Corrisp. epist. tra Leopoldo I. e P. Marco d'Aviano*, 29; facsimile in Renner, 420.

[4] Renner, 428 note; Vancsa, IV., 151 note.

[5] See the report in Klopp, 308, n. 2. For Marco d'Aviano (*ob.* 1699 at Vienna), who displayed a most extensive activity as a popular preacher in Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries, and who was in close touch with Leopold I., especially where the Turkish question was concerned, *cf.* in addition to his

The day before the weather had been rainy, but now a bright, sunny autumn day broke upon the world; this greatly favoured the attack by the Christian host. An even greater advantage lay in the fact that Kara Mustafa had left the greater part of his picked troops, the Janissaries, before Vienna. He himself assumed the supreme command. His right wing was based on the Nussberg whilst the left was pushed forward as far as Dornbach.[1]

The imperialists under the Duke of Lorraine together with the Saxons, who formed the left wing of the army of relief, were the first to establish contact with the enemy who offered an obstinate resistance, so that the Nussberg was only stormed towards midday. About this time the centre of the army of relief, consisting of troops from the Empire and of Bavarians, had also made a victorious advance. But in consequence of the right wing, consisting of the Poles, who had to go over the longest and most difficult road, not having arrived by then, the battle came to a standstill. At 2 o'clock the Poles attacked at Dornbach; they were, however, unable to break through the dense Turkish masses and had to be supported by German troops. The struggle entered a decisive phase when Charles of Lorraine rolled up the right wing of the Turks towards their centre. After a great cavalry attack by Kara Mustafa at Breitensee and Hernals had broken down before the stout resistance of the Poles, the enemy began, at 4 o'clock, a retreat which soon became a general stampede, in the

correspondence published by KLOPP (see p. 175, n. 3), the monographs of FEDELE DA ZARA (2 vols., Venezia, 1798), and REMBRY (Bruxelles, 1884); also HEYRET, *M. d'Aviano* (Munich, 1900); STOCK (Brixen, 1899), *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CII., 176 *seqq.*, 287 *seqq.*, 553 *seqq.* *Cf. Allg. Literaturblatt der Leo-Gesellschaft*, 1899, 452.

[1] Among recent writers VANCSA (IV., 152 *seq.*) and REDLICH (329 *seq.*) give the best and most comprehensive accounts of the battle. For the Bavarians' part see RIEZLER, VII., 278 *seq.* *Cf.* JOCHNER, for the part taken by the Circle of Franconia in the liberation of Vienna in 1683, in *Hist. Verein für Bamberg*, XLVII.

direction of the Hungarian frontier. Kara Mustafa as well as the Janissaries in the trenches joined the fugitives.

The field of battle was strewn with the corpses of 10,000 Turks whilst the losses of the Christian army amounted to nearly 2,000 men.[1] The victors' booty, of which the Poles appropriated the greater part, was enormous: 117 pieces of cannon, 15,000 tents, including the sumptuous tent of the Grand Vizier, 10,000 oxen, buffaloes and camels and as many sheep, 600 bags of piastres, many banners and an extraordinary amount of war material. "I have not yet seen the whole of the booty," Sobieski wrote to his consort, "but there is no comparison with what we saw at Chocim. It is impossible to describe the luxury of the tents of the Grand Vizier: there were baths, gardens, fountains, rabbit hutches and even a parrot. The best pieces of my booty are a diamond girdle, two diamond-studded clocks, five quivers adorned with sapphires, rubies and pearls, carpets and the most magnificent sables in the world."[2] The fairest booty was, however, 500 Christian children left behind by the Turks—the prisoners fit to bear arms had been massacred before the battle by Kara Mustafa's orders—of whom Bishop Kollonitsch undertook the care, thereby earning for himself the glorious surname of "Guardian in chief of the orphans". The Bishop likewise provided for destitute old men and women.[3]

For the rest the relief had come in the nick of time. "The town could not have held out for another five days," Sobieski wrote; "the imperial castle is riddled with bullets, the undermined and partly ruined bastions present an appalling

[1] HAMMER, IV., 746, and REDLICH, 331. The numbers given by Contarini (KLOPP, 312): 8,000 Turks and 500 Christians are surely too low. According to Sébeville's account in VACHON, 765 *seq.*, only 6,000 Turks fell.

[2] A writing table inlaid with ivory which Innocent XI. sent to Sobieski after the relief of Vienna, is now in the castle of Willanow, where Sobieski's death chamber has been turned into a chapel. A portable altar which Sobieski had with him at the deliverance of Vienna is preserved in the treasure of Czenstochau.

[3] KLOPP, 236, 314–15.

sight; they are no better than huge heaps of stones. All the troops have done their duty in spirited fashion. All ascribe the victory to God and to me." [1]

As a matter of fact Sobieski was eager to gather all the laurels of victory for himself. Accordingly, on September 13th, even before the Emperor, he made his solemn entry into Vienna, an act to which the noble Leopold I. submitted in silence.[2] But however highly one must needs rate Sobieski's merit, it was not he alone who preserved from oriental barbarism the city of Vienna, the bulwark and the eastern corner stone of Europe's Christian civilization. The honour of having won this splendid victory over the Crescent belongs not only to the Poles, but likewise to the Austrians, Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians and to their leaders.[3] But that which

[1] See Kluczycki, *Acta Joannis*, III., n. 236. In his *letter to Cardinal Cibo, dated Vienna, September 14, 1683, Sobieski also speaks as if the victory were exclusively due to himself whereas in a subsequent letter, dated November 30, 1683, he attributes everything to Innocent XI.'s money (both letters are in the State Archives at Massa; see L. Mussi, in *Corriere d'Italia*, June 14, 1924). In his letter of November 16, 1683, to Cibo, Buonvisi observes that Sobieski's claim for all the credit of the victory was contradicted by the fact that his troops began to give ground so that the Germans had to go to their support (Bojani, III., 787).

[2] See Buonvisi's report of November 16, 1683, in Sauer, *Rom und Wien in Jahre 1683*, Vienna, 1883, 160.

[3] Thus Klopp, 323 *seq.*; Newald, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Belagerung von Wien*, II., Vienna, 1883, 114 *seq.*; Weiss, *Weltgesch.*, X.[4], 562; Redlich, 333. Du Hamel (VIII., 244 *seqq.*) points out that not only the imperial generals, but the Venetian ambassador and even Sobieski's chamberlains were of opinion that the Poles' intervention in the battle had been neither definite nor important. Hanisch (*Gesch. Polens*, 236), nevertheless, describes Sobieski's intervention as decisive. Zivier (*Gesch. Polens*, 207) says that Sobieski did not obtain the victory single-handed, but that it was unlikely that it would have been won without him. Whilst the merits of the Polish king are thus diversely appreciated, the historians of all parties and nations

alone rendered possible so momentous an event in the history of the world was the magnanimous co-operation of the Pope.

(2.)

Whilst doing all that was humanly possible, Innocent XI. did not neglect to commend the weighty cause to the Ruler of all destinies. In his extreme anxiety he besought God day and night, and ordered public prayers [1] and asked for the prayers of all the monasteries.[2] Since July Rome had been in a state of the greatest excitement, which was further increased by the conflicting nature of the rumours of the progress of the Turks.[3] "Vienna," Queen Christine wrote, "can only be saved by a miracle like that of the Red Sea. If it is lost, who will be able to withstand the conqueror?" [4] On August 11th, 1683, the Pope proclaimed a universal jubilee in order that God might bless the combined arms of the Emperor, the King of Poland and the other Christian princes as well as his own exertions, and grant courage and strength to the brave defenders of Vienna and concord to the Christian rulers.[5] At a consistory of August 16th the alliance between Leopold I. and Sobieski was proclaimed and sworn to by Cardinal Pio in the name of the Emperor,

are unanimous as to the great part played by Innocent XI. in the turn of the world's history which the relief of Vienna implies. "Without the Pope's help," IMMICH writes (*Innocenz XI.*, 33), "the relief of Vienna is almost unthinkable." Historians of the most diverse tendencies are of the same opinion, thus recently G. GUILLOT, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXV. (1911), 423.

[1] See BERNINO, 63 *seq.*; LANCELOTTI, 56.

[2] **Avviso* of October 9, 1683, Vat. Lib.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of July 24 ("Confusa resta questa corte e la città tutta delle nuove circa li progressi de' Turchi"), and at the beginning of August, 1683 ("confusa resta questa città per l'assedio di Vienna, non meno per la diversità delle nuove"), Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[4] GRAUERT, II., 277.

[5] *Bull.*, XIX., 501 *seq.* *Cf.* BOJANI, III., 731.

and by Cardinal Barberini in the name of the King of Poland.[1] On August 18th a great jubilee procession, in which many Cardinals and crowds of Romans took part, went from the Minerva to the German national church of the Anima where Cardinal Ludovisi, in lieu of the Pope who was suffering from gout, carried out the sacred functions usual on such occasions in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed.[2] As reports of the investment of Vienna grew in gravity, the Pope ordered, on September 3rd, that the Blessed Sacrament should be exposed for three days at St. Peter's, St. Mary Major, the Lateran, the Anima and the German College, in order that the faithful might pray for the deliverance of the imperial city. Many people flocked to these devout exercises.[3] On September 11th Cardinal Pio wrote to the Emperor Leopold that he had nothing new to report from Rome for attention was wholly concentrated on the siege of Vienna.[4] It was during this time of anxious tension that the Pope observed in a tone of absolute confidence, whilst pointing to the crucifix: "This Lord will protect us."[5] On September 11th he wrote to Sobieski that he prayed day and night for the triumph of the Christian arms.[6]

A premature report of the relief of Vienna, which came

[1] **Acta consist., Barb.* 2896, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* Cardinal Barberini's letter in SAUER, 41, and above, p. 151.

[2] See *Diarium Balduini*, in SAUER, 35 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 42, Card. Barberini's letter; also the **Avvisi Marescotti* of August 14 and 21, 1683 (*loc. cit.*), used by SCHMIDLIN (*Anima*, 466), and the accounts in LANCELOTTI, 58.

[3] SAUER, 55; LANCELOTTI, 58 *seq.*; *cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of September 4, 1683, *loc. cit.*

[4] "*Nuove di Roma non possono di qui sperarsi mentre tutti stanno attenti al grand'affare di Vienna, standosi o nelle chiese per un felice successo o alle poste per saper se sian giunte nuove buone. Il pontefice più di tutti è fervido e nell'orare e nel promovere le divotioni e nel bramare le buone nuove." State Archives, Vienna.

[5] BERNINO, *loc. cit.*

[6] SAUER, 57.

from Ragusa by way of Venice as early as September 17th,[1] caused a veritable explosion of joy.[2] Complete certainty, however, was only obtained a week later on the evening of the 22nd with the arrival of a courier from the nuncio in Vienna and another from the Cardinal legate of Ferrara who sent identical reports of the deliverance of Vienna and the flight of the Turkish hosts. Further reports confirmed the event on the 23rd,[3] when delight no longer knew any bounds; not within memory of man had such an explosion of joy been witnessed.[4] Such had been the Pope's anxiety that he hardly slept during the nights immediately preceding. On the arrival of the courier he fell on his knees to give thanks to God, and exhorted his entourage to do in like manner.[5] On September 24th the Cardinal Vicar published a decree ordering all the bells to be rung for one hour after the evening *Angelus* on the two days following and services of thanksgiving to be held in all the churches of the city.[6] At nightfall all Rome was illuminated and the people raised enthusiastic cries of: "Long live the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Poland!" whilst it made play with dummy figures representing the Grand Vizier.[7] The Pope ordered the façade

[1] *Ibid.*, 56.

[2] Bojani, III., 755.

[3] Lancelotti, 63.

[4] See *Theatr. Europ.*, XII., 609; Lippi, 157.

[5] **Avviso Marescotti* of September 25, 1683, *loc. cit.*

[6] Lancelotti, 63 *seq.*

[7] "*Per Roma non si vidde altro tutta la notte [of Saturday] che varie truppe di diversi quarti, che conducevano in trionfo il Gran Visir, chi sopra l'asinello, chi entro una gabbia, e chi in una foggia, e chi in un'altra, tirando seco tutto il popolo. In Campo Vaccino havendo quella gente di Campagna, che colà dimora, fatto una simil assemblea, nella quale giustitiavano il Gran Visir, li sbirri di Campidoglio vedendo il grandissimo fracasso et baccano, che si faceva, accorsivi per reprimer la troppa licenza, furon da quei villani bastonati, il che diede motivo a questo cardinale governatore di prohibir in avvenire simil radunanze e spettacoli." *Avviso Marescotti*, October 2, 1683, *loc. cit.*

and the dome of St. Peter's to be illuminated and salvoes to be fired from St. Angelo.[1] On the 25th, in presence of the entire Sacred College, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung at St. Mary Major and on the 26th he ordered Requiem Masses to be said in all the churches of Rome for the souls of the fallen [2]; on the 27th he commented on the historic event at a secret consistory. He ascribed the triumph to God alone, and on this occasion he imposed a tenth on the Italian clergy for a period of six years.[3] On the 29th, during Mass at the Quirinal

[1] LANCELOTTI, 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

[3] The text of the address was as follows: " *Quantas misericordias his diebus proxime elapsis fecerit nobiscum Deus exercituum, Vobis iam notum esse non dubitamus, eas tamen assidue commemorare memores gratique debemus; par siquidem est, ut scribantur haec in generatione altera, et ut narrent populi mirabilia virtutis atque potentiae, quam Dominus ostendit nobis. Arcta obsidione liberata est Vienna, sedes imperii, post fusum fugatumque exercitum ac disiectas copias illas immanissimorum hostium, quae rabido furore florentissimas provincias antea vastaverant; et redemptionem misit populo suo. Agnoscamus itaque et confiteamur opus dexterae Excelsi, qui fecit virtutem magnam in Israel et exaudivit voces clamantium ad se; etenim carissimum in Christo filium Leopoldum imperatorem electum totumque Romanum imperium ac urbem Viennam trepidantem erexit carissimus itidem in Christo filius noster Iohannes Poloniae rex, quem bellica virtute inclytum aliosque praeclarissimos principes tantae victoriae comparticipes meritissimis laudibus in dies magis cumulare non cessabimus. Maxime vero Patri misericordiarum ac totius consolationis, qui suscitavit in nos auxilium de sancto, intimo cordis animique sensu sacrificandum est hostiam laudis. Unus enim Ioannes Poloniae rex pro mirifica sua in catholicam religionem universamque christianam rempublicam pietate zeloque occurrit, et ad suam gloriam propagandam etiam primarium vexillum, quod ipse manu sua e tabernaculo supremi hostium ductoris abstraxit, ad Nos misit. Iam vero tantam tamque feliciter oblatam conficiendi belli opportunitatem ipsi ne dimittamus, instandum victoriae est, ut quos hostis obstrinxit, captivitatis vinculis eximamus.

in presence of all the ambassadors, Innocent XI. received from the hands of Sobieski's representative, the priest Dönhoff, who had arrived on the 25th, the large banner of the Turks which was afterwards taken to St. Peter's where it was hung up, as a token of triumph, over the main portal.[1] A copious distribution of alms to the poor and an amnesty for

Profecto principes urgere non dimittemus eosque prosequi gratiis non defuerimus, quamvis angustiae sint maximae. Verum tam praeclara gesta animarunt Nos ad decimarum impositionem, Vos ab eis eximentes cum paucis aliquibus aliis, iuxta Bullam quam promulgabimus. Quod reliquum est, omnis spes et fiducia nostra in Deo est; ipse enim, non manus nostra, fecit haec omnia; proinde sincero cordis affectu convertamus nos ad Dominum Deum nostrum, ut mereamur eius semper protectione defendi ab inimicis nostris in angustiis et tribulationibus (Acta consist., *Barb.* 2896, Vat. Lib.). The Bull on the tenth is in *Bull.*, XIX., 508 *seq.* It met with opposition in Naples, Sicily and Milan; *cf.* MICHAUD, II., 92. Spain refused to allow the tenth to be levied in its Italian possessions; see *ibid.*

[1] BERNINO, 91; LANCELOTTI, 69, 70 *seq.*, with *picture and explanation of the banner after a contemporary engraving; also in SAUER, 90 *seqq.* The Brief of thanks to Sobieski in BERTHIER, II., 134 *seq.* In Rome it was thought that the banner was that of the prophet which had been handed to Kara Mustafa (*cf.* *a letter of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., dated October 2, 1683, State Archives, Vienna; *cf.* Buonvisi's letter in SAUER, 93 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 212, Sobieski's letter); however, that precious object was saved by the bravery of the Tartar Hadji of Geroj; *cf.* ÜBERSBERGER, I., 36 *seq.* Sébeville promptly reported the fact to Louis XIV.; *cf.* VACHON, 768. The sensation caused by the arrival of the banner in Rome is attested by the rich contemporary literature, for which see VANCSA, IV., 44 *seq.* The first interpretations of the Arab inscriptions on the banner were published by the Pope's confessor, Marracci; *cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of October 16, 1683, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome. Subsequently this valuable booty was unfortunately carried away by the French and is now lost. Three banners presented by Sobieski's wife to the church of S. Maria della Vittoria are still preserved; see LANCELOTTI, 73 *seq.*

minor civil offences,[1] a further ringing of bells and firing of guns and the celebration of special services on October 1st at the Quirinal, on the 10th at the Anima and on the 17th at S. Stanislao dei Polacchi,[2] concluded the festivities which were likewise celebrated in most of the Italian cities.[3]

The universal recognition of the great, nay the decisive, share of Innocent XI. in the deliverance of Vienna was painful to that most humble Pontiff. If someone alluded to his great work he would turn the conversation to the achievements of others and ascribe all the honour to Almighty God.[4] "Thy right hand, O Lord, hath slain the enemy" is the legend of the medals he ordered to be struck for a perpetual remembrance of the event,[5] and in thanksgiving for the help of the Mother of God he subsequently established for the whole Church the feast of the Name of Mary on the Sunday within the Octave of her Nativity.[6] Like Pius V., he looked on the powerful advocate of Christians as the author of the great victory and, now as then, the historic event was celebrated in verse and prose. Among the poems the outstanding one is the popular epic *Meo Patacca* by the Roman Giuseppe Berneri and among the panegyrics, that of the great popular preacher of Vienna, Abraham a Sancta Clara, beginning with the words: "Up, up, Christians!" [7]

[1] See LANCELOTTI's *letter to Card. Carlo Pio, October 2, 1683, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] LANCELOTTI, 74; SCHMIDLIN, 467.

[3] Besides LANCELOTTI, 64 *seq.*, *cf.* SAUER, 83, 85 *seq.*; CONTI, *Firenze*, 74 *seq.*

[4] LIPPI, 157 *seq.*

[5] "Dextera tua, Domine, percussit inimicum" (*Exod.*, XV., 6). See LANCELOTTI, 81, where, however, it is erroneously stated that Pius V. had had the same text engraved on his commemorative medals; *cf.* our data, XVIII., 443.

[6] LANCELOTTI, 88; *cf.* below, pp. 209, 227.

[7] The number of poems dedicated to the Pope, so we read in an **Avviso Marescotti* of October 30, 1683 (*loc. cit.*), was so great that the Pope wearied of them and passed them all on to his nephew Livio. Italian *sonnets in honour of Innocent XI.,

To what extent Innocent XI. had been the real soul of the enterprise against the hereditary enemy, the Turks, appears from the letters of congratulation which reached him from the most diverse quarters.[1] In eloquent Briefs of September 25th he acknowledged the reports of Sobieski and Leopold I. on their splendid triumph and to generous praise he added an exhortation to exploit it until the enemy should be utterly destroyed.[2] Charles of Lorraine, Rüdiger von Starhemberg and the Elector of Bavaria also received Briefs, dated September 25th, urging them on to fresh warlike undertakings.[3] To the Banus of Croatia, Count Nicolas Erdödy, he sent 25,000 florins on the same day in order to induce him to attack Kanizsa.[4]

The vastness of the plans cherished by the Pope in the first days of October may be gathered from a report of the Duc D'Estrées to Louis XIV. of an audience granted to him about this time. The Pope, who still believed in the Catholic sentiments of the Most Christian King, said that "Poland should continue the fight in its own territory, the Emperor in Hungary, Venice in Crete whilst Louis XIV. fought at sea, with a view to adorning his head with the imperial crown of

Sobieski and Charles of Lorraine on the occasion of the relief of Vienna are in *Cod.* 10427 of the British Museum. On the printed sheets, poems and sermons in the most diverse languages, *cf.* besides H. KABDEBO, *Bibliographie zur Gesch. der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens*, Vienna, 1876, also VANCSA, IV., 42 *seq.*; LANCELOTTI, 91 *seq.*; BERNHARDY, 74. For a "celebre canzone", by Filicaja, see PALMIERI, in *Spicilegio Vaticano*, I., 579. Much is yet unpublished, *ex. gr.*, the collection of Italian poems in *Cod.* C., CCVIII., II., 27 and C., CCLX., of the Bibl. Marucelliana at Florence. One curiosity is preserved in the Azzolini Archives, Rome.

[1] SAUER, 74, 87; BERTHIER, II., 135–8, 139.

[2] SAUER, 74 *seq.*, 84 *seq.* For the date of Sobieski's letter to Innocent XI., which was only added later on, see STEMPFLE, in *Miscell. di storia eccl.*, V. (1907), n. 5–6.

[3] SAUER, 77–9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 80. *Cf.* THEIN, 111 *seq.*

the East after the conquest of Constantinople". To this aim he had already alluded in a conversation with Cardinal D'Estrées in July 1682.[1]

The desire of winning over the ambitious King of France for a crusade against the Mohammedans appears also in the plan for the partition of the Turkish Empire which Innocent XI. unfolded towards the end of November: the Emperor was to have the whole of Hungary, the Poles Moldavia and Walachia, Venice Slavonia, Turkish Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Albania and Epirus; France's share was to be Thrace, with Constantinople and Adrianople, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Morea, Achaia and the Archipelago. Transilvania and the Banat were conceived as buffer States between Austria and France which would only be contiguous through Serbia, the passage of which was difficult owing to the mountains and forests. France might also subject Egypt and Syria, when the Duke of Anjou (the future Philip V.) might be made Emperor of the East.[2] This shows how much the struggle with the traditional enemy of the Christian name was more than ever the centre of all the Pope's thoughts and plans.[3]

The realization of these ambitious schemes was, of course, a very distant eventuality, but the confident expectation of further successes to which Innocent XI. refers in a second Brief to the Emperor,[4] dated October 2nd, was not falsified. Though the Saxons had started for home already on September 15th and the troops from the Empire had followed soon after, the imperialists under Charles of Lorraine and the Poles under Sobieski, had gone in pursuit of the enemy. However,

[1] See the report of the Duke D'Estrées, October 5, 1683, in GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIX. (1886), 190, and that of Card. D'Estrées of July 12, 1683, *ibid.*, 123 *seq.*

[2] Report of November 28, 1683, in MICHAUD, II., 92.

[3] "*S. S^{tà}, che non medita altro che la destruttione de' Turchi e la dilatione della fede cattolica, pensa d'armare 12^{m} huomini italiani. Armerà anco sei galere." Meanwhile he urges prayer for an important decision. *Avviso Marescotti* of October 30, 1683, *loc. cit.*

[4] SAUER, 84.

on October 7th, Sobieski, who recklessly hurried ahead with his horsemen, suffered a defeat near Párkány in which he only escaped death as by a miracle. However, this set back was made good two days later by the brilliant victory of the imperialists and the Poles over the Pasha of Ofen, on the same field. It was now possible to begin the siege of Gran which had been in the hands of the Turks since 1605. The lower town was stormed on October 25th and the citadel capitulated on the 27th.[1] Great was the Pope's joy now that the cathedral church of Hungary's primate was again restored to Catholic worship after having served so long as a mosque. When the Pope heard the news, we read, he spent two whole hours in thanksgiving, after which he said Mass with a devotion that profoundly affected all the assistants.[2] "There is nothing he desires more ardently than fresh Turkish defeats," we read in a report from Rome under date of November 20th, 1683.[3] The Morlacs and the Albanians of Dalmatia and Herzegovina also rose at this time in order to shake off the Turkish yoke, whilst the dethroned Gospodar of Moldavia and Walachia, Stephen Petriceicu, made preparations for the reconquest of his kingdom, towards which Innocent XI. granted him pecuniary help.[4]

However, Innocent XI.'s joy at these successes was not without alloy because of the ever present anxiety for the permanence of the alliance between the Emperor and Poland. Immediately after the relief of Vienna certain petty susceptibilities on the part of the Emperor and Sobieski had given rise to misunderstandings and bickerings which the nuncio in Vienna, Buonvisi, strove zealously and successfully

[1] Röder von Diersburg, I., 66 *seq.*; Hammer, III., 752 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, V., 110 *seq.* *Cf.* the Briefs in Sauer, 86, 89, 92, 96, 97, 100, 103, and Berthier, II., 147 *seq.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti* of November 13, 1683, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, for the congratulations of Queen Christine who was served with a "lautissima collatione".

[3] **Avviso Marescotti* of November 20, 1683, *loc. cit.*

[4] Sauer, 101; Thein, 112 *seq.*

to appease.[1] But both he and his colleague, Pallavicini, found it far more difficult to ease the tension at Warsaw, caused by the ambitious Queen of Poland who cherished the fantastic plan of obtaining the royal crown of Hungary for her son James, with the help of Thököly. Pallavicini succeeded in dissuading the Queen from the pursuit of such a project.[2] On the other hand, Buonvisi and Pallavicini were faced with an even more arduous and thorny task when they undertook to appease the mutual resentment of the King of Poland and Leopold, due to the former's *rapprochement* with Thököly. Anxiety in Rome was all the greater as Poland favoured a compromise with Thököly which was to include religious concessions, and these were advocated even by Buonvisi.[3] With regard to Thököly, Innocent XI. was, on the whole, on the Emperor's side. Since the rebels were not only allied with the Moslems, but had been responsible, in the first instance, for the latter's attack on Vienna, the Pope took the standpoint that war against the Turks also meant war against Thököly.[4]

The danger to which the preservation of the Polish-Imperial alliance was exposed was substantially increased by the plans of Louis XIV. who sought to harness Poland to his own political chariot whilst he persisted in his opposition to the Emperor. Deaf to every exhortation on the part of the Pope,[5] Louis had watched Vienna's peril with satisfaction for he now hoped to secure the Emperor's renunciation to the "reunited possessions" as well as to Strasburg.[6] At the very moment when the Turks drew near to the imperial city, he ordered his troops to advance into the Spanish Netherlands. When joy over the defeat of the traditional enemy filled all Europe

[1] Fraknói, *Innocenz*, XI., 79.

[2] Thein, 119 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 122 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*

[4] Sauer, 164.

[5] On Ranuzzi's mission in August, see Ch. V.

[6] Thein, 80 *seq.*, who agrees with the opinion of Immich (p. 28) and the researches of Köhler (p. 99) that this was the real aim of the hypocritical policy of Louis XIV.

he could not escape the duty of congratulating the Paris nuncio.[1] It was, however, a mere formality for the truth was that the Emperor's victory annoyed him greatly, for not only were his plans for the surrender of the "reunions" defeated, but faith in his own Christian sentiments was likewise greatly shaken beyond the French boundaries.[2] The extent to which public opinion considered him an ally of the Turks was shown by the anti-French manifestations which occurred at Venice and in Rome [3]; a biting satire described him as "the Most Christian Turk of Versailles".[4] But what did the *Roi Soleil* care for public opinion! When the Paris nuncio expatiated with the minister, Croissy, on the unfavourable impression which the military proceedings in the Spanish Netherlands were bound to call forth in the rest of the world, Croissy replied: "Let the world say what it likes; the King knows what he is about and he has given the Spaniards plenty of time in which to give him satisfaction." [5] Fresh remonstrances by the nuncio in the last days of September, to the effect that

[1] See Ranuzzi's report of September 20, 1683, in BOJANI, III., 759 *seq.*

[2] ROUSSET, *Louvois*, III., 233; GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 143 *seq.*; IMMICH, *Innocenz*, XI., 32. Louis XIV.'s small satisfaction at the relief of Vienna is attested by the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Venier, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Francia*, III., 444.

[3] On Venice, see GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIX., 146; THEIN, 91, 110; for Rome, see RINKH, *Leopold der Grosse*, I., 857 *seq.* Rome's dissatisfaction with France's attitude greatly increased in the sequel. On July 13, 1684, Card. Carlo Pio wrote to Leopold I.: *Fr. Calvo, S.J., France's procurator at the Curia, refuses to hear confessions as before "perchè non si sentivano che bestemmie contro il suo Re, tanto è sdegnato questo popolo per l'impedimento danno le armi francesi alla guerra contro il comun nemico". On August 12, 1684: *The French avoid to appear in public in order not to expose themselves to interference. The Governor fears he can give them no guarantees. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Printed by STRAGANZ, *Weltgeschichte*, 392.

[5] See Ranuzzi's report of 10th [September], 1683, in BOJANI, III., 839.

it ill became so illustrious a King to disturb the peace of the world by war, seeing that he was well able to realize his purpose by peaceful means, were equally barren. Croissy persisted in maintaining that the Emperor was opposed to a compromise of any kind; after the defeat of the Turks he would turn upon France which must accordingly think of her own defence.[1] The Pope nevertheless continued to work for peace,[2] though in vain. In December Spain decided to meet force with force and declared war against France. The Paris nuncio, Ranuzzi, was now instructed to work at least for an armistice. More insistently than ever he was to represent to Croissy, to Père La Chaize and to the King himself, that so favourable a chance to crush the Turks finally must not be neglected; God Himself wanted the war against the Turks and He would surely inflict the heaviest punishment on those who hindered it. Ranuzzi was to speak with all the force at his command for, as common father, it was the Pope's duty to speak with the utmost freedom to the conscience of rulers in a matter of such importance.[3]

When, towards the end of December, and notwithstanding the declaration of war, Ranuzzi advocated a compromise,

[1] See Ranuzzi's report of 27th [September], 1683, *ibid.*, 842 *seq.*

[2] Cibo to Ranuzzi on October 10 and November 2, 1683, in Bojani, III., 845, 847. See also Sauer, 155 *seq.*

[3] " *La prosperità dell'armi christiane e la depressione di quelle del Turco obliga non meno l'una che l'altra parte a non perdere una così bella congiuntura. Vuole però N. S., che ella dica in nome suo con ogni libertà al Padre La Chaise al sig. di Croissy et al Re medesimo che Dio vuol la guerra contro il Turco, e che manderà gravissimi castighi a tutti quelli che in qualsivoglia modo vi apporteranno impedimento. E S. Stà incarica a lei di parlare in questi precisi termini, perchè sa molto bene, che non si trova il più delle volte chi parli a i principi con la dovuta libertà, la quale conviene principalmente al debito et alla qualità di Padre comune, ch'ella sostiene nella chiesa, massime in un affare di tanta importanza, et in cui si ha dalla Stà sua una così giusta premura" (Cifra di Cibo a Ranuzzi 1683, December 21, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, p. 18b, Papal Sec. Arch.).

Croissy told him that the Emperor intended to make peace with the Turks so as to have a free hand against France.[1] There was no question of such a thing, though it is true that, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, a certain party in Vienna had counselled such action, but Buonvisi strenuously opposed every attempt of the kind, regardless of the risk of being accused of cherishing French sympathies; he even threatened that the Pope would suspend his subsidies if, for the purpose of assisting Spain, the Emperor were to turn his arms against France.[2] Innocent unreservedly approved this action, declaring that as the common father of Christendom he could not allow such money to be expended on a war against a Christian ruler.[3]

At the end of November Buonvisi, to whom the Pope had forwarded 100,000 thalers for armaments, was able to report that Leopold was firmly resolved to continue the war against the Turks.[4] From Poland also came favourable reports. Though Sobieski had led his troops home in December, he did not think of peace. The struggle against the Turks, he wrote to the Pope from Cracow on January 15th, 1684, was only beginning; with the help of his Holiness he meant to go on with it.[5] In view of the fact that he now definitely broke

[1] See Ranuzzi's report of December 20, 1683, BOJANI, III., 861.

[2] Buonvisi's report of October 10, 1683, in FRAKNÓI, *Innocenz*, XI., 89. *Cf.* Contarini's reports in KLOPP, 362, n. 2.

[3] See D'Estrées' reports of November 2 and December 21, 1683, in MICHAUD, II., 92 *seq.* For the same reason Innocent XI. had already before this declined to participate in an anti-French league of the Italian States proposed by Spain; see IMMICH, *Innocenz XI.*, 22. On the papal subsidies against the Turks, see *Hist. polit. Blätter*, XCVIII., 569 *seqq.*, 673 *seqq.*, 774 *seqq.*

[4] See Buonvisi's report of November 21, 1683, in KLOPP, 364. According to REDLICH (p. 337) the action of Louis XIV., when at the beginning of November he showed himself not averse to a twenty years' truce with the Emperor and the Empire on the basis of the *status quo*, proved decisive.

[5] SAUER, 112 *seq.*

with Thököly, the nuncio disbursed for his benefit at the end of January, for equipment for the forthcoming campaign, in addition to various contributions for the Cossacks, the sum of 200,000 florins for the infantry and 100,000 for the cavalry.[1] Accordingly, on February 27th, the King of Poland assured the Pope that he was bent on resuming the war with the Turks as soon as possible. But to enable him to take the field with the newly levied troops already at the beginning of May, he asked for leave to take at least 200,000 imperial thalers out of the tenths as a first war contribution.[2] Innocent XI. also gave satisfaction to the lively desire of the Polish royal couple for some special mark of honour, a wish that had Pallavicini's support. On March 25th Sobieski received a hat and sword blessed by the Pope, whilst his consort was given the Golden Rose. The same honour was also bestowed on the Empress at this time.[3]

This extraordinary distinction bestowed on Sobieski was closely connected with the circumstance that just then the Imperial-Polish alliance was reinforced by the accession of Venice and thus expanded into a Holy League.

(3.)

The formidable struggle which the Republic of St. Mark had waged with the Porte for the space of twenty-four years, had swallowed the gigantic sum of 150 million gold ducats.[4] Small wonder if there was at first but little inclination in the City of the Lagoons to embark once more on so risky an undertaking, in spite of constant friction with the Turks.

[1] See Contarini's report in Klopp, 337. On the repulse of Thököly, see Thein, 134, and Du Hamel, VIII., 263 *seq.*

[2] Theiner, *Monuments*, 260.

[3] Sauer, 114 *seq.*, 187, 188 (*cf.* 151, 156 *seq.*); Berthier, II., 167 *seq.* The **Avviso Marescotti* of February 26, 1684 (Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele) estimates the value of the sword at 1,000 scudi; pictures of the decorations in Lancelotti, 76.

[4] This was the sum quoted to the Pope by G. Lando; *cf.* Bernhardy, 68.

The Pope's exhortations of May 12th and 22nd, 1683, that he should go to the assistance of the Emperor, elicited from the Doge no more than polite assurances of friendly dispositions and the best good wishes.[1] However, when news arrived of the great defeat of the Turks before Vienna, enthusiasm for war against the infidels broke out with such elemental force that a change of feeling could be hoped for.[2] The further successes in Hungary in the course of the autumn of 1683 also made a deep impression in Venice, though nothing definite was decided.[3] Three parties were in opposition: the first, whose chief spokesman was the Senator Valiero, was in favour of joining the Polish-Imperial League; the second, which included the Doge, was willing to assist the Emperor but without coming out into the open; the third, headed by Senator Foscarini, felt that it was necessary to wait for further successes and in particular for a rising of the Christians still groaning under the Turkish yoke.[4] The Morlacs of Dalmatia, who were still in part under Venice's domination, had already risen; so had the Albanians,[5] and it was hoped that, with some assistance, the two peoples together would be able to put 30,000 men in the field by the spring.[6] Reports that reached Venice on this point made the question of a Turkish war a burning one. But it was feared that the Porte might avenge itself and that Venice might forfeit Dalmatia also, in which eventuality the City of the Lagoons would be directly threatened by the Crescent.

[1] See the Briefs in SAUER, 6, 7 *seq.*, and the Doge's reply in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 686.

[2] See above, p. 181, and BOJANI, III., 837.

[3] *Ibid.*, 851.

[4] *Ibid.*, 846. The speeches of Foscarini and Valiero in the Senate in CONTARINI, I., 255 *seq.*, which KLOPP (p. 381) considers to have been really delivered, can hardly be authentic as they appear there.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 187.

[6] *Cf.* the letter of Archbp. John Parzagli of Zara, in SAUER, 101 *seq.*

In view of the financial exhaustion of the Republic of St. Mark,[1] it was clearly realized from the first that a naval campaign against the Turks was only possible with the Pope's assistance.[2] A guarantee from that quarter appeared all the more necessary as the Republic did not entirely trust either the Emperor or the King of Poland. But there was one big obstacle to an alliance with the Holy See, namely the state of acute tension which had long obtained between the Republic and the Papacy.

From the first day of his reign Innocent XI. gave proof of the utmost goodwill towards Venice, but the Republic's representative in Rome, Antonio Barbaro, adopted an extremely arrogant attitude as early as November, 1676. He grossly abused the privileges enjoyed by ambassadors; thus, among other things, he allowed his equerry to open a tobacco shop near the Palazzo di Venezia where the latter did so extensive a trade in smuggled goods as to injure the papal fisc to a considerable extent.[3] Barbaro's conduct led to further incidents in another matter to which Innocent XI. attached the greatest importance.

In course of time intolerable abuses had crept in at Rome in the conduct of the ambassadors, inasmuch as they were no longer content with their personal immunity and that of the embassy buildings, but sought to extend their prerogatives (*franchigie*) ever further. Foreign nationals in Rome, as a rule, lived in proximity to the ambassadors under whose protection they were. Thus it came about that the jurisdiction which the ambassadors enjoyed over their palaces and their immediate dependents, was by degrees extended to the neighbouring houses and even to entire streets. For that quarter of the city they claimed the most extravagant privileges, and in particular, exemption from papal jurisdiction. No papal police officer was allowed to enter their quarter in which all manner of disreputable people, even undoubted

[1] Bojani, III., 758.
[2] *Ibid.*, 835, 855, 863.
[3] *Ibid.*, 425, 433, 477, 479.

criminals, sought an asylum from the arm of justice. To this were added other abuses, especially with regard to customs. Innocent XI. resolved from the outset of his pontificate to put an end to this state of things by circumscribing the franchise of the quarters to the ambassador's palace and the persons actually in his service.[1] Barbaro, however, offered the most obstinate resistance to the papal ordinances,[2] but his position soon became untenable in consequence of his having repeatedly sent false reports to Venice.[3] He was recalled in April 1678, and replaced by Girolamo Zeno. The latter, however, walked in the footsteps of his predecessor in everything; in fact on the plea of the franchise of quarters he arrogated to himself rights that properly belonged to the Pope. Complaints met with no response from Venice.[4] In the night of July 1st, 1678, whilst Zeno's suite were patrolling the quarter, a scuffle occurred with some papal police officials not far from the church of the Gésu, in which two policemen were hurt.[5] Though the ambassador expressed his regrets for the incident he nevertheless prevented the punishment of the culprits.[6] The Pope's protests to Venice were once more ignored and thus things worked up for a rupture. The nuncio took his departure from Venice, leaving his auditor, Luigi Giacobelli, behind. Accordingly, Zeno and the whole personnel of the embassy also left Rome at the beginning of January, 1679.[7] Repeated attempts at a compromise proved in vain, all the more so as further causes of disagreement arose; the Turkish peril alone led to a *rapprochement*.

Whilst still a Cardinal, Innocent XI. had clearly perceived that without Venice nothing could be done against the Turks [8]; the Queen of the Sea, amid her lagoons, was the only power

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 414 *seq.*, 419 *seq.*, 431 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 454 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 435, 444, 448.

[4] *Ibid.*, 462, 467.

[5] DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 123; BOJANI, II., 462.

[6] *Ibid.*, 462.

[7] *Ibid.*, 474 *seq.*; DENGEL, *loc. cit.*

[8] BOJANI, III., 435, n. 1.

that could successfully supplement at sea the war on land. However, as until then he had only had fair words and evil deeds from the senate,[1] he left it to Venice to take the first step towards a *rapprochement*. As a matter of fact a change did occur there, and Girolamo Lando, a man who enjoyed the esteem of the Curia, was proposed for the post of ambassador.[2]

Even before Lando came to Rome the Venetian ambassador at the Emperor's court had ascertained at Linz, at the beginning of December, 1683, through nuncio Buonvisi, that Leopold was prepared to enter into an alliance with Venice against the Turks.[3] Lando set out for Rome at the beginning of 1684, but without ambassadorial rank; hence he did not take up residence in the Palazzo di Venezia. This greatly facilitated the settlement of the dispute about the franchise of the quarters which the Pope was determined to abolish.[4] After the indefatigable Marco d'Aviano had removed the last objections, a majority of votes was cast at Venice on January 22nd, 1684, in favour of an anti-Turkish league. This was soon finally concluded with the Pope's co-operation.[5] The letter of February 12th, accrediting the Venetian ambassador, Contarini, states that just as the holy zeal of Christ's Vicar on earth had called into being and powerfully promoted the Polish-Imperial alliance of 1683, so would the same zeal also prove the basis of this new alliance.[6]

In his burning zeal against the traditional enemy of Christendom,[7] Innocent XI. was ready for extreme financial sacrifices; if necessary, he was prepared to suppress several small convents and even a whole Order.[8] Venice was preparing

[1] *Ibid.*, 850.

[2] *Ibid.*, 849 *seq.*, 855, 856, 861.

[3] Klopp, 371 *seq.*

[4] Bernhardy, 75.

[5] Klopp, 381.

[6] Bojani, III., 927.

[7] His programme is outlined in the Brief of December 11, 1683, to Sobieski, Berthier, II., 151. *Cf.* Immich, *Innocenz XI.*, 33 *seq.*

[8] Klopp, 386.

powerful armaments and in the negotiations at Linz, Contarini showed the greatest keenness as well as full confidence in Buonvisi [1] who exerted himself in every direction on behalf of the great cause. A certain party at court was unwilling to grant to Venice the same conditions as to Poland, namely, that peace would not be concluded without Venice; but Buonvisi obtained that the offer to join the league of offence and defence should be made to the Republic of St. Mark without reservation of any kind.[2] Buonvisi also energetically assisted the nuncio of Warsaw. Both men did their utmost to prevent any misunderstanding between the Emperor and Sobieski, and to keep the King of Poland in the league notwithstanding fresh underground work on the part of Louis XIV.[3]

Great was the Pope's satisfaction at the mutual confidence between Buonvisi and Contarini, as well as with Buonvisi's conciliating and pacifying influence on Leopold and Sobieski.[4] He hoped that these efforts would be crowned with success.[5] Though the text of the treaty did not commit the Poles to war in Hungary, he was nevertheless of opinion that they would be induced to take part in it if they were met in friendly fashion.[6] On his part, Buonvisi pointed out that the Pope must not be chary of financial contributions, and he likewise sought to induce the Emperor to flatter Sobieski by means of presents and distinctions.[7] It was regrettable that the imperial ministers put all sorts of petty obstacles in Buonvisi's way. Leopold removed this difficulty by appointing Buonvisi

[1] See Buonvisi's report in cypher from Linz, January 4, 1684 ("decifrato a 21 Gennaio"), *Nunziat. di Germania*, 209, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *Buonvisi's reports in code, dated January 4, 17, 18, 25 and February 1, 11, 15, 1683, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* *Instructions to Buonvisi of January 22 and February 19, 1684, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* *Instruction to Buonvisi of January 29, 1684, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* *Instruction to Buonvisi of February 12, 1684, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* Buonvisi's *reports of January 18 and 25, 1684, *ibid.*

chairman of the league commission [1]; after that the deliberations proceeded more rapidly.

On March 6th, 1684, Buonvisi was able to report to Rome as follows [2]: "Yesterday the articles of the league with Venice were agreed upon at my house. At a five hours' sitting on March 2nd, Chancellor Stratmann, contrary to a proposal previously approved by the Emperor, desired to insert a further paragraph concerning frontiers and the navigation of the Adriatic. From Contarini's instructions I knew that he had been ordered to leave this altogether on one side, but the Chancellor nevertheless flattered himself with the hope of securing his point. I told him that such an attempt would jeopardize the entire negotiations, and Contarini confirmed my fears on the following day." At that critical moment it was once more Buonvisi who conjured the peril: he appealed to the Emperor who, on March 4th, ordered the omission of the clause. Further complications might also have arisen owing to the conflicting demands of the Polish ambassador and Venice concerning the conduct of the military operations. On this point also Buonvisi found a satisfactory solution.[3] As soon as these difficulties were removed others

[1] *Cf.* Buonvisi's *report in cypher, March 14, 1684, *ibid.*

[2] This *report of Buonvisi (*Nunziat. di Germania*, 208, *loc. cit.*) forms the basis of the following one; it is more accurate than the data of TRENTA, II., 50 *seq.*

[3] "*Vi era l'altra gran difficultà, che faceva l'ambasciatore di Polonia, il quale secondo la sua istruzione voleva, che la Republica esplicasse con quante forze haverebbe operato, conforme si dichiarano nel trattato cesareo-polonico, e che di più la Republica si obligasse di non portare le sue armi in Candia, ma operasse in parte più vicina, atta a cagionare diversione, e che mandasse la sua armata marittima a i Dardanelli; ma perchè l'ambasciatore di Venezia non haveva istruzione di dichiarare le forze nè l'operazioni, proposi che si obligassero d'impiegare tutti i loro sforzi per mare e per terra, e che l'esercito terrestre operasse in Dalmazia, che estensivamente comprende le provincie vicine, come l'Albania et altre, e fu da tutti approvato con l'aggiunta, che doppo ratificata la Lega si concertassero l'operazioni, e così si facesse ogn'anno, e che nelli eserciti si trovasse sempre un ministro de' collegati

arose in connexion with the ratification of the league. In the end Buonvisi's proposal was accepted. This was to the effect that the nuncio should sign the protocol of all the points agreed upon and append his seal to it. The document would then remain in the hands of the Emperor, but copies as well as the deed of ratification would be sent by courier to Venice and Poland together with the formulas of the oaths to be taken before the Pope and the plenipotentiaries.

The Imperialists demanded that Buonvisi should be the first to subscribe the deed because in it the Pope was referred to as the patron, guarantee and representative of the alliance. To this the representatives of Venice and Poland were willing to agree, but nuncio Buonvisi was not empowered to do so. Accordingly, he proposed the following formula: "I, Cardinal Buonvisi, Apostolic nuncio with the Emperor, being requested to participate in and to subscribe to the treaty, attest that I have been present at the discussion of all the articles concluded and subscribed to by the plenipotentiaries." This met with universal approval.[1]

The treaty of the Holy League, as Innocent XI. styled the alliance, is largely based on the model of the alliance of 1683 between Leopold I. and Sobieski. By its terms the Emperor and the King of Poland bound themselves to employ their land forces exclusively against the Turks and in no way against any Christian Powers; the Republic of Venice undertook to act in like manner with its fleet. The members of the League were to settle together the plan of campaign for each year; they undertook to assist each other reciprocally and not to enter into negotiations, still less to make peace with the enemy, without the consent of the other allies. Each of the allies was to conduct his own military operations independently and to retain his conquests. All Christian princes, in particular the Tsar of Moscow, were invited to join the league. "But in

pratico della milizia per andare di concerto, e col patto di soccorrersi l'un l'altro in caso di urgente necessità; e così fu stabilito." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 208, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Cf.* Buonvisi's *report of March 6, 1684, *loc. cit.*

order to impart greater strength to the holy undertaking and to knit together the alliance with indissoluble bonds, the allied Powers choose the Pope and his successors, as the common father of Christendom, for the protector, guarantor and representative of the alliance.[1]

A number of difficulties had to be cleared out of the way before the league could come into force, for Venice demanded a declaration from the Emperor that the Republic would be empowered to retain as its lawful possession whatever she would win from the Turks in Dalmatia. Against this the imperial Chancellor objected that Dalmatia belonged to the Hungarian crown. Once again Buonvisi effected a compromise. Separate articles laid down that any part of its former possessions in Dalmatia reconquered by Venice should remain its property, whilst conquest made in the various territories adjacent to Hungary should be once more incorporated in the Hungarian crown.[2] Other difficulties which arose later on were also successfully overcome.[3] At length, on May 24th, at a special Congregation attended by most of the Cardinals, observance of the treaty was sworn to in presence of the Pope. Cardinal Pio, the Protector of Germany, acted as the Emperor's representative, the Protector of Poland, Cardinal Barberini, did so on behalf of Sobieski, whilst Cardinal Ottoboni swore as the representative of Venice. The Pope, for his part, gave a solemn undertaking that he would support the allies with his prayers and by every means in his power.[4]

On the commemorative medal which a German, the

[1] Dumont, VII., 2, 71 *seq.* *Cf.* Lippi, 161 *seq.*; Bittner, *Chronol. Verzeichniss der österr. Staatsverträge*, I., 92.

[2] Fraknói, *Innocenz XI.*, 91 *seq.*

[3] Bojani, III., 952 *seq.*, 969 *seq.*, 1026 *seq.*

[4] **Acta consist., Barb.* 2897–8, Vat. Lib.; letter of Cibo to Buonvisi, in Bojani, III., 967 (with wrong date); *letter of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I. of May 27, 1684, State Archives, Vienna; *letter of Card. Barberini to Sobieski of May 25, 1684, *Lett. di princip.*, Papal Sec. Arch. Faculties for taking the oath in Theiner, *Monuments*, 267 *seq.* *Cf.* also Berthier, II., 175.

celebrated medallist Hameran, struck for the occasion, we see the various members of the League headed by Innocent XI.[1] The Pope deserves this place of honour, not only by reason of his dignity, but because he was the real author of the League.[2] He undertook at once to expand it still further. Not only his own galleys, but those also of the Knights of Malta and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were to join the Venetian fleet.[3] The papal nuncios at Warsaw and Vienna were instructed to give energetic support to the efforts made by Sobieski and the Emperor to induce the Russian Grand Duke and the Shah of Persia to join the triple alliance.[4]

Whilst excellent prospects for an attack on the Turks were thus unfolding, everything was once more put in jeopardy by Louis XIV.'s policy. At the beginning of 1684, Innocent XI. had most earnestly remonstrated with the Kings of France and Spain because of their war, and sought to initiate a settlement, or at least an armistice,[5] and he had never ceased to work in this direction. However, Spain saw herself threatened by the King of France not only in the Netherlands, but in Italy also. As early as 1678 the Cabinet of Madrid had sought to secure its possessions in the Apennine peninsula by means of a league of the Italian States. But the plan could not be realized. Venice felt so weak that her one desire was to

[1] Reproduction in KLOPP, 387. On Hameran, see vol. XXX., n., and NOACK, *Deutsche in Rom.*, 28 *seq.* Another medal is described by RÖDER VON DIERSBURG (I., 77, n. 1).

[2] REDLICH's opinion (342). *Cf.* KLOPP, 388 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the Brief to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, Gregory Carafa, dated April 22, 1684, and that to Leopold I. of May 27, 1684, in BERTHIER, II., 171, 178. The **Avviso Marescotti* of June 10, 1684 (Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome) reports that in the consistory of Monday Innocent XI. had complained to Card. D'Estrées of the action against Genoa (*cf.* below, p. 202).

[4] On the efforts, continued during the following year, which were all in vain, *cf.* THEINER, *Monuments*, 266 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*, 295 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*, 301 *seq.*; BOJANI, III., 963, 997 *seq.*; UBERSBERGER, I., 35 *seq.*; PIERLING, IV., 77–95.

[5] See the Briefs of January 2 and 4, 1684, in BERTHIER, II., 154 *seq.*

remain neutral; Grand Duke Cosimo of Tuscany was dependent on Louis XIV. on account of his deplorable matrimonial situation whilst Victor Amadeus, of Savoy, was too young. Innocent XI. felt that as head of Christendom he could not be a member of a separate league; he maintained this standpoint all the more firmly as he was afraid of sharpening still further his ecclesiastico-political disputes with France by entering into political combinations.[1] In these circumstances it was a most opportune thing for Louis XIV. that the degenerate Duke of Mantua, Ferdinand Charles, needed money, and yet more money, for his dissipated mode of life. By a secret pact concluded at Versailles on December 8th, 1678, the Duke had promised to open the fortress of Casale to the French, in exchange for which he was to be given the command of the French troops in the event of war in Italy together with a sum of 100,000 scudi. The execution of the pact was, however, prevented by the Mantuan Secretary of State, Mattioli, who had negotiated the treaty, and who betrayed the secret to the courts of Madrid and Turin.[2] In the autumn of 1681, Louis XIV. nevertheless realized his ambition; for the sum of 500,000 livres Ferdinand Charles surrendered the citadel to the French. Thus the French King held Italy's strongest fortress and threatened the Spaniards in Milan.[3] After Savoy had been drawn into the French sphere by the marriage of Duke Victor Amadeus with Anne, daughter of Duke Philip of Orleans, Genoa, which sided with Spain, was also to be compelled to submit to France. But as the Genoese proved unwilling a French fleet appeared before their city in May, 1684, and reduced it to ruins by a fearful bombardment. "So stern a

[1] Reumont, *Toskana*, I., 449. *Cf.* Immich, *Innocenz XI.*, 22, and above, p. 127.

[2] Mattioli, who was arrested after having been induced to enter French territory, is probably "the man with the iron mask"; *cf.* Funck-Brentano, *L'homme au masque de velours noir dit le masque de fer*, Paris, 1894; Bröcking, *Das Rätsel der eisernen Maske und seine Lösung*, Wiesbaden, 1898.

[3] Immich, *Staatensystem*, 106.

chastisement," Louvois exultantly wrote to Créqui, "will bring the Genoese to reason and strike terror into the hearts of all princes who have towns on the sea-coast." [1]

When the French ambassador sought to justify to the Pope the reasons for Genoa's treatment, Innocent refused to listen to him; with tears in his eyes he exclaimed: "Lord, do thou defend Thy cause!" [2] On May 24th the Pope wrote a pressing letter to Louis XIV. conjuring him not to interfere by a fresh war in Italy with the war against the Turks which was willed by God Himself.[3] Even before this he had made earnest representations to the French ambassador in Rome on account of the cruel war in Flanders; in fact, he told him quite frankly that the great conflagration started in Europe by Louis was bound to jeopardize the Christians' crusade against the Turks.[4] All was in vain. Louis continued the siege of Luxemburg, which fell to him on June 4th. News

[1] ROUSSET, *Louvois*, III., 274.

[2] RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, III., 479. On the Pope's grief, *cf.* also CLARETTA, in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 20 *seq.*, 23.

[3] Brief in BERTHIER, II., 177. *Cf.* Cibo to Ranuzzi on May 24, 1684, in BOJANI, III., 1044 *seq.*, and Card. Carlo Pio's *letter to Leopold I. of May 27, 1684, State Archives, Vienna. Innocent XI., who had already once before (1678) mediated between Genoa and Louis XIV. (see BERTHIER, I., 197, 208; CLARETTA, *loc. cit.*, 12), undertook the work of conciliation on this occasion also, in spite of the difficulty created by the extraordinarily hard conditions of the King of France; see BERTHIER, II., 196, 199, 210; CLARETTA, *loc. cit.*, 23. In the main he insisted on all of them; see the *reports of Card. Carlo Pio, February 10 and March 3, 1684, *loc. cit.* The reconciliation took place at length on May 15, 1685; see FLASSAN, *Dipl. franç.*, IV., 86 *seq.*

[4] *Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I. on May 6, 1684 (*loc. cit.*): "Il Pontefice parlò al ambasciatore di Francia con gran sentimento per le crudeltà (che) usano le armi del suo re in Fiandra, per le usurpazioni fatte dopo la pace di Nimega e per haver eccitato il gran fuoco che va ad ardere l'Europa solo per impedire li progressi dell'armi christiane contro il Turco." The envoy endeavoured to refute these accusations, but when he perceived that he was making no impression he withdrew in confusion.

of this event strengthened the hands of the party which desired peace with the Turks and war against France. As a matter of fact the Emperor dispatched seven regiments to the Rhine, induced the Elector of Bavaria to put his army on a war footing, and himself mobilized the troops of the Circles of Franconia and the Upper Rhine.[1]

This turn of events roused Buonvisi to the utmost—nay, it almost drove him to despair. He demanded his recall, for now, he wrote, the edifice which we had so laboriously raised collapses completely.[2] However, the Pope kept this experienced servant of the Holy See at his post. The wisdom of his action was seen soon enough. Vienna came to realize that it was impossible to wage war on two fronts. Accordingly, a hand was held out for a compromise which safeguarded, at least formally, the rights of the Empire, and secured the West against invasion, so that the Emperor's whole strength could be employed against the Turks. On August 15th, 1684, a twenty years' armistice was signed at Ratisbon for the Empire and for Spain, by the terms of which Strasburg and Kehl and all the territories "reunited" up to August 1st, 1681, were to remain in the possession of France for the same period. Courtrai and Dixmuiden were restored to Spain; on the other hand she had to cede Luxemburg to Louis XIV. Both Innocent XI. and Buonvisi hailed this turn of events with immense satisfaction, for they viewed everything from the standpoint of the fight against the hereditary enemy of Christendom.[3]

[1] Fester, *Die Augsburger Allianz*, Munich, 1893, 2 *seq.*, 146; Redlich, 344.

[2] See Buonvisi's reports of June 20 and 27, 1684, *Nunziat. di Germania*, Papal Sec. Arch., used by Fraknói in his *Innocenz XI.*, 104 *seq.*

[3] Immich, *Innocenz XI.*, 37 *seq.* What hopes eager Buonvisi cherished is shown by his memorial to Louis XIV. "the Great", dated August 24, 1684 (Trenta, II., 209 *seq.*), in which, as Leibnitz (see XXXI., p. 490) and Innocent XI. himself had done at an earlier period (above, p. 185), he lays before him a plan for the conquest of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, but which

This time also the Pope gave as much as he was able to bestow. In addition to the command of the papal fleet, Venice was given leave to raise the sum of 100,000 gold florins from the clergy of its territory.[1] In May the Pope acquired 10,000 *rubbi* of wheat in the Marches and Romagna and gave them to the Republic for ships' biscuits.[2] The largest subsidies went to the Emperor who, by a wide amnesty of January 12th, 1684, sought to liberate the fighting forces of Hungary. According to the data of the Venetian ambassador, the papal subsidies reached a total of 1,300,000 florins.[3] In addition to all this Innocent established, at his own expense, a field hospital complete with surgeons and physicians for the sick and wounded of the imperial army.[4] To defray the cost of his armaments the Elector of Bavaria was allowed to lay a tax of 300,000 florins on the property of the Church in his territory,[5]

met with a cool reception by the French King (*cf.* FRAKNOI, 105 *seq.* ; SAYOUS, 259). Buonvisi's and Innocent XI.'s crusading ardour showed itself also in 1685 in the impossible plan of compensating Charles of Lorraine for the loss of his duchy by giving him Transilvania ; *cf.* FRAKNÓI, 164 *seq.* The Pope's crusading ardour is taken into account in the *letter of the Elector of Bavaria dated Munich, August 18, 1684 (Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*), in which he informs the Pope of the armistice with he remark that now the "infensissimus inimicus christiani nominis" could be successfully attacked.

[1] See the *Brief of April 22, 1684, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 213, p. 232 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch. The internuncio and the Patriarch of Venice were to see to the raising of the money. *Cf.* also BOJANI, III., 1031 *seq.* For the contributions which Venice drew from the islands of the Archipelago in 1684–1695, see *MS. Glauburg*, 34, n. 17, of the City Library, Frankfurt.

[2] See the *report of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., May 20, 1684, *loc. cit.* ; GUARNACCI, 110.

[3] CONTARINI, in *Fontes rer. Austr.*, XXVII., 253.

[4] Contarini in KLOPP, 389.

[5] BOJANI, III., 958. *Cf.* the *letter of the Elector Max Emmanuel to Innocent XI., dated Munich, 1685, Papal Sec. A ch., *Lett. di princ.*, 118.

and the King of Poland was permitted to raise 500,000 florins in the same way.[1]

Unfortunately the results of the campaign were in no way commensurate with these sacrifices. The campaign, which began very late in the season in consequence of the threatening attitude of Louis XIV., opened favourably enough. The main army of more than 30,000 men, commanded by Duke Charles of Lorraine, who had prayed for a special blessing from the Pope before setting out,[2] and who was accompanied by the Capuchin Marco d'Aviano, took the field on June 13th, 1684. On 17th it captured the fortress of Visegrád, a small place but one that commanded the narrows of the Danube. On 27th it pushed back the Turks at Waitzen, and on the 30th it occupied Pest which the enemy had abandoned. When the imperial army, now 40,000 strong, mustered in full force before Ofen, siege was laid to that city, exactly one year after the investment of Vienna by the Turks. Unfortunately the Christians now made exactly the same mistake as that made by Kara Mustafa on that occasion: they underestimated their opponent who, with 10,000 picked men, was resolved to defend to the last the strongly fortified Schlossberg. The storming of the lower town on July 19th, the so-called Wasserstadt, and the defeat of a relieving force at Hamzsabég on the 22nd, raised the most sanguine expectations on the imperial side, where it was hoped to subdue Ofen within five days. But the siege, which had been begun without adequate preparation, led to no result in the face of the desperate resistance of the Turks. To this was added a scandalous quarrel between the leaders, especially between Charles of Lorraine and Starhemberg. Profoundly disgusted, Marco d'Aviano, sensing disaster, left the army. The arrival of the gallant Bavarians under Max Emmanuel and that of

[1] Sylvius, II., boek, 22, p. 144; Klopp, 390. The Brief of April 29, 1684, to Sobieski shows that he received at that time the sum of 300,000 fl. "decimarum nomine" (Berthier, II., 173).

[2] See Charles of Lorraine's *letter to Innocent XI., dated Linz, May 17, 1684, Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.* *Cf.* the Brief of June 17, 1684, in Berthier, II., 181 *seq.*

troops from the Circle of Swabia, together with that of imperial regiments from Bohemia in September, raised fresh hopes which were, however, not to be fulfilled. Towards the end of October it became necessary to raise the siege : it had lasted 109 days and as sickness had also broken out, the cost had been 23,000 men of the best troops. Better fortune had favoured Field Marshal Leslie in Slavonia and General Schulz who fought against Thököly in Lower Hungary.[1]

The Venetians, who had solemnly declared war against Constantinople on July 15th, 1684—until then it had always been the Turks who did so—were bent on first attacking Bosnia. But when the court of Vienna, which had the support of Buonvisi, asserted the old claims of the Kings of Hungary to Bosnia, the plan was dropped. Reinforced by the galleys of the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Knights of St. John, the Venetian fleet, under Francesco Morosini, sailed for the coast of Dalmatia, took Santa Maura on the isle of Leukas on August 8th, and in September, Prevesa, at the entrance of the Gulf of Arta.[2] A further success was the fact that the Republic of Ragusa denounced its vassalage to Turkey and on August 20th, 1684, put itself under the protection of the Emperor in exchange for arms and subsidies against the Turks.[3] The one man who came least up to expectations was Sobieski. As was his wont he had drawn up grandiose plans but was extremely slow in marching into Podolia ; he laid siege to the fortress of Chocim but failed

[1] On the campaign of 1684, *cf.* WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi, I.*, 633 ; HAMMER, III., 760 *seq.* ; RÖDER VON DIERSBURG, I., 77 *seq.* ; *Mitteil. des K. K. Kriegsarchivs*, 1884, 377 *seq.* ; KLOPP, 391 *seq.* ; A. VERESS, *Gróf Marsigli*, Budapest, 1907 ; REDLICH, 345 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LOCATELLI, *Racconto stor. d. Veneta guerra in Levante*, Colonia, 1691 ; GARZONI, *Istoria di Venezia in tempo della s. Lega contro Maometto IV.*, Venezia, 1705, 64 *seq.* ; HAMMER, III., 766 *seq.* ; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra ausiliaria*, 378 *seq.* In the letter of August 29, 1684, in which Doge Marcantonio Giustiniani informs the Pope of the conquest of Santa Maura, the assistance of the papal troops is particularly singled out (Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*).

[3] BITTNER, *Österr. Staatsverträge*, I., 93.

to take it and his attempt to cross the Dnjestr was also thwarted by the Turks.[1]

Innocent XI., who in May 1684, had ordered a procession of supplication to obtain the blessing of heaven for the Christian arms,[2] was kept accurately informed of the progress of the military operations, by word of mouth through Cardinal Pio and by letter through Charles of Lorraine, Leopold I., the Doge and Sobieski. On July 20th he congratulated the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine on the capture of Visegrád and the victory of Waitzen[3]; on the 29th he replied to Queen Maria Casimira of Poland, who had laid before him the obstacles which had prevented her husband from taking the field.[4] In thanksgiving for the victories in Hungary the Pope had a *Te Deum* sung at the Quirinal. When Queen Christine congratulated him he observed he would grant further subsidies for the war against the Turk.[5] On August 5th Innocent XI. issued an invitation to Tsars Ivan and Peter, the Grand Dukes

[1] GARZONI, 74 *seq.*; HAMMER, III., 772. Sobieski sent the Pope on several occasions lengthy accounts of his warlike enterprises, thus on July 15, August 11 and 25, November 13, 1684 (see THEINER, *Monuments*, 284 *seq.*), but in his letter to Cibo on November 13, 1684 (Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princip.*, 118) he was obliged to avow the "disastri che hanno saputo in gran parte attraversare i nostri disegni" (*cf.* THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 288 *seq.*; BERTHIER, II., 201.

[2] **Avviso Marescotti* of May 27, 1684, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[3] BERTHIER, II., 184. Charles of Lorraine's *letter to the Pope "du camp de Vatz" on the conquest of Visegrad "dans trente heures d'attaque", and the battle of Waitzen ("taillée une partie de l'infanterie en pièce, pris les canons qu'ils avoient et mis leur cavallerie dans une deroutte entiere"), in *Lett. di princ.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] BERTHIER, II., 186. The *letter of the King of Poland, dated Zavoro, June 14, 1684, in *Lett. di princ.*, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Avviso Marescotti*, July 22, 1684, *loc. cit.* In a *letter dated Linz, July 2, 1684, Leopold I. begged the Pope for further subsidies, basing his demand on his successes in Hungary (*Lett. di princ.*, 118, *loc, cit.*).

and other noblemen of Russia, to join the Holy League.[1] In August Sobieski, who had no successes to report, sent to Rome a banner taken from the Turks near Párkány the year before ; this banner was destined by him for the Holy House of Loreto. This action was so much in keeping with the Pope's trust in the protection of the Most Holy Virgin that he had a special medal struck to commemorate the gift.[2] At this time Innocent XI. looked all the more hopefully towards Hungary as news arrived just then of the victory of Hamzsabég on which he congratulated the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine on August 12th.[3] Cardinal Pio now had audiences which often lasted as much as four hours, when the Pope eagerly listened for news of the siege of Ofen.[4] On August 19th a report from Rome stated that Innocent XI. had had a service of thanksgiving celebrated for the victory of Hamzsabég and that such was his keenness to hear of the fall of Ofen that someone had to remain up all night in order that there should be no delay in the receipt of news.[5]

On July 27th, 1684, Leopold informed the Pope that he hoped for the speedy fall of Ofen.[6] However, reports from

[1] BERTHIER, II., 187.

[2] FRANCESCO DAL MONTE CASONI, *Il santuario di Loreto e le sue difesa militari*, Recanati, 1919, 125 *seq.* ; BONANNI, II., 772, n. 37 *seq.* ; *Riv. stor.*, 1921, 174. At the time of the French invasion in 1798 the banner was taken to Warsaw by a Polish general and has now disappeared.

[3] BERTHIER, II., 189. *Ibid.*, 192, Congratulations to Venice on August 26, 1684, on the naval victory of Leukadia.

[4] **Avviso Marescotti* of August 12, 1684, *loc. cit.* The Pope, Cardinal Carlo Pio *reports on August 12, 1684 (State Archives, Vienna), could think of nothing but the Turkish war and of averting war between the Christian princes.

[5] **Avviso Marescotti* of August 19, 1684, *loc. cit.*

[6] " *Adeo sub auspiciis Stis V. eiusdemque piarum orationum suffragiis bellum contra infideles feliciter administratur hucusque, ut occupandi Budam proxima spes affulgeat." Papal Sec. Arch., *Lett. di princ.*, 118. *Ibid.*, an undated *letter of Charles of Lorraine (probably of June 23, 1684), in which he gives a full account of the siege and the seizure of the " grand stendart de l'empire othoman ".

Hungary became, on the contrary, increasingly unfavourable, so much so that Innocent urged the Elector Maximilian Henry of Cologne to dispatch reinforcements thither.[1] He hoped for great things from the arrival of the Bavarians.[2] On October 14th he requested Sobieski to abandon the siege of Kamieniec and to invade the interior of Turkey with a view to facilitating the conquest of Ofen.[3] But the siege dragged on and the Pope's anxiety grew steadily [4]; hence it was with great joy that he heard on October 28th that the Bavarians under Max Emmanuel were nearing Ofen.[5] On September 26th, the Elector of Bavaria had written to the Pope from his camp before Ofen, telling him of his hopes of taking a place made strong by the hand of man and even more so by nature herself.[6] Great was the Holy Father's disappointment when news arrived that the siege had been raised. From Roman reports we learn that the Pope fell into a profound depression,[7] to which the Emperor's report of December 14th of the heavy loss of material and money which the futile siege had occasioned, contributed in no small measure. At the same time

[1] Brief of September 9, 1684, BERTHIER, II., 193. Innocent XI. maintained 6,000 of the men; see MICHAUD, II., 56. On October 7, 1684, he wrote to the Elector of Cologne that the troops sent against Liège would have been better employed for the Christian cause in Hungary; he hoped, however, that the Elector would fulfil the Pope's expectations (BERTHIER, II., 197).

[2] BOJANI, III., 995.

[3] BERTHIER, II., 198.

[4] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 14, 1684, *loc. cit.*

[5] BERTHIER, II., 198.

[6] "*Speramus proinde, adhuc non obstante brevitate temporis aut intemperie aëris, per gratiam Dei et Apost. Sits Vae benedictionem, loci huius, arte quidem, sed natura et situ magis muniti deditionem, qua obtenta luna ottomanica magnam patietur eclipsin, Ecclesia vero Dei, electa ut sol, in immensum poterit suos diffundere radios, pro qua maiorum meorum vestigiis inhaerens non solum vires a Deo mihi concessas, sed et sanguinem cum vita impendere paratus sum."

[7] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 25, 1684, *loc. cit.*

Leopold spoke of the fresh and extensive preparations of the Turks which gave ground for fearing another siege of Vienna ; he accordingly prayed for speedy assistance for next year's campaign.[1] This the Pope was prepared to grant, notwithstanding the slender successes of 1684. On February 3rd, 1685, he allowed the sale of one-third of all ecclesiastical goods of every description which the clergy, both secular and regular, had acquired in the Austrian hereditary States during the last sixty years, the money to be applied to meet the cost of the war.[2] The German Bishops and Abbots were likewise urged to contribute men and money for the Turkish war [3] : so also were the Benedictine Abbots of Switzerland [4] ; and at a later date, the Chapters of Liège, Cologne, Hildesheim and Münster.[5] Marco d'Aviano and Buonvisi displayed no less zeal than the Pope. The former was of opinion that the next campaign should definitely open on May 20th : he even felt moved to draw up a formal plan for it. At the same time he pressed for an urgently needed reform of the Austrian financial system.[6] Cardinal Buonvisi worked for the same purpose. He succeeded in getting the Commissary General for war, Count Siegfried Breuner, a man unequal to his task, replaced by the able Count Rabatta.[7] Buonvisi was likewise untiring in his efforts to find the requisite money. It was due to him that the great wealth left by the Archbishop of Gran,

[1] Letter of December 14, 1684, in THEINER, *Monuments*, 290,

[2] BERTHIER, II., 212, 218 ; FRAKNÓI, 126, 137 *seq.* ; REDLICH. 355. In three *Bulls : viz. to the Papal Legates at Vienna, dated February 9, 1685, to the Bishop of Gurk, of March 24, to the Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt of June 9, the Pope demands accurate information on the possessions of ecclesiastical persons and colleges with a view to the Turkish tax. Copies in Stadtarchiv, Bregenz, No. 640.

[3] BERTHIER, II., 203 *seq.*, 213 *seq.* For the results, see FRAKNÓI, 127.

[4] BERTHIER, II., 211 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 223 *seq.*

[6] *Cf Corrispondenza*, ed. KLOPP, 32 *seq.*

[7] FRAKNÓI, 128 *seq.*

Szelepcsényi, and that of the Bishop of Vienna, Emmerich Sinelli, was spent on armaments in return for a promise of future repayment.[1]

As a result of Buonvisi's activities Innocent XI. forwarded 100,000 florins at the beginning of April, and another 50,000 a few months later. The Banus of Croatia received 15,000 florins, and the Pope spent a further 10,000 florins on field hospitals and a vast quantity of balsam.[2] Thus the manifold and energetic solicitude of the Head of the Church and his nuncio were once more paramount factors in the prosecution of the war.[3]

Despite Marco d'Aviano's pressure the campaign of 1685 only opened in July. The plan was the same as that of the preceding year: Leslie was to operate in Slavonia, Schulz in Upper Hungary and Charles of Lorraine along the line of the Danube. A beginning was made with an attack on Neuhäusel. But when news arrived that Ibrahim Pasha was besieging Gran, the bulk of the army, viz. 40,000 men, commanded by Charles of Lorraine, the Elector Max Emmanuel and Prince George of Waldeck, set out to relieve that town. On August 16th battle was joined before Gran. It ended in the utter defeat of the Turks. Three days later Neuhäusel, a "corner stone" of the Turkish power in Hungary, was taken by storm. In Slavonia also, the imperial army achieved a success when Leslie conquered Esseg, after which Ibrahim Pasha withdrew to Belgrad.[4]

After the victories of Gran and Neuhäusel, Leopold I. dispatched to Rome young Count Rosenberg, the son of the president of the Chamber, with an autograph letter in which the Emperor repeated his request for subsidies.[5] Rosenberg

[1] *Ibid.*, 125 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 127.

[3] REDLICH's opinion (355).

[4] WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi I.*, 652 *seq.*; RÖDER VON DIERSBURG, I., 125 *seq.*; FRAKNÓI, 141 *seq.*; REDLICH, 355 *seq.*

[5] *Original in *Lett. di princ.*, 118, Papal Sec. Arch. Previous requests of February 22 and June 24, 1685, in THEINER, *Monuments*, 293, 296. News of the victory of Gran reached Rome on

reached Rome on August 29th, when Cardinal Pio presented him at once to the Pope ; the latter, however, showed a good deal of reserve. The reason for this conduct lay not only in the adverse state of the finances, but in the fact also that precisely Rosenberg's father was greatly to blame for bad financial administration and the use made of the papal subsidies.[1] But when the notion arose in Vienna that Innocent XI. was against the continuation of the Turkish war, Buonvisi was in a position to furnish a striking proof to the contrary.[2] The Pope celebrated the Emperor's victories with a service of thanksgiving at which he himself intoned the *Te Deum*.[3] The thought of giving up the struggle was very far from the Pontiff's mind, especially as prospects were favourable at the moment. Under the command of Francesco Morosoni, the Venetian fleet, which again included the galleys of the Pope, of Tuscany, and of the Knights of Malta, had won a brilliant victory by the conquest, on

the morning of August 25 (*Cibo to Buonvisi, August 25, 1685 Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 587[b] *seq.* *ibid.*, CCXI., p. 159 *seq.* " *Breve relatione di ciò che è seguito appresso Strigonia alli 16 d'Agosto "). The conquest of Neuhäusel was only learnt in Rome on September 1 (*Cibo to Buonvisi, September 1, 1685, *ibid.*, XXXVIII., p. 590).

[1] See the detailed account of FRAKNÓI (149 *seq.*), who was the first to make use of Card. Carlo Pio's *report of September 9, 1685 (State Arch., Vienna). On the adverse financial situation, see the Briefs in BERTHIER, II., 220 *seq.*, 241 *seq.*, and Jacobelli's *report to Cibo from Venice (which also wanted subsidies) of April 7, 1685. Cibo wrote to him on July 7, 1685 : " *Trovandosi N. S. esausto et angustiato per i largi soccorsi dati sinora per la guerra contro il Turco, non può supplire in tutte le parti nè far quello che per altro avrebbe potuto fare," *Nunziat. di Venezia*, 126, p. 285 s. (*cf.* 22[a]), Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] FRAKNÓI, 153 *seq.*

[3] Besides Card. Carlo Pio's *reports of September 9 and 21, 1685 (*loc. cit.*), see **Avviso Marescotti* of September 8, 1685, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome. The Brief of congratulations to Leopold I. of September 6, 1685, in BERTHIER, II., 247.

August 12th, of Koron,[1] news of which reached Rome at the same time as that of the capture of Neuhäusel.[2] It was equally important that the arms of the Emperor were

[1] SCHWENKE, *Gesch. der hannov. Truppen in Griechenland, 1685–1699*, Hannover, 1854, 27 *seqq.*, according to whom the part played by the 2,400 Hannoverian auxiliaries was a very important one. *Cf.* also GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 390 *seq.*, 402 *seq.* On the impression in Rome, see BERTOLOTTI, in GORI'S *Archivio*, V., 56. In his *letter to the Pope, dated Venice, August 29, 1685 (reply to it in BERTHIER, II., 248), the Doge acknowledges in warm terms the help of Innocent XI. He says : " Il Dio degl'esserciti e delle vittorie, gradendo la purità della religiosa intentione con cui sotto gl'auspicii felici di V. B^ne la Republica nostra prontamente unendosi alla sacra Lega, ha con tutto il vigore impugnate l'armi contro l'ottomana barbarie, s'è degnato con la sua infinita misericordia permettere che il nostro capitan general, assistito dal valido e vigoroso corpo delle truppe e forze di santa Chiesa, e dell'altre Maltesi e Toscane aussiliari, postosi all'assedio della importante piazza di Coron delle principali del regno della Morea, doppo quaranta sette giorni possa trionfare d'un essercito d'oltre dieci mille combattenti, che con la maggiore risolutione si portava all' soccorso dell'oppugnato barbaro recinto, e con horride straggi e morti di considerabile numero di quegl'infedeli, tra quali il Bassà che lo dirigeva con altro principal comandante, impadronirsi del campo con l'acquisto di tutto il bagaglio, di più pezzi di cannone e di molte bandiere lasciate in abbandono dalle reliquie dell'essercito medesimo, datosi a precipitosa ignomeniosissima fuga. Lo stesso capo supremo con la sua consumata esperienza, valendosi della congiontura propitia, senza perder momenti, con le vittoriose militie accintosi al generale assalto della piazza, coll'impiego di tutte le militari industrie ha anche potuto godere la seconda successiva benedittione d'impadronirsene a forza d'armi, e di piantarvi il glorioso vessillo della croce e del nostro santo protettore, mandando a fil di spada tutto il numeroso presidio in pena dell'ostinata costantissima resistenza." *Lett. di princ.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cibo to Buonvisi, September 1, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 591, Papal Sec. Arch. Charles of Lorraine's *letter is dated Gomoria, August 12, 1685, *Lett. di princ.*, 118, *ibid.* The Pope's reply in BERTHIER, II., 248.

no less favoured by fortune in the fight against Thököly. When General Schulz had victoriously penetrated into Upper Hungary, Thököly, "the author of the rebellion and of all evil,"[1] was forced to seek refuge with the Turks who, however, took him to Belgrad in chains. The extent of the depression on the Golden Horn may be gauged by the fact that the Sultan let it be known that he was willing to surrender Thököly as he was anxious to make peace with the Emperor. Vienna, where Buonvisi and the Venetian ambassador, Cornaro, worked vigorously for the prosecution of the war, rejected the offer.[2]

Thököly's imprisonment, which Buonvisi described as a greater blessing than the reconquest of Neuhäusel[3] led to the complete collapse of his power in Upper Hungary.[4] The Pope's hopes now revived for he saw in these events an omen and a guarantee of the complete decline of Turkish domination in Hungary. As he listened to Cardinal Pio's account of this important turn of events his eyes filled with tears. Falling on his knees he gave thanks to God and ordered a service of thanksgiving to be held in the German national church of the Anima.[5] The taxation of the Spanish clergy,

[1] In his *letter to the Pope, dated Vienna, November 1, 1685 (*Lett. di princ.*, 118, Papal Sec. Arch.), Leopold I. describes him as "rebellionis omniumque malorum auctor". On October 20, 1685, by means of a letter of Cibo to Buonvisi, Innocent XI. had thus defined the Curia's standpoint: no negotiations with the Turks, a view insisted upon by the Emperor also and by Buonvisi as against some of the ministers, nor with Thököly, "questo perfido mostro di ribellione" (*Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 608, *loc. cit.*

[2] Redlich, 359 *seq.*

[3] See Buonvisi's *letter of November 1, 1685, Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Germania*, and the account in Fraknói, 157 *seq.*

[4] Redlich, 360 *seq.*

[5] See Card. Carlo Pio's *reports of November 18 and 24, 1685, State Arch., Vienna, and the account in Fraknói, 158. *Cf.* also Schmidlin, 468. *Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I. on November 1, 1685 (*loc. cit.*): "The Pope is overjoyed at the

which he had long refused to sanction on account of the heavy burden that it already had to bear, was now decided upon, but in view of his own financial situation he announced that he could make no statement concerning further subsidies by himself.[1] The Pope had cause for grave preoccupation in the lack of concord between ministers at Vienna and in Leopold's dependence on his advisers.[2] The King of Poland, the third member of the League, though he had submitted vast plans for 1685 also, had carried out no military operation of any kind. This was not to be wondered at, seeing that Béthune, the French ambassador and the Queen's brother-in-law, successfully sowed the seeds of distrust of the Emperor in Sobieski's mind. The latter's conduct was so equivocal that the Pope had reason to fear lest Poland should withdraw

Emperor's fresh victory over the Turks. Sentite a leggere le lettere del card. Nunzio principiò a piangere e si pose in ginocchi a render gratia a Dio . . . e pareva come fuori di se per il giubilo e per la tenerezza." Under the impression of this news the Pope granted to Card. Pio a tenth from the Spanish clergy which he had refused until then; the Spanish nuncio was, however, instructed to dispense, wholly or in part, those really unable to pay, 1687, March 22 (*ibid.*): "The King of Spain will only allow the tenth for the Turkish war if the excommunication pronounced by the nuncio against the authorities of Naples is first raised. The Congregation, more especially Cibo and Carpegna, were against the excommunication; so was the nuncio himself! the Congregation must now extricate him from his difficulties. *Cf.* below, Ch. VI.

[1] Fraknói, 159. On the burdening of the Spanish clergy, *cf.* the Brief in Berthier, II., 218. However, on December 1, 1685, *Cibo was able to write to Buonvisi that though many Spanish Bishops had complained to Rome of the burden laid on them, the Pope had signed the Briefs imposing the tenth on Spain, and that it was his will that all should pay in the measure in which it was at all possible, *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 626, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cf.* *Cibo to Buonvisi, October 20, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 209, *loc. cit.*; *Buonvisi's reply on November 11, and *Cibo's answer to that letter, December 1, 1685, *ibid.*

from the League.[1] This fact explains the dispatch to Poland of the huge sums of money to which Rome consented. In the last days of December 1684, Innocent XI. had sent 100,000 florins to Poland via Amsterdam. In February 1685, he forwarded another 100,000 florins and yet again another 100,000 at the end of March.[2] But Sobieski demanded a great deal more. Through a courier he informed the Pope that he would begin war in May and that he would prosecute the campaign with such intensity that he did not even intend to go into winter quarters; however, he would not be able to carry out his plan unless he received a full million florins.[3] Innocent yielded; on May 16th, 1685, he instructed the treasurer to forward 100,000 florins to nuncio Pallavicini; by other autograph letters he had dispatched 900,000 florins.[4] To calm Vienna the Pope let it be known that by this action he meant to render service to the Emperor also, for Sobieski's campaign would greatly benefit the war in Hungary.[5] For all that the imperial court was greatly annoyed, as may be easily understood.[6] However, the Pope's action seems sufficiently justified if we bear in mind that this liberality

[1] Fraknói, 171, 173.

[2] See the *letters to Pallavicini, February 17 and March 31, 1685, *Nunziat di Polonia*, 185, p. 222b, 229b, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Fraknoi, 186 *seq.*

[4] *Sommario del chirografo segnato li 16 maggio 1685, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 185, p. 238 (*cf.* 242b), *loc. cit.*

[5] Fraknói, 187.

[6] In his *letter of May 20, 1685, to Cibo, Buonvisi complained of Sobieski's conduct of the war: "E se il Re di Polonia non coopererà con tutti gli sforzi, e se non userà maggior efficacia di quella che usò l'anno passato, ne doverà rendere stretto conto a Dio, e non occorrerà ch'il suo regno speri mai più di far leghe, nè di haver aiuti, mentre toltone quel primo hallore del soccorso di Vienna, non si è mai più veduta azione generosa nè profittevole, e viddemo l'anno passato, che i Turchi non fecero caso delle loro simulate diversioni, e quest'anno sappiamo da i sopradetti prencipi, che niente le curano, se pure è vero tutto quello, che mi ha referito, chi è ritornato dalle loro corti." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 210, p. 408, Papal Sec. Arch.

was the only means of keeping Poland in the League, and that in this way an accommodation was eventually reached between Russia and Poland.[1]

The Warsaw nuncio, Pallavicini, had been working since the beginning of 1684 for a reconciliation between Poland and Russia in the hope that both States would go to war against the Turks.[2] The Archbishop of Naxivan had been sent to Persia by the Pope, the Emperor and Sobieski in connexion with the struggle against the Porte. In April 1684, the Archbishop sent a report on his Moscow negotiations with a view to the establishment of friendly relations between Russia and Rome. Pallavicini had repeatedly exerted himself in the same sense. Circumstances seemed more favourable at this time as the Tsarine Sophia, who had been acting since 1682 as regent for her brothers Ivan and Peter, who were minors, showed signs of a friendly disposition towards Catholics.[3] In June 1684, together with the imperial ambassador, Baron Blumberg, the able Jesuit Vota, a native of Savoy, was dispatched to Moscow where he began negotiations in July, with a view to the easing of the condition of Catholics in that city.[4] On his part Innocent XI. had made a present of money to the Cossacks in the preceding May, and in July he promised them further help against the Turks.[5] On August 5th, 1684, he invited the Tsarine to join the Holy League.[6] On September 16th the Pope was able to thank Blumberg and Vota for having secured admission for two Jesuits who would be allowed to look after the spiritual welfare of Catholic foreigners in Moscow. In May 1685, Pallavicini sent further favourable reports on this subject.[7]

It was a grievous disappointment to him when it became

[1] Redlich, 365.

[2] Theiner, *Monuments*, 271 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 278 *seq.* *Cf.* Pierling, IV., 77–95; Übersberger, I., 36.

[4] Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 281 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 280, 283.

[6] *Ibid.*, 284.

[7] *Ibid.*, 281, 286, 295.

evident that Poland was doing nothing for the war against the Turks in 1685. Rome now regretted having sent such vast sums to that country,[1] though in answer to fresh demands and promises Innocent XI. forwarded another 100,000 florins in January, and a like sum in February, though this time he instructed Pallavicini not to disburse the money until there was a firm resolve to do something.[2] To these sums a further 100,000 florins were added during each of the next three months, viz. February, March [3] and April.[4] These huge subsidies were granted in view also of the circumstance that the peace negotiations between Poland and Russia, on the progress of which Pallavicini kept the Pope informed,[5] gave promise of a favourable result.

Innocent XI. was overjoyed when he was at last informed on April 26th [May 6th], 1686, that an offensive and defensive alliance against the Turks had been concluded. The conditions of this "everlasting peace" were as follows: Russia was to retain the territories acquired in 1667, including the important town of Kiew, in exchange for which she was to pay 1,500,000 Polish florins, and to undertake to begin warlike operations against the Turks in the course of the current year, and subsequently to attack the Crimea. Thus was the mighty northern empire included in the Holy League, "to the boundless joy of Christendom" and the terror of the Porte.[6]

[1] On January 19, 1686, Cibo wrote to Pallavicini that had these sums been used elsewhere, they would have been a great help, whereas in Poland nothing was done (*Nunziat. di Polonia*, 185, p. 285, Papal Sec. Arch.). On December 15, 1685, Cibo had written to Buonvisi: *"Sarcbbe hormai tempo che il Re di Polonia mutasse i suoi progetti in operationi" (*Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 630, *ibid.*).

[2] *Cibo to Pallavicini, January 19 and February 2, 1686, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 185, p. 285–8b *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cibo to Pallavicini, February 23 and March 16, 1686, *ibid.*, 294, 300b.

[4] *Cibo to Pallavicini, April 13, 1686, *ibid.*, 308b.

[5] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 295, 297, 302.

[6] DUMONT, VII., 2, 125 *seqq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, II., 278 *seq.* The Brief on the peace addressed to Sobieski, July 6, 1686, in

Finally, on July 20th, 1686, Innocent XI. wrote to the Shah of Persia exhorting him to join the great alliance against the Turks.[1]

BERTHIER, II., 278 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 282, the Brief to Oginski thanking him for his efforts for the conclusion of the alliance. Oginski's reports to Pallavicino in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 303 *seq.*

[1] See *ibid.*, 307. Together with his *report of January 29, 1686, nuncio Pallavicini forwarded copies of three *letters dated July 30 and August 3, 1685, these two sent by Bogdan (= Deodatus) Gurdziecki (*Nunziat. di Polonia,* 105, p. 26, 27, *loc. cit.*), and January 23, 1686, this last from the Bishop of Luceoria to the nuncio (*ibid.*, 28). Their content is as follows, viz. that of July 30, 1685: "The King of Persia has received the account of the victory of Vienna with admiration and obvious pleasure. Fr. Raphael de Latina, O.M.C., has given him a written Persian translation. Thereupon the King dispatched one Szachalichanus to Turkey, to ascertain whether the situation was really as described. The latter confirmed the news from Europe. When during the period of the fast the Shah received the letters of the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Poland, he personally discussed the enterprise against the Turks with the bearer of the letters. The Swedish envoy at the court of Persia encouraged the Shah's inclination to participate. The envoy's name is Fabrizius. I myself, Bogdan Gurdziecki, was instructed by the King to send a courier to the King of Poland to inform him that 30,000 Arabs of the Persian army were ready to march against the Turks. Disturbances in the district of Babylon are reported; these the King of Persia naturally encourages.—Letter of August 3: Gurdziecki is able to report on good authority that the Persians have set out and are now in the neighbourhood of Naxivan. It is said they are advancing towards Babylon.—Letter of the Bishop of Luceoria: The royal internuncio at the court of Persia has returned with this joyful information: He left Ispahan in August 1685. He is the bearer of very friendly letters for our (the Polish) King, expressing his joy at the relief of Vienna and all that followed it. He would take advantage of so favourable an opportunity. The internuncio saw the departure of the army with his own eyes. He also says that the remnants of the Parthians, who up till now sided in part with the Persians and partly with the Turks, had now completely gone over to the Persian side as a result of the Porte having planned to send 20,000 of their number

Meanwhile the indefatigable Buonvisi had worked with all his might in preparing the campaign in Hungary.[1] He exerted himself in every direction, his first object being that the campaign should open in May, before the Turkish armies were ready to strike. He furthermore sought to influence the course of the operations themselves; but his chief concern was to procure the necessary resources, the lack of which was constantly being urged as an argument by the peace parties at Vienna and Madrid. Hence great was his disappointment when Rome remained deaf to his demands. A decisive factor in Rome's conduct was its dissatisfaction with the bad financial management of the court of Vienna as well as the actual impossibility of raising the required ready money. Week after week Buonvisi renewed his request for help, only to be told that the exhaustion of the Apostolic Camera made it impossible to give assistance. Finally, in view of the wishes of the peace parties whom Buonvisi had very properly opposed, Cibo coolly observed in a note in code of February 16th, 1686, that the Emperor was free either to make peace with the Turks or not, as he deemed best; but let him remember, that if peace was given them, the Turks would gather strength, and therefore it would be quite possible that they might attempt another siege of Vienna.[2] Leopold was much hurt by this answer, as also was Buonvisi. When, at the beginning of April, he was once again told by Rome that it was impossible to send any money, his excitement was such that he demanded his recall, but the Secretary of State replied that he did not deem it opportune to lay before the Pope the motives on which he based his request.[3] Rome set too high a value on so extraordinarily diligent a nuncio to forgo

as reinforcements to Europe. In Moscow the internuncio met with an extraordinarily friendly reception and credence was given to his reports at the court of Tsarina Sophia. *Cf.* Lippi, 168.

[1] For what follows, *cf.* Fraknói, 175 *seq.* Part of Buonvisi's reports used by him are printed in *Relat. card. Buonvisi*, 3 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 34.

[3] *Cf.* Buonvisi's reports and Cibo's replies, *ibid.*, 67 *seq.*, 79, 81.

the services of such a man, especially as his conduct was in full agreement with the Pope's intentions.[1]

For the rest, Buonvisi, who was easily roused, took too gloomy a view of the situation,[2] since the indirect subsidies, through the grant of ecclesiastical revenues, yielded fairly considerable sums. The result of the Spanish ecclesiastical tenth, for which both Buonvisi and the Pope greatly exerted themselves, proved indeed disappointing, but the renewal, in 1685,[3] of the Bull of the Crusade of Pius V. yielded excellent results. Spontaneous and important contributions for the Holy War reached Buonvisi from the most varied parts; thus from Switzerland the Bishop of Bâsle sent 12,000 florins, and the Abbot of St. Gall 6,000. The lesser Benedictine and Cistercian Abbeys contributed 2,200 florins; 3,000 florins came from Canton Fribourg; a similar sum from Hennegau, 10,500 thalers from Toledo, the archdiocese of Cardinal Portocarrero and 1,000 doubloons were contributed by the Archbishop of Saragossa.[4] Immense sums were contributed by the Austrian clergy. By permission of the Pope under date February 3rd, 1685, the clergy were authorized to alienate a third of whatever they had acquired within the last sixty years. On February 17th, 1686, Buonvisi was able to report to Rome that from this source he had put at the disposal of the imperial court, including advances paid in the previous summer, the sum of 826,000 florins and that he would presently hand in a further sum of 50,000 florins.[5] Buonvisi

[1] Redlich, 374–5.

[2] Fraknói, 205.

[3] *Relat. card. Buonvisi, Proleg.*, XLVIII.

[4] *Ibid.*, 31, 109, 136; Fraknói, 186, 209; Redlich, 375. On the contributions of the Swiss Abbots, *cf.* also Cibo's *letters to Buonvisi of June 9 and July 7, 1685, according to which 467 "scudi di moneta Romana" came from Canton Lucerne, *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 545, 584, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *Relat. card. Buonvisi*, 35. *Buonvisi, who was no friend of the Jesuits, had complained to Cibo on February 25, 1685, that the Fathers created difficulties for him with regard to the contributions (*Nunziat. di Germania*, 210, p. 161, *loc. cit.*). *Cibo replied

and Kollonitsch strictly enforced the levy ; at the conclusion in 1687 the total amounted to 1,600,000 florins.[1]

It was with the utmost satisfaction that Buonvisi and the Pope saw that the Emperor succeeded not only in retaining the princely allies in Germany who had so far sided with him, but in winning fresh adhesions to the League. Most important of all was the fact that the negotiations with the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, whose military power was great, led to a favourable issue. The Brandenburger broke at last with France and on January 4th, 1686, undertook to put 7,000 men in the field against the payment of 150,000 imperial thalers : this was followed on March 22nd by a treaty of alliance with the Emperor.[2] Max Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria, who had married the Emperor's daughter, Maria Antonia, on July 15th, promised 8,000 men and the Elector of Saxony likewise promised 4,700. The Elector of Cologne provided 2,900 men, the Circle of Franconia 3,000, that of Swabia 4,000, that of the Upper Rhine 1,500, and Sweden as a State of Empire 1,000. As in previous years the Austrian and Bohemian hereditary territories granted 3,623,000 florins and Hungary two millions.[3] Enthusiasm for the Holy War spread far and wide at this time. Nobles and commoners flocked to arms. As in the glorious days of the Crusades the youth of all nations, eager as they were for

on March 17, 1685, that the Jesuits might appeal to Rome if they found the imposts too onerous (*ibid.*, XXXVIII., p. 494). In his *reports of April 15 and May 27, 1685, Buonvisi complains of a lack of generosity on the part of several Abbots and the Archbishop of Salzburg (*ibid.*, 210, p. 323, 423).

[1] MAURER, *Kollonitsch*, 194. *Cf.* KAROLYI, 105 *seq.* According to *a letter of Cibo to Buonvisi of March 24, 1685, the following contributions were made : the Archbishop of Salzburg, 100,000 florins, viz. 75,000 *in denaro*, 25,000 in powder and ammunition ; the Bishop of Trent 20,000, the Bishop of Brixen 16,000 florins ; Mayence, Würzburg and Paderborn furnished troops. *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 497[b], 500, *loc. cit.*

[2] REDLICH, 367 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 373. *Cf.* RIETZLER, VII., 292 ; KAROLYI, 72 *seq.*

battle, hearkened to the Pope's call to arms against the Crescent. The number of volunteers was reckoned at 7,000.[1]

The total strength of the imperial army amounted to 56,000 men; it was once more commanded by Charles of Lorraine. In June 1686, it made a direct advance against Ofen.[2] The fortress, naturally very strong and abundantly provided with food and war material, was only defended by 7,000 Turks, but they were heroes and the aged Abdurrhaman Pasha was resolved to hold the important place at all costs.

The investment began on June 18th: the Elector of Bavaria took up a position to the south near the Gerhardsberg, or Blocksberg, whilst the Duke of Lorraine stood on the opposite side near Altofen, in a westerly direction towards Leopoldsfeld; then came the camp of the Brandenburgers towards the north-west and once more imperial troops and troops from the German Empire in the west and south-west. To this day the names of the great and the little Schwabenberg recall the memory of the Germans.

The attack began on June 20th, on the north side, against the Wasserstadt, which was abandoned by the Turks. They withdrew into the upper town, the citadel properly so-called, where they offered the most obstinate resistance. A bold attack on July 13th failed, even the explosion of a big powder magazine in the castle, which shook the earth within a wide radius, did not shake the courage of the Turks. A general assault on July 27th, at which the Franciscan Gabrieli

[1] Klopp, 402.

[2] Besides the accounts of Hammer (III., 784 *seq.*), Röder von Diersburg (I., 169 *seq.*), Klopp (401 *seq.*), Redlich (376 *seq.*), *cf.* especially the extensively documented work of Karolyi: *Buda és Pest visszavivasa 1686-ban* (*The reconquest of Ofen and Pest in the year 1686*), Budapest, 1886, and Von Zieglauer, *Die Befreiung Ofens von der Türkenherrschaft 1686*, Innsbruck, 1886. *Cf.* also the privately published *édition de luxe*, printed as a MS., of the following work: Fed. Cornaro, *ambasciatore Veneto. Avvisi circa l'assedio e la presa della fortezza di Buda nell'a, 1686.* Con traduz. ungher. ed introduz. stor. da S. Bubics, Budapest, 1891.

of Nizza, subsequently surnamed the "fiery Gabriel", made use of a kind of Greek fire, was frustrated of its object notwithstanding the utmost valour. The losses were very heavy on both sides. Abdurrhaman believed that a fresh assault would surely be driven off by the miraculous power of the prophet. His hopes rose even higher when he heard of the approach of a relief force under the leadership of Suleiman, the new Grand Vizier. When a second general assault on August 3rd also failed, the Duke of Lorraine, leaving a besieging force before Ofen, went to meet the Grand Vizier with an army of 40,000 men. In a series of bloody battles the army of relief was successfully driven back in the second half of August. This decided the fate of Ofen. A general assault in the afternoon of September 2nd led to the fall of the fortress within the space of a few hours. The greater part of the garrison died the death of heroes, including Abdurrhaman. Thus the latter met with a worthier end than Kara Mustafa who had been strangled on December 25th, 1683, by order of the Sultan.

At the decisive moment Marco d'Aviano wrote a brief account to the Emperor with a hand shaking with emotion: "Praised be God and Mary! Buda has been taken by storm. Your Majesty will be told particulars. It is a real miracle of the hand of God." [1] After 145 years of Moslem slavery the capital of Hungary, "Islam's frontier bulwark in Europe, the lock and key of the Ottoman Empire," [2] was once more in Christian hands. Nearly every nation and class in Europe had a share in the work: Germans of every tribe, Hungarians, Croats, Spanish Grandees, French Marquises, English Lords, Italian noblemen,[3] but likewise many commoners, among them sixty Catalans from Barcelona, had participated in a fight

[1] KLOPP, 405.

[2] HAMMER, III., 788.

[3] Among them the Roman Michele d'Aste who was the first to enter through the breach at the storming, but who soon succumbed to his wounds. For further details on this brave man, see LANCELOTTI in the work referred to below, p. 226, n. 2, p. 2 *seq.*, 10 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*

the issue of which called forth a storm of enthusiasm similar to that caused by the relief of Vienna.

Innocent XI, who was kept informed of every stage of the siege of Ofen by Buonvisi, had followed events with anxious expectation. He prayed unceasingly for a happy issue of the arduous undertaking.[1] His anxiety grew as the fall of the fortress was delayed. The Romans were scarcely less excited: the divergent reports caused a feverish commotion among the people.[2] At last, on September 8th, several couriers brought the good news so ardently longed for, though full certainty only came with the arrival of an eye-witness of the siege, Count De Saufre, whom Max Emmanuel had dispatched to the Pope with a short letter. Innocent detained the messenger for a full three hours. Salvoes from Castel S. Angelo and the clangour of all the bells announced the great victory to the Romans. During the night a messenger of Leopold I., Count Thun, also arrived; he was the bearer of an autograph letter from the Emperor.[3]

The great event was magnificently celebrated in Rome, The festivities opened with the ringing of all the bells of Rome for the space of one hour. Two days later the façade of St. Peter's was illuminated and a girandole was lighted on Castel S. Angelo. Thanksgiving services were held in all the churches. In the chapel of the Quirinal Mass was said by Cardinal Pio and at its conclusion the Pope himself intoned the *Te Deum*. Nobles and plebeians displayed equal enthusiasm in the celebrations. Joy was still further increased when news arrived that the Venetians had taken Nauplia.[4] The populace amused itself with caricatures of the Grand Vizier. Giacomo de' Rossi produced a firework which showed a

[1] Bernino, 148; Fraknói, 216.

[2] For details, see the rare work written for the occasion by Prince Filippo Lancelotti, *Pel secondo centenario della cacciata dei Turchi da Buda*, Roma, 1886, 20 *seq.*

[3] *Avviso* of September 14, 1686, in Lancelotti, 22 *seq.*

[4] Lancelotti, 24, 25. The Brief of congratulation to Venice on the conquest of Nauplia, dated October 12, 1686, in Berthier, II., 312 *seq.*

dying Turk whose heart was being torn by an eagle on whose head an angel was placing a crown.[1] The illumination of the palaces provided a magnificent spectacle, especially those of the envoys of Max Emmanuel and James II. A fairylike spectacle was presented by the so-called Towers of Nero, near the Convent of the Dominican nuns of S. Caterina a Magnanapoli, which the sisters had artistically illuminated.[2] Innocent XI. also had Requiem Masses said for the fallen and he distributed 4,000 scudi to the poor.[3] Count Thun received the Grand Cross of the Order of Malta and on the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria the Pope bestowed two crosses adorned with precious stones.[4] To the highly deserving Bishop Kollonitsch, the nuncio at Warsaw, Pallavicini, and to Sobieski's Roman agent, the priest Dönhoff, the purple had been granted already on September 2nd. In the words spoken by the Pope on that occasion : " Rejoice not in this elevation, but rejoice in the increase of the honour of Christendom," people saw a prophecy of the great event which occurred on that very day.[5] However, the Pope did not rely on such things, but rather on the intercession of the Mother of God. September 1683, had witnessed the deliverance of Vienna, and three years later, in the same month, took place the conquest of Ofen. Even before this, on hearing of the fall of Neuhäusel, certain devout Romans had founded a sodality of the Holy Name of Mary in the church of S. Stefano del Cacco. This gave Innocent XI. occasion to institute the September feast of the Holy Name of Mary on the Sunday after the feast of her nativity, in

[1] LANCELOTTI, 22 *seq.* ; FRAKNÓI, 222, n. 3.

[2] Avviso of September 31, 1686, in LANCELOTTI, 23 *seq.*

[3] BERNINO, 150.

[4] LANCELOTTI, 27. Congratulatory Briefs to Leopold I. and Max Emmanuel, September 22 and 27, 1686, in BERTHIER, II., 307 *seq.* ; to Charles of Lorraine, *ibid.*, 315. The latter's letter, dated Buda, September 14, 1686, in LANCELOTTI, 26.

[5] LIPPI, 169 *seq.* ; Lancelotti, 25 *seq.* For the creations of Cardinals, see also below, Ch. VI.

memory of the great victories of 1683 and 1686,[1] whilst the feast of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, was transferred by him to September 2nd, the day on which Ofen was reconquered for Christendom.[2]

The Bishops of Italy were instructed by the Pope to celebrate the conquest of Ofen with a *Te Deum* and Masses for the souls of the fallen.[3] The event called forth immense joy even beyond the boundaries of Italy, and there was an explosion of enthusiasm for the crusade. Innumerable pamphlets and more than 70 commemorative medals bear witness to the fact. It was felt that this new blow to Islam was a much heavier one than even the catastrophe of three years earlier. The boundaries of the Turkish power, which had been so near but a short while ago, were now for ever pushed very far back.[4]

The congratulations which came to the Pope from all sides [5] were well deserved. Even as late as the end of August,

[1] *Brief of August 4, 1688, Papal Sec. Arch. By a *Brief of May 16, 1689, he raised the confraternity into an archconfraternity; *cf. Archivio dell' Arciconfraternità del SS. Nome di Maria* attached to the church of S. Nome di Maria, erected in 1738 on the site of a church of St. Bernard. *Cf.* Biagio della Purificazione, Carmelitano scalzo della provincia Romana: *Narrazioni delle più insigni vittorie riportate dai fedeli per intercessione della SS. Madre di Dio dagl'anni di Christo 534 fino al 1683*, Roma, 1687. The Acts of the Archives show that Leopold I. became a member of the Archconfraternity. In 1697 he sent it a large Turkish banner and "alcune insegne". To this day the church is under the patronage of the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See and as such I was able to be of service to it at the end of the World War. Every year a *Requiem* is held there for the Austrian dead in the Turkish war.

[2] See the Brief to Leopold I. of November 27, 1686, in Theiner, *Monuments*, 314 *seq.*; Lippi, 170; Lancelotti, 27.

[3] *Cf.* Card. Carlo Pio's *letter of September 21, 1686, to Leopold I., State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Redlich, 386. On the commemorative medals, see Gohl, in *Numizmatiki Közlöny*, IV., 34 *seq.*; VI, 96; Lancelotti, 32.

[5] Many such *letters in *Lett. di princ.*, Papal Sec. Arch., among them *one from the King of Spain, dated Madrid, November 14,

he had sought, as Buonvisi puts it, to make sure that he had a part in the deliverance of Hungary's most important city and fortress by sending a subsidy of 100,000 florins.[1] There was, therefore, every reason for the remark of the new King of England, James II., when he said to nuncio Adda in accents of joyful emotion : " It is the Holy Father who has conquered Ofen, just as he relieved Vienna. Not for centuries has such a Pope sat on the chair of Peter." [2] To the campaign of 1687, Innocent XI. also made most liberal contributions. About mid-April the tireless Buonvisi had the joy of receiving a bill of exchange for 100,000 florins, which was followed by another for 200,000 florins at a later date. Part of this money the Pope desired to be expended on fortifying Ofen, part on the payment of the garrison in the frontier posts ; the remainder was to be spent on mobilization.[3]

In a letter of November 8th, 1686, the Elector of Bavaria felt confident enough to express to the Pope the hope that the next campaign, that of 1687, would lead to a victorious termination of the Turkish war.[4] However, the military

1686, which ascribes the capture of Ofen to the " continuados paternales auxilios de V.S.".

[1] See Cibo's letter of August 24 and 31, 1686, in *Relat. card. Buonvisi.*

[2] See Adda's report of September 15, 1686, in CAMPANA DE CAVELLI, *Les derniers Stuarts*, II., 118. Innocent XI.'s large part in the liberation of Hungary from the domination of the Turks has recently been put in a clearer light by FRAKNÓI's publication to which I have frequently alluded, as well as the following works of J. J. ACSADY : *Der Entsatz Wiens 1683 und die Befreiung Ungarns vom Türkenjoch bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz*, Budapest, 1909, and *Ungarns Befreiung von der Türkenherrschaft 1683–1669, ibid.*, 1909.

[3] FRAKNÓI, 245 *seq.*

[4] " *Io spero che la campagna prossima debba esser l'ultima di questa guerra e che la christianità trionfante giungendo palme a palme habbia ad assicurarsi li acquisti con sempre più rilevanti vittorie, benchè non si sappia quali aiuti siano per avere le armi imperiali da' principi protestanti." *Lett. di princ.*, 120. The original, entirely in the Elector's own hand, is in *Lett. di princ.*, 120, Papal Sec. Arch.

operations which, once more, were not resumed till June, led to a set-back in July, though this defeat was more than compensated for on August 12th by the splendid victory on Mount Harsan over the vast army of Grand Vizier Suleiman. Disappointment at this defeat led to a mutiny of the Janissaries and the Spahis. The rebels demanded the head of the Grand Vizier. When their request had been complied with on October 8th, they also extorted the deposition of Sultan Mohammed IV., and on November 9th, 1687, the latter's brother ascended the shaky throne under the name of Suleiman II. The Janissaries and Spahis were determined to retain uncontrolled power, and in this way it came about that the Turkish capital was subject for a time to all the horrors of a military insurrection. These upheavals came most opportunely for the imperialists. Erlau fell on December 7th, 1687, and Munkácz, Thököly's last position, on January 19th, 1688, whilst Charles of Lorraine was making preparations for the conquest of Transilvania.[1]

The Venetians, who had taken Nauplia (Napoli di Romania) at the end of August 1686, went from victory to victory in the course of the year 1687, aided as they were with tenths by Innocent XI.[2] Morosini, who earned for himself the title of " The Peloponnesian ", took Corinth in August. At the end of the following month the Count of Königsmarck occupied Athens, though not before that marvel of ancient Greek art, the Parthenon, which the Turks had turned into a powder magazine, had suffered grievous injury as the result of an explosion. At the same time Girolamo Cornaro seized the

[1] Hammer, III., 798 *seq.*, 806 *seq.*; Röder von Diersburg, II., 9 *seq.*; Klopp, 408 *seq.*; Redlich, 389 *seq.*

[2] *Tre altri sussidii [for the first sussidio, 1684, see above, p. 205] per la stessa guerra furono successivamente accordati a detta Repubblica dal medesimo Pontefice parimente di 100.000 scudi d'oro li 14 Aprile 1687, li 19 Febraro 1688 da pagare ambedue in quelli anni respettivamente et il terzo li 24 Dicembre del detto anno 1688 da pagarsi il sussequente anno. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 213, p. 233, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* the Brief of May 10, 1687, in Berthier, II., 347.

important fortress of Castelnuovo on the Dalmatian coast and 1688 saw the fall of the frontier fortress of Knin.[1]

The Pope followed these decisive battles with interest and satisfaction [2]; hence his disappointment was all the keener when in 1687 Sobieski had to show merely the same failures as in 1686.[3] In July 1687, the Secretary of State, Cibo, wrote

[1] HAMMER, III., 793 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 132 *seq.*, 137; LABORDE, *Athènes*, II., 98 *seq.*,; KLOPP, 406 *seq.*; *cf.* also GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra ausiliaria*, 409 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*; F. PFISTER, *Der Krieg von Morea in den Jahren 1687 und 1688, eine Erinnerung an deutsche Taten, besonders als Beitrag zur hessischen Kriegsgeschichte*, Kassel, 1845; F. VOLPATO, *Dispaccio di Morosini, capitano generale da mar, intorno al bombardamento ed alla presa di Atene l'anno 1687*, Venezia, 1862 (pubblicazione per nozze).

[2] See the congratulations to Venice, August 16; to Leopold I., September 13; to Charles of Lorraine, September 20, and again to Venice because of Castelnuovo, October 19, 1687, in BERTHIER, II., 359–361, 364 *seq.* For the celebrations in Rome, *cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 441 *seq.*

[3] On November 19, 1686, Cibo writes as follows on the results of the campaign of 1686: " *Reca particolare amarezza all'animo zelantissimo di N. S. il sentir, che colla speranza delle scritte vittorie che svaniscano, manchi pur quella, ch'erasi già concepita della ritenzione di Jassi, e degl'altri forti, che si presupponevano acquistati dall'armi Polacche. Quello che più rilieva e duole a S. B^ne^ è il considerarsi, che colla riflessione di non essersi fatto dalle armi medesime alcun acquisto con perdita di tempo e con profusione di tanto denaro somministrato dalla generosa beneficenza pontificia, si venisse dalla Dieta generale, alla risoluzione di far la pace col Turco per distaccarsi dalla Lega, o pur la Dieta medesima si disciogliesse senza conclusione, con che si verrebbe a mancare non meno de' mezzi, fin qui nè pur somministrati dal regno per la continuazione della guerra, che non si è fatta, che dell'autorità di poterla fare nella futura campagna" (*Nunziat. di Polonia*, 185, p. 346, Papal Sec. Arch.). At this time Innocent XI. strove to prevent a Polish separate peace; *cf.* Cibo's *letter of November 23, 1686, *ibid.*, 347^b^. Pallavicini wrote as follows on the Poles when discussing the failure of the campaign: " *Questa natione è buona ne primi impeti et ove non bisogna

to the nuncio at Warsaw that the Poles had no ground for complaint against the Muscovites, for the latter had loyally carried out their obligations in accordance with article 10 of the treaty, whereas one did not see a like readiness on the part of the Poles.[1] On August 16th Cibo complained that the fear was unhappily being realized that the Poles would not take the field at all, or would only do so, so late and so slowly that nothing would be achieved; the Turks had been able to fortify Kamieniec without molestation, and it was only too true that the Hungarian rebels and the people of Transilvania were negotiating with Poland.[2] Sobieski ascribed the total failure of the campaign to the withdrawal of the Muscovites.[3] To this the Secretary of State very properly replied that instead of laying all the blame on others, the King should for once attack on his own account.[4] The Pope was particularly annoyed by the circumstance that the generals were unable to undertake anything because Sobieski kept announcing that he would himself take the field, but never did so.[5]

Whilst in 1688 also no deeds followed Sobieski's plans,[6]

operare con providentia et attendere con patienza le congiunture, e se ha tempo di riflettere al pericolo, rimette molto del suo fervore et vale assai meno." Letter to Cibo of November 10, 1686, *ibid.*, 102, p. 293 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* Cibo's **Cifra* to Pallavicini, dated July 12, 1687, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 186, p. 22 *seq.*, *ibid.*

[2] Cibo's **Cifra* to Pallavicini, August 16, 1687, *ibid.*, p. 26b.

[3] Cibo's **Cifra* to Pallavicini, October 18, 1687, *ibid.*, p. 40.

[4] Cibo's **Cifra* to Pallavicini, October 25, 1687, *ibid.*

[5] Cibo's **Cifra* to Pallavicini, November 17, 1687, *ibid.* On Jacopo Cantelmi, who had been sent to Poland as nuncio extraordinary in connection with the Turkish war, see the Brief of November 8, 1687, BERTHIER, II., 367. In the **Vita critica de' cardinali* the purpose of his mission is said to be: "esplorare la vera causa per la quale il re Giovanni s'asteneva dal proseguire contro il Turco, benchè pur troppo si fosse persuaso (Innocent XI.) che ciò succedeva per opera de' Francesi," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[6] Cibo's **Cifra* to Cantelmi, October 31, November 7, December 11, 1688, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 186, p. 128b *sec.*, *loc. cit.*

the imperialists were once more able to show magnificent successes. On May 19th, 1688, Caprara took Stuhlweissenburg. On June 17th Leopold I., whose eldest son Joseph had been crowned King of Hungary on December 9th, 1687,[1] obtained the protectorate of Transilvania where he guaranteed freedom of religion.[2] A month later the imperial army, led by the Elector of Bavaria, stood before Belgrad, and on September 6th this important fortress, the "key to the Balkans", was wrested from the Turks, notwithstanding their desperate resistance. Almost at the same time Margrave Louis of Baden, who had penetrated into Bosnia, defeated the Turks at Derbent.[3] Small wonder if bold plans of conquest, fanned by the fiery Marco d'Aviano, were entertained at the imperial court.[4] However, at this point Louis XIV. stepped in.

The King of France had hoped that the Emperor would waste his energy in the gigantic struggle with the Turks; hence he did his best to prevent the conclusion of peace between Leopold and the Sultan, whilst at the same time he ever kept in mind his plan of definitively consolidating his conquests on the Rhine.[5]

The danger that threatened from Louis XIV. did not escape Innocent XI. But was there no possibility, by meeting the wishes of the King of France half-way, of preventing a

[1] TURBA, I., 78 *seq.*; REDLICH, 533.

[2] KRONES, *Zur Gesch. Ungarns* (1667–1683), Vienna, 1894, 35 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* RÖDER VON DIERSBURG, II., 66 *seq.*; KLOPP, 418 *seq.*; REDLICH, 405 *seq.*, 407 *seq.* Congratulatory Brief to Max Emmanuel who had announced the capture of Belgrad by special couriers, in BERTHIER, II., 405. *Ibid.*, 412, congratulations to Leopold I. on his success in Hungary, dated September 25, 1688. On December 27, 1688, Innocent XI. thanked the Elector of Bavaria for the gift of some of the banners captured at Belgrad (*ibid.*, 422). *Cf.* also BERNINO, 189.

[4] RÖDER VON DIERSBURG, II., 87 *seq.*; *Corrisp. di Marco d'Aviano*, 177; REDLICH, 409.

[5] Besides FRAKNÓI, 163 *seq.*, *cf.* KAROLYI's account in Ch. I. of the work mentioned above, p. 224, n. 2.

conflict with the Emperor, and of thus assuring the continuation of the Turkish war much better than had been done by the armistice of Ratisbon, which in point of fact, contained numerous germs of future complications ? Among the disputes then left in suspense, one of the most weighty was the question of Lorraine. Duke Charles continued to insist on compensation being made to him for his hereditary territory of which the French had robbed him. Not alone concern for the prosecution of the Turkish war, but a feeling of gratitude also for that most deserving Duke, strengthened Innocent's determination to take up his claim. Linked with these efforts was also a plan previously cherished by Innocent XI.,[1] namely that of mobilizing the strongest military power in Europe against the traditional enemy of the Christian faith and thereby to set a worthy goal for the warlike ambition of the *Roi Soleil.* Innocent XI. thought highly both of Louis' personal qualities and of his financial and military resources.[2] If he succeeded in getting such a monarch to join the Holy League, the destruction of Turkey's power would no longer seem impossible. The ill successes of the imperial arms in 1684 strengthened the Pope in his view that without the help of France, a decisive blow against the Turks was scarcely to be thought of. That is why he sought a solution of the question of Lorraine. Towards the end of January 1685, the Paris nuncio, Ranuzzi, reported that it would be difficult to obtain anything in this matter,[3] and at the close of the same year certain remarks

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 185.

[2] *Cf.* the account of Abbé Servient, February 17, 1685, of his conversations with the Pope, in GÉRIN, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXIV., 415.

[3] *Ranuzzi to Cibo on January 24, 1685. Ranuzzi is doubtful of success, " essendo troppo fissa la mira, che qui si ha di ritenerla per le conseguenze che porta seco, in risguardo alle cose del Reno, il cui acquisto è forsi il fine delle applicazioni presenti di questa corona. Il Ministro dell'Imperatore ultimamente venuto, mi ha detto di haver ordine di fare istanza per l'accennata restitutione ; onde io starò sull'avviso per coadiuvare in quanto sarà possibile le di lui premure, le quali per il bene di quel Duca

by Croissy only confirmed him in this opinion. For all that he made yet another attempt with Louis XIV., but no sooner had he alluded, with the utmost caution, to the question of Lorraine, than the King told him decisively to drop the subject. Ranuzzi replied that he had only referred to the matter because its solution would redound to the King's honour. But Louis abruptly cut short all further discussion.[1] Rome, however, continued to look for a solution. In July 1685, the Pope sounded the court of Vienna on the possibility of a definite cession of Lorraine, since Duke Charles would be compensated out of the conquests to be made elsewhere with the help of the French King.[2] Buonvisi suggested that instead of future conquests the Duke be compensated with Transilvania. However, the Emperor's ministers, above all, Charles himself, emphatically declined these plans for an exchange. None the less Innocent XI. returned to them more than once in the ensuing years.[3]

In the first days of September 1686, Croissy told the Paris nuncio that the restoration of the Duchy of Lorraine was not

è più da desiderare che da sperare, che siano per haver buona riuscita." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172[a], p. 222, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] According to Ranuzzi Louis had said: "*che senza quello stato non havrebbe lasciato di essere quel gran re, ch'egli è; senza lasciarmi passare più avanti, mi replicò con atto quasi di sdegno: non non, ne parlez pas de cela, e aggiunse: oh il faut prendre d'autre moyen: volendo tal volta inferire a ciò che già mi disse il sig. di Croissy, cioè che S. A. era sempre stata unita co i nemici di S. M[tà], e che haveva prestato le armi contro di essa. Letter of Cibo, November 26, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 373.

[2] See *Cibo's instructions to Buonvisi, July 14, August 25, October 12, 1685, used by Fraknói, 164 *seq.*; also *Cibo to Buonvisi, September 1, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 590[b] *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, 209, p. 212 *seq.* Buonvisi's *letter to Cibo, November 4, 1685: "The members of the League are afraid of an alliance with France; Venice does not wish to see the French fleet in the Gulf as she fears for her sovereignty there. Vienna does not want any French troops, but France will not give money alone."

[3] Fraknói, 165 *seq.*; Immich, 40 *seq.*

to be thought of, as such a step would be against the security of France and the welfare of the State. Ranuzzi replied that Charles would probably be willing to give up this place or that, though not the whole Duchy.[1] Despite the uncertain outlook Ranuzzi was instructed in February and March, 1686, to work for a solution of the question.[2] Thereupon a confidant of La Chaize proposed to indemnify Duke Charles with Mecklenburg, but both Ranuzzi and Cardinal Cibo very properly refused to fall in with such a suggestion.[3] Innocent XI. was not discouraged by these failures. In June, 1686, the nuncio was once more commanded to attempt a settlement.[4]

Whilst these efforts for a solution of the problem of Lorraine were still in progress, symptoms appeared of a fresh dispute between France and the Emperor which gave rise to grave fears for the preservation of peace and, consequently, for the continuation of the Turkish war.[5]

By the death, on May 26th, 1685, of the Palatine Charles, the Simmern branch of the Electors Palatine, which adhered to Calvinism, became extinct in the male line. On the basis of the Peace of Westphalia, both the electoral dignity and the territory fell to Philip Wilhelm, the Catholic Count Palatine of Neuburg. The allodial possessions of the deceased

[1] *Ranuzzi to Cibo, February 4, 1686, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172[a], p. 402, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, February 26 and March 5, 1686, *ibid.*, p. 59 and 61.

[3] *Ranuzzi to Cibo, March 25, 1686, and *Cibo to Ranuzzi, April 16, 1686, *ibid.*, p. 427 and 63.

[4] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, July 9, 1686, *ibid.*, p. 76.

[5] How ill-timed this dispute—the Palatine question—seemed to the Pope, on account of the Turkish war, was emphasized by him in a Brief of June 30, 1685, to the Elector of Cologne, Maximilian Henry, whom the Pontiff requests to lend support to the efforts made with Louis XIV. for a settlement; see Berthier, II., 241; *Ibid.*, 243, in similar strain to James II. *Cf.* also Cibo's *instructions to Buonvisi (not referred to by Immich, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Orleansschen Krieges*) of June 30, 1685, *Nunziat. di Germania*, XXXVIII., p. 558[b], Papal Sec. Arch.

were inherited by his sister Elizabeth Charlotte, known under the name of Liselotte, who was married to Duke Philip of Orléans, Louis XIV.'s brother. As was to be foreseen, Louis XIV. promptly interpreted the claims of his sister-in-law in so wide a sense that, had they been satisfied, the best parts of the Palatinate, the Duchy of Simmern and the Counties of Sponheim and Lautern, would have become French possessions. The Pope judged the dispute exclusively from the standpoint which he invariably maintained, that is, the possibility for the Emperor to prosecute energetically the war against the Turks through the preservation of peace between France and the Empire. From the first he did everything in his power for a peaceful settlement and he rejoiced greatly when in October 1685, Louis XIV. announced his willingness to leave the decision to papal arbitration.[1] In order to remove the objection which the Emperor and the Elector raised against it, he proposed, instead of arbitration, the more harmless process of mediation. But even this displeased both the Elector and the Emperor. Leopold I. would have been glad to thwart the mediation, without offending his ally in the struggle against the Turks. Thus the situation became equivocal. At Rome it was taken for granted that the Emperor and the Duke had agreed to mediation, whereas in fact neither was willing to accept it, or they were only prepared to submit to it in a very limited measure. It was not till the beginning of 1687 that they were prevailed upon to make somewhat wider concessions.[2] For the rest Innocent XI. confined himself strictly within the limits of his powers. When the Duke of Orléans requested the Pope to put him provisionally in possession of the Palatine territory to which he aspired,[3] the latter answered him briefly but decisively in the negative.[4]

[1] IMMICH, *Zur Vorgeschichte*, 21 *seq.*, 26.

[2] IMMICH, *Innocenz XI.*, 45 *seq.*

[3] See in IMMICH, *Zur Vorgeschichte*, 94, the anonymous letter forwarded by the Paris nuncio Ranuzzi, on July 22, 1686.

[4] See the Brief of August 20, 1686, in BERTHIER, II., 287. *Cf.* IMMICH, *Zur Vorgesch.*, 100, 105.

In the sequel the Pope's action as a mediator was rendered much more difficult by the change in Louis XIV.'s policy after the conquest of Ofen. The laurels which Leopold's armies had won for themselves in Hungary would not let the King of France sleep. The man who wanted to be first in Europe, was forced to look on whilst the Emperor became the leader in the great struggle against the traditional enemy of Christendom, and the Turk, who was to have crushed the power of the Habsburgs, became the unwilling instrument of their unexpected rise.[1] Within the Empire also Louis could no longer count on Brandenburg, nor even on Bavaria. That a revulsion of feeling had arisen in that quarter was clearly shown by the league which the Emperor concluded in the summer of 1686 with a number of Princes of Empire as well as with Spain.[2] Even though the "League of Augsburg" was condemned to inaction in consequence of the disunion and egoism of individual States of the Empire, it nevertheless provided the King of France with a welcome pretext for carrying out certain works of fortification on the right bank of the Rhine in defiance of every treaty, in order to meet an alleged threat to his borders.[3]

[1] Redlich, 410 *seq.*

[2] Fester, *Die Augsburger Allianz*, Munich, 1893.

[3] *Ranuzzi to Cibo, September 9, 1686: "It is said at court and in the city that the King of France has obtained from the King of England a copy of a treaty which the Protestant princes are said to have agreed to at Augsburg. Its object is said to be the maintenance of the Catholic religion where it exists and its restoration where it had been suppressed. This is interpreted as a fresh effort to induce the King to confirm anew the Edict of Nantes. The Austrians deny that anything of the kind was concluded at Augsburg; that the whole thing has been invented in order to give a semblance of justice to a war against Germany (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 172a, p. 530, *loc. cit.*). Cibo's *reply of October 1: Card. Pio and the Spanish agent openly declare that nothing of the kind stood in the treaty of Augsburg—that its sole purpose was to secure the peace of Nymeguen (*ibid.*, 84). *Ranuzzi to Cibo, October 7, 1686: The French have built a fortress opposite Hüningen, on the territory of the Margrave of

Innocent XI.'s attitude in regard to these proceedings clearly shows that the corner stone of his policy was the prosecution of the Turkish war. Accordingly he strove to prevent at all costs a rupture between France and the Emperor. In Paris, through Ranuzzi, he sought to dispel the fear of aggression by the Emperor on the conclusion of the Turkish war, and prayed for a stop to be put to military preparations, whilst at Vienna, through Buonvisi, he endeavoured to induce the Emperor to make a peaceful gesture. At the same

Baden. To Count Lobkowitz' protest Croissy replied that they must provide against that which had been done at Augsburg, lest they be taken by surprise (*ibid.*, 536). *October 14 : The French are said to demand an oath of loyalty from divers German lords in the neighbourhood of the occupied territories (*ibid.*, 547). *October 21 : The court of Paris is loud against the alliance of Augsburg. The King was too generous when he agreed to the armistice of Ratisbon. To his kindness and restraint was due the conquest of Buda. They talk as if the Alliance had already dispatched 60,000 men to the Rhine. Soon the King, too, would have so many troops there as to enable him to resist any attack. If the war against the Turks suffered thereby, the fault was not his (*ibid.*, 548 *seq.*). *November 25 : Brandenburg, too, has protested against the occupation of German territory (*ibid.*, 570 *seq.*). *December 2 : The King said it was a good thing for him that his opponents had betrayed their intentions betimes. They would find him ready. Places near the Rhine were filling with soldiers. Yet another fort is being constructed on an island near Philippsburg (p. 572). *December 9 : Troops are being sent into the district of Coblenz and Trèves (578). December 30 : *The fortresses at Hüningen and Geisenheim are being enlarged, though hostile intentions against Germany are denied and the whole is said to be solely for security. The garrison towns in Alsace are full of soldiers. It is thought that the fort of Geisenheim is meant to facilitate the throwing of a bridge over the Rhine, though such bridges are forbidden by the peace treaties of Münster and Nymeguen. People think that all this was done in order that the King might derive the greatest possible advantage from the situation. It may be that the intention also is to restrain the Huguenots who are waiting for a foreign attack (*ibid.*, 582).

time he condemned the "useless, nay dangerous" League of Augsburg.[1] That treaty, however, remained in force, despite the Pope's representations. On the other hand he succeeded at last in crossing the plans of those people at Vienna who urged the conclusion of peace with the Turks and in strengthening the Emperor in his determination to prosecute the war against them. Innocent XI. pursued neither a French nor an Austrian policy; his one concern was the preservation of peace and the prosecution of the Turkish war which was so closely connected with it.[2]

It was precisely at this point that France intervened. A remark by Buonvisi, misunderstood and inadvisedly exploited by the Paris nuncio Ranuzzi,[3] provided the desired opportunity, in December 1686, for requesting the Pope to mediate for a peace which would guarantee to France the permanent possession of all "reunions".[4] Innocent XI. realized full well what a feeble guarantee of peace the armistice of Ratisbon was, hence he was at first full of enthusiasm for the project of a definitive peace, especially as Cardinal D'Estrées held out the hope of a considerable money subsidy for the Turkish war in the event of the plan succeeding. But when Cardinal Pio had enlightened the Pope on the exceedingly slender chance of success, he laid the affair before a Congregation of Cardinals. That body also pointed out the far greater danger to the peace of Europe, and to the prosecution of the Turkish war, if the mediation were begun but failed to yield a favourable result. Thereupon Innocent

[1] See the accounts in IMMICH, *Zur Vorgesch.*, 126, 132 *seq.*, 134 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 161, 166; *Id.*, *Innocenz XI.*, 43 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 56.

[3] TRENTA, II., 80 *seq.*

[4] IMMICH, *Zur Vorgesch.*, 161 *seq.*; *Id.*, *Innocenz XI.*, 58. Here convincing proof is adduced to show that neither the Pope nor the nuncios had instigated the transformation of the armistice of Ratisbon in the manner suggested by Louis XIV. This disposes of DROYSEN'S figment (*Preussische Politik*, III.[2], 550 *seq.*) of a vast Catholic plot.

XI. declined.[1] Out of the grave embarrassment in which the French Government was thereby involved, it nevertheless managed to save two small gains. The first was Leopold's solemn declaration that he would strictly observe the armistice of Ratisbon on the termination of the Turkish war; the other was that he would refrain from protesting against France's latest encroachments. Both these gains were due to the mediation of Innocent XI., whose one concern it was to insure the prosecution of the Turkish war.[2]

Though in the course of these latest negotiations the Pope came to realize increasingly that his repeated representations and earnest exhortations would not restrain Louis XIV.'s lust of conquest, he was nevertheless resolved to avoid whatever might give the King a solid reason for complaint.[3] Not so the King of France. Since the Pope was not prepared to allow himself to be used as a willing tool in political questions any more than in ecclesiastical ones, he resolved to obtain his ends by violent measures. He was, however, destined to experience one grievous disappointment. In the dispute of the quarters [4] Innocent firmly insisted on his rights as a sovereign ; and in the question of filling the archiepiscopal see of Cologne, for which Louis had in view one of his own partisans, he strictly defended the independence of the Church. Even the occupation of Avignon and Venaissin did not break his spirit.[5] But perhaps an even severer blow to the aged Pontiff than this act of violence, was the final failure of his efforts on behalf of peace between France and the Emperor. An energetic prosecution of the Turkish war was now no longer to be thought of. Belgrad had fallen on September 6th, 1688. Within that same month Louis XIV.

[1] *Ibid.*, 173 *seq.*, 177 *seq.* ; *Id.*, *Innocenz XI.*, 59. *Cf.* KLOPP, III., 293, 540. That the Pope could not refuse from the first is admitted by ERDMANNSDÖRFER also (I., 719).

[2] *Id.*, *Innocenz XI.*, 61 *seqq.*

[3] *Id.*, *Zur Vorgesch.*, 185 *seq.*, 196 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*, 227 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 254.

[4] See above, p. 194, and below, Ch. V.

[5] Below, Ch. IV.

came to the rescue of the Turks by ordering his soldiers to advance into the Palatinate, Mayence and Trèves. The Turks, who were already negotiating for peace at Vienna, and who were prepared to make extensive concessions in order to secure it, now demanded, at the instigation of France, the renunciation by the Emperor, of Belgrad and Transilvania.[1]

To complete the misfortune this was also the moment when Innocent felt compelled to limit his support of the Turkish war which he had hitherto given on so magnificent a scale. Up to this time he had given five millions to the Emperor, whilst he had also sent large sums to Poland and lent assistance to Venice. The impossibility of continuing his liberality on such a scale was all the greater as an earthquake in the Pontifical States, more particularly at Benevento, had caused great misery, which demanded immediate relief.[2] To this was added the fact that in view of Louis XIV.'s threats, the Pope had to think of his own security and to guard against a sudden attack.[3] For all that, with the magnanimous trust in God so characteristic of the Habsburgs,[4] Leopold I. came to the heroic decision to take up the struggle on both fronts, though that against the Turks would be only a defensive one. Whilst Sobieski was preparing fresh disappointments for the Pope,[5] it was a supreme satisfaction

[1] Redlich, 549 *seq.* On the irritation of the French, see Gérin, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIII., 121 *seq.*; Ios. Weiss, *Berichte* [Archives Wallerstein] *über die Eroberung Belgrads vom Jahre 1688*, in *Ungarische Revue*, XV. (1895), 73–97.

[2] *Theatrum Europ.*, XIII., 607. According to Guarnacci (110), the Pope gave 150,000 ducats on this occasion.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIII., 602 *seq.*, 962; Klopp, *Stuart*, IV., 412. *Cf.* below, Ch. IV.

[4] Redlich, 421.

[5] In the summer of 1688 Innocent XI. was busy preventing a rupture between Poland and the Emperor. Sobieski looked on Walachia as an old dependence of his kingdom; hence the threat of a rupture with the Emperor was imminent (*Cibo to Buonvisi, August 7, 1688, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 209, Papal Sec. Arch.). Buonvisi *replied on August 29 that the imperial army would have to be quartered along the Danube as far as Nikopolis, which would

for Innocent XI. that notwithstanding the French attack on the Rhineland, the Emperor persevered in the war against

be impossible without including Walachia ; Poland might extend in Moldavia (*ibid.*). On September 11 Cibo told Buonvisi to warn against further irritation of Sobieski : " a cui alla presente amarezza dell'improviso matrimonio della margravia di Razvil col principe Carlo Palatino ogni prudenza vuole, che non si diano giusti pretesti di separarsi dalla Lega." On October 3 Buonvisi tells Cibo : It is surmised that the King of Poland, in agreement with the Tartars and with a view to subjecting the nobility of Walachia, accepted gifts from the Walachian, in return for which he was to preserve him from an invasion by the imperialists. The people of Walachia would like to be under the Emperor so as to be freed from the tyranny of the nobles. Buonvisi works against the garrisoning of Walachia. That marriage has blinded the Polish King with passion. For the rest, after what he has done for Vienna, he never showed the same zeal. He supported Thököly, as is shown by his letters, and has intentions on Transilvania. Cibo replied on November 6 : The Pope would be glad if the Emperor would write to Sobieski and his wife so as to remove all suspicion that he had anything to do in the affair of the Radziwill-Neuburg marriage. To this Buonvisi replied on November 29 : The imperial envoy in Berlin has promoted the marriage, thinking that he was thereby doing service to the Empress (the sister of Charles of Neuburg). For that reason one does not wish to blame him. For the rest the Emperor says that John III. had no reason to be angry with him for John had never hinted that he wanted the Radziwill princess for his son ; that he himself had only discussed the affair, in the utmost secrecy, with the French ambassador ; that in fact, he allowed himself to be guided by the latter. Cibo replied to Buonvisi : Mgr. Cantelmi has conceived the plan, which must be known to Buonvisi, of a marriage between James of Poland and a daughter of the Elector Palatine. The Pope supports the affair in the accompanying Brief to the Emperor (dated November 20, in BERTHIER, II., 419). Aim : a close alliance between the courts of Vienna and Warsaw. To this Buonvisi answered on December 5 : Cantelmi's plan has been repeatedly proposed but met with obstacles : however, he had handed over the Brief to the Emperor. On December 12 he communicates the latter's

the traditional enemy. News of the brilliant victory over the Turks won by Margrave Louis of Baden at Batudjina in

reply : The Emperor, since there is question of a " fatto alieno ", has passed on the affair to the Elector Palatine, but he is aware that the elder daughter is promised to the Duke of Parma, the second to the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, whilst the third is not yet marriageable. On December 11 Cibo writes to Buonvisi : The King of Poland has sent a letter to the Pope in which he expresses his resentment of the Radziwill-Neuburg marriage. The Pope replied in a Brief of which he sends a copy, the contents of which Buonvisi should communicate to the Emperor by word of mouth. Aim : the Emperor should inform the King of Poland that he had had nothing to do with the marriage and that the envoy had acted on his own authority. On January 2, 1689, Buonvisi informs the Secretary of State that he read the Brief addressed to Sobieski to the Emperor. The latter is now willing to write to Sobieski but says that he was acquainted with the latter's letters to the Pope and the Palatine, and that these were so sharp that little could be hoped for. James' election as King of Poland would be made not easier but more difficult by such a marriage. The Princess Palatine, the Emperor's sister, would remain a simple Polish noble lady. On April 17, 1689, Buonvisi reports that Sobieski wanted not only Moldavia, which the Emperor readily yielded up to him, but likewise Walachia, which obviously lay in the latter's sphere of interests. Innocent XI. found it hard to give up the hope that Sobieski would comply with his exhortation of November 20, 1688, to prosecute the war against the Turks (Berthier, II., 420). The Italian tenth was extended on November 25, 1688 (*Bull.*, XIX., 926 *seq.*). In his *letter of December 11, 1688, to Cantelmi, Cibo complains bitterly of Sobieski's " vasti disegni " for the forthcoming campaign ; up till then deeds had never corresponded to plans (*Nunziat. di Polonia*, 186, Papal Sec. Arch.). Further developments are made clear in the following *letters of Cibo to Cantelmi : 1689, April 2 : The Poles want to carry on the war against the Turks single-handed should the Emperor make peace. The nuncio had spoken strongly against this. They had not achieved much whilst the Turks were being attacked by the League ; what could they do alone ? (*ibid.*, p. 141). May 14 : The *consilium postcomitiale* is resolved on an early campaign (p. 147). May 21 :

Serbia, on August 30th, 1689, only reached Rome on September 13th, when the Pope was no longer among the living.[1]

The Pope is glad to hear Sobieski is lending 200,000 florins to the Republic. The Diet has asked the nuncio for papal subsidies. The Holy Father approves (1) that the nuncio gives no subsidies *anticipatamente*; (2) that when the army sets out he pays 7 florins monthly for every infantryman. Since the 50,000 florins recently handed to the nuncio by Rezzonico are inadequate, the Pope grants another 50,000 (p. 148a-b). June 4: Further subsidies from the papal exchequer are impossible (p. 151b). June 11: The nuncio must not hand over the sums he has received if the army marches into Moldavia with a view to the invasion of Walachia from there, as this would break up the League (p. 152b). June 18: The same. This seems to show that Sobieski had already made up his mind to invade Walachia. The Pope suggests an advance on Budziak. This would be in keeping with the League treaty and would support Moscow's action (p. 153b *seq.*). August 6 (Cibo's last note to Poland during Innocent XI.'s pontificate): The Polish army is gathering and is strong; the king, however, has not yet rejoined it and unless he does so soon, it will be too late for this year (p. 160b *seq.*).

[1] See SCHMIDLIN, 468, on the *Te Deum* at the Anima, September 18, 1689. On the battle of Batudjina, *cf.* RÖDER VON DIERSBURG, II., 97 *seq.*, and Mitteil. des K. K. Kriegsarchivs, II. (1877).

CHAPTER IV.

Innocent XI.'s Struggle against Louis XIV.'s Absolutism and Gallicanism—The Assembly of the French Clergy, and the four Gallican Articles of 1682.

(1.)

By the concordat with Francis I., Leo X., in 1516, had decided in favour of the Holy See the long fight against the schismatical tendencies of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges [1438] and opposed a powerful barrier to the separatist tendencies of the French Church. True, this result had been bought at the cost of heavy sacrifices, for by that treaty the French crown secured an almost unlimited disposal of all the higher ecclesiastical offices. On the other hand it was now to the advantage of the Government to preserve existing conditions in the Church, so much so that it saw itself compelled to take up a decided position against the Huguenots, and at a later date, against the Jansenists.[1] Thus the papacy and the monarchy seemed to be closely allied, though the alliance was threatened by political Gallicanism, which survived the concordat. Most of the jurists, and not a few theologians, endeavoured to safeguard certain alleged privileges and national interests by defending the so-called Gallican liberties. In so doing, they based themselves chiefly upon the Pragmatic Sanction. The Parliaments, which were almost wholly independent of the court, continued to make the dispositions of 1438 the standard of their decisions. This parliamentary Gallicanism, which must be clearly distinguished from the episcopal variety, was reduced to a system in 1594 by Pierre Pithou in a book dedicated to Henry IV.[2] Richelieu

[1] *Cf.* our data, Vol. VIII., 414 *seqq.* For Ch. IV. and V. the author had before him a careful study by Dr. Castelmur of Chur.

[2] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXVIII., 430 *seq.*

showed himself an adherent of these views ; his ideal was to grant to the Pope only a minimum of prerogatives but to attribute to the State whatever the national tradition claimed for it. Pierre Pithou's work on Gallican liberties was written under his patronage, and this book, like that of Pierre de Marca on the relations between Church and State, substantially advocated the standpoint of Pithou and the Parliaments.[1] Mazarin felt like Richelieu. Although the Congregation of the Index had condemned the works of Pithou and de Marca, the work by which Du Puy sought to justify Pithou's theses appeared in a second edition in 1651, with a royal privilege praising both writer and publisher, inasmuch as in this book the rights of the crown and the precious liberties of the Church of France were put in their true light and raised above all doubt.[2]

With Louis XIV.'s accession to the throne the situation grew worse. The men round the youthful King were set on instilling into his mind wrong notions about the papal power. They put before him a greatly distorted picture of the relations between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. whom they credited with the intention of depriving the King of his crown and deposing him. Of the Bull *Unam sanctam* they made such a bogy that Louis might well see in the action of the Popes a real attempt on his sovereign prerogatives which it was his duty to defend before God and the nation.[3]

In view of the absolutist principles cherished by Louis XIV. such teaching fell on all too favourable ground. It became the policy of the King completely to dominate the Church, and to extend indefinitely the privileges conceded by the concordat, even in the purely spiritual sphere. To this end he could count on the Parliaments as surely as on a section of the theological Faculty of Paris which still cherished the old anti-Roman traditions.[4] The decisive influence of the Government in the appointment to bishoprics meant

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Hergenröther-Kirsch, III.[5], 728 *seqq.*

[3] Gérin, *Assemblée*, 16, 20.

[4] Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, VII., 2, 16.

that even from the Bishops no serious opposition need be feared.

In his youthful arrogance Louis XIV. inflicted a profound humiliation on defenceless Alexander VII. in the dispute over the Corsican Guard, and secured the right of nomination to the sees of Metz, Toul and Verdun.[1] This dispute showed that though the "Most Christian King" did not deny the primacy of the Pope, and even acknowledged that it was necessary for the preservation of the unity of the Church, he nevertheless professed the same sort of practical Gallicanism as Richelieu. Hence a struggle might arise quite easily. Seemingly insignificant incidents were the spark which set fire to inflammable material that had accumulated for a long time. When on December 12th, 1661, in the Jesuit College of Clermont, the thesis of papal infallibility was defended, and especially as against the Jansenists, the doctrine that there was a supreme judge in the Church who could decide infallibly in questions of right and fact even outside a Council, the Jansenists and Gallicans represented the occurrence as an attempt against the Crown. Scarcely had this incident been disposed of by the Jesuit Annat, Louis' confessor, and the Archbishop of Toulouse, Pierre de Marca,[2] when the dispute over the Corsican Guard broke out. On January 22nd, 1663, the Bachelor Gabriel Drouet of Villeneuve maintained the following theses at the Sorbonne: the special privileges of certain Churches, such as those, for instance, of the French Church, were based on a papal concession; Christ gave the supreme authority in the Church to the Prince of the Apostles and to his successors; General Councils were useful, but not indispensable, for the extirpation of heresies. These theses remained within the boundaries of theology and at any other time they would have been left to the specialists for discussion. But in its anti-Roman feeling the Government was determined to humble the Pope by every possible means,[3] and Parliament lent a willing hand to this

[1] Vol. XXXI., p. 106 *seqq.*

[2] PUYOL, *Richer*, II., 466; MOURRET, *L'Ancien Régime*, 310.

[3] V. MARTIN, in *Rev. des sciences relig.*, VIII. (1928), 175 *seqq.*

end. The Attorney General Denis Talon denounced the theses to Parliament and demanded a decree forbidding the theological Faculty to allow such propositions to be maintained.[1] The decree was to be read at the Faculty and afterwards embodied in its registers. The youthful Procurator General, Achille de Harlay, particularly distinguished himself in this affair. However, the Faculty rejected the proposal on the ground that Parliament had no jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters ; all it agreed to was that it should be discussed within its own circle.[2] Thereupon the Government began to bring pressure to bear on individual Doctors. It ordered lists to be printed giving the names of those members of the Faculty who were loyal to Rome ; of those who were for the King ; and of the neutral ones.[3] The result was that eighty-nine Doctors were described as papal, fifty-five as anti-papal, and thirty-four as undecided. The most outstanding figure among them, Bossuet, belonged to the papal party.[4] Notwithstanding the fact that the Doctors in favour of Rome were in a majority, the Faculty took it upon itself, on April 4th, 1663, to register the anti-Roman decree of Parliament.

Now on that very same April 4th a thesis was defended at the Bernardines, with the approval of Syndic Grandin, which roused anew the anger of Parliament. The Lateran Council of 1215 had made it a duty for all Catholics to confess once a year to " their own priest ". This " proper priest ", so the thesis stated, was, besides the parish priest and the Bishop, the Pope also who possessed the fulness of jurisdiction over the whole Church both in the external and the internal forum. The assertion was harmless enough for here there was no question of any interference by the Pope with the secular Government. But in its present state of excitement

[1] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 19 ; FERET, III., 266 ; RAPIN, *Mém.*, III., 195 *seqq.* ; V. MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 173 *seqq.*

[2] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, 23, 28. Lists, *ibid.*, in Appendix, p. 481 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 28, 481 ; HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV.[5], 19 *seqq.*

Parliament gladly seized every opportunity to vent its hatred of Rome. Grandin was summoned before Parliament and suspended from his functions for a period of six months. By this means he was no longer able to take part in the meetings of the Faculty in his capacity as Syndic. But he remained a Doctor as much as the rest, and as such he proposed to the Faculty to set down its view on papal authority in brief statements as by this means it would be able to counteract the distrust of the Government.[1] Thus were drawn up the six propositions of 1663 which were signed by sixty-two Doctors and submitted to the King.[2] They stated that it was not the teaching of the Faculty that the Pope had any authority in the King's temporal affairs; that he was above the General Council and infallible without the consent of the Church. On the other hand the Faculty taught that in temporal matters the King was subject to God alone and that under no pretext whatever could his subjects be absolved from the obedience they owed to him; that the Faculty approved no proposition which was in any way derogatory to the authority of the King, the true liberties of the Gallican Church, or the canons which had been accepted in the realm.[3]

However, this manifesto did not wholly satisfy the Government. Though it stated that the Faculty did not maintain the dogma of papal infallibility, it did not say that that doctrine was false; nor were the King's prerogatives as against the Pope defined with sufficient clearness; hence the Government felt cheated of its expectation that the theologians would provide it with a solid basis for action against Rome.[4] For all that the declaration of the Faculty was not without weighty consequences. It was the first time that the Sorbonne made open profession of Gallicanism [5]; in fact the Assembly of 1682 appealed to this act. The six

[1] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 32.

[2] Text, *ibid.*, 17.

[3] *Coll. Lac.*, I., 811; HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV.[5], 21.

[4] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 34.

[5] "la première proclamation officielle du Gallicanisme," says V. MARTIN (*loc. cit.*, 175).

articles gave the impulse to the fresh Gallican movement in France by which the Pope's influence in ecclesiastical affairs was almost completely paralysed and Pope and King became involved in the most violent disputes. Moreover the court had openly approved the Gallican views of Parliament, so that Government and Parliament presented a united front against Rome. This violent action of Parliament also constituted a further attack on the liberties and prerogatives of the University of Paris; in fact it even suppressed them in part, whilst the clergy were split into two camps, the one loyal to Rome, the other the champion of the King. These facts must be borne in mind if we wish to understand the further development of events and in particular the dispute over the so-called *droit de régale.*

By *régale* was meant in France the right claimed by the King to administer and to appropriate the revenues of a number of dioceses on the death of the Bishop, as well as to confer certain benefices.[1] The second Council of Lyons in 1274 had contented itself with forbidding, under pain of excommunication, any extension of this right or its application to dioceses where it did not yet obtain. This was by no means a formal sanction of the right of *régale,* but it nevertheless implied a measure of toleration. In the great struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair the question of *régale* played an important part. Subsequently also disputes as to whether the right of *régale* was in force in this diocese or that were not wanting. These controversies were decided by the Parliament of Paris. That body increasingly adopted

[1] J. G. PHILLIPS, *Das Regalienrecht in Frankreich,* Halle, 1893; E. MICHELET, *Du droit de régale* (Thèse), Ligugé, 1900; C. CONSTANTIN in *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.,* IV., 186–206; Freiburger Kirchenlex., III.[2], 893; *Recueil des Instruct.,* Rome, II., introd., IV.-XIII.; LESNE, *Les origines du droit de régale,* in *Nouv. Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger,* XLV. (1921), 5–52; A. PÖSCHL, *Die regalien der mittelalterlichen Kirchen,* Graz, 1928. *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXVI., 3. The *régale* seems to have been originally based on the right of private patronage; *cf.* STUTZ in HERZOG-HAUCK'S *Realenzyklop.,* XVI.[3], 536 *seqq.*

a standpoint favouring the State and unfavourable to the Church. It took the view that in doubtful cases it was not the business of the State to prove the existence of the right, but that, on the contrary, it was for the diocese to prove its exemption from such a rule. Since the 16th century the jurists had been representing the *régale* as a right of the crown, in force throughout the realm, inalienable and imprescriptible; the *jus regaliae* became a *jus regale* from which even the King might not dispense; should he attempt to do so, the royal dispensation would be invalid. Parliament affirmed the universal validity of the right of *régale* in 1608, but its point of view did not triumph at once. Since the reign of Charles VII. the revenues of vacant sees had been assigned to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. In 1641 Louis XIII. took them from the Canons of that Chapel. From that time onwards such revenues were carefully kept and handed to the next occupant of the see. One-third was spent by the Government for the support of needy converts from Protestantism,[1] so that it did not itself derive any benefit from the money thus put aside. It is by no means unlikely that the Canons of the Sainte-Chapelle hoped for a change in their own favour from an alteration of the dispositions of 1641 by Louis XIV.'s absolutism, when they counselled him to extend the right of *régale* to the whole of France.[2]

Louis XIV. seems to have honestly believed that the right of *régale* was an ancient prerogative of the crown. By a decree of 1673 and its explanation of 1675, he took an important step which was to sow the seeds of a lengthy dispute: he extended the right to all the territories subject to the French crown.[3] The aged Clement X. did not at first pay any great attention to the matter, though the nuncio had reported on it. On June 6th, 1673, Francesco Nerli, Archbishop of Florence, nuncio in Paris since 1672, wrote from Tournai to Cardinal Altieri, Secretary of State, that the

[1] Dubruel, Extension, 103.
[2] *Id.* in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés*, 1911, 373.
[3] Text in Dubruel, *Querelle*, 264.

decree was in print, but his letter was not even acknowledged. Rome remained equally silent when on May 31st, 1675, nuncio Spada drew attention to the new royal decree.[1]

There were many Bishops and other clergy in France who sensed danger for the liberty of the Church in these royal decrees ; hence they were surprised that the Holy See did not interfere ; if it had protested, so they argued, the decrees would have been withdrawn.[2]

As a matter of fact the Pope's restraint had a fatal influence on the course of events. On the one hand the King might interpret it as tacit consent which strengthened his good faith in his rights, and on the other, the French clergy lacked the strong backing which it needed so much against Louis XIV. Consequently Bishop after Bishop submitted to the new decree and took the prescribed oath. There is little cause for surprise that almost the entire episcopate tacitly accepted the royal decree. That document put an end to the juridical uncertainty which had arisen more than a century ago from the endless disputes about the universal validity of the right of *régale*. The Bishops had themselves submitted these controversies to the judgment of the secular courts, so that it was now difficult for them to plead that the second Council of Lyons had taken the question of *régale* out of the hands of the secular power, nor was there any prospect that the jurists would ever give up their view that the right of *régale* was a prerogative of the crown. Moreover the free appointment to ecclesiastical positions was made so difficult for the Bishops by all sorts of rights of patronage, that the introduction of the right of *régale* deprived them of the disposal of but a very small number of benefices. But the royal decree could only be described as an injustice and the Pope, as the guardian of the canons of the Church, was right in opposing it. The French Bishops, however, resigned themselves to it as the lesser evil.[3]

[1] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 105.

[2] *Id.*, *Querelle*, 262 *seq.*

[3] On August 21, 1679, Bishop Le Camus wrote to Caulet on the right of *régale* and the dispute it entailed : " Le droit même . . .

Thus it came about that at first only two Bishops protested against the universal application of the *régale*, viz. Jean du Ferrier of Albi, and Louis du Vaucel of Albi.[1] They declared the royal decrees to be invalid because they offended against the second Council of Lyons which had punished every extension of the right of *régale* with excommunication. By their earnest endeavours they succeeded in winning over to their side the Bishop of Alet, Nicolas Pavillon. Once persuaded, Pavillon became an inflexible opponent of the royal decree. In vain was it pointed out to him that the decrees of the second Council of Lyons were only known through the *Liber Sextus* of Boniface VIII., which had not been accepted in France.[2] The aged prelate, who was also a friend of the Jansenists, stuck to his opinion and sought to win over to his side his colleague, François Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers, like himself a supporter of the Jansenists.[3] Caulet rather favoured a compromise but Pavillon succeeded in obtaining his adhesion to a joint memorial (dated July 8th, 1675) to the Assembly of the Clergy which was then sitting at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. In it the two Bishops strongly stressed the fact that the prerogatives of the Church were at stake, and for these the clergy had always stood up.

However, the two prelates had to reckon with a dangerous

n'est presque rien au fond, puisque le roi donne l'économat aux évêques qu'il nomme et que cela ne peut aller au plus qu'à la nomination de quelque prébende pendant la vacance du siège, que d'ailleurs le plus difficile et à quoi l'on aurait plus de droit de former de la difficulté est fait, puisque vous avez prêté le serment de fidélité au roi, en quoi consiste proprement le prétendu droit de régale. . ." He then speaks of the grave injury Caulet's resistance did to his diocese: "Enfin tous les autres ayant toléré ce qu'ils ne pouvaient empêcher, et votre successeur le devant faire un jour, s'il y a des matières où l'on puisse avoir de la condescendance et entrer dans des tempéraments, c'est celle-là," DUBRUEL, *Bullet. de litt. ecclés*, 1911, 424.

[1] DUBRUEL, *Querelle*, 261.

[2] *Id.*, *Extension*, 106.

[3] See XXXI., p. 209 for the two Jansenist Bishops.

opponent in the person of the Archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay, a courtier Bishop, to whom the King's favour meant more than anything else. Harlay affected to see in the expostulations of the two Bishops no more than a trick prompted by the Bishop of Alet's embarrassment, for that prelate had got into serious difficulties in consequence of his opposition on the question of the *régale*. By the terms of the ordinance of 1673 the right of *régale* only expired in a given diocese when, at the conclusion of a vacancy, the new Bishop had registered his oath of loyalty to the King in the Chamber of Accounts in Paris; this ruling was also extended to those Bishops who had long since taken the oath of loyalty.[1] Pavillon and Caulet omitted this registration because they saw in it a recognition of the universal validity of the right of *régale* and an infringement of the decrees of the Council of Lyons. The consequence was that, on the plea of the right of *régale*, the Government claimed for itself the disposal of all benefices which had at any time become vacant since the entry upon office of the two Bishops. This was bound to lead to the gravest disorders since the Government was making fresh appointments to posts occupied long since.[2]

At the request of the two Bishops the Assembly of the Clergy promised to take up the matter.[3] For a time Caulet hesitated. In all probability, on the occasion of a visit to Paris in July 1675, he had made concessions to La Chaize, the King's confessor, in connexion with the *régale*, concessions which he subsequently withdrew. It was only by degrees that he identified himself more and more, on the question of the *régale* also, with the views of his friend Pavillon [4] who took stern measures in the matter. In two ordinances, dated May 30th, 1675, and March 5th, 1676, he declared that all clerics of his diocese who had obtained a benefice from the King in virtue of the right of *régale*, had incurred

[1] DUBRUEL, *Bullet. de litt. ecclés*, 1911, 370; 1917, 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1911, 370; V. MARTIN *in Rev. des sciences rel.*, 1928, 367 *seqq.*

[3] DUBRUEL, *Querelle*, 278.

[4] *Id.* in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés*, 1911, 373 *seqq.*

the penalty of excommunication.[1] In a letter to Louis XIV. he sought to justify his standpoint [2] but failed. A decree of June 23rd, 1676, declared the Bishop's ordinances null and void,[3] so that his step was barren of result. Bishops who, like Le Camus, had until then sympathized with Pavillon, now dropped him, for fear of the royal displeasure. Pavillon would have been completely isolated had not Caulet of Pamiers, to his great joy, at last definitely thrown in his lot with him.[4] On October 20th, 1676, Pavillon again wrote to Louis XIV. but once more in vain. When the Bishop of Pamiers had also published decrees similar to those of his friend of Alet, and these had likewise been declared null and void, both prelates appealed to their metropolitans, the Archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, who had acknowledged the royal decision and disavowed the Bishops of Alet and Pamiers, though without naming them. Thereupon Pavillon and Caulet appealed for protection to the Holy See.[5]

Such was the situation at the accession of Innocent XI. The Pope received the appeal of the two Jansenist Bishops since a question of principle was at stake.[6] The schismatical tendencies which, quite apart from the matter of *régale*, were steadily gaining ground in France, could not but fill him with anxiety. If France was not to slip further down this inclined plane intervention by the Holy See was

[1] *Id, Querelle*, 272 *seq.*, 295.

[2] *Ibid.*, 300. [3] *Ibid.*, 301. [4] *Ibid.*, 301.

[5] Hergenröther-Kirsch, IV.[5], 25.

[6] Immich (*Innocenz*, XI., 23) justly emphasizes the fact that Innocent XI. intervened solely from considerations of principle, not from personal antipathy, political hostility or exaggerated pretensions: "To-day there is no doubt that the dispute was not caused by an anti-French attitude on the part of the Pope: its cause was much deeper, namely France's aim at national isolation, unity and independence of every foreign influence and the consequent opposition based on the very nature of the hierarchy and the Pope's universal authority. Louis XIV.'s action was the outcome of a new conception of the State and an exaggerated idea of sovereignty."

imperative. In France the matter was seen in a different light. No one there had anticipated that precisely the question of the *régale* would lead to this outbreak since the last Popes had not taken any action in the matter. The extension of the right of *régale* meant an increase of power for the King of France, consequently the principle involved was overlooked and people failed to understand why, for the sake of two Jansenist Bishops, Innocent X. should reopen the great controversy between the ecclesiastical and the secular authority which had led to an open struggle under Philip the Fair.[1]

As a result of his attitude Innocent XI. was even suspected, though most unjustifiably, of favouring Jansenism and of disapproving the Bulls of Urban VIII., Innocent X., and Alexander VII.[2] Yet he was bound to intervene since, at bottom, the stake was the independence of the Church which Louis XIV.'s absolutism sought to crush. The action of Innocent XI. implied no blame or condemnation of his predecessors in Peter's Chair; for him it was simply a duty of conscience.[3] The Bishop of Alet did not live to see the further developments of the affair, but before his death (December 8th, 1677) he had at least the profound satisfaction of seeing his appeal admitted by Innocent XI.[4]

[1] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 103 *seq.*, 106.

[2] MICHAEL, *Döllinger*, 439 *seqq.*

[3] "*S. Stà non approva nè disapprova le novità tollerate dai suoi predecessori in prejudicio della libertà e degli diritti de la Chiesa, ma non crede di poter tollerare la presente." Cibo to the French nuncio, August 24, 1683, Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170.

[4] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 109. The Jansenists gladly seized the opportunity to take the Pope's part against Louis XIV. Richelieu's nephew, the Abbé de Pontchâteau, was living in Rome under the pseudonym of Du Mené. He represented the interests of Port-Royal and now began to play a rôle in the question of the *régale*. He got in touch with those Cardinals who were keen on the reform, such as Ottoboni, Azzolini, Ludovisi, Casanata, etc. He found a valuable supporter in Agostino Favoriti (*cf.* DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 108 *seq.*).

That same year (1677) the Pope appointed a special Congregation to deal with the question of the *régale*. It consisted of Cardinals Ottoboni, Carpegna and Albizzi, together with several Bishops. Agostino Favoriti was named secretary.[1] The Congregation studied the question and drew up the papers which Innocent XI. used as the basis of his Briefs. From the first there was a desire to tear out the evil by the root and simply to condemn the royal decree by a Constitution. Favoriti relates that a declaration of the kind had been elaborated by the Congregation.[2] However, matters did not go so far ; the more moderate among the Cardinals dissuaded the Pope from too drastic a step ; they hoped to secure an acceptable solution by means of friendly discussion. In this they were well served by the circumstance that Innocent XI. had a high opinion of the person of the King who, so he thought, was only badly advised. Two sets of advisers at the papal court sought to influence the final decision. The moderate Cardinals were opposed by the *Zelanti*, among whom Favoriti played an important rôle. These insisted on energetic intervention because they only considered the question of principle and would not heed considerations of opportunity and prudence. Innocent XI. did his best to act in accordance with his conscience without allowing himself to be influenced by either party. But he did not altogether succeed in preserving his independence. At first he showed unmistakable signs of hesitation ; but the force of circumstances drove him ever more and more toward the

[1] Favoriti (see below, p. 261 *seqq.*) has left an interesting survey of the labours of the Congregation of the *régale*, dated May 8, 1682. To the above named three Cardinals he added between the lines that of Card. Cibo. Dubruel published a French translation of the survey : *Congrégation particulière de la Régale*, in *Revue des quest. hist.*, LXXXVII. (1910), 143 *seq.*, where he examines (131 *seq.*) Favoriti's *literary remains in the Papal Secret Archives and the Collegium Germanicum.

[2] " Sans ces conditions furent faits la minute de la constitution qui annullait les arrêts de 1673 et 1675 et les deux premiers brefs " (Dubruel, *loc. cit.*, 143).

Zelanti. It is this circumstance that created an impression of apparent hostility towards France on the part of the Pope.

Innocent XI. was firmly convinced that the very duty of taking a fatherly interest in the welfare of Louis XIV.'s soul did not allow him to look on idly at the march of events in France. In a Brief of March 12th, 1678,[1] he spoke to the King of his grief that evil counsellors should have succeeded in persuading him to extend the right of *régale* to Churches where it had never obtained.[2] He then examined the origin of this right, at the same time drawing the King's attention to the Council of Lyons which had decided the question. He pressed the King to abide by these canons, as his predecessors on the throne of France had done during four hundred years. At the same time the Pope also requested the French Cardinals, the Archbishop of Paris and the King's confessor, to influence Louis in this sense.[3]

In France the question had been too exclusively considered as the private affair of the Bishop of Pamiers, with the result that it did not at first receive adequate attention. It was thought that with the death of that aged prelate everything would settle itself of its own accord. In order to gain time only a non-committal reply was given to the papal Brief. However, this time French diplomacy, usually so subtle, had made a miscalculation, for Innocent would not leave the matter alone. On September 21st, 1678, another Brief to the King in connexion with the *régale* was drawn up.[4] From Louis' answer of April 5th, 1678, to the first Brief, the Pope had only been able to gather that his intervention had been unwelcome to the King. For all that he felt it his duty to

[1] Berthier, I., 159.

[2] "Iampridem inaudivimus non deesse M^ti^ tuae consiliarios et administros, qui tibi persuadere nituntur, ut usum illum antiquum custodiae fructuum vacantium ecclesiarum, quem Regaliam vocant, ad eas quoque regni tui ecclesias extenderes, quas illi iuri obnoxias numquam fuisse vel ex ipsis fisci regii tabulariis liquido constet" (Berthier, I., 159).

[3] *Ibid.*, 165–170.

[4] *Ibid.*, 255.

warn him against the influence of the royal counsellors.[1] He firmly condemned all interference with the prerogatives of the Church,[2] and earnestly pleaded with the King not to allow himself to be influenced by bad advisers in a matter of such importance. In his Brief Innocent speaks of an "absurd mistake" [*error tam absurdus*] into which Louis and his advisers had fallen, and he observes that, misled by the example of the King, other Christian rulers might be tempted to take similar steps. Hence he conjures Louis to think of the salvation of his soul and to abandon the wrong path which he had taken.

The Brief was couched in somewhat strong terms. It was easy to foresee its effect on Louis, accustomed as he was to adulation,and on the clergy who idolized him. As a matter of fact the Brief was objected to by some members of the Sacred College. It was deemed imprudent, especially by the Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo, who it must be remembered, was personally tied to France as with golden threads. Unknown to the Pope he was the recipient of a considerable French pension, in return for which he betrayed confidential matters to the French agent, in view of the next conclave.[3] However, Cibo was taken so seriously ill on January 5th, 1679, that his recovery seemed doubtful.[4] Thereupon the *Zelanti* judged that the moment had come to dispatch the Brief of September 21st, 1678. On January 4th, 1679, it was prepared for dispatch. This explains why January 4th is given in the Brief as the date of completion and dispatch.[5] It may be that January 4th, that is the day

[1] "te male consulentium" (*ibid.*).

[2] Non enim sanae mentis et doctrinae ausit in dubium revocare nullum saeculari potestati in res sacras ius esse, nisi quatenus ecclesiae indulsit authoritas" (*ibid.*).

[3] GÉRIN, *Revue des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 439 *seq.*, XXXIII. (1878), 402, n. 3.

[4] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 112.

[5] "datum die 21 Sept. 1678, missum vero die 4 Januarii 1679" (BERTHIER, I., 225).

before Cibo's illness, was purposely chosen in order to lay responsibility on him. What is certain is that in French circles he was long suspected of being the instigator of every one of Innocent XI.'s measures against France, since all business, at least nominally, passed through his hands in his capacity as Secretary of State. But even now the Brief was not dispatched at once; it was only handed to the courier on January 18th.[1] On January 4th Innocent also addressed a Brief to the Bishop of Pamiers, in which he promised to defend the rights of his Church.[2] The Congregation for the *régale* was reinforced at this time by the addition of Cardinals Barberini and Azzolini.[3]

Fresh encroachments in France led to increased tension. The Poor Clares of Toulouse complained to the Pope that, by order of the King, an Abbess had been forced on them who had made her entry with a large suite and a military escort. The nuns had been compelled to yield to force and to allow the Abbess, against every law of justice, to take possession of the Abbey, to the great scandal of the whole town. In a Brief of January 18th, 1679, explaining the situation, Innocent XI. appealed to the Archbishop of Toulouse. He referred once more to what had taken place at Pamiers and exhorted the Archbishop to show himself worthy of his position by intervening with the King on behalf of the nuns.[4] This case too was submitted to the Congregation of the *régale*.[5]

Meanwhile Cardinal Cibo made a slow recovery. However, the real management of affairs remained in the hands of Favoriti. The latter now only submitted for the signature of the Secretary of State one single document for each nunciature, in which were included, on loose sheets, the decisions concerning all other current business: hence Cibo hardly

[1] DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*, 113.
[2] BERTHIER, I., 223.
[3] DUBRUEL, *Congrégation*, 143.
[4] BERTHIER, I., 227.
[5] DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*

knew what it was that he signed.[1] When the Cardinal reappeared at the papal palace, Innocent received him with his old friendliness and cordiality; his influence, however, was at an end for the *zelanti* among the Cardinals, together with Favoriti, now had the management of affairs.[2]

Meanwhile the papal nuncio Varese had died in Paris. He had left instructions for his funeral of which no notice was taken in France. The Archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay, explained that the nuncio had no power of jurisdiction in France so that he could give no instructions of this kind and that the burial was the business of the parish priest in whose district death had occurred.[3] The funeral was accordingly carried out by the Curé of St. Sulpice.[4]

By way of reply to this insult the Pope decided to send no nuncio to Paris until satisfaction should have been made for what had happened. The business of the nunciature was transacted by Varese's secretary, the Auditor of the Rota Lauri who, however, was not officially recognized by France. Whilst Pomponne remained in office as Foreign Secretary, relations were tolerable, for he was a man of great experience and knowledge of the world and though he stated his views in council without fear, he was at all times guided by great considerateness and kindliness, so that he enjoyed the esteem of all.[5] However, the peaceable and moderate disposition of the minister was out of keeping with the manner which Paris had begun to adopt towards Rome. In November 1679, Pomponne, who was also the object of

[1] Card. Pio to Leopold I., January 18 and February 28, 1679 (DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 114; *En plein conflit*, 28). *Cf.* GÉRIN in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 439; DUBRUEL, *ibid.*, LXXV. (1904), 602–8.

[2] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, *cf.* IMMICH, *Innocenz*, XI., 24.

[4] "*Cifra a Lauri" of May 18, 1683, Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170; DUBRUEL, *A propos des obsèques du nonce Varese*, in *Bullet. de litt. ecclés*, 1926, 63–73.

[5] For Pomponne, *cf.* Pietro Venier in BAROZZI-BERCHET, Francia, III., 513.

the intrigues of Colbert, fell into disgrace,[1] his place being taken by Croissy, brother to the celebrated minister Colbert. Croissy, who knew no higher ideal than the glory of his sovereign, sought to obtain his end by intimidation and threats and was not at all particular in his choice of means. In addition to this he was also a man of passionate and violent character: even the slightest contradiction on the part of foreign ambassadors would rouse his ire so that relations with him were exceedingly difficult. In the course of negotiations he was ever ready for intrigues and his answers were so vague that the ambassadors never quite knew what to make of anything he said.[2] The change of personnel in the ministry soon made itself painfully felt in the relations with the Holy See. Croissy would not shake hands with Lauri when greeting the ambassadors, on the plea that this was only due to the accredited representatives of crowned heads,[3] nor did he alter his conduct after Lauri had been formally accredited as internuncio.[4] For quite a long period Lauri's letters were full of this question of the handshake, so much so that on July 12th, 1680, he was instructed by Rome to drop the matter and to give his attention to the far more important question of the *régale*.[5]

Roman circles were aware of a growing estrangement between Innocent XI. and Louis XIV., though the real cause remained a mystery. When Cardinal Pio questioned Cardinal Cibo on the subject, he was given a whole string of reasons which, however, did not touch the core of the dispute.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Gérin, *La disgrâce de M. de Pomponne 18 nov. 1679*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXIII. (1878), 1–71; Barozzi-Berchet, *loc. cit.*

[2] Pietro Venier, *loc. cit.*, 514 *seq.*

[3] Bojani, III., 108 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 116.

[5] "Car on voit que c'est une affaire finie... V. S. doit tourner son attention vers les projets de la cour touchant la régale" (*ibid.*, 121 *seq.*).

[6] Card. Pio to the Emperor Leopold I., September 2, 1679, Dubruel, *Extension*, 115.

Innocent had enjoined the strictest silence on the Congregation of the *régale* and he was being strictly obeyed, nor was much information to be drawn from the Duc D'Estrées, the French ambassador. In a letter of September 2nd, 1679, Cardinal Pio wrote that the French ambassador had observed that the hostility of the Curia would in the end compel him to make public the threats about which he had hitherto been silent.[1] On May 19th, 1679, Cardinal Pio wrote to the Emperor that Cibo feared a rupture with France.[2]

Meanwhile, on December 29th, 1679, the Congregation completed a third Brief to Louis XIV. which was intended as a final statement of the Pope's point of view. But this time also Innocent deferred its dispatch. It may be that he still hoped for a change of feeling in France where it was no doubt difficult to grasp the full gravity of the situation. To the second Brief not even a reply had been made. It looked as if the King of France were firmly convinced of his right, and that he could not understand that for the sake of two Jansenist Bishops, the Pope should oppose him, the Most Christian King. Moreover there was a desire in France to draw out the affair and to wait for the death of the aged Bishop of Pamiers.[3] On the other hand the Pope was anxious to have the situation cleared up and as no reply came from France, the Brief of December 29th, 1679, was dispatched on March 13th, 1680.[4] By a letter of March 20th, the Pope informed Cardinals D'Estrées, Bouillon, Bonsi and Grimaldi of the dispatch of the third Brief to the King.[5] In these letters Innocent explained that twice already he had drawn the King's attention to the grievous injury which his conduct inflicted on the Church's immunity, that it offended against divine and human justice and was in marked contrast to the

[1] *Ibid.*, 116.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 110.

[4] Berthier, I., 328.

[5] The letters are dated February 28, 1679, hence the third Brief to Louis XIV. was already about to be dispatched; Berthier, *loc. cit.*

conduct of his predecessors. Twice he had urged him to withdraw his decrees. It grieved him that after waiting for months, he had not as yet received a reply to his last Brief and that not only had there appeared no sign of improvement but, on the contrary, things were growing worse daily, and that with the full knowledge and consent of the King.[1] For the sake of the King's eternal salvation the Pope felt he could no longer countenance such a wrong. "He who heareth you, heareth me," Christ had said. Hence he prayed the King no longer to lend ear to counsels that appeared quite beautiful when considered superficially, though in reality they endangered the very foundations of the French State.[2] After that the Pope pointed to the example of the various Kings of France who had defended the prerogatives of the Church instead of seeking to curtail them. He fully understood, he continued, how much the King did for religion by crushing heresy in France, but let him see to it that he did not destroy with his left hand what he built up with his right.[3] There were many Bishops and priests in France who could advise the King far better, did not fear restrain them. Let the King beware of the anger of heaven. Nothing would induce the Pope to swerve from his principles; on the contrary, he would gladly endure every kind of tribulation for justice' sake.[4]

[1] "Pro comperto affertur omnia deteriore in dies loco esse; . . . institutioni contrariam invehi a saeculari potestate; neque eam clam aut timide fieri, sed palam et manu regia," *ibid.*

[2] "Nos potius, qui tibi parentis, et quidem amantissimi loco sumus, audire velis vera salutaria suadentes, quam filios diffidentiae, qui terrena tantum sapiunt, quique consiliis in speciem utilibus, sed re vera perniciosis inclyti istius regni fundamenta, in rerum sacrarum reverentia et in ecclesiae authoritate iuribusque tuendis posita, convellunt," *ibid.*

[3] "Cavendum tamen diligenter est, ne quod dextera, hoc est ingenita pietas tua aedificat, destruat sinistra, hoc est callida et iniqua consilia dicentium tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras," *ibid.*, 329.

[4] "Neque tamen ullum inde incommodum aut periculum, nullam, quantumvis saevam atque horribilem tempestatem

Up to this time no one had dared to address such words to the most powerful monarch in Europe, the object of universal adulation. Louis was amazed. He felt particularly hit by the hint that he might die without progeny unless he altered his conduct.[1] We know something of the discussions which took place in the royal council at that period through an interesting account which has only recently been made public.[2] Three main possibilities were examined. At first it was proposed to submit the question of the *régale* to a Provincial Council for consideration. This suggestion was, however, not acted upon, because recourse to a Council would only be resorted to under extreme pressure,[3] and the councillors feared opposition on the part of the Bishops if they were consulted on the question of the *régale*. As it was, two Bishops had offered open resistance, and no doubt many secretly shared their sentiments and would be glad of an opportunity to state them openly. Another suggestion was to ignore this Brief also. However, the King could not deny the fact of its arrival. Moreover Louis was afraid that in that event the Pope would proceed against him with the censures of the Church.[4] Hence a third view prevailed. It was decided to send a "most courteous" reply, but without touching on any one point of the question of *régale*. All the rest the bearer of the letter was to explain to the Pope by word of

pertimescemus. Ad hoc enim vocati sumus, neque facimus animam Nostram pretiosiorem quam Nos, probe intelligentes, non forti solum, sed etiam laeto animo subeundas tribulationes propter iustitiam, in quibus et in cruce Domini Nos unice gloriari oportet. Causam Dei agimus, quaerentes non quae Nostra sunt, sed quae Iesu Christi," *ibid.*, 330.

[1] "observatum fuisse nunquam regias in Gallia stirpes defecisse, nisi ubi reges indebitas ad beneficia nominationes arrogare sibi coepissent," *ibid.*, 329.

[2] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 51 *seq.*

[3] "qu'on dit qu'un concile était le dernier remède auquel il fallait avoir recours, et qu'il ne fallait s'en servir que dans le conjonctures les plus pressantes," *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 52.

mouth. In this way the French Government hoped to delay the affair ; for meanwhile it was quite possible that the aged Pontiff might die and a solution be found.[1] There can be no doubt that this plan originated with the King himself who, from motives of prudence, was anxious to avoid a rupture with Rome.

At this time the real cause of the tension between Rome and Paris became known in Roman circles also. Cardinal Pio mentions it in his letter of May 18th, 1680, to Leopold I. In accordance with instructions from the Emperor he had requested the Pope to intervene with Louis on behalf of the Duke of Lorraine. Innocent XI. told him that he was most willing to do all he could, but that he must wait for France's answer in the affair of the *régale*, for the relations of the Holy See with that country would depend on the nature of that reply.[2]

French circles continued to lay all the blame for the Briefs on Cardinal Cibo. It would seem that it was not yet generally known that Favoriti was the real driving power. The French ambassador in Rome took Cardinal Cibo severely to task ; yet when describing the latter's attitude to Leopold I. in a letter of May 18th, 1680, Cardinal Pio states that Cibo had opposed the Briefs and that by his advice Innocent XI. had at first been in favour of oral discussions. Only after other counsellors had gained influence was the Brief dispatched, a fact of which Cibo only became aware later on, at the moment when the Briefs were being dispatched.[3]

Of the members of the Congregation of the *régale* death carried off about this time Cardinals Barberini and Albizzi. For a whole year the sittings were no longer held at the Pope's palace but at the residence of the senior Cardinal, the Venetian Ottoboni. Gradually the fear took shape that out of consideration for France Venice might forbid the Cardinal to hold

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 117.

[3] " mais depuis sa S^té^ aurait été persuadée par d'autres, et le cardinal n'aurait eu connaissance du bref qu'au moment même où il fut remis pour être expédié," *ibid.*

these meetings at his own house; as a matter of fact on a previous occasion the Signoria had forbidden him to participate in a Congregation of fourteen Cardinals created by Clement X. for the purpose of dealing with the question of the exemption [franchises] of the ambassadors' quarters, and Ottoboni had submitted on that occasion. It was accordingly suggested that the meetings should be held at the papal palace as before; however, this would have proved too trying for the aged Ottoboni who resided at the palace of S. Marco, whereas during eight months the Pope resided at the distant Vatican. Moreover—and this is very characteristic—it was desired to provide the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cibo, with a pretext for staying away from discussions which were but little to his liking. So the meetings were held at Cardinal Ludovisi's house, greatly to Ottoboni's satisfaction. Cibo was now able to plead the excessive distance as an excuse for holding aloof.[1] Meanwhile Lauri had not yet been recognized as internuncio because the French Government were determined to force the Pope to accredit a nuncio to Paris. The Pope's feelings were not improved by the fact that about this time the Parliament of Paris condemned a book by the Bishop of Pamiers in which the latter defended the prerogatives of his Church.[2]

The Pope's annoyance could only be intensified when news reached Rome that the Assembly of the French Clergy had actually been convened at Saint-Germain on May 25th, 1681. Innocent was of opinion that now was the time for action, for nothing was achieved by exhortations and threats, in fact the evil was on the increase, for was not the decree against the Bishop of Pamiers issued after the last peremptory Brief?[3] It was seriously intended to publish a papal Constitution in condemnation of the extension, by the King of France, of the right of the *régale*.[4]

[1] Favoriti in DUBRUEL, *Congregation*, 144.

[2] *Traité de la régale, imprimé par ordre de* M. L'ÉVEQUE DE PAMIERS pour la défense des droits de son église, 1680; Card. Pio to Leopold I., June 16, 1680, in DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 119. (Pio's letters hereafter quoted are all addressed to Leopold I.)

[3] Pio, June 16, 1680, *ibid.*

[4] Pio, June 30, 1680, *ibid.*

But there were other voices advocating gentler methods: there was reason to fear the consequences of an open rupture with the powerful King of France. This line of conduct was once again championed by Cibo, though people in France continued to hold him responsible for every step taken by the Pope.[1] On July 7th, 1680, no decision had as yet been arrived at. It was said that the Pope would deal with the matter at the next Consistory though no one could tell how—whether he would ask for the Cardinals' opinion, or whether he would content himself with explaining the situation to them.[2] Most of the members of the Congregation urged action. The French ambassador, the Duc D'Estrées, complained of the Cardinals of Altieri's party who were for ever egging on the Pope to stern measures against France. On the other hand Cardinal Pio affirmed that, on the contrary, several Cardinals of that party advised the Pope in the opposite sense, against Altieri's wishes.[3] Innocent still temporized. On July 12th he instructed internuncio Lauri in Paris to try to win over the Archbishop of Rheims for the Roman Curia and to grant to him the Abbey of St. Remi. He also inquired whether the Archbishop still stood in the same high favour with the King.[4]

Louis XIV. had accurate information on the state of mind prevailing at the Curia. Despite his power and his arrogant attitude he feared a solemn condemnation by the Pope of the right of *régale* which he had so vastly extended. He accordingly welcomed Cardinal Rospigliosi's suggestion that for the time being both sides should refrain from further steps and enter upon the sphere of negotiations.[5] Through his ambassador in Rome, the Duc D'Estrées, Louis XIV. sent a reply to the

[1] Pio, June 30, 1680, *ibid.*

[2] Pio, July 6, 1680, *ibid.*, 121.

[3] Pio, July 13, 1680, *ibid.*, 122.

[4] Bojani, III., 121 *seq.* (Letter of Cibo to Lauri.) The Abbey was given to the Archbishop of Rheims by Brief of August 28, 1680 (Berthier, I., 364).

[5] *Cibo to the nuncio, April 24, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172a, Papal Sec. Arch. The letter describes the events of 1680.

third Brief in which he expressed, in terms of the utmost respect, his sentiments towards the Holy See. In addition to this the letter announced that Cardinal D'Estrées was coming to Rome as ambassador extraordinary. The King also spoke of his conviction that his undertakings would not prosper if the estrangement between himself and the Pope continued.[1]

Cardinal Pio suspected some *arrière-pensée* behind the King's action. He felt that France wished to gain time and to have Cardinal D'Estrées, as well as his brother, as ambassador in Rome, in order to establish a precedent of a French ambassador being received without renouncing the exemption of his quarters. The Duc D'Estrées' conduct was distinguished for its moderation, Cardinal Pio went on, whereas that of the Cardinal was violent. The Vatican was not prepared to look upon the Cardinal as a real ambassador whilst the latter's brother remained in Rome in that capacity.[2] When the Duc D'Estrées presented Louis XIV.'s letter, the Pope expressed his thanks for the Cardinal's mission and these he repeated in a Brief of July 12th, 1680, to the King of France.[3] In his account to the Emperor of the French ambassador's audience with the Pope, Cardinal Pio wrote on July 20th, 1680, that the Duc D'Estrées had complained of the sharp language of the Brief; particular offence had been given by the Pope's remark that in punishment for his conduct the King might die without issue. To this Innocent was said to have replied that Louis had not acknowledged the first two Briefs, and that he himself had the welfare of the King's soul so much at heart that he could not omit another and more earnest warning. If the King failed to see his mistake in this life, he would realize it all the more clearly in the next. The King must extirpate the evil root of the *régale* if he did not wish to bring about his own ruin and the ruin of those who would come after him. Let him adopt

[1] Pio, July, 13, 1680, in DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 122.
[2] Pio, July 13, 1680, *ibid.*, 121.
[3] BERTHIER, I., 357.

another policy lest punishment should fall upon his race, even in his lifetime.[1] It is doubtful whether the Duc D'Estrées communicated this grave warning to his sovereign. If he did, the aging monarch must have recalled it to mind at a later date when death snatched away the princes of his own blood, leaving him with one sickly child of tender years.

At Rome the chief instigators of the anti-papal feeling in France were believed to be the Archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay, and the King's confessor, the Jesuit François d'Aix de La Chaize. Cardinal Cibo sought to combat this impression by representing the King's submissive letter as precisely the work of the Archbishop and the confessor. But the Pope's entourage would not be convinced. Cardinal Pio reports that Innocent XI. had requested the General of the Jesuits to warn Père La Chaize and to proceed against Père Maimbourg whose writings were detrimental to the Church on the question of the *régale* also.[2]

In France, the Bishop of Pamiers continued to be the soul of the opposition to the King. On July 17th, 1680, the Pope had encouraged him to remain steadfast, had cordially praised his unwavering attitude and informed him of his intention to proceed energetically against the Archbishop of Toulouse because of his contempt for the decrees of the Council of Lyons. Meanwhile, however, a letter had come from the King in which Louis informed the Pontiff, with filial devotion, of the arrival of Cardinal D'Estrées as ambassador in the affair of the *régale*. This was why proceedings against the Metropolitan of Toulouse had been delayed.[3]

Meanwhile reports had reached Rome about the Assembly of the French Clergy at Saint Germain which, in a memorial to Louis, dated July 10th, 1680, had taken the King's part in most unbecoming fashion and protested against the "extraordinary procedure" of the Pope. The Assembly, so the

[1] Pio, July 20, 1680, *loc. cit.*, 122.

[2] Pio, July 27, 1680, *ibid.*, 124.

[3] Berthier, I., 357.

document states, had learnt with extreme displeasure that the Pope had sent a Brief to the King in which he not only warned him not to subject some of our Churches to the right of *régale*, but even threatened to use his authority should the King refuse to bow to the Pope's fatherly representations. They had deemed it their duty not to remain silent in a circumstance of such gravity, when they had seen, to their great grief, the eldest son of the Church and her protector threatened in a tone which had been adopted on other occasions against such princes as had arrogated to themselves the Church's prerogatives. They could only view with sorrow a proceeding calculated to injure, rather than to uphold, the honour of religion and that of the Holy See. Such was their attachment to the King that nothing could separate them from him ; and since a protestation of this kind might help to deprive the futile efforts of the Holy See of their effect, it should be renewed with the utmost sincerity and devotion.[1] It is easy to imagine the impression made in Rome by such a document. On August 10th, 1680, Cardinal Pio wrote to the Emperor that the French Government had exercised strong pressure on the clergy with a view to their estrangement from the Holy See and a consequent increase of its own authority. France, so it seemed, wished to sow discord between Pope and clergy in order that Innocent XI. should be completely isolated and so compelled to invoke the King's help against the clergy, in return for which the Pope would have to make concessions in the matter of the *régale*. For the moment Rome was willing to wait for the arrival of Cardinal D'Estrées, but was resolved to take action if he did not arrive soon. There were still loyal French prelates who, though they had not dared to speak at the Assembly, nevertheless urged the Pope to intervene.[2]

Among the laity the last Brief of Innocent XI. was very adversely judged. People said that it adopted a most unusual tone towards the King. But the shameful attitude of the

[1] Gérin, *Assemblée*, 53.

[2] Pio, August 10, 1680, *loc. cit.*, 125.

French clergy was the object of no less blame, especially on the part of the educated classes.[1]

Unfortunately at this precise time the head of the French clergy, François de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, who had presided over the Assembly of the clergy, set the very worst example of complacency in the face of the arbitrariness of the Government by his action with regard to the Convent of Charonne, near Paris. The Augustinian nuns of Charonne enjoyed the right freely to choose their superioress every three years. In 1676 a royal ordinance forced on the convent a new superioress in the person of a nun who was herself a Cistercian. This nun was approved and installed by the Archbishop of Paris. By a Brief of August 7th, 1680, Innocent XI. declared this choice null and void and restored to the nuns their right of election.[2] However, a decree of the royal council declared the Brief invalid and appealed to Parliament, on the plea of abuse of the papal authority.[3] Parliament forbade the nuns to give effect to the Brief, whereupon the Pope, by a fresh Brief, dated October 15th, 1680, commanded them to take no notice of the French decrees and to obey only their lawfully elected superioress.[4]

Fresh disturbances in the diocese of Pamiers also contributed to render the situation still more acute. The death of old Bishop Caulet, who died there on August 7th, 1680, was the signal for the outbreak of a miniature schism. The Chapter, whose duty it was to elect a Vicar Capitular for the period of the vacancy of the see, was split into two parties. That body was partly composed of Canons appointed by the late Bishop and partly of men named by the King on the basis of the right of *régale*. Those loyal to Rome elected

[1] Gérin (54 *seqq.*) adduces a number of proofs, whilst he declares that he knows of not one publication speaking favourably of the attitude of the clergy.

[2] Berthier, I., 360.

[3] Gérin, 57. There was question of a so-called "appellation comme d'abus".

[4] Berthier, I., 383.

D'Aubarède and Rech whilst the others got the Archbishop of Toulouse to name a certain Fortassin.[1] Innocent XI. decided, of course, in favour of the Roman party. In a Brief of September 25th, 1680, he condoled with the Chapter on the death of the Bishop and exhorted the Vicars Michel D'Aubarède and Bernard Rech, together with the Chapter, to follow the example of the deceased prelate.[2]

The royal intendant Foucauld, now repaired to Pamiers, installed Fortassin by force of arms and banished D'Aubarède and Rech.[3] This the Pope could not suffer in silence. In a Brief dated October 2nd, 1680, he exhorted the Chapter to remain steadfast and ordered the election of another Administrator.[4] On the same day he expressed his surprise to the Archbishop of Toulouse that he should have absolved priests whom the Bishop of Pamiers had declared to have fallen under the censures of the Council of Lyons and demanded the withdrawal of so illegal an act.[5] The Chapter elected Jean Cerle as Vicar and on January 1st, 1681, the Pope assured him of his protection.[6] Many people in Rome expected sharper measures, among them Queen Christine.[7]

Attempts were henceforth made in France to unmask Favoriti as a Jansenist and thus to bring about his fall. More and more the French ministers suspected him of being the instigator of the papal measures against Louis XIV. Accordingly, a royal decree ordered the papers of the late Bishop of Pamiers to be seized in the hope of finding compromising documents among them. On November 2nd, 1680, Cardinal Pio was able to inform the Emperor that these hopes had not been fulfilled; that Favoriti had always submitted his correspondence to the Pope and nothing incriminating

[1] Gérin, *Assemblée*, 58 *seq.*
[2] Berthier, I., 376.
[3] Gérin, 59.
[4] Berthier, I., 377.
[5] *Ibid.*,
[6] *Ibid.*, 393.
[7] Pio, September 28, 1680, *loc. cit.*, 126.

could be found in it.[1] One consequence of these measures was a further altercation between the Pope and the French ambassador who had had a hand in the action against Favoriti. In the course of an audience Innocent spoke to him in sharp terms. The Duc D'Estrées replied that all those who opposed the *régale* were Jansenists, as was proved by the papers of the Bishop of Pamiers. People in France were very much surprised that the Pope should make common cause with these sectaries against a King who did so much for the Church and who repressed the Huguenots. Innocent replied that the King was indeed worthy of all praise when he displayed so much zeal against the Calvinists but how could that be reconciled with the fact that he had appointed that arch-Huguenot Maimbourg his own historiographer ? [2]

Not a little anxiety prevailed in France as to the likelihood of further measures by the Pope, hence a royal decree commanded anyone who received a papal document to surrender it unopened to the King.[3] In view of measures such as these the hope of a compromise became more and more faint. Cardinal Cibo was anxious for a reconciliation but he had lost all influence as Innocent thought that France only showed so bold a front because she relied on that Cardinal's prestige ; on top of everything Cibo fell ill again just then.[4] At this time Cardinal Pio reported that France was thinking of excluding Cardinals Ottoboni, Carpegna and Azzolini at the next conclave on the ground of their hostility to France, for they and Favoriti were held responsible for the objectionable Briefs. Cardinal Pio further reported that though Cardinal D'Estrées would be received with every mark of honour, the Pope had no intention of granting him any concessions.[5] As a matter of fact, without waiting for the arrival of the envoy, Innocent XI. took a further important step by reserving the whole affair of Pamiers to his own

[1] Pio, November 2, 1680, *ibid.*, 127.
[2] Pio, November 18, 1680, *ibid.*, 128.
[3] Pio, November 30, 1680, *ibid.*, 129.
[4] Pio, December 14, 1680, *ibid.* For Cibo, see LIPPI, 229.
[5] Pio, December 14, 1680, *ibid.*

judgment and he himself informed the Archbishop of Toulouse, as the Metropolitan, of this decision.[1]

D'Estrées had meanwhile set out, but he seemed in no hurry to get to Rome. He made a lengthy stay at Venice. Innocent complained of this delay at a consistory of December 14th in such severe terms that, contrary to the usual practice, the address was not recorded in the consistorial acts, in fact everything was done to suppress it.[2]

However, the French Cardinal was expected in January, 1681. It was generally believed that his instructions were to prevent a rupture at all costs, but to spare neither prayers nor threats in order to gain his object. The fact was that not everybody in France approved of the conduct of the ministers who were being sharply attacked in a number of pamphlets.[3] In particular, the Archbishop of Paris, who was the object of universal contempt on account of his immoral life, was severely attacked.[4] For all that it was feared in Rome that French intrigues might not be without making an impression even in the Eternal City. People recalled to mind the days of the previous pontificate, when all the representatives of the Powers united against the Pope [5] and there was talk of all sorts of plans on the part of France, the aim of which was to isolate Innocent XI. and to provoke disturbances in the Papal States.[6]

Whilst D'Estrées was nearing the borders of the States of the Church, two Gallican works were condemned in Rome, not by a simple prohibition of the Index but by a special Brief. One was by Jean Gerbais, written by order of the Assembly of the French Clergy,[7] the other was the History

[1] Pio, December 12, 1680, *ibid.*, 130.

[2] **Nunziat. diverse*, 106, f. 31b, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] "Les bon Français s'irrittent contre les mauvais conseillers du Roi ; . . . des imprimés les déchirent publiquement en France." Pio, December 12, 1680, *loc. cit.*, 130.

[4] See the portrait below, p. 286.

[5] See Vol. XXXI., p. 501.

[6] Pio, December 21, 1680, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Sur les causes majeures ; cf.* Reusch, II., 369.

of Lutheranism by Maimbourg. The General of the Jesuits was commanded to expel Maimbourg from the Society.[1]

A feeling prevailed in cardinalitial circles that the Pope must act more energetically if France refused to put a stop to the innovations. The French ambassador informed his brother, the Cardinal, of the prohibition of the two books and advised him to ask for fresh instructions.[2] Cardinals Ottoboni, Carpegna and Azzolini once more counselled gentleness though they no longer hoped to obtain anything.[3]

The final decision was taken at the consistory of January 13th, 1681. Cardinal Cibo first learnt what was pending from public rumour and only on the previous evening did the Pope give him more precise information. In his allocution Innocent XI. explained how, from the moment when he accepted his election, he had foreseen that he would have to wage fierce contests with the secular Powers. He then turned to the question of the *régale* and drew a picture of the conduct of the King of France since 1673. Whereas formerly he had been content to watch over the revenues of vacant benefices, he now pretended to a real dominion over ecclesiastical offices of which he disposed according to his own good pleasure, thereby violating the decrees of the Council of Lyons. He then reminded the Sacred College of his three Briefs to Louis XIV. By way of a reply to them the King had announced the dispatch of Cardinal D'Estrées in the previous July, yet the Cardinal had not yet been seen in Rome. The situation of the Church allowed of no further delay. The Pope protested that he was determined to serve the true interests of the Church of France. He begged the Cardinals to assist him in this task, for he did not wish to act without

[1] DUBRUEL, *Extension*, 131; REUSCH, II., 584. Maimbourg was made to leave the Order on February 10, 1682, whereupon the King assigned a pension to him; *cf.* MICHAEL, *Döllinger*, 445, n. 1.

[2] Pio, December 28, 1680, *loc. cit.*, 131.

[3] Pio, January 4, 1681, *ibid.*, 132.

their advice.[1] On January 23rd Cardinal Pio reported to the Emperor that those who had been instrumental in bringing about the consistory, were in favour of publishing the text of the allocution, but even Favoriti deprecated such a step.[2] When Cardinal D'Estrées at length arrived in Rome he was received with the highest honours and negotiations began at once. The rôle of go-between between the Curia and the brothers D'Estrées was assumed by Urbano Giorio who subsequently wrote an account of his activities as a mediator.[3] The Congregation for the question of the *régale*

[1] **Cod. Barb.* 2896, Vat. Library. LÄMMER gives an Italian text (*Melet.*, 469). DUBRUEL (*Extension*, 133) gives Card. Pio's account. According to this source the Pope described the French councillors as " pessimi consiglieri Babilonici ". It is quite possible that this expression may have escaped Innocent XI. in his excitement.

[2] Pio, January 23, 1681, *loc. cit.*, 135.

[3] " *Il pontificato di Papa Innocenzo XI. overo ragguaglio istorico, nel qual si riferiscono tutte le contese insorte fra le due corti di Roma e di Francia, con i progetti di concordia fatti da Msgr. Urbano Giorio per impedirle da prima e poi comporle etc." The concluding chapter has the dedication to Innocent XI., dated June 29, 1689, *Nunziat. div.*, 106, Papal Sec. Arch. A contemporary copy is in the possession of Baron De Bildt. The author declares that he acted as mediator at the request of the Pope which had been made known to him by Favoriti and Cibo (f. 13). In the general interest of Christendom Giorio is anxious to preserve peace between Innocent and Louis. In the Pope he sees a saintly man whose best intentions are crossed by anti-French counsellors. He speaks in most severe terms of the Pope's advisers (f. 14 *seq.*), who had robbed well-tried Card. Cibo of all influence. Giorio is full of enthusiasm for Louis XIV. He sees in him (f. 115[b]) a hero who was the glory of his age. He cannot understand why Innocent XI. would not make concessions to such a king by accepting a solution proposed by himself. If Giorio's attitude is absolutely Francophile, GÉRIN (*Révocation*, 427) nevertheless goes perhaps too far when he describes him as an " espion et pensionnaire de la France ". On occasion Giorio has severe words for Louis XIV., and especially for his advisers. His lively account is not without historical value,

played no very special part in the negotiations. It drew up the Brief in which Innocent warmly expressed his thanks for D'Estrées' mission, though he also remarked that what had happened in the diocese of Pamiers ill agreed with the fine words of the royal letter of which the envoy was the bearer.[1] Soon after, in April 1681, the Pope quite unexpectedly ordered the suspension of the sittings.[2] The reason for this measure lay probably in the fact that France insisted on oral and direct negotiations between the Pope and Cardinal D'Estrées as the King declined to set down his reasons in writing and refused to acknowledge the competence of the Congregation in the question of the *régale*. Croissy declared that the only lawful authority to decide the question of the *régale* was the Parliament of Paris.[3]

In point of fact the first impulse for what now followed came from Parliament. That body took up once more the idea of a national Council with a view to using the clergy to protect its rear in the forthcoming attack against Rome. In the spring of 1681 the Bishops then in Paris met at the palace of the Archbishop for the purpose of discussing the situation of the Church. This was the so-called "Small Assembly".[4] The leaders of the gathering were Archbishop François de Harlay of Paris and Le Tellier of Rheims. The result of the deliberations was submitted to Louis XIV. in the form of four articles which run as follows: 1. The French Bishops did the right thing when, for the sake of peace, they submitted to the declarations of 1673 and 1675 on the question

all the more so as it is in substantial agreement with contemporary documents.

[1] Brief of March 3, 1681, in BERTHIER, I., 406.

[2] DUBRUEL, *Congrégation*, 144.

[3] *Il Sig. de Croissy ha detto che il Re non permetterà mai che le sue ragioni si mettano in scritto, e molto meno che si reconosca in questo affare pro giudice la congregatione deputata da N. Sre, mentre non veniva qui riconosciuto altro guidice in materia di Regalia che il parlamento di Parigi. *Cifra dal Nuntio* of April 21, 1681, Nunziat. di Francia, 166, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Petite Assemblée*.

of the *régale*. 2. Gerbais' book, which had been condemned by Rome, was approved in general terms. With regard to another book which, it was alleged, trenched rather too closely on the rights of Bishops, they were satisfied with the author's explanation. 3. The fifty-two Bishops disapproved of the papal decision regarding the nuns of Charonne which, they said, had been given without previous understanding with the Archbishop of Paris, their ordinary superior. 4. The measures taken by Rome in the dispute of Pamiers are described as an infringement of Gallican liberties. Finally they suggest the convocation by the King of a national Council or a General Assembly of the French Clergy.[1] Louis suffered the clergy to do as they pleased, without interfering with them, seeing that they provided him with a weapon in his struggle for the right of *régale*. It was generally thought in Paris that the King would not yield in the question of the *régale* though, on the other hand, he would not suffer France to separate from the Roman Church.[2]

Racine aptly describes this assembly of fifty-two Bishops, abjectly devoted to the King but neglectful of the first duty of Bishops, viz. that of residence.[3] Three thousand copies of

[1] Text of the discussions and resolutions in GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 65 *seqq*. *Nunziat. di Francia*, 166 (Papal Sec. Arch.), contains (in code) Lauri's reports on the proceedings. On May 3, 1681, he reports that the proposal of a national council had been made " solo per far paura a Roma ".

[2] It is generally thought " che il Re per qualunque accidente che arrivi sia risolutissimo di non comportar mai che il regno di Francia si separi dalla chiesa Romana, ogn'uno n'è persuaso ; ma ogn'uno tiene anche per certo che S. M^{tà} non voglia cedere alla pretentione di usar della Regalia in tutte le chiese del regno ". Lauri, April 7, 1681, *loc. cit.*

[3] " Un ordre, hier venu de Saint-Germain,
Veut qu'on s'assemble. On s'assemble demain.
Notre archevêque, et cinquante-deux autres
Successeurs des apôtres
S'y trouveront. Or de savoir quel cas
S'y doit traiter, c'est encore un mystère.
C'est seulement une chose très-claire

the resolutions of the Assembly were printed and distributed.[1] With the exception of the Bishop of Arras, all the members of the Assembly seem to have signed its acts.[2] The King answered the courageous act of the Bishop with a *lettre de cachet* ordering him to leave the court at once, to return to his diocese and not to leave it in future without permission.[3]

The events in Paris greatly impeded Cardinal D'Estrées' negotiations in Rome, nor did public opinion in France expect any marked gain from them.[4] Thereupon the Duchess of Savoy, at the prompting of Cardinal Rospigliosi, made an attempt at mediation by offering her services to the Pope through the Turin nuncio Muzio. Innocent gladly accepted the mediation but explained that it could only consist in enlightening the King since in view of the fact that the Church was indisputably in the right, an agreement could only be reached by Louis giving in.[5] In these circumstances the Duchess did not dare to approach Louis XIV. though she felt convinced of the justice of the Pope's case.[6]

Whilst Cardinal D'Estrées laboured in Rome, or at least seemed to labour, on the basis of Rospigliosi's proposal, for a mutual "suspension" of any further action, fresh steps were being taken in France.

Que nous avions cinquante-deux prélats
Qui ne résidoient pas."

Œuvres de J. RACINE, éd. PAUL MESNARD, IV., Paris, 1886, 189.

[1] *Lauri, May 19, 1681, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Id.*, May 23, 1681, *ibid.*

[3] **Id.*, May 26, 1681, *ibid.*

[4] **Id.*, May 28, 1681, *ibid.*

[5] "ma che essendo manifesta la giustizia della causa difesa dalla S^tà Sua, non sapeva vedere qual altra forma di aggiustamento vi fosse che di sodisfare alla chiesa e di rivocar gli attentati contra di essa e desistere della vessatione di quelli che procurano di difendere le ragioni e la libertà," Cibo to nuncio Muzio, July 2, 1681, in BOJANI, II., 126.

[6] *Ibid.*, 127.

(2.)

On July 16th, 1681, Louis XIV. issued orders to the Archbishops of the realm that they should have elected at provincial assemblies of their clergy, delegates for a larger assembly of a similar kind which was to meet on October 1st.[1] The French clergy was in the habit of holding such assemblies at stated periods but originally and even at a later date, they were concerned, at least in the first instance, with temporal affairs, such as taxes and the like. The fact that it would not be so this time was only revealed in the letters of invitation to the Archbishops of Cambrai and Besançon whose dioceses had only recently been incorporated in the French realm. These prelates were expressly told that this time there would only be question of purely spiritual matters, the decision of which concerned equally all the Bishops of the Kingdom.[2] The Government was anxious to widen the range of the Assembly of the Clergy's authority in the spiritual sphere in order that, whilst attacking the Holy See, it might itself remain in the background and take cover behind the authority of the clergy. Already in 1670 the learned Baluze had advised Colbert in this sense, basing himself on the precedent of Philip the Fair, Charles VI and Louis XI. and XII. who, he said, had not acted otherwise.[3]

[1] Gérin, *Assemblée*, 75. The Assembly was commanded ' de faire députer deux du premier ordre et deux du second ordre pour l'assemblée générale ". *Cf.* Hanotaux, *Recueil, Rome*, II., xiii. ; Ch. Bellet, *Hist. du card. Le Camus*, Paris, 1886, 211 *seq.*

[2] There was question of " une occasion où il s'agissait de *matières purement spirituelles*, à la décision desquelles tous les évêques de son royaume avaient, un égal intérêt ; il estimait nécessaire d'y faire venir les députés des provinces, tant de l'ancien clergé de France, qui se trouvent ordinairement aux assemblées *tenues pour les affaires temporelles*, que des provinces nouvellement conquises ". Gérin, *Assemblée*, 117.

[3] " Il peut arriver que le Roi sera bien aise de pouvoir opposer cette autorité [of the Assembly of the clergy] aux entreprises de la cour de Rome " (Baluze). *Ibid.*, 119.

Whilst preparing for the Assembly, the Government, of course, saw to it that only such ecclesiastics were chosen as deputies on whose devotion it could rely. If the choice fell on an unacceptable personality it was simply vetoed and the election of another ordered.[1] An Instruction was drawn up setting down the duties of the deputies. They were to draw up in a joint deliberation the measures to be taken for the settlement of the dispute over the *régale*, confirming them with their signature ; they were also to do their best to put a stop to such encroachments by Rome, both past and future, as were contrary to the concordat. Special mention was made in this connexion of the alleged encroachments concerning Charonne, Pamiers and Toulouse. A further task of the Assembly was to maintain the jurisdiction of the Bishops as determined by the concordat. In the case of appeals to Rome the Pope must nominate commissaries empowered to give a decision in France itself. In short it was the deputies' duty to preserve the Gallican liberties by all suitable means.[2] Whatever the Assembly did to this end, even though it was done without special authorization, had the approval of the King.

This Instruction was drawn up by a commission presided over by the Archbishop of Paris and appointed by the " Small Assembly ". It was then sent to the Archbishop as the work of this commission so that it had the semblance of being an exclusively clerical document. To preserve this appearance every passage that might have betrayed the pressure of the Government was expunged by order of Colbert, though in reality the Instruction had been submitted to the King and approved by him.[3]

In conformity with the royal command the Archbishops now convened their provincial assemblies. The Archbishop of Rheims, Le Tellier, met with a difficulty at the very outset

[1] *Ibid.*, 124, the customary form of invitation.

[2] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 127.

[3] Letter of Colbert, June 16, 1681, *ibid.*, 125 *seq.* : " Sa majesté ayant estimé qu'il ne fallait pas qu'il parût rien de sa part qui déterminât les matières qui doivent être traitées dans ladite assemblée."

of his assembly. In its fourth point the "Small Assembly" had decreed that at the provincial assemblies Bishops alone would have a deliberative voice, whilst simple priests would only have a consultative one. The lower clergy, whom the Archbishop of Rheims had convened at Senlis, protested against this arrangement, but their protests were suppressed. Louis XIV. sanctioned this act of violence and saw to it that all the Bishops were promptly informed of it, so as to prevent a repetition of it elsewhere.[1] The King was afraid of opposition to his action on the part of the simple priests and on the part of the regulars who were not consulted at all. In other ways also the Government did not shrink from arbitrary measures. To the Archbishop of Rouen Colbert wrote that he wanted the Bishop of Lisieux to be a deputy. Accordingly that prelate was elected, and when an accident prevented him from putting in an appearance, the King simply dispensed with a fresh election and, by his own supreme authority, substituted for him the Bishop of Avranches.[2] Everywhere pressure was exercised on the elections. From his hiding place Cerle, the banished Vicar Capitular of Pamiers, issued two protests against these proceedings, but without effect. In these circumstances Cardinal Grimaldi, Archbishop of Aix, refused to convene an assembly. He maintained that it would be illegal in any case. The assembly would not be free, since the deputies whose election was desired were designated beforehand by royal letter. Nor would Grimaldi have anything to do with the Instruction. He issued a warning against the undermining of ecclesiastical authority as the secular power also stood or fell with it.[3] A protest having been lodged with the King, Grimaldi was told in an autograph letter to drop

[1] *Ibid.*, 128.

[2] *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.*

[3] Report of the *Intendant* of Provence, August 12, 1681, to the Government on his conversation with Card. Grimaldi on the occasion of his submitting the instructions to him (*ibid.*, 135–147). *Cf.* *Lauri, August 1, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 166, Papal Sec. Arch.

all objections [1] and to comply with the King's will. Through the Intendant of Provence, Louis informed the Cardinal that it was his royal decision to leave the provincial assembly full liberty.[2] Grimaldi, however, did not trust him, and declined to convene the provincial assembly. However, just as it was intended to hold a national Council without the Pope, so did the Government not hesitate to organize a diocesan synod against the will of the Metropolitan. Bishop Valavoire of Riez was instructed to convene the assembly and to preside over its deliberations which, accordingly, led to the desired result.[3] The clergy of Aix had stated their real sentiments, which were those of loyalty to Rome, in a memorial in which it charged its representatives to denounce the illegality of the extension of the right of *régale* and the Government's action at Charonne and Toulouse.

After so careful a preparation, thirty-four Bishops and thirty-seven other prelates from the hundred and twenty dioceses of France at length assembled in Paris in October, 1681. On November 1st, Bossuet delivered his famous inaugural discourse on the unity of the Church, a masterpiece of eloquence, full of excellent and noble thoughts, but resting on the Gallican standpoint. If they followed in the footsteps of St. Louis and Charlemagne, Bossuet declared, they would not separate themselves from the Chair of Peter; on the contrary, they would preserve the unity of the head and the members.[4]

The object which it was desired to realize by means of the Assembly is revealed by a glance at the person of its president, the Archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay. Born in Paris

[1] "toutes considérations cessantes." GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 147.

[2] "de laisser une liberté entière à ladite assemblée tant pour la nomination des députés que pour la manière dont la procuration leur doit être donnée. *Ibid.*, 146.

[3] *Ibid.*, 149.

[4] Text, *ibid.*, 148. *Il discorso, sento che fu lunghissimo e molto erudito, e che le cose vi furono portate in maniera, come se si fosse voluto salvar tutte le parti." Lauri, November 10, 1682, *loc. cit.*

in 1625, Harlay had become Archbishop of Rouen when only twenty-six years old. Mazarin, with his wonted clear-sightedness, had perceived that this highly gifted, eloquent, engaging and ambitious personality might become a valuable tool in the hands of the Government. In 1671 Harlay was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Paris and three years later he was raised to the rank of a Duke. He was a man wholly after the *Roi Soleil's* own heart; a charming *grand seigneur* and an accomplished courtier whose immoral life was no secret.[1] In the affair of the *régale* Harlay's conduct had been so satisfactory that he was selected for the chief rôle in the Paris Assembly, seeing that in questions affecting the Church, his opinions were, in fact, more radical than those of many laymen.[2]

Harlay's secretary well described his employer when he called him the Pope of this side of the mountains. Harlay seems in fact to have aspired to such a rôle. A report of 1682 describes him as an exceedingly unruly and ambitious man, who aspired to become the Patriarch of France. Harlay held the principle that, once a Bishop was confirmed by the Pope, he could act with absolute independence from Rome within his diocese.[3] Bossuet describes him as a man who, at the Assembly, only thought of flattering the court and of doing the will of the ministers with the submissiveness of a lackey.[4] Even in Harlay's lifetime Fénelon, in a letter to the King speaks of him as a corrupt, scandalous and incorrigible personage, whose only ambition it was to gratify the King.[5]

[1] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, II., 349. *Cf. Lettre de* Fénelon *à Louis XIV.*, Paris, 1825, 23 *seq.* [2] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 172 *seq.*

[3] Report of Jacobelli, auditor of the nunciature at Venice, to Cibo, May 12, 1682, in Bojani, III., 133.

[4] "Feu M. de Paris ne faisait en tout cela que flatter la cour, écouter les ministres et suivre à l'aveugle leurs volontés comme un valet." Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 173.

[5] "Vous avez un archevêque corrompu, scandaleux, incorrigible, faux, malin, artificieux, ennemi de toute vertu et qui fait gémir tous les gens de bien. Vous vous en accomodez parce qu'il ne songe qu'à vous plaire par ses flatteries." *Ibid.*, 175.

Harlay's conduct was admirably characterized in the few words in which Madame de Coulanges imparted the news of his death on August 25th, 1695: "The question now is to find someone to preach the funeral oration," she wrote; "it is said that only two little things make this duty difficult; namely, the life of the Archbishop and his death."[1] Some reports in the Papal Secret Archives of the year 1687 throw a most unfavourable light on the moral conduct of this Prince of the Church.[2]

Equally worldly, unpriestly, and blindly devoted to the Government were the other leaders of the Assembly of Paris, viz. Serroni, Archbishop of Albi[3] and one of Mazarin's creatures; Nicolas Colbert, the son of the minister, whom the Pope, at the instance of Louis XIV., had named coadjutor of Rouen with the title of Archbishop of Carthage[4] and the second president of the Assembly, Charles Maurice Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims and son of the Chancellor, a prominent opponent of the prerogatives of the Holy See.[5] Exclusive of the Archbishops, the Bishops of the Assembly

[1] "Il s'agit maintenant de trouver quelqu'un qui se charge de l'oraison funèbre du mort. On prétend qu'il n'y a que deux petites bagatelles qui rendent cet ouvrage difficile: c'est la vie et la mort." *Ibid.*, 169.

[2] *Cibo to the nuncio, February 4, 1687 (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, Papal Sec. Arch.): Nuncio Ranuzzi's attention is drawn to rumours according to which the Archbishop was suffering from a certain disease ("d'un male di cui la modestia consiglia a non dire il nome"). Ranuzzi is told to get in touch with La Chaize (similarly in the **Cifra* of March 11). La Chaize seems to have looked upon the matter as pretty harmless so that Innocent XI. informed the nuncio on May 22, 1687, that this may be so but that it was unseemly for an Archbishop to be so often in the house of a singer ("con tanta domestichezza e frequenza in casa d'una femina che canta"). The nuncio is told to speak to the King on the subject in order that the latter should induce Harlay to refrain; *cf.* also *Cibo to Ranuzzi.

[3] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 176.

[4] BERTHIER, I., 341.

[5] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 189 *seq.*

numbered twenty-six. Among them there were men of great learning and exemplary conduct, but they did not dare to rise in protest against the encroachments of the Government.[1] Among the Bishops the outstanding figure was Bossuet who had only consented to be present at the particular request of the court.[2] The authorities were all the more anxious for the presence of the learned young Bishop, whose leaning towards the court was known, as the other luminaries of piety and learning, such as Fénelon, Mabillon, Rancé and many others, were kept at a distance by reason of their opinions.

In consequence of their subordinate rôle, the influence of the lower clergy on the Assembly was but slender. Besides Fleury, mention must be made of the Abbé Gerbais who had already taken up a position hostile to Rome in the question of the theses of 1663.[3] His work on "Major Causes" had been qualified as heretical by Innocent XI. on December 18th, 1680, and censured accordingly. Gerbais was an intimate of Harlay as well as of the royal councillors and even before the opening of the Assembly he observed that it would not content itself with dealing with the question of the *régale* but that his book and the authority of the Church would also come up for discussion.[4] In fact the "Small Assembly" had already given its opinion on the book.[5] For all those members of the lower clergy who were allowed to take part in the Assembly the King had in readiness rich benefices, dioceses and abbeys with which to reward any services that they might eventually render to him.[6]

Besides the report of internuncio Lauri, we have two important sources of information on the proceedings at the Assembly. The first consists of notes by Abbé Fleury of a conversation with Bossuet. They only give the leading ideas

[1] *Ibid.*, 204–225.

[2] *Corresp. de Bossuet.*, éd. Urbain et Levesque, II., 256.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 248, and Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 482.

[4] Gérin, 231.

[5] Above, p. 280.

[6] Gérin, 239 *seq.*

but despite their fragmentary nature these notes allow us a glimpse into the labours of the consulting commission. Then there is an unknown writer, but one who must have been in touch with Fleury, or perhaps with Bossuet, who drew up a survey of the whole course of the discussions.[1] As is the case in all big gatherings, the brunt of the work was borne by committees on which the Government managed to exercise pressure both directly and indirectly. The plenary Assembly adopted the proposals of the committees as its own decisions, all in a seemingly ecclesiastical framework.

The study of the question of the *régale* was entrusted to the Grand Chancellor, Le Tellier, his son Archbishop Le Tellier of Rheims and Bossuet. The two Le Telliers led the discussion. The commission started from the assumption that certain people were making strenuous efforts to destroy both the liberties of the Gallican Church and their foundations.[2] This was, of course, aimed in the first instance at Innocent XI. who, according to French opinion, should not have intervened in the conflicts of Charonne and Pamiers before he had had the affair examined on the spot by his commissaries, as was laid down by the concordat.[3] However, here there was no question of appeals in the sense of the concordat, but of the protection by the Pope of oppressed clerics. With this pretence of safeguarding Gallican liberties against alleged encroachments on the part of the Pope, the true liberties of the Church of France were in reality being surrendered to the King and his advisers. On February 3rd, 1682, the Assembly allowed the idolized head of the realm to extend the right of *régale* to all the dioceses of the realm after Louis had agreed to various slight concessions in regard to the practical exercise of the

[1] *Nunziat. di Francia,* 166, Cifre da Lauri, 1681, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* the two accounts in GÉRIN, *Assemblée,* 264 *seqq.* (hereafter quoted as FLEURY in GÉRIN and ANONYMUS in GÉRIN).

[2] "Cleri Gallicani de ecclesiastica potestate declaratio": "Ecclesiae Gallicanae decreta et libertates a maioribus nostris tanto studio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta, sacris canonibus et patrum traditione nixa, multi diruere moliuntur." *Mention,* 26.

[3] ANONYMUS in GÉRIN, 268 *seq.*

right.[1] It was on such a basis that the first of the four Gallican Articles of 1682 was formulated. It embodied a doctrinal statement, and asserted that the King and all secular princes were in all respects independent of ecclesiastical authority in everything temporal and that the Pope had no power to depose a prince.[2]

In this way a solution was also found for the question of *régale* since it was looked upon as a prerogative of the French crown which the Pope could not touch. The Article which the Assembly accepted on March 19th was a very dangerous one, as any delimitation of the secular sphere had been purposely omitted so that, by means of a wide interpretation, it could be made to include almost every question in dispute between the spiritual and the secular powers. In the next three Articles the Assembly dealt with the range of papal power, though this point had not been foreseen at first.[3] In one of the sessions of the committee the Archbishop of Rheims and his father insisted on a discussion of the boundaries of papal authority, but Bossuet opposed the proposal on the ground that it lay outside the pre-arranged scheme of their discussions.[4] The Bishop of Tournai, Gilbert Choiseul, was at first in favour of studying the question but Bossuet succeeded in dissuading him by representing to him that the discussion would only increase their divisions. On the other hand, Colbert pressed for the discussion of the question.[5] Louis XIV. yielded and instructed Harlay accordingly.[6]

[1] *Id., ibid.*, 266; statement by the King on the application of the right of *régale* and its extension to all dioceses in *Mention*, 1 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*; MOURRET, 330.

[2] Text in *Mention*, 26, 28.

[3] At the King's special request the Assembly had named (on November 29, 1681), a commission of twelve to examine the Sorbonne's six theses of 1663; *cf.* GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 276 *seq.*

[4] "Evêque de Meaux répugnait. Hors de saison." FLEURY in GÉRIN, 263.

[5] "Colbert insistait et pressait le Roi" FLEURY, *ibid.*

[6] "Archevêque de Paris, ordre du Roi de traiter cette question." *Ibid.*

Since it was no longer possible for Bossuet to prevent a discussion of the matter, he sought at least to delay a decision for as long as possible. To this end he proposed that the question should be carefully studied in the light of ecclesiastical tradition.[1] The Archbishop of Paris thought otherwise. The Pope, he said, having driven the French so far, would now have to rue his conduct, whilst to the King he explained that Bossuet's proposal would take too much time.[2] Renewed pressure on Louis XIV. by Colbert resulted in a royal ordinance to the commission to conclude and decide on the question of papal authority.[3] The Bishop of Tournai was charged with the drafting of the Article but his work satisfied no one.[4] Thereupon Bossuet was asked to try to formulate the papal prerogatives. His draft was examined at a meeting at the house of the Archbishop of Paris when it met with strong opposition. There were vehement disputes when the request was put forward that the lawfulness of appealing from the Pope to a General Council should be included in the Article. To this Bossuet objected by pointing out that the theory of such appeals had been expressly condemned by Bulls of Pius II. and Julius II. No occasion should be given for an attack on these decisions.[5] After lengthy discussion the last three Gallican Articles were formulated by the committee. All the Assembly had to do was to approve them.

The first of the last three Articles—the second of the whole series—asserted that the decrees of the fourth and fifth session of the Council of Constance concerning the superiority of the Council over the Pope, were valid not only for the conditions then existent, but universally. The third Article

[1] "Evêque de Meaux propose examiner toute la tradition pour pouvoir allonger tant que l'on voudrait." *Ibid.*

[2] "Pape nous a poussés, s'en repentira. Archevêque de Paris dit au Roi que durerait trop." *Ibid.*

[3] "Ordre de conclure et décider sur l'autorité du Pape. Colbert pressait." *Ibid.*

[4] "Evêque de Tournai chargé dresser les propositions : mal et scolastiquement." *Ibid.*

[5] FLEURY, *ibid.*

rejected as groundless the objections to the above theory and insisted that the Pope was bound to exercise his authority only in conformity with the canons and to respect the customs of the Gallican Church. The fourth Article acknowledged the Pope's preponderant authority in questions of faith and the fact that his decrees were binding on each and every Church, but denied that they were unalterable if they did not meet with the assent of the whole Church.[1]

It was at first thought that Harlay was chiefly responsible for the four Articles. When the English ambassador met the Archbishop in the King's antechamber he congratulated him on the great success of the Assembly. For a moment Harlay felt quite confused but ended by expressing his profound satisfaction.[2] However, as time went on, the opinion gained ground that Bossuet, the outstanding intelligence in the whole gathering, who was responsible for the shape and form of the Articles, was likewise their spiritual father.[3]

Bossuet differed profoundly from François de Harlay by the dignity and purity of his life ; he did so too by his attitude towards the Holy See, in fact this had become so evident already in 1663, on the occasion of the question of the theses, that the royal councillors had put him on the list of those who had a bad mark against their name.[4] This was bound to weigh heavily on the mind of a somewhat timorous man [5] who yielded to none of his contemporaries in his unconditional devotion to Louis XIV. The renowned orator and learned theologian was a genius but not a firm character. This fact was recognized by one of Colbert's confidants as early as 1663. He represents Bossuet as able, self-satisfied, anxious at all

[1] Text in *Mention*, 28 *seqq.*

[2] Jacobelli, auditor of the nunciature in Venice, to Cibo, according to Abbé Gondi who had returned from Paris, May 12, 1682, in Bojani, III., 133.

[3] Napoleon I., for instance, always appealed to Bossuet as a crown witness for his pretensions.

[4] Gérin, App., 481 *seq.*

[5] "Le faible de Bossuet était une timidité candide, presque naïve." Mourret, 327.

times to please those around him and to adjust himself to their opinions.[1] Bossuet, so the report continues, thought at the time of the disputes of 1663 that the tension between Pope and King would be a passing phase, hence he began to adopt more and more a middle position which made him acceptable to both parties.[2] The report also lays stress on Bossuet's tendency to join that party which would best serve his interest.[3] It goes without saying that court circles left nothing undone to attach such a man to their cause by showing him great favour; in this they succeeded easily enough seeing that, after all, Bossuet inclined towards Gallicanism, though a moderate Gallicanism.[4] At Rome Bossuet stood in high esteem with Innocent XI. by reason of his justly famous *Exposition de la doctrine catholique*, published in 1668, and this esteem he was anxious to retain. Of his discourse at the opening of the Assembly of Paris he said himself that he could have delivered it in Rome, in the very presence of the Pope [5]; that it was meant to exercise a restraining influence on Rome as on the Assembly.[6] But it also met Louis XIV.'s views to such an extent that he was no less satisfied than the Pope.[7] However, the four Gallican Articles were bound to turn Rome's satisfaction into the opposite sentiment. As their real author Bossuet designates Colbert: he alone had persuaded the King to take advantage of the dispute over the *régale* to bring up once more the question of papal infallibility and the theses of 1663, a step in which the Archbishop had blindly followed him.[8] As for himself, as a member of the committee set up for the purpose of discussing the delimitation of papal authority, he had endeavoured to save what could still be saved and for that

[1] Gérin, 287 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 287 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 290.
[4] Mourret, 328.
[5] *Corresp. de Bossuet*, II., 268.
[6] F. Strowski, *Bossuet*, Paris, 1901, 285 *seq.*
[7] Gérin, 293 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 284 *seq.*

reason he had been willing to undertake the drafting of the articles dealing with the matter.[1]

How great the peril was appears from some notes in Fénelon's own hand.[2] According to this document the Bishop of Tournai, Gilbert Choiseul, who but for Bossuet's strong opposition would have been commissioned to draft the four Articles, was an out and out Gallican ; he stood for the view that not only the Pope personally, but the Holy See as such, could fall into heresy. Bossuet was not prepared to go so far, for he firmly believed in the indefectible orthodoxy of the Holy See. According to this account then, which Fénelon reproduces as from Bossuet's own lips,[3] the latter only undertook the arduous task in order to avoid a greater evil. Bossuet himself subsequently appealed to the service which he had rendered to the Holy See when he took this affair into his own hands. Bossuet's confidant, the Abbé Ledieu, maintains the same view in his memoirs.[4]

When we picture to ourselves Bossuet's position in the light of these historic documents, we must acknowledge that the Bishop of Meaux' sentiments differed profoundly from those of Colbert and Harlay who allowed themselves to be guided by hatred of Rome. Nor can it be denied that Bossuet honestly strove to avoid an even greater evil. Yet the question imposes itself : for a man of so much learning and one endowed with so great a gift of eloquence, would it not have been far more becoming if, regardless of all human respect and petty calculations, he had raised his voice not only in committee, but likewise in the Assembly of the Clergy ? Bossuet himself

[1] Above, p. 291.

[2] GÉRIN, 263.

[3] *Ibid.*, 295 *seq.* ; FÉNELON, *De SS. Pontificis auctoritate*, c. 7 ; *Œuvres*, II., Paris, 1848, 10 *seq.* "Fides huius sedis," says Bossuet (*ibid.*, 11), indefectibilis est, ut ex promissione Christi et traditione Ecclesiae patet, at vero iudicia Sedis non sunt infallibilia. . . . Si Sedes illa circa fidem erraret, non erraret pertinaci et obstinato animo, a ceteris ecclesiis ad rectae fidei tramitem cito revocaretur."

[4] GÉRIN, 296.

seems to have felt that his was a false position. This is shown by his many attempts to justify his conduct once he realized that nearly the whole Catholic world condemned the four Gallican Articles. He then explained that it had been his intention to formulate the liberties of the Gallican Church not as they were understood by Parliaments but by the Bishops; that he had always endeavoured so to define the authority of the Holy See as to remove from it all that might cause alarm and to make this sacred power, without any loss to itself, appear attractive to the whole world, even to the heretics and to all its enemies.[1]

However, by now the four Articles had been raised to the dignity of decrees and on April 14th, 1682, they were forwarded to all the Bishops of France together with a circular which, after emphasizing the need of the Councils, enjoined on the prelates not to tolerate a contrary teaching either in church or school.[2] Louis XIV. had already approved the Articles on March 22nd; at the same time he gave orders that they should be registered everywhere and taught in all schools and seminaries and that all teachers should swear to them each year.[3] All this is at variance with the claim of Bossuet and other members of the Assembly that they only meant to embody an opinion, not to define a doctrine. Parliament gladly registered the Articles on March 23rd.[4]

Whilst the deliberations of the Assembly of Paris were in their initial stage, conversations were taking place in Rome between the French envoy extraordinary, Cardinal D'Estrées and Innocent XI. All hope of a compromise did not appear to have vanished; for as was shown by the sudden and unexpected suspension of the Congregation of the *régale*, the Pope was in a conciliatory mood. But then, about eight weeks before the decision on the four Articles, there arrived a letter from the Assembly of the French Clergy, dated February 3rd, 1682, in which the Pope was instructed on the

[1] *Corresp. de Bossuet*, II., 280 *seq.*

[2] *Mention*, 44 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 33 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 36.

boundaries of the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The letter describes the *régale* as a secular affair, a prerogative of the crown, and exhorts the Pope to preserve the peace and unity of the Church in a spirit of conciliation. The King's work on behalf of the Church and his action against heresy are extolled. The Pope was likewise reminded of the decisions of Parliament, and the prerogatives of the French crown.[1]

This letter produced a twofold reaction. It arrived about mid-February, together with the declaration of the Assembly of the Clergy approving the extension of the right of *régale* to the whole of France.[2] Innocent XI. immediately convened once more the Congregation of the *régale* and submitted the letter for its examination. Cardinals Ottoboni, Azzolini, Colonna and Ludovisi were present at the first session on March 12th. Agostino Favoriti officiated once more as secretary.[3] The Congregation took a long time to draw up a reply. A first draft was rejected because it was not sufficiently explicit in its condemnation of the action of the French clergy. At the next session (the Congregation met only once a week) the draft was revised.[4] After the text of the four Articles had been received, the nomination of qualificators was suggested to the Pope, with a view to proceeding to a censure of the said Articles, in accordance with the practice of the Inquisition. The Pope was likewise requested to give all the nuncios accurate information on the situation in view of the excitement throughout the world. A similar step should be taken with all the Generals and Procurators of Orders and the Catholic Universities, so as to prevent the French Government from cunningly misrepresenting the state of affairs. An eye should be kept especially on the University of Louvain.[5] On April 11th, 1682, a reply was dispatched.[6] "The sons of my

[1] *Mention*, 6.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] DUBRUEL, *Congrégation*, 144.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Text in BERTHIER, II., 26, and *Mention*, 37. In the latter the Brief is dated April 2, 1682, moreover the text in *Mention* differs

mother have striven against me!" the Pope exclaims in the words of Holy Writ. The French Bishops had shown fear where there was no cause for fear; they should have applied to themselves their quotations from Yvo of Chartres and made Louis XIV. see that he was on the wrong path. The Bishops had no cause to fear the royal anger since on their own testimony, Louis was most pious, God-fearing and well disposed towards the hierarchy. Yet they had not even attempted to resist, but had admitted defeat at the very outset. "Which of you," he asked, addressing the Bishops, "has entered the arena in order to fight the battle of the House of Israel? Which of you has had the courage to endure persecution? Is there one of you who, though alone, has cast a solitary vote for the preservation of the prerogatives of the Church? You have unanimously pronounced for the royal rights, and the voices that were heard were those of royal servants, whilst the Bishops remained silent, thereby bringing down upon the clergy of France shame and humiliation which had better be forgotten for ever, lest they should be an everlasting monument of the disgrace of that clergy." May the French Bishops withdraw from their false path! In virtue of the authority entrusted to him by God he, the Pope, solemnly condemned all that the French clergy had done or decided in the affair of the *régale*.

To make sure that the Brief would get to France it was dispatched through both Venice and Brussels. The papal representative in Paris was instructed to lay it before the Secretary of the Assembly, and when this had been done, to distribute four or six copies in Paris through a third person. It had not been deemed wise in Rome to send the document to the presidents of the Assembly, the Archbishops of Paris and Rheims, for in that case France would never have heard

here and there, though without alteration of the sense, from that of Berthier, apart from wrong spellings. Perhaps this version, taken from the official documents of the *Assemblée*, is based on a draft of the Brief which, through an act of indiscretion, found its way prematurely to Paris.

of the Brief.[1] The papal manifesto created an enormous impression in France. In many quarters it was hailed with delight, for the greater part of the nation did not side with the court Bishops, to whom the Brief also came as a shock. The Archbishop of Rheims, in particular, showed great indignation because the Pope, as he put it, had treated the French hierarchy like simple parish priests or like schoolboys.[2] In France the Bishops were reproached with having formulated doctrines condemned by the Councils, especially in regard to papal authority. Even the Queen repudiated the doctrines of the Assembly. She declared that she would continue to hold fast to the teaching of the Roman, not the Gallican, Church. Influential persons, such as the Duc d'Orléans and Marshal De Villeroi, seem to have drawn the King's attention to the feeling that prevailed among the people.[3]

For all that, the Bishops did not hesitate to take further anti-Roman steps. On May 6th, 1682, a deputation called on the internuncio for the purpose of presenting a written protest. This Lauri refused to accept. However, with the help of one of Lauri's servants the deputies succeeded in leaving the document on the nuncio's desk. It contained a protest against all Innocent XI.'s Briefs ; the Pope, it said, could only have acted as he did owing to complete ignorance of Gallican liberties.[4]

On the same day the French clergy sent a fresh letter to Innocent XI. It is full of adulation both for the King and the Pope whose desires and aspirations had the same common

[1] DUBRUEL, *Congrégation*, 145.

[2] " *Così grande e così universale è stato l'applauso fatto al breve di N. Sre responsivo alla lettera dell'assemblea, che i vescovi ne sono rimasti mortificati." Lauri, May 18, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia* 168, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *" Continuano i rimproveri che si fanno ai vescovi da tutti gl'ordini di persone. . . . La regina medesima non ha lasciato di disapprovare le procedure dell'assemblea et altre volte disse che ella non credeva altro che quello, che insegna la chiesa Romana e non già la Gallicana." Lauri, June 11, 1682, *ibid.*

[4] *Mention*, 48 *seqq.*

aim. Hence they pray that Innocent, together with Louis XIV., who fought so boldly against heresy, would preserve the peace so necessary to the Church.[1] In a circular addressed to all the clergy, also dated May 6th, 1682, the Assembly informed them of the position they had taken up in regard to the Pope's letter, sought to justify their action, and expressed the hope that the whole of the clergy would approve the steps they had taken.[2]

However, all these efforts did not succeed in calming the growing uneasiness. It would seem that the King's confessor, La Chaize, advised him to dissolve the Assembly lest it should go even further on the path it had taken.[3]

The name of La Chaize is frequently mentioned in connexion with the controversies of this period, but it is exceedingly difficult properly to appraise the part played by him. Bishop Caulet of Pamiers was of opinion that whatever had been done against himself and his Chapter in the question of *régale*, had to be put down to the confessor's account [4]; in fact he threatened the latter with the anger of God. La Chaize replied: "The King has better advisers than myself in the matter of the prerogatives of his crown; the question of the *régale* was decided before I entered his service." [5] That in matters connected with Gallicanism Louis XIV.

[1] *Mention*, 53 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 60 *seqq.*

[3] *Lauri, May 29, 1682, *loc. cit.* Since Lauri had but little intercourse with the government and the court, he was obliged to rely chiefly on public opinion and confidential reports. In the present case, he observes, it was difficult to ascertain whether La Chaize acted from a genuine desire that the situation should not become still more acute, or because he feared an attack on his Order by the Assembly ("per zelo di non veder passar le cose più avanti o pure perchè tema che non sia fatto pregiudizio alli privilegi della sua Congregazione come a tutti gli altri regolari").

[4] DUBRUEL, *Bullet. de litt. ecclés.*, 1911, 372.

[5] "Le Roi a de meilleurs conseillers que moi pour examiner les droits de sa couronne." La Chaize on June 26, 1679, *ibid.*, 373.

preferred to consult other counsellors than Jesuits is an *a priori* probability. But in the question of the *régale* the confessor sided with the King.[1] He believed in the right of the crown and felt that the Pope ought to be more complacent towards a sovereign who did so much for religion.[2] But in regard to the four Gallican Articles La Chaize told the King that, though his Order would teach them, it would be with such explanations as to render them harmless where the rights of the Pope were concerned.[3] He himself disapproved the four Articles and took no part in the Assembly of 1682.[4]

Innocent XI. was very dissatisfied with La Chaize and spoke of him in terms of the utmost severity. He had hoped to influence Louis XIV. through his confessor and found fault with La Chaize because the latter considered that the political decisions of the King did not come within his competence as a confessor.[5] On the other hand the Pope overestimated the Jesuit's influence. The papal demands involved La Chaize in so desperate a situation that he told the nuncio on one occasion that in future he would not meddle with any question that concerned Rome, for in that

[1] His own evidence, *ibid.*

[2] " *rilasciar un poco del suo rigore per un re che faceva tanto bene alla chiesa." The French nuncio, December 10, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172a, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] " *Da persona che può interamente saper le intentioni de' PP. Giesuiti mi è stato asserto, che in quei luoghi della Francia dove essi hanno parte nelle università, i loro lettori nel corso di quest' anno di studio insegneranno le propositioni dell' assemblea del clero, ma le interpreteranno in tal maniera che Roma non potrà offendersene, e che di ciò il padre La Chaize se ne sia dichiarito con S. M^{tà} med^{ma} remonstrandole, che nel senso che l'assemblea l'ha pronunciate, la Compagnia non le può insegnare." Lauri, November 6, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] Brucker, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, 591.

[5] " *che s'ingannano grandemente quelli, che gli han detto, ch'egli non deve impacciarsi di simile materie " [French action in Flanders]. The nuncio on May 2, 1684, *Nunziat. di Francia*, Papal Sec. Arch.

quarter they demanded the impossible of him. The King, he declared, took counsel with others also, especially with Archbishop François de Harlay, and he usually acted on their advice.[1] Innocent XI. was so indignant when he heard of this statement that he forbade the nuncio to have anything to do with the confessor. Ranuzzi explained that La Chaize was the only person at court from whom he could get some measure of help and support, and that without him the situation would grow still worse for Rome.[2] Thereupon the nuncio was allowed to resume relations with him. It is impossible to absolve La Chaize from weakness and an excessively favourable opinion of Louis XIV. The Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Venier (1682–8) says of him that he knew how to cloak politics with the mantle of religiosity, but that his courage failed him when there was question of considerations of State and the possibility of opposition towards ministers with whom he was anxious not to quarrel.[3] Internuncio Lauri observed that La Chaize might indeed render useful service to the Church, though it was not to be expected that his attitude would undergo a complete change, or that he would risk losing the favour of the court, all the more so as he had for the most part made his own

[1] *Report of the Paris nunciature of July 1, 1686, *ibid.*, 172[a]; report by Seb. Foscarini from the nunciature of Venice in Barozzi-Berchet, III., 382 *seq.*

[2] La Chaize complains, " che costì [in Rome] è tenuto di cattivo concetto attribuendosi a lui tutto quello che non succede secondo li desiderii di S. Beatitudine, anco di affari, nei quali egli non ha parte alcuna. [Ranuzzi wishes to deal with him], " perchè in fine si cava più da lui che da ogni altro, e se manca il suo aiuto, gli affari anderebbono anco peggio." Report of July 29, 1686, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[3] " *E egli ardito, provveduto di sentimenti accomodati alla politica egualmente che alla religione, soddisfa con certa apparente osservanza il pio genio del Re, si rilascia dove l'interesse di Stato e l'inclinazioni dei ministri, coi quali sta unito, ricerca facilità ed autorità trascendente sopra la disposizione di innumerabili opulentissimi beneficii." Barozzi-Berchet, *Francia*, III., 451.

the opinions favouring the King which he judged to be right in every way.[1]

It is probable that Cardinal D'Estrées' reports from Rome were a decisive factor in the King's attitude. Assuredly, the latest developments in France, which had occurred after his departure, by no means facilitated the latter's task in Rome, and he appears to have drawn the King's attention to the fact,[2] for was it not precisely his mission to prevent the condemnation of Gallican liberties and the right of *régale* ? However, as soon as the steps taken by the Assembly of the Clergy became known, the *Zelanti* got the upper hand in Rome ; the Congregation of the *régale*, reinforced by the addition of several theologians, resumed its labours in numerous sittings and took into account its previous deliberations preparatory to a condemnation of the *régale*.[3] D'Estrées' task was further impeded by the circumstance that opposition to the four Articles was on the increase in Paris, so much so that on May 9th Louis unexpectedly closed the Assembly and on June 29th ordered it to disperse. All the acts had to be given up ; they only came once more into the possession of the clergy in 1710.[4] This wholly unexpected step of the King was no doubt due to the circumstance that the Pope was once more disposed to

[1] " *Se la congiontura e la qualità dell'affare lo permetterà, ma non è da credere che sia per cambiare interamente di condotta e mettersi a rischio di perdere il favore medesimo, tanto maggiormente che egli è già imbevuto al meno in gran parte delle opinioni favorevoli alla corte, così che le crede verissime " (Report of October 26, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch.) For La Chaize, *cf.* BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 591 ; DUBRUEL, *Excommunication*, 612.

[2] Lauri on June 5, 1682, *loc. cit.*, " il sig^r card. D'Estrées, dicesi, habbia informata S. M^tà dei gravi pregiuditii che portano a i suoi negotii le procedure irregolari dell'assemblea."

[3] DUBRUEL, *Congrégation*, 145. *Cf.* *the draft of the constitution " Cum primum " of April 11, 1682, in *Cod.* 309 of Bibl. Casanat., Rome.

[4] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 277.

negotiate with Cardinal D'Estrées. The Congregation of the *régale* was accordingly dismissed once again, and on May 8th, 1682, its labours came to an end.[1]

Innocent XI.'s change of mind was probably due to the political situation in general, as well as to the Turkish question. Cardinal D'Estrées took up once more the proposal worked out by Cardinal Rospigliosi on the occasion of the former's mission to Rome. This was that both sides should provisionally refrain from any new step. When on June 15th D'Estrées prayed Innocent XI. to agree to this, and also to include in the " armistice " all that had been done at the Assembly of the Clergy, the Pope assented to the request [2] on condition that the Assembly was first dissolved, since its members had separated themselves from ecclesiastical unity.[3]

This armistice was to render possible preliminary peace negotiations. The news of the dissolution of the Assembly was the occasion for much rejoicing in Paris.[4] There was a general wish that a solution of the dispute acceptable to

[1] DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Yesterday Card. D'Estrées prayed the Pope a degnarsi di soprasedere nelle ulteriori dichiarationi alle quali era applicato nelle materie correnti dell' assemblea, che lo stesso haverebbe fatto S. M^tà a fine di aver luogo di poter trattare dello stato delle cose presenti per veder se vi fosse modo da poterle terminare con sodisfazione reciproca." Cibo to Lauri, June 16, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[3] " *Quella conventione però che chiamaron tregua non fu fermata che prima non fosse disciolta per opera del cardinal D'Estrées e colla mano aggiutrice (non direm della nostra) del cardinale Giacomo Rospigliosi l'assemblea del clero in Parigi, rendutasi dall'unione." Giorio, Ragguaglio (see above, p. 278, n. 3).

[4] " *Di questo scioglimento dell'assemblea par che tutta la città se ne sia rallegrata, come da essa non ne habbia ricevuto grande edificazione nè pure ne sperasse vantaggi considerabili alla religione cattolica, del che ne fanno testimonianza diverse pasquinate et altri detti mordaci che contro di essa publicamente si riferiscono con applauso di circonstanti." Lauri, July 3, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* also the **Cifra* of July 13, 1682, *ibid.*

both parties might be found.[1] But this was no easy task, were it only for the fact that the two parties were not of the same opinion as to the bearing of the agreement. The Pope refrained from condemning the right of *régale* and the four Articles, but in return he expected the other side to abstain from all innovations. However, in many circles in France the execution of the laws on the *régale* of 1673 and 1675, as well as of the four Articles of 1682, was not considered an innovation. These things, it was argued, were accomplished facts before the armistice.[2] The situation was further complicated by some episcopal nominations by the King which the Pope could not confirm. Louis XIV. wished to reward certain ecclesiastics for their services at the Assembly by conferring bishoprics on them. The Pope demanded that the candidates should first disavow the four Articles, but to this the King would not consent.[3] The candidates were the two priests, Augustin de Maupeou and Claude de Saint-Georges, who had had the sees of Castres and Clermont conferred upon them.[4] Difficulty was likewise experienced in filling the see of Pamiers. Louis had already desired to give a new pastor to that diocese at the beginning of 1681, but two Bishops in succession declined the offer. Louis only acceded to their refusal after both had declared that only love for their own dioceses inspired their refusal.[5] The Pope had made up his mind to accede to a new nomination for Pamiers only on condition that the Vicar Capitular, Cerle, and those Canons who cherished Roman sympathies, were first restored to their rightful positions. On the other

[1] " *E grande il desiderio che qui tutti hanno di sentir perfezionato l'accomodamento delle correnti differenze con sodisfazione reciproca di S. B^e e del Re. Anzi molte volte l'han già publicato per fatto, mostrando dispiacere quando poi han saputo che non era vero." Lauri, July 27, 1682, *ibid.*

[2] *Lauri, June 26 and August 31, 1682, *ibid.*

[3] *Lauri, August 31, 1682, *ibid.*

[4] *Lauri, October 26, 1682, *ibid. Cf.* also *Recueil des instructions*, II., Rome, *Introd.*, p. xv *seqq.*

[5] *Lauri, January 10, 1681, *ibid.*

hand Louis insisted that the Pope should be the first to give way; only then would he give the desired satisfaction.[1] All these reasons made a settlement of the dispute between Pope and King impossible.[2]

Though Louis XIV. had dissolved the Assembly of the Clergy, he was unwilling to abandon its decisions, that is, the four Gallican Articles. He maintained his edict of March 12th, 1682, by the terms of which these Articles had to be registered and taught by all the theological Faculties. But this roused an opposition of unexpected strength which found an echo even in other countries.

(3.)

Strangely enough the first sign of opposition came from the Parliament of Paris. Not that that body objected to the contents of the Articles as such, what it objected to was the fact that the clergy should have presumed even to discuss the limits of the royal power. In the opinion of Parliament everything was so clear in this respect that neither the Assembly of the French Clergy nor the universal Church had any right to busy themselves with it. The Attorney General, Achille Harlay, issued a declaration in this sense which the King allowed Parliament to register, together with the four Articles, but it was to be done secretly, so as not to rouse the clergy unnecessarily.[3] With this protest it was intended to prevent a possible change of opinion on the part of the clergy, for the question of the royal power was thereby declared to be beyond all doubt.

[1] *To Lauri, October 14, 1682, *ibid.*, 168.

[2] " *Ma fermatasi appena la tregua fra la Santa Sede e il clero di Francia insorse incontanente nuova materia di contrasto, posciachè coll'avviso pervenuto in Roma d'alcune chiese vacate in Francia fu inteso con meraviglia, che la nominatione fatta dal Re cadesse in due di que' soggetti contumaci di Roma, a causa di essere intervenuti nell'assemblea di Parigi." Giorio, Ragguaglio, 32.

[3] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 333 *seq.*

However, attacks against the four Articles also came from other quarters and from quite different motives; in fact opposition to their contents and spirit became ever stronger both within and without the French frontiers. At the University of Paris unexpected opposition arose against the royal decree of March 1682, ordering all the Universities of the realm to register the four Articles, and it required force to repress it. At that time the Catholic Faculty included some 750 Doctors. Colbert's papers show that by far the greater number of them, and precisely the most learned and devout, condemned the four Articles and refused to register them.[1] Their determination won for them extraordinary applause from popular circles.[2] Innocent XI. instructed nuncio Lauri to praise the Doctors and to express his satisfaction.[3] These widely spread sentiments could hardly escape Louis XIV., but he was determined not to yield; hence the Government had recourse to its old expedients of bribery and threats. On May 1st, 1682, a parliamentary deputation went to the Sorbonne. No one knew of its intentions except Syndic Pirot who had been won over to the court. On the basis of a royal ordinance the deputation demanded the insertion of the four Articles in the registers of the University. The aged Bétille, who was the senior dean, did not dare to resist; he escorted the deputation out of the room but did not return. Accordingly Syndic Pirot refused all further discussion, with the result that the Assembly dispersed without having arrived at a decision.[4] Louis XIV. was greatly annoyed. On May 16th he sent an order to Pirot from Versailles to see to the execution of the decree. To the Doctors he denied any right to discuss or to dispute about a royal ordinance, and Pirot was

[1] *Cf.* the composition of the Doctors, *ibid.*, 341–8.

[2] "*Non ordinario è stato l'applauso che le voci popolari han fatto alla costanza de' dottori di Sorbona." Lauri, June 22, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *To Lauri, June 15, 1682, and subsequently, *ibid.*

[4] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 349 *seqq.*

empowered to take appropriate steps in the event of further resistance.[1]

The King was all the more angry as he feared that Rome might hear of the opposition of the University to the four Articles.[2] But despite the King's anger the Faculty refused to give in. Its leaders were Doctors Mazure, Despérier and Blanger, against whom the King was so incensed that he had a mind to dismiss them from the University. Colbert counselled moderation, lest the public should come to hear of any resistance. The Attorney General, Achille Harlay, gave similar advice, especially as there was reason to fear a change of opinion among the clergy, of whom a great number were still in Paris. Hence it was deemed more prudent that the King should not assert his authority too hastily or too frequently.[3] However, by July 15th, 1682, it was realized that nothing would be gained by waiting. Achille Harlay reported to Colbert in this sense. He had no new suggestions to make, but merely observed that the King should take the least harmful course.[4]

Louis deemed the situation so serious that on that same night he dispatched a courier to Paris with a royal instruction for the Procurator General, on the strength of which the Faculty was strictly forbidden to discuss the matter further. It was ordered to send a deputation to Parliament at seven in the morning for the purpose of inserting the four Articles in the register of the University.[5] The secretary of Parliament transcribed the four Articles in the registers of the Sorbonne and the leaders of the opposition were banished.[6] These measures, however, only served to rouse feeling in the capital, a circumstance which may have contributed to the dissolution of the Assembly of the Clergy on June 29th.

[1] Text of the royal letter, *ibid.*, 351.

[2] Memorial of Colbert to the Procurator General Achille Harlay, *ibid.*, 352.

[3] *Ibid.*, 353–5.

[4] *Ibid.*, 356.

[5] Text of royal letter, *ibid.*, 357.

[6] *Ibid.*, 358, 361.

By measures of violence and by pressure upon individual members of the Faculty, the Government at length succeeded in getting 162 out of 750 Doctors to yield to the King.[1] They obediently informed him that they shared his view of the four Articles and at the same time begged him to allow them to take part once more in the sittings of the Faculty. Thereupon the Government chose to consider these obsequious divines simply as the *Theological Faculty*, to which permission was given to resume its sittings on July 31st, 1682.[2] The consequence was that the Pope now judged the teaching of the University to be schismatical.[3]

The University of Douai, which had only recently come under French suzerainty, adopted the same attitude towards the four Articles as that of Paris. Threats were at first fruitless, as the Doctors declared that they were resolved to maintain the old teaching. Twice the Faculty of theology unanimously rejected the suggestion that it should register the four Articles,[4] but in the end Louis got his way here also by forcible means.[5]

The ranks of the opponents of the Government were further reinforced by the Archbishop of Besançon and the Parliament of Dôle in Burgundy. Both the Archbishop and the president of the Parliament declared they could not bring the new teaching into harmony with their conscience, and both offered

[1] Text of royal letter, *ibid.*, 364.

[2] *Cf.* the full account, *ibid.*, 364–489, especially the acts of the Faculty published, *ibid.*, in *Appendice*, B. 522–571.

[3] *[X. must not take his degree in Paris because the Sorbonne "sostiene una dottrina piena di temerità e di protervia schismatica." *Cifra al Nuntio*, October 12, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] "*All'esempio della Sorbona si può aggiungere quello dell'università celebre di Duay, la qual, benchè suddita della Francia e concussa dalle minaccie, ha ricusato già per due volte con voti concordi di registrar le propositioni dell'assemblea per non partirsi dall'antico suo istituto, che è di tenere la dottrina opposta." To the Spanish nuncio, July 19, 1682, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 158, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 387 *seq.*; *Coll. Lac.*, I., 845 *seq.*

their resignation to the King.[1] Parliament refused to embody the four Articles in its registers as it had reason to fear nothing less than a popular rising. An earthquake, of which the impression was still fresh, and which was interpreted as a sign of heaven's displeasure, added force to the general aversion for the new teaching.[2] At this time the University of Perpignan also set itself against the doctrines of the Assembly of Paris.[3]

Just as the Jansenists as a body sought to exploit the situation in their favour, the Jansenist University of Louvain, the only one of the non-French Universities, pronounced against the four Articles., For this it was commended by the Pope, who took up the defence of its prerogatives when these were threatened by the State.[4] On April 12th, 1682, the nuncio in Madrid was instructed by Innocent XI. to intervene with the King of Spain on behalf of Louvain, seeing that it was the only University able to neutralize the Sorbonne. On this occasion the Pope described Paris as an avowed enemy, so to speak, of papal authority.[5]

On this point opinion in Spain favoured the Pope. News of the conduct of the French clergy had been received with indignation in that country, and the Bishops and the Universities thought of issuing a joint declaration against

[1] *Lauri, June 12, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Parimente l'arcivescovo di Bisanzone ed il parlamento di Dola in Burgogna hanno constantemente ricusato di registrarle, anche per ovviare una sollevatione che il popolo minacciava inorridito dall' impietà di quei dogmi et insieme dal terremoto, che in quel tempo medesimo si fece sentire orribilmente in Borgogna." To the Spanish nuncio, July 19 1682, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 158, *loc. cit.*

[3] *To the same, August 16, 1682, *ibid.*

[4] Briefs in BERTHIER, I., 389, 435 ; II., 34.

[5] *[The University of Louvain] è oggi l'unica per quello che appartiene alla erudizione ecclesiastica, la quale possa far contrapeso all'università di Parigi, nemica quasi dichiarata dell' autorità apostolica." *Cifra al Nuntio*, August 16, 1682. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 158, Papal Sec. Arch.

the decisions of Paris. When the Pope heard of this proposal through the Spanish ambassador in Rome, he exhorted the nuncio in Madrid to do everything in his power to further the step, whilst he himself would remain in the background, so that the declaration might be of even greater value.[1] The Spanish Inquisition also seemed about to protest against the four Articles. The Pope set even higher hopes on its intervention than on the declaration of the Bishops and the Universities, which might possibly be inspired by political considerations.[2] However, the Inquisition temporized so long that Innocent's patience gave out at last. He now exhorted the nuncio to do his utmost lest politics should prevent all further declarations.[3] The Pope would have wished to see the most learned among the Spanish Doctors writing against the four Articles,[4] hence it was no small satisfaction to him when the nuncio submitted to him the draft of a dissertation by the Benedictine Aguirre. No doubt the popular, easily understood form of the dissertation pleased him a great deal more than its matter, of the scientific value of which he did not think very highly. The Pope was likewise not pleased with the language, which was too sharp in places, for this might lead readers to put a bad construction on the writer's eulogy of the King of France and the French people, so that offence might be given even to such circles in France as were well-disposed towards the Church. The

[1] **Cifre al Nuntio*, June 21, October 11 & 25; December 6, 1682, *ibid.*

[2] To the same, January 3, 1683, *ibid.*, 161.

[3] * To the same, January 31, February 28, March 14, 1682, *ibid.*

[4] " *V. E. non può eseguir meglio la mente di Nostro Signore quanto col procurare destramente e come da se la censura di cotesta Inquisitione contro le propositioni del clero di Francia, e di eccitare con la medesima circonspettione molti de' dottori più riputati in cotesta università a confutarle." To the same, April 25, 1682, *ibid.*, Similarly in the **Cifre* of May 9 and June 20, 1683, *ibid.*

nuncio was accordingly told to see to it that all such passages were expunged.[1] In the sequel Rome approved the book.[2] The Curia also heard with satisfaction that the Jesuit Tirso Gonzalez intended to write against the French errors.[3] The Inquisition at last condemned the Articles of 1682, for which the Pope expressed his approval to the nuncio on July 4th, 1683.[4]

Nowhere were the French theses more sharply rejected than in Hungary. The Hungarian episcopate, headed by the Archbishop of Gran, George Szelepcsényi, forbade the teaching of the four Articles.[5] This demonstration created so disagreeable an impression in France that the Government demanded that it should be censured. At first Louis XIV. thought of inducing the Archbishop of Paris to publish a counter-declaration, but Harlay felt little inclined to do so; he had not yet forgiven the King the sudden dissolution of the Assembly of the Clergy, which he took as a public censure on himself. The King's confessor, La Chaize, also refused to have anything to do with the business.[6] The Archbishop of Rheims, however, took up the matter with zest. He was anxious to regain the King's confidence, which he had forfeited

[1] "*E parso nondimeno che egli parli alle volte con qualche mordacità e che i medesimi encomii da lui fatti del Re christ^mo e della natione Francese sieno misti di qualche acredine e capaci di essere interpretati per ironici. [Perciò egli deve far rimostranze al Padre], rappresentandogli quanto la maniera da lui tenuta sia poco decente della gravità della materia." To the Spanish nuncio, April 25, 1683, *ibid.*

[2] *To the same, November 5 and 19, 1684, *ibid.* *Cf.* D'Aguirre, *Defensio cathedrae S. Petri*, Salmant, 1683.

[3] To the Spanish nuncio, November 21, 1683, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[4] *To the same, July 4, 1683, *ibid.*; also Miguélez, *Jansenismo y regalismo en España*, Valladolid, 1896.

[5] Gérin, *Assemblée*, 377; Peterffy, *Conc. Hung.*, II., 438 *seq.*; Roscovány, *Mon.*, I., 224–6, Nr. 215.

[6] *Cf.* Lauri's numerous *reports in *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, Papal Sec. Arch., in partciular **Cifra* of April 2, 1683.

by some remarks of his at the expense of La Chaize.[1] However, in the joint deliberations of Parliament and the theological Faculty the proposed censure of the Hungarian declaration met with sharp opposition. The Archbishop of Rheims is said to have observed that it looked as if the Pope had more partisans at the Sorbonne than the King. Only by violent measures could he hope to obtain his point.[2] It took forty-five sessions to secure the condemnation of one proposition alone, namely that which ascribes to the Holy See exclusively the right to judge in matters of faith, in virtue of a divine and unalterable privilege. The Assembly declared with the utmost solemnity that this proposition was false in so far as it deprived the Councils and the Bishops of their authority.[3] Further decisions could not be arrived at, and even this censure had only been made possible by foregoing the prescribed two-thirds' majority of votes, and by acting on a simple majority.[4]

Whilst the action of the French clergy was thus meeting with vigorous opposition in the most diverse States, Innocent XI. maintained a profound silence. The fact was that negotiations with D'Estrées were still proceeding and the Pope did not wish to precipitate matters. A fresh difficulty

[1] *Lauri, August 31, 1682, *ibid.*, 168. The Archbishop of Rheims spoke of La Chaize as "asino" and "bestia". The king made him apologize; he did so but "non senza far violenza al proprio naturale".

[2] *che il Papa paresse che havesse più partiali in Sorbona che il Re. Lauri, April 2, 1683, *ibid.*

[3] "quatenus excludit ab episcopis et conciliis, etiam generalibus, iudicandi de fidei controversiis auctoritatem, quam habent immediate a Christo," Gérin, *Assemblée*, 378.

[4] *Lauri on April 18, 1683, where he speaks of a two-thirds' majority and expresses the hope that it would not be obtained. The same on May 31, 1683: "L'affare di Sorbona è rimasto poi terminato con sollecitudine maggiore di quello che altri havea creduto. Si è concluso a pluralità di voti che la propositione di Strigonia sarà censurata. *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, Papal Sec. Arch.

very nearly caused a complete collapse of the discussions, namely, an attempt by France to bring pressure to bear on Ottoboni through Venice, with a view to compelling the latter to take Louis XIV.'s side. However, the Venetian *chargé d'affaires* in Paris refused to have anything to do with such a plan ; he explained that in Church matters the Republic left the Cardinals perfectly free. Through internuncio Lauri the affair became known in Rome.[1] Such was the indignation of Innocent XI. that he threatened to break off the negotiations unless Ottoboni was given satisfaction within a very short time.[2]

Up till now the Pope had not allowed a single occasion to escape him of holding out a hand for peace and of giving the King proofs of his particular goodwill. A fresh opportunity presented itself when the Dauphin's eldest son was born, who received the title of Duke of Burgundy. By Briefs dated September 1st, 1682, Innocent congratulated the French court on the happy event.[3] Minister Croissy expressed a wish to nuncio Lauri that the Pope would send a nuncio to Paris, to bring swaddling clothes blessed by the Pontiff, according to custom ; this would gratify the King who would not fail to give proof of his desire to satisfy the Pope.[4] Innocent was very willing to comply with this request, but he made it a condition that his envoy should be treated in becoming fashion and that the French Government should first make satisfaction for what had happened at the death of nuncio Varese. Although Cardinal D'Estrées informed the Pope that with regard to the last point nothing could be hoped for from the King,[5] Innocent's desire for peace decided him to send a nuncio without conditions.[6] This

[1] *Lauri, September 14, 1682, *ibid.*, 168.

[2] *Lauri, October 16, 1682, *ibid.*, Lauri was watched by spies in Paris ; *cf.* his *letter of September 14, 1682, *ibid.*

[3] Berthier, II., 48 *seqq.*

[4] *Lauri, September 21, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] *To Lauri, October 14, 1682, *ibid.*

[6] *To the same, October 16, 1682, *ibid.*

decision was evidently in part arrived at in view of the war against the Turks for which Innocent hoped to secure the King's co-operation. La Chaize told Lauri that he would do everything in his power to facilitate a settlement of the disputes.[1]

The news of the impending mission of a nuncio with the blessed swaddling clothes for the King's grandson, called forth immense joy throughout France. The Pope's desire for peace was universally acknowledged, all the more so as in this present instance the gift of swaddling clothes was something quite unusual, for as a rule these were only sent for the children of crowned heads. Lauri urged the choice of a nuncio who could speak French well, in order that he might deal directly with the King, for, as he pointed out, though Louis XIV. understood Italian quite well, he never used it in his relations with ambassadors.[2]

The appointments to vacant dioceses remained a sore point in the negotiations with Cardinal D'Estrées, especially with regard to Pamiers, and both King and Pope stuck firmly to their own points of view. It was not a question of persons, for the Abbé Bourlemont, whom the King proposed, was agreeable to the Pope; but Innocent persisted in his demand for the reinstatement of the Vicar Capitular Cerle and the Canons loyal to Rome. Louis demanded the exact opposite.[3] The affair annoyed the King to such a degree that even the dispatch of a nuncio failed to satisfy him

[1] *[La Chaize] "mi ha mostrato gran dispositione di contribuir dal canto suo quanto potrà per facilitar l'accommodamento delle cose." Lauri, November 2, 1682, *ibid.*

[2] "*Io non saprei esprimere a V.E. il giubilo che tutti hanno sentito, perchè quanto più si mostrano persuasi che N. Sre non era in obligo di far questo passo, tanto maggiormente ne argomentano le ottime intentioni di S. Stà verso le sodisfationi del Re e ne sperano un intiera corrispondenza per parte della Mtà S." Lauri, November 2, 1682, *ibid.*

[3] *Lauri, September 21, 1682, *ibid.*; *to Lauri, October 14, 1682, *ibid.*

completely. He decided to leave the question of the vacant sees alone.[1]

The choice of the much travelled, worldly wise Angelo Ranuzzi as nuncio gave great satisfaction in France.[2] On March 20th, 1683, Cibo informed Lauri that the Pope had blessed the swaddling clothes, and on April 27th he announced that Ranuzzi would set out on the following day.[3] A Brief of April 22nd had informed the French court of the departure of the envoy extraordinary.[4] The nuncio journeyed through Provence where he had an opportunity for an interview with Cardinal Grimaldi.[5] He was not allowed to enter the capital at once for Louis feared lest Ranuzzi should get in touch with the clergy.[6] The nuncio remained at Orléans, where he had occasion to complain that his movements were being watched.[7] He only reached Paris towards the middle of July 1683. Ranuzzi's first report from Paris, dated July 19th, makes it quite clear that the handing over of the blessed swaddling clothes was not the real purpose of his mission. Its main object was to persuade Louis to join in the Turkish war. If this was to be achieved an essential preliminary was France's reconciliation with the Emperor.[8] The substance of the letter accrediting Ranuzzi was simply a realistic description of the Turkish peril accompanied by a request

[1] *Lauri, November 9 and December 25, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 168, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Lauri to Cibo, January 4, 1683, in Bojani, III., 138.

[3] *To Lauri, April 27, 1683, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, *loc. cit.*; Bojani, III., 139.

[4] Berthier II., 86 *seqq.*

[5] *Lauri, May 24, 1683, *loc. cit.*

[6] *The Archbishop of Paris, François Harlay, told Lauri in confidence "che il Re non haveva voluto permettere a Monsgr. Nuntio di entrare in questa città durante l'assenza della M^tà S. per dubbio che non si prevalesse di tal congiuntura per far pratiche con vescovi e altri ecclesiastici contro il servitio di S. M^tà.," Lauri, July 5, 1683, *ibid.*

[7] *Ranuzzi, July 11, 1683, *ibid.*

[8] **Id.*, on July 19, 1683, *ibid.*

for help. It is evident that this was either known or suspected in France, because the audience of the inconvenient messenger was put off until the moment when the Turks stood before Vienna and news of the fall of the imperial city was momentarily expected.[1]

On July 23rd, 1683, Ranuzzi had his first interview with Croissy, of which he sent an account to Rome in four separate reports. From the Turkish war the minister quickly turned the conversation to the question of the *régale*. He laid stress on the excellent dispositions of the King, whose keenest desire it was, in co-operation with the Pope, to safeguard the general welfare of the Church. On the other hand the great dearth of priests in France compelled the King to deal with this evil with all the means with which the Gallican liberties and the prerogatives of his crown provided him, and he was surprised that in this matter the King should meet with opposition instead of help on the part of the Pope. Ranuzzi replied that the King could not publish the decrees on the *régale* without going against his conscience, and even simple prudence should have stopped him from touching so delicate a matter. Croissy pleaded the troubled times as an excuse for his master; Louis lacked contact with the Holy See since the Paris nunciature had remained so long vacant, consequently the King had been forced to discuss ecclesiastical questions with hotheads (*buttafuochi*) who led him astray; but by now all these men had fallen into disgrace.[2] Croissy, however, made it clear that the King could not undo what had been done, for in all this he saw a principle of statecraft which did not suffer the impression to be created that he would not carry out obligations once assumed by him.[3] Ranuzzi replied that this was regrettable, for surely questions of this kind must be judged from another point of view.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Immich, *Innocenz XI.*, 27 *seq.*; Thein, 80.

[2] By "buttafuochi" must be chiefly understood the Arch-Bishops of Paris and Rheims who had fallen in the King's esteem.

[3] Report of July 23, 1683, in Bojani, III., 144 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 146.

In point of fact, as Giorio observes, Louis' ideas of religion were those of a soldier rather than a divine.[1]

Ranuzzi frequently met La Chaize. The confessor did his best to extol the good Catholic sentiments of the King. He explained that Louis had never liked the Assembly of the Clergy, especially not its decisions; he had merely tolerated it; his patronage of it had only been apparent, else he would not have dissolved it so abruptly, regardless of the pleading of the Archbishops of Paris and Rheims, who wanted it to continue.[2] La Chaize emphatically declared that Louis was ready to give open proof of his good dispositions towards the Church, and if the Pope desired it, he was prepared to make himself master of Geneva, even though Rome had not sufficiently appreciated the conquest of Strasburg, which was of such advantage to the Catholic Church.[3]

The proposed conquest of Geneva appealed to Innocent XI. since it would mean the disappearance of the Calvinists' city of refuge, but he pointed out that there was a very great difference between the conquest of Strasburg and that of Geneva.[4] The Pope approved of Ranuzzi's observations

[1] "*La cui professione è di guerriero, non di teologo. Giorio," Ragguaglio.

[2] "che a S. M^{tà} non haveva potuto piacere quella radunanza dell'assemblea del clero, nè tampoco quello che si fece in essa, ma che l'ha tollerato et ancora ha mostrato di favorire le loro operationi per essere le cose all'hora ridotte nello stato, nel quale si trovavano, essendo ben poi potuto osservare con quanta resolutione S. M^{tà} troncò il corso alle conferenze senza prestar orecchio alle replicate istanze et a gli artificii usati dagli Msg^{ri} arcivescovo di Reims et arcivescovo di Parigi per tirarla avanti e passare, come avevano in animo, ad altre novità nelle materie de' regolari et della morale, che il Re sempre loro costantemente ricusò col far seguire il discioglimento dell'assemblea in quel medesimo giorno, che gli haveva prefisso, et col non permettere, che si radunassero più." Ranuzzi to Cibo, August 20, 1683, in Bojani, III., 151.

[3] Ranuzzi, August 20, 1683, *ibid.*

[4] The Pope is glad of the King's victories, "massime quando

to Croissy. He steadily refused to confirm the Bishop of Pamiers, but made known his readiness to provide for the remaining vacant sees if the candidates proposed to him were free from the suspicion of heresy.[1]

Ranuzzi's efforts for a reconciliation between Louis XIV. and the Emperor were without effect as in this matter the last word was spoken by Louvois, the minister for war.[2] The proposals which the Pope made in Rome to the Duke D'Estrées were likewise in vain. The conversations on the subject clearly showed that the French Government stuck to its point of view whilst it strove at the same time to induce the Pope to yield on the question of the Gallican Articles.[3]

The proclamation of a jubilee which the Pope granted at this time gave rise to a fresh difficulty. Innocent had instructed the nuncio not to forward the Brief relative to the jubilee to the Archbishop of Toulouse, as that prelate

queste saranno congiunte con quelle della religione cattolica, come appunto sarebbe l'espugnatione di Ginevra, nido et asilo miserabile della perfidia de' Calvinisti." Cibo to Ranuzzi, September 14, 1683, *ibid.*, 158.

[1] " *Pamiers non può nello stato presente esser proposta, e le altre [chiese] saranno speditamente proviste da N. S^re^ ogni volta che da S. M^tà^ vi siano nominate persone idonee e non sospette di non sana dottrina," Cibo to Ranuzzi, August 17, 1683, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Immich, 28.

[3] Thein, 85, " *che questa nazione è così volubile che quello che in un giorno vuole, nell'altro non lo vuol più ; . . . nè deve far difficoltà che il sigr. card. D'Estrées si trovi espressamente in Roma per questi affari, poichè si sa bene, e l'esperienza purtroppo l'ha fatto conoscere che per quanta buona volontà habbia S. E. di accomodar le cose, giammai ha potuto avanzare un poco. Anzi dopo ch'ella si trova in Roma, le difficoltà si sono accresciute se non per altro se non perchè dovendo S. E. operare secondo gli ordini di questa corte, nulla può fare, se buone dispositioni non cominciano di quà." Lauri, September 13, 1683, *Nunziat. di Francia.*, *loc. cit.*

was in schism.[1] On the other hand Croissy informed the nuncio that publication of the jubilee would only be allowed in France if the Brief was sent to all the Archbishops.[2] Innocent gave way on this point also, but in view of his readiness to yield his disappointment was all the more bitter when he saw that France took no notice of the agreement by the terms of which neither side was to take any fresh measures for the time being. In an exchange of opinions with Croissy the nuncio laid the Pope's complaints before the minister. Croissy would not admit that any fresh steps had been taken by France since the agreement; the whole affair of the four Articles and the *régale* were accomplished facts before this, so that in giving effect to these decrees the Government in no way acted against its promise. The violation of the treaty, according to Croissy, was on the side of the Pope, for precisely in consequence of his promise to take no new step, Innocent was bound to provide for the see of Pamiers and other vacant benefices. In his answer Ranuzzi granted that the four Articles had been formulated previous to the conclusion of the treaty, so that their withdrawal could not be demanded on the ground of that agreement. It was otherwise with the execution of existing decrees, for without a doubt these came within the treaty of suspension which otherwise would be meaningless. For the rest, when he gave his assent to the treaty the Pope had in no way suspended

[1] "*essendo quel prelato scismatico et a questo conto non indrizzandosi a lui di quà alcuna speditione." Cibo to Ranuzzi, October 5, 1683, *ibid.*

[2] "*senza escludere alcuno, perchè se havessi fatto diversamente, il Re non havrebbe potuto permetterlo." La Chaize, who had also tried in vain to mediate, spoke to the same effect. He desired that the Archbishop of Toulouse should first submit to Rome. The King agreed to this but was dissuaded by Louvois who feared lest Rome should take advantage of a letter of submission to France's prejudice by interpreting it as an admission on the part of France that she was in the wrong. Ranuzzi on September 10, 1683, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Ranuzzi on December 10, 1683, *ibid.*

the papal authority and he retained all his freedom when there was question of appointments to positions in the Church.[1] Innocent XI. approved the nuncio's answer, but nevertheless observed that Ranuzzi should have laid stress on the fact that it was of the essence of the suspension that the newly framed decrees were not carried into effect. If their execution were proceeded with, an impression would be created that the suspension had legitimized the innovations, which was not at all the case.[2]

Innocent saw that all his goodwill was in vain since it was impossible to come to an understanding on the bearing of the agreement. He regretted having followed Cardinal Rospigliosi's advice for he, on his part, felt obliged to abide by the terms of the agreement, though France refused to do so. The damage which the suspension was bound to do, was grievously felt by him, as its terms tied the hands of the Head of the Church who was no longer able to take the appropriate means for the preservation of the Church's independence.[3]

An understanding was no longer to be expected. Innocent maintained his standpoint and had recourse to the only weapon still at his disposal. He refused their Bulls to the

[1] *Ranuzzi on November 15, 1683, *ibid.*

[2] " *Ha V. S. ill^{ma} replicato bene al sigr. di Croissy circa l'osservanza della sospensione. Poteva solamente aggiungere, che quanto non dovesse restar sospesa l'esecutione di tutte le novità fatte, verrebbe ad essere affatto inutile detta sospensione, la quale consiste unicamente in trattenere l'esecutione delle medesime novità, altrimente col poter continovar ad eseguirle dopo la sospensione si verrebbe in un certo modo a renderle legitime, mentre parerebbe che si facessero coll'acquiescenza di S. S^{tà}." Cibo to Ranuzzi, December 7, 1683, *ibid.*

[3] " *Mentre doveva riuscire di tanto detrimento e discapito alla sana dottrina et alla libertà della Chiesa coll'impedire la necessaria difesa et l'uso de' rimedii opportuni alla S^{tà} di N. S^{re} senza porre alcun freno a cotesta corte che si crede permessa ogni licenza di non osservare il concerto." Cibo to Ranuzzi, February 15, 1684, *Nunziat. di France*, 172^{a}, Papal Sec. Arch.

Bishops of Castres and Clermont, whom Louis had named, on account of their having taken part in the Assembly of 1682. Yet the Government still hoped to force him to yield. Cardinal D'Estrées suggested to the King not to submit to the Pope any new names as episcopal sees became vacant, until the Bulls for the Bishops of Castres and Clermont should have been issued. The King followed this advice.[1] He threatened to make canonical provision for vacant sees without the Pope. The right of nomination to bishoprics, it was argued, had originally belonged to the metropolitan; it had only been transferred to the Pope by the concordats, and since by his denial of the Bulls Innocent had violated these treaties, their dispositions lapsed and the metropolitan recovered his rights.[2] Innocent XI. was not shaken by these threats. He remained firm, though now, as before, he was ready to grant Bulls for such candidates as were not suspect of heresy. Now it was claimed in France that the four Articles of 1682 were free of errors, seeing that they had never been condemned by the Pope. Innocent instructed the nuncio to oppose such agreements with the utmost energy and to let it be known that the censure of those Articles had been almost ready for publication; if publication had been deferred, it was solely at the urgent request of the King and Cardinal D'Estrées, when suspension was agreed upon instead.[3]

[1] HANOTAUX, *Rome*, I., 319.

[2] *Ibid.*, 320 *seqq.* A proposal of the kind had already been made by the Bishop of Albi at the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682, though it was not accepted. He subsequently regretted his action as he feared that Rome might hear of it. *Cf.* *Lauri, May 11 and 18, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 1682 *loc. cit.*

[3] " *e quando le sia dal medesimo risposto che la dottrina delle quattro propositioni non è condannata, e che per tanto non può chiamarsi non sana, ella potrà replicare che la censura di dette propositioni era già qui discussa et maturata et in punto già di uscir fuori, e non la tratenne nissun altra cosa che l'istanza fatta dal Re e rappresentata dal card. D'Estrées per una sospensione, la quale è stata fin hora osservata religiosamente da Roma,

If we may believe subsequent assurances of the French Government, Cardinal D'Estrées, in concert with the King, suggested the following solution of the problem of providing for the vacant sees : it was that the members of the Assembly of 1682 should write a respectful letter to the Pope and make the profession of faith prescribed by the Council of Trent.[1] However, when Cibo sought to mollify the Pope, the latter observed : " We shall do all we can, and overlook everything that may be overlooked, but to make Bishops of people whose doctrine is suspect, that we cannot do." [2]

Hope of an improvement in the situation diminished visibly whilst various incidents added to the Pope's annoyance and Louis' conduct became more and more reckless. Thus, on August 6th, 1685, without giving any reason, he ordered Cardinal Bouillon into exile either at Cluny or at Tournus.[3] Innocent XI. protested against this measure on August 28th and on November 9th. He declared that his action was prompted solely by love of justice, for Bouillon had never stood up for the Pope.[4] Although even Cardinal D'Estrées was of opinion that Innocent XI. had acted with great moderation, Louis was indignant at his intervention. In a letter of September 27th, 1685, he told Cardinal D'Estrées that he would not be dictated to by the Pope, for he was master of all his subjects, priests as well as layfolk, and no

ma non da Parigi." To Ranuzzi, January 27, 1685, *ibid.*, 172a. *Cf.* the draft of the Constitution *Cum primum*, on the four Articles, April 11, 1682, in *Cod.* 309 of the *Bibl. Casanat.*

[1] HANOTAUX, *loc. cit.*, 319.

[2] " Tutto quello che si può fare, faremo ; tutto quello che si può dissimulare, dissimularemo ; ma fare vescovi quelli che sono sospetti di cattiva dottrina, non è possible." D'Estrées' report to the King, November 20, 1685, in GÉRIN, *Révocation*, 428.

[3] *Ranuzzi, August 6, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172a, *loc. cit.* ; GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 406.

[4] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, *loc. cit.* On *February 12 and 19, 1686, Innocent XI. renewed his protests.

one had a right to interfere.[1] Besides this, news also reached Rome that the column of the Corsicans had been re-erected at Paris, in the new Place de la Victoire, together with an inscription which was an insult to the Holy See.[2] This time, however, Louis informed the nuncio through La Chaize that he would not tolerate anything that trenched on the honour of the Pope.[3] However, in Alsace the King allowed himself some violent encroachments on the rights of the Church, a particular victim being the monastery of Murbach. The nuncio's protests only elicited the reply that it would be impossible to settle any dispute to the Pope's satisfaction until the question of the *régale* and the four Articles was solved.[4] However, Innocent felt he could not give way. Those were mistaken, he declared, who thought they could frighten him with threats; he would rather suffer anything; his just cause would surely prevail in the end.[5]

[1] "Je suis maître absolu de tous mes sujets, tant ecclésiastiques que laïques, et que personne sans distinction n'a droit de se mêler de ce que je juge à propos de leur ordonner." GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 407.

[2] "*È paruto sommamente strano a S. B^e^ che nel tempo istesso che qui si son fatte tutte le dimostrazioni possibili verso detta M^tà^ del Re in commendazione della pietà e del zelo con cui si è dalla M^tà^ S. procurata la conversione de' Calvinisti, si sia costì eretta di nuovo la piramide de' Corsi con una iscrizione latina e francese tanto ingiuriosa a questa corte." To Ranuzzi, April 23 and 30, 1686, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[3] *Ranuzzi, May 27, 1686, *ibid.*, 172^a^.

[4] *There occurred in France "giornalmente pregiudizii et aggravii alla S. Sede, e si mettono le mani nelle materie ecclesiastiche, come se il Papa non fosse al mondo. Tutto ciò è così manifesto, che qui non si può negare, . . . che sin tanto che penderanno le differenze note sopra la Regalia e le propositioni, niun negotio passerà mai bene, come per lo contrario tutti caminarebbono facilmente, quando le sudette discordie fossero state composte." Ranuzzi, September 2, 1686, *ibid.*

[5] "*Quelli che hanno detto e che dicono tuttavia a V. E. che sin tanto, che resteranno pendenti le differenze della Regalia, nissun negotio passerà mai bene per Roma, fanno conoscere che costì credono di poter a forza di ingiustizia e di concussioni

The tension between Rome and Paris became even more acute when Innocent XI. refused the Cardinal's hat to the Bishop of Beauvais who had been proposed both by France and Poland, a refusal that caused Croissy to observe that for France the Pope was a foreigner. Innocent openly expressed his indignation at such a remark: words of this kind, he said, were unworthy of a minister of the Most Christian King; to describe the Pope as a foreigner, especially in the conferment of ecclesiastical dignities in France, betokened a schismatical disposition: moreover, Cardinals were appointed for the good of the Church, not for that of the various States.[1]

In recognition of his services Ranuzzi had been raised to the purple at the Consistory of September 2nd, 1686.[2] On the occasion of the presentation of the red hat to the new Cardinal, Louis delivered a speech in which he dwelt on his profound veneration for the Pope.[3] But these were mere words: his actions were very different, so that the Pope once more seriously considered the idea of condemning at length the right of *régale* and the four Articles. It was

espugnar l'animo di N. Sre. et indurlo a concorrere in quei partiti che sono contrarii alla libertà et al bene della Chiesa, ma s'ingannono grandemente, mentre per qualsivoglia violenza S. Stà non sarà mai per allontanarsi di ciò che le viene prescritto dal debito suo pastorale con una fiducia in Dio che debba a suo tempo farsi conoscere et iudicare causam suam." To the nuncio, September 21, 1686, *ibid.*

[1] " *Il discorso fatto a V. E. dal sigr. di Croissy non è da ministro di un re christmo nè da huomoc attolico, creandosi i cardinali per la Sede apostolica, per la Chiesa e non per i principi e per le nazioni, e non potendosi senza scisma considerare il Papa per estraneo, massime nella collazione delle dignità ecclesiastiche e nel esercitio di quella giurisdizione che gli è stata data da Dio e che non potrebbe esser negata al suo primato senza eresia." To Ranuzzi, October 15, 1686, *ibid.*

[2] Guarnacci, I., 205. *Cf.* the Brief for Ranuzzi of September 8, 1686, Berthier, II., 293.

[3] *To Ranuzzi, December 10, 1686, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc.cit.*

impossible to delay much longer owing to the grave danger lest the doctrinal errors contained inthe four Articles should take root in France, when it might be pleaded that no condemnation had come from Rome.[1] A decisive step had to be taken : of longanimity the Pope had furnished abundant proof. Accordingly Innocent laid the two burning questions before the Inquisition. The Holy Office studied them and drew up the Bull of condemnation *Cum primum.* Cardinal Casanata, but more especially Schelstrate and Casoni, Favoriti's cousin and successor in office, took a lively part in the discussions. On August 15th, 1688, Schelstrate informed Cardinal Casanata that the text of the Bull, which had been subjected to yet another change, was ready and that Casoni was anxious that the Constitution should be published.[2] However, this was once more prevented. Instead the Most Christian King took fresh measures of violence against the aged and defenceless Head of the Church the interests of which he professed to serve.

[1] **Cf.* Ranuzzi on November 12, 1685, *ibid.* La Chaize appealed already then (1685) to that argument : "La Chaize mi ha risposto essere horamai stabilito l'uso di sostenere le propositioni, la dottrina delle quali qui si vuol' havere per buona, mentre non è condannata nè da concilio alcuno nè dalla Sede Apostolica."

[2] **Cod.* 309 of the Bibl. Casanat., Rome.

CHAPTER V.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Louis XIV.'s Violent Measures against Innocent XI.

(1.)

In the course of his quarrels with Innocent XI., Louis XIV. had repeatedly drawn the Pope's attention to what he was doing for religion by repressing the Huguenots. He imagined that this would particularly impress so pious a Pontiff. Moreover he was well aware that the Holy See had never sanctioned the concessions made by Henry IV. by the Edict of Nantes, by which he granted them the free practice of their religion in places that were already Protestant, with the exception of Paris, political equality with Catholics and the retention of their places of security.[1] On the other hand the Huguenots were not satisfied even with these extensive concessions. During the minority of Louis XIII. they clearly betrayed their ambition to constitute a separate Republic within the State. When they had once more recourse to violence and allied themselves with foreign Powers, Richelieu intervened: he put an end to their separate political status whilst leaving them freedom of religion.[2] On the whole things remained thus under Mazarin also, but when Louis XIV. took over the reins of government, a complete change took place. Convinced that religious unity was an essential requisite for a well ordered State, he was resolved from the first to do away with the religious cleavage which had done France so much harm. He knew that on this point the overwhelming majority of his Catholic subjects were with him, for the latter saw in the Calvinists a foreign body within

[1] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXIII., 147 *seqq.*
[2] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXVIII., 422 *seq.*

the framework of the State which sensibly injured the national unity. In this matter the King was able to rely unconditionally both on his officials, the clergy and on all the outstanding personalities of France: Bossuet, Massillon, Racine, La Bruyère, Arnauld were all of one mind in this respect. The clergy strove before everything else to bring back the erring sheep to the fold of the Church by means of writings, sermons, conferences and popular missions. But if from this side instruction and persuasion alone were employed for the most part, whilst forcible methods were frowned upon, that circumstance did not prevent the public functionaries from making use of every means at their disposal. In this way the policy of persuasion turned increasingly into one of intimidation and coercion.[1] From about the end of the seventies, after the Peace of Nymegen had freed Louis from his foreign enemies, his action against the Huguenots became more and more sharp.[2] This was due to a conjunction of circumstances in which politics and religion were strangely mixed. From the first the monarch who stood for the maxim "L'Etat c'est moi" deemed it an intolerable thing that one section of his subjects should think otherwise than himself in so important a matter as religion. Politicians such as Louvois and Le Tellier encouraged this feeling. In the funeral discourse for Queen Henrietta of England, Louis heard Bossuet's remark that the diversity of sects had brought about the downfall of Charles I. Pellisson, himself a convert, represented to the King that the obstacles to the conversion of the Calvinist preachers were mostly of a material kind and this led to the foundation of a fund for the assistance of converts. Then came, in 1675, the influence of Madame de Maintenon, a niece of the Huguenot leader Agrippa d'Aubigné and a convert since 1649. This gifted lady had been in charge of the education of the King's children since 1669. She did her best to reconcile him to his lawful wife. When the Queen died in 1683 the King secretly married

[1] Mourret, *L'Ancien Régime*, 293.

[2] See Schott in Herzog-Hauck's *Realenzykl.*, XIV.[3], 98 *seq.*

Madame de Maintenon who sought to bring about a change in the moral conduct of the frivolous monarch.[1] The royal confessor also worked in this sense, but La Chaize was much less acceptable than Madame de Maintenon. Louis felt the need of atoning for his licentious conduct and he now thought of seeking the pardon of heaven by a crusade against the heretics, after the manner of the great men of the Middle Ages. In October 1680, Madame de Maintenon wrote in a triumphant strain that the King was thinking seriously of the conversion of the Huguenots, and that soon there would be only one religion in France.[2] When this hope, which was shared by most French Catholics, proved an illusion, and many Huguenots emigrated, Louis decided, on the advice of Colbert, to confiscate their property. On March 18th, 1681, he published an ordinance by the terms of which recalcitrant Huguenots were to be forcibly converted by having soldiers quartered on them. The result was that Calvinism disappeared from Poitou within nine months.[3]

Things had gone thus far when the disputes between Louis and Innocent XI. took a more acute form. This gave additional importance to the problem of the Huguenots. Louis XIV. was not blind to the fact that through his conflict with the Holy See, he, "the eldest son of the Church," had got into a wrong position. Hence, when protests became ever louder on all sides, he resolved to give a convincing proof of his Catholic sentiments by persecuting the heretics, thus compelling the Pope to thank him publicly for the conversion

[1] On Mad. de Maintenon see the monographs by GEFFROY (2 vols., Paris, 1887) and HANOTAUX (Paris, 1904) and DÖLLINGER, *Vorträge*, I. (1890), 357 *seqq*. SCHOTT (98) also says that the oft-repeated assertion that Mad. de Maintenon was chiefly responsible for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and that she influenced Louis XIV. in that sense in order to make sure of the support of the clergy in her efforts for the King's hand, cannot be upheld. But the influential woman had certainly a large part in the destruction of Calvinism.

[2] MOURRET, 293 *seq*.

[3] SCHOTT, *loc. cit.*, 99.

of so many, whilst he would at the same time induce him to yield on the question of the *régale*. It was undoubtedly at his instigation that the assembly of court Bishops of the year 1682 published a letter of exhortation, dated July 1st, in which they urged the erring "brethren" to come back. The letter ended with a threat that should they remain obdurate, they would have to bear the inevitable painful consequences.[1]

When in the summer of 1683 the Huguenots of the Vivarais and the Dauphiné sought to defend themselves by force of arms, the rising was suppressed by the military. After that the war with Spain gave them a year's respite; however, as soon as peace had been signed the persecution began once more. The *Intendant* of Béarn, Nicolas Joseph Foucault, quartered the troops, now unemployed in consequence of the peace, on the Huguenots. This manœuvre was so successful that by August 1685, Béarn, the chief bulwark of Protestantism, only counted from three to four hundred Calvinists. Equally rapid results were achieved by the same violent means at Nîmes, Montpellier and other places.[2] By the autumn Calvinism in France had been reduced to a few small groups scattered here and there. All this confirmed Louis XIV. and his minister in the conviction that there was now only one more step to take in order to seal the utter destruction of Calvinism, viz. the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This was done by an

[1] The exhortation was in vain. With good reason it was pointed out to the French clergy that it also failed in its duty and had broken its vow of obedience to the Holy See; GÉRIN, 392.

[2] ROUSSET, *Louvois*, III., 459 *seqq.*; SCHOTT, *loc. cit.*, 100; RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, III., 497 *seqq.* According to GÉRIN (*Révocation*, 387) Louis XIV. was not at first in agreement with the *dragonnades*. But even though the king may not have known the details of the cruel procedure, he heard enough and approved only too much. Foucault writes: "M. de Louvois has informed me that it was the king's will that the dragoons should remain with the nobles, until their conversion, and that they should be allowed to indulge in the greatest disorders" (*Mém. de N. J. Foucault*).

edict drawn up by Le Tellier and signed by Louis XIV. at Fontainebleau, about mid-October, after a few points had been altered. With its registration by the Parliament of Paris on October 22nd, it came into force. The main dispositions were these: recall of all privileges granted by Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; absolute prohibition of the exercise of the Calvinist religion and of all Calvinist schools throughout the kingdom; the banishment of all preachers who refused to be converted; rewards to converts; amnesty and restoration of their property to emigrants who returned to their native land. To justify this measure the King pleaded that in consequence of the mass conversions to the Catholic Church there was no longer any reason for the Edict of Nantes.[1]

[1] *Cf.* E. Benoist, *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, 3 vols., Delft, 1693–5, and *Éclaircissements hist. sur les causes de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1788; L. Aubineau, *De la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, Paris, 1879; Sander, *Die Hugenotten und das Edikt von Nantes*, Breslau, 1885; Schott, *Die Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes*, Halle, 1885; Genelli, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXI. (1886), 268 s., 400 s., 519 s.; Zimmermann, *Katholik*, 1911, II., 134 s.; Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 2 vols., New York, 1895; Yves de la Brière, *Dict. apologétique*, III., Paris, 1916, 1023–1047. On the King's power to recall the privileges granted by his predecessors—even apart from the many violations of the Edict by the Calvinists, H. Grotius says: "Norint illi, qui Reformatorum sibi imponunt vocabulum, non esse illa foedera, sed regum edicta ob publicam facta utilitatem et revocabilia, si aliud regibus publica utilitas suaserit" (*Apol. Riveti discussa*, 22). The other question, whether the Catholic Church derived more harm than advantage from the measure which by its violence and harshness hindered the peaceful conquest (*cf.* Picot, I., 179 *seqq.*; Räss, *Konvertiten*, III., 285 *seq.*), must probably be answered in the affirmative. Franck Puaux (*Rev. hist.*, XXIX. (1885), 242 *seqq*) exaggerates the influence of the French clergy and does not rightly appraise the motives which caused proceedings against the Hugenots to appear to Louis XIV. desirable from political reasons.

As the measure was received with enthusiasm by high and low throughout the whole of France, Louis XIV. hoped more than ever that the Pope would now change his mind on all the questions in dispute. Already the vain monarch saw himself exalted as another Constantine, whilst he also imagined that as a reward for the extirpation of heresy in France, he had a claim to concessions in the matter of the *régale*, and to recognition, or at least tacit toleration, of the Gallican Articles. In this he was utterly mistaken. Already at the beginning of 1683, when Cardinal Sacchetti informed him of the return of more Protestants to the Catholic Church in France, Innocent XI. had exclaimed: "What is the good of it, if all the Bishops are schismatics?" The Pope feared that France, following England's example, was about to sever itself from the Holy See.[1] Meanwhile Louis stuck to his purpose. With a view to defeating the Pope's action in regard to France, he caused the more passive attitude of the Holy See in the question of the Huguenots to be represented as a secret favouring of the Calvinists.[2] Moreover Louis persevered in his hope of extorting concessions from the Pope as a reward for what he had done for the conversion of the Protestants. Croissy and La Chaize had made representations in this sense to the nuncio, but Innocent resolutely rejected all such bargaining and instructed the Jesuit General to write to La Chaize that, as in duty bound, he should explain to the King that his demands could not be granted in conscience.[3]

[1] "Che importa di dimolire tanti tempii, se sono tutti i vescovi scismatici? Faranno come in Inghilterra." Card. D'Estrées to the King, January 14, 1683, in GÉRIN, *Révocation*, 387.

[2] *Ibid.*, 392.

[3] "*Oltre quello che fu da me scritto con le passate sopra il discorso fattole dal sig. di Croissy e dal Pre La Chaise intorno al concedere al merito acquistatosi dal Re nell' estirpatione del Calvinismo con la Chiesa, l'estensione della Regalia e la pronta provisione di cotesti vescovati vacanti, N. Sre ha fatto parlare a questo padre generale de' Giesuiti perchè scriva al sudetto P. La Chaise, incaricandogli di far conoscere al Re secondo il

In these circumstances Louis XIV. convoked a fresh Assembly of the French Clergy for May 1685.[1] At Rome events in France were regarded from the first with great anxiety. The Pope instructed Lauri to keep a watchful eye on the Assembly,[2] whereas Louis XIV. wished the Holy See to be left in the dark with regard to the proceedings at that gathering.[3]

Up to this time the Assembly of the French Clergy had always had more than one president. The new Assembly broke with the tradition when, at the sitting of May 30th, 1685, it offered the presidency to Archbishop Harlay of Paris alone. This step was taken on the plea that Harlay's great ability and the outstanding services which he had rendered to Church and State, showed him to be worthy of such an honour. Thus it seemed as if the rumours to the effect that France aimed at the establishment of a patriarchate under Harlay, were not without solid foundation.[4] The Assembly set up a committee for the purpose of drawing up a profession of faith (*exposition de la foi catholique*), with a view to facilitating the return of Protestants to the Catholic Church.[5] The nuncio did not fail to draw the King's attention to the danger of such an undertaking, since there was an agreement

debito, che ne ha, che per ricompensa di un'opera meritoria, S. M^tà^ non può chiedere e S. B^e^ non può concedere contro coscienza l'estensione della Regalia proibita sotto pena di scommunica maggiore dal concilio di Lione, nè promuovere al grado di vescovo quei soggetti che nell'assemblea del 1682 hanno dato fuori una pessima dottrina." Cifra al Nuntio del 15 gennaio 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172^a^, Papal Sec. Arch. The nunciature reports quoted in the sequel are all in code.

[1] GÉRIN, 399. There had been no such Assembly since 1682.

[2] *To Lauri, February 17, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Il est bon, ainsi que vous le remarquez, de laisser à la cour où vous êtes l'inquietude, qu'elle peut avoir des résolutions de cette assemblée," Louis XIV. to D'Estrées, March 23, 1685, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 401.

[4] *Ibid.*, 400.

[5] *Ibid.*, 401.

with the Pope that no innovations would be made. Louis replied that he had asked the Assembly to do this because the heretics wrongly attributed to the Catholics dogmas which, in reality, were not dogmas of the faith at all, thereby deceiving the ignorant ; but as for innovations, he would not introduce any. La Chaize spoke to the same effect.[1] The commission, of which Archbishop Serroni of Albi was president, was completely under the influence of Harlay, without whose order nothing was undertaken and who was spoken of as the very oracle of the French clergy.[2] On July 11th, 1685, Serroni was able to announce the termination of the labours of the commission. Three days later the members of the Assembly presented themselves before the King for the purpose of requesting him to confirm their decisions. Louis was anxious to imitate the example of Justinian and Charlemagne, who had given their sanction to ecclesiastical decisions, whilst the Assembly, eager to imitate the Council of Chalcedon, likened the Archbishop of Paris to St. Cyril who had presided over the Council of Ephesus ![3] On the occasion of the audience with the King, Daniel De Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, delivered an address in which he extolled Louis as the destroyer of heresy, proclaimed the services rendered by him to the Catholic Church in Holland and Germany and drew his attention to yet another vast field of action, viz. England.[4]

Innocent XI. was kept informed of these proceedings, both by the nuncio and by Cardinal Cibo ; in this they followed the directions of Cardinal D'Estrées, who himself faithfully

[1] " *a fine di chiudere la bocca agli eretici che pervertiscono con infinite imposture le persone non intendenti con dar loro a credere : i cattolici credono ciò che effettivamente non credono " (the nuncio on June 20, 1685, *ibid.*). *Cf.* Louis XIV.'s letter to D'Estrées in GÉRIN, 400, in which the King says that they would not revert to the four Articles and explain papal authority exclusively in the sense of the Council of Trent.

[2] GÉRIN, 401.

[3] *Ibid.*, the original quotes thus.

[4] *Ibid.*, 401 *seq.*

carried out Louis' instructions. Cibo sought to remove the Pope's distrust of Louis by praising his services to the Church, and by endeavouring to show that the fears entertained in Roman circles were groundless. However, the Pope maintained his reserve ; his only remark was that if Cibo's explanations tallied with facts, there was no ground for any misgivings.[1] Louis, however, was not satisfied with such qualified praise ; what he desired was public recognition by the Pope, and he complained of the latter's reserve. To D'Estrées he wrote that the triumph of the good cause would give him satisfaction ; to himself he promised grace from God, who beheld the secrets of his soul, to enable him to complete the work.[2]

As for the new profession of faith which the French clergy had submitted to the King for confirmation, a contemporary [3] states that under the influence of Harlay and the Jesuits, the Assembly was prepared to go much further than the Council of Trent in order to meet the Protestants. However, the King judged that such a step was too risky, especially at a moment when such great efforts were being made for the restoration of religious unity in France. Accordingly the nuncio saw his labours crowned with success. Louis refused to confirm the decision of the Assembly.[4]

At this point an incident occurred which rendered the situation considerably worse. After the termination of the Assembly the profession of faith became known ; in fact it was spread among the general public by means of the press. Thereupon the nuncio protested, the Archbishop found himself under the necessity of condemning his own work, and the King forbade the diffusion of the printed sheets. With this Louis imagined that he had done enough so that his anger was extreme when he learnt that the nuncio had nevertheless

[1] "Quando sia così, non habbiamo da dolerci, tutto andarà bene," D'Estrées to the King, July 24, 1685, *ibid.*, 402.

[2] Gérin, *Révocation*, 403.

[3] Benoist, in Gérin, 403.

[4] *Ibid.*

forwarded a copy to Rome; that the Pope had submitted it for examination to a Congregation [1]; that the Congregation was actually discussing it, and that any errors that might be found in it, would be condemned by the Index.[2] The mere thought that a Roman Congregation should busy itself with an ordinance issued in France, examining and condemning it, a document, too, that had already been condemned and suppressed by the Archbishop of Paris and the King, seemed to Louis intolerable; it prompted him to further dangerous steps.

Whilst these events were happening in Paris, a fresh insult to Innocent XI. and to the papacy itself was perpetrated. A simple priest of the name of Berthe, who was also Rector of the University of Paris, being desirous of taking a doctorate at the Sorbonne, had chosen for the subject of his disputation the defence of the four Articles. The theses were printed and dedicated to Louis XIV. after which the University accepted them.[3] Harlay presided at the disputation whilst the University bore the cost of the promotion and the printing. In order that the affair might not be ignored in Rome, the theses were affixed to the door of the nunciature.[4] In point of fact Rome did not remain silent. On October 9th Ranuzzi was instructed to protest to Croissy and La Chaize both against the erroneous teaching of the theses and their being affixed to the nunciature.[5] Innocent XI. let the King know that it ill agreed with his fight against an older heresy to substitute new errors in its place.[6]

[1] GÉRIN, 403.

[2] *Ibid.*, 404.

[3] *Ibid.*, 407.

[4] *The nuncio on September 17, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*; GÉRIN, 408.

[5] *To the nuncio, October 9, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*: The nuncio must protest against the "pubblicazione delle tesi del rettore di Sorbona; della pessima dottrina, che in esse si contiene, e dell'insolenza usata in affigerne la stampa alla sua porta".

[6] "*Vuole ancora che ella dica a S. M^tà^ che mentre da lei si stanno sradicando di cotesto regno con tanto buon successo le

Louis XIV. had already sought to justify himself in a letter to Cardinal D'Estrées dated October 4th, 1685. It was not absolutely certain, the letter stated, that the theses had really been affixed to the nunciature for not a trace of it could be discovered on the door! If it did happen, it could only be considered as an act of courtesy, the intention being to bring the document to the knowledge of the nuncio. In the same letter Louis expressly claimed for his Sorbonne the right to defend Gallicanism.[1]

Ranuzzi's reports supplied Rome with particulars about the progress of the conversions of the Huguenots and the zeal of which the King gave proof in this respect. The number of converts was already estimated at 400,000 souls. One of the principal means employed consisted in bribing leading circles. Much obstruction came from the Calvinist ministers who urged their followers to emigrate. But even their resistance could be overcome with golden weapons, hence it was possible to count on the complete extinction of the heresy within a measurable period. This necessitated the erection of new churches, Ranuzzi added, and according to La Chaize it was Louis' intention to build sixty new ones. Moreover the King was not content with exterminating heresy in his own territory, on the contrary, he had urged the Duke of Savoy to do the same and promised him every assistance to that effect. The conversion of the Huguenots was the chief topic of conversation at court, Ranuzzi wrote, but everybody was surprised that Innocent XI. had not one word of commendation for the King. The nuncio urged the Pope to address to Louis a Brief, publicly praising him for what he had done.[2]

eresie vecchie, non si dovrebbero favorire e promover nuovi errori." To the nuncio, October 16, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[1] "Et comme la cour de Rome soutient ses maximes par toutes sortes de voies au delà des monts, on peut aussi en deçà demeurer dans les sentiments, qui ont toujours été suivis et qui ne sont point contraires à la véritable doctrine chrétienne." GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 408 *seq.*

[2] "*Il fervore, col quale hora si usa qui ogni opera immaginabile per l'oppressione dell'eresia, ha prodotto effetto tale, che

Innocent defended himself against the reproach of indifference. Whenever an occasion had presented itself, he had expressed his satisfaction with Louis' action against the Calvinists to the Duke D'Estrées as well as to the other ambassadors, and he promised to send the desired Brief by the next courier.[1] However, though the Pope was willing to take a favourable view of the King's action against the Huguenots, representations in an opposite sense were also made to him; Queen Christine, in particular, described to him in vivid colours the cruelty of a procedure which was utterly at variance with the spirit of the Gospel. She particularly represented that the Pope was not being called upon to take any part in the whole business of conversion and that he was treated as if he were of no consequence; so long as the four Articles were upheld in France there would be no question of papal authority there, and Protestants might become Catholics without submitting themselves to the Pope. Innocent admitted that he had not been allotted his share in the work of conversion, but he nevertheless deemed it his duty to praise Louis and to pray for final success since the four Articles were less objectionable than downright heresy.[2] But he was not

si calcolano in due mesi sino a 400^{m} convertiti . . . , facendosi come suol dirsi il ponte d'oro, particolarmente ai loro ministri, che sono pertinaci per farli uscire dal regno, quando non si rendono all'allettamento di un annua pensione loro assegnata. . . . [Non si può comprendere], che S. B^{e} non ne mostri minimo gradimento nè applaudisca in alcuna maniera alla pietà con la quale il Re vi si impiega. The nuncio, October 15, 1685, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[1] " *Dell'egregia pietà e zelo che con tanta sua gloria e merito dimostra il Re christianissimo nell'esterminar dal suo regno, il Calvinismo, ha sempre la S^{tà} di N. S^{re} parlato con somma lode non solo a questo sig. Duca d'Estrées sempre che è stato all'audienza, ma ancora a tutti gli altri ministri de' principi; et è S. S^{tà} dispostissima a testificar questi medesimi sentimenti anche a S. M^{tà} con un breve che sarà inviato a V. S. Illma col venturo corriero." To the nuncio, November 9, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[2] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 418.

satisfied. To Ranuzzi he wrote that the heretics who returned to the Church on the basis of the four Articles would never make good Catholics since they would retain the worst of the errors they had professed before their conversion, viz. their anti-papal theories.[1]

At last the nuncio was able to hand to the King the promised Brief, dated November 13th, 1685.[2] In his very courteous letter of thanks of the same year Louis was unable wholly to disguise his disappointment ; he had looked for more than praise and a promise of prayers on the part of the Pope.[3] Louis' letter to Cardinal D'Estrées of the same day shows that in recognition of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the King had expected the Pope to yield in the affair of the *régale* ; he was even ready to meet the Pontiff to some extent ; he would have agreed to the Pope confirming, as a favour, the prerogatives of the crown which he believed to be his by right.[4] Croissy and La Chaize also spoke to the nuncio in this sense. La Chaize thought that the Pope might very well relax his strictness in some measure, seeing that the King had deserved so well of the Church.[5] There was widespread

[1] " *Gli eretici convertiti col motivo delle quattro propositioni, che contradicono a i diritti et all'autorità pontificia, non possono esser buoni cattolici, mentre restano nella pessima dottrina, che hanno sempre tenuta prima di convertirsi secondo gli empii principii della loro eresia." Ranuzzi must tell this to the King when an opportunity occurs. To the nuncio, November 27, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[2] Berthier, II., 260.

[3] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 429.

[4] Quand je lui demanderais de confirmer par des grâces tout ce que je crois posséder avec justice comme des droits attachés à ma couronne, Sa Sté ne devrait pas faire de difficulté dans cette occasion de se servir du pouvoir et des trésors que Dieu lui a confiés pour faciliter en tout ce qui dépend d'elle l'achèvement de ce grand ouvrage. *Ibid.*, 430.

[5] *Croissy thought that the Pope should " allargar la mano e versare i tesori della Chiesa con accordare al Re quello ch' egli desiderava e che può pretendere di conservarsi come legitimamente suo ", and La Chaize added that the Pope should " rilasciar

satisfaction in France that the Pope had openly praised the great hero of the faith, Louis XIV.[1]

Innocent continued firm in his point of view as Cardinal D'Estrées soon realized. Louis, too, had to admit that there was no likelihood of a solution of the question of the *régale*, unless he submitted to the Pope's wishes,[2] for in the meantime an answer had arrived from the Pope to the suggestion for concessions in that matter. Innocent declared once more that he fully appreciated Louis' action against the Protestants. He had at all times acknowledged the merit of the King, but his reward must be expected from the divine goodness and mercy. Hence he exhorted Louis to refrain from demands that offended against God and justice. New and destructive heresies must not be introduced in France while such excellent steps were being taken against the old ones. Let Louis think of the hour of death and of the account he will have to give to God, for on the day of judgment human interests and reasons of policy would count for nothing.[3] The Francophile

un poco del suo rigore per un Re che faceva tanto bene alla Chiesa e che è inclinato a farne ancora più, se S. B^ne^ mostrasse di gradirlo con altro che con un breve". The nuncio, on December 10, 1685, *ibid.*

[1] The nuncio, on December 17, 1685, *ibid.*

[2] "Si vos remontrances ne produisent ancun fruit, il n'en faut plus attendre sous ce pontificat." Louis XIV. to Card. D'Estrées, December 6, 1685, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 430.

[3] "*La ricompensa per quello che si opera da S. M^tà^ intorno alla conversione degli eretici si deve attendere dalla bontà e misericordia divina e non desiderar cose, che sono contro il servitio di Dio e contro la giustitia et il bene del medesimo regno, nel quale si cerca di aprir la strada a nuove eresie con dottrine perniciose e con imponer l'obbligo alle università et ai dottori di rinsegnarle nel tempo stesso che con tanta applicatione si procura di estinguere le vecchie . . . ; che [il re] comparisca a rendere un strettissimo conto d'ogni sua azione alla M^tà^ Divina, nel cospetto e tribunale della quale non han luogo le considerationi di humano interesse, nè giovano punto le ragioni politiche" (to the nuncio, January 1, 1686, *loc. cit.*). In the **Cifra* of April 9, 1686 (*ibid.*), these instructions are repeated.

Cardinals in Rome now made a supreme effort to dispose Innocent more favourably towards Louis, with the result that the Pope decided on a further step. At a consistory of March 18th, 1686, he once more bestowed great praise on the King, though he mentioned at the same time the Emperor's brilliant victories over the Turks.[1] Contrary to all established custom, Cardinal D'Estrées wished to reply on the spot to the Pope's allocution by a eulogy of Louis XIV.; but the opposition of the Cardinals compelled him to desist.[2] The Pope ordered a *Te Deum,* to be followed by the customary public rejoicings on such occasions. The French party, however, pointed out that it was the season of Lent, so that it would not be possible to give to the celebrations the necessary pomp, hence they requested the Pope to transfer them till after Easter, a suggestion to which he agreed.

The celebrations in honour of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were held in Rome on April 29th. Innocent XI. held a papal *cappella* and at its conclusion intoned the *Te Deum.* This was followed by the public rejoicings and at night there were the customary illuminations. The brothers D'Estrées received permission to prolong the solemnities; these were held in the French national church of St. Louis, at the residence of the French ambassador [Palazzo Farnese], and at such convents and hospices as depended on the French crown. The detailed reports of the two D'Estrées were meant to show at Versailles how, under their inspiration, the achievements of the King were being extolled in Rome.[3]

But Louis was under no delusion as to the fact that his representatives in Rome had failed in their main purpose; they had not obtained the desired concessions in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy. Of what use to him was the belated papal recognition, obtained with difficulty and linked with the eulogy of the Emperor? After all, it went without saying that Rome would approve his intention to extirpate heresy: no Pope could act otherwise.

[1] Gérin, *loc. cit.* (435) gives the text of the allocution.
[2] *Ibid.*, 436. [3] *Ibid.*, 437 *seq.*

Innocent carefully weighed the good and the bad consequences that might follow from the action of the King of France against the Huguenots. He was well aware, not only of the secondary aims of Louis, but likewise of the risk and the wrongfulness of his violent procedure. In the course of a conversation with Queen Christine about mid-October, 1685, he observed that persecution did not diminish heresy, on the contrary, it spread it.[1] The Pope was also afraid of the inevitable and injurious repercussion upon Catholics in Protestant countries, especially in England.[2]

A report by the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Venier, bearing on Innocent's attitude on the question of the Huguenots, is of great importance. According to this document, Innocent openly and explicitly condemned Louis XIV.'s despotism and his use of brute force ; conversions, he observed, were not made by armed apostles ; this was a new missionary method of which Christ our Lord had made no use. Moreover, the moment for combating Calvinism had been badly chosen by Louis since he was at the same time fighting against the Holy See.[3] The Pope spoke quite openly, although he had been previously accused by the French, on account of his reticence on the question of the Huguenots, of being a friend of the Calvinists. In the summer of 1687 Cardinal D'Estrées likewise reported that the Pope showed but little interest in what was being done in France for the extirpation of heresy.[4]

The Pope gave the King a manifest proof of his disapproval

[1] *Ibid.*, 417 ; GRAUERT, II., 280 *seqq.*

[2] GÉRIN, 425.

[3] BAROZZI-BERCHET, III., 467 *seq.* : "Anco per questo la corte di Roma si è astenuta dal dar lode a quella, benchè zelante azione, pubblicando che non fosse proprio far missione di apostoli armati, e che questo metodo nuovo non fosse il migliore, giacchè Cristo non se ne era servito per convertire il mondo ; inoltre parve inopportuno il tempo di guadagnar gli eretici allora che eran più bollenti le controversie col Papa." Not only RANKE (*Päpste*, III., 115), but BROSCH (I., 442) strongly maintains that Innocent XI. disapproved of Louis XIV.'s cruel action.

[4] Reports of July 24, 1687, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 439.

when precisely those Bishops received tokens of his high regard who had protested against the brutal persecution of the Huguenots.[1] On the Archbishop of Grenoble, Le Camus, who had incurred Louis XIV.'s displeasure, and who had raised his voice against the oppression of the Huguenots, the Pope bestowed the purple in September 1686.[2]

(2.)

Whilst Louis XIV. vainly hoped for concessions in the question of the *régale* by persecuting the Protestants, there arose a fresh dispute which was destined to lead to the most outrageous acts of violence against the Holy See. In course of time the ambassadors of foreign princes in Rome had permitted themselves great encroachments. Not content with their personal immunity, and that of the ambassadorial residence, they as it were vied with one another in stretching ever further their franchises (*franchigie—franchises*) and the space within which their immunity was in force—the "quarter," as it was called. They claimed as a right that the papal Government should refrain from official measures within the quarter and that the papal police (*sbirri*) should not so much as be seen there; the administration of justice was to be exclusively the affair of the ambassadors. The consequence of these ever increasing pretensions was that criminals sought shelter in those districts, and the quarters became the hiding place of the dregs of the Roman populace. There they enjoyed the protection of the ambassadors who demanded considerable sums of money in return. The representatives of foreign Governments demanded even further privileges. With their permission the tradesmen with whom they dealt affixed the arms of the respective nations to their houses, as a result of which the immunity of the quarter was also claimed for these

[1] *Ibid.*, 438; Immich, *Innocenz XI.*, 67.

[2] See Brief of September 8, 1686, in Berthier, II., 292. *Cf.* Ch. Bellet, *Histoire du card. Le Camus*, Paris, 1886.

dwellings and for those who occupied them. To other persons also the ambassadors granted the right to use their arms; in this way these people, in return for suitable acknowledgment, also enjoyed the immunity of the quarter. To this was added yet a further abuse. For a sum of money certificates were issued to the effect that the bearer belonged to the suite of an ambassador; this exempted him from the ordinary Roman justice. Moreover since the ambassadors enjoyed immunity from customs, they made arrangements with commercial establishments with a view to their goods reaching Rome under the name of the respective ambassador, free of duty. The profit derived from these transactions was divided between the ambassador and the tradespeople.[1]

As long as such a situation obtained in Rome, it was impossible for the Pope to establish decency and order in his capital. Moreover these abuses led to frequent conflicts between the papal Government and the ambassadors.

This usurped immunity of the quarter had given rise, under Alexander VII., to the so-called Corsican conflict which had proved the occasion for a deep humiliation of the Holy See. From the very beginning of his pontificate Innocent XI., who was determined on a reform, resolved to put an end to these abuses; hence he was greatly pleased when the King of Spain informed him in 1677 that he was prepared to forgo "the quarter" if the other princes did so too.[2] The Pope promptly brought this to the notice of the French Government through the nuncio and, despite an evasive reply,[3] he summoned the ambassadors to put a stop to the abuse of the armorial bearings. The same summons was addressed to the Cardinals as they too had begun to imitate the diplomats.[4] An ordinance

[1] *Cf. Giustificazione della bolla*, 3 *seqq.*; Gérin, *Ambassade*, 385; Bojani, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXII. (1908), 350 *seqq.* On the abuse of the exemption of the quarter *cf.* also **Cod. Urb.*, 1706, p. 177, 181, 203, Vat. Lib.

[2] To Varese, June 30, 1677, in Bojani, 357. *Cf. Recueil des Instruct.*, Rome I., 297 *seqq.*

[3] Letter of July 13, 1677, in Bojani, *loc. cit.*

[4] Letter of November 24, 1677, *ibid.*, 358.

on the subject was then published. As the Spanish ambassador, Marchese di Carpio, refused to take any notice of it, Innocent XI. refused to give him audience.[1] On the part of France the Pope hoped for willingness to meet his demands in consequence of the influence of the accommodating minister Pomponne.[2]

Venice was the first to feel the unbending will of the Pope. After the recall of its ambassador, Barbaro, Innocent announced that he would not receive his successor, Zeno, until the Republic had renounced the quarter.[3] Venice yielded to the Pope's firmness and dispatched another ambassador in May 1679.[4] On the other hand, in France, Pomponne had been replaced by Croissy and the change made itself promptly felt in the question of the quarter also.[5] The Pope's representations remained unheeded and the freedom of the quarter continued to be insisted upon.

Conditions were worst in the Spanish quarter of Marchese di Carpio. In the great earthquake of Malaga, Innocent saw a divine punishment for the abuse of the quarter.[6] On December 21st, 1681, he made it known that he would not receive a new Spanish ambassador if he refused to renounce the quarter.[7] However, all efforts were fruitless so that Innocent considered the King of Spain to have incurred the censures of the Bull *In coena Domini*.[8] The Pope, he declared,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Giustificazione della bolla*, 10 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 11; to the Paris nuncio, June 22, 1678, in Bojani, 360.

[4] Bojani, *ibid.*

[5] Gérin, *La disgrâce de M. de Pomponne*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXIII. (1878), 5 *seqq.*

[6] *To the Spanish nuncio, November 24, 1680, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 156, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* *to the same, February 16 and April 13, 1681, *ibid.*, 158.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] " *Con occasione che la mattina del Giovedì santo si rinovò la bolla *In coena Domini* con la solenne ceremonia nota a V. E., ha considerato N. Sre che S. Mtà cattolica per l'assenso et il

could not suffer Rome to be turned into a Babylon by such abuses.[1]

However, all was in vain. Innocent instructed the nuncio to give a last warning ; Spain refused, on the plea that France continued to enjoy the quarter. The Pope declared that there was a great difference, for Spain went far beyond France in its extension of the freedom of the quarter.[2] When Marchese di Carpio was named Viceroy of Naples Innocent XI. gave effect to his threat not to receive another ambassador before the quarter had been renounced. The fact was that the

fomento che presta al mantenimento del quartiere in Roma, vive del continuo illaqueata nelle censure per la dispositione del § 9°, non 19°, come per errore è scritto nella lettera di V. E., e molto più per quello che apertamente ne dice il § 20°. Nè suffraga per esimere il Re da tale incursione o il vano rispetto di non voler pregiudicare alle sue reali prerogative o l'esempio di quello che fanno altri ambasciatori, perchè avanti il tribunale di Dio niuna di queste ragioni sarà di alcun momento. Intende S. Stà che V. E. torni ad insinuarlo alla Mtà Sua et al confessore, perchè, sebene vede per esperienza ch'è opera perduta, tuttavia vuol la sodisfatione di poter dire di non haver mai lasciato mai di ammonire S. Mtà pel desiderio che porta della sua eterna salute et anche della felicità temporale sua e de' suoi regni, conoscendosi per prova che questi inconvenienti gravissimi irritano la divina indignatione." To the nuncio, March 29, 1682, *ibid.*

[1] " *Non può S. Stà abbandonar la cura di levare il quartiere, nè mai si quieterà fino che non vede abolita questa abominationc che impedisce l'amministratione della giustitia e fa divenir Roma una Babilonia per le ragioni tant'altre volte significate a V. E. e da lei a cotesta corte. Vuol perciò la Stà Sua che V. E. non cessi far le solite istanze e d'incaricarne la coscienza del Re e de' ministri e di minacciare i flagelli della divina vendetta. E confermi pur quanto ha già rappresentato circa la determinatione inflessibile di non voler S. Stà ammetter nuovo ambasciatore ordinario o straordinario che sia, se prima non deponc ogni pensiero di godere il quartiere." To the nuncio, April 12, 1682, *ibid.*

[2] *To the nuncio, July 2, 1682, *ibid.*

Spanish ambassadors had extended their power over so large a district that it could be described as a small town. What would Madrid say, Innocent asked, if a foreign ambassador were to claim such liberties there ? [1] The Pope's constancy triumphed in the end: the King of Spain renounced the quarter.[2]

Thus the only difficulty now came from France. In 1684 various incidents occurred when a certain Dragonelli was arrested by the papal police in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Farnese and the pontifical *sbirri* were thereupon detained in the palace. Innocent XI., in his protest to the King of France, represented that the freedom of the quarter had never been recognized by the Popes: he would only receive a new French ambassador if he renounced this freedom.[3] However, Paris was unwilling to yield. Louis consulted Créqui, a former ambassador, who asserted that the matter of the quarter had been settled in his time with the Governor of Rome.[4] This the Pope denied most emphatically; never had such an arrangement been arrived at, he said.[5] Thus the question of the French quarter remained unsolved.

On January 30th, 1687, the French ambassador, the Duke D'Estrées, died quite unexpectedly in Rome.[6] On the same

[1] *To the nuncio, September 27 and October 25, 1682, *ibid.*

[2] *Giustificazione della bolla*, 13.

[3] " *S. S^tà non si sarebbe mai indotta ad ammettere un altro ambasciatore, quando questo havesse dovuto pretendere di mantenere nell'usurpato possesso del quartiere." To the French nuncio, October 14, 1682, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 172^a.

[4] Bojani, *loc. cit.*, 351 *seq.*

[5] " *E cosa certissima, che sopra tal punto non si è mai ammessa condicione alcuna e che si è dissimulato e tollerato bensì, ma mai permessa l'usurpazione de' pretesi quartieri." To the nuncio, October 21, 1684, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[6] *To the French nuncio, January 30, 1687, 177, Papal Sec. Arch. Death had been so sudden that the ambassador could not receive the Last Sacraments. He died " *senza haver potuto dare alcun signo manifesto di pentimento [et] ha finito suoi giorni con l'abominazione del quartiere su lo stomacho, non

day the Pope informed the French Government that a new ambassador would only be received on the condition already laid down.[1] Thus a conflict threatened in which neither side could be expected to yield—not the unshakable Pontiff bent on a reform, and still less the haughty monarch who was wont to meet his opponents arms in hand.

In view of the gravity of the situation many persons tried to find an amicable solution, more particularly Urbano Giorio who had already acted as intermediary between the Vatican and Cardinal D'Estrées in the question of the *régale*. A memorial from his pen [2] draws a lively picture of the various peace proposals hitherto made in vain. He now suggested a new one, though he too felt that the abuse of the immunity of the quarter could no longer be tolerated. In his opinion it would be enough for the re-establishment of peace if the Governor of Rome were to grant to the French ambassador a certain freedom of quarter which would, however, only

senza un timor ben grande" (to the nuncio, February 11, 1687, *ibid.*). The body of the ambassador "*fu heri portato processionalmente dalla parocchia di S. Caterina alla chiesa di S. Luigi con quella solemnità et accompagnamento del majordomo, famigliari e guardia Svizzera di Palazzo, di vescovi assistenti e di altri prelati, tutti in cavalcata, che suol praticarsi con i card. decani del Collegio." To the nuncio, February 8, 1687, *ibid.*

[1] "*Ella debba dire liberamente al sig. di Croissy et al Re medesimo, che havendo la S^tà^ Sua sofferto per tanti anni e con tanta patienza la violenta usurpatione del preteso quartiere, non vuole in alcun modo soffrirla più hora che è piaciuto a Dio chiamare a se l'ambasciatore, ne sarà mai per ammettere alcun nuovo ambasciatore di S. M^tà^ quando questi sia per pretendere il quartiere o franco sudetto nel modo che si è fatto protestare più volte e che si è protestato e si pratica con li altri principi" (to the nuncio, January 30, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). Ranuzzi informed Croissy more than once of this attitude of the Pope. In a letter to Croissy of February 12, 1687, he stresses the fact that this was the third time he communicated this information (*Cod. Bildt*, p. 2). *Cf.* Msgr. d'Armailhacq, *L'église nationale de St. Louis des Français à Rome*, Rome, 1894, 45.

[2] **Ragguaglio*, f. 14, *Nunziat. diverse*, 106, Papal Sec. Arch.

include the Piazza Farnese and the side streets. Cardinal D'Estrées fell in with the proposal and the secretary of the embassy, Della Croce, whom he was about to dispatch to Paris as the bearer of the news of D'Estreés' death, was charged to get the proposal accepted there.

The Pope's decision preceded the answer of Paris. Cardinal Spinola, Governor of Rome, had approved Giorio's proposal and laid it before the Pope.[1] However, Innocent XI. declined a solution of the question which would oblige him to give up his strict principles and to make concessions.[2] Moreover, the Pope did not wholly trust Cardinal D'Estrées because in the course of the negotiations in the affair of the *régale* he had come to know a less commendable side of his personality. In view of reports current at the time, that Cardinal D'Estrées would be the next French ambassador, nuncio Ranuzzi was instructed to make it quite clear in Paris that a Cardinal of the Roman Church would not be recognized in Rome as ambassador of a foreign Power.[3]

[1] *Giorio (*loc. cit.*) invariably calls Spinola after his titular church of S. Cecilïa and describes him as "ministro più d'ogni altro disposto e più d' ogn'altro acconcio a tal maneggio". Spinola was the first to receive the purple from Innocent XI. (September 1, 1681). He had family relations with Spain. Innocent named him Governor of Rome; see GUARNACCI, I., 123, 127. Spinola was one of the Francophile Cardinals who wished to preserve peace with Louis XIV. Lavardin's Instruction of July 14, 1687 (see below, p. 354) says of him: "Il a toutes les qualités pour être un bon Pape, son gouvernement seroit facile, il est porté à faire des grâces il aime les plaisirs et et la conversation . . . ; on croit, s'il étoit Pape, on couviendroit aisément avec lui de ce que Sa Majesté désireroit" (*Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 352).

[2] Giorio **Ragguaglio* (f. 53b, *loc. cit.*): "Mentre il cardinal D'Estrées colla speditione fatta a Parigi del suo segretario aveva messi in opera tutt' i sforzi dell' intelletto e della penna per stabilirlo col Re suo signore, il card. S. Cecilia di commissione del Papa diede risposta: non accommodarsi il Papa a verun partito, onde avesse la Stà Sua a rimittere alcuna cosa di suo."

[3] *Quando ella s'accorgesse che costì si pensasse di appogiare l'ambasciaria al sudetto card. D'Estrées o ad altro cardinale

In order to create a *fait accompli*, Innocent XI. charged the Governor, Cardinal Spinola, to have the French quarter combed by the papal police.[1] Spinola, however, proceeded with great consideration because, together with some others, he continued to hope for an understanding the chances of which he was anxious not to spoil. He accordingly arranged with Cardinal D'Estrées, who lived at the Palazzo Farnese, that the expedition of the papal police would only take place after the Cardinal had left the palace. D'Estrées, who had convinced himself that the French claims in regard to their quarter could not be upheld, removed to the Villa Pamfili near S. Pancrazio,[2] alleging reasons of health, after which the French quarter was occupied by the pontifical police. This took place before February 11th, 1687.[3] The

a chi bisogna, che la Stà sua non sarà mai per ricevere con tal carattere alcuno di loro." To the nuncio, February 1, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*, 177.

[1] *Anzi insinuò [Spinola] avergli comandato il Papa di far scorrere per la piazza et per le vie contigue al palazzo gl'offitiali della giustitia. Giorio, Ragguaglio, f. 53b, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Il cardinale [Spinola] però come ministro d'esperienza e di senno andava assai moderatamente eseguendo gl'ordini del Papa, acciochè le cose non precipitassero a rottura, ma rimanessero sempre in stato di accomodamento di trattato . . . ; il temperamento fu, che prima che gl'ufficiali di corte incominciassero a passegiar la piazza e le vicinanze del palazzo Farnese, il cardinale sene appartasse transferendosi a titolo di miglior aria e di sanità alla villa Pamfilia nelle vicinanze di S. Pancratio (Giorio, Ragguaglio, f. 54, *loc. cit.*). Cardinal D'Estrées' stay at the Villa Pamfili is also mentioned in Cibo's **Cifra* of February 18, 1687, to Rannuzzi, 177, *ibid.*

[3] *Eight days have gone since the funeral for the deceased Duke D'Estrées. "Questo governo ha mandato e continua a far passeggiare la giustizia nel quartiere, che dall'ambasciatore suddetto veniva con violenza ritenuto. Il sig. cardinale D'Estrées non ha mancato di mostrar sentimento con ammirazione che chiunque conosce che ammettendosi la pretenzione ch'egli haveva di ritener come cardinale nazionale e comprotettore della corona il medesimo quartiere, sarebbe un errore peggiore del

Queen of Sweden's spontaneous renunciation of her quarter strengthened Innocent XI. in his determination not to grant a similar franchise to Louis XIV. His hope that the King of France would see the necessity of yielding was all the greater as Louis had cleared Paris of its criminal elements, hence he could not expect that Rome should remain a place of refuge for miscreants.[1] The Pope was, therefore, painfully surprised when Croissy declared himself strongly opposed to renouncing the quarter and even threatened to uphold the abuse by force. Innocent XI., however, felt convinced that the King thought otherwise than his minister who neglected no opportunity of mortifying the Holy See.[2] In these circumstances the return of the envoy Croce from Paris was awaited with impatience in Rome; as a matter of fact D'Estrées requested an audience of the Pope immediately after his arrival. Innocent was ailing, so the Cardinal was referred to the Secretary of State, Cibo, should his business be urgent.[3]

Information from Paris was to the effect that the King had assented to Giorio's proposals. Louis XIV. wished to appoint the youthful Duke D'Estrées as his new ambassador,

primo, mentre con simile esempio ogn'altro cardinale haverebbe potuto prendere la cosa istessa." To the nuncio, February 11, 1687, *ibid.*, 177. NAVENNE (II., 3) gives February 12, 1687, as the day of the occupation.

[1] *By the death of the French ambassador " e con la spontanea cessione di questa Regina ", the quarter no longer exists. " S. Stà si persuade che il Re christianissimo, che estirpò, anni sono, con tanta sua lode e merito da cotesta città i ladri e gli assaissni, sia per non pretendere di sottenere in Roma un asilo " (to the nuncio, March 4, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*). On the Queen of Sweden's renouncement, see GRAUERT, II., 338. An undated* copy of the renunciation is in the Papal Sec. Arch., *Arm.*, III., 21, f. 214.

[2] The Pope described Croissy's conduct as a " modo ardito, ingiusto et empio " and exceeding all bounds. To the nuncio, March 8, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*

[3] *To the nuncio, March 11, 1687, *ibid.*; Giorio **Ragguaglio*, f. 54b, *loc. cit.*

but when the latter declined the nomination for personal reasons he took up once more the idea of appointing Cardinal D'Estrées.[1] The younger Cardinals especially, and the Pope's nephew, Don Livio Odescalchi, would have been glad of D'Estrées' nomination for they hoped that he would do away with the quarter and thereby remove the threat of a conflict.[2] However, Innocent once more declared that he could not recognize a Cardinal as ambassador inasmuch as a Bull of Urban VIII. was against appointments of this kind.[3] He felt greatly hurt when he learnt that Louis XIV. shared Croissy's view on the disputed point. By his orders the nuncio had to tell Père La Chaize that the Pope very much wondered how it was possible, in these circumstances, that the King could receive sacramental absolution.[4] Various objections were raised in Paris ; Croissy explained that the freedom of the quarter was a purely secular matter. On his part Innocent made it clear to the nuncio that those who strove to deprive the Pope of part of Rome by transactions of this kind, incurred the censures of the Bull *In Coena Domini*.[5] When at an audience of March 22nd, Cardinal D'Estrées turned the conversation to the question of the quarter, the Pope refused to discuss the subject.[6] Hence all attempts at mediation were doomed to failure.[7] For all that, Innocent still relied

[1] *Ibid.*, f. 55.

[2] " *Le nuove creature del Papa di maggior grido riprovarono il fatto. Fra questi il cardinale S. Cecilia [Spinola] . . . e lo stesso Don Livio Odescalco, duca di Cerci, nipote del Papa, cercarono di persuadere al Papa l'accettatione del cardinale." *Ibid.*, f. 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 55. Giorio sees in the rejection of the Cardinal merely an act of hostility towards France on the part of some influential circles in the Pope's immediate entourage.

[4] *To the nuncio, March 15, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[5] *To the nuncio, March 18, 1687, *ibid.*

[6] *To the nuncio, March 22, 1687, *ibid.*

[7] Giorio continued to work for a compromise. On March 10, 1687, he proposed to Cardinal Spinola to send an envoy extraordinary to Paris with the information that D'Estrées would be

on the King who, he thought, was bound to see the justice of the papal claims.[1]

Paris had meanwhile realized the hopelessness of D'Estrées' candidature. The Cardinal's own suggestion was that the embassy should be left vacant; in that case he would hold the post *de facto*, though without the title, and by this means the question of the quarter would be shelved.[2] But the French Government refused to adopt this suggestion and appointed the Marquis de Lavardin to the post: the nomination was made public on March 31st, 1687.[3]

received as ambassador. In this eventuality Giorio guaranteed a satisfactory solution of the question of the quarter since the King was anxious to have a representative in Rome. Giorio boasts of being acquainted with the secret instructions of the Paris nuncio and asserts that all Italy longed for a peaceful settlement. He explains that Venice had instructed its ambassadors in Rome and Paris in that sense (**Ragguaglio*, f. 57b *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*). A scheme put before the Paris nuncio by Card. von Fürstenberg was also rejected by the Pope. The idea was that the abolition of the quarter should be paid for by the elevation to the purple of the Archbishop of Beauvais (*to the nuncio, March 29, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). Louis XIV. greatly desired this elevation; *cf. Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 330 *seq.*

[1] "*S. Stà va sperando che . . . la Mtà del Re sia per dar luogo alla ragione nè habbia da insister più in una cosa contraria a ogni legge humana e divina e che non si pratica nè si pretende meno tra i Sciti e tra le altre nationi più barbare." To the nuncio, March 29, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[2] NAVENNE, II., 5.

[3] *Ibid.* The nomination was made known on that day whilst the designation of Lavardin, according to Giorio (f. 61b) had already been decided on March 25, 1687. Henri de Beaumanoir Marquis de Lavardin, was well known in France for his bad manners. Saint-Simon calls him "un gros homme extrêmement laid, de beaucoup d'esprit et fort orné, et d'une médiocre conduite", and in 1675 Mad. de Sévigné wrote: "C'est le moins lâche et le moins courtisan que j'aie jamais vu." *Cf.* NAVENNE, II., 9. France had no ambassador's house in Rome. There was a chance just then of acquiring one. Card. D'Estrées urged its

The Pope had no objection to the person of Lavardin, but he informed the French Government that the latter would only be received at the papal court after renouncing the quarter.[1] He was fully resolved to endure every kind of injury rather than yield on this point: he felt confident that God would not forsake his Church.[2] With a view to clarifying the situation he resolved to expose his point of view irrevocably before the world. By a Bull of May 12th, 1687, he declared the immunity of the quarter suppressed; those who contravened this prescription incurred the censures of the Maundy Thursday Bull. At the same time he confirmed anew the Bulls of previous Popes as well as his own of November 26th, 1677.[3] With the exception of D'Estrées and Maidalchini, all the Cardinals present subscribed to the new Bull.[4]

purchase. In the new locality it would be possible to forgo the quarter without the appearance of yielding to the Pope (Card. D'Estrées to the King, May 1, 1687, *loc. cit.*). Louis XIV. refused to buy as he did not wish to give this satisfaction to the Pope (May 22, 1687); *cf.* NAVENNE, II., 8. There are many *papers in *Cod. Barb.* 5647, Vat. Lib., on the dispute with Lavardin.

[1] *To the nuncio April 15, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.* The **Cifre* of April 19 and May 10, 1687, are to the same effect; *ibid.*

[2] *To the nuncio, April 26, 1687, *ibid.*: His Holiness would rather "esser tagliata in pezzi" than yield. *Cf.* NAVENNE, II., 9, and a similar utterance of the Pope in LIPPI, 247. In the above-mentioned *Cifra* of April 16, 1687, Ranuzzi was instructed to inform the King, Croissy and Lavardin of the Pope's determination.

[3] Text in *Mention*, 68 *seqq.* *Cf.* SOL, *Rapports*, 17.

[4] Card. Maidalchini was in the pay of France and frequently claimed arrears "perchè non potendo sussistere in questa corte [Romana] senza goder delle gratie che S. Mtà mi fa, son constretto di supplicar V. E. a voler spedirmi l'ordinanza", etc.; *cf.* GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 385; *id. Révolution*, 464, n. 1. In a memorial to the Pope D'Estrées stated the reasons that led him to act as he did (*letter of D'Estrées to the Pope of May 23, 1687, *Am.*, III., 20, f. 52, Papal Sec. Arch.). The very next day a sheet was published

When Louis XIV., who was in Flanders at the time, heard of this decision, he became so angry that he ordered Lavardin to set out for Rome at once and to take charge of the quarter to its full extent. But the strictest order was to be enforced there and no fugitive from justice or any member of the criminal class was to find shelter and protection there.[1] However, Lavardin's departure was delayed. His instruction bears the date of July 14th, 1687 [2]; thus Giorio had had time to make yet another attempt at mediation, on a new basis, before the new ambassador set foot in the Papal States. Cardinals Cibo and Rospigliosi, as well as the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Girolamo Lando, were keen supporters of these efforts whilst the Pope's advisers worked in the opposite sense, as Giorio learnt from the Queen of Sweden whose sympathies had all of a sudden swung round in favour of France. Cardinal Spinola none the less laid the new proposal before Innocent XI. By its terms the Governor of Rome would grant to the ambassadors a limited quarter franchise whilst the right of asylum was suppressed. Though the Pope had refused him as ambassador, Cardinal D'Estrées, according to Giorio's account, had magnanimously assented to the plan.[3] In Roman circles the new plan of reconciliation was deemed acceptable since it was capable of satisfying both sides; various Cardinals and ambassadors likewise advised the Pope to adopt it.[4]

in Rome which gave the substance of the letter from the papal point of view. A reply from the French side was published on May 31, 1687. Both *writings are in *Cod. Cas.*, 309, of the *Bibl. Casanat.* *Cf.* also *the reports of May 24 and 31, 1687, in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (Vienna), No. 579, which contains both sheets. *Cod. Bildt*, 204 *seqq.* also contains them.

[1] Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 62, *loc. cit.*; *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 310.

[2] *Recueil des Instructions*, 287 *seqq.*

[3] Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 62b, *loc. cit.*

[4] " *Pareva, che il modo ultimamente proposto a S. Stà per mezzo del cardinal S. Cecilia da Msgr. Giorio et avvalorato ancora dalle voci di alcuni ministri de' principi, oltre l'autorità de'

However, Innocent XI. declined the new proposal; what he wanted was not negotiations but strict compliance with the Bull.[1]

Meanwhile, an attempt was made in France to misrepresent the Pope's attitude. Croissy permitted himself to speak of the Bull in terms which were sternly refuted by Innocent XI. The decree, the Pope explained, was in line with the Bulls of his predecessors and implied no interference with the royal prerogatives.[2] He likewise emphatically rebutted the assertion that Rome demanded the renunciation of the quarter in so exacting a fashion only from the King of France whilst concessions were being made to the Spanish ambassador.[3] Cardinal D'Estrées added to the confusion by inaccurate reports when he described the abuses in the French quarter as trifling. Innocent XI. repeatedly took the authors of these false reports sharply to task; the abuses in the French quarter, he said, were such that it needed all the sophistry of a Cardinal D'Estrées to contest them.[4] The assertion that

cardinali, che consigliavano a S. Stà di accettarlo, togliesse di mezzo tutti i aggravi et che fermasse un accomodamento di reciproca sodisfatione al Papa et al Re di Francia." Undated letter, Archives of Austr. Embassy at the Vatican (Vienna), No. 579.

[1] " *Ma altrimente è piaciuto al Papa, costantissimo per quello, che ne riportò nuovamente il cardinale S. Cecilia, in non voler ammettere alcun partito, ma voler l'osservanza precisa della sua bolla." Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 66b, *loc. cit.*

[2] *To the nuncio, June 21 and July 8, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*

[3] *To the nuncio, July 22, 1687, *ibid.*; *cf.* NAVENNE, II., 10, who says that, according to a letter of Card. D'Estrées to the King, Spain's renouncement of the quarter gave the Pope greater pleasure than the destruction of 30,000 Turks.

[4] " *Non si può impedire che quei cervelli che si nutriscono di sconcerti e d'inquietudine, non scrivino di quà a cotesta corte delle continue falsità." *Cifra* of July 22, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, *loc. cit.* In the same way, the **Cifra* of August 12 and 19, 1687, *ibid.* " *Le violenze et i disordini, che sono succeduti nel preteso quartiere dell'ambasciatore di Francia, sono così manifesti a

the question of the quarter was a purely secular one and that the solution was already contained in the Treaty of Pisa, was likewise firmly rejected by Innocent XI. who described the freedom of the quarter as a grievous injury to Papal authority.[1]

Even now the Pope stuck to his conviction that, at bottom, the King of France was well disposed and was only misled by his ministers. Accordingly he left nothing undone to influence Louis directly if he saw that such an attempt had the slightest chance of succeeding. In this respect he no longer counted on the King's confessor, the well-known Père La Chaize.[2] One satisfaction for the Pope in those troublous days was the attitude of the people of Rome who looked upon Innocent XI. as a Saint even during his lifetime. The Romans were fully convinced of the justice of his cause and resented any interference with the sovereign rights of the Pope. This may have contributed to Innocent's unshakable determination not to yield but rather, as Cibo wrote, to endure every kind of trial, after the example of his predecessors in Peter's Chair during the period of the invasion of the Barbarians.[3]

The reference to the epoch of the Barbarians was not by

tutta Roma, che non hanno bisogno di pròve e non possono essere contradetti che dal signor cardinale D'Estrées, il quale esercita sempre la perspicacia del suo ingegno in sostenere paradossi et negare le cose più chiare del sole di mezzo giorno." *Cifra* of August 5, 1687, *loc. cit.*

[1] " *Quartiere non è altro che una sfacciata violazione della sovranità del Papa " (to the nuncio, September 2, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). *Cf.* the **Cifra* of September 9, 1687 (*ibid.*), and the French view in *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 292 *seqq.*

[2] *Vuole [il Papa] che S. E. faccia dire a Madama di Maintenon, che forse ha il zelo, che non ha il Padre La Chaize di avvertire il Re che simile accidente [Louis XIV. had fallen from his horse] è un avviso del cielo " (to the nuncio, September 9, 1687, *loc. cit.*). On Mad. de Maintenon's attitude towards the Holy See, *cf.* Langlois in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1929, 33–72.

[3] *To the nuncio, October 7, 1687, *loc. cit.*

any means out of place for the French ambassador, Lavardin, was approaching with an armed suite and Cardinal D'Estrées was secretly filling the Palazzo Farnese with armed men whom the King of France sent to him in small parties.[1] In conversation with the nuncio, Croissy uttered all manner of threats so that the Pope had cause to prepare for almost anything. True Innocent would not have dreamt of offering armed resistance even had he had the means to do so.[2] Meanwhile more and more armed Frenchmen were entering the territory of Siena where they joined Lavardin. When the latter reached Bologna, the papal Legate did not go to meet him, for Innocent XI. was indignant at the ambassador's advance under arms. He complained that he was being treated like the Huguenots. France's action only served to confirm him in his resolution to uphold the Bull.[3] Even the Italian princes failed to induce

[1] *To the nuncio, October 21, 1687, *loc. cit.* In England Card. D'Estrées was considered as the author of all the acts of violence against the Holy See as he counselled the French Government not to yield. In this he appealed to England's insistence on Prince Rinaldo d'Este's elevation to the cardinalate, which secured its object. He told the French Government to act in like manner in the question of the quarter and to seek the alliance of England. This was communicated, with the utmost secrecy, to nuncio Adda in London by Lord Sunderland (*Letter of the nuncio of October 17, 1687, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] " *Intorno alla forza et alla violenza che costì minacciano, V. E. ha parlato al signor di Croissy con quella prudenza e spirito, che N. Sigr. appunto desiderava, non volendo S. Stà far guerra per difendersi, nè meno quando la potesse fare, lasciando che Dio si prenda il pensiero di difendere la giustizia della sua causa." (To the nuncio, October 21, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*). On Card. D'Estrées armaments in Rome, *cf.* *To the nuncio, November 11, 1687 (*ibid.*); NAVENNE, II., 11; GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 392 *seq.*, where in addition to 100 rifles and 200 pistols already forwarded, Louis XIV. announces the dispatch of 300 muskets (September 30, 1687) to enable him, should the need arise, to arm the French colony in Rome.

[3] " *In una congiuntura così strana non è mancato chi ha saputo dire, non passar gran cosa dissimile il procedere che si fa

him to change his mind, though in their anxiety lest all Italy should be involved in a calamity, their ambassadors made attempts in this sense. Three days before Lavardin's entry into Rome, Senator Lando, the Venetian ambassador, made a supreme effort to induce the Pope to receive the former as ambassador because in no circumstances would the Italian princes range themselves against the King of France: at any rate Venice would take no step that might give offence to Louis XIV. Similar representations were made by the Grand Duke of Tuscany who dispatched a special courier to Rome not only with a communication to the Pope, but with letters also to Cardinals Chigi and Medici. To all these counsels and exhortations the Pope made no reply, as he deemed them superfluous.[1] It was quite true that if war had broken out the whole of Italy would have been involved whilst all Venice's forces were required for the war against the Turks; but Innocent XI. was no Julius II. and he was resolved to suffer every injustice rather than appeal to arms.

After Lavardin's spies had assured him that he would meet with no armed opposition, he made his entry into Rome through the Porta del Popolo on November 16th, 1687.[2] A bodyguard of French gentlemen, all officers of the French navy, constituted his escort.[3] Cardinals D'Estrées and Maidalchini went out to meet him and waited for him at

hora dal Re christianissimo contro il vicario di Giesù Christo da quello che per ordine di S. Mtà è stato praticato contro gli Ugonoti di cotesto regno." To the nuncio, November 11, 1687 *ibid.*

[1] Report to Paris of a French agent in Rome, dated November 18, 1687, in GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 397.

[2] The date is variously given. NAVENNE (II., 13) gives the date of the entry as Sunday, November 11; Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 70b), November 13; the other sources: Sunday, November 16, 1687. The latter date is correct. On November 22, 1687, Card. Cibo also wrote to nuncio Tanara in Cologne on Lavardin's entry on November 16; see LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 473. *Cf.* SOL, *Rapports*, 13 *seq.*

[3] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 388 *seqq.*

Acquatraversa. They were joined by the Duke of Bracciano, the Prince of Belmonte and the foreign ambassadors in Rome. The two Cardinals, Lavardin and his wife, and two persons of the suite, took their place in one of the six-seater carriages provided by Cardinal D'Estrées. The cortège was opened by thirty French gentlemen; then came the luggage and the Swiss mercenaries, followed by twenty other gentlemen in carriages. Twenty pages and as many servants walked immediately before the ambassador. Then came the sedan chairs of the ladies and more gentlemen and the secretaries of the embassy. The rear was brought up by twenty gentlemen in carriages and twenty-five on horseback. The entire suite was armed with pistols, carbines and arquebuses so that the entry had a very martial character. The cavalcade marched through the Corso towards the Piazza Navona and from thence to the Palazzo Farnese. In order not to provoke the Romans unnecessarily, Lavardin at least refrained from entering to the sound of trumpets. Accordingly, the procession moved without much noise through the narrow streets lined with vast numbers of people who had come to watch the unusual spectacle. Lavardin distributed plentiful alms to the poor but only a few of them were moved to shout *Viva Francia!* [1] On reaching the Palazzo Farnese the armed men lined the approach through which Lavardin entered, after which the French flag was hoisted. The armed men remained in occupation of the *piazza* in front of the embassy far into the night.[2]

Lavardin's first care was to see to the guarding of the

[1] Brosch (*Kirchenstaat*, I., 443) speaks of the Romans' dislike of the Pope because of his too strict government. He thinks that the acclamations were due to that circumstance. His source is a *cifra* of Lando, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, dated October 25, 1687.

[2] On Lavardin's entry, *cf.* Card. D'Estrées' report to the King of November 18, 1687, in Navenne, II., 13 *seq.*; Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 70 *seqq.*; *Giustificazione della bolla*, 16 *seq.*; Gérin, *Ambassade*, 396 *seq.*; Card. Cibo's report to nuncio Tanara at Cologne, November 22, 1687, in Laemmer, *Melet.*, 473; *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 289 *seq.*

Palazzo Farnese. He feared an attack by the papal troops, hence he turned the palace into an armed camp as if he were in hostile territory. None of these things escaped the Pope. He ordered prayers in all the monasteries and lodged a protest against France's action with the representatives of the other Powers.[1] The papal troops were given strict orders not to approach the French quarter so as to avoid every occasion of a clash. Innocent was determined to wait until Lavardin's conduct should have made him obnoxious to the Roman people.[2]

One of Lavardin's first acts in Rome was the removal of one objection to the sovereign rights claimed by the ambassadors when he at long last established law and order in the French quarter. As many as from one to two hundred vagabonds established themselves in the courtyard of the palace. No one knew the names and origin of these people. The criminal elements who were wont to meet there, especially at night, since the doors remained always open, frequently quarrelled among themselves; on such occasions blood often flowed. Lavardin was obliged to use force to clear the palace. Four Swiss from his private suite were not enough and it was necessary to have the doors guarded day and night by eight men. In addition to this the quarter was constantly scoured by six watchmen.[3] Louis XIV. had strictly enjoined Lavardin to keep his men in check and to see to it that law and order prevailed in the quarter, and to punish sternly the authors of disorder. For the rest he was to refrain

[1] Lavardin's report of March 30, 1688, to the King, NAVENNE, II., 15. The French ambassador relates that the Pope also had had the Palazzo Farnese watched by processions of penitents which continually passed in front of the palace, singing psalms. He says that it took him all his will power to stop him from sending his soldiers after the "penitents".

[2] Report of a French agent in Rome to Paris, November 23, 1687, in GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 398 *seq*. *Cf*. NAVENNE, II., 16.

[3] *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 310. This description of the quarter was drawn by Lavardin himself in his reports of March 30, April 17, 1688, to the King; *cf*. NAVENNE, II., 15 *seq*.

from the use of arms. If he failed to obtain an audience from the Pope, it would be his duty to wait quietly for the death of aged, ailing Innocent, after which he would have to exercise pressure on the conclave and to establish contact with the new Pope.[1]

Lavardin was destined to fail in his task. One cause of this failure was his own imprudence and another and more serious one came from Cardinal D'Estrées who could not get over the fact that the French embassy, which had been uninterruptedly held by his family for over a hundred years, should now be in other hands. Only the authority of their common sovereign kept up the apparent harmony of the two French functionaries. When his quite unsuccessful stay in Rome came to an end, Lavardin blamed the Cardinal for his failure.[2]

Innocent XI. could not but resent Lavardin's conduct as a grave infringement of his sovereignty, especially as the measures taken by him against the freedom of the quarter were abundantly justified. Moreover by his conduct alone Lavardin had incurred the censures of the " Maundy Thursday Bull ", without any further step being required.[3] Notwithstanding this circumstance he solicited an audience with the Pope, which was of course refused. In prevision of such an eventuality, Lavardin had been instructed to have recourse to threats. He was to insist on the execution of the Treaty of Pisa, by the terms of which Castro and Ronciglione were to return to Parma,[4] and even to hint at the sequestration of Avignon. For a time he contended himself with protesting against the denial of an audience. Both by this denial as

[1] *Cf.* Gérin, *Ambassade*, 398 ; *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 310.

[2] Proofs and details below, p. 404 *seq.* *Cf.* Gérin, *Révolution*, 462 *seq.*

[3] Innocent XI. thought the same of Card. D'Estrées ; *cf.* the anecdote in Gérin, *Ambassade*, 402. See also *Giustificazione della bolla*, 17.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 106 *seq.*

well as in other ways, Lavardin was made to realize that he was excommunicated.[1] It was customary to celebrate annually a solemn High Mass at the Lateran on the feast of St. Lucy, in memory of Henry IV.'s return to the Catholic Church. When the Pope learnt that Lavardin intended to assist at this Mass, he instructed Cardinal Chigi, the archpriest of the Lateran basilica, to stop the sacred function at once should Lavardin put in an appearance.[2] Innocent took no further steps against the ambassador but he watched the development of things all the more closely. Even so, his conduct greatly annoyed Versailles. When it was learnt that the Pope persisted in his refusal to receive Lavardin, Croissy informed the nuncio that the King would no longer give him audience.[3]

On his arrival, Lavardin had paid his respects to the various ambassadors in Rome and made a show of friendly feelings towards Innocent XI. He appears to have spoken with particular frankness to Marcello Sacchetti, the envoy of the Knights of Malta. He also called on Cardinals Cibo and Spinola, to whom, as well as to the Maltese envoy, he dropped

[1] *Giustificazione della bolla*, 17 *seq.* Lavardin acted on his instructions; *cf. Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, I., 311 *seq.* The demand for the execution of the clause of the Treaty of Pisa concerning Castro had been suggested to Louis XIV. already in 1681 by Abbé Melani. On February 14, 1681, the latter suggested the dispatch of an army of 4,000 men to Castro, in order to intimidate the Pope (**Cifra da Lauri* of February 14, 1681, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 166, Papal Sec. Arch.). In 1683 Croissy told the envoy of Parma that France would not object at all if the Grand Duke insisted on the Pope carrying into effect the Treaty of Pisa (*Lauri, January 24, 1683, *ibid.*, 170).

[2] "*Il Papa, che mirabilmente signoreggia tutte le passioni, fece all'ora cedere a i rispetti del ben publico i stimoli della vendetta privata, si che quella solenne ingiuria fu in lui soppressa dal consiglio, non fu soppressa, com'altri credettero, dal timore." Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 71b.

[3] This happened on December 10, 1687; *cf.* GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 411. The Pope had expected it, for in a **Cifra* of September 30, 1687 (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 177) he had exhorted the nuncio to patience should he be refused admission at court.

a hint that at his very first audience he would renounce the right of the quarter at the feet of the Pope.[1] For the rest, by his equivocal position between Pope and King, Cardinal Cibo had forfeited the confidence of both, a circumstance of which he complained to Cardinal D'Estrées.[2]

The situation grew worse when the French Government threatened nuncio Ranuzzi with the occupation of Avignon and Castro. The first threat was made through a certain Doctor Ammonio, who brought to the nuncio's knowledge certain remarks to this effect made by the King and Croissy. Through the same channel the Pope brought to the notice of the King and his ministers the fact that, in consequence of their action in the question of the quarter, they had incurred major excommunication, and that by their conduct towards the nuncio they were incurring new censures which would hasten the punishment God had in store for them.[3] Ranuzzi had been ordered by Innocent XI., immediately after Lavardin's entry into Rome, to inform the King that he had incurred the censures of the Bull *In coena Domini*.[4] Ammonio

[1] This is true in so far as Louis XIV. had strictly enjoined him not to tolerate any disorder within the sphere of his immunity (quarter). The asylum for criminals and people of every description must be suppressed. There must be no public games and Lavardin must refrain from the abuse of " lettres de familiarité ". By suppressing the abuse of the quarter Louis hoped to satisfy the reforming Pope. *Cf. Recueil des Instructions*, I., 291, 310. " *ch'ammesso che l'ambasciator fosse all'udienza, avrebbe deposto a' piedi del Papa e ceduto il quartiere." Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 72.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] " *che la Mtà Sua et i suoi ministri sono incorsi nella scomunica maggiore imposta da quell'autorità che Giesù Christo, Signore nostro, ha lasciato al suo vicario in terra contro chiunque fosse per usurpare il preteso franco, che coll'usare di mali trattamenti fuor d'ogni convenienza e dritto a V.S., S. Mtà non farà altro che aggiungere censure a censure et accelerare quei castighi che Dio sin hora ha differiti." To the nuncio, December 16, 1687. *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[4] DUBRUEL, *Excommunication*, 619.

carried out his commission for the King who made light of it since, in his opinion, the conflict over the quarter was of a purely secular nature. Louis, nevertheless, enjoined the strictest silence on Ammonio as to what had happened.[1] Ranuzzi drew the attention of the Curia to the consequences of the publication of the excommunication. Publication was omitted and in this way the whole affair remained a secret which has only been brought to light by modern research.[2]

The direct threat of the occupation of Castro and Avignon seems to have been first made to the nuncio by Croissy himself, on December 26th, 1687.[3] False rumours circulating in Paris as to what had happened at the Congregation of the Holy Office, the source of which was probably D'Estrées, did not improve the situation. By order of the Pope, the Cardinals had been informed at the aforesaid Congregation that they must have no communications with Lavardin. Cardinal D'Estrées thereupon declared that he could not be bound by this prohibition inasmuch as pressing reasons compelled him to act otherwise. Rumour put on the whole affair a construction so unfavourable to the French that the Pope saw

[1] *Ibid.*, 624 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 619. One may ask whether Innocent XI. really meant to declare the King to have fallen under *Excommunicatio latae sententiae*, viz. whether he wished this announcement to the King to be a judicial act. Dubruel attaches too much importance to the affair, seeing that similar expressions occur in Innocent XI.'s dispatches and their meaning is that "as a matter of fact" Louis XIV. should be excommunicated, on account of the Bull which punishes any action against the prohibition of the quarter with the censures of the Bull *In coena Domini* (*cf.* Innocent XI.'s attitude towards the King of Spain, March 29, 1682, *supra*, p. 344). Had there been a real, intentional excommunication the Pope would surely have recalled his nuncio from Paris. This view explains the Pope's subsequent energetic *démenti* to Card. D'Estrées according to which he had never thought of excommunicating Louis XIV. ("che ha mai pensato a scomuniche et a scomunicare il Re [GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 626], without supposing a "restricto mentalis", as Dubruel does (*loc. cit.*, 629).

[3] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 411.

himself compelled to declare that the various embellishments were at variance with the facts.[1]

If, until now, the attitude of Innocent XI. and Louis XIV. towards each other had been one of mutual watchfulness, the situation underwent a change when the Pope showed no sign of willingness to fall in with Louis' plans in regard to the Cologne coadjutorship. Lavardin became increasingly aggressive, for he knew that his sovereign made the removal of existing differences between the Holy See and himself dependent on the Pope's yielding on the question of Cologne.[2]

Certain incidents at Christmas, 1687, led to an open conflict. On the evening of December 24th, Lavardin went to the French national church of St. Louis for the midnight Mass.[3] He was ceremonially received at the door of the church by the parish priest, Abbé d'Hervault, an Auditor of the Rota, and the rest of the clergy who escorted him into the sanctuary where a *prie-dieu* had been prepared for him. He received Holy Communion with the rest of the faithful.[4] Thereupon the Pope commissioned the Cardinal Vicar Carpegna to lay an interdict on the church of St. Louis, since the clergy had admitted the notoriously excommunicate Marquis De Lavardin to the sacred function and to the Sacraments.[5] Lavardin's reply was a public protest against the papal decision. He described

[1] *To the nuncio, December 16, 1687, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.* [2] On the question of Cologne, *cf.* below, p. 374.

[3] The *Giustificazione della bolla* describes this as an extraordinary step taken by Lavardin with a view to defying the Pope as it was not customary for the French ambassadors to attend this Mass which was connected with the *Quarant'ore.*

[4] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 403; NAVENNE, II., 17; *Giustificazione della bolla*, 18; Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 38b *seq.*

[5] The interdict was published in print on December 26, 1687. There is a copy in *Cod. Bildt*, p. 5. The *Giustificazione d. b.* (18) gives the Latin text and an Italian translation. The interdict was only raised at the end of February 1688, and that only out of consideration for the parish; *cf.* **Cifra* to the nuncio, March 2, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cod. Barb.* 3308, Vat. Lib., has many *theological, historical and political writings on the interdict of S. Luigi.

Innocent's action as unjust and the censures as invalid and, by a ruse, succeeded in getting the document placed in the hands of the Cardinals.[1]

In France the report of these events acted like oil on fire. However, the general situation, and especially the French aspirations with regard to Cologne which could not be realized without the Pope's concurrence, momentarily restrained Louis from violent measures though he heaped reproaches on the Paris nuncio. At the King's request the Parliament of Paris examined the new situation. On January 23rd, 1688, Denis Talon made a speech in that assembly in which he proffered the gravest accusations against Innocent XI. He asserted that the Pope had tampered with France's rights by insisting on his theory of papal infallibility. Once again, Innocent was branded as a friend of the Jansenists who lent an all too willing ear to his advisers, all of whom were declared enemies of France. From this soil, Talon went on to say, sprang the Bull against the quarter and the interdict against S. Luigi, both being abuses of the papal authority, for the whole affair of the quarter was an entirely secular question. Talon could only see one means of saving France's threatened rights, namely a General Council to which he appealed.[2] The whole of Parliament expressed its agreement with him, like him appealed to a General Council and forbade the publication of the Bull.[3] Talon's speech and the

[1] The French text is in *Cod. Bildt*, p. 11 *seq.*; an Italian translation, *ibid.*, 7 *seqq.* *Cf.* Cibo's report to nuncio Tanara at Cologne, December 28, 1687, in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 474; SOL, *Rapports*, 13, 14.

[2] The text of Talon's speech (as extract from the Parliamentary Registers) is in *Cod. Bildt*, pp. 29–42. Talon reminds the French of the attitude in the affair of the Corsicans (Vol. XXXI., p. 95)!

[3] Appeal and decree in *Mention*, 78 *seqq.* In *Cod. MS.*, 309, of the Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, there is an original print of the decree. Text also in *Cod. Bildt*, pp. 42–6. *Cf.* Cibo's *report to nuncio Tanara at Cologne, February 21, 1688, LAEMMER, *loc. cit.*, 496, and the **Cifra al Nuntio* of February 10, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

parliamentary resolution were printed and on the morning of February 8th, 1688, together with Lavardin's protest, they were put up in various public places in Rome,[1] in fact the document could be read even at St. Peter's, at the place where the papal Bulls were affixed, as well as at the Cancelleria. Lavardin likewise handed copies to the diplomatic representatives and to the Queen of Sweden, the Portuguese ambassador

[1] Letter of Card. Cibo, of February 8, 1688, to the Cologne nuncio, in LAEMMER, *loc. cit.*, 475. This marked the opening of a campaign of pamphlets which gave birth to some quite unworthy productions. Lavardin advanced the theory that ambassadors carrying out their instructions could not fall under ecclesiastical penalties. The papal reply is in the repeatedly quoted *Giustificazione della bolla*, Ch. III., p. 29 *seqq.* of which is particularly directed against Lavardin's claims. There is a copy in *Cod. Bildt*, pp. 15–28, and in *MS. Cas.*, 309, of the Bibl. Casanat. There are a number of memorials and pamphlets in Papal Sec. Arch., *Arm.*, III., n. 20 and 21. The French views were summed up in the following four articles which busied the Roman Inquisition :

(1) " Minister regis, legatus quorum persona etiam inter nationes barbaras sacrosancta est, non potest unquam incurrere censuras ecclesiasticas pro his quae spectant functiones sui officii " (from Lavardin's protest and Talon's speech).

(2) " Sufficit dicere March. Lavardin esse legatum Regis christianissimi et consequenter exemptum ab omnibus censuris ecclesiasticis, quamdiu charactere illo erit insignitus et quamdiu exequetur mandata regis, domini sui " (from the protest).

(3) " Quod Papa non potuerit condemnare tamquam legatum, quandoquidem charactere ipsius cum respectu suarum functionum eximebit [?] ab his fulminibus " (ex actu appell.).

(4) " Neque reges nostri, neque eorum officiales possunt esse obnoxii alieni excommunicationi pro omni quod respicit muneris sui exercitium."

Many memorials were handed in, one of them by Schelstrate. The Inquisition decided that the above theses were heretical and drafted a condemnation which was never published. *Cf. MS. Cas.*, 309, *loc. cit.*, where there are the personal notes of Card. Casanata, who was a member of the Roman Inquisition.

alone being spared.[1] Lavardin also let no occasion escape to insult the Pope. In challenging fashion he attended Mass at St. Peter's. Innocent accordingly commanded the whole of the Roman clergy to stop the sacred functions as soon as Lavardin appeared. He forbade his soldiers to salute the Marquis and gave orders that at the approach of the French ambassador the chains before the doors of the pontifical palace should be put up so as to prevent his entrance.[2]

It would seem that in behaving as he did, Lavardin felt that he could rely on the sympathies of certain discontented circles in Rome. The centre of the malcontents was Queen Christine of Sweden. Shortly before Lavardin's arrival a quarrel had arisen between her and Innocent XI. as a result of the action of the papal police against a spirit merchant who formed part of her suite.[3] These proceedings seem to have caused her to regret having renounced the quarter. In July 1687, a French agent in Rome was able to report to Paris that the Queen was impatiently waiting for the arrival of Lavardin as she hoped that the situation in Rome would grow worse in consequence ; in view of her annoyance with the Pope this would give her great satisfaction.[4] Both the Spanish ambassador and Queen Christine hoped to recover the quarter as they claimed parity with France.[5] Christine had got into touch with Lavardin even before his entry into Rome

[1] *Cf.* Lavardin's report to Louis XIV., February 9, 1688, in Navenne, II., 17 *seq.*

[2] Lavardin to the King, February 3 and 10, 1688, *ibid.*, 19. To his letter Lavardin added Innocent XI.'s prohibition of the carnival which, he said, was specially directed against himself as the Pope desired to stir the Roman people's resentment. The prohibition threatens transgressors with the galleys if they were men, whilst women would be fined 1,000 or more gold scudi. An original print of the prohibition of February 9, 1688, is in *Cod. Bildt*, p. 1.

[3] Grauert, II., 339 *seqq.*

[4] Gérin, *Ambassade*, 394.

[5] *Ibid.*

and had offered him her services.[1] So she deemed the moment propitious for defying the papal authority. It had come to the ears of the Governor-General of Rome that the Queen intended to go to a meeting of some scientific academy. He accordingly requested her on no account to admit into her retinue any person wanted by the representatives of the law. The Queen informed the Governor that she held him in great respect, the best proof of it being the fact that she did not have his messenger thrown out of the window. After that she set out with a large suite which included all her protégés.[2] Lavardin was delighted with this change of feeling in the Queen. In view of the community of interests in regard to the question of the quarter, previous mutual disagreements were put on one side and Lavardin was allowed to call on the Queen. It is said that on that occasion Christine extolled the King of France to the sky, hailing him as the hero of the century, whereas for the Pope she had nothing but invectives. The enmity between Cardinals D'Estrées and Azzolini may have contributed to this *rapprochement* between the Queen of Sweden and Lavardin.[3]

These circumstances provided the French Government with a welcome support in its attitude towards the Pope. However, Innocent XI. remained unmoved though he deeply resented the mortifications inflicted on his nuncio. Even now he felt convinced that Louis XIV. was unaware of the true state of affairs and since he believed that a change for the better would ensue if the King could be enlightened on the true situation, he instructed nuncio Ranuzzi to get in touch with Madame Brinon, the superioress of Saint-Cyr, in order to influence Louis by this means.[4] Innocent also hoped to realize

[1] Lavardin to the King, November 5, 1687, in NAVENNE, II., 20.

[2] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 400 *seq.*

[3] NAVENNE, II., 20 *seq.* D'Estrées strove to represent to the King Lavardin's conduct in Rome as imprudent (*ibid.*). *Cf.* GRAUERT, II., 346 *seqq.*

[4] " *S. B^ne^ soffrirà con fortezza tutte le violenze che potessero essere usate e continuerà a gemere avanti Dio, donec transeat

his end through the influence of the King of England. In March 1687, he had requested James II., through the London nuncio Adda, to draw Louis' attention to the wrongfulness of his conduct and to restrain him from further steps.[1] It was a great comfort to the Pope that the King of England as well as the King of Spain understood and approved his attitude: next to God he now relied on these two Catholic monarchs.

The nuncio in Paris could do nothing. He was watched both by the Archbishop of Paris and by La Chaize, who kept the King informed of all he said and did.[2] But this was not enough for Harlay; together with the ministers he brought pressure to bear on the clergy with a view to preventing their having any intercourse at all with the nuncio.[3] At the English court the Archbishop of Paris was believed to be the real instigator of France's anti-papal attitude and La Chaize was suspected of making common cause with him.[4] Among the Catholic Princes, the King of Spain in particular stood by the Pope, in fact it would seem that Charles II. actually proposed to the Pope an alliance against France, a proposal which, as the common Father of Christendom, he

iniquitas" (to the nuncio, February 17, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.* The nuncio had been requested by a **Cifra* of December 9, 1687 (*ibid.*), "che mantenga e stringa sempre più la corrispondenza con Madama Brin [!] per tenere almeno aperta una strada da tentare d'illuminare il Re sopra le cose che potranno occorrere."

[1] *To nuncio Adda, March 1, 4, 8, May 31, June 14, etc., 1687, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 411 *seq.*

[3] *To the nuncio, March 9, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[4] The King had asked Lord Sunderland how France could treat the Pope as she did. The latter replied: "ch'egli credeva che l'arcivescovo di Parigi ne fosse il promotore e capo come facendo il disgutato di Roma per proprii fini d'ambitione, e poteva essere ancora il Padre de la Chaise intrinseco del medesimo vescovo." *Nuncio Adda on January 9, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra, loc. cit.*

declined. However, precautions were taken in Spain so as to be ready for any event.[1] The Spanish Armada was to be ready to put to sea in May and the Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan were ordered to increase their troops and to put them at the disposal of the Pope should he make a request to that effect. Spain suggested that the Pope should request the King of England to allow part of his fleet to cruise with the Spanish Armada in Mediterranean waters, with a view to giving the King of France an unmistakable hint and preventing him from any enterprise against the Italian coast.[2] Innocent approved Spain's precautionary measures; one could never feel safe from France, he said, for they had to deal with a nation which sought to obtain its own end by every possible means, regardless of every consideration of reason and justice.[3]

As a matter of fact France's naval preparations justified the fear that she planned an attack on the Papal States. Accordingly the King of England sought to mediate. In an autograph letter to Louis XIV. he begged him to refrain from measures of violence against the Holy See. James showed the draft of his letter to nuncio Adda in London; according to Adda's account it was couched in rather sharp terms.[4] The Pope was not averse to English mediation, for though he would not hear of negotiations on the matter in dispute, he nevertheless hoped that intervention by a royal personage would be crowned with some success. Already on February 7th, 1688, he had made use of James to inform the

[1] The decision was come to in the Council of State, as the Pope was reported to have said on two occasions, [di] " tenersi lontano da far leghe ". The Spanish nuncio, February 19, 1688, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 161, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] " *mentre si tratta con una nazione che non dà luogo alcuno alla ragione et alla giustizia, ch'è solita a valersi d'ogni pretesto per i suoi fini, e che ne' suoi moti può havere delle seconde intenzioni." To the Spanish nuncio, March 21, 1688, *loc. cit.*

[4] Nuncio Adda, February 6, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra, loc. cit.*

French ambassador in London that if anything were undertaken against the Papal States there would be question, not of the patrimony of the Odescalchi family, but of the patrimony of St. Peter and of Jesus Christ Himself.[1] In a Brief of February 14th, 1688, he expressed his thanks to the King of England for his efforts.[2]

The first French reply seemed to hold out some hope.[3] Louis accepted James II.'s mediation and announced that out of consideration for England he had put off his plans against Rome. The King of England thought that this meant that France was weary of the dispute with the Pope,[4] so he decided to send Lord Howard, the nephew of Cardinal Howard, to Rome as his ambassador. Innocent thanked the King for his goodwill but the departure of Lord Howard was delayed.[5]

The mediation of the Duc d'Orléans, which the Paris nuncio had hailed with great satisfaction, led to no result. The Pope was determined not to enter into negotiations of any kind on the real question in dispute. He requested the Paris nuncio, through the intervention of the Duc d'Orléans, to induce the Dauphin to exercise his influence with the King, for Innocent still clung to his belief that Louis, deceived as he was by his advisers, only needed to be enlightened.

[1] " *che nella controversia presente non si tratta del patrimonio della famiglia Odescalco, ma di quello di S. Pietro e di Giesù Christo." To Adda, February 7, 1688, *ibid.*

[2] BERTHIER, II., 388. Lord Sunderland showed the Brief to Adda in London (*Adda, March 12, 1688, *ibid.*). *Cf.* also the Brief of March 13, 1688, BERTHIER, II., 390.

[3] *Adda, March 5, 1688, *ibid.* *Cf.* also Giorio **Ragguaglio*, f. 142b: " Dichiarò se contento il Re christianissimo di rimetter tutto nella mediazione del Re d'Inghilterra."

[4] " *haverebbe sospeso le sue risoluzioni per qualche tempo nelle correnti emergenze." Sunderland thought, " che in Francia fossero stracchi dell'impegno preso di mero capriccio e suggestione di cattivi consiglieri." Adda, May 7, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra, loc. cit.*

[5] *To Adda, June 5 and 26, 1688, *ibid.* On Howard's mission, see GÉRIN, *Révolution*, 443 *seq.*

True, he sharply condemned the conduct of the French Government,[1] but for all that he did not altogether decline the Duke's mediation. Croissy, on his part, informed the nuncio that his sovereign was prepared to accept the Duke as arbiter and asked Ranuzzi whether he was empowered to negotiate.[2] The nuncio could only answer that he would ask Rome for the necessary powers. However, even now the Pope was not prepared for any kind of concession; the intriguers at the French court would have seen in such an act not a concession, but a recognition of their pretensions.[3]

Innocent was the less inclined to hope for any good result from negotiations as the French threats against the Holy See were being constantly repeated. Hence he felt compelled to take measures of precaution. The garrison of Civitavecchia was reinforced and the regiments of the papal army were brought up to their full complement. The Pope protested once more that he did not want war with France, though he was not disposed to overlook everything in silence: it was his intention to offer resistance if Civitavecchia were attacked. For the rest Innocent needed more troops for the protection of the Italian coast against the Berbers and for the preservation of order in Rome where resentment against the French had assumed such proportions that there

[1] "*che non si troverà alcun principe, per barbaro che sia, che habbia usati mai tali strapazzi ad un altro principe." To Ranuzzi, May 11, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*

[2] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 412.

[3] "*che in riguardo o a titolo del quartiere sudetto non si potrebbe mai concedere nissuna cosa benchè minima, . . . senza dar luogo così nel presente come nel tempo avenire a gli huomini pieni di cabale e di sofismi, de' quali suol sempre abbondare cotesta corte, di argomentare dalla concessione medesima che la pretensione del quartiere havesse avuto in se qualche ombra di ragione" (to the French nuncio, May 18, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). Croissy represented the affair as if the nuncio had requested the Duke of Orleans to mediate (*cf.* the French account in GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 412). This was denied both by Ranuzzi and by Rome (*cf.* *to Ranuzzi, May 25, 1688, *loc. cit.*).

was reason to fear popular excesses.[1] The Pope's prevision was seen to have been fully justified for there was no real desire in France to arrive at an amicable understanding. The French ambassador in Madrid officially proposed to the Spanish Government to make common cause with France on the question of the quarter, but as his suggestion was not submitted in writing, the Spanish Government made no reply.[2]

France's constantly renewed threats had their cause not so much in the question of the quarter as in the situation at Cologne which had now become of capital importance in European politics.

The aged Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, was completely subservient to France. Louis XIV. controlled everything he did through the Dean of the Chapter, William von Fürstenberg, to whom, under pressure of France, Innocent XI. had granted the purple.[3] Louis' sole aim was to assure his influence at Cologne for the future also, inasmuch as through the Elector he would be able to have a say in the affairs of the Empire. To this end there was, of course, no better means than to secure the succession of Cologne for his protégé, Cardinal von Fürstenberg. Louis' first step in this direction was wholly successful: by an agreement of May 25th, 1687, the Elector named the Cardinal his coadjutor with the right of succession. This meant the exclusion of the House of Wittelsbach which

[1] " *N. Sre non ha fatto altro che ordinare che siano riempite le compagnie de' soldati che mancarono nella passata campagna, e dato qualche piccolo provedimento alla sicurezza di Civitavecchia, stante le continove e brutali minaccie di Croissy e del maresciallo D'Estrées, al quale S. Stà, benchè costante nella risoluzione di non far guerra, non lasciarebbe di opporsi con tutto il vigor possibile per impedire l'acquisto, quando gli venisse per tentarlo, di quella piazza." To Ranuzzi, June 8, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[2] *The Spanish nuncio, July 8, 1688, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 161, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] September 2, 1686; *cf.* GUARNACCI, I., 195.

had so long held the see of Cologne. Maximilian Henry thereupon obtained Cardinal von Fürstenberg's promise that he, in his turn, would eventually make young Clement of Bavaria his coadjutor.[1] In order to invest the question of the coadjutor with at least the semblance of ecclesiastical procedure, the formal election was committed to the Chapter of Cologne: the decision was to be made on January 7th, 1688. Both the Emperor and Louis XIV. sent their agents to Cologne for the purpose of influencing the Canons. In imperial circles it was openly stated that Fürstenberg's election would not be recognized. Everybody feared the outbreak of a general war. In consequence of these rumours Louis massed his troops on the frontier for the purpose, so he announced, of ensuring freedom of choice for the Chapter which he knew to be solidly bound to him by golden ties. At this juncture several German Princes requested the Pope to forbid the election.[2]

It was, of course, necessary for Innocent XI. to take up a decisive position in the matter, but as was his wont, he did not do so openly. Since the nomination of a coadjutor could only take place with the consent of the Pope, and as this had not been obtained, nuncio Tanara of Cologne was instructed to watch closely what was going on and to keep the Elector fully informed. He was to explain that the Pope did not see the need of a coadjutor, hence he would not give his confirmation if one were elected. Moreover, the Archbishop was in such good health that he was quite equal to the duties of his office; above all, in view of the intrigues of various political parties it was not opportune to appoint a coadjutor; in this respect it was immaterial whether he was named by

[1] GÉRIN, *Élection*, 82 *seqq.*

[2] *Tanara, on November 16, 1687, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 60 (Papal Sec. Arch.): "The Duke of Geldern, who is of a violent temperament, is reported to have said che l'imperatore e l'imperio non permetteranno mai si elegga per coadiutore un ministro di Francia, quale asserisce essere il sigr. card. di Fürstenberg. Publica che derivarebbe da tale elettione una guerra generale, etc."

means of an election by the Chapter or through a so-called postulation.[1]

This should have disposed of the affair. However, intoxicated as he was by a sense of his power, Louis XIV. still hoped to make the Pope change his mind though he had had plenty of opportunities to convince himself of Innocent XI.'s inflexibility. So the negotiations went on and Fürstenberg's success seemed assured, though the Cardinal feared intervention by the Pope as he already held an episcopal see. The nuncio explained to him that the Pope's one and only aim in the question of the coadjutorship was the tranquillity of Germany and to this purpose all personal considerations had to give way.[2] The election of a coadjutor actually took place at Cologne on January 7th, 1688. The Chapter was fully aware of the fact that it had indulged in an uncanonical act, hence it described its action not as an election but as a mere presentation, in the hope that the Pope would subsequently recognize the *fait accompli*. For the moment Innocent XI. remained silent, though the Emperor had been most anxious that he should explicitly forbid the election. Fürstenberg was unanimously elected by the Chapter, except for one vote, and he now waited for his confirmation by Rome[3]: this

[1] *To Tanara, December 6, 1687 (*Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.*): The nuncio should "insinuare destramente al sigr. elettore, che trovandosi in età et in salute così vigorosa, non pare che possa haver bisogno di coadiutore, che però S. B^ne^ non sarebbe per indursi nello stato presente di concederglielo, massime, quando fossero vere le pratiche e le arti che le parti s'imputano vicendevolmente". The same holds good in a postulation. *Cf.* *Letter of December 13, 1687, to Tanara; *ibid. Barb.* 5190, f. 40–60, Vat. Lib., a **Relazione* on the Cologne electoral conflict, probably by Tanara himself. The narrative is in the first person, lively, the exact statements of which are confirmed by first-class sources. It was only composed after the death of Innocent XI. (August 29, 1689), since he is spoken of as dead.

[2] Tanara, on December 26, 1687, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.* The Pope, we read, had "per unico oggetto il riposo della Germania".

[3] Immich, *Innocenz*, XI., 78 *seq.*

Louis XIV. sought to extort in Rome, on the advice of Gravel, the French agent at Cologne. It was hoped in France that Innocent XI. would be less unyielding in the affair of Cologne than he was in other conflicts.

Gravel's suggestion was that in the event of a refusal, the Pope should be threatened not only with the seizure of Avignon and the execution of the Treaty of Pisa in respect of Castro, but that he should also be frightened with the threat of another Assembly of the French Clergy.[1] Louis did not need a repetition of such counsels. In a letter of April 1st, 1688, he stated that the confirmation of the Cologne election was a necessary condition for an understanding between the Pope and France and that its denial would provoke a European war.[2] All this time the Pope had been completely ignored in the election ; outwardly he continued to observe events in silence. Though the court of Vienna did its utmost against Fürstenberg,[3] Innocent confined himself to remonstrances, through his nuncio, with the Elector and Cardinal Fürstenberg, with a view to persuading them to abandon their uncanonical attitude. The Cardinal expressed his willingness to submit to the Pope.[4]

The whole question became even more acute when the Elector Maximilian Henry was taken ill. Innocent instructed the nuncio to influence the Elector himself through the latter's confessor, as this was likely to be his last illness.[5] It is easy to understand the general excitement at Cologne for no one

[1] *S. M^té ne s'arrêtera pas à ôter seulement au Pape le comté d'Avignon et à l'obliger à l'exécution du traité de Pise, mais qu'elle pourra bien aussi faire rassembler le clergé de son royaume pour montrer la nullité de ce procédé et pour lui donner en même temps quelque mortification plus sensible. Should Innocent XI. refuse to yield, it would be due to the "imbécillité où le grand âge a réduit le Pape, etc.". Gravel to the King, January 10 and 26, 1688, in GÉRIN, *Élection*, 89 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 91.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Tanara, on May 16, 1688, *loc. cit.*

[5] *To Tanara, April 17, 1688, *ibid.*

could fail to see the political bearing of the affair. The foreign envoys contributed to the general confusion by their efforts to win over the Canons to their side by every means at their disposal. Whilst the French troops on the borders of the archdiocese were being constantly reinforced, Vienna made it clear that it would never consent to Fürstenberg's elevation.[1]

The situation took an entirely new turn with the death, on June 3rd, 1688, of the Elector Maximilian Henry.[2] The whole question of the coadjutorship was now meaningless for, as the Pope observed, one does not assign a coadjutor to a dead man. Through the nuncio he admonished the Chapter to look only to personal merit in the new election and to proceed in accordance with Canon Law.[3] The struggle for the archbishopric which now began was, at bottom, a contest between the German Emperor and the French crown for one of the highest dignities of the Empire. In view of the passions aroused on both sides a peaceful solution was seemingly out of the question. The two competing candidates were the seventeen years old Elector Clement of Bavaria and Cardinal von Fürstenberg. According to Canon Law neither of them was eligible without a papal indult since Fürstenberg held the see of Strassburg and Clement lacked the requisite age ; accordingly both prayed for a papal dispensation. From the outset Innocent XI. showed a strong determination not to suffer Louis XIV. to meddle with the affairs of a purely German diocese. Hence Fürstenberg's candidature was hopeless from the first. Nuncio Tanara was instructed to express to him the Pope's regrets that he could not consider him. At the same time he was admonished not to do anything

[1] *Tanara, May 30, 1688, *ibid.*

[2] GÉRIN, *Élection*, 96 ; IMMICH, *loc. cit.*, 80.

[3] *mentre non può darsi un coadiutore a un morto... N. S^re^ vuole ch'ella (Tanara) faccia intendere a i capitoli delle chiese vacanti (the Archbishop of Cologne had also held the See of Münster) che il desiderio e la mente di S. B^ne^ è che procedino canonicamente nell' elettioni, facendo cadere nelle persone più digne. To Tanara, June 26, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.*

likely to jeopardize public tranquillity.[1] Towards the youthful Bavarian Prince the Pope adopted a very different line of conduct. Outwardly he took not a single step in his favour but on July 5th, 1688,[2] he instructed the nuncio to do all that prudence permitted, with a view to his election; at the same time he complained to the nuncio of the concentration of troops on the frontier ordered by Louis XIV.[3] On July 17th, 1688, Innocent XI. forwarded a Brief to Prince Clement of Bavaria declaring him eligible[4]; thus the latter only required a simple majority of votes for a valid election. Cardinal Fürstenberg's position was quite different; as

[1] *To Tanara, June 26, 1688, *loc. cit.* The Emperor demands that consideration should be had for the Empire: "ma non si sa comprendere, con qual ragione il Re christianissimo possa pretendere d'ingerirvisi, mentre egli non sarebbe mai per permettere che nè l'imperatore nè alcun altro principe entrasse nelle provisioni de' vescovati e de' feudi del suo regno." The warning to Fürstenburg was renewed on July 1, 1688, in a **Cifra* to the nuncio (*loc. cit.*): "ch'egli con la sua prudenza sia per contenersi in maniera che non succedano sconcerti e non venga turbata la quiete publica." *Cf.* E. Böhmländer, *Die Wahl des Herzogs Joseph Klemens von Bayern zum Erzbischof von Köln 1688*, in *Oberbayr. Archiv.*, LVII., 224–284; Schrörs, *Kurfürst Joseph Klemens und Madame de Ruysbeck*, in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 1915, 1–77; Gérin, *Révolution*, 445 *seq.*

[2] "*N. S^re^ vuole ch'ella con la necessaria prudenza e circonspezione prendi tutte le congiunture che se le presentaranno di aiutare le pratiche che si faranno a favore del sigr. principe di Baviera per la vicina elezione di cotesta chiesa." To Tanara, July 5, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.*

[3] "*L'accostar truppe alle frontiere di cotesto elettorato non pare veramente un procurare nelle prossime elezioni quella libertà che dice il sigr. cardinale Fürstenberg volersi dal Re christianissimo" (to Tanara, July 10, 1688, *loc. cit.* Acts of violence by the French against the Abbey of Murbach, in which Innocent XI. suspected some of Fürstenberg's relatives to have had a part, increased his unwillingness; *cf.* **Cifra* of July 14 and 21, 1688, *ibid.*

[4] Berthier, II., 404.

the occupant of a see there could only be question, in his case, of a so-called " postulation " for which he required two-thirds of the votes. This situation remained unaffected by his giving up Strassburg as he was not entitled to take such a step without papal sanction. Moreover, Innocent XI. was resolved not to confirm Fürstenberg even in the event of a postulation. He charged nuncio Tanara to say and do nothing, should the Chapter proceed to postulate on behalf of Fürstenberg, regardless of the tranquillity of the Empire.[1] The election took place on July 19th, 1688. It yielded neither the simple majority required by the Prince of Bavaria nor the two-thirds' majority needed for a postulation for Fürstenberg.[2] Thus according to Canon Law, it was left to the Pope to make provision for the archiepiscopal see. Louis XIV. wrote to the Pope on July 22nd, 1688, requesting him to confirm Fürstenberg's postulation. He pointed out that he had never yet received a token of the Pope's favour and that the consequence of the rejection of the Cardinal would be a most bloody war; hence His Holiness should act with prudence.[3] Nuncio Tanara adopted an attitude of complete reserve for which he was praised by Innocent XI. The Pope declared that in this instance there was no canonical postulation since the requisite number of votes had not been obtained.[4]

[1] The nuncio must not start the " solito processo ", but remain passive " in caso che cotesto capitolo senza riflettere al bene et alla sicurezza publica sia proceduto a postulare il cardinale Fürstenberg ". To Tanara, July 24, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.*

[2] IMMICH, *Innocenz XI.*, 84; GÉRIN, *Élection*, 105.

[3] " *che il rifiuto che ella venisse a fare al cardinale di Fürstenberg delle bolle, causasse qualche guerra che non potrebbe essere se non molto sanguinosa." *Arm.*, III., 20, f. 279 and 21, f. 185, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] " *la quale [postulazione] non havendo havuto il numero de' voti richiesti da' sacri canoni, non solamente non dev'esser considerata per canonica, ma nè meno chiamarsi postulazione." To Tanara, July 31, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.*

French circles nevertheless expected Fürstenberg's confirmation as otherwise the King would make the Cardinal's cause his own and defend him by force of arms against the decrees of Rome and his other opponents.[1]

D'Estrées had recourse to gentler means in promoting the wishes of the King; he endeavoured to demonstrate not only the validity of the postulation for Fürstenberg, but even sought to prove that he had been elected by a majority of the Chapter. However, Innocent declared that there was neither postulation nor election.[2]

Louis XIV. continued to hope that he would get his wish; to this end he sought to link the question of Cologne with the other contested points between Paris and Rome. Lord Howard, whom James II. had sent to Rome for the purpose of mediating in the question of the quarter,[3] at last arrived there and on August 3rd the Pope received him in audience. Innocent, however, informed him that he would not submit the case to arbitration.[4] From the French King, he repeatedly protested, he wanted not a favour but his right. In a note in cypher to the French nuncio Ranuzzi, he complained that Louis employed dragoons against him, as he did against the Huguenots, and that he threatened him with his fleet as he threatened the pirates of Algiers.[5] On the question of the

[1] *nel qual caso S. Mtà christianissima sarebbe a riconoscere per propria la causa di S. Eminenza et a difenderla non meno dagli decreti di Roma colle proteste, appellazioni e rimedii giuridici, che colla forza dell' armi da quelle de' suoi nemici." Tanara, August 1, 1688, *loc. cit.*

[2] *To Tanara, August 3, 1688, *loc. cit.*

[3] See above, p. 372.

[4] *To Adda, August 3, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, Papal Sec. Arch. *Howard threw himself repeatedly at the Pope's feet, "supplicando al Papa di accettare la mediazione del suo Re; il Papa la ricusò da prima col motivo, che non poteva cadere la mediazione sopra cosa che non era commune col Re di Francia, perchè tutt'era del Papa solo, intendendo il Papa del quartiere." Giorio, *Ragguaglio*, f. 143.

[5] "*Con mandar quà Lavardin accompagnato da i dragoni haveva trattato il capo visibile della Chiesa come gli Ugonotti

quarter the Pope absolutely refused to negotiate. Louis XIV. now tried his personal influence with the Pontiff. On the morning of August 4th, 1688, a gentleman of good appearance called upon the papal Secretary, Casoni. He described himself as a Fleming and requested an audience with the Pope. When Casoni referred him to the official who dealt with such applications, the stranger declared that he was a Frenchman and was the bearer of a secret letter of his sovereign to the Pope. Casoni was shown a sealed letter which, in fact, looked exactly like Louis XIV.'s autograph letters. He accordingly requested the stranger to come back in the evening as he must first inform the Pope and the Secretary of State. This was done and the Pope ordered the Secretary of State to receive the royal letter. In the evening Casoni took the stranger to Cibo to whom he made himself known, by means of a note in the King's own hand, as Marshal de Chamlay; at the same time he declared that he had orders to deliver the letter to the Pope in person. Innocent, however, stuck to his decision even when the Marshal called in Cardinal D'Estreés' help and the latter expressed his readiness to guarantee that the Pope could receive the envoy without danger to his personal safety. Marshal de Chamlay was obliged to depart without having achieved anything.[1]

Meanwhile Fürstenberg saw his hopes vanish. He complained to the Cologne nuncio of the Emperor's pressure on the election which had resulted in his exclusion. In reply the

del suo regno; inviando quà l'armata maritima lo verrebbe a trattare come i pirati Algerini con scandalo et orrore anco degli stessi infedeli." To Ranuzzi, August 3, 1688, *Nunziat. de Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*

[1] *To Ranuzzi, August 21, 1688, *ibid.* *Cf.* IMMICH, *Innocenz* XI., 85; he names the ambassador Marquis Chamlay who was commissioned to offer to the Pope the abolition of the quarter in return for the recognition of Fürstenberg and the Bishops of the Assembly of 1682 presented by the King; GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 409. Both base themselves on ROUSSET, *Histoire de Louvois*, 2e partie, t. 2, p. 63 *seqq.* The account varies in some small details. *Cf.* also GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 113.

Pope explained to him that in this matter the position of the Emperor was not the same as that of the King of France. If the Emperor felt that a candidate was also an opponent, it was open to him to prevent such a man from obtaining one of the most exalted positions; moreover, the exclusion of one candidate did not limit the Chapter's freedom of choice. On the other hand, Louis XIV. had no business whatever in Germany; in his case one might indeed speak of the suppression of the freedom of election since he excluded all candidates except one.[1]

The consequence of the refusal to receive the secret messenger—a quite unexpected step—was that Louis XIV. now declined the English mediation.[2] As a matter of fact,

[1] "*L'oppressione che viene usata in Francia alla libertà canonica delle elezioni, non ha alcuna proporzione con quella che il sigr. card. di Fürstenberg suppone essere stata usata dall'ambasciatore cesareo in questa elezione . . ., massime quando tal esclusione procede dal capo e dal sovrano dell'imperio, il quale trattandosi di eleggere uno dei suoi principali consiglieri e ministri, come sono gli elettori, et il principe di un stato considerabile, che rileva da lui, pare che possa con ogni giustizia pretendere che questo non sia suo diffidente. Il Re christianissimo per il contrario non ha che far niente in Germania, e però non si sa com'entri ad alzar la voce et a voler con includere un solo, escluder tutti gli altri, il che propriamente è un togliere la libertà a i capitoli. Nè qui havendosi una così grande e continua esperienza delle violenze del medesimo Re che minaccia e tratta il Papa com'ognun sa, si dura gran fatica a creder che possa haver minacciato col mezzo di suoi ministri i capitoli di Colonia e di Liegi." To Tanara, August 21, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia, loc. cit.* Louis XIV. demanded from the Pope: Fürstenberg's installation at Cologne, the filling of the vacant sees in France, recognition of the right of *régale*, reception of Lavardin as ambassador and concession of a limited immunity of the quarter in Rome, in which the strictest order would be maintained; *cf.* Chamlay's instruction of July 6, 1688, in *Recueil des Instructions*, Rome, II., 1–25. Louis was prepared to meet the Pope a long way as he had realized that neither Card. D'Estrées nor Lavardin would secure an understanding with Rome.

[2] G iorio, *Ragguaglio, f. 144.

Louis could no longer indulge the hope that the Pope would yield. Though no decision had as yet been arrived at on the question of Cologne, the situation left no room for doubt as to the final result. Louis had made of the affair of Cologne a trial of strength. The Pope's attitude thwarted the long prepared scheme. At a time when Louis had reached the zenith of his power and all European States were falling more or less completely in line with his directions, an aged priest in Rome was the one and only sovereign to dare offer the all-powerful monarch steady, if merely passive, resistance. Undeterred, he held up before the autocrat the moral law which binds even the mightiest rulers. True, in the sequel, opposition made itself felt all over Europe, but Innocent alone stood like an unshakable rock amid the rush and turmoil of events. He discountenanced all ill-considered haste, strove to preserve peace and never wearied of drawing the attention of Christendom to the common enemy in the East. It is this that chiefly constitutes the lasting importance of this pontificate in the history of the world, an importance not appreciated for a long time, especially not by the Pope's contemporaries. Louis XIV. saw in the Pope merely an opponent who delighted in crossing his most cherished plans; hence he was determined to show no consideration for the Vicar of Christ. On August 21st, 1688 the Intendant of the navy, De Vauvré, received orders to make preparations for an expedition against the coasts of Italy. Louis intended to dispatch thither by sea 3,000 foot soldiers and 800 cavalry.[1]

The best account of the anti-papal feeling which prevailed in French Government circles may be seen in a letter of the King to Cardinal D'Estrées, dated September 6th, 1688.[2] With masterly distortion of truth Louis draws up a list of alleged acts of hostility by the Pope against himself. Misled by France's enemies, the Pope had always been against the Most Christian King and had refused to accept his envoys, a thing which

[1] Gérin, *Ambassade*, 407.

[2] *Mention*, 104; *cf.* the covering letter for Card. D'Estrées, dated September 6, 1688, in Gérin, *Révolution*, 451.

had never been done even by the most decided enemy. Hence the Pope would be to blame should a general war break out. Louis could no longer see in him any other than a secular prince who made common cause with his enemies. In spiritual things he would continue to treat the Pope with the respect to which he was entitled. The King depicts himself as a long-suffering, patient, peace-loving ruler who had borne injuries with rare patience and had received Rome's secret envoy.[1] With patent hypocrisy he went on to say that he regretted to see the peace of Europe so grievously threatened by the conduct of Innocent XI. that the Emperor was no longer able to prosecute the Turkish war with the necessary energy. He then announces that henceforth he would show no consideration for Innocent, but would order his troops to march into Italy to occupy Castro and Ronciglione, since by the terms of the treaty of Pisa these duchies should long ago have been handed over to his ally, the Duke of Parma. Avignon would be occupied simultaneously and time would show whether the Pope could recover it or whether it would be assigned to the Duke of Parma, to indemnify him for the long delayed surrender of the above named duchies. In conclusion the King declares that he would continue to give his support to Fürstenberg and to those Canons of Cologne who were devoted to him ; he also declines the Pope's mediation in the question of the succession to the Palatinate which was pending. Cardinal D'Estrées was told to read this letter to the Pope and to hand him the original ; the Cardinals he was to provide with copies.[2]

D'Estrées expected that the Pope would be intimidated by this threatening letter, but to his immense surprise Innocent

[1] Viz. a Neapolitan priest, Carlo Cavari, whom Livio Odescalchi had sent to mediate in Paris, without the Pope's knowledge. By way of credentials Cavari had only a letter of Livio. Louis XIV. received him several times, but refused to negotiate until he should be empowered to treat by the Pope.

[2] Card. Casanata's copy is in **Cod. Cas.*, 309, of the Bibl. Casanat., Rome ; another copy is in *Arm.*, III., 20 f. 281 of Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* SOL, *Rapports*, 16 ; MAZZATINTI, *Inventarii*, I., 173 *seq.*

listened to the reading of the lengthy communication without betraying the slightest emotion. He replied quite calmly and in a few words that his actions had never been inspired by hostility towards France but solely by his conscience; no doubt he was old and ailing whereas the King was powerful, but Louis too would one day have to give an account to God of his conduct.[1] By the King's command Lavardin forwarded a copy of the royal letter to all the princes and States of Italy. In a covering letter dated September 18th, 1688, Lavardin declared that his sovereign had no ambition to make conquests in Italy, but no one must presume to oppose him![2] In view of the wide publicity which the royal libel was thus given, a rejoinder on the Pope's part was imperative.[3] In that document the accusations of the King

[1] GÉRIN, *Révolution*, 456; IMMICH, *Innocenz* XI., 94. This disposes of GÉRIN's account (*Assemblée*, 410) according to which Innocent XI., in his excitement, ordered the Bulls for Joseph Clement of Bavaria to be drawn up. Our account rests on Card. D'Estrées' report to the King. It is true that the Pope was indignant at the letter. In the **Cifra* of September 18, 1688 (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*) he tells nuncio Ranuzzi in Paris that it would have been better for the king to restore to the church of Liège her confiscated properties of Dinant and Bouillon, than to threaten the Holy See with the sequestration of Avignon and Castro.

[2] "*Che [il Re] non ha alcun disegno di far conquiste in Italia e molto meno di turbare il riposo e la tranquillità, pur che alcuno non se gli opponga." *Cod. Cas.* 309, *loc. cit.* A copy is in Papal Sec. Arch., *Arm.*, III., 20 f., 287b.

[3] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 416. He gives the French text under the heading *Réflexions pour servir de réponse sur la lettre en forme de manifeste que M. le card. D'Estrées distribue.* The Papal Sec. Arch., *Arm.*, III., 21 f., 396, has the Italian version: *Risposta di uno che ama la verità circa la lettera al cardinale D'Estrées (6 September, 1688). *Cf.* *Riflessioni di uno che ama la verità sopra la lettera che va publicando il sigr. card. D'Estrées, in *Cod. Cas.*, 309, *loc. cit.* The three documents are in agreement. Leibnitz records that public opinion approved the papal declaration. GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*

of France are refuted one by one and all the wrongs done to the Holy See recalled to his mind. With regard to the refusal to see the secret envoy, the Pope recalls the fact that at the time of the dispute between Alexander VII. and Créqui, Louis had declined an autograph letter from that Pope and that he had not as much as acknowledged the second Brief on the question of the *régale*. In regard to the question of Cologne, the right of the King to meddle with German affairs is absolutely denied ; as for the succession in the Palatinate, Innocent declares that he had never desired anything but peace and at no time had he aspired to the rôle of a mediator. He would remain firm despite all threats and would rather endure anything than give way ; if necessary he was ready to end his life as a martyr.

Louis was resolved to carry out his threats. His first step was to order the Marquis de la Trousse, on September 13th, to be prepared to invade Avignon and to expel the papal vice-legate. The Bishop of Vaison in Venaissin, who was loyal to the Pope, he ordered to be arrested and banished.[1] Croissy used words and threats of such offensiveness towards Ranuzzi that the Pope forbade the nuncio to have anything to do with the minister.[2]

For some time already the Paris nuncio had been under police surveillance. The gendarmerie had orders not to allow him to leave under any circumstances ; should he attempt to do so, he was to be arrested, though not in Paris but at a distance of two or three miles from the capital.[3] Evidently Louis feared public opinion to some extent. In Paris the position of the nuncio was no longer respected ; things went so far that Ranuzzi's *maggiordomo* and one of his servants were arrested and when news arrived that certain individuals

[1] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 410.

[2] " *il quale [Croissy] ha parlato a modo che potrebbe parlare un moro africano et un'huomo brutale, com'egli veramente fa conoscere sempre più di essere." Ranuzzi, September 14, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*

[3] Order of the King of August 28, 1688, in GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 413.

in Lavardin's suite had been condemned to death because they had attacked some papal *sbirri*, Croissy declared that the servants of the nuncio must be made to share a similar fate.[1] The Pope met these fresh provocations by recalling the nuncio. Innocent, however, suspected that Louis would not consent to the nuncio's departure. He exhorted Ranuzzi, should this prevision be verified, to endure everything patiently and to enforce strict discipline on his household.[2] In effect Louis refused the nuncio leave to depart for he wished to retain him as a hostage. Meanwhile Lavardin had been instructed to assume an air of arrogance [*hauteur*] in his duties as ambassador, to add to the number of his armed men, to seize the person of the papal Secretary Casoni and to have him taken to a French fortress.[3]

On September 18th, 1688, Innocent gave his decision in the affair of Cologne. He confirmed Prince Clement of Bavaria after the Consistorial Congregation had made a searching examination into the conduct of the election.[4] All Fürstenberg's efforts with the Cardinals had been in vain.[5] A further plan for an accommodation submitted by Giorio was likewise rejected although the English envoy, Howard, advocated it and its author had requested the support of Queen Christine. According to this plan Fürstenberg would have received papal confirmation on condition that he accepted young Clement of Bavaria for his coadjutor with the right of succession and swore fealty to the Emperor.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] " *[S. Stà] vedendo in tal forma gravemente offesa e mal sicura la sua rappresentanza, supplica S. Mtà a permetterle di partire e ritornarsene in Italia." Ranuzzi, September 14, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[3] Gérin, *Ambassade*, 407 ; *Id.*, *Révolution*, 463 *seqq.*

[4] Berthier, II., 408. For the examination of the election *cf.* **Cifra* to Ranuzzi, August 24, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*, and *Cod. Cas.*, 309, *Bibl. Casanat.* ; Papal Sec. Arch., *Arm.*, III., 20–1 *seq.* ; Immich, *Innocenz*, XI., 86.

[5] *Cf.* *correspondence with Card. Azzolini in *Arm.*, III., 20 f., 271, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 73 *seq.*

On September 24th, in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris and the royal confessor La Chaize, Louis announced his decision to appeal to a General Council in respect to every point of his conflict with Rome.[1] This appeal was made in effect in Parliament on September 27th, 1688.[2] An Assembly of the Clergy associated itself with the appeal on September 30th.[3] The Parliament of Provence decreed the annexation of Avignon and Venaissin to France.[4]

On September 21st, 1688, Innocent XI. repeated the recall of the nuncio, but as the King would not allow him to leave, the Pope commanded him at least not to act any longer as nuncio.[5] Ranuzzi had made use of one of his servants in the transmission of his reports to Rome. But the situation had now become so acute that the servant did not dare to return to France. Archbishop Marini of Genoa tried to assure the transmission of correspondence through some merchants ; however, the nuncio made use of the couriers of Tuscany, Spain and Venice.[6]

The preparations for the annexation of Venaissin and Avignon became daily more serious ; on October 11th, 1688, Cibo had to inform nuncio Tanara at Cologne of the occupation of that papal territory by Marquis de la Trousse. The papal vice-legate was compelled by threats to leave Avignon, after which de la Trousse, with six officers, took possession of Avignon and assumed judicial authority there.[7] By a letter dated October 9th Lavardin endeavoured to dispel the anxiety

[1] GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 411 *seq.*

[2] *Cod. Cas.*, 305 (*loc. cit.*) contains an *extract from the Registers of the Parliament of Paris on these proceedings ; also *Arm.*, III., 20, f. 30, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Procès-verbal* in *Cod. Cas.*, 309, *loc. cit.* GÉRIN, *Assemblée*, 412 *seq.* *Cod. Cas.* contains also a *treatise against the appeal.

[4] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 410.

[5] *To Ranuzzi, September 21 and 23, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] *To Ranuzzi, October 2 and 12, 1688, *ibid.*

[7] Cibo's letters to Tanara of October 2 and 11, 1688, in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 476.

to which such measures were bound to give rise among the various princes and States of Italy. In this communication he emphatically declared once again that they were in no danger; the King only wished to give effect to the Treaty of Pisa; the territory of the Papal States would not be curtailed in any way and only the patrimony of the Odescalchi would be confiscated for the purpose of covering expenses.[1]

That Louis was capable of any violence, notwithstanding these assurances, was shown by his conduct in Paris. He did not yet feel sure of the nuncio, hence the police surveillance of the nunciature was made more stringent and on October 8th, 1688, a gentleman of the name of Pidou de Saint-Olon received orders to betake himself at once to the nunciature for the purpose of watching the nuncio's every step.[2] Saint-Olon arrived at the nunciature at ten o'clock in the evening, when Ranuzzi had already retired for the night. He found the house almost empty. Most of the furniture had been removed so that his first care was to send for his own bed. He would not allow the nuncio to be awakened. In the morning Ranuzzi, greatly surprised at the presence of the uninvited guest, announced that he would forthwith request a farewell audience. His one thought now was to get away, and he began to pack his silver. He transferred the secretariate to another room from which Saint-Olon thought an attempt to escape might easily be made. Ranuzzi learnt through his auditor that the King refused to grant him a farewell audience. So he no longer went out, and said Mass daily in his room at which his gaoler Saint-Olon, whom he considered to have incurred excommunication, was not suffered to be present.[3] On October 15th, in view of the fine weather, the

[1] *poichè la sua intentione è che solo i beni della casa Odescalchi e de' suoi parenti siano mallevadori delle spese che S. Mtà sarà obligata a fare per l'esecutione del sudetto trattato (*Cod. Cas.*, 309, *loc. cit.*; *Arm.*, III., 20, f. 277; III., 21, f. 168. Parliament's appeal of September 27, 1688, was appended to the letter.

[2] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 414 *seq.*

[3] Saint-Olon's reports to Croissy, October 9 and 13, 1688, *ibid.*, 416.

nuncio announced his intention of taking a walk. On the two preceding days he had had company at table. With this guest he went for a drive without accepting Saint-Olon's company. By the latter's orders some lackeys also mounted the coach. Ranuzzi told the coachman to drive to Saint-Lazare, the large establishment of the Lazarists, where he asked the Superior General's permission to walk in the garden, a permission which the latter gladly granted. Thereupon Ranuzzi declared with tears that he would not leave the house and that if he was refused a room he would stay in the garden. The General vainly endeavoured to make him change his mind. Ranuzzi breathed again when the King allowed him to reside there.

The nuncio had only decided on this step after he had vainly begged for shelter in various monasteries of Paris.[1] In the sequel also Ranuzzi had much to endure from Saint-Olon. The constant presence of the man who followed him everywhere, even at his new residence, and who did not suffer him to say Mass in peace, was exceedingly irksome to the nuncio.[2] Ranuzzi had taken the precaution of putting the archives of the nunciature in a safe place. The Pope praised him for having done so, seeing that he found himself in a country which had no regard for the law of nations. Innocent desired Ranuzzi to make yet another request for an audience with the King, for the purpose of protesting against the treatment inflicted on him.[3]

[1] Saint-Olon's second report, of October 13, 1688, to Croissy, and reports of October 16, 1688, *ibid.*, 417 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Saint-Olon's numerous reports to Croissy, *ibid.*, 420 *seqq.*

[3] " *È stata ottima la precauzione di nascondere le scritture per esimersi anche intorno ad esse dalle violenze che le potrebbero essere usate da chi non osserva più nissuno di quei riguardi che sono osservati dagli stessi barbari " (to Ranuzzi, November 13, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.*). " *N. S. mi commanda d'incaricar di nuovo a V. E. la buona custodia delle sue scritture per esimerle da i pericoli, a' quali si può giustamente apprendere che restino esposte in un paese, dove non si fa più alcun conto del dritto delle genti, violato già in tante minaccie anco nell'istessa persona di V. E. " (to Ranuzzi, November 16, 1688, *ibid.*)

That Innocent XI. was indignant at the treatment of his envoy need hardly be stated. Louis XIV.'s conduct hurt him all the more as at that very time the King of England made yet another attempt at mediation between Rome and Paris. To make negotiations possible Innocent raised the prohibition forbidding Ranuzzi to enter into relations with Croissy and left the negotiations with the minister to the nuncio's discretion.[1] However, Paris showed no sign of readiness for peace. The Archbishop held another meeting of the secular and regular clergy, to obtain its approval of the appeal to a Council after 26 Bishops then staying in Paris had taken a similar step on September 30th.[2] The French troops in Italy were being constantly reinforced so that under pressure of the "Zelanti", the Pope also raised fresh troops.[3]

Meanwhile events of the utmost importance had occurred —events calculated to affect the relations between Innocent XI. and Louis XIV. As a sequel to the complications at Cologne, in which Louis had been defeated, he now renewed his pretensions to the Palatinate and in September 1688, he ordered his troops to invade the territories in question. Open war between France and the Emperor was thereby rendered unavoidable though Innocent had hoped to conjure such a calamity by so many years' efforts towards a reconciliation. Louis published a manifesto in which he endeavoured

[1] "*Essendosi accettata da N. Sre, com'ella intenderà da una mia lettera in piano, la mediazione del Re d'Inghilterra nelle differenze che pendono con cotesta corte, S. Stà, non ostante l'ordine contrario già da me per sua parte datole, rimette alla prudenza et all'arbitrio di V. E. il trattare con il sigr. Croissy, quando egli venisse per parlarle." To Ranuzzi, October 23, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[2] LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 476. *Letter of Cibo to Tanara at Cologne, October 30, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 60, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *speech of the royal Procurator-General at the Assembly, *Arm.*, III., 20, f. 187, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *To Ranuzzi, November 2, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

to throw all the blame upon the Emperor.[1] The real motive of the war was France's jealousy of Leopold I. who had won such brilliant successes over the Turks that before long the constant Turkish peril would be removed. But once the Emperor would be free in the East, he would be in a position to call France to account for her many acts of force and her treaty violations. Hence Louis wished the Turkish peril to continue; this would be most easily realized if the Emperor was compelled to spread his forces over several theatres of war. Even the massing of troops on the frontier of the Electorate of Cologne, which Louis had ordered under pretext of assuring a free episcopal election, had compelled the Emperor to take measures of defence.[2] Nor did Louis XIV. fail to inform Constantinople of his plans. At the end of August he let it be known there that he intended to order his troops to march into the Palatinate and to throw an army into Italy, measures that would compel the Emperor to withdraw his armies from Hungary and to transfer them to the Rhine and to Italy. To the French ambassador at Constantinople the King observed that presumably the Grand Vizier would not fail to draw his own conclusions from this information.[3] On September 10th, 1688, he reported that his troops had advanced on Philippsburg; the Turks would now get more favourable peace terms.[4] Louis likewise

[1] IMMICH, *Innocenz*, XI., 95. *Arm.*, III., 21, f. 378 (*loc. cit.*) has a reply to Louis XIV.'s manifesto, dated Vienna, October 18, 1688: "*Responsio ad manifestum Gallicum circa bellum intimatum."

[2] The Emperor was afraid of a *coup de main* by Louis XIV. against Cologne: "che la Francia oltre la forza aperta si servirà ancora d'artificii e di corruzioni per impossessarsi di Colonia senza perdita di tempo." For six weeks Fürstenberg had not shown himself in Cologne, "forse per dubbio di non esservi arrestato" (Tanara on September 5, 1688, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 60, *loc. cit.*). *Cf. ibid.*, the **Cifre* of September 10 and 19, October 18, November 3, 4, and 21, 1688.

[3] Instruction to Girardin, French ambassador at Constantinople, of August 22, 1688, in GÉRIN, *Élection*, 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, 122.

interested himself in the conclusion of peace between Poland and Turkey; Poland would then be in a position to attack Brandenburg and he himself would be able to carry out, without fear of disturbance, his designs against Holland seeing that William of Orange had sailed for England. Thus a European war had now become imminent.[1]

At the same time French diplomacy sought to bring pressure to bear on Spain with a view to her adopting a policy of benevolent neutrality towards France. After the march on Philippsburg the French ambassador at Madrid suggested that the Spanish crown should assume the rôle of a mediator; however, as events soon showed, the offer was not seriously meant nor was anything laid down in writing.[2] The real intention was to divert Spain's attention from what was actually happening, for France's action against Italy could not fail to give rise to the gravest uneasiness in the Pyrenean peninsula. Marchese de los Balbases told the French ambassador that he failed to see how Spain could remain neutral in the event of French troops attacking the Papal States; since Naples was a papal fief Spain was bound to interfere if the Pope desired it.[3]

[1] "Ainsi voilà une guerre générale dans toute l'Europe dont je ne doute point que les Turks ne tirent un grand avantage," *ibid.*

[2] "*L'ambasciatore di Francia ha parlato al Marchese de los Balbases procurando di giustificare le resolutioni del suo Re et ha parlato in modo come se convitasse questa corona a farsi mediatrice, ma non se ne è spiegato apertamente." To the nuncio also the French ambassador said, "che questa corona non potesse fare azione più degna che farsi mediatrice." The Spanish nuncio on October 28, 1688, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 161, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] "*Balbases discorrendo coll'ambasciatore [Francese] di queste materie di neutralità gli disse che non sapeva come potesse haver luogo, quando il Re di Francia inquietasse l'Italia e particolarmente N. S^re^, che ben sapeva che il regno di Napoli era feudo della Chiesa e che doveva soccorrere la Santa Sede, quando lo richiedesse, oltre che non potevano piantarsi l'armi del Re di Francia nello Stato del Papa, posto nel mezzo d'Italia, senza dar gelosia a tutti." The Spanish nuncio on December 23, 1688, *ibid.*

Innocent was powerless in the face of these events. Once again his ceaseless efforts for the preservation of peace among the Christian princes were thwarted and war clouds were ominously lowering even over the Pontifical States. His finances were so completely exhausted just then that he was forced to stop his subsidies to the Emperor and to Poland. Moreover he himself was nearly always ailing. Unless he was willing to allow the States of the Church to be overrun by the soldiery of an unscrupulous conqueror, he must needs humble himself and agree to such measures as might contribute to the preservation of peace. Hence he was glad of the fresh offer of mediation by the King of England.[1] Lavardin had complained to the Maltese ambassador that he had not yet obtained an audience from the Pope. When this complaint came to the ears of Innocent XI., Cibo was instructed to inform Lavardin that it would be possible to negotiate through the Maltese ambassador. Lavardin replied that he would at once ask for fresh instructions from his sovereign. The Pope also sent for Cardinal D'Estrées to whom he explained that he nursed no rancour against the King of France; he also requested the Cardinal to intervene with Louis XIV. in order to prevent the latter from taking further action against the Papal States. D'Estrées promised to do all that was in his power.[2]

[1] *Adda on November 15, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* the Instruction of the English envoy Porter of February 1689, in GÉRIN, *Révolution*, 476 *seq.*

[2] *To Ranuzzi, November 23, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, *loc. cit.* The Cardinal should intervene, "che S. Mtà non permetesse che si facessero altri passi nè s'innovasse di vantaggio, il che S. E. mostrò di voler fare." The nuncio in Vienna was informed of this step. *Cf.* Card. D'Estrées' report to Louis XIV, in MICHAUD, III., 77: Le Pape termina cette conversation en disant, qu'il désirait que je témoignasse a V.M.té qu'il souhaitait de pouvoir être bien avec elle, et qu'après avoir essayé tant de choses, ses états pussent être au moins garantis de la venue des troupes . . . ; que le Roi devrait retirer ses troupes et ne pas faire la guerre à un vieillard de soixante dix-huit ans.

A strange light was thrown on Lavardin's love for peace by the fact that, under the eyes of the Pope, he celebrated the capture of Philippsburg with a display of fireworks and illuminations, though it was not customary in Rome to celebrate victories over Christian princes, especially as this event was the signal for the general war the outbreak of which the Pope was so anxious to prevent.[1]

On the other hand Innocent expected a great deal from the English mediation. King James had sent Cardinal D'Este to Rome to negotiate, and Innocent allowed him to establish contact with Lavardin in the same way as he had previously done in the case of Howard. But his hope that the liberation of the Paris nuncio would be the first fruit of the negotiations [2] was doomed to be cruelly thwarted. The fact was that Louis XIV. did not really want a reconciliation. Moreover the King of England was no longer in a position to impart to his mediation the necessary weight since William of Orange had attacked him in his own realm.[3] Catholic Spain was still being deluded with negotiations, so that there was not

[1] *Il marchese di Lavardin ha fatti questa sera fuochi et illuminationi in Piazza Farnese con due fontane di vino e con frequenti salve di mortaletti per la presa di Filisburgo, contro ogni convenienza e costume e con scandalo universale, mentre in Roma non si sono mai fatte allegrezze per vittorie e avantaggi riportati contro principi cattolici. To Ranuzzi on November 23, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[2] " *S. Stà ha stimato di dover permettere al sigr. card. D'Este, venuto quà con tanto suo incommodo in una stagione così avanzata per i sudetti affari con ordini replicati del medesimo Re, di poter trattare con il marchese di Lavardin nel modo che a tal intuito permesse già a Milord Howard nel tempo che si tratenne in questa corte. Oltre l'haver accettata la mediazione d'Inghilterra N. Sre crede di dover anco far chiamare a se il card. D'Estrées per far tanto maggiormente conoscere il suo sincero desiderio per la quiete publica." To Ranuzzi, December 7, 1688, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the **Cifre* of nuncio Adda in London, of November 26, December 13 and 17, 1688, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, *loc. cit.*

a single Power able to give a measure of protection against France. The arrogant King's reply to the papal demand for mediation addressed to Cardinal D'Estrées, reflected this situation. What Louis wanted was complete surrender. Innocent was to receive Lavardin as ambassador without condition and within a time limit of one month, viz. up to January 25th, 1689, and at the same time to declare his readiness to negotiate concerning an indemnity to be paid to the King of France. If the Pope rejected these demands the troops of Dauphiné and Languedoc would invade the Papal States where they would comport themselves with the utmost hostility. This was Louis XIV.'s Christmas gift to the aged Pontiff who desired nothing so ardently as peace! Cardinal D'Estrées nevertheless gave some hope of a peaceful settlement and referred to the refusal of the Bulls to such clerics as had taken part in the Assembly of 1682,[1] hence there is reason to think that the asperity of the King's language was just a threat for the purpose of inducing the Pope to make concessions. On January 1st, 1689, Cibo communicated to the nuncio in Paris the King's final demands. He was instructed to enlighten La Chaize and to get him to persuade Louis to grant the Pope at least the necessary time for negotiations of such importance and delicacy.[2]

[1] *To Ranuzzi on December 28, 1688, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.* D'Estrées informed Card. Cibo "che detta risposta consisteva in mostrar una precisa premura che S. Stà per tutti li 25 del venturo mese risolvesse di ammettere Lavardino come ambasciatore senza alcuna riserva per passar dopo a discutere le altre sodisfazioni pretese da S. Mtà, se non, che si sarebbe cominciato a far sfilar le truppe di Linguadoca et del Delfinato verso l'Italia con ordine di venir ad invadere lo Stato della Chiesa con ogni più rigorosa ostilità." This information was somewhat modified when D'Estrées communicated it to the Pope for he omitted all reference to the peremptory time limit and the threats, but after the audience with the Pope, he spoke to Cibo in the same strain as before.

[2] "*che si dasse il tempo che richiede un trattato di simil importanza e difficoltà." To Ranuzzi, January 7, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

Innocent did not dare to take so important a step on his own authority alone, so he laid the question before the *Congregazione di Stato* for examination. That body was of opinion that in the first instance, negotiations with Cardinal D'Estrées should continue. Once the demands of the King of France were fully known a decision might be reached.[1] On January 9th, 1689, the Congregation held another sitting. With regard to the question of the quarter it was decided to maintain the previous standpoint ; even a limited quarter, consisting of the Piazza Farnese and the side streets was rejected. On the other hand the Congregation was prepared to promote to episcopal sees clerics who had taken part in the Assembly of 1682, should the King absolutely insist on his nominations. The Congregation furthermore requested the Pope to put himself in a state of defence and to demand in his turn that Louis XIV. should make satisfaction for the injuries he had had to endure at his hands.

D'Estrées urged that the reply to the King's demands should be given within the prescribed time limit. France, he said, no longer insisted on the immunity of the quarter but merely desired a statement of the Pope's view on the honours to which the French ambassador in Rome was entitled by the terms of the Treaty of Pisa. Innocent protested his willingness to meet the King to the uttermost limits of what was possible but that he needed time to enable him to take counsel.[2] D'Estrées promised to do his best to find a

[1] " Che si dovesse mantener viva la pratica con il medesimo sigr. cardinale D'Estrées per ritrarne tutto quel lume che si potesse intorno a i desiderii et alle pretensioni del Re christianissimo a fine di haver luogo dopo di farvi sopra le necessarie considerazioni " (to Ranuzzi, January 4, 1689, *ibid.*). Ranuzzi was requested to send his *cifre* both viâ Lyons and Venice as the matter was too important.

[2] Cibo *reports fully to Ranuzzi, January 11, 1689 (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 177), on the decisions of the congregation of " ieri l'altro. I signori cardinali che vi si trovarono presenti furono di parere unanime, che quanto al quartiere si dovesse negare anche ristringimento di esso alle sole strade che circondano il palazzo

satisfactory solution though Louis was still very angry with the Pope in consequence of the issue of the Cologne election. He was nevertheless prepared to drop Cardinal Fürstenberg. The French ambassador in Munich informed the Bavarian court that his sovereign was willing to acknowledge Prince Clement of Bavaria as Elector on condition that Bavaria undertook to remain neutral in the war against the Emperor. To this Munich refused to consent; the French proposal was, however, passed on to Vienna in the hope of securing better terms in the negotiations for an alliance then pending.[1]

The Pope replied to France on January 15th, 1689. He declared that the French ambassador's treatment in Rome would be in accordance with the Treaty of Pisa and the law of nations. With regard to the participants in the Assembly of 1682, Louis was requested to propose other names; but if he insisted on the nominations already made, Rome would wait for further explanations from each of these priests.[2] At the same time Innocent dispatched a

dell'ambsaciatore con termini rispettosi, bensì, ma costanti e non dissimili da quelli praticati altre volte, e quanto a i soggetti intervenuti alla sudetta assemblea, che in caso che S. Mtà persista di non voler nominar altri, come converrebbe, restandosi d'accordo di rimuovere l'impedimento che vien loro dato dall'esser rei di haver approvate le quattro proposizioni, l'appellatione al futuro concilio et altro, si possa ammettere il trattato per esaminare le dichiarazioni o trattazioni che essi saranno per fare . . . S. Stà gli [al cardinale D'Estrées] ha risposto con dire di restar nella solita disposizione d'incontrare tutte le giuste sodisfazioni del Re, di non cercar suterfugii e di esser pronta ad admettere i temperamenti possibili, ma che conveniva che la Mtà Sua dasse tutto il tempo che bisognava per affare di tal peso."

[1] *The French ambassador reports that Fürstenberg, "secondando le premure del Re di Francia riconoscerebbe per elettore di Colonia il sigr. Duca e lo renderebbe possessore pacifico dell'arcivescovato, quando il sigr. elettore di Baviera volesse astenersi dal pigliare partito in questa guerra." Tanara on January 9, 1689, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 60, *loc. cit.*

[2] *To Ranuzzi, January 15, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

Brief to Louis XIV., in which he eulogized his action against the heretics and expressed his confidence that in time to come the Pope and the King of France would work together for the good of the Church.[1]

If the Pope really believed that he could cherish such a hope, that fact may have been due, to a large extent, to a supreme and very important attempt at mediation by Giorio who was in close relation with Cardinal Estrées as well as with the Queen of Sweden.

This is what he proposed: The right of *régale* in France was to remain restricted within the boundaries fixed by the Council of Lyons. The King must revoke his edicts to the contrary, after which the Pope on his part would find ways and means to give satisfaction to the King. The four Articles of 1682 would be prohibited by the Pope but not censured, as there was reason to fear that the latter course would give rise to too much agitation in France. Louis would revoke the edict making the four Articles part of the law of the land; whilst the clergy, which to some extent shared the responsibility for their publication, would make an act of submission to the Pope according to a formula to be drawn up for the purpose; after that the nominations made by the King would be recognized. The Pope would not insist on the complete abolition of the quarter, but would be satisfied if the ambassadors renounced their more exaggerated claims; the Governor would then concede the quarter with the Pope's tacit toleration. The question of Cologne was to be solved in this fashion: the Pope would address a Brief to the Emperor and another to the Elector of Bavaria, to persuade them, in the interest of European peace, to recognize Fürstenberg.

Giorio himself, no doubt, was convinced that these proposals would not be accepted, but he felt that in making them the Pope would give the King a proof of goodwill; the

[1] Berthier, II., 425 (Brief of January 15, 1689). Cibo (*to Ranuzzi, January 18, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*) describes the Brief as "pieno di espressioni di paterna stima per il Re christianissimo."

consequence would be that Louis would refrain from further measures against Rome. For the rest Giorio's proposals included a clause to the effect that Avignon and Castro would be guaranteed to the Pope, and that France condemned the libels published against his person. On the other hand the Pontiff would allow justice to run its course against those who had sought to prejudice him against France. Lavardin's audience would set the seal on the reconciliation and the Pope would mark the occasion by proclaiming a jubilee.[1]

When he drew up these proposals Giorio was unaware of the hidden forces which dominated the situation; above all it was not clear to him that French diplomacy did not desire a compromise. That this was so was shown by the conduct of the French Government even at this stage. Despite the fact that negotiations were pending, Ranuzzi had not yet recovered his personal freedom.[2] Croissy however, got in touch with him but desired the negotiations to be conducted in the strictest confidence. Innocent, with good reason, distrusted a proposal beneath which he suspected a trap and declined negotiations of this kind; he was anxious for everything to be above board.[3] Nor would he fall in with Ranuzzi's proposal that his own liberation should be made an essential preliminary of further negotiations. The Pope did not wish to create an impression that he was drawing out the affair. On the other hand he was very willing that Ranuzzi should request the King of England to intervene on his behalf. The new English ambassador, Lord Porter, was expected at this time in Rome.[4] The latter arrived at the end of February, 1689, when he took up his residence with

[1] Giorio, **Ragguaglio*, f. 141–89b.

[2] Saint-Olon to Croissy, February 8, 1689, in GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 423. The nuncio avoids Saint-Olon and forbids his suite, under pain of dismissal, to have anything to do with him,

[3] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, February 1, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[4] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, February 22, 1689, *ibid.*

Cardinal D'Estrées. Innocent announced his readiness to receive him in audience immediately.[1]

Whilst the Pope was doing his utmost to find a peaceful solution of existing difficulties, his eyes were at last to be opened to the fact that France did not want peace, that she deemed herself strong enough to settle every question with the sword and that Cardinal D'Estrées was acting dishonestly. The Cardinal had represented to the Pope that negotiations with Louis XIV. would be considerably facilitated if he were to receive a flattering Brief. Innocent was prepared to consent to this also, and in order that the result might be as favourable as possible he had both the draft and the Brief itself submitted to Cardinal D'Estrées. D'Estrées declared himself satisfied; he was requested to forward the Brief and he even distributed copies of it in Rome but the original he did not dispatch, in fact he denied ever having received it![2]

In these circumstances the negotiations could not be continued. On March 15th, 1689, the Pope instructed the nuncio in Paris to explain to the Venetian ambassador that it was not the Pope who stultified England's intervention but that, on the contrary, the fault lay exclusively with the French Government which was determined to decide all questions by force, though it was precisely France that had sought England's mediation. Innocent now no longer entertained any hope of a peaceful settlement of the conflict.[3]

[1] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, March 1, 1689, *ibid.*

[2] *The Brief had been "primo communicato in minuta e poi mandato nella forma solita al medesimo cardinale [D'Estrées], il quale, invece d'inviarlo, come doveva, a S. Mtà lo fece correre in copia per le mani di tutti e negò dopo con gran disinvoltura di haverlo mai ricevuto. Un procedere tanto contrario alla buona fede et alla probità ha prodotto una non ordinaria ammirazione in S. Bene e farà nell'avenire pensare al modo che dovrà tenersi nel trattare con simili persone". Cibo to Ranuzzi, March 8, 1689, *ibid.*

[3] "*ma cotesta corte che non vuol procedere con la dovuta giustizia e buona fede e pretende di vincer tutto con la violenza e con l'artificio, mentre è noto che dalla medesima corte non è

Lavardin saw his expectations of a successful mission vanish and he blamed Cardinal D'Estrées for his utter failure. The Pope instructed the nuncio to urge La Chaize to remonstrate with the King; if the latter failed to do so he would be failing in his duty.[1] That there was no sincere wish for peace in Paris is further confirmed by the fact that Croissy was for ever making fresh demands; thus he brought up once more the question of Cologne which the Pope considered as finally disposed of and demanded yet another Cardinal's hat for France.[2]

Such conduct may have been in part due to the ill success of France's policy in Spain, so that every consideration was brushed aside. Spain's declaration of neutrality, which France had striven for, was not made in the form desired by her. The Government of Madrid protested repeatedly that it would honour every existing treaty between France and Spain, but this answer did not satisfy the French ambassador; what France really demanded of Spain was nothing less than the complete surrender of Flanders, an act that would have been at variance with existing agreements. On the occasion of his recall, the French ambassador at Madrid paid a farewell visit to the nuncio on March 17th, 1689, when he complained that the latter had not actively taken the side of France. To this the nuncio replied that Spain was bound to look on a suggestion of this kind as a war capitulation, not as a treaty.[3] Accordingly Spain abandoned her neutrality; she mobilized her fighting forces and repeated the order previously given to the Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan, to hold

stata mai ammessa la sudetta mediazione da lei prima non solo ricevuta ma richiesta." Cibo to Ranuzzi, March 15, 1689, *ibid.*

[1] "*Si dice che Lavardin parli con grand'indignazione del card. D'Estrées, considerandolo per autore e fomentatore di tutti i presenti torbidi e più atto con le sue buggie e cabale a guastare che ad accomodare le cose," *ibid.*

[2] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, March 29, 1689, *ibid.*

[3] *The Spanish nuncio, March 17, 1689, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 106, *loc. cit.*

their troops at the disposal of the Pope should he express a desire to that effect.[1]

Meanwhile Lavardin's unpopularity in Rome grew apace. The Duke of Bracciano, who was also the head of the House of Orsini and who had long stood by Lavardin, now dropped him in ostentatious fashion. The Queen of Sweden alone remained loyal to him.[2] The ambassador even forfeited the confidence of his sovereign. He was too independent; thus on one occasion he raised a force of 200 men without anyone's order. He was unaware of the fact that, by Louis's orders, he was watched by his own officers and that the King was informed of all he did.[3] On April 14th, 1689, Lavardin was recalled. The commander of the French troops in Rome received orders to escort the Marquis to the frontier of the Papal States; from there the latter was to proceed to Leghorn and embark for France.[4] Cardinal D'Estrées informed the Secretary of State, Cibo, of the news of Lavardin's recall and his early departure.[5] On March 27th the latter's mercenaries began preparations for their departure. The provisions accumulated by them in the Palazzo Farnese were sold, after which they set out in perfect order on April 30th by way of the Piazza Navona and the Piazza del Popolo. Cardinals D'Estrées and Maidalchini took part in this exodus. The cortège consisted of about 550 persons, for the whole French colony left at the same time: 150 armed men and 72 coaches were counted. Lavardin seemed very unhappy for his mission had cost him 80,000 scudi out of his private income and all he had earned was dishonour and excommunication.[6] As Lavardin wished to journey through Milanese territory, he

[1] *Report of the Spanish nuncio, May 29, 1689, *ibid.*

[2] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 426 *seq.* *Cf.* also NAVENNE, II., 25.

[3] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 428.

[5] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, April 26, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*

[6] *Report on Lavardin's departure, *Arm.*, III., 21, f. 344, Papal Sec. Arch.; Cibo to Tanara at Cologne, April 30, 1689, in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 477; NAVENNE, II., 25 *seq.*

begged for a passport from the Spanish Governor, Conte Fuensalida. The passport was made out, not without a touch of malice, for " the so-called ambassador Lavardin ". The latter indignantly returned the document, whereupon he was given a safe-conduct in the desired form.[1] Lavardin's departure was followed by that of the English envoy, Cardinal Este, on May 17th.[2]

Nuncio Ranuzzi was still hampered in his freedom. The Pope had warned him to keep a strict watch over his servants lest they should give occasion for complaint.[3] Both the King of England and Cardinal Bonsi did their best in Paris to secure his liberation.[4] When information reached Paris that Lavardin had safely reached Siena, Saint-Olon received a royal order, on May 13th, 1689, to leave the nuncio alone and to inform him that those of his servants who were in prison would be set at liberty.[5] On June 4th, 1689, the Pope instructed Ranuzzi to ask for a farewell audience with the King since it was incompatible with the nuncio's honour that he should remain in Paris any longer. He was to call on the princes and princesses only if the King first received him. He was strictly forbidden to pay farewell visits to the ministers and to La Chaize, in fact he was told not to receive them should they call on him: he was to justify such an action by the plea that his belongings were all packed up. On the other hand the Pope desired the nuncio to call upon the Queen of England and the foreign envoys.[6]

Ranuzzi was not received by the King, so after waiting for a considerable time, he returned to Italy where he found Innocent X. no longer among the living.[7]

[1] GÉRIN, *Ambassade*, 428.

[2] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, May 17, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, April 5, 1689, *ibid.*

[4] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, May 10, 1689, *ibid.*

[5] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 429.

[6] *Cibo to Ranuzzi, June 4, 1689, *loc. cit.* The order to leave was renewed on June 11 and 21.

[7] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 431.

CHAPTER VI.

Innocent XI.'s Activity within the Church—Reforms and Creations of Cardinals—Jansenism and Controversies on Moral Theology—Beginnings of the Schism of Utrecht—Condemnation of the Quietist Molinos—State of the Missions.

(1.)

During the Pontificate of Clement X. the Oratorian Mariano Sozzini had drawn up a comprehensive programme of secular and ecclesiastical reform [1] which the Altieri Pope was too old to carry into effect. With Innocent XI. the right man seemed to have ascended the Chair of St. Peter to execute the suggestions made in that document. Innocent modelled himself on Adrian VI. to whom he frequently referred. The ingratitude of the Roman people towards that " holy Pontiff ", he often observed, had been punished by the sack of Rome in 1527.[2] It was probably Slusius who had drawn Innocent XI.'s attention to this predecessor of his. Innocent XI. was so eager to imitate him that a Protestant scholar gives it as his opinion that rarely had a Pope attempted the work of reform in all its aspects with so much determination and consecutiveness.[3]

In the very first year of his pontificate Innocent XI. showed what great importance he attached to the Bishops'

[1] *Copy in the Convent of SS. Quaranta, Rome. **Observationes M. Sozzini in bullam de rebus ecclesiasticis non alienandis*, in *Cod. O.*, 116, n. 4 of Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome. On M. Sozzini see Moroni, II., L. 15.

[2] See the *Avviso* of April 15, 1679, which proves the lasting misunderstanding of Adrian VI. by most Italians, Schmidlin, *Anima*, 272.

[3] Benrath, in *Herzog-Hauck's Realenzyklopädie*, IX.[3], 144.

duty of residence.[1] He created a Congregation of four Cardinals and four Bishops to examine the fitness of candidates for the episcopate in Italy.[2] At Rome the Pope reformed the tribunals of the Curia and the Cancelleria.[3] The Roman clergy were exhorted to avoid every form of luxury and especially to wear the cassock.[4] He renewed Alexander VII.'s decree to the effect that no one was to be ordained priest who had not previously made the Spiritual Exercises and ordination to private titles was not allowed, except in cases of necessity[5]; rather fewer priests but good ones, was Innocent XI.'s principle.[6]

At the beginning of Lent the Pope repeatedly inculcated their duties on the parish priests of Rome, laying particular stress on the necessity of preaching the Gospel to the people in simple, practical fashion, and on the religious instruction of youth.[7] Parents were charged, under pain of excommunication, to send their children to the catechism classes and

[1] See the *report of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., October 31, 1676, State Arch., Vienna; **Avviso* of April 10, 1677, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* also COLOMBO, 16; **Cifra al Lauri*, August 28, 1680, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 164, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] NOVAES, XI., 13. By order of the Pope, G. B. Spinola, Bishop of Sarzana, held a visitation in Corsica; see **Acta apost. visit. insulae Corsicae*, 1686, *Cod. B.*, VIII., 5 and 6 of the University Library, Genoa. *Cf.* Spinola's *report of August 16, 1687, Bibl. Civica, Genoa.

[3] MORONI, VII., 157.

[4] LIPPI, 54. On the attempt in 1678 to introduce the wearing of the cassock among the German clergy also see an article by G. GUTMENSCH, based on documents in the Papal Sec. Arch., in *Salzburger Chronik*, 1908, No. 129. In 1681 Innocent XI. tried to reintroduce the clerical dress at Mayence, Trèves, Paderborn and Münster; *cf.* BERTHIER, I., 392 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*, 404 *seq.*

[5] NOVAES, XI., 13 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* **Avviso* of March 25, 1679, Vat. Lib. Innocent XI. held similar convictions with regard to religious. *Ibid.*, *February 12, 1679.

[7] See **Avvisi* of February 27, 1677, September 10, 1678, and March 11, 1679, Vat. Lib.

boys armed with handbells were made to go through the streets to call the young to these lessons.[1] In every *Rione* the Pope erected at his own expense schools for destitute girls.[2] He was keen on extending these catechetical instructions to the adults and to soldiers.[3] He was equally solicitous for the spiritual and the bodily welfare of the sick in hospital. He renewed Pius V.'s stringent ordinance enjoining physicians to make their visits to bed-ridden sick people dependent on the reception of the Sacraments.[4] He also published a special ordinance on the cultus of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.[5]

At the beginning of his pontificate Innocent XI. showed very great strictness in granting Indulgences and requests for benefices,[6] but later on he became much more liberal. When there was question of coadjutors for Bishops, especially if they were to have right of succession, personal considerations did not weigh with him at all,[7] though he showed himself somewhat more amenable when candidates were put forward by princes who had deserved exceptionally well of the Catholic cause, as, for instance, Philip William of Pfalz-Neuburg.

The Pope kept a particularly watchful eye on the preservation of discipline by the members of religious Orders. Without

[1] **Avviso* of December 25, 1678, *ibid.*

[2] Lippi, 58.

[3] **Avviso* of March 19, 1678, *loc. cit.* Indulgences for Observants teaching the Catechism in *Bull.*, XIX., 684.

[4] Lippi, 59. On Pius V.'s ordinance cf. our data, Vol. XVII., 89 *seqq.* The Papal Sec. Arch. (*Bandi*, V., 9, p. 25–6) contains: "*Distribuzione di persone religiose all'assistenza ne' bisogni spirituali degli infermi nelli hospedali di Roma," dated February 10, 1676; "*Instruttione d'ordine d'Innocenzo XI. per li religiosi ripartiti alla visita quotidiana degl'infermi nelli spedali di Roma, acciochè, sicome il fine et oggetto di questo pio essercitio è il medesimo a tutti così fra la diversità de' sacri operarii sia uniforme il modo di praticarlo," dated 1677.

[5] *Bull.*, XIX., 103. *Cf. ibid.*, 41, against abuse of consecrated Hosts.

[6] Berthier, I., 22, 67, 365.

[7] *Ibid.*, 340, 349.

consulting their protector, Cardinal Barberini, he ordered a strict visitation of the Franciscan Convent of Araceli by Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo, who had a reputation for sternness. This visitation brought to light certain abuses contrary to poverty [1]; thereupon religious conscious of similar faults were seized with a wholesome fear.[2] How strict the Pope's views were on the observance of poverty was discovered by a certain Dominican who wished to present him with a sumptuously bound book. Innocent refused to accept the gift on the ground that such luxury did not become a religious.[3] The Benedictines of S. Callisto were told to return to St. Paul's outside the walls; their representations that the air there was bad were met by the Pope's terse remark that "this was also the case at the Vatican".[4] In June 1677 an edict was published forbidding all religious in Rome to live out of their monasteries; offenders were to be severely punished. By the autumn, despite much opposition, the reform was an accomplished fact.[5] Within that same year all the monasteries of Rome were subjected to a visitation by order of the Pope.[6] In Tuscany and Lombardy the Pope reformed the Dominicans [7] and in Poland the Cistercians.[8] The Capuchins received much support from him.[9] Special attention was given to the restoration of discipline in convents of nuns,[10] for whom Innocent prescribed annual spiritual exercises.[11] If he attached so much importance to the reform of the Orders it was because he looked on these associations

[1] **Avviso* of January 1, 1677, Vat. Lib.
[2] **Avviso* of February 6, 1677, *ibid.*
[3] **Avviso* of June 12, 1677, *ibid.*
[4] **Avviso* of February 13, 1677, *ibid.*
[5] **Avviso* of June 5 and 19, September 4 and 11, 1677, *ibid.*
[6] **Avviso* of January 1, 1678, *ibid.*
[7] Novaes, XI., 14.
[8] *Bull.*, XIX., 611.
[9] *Ibid.*, 138, 139, 142; Bojani, II., 287 *seqq.*
[10] Lippi, 55.
[11] **Avviso* of September 10; 1678, Vat. Lib.

as centres of light for the Church.[1] However much his ceaseless efforts to this end deserve recognition, efforts eventually crowned with success,[2] it must be admitted that at times he lost himself in mere trifles.[3]

Innocent XI. granted papal confirmation to the convent of the Benedictines of the Blessed Sacrament founded in Paris by the Venerable Mother Mechtilde; to the Rule of the Carthusians; to the Congregation of the Bavarian Benedictines founded in 1684 and to the Association of secular priests founded by Bartholomew Holzhauser, a Society which he would have been glad to see spread over the whole of Germany. The Piarists received much encouragement from him and the Society of nursing Brothers founded in South America by Pierre de Béthencourt, the so-called Bethlehemites, was erected by him into a formal religious institute under the Rule of St. Augustine.[4]

As early as May 1677, it was rumoured that the Pope was preparing a Bull which would put a stop to nepotism once for all.[5] However, it was soon learnt that many Cardinals were of opinion that it was not possible to tie the hands of a future Pope,[6] but when certain investigations brought to light the fact that since Clement VIII. 30 million scudi had

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, July 14, 1685, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Thus Card. Carlo Pio reports on Oct. 17, 1682: Card. Casanata orders divers reforms for religious. Among other things, they are forbidden to have musical instruments in their cells and a lay brother must walk by the side of the priest, not behind him, "come se fosse il suo servitore" (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* also Servient's report of October 22, 1682, in *Michaud*, I., 239 *seq.*

[4] HEIMBUCHER,[2] I., 158, 198, 257, 479; II., 275, 364. *Cf.* *Bull.*, XIX., 241, 513, 591, 613, 616. On B. Holzhauser, *cf.* besides *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.[2], 191 *seq.*, BERTHIER, I., 346, 350, 355, 365. Life by GADUEL, Paris, 1668; *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CXVIII., 142 *seqq.*

[5] First announcement in **Avviso* of May 29, 1677, Vat. Lib.

[6] **Avvisi* of June 12 and 19, 1677, *ibid.*

gone to the nephews,[1] the Pope felt strengthened in his determination. Without the knowledge of the Secretary of State Cibo, the auditor Giovan Battista de Luca, Secretary of Memorials, was instructed to prepare a draft for the Bull.[2] Its early publication was expected[3] when strong protests were raised by the nephews of former Popes who relied on Cibo's influence. The opposition was headed by Cardinals Barberini and Chigi. The former urged that the prohibition could not be carried through in practice and that it would not provide a real remedy.[4] Meanwhile the draft of the Bull had been submitted to all the Cardinals for their opinion. The majority approved the Pope's resolution but nearly all of them made some objections. Azzolini questioned the opportuneness of the measure.[5] Rospigliosi and Altieri, on the other hand, were in favour of the publication of the Bull, whilst Barberini and Chigi maintained their opposition.

[1] **Avvisi* of April 16 and May 7, 1678, *ibid.*

[2] *Card. Carlo Pio's *report of September 17, 1678, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] **Avvisi* of December 21 and 31, 1678, Vat. Lib.

[4] **Avvisi* of December 31 1678, January 4, 1679, *ibid.*, and Card. Carlo Pio's *reports of December 24 and 31, 1678, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Card. Pio forwarded the draft to Vienna on October 13, 1678 (State Archives). This **Minuta* of the *Bull* is in *Carte Strozz.*, 235, p. 82, of the State Archives, Florence. In *Ottob.* 2816, I., 2–20 (Vat. Lib.) the **votum* of Azzolini (also in *Barb.* 5662, p. 105 *seqq.*, *ibid.*), 22–36 Maidalchini's **votum* (*cf.* MICHAUD, I., 354), 34–49 Carpegna's **votum*, 50–73 Albizzi's **votum*. *Cf. Cod.* 683 of Bibl. Corsini and *Cod. Ital.*, 190, p. 272 *seq.* of the State Library, Munich. In the Altemps Library, sold in 1908, I saw a *"Discorso fatto di un zelante a Innocenzo XI." against publication of the Bull. The author of the *"Discorso sopra la bolla del nepotismo" in *Cod. Ital.*, 552, p. 141 *seqq.*, proposes a middle course: 20,000 scudi a year from Church benefices would be enough for one who until then had wrongly enjoyed 100,000 (State Lib., Munich). *Cf.* also the **Judicium* of the Dutch Augustinian Michael van Hecke, intended for Card. Cibo, *Cod.* R. 3. 7, p. 184 *seqq.*, *Bibl. Angelica*, Rome.

It was urged in particular that the evil consisted not in nepotism itself, but in its abuse.[1] Secular Governments also, Spain in particular, raised objections to the papal plan. In Madrid it was feared that with the removal of nepotism the Holy See would become too wealthy ![2] Cardinal Ottoboni and the Pope's Vicar, Cardinal Carpegna, also joined the opposition.[3] Since it was impossible to secure a majority in the Sacred College Innocent XI. was compelled in the end to refrain from carrying out his praiseworthy intention.[4] It would seem that Azzolini's doubts as to the opportuneness of the measure proved decisive.[5]

Innocent XI.'s strictness also had a salutary effect on the College of Cardinals. Not one Cardinal dared to take part in the festivities of the carnival of 1677.[6] The great freedom of speech and the earnest admonitions which marked the preaching of the palace preacher, the Capuchin Bonaventure of Recanati,[7] were wholly in keeping with the Pope's own ideas and he supported these exhortations in every way. Accordingly, in April, 1677, a number of Cardinals began

[1] " *Tutto il male et odiato del nepotismo consiste nel mal uso," *Vat.* 8632, p. 132 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

[2] *Card. Carlo Pio's *reports of December 31, 1678, January 7 and 21, 1679, State Arch., Vienna. *Cf.* **Avviso* of October 1, 1678, Vat. Lib.

[3] **Avvisi* of June 17, 1678 and January 14, 1679, *ibid.*

[4] Lippi, 49 *seq.* After there had been no mention of the Bull for years the Pope returned to his plan in 1681 (Michaud, I., 355) and again in 1688. On April 9, 1686, Card. Pio *reports that the Bull against nepotism was once more on the *tapis*; that the *minuta* of it had been handed to Card. Slusius and the *sottodatario.*

[5] *Barb.* 5662, p. 200, Vat. Lib.

[6] **Avviso* of February 27, 1677, *ibid.*

[7] **Avvisi* of April 10 and 24, 1677, *ibid.*; Mabillon-Montfaucon, *Corresp. inédite avec l'Italie*, I., Paris, 1846, 191 *seqq.* For Recanati *cf.* D. Calcagni, *Vita del P.B. da Recanati*, Messina, 1702. His " prediche dette nel palazzo apostolico " were printed at Venice in 1709.

to give religious instruction to the children on Sundays in their titular churches and to the amazement of the Romans they continued to do so even when the hot weather set in.[1] Besides the splendid Cardinal Barbarigo, Cardinal Barberini was likewise remarkable for special religious fervour.[2] On the other hand the Pope felt compelled to address serious admonitions to Cardinals Maidalchini and Ludovisi. They bore fruit with Ludovisi [3] whereas very unfavourable rumours circulated concerning Maidalchini, so that the Pope forbade him to have anything to do with women.[4] Cardinal Carpegna was severely rebuked for having allowed, as the Pope's Vicar, a musical entertainment to take place during Lent.[5]

In view of Innocent XI.'s principles it was to be taken for granted that he would only bestow the purple on thoroughly deserving subjects. He expressed himself most unequivocally on this point already in June 1677.[6] Such was his unwillingness to increase the Sacred College that in 1678 people believed he would die without having created a single Cardinal.[7] When in the autumn of 1678 ambassadors and Cardinals spoke of the necessity of augmenting the College of Cardinals

[1] **Avvisi* of April 3 and 10, May 22, and July 13, 1677, Vat. Lib.

[2] **Avviso* of July 17, 1677, *ibid.*

[3] An **Avviso* of March 19, 1677, states: Yesterday the Pope conversed with Card. Ludovisi in St. Peter's, "Dissero tutti, che questo Papa vivo sia santo, più d'ogni santo ch'è morto, mentre egli solo col rissanar questo cardinal ha fatto un miracolo, che non ha mai fatto alcun santo" (Vat. Lib.). In *Cod.* f. 1, 19 of the Chigi Library: "*Ostien e Velit. episcopatus visitatio facta per Nicol. card. Ludovisium a, 1684."

[4] **Avviso* of April 3, 1677, and July 23, 1678, *loc. cit.*, and Card. Carlo Pio's *report of June 8, 1680, State Arch., Vienna. Card. B. Pamfili, who was a great music lover, also received an exhortation to lead a priestly life; **Avviso Marescotti*, January 6, 1885, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[5] Card. Carlo Pio's *report of March 11, 1679, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso* of June 5, 1677, Vat. Lib.

[7] "*Morietur sine filiis," *Avviso* of April 23, 1678, *ibid.*

now that peace had been concluded, his answer was that these two things were in no way correlated. After the death of Cardinal Litta in 1679, 16 Cardinals' hats were free and as the result of further deaths the number rose to 18 by December.[1] However, those who had hoped that the Pope would now come to a decision were disappointed: they had to wait patiently until the autumn of 1681. At length, on September 1st, when all hope had nearly vanished,[2] Innocent XI. carried out his first nomination of Cardinals at which sixteen prelates, all of them Italians, received the purple.[3]

Most of the new Cardinals had distinguished themselves under the eyes of the Pope in Rome, as, for instance, the *Maestro di Camera*, Antonio Pignatelli, the Auditor and Secretary of Memorials, Giovan Battista de Luca, the Governor, Giovan Battista Spinola, the Datarius, Stefano Agostini, the Dean of the Rota, Flaminio Taja, the Master of the Apostolic Palace, the Dominican Raimondo Capizucchi, the Auditor of the Camera, Urbano Sacchetti, the Treasurer-General, Gian Francesco Ginetti, and the Consultor of the Inquisition, Michel Angelo Ricci. Francesco Buonvisi, Stefano Brancaccio, Savio Mellini, Marco Galli and the learned Franciscan Conventual Lorenzo Brancati had done good work as nuncios.[4] To these must be added the Archbishop of Milan, Frederick Visconti, and Benedetto Pamfili who owed his elevation to the Pope's grateful feelings for Innocent X. Taja and Ricci declined the cardinalitial dignity out of humility and were

[1] **Avvisi* of September 2 and December 23, 1679, *ibid.*

[2] Report in MICHAUD, III., 109.

[3] GUARNACCI, I., 127 *seqq.* (with portraits of the new Cardinals); CARDELLA, VII., 243 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XI., 31 *seqq.* Characteristics in respect to their eligibility in "*Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi per la morte d'Innocenzo XI," in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3.

[4] A *Vita* of L. Brancati was written by B. COMANDUS (Roma, 1698), another by G. BARA (Roma, 1699). On R. Capizucchi see TAURISANO, *Hierarchia ord. Praedic.*, Roma, 1916, 58, 116; for Buonvisi, *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 4, 242 *seqq.*, TRENTA (Lucca, 1818) and *supra*, p. 95, 131, 141.

only prevailed upon to accept it by the pressing representations of the Pope.[1]

Previous to the promotion Cardinal Ottoboni had spoken against the elevation of De Luca but he remained alone in his opposition.[2] One other malcontent was Cardinal D'Estrées who in a somewhat lengthy discourse spoke of his amazement that the wishes of his sovereign, the "greatest monarch in the world", who had done so much for the conversion of the Calvinists, had not been taken into account.[3] The candidate for whom Louis XIV., in conjunction with John Sobieski, had expended all his diplomatic tricks was Toussaint de Forbin Janson who had long acted as French ambassador in Poland.[4]

Undeterred by failure the King of France had every effort made on behalf of Forbin during the ensuing years, but though the King of Poland also warmly supported him, the Pope persevered in his refusal.[5] When in the autumn of 1683, the French Government became increasingly persistent, Innocent XI. instructed his nuncio in Paris to emphasize the fact that the nomination of Cardinals was exclusively the affair of the Pope who would have to give an account of it to God. With regard to Poland's intervention he pointed out that princes could only recommend candidates belonging to their own territory.[6] After the September promotion there

[1] **Acta consist.* in *Barb.* 2896, Vat. Lib. At this time the following dissertation was written: "An quis constringi possit in statu libero ad acceptandum dignitatem cardinal." (*Cod. Ital.*, 68, State Lib., Munich). A *Vita del Card. Taja" in *Barb.* 4879, p. 82 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

[2] Card. C. Pio's *report of September 13, 1681, State Arch., Vienna.

[3] Text of address in **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MICHAUD, III., 110.

[4] BERTHIER, I., 60, 62; MICHAUD, III., 94 *seqq.*

[5] MICHAUD, III., 111 *seq.*

[6] "*Intorno alle istanze fattele dal Re per la promozione N. Sre risponde che si raccomanderà a Dio che l'ispiri a farla, quando sarà maggior servitio suo e della Sede Apost., e che la promozione già

still remained ten vacant seats but for the moment the Pope showed not the slightest inclination to fill them.[1] One year after another went by but the expected nomination of new Cardinals did not take place so that people began to look for an explanation of the delay. Many thought that the secret of the Pope's reluctance lay in his desire to shorten the next conclave by curtailing the Sacred College.[2] There were even those who claimed to have information that he intended to lower the number of Cardinals from seventy to fifty.[3]

By April 1685, as a result of further deaths, the number of vacancies in the Sacred College had risen to twenty-six.[4]

fatta non fu intiera. Che i principi raccomandano e non nominano al cardinalato e devono farlo di soggetti degni e de' più meritevoli de' loro regni e d'intiera sodisfattione del Papa, il quale è tenuto a render conto al sig. Dio dell'eletione de' soggetti che da lui si promuovono. Che i principi devono raccomandare soggetti de' suoi regni e nazionali, perchè questi possano assistere a' Sommi Pontefici con sicure e veridiche informationi per le occorrenze de' medesimi regni e proteggere appresso i re gl'interessi della Sede Apost. e l'immunità della Chiesa. E che, quando la Stà Sua inclini a sodisfare il Re di Polonia, stimerà di non poterlo fare se non di soggetto Polacco per le ragioni e considerationi accennate di sopra e singolarmente secondo l'intentione del concilio di Trento, che vuole che siano assonti al cardinalato soggetti di tutte le nazioni. A tutto questo S. Stà aggiunge, V. S. Ill. assecuri S. Mtà che non si è data licenza alcuna al Nunzio di Polonia di procurare di esser raccomandato da quel Re, e che ciò che può esser stato detto in questo genere, non ha fondamento di sorte alcuna etc. To Ranuzzi, September 28, 1683, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 170, p. 10, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Cf.* Michaud, III., 115.

[2] **Avviso* of November 25, 1684, Vat. Lib.

[3] "*Le Pape a donné ordre d'examiner la bulle de Sixte V, qui fixe le nombre des cardinaux à soixante et dix." It is rumoured that he wishes to reduce it to fifty, "s'il trouve que ce changement puisse estre avantageux à l'église," *Nunziat. di Francia*, 160, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avviso* of April 28, 1685, *loc. cit.*

More than ever there was talk in Rome of an impending promotion [1] and by the end of the year definite names were mentioned,[2] yet the Pope came to no decision though the palace preacher, Bonaventure of Recanati, who enjoyed great esteem, had urged it already in March.[3] Only on September 2nd, 1686, fully five years after Innocent XI.'s first creation of Cardinals, did he proceed to the second which was also his last.[4]

On this occasion non-Italians figured largely among the twenty-seven new Cardinals and the wishes of various Governments had been considered, though only in so far as the Pope deemed it expedient ; thus the representative in Rome of the King of Poland, John Casimir Dönhoff, and yet another Pole, viz. the Bishop of Ermland and Grand Chancellor, Michael Stephen Radziejowski,[5] received the purple, whereas Forbin was passed over this time also though he had been warmly recommended both by Poland and by France.[6] The latter's utterly French attitude in the Turkish question, as well as in the Gallican conflicts, could not but cause him to appear to the Pope as quite unsuitable for admission into the Supreme Senate of the Church.[7] Louis XIV.'s displeasure

[1] MICHAUD, III., 122 *seqq.*

[2] The **Avviso Marescotti* of December 1, 1685 (Bibl. Vitt. Emmanuele) mentions "il P. Coloredo della Chiesa nuova, il confessor di S. Stà [Marracci], et P. Germo Berti prete di S. Agnese, tutti in concetto di virtuosi e di vita esemplarissima.

[3] **Avviso* of March 24, 1685, *loc. cit.*

[4] GUARNACCI, I., 194 *seqq.* (with portraits) ; CARDELLA, VII., 264 *seqq.* ; NOVAES, XI., 51 *seqq.* ; **Miscell.*, p. 117 *seq.* of Campanello Archives, Campanello, near Spoleto, and the "Lives of Cardinals" written in 1696, Liechtenstein Archives, 1, 4, 24, Vienna.

[5] *Cf. Zeitschrift für Geschichte Ermlands*, XX. (1919) ; *Des Herrn Kardinals und Primatis in Polen M. Radziejowski Lebensbeschreibung und was derselben anhängig*, Cologne, 1704.

[6] MICHAUD, III., 111 *seqq.*, 125.

[7] *Cf.* BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 72 *seq.*

was all the greater [1] as the only Frenchman by birth to be raised to the cardinalate on this occasion, namely Etienne Le Camus, Archbishop of Grenoble, was particularly distasteful to him by reason of his opposition to the four Articles of 1682. Le Camus, who bestowed the utmost care on the administration of his diocese and founded two seminaries, was inclined to favour Jansenist opinions, hence he was an opponent of the Jesuits and of probabilism.[2]

With the nomination in 1686 of Max Gandolf von Kuenburg, Archbishop of Salzburg,[3] Leopold von Kollonitsch, Bishop of Raab and Johann von Goës, Bishop of Gurk,[4] the Emperor Leopold was given three representatives in the Sacred College, but the satisfaction of the Hofburg was greatly diminished by the circumstance that the purple had also been bestowed on an old opponent of the House of Habsburg and a keen partisan of Louis XIV., namely Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, since 1682 Bishop of Strassburg. Both he and John Walter Slusius, one of the Pope's intimates,[5] were by birth subjects of the Empire.

Innocent XI. took into account the wishes of Portugal in the elevation of the Archbishop of Braga, Verissimo de Lancastre. Spain was liberally treated, for the red hat was bestowed on the Bishop of Salamanca, Pedro de Salazar, the learned Benedictine José Saens de Aguirre and the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Messina, Fortunato Carafa.

The Italian Princes were also given representatives in the Supreme Senate of the Church in the persons of Francesco

[1] Michaud, III., 125 *seqq.*

[2] On Le Camus *cf.* biographies by A. Lalouette (Paris, 1720) and Bellet (*ibid.*, 1886) and *Lettres, publ. par Ingold* 1892).

[3] Widmann, *Salzburg*, III., 321 *seqq.* The numerous copies of diplomatic reports in the *Studienbibliothek* of Salzburg probably got there through Max Gandolf.

[4] On Kollonitsch see above, p. 177; on J. v. Göes, *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IX., 323 *seqq.*; Wurzbach, V., 244.

[5] *Supra*, p. 20.

Maria de' Medici[1] and Rinaldo d'Este.[2] The choice of Gian Francesco Negroni, the Treasurer-General, who was very unpopular in Rome, and that of Pier Matteo Petrucci, so often mentioned during the quietistic troubles,[3] was not a happy one. The other Italians on whom Innocent XI. bestowed the red hat in 1686, were entirely worthy of the honour as, for instance the Vice-Gerent of the Cardinal Vicar, Jacopo de Angelis, Opisio Pallavicini, who rendered brilliant services in promoting the Turkish war during his nunciature in Poland,[4] Angelo Maria Ranuzzi who acted as nuncio extraordinary in Paris in 1683,[5] Marcello Durazzo, who had represented the Holy See first at Lisbon and then at Madrid,[6] Carlo Stefano Anastasio Ciceri, since 1680 Bishop of Como where he did splendid work in accordance with the ideals of Innocent XI., the *Maggiordomo* Orazio Mattei, the Auditor of the *Camera* Domenico Maria Corsi, the *Presidente delle armi*, Fulvio Astalli, the Chamberlain Gasparo de' Cavalieri, the devout and learned Oratorian Leonardo Colloredo,[7] and lastly the excellent Marcantonio Barbarigo.

[1] On F. M. de' Medici, who laid down the purple in 1708 in order to prevent the extinction of the family, *cf.* MORONI, XLIV., 93 *seq.*, and REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 462. An "*Instruttione ab ill. S. D. Franc. de Medici cardinale futuro" in *Barb.* 5217, Vat. Lib.

[2] Rinaldo d'Este also resigned the purple in 1695, to preserve his family. On his journey to Rome for the reception of the red hat (1688), see his *letters to Card. Barberini in *Barb.*, LX., 9, p. 1 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.; *ibid.*, p. 11, *on his stay in Rome (November, 1688).

[3] *Cf.* below, p. 443.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 118.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 315.

[6] In the *account of the Cardinals of 1696 we read of Durazzo: "Quanto di merito si può dire in un degno ecclesiastico, tutto si possiede da questo porporato," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[7] P. M. PUCCETTI, *Vita di L. Colloredo*, Roma, 1738. In the **Miscell.* of the Campanello Archives we read of him: "Dà speranza di riuscir gran soggetto per la chiesa di Dio."

Well-informed contemporaries speak in high terms of nearly all these Cardinals,[1] but the greatest praise went to Barbarigo, a kinsman of saintly Bishop Gregorio Barbarigo and a worthy heir of his spirit. As a young priest at Padua he had greatly at heart the work of catechetical instruction. When he became Archbishop of Corfu in 1678, he founded a seminary and he was indefatigable in all works of charity. Besides the qualities of which this activity was the proof, Innocent XI. particularly valued the firmness with which Barbarigo had safeguarded his episcopal dignity against the Venetian General Morosini. The persecution of which Barbarigo became the object on the part of the Government of Venice hastened his admission into the Sacred College of which he became an ornament.[2]

Innocent XI. promoted the cult of the Saints in many ways,[3] but he disapproved of the cost of canonization which had risen enormously.[4] By a decree of October 15th, 1678, he considerably reduced this expenditure in accordance with proposals made by the Congregation of Rites.[5] He only carried out one beatification when, in June, 1679, he raised to the altar the Bishop of Lima, Turibius.[6] Among pious practices he particularly favoured the Way of the Cross [7] and the Confraternities of the Rosary.[8] He himself joined the Confraternity of Jesus and Mary for the Holy Souls founded at Rome in 1687.[9]

[1] *Cf.* *Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi per la morte d'Innocenzo XI., Licchtenstein Archives, A., f. 3.

[2] *Cf.* A. Volpini, *De vita et moribus M. A. Barbarici card.*, Faventiae, 1877, and P. Bergamaschi, *Vita del card. M. A. Barbarigo*, 2 vols., Roma, 1919.

[3] *Cf. Bull.*, XIX., 390, 392 ; Novaes, XI., 16 *seq.*, 22, 30 *seq.*, 48 *seq.*, 65.

[4] Examples in Novaes, XI., 18, note.

[5] *Bull.*, XIX., 123 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 190.

[7] *Cf. Katholik*, 1895, I., 335.

[8] *Bull.*, XIX., 180, 181, 194.

[9] The Arciconfraternità di Gesù e Maria, which since 1923 has its seat in SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, still preserves the Pope's *sacco*.

Like so many of his predecessors, Innocent XI. came in conflict with Portugal in consequence of the action of the Portuguese Inquisition against the so-called Neo-Christians. Since July 1677, the Pope had insisted on the Inquisition forwarding to Rome the minutes of any proceedings taken against such Neo-Christians who were accused of secretly adhering to Judaism. However, all his exhortations, as well as the representations of nuncio Marcello Durazzo, were in vain, for the Inquisition was backed by the Portuguese Government.[1] In the end the Pope saw himself compelled, on May 27th, 1679, to deprive the Inquisitor Verissimo de Lancastre and his officials of their powers, on account of their obstinate disobedience, and to transfer these faculties one more to the Bishops.[2] The conflict over the reform of the Portuguese Inquisition, which at times took on a most violent form,[3] was only settled in August, 1681, when the Inquisitor made his submission. Thereupon he was reinstated in his office but at the same time detailed directions were laid down for the treatment by him of the Neo-Christians.[4] Five years later the Portuguese Government succeeded in procuring the red hat for Verissimo. Innocent no doubt forgave him because he had arrived at the conviction that Verissimo's fault was due solely to weakness.[5]

At the beginning of 1683 the Pope protested against certain decisions of the Polish Diet which were prejudicial to the liberty and immunity of the Church.[6] In Spain the old Cæsaro-Papistic tendencies were for ever giving rise to disputes between the Holy See and the Government. Not only in Spain proper but in her dependencies also, viz. Naples, Milan and the Netherlands, the Church's immunity continued to be

[1] *Bull.*, XIX., 20 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, I., 105, 108 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*; BOJANI, II., 102 *seq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XIX., 174 *seq.*; BERTHIER, I., 321 *seq.*

[3] BOJANI, II., 127 *seq.*

[4] *Bull.*, XIX., 402 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 418, and Verissimo's characterization in the "*Scrittura politica" quoted, p. 419, n. 6.

[6] BERTHIER, II., 63 *seq.*

frequently infringed.[1] When on the occasion of a Chapter of the "Clerics Minim", some royal councillors interfered with the prerogatives of the Church, things went so far in 1678 that a formal rupture between Rome and Madrid seemed imminent. The Pope remained firm and won a complete victory in this dispute.[2] But it seemed impossible to uproot the old system. When all admonitions had proved in vain, the Holy See had recourse to sterner means with a view to preserving the rights of the Church so frequently violated. At the beginning of 1680 the Pope refused to renew the "Cruzada" and other favours because of the abuses committed in the expenditure of the money. The Government now gave way in one case, but Innocent insisted on the removal of all the abuses of which he had complained.[3] Above all he insisted on the abolition of the so-called *Monarchia Sicula*. So crying an abuse was made of this privilege that in April 1681, Innocent XI. remarked that the *Monarchia Sicula* would end by proving the ruin of the Spanish monarchy.[4] But the Spanish authorities were not prepared to yield.[5] The Pope ended by losing patience and in 1687, though Cardinals Cibo and Carpegna sought to

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 20 *seq.*, 46, 68 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*, 389, 430, 435; II., 21, 34. Bojani, II., 238 *seq.*, 240, 288 *seqq.*, 299 *seqq.*

[2] Bojani, II., 381, 401, 411; Berthier, I., 217 *seq.*, 305; *Bull.*, XIX., 131.

[3] Bojani, III., 49 *seqq.*, 53, 57, 63, 73, 93; Barozzi-Berchet, *Spagna*, II., 658; **Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna* of March 3, April 27, and May 11, 1681, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 158, Papal Sec. Arch. In his letter of January 23, 1687, to Charles II., Innocent XI. maintains his objections against the indult "De millionibus" because the money was not properly used; Berthier, II., 328 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* **Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna*, February 2 and April 13, 1681 ("V. S. Ill. . . . non lasci fra tanto temere opportunamente che la Monarchia Sicula possa un giorno per giusto giuditio di Dio rovinar quella di Spagna, se non vi si pone rimedio"), *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 158, Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] **Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna* of December 7, 1681, March 1 and 29, April 26 and July 19, 1682, *ibid.*

dissuade him, he directed the nuncio to excommunicate the Neapolitan authorities. The Cabinet of Madrid, however, insisted on the sentence being suspended and made the permission to raise a tenth from the Spanish clergy for the Turkish war dependent on its withdrawal.[1] In South America also the Pope had to protest against the violation of the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Bishop of Cartagena.[2]

During the great struggle with Louis XIV. on questions of principle, Innocent XI. did not forget to raise his voice against the ill-treatment of some monasteries by the royal functionaries.[3] How much the spirit of absolutism violated the rights of the Church in every direction may be gathered from the fact that even under Leopold I., whose personal piety was so remarkable, the imperial officials permitted themselves at times the most grievous encroachments.[4] On February 3rd, 1685, the Pope felt obliged to warn the Emperor not to draw down the divine malediction upon the war with the Turks by interfering with the freedom of the Church.[5]

(2.)

If Cæsaro-Papalism delighted in openly attacking the Holy See, a far more serious peril, because an internal one, arose from the sectarian movement in France and Flanders which continued to spread in secret. Since the Clementine Peace a great many people were deluded as to the real situation by the outward appearance of tranquillity. Innocent XI.

[1] **Avviso* of March 22, 1687, State Archives, Vienna; BERTHIER, II., 328, 342. On Innocent XI.'s attitude towards the Spanish bull fights *cf.* BERTHIER, I., 359, 429 *seq.*

[2] BERTHIER, II., 327 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 334.

[4] Thus at Trent in 1677; BERTHIER, I., 66 *seq.*; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 690, 693 *seq.*, 716 *seq.* On a conflict between Innocent XI. and Venice over the Greeks of that city *cf.* BERTHIER, I., 174 *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. et de littér. relig.*, I., 211 *seq.*

[5] BERTHIER, II., 212.

himself, in the first years of his pontificate, seems to have interpreted the Jansenists' policy of reserve as an abandonment of their ideas, hence it may be that with a view to winning them completely over, he showed the greatest mildness and condescension towards them.[1] When Bishop Henri Arnauld of Angers, brother of the great Arnauld, publicly extolled the convent of Port-Royal and sent its Constitutions to Rome through Pontchâteau, the Pope on his part also spoke in praise of the outstanding piety and the excellent discipline of the nuns.[2] Antoine Arnauld himself presented to the new Pope a copy of his great work destined to refute the Calvinist errors about the Holy Eucharist and his covering letter drew a friendly reply from Cardinal Cibo.[3] If in this case it took the Pope two months to reply, two much discussed prelates received a friendly message after only three weeks, and that from the Pope in person. On learning that the Pope had spoken well of him, Bishop Pavillon wrote to Innocent XI. on November 3rd, 1676, whereupon Pavillon's docile follower, Caulet of Pamiers, imitated his master in this also on December 1st. Before replying to the two Bishops Innocent consulted the Cardinals of the Inquisition as he had done before writing to Arnauld,[4] but in the end both prelates received Briefs couched in the warmest terms.[5]

Arnauld appealed once more to the Pope at the beginning of 1680 [6] when he was compelled to leave France. His crime,

[1] M. Dubruel in *Rev. d'hist. de l'église de France,* IX. (1923), 465–474.

[2] "Minime nos latebant, quae de singulari pietate et praestanti disciplina monialium Portus Regii Ord. Cist. literis 19. iunii datis prolixe ad Nos retulit fraternitas . . . tua." Letter of August 16, 1679, Berthier, I., 283, n. 742.

[3] Arnauld to the Pope and to Card. Cibo, October 26, 1676; Cibo to Arnauld, January 2, 1677 (Arnauld, *Œuvres,* I., 769, 771, 772). In September 1677, Arnauld excuses Cibo for the publication of the letter (*ibid.,* II., 9–18); Cibo's reply of November 10, *ibid.*

[4] Bojani, I., 15.

[5] Dubruel, *loc. cit.,* 470 *seq.*

[6] *Œuvres,* II., 80–7.

he wrote, like that of all the other so-called Jansenists, was none other than that of having defended the sanctity of Christian morality against the shameless indulgence of the Jesuits, as well as St. Augustine's, or rathcr the Church's own teaching on grace. It was not surprising that notwithstanding the Clementine Peace, the Jesuits should have won the King over to their side seeing that he was familiar with them from his youth, and whosoever does not share their views on morals or grace, is described as a Jansenist. "Thus it has come to pass that soon nothing but the shadow of religion will be left in France. He who speaks according to the Gospel is styled a Jansenist; the earnest and strict following of the teaching of Christ meets with no toleration. This is shown by the fate of the convent of Port-Royal which is no longer permitted to receive novices. Let the Pope spcak the word that will restore peace by declaring that a man is not a Jansenist if he holds the five propositions."

The papal secretary Favoriti cordially acknowledged the letter,[1] but nothing was done for Port-Royal although the Abbess also appealed to the Pope.[2]

In the sequel Arnauld was not satisfied with Innocent XI. At the time of the Pope's death he paid homage both to his

[1] April 9, 1680, *ibid.*, 87 *seq.* It begins: "Ferreus plane sit qui tenere lacrimas possit, intuens ex una parte eximiam eloquentiam, eruditionem, pietatem tuam de catholica religione tam praeclare meritas, ex altera vero miserum, in quo versaris, fortunae statum et conflatam malevolorum calumniis tempestatem . . ., cum maxime deceret te in domestico otio honoribus opibusque florentem vitae per summam virtutem actae et diuturni gloriosi laboris fructum uberrimum capere . . . Sed haeret haec pontificio cordi infixa cura, in omnem intenta occasionem eliminandi errores, et pacis Ecclesiae reddendae. Non tamen propterea silebit interim vox supremi Pastoris, videntis lupos in ovile irruentes." On Favoriti's friendliness towards the Jansenists *cf. Rev. d'hist. et de littér, relig.*, XII. (1907), 341 *seq.*; MICHAUD, IV., 436; LE CAMUS, *Lettres*, ed. Ingold, 346.

[2] May 25 and December 22, 1679, also on February 25, 1680, in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, II., 88.

good intentions [1] and to his exemplary conduct towards his family, as well as to his efforts for the war against the Turks; but in other matters he had lacked the light. In the first years of Innocent's pontificate the Jansenists set high hopes on him. The favourable remarks concerning them in the letters just mentioned were of course made public very quickly. One sentence in Cibo's letter to Arnauld [2] was even interpreted as meaning that the Pope was thinking of raising him to the cardinalate.[3] A contemporary publication deplores in strong terms the effect of these tokens of papal goodwill. If the real state of things were known in Rome, we read, there would be great grief there; these letters were already published everywhere; they won a number of fresh adherents for the condemned party, grieved the well disposed and gave the opponents a pretext for boasting. Arnauld should have been first asked to recant, whilst the seventh chapter of the first book of his defence of the Holy Eucharist tended to the destruction of the papal primacy.[4] One of the consequences of the papal manifesto had been the publication of four or five Jansenist writings.[5] The French nuncio, Varese, reported on his part [6] that the papal manifestos had called forth great surprise, for Arnauld had made open

[1] September 1, 1689, *ibid.*, III., 239.

[2] "Paternae caritatis . . . uberes significationes praestabunt opportunitates ornandi te," *ibid.*, I., 772.

[3] *Analecta iuris pontif.*, 11 series, Rome–Paris, 1872, 284.

[4] *Se Roma sapesse, in che stato sono le cose, sono certo che se n'affligerebbe assai; quelle lettere fanno credere molte cose assai lontane dal vero, oltre che vi si lodano persone che sin'hora erano state stimate sospette nella fede. Queste lettere corrono in tutte le botteghe e fanno cattivo effetto nello spirito del popolo e ne tirano molti al partito condennato con gran ramarico delli huomini da bene e gloria delli adversarii, che sanno molto bene prevalersi anche di poca cosa. Letter of August 3, 1677, *Ottob.* 2491, Vat. Lib.

[5] Ex. gr. *Centuria colloquiorum*, *Specchio della devozione* (no doubt Gerberon's *Miroir de la piété*), *Apologia Baii*, etc.

[6] April 2, 1677, DUBRUEL, 471.

profession of Jansenism and he was still considered a Jansenist. Cibo replied [1] that he had only paid tribute to the universally appreciated book of Arnauld and to his intellectual gifts in a letter of pure courtesy which could not be withheld after his submissive letter to the Pope. When Cibo reverted to the matter,[2] Varese hinted in his reply,[3] that unfavourable rumours were circulating and that the King himself had complained of the papal letters. As late as 1688 Talon had the boldness to maintain in the Parliament of Paris that ever since his accession Innocent XI. had not ceased to favour the Jansenists, so that the sect extolled him to the sky.[4] Now there is not the slightest evidence to show that the Pope ever advocated or favoured the doctrines of Jansenism and a number of books and pamphlets of the party were prohibited during his reign.[5] On the other hand it is true that Casoni and Favoriti, whom the Pope held in high esteem, were friends of Arnauld and favoured his followers.[6] Upon one question which the Jansenists had pushed into the foreground, an important declaration was issued under Innocent XI. Whereas Arnauld demanded dispositions for the frequent reception of the Eucharist which would debar the majority of Christians from that Sacrament, the Congregation of the Council [7] declared that frequent and

[1] April 30, 1677, *ibid.*, 472 *seq.*

[2] May 5, 1677, *ibid.*, 473.

[3] May 14, 1677, *ibid.*, 474.

[4] *Analecta iuris pontif.*, *loc. cit.*, 287; refutation, *ibid.*, 319.

[5] For instance the Jansenist New Testament in the Mons translation (Reusch, *Index*, II., 670); a pamphlet in defence of the Jansenist penitential system (*ibid.*, 454); the *Teatro gesuitico* and *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, vol. 1 and 2 (*ibid.*, 492); *cf.* 520 *seq.*, 523 *seq.*). *Cf. Analecta iuris pontif.*, *loc. cit.*, 316; [D'Avrigny], III., 160–7.

[6] For Favoriti see Gérin, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 439.

[7] February 12, 1679, *Analecta iuris pontif.*, 6 series (1863), 1507. Reports of the consultors, *ibid.*, 7 series, 791–814. *Cf.* Denzinger, *Enchir.*, ed. I. B. Umberg [14], Friburgi Brisg., 1922, n. 1147.

even daily Communion had been at all times approved by the Church and that she had laid down no fixed days of the week or the month for this, but had left it to the judgment of the confessor.

Certain acts of Innocent XI.'s government were of a nature to encourage the opponents of probabilism. Within the very year of his accession a book of Moral Theology was published which devoted more than a hundred pages to a refutation of every aspect of probabilism. The work was prefaced by a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Grenoble commending the book and by the approbation of seven other Bishops; one of these, the Bishop of Agde, particularly praised it because it broke with probabilism, "that monstrous doctrine which calls everything in question." Innocent XI. appointed the author, the priest François Genet, Canon theologian of Avignon and later on [1685] Bishop of Vaison. In a Latin translation the book even found its way into some Italian seminaries whereas a publication which attacked it was put on the Index of forbidden books, and on this occasion Genet's teaching was eulogized by Capizucchi, the Master of the Apostolic Palace.[1] The greatest among the French Bishops of the period, Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, also spoke approvingly of Genet's Moral Theology and prescribed it for his diocese.[2]

Bossuet was likewise one of those who, soon after Innocent XI.'s accession, appealed to him to condemn certain exaggerated propositions of the casuists.[3] Requests of this kind had been previously made to Innocent X. and Alexander VII.[4] and it was inevitable that they should be renewed even more insistently under Innocent XI. Guy de Sève de Rochechouart, Bishop of Arras, and Percin de Montgaillard,

[1] DEGERT, *Bullet. de littér. ecclés.*, Toulouse, 1913, 416 *seqq.*; REUSCH, II., 680.

[2] DEGERT, 442 *seq.*

[3] Bossuet to Dirois, July 18, 1682, *Correspondance*, II., 310. So also the Bishops of Grenoble, Angers, Agen, Arras, Châlons, Saint-Pons. The last named sent an apology for the so-called Jansenists. DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*, 470.

[4] See Vol. XXXI., p. 259.

Bishop of St. Pons, at once sent in a long petition requesting him to condemn, in virtue of his Apostolic authority, eighty moral propositions of which they submitted the list.[1] However, their letter did not remain secret. Louis XIV. suspected that under pretext of a purer morality they intended to revive the Jansenist controversies; accordingly he ordered the agents of the French clergy to warn the Bishops not to give the letter the support of their signature. Thereupon Innocent XI. complained that obstacles were being put in the way of free intercourse between the Bishops and himself,[2] but when the nuncio handed the papal Brief to the King, he replied that individual Bishops would not be prevented from communicating with Rome; all he wanted was to prevent a cabal.[3] Antoine Arnauld, who had a hand in the affair, and Nicole who was the author of the petition, did their best to clear themselves in the eyes of the King.[4] Among the Bishops who gave their adhesion to the letter of their two colleagues, Nicolas Pavillon specially distinguished himself.[5]

Despite the King's annoyance the complaints of the two Bishops reached the Pope. Under some pretext or other the advocates of the strict morality sent the Oratorian Poisson to the Eternal City. As an admirer of Descartes, and through the recommendation of the Duchess of Longueville, Poisson was received by Queen Christine and through her in the highest Roman circles. However, Poisson's secretary betrayed the latter's memorials to the Jesuits, and as in all probability he was also charged with commissions from Pavillon and Caulet in the question of the *régale*, the French Oratorians saw themselves forced to recall Poisson.[6] His place was taken in September, 1677, by the Abbé De Pontchâteau. Though

[1] *Analecta iuris pontif.*, XIII. (1874), 939.

[2] Brief of July 28, 1677, *ibid.*, 952 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 953.

[4] Arnauld to Pomponne, June 14, 1677, Nicole to the Archbishop of Paris, July 6, 1679, *ibid.*, 962 *seqq.*, 964 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Ottob.* 2491, Vat. Lib.

[5] Dubruel in *Études*, CLXXXVIII. (1926), 402.

[6] *Ibid.*, 403 *seq.*; Batterel, IV., 188.

a pupil of the Jesuits, Pontchâteau had embraced the principles of the Jansenists though this did not preserve him from a free and frivolous conduct. On returning to a more serious conception of life, Pontchâteau devoted himself wholly to the service of the Jansenist party whose agent he became in Rome. Besides fighting the lax moral teaching he was commissioned to save from condemnation the catechism of Henri Arnauld as well as two of his episcopal colleagues and to secure the confirmation of the Clementine Peace and especially a settlement of the question of the *régale*.

At Rome Pontchâteau lived in complete secrecy: he occupied a small room under the name of Joseph du Mené. No one knew who he was or what he did [1]; but he succeeded in gaining a great ascendency over a man whom Innocent XI. held in great esteem, viz. Agostino Favoriti. By reason of his enormous capacity for work and his facility in drawing up in elegant Latin an immense mass of memorials and Briefs, Favoriti could be considered Innocent's right hand,[2] and since he favoured the Jansenists and others professing kindred sentiments, the road lay open before Pontchâteau. On September 7th, 1677, he was allowed to hand to the Pope a letter of Pavillon dated July 30th.[3] In it the Bishop of Alet begins by protesting against the interference of the King who had frustrated the representations of the Bishops of Arras and St. Pons on the subject of moral teaching. After that he passes on to the question of the *régale* and finally asks for a formal decree against the casuists. However, even such a condemnation would not do much good unless the Pope destroyed at the same time the bogy which did so much damage to the Church, the bogy, that is, that there still existed such a thing as a Jansenist heresy. No such thing existed, everyone in France bowed to the papal decisions; Clement IX. had recognized that fact when he restored peace to France. However, the opponents clung to the idea

[1] DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*, 404–8. [2] *Ibid.*, 410–14.

[3] *Ibid.*, 414–17; FLEURY, LXIV., 168–173; COEL. SFONDRATI, *Gallia vindicata*, St. Gallen, 1687, *diss.*, I, § 8, *doc.* 19, 249 *seqq.*

of the existence of an alleged heresy which could only be found in their imagination. With the accusation of Jansenism they defended themselves against Bishops and theologians, defeated every effort for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and the Christian life, and attacked St. Augustine's and St. Thomas' teaching on grace.

Innocent replied to Pavillon in a laudatory Brief couched in general terms,[1] but for the moment nothing more happened except that Pontchâteau returned to France about mid-October, 1677, a disappointed man. His mission was, nevertheless, of decisive importance for the question of the *régale* in the first instance, which was henceforth viewed by Rome as Pavillon saw it. Moreover the envoy had succeeded in establishing contact between Rome and Port-Royal. During a second visit to Rome he was able to introduce Louis du Vaucel, who under the name of Valloni most skilfully represented the cause of the Jansenists in the Eternal City for a period of twenty years.[2]

Of the eighty incriminated propositions submitted by the Bishops of Arras and Saint Pons, scarcely one was condemned. Meanwhile the University of Louvain had also assumed in Rome the rôle of accuser of a relaxed moral teaching. Originally it had only decided on this step in self-defence, for already under Clement X., in 1676, the opponents of the University had dispatched to Rome the Franciscan Bruno Neusser to protest against the opinions propagated by the Louvain professors.[3] Hence the University sought to forestall the blow with which it was threatened by accusing its opponents. To this end it drew up a list of over a hundred lax moral propositions and in 1677 it sent a delegation of four professors to Rome to press for their condemnation.[4]

[1] Of September 19, 1677, in DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*, 419; SFONDRATI, *loc. cit.*, *doc.* 20.

[2] DUBRUEL, 420.

[3] [D'AVRIGNY], III., 342.

[4] REUSCH, II., 515, 521 *seqq.* The four professors were: Francis van Vianen, Martin Steyart, the Augustinian Christian Lupus and Lambert Le Drou (*ibid.*, 521), or Le Brou (MICHAUD, IV., 177), who soon left.

At the same time the University sought to obtain the approval of its teaching on grace. However, the Pope was unwilling to revive the controversy on grace. For the rest the delegates obtained a most eulogistic Brief,[1] and on March 2nd, 1679, sixty-five of the incriminated propositions were condemned by the Inquisition.

In this instance also not all that had been prayed for was granted. For one thing it had not been possible to obtain the condemnation of one proposition which would have been a blow to probabilism as such [2]; furthermore the sixty-five propositions were described as "at the very least scandalous and pernicious in practice", but the severest censures were not affixed to them; nor were they rejected by a solemn judgment of the Holy See but solely by a decree of the Inquisition. In its condemnation the Congregation confined itself to stating that the propositions, as formulated, were false and reprehensible, without considering whether or no they were actually taught by any theologians in the form now condemned. They are all textually taken from the letter of accusation of the professors of Louvain.[3] When a controversy arose about the authorship of particular questions, the Roman authorities sought to suppress it by prohibiting a number of dissertations dealing with the point.[4]

[1] Bojani, II., 29–49. *Cf.* *Letter to the Spanish nuncio, October 13, 1680 (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 156, f. 36, Papal Sec. Arch.): Deputies Lupus and Vianen "seguita la condanna delle 65 propositioni se retornarono in patria, benignamente accolti e licentiati, come meritavano, da S. Stà e dalla parte migliore di questa corte".

[2] The proposition to be condemned was as follows: "Potes sequi opinionem practicam probabilem circa honestatem obiecti, relicta quoque probabiliore et tutiore, quamvis tua, etiam in materia iuris naturalis." Hennebel, *Opuscula*, Lovanii, 1703, 19.

[3] [V. de Buck], *Vindiciae Ballerinianae*, Brugis et Bruxellis, 1873, 153 *seq.* Proposition 22 of the decree is abridged. Many propositions were actually taught by individual professors.

[4] Reusch, II., 523 *seqq.* *Cf.* [D.Avrigny], III., 159, 343. Many propositions had been simply taken from the *Provinciales* by the prosecution. [D'Avrigny], III., 153–9.

The Roman decision had a sequel in some countries. In France, where the decrees of the Holy Office were not recognized, the Parliament of Paris explicitly rejected the condemnation of the sixty-five propositions.[1] The Pope was naturally indignant at this treatment of a decision arrived at in his presence; Pomponne was obliged to draw up a special memorial to pacify him.[2] Nevertheless the judgment of the Inquisition was not without effect in France. The Assembly of the Clergy of 1682 drew up in logical order, though with some omissions and additions, a list of propositions condemned by Alexander VII. and Innocent XI.,[3] after which it condemned these 140 propositions by its own authority. An exposition of the opposite doctrine was appended.[4] It was chiefly Bossuet who persuaded his fellow Bishops to take this step: he desired a confirmation of the condemnation by the Pope, or at least a formal Bull against the lax moral teaching which would be received with respect, as had not been the case with the decree of the Inquisition. The condemnation was particularly meant to strike at probabilism; in Bossuet's own words, it attacked it first in its foundations, then in itself and lastly in its consequences.[5] As the Assembly of 1682 was abruptly terminated by order of the King the plan was not carried into effect.

The Roman decision against the sixty-five propositions caused a great stir in Flanders. The Jansenists naturally sought to exploit the sentence against the Jesuits whose moral teaching, they said, had now been condemned by the highest authority; on the other hand, the opponents of the Jansenists were all the more keen on securing a condemnation of certain theses taught at the University of Louvain. On July 12th, 1679, the Irish Franciscan, Francis Porter, presented a list of these to the Pope in the name of fifty priests of the secular and regular clergy. This time the Roman authorities

[1] Bojani, II., 56 *seqq.*

[2] Michaud, IV., 180 *seq.*

[3] Printed by Bossuet, *Œuvres*, VII., Versailles, 1815, 259–281).

[4] *Ibid.*, 281–322. On probabilism, *ibid.*, 309–322.

[5] To Dirois, July 18, 1682, *Correspondance*, II., 310.

were anxious, before all else, to make sure whether the theses were really taught by anyone. Four theologians were commissioned to investigate the matter, after which came the formal examination of the propositions by another eight divines.[1]

Porter was not the only representative of the Flemish opponents of the Jansenists. According to a report of the nuncio of Brussels, dated June 26th, 1679, the Franciscans Observant, the Carmelites, the Jesuits and some secular priests had banded themselves together for the purpose of agitating in Rome against Louvain through the Franciscan Patrick Duffy. They requested the nuncio to have these extracts from Louvain writings authenticated, but this the nuncio refused to do.[2] Duffy's first duty was to find powerful supporters for those who felt like himself. Louis XIV. already was on their side. Whilst the discussions of the sixty-five lax points of moral theology were still in progress, he requested Innocent XI., in an autograph letter,[3] to proceed rather against the casuists who spread Jansenist errors from Louvain. Duffy was instructed, in the first instance, to endeavour to obtain the protection of the sovereign of Flanders, the King of Spain. But a long time elapsed before he was able to set out for Spain and when he at last arrived there, the nuncio refused to give credence to his accusations.[4] Nevertheless, as a sequel to two discussions in presence of Cardinal Portocarrero,[5] Duffy was sent to Rome in the name of the King of Spain. It is significant that the travelling expenses were borne not by the impoverished monarch, but by the Duchess of Medinaceli.[6]

In Rome the examination of the incriminated theses only began in 1682 and dragged on for a number of years. The Jansenists were afraid that a condemnation of the Louvain

[1] [D'Avrigny], III., 343 *seq.*

[2] Astráin, VI., 214 *seq.*

[3] January 3, 1679, in Michaud, IV., 177 *seq.*

[4] Astráin, VI., 214 *seq.*

[5] January 27 and March 27, 1681, *ibid.*, 215.

[6] *Ibid.*, 217.

theses would diminish the impression created by Innocent XI.'s condemnation of the 65 moral propositions.[1] As late as 1685 they hoped that consideration for Cardinal D'Estrées would prevent a condemnation, because the authorities would wish to avoid the sensation which the overriding of his opposition could not fail to provoke. The French particularly resented the twenty-ninth out of the thirty-one incriminated theses which dealt with the authority of the Pope as against the General Councils and with papal infallibility.

The Jansenists thought that Rome would not like to have it said that the proposition had been struck out because of the Gallicans and that consequently there would be no pronouncement on all the propositions.[2] Soon after attention was drawn to quietism and a selection of the Louvain propositions was only condemned by Alexander VIII.[3]

In Spain Duffy had found counsel and assistance especially with the Jesuit Tirso Gonzalez, the future General.[4] In acting thus Gonzalez showed himself an opponent of the Jansenists, but he had also welcomed with satisfaction the decree of the Inquisition of 1679, for he was a keen antagonist of the real and alleged extravagances of the casuists His efforts led to further pronouncements by the Holy See in favour of the stricter Moral Theology.

Gonzalez was an able and successful missionary.[5] In that capacity he could not help seeing the moral decadence of many parts of Spain, and he feared that the too liberal decisions of certain moralists would further contribute to it.[6] The thought of attacking not only particular inaccurate decisions, but the system of probabilism itself, was suggested to him by his colleague, Miguel de Elizalde, who in 1670

[1] Arnauld to Du Vaucel, July 26, 1685, *Œuvres*, II., 535 *seq.*

[2] Du Vaucel to Arnauld from Rome, June 16, 1685, *ibid.*, 535 note.

[3] [D'Avrigny], III., 344.

[4] Astráin, VI., 216 *seq.*

[5] Elias Reyero, *Misiones del M. R. P. Tirso González de Santalla*, Santiago, 1913 ; Astráin, VI., 74 *seqq.*

[6] Astráin, VI., 172.

had published, without the approval of his superiors, a much read book against probabilism.[1] Gonzalez defended his views with Oliva, the General of the Order, but was told that in the opinion of some very learned men many assertions in the latter's work ran counter to the views and the conduct of the universal Church, and that other theses of his were calculated to drive to despair and to favour the Jansenists; that in fact the book really opened the way to laxism inasmuch as it made every man's private opinion the supreme arbiter of conduct.[2]

Gonzalez nevertheless stuck to his opinion. During the hot season of 1670 and 1672, when there was a pause in the work of the missions, he began to write a book in which he advocated certain new principles as a basis for a solution of controverted cases of conscience. Even according to Gonzalez, the principle of probabilism, if defended with the moderation displayed by the classical Jesuit writers, cannot injure good morals; but as extended by some probabilists, it was most dangerous. These very words, written by Gonzalez to the General of the Order, John Paul Oliva,[3] hint at the reason why Rome looked for a remedy against too lax moral decisions elsewhere than in an alteration of the fundamental principles of moral theology. Oliva's decision was to the effect that the new views should not be expounded in public, and that the book planned by him should be sent to Rome for examination.[4]

Gonzalez imagined that he was doing a great service to his Order by setting up his new principles; his book, he thought, would shut the mouths of the critics of Jesuit moral teaching, particularly if he were allowed to dedicate it to the General.[5] However, as might have been foreseen, five Jesuits chosen from five different nationalities,[6] refused the *imprimatur* to the new work on the ground that it was in

[1] *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 164.
[3] October 12, 1672, *ibid.*, 174.
[4] *Ibid.*, 176 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 174 *seq.*
[6] June 18, 1674, *ibid.*, 177–180.

opposition to the teaching of other Orders and Universities, and because the new opinions would lead to dangerous consequences. However, Gonzalez refused to abandon his plan. He thought of appealing to the highest authority of his Order, the General Congregation, in the interest of his views.[1] These he maintained publicly when in 1676 he became a professor at Salamanca, with the result that he was strictly enjoined not to cause further confusion by propounding the new doctrine.[2]

In the course of a mission given by him at Seville in April, 1679, Gonzalez became acquainted with the decree of the Index condemning a number of lax propositions. This altered the whole situation in his eyes. With the encouragement, perhaps, of the Madrid nuncio, he now appealed to Innocent XI. in person.[3] After years of reflection, he wrote, he had come to see clearly a principle which would render excesses impossible in the field of moral theology, that is, the principle that it was not lawful to follow an opinion favourable to liberty if one realized that the opposite opinion, the one favourable to the law, was much more probable. If the Pope would proclaim this principle, the axe would be laid to the root of abuses and the oft-repeated lament over lax moral decisions would be silenced.

In addition to the Pope, Gonzalez also wrote once more to the General,[4] begging him to enforce the above-mentioned principle on the whole Order, or at least on the Spanish Jesuits. He obtained permission, for his own person, to teach it,[5] seeing that the new principle was little more than a fresh presentment of probabilism. Gonzalez' further proposal, namely, that instead of the ordinary probabilism the so-called equi-probabilism should be prescribed, was rejected. On August 10th, 1680, Oliva issued a circular in which he referred to the calumny that at several academies the members of

[1] *Ibid.*, 182.
[2] *Ibid.*, 184–9.
[3] July 29, 1679, *ibid.*, 204.
[4] September 9, 1679, *ibid.*, 191.
[5] December 23, 1679, *ibid.*, 192 *seq.*

the Order propounded risky opinions in their teaching of Moral Theology. In order to counter these evil reports it was necessary to abide by the decrees already published by the Order. This did not by any means imply that the stricter opinion must always be followed; what was required in their teaching was not harshness but solidity.[1]

Gonzalez was more successful with the Pope. After an exchange of letters between him and Cardinal Cibo, he submitted, in 1680, a short pamphlet explaining the fundamental principle already stated. The Pope passed it on to the Inquisition, which decided[2] that Gonzalez be informed, through the Secretary of State and the Spanish nuncio, that he was free to combat the opinion that one may follow a less probable opinion when it was opposed by a more probable one. In the same decree the Inquisition ordained that the General of the Jesuits should grant the same permission to all his subjects and that he inform all Jesuit Universities that it was the Pope's will that all of them should be free to write as they deemed best in support of the more probable opinion and to combat the opposite, milder view. The General was to exhort all to submit wholeheartedly to the Pope's command.[3]

[1] "Non enim duritiem, sed soliditatem exigimus doctrinae." Ioh. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Jesuitenordens* (*Abhandl. der Münchner Akademie* 1881), 85.

[2] Decree of June 26, 1680, Astráin, VI., 208 *seq.*

[3] The second part of the decree exists in three different versions. The one given above is undoubtedly the authentic one, for (1) when after long oblivion the decree of 1693 reappeared, Gonzalez invariably gives it in this form; (2) when Döllinger-Reusch gave another text and Mandonnet made use of it in the *Rev. Thomiste,* 1901 *seqq.*, the Jesuit General Martin, at the request of Jos. Brucker, appealed to the Holy Office, which supplied the above text as the only genuine one (*cf. Études,* XCI. [1902], 847 *seq.*). The text proposed by Döllinger-Reusch (*Gesch. der Moralstreitigkeiten,* I., 127 *seq.*) makes the Pope prohibit the defence of the opinion of the probabilists and to attack that of the probabiliorists. This, and a third substantially different text, which enjoins silence on the Jesuits on both systems

If this permission to combat probabilism were to become generally known it was certain that the decree would provide the enemies of the Jesuits with a pretext for the worst insinuations against them. Consequently, the General expostulated with the Congregation and submitted the draft of a circular addressed to the Order which, in his opinion, was calculated to satisfy the wishes of the Congregation. From its beginning, we read, the Society of Jesus had always watched over the purity of its teaching, though this did not prevent calumnies ; it may even be that, as a result of the imprudence or ignorance of a few Fathers, the Jesuits have been denounced to the supreme tribunal of the Church as expounding in many Universities a most lax moral teaching. These calumnies were refuted by the laws and the constant warnings of Superiors. But since the accusations did not cease, the General of the Order commanded the professors of Moral Theology to carry out to the letter all the prescriptions of the General Congregations and the Generals. Whosoever failed in this respect must be removed from his chair. This did not mean that it was never lawful to follow a milder opinion, but even among the opinions accepted by many there were some which did not suit Jesuits. "We dislike all exaggerated indulgence in the explanation of human and divine laws ; on the other hand a just moderation cannot displease us." "What is wanted," he repeats once again—"is not hard but solid doctrine." [1]

In view of this circular the Congregation did not insist on its first order ; it allowed itself to be persuaded by Oliva's arguments that publication of the decree was inadvisable, for otherwise it would undoubtedly have taken steps for its

(*cf.* BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 844), are perhaps mere drafts but were once more taken out of the registers of the Holy Office in the 18th century. (J. BRUCKER in *Études*, LXXXVI. [1901], 778–800 ; XCI. [1902], 831–846.) *Cf.* FRANZ TERHAAR, *Das Dekret des Papstes Innocenz XI. über den Probabilismus*, Paderborn, 1904 ; A. LEHMKUHL, *Probabilismus vindicatus*, Friburgi Brisg., 1906.

[1] ASTRÁIN, VI., 212–14.

execution. The decree of 1680 fell into complete oblivion; when it was rediscovered in 1693 it was something quite new even for the members of the Congregation.[1] It was not even communicated to Gonzalez though he was the subject of at least the first part of the ordinance. Cardinal Cibo and the Madrid nuncio Mellini merely wrote to him that the Pope approved his zeal and piety and urged him to complete his book quickly and to forward it to Rome. The decree of 1680 is not even alluded to in all these letters.[2] After the Pope had repeated his wish, Gonzalez was able to forward his work to Rome at the end of June.[3]

Under the generalship of Oliva no Jesuit made any further attack upon probabilism, a fact of which Gonzalez repeatedly complained in his letters to the Pope. He did not object to other Jesuits defending the milder opinion, he wrote, but the opposite party should also be allowed a free hand, and he prayed the Pope to intervene with the General in this sense.[4] When Oliva died he laid the same ideas before his successor Noyelle. He explained that the Order had sunk very low in Innocent XI.'s esteem by reason of its moral teaching. The honour of the Society demanded that some Jesuit, with the approval of his colleagues, should make a stand against this system so that the whole world should see that the Order as such was not sworn to it. Hence he desired to write on the subject himself and to dedicate the work to the General; but if he was to produce something really worth while it was necessary that he should make the question the subject of all his lectures for a whole year: he accordingly begged leave to do this.

These representations achieved very little at first. Noyelle withheld the permission asked for and Gonzalez was only

[1] *Ibid.*, 214. *Cf.* extracts from Roman letters written by people who desired a condemnation of probabilism, in BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, XCI., 842 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, LXXXVI., 788 *seq.*

[3] ASTRÁIN, VI., 218 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 219 *seq.*

allowed to publish the concluding volume of a theological work of his because it did not mention probabilism.[1] Nor did Innocent XI. fall in with the proposals so often made to him. A book by Gonzalez on the Immaculate Conception was printed at the Pope's expense; his work on the moral system was examined and approved but permission to print it was not granted.[2] Yet the much tried man saw his wishes fulfilled in unexpected fashion. Noyelle died at the end of 1686 and in the following year the General Congregation met for the purpose of giving him a successor. At the papal audience of the assembled electors, Innocent XI. spoke in such a way that everyone could see he wanted Tirso Gonzalez to be the new General. Though the latter had never held office as Superior, the Congregation complied with the Pontiff's wishes. When the newly elected General presented himself before Innocent XI., the Pope told him that his election was due to a particular disposition of divine Providence lest the milder opinion in Moral Theology should become the official teaching of the Society. He told Gonzalez to send to Rome some able exponent of the severer opinion and to leave all Jesuits free to expound the stricter doctrine. When it came to giving effect to this wish, difficulties arose at once, hence by order of the Pope, Cardinal Cibo sent for the new General and several members of the General Congregation and expressed the wish that the Pope's request should be made known by means of a special decree.[3] The General Congregation accordingly declared that the Order had never prohibited and did not forbid now, the upholding of the more rigid opinion by those who deemed it the truer one.[4]

Gonzalez was dissatisfied with the decree but the further steps taken by him in favour of the stricter opinion came after the death of Innocent XI.

[1] *Ibid.*, 195–200.

[2] *Ibid.*, 219–225.

[3] *Ibid.*, 229 *seqq.*

[4] *Decretum* 18: *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., Florentiae, 1893, 409.

(3.)

Whereas Jansenism was born of the disputes between scholars and its new views on asceticism and Christian perfection were based on erudition, a movement arose in Italy which from the first claimed to be nothing but asceticism, though it quickly led to capital consequences for the moral life and even threatened it in its very foundations.

Originally this new movement, namely quietism, appeared to be no more than a very harmless direction towards a life of prayer for devout, unworldly persons. As a means towards a deeper penetration into Christian spirituality and as exciting the will to comply with its demands, the Jesuit school in particular advocated a reasoned meditation of the truths of the faith. The new orientation sought to reach the same goal by a simpler and easier road. Not meditation, which at best was only of use to beginners, but contemplation was its watchword, contemplation, that is, not in the sense in which it is described by Teresa of Jesus or John of the Cross, in which it is unattainable by human effort, but such contemplation as may be acquired by our own efforts. In prayer, so it was claimed, everything depends on the inspiration of grace; hence at the very beginning of prayer we should abandon ourselves completely and with lively faith to the goodwill and pleasure of God, and allow Him to work in our soul. If He speaks to our spirit we must hearken to His words; if He remains silent, we must not attempt to make up for His silence by our own efforts. All distractions in prayer are compensated for by the merit of a simple surrender to God.

Since about the middle of the seventeenth century numerous publications had appeared, all claiming to teach a new and easy approach to prayer, and these books saw many editions. Their authors were invariably men with whose personal life no fault could be found. The Mercedarian Juan Falconi, who died at Madrid in 1638, was so zealous a priest that there was question of his beatification. The layman François Malaval of Marseilles, who had acquired vast learning despite

his blindness, was held in high esteem. So was the Oratorian Pier Matteo Petrucci. The danger of the writings of these men lay chiefly in the fact that they denied to the powers of the soul their proper activity in prayer. For the rest much of what they advocated was capable of a favourable explanation, though it was always liable to be misunderstood or misused. The consequence of the new principles, namely that all the emotions and tendencies of the interior life, as well as all external actions, were indifferent, was quickly arrived at, and thus the door was opened to the worst forms of immorality.

Meanwhile certain associations had been formed with a view to putting the new ascetic teaching into practice. It was soon seen that the thing was not so harmless as it looked. In 1567, in Upper Italy, by order of the Roman Inquisition, certain Oratories of St. Pelagia were suppressed. In these laymen acted as preachers and taught that interior prayer was the key to salvation and that it took the place of the Sacraments and works of penance. In 1671 and 1675 the Bishops saw themselves compelled to take action against quietistic associations on the estates of Count Scarampi in the dioceses of Albi and Savona. 1675 saw the conclusion of proceedings against the priest Lombardi in the Marches, who had died in the meantime. Lombardi had taught that external works of penance and vocal prayer were useless and that blind obedience to one's spiritual guide was the supreme law. Worse things were brought to light in the course of proceedings against Sor Giulia of Naples in 1611; against the priests Ricasoli and Fantoni at Florence in 1641 and the adventurer Francesco Borri at Rome in 1661. In their case dreams of the millennium and alchemistic superstitions were allied to gross moral aberrations.[1]

Although the Inquisition repeatedly took action against the worst of these excrescences, quietism as such was not

[1] *Cf.* P. Guerrini, *I Pelagiani di Lombardia* in *La Scuola Catt.*, 1922, 267–286, 359–381; A. Battistelli, *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1925, 363–8; Dudon, *Molinos*, 45–8. On Fr. Borri, *cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 127, n. 3.

condemned for the time being. On the contrary, on April 29th, 1676 the Bishop of Savona was told that the Inquisition did not condemn the prayer of quiet but only the claims of those who attached no value to vocal prayer and other religious practices of the Roman Church, or who guaranteed eternal salvation to those who practised the new kind of prayer.[1] As a matter of fact, quietism was destined to be in high honour, at least for a short time, even at the very seat of the papacy, when the able Michael Molinos made it his task to spread quietistic ideas there.

Molinos was a Spaniard, a native of the small town of Muniesa, south of Saragossa. According to the parochial registers still in existence he was baptized on June 29th, 1628. At the age of eighteen he became a cleric at Valencia.[2] The ideas advocated by him are likewise of Spanish origin. Among his authorities we meet with the names of Falconi and the peculiar Mexican ascetic Gregorio Lopez. Whilst still in his native town Molinos seems to have derived from the meetings of a secret association of priests the principles which inspired his future teaching.[3] The idea of doing something big came to the young and gifted Doctor of theology when he was commissioned, on October 3rd, 1663, to promote in Rome the beatification of the priest Simon of Valencia.[4] His efforts in that direction were unsuccessful; but when he found himself released from this charge in 1675, he was unwilling to exchange the metropolis on the Tiber for the narrow conditions at home, all the more so as he had meanwhile made a great name for himself as a guide of souls. Not alone nuns, but priests, religious and prelates sought his advice. He had his admirers in the highest circles, including the Princesses Ludovisi and Borghese, Queen Christine of

[1] Dudon, 47.

[2] *Id.*, 3 *seqq.* Dudon's monograph, well substantiated and based on documentary researches, has caused all other works on Molinos to become antiquated.

[3] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos españoles*, II., 559; Dudon, 13 *seqq.*, 17.

[4] Dudon, 9 *seqq.*

Sweden, Cardinals Azzolini, Ricci and Cibo, and lastly the Pope's influential counsellors, Favoriti and Casoni.[1] When in 1675 the new spiritual master embodied his thoughts in a book, its front page displayed the approval of its teaching by the most renowned theologians, among whom appeared the name of the Jesuit Martin de Esparza. Permission to print was given by the Dominican and future Cardinal, Capizucchi. The book is entitled *Spiritual Guide.* It had three editions in the Spanish text and seven in its Italian translation. Later there followed Latin, French, Dutch and German editions. A new edition in 1681 had a preface by the Archbishop of Palermo, Jaime Palafox y Cardona, in which the highest praise was bestowed both on the author and his work.[2]

Of far greater consequence than all literary triumphs was the fact that one of Molinos' supporters was Cardinal Odescalchi, in whose favour he long remained, even after the Cardinal had become Pope Innocent XI.[3] Pier Matteo Petrucci who, however, was not a disciple of Molinos, as his writings give proof of independence of him, though he must be considered as belonging to his school, also enjoyed the favour of Innocent XI. by reason of his piety and liberality. In 1681, the Pope raised him to the see of Iesi and five years later to the cardinalate.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*; *cf.* 108.

[2] *Cf.* for the *Guía espiritual* HILGERS in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1908, 583 *seqq.*; DUDON, in *Recherches de science relig.*, July, 1911, and *Molinos*, 34 ss., 100.

[3] On September 12, 1682, Innocent XI. expressed his thanks for a letter of August 8, in which the Archbishop of Palermo recommended Molinos' person and book; the Pope observes that in the hands of inexperienced persons the book might do harm—it would be necessary to have it examined first. BERTHIER, II., 52.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 419. For Petrucci's life, see the following work by C. MARIOTTI, based on a MS. panegyric: *Il cardinal Pier Matteo Petrucci ed un saggio delle sue lettre e poesie spirituali*, Iesi, 1908, and DUDON, in *Recherches de science relig.*, 1914, *Mai-Juin, Juillet-Octobre.*

It is said that Innocent XI. subsequently confessed that he was mistaken about Molinos.[1] That, as a matter of fact, the new teaching was anything but harmless, notwithstanding so much praise and approval, only came to light when the Roman Inquisition examined the close on 20,000 letters which Molinos had written as a spiritual director. Though on the whole the Spaniard's cautiously worded book was patient of a Catholic interpretation, the letters showed that on the traditional moral teaching he held utterly subversive notions. Until then it had been deemed a doctrine of the Gospel that all striving after the perfection of the Christian life depended on a constant struggle against the evil inclinations of the heart. Instead of this, Molinos taught that all personal effort was evil, because God wished to work in us without our co-operation ; all that man had to do was to leave to God all further action within the soul, whose powers must be suppressed—this, in fact, constituted the spiritual life ; all else was indifferent and purely external, such as the external works of penance and the veneration of the Saints ; even the Sacred Humanity of Christ was a material object so that love for it was not purely spiritual love. When interior temptations arise, such as impure or blasphemous thoughts, they should not disturb us, and we must neither consent to them nor resist them. It may even happen that the devil forcibly lays hold on man, compelling him to do things bearing all the outward marks of sin, but owing to the absence of consent they are not sins, as Job, for instance, uttered words of blasphemy without sinning ; these violences on the part of the devil are the most effective means of annihilating the soul and of leading it to union with God.

For a time the letters advocating these doctrines did not reach the general public which, for the time being, only knew Molinos' book. This was described as unassailable even by one of his opponents, the Oratorian Marchese. On the other hand, many priests came to see the harm done by the principles of the quietists, apart from the letters, in the course of their

[1] "Veramente siamo ingannati." DUDON, *Molinos*, 173.

ministry, for instance, as confessors in convents of nuns. They found that on entering the church, the nuns did not sprinkle themselves with Holy Water, closed their eyes at the elevation of the Host and the Chalice, and made no outward sign of reverence because they deemed a glance at the Host a sin. These nuns, the Jesuit Bartoli reported, recite no vocal prayers, scorn indulgences, deem themselves sinless, offer no resistance to temptations, communicate without confession, even when they have reason to fear that they have committed some grievous sin, and ascribe their immoral actions to the devil.[1] The Archbishop of Naples, Iñigo Caracciolo, further reports that these nuns no longer say the Rosary nor make the sign of the cross ; anything that crossed their minds they look upon as inspirations from on high which they do not hesitate to carry into effect.[2]

In view of Molinos' prestige it needed courage to oppose him, yet opposition could not long be delayed. It is not surprising that the Jesuits were the first to move, seeing that their ascetical teaching is the very antithesis of the new views, and one of the natural consequences of Molinos' rise was that many nuns would no longer hear of the simple guidance of the Jesuits.[3]

Molinos deemed it prudent to forestall the attacks which he knew to be preparing. In 1676, either personally, or through a friend, he printed a few letters in which he, the protagonist of contemplation, advocated ordinary meditation with a fervour which even a Jesuit could not have surpassed.[4] However, he failed to avert the storm. Gottardo Bellhuomo, a former professor of philosophy and theology, novice master and provincial of the Province of Venice, also published a treatise on ordinary and mystical prayer, in which Malaval and Molinos were combated, though their names were not mentioned.[5]

[1] See Bartoli, *Opere*, XXV., Torino, 1838, 26.

[2] Dudon, *Molinos*, 150.

[3] *Ibid.*, 97.

[4] *Ibid.*, 63 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 65–7.

Thereupon Molinos took up his pen once more, though in the end he judged it best not to print his defence [1] but to explain his standpoint to the Jesuit General Oliva by letter. Oliva answered courteously, but Molinos' explanations do not seem to have satisfied him.[2] When the most distinguished Italian Jesuit of the period, the famous mission preacher, Paul Segneri, announced his intention to write against quietism, he received every encouragement from his General.[3]

Segneri's book appeared in 1680,[4] but it seemed fated to be the very means of procuring for quietism something like a triumph. It was a bad omen for Segneri that a refutation by Petrucci, dedicated to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo, was allowed to appear, and that its author was soon after, viz. in February, 1681, raised to the See of Iesi. Before 1680 was out it became known that Segneri's book had been denounced to the Holy Office and notwithstanding all the apologies from the pen of a number of Jesuits and the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the writings of Segneri and Bellhuomo were put on the Index of forbidden books in 1681.[5] A refutation by Alessandro Regio,[6] a member of the Order of the Regular Clerics Minor, shared the same fate in the following year.

However, the opponents of Molinos did not consider themselves beaten. The French Jesuit Honoré Fabri wrote at that time in Rome itself that quietism would never receive papal approbation, not even if Innocent XI. were personally favourable to it, an assertion which he would be most careful

[1] In **Vat.* 8604, Vat. Lib.; DUDON, 67 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* MARTIN ROBLES, *Del Epistolario de Molinos*, in *Escuela Española de arqueologia e historia en Roma*, I. (1912), and the remarks of DUDON, 93 *seqq.*

[3] DUDON, 102.

[4] P. SEGNERI, *Concordia tra la fatica e la quiete nell'oratione*, Firenze, 1680.

[5] TACCHI VENTURI, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5 series, XXXI. (1903), 127 *seqq.*; HILGERS, *Index*, 551–563.

[6] DUDON, 141 *seqq.*

not to make. Molinos had everything to fear : they must wait for the final issue.[1]

For a time it looked as if the representations of the Oratorian Marchese to Cardinal Casanata were about to result in some steps being taken against quietism. At his instigation an inquiry was made from the confessors of Rome concerning the effect of the new method of prayer. The result of the inquiry led Marchese to draw up a memorial. Not one of the confessors consulted was a Jesuit. Marchese's memorial concludes with the signatures of some very distinguished Roman priests, none of whom were members of the Society of Jesus.[2] Hence the Jesuits were not alone in their opposition to quietism. In July 1682, the Inquisitor General of Brescia, the Dominican Cecalti, prohibited quietistic gatherings, and the Inquisition was considering a circular addressed to all the Bishops of Italy against the new mystics.[3] However, even though the Pope's confessor, Marracci, was a decided opponent of Molinos, and though the aged Cardinal Albizzi wrote a memorial against him,[4] those circles in Rome from which a decision had to come, seemed to continue in their favourable attitude towards Molinos. But fate overtook him all at once and quite unexpectedly. In his letters Molinos had asserted that the devil at times violently got hold of man and forced him to do what had all the outward appearances of sin. The perilousness of his teaching was about to be demonstrated in his own person. The Inquisition had more than once received information that since 1675 the great mystic had not infrequently fallen into the grossest immorality. On July 18th, 1685, the police of the Inquisition presented themselves unexpectedly at Molinos' lodgings near S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, from whence they took him in broad daylight through the streets of the city to prison.[5] From Cardinal D'Estrées' reports, it appears that

[1] *Ibid.*, 147.

[2] DUDON, 156 *seqq.*, who found the *memorial in *Cod. P.*, 177, of the Bibl. Vallicelliana.

[3] *Ibid.*, 161 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 151, 154.

[5] *Ibid.*, 168 *seq.*

for about four or five months Molinos had been the object of denunciations of such gravity that the Cardinals and Consultors of the Inquisition had unanimously decided to have him arrested. The Pope, who was most powerfully influenced by his confidants Favoriti and Casoni, both adherents of Molinos, would not at first hear of his arrest, but ended by giving his consent.[1]

The unexpected visit of the police threw Molinos completely out of his serene contemplation. At first he tried to resist, his disconcertment betraying itself by excited talk whilst he was being taken through the streets. He called God to witness that he was innocent, threatened the police with the punishment of heaven, and remarked to one of the escort that he should deem it a privilege to be so close to Doctor Molinos—many of the most distinguished people in Rome would consider it an honour to have conversation with the man who was now being conducted to prison.[2]

As a matter of fact, the reputation of Molinos was by no means destroyed by his arrest. His servants kissed his feet as he entered the carriage of the Inquisition ; he would soon be miraculously set free, they said, after which he would once more be revered as a saint. Even the learned Maurists then in Rome were very slow in realizing the true state of affairs. Queen Christine asked for news of the prisoner almost every day.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 171.

[2] *Ibid.*, 169.

[3] *Ibid.*, 170 *seqq.* ; GRAUERT, *Christine*, II., 336. Card. Pio *reports on July 21, 1685, the arrest of Molinos and his " seguaci : Il numero degl'ingannati si stima grande. Godeva questo il carattere di teologo della regina di Suezia. Sentita da S. Mtà la sua incarcerazione, disse con faccia allegra che, se era innocente, uscirebbe giustificato, se reo punito, come merita " On July 28, 1685, the Cardinal writes that in spite of the very secret procedure of the Index, there was a good deal of leakage : " Da questi si è inteso, che sia un cumulo di heresie unite. . . . Conviene implorare la mano onnipotente per sradicare questa peste, che haveva gettato profonde radici " (State Archives, Vienna). Queen Christine was also in relation with Malaval (see above,

Even at the Inquisition, Molinos did not at first lack protectors. Cardinal Azzolini would not admit at once that he had been mistaken in Molinos. The French ambassador clearly perceived, when on September 2nd, 1686, Petrucci, who shared the opinions of Molinos, was raised to the cardinalate, that even the Pope was not convinced for a time that quietism must be rejected.[1] In point of fact it was only after prolonged hesitation that Innocent XI. decided at last to take action against a man who had so long stood in the highest esteem with him. But when he had at last made up his mind in the matter, it was evident that a process against Molinos would have to be followed by another against Petrucci.[2] The prospect of a judicial examination of a Roman Cardinal was bound to prevent a speedy condemnation of Molinos quite as much as the chronic illness of the Pope, which for a long time made it impossible for him to assist at the cardinalitial congregations. Moreover disputes with Louis XIV. distracted Innocent XI.'s attention from everything else and it took time to collect and examine Molinos' 20,000 letters, to establish the meaning of equivocal statements by wearisome interrogatories and to question his accomplices.

D'Estrées, from whose letters it is possible to form some idea of the course of the process, nevertheless wrote as early as August 1685, that the issue of the affair would not be favourable to the accused.[3] As a matter of fact things grew steadily

p. 442). In the Azzolini Archives at Empoli Vecchio there is a *letter of Malaval to the Queen, dated Marseilles, August 17, 1682, in which he prays for her intercession with the Inquisition. *Letters of Christine to Malaval in the Library of Montpellier. For Malaval, *cf. Mém. de l'Acad. de Marseille*, 1868–9.

[1] See Card. D'Estrées' reports of September 3 and 10, 1686, in DUDON, 176 *seq.* Innocent XI.'s attitude towards Molinos has nothing to do with papal infallibility as Louis XIV. pretended; see *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VII., 2011.

[2] An *Avviso Marescotti* reports already on July 28, 1685: "Dicesi che Mons. Petrucci vescovo di Jesi, quale stampò qualche libro, possa venir chiamato a Roma e così anco alcuni altri di tal professione." Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[3] DUDON, 174 *seqq.*

worse for him. On November 24th, 1685, the Inquisition prohibited all the Spanish editions of his chief work in his native country.[1] Proceedings in Rome also made progress. Seventy witnesses were heard; 263 false propositions were textually extracted from Molinos' letters and acknowledged by him as his in their objectionable sense. The depositions of the women whom he had directed gave an idea of the abberrations to which the quietistic teaching had led.[2] Persons involved in the affair were being continually arrested in Rome.[3] A circular of the Inquisition to the Bishops, dated February 15th, 1685, forbade all quietistic gatherings because of the open heresies and the shameful abominations which had resulted from them.[4] The minutes of processes sent in by the Bishops proved still more clearly the danger of the whole movement.[5] Molinos sought to defend himself at first; eventually he gave it up and confessed his guilt.[6]

The final sentence was arrived at by the Cardinals of the Inquisition in six congregations held between July 3rd and August 7th, 1687. After an absence of over a year, the Pope had once more attended the sittings in person.[7] The 263

[1] *Ibid.*, 175 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 200 *seqq.*

[3] See Card. Pio's *report of February 8, 1687, State Archives, Vienna, and the **Avviso Marescotti* of February 15, 1687 (arrest of the Servite Molinelli and others), *loc. cit.*

[4] Text of the circular in Dudon, 273 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 181, 186 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 202, 204.

[7] *Ibid.*, 203 *seqq.*, after the *reports of Card. D'Estrées. An **Avviso Marescotti* of June 5, 1687 (*loc. cit.*) already speaks of the Pope's intervention: "Essendosi tenute in questa settimana diverse congregationi sopra la causa de' Quietisti, il Papa istesso intervenne in quella di giovedì mattina, che durò più di quattro hore, dal che si ricava una moral certezza di doversi spedire in breve questo gran negotio." *Ibid.*, **Avviso Marescotti*: "Giovedì mattina intervenne S. S. per la terza volta alla congregatione del S. Officio tenuta espressamente per la causa de' Quietisti. Il P. Varese riformato di san Francesco vi fece la sua relatione, come havevano fatto nelle due antecedenti il consultore de'

erroneous propositions of Molinos had been reduced to sixty-eight; these were condemned as heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, dangerous, and, in practice, incompatible with Christian morality.

On September 3rd, 1687, the abjuration and condemnation of Molinos took place in the church of the Minerva, amid an enormous concourse of people, and in presence of almost the whole College of Cardinals.[1] At sight of the carriage which took him to the Minerva, cries were heard: "To the stake with him!" The reading of the sentence was several times interrupted by similar expressions of horror, and when he was taken back to prison the embittered populace showed unmistakable signs of its readiness to throw Molinos into the Tiber.[2]

The sentence was one of imprisonment for life.[3] After the prison doors had closed upon Molinos on the evening of September 3rd, nothing more was heard of the once famous personage except his death, which occurred towards the end of 1696.[4]

Minimi conventuali et il P. Peres Carmelitano. Giovedì prossimo si compirà quest'opera con la relatione del Domenicano, doppo di che si spera sia pervenutosi all'ultimatione." In a *letter of August 30, 1687, Card. Pio informs Baron Stratmann of the satisfaction of the Cardinals of the Inquisition that the Pope had approved their decision concerning quietism. State Archives, Vienna.

[1] See the *Relatione* of Bibl. Corsini in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 407 *seqq.*; **Avviso Marescotti* of September 6, 1687, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso* of September 6, 1687, in State Archives, Vienna. Other accounts in DUDON, 204 *seqq.*

[2] See D'Estrées' letter in DUDON, 207. The above quoted **Avviso* in the Vienna State Archives relates: "Ma quello ch' irritava maggiormente gli astanti, era il vederlo così franco e petulante che non diede mai alcun segno di rossore e confusione." Only when the cry rose once more: "fuoco! fuoco!" did he plead for pity and pardon. The **Avviso Marescotti* likewise says: "Molinos senza punto smarrirsi stette intrepido nel palco con faccia tosta, come se per un'altro si fosse fatta tal funtione."

[3] Text of the sentence in *Anal. iuris pontif.*, VI. (1863), 1634 *seqq.*

[4] DUDON, 249.

On September 4th, 1687, a few more of the followers of Molinos were made to recant and to receive sentence for their errors.[1] During the next two years we hear of more than one arrest on account of quietism; this fate befell even one of Cardinal Azzolini's theologians.[2] Archbishop Palafox, who in 1685 was translated from Palermo to Sevilla, was now cured of his enthusiasm for Molinos. In a pastoral letter he openly described him as a hypocrite who had succeeded in disguising his errors and abominations with diabolical skill.[3] Innocent XI. also had long ago recovered from his predilection for the Spanish mystic. People in Rome deplored that in this as in other matters he should have allowed himself to be misled by false counsellors.[4] A papal Bull of November 20th, 1687, formally condemned the sixty-eight propositions stigmatized by the Inquisition on August 28th.[5] Segneri was permitted to bring out a new edition of his previously prohibited book against quietism, subject to some minor alterations.[6]

One exceedingly painful consequence for the Pope of the condemnation of the Spaniard was the fact that proceedings against a Cardinal of the Roman Curia, that is, against Petrucci, were now unavoidable.

[1] LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 410 *seqq.* (Brothers Leoni), 412 *seqq.* (sentence on Molinos' secretary, Peña.

[2] DUDON, 232; **Avviso Marescotti* of September 27, 1687 (*loc. cit.*): "In questa settimana molte donne, che stavano nelle carceri del S. Officio a causa dell'oratione di quiete, hanno fatta abiura privata, e poi sono state licentiate, e tra queste vi era la principale, la quale veramente ha dato segno fra l'altre del vero pentimento. Vien detto che habbia domandato d'essere penitentiata per li suoi gravi mancamenti, desiderando la carcere perpetua."

[3] DUDON, 234.

[4] **Avviso* of March 22, 1687 (State Archives, Vienna), which describes the "barboni" ("come quà hoggi si chiamano quelli, i quali con una falsa et affettata santità compariscono in vestimentis ovium") as those who deceived the Pope. *Cf.* also **Avviso Marescotti* of September 6, 1687, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Bull.*, XIX., 774 *seq.*

[6] HILGERS, *Index*, 562.

Pier Matteo Petrucci was born at Iesi in 1636. In 1661 he entered the Oratory of St. Philip Neri and in the same year he was ordained priest. His pastoral zeal had earned him the highest esteem both of the faithful and of the Bishops of his native city. One of the latter, Alderano Cibo, was now Innocent XI.'s Secretary of State. As early as 1673, that is, before Molinos had published his chief work, Petrucci brought out his first ascetical treatise. Some subsequent publications were likewise written in 1673. The quietistic ideas of these writings were based on a work by the discalced Carmelite Joseph of Jesus and Mary.[1] When Segneri set out to attack Molinos, Petrucci openly took the Spaniard's part. The dispute in which he thus became involved did not come to an end even when, not long after, [1681], he was raised to the See of Iesi.[2] However, to all appearances his triumph was complete when on September 2nd, 1686, Innocent XI. raised him to the cardinalate in recognition of Petrucci's splendid works as a Bishop. "Where are now," Petrucci wrote on April 2nd, 1687, "the recantations and imprisonments of my servants and a score of other inventions which have been spread against me with so much 'honesty'? I recant? I should first have to be convicted of error."[3] Thus did Petrucci express his assurance after his solemn entry as a Cardinal and an audience with the Pope which lasted five hours. But he overlooked the fact that he had had to let months go by before he could show himself in Rome as a Cardinal.[4] Not long after that the proceedings against the quietists outside Rome brought to light the fatal fact that not a few of the suspects had had dealings with Petrucci, or had declared themselves his disciples. Among Molinos' letters there were some from Petrucci in which he consulted the leader of the quietists on the diabolical

[1] Dudon, 59 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 104 *seqq.*, 209 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 213.

[4] When he showed himself in the church of S. Maria del Popolo it was felt that he would be better advised if he withdrew from the fury of the people. **Avviso Marescotti* of September 13, 1687, *loc. cit.*

violences, though he did not share the gross errors of Molinos on this point. As early as January 20th, 1683, the Holy Office had forbidden Petrucci to have anything to do with a certain religious Congregation tainted with quietism.[1] On May 7th, 1687, the Inquisition decided to examine the Cardinal's writings ; thus his process was formally opened.[2] By June 19th the examination had so far progressed that the Cardinals judged it expedient to prohibit them ; forty-five propositions had been extracted from them, of which a number were described as heretical, or savouring of heresy.[3]

Thus the necessity of a papal decision became increasingly imperative, but Innocent XI. left nothing undone to save Petrucci. He entrusted the affairs to a congregation of four Cardinals, one of whom was Azzolini, the patron of the quietists.[4] The four Cardinals were in favour of the condemnation of Petrucci's writings : their decision was that the latter should voluntarily present himself before Cibo, confess his errors and receive absolution. Cibo hesitated to carry out this commission, but the Cardinals refused to agree to his proposal that Petrucci should make his confession to the Pope himself and be absolved by him. On the other hand, Innocent XI. declared his willingness to meet Petrucci's wish to submit to him some other publications which maintained every one of the propositions taught by him and condemned by the Cardinals.[5] It was unfortunate for the Cardinal that at this very moment certain ill reports concerning some of his penitents came from Iesi. The Pope ordered a secret inquiry which established the fact that at the very least the Cardinal had been wanting in discretion and firmness on questions of principle. By the end of September 1687, his condemnation could no longer be avoided. The Pope's one thought was that everything should be carried out with the utmost mildness, but his wish that the Cardinal's writings should be condemned

[1] Dudon, 214.
[2] *Ibid.*, 215.
[3] *Ibid.*, 216.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 220.

without mention of their author's name, or of the titles of the books, met with no response except on the part of Azzolini. The special commission which Innocent XI. thereupon set up for the purpose of examining the Cardinals' objections, decided in the same sense. With a view to bringing the affair to a head, the Pope added two more Cardinals to those who were already engaged on the inquiry. The text of a recantation was then drawn up in all its details. Petrucci read it on December 17th in Cibo's room.[1]

On his return to his episcopal city of Iesi he met with a splendid reception, with triumphal arches and inscriptions. But this did not prevent the publication, on February 5th, 1688, of the decree of the Index prohibiting his writings. Shortly before his death, Innocent XI. published a Brief [2] stating the fact of Petrucci's spontaneous appearance before him, his recantation, and the list of his errors as contained in fifty-four propositions. The purpose of the concluding dispositions of the Brief was to secure Petrucci for the time to come against further molestation.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 221–3. Text of recantation in HILGERS, *Index*, 564 *seqq*. The often well-informed author of *Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi per la morte d'Innocenzo XI. relates: "Petrucci fu assoluto dal Papa presenti li due cardinali Cybo et Ottoboni. La s. congregazione del S. Offitio ne restò disgustata, perchè contro la propria volontà et autorità, anzi senza esempio seguì tale assolutione segretamente, quando voleva seguisse publica." Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[2] May 26, 1689, first published by HILGERS, *loc. cit.*

[3] Innocent XI.'s successor, Alexander VIII., who, as a Cardinal, had taken part in the inquiry against Petrucci, was less tolerant towards him; he forbade him to return to his episcopal city, but Innocent XII. allowed him to do so in 1694. However, Petrucci himself felt that Iesi was no place for him any longer. He returned to Rome already on January 1, 1695, where he deserved well by his work for the cardinalitial Congregations and his charitable undertakings. He died whilst on a pilgrimage to Montefalco, July 5, 1701, at the convent of the Poor Clares. *Cf.* DUDON, 257 *seqq.* In the **Scrittura politica* of 1886, we read that even then Petrucci had to endure attacks on his orthodoxy. The writer, however,

(4.)

The work of the missions developed under Innocent XI. along the lines opened by his predecessors. What Rome aimed at was a uniform direction of missionary activity as such by Propaganda, and of particular missions by Vicars Apostolic. Like Clement IX., the immediate predecessor of Innocent XI., Clement X., had shown great zeal in completing the new order of things by particular dispositions,[1] as when, for instance, he secured independence from Goa for the Vicars Apostolic. Innocent XI. continued in this path. Pallu, Propaganda's confidential agent in the Far East,[2] as a result of his complaints, obtained the drawing up of a Bull requiring all missionaries in the Far East to take an oath of obedience to the Vicars Apostolic. The Bull was never published but the heads of Orders were instructed by other means to require the aforesaid oath from their subjects in virtue of the vow of

says : " *Nondimeno io lo stimo un sant'huomo per se stesso che siasi ingannato per mancanza di intelletto e che non habbi ingannati altri per sua malitia." Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[1] The decrees are only in part in *Ius pontif.*, I., 414, 417, 419–421, 423, 443, 448, 450, 451. Between October 23, 1673, and January 8, 1674, 16 Briefs went to China (MEJER, I., 359). A decree of April 6, 1673 (*ibid.*, 417) forbids writings on the missions without the permission of Propaganda, to be printed at the same time. The circumstance that this condition could not be complied with in Gallican France, explains that after 1673 no more missionary publications appeared there (BRUCKER, in *Etudes*, LXVIII. [1896], 335). For the pamphlets during the dispute, see SCHMIDLIN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XI. (1921), 74. The formula used by the Jesuits in Siam when they took the oath of obedience to the Vicar Apostolic, Louis Laneau, on October 10, 1681, is in *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, 3 series, VI. (1910), 45. As early as January 16, 1674, the Procurator General of the Jesuits had published an official declaration in the name of the General to the effect that the Order submitted unreservedly to the papal decrees on the powers of the Vicars Apostolic ; see *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XXVIII. (1888–9), 143 ; JANN, 242 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 193 ; XXXI., p. 150 *seq.*

obedience. This was a far-reaching measure. The heads of Orders, who until then had had the direction of the missions in their hands, were now replaced by Vicars Apostolic, that is, by secular priests ; consequently, the supervision of their subjects was to a large extent withdrawn from religious superiors.

The oath was first demanded in the missions in June 1680, but great difficulties arose immediately. The Archbishop of Paris, Harlay, found the oath incompatible with the Gallican liberties and Louis XIV. forbade all French subjects to take it. This caused no small embarrassment to Pallu. Resistance to the King would have gravely imperilled both himself and the Seminary of the Foreign Missions. On the other hand, Propaganda refused to agree to the mitigation of the obligation suggested by him. Help now came to Pallu from a quarter from which, without doubt, he least expected it, namely from the Jesuits whom he had excluded from his first proposal of mitigation. On June 26th, 1680, the General, Paul Oliva, commanded his subjects in the Far East to take the oath, and his order was obeyed. At Oliva's suggestion the King's confessor, La Chaize, obtained from Louis XIV. leave for the French missionaries to take the oath, though on condition that they made an explicit declaration that they did so with the permission of their sovereign. Propaganda was dissatisfied with this clause, which savoured strongly of Gallicanism, but ended by acquiescing in it.[1]

The oath met with far greater opposition on the part of the other Orders. The Augustinians and Franciscans of Canton refused it ; some of the Dominicans took it, but were severely reprimanded by their Superiors for doing so ; other Dominicans were prepared to abandon the mission rather than take it.

[1] BRUCKNER, *loc. cit.*, LXVII. (1896), 504–6. On January 15, 1683, the Chinese Jesuit, Ferd. Verbiest, had written to Gregory Lopez that if the suspicious Chinese Government came to hear that the Jesuits took oaths of obedience to anyone, it might mean the ruin of the missions. They did all they could to hide even the fact of the existence of a Jesuit Provincial. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VIII., 582.

The difficulty lay in the fact that the Spanish missionaries depended for their subsistence on the support of their sovereign, but the Spanish authorities looked on an oath to French Vicars as nothing less than treason. Moreover the papal Brief prescribed that its text should be made known by the General of the Order ; but this had not been done, hence there was not the necessary promulgation.[1] "We are between the anvil and the hammer," the Jesuit, Maldonado, wrote in 1682 [2] ; "on the one hand we are pressed by the decrees of Propaganda, and on the other by the Government of Lisbon." Now it was necessary to consider the Portuguese, for not only were they in a position to withhold support from the missionaries, but they could make their dissatisfaction felt by the whole Order. The consequence was that Propaganda eased the constraint under which the missionaries found themselves by abolishing the oath to the Vicars Apostolic and limiting the duty of obedience to them.[3] The inconvenience for the missionaries in having to obey both their religious superiors and the Vicars Apostolic, was overcome by choosing the Vicars Apostolic from the religious Orders and by subdividing the entire missionary territory into larger or smaller districts, independent of each other and entrusted each to one Society only. This was done in China in 1685, under Innocent XI., after the death of Pallu who had acted as administrator of all the Chinese missions, and again in 1696, in Indo-China, where at the same date a second Apostolic Administrator was entrusted with the general direction of all the missions. This reorganization of the missions has lasted up to this day. It was the long-sought solution of complications of many years' standing.[4]

[1] Biermann, 138–140.

[2] To the General, Noyelle, November 15 and 16, 1682, in *Analectes, loc. cit.*, 187.

[3] Decrees of November 23 and December 14, 1688, Brucker, *loc. cit.*, 507 ; *Collectanea*, I., n. 234.

[4] Propaganda was dissatisfied with the Jesuits in India because of their disputes with the Vicars Apostolic. On October 10, 1678, Innocent XI. ordered 7 Jesuit missionaries to justify

One consequence of the arrival of French secular priests in the Far East was the renewal of the conflict over the Chinese rites. The Seminary of the Foreign Missions from which these priests came had not entirely escaped the infiltration of Jansenism,[1] hence its pupils were *a priori* opponents of the Jesuits and inclined to view with suspicion whatever came from them. The consequences of this unfortunate circumstance only came to light at a later date.

Innocent XI's lively interest in the missions is attested by the fact that at the very outset of his pontificate he requested the Secretary of Propaganda, Urbano Cerri, to draw up a detailed survey of the state of the missions at that time.[2]

themselves in Rome. However, the Bull (JANN, 247 *seq.*) was not dispatched (BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*). Propaganda contented itself with summoning to Rome 3 missionaries, on March 13, 1679, and 2 on December 14, 1688. The latter came, but Innocent XI. allowed them, on October 11, 1692, to return to their mission (*cf. Synopsis actorum*, II., 403 *seqq.*, n. 5, 6, 17, 45 ; 415, n. 7) ; hence they seem to have sufficiently exculpated themselves. To a large extent the reports of Propaganda's missionaries about the insubordination, etc., of the Jesuits, were one-sided and exaggerated (see CERRI, in SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 378) ; no less a man than Pallu himself defends them, in a letter of January 6, 1682, against their accusers ; so did the Franciscan Bishop Della Chiesa of Peking (*Anecdotes*, VII., 201 *seq.*, 260). For all that things went so far that in 1684 Innocent XI. forbade the Italian Jesuit Provinces to receive any novices until full submission had been made (BRUCKER, *La Compagnie de Jésus*, 651 *seqq.*, 665 *seqq.*). General Oliva, as the only means of countering accusations, had offered to Propaganda to recall all his missionaries from India (*ibid.*, 653). According to R. CORRIGAN (*Die Kongregation de Propaganda Fide und ihre Tätigkeit in Nordamerika*, München, 1928, 45), the accusation of disobedience was for the most part unjust : " not rebellion against Rome but submission in spite of overwhelming difficulties is the outstanding feature of their conduct " (note added by KNELLER).

[1] CADRY, IV., 290 *seqq.*, 880 *seqq.*

[2] The work was quickly spread in MS. : at Rome, in *Vat.* 9650, *Borg. Cat.*, 311, Vat. Lib. ; Altieri Archives, *Cod.* X., c. 4 ;

This compilation, made towards the end of 1677, gives us an extremely interesting picture of the world-wide activities of Propaganda. Here are depicted not only the results of the work of half a century, but hints are also thrown out as to what should be done in the future. Of the wealth of data contained in the document only the more important ones can be quoted here.

Cerri shows the Orders engaged everywhere on the task of spreading the Gospel. Besides the Jesuits, the Capuchins were strongly represented. They were the principal missionaries in Mesopotamia and Arabia. The Congregation of Propaganda had recently sent Capuchins to Tiflis in Georgia. In Syria the Carmelites worked successfully by their side, especially at Aleppo where the Jesuits also laboured. The Discalced Carmelites had been established in Persia since the days of Paul V. The Armenian mission was in the hands of the Dominicans.

The Indian mission suffered grievously from the expulsion of the Portuguese who were only able to retain Goa. The Dutch allowed no Catholic priest to enter, especially no Jesuit. In the kingdom of the Great Mogul the Theatine mission had come to an end, though some Carmelites and French Capuchins still maintained themselves there. In the Spanish Philippine Islands, missionary work was done by Franciscans, Augustinians, Capuchins, Dominicans, Jesuits and Discalced Carmelites.

After prolonged persecution, better days seemed at last to

Bibl. Corsini, *Cod.*, 284 ; London, British Museum, *Cod.*, 17990 ; Perugia, Library, *Cod.* E. 8 ; Munich, State Library, *Cod. ital.*, 132. Cerri's anti-Jesuit remarks induced the anti-papal Englishman Richard Steele, who had obtained a copy from the library of St. Gall, to make an English translation : *Account of the state of the Roman Catholic religion*, etc., London, 1716 (copy in the city library, Frankfurt-a.-M.), which was at once followed by a French one : *État présent de l'Eglise Romaine dans toutes les parties du monde*, etc., Amsterdam, 1716. Mejer (I., 108) has accurately placed the composition of the work at the close of 1677. *Cf.* Corrigan, *loc. cit.*, 9, 19.

dawn in China. The Jesuit Verbiest had laboured in the Empire of the Middle since 1659, first as assistant, and afterwards as successor to the celebrated founder of the Peking observatory, John Adam Schall. In the persecution of the Christians during the minority of the Emperor Kanghi, he had had to endure chains and imprisonment. When Kanghi rose to power, Verbiest won his confidence by his knowledge of astronomy and secured both the liberation of his imprisoned colleagues and the surrender of the confiscated Christian churches. As Superior of the Chinese mission from 1676 to 1680, he displayed a singularly fruitful activity. His literary works in Latin and Chinese dealt with astronomy, physics, geography and Chinese history. Besides this he also wrote a handbook of religious doctrine and a translation of the Missal into Chinese.[1] He presented these works to the Pope who, in a lengthy Brief, bestowed high praise on his activities: "Though an immense distance separates China from us," we read, "the love of Christ nevertheless brings it very near to us."[2] The death of the learned Jesuit in January 1688, meant an irreparable loss for the Chinese mission.

Japan presented a gloomy picture for, after the persecution of 1615, there remained only fragments of the once flourishing missions.

In Africa the most important mission was that of the Congo, with an episcopal see in Angola.

Spanish America possessed a regular hierarchy and many convents, but there still remained vast numbers of pagans.

In the French Antilles the principal labourers were the Dominicans. In Canada Franciscans, Jesuits and Capuchins

[1] *Cf.* CARTON, *Le P. Verbiest*, Bruges, 1839; DAHLMANN, 30 *seqq.*; *Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol.*, 1901, 331 *seqq.*; H. BOSMANS *Annales de la Soc. d'émulation de Bruges*, LXII. (1912), 16–61 (documents), LXIII. (1913), 193–223 (relations with the Russian court), XLVII. (1924), 181–195; *Rev. des quest. scientif.*, 1912 (Verbiest as director of the astronomical observatory), 1913 (Verbiest's Chinese writings); SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VIII., 574–586; CHERRY, in *The Month.*, CVI. (1906), 251 *seq.*

[2] BERTHIER, II., 9 *seq.*

had their own separate provinces, with the approval of Propaganda; in 1670 a bishopric was established at Quebec. The Church made gratifying progress in that country, whereas in Brazil, on the contrary, she had to register serious losses under the Dutch domination, though here also better prospects opened with the return of the Portuguese. This circumstance moved Innocent XI., in the first period of his pontificate, to accede to the request of the Portuguese crown and to erect Bahia into an archbishopric, with Olinda and Rio de Janeiro as suffragan sees.[1] In 1677 the new diocese of São Luis do Maranhao was also added to it.[2] In the Spanish possessions in America, the evil life of the parochial clergy, which consisted mostly of clerics regular, was a source of grave scandal; the Pope accordingly decided to subject them to the Bishops.[3]

The Dominican academy of St. Thomas, at Manila, was erected into a University by Innocent XI. Guatemala also was given a similar institution.[4] In the interest of the missions the Pope entered into correspondence with the King of Congo, the Shah of Persia,[5] and the rulers of Tonking and Siam.[6] Great was his satisfaction when a Siamese embassy visited Rome in December, 1688, headed by the Jesuit Guy Tachard, who was escorted by three mandarins. They were received in audience on December 23rd. A few days later Tachard presented to the Pope some Catholic catechists from Tonking. The strangers were treated with the greatest courtesy. They were shown the principal churches and were permitted to take part in the solemn functions, with a view to stirring up their enthusiasm for the Church. At their departure they received rich presents; for the King they were given a medal adorned with brilliants and a telescope; for the King's first minister, a Catholic Greek, the Pope

[1] *Bull.*, XIX., 5, 7, 12. *Cf.* Streit, I., 517.
[2] *Bull.*, XIX., 57.
[3] Berthier, II., 180.
[4] *Bull.*, XIX., 769 *seq.*
[5] Berthier, II., 51, 113, 191.
[6] *Ibid.*, I., 42, 290, 335, 337; II., 57 *seq.*, 113, 119.

selected a picture of the Madonna by Carlo Maratta.[1] In a latter to the ruler of Siam, of which Tachard was the bearer, the Pope thanked the King for his protection of the missions and assured him that he would pray earnestly that "the Sun that knows no setting would shed its rays upon him and show him the way of life".[2]

In 1681 Innocent XI. had the joy of seeing the inhabitants of the Isle of Patmos renouncing the schism.[3] In the same year the schismatical Patriarch John of Alexandria was invited by the Pope to return to the Roman Church. The Patriarch complied with the exhortation, as did the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph, the Syrian Patriarch Ignatius of Antioch and the Greek Metropolitan Euthymius of Tyre and Sidon. The Pope addressed laudatory Briefs to them.[4] He also energetically intervened on behalf of the Franciscan guardians of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in their sufferings at the hands of the schismatics, by appealing to all the Powers diplomatically represented in Constantinople.[5] Unfortunately an attempt by Innocent XI., in 1683, to put a stop to the negro slave trade on the coast of Angola was unsuccessful.[6]

In 1686 Innocent XI. confirmed the establishment of a new mission for the Copts in Egypt.[7] Two years later news reached Rome that the Mohammedan King George of Iberia, in Caucasus, had embraced the Catholic faith; a letter of congratulation was forthwith dispatched to that prince, who had, however, lost his throne in the meantime.[8]

[1] See *Lettera scritta da Roma in cui si dà notitia della udienza data da N. S. Innocenzo XI. al P. Guido Tasciard inviato dal Re di Siam, et alli Signori mandarini venuti dal medemo regno di Siam*, Roma, 1688. *Cf.* LIPPI, 69 *seqq.*; COLOMBO, 21 *seqq.*; C. CASSINA (*mag. caeremon.*), **Diarium, Vat.* 8390, Vat. Lib.

[2] BERTHIER, II., 423 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 411.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 438 *seqq.*; II., 142, 191, 223.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 81 *seqq.* [6] MARGRAF, 192.

[7] *Ius pontif.*, II., 96 *seq.*

[8] Brief of May 14, 1688, in BERTHIER, II., 393. *Cf.* PIERLING, IV., 105.

(5.)

The Secretary of Propaganda devoted a special section of his report to the religious situation in Europe,[1] where at that time there were 74,700,000 Catholics, 27 million schismatics and 23,600,000 Protestants out of a total population of 128,000,000.[2] Russia was almost completely schismatic and it was in vain that Innocent XI. sought to enter into relations with its ruler.[3] On the other hand, his efforts on behalf of the Union in Poland yielded excellent results. Innocent XI. did all he could to protect the Ruthenian Union in that country.[4] The whole of northern Europe was Protestant. Sweden strictly forbade missionaries to enter the country under pain of death; the only means by which the Church was able to get in touch with the inhabitants was the circumstance that at this time the Swedes began to travel abroad. Thus there was a hope that during their stay in Rome and in Italy, they would conceive a very different notion of the Church from that put before them by their preachers at home. In Denmark a few Jesuits were at least able to act as embassy chaplains.

[1] Cerri (9) distinguishes two classes of non-Catholics, those who —and they are the majority—live under heretical princes (Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Russia, Tartary, Illyria, Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago), and non-Catholics living in Catholic territories, where they either enjoy the public profession of their religion or follow their errors in secret. The first category, besides Poland, includes certain German territories and Hungary.

[2] See the statistics of 1683 given by Ciampi (II., 92 *seqq.*), on the basis of a MS. in the Bibl. Magliabecchi, Florence, according to which Germany numbered 8 million Protestants. The author gives remarkably high numbers for the Catholics of France: 35 millions against 30 in the rest of Europe, viz. 7 millions in Spain, 8 in Italy, 10 in Germany, 5 in Poland.

[3] Pierling, IV., 71 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*, 95 *seq.*

[4] Theiner, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 648 *seqq.*, 662, 681 *seq.*; Berthier, I., 32–7, 352, 431, 433; Likowski, *Gesch. des allmählichen Verfalls der unierten ruthenischen Kirche im 18. und 19. Jahrh.*, transl. by Tloczynski, Posen, 1885, 1 *seqq.*; I. Pelesz, *Gesch. der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, II., Vienna, 1880, 277, 286.

At Copenhagen there existed a community of fervent converts.[1] At Glückstadt and at Altona Jesuits were engaged in missionary work.

The Catholic Cantons of Switzerland possessed an excellent ecclesiastical organization. In the Protestant Cantons the ancient Church had been irremediably suppressed, but in those of mixed religion, the Capuchins laboured with great success.[2] Capuchins and Jesuits were likewise engaged in missionary work in various parts of the North German Diaspora.

[1] Metzler, 63.
[2] Mejer, II., 117.

CHAPTER VII.

The North German Diaspora and the Movement for Reunion. Catholics in Holland and the Beginning of the Schism of Utrecht. Innocent XI. and the Revolution in England. Death of the Pope.

(1.)

The remains of the Catholic Church which had managed to survive in the north of Germany, had been deprived of their excellent leader by the death of the Vicar Apostolic Valerio Maccioni, on September 5th, 1676, shortly before the election of Innocent XI. One of the new Pope's first cares was to appoint a worthy successor to that deserving man. On the proposal of Duke John Frederick of Hanover, by a Brief of August 27th, 1677, he entrusted the difficult post to the Danish convert, Niels Stensen [Steno]. The choice was a very happy one.[1] Born in 1638 at Copenhagen, Steno had made a name for himself in the world of science as an anatomist and a geologist. In 1666 he had been appointed physician to the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. of Tuscany. In 1667, whilst at the height of his fame as a scholar, he returned to the bosom of the ancient Church. In 1675 he was ordained priest when, renouncing his learned pursuits, he embraced a life of strictest poverty and most earnest piety. On naming him Vicar Apostolic for the North German districts, in succession to Maccioni, Innocent XI. made him Bishop of Titiopolis and on March 24th, 1678, he extended his jurisdiction to Denmark also.[2] It is characteristic of the new Vicar Apostolic that, in execution of a vow, he made on foot the long journey from

[1] *Cf.* W. Plenkers, *N. Stensen*, Freiburg, 1884; Metzler, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLVIII., 81 *seq.*, 174 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*; Pieper, *Propaganda*, 77 *seq.*; Id.; *Niels Steensen*, Kopenhagen, 1928.

[2] Metzler, *Apostol. Vikariate*, 52.

Rome to Hanover, where he took up his residence. However, his stay there was of short duration. John Frederick died on December 16th, 1679, without a male heir. His successor, Ernest Augustus, ordered the palace church to be closed for Catholic services at the beginning of 1680. Thereupon Steno went to Münster, where he acted as auxiliary to the excellent Bishop Ferdinand von Fürstenberg who, by a munificent missionary foundation, rendered most valuable service to the work of the propagation of the faith. At the same time the North German mission underwent reorganization: Innocent IX. had its development greatly at heart.[1] Fürstenberg retained the administration of the vicariates of Halberstadt, Bremen, Magdeburg, Schwerin and the territories of Mecklenburg, the rest being assigned to Steno.[2] After Fürstenberg's early death, on June 26th, 1683, Steno recovered the government of all the vicariates. He then migrated to Hamburg, but died soon after at Schwerin, [December 6th, 1686], where he had founded a Catholic mission. The zealous prelate had done his work up to the last, espited great difficulties. He was succeeded, in 1687, by the auxiliary Bishop of Hildesheim, Frederick von Tietzen, who laboured with the same zeal as his predecessor for a whole decade.[3] From his report to Propaganda, it appears that within the territories of the two dioceses which passed to Brandenburg as a result of the Peace of Westphalia, there was still to be found, like oases in the desert, a comparatively large number of monasteries both of men and women.[4]

Innocent XI.'s bearing in the attempts to bring the German Protestants back to the Church by peaceful means requires special consideration. The whole matter of the Pope's attitude towards Protestantism became a burning question at the very beginning of the pontificate in consequence of the meeting

[1] *Cf.* the Briefs to Fürstenberg, in BERTHIER, I., 331, II., 31, 40.

[2] METZLER, *Apostol. Vikariate*, 55 *seq.* On Fürstenberg's missionary foundation, see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXVII., 622 *seqq.*

[3] METZLER, *loc. cit.*, 61 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 69.

of the peace congress of Nymeguen. Innocent's predecessors had considered direct intervention inadmissible, because of Nymeguen being an entirely Protestant locality.[1] Innocent XI. did not go so far. He dispatched the nuncio in Vienna, Bevilacqua, to Nymeguen, though for his relations with the Protestants he inculcated on him the old stringent principles. The Archbishop of Ravenna, who had been at first chosen to represent the Holy See, had been instructed by Clement X. to base his conduct in this matter on the principles and the practice adopted by Chigi at the Congress of Münster, for it was necessary to avoid the appearance that they treated as brothers men who were the sworn enemies of the Church. However, he was to rise above all pettiness and susceptibility, which might cause him to run the risk of offending the heretics, repelling the Catholics and impeding the progress of the peace congress. In particular cases, prudence must temper zeal; for a boon so great as the peace of Europe, one could make concessions which, without so powerful a motive, might give scandal.[2] Bevilacqua's instructions were even stricter. In compliance with a decree of the Inquisition, he was to refrain from direct negotiations with the Protestant envoys. If relations were necessary in the interests of religion, he should use the Spanish ambassador as his intermediary.[3] Bevilacqua was nevertheless not averse to exchanging the usual courtesies, but he learnt that England's representatives were sharply opposed to it, and that the other Protestants alleged that they were without instructions on the point. Accordingly Bevilacqua only announced his arrival to the Catholic delegates. When the envoys of Brandenburg, Denmark and Holland complained of his conduct, he left it to the Imperialists to defend him, and repeated his willingness to comply with the usual courtesies. Soon after this, a special decree of the Inquisition authorized him to deal with the

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 59.

[2] See the Instruction of February 20, 1676, in HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 366, n. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 367, n. 4.

heretical envoys "whenever necessity or the public good demanded it".[1] But this was also the limit of the Pope's concessions. When the Emperor expressed the wish that the papal delegate to the Congress should also negotiate with the Protestant princes, the answer was a decided refusal, even though Bevilacqua supported the proposal. Innocent XI. represented to the Emperor that it did not become a papal nuncio to meddle with the affairs of Protestant princes openly and directly. When Leopold I. repeated his request, the Pope replied that he could depart neither from the attitude of his predecessors nor from the ancient discipline of the Church, which had never changed. The nuncio would only be allowed to interest himself in the affairs of the heretics if there was a proximate hope that some considerable advantage to the Catholic religion would be the result.[2] By this obviously honourable but timorous attitude, Innocent XI. let slip the opportunity of appearing at the congress in the rôle of a peacemaker. It was in keeping with this point of view that after the conclusion of peace, towards which Bevilacqua had loyally contributed, there ensued a solemn protest by the Pope against the confirmation of the Treaty of Westphalia in the instrument of the peace.[3] Innocent himself did not believe that his protest would have the slightest effect; he was, however, anxious to avoid establishing a precedent, for as he wrote to Leopold I. and to Louis XIV., though by reason of his pastoral duty and after the example of his predecessor he had been obliged to utter a protest, he nevertheless did not disguise from himself the fact that it was necessary to take into account both the needs of the age and the advantages that would accrue to the whole of Christendom from the

[1] *Ibid.*, 368. *Cf.* above, p. 63.

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 368–370. When, in 1686, the Duke of Brunswick came to Rome with his family, Innocent XI. was willing to grant him only a quite private audience, for which reason the visit was unsuccessful; see *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 2nd series, VI. (1889), 40, 45.

[3] LÜNIG, *Deutches Reichs-Archiv.*, I., 1049; IMMICH, *Innozenz. XI.*, 13.

settlement.[1] Thus the Pope had been consistent in maintaining his standpoint without, however, jeopardizing the success of the work.[2]

A strong light is thrown upon Innocent XI.'s strict principles by his conduct in the matrimonial affairs of the Emperor Leopold I. and the Elector Max Emmanuel of Bavaria: here, as in his attitude towards the Greek schismatics,[3] he reveals himself as an inflexible opponent of every kind of interconfessionalism.

When, after the death of his consort Claudia, on March 8th, 1676, there was question of the Emperor marrying again, various Protestant princesses were considered for the position of Empress, particularly Ulrika Eleonore, daughter of King Frederick III. of Denmark. The prospect of this alliance filled Innocent XI. with grave anxiety, all the more so as the princess was reported to be a woman of rare beauty and spirit. Accordingly, nuncio Bevilacqua was instructed as early as October 31st, 1676, to exert his influence against a marriage which would be something unheard of on the part of a Habsburg and which would bring with it the danger of the infiltration of heresy into Austria.[4] However, the devout Leopold had no thought of marrying a Protestant; on the contrary, he chose a daughter of the Elector Philip William of Pfalz-Neuburg, who was in great favour with the Pope by reason of his Catholic sentiments. Innocent XI.'s satisfaction was great, and he gladly granted the necessary dispensation, in view of the too near kinship.[5]

A few years later it was announced that the Elector Max Emmanuel of Bavaria contemplated a matrimonial alliance with a Lutheran lady, viz. Eleonore, daughter of the Duke of Sachsen-Eisenach. As soon as this report came to his ears,

[1] Berthier, I., 241 *seq.*, 243 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 78.

[2] Immich, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the Briefs of 1678 and 1679 against the toleration of Greek schismatic services and against the election of a schismatical Bishop, in Berthier, I., 174, 278 *seq.*

[4] Levinson, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 560 *seqq.*, 685 *seq.*

[5] Berthier, I., 23.

the nuncio in Vienna, Buonvisi, lost no time in opposing the project ; he made counter proposals and suggested an alliance with Maria Antonia, daughter of the Emperor Leopold. However, Max Emmanuel stuck to his plan and initiated negotiations in Rome,[1] but all hope of success was quashed by a Brief of August 16th, 1681, in which the Pope stated that in no circumstance would he grant a dispensation for a mixed marriage. The Jesuits of Munich had declared that the marriage was possible if the bride became a Catholic, but the Pope made it clear that he could not trust such a conversion, since it was well known that Eleonore shared her parents' and teachers' prejudices against the Catholic Church.[2] At the same time, the Pope appealed to Duke Max Philip of Bavaria, and to the Elector of Cologne, requesting them to support his endeavours.[3] Thereupon Max Emmanuel gave up his project. The Pope's exhortation to Max Emmanuel towards the end of 1683,[4] that he should marry soon, was complied with by him two years later, when he made the Archduchess Maria Antonia his wife. Innocent's efforts to prevent whatever might jeopardize the religious unity of Bavaria had the further important political consequence that Bavaria, until then closely allied to France, now went over to the Emperor's side.[5]

The movement of conversion which had begun among German Protestants about the middle of the seventeenth century, continued under Innocent XI. This was due to various causes, but one of the most influential ones was the painful contrast produced by the divisions among Protestants in the dogmatic sphere and the " venomous quarrels and wranglings " of the Protestant preachers on the one hand, and the dogmatic compactness of the Universal Church, as well as the splendid

[1] HEIGEL, in *Abhandl. der Münch. Akad.*, Hist. Kl., XIX. (1891), 20 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 38, 108 *seq.* *Cf.* BERTHIER, I., 435 *seqq.* See also DUHR, III., 851.

[3] BERTHIER, I., 437, 440.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., 151.

[5] HEIGEL, *loc. cit.*, 5, 40.

enthusiasm of its adherents on the other. A further motive lay in the fact that in the sphere of the arts and scholarship, the culture of the Catholic nations stood high above that of the Protestant ones.[1] Any educated person was bound to acknowledge that fact in the face of Mabillon's documentary researches, Bossuet's classical eloquence, the magnificent poetical works of Calderon and the sublime intuitions of Murillo. The Catholic parts of Germany also had a higher culture than the Protestant ones ; one need only think of the splendid Baroque creations in Bavaria and Austria, the flourishing educational establishments of the German Jesuits [2] and such important popular writers as Abraham a Sancta Clara, Martin of Kochem and Leonard Goffine.[3]

It was in the nature of things that the superiority of Catholicism should be realized, in the first instance, by the upper classes, hence conversions continued to occur for the most part in these circles.

Innocent XI. showed how much he had at heart the conversion of heretics by his solicitude for the converts' hospice, which was transferred to the Borgo during his reign.[4] As soon as he heard of any outstanding conversion, he never omitted to send a congratulatory Brief. Thus he exhorted Duchess Dorothy of Holstein to constancy,[5] and to Count Arnold Mauritius William of Bentheim he expressed

[1] HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, I.

[2] *Cf.* DUHR, III., 370 *seqq.*

[3] On Abraham a Sancta Clara, *cf.* the monographs of KARAJAN (Vienna, 1867), SCHNELL (1876), and SEXTRO (Sigmaringen, 1896) ; on M. F. Kochem, see STAHL, in *Beiträge zur Literatur—u. Kulturgesch. des Rheinlandes*, II., Bonn, 1909 ; I. CHR. SCHULTE, *P. M. von Cochem*, Freiburg, 1910 ; W. KOSCH, *M. von Kochem*, M.-Gladbach, 1921 ; on Goffine, L. GOOVAERTS, *Écrivains, artistes et savants de l'ordre de Prémontré*, I., Bruxelles, 1899, 315 ; HUNDHAUSEN, in *Kirchenlexikon*, Freiburg, V.², 832.

[4] Bull of April 22, 1686, *Bull.*, XIX., 680. *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of April 24, 1685. Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome ; MORONI, L., 16.

[5] BERTHIER, I., 212 *seq.*

the hope that others, more especially his own subjects, would follow the Count's example, for he considered it to be the chief task of his pastoral office to bring back the wandering sheep into the fold of Christ.[1] The Pope wrote in similar strain to another German Count in whose territory two communities had spontaneously returned to the Church.[2]

The holy earnestness with which Innocent viewed such conversions appears from his attitude to the conversion of the Guelph Ernest Augustus, Protestant Bishop of Osnabrück. In April, 1678, the latter let it be known in Rome, through the Jesuit Pechenius, that he was prepared to return to the Catholic Church with his whole family, but he asked that a number of material advantages should first be guaranteed to himself and his family. The prospect of securing another powerful patron for the Church in North Germany, in addition to Duke Philip William of Neuburg, was all the more alluring as this would somehow neutralize the growing power of the Protestant Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg. On the other hand, it was repugnant to Innocent's upright mind that " the sacred affair of a conversion " should be degraded to the level of a commercial transaction. His answer put it beyond a doubt that he would not and could not have anything to do with such a proposal.[3] Ernest Augustus lost no time in seeking to obtain, by means of negotiations with the European Powers, that which he had chiefly hoped to obtain from the Pope by means of his conversion, viz. the permanent bestowal on himself of the temporal administration of the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Hildesheim. His attempt failed, thanks to the skilful counter-action of the papal nuncios. A fresh attempt on the part of the Guelph to get the Pope to consent at least to the secularization of Osnabrück, was equally unsuccessful.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 419.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., 449. *Cf. ibid.*, II., 45, to Baron Windischgrätz, who made objections to the rite of reception, from which, however, Innocent XI. did not think it fit to dispense.

[3] HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 9 *seq.*, 13 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 16 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*

Innocent was to have further occasion to busy himself with Ernest Augustus in connection with the efforts for reunion by the Franciscan Cristobal de Rojas y Spinola.[1]

Sprung from an ancient Spanish family, Spinola was first employed in several diplomatic missions by Philip IV. and after 1668 by Leopold I. In 1668 he was named titular Bishop of Knin in Dalmatia. This strange man strongly felt the necessity of the reunion of the Protestants with the ancient Church. In 1661 he had endeavoured gradually to win over to the Catholic Church the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, by lending support to the latter's colonizing aspirations. His efforts were in vain,[2] but his failure by no means discouraged him. When in 1673 the Emperor sent him to the courts of the various German princes for the purpose of promoting the Turkish war, he renewed his conciliatory labours, which were mixed up with a vast plan for the reform of the Empire. In May 1674, he reported to Rome on his efforts on behalf of reunion.[3] In the years that followed he eagerly pursued his task, negotiating at the courts of Dresden,

[1] More light has been thrown on Spinola by G. Haselbeck (in his essays in *Katholik*, 1913, I., 385 *seqq.*; II., 15 *seqq.*, and in *Franziskan. Studien*, I., 18 *seqq.*), and by Hiltebrandt (*Reunionsverhandlungen*, 30 *seqq.*); the former judges Spinola somewhat too favourably, the latter too severely. Perhaps Knöpfler was right when he said that Spinola's irenic attempts honour his sentiments rather than his intelligence and sagacity (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXV., 203). *Cf.* also the judgment of Calixt, in *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1713, 380. In order to understand Spinola one must enter into the psychology of an incorrigible optimist. Unfortunately, Hiltebrandt did not see the works of Haselbeck, where for the first time Hansiz' biography of Spinola, contained in *Cod.* 9310, pp. 136–202, of the National Library, Vienna, and also the manuscripts of Leibniz in the Hannover Library, were utilized. The Archives of the Roman Inquisition, inaccessible up to now, would, of course, throw the fullest light on the subject.

[2] *Cf.* Heyck, in *Zeitschr. für gesch. des Oberrheius*, N.S., II., 129–200.

[3] Hiltebrandt, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 42 *seq.*, 173 *seqq.*

Berlin, Hanover, and Heidelberg.[1] The Emperor, to whom a reunion of Catholics and Protestants meant a great deal in view of the war he had to wage on two fronts—viz. the Turks and the French—favoured Spinola in every possible way; thus it came about that the latter's efforts were stamped from the first with a political rather than a religious character. To this was added the circumstance that Spinola lacked dogmatic lucidity, and that he faced the heavy task he had assumed with the best intentions under an emotional, rather than a rational impulse. The consequence was that his southern temperament saw successes where there were none. When he came to Rome in the first days of 1677, with an imperial letter of recommendation, his glowing enthusiasm led him to speak in such exaggerated terms that an impression was created that all the important Protestant princes of Germany were prepared to accept the main dogmas of the ancient Church.[2] Innocent was cautious enough to set up a commission consisting of Cardinals Cibo, Spinola, Albizzi, and three theologians, to study the whole question.[3] At the same time he secretly sought information from nuncio Buonvisi in Vienna on the subject of Spinola's sensational reports. The nuncio, who before this had felt serious misgivings in regard to Spinola's immature schemes,[4] replied on March 6th, 1678, with all the clearness that could have been wished for. He had always felt reluctant, he wrote, to discuss his plans for reunion with Spinola, as he considered them impossible of execution. After eight years spent in Germany he was only too well acquainted with the artful tricks of the heretics. They were in the habit of raising high hopes either for some worldly end or in order to secure recognition for one

[1] HASELBECK, 395 *seqq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 45 *seq.*

[2] See the Instruction to Buonvisi of February 12, 1677, in HILTEBRANDT, 177 *seq.* From this document it appears that the statement of HASELBECK (399), which is based on HANSIZ, that Spinola did not arrive in Rome until September, 1677, is incorrect.

[3] HASELBECK, *loc. cit.*

[4] See his report to Cibo, October 10, 1677, in HILTEBRANDT, 51, n. 1.

of their tenets, by means of negotiations for reunion ; as for themselves, they conceded nothing, but only used the condescension of the Church to delude the unwise. If he transmitted to Rome all the suggestions made to him on this point at various times and places, all of which he eventually saw to be mere delusions, he would by now have earned a reputation for the most consummate irresponsibility and credulity with the Secretariate of State. But in spite of everything, since risks must be taken for a great stake, he had encouraged the Bishop in his undertaking and armed him with good advice, but his opinion was that Spinola indulged in extravagant hopes.[1]

In spite of many misgivings, Rome was unwilling to drop Spinola altogether ; but he was given no formal commission, but a mere permission to treat with the Protestant princes, both concerning the Turkish war and the furtherance of the Catholic religion. This was the theme of a Brief to Spinola, dated April 20th, 1678, and the letters of recommendation to the Emperor, the nuncios of Vienna and Cologne and Duke John Frederick of Hanover, which which he was provided at his own request.[2] To enable him to correspond unhindered with the Secretary of State, Spinola was given the usual cypher, but it was strongly impressed on him that he was not to negotiate in the Pope's name, but solely under some other pretext ; at the same time, the nuncios received instructions to see to it that that stipulation was observed.[3]

In the last day of April 1678, Spinola set out with all the joyous optimism of his trusting nature, on a journey that was to take him to most of the courts of the Empire. He first visited Vienna ; from there he went to Salzburg, Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Heidelberg, Mayence, Frankfort, Kassel, Hanover, Wolfenbüttel, Celle, Osnabrück, Münster, Herford, ending at Halle and Dresden.

[1] Trenta, *Buonvisi*, I., 371.

[2] Berthier, I., 167 *seq.*, 168 *seqq.* *Cf.* Theiner, *Gesch. der Rückkehr der Häuser Braunschweig und Sachsen*, Einsiedeln, 1843, Doc. I., 4.

[3] Trenta, I., 373 ; Hiltebrandt, 188.

Those princes whom he could not visit in person because of the dangers of war or plague he addressed by letter. On his return to Vienna he sent a long letter in cypher to the Secretary of State. In this communication, dated May 28th, 1679, he declares that he had everywhere acted in accordance with the Pope's instructions, and that he had been successful everywhere, except at Kassel.[1] How little credence was given in Rome to the optimism of the sanguine reporter appears from the brief reply of the Secretary of State under date of July 1st, 1679. The Pope, we read, had read with great pleasure the account of his efforts on behalf of the Catholic religion and the conversion of certain princes ; His Holiness was, however, of opinion that for the time being fervent prayers for God's blessing on Spinola's labours must not be omitted, but that it was necessary to wait for some sure token of a real desire on the part of these princes to embrace the Catholic religion, as experience had shown how often human interests led men to have recourse to lies and falsehoods in such matters. The Pope had commissioned him—the Secretary of State—to

[1] Reprint of the letter in HILTEBRANDT, 191 *seq.*, who, however, overlooked the fact that it had already been published by BOJANI (II., 4 *seq.*). On Spinola's Latin and German *report, which Hansiz has preserved in *Cod.* 9313, p. 15 *seqq.*, National Library, Vienna, *cf.* HASELBECK, 401. In his report Spinola tells us about the leaning of the Elector Frederic William of Brandenburg towards the Catholic Church, but the conclusions which he draws from what had been told him about his eventual conversion are false. In his political testament of 1661, the Elector speaks of the Catholic doctrine with the hatred of a true Calvinist ; see KÜNTZEL and M. HASS, *Die politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern*, I., Leipzig, 1911, 44 *seqq.* In practice, as HILTEBRANDT (66) justly remarks, he followed a double policy : Defence of Protestant interests abroad—in 1685 he proclaims himself head of all the evangelical-reformed potentates—and toleration for the Catholics at home. In this, however, he only looked for political advantages. At the congress of Nymeguen he even wanted to confer on the Pope the office of a mediator in order to obtain possession, with his help, of Swedish Pomerania ; see *ibid.*, 69.

express to the Bishop his particular appreciation of all he had done up till then, as well as his hope that the seed which his hands had scattered in the vineyard of the Lord would bear fruit.[1] On the same day the Secretary of State commanded the nuncio in Vienna to make confidential inquiries with the Emperor as to whether there was a real hope of the conversion of the Protestant princes. The Emperor's answer was very discouraging. The conversion of the Protestant princes, he told Buonvisi, was one of those things which were always thought easy, but were never carried into effect; he could not tell what hope there was for the future. As for Buonvisi himself, he thought that there was but little foundation for Spinola's report.

If the Pope surrendered to the Protestant princes whatever part of the Church's property had been saved from the general wreck, many of them would no doubt make profession of Catholicism with their lips, as the Palatine had done for the sake of Worms and Spiers.[2]

These rectifications proved decisive; for two and half years there was no further question of any negotiations for reunion. However, the tireless peacemaker would not rest. In 1682, with the approval of the Pope and the Emperor, he undertook another ten months' journey to the princely courts of Germany[3] and again he sent in optimistic accounts of the results. But facts were against him. A memorial, addressed to the Duke of Brandenburg, which Spinola meant to serve as a basis of a disputation with the court theologians of Berlin, was received with open displeasure by the latter.[4] A few concessions obtained by Spinola in Hanover were violently opposed by the preachers of Gotha and Dresden in the autumn of 1683. In these places they would not hear of the

[1] See HILTEBRANDT, 76 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 77 *seq.* The statement of HASELBECK (403), taken over from Hansiz, that the Pope had at that time granted extraordinary faculties to Spinola, is quite incorrect.

[3] HASELBECK, 15 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 81 *seq.*

[4] H. LANDWEHR, *Die Kirchenpolitik Friedrich Wilhelms*, Berlin, 1894, 340 *seq.*

suggestion of voluntarily submitting once more to " the yoke of the Pope and of Antichrist ". At Frankfort-on-the-Oder it was discovered that Spinola's proposals were identical with the decrees of Trent, hence irreconcilable with the Lutheran faith. The Landgravine Elisabeth Dorothea of Darmstadt wrote to warn friendly courts against Spinola's designs and got the theological Faculty of Giessen to condemn in severe terms " this godless syncretism ". The Elector of Saxony forbade his theologians to indulge in private discussions with Spinola and urged the other princes to act in like manner.[1]

Opposition to Spinola was not confined to the Protestants; it also came from the Catholics, though the latter reproached him with the exact opposite, namely that he had gone too far in his concessions to the Protestants. At Spinola's request, Leibnitz had entered into a correspondence with Bossuet in the summer of 1683, and had communicated to him certain writings dealing with the question, especially one by Abbot Molanus of Loccum. Bossuet praised these " pious plans " in the name of his sovereign, but in reality they were out of harmony with the aspirations of the friend of the Turks and the opponent of papal authority. The French monarch's plans of fresh conquests could but suffer should the work of reunion prove successful since Luther's work, viz. the rending of Germany's religious unity, was an essential element of the political weakness of the Empire. With the cunning peculiar to him, Louis intrigued in Rome itself. Of the efforts for reunion he made a pretext for the accusation that, with a view to winning back the German Protestants, the Pope was making concessions that were prejudicial to the Church.[2]

[1] HASELBECK, 16 *seq.*

[2] KLOPP, *Stuart*, III., 97 *seq.* " Christophe évêque de Tina à Msgr. l'évêque de Meaux présent à Paris d. le 25 Mars 1684 " (original text; it therefore did not come into the hands of Bossuet): " *Le r. P. Nicolas Feiden Recollet c'est la personne à la quelle jay fie les proposicions que j'espère de pouvoir persuader à plusieurs des Protestants avec la grâce de Dieu et d'un peu d'aplicacion e pacience. Je vous suplie de satisfaire à votre parole de m'asister en cet afaire considérant c'et un efet de vos

This circumstance was another reason for Innocent XI. to observe the utmost caution. When Spinola came to Rome at the beginning of 1684 for the purpose of justifying himself,[1] the Pope had his whole work carefully examined once more. Unfortunately we have no information on the discussions which took place on this occasion, but the result lies before us in a Brief to the Emperor dated July 15th, 1684; from it we gather that no credence was given to the French accusations against Spinola but that it was also found impossible to adopt the latter's suggestions.[2] That questions of principle decided the issue is shown by the subsequent attitude of the Pope who, in the sequel also, took the utmost care not to get mixed up with Spinola's plans, as he was anxious not to compromise his authority by futile negotiations with the Protestants. On the other hand he put no obstacles in Spinola's way, since it was the duty of his office to do everything in his power to heal the religious rift, in fact Spinola

œuvres et instructions selon que je vous ay confessé autre fois et que vous avez veu par l'autre notable escriture dictée de ma bouche. Il ne convient pas de chanter encor la victoire et de faire le moindre bruit, mais de voir l'opinion d'aucuns grands et plus discrets théologiens d'Europe et particulièrement de la France pour scavoir mieux c'est qu'on pourra proposer à celuy qui doibt donner les dernières décisions. Je vous prie donc de traiter avec for peu des docteurs et de n'abandonner pas vostre œuvre puis qu'elle peut magnifier la gloire de Dieu par toute monde, et de croire que je demeure éternellement, Mons., votre très obligé etc." (Feiden, *prov. Coloniae*, was Spinola's confessor; that is clear from a letter of Spinola to the Bishop of Plasencia, dated Rome, May 17, 1684). Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (Vienna), I.

[1] On December 12, 1683, Spinola set out on his journey from Württemberg to Rome via Vienna, provided with a letter of recommendation from the Emperor, dated September 1, 1683, and accompanied by the Jesuit Wolff, whom he took as a witness of what had happened in Brandenburg. HASELBECK, 17.

[2] BERTHIER, II., 183. Hiltebrandt overlooked this publication of the document and erroneously assigned the letter to the year 1683.

became Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt in March, 1686. However, the only reunion the Pope desired was a true and sincere one. Hence he continued to exhort Spinola to proceed cautiously, but for the rest he allowed him complete freedom of action.[1] Despite all dangers and failures, who could tell, Innocent observed, whether God's mercy would not finally grant the restoration of religious unity in Germany ? [2]

(2.)

For the Catholics of Holland the pontificate of Innocent XI. marked the opening of an ominous epoch.[3] Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the Church had experienced a fresh revival in the seven united Provinces, though after the storms of the Dutch revolution Holland was reduced to being no more than a missionary territory. The six dioceses erected by Philip II. could not be maintained, and even in the ancient see of Utrecht the first Archbishop named by Spain, Schenk von Toutenburg, was also the last. His two successors never even got consecrated or installed in the see.[4] In order to meet the most crying needs Gregory XIII. granted

[1] HILTEBRANDT, 87.

[2] Innocent expresses this thought already in his first Brief to Spinola, April 20, 1678 ; perhaps the " plenitudo temporis " has come now. BERTHIER, I., 168.

[3] For what follows, *cf.* LUIGI MOZZI, *Storia delle rivoluzioni della chiesa d'Utrecht, libri cinque*, Vols. I.–III., Venice, 1787 : [DUPAC DE BELLEGARDE], *Histoire abrégée de l'église métropolitaine d'Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1765 ; CORN. PAULUS HOYNCK VAN PAPENDRECHT, *Historia ecclesiae Ultraiectinae in Foederato Belgio, in qua ostenditur ordinaria sedis archiepiscopalis et capituli iura intercidisse*, Malines, 1725 ; *Batavia Sacra* (by FRANCISCUS HUGO VAN-HEUSSEN), Bruxelles-Utrecht, 1754 (first edition, 1714) ; PITRA, *La Hollande catholique*, Paris, 1850 ; F. NIPPOLD, *Die römisch-Katholische Kirche im Königreich der Niederlande*, Leipzig, 1877.

[4] MOZZI, I., 50 ; [DUPAC], 76 *seq.*

extensive faculties to the Dutch priests [1] and in 1583 he appointed Sasbout Vosmeer Vicar Apostolic for the seven United Provinces.[2] Vosmeer had been Vicar-General of Utrecht since 1580 [3] and since 1592, as Vicar Apostolic, he had the supervision of all the missionaries in Holland. On the occasion of a journey to Rome in 1602 he received episcopal consecration as titular Archbishop of Philippi,[4] for it was necessary to have a Bishop on Dutch soil because the suspicions of the Government were roused when candidates for the priesthood were ordained abroad.[5] Vosmeer was at no time Archbishop of Utrecht; Archduke Albert indeed proposed him for the post, Clement VIII. is said to have allowed him to adopt the title,[6] the Protestants, and later the Jansenists regarded him as such, but Vosmeer himself declares that he never styled himself Archbishop of Utrecht.[7] Vosmeer's

[1] February 3, 1581, in EHSES-MEISTER, *Kölner Nuntiatur*, I., 128; *cf.* nuncios Bonhomini and Frangipani, August 23, 1585, and September 10, 1587, in EHSES, *Kölner Nuntiatur*, II., 40. After the erection of the nunciature of Brussels, that internuncio directed the Dutch mission ([DUPAC], 133, 145, etc.). On February 23, 1706, the nuncio of Cologne notifies the Dutch Catholics that he reassumes government (*ibid.*, 383). In 1712 the nuncio of Brussels takes over Holland again (*ibid.*, 427); shortly after he divides the jurisdiction with the nuncio of Cologne in such a way that penal affairs belong to Cologne and the granting of favours to Brussels (*ibid.*, 432).

[2] Della Torre gives this date in MOZZI, I., 60; DUPAC (70 *seq.*) observes that the title is given to Vosmeer unequivocally only in the documents of 1592 or 1601.

[3] MOZZI, I., 54, where proofs for this date are given.

[4] *Ibid.*, 71. *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXIV., 3.

[5] Cardinal Aldobrandini gives this reason in the Instruction to the Spanish nuncio, Caetani, September 20, 1592; *cf. Bullet. de la Comm. Royale d'hist.* (Acad. Royale de Belgique), LXXIII. (1904), 402.

[6] MOZZI, I., 70, 74.

[7] "Licet ab haereticis habear et dicar Ultraiectensis, non assumpsi titulum Ultraiectensis, sed usus sum, ut sequitur: 'Dei et apostolicae Sedis gratia Philippensis necnon Ultraiectensis

successors, too, were only Vicars Apostolic, exercising their authority in the name of the Pope and as his representatives, and using the titles of sees in lands that once were Catholic. Thus Rovenius [1614–51] became Archbishop of Philippi in 1620 [1]; della Torre, who became coadjutor to Rovenius in 1640, and eventually his successor, was styled Archbishop of Ephesus; Zacharias Mez, della Torre's coadjutor, who like him, died in 1651, was Archbishop of Tralles; Baldwin Catz (*obiit* 1663) was Archbishop of Philippi; and John Neercassel (*ob.* 1686) Bishop of Castoria.

For a long time the trying situation of the Dutch mission was rendered even more difficult in consequence of oppression and persecution on the part of the Protestant rulers. The two first Vicars Apostolic, Vosmeer and Rovenius, had both to go into exile and the Catholics, of whom there remained large numbers, were subjected to unceasing persecution.[2] The victory of the strict Calvinists at the synod of Dordrecht in 1618 was all the more disastrous for them as, with the expiration of the Spanish-Dutch armistice, the penal laws against them were renewed and made even more stringent.[3] However, though in 1608 the States General had entertained the hope that after one generation the Catholic religion would die out, they were mistaken,[4] for the Catholics held staunchly to their faith.[5]

et Hollandiae ac unitarum et nuper reductarum Transisulaniae provinciarum vicarius apostolicus' " (in Mozzi, I., 76). From this title it may be seen how the misunderstanding arose, that he styled himself Archbishop of Utrecht. In 1624 the clergy of Utrecht themselves declared in a memorandum to the Bishops of Flanders: "Cum ecclesiae provinciarum foederatarum suis ordinariis careant, visum fuit supremo Pastori, loco eorum ibidem constituere vicarium apostolicum, qui cum potestate delegata munia ordinariorum illis in provinciis obeat" (*ibid.*, 72).

[1] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXVI., 123, n. 3.

[2] Mozzi, I., 76, 122. *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXVI., 120 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXVI., p. 128.

[4] Alberdingk Thijm, in *Kirchenlex.*, Freiburg, IX.[3], 373.

[5] In 1592 Cardinal Aldobrandini bore witness that they exposed their goods and their lives to every danger by receiving the priests

Notwithstanding every kind of persecution the followers of the old religion were still very numerous. Cerri reckoned them at 300,000.[1] But Catholics continued to be excluded from all public offices; they were treated now more mildly, now more sternly[2] and had to buy mere toleration with heavy pecuniary sacrifices. It was hoped that at the peace negotiations of Nymeguen they would secure the right to practice their religion freely, a right from which they were entirely debarred in the seven Provinces; but they failed to obtain it notwithstanding the efforts of the Pope, the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. One clause of the peace treaty held out some promise to the Catholics of Maastricht, but it was not kept.[3] Public churches, distinguishable as such, were not tolerated in the seven old Provinces; Catholics had to be satisfied with churches whose appearance differed in no wise from that of private houses. At Amsterdam, where there were 25,000 Catholics,[4] one of these "popish meeting places" remains to this day and only recently it was adapted as a kind of Catholic missionary museum.[5] Nothing can give a more vivid impression of the

into their houses or visiting them in order to receive the sacraments. *Bullet. de la Comm. Royale d'hist.* (Acad. Royale de Belgique), LXXIII. (1904), 393.

[1] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XX., 18; XXII., 100

[2] On the clemency of the authorities towards the Coadjutor Zacharias Mez, see his letter to Alexander VII., of February, 1660, in Mozzi, I., 128.

[3] Hubert, 268, 348 *seq.*, 360 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 77.

[4] See the report of the travels of Pallavicini, nuncio of Cologne, 1676, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen v. h. Hist. Genootschap.*, XXXII., Amsterdam, 1911, 92, which says that "la maggior parte" is "assai fervida".

[5] "Museum Amstelkring," Voorburgwal, 40. Here is also a collection of posters, caricatures and abusive writings directed against the Catholics; directed against the Pope and the Friars is the following lampoon written in French and Dutch: "Caricature. Renversement de la morale chrétienne pas les désordres du monachisme. . . . On le vend en Hollande chez les marchants librairs et images avec privelèges d'Innocent XI."

difficulties with which the Catholics of Holland had to contend in the practice of their faith than a visit to this hallowed spot which bears the name of *Onzen Lieven Heer op den Zolder* [Our good Lord of the corn store]. It was dedicated to St. Nicolas. No one would suspect that the house was a church for it looks very much like most of the houses of the burghers of Amsterdam. A large hall for religious gatherings was obtained by removing floors and ceilings and by narrow galleries round the four sides. One is instinctively reminded of the early Christians in the Catacombs. There are several exits giving on to different streets. In times of special risk the priest said Mass in the sacristy through the door of which he could be seen; in an emergency it was enough to shut this door to hide the sacred function and the priest was able to escape by some back stairs. The pulpit of the church was so skilfully designed that it could be taken from beneath the altar table and erected in one minute and removed with equal rapidity.

Notwithstanding the religious fervour of the Dutch Catholics the dearth of priests made itself keenly felt.[1] To remedy this an appeal was made to Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and other religious.[2] At a later date the number of secular priests rose so considerably that by 1665 there were four hundred of them.[3] Under Bishop Neercassel there were so many candidates for the priesthood that Rome judged it necessary to order some restriction with a view to the elimination of the unfit.[4] The Jesuits did excellent work,[5] hence the anti-Catholic laws were particularly harsh in their regard; in other ways also they had their fair share of the trials of

[1] In 1592 there were still 400 priests, in 1614 only 170; see [Dupac], 183.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 184.

[4] Mozzi, I., 161.

[5] Alberdingk Thijm, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXIV., 2; XXVI., 125. On the Jesuit missions, 1592–1701, see *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 1877, 227 *seqq.*, 254 *seqq.*

that era of persecution.[1] The number of Catholics, which had amounted to 200,000 under Vosmeer, had risen to over 400,000 by 1670; this increase was due to the return of many Protestants to the old religion.[2] For controversy with non-Catholics suitable laymen were also employed after they had been specially trained for such work.[3] The catechizing of children was mostly done by the so-called *Klopjes*, that is, consecrated maidens, who lived for the most part in their own homes. Their activities were blessed with such important results that the spleen of the Protestants vented itself against them in not a few State edicts.[4] A seminary erected at Cologne by Vosmeer, which Neercassel transferred to Louvain, ensured a constant supply of well trained priests.[5] The territories of the States General in southern Holland, which had been gradually added by conquest to the original seven provinces, enjoyed freedom of religion, only public processions and similar functions being forbidden. From time to time indeed the old hatred would flare up momentarily, as in 1668, whilst the Elector of Münster was at war with Holland, but calm returned as soon as Rospigliosi, the internuncio at Brussels, gave an assurance that the Pope disapproved of the action of the Prince-Bishop.[6] The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 caused great excitement. In the Provinces of Gröningen, Oberyssel, Geldern, Zeeland, Utrecht, and especially in West Frisia, Catholic worship was suppressed and the priests were thrown into prison. More moderation was observed in the Province of Holland where the Jesuits alone became the butt of the public anger, as they were held responsible for France's measures against the Huguenots.[7]

[1] Poncelet, *La Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique*, s. l. e. d. [1907], 32; Iuvencius, l. 17, § 1, n. 21, p. 435; Cordara, I., 98, n. 50, 151, n. 46, 370, n. 90; II., 55 *seq.*, 106, 201, 511.

[2] [Dupac], 185 *seq.* In Amsterdam alone about 30,000; with the Catholics in the States General the number might perhaps be half a million. Block, V., 377.

[3] [Dupac], 190 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 186–190.

[5] Mozzi, I., 77, 193.

[6] [Dupac], 253.

[7] *Ibid.*, 259 *seqq.*

On the whole, and notwithstanding an occasional outbreak of persecution, the Dutch mission made steady progress under Innocent XI., though conflicts between the Vicars Apostolic and the regulars, more especially the Jesuits, were a serious hindrance. According to Canon Law the Orders were only subject to episcopal authority on certain points, and even this dependence was doubtful in so far as the Netherlands were concerned, since the Vicars Apostolic were not invested with the full prerogatives of Bishops. On the other hand, the religious had taken charge of a number of parishes and as parish priests they were bound to forgo their immunity to some extent. In such a situation it was not easy to avoid all conflicts and differences of opinion. Agreements concluded in 1610, 1624, and 1652 [1] unfortunately failed to restore peace. In 1670 Neercassel appealed to Rome, but though he had the support of Louis XIV. and other personages of eminence, not all his demands were complied with, though on some points he obtained a decision in his favour; in particular Cardinal Albizzi, that veteran opponent of the Jansenists, resisted the Dutch demands "like a lion".[2]

In view of prevailing circumstances, opposition to the Jesuits was almost necessarily bound to drive those who indulged in it into the camp of their enemies, the Jansenists. As a matter of fact nowhere did the new heresy strike deeper roots than in the Netherlands.[3] The second Vicar Apostolic was a personal friend of Jansenius and eulogized his *Augustinus*,

[1] *Cf.* the present work, Vols. XXVI., 126; XXIX., 270. By the compromise of 1652, della Torre granted to the Jesuits by the "concessiones Ephesinae" an extension of their sphere of action; see Block, V., 328.

[2] [Dupac], 228. The thirteen demands of Neercassel are also in *Theologische Quartalschr.*, Tübingen, 1826, 18.

[3] "In no place did the masked Calvinism of Port-Royal exercise a more devastating influence than in this country. Elsewhere it went past, here it remains, here it is endemic" (Pitra, in Nippold, 31). Of Dutch Calvinism "the starting-point is hatred of the Friars, its instrument the so-called Chapter of Utrecht, its fundamental spirit, avarice" (Pitra, *ibid.*, 29 *seq.*).

though this was previous to the prohibition of the book by Urban VIII.[1] From that time onward a certain attachment to Jansenism lingered on,[2] but it only appeared more clearly during the term of office of the Vicar Apostolic Neercassel.

John Neercassel,[3] a native of Gorkum, entered Bérulle's Oratory; for a time he taught philosophy at Saumur and theology at Malines. The Vicar Apostolic, della Torre, charged him with the administration of the greater part of the district of Utrecht; he retained this position under the Vicar Apostolic Baldwin Catz. In 1663 he succeeded the latter, having been consecrated Bishop of Castoria the year before.

Bérulle's Oratory had the reputation of being a centre of Jansenism.[4] Neercassel, at any rate, professed the most enthusiastic veneration for Port-Royal and the Jansenist leaders. For this reason it was a misfortune for the Dutch mission that it was precisely during his term of office that some of the chief personages of the sect sought a refuge in Holland. During that time these refugees gained such an ascendancy over the Dutch clergy that they brought about a complete change in the latter's state of mind. Thus the ground was prepared for a schism.[5] The Vicar Apostolic

[1] Mozzi, I., 196 *seqq*. *Cf*. Knuif-de Jong, *Rovenius*, Utrecht, 1926.

[2] Mozzi, I., 201; Rapin, *Mém.*, I., 84.

[3] Batterel, III., 209–239; *cf*. II., 375; Mozzi, I., 126, 129, 143, 188. Numerous letters by him, mostly to Jansenists, in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, II., *passim*, and IV., 155–184.

[4] The internuncio of Flanders says on October 13, 1657, that the Oratorians of Brussels had the letter of the provincial reprinted in Holland; that they were in close communication with the French Oratorians and bought all that was printed in favour of the Jansenist doctrines. "Questi Padri dell'Oratorio sono per lo più pessimi Jansenisti." Extracta e codice s. Inquisitionis continente acta anni 1657, f. 1017.

[5] The Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Malines and subsequent Bishop of Bruges, Van Susteren, who had to conduct the process against Quesnel, says: "Antequam illi famosi profugi

was largely responsible for this change. When Antoine Arnauld thought of fleeing to the Netherlands, Neercassel had a letter written "to this most holy man", to the effect that "he would be received like an angel from heaven", and he used the most exuberant language when Arnauld finally arrived.[1] To the Maurist Gerberon, who was forced to live out of France because of his Jansenist opinions, Neercassel assigned the parish of Rotterdam, one of the most important posts

e Gallia: Arnauld, du Vaucel, Gerberon, Quesnel et eis adhaerentes, in Hollandiam advenerint, . . . clerus illic erat Christi bonus odor, ac ipse et grex ipsi commissus unum corpus et unus spiritus . . . ; gloriae ducebant omnes, ab acatholicis Pontificii sive Papistae vocari. . . . At a tempore, quo viri illi profugi . . . vineam illam subintraverunt ac demoliti sunt," changed everything to the contrary. [Fontana], *Constitutio Unigenitus theologice propugnata*, IV., Romae, 1724, 617 s.

[1] "Scripsit ad me D. Vivier, sanctissimum virum Dom Arnaldum, dum saevit tempestas, se in Hollandia velle a vento celare. Potes ei significare, quod ipsum tamquam angelum Dei [Gal., 4, 14] excipiemus" (Neercassel to Picqueri, dated February 8, 1680, in Mozzi, I., 204). "Virum, quem ob fidei integritatem, ob doctrinae altitudinem, ob variam reconditamque eruditionem, et praesertim ob mores ab omni fastu, ambitione et cupiditate alienissimos semper summa cum observantia colui, tandem . . . in aedibus meis accipere merui. Omnes, qui mecum sunt, se eius contubernio felices existimant. . . . Ecclesiastici, qui mihi cohabitant, pendent ab ore eius etc." (to Pontchâteau, dated July 17, 1686, in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, IV., 156). Other remarks of Neercassel to Arnauld: "Sapientiam habes ut angelus Dei [2 Reg., 14, 20] (dated July 6, 1681, *ibid.* [71]); "Je me console en m'assurant que je suis in corde tuo ad convivendum et commoriendum [2 Cor., 7, 3]" (dated August 17, 1684, *ibid.*, 448). *Cf.* [Dupac], 456: "M. Arnauld y avoit été reçu, en 1680, comme un ange de Dieu par M. de Neercassel. . . . Il y avoit alors près de 20 ans que ce prélat entretenoit déjà avec cet illustre persécuté un intime commerce de lettres. C'étoit par son canal et par celui de M. l'abbé de Pontchâteau que M. de Neercassel avoit contracté une union des plus cordiales avec tout ce qu'on appelle Messieurs de Port-Royal et avec les plus illustres évêques, qui leur étoient unis."

he disposed of.[1] Besides Arnauld, another Jansenist refugee, Quesnel, also exercised considerable influence on the Vicar Apostolic. Previous to his last tour of visitation he expressed to the author of the *Reflexions Morales* his regret[2] that on account of his absence he would not be able to show him all the attention that he would have wished to bestow on him. The two Jansenist leaders were part authors of a book by Neercassel which at the latter's death was prohibited by Rome until it should have been amended.[3] Quesnel translated it into French, and in so doing applied his "Christian rhetoric", by which he meant the art of disguising the real ideas of the book in such wise that the censors could not get hold of them.[4] Some of the appendices are from Arnauld's pen[5] whilst some of the subject matter of the book is due to his inspiration.[6]

The death of Neercassel was the signal for the beginning of the nefarious activities of the so-called metropolitan Chapter of Utrecht. In Catholic days the Chapters of five Utrecht churches numbered together about one hundred and

[1] Ch. Filliâtre, *Gerberon Bénédictin Janséniste* in *Revue hist.*, CXLVI. (1924), 9.

[2] April 18, 1686, in Mozzi, I., 204.

[3] Reusch, II., 535; Hurter, IV.[3], 414. Innocent XI. is supposed to have said that the book (on the administration of the Sacrament of Penance) was a very good one and the author a saint (Arnauld, *loc. cit.*, II., 661; Du Vaucel to Neercassel, March 16, 1686, in *Acta et decreta secundae synodi prov. Ultraiectensis*, 466, where eulogies of the book by Cardinal Grimaldi, Casoni, etc., are recorded; Wenzelburger, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIV. [1875], 257). Innocent XI., however, did not permit the free circulation of the book, hence Mozzi (I., 193), with good reason, questions the authenticity of the remark ascribed to the Pope.

[4] Quesnel to Neercassel, January 1, 1684, in A. Le Roy, *Un Janséniste en exil: Corresp. de Pasquier Quesnel*, I., Paris 1909, 34. *Cf.* Allard, in *Studiën*, LIX. (1902), 214 *seqq.*

[5] Neercassel to Arnauld, January 8, 1683, in Arnauld, *Œuvres*, II., 184.

[6] Mozzi, I., 192. Also something "ad Wallonii [= Du Vaucel] suggestionem" (Arnauld, *loc. cit.*, 179).

forty Canons. Under the Republic the Chapters passed into Protestant hands and by 1633 there only remained some twenty Catholic Canons.[1] From these twenty Rovenius chose five and constituted them, together with a few other priests, into the so-called "Vicariate", that is, a council whose duty it was to assist the Vicar Apostolic in the discharge of his duties.[2] Della Torre conceived the idea of making this council a permanent institution,[3] with power to add to its numbers by election. All the higher posts, including that of Vicar Apostolic, were to be reserved to its members. However, in consequence of della Torre's mental illness, Rome declared null and void all the dispositions made by him in the course of the last five years of his life, including the confirmation of the Vicariate[4]; in fact the very next confirmation by Neercassel does not even mention it.[5]

Up to this time it had never entered anyone's head, not even Neercassel's, to consider the Vicariate as a formal metropolitan Chapter enjoying the rights of such a body.[6] After Neercassel's death it showed signs of a desire to claim such rights. The very first step on this path proved disastrous. In virtue of a papal Indult, Neercassel had appointed two pro-Vicars for the conduct of business in the event of his death; they were Codde for Utrecht, and Cousebant for Haarlem. Thirty-four days after Neercassel's death, and on its own authority, the Vicariate elected Codde as Vicar General, without considering that such an election can only be validly made within eight days of a Bishop's death; in addition it attributed to Codde powers such as even a properly constituted metropolitan Chapter could not have conferred.[7]

Twelve days after Neercassel's death the two self-styled Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem met at Gonda and proposed

[1] Mozzi, I., 100, 105.
[2] The instrument of erection, November 9, 1633, *ibid.*, 114 *seq.*
[3] Decree of July 9, 1658, *ibid.*, 130 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 184.
[5] April 17, 1667, *ibid.*, 185 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 186.
[7] *Ibid.*, 205 *seqq.*

to Rome, for the post of Vicar Apostolic, Hugh Francis Van Heussen, a Canon of Utrecht [1] whom Neercassel was wont to call his "Timothy" [2] and whom he had desired as early as 1682 to have for his coadjutor. Arnauld did his utmost for him with his Roman friends Du Vaucel and Casoni [3] whilst the Dutch religious worked against him.[4] His nomination met with opposition in Rome because he denied papal infallibility and his teaching offended in other respects also. Du Vaucel advised him to make a written profession of faith, not indeed in the infallibility of the Pope, but at least in that of the Holy See or the Roman Church. He hoped that Rome would overlook the fact that the inerrancy of the Roman See was not generally understood in the sense that it embraced every single occupant of that See.[5] In the end Van Heussen was dropped, though the Cardinals were not at first unfavourably disposed towards him.[6]

As the delay in the appointment of a new head of the mission grew longer and longer, it was decided in Holland to send to Rome Theodore Cock for the purpose of hastening it. Though Cock saw Arnauld, Quesnel and Nicole whilst on his way, he was a man of upright character and in perfectly good faith in his attachment to Jansenist opinions and personalities.[7] In Rome he very quickly won the goodwill of

[1] *Ibid.*, 216.

[2] "Car c'est le nom qu'il [Neercassel] avoit accoutumé de lui donner." Arnauld to Casoni, *Œuvres*, II., 676.

[3] *Ibid.*, 674, 686, 696, 722, 763, 772.

[4] Mozzi, I., 221 ss., 224.

[5] Je ne sçai si dans les circonstances on est obligé de répondre d'une manière si claire et si précise, et si l'on ne peut pas se contenter de ne rien dire dans le fond qui soit contraire à la vérité, et au sentiment que l'on a, encore qu'on prévoie que ceux, à qui l'on parle, ne comprendront pas entièrement notre pensée, et qu'ils expliqueront nos paroles en un sens, qui favorisera l'opinion, dont ils sont prévenus" (Du Vaucel to Arnauld, 2 novembre, 1686, in Mozzi, I., 230 seq.). Arnauld is against the formula (to Du Vaucel, October 9, 1686, *Œuvres*, II., 722 seqq.).

[6] Mozzi, I., 227, 242. [7] *Ibid.*, 248.

leading circles, and since he declined the dignity of a Vicar Apostolic for himself, it was conferred on the Oratorian Peter Codde, at Cock's recommendation and on his responsibility. This choice, made by Cardinals Altieri, Ottoboni, Azzolini, Casanata, Howard and Colonna, was confirmed by a Brief of Innocent XI. dated October 9th, 1688, and on February 6th, 1689, Codde received episcopal consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Malines.[1]

It was an evil omen that this nomination was hailed with enthusiasm by the Dutch Jansenists,[2] and it was a far worse one that Codde refused to subscribe to the formula of Alexander VII. previous to his consecration. The nuncio for Flanders had had no instructions to demand it from him, so he did not insist.[3] Like Neercassel, Codde was an Oratorian and as such he had studied under Jansenist teachers.[4] Quesnel, who had come to know him early,[5] described him after his (Codde's) death, as his most trusted and most illustrious friend in Holland.[6] The consequences for the Dutch mission of the election of such a head, were to appear only under Innocent XI.'s successors.

(3.)

In England Catholics formed a by no means insignificant minority but, to Innocent XI.'s great sorrow,[7] they could only practise their religion at grave peril to themselves although Charles II., and even more so his brother, the Duke of York,

[1] *Ibid.*, 250 *seq.*, 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, 253.

[3] *Ibid.*, 257, 265.

[4] *Ibid.*, 256. The Vicar Apostolic, De la Torre, was also an Oratorian; *cf.* BATTEREL, II., 483.

[5] Quesnel to Du Breuil, August, 1690, in LE ROY, I., 157, to Cardinal Noris, in MOZZI, I., 256.

[6] "le plus solide et le plus illustre ami que j'eusse en ce pays." Quesnel to his sister, December 20, 1710, in LE ROY, II., 311.

[7] *Cf.* the correspondence in BOJANI, I., 191 *seqq.*

who became a Catholic in 1672, were well disposed towards them. In these circumstances the idea of the adherents of the old religion plotting against the King was utterly preposterous, yet a lying report that such a plot had been discovered met with willing credence on the part of the usually level-headed English public.[1] The fact that the author of the calumny, one Titus Oates, was hardly a man to inspire confidence, was readily overlooked. Beginning as an Anabaptist under Cromwell, Oates had become an Anglican minister at the Restoration; then, posing as a convert, he sought to find out the alleged secrets of the Jesuits but was expelled from their English College at Valladolid in 1677, and from that of St. Omer in 1678. Resolved to revenge himself on the Fathers, he came forward, in August 1678, with a statement that on April 27th he had assisted at a meeting of English Jesuits in a public house in the Strand in London, and that in this way he had come to know of a popish plot for the assassination of Charles II., the massacre of the Protestants and the restoration of the Pope's authority in England. In the course of his first interrogatory Oates became involved in so many contradictions that Charles II. declared he did not believe one word of his allegations. However, the worthless man was well served by an accident. A justice of the peace, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, before whom Oates had sworn to the statements which the court had refused to take seriously, was murdered during the month of

[1] *Cf.*, for what follows, LINGARD, XII., 129 *seqq.*; RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, V., 234, 250 *seqq.*; KLOPP, *Stuart*, II., 165 *seqq.*, 172 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*; BROSCH, *Gesch. Englands*, VII., 439 *seqq.*; J. POLLOCK, *The Popish Plot*, London, 1903 (also J. GERARD, in *The Month*, CII. [1903], 2–23, 132–143; A. ZIMMERMANN, *Das papistische Komplott in England und die Schreckensherrschaft der Whigs*, in *Wissensch. Beilage* of the *Germania*, Berlin, 1910, No. 16–17; *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CX., 157 *seqq.*; the acts of the provincial congregation of the Jesuits, May 4, 1678, in *The Month*, CII. (1903), 311–16; ABBOT, in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, (1910), 126 *seq.*; SPILLMANN, *Die Blutzeugen aus den Tagen der Titus-Oates Verschwörung*, Freiburg, 1901.

October. Forthwith the cry went up that the authors of the deed were the papists and the Jesuits who were anxious to prevent an inquiry. A panic seized the capital for Oates, who had become the darling of the Whigs, was continually making fresh revelations. The houses of all Catholics were searched for weapons, troops were levied, women went so far as to hide daggers under their pillows so as to be prepared for the murderous papists.[1]

In the midst of this excitement Parliament met on October 21st. Without any investigation both Houses agreed that the papists had conceived a diabolical plot, a plot that was still being hatched, its object being the assassination of the King and the uprooting of Protestantism. It was resolved that no one should have seat or vote in either the Upper or the Lower House unless he had first taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and declared in writing that he reprobated belief in transubstantiation, worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Mass, as superstitious practices. It was with the utmost difficulty that the King's brother, the Duke of York, was excepted from the obligations of this bill. By this exclusion the main purpose of the whole law was nullified. However, thirty-one peers lost their seats in the Upper House when Charles II. gave his assent to the bill.

Meanwhile numerous arrests of Catholics had taken place, though all protested their innocence. Since according to the law of England, an accusation of high treason must be substantiated by two witnesses, it was necessary to find a second accuser. He was discovered in the person of William Bedloe who, as regards villainy, yielded in nothing to Oates.[2] Though his accusations were even more outrageous, they were accepted at their face value.[2]

What followed constitutes a shameful page in the history of England. As a result of a judicial procedure which was a mockery of all justice, a number of wholly innocent people were, within the space of four years, condemned to the ghastly

[1] See Campana de Cavelli, I., 239.

[2] Opinion of Brosch (VII., 441).

form of execution which the law inflicted on those guilty of treason. Among them were eleven Jesuits, three Franciscans, one Benedictine, four secular priests, several laymen, one of them being the aged Earl of Stafford. The number of Catholics thrown into prison amounted to two thousand.[1] The weak King did nothing to put a stop to these judicial murders, nor did he make any use of the prerogative of mercy because he had reason to fear a popular rising.

The last victim of the persecution occasioned by the odious calumnies of Titus Oates was Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. This splendid prelate had already been obliged to flee in 1672, in consequence of the edicts of the viceroy Essex against Catholic priests, when he was forced to live in the utmost destitution. With the return of better days for the Catholic Church in Ireland, one of the main objects of his solicitude was the Irish Colleges on the Continent. He also successfully resisted the spread of Jansenism in Ireland. In 1679 he was cast into a Dublin gaol by the viceroy Ormond. In 1680 he was taken in chains to London where he was put on his trial on a trumped-up charge of treason and of having had dealings with France. All the efforts of Innocent XI., the Emperor Leopold and the Catholic ambassadors on his behalf, were in vain. Lying witnesses gave evidence against him and on their depositions he was condemned to death. The sentence was carried out on July 11th, 1681, the martyr being cut down from the gallows whilst still alive, his heart torn out and burnt before his eyes, after which he was beheaded. Plunkett met his death with the same calm and resignation to God's will as so many had done before him.[2]

[1] *Cf.* De Courson, *La persécution des catholiques en Angleterre*, Paris, 1898. Innocent XI. ordered prayers to be said in Rome for the persecuted English Catholics; see **Avvisi* of March 18 and May 27, 1679, Vat. Library.

[2] Moran. *Life of O. Plunket*[2], Dublin, 1895. Plunket was beatified on May 23, 1930, on which occasion C. Salotti published a *Vita*, important for its new documents (Roma, 1920). On the

Charles II. successfully thwarted the designs of the Whigs who wished to exclude his brother from the succession; hence after the King's unexpected death on February 6th, 1685, the latter succeeded him under the title of James II.[1] The new King was a fervent Catholic and did not disguise the fact. His ambition to liberate his co-religionists from the inhuman laws under which he himself had had to suffer was as praiseworthy as it was intelligible. However, as things were, such an aim demanded the utmost prudence and moderation,[2] qualities in which James II. was conspicuously lacking. Instead of taking into account the prejudices against the Catholic Church, the Holy See and the Jesuits, which were deeply ingrained in the minds of the majority of Englishmen, he seemed willing to provoke them unnecessarily. In

fate of the bones of Plunket, see the account of Cardinal Gasquet, in *Corriere d' Italia*, May 22, 1920.

[1] Charles II. was secretly a Catholic and he died a Catholic; see *Civ. Catt.*, 5th series, VI. (1863), 388, 697 *seqq.*; VII., 268, 415 *seqq.*, 671 *seqq.* *Cf.* CAMPANA DE CAVELLI, II., 1 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, II., 239; RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, V.[3], 369 *seq.* A. W. WARD also writes (*Dictionary of Nat. Biogr.*, X., 103): "Charles II. died a professed Catholic. . . . Shortly after his marriage he sent Sir Richard Bellings to Rome, one of whose commissions was to propose to Pope Alexander VII. terms upon which the king and the nation should be reconciled to Rome." The nuncio of Brussels was allowed by Charles to visit London *incognito*. His report of 1670 to Propaganda is in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 153 *seqq.* ZIMMERMANN (*Wissensch. Beilage der Germania*, 1910, No. 31) says: "Charles' conversion was a death-bed conversion; therefore to regard it as an act of hypocrisy or insincerity is very rash."

[2] This was also the opinion of Bevilacqua, who had been sent to Nymeguen by Innocent XI., and who, before his departure, exhorted the Catholics "a vivere con modestia religiosa e veramente cattolica, se volevano rendere durabile la tolleranza che da' magistrati era loro promessa"; see "*Relazione del trattato di pace conclusa a Nimvega da Msgr. Bevilacqua, Nunzio plenipotentiario, presentata a N. S. P. Innocenzo XI.", *Barb.* 5176, Vatican Library.

this way his policy, the aim of which was to restore the ancient Church in England, became a danger and a disaster for her.[1]

James II.'s absolutist tendencies were particularly unfortunate precisely from this point of view. Like Louis XIV., James II. identified the ideas of kingship and religion; in fact he considered them as an inseparable whole. This confusion spoilt all his efforts for the return of England to the ancient Church, and many means employed by him in furtherance of that end were similarly tainted. James had pledged his royal word that he would maintain the Church of England and the State in accordance with the existing Constitution. In course of time, however, it became increasingly clear that he attached a very different meaning to his words and that he was desirous of using his authority to rule after the manner of Louis XIV., in a wholly unconstitutional fashion. In virtue of his supremacy over the established Church he sought to bring it into harmony with his own ideas; even episcopal sees were bestowed on men who secretly professed Catholicism.[2] This action of the King had by no means the approval of all Catholics; he was supported only by an overzealous party which he trusted implicitly. The most eminent of these advisers were Edward Petre, a Jesuit originating from northern France, and the Earl of Sunderland.[3] The voices of these men silenced those

[1] *Cf.* ZIMMERMANN, *Jakob II. und seine Bemühungen betreffs Wiederherstellung der Kath. Kirche in England* in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIX., 2 (1905), 58 *seqq.*

[2] See KLOPP, *Stuart*, III., 199 *seqq.*

[3] E. Petre has, without doubt, been much calumniated and his correspondence with La Chaize is a forgery; see DUHR, in *Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol.*, X. (1886), 677 *seqq.*; XI. (1887), 25 *seqq.*, 209 *seqq.*, and *Jesuitenfabeln*, 167 *seq.*; however, A. ZIMMERMANN, in the same periodical, XVIII. (1894), 382 *seqq.*, maintains that DUHR went too far in his defence of Petre and that the latter could not be cleared not only from the accusation of imprudence and inconsistency, but not even from the suspicion of unlawful ambition.

of sensible Catholics, both native and foreign, as well as those of the Spanish, the imperial and the Tuscan ambassadors. In vain also another Jesuit, Fr. Simons, raised a warning voice to the effect that the Church and the Chair of Peter could not allow evil to be done that good might come out of it.[1]

Roman opinion on the subject may be gathered from a contemporary document, viz. an Instruction for a papal plenipotentiary in England, which reminds him that greater freedom for the ancient Church in England could only be obtained by means that were in harmony with the Gospel. What was wanted was the appointment of good Bishops and the formation of a good clergy which would have to be satisfied with mere toleration. The past had sufficiently shown that in England neither violence nor political influence would lead to the desired goal. Neither the secular nor the regular clergy must have much to do with the court, nor must they meddle with secular affairs; above all they must on no account create the impression that they intended to violate the constitution of the country.[2]

These views also inspired the policy of Innocent XI. His action remained throughout within the boundaries of moderation and prudence. The wish of James II. that the Catholics of England should have a Vicar Apostolic of their own was complied with on August 6th, 1685, by the nomination of John Leyburn, titular Bishop of Hadrumetum.[3] The Pope likewise granted the King's wish for the dispatch of a

[1] KLOPP, *Stuart*, III., 200.

[2] See "*Ricordi da darsi ad un ministro pontificio e da suggerire da parte di Sua Santità alla Maestà del Re della Gran Bretagna", in RANKE, *Engl. Gesch.*, VI.[3], 151, who, however, does not give the source of the document.

[3] See BERTHIER, II., 245. On January 30, 1688, Innocent XI. associated to Leyburn three other Vicars and Bishops "in partibus"; see MEJER, II., 48 *seq.* By the **Cifra* of November 26, 1687, Innocent explained his joy to nuncio Adda that the Vicar Apostolic had confirmed more than 23,000 of the faithful. *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 15, Pap. Sec. Archives.

confidential agent to London by appointing to the post Count Ferdinando d'Adda of Milan.[1] The latter was, however, instructed not to appear from the first as an ecclesiastic and still less as a papal nuncio, for this would have led at once to a conflict with English law, and would have been interpreted as a challenge to an excited population. Adda arrived in London on November 16th, 1685. He began by calling upon the Spanish ambassador, Pedro Ronquillo, and Bishop Leyburn, who took him at once into the King's presence. James agreed with the Pope that at first Adda should only appear as a distinguished foreigner who had come to study English life.[2] On January 5th, 1686, the Cardinal Secretary of State impressed on Adda that on no account must he pose as a papal nuncio; whether he should wear clerical or lay attire for the time being was left to his discretion.[3] Adda, who promptly won the King's confidence, was not content with this modest rôle; his ambition was to obtain the status of an ambassador. In March, 1686, the Pope felt compelled to yield on this point,[4] because in the meantime James II. had accredited an ambassador to Rome in the person of Lord Castlemaine. The choice of such a man is an example of the extraordinary ineptitude of the King; for though Castlemaine had endured imprisonment during the Titus Oates plot, his violent character alone rendered him singularly

[1] BERTHIER, II., 252. *Cf.* **Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 10–14 ("Lettere di Msg. Nunzio in Londra, 1685–1689"), 15 ("*Cifre* con Msg. d'Adda, Nunzio in Londra, dal 1685 a tutto il 1689"), 16 ("Registro di lettere scritte a Msg. Nunzio in Inghilterra, 1686, a 9 Aprile, 1689"), 17 ("Minute orig. di lettere scritte per la segret. di stato a Msg. d'Adda dal 1686 a tutto il 1689"), 20 ("Varia, 1679–1700"), Pap. Sec. Archives. Copies in British Museum, London. His reports were published from these by MACKINTOSH, *Hist. of the Revolution*, App.

[2] *Report of Adda, dated November 19, 1685, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 10, Pap. Sec. Archives; *letter of Adda, dated Milan, October 17, 1685, on his journey, *ibid.*

[3] **Lettera* of Cibo to Adda, dated January 5, 1686, *ibid.*, 16.

[4] **Lettera* of Cibo to Adda, dated March 23, 1686, *ibid.*

unfit for the rôle of a diplomatist. Moreover, as was pointed out by the French ambassador, the curse of ridicule handicapped the mission of a man whose name was so little known as far as he himself was concerned, but so very notorious on account of his wife, for as everybody knew, the latter had been Charles II.'s mistress, with the consent of her husband.[1] To a man of such strict moral principles as Innocent XI., such a personage could hardly be acceptable. The pomp displayed by Castlemaine who, however, in this respect acted on the King's orders,[2] likewise displeased the Pope. On top of everything Castlemaine, who had his first audience jointly with Cardinal Norfolk on April 19th, 1686,[3] soon presented two petitions which, as the King knew from a letter of the Pope,[4] were unacceptable to the Pontiff, namely the cardinalate for Rinaldo d'Este and the episcopal dignity for Fr. Petre.[5] When the Pope refused Castlemaine became more and more insistent ; on July 26th he announced that if Rinaldo d'Este were not given the red hat he would have to take his departure.[6] The Pope was in no wise perturbed by this announcement, though in September he deemed it expedient to comply with the request of the King of England as far as Este was concerned,[7] but he would not hear of the elevation of Petre to the episcopal dignity. To do so, he repeatedly explained, would be to go against the rules of the Society of Jesus which had stood the test of experience ; these rules permitted its members to accept ecclesiastical dignity only by way of exception and at the express bidding of the Pope. He would never lend a

[1] Klopp, *Stuart*, III., 123.

[2] Brosch, *Engl. Gesch.*, VII., 521.

[3] See the report in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 2nd series, VI. (1889), 39. Here (35) also on Castlemaine's arrival in Rome, April 13, 1686.

[4] Berthier, II., 260.

[5] *Letter of Cibo to Adda, dated May 25, 1686, *loc. cit.*

[6] See **Cifra* al conte d'Adda, dated July 27, 1686, *ibid.*

[7] See **Cifra* al conte d'Adda, dated September 17, 1686, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 419.

hand to such a breach of discipline and he had refused a similar request by King Sobieski of Poland.[1]

In James' own interest the Pope also at first declined a further demand of the King, namely Adda's elevation to the full rank of a nuncio. For a hundred years, he explained, the English people had not seen a papal nuncio ; in view of the excitement prevailing throughout the land, the presence of such a personage would raise a storm against the King,[2] but as both Castlemaine and Adda kept reverting to the matter, Innocent XI. announced towards the end of 1686 that the nomination of the nuncio would follow as soon as Castlemaine should have been publicly received as English ambassador.[3] This solemn function took place on January 8th, 1687. Castlemaine drove to the Vatican with great pomp and was received in public audience as ambassador of James II., King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.[4] Already in October, 1686, this peculiar diplomatist had been tactless enough, at the audience in which he thanked the Pope for having granted the purple to d'Este, to renew

[1] *Cf.* **Cifra* al conte d'Adda, dated October 27, 1686, *loc. cit.* The negative reply to Sobieski with regard to Fr. Vota, of August 10, 1680, in BERTHIER, II., 285.

[2] *Letter of Cibo to Adda of June 22, 1686, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Letter of Cibo to Adda of December 7, 1686, *ibid.* Adda's nomination as nuncio extraordinary was made only on May 24, 1687 (BERTHIER, II., 351). Adda, now Archbishop of Amasia, was received in solemn audience by the King in July, 1687 (*cf.* RANKE, VIII., 286), and honoured with great ostentation, a circumstance that was bound to rouse protestant prejudice ; see KLOPP, III., 320 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* the rare essay of GIOV. MICHELE WRIT, adorned with copperplate engravings, by Arn. van Westerhout : *Ragguaglio della solenne comparsa fatta in Roma gli otto di Gennaio 1687 dall'Ill. et Ecc. signor Conte di Castelmaine, ambasciatore straordinario della Sagra real Maestà di Giacomo secondo Re d'Inghilterra, Scozia, Francia et Ibernia, difensore della fede, alla S. S. apostolica in andare pubblicamente all'udienza della S. di N. S. Papa Innocenzo XI.*, Roma (Ercole), 1687.

the request for a mitre for Petre, a request that was of course in vain.[1] He now began to renew his demand for this favour in his private audiences.[2] The Pope told him that he could not possibly depart from his principles in this matter. If the King proposed some other priest he would be very willing to comply with his request. Castlemaine repeated his demand in February.[3] At the end of March he even took the liberty of addressing reproaches to the Head of the Church, upon which the Pope observed with some heat that he must refrain from again mentioning the matter.[4] Even this did not stop him. In April Castlemaine imagined that he might attain his end by threatening to break off diplomatic relations. He drew up a memorial full of reproaches against the Pope who never gratified any of the wishes of his sovereign; all he could do would be to go home, after which the nuncio would also have to leave London. This threat produced no effect whatever. On April 26th, 1687, the importunate petitioner was told that if the King considered that Adda's presence no longer served a useful purpose, Adda would take his departure, but only after first declaring that it was solely in answer to a formal request on the part of James II. that the Pope had dispatched and accredited him as nuncio.[5] A separate memorial was drawn up to refute Castlemaine's assertions that the Pope had granted to other princes favours which he refused to James II. The opinion of the Cardinal Secretary of State on Castlemaine's ill-starred document was to the effect that the writer was lacking both in experience

[1] *Letter of Cibo to Adda, October 12, 1686, *Nunziat. d'Inghilterra*, 16, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] *Letter of Cibo to Adda, January 14, 1687, *ibid.*

[3] **Cifra* al D'Adda of February 27, 1687, *ibid.*

[4] **Cifra* al D'Adda of March 25, 1687, *ibid.*

[5] " *S. Stà vuole che ella venendo il caso che il Re non mostrasse di gradire la sua residenza costì, si dichiari prima che la Stà Sua l'ha inviata, trattenuta e promossa al grado di Nuntio in cotesto regno coll'unico motivo di compiacere al desiderio et all'istanza di S. Mtà, e poi ch'ella si ritiri di cotesta corte." *Cifra* of April 26, 1687, *ibid.*

and judgment.[1] Nor was that all. The Cardinal clearly establishes the fact that the Pope had never given Castlemaine as much as "the shadow of a hope" that his request on behalf of Fr. Petre would be granted; if Castlemaine asserted the contrary he affirmed what was not true.[2]

Meanwhile, James II. himself had come to realize that the appointment of a diplomatic representative had been a great mistake. After Castlemaine's recall he made another appointment in the person of John Lytcott, but the latter's status was merely that of an agent.[3] He was instructed to offer excuses for Castlemaine's memorial, but at the same time to renew the demand for Petre's elevation to the episcopate. The Pope replied that he would forget the memorial but the renewed demand for Petre encountered the same obstacles, for at no time had an ecclesiastical dignity been conferred on a Jesuit at the request of a secular prince.[4] Though it seems incredible, documentary evidence exists to show that the King, who was as obstinate as he was inconsiderate, nevertheless continued his fruitless efforts on behalf of Petre.[5] In the autumn of 1687 he even conceived the notion of securing, not an episcopal see, but a Cardinal's hat for Petre.[6] When this request was also rejected the King is said to have gone so far as to observe that one might be a good Roman Catholic whilst doing without the Holy See.[7] At the same time he made

[1] **Cifra* al D'Adda of June 28, 1687, *ibid.*

[2] **Cifra* al D'Adda of June 7, 1687, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* BERTHIER, II., 352.

[4] *Letter of Cibo to Adda of August 16, 1687, *loc. cit.*, 20, where also is the *Letter of James II. to Innocent XI. (for Petre), June 16, 1687. *Cf.* the Brief of August 16, 1687, in BERTHIER, II., 359.

[5] **Cifra* al D'Adda of December 6, 1687, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* BERTHIER, II., 378.

[6] *Cf.* **Cifra* al D'Adda of November 1, 1687, *loc. cit.*

[7] See CAMPANA DE CAVELLI, II., 148. ZIMMERMANN (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIX., 2, 80) remarks very aptly that in his views on the relations between Church and State, James II. was much more Gallican than ultramontane.

it his business to honour Petre by other means. On November 11th, 1687, the Jesuit was made the King's confidant and a member of the Privy Council.[1] Among the many preposterous means adopted by the purblind monarch with a view to promoting Catholicism in England, this was assuredly the most foolish of all. As the King's confidant, Petre was in a position to influence directly all ecclesiastical appointments in England, and as a member of the Privy Council he played a decisive part in the secular and ecclesiastical government of the country. Even those ambassadors who were most favourably disposed towards the King did not approve this arrangement. The Emperor's representative wrote that the King's action was all the more lacking in prudence as the very name of Jesuit was an abomination to Englishmen who now feared nothing less than utter ruin both for their persons and their proprety.[2] The Tuscan envoy made similar reports on the excitement and fear prevailing among people of every class and degree. In this connexion it is interesting to learn that English Catholics also lamented the excessive zeal of the King ; they too believed that James II. aimed at the same despotism as that practised by Louis XIV., which no English Catholic would countenance.[3]

That the King had before him the example of France, whose chief ministers were also Cardinals, is proved by the obstinacy with which he sought to obtain the purple for Petre. As the Holy See would not yield on this point he made a veritable scene to the papal nuncio at the beginning of 1688. The Pope's offer to raise some other Englishman to the cardinalate was rejected with the remark that in the whole Kingdom there was no more suitable candidate than Petre.[4]

[1] Campana de Cavelli, II., 150.

[2] Klopp, *Stuart*, III., 397 *seq.*

[3] See Teriesi's reports in Campana de Cavelli, II., 153 *seq.*

[4] See Sarotti's letters of January 2 and 9, 1688, in Brosch, *Engl. Gesch.*, VII., 523. On February 14, 1688, Innocent XI. had again to give a refusal to James II. with regard to Fr. Petre ; Berthier, II., 388.

For all that, James refused to follow the latter's advice when, in a most weighty affair, Petre counselled mildness instead of severity.[1] Heedless of the representations of thoughtful Catholics who declared they preferred toleration guaranteed by statute to a privileged but illegal and precarious position,[2] James made use, in April 1688, of the dispensing power which he had already exercised the year before, in virtue of which he suspended all penal laws in the religious sphere. At the same time he commanded all Anglican clergymen to read this declaration from the pulpit on May 20th. Seven Bishops, headed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate, protested that they could not comply with such a command since the royal declaration was based on the dispensing power which Parliament had described as illegal. As they remained obstinate James ordered criminal proceedings to be taken against them, notwithstanding the efforts of Petre and Sunderland to dissuade him from such a step. There followed an agitation such as London had not witnessed for a long time, the excitement growing steadily whilst the trial was in progress. The result was the acquittal of the Bishops and a serious defeat for the King. The Dissenters, whom James II. had won over to his side for a short period by his toleration, now also went over to his opponents.[3] Too late the unhappy monarch regretted his mistake in not granting an amnesty on the occasion of the birth of an heir to the crown on July 1st, 1688.[4] By that time the Stuarts were lost. The day after the acquittal of the seven Bishops seven noblemen, both Whigs and Tories, invited William of Orange, the Protestant husband of James' Protestant daughter Mary, who had until

[1] Klopp, *Stuart*, IV., 27.

[2] Bonrepaux' report in Macaulay, III., 75.

[3] Brosch, *Engl. Gesch.*, VII., 536 *seqq.*, 547 *seqq.*

[4] Klopp, IV., 51, and Zimmermann, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIX., 2, 73. The Pope's congratulations in Berthier, II., 399, 403, 411. *Discourse of Innocent XI. in the consistory of July 12, 1688, on the birth of the Prince of Wales in *Acta consist.*, Vatican Library.

then been the heiress presumptive to the throne, to come over and assume the government of the realm, nineteen-twentieths of whose inhabitants were dissatisfied and eager for a change.[1]

In vain did James II. seek to avert the peril at the last moment by concessions to the Anglican Church. No one would believe a man who had broken his royal word. On November 15th, 1688, William of Orange landed in Tor Bay and on December 28th he made his entry into London. James escaped to France.

The fact that in October, 1688, Innocent XI. accepted James II.'s mediation[2] in his dispute with Louis XIV.,[3] though he had at first declined the offer, has been interpreted as a cleverly calculated diplomatic manœuvre on the part of the Pope. It was said that the Pope had only consented to accept the offer in order to attest before the whole world his love of peace, whilst he had an intimate conviction that nothing whatever would come of it on account of the impending upheaval in England.[4] This interpretation is based on the surmise that at least Innocent's advisers, if not he himself, knew by then of the designs of William of Orange, and that they had been let into his secrets.[5] Two letters of Cardinal D'Estrées to Louvois and Louis XIV.

[1] Klopp, IV., 54 *seq.*

[2] The offer was brought by Lord Thomas Howard, nephew of Cardinal Norfolk, when he handed over his credentials on August 3, 1686 (see *Lettera al D'Adda, August 3, 1688, Pap. Sec. Archives ; report of Cardinal Pio, August 6, 1688, in Klopp, IV., 499 *seq.*), but he ruined his mission to the Pope by interceding in favour of Fürstenberg ; see Klopp, IV., 92 *seq.* *Cf.* also Ranke, VI.[3], 154 *seq.*

[3] Berthier, II., 416.

[4] Brosch, *Kirchenstaat*, I., 444 *seq.*

[5] This opinion, held with the greatest conviction, especially by Ranke (*Päpste*, III., 116 *seq.*), prevailed for a long time and was last defended by Brosch (*Kirchenstaat*, I., 444 *seq.*, and *Engl. Gesch.*, VII., 524, 557 *seq.*).

of December 18th, 1687, and June 29th, 1688,[1] have long been quoted as documentary evidence; they were accepted even by reputable historians, although they refer to events which occurred at a much later date. More recent research has proved up to the hilt, by internal and external evidence, that both accounts are gross forgeries.[2] This disposes of the only support for the Curia's alleged understanding with

[1] Published for the first time by DALRYMPLE, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1771 (App. to Vol. I.), 2, 239 *seq.*, reprinted by GRIMOARD, in *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, Vol. VI., Paris, 1806, 497 *seqq.*

[2] KLOPP (*Stuart*, IV., 497 *seqq.*) and GÉRIN (in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. [1876], 427 *seqq.*) examined the matter simultaneously and independently. It is difficult to understand how Ranke could give credit to such patent forgeries and draw from them the following far-reaching conclusions: "A marvellous tangle! It was at the court of Rome that the threads of an intricate combination had to meet, which had for its aim and object to save Protestantism in western Europe from the last great danger which threatened it, that is to win over for ever to its side the English Crown" (*Päpste*, III., 117). Even as late as 1892 BROSCH (*Engl. Gesch.*, VII., 558), admired the "profound truth" contained in this utterance of Ranke and made it his own, although the forgery of the two letters had been proved to be quite certain already in 1876. IMMICH, on the contrary, says: "The support of Orange by the Curia is nothing else than a legend invented by the French. Innocent neither knew of his enterprise nor favoured it" (p. 106). Recently GUSTAV ROLOFF (*Der Papst in der letzten grossen Krisis des Protestantismus*: *Preuss, Jahrbücher*, CLVI. (1914), 269–284), ascribed to Innocent an important rôle in the preparation of the enterprise of Orange which led to the downfall of James II., when basing himself on a statement by Pufendorf, he traced it back to its sources. According to this an utterance of the Pope, disapproving the religious policy of James II., moved the wavering Emperor to renew his alliance with the States General. That Innocent XI. (in accordance with his conception of the religious policy of James II.) expressed his disapproval not publicly, but as Roloff admits, only to his intimate friends, is quite possible, and it is also probable that such an utterance may have influenced the decision of the Emperor. But when

Holland's greatest statesman.[1] The truth is that both the Pope and Louis XIV.[2] as well as many contemporaries were at first completely in the dark as to William's real designs which the latter took the utmost care to conceal up to the last moment.[3] When at last they became more and more evident, Adda reported that James II. had taken every precaution against a Dutch attack, but this assurance only quieted the Pope for a short time.[4] At the beginning of November his anxiety for the fate of James II. became

Roloff draws the further conclusion: that Innocent XI., by his utterance, intended the furtherance of the Orange enterprise "because he did not consider the recovery of England an adequate compensation for the loss of the obedience of France, and because he regarded the downfall of James as a triumph over the ecclesiastical aspirations of Louis and, therefore, over the Gallican and ecclesiastico-national tendencies," intentions are ascribed to the Pope, for which there is not the slightest warrant and which are contrary to the Pope's character. The Pope would never have supported a Calvinist prince against a Catholic ruler. The contradiction is further proved by Innocent's conduct after the fall of James II. If the Pope had played the decisive rôle which Roloff ascribes to him, he would have been a hypocrite, for at the beginning of November, 1688, he ordered special prayers to be said for James II., then in danger, and on February 7, 1689, he lamented his downfall in a consistory (see above, p. 469). "The momentous decision" which, according to Roloff, Innocent XI. is supposed to have made "with a clear vision of the situation, and fully conscious of his high responsibility", is an unproven assertion. *Cf.* DANCKELMANN in *Quellen u. Forsch. aus ital. Archiven*, XVIII. (1926), 311 *seqq.*, according to whom it is clear from the sources "that there can be no question of the Pope being cognizant of the Orange expedition which he utterly disapproved" (*ibid.*, 331).

[1] Thus IMMICH (103), who also shows that what BROSCH quotes from the reports of the Venetian ambassador, Lando, in support of his opinion, proves nothing.

[2] *Cf.* GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, XX., 457.

[3] See MAZURE, *Hist. de la révolution de 1688 en Angleterre*, III., 52. *Cf.* MACKINTOSH, II., 164.

[4] See IMMICH, 104 and 105.

such that he ordered public prayers for him in all the churches and religious houses of Rome.[1] After the catastrophe he expressed his sincere sympathy with the Stuarts in Briefs dated February 1st, 1689, in which he strove to comfort the royal couple in their misfortune.[2] At a consistory on February 7th he lamented James' expulsion from his kingdom and urged the Cardinals to pray that God would restore to the King, who was sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, the inheritance of which the Protestants had robbed him.[3] On the other hand the Pope was in no position to lend material assistance to that end, though Colonel Porter, James' envoy, made a request to that effect in the spring of 1689. The Pope told the King's representative that he needed all his resources for the defence of the States of the Church against Louis XIV. who threatened him more seriously than ever

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of November 6, 1688: "Ha la S. Stà ordinato universali orazioni a tutte le chiese e monasterii di Roma ad effetto d'implorar la divina assistenza al Re d'Inghilterra nelle presenti commozioni di quel regno." Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[2] See BERTHIER, II., 427 *seqq.*

[3] A hitherto unknown consistorial discourse of Innocent XI. furnishes a fresh proof that the Pope was in no wise in touch with Orange, neither did he, as RANKE (III., 117) thinks, following a French opinion, undeniably join an opposition which rested in great part on Protestant strength and support. It reads: "*Venerabiles Fratres. Cum pro egregio zelo vestro in catholica causa promovenda eam iuvare non praetermittitis, non sine ingenti maerore atque molestia audietis, quae circa eam in Anglia nuper acciderunt: cum sane dolor intimus animum Nostrum perculerit, audita carissimi in Chr. f. n. Jacobi M. Brit. regis expulsione, plane nullum dubium est, animos quoque vestros ingenti dolore corripiendos fore. Ex Gallia siquidem allatum est nuntium litteris Mutinam conscriptis, quo pacto rex a militibus proditus ac a suis derelictus intempesta nocte clam se surripiens aufugere coactus sit, conscensaque navi cum regina coniuge et ipsius regis filio, Deo fidelis sui iustitiam protegente, plurimis quae obviae fuerunt difficultatibus marisque procellis superatis ad Galliae littora incolumis appulerit; sic enim Dominator excelsus

before. In his blindness James II. had charged Porter[1] to demand, in addition to a subsidy, that the Pope should become reconciled to Louis XIV. as a preliminary condition. Thus Innocent XI. was expected to bow to the will of the all-powerful monarch at the very time when Lavardin, surrounded with armed men and smitten with excommunication, was defying the Head of the Church in his own capital. Porter's audience could not but be of a painful nature. It became still more painful when Porter observed that the world would think that the Holy Father sided with the Protestants, as the latter already boasted. Small wonder that after such a remark the Pope put an end to further discussion by dismissing the envoy.[2] In spite of every

super regnum omne imperium suum exercet, et cui voluerit dat illud. Emicuit profecto admirabilis regis constantia infracta semper inter tot calamitates et angustias, hostibus pariter et suis in extremam eiusdem perniciem concurrentibus ac etiam illis dilabentibus, quos cum, iustitia prius exigente, vinculis obstrinxerit, evincente mox regia clementia, benigne exceperit, nulla beneficiorum memoria commovit. Tam praeclari regis virtus maximum sane decus atque splendorem affert catholicae religioni, cui sceptrum et regnum posthabenda non dubitavit, ut illam vel cum tanta iactura inconcusse illibateque servaret. Verum, carissimi, f. n. Ludovicus rex christ^{mus} regem ipsum, reginam regiamque prolem, insignem simul pietatem ac benevolentiam contestatus, omni cultu ac regia munificentia excepit. Illuc quoque, ven. fratres, archiep. Amasiae Nuntius Noster singulari Dei beneficio se contulit, ut regis Angliae voluntati obsequeretur, qui eum apud se habere voluit." There follows an exhortation to prayer, "ut protegat [Deus] ex alto causam suam et ut restituere dignetur praereptam regi sibi fideli ab hostibus nominis sui haereditatem." At the end Cardinals "D'Estrées Gallus, Estensis protector Angliae" and "De Norfolcia Anglus", thanked the Pope "de honorificentissimis verbis prolatis erga duos illos meritissimos reges". *Acta consist.*, Vatican Library.

[1] See the Instruction in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, XX., 476 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Report of April 16, 1689, already quoted from KLOPP (*Stuart*, IV., 412), State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.*, the *Report (which has escaped KLOPP's notice) of Jakob Emerik to the

sympathy with the unfortunate King, a feeling to which he gave utterance in yet another Brief, dated May 3rd,[1] the Pontiff could not fail to perceive one of the main causes of James' misfortunes. When Cardinal d'Este once more begged for a subsidy for James II., the Pope explained that it was impossible for him to lend assistance so long as France threatened him with an invasion of the States of the Church. Whilst renewing the expression of his grief over the catastrophe that had so suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed the King of England, the Pope did not hide from the Cardinal what he considered to be the real cause of the calamity, namely, James II.'s close alliance with Louis XIV. and his ambition to emulate him.[2] The same thought is found in a cartoon propagated from Holland and bearing the title *Flight of the Papacy from England.* It shows James II. with his wife and son riding in a dogcart driven by Fr. Petre and preceded by Louis XIV. in harlequin attire and mounted

Emperor Leopold, dated April 23, 1689, on Porter's disappointment when he failed to obtain a subsidy. "Ma la colpa è stata anche sua, perchè si poteva valere di motivi più rispettosi per ottenergli da S. Stà e non dirgli in faccia che il mondo lo haverebbe giudicato che aderisse ai protestanti conforme già questi andavano cantando ne'loro propri paesi." In spite of this, Innocent XI. wrote to James on April 14, 1689, with the utmost consideration, that on February 24 he had received the King's letter through Porter; that the mediation between the Christian princes there demanded was more to be desired than to be hoped for, because their dissensions were too great. However, he would do his utmost (Berthier, II., 440 *seq.*). D'Estrées received a sharp reply when he observed: "che non possono gli heretici non prender animo dal non dare S. Stà soccorso al Re d'Inghilterra, mentre i medesimi lo hanno già preso dalla guerra mossa da S. Mtà Christ. contro l'Imperatore." Cifra al Nuntio di Germania del 30 aprile 1689, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 209, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[1] In this reply to James II.'s letter of March 16, 1689, where he reports his landing in Ireland, the Pope expresses the hope that the King will regain his other kingdoms from there.

[2] See Pufendorf, II., 1; Klopp, IV., 413.

on a bear, whilst in the background Friars are seen in full flight.[1]

(4.)

Innocent XI. had ascended the throne of Peter as a robust man of sixty-eight, though as early as 1676 we hear of symptoms of kidney trouble.[2] In 1678 we learn that excessive fasting and the cares of office, by causing depression and frequent bouts of sleeplessness, proved a heavy tax on his strength.[3] Latterly his anxieties assumed even more alarming proportions. In conjunction with his peculiar manner of life (he allowed himself neither exercise nor relaxation), these were bound to prove injurious. Consequently, his state of health frequently left much to be desired. There was talk of another conclave early in his pontificate; yet Innocent XI. was destined to rule for thirteen years. From 1682 onwards he had chronic attacks of gout which often confined him to his bed and still oftener to his room in which an almost unbearable heat was maintained[4]; but so robust was the Pontiff's constitution that when he entered his seventy-fifth year in May, 1685, people wondered at his activity.[5] In spite of many representations he would not give up his extraordinary manner of life. When in the spring of 1685 he was informed of the death of Cardinal Altieri's mother at the age of eighty-six, after she had been confined to her bed for fifteen years,

[1] *De vlugt van 't Pausdom uit Engelant*, etching of 1689 or 1690, in the style of R. de Hooghes; see DRUGULIN, *Bilderatlas*, 3330.

[2] See the French reports in MICHAUD, I., 71 *seq.*

[3] See the **Avvisi* of April 16 and May 21, 1678, Vat. Library.

[4] See, besides the reports in MICHAUD, I., 73 *seqq.*, also Cardinal Pio's reports of January 30, 1683, February 12, March 11, and April 1, 1684; January 3 and March 31, 1685, State Archives, Vienna; **Avvisi Marescotti* of June 1 and December 30, 1684, January 20, March 10, 24 and 31, 1685, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] See **Avviso Marescotti* of May 26, 1685, *ibid.*

he observed that this case showed that one could live without leaving one's room.[1] In April and December 1686, and in the spring and summer of 1687, Innocent suffered from repeated attacks of gout. With the best of wills he often found it impossible to apply himself to affairs.[2] From July, 1686, to July, 1687, he was unable to take part in the sittings of the Inquisition.[3] In the course of the eventful year 1688, the Pope's condition improved so much, in spite of many excitements, that it was thought he would continue to reign for some time,[4] but this proved a delusion.

On April 19th, 1689, Queen Christine died, not long after making up her quarrel with the Pope. This gifted woman, who had been so long the centre of the literary life of Rome,[5] looked death in the face with a courage worthy of a daughter of so renowned a captain. She made her confession and received the Last Sacraments with every mark of sincere piety. She named Cardinal Azzolini her heir and gave instructions for a very simple funeral, but the Pope, who had forgiven everything to that remarkable woman, ordered a most pompous funeral at his own expense. The whole College of Cardinals took part in the obsequies and the burial took place in St. Peter's where, as a rule, only Popes and Cardinal archpriests were buried, and where only one other woman rests, namely Countess Matilda of Tuscany.[6]

[1] See Cardinal Pio's *report of April 20, 1686, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See besides MICHAUD, I., 80 *seqq.* Cardinal Pio's *reports of April 9 and December 11, 1686, State Archives, Vienna, and the **Avvisi Marescotti* of April 8, August 30 and December 20, 1687, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[3] DUDON, *Molinos*, 203 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* the **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 22, June 17 and August 14, 1688 (*loc. cit.*). Cardinal Pio's *reports of July 14 and August 14, 1688, and the **Avviso* of July 18, 1688, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] GRAUERT, II., 309 *seq.*

[6] Besides the sources used by GRAUERT (II., 393 *seqq.*) and RICCI (*Vita barocca*, Roma, 1912, 45 *seqq.*) *cf.* also the **Avvisi Marescotti* of April 16 and 23, 1683 (with the remark about

Innocent XI. was soon to follow the Queen. In June 1689, a fresh attack of gout confined him to bed. A fever ensued, but his condition improved once again, though only to get worse in July.[1] His great age—he was seventy-nine—lack of appetite, depression and other infirmities boded no good.[2] His feet began to swell, in spite of incisions.[3] The sick man himself saw that the end was at hand and in order fitly to prepare for it, he refused to have anything to do with affairs. Hence all efforts to induce him to proceed to a creation of Cardinals were in vain ; in vain also the Spanish ambassador, acting on behalf of the Emperor Leopold, prayed for a dispensation for the election of the Archduke Joseph, who was not yet seventeen, as King of the Romans. The Pope's answer was that in his present condition he could only busy himself with the salvation of his soul.[4] Latterly even the Cardinal Secretary was no longer received in audience. Livio Odescalchi was only admitted for a few moments when he heard some grave words concerning the vanity of the world.[5] Besides his physician, the celebrated Lancisi, the Pope's confessor alone was admitted to the sick-room. In view of Innocent's strong constitution his entourage was not yet willing to give up all hope of another recovery.[6] The most celebrated German scholar of the period, Leibnitz, who happened to be in Rome at the time, though a Protestant, warmly expressed his sympathy in poetic form.[7] The illness

Christina's body : "Haveva una mascara d'argento massiccia sopra la faccia, giachè la sua carne si era guasta, benchè inbalsamata"), Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, and the **Avviso* of April 23, 1689, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] See, besides LIPPI, 178, and MICHAUD, I., 84, the *Cifra al card. Ranucci, of July 5, 1689, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 177, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] **Avviso* of July 2, 1689, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] **Avviso* of July 16, 1689, *ibid.* *Cf.* COLOMBO, 47 *seq.*

[4] See Count De Gubernatis' reports in COLOMBO, 48.

[5] See *Vita* of L. Marracci, in LIPPI-BERTHIER, 255. *Cf.* MICHAUD, I., 372.

[6] See **Avviso* of July 16, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf. Zeitschr. für Niedersachsen*, 1901, 243.

was protracted; a slight improvement at the beginning of August was not maintained.[1] On August 8th the Pontiff's condition became so serious that he was given Holy Viaticum with the customary solemnity.[2] On August 10th he asked for Extreme Unction. During the night several religious watched by his side; in the morning he sent for the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Colloredo, to receive from him absolution *in articulo mortis*.[3] The sick Pontiff was fully conscious but could only speak with great difficulty. He expressed regret at his inability to receive the other Cardinals, sent them his blessing and begged them to forgive him his failings. He refused to listen to Colloredo when the latter suggested that he should abolish the tax on flour which the people detested. Such things, he observed, could not be done away with in a hurry; moreover he left the Apostolic Camera in so excellent a condition that his successor would have no difficulty in granting this relief. Soon the Pope's condition became so much worse that Cardinal Colleredo began the prayers for the dying in which Innocent endeavoured to join. He kissed the crucifix, repeated Pius V.'s words: "Lord, increase the pain, but also increase my patience," recited a few verses of the psalms[4] and declared that he trusted in the Passion of Christ and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. He also begged forgiveness of his servants and had the Creed read to him. After an agony of six hours he breathed forth his noble soul on the morning of August 12th.[5] It is

[1] **Cifra* al card. Ranucci of August 2, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Lippi, 180.

[3] *Cf.* for what follows *Relazione del card. Colloredo sulla morte di Innocenzo XI., in Monte Cassino Library, used by Lippi, 181. *Cf. ibid.*, 254 *seq.* Marracci's account and the description of the physician, G. Lancisi (*cf.* Zappoli, *Illustr. in busti d. medici celebri*, Roma, 1686, 113 *seq.*), in his *Opera*, Venetiis, 1739.

[4] Thus the passage: "Quoniam tu, Domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me." Ps. 4, 10.

[5] According to Cardinal Colloredo's report the agony began "a 16 hore", and death occurred "22¼ hore in giorno di venerdì"

recorded that at the same hour two arches of the Colosseum collapsed.[1]

The autopsy revealed two large stones in the kidneys. When the body was transferred from the Qurinal to St. Peter's, so great a crowd flocked together, despite torrential rain, as had not been seen since memory of man. In his lifetime the "Lombard" Innocent XI. had not been popular with the Roman people by reason of his stern reforms, his parsimony and his habitual isolation, and he had been the object of a good deal of ingratitude and misunderstanding.[2] Now the realization of the loss expressed itself with elemental force. Everyone was eager to snatch some relic of the deceased and the Swiss Guards experienced great difficulty in restraining the multitude. Already there were rumours of miracles wrought by Innocent XI.[3] The panegyric of the dead Pontiff was delivered by the learned Emanuel Schelstrate, a man famous for his works on Christian antiquity. Innocent XI. had summoned this valiant defender of the papal prerogatives against the Gallican clergy of France from Antwerp to Rome and had made him custodian of the Vatican Library.[4] Even

(Monte Cassino Library). *Cf.* the **Avviso* of August 12, 1689, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of August 13, 1689, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. In a Latin poem in *Cod. Glauburg*, 31, Municipal Library, Frankfurt a. M., reference is made to this coincidence: "eadem hora tres fornices Colossaei ruunt."

[2] *Cf.* RANKE, III., 202*–203* who, after examining a *Memoriale del 1680 al Papa Innocenzo XI. circa il governo e gli aggravii*, remarks: "Who would believe it? Scarcely has the Pope given ear to the incessant complaints about nepotism and abolishes it, when it is immediately called back again." Rank libels are the "*Ode satirica per la morte d'Innocenzo XI." and the sonnet "*Vita e miracoli di Papa Innocenzo XI. defunto," in *MS. Glauburg* 31, Municipal Library, Frankfurt a. M.

[3] See **Avviso Marescotti* of August 20, 1689, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Cf.* LIPPI, 201 *seq.*

[4] See letters of Schelstrate in *Spicil. Vatic.*, 133 *seqq.* Other *Original letters of his, from 1683 to 1691, in *Cod.*, XIII., A 66, National Library, Naples. On Schelstrate *cf.* HURTER, IV.[3],

more weighty than the encomiums of this funeral oration is the testimony of the Venetian Giovanni Lando, who had long resided in Rome where he had been constantly in relation with the Pope and all the prominent personalities of the city. This is what he wrote immediately after the death of Innocent XI.: "The Pope was truly possessed, in a high degree, of the best and holiest qualities, viz. lofty zeal, piety, and constancy. His extreme conscientiousness, combined as it was with a tendency to sternness, gave one the impression that compassion and kindness agreed but little with his character. He clung tenaciously to his rights and was excessively strict in their application. He was strongly attracted to strange and peculiar opinions. Singular also was his heroic restraint where his own family was concerned, for he kept his nephew in the position of a private person, not suffering him to meddle with the conduct of affairs, nor even to solicit favours for others. The Pope loved goodness even as he detested applause; he distrusted others, hence he was all the more obstinate in clinging to his own decisions." [1]

Innocent XI.'s last resting place is in St. Peter's. Livio Odescalchi saw to the erection of a worthy monument for which the aged Carlo Maratta and the young Frenchman Pierre Etienne Monnot submitted plans. Livio chose Monnot's design which was on the lines of Algardi's monument of Leo XI. Monnot skilfully transformed Algardi's scheme into a harmonious unity by the introduction of two seated allegorical figures, viz. Religion and Justice.[2] The marble relief under the statue of the Pope represents the deliverance of Vienna from the Turks; the figures are in archaic costume.

550 *seq.* *Ottob.* 3059 (Vatican Library) has several essays on the history of the Popes, dedicated to Innocent XI.

[1] *Dispatch of August 12, 1689, State Archives, Venice, translated (into German) by Brosch (I., 446).

[2] Sobotka in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXV. (1914), 22 *seqq.*; Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur*, II., 269 *seq.*; Id., *Barockbozzetti italienischer Bildhauer*, Frankfurt, 1923, 144 *seq.*, on a first design of Monnot in a *bozzetto* of the National Museum, Florence.

The sarcophagus rests on two lions. The monument bears the date 1700.[1]

The high esteem in which the memory of the Pope continued to be held in Rome [2] is shown by the journal of Jean Dumont who writes that everybody was loud in the praise of Innocent's virtues. Even Protestants and Jews, however hostile they might be towards the Holy See, joined in this encomium. "As a matter of fact," Dumont continues, "his whole life was but one long chain of exemplary actions. From the day of his election, September 21st, 1676, to that of his death, he was ever seen exclusively bent on fulfilling the duties of his office, removing abuses, visiting hospitals, relieving the poor. No sooner had he assumed the tiara than he took a step such as no previous Pope had dared to attempt, namely the suppression of nepotism. Parsimonious, nay miserly, where his own person was concerned, he was liberal for the common good. To the Emperor and to Venice he gave his whole-hearted support against the Turks. To him the Emperor owed it that Vienna kept up its resistance and was eventually relieved. He defended the rights and privileges of the Church with a vigour which by itself alone gives him a claim to the admiration of all." [3]

[1] *Cf.* MELCHIORRI, *Guida di Roma*, Roma, 1834, 194. Prince B. Odescalchi's essay on the tomb of Innocent XI. in his *Impressioni di storia e d'arte* (Roma, 1896) appeared in German in Fleischer's *Deutsche Revue*, XXVII. (1902).

[2] The **Avviso Marescotti* of July 1, 1690, reports: "Essendo così grande il concorso del popolo, che andava al sepolcro d'Innocenzo XI. a levare delli calcinacci per divotione, si è cominciato il steccato per racchiuderlo." (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Roma). **Avviso* of December 16, 1690: "La Congregatione di S. Officio ha dato ad esaminare 10 miraculi della s. mem. d'Innocenzo XI. ad effetto di formarne poi il processo per la sua beatificatione, e giornalmente si sentono gratie maravigliose, che si ricevono per la sua intercessione," *ibid.*

[3] J. DUMONT, *Voyages en Rome, en Italie etc.* (1699), I., 287. *Cf.* also the poem in *Cod.*, M. 13., Boncompagni Archives, Rome, the *Poema in laudem Innocentii XI. Andreae Penciis in *Cod.*,

Accordingly, when steps were taken under Clement XI. towards Innocent XI.'s beatification, the proposal met with general approval. These efforts were continued under Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., but they proved abortive, mainly owing to the opposition of the French Government.[1] This hostility has penetrated even into the world of letters and greatly influenced official history. It took French historians a long time to arrive at an equitable judgment of Innocent XI.[2] German Protestants paid homage to the merits of the Pontiff at a much earlier date and did not hesitate to acknowledge his lofty aspirations,[3] but only the most recent historians have

O. 117, n. 3, Vallicelliana Library, Rome, and the poems in *MS. Glauburg*, 31, Municipal Library, Frankfurt a. M. In one of these poems he is called : " Tutor dell'uno e l'altro Austriaco regno,| Terror del Franco, espugnator del Trace " ; another says : " Morto è Innocenzo e tal morì qual visse : | Saggio, santo, pietoso, invitto e forte."

[1] *Cf. Anal. iuris pontif.*, XX. (1881), 36 *seqq.* ; *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VII., 2012 *seq.* ; MAURER, *Kollonitsch*, 237 ; DE HEECKEREN, *Lettres de Benoît*, XIV., vol. I., 162 *seq.* The Original Acts of the process of beatification, of which some extracts are given in *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XI. (1872), 127–327, in BERTHIER and LIPPI (passim), are in the Archives of the Congregation of Rites, Rome ; copies in Bibl. Magliobecchi, Florence (*MS. d. Bibl. monastiche*) and in the Bibl. Fabroniana, Pistoia, *Cod.* 24. Innocent XII. caused investigations to be made into the miracles of Innocent XI. ; see *Diario* of March 4, 1696, in *Studi e docum.*, IX., 196, *cf.* 205.

[2] GÉRIN has done splendid work with his essays in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XVI., XX., XXIII., XXIV., XXXIII., XXXIX., all based on profound documentary research.

[3] SCHRÖCKH (*Kirchengesch.*, VI., 333) calls Innocent XI. one of the most worthy Popes. RANKE also (III., 111 *seqq.*), and even BROSCH (I., 440 *seqq.*) give a just appreciation of him. RANKE says that the papacy appears in him " in its most praiseworthy capacity, that of peaceful mediator ". HERMELINCK (III., 305) calls him one of the best Popes. ZÖPFFEL-BENRATH (in Herzog-Hauck's *Realenzykl.*, IX.[3], 148) characterize him as " one of the most ideal figures of the history of the Popes, one

thrown full light upon his figure.[1] Only now is it possible to perceive clearly the motives that prompted his actions and policy. Even if at times he fell a victim to fatal mistakes and errors, there is no doubt that he ever strove for the best, and at no time did he have recourse to unlawful means.[2]

Whilst as a strict, just, and practical temporal ruler Innocent XI. strongly reminds us of Sixtus V., his ecclesiastical activity recalls the personality of Pius V. Like the latter, his moral conduct was blameless. Whilst he laboured with burning zeal for the improvement of the conduct of priests and people, he was also an intrepid champion of the rights of the Church and ever ready for any sacrifice in the defence of Christendom against Islam. In the spendid successes achieved in the Turkish war he played a most considerable, and indeed a decisive part, whilst his unwearied efforts on behalf of peace between the Christian Powers and their union for a joint struggle against the traditional enemy, which constituted the real corner-stone of his policy,[3] will always draw a luminous halo round his personality. No less credit is due to Innocent XI.

who defended the rights of the Church with energy, moderation and dignity, a pure soul, a personality that executed vast plans and high ideals by honourable means ".

[1] IMMICH especially deserves great credit for his monograph published in 1900 and based on a thorough study of the Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris. The same material was made use of by E. MICHAUD, an old-catholic professor at Berne, of whom Immich says very aptly that he utilized the valuable reports of the French embassy " without criticism and without the faintest notion of a scientific method, hence he drew a caricature of the character and the government of the Pope ". Immich shows how the lack of criticism on the part of Michaud is sometimes almost comical, so that his work is of value only in so far as it gives extracts from the diplomatic correspondence, which extracts, however, must be used judiciously.

[2] " As a prince of the Church," says BROSCH (I., 441), " he is to be compared with Adrian VI.—a Pope-gentleman who committed errors and mistakes, but not one bad action."

[3] See IMMICH, 14, 25, 34 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*, 110.

for the intrepid courage and the tenacious perseverance with which he defended the independence of the Holy See and its prerogatives against Louis XIV. when the latter sought to reduce the papacy, like all the other Powers, to the rank of a vassal. It was not hostility towards France that led to the conflicts which filled almost his entire pontificate; that conflict was inevitable in consequence of the State absolutism of the *Roi Soleil*. Whilst all the States of Europe trembled before the mighty ruler of France, Innocent XI. defended the liberty of the Church "with admirable constancy"[1] and with a determination recalling Gregory VII. In so doing he also indirectly defended the independence of Europe from the French monarch's plans of universal domination.

The Pope likewise laboured for Europe's independence with his great policy, pursued up to his last breath, of uniting the Christian Powers for the purpose of meeting Islam's supreme attack. He was not to blame if here also he found himself in open opposition to Louis XIV. who desired to have a strong and victorious Turkey as an ally against the Emperor. If the Emperor enjoyed Innocent's strong support, so much so that Vienna, Germany's advanced post, was held, and Hungary was recovered for Christian civilization, that policy was not prompted by one-sided prejudice in favour of the House of Habsburg, for in this also the Pope was actuated by what he felt was a religious duty. The natural sequel of his intervention on behalf of Leopold I. was the consolidation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the shifting of its centre of gravity into the region of the Danube.[2] These events constitute the historical significance of his pontificate, a pontificate by far the most important and glorious of the second half of the seventeenth century.

[1] IMMICH's opinion (106).

[2] *Cf.* IMMICH, 110 *seq.*, and BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 3.

ALEXANDER VIII. 1689–1691.
INNOCENT XII. 1691–1700.

CHAPTER I.

Pontificate of Alexander VIII., 1689–1691.

(1.)

During Innocent XI.'s reign of thirteen years, fifty-two Cardinals died [1] and only forty-three new creations had taken place, so that the Sacred College counted no more than sixty-two members. Of these sixty-two, ten were unable to be present in Rome.[2] Of the remaining fifty-two electors, four had received the red hat from Innocent X.; they were Cibo, Ottoboni, Barberini and Maidalchini; three others had received it from Clement IX., namely Bouillon, Cerri and Acciaioli. Most of the electors owed their dignity either to Alexander VII. or to the last two Popes. Under Alexander the following eight Cardinals were created: Chigi, Bichi, Franzoni, Altieri, Gregorio Barbarigo, Conti, Giulio Spinola, Delfino. Ten owed their nomination to Clement X., viz.

[1] See the names in Guarnacci, I., 303 *seq.*

[2] Le Camus vainly begged Louis XIV. for permission to make the journey (Michaud, *Alexandre VIII. et le Duc de Chaulnes*, Berne, 1888, 22), Ranuzzi died on the journey, September 27, Buonvisi remained in Vienna, Portocarrero, Lancastre, Durazzo, Radziejowski and Salazar remained at home, Goës arrived too late. The **Avviso Marescotti* of August 27 says: "Per veder la struttura del conclave vi concorse non solo tutta Roma, ma anco tutto il paese vicino, et per certo è che a' tempi nostri mai se è veduta tanta folla" (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). Plan of the conclave in *Barb.*, XLIX., 48, Vatican Library. **Poesie satiriche pel conclave in morte d'Innocenzo XI.*, National Library, Florence, Cl. VII., n. 348.

Carpegna, D'Estrées, Bonsi, Orsini, Colonna, Nerli, Casanata, Marescotti, Spada and Norfolk. The remaining twenty-seven owed their elevation to the Church's supreme senate to the late Pope. They were Giambattista Spinola, Pignatelli, Buonvisi, Mellini, Visconti, Capizucchi, Brancati, De Angelis, Pallavicini, Antonio Barbarigo, Ciceri, Kollonitsch, Petrucci, Fürstenberg, Dönhoff, Aguirre, Colloredo, Carafa, Sanchetti, Ginetti, Pamfili, Corsi, Negroni, Astalli, Cavalieri, Medici and Este.

By birth D'Estrées and Bouillon were French whilst Kollonitsch and Fürstenberg were Germans, though the latter's sentiments were entirely French.[1] To them must be added the Pole Dönhoff, the Englishman Norfolk and the Spaniard Aguirre. The remaining forty-seven were Italians, seventeen originating from the Papal States, six from Genoa, seven from Tuscany, five from Venice and one from Lucca. Innocent XI.'s Cardinals constituted the strongest party, but since that Pope had dispensed with a Cardinal nephew, they lacked a leader and their unity was further weakened by the fact that under the name of "Zelanti" a group broke away from the main body. This section, acting in the spirit of Innocent XI., announced its intention of electing the worthiest candidate regardless of political interests. They were Cardinals Ottoboni, Orsini, Carafa, Casanata, Colloredo, the younger Barbarigo, Nerli, Ciceri and Pignatelli.[2]

[1] "*Prognostica epigrammatica ex nomine ominosa de cardinalibus ad pontificatum adspirantibus" say of Fürstenberg:

Gallus es an Teuto?
Teuto nec Gallus es?
Quid? Nihil, ergo mane.

Cod., X^c^., 569, State Library, Berlin.

[2] See the **Memorandum* drawn up before the opening of the conclave, probably by Cardinal Medici (PETRUCELLI, III., 316 *seq.*), on the parties in the Sacred College, Campello Archives, Spoleto, *MS.* 92, p. 31 *seq.* These Cardinals are here described as "Volanti di coscienza". Pompeo Scarlatti in his *report to Leopold I., September 3, 1689, calls them "fazione di Dio" (State Archives, Vienna). Observations on the state of the parties

The older party leaders, Chigi and Altieri, aware of the small number of their followers, united their forces and they were joined by Pamfili and Astalli, together with Medici who, as representing the Emperor and the King of Spain, drew along with him Cardinals Kollonitsch and Aguirre. D'Estrées, France's plenipotentiary, had the support of Maidalchini, Bouillon, Bonsi and Fürstenberg.[1]

In view of the war which had turned one half of Europe into a battlefield, the attitude of the new Pope was bound to be of considerable importance ; hence the Great Powers tried very hard to influence the election. D'Estrées represented the interests of France, but the aged Duc de Chaulnes and the Marquis de Torcy were joined to him as Louis XIV.'s trusted confidants.[2] Spain also had two representatives, namely Cardinal Medici, and its ambassador, the Marchese de Cogolludo. It was a new departure on the part of the Habsburgs when, on this occasion, they abandoned the reserve they had hitherto observed. Cardinal Medici was not enough for the Emperor Leopold ; hence he appointed Prince Antony Liechtenstein as his envoy extraordinary with mission to look after his interests.[3] Yet despite these measures the representatives of the princes were not to have any decisive influence on the conclave which opened on the evening of August 23rd.[4]

and on the characters of the Cardinals are found in three *memorials preserved in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, quoted by BISCHOFFSHAUSEN (10 *seqq.*).

[1] *Cf.* WAHRMUND, 160. In the above quoted *memorandum of the Campello Archives Cardinal D'Este appears as " Francese certo ".

[2] See EISLER, 168 ; GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 138 *seq.* ; DUBRUEL, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XV. (1914), 288 *seqq.*, 297 *seqq.*, 302.

[3] See WAHRMUND, 161 *seq.* ; BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 5 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.* ; DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*, 495 *seqq.* The Emperor's instructions to Kollonitch, September 7, 1689, in MAURER, 237 *seq.*

[4] Besides the printed report, *Conclave fatto per la sede vacante d'Innocenzo*, XI., Colonia, 1690, there are numerous reports in

The scrutinies of the first fortnight yielded no result as many of the electors were slow in arriving.[1] After the failure of the candidature of the Roman Capizucchi, Gregorio Barbarigo,[2] one of the worthiest members of the Sacred College, seemed for a time to have good prospects. When Prince Liechtenstein arrived in Rome on September 20th the streets of the city were full of the report that Barbarigo had in fact been elected.[3] But it was soon learned that he had begged the Cardinals to refrain from voting for him.[4]

The French Cardinals, Bouillon, Bonsi and Fürstenberg were impatiently awaited. They arrived on September 23rd, together with the Duc de Chaulnes.[5] As the Cardinals

manuscript, collected by EISLER (143). In the **Istoria del conclave*, dedicated to Cardinal Ottoboni which EISLER quotes from a copy of the Pap. Sec. Archives (*Miscell.*, XI., 133, p. 1 *seqq.*), the name of the author is also missing in *Vat.* 10173, but it is given in a **MS.* which I bought at the sale of the Corvisieri collection. There it is expressly said " copiato dall' originale che è da Msg. Urbano Giorii ". A very detailed report of all the ballots in C. CASSINA, **Diario*, *Vat.* 8390, Vatican Library. A Collection of the scrutinies in *Barb.* 4439 and *Vat.* 8228, *ibid.* On the hardships of the conclave, see Cibo's letters to his brother, October 8 and 22, 1689, in MUSSI, 10.

[1] See **Avvisi Marescotti* of August 27, September 3 and 17, 1689, Bibl. Vitt. Emanuele, Rome. According to the exact statement in *Barb.* 4439, there were at the first scrutiny on August 24, " praesentes 29, aegroti absentes a scrutinio 2, absentes a Curia . . ." On August 31, the proportion was 43–1–16, on September 22, 48–2–12, Vat. Library.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 131. Nevertheless there appeared at that time a spiteful *satire against Barbarigo ; see *Ottob.* 3160, Vatican Library.

[3] See the reports in BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 29 *seqq.* *Cf.* MICHAUD, *Alexandre*, VIII., 23, 33.

[4] **Avviso Marescotti* of September 24, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[5] Not as late as the 27th, as WAHRMUND says (164), quoting *Conclave di Alessandro*, VIII., 61. Giorio (**Istoria del conclave*) gives expressly September 23 (Pap. Sec. Arch., *loc. cit.*). With this agree also the *ballot lists in *Barb.* 4439, which say, on September 23 : " Praesentes 48, aegroti absentes a scrutinio 3, absentes a

demanded from Chaulnes that he should give up the freedom of the quarter, and negotiations on the subject had begun, the French Cardinals only entered the conclave on September 27th.[1] Liechtenstein, who raised no claims such as those of Chaulnes, had been received in solemn audience at the door of the conclave on September 29th. Chaulnes was received on October 2nd.[2] But by this time the conclave had already taken a decisive turn.[3]

From the first Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni was universally looked upon as the worthiest candidate for the tiara.[4] The influential and experienced Chigi had had him in mind from the very beginning of the conclave, but it was necessary to proceed with caution as Ottoboni had many opponents for the simple reason that he was a Venetian. However, the powerful party of the "zelanti" was for him and Chigi succeeded in winning over Medici, and in the end Altieri also. The Emperor would have preferred some other candidate, and Louis XIV. had at first declined Ottoboni, but both Liechtenstein and the French were eventually forced to bow to the *fait accompli*. As the price of his consent to Ottoboni's election Louis had insisted that the candidate and his nephew should bind themselves to confirm the Gallican Bishops unconditionally, to receive Lavardin as ambassador and to open negotiations on the question of the freedom of the quarter. Cardinal Ottoboni's nephew, a young man of twenty-two, was unwise enough to make promises to Chaulnes in regard to the elevation to the cardinalate of the Bishop of Beauvais, the

Curia 9; absentes in Urbe a conclavi": Bouillon, Bonsi e Fürstenberg.

[1] 27 septembre: "Praesentes in conclavi 50, aegroti absentes a scrutinio 3, absentes a Curia 9, absens a conclavi in Urbe Spinola," *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, III., 333; BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 34 *seqq.*

[3] The well-informed author of *Avvisi Marescotti* *reports 1° Octobre 1689: "Si dice quasi che conclusa la prattica per Ottoboni, non aspettandosi che il concorso de' Francesi." Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[4] See the evidence in BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 41.

confirmation of Bishops, and the removal of Casoni, who was odious to the French. Cardinal Ottoboni himself, on the other hand, would not hear of such a transaction. To the French Cardinals he observed that he desired a settlement of the disputes with France, but without injuring either his honour or his conscience.[1] But it would seem that the promoters of his candidature gave a guarantee that these very general assurances would assume a more definite shape.[2] D'Estrées desired a binding promise but was obliged to give way after receipt of a command in writing from Chaulnes.[3] Thus it came about that on the evening of October 6th, Cardinal Ottoboni secured the votes of all the Cardinals present in conclave.[4]

The new Pope hesitated for a moment whether to take the name of Urban or Alexander. A sense of gratitude towards Flavio Chigi, to whom he chiefly owed his rise, prevailed, though his career in Rome had begun under Urban VIII.; he accordingly took the name of Alexander VIII.[5]

Though the fifteenth century had seen three Venetian Popes, two centuries had gone by since a son of the City of the Lagoons had obtained the tiara; hence it is easy to understand that the Republic of St. Mark indulged in splendid celebrations,[6] and dispatched to Rome an extraordinary

[1] GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 140 *seqq.* *Cf.* BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, who adduces further evidence which makes it quite clear that Ottoboni did not purchase his election by promises to Louis XIV.

[2] BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 47. [3] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 144.

[4] *GIORIO, *loc. cit.* According to **Barb.* 4439 there were at the election: Praesentes in conclavi 49 [not 51, as say BISCHOFFSHAUSEN (*loc. cit.*) and DUBRUEL (*loc. cit.*, 511)], aegroti in conclavi 0, absentes a Curia 8 [in the meantime Ranuzzi had also died], absentes a conclavi in Urbe Spinola et Negronus, aegroti in domibus suis." Ottoboni had "vota 19, accessus 29". Biblioteca Vaticana. [5] *Giorio, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Relazione delle stupendissime feste e fuochi fatti nell'inclita città di Venezia per l'esaltazione dell'em. P. Ottoboni*, etc., Venezia, 1689.

embassy consisting of eight nobles, for the purpose of congratulating the new Pope.[1]

According to some historians the family of the Ottoboni came from Padua; according to others from Dalmatia. About forty years previously it had been admitted into the Venetian nobility.[2] Pietro Ottoboni was born at Venice on April 22nd, 1610. He read law at Padua, and as a youth of twenty went to Rome where he followed the customary prelatical career.[3] Urban VIII. began by naming him a referendary of both *segnaturas*, after which he made him successively governor of Terni, Rieti and Spoleto, and in 1643 an auditor of the Rota.[4] His excellent ten years' service in the latter capacity was rewarded by Innocent X. with the purple, on February 19th, 1652.[5] With a view to improving Ottoboni's financial situation the Pope granted to him in 1654 the see of Brescia [6] which he held for ten years.[7] During

[1] Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni, Roma*, II., 408.

[2] *Cf.* Litta, *Famiglie*, f. 43. On the coat of arms, see Pasini Frassoni, *Armorial*, 46.

[3] Guarnacci, I., 314 *seqq.*

[4] November 13, 1643, says Ottoboni in his **Diario, Ottob.* 1073, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* Vol. XXX., p. 188. "Nullis meis exigentibus meritis divina favente gratia et benignitate S. D. N. Innocentii X. et instantia ser. reipublicae Venetae" [did he obtain his nomination], says Ottoboni in his *Diario, *loc. cit.*

[6] "*Cresce ogni giorno il cardinale Ottoboni nel concetto della corte, essendo un compitissimo signore di tratto cortese, di parole affettuose, pieno di lettere e d'una disinvoltura nel negotio, che si cattiva l'affetto di chiunque ha occasione di trattar seco; essendo negli ultimi mesi del pontificato di Innocenzo vacata la chiesa di Brescia, ne fu proveduto dal Papa, e n'havea gran bisogno, havendo la sua casa per la compra della nobiltà e per la di lui promotione al cardinalato fatte spese considerabilissime." Relatione del Marchese Nerli, *Barb.* 5191, p. 149b. *seq.*, Vat. Library. *Ibid.*, *Ottob.* 3249/51 **Lettere scritte dal card. P. Ottoboni, vescovo di Brescia, a Pier Francesco Pavonio suo agente in Roma.*

[7] Ughelli, IV., 566. Novaes (XI., 79) says erroneously that Ottoboni had also been for some time Bishop of Torcello.

that period he energetically opposed certain heretical movements.[1] At the Curia the Cardinal's prestige rose steadily. He was admired not only for his extensive knowledge, but also for his charm and the naturalness and spontaneity of his manner. As *Datarius* under Clement IX., Ottoboni created an excellent impression by his habit of promptly dispatching business.[2] His sense of law and order led him to join the *Squadrone volante*, and as early as 1667 he was looked upon as its candidate for the supreme dignity.[3] Under Innocent XI. he enjoyed considerable influence and the Pope did not resent his frankness. The French, who under Clement IX. had spoken of him in high terms,[4] could not now sufficiently blame him for having taken the part of Innocent XI. in the latter's disputes with Louis XIV. On the other hand, even Cardinal D'Estrées had to admit that in his dealings with France, Ottoboni had been led by no spirit of cabal or partisanship, but solely by the principles of Canon Law.[5] Ottoboni likewise excelled in the knowledge of Moral Theology. The width of his interests is further attested by his remarkable library, to which manuscripts and rare printed books were constantly being added.[6] Learned, blameless in his conduct, exceedingly prudent, he was regarded as one of the ablest, best informed and worthiest members of the Sacred College.[7] Shadows in the portrait were his greed

[1] Bernini, *Heretici*, IV., 723 *seqq*. *Ibid.*, 726, on the marble bust of Alexander VIII. in the duomo of Brescia.

[2] "Ancora adesso la Dataria lo sospira. Era sbrigativo," says P. A. Pancetti, **Descrizione della vita di molti Pontefici* (Alexander VI. to Clement XI.), completed 1713, p. 163v, *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

[3] See the report in Gérin, *Louis XIV.*, Vol. II., 204.

[4] *Ibid.*, 207, 243, 296.

[5] Gérin, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX., 145.

[6] Sickel, *Röm. Berichte*, IV., 32.

[7] **Scrittura politica* of 1689, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, and in State Archives, Vienna, translated by Dubruel, *loc. cit.*, 512 *seq*. Also Scarlatti, in his **Discorso preparativo*, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna; see Bischoffshausen, 42. Cardinal Pio's *report of April 6, 1686, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also

for money, and connected with it, his inordinate attachment to his relations.[1] In another respect also he stood in marked contrast with his predecessor. Whereas the latter had been exceedingly strict, secretive and reticent, Alexander's kindliness rendered him accessible to everyone; liberal of his favours —in keeping with the manner of the Venetians—he was prodigal of courteous speeches. Notwithstanding his great age his carriage was distinguished and erect, his countenance open and cheerful, his manner gentle, and he showed the utmost friendliness to everyone he encountered.[2] Against the diplomatists he upheld tenaciously whatever he knew to be right, though in so doing he endeavoured to avoid all unnecessary asperity.[3] Despite his eighty years he still presented an imposing appearance; his beautiful countenance, manly and bearded, is admirably recalled by the statue over his tomb in St. Peter's.[4] In mind also he was still extraordinarily fresh and alert.[5] He rose at dawn and at once applied himself to business with the utmost zest. He attended personally to all important affairs, so that he seemed to be his own tireless minister. In this he was helped by his great skill

**Avviso Marescotti*, January 19, 1686 ("il primo soggetto habbia oggi la corte di Roma"), Bibl. Vitt. Emanuele, Rome.

[1] See the *memorials quoted in previous note. *Cf.* BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 42, and DUBRUEL, 513.

[2] Report of Girol. Lando in BAROZZI-BERCHET, Roma, II., 435, Liechtenstein's report in BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 90, and **Relatione del pontificato di P. Alessandro VIII. dal Abbate Cornacchia, segret. del barone de Vit*, in *Urb.* 1706, p. 316, Vatican Library.

[3] Chaulnes, in GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 163.

[4] Portrait of P. SCHENCK in his *Konst toneel*, Amsterdam, and in GUARNACCI, I., 313. A contemporary marble bust from Rome, now in the Municipal Museum, Frankfurt a. M., Liebighaus, Nr. 332; a bronze bust by one of Bernini's pupils in London; see C. DRURY and E. FORTNUM, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1876, 7–8. The statue of Alexander VIII. in Urbino was saved in 1798, because the Archbishop changed it into a Saint; see GARAVANI, *Urbino e il suo territorio nel periodo francese II.*, Urbino, 1907, 77.

[5] *SCARLATTI, *loc. cit.*

and rare ease in mastering circumstances.[1] He wished to see everything, but no one was allowed to know anything of his personal concerns. He accordingly refused to appoint new honorary chamberlains, because he was unwilling to have spies about him. For the same reason he entrusted the tidying of his rooms to a servant who could neither read nor write.[2]

The new Pope soon became very popular with the Romans. The marvellous *girandola* on the day of his coronation [3] and the triumphal arches on the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran,[4] won him the affection of a people ever eager for new spectacles. The populace was also delighted by the Pope's frequent public appearances and by his occasional informal drives in the city.[5] When he finally eased the burden of taxation,[6] introduced a more liberal policy in the grain trade,[7] and undertook various measures for the welfare of

[1] " *S. Stà è indefessa nell'operare, sente tutto, risolve tutto e ordina tutto senza molto travaglio avendo una grandissima comprehensiva facilità et esecuzione " (report of November, 1689, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Cardinal Goës' *report of October 16, 1689, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 18, 1689, Bibl. Vitt. Em., Rome ; *Report of R. Pallavicini, December 31, 1689, State Arch., Vienna ; Report of the Duke of Chaulnes, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX., 150. As Bischoffshausen justly remarks (93) there can be no question of a collateral reign, as Liechtenstein would have it.

[3] " *La girandola è stata la più numerosa e bella che a' tempi nostri sia mai stata veduta." *Avviso Marescotti*, October 22, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 29, 1689, *ibid.* *Cf.* Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 303 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, December 17, 1689, and June 17, 1690, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 26, 1689, *ibid.* *Cf. Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 192 ; Bischoffshausen, 60, n. 13. Brosch (I., 447), observes that the loss of 200,000 scudi by the reduction of taxes did not disturb the equilibrium of the budget.

[7] See Benigni, 64 *scqq.* On the edict here mentioned for the destruction of moles, see F. M. Nigrisoli, *Lettera nella quale si*

the city,[1] the joy of the people knew no bounds. A medal was struck in his honour extolling him as the restorer of public welfare.[2] For the Romans this included the revival of the carnival[3] and the public performance of operas,

considera l'invasione fatta da' topi nella Campagna di Roma l'anno 1690, Ferrara, 1693.

[1] Care for the cleaning of the streets: **Avviso Marescotti*, October 18, 1689, *loc. cit.*; precaution against the plague: **Avviso Marescotti*, January 13, 1690, *ibid.* *Cf.* Decrees on the plague, January 4, 8 and 9, 1690, in *Editti*, V., 61, p. 416 *seq.*, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[2] See BENIGNI, *loc. cit.* A contemporary account says: "Alli 16 Febbraio 1691 morì Alessandro ottavo con gran dispiacere e danno della città di Roma per il suo breve pontificato, perchè se più campava, haveva destinato a far molte cose a pro del pubblico e sollevamento del popolo. Gli artisti nel breve corso del suo pontificato tutti lavoravano, e se ne vedde segni evidenti del loro guadagno nel Monte della Pietà, nel quale nel detto tempo furono riscossi la maggior parte delli pegni che vi erano, inditio manifesto che nel detto pontificato correva del denaro" (PASOLINI, *Documenti*, 39). Nevertheless, Alexander VIII. also, especially after his death, was made the butt of bitter satires and abusive writings. Very widely disseminated in manuscript is the **Confessione di P. Alessandro VIII. fatta al suo confessore il P. Giuseppe Gesuita negli ultimi estremi della sua vita*, quoted by RANKE, III., 206, *according to a "*MS. Rom.*", and justly refuted as contrary to the truth: Rome, *Barb.* LXI., 1, *Ottob.* 3165, p. 264, Vat. Lib., and *Bolognetti*, 275, Pap. Sec. Archives; Frankfurt a. M., Municipal Library, *MS. Glauburg*, 31; Vienna, State Library, 6351, p. 179 *seqq.*; a copy bought in Rome, 1902, in my possession. An **Epitaphium satiricum* in *Ottob.* 3160, p. 21, *loc. cit.* Rather more against Cardinal Ottoboni is a **Canzone* in Bibl. L. Benveduti, Gubbio. But we have also poems in favour of Alexander VIII. and his nephews, especially in **Ottob.* 1725; *cf.* PASOLINI, *Documenti*, 91 *seqq.*, 97 *seqq.* "Privilegi, esenzioni e grazie concesse da Alessandro VIII. alli soldati e milizie dello Stato ecclesiastico," published by F. Sabatini in *Nuova Antologia*, 3 Series, IV. (1883), Nr. 31–41.

[3] See **Avviso Marescotti*, January 7 and February 11, 1690, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 540 *seqq.*

but this last concession was only granted after some hesitation.[1]

The severe, serious character which the ascetic Innocent XI. had stamped on Roman life was greatly weakened by the revival of nepotism.[2] No sooner was he elected than Alexander VIII. summoned his relatives from Venice to Rome, and since in view of his great age he could not promise himself a long reign, he provided them as quickly as possible with offices and wealth. His great-nephew Pietro Ottoboni had scarcely donned the dress of a prelate when he was given the wealthy abbey of Chiaravalle.[3] On November 7th he became a Cardinal and ruling nephew, *nipote padrone.* In the consistory Colloredo recalled the fact that Charles Borromeo had also received the purple when no older than Pietro.[4] But Pietro Ottoboni did not turn out another Charles Borromeo. He was given the office of a *Sopraintendente Generale* of the papal States, and that of vice-chancellor.[5] To this were added rich benefices, and in the following year, the legation of Avignon. But high as the nephew's revenues were, 50,000 scudi a year, or 70,000 according to some,[6] they were very far from meeting his requirements. We seem taken back once more to the period of the Renaissance when we read of the treasures of silver, tapestries, pictures, antique objects, rare books and manuscripts which the Cardinal collected in the Cancelleria.[7] The conduct of the pleasure-loving

[1] *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti*, December 9, 23 and 30, 1690, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*Hora si vede un' altra Roma," writes R. Pallavicini already on November 26, 1689, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 22, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, November 12, 1689, *loc. cit.*, and the report in BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 55.

[6] PANCETTI, **Vita dei Pontefici* (see above, p. 532, n. 2), and BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 56.

[7] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 11, 1690, *loc. cit.*; CICOGNA, *Iscriz. Venez.*, V., 631 *seqq.* *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, June 3, 1690: "Il cardinale Ottoboni ha comprati li famosi arazzi della fu Regina di Suetia, presi prima da gl'imperiali nel sacco di

young man was so little in keeping with his ecclesiastical state that the Pope was obliged to remonstrate.[1] Affairs interested him much less than his hobbies. He was a patron of literary men, to whom, as for instance to Montfaucon, he gave free access to his manuscript treasures.[2] He was also a supporter of the stage and of music.[3] He is the author of an opera entitled *Columbus* which was performed in the theatre of Tor di Nona during the carnival of 1691, but according to the Marquis de Coulanges, it met with a cold reception.[4] Of the Secretariate of State, Pietro Ottoboni merely held the title. The management of affairs was supposed to be in the hands of Monsignore Rubini, the son of one of the Pope's sisters and Bishop of Vicenza, who was also given the legation of Avignon [5]; but in point of fact Alexander VIII. was his own Secretary of State.[6]

Mantova, e poi da Gustavo Adolfo padre di detta Regina nel sacco di Praga, come anco la famosa libraria della medesima, havendone consegnato molti libri alla Biblioteca Vaticana, la quale di quelli era priva, havendone gl'altri uniti alla propria" (*loc. cit.*). A tapestry representing the Holy Family which belonged to Cardinal Ottoboni, is still preserved in the Vatican.

[1] *Cf.* *Report of R. Pallavicini, November 26, 1689, State Archives, Vienna, and *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX., 149.

[2] *Cf.* Cozza-Luzi, *Codices MSS. graeci Ottob. Vatic. Bibl.*, Romae, 1893, LIV. *seq.*

[3] "*Amatore di musica, poesia e di allegrezze," writes R. Pallavicini to Leopold I., October 15, 1689, State Arch., Vienna.

[4] The passage from the *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges* (Paris, 1820), which give many an interesting, historical and cultural detail about the life in Rome at that time, is printed in Ademollo, *Teatri*, 182 *seq.*

[5] See the report in Bischoffshausen, 56. Franc. Maria Spinola was the secretary of the *Brevia ad principes* (Papal Secret Archives).

[6] *Cf.* **Vita critica de' cardinali*, 1696 (Bibl. Liechtenstein, Vienna), which draws a very unfavourable picture of Rubini; as he had nothing to do he gave himself up to a very worldly life. R. Pallavicini *reports on November 26, 1689, Ottoboni, Chigi and Medici are the most influential Cardinals, but the Pope,

Antonio Ottoboni, father of the Cardinal nephew, was made General of the Church and Commander of the papal troops.[1] He was just as fond of pleasure as his son. On the last day of the carnival of 1690 he gave a splendid ball in the theatre of Tor di Nona after the manner of his native Venice. This "festina" as it was called, was a quite new spectacle for Rome.[2]

Another nephew, Marco Antonio, a hunchback,[3] was made inspector in chief of the naval fortifications and the fleet of the Pontifical States. For him the Pope bought, out of his private means,[4] at the price of 170,000 scudi, the Duchy of Fiano, and on October 14th, 1690, he married him to Tarquinia Colonna, a great-niece of Cardinal Altieri.[5] For his residence Marco was assigned the Palazzo Ludovisi in the Corso.[6] At this time the Ottoboni entered into relations of kinship with yet another Roman family when the Pope's great-niece, Cornelia Zeno, by adoption an Ottoboni, was married to the

"superiore a tutti, non si lascia facilmente disporre." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, December 3, 1689, *loc. cit.*

[2] See ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 179 *seq.*

[3] In his *report of November 26, 1689, *loc. cit.*, R. Pallavicini calls him "gobbo e zoppo".

[4] *Cf.* PASOLINI, *Documenti*, 47.

[5] See C. CASSINA, **Diario*, in *Vat.* 8390, Vatican Library; BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 143 *seq.*

[6] See **Avviso Marescotti*, December 2, 1690: "Con molta sollecitudine si va risarcendo il Palazzo Ludovisio del principe D. Marco Ottoboni, credesi per portarvisi in breve ad habitare in un quarto del medesimo senza alcuno incomodo delle fabriche. Si è disegnato di far gettare a terra alcune case, che guardano al Pio Luogo de' Letterati nel Corso, per farvi una nova piazza, sollecitandosi intanto la riunione d'alcune acque smarrite, per nobilitarlo maggiormente con bellissime fontane." Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Ibid.*, in **Avviso* of November 19, 1689, there is a note which is very interesting for the history of architecture in Rome: "Resta quasi terminata la facciata del nuovo Palazzo Mazzarini al Corso che riesce delle più belle e sontuose fabriche di Roma."

Prince of Palestrina.[1] For the rest, no more than the other nepotistic Popes, Alexander VIII. was not spared manifold annoyances on the part of his nephews.[2] The Pope also made generous provision for his familiars. In allusion to his great age he was wont to say, in his own jovial way: "Let us make haste as much as possible for already the twenty-third hour has struck." [3]

The French ambassador, the Duc de Chaulnes, sought to exploit Alexander VIII.'s great attachment to his kinsfolk to the advantage of his own sovereign, but he was soon made to feel that the Pope was very independent and did not suffer his relatives to influence his government.[4] For all that, nepotism was bound to cast its shadow more than once upon the pontificate of Alexander VIII.

(2.)

However much the great European Powers fought each other on the field of battle, they had made common cause in the conclave of 1689 for the election of Cardinal Ottoboni; hence the new Pope was able to express his thanks at one and the same time to the Emperor and to the Kings of Spain and France,[5] and by reason of the co-operation of Cardinal Norfolk, a similar letter was sent to James II. of England.[6]

It looked as if the fate of the Catholic religion in England were also connected with the fate of that unhappy monarch.

[1] See BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 145 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 121 *seq.*

[3] "Affrettiamo al possibile, perchè sono sonate le 23 hore" (**Avviso Marescotti*, November 12, 1689, *loc. cit.*). Another version in PANCETTI, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the reports in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 148, 150, 152.

[5] See **Lettere di proprio pugno scritte da Alessandro VIII.*, all dated October 16, 1689, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 158 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 161. Reply of James II., November 26, 1689, from Dublin, in PUFENDORF, III., 45; *cf.* also KLOPP, V., 12.

Accordingly Alexander VIII. set up a Congregation of Cardinals to deal with English matters; at the same time it was also charged to find means for the restoration of the peace of Christendom.[1] With James II.'s request for money the Pope neither could nor would comply, for he was convinced that a Stuart restoration could not be brought about by force of arms; more could be hoped, so he thought, from a general peace.[2] But intervention by the Pope could only prove successful if he gave proof of the utmost impartiality. For this reason the above-mentioned letters of thanks were couched in such general terms that it was imposssible to discover in them any trace of a preference for any one of the warring nations.

However studiously Alexander VIII. observed, from the very beginning of his reign, the strictest impartiality towards the Powers,[3] he could not suppress his love for his native city with which he had always been closely linked.[4] Hence it was a particular satisfaction to him to be able to proceed to the canonization of a countryman of his, namely, Laurence Giustiniani, whom he raised to the altar at the same time as John of Sahagun, Pascal Baylon, John of God and John Capistran.[5]

In view of the Pope's friendly feelings towards Venice the ambassador of the Republic of St. Mark, Girolamo Lando,

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 18, 1689, Bibl. Vitt. Em., Rome.

[2] See Klopp, V., 14. *Cf.* *Brief of December 27, 1689, to the English Queen, *Brevia Alexandri VIII.*, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] Bischoffshausen, 91.

[4] *Cf.* the rich *correspondence in *Ottob.* 3269, 3270, 3272–3282, Vatican Library.

[5] The canonizations were decided upon on August 23, 1689; *cf.* *Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. The celebrations took place on October 16, 1690; **Avviso Marescotti* of October 21, 1690, *loc. cit.*, and *Brief to Venice, October 21, 1690, *Brevia*, Pap. Sec. Archives. On the new Saints, see Novaes, XI., 94 *seq.* The precious paliotto used on this occasion and presented to S. Peter's by the Pope, is one of the most beautiful of the kind preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's.

easily obtained from him a substantial aid for the Republic's war against Morea. By suppressing an abbey the Pope granted a considerable subsidy [1]; he also allowed troops to be levied in the States of the Church, a circumstance that occasioned some troubles there.[2] Moreover he put at the disposal of Venice a force of 1,500 soldiers and a number of galleys, at a cost of 100,000 scudi,[3] and sought to obtain help from the Genoese.[4] In April 1690, he sent to the Doge, Francesco Morosini, a hat and sword blessed by himself.[5] In the fulness of his joy over the victories of the Venetians the Pope declared in a letter of December 28th, 1690, that their undertaking against the enemy of Christendom was so worthy of praise that all his favours seemed small to him.[6]

In his very first letter the Pope had paid a well-deserved tribute to the Emperor for what the latter had accomplished in the war against the Turks, and not long after he congratulated him again on his triumphs.[7] However, the brilliant progress of the imperial arms roused the jealousy of the Venetians and as a result of their insinuations Alexander VIII. was far less generous in his subsidies to the Emperor than his great predecessor had been. But in this matter the Pope's action was also influenced by the consideration which he felt he must use towards France.[8]

Alexander VIII. realized from the first that there was no more important problem awaiting solution by him than the

[1] *Cf.* Bischoffshausen, 61, 63.

[2] *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti*, January 7 and 29, 1690, *loc. cit.*; Brosch, I., 448 *seqq.* A more detailed description in **Relatione del Abbate Cornacchia, Urb.* 1706, p. 316 *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also the reports quoted by Bischoffshausen, p. 96.

[3] See besides Bischoffshausen, *loc. cit.*, Novaes, XI., 92 *seq.*; Guglielmotti, 149 *seqq.*

[4] *Briefs to Genoa of March 11, May 13 and September 2, 1690, *Brevia*, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[5] *Brief of April 8, 1690, *ibid.* *Cf.* Guarnacci, I., 318.

[6] *Brief of April 8, 1690, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Brief of October 22, 1689, *ibid.*

[8] Bischoffshausen, 59 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.*

restoration of ecclesiastical peace in France where the number of Bishops not confirmed by the Holy See was constantly growing. The Pope's efforts to remedy this state of things were aided by the circumstance that Louis XIV., who had suffered a moral defeat through the inflexibility of Innocent XI., had been forced into a defensive attitude by the "Grand Alliance". Alexander clearly realized the situation; hence, though ever most conciliatory, he took a firm stand towards the King of France when in the very first days of his pontificate, he demanded the restoration of Avignon and the renunciation of the freedom of the quarter. On the latter point Louis proved accommodating, because he hoped that the Pope would yield on the question of the Bishops, if he on his part refrained from constantly trespassing on the secular rights of the Holy See.[1] But this was only a partial expiation of the enormous encroachments committed against Innocent XI. The most important thing of all, the restoration of the Church's jurisdiction, was still lacking, and on this point Alexander VIII. was not prepared to yield; he was bound, so he declared, to defend the rights of the Church even at the cost of his life.[2] On secondary questions he made a few concessions, and he also sought to encourage the peaceful dispositions of the King by abandoning the great attachment to the Emperor which had characterized Innocent XI. But on the main question he remained unyielding. Before confirming the French Bishops he insisted on a formal recantation on their part of the errors professed by them in 1682. On his part Louis XIV. would only allow letters declaring their devotion without any express withdrawal of the Gallican Articles.[3] All subsequent negotiations substantially turned round this difference of opinion.

How anxious the Pope was for a settlement of the ecclesiastical troubles in France was shown by the surprising

[1] Gérin, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX., 153 *seqq.*

[2] Liechtenstein's report of October 28, 1689, in Klopp, V., 13.

[3] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 158 *seqq.*; Klopp, V., 17 *seq.*, 331.

step taken by him at the creation of Cardinals at the beginning of 1690. At a consistory held on February 13th, 1690, the following prelates received the red hat: the Florentine Bernardino Panciatici, papal Datarius; the Neapolitan Jacopo Cantelmi, at the time nuncio extraordinary at Augsburg for the coronation of the newly elected King of the Romans, Archduke Joseph [1]; the Milanese Ferdinand d'Adda, nuncio to James II. under Innocent XI.; Luigi Omodei, nephew of the Cardinal of the same name and likewise a Milanese; the learned Gian Francesco Albani of Urbino, Secretary of Briefs since October 1688; the Sienese Carlo Bichi, an old friend of the Pope; the Venetian Giambattista Rubini and finally the Genoese Giambattista Costaguti, Dean of the Apostolic Camera, the Treasurer Giuseppe Renato Imperiali and the Governor of Rome, Francesco del Giudice.[2] To these ten Italians Alexander added the Frenchman Toussaint de Forbin Janson, Bishop of Beauvais.[3] The elevation of this man, for which Louis XIV. had striven for years, took place regardless of the protests of the Emperor who saw an enemy in Forbin, and without Leopold I. being given another vote in the College of Cardinals. The consequence

[1] Cantelmi was at Augsburg since the beginning of 1690; see HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 103. The news of the election of Joseph as King reached Rome on February 4, 1690 (BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 96). In a consistory of March 6, the Pope communicated the news to the Cardinals, at the same time extolling the merits of Leopold I. in repelling the Turks. *Acta consist.*, Vatican Library.

[2] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso Marescotti*, February 18, 1690, *loc. cit.* On the new Cardinals, see GUARNACCI, I., 326 *seqq.* (with portraits), NOVAES, XI., 89 *seqq.*, and numerous details in **Vita critica de' cardinali*, 1696, Liechtenstein Library, Vienna. On Imperiali, *cf.* also MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 479 *seqq.*

[3] Alexander VIII. announced to Louis XIV. Forbin's nomination by *Brief of February 18, 1690. On the same day Franc. Trevisanus, the bearer of the red hat, was recommended by *Briefs to the nobles of France and to Madame de Maintenon. *Brevia*, Pap. Sec. Archives.

was that Cardinal von Goës, together with Medici and the two Spanish Cardinals, stayed away from the consistory by way of protest. The Pope's action was inspired by higher considerations [1]; for the sake of the re-establishment of ecclesiastical peace in France he gave way on a personal question even though in so doing he had to override a justifiable wish of the court of Vienna, though one that it was not absolutely necessary to gratify. There can be no doubt that Alexander had not the slightest intention of offending the Emperor. Notwithstanding the pressure of the French, he had put off the nomination until after December and had only carried it out after Medici, the Cardinal Protector of the German and Spanish nations, as well as the ambassador of the Spanish Habsburgs, had declared that they had no objection to make.[2] All the same we can understand that the Emperor should have considered it a disadvantage that the increased French influence in the Sacred College should not have been neutralized.[3]

With the nomination of Forbin, which Innocent XI. had steadily refused to consider, Alexander VIII. went to the extreme limit of conciliation with Louis XIV., for Forbin had taken part in the Assembly of 1682. Louis XIV., on the other hand, showed but little gratitude. His previous retreat is explained by the fact that in 1689 the Grand Alliance had forced him into a defensive position. Now he had once more taken the offensive and by so doing had won undeniable successes. So the Pope was made to feel once more the arrogance of former days. Not satisfied with the fact that by Forbin's nomination Alexander had given remarkable proof of his love of peace as well as of his independence of the wishes of the

[1] **Acta consist., loc. cit.* The nomination was not made "improvisamente", as Liechtenstein says in his *Diaries (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna).

[2] Bischoffshausen, 97 *seqq.*, 177. *Cf.* "*Discorso se il vescovo di Boves creato cardinale da Alessandro VIII. meritava l'opposizione fattagli dal cardinale Colloredo col suo voto nel publico concistoro," Pap. Sec. Archives, III., 20, p. 239.

[3] Bischoffshausen, 102 *seqq.*

Emperor, and that one who had taken part in the Assembly of 1682 now wore the purple, Louis taxed the Pope with partiality because at the creation of Cardinals he had included some Spanish subjects. On top of everything Louis soon afterwards designated the Archbishop of Paris, De Harlay, who had presided at the Assembly of 1682, as his next Crown Cardinal, though there was not even a vacancy in the Sacred College.[1] He also ordered the French Jesuits to make themselves independent of their General.[2] There was nothing to show that he intended to keep the promise made on the occasion of the surrender of Avignon, namely that he would return the guns he had removed, and set at liberty the imprisoned Bishop of Vaison[3]; nor could there be any doubt that it was his intention to uphold the Gallican Articles of 1682. At the same time, he sought to break up the Grand Alliance by sowing discord between the Emperor and his Protestant allies. To this purpose he sought to make even the Head of the Church subservient. Soon after Alexander's elevation he tried to persuade the Pope that the tremendous struggle between himself and the Grand Alliance was a real "war of religion" conducted by the House of Austria and its Protestant allies against the Church's "elder son" and the exiled Catholic King of England.[4] However, the Pope saw through the schemes of the powerful ruler on the Seine; he saw perfectly well the purpose of the King's request that the Pope should negotiate an armistice with the Emperor "for the protection of the Catholic faith", and he refused for the time being to accede to such a prayer. Most of the Cardinals likewise refused to share the French view that there was question of a war of religion, though they were of opinion that the Pope should mediate for an armistice on condition that France surrendered all her conquests.[5] On July 8th, 1690,

[1] GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 170.

[2] *Ibid.*, 171 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 176 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

[5] See SYLVIUS, III., 62; KLOPP, V., 14 *seq.*; BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 159.

the Pope issued Briefs to both parties, exhorting them to make peace,[1] though he foresaw that his words would fall on deaf ears. In an allocution to the Cardinals he put this question to them : " How shall we act ? Each crown has its own particular motives and such as lie outside the sphere in which the Church can make her influence felt. On the other hand, I cannot fail to see that in view of the strength of both parties, either the one or the other is bound to realize the necessity of peace. I raise my eyes and hands to heaven ; I come to this decision and to that ; but as soon as I have done so, I fail to see how it can be carried into effect : gigantic obstacles tower up before me. France declines to give way in the slightest degree ; she trusts in war and refuses all satisfaction to others until after the conclusion of peace. The Emperor and Spain would have succumbed had they not had recourse to the Alliance, and though a league with Protestant Powers is fraught with many drawbacks, it is a necessary evil which those two Powers were compelled to resort to in view of the manifold and unforeseen perils by which they were beset." [2]

In the course of the constantly renewed discussions for the withdrawal of the Gallican Articles of 1682, the Pope insisted on first consulting the Cardinals, notwithstanding the opposition of the French. After the rejections by the Cardinals of a proposal by Louis XIV., another was at length drawn up in July which satisfied both parties. When the Abbé de Polignac took the new project to Versailles, it looked as if the conclusion of religious peace in France were close at hand.[3] But this time also the Pope was destined to be disappointed, and the thwarting of his hope was largely the work of a Prince of the Church who owed the purple to Alexander's indulgence, viz. Cardinal Forbin Janson. Knowing that in this extremely able and skilful man he possessed an

[1] Text of the *Briefs to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain in *Brevia*, Pap. Sec. Archives. *Cf.* also **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library.

[2] Klopp, V., 16.

[3] Gérin, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXII., 177 *seq.*

entirely willing tool, the King ordered the Cardinal, who was going to Rome to receive the red hat, to remain there for the purpose of keeping an eye on the more accommodating Duke de Chaulnes.[1] Forbin reached Rome on July 2nd, 1690, when Cardinal Ottoboni took him at once by a secret staircase of the Quirinal, into the Pope's presence.[2] The Pontiff received the Cardinal most graciously; he imposed the red hat on him at the consistory of July 6th.[3] The more clearly Forbin saw the Pope's determination to settle the disputes with France, the more obstinately he insisted on the Gallican demands. In this he was but the interpreter of his master's intentions. Louis XIV. rejected the draft of a compromise which Chaulnes had accepted, recalled Cardinal Bouillon, who also held moderate views, and entrusted everything to Janson.[4]

In these circumstances, Alexander VIII. could only take the sharper measures already prepared by Innocent XI. On June 30th a Constitution had been drawn up which, though it did not directly condemn the teaching of the Assembly of Bishops of 1682, nevertheless declared its decisions on that teaching and the dispositions for its execution to have been issued without authority and as such to be null and void. This Constitution was now signed and the representatives of France were informed that its publication was unavoidable.[5] Though Forbin's and Chaulnes' answer took the form of threats, Alexander VIII. made yet another personal appeal to Louis XIV. as well as to Madame de Maintenon who exercised considerable influence over the King.[6] The autograph letter of December 18th, 1690, in which he once more besought the King to restore peace to the Church of France, failed to touch the obstinate monarch. The Pope had only a short

[1] *Ibid.*, 183.

[2] *Cf.* **Diario* of C. Cassina, in *Vat.* 8390, Vatican Library.

[3] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 184 *seq.*, 188.

[5] *Ibid.*, 202, and M. D'ANGELO, *Luigi XIV. e la S. Sede*, 25.

[6] Brief to Mad. de Maintenon, December 29, 1690, in *Brevia*, Pap. Sec. Archives. *Cf.* LANGLOIS, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1929, 62.

time to live when Louis XIV.'s answer, dated January 8th, 1691, reached him. The King's letter crushed all hopes of peace. Shortly before this the Pope had authorized the French nuncio, Francesco Niccolini, to declare that a compromise was only possible on the basis of the proposal agreed upon with Chaulnes in the summer of 1690.[1]

Whilst the Pope was thus indefatigably working for such a consummation, his relations with the Emperor had increasingly deteriorated. To the initial misunderstanding caused by the creation of Cardinals of February 13th, 1690, there was added another caused by the appointment of a new nuncio to Vienna,[2] and as a third there was Alexander's reserve in granting subsidies for the war against the Turks. Since May 1690, there was a threat of a formal rupture between Vienna and Rome,[3] but when on October 28th news arrived in the Eternal City of the fall of Belgrad, the Pope was greatly concerned. He ordered not only prayers and processions to implore the divine help but likewise gave instructions for the immediate dispatch to Vienna of 100,000 florins.[4] But this help came too late and the sum granted was

[1] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 197 *seqq.* The *Instruction to Niccolini, dated January 13, 1691, in *Cod.* 38, A. 30, p. 179 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome, has now been published by M. D'ANGELO, *loc. cit.*, 55 *seqq.*, from a manuscript of the Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[2] See the detailed account in BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 104 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*

[4] " *Sorpreso et agitato l'animo del Papa dall'infausta notitia della perdita di Belgrado, si crede nell'obligo indispensabile d'accorrere possibilmente con tutti li mezzi divini et humani al riparo di maggiori minacciate iatture. Spedì però la sera di sabato espresso alla corte di Vienna la scritta rimessa di 100m fiorini, et publicata per li tre giorni susseguenti un indulgenza in forma di giubileo [he had the Blessed Sacrament exposed in S. Maria Maggiore and went there himself on foot] con tutte le dimostrationi maggiori di compuntione, devotione e zelo." So also for three days in S. Prassede, amid a very great concourse of people. The Pope was overcome by the news and by his exertions,

only a remnant of the tax imposed by Innocent XI. on ecclesiastical revenues in Spanish territories, but which had not been hitherto handed over.[1] On the imperial side a comparison was made between what Innocent XI. had given and the contrast was bound to be greatly to Alexander's disadvantage.[2] But, naturally enough, the Pope's first preoccupation was to effect a compromise with France and the difficulty of his position was quickly seen, for Louis XIV. complained at once that Alexander VIII. gave proof of partisanship when he lent help to the Emperor, the ally of Protestant princes, "against France rather than against the Turks."[3]

A further deterioration of relations with Leopold I. was occasioned by Alexander's third and last nomination of Cardinals on November 13th, 1690, when, regardless of the wishes of the Emperor, Francesco Barberini and Lorenzo Altieri obtained the purple.[4] The decisive factor in the choice of these two prelates was their kinship with the papal nephews.[5]

Vienna had long hesitated to have recourse to strong measures but now it was decided, on November 29th, that the Emperor's representative, Prince Liechtenstein, should leave Rome without a farewell audience; Cardinal Goës, in view of the prospect of a conclave in the near future, was to remain there, but was forbidden to have anything to do with the Curia; the *chargé d'affaires* of the Vienna nunciature was to be forbidden to have any relations with the imperial court and the Government, and Leopold I. was to send a protest to the

so could not attend the functions that followed. *Avviso Marescotti*, November 8, 1690, Bibl. Vitt. Emanuele, Rome.

[1] See BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 155.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 193 *seqq.*

[4] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; GUARNACCI, I., 371 *seq.*; NOVAES, XI., 91 *seq.*; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 544 *seqq.* (on Altieri). "*Composizioni fatte in Palestrina da diversi autori" on the occasion of Fr. Barberini's nomination to the cardinalate in *Barb.* XLIV., 225, Vat. Library.

[5] BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 142 *seqq.*

Sacred College.[1] None of these resolutions were carried into effect because the Pope fell gravely ill in January 1691.

As late as November 11th, 1690, it was reported from Rome that the aged Head of the Church enjoyed the best of health. The greatest difficulty was that he would not consider his age but insisted on devoting himself with undiminished zeal to the affairs of Christendom, in particular to bringing about a compromise with France.[2] In point of fact, Alexander VIII. had never spared himself and even as an old man he still worked with the energy of youth.[3] But at last his strength was spent. On January 8th, 1691, he held a consistory [4]; eight days later he was compelled to take to his bed owing to erysipelas in one leg.[5] At first all hope was not given up,[6] but on January 22nd the condition of the invalid became grave [7] and the celebrated surgeon Gambara of Padua

[1] *Ibid.*, 167 *seqq.* In Rome the excitement was no less than in Vienna. On December 2, 1690, the Secretary of State wrote to the Uditore, Franc. Tucci, in Vienna: "*Tutta l'industria et opera de' ministri cesarei in questa corte non tende ad altro se non che ad accender fuoco ed a moltiplicar inventioni costà, onde se ne cumulino fra ambedue le parti i dissapori. Ed è assai verisimile, anzi si tien per fermo da' più sensati che fintanto che i predetti vi si tratterrano, non sia per comporsi alcuna differenza, nè farsi cosa di buono. Per questa medesima ragione si è allontanato dai medesimi e di quà il sigr. cardinale de Medici, che non poteva e non voleva accomodarsi alle loro massime e risoluzioni, etc." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 216, p. 15, Pap. Sec. Archives. The Pope was against the erection of a new electorate for Hannover; Ernest Augustus would only have been supported if he had carried out his intention of passing over to the Catholic Church (HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 101 *seqq.*). Alexander VIII., like Innocent XII., judged Spinola's efforts for reunion (see above, p. 477) more favourably than Innocent XI. (HILTEBRANDT, 89 *seqq.*).

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 11, 1690, Bibl. Vitt. Em., Rome.

[3] See the report in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 199. [4] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* **Diario* in *Barb.* 4683, p. 4 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[6] **Avviso Marescotti*, January 20 ,1691, *loc. cit.*

[7] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 200.

was sent for.[1] However, gangrene set in[2] so that on January 29th the Pontiff's condition became hopeless. Alexander VIII. received the information with absolute calm and fullest resignation to God's will.[3] He summoned to his death-bed the twelve Cardinals to whom he had entrusted the task of settling the French dispute. All came, except Cibo who had been taken ill.[4] In their presence, and in presence of two prelates and two protonotaries acting as witnesses, with a firm voice and holding a crucifix in his hand, he solemnly declared that he felt convinced that if he had been raised to the supreme dignity, it was solely because he had been a faithful adviser to his predecessor and because he had always urged and encouraged the latter to defend the prerogatives of the Holy See in the disputes with France. He knew quite well what it was the Sacred College had expected from him, namely that he should carry into effect the counsels he had himself given, that he should uphold what had been done by Innocent XI. and defend those rights with the same zeal. As a matter of fact he had always striven to compose these disputes, whilst always safe-guarding the rights of the Holy See by compelling the French Bishops to condemn all that had been done at their assembly. Since he had failed to secure this, he felt bound to give the Sacred College the satisfaction which it expected from him. This he would do by communicating to them the text of a Brief which had been drawn up during the reign of Innocent XI. and repeatedly studied in the Congregation of Cardinals. The Pope then ordered the Brief to be read to the gathering.[5]

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, January 29, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[2] GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 3, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[4] According to the **Avviso Marescotti* of February 3, 1691, they were (besides Cibo): Chigi, Altieri, Carpegna, Colonna, Nerli, Casanata, Marescotti, Capizucchi, Brancati, Panciatici e Astalli.

[5] See Forbin's report to Louis XIV., February 10, 1691, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 201 *seq.* *Cf.* Lando's dispatch in BROSCH, I., 450, who misunderstands the document.

After Cardinal Altieri had read the Brief, dated August 4th, 1690,[1] the Pope lamented the state of Europe and the power of the Turks which benefited by the dissensions among the Christian Princes. Whenever he had pleaded for peace neither the Austrians nor the French listened to his words. After exhorting them to choose a worthy successor he gave the Cardinals his blessing and dismissed them.[2]

As late as January 30th, Alexander VIII. dictated a letter to Louis XIV. In it he said that, being about to give an account to God and conscious of his duty, he declared null and void all the measures taken in France in contravention of the prerogatives of the Church and the authority of the Holy See. Whilst communicating this to the King he besought him to conduct himself at last as became the eldest son of the Church.[3]

From now onward the dying Pontiff gave all his attention to spiritual things but received nearly all the Cardinals. After devoutly receiving Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction he expired on February 1st, 1691, aged 81 years.[4]

Contrary to what was believed at one time, the Brief of the dying Pontiff did not contain a dogmatic condemnation of the Gallican Articles but merely stated, and this with great emphasis, that the Declaration of 1682 and its approval by the King as well as the edict on the *régale*, were null and void in law [5]; in other words, the Brief did not intend to be a pronouncement on the doctrine of the four Articles, it only declared that the Assembly of 1682 had no authority to set

[1] Printed in *Bull.* XX., 67 *seqq.*, and in *Coll. Lac.*, I., 831 *seq.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 3, 1691, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the note from Boncompagni Archives in PASOLINI, *Documenti*, 44 *seq.*

[3] BERNINI, *Heretici*, 737.

[4] "*Verso le 22 hore," says Liechtenstein in his Diary, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, February 3, 1691, *loc. cit.* and **Relazione dell' autopsia del cadavere di P. Alessandro VIII. fatta 2 Febr. 1691 da Ipp. Magnani, chirurgo del Palazzo*, in *Vat.* 8229, Vatican Library.

[5] DUBRUEL, in *Dict. apologétique de la foi cath.*, II., Paris, 1924, 266 *seq.*

up the four propositions, so that its decision was invalid in law. Even so the Brief did its work: alarmed and perturbed, the French in Rome at once despatched a courier to Paris [1]; they saw that the Brief struck at the very heart of Louis XIV.'s ecclesiastico-political aspirations.

By this supreme act of his, Alexander VIII. showed himself a worthy successor of Innocent XI. Both pursued the same end, namely, the restoration of the rights of the Church; the one did so by inflexible resistance, the other by extreme conciliation, whilst always safe-guarding the prerogatives of the Holy See.[2] Louis XIV. deemed it prudent to submit in silence to the quashing of his edicts, though the Gallicans pressed him for counter-measures.[3] This was a first success. It may be said that to the dying Pontiff is due the credit of having paved the way for the ultimate triumph of the Holy See in this matter,[4] and that herein lies the significance of his short pontificate. This Brief is a far worthier monument to Alexander VIII. than the sumptuous sepulchre with which the Cardinal nephew sought to perpetuate the memory of his great uncle.[5] The name of the Ottoboni Pope likewise lives

[1] Besides the reports of the imperialists quoted by BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 172, n. 50, see also **Avviso Marescotti*, February 3, 1691 (*loc. cit.*): "Tal inaspettata risolutione e dichiaratione della S. S., sicome riempì di confusione li Francesi, mandandone questo ambasciatore un corriere in Francia, così produsse un gran stupore alla corte, venendo da tutti inalzata con elogii."

[2] BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, 178 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* PHILLIPS, 388 *seqq.*

[4] Opinion of BISCHOFFSHAUSEN (182 *seqq.*).

[5] The monument erected in the left aisle of St. Peter's, which was executed in 1725 from a design of Count Enrico di San Martino is rich with marble, alabaster and gold. The bronze statue of the Pope, by Giuseppe Bertosi, is an excellent piece of work; less well done are the marble statues of Religion and Prudence and the canonization of five saints in relief, by Angelo de' Rossi (*cf.* BERGNER, 103; SOBOTKA, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1914, 42). The inscription in GUARNACCI, I., 320, and FORCELLA, VI., 171. **Ristretto delle spese fatte dal card. Ottoboni nel deposito*

in the world of learning, thanks to the donation by him of manuscripts to the Archives and the Library of the Vatican to which he assigned part of Queen Christine's treasures acquired by him.[1] Through Benedict XIV. the whole of the rich collection of the Scandinavian Queen was eventually acquired for the Vatican.

During the pontificate of Alexander VIII. there arose an association having for its aim the furthering of literary activity. On January 24th, 1656, Queen Christine of Sweden founded an Academy for the discussion of questions of ethics.[2] On October 5th, 1690, its members formed themselves into an association which made it its mission to watch over the

d' Alessandro VIII., in *Vat.* 7483, p. 226 *seqq.*, Vat. Library. *Report on the translation of the body to the new tomb, dated Rome, February 20, 1706, in *Ottob.* 1288, p. 160, *ibid. Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, February 20, 1706, *loc. cit.* For the history of art the following **Avvisi Marescotti* are of interest. : July 29, 1690 : " È uscito ordine del cardinale Vicario, che li pittori non possino far quadro di sorte alcuna da esporsi nelle chiese, se prima non sarà approvato da S. E., e ciò d'ordine pontificio per oviare alli scandali delle pitture indecenti nelle chiese." 5 November 1690 : " Con l'occasione della capella, che s'è tenuta questa mattina dal S. Collegio per la festa di S. Carlo, s'è scoperto il bel quadro all'altare maggiore di smisurata grandezza, che viene stimata la più bell'opera di quante n'habbia fatte fin'hora il famoso Carlo Maratti Romano. Voleva il cardinale Vicario far coprire il nudo d'un angelo, ma il pittore se gl'è opposto." Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[1] *Cf.* Guarnacci, I., 384 ; Grauert, II., 404, 435 ; Blume, III., 351 ; Dudik, *Forschungen in Schweden*, 121 ; Pflugk-Harttung, *Iter italicum*, 142 *seqq.* ; Carini, *Bibl. Vaticana*, 91 *seqq.* ; Cozza-Luzzi, *Cod. MSS. graeci Ottoboniani Vaticanae Bibl.*, Romae, 1893, XV., XXVII. *seq.*, LII. *seq.* ; Sickel, *Römische Berichte*, IV., 32 *seqq.* Alexander VIII. bought for his own library the Altemps library with the famous *Pontificale* which found its way to the Vaticana through Benedict XIV. ; see *Codices Vaticani selecti*, III. : *Miniature, Pontificale Ottobonianum, Cod. Ottob.*, 501, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 72.

purity of the native tongue. The new Academy aimed at avoiding all bombast and the cultivation of a simple and natural style; it accordingly called itself "Arcadia" after the pastoral land of classical antiquity of the same name. The idea proved popular: within a few years similar societies all over Italy became affiliated to the Roman Academy. Alexander VIII. himself became a member and his example was followed by his successors up to recent times. Among the fourteen original founders the best known names are those of Crescimbeni (*obiit* 1728), author of an esteemed work on popular poetry, Gravina (*ob.* 1718), Zappi (*ob.* 1719); the future Cardinal Tournon was also one of them. Other celebrated Academicians at a subsequent period were Ciampini, Fabretti, the archæologist Buonaroti, Cardinal Noris, Bianchini, and in the sphere of natural sciences, Malpighi, Lancisi, Viviani, Redi and Magalotti. Among the poets of the Academy mention must be made of Filicaja and Cardinal Polignac. One Academician even obtained the honour of beatification, namely the able liturgist Francesco Maria Tommasi.[1]

(3.)

Alexander VIII. made a pronouncement not only on Gallicanism, but likewise on certain questions in the sphere of Moral Theology and on Jansenism.

[1] Isidoro Carini, *L'Arcadia dal 1690 al 1890, Memorie storiche*, Roma, 1891; *Albo offerto dagli Arcadi a S. S. Pio X. loro Pastore massimo nei due giubilei sacerdotale ed episcopale 1908–1909*, Roma, 1909; there V. Grazioli treats of Bosco Parrasio, A. Monaci of biblioteca d'Arcadia, V. Prinzivalli of the nuova Pinacoteca Vaticana, S. Salvatini of the Pinacoteca d'Arcadia. On Sergardi and his attacks on Gravina, see Lánczy, in *Ungarische Revue*, XV. (1895), 147 *seqq.* Vico and Muratori also belonged to the colonies of the Arcadia outside Rome (*ibid.*, 146). On the Academy's place of assembly, see Nibby, II., 167. Inscriptions there of Alexander VIII., Benedict XIII., Pius VI., etc., in Forcella, XIII., 532 *seq.*

After the condemnation by Innocent XI. of 65 propositions which in the province of moral teaching, stretched the boundaries of duty too far in favour of liberty, the opponents of the Jansenists demanded that the excessive severity of the latter should also be examined in Rome. Innocent consented to such an examination but he was obliged to leave the final judgment to his successor.[1]

However, before pronouncing on the Jansenist propositions submitted to him, Alexander VIII. issued a decision on two theses which originated in the camp of their adversaries. More than once the proposition that the love of God consists in keeping His commandments, had been exaggerated to such a point that there were those who maintained that it was not necessary to make a formal act of the love of God during the whole of one's life. A bachelor of the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson had revived this error, though amid the protests of the Jesuits. Alexander VIII. condemned it once more on August 24th, 1690,[2] together with a second proposition which caused far greater stir, namely, the so-called philosophical sin. Long ago theologians had asked themselves whether every sin, seeing that it is a transgression of the law of God, was an offence against God even on the part of one who, through no fault of his, does not know the true God or who does not think of Him whilst committing a sinful act. Certain theses put up in 1686 by the Jesuit Musnier at Dijon and by a Belgian Jesuit in 1690, as exercises in disputation, seemed to maintain, or at least not to exclude, the possibility and actual existence of "philosophical" sins. Arnauld took up the matter and in five publications[3] denounced the new heresy to the Pope and the Bishops, the princes and the authorities. The Jesuits were forced by their principles, he asserted, to assume that an immense number of sins were

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 433.

[2] Le Bachelet nel *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I. (1903), 749–751; Denzinger, n. 1289 *seq.*; [D'Avrigny], III., 336–342; D. Bouhours, *Sentiment des Jésuites touchant le péché philosophique*, Paris, 1690; Sommervogel, V., 288, 1470 *seqq.*

[3] *Œuvres*, XXXI., 1–397.

committed which were not " theological " sins, that is, sins that offend God and deserve everlasting punishment. The accusation was not just even in regard to Musnier for, as the latter explicitly explained, his thesis was only conditional—all he meant to say was that *if* there was such a thing as inculpable ignorance of God, there might be a transgression of the right order which would be no offence against God, hence it would be a purely " philosophical " sin. However, the Dijon thesis was misleading ; it was accordingly very properly condemned by Alexander VIII. who thereby asserted an important truth which is repeatedly stated in Holy Writ and receives confirmation from the most recent ethnological observation, namely that despite their motley pantheon, even the pagans are able to acquire sufficient knowledge of the true God. Meanwhile, the dispute concerning philosophical sin had had a very wide repercussion. The Jansenists made it a pretext for satirical songs against the Jesuits which were soon sung in the streets,[1] to say nothing of the controversial writings on the subject.[2]

This measure against certain isolated excesses of the opponents of the Jansenists was followed, at the end of 1690, by a long-planned step against the Jansenists themselves.[3] Though the Pope expressly condemned only 31 out of the 96 propositions which had been incriminated under Innocent XI., his silence in this respect by no means implies approval. The first 15 propositions concern doctrines conforming to Jansenist mentality, doctrines which the latter's friends still hoped to save despite Innocent XI.'s condemnation of the

[1] [D'Avrigny], III., 341.

[2] Sommervogel, V., 1470–1473 ; *cf.* 288.

[3] Le Bachelet, *loc. cit.*, 751–763 ; Denzinger, n. 1291–1321 ; [D'Avrigny], III., 342–350. An **Avviso Marescotti* of August 12, 1690, says : Thursday " in Piazza di S. Lorenzo in Lucina per esser festa di detto Santo fu abbrugiato artificiosamente Diogine dentro la botte, alludendo alla pena meritata dall'inventore del peccato filosofico, contro del quale in breve uscirà rigoroso decreto ". Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Cf.* Bernini, IV., 728 *seqq.*

five propositions. There followed eight propositions directed against Arnauld's book on frequent Communion; they refute the teaching on the reception of the Sacrament of Penance and the Eucharist on which Arnauld's book is based, though they are not expressly mentioned, as well as kindred opinions on penance and confession. The last of the 31 propositions which declares Urban VIII.'s Bull against Jansenius' book to be authentic, is also aimed at Arnauld, for the latter had impugned its genuineness, whilst the two preceding ones condemn certain Gallican attacks on the doctrine of papal infallibility and exaggerated statements on the importance of St. Augustine. The five remaining propositions (Nos. 24–28), deal with the cult of the Blessed Virgin, the veneration of images and the intention required from the ministers of the Sacraments. One of the condemned propositions (No. 3) is connected with the controversy about probabilism; it declares that it is wrong to say that it is unlawful to follow a probable opinion even when it possesses the highest degree of probability.[1]

For the Jansenists the condemnation of the 31 propositions was a severe blow. They sought to ward it off by representing the condemnation as equivocal or by asserting that it was surreptitious and only hit theses that were taught by no one.[2] However, the names of the theologians to whom each proposition must be ascribed are accurately known. Gerberon describes the decree of condemnation as a shame for the Holy Office and a blot on the pontificate of Alexander VIII. After Alexander's death, Du Vaucel wrote to Quesnel that he had been unable to make up his mind to attend the funeral service for the Pope; Quesnel was not the only one to consider the deceased Pontiff an excommunicate.[3] Arnauld also gave

[1] The proposition is ascribed to John Sinnich, theologian, of Louvain. *Cf.* Fr. Deininger, *J. Sinnich*, Düsseldorf, 1928, 196 *seqq.*

[2] Arnauld, *Difficultés proposées à M. Steyaert, Vicaire Apostolique de Bois-le-Duc*] *Œuvres*, XXV., 178; Le Bachelet, *loc. cit.*, 751, 762.

[3] [D'Avrigny], III., 348 *seq.*

vent to his resentment but justified it by Alexander's nepotism.[1]

Quietism, which had played an important rôle under Innocent XI.,[2] was not completely extinct under his successor and we still hear of arrests for such opinions.[3] Cardinal Petrucci, at whose trial Alexander VIII., as Cardinal Ottoboni, had pronounced a severe sentence, was relegated by him to his diocese of Iesi.[4]

An important intervention by Alexander VIII. in the development of the Chinese missions was probably not uninfluenced by the Jansenist movement in France. By a Bull of April 10th, 1690, he erected the diocese of Nangking and by another of August 10th, that of Peking.[5] This step was to be fraught with important consequences, one that seemed to foreshadow a break with the policy hitherto favoured. Alexander VIII.'s immediate predecessors had endeavoured to free themselves from the Portuguese patronage by appointing for China Vicars Apostolic instead of Bishops. Now the Pope once more erected real dioceses, once again expressly subjecting them, in the Bulls of erection, to the patronage of the Portuguese, thereby recognizing the latter's rights which had never been abolished. It was probably no mere coincidence that the first Bishop of Peking, Bernardino della Chiesa, was chosen not from the ranks of the French secular clergy, like Pallu and others, but from one of the Orders, viz. the Franciscans. The question was, therefore, one of a return to an earlier practice; the consequences of so important a step were not long in making themselves felt.

Alexander VIII. also sought to further the missions by addressing formal letters to individual potentates in whose

[1] "Pape qui s'est rendu l'opprobre du S. Siège et l'exécration de tous les gens de bien, par le scandaleux renouvellement qu'il a fait du népotisme." Letter of January 26, 1694, *Œuvres*, III., 733.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 442 *seqq.*

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 3, 1690, *loc. cit.*

[4] Dudon, *Molinos*, 247. *Cf.* above, p. 454 *seqq.*

[5] Ius pontif., II., 122 ff., 125 ff.; Novaes, XI., 100.

territory the heralds of the faith were carring out their task. Thus on July 24th, 1690, he sent a Brief to the Emperor of the Tartars and the Chinese. He thanked him for his kindness to the Jesuits of which he had heard from Claude Philip Grimaldi, and recommended to him the bearer of the letter, Francesco Maria Spinola and his companions.[1] A Brief dated May 27th, 1690, reminded the Shah of Persia of the privileges which his father had granted to the Christians in Armenia.[2] When one of the Caucasian princes adopted the Christian faith, he informed the Pope of the fact. On December 30th, 1690, Alexander VIII. wrote to testify his satisfaction, at the same time expressing the hope that God would also enlighten the prince's subjects; concord with other princes would greatly contribute to such a result.[3]

[1] *Illustr. et potentiss. utriusque Tatariae et Sinarum imperatori. Brevia, Papal Sec. Arch.; Synopsis actorum, 412. Innocent XII. confirmed this decree, *ibid.*, 414.

[2] "*Privilegia quae rex parens tuus christianis in Armenia indulsit." Papal Sec. Arch., *loc. cit.*

[3] *To "Barzinus princeps in Iberia," *ibid.*

CHAPTER II.

INNOCENT XII

THE CONCLAVE OF 1691—ANTECEDENTS AND FIRST MEASURES OF THE NEW POPE—REFORMS IN THE PAPAL STATES—BUILDING ACTIVITY IN ROME.

THE conclave, the doors of which were closed on the evening of February 12th, 1691, was destined to be the longest of the whole 17th century.[1] The College of Cardinals had its full complement of 70 members, yet on the first day only 38 were present. But their numbers soon rose. On February 19th there were 44 whilst 61 took part in the last vote.[2]

[1] Much more valuable than the conclavists' reports gathered together by EISLER (*Vetorecht*, 143 *seq.*) are the ambassadors' reports, partly in PETRUCELLI, III., the imperial ones in WAHRMUND, 289 *seqq.* I also made use of **Avvisi Marescotti* (Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele), and of the *reports of a very well informed agent which I discovered in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, *fasc.*, 24. Accurate *lists of scrutinies by Card. Astalli in *Vat.* 8229–8230, and by Card. Barberini in *Barb.* 4444 and 4445 (here also a plan of the conclave), Vat. Lib.

[2] 13 February, 1° scrutinio: "praes. 38, abs. a Curia 27, abs. ab urbe 5"; 2° scrutinio: "praes. 40."
14 February, 1° scrutinio: praes. 40. 2° scrutinio: praes. 42.
18 February: praes. 43.
19 February: praes. 44.
27 February: praes. 46.
1° March: praes. 47.
11 March: praes. 48.
12 March: praes. 50.
13 March: praes. 51.
18 March: prae . 53.
21 March: praes. 57.
24 March: "praes. 57, abs. a Curia 10."

Notwithstanding the shortness of the pontificate just concluded, the composition of the Sacred College had undergone a marked change; it had been reduced by the death of two Cardinals, namely, Cerri and Cavalieri [1] and increased by 14 new creations. The grouping of the parties had likewise shifted, though the French and the Spanish-Imperial party—the latter again under the nominal leadership of Cardinal Medici—stood once more face to face. French interests were in the hands of Cardinal D'Estrées who was to have also the support of Cardinal Forbin and the Duke de Chaulnes.[2]

The Spanish and Imperial Cardinals allied themselves with Chigi and the Cardinals of Innocent XI., among whom, however, the "Zelanti" formed a separate group under the leadership of Colloredo. Barberini and the French joined Alexander VIII.'s Cardinals, captained by Ottoboni and Cardinal Altieri.

No one party was completely united: Cardinal Goës distrusted Medici and Prince Liechtenstein the Marchese Cogolludo. Forbin, D'Estrées, and Bouillon, as well as Chaulnes, were unable to agree among themselves, however much they strove to hide the fact. In these circumstances it is impossible to give definite numbers for the various parties, but the group Medici, Chigi, Odescalchi was stronger than the D'Estrées, Ottoboni, Altieri one. Both commanded enough votes for an exclusion.[3]

28 March: praes. 61.
6 April: praes. 63.
17 April: praes. 62.
13 June: praes. 61.

**Cod. Barb. cif.* A **Diario* of the conclave by Angelo Peretti in *Ottob.* 490, Vat. Lib. The following died during the conclave: Bichi, G. Spinola and Capizuchi, whilst Portocarrero, Lancastre, Radziejowski and Fürstenberg did not come to Rome.

[1] Guarnacci, I., 404.

[2] Wahrmund, 167.

[3] *Id.*, 167.

Everybody foresaw a lengthy conclave [1] though no one suspected that it would last a full five months. During the whole of that time the struggle of the parties was centred round the candidature of Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo, Bishop of Padua. By common consent Barbarigo was one of the most outstanding figures in the Church's supreme Senate.[2] He was reputed a most worthy candidate even before he entered the conclave [3]; immediately after him people also mentioned the names of Marescotti, Casanata, Pignatelli, Buonvisi, Visconti, Ciceri, Cibo, and Barberini.[4]

Barbarigo's elevation was proposed by the Oratorian Cardinal Colloredo, the leader of the "Zelanti", who was supported by Chigi. No one could deny Barbarigo's excellent qualities. Though most affable in his manner he had very strict principles, in particular the abolition of nepotism could be confidently hoped for as a result of his elevation.[5] It was probably for this reason that Altieri and Ottoboni opposed him from the beginning. The Hispano-Imperial Cardinals were still awaiting their instructions and Forbin would not act before the arrival of the French Cardinals. Thus for a long time everything remained in suspense.

A report of De la Torre, imperial ambassador at Venice, was destined to prove fatal to Barbarigo's candidature, for though he could not deny the excellent qualities of the Venetian prelate, he described him as so completely prejudiced in

[1] "*L'apparenze sono che il conclave debbia esser molto longo per le debolezze delle fattione e per le discordie de' Spagnuoli e Francesi" (*Avviso Marescotti* of February 17, 1691, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele. Charles II. of Spain was greatly mistaken when he anticipated a short conclave, *cf.* his *letter to Cogolludo, dated Madrid, March 5, 1691, Archives of Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 28.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XXXI., p. 131.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of February 17 and March 3, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avvisi Marescotti* of February 24, March 3, 10 and 24, 1691, *ibid.*

[5] **Memoria* on the *papabili*, 1691, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

favour of France that Louis XIV. himself was not a better Frenchman than Barbarigo.[1] On the other hand, from another quarter it was pointed out to Leopold I. that a man of such exceptional piety was sure to follow in the footsteps of Innocent XI. Though Barbarigo was a native of Venice, he did not share the sentiments of the Venetians, nor was there any ground for fearing that he would show himself a partisan of France, for so holy a man would bestow equal affection on all. If Barbarigo disapproved of the Emperor's league with the Protestants and lamented the fall of James II., this was by no means due to partiality towards France but to his great zeal for the Catholic faith. Hence the Emperor should refrain from excluding Barbarigo.[2]

However, these representations failed to get a hearing in Vienna. The instructions for which Prince Liechtenstein had prayed were forwarded to him on May 4th. They were to the effect that Barbarigo's election would not be to His Majesty's liking, hence it must be prevented at all cost though in the measure in which this was possible; no direct action was to be taken against him and the Emperor's command was only to be made known in the event of extreme danger.[3]

The embarrassment into which the imperialists were thrown by these directions was all the greater as the secret had not been kept. Whilst they publicly denied the existence of an exclusion, they immediately sent the courier back to Vienna with a request for further instructions. The information with which the messenger was charged laid stress on the fact that by reason of his excellent qualities Barbarigo was held in high esteem by the Cardinals; that it would be difficult to prevent his elevation by secret means, whilst a formal

[1] **Relazione* for Leopold I., dated Venice, February 17, 1691, State Arch., Vienna. *Cf.* WAHRMUND, 170, 289. See also *Riflessioni veridiche per le quali non si può da' ministri Austriaci venire all' elettione del card. Barbarigo. Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[2] **Memoria* of 1691, *loc. cit.*

[3] WAHRMUND, 171, 289.

exclusion would not only create a very bad impression, but would give particular offence to the party of the "Zelanti". Yet the imperial party could not do without the "Zelanti" and Chigi, for its weakness was such that it could neither bring about the triumph of a candidate of its own, nor prevent the election of another. Should an open exclusion by the imperialists be overridden and Barbarigo be elected against their will, everybody would consider the event as an obvious defeat and as a tremendous blow to the Emperor's authority.[1]

In the interval before the courier's return the French Cardinals Bouillon, D'Estrées, Bonsi, Le Camus, and Spinola arrived on March 25th. They entered the conclave on the evening of the 27th [2] when they soon took the side of Altieri and Ottoboni, Barbarigo's opponents.[3]

The anxiously awaited courier returned from Vienna on April 14th, but as the gates of Rome were shut for fear of the plague, he was only able to enter the city on the following

[1] *Ibid.*, 171 *seqq.* Though Barbarigo's exclusion was never officially proclaimed during the conclave, its influence was nevertheless so decisive that the "right" of exclusion obtained its definitive form at the time, and that in the sense that this "right", in the form of an exclusion, was henceforth fully established and in that form it was thereafter exercised; see EISLER, 175. For a juridical appreciation of the right of exclusion, *cf.* GIETL, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XVI., 76. The King of Spain, however, from motives of conscience, would have nothing to do with the exclusion on this occasion; see the Instruction for Card. Salazar in WAHRMUND, 298 *seqq.*

[2] **Cod. Barb.* 4444, Vat. Lib. The **Avviso Marescotti* of March 31, 1691, says of the arrival of the French: "La quantità del popolo, che concorse per le strade e piazze a verderli, fu incredibile. In più luoghi della città gridò la plebe dietro le loro carrozze con tali voci: Fateci un Papa Romano, et essi salutando cortesemente e facendo distribuire larghe elemosine a' poveri si condussero alla clausura." Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of an agent, April 18, 1691, Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna. Louis XIV. forbade Card. Bouillon to vote for Barbarigo; see REYSSIÉ, 71.

morning.[1] He was the bearer of two imperial autograph letters to Cardinal Goës: the first, which might be made public, approved the conduct hitherto observed by the imperialist party and declared that His Majesty had no thought of excluding Barbarigo; the second letter, which was to be kept secret, expressed a wish that Barbarigo should not be elected, but the odium of the exclusion should be diverted from the Emperor—Altieri and Ottoboni, or Spain, being made to bear the responsibility of the failure of his candidature.[2]

This time the secret was so well kept that the "Zelanti" felt they might proceed to the election of their favourite candidate. But their own zeal proved fatal to Barbarigo.[3] Whilst the announcement of the latter's election was generally awaited in the city,[4] his old opponents, Altieri and Ottoboni, prepared to oppose it to the utmost; they achieved one great success in that the French definitely went over to their side.[5]

It was a curious situation. The French made no mystery of the fact that, as far as they were concerned, neither they nor their sovereign had anything against Barbarigo, but that out of consideration for their allies they were bound to make a stand against him. It was even rumoured that the French, through Le Camus, had proposed certain agreements to Barbarigo but that the latter had declined to enter into negotiations of this kind.[6] The imperialists tried, though in vain, to bind Barbarigo by particular pacts, but this action was disapproved by Charles II. of Spain from conscientious

[1] *Report of an agent, April 15, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[2] WAHRMUND, 173, 294 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 174, 296.

[4] See Liechtenstein's *Diary in Liechtenstein Arch. *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, April 21, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[5] WAHRMUND, 174.

[6] Besides Card. Medici's report of April 21, 1691, in WAHRMUND, 298, that also of *an agent, April 16, 1691, in Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna.

motives.[1] No command for an exclusion had come from Madrid; nevertheless the Spanish ambassador Cogolludo continued his intrigues against Barbarigo, for he hated the Cardinal, as did the Viceroy of Milan and other representatives of the King of Spain in Italy.[2] But, in spite of all, the "Zelanti" continued their support of Barbarigo even when the latter declared that, for higher motives, he did not wish to be elected.[3]

In order to extricate themselves from the labyrinth into which they had got,[4] the electors put forward all sorts of candidates. By the end of April, Pignatelli's name was seriously mentioned and his elevation advocated.[5] A report of May 20th says that if the choice were to fall on one of the older Cardinals, Pignatelli would be the best; he had scarcely

[1] "*Pero en el punto de pedir condiciones al card. Barberigo ordino positivamente, no sigais al embaxador Cesareo preveniendole francamente no contribuireis con vostros oficios en esta parte por oponerse a mi consciencia." Charles II.'s Instructions in cypher to Cogolludo, Madrid, June 7, 1691, Arch. of Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] Besides WAHRMUND, 174, *cf.* *report of an agent, April 16, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 5 and 12, 1691, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele: "*È cosa terribile nelle occorrenze presenti non habbino i zelanti qualche pietà della christianità e voglino più tosto vederla esposta alla sua rovina, che rimoversi del loro favore per Barbarigo. È veramente da temer che di questa fazione non provenghi un giorno qualche scisma nella chiesa di Dio." Report of an agent, April 21, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[4] "*Questo è un chaos difficile a risolvere, un labirinto difficile ad uscirne." Report of the agent, June 19, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[5] See **Avvisi Marescotti* of April 28, May 5 and 19, 1691, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, and the *reports of the agent, of May 14, 17, 18, 19, 1691, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Pignatelli received 2 votes on February 14; after that he had mostly 1 or none at all; later on he had, both in votes and *accessi*: March 29, 4 and 3; March 30, 3 and 7; March 31, 2 and 2; April 17, 6 and 4; April 23, 4 and 10; in June mostly 8–9 votes. **Cod. Barb. cit.*, Vat. Lib.

any relations and had refused to enter into any pact with anyone. For that very reason many people thought that he would fail.[1] In May the confusion was even greater. It was said that votes had been cast for men who were not even members of the Sacred College—as, for instance, the Abbot of St. Gall, Sfondrati, for Casoni and for the Procurator of the Penitenziaria, Girolamo Berti. This was interpreted as an answer to those Frenchmen who were not ashamed to vote for Forbin.[2]

There can be no doubt that at this time Altieri still cherished the hope of winning the tiara for himself, though Chigi and the "Zelanti" would not hear of him.[3] About the middle of May and the beginning of June, Pignatelli was once more seriously spoken of.[4] At this time the imperialists were greatly alarmed by a certain action in favour of Panciatici.[5] The candidatures of Cibo, Delfino, and Visconti were also once

[1] *Report of the agent, May 20, 1691, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti*, May 26, 1691: "Colla seconda parlata fatta da due cardinali francesi al cardinale Pignatelli palesarono le conditioni pretese sottoscritte da lui, prima di venir all'elettione del Papato, e gli fu detto ricercandolo a voce, che dovesse elegere per 1° ministro uno dipendente della Francia, e questi era il cardinale Altieri, ed in 2° luogo, che sottoscrivesse il negotio tanto scabroso delle Regalie e rivocasse tutte le propositioni decise contro la Francia ultimamente da Alessandro VIII., ma fu tutto ricusato dal medemo Pignatelli." Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* the agent's *report of May 27, 1691, *loc. cit.* **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 26, June 2 and 9, 1691, *loc. cit.* In the *lists of the scrutinies in *Barb.* 4444/45, and in *Vat.* 8229/30, votes given to persons not members of the Sacred College are not recorded. Forbin received several votes on May 25, 26, 29, 30, 31 and on June 1 and 2.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 19, June 2 and 9, 1691, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of the agent of June 5, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[4] "*E cosa mirabile, ieri si parlò di Cibo e Delfino, et oggi ritorna sul tavoliere Pignatelli." Report of the agent, June 6, 1691.

[5] *Report of the agent, June 11, 1691, *loc. cit.*

more put forward[1] and from the middle of June that of Acciaioli also, on whose behalf Medici exerted himself in secret, though in vain, for the Hispano-Imperial party rejected him, though they acted with consideration.[2]

As so often happened during prolonged vacancies of the papal throne, all sorts of disturbances and acts of violence occurred in the Eternal City. Following the example of the ambassadors, the great Roman nobles had surrounded themselves in their palaces with armed men who frequently came into sanguinary conflicts with the police force of the city.[3] In these circumstances the prolongation of the conclave—it was calculated that since 1305 there had not been one of such length[4]—became more and more irksome. The pessimists gave it as their opinion that the Cardinals would spend the whole of the summer in conclave. A number of them had fallen sick. Whilst the rising heat of summer rendered life within the restricted space of the conclave more and more insupportable,[5] the electors began to consider once more the candidature of Pignatelli. In the last week of June it was said that he had been elected,[6] but the rumour was premature. At the beginning of July arrangements were made for a general Communion at S. Maria del Popolo and S. Maria in Trastevere in which many people took part.[7] These prayers were at last answered: on July 11th a decision in favour of Pignatelli was arrived at. As one of Innocent XI.'s Cardinals, he could not be rejected by the "Zelanti" nor as a Neapolitan by the Spanish-Imperial party. Chigi won over Ottoboni whilst Altieri negotiated

[1] *Report of the agent, June 15, 1691, *ibid.* *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti* of June 2 and 9, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 16, 1691, *ibid.*, and the *report of the agent, June 30, 1691, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* WAHRMUND, 175.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of June 2 and 16, 1691, *loc. cit.*; BROSCH, I., 450 *seq.*

[4] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 30, 1691, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also Liechtenstein's *Diary in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[5] **Avviso Marescotti* of June 23, 1691, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] **Avviso Marescotti*, July 7, 1691, *loc. cit.*

with the French.[1] The universal weariness, the terrible heat and the troubles in the city served Pignatelli no less than the realization that Barbarigo could not succeed and Acciaioli even less so. Cantelmi and Giudice were said to have been the chief promoters of Pignatelli's election. Up to the last the French offered so obstinate a resistance that in the night of July 11th–12th everything was in jeopardy. But at length they too gave way. The negotiations lasted until dawn. Only six "Zelanti" obstinately stuck to Barbarigo even now. At noon, on July 12th, 53 out of 61 votes were cast in favour of Pignatelli.[2]

[1] WAHRMUND, 176.

[2] "*Il motivo, che sia stata accelerata e quasi d'improviso nello spatio d'una sola notte conclusa una tal elettione, viene attribuito alla stanchezza de' cardinali ed a' patimenti che si vedevano hormai insoffribili, gli caldi non più intesi di tanta forza, alli frequenti disturbi ed assassinamenti, che si sentivano seguire nella città senza valere alcun rimedio, ed all'impossibilità, che si osservava della riuscita del cardinale Barbarigo e molto meno d'Acciaioli, ed alla lunghezza, che havrebbe seco portata la prattica per altri soggetti. Li principali promotori di quest'elettione dicesi essere stati li cardinali Candelmi e del Giudice, che hanno tirati seco li Ottoboniani, Alteriani, come anco li zelanti, che hanno tirati gl'Innocentiani, Imperiali e Spagnoli. Li Francesi e Chigi si mostrarono alquanto duri a concludere, onde il trattato della notte precedente al giovedì fu due volte rotto, ma veduta poi la piena di tutto il Collegio, restò concluso alle 7 hore, e nello scrutinio di giovedì mattina terminato con 53 voti delli 61" (**Avviso Marescotti*, July 14, 1691, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* the **Diario* in *Barb.*, LI., 58, Vat. Lib., and **Lettera de' card. Francesi*, with marginal notes by Liechtenstein, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. The 297th scrutiny on July 11, 1691, yielded (votes and *accessi*): "Alt. 2/2, Boull. 1/2, Barb. 7/6, de Comit. 2/1, de Carp. 4, Bons. 2/1, Marisc. 3/3, Pign. 3/1, Le Camus 2/1, Coll. 6/11, Panc. 7/2, Costag. 2/1, Alb. 1/4, nemini 16, praes. 59"; the 298th scrutiny, July 12 ("praes. 61, abs. a Curia 4, abs. a conclavi 2"): "Cibo 1, de Alt. 1, Barb. 6, Pign. 53; 'nemini' nulli notantur, quia non fuit factus accessus, sed electio sequuta est per solum scrutinium, quod est primum exemplum post emanatam bullam Gregorii XV." *Barb.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib.

Out of gratitude towards Innocent XI., his great benefactor, the new Pope took the name of Innocent XII. In Rome, where the memory of that great Pontiff was still held in high esteem, this was looked upon as a happy omen.[1]

Antonio Pignatelli is the last South-Italian Pope.[2] He was born on 13th March, 1615, in the Basilicata, in one of the castles of his father Francesco, Prince of Minervino, and was baptized in the parish church of Spinazzola.[3] His was an old family, of Lombard origin it was said,[4] and divided into several branches. Such was the esteem it enjoyed that Francesco was raised to the dignity of a Spanish grandee. Antonio was educated at the Roman College of the Jesuits. There he was called Angelo Pignatelli, by reason of the great purity of his life.[5] After obtaining the doctorate in both laws,

[1] *Liechtenstein's Diary, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* the account of D. Contarini in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Relazioni, Roma*, II., 434 *seqq.*; *Copia della lettera scritta dalli cardinali Francesi al Re dandoli parte dell'elettione al pontificato del cardinale Pignatelli, with additions and corrections in Liechtenstein's own hand, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna; GUARNACCI, I., 390 *seq.*; NOVAES, X., 107 *seq.*

[3] The extract of the Baptismal Register is printed in *Catalogo di libri stampati et manoscritti riguardanti Innocenzo XII., raccolti e posseduti dal principe D. Diego Pignatelli di Cavaniglia*, Roma, 1902, V.

[4] *Cf.* C. DE LELLIS, *Delle famiglie nobili di Napoli*, II. (1663), 88 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XI., 106 *seq.* Pasquino exercised his wit in allusion to the coat-of-arms (three pots; see PASINI FRASSONI, 46). The **Avviso Marescotti* of July 14, 1691, comments thus: "Pasquino hieri mattina fu trovato con 3 pignatte in testa col motto: Sono stato cinque mesi a far trè pignatte." Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[5] "*Relatione della corte Romana composta da un personnagio per servitio del Marchese Clem. Vitelli, ambasciatore straordinario ad Innocenzo XII., per il Gran Duca di Toscana Cosimo III.," in *Cod.* 467 of the Library at Einsiedeln. According to *Cod. Mollian.*, 205, of the State Library, Munich, its author is Count Orazio d'Elce. The same *report, partly under d'Elce's name. also in Papal Sec. Arch., *Borghese*, IV., 296; Vat. Lib., *Vat.*

he entered the Roman prelature under Urban VIII. and was made vice-legate of Urbino. At the end of 1646 Innocent X. sent him as Inquisitor to Malta where he did good work up till February 1649.[1] He then became Governor of Viterbo. In the autumn of 1652 he was given, together with the title of Archbishop of Larissa, the nunciature of Florence which he held for a period of eight years.[2] In May 1660, Alexander VII. sent him as nuncio to Poland and in March 1668, Clement IX. entrusted him with the nunciature at the imperial court of Vienna.[3] As a rule this important post was a stepping-stone to the cardinalate but Clement IX. died at the very moment when Pignatelli might have expected this reward of his labours. The Secretary of State of the new Pope—Clement X.—recalled him because of his intimate relations with the Cardinals of the *squadrone volante* and had him nominated to the see of Lecce.[4] Pignatelli accepted this misfortune with

7440, p. 45 *seqq.*, *Urb.* 1631, *Ottob.*, 2686, *Rossiana*, XI., 51; Bibl. Casanat., Rome, *Cod.* N. I., 18; Bibl. Pignatelli, Rome; Bibl. de la ville, Avignon, l–h; Bibl., Monte Cassino, *Cod.* 667 Q, 683 R; Bibl. Communale, Perugia, *Cod.* I., 63; State Library, Vienna, *Cod.* 6539; Archiepiscopal Library, Capua; Bibl. Classense, Ravenna.

[1] See P. Piccolomini, *Corrispondenza tra la corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta durante la guerra di Candia*, Firenze, 1908, 15 *seqq.*

[2] Pignatelli's *reports in *Nunziat. di Firenze*, 33–41, Papal Sec. Arch. Instructions to him only from 1655, *ibid.*, 197.

[3] *Cf.* Karttunen, *Nonc. Apost.*, 256; Pignatelli's *reports from Poland in *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 70–81, Papal Sec. Arch.; *Instructions for him, *ibid.*, 180–2, 193–4. For his work at the imperial court, see **Nunziat. di Vienna*, 184–6, 457–8, *ibid.*

[4] Liechtenstein says so expressly in the above-mentioned (p. 571, n. 2) marginal notes to the "Lettera de' card. Francesi". D.Contarini (*loc. cit.*, 435) wrongly places the recall in Clement IX.'s reign and has him recalled once more by Altieri. Ranke (III., 207*) accordingly assumes that Altieri wished to make good a wrong done either by himself or another by making Pignatelli *Maestro di Camera* to his uncle. But Liechtenstein writes: "Clemente X. ch'era buonissimo signore, compassionandolo

perfect resignation to God's will.[1] At last, Clement X. put an end to his banishment and on the recommendation of the Cardinals of the *Squadrone volante*, the Cardinal of Hesse and the Emperor,[2] he granted to Pignatelli the post of Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in June 1673, to which was added, in July 1675, the important office of *Maestro di Camera*.[3] Innocent XI. retained him in this position and when he came to realize his worth, he lavished his favours on him.[4] His reception into the Sacred College on September 1st, 1681,[5] was followed by the grant of the see of Faenza and his nomination as legate of Bologna. At the death of Caracciolo, Pignatelli succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see of Naples. His government there has been described as the golden age of the diocese.[6] His piety is attested by what he did to further devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the altar.[7] He had previously

strepitò tanto con il cardinale Altieri, che s'era reso arbitro del pontificato, che lo fece tornar a Roma contro sua voglia." On June 17, 1673, Mocenigo *reports Pignatelli's appointment as "segretario della Congregazione dei vescovi e regolari", with the remark that Pignatelli had been sent to Lecce "per lo stretto vincolo d'amicizia che tiene con li cardinali dello squadrone volante doppo d'essersi esercitato in quattro Nunciature con infinita lode del valor suo, et hora chiamato a quella carica per intercessione de' medesimi". The nomination as *Maestro di Camera* is *announced by Mocenigo on June 4, 1675; this time also he describes Pignatelli as "soggetto degno certamente et meritevole per le conditioni sue personali et per haver servito la S. Sede Apost. per molti anni nelle Nunciature". *Barb.* 4449, Vat. Lib.

[1] *Cf.* D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Liechtenstein, *loc. cit.*

[3] See above, p. 572, n. 4.

[4] "*E quanto la fortuna lo haveva per innanzi strapazzato, altretanto volle dopo favorire." PANCETTI, *Vita de' pontefici*, *Cod. ital.* 93, National Library, Munich.

[5] See above, p. 414.

[6] D'ALOE, *Storia della chiesa di Napoli*, II., Napoli, 1873, 243.

[7] DE SANTI, *L'orazione delle Quarant'ore*, Roma, 1919, 259.

distinguished himself by his great liberality towards those in need, so much so that he was considered a poor Cardinal.[1] He now spent all the abundant resources at his command in the service of charity.[2] At the conclave which followed the death of Innocent XI. there was talk of him, but he had no serious prospects for it was deemed unthinkable that the French would ever vote for a Neapolitan,[3] whilst on the other hand it was though that the Spaniards would be loath to see in the chair of Peter a scion of one of the most powerful families of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.[4]

Though 76 years of age Innocent XII. still presented a handsome and even stately appearance. He had a striking head, a lofty forehead, lively dark eyes, and an affable expression.[5] Like all his predecessors since Julius II., with the exception of Leo X. and Adrian VI., he grew a beard, a fashion which was abandoned after him.[6]

[1] *Card. Pio's letter of January 24, 1682, State Arch., Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* the *notes on Innocent XII.'s antecedents in Liechtenstein Arch., I., No. 3277.

[3] D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*, 435 *seq.*

[4] " *Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi dopo la morte d'Innocenzo XI.," Liechtenstein Arch. Pignatelli's election came as " molto inaspettata dalla corte ", Odoardo Cibo writes on July 14, 1691, in Mussi, 11.

[5] Guarnacci, I., 400. " *È un huomo assai ben fatto, di statura giusta e più tosto grande che piccolo, di bel aspetto con aria assai amena " (*Copia di lettere de' cardinali Francesi, loc. cit.*). " *È sempre stato di una bellissima apparenza, grande complesso bianco, gioviale con occhio negro, fronte spatiosa e bocca ridente " (*Relatione*, etc., in the library of Einsiedeln).

[6] In his palace at Rome, Prince D. Diego Pignatelli di Cavaniglia has a portrait of Pignatelli as a Cardinal by J. B. Gaulli, known as Baciccia, and a very fine marble bust by a pupil of Bernini, both reproduced in the *Catalogo* mentioned in Vol. XXXI., p. 12, n. 1. Other busts of the Pope in the Palazzo Pignatelli, Naples, in St. Michael's chapel of the hospice of the same name, in Trinità della Missione, in S. Pudenziana, S. Cecilia in Trastevere and in S. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome—the latter by Pietro Bracci (see v. Domarus, 11). An oil painting of small value recalls the

The attention with which everyone, especially the diplomatists, watched the first steps of the new Pope, was all the more tense as he had not lived in Rome for a considerable time, so that there was some mystery about his political views. Interest was mainly concentrated on the question as to who would become Secretary of State. On July 14th this important office was entrusted to Cardinal Fabrizio Spada, a former French nuncio and an intimate friend of Cardinal Altieri. Innocent XII. maintained Cardinal Panciatici at the Dataria whilst Cardinal Albani remained Secretary of Secret Briefs and Mario Spinola Secretary of Briefs to Princes. The Secretariate of the Cypher was given to an old friend of the Pope, Vincenzo Ricci, who had already been in his service ; Ansalvo Ansaldi became Auditor, Agostino Fabroni Secretary of Memorials, Giuseppe Sagripanti Subdatary, Ercole Visconti *Maggiordomo* and Baldassare Cenci *Maestro di Camera*.[2]

The Pope was very independent,[3] hence all Spada had to do was to carry out his directions. Panciatici was given a very free hand in the bestowal of benefices, a privilege of which he made a most arbitrary use. Albani acted more in

Pope's name in his native place, Spinazzola. Innocent XII.'s portraits by Ludovico David (orig. in Villa Albani), Giovanni Maria Morandi, G. B. Lenardi, Sebastiano Corbellini and Carlo Maratta appeared in contemporary engravings ; see the *Catalogo*. To these must be added an engraving by Thomassin (half-length) ; see DRUGULIN, *Porträtkatalog*, Leipzig, 1860, No. 9831.

[1] This is shown by the contradictory nature of the judgments on his political attitude in the *Lettera de' card. Francesi and in Liechtenstein's *rectifications ; the latter insists that Pignatelli had always been on good terms with Spain and Austria.

[2] See *Liechtenstein's final report addressed to Leopold I., *loc. cit.*, I., Nr. 3339. Innocent XII. established January 1 as the first day of the year in place of March 25. The Bull on the subject is missing ; probably the order was given only by word of mouth or by a Brief to the Dataria ; see LÖHE, in *Sitzungsberichten der Münchener Akad.*, 1881, I., 388.

[3] " *Ogni cosa vuol fare da se solo." *Relatione* in Einsiedeln Lib.

accordance with the Pope's wishes. Ansaldi, Sagripanti, and Cenci were regarded as favouring the French, Ricci as inclining towards the Emperor. The splendid Cardinal Casanata, the founder of the famous library of the same name, was held in the highest esteem by Innocent XII. In purely ecclesiastical questions Casanata's influence was generally decisive.[1] The Pope, who never obstinately stuck to his own opinion, also frequently took the advice of Cardinals Colloredo and Noris.[2]

The favourable impression created by this distribution of offices was strengthened by the care with which Innocent XII. refrained from every form of favouritism towards his relatives,[3] nor did he confirm Alexander VIII.'s nephews in their offices. He was eager to imitate as much as possible the Pope whose name he had adopted, but with this difference, that he avoided the peculiarities and the hardness for which Innocent XI. has been blamed.[4] Thus he frequently showed himself to the people and granted to all free access to his person. Besides the private audiences, he held on the Monday of each week, and subsequently every other week, public audiences of two hours' duration to which everyone was admitted. On these occasions it was chiefly legal matters that were laid before the Pontiff and in order to deal with them more satisfactorily, he appointed an advocate of the poor who was present at the audience. Even though not every question was settled as rapidly as the petitioners would have wished, these public audiences had this good result that complaints could be made to the Pope in person, and that by this means a check was put on the officials.[5] His popularity

[1] Liechtenstein's final report, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*, 440 *seq.*

[2] **Relatione*, Einsiedeln.

[3] His brother had died leaving no heirs, a sister was in the convent of the Sapienza at Naples.

[4] D. Contarini, 436. *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of July 14, 1691, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[5] D. Contarini, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti* of August 11 and 25 and December 22, 1691, February 16, May 24 and July 19,

was greatly enhanced by the fact that he imposed no fresh taxes and conversed with the greatest affability with the men and women of the people.[1]

In the measure in which this was possible, Innocent XII. continued as Pope the manner of life he had followed as a Cardinal. He rose early: hence he also ate early. He took no siesta but it frequently happened that after meals he was overcome by sleep as he sat in his chair. So long as he could get on without them, he would have nothing to do with physicians, but in times of sickness he appreciated their services.[2]

At the end of August 1691, Innocent XII. hurt himself so grievously by an unfortunate fall that his death was thought to be at hand. For a whole year and eight months he was unable to say Mass. But his skilful physician, the celebrated Marcello Malpighi of Bologna, succeeded in gradually restoring the Pontiff to health, though from this time onwards he was compelled to walk with a stick.[3] After his recovery Innocent XII. devoted all his energy to the discharge of business, his one thought being that of serving the Church and the poor.[4] He could not personally see to everything and for many things he had to rely on his officials who all too often studied their own interests. This gave rise to many complaints: people even regretted that the Pope had no nephew who would be personally interested in his reputation.[5]

1692, *loc. cit.* According to the *Relatione* (Einsiedeln) the aged Pontiff continued these exhausting audiences up to the fifth year of his pontificate.

[1] *Cf.* **Relatione*, Einsiedeln.

[2] **Ibid.*

[3] *Diario*, ed. Campello, VIII., 175 *seq.*, 177 *seq.*, 179; IX., 62; D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*, 437. For Malpighi, *cf. Catalogo de' libri e MSS. del Pr. Pignatelli*, 68.

[4] D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*

[5] To this refer the **Scritture* of 1695 in the Bibl. Pignatelli, Rome (*Catalogo*, 80), the "*Lettera sopra il malgoverno delli ministri nel pontificato di Innocenzo XII.", Campello Archives, and *Cod.* A E, XI., 73, of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli,

But it was generally recognized that Innocent XII. would have equalled the Popes of the primitive Church could he have acted as he wished to, for he was of irreproachable morals, conscientious, utterly unselfish, independent of his relatives and inexhaustible in his charity towards the poor.[1] We have an eloquent witness to his charity in the vast building called Ospizio di S. Michele on the Ripa Grande. The site had been originally occupied by an orphanage for boys founded in 1684 by Tommaso Odescalchi and administered by Livio Odescalchi. In 1693 Innocent XII. took over the institution from Livio and enlarged it so much that instead of 30 boys, 300 could be accommodated and taught a trade.[2] At the close of 1692 the Pope set aside the vast Lateran palace for the reception of persons unable to work.[3] He provided large sums for this object and the number of men, women and orphan girls accommodated there rose to 5,000.[4] Both institutions were united with Sixtus V.'s Hospice of the Poor near Ponte Sisto, and with the foundlings' asylum founded by Leonardo Cerusio near S. Silvestro in Capite.[5] This united

Rome, as well as **Memoriale satirico*, in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 60, Papal Sec. Arch., and Campello Archives. In the latter copy critical notes have been added on the margin; they are often most appropriate, as when the writer declares that his only aim was to bring to light the tricks of the Pope's counsellors: "Il zelo mascherato non si deve chiamare verità sincera."

[1] D. Contarini, *loc. cit.*, 437 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Diario*, ed. Campello, IX., 73, 75; Forcella, XI., 508 *seq.*; *Il quarto libro del nuovo teatro delli palazzi in prospettiva di Roma moderna dato a luce sotto Innocenzo XII. da* Aless. Specchi (1699) tav. 35; A. Tosti, *Relaz. dell'origine e progresso dell'Ospedale Ap. di S. Michele*, Roma, 1832 (new edit., 1835). *Cf.* G. Vai, *Relazione del Pio Istituto di S. Michele a Ripa*, Roma, 1779.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of November 1, 8 and 29 and December 6, 1692, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[4] *Diario* Campello, IX., 59; D. Contarini, 439; poem by L. Frizon quoted by Novaes, XI., 116, n. a.

[5] Bull of May 23, 1693, in *Bull.*, XX., 524; *cf.* 546.

Apostolic Hospice, over which three Cardinals were charged to watch, was so near Innocent XII.'s heart, that people complained that it caused him to forget all else. The vast sums which other Popes were wont to spend on their nephews, were bestowed on the poor whom Innocent described as his nephews.[1] These Institutions, which he frequently visited and which he remembered in his will,[2] did not exhaust the Pope's solicitude. He annually spent the sum of 140,000 scudi on destitute poor and necessitous persons.[3] One of the motives which inspired the buildings erected by him in Rome was the desire to provide work for these people.[4] Yet, notwithstanding all his efforts, he failed to stamp out Rome's old plague, mendicancy.[5]

In other spheres also the Pope was not uniformly successful with his reforms, innovations and economic dispositions in the Papal States. On all sides he was impeded by various prejudices, parochial narrowness and petty conventions. Thus, to give but one example, when he tried to regulate the waters of the Romagna, he encountered difficulties almost past belief in consequence of a quarrel between the people of Bologna and those of Ferrara.[6] His attempt to drain the Pontine Marshes

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of January 10, 1693, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Diario, passim*; NOVAES, XI., 118.

[3] *Cf.* "*Diarium Romani itineris PP. Lucae et Iodoci [Müller] capitular. S. Galli, 1699–1701," in *Cod.* 465, p. 193, Einsiedeln Library. *Cf.* MOREL, *Gesch. der Schulen von Einsiedeln* (1855), 20.

[4] PANCETTI, **Vita de' pontefici, Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

[5] *Cf.* C. BAST. PIAZZA, *La mendicità provveduta nella città di Roma coll'Ospizio publico fondato da Innocenzo XII.*, Roma, 1693.

[6] BROSCH, I., 453 *seqq.* *Cf. Diario*, ed. Campello, VIII., 192; *Relazione dello stato presente delle acque che infestano le tre provincie di Romagna, Ferrara e Bologna, con il parere sopra i rimedi proposti, fatta al Papa Innocenzo XII.*, Bologna, 1715 (signed by Card. Ferd. d'Adda and Card. Franc. Barberini). See also Ignazio Uccelli's collection of *writings and documents on the subject

likewise failed.[1] But however great the obstacles, the Pope did not lose heart but displayed an energy to which even his declared enemies must pay homage.[2]

With regard to the corn policy, Innocent XII. followed in the steps of his predecessors [3] and with a view to furthering the corn trade he paid particular attention to the harbours of Civitavecchia and Nettuno. No Pope, since the days of Sixtus V., had done so much for Civitavecchia as he did. He confirmed and further extended the privileges of the city as a free port, encouraged the erection of new buildings and began the construction of a magnificent aqueduct. In May 1696, against the advice of his physicians, he undertook a journey to Civitavecchia. This was an event inasmuch as for a century no Pope had visited the port. Though he had wished to make the journey with apostolic simplicity, several Cardinals and a great number of persons belonging to the court came to escort him. Carlo Fontana explained to the Pope the new aqueduct which was to prove a great boon for the town.[4]

In April 1687, Innocent XII. also visited the harbour of Nettuno and Porto d'Anzio. However, Fontana's plan, which would have made use of the old harbour of Nero, was too costly; accordingly the work was entrusted to Alberto Zinagli who was to disappoint the aged Pope most

in *Barb.* XLVIII., 130, Vat. Lib. *Ibid.*, " *Scrittura contro la diversione del Reno in Po grande," presented to Card. Barberini in April, 1693.

[1] Nicolai, *De' bonificamenti delle terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 146 *seq.* *Cf. Diario*, ed. Campello, XIII., 391; *project of the Dutchman Cornelius Mejer for draining the swamps, in *Miscell. Clem.*, XI., t. 17, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Brosch, I., 452.

[3] Benigni, 66 *seqq.*

[4] Calisse, 469 *seqq.* Numerous views on details in **Avvisi Marescotti*, 1692–1698, *loc. cit.* See also " *Viaggio d'Innocenzo XII. a Civitavecchia ", in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 199, Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, 175; " *Discorso del baron Mercurio Bonaventura sopra la restaurazione del molo e porto di Civitavecchia."

grievously [1] for the new harbour proved exceedingly costly, were it only for the reason that the south winds constantly silted it up.[2]

The Pope's efforts to improve the well-being of his subjects were at times also frustrated by the elements, such as abnormal weather conditions,[3] an inundation of the Tiber in January 1695,[4] followed by an epidemic of typhoid in the low-lying districts of the city,[5] as well as earthquakes.[6] These

[1] ADEMOLLO, *Anzio e Nettuno dal secolo decimosesto al decimoottavo*, Roma 1886, 34 *seqq.* TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 336 *seqq.* Here also many details are to be found in **Avvisi Marescotti* and the **Diario d'Innocenzo XII.*, published by Count Campello. *Cf.* also " *Ranonto del viaggio d' Innocenzo XII. da Roma a Nettuno 1697 ", in *Cod.* F. 39, Boncompagni Archives ; " *Lettera di M. G. Lippi," in *Vat.* 8622, p. 226 *seq.* ; " *Relazione del Porto d'Anzio " in *Urb.* 1735, p. 377 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. Card. Pamfili was twice named " superintend. portus Antii " in 1700 ; see *Bull.*, XX., 934. " *Pianta del nuovo porto di Porto d'Anzio," State Archives, Rome.

[2] **Avviso* of February 7, 1699, Liechtenstein Archives, fasc. 18.

[3] In January 1694, the cold was such as had not been known for 30 years, with a fall of snow quite unusual for Rome (*Diario*, IX., 79) ; torrential rain from October 1694, till January 1695 (*ibid.*, 195).

[4] *Ibid.*, X., 195. *Cf. Nuova Antologia*, 4 series, CXVIII. (1905), 322 *seq.* ; also the following rare works : CARLO FONTANA (*cav. architetto*), *Discorso sopra le cause delle inondazioni del Tevere antiche e moderne a danno della città di Roma e dell'insussistente passonata fatta avanti la Villa di Papa Giulio III. per riparo della Via Flaminia, dedicato all'Ill. e Rev. Sig. Mons. L. Corsini arciv. di Nicomedia e tesor. gen. della Sant. di N. S. Papa Innocenzo XII.*, Roma, Rev. Cam. Ap., 1696, e : FRANCESCO MARIA ONORATI, *Apologia per la passonata fatta sopra il Tevere fuora di Porta del Popolo in difesa della Strada Flaminia con la direttione del Signor Cornelio Meyer famoso ingegnere Olandese. All'E^{no} et R^{m}, Pr. il sig. card. Giov. Franc. Albano segr. de' Brevi di N. S.*, Roma, 1698.

[5] Summer of 1695 ; *cf. Diario*, X., 202 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, IX., 200 ; XII., 387 ; XIV., 185.

catastrophes brought into fullest light the Pope's liberality as well as his solicitude for the mitigation of the calamity.[1]

On the other hand Innocent XII. was also able to register some notable successes. Thus he succeeded in restricting the pernicious sale of offices [2] without loss to the public exchequer. In view of the close connexion of these two things it required courage and determination to deal with an abuse which, whilst it was most damaging to the reputation of the Holy See and to the cause for which it stood, was also exceedingly profitable to the Apostolic coffers. Thus a post of a clerk of the Camera cost about 64,000 scudi. The consequence was that only rich men had access to high ecclesiastical dignities. People were amazed when Innocent XII. reimbursed on a single occasion the price of twelve such clericatures, amounting to over a million, and they admired him for thus stripping money of its power and once more opening to merit the possibility of attaining to high positions.[3] The loss caused by the impossibility of buying these and other posts [4] was made good by him not by imposing fresh taxes, but by reducing his household expenses, for which he only provided 78,000 scudi annually, that is less than what Leo X. used to spend on his table alone.[5] As early as the summer of 1692

[1] *Ibid.*, X., 196, 200, 203; **Bandi*, in *Editti*, V., 61, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cf.* *a report in French, Liechtenstein Arch., *fasc.* 2, Vienna.

[3] *Diario*, VIII., 192; D. Contarini, 438.

[4] *Bull.*, XX., 473, 829.

[5] Brosch., I., 454 *seq.* In the *report in Liechtenstein Arch., mentioned above, n. 2, we read: "Il [Innocent XII.] dit dernièrement à un sien confident qu'il a apporté de Naples 7000 ducats et que de cette somme qu'il fait les fraix de sa nourriture, qu'il ne dépense pas plus de 3 jules par jour, et mesme dimanche dernier il ne dépensa que 27 baiocques, et que le bonnet qu'il porte est fait de retaille du P. Alexandre VIII." As a corrective to Liechtenstein's assertion that the Pope was a heavy eater, D'Elce's opinion may be quoted here: "È parco nel mangiare e molto più nel bere." *Relatione* in the Library of Einsiedeln.

Domenico Contarini calculated that the Pope had saved and laid aside close on two million scudi.[1]

Innocent also attempted to put an end to the luxury in clothes which had made great progress in Rome, especially among the upper classes, but here he encountered insuperable obstacles.[2] His stern action against public immorality in Rome met with better success.[3] At first he did not interfere with theatrical representations but a certain comedy introduced from France moved him to take very stern action in 1697. In spite of the opposition of some of the Cardinals of the Congregation of reform, such as Carpegna and Imperiali, he ordered the demolition, during the summer, of the theatre Tor di Nona but recently erected at the cost of 100,000 scudi. This action was universally resented; it was the signal for a crop of venomous satires. During the carnival of 1698 at least private representations of comedies were tolerated but in 1699 they were once more forbidden.[4]

Like Innocent XI., on whom he modelled his conduct, the Pope saw to it that all transgressions were vigorously punished, regardless of the person of the offender. In order to make sure that justice was administered impartially he forbade the judges to accept presents and since in the provinces the judges kept for themselves part of the fines, he deprived the

[1] D. Contarini, 444.

[2] **Avvisi Marescotti* of February 13 and November 6, 1694, *loc. cit.*; *Diario*, X., 191 *seq.*; "*Scrittura con li capitoli di prammatica sopra la moderazione del lusso, d. 1694, Ott., 21," *Cod. ital.*, 190, p. 245 *seqq.*, State Lib., Munich. *Ibid.*, 244 *seqq.*: "*Nomi dei deputati della Congregation sopra il suddetto."

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of March 6 and October 2, 1694; reports of 1692, 1694 and 1697, in MAES, *Curiosità Romane*, I. (1885), 150, 154; PANCETTI, **Vita de' pontefici*, in *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Lib., Munich. An edict of 1696 against banditry in COPPI, *Sul brigantaggio dell' Italia media*, Roma, 1867, 17 *seq.*

[4] ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 186 *seqq.*, 194 *seqq.* *Cf.* *"Notizie della demolizione del Teatro di Tor di Nona" (with pasquinades), in *Vat.* 8518, p. 100 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

provincial governors of the right of pardon.[1] In other ways also his reform of judicial administration resulted in some remarkable improvements, thus the course of instances was better regulated and simplified through the suppression of several extraordinary private tribunals, whilst fees were reduced.[2] In order to make the tribunals easier of approach the Pope was resolved to gather them all in one large building, thus taking up once more an idea of Julius II., Sixtus V. and Alexander VII. To this end he decided on the completion of the palace on Monte Citorio which Bernini had begun by order of Innocent X.

Accordingly Carlo Fontana submitted in October 1694, a plan which, had it been carried out, would have enriched Rome with a building as beautiful as it would have been vast, whilst it would also have proved a happy solution of the traffic problem in the centre of the city. The palace was to have comprised a main central court and three secondary courts; in front of it there was to be a semicircular *piazza* with porticoes adorned with an antique column of Antoninus recently found in the nearby garden of the Lazarists.[3] One insuperable obstacle to the full execution of the project was the question of the cost. Fontana's estimate of 250,000 scudi was far too low for even that part of the scheme which was actually carried out cost half a million.[4] This cannot surprise

[1] Brosch., I., 468.

[2] *Bull.*, XX., 448 *seq.*, 461; **Editti*, in *Bandi*, V., 46, Papal Sec. Arch.; Novaes, X., 122 *seq.*; *cf.* also *Gli archivi ital.*, VI. (1919), 204 *seq.*

[3] Misciatelli, in *Vita d'arte*, IV. (1909), 336 *seqq.*

[4] C. Fontana, *Discorso sopra l'antico monte Citorio . . . con l'istoria di ciò che è occorso nel innalzamento del nuovo edificio della Curia Romana*, Roma, 1708. *Cf.* Misciatelli, *loc. cit.*; *L'Arte*, II. (1899), 278. **Avviso Marescotti* of November 20, 1694 (*loc. cit.*), says: "Il Papa ha ordinato, che si formi il modello della Piazza, che in forma di semicircolo intende di fare avanti il Palazzo di Monte Citorio, ma riflettendo che il gettito delle case e la compra de' siti arrivi alla somma di 50m sc., si dubita non se ne farà altro." On December 8 the Pope approved the model

the spectator who has before his eyes the Curia Innocenziana on Monte Citorio which, with its magnificent façade, is one

and the demolition of houses began on the following day; see *Diario*, X., 139. On December 11 a second **Avviso Marescotti* says: "Resta ordinato il gettito delle case dirimpetto al detto Palazzo sino alla strada, che conduce alla chiesa dell'Orfanelli, affine di formare una bella Piazza avanti del medesimo, attorno alla quale dovranno esser delle botteghe et habitationi per li notari a comodo maggiore della Curia. Intanto era stato portato al Papa un disegno di far una Piazza sontuosissima e la più bella che fosse in questa città, con far trasportare avanti detto Palazzo la Colonna Traiana, tra la quale e quella Antoniana ivi vicina doveva sorgere un grand'obelisco servendo di base un scoglio, da cui in varie bocche havrebbe sgorgata l'acqua di Trevi, il cui fonte doveva esser colà trasferito, ma bello era il pensiero tralasciato per la gravezza della spesa." On December 14 it was decided to lay out the great *piazza* in front of Monte Citorio (*Diario*, X., 193). An **Avviso Marescotti* of December 25 says: This week "gran gettita, essendosi aperta in tal modo una gran Piazza, che fa maggiormente spiccare la magnificenza di quel vasto e nobil edifitio, che si accrescerà di vantagio e si riddurrà alla forma del primo disegno". To this end the Pope incorporated in it S. Biagio in exchange for which the Somaschans were given S. Niccolò a' Cesarini. An **Avviso* of January 1, 1695, reports progress of the work on the *piazza* in front of Monte Citorio "che para un incantesimo"; January 29, 1695, demolition of houses was still in progress, but work on the palace is stopped owing to the cold; it proceeds during the summer, and further plans are made (July 16), but by October 8 they appear to have been abandoned. On November 26 another 100 workmen are engaged for the "lavori della fabrica di Monte Citorio". On January 7, 1696, we read: On Sunday the Pope went to the Gesù, "visitò la fabrica di Monte Citorio, della quale si vanno perfettionando li lavori, afinchè senza dilatione possino andarvi ad habitare l'auditore et il tesoriere della Camera." On April 7, 1697, the auditor took possession of his residence "nel Palazzo di Monte Citorio, ove restano sospesi del tutto i lavori che vi si facevano per conto della Camera, ma vi si alzono alcune case di particolari attorno quel palazzo". The "impresa di Civitavecchia va lentamente", evidently for lack of money; and no wonder that

of the greatest creations of late baroque.[1] The progress of the work led to the disappearance of several swampy gardens, thus rendering the locality once more wholesome.[2] April, 1695, witnessed the blessing of the new bell which was to give the signal, each day, for the opening of the tribunals.[3] In 1696 the Pope erected a magnificent fountain in the court of the palace of justice for which use was made of a basin of oriental granite which had been found at Porto.[4] The ground floor provided accommodation for the officials and the chancelleries of the civil tribunal, the first story, for the tribunals of the first instance and the rooms of the *Uditore della Camera*, whilst the second floor was reserved for the Cardinal Camerlengo and the treasurers who also had their chancelleries there.

A spacious *piazza* was laid out in front of the Curia Innocenziana and a street opened from there in the direction of the Campo Marzio. The construction of another new street in the direction of de Piazza di Pietra, was connected with the new customs house (*Dogana di Terra*) which was being erected under the direction of Fontana in the neighbourhood of the Corso for reasons of traffic. In this work use was made of eleven columns from the so-called temple of Neptune. Near the hospice of S. Michele the *Dogana di Mare* was erected by Matteo de Rossi at Innocent XII.'s own expense for sea-borne goods.[5] In 1696 a new corn store was built

money gave out for according to the *Diario*, X., 204, up to October, 1696, 500,000 scudi had been spent on the "fabrica di Monte Citorio". *Avviso Marescotti*, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[1] See *Il quarto libro . . . da A. Specchi tav. 31.* Inscription in Forcella, XIII., 184.

[2] Platner, I., 106.

[3] *Diario*, X., 198.

[4] **Avvisi Marescotti* of May 26, July 7 and 21, 1696, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Fabriche fatte fare da Innocenzo XII., *Urb.* 1665, p. 175 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. *Cf.* A. Specchi, *loc. cit.*, *tav.* 33 and 34. The Gazzetta di Foligno, 1695, No. 28, reports on July 12, 1695: "Sua Beatitudine ha dato la commissione agli architetti di far formare da scultori 11 statue di travertino per collocarle nella sommità

near S. Spirito,[1] whilst an ordinance of 1692 aimed at a better upkeep of all the streets of the city.[2]

Innocent XII. ordered the construction of a new carriage road to the Capitol which was called *Via delle tre pile*, after the arms of the Pignatelli. A colossal marble statue of the Pope was erected in the Curia Innocenziana. At the close of the 18th century this monument of a ruler who had done so much for Rome and who was most popular there,[3] fell a victim to French vandalism.[4]

Carlo Fontana was the principal architect during the whole of the pontificate, but he complained bitterly of inadequate payment. However, the Pope sought to indemnify him in other ways ; on his son Gasparo he bestowed a benefice and at the beginning of 1697 Carlo himself was knighted and in March of the same year he became first architect of St. Peter's.[5] Fontana designed the sepulchre of Queen Christine in the right aisle of St. Peter's ; it was the Pope's wish that this monument should be sumptuously adorned.[6] Not far

della Dogana di terra a Piazza di Pietra, che hormai si scorge ridotto a buon porto, che per questo vien divulgato ; le medeme denoteranno le 11 provincie, che possiede la Sede Apostolica." *Cf.* MAES, *Curiosità Romane*, II., Roma, 1885, 61 ; also TITI, *Descrizione*, 358.

[1] According to an inscription restored by Pius VI., Innocent XII. undertook restorations at S. Spirito de' Napolitani (FORCELLA, VII., 333), and on the fountain in front of S. Maria in Trastevere (*ibid.*, XIII., 111).

[2] *Bull.*, XIII., 479 ; *Diario*, VIII., 195.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti*, December 8, 1691, March 8, April 12, July 6, 1692, *loc. cit.* ; *Diario*, VIII., 175, 187, 193, 195 ; IX., 75 ; also " *Relatione di corte Romana, Einsiedeln Library ", referred to on p. 574, n. 5.

[4] STEINMANN, *Die Plünderung Roms durch Bonaparte*, 35. RODOCONACHI's statement (*Capitole*, 131) that a statue had been erected on the Capitol in honour of Innocent XII., is inaccurate.

[5] A son of Bernini was assistant architect ; see **Avviso Marescotti* of March 30, 1679, *loc. cit.*, also the documents in *Repertorium für Kunstwiss*, XXXII., 251 *seqq.*

[6] " *Ha il Papa assegnato 6000 scudi al cav. Fontana architetto

from there, near the Blessed Sacrament chapel, he prepared his own resting place as early as 1692, but for this he desired a very plain sarcophagus.[1] The first chapel of the left aisle of the basilica of St. Peter was turned into a baptistry according to plans drawn up by Fontana.[2] For a baptismal basin, use was made of the enormous porphyry lid, the biggest of all the antique ones, which according to an unsupported tradition, came from the sepulchral chamber of the Mausoleum of Hadrian and had subsequently adorned the tomb of the Emperor Otto II.[3] Carlo Fontana also designed the bronze decorations whilst the altar-piece, the Baptism of Christ, was painted by Carlo Maratta.[4] The rearrangement of the chapel, which the Pope inspected at the beginning of 1696 and again in October 1697,[5] was only completed in 1698, as we learn from an inscription.[6] On the clock tower of the Quirinal, Innocent XII.'s favourite residence, he placed in 1697, below the clock dial, a large mosaic of the Madonna for which Maratta also furnished the design.[7] In the same year he gave orders for the transfer to the Quirinal of the cartoons of

per il monumento, che ha ordinato d'inalzarsi a memoria della Regina di Suetia in S. Pietro a somiglianza di quello della Contessa Matilde." **Avviso Marescotti*, November 17, 1696, *loc. cit.*

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of November 22, 1692, *ibid.*

[2] According to the **Avviso Marescotti* of June 20 and 27, 1693, the Pope deemed Fontana's first plan too costly.

[3] *Diario*, X., 197, mentions the finding of this grave.

[4] *Criticism of the picture written on July 15, 1699, *Vat.* 8622, p. 418 *seqq.*, Vat. Library; *reply, *ibid.*, p. 422 *seq.*

[5] **Avvisi Marescotti* of January 21, 1696, and October 16, 1697, *loc. cit.*

[6] Forcella, VI., 163 (where Innocent XII. must be read, not XI.), and C. Fontana, *Descrizione della cappella del fonte battesimale nella Basilica Vaticana*, Roma, 1697.

[7] **Avviso Marescotti*, July 13, 1697: "D'ordine di N. S. è stata posta sotto l'orologio del Palazzo pontificio al Quirinale una bellissima immagine della Madonna tutta di musaico," and July 20, 1697: "Adornandosi con cornice di marmo spicca molto la Madonna di musaico ricavata dal disegno del celebre Maratti collocata sotto l'orologio del Quirinale," *loc. cit.*

Pietro Cortona and Maratta which had been carried out in mosaic at St. Peter's.[1] In the Vatican he provided for the preservation of the frescoes of Raphael and Michelangelo by appointing Maratta guardian.[2] Some further plans of Innocent XII. were not carried out, such as that for a special building for the conclave,[3] the completion of the colonnade of St. Peter's according to a design from the period of Alexander VII.[4] and a new fish-market in the neighbourhood of the Ghetto.[5] The most valuable work of art with which Rome was enriched during the pontificate of Innocent XII. was the sumptuous altar of St. Ignatius in the left lateral aisle of the Gesù, by the Jesuit lay brother Andrea Pozzo, which is said to have cost 200,000 scudi.[6] For the new principal façade of the Lateran the Pope provided 40,000 scudi in 1699,[7] but he did not live to see the beginning of the work.

By the end of Innocent XII.'s pontificate the inhabited

[1] **Avviso Marescotti* of March 16, 1697, *ibid.*

[2] Bellori, III., 211 *seq.*

[3] **Avviso Marescotti* of May 31, 1692, where other projects are likewise mentioned. *Cf.* **Avviso* of September 6, 1692, *ibid.* In the *draft for an election capitulation (1691) we read : " Finalmente si giuri di dar principio nel primo mese del pontificato alla fabbrica d'un conclave nuovo che almeno con ponte levatoio in qualche guisa si congionga alla basilica di S. Pietro " ; Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna.

[4] **Avviso Marescotti* of November 29, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Gazzetta di Foligno*, April 28, 1695, No. 17.

[6] Completed in July, 1697 ; see *Diario*, XI., 110. *Cf.* Bertolotti, *Artisti Subalpini*, 209 *seqq.*, *Artisti Sicil.*, 165 *seqq.*

[7] " *On Sunday, Card. Pamfili took possession of the Lateran, ' ove si è cominciato a portare il materiale per la facciata con disegno moderno, onde non serviranno in gran parte li fondamenti, e N. S. ha dato 40^{m} scudi per tal effetto, e 20^{m} sono stati sborsati dal suddetto Pamfilii, et il fine di S. B. di farlo arciprete di quella basilica è stato, acciò il principe di lui fratello contribuisca anch'esso qualche cosa, mentre detti fondamenti sono stati fabricati da Innocenzo X. loro zio, volendovi di spesa da 100^{m} scudi.' **Avviso Marescotti*, May 2, 1699, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

part of the Eternal City had approximately reached the proportions which it retained up till the 'seventies of the nineteenth century. With regard to the repartition of the various classes of the population, great changes had occurred by comparison with the period of the Renaissance. The Leonine city had completely lost the splendour which had surrounded it at the time of the Medici Popes. This was in part due to the fact that more than one Pope, as for instance Innocent XII., preferred the Quirinal to the Vatican as a place of residence. The traffic in the Banchi had subsided to a considerable degree and the Via Giulia had already become the quiet street which it is at this day. Trastevere was inhabited by small craftsmen, vine-dressers and gardeners, whilst the Monti were occupied by the middle classes. The houses of the upper classes were scattered all over the Campo Marzio, from Via dei Coronari and Monte Giordano towards the theatre of Marcellus, the Capitol and the Quirinal as far as Piazza San Carlo in the Corso.[1] The population of the city, which in 1601 numbered 131,634 souls, without counting the Jews, had shrunk somewhat during the preceding years but had begun to rise again in 1697 and in 1699 amounted to 135,089. This number included 42 Bishops, 2,687 priests, 3,650 religious men and 1,947 nuns.[2] The rise which occurred in 1700 was only a passing one [3]; it was connected with the

[1] Reumont, III., 2, 819. The following magnificent work is of interest: *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome recherchez avec soin, mesurez, dessinez sur les lieux et gravez par feu* Bonaventure d'Overbeke *sous les Pontificats d'Innocent XI., d'Alexandre VIII. et d'Innocent XI.*, 3 vols., La Haye, 1763.

[2] *Studi e docum*, XII., 182. The Jews (10,000) and foreign heretics are not included; see *Diario*, XIV., 187. A "*Ragguaglio delle famiglie più antiche e più nobili Romane" at the time of Innocent XII., in *Cod. ital.*, 124, p. 67 *seqq.* of State Lib., Munich.

[3] 149,447 souls. Interesting from the point of view of the history of civilization is a MS. given to the *Vaticana* by Marchese MacSwiney in 1909: "Habiti soliti ad usare nella corte Romana, delineati da F. Angelo Maria da Bologna, Min. osserv., per uso della libreria del convento Nunciata di Bologna." Drawings

celebration of the jubilee which formed a worthy termination to Innocent XII.'s religious activities.

Pilgrims and strangers visited Rome in great numbers even during the course of ordinary years. Among them there were many non-Catholics, though fewer came from Germany than from England where, as in France, journeys to Italy became fashionable at an early date. Accordingly French and English travel books show a much profounder understanding of Rome than the German ones.[1]

Jacques Spon, a physician of Lyons, who visited Italy and the East in 1674–6, shows a preference for ancient inscriptions, though he does justice to many other attractions of Rome. A man would have to be very badly treated by nature, he writes, who would not find satisfaction there in some one sphere ; there the scholar has at his disposal rich libraries, the lover of music the finest concerts, the art connoisseur the most magnificent works of the various ages, the lover of nature paradisiacal gardens, and those addicted to the practice of devotion are provided with churches, relics and processions for the whole of their life.[2]

The cultural importance of Rome is emphasized in *Voyage d'Italie*, a book very much read at one time, by Misson who visited Italy in 1688.[3] The Englishman, Richard Lascelles [1660], also gives proof of intelligent interest in the city's works of art, in fact Rome so affected him that he exclaimed on leaving : " Anyone who has seen Rome once wishes to see it again ! " Joseph Addison, who visited Italy in 1699, when he

in water colours of the period of Innocent XII. ; headed by a sonnet : " È un gran teatro la corte Romana."

[1] *Cf.* NOACK, *Deutches Leben in Rom*, 20 *seqq.*, who shows that to a very large extent educated circles in Germany gradually began to take a lively interest in Rome and its artistic treasures only as a result of SANDRART'S *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau, Bild und Mahlereikunst* (Nürnberg, 1675).

[2] NOACK, *loc. cit.*, 21.

[3] On Innocent XII., see MISSON, 78 ; LABAT, *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, III., Amsterdam, 1731, 63 *seqq.*, 183 *seqq.*

made a lengthy stay in Rome, was chiefly interested in the antiquities of the city.[1] Also deserving of notice are the Italian travel notes of the Swedish naturalist and theologian Olof Celsius [2] and many an interesting detail on conditions in Rome may be found in a still unpublished dissertation on interior decoration by the man who built the castle of Stockholm, Count Nicodemus Tessin.[3]

At one time foreigners lived by preference in the Borgo and in the quarters adjoining the Tiber; now they elected to dwell east of the Piazza S. Carlo, as far as the slopes of the Pincio. This shows most clearly the shifting of the central point of the city, which began in 1550 [4] and continued as a result of the building activity on the Monti initiated by Sixtus V., and the erection of a second residence on the Quirinal.[5] Originally it was the artists who favoured the quiet streets dominated by the Pincio and Trinità de' Monti. Paul Bril, Rubens, Elsheimer, Sandrart, Claude Lorrain, Poussin, Swanevelt, lived in the streets of Croce, Babuino and Margutta.[6] In course of time most of the foreigners, especially the wealthier ones, came to prefer the district round the piazza beneath SS. Trinità de' Monti and the Piazza di Spagna.[7] Hotels and furnished apartments arose there in great numbers. Their very names reveal the strong French element among these strangers: for instance the "Crown of France" in the Via Condotti and "The Three Lilies" near

[1] NOACK, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* FRIEDLÄNDER, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876.

[2] O. CELSIUS, *Diarium öfver sin resa i Italien azen 1697 och 1698*, Göteborg, 1909.

[3] N. Tessin, *Traité de la décoration intérieure (1717). Original in Lib. of Stockholm Academy of Art, copy in Royal Library, *ibid.* For Tessin, see O. SIRÉN, *Nicodemus Tessin*, Stockholm, 1915.

[4] *Cf.* PASTOR, *Rom zu Ende der Renaissance*, 90.

[5] *Cf.* our data, Vol. XXII., p. 302.

[6] *Cf.* NOACK, 52, 356. *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Belgi e Olandesi a Roma nei secoli* xvi *e* xvii, Firenze, 1880.

[7] To-day both are called Piazza di Spagna.

S. Andrea della Fratte. The most select lodgings were the Hotel of "The Three Kings" at the entrance to the Via Babuino and the "Albergo Monte d'Oro" whose stately baroque façade adorns the Piazza di Spagna [No. 9] to this day.[1] When the King of Denmark's third son came to Rome in the autumn of 1698 he rented the whole house. The Pope paid much attention to this prince [2] but he paid even greater honour to the widow of Sobieski when she retired to Rome after the collapse of her political aspirations.[3] Maria Casimira arrived in the Eternal City *incognita* on March 24, 1699, and lodged for a time at the palace of Livio Odescalchi in the Corso. Her aged father, Henri de la Grange, for whom she had obtained the red hat under Innocent XII., also came to reside there. The Pope, who had previously made arrangements, in most liberal fashion, for the journey of the Polish Queen, received her at the Quirinal on March 26.[4]

The northern Queen henceforth played a considerable rôle in Roman society together with Marie Anne de la Trémoille,[5] "Princesse des Ursins". As was to be expected in view of the character of the period, there was no lack of disputes on questions of etiquette.[6] At a later date the Queen took up

[1] NOACK, 52.

[2] *Diario*, XIV., 180.

[3] On the Queen's stay, lasting up till 1714, *cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 193 *seqq.*; NOACK, 354; GROTANELLI, *Una regina di Polonia a Roma*, Firenze, 1888. For memorials of the Sobieski family in Rome, *cf.* REUMONT, in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1883, No. 296; M. WALISZEWSKI, *Marie de la Grange d'Arquien, Reine de Pologne,; femme de Sobieski*, 1641–1716, Paris, 1898; G. ANGELINI, *I Sobiesky e gli Stuards in Roma*, Roma, 1883; *Nuova Antologia*, August, 1908.

[4] *Diario*, XIV., 183–5. *Cf.* **Barb.*, LX., 22, p. 18 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

[5] Wife of Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, from 1675–1698. On her position in Rome, *cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 810 *seq.*; Fr. COMBES, *La princesse des Ursins. Essay sur sa vie et son charactère politique*, Paris, 1858.

[6] GROTTANELLI, c. 7.

residence in the Casino Torres on the Pincio, which she connected with the house of Zuccari by means of an arch crossing the street. It was her intention to found a convent in the latter house. The Polish eagle on the Casa Zuccari recalls to this day the memory of her stay there. Maria Casimira was also admitted into the literary society of the Arcadia founded in 1690, which since 1693 held its meetings in the Farnese gardens on the Palatine.[1] However, the widow of the King of Poland was no match for the highly educated, splendidly endowed daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. This inspired an epigram in which there was much play on words; it ended with the verse: "I came to Rome a Christian but not a Christina" (Venni a Roma Christiana, non Christina).[2] Maria Casimira was most devout, hence she wished to end her days in the performance of works of charity in that Eternal City which has always been the refuge of such of the great ones as had finished playing their part on the stage of the world.

[1] Boni, in *Bollet. d'arte*, 1914, 370 *seqq.* On the Arcadia, to which I shall revert under Clement XI., *cf.* above, p. 554, *seq.*

[2] Cancelleri, *loc. cit.*, 193.

CHAPTER III.

Compromise with France—Decisions in the Jansenist and Quietist Controversies—The Struggle against Probabilism—Abolition of Nepotism—Creation of Cardinals—The Missions and the Question of the Rites.

(1.)

The solemn declaration of nullity of the Gallican resolutions of 1682 which Alexander VIII. had pronounced on his death-bed, paved his successor's way towards an agreement since the question of principle was now decided. On all other points concessions could be made.[1] These both Innocent XII. and his advisers were disposed to grant and since in view of the internal and external situation, Louis XIV. could not but desire an end of the strife, it became possible for the Pope and Cardinals D'Estrées, Bonsi and Forbin to lay down the basis for a compromise. The first question was to arrive at an agreement as to the form of the satisfaction which the members of the Assembly of 1682 would have to make. This question once satisfactorily solved, the King would inform the Pope that he had revoked the obligation to teach the four Articles, after which the preconization of the Bishops would follow.[2]

[1] Dubruel, *La provision des évêchés français apres la réconciliation des cours de France et de Rome sous Innocent XII. Mémoire de l'auditeur du Pape et autres documents inédits,* in *Rev. d'hist. de l'Église de France,* II. (1911), 43 *seqq.*, 302 *seqq.* Ansaldi's *memorial in *Vat.* 8643, p. 345 *seqq.*, is supplemented by Card. D'Estrées' *Memoirs,* published by Gérin, in the 2nd ed. of his *Recherches,* Paris, 1870, 617 *seqq.* See also Loyson, *L'assemblée du clergé de France de 1682,* Paris, 1878.

[2] Gérin, *loc. cit.*, 624.

Cardinal Forbin pressed the Pope to content himself with a declaration couched in the most general terms possible. He even threatened with denunciation of the concordat. Innocent remained firm ; he insisted on an explicit declaration, for in this matter, he said, he could not act otherwise than his predecessors.[1] But the French stuck no less obstinately to their view so that there was reason to fear a breakdown of the negotiations. But at this point Louis XIV., in view of his arduous struggle against the Powers arrayed against him in the Grand Alliance, decided to yield to the Holy See on an important point. This he did when he empowered those Bishops-designate who had not been members of the Assembly of 1682, to seek confirmation from the Pope. To this Innocent XII. agreed.[2] Nevertheless some of the Cardinals, more particularly the Spaniard Aguirre, a man well known for his publication of the Acts of the Spanish Councils and as a writer against the four Articles, drew attention to the fact that in the decree on the nomination to the vacant sees it would be necessary to make a reservation forbidding the Bishops of southern France to consent in any way whatever to a further extension of the right of *régale*.[3] Innocent decided to take these representations into account. In his allocution in the consistory for the preconization of the Bishops, he expressly reserved the rights of the Holy See and forbade the new Bishops all direct or indirect recognition of the right of *régale*. The French then gave an assurance that their sovereign would not fail to publish the promised letter revoking the obligation of teaching the

[1] Klopp, V., 332.

[2] Phillips, *Regalienrecht*, 405 *seq.*, 410.

[3] Dubruel, *loc. cit.*, 43 ; Phillips, *loc. cit.*, 411 *seq.* *Cf.* *Alcune ragioni che fanno vedere che nel medesimo tempo che s'aggiusterà l'affare delle bolle per li vescovi di Francia, sia necessario aggiustare quello della Regalia," Archives of Spanish Embassy, Rome ; on the other hand : " *Discorso se convenghi ad Innocenzo XII. d'aggiustare con la Francia separatamente le provisioni delle chiese vacanti in quel regno e poi l'affare sopra la Regalia, e si conclude de no (Ottobre, 1691), Papal Sec. Arch., III., 22, p. 117 *seqq.*

four propositions of 1682. Upon this declaration a beginning was made in the consistory of January 9, 1692, with the preconization of those Bishops who had not assisted at the Assembly of 1682. The papal allocution explicitly stated that the preconizations were not to be considered as an indirect approval of the *régale*. The Pope's concluding words, namely that he would steadfastly stand for the independence of the Church and the authority of the Holy See, as his predecessors Innocent XI. and Alexander VII. had done, left no room for doubt as to the papal standpoint.[1] But now the French Government refused to admit the Bulls which forbade the recognition of the *régale*. However, Innocent XII. found a way out of this difficulty also: he yielded as to the manner but upheld the thing itself when he maintained the prohibition, not by means of Bulls but by appropriate Briefs which the nuncio was instructed to put into the hands of the Bishops.[2]

In a consistory of January 21, 1692, more French Bishops were preconized. On this occasion Cardinal Casanata raised some objections. Cardinals Goës and Aguirre were likewise of opinion that they should wait for Louis XIV.'s letter. Thereupon Cardinal Forbin spoke of a hostile opposition. Aguirre replied that such a thing was far from him—that he would have spoken in exactly the same terms if there had been question of Spanish Bishops.[3] At the preconization of Tristan de la Baume de Suze to the archiepiscopal see of Aux, on February 4, Aguirre objected because the latter had not resided in his diocese of Tarbes for fifteen years though he had not asked for a dispensation from that duty.[4] At the

[1] **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2899, Vat. Lib. The allocution there, which Phillips (413) thought had not yet been published, in Sfondrati, *Regale sacerdotium*, 132, and Fea, *Nullità*, 62. *Cf.* the *Brief to Louis XIV., January 12, 1692, *Epist.*, Innocentii XII., Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Dubruel, 44.

[3] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *Briefs to "Car. Gasp. Gugl. de Ventimille de Luc, elect. Massiliens., elect. Nemausens.", etc., of January 21, 1692, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

consistory of March 10, 1692, there occurred even livelier altercations. Colloredo and Aguirre insisted that Louis XIV. should be made to revoke his edict in support of the four Articles. D'Estrées and Forbin gave heated answers. D'Estrées objected to Aguirre, the Protector of the Kingdom of Naples, that Spain upheld the Monarchia Sicula. The Pope was eventually forced to put an end to the dispute.[1] In the next consistory, on March 24, he exhorted the Cardinals to moderation and to avoid interruptions.[2] At the preconization of the Bishop of Tournai on May 5, the latter was expressly forbidden to recognize the right of *régale* in any way whatsoever.[3]

After the consistory of July 7, at which a great number of Bishops who had not taken part in the Assembly of 1682, were preconized,[4] a decision concerning those who had subscribed the four Articles became increasingly urgent, but as before no agreement on the text of the letter to be addressed by them to the Pope could be arrived at.[5]

Four of the Bishops-designate had taken part in the conference of Bishops held in 1688 under the presidency of the Archbishop of Paris so that they had incurred the censures to which, in the Roman view, those are liable who appeal from the Pope to a General Council. A way out of this difficulty was found by the Paris nuncio Cavallerini who, in June 1692, had succeeded Niccolini who had died on 4 February.[6] This consisted in demanding from the Bishops concerned a declaration that in 1682 they had had no intention of appealing to a Council, that they had only wished to express approval of the action of their sovereign. In view of this declaration Innocent

[1] *Ibid.*; **Avviso Marescotti* of March 15, 1692, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele. *Cf.* the *Briefs "Electis Claramont., Tullens., Eugolismens., Baionnens.", Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] **Acta consist.* On this day *Briefs were dispatched to "Electis Tarbiens., Grass., Ambianens.", etc., Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] **Ibid.*

[4] *Briefs "Electis Electens., Lodov., Trecorens., Diens.", etc., Papal Sec. Arch.

[5] PHILLIPS, 415 *seqq.*

[6] KARTTUNEN, 238, 252.

XII. was able to preconize the Bishops in question on October 6th and 15th.[1]

A particularly delicate matter was the filling of the see of Pamiers, for it seemed impossible to dissociate a decision on the dispute of the *régale* from such a measure.[2] But the greatest difficulty of all was the devising of a formula of submission for the participants in the Assembly of 1682. The French displayed the utmost ingenuity in drawing up formulas so worded as to be capable of an interpretation very different from an unconditional revocation of the Gallican Articles. On the other hand Innocent XII. and his advisers, Cardinals Spada, Albani and Panciatici,[3] were not to be moved from their determination to demand an explicit, unconditional renunciation of articles that could not be reconciled with Catholic teaching. Mere apologies they rejected. Thus things remained for a considerable time. In July 1693, the situation looked hopeless. The Pope's auditor Ansaldi did his utmost, though in vain, to discover a formula acceptable to both parties. At last a formula was found to which the French Cardinals gave their assent. The Abbé De La Trémoille took the draft to Versailles.[4]

Resolved as he was to continue a war which demanded the greatest sacrifices, Louis XIV. was bound to ask himself whether this was possible whilst his people were suffering from want and at the same time troubled in conscience. So at last he made up his mind to yield.[5] On September 14th he

[1] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] DUBRUEL, 45.

[3] **Avvisi Marescotti* of March 29 and May 24, 1692, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[4] KLOPP, V., 336 *seqq.*; GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 652 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, 423 *seqq.*; DUBRUEL, *loc. cit.*

[5] KLOPP, VI., 223 *seqq.* In his *report of August 28, 1693, Liechtenstein draws attention to the battle of Neerwinden (July 24, 1693), when the French were unable to exploit their costly victory: "La battaglia di Fiandra ha prodotto i suoi effetti anche in quella corte, perchè dubitando i Francesi che le loro cose prendessero colà piuttosto sinistra che buona piega, e

informed the Pope that he had given the necessary orders so that the prescriptions of his edict of March 22nd, 1682, on the subject of the declaration of the French clergy, should not be enforced in future.[1] On the same day every single participant in the Assembly of 1682 addressed an apology to the Pope. "Nothing grieves me so much," they said, "as the fact that whilst the Church flourishes so happily, my own situation seems to have excluded me in some way from the favour of your Holiness' predecessors. Hence I declare that all that may be considered as having been decided in that Assembly concerning the power of the Church and the authority of the Pope, I consider as not decided and as not to be decided. Furthermore I hold as not determined all that might be considered as having been determined to the detriment of the rights of the Church; on the contrary I declare myself ready for the most complete submission to your Holiness.[2] For it was never my intention to do anything detrimental to the Church, on the contrary, I protest my sincerest submission to your Holiness."[3]

regolandosi Roma dagli accidenti di fuori, hanno i cardinali francesi stimato bene di stringere l'accomodamento delle note differenze, come gli è riuscito. Martedì notte, 25 del corrente, fu spedito dal cardinale de Forbin il suo segretario alla corte con l'ultimatione del trattato." Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[1] SFONDRATI, *loc. cit.*, 735; ROSKOVÁNY, *Monum.*, I., 215; *Collectio Lacensis.*, I., 835; ARTAUD, *Hist. de Pie VII.*, 2 vols.[3], 171. The view that Louis XIV.'s letter was not authentic and a Jansenist forgery has already been refuted by RANKE (III., 119, n. 1), though he overlooked the fact that Artaud, whom he quotes on the same page, saw the original in the Papal Sec. Arch. in 1825, though Napoleon was said to have burnt it (ARTAUD, *loc. cit.*). The original has been rediscovered by Mgr. Mercati (*Rev. des Sciences relig.*, 1926, 305). It is in good condition and now marked AA, Arm. I.–XVIII., 430. *Cf.* DUBRUEL, *En plein conflit*, 119 *seq.*

[2] This refers to the right of *régale*; see PHILIPPSON, *Ludwig*, XIV., 329.

[3] GÉRIN, 450 *seq.*; *Spicil. Vat.*, I. (1890), 141 *seq.*; KLOPP, V., 226; *Collectio Lacensis*, I., 835.

After the arrival in Rome of these important documents the Pope called a consistory for October 5th, 1693, at which he informed the Cardinals of Louis XIV.'s repeal of his previous order enforcing the teaching of the four Articles and of the apologies of the Bishops. With regard to the right of *régale* he promised to take appropriate precautions. This was followed by the preconization of eight Bishops. At a consistory held on October 12th some more French Bishops were preconized [1] after which D'Estrées offered solemn thanks and left for France.[2] In his place Forbin proposed at the consistory of October 26th, 1693, that the remaining vacant sees in France should be filled; the Pope thereupon confirmed the candidates proposed. With a view to doing honour to France Innocent XII. himself made a proposal for the primatial see of Lyons and for the see of Condom for which the King had named the auditor of the Rota D'Hervault, who had done good work in bringing about the compromise. To these two prelates the usual tax was remitted in its entirety. Huet, the Dauphin's tutor, was the object of a similar favour. The others also, in consideration of France's need in consequence of the war, were granted as great a reduction of the tax as was practicable.[3]

Thus the main point of the long-drawn dispute with France was at last cleared out of the way. However, the success of the Holy See was not complete for the extension of the right of *régale* remained,[4] nor did Louis XIV. revoke the declaration of 1682 but only the edict for its execution, which imposed the four Articles on Bishops and professors and made them an obligatory subject of teaching. No prohibition to teach the four Gallican Articles was issued, on the contrary the

[1] **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.

[2] *Ibid.* *Cf.* the *Briefs to the nine Bishops, October 12, 1693, Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, the *Brief of October 13, 1693, expressing the Pope's satisfaction at the royal order of September 14, 1693, commanding that the decrees of the edict of March 22, 1682, "non servari debeant."

[3] DUBRUEL, 45. *Cf.* BERNINO, *Eresie*, IV., 739 *seq.*

[4] PHILLIPS, 440, 443 *seq.*

Archbishop of Paris informed the professors of the Sorbonne in the name of the King that they were free to do so or to leave it alone; however, the Dean of the Faculty would not refuse henceforth to approve the theses of licentiates which did not contain the articles of 1682.[1]

It cannot be denied that certain expressions in the letter of the Bishops to the Pope were equivocal and this circumstance led some people to conclude that there was no retractation at all.[2] Innocent XII. undoubtedly considered

[1] KLOPP, VI., 227 *seqq.* A return was made to the state of affairs before 1682, says PHILIPPSON (*loc. cit.*, 330).

[2] PHILLIPS, 430. As against this a modern historian no less hostile to the papacy than Phillips writes: "The friends of Gallicanism point to the last of the propositions quoted. The Bishops say that it had not been their intention to take a fresh decision nor to injure the churches of Southern France; hence—they argue—neither has a decision been taken nor any harm been done to those churches; so there is nothing to retract. But their words do not bear such a construction, especially when the context is taken into account. What would be the meaning of previous statements expressing great sorrow, viz. the Bishops' regret for all that had displeased the Pope in the decisions of the Assembly? in which all innovations are declared null and void. If nothing had been decreed this long passage would not have been needed. The language, it is true, is as obscure as possible, so as to spare the feelings of the sixteen, and because it is the result of two years' discussions. If these sentences have any meaning at all it is this: 'We had no intention to arrive at a new decision or one hurtful to the Church; if this has, nevertheless, happened in matters that displeased Your Holiness and your predecessors, we take it all back.' The fact that subsequently the Gallicans, on the basis of an artfully twisted text, asserted that there had been no withdrawal, proves nothing, for what could not theological subtlety and power of interpretation have achieved? Here there is a precise statement: 'that which could be considered as decided' not 'that which might have been!' This alone can be said: not the whole French Church has taken back the famous four Articles, only 16 Bishops have made a retraction, and not even an exact and particular one, but merely a general one." PHILIPPSON, 329 *seqq.*

the letter as a recantation though the French immediately denied this.[1] But they could not undo the fact that the participants in the Assembly of 1682 had been obliged, with the approval of the Government, to address an abject apology to the Pope which contained at least a general recantation.[2] In any case the imminent peril of a schism in France was removed and Louis XIV.'s retreat undoubtedly constituted a considerable moral victory for the Holy See.[3] "It was no small matter," says a historian, "when a monarch who defied powerful coalitions, at a sign of whom the whole of the clergy of his realm bowed in abject servility, renounced, at the Pope's bidding, the unconditional execution of principles which he had at one time solemnly proclaimed to be the very soul of his policy. Louis did not go to Canossa, but he made his pliant Bishops take that road." [4]

The impression in Europe was great, even among the Calvinists of Holland, with whom the political aspect of the affair naturally weighed the most.[5]

[1] "*Queruntur Galli, quod S. Sanctitas de litteris a reprobis episcopis Gallicis propter comitia ab eisdem a. 1682 habita sermonem faciens has retractatorias dixerit, quod nullatenus Galli admittere volebant." Liechtenstein to Leopold I., October 10, 1693, Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna.

[2] HOLTZMANN (*Französiche Verfassungsgesch*, Munich, 1910, 451), surely, goes too far when he speaks of a turning-point in the Gallican movement for several of those who subscribed did not abandon the contents of the four Articles, though they dropped the declaration. *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, IV.[5], 33.

[3] This is granted even by PHILLIPS (441).

[4] Opinion of BROSCH (I., 451–2). If Brosch, like RANKE (III., 120), insists that "the Roman See maintained itself not by its own strength at all, but merely as the result of a powerful political coalition", it must be stated that in the conflict with Louis XIV. no Pope abandoned his principles. The "political coalition", no doubt, compelled the King to give way to the Pope, but this negative effect is assuredly not to be put on the same level with the positive attitude of the papacy, based on its own strength.

[5] KLOPP, VI., 227.

(2.)

In the course of his efforts for the settlement of the ecclesiastico-political dispute with France, Innocent XII. was likewise obliged to deal with the Jansenist controversy. A number of the followers of Jansenius had escaped from France to Holland and Belgium where they had secured a footing at the University of Louvain. The Belgian Bishops watched the development of things with considerable concern. With a view to cutting short the invasion of the innovators, they had insisted, since the beginning of 1692, on their subscribing the formula prescribed by Alexander VII., the explicit recognition of *veritas facti*, that is, the formal rejection of Jansenius' five propositions and that in the sense in which they were taught by Jansenius.[1] Against this measure the Jansenists of Flanders defended themselves not only by means of various writings, but they also addressed to the Roman Inquisition a humble petition in which the situation was described from their point of view. The Congregation somewhat precipitately forbade the Bishops every kind of innovation in connexion with this affair.[2] This step was all

[1] Schill, *Konstitution Unigenitus*, 24; **Cod. Vat.* 7405, f. 27 (Vat. Lib.), there, f. 123–9, a *letter of the Archbishop of Malines, of August 9, 1692, on Jansenism in Flanders: Papal decrees are scorned, the Mons New Testament is read everywhere, even in convents of nuns, the Church's infallibility in judging of the sense of a book is openly denied; the Sacraments are neglected and Indulgences contemned. "Huc spectat infinita libellorum multitudo quos ianseniano toxico scatentes non latino tantum idiomate, sed etiam vernaculo conscriptos quotidie novos ubique disseminant. Hos salibus suis et sermonis elegantia ita condiunt, ut avide passim legantur et plausum referant." For the space of eighteen years the Jansenist advisers of my predecessor, Berghes, "optimi et nulla praediti scientia antistitis bonitate et auctoritate abutentes" have thrown everything into confusion. The same MS. has many *documents dealing with the dispute.

[2] "*Li Giansenisti di Fiandra havendo fatta una consulta, chiamativi anche quelli del paese di Liegi e d'Olanda comincia-

the more surprising as the Bishops had not even been consulted. Hence they appealed to the Pope who in a Brief of September 27th, 1692, promised to subject the matter to mature examination.[1] To this end he repeatedly convened the Cardinals of the Inquisition but even at an extraordinary sitting, which was also the last, at the Convent of the Minerva, they failed to reach a unanimous decision.[2]

rono a far stampare molti libelli infamatorii contro i vescovi, et intanto con una supplica molto umile in apparenza ricorsero alla s. Congregazione del S. Officio, lamentandosi molto delle turbolenze insorte per quella cagione in Fiandra e della vesazione fatta a loro senza ragione, et subito ottennero dalla detta Congregazione un decreto, per il quale si comandò alli vescovi di tralasciare quelle novità." Thus the "Riflessioni sopra il formulario de' vescovi di Fiandra", Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[1] *Brief to the Archbishop of Malines, Humbert William-Precipiano, September 27, 1692, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] The **Riflessioni* in the Liechtenstein Archives have the following: "Alcuni dicevano che li vescovi di Fiandra non dovevano esigere il formolario d'Alessandro VII., molto meno le addizioni, stante che il formolario concernendo la Francia sola non si doveva stendere ad altri paesi senza licenza della S. Sede, e che non aspetterà a quei vescovi di fare nè di esigere simili addizioni. Altri asserivano che tal licenza era superflua, mentre li vescovi ponno mettere in esecuzione le costitutioni apostoliche, particolarmente quando sono dogmatiche e perpetue, senza ricorrere alla Sede Apost., e che ponno dare il pabolo che stimano il più salutevole alla loro grege, della quale essi sono tenuti di render conto a Dio, sostenendo che sono maggiori l'inconvenienti che potranno nascere dal non uso del formolario e delle addizioni che dall'uso o tolleranza di esso. Et altri finalmente riflettevano che li Francesi, non riconoscendo l'infallibilità del Papa nelle questioni de iure, paiono di voler secondare l'istanze de' vescovi di Fiandra premendo a maggior segno che si publichino dalla Sede Apost. tali risolutioni non solo in iure, ma anche in fatto, per accendere in quelle parti qualche grand'incendio e pescare così in acqua torbida nella congiontura dei tempi presenti, e però vi sono alcuni zelanti che vorrebbero che si trattasse questo negotio dopo la pace universale, ma si deve temere di dar in questo modo ansa

Professor Jean Libert Hennebel had been in residence in Rome, as representative of Louvain University, since November 17th, 1693. Somewhat later he was joined there by the Augustinian Bernard Desirant who represented the Bishops.[1] The activities of the able Hennebel resulted in a notable success: on January 28th, 1694, after prolonged discussions, a decree of the Inquisition was drawn up, followed, on February 6th, by a Papal Brief forbidding every addition to the "traditional formula". The Bishops were instructed to content themselves with a sincere subscription to the five propositions without distinction, limitation or declaration, in the *immediate and literal sense of the words*, as previous Popes had ordered it to be subscribed.[2] In a submissive letter to the Pope dated March 24th, 1694,[3] the University of Louvain promised to observe the prohibition laid down towards the end of the above-mentioned Brief, of all further discussions on the meaning of the five propositions and the formula. The decree also forbade the labelling with the odious name of Jansenist of anyone who repudiated the five propositions.

Already the Jansenists imagined that with this Brief they had at last the means of saving Jansenius' name and book from official censure. The new decision, they claimed, only demanded the repudiation of the five propositions without any mention of Jansenius' name: it only demanded the repudiation of these propositions in their immediate, literal sense, but this immediate, literal sense was not found in Jansenius, hence the new ordinance corrected former papal

al Giansenismo di maggiormente radicarsi. Onde si sente che la S. Congregazione non habbia presa alcuna positiva risolutione."

[1] These dates are based on **Riflessioni, loc. cit.* On Hennebel, *cf.* WERNER, *Fr. Suarez*, I., 333; HURTER, IV.[3], 725 (*cf.* 389); LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 98 *seqq.*; *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VI., 2148; on Désirant, *ibid.*, IV., 627.

[2] To the Archbishop of Malines, the Bishops of Bruges, Ghent, Roermond, in D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 390; BERNINO, IV., 742; SCHILL, 25.

[3] Printed by LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seqq.*

decrees. Thereupon the Belgian Bishops made a second appeal to Rome from where they received a decree dated November 25th, 1696, which for clearness left nothing to be desired. In it Innocent XII. explicitly confirmed the decree of Alexander VII. in its full extent and empowered the Bishops to take canonical proceedings against whosoever contravened it by any external act. For the rest the Bishops were told to be satisfied with the simple acceptance of the formula without inquiring into the interior intention of individual signatories since the Church did not judge of these things.[1]

Another decision on a doctrinal conflict was concerned with quietistic opinions [2] which were apparently being revived in France, though in an attenuated form.[3]

Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Motte, better known under the name of her husband Guyon,[4] after the death of the latter in 1676, when she was but twenty-eight years of age, had given herself entirely to a life of piety and good works, but a disorderly imagination and the wrong direction of her spiritual guide, Lacombe, who accompanied her on all her journeys, led her astray. Malicious reports about her relations with Lacombe

[1] D'Argentré, III., 2, 392 ; Bernino, IV., 743 *seq.* ; Schill, 25 *seq.* The Brief, dated November 24, 1694, "Litteras," in D'Argentré and Hardouin (XI., c. 158), is dated November 25, 1696, a°, 6°, in the *Epist.* of the Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 442 *seq.*

[3] H. Chérot, *Le Quiétisme en Bourgogne*, in *Études*, LXXXV. (1900), *seq.* ; H. Watrigant, *Un disciple obstiné du sémi-quiétisme guyonien à Rouen*, 1700–4, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XVIII. (1922), 61–78.

[4] Guerrier, *Madame Guyon*, Paris, 1881 ; Gombault, *Madame Guyon*, in *Rev. de Lille*, 1910 ; her *Apologie, annotée par Bossuet*, in *Documents d'hist.*, 1910, 284, 304 ; *Le procès de Madame Guyon*, in *Rev. Fénelon*, 1910, Juin ; A. Largent in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VI., 1997–2006. The chief source for the story of French quietism is a number of letters, documents in the *Correspondance* of Fénelon (Vols. IX. and X., Paris, 1851), and in Bossuet's *Correspondance* (ed. Urbain and Levesque, Vols. VIII.–XI., Paris, 1914–17. *Cf.* Paquier, *Qu'est ce que le Quiétisme* ? Paris, 1910.

led to the arrest of both in Paris. Lacombe did not recover his freedom and died insane in 1699, whereas her eight months' imprisonment affected Madame Guyon's good name so very little that after her liberation, ladies of the highest social rank, such as the Duchesses of Charost, Beauvilliers, Chevreuse and Montemart, entered into intimate relations with the gifted woman and spoke of her as a Saint. Madame de Maintenon also came under her spell. At the educational establishment which she had opened at Saint-Cyr, the manuscript notes of Madame Guyon, with their alleged visions, prophecies and miracles, passed from hand to hand until Godet de Marais, Bishop of Chartres, having heard of these writings, raised a warning voice. This frightened Madame de Maintenon who thereupon sought the advice of the Superior of the Sulpicians, Tronson, and that of Bourdaloue, who both took an unfavourable view of the writings.

In point of fact the writings of the new prophetess were anything but unexceptionable. The Church's asceticism knows no other path towards Christian perfection than the lengthy and weary labour of self-denial. Yet time and again in the course of history teachers have arisen who promised the attainment of that lofty goal at much less cost and as it were at one bound. Madame Guyon was one of them. According to her, perfection consists in an uninterrupted act of contemplation and love of God. Once this act of divine love exists, man has done all that it is in his power to do for his perfection. This act continues of its own accord until it is expressly revoked. The soul need no longer trouble about any other virtuous acts, for they are all included in this act of charity. As a matter of fact man should refrain from all personal striving after perfection as the effort only troubles his repose in God. Nor should he allow himself to be disquieted either by fear or hope ; on the contrary he should be perfectly indifferent, even with regard to his eternal salvation. In contemplative prayer a reasoned consideration of the attributes of God or the life of Christ is not to be recommended.[1]

[1] LARGENT, *loc. cit.*, 1998.

These views met with approval. Five editions of a small tract by Madame Guyon entitled *A brief and very easy method of prayer*, were sold within the space of a few months. At Châlons-sur-Saone and at Dijon quietism caused a stir. At Seurre, in the diocese of Besançon, a curé of the name of Robert publicly declared that Molinos had been wrongly condemned ; that Innocent XI., who was no man of prayer, had condemned what he did not understand.[1] Two Doctors of the Sorbonne, Bornat and Bureau, were banished in 1688 when they were found to be adherents of the new quietist sect.[2]

Whither the refusal of self-discipline in the interior life could lead had been demonstrated in appalling fashion by the case of Molinos, yet it was precisely one of the finest characters of contemporary France who allowed himself to be strongly influenced by Madame Guyon.[3] Fénelon [4] considered the prophetess as a kind of Saint.[5] It seemed to him that she

[1] CHÉROT, LXXXV., 614, 618 ; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, X., 690, art. *Quillot. Cf.* BOSSUET, *Correspondance*, XI., *App.*, I.[2] 377–399. Fénelon also says in his letter to Innocent XII. (see below, p. 613, n. 1) : "Quietistarum dogma nefandum ac perfectionis speciem prae se ferens, in varias Galliarum partes necnon et in Belgio ut cancer serpebat" (*Œuvres*, IX., Paris, 1852, 142). On August 2, 1697, he writes to the Pope that he had written the *Maximes des Saints* "ad confutandos Quietistarum errores et ad secernendas sanctorum ascetarum sententias" (*ibid.*, 184).

[2] Per essere stati scoperti sequaci della nuova setta di Quietisti. Nunciature report of February 2, 1688, in LANGLOIS, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1929, 54.

[3] MAURICE MASSON, *Fénelon et Madame Guyon*, Paris, 1907 ; H. BREMOND, *Apologie pour Fénelon*, Paris, 1910. On the authenticity of the correspondence between Fénelon and Mad. Guyon, see LARGENT, *loc. cit.*, 1999. *Cf.* M. J. DENIS, *Quiétisme, Fénelon et Bossuet*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. nat. des sciences, arts et belles lettres de Caen*, 1914.

[4] Monographs by BRAUSSET (1808), DE BROGLIE (1884), Jannet (1892), MAHRENHOLTZ (1913). E. JOVY, *Fénelon inédit d'après les documents de Pistoie*, Vitry-le-François, 1917.

[5] LARGENT, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, V., 2144.

had an extraordinary experience in all that appertains to the interior life ; accordingly he shut his eyes to the fact that she possessed neither learning nor wisdom and that her writings actually contained things worthy of ecclesiastical censure. When he saw the storm gathering about Madame Guyon, he sought to help her. He induced her to submit her writings to the judgment of Bossuet, for at this time Fénelon was paying to the Bishop of Meaux an almost excessive tribute of admiration.[1] Accordingly Madame Guyon submitted her writings to Bossuet, who definitely condemned the quietism that lurked in them, on the ground that the theology of the Church knows no state of perfection in which one no longer asks anything of God, or returns thanks to Him. Let Madame Guyon rid herself of her presumption and make no account of her visions and similar things. For the rest he treated the prophetess with fatherly kindness in the hope that she would allow herself to be taught.

Madame Guyon, however, was not satisfied. She felt that all Bossuet's objections were simply due to the fact that he knew nothing of mysticism [2] and she demanded a commission of laymen and ecclesiastics—of laymen to judge of her moral conduct and of ecclesiastics to examine her teaching. Now there was no question of her moral rectitude, hence she was only granted an ecclesiastical commission which, at her own request, consisted of Bossuet, Noailles, Bishop of Châlons, and Tronson. These held a number of conferences at the country house of the Sulpicians at Issy between July 16th, 1694, and March 10th, 1695, as a result of which they formulated in thirty propositions the Church's teaching as opposed to quietism.[3] Bossuet

[1] Fénelon to Bossuet, on July 28, 1694 (FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, X., 29) : *Je suis dans vos mains comme un petit enfant*, etc. In like terms, in the letter of December 16, 1694 (*ibid.*, 49). Letter of January 26, 1695 : *Traitez-moi comme un petit écolier* (*ibid.*, 53).

[2] F. BRUNETIÈRE, *Nouvelles études critiques*, Paris, 1882, 64.

[3] Printed in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, V., 2146 *seqq.* On the conferences of Issy, *cf.* LEVESQUE, in *Rev. Bossuet*, 1906, 176 *seqq.*, 204 *seqq.* ;

published the articles of Issy in a pastoral letter in which the writings of Molinos, Malaval and Lacombe were expressly condemned together with some of Madame Guyon's, though without her name being mentioned. In a similiar pastoral by Noailles Madame Guyon was not mentioned by name. In an earlier condemnation the Archbishop of Paris had used no such consideration. In his stern ordinance Godet de Marais condemned sixty-three propositions drawn from the writings of Lacombe and Madame Guyon. On December 27th, 1695, the hapless prophetess was once more arrested as she refused to submit and it was only on October 16th, 1696, that she was allowed to leave Vincennes. She confessed her errors in writing and promised to allow herself to be guided in future by the Archbishop of Paris. Even after her liberation she remained under surveillance, but at length she was allowed to retire to Blois where she died on June 9th, 1717. The opening sentence of her will is a profession of the Catholic faith.[1] Among Protestants her writings are held in esteem even at this day.[2]

From the first Fénelon felt hit by the suspicion of which Madame Guyon was the object. Even before the first discussions at Issy he drew up a number of memorials in her defence. He hoped to avert an unfavourable judgment since it appeared to him that the teaching of his client was covered by the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Cassian and Francis de Sales. But he protested his readiness to submit to the judgment of the conference of Issy.

He was soon to learn that the members of the conference of Issy took a very different view of Madame Guyon than he had imagined. This realization became even more painful for him when Madame de Maintenon laid before the judges the letters which Fénelon had written to her as her spiritual director : a number of passages in these letters were taken exception to and these the accused sought to defend or to

Alb. Chérel, *Explication des articles d'Issy*, Paris, 1915 ; P. Dudon, in *Rev. d'ascétique et de mystique*, 1928, 263 *seqq.*

[1] Largent, *loc. cit.*, VI., 2004.

[2] Brunetière, 63.

correct.[1] However, he failed to win over the conference to his views. When after the preliminary conferences of Issy, in July and August, 1694, the judges again met there in November and December, there was placed before them a memorial in which Bossuet refuted page by page Fénelon's account of the teaching of Clement of Alexandria.[2] So determined were they in their rejection of the new opinions that, contrary to their first intention, they declined to discuss the matter at all.

This did not affect Fénelon's resolution to submit. He complied with Bossuet's request that he should expound his opinions more fully in writing.[3] The memorial he wrote to that effect seemed to dispose of every difficulty hence, on February 4th, 1695, Fénelon was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai. When the Issy articles were handed to him he was at first speechless with astonishment, but promptly announced his willingness to subscribe to them.

However, he did not subscribe for the moment, on the contrary he presented counter-proposals in which not a few of the original thirty articles were differently formulated and three new ones added. At the same time he renewed his promise to subscribe; if his modifications proved unacceptable, he would submit at least out of obedience and with the regret that the articles were so imperfect. But even now he stuck to his view on certain points, in fact he secured the acceptance of many of the modifications proposed by him, as well as the addition of a further three articles to the thirty, to which Noailles added a thirty-fourth.

[1] Langlois, in *Rev. d'hist littér. de la France*, XXXV. (1928), 354 *seqq.*

[2] *Traditions des nouveaux mystiques* (Dudon, *loc. cit.*, 161 *seqq.*). On the work, *Le gnostique de saint* (*sic !*) *Clément d'Alexandrie*, which Bossuet refutes, being by Fénelon, see Dudon, *loc. cit.*

[3] On this so-called Confession of Fénelon, *cf.* Dudon in *Recherches de science relig.*, 1927; Id., *Mém. inédit de Fénelon sur l'état passif, ibid.*, 1929, 97–121; Id., *D'une prétendue tradition secrète de la vie spirit. des parfaits. ibid.*, 1928, 594–614.

Concord between Bossuet and Fénelon seemed now re-established. Both subscribed to the thirty-four articles, both rejected the writings of Madame Guyon.[1] With his own hand Bossuet gave episcopal consecration to his one-time opponent on July 10th, 1695. When Bossuet compiled a book on various questions raised by quietism,[2] Fénelon promised to give his approval so as to furnish a tangible proof of the newly established concord. No cause of future controversy seemed to remain. But when Bossuet submitted his book the unexpected happened, for the new Archbishop of Cambrai refused his approbation, and he did so even though it was easy to foresee that he would forfeit the favour both of the King and of Madame de Maintenon and that, in spite of his repudiation of Madame Guyon's writings, he would be represented as a supporter of quietism. Now in public opinion quietism was inseparable from the abominations brought to light by the trial of Molinos.[3]

What is the explanation of this strange conduct ? [4] Fénelon himself seems to indicate his chief motive when referring to his rupture with Bossuet and the consequences that ensued from it, when he writes [5] : " I set out for Cambrai," and thus into banishment from court : " I have sacrificed all human and worldly considerations for a doctrinal point which I held to be true." This point had momentarily cropped up during the conferences of Issy without leaving a trace in the

[1] In his letter of June 20, 1698, to Innocent XII. (*Œuvres*, IX., 443), Fénelon says : " Semper et palam dixi, duos libros, quos solos novi, nempe, ' Moyen court ' etc. et ' le Cantique ', censura dignos esse in sensu obvio et naturali. . . . Unde constat me nunquam neque ulla ratione libros excusasse " (*cf.* p. 479 *seq.*). See also the letter of December 13, 1698, to Innocent XII., *ibid.*, 618 *seqq.*

[2] *Instruction pastorale sur les états d'oraison* (*Œuvres*, ed. LACHAT, XVIII.).

[3] STÉPHANE HARENT in *Études*, CXXVII. (1911), 493 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Première lettre à un de ses amis, 3 août*, 1697, *Œuvres*, II., 283. *Cf.* HARENT, *loc. cit.*, 495.

thirty-four articles; it was connected with the highest Christian virtue of charity or the love of God. In the conclusion of his pastoral letter on the degrees of prayer, Bossuet had hinted at another work in which he intended to prove from the Scriptures and the Fathers that even charity could never be wholly disinterested, that the desire for happiness was a necessary motive of all our actions, hence the love of God which did not proceed from such a motive was but self-deception and presumption of so unnatural a kind as to bring piety into disrepute.[1] On the other hand Fénelon saw in these assertions a devaluation of the highest Christian virtue. There was nothing he was not prepared to do or to suffer to prevent this devaluation, he wrote.[2] Moreover, in consequence of the ill-judged zeal of his friends, a book of his was published at that very moment, namely the much discussed *Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Interior Life*.[3] Fénelon, accordingly, refused the promised approbation of Bossuet's book, fully prepared as he was to take the consequences. These were soon to be seen.[4] At the Issy conferences the question of the disinterested love of God had only been lightly touched upon and Fénelon had dissociated himself from Madame Guyon's writings even though he retained a high regard for her person. On the other hand

[1] The voice of Nature and that of Christianity agree that "qu'on veut être heureux et qu'on ne peut pas ne pas le vouloir, ni s'arracher ce motif dans aucune des actions que la raison peut produire. . . . C'est donc une illusion d'ôter à l'amour de Dieu le motif de nous rendre heureux. Instruction past. sur les états d'oraison", LIV., 10, n. 29.

[2] "Il n'a rien que je ne veuille faire et souffrir pour résister à ceux qui ont entrepris de décrier cette doctrine" [of disinterested love]. Deuxième lettre à un de ses amis, *Œuvres*, II., 285. *Cf.* HARENT, *loc. cit.*, 497.

[3] "Explication des maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure."

[4] On the dispute between Bossuet and Fénelon, *cf.* CROUSLÉ (Paris, 1894); DELMONT (Lyons, 1896); BAUMGARTNER, *Weltliteratur*, V., 413 *seqq.*; WEINAND, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV.², 1333 *seq.*

Bossuet saw in Fénelon's work a fresh assertion of the propositions lately condemned, which he considered extremely dangerous for two reasons: one was that they were entirely based upon alleged illuminations and inspirations, thus constituting private judgment or opinion the arbiter in religious matters, after the manner of the Protestants; the other was that Fénelon spoke of a secret tradition among the mystics. Now Catholicism knows no other tradition in religious questions except the general tradition of the Church. Bossuet was unsparing in his attacks upon his former friend, "the Montanus of the new Priscilla," as he described him in an offensive allusion to one of the oldest incidents in the story of heresy.[1] Other things also Fénelon had to endure. He was banished from court and lost his post of tutor to the Dauphin. Some of his assistants, together with some of the nuns of Saint-Cyr, were also hit by the King's wrath. With the King's approval a declaration which Bossuet, Noailles and Godet de Marais drew up against Fénelon as the result of some conferences at the palace of the Archbishop of Paris, was handed to nuncio Delfino on August 6th, 1697, and spread throughout the country.

However, Fénelon did not lose heart, on the contrary, he defended himself against Bossuet's attacks in over a dozen publications. The contest between the two Bishops, which caused a sensation throughout the whole of France, went on for over a year and a half. A worldly epoch may indeed have deemed the subject matter of the quarrel too lofty or too abstruse, but the well-known philosopher Malebranche and the Maurist François Lamy, the famous preacher Bourdaloue and the founder of the Trappists, De Rancé, took sides in the dispute. Even Leibnitz studied what he called the "riddle"

[1] "Si je mollissais dans une querelle où il y va de toute la religion, ou si j'affectais des délicatesses, on ne m'entendrait pas, et je trahirais la cause que je dois défendre" (Bossuet to his nephew, November 18, 1697, *Corresp.*, IX., 28). "Enfin l'Église est terriblement menacée," he wrote on August 4, 1698, to Noailles (*ibid.*, X., 104).

of disinterested love.[1] In Paris sermons were preached against the new teaching,[2] and echoes of the Bishops' contest reached even the salons of aristocrat ladies. "No learned contest," wrote Madame de Sévigne's daughter, "was more important and more easy to understand, or was more within the sphere of the intelligence or the heart, which is the natural judge in such a matter." [3]

When the three Bishops' manifesto against Fénelon became public, the latter's reply took the form of a "Letter to a Friend" which circulated throughout France and in an Italian translation in Rome also. On April 27th, 1697, he submitted his teaching to the Pope [4] with the following expression of submission: "Your mission it is, Holy Father, to give judgment, mine to hearken to and to venerate in you Peter still living and speaking and ever unfailing in his faith." [5] The King refused him leave to go to Rome in person.[6] In an autograph letter [7] Louis requested the Pope to give judgment in Fénelon's affair.

[1] LARGENT, *loc. cit.*, 2152. Leibnitz spoke at this time of the "enigme de l'amour désintéressé (opinion on Fénelon in *Correspondance de Bossuet*, IX., 425). In February 1697, De Rancé wrote of Bossuet: "Je ne doute point que tous les gens de bien ne se joignent à lui, et que son parti ne soit celui de l'Église" (*ibid.*, VII., 506).

[2] H. CHÉROT, *Études*, LXXXVI. (1901), 50.

[3] GRISELLE, *Études*, CXX. (1909), 701.

[6] *Œuvres de Fénelon*, IX., Paris, 1851, 144 *seqq.*; the Pope's reply, June 11, 1697, *ibid.*, 159.

[5] "Tuum est iudicare, Sanctissime Pater, meum vero in Te Petrum, cuius fides nunquam deficiet, viventem et loquentem audire et revereri" (*ibid.*, 142). In the letter of recommendation for his Roman agent, Chanterac, he says: "Argue, emenda, corripe, damna; hoc totum patris, hoc totum filio gratum" (*ibid.*, 185).

[6] Fénelon to Innocent XII., August 2, 1697, *Œuvres*, IX., 184.

[7] July 26, 1697, *ibid.*, 175; BOSSUET, *Correspondance*, VIII., 520; the Pope's reply, September 10, 1697, *ibid.*, 521.

Thus the Roman authorities were faced with a question which, by reason of its bearing on the Christian life, could not be taken lightly but whose solution was particularly difficult on account of existing circumstances. At a later date theologians came to the conclusion that neither of the disputants had truth completely on his side.[1] There was question here of two of the sublimest Christian virtues, hope and charity. Hope honours God by tending towards Him as man's sovereign Good in the possession of which his mind and heart can alone find satisfaction and happiness. Charity clings to God as to the sovereign Good, an abyss of wisdom, goodness and beauty. Now Bossuet exaggerated the importance of hope at the expense of charity, whilst Fénelon so exalted the disinterestedness of charity as to minimize the value of hope. Bossuet, as a result of a too rigid interpretation of St. Augustine, thought that the desire of personal happiness gave the impulse to every movement of the will, hence even the love of God must have for its motive the desire of personal happiness.[2] Fénelon thought that in the Saints charity reached such heights as to eliminate every personal consideration not only in particular actions, but in the whole of their interior life. Accordingly in those who had reached perfection, hope no longer played any part at all. In this he went too far for hope is a duty of the Christian and since by bestowing happiness on man God at the same time increases His own glory, nothing prevents us from striving after eternal happiness when we view it as ministering to God's glory. Viewed in this light hope also is disinterested after its own fashion.[3]

No fault was found in Rome with Bossuet's teaching. For the rest he is far from consistent in upholding his fundamental principle, for occasionally he admits the disinterestedness of charity.[4] After the hasty publication of his book, Fenélon soon realized that it was necessary to attenuate or to define

[1] HARENT, in *Études*, CXXVII. (1911), 178 *seqq.*; NISIUS, in *Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol.*, 1884, 508 *seqq.*, 645 *seqq.*; J. PRUNER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.², 1988.

[2] HARENT, *loc. cit.*, 484–493.

[3] *Ibid.*, 495–500, 745 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 497 *seq.*

more accurately more than one of his statements ; accordingly he prepared a second edition.[1] He also submitted, on the quiet, explanations of many of his statements to the Roman authorities. Though Louis XIV. and Madame Maintenon were strongly opposed to him, and though Bossuet's nephew, the future Jansenist Bishop of Troyes, as representative of his uncle, persecuted the Archbishop of Cambrai with real passion,[2] Fénelon's position was far from hopeless at first. Cardinal Bouillon worked so zealously in Rome on his behalf, as to incur Louis XIV.'s disgrace.[3] In sixty-four sittings, lasting from six to seven hours each, and under the presidency of Cardinals Noris and Ferrari, a vast number of polemical writings, and in particular thirty-seven propositions from the book *The Maxims of the Saints* were examined between October 12th, 1697, and October, 1698, when five out of the ten reports submitted were in favour of Fénelon.[4] On the

[1] The revised edition was published by ALBERT CHÉREL, Paris, 1911.

[2] On November 25, 1698, he wrote to his uncle about Fénelon : " C'est une bête féroce qu'il faut poursuivre pour l'honneur de l'épiscopat et de la vérité jusqu'à ce qu'on l'ait désarmé et mis hors d'état de ne plus faire aucun mal." Of Fénelon's book he says : " Pour moi, je n'y trouve que le caractère d'un charlatan, d'un déclamateur et du plus dangereux de tous les hommes (BOSSUET, *Correspondance*, X., 316). VERLAQUE (*Lettres de Louis XIV. au cardinal De Bouillon*, Paris, 1884, *Avertissement* in REYSSIÉ, 99), says : " Il est impossible de ne pas attribuer à sa fatale influence l'excès de véhémence et d'amertume qui est venu se mêler aux controverses de deux grands évêques." On an adventure said to have befallen the younger Bossuet in Rome, *cf.* E. GRISELLE, in *Rev. d'hist. et de littérat. relig.*, VII. (1902), 385 *seqq.*, VIII. (1903), 49 *seqq.*, 209 *seqq.*

[3] F. REYSSIÉ, *Le cardinal Bourbon* (1647–1715), Paris, 1899, 98 *seqq.*

[4] LARGENT, *loc. cit.*, 2154 ; FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, IX., 508. A memorial in favour of Fénelon by the Jesuit Alfaro, is printed in *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XX., 654–709. On the opinion of the Congregation of theologians, *cf. ibid.*, 328 *seqq.*, 407 *seqq.*, IX., 810 ; DUDON, *Molinos*, 243.

other hand, the Pope, not wishing the controversy to remain undecided, entrusted the whole affair to the Inquisition. At the end of thirty-seven sittings the Cardinals of that tribunal of the faith pronounced twenty-three propositions out of the thirty-seven that had been submitted to their judgment, to be blameworthy.

Even now Fénelon's friends endeavoured to save him by praying that there should be no formal condemnation but a simple statement, in short propositions, of what was to be thought in the matter.[1] On hearing of this plan Louis XIV. wrote a threatening letter for which Bossuet had lent his pen. His Majesty, it said, had learnt with amazement of a proposal which would stultify all the previous deliberations. The King was not willing to allow a fresh schism to arise at a time when he was doing his best to stifle Calvinism. If the affair was further drawn out, he would know what to do and would take suitable steps.[2]

These threats were superfluous. When the letter reached Rome, Fénelon's twenty-three propositions had been condemned by papal judgment, on March 12th, 1699.[3]

Fénelon submitted. He was informed of the Roman decision

[1] These 12 *canones* are printed in Fénelon's *Œuvres*, IX., 731 n.

[2] BOSSUET, *Correspondance*, XI., 436.

[3] DENZINGER, *Enchir.*, n. 1327. On individual propositions, *cf. Anal. iur. pontif.*, I., 1342 (after Terzago of Narni, 1764); [P. H. PHELIPPEAUX], *Rélations de l'origine, du progrès et de la condamnation du Quiétisme répandu en France*, s. l., 1732. *Cf.* FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, X., 64 *seqq.*; A. GRIVEAU, *Étude sur la condamnation du livre des Maximes des saints*, Paris, 1878. A treatise by Bossuet, probably drawn up for the Roman Congregation: *De Quietismo in Gallia refutato*, in *Annales de St. Louis II.* (1897), 8 *seqq.* The materials for the Brief against Fénelon are among the papers of Card. Noris in **Cod.* B. 7, 12, p. 265 *seq.*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. *Cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch*, 102. *Briefs to Louis XIV., March 31 and April 28, 1699, in Papal Sec. Arch. *Laudatory Briefs, May 4 and 12, 1699, to Fénelon, after his submission, in *Epist.*, *ibid.*

on March 25th, feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. That same day he went into the pulpit to preach on the submission due to the Church and to Providence.[1] He announced his submission to his diocese in a pastoral letter.[2] Fourteen years later he wrote to Clement XI. who, as Cardinal Albani, had had a share in the decree of condemnation, that he had himself forestalled all the Bishops, and even his opponents, in condemning his own writings, and in so doing he had taken no notice of the fact that the papal decree was not in accordance with the practice of Parliament, nor had he attempted, after the fashion of the Jansenists, to draw a distinction between right and fact.[3] When the Jansenist Gerberon offered to defend him, he replied: "I would rather die than in any way defend a book which, out of docility towards the Holy See, I have condemned without reservation and from the bottom of my heart.[4]

To this standpoint Fénelon remained faithful, though he felt it very much that Bossuet's error was not included in the condemnation. He also felt that he had stated his opinion badly and thereby occasioned these steps against his book. However, he agreed that the propositions rejected by Rome deserved condemnation when taken in their literal sense, hence he was resolved to let the matter be and not to utter another word in self-defence.[5]

This was not the only ecclesiastical controversy submitted to the Pope. The celebrated historian, the Bollandist Daniel Papebroch, Henschen's collaborator in that gigantic work, the *Acta Sanctorum,* was attacked by the Carmelites for calling

[1] News of this soon reached even Rome. Chanterac (Fénelon's agent in Rome), April 18, 1699, *Œuvres,* X., 8.

[2] *Œuvres,* II., 410 *seq.*

[3] Epistola, II., ad Clementem, XI., *ibid.,* X., 52.

[4] Letter of December 3, 1701, *ibid.,* X., 52.

[5] For this reason Fénelon's sincerity has been repeatedly questioned in the sequel (LARGENT, *loc. cit.,* 2157). In a memorandum found after his death, he endeavours to prove "qu'il n'a voulu ni enseigner ni approuver aucune des erreurs condamnées dans son livre". *Œuvres,* X., 345.

in question the foundation of their Order by the prophet Elias. Papebroch was able to invoke authorities such as Baronius and Bellarmine, but historical criticism was then so little developed that the Carmelites saw a great crime in this challenge to the tradition of their Order. At length, in 1691, they appealed to the Pope himself and denounced Papebroch to the Spanish Inquisition on the ground of heresy. Rome proceeded with its traditional caution and initiated a thorough investigation. Not so Spain where the local Inquisition was soon ready with its judgment. On November 14th, 1693, the fourteen volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* edited by Papebroch were put on the Index on the ground that they contained a denial of the foundation of the Carmelite Order by the prophet Elias. In Rome, on the other hand, the Carmelites not only failed to obtain the condemnation of the Bollandists, but a number of scholars, Noris among them, took up their defence. The Emperor Leopold I. also intervened with the Pope in favour of the *Acta Sanctorum*.[1] But the attacks continued. At length the Pope put an end to the interminable controversy by imposing silence, in November, 1698, on both parties, until the Holy See should have pronounced in the matter.[2] In the same way, when at the beginning of 1697 Bossuet, Noailles and other French Bishops protested against Cardinal Sfondrati's book on predestination,[3] the Pope withheld his decision.[4]

Like his predecessors, Innocent XII. also had occasion to intervene in several controversies in the sphere of Moral Theology. Innocent XI. had put Tirso Gonzalez, a missioner and professor of theology, at the head of the Jesuit Order,

[1] Innocent XII. replied to the Emperor in a *Brief of March 17, 1696: "Non omittemus rem diligenter discutere, illud decreturi, quod expedire in Domino iudicabimus." *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch,

[2] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 1967 *seqq.*; REUSCH, *Index*, II.. 268 *seq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1655 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XX., 863.

[3] *Brief to Bossuet, Noailles and some other Bishops, March 6, 1697, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VII., 2014.

with a view to putting an end to the complaints about the infiltration of lax moral teaching into the Society of Jesus. Gonzalez, in fact, seriously applied himself to the execution of this task.[1] The last General Congregation of the Order had left all Jesuits free to write in defence of the stricter moral system, but at the end of four years not one of them had made use of the permission. So Gonzalez decided to take up his pen himself for, as he wrote on one occasion, he felt bound, under pain of grave sin, to prevent probabilism from becoming the official teaching of the Order,[2] but the General's Assistants protested against it, even to the Pope himself. Gonzalez had had his book secretly printed at Dillingen, but the entire edition remained at Dillingen and fell into oblivion.[4] It would seem that only one solitary copy of Gonzalez' first book against probabilism escaped the general wreck.[5]

Meanwhile the General stuck to his plan and, for the time being, also to his book against probabilism, but his Assistants likewise continued to object. In addition to these yet another powerful opponent rose against the General of the Order.

In Lent of the year 1692 the celebrated preacher Paul Segneri came to Rome to preach the Lenten sermons. Segneri was held in high esteem by Innocent XII. It would seem that Gonzalez had hoped to win over the popular preacher to his views for he submitted to him his writings on the burning question. Segneri, however, represented to him [6] that a General's duty was to rule, not to write books. If Gonzalez was anxious to prevent his subjects from holding lax views in the sphere of Moral Theology, he need only warn those who

[1] Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, 1889; Astráin, VI., 240 *seqq.*; B. Duhr, *Gesch. der Jesuiten*, III., 8 *seqq.*

[2] Astráin, VI., 239.

[3] *Tractatus succinctus de recto usu opinionum probabilium* (p. 587 in 8°), introduction of 72 pp., *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 244–250; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 152, 156; II., 150 n., 8, 9.

[5] Found in S. Isidro, Madrid, by Astráin, *cf. id.*, VI., 320.

[6] Segneri's memorial of June 8, 1692, in Döllinger-Reusch, II., 99 *seqq.*

wrote on the subject, as his predecessors had done, and to instruct the censors of books not to pass opinions that were too lenient. He would never be able to displace by means of a book advocating an entirely novel opinion, a view which had been held in high esteem for so many centuries and which the Roman Curia followed in hundreds of cases; on the contrary the book planned by him would have such consequences for the General and the Order that he, Segneri, would rather die than live to witness them, seeing that the General granted what was but a Jansenist calumny, namely that lax opinions actually prevailed in the Society. By such an admission the General would alienate the hearts of his subjects. As it was, rumours of the dissensions between the highest Superior of the Order and its members had reached the public, to the no small injury of the Society. The friends of the Jesuits complained of the General whilst their enemies approved him. What would not happen when the unfortunate book appeared in print and attacks upon it came from all parts of Europe, even from the Jesuits themselves! Hence he prayed the General to submit to the judgment of so many in this matter; if he did this, Segneri added with a point of malice, he would at any rate be acting in accordance with the more probable opinion.

Under Segneri's influence a settlement of the tiresome dispute was sought along new lines. According to the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus its various Provinces are bound to send a delegate to Rome every three years for the purpose of joint deliberation. One such Congregation of delegates was precisely due in November 1693. It was not the duty of this assembly to sit in judgment on books; its purpose was rather to decide, in conjunction with the Assistants and the General, whether it was necessary to call a General Congregation. However, in view of the unusual situation, the Assistants decided to submit their dispute with the General to the Congregation of the Procurators and, by the advice of Segneri, Innocent XII. gave his approval to the plan.[1] Thus the affair was shelved for a whole year.

[1] June 14, 1692, Astráin, VI., 255.

Gonzalez was not idle during the respite, for he had a conviction that it was his bounden duty to quash probabilism in the Order, and in this he displayed such zeal that in the end the Assistants could think of nothing better than to appeal to the Pope against the General. Gonzalez, they complained,[1] was spreading real libels against the Order, did not comply with its Constitutions, disputed its right to summon a General Congregation, sought the intervention of secular princes, neglected the business of government for the sake of literary work and libelled his Assistants. As a matter of fact a number of pamphlets were circulated, composed either by Gonzalez himself or by friends of his, for the purpose of making propaganda in his favour.

Far more serious was the fact that Gonzalez set in motion the courts of Vienna and Madrid in his support—the question positively became an affair of State. Gonzalez appealed to the Austrian Provincial Voglmeyer and to the Jesuit Frederick Wolff in Vienna, with a view to obtaining, through the Emperor's intervention, a papal ordinance in favour of his book so that it might appear before the opening of the Congregation of the Procurators; as a matter of fact on August 1st, 1693, the General was in a position to express his thanks for the intervention of the Emperor and the Empress and that of the latter's sister, the Queen of Spain.[2] In the spring of 1693, the imperial ambassador in Rome had advised the General to refrain from publishing his book, but as a result of Gonzalez' expostulations, the Emperor changed his mind, though in September of the same year he contented himself with exhorting the General and the Assistants to concord.[3]

The intervention of Charles II. of Spain was fraught with weightier consequences. Through the Jesuit Rector of

[1] In Eus. Eraniste, VI., xciv *seq.*

[2] Duhr, III., 10 *seq.*

[3] Döllinger-Reusch, II., 211. The two imperial letters in Eus. Eraniste, VI., lxxxvi. and lxxxix. Gonzalez' reply of November 21, 1692 (*sic.!*), *ibid.*, xci. *seq.*; the reply of the Assistants, November 3, 1693, in Döllinger-Reusch, II., 118.

Salamanca, Gregorio Sarmiento, who was connected with the most aristocratic families, Gonzalez represented to the court that Spain's honour demanded that the King should intervene on his behalf in Rome, as the difficulties raised against his book were all due to the French Cardinals.[1] Sarmiento, however, was opposed by the Jesuits of Madrid who sought to restrain the King from meddling with the affair,[2] but when, at Gonzalez' request, Cardinal Aguirre also wrote to Charles II.,[3] and the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Medinaceli gave his support to this request for the royal protection for a Spanish subject,[4] the King issued an important edict on July 8th, 1693. The decree takes up an accusation made by Aguirre and Medinaceli, but for which there exists no other proof, to the effect that there was question of deposing the General or of giving him a Vicar. To this end an effort would be made to choose as delegates for the next Congregation only opponents of Gonzalez who, with a view to the removal of the General, would vote in favour of a General Congregation. The Viceroys of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, the Governor of Milan and the rest of the royal officials, were accordingly instructed to make the King's mind known to the Procurators. As for Gonzalez' book, Medinaceli was not to interfere but to content himself with protecting the person of the General.[5]

Gonzalez was but little satisfied with this decree. What he had hoped for from Madrid was a private letter to the Pope expressing the wish that Innocent XII. should reserve to himself any decision in the matter. The General's secretary, Estrix, was made to draw up a formal apology for him which

[1] Gonzalez to Sarmiento, February 28, March 28, June 20, 1693, in ASTRÁIN, VI., 263 *seq.*

[2] Sarmiento's replies, *ibid.*, 264 *seqq.*

[3] April 26, 1693, *ibid.*, 267 *seq.*

[4] Also of April 26, 1693, *ibid.*, 269 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 272. The rumour of the removal of the General was spread by Dutch newspapers; it was also spread by other means in 1693, though according to Astráin (VI., 271) "sin niungun fundamento en la realidad".

was then laid before the Pope.[1] The royal decree nevertheless meant an initial triumph for Gonzalez, and in October it was followed by a second. In his opinion the instigator of every step taken by the Assistants was the Jesuit Juan de Caneda. Accordingly both Cardinal Aguirre and Medinaceli requested the King to order his removal from Rome. Medinaceli thereupon commanded Caneda to leave the Eternal City. Thus, because of a book, Spain interfered with the Pope's sovereign rights! The affair caused a great sensation. Already previously to this, Innocent XII. had strongly resented an order of the Spanish Government to the effect that the elections of the Procurators should be watched. After this new encroachment, through Caneda's banishment, he sent for the Spanish ambassador and took him to task for this measure. In a letter dated August 2nd he instructed the Spanish nuncio to restrain the court of Madrid from further encroachments and to find out whether it would not be possible to remove Gonzalez from Rome by giving him an episcopal see somewhere in Spain. However, there was no vacant see anywhere except that of Salsona and for this there could be no question of Gonzalez, seeing that he was not an Aragonese.[2] Like the Pope, the Jesuits of Madrid intervened at court on behalf of Caneda. Seven of their number presented a memorial to the King in defence of the Assistants, a step for which they drew on themselves a sharp rebuke from Gonzalez.[3] Not only the Jesuits of Madrid, but the Assistants of the General also did all they could in Rome to procure Caneda's recall, but all in vain. On this point also Gonzalez triumphed.

Yet a third victory, the most important of all, was reserved to Gonzalez. In June 1693, the Pope allowed him to print a new book of his against probabilism, provided the report of the censors proved favourable. Thus the prohibition to print the book before the meeting of the Congregation of Procurators was apparently raised. Gonzalez had previously taken some

[1] Astrain, VI., 274.
[2] *Ibid.*, 279 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 281–299.

steps in this sense. He had sent a short summary of the new edition on which he was keen, to various Provinces of the Order and he spoke about it to the Cardinals to whom he explained the situation in his own way. Thereupon Cardinals Cibo and Laurea appealed to the Pope on his behalf, though in vain : they were no match for Segneri. Bernini, an assessor of the Inquisition, was more successful. At a sitting of the Holy Office the latter expressed his fear that the Inquisition, which was overburdened as it was, would also be saddled with Gonzalez' affair. It was accordingly decided to present a memorial to the Pope and Bernini spoke to him in support of it in presence of Cardinal Spada who had been completely won over by Gonzalez, specially after the latter's insistence on the fact that Innocent XI. had been greatly in favour of the strict views. On this occasion also Innocent XII. would not at first hear of Gonzalez' new book being published, but ended by yielding. From the ten theologians named by Gonzalez and the eight designated by the Assistants the Pope chose as censors the Spaniard Carreño whom both parties favoured, the German Zingnis named by Gonzalez and the Frenchman Semery whom he had not designated.[1] We only know the judgment of the German censor ; he criticized a great number of details which were cut out when the book came to be printed. The three censors raised no difficulty against the book as a whole and they allowed it to appear under the name of its author which, as a matter of fact, it would have been impossible to keep secret. Lastly the Master of the Palace had the work examined by two non-Jesuit censors, a Carmelite and a Cistercian, who showed greater severity than the author's brothers in religion, striking out much and expressing themselves unfavourably on it.[2]

The Assistants were of opinion that the permission to have the book examined did not authorize him to have it printed previous to the meeting of the Congregation of Procurators. In a memorial they expressed an earnest wish that the work

[1] *Ibid.*, 316–321.

[2] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 202 *seqq.*

should appear under the name of some other Jesuit, for otherwise Gonzalez would feel bound to reply in person to his critics,[1] thus once more taking up much time that should be devoted to the government of the Order.

One month after Innocent XII.'s permission to print the book Gonzalez was to enjoy yet another triumph. On looking through the papers which had passed through his hands as Secretary of State, Cardinal Cibo came across a letter of Gonzalez mentioning the fact that the Inquisition was dealing with his affair. Cibo had a search made at the Holy Office with the result that the authentic decree of June 26th, 1680, on probabilism was found. This decree allowed the Jesuits to write on the stricter moral system though they were not forbidden to defend probabilism. The decree had fallen into complete oblivion.[2] Gonzalez now had it dispatched to all the Provinces of the Order.[3]

Whilst the much examined book was going through the press, the Congregation of Procurators met in November 1693. What was thought in Rome became manifest already at the beginning of April 1693, on the occasion of the election of a Procurator for the Roman Province : out of forty-two electors, thirty-three gave their votes to Segneri, the opponent of the General, whilst thirty-four gave it as their opinion that a General Congregation was necessary.[4] The Province of Naples arrived at a similar decision. Elsewhere, on the other hand, opinion was mostly against the convocation of a General Congregation.[5] Gonzalez, who was particularly anxious that there should be no such assembly, pointed out in a circular to the Provincials [6] that a meeting of this kind was due in any case in 1696 since, according to a disposition of Innocent X., the General Congregation must be convened every ninth

[1] *Ibid.*, 205 *seqq.*

[2] ASTRÁIN, VI., 321 *seq.*

[3] DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 198.

[4] *Ibid.*, 183.

[5] *Ibid.*, 213.

[6] "Synopsis enarrationis magis amplae," in EUS. ERANISTE, VI., App., pp. xxvi–lxiii, xlix *seq.* *Cf.* ASTRÁIN, VI., 301 *seqq.*

year, hence there was no object in convoking it at once, and in existing circumstances the summoning of the Congregation would be considered as an admission of laxism by the Order. On the other hand, in a memorial to the Procurators,[1] the Assistants stressed the fact that the necessity of holding the proposed assembly was obvious. Internal dissensions, scandal without, characterized the situation of the Order; only a General Congregation could apply a remedy to such a state of affairs; the attempt to circumscribe its freedom by means of royal letters, etc., only made its convocation still more necessary as the dispute between the General and the Assistants could not be settled in any other way. Of Gonzalez as a ruler the memorial draws a by no means flattering picture: he lacked prudence and experience in the business of government, was rash, obstinate, violent and bestowed on his books the affection he owed to his subjects.

In November the twenty-six Procurators of the Provinces together with the five Assistants and the General who personally disposed of two votes, met in the Congregation of the Procurators. At the voting of November 19th, seventeen out of the thirty-three votes were cast in favour of a General Congregation, sixteen being cast against it.[2]

At first none of those assembled had any doubt that the convocation of the General Congregation had thus been validly decided since for a valid resolution only a relative majority was required, viz. one vote above half the votes cast. However, on the very evening of that day the Secretary Estrix discovered that the seventeen votes of the majority did not constitute one vote above one half since the half of thirty-three is sixteen and a half, so that seventeen votes only represented half a vote beyond one half. At first no importance was attached

[1] In Döllinger-Reusch, II., 131–7.

[2] Extract from the minutes of the Congregation in Astráin, VI., 306. Some nunciature reports from Vienna, published by A. Koch, in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXXXVII. (1905), 95–111, show that the Emperor was dissatisfied with the procurators' decision on the ground that it would injure the prestige of the Order, hence that of religion also.

to the discovery.[1] Only after a few days, when many of the Procurators had left for their respective Provinces, Estrix once more expounded his scruple, with Gonzalez' approval. The validity of the Procurators' decision, he said, was at the very least doubtful, but the decision of such a doubt belonged to him as General. There now began a controversy which lasted six months.[2] The defenders of the decision based themselves on the fact that both Gonzalez himself and the Congregation had held it to be valid,[3] and when it was registered and sealed the minority had given its tacit consent. If in virtue of his moral principles the General felt justified in opposing the decision, that fact threw an ominous light on those principles and showed that, despite every appearance of strictness, they brought an element of arbitrariness into moral decisions, thereby opening the door to laxism.[4]

Innocent XII., who had been informed of these difficulties on November 30th, 1693, ordered, on June 16th, 1694, that the case should be closely examined by a commission of five Cardinals.[5] A week later Gonzalez represented to the Pope that papal Bulls empowered the General to solve difficulties concerning the Constitutions of his Order. However, Innocent XII. refused to listen to him on the ground that in the present instance the General was a party to the dispute and had dragged the secular princes into the affair.[6] Gonzalez felt that he must solve the difficulty at least as a private theologian, if not as General. The Assistants endeavoured to dissuade him, but in spite of their opposition he expounded his views on the question in a memorial of twenty-one pages in-folio.[7] It became necessary to defer the decision of the Cardinals for

[1] Astráin, I., 307.

[2] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 228 *seq.*

[3] Thus Segneri, *ibid.*, II., 308 *seq.* *Cf.* Brunacci's Memorial, *ibid.*, 141–8.

[4] Brunacci, *ibid.*, 147; La Chaize, *ibid.*, I., 229.

[5] Panciatici, Albani, Spada, Carpegna, Marescotti. Brunacci, *loc. cit.*, 142, n. 6.

[6] Astráin, VI., 310 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 311–313.

about a week, perhaps because Gonzalez had not completed his memorial. At last on August 3rd, 1694, they decided by a majority of one, that the validity of the Procurators' decision was not proven so that the General Congregation was not to be convened [1]: Gonzalez had triumphed.

Segneri writes that Innocent XII. told him that he had refrained from opposing the Cardinals' decision out of consideration for the courts of Madrid and Vienna.[2] As a matter of fact in December 1693, the Emperor Leopold informed the Vienna nuncio of his displeasure with the resolution of the Congregation of Procurators which brought to light, to the great joy of the Protestants, the dissensions within the Society of Jesus. It was rumoured that the King of Spain would forbid his subjects to attend the General Congregation and suggest to the Emperor to issue a similar prohibition. Now if the King of France, it was said, also refused to allow the Jesuits to go to the General Congregation, there would be a schism in the Order, its strong constitution, which rested on the monarchial power of the General, would be loosened and the damage done would be irreparable in time to come.[3]

Meanwhile, in February 1694, though much mutilated by the censors, Gonzalez' book appeared in print.[4] In October of the previous year, shortly before the Congregation of the Procurators, the longed-for hour had struck for him when he was able to hand over the manuscript to the printers. The book created an enormous sensation; within one year twelve editions were published.[5] However, this success was due to curiosity, not to the intrinsic value of the work, as is shown by the fact that after the first year up to the 19th century, it was never reprinted. Refutations appeared very

[1] *Ibid.*, 313 *seqq.*; *Synopsis actorum*, II., 418.

[2] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 231.

[3] Jesuit's letter of December 19, 1693, *ibid.*, II., 120 *seq.*

[4] "Fundamentum theologiae moralis, id est tractatus de recto usu opinionum probabilium etc," analysis and critique in Astráin, VI., 323–334.

[5] *Ibid.*, 322 *seq.*

quickly, one being from the pen of Segneri, but these only circulated in manuscript. The German Christoph Rassler, the father of equiprobabilism, wrote a detailed refutation to which, however, the Jesuit censors in Rome refused their *imprimatur*; only after Gonzalez' death, in 1713, was Rassler able to expound his views.[1]

The year 1696 was now approaching when, by the terms of a decree of Innocent X., the General Congregation had to be held. As was to be expected, the assemblies at which the delegates for the General Congregation were elected, gave directions to their representatives concerning the General's right to publish books on his own authority and the irregularities caused within recent years by appeals to secular princes. The General Congregation was likewise requested to forbid for a time the publication of all writings for or against the General's opinions on questions of Moral Theology.[2] When the delegates presented themselves before the Pope they were earnestly exhorted to preserve peace and concord.[3] The Congregation complied with this wish and agreed to the proposal to exclude from their deliberations the previous painful incidents and to consign them to oblivion.[4] For the same reason no notice was taken of the request of the Assistants that the accusations made against them should be looked into.[5] By the terms of the decree of Innocent X. each General Congregation was bound to choose new Assistants, so the old ones left the field without having been justified.

It was, of course, necessary to decide the question whether the Congregation of Procurators could decree the holding of a General Congregation by a simple majority of votes. It was accordingly decreed that for such a decision a majority of three would be required. Another decree touches on the burning question of probabilism. It declares that the Society

[1] *Ibid.*, 335–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*; Döllinger-Reusch, II., 201 *seqq.*, 205 *seq.*, 207.

[3] "Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia," he said, quoting a well-known hymn, Astráin, VI., 345.

[4] *Ibid.*, 348 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 346 *seq.*

of Jesus abhorred doctrinal innovations, especially in the sphere of morals. A list of lax opinions was to be drawn up, but before being finally approved, it was to be submitted for examination to the various Provinces. The latter resolution was never carried into effect, probably because the work had already been done by Alexander VII. and Innocent XI. when these Popes condemned certain propositions.

Gonzalez stuck to his opinions until his death which occurred in 1705. In the very last years of his life he wrote yet another book against probabilism which he requested his Assistants to publish after his death. In a memorial of 1702 [1] he sought to influence the new Pope, Clement XI., in favour of his opinions. Little did he suspect that by this time the man destined to deal probabiliorism its death blow, viz. Alphonsus Liguori, was already born.

During the period between the death of Innocent XII. and the election of his successor, a fresh offensive against probabilism occurred in France. In 1682 Bossuet had not succeeded in carrying into effect his plan for the condemnation by the Assembly of the French Clergy not only of a series of lax moral theses, but of probabilism itself.[2] At the Assembly of 1700, encouraged, perhaps by Gonzalez' book, he took up his plan once more. In a memorial to the King he explained that the French Church was threatened by two opposite evils, viz. by Jansenism which was once more raising its head, and by a lax Moral Theology, hence, together with Maurice Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, and Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, he prayed the King to allow the Assembly of the Clergy to make a stand against both these tendencies.[3]

[1] "Libellus suplex oblatus SS. D. N. Clementi XI. pro incolumitate Societatis Jesu," in Eus. Eraniste, V., App., p. lxiv–lxxvii.

[2] One list contained 140 propositions to be condemned by the Assembly of 1682 (Bossuet, *Œuvres*, ed. Lebel, Paris, 1845, IV., 537 *seqq.*). The second part of the decree (*ibid.*, 550–574) was to oppose the true to the false teaching; it includes ch. 11: "De regula morum et probabilitate."

[3] Bausset-Feder, II., 2; A. M. P. Ingold, *Bossuet et le Jansénisme*, Paris, 1897, 29–34.

That Jansenism was preparing for a fresh onslaught became soon evident under the government of the new Pope. It was otherwise with probabilism. The Jesuit Daniel was the only man who, within the preceding decade, had dared to publish in France a few writings in its support and even he confessed that within the last thirty years a complete revulsion had taken place in theological teaching and that the fundamental principle of probabilism, which at one time had been universally accepted, was now being violently combatted.[1] It is true that the manuals of Moral Theology of a previous epoch were still in use and new editions of them were still being published abroad and even in France.[2] Moreover the principles of a rigorist morality proved impossible of application in actual life and in the cure of souls. Cardinal Le Camus, a friend of the Jansenists and, consequently, of rigorism too, admitted that he would need two or three hundred years to get round his diocese if he wished to administer the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation in accordance with the principles of Arnauld and the Jansenists. These gentlemen demanded that a penitent should be tried for a whole year before giving him absolution. This might perhaps be done by a priest who had but two or three penitents, but the thing was out of the question for a whole diocese.[3] This explains how it was that Bossuet, notwithstanding the fact that probabilism was on the decline, could write in 1682 [4] that, despite all the steps taken by Alexander VII. and Innocent XI., next to nothing would be done if probabilism was allowed as much as to breathe, for in that case it would soon regain the upper hand. Accordingly Bossuet thought the moment had come for dealing the hated teaching the heavy blow so long planned. He drew up another list of 127 propositions for which he meant to obtain

[1] Degert, 444.

[2] Busenbaum's *Medulla theologiae moralis*, for instance, between 1659–1690, came out in at least 13 editions at Lyons, one in Paris, in 1669, one at Besançon in 1673, and one at Toulouse in 1700. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, II., 445 *seqq.*

[3] Degert, 453.

[4] To Dirois, July 13, 1682, *Correspondance*, II., 314.

solemn condemnation by an Assembly of the French clergy.[1] The first four of these propositions were not concerned with an attack on a lax moral teaching, but with Jansenism. They condemned the oft-stated opinion that Jansenism had no real existence, that it was a mere phantom, a figment of the imagination This was followed by the rejection of two theses on grace. The remaining propositions were meant to brand certain blameworthy moral doctrines. Most of these had already been condemned by the Popes. On the whole the decree as planned was merely a collection of condemnations pronounced by Alexander VII. and Innocent XI. now arranged in categories. A fresh condemnation was nevertheless deemed necessary for, in the Gallican view, papal judgments only became intangible through the assent of the Bishops. Lastly, after the 127 propositions, there followed a condemnation, by the Assembly, of the fundamental principle of probabilism itself.[2] The catalogue of condemned propositions was followed by some further explanations which dealt once more in detail with probabilism.[3] The whole concluded with an address by the Assembly to the whole of the clergy, warning it of the dangers of the dreaded doctrine.[4] With a view to obtaining the King's leave for the discussions, Bossuet added to his memorial to the King a few drastic samples of lax teaching Thereupon Louis XIV. gave the Bishop leave to take action against it in the Assembly of the Clergy.[5]

The Assembly of 1700 was only one of the so-called " Small " Assemblies. It consisted of sixteen Bishops and of as many simple priests, and on Bossuet's own admission, the latter

[1] List of the propositions : Censura ac declaratio conventus generalis cleri gallicani in Bossuet, *Œuvres*, IV., 588–608.

[2] Quietism was also touched upon at the Assembly (Fénelon to Cardinal Gabrielli, September 22, 1700, *Œuvres*, X., 46–8). The Assembly refrained from dealing with Sfondrati's affair on the ground that it was Rome's concern ; thus the preliminary address to the Bishops (*ibid.*).

[3] Degert, 399–403.

[4] *Ibid.*, 404–8.

[5] Bausset-Feder, II., 3 *seq.*

were among the least learned of the clergy.[1] For all that Bossuet got his way only with difficulty. The Archbishop of Auch, Anne de la Baume de Suze, deemed it both useless and dangerous to revive old quarrels and in this he had the support of six Bishops. The condemnation of the 127 propositions, the additional explanations and the warning to the clergy were only passed by a majority of two or three votes.[2]

The influence of the Assembly of 1700 was nevertheless enormous. The chief opponent of probabilism in the eighteenth century, the Dominican Concina, describes it as one of the best attended and most solemn national councils ever held in France,[3] and he styles its members "most learned" and "most holy" Fathers. A Theatine who had intended to defend probabilism, changed his mind when he heard of the decision of 1700. The Jesuit whose counsel had guided Bossuet's opponent in the Assembly, the Archbishop of Auch, also no longer dared to propound his opinions. Even the French Jesuits no longer dared openly to advocate probabilism; their most celebrated moralist in the eighteenth century, Antoine, whose textbook maintained itself from 1726 for a period of forty years and which under Benedict XIV. became the manual at Propaganda, combats it expressly. The same is true of the other Orders and Congregations up to the nineteenth century.[4]

At the Assembly of 1700 Bossuet had repeatedly referred to Tirso Gonzalez,[5] hence it was the latter's influence that had encouraged him to act as he did.

(3.)

In the story of the Catholic reform movement, Innocent XII.'s name will always be mentioned with honour by reason of the radical measures taken by him against nepotism.

[1] Degert, 445.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 446.
[4] *Ibid.*, 446–452.
[5] Bossuet, *Œuvres*, VII., 341, 350.

Seemingly abolished by Innocent XI., the old evil revived again under Alexander VIII. Innocent XII. resolved to root it up finally.

Already in the conclave of 1691 there was question of demanding the restriction of nepotism by means of a papal Constitution.[1] The new Pope took up the matter seriously. Exhaustive consultations by theologians and jurists were held ; these established the fact that Paul V.'s nephews had received 260,000 scudi, those of Urban VIII. 1,700,000, those of Innocent X. 1,400,000, those of Alexander VII. 900,000, those of Clement X. 1,200,000 and those of Alexander VIII. 700,000 scudi, from the Apostolic Camera alone, to which must be added the revenues of the *Dataria* and the income derived from various vacant offices.[2] Innocent XII. insisted on counter-measures being taken. About the middle of June 1692, it was reported that a first draft of a Bull for the abolition of nepotism had been communicated to the Cardinals and that several of them had expressed their opposition to it.[3] The Bull was from the pen of Cardinal Albani,[4] but Cardinal Panciatici and the Subdatarius Sagripanti had also concurred in the drafting. Sagripanti dealt with the Cardinals opposed to the measure, especially with Altieri and Ottoboni.[5] Innocent overcame all opposition and in the end all the Cardinals subscribed to the Bull which bore the date of June 22nd, 1692.

[1] " *Discorso del card. Franzone," MS. bought by me in Rome in 1908. From this it appears that Innocent XI.'s drafts for a Constitution against nepotism were preserved by Card. Albani : " Le di cui minute mandò prae manibus de' ssri. cardinali et sono tuttavia appresso del sigr. cardinale Albani." They were in his possession because he was their principal author ; see below, n. 4.

[2] *Note in French, undated, in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 14, 1692, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele ; Contarini's dispatches in Brosch, I., 452.

[4] Lafitau, *Vie de Clément XI.*, Vol. I., 35.

[5] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 21, 1692, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Liechtenstein's *report of June 14, 1692, *loc. cit.*

It forbade the Popes to enrich their relatives in any way. whatsoever with the goods of the Church. Necessitous relatives were to be treated like any other poor. A number of offices and titles, such as those of a *Gonfaloniere* and Captain-General of the Church, which until then had mostly fallen to the nephews, together with large incomes, were suppressed and their revival forbidden ; only in a case of necessity were they to be entrusted to able and deserving men, regardless of the relatives, but with moderate revenues. If, by reason of his qualities, a relative of the Pope was raised to the purple, his revenues must not exceed 12,000 scudi. The Bull was to be sworn to in every conclave by all the Cardinals and by the Pope himself.[1]

This step of the Pope was received with the utmost satisfaction not only in Rome [2] but throughout the whole Catholic world. It made a lasting impression even on many Protestants.[3] The Bull of June 22nd, 1692, proved so effective that it may be said that thereafter nepotism was only a memory.[4]

This great reforming measure of Innocent XII. was accompanied by various efforts for the betterment of the clergy, both secular and regular. In this the Pope, in the words of Orazio d'Elce, displayed the zeal of an Elias.[5] In the very first days of his pontificate he undertook the reform of the Penitenziaria [6] and the Dataria.[7] This was followed by a visitation of the clergy of Rome which began on January 11th,

[1] *Bull.*, XX., 440 *seq.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, July 5, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[3] BERNINO, *Eresie*, I., 433, 501 ; NOVAES, XI., 114 ; *Civ. Catt.*, 7 series, II. (1886), 400 *seqq.* ; REUMONT, III., 2, 640. The statement that the Protestants had raised a statue in the Pope's honour at Wittenberg, is a fable.

[4] DÖLLINGER, *Kirchengesch.*, 529 ; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 142 ; I. MÜLLER, *Nepotismus theologice expensus, quando nepotismus sub Innocentio XII. abolitus fuit* (sine loco), 1692.

[5] D'ELCE, **Relatione*, Convent Library, Einsiedeln.

[6] *Bull.*, XX., 450.

[7] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 29, 1692, *loc. cit.*

1693, and was relentlessly carried out by the strict Oratorian Cardinal Colloredo.[1] The priests of Rome were not only commanded to wear the cassock, they were also forbidden to wear a wig.[2] This measure, perhaps a somewhat petty one, provoked the sarcastic remark that the Pope was beginning the reform of the Church not in the members only but in the head also. Some of the other measures were exceedingly salutary ones: thus the Roman Canons were subjected to the duty of residence [3] and all the priests of the Eternal City were commanded to make the spiritual exercises twice a year.[4] Innocent XII. accordingly favoured the priests of the Mission founded by St. Vincent de Paul, in whose Roman houses near the Curia Innocenziana all candidates for Holy Orders in Rome were obliged to prepare themselves for ordination by a retreat of ten days by the terms of an ordinance of Alexander VII.[5] A Constitution of September 22nd, 1695, forbade all previous conventions in the collation of bishoprics and monasteries.[6] This ordinance hit in particular the election capitulations which were customary in Germany, though it failed to do away with them altogether.[7] To promote the veneration of the Most Holy Eucharist, the Pope introduced in Rome a particularly solemn manner of accompanying it, as he had done as Archbishop of Naples.[8] Inclined as he was

[1] *Bull.*, XX., 494 *seq.*, 497, 501, 502, 503, 507, 509. *Cf.* **Cod.*, I., 52 and 59, in Bibl. Vallecelliana, Rome. In this visitation the Pope was guided by the example of Clement VIII., whom he regarded as the greatest Pope; see Liechtenstein's *report of October 11, 1692, *loc. cit.* He announced the visitation at the consistory of October 6, 1692. **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.

[2] **Avvisi Marescotti*, November 24, 1692, and December 12, 1693, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, *Diario*, IX., 83.

[3] *Ibid.*, 59.

[4] *Ibid.*, XI., 101.

[5] PLATNER, III., 3, 334 *seq.*; FORCELLA, XII., 69.

[6] *Bull.*, XX., 716.

[7] L. BRUGGAIER, *Die Wahlkapitulationen der Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstätt 1259–1790*, Freiburg, 1915.

[8] *Diario*, ed. CAMPELLO, IX., 85, 187; NOVAES, XI., 161. *Cf.* GIUSEPPE SOLIMENO (di Trani), *Il triennio dell'historia eucaristica, cioè quanto in Roma et altrove si è operato dal 1695 fin la*

by nature to peace and compromise, he did his best to avoid politico-ecclesiastical conflicts with the princes, or to compose them where they arose,[1] but when there was question of the welfare of souls, as for instance in the appointment of Bishops, he had no thought of yielding.[2]

With a view to furthering the preaching of the word of God Innocent XII., in 1691, named the Jesuit Paul Segneri preacher of the Apostolic Palace.[3] During twenty-seven years Segneri had achieved wonderful triumphs as a popular preacher over a large part of the Italian peninsula.[4] When this devoted priest, whose Lenten sermons have made him a classic of Italian pulpit eloquence, died on December 9th, 1694, the Pope's grief was great. Segneri was succeeded as palace preacher by the Jesuit Valle who was himself replaced in 1698 by the Capuchin Casini.[5]

The reform of the Orders also greatly preoccupied the Pope. To this end a special Congregation was set up in November,

1698 d'accrescimento alla venerazione più divota e più solenne del ss. Viatico, Roma, 1699. NOVAES gives the ordinances concerning the cult of the Saints (XI., 111 *seq.*, 125 *seqq.*, 131 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*, 155 *seqq.*, 173).

[1] D'ELCE, **Relatione*, Einsiedeln.

[2] *Cf.* the grounds given for a refusal in the case of a cousin of the Queen of Spain in **Cifra al Nunzio di Spagna*, March 23, 1698, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 170, p. 227 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Diario*, VIII., 197.

[4] G. MASSEI, *Vita di P. Segneri*, Foligno, 1702; SACCANI, *La missione del P. Paolo Segneri*, in *Cadelbosco Sopra nel 1676*, Reggio (Emilia), 1891; REUMONT, *Toscana*, I., 447; A. TONONI, *Missioni del p. P. Segneri nei ducati di Piacenza e Parma*, Firenze, 1895; CASOLI, in *Brixia Sacra*, I., (1910/11); *Civ. Catt.*, 1902, I., 142 *seq.*; BAUMGARTNER, *Weltliteratur*, VI., 485 *seq.*; BULGARELLI, *P. Segneri e la diocesi di Modigliana*, Saluzzo, 1908; S. VENTI, *Le condizioni dell'oratoria sacra nel Seicento*, Milano–Roma–Napoli, 1916. Segneri's influence was also felt in Germany; *cf.* SCHÜLLER, *Die Entwicklung der Volksmissionen* in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLXXI. (1923), 324.

[5] *Diario*, ed. CAMPELLO, VIII., 198, IX., 63, XII., 390, XIV., 180.

1694.[1] In December new decrees were issued concerning the noviciate.[2] In some Orders the Pope's efforts to restore the observance, met with strong opposition. As the Religious claimed that they had not bound themselves to observe the primitive Rule, but the Rule as observed at the time of their entrance, the Pope saw himself compelled to desist from his plan. But he ordered that in future only such candidates should be admitted, as were prepared to bind themselves to observe the reforms prescribed for the Order in question. But this also gave rise to great difficulties so that Fabroni, to whom the Pope had entrusted this matter, designated for the noviciate special monasteries in which the Rule had to be observed in its primitive strictness.[3]

Innocent XII. put off for a considerable time the nomination of new Cardinals[4]; his first promotion only took place on December 12th, 1695.[5] It met with general satisfaction in Rome.[6] Only one of the new Cardinals owed his elevation to

[1] **Cod. ital.*, 190, p. 250, Staatsbibl., Munich. *Cf. Diario*, X., 191, 198; *Catalogo* de' libri e MSS. del Pr. Pignatelli, 27.

[2] *Biglietto d. segr. dei memoriali nel *Cod. ital.*, 190, p. 232 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] Novaes, XI., 130. *Ibid.*, 121 *seqq.*, on the confirmation of rules of Orders and Institutes by Innocent XII. *Cf.* also Ebner, *J. G. Seidenbusch*, Cologne, 1891, 55 *seqq.*

[4] According to Noris the Pope hesitated as he did not want to name Noailles (*Studi e docum.*, XI., 327). The **Avviso Marescotti* of December 31, 1695 (Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele) reports: "Il debolissimo numero di solo sette porporati rimasto alle funtioni della notte natalitia del 1694 ha dato motivo quest'anno al Pontefice, a fare la nuova promotione avanti questo Natale, per non havere a rimanere scandalizzato come nell'antecedente." Card. Este had laid aside the purple on March 21, 1695, in order that he might continue his family; see **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.

[5] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Guarnacci, I., 405 *seqq.* (with portraits); Novaes, XI., 138 *seqq.* Numerous details on the newly appointed are in *" Relatione d'Elce " (*supra*, p. 582, n. 5), and in " *Vita critica de' cardinali ", etc., Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[6] **Avviso Marescotti* of December 24, 1695, and *Diario*, X.,

princely recommendation, namely Henri de la Grange, Sobieski's father-in-law. Three others had distinguished themselves in diplomacy, viz. the Bolognese Sebastiano Antonio Tanara, internuncio at Brussels from 1685 to 1687, then nuncio at Cologne (1687–1690), at Lisbon (1690–2) and since 1692 at the imperial court of Vienna [1]; Giovanni Cavallerini had been nuncio in Paris since 1692 and the Milanese Federigo Caccia at Madrid since 1693.[2] Then came the Archbishop of Bologne, Jacopo Boncompagni,[3] and the ascetical Bishop of Fano, Taddeo Luigi del Verme.[4]

The Pope's old friend, the Dominican Tommaso Maria Ferrari,[5] the Governor of Rome Giambattista Spinola and the Subdatarius Sagripanti had long been in personal relations with the Pontiff. Learning distinguished the Veronese Enrico Noris, an Augustinian, librarian of the Vaticana since 1692,[6]

206. A *hymn on the promotion by Don Palidio pedagogo Clabro, in *Ottob.* 3179, n. 35, Vat. Lib.

[1] KARTTUNEN, 263.

[2] *Ibid.*, 263, 238. *Cf.* *Relazione della morte del card. Cavallerini accaduta in Roma l'anno 1699, del Padre P. Andrea Borelli Barnabita," in *Cod.* F. 34 of Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] There is rich material for his life in Boncompagni Arch.: **Cod.* E. 110–119: "Lettere scritte al G. Boncompagni; E 12 and 112: Mem. della legazione alla regina sposa del Re de' Romani, 1699; M. 13: Orat. et carmina in laudem I. Boncompagni."

[4] "Esemplare degli ecclesiastici" the **Vita critica* styles him; Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[5] D. CONCHINA, *Vita Th. M. Ferrarii O.P. card.*, Romae, 1755.

[6] The works of E. Noris (*ob.* February 22, 1704) were published by the Brothers Ballerini, in 4 vols., at Verona, 1729–1733; a fifth volume (Mantua, 1741) contains 204 letters. On the *letters in the Bibl. Angelica, *cf.* PÉLISSIER, in *Studi e docum.*, XI., 35 *seqq.*, 253 *seqq.*; NARDUCCI, *Cat. bibl. Angel*, 390 *seqq.* Cf. *ibid.*, *passim*, other writings of Noris from which LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 96 *seq.*, and *Melet.*, 422 *seqq.*) gave extracts. For Noris' life and writings, see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 497 *seqq.*; HURTER, II.², 827 *seqq.*; *N. Arch. Veneto*, VII. (1904), 126 *seqq.*; JEMOLO, 137–141; PELISSIER, *Le card. H. de Noris et sa correspondance*,

and the learned and devout Benedictine Celestine Sfondrati, a scion of a noble family of Milan, since 1687 Abbot of St. Gall, a prominent literary protagonist of the rights of the Holy See and of Catholic teaching as against the Gallicans and the Jansenists.[1] The auditor of the Rota, Dominico Tarugi, was an able jurist.

At the first promotion two Cardinals were retained *in petto*, at the second, that of July 22nd, 1697, one other such reservation was made.[2] All those named at the second creation owed the purple to princely recommendation, with the result that nearly every nation got its Cardinal: Portugal, the Archbishop of Lisbon, Louis de Sousa; Venice, Giorgio Cornaro, since 1692 nuncio in Portugal; France, Pierre Armand de Cambout de Coislin, Bishop of Orleans; Spain, the Toledo Canon Alfonso Aguilar de Córdova, and the Emperor the Venetian Vincenzo Grimani who had rendered him valuable services during the negotiations with Savoy.[3]

Rome, 1890; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLIII., 184. A magnificent marble bust of the Card. is at S. Agostino, Rome. In the "*Vita critica de' cardinali del a. 1696" Noris is thus characterized: "è discreto, allegro, molto faceto, huomo da conversazione, tutto alieno da scrupoli," which he proved by opposing the demolition of the theatre of Tor di Nona. "*Minchiona li cardinali Colloredo e Ferrari come a lui ex diametro antipatici di genio" (*ibid.*).

[1] On C. Sfondrati (born 1644, *ob.* September 4, 1696), *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.[2], 235 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXIV., 120 *seqq.*; HURTER, II.[2], 378 *seqq.*, 509, 593; J. v. ARX, *Gesch. von St. Gallen*, III., 207 *seqq.*; EGGER, *Jubiläums-Erinnerungen an Kard. Sfondrato*, St. Gallen, 1896; A. SCHEIWILER, in *Monatsrosen des Schweizer Studentenvereins*, 1890, 402 *seqq.*, 441 *seqq.*, 521 *seqq.*, 577 *seqq.*, and in *Schweiz. Rundschau*, XXI. (1921), No. 3. Dr. Scheiwiler is at work on a large biography of Sfondrato whose diary and correspondence (11 vols.) are preserved in the Monastery Archives of St. Gallen.

[2] **Acta consist.* Vat. Lib.

[3] *Ibid.*, where we read that even before Card. Bouillon had ended his "votum", the Pope pronounced the creation, in consequence of which all the other Cardinals refrained from a

As Grimani had accepted the red hat without leave of the Venetian Government, he was deprived both of his title of nobility and his property ; only after the peace of Karlowitz (January 26th, 1699) did the Emperor succeed in getting this measure revoked.[1]

One of the two reserved *in petto* in 1695, the Maestro di Camera Baldassare Cenci, was proclaimed on November 11th, 1697.[2] On December 19th, 1698, the Pope proclaimed the elevation of the learned Milanese Barnabite Jacopo Antonio Morigia, since 1682 Archbishop of Florence, who had also been reserved in 1695, together with that of Fabricio Paoluzzi, nuncio at Cologne from 1696 to 1698, who had been reserved in 1697.[3]

On November 14th, 1699, though gravely ill, the Pope proceeded to the nomination of seven new Cardinals.[4] The purple was bestowed upon Niccolò Radolovich, Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars and an old acquaintance of the Pope ; the Archbishop of Milan, Giuseppe Archinto, nuncio at Florence from 1686 to 1689, then at Venice till 1695 and after that in Spain [5] ; Andrea Santa Croce, nuncio in Poland from 1690 to 1696 and after that at the imperial court of Vienna ; Marcello d'Aste, nuncio in

" votum ", " non sine admiratione, nempe contra praxim fere semper usitatam." On those named, see GUARNACCI, I., 466 (with portraits) ; NOVAES, XI., 156 *seqq.* ; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 482 *seq.* (on Cornaro). With regard to Portugal, see SCHÄFER, V., 163 (in part wrong presentment).

[1] ROMANIN, IX., 502 *seq.* ; LANDAU, II., 38 *seqq.* The harshness with which Venice gave play to its Caesaro-Papalism under Innocent XII. (*cf. Arch. stor. ital.*, 3 series, II., 101, 106 *seq.* ; HOPF, in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1865, 101), was all the more offensive as the Pope had repeatedly assisted the Republic in its war against the Turks. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra ausiliaria*, 472 *seq.*, 478 *seq.*

[2] **Acta consist., loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* GUARNACCI, I., 491 *seqq.* ; NOVAES, XI., 166 ; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 473 *seqq.* (on Archinto).

[5] His activity there is much praised in the **Vita critica.*

Switzerland from 1692 till 1695 [1]; Daniello Marco Delfino, nuncio in France since 1696; Sperello Sperelli [2] since 1698 assessor of the Inquisition and, finally, the General of the Cistercians, Giambettista Gabrielli, a distinguished theologian who had defended Sfondrati's book on predestination.[3]

At his last creation, on June 21st, 1700, the Pope took into account the wishes of the great Catholic Powers by admitting into the Sacred College the Archbishop of Paris, Louis Antoine de Noailles, Count Philipp von Lamberg and Francis Borgia, a Canon of Toledo.[4]

(4.)

Innocent XII. bestowed much attention on the affairs of Propaganda. Whenever any difficult question had to be

[1] C. Doni, *Vita del card. M. d'Aste*, in Crescimbeni, *Arcadi illustri*, IV.; Pandolfini, *Vita del card. M. d'Aste*, Roma, 1711. *É dotto, attento, pio, giusto, caritativo, puntuale, officioso e zelante," says the **Vita critica*.

[2] G. Vincoli, *Vita del card. Sperelli*, in Crescimbeni, *loc. cit.*, III. "*Il vero originale d'un ottimo ecclesiastico," says the **Vita critica*.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] **Acta consist.* and the *Briefs to Leopold I., Louis XIV. and Charles II., dated June 29 and 30 and July 3, 1700, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* Guarnacci, I., 522 *seq.*; Novaes, XI., 172 *seq.* On L. de Noailles, see Gallia christ., VIII. and IX.; Schill, *Konstitution Unigenitus*, 50 *seqq.*; Barthélemy, *L. card. de Noailles d'après sa correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1888; *Études*, XLV., 287 *seqq.*; *Rev. hist.*, CXV., 34 *seqq.* For Card. Lamberg, see *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XVII., 540. Ambassador Lamberg notes in his *diary on June 19, 1700: "At yesterday's audience the Venetian ambassador demanded that Venice should not be passed over at the next creation." The Pope replied that he had already created four vassals of theirs, viz. Noris, Grimani, Cornaro and Delfino, but by way of showing its gratitude the Republic had issued an edict by which the friends of the Cardinals were declared incapable of giving a vote; hence he would not increase the number of vassals until that decree was abolished.

discussed, such as, for instance, the relations of the missionaries with the Vicars Apostolic or the opposition between Portuguese and French interests in eastern Asia, he would himself preside over the meetings.[1]

The Pope could look with justifiable satisfaction on the situation of the Church in Central and South America where there existed not only a firmly established hierarchy, but work for the conversion of the remaining pagans also proceeded uninterruptedly. An important event for the future was the preaching of the Gospel in California. This was the work of two gallant Jesuits, the Tyrolese Eusebio Francisco Kino and Juan Maria Salvatierra who met with the greatest obstacles on the part of the Indians but refused to be deterred by them.[2] No less arduous was the work of christianizing the Mojos of what is to-day Bolivia, which the Jesuits undertook from Peru. The partition of the enormously extended Jesuit Province in the regions of Nuevo Reino and Quito, resulting in the creation of two centres, Bogotá and Quito, also falls into Innocent XII.'s pontificate.[3] The Jesuit missionaries on the Marañon River (Amazon) included some German Fathers.[4] To the north of the river Fr. Antony Vieira continued his splendid apostolate in Brazilian territory up to the time of his death in 1697.[5]

The missionaries had to encounter difficulties of every kind. In Chile it was not only the obstinacy and degradation of the Indians that proved a hindrance, but likewise the ill-will of the Spanish officials. Though in the Philippines the

[1] *Diario*, IX., 84, X., 187, 188.

[2] Astráin, VI., 491 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 584 *seq.* It took a whole month to get to Quito from Bogotá.

[4] Thus Heinrich Richter and Samuel Fritz; *cf.* Duhr, III., 340, n. 2; Sommervogel, III., 1003; VI., 1834; *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, I., 208 *seq.*

[5] On Vieira, see Vol. XXXI., p. 161, n. 5; Heimbucher, II., 216; J. Lucio de Azevedo, *Cartas do Padre Antonio Vieira*, 3 vols., Coimbra, 1925/28. By the same, a Life of Vieira in 2 vols., 1918.

persecution of the Jesuits by the ill-advised Archbishop of Manila, Philip Pardo, came to an end with the latter's death in 1689, the mission suffered for a long time from the effects of that deplorable episode.[1]

A whole series of Briefs to the rulers of Persia are evidence of Innocent XII.'s great concern for the Christian subjects of the Shah, more especially those in Greater Armenia, and of his desire to help them to the best of his ability.[2] The bearers of these letters were for the most part Capuchin missionaries. In 1698 a Discalced Carmelite took a very friendly letter of the Shah to the Pope.[3] Through the Franciscans Innocent XII. sought to bring about the conversion of the Negus of Abyssinia,[4] and he assigned to Propaganda the sum of 50,000 scudi for the missions in that country.[5] For the Franciscans the Pope obtained Sultan Ahmed's permission for the erection of a small church in Constantinople. In his letter of thanks he explained to the Sultan, at the latter's request, the fundamental truths of the Christian religion.[6] The Patriarch of Alexandria was exhorted not to relax his efforts on behalf of the union of the Copts.[7] On October 7th, 1698, a section of the schismatical Rumenians of Transilvania effected its union with the Catholic Church.[8] After a long period of persecution the Jesuits

[1] ASTRÁIN, VI., 771 *seq.*, 783 *seqq.*

[2] See " *Regi Persarum ", June 7, 1692, January 28, 1695, January 26, 1699, in *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf. Ius pontif.*, II., 183 *seqq.*

[3] Description of the letter in *Diario*, XIV., 180.

[4] *Ius pontif.*, II., 191 *seq.* *Cf.* BERNINO, *Eresie*, IV., 150.

[5] BERNINO, *ibid.*

[6] The Sultan's letter and the Pope's reply in *Spicil. Vat.*, I., 580 *seq.* On Ahmed, see HAMMER, III., 847, 872.

[7] " *Ioanni Patr. Alexandrino," March 16, 1697, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[8] See V. HORMUZAKI, *Fragmente zur Gesch. der Rumänen*, III., Bukarest, 1884. On the hopes for reunion raised by a Russian embassy to the Pope in 1698, see PIERLING, in *Civiltà Catt.*,

succeeded in 1692 in once more securing a footing in Tongking and they maintained themselves there in spite of very great difficulties. In 1696 the Pope severed Tongking from the diocese of Macao erected in 1690.[1]

In the Empire of the Middle Christianity benefited much by the favourable dispositions of Emperor Kanghi to whom the Pope sent a letter of thanks on September 2nd, 1691.[2] In the following year the Jesuits succeeded in obtaining an imperial edict allowing the missionaries to preach the Christian faith throughout the Empire and everyone to accept it.[3] Thus protected by the Emperor the Jesuits, who were admirably acquainted with the manners, laws and language of the country, worked with redoubled zeal for the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately this promising development, which Innocent XII. seconded with a gift of 100,000 scudi to Propaganda,[4] was hampered by a recrudescence of the fatal dispute concerning the Chinese rites. It was a French missionary who fanned the flames.[5]

On March 26th, 1693, Charles Maigrot, of the Paris missionary seminary, who had been working in China since 1683 where he had become Vicar Apostolic of Fukiën, published an ordinance which he meant to serve as a guide to the missionaries of his vicariate in their attitude

1921, III., 423 *seqq.* Numerous reports on this subject in E. Schmourlo, *Recueil de documents relatifs au règne de l'empereur Pierre le Grand I.*, Dorpat, 1903, 321 *seqq.*

[1] Heimbucher, II., 201 ; *Jus pontif.*, II., 162, 166.

[2] " *Ill. et potent. utriusque Tartariae et Sinarum Imperatori," September 2, 1691, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] Le Gobien, *Hist. de l'édit de l'empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion chrétienne*, Paris, 1698.

[4] Bernino, IV., 750. *Cf.* Forcella, XI., 459. In 1696 Innocent XII. cut off extensive territories from the new dioceses of Nangking and Peking ; these were put under Vicars Apostolic pending the erection of more dioceses : *cf. Ius pontif.*, II., 158. *Cf.* Jann, 260 *seqq.* ; Mejer, I., 361.

[5] What follows is based on J. Brucker's account in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2372 *seqq.*, which itself rests on new documents.

towards the Chinese rites until the Holy See should have given a decision. The decree forbade the use of the names *Tien* and *Shang-ti* to designate the true God, as well as the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors. Maigrot asserted that the report on the Chinese rites at one time submitted to Alexander VII. was not in conformity with truth in several respects, hence the missionaries could not permit the veneration of Confucius and that of ancestors which the Holy See had sanctioned under certain presuppositions. On November 10th, 1693, Maigrot forwarded his ordinance to the Pope together with a short memorial on the controversy; at the same time he asked to be allowed to discuss it with the Jesuits in Rome, either personally or through delegates.[1] To this end, at the beginning of 1694, he sent two members of the Paris missionary seminary to Rome, namely De Quénemer and Nicolas Charmot. On their arrival in the Eternal City, Charmot. in particular exerted himself greatly with a view to getting Maigrot's ordinance approved. On his own confession Charmot hardly knew any Chinese and had only spent two years and a half in China; for all that he felt so sure of his case that he acted with the utmost resolution, and as he was not lacking in ability, he easily secured a number of followers, though it was questionable how far the majority of these were able to understand the matter in debate.

Innocent XII. referred the disputants to the Roman Inquisition. The revival of the controversy annoyed him; accordingly, on January 15th, 1697, he directed to Maigrot who had just been named titular Bishop of Conon, a Brief in which he paid homage to the latter's apostolic zeal but likewise gave him the significant warning that there was nothing that Christ had more insistently recommended to the Apostles than the preservation of unity; hence he too should live in peace with the other Chinese missionaries.[2]

[1] Maigrot's *letter to Innocent XII. in *Cod.* C. 7, 26, p. 51 *seqq.*, of Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] " *Et quoniam Christus Dominus apostolis suis et aliis operariis evangelicis nihil studiosius commendavit aut inculcavit

The examination of Maigrot's ordinance was entrusted to a special Congregation consisting of Cardinals Casanata, Marescotti, Noris and Ferrari. For its further information the Congregation appealed to various theologians, especially to the Franciscan Giovanni Francesco de Leonessa who happened to be in Rome. This friar had laboured in China since 1684 and had become Vicar-General of the Bishop of Nangking and finally Vicar Apostolic of Hu-Kuang.

In order to arrive at a judgment on Maigrot's ordinance the Congregation summed up the points in dispute in a series of questions,[1] the examination of which was entrusted by the Pope to a commission consisting of the General of the Cistercians, Giambattista Gabrielli, the General of the Augustinians, Niccolò Serrano, the former General of the Discalced Carmelites, Filippo di S. Niccolò, and the former Commissary General of the Reformed Minorites, Carlo Francesco Varese. When Gabrielli was raised to the cardinalate on November 14th, 1699, he resigned his membership of the Congregation. Serrano unreservedly ranged himself by the side of Maigrot; Varese took the part of the Jesuits; Filippo di S. Niccolò defended the use of the names *Tien* and *Shang-Ti* to designate God, but demanded that the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors should be forbidden.[2]

Whilst these consultations were still in progress Charmot had communicated the questions of the Congregation to Archbishop De Noailles of Paris, whose dislike of the Jesuits was well known. Charmot pressed Noailles to bring about

diligentius, quam ut inter se unum essent et animorum et sensuum coniunctione unitatem ipsam Patris cum Filio imitarentur, enitendum maxime tibi est et quantum potes efficiendum, ut pacem cum aliis in eodem opere occupatis semper retineas ac magis magisque confirmes." *Epist. Innocentii XII.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] " *Quaesita s. Congreg. s. Rom. et univ. Inquisit. proposita," in *Cod.* C. 7, 12, p. 7 *seqq.*, of Biblioteca Angelica.

[2] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, who found a *copy of the reports of the *theologi qualificatores* in *Cod. lat.*, 17610 of the National Library, Paris.

a condemnation by the Sorbonne " as a counter stroke against those of the *qualificators* who might be in favour of the Jesuits ". Noailles, as a matter of fact, did obtain, on May 8th, 1700, a condemnation of the Chinese rites by a certain number of Paris Doctors. In order to give greater weight to this document, the signatories of which did not dare to give their own names, a condemnation of five propositions of the Jesuits Le Comte and Le Gobien was obtained from the entire Faculty.[1]

But the decision lay not with Paris but with Rome, and Rome was not in the habit of proceeding with such haste. The difficult question concerning which the Jesuits made a direct appeal to the Pope in May 1698,[2] lay still in the balance at the time of Innocent XII.'s death on September 27th, 1700.

(5.)

At this time Holland could also have been described as a missionary country, though in a wider sense, and that country was the theatre just then of changes the effects of which were destined to be felt far beyond the boundaries of Holland.

It was a disaster for the Catholic Church in the seven united Provinces of Holland when, in the last years of Innocent XII., Peter Codde, a friend of the Jansenists, became its head as Vicar Apostolic and Archbishop of Sebaste. Under his government one innovation quickly succeeded another, the last being this that, contrary to the practice of the Church, the Sacraments of Baptism and Extreme Unction were administered in the vernacular tongue. But the so-called

[1] *Ibid.*, 2374 *seq.*

[2] " *Libellus supplex a Societate Jesu Sanctissimo [Innocentio XII. Summo Pontifici] oblatus mense Maio anni 1698 super rebus et controversiis Sinensibus, velut compendiolum grandioris voluminis Sacrae Congregationi Sancti Officii antea exhibiti." The original copy passed from the possession of Innocent XII. into the library of Card. Gentili and eventually into that of the Roman antiquary Benedetti, where I saw it in 1908. Copy in *Ottob.* 822, Vat. Lib.

Jansenist penance, which consisted in abstaining from the Holy Eucharist, was likewise introduced. Soon there were those who devoutly thanked God for not having received the Sacrament for two years and there were many who prolonged this penitential abstinence during a period of 12 to 15 years. The Sacrament of Penance was rendered exceedingly irksome and odious to the faithful by an unnecessary delay of absolution and certain liberties with the seal of confession. Pulpit orators expounded before the people the Jansenist teaching on the freedom of the will, grace and predestination, so that women and children began to talk of, and to discuss these subjects. A quantity of publications spread these same Jansenist principles. In 1690 the catechism which had been in use since 1633, was recast in places where it dealt with the primacy of the Pope, Indulgences, the veneration of the Saints, the doctrine of grace, etc. Harsh steps were taken for the purpose of spreading the Jansenist views. Many were barred from Holy Orders, deprived of their benefices, suspended from the exercise of their priestly functions, molested by inquiries or deprived of the Sacraments even on their death-bed, for the sole reason that they refused to adhere to these novelties.

In particular everything was done to rob the religious of the esteem and confidence of the people whilst refugee Jansenists such as Arnauld, Gerberon, Du Vaucel stood in high honour and were listened to by everyone.[1]

Of course these things did not go unnoticed and unopposed. The imperial ambassador Campricht reported on them to Pope Alexander VIII. in 1689 and the Polish ambassador Mollo to Cardinal Barberini on December 15th, 1690.[2] Rome, however, adopted at first a waiting policy, especially as the internuncio in Flanders had drawn attention to the ease with which a certain party spirit might have coloured the various

[1] Mozzi, I., 266–275. The alterations in the catechism are put together in **Cod. Vat.* 7405, f. 584–592, Vat. Lib., and in [Fontana], *Constitutio "Unigenitus"*, IV., 549 *seqq.*

[2] Mozzi, I., 276.

reports, but a Dominican who had been commissioned by the nuncio to ascertain on the quiet the true state of affairs, sent in a very pessimistic account. On September 5th the Polish ambassador wrote once more to Cardinal Barberini and complaints came from a number of religious, in particular from a certain Capuchin friar.[1]

Rome's reserve even now appears from the circumstance that for further information recourse was had to the very man who shortly before had been spoken of in terms of highest praise even by the Jansenists in letters to the internuncio, the Cardinals and the Pope himself—namely Theodore de Cock. Cardinal Cibo wrote to him that reports had come in to the effect that Codde had refused to publish the condemnation of the 31 Jansenist propositions by Alexander VIII. though the Congregation had ordered him to do so ; all he had done was to communicate it to a few priests, his confidants, in his own house, so as to be in a position to say that the order had been carried out. De Cock was requested to supply information as to what truth there was in the accusation that the majority of the Dutch clergy held Jansenist opinions.[2]

Through a misunderstanding this letter fell into the hands of Codde who thereupon conjured De Cock to defend him with Cibo. In his answer De Cock spoke as considerately as possible but admitted that Codde had merely read the 31 propositions to seven priests, by way of a joke, whilst they were at table. De Cock further reported that the majority of the priests of Holland considered Jansenism as a phantom ; they condemned the five propositions but denied that they were found in Jansenism and in their view the Pope's infallibility did not extend to facts.[3]

Innocent XII. was far more impressed by an anonymous but more detailed memorial [4] than by this testimony of De Cock. A Congregation of Cardinals was set up to deliberate

[1] *Ibid.*, 276–8.

[2] Cibo to De Cock, October 4, 1692, *ibid.*, 279 *seq.*

[3] De Cock, November 14, 1692, *ibid.*, 281 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 282.

on the matter. It instructed its president, Cardinal Altieri, to seek for further information besides that of De Cock, from the nuncios of Cologne and Vienna who had both been nuncios at Brussels. However, at this time neither of them had any direct relations with the Dutch mission [1] so that only De Cock's evidence was of value. Through the imprudence of one of the Cardinals this document fell into the hands of the Jansenist Du Vaucel and thus occasioned all the hatred and persecutions which De Cock had to endure thereafter on the part of the Jansenists. Cardinal Altieri had pressed him to present a full statement on the situation and De Cock had obeyed.[2] Five points in particular were now discussed in detail in a special Congregation of Cardinals, namely, Codde's loose views on the seal of confession, his failure to publish the 31 propositions of Alexander VIII. as well as the Roman prohibition of Neercassel's book, the accusation that some of the more deserving and older priests were kept back solely because they had been pupils of Propaganda, and lastly the claim that only those confessions were valid which were made to one's own parish priest.[3] The Cardinals of the Congregation,[4] more particularly the reporter, Cardinal Albani, were in favour of the accused. Du Vaucel got his point, namely, that Codde need not go to Rome in person and he was commissioned to communicate to the accused the charges made against him. Codde's answers to the second, fourth and fifth accusation were considered adequate but the other points were judged to require further elucidation.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 284.

[2] *Ibid.*, 284–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 289 *seq.*

[4] They were Altieri, Barberini, Carpineto, Casanata, Nerli, Colloredo. *Ibid.*, 288.

[5] "Quantum ad 1 punctum: Examinetur in Congregatione S. Officii, ut praescribatur, quid servandum sit. Ad 2: Satis iustificat se. Ad 3: Melius se iustificet. Ad 4: Non est repertus culpabilis, licet ex numero alumnorum, qui testantur in favorem Dom. Vicarii, quinque vel sex parum faveant in suis responsionibus. Ad 5: Videtur sufficienter respondere." Decree of the

It was not a brilliant judgment for Codde, but it was nevertheless an acquittal precisely because it was not a condemnation. It seemed to embolden the Jansenists. They carried arrogance to such lengths that many parishes felt compelled to expel their Jansenist priests.[1] Fresh complaints on the situation reached Rome ; in particular a missionary Bishop then in Holland on business connected with his vicariate, sent a report to the Pope [2] on the steady spread of Jansenism in that country. It was high time to take action, he wrote ; later on it would be impossible to eradicate the sect. Hence a fresh examination of Codde's affair in Rome was inevitable and he himself provided a decisive occasion for such a step.

Two Jesuits, Aerts and Verbiest, in conjunction with a parish priest of the name of Van Wijck, had written a small book on the progress of Jansenism in Holland. A third Jesuit, the Frenchman Doucin, who had accompanied the French plenipotentiary, Count de Crécy, to the Hague on the occasion of the Peace of Rijswijk, translated the work into French, after which it was translated into other languages and given as wide a publicity as possible, especially in Rome.[3] The publication caused an enormous sensation and called forth a number of refutations.[4] Codde deemed it expedient to denounce the book in Rome as a slanderous libel,[5] but if he hoped that a condemnation in his sense would follow at once, he was mistaken. The Pope charged eight Cardinals, four of Propaganda [6] and four of the Inquisition, to examine the

Special Congregation, January 15, 1695, Mozzi, I., 292. Codde said later : " Vicarium in omnibus inculpabilem esse repertum," *ibid.*

[1] *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

[2] November 27, 1697, *ibid.*, 293 *seq.*

[3] *Mémoire touchant le progrès du Jansénisme en Hollande*, Cologne, 1698. On the book, *cf.* H. J. Allard, in *Studiën*, XXXIV. (1890), 25 *seqq.* : Sommervogel, I., 61 ; III., 161 ; VIII., 586 ; Brucker, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IV. (1911), 1800.

[4] Sommervogel, VIII., 586 *seq.*

[5] Mozzi, I., 297.

[6] May 16, 1698, *ibid.*, 299.

accusations. At Du Vaucel's instance, two others were added to them, one of whom, Cardinal Casanata, was greatly prejudiced in favour of Codde. Du Vaucel did his best to draw out the discussions as much as possible [1] and Hennebel, the agent of the Louvain Jansenists, was also meant to work on behalf of Codde, but by his indolence and prodigality he roused the ire of his friends.[2] Meanwhile there appeared a book by Quesnel against Doucin and an apology by Codde himself which was printed by the Apostolic press.[3] At length in the second year after its formation, the cardinalitial Congregation met on September 25th, 1699, for a discussion lasting five hours, at which it was decided to summon the Vicar Apostolic to Rome.[4] During his absence De Cock would act as his substitute and the Brussels nuncio was to induce Codde to make the nomination himself: the internuncio was to make the appointment only in case Codde refused to do so. The letter of the Congregation to Codde could hardly be described as a citation: he was invited to come in person to Rome for the jubilee of 1700 and to enlighten the Congregation on the situation in Holland and on a few obscure points.[5]

Quesnel was of opinion that the best thing Codde could do was to send a most respectful letter to Rome with a view to gaining time: the war in Holland, the necessity of requesting the States General for leave to travel, provided sufficient pretexts.[6] As a matter of fact Codde wrote in this sense to Cardinal Albani.[7]

The Congregation now adopted a sterner tone; the Vicar Apostolic must obey the Pope's command without delay.[8]

[1] Letter to Quesnel, December 20, 1698, *ibid.*, 300.

[2] *Ibid.*, 300 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 305 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 308–311. Protocol of the session of September 25, 1699, and the citation of Codde, *ibid.*, III., 8 *seqq.*, 10 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 10 *seqq.*

[6] To Du Vaucel in Rome, October 24, 1699, in Leroy, II., 72. Du Vaucel had given Codde the same advice on October 3; Mozzi, I., 322.

[7] October 26, 1699, *ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 323.

However, Codde was determined not to go to Rome and looked for another plausible excuse,[1] but his disobedience, which was clearly shown by his letter, determined the Congregation to give him, through the internuncio of Brussels, a formal order to come to Rome and to suspend him from his functions in case of non-compliance.[2] Innocent XII. approved this decision.[3]

Even before receiving his instructions, internuncio Bussi had endeavoured, through a third person, to persuade the Vicar Apostolic to set out for Rome, but all in vain. On receiving his instructions from Rome, Bussi decided to wait another eight days, after which he would give the Vicar Apostolic a successor in the person of De Cock.[4] When Codde was informed that De Cock had been sent for by the internuncio, he decided to seek an interview with Bussi. At Brussels he met with a most friendly reception; the internuncio even went so far as to promise not to appoint De Cock pro-Vicar, provided Codde set out for Rome.[5] But all efforts seemed once more in vain until Codde's friends urged him to obey. Thereupon Codde asked for a further delay until July 1st and a longer one after his return to Holland. Both requests were granted, but Innocent XII. decided that December 1700, was to be the last respite.[6] In the end Quesnel himself pressed Codde to keep his word.[7]

[1] "Il est seulement en peine de la manière dont il doit s'en excuser au cas qu'on le presse jusqu'au bout. Du Vaucel to Quesnel, March 13, 1700, *ibid.*, 324.

[2] Du Vaucel to Codde, April 17, 1700, *ibid.*, 324 *seq.* The following were present at the congregation of March 26, which decreed the order to Codde: Cardinals Marescotti, Albani, Tanara, Ferrari, Noris, Sagripanti, Imperiali; Carlo Barberini, Carpegna and Panfili were absent; *ibid.*, 325.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 327 *seq.*

[5] May, 1700, *ibid.*, 329. Quesnel to Du Vaucel, May 29, 1700, on Codde's visit to him after his conversation with Bussi, in Leroy, II., 92.

[6] Mozzi, I., 331–333.

[7] *Ibid.*, 333.

Du Vaucel had previously written to him that by his continual delays he was only rendering his position worse.[1] He now promised to help him to circumvent the subscription to Alexander VIII.'s formulary which he was afraid would be asked of him,[2] for it was chiefly this fear that prevented Codde's journey to Rome.[3]

Codde set out for the Eternal City towards the end of September and arrived there on December 11th.[4] Innocent XII. had died in the meantime, leaving to his successor the delicate task of putting order in the Dutch situation.

[1] *Ibid.*, 327.

[2] *Ibid.*, 334.

[3] *Ibid.*; Quesnel to Du Vaucel, May 29, 1700, in LEROY, II., 92.

[4] MOZZI, I., 338.

CHAPTER IV.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN INNOCENT XII. AND THE COURT OF VIENNA—THE PEACE AND THE CLAUSE OF RIJSWIJK—THE ELECTION OF AUGUSTUS, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, AS KING OF POLAND AND HIS CONVERSION TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH—THE QUESTION OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—DEATH OF INNOCENT XII.

(1.)

INNOCENT XII. considered it one of his most important duties to restore peace in Europe. To this end the nuncios were instructed to exert themselves to the utmost, all the more so as only thus was a disastrous compromise with the Turks to be avoided.[1] The Pope counted especially on the Emperor whose piety and sense of justice he had come to know and appreciate during his nunciature at Vienna [1668–1671].[2] Leopold I. was so convinced of the friendly feelings of the new Pope that, without waiting for the official announcement of the election, he at once dispatched a letter of congratulations to Rome which Prince Liechtenstein, the Emperor's representative in Rome, presented on August 9th.[3] Shortly after the Pope sent the Emperor a contribution of 50,000 scudi for the war against the Turks. He also granted him various other favours and submitted a list of candidates for the Vienna nunciature, for the Emperor to choose an

[1] " *Cifre al Tucci a Vienna," August 25 and October 13, 1691, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] Innocent XII. had announced his elevation to the Emperor by an *autograph letter of July 24, 1691. Liechtenstein's diaries, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Ibid.*

acceptable personality, a thing which Alexander VIII. had refused to do.[1] The choice fell on Sebastiano Antonio Tanara who had already acted as nuncio at Brussels, Cologne and Lisbon.[2]

The Pope took a lively interest in the Emperor's war against the Turks. When news came of Louis of Baden's brilliant victory over the Turks on August 19th, at Salankemen, Innocent gave orders for extraordinary manifestations of joy, consisting of a solemn *Te Deum* on September 10th, the firing of guns from Castel S. Angelo, the ringing of all the bells and the illumination of the papal palace at night. The imperial ambassador celebrated the victory on the 11th with a serenade in Piazza Navona and on the 16th with a solemn function at the Anima at which all the Cardinals assisted, with the exception of the French. The Spaniards also celebrated the victory on the 21st in their national church and the Pope prescribed Requiem Masses for the fallen.[3]

However, it was not long before relations between Rome and the Emperor became strained. The Pope's negotiations for an ecclesiastical compromise with Louis XIV. roused the suspicions of the imperial Government, just as the latter also resented the Pontiff's exhortations to peace. On December 8th, 1691, Innocent XII. made earnest representations to the Emperor and to the Kings of Spain and France; he painted in moving terms the sufferings of the peoples and implored them to put an end to them. Leopold I. replied on January 20th, 1692, in a resentful tone. The Pope, the letter said, knew from personal experience his—the Emperor's—great love for peace, but peace was only possible by the renewal of the treaties broken by France. Hence the Pope

[1] On August 25, 1691, Liechtenstein expressed his thanks for the subsidy, in the evening the Pope sent the list; *ibid.*

[2] KARTTUNEN, 263.

[3] *Lichtenstein's diaries, *loc. cit.*, where there is also an account of the display in front of Liechtenstein's house, of a "bella macchina rappresentante il principe Ludovico di Baden sopra un destriero che calpestava Turchi sotto un arco di trionfo ornato di aquile, fiaccole e trofei". *Cf.* also SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 468.

should persuade the King of France, the author of the war, to alter his conduct ; after that he too would do all in his power to induce his allies to accept the Pope's mediation.[1]

Although Innocent XII. had occasion already then to complain of the pretensions of the imperial ambassador in Rome,[2] he nevertheless made a further contribution, at the beginning of August 1692, of the sum of 30,000 scudi towards the fortification of Grosswardein, the taking of which, on June 6th, 1692, he had celebrated in the same way as the victory of Salankemen.[3] At the same time he continued to exhort France to peace.[4]

On the difficult question as to the attitude to be adopted by the Pope in regard to Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover's candidature for the ninth Electorate, opinions were divided in Rome. There were not lacking those who advocated a protest similar to that of Urban VIII. against the eighth Electorate.[5] On this occasion, however, Rome did not go so far as that. Ernest Augustus had repeatedly expressed most friendly feelings towards the Catholic Church so that his conversion could be hoped for. How much this prospect weighed with the Pope was shown by his conduct when, at the beginning of 1693, information reached Rome that Leopold I. had already given investiture to the new Elector. After exhaustive deliberations it was decided to send a simple remonstrance to the Emperor, but this was of so considerate a nature that the latter could not take offence. This attitude of reserve was all the more insisted upon as the Pope was anxious to avoid any interference with the war against the Turks, as well as all appearance of partiality towards France and that country's steps against the ninth Elector ; otherwise

[1] LÜNIG, *Sylloge negot. publ.*, 1182 *seq.* ; KLOPP, VI., 9.

[2] " *Cifre al Tanara," June 7 and 14, 1692, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Liechtenstein's diaries, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *" Cifra al Tanara ", August 2, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[4] " *Cifre al Tanara," April 12, July 26, August 9, 23, 30, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[5] HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 135 *seq.*

papal action on behalf of peace would have been rendered impossible.[1] Innocent XII. continued to work for a termination of the disastrous war for he felt convinced that its prolongation meant the ruin of Europe.[2] However, the prospects of success were as unfavourable as possible.

The most fatal thing of all was the deterioration of relations with the imperial court, for which Leopold I.'s Roman representative, Prince Liechtenstein, was partly to blame. Full of eagerness to serve his sovereign and strongly influenced by the absolutist spirit of the period and its slender friendliness towards the Church, moreover as the first lay representative of his Government in Rome, since during the whole of the previous four decades the Cardinal Protector had also dealt with secular affairs, Liechtenstein believed himself called to play a great rôle. The "prerogatives" of the Emperor must be recovered; the Pope must be confined within the ecclesiastical sphere though at the same time compelled to serve the interests of the Government of Vienna in as large a measure as possible. Liechtenstein thought that he would best realize this aim by adopting a strong, unyielding attitude even when there was question of mere trifles.[3] He rejoiced

[1] *Cf.* the excellent presentment by HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 131 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 214 *seqq.*, which is completed by some details in Liechtenstein's reports to the court chancellor, Heinrich Strattmann. Liechtenstein writes to him on February 28, 1693, that the Brief (of January 17; see HILTEBRANDT, 218) was written "più per apparenza che per altro". The second Brief, of March 26, in HILTEBRANDT, 221. When at the death in 1698 of Ernest Augustus, his son, George Louis, became the ninth Elector, Vienna did not remonstrate (153). *Cf.* C. SCHWARTE, *Die neunte Kur und Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Diss.), Münster, 1905.

[2] *Cf.* "*Cifre al Tanara" of October 4 and 25, November 1, 22, 29, and December 6, 1692, and numerous **Cifre* in January, February, March, April, 1693, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219, *loc. cit.* Jubilee for the peace, December 8, 1693, in *Bull.*, XX., 585.

[3] *Cf.* Liechtenstein's *letter to Strattmann, October 10, 1693: "E per questo ardisco di dire, che quando l'Imperatore voglia mantenere o per meglio dir ricoverare le prerogative che sono

when other States came in conflict with the Holy See as this was calculated to humble and intimidate "the priests". When a conflict broke out in the summer of 1692 between the Pope and the Spanish Government over the Inquisition in Naples,[1] Liechtenstein sided with the adversaries of the Holy See.[2] In August opposition between Rome and Madrid became less acute. "These priests"—Liechtenstein then wrote, "begin to fear lest the nuncio should be expelled from Madrid, and since all their actions spring either from fear or from interest, they will yield."[3] In the draft of a report of August 16th there occur the following words, subsequently crossed out, but which betray Liechtenstein's innermost thoughts: "A little rupture between Spain and the Pope would not have displeased me and I might, perhaps, have derived some benefit from it. These Spaniards know how to deal with the priests, according to the ancient proverb, either with blows or with money."[4] However, the Emperor

dovute a S. M. in Roma, il principale deve esser di non lasciare passare nè la minima cosa che vi possa esser contraria, con che non si mancarà all'ossequio dovuto alla Sede Apost., ma nè manco si permetterà che si manchi a quel che si deve alla dignità imperiale, come lo praticano gl'altri principi sin al Gran Duca." Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[1] See "*Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna," September 30, October 14 and 28, November 25, 1691, January 6 and 20, February 17, March 2, 16, 30, April 27, June 22, 1692, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 170, Papal Sec. Arch. *Cf.* AMABILE, II., 67 *seq.* The following rare book by Tommaso Menghini is dedicated to Innocent XII.: *Sacro arsenale, overo prattica dell'Officio della S. Inquisizione, con l'inserzione di alcune regole fatte e di diverse annotazioni di Giov. Pasqualone*, Roma, 1693. The dispute continued throughout Innocent XII.'s pontificate. *Cf.* the "*Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna", of January 11 and March 8, 1699, *loc. cit.* On the interference of the secular power with ecclesiastical authority in Portugal, see LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 173.

[2] *Liechtenstein to Strattmann, July 26, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Liechtenstein to Strattmann, August 2, 1692, *ibid.*

[4] *Non m'avrebbe dispiaciuto, se fosse sequita picciola rottura fra queste due corte, e forse m'avrei ricavato qualche vantaggio,

disapproved of his ambassador's exasperation against the Pope who, quite recently, had sent him a money subsidy. Liechtenstein was instructed to cultivate better relations with the Curia,[1] but the attempt was bound to fail because the ambassador lacked the necessary understanding of the spiritual interests which dominated all else in the mind of the Pope. In Innocent XII.'s efforts to put an end to the widowhood of so many French dioceses he only saw partiality for France. He put a similar construction on the Pope's steps in favour of peace, so much so that Innocent XII. saw himself compelled to recommend to the nuncios to observe greater reserve in this matter.[2] The tension became still more acute in

ma i Spagnuoli hanno troppo mezzi per mortificare questi preti e sono questi accorti per i loro interessi che fugiranno agni cimento et ogni qual volta la corte di Spagna saprà valers della loro viltà quanto vorrà, conforme l'antico proverbio Con preti bastoni o denari." Draft of August 16, 1692, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Liechtenstein to Strattmann, September 13, 1692, *ibid.*

[2] On May 10, 1693, the following *Instructions were sent to the Spanish nuncio: Sentonsi da V. S. Illma i rincontri che da Msgr. Nunzio in Germania l'erano stati recati, si in ordine alla pace generale, come alla particolare d'Italia. Ma poichè tutti gli ufficii, che si sono finora passati per questa particolarmente, hanno in si fatta maniera ingelosite non meno le case Austriache che tutti gl'altri principi collegati alle medesime, che par loro che chiunque entra in questa materia altro non intenda che di fare il maggior servizio della Francia, con evidente pericolo di tutti i collegati medesimi. Con tal riflessione si è stimato necessario, per toglier ogni ombra di gelosia alle parti interessate, di comandar, si come di mano in mano sì va facendo, a ministri della Sede Apost. di non mai più entrar per hora nella materia di pace particolare d'Italia, onde non mai s'apprenda che quello ch'è puro effetto della sollecitudine pontificia per l'unione e concordia de'principi christiani, per la quiete publica dell'Europa e per la particolare della nostra Italia, sì afflitta e desolata per le continue contributioni che le convien pagare, sia mera partialità, anzi mala volontà contro le corone predette e lor collegati e però sia nell'avvenire pur ella contenta di non entrare più in questa materia se non per cagione di rispondere e di far comprendere ad

consequence of the arrest of a servant of the embassy in June 1693. Liechtenstein suggested to Vienna that the most energetic measures should be taken in connection with this affair. Some sharp recriminations took place and the affair was only settled in the autumn, to the satisfaction of both parties.[1] As a proof of goodwill the Pope acted as godfather to the ambassador's son born in October.[2] But this did not remove Liechtenstein's strong prejudices. He saw French influence everywhere, even in Innocent XII.'s reforming activities,[3] and the Pope's repeated exhortations to peace only led to painful recriminations. Relations became still worse when Cardinal D'Estrées returned to France and Cardinal Forbin was made a member of the Consistorial Congregation in his place. Liechtenstein protested against this measure in January 1694, but the Pope sharply rejected his interference.[4]

"The Pope is a friend of France and an enemy of the Emperor": this is the *leitmotif* of all Liechtenstein's reports of the year 1694. He was literally obsessed with the fixed idea that "the good old man" was hopelessly caught in the

un tempo non esser capace il sommo apostolico zelo di N. S. di stendersi più oltre nè in altro se non che in cooperare, per quanto sia possibile, all'unione e pace fra suoi figliuoli e alla quiete publica, come si è detto. Nunziat. di Spagna, 170, f. 97 f., Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] On this affair, *cf.* besides *Diario*, IX., 62, 64, 71, the *reports of Liechtenstein, Rome, May 30, and Frascati (where he had retired), June 6, 20, 27, July 4, 8, 10, 18, 25, August 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, September 12, 19, 25 (*loc. cit.*), and the "*Cifre al Tanara", May 30, June 6, 13, 27, July 4, 11 (*cf.* also "Lettera al Tanara" of July 18), August 2, 15, 22, September 5, 12, 19, 26, October 30, 1693, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Liechtenstein's report to the Emperor, October 17, 1693, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 546; *Diario*, IX., 74.

[3] See his *report to the Emperor, December 5, 1693, *loc. cit.*

[4] Liechtenstein's *report to the Emperor, January 9, 1694, *ibid.*

meshes of the French.[1] In his nervous anxiety and irritability, he saw everywhere French intrigues and he was for ever comparing the Pope's attitude towards France and the Emperor, when he invariably came to the conclusion that the latter was being unfairly treated.[2] As early as the beginning of 1694, through the nuncio of Vienna, the Pope had sought to make the Emperor see how one-sidedly and wrongly informed he was on what went on in Rome.[3] It is impossible

[1] Already in his *report to Strattmann of July 16, 1692, Liechtenstein speaks of the tricks of the French "per ingannar il buon vecchio". For 1694, *cf.* especially *the reports to the Emperor of January 9, February 13, March 6, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* ex. gr. the *report to the Emperor of May 29, 1694. On the Pope's protests against the oppression of the clergy in the territory of Mantua by the imperial troops and General Caprara's threats, of which Leopold I. endeavoured to give soothing explanations, *cf.* the *Cifre al Tanara" of July 17 and 24, August 7, 14 and 21, 1694, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Instruction for Tanara, January 9, 1694: "I gravi pregiuditii, ai quali qui si soggiace per cagione di questi mal intentionati ministri di S. M. Cesarea, sicome in altre congiunture so d'haver accennato a V. S. Illma, richiedono assolutamente che adoperi Ella tutti i gradi della sua attività per impedirli e rimoverli. Ciò dee farsi da Lei prevenendo l'animo della M^tà^ Sua per mezzo di significazioni proprie del suo avvedimento e valevoli a farle toccar con mano, come pur ampiamente da tutti qui si scorge, esser la volontà de' medesimi interamente inclinata e rivolta a dar ad intendere a cotesta corte che il Papa sia tutto parziale della Francia e che, quando loro si niega per giustizia, siegua a suggestione de' ministri della Francia istessa.

La perfetta cognizione che si ha di ciò, ci obbliga a prevedere e prevenire i mali effetti, che potrebbero produrre le insinuazioni loro, per le quali è precisa necessità di render opportunamente avvertiti non meno i ministri ben intentionati di S. M^tà^ che la M^tà^ Sua medesima, e d'indurla a non prestar fede veruna alle maligne e perverse suggestioni di questi che qui risiedono, potendone ben fare ad essi chiara e copiosa attestazione le cose già insinuate da Lei anche allo stesso Imperatore, il quale all'incontro

to say what was the bearing of these strong representations on Liechtenstein's recall which took place in July, 1694, after he himself had made a request to that effect some time before.[1] He nevertheless continued his efforts, for a time, to rouse the

ha si copiose riprove si de' retti e sinceri procedimenti e dell'inalterabile indifferenza della Stà Sua, che del paterno svisceratissimo amore, con cui la medesima ha riguardato sempre S. Mtà, e le convenienze dell'augustissima casa con prove di grazie si speciali impartitele fin dal principio della sua esaltazione al pontificato e nel contegno usato in tante cose intraprese senza riguardo alle ragioni e dritti della S. Sede, che assai ben distinta può farne comprendere la parzialità verso la Mtà Sua.

Il forte motivo, che si ha qui d'imprimer e ordinar a V. S. Illma le cose predette, nasce per cagione dell'acri doglianze recate ieri a S. Stà da questo sigr. ambasciatore Cesareo per il luogo conceduto dalla medesima al sigr. cardinale di Janson nella Congregatione concistoriale, da lui richiesto dopo la seguita assenza del sigr. card. D'Estrées da questa corte, dando molto fastidio alla Stà Sua che il sigr. ambasciatore intenda d'opporsi alla libera et assoluta autorità ch'essa tiene di porre nelle congregazioni qualunque cardinale che le piaccia, come se l'autorità medesima Sua Beatne non l'havesse.

Dell'avvedimento et efficace zelo di V. S. Illma nel valersi delle ragioni e delle buone disposizioni che vi potessero essere in pro del giusto e convenevole, attende N. S. con impatiente desiderio gli effetti soliti, troppo importando a S. Beatne l'intendere che nelle malfondate, improprie e contrarie insinuationi, che costì venisser fatte, non rimanghi in alcun modo offuscata la mente Cesarea.

Le aggiungo ancora di suggerir alla Mtà Sua, che, quando le occorra e desideri veramente alcuna cosa da Sua Beatne, si contenti S. Mtà di significarlo a V. S. Illma, e non per mezzo d'altro canale, per farle conoscere e sperimentar ad un tempo, quanto sia a cuore alla Stà Sua di secondare in qualunque tempo et occasione, sempre che le sia permesso le sodisfazioni sue, ben certa essendo per altro Sua Beatne che, ove si offerissero difficoltà al concederle, il sommo zelo e bontà della Mtà Sua saprà rendersene interamente persuasa." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219, f. 113–15, Papal Sec. Arch.

[1] *Letter to Strattmann, September 29, 1693, Liechtenstein's Archives, Vienna.

Emperor against the Curia.[1] At his farewell audience with the Pope, on 21st August, the Pontiff presented him with an image in chased silver. In the course of the audience Liechtenstein was struck by the fact that on this occasion Innocent XII. spoke in much milder terms of William III. of England.[2] On September 2nd, 1694, the ambassador left the Eternal City.[3] He went away with a conviction that Innocent XII. was slavishly dependent on France whereas the Roman people were greatly attached to the person of the Emperor.[4] His successor, George Adam Count von Martinitz, was destined to destroy that feeling. In spite of his prejudices against the Curia, Liechtenstein was too much of a diplomatist to push things to extremes : he always knew how to stop at the right moment. Not so his successor.

Count George Adam Martinitz, a nephew of the Governor of Bohemia, immortalized by the defenestration of Prague, was no less devoted to the cause of the Emperor and the absolutist ideas of the period then Liechtenstein, but he had a much more passionate nature.[5] Even during his brilliant entry in January 1696 he displayed such arrogance that people suspected a desire on his part to provoke a conflict.[6] This impression was further strengthened when the imperious Count demanded that he should be given precedence of the Governor of Rome at the procession of *Corpus Christi*. In order to avoid a dispute Innocent XII. directed the Governor

[1] *Report to the Emperor, July 17, 1694, *ibid.*

[2] " *Miratus sum profecto, quod contra solitum de seren. Anglorum rege mitius sit locutus, hunc vigilantem, exspertum, strenuum et prudentem dicendo, ad quod ego, inscrutabilia esse Dei iudicia et ideo adoranda." Report to the Emperor, August 21, 1694. *Cf. Diario*, X., 188.

[3] *Liechtenstein's *Diaries, loc. cit.* ; *Diario*, X., 189.

[4] *Cf.* his *final report in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, I., n. 3339.

[5] LANDAU, *Rom, Wien und Neapol.*, II., 267 *seq.* ; WURZBACH, XVII., 47 *seq.*

[6] The Pope ignored this circumstance in his *Brief to Leopold I. of January 21, 1696, on the reception of Martinitz.

to stay away from the procession. Not satisfied with this Martinitz also insisted on the *gentiluomini* of the Cardinal deacons letting him have the place of honour, thereby bringing the whole procession to a prolonged standstill, so that the aged Pontiff, who carried the Blessed Sacrament, was himself exposed to the blustering wind. This painful incident caused a great sensation. In order to prevent a repetition of similar occurrences the Cardinals did not take part in the national procession at the Anima. When news of these incidents reached Vienna, the Emperor Leopold blamed indeed the conduct of his ambassador on the first occasion but declared that the Cardinals' abstention from the procession at the Anima constituted " an insult to his person and to the whole German nation ". Lengthy discussions were needed before the able Vienna nuncio succeeded in calming the angry monarch by representing to him that the Cardinals had felt that they would best safeguard the honour due to His Majesty if they avoided giving occasion for further conflicts.[1] This seemed to dispose of the quarrel ; hence great was the surprise when in the following spring Martinitz came forward with a demand that the Cardinals should take part in the annual procession at the Anima. The Pope, of course, had to reject such a demand, but he nevertheless listened to the proposal of holding a procession of intercession in view of the Turkish war, and to this the ambassador might invite the Cardinals. For the procession of *Corpus Christi* he abolished every kind of special escort for the Cardinals and the ambassadors, with the sole exception of the absolutely indispensable suite.[2] Count Martinitz met this conciliatory spirit in his own way. On June 11th, 1697, he had two imperial edicts posted up at his palace to the effect that any person holding a fief of the Emperor in Italy must exhibit, within three months and under pain of devolution, the documents relative to the matter. Innocent XII. saw here an attempt on his sovereignty and declared the edicts to be null and void so far as the States of

[1] *Cf.* the documented account by SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 546 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 549 *seqq.*

the Church were concerned.[1] Energetic representations on the part of the Pope[2] and the nuncio made the Emperor realize that he had gone too far—he recalled the decrees which, in point of fact, had been universally condemned.[3] In the following year the dispute was none the less reopened although the Pope assisted the Emperor to the best of his ability in the war against the Turks.[4]

The absolutist tendencies of the imperial representative were clearly revealed by an act of violence executed by Martinitz in the spring of 1697 against the German national church of the Anima. In acting thus he had before him the example of other ambassadors who, as he explains in his apology, without consulting anybody, were in the habit of installing or deposing the officials of their national churches and to beat down inexorably every opposition. For the introduction of this kind of princely omnipotence Martinitz successfully took advantage of some disagreements among the clergy of that church, in fact with his reckless procedure he succeeded in imposing a new constitution on the Anima and to subordinate it entirely to the Emperor's representative in Rome.[5] Already at the close of 1697 there was talk in Rome of the recall of this violent personage, a step which, as the Secretary of State calmly observed, was more in the Emperor's interest than that of the Pope.[6] In the spring of 1698, Martinitz went so far as to encroach on the

[1] *Diario*, XI., 108 *seq.*; Noris' letter in *Studi e docum.*, XI., 330.

[2] Brief to Leopold I. of June 17, 1697 (*Epist.*, *loc. cit.*), in which he says: "Omnem explicationem supergreditur iniuria, quam nuper tuus orator iurisdictioni Nostrae inferre ausus promulgata ac publica affixa in Urbe ante oculos Nostros edictali sanctione tuum nomen prae se ferente."

[3] *Diario*, XII., 381; Ottieri, I., 2, 312 *seq.*; Fiedler, *Relationen*, II., 432.

[4] *Diario*, XII., 380, 385, 388 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Schmidlin's detailed account, *Anima*, 552 *seqq.*

[6] "*Cifra al Nunzio di Vienna," December 7, 1697, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219.

sphere of papal judicature so that the Secretary of State declared that the situation had become intolerable.[1] In the end this strange diplomatist allowed himself in his blindness to be betrayed into adopting an unbecoming and offensive attitude even towards the person of the Pope himself. After that he was no longer received in audience.[2] When on Christmas Day, 1698, at the conclusion of the papal function at the Quirinal, he walked up to the Holy Father, wished him a happy feast and requested an audience, he received no reply.[3] Although the Emperor sought to maintain such an ambassador, an attitude that seemed incomprehensible, the Pope stuck to his decision not to receive Martinitz any longer.[4] His action met with universal approval. According to a report of the Spanish nuncio dated November 27th, 1698, there was general indignation even in Madrid at Martinitz' conduct. It was felt that it would be in the best interest of the Emperor to recall him as soon as

[1] " *Cifre al Nunzio di Vienna," May 10 and 17, 1698, *ibid.*; *cf.* **Cifra* of June 21, 1697, *ibid.*

[2] " *Cifra al Nunziat di Vienna," October 21, 1698, *ibid.* *Cf.* GALLAND, in *Hist. Jahrbuch.*, III., 217.

[3] *Diario*, XIV., 81. *Cf.* " *Cifra al Nunzio di Vienna." December 13, 1698, *loc. cit.*

[4] *To the nuncio in Vienna, February 7, 1699: " Dopo essersi rappresentato da V. S. Illma, quanto occorreva alla M^tà^ dell'Imperatore et a' suoi ministri intorno al particolare di non volersi più ammettere da N. S. l'ambasciatore Martinitz alla sua udienza, per le ragioni tante volte addotte e replicate, troppo chiaramente apparisce che nell'animo de' medesimi non sa darsi luogo nè alla ragione ben chiara nè alla giustizia che intieramente assiste alla nostra causa. Onde, non volendosi far tampoco alcun caso del perduto rispetto a Sua Beat^ne^ in faccia sua medesima, nè di tanti altri eccessi commessi dal predetto ambasciatore, fin colla carcerazione de' propri sudditi della Santa Sede, che pur anche tiene in prigione in sua casa, conviene haver pazienza ed applicare la sofferenza ai meriti della passione del Signore, ed attendere appresso i castighi, che con sì notabil petulanza ci vengono minacciati per mezzo del conte Palm, com'Ella qua ci riferisce." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219 *seq.*, 237, Papal Sec. Arch.

possible,[1] yet a whole year was to go by before the Emperor put an end to an intolerable situation by replacing Martinitz by Count Leopold Joseph von Lamberg, in October, 1699. The measure came too late; it could neither undo the past nor restore the former good understanding which, in the circumstances, was doubly necessary.[2]

It may be said that no one was more glad of the conduct of Count Martinitz and the unwisdom of the court of Vienna than Louis XIV. Whilst in the words of his Venetian colleague Erizzo, Martinitz, by his rudeness, made himself the best hated ambassador in Rome, France's representative, able and shrewd Cardinal Forbin, displayed all his skill in order to win the favour of the court and the Pope. He affirmed that his sovereign was prepared to defend the Church's sovereign rights with all his power. He added that in view of Martinitz' conduct, there was reason to fear the worst from the Emperor and even more so from his successor. These representations made such an impression on Innocent XII. that he began to incline more and more towards Louis XIV.[3] Until then it had been his policy to side neither with France nor with Spain and Germany,[4] for whilst preserving the strictest impartiality, his one object was to press upon the warring Catholic Powers the need of restoring peace [5] since only thus could the war against the Turks be energetically prosecuted. But all his efforts remained barren.

The Grand Alliance had held together for quite a long time; it was only sensibly weakened when Duke Vittorio

[1] See the account in GALLAND, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cifra al Nunzio di Vienna 17 October, 1699, Papal Sec. Arch.; GALLAND, *loc. cit.*; LANDAU, II., 269.

[3] OTTIORI, I., 131; GALLAND, *loc. cit.*, 216.

[4] "*Il mondo lo (il Papa) suppone per Francese di genio, ma io dico che nè è Francese, nè Spagnolo, nè Tedesco, nè è meno del proprio paese," says D'ELCE, *Vita.* Library of Einsiedeln.

[5] *Briefs in this sense were dispatched to the Emperor on December 3, 1695, on December 4 to the King of Spain and on December 6 to Louis XIV. and the Duke of Savoy, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

Amadeo of Savoy went over to France, with the result that Spain, and eventually the Emperor also, were compelled to conclude an armistice as far as Italy was concerned. Although the Pope was directly interested in Italy's deliverance from the evils of war, he had confined himself, with a view to avoiding the suspicion that he favoured either the one or the other party, to exhortations to a general peace and only after the conclusion of the armistice had he counselled Vienna, at Spain's request, to give its adhesion to it, hence the misrepresentation of his perfectly correct attitude in this affair was bound to give him profound pain.[1]

The troops liberated in consequence of the Italian armistice gave the King of France the preponderance in Flanders and in Catalonia. However, he did not intend to take advantage of this fact except in order to impose a favourable peace. As a result of Louis' great promises, William III. and later on Holland also, thanks to Swedish mediation, entered into peace negotiations, and in the end the Emperor himself felt incapable of further resistance.

In these circumstances, on May 9th, 1699, a peace congress

[1] *Letter to the nuncio in Vienna, July 14, 1696: "N. S., e come Papa e come sovrano, che ha tanto stato in Italia e sopra tutti gli altri, e come tale ancora che deve goder molto della quiete e dei vantaggi di essa, poteva adoperarvisi. Nondimeno col risguardo principalmente di non mostrar di pendere più da una parte che dall'altra, e per non darne il minimo sospetto, non si è voluto mai avanzar ad altro in tutto il corso della presente guerra, se non che in raccomandare e procurare, per quanto li si è reso possibile, la pace generale e la quiete publica dell'Europa. E se nella presente congiuntura, che S. Beat^ne sente già conclusa la particolare accennata, non fosse stata supplicata a passar uffici colle M. M^tà Austriache, e che anch'esse concorrano ad accettar la neutralità in Italia, non mai vi si sarebbe disposta; siccome non mai ancora ha havuto fin qui il minimo rincontro della trattazione di essa, che pur da molti si sospettava. Onde si fa un gran torto alla S^tà Sua a credersi diversamente anche per la somma particolar dilezione et amore, con cui è rimirata da Sua Beat^ne l'augustissima casa." *Nunziat. di Germania*, 219 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

opened in the Orange castle of Niewburg which took its name from the near by village of Rijswijk. In the diplomatic struggle the French exploited the maritime Powers' desire for peace with such skill that Holland, England and Spain signed the peace treaty on September 20th. William III. was recognized as King of England, the Dutch Republic secured important commercial advantages and Spain recovered most of what she had lost to France, whilst the French monarch calculated that before long he would be in possession of the entire heritage of the last Spanish Habsburg. With a heavy heart the Emperor saw himself compelled to sacrifice Alsace together with Strassburg, but all the other territories annexed since the last " reunions " had to be restored to their legitimate owners. Trèves and Lorraine were to be given back to their banished lords, Freiburg and Breisach to the House of Austria and Philippsburg to the Empire. The pretensions of the Duchess of Orleans to the Palatine heritage was to be decided by papal arbitration whilst the archdiocese of Cologne was to remain in the hands of Joseph Clement, Prince of Bavaria.[1] Shortly before the formal conclusion of peace on October 30th, the French diplomatists succeeded in obtaining the acceptation of the so-called Clause of Rijswijk by the terms of which the Catholic religion in all the restored territories was to remain

[1] Joseph Clement, younger brother of Max Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria, born 1671, was given the administration of the dioceses of Freising and Ratisbon already in 1685, that of Cologne in 1688 and subsequently also that of Liège and Hildesheim. Worldly-minded as he was, this strange lay Bishop toyed for years with the idea of giving up the clerical state. He only became a priest in 1706, soon after which he received episcopal consecration. *Cf.* Schröörs, in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XCVIII. (1916), 1 *seqq.*, who shows that later on Joseph Clement led a religious, nay even an outwardly devout life, and that, on the whole, he fulfilled the duties of his office faithfully. *Ibid.*, XCII. (1912), 125 *seqq.*, XCVII. (1915), 1–77 ; Brischar, in *Katholik*, 1888, II., 488 *seqq.* ; Braubach, in *Bonner Zeitschr. für Theol. u. Seelsorge*, 1929, 234 *seqq.*

in the state in which it was at the time, that is, at the time of the restoration.[1]

The first suggestion of this clause came from the Palatine John William of Neuburg. The Pope found it so acceptable that the Paris nuncio Delfino was instructed to urge it with Louis XIV. The latter was not slow in perceiving the political advantages that might accrue from it for France. The clause made a breach in the Peace of Westphalia. If it was possible to induce the Palatine and his Catholic allies to propose it, the latter were bound to make bitter enemies of their Protestant allies. However, John William was unwilling to take the initiative so that Louis saw himself compelled at the last moment to do so himself. He accordingly commanded his plenipotentiary at Rijswijk to get the clause accepted at any cost by the peace congress, with the help of the envoys of the Palatine and the Emperor. The representatives of Leopold I., who acted on their own authority, were of opinion that the demand should only be presented after the conclusion of all the negotiations. It is certain that Louis' action was by no means prompted by the disinterested zeal for the spread of the Catholic faith by which he pretended to be actuated; the truth was that his chief aim was to rekindle the religious dissensions in Germany for the benefit of France's expansionist policy.[2] The Protestants felt the Clause of Rijswijk as a heavy defeat. In the opinion of Leibnitz never was a peace concluded that was more humiliating for Germany and more dangerous for Protestants than that of Rijswijk.[3]

[1] *Cf.* NEUHAUS, *Der Friede von Ryswick*, 1873; KLOPP, VII., 460 *seqq*. On hearing of the conclusion of peace the Pope set aside 100,000 scudi for the imperial troops fighting against the Turks under Prince Eugene (*Diario*, XII., 380). In an autograph letter Louis XIV. communicated to the Pope the terms of the treaty whereupon Innocent XII. expressed his thanks in a *Brief of November 18, 1697 (*Epist.*, *loc. cit.*). M. WAGNER, *Untersuchung über die Ryswicker Religionsklausel* (Diss.), Jena, 1889.

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIII., 154 *seqq*. On the share of the imperial delegates in the clause, *cf.* WAGNER, *loc. cit.*

[3] JULIAN SCHMIDT, *Gesch. des Geistigen Lebens in Deutschland*, 278.

Not many weeks before, Protestantism had experienced another heavy blow by the return to the Catholic Church of Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony. This conversion, in so far as one may speak of such a thing, was closely connected with the Elector's candidature for the vacant Polish throne.[1]

On June 17th, 1696, Sobieski died of apoplexy. Election intrigues began forthwith in the unhappy country in which, in the words of a contemporary diplomatist, everything was in a constant flux from morning till night.[2] This time also the number of candidates for the throne was very considerable. Besides natives as, for instance, the sons of the late King and the Grand Treasurer Lubomirski, they included some foreigners headed by Prince Conti, a kinsman of Louis XIV.

Innocent XII. followed events in Poland with all the more interest as he had acted as nuncio in that country (1660–8).[3] Not only had he failed to settle the long and weary conflict over the right of patronage of monasteries which Poland claimed together with that of nomination to episcopal sees,[4] but the situation had deteriorated to such a degree that a formal rupture took place in the spring of 1696. When nuncio

[1] For what follows, *cf.* HILTEBRANDT's essay in which the documents of the Papal Secret Archives are exhaustively exploited: *Die polnische Königswahl von 1697 und die Konversion Augusts von Sachsen* in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, X. (1907), 152 *seqq.*; also HAAKE, *Augusts von Sachsen. Eine Charakterstudie* (1902); ZIEKURSCH, in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXIV. (1903), 86 *seqq.*, 232 *seqq.*; HAAKE, *Die Wahl Augusts des Starken zum König von Polen*, in *Hist. Vierteljahrschr.*, IX. (1906), 31 *seq.*, X. (1907), 382 *seq.* (who disagrees in part with Hiltebrandt); SCHELLER-STEINWARTZ, in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Gesch.*, II., 481 *seqq.*; HAAKE, *August der Starke im Urteil seiner Zeit*, Dresden, 1922. Many interesting facts are also found in **Memorie sulle turbolenze di Polonia*, 1679 1698, and in *Cod.* F. 42, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the report of May 14, 1697, in *Sitzungsber. der Münchner Akad., Hist. Kl.*, 1881, II., 217.

[3] KARTTUNEN, 256; PIERLING, IV., 133; BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 442.

[4] *Cf. Zeitschr. für osteuropäische Gesch.*, IV. (1914), 14 *seqq.*

Santa Croce, who had vigorously defended the interests of the Church,[1] was about to rejoin his post at Vienna, Sobieski refused him a farewell audience. After his departure a decree of the Senate bearing the King's signature was promulgated, to the effect that the new nuncio would only be admitted after a satisfactory settlement of the question of patronage. The tribunal of the nunciature at Warsaw was also ordered to be closed for the time being. The decree was carried into effect, so that the position of the new nuncio, Giovanni Antonio Davia, was rendered extremely difficult and he only succeeded in getting an audience of the Diet a few days before the election of the King.[2]

As at previous royal elections in Poland this time also the Holy See observed the strictest neutrality. As a matter of fact the only thing impressed upon Davia was to work for the preservation of tranquillity in the realm and for the election of a good Catholic King, one who would be both ready and able to fight the Turks and to safeguard the Catholic religion against heretics and schismatics.[3]

The election of Prince Conti would have been of the utmost consequence for Louis XIV.'s anti-Habsburg plans, but the opposition of Austria, Prussia and Russia rendered it increasingly hopeless. In the end the French Prince was robbed of his advantage by a candidate who had risen in a most quiet fashion, namely, Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, because of all the foreign candidates he was the one best able to raise the helpless Republic out of its misery and because he had the support of Austria and Russia. The chief obstacle to his election, the fact of his being a Protestant, was removed by the Saxon Elector when he made profession of the Catholic faith on June 2nd, 1697, at Baden, near Vienna. For the rest there was no question of a formal conversion for the Prince merely renewed a promise which he had made,

[1] *Ibid.*, 17. On the reform of monasteries by Nic. Riccioli (*ob.* 1693), see GAMS, *Kirchengesch.*, II., 620.

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, X., 172 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 174.

with the utmost secrecy, to his cousin Christian Augustus of Saxony, Bishop of Raab, who had himself become a convert in 1691, namely that in the event of his election he would embrace the Catholic faith. Nevertheless the election only took place after the nuncio had testified to the authenticity of the attestation of the Bishop of Raab, although a majority had declared itself in favour of Prince Conti [June 27th, 1697].[1]

Augustus only made open profession of Catholicism on July 23rd, 1697, at Piekar and after his envoy Flemming had sworn to the election capitulation in his name he was crowned at Cracow on September 15th.[2] But Augustus was not yet by any means master of his realm. Even after the defeat of Prince Conti who had landed at Danzig in the last days of September, he still had to contend with several powerful opponents.

In these circumstances the Pope's attitude was of the utmost importance to him. Innocent had not taken his side at once; on the contrary he had adopted a policy of the utmost reserve because for a time at least he did not believe in the fact of his conversion.[3] The only official step by Rome was the dispatch, on August 4th, of a Brief to the Cardinal Primate Radziejowski and the Polish Estates, exhorting them to choose for their King a man whose piety would lead to the spread of the Catholic faith whilst his bravery would protect Christendom from the Turks.[4] A letter of Augustus to the Pope, dated August 6th, remained unanswered, as did further letters of September 25th and 27th.[5] Even the ostentatious fervour with which the new King assisted at Mass did not induce the Pope to change his mind. A change only took place when, at the end of October, Augustus'

[1] *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*

[2] HAAKE, in *Hist. Vierteljahrschr.*, IX., 59, 69.

[3] HILTEBRANDT, X., 188 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.*

[5] These letters are in **Acta consist.* for January 13, 1698, Vat. Lib., those of September are published by THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 1 *seq.*

profession of faith, authenticated with the seal of the Elector, was received in Rome.[1] But even then Innocent avoided all direct relations with Augustus; only to the Bishop of Raab was a letter of thanks sent on November 16th, 1697.[2]

Augustus' final victory over his opponents at last compelled the Pope to abandon a reserve the continuation of which might have proved injurious to the interests of the Church. On January 13th, 1698, a consistory was held at which Augustus' letters of August 6th, September 25th and 27th were read and the Cardinals informed of his conversion.[3] On the 18th a letter of congratulations was sent to Augustus and the Cologne nuncio Paolucci received instructions to repair at once to the Polish court as nuncio extraordinary.[4] He was to congratulate Augustus, to exhort him to devotion to the Catholic Church and the Holy See, to choose only Catholics for his counsellors, to bring about the conversion of the Electress and the Catholic upbringing of the Elector, to pardon those who had opposed him, to promote only worthy clerics to bishoprics, to respect the Church's immunity and to prosecute the war against the Turks. No demands were made in favour of the Catholic Church in Saxony.[5] At a later date the King built a magnificent Catholic royal chapel and maintained Jesuits at Dresden and Leipzig. His personal qualities were of an uncommonly high order; however, his

[1] See also Spada's letter to Santa Croce, November 2, 1697, in HILTEBRANDT, X., 277, n. 1.

[2] Printed by THEINER: *Gesch. der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen in den Schoss der kath. Kirche*, Einsiedeln, 1843, Urk., 54.

[3] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* King Augustus' envoy reached Rome on January 19, 1698 (*Diario*, XII., 383); on March 4 the customary *Te Deum* was sung for the new King (*ibid.*, 384). *Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of March 8, 1698, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.

[4] THEINER, *Urk.*, 55, 56.

[5] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, X., 193, 213 *seqq.* ZIEKURSCH, in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXIV., 104, expresses another opinion.

love of pleasure was insatiable and his private life was in such contradiction with the demands of the Christian religion that it is not to be wondered at if Saxony remained a Protestant country as before. Augustus' attitude towards the Curia fluctuated according as he felt in need of its assistance and he broke in the most shameless fashion every pledge given to the Protestant Estates and to the Pope.[1]

In the Palatinate also the consequences of the Clause of Rijswijk corresponded neither with the fears of the Protestants nor the hopes of the Catholics. The reason was the same in both cases, that is, because purely worldly interests were cloaked with religious ones. This was promptly perceived by that acute observer, nuncio Delfino of Paris, though the breach in the Peace of Westphalia implied in the Clause of Rijswijk was in itself a great triumph : " Very rarely can the policy of this world be reconciled with the interests of religion, Delfino wrote on December 9th, 1697, to Cardinal Spada, the Secretary of State,[2] " since the only guiding principle of the former is self-interest, which seeks to turn everything to one's own advantage, regardless of justice and at the expense of religion, men profess indeed with their lips the truth that religion must outweigh every worldly interest, but actually they push it into the background and pride of place is given to ambition and every other human passion."

(2.)

Innocent XII. had counted on the House of Habsburg's traditional devotion to the Church with all the more confidence as he had come to know and value Leopold I.'s sincere piety during his nunciature at the imperial court. Hence it was a bitter disappointment to him when his aid against the Turks

[1] This is strikingly demonstrated by HAAKE, on the basis of the Polish nunciature reports, in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXIV., 86 *seqq.*, 232 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *Zeitschr. für osteuropäische Gesch.*, IV. (1914), 24.

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, X., 138.

was answered by unfriendly acts. After the recall of Prince Liechtenstein it would still have been possible to restore the traditional relations, but when the latter's successor Martinitz sought to enhance his sovereign's prestige by acts of violence, the very opposite was the result. The Holy See is wont to think in centuries in which defeats alternate with victories, hence the worst possible way of obtaining a thing in Rome is to try and create terror by sudden acts of violence, with a view to extorting concessions. Martinitz carried this policy to such extremes as to touch even the sacred person of the Pope.[1] The injury which he thereby did to the Emperor's cause was all the greater as the French Government was pursuing an entirely different policy. Under Innocent XI. the latter had sought to terrorize the Holy See by acts of violence, though with no result. Now it tried another method: the Pope was to be won over in favour of France by a show of conciliatory and friendly feelings.[2] For this Cardinal Forbin, and after his departure in July, 1697,[3] Cardinal Bouillon[4] were the right men, men incomparably more able and skilful than the representative of the Emperor. They were adepts in the art of exploiting to Louis XIV.'s advantage the tension between Vienna and Rome. Leopold's ambition, they insinuated, led him to look on himself as the heir and successor of the old Roman emperors who had been lords of the world. There was nothing the Holy See had to fear so much as an Austrian Archduke becoming King of Naples. That was why the Popes, more especially Leo X., had always refused to invest the Emperor with that Kingdom. It was enough to call to mind what Clement VII. had had to endure at the hands of the imperialists. On the other hand the Kings of France

[1] Above, p. 669 *seqq.*

[2] D'Elce, **Relatione*, Einsiedeln.

[3] According to the **Avviso Marescotti* of July 3, 1697, Forbin had succeeded in winning the Pope's sympathy to such an extent that Innocent XII. shed tears at his departure.

[4] *Brief to Louis XIV., July 1, 1697, Papal Sec. Arch.; F. Reyssié, *Le cardinal de Bouillon*, 1647–1715, Paris, 1899.

had always cherished nothing but goodwill and devotion towards the Holy See. The blood of these Kings flowed in the veins of Louis XIV., the elder son of the Church, a monarch devoted to the papacy, who had nothing so much at heart as the salvation of souls and the exaltation of the Holy See.[1] These representations did not fail to make an impression, and in addition to everything else, the man who was sent to replace Martinitz was in no wise equal to his difficult task.

Count Leopold Joseph von Lamberg, who had represented the Emperor at the Diet of Ratisbon since 1690, arrived in the Eternal City about mid-January, 1700.[2] It sounds incredible but a report of Lamberg, dated March 27th, 1700, confirms the fact that the new ambassador, who knew nothing whatever of the situation in Rome, found no one to enlighten him. Martinitz, who was very loath to leave Rome, had had the perfidy to send away all his documents so that his successor never saw them—"a thing," Lamberg laments, "which happens in no other embassy, nor have I at hand a single person from whom I might obtain information as to what took place during Martinitz' term of office, a circumstance that might easily imperil the service of the Emperor."[3] Only after Martinitz had left Rome, on April 25th, 1700, without farewell visit to the Pope and amid the maledictions of the Italians and the French,[4] was Lamberg able to enter effectively upon his ambassadorial duties.[5] On June 21st, 1700, he

[1] Ottieri, I., 353; Galland, *Hist. Jahrb.*, III., 217 *seq.*, information on the Papal-Italian League which did not materialize. *Cf.* also Landau, II., 48 *seqq.* In the course of the negotiations for the erection of the new dioceses of Alais (1694) and Blois (1697), Louis XIV. made a great show of zeal for the conversion of the Huguenots. *Bull.*, XX., 623, 791.

[2] Landau, II., 33 *seqq.* On L. J. v. Lamberg, see Wurzbach, XIV., 36 *seqq.*

[3] Landau, II., 34. [4] Schmidlin, 573.

[5] "Hence my diary of my embassy to the Holy See begins on this day only, since I arrived on January 13, 1700, and began this *Diarium* at the departure of my predecessor, Count Martinitz (April 25, 1700)." *Cod.* D.E.H., 59, of Lamberg Archives, in castle Ottenstein.

obtained without difficulty the elevation to the cardinalate of the Bishop of Passau, John Philip, Count von Lamberg,[1] but this was to be his first and only success.

At this time the Pope had recovered from a dangerous illness, but a long reign seemed nevertheless out of the question. Innocent XII. possessed an extraordinarily strong constitution. The unfortunate fall which he suffered at the beginning of his pontificate proved beneficial in the sense that he took more care of himself, with the result that the state of his health remained very satisfactory for a long time.[2] Amid the constant alternation of happy and sad events he was indefatigable in the discharge of the duties of his exalted office. At the end of 1697, during the celebrations in honour of Prince Eugene's great victories over the Turks in Hungary, he observed that the only thing still wanting was the proclamation of a general peace.[3] But the year 1698 was marked by fresh calamities. The Pope was painfully affected by the opposition offered to his efforts for the construction of a harbour at Anzio and even more so by the reports of the oppression of the Catholic people of Ireland by William III. This showed, the French said, how the Prince of Orange understood the protection of the Catholics which he had promised to the Emperor.[4] By comforting letters [5] and likewise by generous alms, the Pope sought to assist the banished priests and Bishops.[6] With a view to relieving their increasing needs he addressed an encyclical, dated June 6th, 1699, to all the Bishops, in which he begged for contributions for the relief of those who had been driven from Ireland on account of their religion.[7]

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 645. Lamberg had presented the *nomina* of the Bishop of Passau on June 5; see his **Diarium, loc. cit.*

[2] *Diario*, IX., 83, 89; X., 196; XI., 100; XII., 384.

[3] **Avviso Marescotti* of December 7, 1697, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[4] MORAN, *Spicil.*, II., 326.

[5] *Ibid.*, 353 *seqq.*

[6] BELLESHEIM, *Irland*, III., 10, 31 *seqq.*

[7] MORAN, II., 357 *seq.*; BELLESHEIM, III., 35. The papal confirmation in 1696 of the decrees of the "Congregatio

In 1698 Innocent XII. suffered much from gout. At the beginning of November 1699, he fell dangerously ill but this did not prevent him from undertaking yet another creation of Cardinals.[1] After that his health remained so precarious that business suffered a good deal.[2] This was all the more painful to the Pope as the great jubilee was drawing such numbers of pilgrims to the Eternal City that in the words of a contemporary Rome looked like Paris.[3] The improvement in the Pope's health which occurred in January 1700, was so slight that one reporter describes it as a continuation of his illness.[4] The strong-willed old man still applied himself to affairs and in particular he was anxious that the celebration of the Holy Year should go on undisturbed.[5] At the beginning of February he had a consistory held in a room adjoining his

particularis circa iurisditionem Vicariorum Apostolicorum in Anglia contra Regulares", in *Bull.*, XX., 752 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 644. Details on the malady in **Avvisi Marescotti* of November 7, 14, 21, 28, 1699, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the **Relazione* in *Cod.* C. 15 of Boncompagni Archives.

[2] **Avvisi Marescotti*, December 5, 12, 19, 1699, January 9, 1700, and GRAVINA's account in *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital. Suppl.*, I., 125 *seq.*

[3] *Diario*, XIV., 189. *Cf.* **Avvisi Marescotti*, January 2, 6, 1700, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Avviso Marescotti*, January 30, 1700, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* The Jubilee was proclaimed on May 18, 1699 (*Bull.*, XX., 876). On October 20 invitations were sent to the Christian princes (*Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.). On the Jubilee of 1700, *cf.* MANNI, 220 *seqq.*; NÖTHEN, 149 *seqq.*; *Giorn. Lig.*, 1888, 214; A. LAICI, *Gli anni santi*, Roma, 1899, 48 *seq.* On the occasion of the *anno santo*, Innocent XII. founded in the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia a hospice for poor priests, more particularly for those banished from Ireland (*Bull.*, XX., 883; **Avviso Marescotti* of May 30, 1699; *Diario*, XIV., 183). *Cf.* RUGGERI, *L'arciconfraternità del Gonfalone*, Roma, 1866, 247 (on its activities during the jubilee); *Unterwaldener Zeitschr.*, IX. (1915) (on pilgrims to Rome). The celebrated poet Filicaja composed some *Laudi* at this time for the confraternity of St. Benedict (NORRENBERG, II., 136).

bedroom. His mien was that of a convalescent, the voice strong, the matter of his address excellent and to the point.[1] At this time the ambassadors were not yet being received in audience. In the last week of February he suffered a relapse which obliged him to suspend for a time both audiences and attention to affairs.[2] At the beginning of March some Cardinals endeavoured to induce the Pope to admit Archbishop Pignatelli of Tarento into the Sacred College. As they dwelt upon his excellent qualities, Innocent replied: "It is all true, but he is my nephew."[3] With this remark the request was rejected. Large bands of pilgrims were continually arriving in Rome for the jubilee,[4] so the eighty-five years old Pontiff, summoning his energies for a supreme effort, imparted his solemn blessing from the balcony of the Quirinal on April 17th.[5]

Encouraged by the happy issue of so grave a risk, the Pope was anxious to pay a visit to the four principal churches and to the harbour works at Anzio. The journey to the coast was no longer possible but the visit to the churches was made in May 1700, in spite of the opposition of the physicians. He began with St. Peter's, on May 2nd.[6] He also repeatedly blessed the people from the Quirinal.[7] On May 23rd an illustrious pilgrim, namely Grand Duke Cosimo III. of Tuscany, was received in audience.[8] By the middle of June Innocent seemed to be fully recovered.[9] Once again he visited a number of churches and in July he inspected the new

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 6, 1700, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 20, 1700, *ibid.*

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, March 6, 1700, *ibid.*

[4] **Avvisi Marescotti*, March 20, April 10, 1700, *ibid.*

[5] **Avviso Marescotti*, April 17, 1700, *ibid.*

[6] **Avvisi Marescotti*, April 24, May 1, 8, 15, 22, 1700, *ibid.* *Cf.* Lamberg's *Diarium*, Lamberg Archives, Castle Ottenstein.

[7] **Avvisi Marescotti*, May 22, June 5, 1700, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf.* Lamberg's **Diarium*, *loc. cit.*; also for the Pope's presents to Cosimo III.; *cf.* also **Acta consist.*, *Vat. Lib.*; Conti, *Firenze di Medici di Lorena*, Firenze, 1909, 537 *seqq.*

[9] **Avviso Marescotti*, June 19, 1700, *loc. cit.*

fountain near S. Pietro in Montorio.[1] But the Pontiff's chief preoccupation just then was the momentous question of the Spanish succession.

On November 14th, 1698, Charles II., the sickly and childless King of Spain, had designated in his will as his universal heir the Bavarian Elector Joseph Ferdinand, he being the nephew of his sister, the deceased wife of Leopold I. The decision had the Pope's approval for it conjured the risk of a partition of the monarchy as well as the dangerous jealousy between France and Austria. However, on February 6th, 1699, the Elector was carried off by a sudden death. Thus the whole question of the Spanish succession became acute and the news of the sad event called forth in Rome both sorrow and anxiety.[2]

In Spain there was but one opinion, namely that a partition of the monarchy, as was chiefly desired by England and Holland, must be avoided in the interest both of the nation and of the Church. On the other hand there was no unanimity as to the candidates: the King, as a Habsburg, was in favour of an Austrian Archduke whereas the preference of the grandees and the ministers, above all that of the influential Cardinal Primate Portocarrero, were for a French prince. As in Rome so also in Spain, the Government of Vienna, partly through the fault of its ambassador, had thrown away precious sympathies. At Madrid a revulsion of feeling took place in favour of the King of France. In ever widening circles a conviction grew up that the Spanish monarchy could only be preserved from partition, not by the feeble imperial court but by the mighty ruler of France. Basing itself on this opinion the State Council recommended the proclamation of the Dauphin's second son, Duke Philip of Anjou, as heir of the whole Spanish empire. At Portocarrero's suggestion Charles II.

[1] **Avvisi Marescotti*, June 26, July 3, 17, 1700, *ibid.*

[2] GALLAND, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 222 *seqq.* *Cf.* RIEZLER, VII., 429 *seqq.*, 446. The news reached Rome on February 25, 1699; *Diario*, XIV., 182. *Brief of condolence to Max Emmanuel, March 21, 1699, in *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

sought the Pope's counsel in this difficult question since the Pontiff was deeply concerned in the affair not only in view of the welfare of the Church but likewise as supreme feudal lord of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

On July 3rd, 1700, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Uzeda, presented an autograph letter of his sovereign to that effect. The Pope immediately convened a special Congregation consisting of Cardinals Spada, Albani and Spinola for an exhaustive discussion of the difficult question. The three Cardinals' report was approved by Innocent XII. and used as the basis of an answer dictated by Cardinal Albani, a friend of France, and at once forwarded to Madrid by special courier.[1]

To this day the original text of Charles II.'s inquiry and Innocent XII.'s answer have not been found, either in Rome or in Madrid [2]: the probability is that they were destroyed. The text of the letters published at a later date by the French side [3] has recently been described as a forgery of Cardinal Forbin.[4] This may be true with regard to the wording, but as regards the contents it can scarcely be doubted that Innocent XII. expressed the opinion that the proposal of the Spanish Council of State would best safe-guard both the public welfare and that of the Church.[5] Whilst the imperial ambassador Lamberg vainly strove to obtain definite information from the

[1] OTTIERI, I., 390; POLIDORI, *Vita Clementis XI.*, p. 40.

[2] GALLAND, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 228.

[3] First in 1875 by HIPPEAU, *Avènement des Bourbons*, II., 227 and 233, and then by LEGRELLE, III., 631 *seqq.*; *cf.* 375.

[4] Thus by KLOPP (VIII., 635 *seqq.*; IX., 33 *seqq.*; X., 158 *seq.*, 162; XI., 89, and *Hist. Blätter*, LXXXIII. (1879), 25 *seqq.*), and by GALLAND, *loc. cit.*, 229 *seqq.*), who claimed to have had in his possession new "documentary indications and proofs" of the forgery, but did not publish them. Against both, LANDAU, II., 454 *seq.*

[5] IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 180; REDLICH, VI., 503. The latter has put an end to the controversy on the authority of the *procès-verbal* of the secret conference of August 23, 1700, at Vienna, printed by GAEDEKE, II., *Akten und Urkunden*, 193, with which the further *procès-verbaux* of August 23 and 24 are in agreement.

Pope and the Secretary of State on the nature of the Pontiff's reply,[1] Cardinal Portocarrero succeeded on October 3rd, 1700, on the ground of the Pope's advice and the views of the majority of the ministers, in inducing the grievously stricken Charles II. to put his signature to a will in favour of Duke Philip of Anjou, in which it was however expressly laid down that Spain must never be united to any other monarchy.

Charles II., a mere shadow of a King, expired on November 1st. Innocent XII. had preceded him into eternity on September 27th. Thus two dying men had decided the future of the world in favour of the Bourbon dynasty.[2]

In the night of August 1st the Pope was suddenly seized with a serious illness,[3] so that the consistory announced for the next day had to be cancelled. If that meeting had taken place Cardinal Bouillon, Subdean of the Sacred College, would have officiated as Dean, that post being vacant in consequence of Cibo's death. Bouillon had involuntarily incurred Louis XIV.'s disfavour.[4] On August 4th there was an improvement which revived hopes of the Pope's recovery.[5] But on the 7th his condition again grew worse.[6] But such was the power of resistance of the nearly eighty-six years old man that the malady dragged on for some time.[7] During the night

[1] Klopp, VIII., 507 *seqq.* When Lamberg drew the Pope's attention to the fact that if Naples were to become a French dependency, the Gallican principles would be introduced there, Innocent XII. could only feel confirmed in his opinion that he had given the right kind of advice to Charles II., but that Lamberg's representations had anything to do with the giving of the advice, as Döllinger maintains (*Vorträge*[2], 313), is erroneous, for Lamberg's audience only took place on July 24.

[2] Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, IV., 144.

[3] *Cf.* Lamberg's **Diarium* on August 1, 1700, *loc. cit.*

[4] Klopp, VIII., 511 *seqq.*; Galland, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, III., 232 *seq.*

[5] Lamberg's **Diarium*, August 4, 1700, *ibid.*

[6] *Ibid. Cf.* **Avviso Marescotti* of August 7, 1700, Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele.

[7] The most accurate information is in the almost daily entries in Lamberg's *Diarium.*

of the 23rd he received Holy Viaticum and on the 28th he had himself carried into the room in which Innocent XI., whom he held in the highest veneration, had died.[1]

His physician, Luca Torzi, a man no less celebrated than his predecessor Malpighi, did all that was possible, but human resources were exhausted. Spiritual assistance was tendered by the Capuchin Casini and to him the Pope made a general confession.[2] A sensible betterment in the sufferer's condition on September 1st revived hope,[3] but this proved illusory.[4] In the early hours of September 27th, Innocent was released from his sufferings.[5] The body was removed from the Quirinal to St. Peter's where on October 1st it was laid to rest in the plain sarcophagus chosen for the purpose by the deceased himself. It was only in 1746 that a proper monument was erected by Cardinal Petra aided by Benedict XIV., to a design by Fuga, and adorned with sculptures by Filippo della Valle. The monument faces that of Countess Mathilda of Tuscany.[6] Though it resembles the monument of Gregory XIII. by

[1] *Cf. Diarium*, on August 23 and 28, 1700, and the **Avvisi Marescotti* of August 21 and 28, 1700.

[2] NOVAES, XI., *Innoc. XII.*, n. 53.

[3] According to Lamberg's diary, on September 1 the Pope said : *Siamo guariti* !

[4] On September 2, Lamberg reports (*loc. cit.*) an increase of fever and diarrhœa ; on 4th, " very bad " ; on 5th, " better "; on 14th, " daily weaker " ; on 18th, " no hope " ; the Pope himself said : " Ingredimur viam universae carnis."

[5] " To-night, at four, the Pope died " (Lamberg, *Diarium, loc. cit.*). " *Relazione anatomica dell'apertura del cadavere d'Innocenzo XII., 28 Sett., 1700," in *Vat.* 8194, p. 93, Vat. Lib.

[6] *Diario*, XIV., 199. *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 275 *seq.* (with illustrations) ; FORCELLA, VI., 177 ; CHATTARD, I., 46. A monument was also put up to Innocent XII. in the cathedral of Naples (left transept) ; two *genii* support his portrait (engraving of 1700 ; see *Catalogo de'libri e MSS. del Pr. Pignatelli*, 65). An inscription on a black marble tablet extols among other things his liberality as Archbishop of Naples and the abolishment of nepotism.

Camillo Rusconi, it is by no means in keeping with the importance of a pontificate of nine years so full of successes and difficulties. Heir both of the name and the virtues of Innocent XI., Innocent XII. left behind him the reputation of a father of the poor, a supremely disinterested administrator of the Church's patrimony and a devout and upright priest.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXII.

Abdurrhaman Pasha (Commandant of Ofen), 224, 225.
Abraham a Sancta Clara (preacher), 184, 474.
Acciaioli, Niccolò, Cardinal, 2 n., 525, 569, 570.
Adda, Count Ferdinando d' (nuncio in England), Cardinal, 229, 370, 371, 502, 504, 511, 543.
Addison, Joseph, 591.
Adrian VI., Pope, 406.
Aerts, Norbert (Jesuit), 655.
Agostini, Stefano, Cardinal, 20, 414.
Aguilar de Cordova, Alfonso, Cardinal, 643.
Aguirre, José Saens d', Cardinal, 310, 526, 527, 595, 597, 598, 625, 626.
Ahmed Bey (Apostate Capuchin), 172.
Ahmed II. (Sultan), 647.
Albani, Gian Francesco, Cardinal (Clement XI.), 543, 575, 599, 620, 637, 654, 656, 687.
Albizzi, Francesco, Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 258, 267, 449, 477, 489.
Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi), Pope, 248, 257, 343, 387, 407, 428, 433, 525.
Alexander VIII. (Pietro Ottoboni), Pope, 530.
Alexis, Tsar, 84.
Algardi, Alessandro, 520.
Altieri, Lorenzo, 549.
Altieri, Paluzzo, Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 19, 84, 156, 252, 269, 411, 495, 515, 525, 527, 552, 562, 563, 565, 566, 568, 569, 575, 637, 654.
Amadeus, Victor (Duke of Savoy), 202, 672, 673.
Ammonio, Doctor, 363, 364.
Angelis, Jacopo de (Viceregent of the Cardinal Vicar), 419, 526.
Angelo of St. Joseph (Carmelite), 45, 156.
Annat, François (Jesuit, Confessor of Louis XIV.), 248.
Anne of Orleans (wife of Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy), 202.
Ansaldi, Ansalvo, 575, 576, 599.
Aragona, Antonio d', Cardinal, 2 n.
Archinto, Giuseppe (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 644.
Arnauld, Antoine, 327, 424–7, 429, 435 n., 491, 492, 492 n., 494, 556, 558, 634, 652.
Arnauld, Henri (Bishop of Angers), 424, 430.
Arnold, Moritz Wilhelm (Count of Bentheim), 474.
Astalli, Fulvio, Cardinal, 419, 526, 527.
Aste, Marcello d', Cardinal, 644.
Aste, Michele d', 225 n.
Aubarède, d', of Pamiers, 274.
Aubigné, Agrippa d', 327.
Aviano, Marco d' (Capuchin), 174, 175, 196, 206, 211, 212, 225, 233.
Azzolini, Decio, Cardinal, 2 n., 296, 369, 411, 412, 445, 451, 454, 456, 457, 495, 517.

Baden, Hermann von, 143.
Balbases, Marchese de Los, 394.
Baluze, Etienne, 282.
Barbarigo, Gregorio (Bishop of Padua), Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 409, 413, 420, 525, 528, 563–7.
Barbarigo, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 419, 420, 526.
Barbaro, Antonio, 194, 195, 344.
Barberini, Carlo, Cardinal, 657 n.
Barberini, Francesco, sen., Cardinal, 2 n., 12, 144, 151, 158, 165, 180, 200, 261, 267, 409, 411, 413.
Barberini, Francesco, jun., Cardinal, 2 n., 525, 549, 562, 563, 652.
Baronius, Cæsar, Cardinal, 621.
Bartoli, Daniel (Jesuit), 447.
Basadonna, Pietro (Cardinal Archbishop of Aix), 2 n., 3, 597.
Baume de Suze, Anne Tristan de la (Archbishop of Auch), 597, 636.
Baylon, Pascal, 540.
Beauvilliers, Duchess of, 608.
Bedloe, William, 497.
Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal, 621.
Bellhuomo, Gottardo (Jesuit), 447, 448.
Belmonte, Prince of, 359.
Benedict XIV., 522.
Berneri, Giuseppe, 184.
Bernhard Gustav (Margrave of Baden-Durlach), Cardinal, 2 n.
Bernini (Assessor of the Inquisition), 627.
Bernini, Lorenzo (architect), 33, 36, 584.
Berthe (Rector of the University of Paris), 335.
Berti, Girolamo, 568.
Béthencourt, Pierre de (founder of the Bethlehemites), 410.
Béthune (French ambassador at Warsaw), 86, 91, 93, 94, 96, 99, 101, 102, 113–16, 119, 216.
Bétille (Dean of the University of Paris), 306.
Bevilacqua, Luigi (nuncio), 59–64, 66, 68, 75, 77, 79, 470–2.
Bianchini, Giuseppe, 555.
Bichi, Antonio, Cardinal, 2 n., 525, 562 n.
Bichi, Carlo, Cardinal, 543.
Blanger (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 307.
Blumberg, Baron, 218.
Bonaventura, da Recanati (Capuchin), 21, 412, 417.
Bonaventure, of Barcelona (Oratorian), 21.
Boncompagni, Jacopo, Cardinal, 2 n., 642.
Bonelli, Carlo, Cardinal, 2 n.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 247, 251, 254.
Bonsi, Pierre de, Cardinal, 2, 2 n., 264, 318, 405, 526–8, 565, 595.
Borghese (Caffarelli), Cardinal, 165.
Borghese, Princess, 444.
Borgia, Francisco, Cardinal, 645.
Borgomainero (Spanish ambassador in Vienna), 143.
Bornat (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 609.
Borri, Francesco (alchemist), 443.
Borromeo, Charles, Cardinal, 536.
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne (Bishop of Meaux), 249, 285, 286, 288–295, 327, 428, 433, 474, 481, 610, 612–15, 617, 619, 621, 633–6.
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne (nephew of the above, Bishop of Troyes), 618.

Bouillon, Emmanuel de la Tour, Cardinal, 2, 70, 264, 322, 525–8, 547, 562, 565, 618, 681, 688.
Bourdaloue, Louis, 608, 615.
Bourlemont, Abbé, 314.
Brancaccio, Stefano, Cardinal, 414.
Brancati, Lorenzo (Laurea), Cardinal (Franciscan Conventual), 414, 526, 627.
Brandi, Giacinto (painter), 34.
Breuner, Count Siegfried, 211.
Bril, Paul, 592.
Brinon, Madame, 369.
Brucker, Joseph, 438 n.
Bruyère, La, 327.
Buonaccorsi, Buonaccorso, Cardinal, 2 n.
Buonaroti (archæologist), 555.
Buonvisi, Francesco, Cardinal, 2 n., 52, 67, 71–4, 92, 97, 102–4, 108, 110, 131, 141, 143, 152, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167, 187, 188, 191, 196–200, 204, 207, 211, 213, 215, 221–3, 226, 229, 235, 239, 240, 414, 473, 477, 480, 525 n., 526, 563.
Bureau (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 609.
Burgundy, Duke of (grandson of Louis XIV.), 313.
Bussi (internuncio in Brussels), 657.

Caccia, Federigo, Cardinal, 642.
Calderon (Spanish poet), 474.
Cambout de Coislin, Pierre Armand de, Cardinal, 643.
Campricht (imperial ambassador), 652.
Camus, Etienne Le (Archbishop of Grenoble), Cardinal, 256, 342, 418, 525 n., 565, 566, 634.
Caneda, Juan de (Jesuit), 626.
Cantelmi, Jacopo, Cardinal, 543, 570.
Capistran, John, 540.
Capizucchi, Raimondo (Dominican), Cardinal, 414, 428, 445, 526, 528, 562 n.
Caprara, Albert (imperial internuncio), 134, 135, 168, 169.
Caprara, General, 233.
Caracciolo, Iñigo (Archbishop of Naples), Cardinal, 2 n., 447, 573.
Carafa, Fortunato (Vicar-General of Messina), Cardinal, 2 n., 418, 526.
Carpegna, Gaspare, Cardinal, 258, 275, 277, 365, 412, 413, 422, 526, 583.
Carpio, Marchese di (Viceroy of Naples), 344, 345.
Carreño (Jesuit), 627.
Casalini, Padre, 21.
Casanata, Girolomo, Cardinal, 2 n., 325, 449, 495, 526, 563, 575, 597, 650, 656.
Casini, Capuchin, 640, 689.
Casoni, Lorenzo, 19, 61, 325, 382, 388, 427, 445, 450, 494, 530, 568.
Cassian, 611.
Castlemaine, Lord, English ambassador in Rome, 502–506.
Castlemaine, Lady, 503.
Catz, Baldwin (Archbishop of Philippi, Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 485, 490.
Caulet, François (Bishop of Pamiers), 254–6, 259, 261, 264, 268, 271, 273, 274, 299, 318, 424, 429.
Cavalieri, Gasparo de' Cardinal, 419, 526, 562.
Cavallerini, Giovanni Giacomo (nuncio in France), Cardinal, 598, 642.
Cecalti, Dominican (Inquisitor-General of Brescia), 449.
Celsius, Olaf, 592.
Cenci, Baldassare, Maestro di Camera, Cardinal, 575, 576, 644.
Centini, Giovan Battista, 36.

Cerle, Jean (Vicar Capitular of Pamiers), 274, 284, 304, 314.
Cerri, Urbano (Secretary of Propaganda), Cardinal, 2 n., 461, 462, 486, 525, 562.
Cerusio, Leonardo, 578.
Chaize, François de la (Jesuit, Confessor of Louis XIV.), 190, 236, 255, 271, 299–301, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 328, 331, 333, 335, 336, 338, 351, 356, 370, 389, 397, 403, 405, 459.
Chamley, Marshal de, 382.
Charlemagne, 285, 333.
Charles (Duke of Lorraine), 48, 70, 169, 171–6, 185, 186, 206, 208, 209, 212, 224, 225, 227, 230, 234–6, 267.
Charles (Elector Palatine), 236.
Charles I. of England, 327.
Charles II. of England, 495–7, 499.
Charles II. of Spain, 146, 344, 370, 566, 624, 625, 686–8.
Charles VI. of France, 282.
Charles VII. of France, 252.
Charmot, Nicolas, 649, 650.
Charost, Duchess of, 608.
Chaulnes, Duc de, 527–530, 539, 547, 548, 562.
Chevreuse, Duchess of, 608.
Chiesa, Bernardino della (Franciscan, Bishop of Peking), 559.
Chigi, Flavio (nephew of Alexander VII., Cardinal Secretary of State), 2, 2 n., 3, 4, 9, 74, 154, 358, 362, 411, 470, 525, 527, 529, 530, 562, 563, 565, 568, 569.
Chigi, Sigismondo, Cardinal 2 n.
Choiseul, Gilbert (Bishop of Comminges and Tournai), 290, 291, 294.
Christian August of Saxony (Bishop of Raab), 678, 679.
Christine (Queen of Sweden), 21, 166, 179, 208, 274, 337, 341, 350, 354, 367–9, 388, 400, 404, 429, 444, 450, 517, 554, 587.
Ciampi, 466 n.
Ciampini, Giovanni, 555.
Cibo, Alderano (Secretary of State), Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 18, 19, 54, 68, 69, 76, 80, 84, 87, 94, 104, 126, 154, 156, 166, 221, 231, 232, 236, 260, 261, 263, 264, 267–9, 271, 275, 277, 315, 322, 334, 350, 354, 356, 362, 363, 382, 389, 395, 397, 404, 411, 422, 424, 426, 427, 438, 440, 441, 445, 448, 455–7, 477, 525, 549, 563, 568, 627, 628, 653, 688.
Ciceri, Carlo Stefano Anastasio (Bishop of Como), Cardinal, 419, 526, 563.
Civrano, Pietro (Venetian ambassador at the Porte), 38, 130, 151.
Claudia (wife of Leopold I.), 472.
Clement of Alexandria, 611, 612.
Clement of Bavaria, 375, 378, 379, 388, 399.
Clement X. (Altieri), Pope, 406, 431, 458, 525 n., 532.
Cock, Theodore, 494, 495, 653–7.
Codde, Peter (pro-Vicar in Holland for Utrecht), 493, 495, 651, 653–8.
Cogolludo, Marchese de, 527, 562, 567.
Colbert (French Minister), 263, 282, 283, 290–4, 306, 307, 328.
Colbert, Nicholas (son of above, coadjutor of Rouen), 287.

Coli, Giovanni (painter), 35.
Colloredo, Leonardo (Oratorian), Cardinal, 419, 519, 526, 536, 562, 563, 576, 598, 639.
Colonna, M. A., Cardinal, 296, 495, 526.
Colonna, Tarquinia (wife of Marco Ottoboni), 538.
Comte, Le (Jesuit), 651.
Concina, Daniel (Dominican), 636.
Contarini (Venetian ambassador), 196–8, 583.
Conti, Gianniccolò, Cardinal, 2 n., 525.
Conti, Prince, 676, 678.
Cornaro (Venetian ambassador in Vienna), 215.
Cornaro, Giorgio (nuncio), Cardinal, 643.
Cornaro, Girolamo, 230.
Corsi, Domenico Maria, Cardinal, 419, 526.
Corsini, Neri (nuncio), Cardinal, 2 n.
Cortona, Pietro da, 589.
Cosimo III. (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 32, 164, 201, 202, 685.
Cosnac, Daniel de (Bishop of Valence), 333.
Costaguti, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 35, 543.
Coulanges, Madame de, 287.
Coulanges, Marquis de, 537.
Cousebant (pro-Vicar of Haarlem), 493.
Crécy, Count of (French plenipotentiary), 655.
Crescenzi, Alessandro, Cardinal, 2 n.
Crescimbeni, 555.
Créqui, Duke of (French ambassador in Rome), 203, 346, 387.
Croce, Della (Secretary to the embassy in Rome), 348, 350.
Croissy (French minister), 189–191, 235, 263, 279, 313, 316, 318, 319, 324, 331, 335, 338, 344, 350, 351, 355, 357, 362–4, 373, 387, 388, 392, 401, 403.
Cueva, Cardinal, 12.

Daniel, Gabriel (Jesuit), 634.
Davia, Giovanni Antonio (nuncio in Poland), 677.
Degenfeld, Freiherr von, 173.
Delfino, Giovanni, Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 6, 525, 568.
Delfino, Daniello Marco (nuncio), Cardinal, 615, 645, 675, 680.
Descartes, René, 429.
Désirant, Bernard (Augustinian), 606.
Desperier (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 307.
Dönhoff, John Casimir (Polish envoy in Rome), Cardinal, 137, 139, 183, 227, 417, 526.
Dorothy (Duchess of Holstein), 474.
Doucin, Louis (Jesuit), 655, 656.
Dragonelli, 346.
Drouet, Gabriel, 248.
Duffy, Patrick (Franciscan), 434, 435.
Dumont, Jean, 521.
Duquesne, Admiral, 129.
Durazzo, Marcello, 419, 421, 525 n.
Duvernay, Abbé, 136.

Elce, Orazio d', 638.
Eleonore Erdmuth (daughter of Duke of Sachsen-Eisenach), 146, 472, 473.
Elizabeth Charlotte (Liselotte) von der Pfalz (wife of Duke Philip of Orleans), 237.
Elizabeth Dorothea (Landgravine of Hesse-Darmstadt), 481.
Elizalde, Miguel de (Jesuit), 435.

Elsheimer (painter), 592.
Erdödy, Count Nicolas (Banus of Croatia), 185, 212.
Erizzo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 672.
Ernest Augustus (Duke of Brunswick), 77.
Ernest Augustus (Duke of Hanover), 134, 469, 661.
Esparza, Martin De (Jesuit), 445.
Essex (Viceroy of Ireland), 498.
Este, Rinaldo D', Cardinal, 396, 405, 419, 503, 504, 526.
Estrées, César D' (Bishop of Laon), Cardinal, 2, 2 n., 123, 124, 126, 127, 138, 139, 156, 158, 186, 240, 264, 270–2, 275–9, 281, 295, 302, 303, 312–14, 321, 322, 334, 336–341, 347–361, 363, 364, 369, 381, 382, 384, 385, 395, 397, 398, 402–4, 415, 435, 449, 451, 509, 526, 527, 530, 532, 562, 565, 595, 598, 601, 665.
Estrées, François Annibal, Duc D' (French ambassador in Rome), 3, 9, 40, 120, 123, 126, 127, 138, 185, 264, 269, 270, 271, 275, 277, 278, 318, 337, 340, 346, 348.
Estrées, Duc D' (the younger), 350.
Estrix, Gilles (Jesuit), 625, 629, 630.
Eugene, Prince, 683.
Euthymius (Greek Metropolitan), 465.

Fabretti, 555.
Fabri, Honoré (Jesuit), 48.
Fabroni, Agostino, 575, 641.
Facchinetti, Cardinal, 2 n.
Falconi, Juan (Mercedarian), 442, 444.
Falconieri, Count, 157.
Falda, 31.
Fantoni (priest), 443.
Favoriti, Agostino, 19, 258, 261, 262, 267, 274, 275, 278, 296, 325, 425, 427, 430, 445, 450.
Fénelon (Archbishop of Cambrai), 286, 288, 294, 609, 611–19.
Feodore (Tsar of Russia), 84.
Ferdinand Charles (Duke of Mantua), 202.
Ferdinand II. (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 468.
Ferrari, Tommaso Maria (Dominican), Cardinal, 618, 642, 650.
Ferrier, Jean du (Bishop of Albi), 254.
Filicaja (poet), 555.
Flemming (envoy of Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony), 678.
Fleury, Abbé, 288, 289.
Fontana, Carlo (architect), 35, 36, 580, 584, 586–8.
Fontana, Gasparo (son of the above), 587.
Forbin Janson, Toussaint de (Bishop of Beauvais and Marseilles), Cardinal, 49, 94, 119–121, 324, 415, 529, 543, 544, 546, 547, 562, 563, 568, 595–8, 601, 665, 672, 681, 687.
Fortassin, 274.
Foscarini, Pierre (Venetian Senator), 193.
Foscarini, Sebastiano (Venetian ambassador in Paris), 126.
Foucault, Nicolas Joseph (Intendant of Béarn), 274, 329.
Franzoni, Jacopo, Cardinal, 2 n., 525.
Frederick (Landgrave of Hesse), Cardinal, 2 n.
Frederick Augustus (Elector of Saxony, King of Poland), 676–680.
Frederick William (Elector of Brandenburg), 61, 66, 77, 139, 140, 223, 475, 476.

Fuensalida, Conte (Governor of Milan), 405.
Fuga (architect), 689.
Fürstenberg, Ferdinand von (Bishop of Paderborn), 469.
Fürstenberg, Wilhelm Egon von (Bishop of Strasburg), Cardinal, 70, 374–382, 385, 388, 399, 400, 418, 526–8.

Gabrieli, of Nizza (Franciscan), 224.
Gabrielli, Giambattista (General of the Cistercians), Cardinal, 2 n., 645, 650.
Gallio, Marco, Cardinal (nuncio), 414.
Gambara (surgeon), 550.
Gastaldi, Girolomo, Cardinal, 2 n., 34.
Gaulli, Giovan Battista (il Bacciccia) (painter), 33.
Genet, François (Bishop of Vaison), 428.
George (Mohammedan King of Iberia), 465.
Gerbais, Jean, Abbé, 276, 280, 288.
Gerberon, Gabriel (Maurist), 491, 558, 620, 652.
Gherardi, Antonio (architect), 34.
Gherardi, Philippo (painter), 35.
Giacobelli, Luigi (auditor), 195.
Ginetti, Gian Francesco (Treasurer-General), Cardinal, 414, 526.
Giorgio, Pietro (Bishop of Alessandria), 11.
Giorio, Urbano, 278, 317, 347, 348, 350, 354, 388, 400, 401.
Giudice, Francesco del (Governor of Rome), Cardinal, 543, 570.
Giulia, Sor (Quietist), 443.
Giustiniani, Lorenzo, 540.
Gobien, Charles Le, 651.
Godfrey, Edmundbury, Sir, 496.
Goës, Johann von (Bishop of Gurk), 418, 525 n., 544, 549, 562, 566, 597.
Goffine, Leonard (writer), 474.
Gonzalez, Tirso (General of the Jesuits), 311, 435–441, 621–633, 636.
Grandin (Syndic of the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne), 249, 250.
Grange, Henri de la (Marquis d'Arquien), Cardinal, 90, 136, 593, 642.
Gravel (French agent in Rome), 377.
Gravina (one of the founders of the Arcadia), 555.
Grimaldi (Archbishop of Aix), Cardinal, 2, 2 n., 8, 264, 284, 285, 315.
Grimaldi, Claude Philip, 560.
Grimani, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 643, 644.
Guelph, Ernest Augustus (Protestant Bishop of Osnabruck), 475, 476.
Guilleragues (French ambassador to the Sultan), 107, 128, 130, 134.
Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 594.
Guyon (Bouvier de la Motte), Jeanne Marie de, 607–614.

Hameran (Medallist), 201.
Harlay, Achille de (Procurator-General), 249, 305, 307.
Harley, François de (Archbishop of Paris), 255, 262, 271, 273, 276, 279, 280, 283, 285–8, 290–4, 297, 301, 311, 332–5, 370, 389, 392, 459, 545, 598.
Hennebel, Jean Libert (Professor), 606, 656.
Henrietta (Queen of England), 327, 405.
Henschen, Gottfried (Jesuit), 620.
Henri IV. of France, 246, 326, 330, 362.

Hervault, Abbé d' (Auditor of the Rota), 365, 601.
Heussen, Hugo Francis van (Canon of Utrecht), 494.
Hocher, 104.
Holzhauser, Bartholomew, 410.
Huet (Tutor of the Dauphin), 601.
Howard, Cardinal, 2 n., 372, 495, 503, 509, 526, 539.
Howard, Lord, 372, 381, 388, 396.

Ibrahim Pasha, 212.
Imperiali, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 14.
Imperiali, Giuseppe Renato, Cardinal, 543, 583.
Ignatius of Antioch (Patriarch of Syria), 465.

Jablonowski, von Reussen (Polish Palatine), 121, 141, 150.
Jacobelli (nuncio at Venice), 110, 111.
James II. (King of England), 227, 229, 370–2, 381, 395–7, 401, 405, 499, 500–2, 505–14, 539, 540, 564.
Jenkins (envoy of King Charles II. of England), 54.
John (Patriarch of Alexandria), 465.
John of God, 540.
John of Sahagun, 540.
John III., Sobieski (King of Poland), 47–51, 87–9, 94–8, 100, 102, 103, 114, 117, 122, 123, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 148, 174–180, 185–8, 191, 192, 197, 199, 201, 206–9, 216–18, 231, 232, 242, 415, 504, 594, 676, 677.
John Frederick (Duke of Hanover), 468, 469, 478.
John George III. of Saxony, 174.
John William (Palatine of Neuburg), 675.
Jörger, Count Quintin, 143.
Joseph, Archduke (King of the Romans), 517, 543.
Joseph (Patriarch of Chaldea), 465.
Joseph (King of Hungary), 233.
Joseph, Clement (Prince of Bavaria), 674.
Joseph Ferdinand (Elector of Bavaria), 686.
Joseph of Jesus and Mary (Discalced Carmelite), 455.
Juan d'Austria, Don, 57.
Justinian, 333.

Kanghi (Emperor of China), 463, 468.
Kino, Eusebio Francisco (Jesuit), 646.
Kochem, Martin von, 474.
Kollonitsch, Count Leopold von (Bishop of Raab), Cardinal, 171, 177, 223, 227, 418, 526, 527.
Koltschitzky, 172.
Königsmarck, Count of, 230.
Köprülü, Ahmed (Grand Vizier), 38, 39.
Kuenburg, Max Gandolf von (Archbishop of Salzburg), Cardinal, 163, 418.
Kunitz, George Christoph von (Imperial Resident on the Golden Horn), 133, 168.

Lacombe (priest), 607, 608, 611.
Lagni, Fra Paolo da (Capuchin), 41–5.
Lamberg, Count Johann Philipp von, Cardinal, 645, 683.
Lamberg, Count Leopold Joseph von, 672, 682, 687.
Lamy, François (Maurist), 615.
Lancastre, Verissimo de (Archbishop of Braga), Cardinal, 418, 421, 525 n.
Lancisi, Giovanni Maria (physician to Innocent XI.), 21, 517, 555.

Lando, Girolomo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 167, 196, 354, 358, 520, 540.
Lascelles, Richard, 591.
Lauri (nuncio in Paris), 108, 262, 263, 268, 269, 288, 298, 301, 306, 313–15, 332.
Lavardin, Henri de Beaumanoir (Marquis de), 352–4, 357–369, 386–9, 395–7, 401–5, 513, 529.
Ledieu, Abbé, 294.
Leibnitz (philosopher), 481, 517, 615, 675.
Leonessa, Giovanni Francesco de (Franciscan), 650.
Leopold I. (Emperor), 46, 53, 54, 66, 67, 72, 74, 81, 92, 95–7, 100, 102, 112, 137, 148, 151, 160, 164, 174, 175, 178–181, 185–191, 193, 194, 196–201, 204, 207–212, 218, 221, 226, 233, 237–243, 267, 272, 315, 375, 383, 392, 393, 418, 423, 471, 472, 476, 477, 498, 517, 521, 524, 527, 529, 541, 543–9, 564–6, 576, 621, 624, 631, 659–662, 665–675, 680, 681, 686.
Leslie, Walter (Field-Marshal), 207, 212.
Leyburn, John (Apostolic Vicar in England), 501, 502.
Liebenberg, John Andrew von (Burgomaster of Vienna), 171.
Liechtenstein, Prince Antony, 527–9, 549, 562, 564, 659, 662–8, 681.
Liguori, Alphonse von, 633.
Litta, Alfonso, Cardinal, 2 n.
Lombardi (priest), 443.
Longueville, Duchess of (Anne Geneviève de Bourbon), 429.
Lopez, Gregorio (Mexican ascetic), 444.
Lorrain, Claude, 592.
Louis, Margrave of Baden, 233, 244, 660.
Louis XI., 282.
Louis XII., 282.
Louis XIII., 252, 326, 330.
Louis XIV., 4, 39, 43, 45–51, 54, 55, 59, 70, 72–8, 90, 97, 100–2, 104–8, 112–18, 120–7, 129, 130, 134–140, 185, 188–190, 197, 201–4, 206, 233–5, 237, 238, 241, 242, 247, 248, 252, 253, 256, 257, 259, 260, 263–275, 277, 279–293, 295, 297, 299–302, 304–311, 313–18, 321–5; Chapter V. *passim* (326–405), 417, 418, 423, 429, 434, 451, 459, 471, 481, 489, 500, 507, 509, 511–14, 524, 525, 527, 529, 542–9, 552, 553, 564, 595–603, 613, 615, 616, 618, 619, 621, 631, 635, 660, 668, 669, 672–7, 681, 682, 686, 688.
Louvigny, Marquis de (Spanish Agent), 125.
Louvois (French Minister for War), 203, 318, 327, 509.
Lubomirski, Jerome (Polish knight), 93, 96, 98, 101, 150, 676.
Luca, Giambattista de, Cardinal, 20, 414, 415.
Ludovisi, Princess, 444.
Ludovisi, Ludovico, Cardinal, 2 n., 3, 8, 161, 165, 180, 268, 296, 413.
Luther, 381.
Lytcott, John (English agent in Rome), 506.

Mabillon, Jean, 288, 474.
Maccioni, Valerio (Vicar Apostolic), 468.
Magalotti, 555.
Maidalchini, Francesco, Cardinal, 2, 2 n., 353, 358, 404, 413, 525, 527.

Maigrot, Charles (French missionary, Vicar Apostolic), 648–650.
Maimbourg, Louis (Huguenot), 271, 275, 277.
Maintenon, Madame de, 327, 328, 547, 608, 611, 613, 618.
Malaval, François, 442, 445 n., 447, 611.
Maldonado (Jesuit), 460.
Malebranche, Nicolas (philosopher), 615.
Malpighi, Marcello, 555, 577, 689.
Mancini, Maria (niece of Mazarin), 28.
Marais, Paul de (Bishop of Chartres), 608, 611, 615.
Maratta, Carlo (painter), 465, 520, 588, 589.
Marca, Pierre de (Archbishop of Toulouse), 247, 248, 271, 318.
Marchese (Oratorian), 446, 449.
Marescotti, Galeazzo (Archbishop of Corinth), Cardinal, 2 n., 452 n., 453 n., 454 n., 526, 563, 650.
Maria Antonia (Archduchess, wife of Max Emmanuel of Bavaria), 145, 146, 223, 473.
Marie Louise of Orleans (Queen of Spain), 146.
Maria (Duchess of Savoy), 164, 281.
Marini (Archbishop of Genoa), 389.
Mary (wife of William III. of Orange, King of England), 509.
Marracci, Ludovico (confessor of Innocent XI.), 21, 158, 449.
Martelli, Francesco (nuncio), 49, 85, 87, 94, 95, 108, 113–15, 119.
Martin, Luis (General of the Jesuits), 438 n.
Martinitz, Count George Adam, 160, 164, 668–672, 681, 682.
Massillon, Jean Baptiste, 327.
Massimo, Camillo (nuncio), Cardinal, 2 n.
Matilda (Countess of Tuscany), 516, 689.
Mattei, Orazio, Cardinal, 20, 419.
Mattioli (Secretary of State for Mantua), 202.
Maupeou, Augustin de (Bishop of Castres), 304.
Max Emmanuel (Elector of Bavaria), 472, 473.
Maximilian Henry of Bavaria (Archbishop and Elector of Cologne), 374, 375, 377, 378.
Max Philip (Duke of Bavaria), 473.
Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal (French Minister), 247, 286, 287, 326.
Mazure (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 307.
Mechtilde (Foundress of the Convent of the Benedictines of the Blessed Sacrament), 410.
Medici, Francesco Maria de', Cardinal, 358, 419, 526, 527, 529, 544, 562, 569.
Medinaceli, Duchess of, 434.
Medinaceli, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 625, 626.
Mellini, Savio (nuncio), Cardinal, 69, 414, 440, 526.
Menzies, Paul (Scottish diplomatist), 84, 85.
Meyer, Cornelius Janszoon (Dutch engineer), 26.
Mez, Zacharias (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 485.
Misson, 591.
Mocenigo (Venetian ambassador in Rome), 153.
Mohammed IV. (Sultan of Turkey), 50, 136, 168, 230.

Molanus, Abbot of Loccum, 481.
Molinos, Michael, Quietist, 18, 444–456, 609, 611, 613.
Mollo (Polish ambassador to the Netherlands), 652.
Monnot, Pierre Etienne, 520.
Montecuccoli, General, 104.
Montemart, Duchess of, 608.
Montfaucon, Bernard de, 537.
Montgaillard, Pierre Jean François Percin de (Bishop of Saint-Pons), 428, 429.
Morigia, Jacopo Antonio, Cardinal, 644.
Morosini, Francesco (Venetian Admiral and Doge), 38, 207, 213, 230, 420, 541.
Morosini, Giovanni, General, 230, 420.
Morstein (Polish Grand Treasurer), 91, 99, 106–9, 114, 115, 141, 146, 149.
Murillo, 474.
Musnier, François (Jesuit), 556, 557.
Mustafa, Kara (Grand Vizier of Turkey), 38, 39, 47, 50, 110, 118, 130, 134, 159, 168, 170–3, 175–7, 180, 206, 225.
Muzio (nuncio), 281.

Nani, Battista (Venetian historian), 56, 57.
Neercassel, John (Apostolic Vicar in Holland, Bishop of Castoria), 485, 487–492, 492 n., 493–5, 654.
Negroni, Gian Francesco (Treasurer-General), Cardinal, 419, 526.
Nerli, Francesco (Archbishop of Florence), Cardinal, 2 n., 252, 526.
Neusser, Bruno (Franciscan), 431.
Niccolini, Francesco (nuncio in France), 598.
Niccolò, Filippo di S. (General of the Discalced Carmelites), 650.
Nicole, Pierre (Jansenist), 429, 494.
Nidhard, Eberhard (Jesuit), Cardinal, 2 n., 5.
Nini, Giacomo, Cardinal, 2 n.
Noailles (Bishop of Châlons, Archbishop of Paris), Cardinal, 601, 610–12, 615, 621, 633, 645, 650, 651.
Noblet, Brothers (French agents), 149.
Nointel, Marquis de (French ambassador to the Sultan), 45, 50.
Norris, Henrico, Cardinal, 555, 576, 618, 621, 642, 650.
Noyelle, Charles de (General of the Jesuits), 440, 441.

Oates, Titus, 496–8, 502.
Odescalchi, Benedetto, Cardinal (Innocent XI.), 2 n., 3, 10, 11, 445.
Odescalchi, Bernardo, 11.
Odescalchi, Carlo (brother of Innocent XI.), 24.
Odescalchi, Giulio Maria (brother of Innocent XI.), 13.
Odescalchi, Livio (nephew of Innocent XI.), 24, 25, 33, 154, 166, 351, 517, 520, 562, 578, 593.
Odescalchi, Tommaso, 33, 578.
Olimpia (Aldobrandini) (wife of Camillo Pamfili), 13.
Oliva, John Paul (General of the Jesuits), 436, 437, 439, 440, 448, 459.
Omodei, Luigi, Cardinal, 2 n., 3.
Omodei, Luigi (nephew of above), Cardinal, 543.
Ormond (Viceroy of Ireland), 498.
Orsini, Virginio, Cardinal, 2, 2 n.
Orsini (Duke of Bracciano), 359, 404.
Orsini, Vincenzo Maria, Cardinal (Benedict XIII.), 2 n.

Ottoboni, Antonio (General of the Church), 538.
Ottoboni, Marco Antonio (Duke of Fiano), 538.
Ottoboni, Pietro, Cardinal (Alexander VIII.), 3, 21, 155, 200, 258, 267, 268, 275, 277, 296, 313, 412, 415, 495, 525, 526, 529–532, 559.
Ottoboni, Pietro, Cardinal (Nepot Alexander VIII.), 536, 537, 547, 562, 563, 565, 566, 569, 637.

Palafox y Cardona, Jaime (Archbishop of Palermo and Seville), 445, 454.
Pallavicini, Opisio, Cardinal, 2 n., 118, 121, 136, 140–4, 146–150, 152, 162, 165, 188, 192, 217–19, 227, 419, 526.
Pallu, François (Bishop of Heliopolis), 559.
Pamfili, Benedetto, Cardinal, 12, 414, 526, 527.
Panciatici, Bernardino, Cardinal, 543, 568, 575, 599, 637.
Paolucci, Francesco, Cardinal, 679.
Paoluzzi, Fabricio, Cardinal, 644.
Papebroch, Daniel (Bollandist), 620, 621.
Pardo, Philip (Archbishop of Manila), 647.
Pavillon, Nicolas (Bishop of Alet), 254–7, 424, 429–431.
Pechenius (Jesuit), 475.
Pellisson, 327.
Petra, Cardinal, 689.
Petre, Edward (Jesuit), 500, 503–8, 514.
Petriceicu, Stephen (Gospodar of Moldavia and Walachia), 187.
Petrucci, Piet Matteo, Cardinal, 419, 443, 445, 448, 451, 454–7, 526, 559.
Philip II. of Spain, 483.
Philip IV., 476.
Philip V. (Duke of Anjou), King, 186.
Philip the Fair (King of France), 247, 251, 257, 282.
Philip Wilhelm (Count Palatine of Pfalz-Neuburg), 236, 408, 472, 475.
Piccolomini, Celio, Cardinal, 2 n.
Pignatelli, Antonio, Cardinal (Innocent XII.), 414, 526, 563, 567–573.
Pignatelli, Francesco (Archbishop of Tarento), 685.
Pignatelli, Francesco (Prince of Minervino, Father of Innocent XII.), 571.
Pio, Carlo (Cardinal Protector of Germany), 66, 105, 126, 128, 144, 151, 157, 165, 179, 180, 200, 208, 209, 213, 215, 226, 240, 263, 264, 267, 269, 270–2, 274, 275, 278.
Pirot (Syndic of the Sorbonne), 306.
Piscopo (Dominican), 83.
Pithou, Pierre, 246, 247.
Plunkett, Oliver (Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland), 498.
Poisson (Oratorian), 429.
Polignac, Abbé de, 546.
Polignac, Cardinal, 555.
Pomponne (French Foreign Secretary), 262, 344, 433.
Pontchâteau, Abbé de (Joseph du Menay), 429–431.
Porter, Francis (Franciscan), 433, 444.
Porter, Lord (English ambassador in Rome), 401, 512, 513.
Portocarrero, Emanuel, Cardinal, 2 n., 57, 222, 525 n., 686, 688.
Poussin (painter), 592.
Pozzo, Andrea dal (painter), 33, 589.

Puy, Du, 247.

QUÉNEMER, De (missioner), 649.
Quesnel, Paschal, 490 n., 491 n., 492, 492 n., 494, 495, 508, 656, 657.

RABATTA, Count (Commissary General for War), 211.
Racine, Jean, 280, 327.
Radolovich, Niccolò, Cardinal, 644.
Radziejowski, Michael Stephen (Bishop of Ermland and Grand Chancellor), 417, 525 n., 678.
Radziwill, Prince (Polish ambassador), 99, 109–112.
Raggi, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 2 n., 3.
Rancé, Armand le Bouthillier de, 288, 615.
Ranuzzi, Angelo Maria (nuncio), Cardinal, 128, 138, 190, 234–6, 239, 240, 301, 315–320, 324, 335–8, 348, 363, 364, 369, 373, 381, 387–392, 401, 405, 419, 525 n.
Rassler, Christoph, 632.
Rech, Bernhard, 274.
Redi, Francesco, 555.
Regio, Alessandro, 448.
Reni, Guido (painter), 27.
Reniger, Simon (Imperial Resident in Constantinople), 44, 45.
Retz, Cardinal de (Jean François Paul de Condi), Archbishop of Paris, 2, 2 n.
Ricasoli (priest), 443.
Ricci, Michelangelo, Cardinal, 414, 442.
Ricci, Vincenzo, 575, 576.
Richelieu, Cardinal (French Minister), 246, 247, 326.
Rinhuber, Laurence, 103 n.
Robert (priest), 609.
Rocci, Cardinal, 2 n.
Ronquillo, Pedro (Spanish ambassador), 502.
Rosenberg, Count, 212.
Rospigliosi (Internuncio at Brussels), 488.
Rospigliosi, Felice, Cardinal, 2 n.
Rospigliosi, Giacomo, Cardinal, 2 n.
Rospigliosi, Jacopo, Cardinal (nephew of Clement IX.), 2 n., 4, 9, 40, 269, 281, 303, 320, 354, 411, 488.
Rossetti, Carlo, Cardinal, 2 n.
Rossi, Carlo (architect), 34.
Rossi, Giacomo de', 226.
Rovenius (Archbishop of Philippi), 485.
Rubens, 592.
Rubini, Giambattista (Bishop of Vicenza), Cardinal, 537, 543.
Rusconi, Camillo, 690.

SACCHETTI, Marcello (envoy of the Knights of Malta), 362.
Sacchetti, Urbano, Cardinal, 331, 414.
Sagredo, Giovanni (Venetian ambassador at the Imperial Court), 44, 45.
Sagripanti, Giuseppe, Cardinal, 575, 576, 637, 642.
St. Cyril, 333.
Saint-Didier (Secretary to D'Estrades), 62.
Saint-Georges, Claude de (Bishop of Clermont), 304.
Saint-Olon, Pidou de, 390, 391, 405.
Salazar, Pedro de (Bishop of Salamanca), Cardinal, 418, 525 n.
Sales, Francis de, 611.
Salvatierra, Juan Maria, 646.
Sancroft (Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England), 508.
Sandrart, 592.
Santa Croce, Andrea (nuncio), Cardinal, 644, 677.
Sarmiento, Gregorio (Jesuit), 625.

Saufre, Count de, 226.
Savelli, Francesco, Cardinal, 2 n.
Scarampi, Count, 443.
Schall, John Adam (Jesuit), 463.
Schelstrate, Emanuel (scholar), 325, 519.
Schenk von Toutenburg (Archbishop of Utrecht), 483.
Schulz, General, 207, 212, 215.
Schwarzenberg, Count, 104.
Segneri, Paul (Jesuit), 448, 454, 455, 622, 623, 627, 628, 631, 632, 649.
Semery, Andrea (Jesuit), 627.
Serrano, Niccolò (General of the Augustinians), 650.
Serroni (Archbishop of Albi), 287, 333.
Servient, Abbé, 127.
Sfondrati (Abbot of St. Gall), 222, 568, 621, 643, 645.
Simon of Valencia, 444.
Simons, Fr. (Jesuit), 501.
Sinelli, Emmerich (Bishop of Vienna), 212.
Sinnich, John (theologian), 558 n.
Slusius, Johann Walter, Cardinal, 20, 406, 418.
Sobieski, James (son of John III., King of Poland), 145, 188.
Sobieski, Maria Casimira (Queen of Poland), 48, 90, 114, 145, 146, 174, 188, 208, 593, 594.
Sousa, Louis de, Cardinal, 643.
Sozzini, Mariano (Oratorian), 21, 406.
Spada, Fabrizio, Cardinal, 2 n., 253, 526, 575, 599, 627, 680, 687.
Sperelli, Sperello, Cardinal, 645.
Spinola, Cristobal de Rojas y (Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt), Franciscan, 476–482, 482 n., 483.
Spinola, Francesco Maria, 560.
Spinola, Don Giacomo (Archdeacon of Cefalù), 159.
Spinola, Giovanni Battista (Governor of Rome), Cardinal, 2 n., 348, 349, 354, 362, 414, 477, 526, 565, 642, 687.
Spinola, Giulio, Cardinal, 2 n., 525, 562 n.
Spon, Jacques (physician), 591.
Stafford, Earl of, 498.
Starhemberg, Count Ernst Rûdiger von, 170–3, 185.
Stensên, Niels (Stenso, Vicar Apostolic), 468, 469.
Stratmann, Chancellor, 80, 198.
Suleiman (Grand Vizier), 225, 226, 230.
Suleiman II. (Sultan of Turkey), 230, 233.
Sunderland, Earl of, 500, 508.
Szelepcsényi, George (Archbishop of Gran), 212, 311.
Swanevelt, Hermann (painter), 592.

Tachard, Guy (Jesuit), 464, 465.
Taja, Flaminio, Cardinal, 414.
Talon, Denis, 249, 366, 427.
Tanara, Sebastiano Antonio (nuncio), Cardinal, 375, 378, 380, 389, 642, 660.
Tarugi (Dominican), Cardinal, 643.
Tellier, Charles Maurice Le (Archbishop of Rheims), 279, 283, 284, 287, 289, 290, 297, 298, 311, 312, 317, 633.
Tellier, Michel Le (Grand Chancellor), 289, 290, 327, 330.
Tessin, Count Nicodemus, 592.
Thököly, Count Emmerich, 92, 131–4, 136, 143, 169, 172, 173, 188, 192, 207, 215, 230.
Thun, Count, 226, 227.
Tietzen, Frederick von (auxiliary Bishop of Hildesheim), 469.

Tommasi, Francesco Maria (liturgist), 555.
Torre, della (Vicar Apostolic in Holland, Archbishop of Ephesus), 485.
Torzi, Luca (physician to Innocent XII.), 689.
Tournon, Charles Thomas Maillard de, Cardinal, 555.
Trémoille, Abbé de la, 599.
Trémoille, Marie Anne de la (Duchess of Bracciano), 593.
Tronson (Superior of St. Sulpice), 608, 610.
Trousse, Marquis de la, 387, 389.
Tsars, Ivan and Peter, 208, 218.
Tsarina Sophia, 218.

Ulrika, Eleanore (daughter of Frederick III. of Denmark), 472.
Urban VIII., 257, 351, 490, 530, 531, 558, 572.
Uzeda, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 687.

Valavoire (Bishop of Riez), 285.
Valle, Filippo della (sculptor), 689.
Valle, Pietro (Jesuit), 640.
Valiero (senator), 193.
Varese, Carlo Francesco (Commissary General of the Reformed Minorities), 650.
Varese, Pompeo (Archbishop of Adrianople), 54, 68, 70, 128, 262, 313, 426, 427.
Vaucel, Louis du (Valloni, Jansenist), 254, 431, 435 n., 491 n., 492 n., 494, 558, 652, 654, 656, 658.
Venier, Girolamo (Venetian ambassador), 301, 341.
Verbiest, Ferdinand (Jesuit), 463, 655.
Verjus (French envoy), 137.
Verme, Taddeo Luigi del (Bishop of Fano), Cardinal, 642.
Viceroy of Naples, 370, 403.
Vidoni, Pietro (Polish nuncio), Cardinal, 160.
Vieira, Antony (Jesuit), 646.
Villeroi, François Duc de (Marshal), 298.
Visconti, Ercole (Maggiordomo), 21, 575.
Visconti, Frederigo (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 414, 526, 568.
Vitry, Nicolas Louis de l'Hospital, Marquis de (French ambassador in Vienna and Warsaw), 108, 119, 120, 122, 137, 141, 147, 149, 150.
Viviani, Vincenzo, 555.
Voglmeyer (Provincial of Austrian Jesuits), 624.
Vosmeer, Sasbout (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 484, 485, 488.
Vota, K. M. (Jesuit), 218.

Waldeck, Prince George of, 134, 212.
Waldstein, Count Karl Ferdinand, 137, 142, 143, 148, 150, 153.
Welderen (Burgomaster of Nymeguen), 63.
Wierzbowski (Bishop of Posen), 114.
Wijck, Van (priest), 655.
William of Orange (King William III. of England), 394, 396, 508, 509, 511, 668, 673, 674, 683.
Wilopolski (Grand Chancellor of Poland), 91.
Wisnowiecki, Michael (King of Poland), 48.
Wolff, Frederick (Jesuit), 482 n., 624.

York, Duke of (James II. of England), 158, 495, 497.

Yves of Chartres (Capuchin), 297.

Zappi, 555.
Zdenko von Kaplirs, Count Kaspar, 171, 173.
Zeno, Cornelia (wife of Prince of Palestrina), 538, 539.
Zeno, Girolamo (Venetian ambassador), 195, 344.
Zierowski (Imperial Resident at Warsaw), 136, 143, 148, 150.
Zinagli, Alberto, 580.
Zingnis, Christoph (Jesuit), 627.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIII.

PAGES

Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. . . vol. xxxiv

Complete Titles of Books quoted in Volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. ix

Table of Contents xxix

CLEMENT XI., 1700–1721.

Election and Character of Clement XI.—His Attitude during the first Years of the Spanish War of Succession—Increasing Tension in his Relations with the Emperor Leopold I. 1–34

Joseph I.'s Contest with Clement XI.—Louis XIV.'s Defeat in 1706 and the Conquest of Naples by the Austrians—The Imperialists' Attack on the Papal States—Defeat of the Papal Troops—The Peace of January 15th, 1709 35–70

Philip V.'s Hostility Towards the Holy See—Negotiations for the Restitution of Comacchio—Death of Joseph I.—Election of Charles VI. as Emperor—Peace Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden (1713–14) 71–109

Clement XI.'s Efforts for the Protection of Christendom against the Turks—Victories of Prince Eugène—Intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni, His Downfall and the Triumph of the Quadruple Alliance 110–176

Revival of Jansenism—The Bulls *Vineam Domini* and *Unigenitus* — The Appellants — Belgian-Dutch Jansenism 177–334

Clement XI.'s Activity within the Church—Nomination of Cardinals—The Missions 335–392

70956

PAGES

Decision of the Question of the Chinese Rites—The Legations of Tournon and Mezzabarba—The Malabar Customs 393–490

The City of Rome and the Papal States—Furthering of Science and Art—Death of Clement XI. . 491–540

Index of Names 541–554

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXXIII. AND XXXIV.

BENEVENTO—Archiepiscopal Archives.
BERLIN—State Library.
BORDEAUX—Library.
BREGENZ—Museum Archives.
BRESCIA—Quirini Library.

CARPENTRAS—Library.
CATANIA—Library.
CESENA—Communal Library.
CHLUMETZ in Cidlina—Count Kinsky Archives.

EINSIEDELN—Abbey Library.
ERNSTBRUNN—Reuss Archives.

FLORENCE—State Archives.
——— Marucelliana Library.
——— National Library.
FOSSOMBRONE—Passionei Library.
FRASCATI—Seminary Archives.
——— Seminary Library.

GUBBIO—L. Benveduti Library.

HOLLESCHAU (Jarmeritz)—Wrbna—Kaunitz Archives.

IAIDHOF (Castle) — Sinzendorf Archives.
INNSBRUCK—Pastor Library.

LONDON—British Museum.
LUCERNE—Archives.

MADRID — Arch. Histórico Nacional.
——— Nunciature Archives.
MILAN—Brera Archives.
——— Ambrosiana Library.
MONTE CASSINO—Library.
MUNICH—State Archives.
——— State Library.

NAPLES—Archives.
——— National Library.
——— Library of the *Società di storia patria.*

ORVIETO—Piccolomini Archives.
OTTENSTEIN (Castle)—Lamberg Archives.

PALERMO—National Library.

RAVENNA—State Archives.
——— Classense Library.
ROME—
Archives :
Altieri.
Boncompagni.
Briefs, Archives of.
Dominicans, Archives of.
Capitol, Archives of.
Vatican Consistorial Archives.
Austrian Historical Institute, Archives of.
Orsini Archives.
Papal Secret Archives.

Propaganda, Archives of.
Ruspoli Archives.
Spanish Embassy, Archives of.
Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Archives of.
Theatines, Archives of.

Libraries :

Altieri.
Angelica.
Casanatense.
Corsini.
S. Pietro in Vincoli.
Sessoriana.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

SALZBURG—Library.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
ST. GALL—Abbey Archives.

TRENT — Library of the episcopal College.
——— City Library.
TURIN—Archives.

URBINO—Communal Archives.
——— Archiepiscopal Archives.

VENICE—State Archives.
VEROLI—Communal Library.
VICENZA—Bertoliana Library.
VITERBO—Archives.
VIENNA—Lichtenstein Archives.
——— Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.
——— State Archives.
——— State Library.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIII.

CLEMENT XI. 1700–1721.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT XI.—HIS ATTITUDE DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE SPANISH WAR OF SUCCESSION—INCREASING TENSION IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD I.

A.D.		PAGE
1699	Illness of Innocent XII.	1
1700	His death and the ensuing Conclave	2
	Rival parties therein	3
	Papabili	4
	Election of Cardinal Albani as Clement XI.	6
	His previous career; characteristics	7
	Death of Charles XII. of Spain	14
1701	The succession of Philip of Anjou is disputed by	15
	Leopold I. by force of arms	16
	Clement XI.'s offer to mediate is refused	17
	His further action unfruitful	19
	Franco-Spanish intrigue	22
	Death of James I. of England	25
	Increased political tension in Rome	27
1702	Papal concessions to Spain and	28
	The Emperor Leopold I.	29
	Satisfy neither	30
1703	Proclamation of Archduke Charles as King of Spain	31
1705	Joseph I. succeeds his father Leopold	34

CHAPTER II.

JOSEPH I.'S CONTEST WITH CLEMENT XI.—LOUIS XIV.'S DEFEAT IN 1706 AND THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES BY THE AUSTRIANS—THE IMPERIALISTS' ATTACK ON THE PAPAL STATES—DEFEAT OF THE PAPAL TROOPS—THE PEACE OF JANUARY 15TH, 1709.

The attempts of Clement XI. for smooth relationship with Joseph are	35
Frustrated by Lamberg	36

A.D PAGE
1706 Blow to Franco-Spanish prestige 41
Passage of imperial troops by Rome to 42
Naples—surrender of that Kingdom 45
1707 Papal Bull protesting against violation of the Holy See 46
Is disregarded by Joseph, who 47
Invades the Papal States 48
The Pope's expostulation calls forth 49
An imperial manifesto and there follows 51
1708 Outbreak of war 55
Initial successes of the imperial forces are . . . 57
Checked by English and Dutch intervention . . . 58
Negotiations begin and 59
1709 The Pope yields 63
The terms accepted by him lead to 64
Breach between Rome and Spain 65
Revocation of decrees against the Papal States . . 68
Followed by reconciliation of Spain—and Peace . 69
Grievous illness of Clement XI. 70

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP V.'S HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE HOLY SEE—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RESTITUTION OF COMACCHIO—DEATH OF JOSEPH I.—ELECTION OF CHARLES VI. AS EMPEROR—PEACE TREATIES OF UTRECHT, RASTATT AND BADEN (1713–1714).

The hostility of Philip V. towards the Holy See . 71
1710 He is gravely warned by the Pope but 72
Continues to refuse compromise 75
The Emperor likewise remains unfriendly . . 78
Negotiations concerning Comacchio not concluded owing to 79
1711 The deaths of Joseph I. and of the Dauphin . . 83
Prospect of a Protestant Emperor 85
The Pope's support of Charles of Spain 86
Candidature of Augustus of Saxony 88
Electoral Diet at Frankfurt decides 90
In favour of Charles 91
International effects of the two deaths 94
1712 Peace Congress at Utrecht 95
Its unfortunate outcome for Clement XI. . . 97
Concerning Sicily 98
Further deliberations at Rastatt conclude with treaty of Rijswijk 100
1714 Finally ratified at Baden 106
Clement XI.'s opinion about the Peace of Baden . 107

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT XI.'S EFFORTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST THE TURKS—VICTORIES OF PRINCE EUGÈNE—INTRIGUES OF CARDINAL ALBERONI, HIS DOWNFALL AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

A.D.		PAGE
	The defence of Europe against the Turks	110
	Their superiority and success in taking	114
1715	The Peloponnesus	115
	Change in the policy of Philip X.	116
	Fresh preparations against Turkey	112
	Rescue of Corfu, followed by	128
	The fall of Zemesvár and minor successes	130
	Further measures taken by Clement XI.	131
1717	The activities of Alberoni	134
	Concordat between the Holy See and Philip V.	137
	The Christian fleet sets sail	139
	Indecisive engagements at sea	140
	Brilliant victory of Prince Eugène at Belgrade	141
	Spanish attack on Sardinia and fall of Cagliari	143
	Indignation of the Pope, who is accused by	144
	The Emperor of complicity	147
	The latter's demands for compensation are granted but	148
	The Concordat with Madrid is ratified	149
	The Pope is tricked	151
	Attempts to force a rupture between Clement and Spain	157
	The audacity of the Spanish Government	158
	Its persistent measures against the Emperor and	162
	Its threats to the Holy See	163
	Cardinal Alberoni's attitude	165
1719	He is dismissed	167
	Further proceedings against him drag on for four years	168
1723	He is then acquitted and reinstated by Innocent XIII.	173
	Reconciliation betewen Rome and Spain	174
1720	Victories of the latter over the Moors	176

CHAPTER V.

REVIVAL OF JANSENISM—THE BULLS VINEAM DOMINI AND UNIGENITUS — THE APPELLANTS — BELGIAN-DUTCH JANSENISM.

	The revival of Jansenism	177
	The "Case of Conscience"	179
	The Pope's attitude	183
	He issues the Bull *Vineam Domini* and	184
1706	A Brief to the French Bishops	187
	The doom of Port-Royal and	189
	Its demolition	190

A.D.		PAGE
	Jansenists rally round Quesnel	192
	His antecedents and attainments	193
	His literary work and teaching	196
	His book *Moral Reflexions* is condemned	203
	Persistent advance of Jansenism	206
	Controversy between Abp. Noailles and Bp. Champflour	207
	Intervention of Louis XIV.	209
	Noailles' failure as peacemaker	211
	A new Bull is demanded	212
	A Congregation appointed to examine "Moral Reflexions"	214
1713	The Bull *Unigenitus*	219
	Its contents and condemnations	220
	Its reception in France	226
	A critical moment for Catholic France	231
	Discussions in the Assembly of Bishops	232
1714	Final acceptance of the Bull. Jansenist retaliation	235
	Dissatisfaction of Clement XI.	238
	Fénelon's defence of the Bishops	241
	Noailles' obduracy	242
	The action of Rome. Negotiations and disputations	243
1715	The death of Louis XIV.	254
	The Regent, Philip of Orleans, supports Jansenism	255
	Great revival of Jansenist controversy	256
1716	Clement XI. takes action	269
	Noailles' condemnation in Consistory—further measures	271
1717	The "Four Bishops" appeal to a General Council	276
	The result of the appeal—danger of schism	279
	The action of Rome being ineffective	282
	The "Order of Silence" is published by Royal decree	285
	Failure of other negotiations, including	286
1718	Correspondence between Dupin and Abp. Wake of Canterbury	288
	Contrasting loyalty of certain Bishops	289
	Condemnation by Rome of the "Four Bishops"	291
	Rupture of all negotiations	292
	Publication of the Bull *Pastoralis officii*	293
	Its content and its reception by	295
	A flood of appeals	296
	The Regent's policy	303
	Coerces Noailles but is frustrated by Parliament, which	307
	Is then banished from Paris	308
1719	Death of Quesnel	310
	Compromise finally achieved	311
	The attitude of Clement XI.	312
	Reactions in Holland to Bull *Unigenitus*	314
	Vicar-Apostolic Codde goes to Rome	315
	The charges against him	316

A.D. PAGE
1702 His condemnation 319
Dispute about authority in Dutch Mission . . 320
1703 Return of Codde to Holland, he disputes his deposition 323
Potkamp appointed Vicar-Apostolic, but dies . . 327
Codde's persistency leads to 328
Further dissensions 329
Ordination of Jansenist priests 331
Their repudiation by Clement XI. is forestalled by his death 334

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT XI.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS.

The activities of Clement XI. in Church Government 335
In spiritual matters 336
Towards Religious Orders 339
In support of existing ordinances 341
His defence of the Church's liberty 344
1706–20 In 15 Creations the Purple bestowed on 70 Cardinals 347
Survey of these prelates 349
The Pope's relations with Northern Europe . . 355
The influence of Agostino Steffani . . . 356
He dies 360
Progress of the Missions in North Germany . . 361
Missionary zeal of Clement XI. 365
He erects seminaries 366
1711 Orders visitations 368
Shows solicitude for Russia and the East, for . . 370
The Chaldeans and 374
Maronites 375
He seeks to protect Catholics in Persia . . . 376
Encourages the desire for reunion in the East and Abyssinia 377
Missionary movements in N. Africa . . . 383
In China and Tibet 384
Flourishing Jesuit missions in India . . . 386
Peaceful conditions in Siam and in the Philippines . 387
Progress in S. America 390

CHAPTER VII.

DECISION OF THE QUESTION OF THE CHINESE RITES—THE LEGATIONS OF TOURNON AND MEZZABARBA—THE MALABAR CUSTOMS.

Contributory causes to the question of the Chinese rites 393
The national character 395

A.D. PAGE
Ancestor worship 396
The divine names 399
Dissensions among the Missionary Orders . . 403
1692 Kanghi's decree permits the preaching of Christianity, but 407
1697 Vicar Apostolic Maigrot condemns Chinese rites . 408
1704 Investigations by Rome and representations from China 409
Discussion 421
Decision reached but not published in Europe . . 423
Contents of the Decree 424
1699 Tournon arrives in China as Papal Envoy . . 429
He awaits an interview with Kanghi, who is . . 430
At first most gracious 431
Then suspicious 433
Lengthy discussions between Tournon and Kanghi . 434
Intervention of Maigrot leads to 438
Indignation of the Emperor 440
Continued tension 442
Tournon ordered to return to Canton . . . 446
Failure of his embassy and its results . . . 447
His personal heroism and death 451
Lack of support for the Holy See 454
Further enactments against the Chinese rites . . 455
Intervention of Theodoric Pedrini . . . 459
His prevarications further entangle the issue . . 460
The Emperor's wrath against him 464
The action of the Jesuits 465
Mezzabarba appointed Legate 468
His troublous reception, his failures and . . . 469
Imprisonment, whence he publishes Concessions . 482
His subsequent return to Europe 484
The Malabar rites—Nobili's adoption of Indian ideals 485
Repudiated by Tournon, whose 486
Action is upheld by Rome 488
Further examination entrusted to Lambertini . . 490

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITY OF ROME AND THE PAPAL STATES—FURTHERING OF SCIENCE AND ART—DEATH OF CLEMENT XI.

1701 Christmas-tide inundation of Rome by Tiber . . 491
1703 Earthquakes do much damage throughout Italy . 492
Unusually severe weather is 496
Followed by cattle disease 497
Papal aid to the suffering people 498
Clement XI.'s administration of justice . . . 499
His encouragement of learning and 501
Research in Eastern Manuscripts 502

A.D. PAGE

His patronage of scholars 503
Interest in archæology and 508
Art 513
His architectural work and restoration of . . 517
Churches in Rome, likewise 518
Walls, waterworks, and fountains therein . . . 527
Building activities elsewhere 529
Last illness and 531
1721 Death of Pope Clement XI. 534
A prayer written by him 537

CLEMENT XI. 1700–1721.

CHAPTER I.

Election and Character of Clement XI—His Attitude during the First Years of the Spanish War of Succession—Increasing Tension in his Relations with the Emperor Leopold I.

Innocent XII.'s advanced age had early claimed the attention of the Cardinals and the ambassadors in Rome[1] and that of the various cabinets of Europe for the next papal election. Preoccupation with the subject became even more acute when his serious illness in November, 1699,[2] rendered the prospect of his death a proximate possibility. Yet among the Great Powers France was the only one with a definite policy, and this she pursued with energy. Though the Spanish ministers indulged in lengthy discussions, as

[1] The imperial standpoint appears from the " *Vita critica dei cardinali che vivevano circa l'anno 1696 " (with supplements up to 1700), *Cod.* 1, 4*a*, 24, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On the Spanish side we have " *Juycio sobre el conclave que devia suceder a la muerte de Innocencio XII. ", *Cod.* III, 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] *Conjectures politiques sur le conclave de 1700*, Parma, 1700, and the memorials quoted by Galland in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 232, to which must be added the detailed " *Report to the Emperor " (*ca.* 1699), in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, fasc. 5, n. 3343, and " *Refleciones que conviene tener presentes para el primer futuro conclave ", *Cod.* III., 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, which say of Casanata (d. March 3, 1700) : " El card. Casanate es generalmente reputado por muy digno de la Tiara por la edad que sera ya de 70 annos y por la leteratura, celo, comprehension y desinteres."

a result of the confusion then prevailing at Madrid, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Uzeda, received his instructions too late. The same misfortune befell the Emperor's representative, Count Lamberg.[1] On the other hand, even before the death of Innocent XII., Louis XIV. had dispatched to Rome, on the plea that it was a year of jubilee, the very able Cardinals D'Estrées and Forbin, who were soon followed by Coislin, Arquien and Le Camus. When news came of Innocent XII.'s death, Cardinal Noailles was also sent to Rome with final instructions for the conclave,[2] but he had not arrived in the Eternal City when the conclave was closed on the evening of October 9th, 1700.[3]

At the time of Innocent XII.'s death the Sacred College numbered sixty-six members. Out of that number there remained only one Cardinal from the time of Innocent X., three from that of Clement IX., seven from that of Clement X., sixteen from that of Innocent XI., fourteen from that of Alexander VIII., and twenty-five from that of Innocent XII. Fifty-eight out of these sixty-six Cardinals took part in the election,[4] but they only arrived by degrees: no more than thirty-eight were present at the first ballot.[5]

It was evident from the first that the conclave would be a lengthy as well as an exciting one.[6] This time the reason

[1] WAHRMUND, *Ius exclusivae*, 179 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The conclave of Clement XI. has been so extensively described by GALLAND in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, III., 208 *seqq.*, 355 *seqq.*, 596 *seqq.*, that a short synthesis will suffice here. *Cf.* also EISLER, 178 *seqq.* "* Pasquinate per la sede vacante d'Innocenzo XII.," in *Cod.* XXIV., D. 14, Bibl. della Società di storia patria, Naples.

[4] GUARNACCI, II., 16 *seqq.*; GALLAND, *loc. cit.*, 616. Portocarrero, Bonsi, Kollonitsch, Radziejowski, Salazar, Fürstenberg, Sousa, and Borgia did not take part in the conclave.

[5] See the *ballots in *Barb.* 4446, with plan of the conclave, Vatican Library; *Cod.* J. 39, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome; *Cod. Medic.* XCCCV., State Archives, Florence; *Cod.* 42, 5, 18, Communal Library, Veroli.

[6] **Avviso Marescotti*, October 9, 1700, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

was not the opposition of the various parties, but the fact that the question of the Spanish succession was fraught with so many possibilities of trouble that everything depended on the choice of a personality that would be a match for such perils. The grouping of the parties was accordingly quite simple; one group consisted of the French and the Imperialists, who were implacable opponents, and the other of the "Zelanti" who were inspired by strict ecclesiastical sentiments.[1] The imperial party numbered at first only two members, viz. Medici and Giudice. In November they were reinforced by Cardinals Lamberg and Grimani, dispatched by Leopold I. They were instructed to have Cardinals Panciatici, Carpegna and Acciaioli excluded by the Spanish ambassador, but it was found impossible to carry out such a step.[2] The French party was numerically the strongest; it was also more compact and united. As Bouillon did not count, by reason of his being out of favour with the court of Paris, it consisted of Cardinals D'Estrées, Forbin, Coislin, Arquien, Le Camus, who experienced no difficulty in preventing a decisive step until Cardinal de Noailles should have arrived.[3]

The "Zelanti" had agreed to set aside all worldly considerations of nationality, friendship, enmity, kinship, gratitude or interest, and to keep exclusively before their eyes the welfare of the Church. Among the older electors this group comprised Carlo Barberini, Acciaioli and Orsini, as well as ten of Innocent XI.'s Cardinals, viz. Spinola, Mellini, Durazzo, Barbarigo, Petrucci, Colloredo, Pamfili, Negroni, Astalli; they were reinforced by another eighteen who owed their elevation to Innocent XII., namely Morigia, Tanara, Boncompagni, Del Verme, Ferrari, Cenci, Sagripanti, Noris, the younger Spinola, Cornaro, Paolucci,

[1] This grouping of the parties was already foreseen in "*Refleciones", etc., Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] WAHRMUND, 180 *seq.*, where details are also given about the exclusion formulas which were subsequently sent open to Lamberg, with orders to make use of them in case of necessity.

[3] GALLAND, 239 *seqq.*

Radolovich, Archinto, Santa Croce, D'Este, Delfino, Sperelli, Gabrielli.[1]

A kind of middle position was adopted by the Cardinals of Clement X., viz. Altieri, Carpegna, Nerli, Marescotti, Spada, and by those of Alexander VIII.: Ottoboni, Panciatici, Cantelmi, Adda, Rubini, Costaguti, Bichi, Imperiali, Albani, Omodei and Francesco Barberini. In this group the old abuse of nepotism, by which the Cardinals of the deceased Pope, out of gratitude, completely subordinated themselves to the Cardinal nephew, became operative once more, though Innocent XII.'s Constitution against nepotism achieved at least this much, that on this occasion the influence of the leading nephews was reduced to very small proportions. One section of the centre party took the side of the French, thereby enabling them to offer successful opposition to the "Zelanti".[2]

As usual the first two weeks were spent in ascertaining, by means of ballots, the intentions and the strength of individual parties; things only became serious when Marescotti was proposed for the papacy. For a while the latter now played a rôle similar to that of Barbarigo at the previous conclave. Marescotti was a devout man, energetic and extraordinarily industrious. He had the strong support of almost all the "Zelanti", but this time also the latter had to reckon with the opposition of the French who wanted as weak a Pope as possible.[3] On their part the Imperialists objected to the elevation of Acciaioli. Ottoboni proposed Panciatici, a most fit candidate, but it was not to be expected that the ambassadors would not oppose a man who, in his capacity as Datarius, had maintained the principle that in the bestowal of benefices that candidate should be supported who was most independent of the princes in whose territory the benefice in question was situate! On the other hand all the secular princes were in favour of Cardinal Morigia who, in the opinion of the "Zelanti", lacked not only administrative experience

[1] *Ibid.*, 248 *seqq.*, 617 *seqq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 356 *seqq.*

[3] Thus G. B. Gravina (*Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, Suppl. I. [1898], 127).

but likewise the necessary firmness and energy. After a whole series of *papabili* had thus been eliminated, other personalities such as Costaguti, Orsini, Del Verme and Colloredo came to the front, only to be dropped at once.[1]

The situation was further complicated as a result of an encounter of the French ambassador, Louis Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco, with the Roman police. As several of Monaco's men lost their lives in this affray, the Prince demanded from the College of Cardinals so heavy a compensation that it was not possible to grant it. Thereupon Monaco left for San Quirico in Tuscany.[2]

In this tense situation Cardinal Noailles arrived at length on November 14th, but the hope of a speedy election was not fulfilled, on the contrary, conditions became even more complicated inasmuch as the French Cardinals persisted in their dilatory tactics.[3] It was in vain that an attempt was made to persuade Marescotti to remove the Frenchmen's opposition by an appropriate declaration. That excellent Cardinal's answer was that he had come to the conclave to elect a Pope, not to become Pope himself, a thing that had never entered his mind.[4] The negotiations only got under way when, on November 19th, news reached Rome of the death of Charles II., the last Spanish Habsburg. This news provoked so powerful a commotion that the electors spent a sleepless night. All realized that further delay was impossible.[5]

[1] GALLAND, 356 *seqq.*, 363 *seqq.*; also GRAVINA, *loc. cit.*, 128.

[2] WAHRMUND, 182 *seq.*; GALLAND, 367 *seqq.*

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 20, 1700, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[4] Gravina's report in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, Suppl. I., 131.

[5] Thus Cardinal Lamberg to his cousin, the ambassador (**Diary of Count Lamberg*, Nov. 20, 1700, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). In like manner, Ambassador Lamberg in his **Relazione* of 1701: "Questo infelice avviso funestò gli animi dei cardinali tutti, che ne prevederono le grandi conseguenze ed in quella notte dispensatisi dal sonno vegliorono per tirare a fine sì necessaria e grande opera," State Archives, Vienna.

On November 20th it was rumoured in Rome that Cardinal Albani had been elected in the course of the previous night.[1] The report was premature, but in point of fact out of fifty-eight electors this candidate could count on forty votes. The first suggestion of Albani's election came from the "Zelanti" and it found favour with every party, the only opposition coming from the French, above all from D'Estrées. On the morning of November 20th they dispatched a courier to their ambassador at San Quirico. When word came from the latter that he had no objection to Albani's election, the last obstacle seemed to have been removed. However, Albani persisted in his refusal to consent to the election. As great pressure was being exercised on him, he submitted to four eminent Roman theologians, namely, the Dominican Massoulié, the Jesuit Alfaro, the Franciscan Varese and the Theatine Tomasi, the question whether a Cardinal who felt unequal to the papal dignity could decline with a good conscience a unanimous election. The four theologians replied unanimously that the Cardinal was bound to bow to a unanimous election since otherwise he would be resisting the will of God thus made manifest.[2] Thereupon Albani yielded at last. On the morning of November 23rd he was unanimously elected. In memory of the Holy Pope and Martyr Clement, whose feast the Church keeps on that day, he took the name of Clement XI.

Gian Francesco Albani was born on July 22nd, 1649, at Urbino,[3] where his election was celebrated with splendid

[1] **Avviso Marescotti*, November 20, 1700, *loc. cit.* The enclosure was so badly observed in this conclave that it was a mere formality, says a contemporary. ADEMOLLO, *Suor Maria Pulcheria*, 173.

[2] LAFITAU, I., 51 *seqq.*; GALLAND, 383 *seqq.*, 622 *seqq.*

[3] On Clement XI.'s antecedents, *cf.* the works of POLIDORI, LAFITAU, REBOULET (see Bibliography); NOVAES, XII., 2 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 304 *seqq.*, who rightly criticizes the statements in the **Relazione* of N. Erizzo, quoted by RANKE, III., 209. *Cf.* also the *Report of O. d'Elce in the Abbey Library, Einsiedeln (*cf.* Vol. XXXII., 571, n. 5, and *Vita critica de' cardinali, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On the family, see P. E.

festivities.[1] During the pontificate of Urban VIII. his grandfather Orazio, a prominent lawyer, had conducted with the Duke of Urbino the negotiations which led to the devolution of that fief to the Church. As a reward Orazio was given the dignity of a Roman Senator in 1633, and his son Carlo became *Maestro di Camera* to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Carlo chose his wife, Elena Mosca, from a noble family of Pesaro; from this marriage sprang Gian Francesco, the future Pope. Gian Francesco received a most careful education in Rome. He acquired such mastery of the classical languages, as well as of Italian literature, that when only seventeen years old he was able to publish a Latin translation of a Greek sermon of St. Sophronius and other works of this kind.[2] Three years later he was admitted into the learned Academy of Queen Christine in which he soon played a prominent part. Thoroughly acquainted with classical antiquity, and a poet himself, he was also a skilful impromptu speaker. However, he did not spend all his energies in literary efforts of this kind but devoted himself wholeheartedly to the study of philosophy, theology and law, though he put off for a considerable time the choice of a career.[3] He was twenty-eight years old when he entered the Roman prelature. The application to work of which he gave proof as referendary of both *segnaturas* won for him the recognition and the friendship of the celebrated canonist, Cardinal De Luca. As Governor of Rieti, the Sabine province and Orvieto, Albani was able to give proof of his ability as an administrator. On returning to Rome he found a new patron in Cardinal Carlo Barberini

VISCONTI, *Famiglie nobili di Roma*, I., 1 *seqq.*; REUMONT, *Beiträge*, V., 327 *seq.*, 410; on the coat of arms, PASINI-FRASSONI, 46.

[1] "*Allegrezze fatte in Urbino per l'esaltazione al pontificato del card. Albani descritte dal p. Pier Girolamo Vernaccia," Communal Archives, Urbino, III., v., 146.

[2] NOVAES, XII., 4 *seq.*

[3] His rich library in Castello di Imperiali, near Pesaro, was recently sold by Count Castelbarco-Albani to the Catholic University of Washington.

in place of De Luca who had died in the meantime. Barberini obtained for him an appointment as consultor of the consistorial Congregation. Albani once more took his place in the circle of Queen Christine and contracted a close friendship with Angelo Fabroni.[1] When in 1686 the northern queen organized an academic entertainment in honour of the English envoy, Albani delivered the principal speech, at the end of which Christine observed: "We have been listening to Cicero."[2]

When the important post of a Secretary for Briefs became vacant through the death, in the autumn of 1687, of Cardinal Slusius, Carlo Barberini persuaded Innocent XI. to assign it to Albani.[3] Alexander VIII. confirmed him, and Albani won the favour of the new Pope to such an extent that he was made a Cardinal deacon on February 13th, 1690, whilst at the same time retaining the secretariate of Briefs. Rumour had it that three days before the nomination the Pope had dictated to Albani the allocution which he meant to deliver on that occasion. At the end came the names of the newly appointed Cardinals. After the eleventh name the Pope paused for a moment, as if considering who the twelfth should be. "Write down the twelfth," he said at length. "Which, please?" Albani asked. "What!" was the answer, "can't you write your own name?"[4]

Just as Alexander VIII. consulted Albani when there was question of taking steps against the decrees of the Gallican Assembly of 1682, so did Innocent XII. on other important matters, as, for instance, the Bull against nepotism, and lastly in the decision concerning the Spanish succession.[5] Albani

[1] D'Elce's *report in Abbey Library, Einsiedeln. *Cf.* De Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Card. Azzolino*, Paris, 1899, XV.

[2] Lafitau, I., 23.

[3] "*Vita critica," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cardinal Pio *writes on September 27, 1687, on the occasion of the nomination of Albani: "prelato dotato di tante belle qualità che rendono applaudito l'impiego," State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Lafitau, I., 26 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXXII., 636 *seq.*, 686.

became the most influential person at court and he had the Pope's ear at all times.[1] He made himself worthy of this confidence by his discretion and frankness. He gave proofs of this especially during Innocent XII.'s illness in November, 1699, when he insisted on the Sacred College being consulted on the nomination of Cardinals which took place then.[2] In his political views Albani leaned towards France, though as a contemporary remarked, without denying his strict ecclesiastical principles [3]; that is, he stood for good relations with the powerful ruler of France after the latter had dropped his Gallican tendencies.

Albani was one of the youngest members of the Sacred College; he was not even a priest, and he was only ordained in September, 1700.[4] It was nevertheless generally believed by about the middle of the last decade of the century that he would most probably wear the tiara one day.[5] All accounts bear witness to his excellent qualifications for such an honour: a blameless life, a dignified appearance,[6] long experience not

[1] *Relazione di Roma* of N. Erizzo (1702), State Archives, Venice. This *Relazione*, disseminated in many copies—in *Rome*, Bibl. Altieri and Corsini; *Munich*, State Library, *Cod. ital.* 80; *Salzburg*, Studienbibliothek; *Vienna*, State Library, *Cod.* 5687, 5970, 13917, and State Archives—is printed in CECCHETTI, II., 323 *seqq.* *Cf.* R. VECCHIATO, *La relazione sulla corte di Roma fatta dall' ambasc. N. Erizzo* (s. l. and s. d.).

[2] "*Vita critica" in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* REBOULET, I., 35 *seqq.*

[3] *Relazione D'Elce, *loc. cit.*

[4] On November 30, 1700, Clement XI. was consecrated Bishop, on December 8, he was crowned. The taking possession of the Lateran took place on April 10, 1701; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 325 *seqq.*

[5] D. Contarini in BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Relazioni*, Roma, II., 440 *seqq.*, and *Vita critica, *loc. cit.*

[6] The longish, close-shaven (CANCELLIERI, 327) face with its small, lively black eyes, gives expression to a melancholy gravity. Oil painting by Maratta in the Albani Palace, Urbino. Engraving of Girolamo Rossi (in GUARNACCI, II., 1) after the portrait of Pietro Nelli, and Antonio Odatius' engraving by

only of Canon Law but in all other ecclesiastical branches, as intimate an acquaintance with the political situation as if he had had charge of the most important nunciatures, extraordinary facility in expressing himself both by word of mouth and in writing, untiring application, rare affability and a liberality towards the needy that frequently went beyond his means, whether those in want were Swedish converts or exiled Englishmen.[1] Cardinal Albani, a certain ambassador observed, can refuse nothing ; he accordingly promises more than he can carry out and is unable to satisfy everyone because in his kindness he would wish to help everybody.[2] His gracious geniality, of which contemporaries have so much to say,[3] he shared with his countryman Raphael.

A. V. Nesterhout. *Cf.* the illustrations given in DRUGULIN (Nos. 3660–3662). Also a contemporary oil painting in the Roman Seminary near the Lateran. Marble bust of Clement XI. in the Sagrestia capitolare of the Duomo of Ferrara and in Rome.

[1] " *Egli è dottissimo dell'una e dell'altra legge e delle speculative, delle materie ecclesiastiche, delle morali e di belle lettere e d'ogni altra sorte di eruditione. Ha gran cognitione delle materie di stato, notitioso di tutte le corti straniere et è benissimo inteso di tutte le pendenze dell'universo . . ." Favours writers and converts (*cf.* LAFITAU, I., 29 s.), is protector of S. Brigida. " Egli è applicato e fatigante in sommo grado, di virtù eminente, di gran spirito e di maniere amabilissime, perspicace, accorto, faceto ed obligante al maggior segno et è stato sempre non solo morigerato, ma di santi, prelibati et esemplari costumi, grand'elemosiniere e generoso in tal modo che il grandanimo supera le forze della sua bontà " (Report of O. D'Elce, Abbey Library, Einsiedeln). *Vita critica (*loc. cit.*) ; " Egli è versato in molte scienze e particolarmente in belle lettere . . . e talmente adornato delle notizie de' principi stranieri che ne sa rendere strettissimo conto, come se fosse stato in tutte le nunziature." A torto i satirici lo dicevano " corteggiano Romanesco, finto, simulatore ; in realtà è di ottime viscere e pii sentimenti ".

[2] *D'Elce, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *La sua bella presenza con quella giovialità di sua natura e quella arte propria di conformarsi al genio di chi egli parla all'uso

But there were limits to his gentleness and goodness, when the interests of the Church were at stake: on such occasions he showed himself a decided adherent of the party of the "Zelanti".

The same dispositions were apparent in the Pope's private life, which was wholly given up to prayer and work. He said Mass daily; daily also he went to confession. Sleep and food were reduced to the indispensable minimum. His recreation lay in frequent visits to churches and hospitals and in zealously preaching the word of God.[1]

The zeal with which Clement XI. applied himself not only to his ecclesiastical functions but to affairs also, could not have been greater.[2] As he was only fifty-one years old, be believed himself strong enough to deal personally with all important affairs. The number of documents written with his own hand or corrected by him, which are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives or in the Corsini Library, is astonishing. Few Popes have written so much with their own hand and of no Pope do we possess so many autographs.[3] Even those who

dell'eco che sempre ripete l'altrui voce senza forma della propria, lo rende sempre amabile a chi che sia." *Ibid.*

[1] Report of Giov. Francesco Morosini, 1707, State Archives, Venice (extract in RANKE, III., 211*); LAFITAU, I., 58 *seq.*

[2] An *Avviso Marescotti* of December 18, 1700, reports: "Il Papa aveva una febbre leggera; credesi cagionatagli dalla grand' applicatione che mette negl' affari, de' quali non traspirano le determinationi, mentre opera senza l'intiera confidenza d'alcuno, scrivendo di proprio pugno e passeggiando con la penna in mano va notando secondo si ricorda." Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[3] The greater part of these autographs are preserved in the large collection **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, Papal Secret Archives; others are in the Bibl. Corsini, Rome. The former were especially utilized by Pometti, the latter by Sentis (141 *seqq.*). Numerous other materials are in the Bibl. Albani, Urbino, which, unfortunately, is inaccessible, on which *cf.* E. GHERARDI, *Guida di Urbino*, Urbino, 1890, 111 *seqq.*; E. CALZINI, *Urbino*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1897, 125 *seq.*; MAZZATINTI, *Inventari*, 73 *seqq.*

were not otherwise in sympathy with him have paid tribute to the beauty of his style.[1]

For his Secretary of State Clement XI. made choice of Cardinal Fabricio Paolucci, a most able man and one wholly devoted to him. The sculptor Pietro Bracci has perpetuated the noble and shrewd physiognomy of Paolucci.[2] Cardinal Sagripanti became *Datarius*; he was a man who conscientiously carried out the duties of his office and kept aloof from politics. The remaining offices of importance were bestowed on men with whom the Pope was best acquainted and on whose devotion he could rely.[3] His kinsman Fabio degli Abati Olivieri became Secretary of Briefs, Ulisse Giuseppe Gozzadini Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Curzio Origo Secretary of Memorials, Guido Passionei Secretary of the Cypher, Gian Domenico Parracciani Auditor, Tommasso Ruffo *Maestro di Camera*, Carlo Colonna *Maggiordomo*, Giovanni Maria Lancisi personal physician. As Secretaries of Latin Briefs Clement XI. was served by Zeccadoro, who was assassinated in 1702, and after him by Agostino Favoriti, Giovanni Christoforo Battelli of Urbino, Domenico Rivera, and lastly Gian Vicenzo Lucchesini.[4]

[1] A *letter of Louis XIV. to Cardinal De la Trémoille of September 13, 1706, says: "Le Pape croit trop souvent que sa principale force consiste dans ses lettres mais quelque talent qu'il ait pour les composer avec éloquence, la persuasion n'est pas attachée à la beauté du style." Copy in State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Bust in the sacristy of S. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome; Tomb in S. Marcello; see V. Domarus, *P. Bracci*, 11 *seqq.*

[3] See report of N. Erizzo in Cecchetti, II., and that of Lorenzo Tiepolo of 1712, State Archives, Vienna; extract in Ranke, III., 214*. *Cf.* Pometti, XXI., 315 *seqq.*

[4] Novaes, VII., 14 *seqq.* *Cf.* Moroni, XLIX., 118; LXIII., 272; *ibid.*, LXI., 135 *seqq.*; 269 *seqq.*, on the successors of T. Ruffo and C. Colonna, created Cardinals in 1706. On Lancisi, see Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 328; A. Bacchini, *La vita e le opere di G. M. Lancisi*, Roma, 1920; *Per G. M. Lancisi nel II. centenario dalla sua morte, in Giornale di medicina militare*, LXVIII. (1920), 541–642.

Clement XI. kept himself free from all nepotism. His brother Orazio was obliged to live as a private individual and was not permitted to meddle with affairs or to accept presents. Orazio's sons, Annibale and Carlo, who studied at the Roman College, had to be treated exactly like the other students.[1] Only after Annibale had been employed on various diplomatic missions did he receive the red hat on December 23rd, 1711, at the joint request of the Cardinals. Many had hoped to gain influence over the Pope through his nephew, but Clement XI. thwarted their expectations.[2] In 1719 Annibale obtained the dignity of a Camerlengo rendered vacant by the death of Spinola, from which, however, in strict compliance with the Bull of his predecessor, Clement XI. severed the more important revenues.[3] When the post of a Marshal of the Conclave became vacant through the extinction of the Savelli in 1712, it was generally expected that Carlo Albani would obtain the office, but the Pope bestowed it on Ago tino Chigi, whose family enjoys this high dignity to this day.[4]

[1] " *Portatosi mercoledì a sera D. Oratio Albani fratello del Papa con li figli al bacio del piede, vi si tratenne più d'un'hora, servendo le cordiali espressioni di sole parole dalla S. S., imponendogli per altro di non prender donativi nè trattamenti, ma riflettere ch'essendo nati poveri signori si contentassero dello stato medesimo sotto pena della sua disgratia, dicendo a' nipoti, che havevano perso il card. Albani loro zio, ma che haverebbero un Clemente XI. amatore delle virtù, al che D. Alessandro il minore soggiunse: ma non potrà negare la S. S. d'essere nostro zio, et a' questi accenti non potè S. B. tener le lagrime per tenerezza. Oltre di ciò fatto chiamare il Generale de' Giesuiti, ordinò N. S., che non fosse distinto dagl'altri convittori del Seminario Romano D. Annibale Albani suo nipote. Con altretanta obbedienza vengono adempiti gl'ordini del Papa dal sudetto D. Oratio, havendo ricusata l'offerta fattagli dal card. Barberino del suo palazzo al Monte della Pietà, come anco diverse cedole e donativi di somma considerätione mandatigli da altri principi." *Avviso Marescotti*, November 27, 1700, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* REBOULET, I., 49 *seqq.*

[2] *Report of Lorenzo Tiepolo of 1712, State Archives, Vienna, extract in RANKE, III., 214*.

[3] *Opera*, Orat., 157.

[4] NOVAES, 283 *seqq.*

During the whole of a pontificate of twenty-one years the Albani received not one scudo from the Pope. On the other hand it became known after the death of Clement XI. that his alms from his own patrimony had been on a most generous scale, and that they amounted to a million scudi, a sum which he might have devoted with a good conscience to his own family.[1]

Dispositions such as these justified the hope of a happy pontificate. If that hope was not fulfilled, if was due to the circumstances of the time, though not exclusively so, because, notwithstanding his other excellent qualities, in political questions Clement XI. was too distrustful of himself to come rapidly to any firm decision, or to carry it through once he had arrived at it.[2]

At the very beginning of his pontificate Clement was made to feel that the tiara would be for him a crown of thorns.

On All Saints' Day of the year 1700 the death took place of King Charles II. of Spain, the last male descendant of Charles V. His will, dated October 3rd, named as heir to the undivided Spanish monarchy, in the first instance, Duke Philip of Anjou, son of the Dauphin and nephew of Louis XIV.,

[1] *Report of Andrea Corner of 1724, State Archives, Venice. Extract in RANKE, III., 215*. " *Va S. B. così sempre esercitando qualche opera di pietà e di edificazione, servendo anche frequentemente alla mensa de' poveri, che in numero di tredici sono quotidianamente alimentati con gran liberalità a spese pontificie nel Palazzo Apostolico " (*Avviso Marescotti*, May 15, 1701, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele di Roma). " *Havendo il Papa saputo, che Don Annibale suo nipote facesse li giorni passati una perdita considerabile nel gioco, è stato da S. S. ripreso, e per digerire la correttione fattagli, si è messo a fare gli esercitii spirituali, sperandosi che per obedire lascierà quel volume, che invola il sonno et il senno, l'oro et il decoro " (Lamberg, February 2, 1704, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein).

[2] Lafitau, who certainly is an impartial witness, says (II., 288) that was the only defect of the Pope. " Bevor des Pabsten worth und wärk zusammen stimmen, allezeith eine grosze Zeit erfordert wird," *wrote the imperial ambassador Gallas to Sinzendorff on March 9, 1715 (Sinzendorff Archives, Castle Jaidhof).

and in the event of Philip being unable to accept, his younger brother, the Duc de Berry, and only in the last instance, the Archduke Charles of Austria, the Emperor's younger son. A clause insisted on the crowns of France and Spain being kept separate.

The news of Charles' will and its acceptance by Louis XIV. was hailed with joy throughout Spain, for it seemed that the disruption of the Spanish monarchy could only be prevented if a Bourbon took up the succession, and if Spain leaned upon powerful France, the sister nation. No one moved a finger in favour of Archduke Charles. Philip of Anjou was able to take possession of the Spanish throne without meeting with the slightest opposition, and he was recognized as King Philip V. by most of the European Powers, among them the Pope who sent him a letter of congratulation on February 6th, 1701.[1]

The only opposition came from the Emperor Leopold I., who resolved to force a decision with the sword. He lodged a solemn protest against Charles II.'s will, and in the first

[1] BUDER, I., 147 *seqq.* The impossibility of not recognizing Philip V. is justly stressed by Pometti (XXI., 313). When later on, especially in 1708, Clement XI. was accused of having acted too hastily, and by his recognition having thrown the full weight of his authority into the scales of the House of Bourbon, the writers who took up the pen in favour of Clement XI. pointed to the state of affairs then existing. " The testament of Charles II., which appointed the Duke of Anjou, had been received in Spain with universal rejoicing and without any opposition by the nobility and the people, by the clergy and the laity. All Spaniards had done homage to the new King, Philip V. To this universal wish of the Spanish nation the Pope had also to give his assent. By his recognition, which was confined to Spain, the Pope had done no wrong to anyone " (from the *Romana*, 1708, State Archives, Vienna, in KLOPP, IX., 57). According to Lamberg's *report to the Emperor, December 31, 1700, Clement XI., in recognizing Philip V., was influenced by the fear that Spain would break off relations with Rome, when the Curia would lose the large income of the Dataria and so would suffer " irreparable loss ". State Archives, Vienna.

weeks of 1701 he began to raise an army for the purpose of invading the territory of Milan in the first instance. To enable him to confront the united forces of France and Spain Leopold looked for allies. Bavaria, Cologne and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, however, sided with France, whilst Hanover took the side of the Emperor. Of great importance for the latter was the circumstance that he succeeded in persuading the powerful Elector Frederick of Brandenburg to lend him assistance. On January 18th, 1701, Frederick had assumed the title of King of Prussia ; the Emperor won him over by recognizing him as such. Leopold experienced greater difficulty in inducing the naval Powers, England and Holland, to espouse his cause. However he succeeded, inasmuch as the King of France, strengthened and emboldened by his recent successes, played into the Emperor's hands. Louis' occupation of the frontier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands led to the triumph of the war party at the Hague, as did the setting aside of the clause in Charles II.'s will which forbade the union of France and Spain under one sovereign. A complete revulsion of public feeling took place in England also. On September 7th, 1701, the Emperor, England and Holland concluded at the Hague the so-called "Grand Alliance", for the purpose of securing for the Emperor an equitable and just compensation for his claims to the Spanish inheritance and for the two maritime Powers adequate security for their territorial possessions and for their trade and their ships. As neither of the two groups of States was adequately equipped, the outbreak of the great war was delayed for a time.[1]

The Pope's attitude in the face of these perilous developments was conditioned by his twofold capacity as Head of the Church and as an Italian prince. In the former capacity he was resolved to act as the common father of Christendom by doing his best to avert war by means of peaceful mediation. Should he fail in this respect his policy as an Italian prince would be, in the first instance, to avert the calamity of a war from Italy.

[1] *Cf.* IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 189 *seqq.*

At the very beginning of the troubles, that is at the end of December, 1700, Clement XI. had dispatched couriers to the Emperor, the King of France and the Government of Madrid with peace exhortations and an offer of mediation. Before the year was out he also wrote to the Dukes of Mantua, Modena and Parma, urging them to remain neutral.[1]

For the rôle of a mediator the first prerequisite was strict neutrality, but it was precisely such an attitude that was exceedingly difficult, more particularly for the Pope, because the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in which Philip V.'s rule had been proclaimed without opposition, was a fief of the Church having a common frontier with the Papal States, so that it was possible to exercise the utmost pressure upon Rome from Naples.[2] In whose favour was the Pope to decide seeing that both Philip V.'s ambassador and the Emperor's representative, Count Lamberg, demanded the investiture of Naples and Sicily for their respective Sovereigns? On the one hand Clement XI., according to Erizzo, the Venetian ambassador, was afraid of the power, the boldness and the pride of the Germans, whilst on the other hand he feared the frivolity, the presumption and the violence of the French, but above all their Gallican principles. Accordingly he did his utmost to avoid having to come to a decision, a policy with which he satisfied neither party.[3]

As a preliminary condition of his acceptance of papal mediation Leopold had demanded that until a juridical decision should have been reached, Naples, Milan and the

[1] *Opera*, Epist., 14 *seqq.*; BUDER, 137 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI. 318 *seq.*

[2] In a *Report to the Emperor, of June 30, 1703, Lamberg, expresses himself thus: "Chi sarà padrone del regno di Napoli, sarà sempre da Roma considerato il più formidabile, perchè il regno è alle porte di Roma e i 'preti' vogliono avere pace in casa loro. Se si serra la porta dell'Abbruzzo, Roma resta senza carne, se quella della Puglia, Roma si trova senza oglio, e così in molte altre cose Roma si rovina senza il commercio del regno." Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[3] KLOPP, IX., 58; POMETTI, XXI., 319 *seqq.*, 453 *seq.*

Netherlands should be surrendered to a third party.[1] Louis XIV. rejected the suggestion and in January, 1701, he ordered his troops to advance into Milanese territory. Clement XI. strove in vain to prevent the Emperor from confronting the French in Upper Italy; he had to deem himself fortunate in having secured a promise that Parma, a fief of the Holy See, would not be touched by his troops.[2]

In view of the fact that as a Cardinal Clement XI. had counselled Charles II.'s will,[3] that at first Philip V. encountered no opposition in the Spanish territories, that both the Catholic and the Protestant allies of the Emperor recognized him as King of Spain,[4] it was scarcely possible for the Pope not to act in like manner. From Philip V. he received nothing but ingratitude in return,[5] but above all he came into conflict with

[1] Klopp, IX., 62.

[2] Pometti, XXI., 322 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the present work, Vol. XXXII., 686.

[4] These reasons are set forth in a document compiled on the occasion of Prié's negotiations in 1708; "*Giustificazione della condotta del Sommo Pontefice tenuta col ser. Re di Spagna Carlo III.," State Archives, Vienna, *Romana.*

[5] Already on April 15, 1701, Philip V. wrote a *letter to Clement XI. in which he communicated to him the deposition of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Baltasar de Mendoza, Bishop of Segovia, who had received this post on October 31, 1699. This action, as also the order that the Council of the Inquisition should henceforth proceed with full papal powers, as when the Inquisitor was absent, justly roused Clement XI.'s resentment, for the reports about the piety of the Spanish king had led him to hope that Philip V. would make amends for the many violations of the rights of the Church committed by the Spanish Government (Paolucci to the Spanish nuncio, March 20, 1701, *Nunziat. di Spagna,* 359, Pap. Sec. Arch.). All the complaints and all the efforts of the Pope for the rehabilitation of Mendoza were unsuccessful. Clement XI. took an all the more serious view of the matter, as he did not wish to see the Holy See robbed of its supreme authority in the most important concern of the Church, namely, in the domain of the faith (Paolucci *to the Spanish nuncio, April 2, 1702, *loc. cit.*). However, he did not obtain the reinstatement of Mendoza. On March 24, 1705, Clement XI. appointed

the Emperor. The question of the investiture of Naples and the incompatibility of the respective demands of the two parties, the Franco-Spanish on the one side and the imperial on the other, further aggravated the difficulty of his position. In these circumstances Clement XI. sought before all else to gain time and meanwhile to improve the conditions of the investiture in his favour.

His first step was to appoint a special Congregation of Cardinals for the purpose of studying the question of the fief of Naples.[1] Resentment at the imperial court grew still further when on April 16th, 1701, Clement XI. issued a sharp protest against the assumption of the royal crown by the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, a protest which the Pope chiefly justified by the fact that the new title referred to Prussia and Prussia was the property of an Order of which the Church had been deprived.[2] This fact had been overlooked

the Bishop of Ceuta Grand Inquisitor of Spain. In August, 1705, he exhorted him to defend the independence of his tribunal against the encroachments of the secular power (*Opera*, Epist., 287). On August 17, 1709, the new Inquisitor-General, the Archbishop of Saragossa, received similar exhortations (*ibid.*, 623), which he carried into effect (*ibid.*, 671). After his death, Philip V. would have liked to have seen the Bishop of Cuenca appointed to the post (*Letter of September 8, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 359, *loc. cit.*); Clement XI., however, appointed Cardinal Giudice (*ibid.*); particularly painful to him were the very numerous encroachments of the Spanish Government in Naples. The expulsion of the Archbishop of Sorrento led to a serious conflict in which, however, the Pope was finally victorious (Belmonte, II., 60 *seqq.*; Landau, 241 *seqq.*; *cf.* Pometti, XXI., 384, 388). With what obstinacy the encroachments of the civil power continued in Naples appears from the *Letters to the Spanish nuncio, 1705–6, in *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[1] Lamberg's *Diary, April 9, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein; Landau, 65; Pometti, XXI., 323; Buder, I., 203 *seq.*

[2] Briefs of protest, April 16, 1701, to the Emperor and the Catholic Powers in *Clementis XI. Opera*, Epist., 43 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 3 *seq.*, the protest made in the consistory of April 18, 1701. According to Lehmann (I., 379), the cause of the conduct of

by the Emperor because he was in need of the Brandenburger's military help against Louis XIV. The Holy See, which had repeatedly and expressly protested against the secularization of Prussia, felt that it could not omit a protest, all the more so as according to the report of Bishop Zaluski of Ermland, the imitation of the Catholic ritual at the coronation constituted an insult to the Catholic religion.[1] The publication of the protest against the Prussian kingship, which France persistently demanded, only took place after considerable hesitation. This hesitation shows how anxious the Pope was to avoid anything that might create an impression that he was in Louis XIV.'s service and for that reason was not a suitable mediator; only when war became inevitable did the consideration hitherto observed towards the Emperor appear superfluous.[2] The Imperial ambassador

Clement XI. was his disappointment at Frederic I. not passing over to the Catholic Church, whilst ZIEKURSCH (Festgabe for Heigel [1903], 371) sees in it a measure of purely theoretical significance which was a necessary result of his former conduct towards the secularization of Prussia. On the other hand, HILTEBRANDT (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 340) shows that there can be no question of a projected campaign on the part of the Curia for the conversion of the Prince of Brandenburg, as Lehman and Ziekursch suppose. On the other hand, Hiltebrandt rejects FRIEDENBURG's statement (*Hist. Zeitschrift.*, LXXXVII., 416 *seqq.*), that Clement XI. had acted not on his own initiative, but solely at the instigation of France. Hiltebrandt draws attention to the fact that the Curia counted very little on the prospect of a conversion of the prince, and that it remained neutral even after the news had arrived that the coronation was imminent, and that it came out of its reserve only after it had got thoroughly acquainted with all the facts. After that, on January 29, 1701, and again on February 19, the nuncios in Warsaw and Vienna received instructions to condemn Frederic I.'s step. Eight days later the Briefs of protest were promulgated; they appeared, however, only a month and a half later, in consideration of a strictly impartial conduct necessary for the peace negotiations (*loc. cit.*, 341–354).

[1] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 355. [2] *Ibid.*

Lamberg nevertheless stuck to his preconceived notion that Clement XI.'s attitude was wholly Francophile. This was to misjudge completely the Pope's intentions and aspirations. His chief preoccupation was, if it was impossible to save peace, at least to preserve Italy from the horrors of a war in which the Papal States, in consequence of their weakness, would be exposed to the gravest peril. Despite all his efforts Clement XI. failed to realize this aim ; his plan to unite all the Italian States in a league of armed neutrality for the purpose of common defence was quickly found incapable of execution. His attempt to restrain Vittorio Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, from entering into an alliance with the French failed, as did his efforts to secure the neutrality of strongly fortified Mantua. Already at the beginning of March, 1701, Clement XI., whilst insisting on the greatest secrecy being preserved, had urged on the Venetian ambassador the necessity of the occupation of that fortress by Venetian and papal troops. "This is our last effort," he announced, "for the preservation of our independence and our position as a mediator in our capacity as common father of Christendom, and as such raised above every party." This plan also was defeated by the hesitation of Venice. Won over by French gold, the degenerate Duke of Mantua, Ferdinand Charles, surrendered his capital to the troops of Louis XIV. on April 5th after a semblance of a siege.[1]

The surrender of Mantua, the key to Upper Italy, to the French, obliged the imperialists to revise all their war plans in that district. With the occupation of the fortress of Verona and other passes, the French imagined their position to be absolutely secure ; to get through, the imperial troops would

[1] Besides LANDAU, 85 *seqq.*, *cf.* KLOPP, IX., 248 *seqq.*, and especially POMETTI, XXI., 318 *seqq.*, 333 *seqq.*, 338 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 357 *seqq.*, a fitting criticism of the report of the Venetian ambassador, Erizzo, which up to now has been only too readily accepted. Pometti rightly calls it a "continua e costante denigrazione del Papa e della corte di Roma", and he shows that Erizzo often completely misrepresents facts. See also VECCHIALO in *Atti dell' Accad. di Padova*, VIII., 2 (1892).

have to turn into birds, Louis XIV.'s Roman adherents used to say[1]; hence when at the end of May that man of genius, Prince Eugene, nevertheless appeared before Verona, after having found a way for his troops through pathless valleys and over steep mountain peaks,[2] the Gallo-Spaniards of Rome grew exceedingly anxious, and they pressed more urgently than ever for Philip V.'s investiture with the fief of Naples. On May 27th Clement XI. had complained to Count Lamberg that the French and the Spaniards subjected him to a real martyrdom. In their opinion he was Spain's greatest enemy and encouraged the malcontents at Naples and that this was the only reason why he delayed the investiture. However, he had told both parties that he could not decide without also hearing the other side; the members of the Congregation of inquiry were impartial men; nothing would be rushed.[3] The day after this conversation Lamberg reported to the Emperor that the Pope had expressed the hope that the imperial arms would free him from the tyranny of the French.[4]

Such sentiments are intelligible enough if we bear in mind the conduct of the Spanish ambassador Uzeda towards Clement XI. If the investiture of Naples was not granted by the end of the month, the ambassador announced in mid-July, his sovereign would look upon it as a refusal. Clement XI. replied that up till then he had expressed neither consent nor refusal, but that he had appointed a Congregation of learned and conscientious Cardinals to study the claims of the Emperor. Uzeda interrupted him with the remark: "Why the Emperor? Why the Cardinals? We neither recognize

[1] Lamberg's report of June 2, 1701, in Klopp, IX., 253.

[2] Wetzer, *Die Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, 1st series, III., Vienna, 1876, 143 *seqq.*; Erben in *Mitteilungen des Österr. Instituts*, XXXVIII.

[3] Lamberg's *Diary, May 27, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[4] According to Lamberg's *Diary these were the words of the Pope: "Iddio faccia che le armi imperiali facciano un buon colpo per liberarci dalla tirannia de' Francesi." *Ibid.*

the Emperor as a party in this affair nor the Cardinals as judges." The Pope replied that though the ambassador refused to recognize the Cardinals as judges, he himself deemed it necessary to ask for their advice and to follow it.[1]

Since Clement XI. remained firm in spite of the insistence of the Gallo-Spaniards,[2] the latter sought to secure Philip V.'s investiture by surprise. It was a long-standing custom that on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul a richly caparisoned white mule (*la Chinea*) and the sum of 7,000 scudi were solemnly offered to the Apostolic Camera by way of a feudal tribute. The Duke of Uzeda and Cardinal Forbin, as representing Spain and France, begged to be allowed to carry out this ceremony, it being understood that by granting the request the Pope would have decided in favour of Philip V. At the same time Count Lamberg requested permission to pay tribute for Archduke Charles. As was to be expected, the Pope refused to receive any kind of tribute; at the same time he issued a statement to the effect that the omission of the tribute would not prejudice either party. This did not stop Uzeda from carrying out his plan. He ordered an emaciated cart horse to be taken secretly to the Vatican and to be caparisoned there, after which he pretended to offer the *chinea* to the Camerlengo with a draft for 7,000 scudi. When the Camerlengo declined the presentation, Uzeda's representative lodged a protest, but left behind both the nag and the draft.[3] This curious incident provided the Romans, with their keen sense of the ridiculous, with an occasion for countless jokes,[4] but out of Rome it was widely interpreted as a decision in favour of the Emperor. Much more tangible results were produced by the victorious advance

[1] Lamberg's report of June 18, 1701, in KLOPP, IX., 298.

[2] *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter to the Spanish nuncio, June 26, 1701, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 383, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] *Cf.* LANDAU, 67 *seqq.*; KLOPP, IX., 300 *seqq.*, after Lamberg's reports; POMETTI, XXI., 353.

[4] "Il riso e deriso era universale e si sentì una voce che disse essere quella la figura e ritratto della monarchia di Spagna." Austrian **Avviso*, July 2, 1701, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

of Prince Eugene in Upper Italy. On July 9th the French suffered a complete defeat near Carpi, and after that battle they were forced to abandon position after position.

During the night of July 3rd, 1701, news reached Rome of the entry of the imperial troops into the territory of Ferrara. Such a step infringed papal neutrality, whilst it was at variance with all the promises hitherto given ; it roused the Pope's indignation.[1] On July 3rd, 1701, Clement XI. protested against these encroachments to Lamberg and drew the latter's attention to the fact that both French and Spaniards triumphantly assigned the blame to the Pope : they had warned him often enough, they said, and foretold these events. For the moment Lamberg succeeded once more in calming the Pontiff with apologies and promises,[2] but an occurrence in the following autumn was bound to rouse the Pope's resentment to a far greater degree. In consequence of Prince Eugene's successes the imperialists had grown increasingly bold, so that with the concurrence of Lamberg and the Austrophile Cardinal Grimani, certain noble Neapolitan malcontents in Rome were working for the overthrow of the Bourbon domination in Naples by means of a popular rising and its replacement by the Austrian Archduke Charles. The undertaking failed, but the fact of so dangerous a plot being hatched in his own capital was bound to force the Pope from the impartial attitude he had hitherto adopted and to take the side of the French. The Emperor, so it was said at the Vatican, was determined to carry the torch of war, which until then had only threatened the northern frontier of the Pontifical States, as far as the southern boundary and almost to the very gates of Rome. The easy suppression of the rising also caused a deep impression.[3] In the circumstances Clement XI. could not but feel gratified by the fact that on August 8th, 1701, that

[1] Austrian **Avviso*, July 9, 1701, *ibid.* *Cf.* CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, 6–7.

[2] Lamberg's *Diary, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* BUDER, I., 253 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the reports in LANDAU, 147.

is, before the outbreak of the Neapolitan troubles, he had dispatched Cardinal Archinto to Nice for the purpose of saluting Princess Marie Louise of Savoy, the bride of King Philip V.[1]

On October 3rd, 1701, the Pope held a consistory in which he informed the Cardinals of the death, on September 16th, of the ill-starred King of England, James II. He spoke in praise of the deceased monarch's efforts on behalf of the faith, and of his resignation to God's will on his death-bed. At the same time he eulogized Louis XIV. for his kindness to the fugitive royal family and extolled the magnanimity of the French king who, regardless of the consequences, had recognized James' son, Hugh Francis Edward, as King James III. of Great Britain.[2] The fact that, in this question, Clement XI. took the side of France and the Pretender, as James III. was styled, so promptly and so decidedly, was not only to be fraught with grave consequences for the Catholics in England, it also endangered the Pope's impartiality and, consequently, the success of his attempts at mediation.[3] Already in August Clement XI. had made up his mind to send nuncios extraordinary to the Catholic courts in the interest of peace. He reverted to the plan in October when Lamberg and Grimani offered strong opposition to its execution. They suspected a French intrigue in the whole affair, having for its object the estranging of the Emperor

[1] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library. *Cf. Clementis XI., Opera*, Orat., 6. Archinto brought to the new Queen of Spain the Golden Rose which had been destined for her at the beginning of March, but its dispatch was delayed on account of Lamberg's remonstrances (BUDER, I., 153 *seq.*). On Archinto's mission, see besides SCLOPIS, *Marie Louise Gabrielle de Savoie*, Torino, 1866, 27 *seqq.*, and CLARETTA in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 272 *seqq.*, 278 *seqq.*; the detailed *Report in *Barb.* 5646, pp. 88–103, Vat. Library. That the Pope sent the Golden Rose to the Bourbon King, as has been affirmed by NOORDEN (III., 135), is a serious error.

[2] **Acta consist., loc. cit.*; *Clementis XI., Opera*, 7–8.

[3] KLOPP, IX., 339 *seqq.*

from England and Holland.[1] However, the Pope stuck to his resolve despite every effort to dissuade him. On November 21st the Cologne nuncio, Spada, the Archbishop of Avignon, Fieschi, and Bishop Zondadari were named nuncios extraordinary and peace mediators at the courts of Vienna, Paris and Madrid.[2]

In a confidential letter of December 14th Louis XIV. had expressed his willingness to accept papal mediation, but the Emperor persisted in his rejection of Spada whilst at the same time demanding a free passage for his troops through the Papal States to Naples. The Venetian ambassador painted the imperial army in the darkest colours; it included, so he wrote, Danes and Brandenburgers, heretics thirsting for blood and booty, who would plunder the Papal States and the treasure of Loreto even against the Emperor's will.[3] The military preparations which the Pope ordered on the receipt of this information were quite inadequate; he now paid heavily for the previous neglect of the papal military power.[4]

It was said that, realizing his weakness, Clement had ordered provisions to be made ready with a view to their being sold to the imperial troops on their way through, so that they should have no pretext to seize them by force. In the end, however, he refused permission for the passage of the troops.[5]

The Pope who, in February, 1702, ordered prayers for peace in Rome,[6] continued to hope that the Emperor would accept his mediation. He sought to win over Lamberg for

[1] *Ibid.*, 357 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 150.

[2] **Acta consist.*, November 21, 1701, *loc. cit.*; *Clementis XI., Opera*, Orat., 7 *seq.*, Epist., 89 *seqq.*; BUDER, I., 292 *seqq.*

[3] LANDAU, 151.

[4] *Cf.* BROSCH, I., 464 *seq.*

[5] *Letter to the Spanish nuncio, January 8, 1702, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 359, Papal Secret Archives; LANDAU, 153.

[6] **Avviso Marescotti*, February 11, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

this plan by assuring him that it would not be to Leopold's detriment seeing that it was not in the interest of the Holy See that France and Spain should coalesce into a single Power. At the same time he also expressed his suspicion that Louis XIV. was in secret correspondence with William III. of England.[1] How much Clement XI. feared the Franco-Spanish preponderance was shown by his inability to conceal his satisfaction at Prince Eugene's great success on February 1st, 1702, when the latter made a prisoner of Maréchal Villeroi. On being informed by Cardinal Forbin that Eugene had lost 4,000 men on this occasion, the Pope observed that he would pray that peace might be furthered thereby.[2] It was a vain hope: the struggle between the Emperor and the King of France developed into a great coalition war, a veritable world war.

In Rome the mutual embitterment of parties was at fever heat, so much so that it looked as if the days had come back when might was right and everyone was his own defender. To Lamberg the Pope complained that he heard of nothing but murders and assassinations; there had been times of war before this but things had never been so bad as they were just then.[3]

These laments referred to the incidents connected with the quarrel between the Marchese Cesare del Vasto of Naples and Cardinal Forbin.[4] Del Vasto was protected by Lamberg. The Emperor, who on December 16th, 1701, had created the Marchese a field-marshal for his services to Austria, resented it as a grievous injury and an act of partiality in favour of France when the Papal authorities unreservedly took the side of Forbin and on March 18th, 1702, condemned Vasto

[1] Lamberg's *Diary, February 4, 1702, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. *Cf.* KLOPP, X., 166 *seq.*

[2] Lamberg's *Diary, February 10, 1702, *loc. cit.*

[3] Lamberg's *Diary, February 17, 1702, *ibid.*

[4] On this conflict, which has never been sufficiently cleared up, see LANDAU, 153 *seqq.* *Cf.* BUDER, I., 320 *seqq.*, 341 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 369 *seqq.*

to death.[1] On April 4th, 1702, Leopold decided not to receive the papal nuncio in audience until he should have made satisfaction for the injury done to Vasto. At the same time Lamberg was instructed no longer to deal with the Pope directly but only through Cardinal Grimani.[2]

Thus relations between Rome and Vienna were exceedingly strained when King Philip V. of Spain paid a visit to Naples in mid-April, 1702. As Philip promptly assured the Pope of his entire devotion through the Marquis de Louville,[3] it was necessary to acknowledge this act of courtesy. Clement XI. entrusted Cardinal Carlo Barberini with the task and named him Legate extraordinary on May 8th.[4] Cardinal Grimani protested against this action in the Emperor's name; at the same time he expressed the fear that this legation would be interpreted as a recognition of Philip V. as King of Naples. To allay his anxiety Clement XI. instructed the Secretary of State, Paolucci, to explain in writing under date of May 7th, that the dispatch of a Legate was no more than an act of courtesy, based on long established custom and one that had nothing to do with the investiture:

[1] The sentence was not carried out, because the Emperor let it be known in Rome that the head of the captured Marshal Villeroi was security for that of Vasto.

[2] LANDAU, 165.

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 121 *seq.*; BAUDRILLART, I., 106.

[4] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; *Clementis XI.*, *Opera*, Orat., 13. *Cf.* [FR. BIANCHINI], *Descrizione della legazione del card. Carlo Barberini a Filippo V.*, Roma, 1703, reprinted by P. E. VISCONTI, Roma, 1858; a detailed description there by one of the witnesses of all the external ceremonies of the legation. *Documents on the legation, which was preceded by lengthy negotiations about the ceremonial to be observed, in *Barb.* 5408, 5636–38, 34. *Cf. ibid.*, 5828: M. SOCINI, *Giornale della legazione del card. C. Barberini al Re Filippo V. in Napoli, 5535; G. B. VACCONDIO, *Legazione fatta dal Card. C. Barberini, 1702, Vat. Library. Also **Collez. Bolognetti*, 61, 64, 170, 268, Papal Secret Archives.

the latter would never be granted in secret, but publicly, with all the customary formalities, and to the person to whom it was due.[1] Cardinal Barberini was accordingly instructed to greet Philip V. on his arrival but to avoid anything that might prejudge the decision of the Holy See.[2]

Cardinal Barberini delayed his departure from Porto d'Anzio until May 19th so as not to be obliged to assist at Philip V.'s solemn progress through Naples (May 20th), a circumstance which the French might have interpreted to mean that the investiture was an accomplished fact. In like manner the Cardinal Legate's speeches on the occasion of his audiences with Philip V. on May 29th and 30th merely expressed in general terms his satisfaction at the King's arrival,[3] and the presents offered by him in the name of the Pope, viz. a golden cross adorned with precious stones and enriched with Indulgences, did not go beyond what was customary on such occasions. The King sailed from Finale for Lombardy for the purpose of visiting the French army there. Previous to his departure the Cardinal offered him his personal presents consisting of a statue of Hercules by Bernini, a Diana of pellucid agate and other works of art.[4]

The conduct of the Government of Vienna, where according to Lamberg's reports Clement XI. was considered completely subservient to France, stands in sharp contrast with the Pope's regard for the Emperor's interests on the occasion of Cardinal Barberini's legation.[5] Leopold I. strenuously refused

[1] LANDAU, 73 *seqq.* [2] POMETTI, XXI., 374.

[3] BIANCHINI, ed. Visconti, 26, 51 *seq.*; BELMONTE, 233, 238 *seqq.*

[4] BIANCHINI, 58 *seq.*, 61 *seqq.*; Austrian **Avviso*, May 20, 1702, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[5] On May 2, 1702, in a *Report to the Emperor, Lamberg describes the Pope as a consummate hypocrite: "essendo nella sua simulatione il suo genio assai simile a quello di fu Tiberio!" The Pope does not seek the interests of the Emperor in peace; a way out would be if the Emperor *proprio pugno* made secret proposals to the nephews of the Pope! (Lamberg's *Diary, Ottenstein). How little this ambassador knew Clement XI.!

to receive Spada who had been sent as a peace mediator, so that the Legate was forced to stop at Passau. On July 1st the Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio in Vienna, Davia, that the Pope felt painfully surprised by the Emperor's refusal to receive an envoy of the Vicar of Christ whose only duty it was to urge peace.[1] On July 22nd Davia was instructed to renew his efforts to get Spada received.[2] That the Pope continued to hope, in spite of everything, that Leopold would change his mind, appears from the fact that Spada was instructed to remain at Passau for the time being.[3]

When Cardinal Grimani took his leave of the Pope before setting out for Vienna in December, 1702, the Pontiff charged him to influence the Emperor in favour of peace, an object for which he would willingly dispatch new nuncios. At the same time the Pope granted permission, hitherto asked for in vain, for the imperial troops to obtain once again provisions from Ferrara. As a matter of fact already in September the generals of both armies had been authorized, with a view to preserving the population from pillage, to obtain grain in the Papal States against ready money.[4]

However, in spite of the Pope's concessions to both parties, neither of them was satisfied. He was troubled with ever fresh complaints; one day it was the imperialists who felt

[1] " *Rimane N. S. sempre più sorpreso di sentire che tuttavia costì si persista nel non voler ricevere un ministro Apostolico, che si manda dal Vicario di Cristo col solo oggetto e zelo d'esortar alla pace. Vuol però credere che finalmente la pietà dell'Imperatore sia per superare e sciogliere le machine del nemico d'ogni nostro bene, il quale solamente si serve degli eretici per imprimere negli animi la considerazione dell'impegno contratto da cotesta corte con essi, del quale neppur dovrebbe farsi menzione per riputazione e credito del nome cattolico, ecc. *Nunziat. di Germania*, 44, p. 231, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Insista V. S. fortemente per l'accetazione di Msgr. Spada Nuntio straordinario (*ibid.*, 234). Instruction for Spada, March 25, 1702, in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, new series, 642 *seq.*

[3] *Instruction of August 5, 1702, *ibid.*, 240.

[4] *Cf.* BUDER, I., 415, 429 *seq.*, 432.

injured, another day it was the turn of the French and the Spaniards. Both parties frequently infringed the neutrality of the Holy See ; on these occasions the French were favoured by the papal officials, particularly in the sea ports, but in doing so the latter acted on their own authority and the Pope could not be held responsible for everything.[1] The imperialists regarded as specially partial the Governor of Rome, Ranuccio Pallavicini, of whom Lamberg had already complained in the affair Vasto and after that on more than one occasion.[2]

The breach between the Pope and the imperial House was further widened when on September 12th, 1703, at the request of England and Holland, Leopold I. renounced all his rights to the Spanish monarchy in favour of his son, Archduke Charles, proclaiming him at the same time as " Charles III., King of Spain ". This action created no small embarrassment for Clement XI. In 1701, when all the appearances were against the House of Habsburg ever recovering the whole of the Spanish monarchy, the Pope, like all the other European Powers, had recognized the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain under the name of Philip V. The maritime Powers had acted in like manner, though they now revoked that step, but whereas the latter could justify their conduct by the plea that the House of Bourbon had refused to recognize Queen Anne of England, Clement XI. could allege no such reason since he was not at war with the Bourbons. His wish was to remain neutral and to wait. Hence his evasive answer to Count Lamberg was fully justified,[3] as was his prohibition of the display of a picture of Charles as King of Spain in the church of the Anima at a time when the Archduke asserted his pretensions to the Spanish throne, though he could not claim a foot of Spanish territory as his own.[4] Yet, however well founded the Pope's conduct may have been in itself, it nevertheless created an impression that Clement XI. made

[1] LANDAU, 182 *seqq.*

[2] BUDER, I., 525 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 160 *seq.*

[3] KLOPP, X., 400 ; LANDAU, 173.

[4] SCHMIDLIN, 591 *seqq.*

common cause with the House of Bourbon.[1] The French party in Rome took advantage of Leopold's alliance with the Protestant maritime Powers to represent France and Spain as the Church's only protection against the power of the heretics. Unless the Pope put himself under French protection, they said, he would have reason to fear another "Sack" by the imperialists. Cardinal Forbin in particular made it his business to harp on this peril.

Representations of this kind greatly impressed Clement XI., who was of a timorous nature. Whilst on the one hand Vienna provoked him by refusing his envoy, and on the other Paris heaped proofs of friendliness upon him, he found it impossible to resist for ever. The position above all parties which he had striven to maintain was shaken by a number of concessions to the French.[2] This action increased Lamberg's resentment, so much so that though personally a devout man, he forgot himself to such a degree as to make deplorable comments upon the Roman priests. His description of the Cardinal Secretary of State as "stinkingly French" was by no means his strongest expression since he asked in all seriousness whether the Roman prelates believed anything at all[3]; he was of opinion that among them, and even in the Sacred College, there were more atheists than Christians![4] If in Lamberg's opinion, Clement XI., under the influence of his *entourage*, showed undue hostility towards Austria, the French judged him insufficiently opposed to that country. Marshal Vendôme described the Pope as completely

[1] Klopp, X., 400–1.

[2] Landau, 174.

[3] In his *letters to Prince A. F. Liechtein (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna), Lamberg expresses himself just as vehemently as in his reports to the Emperor. His passionate outbursts of anger, which have been aptly described as pathological (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVII., 142), were not only directed against the "priestlings", but against the Italians in general ("one should rather wish to have to deal with savages than with this nation", April 7, 1703).

[4] Letter to the Emperor, April 14, 1703.

intimidated by the Emperor's threats and reproached him with preventing Italy's neutrality.[1] Thus Clement XI. saw himself ever more and more driven into a corner by both parties.

The tension between Vienna and Rome was greatly increased by a most disastrous occurrence in June, 1704. At that time the imperialists stood on the left bank of the Po, at Melara and Ficarrolo, whilst the French were on the right, at Stellata and Bondeno—both on papal territory. Clement XI. summoned them to evacuate his territory; in case of refusal he threatened with excommunication. Thereupon the French left whilst the imperialists delayed their departure; they only surrendered Ficarrolo to the papal troops on June 24th after Cardinal Astalli, the papal Legate of Ferrara, had given them a written guarantee, in the name of the Pope, that their retreat would not be molested and that the French would not be permitted to cross the Po. However, scarcely had the Austrians withdrawn than the papal General Paolucci allowed the French to occupy Ficcarolo.[2] The Pope refused to sanction this traitorous action. He made excuses to the Emperor, deprived General Paolucci of his command and ordered an inquiry into his conduct, but he did not carry out his threat of excommunicating the French as he was afraid of their overwhelming power. In the following year also, in view of the continued preponderance of French arms in Italy, Clement overlooked many, though not all, encroachments on the part of the French.[3] The imperialists also offended in like manner, as when they once more invaded Ferrara in April, 1705, an action against which the Pope protested with the utmost energy.[4]

Whilst these misunderstandings between Rome and Vienna were on the increase, the Emperor Leopold died on May 5th,

[1] Klopp, XI., 462.

[2] *Cf.* Buder, I., 589 *seqq.*; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, VI., 281 *seqq.*; Landau, 178 *seq.*; Klopp, X., 246 *seq.*

[3] Klopp, X., 246 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 460.

1705.[1] He was succeeded by his son, the King of the Romans, Joseph I. The Pope hoped to bring about better relations with the new ruler, but the very opposite happened.

[1] On hearing of his illness, Clement ordered prayers to be said and he himself went to the Anima where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed (SCHMIDLIN, 593). In the consistory of May 18, 1705, the Pope freely acknowledged the great qualities of Leopold I.; see CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 18.

CHAPTER II.

Joseph I.'s Contest with Clement XI—Louis XIV.'s Defeat in 1706 and the Conquest of Naples by the Austrians—The Imperialists' Attack on the Papal States—Defeat of the Papal Troops—The Peace of January 15th, 1709.

Clement's anxiety to reach a compromise with the new Emperor appears from a proposal which he caused to be submitted to Vienna in May, 1705, through Count Althan, a Canon of Olmütz. This was to the effect that the Emperor should dispatch an *obbedienza* embassy with a view to strengthening the Pope against the French and the Spaniards and their insistent demand for Philip V.'s investiture of Naples. When Althan observed that existing differences between Vienna and Rome would prove an insuperable obstacle and insisted upon satisfaction being made for the Pope's conduct in the affair of Del Vasto, as a preliminary condition, Clement XI. remarked that Vienna should not compromise more weighty interests by such trifles.[1] At the same time he drew attention to the fact that in spite of every pressure he had refused the investiture to Philip V., had declined Pomponne's offer of an Italian league of neutrality and, in spite of French resentment, had given his support to King Augustus II. of Poland against his enemies.[2]

Clement XI. was anxious to submit his proposal directly to the Emperor, without its passing through the hands of the hopelessly embittered Lamberg. The latter, however, came to hear of the affair and he forthwith sent in the following

[1] "Non sappiamo se torni a conto di abbandonare interessi assai maggiori per tali bagatelle," the Pope said, according to Lamberg's report to the Emperor, May 23, 1705, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See Lamberg's report, utilized by Klopp, XI., 463 *seq.*

memorial: If His Majesty was willing to fall in with the Pope's proposal, he, Lamberg, felt confident to bring about a complete agreement; but if the Emperor was disinclined to accede to the Pope's wishes, let him announce his arrival in Rome for the purpose of assuming the imperial crown. Such an announcement would put an end to all further importunity on the part of the Pope for there was nothing Rome feared so much as that the Emperor should assert his authority in Italy. Up to the present the Curia only feared the King of France, and that by reason of his determination. Lamberg then quotes the odious phrase that priests could only be governed with money and the stick,[1] a principle on which the French and the Spaniards had acted with great profit to themselves. Let the Emperor do in like manner. Let him cause the Pope to suffer for his repeated championing of French interests; success would be infallible with timorous Clement XI.[2]

Joseph I., an energetic prince then in the first flower of his youthful energy, determined to follow the advice of his ambassador. On July 15th, 1705, the latter was ordered to leave Rome with the utmost secrecy and to repair to Tuscany. Acting like a fugitive and greatly fearing lest he should be brought back, Lamberg set out that very night and only on July 21st did he send from Siena a justification of his departure to Paolucci, the Cardinal Secretary of State. In order to give yet greater significance to Lamberg's action, the nuncio in Vienna, Davia, was summoned to leave the imperial capital within three days.[3]

Clement XI. was all the more alarmed by this step as he had invoked the mediation of the King of Poland in a Brief of August 20th, 1705[4]; he had promised himself good results

[1] "Che per governare bene i preti ci voglia la borsa ed il bastone."

[2] Klopp, XI., 465 *seqq.* On Lamberg's sentiments *cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, IX., 133.

[3] Klopp, XI., 467 *seqq.*; Landau, 191 *seqq.*; Pometti, XXI., 393.

[4] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 291.

from his appeal.[1] On August 30th, 1705, he approached the Emperor in an autograph letter. The step taken by His Majesty, he wrote, betrayed an intention of breaking with the father of all the faithful and the first among Christian princes, and that at a time when Christendom was afflicted by so many evils. Foreseeing the unhappy consequences of such a rupture for religion, the Pope was resolved not to incur either before God or man the reproach that he had not done all that was possible to avert such a disaster. For this reason he wrote with his own hand, to beseech the Emperor not to incur the guilt of so great a scandal. He assured him with a frankness born of a good conscience, that he was at all times ready to prove by facts how very wrong those were who sought to prejudice the Emperor with their accusations against the Pope. "God knows," Clement continues, "the world and we ourselves know what we have done or refused to do during the whole course of our unhappy pontificate, perhaps not without incurring the reproach of having thereby neglected the interests of the Holy See. We were unwilling to depart in even the slightest degree from the absolute neutrality of a common father. We do not doubt that your Majesty will likewise recognize this if, as we confidently trust, you follow the impulse of the piety and justice which you have inherited from your illustrious ancestors together with the dignity and honour of a protector of the Church." [2]

In his reply of September 26th, 1705, Joseph I. explained that he had no intention of breaking with the Holy See but merely of suspending relations with it until he should have received appropriate satisfaction for the favour shown to his enemies. He then referred to the explanations given by

[1] "*Con sommo orrore si sono intese le notizie recate dal dispaccio di M. Nunzio. Li protestanti pur troppo ne rideranno ed i buoni cattolici lungamente ne piangeranno; tanto più strane sono giunte, quanto che si supponeva l'affare nelle mani del Re di Polonia e accettata la di lui mediazione," Clement XI. wrote on August 8, 1705, to the nuncio in Vienna; autograph draft in Papal Secret Archives, XI., 56.

[2] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 293; Klopp, XI., 469 *seq.*

him to nuncio Davia who had withdrawn to Wiener-Neustadt. In conclusion he expressed the hope that there would be no delay in making good the injury done to him. Through the Auditor, Count Francis Charles von Kaunitz, who acted as intermediary since Lamberg's departure, the Emperor assured the Pope that the ambassador's removal from Rome was not meant to be a recall. But this assurance could not alter in any way the fact of the step or the significance which everyone attached to it.[1]

How unfair it was to accuse the Pope of positively favouring the Bourbons became evident precisely at this time. When Stanislaus Leszcynski rebelled against Augustus II. of Poland, the Pope forbade the Polish Bishops to take part in the coronation of his rival. As a sequel to this prohibition the Spanish ambassador, Uzeda, requested the Pope to issue a similar prohibition to the Bishops of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia in regard to Charles III. Clement XI. refused to comply with this demand. He expressed his displeasure and explained that there was no parity between the two cases.[2]

That the Pope was anxious for an agreement with the Emperor is shown by his letters of August 30th, 1705, to the Empress, to Joseph's confessor, to the Electors of Mayence and Trèves, to the Count Palatine John William, to Cardinals Kollonitsch, Lamberg and Grimani, in which he urged them to intervene with the Emperor. However, Joseph I. answered that it only depended on the Pope to empower the nuncio to meet his grievances.[3]

Cardinal Lamberg sought to mediate by dispatching from Passau a plenipotentiary who represented to the Pope the grievances of the imperial Government drawn up in definite terms. The first complaint was that under pretext of the war against the Moors, Philip V. had been allowed to raise

[1] Klopp, XI., 469.

[2] Lamberg's report, September 18, 1705, *ibid.*, 470.

[3] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 295; Klopp, XI., 470. Towards the end of February, 1706, the nuncio left Wiener-Neustadt. Landau, 196.

a tenth from ecclesiastical revenues. Clement XI. denied with the utmost energy his ever having granted such a permission. The second grievance, namely, that the papal Government had given the French leave to occupy Mesola, in the territory of Ferrara, the Pope met with the declaration that he had given no such permission to the French, just as he had refused it to the imperialists who had been in occupation of Mesola for a year and a half; since he was not strong enough to resist acts of violence by either party, he was compelled to let things take their course. The third grievance, concerning recruiting from the population of the Papal States by the French, Clement XI. rejected emphatically as without foundation.[1] For the rest there exist many proofs of the Pope's desire for a reconciliation with the Emperor. His predecessors, he said, had repeatedly granted investiture to the *de facto* holder of the Kingdom of Naples. For the time being Philip V. was in unquestioned occupation; for all that, he had refused to give him the investiture so as not to prejudice the claims of Charles III. He had remained firm in this matter although Cardinal Giudice had made tempting promises in Philip V.'s name, though these were likewise accompanied by threats. Of the guilt of Marchese del Vasto the Pope claimed to have in his hands undeniable proofs. The proceedings against Paolucci in connection with the incident of Ficcarolo had failed to establish the latter's guilt; for all that the General had not been reinstated in his position.[2]

Instead of an agreement being reached, the tension between Rome and Vienna grew still further in consequence of the dispute over the so-called right of first requests—*jus primarum precum*, viz. the right of the prince to recommend a candidate for the first cathedral benefice that became vacant after his own accession. The Emperors had exercised this right since the 13th century but Clement XI. wished to render it dependent on a papal indult. Conflicts over this point occurred

[1] Klopp, XI., 470 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 471 *seqq.*

first at Hildesheim and after that at Augsburg and other places.[1]

On another canonical question, viz. the disputed episcopal election at Münster, the Pope proved accommodating, whereupon Joseph, on his part, showed some consideration for the rights of the Holy See in the controversy over the visitation of the German national church, the Anima. A further token of the Pope's conciliatory disposition was the circumstance that he removed from office the Governor of Rome, Pallavicini, a Cardinal since May 19th, 1706, the same who had so often been in conflict with Lamberg, replacing him by Caffarelli who was well-disposed towards the Emperor.[2] After the return to Rome of Cardinal Grimani, named Co-Protector of Germany, there was a hope of some amelioration in the relations between Pope and Emperor. These relations, however, were being constantly subjected to new tests by reason of the reaction on the Eternal City of various warlike events.[3]

[1] BUDER, I., 850 *seqq.*; CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 331. 443, 449, 627, 1561. A controversy arose about the right of the first petitions. A Bull of October 3, 1711, annulled all *primae preces*, **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 171 *seq.*, Papal Sec. Archives; *Bull.*, XXI., 437.

[2] LANDAU, 197 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVII., 311 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *reports of Count F. K. von Kaunitz in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. On February 27, 1706, he reports that he had protested to the Prodatarius against the granting of a prebend in Barcelona to a "fierissimo Angiovino". The Prodatarius excuses himself that he does not know the circumstances and asks for a list for "vacanze future". Kaunitz declares that he cannot do this without orders. On March 6 Kaunitz complains that in the affair of the benefices of Catalonia more consideration was shown to Uzeda and Forbin than to himself. On April 10 he reports a complaint of his, replied to in general terms, to the effect that in S. Giacomo and S. Maria di Monserrato the preacher had said that in Catalonia heresy was being taught from the pulpit. On June 5 a fresh complaint that after the surrender of Barcelona a fanatical Spaniard had received a canonry in that city and that he had protested in vain.

The reaction was strongest when in 1706 the Franco-Spanish power was dealt three terrible blows. In Spain the struggle for Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, ended with the capitulation of the garrison, to the disadvantage of Philip V. Thereupon Catalonia and the whole of Aragon rose in favour of Charles III. As a result of Portuguese intervention Philip V. was compelled to leave Madrid where Charles III. was proclaimed King on June 25th.[1]

In the Netherlands Villeroi's defeat at Ramillies on May 23rd, 1706, led to the loss by France of Brabant and the greater part of Flanders. Even more far-reaching was Prince Eugene's victory at Turin on September 7th, 1706. This event forced the French to evacuate the whole of Upper Italy. On September 26th Prince Eugène entered Milan; at the approach of winter the French flag only fluttered on the walls of a few fortified places: the country was in the hands of the Emperor. After this tremendous reversal, which created a wide and powerful impression, the moment seemed propitious for punishing the Pope and making him feel his helplessness.

Already whilst on his way to the relief of Turin, which was stoutly defended by the imperialists under Daun, Prince Eugene had occupied papal territory and carried out reckless requisitions. The Pope lodged a protest towards the end of July, 1706, with both Prince Eugène and the Emperor and once more with the Prince on August 14th. In this document he drew a vivid picture of the plundering of his poor subjects, the ill treatment of the clergy, the spoliation and profanation of churches by a disorderly soldiery consisting in part of Protestant Prussians.[2] Fresh trials befell the Pope's unhappy subjects in the sequel also, but Clement XI.'s further protests on September 17th remained unheeded.[3] Towards the end of 1706 the imperial troops began to overrun the Legations

[1] Baudrillart, I., 253 *seq.*, 264.

[2] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 347, 349, 353.

[3] *Ibid.*, 355.

of Bologna and Ferrara and to requisition the inhabitants for bread, wine, oil, hay and even money.[1]

As his repeated warnings remained unheeded,[2] Clement XI. addressed another Brief to the Emperor on January 4th, 1707, couched in sterner terms. To his protests, the Pope wrote, against the action of the imperialists in going into winter quarters in the Papal States, Prince Eugene had replied with empty compliments and various excuses to the effect that the occupation was necessary for the purpose of expelling the enemy. But at present not one Frenchman was left in Upper Italy, though the Pope's subjects continued to suffer from the oppression of the imperial troops. Accordingly he must insist on a remedy being applied.[3] Thereupon the Emperor charged Grimani to calm the Pope by drawing his attention to the fact that the restoration of the Emperor's prestige in Italy would have for its consequence the deliverance of the Holy See from its dependence on France, and to hold out to him the prospect of at least partial compensation for the damage done.[4] Negotiations now began between the papal delegate Riviera and the representative of Prince Eugene, Captain Locatelli, which led to an agreement on February 5th, 1707. It was stipulated that the imperial troops would evacuate the papal territory whilst on the other hand the Legates of Ferrara and Bologna were to pay considerable sums, amounting to as much as 250,000 florins, as compensation for the attack on Ficcarolo in 1704 and the loss thereby incurred.[5]

Like the Pope, the small Italian States were destined to learn from experience that unarmed neutrality was no protection against devastation. For the purpose of replenishing the chronically empty war chest of the imperialists, Prince Eugène laid a tribute on all those Italian States which were

[1] *Cf.* Brosch, II., 37.

[2] December 19, 1706, to Prince Eugene. Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 363.

[3] *Ibid.*, 371.

[4] Landau, 251.

[5] *Ibid.*, 251 *seq.*

considered as imperial fiefs ; Genoa, Tuscany, Lucca, Modena, Parma and Piacenza had to pay enormous sums. With a view to protecting his territory at least in some measure from arbitrary interference, the Duke of Parma had felt compelled already on December 14th, 1706, to come to terms with the civil commissary of the imperial army, Marquis von Prié, and to pay the sum of 540,000 florins, of which the clergy had had to contribute one-fourth. This raised anew, and in an acute form, the controversy between Pope and Emperor whether Parma and Piacenza were papal or imperial fiefs, and once more called in question the agreement which had been so laboriously arrived at.[1]

If up till then the Papal States had been sorely tried by invasions and requisitions, the storm of war at length reached the very gates of Rome, so to speak, when in May, 1707, the imperial Field-Marshal Daun set out to conquer Naples. The imperialists demanded a free passage through the Pontifical States. The Pope was powerless to oppose them, though such a step was suggested to him by the French [2] ; reluctantly he was forced to give way. His annoyance was further increased by the fact that, instead of taking the shortest road along the Adriatic in the direction of the Abruzzi, the imperial generals decided to pass hard by Rome.[3] After an agreement had been reached on the subject of the provisions to be supplied to the troops by the inhabitants of the Papal States,[4] the imperialists began their march. On June 16th they reached Monte Rotondo where, surrounded by crowds of curious Romans, both men and women, who looked with wonder at the Austrian camp, they rested for a few days, after which they proceeded in the direction of Tivoli.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 256 *seqq.* Text of the agreement of December 14, 1706, in BUDER, I., 1049 *seqq.*

[2] NOORDEN, III., 137.

[3] LANDAU, 261 *seqq.*

[4] May 11, 1707 ; see BROSCH, II., 39.

[5] NOORDEN, III., 141. *Cf.* A. ALFIERI, *Un passaggio di truppe tedesche per lo Stato Pontificio* (1707), in *Bollet. per l'Umbria*, XIV. (1908).

There can be no doubt that by sending 10,000 imperial troops to the very gates of Rome, the intention was to exercise pressure on the negotiations with the Pope.[1] To this end Count Martinitz, of whose arrogance Rome had had experience under Innocent XII., was dispatched to the Eternal City. In conjunction with Cardinal Grimani, who was wholly devoted to the Emperor, Martinitz was to obtain Clement XI.'s consent to an agreement which would have been of the greatest advantage to the House of Habsburg. Martinitz and Grimani together laid before the Pope the old grievances of the Government of Vienna and demanded the recognition of Charles III. as King or at least that account should be taken of his presentations to ecclesiastical offices in the territories occupied by him, and that certain Neapolitans who were imprisoned in Rome for conspiring against the Spanish domination be set at liberty. However, their mission proved a complete failure. Grimani felt hurt and humiliated because the Emperor had named Martinitz Viceroy of Naples instead of himself. So Martinitz had to act single-handed. During his stay of five days in Rome—June 18th–22nd—he had two audiences in which he obtained next to nothing. His demands were met with counter-demands by the Pope who flatly refused to recognize Charles III. as King of Spain; the only thing he was willing to grant was the liberation of the Neapolitans.[2]

In spite of strict orders the passage of the imperial troops through the Papal States was not effected without some excesses. During the night of the June 27th–28th they crossed the Garigliano and on July 4th they took Capua. Almost everywhere the Austrians met with an enthusiastic welcome; this was particularly the case at Naples where Daun and

[1] LANDAU, 261, where reference is made to a letter of Joseph I. to Daun, on May 30, 1707, preserved in the Palffy-Daun family archives. According to this letter Daun should, if it could be done without dangerous delay, prolong the march by making a halt of one or at most two days before Rome, to enable Martinitz to get there first.

[2] LANDAU, 270 *seqq.* *Cf.* KLOPP, XII., 319 *seq.*

Martinitz made their entry on July 7th. At the end of a bare fortnight the whole Kingdom of Naples was in the hands of the imperialists with the exception of the fortresses of Pescara and Gaeta.[1]

Everyone did homage to King Joseph I.'s brother, King Charles III., who was in Spain at the time. Since the Austrians already ruled in Milan, they were now masters of all Italy and instead of the feeble Spanish rule, the Holy See had henceforth to reckon with a youthful, energetic monarch who had an imposing military force at his disposal.

The proceedings at Parma and Piacenza, which were a challenge to the Papacy, were but a foretaste of the imperial pretensions.[2] The agreement to which the Duke of Parma was compelled to give his assent in December, 1706,[3] denied not only the papal over-lordship, but implied a breach of the rights of the Church by the arbitrary imposition of a war tax on the clergy. Clement XI. accordingly refused his sanction, forbade the Duke, as his vassal, to put the agreement into execution and threatened with ecclesiastical penalties all who should attempt to collect the prescribed levies.[4] The Pope felt particularly hurt by the circumstance that the imperial troops, which had gone into winter quarters in the above-named Duchies, were for the most part Protestants whose chaplains held heretical services. But his complaints on this point had as little effect with the Emperor as the prohibition forbidding the imperial commanders to tax the clergy on their own authority. Prince Eugene even went so far as to compel the submission of priests who offered resistance, by billeting a greater number of soldiers on them and by making still heavier demands on the monasteries.[5]

[1] BELMONTE, II., 128 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 310 *seq.*; POMETTI, XXI., 392.

[2] Opinion of BROSCH, who is certainly not favourable to the Popes (II., 37).

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 43.

[4] *Cf.* BUDER, I., 1070.

[5] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 375; *Bull*, XXI., 292 *seqq.*; MENZEL, IX., 470.

Clement XI. took much counsel, ordered the Blessed Sacrament to be exposed in the principal churches, and special prayers to be recited for three days, to the end that he might be guided in making the right decision in so difficult a situation.[1] In the end he came to the conclusion that it was his duty to make a solemn protest against the violation of the secular and spiritual prerogatives of the Holy See.

On July 27th, 1707, a Bull was drawn up which, basing itself on the Constitutions of Leo X. of the year 1515 and Urban VIII. of 1641, declared the agreement of the imperialists with the Duke of Parma to be null and void; all those who laid hands on the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza and billeted troops, or laid taxes, on the priests there, and all those who approved their action and co-operated in it, were to fall under the penalty of major excommunication.[2] On August 1st the Bull was published, together with two monitories, by simple affixing on the doors of St. Peter's, the Lateran and the other customary places. One of the monitories was directed against the violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by Duke Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, the other against the royal officials at Aquila who had expelled the Bishop of that place.[3]

In a consistory of the same date, August 1st, the Pope commented upon the painful incidents in Parma, Piacenza, Savoy and Naples of which these documents gave notice. Alluding to the feast of the day, St. Peter-in-Chains, Clement declared that he was determined to break the chains with which the secular power sought to hamper the natural freedom of the Church.[4]

Prince Eugene took no notice of the excommunication which was directed against himself in the first instance. He continued to levy contributions and urged the Emperor to take an energetic decision and not to allow His Holiness

[1] *Cf.* B. Nani's report of May 21, 1707, in Brosch, II., 38.

[2] Buder, I., 1046 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 1037 *seqq.* *Cf.* Landau, 277 *seqq.*; Carutti, *Storia del regno di Vitt. Amadeo*, II., 95, 197, 208, 214 *seq.*, 303.

[4] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Orat., 28 *seq.*

"to mix and meddle so much with temporal affairs".[1] The Duke of Savoy also sought to rouse Joseph I. by representing to him that the Holy See was only strong in words but timid and submissive in the face of those who lost no words but boldly passed on to deeds in the assertion of their just rights.[2] However, the Emperor seemed unwilling to push things to extremes. When the Pope made representations to him on the fact that by the terms of the Peace of Altranstadt the Silesian Protestants were to have their churches restored to them,[3] he excused himself by pleading that in accordance with the counsel of theologians, he had chosen the lesser of two evils.[4]

So long as there was no decision in the field Clement XI. upheld Philip V. as King of Spain and looked on Archduke Charles as a pretender who could not be allowed to have a say in ecclesiastical appointments in the territories occupied by him. Charles swore vengeance. In so doing he went by the principle that in order to obtain a thing in Rome, it

[1] Eugene's letter from Turin, October 20, 1707, in *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, Suppl., Heft. IX., 198.

[2] CARUTTI, 285.

[3] BUDER, I., 1097 *seqq.*

[4] KLOPP, XII., 442 *seq.*, 551 *seqq.* *Cf.* LANDAU, 282. In *Europäische Fama*, LXXIV., 80, there is an Italian letter of Clement XI. on this matter, directed to Leopold I. and dated September 10, 1708, which up to now has been considered authentic. The fact, however, that it is not among the *Epist. Clementis XI.*, t. 86, Pap. Sec. Archives, tells against its authenticity. After the restoration of peace between the Emperor and the Pope, as there were numerous apostasies from the Catholic Church in consequence of the treaty of Altranstadt, Joseph I., to pacify Clement XI., issued an order on June 3, 1709, through the Silesian authorities, against such apostasies (MENZEL, IX., 461). Clement XI. repudiated the treaty of Altranstadt by a Brief to the King of Poland, September 31, 1709 (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 645 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 649 *seq.*, the King's written apology, April 2, 1710), and again by a Brief to the Emperor, Charles VI., June 4, 1712 (*ibid.*, 1689 *seq.*).

was necessary to show one's teeth and to inspire fear.[1] The exhortations in this sense, which he addressed to the Emperor from Barcelona, fell on good soil. Since April, 1706, both at Naples and at Milan, the revenues of all ecclesiastics living outside those territories were being sequestrated, whilst the dispatch of money to Rome and the publication of papal Bulls without a *placet*, was forbidden. As by this means a number of Bishops and Cardinals lost a considerable part of their income, the strict execution of the measure was bitterly resented in Rome.[2] In a Brief of May 6th, 1708, Clement XI. protested to Joseph I. himself, whilst by Briefs addressed to the Empress, the Empress-Mother, Cardinal Lamberg and the Elector of Mayence in his capacity as Chancellor of Empire, he sought to induce Joseph I. to give way.[3] But the Emperor listened to the advice of Duke Rinaldo of Modena whose wife was a sister of the Empress Amalia. As an imperial vassal Rinaldo hoped to wrest from the Holy See the States lost by the Este. He gave it as his opinion that in order to render the Pope more accommodating, it was necessary to diminish the Papal States by cutting off Ferrara from them.[4] Thus a step was decided upon which was as impolitic as it was precipitate.[5] Though even Prince Eugene was unwilling to have anything to do with it, since there was question of an attack upon territory which the Church had claimed as her own for over a century,[6] imperial troops led by General Bonneval crossed the frontier of the Papal States without previous declaration of war and on May 24th, 1708, occupied the defenceless coastal town of Commacchio, situated between Ravenna and Ferrara. At

[1] Charles III. to Count Wratislaw, November 8, 1707, in ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, 50.

[2] SENTIS, 141 ; NOORDEN, III., 329 *seqq.* ; LANDAU, 353 *seqq.*

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 506 *seq.*

[4] BROSCH, II., 42. On the furtherance of the attack on Ferrara by the Duke of Modena, *cf.* the report of his envoy in *Atti e Mem. per la Prov. dell' Emilia N. S. I.*, Modena, 1878, 103 *seq.*

[5] Opinion of LANDAU (357).

[6] KLOPP, XIII., 94 *seq.*

the same time they also seized the valuable salt mines and fisheries.[1] They at once began to erect works of fortification; over the gate a stone was inserted bearing the ominous inscription: "To Emperor Joseph, the revendicator of Italy's ancient rights."[2]

On receipt of this information the Pope resolved, though with a heavy heart, to defend himself.[3] The Legate of Ferrara was instructed to put that city and the other fortified places in a state of defence.[4] In Rome, where consternation and anxiety reigned, troops were enrolled and military conferences held.[5] On June 2nd the Pope appealed not only to the Emperor and the Empresses, the Emperor's confessor and Count Lamberg, but likewise to the Republics of Genoa, Venice and Lucca, to the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the Electors of Mayence and Trèves, the Kings of Poland and Portugal, and to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John.[6] With the Emperor the Pope expostulated in the following terms: "The action of your Majesty's troops in throwing garrisons into the Pontifical States and unfurling their banners as in a conquered territory, and, so it would seem, contemplating even graver measures, is contrary to equity and reason, as well as to the regard due to the Holy See and the rights of the Church. This can only have happened through a misuse of the imperial name and is in direct contradiction with the

[1] See the detailed *report of Paolucci, Papal Secretary of State, based on the evidence of eye-witnesses, in *Miscell. di Clement XI.e* 29, p. 30 *seqq.* (Papal Sec. Arch.), where there are further numerous documents on this matter. *Cf.* LANDAU, 358; POMETTI, XXI., 394 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* RINCK, *Leben Josephi des Sieghaften*, II., 413; BUDER, II., 138. Another version of the inscription in OTTIERI, III., 48, and in **Avviso di Roma*, June 26, 1708, *Cod. Ital.*, 198, State Library, Munich.

[3] *Cf.* NOORDEN, III., 334.

[4] BUDER, II., 61 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 358.

[5] *Cf.* **Avvisi di Roma* of May 29, June 3, 12, 26, July 10 and 17, 1708, *Cod. Ital.*, 198, *loc. cit.*

[6] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 514 *seqq.*

title of a protector of the Church of which former Emperors were so proud. You cannot be ignorant of the prescriptions of the sacred canons and the Apostolic Constitutions against such conduct. Consider then whither you are being led by the evil and destructive counsels of those who have induced you thus openly to provoke the anger of God. Withdraw without delay your foot from where your soul would find certain damnation and your name everlasting shame. We shall not cease humbly to pray for divine assistance and, assured that it will be granted, we shall take this affair in hand, together with all that is entrusted to our care, with such firmness that no one shall have reason to reproach us with having neglected the duty of our office, or with having failed to take the necessary measures, both spiritual and temporal, for we do not value our life more than the discharge of the duty laid upon us by heaven. We bear in mind, as you also should remember, that all men, whatever their dignity may be, shall one day have to give an account of their conduct before a most dreadful tribunal. May this thought, which is for us a source of calm, prove salutary to your Majesty also! Take heed, most beloved son (we call upon you for the last time in the name of Jesus Christ whose unworthy representative we are), take heed lest you stain the first-fruits of your flourishing youth by scandalizing the whole Christian people and begin your reign by offending the Church, the Bride of Christ, and her Apostles. That you may fully realize this, and with God's help may follow better counsels, we bestow upon your Majesty the Apostolic blessing." [1]

[1] *Ibid.*, 514; MENZEL, IX., 473. A second and stronger Brief of July 16, 1708, threatening excommunication and war, and published in 1708, in *Lettres hist.*, XXXIV., 273, is considered by NOORDEN (III., 337) as an interpolation, whilst LANDAU (360 *seqq.*) regards it as authentic, although it is not found in the State Archives of Vienna. However, there can be no question of its authenticity since it is not among the authentic *Epist. Clementis XI.*, in Papal Sec. Archives. That at this time, in order to foster discord among the Christian princes, many stories were invented and spread abroad, especially by the French, is shown by the

Instead of any answer to the Brief of June 2nd, the Emperor published a manifesto dated June 26th. In form it was a refutation of the papal decree of the preceding year which had declared null and void the agreement between the Duke of Parma and the imperialists, but in substance it was an open declaration of war. Everybody knew, the document said, at what cost the victorious arms of the Emperor and his allies had freed Italy from the domination of the French and restored to it its liberty, and what claims to the gratitude of the Italian States the Emperor had thereby acquired! Instead of this, to the amazement and scandal of the whole world, the ministers of the Roman See had had recourse to spiritual weapons in secular concerns, and attempted to overthrow the ancient rights of the Emperor and the Empire to Italy and its dependent territories of the Duchy of Milan, with an appeal to an alleged feudal suzerainty of the Roman See. But history and unquestionable documents prove that suzerainty over the aforesaid Duchies belonged exclusively to the Emperor and the Empire who invested the legitimate holders of the Duchy of Milan. This suzerainty had never been renounced. The Emperor's rights were so interwoven with those of the Empire that they could not be separated from the latter without the consent of the whole; still less could they be torn away from it by papal Bulls, however many excommunications these might threaten. It was an utterly vain, and even a ridiculous thing, to arrogate to oneself judgment in one's own cause, and by means of Bulls to claim for oneself the rights of a third party. The quartering and provisioning of troops in imperial feudal territories had done

report in *Mercure historique*, XLV., 119, that in his homily on the feast of St. Peter, Clement XI. had compared the Emperor to an eagle whose bill was full of blood. In the authentic text of the homily (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Hom., 54 *seqq.*), there is a quotation from the Holy Scripture about the eagle, but not in connection with the Emperor. With reference to the difficulties of the time the Pope says at the end in a very general way: "Fluctuabit Petri navis, sed non mergetur; ac licet tot tantisque Ecclesia turbinibus agitetur, portae inferi adversus eam non praevalebunt."

no injury to the Church's property, especially as by this means the peace and tranquillity of those territories had been assured! Moreover it was a long standing custom in those parts to draw upon ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of the troops.

The Emperor further reproached the Pope with having allowed the French to tax the clergy, whereas he himself had been repeatedly offended by the Pontiff. Until now he had patiently borne with everything, but the time had now come when he would no longer be able to justify further hesitation before God and his successors. Accordingly, after hearing his privy council and the council of Empire, as well as the opinions of foreign theologians of good repute and that of experts in civil and canon law, he, on his part, declared null and void the Pope's nullity Brief as well as the sentence of excommunication, all the more so as it had been pronounced, not in defence of the Lord's inheritance, but in order to bolster up papal pretensions. Since, according to the holy Fathers and the Councils, unjust ecclesiastical penalties are to be feared, not by those against whom they are pronounced, but by those who pronounce them, he appealed to the judgment of God and that of all impartial people. As for the two Duchies, no right of any kind, least of all that of direct suzerainty over them, could be conceded to the Holy See. Accordingly he forbade the Duke of Parma and his subjects, under pain of confiscation of their property and other corporal punishments, to take any notice of the Pope's declaration of nullity, or to recognize any other overlord except the Emperor and his brother King Charles of Spain.[1]

The tone of this manifesto, to which the Pope declined to reply,[2] will be more easily understood if we remember that

[1] BUDER, II., 83 *seqq.* LANDAU (361) says the manifesto is perhaps the strongest document ever penned by an Emperor of the House of Habsburg against a Pope.

[2] On the unauthenticity of the Brief of July 16, 1708, see above, p. 50, note 4. Authentic, however, are the Briefs protesting against the invasion of the Papal States by the imperialists and the edicts of Milan and Naples, addressed to

in Joseph's case reverence for the Holy See had been undermined already in his early youth, whilst his head had been stuffed with "new interpretations of the faded imperial prerogatives".[1] At this time a number of writers in the pay of the Government of Vienna were busily engaged in reviving, by means of documents and parchments, "the phantom of the ancient imperial fiefs in Italy".[2] In all seriousness they advocated the notion that the Emperor had an inalienable claim not only to Parma and Piacenza, but to all Italy, the City of Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter.[3] A professor of theology of Tübingen, in a defence of Joseph I. against the Roman Bulls written in 1708 and published in the following year, laid down the following propositions:—

1. The Pope cannot be a temporal lord.
2. The donations of the Emperors to the Popes give to the latter no sovereign rights, and they may be taken back should a Pope be guilty of grievous ingratitude.
3. The Emperor is the supreme arbiter in all conflicts concerning the temporal possessions of the Bishop of Rome.
4. The Council is above the Pope and must be convened by the Emperor.
5. The Church of Germany has the same rights as those enjoyed by that of France.

Cardinals Lamberg and the Cardinal of Saxony, to the ecclesiastical Electors and to the German Episcopate, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 541 *seq.* (*cf.* 555 *seq.*). On July 21, 1708, Clement XI. made similar complaints to Louis XIV. (*ibid.*, 545 *seq.*). *Letters of this kind were sent also on July 21 to the Kings of Spain and Poland, to Venice and other Italian States. *Epist. Clementis XI.*, t. 81, Papal Sec. Archives.

[1] See the memorandum compiled about 1695 for the information of Joseph, in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, VI., 23 *seqq.* *Cf.* NOORDEN, III., 330.

[2] RINGHOFFER, *Die Flugschriftenliteratur zu Beginn des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges*, Leipzig, 1881, 86; NOORDEN, *Papsttum und Kaiser im 18. Jahrhundert* in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876.

[3] Such is the title of a book published at Jena, 1708–9, by G. RÜHLMANN.

6. Clement XI.'s threat of excommunication against the Emperor is an abuse of spiritual authority for a secular purpose.

7. The Pope may not wage war.[1]

To this kind of literature belongs a memorial steeped in Ghibelline notions, against the Pope's temporal power and his "pretensions against the Emperor", whose author endeavours to prove from history that the Popes were subject to the Germano–Roman Emperors in the same way as the Patriarchs of Constantinople were subordinate to the Byzantine rulers![2]

In addition to the French,[3] two Italian princes, viz. the Dukes of Savoy and Modena, did their best to join in the dispute between Pope and Emperor. Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy had been involved in an ecclesiastico-political dispute with the Holy See since the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XI.[4] In June, 1708, he suggested that the following steps should be taken jointly with Joseph I. and Charles III., viz. sequestration of the revenues of absentee clerics, prohibition to publish papal Bulls, Briefs, Monitories, etc., until they should have received the approval of the secular authority, restriction of the activities of the Inquisition, the right of sanctuary and other such matters.[5] Duke Rinaldo d'Este of Modena was primarily concerned with his claims to Comacchio. The Pope had the latter's arguments on the subject refuted by the learned Giusto Fontanini who in his turn was attacked by the celebrated Muratori.[6]

[1] *Defensio aug. Rom. Imperatoris Josephi contra Curiae Romanae bullas a I. Wolfg. Iaegero cancellario Tubingensi*, Tübingen, 1709. *Cf.* LANDAU, 365 *seq.*

[2] Extracts from this memorandum preserved in State Archives, Vienna (*Romana*, February, 1709), are given in LANDAU, 366 *seq.*

[3] NOORDEN, III., 331 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* below.

[5] On the Duke's *Mémoire* of June 8, 1708, in State Archives, Turin, *cf.* LANDAU, 369 *seqq.*

[6] On these and other polemical writings (indexed in BUDER, II., 189 *seq.*, 244 *seq.*, 486 *seq.*, 652 *seq.* LEBRET, *Gesch. Italiens*,

These polemics were followed by an armed struggle, though not a very bloody one. War between the Pope and the Emperor, for which French diplomacy had worked with all the means at its disposal since the autumn of 1706,[1] broke out in October, 1708.

Before things had come to this extremity the seniors in rank among the Cardinals had written directly to the Emperor on August 12th, 1708, in the name of their colleagues. The Emperor had sent the Sacred College copies of his manifesto of June 26th. "We all," the Cardinals wrote, "could only peruse this document with deep sorrow, and some of us only with tears in our eyes". The Emperor was doing Clement XI. a grievous wrong. When he declared null and void the agreement with the Duke of Parma, the Pope could not possibly intend to injure or restrict the rights of the Emperor since there were no such rights in regard to the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza. The Holy See had held these territories for three centuries by a rightful tenure; both before and after the investiture of the House of Farnese, at each renewal, the fees had always been paid to the Apostolic Camera. This had been expressly sanctioned by the Emperor Leopold in 1695 and 1697, who in a decree of the Council of Empire had publicly declared that the Duke held only a few small territories in fief from Emperor and Empire. They were surprised that this fact should not have been brought to the Emperor's notice, unless it was purposely kept dark with a view to preventing His Majesty from acting as the protector of the rights of the Roman Church, and in order to make room for the advice of evil counsellors, theologians and canonists. Let the Emperor calmly consider both how far the authors of the manifesto had strayed and the expressions they had used about the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, the Vicar of Christ on earth, and about the clergy.

IX., 660 *seqq.*), *cf.* also Fea, *Il diritto sovrano della S. Sede sopra le valli di Comacchio*, Roma, 1824, and Sauer, *Die Schrift des G. Valla*, Göttingen, 1905, 15 *seqq.*, 18 *seqq.*

[1] Noorden, III., 331.

His Majesty could not fail, in view of his native, truly Austrian piety, to be horrified by such language. To this must be added the attack and occupation of Comacchio, to the injury of natural and international law, as well as the unheard of decrees issued in Milan and Naples.[1]

The Cardinals gave further support to the Pope when they agreed to the removal from Sixtus V.'s treasure in Castel S. Angelo of the sum of 500,000 scudi for armaments.[2] As this sum proved inadequate it became necessary to impose fresh taxes, to raise the nominal value of money without, however, raising the metallic content, and to incur debts. Even so the armaments were insufficient. The untrained mob of hurriedly collected troops were no match for the Emperor's tried veterans, all the more so as their supreme commander, the scholarly Count Louis Ferdinand Marsigli, was unequal to his task.[3]

If Clement XI., in opposition to the advice of several Cardinals,[4] decided to risk armed resistance to the Emperor, he was chiefly inspired by the hope of help from Louis XIV. That hope, however, proved a delusion. The King of France, already hard pressed in his own realm, was unable to send troops to Italy, even if he had had the will to do so, but he kept that fact from the Pope. Marshal Tessé, whom he dispatched to Italy, was the bearer of more empty words and a project for an anti-imperial Italian league, a scheme that had not the slightest chance of ever being realized. The Pope was not allowed to raise troops at Avignon, and in the

[1] BUDER, II., 125 *seq.*; MENZEL, IX., 480 *seqq.* Noorden's doubts about the authenticity of the document are unfounded, it is found among the *Romana* of the State Archives, Vienna; see KLOPP, XIII., 99.

[2] *Cf.* **Acta consist.*, September 24, 1708, Vatican Library; REBOULET, I., 231.

[3] *Cf.* OTTIERI, 64 *seqq.*; BROSCH, II., 43 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 378 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Acciaioli's *letters of November 16 and 19, and Tanara's *letter of November 26, 1708, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, p. 16 *seq.* Papal Sec. Archives.

Catholic Cantons of Switzerland such enrolments were prevented by Austria. Nor could the Pope look for help in any other quarter. Venice, Florence and Genoa remained neutral, whilst Savoy and Modena were in league with the Emperor. Thus the Pope was completely dependent on his own, utterly inadequate resources.[1]

In these circumstances there might have occurred a repetition of the events of 1527, as indeed many people in Rome feared,[2] had not the view prevailed in Vienna that it would be best not to push things to extremes. Accordingly, the Marquis von Prié, a diplomatist as dexterous as he was ambitious, was sent to Rome in order to initiate fresh negotiations with the Pope, and to force him to yield under pressure of the imperial arms.[3]

In September, 1708, imperial troops set out from Piedmont in the direction of Ferrara. They succeeded in occupying the line of the Po without serious loss. At the beginning of October the papal troops were driven from Sant 'Agostino, San Carlo and Mirabello. The garrison of Bondeno, which had offered a determined resistance, was forced to surrender on October 28th. When Field-Marshal Daun took over the command the course of the operations was further accelerated. Whilst one division blocked Ferrara the main force marched through Cento against Bologna. On November 8th nine imperial regiments appeared before the walls of the second capital of the Pontifical States, whose head had protested against these doings in a Brief to the Cardinal of Saxony, dated November 3rd, 1708.[4] At Bologna there was no thought of resistance. The magistrates undertook to remain neutral, to grant a free passage to the imperialists and to provide

[1] *Cf.* NOORDEN, III., 341 *seq.* ; LANDAU, 390 *seq.*, 403 ; POMETTI, XXI., 406.

[2] *Cf.* Zondadari's report in LAMBERTY, V., 256, quoted by KLOPP, XIII., 102.

[3] LANDAU, 391 *seqq.* On Prié, *cf.* REUMONT in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XVII. (1886), 218 *seqq.* ; CLARETTA in *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 321 *seq.* ; POMETTI, XXI., 400.

[4] **Epist. Clementis XI.*, 86, p. 280, Papal Sec. Archives.

them with winter quarters. On November 11th the imperial troops marched through Bologna and occupied Forlì and Faenza where Daun established his headquarters on November 21st. Avoiding battle, Marsigli and his troops retreated to Pesaro and eventually as far as Ancona where they entrenched themselves.[1]

In the midst of this hopeless situation circumstances changed in favour of the Pope in a most unexpected manner. Clement XI. had given assistance to the Pretender James III., the unfortunate son of James II. of England, in his attempt to reconquer Scotland.[2] For this action Admiral Leake, the commander of the English Mediterranean fleet, was instructed to demand satisfaction and to bombard Civitavecchia. Both the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy realized that such an action against the Supreme Head of the Church would not be in their interest. They only wanted to push things as far as was necessary for securing a favourable separate peace. The Dutch also thoroughly disapproved of the English plan. The pensioner of the Council, Heinsius, told the imperial ambassador that the Dutch admiral in the Mediterranean had not been ordered to take hostile action against the Pope, hence if Leake were to take such action he would dissociate himself from him; in fact complaints

[1] *Cf.* BUDER, II., 175 *seq.*; LANDAU, 400 *seqq.*

[2] Not only by ostentatious supplications to God but, though it was afterwards denied, also secretly with money, which, however, was to be paid only after the success of the enterprise. This is clear from an *instruction in code of Paolucci, April 4, 1708, to the nuncio in Paris. There he speaks of: "quella somma di denaro che già da molti anni ha tenuto a tale soggetto segretamente in cotesti banchi destinata a beneficio di questa grande impresa"—in all 110,517 scudi—; however, this subsidy should only be paid "quando sia veramente non solo imbarcato, ma giunto e ricevuto in Scozia il Re, e che però possa dirsi riuscito felicemente il disegno"; the payment should be made directly to the Queen of England, not all at once, "ma di tempo in tempo," according to Torcy's advice. *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, Pap. Sec. Arch.

were heard at the Hague to the effect that Joseph I. had gone too far already. The Dutch, and soon after them the English, saw with growing anxiety that instead of supporting their enterprises against France, the Emperor employed his troops against the Pope in a campaign which not only was of no advantage to them in the war of succession, but which was bound to lessen the value of the contribution of their imperial ally on the Rhine, in Flanders and in Spain.[1]

These favourable symptoms remained hidden from the Pope. He was overawed by the relentless advance of the imperial army. Tossed hither and thither by fear and hope, he vainly strove to arrive at a firm decision, with the consequence that his moods and utterances were subject to endless change. If at any time, it was now that his character revealed itself as described by Abbé Polignac, who compared him to a reed which only stands because it bends.[2]

The Marquis Prié reached Rome on October 24th, 1708, but he was only received in audience on November 10th, after Cardinal Barberini had effected a compromise on the subject of the ceremonial.[3] This was followed by further discussions often lasting three hours.[4] Prié presented five demands: disarmament of the papal troops; satisfaction for a number of measures which the Emperor considered as injuries; recognition of Charles III. as King of Spain in the same way as Philip IV.; the handing over of the disputed questions concerning Comacchio, Parma and other fiefs of Empire to a cardinalitial commission in which Prié and the Milanese senator Caroelli would take part as representing the Emperor; recognition of the Roman Emperor's precedence over the King of France.[5]

[1] NOORDEN, III., 355 *seqq.*; KLOPP, XIII., 100 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 404 *seqq.*

[2] NOORDEN, III., 346.

[3] *Report in *Barb.* 5643–4, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LANDAU, 410 *seq.*

[4] Prié's *report of November 26, 1708, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] "Cinque sono stati li punti principali e generali ai quali ho ridotto le dimande di V. Mtà et a cui si ponno poi riferire tutte

The third demand, viz. the recognition of Charles III,[1]

quelle che si potessero promovere in appresso per ordine della Mtà Vra. Il primo è stato la riforma delle nuove leve, e ho proposto sul motivo di togliere le reciproche diffidenze e massimamente quelle che si sono date non solo a V. Mtà, ma a tutti li Collegati con un armamento si strepitoso e si puoco necessario doppo tutte le proteste, che V. M. haveva fatto fare dai suoi Generali, e poi da me si chiaramente et si positivamente al cardinale Casoni, nel congresso havuto a Ferrara, sopra il che si condanna universalmente la condotta di questa corte, e si rendono giustificate le determinationi di V. M.

Ho ricercato le giuste sodisfattioni dovute a V. M. non solo per gl'insulti, che sono stati fatti ultimamente nel Ferrarese, ma per tutti gl'aggravii, che sono portati dai capi di doglianza compresi nelle mie instruttioni, che mi son riservato di proporre a suo tempo.

Ho dimandato la ricognitione di S. Mtà Cattca con ugualianza al Duca d'Angiò, havendo stimato di portare tutti li giusti motivi, che favoriscono tal dimanda, e di contenermi in tal forma sino alle risposte del Re Cattolico, oltre che si sarebbe sempre in tempo di restringere le suddite pretentioni.

Che sua Stà deputi cardinali per entrare in congresso meco e col senatore Caroelli a fine d'esaminare amichevolmente le pendenze dei stati di Parma e di Comacchio e de' feudi imperiali, che sono massimamente nei contorni di Roma : che Sua Stà si degni commettere a' detti cardinali d'entrare in tal discussione coll'istesso spirito d'equità e di verità, che ci ha imposto la M. V. per parte sua, si che S. Stà si contenti rendere l'istessa giustitia alle raggioni di V. M. e dell'imperio, che la Mtà Va s'è dichiarata di voler rendere alle raggioni della Chiesa. Ho stimato di dover protestare, che questo sia un congresso e non un giudicio, mentre la Mtà V. non può riconoscere alcun giudice, nè prende altra legge che dalla sua grand'equità in queste materie spettanti al sacro Romano Imperio.

Ho più stimato di non dover promettere di accennare pur anche in ultimo luogo, che sia in avvenire più rispettata la dignità di V. Mtà in Roma, non volendosi più soffrire il predominio, che s'è usurpato la Francia in questa corte." Prié's report, November 26, 1708, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Klopp, XIII., 103 ; Landau, 411.

[1] "Il terzo punto più difficile e più importante," Prié says in his *report of Nov. 30, 1708, *loc. cit.*

was the one fraught with the weightiest consequences. When the imperialists pointed to the strong moral support given to the House of Bourbon by the recognition of Philip V., the answer from the papal side was that the Pope had only followed the usual course, and that at the time of the recognition in 1701, neither Leopold I. himself nor his Roman ambassador had raised a protest; all they had demanded was that Philip V. should not receive the investiture of Naples which, as a matter of fact, the Pope had not granted in spite of the complaints of the French.[1]

To the Pope the situation must have appeared extraordinarily serious. The Roman populace was discontented; people recalled to mind the sack of Rome by Charles V.'s army under Bourbon; the Sacred College was divided; since the middle of December the city was threatened from the south also by an army based on San Germano under the command of the Prince of Darmstadt, whilst no help could be expected from any quarter. The Pope feared the fate of the seventh Clement. There was nothing he could do except to yield; but in that case Louis XIV. and Philip V. threatened with sequestration of all revenues from France and Spain, the rupture of diplomatic relations and the seizure of Avignon.[2]

[1] "Si diffendono essi," says Prié in his report of Nov. 30, 1708 (*ibid.*), "da questi rimproveri, col dire, che non poteva dimeno Sua Stà dal riconoscere detto prencipe, senza violar gl'usi ecclesiastici, e caggionare gravissimi inconvenienti, e ch'il defonto Imperatore, nè il suo ambasciatore in Roma non si era mai opposto a tal ricognitione, sendosi solo chiesto da Sua Stà, che non concedesse l'investitura di Napoli, il che fu promesso et osservato inviolabilmente non ostante tutte le doglianze e le premure de' Gallispani."

[2] Klopp, XIII., 102, 104. On the French menaces Kaunitz *reports on Dec. 2, 1708, "che la corona di Francia s'esimirebbe dall'ubedienza della S. Sede, impedirebbe tanto in Spagna che in Francia le rendite della Dataria, richiamerebbe i suoi ministri da Roma e s'impadronirebbe della contea d'Avignone, ogni qualvolta S. Stà in qualsivoglia modo ardisse di riconoscere S. M. Catt." State Archives, Vienna. The troops concentrated at

An attempt by the Pope to obtain a mitigation of the harsh conditions through the mediation of Giulio Piazza, Bishop of Nazaret, who was dispatched to Vienna about the middle of December, proved a complete failure.[1] Clement discussed the affair thoroughly with Cardinals Paolucci, Marescotti, Spada, Panciatici, Spinola and Fabroni.[2] He felt he must be prepared for the worst. He gave orders for the restoration of the covered passage by which Clement VII. had fled from the Vatican to Castel S. Angelo at the approach of the troops of Charles V.[3] More than once he thought of fleeing from Rome. But where to? Genoa, Venice and other places offered no safety from the imperialists; there only remained Avignon, suggested by Louis XIV., but if he went there he ran the risk of enslavement by France.[4]

Thus bereft of all human help Clement XI. stormed heaven by the publication of a jubilee, and by ordering prayers and processions. On January 2nd, 1709, he ordered the ancient picture of our Lord to be carried in solemn procession from the chapel of *Sancta Sanctorum* to St. Peter's. The Pope himself followed the procession on foot, accompanied by all the Cardinals and a vast number of secular and regular clergy.[5] Whilst these processions were being repeated the agents of the Bourbons, Abbé Polignac and the auditor Molines, made a fresh assault on Clement XI. At this interview the Pope compared himself to a captain who, seeing

San Germano numbered 4,000 men, and had a strong artillery; see Paolucci's *letter to Piazza, Dec. 22, 1708. *Nunziat. di Germania*, 45, Papal Sec. Archives.

[1] On Piazza's mission see Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 573 *seqq.*; Landau, 413; Pometti, XXI., 404 *seq.*, 409 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *notes of the discussions of December 17, 19 and 23, 1708, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, Papal Sec. Archives; there also Prié's **Articoli* with autograph notes by the Pope; also **Repliche del Marchese di Prié* and **Contro risposte per parte di S. Stà.*

[3] *Cf.* Ottieri, III., 82, 92; Rinck, II., 421.

[4] Noorden, III., 347 *seq.*, 350, 353.

[5] Buder, II., 211 *seq.*

himself surrounded by corsairs, offers part of the cargo as a ransom for ship and crew, though without pretending to have a right to dispose of another's property.[1]

Vienna was afraid of ecclesiastical penalties for which the French were pressing. It also feared lest the Pope should take to flight, so much so indeed that the Emperor threatened the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John with confiscation of all the possessions of the Order within his States should he lend the Pope assistance with his ships.[2] Prié allowed nothing to transpire of this fear, nor of the pressure on the part of the maritime Powers in Vienna and Barcelona for a speedy conclusion of peace. He gave the impression that the imperialists were prepared for extreme measures, and fixed January 15th, 1609, as the farthest time limit for the Pope to make up his mind ; should he fail to do so the imperial troops, which were drawing ever nearer, would march on Rome.[3] The Pope's extreme reluctance to yield appears from the circumstance that he deferred his decision up to the last minute of the time limit. On January 15th, 1709, at eleven o'clock at night, yielding to force, he accepted the treaty on which his Secretary of State, Cardinal Paolucci and Prié had agreed three days before.[4]

The document, dated January 15th, 1709, bore the signatures of Cardinal Paolucci and of Prié and comprised nineteen articles.[5] By its terms the Pope bound himself to

[1] Noorden, III., 358.

[2] Landau, 415 *seqq.*, 423.

[3] *Cf.* Paolucci's *Letter to Piazza, January 5, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 45, Papal Sec. Archives.

[4] Noorden, III., 359 ; Landau, 425 ; Pometti, XXI., 406 *seq.* The *Brief to Paolucci, with powers to come to a settlement with Prié, is dated January 12, 1709, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 30, p. 126, Papal Sec. Archives. *Ibid.*, 133, *Letter of Cardinal Negroni to the Pope, *Di casa 12 gennaio, 1709* : the dying Cardinal Colleredo had implored the Pope not to discuss any further with the Cardinals, but to conclude the matter.

[5] " *nella scorsa notte," reports Paolucci to Piazza on January 16, 1709. *Nunziat di Germania*, Pap. Sec. Archives.

disarm completely, to grant a free passage to Naples to the imperial troops whilst the war lasted, and to give no assistance to the Francophile refugees from Naples. As the papal demobilization progressed the imperial army would be withdrawn from the Papal States, Comacchio alone remaining in the occupation of imperial troops until the disputes about its possession should have been amicably settled by a Congregation of Cardinals, in conjunction with Prié. The dispute over Parma and Piacenza and Este's claim to Ferrara were to be settled by similar means.[1]

Certain secret articles concerned the most difficult question of all, viz. the recognition of Charles III. as King. The Pope was prepared to grant it, with all its consequences, that is the dispatch of a nuncio to Charles' court at Barcelona, consideration for existing conditions of possession in the bestowal of benefices and a declaration to the Emperor that the title conceded to Philip V. granted the latter no new rights and in no way curtailed those of the Habsburgs. In return some concessions were also made to the Pope, namely in regard to Naples and Milan the abolition of the prohibition of the export of money and the sequestration of the possessions of non-native ecclesiastics, canonical satisfaction for the violation of the Church's immunity at Parma and Piacenza, compensation for the damage caused by the passage of the imperial troops, abolition of the *placet* in all Charles' Italian territories. A commission of fifteen Cardinals was to decide whether the Habsburg King should be styled simply "Catholic King" or "King of Spain" as well.[2]

These discussions, difficult as they were in themselves, were rendered still more arduous by the delay in the execution of the concessions demanded by the Pope in return for the

[1] DUMONT, VIII., 1; BUDER, II., 221 *seqq.*; LANDAU, 425 *seqq.*

[2] See the summary of the secret articles in Paolucci's *letter to Piazza, dat. Rome, Jan. 16, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania, loc. cit.* The most important passages are in POMETTI, XXI., 406–7. *Cf.* a resumé according to Priés reports in LANDAU, 427 *seqq.*

full recognition of Charles, and by the insistence of the Cardinalitial Congregation on the surrender of Comacchio.[1]

Meanwhile the oppression of the papal subjects by the imperialists continued.[2] In the circumstances the letter of February 19th, 1709, in which Joseph I. expressed to Clement XI. his satisfaction at the conclusion of peace,[3] sounded almost like a mockery. To the Pope's complaints the Emperor replied on March 10th, 1709, promising an inquiry and redress,[4] but the imperial troops continued their acts of violence and their demands for contributions in the territory of Ferrara throughout the months of May and June.[5]

At the same time Clement XI. had to face the bitter enmity of Philip V. For some years already he had watched with anxiety the Gallican tendencies pursued by the Government of Madrid through Amelot and Orry, and he had to put up a constant fight for the preservation of his ancient ecclesiastical rights in Spain.[6] The influence of the Holy See on the Inquisition was a thorn in the side of the absolutist Government quite as much as the existence of the tribunal of the nunciature and the Church's immunity. Before the battle of Almansa (April 27th, 1707) contributions had indeed been laid upon the clergy, but ecclesiastical immunity had been safeguarded. After the victory Amelot and Princess Orsini, who was all-powerful with the King, were bent on a further step. This was to impose on the clergy also the so-called free-will gift of money which had been enforced on the laity. The Pope protested against this patent attempt to tax the

[1] Pometti, XXI., 409 *seqq.*, 412.

[2] Buder, II., 311 *seqq.*; Landau, 441; Pometti, XXI., 411.

[3] *Original, dat. Vienna, Feb. 19, 1709, in *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., 30, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Original, *ibid.*

[5] Paolucci's *letter to Piazza of May 6 ("il martirio si soffre o per dir meglio continua soffrirsi"), May 18, June 1, 15, and 29, 1709, *Nunziat. di Germania, loc. cit.*

[6] Baudrillart, I., 302 *seq.*

clergy by the State's own authority.[1] As Louis XIV. sided with the Pope in this matter, Madrid decided to beat a retreat. The attempt to introduce the Gallican principles in Spain had thus failed,[2] but when at the beginning of 1709 the Pope found himself compelled to promise the imperialists to recognize Charles III., a rupture between Rome and Madrid ensued. The warnings of Louis XIV. remained unheeded. In vain the latter represented to his nephew that the Pope had only yielded to force ; in vain he dissuaded Philip from countering the dispatch of a nuncio to Barcelona by the expulsion of the Madrid nuncio and the recall of his Roman ambassador, since such measures would only benefit his enemy.[3] Deaf to all warnings the ill-advised Philip V. had recourse to the severest reprisals. In May the Duke of Uzeda was recalled from Rome.[4] Thereupon nuncio Zondadari, who had loyally stood by the King in the saddest and most critical days, saw himself expelled from Spain, and the Madrid nunciature closed. An edict of Philip V. of June 29th, 1709, sequestrated all the revenues of the Holy See in Spain and forbade all relations with Rome.[5]

The consternation caused in Rome by Philip's action was all the greater as it had not seemed possible.[6] "All that

[1] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 399 *seq.*, 429 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 303 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 316 *seq.*

[4] Buder, 291 *seq.*

[5] La Fuente, XIII., 215 ; Buder, II., 310.

[6] On Feb. 16, 1709, Paolucci had written to the nuncio in Paris : "La cognizione che V. S. I. avvisa haversi da cotesta corte della strana violenza ch'è stata usata dagli Alemanni con N. Sig^re^, quale certamente è maggiore di ogni espressione e superiore ad ogni credere, non concorda punto con le risoluzioni che Ella teme siano per prendersi tanto dalla medesima corte quanto da quella di Spagna circa l'espulsione de' Nunzii. È vanità il temere che, appresso la pietà e religione della nazione Spagnuola, la ricognizione che farà Sua Beat^ne^ dell'Arciduca sia per produrre effetto alcuno pregiudiziale a Filippo V, mentre se sapranno le cose con verità e sarà nota, come dovrebbe essere, la barbarie

could have been imagined was exceeded by the reality," the Pope lamented in the first days of April, 1709. The nuncio was instructed to make a protest should he be expelled from Madrid but not to leave the country, and to keep the nunciature open.[1] When the action of the Spanish Government made this impossible, he was ordered to withdraw to Avignon. The Secretary of State now seriously threatened to recognize Charles III. as King.[2] That step was facilitated by the following events.

con cui è stato trattato il Patrimonio de' santi apostoli Pietro e Paolo, e la violenza praticatasi contro ogni ragione col Vicario di Giesù Christo, la stessa pietà e religione della nazione produrrà un effetto totalmente contrario, e cagionando orrore e avversione ne' Spagnuoli contro chi ha tenuta una sì ingiusta e violenta condotta, accrescerà in loro la venerazione e l'amore verso chi se n'è astenuto e se ne astiene ; tanto più che l'haver Sua Stà, prima di far'alcun passo, aspettato, per così dire, l'esterminio totale del suo stato e dei suoi sudditi, ha fatto e fa ben conoscere a tutto il mondo, verso qual parte era la sua inclinazione. E troppo male si corrisponderebbe dall'istessa parte al molto che ha sofferto la Stà S., se si procedesse alle risoluzioni che si minacciano." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, p. 99, Papal Sec. Archives.

[1] Paolucci to Zondadari, April 6, 1709 : *Although six regiments were in the Papal States, the Pope had not recognized the Archduke Charles. "Or questo non si chiama esser martire di Filippo V. ? e che poi dal medesimo e da' suoi Ministri si abbia a ricevere in corrispondenza un si irreverente e scandaloso trattamento senza punto riflettere allo stato violento e forzoso, in cui si è trovato e si trova la S. S., è cosa per verità, e che sorpassa ogn'imaginazione. Esclami perciò V. S. Illma, quanto conviene e quanto può, mentre non dirà mai tanto, quanto potrebbe e si dovrebbe dire. In caso che si procedesse alla di lei espulsione da Madrid, non esca dal regno, ma si fermi in qualche luogo, dove le sarà permesso, con tener sempre aperto il tribunale, e con protestare dell'incorso nelle censure contro quelli, che recassero impedimenti all'esercizio della sua giurisdizione, o che la discacciassero dalla sua resistenza." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, p. 206. Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] Paolucci to Zondadari, May 4, 1709 : " *Ha udito N. S. con quell'amarezza, che può ben persuadersi, la risoluzione presa dalla

The summer witnessed a change in the distribution of power in Europe. Compelled by necessity Louis XIV. made peace proposals to the allies which only included a demand of Naples for Philip V.[1] The negotiations broke down. On September 11th, 1709, in spite of a valiant resistance, the French suffered a heavy defeat at Malplaquet, the bloodiest battle of the whole war. Almost at the same time news reached Rome from Barcelona that on August 28th, 1709, Charles had at last revoked the decrees published in Naples and Milan against the rights of the Holy See. Thereupon Clement XI. announced on October 10th, 1709, that full recognition of Charles III. would be proclaimed at the next consistory.[2] In vain Cardinal De La Trémoille protested on October 13th against "the injury thereby done to the rights of France and Spain."[3] The Pope had made up his mind, and a short Brief, dated October 10th, was already drawn up; it was headed: "To our beloved son Charles, Catholic King of Spain."[4] The consistory was held on October 14th. In his communication to the Cardinals the Pope observed that his decision

corte di Spagna circa la di lei espulsione da quel regno. La condotta tenuta da N. S. in haver sofferta l'ultima desolazione dello Stato Ecclesiastico e in tuttavia soffrire presentemente tanti e si pesanti aggravii per la ritardata ricognizione regia del Ser^mo Arciduca, ben meritava di ricevere altra corrispondenza. Havrà ora la S. S. un più giusto titolo di pensare unicamente all'indennità del proprio stato e de' suoi afflitti sudditi, mentre si vede si mal corrisposta, e potrà liberamente prendere diverse misure da quelle sinora tenute." *Ibid.*, p. 311^b.

[1] NOORDEN, III., 462.

[2] POMETTI, XXI., 412 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 413; LANDAU, 411.

[4] "Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro Carolo Hispaniarum regi catholico." The much disputed (NOORDEN, III., 362; against him LANDAU, 437) authenticity of the Brief beginning: "Suscepta a Maiestate tua consilium" is established by **Epist. Clementis XI.*, 87, p. 140^b, Papal Sec. Archives. The statement by DE LA TORRE (*Mém. et négociat. secrètes*, V., 218) is therefore correct. The original of the *Letter of thanks of Charles III. to the Pope, Dec. 7, 1709, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 106, p. 82, *loc. cit.*

would not be prejudicial to those other princes who contended for the Spanish monarchy.[1] On the same day he informed Joseph I., in an autograph Brief, of the condescension he had displayed in spite of the non-fulfilment of the conditions agreed upon ; once more also he conjured him to restore Comacchio to the Holy See.[2]

Thus was peace at last re-established between Pope and Emperor ; the Emperor was the victor. But when we look at it more closely, his success appears modest enough. In spite of the employment of all the resources of the State, in spite of victory on the battlefield, in spite of Prié's undeniable skill, Joseph I. had secured no more than the recognition of his brother as King of Spain, the not very valuable right provisionally to occupy Comacchio and a pardon for some of his partisans.[3]

The emotions of the past year had greatly affected the

[1] *Acta consist., Vatican Library, and **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 106, *loc. cit.* The **Voti* of the Cardinals, *ibid.*, 107. *Cf.* CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 41 *seq.*, and POMETTI, XXI., 414.

[2] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 663 *seq.*, with the wrong date of September 14, 1709. The *original is in State Archives, Vienna ; see LANDAU, 437.

[3] Opinion of LANDAU (438). MENZEL (IX., 486 *seqq.*) observes : 'Without doubt these quarrels with the Pope, which, putting it as mildly as possible, could only be described as inopportune, damaged the Austrian cause in Spain far more than the extorted Papal recognition could benefit it, for they afforded the French party an excellent pretext for representing the German King to a nation full of faith as the friend and champion of heretical principles, and for confirming the opinion already widely spread and based on his alliance with the Protestant Powers, that he intended to put a Lutheran or a Calvinist on the throne of the Catholic Kings. The Emperor would have been much better served if he had been reminded of the old German proverb, proved by many national experiences, that it is best not to fall out with the clergy without necessity, rather than with all the juridical wisdom about the rights of the Empire to Parma and wretched Comacchio." *Cf.* also the remarks of BOTTA (I., 33) and BROSCH (II., 45 *seq.*).

Pope, who had been ailing all through the summer, with the result that at the beginning of 1710 he fell grievously sick.[1] In March his condition was such that no one doubted his early demise, and discussions about the election of a new Pope began,[2] but by April he was sufficiently recovered to carry out the exacting religious functions of Holy Week[3]; only a stay at Castel Gandolfo in May and June led to a recovery, though it proved but a partial one.[4]

[1] BUDER, II., 353 *seq.* It appears from Lamberg's *Diary that the Pope fell ill for the first time in September, 1702; on October 15 his condition was dangerous. On March 4, 1703, Clement XI. appeared quite pale and emaciated; in April he suffered much from asthma (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the illness of 1706, *cf.* REBOULET, I., 179.

[2] Kaunitz' *reports to Liechtenstein, March 15 and 22, 1710, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[3] Kaunitz' *reports of April 12 and 19, 1710, *ibid.*

[4] Kaunitz' *reports of September 6, November 8 and 29, and December 27, 1710, *ibid.* *Cf.* REBOULET, I., 261. Clement XI. repeated his visit to Castelgandolfo in 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714 and 1715; *cf.* BUDER, II., 527, 631 *seq.*, 707 *seq.*; III., 118 *seq.*, 257 *seq.* *Cf.* **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 26, Papal Secret Archives.

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP V.'S HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE HOLY SEE—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE RESTITUTION OF COMACCHIO—DEATH OF JOSEPH I.—ELECTION OF CHARLES VI. AS EMPEROR—PEACE TREATIES OF UTRECHT, RASTATT AND BADEN (1713–1714).

FORSAKEN by France and Spain, and driven by extreme necessity, Clement XI. had only yielded to force when, pressed by the violence of the imperialists, he had consented to recognize the Archduke Charles as Catholic King of Spain. He was fully aware that such a step would lead Philip V. to take even severer reprisals than those he had already indulged in. As a matter of fact, not content with the expulsion of the nuncio, Philip V. proceeded to take further violent measures. True, as a result of an earnest exhortation by the Pope,[1] the best among the Spanish Bishops had ranged themselves by the side of Clement XI.,[2] but this did not stop Philip V. A royal edict dated from Madrid, October 30th, 1709, forbade all the King's subjects to have anything to do with the court of Rome. An ordinance of December 12th ordered all Philip's vassals, under pain of forfeiture of their property, to quit Rome and the Papal States within four months.[3] All this was done even though before his death

[1] Briefs to the Spanish Episcopate of August 24, 1709, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 629 *seq.*

[2] On September 14, 1709, Paolucci wrote to Zondadari, *that to his great consolation the Pope saw from the letters of the Bishop of Cartagena, "che non è ancor spento ne' prelati di Spagna l'antico valore. Si sente che il zelo del medesimo monsignor vescovo sia stato imitato anco da altri e che a tutti habbia proceduto l'esempio del card. Portocarrero." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362. Papal Sec. Archives.

[3] Zondadari's *report of April 23, 1710, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 54, *loc. cit.*

Cardinal Portocarrero had conjured Philip V. to refrain from further acts of violence.[1]

Philip V. felt particularly hit by the fact that Clement XI. refused confirmation to the candidates proposed by him for the vacant dioceses. The few Bishops who had sided with the King soon returned to obedience to the Pope, as for instance, the Bishop of Lerida, who, when appointed to Avila by Philip V., had so far forgotten himself as to take possession of the diocese without confirmation by the Holy See. Clement XI. forbade him and the Chapter of Avila, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to exercise their functions, in consequence of which the Bishop resigned the administration of the diocese.[2] Just then it looked as if Philip V. were about to alter his conduct. He let it be known in Rome that he had no intention of renouncing obedience to the Pope; that the prohibition of all relations with the Roman Curia only concerned secular matters. However, he was told that the prohibition to send money to Rome likewise affected spiritual relations with the Head of the Church.[3] Clement XI. firmly stuck to his resolution not to confirm the Bishops named by Philip V. The Spanish auditor of the Rota, José Molines, sought to induce the Pope to change his mind, but at an audience on February 5th, 1710, Clement XI. made it a condition for all further negotiations that Philip should unequivocally revoke the ordinances hitherto published by him. Molines was not in a position to give the desired guarantee.[4]

On February 22nd, 1710, the Pope addressed yet another Brief of grave warning to Philip V. He declared categorically

[1] Text of the *edicts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 91, pp. 199, 204, Papal Sec. Archives. *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter to Zondadari, February 15, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.* *Cf.* Gams, II., 2, 312 *seqq.*

[2] *Paolucci to Zondadari, February 15, 1710, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, Papal Sec. Archives.

[3] *Paolucci to the Archbishop of Saragossa, March 15, 1710, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 74 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[4] Autograph *notes of the Pope of the audience, *ibid.*, p. 8.

that unless the expulsion of the nuncio, the closing of the nunciature and the prohibition of all relations with Rome were revoked, there could be no question of his assenting to Philip's presentation to the vacant sees.[1] The Brief was handed to Molines at an audience of March 5th.[2] On March 15th the Secretary of State wrote to the Archbishop of Saragossa that it was the Pope's duty to insist on the recall of Philip's ordinances, for he could not have it on his conscience to leave the King's territory in open schism. His Holiness hoped for a great deal from the King's goodness and sense of justice, though he did not expect much from his advisers.[3]

Unfortunately the youthful ruler succumbed to the influence of those around him. In the negative answer which the King at length made on June 18th, 1710, to the Brief of February 10th, he had the effrontery to speak of his Christian moderation and his reverence for the person of the Holy Father.[4] Through Molines he bitterly reproached the Pope for not assenting to his presentations, and for the recognition by him of Charles III., a fact which encouraged rebellion among his subjects. The Pope's action was not only an attack on his crown but on the sovereignty of every other lawful ruler. He, the King, was resolved to uphold his rights in spite of the Pope's hostility. Philip endeavoured to justify

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 685. *Original draft of the Brief with corrections by the Pope's own hand in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 46, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Miscell.*, 92, p. 52, *ibid.* There also the Pope's autograph *notes of the audience.

[3] "Monsignore, le cose son troppo chiare, le intenzioni non possono più celarsi. N. S. è risoluto, quando non si rivochino tutte le novità costà fatte, di non lasciare le parti dovute al suo ministero; non vuole offendere la sua coscienza con lassare cotesti regni in uno scisma manifesto. Molto spera nella bontà e giustitia di S. M., ben poco in quella de' suoi consiglieri." *Ibid.*, 92, p. 78.

[4] The original of the *letter dated "Del campo Reale tra Ibars e Barbens", June 18, 1710, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 96, *loc. cit.*

the expulsion of the nuncio on the plea that in such extreme cases his action was in accordance with international law; the closing of the nunciature he excused on the ground that scandal must be avoided![1] At the same time administrators were named for the vacant dioceses by the King's own authority, and a contribution of a million scudi was extorted from the Spanish clergy.[2] The Pope exhaustively discussed with the Cardinals the hopeless situation created by Philip V.[3]

An important contributory cause of the deterioration of the relations between Clement XI. and Philip V. was the Spanish auditor of the Rota José Molines who, after Uzeda's departure, acted as the King's representative in Rome, though on account of his blustering temperament he did more harm than good to his own interests. Clement bore with him for a long time, but when in September, 1711, Molines had the effrontery to put up on the Dataria an ordinance to the effect that all Spaniards were to quit Rome, he felt compelled to intervene. Molines was suspended.[4]

[1] *Cf.* the second detailed *letter of Philip V. to the Pope which, however, was only dispatched with Molines' letter of August 9, 1710, to "Msgr. Corradini, Uditore di S. Stà", for the latter to hand over to the Pope. *Ibid.*, p. 101 *seq.*

[2] Paolucci writes to Zondadari on July 5, 1710: "e la longanimità, che fin hora S. S. ha usato in non prendere alcuna risoluzione contro così scandalosi attentati, onde per sodisfare all'obligo del suo apostolico ministero, ha risoluto di non più tolerarli, e già va pensando al modo di dargli il dovuto riparo." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, *loc. cit.*; *Letter of Zondadari to Paolucci, dat. Avignon, July 2 and 16, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 92, p. 209, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* the *notes on the discussions with the Cardinals, written partly in Clement XI.'s own hand and the **Voti* in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, *loc. cit.*, 213 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Buder, II., 550 *seqq.* Cardinal Paolucci *wrote to Zondadari on September 26, 1711: "Delle tante lesioni, che sono state inferite dalla corte di Madrid, pare che non possa mettersi in dubbio esserne stato o l'autore o l'istigatore Mons. Molines, mentre si sa, ch' egli ha sempre scritto in Spagna con sentimenti

An even more decisive measure followed. Soon afterwards, on October 17th, 1711, a Brief declared null and void everything Philip V. had done in Spain against ecclesiastical immunity and papal authority.[1] The Government of Madrid replied in November by renewing the prohibition of all relations with Rome.[2]

Though several attempts at a compromise had proved in vain, the Pope invoked the mediation of Louis XIV. on April 1st, 1712, whilst a grave warning was given to Philip V.[3] The Bishop of Cartagena, Luis Belluga, also conjured the King not to throw his realm into hopeless confusion.[4] In his reply to the Pope on May 23rd, Philip V. accepted the mediation of Louis XIV.,[5] in fact he altered his line of action in so far as he informed the Bishops on July 30th that he would not interfere with Bulls on purely spiritual matters, such as dispensations, and so forth.[6] But negotiations on numerous other points in dispute became increasingly difficult.[7] In May, 1713, Pompeo Aldrovandi was sent to Paris by the Pope for the purpose of initiating a compromise by negotiating with Philip's representative, José Rodrigo Villalpando, with the co-operation of the French minister

indegni non solo del proprio carattere di ecclesiastico, ma atti a tener sempre in maggior discordia le due corti, et irritato l'animo del Re contro la S. Sede." On account of other outrages the Pope has now decided to suspend him "a divinis", and from ecclesiastical benefices (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 362, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also Clement XI. autograph notes on Molines in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 93, *loc. cit.*

[1] The Brief "Alias ad" of October 17, 1711 (*Bull, XXI.*, 450), was formulated only after a careful elaboration, as appears from the *drafts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 93.

[2] **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 94, p. 301, and 93, p. 301, *loc. cit.*

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1643 *seqq.*

[4] **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 94, p. 93, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Original, *ibid.*, p. 142.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 146, 192.

[7] *Cf.* Prié's reports to the Emperor, dat. Rome, October 22 and December 17, 1712, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (now in State Archives, Vienna).

Torcy.[1] Louis XIV., too, was full of hope just then.[2] However, every effort to get Aldrovandi accepted as nuncio in Madrid proved of no avail, nor could agreement be reached either on the jurisdiction of the nuncio, or the taxation of the clergy. As the year drew to its close even Aldrovandi began to despair.[3]

As a matter of fact at this time those counsellors of Philip V. who were hostile to the Church had gained the upper hand once more. On December 12th, 1713, the Council of Castile was ordered to make suggestions as to how the Government might best counter the abuses of the nunciature, the Dataria and whatever else was described as encroachments of the Curia. On December 19th the Fiscal of the Council of Castile, Melchior Raphael de Macanaz, sent in a report which he further supplemented a little later.[4] Macanaz' report is mainly based on the grievances which Chumacero and Pimentel had put forward against the nunciature in the days of Urban VIII,[5] though he went much further than they when he demanded that the nuncio should not be allowed any jurisdiction at all, and that the Bishops should be chosen by the Chapters and confirmed, not by the Pope, but by the King.

Macanaz' memorial is a synthesis and the outcome of the regalist doctrine. It enumerated every single question in dispute between Church and State, not indeed with a view to a loyal understanding, but rather the suppression of the rights of the Church by the State. Such views are not surprising in a man of whom we are told that he never went to

[1] *Reports of Aldrovandi, who journeyed to Paris, where he arrived at the end of May, 1713, via Genoa and Marseilles, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, Papal Sec. Archives. At first it was decided to entrust the mission to A. Albani; see Prié's report of March 4, 1713, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, June 5, 1713, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, December 25, 1713, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf. Colección de los Concordatos*, Madrid, 1848; La Fuente, *Hist. gen. de España*, XIII., Barcelona, 1889, 159 *seq.*, 213–234.

[5] *Cf.* the present work, XXIX., 189 *seqq.*

church.[1] So long as such counsellors found a ready hearing in Madrid the negotiations in Paris between Aldrovandi and Villalpando, for a compromise, were as little likely to yield a favourable result as the conversations which were taking place at the same time in Rome between Corradini and Molines.[2]

Thus by his recognition of Charles III., Clement XI. had become involved in exceedingly grave difficulties. Yet in spite of all its encroachments the court of Barcelona was not yet satisfied. In fulfilment of a promise he had made, the Pope had sent the Abbate Giuseppe Lucini to represent him in Barcelona (February 7th, 1710).[3] But Charles was not

[1] P. Aldrovandi, in his *report of November 26, 1714, characterizes Mancanaz as " uomo empio senza religione, e che sono già molti anni che non si accosta alla chiesa." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

[2] Aldrovandi's *reports show how much he exerted himself. According to his letter of January 1, 1714, his hopes revived again ; on January 8 he broke forth in bitter complaints, on January 22 he is again more hopeful ; on the 29th he reports the difficulties of his negotiations with Villalpando ; on February 5 he narrates a vehement conservation with Villalpando, with whom he insisted on the return of a nuncio with jurisdiction ; at the time he believed there would be a rupture. Louis XIV. stepped in now (report of February 12) ; Aldrovandi continued his negotiations (report of February 19) ; but on February 22 he had to point out how untimely and harmful to the negotiations were the new " decreti lesivi della giurisdittione e libertà ecclesiastica estratti dalla nuova giunta del governo e del tribunale di Spagna ". Soon he saw himself disappointed in his new hopes (report of March 22), for the French ambassador in Madrid reported that the King and the ministers declined to make a compromise. On April 4 he is convinced that the worst opinions about Rome have been spread in Madrid. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *Instruttione data al signor abb. Gius. Lucini spedito alla corte di Barcellona," in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 360, p. 2 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, Paolucci's *letters to Lucini from February 8, 1710, to September 19, 1711, which contain much information on the encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Lucini

satisfied with this; he demanded a nuncio, and drew the Pope's attention to the fact that he had dispatched the Prince of Avellino to Rome as *obbedienza* ambassador.[1] The latter reached Rome in April, 1710, but only made his pompous entry on January 18th, 1711, after he had secured the promise of a regular nuncio and the settlement of the ceremonial. The first audience was delayed by further questions of ceremonial; it only took place on October 2nd, 1711.[2] In spite of the opposition of the French Cardinals, Lucini was recalled from Barcelona and replaced by Giorgio Spinola as apostolic nuncio.[3]

With the Emperor also the Pope did not succeed in establishing amicable relations.

In a consistory of July, 1709, Clement XI. informed the Cardinals that he intended to send his nephew, Annibale Albani, to the Emperor and some other Catholic princes with a view to the restoration of peace.[4] On the other hand the Emperor Joseph made the recognition of his brother Charles as King of Spain a condition of Albani's reception. He would not hear of the Pope intervening in the peace negotiations. He accordingly directed his representatives in London and at the Hague to prevent the admission of the papal and Venetian envoys in any capacity, much less at the

could do very little; especially was he unsuccessful in obtaining the condemnation "del nuovo modo di procedere nelle cause del S. Offizio che si vorrebbe introdurre in Napoli contro l'antico stilo".

[1] *Cf.* BUDER, II., 410 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 459 *seqq.*, 520.

[3] The "*Instruttione data a Mons. arcivescovo di Cesarea destinato Nuntio alla corte di Barcellona," corrected by Clement XI. himself (see the draft in *Miscell. di Clement XI.*, 106, *loc. cit.*), is in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 361, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, Paolucci's *letters to G. Spinola from July 11, 1711, to July 29, 1713, which mostly treat of the conflicts in Naples.

[4] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 38 *seqq.* *Cf.* G. MENTZ, *Aus dem Kontobuch des Nuntius A. Albani*, in *Zeitschr. für Kulturgesch.*, VIII. (1901), 43–58.

Congress itself.[1] Albani nevertheless set out in September, and since Charles had been recognized in the meantime, he was justified in hoping for a favourable issue of his mission in Vienna.

Albani's main task was to procure the restoration of Comacchio to the Holy See. To this end he was armed with a papal Brief dated October 4th, 1709.[2] In keeping with the terms of the treaty of January 15th,[3] he also insisted on compensation for the damage done in the Pontifical States by the imperial troops, whereas the Emperor was only willing to pay the expenses due to the passage to Naples[4]; of the surrender of Comacchio he would not hear. It was evident that he was afraid of publicly admitting that its occupation had been a grave mistake.[5] To this was added the fact that the Empress was an ardent defender of the interests of her brother-in-law, the Duke of Modena. The imperialists offered a determined opposition to Albani's insistence on the opening of negotiations in Rome, as had been agreed upon; they even rejected a conciliatory proposal by which the Pope declared his readiness to content himself with the political and economic possession of Comacchio, and to suffer a small imperial garrison to remain there until the matter should have been settled.[6]

In January, 1710, Albani went for a short time to Dresden in order to bring pressure to bear on King Augustus, with a view to the Catholic upbringing of the Elector Frederick

[1] LANDAU, 445.

[2] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 664 (with wrong date: September 14, 1709).

[3] See above, p. 64.

[4] LANDAU, 446.

[5] This is emphasized in the "*Breve relazione di quanto è succeduto in proposito dell'affare di Comacchio dal tempo dell'arrivo di Msgr. Albani alla corte di Vienna seguito alli 18 del mese di ottobre 1709 fino alla morte dello Imperatore Giuseppe I seguita li 17 aprile, 1711" (*Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 35, p. 9 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*), compiled from the reports of Albani, with a view to his justification.

[6] *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

Augustus.[1] On his return to Vienna he found the question of Comacchio just as he had left it.[2] Only after repeated efforts,[3] on March 17th, 1710, that is five months after his arrival, did he secure the opening of negotiations in Rome. Prié and the Senàtor Caroelli were chosen to represent the Emperor, whilst Cardinals Spinola, Paracciani and Gozzadini represented the Pope. The discussions were held in the palace of Spinola who held the office of Camerlengo at the time. At the first session the fiscal advocate Filippo Sagripanti and the commissary of the Apostolic Camera, Gaspare Turco, were also present.[4] As at first only one session a week was held, the negotiations proved extremely wearisome. The Pope's annoyance was further increased by the fresh excesses committed by some imperial troops during their passage through the Papal States, and by the attempt to tax the Milanese clergy with a view to meeting the cost of the war.[5] Particular annoyance was caused to the Holy See by the Viceroy of Naples, Cardinal Grimani, who, always more imperialist than the Emperor, was for ever threatening the rights of the Church.[6]

[1] BUDER, II., 360 *seq.*

[2] Albani was only absent from Vienna for twenty-four days. *Ma quando egli pensava di ritrovar quivi le relazioni dei congressi già terminati, trovò che per nuove pretensioni del duca di Modena (che voleva che nel tempo istesso si trattasse ne' medesimi e di Ferrara e delli beni allodiali) non si erano peranco incominciati i congressi medesimi. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the accurate *draft entitled: Relazione dei congressi tenuti sopra l'affare di Comacchio dalli 17 di Marzo fino alli 19 [*sic.* !] di Ottobre 1710, distesa dal s. card. Gozzadini. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 39, *loc. cit.*

[5] BUDER, II., 436 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* the Briefs of 1708, 1709, and 1710, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 561 *seq.*, 699, 719. Grimani died in September, 1710; he asked for absolution from the Pope, which, however, arrived only after his death. In the meantime, Pignatelli had absolved him. BUDER, II., 419 *seq.*

The negotiations in Rome took an unfavourable turn; it became even necessary to suspend them for a time on account of the pretensions of the Duke of Modena.[1] Prospects remained so unpromising that doubts about the possibility of an agreement began to rise. With a view to speeding up the work of the conference, the Pope proposed the co-operation of his auditor Corradini, but Prié declined the offer. Albani, however, obtained the Emperor's approval of the proposal,[2] but Prié continued to do all he could to draw out the negotiations.[3] The Vatican must have breathed more freely when they were at last concluded on October 9th.[4] Meanwhile Albani had been indefatigable. There was not an audience with the Emperor at which he did not bring up the affair, and he also appealed to the Electors of Mayence, Trèves and the Palatinate, to King Augustus of Poland, to the Bishops of Osnabrück, Breslau, Münster, Würzburg, and Salzburg, to get them to exercise pressure on Joseph I.[5]

The final decisions of the conference were wholly in favour of the Pope. Examination of all the documents had shown that in strict law, and without qualifications of any kind, Comacchio was the property of the Roman Church even from the temporal point of view.[6] The protocol of the sessions was printed, but a copy only reached Vienna on February 5th, 1711.[7] There a rumour had been spread that an anti-Austrian league of the Italian princes was being formed. On January 10th, 1711, Paolucci hastened to inform Vienna that

[1] *Cf.* *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* *Cf.* the *declaration of the three Cardinals, dat. October 10, 1710, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 39, *loc. cit.* On December 7, after many postponements, Prié had his first solemn audience as imperial ambassador when he displayed extraordinary pomp. BUDER, II., 459.

[5] *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Declaration of the three Cardinals of October 10, 1710, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

the Pope had had nothing to do with intrigues of this kind.[1] On January 24th Clement XI. addressed a Brief to Joseph I. in which he urged that, as soon as the question of right was clarified, the restoration of Comacchio should follow without further delay. Briefs to the same effect were addressed at the same time to the Empress, to the widow of the late Emperor and to Prince Eugene.[2]

Under this fresh pressure Joseph I. gave way. After reception of the Brief of January 24th, 1711, which had been delayed by the carnival, he announced his readiness to take decisive steps. He had the protocol of the sittings distributed among his ministers who subjected it to a thorough examination.[3] On March 8th Count Trautson, Count Wratislaw, Baron Seilern and Prince Eugene met in a secret conference at which the surrender of Comacchio to the Pope was decided.[4] Though the Emperor gave his assent, fresh delays occurred. On April 8th it was decided that the Catholic Electors must also be consulted.[5] What their advice would be could easily be foreseen. Count Wratislaw considered this consultation as no more than a means of effecting the restitution without

[1] Pometti, XXI., 421.

[2] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1481 *seqq.*

[3] *Essendo però giunto l'acennato corriero in tempo di carnevale (5 febbraio), non potè pensarsi fino al principio di Quaresima a far alcun passo in questo negozio. Ma, questa appena entrata, si portò Msgr. Albani nella prima domenica all'udienza dell'Imperatore e presentatagli la lettera di S. Stà segnata C, ottenne risposta favorevolissima da S. Mtà, che gli promise di voler far tenere sollecitamente una conferenza su la materia. Onde distribuite in giro ai ministri le accennate stampe dei congressi, si andò susseguentemente sollecitando la cosa fintanto che il sigr Cte di Trautson, maggiordomo maggiore della Mtà Sua, il sabbato dei 7 di Marzo 1711, venne ad avvisare Msgr. Albani che d'ordine di S. Mtà doveva tenersi una conferenza segretissima di 4 soli sogetti, che furono il sudetto Conte, oggi principe di Trautson, il Cte di Vratislau, il Baron Seilern e il principe Eugenio. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

compromising the imperial dignity and as an excuse with the Empress.[1]

When affairs had progressed thus far, and the Pope was confidently looking forward to a favourable solution of the matter,[2] the Emperor was suddenly taken ill. Symptoms of small-pox, which in those days caused great ravages, soon appeared. On April 17th, 1711, Joseph I. died. Through the Bishop of Vienna and the Emperor's confessor, Albani had vainly sought to persuade the sick man to take a last hour decision ; but he was being continually reported to be better, until he died.[3] Three days previously Louis XIV.'s only son, the Dauphin of France, had also died of the small-pox, at the age of fifty.

Clement XI. informed the Cardinals of the death of Joseph I. in a consistory of April 27th, 1711. He expressed his regret that the deceased had not been able to do homage to the Holy See, as was the custom, nor to carry out his decision to restore Comacchio which he had unjustly occupied. "We do not know," the Pope went on, "whether this is due to our sins, or whether God, in his inscrutable designs, has permitted it in order to show that there should be no delays

[1] LANDAU, 447.

[2] Kaunitz' report, dat. Rome, April 11, 1711, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Per mezzo di Msgr. vescovo, che solo avea l'accesso alla S. Mtà, fu pensato da Msgr. Albani che convenisse di far qualche passo con l'infermo, acciochè pensasse in materia di tanto rilievo a sgravare la sua coscienza. Di fatto Msgr. vescovo lo fece, come costa dalla copia della di lui attestazione. Nulladimeno non si quietò Msgr. Albani e voleva far fare nuovamente le istesse parti da Msgr. vescovo sudetto e dal P. confessore, al qual conveniva far però parlare per un terzo, essendo anch'egli infermo, non si movendo dalla camera dell'Imperatore. Ma conoscendosi che il fare le dette parti con vigore (eccetto solo negli estremi periodi) più tosto poteva nuocere, quando si credette a proposito il farlo, non si fu più a tempo, poichè si disse sempre che l'Imperatore stava meglio sin tanto che non era più in stato da potersegli parlare. Breve relazione, *loc. cit.*

in an affair on which the salvation of the soul depends." For all that, he trusted that God had been merciful to the Emperor, not so much because of the resolutions which, it appears, the deceased monarch had decided upon, as by reason of his Christian preparation for death.[1] In a consistory of May 11th a funeral service was ordered to be held in the papal chapel both for the Emperor and the Dauphin.

The unexpected deaths of these two princes created a profound impression throughout Europe. Two illustrious houses have been struck by death "with impartial foot", the Pope said in his address; two princes had been carried away in the same week by the same disease. Thus does divine Wisdom, which "plays in the world" (Prov. viii, 30), teach us that nothing is so great or splendid as not to be at the same time transitory and perishable. How can men, after such an experience, be so blind as not to see the vanity of earthly greatness, or so foolish as to disguise it, or so thoughtless as to deny it?[2] In Vienna consternation was such, both at court and in private houses and in the streets, as to be almost beyond belief and not to be described".[3] On the other hand Paris was jubilant at the Emperor's death. But there too there was a readiness to see in this event the intervention of a higher Power which had, as it were playfully, robbed the allies, with a single stroke, of the fruits of their brilliant victories, and rescued exhausted France, as if by a miracle, when she was on the verge of ruin.[4] As the Emperor left only daughters, whom the German law of succession excluded from the throne, Austria fell to his brother Charles who was disputing with Philip V. for the crown of Spain. But if Joseph I.'s brother was now to inherit Austria, it was not to be expected that England and Holland would allow him to get hold of the entire Spanish monarchy. Thus the Grand Alliance against France was broken up, and who was to become Emperor?

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 53 *seqq.*, 183.

[2] *Ibid.*, 55 *seq.*

[3] ZIEKURSCH, 38.

[4] Report of the Saxon ambassador, *ibid.*, 6 *seq.*

Up to this time it had been customary to secure the imperial crown for the House of Habsburg by the Emperor getting either one of his sons or a brother elected as his successor during his lifetime. When Joseph I. died at thirty-three he had not yet considered such a step. The prospect of a Protestant Emperor now became an immediate threat.[1] Brandenburg-Prussia in particular inspired great fear in this respect. True, before accepting the royal crown, Frederick I. had bound himself to support Austria at the imperial elections; but in 1706 he was engaged in negotiations with Sweden and Hanover, the aim of which was to make it possible for a Protestant to win the imperial throne in spite of his religion. As a matter of fact it soon became known that the Prussian Crown Prince intended to put forward his candidature for the highest dignity in Christendom on the very next occasion.[2] In 1711 it was widely believed in the Empire that Frederick I. would be a future candidate.[3] Circumstances seemed favourable. In 1710 enormous masses of Turkish troops were concentrated on the Danube for an attack on Russia; it was generally believed that Charles XII. of Sweden would put himself at the head of the Turkish host. In that case the eastern frontiers of the German Empire lay defenceless before him, so that in concert with France, the Swedish king could make Emperor whomsoever he chose.[4] As it was, by reason of the Spanish war of succession—"a civil war between the Catholic nations"—the decision of European questions had got into the hands of the Protestant maritime Powers, England and Holland. However, these fears were groundless. For the time being the maritime Powers could not make up their minds as to whether Spain should be divided or not, but the English Secretary of State, addressing both Houses of Parliament, spoke in the Queen's name in favour of the election of

[1] On the aspirations and desires of the German Protestants since the time of Luther, *cf.* H. GÜNTER, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXVII. (1916), 376 *seqq.*

[2] ZIEKURSCH, 28.

[3] *Ibid.*, 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, 8.

Charles as Emperor. The States General came to a similar decision, and informed their allies accordingly.[1] In this way the Electors of Mayence and Trèves and the Elector Palatine were relieved of their fear of a Protestant Emperor, whilst on this occasion the King of Prussia gave up his designs. Hanover and Saxony also pronounced in favour of Charles. The Archbishop of Mayence fixed August 20th as the day of election.[2]

France, of course, was unwilling to see an opponent against whom she had fought so long on the imperial throne, so she tried at least to oppose his election in Rome. The imperial dignity was of the Church's making, and the fact was still more or less clearly remembered by wide circles. Accordingly the French party in Rome suggested to the Pope to send the customary monitories to the two banned Wittelsbachs, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne. As such a step might provoke resentment in Germany, the chance of troubling the election was there.[3] The same end would also be served by suggesting to the Pope that he should object to the participation of Hanover in the imperial election since the ninth electorate, that of Hanover, had not been recognized by Rome.[4] At the death of the Emperor Joseph the powers of his ambassador Prié also expired, so the French pressed the Pope no longer to receive Prié.[5]

In spite of everything, Clement XI. decided in favour of Charles, and he firmly adhered to his resolution. Like all right-thinking people, he wrote to the Emperor, he too was firmly convinced that, for the greater good of all Christendom,

[1] *Ibid.*, 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, 23–7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.* Extracts from the "Memorialbüchel" of the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement, during his exile in France are given by H. Schrörs in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XCII. (1910). *Cf. ibid.*, XCVII. (1915), 1 *seqq.*; XCVIII. (1916), 1 *seqq.*

[4] Ziekursch, 50 *seq.*; Hiltebrandt, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 95 *seqq.*

[5] Ziekursch, 47.

the imperial crown must remain in the House of Austria.[1] In spite of all French efforts to prevent it, Prié continued to be received in audience as before.[2] He thought, indeed, so the Pope told the ambassador, that at the conclusion of peace, the idea of a partition would crop up again, but as the common father of Christendom, it was not right for him to take sides; he would content himself with exhorting the Christian princes to preserve mutual concord. As for the two Wittelsbachs, he could not meddle in the disputes of princes, but custom obliged him to write to all the Catholic Electors. Joseph Clement of Cologne, as an Archbishop and an ecclesiastical Elector, could not be set aside without the Pope's consent; were he to look on his deprivation as valid in law, he would approve an act of encroachment on the part of the secular power.[3]

As a matter of fact the Briefs to the Wittelsbachs were dispatched in mid-June,[4] whilst the appropriate monitories had been previously forwarded to the other Electors through Albani. Charles was not mentioned in them, but in a covering letter to Albani, the Pope stated that he had only him in view.[5] In subsequent letters of Clement XI. to Albani the Electors were expressly urged to elect Charles.[6] When the French ambassador suggested that the Pope should raise the ban pronounced against the Wittelsbachs and insist on their reinstatement, or otherwise protest against the election, Clement XI. refused to listen to him.[7] Through Prié he informed Charles that it was the long-standing custom of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 46. Against LANDAU and ROSENLEHNER, who represent Clement XI. as favourable to France and unfavourable to Charles, see *ibid.*, 2. Exkurs, 156–162.

[2] *Ibid.*, 47.

[3] *Ibid.*, 48. On the attitude of the Cathedral Chapter of Cologne to the imperial election, *cf.* H. GERIG in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, CXIII. (1929).

[4] ZIEKURSCH, 58.

[5] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., II., 1533 *seqq.*

[6] The Briefs are dated June 20, 1711. The Brief to August II., *ibid.*, 1551; on other Briefs, see ZIEKURSCH, 61, n. 1.

[7] ZIEKURSCH, 52.

Holy See simply to recognize the rights and titles of all princes, even when they had been deprived of their territories; hence the Briefs to the Wittelsbachs were a matter of pure form.[1] Purely formal also was the Pope's objection to the participation of Hanover in the election; the Elector of Mayence had been instructed to inform the Catholic Electors of the Brief in question (dated May 30th), but after that to bury it in his archives.[2] A Brief of June 13th acknowledged the election as valid even if Protestants were to intervene in it.[3] A few days later Clement XI. assured Prié that he would take no steps against the Wittelsbachs though the French pressed him to do so.[5]

Louis XIV. also sought to disturb the election by raising hopes of the imperial crown in Hanover,[6] and even more so in Saxony. King Augustus of Saxony refused to have anything to do with the French agents Besenval and Baron Hoock; he remained firmly resolved to give his vote to Charles.[7] However, rumours about King Augustus' plan for securing the imperial crown had reached even as far as Barcelona; accordingly the Saxon envoy met with a cool reception on the part of Charles, all the more so as an agent of Prince Eugene had spread the rumour in Barcelona that France, Saxony and the Pope had agreed to secure for the Saxon Elector the dignity of King of the Romans.[7]

As a matter of fact Augustus II. speculated on Charles leaving no male heirs, in which case he hoped to succeed him. With this end in view he sought to influence the ecclesiastical Electors, through the Pope, in favour of his own, or his son's election as King of the Romans; thus the imperial crown, together with the rich Austrian heritage, would have fallen to his House. However, the Pope did not

[1] *Ibid.*, 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, 59.
[3] *Ibid.*, 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, 62.
[5] *Ibid.*, 90 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 85 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 101 *seq.*

take seriously Augustus' schemes with regard to the imperial crown, since it was as yet by no means certain that the male line of the Habsburgs would die out with Charles. On the other hand the Pope could not reject altogether the question of the Prince-Elector's nomination as King. The first condition for such an election was, however, the Prince's conversion to the Catholic faith; but influenced as he was by his mother and grandmother, the latter held firmly to the Lutheran confession. It was nevertheless felt in Rome that if he were surrounded by Catholics who would convince him that the old religion was a very different thing from the Protestant caricature of it, there might be a chance that the keen Lutheran might change his mind; at any rate the prospect of the election to the royal dignity might induce the prince's father to fulfil his promise by putting his son in touch with Catholicism.

As a matter of fact Augustus II. did now carry out his promise, but even so the Pope did not feel he could support his aspirations to the royal dignity. Only in one eventuality did he promise his aid, namely, if one of the Electors spontaneously proposed Augustus as King of the Romans, or if the Protestants attempted to secure that dignity for one of their co-religionists, though both these eventualities seemed remote enough. But things would be different if Charles were to die without a male heir. In that eventuality the Pope would favour the wishes of the Saxon King, though only on condition that by then the Prince-Elector would long ago have returned to the Catholic Church. Clement XI. laid down the same condition for his support of the Prince's marriage with an Austrian Archduchess.[1]

The Archbishop of Mayence had convoked the Electors for August 20th, at Frankfort, but subsequently he announced that the deliberations would begin on July 20th.[2] In the last days of July and at the beginning of August the Electors assembled in the ancient imperial city. Mayence and Trèves

[1] ZIEKURSCH, 107–9, 183 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 99.

came in person, whilst Brandenburg, Hanover, Saxony and Charles (as King of Bohemia) were represented by delegates. The Rhine Palatine only arrived on September 23rd, and Bavaria and Cologne remained excluded.[1] On August 13th the Saxon Prince-Elector also arrived under the name of Count of Lusatia.

The position of the papal delegate Albani at the conference was a very difficult one. The Duke of Modena feared that under his influence the ecclesiastical Electors would make the restitution of Comacchio one of the clauses of the election capitulation to be submitted to the future Emperor. Accordingly the Duke's envoy, Olivazzi, taking advantage of the prevailing none too friendly feeling towards the Pope, did his best, especially by means of pamphlets, "to prevent the court of Rome from meddling in any way with the affairs of the Empire, least of all when there was question of the election of an Emperor."[2] Before long it was generally believed that Olivazzi had a secret understanding with Charles; hence the Pope, through the nuncio of Vienna, requested the imperial Government to suppress by every means at its disposal a particularly dangerous pamphlet. But it was too late, and rumours of a papal intervention in favour of the two Wittelsbachs and against Hanover further increased the prevailing resentment.[3]

When Albani arrived at Frankfort for the electoral Diet, he was repelled in most rude fashion. On his way he had intended to call on the Elector of Trèves at Coblenz, but his demand to be received like a royal envoy was met by the Elector hurrying off to the chase and informing Albani that he was unable to receive him, as owing to the war the furniture had been removed from the castle.[4] The Elector Palatine absolutely refused to receive the papal representative,[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 111.

[2] *Ibid.*, 116. Contents of the more important pamphlet, *ibid.*, 115–120.

[3] *Ibid.*, 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, 125.

[5] *Ibid.*, 126.

whilst at the opening of the deliberations the Prussian envoy formally demanded his expulsion.[1] Nothing was gained by the Pope's raising his nephew to a higher rank by giving him the post of nuncio at Cologne. On the occasion of Albani's first visit to the Countess Palatine, the guard was drawn up in front of her house and presented arms as a state coach approached. But when it was seen that it was not that of the Elector of Mayence, who was expected, but that of the representative of the Pope, the commanding officer dismissed the troops. The same scene was enacted at Albani's departure, whilst the domestics of the Elector of Mayence and those of the Palatine stood at the windows and indulged in loud guffaws.[2] Previous to this the Prussian delegate had already threatened to use violence against Albani should he reiterate the papal protest against the Prussian kingship.[3] After that there was no need to repeat explicitly that the traditional conception of the union between Church and State was now definitely at an end.[4] Revolution from above had arrived; revolution from below would not be so very long in coming.

By his lack of self-control Albani himself set the crown on the indignities he had had to endure. He meant to disappear from Frankfort as quietly as possible, but his carriage was driven through streets in which the traffic was blocked by the carriages and the domestics of the delegates of the Electors. Albani lost all self-control and ordered his servants to thrash the postilions.[5]

The election of the Emperor took place on October 12th; within a quarter of an hour it was decided in favour of Charles.[6] The Saxon plans for the election of a king failed,[7] and a so-called perpetual election capitulation had been drawn up on the

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 138.
[3] *Ibid.*, 135.
[4] *Europäische Fama*, Th. 122, 107; *ibid.*, 140; *cf.* 136.
[5] *Ibid.*, 139.
[6] *Ibid.*, 149.
[7] *Ibid.*, 142 *seq.*

previous day.[1] Albani returned to Frankfort after the election in order to lodge a purely formal protest against the exclusion of the Wittelsbachs, and various other things.[2]

Meanwhile Charles remained at Barcelona. Although both Prince Eugene and the Chancellor of Bohemia, Wratislaw, pressed him to leave Spain as soon as possible, Charles hesitated. He had come to love that country; those grave, moderate men appealed to his calm and somewhat melancholy temperament.[3] He only set out from Barcelona on September 27th, 1711, after entrusting the government to his wife, Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, whilst Starhemberg was named Governor-General. On October 12th he landed at Vado near Savona. At Milan he was informed of his election as King of the Romans with the right to the imperial crown.

In a consistory of October 14th, 1711, Clement XI., whom Charles had informed of his impending departure on September 12th,[4] named Cardinal Imperiali his Legate for the purpose of welcoming the monarch on Italian soil. On October 19th Imperiali was given the legatine cross; two days later he left for Milan.[5] On November 8th, at Milan, the Legate handed Charles a Brief dated October 13th, and a present of a monstrance set with diamonds and containing a particle of the true cross.[6]

If the Pope had hoped that Charles would now restore Comacchio he was destined to be disappointed. After the Emperor's death Clement XI. had based his demand for the restitution of Commachio on the additional circumstance that Joseph I. had occupied the town only as Emperor. That title to ownership had now lapsed. Count Wratislaw

[1] *Ibid.*, 143 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 139.

[3] ARNETH, *Eugen*, II., 172; ZIEKURSCH, 11.

[4] G. CHIAPPONI, *Legazione del card. Gius. Renato Imperiali alla S. R. M^tà di Carlo III., Re della Spagna l'a, 1711, descritta*, Roma, 1712.

[5] ZIEKURSCH, 5, 12 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 70 *seqq.*, 92 *seq.*, 97.

declared that this motive was well founded[1]; for all that Albani, who had renewed his efforts as soon as the obsequies were over, met with no readiness to yield among the leading personalities of the court of Vienna.[2] Shortly before Joseph I.'s death Charles also had spoken in favour of the restoration of Comacchio. Subsequently he wished to retain at least the right of garrisoning the town, to which Clement XI. refused to consent; at a still later date he declared that the matter was not a very pressing one.[3] When Charles set out for Frankfort viâ Augsburg, Albani went as far as Innsbruck to meet him, but again failed to obtain anything.[4] The Pope informed the Cardinals of the fact in a consistory of December 18th; at the same time he declared that so long as the papal confirmation of the imperial election was not asked for and granted, neither the service of thanksgiving for the happy issue of the election which he had ordered to be held in the papal chapel, nor any other function of the same kind, must be interpreted as a recognition.[5] On December 13th, 1711, a Brief of congratulation was sent to Charles,[6] who was crowned at Frankfort on December 22nd. Recognition of the election by the Pope, for which he had prayed, only came after the great peace treaties,[7] and after the Electors

[1] LANDAU, 447; ZIEKURSCH, 53.

[2] *Cf.* POMETTI, XXI., 426.

[3] ZIEKURSCH, 53–7.

[4] POMETTI, XXI., 427.

[5] **Acta consist., Barb.* XXXVI., 48, Vatican Library.

[6] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1607.

[7] In the consistory of February 26, 1714, after Prié, the representative of Charles VI., had asked on the 16th for the *confirmatio electionis* for his sovereign (**Acta consist., loc. cit.*; CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 101; the Bull of Confirmation itself in *Bull*, XXI., 600 *seq.*). At the same time Charles VI. asked through Prié for the right of the *primae preces* which was granted to him in the accustomed manner on March 10 (*Bull*, XXI., 603 *seqq.*; OTTIERI, III., 589; BUDER, III., 44 *seqq.*). The negotiations on the *primae preces* had been very difficult; when the discussions were already far advanced, fresh difficulties arose in December, 1713. On January 8, 1714, a letter was dispatched to the nuncio in Vienna

of Cologne and Bavaria had been reinstated in the dignities of which Joseph I. had deprived them. The unexpected, almost simultaneous death of Joseph I. and the French Dauphin fundamentally altered the political situation of Europe, and that in favour of the hard pressed King of France. The death of his son was of advantage to Louis XIV. in so far as it removed the danger that Philip V., the Dauphin's son, might comply with the orders of his father in his capacity of King of Spain. But at this same time Archduke Charles, whose elevation to the throne of Spain had been proclaimed an indispensable condition of the preservation of the peace of Europe, secured the whole of the Austrian monarchy as the sole heir of his brother. Already poets were busy singing the return of Charlemagne's imperial power. The impending supremacy of the House of Habsburg appeared like the realization of the spectre of universal domination against which one-half of Europe had waged war. The collapse of the Grand Alliance was sealed. To this was added a change in England. The Tories defeated the Whigs; this meant the victory of the peace-loving landed proprietors over the merchant class. England was resolved not to suffer the amalgamation of the Spanish monarchy with Austria; Louis XV.'s nephew, Philip V., was to remain King of Spain whilst Charles VI. of Austria would have to be satisfied with the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands.[1]

which the Pope had himself drawn up (autograph draft in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 171–2, Papal Sec. Archives); it begins thus: "*É gran disgrazia di N. S. che per lo più habbia di codesta corte a riportar doglianze per quelle cose, per le quali dovrebbe ricevere ringraziamenti. Così appunto accade nell'affare delle preci primarie." Clement XI. was anxious that the quarrel should be settled before the arrival of the new ambassador Gallas; his efforts were successful. Prié left Rome on June 3, 1714 (*Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 354). The *reports of his successor, Count Gallas, to the imperial Grand-Chancellor, Count of Sinzendorff, are in the Reuss Archives at Ernstbrunn, No. 2, *those to the Emperor in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[1] Menzel, X., 29.

The peace congress on which England and France had agreed opened on January 29th, 1712, at Utrecht.[1] Though most of the subjects of the negotiations were concerned with secular matters, there were nevertheless a number of important points which directly affected the interests of the Catholic religion and the Holy See. As early as 1708 Clement XI., who clearly realized the situation, had dispatched the learned Domenico Passionei to the Hague, in an unofficial capacity.[2] During the preliminary discussions Passionei worked with success with a view to the preservation of the rights of the Catholics of Geldern and the Netherlands. He was now ordered to return to Utrecht in the capacity of a simple agent.[3] His task was a most difficult one as the decisive rôle in the negotiations lay with the Protestant Powers, above all with England, which was sharply opposed to the Catholic Church. What could be the influence of a papal representative in such circumstances ?

One inevitable point in dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants was the Clause of Rijswijk, by the terms of which the Catholic religion was to be maintained in those localities and territories which had been restored by France

[1] OTTOKAR WEBER, *Der Friede von Utrecht.* Verhandlungen zwischen England, Frankreich, dem Kaiser und den Generalstaaten, 1710–1713, Gotha, 1891.

[2] " *Senz' alcun titolo o carattere " (F. GARAMPI, 94, Papal Sec. Archives. *Cf.* Paolucci's letter in POMETTI, XXI., 441.

[3] Passionei's *original correspondence beginning in August, 1708, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI., Paci*, 49 (1712), 50 (1713), 51 (1714), 52 (1715), 53 (1716), 54 (1708–1716), Papal Sec. Archives. On Passionei (born 1682), *cf.* GALLETTI, *Memorie della vita del card. Passionei*, Roma, 1762 ; LE BEAU, *Éloge*, La Haye, 1763 ; MORONI, LI., 271 *seqq.* ; PFÜLF, in *Kirchenlex.* IX.², 1578 *seqq.* ; E. DE BROGLIE, *Les portefeuilles du président Bouchier*, Parigi, 1896, 292 *seqq.* ; LENGEFELD in the publication quoted below, p. 107, n. 3. Letters from and to Passionei in Passionei Library, Fossombrone ; *cf.* MAZZATINTI, *Archivi*, III., 238, 253. Passionei received 300 scudi a month (GARAMPI, 94, *loc. cit.*), which was not enough. POMETTI, XXI., 448 *seq.*

in 1697.[1] Passionei was accordingly instructed before all things to prevent the revocation of this clause and to obtain from the congress that which had already been agreed upon in the preliminary negotiations, namely the safeguarding of the Catholics of Upper Geldern when that territory came to be surrendered to the Dutch.[2]

Besides these interests of a religious kind, the Pope was greatly concerned for the preservation of his suzerain rights over Parma and Piacenza, and even more so over Sicily which had received a new master in the person of the Duke of Savoy. Clement XI.'s unwillingness to abandon any of his rights in this respect was left in no doubt by Passionei.[3] The Pope sought to make sure of the support of the courts of Paris and Madrid, but this seemed impossible without concessions on his part. Louis XIV. had asked for the red hat for the Abbé Polignac who, together with Marshal d'Uxelles, represented his interests at Utrecht.[4] After some hesitation the Pope yielded to this demand by publishing Polignac's nomination which had already been made *in petto* on January 30th, 1730,[5] though this did not win for him such support from France as the defence of his rights demanded. His efforts for better relations with Philip V. failed altogether as the paramount counsellors in Madrid were definitely hostile to the Church.

In these circumstances Passionei was unable to prevent steps being taken at Utrecht about Sicily regardless of the papal overlord. What importance Rome attached to this matter appears from the fact that Passionei was authorized to ask for the help even of the non-Catholic Powers.[6] Though Passionei did all he could, he achieved very little. His reports to Rome became more and more depressing. On March 13th

[1] *Cf.* the present work, XXXIII., 674 *seq.*
[2] Galletti, *Passionei*, 46 *seq.*
[3] Pometti, XXI., 432 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 437.
[5] *Cf.* below, Chapter VI.
[6] Pometti, XXI., 438.

he reported that the German Protestants took advantage of England's preponderant rôle at the Congress in order to press for the complete abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk.[1]

A month later the negotiations came to an end. On the afternoon of April 11th, 1713, the French plenipotentiaries signed first the peace with England, then that with Savoy, Portugal, Prussia and lastly, half an hour after midnight, peace with Holland.[2] The territorial decisions arrived at implied greater changes than even those of the Peace of Westphalia. Not a few clauses were bound to hurt the Pope profoundly. France recognized the Protestant succession in England and undertook to expel from her territory James III., the brother of Queen Anne and the rightful heir to the three British crowns. In no circumstances could Clement XI. sanction such proceedings since he had always stood up for the rights of James III. For the rest this abandonment of the Pretender was not only a humiliation for the Queen who demanded it, but for the King also who agreed to it. It is worth noting that previously to this step Polignac had been ordered to leave Utrecht; only a short time before he had received the purple at the request of James III.

Another blow for Clement XI. lay in the fact that, heedless of the papal protest, Louis XIV. recognized the Margrave of Brandenburg as king and abandoned to that Protestant prince, in the name and by the authority of the King of Spain, the upper part of the Duchy of Geldern which up to that time had been a Spanish possession. It was not long before the rights of Catholics were seriously infringed in that district.[3] Nor were Catholic interests safe-guarded when Minorca was ceded to England.[4] Passionei was able to make better reports

[1] "*Profittando i protestanti dell'Imperio dell'autorità che ha l'Inghilterra nel presente congresso, continuano tuttavia a insistere presso i ministri di quella corona, acciò abbolisca intieramente il quarto articolo della pace di Ryswick." Report dat. Utrecht, March 10, 1713, *Paci*, 50, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See Passionei's *reports of April 11 and 12, 1713, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the Briefs of August 11, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1991, 2053.

[4] GALLETTI, *Passionei*, 51.

about the Dutch; they promised not to tamper with the Catholic religion in the Dutch towns which were allotted to them.[1]

Of all the decisions of Utrecht the one that was bound to hurt the Pope most deeply was that concerning the island of Sicily. In obedience to England's will, and regardless of the papal suzerainty, Philip V. granted the island to the Duke of Savoy as his kingdom; not one of the Catholic Powers protested against such a settlement. Everybody knew how eagerly Philip V. had sought, during six years, the investiture of Naples and Sicily. If in this instance the Pope's rights to an acknowledged possession of his could be overridden, other territories of his secular dominions might with equal justice be appropriated.[2] Of course there could be no question of a papal recognition of the new King of Sicily; on the contrary, violent conflicts were to be expected, and this all the more as soon after news reached Rome that the sovereign privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula* had likewise been expressly granted to the Duke of Savoy,[3] a point on which the Holy See had had sharp disputes with the Spanish Government. To all this was added the fact that the Peace of Utrecht created a dangerous uncertainty with regard to the Clause of Rijswijk.

[1] Passionei's *letter, dat. Utrecht, April 19, 1713, *loc. cit.* Articles 4, 5 and 7 of the peace in DUMONT, VIII., 1, 366 *seq.* **Paci*, 50, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* the opinion of BROSCH (*Kirchenstaat*, II., 47), who is certainly not favourable to the papacy: "The Pope ruled over Bologna, Ferrara, the Marches, Umbria and Rome with no greater or less right than he did over the Kingdom of Naples which was a recognized ecclesiastical fief. If that right was taken from him and its exercise frustrated, other portions of his temporal power might also be wrenched from his hand. The feudal sovereignty of the Church fell victim to European Powers—but who guaranteed their territorial sovereignty? BROSCH stultifies these statements a little later (p. 50), when he condemns Clement XI.'s action in not recognizing the decisions of Utrecht as a "policy of sentiment".

[3] POMETTI, XXI., 444.

From the first Clement XI. had deemed it his duty, in the interests of the Catholic religion, to uphold the Rijswijk decisions in any circumstances, however strongly Prussia, Holland and England might urge their suppression. He rejected any compromise in this affair. His representative, Passionei, had at one time been of a different opinion. He felt it might be necessary to agree to a compromise, and when there was a risk of losing everything to choose the lesser of two evils. In the vain hope of restraining the English from supporting the German Protestants in this matter, Passionei was even prepared to drop his demands of relief for the Irish Catholics.[1] Clement XI. scorned such feeble diplomacy; on no account would he forgo the greatest advantage the Church had gained in Germany since 1648.[2] Passionei was told that the representatives of the Holy See were bound to strive for the advantage of the Catholic religion with the utmost zeal, in all places, and by every means in their power. To gain one point they could not give up another; they could not jeopardize in Ireland what had been won in Germany. The Pope's duty is even more emphatically stated in another letter to Passionei. There we read: "Without weighing words, and only heeding the consequences, the Pope will protest aloud in his Briefs, his letters and through his nuncios, in France, in Germany and wherever it may be necessary, lest from complacency, or a yielding disposition, the fourth article should be done away with, and lest the Catholic religion should be tampered with and the cause of God preferred to worldly interests. Thus will the Pope speak, thus will he explain his conduct, without disquieting himself in this world or in the next. And if this is not enough he will commend his cause to God; failure will have to be ascribed to others, not to His Holiness." [3]

On April 9th, 1712, Briefs were dispatched to the Emperor, to the Cardinals of Saxony and Lamberg, to the Catholic

[1] HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 168.

[2] Opinion of Garampi; *cf.* *F. Garampi, 94, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[3] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 169 *seq.*, 209.

princes of the Empire, to Prince Eugene, to Louis XIV., to the Kings of Poland and Portugal, to the Republic of Venice, to the imperial plenipotentiary Sinzendorff and to the French representative, Abbé Polignac. All were exhorted to oppose the Protestant demand energetically and openly and to prevent grave injury from being done to the Catholic religion by the abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk.[1]

The Pope assuredly relied more particularly on the support of the King of France since it was chiefly his influence that had secured at Rijswijk the Clause which it was now intended to drop. At that time Louis XIV. had hoped to win over the German Catholics and to create a cleavage between the Protestants and the Emperor. In May, 1712, the Paris Cabinet's main concern was to reach a peaceful settlement with the great Protestant Powers, England and Holland. In order to secure this end Paris was prepared to yield to England's demands, regardless of Catholic interests. A promise was given to negotiate on the Clause of Rijswijk with the German Catholics and not to infringe the Peace of Westphalia within the Empire. This might mean the abolition of the Clause of Rijswijk, and it was soon seen that it was so, though for the moment such a conclusion did not absolutely impose itself.[2]

Clement XI. continued to hope that the Cabinet of Paris might be induced to stand up for the Clause. On January 7th, 1713, when scarcely recovered from sickness, he addressed an autograph letter to Louis XIV. "The fourth article of Rijswijk," he wrote, "was entirely the work of your hands. At that time the Church was obliged to you for this benefit, and to no one else. To-day she hopes and prays for the maintenance of the article from you and from no one else." [3] In his reply the French King pointed to the indifference of the Emperor and the other German princes; he was unable to defend the Clause alone; his kingdom needed peace.[4] However, at the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1659–1670.

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 171 *seqq.*

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1789.

[4] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 177.

with England and Prussia on April 11th, 1713, France prevented the express abolition of the Clause, though she undertook at the same time to see to it that religious questions in Germany were resolved in the spirit of the Peace of Westphalia.[1] This gave rise to a dangerous uncertainty which was bound to incite the Protestants to further efforts for the repeal of the Clause. From the first the Pope had adopted the standpoint that it was self-contradictory to accept the Peace of Westphalia, and to wish to infringe it by maintaining the Clause of Rijswijk.[2] He accordingly complained bitterly of the decisions of Utrecht [3] though he did not give up the hope of upholding the Clause when peace came to be concluded with the Empire and the Emperor. In this expectation he was effectively served by the circumstance that this was in agreement with the particular political aims both of Louis XIV. and of Charles VI.[4] It is true that under various pretexts both had declined the papal mediation and had been negotiating without the Pope since the end of November, 1713, at the castle of Rastatt. However, the treaty concluded on March 6th, 1714, was based on the Peace of Westphalia and the Treaty of Rijswijk and the much discussed third Clause was expressly embodied in the instrument of peace as Article 3.

The Peace of Rastatt was concluded without the intervention of the Estates. To make it a Peace of Empire a new congress was required and such an assembly opened on June 10th, 1714, at Baden in Switzerland. As the Protestants were sure to strive more than ever to secure the repeal of the Clause, the Pope had appealed to the Emperor and to the King of France on April 7th, 1714, urging them to resist these attempts with all their might.[5]

After prolonged reflection Domenico Passionei was once

[1] DUMONT, VIII., 1, 343, 371. *Cf.* POMETTI, XXI., 447 *seq.*

[2] HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, 184.

[5] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1949 *seq.*

again entrusted with the duty of representing the Holy See in the negotiations at Baden.[1] However, it was found impossible to get a papal envoy admitted, hence he was instructed to appear once more as a simple agent or procurator of the Holy See and of the Pope.[2] In a detailed Instruction, dated June 26th, 1714, in the drafting of which the Pope had taken a personal share,[3] the main lines were laid down for his conduct in a mission which was as honourable as it was difficult.[4] His chief care and attention must be for the integral preservation of the Clause of Rijswijk which had been embodied in the Peace of Rastatt. This Clause must not be weakened by any explanation or alteration.[5] In addition to this Passionei was instructed to work for the express repeal of the religious recess concluded in 1705 by the Count Palatine John William with Prussia, as that agreement altered the religious conditions in the Palatinate in favour of the Protestants.[6] On

[1] On June 16, 1714, Count Gallas *reports: "El viage de Msgr. Passionci lo tiene retardato la irresolución del Papa fomentada de sus émulos." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] In the *Brief accrediting Passionei, June 26, 1714, he is called "Noster et eiusdem sedis verus, legitimus et indubitatus procurator, actor ac negotiorum gestor generalis et specialis". *F. Garampi*, 94, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] *Cf.* the autograph "*Ricordi per chi assisterà al congresso di Bada." *Ibid.*

[4] "*Istruzione per M. Passionei destinato Nunzio al congresso di Bada," dated June 26, 1714, *ibid.*

[5] "*E perciò le materie più importanti sono quelle che risguardano la religione cattolica; dovrà perciò egli in primo luogo procurare che a tenore della littera della dispositione del 3° degli articoli preliminari di Radstatt sia mantenuta ed eseguita in tutto e per tutto la dispositione dell'articolo 4 di Ryswich, senza che si ammetta alcuna interpretatione o moderazione che gli eretici tentassero, come pur troppo tenteranno di far dare alla medesima." *Ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* the arguments of HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 162 *seq.*

this point the Pope counted above all on the support of France.[1]

Nor does the Instruction lose sight of another constant aim of the Holy See, viz. the repeal of the clauses of the Treaty of Westphalia which were unfavourable to the Catholic religion. Passionei was expressly directed to renew against those agreements which touched religion the protests formerly made by Innocent X. and the delegates of the Holy See, Chigi, D'Elce, Sanfelice, Bevilacqua, Cantelmi and Albani.

Passionei was likewise instructed to bear in mind the manifold restrictions of the Catholic religion in the Empire. He was to urge the abrogation of the agreement which Hanover had forced upon the Cathedral Chapter of Hildesheim [2] and the suppression of the oath which was demanded of the

[1] The *instruction for Passionei says : " Benchè nel medesimo 3° articolo di Radstatt venga disposto e dichiarato che si ristabilisca generalmente nell'Imperio e sue appartenenze tutto ciò che si per lo spirituale che per il temporale era stato prescritto nel trattato di Ryswich, tanto per conto delle mutazioni e innovazioni fattesi nel corso di questa guerra quanto in riguardo alle cose che non fossero state per anco eseguite, e che in conseguenza resti tacitamente cassato e annullato il recesso, che contro la dispositione del 4° articolo del medesimo trattato di Ryswich fu fatto anni sono tra l'elettore Palatino e il marchese di Brandeburgo in punto di religione, sarà nulladimeno opportuno, anzi necessario che Msgr. Passionei procuri che il recesso medesimo venga per maggiore sicurezza espressamente e nominatamente abrogato e cassato nel trattato di Bada, affinchè non possa mai pretendersi, che per non esserne fatta menzione, resti tuttavia nel suo vigore. Da tal'espressa cassazione dovrà Msgr. Passionei eccitar maggiormente i plenipotenziari Francesi col riflesso che farà far loro all'impegno più preciso, che corre alla gloria del Re il far che il medesimo 4° articolo, che è opera della sua real pietà, venga in ogni luogo intieramente adempito e osservato." Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] On this matter Clement XI. had already written on January 14, 1713, to the Emperor, to Louis XIV., and to Philip V. CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1797 *seq.*

Catholic missionaries in Hanover.[1] Seeing that the Dutch had introduced Protestant worship at Burtscheid, near Aix-la-Chapelle [2] and garrisoned the fortresses of Liége and Huy with Protestant troops, he should seek to obtain a ratification of the imperial prohibition of Protestant services at Burtscheid as well as the removal of those garrisons. He was likewise instructed to see to the preservation of the Catholic religion at Hadamar, Rheinfels and Verden.[3] Finally he was ordered to present once more the protest against the

[1] Already in 1710, Bussi, the nuncio at Cologne, had greatly exerted himself in this affair (see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIII., 353 *seq.*), and on August 12, 1713, Clement XI. had appealed to the Emperor (Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1879, 1997, 2003). *Cf.* Hagen, *Gesch. Aachens*, II., 316 *seq.*

[2] See the Briefs of April, 1713, in Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1827. On the visitation of the monastery of Burtscheid by nuncio Bussi, 1708, see Pauls in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XXXII.

[3] With regard to this the *instruction says: "Avrà l'istessa attenzione per l'indennità della chiesa e della religione nell'elettorato di Treviri e particolarmente nel principato di Adamar dependente dal medesimo, nel quale gli eretici hanno introdotto molte perniciose novità e commessi diversi attentati. — Insisterà perchè sia restituita al suo legittimo portione (principe ?) cattolico la fortezza di Rheinfels sul Reno occupata presentemente da un principe eretico con sommo pregiuditio della religione. — Sosterrà gl'interessi o le ragioni del P. Abbate e del monastero di Werden contro le violenze e le pretenzioni del marchese di Brandeburgo, e impedire che a quel principe non sia data l'investitura di alcuna ben minima porzione de' beni spettanti al medesimo monastero, come già ne resta fatta la proibizione all'istesso P. Abbate da N. S., e per maggior sicurezza della sua indennità sarà opportuno di procurare che l'istesso P. Abbate venga nominatamente compreso ne' trattati della pace. E perchè l'Imperatore ha fatti molti decreti in favore dell'accennato P. Abbate, i quali non hanno mai sin'ora avuto l'effetto loro, converrà far comprendere ai ministri imperiali, quanto convenga al decoro di S. M. Ces. di esser puntualmente e con ogni esattezza ubedito." Papal Sec. Archives. *Cf.* Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1829, 1842, 1973.

erection of the ninth Protestant Electorate of Hanover[1] which had recently been put into the hands of the Elector and Chancellor of the Empire, Mayence, at the Diet of Frankfort. Passionei was also requested to see to the interests of the Swiss Catholics who were grievously threatened by the Peace of Aarau and by the designs of Berne and Zurich on the County of Toggenburg, a possession of the Abbey of St. Gall.[2]

How much the Pope had at heart the preservation of the Clause of Rijswijk, as well as the interests of the Swiss, appears from some further steps taken by him. On learning that Prussia was making a fresh attempt for the repeal of the Clause, Clement XI., on July 14th, 1714, wrote to the Emperor, to Louis XIV. and the Palatine John William, exhorting them to resist this manœuvre.[3] Though ailing he wrote a personal

[1] *Cf.* the Brief of February 12, 1707, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 383.

[2] In this respect the *instruction says : " Come che la pace, che i Cantoni protestanti estorsero ultimamente da' cattolici in Arau, non può esser nè più vergognosa nè più pregiudiziale al nome e alla religione cattolica, dovrà perciò Mons. Passionei non solo impedire che essa venga confermata nei trattati di Bada, come verisimilmente ne verrà fatta istanza da' Protestanti, ma insistere perchè venga intieramente rivocata e cassata. Nel congresso tenutosi in Rossach tra i deputati dell'abbate di S. Gallo e de' cantoni di Zurigo e Berna è stato stipulato per le controversie del contado di Toggenburg un'aggiustamento iniquissimo e pregiudizialissimo si per la religione cattolica che per l'abbate medesimo. E benchè non si dubiti che trattandosi di un feudo dell'Imperio investito negl'abbati pro tempore, l'Imperatore non sia mai per acconsentire alla ratifica ed essecuzionc di un aggiustamento che verrebbe a destruggere e annichilare il diritto imperiale, non lascierà tuttavia Mons. Passionei di prendersi di ciò una sollecitudine ben viva prendendo a tal fine tutti i lumi necessari et opportuni dell'informazione di Mons. vescovo di Como, e procuri che si l'abbate e il monastero, che la religione cattolica sieno reintegrati totalmente ne' loro diritti e ne' loro possessi nel predetto contado e in ogni altro luogo, prestando a tal fine tutta la più efficace assistenza al ministro che per parte dell'abbate si troverà a Bada " (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1670 *seqq.*

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1981 *seq.*

letter to Passionei on July 28th in which he once more recommended this affair most earnestly to him, whilst he also lamented the fact that the men of Berne and Zurich had organized Protestant services at Baden.[1] On August 4th the Secretary of State once more urged Passionei to attend to the Rijswijk Clause and to the affairs of the Swiss.[2] In connection with the Swiss question a Brief was dispatched to the King of France on the same day.[3]

Much earlier than had been expected in Rome, namely on September 7th, 1714, the Peace of Empire was concluded at Baden. It was wholly based on the articles agreed upon at Rastatt. No concession was made in regard to the Clause of Rijswijk; on the contrary, Article 3 expressly states that in all that concerns both religious and secular matters, everything was to remain as agreed upon at Rijswijk.[4]

How gratified the Pope was by the preservation of the much disputed Clause appears from the letters of thanks which he promptly addressed to the Emperor and to the King of France.[5] He was likewise gratified by the stipulations of the Peace of Baden about the restitution of the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria and the diocese of Hildesheim, as well as the preservation of the Church's rights in those localities of the Netherlands which France had to cede to the Emperor.

Clement XI.'s pleasure was nevertheless considerably dimmed by the circumstance that a number of things which injured Catholicism in the Empire and more particularly in Switzerland, had not been done away with by the Congress

[1] *Ibid.*, 1987 *seq.*

[2] **Paci*, 54, p. 512, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SEGESSER, *Luzern*, IV., 592 *seq.* On Nuncio Caracciolo, see HÜRBIN, *Handbuch*, II., 410 *seq.*, 420. On August 13, 1712, Lucerne begs to be recalled. Clement XI. complies.

[3] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 1989 *seq.*

[4] DUMONT, VIII., 1, 416.

[5] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2017 *seqq.* The *Brief to Louis XIV. is here wrongly dated the same day (September 29) as the one to the Emperor. The correct date of this letter, which was sent first, is: September 25. *Brevia*, Papal Secret Archives.

of Baden.[1] The further papal demands set down in Passionei's Instruction had also failed to receive attention in the peace settlement. In these circumstances Passionei saw himself compelled to make use of the authorization to lodge a protest which he had received as early as June. This he did in due form on September 10th at Baden and on September 20th at Lucerne.[2]

Not long after Passionei was entrusted with yet another mission to Switzerland. He was charged, with the assistance of the Emperor and of France, to secure the restoration to the Catholic Cantons of their possessions previous to the war of Toggenburg in 1712. There was no lack of zeal or prudence on his part, but the difficulties, created mostly by France, but even in part also by the Swiss Catholics, proved insuperable. All he succeeded in obtaining was that the Catholics in their weakness, in their nothingness, as he puts it, by comparison with the enormous power of the Cantons Zurich and Berne, should at least be guarded from the insults of their enemies. The project of the foundation of a seminary at Solothurn, which was on the verge of realization, failed to be carried out.[3]

Comparatively late, and evidently only after mature reflection, such as the Holy See never neglects in such cases, the Pope expressed an official opinion on the situation created by the Peace of Baden. He did so at a consistory of January 21st, 1715, after ratification of the treaty by the Powers on October 28th. The Pope gave the Cardinals a clear and detailed account of what had been achieved and not achieved by the three great peace treaties. Among the successes he mentioned in the first place the maintenance of

[1] Paolucci's *letter to Passionei, September 22, 1714, calls special attention to this. *Paci*, 54, Pap. Sec. Arch.

[2] GALLETTI, Passionei, 61. The protest is also in the Lucerne Archives.

[3] See LENGEFELD's detailed description (*Graf Domenico Passionei, päpstlicher Legat in der Schweiz 1714–16*, Ansbach, 1900), in which, however, as G. MEIER points out in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXII., 206, the documents in the Archives of the monastery of St. Gall were not consulted.

the Clause of Rijswijk. The decision that any alterations made during the war would not touch this Clause, meant the abolition of the religious recess of 1705. In prevision of the fact that the Protestants would nevertheless continue their former efforts at the Diet and elsewhere, he, the Pope, had already taken steps at the courts of Vienna and Paris and obtained reassuring promises from those quarters. He rejoiced at the 15th Article which completely restored the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria and condemned the agreement which Prussia had forced upon the Chapter of Hildesheim ; Article 27 was likewise gratifying because it restored all ecclesiastical rights in the Dutch territories which Louis XIV. had to cede to the Emperor Charles VI. Lastly Clement XI. referred to Article 30 which paved the way for Italian neutrality, a thing which was of the utmost value to him as head of the States of the Church.

The Pope then passed on to the things that had pained him. Here he singles out the confirmation of the Peace of Westphalia, the recognition of a ninth Electorate in favour of Hanover and the Prussian royal title, the assignation of Catholic territories to Protestant princes and lastly the clauses in connection with the restoration of ecclesiastical possessions seized during the war, which meant an evident infringement of ecclesiastical liberty and immunity. A grave injury had been done to the Holy See in the temporal sphere by the overriding of its unquestioned suzerainty over Naples and Sicily. It was not mentioned in the Treaty of Rastatt nor in that of Baden, in fact the Treaty of Utrecht had acted as if the Pope and the Holy See had no rights at all in the matter.

After that Clement XI. ordered Olivieri, the Secretary for Secret Briefs, to be called in for the purpose of reading Passionei's protests. Owing to the circumstance that, contrary to every custom, no intermediary had been present, Passionei had been obliged to make his protests before the local authorities ; but they had been handed to the imperial, the French and the other ambassadors and they were finally renewed before the Council of Lucerne. The Pope further explained the bearing of the protests which were directed not

only against all the restrictions implied in the agreements of Rastatt and Baden, but likewise, and even more so, against the stipulations of Utrecht. The Pope also expressly stated that his comprehensive protest extended to all that had been done against James III. of England, with complete disregard of all laws. Finally he expressly condemned the Treaty of Aargau. The Head of the Church, he added, would not be content with words but would use all his energy in order to repair the injury done to religion and to the Holy See; of this the Cardinals might feel convinced. The Pope concluded with a significant reference to the peril which threatened from the Turks. Now that peace was restored he called upon the Christian princes to conjure this menace.[1]

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 111–18; *Report of Cardinal Acquaviva to the Marquis de Villamayor, dat. January 26, 1715. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

Clement XI.'s Efforts for the Protection of Christendom against the Turks—Victories of Prince Eugene — Intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni, His Downfall and the Triumph of the Quadruple Alliance.

Even amid his gravest preoccupations Clement XI. never lost sight [1] of the glorious mission of the Holy See to act as guardian and protector of Christian civilization against Islam. After the difficult period of the Spanish war of succession it was to be his privilege to exercise it once again effectively. The Porte was very slow in recovering from the losses caused to it by the Peace of Karlowitz (January 26th, 1699), but that which was most grievously resented on the Golden Horn was the possibility for Venice to take the offensive from the Isthmus of Corinth as far as Dalmatia. However, in the sequel the inactivity of the Republic of St. Mark during the war of succession was put down to weakness which invited attack.[2]

Since the spring of 1714 it was reported that the Turks were making warlike preparations on a large scale. Against whom they were directed was kept a secret for the time being, until all was ready. On December 8th war was declared

[1] In the spring of 1701, Clement XI. tried to bring about an alliance against the Turks between the Emperor and Poland (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 358). On the help given to the Maltese for the defence of the island in the spring of 1708, *cf.* the Briefs in Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 494, 501, 535, and Pometti, XXII., 123 *seqq.* In 1709 Venice was granted an extension of the tenths in order that she might be equipped against an attack of the Turks (*Opera*, Epist., 605). In 1710 exhortations were made to Vienna (Pometti, XXII., 124 *seq.*), and Venice (*Opera*, Epist., 717).

[2] Hammer, IV., 124.

against Venice.[1] When on January 1st, 1715, news of this event reached the City of the Lagoons, there was great consternation. With feverish haste preparations were made for resisting the attack. At the same time help was sought both in Rome and in Vienna.[2] The magnitude of the peril was recognized in both places, but the Pope alone showed zeal and determination to ward it off.

No sooner had the news of the Turkish preparations reached Clement XI. than his first care was to see to the safety of Malta ; at the same time he urged the Emperor Charles VI. and King Augustus of Poland to take action against the common enemy.[3] Besides this the Pope took immediate steps to protect the coast of the Pontifical States by strengthening his fleet, reorganizing the army and at the same time providing the necessary money.[4] This activity of the Pope (as appears from the latest researches), went hand in hand with the idea of forming a league of all the Christian princes, with a view to counteracting the danger threatening from the East. In this emergency Pius V. served as the Pope's model. Consequently he gave orders to the officials at the head of the Papal Secret Archives to collect all the documents which might furnish information concerning his great predecessor's action against Islam.[5] In a consistory held on January 21st, 1715, Clement XI. openly stated that he meant to win over the Christian rulers for this undertaking. At this consistory he also gave his appreciation of the great peace treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden.[6]

Already in the late autumn of 1714, Pier Paolo Marcolini, a skilful diplomat, had been charged with a mission to the

[1] Pometti, XXII., 111 *seq.* ; Hammer, IV., 124 ; Zinkeisen, V., 470 *seq.*

[2] Zinkeisen, V., 489 *seq.* ; Pometti, XXII., 130 *seq.*

[3] Briefs of November 10 and December 21, 1714, *Opera*, Epist., 2025, 2033 *seq.*

[4] Pometti, XXII., 175 *seqq.*

[5] Pometti, *Storia della marina italiana*, 67, n. 6.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 107.

Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany.[1] Owing to the political situation, which was anything but satisfactory, Marcolini met with a cool reception.

Opposition between Charles VI. and Philip V. continued undiminished. Charles did not acknowledge Philip of Anjou as King of Spain and therefore maintained his claims to that territory with the same tenacity as Philip maintained his to the former Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. To this was added the traditional slowness and irresolution of the imperial Cabinet, which caused the nuncio at Vienna, Giorgio Spinola to break out into complaints. Charles VI. and his advisers made endless difficulties.[2] Clement XI. was in no mood to tolerate delay. His letters of exhortation of December 21st, 1714, to the Emperor and the King of Poland show how keenly he realized the peril. On January 10th, 1715, he appealed once more to the Emperor and on the 17th to the Kings of Poland and Portugal.[3] Though Charles VI.'s ministers could not be blind to the fact that something must be done, the Emperor's replies to the Pope, dated February 9th and 12th, were very unsatisfactory. The long years of war had exhausted his resources, he pleaded, but he would negotiate with the Porte.[4]

Marcolini saw at once that nothing was to be obtained from Vienna in the near future.[5] On January 9th, 1715, he left for Germany where he called first upon the Elector of Bavaria, then on the Bishop of Constance, and finally on the

[1] "*Relazione data da Msgr. Marcolini, cameriere d'onore di Clemente XI., della sua spedizione fatta d'ordine di S. Stà e con suoi brevi a varie corti cattoliche di Germania nell'anno 1715," in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, III, pp. 62–80. Papal Sec. Archives. An *instruction of October 26, 1714 (*ibid.*), commanded Marcolini to go to Germany after he had transacted his business at the imperial court.

[2] *Relazione data da Msgr. Marcolini, *loc. cit.*

[3] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2039, 2045 *seq.*, 2047.

[4] Pometti, XXII., 136.

[5] On Marcolini's audience with Charles VI., December 27, 1714, *cf.* his *Relazione, *loc. cit.*

Electors of Mayence, Cologne and the Palatinate. Assurances were forthcoming from all sides. The dilatory attitude of the court of Vienna met with disapproval in many quarters. Marcolini hoped that the Catholic princes of Germany would remain united; thus they could do much to ward off the Turkish peril, provided they themselves did not indulge in extravagant expenditure.[1]

In spite of the favourable attitude of the German Catholic princes, the Emperor Charles VI. declined to take immediate action. What gave additional ground for procrastination on his part was the fact that Sultan Ahmed III. had given assurances in Vienna that Venice alone was the object of his vengeance. It was easy to foresee that once the Venetians were defeated, an attack would be made on Hungary. The King of Poland, who declared his readiness to help Austria, also drew attention to this fact.[2]

Meanwhile Turkish ships made their appearance in the Adriatic.[3] Not a little perturbed the Pope appealed once more (April 25th, 1715) to the Emperor and soon after (May 4th) to Prince Eugene and the Catholic nobles of the Empire.[4] The Emperor Charles VI. answered in a letter in his own hand dated May 28th. He praised the Pope's zeal on behalf of Christendom, declaring at the same time his inability to render any assistance to the Venetians so long as his Italian possessions were threatened by the Spaniards.

[1] MARCOLINI, in **Relazione*, says of the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement: "Ora che l'età più consistente e le disgrazie lo hanno dai piaceri della prima sua educazione ritirato, è con molto fervore portato all'osservanza dei precetti della sua religione; la sua reintegrazione al collegio elettorale," was therefore to be desired. Marcolini did not visit Trèves as the see was vacant.

[2] POMETTI, XXII., 137.

[3] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to the Marques de Villamayor, April 27, 1715; he thinks that the Venetians cannot be trusted: "pues ellos estan acostumbrados a tratar sus pazes en el tempo que solecitan sus amigos hacer la guerra." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[4] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2065 *seq.*, 2069 *seq.*, 2071.

The same sentiments were expressed to nuncio Spinola by the imperial ministers in Vienna. An evasive answer was given to a proposed papal mediation between Vienna and Madrid.[1]

Though for the moment the fear of a double war in Italy and Hungary proved a decisive factor as far as Austria was concerned, the Pope did not give up the hope, by means of certain guarantees, of winning over the Emperor to his side for the Turkish war. In connection with this the Pope fulfilled an ardent wish of the Emperor, i.e. the proclamation as a Cardinal, of Hugo Schönborn who had been reserved *in petto* in 1713.[2]

By order of Pope Clement XI. solemn functions were held in Rome at the end of May, to call down the help of heaven on behalf of Christendom.[3] In the sequel Venice received financial aid and the Knights of Malta were asked to join their fleet to that of the Venetians.[4]

In the meantime the danger increased considerably. The Turks showed such a superiority both on land and sea, that at Venice one scare followed another. In May, 1715, the Turkish fleet had left the Dardanelles ; owing to the stupidity of the Commander, the rock-fortress of the island of Tinos, which was considered impregnable, fell already in June. Encouraged by this swift success, the Turks directed all their energies both on land and sea, against Morea, the ancient Peloponnesus. In July they took the lofty rock-fortress of Corinth and the strongly fortified capital, Napoli di Romania (Nauplia), where they strangled the Bishop. A rich booty in the shape of money and ammunition also fell into their hands. The Venetian fleet retired as the Turks approached Modon. The town fell without effort as a result of the mutiny

[1] Pometti, XXII., 138 *seq.*, 140 note ; *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LV., 14.

[2] Guarnacci, II., 263.

[3] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Orat., 121 ; *Bull*, XXI., 676 ; Buder, III., 221 *seqq.*

[4] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2081 ; Count Gallas' *report of August 12, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf.* Pometti, XXII., 142.

of the Greek troops. Patras, Cerigo and Monembasia surrendered without offering any resistance. Thus within a short time the whole of the Peloponnesus was lost.[1]

This result had been foreseen in Rome since the middle of August [2] when preparations were set on foot for the protection of the coasts of the Papal States.[3] Since the middle of September, by the Pope's order, processions were held in which the Pope himself took part.[4]

A Congregation of Cardinals deliberated on the measures to be taken against the Turks,[5] for an attack by them on Italy was feared for the coming year.[6]

Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Louis XIV. The old King had put it beyond a doubt that he would maintain France's traditional friendship with the Porte.[7] He endeavoured to console the Pope by recommending the Christians of Asia to the Sultan's protection.[8] If at one moment Clement XI. entertained a hope of a change of France's Eastern policy under Philip of Orleans who acted as regent for the five years old Louis XV., he was soon undeceived by a declaration of the Duke who let it be known in Rome that if the Emperor demanded as a condition of his participation in the war against the Turks, a guarantee of his Italian possessions, he had nothing to fear on this score from France, hence a new guarantee was superfluous; moreover

[1] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, V., 491 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXIII., 257 *seqq.*

[2] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to the Prince of Chelamar, August 13, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; Count Gallas' *report, August 31, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] POMETTI, XXII., 172 *seq.*

[4] BUDER, III., 251; Cardinal Acquaviva's *letter to the Marchese di S. Felipe, dat. September 17, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[5] Count Gallas' *report, September 14, 1715, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cardinal Acquaviva to the Prince of Chelamar, September 10, 1715, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Cf.* Count Gallas' *report, May 4, 1715, *loc. cit.* The Pope's address on the death of Louis XIV. in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 123 *seqq.*; the Briefs of condolence, *ibid.*, Epist., 2087 *seqq.*

[8] LAFITAU, II., 122.

it would only be forthcoming if the Emperor promised to remain neutral, not merely for the duration of the war, but for all time.[1] Clement XI. had taken identical steps in Madrid and at Versailles to obtain guarantees for the Emperor as Charles was particularly afraid of Spain.

It was a piece of good fortune for the Pope that in the meantime a complete change had taken place in Philip V.'s hostile attitude towards Rome. In Paris Pompeo Aldrovandi was working since May 17th to bring about an understanding between Rome and Paris, but a year later nothing had as yet been achieved. Notwithstanding the important concessions made by the Pope, José Rodrigo Villalpando, Philip's representative, was not satisfied.[2]

In the first place, Clement insisted on the nuncio's return to Spain, and the re-establishment of his tribunal. As far as the person of the nuncio was concerned (Aldrovandi had been selected for the post), he was willing to take into consideration the wishes of the Spanish Government.[3] Pope Clement XI., remained adamant on this point.[4] Meanwhile Philip, although personally pious, allowed himself to be guided by very bad advisers who, under pretext of safe-guarding the prerogatives of the Crown, sought to induce him to adopt the worst measures. Already then the suppression, on a large scale, of most of the religious Orders had been suggested to the Government.[5]

In spite of Louis XIV.'s urgent and repeated advice to

[1] Pometti, XXII., 147 note.

[2] Aldrovandi's *report, dat. Paris, July 23, 1714, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, Papal Sec. Archives.

[3] Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, November 11, 1713, *ibid.*, 212.

[4] Paolucci's *letter in cypher to Aldrovandi, August 28, 1714, *ibid.*, 383.

[5] " *So che fra l'altre cose che si propongono e consigliano al Re et al Consiglio vi è di supprimere tutte le religioni in Spagna auctoritate regia eccettuati li soli Gesuiti e Benfratelli, appropiando alla Camera regia i loro beni." Aldrovandi's report, dat. Paris, September 10, 1714, *ibid.*, 211.

Madrid, to attend, in its own interest, to the pacification of its territory, new obstacles continually cropped up in the negotiations between Aldrovandi and Villalpando[1]: if no rupture of the negotiations was aimed at, a complete standstill was certainly intended.[2] On his part Clement XI. did all he could in order to create favourable disposition in Philip V. When Elizabeth Farnese, the future wife of the King of Spain, set out on her journey to Madrid, Cardinal Gozzadini was deputed to greet her in his name.[3] On October 8th and 13th, 1714, besides other favours, Philip V. was granted the Cruzada.[4] Aldrovandi was of opinion that these concessions should have been withheld until negotiations were concluded, for now they would drag on indefinitely.[5]

Meanwhile a new conflict had arisen. Cardinal Francesco Giudice, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, was one of Philip V.'s most faithful and most able ministers. In April, 1714, he had been dispatched to Paris in order to compose some differences between Louis XIV. and his nephew.[6] The Princess Orsini, a clever woman and one addicted to intrigues, who just then dominated King Philip, was jealous of Giudice and sought to obtain his permanent removal from court by sowing discord between the King and the Cardinal.[7]

[1] Aldrovandi's *report, September 24, 1714, *ibid.* *Cf.* the Brief of thanks to Louis XIV. of October 16, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2023.

[2] Aldrovandi's *report, October 9, 1714, *loc. cit.*

[3] Brief to Gozzadini, September 22, 1714, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2017; Aldrovandi's *reports of October 15, and November 26, 1714, *loc. cit.*; ANT. BALDASSARI, *Ragguaglio compendioso dell'Apost. legazione dell'em. card. Ulisse Gozzadini seguita in Parma nelle nozze tra Filippo V. ed Elisabetta Farnese, alla qual regina presentossi la Rosa d'Oro inviatale dal S. P. Clemente XI.*, Venezia, 1723.

[4] **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 103. Pap. Sec. Archives.

[5] *Cf.* Aldrovandi's candid *letter, dat. Paris, October 22, 1714, *loc. cit.*

[6] BAUDRILLART, I., 579 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 591 *seqq.* *Cf. Combes, La princesse des Ursins*, Paris, 1858, 483; SAINT RENÉ TAILLANDIER, *La princesse des Ursins*, Paris, 1896; *Madame des Ursins et la succession d'Espagne.*

Giudice, in his capacity as Inquisitor-General, had condemned in an edict as heretical and schismatical, the opinion of the Gallican Denis Talon, which asserted the absolute power of kings in matters ecclesiastical.[1] These opinions coincided with those of Macanaz, though the latter was not mentioned in the edict. The Pope gave his approval to the decree of condemnation of the Grand Inquisitor.[2] As a sequel to its publication in Madrid, very few voices in the Castilian Council declared themselves in favour of Macanaz' opinions.[3] There now happened what the Princess Orsini had had in mind. The King became very angry and determined to take vengeance on all the opponents of Macanaz. Louis Curiel, the author of a book against him and a Dominican who had given it his approval, were banished. The Inquisition received orders to withdraw its edict and Giudice to present himself at once in Madrid. With a view to making it impossible for him to justify himself before the King, Princess Orsini, by her intrigues, obtained an order from Philip V. forbidding Giudice to set foot on Spanish soil until he should have revoked his edict.[4]

In Paris Philip's attitude called forth strong disapproval, since in spite of all the concessions made by the Pope, an understanding, for which Giudice had likewise laboured, was now made more difficult than ever.[5] Minister Torcy remarked angrily that he could not see what more the Spanish court could demand than had already been granted; everything seemed to tend towards the complete overthrow of

Fragments de correspondance publiés par L. DE LA TRÉMOILLE, Paris, 1907; *Biografia di Constance Hill*, in German, by FRIDA ARNOLDS, Heidelberg, 1902.

[1] Giudice foresaw the effect this would have on the Court of Madrid; however, he was not to be deterred from doing his duty; see Aldrovandi's *report, September 10, 1714, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Paolucci's *Cifra to Aldrovandi, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 383, Pap. Sec. Archives.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 76.

[4] BAUDRILLART, I., 596 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Aldrovandi's *report, April 23, 1714, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 211, *loc. cit.*

ecclesiastical conditions.[1] Aldrovandi was of opinion that in spite of the King's personal piety, so long as he allowed himself to be deceived by anti-clerical advisers in the hope of securing advantages for the crown, the worst fears for ecclesiastical immunity as well as the Inquisition would be justified.[2]

But just then a complete change was unexpectedly brought about. The new Queen, a highly gifted woman but at the same time ambitious and of a domineering disposition, came into conflict at her very first meeting with Princess Orsini. With prompt decision she had her rival taken across the Spanish frontier (September, 1714).[3] Philip V., always weak, though deprecating such a course of action, yielded, not wishing to give offence to his new consort.[4] With Princess Orsini

[1] According to Aldrovandi's *report, November 19, 1714, *loc. cit.*, Torcy's words were : Non so che cosa possa pretendere la corte di Spagna di più di quello le è stato accordato, quanto non si miri da essa a sconvolgere tutti gli usi e pratiche osservate per tanto tempo, il che non è in conto alcuno giusto nè decoroso.

[2] Aldrovandi's *report, November 23, 1714, *loc. cit.*

[3] BAUDRILLART, I., 599 *seqq.*, 607, 610 *seqq.*, 614 *seqq.*, who proves convincingly, against the hitherto prevailing opinion, that the Orsini were not the victims of Louis XIV., and still less of Giudice and the Inquisition. The description of the fall of the Orsini by Combes is rightly described by Baudrillart as inexact and uncritical. The important report of Alberoni of December 31, 1714, is printed in PROFESSIONE, *G. Alberoni dal 1708 al 1714*, Verona, 1890, 75 *seqq.*

[4] BAUDRILLART, I., 615. As to so many other persons of rank, Rome also gave hospitality to the Princess Orsini. Clement XI. refused at first to allow the intriguing woman to return to Rome, as already several times before she had given trouble to the papal Government ; but in the end he granted the permission. The princess arrived in Rome in the last week of October, 1720 (see *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1887, 275, 277). She attached herself to the Stuarts and, though without formal appointment, became Mistress of the household of M. Clementine Sobieski, wife of James III., Pretender to the English throne. She died in December, 1722, at the age of 80, and was buried in the Orsini Chapel of the Lateran (FORCELLA, VIII., 75).

all her adherents also fell, amongst them Orry and Macanaz, who lost their positions and were obliged to go into exile in France.[1] On the other hand Cardinal Giudice, though up till then in complete disgrace, was allowed to return to Madrid, February, 1715. He was reappointed Grand Inquisitor, first Minister and tutor to the Prince of Asturias.[2] By these measures, as well as by a decree of February 10, and a circular of March 11, addressed to the Bishops, the King let it be known that he was reconsidering his Church policy.[3] Aldrovandi now hoped that Giudice would be able to remove all the other preventions entertained by the King.[4]

Clement thanked Philip V. for yielding as regards the Inquisition (May 14th, 1715), and at the same time exhorted him to abolish the remaining anti-clerical decrees.[5] On July 6th the Spanish king ordered all Bulls relating to benefices, which had been banned since 1709, to be received.[6] The Pope realized that he had at last obtained what he had been striving for in the first instance. In July, 1715, Aldrovandi set out for Madrid as nuncio. On his arrival there, on August 5th, he met with a most gracious reception from the King. He attributed this success, for which Rome

[1] *Cf.* Aldrovandi's *reports of February 18 and March 11, 1715. Macanaz was not allowed to remain in Paris; Aldrovandi *writes on April 15, 1715, that he is to be feared, not for his learning, but for his "ciarla e intrigo" with the Parliaments. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 214, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Aldrovandi, February 25 and April 1, 1715 (on his reinstatement as Grand Inquisitor on March 28), *ibid.* *Cf.* BAUDRILLART, I., 629 *seqq.*

[3] *Aldrovandi, April 23, 1715, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.* *Cf.* PROFESSIONE, *Ministero*, 16.

[4] *Aldrovandi, April 29, 1715, *loc. cit.*

[5] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2075. *Cf. ibid.*, Orat., 119.

[6] On the great satisfaction in Rome with this measure, see *report of Cardinal Acquaviva to P. Daubenton, August 13, 1715, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. If the Dataria, we read, often grants benefices to unworthy candidates, it is not the fault of Rome but that of the Spanish Bishops who are not careful enough.

had waited so long,[1] chiefly to Giudice's influence, as well as to the Abbé Giulio Alberoni, who was rapidly becoming an outstanding personality.[2]

Alberoni, the son of a gardener, was born in 1664 near Piacenza. He belonged to that class of men to whom nature has denied all physical advantages, in order to endow them all the more lavishly with gifts of the mind. Small of stature, he possessed an extraordinarily large head, and an unusually broad and ugly face.[3] Hidden behind this grotesque exterior there lay great mental endowments. The cause of his promotion must be attributed to his extraordinary talent for languages. During the Spanish war of succession the young ecclesiastic, whilst acting as interpreter to the Bishop of Piacenza, came in contact with the Duke of Vendôme, who took him into his service, greatly pleased with the young Abbé's acumen as well as his wit. In 1711 in his capacity as Vendôme's secretary, Alberoni went to Spain and there became a favourite at court. After the death of his patron, he was named ambassador of the Duke of Parma in Madrid. In this capacity he negotiated the second marriage of Philip V. with Elizabeth Farnese, niece and heiress of his sovereign. When the interests of the Bourbons and the Farnese had been thus closely linked together, Alberoni began to play an important political rôle. His prestige with the new queen soon became very considerable, but Elizabeth, as ambitious as she was bold, completely dominated her weak neurasthenic husband, hence she became the leading spirit of Spain's politics. Alberoni made an unscrupulous use of the confidence which Elizabeth placed in him; Cardinal Giudice, to whose rehabilitation Philip had given a reluctant

[1] *Cf.* Count Gallas' *report, dat. Rome, August 31, 1715, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] *Aldrovandi, June 10, July 1 and 2, August 5 and 13, 1715, *loc. cit.*

[3] Contemporary portrait in ARATA, *Il processo del card. Alberoni*, Piacenza, 1923. Literature on him, see below, p. 173, n. 3. E. BOURGEOIS, *Lettres intimes de J. M. Alberoni au comte Rocca*, Paris, 1893.

consent, lost all influence.[1] Now this son of a Piacenza gardener was able to rule alone with the queen.[2] In order to win the Pope's favour also, Alberoni endeavoured, with the help of the King's confessor, the Jesuit Daubenton, not only to compose the ecclesiastical differences with Rome,[3] but to get Spain to give the Emperor the desired guarantee for his Italian possessions for the duration of the Turkish war. This was done in a letter of Philip to the Pope, November 25th, 1715.[4]

Clement XI. believed that now his wishes were fulfilled,[5] for there was no longer any reason for Charles VI. to hesitate to unfurl the standard of the Cross against the Turks. On January 4th, 1716, urgent exhortations were addressed to him, as well as to Prince Eugene, and soon afterwards to all the Christian princes on behalf of the Turkish war.[6] Charles VI., distrusting the promises of Spain and France, continued to hesitate. In Rome he demanded the concession of a tenth from the clergy of his territories,[7] help with ready money and the Pope's guarantee of his Italian possessions. Clement XI. refused to grant a tenth but was willing to contribute a sum of 500,000 florins from Church lands in the hereditary States. In January, 1716, he granted the Venetians 100,000 gold florins, by which the Emperor

[1] *Cf.* Baudrillart, I., 630 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 244.

[3] A decree of Philip V., dat. Buen Retiro, September 28, 1715, revoked the *ordinances of September 7, 1710, and April 24, 1711, regarding the incomes of vacant bishoprics, etc., *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 97, p. 144, Papal Sec. Archives.

[4] Pometti, XXII., 148. The Pope's request to Philip V. that he should give the guarantee demanded by the Emperor, is dated October 8, 1715. Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2093.

[5] According to Count Gallas' *report of November 2, 1715, already then a rumour circulated in Rome that the Emperor had declared war on the Turks. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[6] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2107 *seqq.*, 2123 *seqq.*

[7] This demand was made already in the summer of 1715; see Count Gallas' *reports of June 1 and July 31, 1715, *loc. cit.*

would profit indirectly. As for the guarantee demanded, he declared that he held himself bound to do all in his power to prevent any hostile attack on the Emperor's Italian possessions. However, even this did not satisfy Vienna. The negotiations came to a standstill and were only resumed when, in March, the Pope offered further financial help if Corfu was able to hold out.[1]

The Emperor also made demands on the Republic of Venice. It took a long time before an agreement was reached with regard to support by Venice in the event of an attack on Naples, as well as the guarantee demanded by the Emperor for his Italian possessions and the passage of Austrian troops through Venetian territory. In her extremity the Republic of St. Mark yielded to all these demands, as a result of which an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Emperor and Venice on April 13th, 1716, by the terms of which war was to be declared against the Turks in the spring and vigorously prosecuted. The King of Poland, the Tsar of Russia, as well as the other Christian princes, were to be invited to join in this league. In the event of the Turks attacking Naples, Venice was obliged to come to the assistance of the Emperor with a force of 6,000 foot soldiers and eight men-of-war. On his part, Charles VI. promised an auxiliary corps of 12,000 men, as soon as any part of the Venetian territory was menaced by an enemy.[2]

Meanwhile nuncio Spinola had made every effort in Vienna to induce the Emperor to acknowledge the promise of neutrality which had been obtained both in Paris and Madrid. But on this point he met with obstinate resistance on the part of the imperial ministers. By this means the latter obtained from the Pope the concession of a tenth for the space of three years throughout the imperial territories on

[1] Pometti, XXII., 157 *seqq.* Brief of February 16, 1716, in Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2131 *seq.*

[2] Katona, *Hist. Hung.*, XXXVIII., 256 *seq.*, 261, 267; Zinkeisen, V., 510 *seqq.*; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen App.*, 350 *seqq.* An express courier brought the news of the alliance to Rome on April 21, 1716; *cf.* Buder, III., 426.

the other side of the Alps as well as the Netherlands, though these had always been exempt from such taxation, together with a promise that on the declaration of war, he would contribute at once 200,000 florins and the concession of various heavy personal demands of Charles VI.[1] The Pope experienced great difficulty in raising the money for the Turkish war; the *Fabbrica* of St. Peter's, as well as contributions from the Cardinals, had to be drawn upon. Apart from this a grant of a tenth of all ecclesiastical lands in Italy was made, for a period of six years.[2]

The extensive preparations of the Turks were matched by those of the Emperor, to whom the Pope granted a further subsidy of 100,000 florins.[3] The supreme command was entrusted to the fifty-three years old Prince Eugene who, as president of the supreme war council, had been engaged during the whole winter in putting the imperial army on a war footing.[4] Owing to the severity of the late winter and the tardy grant of help from the Empire the campaign in Hungary only opened during the summer of 1716.

On July 1st Prince Eugene left Vienna, on the 9th he was at Futak near the fortress of Peterwardein where George Freiherr van Löffelsholz was in supreme command. The imperial forces numbered 65,000 men, a third of whom consisted of cavalry. Prince Eugene estimated the Turkish army at more than 200,000 men. From the direction of Belgrade it had crossed the Save and invaded Sirmia and at the beginning of August it had pitched its tents in a very advantageous position on an eminence, not far from Peterwardein. However, before the Turks were able to begin the siege of Peterwardein, Prince Eugene, with bold determination,

[1] Buder, III., 386 *seqq.*, 389 *seqq.*; Pometti, XXII., 159 *seq.* On the pretensions of the imperial ambassador, Gallas, here mentioned, see his *report to the Emperor, February 25, 1716, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn (Lower Austria).

[2] Buder, III, 387; Clementis XI, *Opera*, Orat., 131 *seq.*; Novaes, XII., 220.

[3] Pometti, XXII., 267.

[4] Arneth, *Prinz Eugen*, II., 384.

offered battle to an army far superior to his own, on the morning of August 5th, feast of Our Lady of the Snow. It ended at noon with a splendid victory for the imperial troops. The whole camp, with the magnificent tent of the Grand Vizier, who had been mortally wounded in the conflict, fell into the hands of the victors together with 156 standards, 5 horse-tails, 172 pieces of artillery and an enormous store of ammunition. The losses of the Turks amounted to 6,000 dead, but the victorious army also had to bewail the loss of 3,000 dead and 2,000 wounded.[1] In spite of this it was a glorious victory and the whole of Christendom was filled with joy at the news. With the exception of Vienna, nowhere was there so much rejoicing as in Rome. At this time the printer Cracas started a special newspaper, *Diario di Ungheria*, giving the reports from the eastern battlefield. The paper was called after its editor and for more than a century it served as the semi-official papal weekly newspaper.[2]

Clement XI. received the joyful news through an imperial autograph letter and a letter of Prince Eugene written in the tent of the Grand Vizier and describing the course of the battle. On September 2nd, 1716, the same day on which thirty years before Ofen had been captured, the Pope communicated to the Cardinals in consistory, what had taken place in Hungary. How high his hopes were appears from the fact that he not merely spoke of saving the island of Corfu, but of the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. A blest sword together with a hat studded with pearls was dispatched to the victorious commander-in-chief. Since the battle had taken place on the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, the Pope attributed the victory to the intercession of her whose help he had so often

[1] HAMMER, IV., 149 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 533 *seq.*; ARNETH, II., 396 *seqq.* (with plan of the battle).

[2] On this source for the cultural history of Rome, *cf.* MORONI, XX., 13 *seqq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 59; NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 31, 354; F. SABATINI, *Il Cracas in Roma*, in *Nuova Antologia*, III., Series VIII. (1887), n. 46. A complete copy of *Cracas* in Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

invoked. Most appropriately he ordered the thanksgiving celebrations to take place in the basilica of St. Mary Major, which according to legend owes its foundation to a miraculous fall of snow and also its name of S. Maria and Nives. The feast of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, September 6th, was set apart for the celebration.[1] The Pope himself celebrated the High Mass. Afterwards Cardinal Schrattenbach presented the trophies sent by the Emperor, viz. two Turkish banners and two horse-tail standards. "These trophies," the Cardinal observed, "which have been snatched from the cruel hereditary enemy of the Christian name, could not be claimed by any man with better justification than by your Holiness, who by your indefatigable efforts, the granting of indulgences and constant prayers, even at the very hour when the battle was fought, have been instrumental in winning a splendid victory for the Catholic world." In his reply the Pope announced that, as an outcome of the victory near Peterwardein, he had been informed by a courier from Naples of the miraculous relief of Corfu; consequently he hoped for further victories over the enemy of Christendom. The celebrations concluded with the *Te Deum*. From the castle of St. Angelo, salvoes of artillery were fired in token of joy. All the bells of Rome were rung and in the evening the city was illuminated. The Pope presented two standards to the sanctuary of our Lady of Loreto; the other trophies remained in the basilica of St. Mary Major.[2] As a mark of honour Prince Eugene was given a sword, four feet long, adorned with the papal arms, with a heavy silver hilt, in a scabbard of red velvet. The sword was blessed by the Pope on September 8th in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, together with a purple hat trimmed with ermine, the front showing the figure of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove artistically carried out in pearls. Orazio Rasponi was the bearer of this gift, together with a letter of congratulation to the commander-in-chief in which the latter

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 133.

[2] BUDER, III., 461 *seqq*. *Cf*. Brief to the Emperor in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2163 *seq*.

was compared to Julius Cæsar. Rasponi was likewise the bearer of blest medals for the Generals and Officers, and for the Emperor of a bill of exchange for 200,000 florins.[1] Pieter van Bloemen, the Flemish artist, glorified Prince Eugene's victories with so much skill in the Ottoboni Palace at Fiano, as to contribute not a little towards the raising of German prestige in Rome.[2] If in his address Clement XI. linked the victory of Peterwardein with the relief of Corfu, he was fully justified in doing so because the effect of the Turkish defeat in Hungary helped to save that island.

Fully aware as he was of the importance of preserving this last bulwark of Italy, Clement XI. had made great efforts to assist the Venetian fleet. In the previous year he had strengthened his own fleet whose task it was not only to protect the coastline of the Papal States, but also to assist the Venetians.[3] The Pope displayed great zeal in his endeavours to induce other States to help Venice to maintain her sea power. Papal diplomacy left nothing undone in this respect. In France these attempts miscarried for the Duke of Orleans was unwilling to break off the long-standing good relations with the Porte.[4] On the other hand not only Portugal but Spain also promised the Pope support for the Venetians. On the advice of Alberoni and Aldrovandi, Philip V. contributed six men-of-war, four galleys and 8,000 men. The latter Clement XI. was obliged to decline owing to the Emperor's

[1] Buder, III., 465 *seqq.*; Arneth, II, 402; Orlandini, *Lo stocco e il berrettone donato da Clemente XI. al Pr. Eugenio* in *Riv. araldica*, 1913, 619 *seqq.* The hat, at one time kept in the armoury of Vienna, has been stolen (Leber, *Wiens Kaiserliches Zeughaus*, Leipzig, 1846, 77, 171); the sword has also disappeared (*Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XII., 144).

[2] Noack, *loc. cit.*, 27, 31 *seqq.*

[3] Guglielmotti, *Ultimi fatti* (1884), 48 *seqq.*; Manfroni in *Archivio d. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, XIV., 308 *seqq.*, 314 *seqq.*, 323 *seqq.* (also particulars on the defence of the coast); Pometti, XXII., 175 *seqq.*; XXIII., 244 *seqq.*

[4] Pometti, XXII, 164 *seq.*

misgivings as to Spain's intentions. King John of Portugal contributed five men-of-war, two frigates and one fireship with their crews. Tuscany furnished four and Genoa two triremes.[1] It had been expected that all these fighting forces would assemble at the end of May, near Corfu. But in spite of all the pressure on the Pope's part, that hope was not fulfilled. It was only on June 16th that the auxiliary fleet, consisting of Spanish, Papal, Genoese and Tuscan ships, assembled at Civitavecchia.[2] The Venetian fleet, which was lying off Zante, did not venture to attempt anything as the Turkish ships, under the command of Kapudan Pasha, were approaching with a very strong siege force on board.

The Turks were therefore able to effect a landing on Corfu without hindrance. A gallant German General, Matthias von Schulenburg, Count of Empire, who a year before had given his services to the Venetians,[3] had put the fortifications in a state of defence and was resolved to hold out at all cost. This he did successfully. Every assault which the Turks undertook from August 1st onwards was beaten off.[4] Meanwhile the Spanish, Papal, Tuscan, and Genoese ships were at last about to join the Venetians and Maltese. With a force of a hundred sail an attack was planned,[5] but nothing came of it. Whilst the Christians hesitated, a storm blew up from the south on August 20th, which scattered the fleet. The appalling weather also caused great confusion in the Turkish camp; during the night of August 21st–22nd, the whole naval fighting force, with the army destined for the siege, vanished, leaving its artillery behind.[6] The report of Eugene's victory in Hungary and the arrival of the Christian fleet had decided the Turks to save at least their battle fleet.

[1] *Ibid.*, 166 *seqq.*, 172.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXIII., 429 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 270 *seqq.*; MANFRONI, *loc. cit.*, 320 *seqq.*

[3] *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXII., 667 *seqq.*

[4] ZINKEISEN, V., 526 *seqq.*

[5] POMETTI, XXIII., 271 *seq.* The plan of the battle in *Archivio d. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, XIV., 342 *seqq.*

[6] POMETTI, XXIII., 271 *seq.*

When Pisani set out in pursuit of the enemy it was too late. He then endeavoured to reconquer Modon, but the plan miscarried. An expedition against the coastal fortifications of Prevesa and Bonizza, situated in the Gulf of Arta, also proved futile and disastrous. In September Schulenburg succeeded in capturing Butrinto and in November he re-occupied the island of Santa Maura.[1]

In spite of these trifling gains the result of the expedition was nevertheless considered a success, because it had at least prevented the loss of Corfu. That island was looked upon as the last bulwark of Christendom in the Mediterranean against the power of the Moslems and its loss would have had incomparable consequences for Italy.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that, however much he regretted the escape of the Turkish fleet,[2] Clement XI., on September 12th, ordered a thanksgiving service to be held at S. Maria in Vallicella, at which he himself celebrated High Mass. He also commanded that the relics of St. Spiridion, the Patron Saint of Corfu, should be exposed to public veneration.

On the 15th a *Te Deum* was sung at the Anima at which the College of Cardinals assisted. In the afternoon the Pope himself repaired to the German national church. On the following day he celebrated a Requiem Mass for the fallen.[3] In remembrance of the liberation of Corfu a commemorative medal was struck, the reverse side of which shows Our Lady, Help of Christians, holding a rosary over the Christian fleet.[4]

Prince Eugene was not the man to rest on his laurels.

[1] ZINKEISEN, V., 528 *seqq.*; POMETTI, XXIII., 272 *seqq.*

[2] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2173. *Cf.* POMETTI, XXIII., 274. What hopes were attached to the naval expedition of 1716 appears from the letter of G. B. Conventati, Archbishop of Ragusa, to Paolucci, July 24, 1716: "Clement XI. will do things as great as Pius V.; see G. GENTILIZZA, *Lettere dell' arcivescovo di Ragusa G. B. Conventati*, Roma, 1906, 8.

[3] BUDER, III., 479 *seqq.*

[4] VENUTI, 338; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti*, 58 *seq.*

Hardly had he gained the victory of Peterwardein than he resolved to turn his attention to Temesvár, the fortified capital of the Banat, whose defence had been entrusted to Mustafa Pasha, one of the ablest of the Sultan's generals. The fortress, situated in a marshy district, was surrounded in the last days of August, 1716, and the bombardment opened at the beginning of September. An attack by a Turkish relief force was beaten off on September 23rd. On the other hand, the garrison consisting of 18,000 picked men put up a most determined defence. However, on October 1st one of the suburbs was stormed; on the 13th the garrison surrendered on condition of being allowed to withdraw unmolested. With the fall of Temesvár the conquest of the Banat was practically completed. Within a short time the Austrians changed what up till then had been so much waste land into a smiling garden—"The Paradise of Hungary." [1]

Prince Eugene was still encamped at Temesvár, when he was informed of the high distinction which the Pope had conferred on him. As it was thought fitting that the honours should be bestowed in a solemn manner, the ceremony was only carried out on November 8th at Raab,[2] whilst Alessandro Albani, the Pope's nephew, also celebrated the victory at Castel Gandolfo.[3] Count Ferdinand of Lamberg, who had taken part in the conquest of Temesvár, imparted to the Pope the details of the siege. On January 4th Clement XI. addressed the Cardinals in consistory; he ascribed the victory to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour he extended the feast of the Holy Rosary to the whole world. To obtain further victories over the Turks he ordered new prayers to be said on the feast of the Epiphany, in the basilica of St. Mary Major. He expressed his confidence that a celebration on the feast of the Magi would be a fitting

[1] ARNETH, *Prinz Eugen*, II., 402 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 534 *seqq.*

[2] ARNETH, II., 409 *seqq.*; O. RASPONI, *Solenne ceremonia d. conferimento d. stocco e pileo benedetti inviati da P. Clemente XI. al Pr. Eugenio*, Bologna, 1896.

[3] BUDER, III., 489.

occasion for pleading with God for the return to the faith of the East.[1]

As a result of Prince Eugene's victories and their own failure in their attack on Corfu, the Turks were greatly dispirited. A profound impression was created in Constantinople when, as a sequel to the Turkish defeats, a movement was set on foot and made itself felt amongst the Christian population of the Lower Danube and even in Albania, where the Archbishop of Ochrida, together with other Bishops, petitioned Prince Eugene to free them from the Turkish yoke.[2] How far the Porte's inclination towards peace was sincere must remain undecided. In any case, Charles VI. and Prince Eugene did not, for the time being, enter into peace negotiations, just as they rejected the eagerly proffered mediation of England and Holland.[3] Vienna was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. In the new year, Belgrade was to be reconquered. To this end every resource was pressed into service. Prince Eugene hoped to raise his army, including the auxiliary troops, to a total of at least 140,000 men. Prince Maximilian of Hesse contributed the first contingent. He was followed by 6,000 Bavarians with whom the two eldest sons of the Elector Max Emmanuel served as volunteers. Numerous princes and nobles flocked to the standards, in order to share in so glorious a struggle, and amongst these there were even Frenchmen, so that the French Government felt compelled to apologize to the Porte for their zeal. Prince Eugene ordered a flotilla of ten ships to be fitted out on the Danube in support of the army.[4]

Immediately after the victory of Peterwardein Clement XI. eagerly took up the question of the prosecution of the war against the Turks. On September 28th, 1716, a meeting was

[1] CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Orat., 139. *Cf.* ibid., Epist., 2203. Brief of January 16, 1717, to Charles VI. Also the *reports of Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 5, 12 and 19, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] ZINKEISEN, V., 537.

[3] *Ibid.*, 542 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 546 *seqq.*

held at which Cardinals Paolucci, Tanara, Spinola, Casini, Patrizi, Imperiali, Origo and many other prelates and officials were present. The Pope submitted five questions for their consideration.

1. What should be done at sea in the following year?
2. What measures should be adopted for the protection of the coastline of the Adriatic and that of the States of the Church?
3. What support should be granted to the Emperor?
4. What attitude should be adopted towards Venice?
5. How to act towards Spain and Portugal and the other States which had promised help against the Turks?[1]

The Congregation decided to set aside four galleys to reinforce the Venetian fleet. Two others were to remain at Civitavecchia for the protection of the coast. Four galleons should be kept in readiness for the safety of the Adriatic coast. Since the Emperor had been granted a tenth of all his possessions beyond the Alps, as well as a sum of 400,000 florins, for the campaign of 1716, the commission was of opinion that further financial aid was unnecessary; it nevertheless extended the contribution of the tenth to Naples and Milan and also granted to the Republic of Venice the right of imposing, during the coming year, a tax of 100,000 gold scudi on all ecclesiastical property within her dominions. The Spanish auxiliary fleet should hibernate in a Genoese harbour, since Charles VI. had refused to grant the port of Naples for that purpose, owing to his misgivings as to the intentions of the Cabinet of Madrid. The Portuguese ships were left free either to anchor in an Italian harbour or to return to their home ports for the duration of the winter season.[2]

These decisions clearly show how high hopes for new successes for the Christian arms had risen in Rome. For all that the Pope never missed an opportunity of insisting in Vienna, Venice and Madrid on the need of constancy in so stern a struggle, in which every care should be taken to avoid

[1] Pometti, XXIII., 449 *seqq.* [2] *Ibid.*

the mistakes made on previous occasions. For this reason the nunciatures urged that the attack should begin in Hungary, before the enemy was in a position, with the return of more favourable weather, to muster fresh troops. With regard to the naval forces, their early assembly was urged at the entrance to the Dardanelles, so as to prevent the Turkish fleet from putting to sea.[1]

The reports sent by nuncio Spinola from Vienna fully justified Rome's most sanguine hopes for the campaign of the coming year. Prince Eugene's military preparations were as thorough as they were comprehensive, hence it could be confidently expected that the blow would be struck earlier than in 1716. This induced Clement XI. to relegate all other differences with the Cabinet of Vienna into the background, even those with regard to Comacchio which had not yet been surrendered. The crushing of the Turks seemed to him to be the most important task of the Holy See for the moment. In his efforts to secure help he went beyond the resolutions of the Sacred Congregation. A tax was imposed on the clergy of Naples, Milan and Mantua destined to realize, within the next five years, the sum of 500,000 scudi; 160,000 scudi were sent to Prince Eugene.[2]

Clement XI. did not show the same confidence towards the Republic of Venice as he did to Charles VI. The Republic's unreliability had been proved over and over again during the former Turkish wars.[3] The Pope's misgivings as to the designs of the Signoria are revealed by the fact that the Secretary of State, Paolucci, put himself in direct communication with Count von Schulenburg in spite of the circumstance that the latter was a Protestant.[4] The Venetians nevertheless received in 1717 the same subsidy of 100,000 scudi as had been granted to them the year before. Portugal, Genoa and Tuscany were also urgently pressed by the Pope to lend assistance to the

[1] *Ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Ibid.*, 459 *seqq.* *Cf.* BUDER, III., 564.

[3] *Cf.* the present work, vols. XI., 270 *seqq.*; XIX., 332 *seq.*

[4] POMETTI, XXIII., 454 *seqq.*, where some of Schulenburg's letters are given.

Venetian fleet.[1] The Pope was no less active to this end in Madrid where prospects seemed favourable enough.

Already in 1716 Alberoni had transmitted to nuncio Aldrovandi the most gratifying reports concerning Spain's share in the naval campaign of the following year. Philip V. confirmed all this on January 15th, 1717, in his reply to a papal Brief.[2] The fulfilment of these promises depended chiefly on Alberoni who, together with the queen, had the feeble monarch completely under his control ever since July, 1716, when he had succeeded in getting Cardinal Giudice removed from court.[3]

Alberoni's position was a most peculiar one; in name he was no more than the representative of the Duke of Parma, but together with the queen, he, a foreigner, was the real ruler of Spain. However, he himself did not feel secure, because in the country he had to reckon with those who were hostile to his political reforms, and beyond the frontiers with the opposition of the Duke of Orleans.[4] Accordingly the ambitious upstart aspired after the cardinalate, in order thereby to raise himself, as Richelieu had done, to a position at once commanding and not easily assailable. He knew quite well that the realization of his ambition would not be easy with a Pope like Clement XI. He nevertheless hoped to attain his goal, provided he furthered the plan which, at that time, was of paramount importance in the mind of the Head of the Church, i.e. the war against the Turks.[5] It was of the

[1] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2191, 2207, 2219.

[2] Pometti, XXIII., 565 *seq.*

[3] For the post of Inquisitor-General held by Giudice, Philip V. had designated the aged J. Molines. Clement XI. was at first unwilling to approve the appointment (see Paolucci's *letter to the Spanish nuncio, dat. November 3, 1716, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives); after some time, however, he gave his consent by Brief of December 24, 1716 (Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2195). After the departure of Molines the representation of Spain at Rome was taken over by Cardinal Acquaviva.

[4] Bourgeois, 168 *seqq.*, 197 *seqq.*; Professione, *Ministero*, 67.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 110.

greatest importance that Alberoni succeeded so completely in winning over to his side nuncio Aldrovandi. In August, 1716, the latter went to Rome, ostensibly for the sole purpose of discussing the Turkish war. Clement XI., amazed that the nuncio should have come to Rome when he had not been sent for, refused at first to receive him in audience ; however, he ended by doing so because he was afraid that the zeal of the Spanish Government for the Turkish war might slacken, or that a rupture with Madrid might follow. Aldrovandi nevertheless failed to persuade the Pope to raise Alberoni to the cardinalate. The only thing he obtained, on January 16th, 1717, was the permission for the Spanish Government to raise considerable sums from the clergy for the prosecution of the Turkish war. When Aldrovandi was about to rejoin his post with these results to his credit, Philip V. made difficulties about his return, so that he was forced to remain at Perpignan until May 20th.[1]

Alberoni affected surprise at the King's action, but since it was a question of his own person, he said he could do nothing without putting himself in the wrong. However, this much he knew, viz. that the nuncio ought only to be allowed to return after His Majesty's wish had been granted.[2] At the same time Alberoni submitted once more another matter for discussion, which seemed to him most likely to overcome the Pope's opposition to his nomination. Quarrels were still pending between Madrid and Rome, chiefly about the tribunal of the nunciature and the bestowal of benefices on aliens. Since there appeared a prospect of a happy solution of these quarrels, he brought to bear renewed and strong pressure on Rome. Daubenton, King Philip V.'s confessor, as well as the Duke of Parma, spoke highly of Alberoni's devotion and zeal for the interests of the Holy See. All reports from Spain uniformly stated that the settlement of the relations between Church and State, as well as an expedition of the auxiliary fleet against the Turks, would only come about if Alberoni

[1] PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 89 ; POMETTI, 471 *seq.*

[2] POMETTI, XXIII., 472. *Cf.* AREZIO, 262 *seq.*

received the red hat.[1] Thus it came about that Clement XI. was prevailed upon to drop his objections to Alberoni, but two conditions were laid down for his elevation.[2] Before all else the Pope insisted on the restoration of the tribunal of the nunciature and the complete abrogation of all encroachments on the ecclesiastical as well as the papal authority in Spain.[3] In addition to this he demanded the fulfilment of the promise regarding the Spanish auxiliary fleet against the Turks. On April 3rd, 1717, Acquaviva wrote that the fleet would certainly put to sea against the Turks and the Duke of Parma assured the Pope that this was the work of Alberoni, who had displayed the greatest keenness in pushing forward

[1] PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 96; POMETTI, XXIII 473 *seq.*; AREZIO, 263.

[2] *Cf.* *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, March 14, 1717, and *Lettera di proprio pugno dal card. Paolucci al P. Daubanton Confess. di Filippo V., April 24, 1717: If Alberoni was not promoted, it was not out of antipathy, etc. You know "le misure, che deve in ogni tempo, e specialmente in queste infelicissime contingenze guardare N. S., ad effetto di non moltiplicarsi i disastri e di non dare occasione a nuove roture". On an extra sheet: "Mi commanda N. S., che col presente mio foglietto a parte ricordi a V. P., che ne fu testimonio oculare, quanto la S. S. negli anni addietro habbia sofferto per il Re Catt^co^, anzi quanto anco tuttavia continui a soffrire, affinchè ella occorrendo possa darne memoria a chi se ne fosse scordato." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* the passage from the same letter of Paolucci, April 24, 1717, in PROFESSIONE, 95–6. On June 12, 1717, Paolucci again assured Aldrovandi that Alberoni's promotion would certainly take place, but with greater glory for Spain and the candidate, "ove N. S. nell' istesso consistorio, nel quale farà la promozione, possa dire, che il Tribunale della Nunziatura di Spagna è stato ristabilito con tutte le sue antiche prerogative; che il nuovo Nunzio si trova gia in possesso della sua carica; che tutte le innovazioni pregiudiziali alla autorità della Chiesa e della giurisdizione apostolica sono state intieramente abolite; e che ministro della Pietà del Re per il maneggio o felice successo di questo grand' affare e stato il S. conte Alberoni." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also *Bollet. stor. Piacent*, II. (1907), 264.

the equipment of the fleet.[1] Owing to Acquaviva's and Parma's influence, Aldrovandi was enabled to return to Spain from Perpignan on May 20th. When he arrived at the Escorial on June 9th, he learned the good news that the fleet was ready.[2] In the course of the next few days he discussed with Alberoni and Daubenton a compromise between Church and State. On June 16th a draft for a new concordat was drawn up; it was signed the next day by Alberoni and Aldrovandi.

On the most important points of this agreement, which took into consideration all the differences, King Philip promised the Pope the suspension of those decrees to which the Pontiff objected, and the restoration of the tribunal of the nunciature as it had existed at the time of Charles II. The Pope, on his side, promised to allow the King to raise from the Spanish clergy an annual subsidy of 150,000 ducats for a period of four years.

When the draft of this concordat reached Rome, at the beginning of July, the Pope was by no means pleased with what had been secured. In the first place, he objected to the form of the agreement, because in article 17 the restoration of the nunciature and of papal authority was represented as if it had to be bought at the price of the preceding article. He objected to the tenor of the first two articles on papal indults with regard to the raising of money from the Spanish clergy; he insisted that the mention of these must be linked with the promise of assistance in the Turkish war.[3] Thereupon Aldrovandi forwarded another draft to Rome. Meanwhile

[1] *Cf.* the important letter of Paolucci to Acquaviva, September 30, 1719, in which the Brief of suspension is justified and a summary given of the whole conflict. *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[2] Pometti, XXIII., 475; Arezio, 264.

[3] According to the account given in "*Istruzione in forma di lettera a Msgr. Aldrovandi in Genova, September 21, 1720 (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*), where a good summary is given of the negotiations for the Concordat. Arezio (265) is mistaken when he supposes that Clement XI. was not satisfied with the form of the Concordat. *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, July 13, 1717: "Non senza un estremo stupore ha N. S.

the naval campaign had begun and the dispatch of the Spanish auxiliary fleet was more urgently demanded than ever. After receiving from Aldrovandi, on July 4th, the most promising reports on the attitude of the Spanish Government [1] the Pope, trusting in the solemn assurance of Acquaviva of April 3rd and those of the Duke of Parma of April 16th, 1717, decided to proceed to Alberoni's elevation to the cardinalate on July 12th of the same year. He based his action on the latter's meritorious contribution to the settlement of the ecclesiastico-political conflict and the dispatch of Spanish auxiliary fleets against the Turks both in the past year and in the current one, since the promised sixteen men-of-war had already sailed from Cadiz.[2] At the same time the Madrid

riconosciuto dall'ultimo dispaccio di V. S. I. de' 18 del caduto, quanto poco nel negoziato a lei commesso siasi ella uniformata a gli ordini strettamente impostile dalla S. S. . . . Ond'è, che la notizia del seguito invece di apportare consolazione a S. B., l'ha ripiena all'incontro d'un incredibile rammarico. Nel foglio A annesso, vedrà ella i motivi, per i quali rispetto alli primi 16 capitoli del Concordato non è punto piaciuto ciò che si è fatto ; siccome nepure è piaciuto rispetto all'ultimo capitolo, in cui non rivocandosi gli editti e decreti contrarii, non si toglie la radice del male, bense ne medichino gli effetti ; e in conseguenza le sodisfazioni dovute alla Chiesa et alla S. Sede restano imperfette e manchevoli. Il Papa non può accettare delle convenzioni prima che il re non abbia firmato un decreto che condanni i fogli ingiuriosi alla s. persona del Vicario di Cristo sparsi in Spagna nel 1700." (*Cf. Studi e docum.*, I., 101 *seq.*) — Di pugno di S. Em. : " Faccia V. S. I. ogni sforzo, affinchè nel decreto da farsi da S. M. Catt^ca per necessaria base, corona e sostegno dell'aggiustamento, sia incluso il § toccante li consaputi fogli condannati ; nè creda, che la S. S., ancorchè sia condescesa in caso disperato a sagrificare per l'aggiustamento questa sua tanto giusta e tanto dovuta sodisfazione, possa esserne mai veramente contenta, quando il sudetto § non vi sia incluso. . . . Ella creda, che il passo fatto hier mattina da S. S. in concistoro le costa e costerà assai, e più di quel ch'ella possa mai pensare ; onde merita la S. S. d'esser consolata." *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[1] *Cf.* BUDER, III., 594.

[2] CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Orat., 143–6. According to the *reports which Gallas sent to Vienna, Giudice declared that he

nuncio was instructed to insist with determination on the two articles of the concordat being altered.[1] Whatever the issue of the negotiations might be, the Pope felt convinced that he had secured at least this one thing, viz. support for Venice by the Spanish fleet. This assistance seemed all the more necessary as until then the operations at sea had not achieved any success. The papal galleys had sailed from Civitavecchia on April 27th, 1717; on May 1st they took in provisions at Pozzuoli and reached Corfu on the 18th. It was only on June 12th that the rest of the auxiliaries arrived, viz. seven Portuguese warships and three smaller vessels, and two Tuscan and three Maltese galleys. In order to avoid the quarrels of the last year the Pope appointed as commander-in-chief of the auxiliary fleet Bali de Bellefontaine, a knight of Malta.[2]

Meanwhile the greater and heavier section of the Venetian fleet, under the command of Ludovico Flangini and consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, three corvettes, four galleons and eight transport vessels, set out in the direction of the Archipelago, in order to prevent the Turkish fleet from leaving the Dardanelles. But it was too late. On June 12th the Venetians came upon the hostile armada of forty-six ships of the line between Lemnos and Jombros. These vessels were under the command of the recently appointed Kapudan Pasha Ibrahim of Aleppo. In an engagement which was resumed on June 13th and 16th, the Venetians fought with

could not consent to the nomination of Alberoni. Adda, Barberini, Colonna, Borromeo and Marini abstained from voting. Schrattenbach and Trémoille absented themselves as they demanded a compensation for their respective courts. Acciaiuoli is alleged to have said: "Optima electio, sed ego virum non cognosco" (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunnen). Alberoni received the news of his nomination on July 25; see Arezio, 276, who is, however, mistaken in supposing that the Pope's address in the consistory has not been published.

[1] *Cf.* Paolucci's letter of July 13, 1717, quoted above.

[2] Manfroni in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIV., 352 *seq.*; Pometti, XXIII., 491.

the greatest bravery, in spite of an unfavourable wind. However, no permanent gain was obtained. After the engagement the Captain, General Pisani, resolved, towards the end of June, 1717, to attack Ibrahim of Aleppo with the lighter portion of the Venetian fleet, viz. fifteen galleys, two galliots, three corvettes and four galleons, together with the auxiliary fleet. A very severe naval engagement took place on July 19th between Cape Matapan and the island of Cerigo ending in the retreat of the Turks. But that action too was indecisive since the enemy succeeded in getting his fleet safely away.[1] Further engagements led to no material change in the situation until the reports of Prince Eugene's victories induced Ibrahim Pasha to beat a hasty retreat in the direction of the Dardanelles.

The conqueror of Peterwardein had taken leave of the Emperor on May 14th, 1717, shortly after the birth of an heiress to the Empire, Maria Teresa. On this occasion Charles VI. presented his commander-in-chief with a crucifix richly adorned with diamonds, to the end that, armed with this emblem, he might carry on the holy war against the hereditary enemy of the Christian name. Eugene had at his disposal more than 100,000 men. Since the enemy was still at a distance, he was able to cross the Danube on June 15th and 16th without hindrance. After a thorough reconnaissance of the country, Eugene took up his position before Belgrade, on a spot which had also been occupied by Max Emmanuel of Bavaria in 1688. He secured his camp on the side facing the fortress, but he also guarded his rear against attack by a relieving force.[2] The strength of Belgrade lay not so much in its fortifications as in its favourable position between the Danube and the Save. What value the Sultan attached to the retention of this place, is shown by the fact that he appointed Mustafa Pasha, one of his bravest captains, commandant of the garrison of 30,000 men, the pick of the

[1] Diedo, 140 *seqq.*; Zinkeisen, V., 553 *seqq.*; Guglielmotti, 60 *seqq.*; Manfroni, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seqq.*; Pometti, XXIII., 491 *seqq.*

[2] Arneth, II., 422 *seqq.*; Zinkeisen, V., 547 *seqq.*

Janissaries. As soon as the siege-works, which the Turks had vainly tried to interrupt by sorties, were completed, the bombardment of the fortress began on July 16th. It caused great havoc and only the hope of relief kept up the courage of the besieged. Great was their joy when they beheld the vanguard of the relieving force, 200,000 strong and commanded by the Grand Vizier Chalil Pasha, which entrenched itself on the high ground facing the imperial camp. From this position the Turks opened a murderous fire on August 1st. Prince Eugene extricated himself from his perilous position by a bold resolution worthy of his genius: whilst continuing the bombardment of the fortress, he attacked the Turkish camp in the early hours of August 16th. By nine o'clock victory ended this bitter struggle. The Turks left on the battlefield 13,000 dead, 186 guns and other war material, 51 standards and 9 horse-tails. The destruction of the army of relief sealed the fate of Belgrade. The garrison surrendered on condition of freedom to depart. In the town the imperialists captured over 600 pieces of cannon besides enormous quantities of ammunition. The Turkish Danube fleet of fifteen galleys, and a great number of armed boats also fell into the hands of the victor.[1]

After this extraordinary success, which called forth the utmost enthusiasm all over Europe,[2] the brightest prospects for a further repression of the Turks opened before the Emperor and Christendom. But at that very moment Alberoni destroyed all these hopes. Charles VI. saw his position in Italy threatened as the result of King Philip V.'s attack on Sicily. The reason by which the attack was justified was that the imperial Governor of Milan had arrested the Grand Inquisitor on his journey to Spain; as a matter of fact this had actually happened in May. Francis Farnese, Duke of

[1] HAMMER, IV., 153 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 548; ARNETH, II., 431 *seqq.*; MATUSCHKA in *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XXII.

[2] The victory was everywhere extolled by means of pamphlets, poems, engravings, and commemorative medals; *cf. Beiträge zur Geschichte Oesterreichs*, Vienna, 1908, 16 *seqq.*, 66 *seq.*

Parma, in a confidential communication to Alberoni, had at once pointed out that now they had a motive for revenging themselves on the Emperor, with the aid of the auxiliary fleet which was to have destroyed the Turks.[1] Alberoni, who at that time was waiting for his Cardinal's hat, thought the venture premature since the preparations were incomplete. Eventually, however, he became reconciled to the project, but in order to guard himself against the reproaches of the Catholics and the Pope, he put off the execution of the plan; whatever happened he would be able to prove that he had done all that was possible to delay the expedition. Besides, he did not agree with the violence of the war party, which was bent on immediate action. These fanatics favoured an attack on Naples, but Alberoni successfully maintained his point of view, viz. that Sardinia should be their first objective.[2] If this succeeded, the war could be continued later on until the imperialists were driven out of Italy, when the House of Farnese could secure for itself a dominant position.[3] This was the dream of that paramount personality in Spain, Queen Elizabeth. Owing to the fact that there were two sons, Ludovico and Fernando, from the first marriage of Philip V. with Marie Louise Gabrielle, daughter of Duke Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy, Elizabeth's own sons, Carlos and Philip, had no prospect of ascending the Spanish throne. However, in order to make splendid provision for them, they were to receive Parma and Piacenza, where the ruling dynasties were about to die out.

At the beginning of July Alberoni took all the necessary measures for the expedition.[4] The Spanish fleet was at anchor at Barcelona.[5] However, the command was slow in coming. A rumour, which had been circulating for some time, now took

[1] See the passage in the important *letter of the Duke of Parma to Alberoni, May 27, 1717, in Arezio, 269, Archives, Naples.

[2] Arezio, 271 *seq.*, 276.

[3] *Ibid.*, 285, 301.

[4] *Ibid.*, 279.

[5] Pometti, XXIII., 483.

more definite shape ; it was to the effect that the fleet which had been equipped with the financial aid of the Pope for the purpose of assisting Venice, was not going to put to sea against the Turks, but would make a sudden attack on the imperial possessions in Italy, Naples, Sicily or Sardinia. Nuncio Aldrovandi and Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, whom the matter concerned most, mentioned these rumours to Alberoni, who told them that they should give no credence to such false alarms since the fleet, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope and those of Venice, was meant to fight against the Turks. At the banquet which Alberoni gave to the diplomatists on July 5th, he renewed the same assurances.[1] Aldrovandi tried in vain, through Daubenton, the King's confessor, to obtain an explanation ; he was told that His Majesty could not be interviewed nor, in the end, even Alberoni himself. When the nuncio demanded a clear statement from Alberoni, he received vague assurances that he need not be uneasy.[2]

On July 25th Alberoni received news of his elevation to the cardinalate.[3] The Spanish fleet, with 8,000 well equipped men on board, raised anchor, but contrary winds obliged it to make a halt near the island of Mallorca ; on August 22nd it dropped anchor before Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, and landed the troops.[4] The siege began at once ; the place soon fell, in spite of a brave defence. In the sequel the whole island was lost to the Emperor.[5]

Amazement and indignation filled the whole of Christendom when these events became known. The Pope's disappointment was indescribable. When rumours concerning Philip V.'s plans had first reached Rome, he had refused to

[1] PROFESSIONE, 106 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 111 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 138, n. 2. An express courier had made the journey in thirteen days. AREZIO, 267.

[4] *Ibid.*, 287, 307. *Cf.* MANNO, *Storia di Sardegna*, IV., Torino, 1827, 61 *seq.*

[5] *Cf. Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XVIII., 20 *seqq.*, 357 *seq.*, and especially M. PACIA-PATRIARCA, *La spedizione in Sardegna del* 1717 *ed il card. G. Alberoni*, Teramo, 1921.

believe them. He could not understand, as the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote on August 1st, 1717, how the Spanish king could thus stain his reputation and conscience; how, under the pious pretence of rendering speedy assistance in the struggle against the Turks, he could kindle the flames of war amongst Christians and for that purpose make use of a fleet the equipment of which had only been made possible through the contributions of a tenth from Church property, a tenth only granted under the express condition that it was to be used for the prosecution of the Turkish war.[1] However, the rumours became more and more concrete. In a letter of August 5th, Acquaviva still sought to calm the Pope, but the very next day was to dispel all doubts. The seemingly impossible had become a fact; the Pope experienced the greatest disappointment of his whole pontificate.[2] Spain had eased the Turkish position and at the same time inflicted a most grievous injury on Christendom and on hapless Italy. Assistance, as far as the maritime war was concerned, had become objectless; the Emperor's victorious advance was arrested for Charles III. now needed his troops in order to protect his Italian possessions.[3] Philip V.'s solemn promises

[1] Paolucci's *letter to Alberoni, August 1, 1717, says *inter alia*: "Qual macchia finalmente contrarrebbe la gloria e la coscienza istessa di S. M. Catt^ca^, se sotto la bella e religiosa apparenza di mandare in Levante un valido soccorso potesse dirsi, ch'ella havesse nascosto il disegno di turbar la quiete della cristianità, e si fosse valsuta di quegli stessi sussidi et aiuti accordatile unicamente dalla S. S. in difesa della causa comune, per avanzare i suoi particolari interessi non solo alieni dal fine sudetto, ma totalmente contrarii. Onde potrebbe N. S. patire il rimprovero d'haver profuse grazie si singolari a chi dovesse poi si malamente abusarsene e rivolgerle contro il fine istesso, che la santissima mente di S. B. s'era unicamente prescritto nel concederle." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] See *Paolucci's letter to Acquaviva of September 30, 1719, referred to above, p. 157, n. 1, which narrates the whole conflict in retrospect.

[3] On receipt of the first report of the landing in Sardinia, which the imperial ambassador learnt through a courier from

and Alberoni's elevation to the cardinalate had received an answer which appalled the Secretary of State. The Pope was also very angry with Aldrovandi. "All the hopes expressed in your reports in code, dated July 12th and 19th, have proved a delusion," Paolucci wrote to him on August 17th, 1717.[1]

Naples, Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi on August 17, 1717: "News has come of the landing in Sardinia. "si può V. S. I. imaginare, fin'a qual segno habbia ciò ferito il cuore di N. S., il quale non può comprendere, come dopo una promessa si solenne, e dopo la promotione del S. card. Alberoni (calcolandosi, che la nuova di questa fosse giunta a Madrid più giorni prima di quel che sarpassero le sudette navi e convoglio da Barcelona) venga ora corrisposto in una guisa, che fa orrore: non potendo nessun pretesto colorire qualunque diversione, che faccia la squadra dal suo dritto camino in Levante, si perchè ognun vede, che per il ritardo si renderebbe, sicome già si è resa, inutile in quelle parti, si ancora perchè obligherebbe, sicome pur troppo obligherà l'Imperatore a troncare il corso alle sue vittorie contro il comune nemico per richiamare le truppe alla difesa de' suoi stati. Sia però V. S. I. ben persuasa, che S. S. prenderà quelle risoluzioni, che saranno più proprie: per riparare la gravissima ed inaudita offesa, che se le fa contro ogni diritto di giustizia e di gratitudine. Intanto vuole N. S., che V. S. I. sospenda di dare alcuna sorte d'esecuzione ai tre Brevi de' Sussidii che ha nelle mani." On August 29, Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi with his own hand: "The Pope is infinitely distressed by the dispatch of the fleet, etc. E qual ragione può mai allegarsi per iscusare una si manifesta e orribile mancanza fatta non solo a S. S., ma alla Chiesa, alla christianità tutta, alla religione, a Dio? Mache dissi mancanza? Mancanza dovrebbe dirsi, quando S. M. non havesse fatto altro che non mandare li vascelli in Levante, come havea promesso; ma havendoli mandati dove si dice, è assai più, che haverli mandati in aiuta de' Turchi, mentre da questa missione ne risulteranno consequenze tanto giovevoli a' medesimi Turchi e tanto pregiudiziali alla christianità e specialmente alla povera Italia." For Molines' arrest, regard should have been had for the *Garanti del trattato*. Alberoni writes that he would show himself grateful; he has now a splendid opportunity to do so by restraining the King, even out of gratitude to the King." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Ibid.*

It was tragic that almost at the same time news of the surrender of Belgrade reached Rome on August 26th, 1717. The Pope, who at the time was assisting at a session of the Inquisition, fell upon his knees when the message was brought in, thanking God together with the Cardinals present. He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in his chapel and, in spite of pouring rain, he went in the afternoon to St. Mary Major for a thanksgiving service.[1] Yet this event which should have overjoyed him, was almost turned to bitterness since it was certain that the great victory could not be followed up.

It was to be foreseen from the first that the Pope would not be spared the bitterest reproaches on the part of the Emperor.[2] That prevision proved correct. Clement XI. was hopelessly compromised in the eyes of the Emperor. He had assumed a moral guarantee for the security of the Italian possessions. At present he could be accused with apparent justification, of having been over-confident towards Philip V. and allowed himself to be shamefully deceived by him. What made matters worse was the fact that an accusation of a secret understanding with the Spanish King was made and this calumny found credence with most of the Cabinets.[3] At Vienna especially this conviction was general.[4] Indescrib-

[1] *Cf.* besides BUDER, III., 641 *seq.*, the **Avviso* of August 28, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, and Cardinal Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, dated August 31, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] *Non è però, che vedendosi ormai resa infruttuosa una tale spedizione in Levante, i maligni non prendano quindi pretesto di deridere la buona fede del Papa, ed i Tedeschi non s'allarmino fuor di modo, fin'a fare tutte le disposizioni ed avanzare querele e minaccie alla S. S., come se fossero certi che il vero disegno di cotesta squadra sia l'invasione della Sardegna, e che la S. S. medesima possa esserne consapevole. Yet Spain had given a sure promise for the Levant. Paolucci to Aldrovandi, August 6, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[3] WEBER, *Quadrupelallianz*, 40 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, 130 *seq.*

[4] " *Più di ogn'altro motivo potrebbe per avventura esser' efficace l'estrema confusione, in cui si trova S. S. d'haver appoggiata nel publico concistoro la grazia fatta al Re nel promovere il

able anger prevailed and the bitterest reproaches were heaped upon the Pope. Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, refused to believe the Pope when he protested that he was the one who had been deceived. For him these protestations were but empty words [1]; he even went so far as to say that he was convinced of the existence of a secret understanding between the Pope and Spain.[2] At the same time, by order of

sig. card. Alberoni alle tante volte promessa, e per quanto diceva il sig. card. Acquaviva, già cominciata ad effettuarsi spedizione in Levante. Sà V. S. I., quanto sia costato e quanto sia per costare a N. S. un tal passo. Nè la S. S. ci si è indotta senza credere di giustificarlo col merito della sudetta spedizione. Or se adesso manca al Papa questa giustificazione: qual campo si darà al mondo, o d'accusare il Re, che habbia voluto bruttamente ingannare il Papa, o di condannare all'incontro il Papa stesso d'haver troppo facilmente creduto alla regia parola, benchè confermatagli in tante guise. Ma il peggio si è, che non parendo verisimile nè l'uno nè l'altro, s'arriva a dire, che il Re operi di concerto col Papa, e che a questo fine fosse unicamente diretto l'inopinato viaggio fatto da V. S. I. l'anno passato fin a Roma, e tutti li suoi negoziati conclusi in questa corte. Nè questo è un discorso di pochi, ma ormai comune e fin divolgato ne' publici avvisi, come potrà riconoscere da quelli ultimamente venuti da Napoli, de' quali se ne le manda copia. Se tali sospetti nascono nella gente non interessata, quali saranno quelli della corte di Vienna? Sono in fatti gravissimi. E la maniera, con cui tanto quei ministri si sono espressi con mons. Nunzio, quanto questo sig. ambasciatore cesareo s'espresse lunedì con N. S., fa temerci anco contro di noi qualunque più strana risoluzione da quella parte: quasi che il Papa fosse stato capace di nascondere sotto l'apparenza d'eccitare i principi cattolici contro il Turco un si nero concerto, e che per farlo riuscire, n'havesse somministrati i mezzi al Re di Spagna ne' sussidii accordatigli" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212), Papal Sec. Archives. Already in his *report of August 14, 1717, Gallas expressed the suspicion of an understanding between Clement XI. and Alberoni. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[1] See Count Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, August 31, 1717 (all that the Pope is writing to Spain and Vienna is "un beau verbiage"), *ibid.*

[2] See Count Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, September 17, 1717, *ibid.*

the Emperor, Gallas categorically demanded that Cardinal Emmerich Czacki, Bishop of Kolocsa and candidate of the Emperor, who had been reserved *in petto* on July 12th, 1717, should be proclaimed, and that the next vacancy in the Sacred College of Cardinals should be reserved for another candidate of the Emperor, otherwise the nuncios and collectors would be expelled from Naples, Milan and the Netherlands, and the ecclesiastical revenues sequestrated. The Pope opposed Gallas' demands on the score that France and Portugal would raise similar ones ; it looked as if they wanted to force the Pope to fill the Sacred College with foreigners and to deprive him of his freedom to raise deserving prelates to the purple. After that all he would have to do was to resign the supreme pontificate which for him was a crown of thorns. The Emperor should be satisfied if his candidate was reserved *in petto* ; in that case neither France nor Portugal could make any fresh demands. Gallas replied that Portugal had no legitimate claims, seeing that her support of Venice had already been rewarded ; moreover her king had not the same standing as the other three great Powers, and as for France, Christendom was under no obligation to her. The Pope begged for time to think matters over. However, Gallas declared that he had orders to wait only four days. He importuned the Pope to such an extent that he was finally told that Czacki's nomination would take place at the next consistory, when the victory of Belgrade would also be solemnly proclaimed.[1] Gallas also asked for further grants of money towards the Turkish war,[2] whilst continuing to press for a complete rupture between the Pope and Spain.[3] The steps which had hitherto been taken in Rome against Philip V. he declared to be quite inadequate.[4]

[1] See the detailed *report of Count Gallas to the Emperor, August 31, 1717, *ibid.*

[2] In his *report to Sinzendorff, September 9, 1717, Gallas says that he was certain he would receive further subsidies. *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Count Gallas' *reports to Sinzendorff, August 22, and September 4, 1717, *ibid.*

[4] *Gallas to Sinzendorff, September 13, 1717, *ibid.*

Clement XI. had given orders to Aldrovandi as early as August 17th, that is as soon as the first rumours reached him, to suspend the Briefs on the tribute to be levied from the Spanish clergy and to strike out the articles relative to it from the draft of the concordat.[1] All the same the Pope could not entertain the idea of a complete break with Madrid, seeing that a settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain seemed imminent. On the contrary it was his duty, even in the altered circumstances, to make at least an attempt to save the concordat. He accordingly yielded on all the other points in dispute and on August 26th dispatched to Madrid the Brief of ratification of the concordat which had been retrodated to July 10th. The only point he insisted on was the annulment of the article concerning the taxation of the Spanish clergy, since its retention would have rendered him suspect of having had an understanding on the subject of the attempt against Sardinia.[2] The Pope was determined not to

[1] *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter of August 17, 1717 (Pap. Sec. Arch.), quoted above, p. 144, n. 3.

[2] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, August 26, 1717: "Giachè S. M. Catt^ca non ha voluto condescendere a stabilire la reintegrazione della Chiesa e della Sede Apost. a loro diritti per mezo di un decreto regio, ma insiste, che tutto si termini per mezo di un Concordato, S. B., per incontrare il compiacimento della M. S., lascia di maggiormente premere per il sudetto decreto, e caminando secondo la nuova minuta trasmessa da V. S. I. per la formazione del Concordato, ha approvato, che in esso sia stato posto per primo capitolo quello, che nel Concordato sottoscritto era stato messo per l'ultimo, come ha anco approvato le nuove aggiuntevi, contentandosi di quelle in vece del decreto desiderato." Since the condition of articles 2 and 3 (subsidies of a million and a half in the Indies and a tenth of half a million in Spain for the expedition to the Levant this year) is unrealizable, and the Pope would fall under the suspicion of connivance, these articles must be struck out from the concordat. The other articles the Pope confirms, and "per avanzar tempo, e senza aspettar altra risposta, ha ordinato, che si spedisca il Breve di ratificazione per parte della S. S. dell'istesso Concordato, con l'intiera inserzione del medesimo. —P. S. (di pugno di S. Em.): Replico a V. S. I., che N. S. per

yield on this point, even if it meant the wrecking of the concordat. As a matter of fact Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, an ambassador of his King rather than a Cardinal, had threatened that if the Pope refused the Indults there would be an end to the concordat.[1]

procedere con buona fede, non ha voluto, che si faccia più minuto esame di alcune piccole diversità, che appariscono tra alcuni capitoli del Concordato, e le risposte, che dalla S. S. furono date alli 19 articoli proposti in Roma da V. S. I., ma sorpassando ogni difficoltà, ha tutto approvato ; il che tanto più volentieri ha fatto quanto che ella ha scritto, essersi costì creduto, che li capitoli concordati non siano differenti, nè punto nè poco nella sostanza e nell'essenziale da tutto ciò, che fu qui risoluto ; e appunto per tale ragione e con tale supposto io ho scritto, confidarsi da S. S. che potendo nascere col tempo qualche difficoltà nell'esecuzione sia questa per conformarsi alla mente di S. B." (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives). The text of this concordat, about which there was considerable obscurity for a long time (see HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht.*, X. [1863], 187 *seq.*, who, following SENTIS [154], denied its ratification by the Pope), besides the Briefs of ratification, is in MERCATI, *Concordati*, 282 *seqq.* The hitherto unknown retrodating is expressly mentioned in the *Instruction to Alessandro Aldobrandini of September 21, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[1] See Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, August 29, 1717, which says of Acquaviva's menaces : " che rivocandosi detti indulti, anderà altresì in aria il Concordato e resterà senza effetto tutto ciò, che per parte del Re è stato promesso in ordine alla reintegrazione della Nunziatura e dell'autorità apostolica. . . . L'avverto si bene, esser così determinata la S. S. nella risoluzione di voler esclusi dal Concordato detti due capitoli, stante l'evidente e incontrastabile ineseguibilità degli istessi indulti nello stato, in cui ci troviamo, che anche a costo di rimanere ineffettuato il Concordato rispetto alla reintegrazione della Nunziatura e dell'autorità apostolica, non cambierà mai sentimento ; mentre altro non mancherebbe per far credere non solo a' Tedeschi, ma al mundo tutto, che la causa espressa negli indulti fosse stata un semplice e vano pretesto per colorire il vero oggetto de' medesimi indulti. Troppo importa la riputazione del Papa e della S. Sede, e perciò deve preferirse a qualunque altra considerazione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secret Archives.

Meanwhile Clement persisted in his condemnation of the attack on Sardinia, nor did he allow himself to be deflected from his purpose even when Philip V. at last condemned the libels on the person of the Head of the Church which had been broadcast throughout Spain in 1709.[1] The King's assertion that the Emperor had forced a war on him, because he had had the newly-appointed Grand Inquisitor Molines arrested at Milan, Clement rejected as devoid of foundation.[2] He declared that he must insist on what he had demanded in his Brief of August 25th, when the first rumours came to his ears, that Philip V. should desist from further attacks against the Emperor and restore all his conquests.[3]

In order to exercise pressure on the Spanish King an autograph letter had been dispatched on August 31st to Francesco Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, whose intervention just then had induced the Spanish Government to withdraw the libellous pamphlets.[4] The Pope cherished the hope that a relative would have a better chance of making himself heard. The Duke was to point out to what dangers Spain was exposing herself, since all the Powers that had signed the Peace of Utrecht would never submit to its violation.[5] The Pope does not mention Alberoni's name in this communication, the Brief only refers in general terms to the influence of evil counsellors. Clement XI. may well have had Alberoni in mind, but he never suspected that the first suggestion of breaking the peace had come from the Duke of Parma. Francesco Farnese knew so well how to cover his tracks that the Pope never suspected him.[6] Alberoni stood loyally by the

[1] This *decree (*Nunziat. di Spagna, loc.cit.*), was obtained with the help of the Duke of Parma ; see *Studi e docum.*, I., 100 *seq.*

[2] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, dat. August 29, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[3] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2249.

[4] *Cf.* note 1.

[5] See *studi e docum.*, I., 93 *seqq.*

[6] Arezio, 298 *seqq.*, 294, n. 4, where the comedy played by Fr. Farnese is revealed for the first time from documents in the Farnese Archives (now at Naples).

side of the Duke, for as the Spanish Queen's representative, he could not but be anxious that not even the slightest suspicion should fall on her uncle. Whilst fiercely defending the Duke's innocence, he endeavoured to shift the responsibility from Philip V.'s shoulders to those of the Pope who, he alleged, had done nothing to appease the justly outraged feelings of the King on the occasion of Molines' arrest. He even had the impudence to assert that out of consideration for Clement XI. no further action had been taken against the Emperor, although the means to do so were at hand.[1] He succeeded so well in winning over the nuncio to his side[2] that the latter hesitated to deliver the papal Brief of August 25th, in fact such was his credulity that he handed over the Briefs of the Indults.

What a position for the Pope! seeing that on September 4th he had communicated to all the nuncios the Brief of August 25th, forbidding a further demand of a tenth from the Spanish clergy since there was no longer any reason for it.[3] Acquaviva did all he could to pacify the Pope, but he deceived himself if he imagined he had succeeded.[4] On September 16th Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi ordering him to recall the Indults; if this proved impossible, the Pope himself would revoke them and communicate the fact to all the Spanish Bishops. This must be done, even if as a result, the nunciature was closed and all the former hostilities revived.[5]

In other ways also Aldrovandi's attitude met with strong

[1] Arezio, 291 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Professione, *Ministero*, 114.

[3] See *Istoria del card. Alberoni*, 54.

[4] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, September 12, 1717, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[5] This was done, says Paolucci, "non già per dar gusto a' Tedeschi, come costì malamente crederanno, ma per sodisfare alla sua estimazione ed alla sua coscienza, per la qual ragione appunto, anche a costo che la Nunziatura avesse di nuovo a chiudersi ed avesse a tornarsi in tutti li passati disordini, la S. S. è e sarà sempre costantissima in questa risoluzione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Sec. Archives.

disapproval in Rome. In a second communication from the Secretary of State, dated September 16th, it was said that the Pope was greatly surprised that Spain, as if she intended to insult him, alleged in her defence nothing but so-called breaches of neutrality on the part of the Emperor ; and that he was even more amazed at the fact that the Holy See was expected to content itself with the rôle of a mediator without any other satisfaction. In spite of all that had happened the Pope would consider the guarantee of abstaining from further attacks and of restoring what had been gained by force of arms as a sufficient satisfaction, but without that much he could not take another step, as otherwise Austria's suspicion would only be confirmed and strengthened.

As for Alberoni's opposition to the Sardinian enterprise, of which Aldrovandi had written with such conviction, the Pope was willing to believe the nuncio, seeing that had it been otherwise, the Cardinal would have acted against the true interests both of his King and the Duke of Parma. The whole world, however, was of a different opinion. The general opinion seemed to be that whatever happened in Madrid, whether good or bad, could be traced back to Alberoni. In the interest, therefore, of his own honour, the Cardinal should make his influence felt in a good direction, and this soon, as the least delay would have the worst consequences.[1] Unfortunately Alberoni gave not the slightest hint that he was making his influence felt in this sense ; on the contrary, the Government of Madrid complained of the Pope's attitude.

[1] " *Quanto al sig. card. Alberoni. N. S. si dichiara di credere quel ch'ella si asseverantemente ne scrive, ch'egli sia stato contrariissimo alla mossa contro la Sardegna, mentre stimandolo S. S. uomo d'onore e di giudizio, tale certamente non sarebbe, ove avesse approvata l'istessa mossa tanto opposta a' veri interessi di cotesta corona, e tanto rovinosa per quelli del sig. Duca di Parma. Il male però è, ch'ogn'altro giudica diversamente, mentre tutti credono, che il medesimo sig. cardinale sia l'autore di tutto ciò, che o di bene o di male si fa da cotesta corte. Procuri perciò egli per suo onore, che si faccia bene e presto, ma presto assai, potendo esser letale qualunque ancor che minima dilazione." *Ibid.*

Cardinal Paolucci, in a sharply worded note of October 5th, asked whether Madrid was under the impression that the Pope was under obligation to Spain in return for the greatest mortification he had received in the course of his whole pontificate. In the hope of Philip V. making satisfaction to him, the Pope had given up the idea he had entertained at first of having the Brief of August 25th read at the consistory, and in spite of the fact that the College of Cardinals expected a firmer tone, he, the Pope, in his allocution of October 1st on the subject of the Turkish war, had exercised the greatest restraint.[1]

Clement XI. was firmly resolved not to give way on the question of raising money from the Spanish clergy. On October 5th he ordered the Briefs, which were no longer valid, to be withdrawn, even if their execution had already begun. Should the Spanish ministers refuse to comply with this order, Aldrovandi was to inform the Bishops that the Pope did not wish to lay an obligation on them in this matter.[2]

As a matter of fact the execution of these Briefs had started[3]; and not only that, but by the end of October it was known in Rome that the secular power in Spain was resuming its old policy of violating ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[4]

[1] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, October 5, 1717, *ibid.*

[2] Paolucci's two *letters of October 5, 1717, *ibid.*

[3] Paolucci's two *letters of October 19, 1717, *ibid.*

[4] On October 26, 1717, Paolucci *wrote to Aldrovandi: The Pope hears that instead of restitution "continui la potestà secolare ad ingerirsi francamente nelle materie spettanti alla Chiesa, in quella guisa appunto, che, con tanto scandalo del mondo cattolico, ha praticata per otto e più anni, anco a privare i vescovi dell'autorità. . . . Nè credano costà di gettarci la polvere sugl'occhi, con facilitare alla Camera Apostolica l'esigenza de' suoi proventi: quasi che questo solo basti: perchè Roma non è tanto interessata, che sia mai per chiamarsene appagata, quando insieme non venga pienamente reintegrata la potestà ecclesiastica nel libero servizio della sua giurisdizione, giacchè in ciò, come più importante ed essenziale, consistono principalmente le precise obligazioni del Re, le riparazioni da lui dovute alla Chiesa ed alla S. Sede et le maggiori premure di N. S." *Ibid.*

Aldrovandi showed his incompetence as a representative of the Holy See by seeking to keep these events from the knowledge of the Pope. His optimistic reports made an all the more disagreeable impression in Rome as the attacks against the Pope were becoming more and more violent in consequence of Spain's breach of the peace.[1]

On October 1st, 1717, Clement XI. fulfilled the Emperor's wish by the publication of the imperial Cardinal Emmerich Czacki. After an eloquent address on the victory of Prince Eugene at Belgrade, he declared that he would endeavour to remove the obstacles which prevented the prosecution of the Turkish war.[2] Count Gallas was very dissatisfied because the Pope had not said more.[3] On the other hand Acquaviva

[1] Paolucci to Aldrovandi on November 9, 1717: "Non si maravigli V. S. I., se i miei dispacci sono da qualche tempo in qua pieni d'amarezza. Si rende ogni giorno più grave al Papa il gran colpo sofferto da cotesta corte, e cominciano a vedersene pur troppo i perniciosi effetti, fra quali non sono i peggiori i rimproveri e le orrende calunnie divulgate per tutta l'Europa contro la leale ed irreprensibile condotta di S. S., onde non può N. S. contenere l'interno suo rammarico, sicchè non apparisca il di lui animo esacerbato anco contro V. S. I., le cui pressanti insinuazioni e sicurezze avendo indotto principalmente la S. S. a tutti i passi fatti sin'ora, hanno dato occasione, benchè innocente, a' presenti gravissimi disturbi. Non è dunque, che alcuno abbia creduto V. S. I. capace di mancare al debito della sua fedeltà, ma si è creduto, che con tali eccitamenti, entrando V. S. I. più vivamente ne' sentimenti del Papa, dovesse muoversi a detestare, quanto da Noi si detesta, l'enorme mancanza fattaci da cotesta corte, ed a procurarne con forza maggiore le dovute reparazioni." The nuncio should not have handed over the two Briefs before receiving the news. *Ibid.*

[2] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Orat. 145. We gather from Gallas' *letter to Sinzendorff, October 6, 1717, that Czacki declined the red hat and that the Emperor wanted it now for Althan; however, Gallas also saw that this was no longer practicable. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] Gallas' *report to the imperial Chancellery, October 2, 1717, *ibid.*

demanded that the Pope should represent Philip V.'s action against Sardinia as justified by the attacks of the Emperor.[1] In view of such contradictory requests the best course was to touch on so ticklish a matter in general terms, as the Pope had done.[2]

On October 10th Gallas arranged for a service of thanksgiving for the conquest of Belgrade, in the church of the Anima. It was the first time in thirty-one years that such a celebration was held in the German national church, with the consequence that innumerable questions of ceremonial cropped up. The Pope put off his afternoon visit to the following day, when he also offered up prayers in thanksgiving for the conversion of the Elector of Saxony. Gallas, who on more than one occasion had come in conflict with the Governor of Rome, quarrelled with him this time also over a question of precedence, hence he requested Cardinal Schrattenbach to receive the Pope. Clement XI., however, invited the Cardinal to ride in the pontifical carriage so that, to his surprise, there was no one to welcome him.[3] On October 18th Gallas, followed by a pompous cortège, presented the trophies captured at Belgrade, which the Pope assigned to various churches in Rome.[4]

Previously to the consistory of October 1, the imperial

[1] Acquaviva's *Letter to the Pope, September 8, 1717, copy, *ibid.*

[2] In an autograph *letter to the Pope (*Acta consist., Barb.* 2915, p. 596 *seqq.*, Vatican Library) Acquaviva had declared that should the Pope's discourse be prejudicial to his sovereign he would ask to be allowed to make a reply, or else that he be ordered to stay away from the consistory. This letter was made public, to the Pope's very great annoyance ; he only calmed down when he received an assurance that Acquaviva was not responsible for the publication. *Ibid.*

[3] SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 595 *seq.* On the conversion of the Elector, Frederick Augustus, *cf.* B. DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit.*, CXI. (1926), 104 *seqq.*

[4] *Brief to Charles VI., October 22, 1717 ; CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2271. *Cf.* BUDER, III., 649, and the detailed *report of Gallas, dat. October 23, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

ambassador had reiterated his demands with regard to the vacant Cardinal's hat; he was highly indignant when he failed to obtain what he wanted.[1] As time went on his relations with the Pope became more and more strained. When eccentric Lord Peterborough came under suspicion of engineering an attempt on the life of the English Pretender, James III., the Cardinal Legate of Bologna ordered his immediate arrest.[2] Gallas took up the case of the prisoner. He also demanded that a troop of 8,000 men destined for Naples should be allowed a passage through the States of the Church. Whilst a Congregation deliberated on the matter, the Pope learnt that a considerable number of these men had already passed in disguise through his territory. Soon after Gallas demanded that Alberoni should be cited to appear in Rome, to render an account of his conduct. Everything was set in motion to induce the Pope to sever relations with Spain. Ecclesiastico-political demands were also made which had a bearing on former quarrels in Naples. The Pope was asked to bind himself to grant ecclesiastical preferments in the kingdom of Naples only to natives and to replace nuncio Vicentini by a man of a more accommodating disposition. When at the end of November Clement XI. refused to comply with these demands, Vicentini was expelled from Naples. The tribunal of the nunciature was closed and the papal collectors were dismissed. The expulsion of the nuncio in Vienna and the internuncio of Brussels was already threatened. All these proceedings were justified by the plea, that by granting ecclesiastical subsidies to Philip V. the Pope had enabled the latter to attack the Emperor.[3] This was not

[1] *Gallas to the imperial chancellery, October 2, 1717, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* BUDER, III., 665 *seqq.* Although Peterborough was very soon set at liberty, as being innocent, the English nevertheless threatened to bombard Civitavecchia. Clement XI. had to apologize for the incident through the Viennese court; see *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XLVI., 261.

[3] BUDER, III., 668 *seqq.*, 670 *seqq.* *Cf.* the protesting Brief to Charles VI., December 21, 1717, CLEMENTIS, XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2277.

true, because over and over again and lastly on November 23rd, 1717, the Pope had given orders to Aldrovandi not only not to permit the execution of the respective Indults, but to demand their surrender.[1]

The Spanish Government, which by its unscrupulous conduct had got the Pope into so equivocal a position,[2] and had been the cause of his oppression by the imperialists, had the audacity to ask for a reward for Alberoni! Clement XI. realized full well that owing to Alberoni's all-powerful influence, a new breach with Spain could only be avoided by means of concessions. Accordingly, when Philip V. named the Cardinal to the bishopric of Malaga, he ratified the nomination, December 6th, 1717, but refused to grant a dispensation from the duty of residence.[3] Meanwhile, on November 17th, the death took place of Manuel Arias, Archbishop of Seville, and Alberoni was nominated by the King to that See. The King asked the Pope's confirmation. This time Clement XI. hesitated. He pleaded that by the nomination to the bishopric of Malaga he had already incurred the hostility of the opposition; this would only get worse seeing that the imperialists threatened to march into the territory of Ferrara. All the return Spain had made for the nomination of Alberoni was to frustrate the enterprise against the Turks; now they were putting off the ratification of the concordat whilst at the same time violent encroachments in the

[1] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, November 23, 1717, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secr. Archives. *Cf.* PROFESSIONE, 182 *seq.*

[2] On the occasion of the expulsion of the nuncio from Naples Paolucci *wrote to Aldrovandi, December 7, 1717: "Può ella ben comprendere da se stessa, quale ne sia stato il cordoglio di N. Signore. Solo le dico, che se gli è molto accresciuto dal riflettere, ch'è uno de' tanti perniciosi effetti dell'enorme mancanza di cotesta corte." Il re è responsabile di tutto. *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[3] Paolucci gave the reasons for the refusal in a second *letter to Aldrovandi, December 7, 1717: "non volendo S. Bne aggravare la propria coscienza oltre i tanti e tanti disastri che pur troppo ha sofferti e soffre tuttavia sempre maggiori per la promozione di S. E." *Ibid.*

ecclesiastical sphere were taking place. By this he meant the sequestration of the revenues of the bishoprics of Vich and Tarragona. Nuncio Aldrovandi of Madrid, who was entirely under Alberoni's domination, had made no mention of these incidents, so that the Pope only heard of them from other sources. This extraordinary nuncio, in order to prevent a rupture, would not protest against such encroachments. At Naples also Clement XI. saw the rights of the Holy See trampled under foot because the imperialists were convinced that the Pope had approved of Spain's breach of the peace.[1] Whilst these calumnies were being broadcast,[2] the Spanish

[1] *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, December 28, 1717, which says: "La pronta spedizione fatta al sig. card. Alberoni del vescovato di Malaga ha accresciuti li sospetti, dicendosi che si fanno grazie a chi meriterebbe gastighi. Molto più saranno accresciuti tali sospetti dalla traslazione, che si farà dell'istesso card. Alberoni all'arcivescovato di Siviglia, quando verrà il processo formato a dovere per la detta traslazione. Non si lascia di temere anche l'invasione delle truppe alemanne nel Ferrarese, secondo moltissimi rincontri, che se ne hanno. Ecco il frutto dell'aggiustamento di Spagna, della promozione del card. Alberoni e della mancanza di cotesta corte. Con tutte queste amarezze, che proviamo, ed altre, che ne temiamo, non vediamo ancora compito l'aggiustamento con cotesta corte: mentre non habbiamo ancora la ratifica del Concordato, che doveva farsi dal Re coll'inserzione di quell'istesso Concordato, ch'è incluso nel Breve di ratifica di S. S. Non habbiamo documento alcuno dell'assoluzione presa da S. M. e da' suoi ministri. Non sappiamo, se e come sia stata fatta la transazione sopra i frutti delle vacanti presi dal Re. In somma siamo maltrattati da tutte le parti. E poi ella vorrebbe, che nè pur ci dolessimo."—Paolucci's *letters to Aldrovandi of November 23 and December 14, 1717, January 11 and 18, 1718, contain reprimands for his not reporting encroachments of the Spanish government. The former says: "È in sostanza ridotto il Papa a sapere solo dalle publiche gazzette o da particolari quelle notizie, che si strettamente riguardano il ministerio del Nunzio apost." *Ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, January 18, 1718, which says: "Crescono a N. S. i travagli nell'udire, che prende sempre maggior vigore l'orrenda calunnia, che il Vicario di Cristo sia stato complice della funesta mancanza." *Ibid.*

Government continued on the course it had adopted. Great preparations were in progress, which could only have one object, namely the continuation of the war against the Emperor. The Pope, who was still intent on the prosecution of the Turkish war, did all in his power to prevent these preparations on the part of Spain. He showed himself ready to yield, even in the matter of Alberoni's nomination to the archiepiscopal see of Seville, provided the Spanish Government showed itself ready to amend its ways.[1] Unfortunately the prospects of such a change became gloomier day by day.

Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, adopted an attitude which was bound to lead, not to a settlement, but to a fresh rupture. Whilst he demanded the archbishopric of Seville for Alberoni, accompanying his demand with threats, he handed in a memorandum in February, 1718, which was bound to embitter the Pope, since it sought to justify every one of Philip V.'s interferences in the ecclesiastical domain,[2] and all this because the concession of a favour (Alberoni's translation to Seville) had been, not indeed refused, but merely postponed.[3] In the last days of March Acquaviva also demanded that if the imperialists were allowed to pass through the States of the Church, the Pope should likewise allow the Spanish fleet to assemble in the

[1] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, January 25, 1718, *ibid.* *Cf.* PROFESSIONE, 175.

[2] *Cf.* *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, dat. February 8, 1718; he says: "So bene, che quantunque sia ormai abituato N. S. in 18 anni di spinosissimo pontificato a veder per lo più rivoltati contro questa S. Sede quegli stessi, che da lei sono stati più distintamente beneficati, non può tuttavia imaginarsi mai, che il sig. card. Alberoni, la cui promozione costa tanto a N. S., voglia sequirne l'esempio, con sostenere l'impegno preso, senza alcun colore, e non debba più tosto procurare colla sua autorità e prudenza di toglier di mezo quegli ostacoli, che unicamente gli ritardano il conseguimento della desiderata traslazione." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, February 15, 1718, *ibid.*

ports of Civitavecchia and Ancona.[1] Such a request Clement XI. could not grant.

Violent altercations between the Pope and Acquaviva ensued. The latter's temper had already been roused by a quarrel with Falconieri, the Governor of Rome.[2]

As the reports of the Spanish preparations became more threatening the Pope, who found himself exposed to increasingly violent attacks on account of his self-restraint in the face of Philip V.'s breach of the peace,[3] announced that if instead of fighting the Turks, the King should put obstacles in the way of the Emperor in his war against the infidels, he would feel obliged to withdraw from the Spanish Government all indults for taxing Church property, since their sole and only purpose was the prosecution of the Turkish war. He declared that one who, in his capacity as head of the Spanish Government, had instigated the attack against Sardinia, and who was even suspected of having a secret understanding with the infidels, could not be appointed Archbishop of Seville. Alberoni must first clear himself of the latter suspicion. As regards the bishoprics of Vich and Tarragona, the Pope demanded the restoration of the *status quo*. Clement XI. was determined to maintain his point of view even though Acquaviva threatened with a complete rupture.[4]

[1] Acquaviva to Alberoni March 22 and April 4, 1718, in PROFESSIONE, 177, and in *Arch. stor. Piacent.*, III., 170.

[2] PROFESSIONE, 178 *seqq.*

[3] The Pope, *Paolucci wrote to Aldrovandi on February 15, 1718, sees that his prestige with the other nations is declining, "dalle troppo cautelate e circospette misure guardate unicamente per non dispiacere al Re Cattolico circa la divulgazione dell' orrenda mancanza." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, *loc. cit.*

[4] See the three *letters of Paolucci to Aldrovandi dated April 2, 1718. The second says: "Certo è, che senza di ciò non potrà mai indursi S. S. a far nuove grazie a un soggetto, che, per stare alla testa degli affari di cotesta monarchia, è considerato per autore di tutto il presente sconvolgimento e de' danni, che ne derivano alla cristianità et alla publica quiete." *Ibid.*

In connection with these decisions of the first days of April, Aldrovandi was ordered on April 2nd, 1718, to hand at once to Philip V. an autograph letter of the Pope, and to demand that he should desist from his warlike preparations against the Emperor, and that he should, on the contrary, direct them against the Turks. Should he fail the Pope would feel obliged to adopt such measures as his office demanded from him.[1] Paolucci, the Secretary of State, sent at the time a last warning to the King's confessor Daubenton and to Alberoni himself.[2] However, all was in vain. The Spanish Government went on with its preparations with redoubled energy and sought to raise enemies for the Emperor everywhere. Measure after measure was taken against the Pope, and all this, as Paolucci observed, because the Pope refused to yield blindly in the matter of the appointment to the See of Toledo.[3] The Brief addressed to Philip V. was

[1] See Paolucci's fourth *letter to Aldrovandi, April 2, 1718. After a lengthy explanation of the Pope's forbearance there follows the message to Philip V.: "Gli faccia comprendere due cose: la prima, che, prescindendosi ancora da qualunque verificazione delle cose cotenute nella stampa, è la M. S. per onore e per coscienza costretta a provedere, ma con mezzi efficaci e convenienti, alla sua fama si enormemente attaccata: nè altro ve n'è che il desistere dall'ostilità contro l'imperatore e rivoltare a danni degli infedeli quegli apparati, che per la diversione, che sono per fare a' progressi dell'armi cristiane in Ungheria, sembrano destinati a loro vantaggi. L'altra, che il Papa, quando ciò non segua, non potrebbe dispensarsi dal prendere quelle risoluzioni, che gli fossero in un caso si grave suggerite dal debito del proprio ministero." *Ibid.*

[2] Paolucci's *letters to Daubenton and Alberoni, also dated April 2, *ibid.* The latter, from which PROFESSIONE (203 *seq.*) quotes a passage, says: "Crede N. S., che l'E. V. come cardinale non possa non esser'accesa dallo stesso zelo, e come sua creatura non debba non compatirlo e non esser a parte della sua grave afflizione nel vedere si enormemente lacerata la sua riputazione."

[3] See Paolucci's long *letter to Aldrovandi, May 31, 1718, which defends the conduct of the Pope in great detail. *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

not accepted and even Aldrovandi, though all too devoted to the Spanish Government, was no longer allowed to see the King.

New threats were not wanting. On May 15th a courier arrived in Rome from Madrid with a command of Philip V. for Acquaviva to demand once again the See of Seville for Alberoni; in the event of a refusal, he was to proclaim the rupture of relations between Spain and Rome.[1] The Cardinal had a long audience with the Pope on the morning of May 20th, when he was allowed to state the reasons of the King's demand on behalf of Alberoni. He declared that since the decision of this matter had dragged on since November it was not only detrimental to so large a diocese but likewise prejudicial to the "rights" of his Sovereign. Clement XI. declared that the delay had been caused by the interference of the Spanish Government in the administration of the dioceses of Vich and Tarragona; there could be no question of any encroachment on royal prerogatives since there was question of a translation from one See to another. The Pope was ready to yield if the King, on his part, revoked the above-mentioned encroachments. A long discussion ensued, at the end of which the Pope referred Acquaviva to Cardinal Albani.[2] The conversations with the latter yielded no result. Before all else Albani asked that an end be put to interference in the dioceses of Vich and Tarragona. To this Acquaviva replied that he was not a plenipotentiary and in the event of the Pope proving unyielding in this matter, a complete rupture with Rome had been decided upon. He motivated the threat by saying that Philip V., according to his theologians and jurists, was justified in taking such a step, and that by so doing he only followed the example of his predecessors who had earned for themselves the glorious title of "Catholic Kings"! Albani proposed fresh negotiations; Acquaviva

[1] Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi of June 1, 1718, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Ibid.* in *Reales ordines* the *Philip V.'s command.

[2] The audience is described in all its details in Acquaviva's letter quoted in n. 1.

had to decline the offer, for by the terms of his instructions he had to break off relations if by June 1st the archbishopric of Seville had not been bestowed on Alberoni.[1] As this did not happen, Acquaviva ordered all Spaniards in Rome to leave the city, under pain of the royal displeasure, and not to have recourse to the Dataria in future in all questions of the bestowal of benefices.[2]

Clement XI. who, on May 31st, had announced through a courier the Brief by which he suspended all Indults for Spain,[3] ordered its immediate publication on June 9th, inasmuch as Spain persisted in an attitude which was harmful to the whole of Christendom.[4] Aldrovandi, who up to now had sided far more with the Spanish Government than with his own master, obeyed at last.[5] On his part Philip V. sequestrated

[1] Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, June 1, 1718 (*loc. cit.*), at the end of which the Cardinal puts a few questions regarding the 3,000 Spaniards living in Rome, of whom he knew only 900 by name, as the rest occupied lowly positions. He asks for further instructions, whether affairs that had been begun, among them the Canonization processes, should be carried on or discontinued.

[2] Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi June, 7, 1718, according to which 618 Spaniards demanded their passports. According to Acquaviva's *letter to Morales, August 15, he ordered also the Spanish religious to leave Rome, but the Pope's prohibition (see *letter to Alberoni, September 6, 1718) induced some to remain, as Acquaviva *reports to L. Rodrigo on April 11, 1719. All these letters are in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Cf.* also Paolucci's *letter to Aldrovandi, June 9, 1718, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212, Papal Secr. Archives.

[3] Paolucci's third *letter to Aldrovandi, May 31, 1718, which says: "Il ministero che il Papa sostiene e l'impegno da lei contratto coll'Imperatore per eccitarlo alla guerra contro il Turco, rendono ciò indispensabile alla S. S., la quale è pronta a soffrir tutto." *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[4] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, June 9, 1718 (*ibid*). The Brief is dated June 4, 1718.

[5] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi, July 12, 1718 (*ibid.*), where reference is made to Aldrovandi's report of June 27 on the execution of the order. Aldrovandi had won great favour with

the revenues of the bishoprics of Seville and Malaga and threatened to attack the States of the Church.[1] By this means he hoped to bring about Alberoni's promotion to the archbishopric of Seville. However, Clement XI. remained firm. Paolucci wrote on June 21st that Cardinal Alberoni should bear in mind that the conquest of Seville was a very different matter from that of Sardinia.[2]

To revenge itself on the Pope, the Spanish Government ordered the tribunal of the nunciature to be closed.[3] Alberoni, in a letter to his friend Count Rocca, dated August 18th, 1718, asserted at this time that he no longer gave a thought to his own affairs; if the Pope refused him the Bull of confirmation for Seville, that would not prevent him from enjoying the revenues of that bishopric as well as those of Malaga. If people in Rome thought they would receive as much as a single *bajocco* from the vacant bishoprics and other benefices in Spain, they were under a delusion. A compromise was impossible without a previous yielding in the matter of Seville. So long as the present Pope lived nothing good could be hoped for. His nephews were mercenaries of the House of Austria and Clement XI. himself was so weak that he yielded to all the demands of the court of Vienna. Rome was threatened with a great punishment and before this confusion came to an end it was quite possible that they might witness another sack of the city, similar to that of 1527.[4]

the Spanish Government as appears from the fact that the latter worked for his nomination to the cardinalate since the summer of 1720; see **Reales ordines*, May, July and October, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[1] *Paolucci to Aldrovandi dat. June 21, 1717, *ibid.*

[2] " *Ma doveva pure considerare il sig.r card. Alberoni, che la conquista della chiesa di Siviglia è assai diversa dalla conquista della Sardegna, e che quei mezzi, che sono stati opportuni per la seconda, sono esecrabili per la prima." *Ibid.*

[3] Acquaviva heard of this through a letter of Miguel Duran, July 4, 1718; see the cardinal's *letter to M. Duran, *ibid.*

[4] Bourgeois, *Lettres intimes*, 604.

When the Cardinal wrote these lines, the situation had undergone a change which was to bring about his own downfall. Now, as in the previous year, the strictest silence was observed concerning the destination of the Spanish fleet, which sailed from the port of Barcelona with a contingent of 30,000 men at the end of June, 1718. Even the commander-in-chief did not know where the blow would fall as he was only allowed to open his instructions when on the high seas.

The objective was the fair isle of Sicily, which the peace of Utrecht had assigned to the Duke of Savoy. But the Piedmontese had failed to gain the sympathies of the Sicilians. Palermo received the Spaniards with enthusiasm; Catania fell whilst siege was laid to Messina.[1]

Fortune seemed to smile on Alberoni. However, his plan for the recovery for the Spanish monarchy of its lost Italian possessions encountered the opposition of nearly all the Powers that had been parties to the recent peace treaties. On August 2nd, 1718, England, France and the Emperor joined in a league which, after the accession of Holland, received the name of the Quadruple Alliance. With the coalition of the four great Powers thus constituted, Italy was once more to be parcelled out to the advantage of foreign countries. Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany, whose reigning Houses were on the point of extinction, were to be considered as fiefs of the Empire and only under these conditions could they be bestowed on Don Carlos, the five years old son of the Spanish Queen. Spain was to be forced to surrender both Sicily and Sardinia. Sicily would fall to the Emperor, who would renounce his claims to Spain, whilst the Duke of

[1] Is. La Lumia, *La Sicilia sotto Vittorio Amadeo di Savoia*[2], Livorno, 1877, cap. 7; Dom. Carutti, *Storia del regno di Vittorio Amadeo II*, Firenze, 1863; idem., *Storia della diplomazia della corte di Savoia*, III., Torino 1875; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, XVIII., 35–230, 367–379; Professione, 205 *seqq.*; G. Reitano, *Il card. Giulio Alberoni e la guerra del* 1718–1720 *in Sicilia*, Catania, 1891.

Savoy would be compensated by the acquisition of Sardinia.[1]

Alberoni rejected these proposals. When Byng, the English Admiral, told him that his sovereign had charged him to see to the preservation of the Peace of Utrecht and the neutrality of Italy which had been guaranteed there, Alberoni answered with the utmost arrogance that the Admiral was welcome to carry out the behests of his master. Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet at Cape Passero on August 11th.[2]

When Alberoni was informed of this event he burst into tears,[3] but not for a moment did he think of giving up his daring gamble ; on the contrary, he was ready for extreme measures. He ordered the English Consuls to quit Spain, carried on intrigues wherever he could—as in Sweden against England, and in France, where he was at the bottom of the conspiracy of his envoy Cellamare against the Duke of Orleans. The result was that on January 7th, 1719, the Regent of France declared war against Spain, a step in which England had preceded him.[4] Even now Alberoni did not lose heart : he had recourse to other devices but all ended in failure. James III.'s attempted landing in Scotland also miscarried,[5] as did the attempt to set Sweden and Russia in motion.[6] The Cardinal experienced a further disappointment, when he attempted to foment a revolution in France with the help of some insurgents in Brittany.[7] Only then did Madrid think of suing for peace. However, England and France made Alberoni's dismissal a necessary preliminary to any negotiations [8] : this dismissal took place on December 5th, 1719.

[1] WEBER, *Quadrupelallianz*, Prag, 1887. On the accession of the Duke of Savoy Vittorio Amedeo II., on October, *1718*, *cf.* L. LA ROCCA, *La quadruplice alleanza dell'anno 1718* in *Riv. Abruzzese*, XIV.–XX. (1901–1905).

[2] WEBER, 72. [3] PROFESSIONE, 216.

[4] *Cf.* BAUDRILLART, II., 318 *seqq.*, 321 *seqq.*, 326 *seqq.*, 349 *seqq.* ; PROFESSIONE, 223 *seqq* ; 226 *seqq.*

[5] MICHAEL, *Englische Geschichte*, 9. [6] BAUDRILLART, II., 367.

[7] *Ibid.*, 371 *seqq.* ; PROFESSIONE, 266 *seqq.*

[8] COXE, II., 471 ; BAUDRILLART, II., 395 *seqq.*

Only the previous evening Alberoni had had his usual conference with the King, in whose attitude towards him the Cardinal noted no change. The next morning he received a communication which deprived him of all his offices and strictly enjoined him to be out of Madrid within eight days and out of Spanish territory within twenty-one days. Neither the King nor the Queen would grant him another audience.[1]

England and France informed Madrid that the mere dismissal of Alberoni would not satisfy them. Philip V. hesitated about six weeks longer but at last, on January 26th, he joined the Quadruple Alliance.[2] Thus Spain's attempt to reconquer its Italian possessions ended in the strengthening of Charles VI.'s power. He received Sicily as his award, whilst Vittorio Amadeo became King of Sardinia. However, this triumph of the Quadruple Alliance was to prove highly prejudicial to the interests of the Pope, since the succession in Parma-Piacenza was granted to Don Carlos, regardless of the feudal rights of the Holy See. This suzerainty had existed for two centuries; the princes had received these territories as fiefs and had paid tribute. All this was now brushed aside.[3]

At the beginning of 1720, with a view to safe-guarding the rights of the Church, Clement XI. dispatched his nephew Alessandro Albani,[4] to the Emperor with whom he had been on better terms since the preceding year.[5] Albani was also

[1] *Cf.* the report of the Marquis Scotti to Abbot Landi, December 8, 1719, in LEMONTEY, *Hist. de la Régence*, II., Paris, 1832, 278; BOURGEOIS, 337.

[2] WEBER, 101; BAUDRILLART, II., 401.

[3] *Cf.* *"Ragguaglio del trattato della Quadruplice Alleanza (1718) e delle sue conseguenze riguardanti alla successione di Parma e Piacenza," *F. Garampi*, 94, Pap. Secr. Archives.

[4] See the autograph letter of February 6, 1720 (CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 3329) in which the Pope refers to the favourable reply given by Charles VI. to his letter of February 21, 1719 (*ibid.*, 2335).

[5] In February, 1719, Clement XI. had allowed the imperial troops, on their way to Naples, to march through the Papal States (BUDER, III., 839 *seq.*). In April nuncio Vicentini was able

instructed to work for an understanding in the situation in Sicily where there were still many difficulties in connection with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Albani achieved nothing; neither did he succeed in getting a papal representative admitted to the Congress at Cambrai, called to carry out the peace terms which had been imposed by the Quadruple Alliance but which had only been settled in broad outlines. Both the Emperor and England were opposed to the participation of the Pope in this Congress. Thereupon Clement XI. addressed himself to the Abbé Dubois, the all-powerful minister of France, and sent Albani to Paris. Dubois, who was ambitious for the cardinalate, succeeded in securing for Albani a place at the Congress as representative of the Pope.[1] The Pope did not live to see the opening of the assembly, nor the outcome of the proceedings against Alberoni.

After his expulsion from Spain, Alberoni made his way through the south of France, and finally fled to Sestri Levante, in the territory of the Republic of Genoa.[2] Even before he reached that destination, Philip V. had requested the Pope, through Daubenton, for the sake of the peace of Christendom, to take into custody the person of this disturber of tranquillity. As soon as this was done the King would furnish the Pontiff with the proofs of his former minister's misdeeds.[3] As Clement XI. was highly incensed against the Cardinal, he was quite willing to agree to this. On Alberoni he put all the blame of his own shameful betrayal and his having been put in a false and humiliating position, as well as the impossibility of exploiting to the full the victories of Prince Eugene over

to return to Naples and in November the tribunal of the nunciature was reopened (*ibid.*, 870, 919). In Sicily the Austrian Government showed itself friendly to the clergy; see MARTINI, *La Sicilia*, 109 *seqq.* The Pope granted to Charles VI. that the Sicilian Inquisition should no longer be dependent on the General Inquisition of Spain, but on a council sitting in Vienna under the direction of Cardinal Kollonitsch (*Riv. Stor.*, 1886, 481).

[1] SENTIS, 158; PROFESSIONE, 249 *seqq.*, 256 *seq.*

[2] PROFESSIONE, 261 *seqq.*

[3] ARATA, 17.

the Turks.[1] In February, 1720, he demanded from Genoa the extradition of the fugitive.[2] The same demand was made by Philip V., the Emperor and the Duke of Parma. However, all their efforts met with determined opposition on the part of the Republic which steadfastly refused extradition.[3]

Whilst these negotiations were still in progress, Clement XI. ordered the opening of the process against Alberoni of whose guilt he was fully convinced in advance. With a view to determining the procedure against a member of the Sacred College, he gave orders for the putting together of all information concerning prosecutions against Cardinals as found in the Secret Archives.[4] He then convened a Congregation of Cardinals, which began its sessions in the Quirinal on March 19th, 1720. The following were present: Astalli, Tanara, Paolucci, Barberini, Corsini, Paracciani, Fabroni, Vallemani, Conti, Zondadari, Tolomei, Corradini, Scotti, Bentivoglio and Annibale Albani. The Pope enjoined the assembled Cardinals to examine whether proceedings should be taken against Alberoni. Three reasons were in favour of such a course: 1. Alberoni had deceived him regarding the auxiliary army

[1] How much more could have been obtained from the Turks had Alberoni not disturbed the peace is shown by the important concessions which the Porte nevertheless made by the peace of Passarovitz concluded with the Emperor and Venice, July 21, 1718 (Zinkeisen, V., 569 *seqq.*). In the Brief to Venice, of August 12, 1718 (Clementis, XI., *Opera*, Epist. 2301). Clement says explicitly: "Non aliud profecto Nos antiquius in votis habebamus, quam ut susceptum cum imanissimo christiani nominis hoste bellum strenue continuaretur... ; quoniam vero hominum peccata et Nostra potissimum fecisse credimus, ut alia consilia publicae causae certe perniciosa inita fuerint, gravissimum, quem inde suscepimus moerorem, etc."

[2] Professione, 265 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 267 *seqq.* *Cf.* R. Quazza, *La cattura del card. G. Alberoni e la Repubblica di Genova*, Genova, 1913; Idem, *La lotta diplomatica tra Genova e la Spagna dopo la fuga dell'Alberoni dalla Liguria*, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, LXXVII. (1920), 215–236.

[4] Arata, 55.

against the Turks. 2. Philip V. held the Cardinal responsible for the hostile measures in matters ecclesiastical in the diocese of Tarragona. 3. Alberoni had never said Mass and had not even received Holy Communion at Easter. The answer of the Cardinals, dated March 22nd, was in favour of starting proceedings against him. As it was a question of a Cardinal, it was not enough to entrust the management of affairs to an ordinary judge, viz. the auditor of the Camera Apostolica. The Pope accordingly set up a special judicial commission, consisting of Cardinals Astalli, Scotti, Tolomei, Imperiali and Corsini, who later on were joined by Cardinals Casoni and Francesco Barberini.[1] The commission sent a citation to Alberoni which, however, could not be handed to him as since March 22nd he had been in hiding in an unknown place.[2] This did not prevent Alberoni from defending himself by means of cleverly drawn up manifestoes against the alleged accusations.[3]

For the purpose of gathering evidence, proceedings were started at Piacenza and in Spain. Like the Duke of Parma, Philip V. furthered the prosecution against his one time favourite with the greatest keenness; he promised special assistance to the Pope in a letter of April 18th, 1720. Soon after that, a memorandum arrived from Spain, accusing Alberoni of the greatest enormities. He was accused of having deceived both the Pope and the King, of having neglected his duties as a Christian and given scandal by his utterances and outbursts of temper; he was even accused of having given cause for suspicion about his moral conduct.[4]

The proceedings in Piacenza, though carried on with the greatest energy, did not yield any solid evidence against Alberoni's private life. The proceedings in Spain, which were based on Philip V.'s accusations, dragged on indefinitely. High ecclesiastics as well as secular dignitaries, even the King's Secretary-General, and persons of inferior rank such as

[1] ARATA, 54 *seqq.*, 58.

[2] PROFESSIONE, 275; ARATA, 61.

[3] ARATA, 87 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 29 *seq.*, 31 *seqq.*

couriers, chamberlains and other officials, were questioned. The statements of the witnesses filled a volume of over seven hundred pages. It was necessary first to translate the Spanish text into Italian.[1] The slow progress of the proceedings irritated both the Duke of Parma and the King of Spain who were impatient for the destruction of their former tool. In spite of the pressure of the Duke of Parma, in view of the Pope's uncertain state of health, the document had not yet arrived in Rome at the time of the death of Clement, who had shown the greatest interest in the matter up to the very last.[2] The conclave took Alberoni to Rome, where the new Pope, Innocent XIII., allowed him to remain as a private individual. A crowd of sightseers flocked together to witness the arrival of the famous Cardinal. They had expected to see an imposing figure and were accordingly greatly disappointed when they saw a small and insignificant little man alight from his carriage. Alberoni conducted himself cautiously in Rome, a circumstance that greatly benefited his cause.

The second phase of the proceedings began with the raising of the commission of Cardinals from seven to nine members. Domenico Fiorelli, as the representative of the auditor of the Camera Apostolica for criminal prosecutions, was instructed to draw up a summary of the Spanish process. All Philip V.'s former accusations were repeated in this extract, except those that referred to immoral conduct which had been dropped.[3] In the sequel the proceedings assumed increasingly a purely political character, but the very men on whom fell a grievous responsibility, namely the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma, were left out of the process. Alberoni's position at court had been so peculiar that his responsibility could not be judicially defined, and the Cardinal had taken care to secure for himself the most important documents.[4] All this helped his cause ; of the twelve accusations four had to be dropped as not proven. With regard to the most serious one of them all, that of having deceived the Pope with a promise of help

[1] *Ibid.*, 67 *seqq.*, 72 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 75 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.*

[4] PROFESSIONE, 114.

against the Turks, and of having engineered the breach with Rome, it was found impossible to establish judicially that on this point Alberoni was really responsible.[1] After the negotiations had dragged on for nearly four years, Innocent XIII., on September 1st, 1723, put the following question to the commission: whether the result of their investigations justified Alberoni's deprivation of the cardinalate? The question was answered in the negative and with regard to all the other matters, Alberoni was recommended to the mercy of His Holiness. Accordingly, by a carefully worded Brief of December 18th, 1723, Innocent XIII. put an end to the proceedings and ordered Alberoni's reinstatement in his honours and dignities.[2]

In spite of the acquittal, the verdict of historians was long unfavourable to Alberoni and only in recent times have attempts been made to rehabilitate the memory of the Cardinal.[3]

[1] ARATA, 113 *seqq.*, 119 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 157 *seqq.*, 239 *seqq.*

[3] In 1834 the celebrated jurist Romagnosi, a friend of Silvio Pellico, took up the cudgels on behalf of Alberoni. Local patriots such as Pozziali and Scarabelli followed suit. Their attempts at a rehabilitation were surpassed by the very uncritical Abbate Bersani (*Storia del card. G. Alberoni*, Piacenza, 1861; *Aggiunte, ibid.*, 1862). V. PAPA's *L'Alberoni, Torino*, 1876, is another apologia. According to ARMSTRONG (*Scottish Review*, 1897, Jan.) the chief aim of Alberoni's policy was the liberation of Italy from German domination. In his splendid work (1897) PROFESSIONE arrives at some very unfavourable conclusions, but these are qualified on one important point by Arezio (1906), namely that of responsibility for the enterprise against Sardinia. PARISET's monograph is of no value; *cf. Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, I. [1906], 44; II. [1907], 234. The *Lettres Intimes d'Alberoni* published by E. BOURGEOIS (Paris, 1892) show the Cardinal in a much more favourable light than Saint-Simon's portrait of him, but they make it perfectly clear that Alberoni was unworthy of his high position (*Rev. des deux mondes*, February, 1893). For some of Alberoni's speculations for the solution of the great European problems see MICHAEL, *Englische Geschichte*, II., 2, 233.

In the present state of historical research, which is by no means complete,[1] it is possible to say that Alberoni was an accomplice in the disturbances of the peace and the breach with Rome, but the men who promoted his trial with so much energy, that is Philip V. and the Duke of Parma, were equally guilty. Nor must we overlook, in the whole of this affair, Aldrovandi's optimism and his very unsatisfactory reports. Whether the Cardinal was the chief culprit, as Clement XI. was convinced he was, only further documentary research can bring to light. Whatever may be the final verdict, one thing seems certain: it is not possible to excuse Alberoni's attitude towards the Pope, to whom he owed the purple. The one threatening letter of August 18th, 1718, sufficiently shows his character[2]: by this document Alberoni has undoubtedly pronounced his own condemnation. There are also other letters which clearly prove that the Cardinal had grievously offended against the reverence due to the Head of the Church, since he said that Clement XI. was only fit to be a Roman parish priest and that he should confine himself to saying Mass, delivering homilies and visiting the churches. His violence caused him so far to forget himself as to threaten that he himself would help to banish the Pope to the isle of Ponza.[3] If these documents, recently brought to light, had been placed in the hands of the commission, the verdict would have been a very different one.

Though Clement XI. did not live to see the end of the Alberoni affair, it was granted him to establish better relations with Spain. In July, 1720, the Pope had appointed a new nuncio for Spain in the person of Alessandro Aldobrandini, who had represented the Holy See in Venice since 1713. Aldobrandini went first to Piacenza for an interview with Duke Francesco Farnese[4] and only then to Madrid where,

[1] Arezio (308) admits this also.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 165, n. 4.

[3] Bourgeois, *Lettres intimes*, 51 *seq.*, 593, 612.

[4] *Cf.* Paolucci's letter to "Pietro Donnino de Pretis (see Moroni, II., 285), cameriere d'onore di N. S. a Madrid," dat.

to the astonishment of Clement XI., difficulties were put in his way. He was refused admission and presented with a demand that before the nunicature was reopened, all disputes would first have to be settled, and that Aldobrandini must be furnished with the same Indults as Aldrovandi.

The Pope allowed Aldobrandini to remain at court in an unofficial capacity, until these obstacles were removed. As for the Indults, he renewed the two earlier ones and allowed the raising of a sum not exceeding 150,000 scudi annually for the next five years. He promised to revoke the suspension of the Indults and the Brief relating to it as soon as Sardinia was evacuated.[1] When this was done he dispatched the Brief, together with the repeal of the suspension on September 21st; no motive for this step was mentioned in that document as the Pope was anxious to commit to oblivion all that had happened before. With regard to the concordat, Clement XI. stated he had carried out its clauses to their utmost extent, hence he expected that the Spanish Government would do its share by allowing the nunciature to be re-opened. This was the main thing, he declared, everything else could be put off until a more opportune occasion, but, if possible, Aldobrandini should demand the restitution of the *spolia*, which had been sequestrated since the departure of Aldrovandi in July, 1718. The Brief relating to the repeal of the suspensions was not to be handed over before the opening of the nunciature.[2]

Before the end of the year the Pope had the consolation of learning that an order had been issued for the restoration of the sequestrated *spolia*, that Sardinia had been surrendered

July 23, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 212. Papal Secr. Archives. On the journey of Pietro Donnino de Pretis who brought Cardinal Belluga the biretta, *cf.* *Viaggio fatto in Spagna da Msgr. P. D. de Pretis in the Communal Archives, Urbino, III., V., 104.

[1] *Istruzione per Msgr. Aldobrandini arcivescovo di Rodi, Nunzio in Venezia, in occasione di passare alla corte di Parma, dated July 7, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[2] *Istruzione in forma di lettera a Msgr. Aldobrandini in Genova, dat. September 21, 1718, *ibid.*; also in Cod. 31, D. 6, Corsini Library, Rome.

to the Emperor and that the prohibition of relations with Rome was about to be repealed.[1] Aldobrandini received orders to do his best that this promise was carried into effect.[2] The reconciliation between Clement XI. and Philip V. was greatly furthered by the victories of the Spaniards over the Moors near Ceuta in Africa, in the autumn of 1720. On December 16th, 1720, the Pope spoke of these successes to the Cardinals in consistory. On February 3rd he was able to announce a new victory. Prayers were ordered, to implore the help of God for a happy continuation of these auspicious beginnings.[3] Negotiations in Rome with Acquaviva soon led to a complete agreement on all politico-ecclesiastical questions. On March 11th, 1721, Aldobrandini was empowered to sign a treaty by which all differences between Rome and Madrid were to be settled.[4]

[1] *Paolucci to Aldobrandini, dat. December 22, 1720, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.* Of the same day: *Istruzione a Msgr. Aldobrandini circa la norma nel dar esecuzione al sussidio e l'escusado, *ibid.*

[2] *Paolucci to Aldobrandini, dat. January 7, 1721, *ibid.*

[3] Clementis XI., *Opera*, Orat., 177 *seq.* Philip V. sent the Pope one of the captured standards; see **Reales ordines*, November, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[4] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, dat. March 11, 1721, Simancas Archives. *Ibid.*, Acquaviva's, *reports of February 11 and 25, 1721, on the previous negotiations.

CHAPTER V.

Revival of Jansenism—The Bulls *Vineam Domini* and *Unigenitus*—The Appellants—Belgian-Dutch Jansenism.

(1.)

Only a few years before Clement XI.'s election Harlay de Champvallon, the utterly unworthy Archbishop of Paris, had died suddenly. He was succeeded, on Madame de Maintenon's recommendation,[1] by Louis Antoine de Noailles, hitherto Bishop of Châlons.[2]

Louis XIV.'s genuinely pious consort hoped by this choice to render service to the Church and to cause the scandalous life of the late Archbishop to fall into oblivion. Noailles' moral conduct had been irreproachable and the simplicity of his life and his avoidance of Court life, had won for him the esteem of the masses.[3] For all that his elevation to the first see of the realm was a grievous calamity for the French Church. In the storms which were to break out so soon, his position as Archbishop of Paris destined him to be a leader; but for a leader's rôle Noailles lacked clear principles, breadth of outlook and strength of character. In the opinion of contemporaries—and history bears them out—he was self-opinionated, unwilling to be taught, keen on punctilio and

[1] Le Roy, 49.

[2] E. De Barthélemy, *Le card. de Noailles d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, 1886. On his administration of the archdiocese of Paris; Fosseyeux in *Rev. hist.*, CXIV. (1913), 261 *seqq.*, CXV. (1914), 34 *seqq.* On Noailles' correspondence with Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *cf.* A. Salomon in *Rev. d'hist. et de philos. rel.*, VIII., 430–466.

[3] Le Roy, 11.

incapable of sacrificing petty resentments to a great cause.[1] He involved himself and the Church of France in the worst complications, but had not the energy to make a clear decision which could have solved the imbroglio. For years he hesitated between insolence and concessions, only to end by taking, without either profit or honour, a step which for the sake of honour he had avoided for years.

It is impossible to say whether the promotion of the new Archbishop came as an encouragement to the Jansenists,[2]

[1] Fénelon wrote of him : " Il a l'esprit court et confus. Nulle opinion précise n'est arrêtée dans son esprit. Son cœur est faible et mou. Si on le presse, on lui fera dire, en l'intimidant, tout ce qu'on voudra contre l'erreur, etc." (to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *Œuvres*, VII., 220). Bossuet wrote on the Quietist question : " MM. de Paris et de Chartres sont faibles et n'agiront qu'autant qu'ils seront poussés " (to his nephew, June 10, 1697, *Correspondance*, VIII., 267). Nuncio Bentivoglio says : " *L'esteriore del cardinale ha saputo ingannare i popoli, l'aspetto sempre composto, il collo piegato su una spalla e i capelli canuti con una certa ilarità di viso che affetta candidezza di coscienza, et una pomposa apparenza di devotione e di zelo gli anno in questi ultimi tempi acquistata opinion di profeta. Non sempre s'e pensato così di lui. L'artificio a tutti noto con cui eluse i creditori del fratello nel tempo stesso, che ne godevano egli e i nipoti l'eredità, non fecero pensare così vantaggiosamente il publico della sua integrità e pietà, come ne pensano adesso, e tante satire uscirono in quel tempo contro di lui, quanti oggi i Giansenisti gli danno elogii. L'affettata ritiratezza in cui vive dal commercio delle donne, gli ha fatto universalmente acquistare una opinione di illibatezza di costumi, quasi che l'astenersi da un sol vizio serva agli altri di passaporto. L'ostinazione, indocilità, amor proprio, ambitione, orgoglio... La sua parola sempre incerta e infidele, il suo talento mediocre, etc." (Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, Cod. 189, f. 10 *seqq.*) *Cf.* La Piana in *Riv. stor. delle scienze teologiche*, V. (1909), 284 *seq.* La Piana himself says : " Era uno di quegli ambiziosi in cui la passione è impari alle forze."

[2] D'Aguesseau is of this opinion (*Œuvres*, VIII., 191). Schill, 37, n. 2.

at any rate they felt the time had come for using a trifling incident as a pretext for aggression.

The Superior of the Sulpicians of Clermont, Gay, had refused absolution to a parish priest of the name of Fréhel, for habitually hearing the confession of Canon Périer, a nephew of Pascal, who nevertheless remained an obstinate Jansenist. When questioned more closely Périer declared that he condemned the five propositions in every sense in which the Church condemned them, even in the Jansenists' sense; but with regard to the question whether the propositions were actually to be found in Jansenius, he was content with a respectful silence.[1] Could a penitent thus disposed be given absolution? This question constituted the kernel of the so-called "Case of Conscience" which soon obtained considerable notoriety. Together with eight other points of less significance,[2] Fréhel submitted the question to the Sorbonne when forty Doctors decided that the confessor need not further disquiet his penitent.

In July and September, 1702, the press got hold both of the "Case of Conscience" and of the decision[3] and "innumerable" copies were forthwith put in circulation.[4] One bookseller of Douai sold 600 copies. Amid the applause

[1] BERTRAND, III., 122 *seq.* According to the documents quoted, the "Case of Conscience" was not a pure invention. Others explain the actual facts underlying the "Case of Conscience" in a different way (*ibid.*). On the *Cas de conscience cf.* LE ROY, 69–116; SCHILL, 30–66; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 692; BAUSSET, *Leben Bossuets*, translated by M. FEDER, IV., SULZBACH, 1821, 217 *seqq.*; *Étienne de Champflour, évêque de la Rochelle, avant son épiscopat*, 1646–1703, in *Mélanges de biographie et d'histoire*, by ANT. DE LANTENAY, Bordeaux, 1875, 136–181. Documents in ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 413, *seqq.*, and FLEURY, LXVI., 609 *seqq.*

[2] DUPIN, IV., 406 (with the signatures); FLEURY, LXVI., 611 *seqq.*; REUSCH, 692. A first draft of the "cas de conscience" had only twenty-three signatures. *Causa Quesnelliana*, 403; LE ROY, 98.

[3] *Lettre de M... chanoine de B., à Mr. T. D. A.*

[4] See p. 180, n. 2.

of the audience, though against the will of the Faculty, the case was publicly defended in one of the Colleges of the University. Already many ecclesiastics felt that the triumph of Jansenism was at last at hand.[1] As a matter of fact the opinion of the forty Doctors met with approval, Jansenism was indeed risen to a new life in spite of all papal decisions and prohibitions.[2] Accordingly, as soon as the Sulpicians of Clermont heard of the "Case of Conscience", rightly appraising the peril, they informed both the King's confessor, La Chaize, and Bossuet of the occurrence.

Bossuet took a grave view of the matter. Among others he consulted Noailles and the Bishop of Tours and once more made a thorough study of the Jansenist writings. The forty Doctors he judged severely. From his conversations with some of their number he gained the impression that the party still commanded a strong following; he felt that it was necessary to publish a special work in order to enlighten the public.[3]

Meanwhile, besides Bossuet, the Bishops of Chartres and

[1] Fleury, LXVI., 648.

[2] On February 4, 1703, the General of the Carthusians wrote to La Chaize that up till then he had done his utmost by means of books, innumerable letters and the living word, to root out Jansenism from among his subjects; against two or three "tenaciores" he had proceeded juridically. But now comes the "Cas" and "suscitat de novo omnes errores condemnatos, suscitat per artificium, quod simul probat malignitatem et impudentiam. Certus sum, consultationem non esse nisi fictitiam, fabricatam per eosmet, qui consultationis sunt approbatores... Sparserunt et seminaverunt isti in nostris claustris infinita exemplaria." He regrets that N. Alexandre is implicated. The first signatory, Petitpied, aimed at "ad infectanda monasteria monialium" ever since the rise of Jansenism "libri proiiciebantur ultra muros et clausuram monialium, ut eos ipsae puellae colligerent". He wished the King would intervene. (Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, P. 175, f. 287–290). La Chaize *replied by referring to Noailles' pastoral letter and to the Roman censure (*ibid.*, f. 293).

[3] Ingold, *Bossuet*, 19, 34 *seqq.*

Auch had also pronounced against the Case of Conscience, whereas Le Tellier of Rheims had approved it.[1] Most important was the circumstance that the affair had been at once brought to the notice of Rome. Clement XI. had it examined by a special commission of Cardinals; on February 12th, 1703, he condemned the pamphlet which published the "Case of Conscience" and prohibited it under pain of excommunication.[2] Two covering letters to the King and to Noailles[3] contain some sharp words about the Jansenists, "against whom there was need not of new laws but of punishments."

Noailles is suspected of not having been wholly innocent of the drafting of the "Case of Conscience".[4] However, as soon as he learnt that Rome was dealing with the matter, he changed his attitude. In the first instance, in conjunction with Bossuet, he secretly sought to induce the forty Doctors to recant individually, so as to render sterner measures unnecessary. His first success was with the Church historian, Noël Alexandre, a Dominican, who had subscribed to the "Case of Conscience".[5] After a preliminary step on January 8th, 1703, and subsequently to the banishment to Quimper of one of the signatories, Alexandre and ten other Doctors declared that by a respectful silence they had understood an internal submission.[6] With only one exception all the other Doctors who were still alive, followed this example[7]; even the Jansenist historian of theological literature, Ellies Dupin, ended by submitting, though only after Louis XIV. had sent

[1] Fleury, LXVI., 615.

[2] *Ibid.*, 616 *seq.*; *Bull.*, XXI., 80.

[3] Fleury, 617 *seqq.*; 621 *seqq.*

[4] Le Roy, 98. "Dans le cas de conscience," wrote Bishop Soanen, "après avoir travaillé, il a poussé les ouvriers." *Ibid.*, 60.

[5] R. Coulon in *Rev. des sciences philos. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 59–65. A letter of January 8, 1703, to Noailles, defending his position, in Dupin, IV., 418. A memorial from twenty-four out of the forty; *ibid.*, 426 *seqq.*

[6] Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 61; Schill, 38 *seq.*

[7] Fleury, LXVI., 674 *seq.*; *cf.* 635, 637.

him into banishment. Clement XI. congratulated the King on this step.[1]

For Noailles, who had as yet taken no public measure against the "Case of Conscience", the early arrival of the papal condemnation of February 12th came as a surprise and an embarrassment. He let two days go by without opening the Brief and only published it on March 4th, together with his own condemnation of the "Case of Conscience",[2] which he dated from February 22nd, so that on March 6th and 12th both he and De Torcy, the Minister for War, were able to express to the Pope their satisfaction with the fact that His Holiness only confirmed the judgment of the Archbishop.[3] The Council of State [4] ordered the Brief to be dispatched to all the Bishops of France whilst it renewed at the same time the ordinance of October 23rd, 1668. The Pope was, of course, annoyed by the fact that silence on the controverted points was imposed on Catholics and heretics alike, and he complained to the King about it.[5]

Soon the Universities also stated their view of the affair, beginning with Louvain, which passed judgment on all the points raised in the "Case of Conscience".[6] Douai followed

[1] April 10, 1703, *ibid.*, 625. The Brief says of Dupin: "nequioris doctrinae hominem, temerataeque pluries Apostolicae Sedis dignitatis reum." N. Alexandre, letter of March 23, 1703, in order to escape banishment in Le Roy, 113; Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 63.

[2] Fleury, LXVI., 627 *seqq.* Compiled by Pirot and Bossuet. Ingold, 38.

[3] Le Roy, 112.

[4] Of March 3, dispatched March 24 (Argentré, III., 2, 420). The orders for publication of the Bishops of Clermont, Poitiers, Apt and Sarlat were prohibited by the Parliaments because they had been issued before the registration of the Brief. Dupin, IV., 464–482.

[5] Brief of April 10. Fleury, 625; Dupin, IV., 440 *seq.*

[6] March 10, 1703 (Fleury, 662–675). The "Iudicium" gave little satisfaction in Rome and was prohibited by the Inquisition. Reusch, II., 697.

suit with a detailed memorandum on the Church's infallibility in dogmatic facts [1]; finally the Sorbonne, basing itself on its earlier decrees against Arnauld, also published its sentence of condemnation.[2]

If by throwing to the public the decision of the forty Doctors, the Jansenists had hoped to forward their cause, they were grievously mistaken. The Pope, the King and eighteen Bishops of France besides Noailles, definitely condemned this attempt to rekindle the flame of old controversies. The situation of the Jansenists was worse than before and they gained very little by representing, in violent publications, the recantation of the forty as an act of cowardice, by complaining of a breach of the Clementine Peace and by attacking Noailles.[3]

They were about to be dealt an even severer blow. Recent events had convinced Louis XIV. that Jansenism was far from annihilated in his kingdom. Just as he had dealt a blow to Protestantism by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, so did he now apparently deem it a point of honour to put an end to the latest enemy of religious unity by a display of the royal authority. Rome was informed [4] that if the Pope, jointly with himself, was willing to discuss questions in which the purity of the faith was engaged, he would support the Holy See with all his might, provided the ancient customs of the realm remained untouched. Clement XI. expressed his willingness,[5] with the result that towards the end of August, 1703, the royal suggestions for a new Bull began to

[1] April 10, 1704, FLEURY, 648–661 (extract); ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 424 (French text).

[2] September 1, 1704, FLEURY, 636–647.

[3] FLEURY, 675 *seqq.* [Quesnel], Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque, *cf.* below p. 195, n. 1; [FOUILLON], *Défense des théologiens* (1706). *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 374; II., 485. *Histoire de Cas de conscience*, 8 vols. in 120 (1705–1711), where we read (II., 209) that Noailles permitted some of the Doctors to subscribe to the "Cas", on condition that he himself was not compromised.

[4] To Cardinal Forbin Janson, May 7, 1703, in LEROY, 166.

[5] To the same, June 18, 1703, *ibid.*, 167.

take tangible form. It was desired that the earlier papal decisions should be confirmed and "respectful silence", the Jansenists' chief means of evasion, expressly condemned. The Constitution should state that it was published at the King's request, whilst the expression *Motu proprio* and all mention of condemnation of books was avoided; for the rest, the most solemn formulas should be employed.[1]

Clement XI. acceded to most of these requests. But now a demand came that the draft of the Bull should be forwarded to Paris, for examination, lest some expressions should be found in it that might offend French susceptibilities.[2] For a long time Clement XI. refused to comply with so unheard of a demand and only when in January, 1705, the danger became apparent that the Assembly of the Clergy might act independently of the Pope, the draft of the Bull was dispatched to Paris on March 31st, where it was examined by Noailles, the first President Harlay and by D'Aguesseau, the Attorney-General. Two points in the draft raised difficulties: reference was made in it to the French Bishops' duty of obedience to the Holy See—that was too much for the Gallicans—and the Bull only spoke of the prayers of the French Bishops, but not of the King's request for a papal decision. Clement XI. refused to alter either point and the King ended by giving way. The Pope's only concession was to allow the Assembly of the Clergy to say that it had accepted the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII.[3]

Thus, after two years' negotiations, at the request also of the King of Spain, the Bull *Vineam Domini* appeared on July 15th, 1705.[4] It begins with a statement of the reasons which had necessitated a fresh papal intervention—these were certain misrepresentations by the Jansenists who, the Bull states, spoke as if the decisions of Clement IX. and

[1] To Forbin Janson, together with the letter of August 29, 1703, *ibid.*, 168.

[2] Le Roy, 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, 177, 179 *seq.*

[4] Printed in Fleury, LXVII., 245 *seqq.*, and in *Bull.* XXI., 233.

Innocent XII. were in their favour, whilst the Clementine Peace was interpreted by them as if it were a restriction by the Pope of the decrees of his predecessors. According to them Innocent XII. had indeed condemned the five propositions extracted from Jansenius' book in the natural meaning of their wording, but this natural sense, which is condemned, differs from that borne by the propositions in Jansenius' book. Moreover they persist in asserting that obedience to papal decrees did not demand an internal rejection of the five propositions as heretical, but that respectful silence sufficed. Some even declared that the formulary might be subscribed to without an internal conviction that Jansenius' book contained heretical teachings. Under the cloak of such distinctions the old heresies continued to be held without hesitation. In order, then, to remove all uncertainty as to the sense and meaning of the Holy See, Clement XI. confirms first of all the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., the text of which is inserted, and rejects " respectful silence " as inadequate.

Clement XI. had published his Bull " in order to remove completely for the time to come every occasion of error ". However, Jansenist astuteness found means to evade also the latest decision. The kernel of the Bull lay in the words by which the Pope declared that " the obedience due to earlier papal Constitutions was not adequately rendered by respectful silence, on the contrary, the sense of Jansenius' book, which was condemned in those five propositions, must be rejected as heretical by all the faithful with heart and mouth ".[1] This seemed to state clearly enough, at least so it appeared to the Pope, that the five propositions contained the substance of Jansenius' book, that previous Popes had condemned them in Jansenius' sense, and that this sense and

[1] " Obedientiae, quae praeinsertis Apostolicis Constitutionibus debetur, obsequioso illo silentio minime satisfieri, sed damnatum in quinque praefatis propositionibus Ianseniani libri sensum, quem illarum verba prae se ferunt, ut praefertur, ab omnibus Christi fidelibus ut haereticum non ore solum, sed et corde reiici ac damnari debere... auctoritate apostolica decernimus..."

the sense of the whole of Jansenius' book was heretical. The Jansenists, however, objected that the Pope had indeed decided all this, but had not defined it as an article of faith, so that they were free as before. Moreover the Pope said that "respectful silence" was not enough in regard to papal Constitutions. Now that was precisely their view too, for those Constitutions likewise included declarations on *matters of faith*, and in regard to these mere silence was indeed not enough.[1] That Louis XIV. was mistaken when he imagined that he could dispose of the Jansenists by means of a papal decision, was made plain enough by these distinctions. Besides the Jansenists, the Gallicans also could be expected to object to the Bull. It almost looked as if the Pope's many concessions in connection with the issue of the Bull, had merely added fresh fuel to the French pretensions. The Assembly of the Clergy based its conduct entirely on the decisions of 1682. By a rescript of August 2nd, 1705,[2] Louis XIV. forwarded the Bull to that body: it had been issued at his request, the King assured the clergy; the Pope had begged him[3] to use his royal authority to guarantee its promulgation and execution; he desired, whilst maintaining the Gallican forms, to give peace to the Kingdom; let the Assembly deliberate on acceptance of the Bull.

In effect a committee of six Bishops and seven Abbots deliberated on the subject, but when the Archbishop of Rouen communicated to the Assembly the result of the deliberations, on August 21st, he prefaced his statement with the following three propositions: authority to judge on points of the Church's teaching belongs by divine ordinance to the Bishops; papal decisions are binding on the universal Church if they are accepted by the Bishops; this acceptance is a function of the juridical power of the Bishops. One new feature of

[1] Fleury, LXVII., 254; Schill, 41, n. 2.

[2] Fleury, 257.

[3] The Pope's letter of July 17, 1705, *ibid.*, 255. In reality it only says: "Minime dubitamus, quin Maiestas tua . . . episcopis . . . pro integra eiusdem Nostrae Constitutionis observantia favorem omnem et patrocinium sit adhibitura."

this Gallican confession is the reference not only to the Bishops of France, but to all Bishops generally, and the attempt to deduct the Gallican pretensions not from a right created by custom, as had been the practice hitherto, but from a divine institution. On the basis of these preliminaries the deputation then proposed that thanks be expressed to the Pope and to the King, that the papal Constitution be accepted with respect and submission, that a circular be sent to the Bishops of the realm bidding them to publish it without addition or subtraction and that the King be asked to give orders for its registration and promulgation.[1] Louis XIV. complied with this request by a rescript of August 31st, 1705; on the same day he commanded the Sorbonne to accept the papal decision.[2]

In the Bishops' letter to the Pope [3] the Gallican sentiments of the Assembly of the Clergy had been somewhat disguised; they were much more marked in their circular to their fellow Bishops.[4] However, the acts of the Assembly were printed, hence they could not fail to come to the Pope's knowledge. On January 15th, 1706, Clement XI. addressed a Brief to the French Bishops [5] which, in spite of its studied moderation, nevertheless contains some sharp remarks. Certain writings, we read, appear to have for their only aim an attack on the supreme authority of the Holy See, as if there were no worthier object for episcopal zeal than to diminish the See of Peter and its power, though the episcopal office and all its authority are derived from it. Yet the Bishops themselves had prayed for the Pope's intervention, thereby acknowledging that their own authority was inadequate. One could divine the influence

[1] Fleury, 258 *seqq.*; Dupin, IV., 495–504.

[2] Fleury, 260 *seq.*, 269 *seq.* Acceptance by the Sorbonne took place on September 1, 1705, registration by Parliament on September 4, Dupin, IV., 518. Speech of the Advocate-General, *ibid.*, 519 *seq.*; *Lettres patentes*, August 31, 1705, *ibid.*, 529 *seqq.*

[3] Fleury, 262.

[4] September 14, *ibid.*, 266.

[5] *Ibid.*, 390 *seqq.*

of the Jansenists who regard the Holy See as their most powerful opponent. But "who has constituted you our judges? Does it become inferiors to take decisions concerning the authority of their superiors and to subject his judgments to examination? Be it said without offence, it is intolerable that a handful of Bishops, Bishops of churches whose honours and prerogatives derive exclusively from the favour and kindness of the Apostolic See, should raise their heads against the author of their dignity and honour and attack the rights of the first See which rest not on a human but on a divine authority. Question your predecessors and they will tell you that it does not become particular superiors to examine the ordinances of the Holy See, but to carry them into effect". The reason why he spoke so sternly lay in the situation of France, where the Apostolic authority was attacked day by day. "But since, in the words of St. Leo the Great, no building can endure unless it rest on the rock of which the Lord made the foundation, see whether this is not the explanation why, after the lapse of so many years, true peace never prevailed in your churches and never can prevail, unless the prestige of the Roman See be raised in order to overthrow error."

Here the Pope clearly reveals the ultimate reason why Louis XIV.'s efforts against Jansenism remained barren: it lay in the Gallicanism of King and Bishops which crossed every papal measure.

It does not seem that this letter made any impression on the Gallican Bishops. Accordingly, through the nuncios and by a letter of August 31st, 1706,[1] the Pope appealed to the King himself. All papal Constitutions, he wrote, and with them religion itself, would be overthrown if the Bishops' attitude towards the latest Bull were approved. Louis XIV. listened to the Pope's representatives and at a meeting of six Archbishops and five Bishops Noailles was forced to declare his readiness to subscribe to a letter to the Pope drafted by Cardinal Fabroni.[2] But it took a long time before Noailles

[1] *Ibid.*, 364 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 377.

subscribed. He began by dispatching a document to Rome which differed substantially from Fabroni's draft, so that Clement XI. indignantly observed that the only thing to do was to ascertain who it was that deceived the King, the Pope or the Archbishop. In the end Noailles was made to sign Fabroni's draft; whether he did so sincerely or not is questionable.[1]

On the whole the French Bishops received the new Bull against "respectful silence" without opposition. The only exception was Percin de Montgaillard, Bishop of Saint-Pons; he defended his resistance in a epistolary controversy with Fénelon against which both the Index and the Pope himself eventually took action.[2]

The King was not even satisfied with these measures; he wanted a special Bull against the Bishop of Saint-Pons, but Rome was unwilling to repeat the unpleasant experience which it had recently had of the Gallican tendencies of the Assembly of Clergy.

Among the remaining Bishops, Noailles displayed an excess of zeal even after the Bull had been accepted by the French Church. After the general submission to the Holy See there remained only one Jansenist stronghold in France—Port-Royal. Since 1679 the convent was indeed doomed to extinction since it was forbidden to receive any novices,[3] but Noailles, whose appointment had raised the nuns' hopes, nevertheless felt moved to demand from the citadel of Jansenism [4] what had never been asked of any other convent—

[1] *Ibid.*, 370–381.

[2] Brief of January 18, 1710, *Bull.* XXI., 365; Reusch, II., 701 *seqq.*; J. Sahuc, *Un ami de Port-Royal, Pierre Jean François de Percin de Montgaillard, évêque de Saint-Pons*, 1633–1713, Paris, 1909.

[3] A description of 1678, full of admiration for the Abbey, was published by E. Griselle in *Rev. de l'hist. de France*, I. (1910), 174 *seqq.*, 300 *seqq.*

[4] March 18, 1706. *Cf.* on the destruction F. Mourret, *Hist. gén. de l'Église, L'ancien Régime*, 455 *seqq.*; Schill, 42, n. 9; Fleury, 432 *seqq.*; Le Roy, 235–294; Gazier, I., 225–233;

viz. an attestation by the confessor that the Bull had been read to the nuns and had been received by them with due reverence. What might have been expected from Port-Royal now happened: the nuns asked for time for reflection, consulted their friends and, on their advice, expressed their willingness to submit, but under reservation of the concessions granted to them by the Clementine Peace. This sealed the fate of the convent. If Noailles agreed to the acceptance of the Bull with such a reservation in this one instance, the concession would have to be general, with the result that the Bull would be robbed of its value. On April 27th, 1706, the prohibition to receive novices was renewed,[1] for up till then it had not been strictly enforced.[2] This step was followed by the repeal of the decree of 1669, which had put both Port-Royals, the one in Paris and that in the country, on an equal footing as autonomous Abbeys: Port-Royal-des-Champs was subjected to the Paris Abbey which had long ago broken with Jansenism. The protests of the rebellious nuns became louder and louder, till Noailles finally put them under an interdict in November, 1707; in consequence of further protests he laid the matter before the Pope. Clement XI.'s decision was that the rebels at the country Abbey should not be further disturbed, but should be allowed to die out quietly, but as this did not satisfy the King, he granted permission, in March, 1709, for the nuns to be transferred to other convents.[3] On October 29th, 1709, the famous Abbey ceased

Correspondance administrative du règne de Louis XIV., ed. Depping, IV., 267–269. Subscription was also demanded from the nuns of Gif. Le Roy, 244.

[1] It is probable that Noailles gave in owing to pressure on the part of Nuncio Cusani, to whom his predecessor Gualtieri had said in an *Istruzione (*Cod. Ottob.* 3144, p. 169–173, Vatican Library): "Preme sommamente a N. S., che resti punita una tal contumacia" (Port Royal's); he should proceed jointly with the Archbishop (*ibid.*, 171).

[2] Fénelon to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *Œuvres*, VII., 220, n. 2.

[3] Briefs of March 29, 1708. For the instruction of the nuns Noailles published a letter in 1709 which Bossuet had composed

to exist. Royal officials, accompanied by armed men, had the grilles opened and the remaining fifteen choir nuns and seven lay sisters forcibly removed. The unnecessary harshness with which even aged and ailing sisters were treated, could not fail to rouse public indignation: Fénelon, that keen opponent of Jansenism, was one of those who expressed his disapproval.[1] After its suppression Port-Royal became a favourite place of pilgrimage for all the friends of Jansenism, even in spite of the fact that the conventual buildings were demolished in 1710 and the church itself in 1712, whilst the bodies in the cemetery were given a new resting-place elsewhere.[2] Pilgrimages to the spot where Port-Royal once stood continue to this day.[3]

Clement XI. had dispatched his Bull not only to France but to Flanders also, namely to Louvain.[4] There it met with willing submission although it was precisely the Netherlands that had constituted a centre and a bulwark of Jansenist literary activity about the turn of the seventeenth century.

(2.)

At the time of its destruction Port-Royal was far from enjoying its former prestige, for the party's centre of gravity

in July, 1665, for Port Royal but had not dispatched. Bossuet, *Correspondance*, published by Urbain and Levesque, III., 34 *seqq.*

[1] "Un tel coup d'autorité ne peut qu'exciter la compassion pour ces filles et l'indignation contre leurs persécuteurs" (to the Duke of Chevreuse, November 24, 1709, *Œuvres*, XII., 294). On March 19, 1706, the Prioress wrote: "Si vous voyiez notre communauté, elle vous ferait pitié. Elle n'est composée que de vieilles, d'infirmes et d'impotentes" (in Le Roy, 240, note).

[2] The mortal remains of Pascal, Boileau, Racine, etc., were removed to the church of Saint-Étienne Du Mont, those of Saint-Cyran to Saint-Jaques du Haut-Pas, etc. L. Séché, *Les derniers Jansénistes*, Paris, 1891, 30.

[3] Plan of the former convent in Séché, 265. A. Hallays, *Pèlerinage de Port-Royal*, Paris, 1909; Gazier, *Port-Royal-des-Champs. Notice hist.*[4], Paris, 1905, etc.

[4] December 12, 1705; Dupin, IV., 535.

had long since shifted to the Netherlands. There lived the leader who since Arnauld's death in 1694 had steered the party into new tracks; there also he completed the third work round which the Jansenists were able to rally as they had rallied round the *Augustinus* and the book on *Frequent Communion*.

Pasquier Quesnel,[1] was born in Paris in 1634. He was the son of a bookseller whose family originated from Scotland. After completing his studies with the Jesuits and at the Sorbonne he entered Berulle's Oratory in 1657 where he was employed in the training of the junior members of the Congregation. One of the first of his learned studies was a new edition of the works of St. Leo the Great, published in 1675. As a valuable critical edition the work was received with applause,[2] but the outspoken Gallicanisms of the explanatory dissertations led to its being put on the Index of prohibited books within a year.[3] Quesnel was an adherent not only of Gallicanism, but of Jansenism also, though in company with his colleagues in religion he had signed the formulary three or four times.[4] On account of his Jansenism he left the Oratory in 1685,[5] but continued nevertheless to describe himself as a "Priest of the Oratory". He escaped to Flanders where he shared Arnauld's hiding-place up to the

[1] See BATTEREL, IV., 424–493. A selection of his letters by Madame A. LE ROY: *Un Janséniste en exil*, Paris, 1900. Many fragments of letters in *Causa Quesnelliana*.

[2] Opinion of the Ballerini in the Leonine edition, "praefatio," MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, LIV., 13, 22. *Cf.* BATTEREL, 430 *seqq.*; THUILLIER, 5 *seq.*

[3] Quesnel wrote some very sharp comments on the decree of the Index, printed in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 332–334.

[4] BATTEREL, 426 *seq.*

[5] The proximate cause of his exit: *Ibid.*, 26–9, 436 *seqq.*; THUILLIER, 10 *seqq.* Quesnel himself said that he was only physically outside the Oratory, "sans cesser un moment d'y demeurer en esprit et de cœur" (BATTEREL, 442). That he had really been dismissed, see *ibid.*, 299, 334, 424; *Causa Quesnelliana*, 5 *seq.*

latter's death. A fresh turn in Quesnel's destiny occurred after his ceaseless underground activities had exhausted the patience of both the ecclesiastical and the secular powers. With the concurrence of the Government, the Archbishop of Malines had him arrested and tried on the ground of certain confiscated documents. The trial ended on November 10th, 1704, with a sentence of excommunication and confinement in a monastery. However, before the opening of the judicial proceedings, Quesnel's friends had succeeded in making a hole in the wall of his prison. Quesnel escaped to Holland; he died at Amsterdam on December 2nd, 1719. The accusation, comprising twenty-six headings, together with the evidence and the final sentence, were published by order of the Archbishop.[1]

The Jansenist party surrounded Quesnel with a veneration greater even than that which Saint-Cyran or Arnauld had enjoyed. This was partly due to his ways and manners which called forth the enthusiasm of his admirers; they deemed it a downright favour of heaven if, whilst on his journeys, he put up at their houses.[2] But his influence as a writer was even greater; it was his skilful pen that dominated the party after Arnauld's death and raised him to the position of unquestioned leadership. As regards keenness of intellect and erudition, he lags behind Arnauld and lacks the latter's air of greatness. But in his writings Arnauld always remained the harsh, dry scholar who defends his cause with heavy theological learning drawn from the Fathers and the Scholastics, whereas Quesnel displays both elevation and adaptibility; he knows how to write in a pious strain, to ingratiate himself and to play on the emotions.[3] His earlier

[1] *Causa Quesnelliana*, Brussels, 1704. *Cf.* BATTEREL, IV., 459 *seqq.*; SCHILL, 31 *seqq.*; FLEURY, 67–97; LE ROY, 117 *seqq.* According to Batterel the immediate cause of Quesnel's arrest was his violent pamphlet on the "case of conscience" (*Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque* [1704]). *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 485.

[2] MOURET, 398.

[3] The Jansenist BATTEREL (IV., 451), says: "Nous n'avons jamais eu de plume dans l'Oratoire qui ait parlé de Dieu d'une

small publications on Confession and Communion, on the Passion of Jesus Christ, on the happiness of a good death, were received with applause and saw several editions.

However, after his flight from France, Quesnel's activity as an ascetical writer gradually ceased; in this sphere he contented himself with the completion of his chief work. On the other hand, from his hiding-place at Brussels or Amsterdam, he released a veritable flood of polemical writings. At one time he defends himself against the Archbishop of Malines or against papal or episcopal condemnation, at another he exalts or defends Arnauld; then he goes for the Jesuits who, in his opinion, were the authors of all the mischief; on occasion he assumes the rôle of a champion of the Church against the Calvinists, which enables him to advocate Jansenism in an underhand way. In a word, hardly anything in the religious sphere happened in Flanders or in France which did not provide him with an occasion for intervention.[1] In so doing he did not follow the example of Arnauld whose polemical pamphlets sometimes filled a quarto volume. For the most part Quesnel's writings are of moderate size or consist of but a few sheets, and whereas Arnauld preserved appearances in regard to Rome, and strove to avoid an open rupture, the distinguishing feature of Quesnel's writings is, that in them Jansenism throws off the mask and attacks openly. When in 1690 Alexander VIII. had dealt Jansenism an exceedingly heavy blow by his condemnation of thirty-one Jansenist propositions, Quesnel, in a violent reply,[2] described the Roman tribunal as a den of thieves, seeing that these people were condemned unheard whilst the Consultors were ignorant men who allowed themselves to be led by party considerations.[3] The Paris Doctors who in 1703 submitted

manière si noble, si élevée, si lumineuse; j'ajoute, si pure et si élégante."

[1] Index of the publications in Batterel, IV., 451 *seqq.*

[2] *Lettre d'un abbé à un prélat de la cour de Rome,* Toulouse, 1691, prohibited by the Archbishop of Malines, 1695, by the Roman Index, 1703. Reusch, II., 527.

[3] Fontaine, I., 23.

to the Archbishop's decision concerning the "Case of Conscience" he described as scoundrels, cowards, hypocrites, perjurers.[1] His literary manner found its imitators. No less violent is the style of the Maurist Gerberon [2] who had been arrested at the same time as Quesnel by order of the Archbishop of Malines, and both found many followers among the later Jansenists. Everywhere, not only by his published writings but by his extensive correspondence also, Quesnel fomented a spirit of contradiction, at court and in the Parliaments, in monasteries and among the clergy.[3]

Agitation of this kind could only yield disastrous results. In France the royal prohibition to write on Jansenist controversial questions was still in force.[4] The Catholics complied with this injunction of silence whilst the Jansenists paid no attention to it. During the wars in Flanders the examination of books at the frontier had become very casual. Certain greedy booksellers took advantage of this circumstance to smuggle a quantity of Jansenist works from Holland into France.[5] Catholics were not allowed to reply to this flood

[1] *Lettre d'un évêque à un évêque ou Consultation sur le fameux Cas de conscience* (1704). [PATOUILLET], II., 485.

[2] One example ([PATOUILLET], II., 490): the Archbishop of Rheims who had condemned one of Gerberon's books, he calls in 1677: "Cet enflé d'orgueil dont parle S. Paul, ce docteur qui ne sait rien de la science des saints, etc."

[3] Extracts in *Causa Quesnelliana.*

[4] See the present work, XXXI, 383 *seq.*

[5] De Chanterac to Cardinal Gabrielli, 1700, FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, X., 45. "Sa Majesté voit par expérience que les défenseurs de la cause de l'Église savent lui obéir et se taire, mais les autres se prévalent du silence de ceux-ci pour écrire plus hardiment. . . . Nos frontières sont pleines d'émissaires du parti, qui font passer avec sûreté, de main en main, tout ce qu'ils veulent, depuis la Hollande jusqu'à Paris et aux provinces les plus éloignées: nulle vigilance et nulle rigueur de police ne peut l'empêcher; c'est un fait si visible, qu'il saute aux yeux (Fénelon to Le Tellier, July 22, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., 110 *seq.*). Nous recommandons encore aux magistrats de police de veiller à l'avenir sur ces petits libraires de campagne, qui viennent trois ou quatre fois

of accusations and misrepresentations: thus, Fénelon, for instance, was obliged literally to beg for permission to reply to a pamphlet by Quesnel against himself.[1] The bold attitude of the party and the silence of the Catholics could not fail to create the impression among the large masses that knowledge and true doctrine were to be found among the Jansenists, whose opponents knew no better defence than measures of violence, the burning of books and the banishment of men regarded as Saints. Hence, in spite of the combined efforts of Pope and King, the sect daily assumed incalculable proportions.[2] It had its patrons and its informants even at court; no secret was safe from it, in many ways it was better served than the King himself.[3]

Though Quesnel's polemical pamphlets wielded enormous influence his significance for the story of Jansenism is nevertheless based on one of his early ascetical writings, the so-called *Moral Reflections on the New Testament.*[4] In 1650 the Oratorian Jourdin (Jourdain) had printed for the use especially of the younger members of his Congregation, a collection of sayings of Our Lord in the Gospel, together with some brief commentaries on them. In 1668 Quesnel published an enlarged French edition of the opuscule which had been originally written in Latin, and shortly after he

l'année infecter notre diocèse de méchans livres." Edict of the Bishop of Apt against Quesnel, October 15, 1703, in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 180.

[1] To Le Tellier, October 9, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., 118. *Cf. ibid.*, 23, and VII., 346: "Pendant que j'ai les mains liées pour la défense de la foi, M. Habert a la liberté d'écrire pour soutenir son erreur."

[2] "Malgré le Pape et le Roi unis, et agissant de concert pour écraser ce parti, il croît chaque jour sans mesure." FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 112.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] BATTEREL, IV., 471–486; A. MAULVAULT, *Répertoire alphabétique des personnes et des choses de Port-Royal*, Paris, 1902; HERZOG-HAUK, *Realenzyklopädie*, XXIV. (Vol. suppl. II.), 379 *seq.*

dealt thus with the whole of the Gospel, mostly in accordance with the Jansenist translation. The work appeared in this form in 1672, with a lengthy recommendation from the pen of Bishop Vialart of Châlons, which stated that to write such a book the author must have possessed the enlightened charity spoken of by St. Augustine, and must have been for a long time a pupil in the school of the Holy Ghost. This encomium continued to be reprinted even after the work had been greatly enlarged and altered.

The little book proved very popular; a fresh impression followed in 1674 and an enlarged edition in 1679. To the edition of 1687 Quesnel added a second part dealing with the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Here the notes were fuller, with the result that, for the sake of proportion, they were also amplified in the first volume. In the edition of 1692 the work had grown to four volumes in octavo; it enjoyed extraordinary popularity, more especially in the definitive edition of 1699.[1] Wherever French is understood, Bossuet wrote,[2] everybody is full of it; booksellers were unable to meet the demand and the innumerable editions which followed one on top of the other, were sold out immediately.

So enormous a success need not surprise us: Quesnel's book was the realization, in an able manner, of a new idea

[1] The title of the book changes with the various subjects. "*Verbi incarnati I. C. D. N. verba ex universo ipsius testamento collecta, adiectis argumentis, etc.*, Paris, 1650 (BATTEREL, II., 374); *Les paroles de la parole incarnée J.-C. N.-S.*, Paris, 1668; 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, Paris, 1669 (*ibid.*, III., 270, IV., 472); *Abrégé de la morale de l'Évangile, ou Considerations chrét. sur le texte des quatre Évangélistes*, Paris, 1672 (*ibid.*, IV., 474); *Le Nouveau Testament en français avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset . . .*, Paris, 1693 (*ibid.*, 480; [PATOUILLET], IV., 52).

[2] *Avertissement sur le livre des réflexions morales. Œuvres*, IV., 196. According to HARNACK (*Dogmengeschichte*, III., Freiburg, 1897, (666), even Clement XI. "expressed a most favourable opinion of the book". Quesnel and the Jansenists express themselves with greater reserve [LOUAIL], 13 *seq.*).

one in keeping with the time. There existed a vast number of learned folios on Holy Scripture explaining the text and solving the difficulties. What was wanting was a handy volume in which brief notes would point out to wider circles how the words of the Scriptures could be adapted to the Christian life: this Quesnel seemed to have done in a most able manner.

His book is impregnated to its very marrow with the ideas of Jansenius, though he avoids identifying himself with them too openly. The five condemned propositions are hardly ever found in unequivocal form, but in the shape of brief comments, short prayers and reflections he links with the words of the New Testament maxims for the moral and religious life which are derived from the thought of his master. He makes frequent use of expressions from St. Augustine; above all he knows how to spread over everything an air of unction and devotion which appeals to the religiously minded and disguises the characteristic edges and corners of Jansenius' theses. Thus from the latter's assertion of the irresistibility of grace, there follows that sinners and pagans who have not been truly converted, are wholly forsaken by grace and accordingly antecedently predestined for eternal damnation. This proposition Quesnel dresses up in such wise that most readers will probably not be aware of its appalling harshness. Again he casually observes that faith is the "first grace", or that forgiveness of sins is the "first grace" bestowed by God on the sinner, or that no grace is granted outside the Church.[1] Such expressions naturally lead to the conclusions that the unconverted sinner or pagan has never received grace of any kind, for then their faith and conversion would no longer be the first grace. But who would think of such conclusions when reading statements seemingly so harmless, unless one keeps clearly before one's eyes the fact that according to Quesnel there are none but irresistible graces? [2] Continually

[1] Bull "*Unigenitus*", Propositions, 27–9.

[2] A recent theologian says: "On ne saurait, en effet, insinuer l'erreur avec plus d'onction et de piété, dans des phrases plus innocentes. Si bien que, maintenant encore, il faut un œil

and on every possible occasion Quesnel proclaims that without grace, viz. without efficacious grace as understood by him, man is utterly incapable of any good; in other words, if man does not do good, it is because he is incapable of so doing, because God withholds grace from him. The statement is a blasphemy, but Quesnel gives it a seemingly harmless and even pious turn; for example, basing himself on a saying of St. Augustine, he exclaims: "In vain thou commandest, O Lord, unless thou givest us to do what thou commandest"; or again: "Assuredly, O Lord, all things are possible to him for whom Thou makest them possible by Thyself working them in him." Or again he describes grace as "an effect of the all-powerful hand of God, which nothing can hinder or restrict".[1] It goes without saying that the book upholds the assertion that God's saving will only extends effectively to the elect, but here also Quesnel avoids too crude expressions. Thus in a note on Luke V., 13, we read: "When God is willing to save a soul and He touches it interiorly with the hand of His grace, no human will resists Him," and similar expressions occur elsewhere.[2] The ordinary reader will suspect nothing further in such statements; but when things are constantly repeated with the most varied turns, it must needs be that he gradually adopts the Jansenist ideas, all the more so as most of Quesnel's remarks are susceptible of more than one interpretation. That Quesnel understood them in a Jansenist sense follows from the whole context, but when isolated from this context many of his statements are capable of a milder interpretation.

Besides the ideas of Baius and Jansenius, Quesnel's book also advocates Richer's thesis on ecclesiastical authority, and occasional allusions represent the Jansenists as the innocent victims of the tyrannical power of the Church, but here and

exercé pour voir où est le mal pour plusieurs au moins de ces propositions." BAINVEL, *Études*, CXXXI. (1912), 799. *Cf.* THUILLIER, 3 *seqq.*

[1] Bull *Unigenitus*.

[2] *Ibid.*, Prop., 3, 4, 10.

there Quesnel drops remarks which convey the impression that he rejected Jansenius' five propositions.

(3.)

The 101 propositions of the 1693 edition of the *Moral Reflexions* which, at a later date, Clement XI. described as deserving of condemnation, appeared only by degrees in Quesnel's book. If the edition of 1687 already contained fifty-three such propositions,[1] the first edition of 1671 only included five.[2] This circumstance, together with the pious air and the ambiguity of the book, sufficiently accounts for the fact that it found favour at first even with some of the Bishops. But it was precisely the most glowing of these episcopal encomiums that proved fatal both to the book and to the Bishop from whom it emanated. Although Quesnel had already escaped to Flanders at that time, in 1695 the future Archbishop of Paris, Louis-Antoine de Noailles, then Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, wrote a letter full of the most glowing praise for the 1696 edition of the *Moral Reflexions*. The letter declares that the author of the book had collected in a synthesis full of power and unction all that was most beautiful and inspiring in the Fathers of the Church; in its pages the innermost truths of religion were expounded with such penetrating force and such gentleness of the Holy Ghost, that even the most obdurate hearts must delight in them; for the clergy, the book would replace a whole library.

Now it so happened that when in the following year Noailles was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Paris, that irreconcilable Jansenist, Gerberon, published posthumously a book on grace and predestination by Martin de Barcos, Abbot of Saint-Cyran, who had died in 1678.[3] Faced with a book of which 600 copies

[1] [Louail], 8 *seqq.*; Le Roy, 14, n. 2.

[2] Nos. 12, 13, 30, 62, 65. *Cf.* H. Kilber in *Theologia Wirceburgensis*, IV., Paris, 1853, n. 237, p. 228.

[3] "Exposition de la foi catholique thouchant la grâce et la prédestination."

had been confiscated by the Paris police as soon as it had been published, Noailles was bound to take up a decided attitude.[1] This he did in his first pastoral letter dated August 20th, 1696, the dogmatic part of which was from the pen of Bossuet : it condemned De Barcos' book as Jansenistic.[2]

But now Noailles found himself in an embarrassing situation. In his last ordinance at Châlons he had eulogized Quesnel's book ; in his first pastoral letter in Paris he condemned it as Jansenistic. There were those who took advantage of the situation : at the close of 1698 a pamphlet appeared with the sarcastic title : " An ecclesiastical problem—who is to be believed, Louis Antoine de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons in 1695, or Louis Antoine de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris in 1696 ? "[3]

The authorship of the " Problem " was generally, though quite wrongly, ascribed to the Jesuits, not least by the embittered Noailles, since the pamphlet maintains Jansenist opinions, rather must it be regarded as an attack by the Jansenists.[4]

[1] Le Roy, 30 *seq.*

[2] Bossuet, *Œuvres*, IV., 286–295 ; VII., 559–575. The dogmatic part was meant by Bossuet to be a " counter-weight " to the condemnation in favour of efficacious grace and the authority of St. Augustine (Letter to De la Broue, September 4, 1696, *Œuvres*, XL., 224) ; he hoped his exposition would be confirmed by Rome (*ibid.*, 313). The Jansenists tried to throw this " counter-weight " into the balance in favour of their cause (see memorial of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle to the Pope, 1713, in Fénelon, *Œuvres*, VIII., 153 *seqq.*). Fénelon said of Noailles' order : " il a soufflé le froid et le chaud. Il dit blanc pour les uns et noir pour les autres " (to De Beauvilliers, November 30, 1699, *ibid.*, VII., 220).

[3] *Problème ecclésiastique proposé à M. l'abbé Boileau de l'archevêché de Paris, à qui l'on doit croire, de M. L. A. de Noailles évêque de Châlons en* 1695, *ou de M. L. A. de Noailles archevêque de Paris en* 1696.

[4] Vacant, in *Rev. des sciences ecclés.*, LXI. (1890), 411 *seqq.*, LXII., 34 *seqq.*, 131 *seqq.* The author is probably a Benedictine

In his perplexity Noailles appealed to the theological adviser who had so recently come to his rescue, the Bishop of Meaux. Whether influenced by friendship for Noailles or antipathy for Molina, Bossuet now allowed himself to be deceived by the ambiguity of Quesnel's book. Provided a number of modifications were made,[1] he thought the book might be defended as orthodox, and with this view he drew up an apology of those points of the *Moral Reflexions* which were most sharply attacked.[2] Bossuet did not defend Jansenism,[3] he merely endeavoured to show that the book was wrongly accused of Jansenism. However, he withdrew his dissertation in time and later on described Quesnel's book as hopelessly Jansenistic.[4] In spite of this, Quesnel had Bossuet's work subsequently printed as a "justification" of his book, though otherwise he was wont to speak of the Bishop of Meaux in the most contemptuous terms.[5]

(Monnier ?) ; *ibid.* and SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1747. Bossuet also speaks of the pamphlet simply as of the "Problème des Jésuites" (LE ROY, 57) but without proof. The writing has often been attributed to the Benedictine Thierry de Viaixnes ; *cf.* J. GODEFROY, in *Rev. Mabillon*, 1923, 167 *seqq.*, 265 *seqq.*

[1] According to Bossuet's Vicar-General, De Saint-André, he demanded that 120 pages of the book should be rewritten. INGOLD, 10, n. 3.

[2] *Avertissement sur le livre des Reflexions morales. Œuvres*, IV., Versailles, 1815, 195–286.

[3] The book is rather "une solide et exacte apologie de la Bulle *Unigenitus*" as pointed out in a defence of Bossuet of 1738, INGOLD, 115–134.

[4] *Cf.* the apologia of Bossuet by the Bishops of La Rochelle and Luçon in FLEURY, LXVIII., 324 *seqq.*, especially 328 *seq.* (*Cf.* also the *mémoire* of the two Bishops in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 158 *seqq.*). INGOLD, 11 *seq.* Bossuet nevertheless preserved the letter. (LE ROY, 63). *Cf.* CH. URBAIN, *Bossuet apologiste du P. Quesnel in Rev. du clergé Français*, January 15, 1901 ; TH. DELMONT, *Bossuet et le P. Quesnel in Rev. de Lille*, XIX. (1901), 354 *seqq.*, 437 *seqq.* ; CHÉROT, in *Études*, 1899, II., 384 *seqq.*

[5] *Causa Quesnelliana*, 354.

In Paris the "Problem" was burnt by the executioner whilst Rome put it on the Index [1]; for the time being Noailles need feel no anxiety. On June 21st, 1700, he was raised to the purple at the King's request. He took part in the conclave of that year and on December 18th he received the red hat at the hands of the newly elected Pope Clement XI.[2] Two men were thus face to face on whose conduct and mutual relations Quesnel's recently published work was to have a fatal influence. Duty compelled the new Pope to take action against it. The new Cardinal, who was far from having forgotten the "Ecclesiastical Problem", imagined that his honour demanded that he should defend it. Confusion was inevitable for decades to come. When Noailles returned to Paris from Rome the "Case of Conscience", with all that followed, pushed everything else into the background for a time, though all objections to the *Moral Reflexions* were not entirely silenced. Mention is made of them in Quesnel's correspondence as early as 1697.[3] The Bishop of Chartres was a determined opponent of the book [4]; on October 15th, 1703, the Bishop of Apt likewise published a pastoral letter in which he forbade the reading of Quesnel's book under pain of excommunication.[5] After Quesnel's condemnation by the Archbishop of Malines, more and more voices were raised in

[1] January 10, 1699, and June 2, 1700. Reusch, II., 728.

[2] Le Roy, 71, 91.

[3] Pastoral letters of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle, May 14, 1711, in Fleury, L., XVIII., 339 *seq.* Already on May 26, 1688, Quesnel complains that his publisher was threatened that the further sale of the book would be prohibited (*Correspondance*, éd. Le Roy, I., 94. In his *Entretiens* he confesses that his book had been denounced to the Inquisition as early as 1693. [Louail], 14.

[4] Wilbert to Quesnel, January 22, 1700, Fleury, LXVIII., 333 *seq.*

[5] Reprinted in *Causa Quesnelliana*, 178–181; Fleury, LXVII., 97. In 1703 Fénelon also spoke of the necessity of examining the book. *Œuvres*, VII., 569.

protest; thus the book was forbidden by the Archbishop of Besançon and the Bishop of Nevers in 1707.[1]

Meanwhile the Capuchin, Timothy de la Flèche (Jacques Peschard), had brought the book to the notice of the Pope himself.[2] Clement XI. was astounded at the vast number of errors it contained and observed to Timothy that there could not be many books more dangerous than this one. However, as long as that sympathizer with the Jansenists, Casoni, retained the post of Assessor, the deliberations of the Inquisition made but slow progress. When Casoni was raised to the purple and his place in the Inquisition was taken by San Vitale, there occurred a further delay due to the fact that, to the Pope's annoyance, the Theatine Dubuc had displayed too much passion against Quesnel in his report to the Congregation.[3] Towards the close of 1707 Noailles learnt that it was planned to condemn the *Moral Reflexions*; he sought to prevent such a step, but in vain.[4] A Brief of July 13th, 1708,[5] condemned Quesnel's *New Testament* on the ground that it mainly adopted the condemned Mons translation of the Bible and in the commentaries contained subversive, rash, dangerous and erroneous propositions which had been previously condemned and which savoured of Jansenism. As usual this Brief also met with opposition in France. The Brief prescribed that all copies of the *Moral Reflexions* must be surrendered to the Bishop or to the Inquisitor. Now in France there was no Inquisition so that its mention meant nothing, but mere reference to the hated tribunal was enough for Parliament to refuse to accept the Brief, though it did

[1] Fleury, LXVIII., 627; Schill, 54. An accusation appeared also: [J. Ph. Lallemant, S.J.], *Le P. Quesnel seditieux.* [The second edition adds: *et hérétique*] *dans ses réflexions sur le Nouveau Testament*, 1704 (or 1705). Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1395.

[2] *Mémoires et lettres du P. Timothée de la Flèche sur les affaires ecclésiastiques*, 1703–1730, by U. d'Alençon, Paris, 1907.

[3] Le Roy, 300 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 298 *seq.*

[5] *Bull*, XXI., 327; Fleury, LXVII., 673 *seq.*

not go so far as to forbid it expressly. However, the Brief was not without effect upon fervent Catholics.[1] Noailles felt so hit by the papal judgment that he thought of resigning [2]; both he and the French diplomatists, together with Quesnel, saw in the measure no more than an act of revenge by the Jesuits against an Archbishop whom they disliked.[3] Quesnel published a violent reply to the Brief; he described the action of the Roman authorities as a scandalous attempt which wounded the episcopate to the heart, as a work of darkness and the undertaking of an infamous cabal.[4] For the purpose of self-defence he published in 1710 Bossuet's comments on the *Moral Reflexions*.[5]

Meanwhile, in the words of a contemporary, Jansenism advanced beyond all that could be imagined.[6] With the exception of the Seminarists of Saint-Sulpice and a few others, Fénelon wrote,[7] all the students of the Sorbonne adopted Jansenism under cover of "efficient grace"; the party used Thomism as a mask and the tutors inoculated the students

[1] "On n'a pas peu gagné que d'obtenir la condamnation du Nouveau Testament de Quesnel et de la Théologie du Juenin" (Daubenton to De Vitry, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VII., 650). That the effect of the Brief was not the one wished for appears from a letter of the Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle to the Pope, dat. January 1, 1711 (*ibid.*, 680). On the King's annoyance on account of the many condemnations, *cf.* LE ROY, 313.

[2] LE ROY, 314.

[3] *Ibid.*, 225, 298, 308, 311. *Cf.* LANGUET in RANKE, *Französische Geschichte*, IV., 253: "Noailles knew that La Chaize had been against his elevation, hence he regarded all that was done against him as an intrigue of the Jesuits."

[4] "Entretiens sur le décret de Rome, etc." *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], II., 49 *seqq.*; SCHILL, 54 *seq.* Brief of June 6, 1710, against the book, in *Bull*, XXI., 390.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 202; SCHILL, 55 *seq.*

[6] "Les progrès du Jansénisme vont au delà de tout ce qu'on peut imaginer." De Langeron to Chalmette, June 23, 1708, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VII., 640.

[7] To Le Tellier (1710), *ibid.*, 663.

with the poison. According to Fénelon a vast number of Doctors held the new opinions, and from among these Doctors the Bishops chose their Vicars-General who then infected the various dioceses. The mischief was beginning to penetrate even into the Seminaries of the Lazarists. The Benedictines of Saint-Maur and Saint-Vanne, the Oratory, the Canons Regular of Sainte-Géneviève, the Augustinians, the Discalced Carmelites, a number of Capuchins, many Recollects and Minims had been won over to Jansenist ideas; it was inevitable that the contagion should spread further as time went on. The court was full of supporters of the party who, as occasion served, instilled its principles into the minds of the Princes. Most of the devout sex moved heaven and earth in the service of the party. Everything could be feared from the Chancellor and some of the Ministers, the Attorney-General, many distinguished functionaries and from an incredibly large number of good but biased people: of this they had had a tangible proof in the excitement caused by the suppression of Port-Royal. It was true that both King and Pope were against the party and the Roman decrees and those of the Bishops came like so many thunderbolts for the Jansenists, yet the sect grew daily. Contempt for Rome and aversion for its authority were on the increase in the nation, a circumstance which pointed to the imminent danger of a schism. Thus Fénelon. It was not long before it became plain that his prognostication was only too accurate.

(4.)

However much both Gallicans and Jansenists may have laboured to lower the papal prestige, the situation became so acute that Louis XIV. saw no other solution than to ask the Pope for a new dogmatic Bull. The zeal of the Sulpician Champflour, which had already called forth opposition to the Jansenists' solution of the "Case of Conscience", proved decisive here also. In 1703 Champflour had been named Bishop of La Rochelle and in that capacity, like some other Bishops, he too had been thinking since 1707 of a pastoral

letter against Quesnel's *Moral Reflexions*. In concert with two friends of Fénelon, Langeron and Chalmette, he published, at the end of 1710, in his own name and that of the Bishop of Luçon, Lescure, also a Sulpician, a fairly voluminous "ordinance and pastoral instruction".[1] The publisher dispatched this document to all the larger towns of France; in Paris it was hawked in the streets and posted up in the churches and even on the door of the archiepiscopal palace. In itself this action of the bookseller had nothing extraordinary about it. However, as there was question of the condemnation of a book bearing the commendation of the Archbishop of Paris, Noailles could only see a challenge in the act. He revenged himself on the two Bishops in none too light a fashion by getting their two nephews expelled from the Seminary of St. Sulpice where they were studying.[2]

This act of violence caused a great stir,[3] and the two Bishops appealed to the King in a letter containing grievous accusations against Noailles.[4]

There was not so much question, they said, of their own persons or their nephews, but the situation was such that the Bishops could neither speak nor remain silent: their silence allowed heresy an unimpeded course and their speech scandalized the people, as Bishop spoke against Bishop. Error was daily making enormous progress by the spread of certain books which were either dedicated to Cardinal Noailles or approved by him and his entourage. In conclusion they begged the King to exercise his influence over the Archbishop, with a view to his withdrawing his recommendation and patronage of Quesnel's book. One sentence in the letter was too outspoken: religious innovations, the two observed, had

[1] "*Ordonnance et instruction pastorale de Messeigneurs les évêques de Luçon et de la Rochelle.* La Rochelle, 1710 (12*, 542); also Latin translation (4*, 295); extract in FLEURY, LXVIII., 223; BERTRAND, III., 133.

[2] FLEURY, LXVIII., 238.

[3] "L'affaire des jeunes abbés fait un fracas épouvantable." Lallemant to Fénelon, in *Œuvres*, VII., 689.

[4] April, 1711, *ibid.*, 694 *seq.*

invariably prevailed through the action of powerful Bishops, and the worst blows had been dealt the Church under Christian Emperors by the Bishops of imperial cities who abused the prestige of their position.[1] The letter, with its all too obvious allusion to Noailles, was published against the will of the two Bishops [2] and added to the confusion. The King was annoyed and demanded from the two authors an apology to the Archbishop.[3]

Noailles was beside himself, all the more so as on March 4th, 1711, the Bishop of Gap had also declared himself against Quesnel and some other Jansenist books.[4] On April 28th he published a violent ordinance, accusing the three Bishops of Jansenism and prohibiting their pastoral letters which, he alleged, had been composed under their name by the "enemies of the episcopate".[5] This presumption of the Cardinal irritated the King; he forbade him to come to court until he should have withdrawn his recommendation of the *Moral Reflexions*.[6] But this step, the only reasonable one in his position, Noailles refused to take, notwithstanding the advice of his friends [7]; in his opinion the measures against Quesnel were nothing else but an agitation of the Jesuits who sought to hit his own person in that of the fugitive Oratorian. In letters to the King, to Madame Maintenon, to Chancellor Voisin, he piles up accusations against them.[8] But he stuck to Quesnel, a fact which he expressly states in a letter to Bishop Hébert of Agen.[9] As if to complete the confusion, it so happened that just then Quesnel published Bossuet's opinion on the *Moral Reflexions*.[10] Thus of the outstanding

[1] *Ibid.*, 695.

[2] Champflour to Le Tellier, May 20, 1711, *ibid.*, 706, n. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 705, 714, 715.

[4] Fleury, LXVIII., 242.

[5] *Ibid.*, 242 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 244.

[7] Letter of the confessor of Madame de Maintenon, La Chétardie, June 26, 1711, to Noailles, in Le Roy, 347 note.

[8] Le Roy, 350.

[9] *Ibid.*, 351.

[10] Above, p. 202.

Bishops of contemporary France, Fénelon was against and Bossuet apparently for Quesnel; as for the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, the first prelate of the realm, the official leader in spiritual things and the President of the Assembly of the Clergy, even he himself could not tell whether he was a Jansenist or not.[1]

In these circumstances even Gallican France saw no other way out of the impasse, except a decision by the Pope. The Bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle had prayed the King to be allowed to submit the dispute with Noailles to the Pope.[2] However, Louis XIV. thought that he himself might decide this matter in his own realm by appointing a consultative commission presided over by his own nephew and successor, the Duke of Burgundy. The commission, the most important members of which were the Archbishop of Paris and Bossuet's successor at Meaux, Henry de Bissy, suggested a compromise. The two Bishops were to explain in a second ordinance some of the offensive passages of their *mandements*, whilst Noailles published a new ordinance in which he would revoke his condemnation of the *mandements* of the two Bishops and acknowledge them as orthodox and as the authentic work of the two Bishops. Although as a Bishop he had the right to condemn a false doctrine wherever he found it, he did not pretend to condemn the *mandement* itself, or to exercise a judicial act against the Bishops. The manifestos of both parties were to be handed to mutual friends; if both parties were satisfied with the text, the apology of the two Bishops would first be published and on the following day the new ordinance of the two Bishops, and after that the Archbishop's.[3]

The two Bishops accepted these proposals[4] whereas

[1] Fénelon's opinion: to Chevreuse, June 9, 1712, *Œuvres*, VII., 344, n. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 704.

[3] The Dauphin to the two Bishops, September 4, Voisin to the Bishop of La Rochelle, September 5, 1711, FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 18 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*

[4] Their letter to the Dauphin, September 13, 1711, *ibid.*, 22. *Cf.* their *Mémoire historique* to the Pope, *ibid.*, 161.

Noailles hesitated. After a submissive letter to the King he was given permission to reappear at court; he had promised to take steps against Quesnel as soon as the two Bishops should have made the promised apology [1]; he also forwarded to them a list of objections to their pastoral instruction; thus he seemed willing to agree to a compromise.[2] However, shortly before this he had published a new edition of Bossuet's pamphlet on the *Moral Reflexions*, and a violent letter of the Bishop of Agen,[3] a thing that he should not have done if he really thought of making peace. Accordingly the two Bishops were in no hurry to answer his observations but demanded a declaration from Noailles that he would submit to the decisions of the arbitrators. To this the Cardinal would not consent.[4] Thus the first attempt at a compromise failed, moreover the Duke of Burgundy died on February 18th, 1712.[5] Without the knowledge of the two Bishops Louis XIV. made fresh proposals to his Archbishop, which the latter rejected in such cool fashion that on January 15th, 1712, Parliament suppressed his answer [6] as offensive for the King. All this made the situation of the Cardinal difficult enough; but he had managed to complicate his position still further by a number of imprudent acts. To put an end to these difficulties, the King's confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier, hit upon the plan of suggesting to as many Bishops as possible that they should complain to the King and represent to him that Noailles had no right publicly to condemn the opinions and pastorals of his colleagues in the episcopate. Now it so

[1] *Ibid.*, *Mém. hist.*, 156.

[2] *Ibid.*, 163.

[3] *Ibid.*, 162.

[4] *Ibid.*, 163.

[5] To defend himself against the suspicion that he favoured the Jansenists, the Duke sent an apologia to Rome which the Pope read with tears, as he afterwards wrote to the King on May 4 [PATOUILLET], III., 382–389.

[6] *Cf. Mém. hist.*, *loc. cit.* Fénelon's *Examen* (June, 1712), of the *Réponse* of the Cardinal to the King's *Mémoire*. *Œuvres*, VIII., 71–107.

happened that a letter in this sense addressed by a certain Abbé Bochard to his uncle, the Bishop of Clermont, fell into the hands of the Cardinal.[1] The latter promptly published the letter and behaved as if he had detected the worst possible conspiracy against his own person.[2] He deprived the Jesuits, with few exceptions, of their faculties for the ministry and summoned the King[3] to dismiss his confessor inasmuch as His Majesty's conscience was not safe in the hands of such people; Le Tellier, he claimed, had abused his position in order to mislead the Bishops and to expose the Church to the danger of schism. He also wrote in the same sense to Madame de Maintenon.[4] A fresh storm against the Jesuits ensued amid the plaudits of the Jansenists.[5] Fénelon had no other comfort for them than to counsel them to bear everything with patience and humility, for nothing could bring them greater honour.[6]

Conduct of such violence made it ever clearer that nothing was to be hoped for from Noailles as a peacemaker. On the other hand he seemed to make Quesnel's cause more and more his own,[7] for he failed to fulfil his promise to take steps

[1] Reprint and draft of the letter to the King in [Louail], 32; Fleury, LXVIII., 348 *seqq.* Polemical writings on the affair are catalogued in Bertrand, III., 134 note.

[2] Schill, 60 *seq.*; Le Roy, 355. A letter of Mme. de Maintenon on the subject was published by Brucker in *Études*, 1899, II., 128. *Cf.* on the Abbé also Henri Chérot, *Lettre inédite de Bourdalone à François Bochard de Saron, évêque de Clermont*, September 5, 1701, Paris, 1899, 29–37.

[3] Le Roy, 362 *seq.*; *cf.* 368.

[4] Le Roy, 358.

[5] Letter of the Bishop of Boulogne, of August 29 and September 16, 1711, *ibid.*, 366.

[6] To Chévreuse, December 19, 1711, *Œuvres*, VII., 367; *cf.* VIII., 81.

[7] Colbert, the Jansenist Bishop of Montpellier, writes to him on November 25, 1711: "C'est moins le livre du P. Quesnel que le vôtre" (in Le Roy, 375). Fénelon says: "Tout le monde est accoutumé à croire que le cardinal favorise le parti." Examen, *Œuvres*, VIII., 98.

against him and refused to agree to a compromise with Champflour and Lescure. This conduct of the first Bishop of the land created an enormous sensation. A rumour arose that the other Bishops were also divided in their judgment on Quesnel, and among the simple priests opinions became more divergent than ever. Feeling in the Provinces was such, the Archbishop of Aix, Vintimille du Luc, wrote to the Dauphin, that there was reason to fear that the dispute on grace would lead to as bloody an issue as a controversy about the Eucharist had done at the time of the Reformation.[1]

In these circumstances an early decision by Rome appeared as the only possible salvation. Accordingly the King submitted three questions to his Council. The first, namely, whether he might request a Bull from Rome without injury to the Gallican liberties, met with no opposition: in questions of faith, the Council answered, the Pope could decide in the first and last instance. The second question concerned the form of the Bull. The Council recommended as a model the decision on the "Case of Conscience" which had not offended Parliament; the Pope should indicate the propositions which he condemned, so that the French Bishops might judge them together with him and by their agreement render the papal sentence definitive and intangible. To the third question, how they might prevent the Pope, under some pretext or other, from refusing to give a decision, the Council's answer was that he should be assured that the Bull would be well received, provided he submitted the draft to the King and forwarded the completed Bull to him for execution.[2] On November 11th, 1711, by a decree of the Royal Council, Louis XIV. revoked the permission to print the *Moral Reflexions*, and five days later he instructed his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal de la Trémoille, to ask for a fresh condemnation of the book by the Pope.[3] Champflour and Lescure

[1] Thuillier, 123 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 124 *seq.*

[3] Le Roy, 369, 383.

received permission to submit their business to Rome.[1] It was in vain that the Archbishop was advised to forestall the Roman decision by himself condemning Quesnel.[2] The King's letter of November 11th, 1711, laid particular stress on the fact that no difficulties were to be feared on the part of Noailles since he had given his word to submit immediately to a papal decision.[3] The King's letter found the Pope in his country residence. De Boussu, the future Archbishop of Malines, who happened to be with the Pope at the moment, strongly dissuaded him from publishing a Constitution which might have terrible consequences; notwithstanding his assurances of submission, it was impossible to trust the Archbishop of Paris, hence a simple prohibition of Quesnel's book would be sufficient. Thereupon Clement XI. became absorbed in deep thought. Sitting at his table, he covered his face with both hands and remained in that attitude for three-quarters of an hour. At the end of that time he said to De Boussu that he could not refuse the request of a King who prayed so earnestly for a Bull, and who had rendered such service to the Church.[4] A fateful decision had been taken.

[1] FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 59. On the memorial to the Pope of June 30, 1712, *ibid.*, 108. Minutes of a Brief to both, of July 4, 1711, revised by the Pope himself, in **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 129, Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] LE ROY, 377. For the rest Noailles confessed that he had never read Quesnel's book in its entirety. *Ibid.*, 376.

[3] SCHILL, 62 *seq.*; LE ROY, 380, n. 2. In his letter to the Bishop of Agen which was published by Noailles, we read: "Je n'ai pas balancé à dire à tous ceux qui ont voulu l'entendre, qu'on ne me verroit jamais, ni mettre ni souffrir de division dans l'Église, pour un livre dont la religion peut se passer: que si N. S. P. le Pape jugeoit à propos de censurer celui-ci dans les formes, je recevrois sa Constitution et sa censure avec tout le respect possible; et que je serois le premier à donner l'exemple d'une parfaite soumission d'esprit et de cœur." [LOUAI], 37.

[4] According to De Boussu's report, in THUILLIER, 125 *seq.*

(5.)

When he made his request for a new Constitution, Louis XIV.'s ambassador had first to offer excuses for the non-execution of an earlier decision against Quesnel, on the ground that it was impossible to get a papal decision accepted in France which styled itself *Moto proprio*. He requested the Pope that, in accordance with his promise to Cardinal Forbin Janson, he would bring out the new Constitution in conjunction with the King who would then undertake to get it accepted by the French Bishops. The formula of acceptation was to be settled by Pope and King together.[1]

In spite of these assurances Clement XI. was not without misgivings lest the Constitution should lead to a repetition of the experiences which he had had with his former Bull, notwithstanding all the King's promises. As Cardinal Fabroni observed, an appreciation of particular propositions of Quesnel, according to their theological value, would lead to fresh complications.[2] However, the Pope acceded to the King's wishes and negotiations were opened. "The affair is in the hands of the Jesuits, that says everything," Quesnel wrote at that time.[3] Yet in reality in the Congregation which the Pope set up for the examination of the *Moral Reflexions*, the Jesuits held a very modest position. It consisted of two Cardinals, viz. the Dominicans Ferrari and Fabroni, two officials of the Inquisition, Banchieri and the Franciscan Father Damascene, and nine theologians. Of these Le Drou belonged to the school of St. Augustine, the Master of the Palace, Bernardini, and the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, Selleri, to the Dominican school; the Franciscans, Palermo and Santelia were Scotists; to them were added the Benedictine Tedeschi, Bishop of Lipari, the Lazarist Castelli and the Barnabite Terroni. Only one Jesuit, Alfaro, the Pope's theologian, was included among the nine divines

[1] Le Roy, 383 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

[3] November 15, 1711, *ibid.*, 386.

who had obviously been selected from the most varied Orders and Schools, to the exclusion, as much as possible, of the Jesuits.[1] Moreover Alfaro, as an opponent of probabilism, could be regarded as to some extent acceptable to the Jansenists.

Probably with a view to avoiding the complications experienced in connection with the five propositions of Jansenius, the intention was to embody the condemned propositions textually in the Bull. But this was found difficult. Quesnel, according to de la Trémoille's [2] report, had written so artfully and cautiously that it was difficult to extract individual propositions from his book; whole pages would have to be printed because only the whole context would show the dangerous meaning of his assertions. Now it would be impossible to include so much matter in a Constitution. Another difficulty arose out of the fact that the Consultors frequently disagreed as to whether a proposition could be tolerated or not. Accordingly the Pope decided that only such propositions should be included in the Bull, in the condemnation of which all concurred; it might be expressly stated that the fact that a proposition was not mentioned did not imply its approval.[3] In these circumstances the work progressed very slowly [4]; at times it almost came to a standstill, so much so that Noailles' representatives in Rome

[1] Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 183; LE ROY, 402.

[2] January 2, 1712, in LE ROY, 403 *seq.*

[3] Trémoille, July 2, 1712, *ibid.*, 424.

[4] *Ibid.* On May 14, 1712, the Secretary of State wrote to the Auditor of the French Nunciature: "*Ma che trattandosi di materia dogmatica et essendo già state estratte dal libro consaputo le proposizioni che devono qualificarsi, la S. Sede non suole nè deve procedere senza una somma maturità ed essatta discussione delle istesse proposizioni, prima di proferirne e publicarne a tutta la Chiesa l'ultimo suo giudizio. Ha nondimeno Sua Stà, sul fondamento della notizia da lei recata, dati nuovi ordini più pressanti, perchè si solleciti al possibile la spedizione dell' affare." *Nunziat. di Francia*, 388, f. 132, Papal Sec. Archives.

advised their Archbishop on no account to withdraw his recommendation of Quesnel as the Constitution would not be published.[1] Meanwhile Louis XIV. continued his pressure [2] while Fénelon urged that the Constitution should be so worded as to leave the Jansenists no loophole [3]; since Rome had taken the matter in hand a decision must ensue else the party would triumph.[4] On the other hand the Jansenists sought to intimidate the Pope; "innumerable" letters to Rome pointed to the danger to which he exposed his authority and described the bad disposition both of the French Bishops and of Parliament.[5] Quesnel wrote to Clement XI. demanding unexceptionable judges and a hearing before judgment was delivered.[6] However, neither the person nor the intentions of Quesnel were in question, but his book which had to be rendered harmless.[7]

[1] LAFITAU, *Hist. de la Const. Unigenitus*, I., Avignon, 1766, 142.

[2] *To Trémoille, July 5, 1713, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 133, p. 32 (*cf.* p. 38), Papal Sec. Archives; LE ROY, 442.

[3] To Daubenton, April 13, June 8, and August 4, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 138, 166, 177.

[4] *Ibid.*, 142; LE ROY, 435.

[5] Daubenton, April 22, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 145. "Ce parti espère toujours d'intimider Rome; il dit hautement que Rome n'a qu'une politique faible, qu'on la décourage facilement, et qu'elle n'est rigoureuse qu'aux gens soumis et sans crédit." (Fénelon to Daubenton, June 8, 1713, *ibid.*, 167.) The Dominican Dionisio degli Albizzi, who, however, attacked the Bull at a later date ([LOUAIL], 383, 392, 730), also wrote to one of the Cardinals on March 6, 1713: "*Io temo assaissimo che invece di confermar l'autorità del Papa in Francia non venga ad indebolirla. Il parlamento non accetterà la Bolla. Tanti Brevi e tante Bolle fanno qui più torto che onore a' sommi pontefici, che si comincia udire palam che condannano senza riguardo più tosto per politica che per zelo." *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 133, p. 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] Text in DU BOIS, 2 *seqq.*

[7] Benedict XIV. subsequently made the following remark on the conduct of Clement XI.: "A vrai dire, bien que nous ayons

The French ambassador in Rome was mistaken when he held out a prospect of the Bull for October or November, 1712.[1] However, by the end of January, 1713, at least the work of the Consultors was concluded. Clement XI. heard their report after which the work of the Cardinals began. They examined the work of the Consultors and each week they gave their judgment on ten propositions.[2] By the middle of April, eighty-eight errors of Quesnel had been condemned, by the end of May publication of the Bull might be expected.[3] Every Tuesday and Thursday there was a session. Clement XI. took an active interest in the work; Daubenton saw notes on eighty-four of the propositions in the Pope's own hand which would fill a large volume. Cardinals

la plus grande estime pour ce grand pontife, nous avouons que sur ce point sa conduite ne nous a pas satisfait." Before judgement was passed on Jansenism under Innocent X. and on Fénelon under Innocent XII., their advocates had been heard. "C'est une chose pénible que de condamner même une livre, sans que l'auteur puisse le défendre, le livre fût-il dénoncé par un prélat très estimable, car cette condamnation marque en quelque sorte au visage et l'auteur et ceux qui l'approuvent; enfin la justice que l'on rend est d'autant plus applaudie que les deux parties ont été entendues auparavant." E. DE HEECKEREN, *Correspondance de Benoît XIV.*, Vol. I., Paris, 1912, 281.

[1] LE ROY, 425.

[2] Daubenton, January, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 128. The twenty-three sessions of the Congregation from February 9 to August 8, 1713, "pro examine 155 propositionum," taken from Quesnel's book in *Scritture diverse sopra la costituzione Unigenitus, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, Fondo Albani, t. 130, p. 8–19, Papal Sec. Archives. *Scritture spettanti alla costituzione *Unigenitus*, *ibid.*, t. 136 (September, 1713, to May, 1714), t. 137 (May to December, 1714), t. 138 (January to December, 1715), t. 139 (July, 1715, to 1716), t. 140 (1717); t. 134, p. 84 *seq.*: "*Metodo tenuto nel formare la costituzione Unigenitus con le minute, fogli e altre scritture"; t. 145: "*Copia della bolla secondo le ultime mutazioni, alle quali si devono aggiungere le qualificazioni e censure sopradette."

[3] Lallemant, April 12 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 138.

and qualificators were amazed at the keenness and acumen of Clement XI., who was not to be side-tracked by the opposition's attempts at intimidation.[1] Trusting in the King he even ended by ignoring the warnings of his friends who reminded him of the bad reception of his earlier Bulls.[2] To this day the numerous autograph notes and comments in the Vatican Secret Archives bear witness to Clement XI.'s personal share in the Constitution.[3]

[1] Daubenton, April 22, 1713, *ibid.*, 145; Trémoille, March 25, 1713, in Le Roy, 437.

[2] Daubenton, December 9, 1713, *loc. cit.*, 200.

[3] **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 130 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* *Autograph documents are in t. 131; t. 134, p. 70: "Due quinternetti scritti di pugno di S. Stà continenti le censure e qualificazioni expresse doppo compiti tutti gli esamini"; *ibid.*, p. 111 *seq.*: "Primo abozzo o minuta della bolla Unigenitus, nella quale si damneranno le proposizioni con distributione di sententie et classi, qual ordine non fu poi ritenuto, scritto da S. Stà" (all in the Pope's hand, Minutes with corrections); *ibid.*, p. 120: "Minuta della stessa bolla disposta con altro ordine conforme fu stampata, riveduta, mutata, aggiunta e postillata da S. Stà." We give here the autograph corrections of the Pope according to the copy of the Bull in Schill, 301 *seqq.* Originally the words on p 302, line 1, were "His Nos vere": His sane; p. 302, line 9: "Catholicis. . . permiscentem": adulterium scripturarum et expositionum mendacia multifariam proferentem; line 11: "habentem": commendari; line 9 from bottom "fallacem": perniciosam; line 8 from bottom "indicatam": reproductam; the words, line 2 from bottom, "ut omnes . . . compellantur" replace an originally longer passage; p. 303, line 13: "Hinc" originally: "igitur"; line 24: Huiusmodi propositiones", originally "Illae autem inter alias"; pp. 314–15: "Auditis igitur . . . innovantes respective" is by the Pope. Other additions by him are: p. 315, line 35: "utpote . . . hoc est"; line 38 *seqq.*: "sive praemissis . . . tenore praesentium"; corrections by him: line 21 "praesertim," originally "revera"; line 22 *seqq.*, "illis, quae . . . quas propterea"; line 28 *seq.*, "ac demum," "compererimus . . . Montensi"; line 37, "innocentium cordibus" instead of "christiano populo". The date on p. 316 is by the Pope.

At last "after so many contradictions and delays",[1] on September 8th, the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus* appeared. In a letter from Rome [2] it was stated "that the greatest care had been taken not to insert anything which might in any way offend the French clergy and Parliament. Never, perhaps, had a book been examined so long and so carefully". During three years the ablest theologians of Rome chosen from the most famous schools had been employed in its examination. The propositions to be condemned were first discussed by the theologians in seventeen sessions, lasting from four to five hours each, in presence of Cardinals Ferrari and Fabroni and after that in presence of the Pope and nine Cardinals of the Inquisition, in twenty-three sessions in which all the Consultors of the Holy Office, namely the Assessor and Commissary, a Dominican, the General of the Dominicans and several Bishops had taken part. The commission had begun by examining whether the propositions had been faithfully translated from the French,[3] after which their meaning and bearing was carefully studied. Every one of the propositions had cost the Pope three or four hours' study.[4]

[1] Daubenton, September 9, 1713, *loc. cit.*, 182.

[2] Daubenton, September 16, 1713, *ibid.*, 183. At this time, on September 27, 1713, Passionei had an audience with Louis XIV. at Fontainebleau at which the King assured him of his "sommissione e ubidienza al Papa" and of his zeal for religion. *Nunziat.*, Paci 50, p. 423, Papal Sec. Archives.

[3] In his letter to the Pope Quesnel questioned the accuracy of the Latin translations of his book (in Du Bois, 7), and the Jansenists spread the rumour that among the consultors, there were only a few who understood French ([Louail], 55; Le Roy, 403). The translation of the 101 propositions, however, is very faithful; *cf.* Schill, 303 *seqq.*

[4] Yet Harnack says: "The Constitution shows above all the lightheartedness with which men treated dogmatic theology which had become a 'corpus vile'" (*Dogmengeschichte*, III., Freiburg, 1897, 671). According to him in the Bull "Romanism parted for ever with its Augustinian past" (*ibid.*, 666). On Augustine in modern Catholic theology, see Portalié in *Dictionnaire de théol. cath.*, I., 2549 *seqq.*

Fénelon was full of joy and admiration at the Constitution which, he said, redounded to the particular honour of the Pope and the Holy See.[1] The head of the sect and the sect itself, he wrote, were admirably characterized, with all their rashness, their craftiness, their subterfuges and the persuasiveness with which they misled the faithful and evaded even the most radical measures. The peculiarities of Quesnel's book were excellently shown up; it was easy to discover the line of thought and the secret plan of the whole, and the poison spread even over those propositions which were least shocking, and the cunning with which preventions against the Church's teaching and discipline were instilled into the mind of the reader. Fénelon also admired the choice and order of the list of condemned propositions. The fact that similar propositions were placed side by side caused the one to throw light on the other. So powerful, moderate and accurate a Constitution would remain as the most precious monument of contemporary Catholic teaching; there was even a visible Providence at work in that at a time when the prestige of the Holy See was attacked and obscured, it asserted itself with such energy in the sphere of dogmatic definitions.

The Constitution *Unigenitus* [2] begins with Christ's warning against false prophets who come in the clothing of sheep. This referred especially to those false teachers who under the glittering appearance of piety and holiness secretly introduce errors and injurious sects and who, in order to deceive more easily the unwary, make use of texts of holy Scripture which they twist from their natural meaning. The Pope had heard with sorrow that Quesnel's *New Testament*, a book that hucksters Catholic truth with many lies, was being widely spread in spite of a papal prohibition. The harm done by this publication was chiefly due to the fact that the evil did not appear on the surface; at first sight it deceived the reader by a semblance of piety. Accordingly the Pope could do nothing better than to explain in detail and most clearly a deceitful teaching which up till then he

[1] To Daubenton, October 12, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 192.

[2] *Bull*, XXI., 567–575.

had only condemned in general terms, by extracting a number of propositions and so revealing before the eyes of all the cockle apart from the wheat that covered it. This had been the wish of many French Bishops and of the King himself.

There follows a list of a hundred and one propositions which are then condemned and censured. The procedure differs from that adopted in dealing with the five propositions of Jansenius; it is not stated which of the twenty censures enumerated apply to any particular proposition, the manner of the condemnation merely shows that each of the propositions falls at least under one of the censures enumerated and that every one of the censures applies to at least one of the hundred and one propositions. The book itself is prohibited under pain of excommunication.

When Clement XI. accounts for the wide diffusion of Quesnel's book by the glittering ambiguity of his teaching, he thereby also hints at the difficulty both of the composition and the understanding of the Constitution. "Among the censured propositions," Daubenton wrote to Fénelon from Rome,[1] "there are some which frighten one, others which, at first sight, make little impression and seem to deserve no censure; but when one makes an effort to penetrate more deeply into their meaning, one discovers the poison." Quesnel did not clearly say what he really meant but wrapped himself in pious ambiguities.[2] But it was this very ambiguity of certain propositions which led the Pope to put them in relief and thus to draw attention to the fact that not everything that sounds harmless in Quesnel is harmless in reality. The ambiguity is removed by the fact that in the Bull similar propositions are set side by side in groups, so that one proposition throws light upon another.

[1] Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 183. De Bissy, the future Cardinal, also wrote on October, 1713, to the Bishop of Montpellier: "Je vous dirai dans la dernière sincérité qu'il est vrai qu'au premier abord il y a eu quelques propositions de la bulle qui nous firent de la peine." In LE ROY, 498 *seq.*

[2] Some examples above, p. 198 *seq.*

The theologians had at first had 155 propositions submitted to them, fifty-four of which they put on one side.[1] Of the remaining 101 propositions the most important are those which touch the real core of Quesnel's thought, namely his view that grace is always efficacious, that is, that grace bestows on the will not only the capacity of willing supernatural good, but the very willing of it, so that faith, hope, charity and the practice of the various virtues follow infallibly upon the gift of grace; in other words there is no other grace but efficacious grace, which cannot be resisted. This, his fundamental thought, Quesnel repeats on all occasions in the most diverse forms.[2] As examples of the effect of grace he chooses only processes in which the free will of man plays no rôle, e.g. creation or the resurrection of the dead,[3] the union of the Eternal Word with the human nature of Christ in the Incarnation,[4] the stilling of the storm by a word from Christ.[5] Frequently he endeavours to substantiate these ideas with the assertion that grace is nothing else than the all-powerful will of God which nothing can resist.[6] From the omnipotence of grace it needs follows that all those whom God wishes to preserve from eternal perdition will be saved.[7]

All this sounds very beautiful in the ears of a superficial reader, inasmuch as it appears to be a homage to God's omnipotence: in reality it is blasphemous. If all those are saved, whom God wills to save, it follows necessarily that all those who perish, perish because He did not will to save them

[1] Noted in [Louail], 62–76. The fact that the number of condemned propositions exceeds five score by one was the subject of a joke with the Jansenists; they said that Le Tellier wanted it so because he had affirmed in the presence of the King that there were "more than 100 errors" in Quesnel. Saint-Simon, in Leclerq, I., 158.

[2] Bull *Unigenitus*, prop. 2–25.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 23.

[4] Nos. 21, 22.

[5] No. 20.

[6] Nos. 10, 11, 16, 19, 23, 24, 37, etc.

[7] No. 13; also 13 and 30–3.

and that He had created them from the first for hell and had denied His grace to them. This conclusion follows also from other condemned propositions. According to Quesnel Christ only died for the elect, the others are and remain unredeemed.[1] Pagans and impenitent sinners have no part in grace since for the pagan, the first grace is faith and for the sinner, complete forgiveness of sin; outside the Church there is no grace.[2] As to what was meant by never having received grace or having lost it by grievous sin, Quesnel leaves it in no doubt: the loss of grace entails a complete incapacity for meritorious work, prayer and any good deed; without it man does nothing and can do nothing; this condition of complete incapacity for all good was even that of the chosen people in the Old Law, on whom God laid His law whilst leaving them in their helplessness.[3] In this condition of abandonment the sinner only retains his freedom of will for evil, he has only "light" to go astray, zeal to throw himself into the abyss, strength to hurt himself; he is capable of every evil, incapable of any good; even the natural knowledge of God issues in sin and prayer becomes yet another sin.[4]

These doctrines are connected with Quesnel's views on the virtue of charity or the love of God.[5] According to him supernatural charity, which enables us to love God for His own sake, is the only virtue. Every other love is evil,[6] without this love of God there is neither faith nor hope,[7] no fulfilment of the law,[8] no fruitful prayer,[9] no merit and no reward in heaven,[10] no Christianity and no religion.[11] Now the pagan

[1] No. 32.
[2] Nos. 26–9.
[3] Nos. 1–8.
[4] Nos. 38–42, 48, 59.
[5] Nos. 44–58.
[6] Nos. 44–6, 48, 49.
[7] Nos. 51 *seq.*, 57.
[8] No. 47.
[9] Nos. 50, 54.
[10] Nos. 53, 55 *seq.*
[11] Nos. 53, 58.

or the sinner has not this love of God, hence Quesnel concludes that whatever he does is a sin. The fact is that Quesnel only knows two kinds of love in man, from which all his desires and actions proceed: the love of God, which does everything for the sake of God, and love of self and the world—there is no middle course; when disinterested love of God does not sway the heart of the sinner, he is ruled by carnal concupiscence which corrupts all his actions.[1] Quesnel's writings make it clear that these propositions[2] are based[3] on Jansenius' notion of a twofold delectation, one of which originates from heaven, from the impulse of grace, the other from the earth, from concupiscence. These two delectations are mutually exclusive and man follows infallibly the stronger of the two. According to Fénelon this doctrine is the real root of Quesnel's system.

Besides the teaching of Baius and Jansenius on grace Quesnel also defends Richer's views on the Church, in so far as he only concedes to ecclesiastical superiors the power to excommunicate with the consent of the whole Church[4]; for the rest, according to him, the Church consists exclusively of the just and the elect.[5] He also regards the reading of

[1] Nos. 44–6.

[2] Nos. 72–8.

[3] Because this opinion is not emphasized in the 101 propositions, its place being taken by the eulogy of the omnipotence of God, some have thought that Quesnel abandoned this doctrine of his Jansenist predecessors. But Montagne, a good judge, says (*De gratia diss.*, 12, art. 3 [MIGNE, *Cursus theol.*, X., 638]): "En famosum duarum delectationum indeliberatarum principium, quod ex Jansenio depromptum centies in suis memorialibus et apologeticis scriptis obtrudit Quesnellus." FÉNELON: "Quelle est donc la doctrine du P. Quesnel? C'est le système des deux delectations . . . C'est pour soutenir ce système que le P. Quesnel . . . s'est réfugié en Hollande. Voilà précisément la doctrine condamnée par l'Église dans les propositions du livre du P. Quesnel" (*Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats : Œuvres*, VIII., 262. *Cf.* PORTALIÉ in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 2548. On the twofold delectation, *cf.* the present work, XXIX., 98.

[4] No. 90. [5] Nos. 72–8.

Holy Scripture as necessary even for the uneducated,[1] upholds Arnauld's strictest principles with regard to the administration of the sacrament of Penance [2] and speaks of excommunication in terms which clearly show that he scorned, as unjust, the excommunication which had been pronounced against himself.[3]

If Quesnel had expounded his ideas as connectedly as they are indicated in the Bull, there can be no doubt that the reading of his book would have proved repellent. His success is explained by the fact that, as the Bull puts it, "he instils his poison into the reader drop by drop and hides what is objectionable under a mass of pious phrases." Fénelon, too,

[1] Nos. 79–85.

[2] Nos. 87, 88.

[3] Nos. 91–3. On proposition 91 ("the fear of an unjust excommunication must not keep us back from doing our duty"), MÖHLER remarks: "All that can be said is that it is a proposition to which even the most cautious person can have no objection, except it be that it should not be brought under discussion" (*Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by GAMS, III., 268). However, Möhler overlooks the fact that in propositions 91–3, Quesnel does not speak of the ban of the Church merely theoretically, but endeavours to justify the conduct of the Jansenists who did not care if they came under the ban of the Church. "Just" and "duty" on the lips of Quesnel do not mean what is really "just" and "a duty", but what Quesnel understands by those words in opposition to the authority of the Church. Already in 1675, Hamon, the physician of Port-Royal, wrote a pamphlet for the Nuns of Port-Royal, in which he says expressly that it did not matter at all if they were debarred from Confession and Communion (*Traités de piété composés pour l'instruction et la consolation des religieuses de Port-Royal, à l'occasion des épreuves auxquelles elles ont été exposées*, Paris, 1675, Amsterdam, 1727). *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], IV., 157 *seqq.* When Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, threatened a lady with the ban of the Church, she answered him with proposition 91 of the Bull (ROCQUAIN, 52, note). *Cf.* below, 322, n. 5. Excommunication would be useless if propositions 90–3 remained uncensured, everyone would say that the excommunication pronounced on him was unjust. *Cf.* DOM. VIVA, *Opera omnia*, VIII., Ferrara, 1757, 244. On Möhler's and

observes [1] that a great number of libertines, who scorned all religion, nevertheless passionately upheld Jansenism. This was natural enough; if a man always necessarily yields to the greater delectation, one might lead a most frivolous life whilst persuading oneself that one followed "the principles of St. Augustine". "The denial of freedom of the will," says Fénelon, "is fashionable to-day and people are delighted that a party enjoying such prestige should approve it. All these atheists favour Jansenism out of hatred for religion."

How profound was Quesnel's influence was soon to be seen.

(6.)

Louis XIV. had expressed a wish to see the draft of the Bull.[2] As a matter of fact it was clandestinely forwarded to Le Tellier [3] who, of course, showed it to the King. Clement XI. would not allow it to be dispatched through the French ambassador and when the latter complained he denied ever having made any promise on the subject.[4] He nevertheless showed the draft of the introduction and the conclusion of the Bull to the ambassador who had submitted a list of all such formulas of Bulls as were unable to give offence in France.[5] For all that the Pope was not without anxiety about the reception of the Constitution. It was not a good omen that at this very time the Jansenist Bishop Clermont-Tonnerre of Langres published an open letter in which he represented to the King that it would be better to settle these controversies in France and that it was an insult to the French clergy to defer them to Rome.[6] The same ideas were broadcast in pamphlets published by the party.[7]

Döllinger's opinion about the Bull, see Joh. Friedrich, *J. v. Döllinger*, I., Munich, 1899, 269 *seqq.*

[1] To Le Tellier, July 22, 1712, *Œuvres*, VIII., 111.

[2] Le Roy, 438 *seq.*, 453.

[3] *Ibid.*, 460.

[4] *Ibid.*, 455.

[5] *Ibid.*, 453, 456.

[6] *Ibid.*, 440

[7] [Louail], 45.

The Constitution arrived at Fontainebleau on September 25th and was received by the King with great satisfaction. It soon became known everywhere.[1] Noailles obtained a delay of forty-eight hours before its promulgation to enable him to withdraw in the meantime his commendation of Quesnel's book. His withdrawal is couched in general terms and mentions no particular error in it.[2]

What opposition, in spite of the careful wording of the Bull, the Roman authorities feared from the French Jesuits and from Noailles, in spite of his recantation, appears from Fénelon's suggestion as to the means of getting it accepted in France.[3] "I think," he writes, "that we cannot surround the reception of the Bull with too much circumstance." The utmost solemnity was required in order to impress the people, to restrain the Jansenist theologians and to compel the Bishops to be true to their pledged word. With a view to securing as uniform an acceptance as possible, the Bull should not be immediately forwarded to individual Bishops who would then each publish his own particular ordinance, on the contrary, it would be better to summon the thirty odd Bishops who happened to be in Paris just then to a special meeting to which should also be invited a dozen Bishops of the neighbourhood, as for instance the Archbishops of Sens, Bourges, Rouen, Rheims and Cardinals d'Estrées, Rohan and Polignac. The presidency would fall to Cardinal d'Estrées whom a decisive word of the King would not fail to induce to submit to a dogmatic decision by the Pope. This extraordinary assembly of Bishops should decree the publication of a joint pastoral letter which the King might get secretly drawn up by reliable prelates and theologians.

[1] The Pope's letter to the King, September 10, 1713, in Du Bois, 33; Fleury, LXVIII., 501. *Draft of the letter with corrections in the Pope's own hand in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 134, p. 190, Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] Le Roy, 463, 486; Lallemant to Fénelon, October 3, 1713, *Œuvres*, VIII., 190.

[3] *Mémoire*, *Œuvres*, VIII., 186–190. *Cf.* letter to his nephew, September 11, 1713, *ibid.*, VII., 471.

But Cardinal Noailles must have nothing to do with it, as he would not keep the secret ; he was only to be informed when the *mandement* was completed, though the text must not be communicated to him : Noailles must accept it unconditionally and not publish a *mandement* of his own at some future date. There must be no mention of motives, explanations or restrictions in the document which should be short and straightforward.[1] The King would then forward it to the provincial assemblies for their acceptance. Unreliable Bishops might be warned, on the quiet, of canonical action against them should they refuse to accept the Bull, as had been done by the assembly of Paris which, as a matter of fact, should serve as a model for the provincial synods.[2] Immediately after the Paris assembly, Fénelon suggested, the King should issue letters patent to announce his acceptance of the Bull.[3] If some officials with little zeal against Jansenism saw in it an infringement of Gallican liberties, the King might privately discuss the matter with some prudent Bishops. By comparing the Bull with former ones, which had been received without objection, it would be seen that the new Constitution contained nothing alarming. For the rest, by objecting to the form, the intention was to hit the substance itself, and to put obstacles, in France, to the dogmatic pronouncements of the Holy See. Would the Pope ever be able to issue a dogmatic decision, even on the most burning questions, if they allowed a Bull to be rejected which was so necessary and for which the King had prayed in so sensational a fashion ? [4]

Fénelon's proposals were acted upon. On October 4th it was decided to convene the Bishops who were then in the King's *entourage* and in Paris ; on the 16th the assembly opened in presence of twenty-nine Bishops who were subsequently joined by another twenty-three. The more

[1] *Mémoire, loc. cit.* Nos. 2–12.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 18–22, 26–8.

[3] Nos. 29, 30.

[4] Nos. 13–15.

notable ones among them were Cardinal Rohan, the Archbishops of Bourges, Rheims, Aix, Auch, Toulouse, the learned Bishop of Avranches, Daniel Huet, and Bissy of Meaux.[1] In the absence of D'Estrées, Noailles took the chair; he opened the discussions with a speech in which he sought to justify the attitude towards Quesnel hitherto adopted by him.[2] After a royal exhortation to receive the Bull had been read, he proposed that they should thank the King, appoint a commission to study the question and have the Constitution printed for distribution to the members of the assembly.[3] Cardinal Rohan, the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Auch, the Bishops of Soissons, Meaux and Blois were chosen as members of the commission. In accordance with a decision of October 19th the synodal oath and the Mass of the Holy Ghost followed on the 21st. The sittings of the commission then began and with them the strife of opinions.[4] The papal group among the Bishops, the so-called "Sulpicians",[5] were for a straightforward acceptance of the Bull, without explanations and restrictions. They were faced by Noailles and his followers. The Archbishop had indeed prohibited Quesnel's book but continued to maintain that the condemned propositions were patient of an orthodox interpretation; accordingly he was of opinion, no doubt in view of his previous commendation, that the Bull should only be received after a preliminary declaration defining

[1] SCHILL, 77; LE ROY, 479, 484. The letter of convocation, October 6, 1713, in DU BOIS, 37. Fénelon's plan was attacked by Pontchâtrain, the Chancellor, and by D'Aguesseau, the Procurator-General (LE ROY, 479). List of the participants in DU BOIS, 35, 43.

[2] SCHILL, 79 *seqq.*; LE ROY, 484. The speech is not in the *procès-verbal.*

[3] DU BOIS, 39. The King's letter, October 15, *ibid.*, 38.

[4] SCHILL, 79 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXVIII., 511 *seqq.*, 580 *seqq.*; [LOUAIL], 84 *seqq.*, 130 *seqq.*; Rohan to Noailles, December 12, 1713, *ibid.*, 133.

[5] Lallemant, January 16, 1714, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 208; [LOUAIL], 130, 140.

more fully the sense of the condemned propositions. Such a declaration was also desired by the Archbishop of Bordeaux as a precaution against Jansenist distortions. The question whether and how such a declaration was to be made and how it was to be formulated, led to discussions which lasted for months.

The assembly felt that uniformity of action by the Bishops was the most pressing need [1] and they were prepared to pay for it with concessions to Noailles. Rohan's proposal to accept the Bull without further additions was accordingly declined, but neither did Noailles have his will; the first of his suggestions was defeated by the Bishop of Evreux who appealed to the King. Noailles then demanded that the ordinance on the publication of the Bull should be prefaced by an account of the discussions of the commission, or at least by a summary of them, pointing out the Catholic and the heretical sense of the condemned propositions. However, the consequences of such distinctions had been too painfully felt during the Jansenist controversies for the commission to agree to anything of the kind. In the end a *via media* was agreed upon, namely the publication of the Bull together with a joint pastoral letter.

However, the agreement was only apparent, for Noailles and his followers had decided that the Bishops' letter must not tax Quesnel's book with heresy and that only on that condition could the Bull be received; in other words, the 101 propositions had been very properly condemned but Quesnel had made no heretical statement; thus the old Jansenist distinction between right and fact was once more to be pressed into service.[2]

The King put an end to all uncertainty when, on January 8th, after reception of a papal exhortation, he ordered the assembly to resume its meetings and to receive the Bull

[1] Lallemant, *loc. cit.*; Fénelon, January 20, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 210 *seq.*

[2] Il faut éviter la question de fait plus dangereuse dans cette occasion que dans celle du livre Jansénius." Noailles to Rohan, January 14, 1714, in [Louail], 137.

without addition, though at the request of the Archbishop of Rouen he granted a delay of eight days.[1] In six sessions, from January 15th to 22nd, 1714,[2] Rohan communicated to the assembled Bishops the result of the deliberations of the commission and its examination and condemnation of Quesnel's theses. He proposed that the assembly should declare its joy at finding in the Constitution the teaching of the Church; that it should receive the Constitution, condemn Quesnel's book, issue a joint pastoral letter exhorting all Bishops to condemn the *Moral Reflexions* on the basis of the pastoral, to register the Bull and, lastly, to send a letter of thanks to Pope and King.

The moment had come when the fate of Catholic France was about to be decided for decades to come. If the proposals were carried out, and if on this basis all continued to work with great zeal and prudence, there was every hope that religious peace would be re-established. But in this fateful hour France was led by a man like Noailles. That vain man was angry with the assembly; "I am only president in name," he wrote,[3] "nearly everything is done without me and much is done against me." But he was not without followers: the party of the Archbishop, the Capuchin Timothy of La Flèche wrote not without exaggeration, was strong enough to bring about a schism, for Noailles could count on the Oratorians, the Benedictines, many Cistercians, all Canons Regular, the Dominicans, a large number of bad Monks and members of other Orders, and on the whole of the secular clergy.[4] Bishop Soanen of Senez openly described the condemned Quesnel as an "innocent man whom the Jesuits wished to stone because he had revealed too much of the truth", and in the Assembly of the Clergy he defended the orthodoxy of the *Moral Reflexions*.[5] Outside the assembly

[1] Fleury, LXVIII., 584 *seq.*; [Louail], 135 *seq.*

[2] Du Bois, 43–8.

[3] To Voisin, January 15, 1714, in Le Roy, 539; [Louail], 143.

[4] In Le Roy, 502

[5] *Ibid.*, 470, 504.

Colbert of Montpellier also openly attacked the papal Constitution.[1] The objections of some of the others were not so much against the Bull's teaching on grace: "the propositions concerning the withholding of absolution," Noailles wrote,[2] "upset all good confessors and all those who are afraid of a too lenient moral theology; the propositions on the reading of Holy Scripture annoy both men and women of every social rank, whilst those on excommunication alarm and irritate the officials, courtiers and jurists." To complete the confusion the minority announced that they would no longer take part in the deliberations of the Assembly of the Clergy though at a hint from the King they went back on this decision.[3] On top of everything the whole population was being stirred up by a flood of publications, poems and theatrical farces.[4]

It was in circumstances such as these that nine opponents of the Bull met on January 12th, 1714, at Noailles' house; they were the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Verdun, Lâon, Châlons-sur-Marne, Senez, Boulogne, Saint-Malo, Bayonne and Auxerre; the latter, however, soon rejoined the majority.

At the session of January 22nd dissension broke out openly. After Cardinal Rohan had read the report on the labours of the commission and proposed the acceptance of the Constitution and a joint pastoral letter, Noailles spoke of

[1] *Ibid.*, 502 *seq.*

[2] To Trémoille, December 11, 1713, in Le Roy, 465, n. 2. So also in Noailles's discourse in the assembly, January 22, 1714. [Louail], 144.

[3] *Procès-verbal* des évêques opposants, *ibid.*, 142.

[4] Rohan, January 22, 1714, in Du Bois, 47 *seq.*: "Le parti s'est déchaîné avec une fureur et une insolence schismatique. Pendant qu'on soutient avec tant d'assurance que le Jansénisme n'est qu'un fantôme ridicule, il se montre si réel et si redoutable, qu'il résiste en face au Pape, au Roi et aux évêques; il croît chaque jour" (Fénelon to Daubenton, January 2, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 206). On Quesnel's writings during the assembly and after, *cf.* [Louail], 121 *seqq.*; [Patouillet], II., 473 *seq.*; III., 60 *seqq.*

the difficulties raised by the Constitution. Thereupon the Archbishop of Tours suggested that they should begin by drawing up the pastoral letter with its explanations of the condemned errors, and only when this was done should they go into the question of the acceptance of the Bull. To this Noailles and his followers agreed.[1] His action could only mean that the minority was unwilling to submit to the Bull unconditionally and would only do so on the basis laid down in the pastoral. When the letter was read on February 1st, with a view to ascertaining the assembly's opinion on it,[2] Noailles declared in the name of his party that they would refrain from voting and would ask the Pope for further explanations of his decision. This was a veiled rejection of the Bull. It clearly betrays a determination, a contemporary writes, to counter any intention that might exist in Rome of sending further Bulls to the French. Either the papal decisions were regarded as binding, and in that case the Bull was so too and would have to be accepted before the explanations, or the minority was of opinion that even after these explanations it would be free to think as it pleased; in that case what would be the use of the Pope giving any explanations? [3]

The meeting was thus practically at an end and the cleavage complete. On February 5th the text of the letters to the Pope and the French Bishops was approved.[4] On February 1st the minority had declared that in future they would only take part in the meetings of the Bishops out of obedience to the King and as witnesses of the proceedings. They likewise refused to subscribe to the protocol.[5] The King forbade the minority to address a joint letter to the Pope as the Assembly of the Clergy alone had the right to act as a body. Thereupon

[1] [Louail], 142; Du Bois, 49.

[2] Printed in Du Bois, 53–93, index in Schill, 87 *seq.*

[3] Lallemant, January 30 and February 2, 1714, in Fénelon. *Œuvres*, VIII., 214, 215.

[4] In Du Bois, 99 *seqq.*, 102 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 107 *seq.*

the minority requested Noailles to write to Rome in their name.[1] Louis XIV. forbade the Cardinal to appear before him and commanded the other eight prelates to return to their dioceses and to remain there until further orders.[2] Thereupon the Bishop of Lâon left Noailles' party.[3]

On February 15th the Bull *Unigenitus* was registered by Parliament together with a royal decree which, contrary to custom, not only exhorted, but commanded the Bishops to publish the Bull.[4] The jurists objected to the secular power presuming to give orders to the Bishops but the King angrily brushed aside their observations.[5] For the rest Parliament did not neglect to insert a clause to safe-guard Gallican liberties.[6]

Towards the end of February, Noailles, by publishing a pastoral letter,[7] took a fresh step which caused an enormous sensation: within a few days over 20,000 copies of the pastoral were sold in Paris alone.[8] In it he openly spoke of differences of opinion in the Assembly of the Clergy, complained that the Bull was obscure and liable to misinterpretation, and that it deprived priests who received it of the exercise of their priestly functions; but at the same time he once more forbade Quesnel's book.

[1] *Procès-verbal* of the opposition, in [Louail], 147. The draft of their letter to the Pope and to the King, *ibid.*, 149, 155.

[2] [Louail], 161 *seq.*

[3] By the declaration of February 10, 1714, in Du Bois, 109. "Une conversion comme la sienne ne fait honneur ni à l'Église, ni à l'épiscopat, ni au pénitent," wrote Lallemant, February 16, 1714, in Fénelon *Œuvres*, VIII., 222.

[4] "... exhortons à cette fin et néanmoins *enjoignons* à tous les archévêques et évêques, etc." *Lettres patentes* of February 14, 1714, Du Bois, 112.

[5] Le Roy, 560–569. On the discourse of the Abbé Pucelle, a sort of Tribune of the people, *ibid.*, 566 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 114–19. Criticism of the pastoral letter by Fénelon: *Œuvres*, VIII., 224 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.*

[7] February 25, 1714, Du Bois, 120–5.

[8] Le Roy, 570.

The Archbishop's pastoral appeared on the very day before the meeting at which, by the King's order, the Sorbonne was to accept and register the Bull. The theologian Witasse promptly took occasion of Noailles' prohibition to make difficulties against the execution of the royal command. However, it was resolved on March 5th to receive and register the Bull "with most profound respect and submission". On March 10th the decision was read once more without anyone objecting, only when the decision of the Faculty appeared in print did some of the Doctors manifest their dissatisfaction and ask for a fresh count of the votes. The King answered this demand by excluding six of the leaders from the deliberations and by banishing four others.[1]

After this defeat in the Sorbonne the Jansenists took up all the more eagerly the weapon with which, up till then, they had achieved their greatest triumphs—the pen: a spate of pamphlets, comic songs, memorials and bulky quartos appeared with the object of disparaging both the Bull and the Pope.[2] It was only too evident, Fénelon wrote, that Jansenism was no mere figment of the imagination,[3] but something very real and a menace to the whole Church. The most important of the above-mentioned productions is the so-called *Hexapla*[4]; here an immense mass of texts from the Scriptures and the Fathers is marshalled in six columns, with a view to showing that Quesnel's propositions

[1] SCHILL, 92–5; FLEURY, 638–653; DU BOIS, 136–153. According to the account of the Jansenists (in [LOUAIL], 168–195; LE ROY, 574–586), the unanimity of the Faculty was brought about by deception and violence. However, on December 15, 1729, the Faculty declares its former decree: "verum esse ac genuinum," "agnoscit immerito prorsurs fuisse declaratum falsum, adulterinum, commentitium" MONTAGNE, 502 *seq.*). On the registration by the Faculty of Rheims and Nantes, see [LOUAIL], 195 *seqq.*

[2] [LOUAIL], 94 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*, 213 *seqq.*

[3] To Daubenton, February 5, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 216.

[4] *Hexaples, ou six colonnes sur la constitution Unigenitus*, 1714. [LOUAIL], 405 *seqq.*

represent the teaching of Christian antiquity. The Assembly of the Clergy of 1715 condemned the book and many Bishops associated themselves with its sentence. The authors were also forced to put up with the accusation of deliberate forgery.[1]

For all that the work was re-published in 1721, in an enlarged edition of seven volumes in *quarto*[2] to which was added a historical introduction in four volumes.[3] Another work, also condemned in 1715, at the same time as the *Hexapla*, declares that the Constitution shook the foundations of religion and anathematized Christ Himself. According to the author, papal and episcopal sentences have no authority without the consent of the people.[4]

There were those whose interest it was to lower the prestige of ecclesiastical superiors, for with the overwhelming majority of the French Bishops the Bull met with no opposition whatever. Whereas in other countries formal submission to the papal decision was not demanded, things were different in France, on account of the King's command and the exhortation of the Assembly of the Clergy; in these circumstances the silence of any one Bishop would have been construed as a refusal of the Bull. Out of the 126 dioceses dependent on France the papal Bull was promulgated in 112, and in 1715 the Assembly of the Clergy had 110 pastoral letters relating to it published in one volume.[5] No doubt in more than one of these letters Gallicanism shows itself

[1] *Cf.* [Patouillet], II., 182 *seqq.*; Montagne, 488 *seq.* (text of the censure of 1715), 536 (examples of forgeries). Among the polemical writings against the *Hexapla*, the most important is that by the Jesuit, Jacques de la Fontaine, *Constitutio Unigenitus theologice propugnata*, 4 vols., Rome, 1717.

[2] [[Cadry], II., 608 *seqq.*

[3] *Histoire du livre des Réflexions morales*, Amsterdam, 1723.

[4] *Témoignage de la vérité dans l'Église*, 1714 (by the Oratorian Laborde). *Cf.* [Patouillet], IV., 34 *seqq.* The Regent forbade the Assembly of the Clergy to print and register the two censures; however, the Bishops took copies with them signed by the secretary. Leclerq, I., 163.

[5] Thus the Jansenist Louail (217).

more or less openly,[1] but this does not alter the fact that the Bull met with as good as universal submission. Even in the letters of the Bishops of Sisteron and Metz,[2] which were excluded from the collection of 1715 by reason of various peculiarities, the Constitution is accepted in the end. With one solitary exception all the Bishops likewise condemned Quesnel's *New Testament*.[3]

However, even in the days of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., papal decisions had met with a very different reception! "One need not wonder at so disastrous a change," Fénelon wrote[4]: "the contagion spreads immeasurably. Since the peace, on the occasion of which Clement IX. was so shamefully deceived, Jansenism has struck deep roots in the clergy, the Orders and the Congregations, the schools, and even in the families." To stem the evil Fénelon demanded energetic measures: "Gentleness and patience from above merely increase insolence from below. Whilst the defenders of a just cause scarcely dare to speak and to write, the party dares

[1] *Ibid.*, 217–226. *Cf.* Le Roy, 588 *seq.* In ecclesiastical circles nothing else was expected. For this reason also it was decided, at the Assembly of the Clergy of 1714, to issue a joint Pastoral letter, as otherwise "il s'en fera d'autres dont les catholiques seront affligés avec raison". Daubenton, January 16, 1714, in Fénelon, *Œuvres*, VIII., 209.

[2] [Louail], 220 *seqq.*, 234 *seqq.* The mandement of Metz also in Du Bois, 158 *seqq.* Suppression of the mandement by an "Arrest du Conseil d'État du Roi" of July 5, 1714, *ibid.*, 183 *seq.*

[3] Schill, 92.

[4] To Daubenton, April 12, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 236. *Cf.* to Rohan, July 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 245: "On ne doit jamais oublier les procès-verbaux cachés dans les greffes, par lesquels on surprit le Pape Clément IX. . . . Si cette paix flatteuse n'avoit point endormi le monde pendant quarante ans, et si elle n'avoit pas donné au parti la facilité de semer l'ivraie par-dessus le bon grain, l'Église de France ne seroit pas aujourd'hui dans le péril d'un schisme. C'est cette malheureuse paix qui cause la guerre présente, au bout de quarante cinq ans, et qui nous mène droit au schisme.' Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats, *ibid.*, 268.

everything all the time and floods Europe with its venomous writings."

If in spite of the deplorable experience of the past decades Fénelon still hoped for salvation from a new papal Bull which would track Jansenism to its last hiding place, that circumstance is assuredly proof that even in Gallican France the word of the Pope still carried great weight. Fénelon thought that on this occasion Clement XI. should leave on one side both Jansenius and Quesnel, that is both persons and books, and to condemn unmistakably the real root of Jansenism, that is the doctrine of the two delectations, namely, the heavenly delectation of grace and the earthly one of concupiscence, either of which, it was said, according as it happens to be the stronger, always compels the will. Fénelon had already pressed for a condemnation, in the Bull against Quesnel, of this fundamental tenet of Jansenism,[1] but Rome did not want to do everything at once.[2] He now came back to his former proposal,[3] but for the moment the Pope had had enough with his experiences in connection with the Bull against Quesnel.[4]

The fact was that Clement XI. was profoundly dissatisfied not only with the eight Bishops of the minority, but with the whole Assembly of the Clergy. Whilst the committee of the Assembly was still deliberating, the Secretary of State wrote to nuncio Bentivoglio [5] that it seemed strange that the Bishops should wish for a repetition of the incidents of the Assembly of 1705. The Bishops' duty was, not to judge the Constitution or to explain it, but to submit to it. The nuncio must insist on this and, if need be, appeal to the King. For the rest the Secretary of State observes that the censures

[1] To Daubenton, June 8, and August 4, 1713, *Œuvres*, 167, 178. On the so-called "*delectatio victrix*", *cf.* above.

[2] Daubenton, September 16, 1713, in FÉNELON, VIII., 183 *seq.*

[3] To Rohan, July 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 244.

[4] Benedict XIV. testified later how annoyed Clement XI. was because in spite of the King's promise the Constitution had not been straightway accepted. DE HEECKEREN, I., 31.

[5] November 23, 1713, in [LOUAIL], 126 *seq.*

in the Bull were justified even though some of the condemned propositions deserved a censure, not as they stood, but only as they were understood by Quesnel. A month later the Secretary of State renewed his warning [1]: the nuncio must tolerate no declaration, explanation or limitation of the Constitution, and his answer to all objections against the censures must simply be that in Rome they knew theology and understood Augustine and the other Fathers; Calvin and Luther always had Augustine on their tongue, as had Jansenius, yet the Church, which understands St. Augustine far better, had condemned them. The nuncio must not allow himself to be deluded with a promise not to use the expressions "to judge" and "to examine". If they examined in fact, what was the use of avoiding the word? All the newspapers announced that the Bishops were busy examining the Constitution and discussing the condemned propositions. Bentivoglio should request the King to put an end to the affair as soon as possible.

Even after the Assembly of the Clergy had concluded its labours, Rome was dissatisfied with its conduct.[2] Fault was found with the fact that the Assembly drew out its deliberations so long as to create the impression that it was subjecting the papal pronouncement to an examination. The final acceptance of the Bull by the Assembly was learnt with real satisfaction, but the very first sentence of the document relating to it gave offence inasmuch as it stated that the Assembly was exceedingly glad to find in the Constitution the Church's teaching. This sounds as if they had accepted the Constitution because they found it free from error, whilst not a word was said on the duty of submission and on the obligation for the Bishops of carrying the Bull into effect.[3] It was feared that the well-disposed Bishops allowed

[1] To Bentivoglio, December 21, 1713, *ibid.*, 129 *seq.*

[2] Daubenton, February 24, 1714, in FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., 223.

[3] Fénelon also took offence at this at once: "Pourquoi commencer par ces mots: Nous avons reconnu etc.? . . . Quelle affectation suspecte! Pourquoi innover? Veut-on piquer Rome?" January 20, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 210.

themselves to be dominated by the opposition party and the efforts made to satisfy them annoyed Rome. As for the eight Bishops, irritation against them "was tremendous". A special Congregation of seven Cardinals [1] would be set up to deal with the matter.

It was hoped that the Pope would reply in a Brief praising the forty-one in courteous terms and blaming the eight without hurting them, whilst all the time avoiding wounding Gallican susceptibilities, but Clement XI. was in too excited a state of mind for such an answer, all the more so as stress was again being laid, offensively enough, on the claims of the Gallican Church, both in the royal letters-patent and in the document of registration of the Bull. He would have been more easily induced to overlook the Gallican agitation and to treat the eight with gentleness; it was more difficult to persuade him to pass over the action of the forty-one without a word of blame. Fénelon's confidential agent, the Jesuit Daubenton, did his utmost to secure such a Brief. At the invitation of the French ambassador, De la Trémoille, he represented first to Cardinals Fabroni and Albani, and then to the Pope himself, that it was a question either of saving the Church of France or of destroying it: of saving it if the Pope would unite with the King and with over a hundred Bishops and the great mass of the people, against a few prelates; of destroying it, if he broke with the forty-one, if he blamed their conduct and so formed a third party, for in that case he would have to deal with the whole realm and the schism would be an accomplished fact. Lesser offences, he suggested, the Pope could overlook for the sake of the welfare of the Church. In spite of these arguments, a fortnight went by before Daubenton was in a position to assure the French ambassador that a Brief would be addressed to the forty-one, and that it would satisfy them. Another eight days passed during which the Brief was polished into as courteous a form as possible. In the meantime the Jansenists

[1] Spada, Paolucci, Albani, Ferrari, Fabroni, Tolomei, Casini. Daubenton, March, 1714, *ibid.*, 231.

had done their utmost, by means of skilfully worded letters, to render the forty-one suspect in Rome.[1]

Fénelon constituted himself their advocate. He hastened to express his satisfaction with the Brief and its form and to defend the joint pastoral of the Assembly of the Clergy on which Rome had as yet passed no comment.[2] It was not to be viewed as an explanation presupposing imperfections or ambiguities in the Bull, but rather as its justification, for though the Bull was perfectly plain for an unprejudiced reader, as a result of the spate of cunning pamphlets published by the party, nearly everyone in France felt inclined to take it for granted that it was vague, ambiguous and exaggerated. "No reply was being made to these numberless writings. Never has seduction on such a scale and one so dangerous been experienced; even women, in the course of gossip, put the most ridiculous and most odious construction on the Bull; it became the fashion to scoff at it and people were ashamed to uphold it. Everybody said aloud that it would remain as a tangible proof, for all time of the fact that the Pope was not infallible. What could the Assembly of the Clergy do against all this? So far from explaining the Bull, it has proved that it needs no explanation. It has added neither corrections nor restrictions but has refuted the insidious explanations with which the Jansenists sought to excite men's minds." For these reasons Fénelon thought that Rome should not allow itself to be hampered by the objections of professional theologians against this or that statement in the pastoral, in fact care should be taken to ascertain whether this excessive strictness was not due to some secret Jansenists who knew how to disguise themselves and to insinuate themselves everywhere for the purpose of creating discord between the Pope and the French clergy. "I know beyond a doubt that secret emissaries of the party have had recourse

[1] Daubenton, March, 1714, *ibid.*, 230 *seq.* On Daubenton's efforts in this matter: Chalmette, Rome, March 22, 1714, *ibid.*, 231. The Brief to the forty-one prelates, March 17, 1714, in Du Bois, 134 *seqq.*

[2] To Daubenton, April 12, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 234 *seqq.*

to such expedients in order to cross countermeasures and to divide their opponents."

Whilst Fénelon defended the forty-one he also urged that the eight rebels should be dealt with without loss of time. The King was still alive, he wrote, but a stormy period might come upon them any day and the party awaited it with impatience. A false peace would not lessen the bitterness of the party, nor lower its prestige; the very opposite would happen. A threefold line of action might be adopted towards the eight[1]: the Pope might be requested to name a commission to initiate legal proceedings against them, or provincial councils and even a national council might be convened to judge them. Fénelon recommends the latter course, namely a national council presided over by the Legates of the Pope. As a matter of fact they had a grave case before them, namely that of fifteen or sixteen Bishops—including several metropolitans and the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris; two of the Bishops, those of Metz and Châlons, were *pairs* of France; two others, those of Montpellier and Saint-Malo, were brothers to two of the ministers and all had relations and connections at court and a formidable following behind them.[2] But Fénelon would not hear of another seemingly quite simple remedy, which was to put Noailles into a carriage and to take him to Rome, to be judged by the Pope—such an act of violence would only rouse France in favour of the Cardinal.[3] No doubt the situation was a complicated one: as a Cardinal, Noailles could only be judged by the Pope; as a French Archbishop, Gallican principles only allowed him to be tried in France; if he were deprived of his cardinalitial dignity, the Pope would forfeit the right to judge him.[4] Fénelon expected nothing whatever from negotiations with Noailles for the purpose of inducing him to recant.[5] If the Pope allowed the eight Bishops to receive

[1] *Mémoire, ibid.*, 269 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 271.

[3] *Ibid.*, 275.

[4] *Ibid.*, 269.

[5] Fénelon, October 14, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 255.

the Bull only on the basis of their own explanations, the party would take advantage of the concession to disparage Rome among all the nations. As it was, contempt and hatred for Mother Church were only too deeply ingrained in nearly all the nations.[1]

In Rome action was first taken against the pastorals of Cardinal Noailles and the Archbishop of Tours; these documents were condemned by the Inquisition.[2] This was followed by the condemnation of five other episcopal letters.[3] In a Brief of May 8th, Clement XI. announced that after so prolonged a delay, he was determined to proceed against the insubordinate prelates and that to this end he prayed for the King's co-operation: further particulars would be made known by the nuncio.[4] The Pope's proposal was that the Archbishop of Paris should be sent to Rome since as a Cardinal he could only be judged by the Sovereign Pontiff.[5]

Noailles now began to realize by degrees in what difficulties he had become involved, for he had to see with his own eyes that almost all the French Bishops expressly accepted the Bull, whilst all the Bishops of the rest of the world did so tacitly. But how was he to extricate himself without either formally separating himself from the Church, or an express recantation? To this question the irresolute man himself knew of no answer: his whole conduct allows of but one explanation, namely that he sought to gain time. He began by promising formally to accept the Bull in a new pastoral and asked for a two months' delay in which to prepare one. The two months became six and yet the letter was not ready. He began by refusing to allow his draft to be examined and

[1] "Le mépris et la haine de l'Église mère ne sont déjà que trop enracinés dans presque toutes les nations." To Daubenton, October 10, 1714, *ibid.*, 254.

[2] March 26, 1714, in FLEURY, LXVIII., 660; DU BOIS, 153 *seq.*

[3] May 2, August 22, and December 12, 1714. HILGERS, 442; REUSCH, II., 735.

[4] FLEURY, LXVIII., 653 *seqq.*; DU BOIS, 154 *seqq.*

[5] FLEURY, 663.

censured; then he objected to the censors until in Cardinals D'Estrées and Polignac and the Bishops of Arras and Montauban, persons acceptable to him were appointed. In the negotiations which now began, and in which Rohan and Bissy also took part, Noailles stuck to his notion not to receive the Bull except on the basis of his explanations, so that, from the first, agreement was out of the question. Noailles had recourse to all sorts of manœuvres to draw out the affair; he promised various alterations, but these only dealt with secondary points; but at length the King lost patience and gave him a strict command to hand in his pastoral before October 18th. Once again Noailles obtained a delay up to the 30th, but when Polignac handed the document to the King it contained none of the things that should have been in it according to the terms agreed upon. The King's patience was at last exhausted; he resolved to put an end to the business by means of negotiations with the Pope.[1] There had been no lack of consideration for Noailles, in fact the Pope felt compelled to warn Rohan [2] in a special letter, not to add fresh food to Noailles' obstinacy by excessive readiness to yield to his demands. For the rest the efforts to win over Noailles by negotiations were continued until the following year; Massillon and the celebrated jurist D'Agnesseau also took a hand in the solution of an insoluble question.[3] As a matter of fact not even his own followers relied on the Archbishop's obstinacy [4]; many of them went much further, as for instance, the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne who declared that the Bull was unacceptable even if provided with explanations.[5] The skein was now to be disentangled by means of negotiations with the Pope.

[1] *Cf.* Fleury, 662 *seqq.*; Schill, 99 *seqq.*; Noailles' letter to the Bishops who were of his opinion, September 5 and 12, 1714, in [Louail], I., 339 *seqq.*, 344 *seqq.* First and third part of Noailles' *mandement, ibid.*, 332 *seqq.*; Le Roy, 603 *seqq.*

[2] August 21, 1714, Fleury, 671 *seq.*

[3] [Louail], 367–380.

[4] Le Roy, 600 *seq.*

[5] Lettre circulaire aux évêques opposans, July 17, 1714, *ibid.*, [Louail], 350 *seqq.*

(7.)

For his ambassador in Rome the King chose one of the ablest men in France, viz. Amelot, Marquis de Gournay, who had already distinguished himself as ambassador, especially in Spain.[1] By the terms of his Instruction,[2] Amelot was to press for a French National Council; any other means for a settlement of the conflict was deemed not practicable by the Gallican Government. In the detailed motivation for a Council, French Cæsaro-Papalism appears again and again; papal legates were to preside but with the proviso that nothing would be done against Gallican liberties. The convocation of the Council could be made out in two ways, either a papal Brief would request the royal co-operation after which the King would convoke, or the Pope would issue a letter of convocation which the King would support by a decree of his own. "The former way would be preferable because the prerogatives of the King would be better guaranteed." It would be a good thing, from the very beginning of the Council, to publish a Bull declaring the pastorals of the rebels null and void and demanding their withdrawal; in fact the Government had actually prepared a draft for such a Bull.[3] After Amelot's departure it was found that even this draft did not sufficiently spare the conscience of Parliament; the fact that the Pope declared the pastoral letters null and void might be resented as an encroachment by the spiritual power. Accordingly a letter was written to Amelot to the effect that it would be best if the Pope omitted such expressions.[4] It was easy to foresee that in view of French principles, the national Council would be as ineffectual as every other means, so that as a matter

[1] Le Dran, *Négociation de M. Amelot à Rome en 1715*, in Feret, VI., 369–403 (also in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXXXV., [1909], 108–145).

[2] December 2, 1714, extract in Feret, VI., 369 *seq.*; credentials, December 5, 1714, *ibid.*, 371.

[3] In Feret, VI., 370 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 377.

of fact, no means remained whereby a rebellious Bishop in France could be made to obey.

On January 12th, 1715, Amelot had his first audience with the Pope. Clement XI. was not particularly edified when he realized that though the King cherished the best of intentions, he was unable to carry out all he wished[1]; however, he gave Amelot a kindly reception. In a fortnight, he observed, everything would surely be over. He would consult only those whom he employed in the most difficult affairs. Noailles had many friends in Rome, so that they must proceed with great caution.[2] From Paris also the greatest secrecy had been recommended to the ambassador.[3]

To the latter's regret the Pope chose as his representative in the negotiations Cardinal Fabroni, the author and, accordingly, the chief defender of the Bull. However, Amelot consoled himself with the thought[4] that the Pope would have consulted Fabroni in any case, so that, after all, it would be a saving of time if he treated with him directly. In the very first conversation with the ambassador Fabroni showed himself unfavourable to the idea of a national Council. None had been held for seven or eight hundred years and this was a sure sign that both King and Pope had recognized the dangers of such assemblies. The simplest way out of their difficulties was the judgment of the Pope to whom recourse had always been had in similar cases. After Amelot had presented a memorial, Fabroni declared in the name of Clement XI. that though the King deemed a Council the

[1] "Nous avons vu de nos propres yeux Clément XI. se mordre les doigts plus d'une fois, lorsque, ayant publié la Constitution Unigenitus, il vit que Louis le Grand ne lui tenait pas la promesse qu'il lui avait faite de la faire accepter généralement et que M. Amelot lui dit, parlant à sa personne, que le Roi avait la meilleure volonté du monde, mais qu'il ne pouvait pas tout ce qu'il voulait." Benedict XIV. to Tencin, February 8, 1743, De Haeeckeren, I., 31.

[2] Feret, VI., 373.

[3] *Ibid.*, 371.

[4] Letter of January 15, 1715, *ibid.*, 373 *seq.*

shortest and easiest way, the Pope could not take this view; on the contrary, he considered this as the most difficult course, one that would draw out the affair and entail dangerous consequences. All the Cardinals were against the Council. They had letters which proved that this was regarded as the very means of destroying the Pope's authority: all the other nations would want to follow France's example when there was question of dogmatic Constitutions. Many Bishops in France only waited for an opportunity to withdraw their acceptance of the Bull; in several dioceses sermons were being preached against it; emissaries of the Jansenists excited the minds and continued to scatter the seed of schism; the Protestants hoped to benefit by the situation. According to letters from Ratisbon, the Elector of Brandenburg had already offered an asylum in his States to such priests as might have to flee the country. Moreover, if Pope and King agreed, nothing was easier than to reintroduce the ban of the realm.[1] Besides, a Council could hardly be convened as Fénelon, the only French Bishop who could be considered for the post of a papal Legate at a Council, had died on January 7th, 1715. On his death-bed he had prayed the King for a successor who would take a firm stand against Jansenism and had recommended to him the priests of S. Sulpice as the chief bulwark against the sect.[2]

In his reply to Fabroni Amelot reverted to the idea of a Council as the only possible remedy[3]; however, in a long interview on January 23rd, 1715, Fabroni explained to him that there could be no question of a Council—the Pope would not hear of it. What then? the ambassador asked. Fabroni replied that the matter was quite simple: let the King explain to the Archbishop that he would endure his disobedience no longer; unless Noailles received the Constitution unconditionally within three days, he would be deprived of all his honours. Thereupon Amelot observed

[1] *Ibid.*, 374 *seq.*

[2] Letter to Le Tellier, January 6, 1715, *Œuvres*, VIII., 283.

[3] FERET, VI., 376.

that this threat had been attempted before, but without success. He then spoke of a Bull which, by the terms of his Instruction, should serve as an introduction and preparation for the Council. However, Fabroni gave the same reply as before. The King, he explained, was also master of the Gallican liberties as well as of everything else; let him then declare that the Cardinal had forfeited those liberties through his disobedience to the royal letters-patent and even deprive him, if necessary, of his French citizenship; after that he might hand him over to the Pope to be judged by him. In this way everything would proceed from the King and the Gallican liberties would be safe-guarded. If His Majesty could bestow membership of the State upon a foreigner, he could also deprive a subject of it.

Fabroni himself must have been aware of the strangeness of this proposal which he made in order to get out of an impasse. He only made it, he promptly added, in order to recall the Cardinal to a sense of his duty and to show him the abyss for which he was heading. Amelot was not slow in observing that at his coronation the King had sworn to maintain the liberties of the Gallican Church. There could only be question of the deprivation of citizenship after a judicial sentence of death; from the Pope he would have expected the most vigorous protests against such treatment of a Bishop. The suggestion did not proceed from the Pope, Fabroni replied, Clement XI. only wished to frighten Cardinal Noailles; how this was to be done was to be decided by Fabroni and Amelot between them.[1]

Thus a Council was not to be obtained. Accordingly Fabroni suggested to the ambassador on January 27th, that fresh pressure should be brought to bear on Noailles: this was to be done by the Pope drawing up two Briefs, a mild one and a severe one. In the first the Archbishop should be invited, with kindly insistence and prayers couched in a fatherly tone, to make his submission; the other was to contain a formal command to accept the Constitution

[1] *Ibid.*, 378 *seqq.*

unconditionally within three days. If this time also he refused to obey, he was to forfeit his Cardinal's dignity without further declaration and legal proceedings would be taken against him.[1]

Amelot objected that even after that there remained thirteen or fourteen Bishops who must be brought back to the fold; he requested the Cardinal to give him his views in writing as to the line of action he should adopt. Thereupon Fabroni summed up under eleven headings all that he had already explained to the ambassador.[2] The first step was that the King should hand to his Archbishop the severe Brief and reinforce it with the threat of the loss of citizenship and the Gallican liberties. If an impression was made on Noailles, that Brief would be shown to no one else and the mild one would be handed to the Archbishop. The latter Brief, however, could only be delivered if the King first gave a promise to execute the other Brief in case of disobedience. Should the remaining Bishops not submit together with Noailles, the usual legal means were to be employed against them. In two memorials Amelot pointed out that the way of mildness was hopeless and the other impossible.[3] The two Briefs were nevertheless drawn up and on March 9th the courier took them to Versailles.[4] Against the will of the Pope the mild Brief was first handed to the Archbishop together with the order to reply within four days. It required little heroism on the part of Noailles to defy the Pope once more from behind the protective wall of the Gallican liberties, all the more so as the shadows of death were lowering over the aged King. The very day after reception of the Brief, Noailles returned it with an arrogant covering letter,[5] saying that he needed no time for reflection.

For the rest the ambassador had been in too great a hurry

[1] *Ibid.*, 381.

[2] *Ibid.*, 382 note.

[3] *Ibid.*, 382 *seq.*

[4] Le Roy, 630.

[5] March 15, 1715, in [Louail], 381; Le Roy, 635; Feret, II., 389.

to forward the two Briefs, because the Pope was very willing to give up the idea of Noailles being deprived of his French citizenship and the Gallican liberties.[1]

Meanwhile an attempt had been made to remove difficulties by means of negotiations with the rebels, but Noailles and his followers demanded as a condition of their acceptance of the Bull, a declaration by the Pope that it had not been his intention to reject efficacious grace.[2] "Efficacious grace," that is, the teaching of the Dominican school, had not been condemned, but already in September, 1713, Fénelon had written [3] that the heads of the sect understood by it nothing else than downright Jansenism. For over sixty years the sect had contended that its teaching was none other than that of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Fénelon deemed it necessary, by means of a special dissertation, to show the difference between the Jansenist and the Thomist teaching on grace [4]; he expressed his satisfaction on learning that representatives of the Thomist School had taken part in the examination and condemnation of Quesnel's book, as in this way it had become a point of honour for them clearly to distinguish their teaching from that of the Jansenists and to keep within their boundaries so as not to give support to the party.[5] On the other hand it became an axiom with the eight rebellious Bishops that the Bull interfered with the freedom of theological schools; they accordingly pretended that it was their task to save that freedom even though the Dominicans themselves had accepted the Constitution unconditionally.[6]

[1] Feret, VI., 382.

[2] *Ibid.*, 387.

[3] *Œuvres*, VIII., 187.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 177, 179 *seqq.*

[5] October 12, 1713, *ibid.*, 193. *Cf. Mémoire sur l'affaire des huit prélats*, 262.

[6] *Mémoire*, 262; *cf.* 260, etc. Bissy begs Fénelon, September 6, 1714, to reassure the Bishop of Arras "sur toutes les alarmes qu'on lui a données, que la Bulle détruit le Thomisme et la morale sévère de l'Évangile. . . . On surprend beaucoup d'honnêtes gens par cet endroit". *Ibid.*, 250.

In existing circumstances there was no question of the Pope expressly allowing the doctrine of efficacious grace to be taught ; hence Amelot's only hope was a national Council, and as the Pope was unwilling, the idea was ventilated that the King might convene the Bishops in the fullness of his own power.[1] Chancellor Voisin approved the plan,[2] but suggested in the meantime that the Pope should publish a Bull threatening the rebels with canonical proceedings, unless they submitted and withdrew their Pastorals. Such a Bull would pave the way for further measures.[3] Two drafts of a Bull, the one by the Chancellor and the other from the hand of Rohan, were dispatched to Rome. After a lapse of eleven days, when the Congregation of Cardinals had reassembled, the Pope declared that he stuck to his plan of the two Briefs ; if the King did not agree, he would declare Noailles to have forfeited his cardinalate, without the royal concurrence.[4] The Chancellor observed that even this offended against the liberties of the realm [5] ; in other words, the Pope was almost powerless in France. If he desired no more than to send one of his Briefs to a Frenchman through his nuncio, the act was against France's privileges ; if he resolved to have the Bull *Unigenitus* proclaimed by strangers in the dioceses of the rebels, the Gallican liberties stood once more in the way.[6] In Rome this was incomprehensible. Christ, Fabroni observed, had entrusted His fold to St. Peter, but He had not added : with the exception of the French.[7]

There seemed to be no way out of the difficulties. Rome

[1] FERET, VI., 387.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 389 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 392.

[5] *Ibid.*, 390.

[6] *Ibid.*, 390 *seq.*

[7] LE ROY, 644. On two " *Discorsi " by Cardinal Tolomei to the Pope, July, 1714, and January 27, 1715, " sul modo di comportarsi contro i vescovi disobedienti," see MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, III. (1893), 153.

did not want a national Council, though even Cardinal Rohan recommended it in a memorial [1]; one who was well able to know the feeling on the subject in the Congregation of Cardinals, viz. the Secretary Alemanni, remarked that the Council would prove to be a gathering of a hundred and twenty and more anti-papal lions.[2] Paris, on the other hand, would not accept the proposal of the two Briefs. Amelot saw no other solution of the problem except by pressure being brought to bear on Noailles. The Lazarist Philopald, theologian to La Trémoille, the French ambassador in Rome, had suggested that Noailles should head his new Pastoral with the mild papal Brief, which contained a sentence against malicious distortions of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[3] Taking advantage of this the Archbishop should go on to say that since the explanations which the heretics added to certain clauses of the Bull were false, as the Pope himself had stated, he accepted the Bull without difficulty; the Pope had made it plain that nothing was further from his mind than to favour the above mentioned false propositions or to oppose the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas which the Roman Church had so often declared to be true. According to this suggestion the Archbishop would only have accepted the Bull on the basis of a papal explanation such as he had demanded from the beginning and shielding himself behind Augustine and Thomas, he would have saved Jansenism. The Pope was spared the painful necessity of pronouncing on these insidious proposals for Noailles refused to act on the suggestion.[4]

Amelot was now anxious that Paris should arrive at a friendly agreement with the Archbishop at any cost. Though the Pope might not approve everything, he would not take

[1] Feret, 394 *seq.* ; Schill, 110.

[2] Feret, 395 ; Le Roy, 626.

[3] The Brief blames the Jansenists, who " vanis penitus atque ab eadem Nostra Constitutione illiusque toto, et quidem satis aperto tenore prorsus alienis, quin etiam studiose superinductis vel potius ad rem involvendam maligne affictis difficultatibus et quaestionibus temere cavillantur ". Fleury, LXIX., 29.

[4] Feret, 392 *seq.*

sterner measures, so long as the Constitution was somehow accepted. Thus they would avoid a schism which otherwise was almost inevitable as the rebellious Bishops would not consent to their deposition, but would appeal to a General Council.[1]

Meanwhile Amelot had not failed to give the Pope a hint that the King might convene a Council in the fullness of his own power.[2] As a matter of fact steps were taken in Paris to this end,[3] and Clement XI. saw no other way out of the difficulty but to yield. On August 5th, 1715, Fabroni handed to the ambassador not a Bull, but a Brief, which stated that although everybody in Rome was opposed to a national Council, the Pope nevertheless desired to support the lofty aspirations of the King and to show his appreciation of so many men full of good will towards the Holy See, who unanimously and constantly insisted on the necessity of such a Council; accordingly His Holiness was prepared to send Legates, without whom, of course, the matter could not be concluded.[4] To another desire of the King Clement XI. refused to consent, this was that if Noailles was deprived of his Cardinal's hat and thereafter submitted, the cardinalate should be restored to the penitent. Clement XI. deemed a promise of this kind incompatible with his dignity.[5] Amelot was not satisfied with the Brief concerning the Council; he suspected that Rome only wished to gain time, though in the end the Council would be conceded. He renewed his oft-repeated request to be allowed to return to France; on August 23rd this was granted.[6]

At this time Louis XIV. was already struck with mortal disease, but he none the less commissioned Rohan and the Commissaries of the last Assembly of the Clergy to make

[1] Feret, VI., 395 *seq.*
[2] April 13 and June 12, 1715, *ibid.*, 392, 396 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 397 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 399.
[5] *Ibid.*, 399 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

preparations for the Council. Opinion was unanimous that the insubordinate Bishops should have neither seat nor vote in the assembly. Thereupon the Archbishop of Bordeaux drew attention to a difficulty; this was that the Bull against Quesnel had indeed been accepted by all the Bishops, but official information of this acceptance had not been given to the rebels. To meet this objection, the King published a declaration on July 16th,[1] in which he ordered the rebellious Bishops to follow the example of the majority of their colleagues, otherwise action would be taken against them according to the strict law of the Church. But if disobedience to this declaration was to entail exclusion from the Council, it would have to be registered by Parliament. Now the high justiciaries offered the most determined resistance to the demand of registration. Thereupon Louis XIV. resolved to have recourse to the means of which the French Kings made use in extreme cases and which he had not employed himself for fifteen years, namely to repair to Parliament in person and to order the registration. However, his mortal illness had already made great progress; before he could carry out his designs his life came to an end on September 1st, 1715, after 70 years of rule.[2] From his youth Louis had been a decided opponent of Jansenism. However, whilst he struck it with one hand he continually opened to it a refuge with the other by reason of his Gallicanism: from this coign of vantage the sect could safely laugh at Pope and King. By the end of his reign Jansenism had become a formidable power; shortly after the death of the mighty ruler, Noailles, Jansenism's head at the moment, could be described by the Regent of the realm as "the idol of France".[3]

[1] Du Bois, 185.

[2] Schill, 112 *seq.*; Fleury, LXIX., 41 *seqq.*; Le Roy, 650–675. The supposed letter of Le Tellier to Chauvelin of August 2, 1715 (Du Bois, 187 *seq.*; Le Roy, 655 *seq.*) is a forgery, according to Duclos (*Mémoires secrets*, Paris, 1791, 137), and Sommervogel (*Bibliothèque*, VII., 1918).

[3] In Le Roy, 693.

(8.)

That which Fénelon feared so much and which it was easy to foresee, was realized after the death of Louis XIV., namely, a complete revulsion in favour of Jansenism. Philip of Orleans, who acted as Regent for the Dauphin, then still a minor, was addicted to unbelief and immorality as it were on principle and neither religion nor papal Constitutions meant anything to him. The doors of the prisons were opened for all who were detained there by reason of insubordination to religious ordinances ; Bishops whom Louis XIV. had ordered to return to their dioceses, reappeared in Paris ; supporters of Jansenism were raised to episcopal sees and professors of theology against whom proceedings had been taken, had their honours and dignities restored to them.[1] The Jesuits were coldly received by the Regent, the Oratorians warmly[2] ; the Jansenists learnt with delight that the royal confessor Le Tellier had been removed and soon after banished from Paris,[3] although it had been the wish of the dying King that he should continue in office with his successor.[4] The "Council of Conscience" was already being requested to have Fort-Royal restored at the expense of the Jesuits.[5] The Regent distrusted the

[1] A (reliable ?) list of those who had been condemned is given in [Louail], 457–461. *Cf.* Leclerq, I., 162. Between September 2 and 6, 1715, not more than ten prisoners left the Bastille (Carreyre [1921], 485). *Cf.* also : P. de Crousaz-Crétet, *L'Église et l'État ou les deux puissances au XVIIIe. siècle, 1715–1789*, Paris, 1893 ; F. Rocquain, *L'esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution 1715–1789*, Paris, 1878 ; Carreyre, *Le Jansénisme durant la régence I.*, Louvain, 1929 ; Idem in *Rev. hist. de l'Église de France*, XIV. (1928), 459, and in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés*, XXI. (1925), 479–509, where the names of the Jansenist Bishops are given.

[2] [Louail], 461.

[3] *Ibid.*, 461 *seq.*, 761 ; Leclerq, I., 129, 139.

[4] *Ibid.*, 70, 114.

[5] Lavisse, VIII., 2, 8.

papal nuncio Bentivoglio,[1] whereas Noailles who, a few days earlier, had obtained permission to approach the death-bed of the Sovereign only after he had acknowledged the Bull against Quesnel,[2] was summoned to court on the very day of the King's death, after he had been banished from it for eighteen months.[3] When Philip of Orleans created six consultative Government colleges, one of them was entrusted to Noailles when the Regent named him president of the so-called "Council of Conscience" which had to pronounce on all that concerned religion and religious communities.[4] The members of this Council, which as a matter of fact was dissolved in September 1718,[5] shared the sentiments of their president. Apart from the Archbishop of Bordeaux they were all ardent Gallicans; they were the two jurists D'Aguesseau and Joly de Fleury and the Abbé Pucelle [6] who, as a member of Parliament under the late King, had pronounced a violent speech against registration of the Bull against Quesnel [7]: the Secretary was the Jansenist Dorsanne, Noailles' Vicar-General.[8] The Council of Conscience's encroachments in the spiritual sphere became increasingly numerous [9] and it was in vain that the nuncio lodged an emphatic protest against Noailles' presidency with Marshal D'Huxelles.[10] Clement XI. had good reason to lament the

[1] "So di sicuro che il signor Duca d'Orléans ha detto a un signore della corte che egli è avvisato da costì che io faccio il diavolo a quattro contro di lui in Roma." BENTIVOGLIO fine 1715, in *Arch. d. Soc. stor. Rom.*, XXII., 162 *seq.*

[2] LECLERQ, I., 77 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 157.

[4] *Ibid.*, 146.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 204.

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 148.

[7] LE ROY, 566 *seq.*

[8] LECLERQ, I., 149; *cf.* LXXVIII.

[9] The Pope's protest to the Regent in the Brief of May 1, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 348–354; *Opera*, Epist., 2142 *seq.*

[10] *Report of the nunciature, October 7, 1715, Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 193, f. 182 *seqq.*

King's death in an allocution of 23rd September.[1] As a matter of fact Noailles' elevation appeared so incredible to the Pope that, in a letter to the Regent,[2] he attributed it to a change of sentiment in Noailles, seeing that as late as 13th September the Regent had assured the Pope[3] that Louis XIV's devotion to the Holy See would be maintained unalterably by him and that the dissension among the Bishops would be composed within a month.

If the Regent imagined he was serving the cause of peace when he broke the shackles that had hitherto fettered Jansenism, he made a miscalculation. The insolence of the sect no longer knew any bounds. A spate of writings once again flooded the country; in these publications the late King was outraged, whilst the Regent was represented as a strong bulwark against the court of Rome; many priests and religious threw off the yoke of obedience; disorder reigned everywhere and dissension penetrated even into the most exalted bodies of the realm.[4]

The Assembly of Clergy had been sitting since 25th May. During the whole of the Regency its deliberations mainly turned on the condemnation of two Jansenist works, the first being the so-called *Hexapla*, in which an attempt was made to defend Quesnel's assertions by quotations from the Fathers and the theologians[5]; the second book was "The Testimony of Truth". Like the *Hexapla*, the latter work by the Oratorian Vivien de Laborde, endeavours to refute the Bull against Quesnel, and in so doing develops the most revolutionary ideas; it goes so far as to assert that ecclesiastical decisions, even those of a General Council, are invalid if they lack the consent of the laity.[6] The Quesnelists did all they

[1] Fleury, LXIX., 62 *seqq*. *Opera*, Orat., 124.

[2] October 1, 1715, *ibid.*, 72; Carreyre, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XXI., 493.

[3] Le Roy, 72; Carreyre, 489 *seq*.

[4] Fleury, LXIX., 75 *seq*.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 235. Picot, *Mém.*, I., 379 *seq*.

[6] [Patouillet], IV., 31 *seq*.

could to prevent the condemnation of the two books by the Assembly on the ground that such a step would only give rise to fresh troubles and provoke Noailles to take counter measures or at least hinder his submission. The president, the Archbishop of Narbonne, was impressed by these arguments; he sought at first to stay a condemnation, and after that to prevent at least any mention being made of the Bull in the sentence; eventually he obtained from the Regent a three weeks' delay before the censure could be printed; the Regent hoped to see peace restored during that interval.

As the press was barred to them, the Bishops saw to it that copies were made of the condemnations and these they took with them when they returned to their dioceses. How well inspired they had been, became evident at once, for soon the originals vanished for a considerable time from the archives of the Assembly.[1] For the rest, when they promulgated the censures in their dioceses, several Bishops met with opposition from their clergy who found support in Parliament[2]; thus, on May 3rd, 1716, the Parliament of Dijon condemned a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône which had described the Constitution against Quesnel as a rule of faith, and all the Archbishops and Bishops included within its jurisdiction were forbidden to insert in their pastorals anything that might provoke division. Bishop Madot of Châlons refused to submit in silence. The condemnation of his protest which, he wrote, he fully expected, he himself condemned beforehand, and should Parliament confiscate his property thereafter, he would take refuge with the Capuchins and appeal to the charity of the faithful.[3] Some Doctors of the Sorbonne likewise took the condemned books under their protection; not a few of them asserted that the University had never acknowledged the Bull; the

[1] Fleury, LXIX., 78 *seqq.* Censure of the *Hexapla*, October 5, of *Témoignage de la vérité*, October 29, 1715, in [Louail], 546.

[2] Especially at Nantes, Châlon-sur-Saône, Rheims: [Louail], 547–554. On the publications against the censures, *ibid.*, 554–560.

[3] *Ibid.*, 549, 814.

decrees of the Faculty in favour of submission to the document had only been registered by it, but had not been accepted.[1]

When Syndic Le Rouge, under whom the decree had been passed, had to be replaced on October 1st, Quesnel's followers secured the nomination of one of their own men, viz. Hyacinth Ravechet, after which the conflict within the Faculty itself broke out openly. Instead of passing a vote of thanks to the retiring Syndic, as custom ordained, twelve Doctors were commissioned to examine his administration.[2] The inquiry only ended on May 11th, 1716, with Le Rouge's exclusion from the Faculty.[3] At the Faculty's monthly meeting in December, in which his affairs should have come up for discussion, other matters occupied the members. At the sitting of 2nd December the senior Doctor, Humbelot, complained of the inaugural address of the new Syndic Ravechet and in so doing dropped the remark that the Bull had been unanimously received by the Sorbonne. Ravechet protested vehemently, complained that he was being insulted and calumniated, and demanded Humbelot's expulsion unless he offered an apology. As a matter of fact the meeting passed a special decree declaring Humbelot guilty and asserting his statement that the Faculty had accepted the Bull "unanimously" to be untrue.[4] Further significance was given to the decree by the subsequent erasure of the word "unanimously". In this form the decree implied that the Bull had not been accepted at all and that they had an official attestation of this non-acceptance. At the session of 5th December, the Faculty expressed itself anew in this sense and pronounced a sentence of exclusion against those of the Doctors who offered resistance. The nuncio's representations to the Regent were nullified by a deputation of the Faculty. On this occasion, in answer to a question of the

[1] Fleury, LXIX., 83 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 85 *seqq.*

[3] [Louail], 659; *cf. ibid.*, 467, 468, 469 *seq.*, 641, 653, 655, 658.

[4] Fleury, LXIX., 86 *seq.* The Decree is reprinted in [Louail], 473.

Regent, the delegates declared that they took no notice of unjust excommunication. Nuncio Bentivoglio's indignation at the Doctors' conduct was such that he thought of taking his leave ; on his part, Cardinal Rohan returned his Doctor's diploma to the Faculty.[1]

Sorbonne's action nevertheless had its imitators. The theological Faculties of Nantes, Rheims, Caen, published similar declarations.[2] Once the first University of the land had given the word that promulgation and registration of the Bull were not synonymous with acceptance, many Chapters and numerous members of the clergy stated that they too had only read the Constitution out of obedience, without, however, submitting to it.[3] True, those who made those pronouncements were only a minority. Apart from Paris, only from 26 out of 110 dioceses of contemporary France, did any manifestations against the Bull come forth ; in these 26 dioceses, as for instance in that of Evreux, only 3 voices were raised, in that of Troyes only 2 and in those of Chartres, Autun and Auxerre only one each,[4] and little importance need be attached to the circumstance that in a few cases these few claimed to speak in the name of their colleagues. From Rennes nothing more important is related as having been done in favour of the Jansenists except that a splendid funeral was given to Syndic Ravechet who had died there.[5] On the other hand, in some other dioceses opposition to the Bull was more pronounced. Thus at Orleans 3 Chapters, 11 parish priests and a few Canons, pronounced against it ; at Lâon 86 Canons, 10 other dignitaries and 31 parish priests of the diocese, and at Rheims over 200 priests acted in like manner.[6] The writings of the opponents were gathered in

[1] Fleury, LXIX., 86–90. Particulars on the sessions from November 4, 1715, to March 5, 1716 : [Louail], 468–492, 638–677.

[2] *Ibid.*, 492 *seqq.*, 500 *seqq.*, 502.

[3] *Ibid.*, 590–604 ; *cf.* 253–266.

[4] *Ibid.*, 592, 598 *seq.*, 600.

[5] *Ibid.*, 601.

[6] *Ibid.*, 591, 593, 594.

three small volumes of 1,800 pages altogether and published under the title of *The Cry of Faith.*[1]

Opposition was naturally most lively in the diocese of Cardinal Noailles and at the Sorbonne. On March 26th, 1714, the future Cardinal Gissy wrote that, judging by what one had heard and read during the winter on the subject of the Bull, it could not have met with worse treatment at Geneva.[2] When a rumour spread that, subject to a few explanations, Noailles was prepared to accept the Bull, 385 out of 450 parish priests of the archdiocese conjured him not to do anything of the kind, and the parochial clergy was reinforced by 460 priests in the capital and 50 country priests.[3] The documents which express these counsels, contain at times the most violent language.[4] Thus the clergy of the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois array their people against the Pope: never would they accept, even with explanations, a Bull "which attacks the Scriptures and Tradition and overturns dogma, moral teaching and discipline" and condemns so "devout a writer" as Quesnel and his defender, Bossuet.[5] The Dominicans of Saint-Jacques, who in point of fact earned for themselves a sharp reprimand from their General,[6] felt compelled to assert that an abyss was being opened under the Archbishop's feet, not only for that prelate personally, but for the whole realm and for the Church, for Christian faith and moral teaching, for religion and its whole spirit, for Scripture and Tradition, for all true teachers and evangelists, in a word, the instigators of the Bull desired to see all that was good swallowed up by the same abyss.[7]

[1] "Le cri de la foi, ou recueil des différens témoignages rendus par plusieurs facultés, chapitres, curés, communautés ecclésiastiques et régulières au sujet de la constitution *Unigenitus*," 1719, *ibid.*, 591.

[2] *Ibid.*, 605.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 605–618.

[5] *Ibid.*, 611.

[6] His letter of February 26, 1717, in [Cadry], II., 4.

[7] [Louail], 615.

The Oratorians also would not hear of any declarations: the Constitution was only too plain—it revealed in all its nakedness the "monstrous system" of its real authors.[1]

There can hardly be a doubt as to who was meant by the "real authors" and "instigators" of the Bull. When, after Louis XIV.'s death, the Jansenists once more acquired strength, the Jesuits were made to feel their power. In November, 1716, Noailles abruptly deprived the hated religious of all faculties to preach and hear confessions within his diocese. Since 1711 measures of this kind had been repeatedly applied to them. His example was followed by the Bishops of Metz, Verdun, Montpellier, Châlons, Saint-Paul and others.[2] For the rest other priests were similarly punished for their loyalty to the pope. Accordingly, the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Paolucci, ordained,[3] that those who had been forbidden to hear confessions solely because of their submission to the Constitution, might continue to do so as before. Another decree of the Roman Inquisition [4] solemnly condemned a series of writings in which certain French priests had withdrawn their submission to the Constitution. These writings were publicly consigned to the flames by the hand of the executioner, in front of the Minerva in Rome.

In France also the conduct of the Jansenist Universities did not remain unopposed. Various publications appeared, summoning the public to the defence of the Bull.[5] When in 1716 the theological Faculty of Nantes declared itself against the Bull the local Bishop pronounced a sentence of suspension against the Doctors whilst his colleague at Vannes announced that he would not ordain anyone who had studied at Nantes. The Bishop of Nantes let it be known that similar measures

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 575–580.

[3] January 6, 1718; Reprint of the decree, *ibid.*, 579.

[4] February 17, 1717; Decree of March 2, in FLEURY, LXIX., 494–499; REUSCH, II., 736; LECLERQ, II., 35.

[5] Five of them have been collected under the title of *Les tocsins* (1716), in [LOUAIL], 561–565; counter-publications, *ibid.*, 565–571.

were to be expected from other Bishops. But at this junction the Regent forbade interference with his efforts on behalf of peace by such manifestos.[1] Nevertheless not long after the Bishop published an ordinance,[2] which raised a storm of indignation at the Sorbonne. In it the Bishop described the attitude of many Universities towards the Bull as a "downright scandal" and announced that in future he would not admit into the ranks of his clergy candidates who came from schools hostile to the Constitution. Ravechet delivered a lengthy harangue on this "slanderous" decree, which disturbed the peace of Church and State and would lead to schism [3]; he failed to understand how à Bishop in one of the most remote corners of the realm, could pretend to possess so much more wisdom than the Sorbonne [4]; he accordingly submitted that the Faculty, with a view to its justification, should draw up a synthesis of its teaching; this was actually done and the summary was read at the Sorbonne in the following December and January [5]; furthermore, Ravechet said, they might appeal to Parliament, to a General Council, to the Pope and to the Church.[6] On the following day the Faculty decreed that anyone submitting to similar episcopal ordinances, was to forfeit his academic degrees.[7] Three weeks later Ravechet reverted to the subject. A protest had been raised in some small publications against the action of the Government which made it impossible for the Bishops to forbid attendance at schools hostile to the Constitution, and against the conduct of the professors who arrayed themselves against the chief pastors of the Church.[8] Thereupon Ravechet exalted the dignity of the Doctors in the words of

[1] *Ibid.*, 494.
[2] March 14, 1716, *ibid.*, 644.
[3] April 1, *ibid.*, 644–653; *cf.* 639.
[4] *Ibid.*, 651.
[5] *Ibid.*, 671 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 652 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 655.
[8] *Ibid.*, 563 *seq.*, 565.

the Council of Constance: from them the Bishop must learn the things of which they are ignorant!

The Bishop of Toulon did not hesitate to condemn Ravechet's speech by means of a *mandement*.[1] Previous to this the Faculty had obtained leave from the Regent to appeal to Parliament against the Bishop; that body condemned the prelate's *mandement* as well as his earlier prohibition of attendance at schools in which the Constitution was opposed; the Parliament of Aix identified itself with this condemnation.[2] Not long after the same Parliament of Aix felt induced to make another stand against some further episcopal ordinances.[3] The Bishop of Apt had taken the Faculty of Paris sharply to task for its pride and its assumption of infallibility[4]; a similar manifesto was issued by the Bishop of Grasse on May 14th[5] and on 8th and 13th June the Sorbonne also detected a lack of reverence for the Faculty in some remarks of the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Orleans.[6] On December 1st, the Syndic proffered some fresh grievances against the Archbishop of Rheims who had complained of the presumption of the Faculties and declared that by Christ's institution, the authentic teachers in the Church were the Bishops, that in this respect the professors were their pupils. In his reply Ravechet, among other things, explained that even simple parish priests were entitled to give testimony of the faith of their churches and that when a Bishop issued a decision without previous testing of this faith, and without consulting the theologians and the parish priests, his testimony could not be considered as the testimony of the churches of his diocese.[7] In the diocese of Evreux it actually happened that parish priests questioned the country folk on the traditional faith of their parishes and drew up formal reports

[1] *Ibid.*, 658.
[2] *Ibid.*, 655, 657, 659.
[3] *Ibid.*, 663.
[4] *Ibid.*, 660.
[5] *Ibid.*, 664.
[6] *Ibid.*, 661 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 672 *seq.*

on the result of this inquiry with a view to their use against the decision of the Holy See.[1] Thus was Gallicanism forwarded: just as the Pope's judgment is invalid without the concurrence of the Bishops, so is that of the Bishops of no value without the agreement of the parish priests and the theologians. For the utter overthrow of the Church's Constitution only one more step was needed, namely that ecclesiastical authority should be ascribed to the laity. In point of fact such a step had been prepared for by Richer and Quesnel,[2] above all by the Parliaments which boldly sat in judgment on papal and episcopal ordinances. The University set the crown on its opposition to the Bull when a rumour spread that Cardinal de Noailles was thinking of yielding. On receipt of this news more than a hundred Doctors repaired to the episcopal palace on January 12th, 1717, in order to assure Noailles that they would not flinch in their support of him, though with the significant clause: so long as he himself did not "become disloyal to the country, to truth and to the Church".[3] This step displeased the Regent; a royal edict of February 28th, 1717, administered a reprimand to the Doctors.[4]

From the first, Philip of Orleans had regarded the religious cleavage as a danger to public tranquillity, hence he was anxious to restore peace. In September, 1715, the fourteen followers of Cardinal de Noailles were summoned to Paris for a consultation and a committee was set up, consisting of the Attorney-General d'Aguesseau, Marshal d'Huxelles and two other members who promptly withdrew, the former Bishop of Troyes, Chavigny, and the former ambassador in Rome, Amelot.[5] For appearances' sake both the Assembly and the

[1] FLEURY, *loc. cit.*, 512 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 224. *Cf.* É. PRÉCLIN, *Les Jansénistes du 18e siècle et la Constitution civile du clergé*, Paris, 1929.

[3] January 12, 1717, [LOUAIL], 615–618.

[4] *Ibid.*, 675; SCHILL, 141, n. 3.

[5] *Cf.* [LOUAIL], 580 *seq.*, and the report of De la Broue, Bishop of Mirepoix to the Bishop of Valence, *ibid.*, 776. The fourteen prelates were: The Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Châlons,

commission deemed it necessary to begin by approaching the Pope in order to beg for a fuller explanation of his Bull.[1] Probably connected with this plan is a letter of eighteen Bishops praying the Regent to intervene with the Pope, but the signatories are not Noailles' supporters. Among them are Bishops who were in no way suspect in Rome and who had only subscribed after insisting on a few changes in the rather ambiguous document.[2] After a time the letter was given to the public without the desired modifications, the idea being probably a desire to suggest that there was a very large number of Bishops who felt that the Bull required further elucidation. However, these unworthy machinations failed to attain their object as the Bishops of Poitiers, Lavaur, Le Mans and Noyon protested that they had not signed the document in its published form ; in a pastoral letter of January 14th, 1716, the Bishop of Agde publicly exposed the fraud.[3]

As there was no hope of obtaining the desired explanations from the Pope, the committee was of opinion that Noailles and his fourteen friends should themselves supply them and that they should be such as to secure the approval of all the Bishops of France, so that the French Church at least should be of one mind in its interpretation of the Bull.[4]

This was more easily said than done. Not even the assembly

Senez, Saint-Malo, Metz, Tréguier, Pamiers, Verdun, Boulogne, Bayonne, Mirepoix, Montpellier, Arras, Angoulême. *Ibid.*, 769.

[1] De la Broue, *loc. cit.*, 777.

[2] The letter of the eighteen in [Louail], 582 *seq.* Perhaps a much shorter letter, *ibid.*, 585 *seq.*, is a corrected copy of the former which, according to Jansenist reports (*ibid.*, 586), secured up to thirty-two signatures ; however, this is denied by their opponents (Fleury, LXIX., 236). The names of the thirty-two signatories are not given and among the seventeen signatories of the first letter mentioned by [Louail], 584, the names of the Bishops of Poitiers and Lavaur are missing. The two letters are also in Du Bois, 245 *seqq.* The letter of the eighteen was delivered to the Regent in January, 1716.

[3] Fleury, LXIX., 235 ; Schill, 130 *seq.*

[4] [Louail], 777.

of the fifteen could agree. They laboured for a long time on two documents: one[1] intended to lay before the Pope the difficulties which they, in France, found in the Bull, so as to show that they did not lightly refuse to comply with it; the other,[2] a theological exposition of the subjects treated in the Bull and destined for the French Bishops, all of whom it was intended to ask for their signature. However, the very suggestion of the two documents met with opposition. Five out of the fifteen were of opinion that they should be content with exposing the difficulties as on the doctrine they would never agree. None the less, three committees of five Bishops each worked on the two explanations, but months went by without result. Some wanted no explanations at all but a complete rejection of the Bull. Noailles, on the other hand, was for explanations and acceptance of the Bull on the basis of those explanations, but no one seemed willing to believe that his suggestions were serious.[3] As his friends used to say, he wanted to have it both ways: the one document, viz. the exposition of the difficulties, was to enable him, if possible, to refuse the Bull altogether; if that was not possible, the second document, viz. the doctrinal exposition, would at least sweeten the bitter pill of acceptance.[4]

The Regent ended by losing patience. In February and March, 1716, he repeatedly pressed for a termination of the work. The document stating the difficulties was finally drawn up[5] and two envoys were chosen to take it to Rome in the King's name. However, when the Bishops were about to put their signatures to the letter, it was found that, as once before,[6] Noailles had again taken an incredible liberty: out of the fourteen objections he had struck out four on his own authority. This caused a great stir: on May 14th, the delegates had to set out without the document which was

[1] *Ibid.*, 755–760.
[2] *Ibid.*, 777; *cf.* 769.
[3] *Ibid.*, 767 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 771.
[5] *Recueil de diverses difficultés, ibid.*, 755–760.
[6] See above, p. 189.

eventually forwarded to them after the fresh disputes over the missing points had been settled.[1]

At the meetings of the fifteen it was openly stated that the offer of acceptance of the Bull with explanations was only meant as a polite refusal.[2] How they understood their deputation to Rome appears from the very selection of the deputies. Their choice fell on Chevalier, one of the Vicars-General of Bissy of Meaux; but Chevalier's own Bishop, after vain representations to the Regent, deemed it necessary,[3] by means of a circular letter, to assure some of his colleagues that he had no knowledge of what Chevalier was to represent in Rome and that he had endeavoured to get his appointment cancelled. To the Pope he wrote that Chevalier was suspected of Jansenism.[4] At the chief deputy's own request a companion was assigned to him in the person of the Oratorian De Laborde, the author of the subversive book which had been condemned together with the *Hexapla*.[5] Chevalier was instructed[6] to represent to the Pope that the Bishops of France had not accepted the Bull unconditionally and would never so accept it. The explanations must come from the Pope; should he deny them, it would redound to the discredit of the Holy See that he should have refused to take note of such well founded objections as were those of the French Bishops; the Sorbonne would then appeal to the universal Church and the Council. Should Clement XI. decline all explanations, there remained yet another way: let him confirm the theological explanation which would be forwarded from France—in other words, the fifteen were prepared to draw up a Bull themselves to which the Pope was expected to submit. If he declined, he would be told that France could manage without him; the Parliaments and the Universities would act and in the King's name publish a declaration which would put an end to the

[1] [Louail], 773, 780.
[2] *Ibid.*, 772.
[3] *Ibid.*, 783.
[4] Fleury, LXIX., 239. *Cf.* Carreyre, 764 *seqq.*
[5] See above, p. 236.
[6] [Louail], 784–7.

controversy and leave the whole affair to the judgment of the universal Church.

Up to this time Clement XI. had adopted a waiting policy in regard to the French troubles. On account of the Gallican liberties, any interference was liable to increase the mischief; however, about May, 1716, he ordained that the cardinalitial Congregations were not to grant confirmation for any episcopal see or any benefice without the Pope's express authorization.[1] As long as the distribution of benefices remained in Noailles' hands it was impossible to trust the men appointed by him, as was said at a meeting in the nuncio's house; if he were left a free hand, within three years all the Bishops of France would be Jansenists.[2]

About this time Clement XI. addressed a letter to the Regent,[3] the first after a silence of seven months. In it the Pope excuses his long delay by his trust in the word of the Regent who had promised him an early settlement of the conflict over the Constitution. But at present the obstinacy of Cardinal Noailles and his adherents was manifest. Accordingly, he was now forwarding two other Briefs which the nuncio would hand to the Regent to be passed on by him to the Archbishop and his followers; he commanded that the Bull be accepted

[1] FLEURY, LXIX., 230. The affair ended only three years later. In France it was claimed that the Pope had no right to refuse the Bulls to the nominees of the King, and it looked as if Bishops would be installed without the Pope. To avoid the worst, Clement XI. finally gave way ([LOUAIL], 619, 793). Bossuet's nephew experienced special difficulties in his nomination to the Bishopric of Troyes (CARREYRE, 762 *seq.*). Many of the Bishops nominated in 1716 and 1717 only received consecration in 1719, as, for example, De la Cassaigne, nominated for Lescar, De Camboust for Tarbes, D'Entraigue for Clermont, Castries for Tours, Lorraine for Bayeux, Tourouvre for Rodez, Bossuet for Troyes. *Cf.* JEAN, 12, 83, 86, 90, 107, 347, 376, 423.

[2] CARREYRE, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés*, XXII. (1926), 760.

[3] May 1, 1716, *Opera*, Epist., 2146; FLEURY, LXIX., 252 *seq.* *Cf.* 248 *seq.*

within a time limit of two months; after the lapse of that period Noailles would forfeit his cardinalitial dignity and judicial proceedings would be taken against him and his followers. The Regent was informed of the contents of the two Briefs previous to their arrival; under some pretext or other, Orleans had them suppressed by Marshal D'Huxelles,[1] but in spite of this measure the fifteen Bishops had knowledge of the Pope's threats which did not fail to impress them.[2]

Clement XI. could not expect to receive an answer from Philip of Orleans, though the latter replied indirectly in a letter to the French ambassador in Rome,[3] recommending Chevalier and his mission. The letter suggested that the Pope should issue some explanations: such action would not be derogatory to the honour of the Holy See. These explanations, together with an expression of opinion on the exposition of the fifteen, could be forwarded to the Regent who would then be able, with one word, to settle the whole conflict. Should the Pope decline, they would have to think of a national council.

In spite of the Regent's recommendation, the memorial in which the fifteen stated their objections to the Bull so shocked the Pope that he could hardly believe that it was the work of Bishops.[4] He saw the necessity of cutting off every possibility of the Jansenist party exploiting either his words or his silence, or any act of his, as an approval of their views. Chevalier was not admitted into his presence at all and even his discussions with Cardinal Paolucci came to an end on June 25th, after only two interviews. On June 27th Clement XI., surrounded by thirty-eight Cardinals, held a magnificent consistory, such as had not been witnessed since the days of

[1] *Ibid.*, 249; [Louail], 619. A fourth Brief of May 1, 1716 (Fleury, LXIX., 348 *seqq.*; *Opera*, Epist., 2142), declares the interference of the Conseil de Conscience in internal ecclesiastical affairs to be null and void; *cf.* above, p. 255.

[2] Fleury, LXIX., 249 *seq.*

[3] Leclerq, I., 171 *seq.* On the commissions of Noailles and the Procurator-General for Chevalier, see Carreyre, 766 *seqq.*

[4] Fleury, LXIX., 240.

Urban VIII.[1] After touching lightly on the Regent's attitude towards the latest Brief, the Pope spoke of Noailles who, as shown by his letter of 1705, knew quite well what he owed to the Holy See: the only question was what punishment should be inflicted on him and his friends. He would not consent to issue explanations of the Bull—they would be useless with people who refuse to submit to the Pope. In previous letters Noailles had acknowledged that it was his duty to obey the Holy See and promised to submit to a papal Bull against Quesnel. The fact that there was no need of explicit acceptance by the universal Church to establish the validity of the Constitution, had been practically acknowledged by the French when the question of "respectful silence" in regard to the Bull had been raised. He ended by observing that the Jansenists only attacked the most recent Bull against Quesnel in order to enable them to contest in like manner the validity of the earlier decisions against Jansenius. Lastly the Pope submitted the question of the procedure to be followed in depriving unworthy Noailles of his Cardinal's hat—he asked them to hand in their opinion in writing, within a fortnight. The Pope's decision became known in Paris on July 24th: Noailles must either submit within fifty days or forfeit his cardinalitial dignity.[2]

Noailles' party now sought to gain time and to obtain a delay. In spite of everything Chevalier ended by being allowed to negotiate with the Cardinals,[3] more especially with Ferrari and Tolomei, and eventually with Aldrovandi also,[4] but he soon made himself utterly impossible by his arrogant demeanour and by his insulting remarks about the

[1] DORSANNE, I., 277; FLEURY, 241 *seqq.*; CARREYRE, 772 *seqq.*; [LOUAIL], 790 *seq.*

[2] [LOUAIL], 793.

[3] FLEURY, LXIX., 247 *seq.*; [LOUAIL], 794–7, 800.

[4] FLEURY, LXIX., 258; CARREYRE, 776 *seqq.* Tolomei is said to have declared at the conferences that the Bull *Unigenitus* had only a disciplinary character [LOUAIL], 802). However, Tolomei dénied that he ever said this (*ibid.*, 838; *cf.* CARREYRE, 785 *seq.*, 790).

Bull.[1] The negotiations were continued with greater skill by the French envoy, Cardinal de la Trémoille, and the Pope ended by replying to his proposals: it was to the effect that there were two ways towards peace, either the voluntary or the forcible submission of Noailles' party.[2]

The consistory as well as Clement XI.'s whole conduct had made it perfectly plain that the Pope could not be made to yield by the means hitherto employed, hence the Regent, who was anxious to see the end of the wearisome dispute, had recourse to new expedients.[3] He was willing that the Jesuit Lafitau, who enjoyed the favour of Clement XI., should be invited to come to Paris from Rome [4] whilst by an autograph letter he himself summoned Cardinal Rohan from Strassburg. Lafitau persuaded the Regent to make yet another request for approval by Rome of the dogmatic exposition of the Bishops of the opposition, but only after the prelates who supported the Constitution had stated their opinion on the document. During September, 1716, Rohan discussed the subject in an assembly of thirty-three Bishops, at which the Regent was sometimes present, but the adherents of the Constitution were no more to be persuaded to approve the exposition of their opponents than the various metamorphoses of that "Proteus", viz. an extract from Noailles and the so-called eight articles.

During a temporary absence of Rohan the Jansenist prelates had once more recourse to an expedient which had been tried sixty years earlier, viz., a document in three columns, one of which gave the text of the condemned propositions whilst the two others supplied a Catholic and a heretical interpretation of them.[5] However, a so-called

[1] Fleury, *loc. cit.* More favourable criticisms of Chevalier in Carreyre, 785; *cf.* also 787.

[2] Fleury, 261–3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 264 *seq.*; Schill, 135 *seq.*; [Louail], 791 *seq.*, 804 *seqq.*

[4] Carreyre, 786 *seqq.*

[5] This *écrit a trois colonnes* ([Louail], 805) took two to three months to complete. Some samples of this document, due to the

Catholic sense could only be read into the propositions by altering their wording or by an unnatural interpretation, hence this device also failed to lead to the goal.

Towards the end of November Rohan was back in Paris when fresh consultations began. The three-column work was put on one side and a return made to the drafts which had served as a basis of the earlier discussion with him. No result was obtained even when, in order to simplify the negotiations, five Bishops from each party [1] discussed the matter in presence of the Regent. There was no agreement even among the opponents of the Bull: "Some described it as heretical, others as merely obscure; some were willing to accept it with certain declarations, others were for rejecting it altogether. At one time they blamed the Pope, at another his officials; one day it was said that there was a question of dogma, on another that it was merely a question of words." [2] The Archbishop of Rheims, who had been prevented from going to Paris by the troubles in his diocese, had good reason for warning his colleagues against the opposition's professions of faith.[3] By silence on important points, by dragging in matters foreign to the dispute, agreement on a dogmatic exposition was almost in sight, but no agreement seemed possible on a formula of acceptance of the Bull. At length, at the sitting of February 26th, 1717, Noailles submitted a list of twenty-six propositions which, he alleged, had been unjustly condemned by the Bull. This put an end to the conferences and the Bishops returned to their dioceses.[4]

Whilst the Bishops spent their energy in endless discussions, Clement XI. also took a tentative step towards peace. Long before this the College of Cardinals had offered to bring

pen of Tiberge and Brisacier, Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, *ibid.*, 811 *seqq.* Rohan returned to Strassburg on October 7.

[1] Their names are in [LOUAIL], 881.

[2] *Ibid.*, 818.

[3] *Ibid.*, 819; FLEURY, LXIX., 449.

[4] [LOUAIL], 804–891. On the conference of February 26: DE LA BROUE, *ibid.*, 878, ROHAN, *ibid.*, 886.

pressure to bear on a fellow Cardinal by means of a warning letter; in November, 1716, the Pope accepted the proposal. They had prayed the Pope, the Cardinals wrote,[1] to refrain from sterner measures, and Clement XI. had willingly complied with their request. They then proceed, in gentlest tones, to appraise the Archbishop's conduct; blame is chiefly laid on his entourage and he himself is exhorted to obey. A covering letter to the Regent,[2] without which there would have been no prospect of the Cardinals' letter being received, enumerates the reasons for which Clement XI. was unable to adopt the suggestions which De la Trémoille had made in the name of the Regent: there simply was no other remedy except the full and sincere submission of the rebels. Should Noailles and his followers persist in refusing to submit, the Pope would carry out against him what he had decided long ago.

Even greater emphasis characterizes a Brief to the Bishops of France who were loyal to the Church.[3] In it Clement XI. surveys the whole development of the dispute from the moment of the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*. The very violence of the opposition, the Pope wrote,[4] showed before the whole world how deeply the evil had infiltrated and how necessary the remedy of the Bull really was.[5] Therefore let the Bishops support the Pope's efforts both with their erring colleagues and with the Regent. The sterner measures which, in so far as the Bishops were concerned, were only hinted at in this letter, were already given effect to, at least to some extent, in another Brief[6] which declared the Sorbonne to have forfeited all its papal privileges.

The Briefs shared the usual fate of papal ordinances in

[1] Letter of November 16, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 269–276.

[2] November 23, *ibid.*, 276–282.

[3] November 20, *ibid.*, 282–296.

[4] *Ibid.*, 285 *seq.*

[5] "Plus la constitution trouve de résistance, plus elle étoit nécessaire," Fénelon wrote to Daubenton, February 5, 1714, *Œuvres*, VIII., 216.

[6] November 18, 1716, in FLEURY, LXIX., 296–304.

France. By order of the Regent the agents of the clergy forbade the Bishops to receive the Brief addressed to them [1]; should they receive a papal letter they were to hand it over to the Regent. Parliamentary prohibitions followed.[2] In the Parliament of Metz the Attorney-General observed that it was a question of restraining a foreign Power which was never at a loss for a pretext to extend the range of its authority.[3] His colleague of Rennes described the Gallican liberties as "a precious relic of the government of the primitive Church which must be safeguarded against papal arbitrariness".[4] In presence of fantastic statements like these, Clement XI. instructed Lafitau to remind the French that Louis XIV. was the first French King to confirm a dogmatic decision of a Pope by royal letters patent and to order its registration by Parliament; that previous to Louis XIV. dogmatic Bulls had not even once been the object of a royal declaration, and that previous to Philip the Fair even non-dogmatic decrees of the Pope were freely published without interference by the Government. These representations impressed the Regent at least to the extent that he forbade the larger gathering of Bishops which had been contemplated.[5]

(9.)

Philip of Orleans had made a big mistake when he allowed the enemies of the Constitution to prolong their negotiations in Paris; they strengthened and confirmed each other in their position until they constituted a close and solid party.

[1] December 9 and 12, 1716, in [Louail], 832.

[2] Paris on the 16th, Rouen on 22nd, Rennes on 24th, Dijon on 28th, Metz on December 29, 1716, Besançon on 2nd, Perpignan on 4th, Bordeaux and Aix on January 7, 1717. *Ibid.*, 834.

[3] [Louail], 834.

[4] "Ce précieux reste de l'ancien gouvernement de la primitive Église." *Ibid.*

[5] Fleury, LXIX., 338 *seq.*

Four of the fifteen Bishops took up an increasingly obstinate attitude, for they would not allow the Bull to be accepted even with explanations, but wished to see it rejected unconditionally. These were Bishops De la Broue of Mirepoix, Colbert of Montpellier, de Langle of Boulogne and Soanen of Senez.[1] Characteristically enough their conduct was once more influenced by what had become a kind of fixed idea with the Jansenists, namely, fear of the Jesuits. They believed themselves to have discovered that the appeal against Quesnel secretly re-asserted theses which everybody in France accused the Jesuits of teaching, so that the Constitution was nothing else but a cunning stroke by those Religious against which there was need not of explanation, but of the sternest rejection.[2] The four came to the conclusion that the only way out of the difficulty lay in an appeal to a General Council. Noailles shared their opinion. To declare against the Bull altogether he did not dare, out of consideration for the Regent, but to submit to it he regarded as impossible ; when a rumour spread that he was inclined to do so, thirty parish priests of Paris [3] declared that they would accept explanations of the Bull neither from the Pope nor from their Bishop, whilst the Sorbonne bluntly drew his attention to the fact that he could only count on the support of the Faculty if he remained loyal to the "truth".[4] In his embarrassment Noailles secretly inquired from the Bishop of Mirepoix, the only one of the four who still wavered, why he hesitated to appeal to the Council.[5] As a matter of fact on March 1st, 1717, the four Bishops signed a document with such an appeal which

[1] De la Broue, in [Louail], 779 ; V. Durand, *Le Jansénisme au XVIIIe. siècle et Joachim Colbert*, Toulouse, 1907.

[2] "Je vous avoue, M., que nous fûmes tous frappés de cette considération, et nous jugeâmes, qu'il n'étoit pas possible de remédier par des explications aux maux que les Jésuites avoient eu dessein de faire à l'Église par cette Constitution." De la Broue, *loc. cit.*, 780.

[3] December 17, 1716, in Leclerq, II., 26.

[4] See above, p. 265.

[5] De la Broue in [Louail], 878 ; *cf.* 886.

had been drawn up in the preceding November by the Bishops of Montpellier and Senez; for the publication of the appeal they selected the Sorbonne. On March 5th, 1717, in the course of the customary session, the President was informed that some Bishops were at the door demanding admission. Six Doctors went out to meet them; the Bishops took their places and De la Broue explained the purpose of their visit. Soanen of Senez read the text of the appeal and all expressed their agreement by crying: *Adhaeremus! Adhaeremus!* During the voting some members of the mendicant Orders left the hall. One Franciscan voted against the appeal, a Sulpician said that he not only disapproved, but even abhorred it, but in the end he softened the latter expression. Of the rest, ninety-six sided with the Bishops whilst some twelve Doctors were of opinion that they should first inform the Regent or Noailles.[1]

The appeal[2] begins by painting in gloomy colours the harm which, in the view of the four Bishops, the papal Constitution had done. The enemies of the Church, we read, rejoice, heretics and unbelievers scoff, the new converts are in uncertainty, the restless supporters of a disastrous and corrupt moral teaching triumph, the light of orthodoxy is dimmed, confusion reigns everywhere. In vain during three long years had efforts been made with the Pope in the hope that he would end by realizing that the "truth" had been kept from him and that false advisers had taken him by surprise. Hence there was nothing left to them except to appeal to the universal Church. The document then alleges that the condemnation of the 101 propositions (propositions 90–2) was contrary to the principles of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sacred rights of the Bishops, the liberties of the realm, the teaching of the Fathers who unanimously taught that the power of the keys had been committed to the universal Church. Furthermore the Constitution condemned propositions (87–8) which breathed the pure

[1] *Ibid.*, 898; *cf.* 909.

[2] *Ibid.*, 901–8; FLEURY, LXIX., 456 *seqq.*; DU BOIS, 251.

spirit of the canons on the penitential discipline ; it overthrew the surest foundations of Christian moral teaching, not excepting the first and greatest commandment, that of the love of God ; it tended not only to extinguish the sacred fire which Christ came to bring on earth, but to take away the divine light which can only be obtained from the reading of Holy Writ ; it obscured the difference between the Old and the New Testament and condemned propositions which were textually taken from the Fathers of the Church. Then came the formal appeal : "For the honour of Almighty God, for the preservation and exaltation of the Catholic Faith and Tradition, for the peace and quiet of the Church and the realm, for the defence of the rights of Bishops and the liberties of the French Church," they appealed against the Constitution *Unigenitus* and against all that had followed it and would follow it, including the papal excommunication which could be foreseen, to a future General Council legitimately assembled in a safe place, to which they might freely and securely send their representatives. Repeated assurances of respect for the Holy See mingled with these declarations.

The events in the Sorbonne were at once reported to the Regent who became exceedingly angry. The four were ordered to leave Paris within twenty-four hours and on March 19th they were commanded to return to their dioceses. Ravechet was banished to Brittany where he died on his way to Rennes ; the notary who had authenticated the Bull was sent to the Bastille ; the Faculty was forbidden to hold any meetings.[1]

Meanwhile the appellants were not idle. They informed the papal nuncio of their appeal [2] and managed to get its text into the hands of the Pope himself. One afternoon, during an audience, a devout pilgrim presented himself before Clement XI. He too, like the rest, kissed the Pope's foot after which he handed him a document. During the night

[1] [LOUAIL], 913 *seq.*

[2] FLEURY, 501.

the same pilgrim, who in reality was a Paris notary hired at great expense, affixed the text of the appeal on the door of St. Peter's ; at the bottom of the document was a notary's attestation that it had been placed in the hands of the Pope.[1]

In the archdiocese of Paris the conduct of the four Bishops acted like a contagion. In the capital itself and in the suburbs thirty parish priests and 700 other priests, and about three-fourths of the parish priests and 150 assistant priests of the entire diocese gave their adhesion to the appeal to the General Council.[2] Some of the religious Orders followed suit ; eighty Oratorians, sixty-eight Maurists and thirty-four Feuillants appealed.[3] It is noteworthy that most of the Dominicans of the famous old convent of St. Jacques allowed themselves to be swept away by the current,[4] although the Order had always defended papal infallibility and the members of the other two Dominican houses in Paris remained steadfast for the most part.[5] The well-known Church historian, Noel Alexandre, belonged to the party of the appellants until shortly before his death.[6] On the other hand, many religious bodies, Lazarists, Franciscans and Jesuits, remained loyal to the Pope.[7] Bishops and priests, laymen of every condition, had their names inserted in the lists of the appellants ; among them there were artisans, women and boys ; the archiepiscopal palace was always open for the reception of appeals from the

[1] Buvat, in Leclerq, II., 36 ; Fleury, 470 *seq.*

[2] [Cadry], II., 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3 *seq.* De Bissy's measures against the Maurists, *ibid.*, 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, 4 ; Coulon in *Revue des sciences philos. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 49 *seqq.*

[5] Coulon, 312 ; Letter of Cloche, General of the Order, December 6, 1718, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.* For the Dominicans the motive of the appeal was the fear that the Bull favoured Molinism. *Ibid.*, 65, 281.

[6] Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 49 *seqq.*, 279 *seqq.* Noailles put under an interdict all the Dominicans who had induced Alexandre to make his submission to the Pope. *Ibid.*, 289, 293.

[7] Schill, 148.

whole kingdom.[1] Even gifts of money were forthcoming for the purpose of encouraging opposition to the Pope.[2] The number of appeals for the diocese of Paris alone is given as 1,400 by the Jansenists.[3] Quesnel (*ob.* 1719), who occasionally drew attention to himself by his comments on the ecclesiastical situation, published a voluminous appeal to the Council.[4]

The whole University of Paris would have identified itself with the appeal of the theological Faculty had it not been prevented by a prohibition of the Regent.[5] On the other hand, at Rheims the professors of theology together with the whole University, more than 100 parish priests and a few monasteries and Chapters, appealed to the General Council. At Nantes the theological Faculty did the same; at Rouen thirty-nine parish priests appealed.[6] Apart from these the rebellion of the four Bishops only had a considerable following in the diocese of Châlons and Senez.[7] At Metz only three Vicars-General and four priests joined, and at Troyes, Toulon and Nevers only a very few took their side. With the exception of Senez, the diocesans of the four standard-bearers of the rebellion would have nothing to do with the step taken by their Bishops. The Bishop of Boulogne met with a hostile reception by the people of Calais because of the appeal. At Mirepoix, the Bishop found few sympathizers; at Montpelier thirteen priests had appealed at once and many sided with their Bishop, but the Chapter only took note of the Bishop's appeal with the reservation that this did not imply approval; in the parish of Notre Dame the parish priest refused to read the Bishop's pastoral and when the curate attempted to do so, he was prevented

[1] *Ibid.*; Fleury, LXIX., 504 *seq.*; [Cadry], II., 6.

[2] Lafitau, II., 8 *seqq.*; Schill, 151; Fleury, 502.

[3] [Cadry], II., 4.

[4] August 8, 1717, *ibid.*, 69; Du Bois, 351 *seqq.*, 410 *seqq.* His other declarations in [Cadry], II., 41, 188.

[5] *Ibid.*, 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, 8–10. Decree of Rheims, March 8, Nantes, March 7, 1717, in Fleury, LXIX., 475–9, 481–8.

[7] [Cadry], II., 21; Lafitau, II., 13 *seqq.*

by noise.[1] Among the Bishops, only those of Verdun and Pamiers took the part of the four, but at Pamiers no notary could be found to authenticate the appeal and no episcopal official to register it.[2] The Intendant of Languedoc let it be known that he was provided with four orders of banishment for the first four who should appeal.[3] Noailles showed plainly enough that he approved the others' appeal to the Council, and on April 3rd he drew up his own appeal though for the time being he kept it quiet.[4]

Thus the danger of a schism became more and more concrete. Though the appellants only constituted an exiguous minority by comparison with the universal Church and even with the French Church, their number was nevertheless large enough, and there was reason to fear that the movement, once started, would gather momentum. Moreover, the appeal to a General Council, which had already been forbidden under pain of excommunication by Pius II. and Julius II., was only a cloak under which naked disobedience to the Church hid itself. The appeal was, as Pius II. had observed on a similar occasion, to a tribunal which existed nowhere and of which no one knew whether and when it would meet. The appeal was to a "legitimate Council" in a "safe place", but the appellants had never recognized a Council as legitimate and free whenever it decided against them. The next general Council was that of the Vatican; when we consider that the Gallicans appeal to its mortal enemy and destroyer as to a saviour, the thing is not without its comical side.[5] As it

[1] [Cadry], II., 11–21; Schill, 150; letter of the Dominicans of Montpellier, June 27, 1717, to their General asking him for instructions, Corsini Library, Rome, *Cod.* 193, f. 282 *seq.*

[2] [Cadry], II., 7. The Decrees of Verdun, March 22; Pamiers, April 12, 1717, in Fleury, LXIX., 488–491.

[3] Leclerq, II., 37. "Dans plus de la moitié des diocèses du royaume il n'y eut pas un seul appellant." Lafitau, II., 14.

[4] [Cadry], II., 6.

[5] The residue of the Jansenists, says the Jansenist Gazier (II., 274), "n'eurent même pas l'idée de demander que l'appel des

was, ecclesiastical circles were faced with an exceedingly dangerous movement with which it was very difficult to deal. If a mistake was made the result might be irreparable for centuries or even for all time. Already a threat had been uttered, with a view to impressing the Pope, that the Regent might prorogue [1] all further negotiations until the next General Council, and if such a Council came about through the action of the secular princes a repetition of the days of Constance and Basle might very well be witnessed.

Clement XI. managed to rise superior to all resentment of these humiliating affronts to his dignity. For the moment he left the four Bishops alone. However, Noailles had had no share in their conduct, hence it seemed that he disapproved of extreme measures. Accordingly the Pope addressed to him a fairly long autograph letter on Maunday Thursday,[2] in which, alluding to the sacred time, viz. the solemnity of the Sacrament of unity, the remembrance of the undivided tunic and the unbroken bones of the Crucified, he admonishes the Bishop to give ear to the voice of Christ speaking through His Vicar, and to make the sacrifice of subjecting his own opinion to the judgment of the universal Church. Noailles' answer [3] to this letter (dictated by the heart), is offensive in the highest degree. After the usual assurances of unlimited attachment to the Holy See and the person of Clement XI., he submits to the Pope a long list of alleged errors and inaccuracies in his Constitution which, however, for appearances' and courtesy's sake, are not ascribed to the Pope himself but to the enemies of the Church and to certain theologians who deduced the worst possible consequences from it, thereby throwing the whole Church into confusion. However, this transparent mask deceived no one ; to Marshal

quatre évêques au futur concile fût addressé au concile qui allait se réunir " (that of 1870).

[1] Memorial of De la Trémoille, in [Cadry], II., 42 *seq.*

[2] March 25, 1717, *Opera*, Epist., 2226 ; Fleury, LXIX., 492 *seq.*

[3] May 6, 1717, in Du Bois, 600–611. *Cf.* [Cadry], II., 46 *seq.*

D'Huxelles this arrogant language seemed indeed "devilish episcopal", but the Pope could only see in it a mockery of the Constitution and a humiliation of his own person.[1] When De la Trémoille proposed that he should declare by a Brief that the consequences pointed out by Noailles could not justly be deduced from the Constitution, Clement XI., for peace' sake, very nearly consented to such a declaration which would have been humiliating enough; he omitted it, however, as De la Trémoille, after consultation with Chevalier and other Frenchmen, did not dare to promise that it would yield any result.[2] At the same time as De la Trémoille, Lafitau sought to induce the Pope to approve the dogmatic explanation drawn up by Noailles. These negotiations, which were long drawn, had been originated by the Regent who forwarded his own proposals together with the reply of the Archbishop of Paris.[3]

The conversations in Rome led to no result so that for the moment the defence against the appellants depended solely on efforts in France itself. The representations of Rohan and the Bishops assembled around him obtained some success. They confirmed the Regent in his opinion that he had from the first taken a wrong course in his attempt to solve the confusion, and this conviction led to certain consequences. On March 10th Noailles' request for the recall of the four banished Bishops was rejected by the Regent, whilst on the other hand he asked Rohan that some of the Bishops should remain permanently in Paris as his advisers. When twenty-eight of the Bishops gathered round Rohan signed two petitions, one of which protested against the pretensions of the Universities, Chapters, parish priests and Parliaments, whilst the other complained of the spate of

[1] *Ibid.*, 48; SCHILL, 156.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] [CADRY], II., 72 *seqq.* A Jansenist account says that LAFITAU offered the Pope money for his confirmation! LAFITAU, II., 75; LECLERQ, II., 42.

pamphlets,[1] Orleans wrote to the first President of Parliament [2] that in those places where the Constitution had been published, the priests must not rise against it. In these memorials there was no reference to the appeal but there is mention of it in a document sent in by Cardinal Bissy; the nullity in law of the appeal and the acceptance of the Constitution by the universal Church are demonstrated in these papers.[3] True the Regent did not encourage Bissy to print his explanations, in fact they only saw the light in the following year. However, on July 18th, 1717, Orleans addressed a circular to the Bishops informing them that at the beginning of the following month the Duke De la Feuillade would be dispatched to Rome; that the instructions which he would receive would most probably lead to a lasting peace. Meanwhile let the Bishops refrain from any step that might cross his efforts; Parliament would not in any way encroach on their rights; in case of appeals "without necessity", let the Bishops have recourse to the Regent.[4] It goes without saying that the Bishops could not be too well pleased with a letter forbidding only appeals "without necessity", but not the appeal in itself and which, moreover, took away from the ecclesiastical superiors the right of punishing the appellants. Cardinal Bissy endeavoured to make capital out of the fact that in the first draft the words "without necessity" had been omitted, but the Regent insisted on this clause.[5] Thereupon the Bishops who were loyal to the Pope resolved to safe-guard their authority. On a former occasion already they had pointed out to the Regent that it was their pastoral duty to proceed against the rebellious parish priests, if a national Council did not come about or the appeals were not suppressed [6]; after that Rohan, Bissy and the Archbishop

[1] [Cadry], II., 24 *seq.*

[2] March 19, 1717, *ibid.*, 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, 49.

[4] *Ibid.*, 50 *seq.*

[5] Bissy, July 25, Orleans, August 17, 1717, in [Cadry], II., 51 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 50.

of Bourges promised, in view of the mission of the Duke de la Feuillade, to refrain from a decisive step until Christmas,[1] but as the Regent did not dispatch the Duke and published his own declaration on appeals "without necessity", Bissy considered himself as no longer bound by his promise and drew up a pastoral [2] which was published by all the Bishops who supported the Constitution. It stated that the appellants had incurred excommunication and were incapable of carrying out their ecclesiastical functions. The draft was betrayed to the Regent who now carried out a long planned measure. Chevalier had suggested the enforcement by royal decree of silence on all the parties until a General Council or the Pope should decide the matter. The Regent would have preferred to have a confirmation of Noailles' dogmatic explanation, but to this Clement XI. would not agree, though he was willing that an express declaration should leave the decision to him. Thus after a prohibition had been issued in France on May 17th forbidding the publication of any writings without permission,[3] a royal decree was published on October 7th, 1717,[4] ordering complete silence on the subject of the Constitution until the Pope should have found means to settle the dispute. Parliament registered the decree [5] and Chancellor D'Aguesseau advised the Parliaments to see to its observance.[6]

The decree was not well obeyed for it encountered universal dissatisfaction. The Jansenists were dissatisfied because the Regent set them aside, the orthodox, because the defenders of the faith were placed on the same level as the advocates of error.[7] There now appeared a publication giving in two columns the decree of the Regent and a similar document

[1] *Ibid.*, 53.

[2] September, 1717, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 75.

[4] *Ibid.*, 82–5.

[5] *Ibid.*, 85 *seq.*

[6] Circular letter of October 18, 1717, *ibid.*, 86 *seq.* On the origin of the order of silence, LAFITAU, II., 49 *seqq.*

[7] [CADRY], II., 90.

of the Byzantine Emperor Constantius in the affair of the Monothelites, the so-called *Typus*, with a view to showing their affinity; added to it was the condemnation of the *Typus* by Pope Martin I. and the first Council of the Lateran.[1] The decree of the Regent did not escape the Pope's displeasure. Cardinal Paolucci spoke to the French nuncio, Bentivoglio,[2] of the Pope's painful surprise that the Regent, after so considerate a treatment by the Holy See, should now publish, without consulting Rome, a decree that treated the whole affair as if it were still undecided. The favour of the Government during the last two years had made the Jansenists insolent; what must not be expected from them in the future now that the Regent put them on the level of the orthodox! A Brief to the Duke of Orleans himself[3] repeats this thought and emphatically declares that peace could be obtained by no other means except by the sincere submission of the appellants.

However, the Regent tried other means. Though the mission of the Duke de la Feuillade had not come off, Orleans had not given up the idea of direct peace negotiations with Rome. He persuaded Noailles to promise to accept the Bull if the Pope confirmed the dogmatic explanation in the composition of which the Sorbonne had also had a share; Noailles handed the Regent a document with a promise to this effect. However, this time also the negotiations failed. The promise of the Archbishop of Paris was so worded that De la Trémoille could not even see his way to presenting it to the Pope. The dogmatic explanation was the result of concerted effort on the part of the French Bishops and, by Noailles' wish, it was presented to the Pope in the name of the friends of the Constitution; nevertheless, after it had been examined

[1] The pamphlet was attributed to the friends of the Constitution, but [Cadry] (II., 89 *seq.*) found out "par des voyes très sures que cette pièce fut imaginée et jetée dans le public par les Appellants".

[2] October, 1717, *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*

[3] December 7, 1717, *Opera*, Epist., 2276; Fleury, LXIX., 552 *seq.*

by Cardinals Paolucci, Fabroni, Tolomei and Albani, Clement XI. declared that he could not approve it though he was prepared to publish himself a similar declaration as regards substance and order. To this Noailles would not consent. He demanded that the Pope should either confirm the French exposition or publish a new Constitution in which the Bull against Quesnel would not be taken into account. Thus the negotiations were hopeless; moreover, by means of secret inquiries from Rohan and Bissy, it was ascertained that, as on former occasions, Noailles had tampered with the copy presented in Rome, the text of which differed from the French original in forty-eight places.[1] On top of everything it so happened that a copy of Noailles' appeal, which he had hitherto kept secret, was found among the papers of the late Bishop of Lectoure [2] and made public by means of the press. This incident was extremely awkward for the Archbishop: if he promised the Pope and the Regent to accept the Constitution, against which he had appealed, his duplicity was plainly revealed. Besides, on account of the command of silence, the Regent could not tolerate the publication of the document. It was accordingly suppressed by an official decree, but in such wise that the whole blame fell on the illicit publication, not on the appeal itself and on Noailles.[3]

Meanwhile all sorts of rumours circulated in Paris about the Archbishop's very slight inclination to submit; these rumours promptly raised another storm among his followers. Twenty-six parish priests of Paris assured him in writing that they, on their part, maintained their old standpoint and would continue to maintain it even if their Archbishop changed his mind. Fifty Doctors of the Sorbonne gave their adhesion to this declaration. As a matter of fact profound

[1] SCHILL, 160-2.

[2] De Polestron, d. October 13, 1717 (JEAN, 83). An **Avviso* of December 25, 1717, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, says that the question of the Bull *Unigenitus*, which had apparently been settled, revived more strongly than ever through a printed appeal by Noailles.

[3] [CADRY], II., 91 *seqq.*; LECLERQ, II., 42.

excitement over the Bull is a characteristic feature of the period. The Constitution *Unigenitus* was a current topic of conversation, everybody had his own opinion about it—Doctors of the Sorbonne and Councillors of Parliament, parish priests and religious, down to sextons and beadles. Men tied ribbons of various colours to the handles of their swords by which they were known as adherents of the Constitution or the Regency, at times, in fact, the sword would fly out of its scabbard when arguments failed the armed theologians.[1] In spite of official prohibitions, polemical writings great and small were tossed to and fro between the two parties.[2] Once again the Sorbonne displayed particular zeal in a Jansenistic-Gallican sense. In their memorial the twenty-eight Bishops had protested against the encroachments of the professors, hence the latter, in their reply, invoked the protection of the Regent against the Bishops.[3] Logically enough, in view of the fact that it had altered its standpoint in questions concerning Jansenism, the Faculty would have revoked its former censure of Arnauld, had not the State Chancellor intervened; at any rate, thereafter, subscription to this censure was no longer demanded.[4]

This characteristic of the Jansenists' aversion for Rome was so great that they conceived a project of seeking contact with the Anglicans. The Jansenist Louis Ellies Dupin wrote in this sense to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, on February 11th, 1718, and received an encouraging answer. However, the transaction raised suspicions in Paris, Dupin's papers were sequestrated, with the result that it became evident that he was ready to make most important concessions. Dupin was of opinion that, without any loss to the Catholic Faith, he might sacrifice auricular confession, transubstantiation, religious vows, clerical celibacy, Lent

[1] Leclerq, II., 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, 44.
[3] [Cadry], II., 38. *Cf.* above, p. 284.
[4] [Cadry], II., 60. On the Faculty of Nantes, *ibid.*, 80.

and the primacy of the Pope. His death in 1719 put an end to these negotiations.[1]

However, amid the general confusion there were not lacking Bishops who boldly defended the cause of the Church against the Gallicans and the Jansenists.[2] Foresta de Cologne of Apt published a pastoral in defence of papal infallibility,[3] Belsunce of Marseilles confessed, as against Gallican ideas, that he was indeed the shepherd of his own diocese, but in respect of the Pope he was but a member of the fold of Christ.[4] De Mailly of Rheims wrote to the Regent,[5] pointing out the damage done by the order of silence of October 7th, 1717, and condemning the encroachments of many Bishops and secular officials. "We have been handed over to the Parliaments," he wrote; "to-day the affairs of the Church are treated no longer in Councils but in the Law Courts . . . the Councils expected from the Pope confirmation of their decrees, to-day the decisions of Pope and Bishops are in need of confirmation by secular tribunals."[6] In point of fact, things had come to such a pass that certain Faculties arrogated to themselves, to a large extent, the teaching authority of the Church and the Parliaments her jurisdiction. Cologne

[1] LAFITAU, II., 138 *seq.*; [PATOUILLET], III., 320; LUPTON, *Archbishop Wake and the project of union*, London, 1896; *D'un projet d'union entre les églises gallicane et anglicane. Correspondance entre Wake et Dupin*, London, 1864; *Dictionary of English Biography*, LVIII. (1899), 446; FLEURY, LXX., 215 *seqq.*; RANKE, *Franz. Gesch.*, IV.[4], 326.

[2] FLEURY, LXIX., 700 *seqq.*

[3] [CADRY], II., 99 *seq.*

[5] Letter of March 14, 1718; *ibid.*, 102 *seq.* *Cf.* F. JAUFFRET, *Msgr. de Belsunce et le Jansénisme*, Marseille, 1881; *Correspondance de M. de Belsunce, évêque de Marseille*, par L.-A. DE PORRENTRUY, *ibid.*, 1911; J. LAURENTIE, *Belsunce et le Jansénisme d'après une correspondance inédite*, [with Le Bret, President of the Parliament,] in the *Université Catholique* n. s., XXVIII. (1898), 24 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*

[5] January 20, 1718, in, [CADRY], II., 108.

[6] *Ibid.*, 109.

was about to experience this now: his pastoral was suppressed by the Parliament of Aix and his revenues were confiscated. De Mailly fared even worse; although a *pair* of the realm whose privilege it was, as Archbishop of Rheims, to anoint the King at his coronation, it fell to his lot to see his letter condemned by the Parliament of Paris, to be publicly torn and burnt by the hand of the executioner.[1] In spite of the pleadings of some highly placed persons, Orleans allowed this sentence to be carried out; whereupon De Mailly, in a circular to the Deans, congratulated himself on having had the honour of suffering so great a shame for the name of God; he also founded an annual Mass in thanksgiving.[2] The papal press of April 26th, 1718, eulogized De Mailly and Belsunce; similar letters of September 13th praised Languet of Soissons and Forbin Janson of Arles.[3]

As the enemies of the Constitution kept asserting that outside France the Bull against Quesnel was hardly known, so that it could not be said that it had been accepted, Bishop La Parisière of Nîmes sought information on the subject from the Bishops of Spain and Portugal, and de Bissy from the Bishops of the rest of the world. The answers to these inquiries were published in one volume in 1718,[4] as an incontrovertible proof of the acceptance of the Bull by the universal Church.[5] It was necessary to print the book abroad; in France it led to fresh action by Parliament.[6] The Bishop of Nîmes paid for his pastoral letter with banishment from Paris.[7]

(10.)

After all this there could be but little doubt as to what fate awaited any further papal decrees. However, even

[1] *Ibid.*, 100, 110.

[2] *Ibid.*, 110 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXIX., 707 *seqq.*

[3] FLEURY, 705 *seqq.*

[4] *Témoignage de l'Église universelle en faveur de la bulle Unigenitus*, Bruxelles, 1718; *Nouveaux témoignages*, 1722.

[5] SCHILL, 317–334.

[6] January 14, 1719; [CADRY], II., 132. [7] *Ibid.*, 91.

though the Parliaments suppressed nearly everything that came from Rome, their decrees did not prevent every countermeasure from coming to the knowledge of the general public and these produced their effect upon wide circles. On March 8th, 1718, a decree of the Holy Office was posted up in Rome condemning the four Bishops as well as the adhesion of the Faculties of Paris, Rheims, Nantes, together with Noailles' appeal.[1]

That which was to be expected, happened. The Regent refused to take the decree when the Nuncio handed it to him.[2] The Parliaments thundered against it [3]; in a joint letter the four appellants exhorted the Regent to defend the Archbishops against a power whose policy had aimed for centuries at the destruction of the prestige of the Bishops.[4] Noailles made a separate complaint to Orleans, but failed to obtain leave to publish his appeal [5]; the Bishop of Senez made a similar protest at a synod, with the consent of his clergy.[6]

The Pope, of course, could not remain silent, but Cardinal de Bissy prevailed upon him once more [7] to delay action. As a matter of fact fresh discussions seemed about to lead to some result this time: the appellants somehow agreed on the earlier dogmatic explanation, though this had not met with particular favour in Rome; Noailles promised to accept the Bull on the basis of his own explanations, even if these were not confirmed by the Pope. Further than this they did not get.[8] De Bissy had to inform [9] the friends of the Constitution by circular letter that the negotiations had

[1] Fleury, LXIX., 714; Reusch, II., 737.

[2] [Cadry], II., 111. "Les émissaires de Rome ne laissèrent pas de la répandre dans le royaume." *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 113 *seqq.*; [Nivelle], III., 249–256.

[4] [Cadry], II., 111 *seq.* The letter was not printed.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] By letter of May 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 133.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] September 14, 1718, *ibid.*, 142 *seq.*

failed, that a fresh papal pronouncement was to be expected, the consequence being a fresh appeal to a General Council which, this time, would come from the Parliament of Paris. The Bishops should forestall this step by means of pastorals in which stress should be laid on the general acceptance of the Bull by the universal Church, and the nullity of the appeal against it. It was necessary to make haste, for if the pastorals only appeared after the Bull which was to be expected, the State would consider them as its execution and would treat them accordingly.

As anyone could gather from this letter the rupture of the negotiations was complete; Noailles was at last allowed to publish his appeal [1]; this he did on September 24th, but his declarations did not meet with universal approval, even on the part of his friends. They blamed him, for instance, for appealing not merely to a Council but also to a better informed Pope, and for only finding fault with the abuse of the Bull; they would have wished him to speak more clearly.[2] In spite of this Noailles had the consent of his Chapter and the parish priests; only two Canons and some ten or twelve parish priests were of a contrary opinion.[3]

Scarcely had the appeal been made public when the papal Bull which Clement XI. had signed on August 28th became known.[4]

[1] Reprinted, *ibid.*, 149–157.

[2] *Ibid.*, 157.

[3] *Ibid.*, 148 *seq.*

[4] "Pastoralis officii." Reprinted in *Bull*, XXI., 807–813; FLEURY, LXIX., 726–741. A number of *drafts in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, vol. 151, are proof of the personal part the Pope took in connexion with the Bull: "Prime minute di questa Bolla in numero di tre emendate et aggiunte in molti luoghi da S. Beatitudine; Fogli continenti mutazioni e aggiunti alla bolla di pugno di S. B.; Principio di bolla di pugno di S. B.; Minuta intiera di bolla formata et scritta da Clemente XI.; Copia della medesima con nuove correzioni fatta di pugno del Papa: Osservazioni fatte da' cardinali; Sette fogli [with alterations in the Pope's own hand]; 13 fogli scritti da Msgr. Maielli [with alterations for Bull and Briefs]; Note del Card. Tolomei, del P. Fontagne

It was promulgated on September 8th, the anniversary of the Constitution against Quesnel. The Pope begins with a survey of his efforts on behalf of those who had gone astray; he had patiently gone after them, regardless of the construction that might be put on his mildness, for he knew that God must be served amid good and evil report.[1] Just as the four Bishops had addressed their appeal from the Pope to the universal Church, so does the Pope also appeal to the whole of Christendom, requesting prayers for the needs of the French Church and warning against the party and the excuses with which they seek to cover themselves. The party pretend to be in agreement with the Roman Church whereas they distorted and found fault with a decision which had been accepted by the entire Church, as if amid universal blindness they alone beheld the light of truth.[2] Many pretended that they only wanted explanations of the Bull; in reality they were not eager for enlightenment; their true aim was to involve the Church in useless questions and to obscure what was clear and plain. Moreover, the motives on which they based their request for explanations were offensive to the Holy See, inasmuch as they based it on an alleged fear that the Bull might subvert dogma and moral and ecclesiastical discipline; but this amounted to a fear lest the faith of

e del P. Desirant; Minuta mutata della lettera alli vescovi di Francia fatta nuovamente da Msgr. Maielli con un biglietto del Papa; Minuta della lettera scritta a ciascuno cardinale di pugno di S. Stà concernente il breve di mandarvi in Francia; Prima e seconda minuta del breve al Duca regente formate di proprio pugno di S. Stà, di 23 e 30 aprile; Minuta di lettera di pugno del Papa al card. Rotomag. et Bissy 23 agosto 1718." In *vol. 152, references to the same Bull: "Biglietti del Assessore de S. Officio nel mese di Giugno 1718, con cui si dà a considerare per commando di S. Stà la prima minuta della bolla; voti de' Cardinali Giudice, Paolucci, Casoni, Fabroni, Tolomei e Ottoboni; Seconda e terza minuta della bolla data a considerare a' detti cardinali, Luglio et Agosto 1718." Then follow the *voti* of the Cardinals mentioned. Papal Sec. Archives.

[1] FLEURY, LXIX., 730.

[2] *Ibid.*, 732 *seq.*

Saint Peter should fail and the whole Church, which hearkens to the Apostolic See, might forsake the way of truth and salvation. They further alleged that the Bull might prove hurtful to theological doctrines which had hitherto been taught in the Catholic schools without anyone finding fault with them, yet the heads of these schools were all of them ready to be taught by the Roman Church, and these doctrines were being taught at this day under the very eyes of the Pope.[1] Furthermore, we read, they pretend to defend the episcopal dignity whilst, at the same time, they despise their fellow Bishops, foster the rebelliousness of the lower clergy and subject ecclesiastical persons and things to secular tribunals. No one exalts the loftiness of the New Testament and the virtue of charity more eloquently than they, yet no one injures charity with equal shamelessness. They praise the power of grace whilst they outrage the Author of grace by their errors. Moreover, they cloak themselves "with the showy garment of a false ascetism". With a view "to tearing this harmful mask" from their faces, "publicly and before the whole Church," the Pope reminds them that there is no true virtue without humility, no devotion without obedience, no perfection without charity. But what humility and obedience is that which exalts itself above fellow Bishops and the See of St. Peter? What charity is that which spreads outrageous injuries and sows everywhere quarrels and dissension?[2]

To stem the evil to the best of his ability, the Pope declares that he refuses to acknowledge the recalcitrants as true sons of the Roman Church; since they had actually separated themselves from the Holy See and the Roman Church, he would regard them as cut off from him and as men with whom he was not in communion; the Bishops of the whole world should follow his example in this respect.

In spite of its objective severity the Bull must nevertheless be considered as mild, inasmuch as it mentions none of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 734 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 736 *seq.*

rebellious Bishops by name, merely hints at the appeal and avoids the word "excommunication". By the terms of the French concordat, a man need not be avoided as excommunicate, if he had not been explicitly named.[1]

Clement XI. realized that his Bull would occasion a mass of new appeals; of this de la Trémoille had warned him with more than sufficient clearness.[2] As a matter of fact Noailles did make a second appeal on October 3rd.[3] Basing himself on his first appeal, he declares the sentence of excommunication to be null and void seeing that he had appealed to a higher judge, viz. the universal Church, hence the authority of a lesser power was tied and the Pope could no longer judge any infractions of his Constitution. Moreover, the most recent papal decree offended against the privileges of the French Church; it inflicted penalties where there was no guilt and demanded unqualified obedience without any justification. A covering letter to his subjects lays the responsibility for the papal decree on those whose only aim it is to sow trouble and dissension; the letter also instructs the faithful on the duty of obedience towards the Pope and upon the limits of that authority.[4]

The flood of appeals now reached its high-water mark. The Chapter agreed with its Archbishop, as did the theological Faculty and the whole University, in fact the theological Faculty would not content itself with a simple adhesion to Noailles' appeal, and on October 18th it appealed in its own name.[5] After that the Faculty terminated the second part of the dogmatic explanation on which it had been at work for some time, inserting some of the 101 propositions condemned by the Pope, which were also defended in the

[1] SCHILL, 168, n. 2.

[2] [CADRY], II., 159.

[3] DU BOIS, 586–596.

[4] *Ibid.*, 582–5. The appeal to well-known expressions of Bernard of Clairvaux and Robert Grosseteste is irrelevant, since neither opposed papal decisions on matters of faith.

[5] *Ibid.*, 431–464; [CADRY], II., 162 *seqq.*

disputations of many students of theology.[1] A number of religious communities in and out of Paris followed the example of the Archbishop and the University, as, for instance, the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor and St. Geneviève, the Oratorians, the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, the Maurists, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Feuillants, the Celestines, and others.[2] Sermons were also preached against the Constitution ; in these the opponents of the Bull were extolled whilst its defenders were described as men without character, without knowledge, without mission, as ignorant and headstrong people, the enemies of order and of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ; behind all this were certain religious, it was said, who pursued a purpose of their own when they strove to alienate the faithful from their parish and to render the Archbishop and the parish priests suspect to them.[3]

What has been said makes it clear that the Pope still had his friends even in Paris. Whilst many religious houses participated in a body in the appeal, by means of capitular decisions, the Lazarists and the Seminary of the Foreign Missions held back.[4] Honoré Tournely,[5] the outstanding Sorbonnist of the time, together with twenty-two Doctors who, like himself, had been excluded from the meetings for having defended the Bull, raised a protest against the appeal of the Faculty[6] ; more than 500 Doctors in the various dioceses of France, who had received their dignity from the Paris Faculty, acted in like manner and recognized the Bull as a dogmatic and infallible judgment of the Church.[7] One of the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor, Gourdan, whom the people revered as a Saint, addressed a personal letter to Noailles in which he reminded him that it was a direct attack

[1] [Cadry], II., 166.

[2] *Ibid.*, 167 ; [Nivelle], II., 2, 226–611.

[3] [Cadry], II., 169.

[4] *Ibid.*, 167.

[5] Hild, *Honoré Tournely und seine Stellung zum Jansenismus*, Freiburg, 1911.

[6] Cadry], II., 163.

[7] Feret, VI., 84 ; Fleury, LXX., 43 *seq.*

against the Son of God to rise against the authority which He Himself had founded and strengthened against the powers of hell; a man must be blind if he failed to see the lofty wisdom of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[1] As it was, an overwhelming majority of the Bishops held fast to the Bull.

Nevertheless, after Noailles had made his appeal public, not a few of his episcopal colleagues took his part.[2] Among those who had long been his followers, the Bishops of Laon, Châlons, St. Malo, Bayonne and Angoulême also appealed; on the other hand two of those who had hitherto sided with them did not go so far as to appeal publicly as they would have found no following in their dioceses of Tréguier and Arras.[3] Another follower of Noailles, the Archbishop of Tours, had died, but his Chapter appealed in his place. Some of those who had previously accepted the Bull now joined the appellants; they were, not counting the above-mentioned Bishop of Laon who had resumed his original opposition to the Bull, the Bishops of Agen, Condom, Mâcon, Dax and Auxerre. Thus counting Noailles, the four first appellants and the Bishops of Pamiers and Verdun who had previously associated themselves with them, the number of appellants amounted to seventeen; to them might be added the Bishop of Tournai who, however, had long ago resigned his office. Most of the above named had already made known their approval by a secret document in 1717, at a time when Noailles' appeal was only known to the initiated; among them was the Archbishop of Lectoure who, however, died before the publication of this appeal and thus need not be counted. Two of the above, namely, the Bishops of Laon

[1] [Cadry], II., 170 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 172–191; [Nivelle], II., 1, 457–675.

[3] Kervilio of Tréguier did not appeal, "comme ayant un clergé peu disposé à le suivre, et il ramena M. d'Arras à son avis par la même raison" ([Cadry], II., 173). On the equivocal conduct of the Bishop of Arras and "la populace très prévenue dans ce pays pour les maximes ultramontaines" see [Cadry], II., 289. For "ultramontane" scenes in the dioceses of Tournai and Verdun, *ibid.*, 291, 293.

and Angoulême, only joined when Noailles published his appeal on September 24th, 1718.[1] As at that time France counted 120 Bishops, it cannot be said that the twenty appellants formed a very large proportion. It is true that the example of the Bishops had a decisive influence on the clergy, though not everywhere. At Rheims and Rouen, where the Bishops were loyal to the Constitution, there were, nevertheless, numerous appeals.[2] On the other hand, only a very few of his priests followed the Bishop of Mirepoix in his attack on the Bull[3]; apart from one religious body, the Bishop of Pamiers only found two followers among his priests: "they are ultramontanes in this country," he lamented, because the priests had made their studies at Toulouse and were staunch upholders of the doctrine of papal infallibility.[4] In effect there were only two appeals in the archdiocese of Toulouse and of the eight dioceses of the Province of Toulouse, Lombez, Montauban, Rieux and Lavaur did not furnish a single one.[5] The situation was likewise unfavourable to Noailles and his followers in the ecclesiastical Province of Bourges in the North and in the archdiocese of Tours and the dioceses depending on it.[6] Out of thirteen dioceses of the Province of Narbonne only five produced appellants, and of these five Montpellier alone provided a considerable number; Agde only furnished three, Béziers, Carcassonne and Saint-Pons only one each.[7] Nevertheless the total number of appellants is reckoned at several thousands.[8]

[1] A last straggler of the Appellants in 1735 is Ségur of Saint-Papoul ([Nivelle], II., 1, 676 *seqq.* The Bishops of Bayeux, Troyes and Castres, though not Appellants, are Jansenists (*ibid.*, 685–736).

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 2, 91 *seqq.*, 131 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 1, 26 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 440.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 2, 192. On Saint-Papoul, see note 1

[6] [Nivelle], II., 2, 39, 193.

[7] *Ibid.*, 58 *seqq.*

[8] Schill, 151.

This time also Noailles' strongest supporters came from those bodies which could always be depended upon to oppose the Pope. All the twelve Parliaments of the realm strove to render the new papal Bull ineffective.[1] Thus, for instance, the Parliament of Paris forbade the Bishops to accept, publish and quote the Bull ; similar decrees by the other Parliaments instructed the Pope on papal infallibility which they declared to be an untenable opinion, on the rights of the Bishops, the General Council and the authority of the laity.[2] By way of particular directions for the execution of the most recent Bull, the Roman Inquisition had decreed, on December 19th, 1718, that those who in any way attacked the Bull *Unigenitus*, or defended its opponents, must be denounced to the Bishop of the diocese or the Inquisitor.[3] The Parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Besançon and Metz took the customary measures against this edict also and as obedience to the papal prescriptions was especially feared from the religious, several Parliaments forbade them to leave the country or to accept directions from Rome without permission.[4] Simultaneously with the Bull, Parliament also attacked the pastorals which, at De Bissy's suggestion,[5] not a few Bishops had published against the appellants.[6] Rebellious priests who saw themselves threatened by the pastorals of their Bishops, need only appeal to Parliament when they could be certain of receiving safe-conducts. Innumerable documents of the kind were issued by which the hands of the Bishops were tied.[7] When the

[1] [Nivelle], III., 257–291.

[2] [Cadry], II., 196 *seqq.* ; 205 *seqq.*

[3] Reusch, II., 738 ; Fleury, LXIX., 807 ; [Cadry], II., 282.

[4] [Cadry], *ibid.* ; [Nivelle], III., 291–5.

[5] See above, p. 297.

[6] De Bissy in his *Instruction pastorale* of 1722 gives 48. [Cadry], II., 211.

[7] "Les arrêts de cette espèce qui furent rendus, sont sans nombre, mais il y en a eu fort peu d'imprimez, parce que communément ceux qui les avoient obtenus, se contentoient de les faire signifier aux évêques, qui de leur coté ne passoient pas outre," *ibid.*

Bishop of Dol published his pastoral letter, the Parliament of Rennes forbade all the Bishops of its district to publish similar documents and demanded that this prohibition should be read from the pulpit in all the churches.[1] The same Bishop, in spite of parliamentary orders, had threatened certain recalcitrant Benedictines with excommunication. Parliament replied with a threat of the sequestration of the Bishop's revenues.[2] The same fate befell Bishop Belsunce of Marseilles who had taken action against the Oratorians, and Bishop de Foresta of Apt who had appealed from the pretensions of the Parliaments and from the youthful King to the King of maturer years. Both had their revenues sequestrated. Belsunce succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the decree in question from the Council of State but de Foresta saw his appeal to the King publicly burnt by the executioner.[3] In addition to Belsunce and de Foresta, Languet of Soissons distinguished himself on this occasion also by courageous action on behalf of the Church[4] with the consequence that two of his manifestos were burnt by the executioner, by order of Parliament.[5] In many instances the tribunals acted with truly oriental despotism. An Ursuline nun of Aix had been forbidden Holy Communion by order of the Archbishop for having appealed; she appealed to the secular judge and Parliament decided in her favour against the Archbishop.[6] Religious superiors were forbidden under pain of sequestration of their revenues, to prevent appellant priests from saying Mass in their churches.[7] The Rector of the Jesuit College of Chambéry was forbidden under pain of a fine of 10,000 livres, to allow the Bull to be defended in the theological lectures.[8] The Universities also permitted

[1] February 4, 1719, *ibid.*, 214.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 216–225.
[4] *Ibid.*, 225 *seqq.*
[5] SCHILL, 185.
[6] [CADRY], II., 286, where more such examples are given.
[7] *Ibid.*, 287.
[8] *Ibid.*, 288.

themselves enormous encroachments. At Caen the University excluded from its body those Doctors who refused to appeal.[1] In the document about their appeal, which they forwarded to the Faculty of Paris, they described the doctrine of papal infallibility as a "frivolous claim",[2] and when a certain Doctor Tamponet, of the Sorbonne, who otherwise was no advocate of this papal prerogative, nevertheless found the expression too strong, the Faculty of Paris also declared that teaching to be erroneous and even thought of depriving Tamponet of his Doctor's title.[3]

The powerful sensation which the appeals created only encouraged their authors. The four Bishops who had given the first impulse, published yet another joint appeal, this time in particular against the decrees of the Inquisition in their affair and against the pastorals of the supporters of the Constitution.[4] In a voluminous memorial[5] they endeavoured to substantiate further their rejection of the Bull against Quesnel. As for the most recent Bull they based themselves on a pastoral instruction of the Archbishop of Paris which had caused a great sensation, were it only because of the position of its author.[6] Its most important part is an examination of the infallibility of the Church's definitions. The defenders of the Bull against Quesnel had always stressed the fact that it had been received by all the Bishops, so that it had to be considered as a rule of faith even on the basis of Gallican principles. Noailles replied that such consent was only a convincing argument if in the act of accepting

[1] *Ibid.*, 273.

[2] "Hunc quidem intolerandum esse Ultramontanorum errorem (that the Appellants had been excommunicated), qui vanis opinionibus imbuti, SS. Pontificem nec falli nec fallere posse . . . temere omnino autumant." [NIVELLE], I., 421.

[3] [CADRY], II., 274 *seq.*

[4] [NIVELLE], I., 75–9.

[5] Of 300 pages in 4to; extract in [CADRY], II., 266.

[6] Dated January 14, 1719, appeared in February and comprises 222 pages in 4to; extract in [CADRY], II., 237–244; SCHILL, 186; FLEURY, LXX., 207–212.

the Bull the Bishops had acted as judges and if there was moral unanimity: 300 Bishops professing belief in the Pope's infallibility were, so to speak, no more than one Bishop so long as the Church was not gathered in Council, for their pronouncements were based on those of the Pope. It was so with the Bull against Quesnel: the Bishops obeyed, they submitted to an authority which they believed to be infallible, they were no more than humble and docile sheep who can but follow their shepherd.[1] To the objection that silent acquiescence by so many Bishops was unthinkable if the Bull imperilled the faith, Noailles replied by pointing to probabilism which, though it subverts the whole of Christian morality, was yet silently tolerated for so long a time.[2] Even in this official document Noailles could not refrain from bitter comments on "the rash and presumptuous men" whose only aim it was to destroy the teaching on grace of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, who in moral theology advance scandalous and lax opinions that have been repeatedly condemned and hold subversive principles about the hierarchy.[3] In like manner the four Bishops also undertake, in the first part of their memorial, to expose the most recent errors about dogma, morals and the hierarchy; in the second part they endeavour to show in what way the Bull against Quesnel favours these errors; the four specifically turn their weapons against Molina in favour of their protégé, Quesnel.[4]

The consequences of Noailes' Instruction could easily be foreseen: it called forth many refutations, particularly from the Bishops of Soissons, Angers and Meaux; but when

[1] [Cadry], II., 240, 242. Hence the Bull against Baius is not a rule of faith on that account, although Noailles had affirmed the contrary as late as 1711 (Schill, 184, n. 3). Quesnel in 1687, in his *Tradition de l'Église Romaine*, had also admitted: "Le silence des autres églises . . . doit tenir lieu de consentement général" (*ibid.*; [Patouillet], IV., 122 *seq.*).

[2] [Cadry], II., 242.

[3] *Ibid.*, 237.

[4] *Ibid.*, 267, 269.

the Inquisition condemned the Instruction, the Parliaments of Paris and Rouen in their turn condemned the decree of the Inquisition.[1]

(11.)

In spite of the success of the Appellants in 1712, that very year marks a retrogression in the Jansenist movement. Though personally devoid of all religious convictions, the Regent desired religious peace for political reasons and he became more and more convinced that he would not be able to secure it whilst Quesnellism prevailed. His trusted adviser, the Abbé Dubois, though anything but a keenly religious man, was also an opponent of Jansenism from personal motives. He had just achieved a triumph with the conclusion of the quadruple alliance: to obtain yet another, by the removal of religious dissensions, may well have appeared to him a worthy pursuit. Moreover, he aspired to the cardinalate for he was anxious for his lowly origin to be forgotten at court. However, he could only hope for such a distinction by rendering so outstanding a service to the Church as to cover even his bad reputation in respect to morals.[2] Thus the Government was on the side of the friends of the Constitution but the support of persons of such ill report

[1] *Ibid.*, 244 *seqq.* The Decree of the Inquisition of August 3, 1719, in *Bull. Clementis, XI.*, 1114, in FLEURY, LXX., 213 *seq.*; the edicts of the Parliaments of Paris and Rouen of September 6 and October 17, 1719, in [NIVELLE], III., 295 *seq.*

[2] BLIARD, II., 283. The existence of a French plan for a matrimonial alliance with the Spanish royal family, which it was hoped to dispose favourably by the adoption of a more Catholic policy (SCHILL, 192), cannot be proved as early as 1719 (LECLERQ, II., 207 *seqq.*). Dubois' morality has also been suspected, though quite unjustly, as is shown, for example, by Fénelon's relations with him (BLIARD, 268 *seqq.*). "A partir de 1716 sa vie devint extrêmement chaste et sobre," says LE MONTEY, *Hist. de la Regénce*, II., 87, in BLIARD, II., 270, note .

as Orleans and Dubois could hardly be considered an advantage with public opinion.[1]

The first symptoms of a change in the religious policy of the Regent appeared before long. Just then there were those who favoured the idea of all the Parliaments appealing to a future Council, but the Regent opposed the plan.[2] When a number of appellant priests sought to protect themselves against their Bishops with letters of safe-conduct from the Parliaments, Orleans forbade the issue of such letters unless the motives for an appeal had been previously approved by the Regent.[3] In various particular conflicts also the Regent gave his verdict in favour of the friends of the Constitution.[4] He sought to curb the zeal both of the Parliaments and of the Sorbonne, that "centre of the appeals".[5] Doctor Tamponet had lately been excluded from the Sorbonne on account of his views on papal infallibility,[6] whilst the Jansenist Petitpied, who had been excluded in 1704 on account of the "Case of Conscience", had been readmitted on June 1st. On July 6th the heads of the Faculty were summoned before the Keeper of the Seals when they were made to expunge from the registers which they had brought with them, all that had been done in favour of Petitpied and against Tamponet. The Keeper of the Seals rebuked the Sorbonne for its attitude towards papal infallibility, an attitude which was extraordinarily radical even for that Faculty, and ordered the registration of a decree forbidding it to indulge in disputations on the

[1] On the other hand a blow was dealt to the followers of Quesnel when on the occasion of a search of Dupin's premises papers were found dealing with the union of the Jansenist party with the Anglicans; see above, p. 288.

[2] [CADRY], II., 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, 201 *seq.*; DUBOIS, 597 *seq.* *Ibid.*, a letter of advice to the Bishops. *Cf.* SCHILL, 182.

[4] Two cases at Verdun (November 1, 1718, and April 25, 1719), in [CADRY], II., 293, 294.

[5] *Ibid.*, 271.

[6] Above, p. 301.

Bull *Unigenitus* and renewing the prescriptions concerning the customary oaths and subscriptions; in other words, the formulary of Alexander VII. and the censure against Arnauld could not be brushed aside, as had been attempted. The Doctors remonstrated but the Regent upheld his order.[1] In addition to the above decree the Faculty was likewise compelled to register a royal declaration of June 5th, 1719, which enforced anew the order of silence of October 7th, 1717.[2] The declaration [3] pleased neither side, in fact nuncio Bentivoglio went so far as to address a circular to the Bishops stating his objections.[4] However, in the Regent's opinion the only purpose of the order of silence was to prevent interference with the fresh negotiations, which he hoped would at long last restore peace.

Thus fresh conversations began though the Pope had recently expressed himself very unfavourably on the subject to Lafitau. At the first sign of a *rapprochement*, he observed,[5] the Bishops who were loyal to the Church, showed the most extraordinary credulity. For all that the new attempt need not be considered from the first as quite absurd. In his most recent pastoral instruction Noailles had not found fault with the Constitution itself, but merely with its abuse, and by so doing he had incurred the displeasure of the irreconcilable opponents of the Bull. Only that could be abused, he was told, which was good in itself; but if the Bull was good in itself, how dare he oppose it to the Scriptures and the Fathers.[6] Moreover, that ever vacillating man had promised once before to accept the Bull with certain declarations.[7] Such declarations were being elaborated but in the meantime

[1] [Cadry], II., 314–320. On Petitpied, *cf.* [Patouillet], II., 106.

[2] [Cadry], II., 318.

[3] *Ibid.*, 306–8; Dubois, 611–15.

[4] Bliard, II., 286, n. 4.

[5] Lafitau, II., 125.

[6] [Cadry], II., 244.

[7] Above, p. 243.

many difficulties had to be cleared away.[1] There was, first of all, the threatening attitude of the Pope. Clement XI. had plainly told Lafitau, the French agent, that his patience was at an end.[2] He took a first step against Noailles with the condemnation of the pastoral instruction,[3] and provoked not a little resentment in Paris by raising to the cardinalate the unpopular Archbishop of Rheims, De Mailly.[4] Nuncio Bentivoglio, who saw in Dubois only a deceiver and a cunning fox, and who was believed to be the author of a violent pamphlet against the Regent, would not allow himself to be won over to the latter's efforts for peace; as a result of pressure by the Government, he was recalled by the Pope.

Already at the end of 1718 Cardinal Rohan had been summoned to Paris for the negotiations, but in the following year Law's notorious financial schemes largely diverted attention from religious questions. It was only at the beginning of 1720 that Noailles, Massillon and the General of the Oratorians, De la Tour, compiled a draft with explanations of the 101 condemned propositions which was then discussed in the presence of Rohan and even that of the Regent himself.[5] The supporters of the Constitution considered that they could be satisfied with the document seeing that it contained nothing false.[6] They decided to waive many demands they could have made inasmuch as if the compromise were to be wrecked, they were faced with the threat of a fresh dangerous appeal to a future Council which would emanate from the combined Parliaments acting in the name of the King and

[1] Bliard, II., 288–294.

[2] Lafitau, II., 114.

[3] Above, p. 302.

[4] Account of the affair from Jansenist sources in Leclerq, III., 111 *seqq.*

[5] Schill, 192; Bliard, II., 294 *seqq.*; Leclerq, III., 113.

[6] "Clearness and precision of concepts distinguish the whole work; in particular Articles I. (of the difference of the two Testaments) and III. (on Grace) may be described as excellent." Schill, 193.

the nation.[1] The Archbishop of Paris was given to understand that the supporters of the Constitution would sever all relations with the Appellants if the compromise did not come about, that the court would have to favour the stronger party, that it was impossible to tolerate two religions in France and that, should it be necessary, steps would be taken for his deposition. Dubois told him plainly and bluntly that an end must be put to the affair and peace restored.[2] Noailles allowed himself to be persuaded; he gave a written promise to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus* if at least eighty Bishops approved his explanations of that document.[3] He probably thought that it would not be possible to secure so many adhesions: however, the document, with its explanations, met with the approval of most of the Bishops then in Paris; on March 13th and 14th, 1720, between thirty and forty Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops put their signature to a letter addressed to the Regent in which they declared their approval. Thereupon the Regent showed them the written promise of the Archbishop of Paris.[4] By his order confidential agents were dispatched into all the provinces with mission to secure the adhesion of the Bishops. Within a short time the signatures amounted not to eighty but to a hundred.[5] August 4th, 1720, saw the publication of a fresh royal declaration in support of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[6] It forbade all oral or written criticism of the Bull or the compromise; previous appeals were declared null and void and future ones were forbidden; all the royal ordinances against Jansenism were confirmed anew; the Parliaments were told to leave questions of faith to the Bishops and to co-operate with them in the execution of censures; they were, however, empowered to prevent the disturbance of public tranquillity by publications dealing with dogmatic questions. Lastly, the various parties were warned not to describe one another as innovators, Jansenists, schismatics or heretics.

[1] [Cadry], II., 351, 353; Bliard, II., 298, n. 3.
[2] [Cadry], II., 352 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 353.
[4] *Ibid.*, 359.
[5] *Ibid.*, 374, 406 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 428–432; Schill, 195; Cahen, 34.

Two things remained to be done : one was to get Parliament to register this declaration so that it might become a law of the State, the other was to obtain from Noailles a pastoral in which he would announce his assent to the compromise. Noailles had made the registration of the royal declaration a condition of his pastoral so that for the moment everything depended on the Parliament of Paris.

As a result of its opposition to Law that self-sufficient tribunal had been banished since July to Pontoise, a dull provincial town.[1] But the gentlemen of Parliament had too high a notion of themselves as the guardians of Gallicanism to buy their escape from their cramped dwellings at Pontoise by taking without reservation a decision somewhat favourable to the Church. After lengthy and secret negotiations the declaration was submitted on September 2nd and its acceptance recommended by the legal advisers, though with some reservations ; this was, however, followed by lengthy discussions, at committee meetings, of the pretensions of the Faculty of Paris and the four Bishops. The Regent ended by losing all patience ; on September 7th he demanded the return of the declaration [2] and on the 18th he handed over the whole affair to the " Grand Conseil ", an extraordinary tribunal consisting of nobles and dignitaries presided over by the Chancellor.[3] But the Regent had no better luck with this body than with Parliament : the only thing the " Conseil " did was to pray the King to withdraw the declaration.[4] But Orleans was not at a loss. On September 23rd, preceded by the Chancellor, the first President and five councillors of State, he entered the room where Parliament was sitting, accompanied by five Princes, thirteen Dukes and *Pairs* and five Marshals of France. All these voted in the sense of the Regent so that registration was passed by an overwhelming majority.[5]

[1] Cahen, 23 *seq.* ; Leclerq, II., 458 *seqq.* ; III., 115.
[2] [Cadry], II., 435–448.
[3] *Ibid.*, 448 *seqq.* ; Schill, 196.
[4] [Cadry], II., 454.
[5] Bliard, II., 304 ; Schill, 196 *seqq.* ; Leclerq, III., 116.

It soon became evident that little had been gained. The registration in the "Grand Conseil" had no value in law, Noailles refused to issue a pastoral and insisted on registration in Parliament.

The Regent's anger against Parliament, on account of his favourite Law, was not likely to be softened by proceedings such as these. On November 11th he intensified its exile by banishing it to Blois; as a matter of fact it looked as if this sharp measure were only a preliminary for the complete suppression of that troublesome corporation. This would have meant Law's triumph and would have enabled him to do even greater mischief in the future than he had done in the past. In these circumstances Noailles was pressed from all sides to publish his ordinance in order that Parliament might register the declaration and thereby make its peace with the Regent. Noailles yielded. On November 14th he promised the Duke of Orleans to publish his pastoral and on the 16th he presented him with a copy. When Parliament, before its departure from Pontoise which it had been ordered to quit, presented itself before the Regent to take its leave, Orleans withdrew the sentence of banishment to Blois and on December 4th, after a number of difficulties had been overcome, the declaration was registered, though with the reservation of the Gallican liberties, among which the right of appeal to a Council was expressly mentioned. Thereupon Parliament was allowed to return to Paris and Law left the capital.[1] The provincial Parliaments had long ago carried out the registration without opposition.[2]

[1] *L'exil du Parlement à Pontoise*, 1720. Journal inédit du Président Hénault, in *Souvenirs et Mémoires*, Paris, 1899, II., 504–523; III., 145–165, 308–333 *seq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 325–338; LECLERQ, III., 115–125; GAZIER, I., 263 *seqq.* Noailles' ordinance of August 2, 1720, in DUBOIS, 615–677; FLEURY, LXX., 483–553. The more important sections were corrected or written by D'AGUESSEAU, who after two years' disgrace had become Chancellor once more. GAZIER, I., 263; *cf.* FLEURY, LXX., 482.

[2] [CADRY], II., 457 *seqq.*

The Bull against Quesnel was now a law of the French State. By the death of Quesnel on December 2nd, 1719, the party lost its leader. "His Holiness triumphs!" wrote Dubois, the chief author of the success, "the Holy See was in danger of losing France, but now no one in the realm may withdraw himself from the obedience due to it in virtue of the divine and human law." [1] There was no lack of congratulations for Dubois himself.[2]

But the compromise was still meeting with strong opposition. The four Bishops had renewed their appeal on September 10th, 1720, before its conclusion.[3] On New Year's Day, 1721, the Dean of the Chapter of Paris congratulated the Archbishop on having brought about peace; however, he spoke without authorization from the Chapter and some of those who had accompanied him left ostentatiously before the conclusion of his address.[4] Even before registration, a new appeal was drawn up which by the end of January, 1721 had received 500 signatures; by the end of the year there were as many as 1,500 "re-appellants".[5] On the other hand in the course of 1720 the appellant Bishops of Mirepoix, Verdun and Châlons died, whilst eight others accepted the compromise, namely, the Bishops of Arras, Tréguier, Bayonne, Saint-Malo, Mâcon, Laon, Condom and Agen; three of them, namely the Bishops of Arras, Tréguier and Bayonne, announced their submission in special pastorals.[6] Thus the party had shrunk considerably and the re-appellants among the lower clergy were only isolated individuals; the danger of France being drawn into a schism was apparently averted.

Moreover, the Government was taking energetic steps in favour of the compromise. The fresh appeal of the four Bishops was quashed on December 31st, 1720, by a decree

[1] In Bliard, II., 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, 307.
[3] [Cadry], II., 501–6.
[4] [Cadry], II., 514.
[5] *Ibid.*, 517, 558, 598.
[6] *Ibid.*, 607.

of the "Conseil",[1] and when in January, 1721, the three survivors addressed a lengthy memorial on the subject to the King,[2] they received no reply. During the negotiations for the compromise at the beginning of September, the Faculty of Paris had sent some delegates to Parliament; it was ordered not to discuss the subject at its meeting of October 1st. Not long afterwards a fresh injunction of silence became necessary in order to bridle the resentment of the Faculty which had been roused by the action of a certain Doctor who presumed to speak against the appeal on the occasion of a graduation. In October also the University elected as Rector Rollin, who publicly praised that body's attitude towards the compromise: a decree was promptly issued forbidding Rollin's re-election as Rector.[3] In 1716 twenty-two Doctors had been excluded from the Faculty because of the Bull.[4] Decrees of January 9th and February 7th, 1721, ordered the re-admission of the eighteen survivors, whilst an ordinance of February 15th forbade five appellants to take part in the sessions.[5] The University of Caen had cut off the Jesuits from its body; the court declared the decree to that effect to be null and void.[6] A royal rescript to the Chapter of Le Mans, declared its appeal to the Council null and void and ordered it to be struck off the registers; severe penalties were threatened if it were renewed.[7] The printed list of the "re-appellants" gave occasion to the police to question the latter whether their appeal was serious, but this measure led to no result and was soon dropped, in fact the nuncio complained that ten re-appellants were being cited daily to give them a chance of declaring against the Pope. At a later date, at Dubois' instigation, ten re-appellants were banished.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 523.
[2] *Ibid.*, 549–555.
[3] *Ibid.*, 518–521. Rollin's discourse in [NIVELLE], I., 576.
[4] See above, p. 259.
[5] [CADRY], II., 542 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 533–6.
[7] *Ibid.*, 539 *seqq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 585–598; [NIVELLE], I., 559 *seqq.*, 564 *seqq.*

The compromise had been arrived at without Clement XI.'s participation. Dubois had requested him, through Lafitau, to wait for a time, until everything should be settled.[1] However, what the Pope read in the newspapers was not of a nature to please him. To the Archbishop of Arles [2] he spoke of his amazement that negotiations should have been conducted without his knowledge, the result of which he would be unable to approve. The only sure way to peace had been forsaken, he wrote to the Cardinal of Rheims a few weeks later.[3]

The Pope had good cause for complaint. When Noailles' ordinance, with the acceptance of the Bull, was handed to him, he complained to Lafitau that at the very beginning of the document the Gallican theses of 1682 were reasserted. The Pope also complained that the Bull was not accepted *sic et simpliciter*, but only on the basis of Noailles' declarations, that the propositions condemned in the Bull were not recognized as erroneous, no error in Quesnel's book was admitted and the Archbishop revoked neither his appeal nor his earlier instructions. After a thorough study of the pastoral, Lafitau found no trace of a qualified acceptance of the Bull and he even wrote a dissertation on the subject. However, it turned out that there were two different versions of the ordinance, one accepting the Bull unconditionally, the other only with reservations: thus the Archbishop of Paris had been once more caught in one of those equivocations in which he indulged from time to time.[4] Noailles protested

[1] Bliard, II., 299 *seqq.*; [Cadry], II., 349.

[2] August 20, 1720, [Cadry], II., 500.

[3] September 14, 1720, in Schill, 199.

[4] Fleury, LXX., 557 *seq.* According to an Italian report (in [Cadry], II., 621 *seq.*), the Pope had addressed several Briefs to the Regent in which he complained that the Bull had only been accepted conditionally. An examination by the Inquisition had not found in Noailles' ordinance anything worthy of censure from a dogmatical standpoint. It did not follow, however, that nothing blameworthy was discovered in other

to the Regent that he knew nothing of this double-dealing but declined to make a similar protestation to the Pope. Clement XI. now requested the King to renew the decree by which Louis XIV. had quashed the decisions of 1682 whilst in a letter to the Pope Noailles should be made to make good the deficiencies of his ordinance. Philip of Orleans sent Cardinal Rohan to Rome for the purpose of further negotiations, but when the latter reached the Eternal City Clement XI. was no longer among the living.

The fact that his Bull provoked so violent an agitation in France cannot be made a reproach to Clement XI. What it did was to bring to light the magnitude of the evil, it did not cause it, and it was better that the disease should be discovered rather than that it should continue to spread in secret. The real cause of the mischief was the fact that during the Clementine Peace and since 1682, Jansenism and Gallicanism had struck ever deeper roots in France.

Nor can the Pope be accused of a want of moderation and caution. He was fully conscious of the fact that ecclesiastical authority is not bestowed on a man to enable him to play the rôle of a great lord, but that he might promote the salvation of souls entrusted to him. Because of this conviction Clement XI. endured at the hands of Noailles humiliation after humiliation but he succeeded, at this price, in warding off a schism. At the time of his death the final acceptance of his dogmatic definition was only a question of time even in the land of appeals.

respects. *Cf. Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., vol. 152, on the *Mandamento* of August 12 (*sic!*) 1720: "Censure e voti di cinque qualificatori della Congregazione del s. Officio contra detto mandamento riferiti nella congregazione tenuta January 21, 1721; Voto del P. D. Perez, ord. Praed., February 5, 1721 (against Noailles); Voti dei cardinali del s. Officio, February 6, 1721, coram Sanctissimo (on the prohibition of the ordinance); Voti de cardinali Ottoboni, Imperiale, Tolomei, Paracciano, Sacripanti, Paolucci, Fabroni." Papal Secr. Archives.

(12.)

A few waves of the storm raised in France by the Bull *Unigenitus* swept even into Holland. The University of Douai submitted as soon as the Bull was published [1]; the papal decree, it declared, was no less clear than other papal definitions, such as those against Wycliff and Luther, and no one would receive an academic degree from Douai who was in any way suspect of insubordination to the Bull since, as history showed, the whole constitution of the Church would be destroyed if the rights of the Holy See were called in question. When the University of Louvain hesitated to declare its submission and a rumour spread that its professors were against the Bull, Douai addressed a warning to the sister University,[2] to which Louvain gave a satisfactory reply,[3] proclaiming its adhesion to the doctrine of papal infallibility. Only the publication of the Bull *Pastoralis* in 1718 brought to light the fact that submission to the papal decrees was not universal in Holland. The Archbishop of Malines found it necessary to issue a pastoral letter against the French Appellants [4]; his example was followed by the Bishops of Ghent and Bruges. The latter complained that the writings of the French Appellants found their way across the French frontier in large quantities and that they were not without making an impression in Flanders. These circumstances led the Archbishop of Malines to prescribe a special formula by which the parish priests were made to profess their submission to the Bull [5]; some thirty of them, whole Abbeys and Chapters and some individual priests refused their signature.[6] Two canonists of Louvain, Van Espen and Bauvers, published a memorial to prove the nullity of the suspension from office which the Archbishop

[1] August 3, 1714, Fleury, LXIX., 109.
[2] June 22, 1715, *ibid.*, 113.
[3] August 8, 1715, *ibid.*, 115.
[4] October 17, 1718, [Cadry], II., 296.
[5] Text, *ibid.*, 298.
[6] *Ibid.*, 298 *seqq.*

had inflicted on a rebellious parish priest.[1] When the Dean of the philosophical Faculty of Louvain endeavoured to get the Bull accepted,[2] thirteen professors protested on the ground that the Bull had been published without *placet* and had not been accepted by the universal Church and because the Pope himself alone was not infallible. It goes without saying that these claims did not pass unchallenged. The inner theological Faculty of Louvain, to remove all ground for suspicion, proclaimed anew its entire submission to the Bull *Unigenitus*.[3] The Belgian Bishops offered no opposition to the papal definition ; in a collective letter [4] to the Pope they made profession of obedience, for which they were rewarded with a special Brief of thanks.[5] In 1719 the provincial Chapter of the Dominican Province of Lower Germany made an explicit profession of submission.[6]

Clement XI. was faced with a difficult task when it became necessary to put order into the involved situation of the Dutch mission. With difficulty Innocent XII. had prevailed on the Vicar Apostolic of Holland, Peter Codde, to make up his mind to set out for Rome where he had been cited for the purpose of answering a number of grave charges.

Up to that time the cardinalitial Congregation whose task it was to try Codde, had been very unwilling to give easy credence to the numerous accusations brought against him, in fact its president, Cardinal Albani, at this time Pope Clement XI., was favourably disposed towards Codde. As Pope also he received him with all the regard due to him as an Archbishop and to one who laboured in a thorny field. On the journey the nuncios of Brussels and Cologne had given him a most friendly welcome, so much so that his friends promised him a triumph in Rome.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 299.
[2] November 7, 1718, *ibid.*, 300 *seq.*
[3] December 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 300.
[4] November 23, 1718, *ibid.*, 297.
[5] January 15, 1719, in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 2325 *seq.*
[6] [CADRY], II., 302.
[7] MOZZI, I., 337–340.

In its dealings with the Vicar Apostolic the Congregation of Cardinals showed so much consideration towards him that Du Vaucel wrote to Holland that Codde's cause was taking on an increasingly favourable complexion.[1] The authorities waited patiently during three months for Codde to complete his apology and only then was the first general congregation of Cardinals held.[2] Meanwhile the catechisms which Codde had introduced in the mission, to the scandal of many, were subjected to examination. It was arranged that his interrogation should take place in the presence of only three Cardinals, namely Marescotti, Ferrari and Tanara.[3] In two months only five interrogations took place,[4] in the first of which Codde was asked to explain why he had refused to appoint De Cock his Pro-Vicar for the period of his absence, as he had been instructed to do,[5] for he had appointed Catz, Van Heussen, De Swaen and Groenhout as his lieutenants.[6] His answer to this ticklish question was inadequate, nor could Codde derive much satisfaction from the next interrogatories. Fabroni, the Secretary of the Congregation, pressed him hard, Codde asserts, with questions which he was unprepared to answer.[7] Accordingly a reply in writing was in order. That document pleased Du Vaucel so much that he imagined the accused would be back in his own country in the summer.[8] The Cardinals were of a different

[1] "Les affaires de M. Gottefroi (i.e. Codde) vont de mieux en mieux." Du Vaucel, March 16, 1701, *ibid.*, 345.

[2] March 17 (18), 1701, *ibid.*, 342.

[3] *Ibid.*, 344.

[4] March 18 and 28, April 17, May 6 and 17, *ibid.*, 346.

[5] *Ibid.*, 345.

[6] *Ibid.*, 336.

[7] *Ibid.*, 346 *seqq.* "L'affaire de Msgr. de Sebaste, vicaire de Hollande, n'est retardée et embarrassée que par la méchante procédure d'un monsignore Fabroni, dont l'entêtement sur le prétendu Jansénisme n'est pas imaginable, et qu'on soupçonne avec fondement d'être Roulier (i.e. a Jesuit) du tiers ordre." Quesnel to Vuillart, May 14, 1701, in Le Roy, II., 149.

[8] Letter to Quesnel, May 14, 1707, Mozzi, I., 351.

opinion. When the printed memorial was laid before them, at the end of July, it was seen that Codde's replies did not tally with the questions put to him and a number of accusations were left unanswered.[1] For all that mildness prevailed once again. Codde had asked that before judgment was given, the accusation should be entrusted to Cardinal Tanara, that Cardinal Colloredo should take the place of Cardinal Albani who was retiring, and that he himself should be handed a list of the accusations against him. All these requests were granted.[2] The charges, under twenty-six headings, against the Vicar Apostolic, were that the theses of Baius and Jansenius were being spread in Holland, that the reading of the Bible in the vernacular was declared to be not merely useful but necessary and that errors about the veneration of the Saints, Indulgences and Purgatory were tolerated there. Moreover new ceremonies in the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments were being introduced, excessive severity prevailed on questions of moral theology, with the result that the faithful murmured and the clergy were divided, and translations of Holy Scripture and other religious works containing Jansenist errors were circulating with impunity. The Vicar Apostolic did as if he knew nothing of all this; he extended his patronage to the authors of these disorders, whereas he combatted their opponents and professed high regard for the heads of the new sect, expecially for Arnauld.[3] Codde now asked that he should be shown the evidence on which these charges were based and that he should be told the names of his accusers.[4] Both requests were, of course, refused, since all that was asked of him was to give his opinion on the tenableness of the charges against him. It took him four months to draw up his defence, hindered as he was at times by sickness; on November 1st, 1701, the printed copies were in the hands of the Cardinals of the Congregation and

[1] *Ibid.*, 352.
[2] *Ibid.*, 353.
[3] *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.*
[4] Memorial to the Pope, June 22, 1701, *ibid.*, 356.

the author was allowed to present a copy to the Pope himself together with his report on the situation in Holland; Clement XI. graciously accepted both documents.[1] The apology had also been submitted to Quesnel who found its tone too moderate and respectful.[2] A meeting of the cardinalitial Congregation was held on December 18th, 1701, when Codde's apology was distributed to the ordinary qualificators and consultors for examination. Whatever else may have been decided at that meeting of the Cardinals, Codde confessed that he never had any knowledge of it. This did not prevent him from charging Fabroni with having selected, against the will of the judges, qualificators who were prejudiced.[3]

The negotiations were still pending when a document arrived from Holland which gave a new turn to the whole affair. During Codde's absence from Holland twenty Dutch priests forwarded a memorial to Rome in which they lamented the condition of their country and by way of a remedy, demanded the subscription by everybody to the formula of Alexander VII. The four Pro-Vicars appointed by Codde were all Jansenists, the memorial stated, who upheld the adherents of Quesnel.[4] That the complaints were not unjustified was seen soon enough, when more than 300 Dutch priests sent in a petition against the twenty in which they defended both the innovations and Codde himself.[5] That which Codde had always feared seemed about to become reality as a result of the petition of the twenty: the spectre of Alexander VII.'s formula loomed before him in dangerous proximity. Even before he could ascertain the exact nature of the contents of the petition, he drew up a reply, but when he became better acquainted with their proposals he was beside himself. He drew up a second apology in which he combatted, in somewhat unmeasured terms, both the proposals

[1] *Ibid.*, 358 *seq.*, 360.
[2] *Ibid.*, 360.
[3] *Ibid.*, 361.
[4] Impression of this petition, February, 1701, *ibid.*, 363 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 365.

and their authors and attacked the desired subscription as something new, useless, pernicious and impossible.[1]

These sallies did not prevent the authorities from demanding not indeed the signature which Codde combatted, but from inquiring [2] how he would act if such a demand were made. The Cardinals were told that he was prepared to reject the five propositions condemned by the Pope, but that he was unable to acknowledge that they were taught by Jansenius, nor did he think that in this respect the Pope insisted on anything beyond a respectful silence—in other words, he was prepared to obey with a reservation condemned by the Church. With regard to papal infallibility on which he had also been questioned, Codde answered that though he did not acknowledge it, he did not speak against it and was willing that others should defend it.[3]

The day after, May 7th, 1702, a solemn session of the cardinalitial Congregation was held in presence of the Pope. Codde was removed from the administration of the vicariate, Theodore De Cock being appointed in his place with the title of a Pro-Vicar. The Pope confirmed these measures by a Brief dated May 13th.[4] In view of the state of mind of the Dutch priests, as recently manifested by three hundred of them, there was reason to fear resistance to the papal decrees, especially if Codde fanned it from Rome. Accordingly, knowledge of the decisions of the Congregation and the papal Brief was, for the present, kept from Codde—only on July 5th, through a letter from Holland, did he become acquainted with the sentence passed on him. However, though he was simultaneously informed that the so-called Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem remained loyal to him,

[1] *Ibid.*, 363–8.

[2] May 6, 1702, *ibid.*, 368.

[3] *Ibid.*, 368–370.

[4] Decree of May 7, 1702, *ibid.*, 370, 373 *seq.* (text, *ibid.*, III., 12); Brief to De Cock, May 13, 1702, *ibid.*, 12 *seqq.*; *Brief of May 13, 1702, to the nuncio of Vienna (the replacement of Codde by De Cock was necessary " per conservare la purità della fede "), *Miscell. di Clemente*, XI., 204, Papal Secr. Archives.

Codde submitted to the Pope's judgment when it was communicated to him in due form on July 22nd, 1702.[1] That this submissiveness would not be of long duration was shown by two documents addressed by him to the cardinalitial Congregation and to the Pope in July and October. In them he complained bitterly of the fact that rumour ascribed his suspension to his refusal to sign Alexander VII.'s formula, for which cause he was looked upon as a Jansenist. He offered to subscribe under conditions, but to this the authorities refused to consent.[2]

Meanwhile in Holland, on June 11th, De Cock had called upon the four Pro-Vicars named by Codde with the request that they should convene the Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem for the purpose of recognizing him. The meeting did take place but all it did was to attack the Pope and to defend Codde: none of the members would accept De Cock as the new Pro-Vicar.[3] The warning of internuncio Bussi of Brussels fell on deaf ears,[4] but after the third admonition the Chapters, fearing a sentence of suspension, appealed to the Pope by anticipation and prayed for Codde's reinstatement. With a view to avoiding a complete rupture the friends of the internuncio suggested that De Cock should be recognized at least provisionally, but after consultation between Van Heussen and Gerberon, this too was refused, though De Cock was permitted to proclaim the year of jubilee.[5]

Before long an attempt was made to compel the Pope to give way as a result of pressure by the Protestant Government. The Quesnellists succeeded in attracting to their side the Grand-Pensionary, Antony Heinsius, and the burgomasters of Amsterdam and in getting the States General to intervene with the nuncio in favour of Codde's return. On August 17th, 1702, the States of the Province of Holland

[1] Mozzi, I., 378–380.
[2] *Ibid.*, 381 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 384 *seqq.*
[4] His letter of June 21, 1702, *ibid.*, III., 15.
[5] *Ibid.*, I., 387 *seq.*

and West Friesland forbade De Cock the exercise of his functions as Vicar. At the same time all Vicars not recognized by the State and all members of religious Orders were forbidden to enter Dutch territory and no one might obey a summons to present himself in Rome.[1] Quesnel was jubilant over the decree [2]; the measure taken by the States may well start a conflagration which it would not be easy to put out, he wrote; perhaps the States General would compel the Catholics to elect themselves the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, independently from Rome.[3] Some of the other Jansenists likewise cherished the rosiest expectations; the action of the States, it was hoped, would humiliate the Pope, that obstinate person who was more interested in politics than in the welfare of the Church [4]: insinuations of this kind were also spread by means of the public press.[5]

But the burning question was to know who held authority over the Dutch mission, De Cock or Codde's four Pro-Vicars. An attempt was made to cast doubt on the genuineness of De Cock's nomination, but this trick was promptly disposed of by a letter of Cardinal Paolucci.[6] The faculties of the four Pro-Vicars had expired when Codde was suspended and the support of the secular authority could not confer any ecclesiastical powers. In this embarrassment recourse was had to "the Pope of the Jansenists", Quesnel, to whom two questions were submitted, namely, whether in existing circumstances it was lawful to appeal to a Protestant State, and whether in these same circumstances a Pro-Vicar named by the Bishop and confirmed by the Chapter might continue

[1] *Ibid.*, 390 *seqq.*

[2] August 20, 1702, to Vuillart, in Le Roy, II., 170.

[3] September 17, 1702, *ibid.*, II., 172.

[4] Mozzi, I., 394 *seq.*, 401. A new prayer for the Pope was added to the litany of the Saints: "ut suos probos conservos defendat," "falsas accusationes reiiciat," etc. *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 402. *Order of October 7, 1702, to the Internuncio of Brussels to report on the conditions in Holland about which the Pope is very anxious, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 204, *loc. cit.*

[6] December 14, 1702, Mozzi, III., 16 *seq.*

to exercise his functions. Quesnel's decision was that not only might he do so, but that it was not even lawful for the four to abandon their post.[1] That such an attitude towards Rome would provoke a disastrous storm was not hidden from Quesnel; but in this instance also he relied on his fundamental principle, namely, that one need not be afraid of an unjust excommunication.[2] Van Espen, Hennebel, Opstraet expressed opinions which, on the whole, were to the same effect; Gerberon's advice was likewise sought.[3]

The Pope, on his part, could not shirk the duty of giving judgment. He instructed Cardinal Barberini, the Prefect of Propaganda, to write to the Dutch priests,[4] whilst the internuncio would inform the four Pro-Vicars [5] that since the appointment of De Cock all their official acts were invalid and that further meddling with the government of the mission would entail excommunication. A further Brief [6] exhorted the Catholics of Holland to regulate their conduct by these decisions.

These papal exhortations were not without effect. The Chapter of Haarlem made its submission, ceased to claim a share in the management of the mission and in 1705 printed a public acknowledgment of its attachment to the Holy See and stuck to its resolution in spite of the reproaches of the opponents.[7] On the other hand Utrecht refused to follow the example of Haarlem; Catz, Van Heussen and Erkel, in a number of publications, described the Roman censures as null and void and appealed to a better informed Pope; they also published a declaration against the censures together with a vague profession of faith.[8]

The chief concern of Utrecht was the return of Codde.

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 405 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 411 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 414 *seq.*
[4] February 3, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 18.
[5] To De Swaen, February 22, 1703, *ibid.*, 19 *seq.*
[6] April 7, 1703, *ibid.*, 21 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXVII., 14–20.
[7] MOZZI, I., 419.
[8] *Ibid.*, 420 *seq.*

As a result of their persistence the States of the Province of Holland announced that unless Codde was restored to his country within three months, the missionaries would be expelled, De Cock imprisoned and the churches seized.[1] On February 24th, 1703, De Cock informed Rome of this decision; however, Clement XI. had anticipated it on February 17th, by giving Codde permission to go home, in fact he was actually ordered to leave. Codde reached Utrecht on July 26th [2] where it had been expected that by the time of his return he would have been reinstated in his dignity, or at least that it would not be long before he would exercise once more all the powers of a Vicar Apostolic; in any case De Cock was not going to be recognized at any price.[3] To what lengths resentment against Rome had risen, as a result of the ceaseless flood of libels, was seen on the occasion of the papal Brief to the Catholics of Holland,[4] with which Clement XI. sought to pave the way for Codde's return. In his letter the Pope warned the faithful against the disturbers of the peace in Church and State who, though small in numbers, by means of lies and false reports strove to lead astray those of ingenuous disposition. Outwardly these men pretended to stand for a stricter morality and plumed themselves on their austere theological views. But let anyone but look at the mass of their writings, which are notorious by reason of their animosity, insults, lies, calumnies and open disregard of the Holy See! How can anyone fail to see how far removed the authors and apologists of such productions are from the Spirit of God who is called not the God of discord but the God of peace; how far removed they are from the true charity of Christ which they preach in words but destroy by their deeds; how far removed they are from the path of true humility and obedience, those true foundations of all the other virtues.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 422 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 423 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 425.

[4] April 7, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 21 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 23 *seq.*

The Jansenists were furious when the mirror was thus held up to their faces. Some said that the Brief was surreptitious, others described it as subversive. There one could see, they said, whether flatterers can lead the Holy See! the next step would be to absolve the subjects from their oath of allegiance to the authorities! The agitation did not die down until the States suppressed the Brief as a defamatory libel.[1] The Brief, the Jansenists said, was simply the work of the Jesuits who had procured it through La Chaize and Louis XIV., in whose hands Clement XI. was a mere tool.[2] In the meantime Codde had arrived in Holland. When he left Rome he was told that he would never again become the head of the Church in Holland, but no sooner had he reached his native land than he wrote to Rome that there was no means of restoring tranquillity in the country, except by his reinstatement as Vicar-Apostolic.[3] Cardinal Barberini[4] replied that the fact that it was precisely his followers who disturbed the peace was a convincing proof that the Pope had been fully justified in decreeing his suspension. Let him tell his friends that he did not aspire to the highest positions but submitted to the Pope; if he acted thus the storm which had arisen on account of him, would be laid of its own accord.

Thus there was no hope of Codde's reinstatement by Rome nor could anything be expected from the intervention of nuncio Piazza at Cologne. Though he claimed to be the Archbishop of Utrecht, Codde humbled himself to such a degree as to solicit from the so-called Chapter of Utrecht authority to act as its Vicar. Thereupon Cardinal Paolucci wrote to him from Rome[5] that the Chapter itself was without jurisdiction, hence could give none to anyone else. He was accordingly commanded, under pain of perpetual suspension, not to presume to carry out any episcopal function, to warn

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 432 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 435. Thus Prauwels, parish priest of Amsterdam, in Fleury, LXVII., 21.

[3] Mozzi, I., 436.

[4] August 25, 1703, *ibid.*, III., 26 *seqq.*; Fleury, LXVII., 27.

[5] October 12, 1703, Mozzi, III,. 29 *seqq.*

the Chapter not to make use of the rights it had arrogated to itself, and the Catholic body in general not to acknowledge these rights.[1] Paolucci's arguments impressed Codde, though in a letter to the Catholics of Holland [2] he endeavoured to represent the proceedings against him as unjust, in the hope of saving his honour; however, he refrained from assuming the episcopal office [3] though, on the other hand, he refused to give up all hope of reinstatement. A number of writings were published in order to prepare the ground for such an eventuality; these writings combatted the proposal of the appointment of a new Vicar Apostolic and conducted a relentless campaign against De Cock [4] who, as a matter of fact, had been forced to make his escape into the territory of the Count Palatine John William.[5] However, all that Codde obtained was a letter of Paolucci [6] to the effect that his efforts were hopeless. As Codde's writings were regarded as the chief stumbling block in Rome, he had previously declared [7] that he only maintained the opinions of the Thomist school and prayed that his opinions be examined both by the Roman Inquisition and by theologians of that school. His request was granted with the result that his writings were prohibited by the Inquisition,[8] whilst against himself a sentence was pronounced not merely of suspension, as before, but of formal deposition.[9] However, Codde refused to acknowledge the justice of a sentence pronounced by

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 440 *seq.*

[2] March 19, 1704, [Dupac], 359.

[3] His motives, *ibid.*, 353–9.

[4] Mozzi, I., 442 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 441. A Brief of October 13, 1703, recommends him to the Count-Palatine, *ibid.*, III., 31.

[6] January 17, 1704, *ibid.*, 33.

[7] April 29, 1702, *ibid.*, I., 444.

[8] "Uti continentes doctrinas et assertiones ad minimum suspectas, singulares atque ecclesiasticis Constitutionibus repugnantes, quibus christifideles in iam damnatos errores induci ac pravis opinionibus infici possent." *Ibid.*, II., 34.

[9] April 3, 1704, *ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

judges he had himself invoked. In a fresh letter to the Catholics of Holland, dated August 20th, he declared that he was not conscious of teaching any false doctrine.[1] In his apology he became involved in numerous contradictions with earlier statements of his.[2] A flood of Jansenist pamphlets swept over the country, full of insults to the Holy See, the person of the Pope and the Inquisition, whilst Codde's writings were described as irreproachable.[3] His deposition, it was stated, and the censures pronounced against him, were null and void; Codde must appeal against them and he could and must resume the duties of his office.[4] The help of the secular power was likewise invoked; many priests paid for their loyalty to the Church with imprisonment, exile, fines and molestations,[5] whilst the Jansenist clergy enjoyed the favour of those in power. With a view to remedying the consequent confusion the Pope, by special Briefs, invoked the mediation of the Emperor[6] and the princes of the territories adjoining Holland, the Count Palatine and the Electors of Mayence and Trèves.[7]

In other ways also Clement XI. did all he could to compose the disputes. De Cock, who might have proved an obstacle to a settlement if he remained in the North, was called to Rome and given a canonry at S. Lorenzo in Damaso.[8] To the

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 449.

[2] *Ibid.*, 450 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 458 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 462.

[5] "Le missioni d'Olanda, quali trovandosi in grandissima confusione e travaglio per l'appoggio, che danno que' magistrati alla disubbidienza" (Clement XI. to the Emperor Leopold, I., August 9, 1704, Mozzi, III., 40); "plures quoque sacerdotes, non alia de causa quam praestitae nobis quoad spiritualia obedientiae vel officio arcuisse vel exilio carceribusque multasse" (to the Count-Palatine, August 26, 1704, *ibid.*, 41 *seq.*).

[6] Brief and letter of August 9, 1704, *ibid.*, iii, 35 *seqq.*, 39 *seqq.*

[7] August 26, 1704, *ibid.*, 41 *seqq.*, 43 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*; Fleury. LXVII., 23 *seqq.*

[8] Mozzi, II., 4.

clergy of Haarlem and Utrecht Paolucci wrote a friendly letter.[1] At the Hague Bussi negotiated with the States, though at first unsuccessfully, but in the end, aided by an envoy of the Elector of Trèves, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the States for the appointment of Gerard Potkamp as Vicar Apostolic.[2] Thus, in spite of every attempt to the contrary, the States had dropped Codde [3]; yet in spite of it all, at this very time, a silver and bronze medal was being struck in his honour, the image and inscription of which constituted an insult to the Pope.[4]

A decisive factor in the election of Potkamp had been the consideration that perhaps everything would right itself if the new Vicar Apostolic were not altogether unacceptable to the Jansenists. But the electors were mistaken in Potkamp: he was almost wholly on the side of the recalcitrants. Against the oath taken by him in the hands of the internuncio he named as Pro-Vicars James Catz and Hugh Van Heussen who were both under papal censures, appointed parish priests of doubtful orthodoxy and confirmed the alleged rights of the so-called Chapter of Utrecht. However, he was not given time to increase the confusion further: he died at the end of one month.[5]

Thereupon Codde took fresh courage. After Potkamp's nomination the former had addressed a submissive letter to the Pope to which Paolucci sent a gracious reply,[6] but after Potkamp's death he disavowed his letter and declared, in a printed document, that he refused to resign his office of Vicar Apostolic, and that he would continue to defend his rights and his honour and to press for a revision of his process.[7]

[1] November 22, 1704, *ibid.*, 48, 51.

[2] November 14, 1705, *ibid.*, II., 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 5. [4] *Ibid.*, 5–7.

[5] December 16, 1705, *ibid.*, 10.

[6] Codde to the Pope, November 27, 1705, *ibid.*, 11–13; Paolucci to Codde, December 29, 1705, *ibid.*, III., 53 *seq.*

[7] Denuntiatio apologetica Petri Coddaei (Ultraiecti, 1706), *ibid.*, II., 14.

Potkamp's death led the Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem to commit an act of extreme imprudence by the nomination of three Pro-Vicars with mission to govern the diocese until the appointment of a new Vicar. By this step they cut the ground from under their feet. Codde, they alleged, was not only Vicar Apostolic but likewise Archbishop of Utrecht. Now he had only been deposed as Vicar-Apostolic so that, in the assumption of the so-called Chapter, he was still Archbishop of Utrecht. But if the archiepiscopal See of Utrecht was not vacant how was it possible to appoint Pro-Vicars for the administration of the diocese? For the rest Clement XI. had provisionally entrusted the government of the mission in Holland to the nuncios of Brussels and Cologne; to the alleged Pro-Vicars he had a letter sent, forbidding them to meddle with the administration of the mission.[1] The latter, however, continued to exercise the functions they had arrogated to themselves, whilst in answer to Paolucci's letter a pamphlet was published attacking the papal authority; never, the authors of the pamphlets said, would they give up their rights through fear of the censures with which they were threatened. Caricatures in the same sense were also published [2] and yet another series of pamphlets. A collection of thirty-one such products was condemned by Rome by special Brief.[3]

Meanwhile Bussi, until then internuncio at Brussels, had become nuncio at Cologne, so that it fell to his lot to give the Dutch mission a new Vicar Apostolic. His choice fell on Adam Daemen,[4] a Canon of Cologne but a native of Amsterdam. The Chapter of Haarlem submitted to the new Vicar [5] but the so-called Chapter of Utrecht, which had accepted Potkamp at the hand of the Pope, rejected Daemen on the plea that he had not been elected by the Chapter

[1] Paolucci's letter of July 31, 1706, *ibid.*, III., 54 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 20 *seqq.*

[3] October 4, 1707, *Bull.*, XXI., 304 *seqq.*; Reusch, II., 715.

[4] January 8, 1707, Mozzi, II., 23.

[5] Petition of the people of Haarlem to obtain Daemen's recognition by the State, May 17, 1707, *ibid.*, 24 *seq.*

and persuaded the Protestant authorities to forbid him to discharge his office in Holland.[1] Daemen was consecrated Archbishop of Adrianople on December 26th, but to the time of his death on December 30th, 1717, he was unable to enter upon office in Holland and two months before his death he voluntarily laid down his dignity.[2] The Jansenists had prevailed on the Protestant States to issue a decree[3] forbidding him to enter the country and threatening various penalties against those who acknowledged his authority. As a matter of fact these troubles provided the authorities with a welcome opportunity for taking action against the Catholics. In Holland also, as was their custom, the Jansenists traced back to Jesuit influence any unpleasantness that befell them.[4] A letter of the States of February 18th, 1707, informed the hated religious that if the confusion among Catholics was not at an end within three months, they would be punished as the disturbers of public tranquillity.[5] Accordingly when in 1708 the nuncio of Cologne forwarded a papal Bull proclaiming a jubilee,[6] but expressly excluding the Jansenists from it, the Jesuits were in effect expelled by the States of Holland and West-Friesland and a prohibition was issued[7] forbidding the introduction into Holland of any papal ordinance of whatever kind. Two years later a certain Jansenist even sought to obtain from the States a prohibition of the formula of Alexander VII.[8] Codde had used his influence for the purpose of obtaining a State decree forbidding the Vicar Apostolic from entering the Seven Provinces,[9] though

[1] The manifesto is reproduced (April 29, 1709) in [Dupac], 397–400.

[2] Mozzi, II., 28, 102.

[3] April 26, 1709, *ibid.*, 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, 29.

[5] Paolucci to John de Bruyn, Superior of the Dutch Jesuits, October 4, 1707, *ibid.*, III., 61.

[6] May 3, 1708, *ibid.*, II., 33.

[7] December 14, 1708, *ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 38.

[9] *Ibid.*, 37.

not long before he had assured Paolucci [1] that he would put no obstacle in the way of a new Vicar Apostolic. On December 18th, 1710, Codde's life came to an end: only a month earlier he had once more made a public profession of his separatist views.[2] The Pope and the nuncio of Cologne had vainly sought to induce him to change his mind.[3] The Inquisition pronounced him unworthy of ecclesiastical burial,[4] not indeed with a view to "condemning the memory of the deceased, but as an example and a warning to obstinate rebels".

This decree of the Congregation of the Index did not induce the Jansenists to alter their conduct [5] but the severity of the Roman authorities was not without effect. Not a few of those who had suffered themselves to be led astray returned to the Church.[6] In 1708 the nuncio of Cologne had proclaimed the unlawfulness of receiving the ministrations of apostate priests, with the result that eight priests of Utrecht and Haarlem and nineteen from the rest of Holland raised a protest and openly attacked the authority of the Pope. Thereupon the nuncio published a detailed Instruction [7] in which he defined the various kinds of rebel priests and laid down which of their functions were valid, though as a general rule, it was strictly forbidden to receive the Sacraments at their hands. This Instruction helped not a little towards the clarifying of ideas.

With a view to preventing their party from melting away, the Jansenists now dispatched two delegates, Steenoven and Dalenoort, to the Cologne nuncio, with mission to pave the way for a compromise. They achieved nothing and when the party celebrated their return as a triumph, the nuncio

[1] May 2, 1706, *ibid.*, 17.

[2] His *Declaratio* of November 11, 1707, printed in *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschrift*, 1826, 75 *seqq.*

[3] Mozzi, II., 39, 43 *seqq.*

[4] January 14, 1711, *ibid.*, III., 71.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 46.

[6] *Ibid.*, 49.

[7] January 13, 1711, *ibid.*, III., 72.

made it known that all the delegates' accounts of the negotiations were false.[1] These lying reports failed to stem the retrogression of the movement; the number of recalcitrant priests fell from 300 to about 50.[2]

But this did not heal the division in Catholic Holland. "The party of Quesnel," Langlet du Fresnoy writes,[3] "had caused such a cleavage in the Church that Catholics in rural districts were compelled to appeal to the Holy See for parish priests from whose beliefs they would have nothing to fear. Most of them were obliged to go five or six miles to hear the Mass of a priest who remained loyal to the Holy See. When about to die, some of them have themselves taken to a neighbouring parish so as not to be obliged to receive the Sacraments from their schismatical parish priests. Not a few of the faithful have been persuaded by their pastors to speak of the Pope as do the Lutherans and the Calvinists." The party of Quesnel had done everything to remove priests of which it disapproved; they had also succeeded in expelling all religious men from a number of Provinces, regardless of the fact that many of the faithful were thereby deprived of spiritual assistance. "We ourselves have heard these facts on the spot from the lips of Catholics."

In view of the steady decrease of their numbers the Jansenist priests felt the need of providing men who would succeed them and of finding a Bishop who would confer orders on them. In this respect some scholars such as Witasse, Van Espen, Dupin, Noël Alexandre came to the rescue by giving it as their opinion that the so-called Chapter of Utrecht had the right to issue the dimissorial letters without which no Bishop may ordain a candidate who was not also his own subject. As a matter of fact an Irish Bishop, Luke Fagan of Meath, allowed himself to be taken in by the dimissorials of the Chapter. Between 1715–16 he ordained twelve Dutch priests whom the nuncio of Cologne promptly cited to appear before

[1] December 8, 1711, *ibid.*, 76 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 59; *cf.* 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

him. When they refused, he suspended them.[1] A second memorial, by Van Espen, dated May 25th, 1717, was meant to win over some French Bishops. By means of false statements Van Espen had procured the signature of four canonists, though after some years the two who still survived withdrew it. In view of the conditions at the Sorbonne it was not difficult to secure further adhesions from that quarter.[2] Those French Bishops who held decidedly Jansenist views were quite prepared to oblige the Dutch Jansenists, more especially Soanen of Senez who ordained Dutch priests without any dimissorials at all; Lorraine of Bayeux, Caumartin of Blois, Colbert of Montpellier acted in like manner, but on condition that their action was kept rigorously secret.[3] The Chapter of Haarlem refused to issue dimissorials, but since Utrecht was the metropolis of Haarlem, the "Chapter" of Utrecht took it upon itself to issue such letters for clerics of Haarlem also.[4] Once the Dutch Jansenists had thus had recourse to those among the French Bishops who shared their sentiments, it was only natural that, like them, they too should appeal from the Bull *Unigenitus* to a General Council.[5] Quesnel urged such a step as it could only benefit his cause [6] and on May 9th, 1719, the "Chapter" of Utrecht acquiesced in his request.[7] Van Heussen, the

[1] *Ibid.*, 60 *seq.* *Cf.* Recueil de divers témoignages, 128; [Dupac], 445–450.

[2] Mozzi, II., 62 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 66 *seqq.*; [Dupac], 459 *seq.* On how the secret was discovered, see Fleury, LXIX, 173.

[4] Mozzi, II., 69 *seqq.*

[5] "L'église de Hollande n'avoit été attaquée dans ses droits hiérarchiques qu'en haine des mêmes vérités que ses adversaires ont voulu faire condamner dans la bulle Unigenitus. Elle n'avoit défendu ses droits, avec tant de zèle, que parce que cette défense étoit inséparable du maintien de ces vérités." This is the explanation of the Appeal in [Dupac], 473.

[6] Mozzi, II., 83 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.* The Appeal is printed in [Nivelle], *II.e Suite*, Appendix 2–8.

chief promoter of this fresh insurrection against the Holy See, was dead by that time, but shortly before his death he had attested his adhesion in writing.[1] The University eulogized the Chapter for this step [2] and a number of priests of Utrecht and Haarlem joined in Van Heussen's rebellion.[3]

As was to be expected the ordinations of Jansenist priests by French Bishops could not remain so secret that Archinto, the Cologne nuncio, should have remained in ignorance of them. He summoned two intruding parish priests to justify themselves; when they exhibited to him a Brief of Leo X. by the terms of which clerics of Utrecht could only be judged within their own province, he entrusted the initiation of judicial proceedings against them to John van Bijlevelt, parish priest of the Hague and successor of the Vicar Apostolic Daemen who had died in 1717.[4] This measure let loose another storm against the Holy See. On June 23rd and in October the party addressed two memorials to the States of Holland and West-Friesland. The representatives of Rome, they said, exercised an authority in Holland which could not be tolerated by the States; these people were disturbers of the peace and oppressors of the clergy; their aim was to fill their pockets at the expense of the Dutch, to introduce the Inquisition, whilst they reduced the prerogatives of the secular power to the advantage of the Pope.[5] The Protestant States General were even more powerfully roused against the Pope by means of a memorial which these Catholics presented to them in 1722. The States, this document declared, would surely not tolerate a situation in which half a million Dutch Catholics would be prepared to obey the slightest hint from the Emperor or the King of Prussia; but

[1] February 11, 1719, *ibid.* 9.

[2] July 6, 1720, *ibid.*, 11 *seq.*

[3] July 18 and September 3, 1719, *ibid.*, 9, 10 *seq.*

[4] Mozzi, II., 104. *Cf.* Vregt, *Het apostolisch Vicarisschap van Joh. v. Bijlevelt*, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem I–V*, 1873–7). Brief directed to him, October 2, 1717, in Mozzi, I., 209; plenipotentiary powers, *ibid.*, 211 *seq.*

[5] Mozzi, II., 105 *seqq.*

the situation was fraught with far greater danger when the same number of Catholics deemed it an obligation of conscience to obey the slightest suggestion of the representatives of the court of Rome.[1] What they wanted was not a Vicar Apostolic, whom the Pope could remove whenever he pleased, but a Bishop enjoying all the rights of his office; they would recognize none other and if such a prelate were denied them, the decrees against the missionaries would have to be carried into execution. A decree banishing the Jesuits as the authors of all the mischief in the Jansenist view, was actually issued on May 25th, 1720.

The rebellious priests carried their revolt even a step further: they would appoint a Bishop independently of the Pope, one elected by the Chapters of Haarlem and Utrecht.[2] In that case Clement XI. would fulminate a sentence of excommunication, but there was no reason to fear such a sentence; the Pope was determined to destroy the prerogatives of the Church of Utrecht, hence that Church had a right to legitimate defence and in such circumstances she could do all that was necessary in order to repel an unjust aggressor; nor was Clement XI. immortal; after his death, under another Pope, everything could be arranged.

As a matter of fact, death spared Clement XI. the necessity of having to take action against such opinions.

[1] *Ibid.*, 108 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 110 *seqq.*

CHAPTER VI.

Clement XI.'s Activity within the Church—Nomination of Cardinals—The Missions.

(1.)

Clement XI. was above all else solicitous for the clergy. One of the first acts of his government was to order the continuation of the visitation [1] which his predecessor had prescribed for the churches of Rome.[2] But Clement did not succeed in solving all the problems with which the visitors were faced.[3] In particular the duty of residence was impressed upon the clergy. The Vicar-General Carpegna was instructed to order [4] all the Bishops and priests bound to residence, who happened to be in Rome, to return to their flocks; those who failed to obey within six months were to forfeit their benefice. Not long afterwards the Pro-Datarius Sagripanti published a similar ordinance [5]: within ninety days all must send in, under pain of forfeiting their benefice, a certificate from their Bishop attesting that they were fulfilling their duties. In the name of the Congregation of the Council Cardinal Panciatici, in a circular addressed to the whole hierarchy,[6] reiterated the duty of residence for the whole Church. The Bishops or Vicars Apostolic in the territories of heretics or schismatics were not exempt from this obligation [7]; in fact the Archbishop of Mexico was

[1] January 14, 1701, *Bull.*, XXI., 6 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the present work, XXXII., 638.

[3] Innocent XIII., May 28, 1721, *Bull.*, XXI., 877.

[4] February 5, 1701, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., Luxemburg, 1727, 242.

[5] June 18, 1701, *ibid.*, 290.

[6] Undated, *ibid.*, 423.

[7] Decree of Propaganda, June 17, 1715, *ibid.*, 426 *seq.*

commanded to compel the Bishop of New Segovia, in the Philippines, to take up residence there.[1] A Brief to the Bishops of Poland pointed out to them the necessity of residence [2]; the Bishop of Kulm was the object of special blame inasmuch as his absence had enabled Protestantism to gain ground.[3] Special decrees were issued to ensure clerical dignity in conduct and attire [4]; in particular the wearing of a wig during the sacred functions was prohibited [5]; clerics were also forbidden to take part in theatrical plays.[6] Weekly lectures on Moral Theology were to assure the clergy's progress in knowledge.[7] The Pope also dealt with complaints in connection with the competitions prescribed by the Council of Trent for the appointment to parishes.[8] For the purpose of strengthening the spiritual life Clement XI. recommended the spiritual exercises introduced by St. Ignatius and insisted upon by St. Vincent de Paul, more especially as a means of preparing for the priesthood and for promoting the priestly spirit. A circular addressed to the Bishops of Italy [9] ordained that the reception of Orders be preceded by ten days of such exercises and that priests, more especially those who had the cure of souls, should make them every year, if possible with the Jesuits or the Lazarists—in fact the Bishops were directed to further the spiritual exercises in every way. Clement XI. granted special Indulgences to those who attended the Tuesday conferences which had been introduced in Rome, on the model of those of St. Vincent de Paul, by the Lazarists of Monte Citorio, for the preservation of the priestly spirit.[10]

[1] Brief of January 27, 1703, CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 149 (hereafter referred to as *Op.*, Epist.).

[2] May 25, 1709, *ibid.*, 608. [3] Same date, *ibid.*, 610.

[4] Decree of December 7, 1706, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 252.

[5] Decree of May 4, 1701, *ibid.*, 451.

[6] To Acquila, October 31, 1706, *ibid.*, 409.

[7] Decree of November 28, 1719, *ibid.*, 262.

[8] Circular letter of the Congregation of the Council of Trent, January 10, 1721, *ibid.*, 423.

[9] February 1, 1710, *ibid.*, 422 *seqq.*

[10] Brief of October 27, 1713, *Bull.*, XXI., 585.

The revival of religion among the people was likewise to be promoted by the jubilee which, in accordance with custom, the Pope proclaimed at his accession.[1] When extending the Jubilee Indulgence to the whole of Italy,[2] Clement XI. added some exhortations the purpose of which was to arrest the decay of morals. The Bishops were told to see to the maintenance of becoming reverence in the churches and the observance of holy days. Parents should react against the decay of morals by a better upbringing of their children, teachers and parish priests by the teaching of religion and by sermons to adults who were even more ignorant than the children. Popular missions were to be greatly encouraged : quite recently Rome had had experience of their benefits ; when the truths of the faith were explained in simple language, the faithful listened gladly, came in crowds and derived much profit. For this reason Clement XI. recommended to the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland the missions preached by the Jesuit Fontana.[3] In like manner he recommended to the Bishops of Passau and Salzburg the popular missions of two Jesuits.[4]

In the convents of nuns, the Bishops were to tolerate no relaxation of monastic discipline, nor useless conversations in the parlour. Men of learning were to be appointed as confessors ; the nuns were to spend ten days in spiritual exercises before their clothing and profession and it was desirable that these exercises should be repeated every year. Ecclesiastics should set a good example by their devout attitude both in choir and at Mass, and care must be taken that those without a vocation should not assume the duties of the priesthood.

These regulations included practically everything that could contribute towards the raising and furtherance of morals and religion. Some details mentioned in these

[1] February 25, 1701, *ibid.*, 17.

[2] March 16, 1703, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 407 *seq.*

[3] December 30, 1703, *Op.*, Epist., 318.

[4] January 7, 1717, *ibid.*, 2200 *seq.*

ordinances were further emphasized in other decrees. Thus a circular of the Inquisition for Italy laments the lack of reverence in the churches against which measures should be taken.[1] The Vicar-General of Rome urged the sanctification of Sundays and holy days.[2] As regards these matters, ordinances were also sent to the Bishops of the Papal States.[3] It was especially in the matter of the religious instruction of the people that Clement XI. showed himself most solicitous. On July 26th, 1701, he addressed a circular to all the Bishops of Italy, together with an instruction in fourteen chapters, on the manner of imparting religious instruction. On March 16th, 1703, this injunction was still further amplified.[4] Parish priests were ordered to give religious instruction at least on Sundays and feast days, and in so doing they were to follow Bellarmine's catechism. In future no one was to receive Orders, Confirmation, the Tonsure, or contract matrimony, without a testimonial from the parish priest attesting that he had been present at the catechetical instructions.[5]

Parish priests were obliged to submit to the Bishops a list of the children who frequented these instructions; parents were admonished to exhort their children to assist them.[6] For the lay brethren in religious Orders in Italy, an explanation of the catechism and a portion of the Rule was prescribed for every Sunday.[7]

During the period of the vacation of 1710 which he spent at Castel Gandolfo, the Pope sought first hand information as to the way in which the duty of preaching and catechizing was carried out.[8] At San Gallo in Rome, the prelates of the court were made to explain the catechism to the poor.[9]

[1] July 26, 1701, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 405 *seq.*

[2] February 8, 1703, published by L. Muñoz Gasparini, in the periodical *Roma*, September, 1925, pp. 409 *seqq.*

[3] January 11, 1719, and January 4, 1721, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 412.

[4] Novaes, XII., 50.

[5] Brief of September 14, 1713, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 257 *seq.*

[6] Brief of October 5, 1713, *ibid.*, 261.

[7] November 13, 1709, *ibid.*, 448.

[8] Novaes, XII., 107.

[9] C. B. Piazzi, *La gerarchia cardinalizia*, Roma, 1703, 744; *cf.* 869.

Clement XI. realized that the abuse of the theatre might become a source of danger for the morals of the people. It comes as a surprise to us to-day that the Governor of Rome should have issued an order against the abuses of the theatre, on the ground that it was a well-known fact that the real purpose of comedies and tragedies and suchlike things was not merely entertainment, but likewise the improvement of morals and the teaching of the laws of right conduct.[1] For the raising and furthering of the religious life Clement XI. hoped for great things from the example set by the penitential and strict Order of the Trappists, which had recently come into being. He wished to see it established in Rome, in 1709, at S. Vito and induced the Abbey of Casamari to adopt their Constitutions.[2] He was anxious to summon the Benedictine nuns who devoted themselves to the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament from France to Rome, but owing to the unfortunate circumstances of the times, he saw himself obliged to send them back again in 1708, when he strongly recommended them to the Archbishop of Paris.[3] On August 1st, 1705, he approved their Constitutions.[4]

In like manner he approved, on June 13th, 1703, at the request of the Bavarian Elector Max Emmanuel, the Rule of the English Ladies, though without giving his approbation to their Institute.[5] On March 15th, 1709, he approved the new Constitutions of the Vallombrosans,[6] whose visitation

[1] January 5, 1721, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 293. "*Bando sopra gl' abusi nei teatri," February 2, 1718, in *Editti*, V., 60, f. 135, Papal Secr. Archives. *Ibid.*, 125–134, "*Bandi circa le comedie 1651–1673."

[2] Ignaz Müller in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI., 2001.

[3] September 23, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 570.

[4] Heimbucher, I., 394.

[5] *Ibid.*, III., 366; Pechmann, *Gesch. des Englischen Instituts B.M.V. in Bayern*, Munich, 1907, 29. *Cf.* the present work, XXIX, 24–34.

[6] *Bull.*, XXI., 113–189.

had been entrusted to the Abbot-General.[1] Nine Benedictine monasteries in Poland and Lithuania, which at the instigation of the Polish nuncio Niccolò Spinola, had been visited by Abbot Mirecki, sent this same prelate to Rome for the purpose of bringing about the union of these nine monasteries in a single Congregation, after the model of the Bavarian Benedictine Congregation. Clement XI. granted this request by a Brief of May 22nd, 1709.[2]

Abbot Othmar of Brewnow was granted all the privileges of the Cassinese Congregation for the Bohemian Benedictines and the federated monasteries of Moravia and Silesia.[3] In order to raise the standard both of the religious life and that of the studies in the Swiss Benedictine Congregation, he ordained that special monasteries should be set apart as noviciates and houses of study.[4] The Cistercians of Bohemia, Moravia and Lusatia were granted all the privileges enjoyed by the Spanish Congregation of their Order.[5]

Clement XI. gave his warm support to the Lazarists when they planned a foundation at Lisbon. In this matter he had recourse to the Archbishop of Braga, and on January 14th, 1717, to the King of Portugal himself. The difficulties brought forward against the exemption from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Lisbon claimed by the foundation, were only settled at the time of the canonization of St. Vincent de Paul in 1738.[6]

In an autograph letter [7] to the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, the Pope urged the reform of that Order. The Knights were to apply themselves to all that belonged to their calling, viz. mathematics, the art of naval warfare and military exercises. The Order of the Mercedarians had

[1] December 11, 1704, *ibid.*, 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, 343 *seqq.* Edict of Cardinal Carpineto, May 2, 1709, in *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 414.

[3] Brief of October 6, 1714, *Bull.*, XXI., 627.

[4] September 14, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2410.

[5] Brief of March 7, 1715, *ibid.*, 664 *seqq.*

[6] Novaes, XII., 145.

[7] January 24, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 462.

decided, on its own initiative, in a General Chapter of May 17th, 1698, in favour of a stricter observance of its Constitutions. Clement XI. approved the changes on May 29th, 1702.[1] For the same reason he granted a similar favour to the Antonites in Vienna.[2] For the convents of nuns, he insisted on all useless display and expense being avoided at clothings and professions.[3] One important papal decision concerns the relations between Regulars and Bishops. In the Philippine Isles Dominicans, Franciscans, Hermits of St. Augustine and Jesuits had contested the right of the Archbishop of Manila to visit the seven hundred parishes which they administered amongst the natives; they were prepared rather to surrender these parishes than to allow them to be visited. The Pope declared that they were to continue to look after them and to submit to the Archbishop's visitation.[4]

As a matter of fact, Clement XI. strongly insisted on ecclesiastical principles being upheld and laws which had come into force being observed, so that even princes had to put up with a good many refusals. It was from no motive of disloyalty to Catholic doctrine, but from devotion, that Count Anton Ulrich of Brunswick Lüneburg wished to receive Communion under both kinds. This had been granted to several other princes, but Clement XI. twice refused the request.[5]

The Count of Pfalz-Zweibrücken asked several times in vain for permission to contract a marriage with a relative of his, a Protestant princess.[6] The Bishop of Quito and Viceroy of Peru, found it difficult to observe the law of

[1] *Bull.*, XXI., 49 *seqq.*

[2] May 12, 1703, *ibid.*, 84 *seq.*

[3] Decrees of March 2, 1702, July 28, 1708, January 26, 1709, September 28, 1711, June 26, 1716, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 243, 256, 410 *seq.*

[4] Brief of January 30, 1705, *Bull.*, XXI., 225 *seq.*

[5] July 23 and October 22, 1712. THEINER, *Gesch. der Rückkehr Urk.*, 26; RÄSS, IX., 145.

[6] Briefs of July 23, 1707, September 22, 1708, July 4, 1711, August 28, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 422, 568, 1552, 2358.

fasting on the occasion of ordinations. The Pope, however, stood firm in enforcing this law of the Church.[1] A custom had crept in of some priests saying all the three Masses on Christmas night at which the faithful communicated, instead of celebrating only one Mass; this innovation found no favour with the Pope.[2] Clement XI. showed himself most scrupulous in all that concerned divine worship and the reverence due to the Holy Eucharist.[3] The Forty Hours' Prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, which had been observed at certain times of the year since the sixteenth century, was by his order regulated and ordered on January 20th, 1705.[4] Processions of the Blessed Sacrament were not to be allowed to degenerate into occasions of mere curiosity; they were to be accompanied, not with fireworks and noise of arms and other ostentatious display, but by reverence and devotion.[5] The Bishop of Toledo was reprimanded by the Pope [6] because, in his episcopal city, the Blessed Sacrament was taken to the sick without those marks of reverence which were then customary in Rome and he forwarded to him the regulations in use in Rome, as a pattern of what should be observed.

Clement XI. gave many proofs of his veneration for the Mother of God. When on August 5th, 1715—a feast of our

[1] Brief of December 5, 1711, *ibid.*, 1604.

[2] Brief of December 18, 1702, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 245.

[3] Circular letter for Italy, July 26, 1701, *ibid.*, 405. *Cf.* in **Bandi*, V., 7, f. 17, the edicts "per l'osservazione del culto divino" (July 15, 1701), f. 19, against frequenting churches at night in unbecoming dress (July 11, 1703), f. 20, against erecting altars or statues in the streets (September 19, 1704, and May 2, 1714), f. 22, against unbecoming behaviour in the churches (July 3, 1714), f. 59, "sopra l'osservazione di feste" (February 8, 1703). Papal Secr. Archives.

[4] *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 248. *Cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1919, II., 111–125; on the beginnings of this devotion, *ibid.*, 1917, II., 466 *seqq.*

[5] Edict of the Vicar-General of Rome, June 9, 1702, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 244.

[6] November 19, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2418. *Cf.* Jak. Hoffmann, *Verehrung des allerheiligsten Sakramentes*, Kempten, 1897, 275.

Lady and as he was taking part in a procession for the success of the Turkish war—Prince Eugene gained the great victory of Peterwardein, Clement XI. made use of the occasion to extend the feast of the Holy Rosary to the whole Church.[1] He raised the feast of the Immaculate Conception to the rank of a holy day of obligation, chiefly in order to implore the help of heaven in time of need.[2]

Clement XI. did much to promote the veneration of the Saints, although he only carried out one canonization during the whole of his pontificate. This took place on May 22nd, 1712. The new Saints were Pius V., the Theatine Andrea Avellino from the circle of Charles Borromeo (*ob.* 1608) and the Capuchin lay brother Felix of Cantalice (*ob.* 1587) and Catherine of Bologna, a Poor Clare (*ob.* 1463).[3] The Pope also undertook only one solemn beatification, that of John Francis Regis, a Jesuit missionary in the Cevennes (*ob.* 1640). This took place on May 8th, 1716.[4] Besides these, though without a formal beatification, he confirmed the cult which since time immemorial had been paid to many other saintly personages. This honour was conferred on Pope Gregory X. (1272–6),[5] on the founder of the Order of Calatrava, on the Cistercian Raymond Serra (twelfth century), on the foundress of the Vallombrosan nuns, Umiltà di Faenza (*ob.* 1310), and on a number of Franciscans, e.g. Liberato da Laurò (fourteenth century), Andrea de Comitibus and the lay brothers James of Illyria (*ob.* 1485) and Salvatore d'Orta (*ob.* 1567), the Martyrs John of Perugia and Peter Sassoferrato (*ob.* 1230) ; also on the following members of the Dominican

[1] Decree of the Congregation of Rites, October 3, 1714, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 440.

[2] December 6, 1708, *Bull.*, XXI., 338.

[3] The Bulls of Canonization of Pius V. and Andrew Avellino in Bull, XXI., 506 *seqq.*, 518 *seqq.* The Bulls for the other two Saints were only published on June 5, 1714, by Benedict XIII. *Ibid.*, XXII., 36 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, XXI., 704 *seq.* *Cf. Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 436 (Decree of March 27, 1712), 439 (Decree of May 30, 1716).

[5] Decree of September 12, 1713, *Bull*, XXI., 575.

Order : Lucia of Narni (*ob.* 1544), the brother of St. Hyacinth, Ceslaus Odrovanzio (*ob.* 1242), Augustine Gazotti, Bishop of Agram and afterwards of Lucera (*ob.* 1323), the Servite Alexius Falconieri (*ob.* 1310), the Cistercian nuns of the Portuguese royal family, Teresa and Sancia, the Capuchin lay brother Serafino d'Ascoli.[1] The cult of some other Saints was extended to the whole Church.[2] At the request of James III. of England, St. Anselm of Canterbury was raised to the honour of a Doctor of the Church.[3] In 1714 the relics of Pope Leo I., who later on was raised to the rank of a Doctor of the Church, were placed in the position in St. Peter's which they occupy to-day.[4] Clement XI. himself composed an office of St. Joseph, the foster-father of Our Lord, extending it to the whole Church.[5]

One of Clement XI.'s constant anxieties was the preservation of ecclesiastical liberty in the face of encroachments by the secular power. The quarrels with Savoy, which continued during his whole pontificate and which were only finally settled by Benedict XIV., had come down to him as an inheritance from his predecessor's reign. The Government of Turin had put obstacles in the way of vocations to the priesthood and had taxed ecclesiastical benefices. When the Bishops remonstrated the Government declared their decrees null and void. Innocent XII. took the part of the Bishops whose renewed remonstrances likewise called forth a fresh protest from the Government. The confusion was further increased when, in a quarrel relating to immunity, a certain priest appealed to the Senate of Nice, whilst the nuncio of Turin and the Vice Legate of Avignon ranged themselves in opposition to the Senate and the Archbishop of Embrun, as

[1] Novaes, XII., 154–162 ; *Bull*, XXI., *Index s.v.* "Cultus immemorialis".

[2] For SS. Peter of Alcántara, Ubald, Hedwige, Antoninus, Agatha, John of God, see *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 431 *seqq.*, 437.

[3] February 3, 1720, *ibid.*, 441.

[4] *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VII., 1765.

[5] February 3, 1714, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 437 ; Pfülf in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII. (1890), 297.

Metropolitan of Nice, took the part of the Senate which then appealed to Clement XI. During the whole of his pontificate the Pope had to deal with difficulties of this kind.[1] Apart from the feuds which had dragged on for hundreds of years as the fruit of the Sicilian Monarchy,[2] there were both isolated encroachments in the kingdom of Naples as well as papal protests, as at Aquila, Lecce, Lipari,[3] Milan and Genoa.[4]

This disregard of ecclesiastical rights had spread as far as Poland.[5] With regard to Germany, an urgent Brief was sent to the Elector of the Palatinate at Düsseldorf,[6] requiring him to refrain from encroaching on the liberties of the Church. The Pope likewise implored the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and administrator of Breslau, Francis of Conti, to oppose all violations of ecclesiastical immunity.[7] Liége and

[1] Comprehensive account in NOVAES, XII., 22–33. Briefs of May 17, 1707, October 27, 1710, January 3, 1711, July 9, 1712, July 28, 1713, October 20, 1717, August 18, 1719, January 5, 1720, in *Bull.*, XXI., 271, 406, 413, 538, 560, 779, 818, 825; *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 268 *seqq.* *Una missione di Savoia a Roma presso il Papa Clemente XI. secondo un carteggio col M. Franc Riccardi, ministro del granduca di Toscana*, Firenze, 1889 (Nozze). *Cf.* " *Lettere a Giac. Laderchi nel negotiato tra la S. Sede e la corte di Savoia 1717–1724", in *Cod. Barb.*, XLII., 20, Vatican Library; " *Scritti orig. di Giac. Laderchi sul negotiato tra la corte di Savoia et la S. Sede, affidato al med. Laderchi, che andò a Torino sul fine del 1716 (Monarchia Sicula)," *ibid.*, XLII., 67. Other *writings on the dispute: 1700–4, *ibid.*, LX., 15, 1706–1711, *ibid.*, LX., 66. *Cf.* POMETTI, XXI., 335 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 98.

[3] Briefs of May 21, 1707, December 24, 1711, June 18, 1712, *Bull.*, XXI., 287 *seq.*, 463 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*

[4] Briefs of October 5, 1709, December 3, 1712, *ibid.*, 353 *seq.*, 546 *seq.* On the interdict of Lecce, 1711–19, *cf.* *Arch. Napolet.*, XXIV., 165.

[5] NOVAES, XII., 116 *seq.*, 137.

[6] January 23, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 460. *Cf.* WOKER, *Aus den Papieren des Kurpfälzischen Ministers A. Steffani*, Cologne, 1885, 32 *seqq.*

[7] April 10, 1706, *Op.*, Epist., 336.

Malines also witnessed similar encroachments,[1] as did Portugal and Ragusa.[2] Clement XI. considered it his duty, in all these cases, to defend ecclesiastical privileges. Sometimes his admonitions met with success. Thus when Count Leopold of Lorraine had promulgated some laws contrary to ecclesiastical liberty, the Pope, after repeatedly condemning the ordinance, was finally able to congratulate the Count [3] on having promulgated different laws.[4] As the result of yet another remonstrance by the Pope, Leopold also revoked a later decree of the year 1715.[5]

On the other hand, when the duties of his office permitted him to do so, the Pope met the legitimate desires of the secular Powers. He gave proof of this when at the wish of John V., King of Portugal, he divided the diocese of Lisbon into two sections, erecting in the chapel of the royal palace a second archbishopric, the occupant of which was to bear the title of Patriarch.[6]

(2.)

Clement XI. seemed to be in no hurry to create new Cardinals. Three years went by after his election, before he invested the Archbishop of Naples and former nuncio in Poland, Francis Pignatelli, with the purple.[7] Pignatelli was a nephew of Innocent XII., hence his elevation by Clement XI. was an expression of gratitude towards the late Pontiff who

[1] *Ibid.*, 388; *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 396.

[2] *Op.*, Epist., 170, 250; Brief of January 19, 1706, *Bull.*, XXI., 248.

[3] Brief of February 11, 1704, *ibid.*, 99 *seq.*

[4] November 30, 1710, *Op.*, Epist., 728; Orat. consist. (December 1, 1710), 50.

[5] Brief of February 2, 1715, *ibid.*, 2050.

[6] *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VII., 2094; *Clementis XI. Bullarium*, Frankfurt, 1729, 479 *seqq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 506 *seq.*, 508 *seqq.*, the Briefs of February 18 and March 12, 1717.

[7] December 17, 1703, *Op.*, Orat. consist., 18.

had bestowed many benefits on the former Cardinal Albani.[1] Again two and a half years went by without further nominations, when all at once on May 17th, 1706, the Pope created twenty new Cardinals, owing to the number, as he himself said, having fallen so far short of the complement of seventy.[2] This time again one of the elevations was a mark of gratitude. Clement XI. had received the purple at the hands of Alexander VIII., now he conferred the same distinction on a relative of Alexander VIII., Pietro Priuli. Of the remaining nineteen not a few had been nuncios, as for instance the Florentine Francesco Martelli, who had been nuncio in Poland; Lorenzo Fieschi, Archbishop of his native city of Genoa, at Naples and Paris; Lorenzo Casoni at Naples; Francesco Acquaviva in Spain; Tommaso Ruffo in Tuscany; Orazio Filippo Spada at Cologne; Francesco Antonio Gualtieri in Paris. The others had won distinction in various spheres of activity: Ranuccio Pallavicini as Governor of Rome; Giandomenico Paracciani as Governor of Benevento; Niccolò Grimaldi in the same capacity in different towns and lastly as Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; Carlo Colonna had been *Maggiordomo*; he was succeeded by Giuseppe Vallemani, already nominated Cardinal *in petto* and Secretary of several Congregations of Cardinals; Alessandro Caprara was at the head of the Penitenziaria; Carlo Agostino Fabroni, Secretary of Propaganda and Prefect of the Index, was remarkable for his extraordinary talents and learning;

[1] NOVAES, XII., 60. *Cf.* **Relazione intorno alla vita di Fr. Pignatelli* (only up to his elevation to the cardinalate), *Cod. Barb.*, XLII., 69, pp. 185–194, Vatican Library.

[2] *Op., loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*; NOVAES, XII., 77–86. On GUALTIERI, *cf.* A. BASCHET, *Le duc de Saint-Simon et le card. Gualtiero. Mém. sur la recherche de leur correspondance* 1706–1728, Paris, 1878. His *letters in *British Museum*; see JULIUS P. GILSON, *Guide to the Manuscripts of the British Museum*, London, 1914. Some letters of Maurists to him are in *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1907, 415–19. On Fabroni see BLUME, *Inter.*, II., 117; on the (tasteless) tomb of Filippucci see FORCELLA, VIII., 73. "*Testamento del card. Acquaviva" (1725) in *Cod. ital.*, 190, n. 5, State Library, Munich.

Giovanni Baduari, until then Patriarch of Venice, had distinguished himself by his pastoral zeal.[1] In the year of his elevation to the cardinalate he was appointed Bishop of Brescia where he combated the opinions of Picenino, a Swiss Protestant, and the Jansenists. Several of those nominated were well known for their piety and love of the poor, as was Gabriel Filipucci of Macerata to whom the Pope made a yearly grant of 1,000 scudi for his charities. In the year of his elevation to the cardinalate, Filipucci addressed a lengthy petition to the Pope praying to be relieved of that dignity. Clement XI. granted the petition [2] but when the Bishop died in the following year he ordered a princely funeral for him. Amongst the twenty new Cardinals, there were only two foreigners. These were the convert, Christian Augustine of Saxony, Archbishop of Gran, and Joseph Emmanuel de la Trémoille who received the purple on the proposal of Louis XIV. Lorenzo Corsini, the future Clement XII., also received the purple on May 17th, 1706. Michelangelo Conti, who was to be Clement XI.'s successor as Innocent XIII., was the only one who was nominated in the third creation of Cardinals, which took place on June 7th, 1706, in the consistory in which the resignation of Filippucci was accepted.[3] Not all the twenty-two Cardinals who had been nominated up to now, were able to take part in the next conclave: Caprara died in 1711, Pallavicini in 1712, Baduari in 1714, Martelli in 1717, Casoni and Trémoille in 1720; Paracciani died on the very day on which the next Pope was elected.

These first three creations were followed by three others up till 1712, at which, however, only four prelates in all received the purple; they were: in the first place, Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, a native of Turin, papal Legate in distant China, on August 1st, 1707 [4]; on April 15th, Ulisses Joseph Gozzadini of Bologna, until then Secretary

[1] *Vita del card. Giov. Badoaro*, Brescia, 1766.
[2] June 7, 1706, *Op., loc. cit.*, 22.
[3] *Op., loc. cit.*, 23; NOVAES, XII., 84.
[4] *Op., loc. cit.*, 30; NOVAES, XII., 91.

of Briefs and formerly professor of Canon law in his native city [1]; together with the latter Antonio Francesco Sanvitali, at one time Vice-Legate at Avignon and afterwards nuncio at Florence, was nominated *in petto* but proclaimed before long.[2] To these was added the Pope's nephew, Annibale Albani, nominated on December 23rd, 1711.[3] On June 26th, 1709, Francesco Maria de' Medici had obtained permission to renounce the cardinalate to prevent the Medici family of Florence from becoming extinct.[4]

When he raised his nephew, the Pope had created his twenty-sixth Cardinal, but not by any means the last. In fifteen creations Clement XI. bestowed the purple on seventy prelates. On the occasion of the seventh promotion, May 18th, 1712, eighteen Cardinals were promoted in order to fill up the gaps caused by death.[5] A third of these owed their nomination to the pressure of the European Powers. Manuel Arias y Porres owed the red hat to the prayer of Philip V. In his youth he had been a Knight of Malta; he embraced the ecclesiastical state in his fifty-second year and attained the position of head of the supreme Council of Castile and finally that of Archbishop of Seville. He never went to Rome. Together with him another Spaniard was promoted in the person of the Benedictine monk Benedict Sala, Bishop of Barcelona. He had been an opponent of Philip V. and was obliged, after Philip's triumph, to retire to Rome. Charles VI., however, used his influence on his behalf.[6] In the same way, at the prayer of the Emperor, Wolfgang Hannibal von Schrattenbach,[7] Bishop of Olmütz, obtained the red hat, as did the Inquisitor-General Nuno da

[1] *Op., loc. cit.*, 32. *Biography in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 257, Papal Secr. Archives, and by Rondoni in Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, *Miscell.*, VI., 465.

[2] Novaes, XII., 105.

[3] *Op., loc. cit.*, 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, 32 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 74.

[6] A. M. Albareda, *Contribució a la biografia del cardenal Sala O. S. B. abat de Montserrat, in Analecta Montserratensia*, VI. (1625), 77–224.

[7] Wurzbach, XXXI., 270 *seq.*

Cunha de Atayde, as a result of pressure by the King of Portugal. France, of course, could not be passed over. Louis XIV. had intervened only on behalf of one of the two Frenchmen who had been nominated, viz. Armand Gaston de Rohan, Coadjutor of Fürstenberg of Strassburg ; the other, Melchior de Polignac, Archbishop of Auch and ambassador to the Holy See, had been raised to the cardinalate at the request of the English Pretender James III.[1]

Five others owed their promotion not to princely intercession but to their services to the Holy See in diplomacy. Three of these, Giovanni Battista Bussi, Giulio Piazza and Giovanni Antonio Davia, had been at first internuncios at Brussels and subsequently nuncios at Cologne. Piazza was still administering the nunciature of Poland and Davia that of Vienna. Davia was a man of great merit who had fought, sword in hand, against the Turks ; on the advice of Innocent, he embraced the ecclesiastical career. He incurred Vienna's displeasure because, in obedience to papal instructions, he refused, in 1705, to acknowledge the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. The same misfortune of royal displeasure was incurred by nuncio Antonio Felice Zondadari when, as nuncio in Spain, he tried to bring about peace, with the result that he had to spend seven years in retirement at Avignon before his elevation to the cardinalate. Agostino Cusani had earned the red hat by filling the difficult post of nuncio at Venice, Vienna and Paris.[2]

Others had rendered themselves worthy of elevation not in foreign countries, but as faithful officials in the Eternal City. Ludovico Pico della Mirandola had been *Maggiordomo* and Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences ; Pietro Marcellino Corradini, at first a celebrated advocate at the Curia, Subdatarius and Auditor of the Pope, could be employed

[1] P. Paul, *Le card. Melchior de Polignac* 1661–1741, Paris, 1922, Polignac also tried his hand as a Latin poet in a work entitled " Antilucrezio ". Baumgartner, *Weltliteratur*, IV., 633.

[2] *La nunziatura Veneta di Msgr. Agostino Cusani nel triennio 1704, 5 e 6, tratta dai dispacci orig. per cura di* A. Ceruti, 1877 ; *Arch. stor. lomb.*, III. (1876), 29–71.

in all important affairs: after the death of Benedict XIII. he very nearly obtained the papacy. As Auditor of the Rota during twenty-three years, Luigi Priuli had rendered good services in the affairs of his native city of Venice. Curzio Origo, an old friend of Clement XI., had been entrusted with various important offices.

Apart from the Benedictine Sala, three among the new Cardinals belonged to religious Orders. The Capuchin Francesco Maria Casini had been a famous preacher; the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Tolomei, who was conversant with nine oriental languages, had been a learned professor of Holy Scripture and Philosophy at the Roman College; the Theatine, Giuseppe Maria Tommasi, was remarkable for exceptional holiness of life and great learning in liturgical subjects; like Tolomei, as a scion of a noble family, he had renounced his birthright in order to enter religion: He was examiner of Bishops and a Consultor of the Congregation of Rites and of the Holy Office. He refused at first to accept the cardinalate but the Pope overcame his objections with the same arguments with which Tommasi had at one time pressed the Pontiff to accept the papacy. During the seven months of his cardinalate, Tommasi distributed 4,000 scudi to the poor whilst a further 2,000 was spent on beautifying his church; he was beatified by Pius VII. in 1805.[1]

Without exception all those nominated were able and blameless priests. Corradini and Davia came well within reach of the papacy, Rohan was employed in practically every ecclesiastical affair and proved a strenuous defender

[1] Eulogy of Tommasi by Clement XI.: January 30, 1713; *Op.*, Orat. consist., 82. Biography by BERNINO (Romae, 1714, manuscript in the Archives of the Theatines, Rome, differing greatly from the printed copies); by POTTINO, Palermo, 1916. Also: *Archivio stor. ital.*, 5 Series, XIV., 226; A. F. VEZZOSI, *Scrittori dei chierici regolari*, Roma, 1780, 416. Edition of the works by VEZZOSI, 7 vols., Romae, 1748–1754. Some minor publications, by G. MERCATI in *Studi e testi*. *Cf.* NARDUCCI, *Biblioteca Angelica*, 551 *seq.* Tommasi's tomb is in the crypt of S. Clemente, Rome.

of the Bull *Unigenitus*, Atayde was praised for his prudence and ability, his solicitude for the poor and the splendour of the divine service. Seven amongst these Cardinals had been nominated *in petto*; however, their names were soon published: they were, Mirandola, Bussi, Corradini, Origo, on September 26th, 1712, Arias y Porres, Sala and Polignac on January 30th, 1713.[1] With the publication of the two last mentioned, the Pope combined the nomination of two new Cardinals, an Italian and a German.[2] Benedetto Odescalchi, a relative of Innocent XI., had been nuncio in Poland; he died in 1740 as Archbishop of Milan with the reputation of having distributed 1,100,000 imperial lire in alms. His fellow Cardinal was Damian Hugo von Schönborn, Bishop of Spires and Constance, who after the devastations caused by the French, successfully restored his bishopric of Spires to its pristine splendour. A priest of exemplary piety,[3] he received the purple on the proposal of the Emperor, but was reserved, for a time, *in petto*. It was only on May 29th, 1715, that his elevation was made public, that is after that of Fabio Olivieri, Secretary of Briefs under four Popes, a cousin and fellow-student of the Pope, who was proclaimed in the public consistory of May 6th of that year.[4] Schönborn's proclamation was followed by the bestowal of the red hat on four other Cardinals,[5] but only one of these was at once

[1] *Op., loc. cit.*, 78, 82 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 82 *seq.*; Novaes, XII., 180 *seq.* Brief of February 11, 1714, and dispatch of the red hat to Odescalchi: *Op.*, Brevia, 1816; *cf.* 1822.

[3] Remling, *Gesch. der Bischöfe von Speier*, II., Mayence, 1854, 625 *seq.*; Steinhuber, II., 57; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 608; J. Wille, Bruchsal, *Bilder aus einem geistlichen Staat des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Karlsruhe, 1897, 18 *seqq.* Brief of August 24, 1720 (congratulating him on his ordination to the priesthood and on his impending episcopal consecration) in *Op.*, Epist., 2402.

[4] *Op.*, Orat. consist., 120, 122; Novaes, XII., 191.

[5] *Op., loc. cit.*, 122; Novaes, XII., 192. *Cf.* M. Sagliocco, *Compendio delle virtù de card. Iñico Caracciolo*, Roma, 1738. On Bissy see J. Gazin-Gossel in *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 539 *seqq.*, 679 *seqq.*

publicly proclaimed, viz. the Frenchman Henri Thiard de Bissy, Bossuet's successor at Meaux, a prelate well known as a father of the poor and a zealous defender of the ancient faith. The other three, Iñigo Caracciolo, Bernardino Scotti and Maria Marini were reserved *in petto*; only on December 16th, 1715, on the occasion of the last creation, were their names made public.[1] Most of the new Cardinals then nominated had been nuncios, viz. Niccolò Caracciolo at Florence, Giovanni Patrizi at Naples, Niccolò Spinola at Florence and in Poland. These were followed by the learned jurist Fernando Nuzzi who, although never a nuncio, had nevertheless occupied nearly every important position at the Curia.

On March 15th, 1717, after the Pope had rewarded the services of Alessio Gilberto Borromei, his Maestro di Camera, with the red hat, and on July 12th of the same year had honoured in the same way, though much against his will,[2] Giulio Alberoni, the foreigners were in a majority in the nominations which followed. At the same time as Alberoni, a Hungarian, Emmerich Czacki, Archbishop of Kolocsa, was raised to the purple, though he remained *in petto* until October 1st of the same year.[3] On November 29th came the turn of two Frenchmen, Léon Potier de Gesvres, Archbishop of Bourges, and François de Mailly, Archbishop of Rheims. Gesvres obtained the dignity at the request of the King of Poland, whilst Mailly earned his elevation by his zeal in defence of the faith, as the Pope declared at the consistory.[4] The Fleming, Thomas Philip of Alsace, Count of Boussu, a former student of the Germanicum and Rector of the Anima, merited his elevation by his stand against Jansenism.[5] The Spaniard, Belluga Torre Castiglio Haro y Moncada was also a remarkable man. At Cordova he had established an

[1] *Op., loc. cit.*, 126; NOVAES, XII., 194 *seq.*

[2] *Op., loc. cit.*, 142 *seq.*; NOVAES, XII., 209 *seq.*

[3] *Op., loc. cit.*, 150; NOVAES, XII., 211 *seq.*

[4] The Pope called him "malleum Iansenistarum", *Op., loc. cit.*, 169. *Cf.* Brief to Mailly, January 8, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 2388.

[5] On Boussu, *cf.* STEINHUBER, I., 423; I. LOHNINGER, *Die zwölf Kardinäle aus der Reihe der Anima-Rektoren*, Rome, 1912, 13.

Oratory of St. Philip over which he presided as Superior. Though he held the See of Castagna the nuncio ordered him to act as Viceroy of Valencia and in the war of succession to take command of the troops which were to defend Philip V. against the rebels of Murcia. He earned the cardinalate by his zeal for the Holy See and for ecclesiastical liberty and immunity. He handed to the King a memorial on the grievous injury that must accrue to Spain, to the Church, to religion and to the King himself, from the restriction of intercourse with Rome. It required a papal command (March 12th, 1720) to induce him to accept [1] the Cardinal's hat. In order to escape from this dignity, he had not failed to make representations both to the King and to the Cardinals. After his nomination he renounced his bishopric and retired to Rome. Polignac called him a mirror of prelates, whilst Clement XI., at the time of his elevation, praised him as a courageous defender of the Holy See.[2] With him two other foreigners were nominated, as a result of pressure by their respective rulers, viz. the Portuguese Joseph Pereira de Lacerda and the Bohemian Michael Frederick of Althan. The former had been Viceroy of Algarbe and the latter became Viceroy of Naples in 1722. Together with these, four Italians received the purple, viz. Giorgio Spinola, Cornelio Bentivoglio, Gian Francesco Barbarigo and Giambattista Salerni. Spinola had been nuncio in Spain and Vienna with Charles VI. both as King of Italy and Emperor. Bentivoglio occupied a similar position in Paris, but after the death of Louis XIV. he came under suspicion with the Regent and had to be recalled. The conversion of the Elector of Saxony was due in no small measure to Salerni, who received the red hat at the request of the King of Saxony, the Crown Prince and the Emperor.[3]

[1] *Op., loc. cit.*, 2396.

[2] *Op.*, Orat. consist., 168 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XII., 224.

[3] NOVAES, XII., 225 *seq.* On Althan, *cf.* LOHNINGER, 12. On Salerni, B. DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXI. (1926), 104–117. The Pope commanded Salerni to accept the Cardinal's hat by Brief of November 29, 1719, printed in NILLES, *Symbolae*, II. (1885), 1016.

Two Spaniards were raised to the purple at Clement XI.'s last creation on September 30th, 1720: they were Borgia Centella Ponce de León, a son of the Duke of Gandia, and Alvaro Cienfuegos. The Pope had long refused to grant the Emperor's prayers on behalf of Cienfuegos owing to his being a Jesuit; as he had already nominated two other Jesuits, Tolomei and Salerni, he did not wish to raise a third to the purple.[1]

(3.)

By his many ordinances for the spiritual renewal of clergy and people, Clement XI. had benefited the whole Church and by filling the vacancies in the College of Cardinals he had provided for future papal elections. It only remained for him now to turn his attention to that part of his flock which, more than any other, stood in need of his solicitude. This includes, in the first place, the North of Germany and the northern countries in general where, under the zealous care of the Jesuit missionaries, the small Catholic communities succeeded in maintaining themselves, though with difficulty.[2]

[1] *Op., loc. cit.*, 176; Brief of October 8, 1770, *Op.*, Epist., 2414; NOVAES, XII., 230, "* Vita del. card. Cienfuegos" in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, *Arm.*, I. It contains the following eulogy: "è inesplicabile la stima che fece della sua virtù e capacità il Re Pietro II. [of Portugal] che per la vivezza e prontezza soleva chiamarlo Milfuegos." The Emperor also had a great esteem for him. *Cf.* SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, ed. BOISLISLE, X. (1893), 532. On his writings, SOMMERVOGEL, II., 1182 *seqq.* The second-hand bookseller Samonati in Rome had in his possession one of his manuscripts, *Le ragioni di Stato e i suoi documenti politici* (to Charles VI.).

[2] DUHR, IV., 1, 100–124. On the Saxon mission, *ibid.*, 489 *seqq.* On East and West Prussia, *ibid.*, 459 *seqq.* *Cf.* the testimony of the Vicar Apostolic, Otto von Gronsfeldt, September 16, 1706: 'Ferme omnes per septentrionem missiones ab eodem [Ferdinand von Fürstenberg] erectae fundataeque sunt et Patribus Societatis

There also Clement XI. endeavoured to do all that lay in his power. The greatest difficulty, lay in the fact that for this whole northern region there was only one Vicar Apostolic. This vast territory which, besides the northern parts of Germany, included Sweden, Norway and Denmark, was far too extensive to be attended to by one man. A memorial drawn up at the beginning of the eighteenth century urges the partition of this Vicariate: it prays for a superior of their own for the territories of Hanover and Prussia.[1]

The man by whose initiative this memorial was drawn up, was himself appointed to a post the creation of which he had advocated. This was Agostino Steffani, an Italian from Castelfranco and one of the most remarkable personalities of his time.[2] From a poor chorister of St. Mark's, Venice, he became one of the first composers of the eighteenth century, whose works exercised no small influence on George Frederick Händel, one of the greatest figures in the realm of music.[3]

indefesso labore ac studio, prudentia, discretione fructuque animarum in ista vinea Domini operantibus recteque fungentibus hucusque munere suo fuere addictae." METZLER, 301.

[1] METZLER, 81 *seq.*; P. WITTICHEN in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, VI. (1904), 344 *seqq.*

[2] F. W. WOKER, *Aus den Papieren des kurpfälzischen Ministers Agostino Steffani*, Cologne, 1885; idem. *Ag. Steffani, Bischof von Spiga i. p. i., Apostol. Vikar von Norddeutschland 1709–1728, ibid.*, 1886.

[3] F. CHRYSANDER, *Georg. Friedrich Händel*, I., Leipzig, 1858, 311–353. "He [Steffani] was one of the greatest masters of the time. His word was universally accepted. The assurance that 'Steffani had said so', was enough to end any controversy. He was Händel's favourite and he was the only great composer from whom he [Händel] not only learnt something, but whom he confesses to have actually imitated" (*ibid.*, 312). "In the conception of a great musical poem Steffani is substantially the equal of his great successor [Händel]. We find in him an idealism equally profound, only in his dramatic power is he considerably inferior" (*ibid.*, 323). "His duets have made Steffani immortal." "His duets, which bear the stamp of consummate skill, cannot be too highly praised, they will only perish when music itself

He became a priest in 1681 when, thanks to his musical achievements, he received a call to the court of Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover, where the master in the realm of harmony and the counterpart to Rubens, likewise revealed himself as an able diplomatist. Without breaking off relations with the court of Hanover, he entered, at the beginning of the Spanish War of Succession, into close relations with the Elector John William of Pfalz-Neuburg, in whose service he rose to the position of President of the electoral Government. Though John William had no decisive vote, he was nevertheless mixed up in all the events and questions which agitated Germany at that time and on most occasions Steffani appears as his representative and spokesman.[1] Ordinances issued by him had the same force as if they had been signed by the Elector himself.[2] In Rome also Steffani was highly esteemed. At the suggestion of the Elector, the Pope not only appointed him to the See of Spiga (September 13th, 1706), but desired him to take up residence in Rome at the time of his quarrel with the Emperor Joseph I., in order that he might consult him.[3] In his own opinion Steffani had "settled the matter very satisfactorily" in Rome.[4] In token of his gratitude the Pope nominated him an Assistant at the Pontificial throne [5] and provided him with several benefices.[6]

During Steffani's residence in Rome, the division of the northern Vicariate was effected. On April 9th, 1709, a Brief was issued appointing the Bishop of Spiga Vicar Apostolic for Pfalz-Neuburg, Brandenburg and Brunswick, in so far as these territories were not already under the jurisdiction

perishes," *ibid.*, 327. Selected works published by A. EINSTEIN and A. SANDBERGER, Leipzig, 1905. *Cf.* EITNER in *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXV., 549–553; WOKER in *Katholik*, 1887, I. 312–329, 421–432.

[1] WOKER, *Aus den Papieren*, 6 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, 71.

[4] *Ibid.*, 97. *Cf.* opinion of the Empress, *ibid.*, 117.

[5] *Ibid.*, 109.

[6] WOKER, *Steffani*, 6.

of other Ordinaries or Bishops.[1] Thus a new Vicariate Apostolic of the North was established comprising Upper and Lower Saxony.

The fact that a man of such brilliant gifts and high repute was placed at the head of the new vicariate justified the highest expectations for the future. The Pope, as well as the nuncio of Cologne, were full of hope.[2] Steffani himself entertained great plans. Secular priests were to replace the regulars over whom the Bishops had but little power. He took advantage of the favour which he enjoyed with the princes and the highest officials to induce them to adopt a friendly attitude towards the Catholics and to pave the way for subsequent conversions. To this end he appeared in public with great display, lived in great style and kept a splendid table because, as he wrote, in Germany all matters of importance are settled at table.[3] For the time being he retained his position as minister of the Elector. However, the youthful enthusiasm with which he had assumed his charge soon vanished. Disillusion followed disillusion; in vain did he endeavour to induce some of his noble friends to embrace the Catholic faith.[4] He experienced the greatest difficulty, in Hanover alone, in replacing the Jesuits by secular priests.[5] In 1713 laws came into force which openly aimed at the destruction of the Catholic Church.[6] It was only in the year 1718 that Steffani was able to consecrate the one church in the Elector's city of residence which the latter had been made to promise to the Catholics on his nomination as Elector in 1692.[7] However, in 1712, a church was built in Brunswick, which Duke Anthony Ulrich, a convert, had promised,[8] and

[1] Printed in WOKER, *Gesch. der norddeutschen Franziskanermissionen*, Freiburg, 1880, 429 *seqq.*

[2] WOKER, *Steffani*, 6, 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 26–38.

[5] *Ibid.*, 16 *seqq.*

[6] WOKER, *Hannover*, 100 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 147 *seqq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 45.

at Celle a hall was set up in 1711.[1] At Halle and Dessau, Steffani successfully established new mission stations.[2] The Vicar Apostolic spared no efforts to get himself recognized in this capacity in all the Prussian territories. He obtained at last permission to exercise purely ecclesiastical functions and these he performed with all possible solemnity.[3] Unfortunately after the death of Frederick I. of Prussia everything came to nought. The King looked upon himself as both Bishop and Pope even for the Catholics.[4] In his view all spiritual jurisdiction over them should be exercised by a Vicar appointed by the King and he only desisted from carrying this plan into execution when he failed to find a Catholic willing to put himself in such an impossible position.[5] At the end of 1711 Steffani sent a long account to Rome of the confusion and disorder in things spiritual in Brandenburg which presents a sad picture. "The benefices attached to churches, which the treaty of Westphalia had left to us in fairly large numbers, are being lost little by little [6] because the court bestows them on Protestants, with injunction to sell them to the Catholics. But as the Protestant holders ask exorbitant sums by way of compensation, no one is willing to recover them at such a price. The dearth of priests is constantly increasing owing to the fact that the poor Friars have to make long journeys of from ten to twelve miles to find a Bishop from whom they may receive Orders. Discipline among regulars is on the decline and in time it will break down altogether, since the court of Berlin is unwilling to allow foreign Superiors to deal with matters which, it alleges, are its own affair."

Since 1719 Steffani, crushed as he was with debts, had entertained the idea of returning to Italy and this resolution

[1] *Ibid.*, 246, 261.
[2] *Ibid.*, 24.
[3] Woker, *Steffani*, 79, 81.
[4] *Ibid.*, 76.
[5] *Ibid.*, 91.
[6] *Ibid.*, 83.

he carried into execution at the end of 1722. Propaganda failed to find a substitute equally acceptable to the princes. At the end of October, 1725, Steffani returned to Hanover; he died whilst on a journey to Frankfurt on the Main, 1728.[1] Steffani's spirit of initiative was greatly appreciated in Rome.[2] The Holy See did all in its power to further his projects for the erection of churches. "Probably at no time did any Pope issue so many Briefs on behalf of the building of one single church for a Catholic community of average size as Clement XI. did for that of Hanover." On leaving Rome in 1709 Steffani, besides a present of 6,000 florins, was also given letters of recommendation for his new church to a whole series of secular and ecclesiastical princes.[3] For the erection of a church at Brunswick the Pope gave 2,000 thalers and yet another 4,000 thalers,[4] not counting the 300 scudi which he bestowed on the mission.[5] But on a number of other questions Steffani's wishes were not met as he had hoped. His numerous proposals for the maintenance of his secular clergy in Hanover were judged impracticable in Rome.[6] Thus Propaganda refused to consider his suggestion that it was possible to allow the King of Prussia to empower a Vicar, in the name of the State, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, since this would not greatly differ from the royal *placet* which was tolerated elsewhere.[7] When accusations against Steffani's administration became more and more insistent, the Pope, at the request of the court of Vienna, dispatched Bishop Künigl of Brixen to Hanover with mission to examine the situation and to put an end to abuses.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 131, 134.

[2] *Ibid.*, 5, 52, etc., and *Hannover*, 78.

[3] WOKER, *Hannover*, 148 *seq.*

[4] WOKER, *Steffani*, 45 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 56.

[6] *Ibid.*, 17 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 83 *seqq.*

[8] WOKER, *Hannover*, 172 *seqq.*; also N. NILLES in *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.*, XIV. (1890), 388–394. Künigl asked the Pope repeatedly to be allowed to lay down the burden of the Episcopal

Steffani's further demands that the privileges of the monasteries in his Vicariate should be abolished and the abuses that had crept in done away with, were likewise not complied with in Rome.[1]

In the archdioceses of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, in spite of their almost entirely Protestant surroundings, sixteen monasteries were still in existence. At Huysburg there were Benedictines, at Halberstadt Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Dominican and Cistercian nuns, at Hamersleben Augustinians and elsewhere in the archdiocese of Halberstadt three convents of nuns still survived. A Benedictine monastery and five convents of nuns had maintained themselves at Ammensleben, in the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and some of the churches of Halberstadt still had Catholic benefices attached to them.[2]

Before the partition in the year 1709,[3] the northern Vicariate numbered nearly twenty stations. After Upper and Lower Saxony had become independent, the northern Vicariate continued to retain several missions in the three Hanseatic towns and at Schwerin, Altona, Friedrichstadt, Glückstadt, Fridericia, Rendsburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm.[4] After the death in 1702 of the Bishop of Hildesheim, Jobst Edmund

office, but the Pope would not accede to his request ; see Briefs of January 8, 1714, March 13, 1717, March 29, 1720, *Op.*, Epist., 1930, 2222, 2398. "Nos quoque," the Pope writes (*ibid.*, 2222), "apostolicae servitutis sarcinam onerosissimam periculorumque plenam inviti suscepimus et in hac temporum acerbitate aegro prorsus animo sustinemus. An non putas in tot tantisque curis et solicitudinibus plane gravissimis, quibus assidue premimur. Nos etiam interdum taedere vitae et longe optabiliorem Nobis videri illum pristinum statum ? Sed iugum, quod divina providentia ferre Nos voluit, non excutiendum Nobis, sed ferendum forti animo esse statuimus. . . ."

[1] Woker, *loc. cit.*, 99.

[2] *Ibid.*, 95 *seqq.*

[3] See above, p. 357.

[4] Metzler, 77. *Cf.* Catalogus notitiarum in Woker, *Aus norddeutschen Missionen*, Colonia, 1884, 91–112.

von Brabeck, the suffragan Bishops of Osnabrück acted as Vicars Apostolic of the North.[1] The most important event for the Vicariate during the pontificate of Clement XI. was the foundation, by the Jesuit Martin Gottseer of the northern Seminary at Linz on the Danube, for the education of priests for Scandinavia.[2] Clement XI., who as Cardinal Protector of Sweden had encouraged the beginnings of the Seminary, also gave it his support as Pope by recommending it on July 14th, 1707, to a number of prominent Bishops, and on January 16th, 1712, to the Emperor and Empress.[3] Owing to differences of opinion on the subject of jurisdiction over Brunswick, difficulties arose in connection with the demarcation of the boundaries of the northern Vicariates. A Brief of Clement XI. of June 14th, 1714, assigned Brunswick to the Bishop of Hildesheim.[4] On the other hand, in the following year, Steffani succeeded in getting the new mission of Kursachsen attached to the Vicariate of Hanover. When the Elector of Hanover purchased the Duchy of Bremen-Verden from Sweden, these territories came under the jurisdiction of the Hanoverian Vicariate, though they had formerly belonged to the northern Vicariate.[5]

In spite of the difficult position in which the Catholic Church found itself in North Germany, she still had power to attract Protestants. Between 1706 and 1712 there occurred no fewer than two hundred and seventeen conversions to the Catholic faith in the Franciscan Province of Saxony and ninety from 1712 to 1740.[6] Even persons of princely rank joined the Catholic Church during the pontificate of Clement XI. Mention must be made in the first place of the conversion of the heir to the throne of Saxony, Frederick Augustus III., who took this step from conviction after suitable instructions

[1] METZLER, 72, 141 *seqq.*

[2] METZLER in *Theol.-pract. Quartalschr.*, LXIV. (1911), 253–282.

[3] *Op.*, Epist., 403, 1515, 1516 *seq.*

[4] METZLER, 98 *seq.* WOKER, *Franziskanermissionen*, 431 *seqq.*

[5] METZLER, 99 *seqq.*

[6] WOKER, *loc. cit.*, 68.

had enabled him to see the Catholic teaching in a new light.[1] Numerous Briefs had been addressed to his father exhorting him to see to it that the heir to the throne was placed in Catholic surroundings,[2] but it was only on October 11th, 1717, that Clement XI. was able to communicate to the Cardinals the conversion of the Prince [3] which had taken place secretly on November 27th, 1712.[4] Thus was the royal House of Saxony won over for ever to the Catholic Church. In a Brief dated May 28th, 1716,[5] the Pope expressed his joy at the conversion of two other members of the same princely house, viz. that of Duke Maurice William of Sachsen-Zeitz and his nephew Maurice Adolph. Unfortunately Maurice William, yielding to the pressure of his entourage, returned to Protestantism [6] whereas Maurice Adolph renounced his worldly prospects, became a priest and died as Bishop of Leitmeritz.[7] Clement XI. was able to congratulate more than one member of the princely family of Brunswick on his, or her, conversion. Among them were the future Empress Elizabeth Christina [8] and her grandfather Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick.[9] Two of his daughters followed the Duke's example, viz. in 1712 Henrietta Christina, up to that time

[1] DUHR in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXI. (1926), 104–117.

[2] Briefs of July 30, 1701, July 7, 1703, May 12, and August 18, 1708, July 17, 1709, February 22, 1710, November 10, 1712, *Op.*, Epist., 76, 174, 510, 560, 618, 682, 1770 .

[3] *Op.*, Orat. consist., 150.

[4] Brief of congratulation to the father, April 22, 1713, *Op.*, Epist., 1834.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2152.

[6] WOKER, *Franziskaner missionen*, 212.

[7] RÄSS, IX., 324.

[8] July 2, 1707, *Op.*, Epist., 410 ; F. SCHAUERTE, *Die Konversion der Prinzessin Elisabeth Christina von Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel*, Frankfurt, 1885.

[9] February 1, 1710, *Op.*, Epist., 678. Exhortation of April 12, 1710, to admit the conversion openly ; a present to him September 9, 1710, *ibid.*, 720. *Cf. Op.*, Orat. consist., of May 19, 1710, p. 48 ; WOKER, *Franziskanermissionen*, 377 *seqq.*

Abbess of Gandersheim, and in 1714 Countess Augusta Dorothea of Schwarzburg-Armstadt.[1] Owing to the conversion of Charles Alexander in 1715,[2] Württemberg was ruled for a time by Catholic Dukes. Eleonore Charlotte, Duchess of Öls, Princess of Württemberg-Mömpelgard, returned to the old faith in Paris in 1702. Like Anthony Ulrich, she too explained her motives for this step in a written statement.[3] The Countess Palatine Elizabeth Louise of Zweibrücken, who had become a Catholic in Paris in 1700, also published an account of the reasons for her conversion.[4] A special Brief recommended to the Emperor the person of Prince John Christian Augustus of the family of the Dukes of Holstein [5] who, as a result of his conversion, was in danger of losing his position in the army and his livelihood.

The conversion of Princess Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel gave rise to a much debated memorial issued by the Protestant University of Helmstedt. The grandfather of the princess, Anton Ulrich, had requested Fabricius, a professor of the above-mentioned University, to answer the question whether a princess belonging to the evangelical Protestant religion might with a safe conscience embrace the Roman Catholic religion for the sake of betrothal to a Catholic King. Fabricius answered in the affirmative inasmuch as all the essential elements of the Christian faith were to be found in Catholicism.[6] Four out of six professors

[1] Briefs of congratulation, September 17, 1712, *Op.*, Epist., 1758, and March 7, 1716, *ibid.*, 2136. *Cf. ibid.*, 2026, 2032, 2134, 2206.

[2] Räss, IX., 311 *seqq.* The prospect of the conversion of Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg gave occasion to the Pope to send a number of Briefs, August 4, 1708, *Op.*, Epist., 550 *seqq.*

[3] Brief of September 12, 1703, in Räss, IX., 63.

[4] Brief of February 8, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 38.

[5] Brief of December 12, 1704, *ibid.*, 314.

[6] W. Hoeck, *Anton Ulrich und Elisabeth Christine*, Wolfenbüttel, 1845, 81 *seqq.*; Schauerte, *loc. cit.*, 148 *seqq.* Account from the Protestant side in Soldan, *Dreissig Jahre des Proselytismus in Sachsen und Braunschweig*, Leipzig, 1845.

of the University shared his opinion.[1] Leibnitz, who was also consulted, likewise answered in the affirmative.[2] However, this did not represent the general opinion of the Protestant theologians.[3]

(4.)

Apart from the solicitude which Clement XI. bestowed on Northern Germany and Scandinavia, he also gave many proofs, during his whole pontificate, of his interest in the spread of the faith. Soon after he had ascended the pontifical throne, he bestowed a present of 30,000 gold scudi on the missions.[4] His secretary, Niccolò Forteguerri, was instructed to draw up a survey of the whole work of the missions during the years 1706 and 1707 on the basis of the archives of Propaganda.[5] Clement XI. confirmed the privileges granted by Paul III. to convert Jews and Pagans.[6]

[1] SCHAUERTE, *loc. cit.*, 154.

[2] *Ibid.*, 156.

[3] HERZOG-HAUCK, *Realenzyklopädie*, V., 731.

[4] NOVAES, XII., 249.

[5] "* Memorie intorno alle missioni d'Africa, Asia, America, estratte dall'Archivio della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide per ordine della S. M. di Clemente XI. e dedicate alla Santità di Papa Benedetto XIII.," in *Vat.*, 7210, Vatican Library; *Cod. ital.*, 215, State Library, Munich; catalogue of the antiquary Silvio Bocca, Rome, LXXXIV. (1891), 231; the paragraph on Africa in *Bibl. de l'École de médicine de Montpellier*, n. 102 (see *Catalogue gén. des Mss. des bibliothèques publ. des Départements*, I., Paris, 1849, 323); the paragraph on America in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 143, Papal Secr. Archives. A publication [without place and year] (by A. MAI; *cf.* MORONI, XCVIII., 141, 309; SCHMIDLIN in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1896, 123), registered in LEMMENS, XI. CORRADO ZACCHETTI, *Una vita inedita di Niccolò Forteguerri*, Oneglia, 1898; F. CAMICI, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di Niccolò Forteguerri*, Siena, 1895; ANG. FABRONI, *Vita Italorum*, IX., Pisa, 1782, 10–31. Forteguerri will be quoted hereafter according to the Munich manuscript.

[6] Bull of March 11, 1704, *Bull*, XXI., 107 *seqq.*

One of the Albani Pope's pet schemes was the erection of Seminaries for the education of missionaries. At a session of the Congregation of Propaganda on October 3rd, 1706, he strongly recommended to some of the superiors of Orders the founding of missionary colleges at home, on the model of the Roman College of St. Pancras of the Discalced Carmelites and that of the Franciscans of S. Pietro in Montorio. Accordingly the Conventuals erected a college at Assisi for the benefit of their missions in the Balkans and the neighbouring territories,[1] whilst the Observants built one at Rome near their monastery of St. Bartholomew on the island of the Tiber.[2] To the Discalced Trinitarians who had settlements in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Transilvania, Poland, Lithuania and Portugal, the Pope granted in 1720 the church delle Fornaci, near which they planned the erection of a central college for missionaries of the whole Order.[3] Clement XI. furthered the seminary at Linz on the Danube which served as a nursery for the northern missions.[4] He also took a warm interest in the continental seminaries for the education of priests for the Scottish missions.[5] He founded a missionary college for the Maronites near the monastery of SS. Marcellus and Peter.[6] For the Far East he thought of erecting a seminary at Manila in the Philippines, and he entertained a similar intention in regard to Persia but had to be satisfied with admitting oriental students into Propaganda.[7]

[1] Brief of January 21, 1710, *ibid.*, 368 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 372 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 339 *seqq.* The College was opened in 1725 with six pupils. *Corriere d'Italia*, June 12, 1927.

[4] See above, p. 362.

[5] Briefs of April 18, 1714, to Joh. Anton Knebel von Katzenelnbogen, Bishop of Eichstätt; May 15, 1714, to Queen Mary of England; September 4, 1717, to the Elector Max Emanuel; July 15, 1718, to the suffragan of Ratisbon, *Op.*, Epist., 1956, 1968, 2254, 2302.

[6] Clement XII., March 31, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 429 *seq.*

[7] Briefs of October 15, 1707, to Philip IV., to Cardinal Tournon and to the Archbishop of Manila, *ibid.*, 436 *seqq.*; LAFITAU,

It goes without saying that this source and centre of missionary activity was not excluded from the Pope's solicitude. Propaganda counted at that time forty-seven pupils, amongst them some Swedes,[1] but provision for the health of the students left much to be desired. Experience at the German College had taught the Pope the importance of some resort for periodical relaxation for the young men of the college. He set apart the sum of 4,000 scudi for the purchase of a villa, but when the munificence of Cardinal Ottoboni spontaneously provided one, the Albani Pope spent the 4,000 scudi in founding a burse at Propaganda for an Albanian subject.[2] Clement XI. erected a college for Albanians at St. Demetrio Corona, in the province of Cosenza.[3] As a matter of fact the Pope showed special preference towards the separated Churches of the East. Every year, on the feast of St. Athanasius, he celebrated Mass at the Greek College; he also considerably increased its income.[4] He often conversed

Clément XI., I., 149 *seq.* Even among the Tartars of South Russia a college of some sort was started (LAFITAU, I., 118). When M. Ripa, a missionary in China, selected some young Chinese in order to educate them for the priesthood, Clement XI. said (according to a letter of Propaganda of August 15, 1715): "Questa sua condotta è l'unica per stabilire la religione cristiana in cotesto vastissimo impero e farla da forestiera cittadina." M. RIPA. *Storia della fondazione della congregazione e del collegio dei cinesi*, I., Napoli, 1832, 209 *seq.*

[1] *Bull*, XXI., 324, § 3.

[2] Brief of June 27, 1708, *ibid.*, 322 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, II., 247 *seqq.* Reply of September 15, 1708, to the letter of thanks of the Bishops of Albania in CLEMENTIS XI., *Opera*, Epist., 566. In it Clement XI. says of the Albanians "Haerere animo Nostro veluti cum vita et sanguine haustam singularem quandam voluntatis propensionem ac plane benevolentiam". A Brief of August 18, 1708, frees Propaganda from the parochial rights of a neighbouring parish priest. *Bull*, XXI., 335.

[3] A. LORECCHIO in *Nuova Antologia*, CCXXXVIII. (July, 1911), 154–6. There already existed an Albanian college in Palermo.

[4] NOVAES, XII., 251. *Cf.* Brief of June 4, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 66.

with Eusèbe Renaudot, the famous orientalist, and induced him to draw up memoranda on the missions of the East.[1] He ascertained the religious situation in Albania, his family's presumed country of origin, by means of a visitation which was followed by a national council.[2]

There exists a visitation report from the year 1711, which gives an insight into the religious conditions in Smyrna and the Greek Isles.[3] In accordance with a testamentary disposition of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani of Genoa (*ob.* 1621), these islands had to be visited every ten years. Clement XI. entrusted this task to the Dominican Giovanni Vincenzo Castelli, who set out on his journey in July, 1709. As a Genoese, Castelli experienced some difficulty in obtaining a passport for a journey that was to give him but little satisfaction. In Sira, amongst the 2,660 inhabitants, there were 2,500 Catholics of the Latin Rite, but in Milo, out of 1,500 schismatics, there were only forty Catholics and in Metelino only one, a Catholic physician. In Chios, the papal envoy succeeded in healing a schism among the 4,000 Catholics. The latter did not possess a single church in the whole island. The Sultan granted freedom of worship to the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews, but not to the Catholics of the Latin Rite, who had to be content with the chapel of the

[1] A. Delpuch in *Bessarione*, 3 series (1906–7), I., 223 *seqq.*; II., 227 *seqq.*

[2] "* Notizie dello Stato di Albania e dell'operato di Msgr. Vincenzo Zmaievich arcivesc. di Antivari visitator apostolico dell'Albania. Esaminata nelle congregazioni di Propaganda a. 1703–1704." *Barb.*, L., 216, Vatican Library. *Concilium Albanum provinciale sive nationale habitum anno MDCCIII Clemente XI. Pont. Max. Albano*, editio II., *lat. et epirot. posteriorum Constit. Apost. ad Epiri ecclesiam spectantium appendice ditata* (1868). *Cf. Coll. Lac.*, I., 283 *seqq.*

[3] "* Relatione della visita delle chiese nell'Isole dell'Arcipelago fatta da Msgr. Castelli, presentata alla Congregazione di Propaganda (1711)," Propaganda Archives, Rome, *Visite*, 39. An abridged report of the visitation of Archbishop Giustiniani of Naxos, 1698, is in Forteguerri, 320 *seqq.*

French Consul and that of the Dutch Consul who was a Catholic. In order to lessen the hatred between the Latins and the Greeks, Castelli suggested that the Catholics in Chios should once more adopt the Julian Calendar as had been done by their fellow-Christians in all the islands except those of Chios, Sira and Morea, for he thought it was mainly the difference in the date of Easter that was responsible for this enmity. The Julian Calendar was also followed at Smyrna. Besides the Catholics there were 10,000 Jews, 5,000 Greeks, 1,000 native and 1,000 foreign Armenians at Smyrna. Whilst there, Castelli lived at the convent of the reformed Franciscans where the Bishop, Daniel Durante, also resided. The care of the Catholics was entrusted to six Franciscans and four Capuchins, whose school was well attended, and to four Jesuits. Sermons were preached in four languages on all the Sundays of Advent and Lent and on the chief holy days, viz. in French, Italian, Greek, and in Turkish for the Catholic Armenians. Castelli relates that religious instruction was given on all Sundays; in the schools the children were taught reading, writing and a little grammar. Religious just then were under the protection of the Dutch Consul, a Protestant who, besides frequently bestowing alms on them, guarded them against the arbitrariness of the Turks. The school of the Capuchins enjoyed the protection of the French Consul.[1] In the islands of Greece and in the Levant in general, the Jesuits had establishments at Constantinople, Smyrna,

[1] According to Giustiniani's report of 1698 (above, 368, n. 3) at Naxia, the Metropolitan See, Jesuits, Capuchins and Observants were at work among 450 Latins; there were also some Dominican Tertiaries, but without a rule. The Visitor gives a bad account of the secular clergy. Giustiniani confirms the number of 4,000 Catholics in Chios; but there were very few on the islands, viz. in Paro 10, in Nio (Ios) 87, in Milo and Thermia 20, in Sira 100, in Andro 250. At Santorin there were French Jesuits among 490 Latins with four churches and a Dominican monastery; at Sira a Bishop, some Capuchins and more than 100 churches, at Micone one Latin church.

Thessalonica, Chios, Naxos, Euboea, Santorin, Trebizond, Saida, Damascus, Siphanto, Serpho, Therasia and Paro.[1]

Apart from the accounts of these visitations, there exists a whole series of Briefs which show how much the Albani Pope had at heart the welfare of the Christian East. He could not but be particularly interested in the mighty Russian Empire which, under Peter the Great, was beginning to win for itself a place in the community of European nations. The Tsar's keen interest in western culture likewise gave rise to the hope that he would bring about a union with the Western Church. Peter I. deliberately encouraged these hopes forasmuch as he needed Catholic Austria as a bulwark against the Turks, and Catholic Poland as an ally against Sweden, for the Pope's word would carry great weight in his favour both at Warsaw and Vienna.[2] To the Carmelite Conrad of the Ascension he said in 1705 that he hoped to see a fraternal union established between East and West before he died.[3] At Vienna he assisted at the Latin services and told the Jesuit Wolff, who had asked him whether he was in favour of reunion, that personally he had no objection to it.[4] However, these bright hopes of the Catholics were destined to receive a rude shock. At the end of a banquet at Polozk on July 11th, 1705, the Tsar visited the church of the Basilians who were united with Rome. Among other things he questioned one of the monks about a statue of St. Josaphat Kuncewicz. When the latter described the murderers of the Archbishop as schismatics, the still semi-intoxicated potentate got into such a fury that he plunged his sword into the body of the

[1] Crétineau-Joly, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jésus*, V., Bruxelles, 1851, 5–7. On the situation in Smyrna, Thessalonica, Chios, Santorin, *cf.* Tarillon in *Lettres édifiantes*, I., Paris, 1780, 1–78. Briefs with full powers for the Jesuit missions in Greece, the Aegean Islands, Armenia, Persia, and Syria in *Synopsis actorum*, 427 *seqq.*

[2] Pierling, IV., 127.

[3] *Ibid.*, 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, 138 *seq.*

Basilian, and four other monks, who had hastened to his assistance, shared the same fate either at the hand of the Tsar or those of his companions.[1] Peter I. tried to make amends by assisting at Mass in the College of the Jesuits a few days later and by sounding the praises of SS. Ignatius and Xavier as he stood before their statues. On October 20th [31], 1706, he granted religious freedom to the Roman Catholics and gave permission for the erection at Moscow of a college and a stone church ; he also granted to missionaries bound for the East permission to travel through Russia.[2] In the following year he dispatched Kurakin to Rome, but the latter only discussed political matters, leaving the question of ecclesiastical unity untouched. By command of the Tsar, the Jesuit Brigg was also in Rome at this time, but without authority to conclude a union.[3]

Peter's seeming friendliness towards Rome came to an end when, at the battle of Poltawa in 1709, he defeated his enemies, for he now felt that he could dispense with the Pope's services. Long before this Clement XI. had entertained no illusions as to the sincerity of the crafty prince, though the proffered hand of friendship could not be rejected.[4]

During his stay in Paris in 1717, Peter visited the Sorbonne on June 3rd and listened to some lengthy lectures on the subject of the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. The Sorbonne was at that time Jansenistic in its ideas, so the opportunity seemed a favourable one for the foundation of a Gallican Patriarchate on Russian soil. The Tsar requested the Doctors to address themselves to his Bishops, two of whom, viz. Theophanes Prokopowitch and Stephen Jaworski

[1] *Ibid.*, 190 ; THEINER, *Monuments*, 412.

[2] PIERLING, IV., 200.

[3] *Ibid.*, 202 *seq.* ; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 407 *seqq.* Clement XI.'s letter of thanks to the Czar in *Op.*, Epist., II, 2236.

[4] " Non considera N. S., se siano totalmente sincere le intenzioni del Czar in mostrare di volere reunire al grembo di s. Chiesa li suoi vassalli, ma confida etc." Paolucci to the Nuncio Davia, in PIERLING, IV., 418.

sent written answers.[1] Clement XI. died before further developments took place.

Cardinal Kollonitsch devoted special attention to the conditions of Russia and to the Christian Churches of the East.[2] For the benefit of the Uniat Ruthenians he conceived a plan which has been revived in recent times. Since the Eastern Churches possessed neither missionary nor teaching Orders, but only contemplative ones, Kollonitsch thought of inducing a number of Jesuits to adopt, for the time being, the Greek Rite, so as to enable them to teach and preach. Gonzalez, the General of the Order, was ready to fall in with the plan and the Prefect of Studies at the Greek College, Lorenzo Lucchesini, with Professor Niccolò Comneno Papadopoli of Padua gave it their support. Propaganda itself was not averse to it. The Inquisition, however, declared that Canon Law forbade the passing from one Rite to another and that there was no reason to depart from this ruling.[3] The Pope praised the zeal of Cardinal Kollonitsch [4] but looked for other means to assist the Ruthenians. Leo Kiszka, their Metropolitan, had long been thinking of calling the Ruthenian Bishops to a Council. On March 20th, 1716, he named the Polish nuncio president of the future synod.[5] Four years later the assembly met at Zamosc, when Clement XI. congratulated the Bishops and exhorted them to obey the Polish nuncio, their president.[6] In spite of his ardour

[1] *Ibid.*, 237, 250 *seq.*; FERET, *La Faculté de théol. de Paris*, Ep. mod., VI. and VII., App., Paris, 1910 (Reprint of the negotiations); PICHLER, II., 164 *seq.* On the attempts at reunion, *cf.* IO. FR. BUDDAEUS, *Ecclesia Rom. cum Ruthena irreconciliabilis*, Ienae, 1718.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, IV.[6], 87.

[3] L. NILLES, *Symbolae ad illustrandam Hist. Ecclesiae orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani I.*, Oeniponte, 1885, 1–82.

[4] May 9, 1705, *Epist.*, 270.

[5] *Ius pontif.*, II., 336.

[6] Brief of July 19, 1720, *ibid.*, 337, *Op.*, Epist., 2402. Brief of April 5, 1709, in favour of a Ruthenian Confraternity at

for reunion the Bishop of the Ruthenians of Northern Hungary, Hodermarski, who had been in office since 1704, was compelled to resign in 1715, the reason being his former participation in several military expeditions.[1] The reunion with Rome of the Rumanians of Transilvania must also be ascribed to Kollonitsch. At their Synod at Karlsburg [Alba Iulia] the Rumanian Bishops wrote to Clement XI. on November 8th, 1701, that eight years had already gone by since, on the initiative of the Jesuits, negotiations for the Union had been set on foot at their Synod of Karlsburg, where the Union had been agreed upon in 1697 and a representative dispatched to the Emperor and to Kollonitsch. In point of fact 200,000 Rumanians, with 2,000 priests, accepted the Union. Rome was content with ratifying all that Kollonitsch had done without giving it a solemn approval by a Bull or some such document. The Union of the Rumanians with the Roman Church continued in spite of the difficulties of the Hungarian civil war which was soon to follow.[2] On February 3rd, 1721, Clement XI. established a bishopric for the Rumanians of Transilvania at Fogares.[3]

The Catholics in Turkey had to undergo great sufferings owing to the intrigues of the schismatics who, in their quarrels with the Catholics, had recourse to the Porte to settle their religious differences. Under threat of fines, imprisonment and banishment, the Turkish pashas exacted obedience to their decisions in religious questions. The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was condemned to the galleys and the Syrian Patriarch to imprisonment and to be beaten with rods. The Pope, on his part, did all that lay in his power to render the lot of his followers more tolerable. He prayed

Lemberg, *ibid.*, 262. Acts of the Synod in *Coll. Lac.*, II., 3 *seqq.* *Cf.* J. Pelesz, *Gesch. der Union der rutenischen Kirche mit Rom*, II., Würzburg-Wien, 1881, 420–445; H. Lämmer, in *Decreta concilii Ruthenorum Zamosciensis animadversiones theol.-canon.*, Friburgi, 1865.

[1] Hergenröther, IV.[6], 86.

[2] Nilles, Symbolae, I., 125, 164, 288.

[3] *Bull*, Prop. App., II., 3 *seqq.*

for the intervention of the French King, of the Emperor and the Doge of Venice,[1] and sent the able Carmelite, David of St. Charles, to Constantinople.[2] Some of the Christians apostatized, but there were also examples of heroic deaths for the faith.[3] The French ambassadors, Ferriol, D'Alleurs and Bonnac deserved well of the Catholics.[4] Bonnac obtained permission for the Franciscans to restore the dome of the Holy Sepulchre. The Pope recommended to his special solicitude the Christians of Albania and the Aegean Isles [5]; he also wrote on behalf of the Holy Land to the Emperor Joseph, Louis XIV. and Ferriol.[6]

The former Nestorians in the province of Amida, for whose benefit Innocent XI. had established a Patriarchate of the Chaldeans at Diarbekr in 1681, were also harassed by the schismatics. On the basis of the reports of the Capuchin missionary, John Baptist of Orleans, Clement XI. was in a position to praise their steadfastness.[7] Their Patriarch, Joseph II. Tel-Kepha, was able, in 1711, to announce a return of less disturbed times, whilst his zeal for the spread of the Catholic faith earned him the highest recognition.[8] However, ten years later, the schismatics stirred up the Turks who began so violent a persecution that even the Capuchin

[1] To Louis XIV., November 22, 1701, to Leopold I., November 26, 1701, to the Doge, April 8, 1702, *Op.*, Epist., 88, 100, 118.

[2] *Ibid.*, 118. LAFITAU (*Clément* XI., I., 91), calls him " L'homme peut-être de son siècle le plus propre pour une semblable légation ".

[3] *Op.*, Epist., 474; heroic death of the convert priest Cosmas, *ibid.*; LAFITAU, I., 173 *seq.* *Cf.* *Martyre de Der Gourmidas*, Armenian Archpriest of Constantinople, November 5, 1707, in RABBATH, I., 126. On " Gomidas ", *cf.* H. RIONDEL, Paris, 1929.

[4] To Ferriol, August 1, 1705, and February 8, 1708, to D'Alleurs, September 20, 1710, and January 27, 1714, to Bonnac, August 12, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 286, 474, 718, 1934, 2356.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2356.

[6] *Ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, I., 171 *seq.*, 175.

[7] December 9, 1702, *Op.*, Epist., 144.

[8] May 21, 1712, *ibid.*, 1686.

missionaries were obliged to flee to Aleppo; all that the Pope could do was to praise the constancy of Patriarch Joseph III. in a Brief.[1] The Franciscan John Galliego was looked upon as the Apostle of Damascus. In 1715 he was reported to have brought back five hundred families and some large villages in 1719. Since the conversion of the Greek Patriarch, Cyril V. of Damascus, the number of Catholics increased from day to day.[2] The converted Jacobites of Syria, together with their compatriots, had constantly to fight for the rights of the Patriarch. Thanks to the diplomatic intervention of the Holy See, the Uniat Patriarch was able to return to Aleppo, but in the following year the schismatics took him in chains to Adana. After his death in 1706, Propaganda once more dispatched the Carmelite David of St. Charles, with the necessary funds for the Porte, for the purpose of procuring their freedom for the Catholics of Aleppo. The Archbishop of Ninive became Patriarch in 1707.[3] The Church of the Maronites suffered from internal difficulties; they had deposed their Patriarch, James Avad, and elected another, of the name of Joseph, in his place. The Pope did not approve of these arbitrary proceedings; a papal Legate called a synod at which James was reinstated.[4] A Brief of June 24th, 1714, praised the Maronites for their submission,[5] which was in no

[1] January 24, 1721, *ibid.*, 2420. On the persecution at Aleppo, 1701–2, see RABBATH, I., 108 *seq.*; *Antonianum*, I. (1926).

[2] To the Patriarch, January 9, 1716, and May 21, 1718, *Op.*. Epist., 2122, 2294; LEMMENS, 27.

[3] FORTEGUERRI, 225 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, IV.[6], 147; RABBATH, I., 108 *seqq.*; extract from the diary of the Carmelites, Aleppo, *ibid.*, II., 31 *seqq.*

[4] Brief of June 20, 1713, *Coll. Lac.*, II., 424; Decree of Propaganda, March 20 and May 8, 1713, *Magnum Bull.*, VIII., 425 *seq.* *Cf.* T. ANAISSI, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, Romae, 1911, 197–203.

[5] *Ius pontif.*; II., 302. On the Maronite Patriarch it says: "qui unicus inter omnes Orientis antistites non sine praecipua vestrae gentis gloria legitime a vobis eligitur et ab hac S. Sede canonice confirmatur, quando reliqui omnes a non habentibus potestatem pari facilitate deputantur ac deponuntur," *ibid.*, 302.

small measure due to the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza, a future Cardinal.[1] The division nevertheless continued; in 1721, Clement XI. sent as his Legate Gabriel Eva, Abbot of Mount Lebanon, bestowing at the same time high praise on the Maronites' steadfastness in the faith.[2] The Legate succeeded in restoring harmony. The Capuchins also laboured amongst the Maronites on whose behalf the Emir of Aldalla founded, in 1704, a hospice at Salima for the religious instruction of the people.[3] The Christian slaves had to share the sufferings of the Christian tribes of the Turkish Empire. At the beginning of his reign, Clement XI. praised Cardinal Kollonitsch for having spent large sums of money for their redemption.[4] Especially hard was the lot of the Christian captives under the Tartars in the Crimea. They were set at liberty when they became old and incapable of work, that is to say, they were allowed to die of hunger. The Jesuits in those parts resolved to build a hospital and to collect money in order to ransom captive children who were in danger of losing the Christian faith. The Pope furthered these plans by recommending them to the Kings of Spain and Poland.[5]

Like the Catholics under the Turkish Sultan, those in Persia were exposed to so many vexations on the part of the heretics and schismatics, chiefly those of Armenian nationality, that the continuance of the mission there seemed very doubtful. The Bishop of Ispahan, Elias, informed the Pope

[1] LEMMENS, 29; LIGARIO OLIGER, *Vita e diarii del card. Lor. Cozza*, Quaracchi, 1925, 217 *seqq.*, 248 *seqq.*; EUTIMIO CASTELLANI, *Atti del rev. P. Lor. Cozza*, II., *ibid.*, 1924, 112–174; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, III.[2], 1172 *seq.* Briefs before the outbreak of the conflict to the Patriarchs Stephen Peter and Peter Gabriel in *Op.*, Epist., 116, 276.

[2] Briefs of January 29, 1721, *ibid.*, 2422. *Cf.* on the conflict the Briefs of January 31, 1711, June 30, 1713, and August 28, 1714, *ibid.*, 1484, 1866, 1996.

[3] FORTEGUERRI, 301.

[4] January 15, 1701, *Op.*, Epist., 34.

[5] January 27, 1714, *ibid.*, 1936 *seq.* The Jesuit Duban specially interested himself in the prisoners. CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V.[5], 10.

of this state of affairs on the occasion of a journey to Rome. Clement XI. thereupon appealed to the Shah of Persia himself, to the Signoria, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and to the Emperor, with a view to a redress.[1] Having obtained the support of these three European Powers, the Pope, in 1719, addressed another letter to the Shah in favour of the persecuted Armenians and the Capuchins of Tiflis in Georgia.[2] The house and the church of the missionaries had been levelled with the ground. There too the instigators of the persecution were the schismatical Armenians, the Archbishop of Etzmiadsin and a certain Minas Vartabied.

The Pope also appealed on behalf of the Capuchins of Tiflis to Vartanch, King of Iberia,[3] himself a refugee at the court of the Shah of Persia. Vartanch showed some inclination towards reunion with the Roman Church and Clement XI. made use of this favourable disposition. Through Louis XIV.'s influence he endeavoured to make it possible for him to return to his kingdom,[4] and he addressed to Vartanch a comforting Brief.[5] At a later date the King of Iberia himself wrote to the Pope [6] of his desire to reunite his people with the See of Rome ; at the same time he begged for help against the Turks. For another section of the population of the Caucasus, the Mingrelians, Clement XI. endeavoured to induce the Lazarists to undertake missionary work.[7]

The influence and esteem in which the Roman Church was held in the East are sufficiently proved by the fact that a desire for reunion with Rome made itself felt over and over

[1] February 18, 1705, *Op.*, Epist., 260 *seqq.*

[2] January 3 and February 18, 1719, *ibid.*, 2322, 2334.

[3] September 14, 1720, *ibid.*, 2410.

[4] To Louis XIV., April 13 and July 26, 1714, *ibid.*, 1594, 1986.

[5] August 17, 1714, *ibid.*, 1994.

[6] November 29, 1722, in THEINER, Monuments, 548 ; according to Forteguerri the Pope made no reply to the desire for union from Georgia as the King had meanwhile embraced Islam.

[7] To the Superior of the Congregation, Jean Bonnet, May 6, 1715, *Op.*, Epist., 2074.

again amongst the oriental Patriarchs. Samuel Capassulis, the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, sent the Franciscan John Joseph Mazet to Rome as the bearer of his profession of faith: in a solemn consistory, on April 28th, 1713, the Pope received his abjuration.[1] On April 11th, 1703, Clement XI. had invited the Patriarch to become reconciled with Rome[2]; the final step was again due to the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza.[3] As the convert was exposed to the attacks of the schismatics, the Pope recommended him to the protection of the Emperor, Louis XIV., Venice and D'Alleurs.[4] The Armenian Patriarch, Alexander, entertained relations with the European missionaries and wrote to Rome in a way which raised hopes of his own conversion. Clement XI., who had dispatched five Dominican missionaries to Armenia in 1701,[5] sent him a profession of faith for his signature[6]; at a later date Alexander became a persecutor of the Catholics.[7] Several other Bishops of the Christian East became reconciled with Rome during the reign of Clement XI., as for instance Archbishops Macarius of Tripolis and Parthenius of Amida,[8] Bishops Parthenius of Heliopolis, Silvester of Beirut and Anastasius of Nicosia in Cyprus.[9] Some Coptic priests and deacons, amongst them Macarius and Abdelmasich, expressed a desire for reunion with the Church of Rome.[10]

[1] *Op.*, Orat. consist., 86; Brief of June 20, 1713, *Ius pontif.*, II., 314; *Op.*, Epist., 1862; LAFITAU, II., 83.

[2] *Op.*, Epist., 166. *Cf.* LEMMENS, 21.

[3] OLIGER, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seqq.*

[4] *Op.*, Epist., 1846 *seq.*

[5] To the Shah, April 20, 1701, *ibid.*, 52.

[6] HERGENRÖTHER, IV.[6], 150; Brief to Alexander, March 15, 1710, *Ius pontif.*, II., 276; *Op.*, Epist., 694.

[7] LAFITAU, II., 32.

[8] Briefs of July 16, 1701, and September 9, 1717, *Op.*, Epist., 74, 2285.

[9] Briefs of July 16, 1701, February 7, 1702, and July 5, 1715, *ibid.*, 74, 116, 2080.

[10] Sagripanti's letter of congratulation in the Pope's name, July 10, 1705, *Synopsis actorum*, 433.

Rome was well aware of the fact that no unconditional credence could be given to the assurances of the Orientals. An exhortation to fidelity and sincerity addressed to the convert Patriarch of Alexandria, and Propaganda's directions not to grant pecuniary aid to the Bishops of Egypt until the union had been brought about, are facts which speak for themselves.[1] On the other hand not a few Orientals showed steadfast perseverance. A splendid example was furnished by the Armenian Mechithar of Sebaste. Through the influence of the Jesuits Mechithar had embraced the Catholic faith at the age of twenty and for its spread he founded, on September 8th, 1701, at Constantinople, a Congregation which was at first called after St. Anthony and later on after himself. To escape the persecution of the schismatics, the little band fled into Venetian territory, viz. to Modon in Morea, and, when Modon fell to the Turks, to Venice, in 1715. They adopted the Rule of St. Benedict. On September 8th, 1717, the uninhabited island of San Lazzaro was handed over to them. They laboured successfully among their compatriots as missionaries and writers.[2]

For some time already there had been a prospect of the reunion of the Abyssinian Church with that of Rome. In 1700 Innocent XII. had sent thither the Franciscan Francis of Salem, who died on the way.[3] The new Superior of the Mission, Joseph of Jerusalem, met with a very friendly reception at Gondar from the Emperor Jassu (1682–1706) who made profession of the Catholic faith on February 2nd, 1706, and dispatched Father Joseph to Rome with a letter in which he paid a glowing tribute to the dignity of the Pope.[4] From Clement XI.'s reply it would appear that

[1] *Ius pontif.*, II., 316; FORTEGUERRI, 341 *seq.*

[2] KALEMKIAR in *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, VIII.[2], 1122–1137; MINAS NOURIKHAN, *Le serviteur de Dieu abbé Mekhitar de Sebaste, sa vie et son temps*, Venezia, 1922; SARGISEAN, in *Riv. stor. Bened.*, 1906 *seq.*

[3] *Ius pontif.*, II., 191.

[4] Translation in FRAY MATHEO DE ANGUIANO PREDICATOR CAPUCHINO . . ., *Epitome historial y conquisto espiritual del*

Joseph of Jerusalem held out serious prospects of the reunion of the Church of Abyssinia with Rome.[1] Clement XI. immediately sent Father Joseph once more to Abyssinia with some companions. For years nothing was heard of them; it was only in 1709 that a report dated April 7th, 1708, reached Rome, in which Father Joseph explained that he had not been able to penetrate into Abyssinia as he had been arrested at Sennaar. On receipt of this news Clement XI. admonished Jassu's son, Dodemanut (Takla Haimanot), to follow in his father's footsteps and urged him, as he urged the Abuna, to give ear to the missionaries.[2] Three Franciscans succeeded in reaching the longed for country. New papal Briefs of March 15th, 1712, were intended to pave the way for them.[3] The Negus, Yostos, allowed them to preach and to administer the Sacraments privately; however, when the Abyssinian monks stirred up a rising, his successor, David III., put the missionaries to death in 1717. Amongst these Martyrs was one German, Liberatus Weiss of Konnersreuth. Innocent

imperio Abyssino en Etiopia la alta o sobre Egypto, Madrid, 1706, 101 *seqq*. *Cf.* *Lettera del re di Etiopia al P. Clemente XI. et al card. Sacripanti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, f. 39; *Hoher und fruchtbarer Palmbaum des h. Evangelii, das ist tief eingepflanzter Glaubenslehre in das Herz des Hohen Abessiner-Monarchen, erwiesen in einem Diario oder täglich und ordentlicher Reisebeschreibung der mühsamen Verrichtungen jener apostol. Glaubenssendlingen aus dem Orden des H. Seraph. Vaters Franzisci der Reformirten, so Anno 1700 von der Päpstl. Heiligkeit Innocentio XII. von Rom aus bis zu dem Grossmächtigen Abessiner-Kayser Adiano Saghed Jasu . . . Seind geschickt vorden, welcher denn auch 1702 den 2. Febr. das Glaubensbekenntnuss in ihre Händ abgelegt hat. Neben unterchiedlichen Anmerkungen und Beschreibungen deren Länder, Städt, Sitten der Menschen u. u. von* P. F. Theodoro Krump, Ord. Min. S., Missionario apostolico Aethiopiae, Augsburg, 1710. *Cf.* L. Wilke, *Im Reiche des Negus vor 200 Jahren*, Trèves, 1914.

[1] March 8, 1704, in Anguiano, 107; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 77; *Op.*, Epist., 206.

[2] *Op.*, Epist., 642 s.; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 80 *seq.*

[3] *Op.*, Epist., 1632 s.; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 92.

XII. had spent 50,000 scudi on the Abyssinian mission [1]; Clement XI. showed his solicitude for the Abyssinians by assigning to them, in 1721, the Hospice of St. Stephen, near St. Peter's, for the training of their clergy. When Joseph of Jerusalem returned to Rome, he was accompanied by seven young Abyssinians, of whom one died on the way and the others entered Propaganda. From Cairo, Fr. Joseph had sent two Abyssinians to the Eternal City, one of whom became a priest, the other a subdeacon.[2] The idea of training young Orientals in the West for missionary work in their own countries, was repeatedly examined under Clement XI. In 1700 Louis XIV. founded burses for twelve Armenian youths at the Jesuit College of Louis the Great in Paris.[3] Since the time of Gregory XIII. there existed a similar College in Rome for boys of Jewish or Mohammedan extraction: Clement XI. assigned it to a Society of priests called "the Pious Workers".[4]

If hope of a Catholic king for the ancient realm in eastern Africa was not abandoned, it was even less so in the case of the pagan territories on the opposite coast of the Dark Continent.[5] The old Congo mission had a Christian king, Peter, to whom Pope Clement XI. sent a blessed crown, a valuable rosary and a Brief. Queen Maria and the Queen Mother, Anne, received Briefs thanking them for their efforts on behalf of the Christian religion. The King of Matamba, the Dukes of Bamba, Sondo, Batta and the Prince of Sonno were similarly rewarded.[6] The Capuchin Francis of Pavia was

[1] Novaes, XI., 173.

[2] Anguiano, 100.

[3] Rabbath, I., 538.

[4] January 2, 1712, *Bull*, XXI., 466 *seqq.*

[5] On the African mission (according to Forteguerri), *cf.* J. Schmidlin, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, XVI. (1926), 123 *seqq.*

[6] All the three Briefs of July 2 (5), 1707, in *Ius pontif.*, VII., 78 *seqq.*; *Op.*, Epist., 412 *seq.* *Cf.* Rocco da Cesinale, III., 647 *seqq.* Capuchin stations were: Loanda, Sogno, Masagan, Bengo, Dante, Cachanga, Singa, Matamba. Out of 30,000 religious, in 57 provinces and 7 custodies, with 1,650 convents, there were 3,000 Capuchin missionaries with 183 missions. Anguiano, 177.

the bearer both of Briefs and presents, as the Congo mission was chiefly entrusted to the care of the Capuchins. When they were expelled from the Congo, the Pope interceded for them with the King of Portugal.[1] The Fathers had also extended their sphere of activity in Angola. There was no lack of sympathy for Christianity on the part of the negroes, unfortunately the Portuguese officials lacked understanding for the mission, which they gravely injured by their bad example, their oppressions, cruelties and slave hunting. Sonzo in Angola, as well as Aiuda and Arda had Christian kings. In 1700 the King of Arda reports that he had two Portuguese Augustinians who, with his help and support, had built a church and hospice and had converted many of the natives. Propaganda accordingly sanctioned the erection of an Augustinian mission there. On the other hand the request of the King of Overo for priests for his abandoned and neglected Christians had to be passed on to the Prefect of Angola.[2] The Capuchins laboured with great zeal in the Portuguese islands of Madeira, São Thomé, Cape Verde and at Caceo where they had taken refuge when driven from Sierra Leone by the English.[3] At Cape Verde the Christians were well looked after; on the other hand those of São Thomé were ignorant and without priests.[4] The coast of Guinea was allotted to the French Dominicans. In 1700 Godfrey Loyer went there with four companions; in 1706 he was made Prefect of the mission, when he was reinforced by a contingent of five other Dominicans.[5]

[1] March 28, 1719, *Op.*, Epist., 2342.

[2] FORTEGUERRI, 358 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 354, 392. [4] *Ibid.*, 356.

[5] *Ibid.*, 352; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 372; "*Relazione dell' arrivo e buona grazia col quale furono ricevuti li missionarii Domenicani nel regno di Ghinea nell' Africa dal Re di quel paese espressa in una lettera del 14 sett. 1701 dal Fra. Gottifredo Loyer al suo superiore generale," in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 264, Papal Sec. Archives. For Loyer's journey to the Ivory Coast, see T. FR. EHRMANN, *Gesch. der merkwürdigsten Reisen*, IX., Frankfurt, 1793.

Prospects were much more favourable for the missionaries in the wholly pagan parts of Africa than in those districts such as Northern Africa, a land dominated by Islam, where they had no opening for their activities among a native Christian population. There their activity was almost entirely limited to preserving the faith of the Christian slaves and to reclaiming such as had abandoned it. Various Orders applied themselves to this task. In Morocco, the Franciscans laboured amongst 1,200 slaves in their hospices, churches and hospitals. Difficulties were not wanting. In 1706 the Prefect of the mission reported that the Ruler of Morocco had slain many slaves with his own hand and had even threatened the missionaries.[1] At Tripoli, in 1691, all the Franciscan missionaries, except one, died of the plague, but when, in 1714, the Caramanli family came into power, better prospects began to open for the mission.[2] At the beginning of the century the Bey had allowed the missionaries to build a beautiful church, where they could worship with the fullest liberty. The Pope gave them 1,000 scudi for the hospital.[3] The Capuchins laboured at Tunis.[4] The Spanish Mercedarians, under a Vicar Apostolic, were working in Algeria in five hospitals, instructing the young and ransoming slaves.[5] As the alms for the redemption of slaves flowed less abundantly the Pope, at the request of the Trinitarians, admonished the Bishops and Superiors of Orders to make at least two liberal contributions towards this object each year.[6]

The Franciscan Missionaries obtained excellent results,

[1] LEMMENS, 14. The antiquary, Luzietti, Rome, in his catalogue 1906, No. 214, advertised a manuscript : " Attestati e documenti originali riguardanti D. Lorenzo Bartolomeo Luigi Troiano principe di Marocco ossia Mulei Achmet che fu solennemente battezzato in S. Pietro in Vaticano nel 1704."

[2] LEMMENS, 17.

[3] FORTEGUERRI, 344 (according to the report of 1704).

[4] *Ibid.*, 345.

[5] *Ibid.*, 347.

[6] Briefs of May 25, 1709, and September 14, 1713, *Bull*, XXI., 347 *seq.*, 577 *seq.*

though not among the Mohammedans of Upper Egypt, but amongst the Copts. Between 1690 and 1723 the number of Catholics rose from five to five hundred at Girgeh and to three hundred at Achmim.[1] The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria manifested a desire for union with Rome, but the Franciscans made only a few conversions in that city.[2] Thanks to the zeal of the Jesuits Sicard and Brévedent, the situation improved in Cairo.[3] Deceived by false rumours, Propaganda had dispatched some Franciscans to Nubia, where they found neither Abyssinian fugitives nor Mohammedans to convert; accordingly the missionaries left for Fasano and Burno in order to assist Sultan Lozurfa, who had been baptized, and his Christian subjects.[4]

Of all the missions of Asia, China caused the Pope the most anxiety. At the beginning of his pontificate Christianity was still making good progress in that vast empire. In Peking the Jesuits made 500 converts annually and in the provinces often a thousand; the confraternities and the reception of the Sacraments bore eloquent witness to their zeal and piety.[5] Besides the Jesuits, the Franciscans preached at Schantung, Kuantung, Kiangsi and Fukien; the Dominicans at Fukien and Tschekiang; the Augustinians at Hunan; Priests of the Mission from Paris at Yünnan and Setschuan; since 1711 there were also three Lazarist missionaries of Propaganda at Peking.[6] The total number of Chinese Christians at the time amounted to 300,000.

[1] Lemmens, 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, 21.

[3] Schmidlin, 371. Letters of Sicard (1714–1722), in Rabbath, I., 131 *seqq.*; *Lettres édifiantes*, V., Paris, 1730.

[4] *Op.*, Epist., 71. Forteguerri, 350 *seq.*; Moroni, XCVIII., 278; Rocco da Cesinale, III., 482 *seq.* "*Relazione dell'operato de' PP. Missionarii apost. inviati da Innocenzo XII. nel regno di Fungi, scritta dal P. Fra Pasquale de Montella li 10 maggio, 1701," in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 264, Papal Sec. Archives.

[5] Noel, S. J., Report of 1703 to his General, in *Lettres édifiantes*, XVII., Paris, 1781, 160 *seq.*; Schmidlin, 391.

[6] Schmidlin, 391; Lemmens, 128 *seqq.*

Japan remained closed to the missionaries.[1] The Sicilian secular priest Sidotti, who in spite of all prohibitions, dared to set foot on the coast in 1708, was immediately arrested; he died in prison in 1715.[2] On the other hand Tibet, which had remained inaccessible for so long, seemed willing to receive the Gospel. Five Italian Capuchins, starting from Bengal, penetrated to Lhassa; they were followed in 1712 by five others, in 1714 by six, and in 1719 by twelve. Orazio della Penna, the Prefect, founded a monastery with the permission of the King and a safe-conduct from the Dalai Lama and converted not a few Buddhists. The Jesuits, Desideri and Freyre, who arrived in 1715, had to be recalled by their General.[3] In 1714, Clement XI. thanked the King for the favour he had shown to the missionaries.[4]

The Pope addressed more Briefs of thanks to yet another Asiatic ruler, viz. to Hussein, Shah of Persia. The Shah had written to Innocent XII. that he desired the friendship of the Christian Princes and that he would favour the missionaries. When this letter arrived Innocent was already dead. Clement XI. thanked the Shah and recommended to him the Bishop of Ispahan, who was returning to Persia with presents from the Pope.[5] Previously to this the Pope had sent five Dominican

[1] SCHMIDLIN, 395. It is not true that the Dutch merchants, on landing in Japan, had to trample the Cross under foot; see SCHURHAMMER in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXVIII. (1929), 68 *seq.*

[2] MARNAS, *La religion de Jésus ressuscitée au Japon*, I., 59; H. THURSTON, in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 569 *seqq.*; CVI., 20 *seqq.*; FRAY AGOSTIN DE MADRID, *Relación del viage que hizo el abad Don J. B. Sydot desde Manila al imperio del Japón embiado por N. S. P. Clemente XI.*, without place or year [Madrid, 1717]. On Sidotti's labours for a missionary seminary in Manila, see the Briefs of October 8, 1707, in *Op.*, Epist., 438 *seq.*

[3] SCHMIDLIN, 390 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUER, 360 *seq.*; JANN, 386 *seqq.*; HUC, 4 *seq.*; LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission de Tibet*, I., Paris, 1905. On Ippolito Desideri, see *Riv. Europea*, VII., 3 (1876), 289 *seqq.* A report on Tibet, written by him, *ibid.*, 121 *seqq.* *Cf.* JANN, 391 *seq.*

[4] January 6, 1714, *Op.*, Epist., 1928.

[5] February 18, 1705, *ibid.*, 260.

missionaries to the Armenians who were under Persian suzerainty—for these the Pope also sought the favour of the Shah and the Patriarch.[1] These recommendations, which the Pope renewed several times,[2] had their effect; the Shah intervened in favour of the missionaries.[3]

More fortunate than the mission in Persia was that in India. Outwardly Goa retained all its old splendour,[4] but at Pondicherry the Pope's Legate, Tournon, received most unfavourable reports about its clergy.[5] The most flourishing of all the missions in India was that of the Jesuits at Madura, where, in 1703, there were eleven stations, eight missionaries in charge of 150,000 Christians and 7,781 baptisms. At Aur there were 30,000 Christians; at Tanjaur, in 1701, Carvalho fell a victim to the pagans. Between 1713 and 1714 the persecution started afresh, as also at Marava in 1711 and 1714.[6] The Jesuits had missionary stations at Pondicherry, Carnate and Mysore where Da Cunha baptized eighty-two adults between 1709–1710, but in 1711 he received mortal injuries at the hands of the Brahmins.[7] Laynes distinguished himself as Bishop of Meliapur. In 1700 the Carmelites were given back the diocese of Malabar, viz. that of the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle [8]; in 1718 they went to Bombay. Bombay had been acquired by England in 1661 as part of the dowry of Charles II.'s consort, but with the stipulation that the Catholics there would be allowed freedom to practise their religion. In the place of the Portuguese Franciscans,

[1] April 20, 1701, *ibid.*, 52.

[2] April 17, 1703 (for the Archbishop of the Armenians of Naxivan), July 15, 1705, November 25, 1713, and August 17, 1714, *ibid.*, 166, 282, 1629, 1994. The bearer of the first letter of recommendation, of 1705, one Ory, unfortunately turned against the Catholics. Brief of March 2, 1709, *ibid.*, 590.

[3] Novaes, XII., 180.

[4] Forteguerri, 176.

[5] *Ibid.*, 144. *Cf.* Jann, 346.

[6] Müllbauer, 236 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 238–247.

[8] Forteguerri, 153 *seq.*; Müllbauer, 311 *seqq.*

the English brought Italian Carmelites to the town. In 1720 the Pope conferred on the Vicar Apostolic of the Mongolian Empire, the Carmelite Bishop Maurice of St. Teresa, jurisdiction over Goa, as long as the Archbishop of Goa was prevented from exercising it by the East India Company.[1] French Capuchins, with Surat and Ahemedabat as their bases, attended to the needs of the scattered Catholics of the neighbourhood. In 1703 Propaganda sent Italian Capuchins to Madras and Pondicherry.[2] Both they in Meliapure, and the Theatines in Golconda found it hard to make converts.[3] Four secular priests and as many Jesuits laboured in Bengal, but the brunt of the work was borne by the twelve Augustinians who, with Hugly as their centre, had raised the number of Christians to 60,000, spread over twenty-three parishes.[4] In the Empire of the Mogul, the mission made no progress under Aurengsib.[5]

Meanwhile most of the Churches of the Further Indies encountered heavy storms. Conditions were more peaceful in Siam. The defeat of the French in 1688 had lessened even the prestige of the missionaries and raised the self-reliance of the natives, so that the missionaries saw themselves obliged to confine their attention to the old Christians and to their seminary for priests. The King, however, showed himself very well disposed at the beginning of the new century.[6] In Tongking, besides the two Vicars Apostolic, twenty priests, amongst whom there were ten secular priests, seven Jesuits and two Dominicans, were able for a time to carry out their work in complete tranquillity.[7] In 1712, however, the priests

[1] JANN, 352. A Brief of October 5, 1717, informs the Archbishop of Goa of the nomination of the Vicar Apostolic and of his powers. *Op.*, Epist., 2262.

[2] FORTEGUERRI, 147.

[3] *Ibid.*, 177 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 173 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 171.

[6] *Ibid.*, 179; LAUNAY, I., 453.

[7] FORTEGUERRI, 142 *seq.* In 1715 there were six Dominicans and 15,000 Christians there. SCHMIDLIN, 389, n. 1; A. M. WALZ,

of the Paris Seminary were thrown into prison and expelled, the churches burnt down, Christians murdered or compelled to apostatize. This was repeated in 1717 and 1720.[1] In Cochin-China also many churches were destroyed, two priests of the Paris Seminary and three Jesuits were imprisoned, but in 1704 they were allowed to return to their churches and missions.[2] On July 25th, 1702, the Vicar Apostolic informed Rome of the opening of the persecution. The Pope sent the Bishop of Tilopolis to act as his adviser; accounts of the Christians who had died for their faith were to be dispatched to Rome so that their memory might be kept alive.[3] One important decision was that which empowered the Bishops to visit the parishes of the Regulars.[4]

Conditions in the Philippine Islands were extremely satisfactory. Five hundred Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits carried on their work among the two million population of the archdiocese of Manila and the dioceses of New Segovia, New Cáceres and Cebù.[5] Special praise was bestowed by the Pope on Archbishop Didacus Camacho y Ávila of Manila,[6] for his personal share in missionary activity. He had obtained an important decision

Compendium historiae ord. Praedic., Romae, 1930, 374. M. Gispert, *Hist. de las misiones dominicanas en el Tungkin*, Ávila, 1928.

[1] Pachtler, 263 *seqq.*; Henrion, II., 455 *seqq.*; Schmidlin, 389 *seqq.*; Launay, I., 455 *seqq.* "*Memoriale dei procuratori delle missioni nel Tonchino sulla necessità di restabilire in quel regno i padri della Compagnia essendò pontifice Clemente XI.," Brera Archives in Milan, A D XV., 9 n., 35.

[2] Pachtler, 196; Henrion, II., 481 *seqq.*; Launay, I., 402; Schmidlin, 389. According to Forteguerri (143 *seqq.*), in 1697 there were only fourteen missionaries there: of these six were from Paris, four were Jesuits, and three natives.

[3] Brief of January 22, 1704, *Op.*, Epist., 196.

[4] January 30, 1705, *Ius pontif.*, II., 237.

[5] Forteguerri, 309 *seq.*; Lemmens, 121 *seqq.* Briefs in favour of the Augustinian Hermits in the Philippine Islands, April 5, 1701, in *Ius pontif.*, II., 203, 205. *Cf.* Schmidlin, 395; Astráin, VII., 738 *seqq.*

[6] October 18, 1707, *Op.*, Epist., 438.

in Rome about the government of the missionaries.[1] In their seven hundred so-called "Doctrines", Dominicans, Franciscans Observant, Augustinians and Jesuits were bound to recognize his right of visitation in all that appertained to the cure of souls and the administration of the Sacraments. From the Philippines the Jesuits had carried Christianity into the Marian Islands: ten priests were working there in 1702.[2] Encouraged by letters of recommendation from the Pope to Louis XIV., the King of Spain and the Archbishops, two French Jesuits, Duberron and Cortil, took possession, in 1710, of the Western Caroline or Palau island of Sonsorol where they were murdered.[3] Since the conquest by the Dutch, the existence of the mission in the Moluccas had become impossible and by 1722 the mission of the Dominicans of Solor and Timor was on the decline.[4] By order of Propaganda some Theatines went to Borneo in 1706, in order to preserve the mission from total extinction.[5] On their way thither, Martelli penetrated, in 1702, as far as Sumatra. As a result of the Dutch conquest, very few Catholics remained there: the same applied to Java. Martelli, under English protection, settled at Banculla and a colleague of his did so at Banselli.[6] In Ceylon, the Dutch had expelled all priests, with the exception of three natives; these were in charge of 300,000 Catholics with 400 churches.[7] In the Maladive

[1] January 30, 1705, *Ius pontif.*, II., 236.

[2] ASTRÁIN, VI., 834; VII., 761; FORTEGUERRI, 306; SCHMIDLIN, 396.

[3] ASTRÁIN, VII., 764; SCHMIDLIN, 397; *Lettres édif.*, XV., 321 *seqq.* STÖCKLEIN, *Weltbott*, n. 450. The discovery of eighty-seven new islands raised exaggerated hopes; a number of Briefs in *Op.*, Epist., 160, 210, 212, 312, 338. *Cf.* S. RUGE, in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1885, n. 324, p. 4786.

[4] FORTEGUERRI, 309 *seq.* *Cf.* BIERMANN, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 41.

[5] FORTEGUERRI, 311 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUER, 357.

[6] FORTEGUERRI, 312; MÜLLBAUER, 358.

[7] FORTEGUERRI, 314; SCHMIDLIN, 387. Among the priests of Goa, Vaz and Gonzales distinguished themselves particularly. SCHMIDLIN, *ibid.*

Islands, Christianity was destroyed by a Mohammedan Great-Mogul who introduced Islam by force.[1]

In the immense territories of South America, individual Orders and missionaries continued to labour with zeal and success for the spread of the Christian religion. In 1702 the Jesuits of Paraguay numbered in their Reductions 114,599 Christians, in 1710 there were 249 missionaries. The greatest number of conversions were obtained amongst the Chiquitos, the Bolivia of to-day.[2] Amongst the Moxos, in the North-East of Bolivia, the Jesuits possessed sixteen Reductions with 30,514 souls.[3] In 1702 Cipriano Barace suffered martyrdom there, after he had baptized 40,000 natives.[4] The Capuchins worked side by side with the Jesuits and Dominicans on the Marañon, and in Venezuela, in the territories of the Llanos and Piritus.[5] In Peru, which was in a moral decline, the Jesuit missions were the only ones which retained some importance.[6] Creuilly distinguished himself among the French Jesuits in Cayenne. He laboured both among the old Christians and as a missionary among the negroes and Indians. In 1708, Lombard made use of Catechists to assist in the work and established the flourishing Reduction of Kuru. The Jesuits of Cayenne counted as many as 80,000 baptisms.[7] Martinique

[1] Forteguerri, 316; Müllbauer, 286 *seq.*

[2] Astráin, VI., 663, 670; VII., 490. Forteguerri (60 *seq.*) estimates that there were about 90,000 Christians in the twenty-nine Reductions. *Cf.* Schmidlin, 401.

[3] Astráin, VII., 352: "*Relazione della missione apostolica de los Moxos nel regno di Perù fatta da Giesuiti e del frutto in essa raccolto, esposto a Clemente XI., 1703, dal P. Ildefonso Messia, preposito provinciale," in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 265, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Astráin, VI., 566 *seq.*

[5] Schmidlin, 405; Froylan de Rio Negro, *Relaciones de las Misiones de los PP. Capuchinos de Venezuela*; Astráin, VII., 401 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.* On October 5, 1712, the Pope expresses his joy to the Archbishop of Quito that paganism has almost disappeared from Peru. *Op.*, Epist., 1764.

[7] Schmidlin, 406 *seq.*; Forteguerri, 43 *seq.*

Guadaloupe and part of Haiti were the Dominicans' sphere of activity. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Martel displayed wonderful zeal for the conversion of the negroes and native pagans. The Capuchins laboured in Haiti, but in 1703 they handed over to the Jesuits the Cape mission there.[1] In Brazil, besides the Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits and Carmelites at Pernambuco (Olinda), the Oratorians were also engaged in missionary work[2]: in 1718 we hear of fifteen Aldeas of the Capuchins, twelve of the Carmelites and five of the Mercedarians.[3]

In Mexico, where the Franciscans had made for themselves so glorious a name, they established four Colleges at Querétaro, Guatemala, Zacatecas and Mexico, which served as centres for the conversion of the pagan tribes of the country.[4] The greatest amongst the heroic missionaries educated in these colleges was Antonio Margil, who up to his death, in 1726, laboured during forty years amongst the Christians and heathens. In 1706 he wrote that among the Talamancas of Panama more than 80,000 Indians had been baptized. He founded another mission in the northern part of the country and in Texas.[5] The Franciscan mission, which made it possible for Christianity to penetrate gradually into New Mexico,[6] did not originate from the colleges, whilst the mission of Florida perished as a result of the wars with England after 1702. French secular priests also laboured

[1] SCHMIDLIN, 407; J. DE RUZIC, *Documents sur la mission des Frères Prêcheurs à S. Dominique*, Lorient, 1912; J. B. LABAT, *Nouveau voyage aux Indes de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1722. By royal command, Labat erected fortifications and defensive works on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. WALZ, *loc. cit.*, 364.

[2] FORTEGUERRI, 76 *seqq.*; GIUSEPPE DA CASTROGIOVANNI, *Notizie stor. della missione Cappucina di Rio de Janeiro*, 1650–1910, Catania, 1910.

[3] *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, I.², 724.

[4] *Cf.* the present work, XIII., 297 *seqq.*

[5] LEMMENS, 243 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 243.

successfully in Florida.[1] Besides the Franciscans, the Jesuits deserved well of the Indians of Mexico. Their work consisted chiefly in the christianization of the inaccessible and mountainous country of Nayarit where, in spite of Christian surroundings, paganism still survived. About ninety missionary posts, each with two, three, five or six secondary stations, maintained themselves in the north of Mexico. More to the West there were stations at Cinaloa and Sonora, and towards the East in the district of Parras and in the wild territories of the Tepehuanes, at Topia, Tarahumara and in the North in the mission of Pimeria.[2] In 1712, the Mexican province of Chiapas was the theatre of a rising. By order of a woman who claimed to have visions and who pretended to be Our Lady, three Dominican missionaries, one secular priest and one Franciscan were murdered by the Zendal Indians.[3] California was served by the Jesuits,[4] who in 1702 reopened their mission to the Iroquese. In 1714 the English put an end to their work among the Abenakis.[5]

Clement XI.'s vision and zeal, which embraced the whole world, has been fully recognized by all his biographers.[6] Truly his word went forth not only to the near East, but to India, China, Persia and America.

[1] *Ibid.*, 239; FORTEGUERRI, 11 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 412.

[2] ASTRÁIN, VII., 302.

[3] Report of Gabriel de Artigo to Cloche, General of the Dominicans, in *Miscell. di storia ecclesiastica*, I. (1903), 249 *seqq.*

[4] ASTRÁIN, VII., 254 *seqq.*

[5] SCHMIDLIN, 415; FORTEGUERRI, 13 *seq.*; ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1895. A *Brief of October 12, 1709, to the King of Spain on Protestant Bibles in American languages, disseminated by the English, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 265, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] LAFITAU, II., 167; A. SANDINUS, *Vitae pontificum Rom.*, II., Ferrarae, 1763, 703.

CHAPTER VII.

Decision of the Question of the Chinese Rites—The Legations of Tournon and Mezzabarba—The Malabar Customs.

In the missionary sphere Clement XI.'s most important intervention was the decision of the controversy over the Chinese rites. It was a decision of lasting importance for Benedict XIV. did no more than confirm it, a decision also which affected the missions of the Far-East in a vital manner. If we are to grasp the full significance of the problem, and in order to complete what has been said already, a few preliminary observations on the importance of the Chinese missions, the veneration of ancestors and the contradictory tendencies of the missionary Orders cannot be omitted.

(1.)

The missionary activity of the Jesuits is not without a certain element of tragedy. It began in the East Indies as a sequel to Portuguese colonization, but the expectation of support from the secular power was destined to be cruelly thwarted. Francis Xavier "fled", as he himself put it,[1] from the Portuguese sphere to Japan, where the harshness of European officials towards the natives could not overthrow what he built up so laboriously. In Japan his brethren in religion presented themselves without relying on the assistance of the Western Powers, though still as Europeans, and this fact was enough to render them suspect of being no more than the pioneers of Portuguese and Spanish lust of conquest. Persecution ensued, leading to a glorious Martyr Church but likewise to the end of the Mission. There seemed to

[1] Monumenta Xaveriana, I., 511; *cf.* 476 *seq.*, 510.

remain but one policy, and in China it was adopted : it was that upon entering the foreign realm the missionary should cease to be a European as far as this was possible, and become a Chinese with the Chinese. But this very policy involved the missionaries in the worst complication of all. Before long it was said that they sacrificed their Christianity to their predilection for China and that they continued to do this in open rebellion against the Holy See. Thus began the controversy about the Chinese customs, the famous dispute over the rites which constitutes perhaps the most sinister accusation against the Society in the whole of its history.[1]

The plan to secure a firm foothold among the population of China before all the other peoples of the Far-East must be traced back to Francis Xavier. Xavier's endless journeyings

[1] A satisfactory history of the dispute about the rites has not yet been written, nor is such a history possible at present. After the prohibition of 1710, the Jesuits were no longer permitted to publish the documents on their side, whereas their adversaries did not trouble themselves about the prohibition. The best account we have for the present is the article of Joseph Brucker in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2364–9, which is based on an examination of manuscripts. On the beginnings of the dispute we must specially mention, besides what MAAS has written (see below, p. 397, n. 3), the account of BIERMANN (*cf.* the present work, XXIX., n. 2). The whole dispute, up to 1800, is treated by A. THOMAS [Planchet ?] in a biased manner : *Hist. de la mission de Pékin*, Paris, 1923. One of his principal sources is designated by Thomas as M.C.M. That is *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, IV.–VI., Paris, 1865, which at the time, because they had been published against the ecclesiastical prohibition, had to be withdrawn (new edition of the vols. relating to China, Paris, 1911–12). The sources of these Mémoires are, besides a few letters in the Archives of the Lazarists : *Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine*, 7 vols., Paris, 1733–1742 (by the Jansenist, VILLERMAULE) ; *Memorie storiche dell' em. Msgr. cardinale di Tournon*, 8 vols., Venezia, 1761–2 ; *Réflexions du secrétaire de la Propagande* on the Memorial of Tamburini, General of the Jesuits. The book by JANN limits itself essentially to extracts from Papal decrees.

are not explained by the natural *wanderlust* of the Navarrese, nor exclusively by his duty, as Superior, to visit his brethren wherever they were; on the contrary, their main object was to find out where the evangelization of the East might best be started from. He soon realized that, for the time being, it was impossible to hope for the collaboration of native priests. The native population with which he came in touch at Malacca and in the Moluccas, offered no better prospects—everywhere he found the same character—soft, dreamy, with little energy, and with this little could be done. Then he learnt that in Japan there existed a different type of people and when he saw them, he felt that report had exaggerated nothing. But the Japanese themselves kept pointing to the Chinese as to their masters and teachers. Thus, at the price of infinite exertions, the conclusion was reached that with China the whole of the Far East would be won for Christ, that China was the fulcrum for the lever of the Gospel. Francis Xavier even singled out the point where contact should be established with these civilized peoples of the Far East, viz. their interest in the European sciences.[1]

However, the very first attempt to put this plan into execution encountered a tremendous obstacle in the expression of one side of the Chinese character which, in itself, is worthy of all praise. Reverence for parents and for all lawful authority constitutes the heart and centre of the Chinese people's

[1] He had suggested that entry into Japan and prestige with the Japanese should be procured by means of astronomical accomplishments: "Incredibile est, talium rerum explicatio quantum valeat ad conciliandos Iaponum voluntates" (to Ignatius of Loyola, April 9, 1552, *Mon. Xaver.*, I., 738). *Cf.* STREIT, *Bibl. Missionum*, IV., XI.: The great significance of St. Francis Xavier for the mission work in Asia lies in the masterly manner with which he surveyed at a glance the whole vast continent and saw which were the strategic points . . . in the great, outstanding talent with which he organized his missionaries, the countries and peoples, the mission stations, and all that was necessary for the mission.

ethical notions. Up to quite recent times it was customary to read publicly, twice a month, throughout the Empire, extracts from an imperial edict which were then commented upon. In the first place this edict inculcates filial piety: "that virtue is the first and the greatest commandment in China." [1]

Now veneration of deceased parents was regarded as an essential part of filial piety.[2] Wooden tablets were set up, described as the seat of the ancestors' souls, before which people bowed, burnt candles and incense, offered meat and other kinds of food, and burnt paper money for the benefit of the deceased in the next world. The mandarins and the caste of the *literati* had to perform similar ceremonies in honour of Confucius. If these customs were to be prohibited, there remained no possibility of winning China as a whole for Christianity. One of the best sinologues of modern times and himself at one time a Protestant missionary in China, realized time and again, in the course of religious discussions, that the pagans' trump card was the allegation that the Christians did not honour the ancestors; as for St. Paul's saying that parents must provide for their children, and not the other way round, it could not be quoted without raising such a storm of indignation as to make it impossible for the missionary to make himself heard.[3]

Here, then, the missionaries found themselves faced by an insurmountable obstacle; if the veneration of ancestors was prohibited, the best they could hope for was to win over a few individuals for Christianity. This led the real founder of the Chinese mission, Ricci, and his followers, to ask themselves, whether it would not be possible to tolerate most of the externals of these customs. Of course the Christians could not hold that the wooden tablets were the seat of the soul, or that money could be forwarded to the dead. But did this apply to all the other customs? The missionaries felt that the Chinese scholars would best be able to enlighten them about their meaning and significance. What the opinion

[1] LEGGE, *The Religions of China*, London, 1880, 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, 71.

[3] *Ibid.*, 256, 258.

of the *literati* was appears from the answer of the Chinese tribunal of rites to a question put to it by the Emperor Kanghi in 1701: that tribunal declared that to prostrate before Confucius was the same thing as honouring him as a teacher and exemplar of men; it did not signify that one prayed to him for riches, talents or honours [1]; in other words, a prostration before Confucius was simply an expression of courtesy and gratitude, not a religious observance.[2] The Jesuits accordingly felt that they might tolerat ean inclination to the ground before the coffin of a dead person, or before the tablet bearing Confucius' monogram on the occasion of a graduation. There can be no doubt that the common people expected wealth, progeny and other favours from the ancestors in return for the honours paid to them,[3] but the classical writings of the Chinese were believed to contain a passage which seemed to assert that such was not the primitive meaning of these marks of honour; why then should they not permit these ceremonies in their original sense? And once they had gone thus far, could not the offering of food at funerals, food which was afterwards consumed at a solemn repast, be viewed simply as the expression of a wish for communion with one's deceased parents? All the more so as the Chinese word for these offerings does not mean the same thing as our word "sacrifice".[4] For the rest the Jesuits did not permit the

[1] L. WIEGER, in *Dict. apologétique*, I., Paris, 1914, 529 *seq.*

[2] The modern Chinese Republic, by a decree of February 7, 1914, has also declared the rites to be purely civil customs. Translation of the respective decrees [they are self-contradictory] in *Études*, CXXXIX. (1914), 470 *seq.*; appreciation of them, 461 *seqq.* *Cf.* TH. GRENTRUP, *Ius missionarium*, I., Steyl, 1925, 152; WIEGER, *loc. cit.*

[3] Description of the superstitious customs in OTTO MAAS, *Die Wiedereröffuung der Franziskanermission in China in der Neuzeit*, Münster, 1926, 86–102.

[4] "The Chinese character "tsi" covers a much wider meaning than our term "sacrifice" . . . The most general idea symbolized by it is . . . an offering whereby communication and communion with spiritual being is effected." LEGGE, 66.

solemn offerings in honour of Confucius, but they tolerated those made before the tablets of the ancestors.

That with these concessions they had stepped on doubtful ground appears from the very fact that the intention was merely to *tolerate* these practices and to allow even the most harmless ones only *provisionally*. The declarations of the *literati* to which appeal was made in the first instance, could not be admitted without reservation, for the Chinese scholars adhered to Tshuism, viz. rank materialism; as late as 1522 they were commanded to explain the classical books in a Tshuistic sense. According to those materialists Confucius' soul had long ago faded into nothingness; nothing remained of him except the syllables that made up his name, and his memory, and the same was equally true of the ancestors. With notions such as these it goes without saying that nothing could be hoped or asked for from the ancestors.[1] All the same it must be borne in mind that the atheism of the *literati* was the official teaching which they had to maintain by order of the State, rather than their real personal conviction.[2] As for the broad masses of the people, theirs were by no means simply the ideas of the scholars. As practised by the ordinary Chinese, the veneration of ancestors and the offerings to the dead were undoubtedly acts of religion.[3]

[1] WIEGER, *loc. cit.*

[2] NOEL-CASTNER, *responsio*, n. 124 and 202, pp. 29, 49.

[3] To this day the missionary in China meets with the objection: If I become a Christian, I shall not get anything to eat after my death. É. BECKER, *Le R. P. Joseph Gonnet*, Ho-kien-fu, 1900, 28. The best authority on the question of the rites, Joseph Brucker, says that in the opinion of the Roman authorities, the rites were tainted with superstition to such a degree as to render a purification impossible: "The Holy See did not touch on the purely theoretical questions, as, for instance, what the Chinese rites were and signified according to their institution and in ancient times. In this, Father Ricci may have been right; but he was mistaken in thinking that as practised in modern times they are not superstitious or can be made free from all superstition. The Popes declared, after scrupulous investigations,

The Jesuits did not tolerate the customs observed in the veneration of ancestors from the very beginning of their work in China, but their very hesitation created such a bad impression that during the persecution of 1616 grave accusations were proffered against them in writing on the subject.[1] A little later the Jesuits seem to have regarded the rites as pretty indifferent ; the disputes about them only began with the arrival of the Franciscans and the Dominicans.[2]

On the other hand the first missionaries gave very serious consideration to yet another question. As they became more intimately acquainted with the religious life of the Chinese, the Jesuits were astonished at finding in their canonical books which had come down from the remote past, so pure a conception of God as no other pagan people possessed. The Chinese had no Olympus and no mythology like those of the Greeks, the Romans and the Hindus. They believed in a Supreme Being, conceived as a person, ruling the world, foreseeing all things, meting out reward and punishment. To offer sacrifice to him was the Emperor's prerogative, the ordinary man of the people could not presume to perform such an act of worship. It is true that besides this Supreme Being, the spirits of the mountains and rivers,

that the ceremonies in honour of Confucius or ancestors and deceased relatives are tainted with superstition to such a degree that they cannot be purified." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII., 39.

[1] " *Hos [ritus] utpote necdum sibi bene perspectos, subito approbare non sunt ausi. Quin etiam omnem in eo diligentiam fecere, ut ii, qui s. fidem recens susciperent, neophyti, quantum possibile esset, sacris potius Ecclesiae ritibus assuefierent, et eosdem cum profanis permutarent." The accusation complained that " barbari ingressu homines docuerunt, ut nemo defunctis maioribus funeralia munera offerret, postea vero hac de causa exagitati modum loquendi commutarunt." CASTNER, *c.* I.

[2] *Ibid.* On August 18, 1637, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits writes from Peking : " Magnum strepitum Fratres [the Friars] nunc excitarunt Manilae cum suis 15 (13) interrogationibus circa puncta, in quibus minor erat difficultas et nos omnes consentiebamus." *Ibid.*

and those of great men, were likewise the objects of imperial veneration ; the people were permitted to offer public homage to the tutelary spirit of each village and every family was commanded to venerate its ancestors. But all these spirits were subordinated to the Supreme Being, so that apart from later Taoistic and Buddhistic infiltrations, the primitive religion of China may properly be said to have been monotheistic.[1]

The first Jesuit missionaries accordingly adopted for the designation of the true God the names by which the Chinese designated the Supreme Being, just as the Apostles, acting on the precedent of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, did not hesitate to make use of the Greek word Θεὸς to designate the true God. But in Japan conditions were otherwise, for there none of the indigenous divine names seemed applicable to the true God,[2] so that use was made

[1] The texts from the holy books in WIEGER, *Histoire*, 11 *seqq.*, 107 *seqq.* " Il ressort avec évidence de ces texts, que le Souverain d'en haut, le Ciel, dont ces anciens parlent ainsi en l'an 2002, était pour eux un être personnel et intelligent. Il est clair aussi, par les attributs qu'ils lui donnent, qu'ils le consideraient comme le maître universel, non comme le législateur de leur race seulement "((*ibid.*, 14). " Thus the two characters show us the religion of the ancient Chinese as a monotheism." *Cf.* LEGGE, 11. At this day the Chinese peasant knows this supreme being under the name of " Laotienye ", but he does not invoke it (L. TOURCHER [missionary in South-East Tscheli], in *Études*, CXXV. (1900), 790 *seq.*). *Cf.* LEGGE, *loc. cit.* H. ALLEN GILES, professor of Chinese at Cambridge, writes in *Encyclop. Britannica*, VI.[11], 174 : " The earliest traces of religious thought and practice in China point to a simple monotheism."

[2] There Francis Xavier had at first made use of the Japanese " Dainichi " for the name of God, but taught by a painful experience, he chose the expression " Deusu " instead. Gago then replaced another fifty " dangerous " terms by Latin words. G. SCHURHAMMER, *Das Sprachenproblem in der japanesischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Mitt. der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, XXIII., Tokio and Leipzig, 1928.

of the Latin word *Deus*. But when Ricci's Chinese books came into the hands of some Japanese neophytes, they felt some misgivings about the use of the Chinese names. Ricci's successor, Niccolò Longobardi, took their objections into account, though with a view to uniform action by the missionaries Ricci had issued an ordinance on the divine names and on the veneration of ancestors which had received the approval of the Visitor Valignani in 1603. All difficulties had not been thereby removed, for though the words "Shang-Ti", viz. Supreme Lord, and "Tien", viz. Heaven, as used in the Chinese canonical books, undoubtedly designated the Supreme Being, the *literati* were nevertheless bound by the State to teach crass materialism, the so-called Tshuism or Neo-Confucianism. These expressions were accordingly applied by the *literati* to the material sky, so that their use by the Christians was liable to cause misunderstandings; as a matter of fact the expressions "Shang-Ti" and "Tien" were eventually replaced by the expressions "Tien-Chu" viz. Lord of Heaven, by order of Rome. For the rest from Ricci's time onwards the Christians generally used the expression "Tien-Chu" to designate God.[1]

An ordinance issued by Ricci's successor Pasio, on September 23th, 1611, occasioned further prolonged discussions on the question of the divine name. In 1614 Sabbatino de Orsi wrote a dissertation on the name of "Shang-Ti"; the matter was discussed at Macao and afterwards submitted to Rome where theologians such as Lessius, Lorinus and Gabriel Vasquez pronounced in Ricci's favour. After the cessation of the persecution of 1616, Juan Rodriguez, who had been a missionary in Japan, raised opposition to the practice hitherto followed whilst Longobardi

[1] *Cf.* H. Havret, S. I., *Tien-Tchou "Seigneur du ciel"*, in *Variétés Sinologiques*, n. 19, Shanghai, 1901; the same in *Études*, LXXXIX. (19091), 399–409. In Chinese literature the expression had already served to designate several divine personalities of Buddhism and Taoism, especially of Indra (*ibid.*, 546). On the dispute about the names, see K. Pieper in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1924, 10 *seq.*

rejected all Chinese names of God, even Tien-Chu, and proposed to replace them by the Latin *Deus* trimmed in Chinese fashion so as to make it " Ten-Su " ; even for such words as " soul ", " spirit ", he wished to draw upon the Latin language and to revise Ricci's books in that sense. He was prevented from doing this by the decision of two Visitors and of the General, Vitelleschi, himself. As Longobardi would not remain quiet even then, he was reprimanded in 1623 by order of the Visitor, Diaz the elder. But even so the Superiors of the Order did not take a light view of the dispute. Diaz the elder ordered a whole volume compiled by Rodriguez against Ricci's views, to be thoroughly examined in 1627 and 1628, and at the beginning of 1628 a consultation of some nine or ten Jesuits took place at Kiating. It decided in favour of retaining the practice hitherto followed, but Longobardi's strong opposition, even to the expression " Tien-Chu ", was reserved to the judgment of Palmeiro whose arrival as Visitor was then expected. In 1629 Palmeiro had made a thorough examination of the questions then pending. He forbade the suggested European names of God as barbarous for Chinese ears and sanctioned the Chinese text of a formula to be used at emergency baptisms for which Marini, the Procurator of the Missions, likewise obtained the approval of the Roman Inquisition. For the sake of peace Palmeiro also forbade the names " Shang-Ti " and " Tien ", and the General concurred with the prohibition until the question should have been further examined. This concession merely encouraged Longobardi to press for the condemnation of the term " Tien-Chu ". Under the influence of Rodriguez he resumed his correction of the earlier Christian books in his own sense, until he was stopped by his Superiors. In spite of renewed refutations even Palmeiro began to incline to Longobardi's views, but when a fresh meeting of missionaries in 1633 pronounced in favour of retaining the divine names and the customs hitherto observed, he left the decision to those missionaries who were familiar with the Chinese tongue. Palmeiro's successor, Diaz the elder, once more permitted the use of the expressions " Shang-Ti " and " Tien ".

The disputes among the Jesuits were thus disposed of. To prevent any future outbreak the Superior of the Chinese Vice-Province ordered Longobardi's writings to be burnt. But after Longobardi's death some fragments of these writings fell into the hands of the Franciscan Anthony of St. Mary and they caused the controversy to flare up once more.[1]

The above-named Friar had arrived in China in 1633 in the company of the Dominican Bautista de Morales, whose brother in religion, Cocchi, had settled in the Province of Fukien the year before. In 1934 each of the new-comers was reinforced by one Franciscan and one Dominican, when they too began missionary work in China.[2]

It was natural that the members of the older Orders should pursue the traditional line of conduct of their respective Institutes. They accordingly preached in the open street, crucifix in hand; they tore down in broad daylight an edict of persecution against the Christians, in fact they would have felt a scruple to act otherwise.[3] The Jesuits' careful avoidance of whatever might prove a stumbling block for the pagans they regarded as shameful cowardice. Though they observed the outward marks of courtesy in their epistolary commerce with the younger Order,[4] they did not refrain from severe blame.[5] As early as 1636 complaints reached Propaganda that there were some religious in "India" who preached Christ crucified only after first preaching a triumphant Christ, and who, instead of starting by preaching Christ crucified, began with wordly sciences, such as astronomy and things of that kind.[6]

[1] According to CASTNER, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* BARTOLI, *Cina*, lib. 1, *c.* 118–122; lib. 4, *c.* 83–5 (*Opere*, Torino, 1825, XV., 193–203; XVIII., 164–9).

[2] BIERMANN, 32, 36, 42. Our work, XXIX., 249.

[3] BIERMANN, 57 *seq.* [4] *Ibid.*, 39 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* "*Relación*" of the Franciscan GIROLAMO DI GESÙ, in *Archivum franciscanum hist.*, XVIII. (1925), 108 *seqq.*

[6] " . . . che invece di cominciare da questa predicazione di Cristo crocifisso, cominciano dalle scienze profane, cioè astronomia

The Jesuits, on their part, had shown kindness to the new-comers,[1] though in view of their experiences on Japanese soil, they did not see gladly the arrival of other missionaries. But it was obviously impossible for a handful of Jesuits to evangelize the whole of the Island Empire. However, when the question whether the help of other religious should be invited, was examined by a meeting convened for that purpose, the decision ultimately reached was to the effect that the time for such a step was not yet. The new-comers would fall into the same errors into which they themselves had fallen and in view of the developments which had taken place since then, those mistakes would be fraught with more grievous consequences than before and might even entail the ruin of the whole mission.[2] In China also it was impossible to deny that the thirteen or fourteen Jesuits were unequal to a task with which a thousand missionaries would not have been able to cope. But there too it was felt that the situation was very far from being sufficiently advanced to justify the dispatch of a vast number of missionaries to that country.[3] As a matter of fact the Jesuits alone, on account of their cautious conduct, had been able to get a firm footing in China, though many others had sought to establish themselves in that country. As for preaching in the street, crucifix in hand, they feared the very worst results from such action.

Thus divergences of opinion among the missionaries supplied the motive power in the evolution of the ritual dispute, and

ed altre." Decree of Propaganda, October 21, 1636, in *Collectanea*, I., 25, n. 86.

[1] BIERMANN, 33, 54; *cf.* 56, 75.

[2] "Viniendo otros religiosos, han de dar primero los yerros que nosotros dimos, que serán aora peores, y no harán mas que deshazer lo que nosotros aora comenzamos." Quoted in *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, XVI. (1923), 395. *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 17, 76 *seq.*

[3] "*Erat in hoc ingens aequivocatio," KILIAN STUMPF writes at a later date (Dec. 5), "messis utique erat multa, sed nondum alba ad falcem, et pauci intraverant ideo, quod immaturum hoc tempus non sineret plures ibidem conversari."

these differences were further sharpened by petty national jealousies. China came under the patronage of the Portuguese crown whilst the new-comers were Spaniards from the Philippines. The fact that in 1580 Spain and Portugal had been united under the same sceptre had only increased the mutual dislike of the two peoples. In 1600 Clement VIII. decided to consider the prejudices of the Portuguese to the extent of only allowing new missionaries to travel East viâ Lisbon and Goa, but in 1608 Paul V. did away with this restriction in favour of the Mendicants and Urban VIII. did so for all religious in 1633.[1]

The conduct of the Mendicants did not meet with the approval of all the neophytes. Thus the Jesuit Matos writes that his Christians would have pressed the Viceroy to expel Cocchi if he had not prevented them.[2] When Antony of St. Mary arrived at Nangking, the Christians kept him a prisoner for the space of six weeks, at the end of which time he was forcibly taken back to Fukien, not without the complicity of Diaz, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial,[3] though this did not prevent the generous friar from subsequently entering into friendly relations with the Jesuits.[4] The explanation of this initial objection to the Mendicants was the latter's rigid demands from the neophytes and their occasional disparaging remarks about the older missionaries. They said that Ricci and the Jesuits had deceived the new Christians when they told them that certain Chinese customs were permissible; they themselves, so they averred, had been sent by the Holy See for the purpose of uprooting these errors.[5]

[1] Decrees of December 12, 1600, June 2, 1608, and February 22, 1633, *Bull*, X., 631 *seqq.*; XI., 501 *seqq.*; XIV., 320 *seqq.*

[2] BIERMANN, 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, 41.

[4] *Cf.* his letters of 1653, 1654, and 1660 in *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, IV., 497 *seqq.*

[5] " *Neophyti etiam graviter contra eos conqueri coeperunt, tum de nimio eorum, ut ipsis quidem videbatur, rigore, tum de eo, quod minus honorifice quandoque de missionariis Societatis loqui auditi essent, dicendo: P. Riccium fuisse deceptorem, venisse

It was in 1634 that the new missionaries became acquainted for the first time and quite by chance, with the customs observed by the Chinese in the cult of the ancestors. They immediately commanded their Christians to refrain from such practices and after they had assisted at a ceremony in honour of the ancestors, their convictions that these observances were of a superstitious character, even as practised by the Christians, was further strengthened and consultations with the Jesuits of Fudshou failed to induce them to change their mind. With every formality of the law they drew up a statement on the cult of the dead and the concessions of the Jesuits, based on the depositions of eleven Chinese Christians, and after a second interrogation, they formulated their opinion in a written document. These acts were to be submitted to the Archbishop of Manila, for the abovementioned Brief of Urban VIII., of February 22nd, 1633, commissioned the Bishops to give judgment in the disputes between missionaries; however, Antony of St. Mary fell into the hands of the Dutch and only reached the Philippines in 1637.[1] There the account of the conduct of the Jesuits called forth a storm of indignation. Archbishop Guerrero of Manila dispatched to Rome a memorial on the subject drawn up by the Dominicans, together with a covering letter of his own in which he expressed his displeasure. However, a copy of the letter came into the hands of the Jesuit Visitor, Emmanuel Diaz the elder, who made his own comments

in Chinam, ut doceret idololatrias, et a reliquis Socictatis missionariis decipi neophytos; se vero a Pontifice missos esse, ut hos errores detegerent et idololatrias istas exstirparent. . . . Hinc non sanis solum, sed etiam moribundis sacramenta negabant, eo quod, cum viverent, consuetis ritibus progenitores suos coluissent. His et similibus dictis et factis, quae in litteris circa annum 1636 ex China scriptis recensentur, maximum sibi omnium Sinarum odium conciliabant." CASTNER, *c.* 2.

[1] BIERMANN, 43–51; *Archivum Franciscamun hist.*, IV., 51. The two judicial cxaminations took place between December 22, 1635, and January, 1636, and between January 21 and February 10, 1636.

on each of the grievances. On the initiative of the Jesuits both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Cebù, who had subscribed to the first letter, now wrote yet another letter to the Pope in which they eulogized the Jesuit missionaries and stated that their first communication was based on inaccurate information and that they accordingly withdrew it.[1] For the time being the other accusations also failed to impress Rome. In 1645 the rites were indeed condemned, but after the decision of 1656 the Jesuits in China were of opinion that their line of action had Rome's approval.[2] Renewed complaints against them under Clement IX.[3] and Innocent XI.[4] led to no action by the Roman authorities. The tension between the Orders found its sharpest expression in the book of the Dominican Navarrete, a work which became an inexhaustible mine for the Jansenists' endless attacks on the Jesuits in China.

Meanwhile the Chinese mission made an immense step forward: 1692 saw the publication of the edict of the Emperor Kanghi permitting the free preaching of the Gospel in China. Thus the long-closed doors of the empire seemed to open wide to the Gospel. That which in Ricci's days would have been regarded as the dream of an extravagant imagination, had become a fact, thanks to the inflexible tenacity of the

[1] "* . . . ea, quae ante biennium scripserant, omnino retractant, asserentes, se priores litteras scripsisse ex minus fideli relatione sibi facta a non satis aequis rerum aestimatoribus, adeoque se id religioni ducendo, nunc PP. Societatis a tam indignis querimoniis vindicare et eorundem Patrum innocentiae et veritatis patrocinium pro viribus suscipere, ita ipsa litterarum verba sonabant. Binarum autem harum epistolarum exemplaria Macaum ad P. Visitatorem pariter submissa ibidem in archivio collegii asservata sunt" (CASTNER, *c.* 2). *Cf.* the present work, XXIX., 250.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, XXXI., 163 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 409 *seqq.*

[4] "*Tentata itaque res fuit sub Innocentio XI., qui tamen contra antecessorum suorum decreta nihil movere passus est." CASTNER, *c.* 3.

Jesuit missionaries, and the great aim of their toil for the future, viz. a Chinese Constantine who would bring to the feet of Christ the whole of the mighty empire and with it the entire Far East, seemed to have been brought into fascinating proximity. When Innocent XII. restricted the boundaries of the dioceses of Peking and Nangking and erected further Vicariates Apostolic in China, he gave as his reason the fact that since the imperial declaration so many Christian communities were constantly arising, that two Bishops could no longer cope with them.[1]

However, these brilliant prospects soon vanished into nothingness. Barely one year after Kanghi's edict one of China's Vicars Apostolic took the step which led to the definitive condemnation of the rites and so to the destruction of the older Chinese mission. Whilst the question of the rites was quiescent enough in the Far East itself, it was being discussed all the more passionately in Europe. In their work for the ruin of the Society of Jesus, the Jansenists began by seeking to destroy their good name, and for this purpose Navarrete's book on the Chinese rites provided an excellent handle.[2] From it Antoine Arnauld drew material for some of the most venomous writings against the hated Order and a spate of pamphlets spread the accusations over the whole of Europe.

In this way the ground was prepared for a fresh examination of the question of the rites. Rome could not remain silent when, a year after Kanghi's edict, the Vicar Apostolic of Fukien, Charles Maigrot, of the Paris Society of Foreign

[1] JANN, 261.

[2] *CASTNER (*c.* 4) says: "Cum praecipuus adversariorum finis esset, ut sese contra Societatem vindicarent ac eam per universam Europam gravissime infamarent et ita vel exstinguerent, si possent, vel saltem in omnium aestimatione suspectam redderent, id inprimis egerunt, ut quidquid proponerent, quamprimum ubique variis in terris evulgarent cum acerrimis expostulationibus, exclamationibus et invectivis, ut ita populus, qui ipsam rerum substantiam minus penetraret, horrificis speciebus exterreretur."

Missions, forbade the Chinese rites in his Vicariate and in 1697 submitted the affair to Rome through his representative Charmot.[1]

Innocent XII. was obviously resolved to have the question subjected to a most searching examination. This appears from the choice of the three Cardinals whom he charged with the affair and who were wholly free from any suspicion of favouring the Jesuits; they were Casanata, Noris and Ferrari.[2] Marescotti, who was eventually added to their number, took exactly the same view as Casanata.[3] Innocent XII. did not personally dislike the Jesuits; in his last illness he asked for the assistance of the Jesuit Baldigiani who, with five others, had to represent the interests of the Jesuits before the cardinalitial Congregation dealing with the rites.

Up to this time nothing was known in China of what was going on in Rome. The missionaries deemed themselves protected against Maigrot's decree by the decision of

[1] *Cf.* the present work, XXXII., 648 *seq.*

[2] "La grande affaire des Jésuites sur les honneurs que leurs chrétiens rendent à Confucius dans la Chine, se renouvelle avec plus de chaleur contre eux que jamais, et la faveur de leurs parties est déjà allée jusque-là, qu'ils ont obtenu de la congrégation que les trois cardinaux qui leur sont de notoriété publique les plus opposés, fussent nommés les seuls commissaires pour examiner cette affaire: les cardinaux Casanate, Noris et Ferrari ou de Saint-Clément. Ce dernier, quoique Dominicain, est, dit-on, celui dont ils doivent moins craindre la prévention contre eux. En effet, je le crois pieux et sincère. L'on fait sonner fort haut la faveur et la protection de MM. les supérieurs des Missions étrangères, et l'on assure qu'elle est fort ouvertement déclarée contre les Jésuites. Leurs parties là-dessus commencent à crier victoire" (L'abbé Chanterac à Fénélon, 25 April, 1699, in FÉNÉLON, *Œuvres*, X. [1852], 16). *CASTNER (*c.* 4) says of the three Cardinals: "de quibus aliunde notorium erat, eo studio partium trahi et malevolum erga Societatem animum passim demonstrare."

[3] *CASTNER (*loc. cit.*): The three Cardinals obtained "ut iisdem adiungeretur Em^us^ Marescottus, qui sc. partes Em^mi^ Casanate aliunde semper tuebatur".

Alexander VII.; nothing was known of the steps taken by him in Rome as Maigrot kept them secret. It was only at the close of 1698 that a French ship brought the news of the Roman negotiations and of the impending danger. The Jesuits of Peking judged it useless to add yet another memorial to the many they had already submitted; they accordingly hit on the idea of invoking the testimony of the Emperor Kanghi on the point in question.[1] They drew up the text of a decree in their sense, that is, one stating that the veneration of Confucius and the cult of the ancestors were ceremonies of a purely civilian significance, and for this document they did in fact obtain Kanghi's sanction.[2]

On December 3rd, 1700, the document was dispatched to Europe by four different routes. But long before that time Innocent XII. had ceased to live. Baldigiani had given him spiritual assistance up to the last.[3]

(2.)

Under the new Pope, Clement XI., things seemed at first to take a more favourable turn for the Jesuits. The triennial Assembly for which each Jesuit Province is bound to send a delegate to Rome, was due in 1700. They might well have interpreted it as a happy omen that at the end of the deliberations Clement XI. received the delegates most graciously and spoke of the world-wide activities of the Order in terms of the highest praise.[4] Whereas formerly the Jesuits had complained that the difficult negotiations had been unduly hurried, the new Pope expressly promised them sufficient time for matters to clarify. He invited them to summon from China some one who would advocate their

[1] *Castner, *loc. cit.*

[2] Brucker, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2375.

[3] *Castner, *loc. cit.*

[4] * . . . benevole admodum a Pontifice excepti sunt, qui coram illis Societatis per totum mundum dispersae labores eximie commendavit. *Ibid.*, c. 5.

cause. The negotiations on the question of the rites remained at a standstill in Rome for a period of four months; they were only resumed in February, 1701, when the same qualificators exposed their views as before, but on this occasion in presence of the Pope himself; the examination proceeded in this fashion during two months.

The Jesuits took advantage of the interval before the final decision to defend their standpoint by means of various publications.[1] Their efforts appear to have been not altogether unsuccessful. The Pope informed the Cardinals that they must not base their judgment on reports which had been laid before Cardinal Casanata, but on authentic documents; he also gave orders that the Jesuits and their advocate Sardinius should be informed of the subjects discussed. One of the three qualificators, the Franciscan Varese, was allowed to speak openly in favour of the accused in presence of the Pope on May 1st, 1701, and their friend Cardinal Sperelli could risk to accuse the majority of the Cardinals charged with the examination of prejudice against the Jesuits. In the course of an audience with the Pope, Cardinal Forbin Janson, who was accompanied by Sperelli and Nerli, said that the Chinese mission would be ruined if they yielded to the prevention of the enemies of the Jesuits. Thereupon Clement XI. replied: "We shall not destroy them."[2]

Since Antoine Arnauld had begun to exploit the works of Navarrete[3] as a quarry for his attacks against his best hated opponents, the question of the rites had become a party question. About the middle of 1701 a rumour spread throughout Europe that the Jesuits had already been condemned in Rome, that all of them had to abjure the Chinese idolatry,

[1] [Montecatini], Monumenta Sinica, 1700 [Naples], and other writings. *Cf.* Rivière, I., 24; Malatra, Vera Sinensium sententia de tabella, Naples, 1700. *Castner, c. 5.

[2] * . . . fore, ut Pontifex Sinensem missionem perderet, obsequendo factiosorum aliquot, qui Jesuitis adversantur, conatibus. Cui Papa hisce verbis respondit: Non la perderemo (Castner, c. 5). All that follows is after Castner.

[3] *Cf.* our work, XXXI., 409.

that their ringleaders would have to expiate their misdeeds by seven years imprisonment. Besides libellous publications, illustrations were also broadcast showing Confucius as the chief god in the midst of idols, or the Jesuit Grimaldi enthroned among the mandarins and spurning the other missionaries.[1] In the first days of May, however, a new series of meetings of Cardinals on the question of the rites had been opened.

The negotiations took a more and more unfavourable turn for the Jesuits, so that the Pope, in order to give them some sort of breathing space, allowed the Cardinals to begin their holidays earlier, i.e. already in September, 1701. Thus the inquiry was held up until November. To the Pope's joy Kanghi's declaration on the rites arrived quite unexpectedly in Rome at this time. On the basis of this imperial manifesto, he thought, the dispute would surely be settled; many people shared this opinion. Even the opponents were nonplussed at first when Kanghi's declaration was printed outside Rome and 700 copies were distributed in the city. The effect was further increased by a letter of the Augustinian Bishop Alvaro de Benevente, titular Bishop of Ascalon and Vicar Apostolic of Kiangsi, who was emphatically in favour of the Jesuits on the question of the rites. His letter, however, only came to the knowledge of the Jesuits towards the end of April, 1702, when they gave it the widest possible publicity. One can understand that, in spite of the prolonged negotiations, Clement XI. found it difficult to arrive at a decision. On December 3rd, 1701, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, he went to the professed house of the Jesuits to say Mass and to recommend the decision of the question to the prayers of the community. On December 5th he declared in consistory,[2] that he had decided to send Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon to the Far East as Legate *a latere*, to settle the dispute. On February 1st, and again on June 13th,

[1] Other tendentious pictures in THOMAS, 148 *seqq*. The supposed illustration of the interior of a Jesuit church in Peking (*ibid.*, 147) is from the notorious *Annales de la Société des soi-disants Jésuites*, III., frontispiece.

[2] *Op., Orat.*, 10.

1702, in presence of the Pope, Tournon conferred with the Jesuit Le Comte who was in Rome for the purpose of defending the rites.[1] On May 16th he went to Naples to confer with the King of Spain about the best way to his destination, with Spanish assistance ; on July 4th he embarked for China but without having in his possession a papal decision on the burning question. However he was given the widest faculties, in the use of which he was not tied to the usual forms, nor impeded by the privileges of the religious Orders ; he was empowered to dispose at will of missionaries and Vicars Apostolic, to preside at synods, to receive appeals even when they were directed to the Holy See, nor was he bound to exhibit any credentials.[2] Papal letters recommended Tournon to the Kings of Portugal, France and Spain.[3] He was also armed with a letter for the Emperor of China, special Briefs to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of India accredited him as Legate, so that as far as they were concerned, he needed no further credentials of his mission.[4] Avoiding Portugal, Tournon sailed on a French boat.

Meanwhile the discussions of the question in presence of the Pope had been concluded in Rome, on March 30th.[5] On May 17th, 1702, the Cardinals deliberated once more whether a decree on the rites should be issued. The answer was in the affirmative. Clement XI. charged Cardinals Marescotti, Ferrari, Noris, Gabrielli and Sperelli with the

[1] All the above, according to CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

[2] JANN, 400 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

[4] All the Briefs of June 20, 1702, in *Op.*, Epist., 124–132.

[5] *CASTNER, *loc. cit.* ; *Atti della Congregazione del S. Officio 12, I., 1702, coram SS. ; *Memor. di 12 congregationi tenute avanti SS. 15, I., 30 ; III., 1702 ; " *6 Congregazioni particulari radunate per stendersi il breve con detta risoluzione con la memoria della nuova udienza da S. B. alli P. Fr. Noel e G. Castner . . . e discussione delle nuove ragioni fatte nella congreg. del 17, I., 1704." Result of the Congregation (June 19) and intimation (September 4), in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 235, Papal Sec. Archives.

drafting of the decree; the complaint of the Jesuits that three of these five were avowed opponents of theirs was cut short by the Pope on August 11th, with the remark that he himself made the sixth.

In France efforts were made to hasten the decision by spreading a rumour that the delay embittered the whole of the French clergy and constituted an obstacle to the conversion of the Hugenots. When questioned by the royal confessor, La Chaize, more than over eighty French Bishops declared that these rumours were false, and a number of them spoke in favour of the Jesuits on the question of the rites. Cardinal Kollonitsch, in his capacity as Protector of Germany and Primate of Hungary, acted in like manner in the name of both these countries.[1] The Archbishop of Paris, Noailles, in particular, insisted that a definitive judgment on the question of the rites was necessary as the only means of confuting the Protestant calumnies that the Roman Church tolerated idolatry in China.[2] After a voyage of nine months the Jesuits Francis Noël and Caspar Castner, whose dispatch as Procurators of the Jesuits in China Clement XI. had demanded shortly after his accession,[3] arrived in London and on December 30th, 1702, in Rome. They also represented the Bishop of Macao, João de Cazal, the Archbishop of Nangking, Alexander Louis Ciceri, the titular Bishop of Ascalon and Vicar Apostolic of Kiangsi, Álvaro de Benevente, and the Bishop-Elect of Andrevilla and Visitor of the Vice-Province of China and Japan, Charles Turcotti. Ciceri and Turcotti were Jesuits, Benevente was an Augustinian. On January 12th, 1703, the Pope graciously received the two Procurators; the discord among the missionaries, he observed, gave him great pain, he knew well that the differences of opinion had their roots in the fact that they pursued opposite

[1] *Castner, c. 5, towards the end. Some quotations from these testimonies of the Bishops in Castner-Noel, *Resp.*, 16–18.

[2] *Letter to Clement XI., July 21, 1701, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 120, p. 26 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* t. 234.

[3] See above, p. 410.

courses [1]; accordingly the Procurators should draw up as soon as possible a short synopsis of the documents they had brought with them; he himself would examine this summary. The drawing up of this summary was not without its difficulties, because the newcomers from China were unacquainted with judicial formulas and the habits of the Curia. On February 15th the Pope again urged them to make haste; thereupon the Jesuits called upon the services of an advocate of the name of Ursaia who was well versed in these matters. On February 24th the summary was ready, and on March 15th it was followed by a memorial. On March 27th both documents were handed to the Pope, who once again promised to make a personal study of the contents; he added that he had carefully read the letters of recommendation of the Chinese Bishops.

Meanwhile the opposition in China had also dispatched a spokesman to Rome, who arrived there on March 9th. He was Arthur de Lyonne, titular Bishop of Rosalia and Vicar Apostolic of Sutshuen, who on his journey from Paris to Rome, had spoken everywhere in bitter terms of the Jesuits, for which he was reprimanded by Clement XI. at his very first audience. About June 20th, the Pope announced that he would refer the question of the rites once more to the Inquisition; to the objection of the Jesuits that the Cardinals of that tribunal were for the most part prejudiced against them, he replied that he could not act otherwise without offending the Cardinals. Fifty copies of the memorial and the summary of the Jesuits were printed and distributed among the Cardinals of the Inquisition.

Up to the beginning of the following year the opposite side made no answer to these writings. That party took the standpoint that the affair had been decided before the arrival of the Procurators; under Cardinal Casanata the situation had become sufficiently clarified, in other words,

[1] "*Dixit scire se, inter missionarios esse animorum dissensiones, quae sibi plurimum displicerent, item probe se scire, diversitatem sententiarum inter illos potius ex dissensione animorum provenire." CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

no notice should be taken of the fresh objections. As a matter of fact, when the Jesuits called upon the Cardinals of the Inquisition at the end of August, 1703, they found that these were not fully acquainted with the new defence. When January 17th was fixed for the resumption of the sittings of the Inquisition, the question to be decided in the first instance, was as follows: Whether and in what form the draft of a decree which had been determined fifteen months earlier, should be completed and published. To this Clement XI. would not agree. They should decide in what form the decree of 1702 was to be published, but they should also form an opinion on the documents recently handed in by the Jesuits.

On January 17th, 1704, Cardinals Carpegna, Nerli, Panciatici, Ferrari, Sperelli, Gabrielli and Ottoboni met once more in congregation; Marescotti, Spada and Noris were absent; the latter was mortally sick and died on February 23rd. Cardinal Nerli made a decided defence of the Jesuits. It was resolved to put off a final decision for about a month; the further command of the Congregation, that they must reply to the recent writings of the Jesuits, put the latter's opponents in no slight predicament for they had spread the rumour that the Pope had forbidden them to make a reply. At last, five months later, on June 18th, two documents bearing the signatures of Lyonne and Maigrot were handed in,[1] though, in reality, both had been composed by Maigrot two years earlier. Their publication, about the middle of June, came very awkwardly for the Jesuits who were forced to draw up their refutation during the great heat of the summer months, when exhausting work is almost impossible in Rome. A delay until the beginning of September was granted them; they worked day and night and on the 9th of the month their answer was in print.[2] The work bearing

[1] NOEL-CASTNER, *Memoriale*, 3 (below, p. 417, n. 2).

[2] *Responsio ad libros nuper editos Ill. DD. episcoporum Rosaliensis et Cononensis super controversiis Sinensibus, oblata SS. D. N. Clementi PP. XI.* a PATRIBUS FR. NOEL et GASP. CASTNER, S.J. . . . mense septembre, 1704.

Lyonne's name is directed against Kanghi's decree on the rites; that document, we read, was no real decree, doubts were raised about its text and its translation, whilst the usual accusations against the practices of the Jesuits were repeated. Towards the end more particular reference is made to the memorial of the Jesuits of the previous year; in particular an attempt is made to undermine the authority of the Bishops to whom they appealed. The second work, by Maigrot, offers nothing new; the arguments link up with a short account of the Jesuits in Peking, which is to be found in the appendix of the first pamphlet of Noël and Castner. These two Procurators of the Jesuits, in their reply, had followed up the assertions of their adversaries one by one, and as these were a tissue of Chinese texts, the reply was likewise a detailed commentary upon those texts.

Meanwhile new evidence on the meaning of the names and ceremonies in question had been received from China. At the end of February, 1704, the Jesuit Pelisson forwarded some, and on April 18th more information came viâ London and Leghorn, and in May or June the Portuguese Assistant received further documents on the subject and more was promised which had been brought from China by the Jesuit Fontaine; this arrived on August 12th.[1] It was accordingly decided at the beginning of August to collect these testimonies in a new summary and to expound them in a memorial. By the end of August 500 copies of the new publication were in print.[2]

The very first testimony is signed by the Mandarin Vitus Pao, "the second man in the mathematical tribunal, according to Father Grimaldi," by seventeen other Mandarins and by yet another forty-nine persons, most of them graduates. All these are Christians of Peking and give their evidence under oath. After a survey of the state of the question, they

[1] *Castner, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Memoriale et summarium novissimorum testimoniorum Sinensium in prosecutione causae Sinensis . . . SS. D. N. Clementi Papae XI. oblatum* a PP. Francisco Noel et Gaspare Castner, S.J. . . . die 27 augusti, 1704.

emphasize the intimate connection between the question of the rites and the maintenance of Christianity in China. Maigrot's edict had grieved the Christians in Fukiën, had prevented the infidels from being converted and encouraged them to insult Christianity. If the matter were brought before the tribunals, how could Christianity continue to exist in China ? [1] In order to conjure the peril, they attest on oath before the throne of the divine Majesty, that Confucius was not honoured as a divinity but only as a teacher, and this in order to thank him for his magnificent teaching. This veneration was free from the slightest suggestion that anything was being asked or expected from him.[2]

In like manner they attest on oath before the throne of the divine Majesty that the veneration of the ancestors had been introduced in order that their posterity might show them filial piety and gratitude and remember the longer that they had received from them the benefit of existence and upbringing. Nothing is asked from them, nothing is expected from them. The names of the ancestors were written on tablets in order that the children might remember the voice and features of their parents after their death. The tablets of the ancestors revived in their hearts filial piety and gratitude, which might otherwise fade away with the lapse of time. The meaning of the funeral rites was the same.[3] It is true there are rites tainted with superstition, because not all the Chinese observed the genuine rites of the Empire.

[1] "Quo decreto animos christianorum Fokiensium [according to their account] fuisse summopere perculsos atque afflictos, infidelium vero pedes veluti compedibus constrictos, ne ad s. fidem suscipiendam deinceps accederent, eorumque linguam e contra veluti duplo magis quam antea solutam ad maledicendum divinae legi. Et sane si huius decreti capita deferrentur vel ad tribunalia subalterna ipsius loci, vel ad superiora proregis utriusque . . . et ad ipsum imperatorem quonam, pacto posset s. lex hic amplius consistere ?" *Summarium*, n. 1 E, p. 2.

[2] "Ceterum in dictis ritibus nullum inesse petitionis aut expectationis vestigium." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*

But if a man refuses to honour Confucius, they say of him that he has fallen away from the teacher, and if he does not make use of the tablets of the ancestors, they say of him that he has blotted out the memory of those who had gone before him; such men were regarded as irrational animals and as men devoid of obedience, honour, affection, intelligence, and if they are accused of such a crime condemnation and punishment are sure to follow.[1] They concluded with a request to be allowed the use of the words Tien and Shang-ti.[2] Numerous other testimonies came from the Provinces of Nangking, Kiangsi, Hukuang, Fukien and Kuangsi.[3] The contents of all these testimonies agree with those given above.[4] A remarkable explanation of the ceremonies used at the

[1] "Ut qui non veneratur Confucium, dicatur defecisse a magistro, qui non adhibet progenitorum tabellas, dicatur obliterasse progenitorum memoriam, et ideo uterque accensendus sit brutarum animantium numero." *Ibid.*, 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 2: Testimony of the heir apparent and of five pagan *literati* on Ricci; No. 3: Petition of the Christians of Nangking to the Pope, signed by a Jesuit who had formerly been a Mandarin of the mathematical tribunal, and by four candidates for the mandarinate and fourteen for the bachelorship; another petition by *literati* from two towns, signed by a "summus litterarum examinum praeses", besides sworn statements from two towns. No. 4: Two testimonies of *literati* from Nangking. Altogether testimonies under eleven headings, pp. 1–76. All these depositions are certified by a notary to be true.

[4] A pagan *literatus* from Siang Tan (Hukuang) writes, for example (*loc. cit.*, 53): "In cultu caeli habetur gratiarum actio, habetur postulatio seu oratio, in cultu autem Magistri [Confucius] seu magistrorum et maiorum non habetur oratio nec petitio." Also in Hukuang, 41, pagan *literati* (*loc. cit.*) testify that: "Quando reverentiae exhibentur avis defunctis, fiunt eae secundum id, quod in libro Chum Jung (a Cu Su Confucii nepote composito) dicitur: serviendum mortuis, sicut serviretur vivis, serviendum defunctis, sicut serviretur iis, si etiamnum superstites essent. His duobus verbis determinari potest finis oblationum et rituum, quae fiunt in China."

solemn veneration of Confucius was drawn up by the Christians of Hukuang and pronounced accurate by forty-one pagan *literati*.[1]

[1] The day before a pig, a goat, and other animals are killed; the president assists at the offering and observes what the butcher is killing. This rite is called examination of the animals, because the president ascertains whether they should be used or not, just as at the invitation of a distinguished guest the dishes are examined beforehand, whether they be chosen and pure. If this is not done a grave fault is committed. On the day of the sacrifice, at dawn, the *literati* of the place assemble in the gymnasium and appoint the duties which each one has to perform, after which they line up in two rows; just as pupils do before their living master, walking to and fro in order to serve and honour him. Incense, candles, wine and food are set before the table of Confucius. In China the same thing is done when a guest is invited: incense is burnt and candles are lit as a sign of respect. The governor presides at the offering; in a metropolitan city it is the prefect of the imperial treasury, in towns of the first and second rank, the governor of the town. First of all they stand on the lower steps and do reverence by bending their hands and heads to the ground: as Confucius has the dignity both of teacher and king, the ceremony of rendering homage by bowing the head is performed in the lower parts of the hall, this to mark his dignity and excellence. Afterwards they go to the upper part, before the altar of Confucius, where they offer wine, food, and a silk cloth. For here in China, when a distinguished guest is invited, the people must present wine, food, and other gift with their own hands, in token of respect. Afterwards some wine is poured on the ground. This ceremony is also performed at the reception of distinguished guests. The silk cloth is afterwards burnt or buried, to signify that no one else must dare to use it. The president drinks the wine and receives the meats that have been offered. Afterwards he distributes what remains of the pork and the other meats among the *literati* and Doctors. This is done in the same way as when the Emperor distributes the dishes and beverages of his table to show his generosity. After that the hog's bristles and the hairs of the goat and the blood are buried. All these ceremonies described above are intimately connected with the ceremonies prescribed for the honouring of the living. As

The opponents of the Jesuits considered a thorough examination of these testimonies unnecessary—at any rate they did not desire one. Lyonne and Maigrot had handed in their memorials as late as possible, but insisted that the question of the rites should be decided before the autumn holidays. This meant a drawback for the Jesuits as they would lack sufficient time to test their arguments. On August 28th the apologia of Noailles and Castner left the press and on September 4th the cardinalitial Congregations were resumed for the examination of the question of the rites. However, in consequence of a complaint by Cardinal Carpegna on the inordinately short time, they were postponed until September 11th. But even so, in the opinion of the Jesuits, the time limit was too short ; Cardinal Sperelli advised them to send in a new defence before September 11th, as its examination would take up so much time that it would be impossible to arrive at a decision on the question of the rites before the autumn holidays. As a matter of fact, the new defence was ready before September 9th ; the Pope had expressed a wish to take cognizance of it a few days before the Congregation of the 11th, hence the work went on day and night in order to comply with this request. The opponents of the Jesuits brought their completed memorials to the session of September 11th, but the Pope referred to the defence which the Jesuits had handed in to him two days before and explained that it was against all justice to push that document aside unexamined. It must be printed and accordingly the defenders of the rites must be granted a time limit of ten days. At the next Congregation, on September 25th, the definitive decision was then put off until after the autumn holidays.

All through October Clement XI. devoted to the study of the question of the rites one whole day each week and several hours every day. From the very first the Pope had followed

regards the offerings to the dead, they are all made according to this ceremonial, for all the offerings are made in the same way as if those to whom they are made were still alive. They have no other object in view. NOEL-CASTNER, *Summarium*, 63 *seqq.*

with the greatest attention the development of this affair, and at least at the beginning had been in favour of the defenders of the rites. He knew quite well, and he said it openly before the Jesuits, that these disputes were largely due to petty jealousies.[1] On March 27th he gave a most kindly reception to the Jesuits who presented their first defence, which the Pope promised to read. On August 26th the Pope observed that he would himself decide the dispute; let the Jesuits be of good heart, the greater part of the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic were on their side. On September 11th, 1704, when Castner took the liberty to observe that their opponents were less concerned for a reform of the rites than for the humiliation of the Jesuits, the Pope replied that that was also his conviction.[2]

What consequences a condemnation of the rites would entail was no mystery to the Congregation. A contemporary publication,[3] asserts that every good Catholic must wish that the Chinese rites should be found harmless and should not be condemned, as such a condemnation would lead to the utter destruction of the faith in those countries; a load must fall from the heart of every good son of the Church, when he hears that in China the Emperor, the learned, the canonical books and the sworn testimony of the Christians attest the purely civil nature of the rites. The Emperor was a Tartar, hence a foreigner, and as such he would not dare to go against popular feeling in the appreciation of the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors. But even if the Emperor and the learned had given their explanations in order to clarify doubtful passages of the canonical books and to assimilate

[1] See above, p. 414.

[2] "*Rogavi dein Suam Sanctitatem, ut dignaretur etiam attendere, quod multi ex adversariis satis clare ostendissent hactenus se forte potius intendere et quaerere infamiam Societatis quam reformationem rituum Sinicorum; hoc quidem imprimis sibi persuasum esse, Sua Sanctitas reposuit." CASTNER, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Alcune riflessioni intorno alle cose presenti della Cina, Biblioteca di S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, *Cod.* A. E., XI., 76, pp. 8–11.

them to Christianity, such an action would only prove that they had come to the knowledge of the true God through the writings of the Jesuits. There was reason to fear that besides the religious consequences of the condemnation, others also would ensue. Why do the heretics show such keenness in their newspapers for the condemnation of the rites? is it not because the condemnation would provoke the anger of the Emperor and lead to the expulsion of the missionaries, when the Chinese trade would pass into the hands of the heretics as has happened with the Japanese trade? Many of those who love the Church as their Mother are grieved at the thought that, with the condemnation, satisfaction would be given to the Jansenists, the first accusers in the affair, by sacrificing to them the reputation and good name of the Society of Jesus, which was the object of so much hatred on their part. The eyes of the whole Christian world are greatly offended by this zeal, this tireless effort, this hope of victory in an affair which would bring destruction to that pitiable Christian body.

However, such considerations could not prevent the Pope from likewise trusting the conscientiousness of the opponents of the Jesuits among the Cardinals and to lead him to let things take their course. The decisive sitting of the Congregation took place on November 13th, 1704, at which all the Cardinals of the Inquisition were present, namely, Carpegna, Marescotti, Spada, Nerli, Panciatici, Ferrari, Gabrielli, Sperelli and Ottoboni. The sitting lasted three hours. On November 20th, after the Pope had once more devoted three hours to the study of the question before dawn, three Cardinals, who had not had an opportunity to speak on November 13th, stated their opinion. The strictest silence was enjoined on the result of the sitting; the decision, the Pope declared, did not concern the French but the Chinese, it was enough if it became known in China. When Castner had another audience on December 9th, the Pope observed that the Jesuits might be satisfied. However, when the decree of the Inquisition on the question of the rites[1] became known, the satisfaction

[1] *Ius pontif.*, I., 223–236.

of the advocates of the rites was none too great. Even Maigrot had indeed stated in the conclusion of his prohibition of the rites, that he had no intention to throw stones on those who until then had adopted a different view and practice, since it was not surprising if in a matter of this kind all the missionaries were not of one opinion and that each of them should have adopted that practice which, in the sight of God, seemed to him to be better in accordance with truth.[1] In its decree the Inquisition makes this statement its own.[2] The differences of opinion, it says, were not surprising in a matter which had been discussed for years and in which divergent declarations had emanated from the Holy See, according as it had been variously informed. The execution of the decree, which the Pope confirmed on November 20th, 1704, was to be left to the Legate Tournon and the Vicars Apostolic in China. They were to proceed according to two fundamental principles: first of all, every semblance of the least breath of pagan superstition must be kept at arm's length, whilst care must be taken to safeguard the honour and good repute of labourers who toiled so strenuously and so diligently in the vineyard of the Lord. These labourers must not be calumniated as if they favoured idolatry, especially as most of that which the decree prohibited was never really permissible, as they themselves admitted.

The decree is a very lengthy document. It gives first of all the text of Maigrot's decree of March 26th, 1693. To each of the clauses of the decree are appended a number of questions. The third part gives the answers to these questions; the fourth and last section gives the information that in the session of the Inquisition of November 20th, 1704, the Pope had confirmed the answers of the Congregation and ordered them to be dispatched to the Legate Tournon who, in conjunction with the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic of the Far East, was to insure observance of the decree by the missionaries and the Christians. Of the publication of the decree in Rome there was no question. Individual dispositions of the decree are as follows: As regards the name of God,

[1] *Ibid.*, 226. [2] *Ibid.*, 236.

the expression Tien-chu (Lord of Heaven) must be retained, but it is forbidden to use the words Tien (Heaven) or Shang-ti (Supreme Ruler). The decree bases this prohibition on the fact that for 500 years the atheistic and materialistic *literati* had understood by these expressions either the material sky or some power immanent in it. Now if the Christians were to call the object of their worship Tien or Shang-ti, it would be easy for others to imagine that they paid divine homage to the material sky. Such an ambiguity must be removed. Tablets bearing the inscription " King-Tien ", namely " adore Heaven " cannot be tolerated either inside or outside Christian churches. The question of the original meaning of those expressions in the classical books of China is left undecided by the Congregation. Even its informant, John Francis of Leonessa, grants that many Chinese felt attracted to Christianity when it was shown to them that in the classical books of Old China the true God was known by the names of Tien and Shang-ti.[1] Maigrot, on the other hand, would not hear of such an interpretation.

The reason why the Inquisition attached but little importance to the fact that the Jesuits heaped testimony upon testimony in favour of their interpretation of the expressions in question, appears from its definitive decision : it was not prejudice, as Castner thought ; as a matter of fact, the Congregation was not concerned with the original meaning of those names ; what decided its action was the ambiguity to which their use was liable to lead. The veneration of Confucius and the ancestors presented a much more delicate problem. In this matter the Congregation was stricter than even Maigrot's decree which had led to the negotiations. Maigrot only forbade the solemn veneration of Confucius,[2] which the Jesuits did not allow either, hence he was seemingly in agreement with his opponents on the lawfulness of the homage paid to Confucius on the occasion of the graduation

[1] " Molti si convertirono in China col vedere ne' loro libri antichi il fondamento di tali assertioni." In NOEL-CASTNER, *Resp.*, 49, n. 200.

[2] His decree, n. 4, *Ius pontif.*, I., 225.

of *literati*. The decree of the Inquisition discusses the matter in detail. The Jesuits had maintained that Confucius was exclusively honoured as a "teacher", and this may have been so in the case of the *literati*. But the decree of the Inquisition enumerates many facts which seemed to prove that Confucius was generally regarded by the Chinese as a supra-mundane being, not merely as a teacher, and as the highest among the so-called "Xing", that is, "Saints," and that he was venerated as such.[1] The Jesuits argued indeed that by this attribution of "sanctity", the Chinese *literati* by no means intended to ascribe to anyone any superhuman qualities whatever.[2] The decree grants that this was so as far as the views of the *literati* were concerned,[3] but maintains that in general Confucius and the "Xing" were considered superhuman beings.

The decree also gives a detailed description of the annual and monthly ceremonies in honour of Confucius, beginning with the solemn ceremonies and concluding with the less solemn ones.[4] All these practices were condemned, even the homage paid to Confucius by the *literati* after graduation, a ceremony which the Jesuits regarded as harmless.[5] The reason why even these ceremonies were condemned is indicated by the remark of the Holy Office that the genuflexions and inclinations before the tablet of Confucius were identical with

[1] *Ius pontif.*, I., 228.

[2] "Si interpretes gentiles illam sanctimoniam homini attribuant, non ultra humanam dignitatem in sua persuasione eum attollunt, quem ita Sanctum esse dicunt. . . . Cum haec vox [Xing] variam omnino et amplam significationem habeat, nec revera aliud apud Sinas indicet quam eximiam aliquam excellentiam: ita imperator et res omnes ad imperatores spectantes passim Xing appellantur." NOEL-CASTNER, *loc. cit.*, n. 517, p. 121.

[3] "Licet apud Sinenses atheos praefata dictio Xing in allatis textibus perfectissimum et sapientissimum virum . . . significare videatur." *Ibid.*

[4] *Ius pontif.*, I., 229 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 235.

the other forms of the cult of Confucius.[1] They were superstitious on other occasions, hence they must be considered as such in the latter circumstances also, even if the intention of the *literati* were not tainted with superstition. The Congregation deals even more fully with the veneration of the ancestors than with that of Confucius. On this point the main difficulty lay in the fact that this veneration took place before the tablets of the ancestors, hence the question arose whether the Chinese believed that the souls of their ancestors were present in these tablets, or whether the tablets were regarded as mere memorials of the ancestors and as replacing their bodily presence. "It would seem that at least at this time the former alternative must be admitted," the Inquisition declared.[2] To say the least "many Chinese imagine or believe that the souls of the ancestors come to the feast and enjoy it", although "not a few, so it would seem, reduce everything to an imagined or doubtful presence, approach and partaking (of food), as may be deduced from the Chinese ritual books".[3] However, even though all this may be granted, the use of the tablets of the ancestors remained at least suspect, and since the Congregation was determined to suppress every semblance of superstition, a prohibition of these tablets was inevitable. On this point also Maigrot had only spoken of solemn ceremonies; the Congregation went further and forbade even the less solemn ceremonies and even the semblance of sacrifices or offerings on the graves of the dead. The tablets of the ancestors were allowed if they bore nothing beyond the monograph of the departed and if every danger of scandal was precluded. With regard

[1] " . . . genuflectunt . . . prout in aliis proxime relatis ritibus seu oblationibus minus solemnibus." *Ibid.*, 229.

[2] "Quae quidem tabellae, saltem his temporibus ideo fieri videntur, ut . . . defunctorum animae quodammodo in eis resideant." *Ibid.*, 230.

[3] "Non pauci tamen ad imaginariam vel dubiam potius quam realem spirituum praesentiam . . . haec omnia, ut etiam ex libris et ritualibus sinicis colligitur, reducere videntur." *Ibid.*, 231.

to the ceremonies on the graves, Tournon, the Bishops and the Vicars Apostolic were authorized to allow whatever was not tainted with superstition.[1] Maigrot had asserted that Martini's account of the question of the rites, on which Alexander VII.'s decree was based, was inaccurate in many of its particulars; the Congregation declared that it did not intend to express an opinion on that point.[2]

(3.)

At a later date Clement XI. wrote [3] that the missions must be free not only from formal superstition, but from the very suspicion of such a thing. He had no fear that with the prohibition of the rites an obstacle had been created to the spread of the faith, on the contrary, the freer the field was from weeds, the more fruitful it would be; the stronger the concord among the missionaries, the greater would be their influence. For all that the prohibition of the rites was a decision of incalculable consequences. Things were forbidden to the Chinese Christians which, in their estimation, were demanded by decency and good manners, and on the basis of an interpretation which was at variance with that given by Emperor Kanghi and the Chinese scholars. If the result was not to prove a downright catastrophe, the execution of the Roman decisions demanded the utmost tact and caution. Unfortunately the general opinion was that Tournon was not endowed with these qualities.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 235.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] To the King of Portugal, January 4, 1716, *Ius pontif.*, II., 318.

[4] In the account of the journey and of the sojourn of the Legate at Peking, we follow the diary of Kilian Stumpf, a Jesuit of Peking, "*Compendium Actorum Pekinensium", 1705–6 (concluded, October 30, 1706). MS. in possession of the Jesuits, also in *Cod. Barb.*, XXXII., 147, Vatican Library. After the preliminary remark "incipiunt haec acta a mense aprili, quo Illmus

In a letter of February 27th, 1702, which reached Peking on January 17th, 1704, Tournon informed the Superior of the Jesuits in China, Philip Grimaldi, of his mission, and expressed a desire to find on arrival in China a letter waiting for him, with suggestions with regard to the attitude he should take up in China. The news of the early arrival of a papal envoy was hailed with great joy by the Jesuits. Grimaldi sent to the harbours of Canton and Fukiën the desired letter in which he explained the situation and the difficulties whilst leaving it to the Legate himself to decide upon the best line of action. On his arrival at Canton on April 8th, 1705, after consulting

et R^mus^ D. Carolus Thomas Maillard de Tournon . . . cum patribus S. I. Pekini degentibus agere coepit usque ad 28 aug. 1706 incl., quo Pekino discessit ". The " Compendium Actorum " is a report for the General of the Jesuits. Stumpf was Notary Apostolic. In a " *Expositio eorum, quae Exc^mus^ et R^mus^ D. Patriarcha . . . anno 1706 Pekini per se, vel per interpretes suos egit cum christianis suadendo et respective iubendo et minando, ut abstinerent a ritibus patriis circa imperii Sinensis magistrum Confucium, proavos defunctos et praecipue circa tabellas defunctorum " (MS. in possession of the Jesuits), he takes from the " Compendium Actorum " the acts of Tournon indicated in the title and authenticates them expressly and in detail by putting his signature to them as Notary Apostolic. Paragraphs 14 and 15 are authenticated by Antonio Thomas and paragraph 17 by Peter Jartoux who was also a Notary Apostolic. The *Expositio* was examined by four Fathers and found to be in agreement with the facts. Except Gerbillon, who died on March 25, 1707, all the others, including the Vice-Provincial, Joseph Suarez, subscribed to the *Expositio* and attested it to be in accordance with truth. With the exception of the chapter on the question of the rites, Stumpf's *Compendium* has been printed in a French translation as a *Mémorial envoyé en Europe par le Père Thomas, Vice-Provincial des Jésuites en Chine*, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, XXVI., Paris, 1783, 296 *seqq.*; III., Paris, 1843, 167–181. We follow the Latin original. *Cf. Borgh. lat.*, 201 : " *Relazione d. cose succedute in Cina dal 1 Aprile, 1705, che giunse Msgr. Patr. de Tournon Visit. Ap. a Macao sino al 12 Gen., 1708," Papal Secret Archives. R. C. Jenkins, *The Jesuits in China and the Legation of Card. Tournon*, London, 1894.

with the Superiors of the various religious Orders, Tournon decided not to inform the court of his legatine dignity for the time being, but to devote his attention at first to the ordering of the mission. However, soon after, as a result of further consultation with his travelling companions from Europe, he altered his plan and ordered the Jesuits of Peking to inform the Emperor through their Procurator, Beauvollier, that the Patriarch of Antioch, the Superior of all the missionaries, the Apostolic Visitor, had arrived and desired to be presented to the Emperor. Tournon refused to listen to any remonstrances against his plan, as a matter of fact thereafter he never again asked for any Jesuit's advice.[1] Henceforth his right-hand man was the Piedmontese Lazarist Luigi Antonio Appiani, who had been authorized by Propaganda to erect a seminary for native priests in China. Appiani had set out from Rome for the East on February 10th, 1697, but when after a long journey through Persia he arrived at Canton on August 14th, 1699, he soon realized that for the time being his plan could not be carried out ; he accordingly worked as a missionary in Setshuen. In February, 1705, he went to Canton to await the Legate and after Tournon's arrival became the latter's inseparable companion.[2]

The Patriarch's resolve to present himself before the Emperor proved fatal to the mission as it made the Emperor's intervention in the missionary questions inevitable.

Kanghi was away at the time in Tartary. The Jesuits addressed several questions to him by letter. The first two elicited no clear answers to Tournon's wishes, the third met with a negative answer and only the fourth met with the imperial approval ; it was to the effect that the Legate should be conducted to Peking with every mark of honour and in all comfort, at the expense of the Supreme Prefect and Viceroy of Canton. Tournon, who met everywhere with a splendid reception, completed his journey on a large, commodious ship which, however, made but slow progress. He had left Canton on September 9th but November came

[1] STUMPF, **Compendium*, § 1.

[2] THOMAS, 179 *seq.*

and still Kanghi impatiently waited for him at Peking, whether because he was anxious to see so distinguished an envoy as soon as possible or that he thought that by honouring him, he would himself win honour with the Western Powers. The hardships of a winter journey made the Emperor anxious, hence he had inquiries made at Shan-tung about the middle of November and on 27th of the same month one of Kanghi's sons, one of the Viceroy's sons, two mandarins and a Father from each of the three Jesuit houses were ordered to set out to meet him. They found Tournon ill and his ship caught in the ice. On December 4th the Legate reached Peking by the overland route. He put up at the Jesuit establishment adjoining the imperial palace where he was at once greeted by the Emperor's orders by two mandarins of the third degree. When the Legate's physician died on December 12th, Kanghi offered a piece of ground for the burial because Tournon had refused the offer of a grave in the Jesuit cemetery, an act that boded no good. The Emperor had the funeral secretly watched to ascertain whether the ceremonies would go beyond what had been tacitly conceded to the Jesuits. What he was told displeased him somewhat, but he did not betray his feelings and received the ailing Legate with so much pomp that everyone wondered and an eye-witness expressed the opinion that no foreign envoy had ever been thus honoured.[1] Nor was this the last of the marks of honour. At the beginning of January, 1706, the Emperor set aside some presents for the Pope of which the Jesuit Bouvet was to be the bearer. On January 4th, in place of Tournon, who was ill, one of his companions was invited to take part in the royal chase. An enormous impression was created when, on the occasion of the festival of the Chinese New Year, a long line of bearers, headed by the first eunuch and several mandarins, brought the choicest presents to the Legate's house. On February 26th, at the close of the New Year festivities, Tournon was invited to watch the display of

[1] "*Scribere possum, non reperiri in Sinensium historiis ulli advenae tantum honoris et benevolentiae impensum fuisse." STUMPF, § 2.

fireworks at the imperial palace and at the conclusion the Emperor detained him for the night, when two mandarins of the third class were made to mount guard. In May the Emperor granted the Legate's wish to seek his restoration to health by the use of hot springs. When on his return Tournon relapsed into his old complaint Kanghi inquired daily about the sick man's condition. At his farewell audience on June 29th he again treated him with exquisite courtesy and invited him to inspect on the following day the splendours of the imperial residence. This was followed by a visit to the park of the hereditary prince. Many people found it intolerable that the Emperor should show such regard for a foreigner.[1] However, in spite of all the pomp and splendour with which Kanghi surrounded the Legate, he did not overlook more important things. Unknown to himself Tournon was most closely watched and the imperial decree of 1692 on the rites was soon to influence their mutual relations.

During the period of waiting for the arrival of the papal Legate the Jesuits of Peking had drawn up a petition to him in which they suggested that two or three well-informed missionaries should be chosen from the camp of those who favoured the rites and from that of their opponents before whom some of the better instructed Christians would be questioned on the subject of the rites, and that similar action should be taken throughout the country. Tournon's reply was that a decree had already been issued by Rome and if the Superiors of the Jesuits would carry out everyone of its clauses, the dispute would be at an end and an explicit condemnation would not be necessary for the time being.[2] The Jesuits replied that they did not dare to modify on their own authority anything that had been decided by the Holy See. The Jesuit Antoine de Beauvollier was of opinion that both sides should state in writing and in due form the reasons for their view. However, nothing came of the suggestion as Maigrot, the leader of the opponents of the Jesuits,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, § 3.

announced that he had already dispatched all his material to Rome.

For the rest Tournon took a number of preliminary steps towards a definitive settlement of the question of the rites. From the Jesuit Visdelou who, in opposition to his brethren in religion, was an adversary of the rites, he accepted with due legal formality a summary of the objections against the practice of the Jesuits and ordered him to inform Beauvollier of any other objections he might have against them. However, in a disputation with the Spanish Jesuit Raymond, Beauvollier cut so sorry a figure that the discussions were not continued. When the Jesuit Bouvet wrote a dissertation on the word "Tien" as a name for God, he sought the expert opinion of the first scholar of Peking on its significance in Chinese, whilst he submitted it to the judgment of the Bishop of Peking, Bernardino della Chiesa, from the theological standpoint. In spite of the emphatic protest of della Chiesa, Tournon forbade the publication of the work, and he also refused to allow a tablet with the words "King-Tien" to be transferred from an old church in Peking to a new edifice.[1]

The Emperor seemed to notice none of these things; but he took umbrage at some minor modifications. He kept a sharp lookout and became suspicious. On December 25th, 1705, two mandarins called on Tournon to inquire whether the Patriarch, whilst still in Europe, had been informed of the imperial declaration on the rites. The answer was that no one had called in question the fact of the declaration, but that some people were of opinion that the Europeans in Peking had given the Emperor an account of the state of affairs which was neither straightforward nor complete. If that was the case, the mandarins urged, the Legate himself should make a full statement and, in fact, let them know his opinion on the imperial declaration. In their alarm at such a request the Legate's familiars, Mariani and Appiani, began to signal to the Legate by inarticulate sounds and with their hands and feet, and Mariani said aloud that Tournon should excuse himself on the plea of his health which

[1] *Ibid.*

did not allow of his discussing the question. The Legate said he would give an explanation in writing. Thereupon the mandarins left the room to give him time to write, but returned before long. Yielding to the pressure of his advisers, Tournon had not written anything, but gave some information about the nature of his instructions; with regard to the imperial declaration he observed that it was not the business of the Jesuits to offer suggestions to the Emperor, and that Europe had been amazed at their boldness.

On the following day Appiani sought at first to keep the mandarins at arm's length on the plea that Tournon had taken a dose of physic, but when they nevertheless succeeded in getting access to him, they insisted on a written explanation of the motives which had brought the Patriarch to China. Tournon complied with this request but without as much as mentioning the imperial declaration and the dispute among the missionaries. In a solemn audience on December 31st the Emperor himself repeated the mandarins' questions and promised to supply any information that might be required. In his reply Tournon once more omitted all reference to the dispute over the rites or the meaning of the classical books.[1]

On January 1st, 1706, the mandarins called again, but all they were told was that when Tournon's health permitted it, he would attend to the matter. On the following day the Jesuit Kilian Stumpf took the liberty of openly speaking his mind to the Patriarch. The Legate, he pleaded, should not refuse to listen to the Emperor's explanations on the meaning of the Chinese rites and texts. It was impossible to ignore the Chinese and to seek a solution of questions of this kind from Europeans of whom not one had passed an examination for the Chinese baccalaureate. Even the adversaries of the Jesuits were obliged to rely on evidence supplied by the Chinese. The Legate replied that it was of course necessary to rely on Chinese evidence, but only on that of the dead, for the living were flatterers whose testimony was prompted not by the exigencies of truth, but by those of self-interest.

[1] Stumpf, § 3.

This was Visdelou's principle who was for deciding the controversy solely on the authority of the books.

Meanwhile time went by without any progress being made. The Jesuits felt that Bernardino della Chiesa, Bishop of Peking, should be instructed by the ailing Legate to settle the less important questions, and in particular to pronounce judgment in due form on the documents in the archives of the Jesuits. However, Tournon declared that he wished to reserve judgment to himself on all questions but asked that suggestions should be made to him on particular points. Thereupon the Jesuits requested that the imperial declaration be examined together with other documents, a list of half of which, to the number of forty-five, they produced. The Legate accordingly ordered Maigrot to come to Peking within four months to give evidence on the imperial declaration. Thus the decision was once more put off for another four or five months, though the matter did not rest in the meantime. The Chinese New Year provided the Christians with an opportunity for calling upon the Legate. On this occasion Tournon, using Appiani as his interpreter, spoke to them for the first time on the subject of the rites, with the result that on February 28th laments were heard in all the three churches of Peking. For the moment the Jesuits remained silent, they took counsel with the Bishop of Peking who told them that for the time being the Patriarch had given no binding decision ; for the rest, he said, many Christians were quite unreliable ; before the Legate they said one thing and another elsewhere and Appiani's captious questions and his little presents could extract from them any reply he might wish for.

On March 7th the Christians laid their difficulties before the interpreters Appiani and Frossoloni, who told them that an imperial ordinance granted complete liberty to the Christians; however, when it was discovered, that an ordinance to this effect did not exist, they stated their grievances in a petition. Frossolini told them to go, reproved them for disobedience and tore up the petition. Such an act was not calculated to calm the Christians. On March 21st, as the

Patriarch was giving his blessing to some strangers from a distance, about a hundred Christians came in likewise, fell upon their knees and held up five petitions. Tournon asked them whether they had submitted them to the Jesuits; when they replied in the negative, he told them that he would accept nothing without the Jesuits' signature; for the rest, what did they want? An old man from among the crowd replied that Appiani had bidden them destroy the tablets of their ancestors whereupon Tournon called out with a loud voice that the old man was telling lies. Tournon then asked for the petitions and tried to tear them up, but as his hands were still too weak for this, he asked the Jesuit Gerbillon who was present to do so in his place. Gerbillon begged him not to attempt such a thing; however, the Patriarch threw the petitions on the ground, trampled on them and forbade their bearers to enter his house in the future. The conduct of the Legate called forth enormous indignation, so much so that some of the Christians resolved to denounce him to the tribunal of the rites for having trampled under foot a document bearing the name of God and that of the Emperor.

The Jesuits came to hear of this intention on March 24th and it took them a fortnight's effort to persuade the faithful to desist from their plan.[1]

In other ways also things seemed to take a bad turn. On March 16th the Emperor questioned Gerbillon on the Patriarch's intentions and when the Jesuit gave an evasive answer, he said: "Does that man not yet understand that all the adherents of your law will fall away if he attempts to abolish the rites?" The Jesuit Kilian Stumpf discussed this remark with Frossolini and added that one of the nobles, a Christian from his youth, had sought to induce his family to apostatize in order to preserve them from the Emperor's wrath which would certainly be enkindled against the contemners of the rites. Frossolini replied that Tournon had taken up so intransigent an attitude on the question of the rites only since the middle of the month and as the result

[1] *Ibid.*

of information from his procurator in Rome, viâ Manila, to the effect that a decree had been formulated against the rites. "Then why not wait for the arrival of the decree?" Stumpf observed; "if it forbids the rites, the Jesuits, out of obedience to the Holy See, will not be afraid to sacrifice their lives among the heathen; but why drive the mission to destruction on the sole authority of doubtful rumours?"

With a view to further pressure upon the Christians, Appiani and Frossolini represented to them that they had perjured themselves when they forwarded to Rome a sworn guarantee that in regard to the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors, the Chinese did not hold the superstitious notions which many missionaries ascribed to them. They had perjured themselves since many Chinese entertained such superstitious ideas. However, the oath only referred to the generally accepted view in China, which did not exclude exceptions, a fact, which for the rest, had been expressly admitted. For all that some timorous souls allowed themselves to be alarmed so that they accused themselves of perjury in confession. When a catechist of the name of John Lu was about to receive Holy Communion, someone whispered into his ear whether he had confessed the perjury which Appiani and Frossolini described as a grave sin. Lu allowed himself to be intimidated and confessed to Appiani who demanded a written account of the incident which he then handed to the Legate. In their indignation at such conduct the other Christians renewed the oath previously taken. Lu himself studied the formula of the oath once more when he discovered that it did not differ from what he had written and he attested the fact in another memorial. As the Patriarch repeatedly refused to receive that document, he ended by laying it at the foot of a crucifix in the Legate's house, but he was compelled to flee in haste, to escape from the blows with which he was threatened.

Meanwhile the chief witness for whom everyone was waiting, Maigrot, had not yet arrived though interrogatories of Chinese Christians on the burning question were held under the presidence of Appiani. This prompted the Jesuits

to break the silence they had hitherto observed. They represented to the Patriarch that one of their number should likewise be present at these examinations seeing that Appiani was a declared opponent of theirs, who had rendered them suspect to the Christians and one moreover, as Tournon himself knew, who did not understand Chinese very well. This third petition met with an ungracious reception from the Patriarch and when Stumpf attempted to present a fourth on June 3rd he was not allowed to do so.

On June 29th Tournon was received in solemn audience by the Emperor. When questioned by Kanghi he repeatedly assured him that he had no further official communication to make but requested the Emperor to give him his own commissions for the Pope. Thereupon the Emperor told him that he should inform the Pope that the Chinese had been strong adherents of Confucius for 2,000 years and the Europeans had enjoyed complete tranquillity in China since the arrival of Ricci; however, if in the sequel the Christians departed from Confucius even on a single point, the Europeans were not likely to be tolerated much longer in the empire.

On the same day Tournon informed the Emperor of the arrival of a man of mature years and manners, one distinguished by the episcopal dignity and by his virtues, acquainted with the literature of China as well as with its conditions, for whom the Patriarch had specially sent in order that he might give the Emperor information on the points on which the missionaries were not all of the same opinion. Maigrot's arrival marks the opening of a new phase in the story of Tournon.[1]

The Emperor was anxious to have a personal discussion with Maigrot. On July 22nd a mandarin arrived from Tartary, where Kanghi was at the time, to invite Maigrot to journey thither accompanied by Guetti, Appiani and Angelita from among Tournon's suite, and by the Jesuits Gerbillon or, since the latter was still unwell, by Anthony Thomas, Parennin and Beauvollier. Maigrot failed to shine in the discussion

[1] Stumpf, § 3.

of August 2nd, 1706.[1] He admitted at the very beginning that he understood very little of the Chinese books and he had great difficulty in making himself understood, so much so that the Emperor asked the Jesuit Parennin to act as interpreter. When Kanghi asked Maigrot to interpret the four Chinese inscriptions which had been placed above the Emperor's head, he only interpreted one of them correctly. This explains his conduct previous to the journey to Tartary. On July 1st he had been ordered by the Emperor to indicate in writing the points on which Confucius was at variance with the Christian law and to specify the reasons of this divergence.

Maigrot showed at first some reluctance; eventually he wrote a paper in which he found fault with the sacrifice which the Emperor was wont to offer to Heaven. This constituted an offence that lashed the mandarins into fury. When further pressed by the mandarins to give the reasons for his statements, Maigrot refused and made a written avowal of ignorance. As a matter of fact previous to the opening of the discussions, Gerbillon and Thomas had sent the

[1] Described in detail in STUMPF, § 3. *Cf.* WERKMEISTER, in *Murr Journal*, VI., 168. As a relic of Maigrot's Chinese studies, the Vatican Library preserves: CAROLI MAIGROT, ep. Conon., vicarii Apostolici Fokiensis, *de religione Synica dissertationes quatuor in tomos VIII. distributae*; NEUMANN in *Deutsche Morgenländ., Gesellschaft*, 1850, 235–242. In these studies Maigrot was assisted by two Chinese *literati*, but in his judgment on the meaning of the rites he did not follow them, but the Dominican Vara. *Cf.* the *Appeal of the Augustinian Bishop Álvaro de Benevente to Tournon, April 13, 1707 (State Archives, Munich, *Ies. in gen. fasc.*, 16, n. 279): Maigrot's ignorance "denuo patuit, cum iudicaretur coram iudicibus regiis, simul cum duobus literatis Fokiensibus, qui olim fuerunt eiusdem Ill. D. Cononensis in literatura Sinica magistri, nam praesente ipso asseruerunt, quod iam annos antea eos dicere audivi, vid. se non docuisse praedictum Dominum libros Sinicos in eo sensu, quem ipse tenebat, nam talem sensum non ab illis, sed a Patre Vara Dominicano ipse usurpaverat, nihil ad haec Ill. Domino opponente". (French text in *Anecdotes*, II., 238 *seq.*)

Patriarch a written protest in which they stated that in the negotiations with the Emperor the question was not whether this or that was permitted to the Christians, the only question was whether this or that was the meaning of the Chinese texts and customs. The Emperor had himself spoken in this sense when he declared that he left it to the Pope to decide what was or was not lawful.[1] On his part Tournon had commanded all Superiors to forbid their subjects to enter into disputations with the Emperor. Previous to the delegates' departure for Tartary on July 28th, he repeated the order not to discuss religion before the Emperor, not to say anything that might injure the mission, and not to commit themselves to anything in a way that would make a retreat impossible.[2] On August 10th Appiani was back in Peking with bad news for Tournon. An imperial ordinance declared that Maigrot was an ignorant person, that the Emperor had no subjects who did not venerate Confucius and the ancestors, that against his better knowledge Maigrot asserted that he did not know whether his 5,000 Christians in Fukiën practised the veneration of ancestors, that the disputes among the missionaries turned the Chinese away from Christianity, that instead of building up religion in China, such contentions destroyed it. The chief point of a second ordinance was to the effect that if the missionaries infringed the laws of the empire, there were laws by which they could be punished. A further decree of August 27th confirmed the previous ones.

The negotiations about the rites were thus at an end. In his indignation and disgust at the discord in the Christian camp, the Emperor, who had been so well disposed at first,

[1] "*Eodem die [July 1] P. Gerbillon et die 5 [?] P. Antonius Thomas protestatus est scripto, non agi coram imperatore, an haec vel illa sint licita christianis, sed an sit hic vel ille sensus textuum et rituum Sinicorum, et S. Maiestatem coram dixisse D. Patriarchae, se declarare sensum imperii, an ille concordet an discordet cum lege cristiana non curare, idque discernendum relinquere SS. Pontifici." STUMPF, § 3.

[2] *Ibid.*

now withdrew for good.[1] At one time he had expressed the wish that the Chinese should become Christians,[2] from now onwards he became increasingly averse to Christianity. Numerous other mistakes of Tournon had contributed their share to this result.[3] On his arrival in Peking everybody was naturally eager to learn why the Legate should have undertaken a perilous journey of 9,000 miles to come to China.

On December 26th, 1705, the mandarins pressed him to state in writing the purpose of his journey. Tournon consented to do so; however, the document drawn up by his order merely stated that he desired to establish good relations between Peking and Rome, and that it would be a good thing if someone in Peking were charged with the duty of supplying information and if the same person acted also as Superior of all the missionaries in China. The Emperor was so eager to know the contents of the document that he asked to see it even before there was time to make a neat copy of it, but he was greatly disappointed that Tournon should have given no other reason for his journey. He observed that such a Superior as Tournon desired might of course

[1] *Ibid.*, § 4.

[2] "Ipse [imperator] dixit, se cupere, Sinas fieri christianos, et si ita [contra ritus Sinicos] agat D. Patriarcha, debere se scribere ad SS. Pontificem, non stetisse per S. Maiestatem, quominus late cresceret religio, neque sibi imputandam causam, si funditus evertatur" (*ibid.*, § 5). Kanghi knew the Christian doctrine very well: "*Circa Dei nostri ideam identidem instructus est a religiosis Societatis Iesu ipsi assistentibus et praecipue, ipsomet petente, a P. Ferdinando Ferbiest, et non semel legit Sinico et Tartarico idiomate librum Matthaei Riccii de vera Dei ratione, in quo Dei idea elegantissime et scitissime proponitur, impugnando pariter errores aliarum sectarum, et quod est magis, bis proposita est a P. Antonio Beauvollier in duobus libellis imperatori oblatis, respondendo ad proposita in aliis libellis ab Ill. D. Cononi datis, et post eorum omnium inspectionem praedictum decretum imperiale emanavit, quod totum Romae nondum constat" (Appeal of Álvaro de Benevente) (French text in *Anecdotes*, II., 240).

[3] *Stumpf, § 4.

be appointed, but he should be a man who had lived in China for at least ten years. Now it so happened that Tournon misunderstood a remark of the mandarins and wrongly concluded that his demands had been granted, whilst he interpreted what the Emperor had really said as a refusal. Under pressure of sickness or, perhaps, in consequence of an exaggerated conception of his dignity, the Legate now broke into loud laments that he was refused to-day what had been granted yesterday. The Jesuit Pereyra sought to calm him, but Tournon ordered him to be silent and demanded that his words should be translated. However, as soon as Appiani complied with the order, the mandarins became infuriated by such an insult to their Emperor ; they left and went into another room in which to vent undisturbed their wrath against the barbarian from the West. Pereyra and Gerbillon stayed with Tournon and ventured to represent to him, with all humility, that conduct such as that of the Legate was out of place in Peking. Thereupon Tournon poured the vials of his wrath over Pereyra and as the latter was about to give a calm reply, he was seized by the arm and conducted to the door. It is characteristic of Tournon's mentality that he expressed his contempt to Pereyra for the fact that the latter had laboured for the space of thirty years for a pagan Emperor. The Emperor contented himself with administering a severe rebuke to the interpreter Appiani through one of the chamberlains, but there was no longer question of the proposed appointment of a Superior for all the missionaries in China. Kanghi commanded the Jesuits to explain to the Legate that none of their number would accept such an appointment. As a matter of fact they informed Tournon that they would not allow themselves to be promoted to such a post by any imperial order ; they declared at the same time that they were not responsible for the failure of the Legate's plan—Tournon had actually laid the blame on the Jesuits.

At the audience of December 31st, 1705, the Patriarch expressed a wish to have someone in Peking who would attend to epistolary correspondence with the West. Kanghi replied that one of the Europeans who had long been at

court might be designated for this task, but Tournon said that he would have to choose a man whom he could trust. The remark displeased the Emperor in whose opinion all his servants were men that could be trusted, seeing that their only rôle was to act as the unreasoning instruments of their master. Tournon's second demand was likewise rejected and when he asked the Emperor's leave to buy a house in Peking he had no better luck with his third request. He became involved in even greater difficulties when the question arose of dispatching the presents which Kanghi had destined for the Pope on January 1st, 1706. The Emperor allowed Tournon to entrust the transport of these precious objects to a member of his suite, namely the Auditor Sabinus Mariani, but when one of the mandarins observed that Mariani knew no Chinese, he changed his mind and designated the Jesuit Bouvet not only as Mariani's interpreter but as a formal imperial envoy, to whom alone the mandarins were to hand the presents and to whom alone Kanghi committed his messages for the Pope, together with a letter accrediting him. It would seem that Tournon felt that he owed it to the Holy See and to himself as a papal Legate, not to tolerate interference by the Emperor in arrangements made by himself. Accordingly he kept silence for the moment but handed the keys of the chests containing the presents to Mariani. On the other hand Bouvet was of opinion that any tampering with imperial orders would have the worst consequences, hence on his arrival at Canton he insisted on Mariani complying with them. When Tournon was informed of this occurrence, his anger knew no bounds; Mariani should throw the presents into the sea rather than consign them into the hands of Bouvet, he exclaimed; as for the latter he would have him dealt with by Gerbillon, the Superior of the French Jesuits in Peking. Gerbillon saw that another storm was brewing; even before he received Tournon's order he wrote to Bouvet to leave the question of the presents in the hands of Mariani; if the Emperor's anger was roused they would endeavour to calm him.

The situation had developed thus far when fresh shocks

complicated it still further. Whilst the Patriarch was seeking to restore his health by a visit to the hot springs, the Jesuit Stumpf, accompanied by a mandarin, called on him on June 1st, 1706. Tournon told the Jesuit to leave him alone with the mandarin; to the latter he spoke of his desire to open his heart to the Emperor. To this Kanghi readily assented, but a sudden and serious indisposition of the prelate necessitated the postponement of the audience so that on June 20th Kanghi sent a mandarin to whom Tournon was invited to confide whatever he had intended to communicate to the Emperor. The Legate replied that unless a strict imperial command ordered otherwise, he could only open his mind to the Emperor himself as the matter concerned the monarch's person and family. Now according to Chinese ideas this was a serious offence for it was an unheard of thing in China that a visitor from a foreign land should presume to offer weighty advice to the Emperor. As a matter of fact Kanghi was indignant, but Tournon was even more angry when he received a command not to keep his secret from the Emperor much longer. In loud tones and without regard for his alleged secret, which could only be made known to the Emperor, he now began to vent his resentment in fits of anger; it was the Emperor's concern even more than his own, he exclaimed, that Bouvet should pose as an ambassador and that the Portuguese suffered no one to enter His Majesty's service who had not come to China viâ Portugal. The *entourage* of the Legate was not slow in realizing how much unpleasantness he was likely to create for himself by such remarks; none of them were prepared to interpret them until at length Appiani consented to do so. However, the mandarins refused to deliver such a message by word, with the result that they were engaged until one hour before midnight in drafting a written formula.

The Jesuits appealed to the Bishop of Peking to calm the angry man whilst Tournon's *entourage* also made fresh efforts to appease him; but all was in vain; the Patriarch replied that he was bound to safeguard the service of the Holy See and forced his reluctant chancellor to put his seal to the document.

At court the revelation of the Legate's secret was awaited with great eagerness, but no sooner had the heir to the crown cast a glance at Tournon's communication than he exclaimed: "This foreigner deserves death! Is not Bouvet our real ambassador? Yet his own servant seeks to rise against him; or is it possible to accept his servant as an ambassador of the Empire?" The Emperor himself repressed his annoyance, but his real sentiments were revealed when he asked the Europeans who had long resided in China whether in Europe Tournon would be considered as deserving of death, and whether Mariani would escape capital punishment there? In a letter to the Patriarch, the Emperor took him to task for his conduct towards Bouvet. As papal envoy, religious questions were his sole concern; whilst he pretended that his demands about the Portuguese were exclusively prompted by a desire to destroy the very root of the disputes, he himself instigated the worst dissensions; up to this time the conduct of the Europeans had been excellent, but the arrival of the Legate changed all that; in future no missionary would be allowed to enter China without a preliminary examination by the mandarins.

The Jesuits had prepared the Patriarch for the decree, hence he received it with expressions of submission, but when the mandarins asked him whether it was not necessary to recall Bouvet, the Legate felt grievously offended. He burst into tears, a circumstance that proved his salvation. The mandarins inquired with great sympathy for the cause of his tears. Tournon replied that he wept because the Pope would lay all the blame on him; he begged that both Mariani and Bouvet might set out on their journey. After a moving description of Tournon's tears Kanghi granted this request. Gerbillon and the other Jesuits had good reason to congratulate the Patriarch that the storm had passed so happily.

However, tolerable relations with the Emperor were never re-established. Kanghi was embittered against Maigrot and expected an apology of some kind from Tournon for the latter's conduct. The mandarins accordingly advised the Legate to admit, in general terms which meant nothing

in reality and committed him to nothing, that a mistake had been made when a personality like Maigrot was chosen; but to this Tournon would not consent. The Emperor let him feel his resentment by sundry molestations and when the Patriarch retaliated by insisting on his Legatine rank, Kanghi got more angry than ever and demanded to see his credentials as an ambassador. Again Tournon refused; Kanghi accordingly ordered the presents for the Pope to be brought back to Peking until the arrival of a properly accredited envoy. This was at first considered as no more than a threat, but when the Legate made no attempt to calm the monarch, the threat was carried into effect in the first days of October. Tournon was ordered to return to Canton. He was allowed to choose the day of his departure, but not to alter it once he had fixed on a date.

(4.)

Tournon's embassy led not only to the destruction of the mission, it was also fraught with the worst consequences for the Jesuits in China.[1] The Legate made inquiries into their life and conduct and in so doing made use of the evidence of corrupt men against whom the Bishop of Peking had to lodge a protest; he declared the contracts concluded by the Jesuits null and void without giving the Fathers a hearing, and laid on them the blame for every unpleasantness that befell him.[2] The Fathers also fell in the Emperor's estimation, to the irreparable injury of Christianity, because the insinuations and malicious rumours which Tournon's companions spread against the old missionaries, created suspicions in his mind. One of the persons in Tournon's suite, Guetti, was compelled

[1] *Stumpf, § 4, towards the end, and § 7 where no less than twenty-five accusations against the Jesuits are discussed. *Cf. Lettres édif.*, III., Paris, 1643, 177–181.

[2] *Stumpf, § 7, and the extremely passionate letters of Tournon to Maigrot and the Jesuits in Peking, in Jann, 424 *seq.*, 426 *seq.*

by threats to reveal what he knew against the Jesuits. The heir to the throne in particular, whom the Christians had reason to fear "even more than fire and sword", gathered evidence against them in the provinces and caused one of his servants to sham conversion to Christianity, in order that he might act as a spy. To the great delight of the bonzes Christianity itself became suspect. The Emperor had so often declared that the Chinese considered the Christian law to be a good one, because they saw how the old missionaries carried out in practice the truthfulness and charity which they preached, but now that they denounced each other, even to the Emperor, the Chinese had been undeceived.

At the moment when Stumpf set down his laments in writing,[1] Tournon had not yet published the papal decision on the question of the rites, in fact Stumpf even ventured to look forward to the publication with a measure of optimism. "If the decision agrees with the decrees of the Emperor," he wrote, "there is a prospect that our holy religion will continue to exist; if not, the only thing for us to do will be to commend this vineyard to the Lord of the vineyard and to prepare ourselves for the storms which we see raging to this day in the neighbouring kingdoms. Let heaven's will be done. But even as the Peking Fathers have fearlessly lived up till now in close proximity to peril, so will they face exile and death without resistance and in complete submission to the Holy See." How happy they would have been if their subsequent story had had nothing worse to chronicle than martyrdom and banishment!

The Emperor made the missionaries feel his displeasure in acute fashion. Maigrot was arrested at Peking and on December 17th, 1706, he was banished from China. The same fate befell the Vicars Apostolic of Kweitsheu and Yünnan, Visdelou and Le Blanc. The vials of the imperial wrath were especially poured over Tournon's interpreter, the Lazarist Appiani (*obiit* 1732); after lingering in prison for close on twenty years he recovered his liberty in 1726, after Kanghi's

[1] **Compendium*, § 6.

death and at the prayer of Benedict XIII.[1] On December 18th, 1706, the Emperor published a decree to the effect that only those missionaries would be allowed to stay in China who could produce a so-called "Piao" or official permit.[2]

However bitter Kanghi's resentment against Tournon may have been, he was never betrayed into uttering one word against the Pope.[3] He sent two embassies to him, first the two Jesuits Barros and Beauvollier and later on two other Jesuits, Fathers Provana and De Arxo. In view of the fact that the authenticity of the imperial decree on the rites had been called in question, these envoys were to take with them an authentication under the imperial seal. However, the first two ambassadors never reached Rome at all for they perished in a shipwreck in January, 1708, whilst Provana and Arxo were indeed entrusted with a papal letter for the Emperor but Arxo died on July 29th, 1711, in Spain, on the return journey, and Provana was taken so grievously sick that he was unable to leave Italy. Thus Kanghi obtained no reply at all and this seeming slight to his dignity irritated him to such a degree that he began to meditate a plan for the extirpation of Christianity in China. However, the Jesuits succeeded in calming him.[4] Meanwhile the only thing Clement XI. could do was to comfort Le Blanc and Appiani by letter.[5] On March 4th, 1709, he requested the King of Portugal to intervene with Kanghi whilst at the same time he appealed to the Emperor of China himself [6] and begged him to withdraw his ordinances.

At the time of the issue of these Briefs the Pope knew nothing of the pitiful fate which had befallen his Legate two years earlier. Kanghi had indeed dismissed Tournon with

[1] JANN, 431. On Appiani, see THOMAS, 196, 290, and Appiani's letter of November 22, 1728, *ibid.*, 355–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 424.

[3] *STUMPF, § 5.

[4] JANN, 488.

[5] August 22, 1711, *Op.*, Epist., 1582 *seq.*

[6] JANN, 594, 596.

every show of honour and had defrayed his travelling expenses.[1] On his arrival at Nangking the Patriarch published on January 25th, 1707, not indeed the text of the papal decree against the rites, but individual clauses of it and that in an even stricter form, inasmuch as he threatened with excommunication those guilty of infraction of the ordinance, a measure from which the Pope had refrained.[2] This step roused Kanghi's anger once more; he had the Legate arrested and taken to Canton, though in an honourable fashion. From Canton Tournon was transported to Macao, where he was handed over to the Portuguese and thus to his executioners. Shortly after the accession of the new King of Portugal, and at a time when he was still in ignorance of his dispositions, the Pope had requested him to intervene with Kanghi.[3] But John V. modelled himself on Louis XIV. and was resolved to go beyond the State absolutism of his predecessor. Tournon's action he regarded as an inroad into his own sphere and a violation of his right of patronage with which he meant to deal with the utmost ruthlessness.[4] Instructions to this effect were sent to the East, hence Tournon found himself a prisoner as soon as he set foot on Portuguese territory. He was immediately surrounded by a strong body of troops—to do him honour, it was said—but in reality, and in spite of repeated requests to the Commander-in-Chief of Macao, Diego de Pinho Texeira, the soldiers kept an uninterrupted watch over the Legate's palace. Attempts were also made to isolate Tournon from the priests of his suite. One of these, Peter Hervé, was arrested on his way to church and thrown into prison, the others could not be induced to step out of Tournon's house. Access to the Legate was forbidden to almost everybody.[5] The military judge Lobo da Gama issued a proclamation declaring Tournon's residence a State prison.[6]

[1] *Stumpf, § 1, towards the end.

[2] Jann, 428 *seqq.*

[3] March 2, 1709, *Op.*, Epist., 594.

[4] Jann, 455.

[5] *Ibid.*, 439.

[6] *Ibid.*, 441.

On December 3rd, 1708, the Commander-in-Chief, Texeira, forbade all Portuguese to obey the Legate until the royal Chancellery of Portugal should have recognized his Bulls; anyone acting otherwise would be handed over, in chains, to the tribunal of Goa and his property would be forfeit to the crown.[1] After the Viceroy of the Indies had approved Texeira's measures in September, 1708, and again in December, 1709, the latter passed from words to deeds. Four Dominicans, for the sole crime of having obeyed the Legate, were arrested in church whilst a service was in progress. Arrayed as they were in their sacred vestments, they were taken through the streets to the fortress, to the scandal even of the pagans. Similar treatment was meted out to other religious. A number of missionaries and servants of Tournon were manacled in the market place and removed to prison, the churches were invaded and his adherents dragged out or besieged in them, until they were almost starved to death.[2] Even worse humiliations were meted out to Tournon by the ecclesiastical superiors who, in obedience to instructions from Lisbon, sought to rid themselves of the inconvenient Legate by questioning the legitimacy of his nomination and by demanding that he should exhibit his credentials to the Bishop through the royal Portuguese Chancellery. To this the Patriarch refused to submit since even papal credentials without the royal *placet* would have been ignored. The Primate of Goa raised the first doubts about Tournon's mission in a pastoral letter of May 12th, 1706. João de Cazal, Bishop of Macao, also published the above-mentioned pastoral on June 5th, 1706, and one of his own on July 24th, 1707, in which he declared the censures pronounced by the Legate to be null and void and forbade his flock to recognize him.[3] Cazal's conduct was all the more surprising as he had previously recognized the genuineness of the Legate's mission. Now he did not even wait for Tournon's arrival in his episcopal city but as soon

[1] *Ibid.*, 447 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 461 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 435, 437, 442 *seq.*

as the Patriarch, on reaching Canton, set foot on territory subject to the jurisdiction of Macao, Cazal wrote to ask him for his credentials.[1]

The letter of the Primate of Goa was read in all the churches of the city,[2] whilst Cazal ordered his own pastoral to be read in all the parish and monastery churches. He was obeyed by the Superiors of the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Minor Recollects and by the parish priest of one of the Augustinian churches. But the aforesaid parish priest, as well as the Superior of the Jesuits, added a clause to their signature to the effect that they had subscribed by order of their Superiors,[3] for the Provincial of the Jesuits, Pinto, refused to admit the genuineness of the Patriarch's faculties.[4] In the Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan residences, discussions were taking place on the attitude to be adopted towards Tournon.[5] Nevertheless a considerable number of religious supported the Legate and even persecution failed to shake their determination [6]; as for the opponents, they were excommunicated by Tournon.

The Legate's conduct in Peking can hardly be the subject of praise. Granted that even the ablest diplomatist could not have enforced the prohibition of the rites without giving offence, it must be admitted that Tournon frequently provoked and irritated the Emperor without necessity. On the other hand one can only admire his conduct at Macao. Though pressed on every side and forsaken by almost everyone, he was not to be prevailed upon to make concessions with which he might have bought his freedom. Defenceless though he was, he fearlessly pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the powerful enemies into whose hands he had fallen. He may almost be styled a martyr for the prerogatives of the Holy See, and he himself was conscious of being such a martyr.

[1] *Ibid.*, 435.
[2] *Ibid.*, 443.
[3] *Ibid.*, 437.
[4] *Ibid.*, 439.
[5] *Ibid.*, 449.
[6] *Ibid.*, 449 *seq.*

At Canton and Macao there was no longer question for him of the rites, but of resistance to the *placet* of the State, hence of the rights of the Holy See. There can be no doubt that his early death on June 9th, 1710, was hastened by the sufferings of mind and body which he had undergone during his captivity. For a considerable time he was cut off from all communication with the outside world; he was not allowed to leave the house and very few visitors were permitted to see him; at night the doors of his house were barred with chains.[1] If Tournon had not been great in action, he showed himself great in suffering and in enduring. Clement XI. did all he could on his behalf; in a series of letters he represented to the King of Portugal the enormity of the injustice done at Macao to a Legate of the Holy See,[2] and up to the time of Tournon's death he continued to demand reparation for these outrages.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 464. It would seem that these reports were exaggerated. *Cf.* BAHR, 98 *seq.*: "Tournon was received at Macao after his return from Peking by all, clerics and layfolk alike, with all the honours due to his high rank; in the years that followed he exercised the office and dignity of an Apostolic Legate with complete freedom and was often seen in the city in his sedan-chair, and in particular when on August 11, 1708, news arrived that His Holiness Clement XI. had raised him to the dignity of a Cardinal. Amid the ringing of the bells of Macao, great festivities were held, and his Eminence appeared publicly in a new sedan-chair lined with scarlet material, and he was carried on the shoulders of eight Moors or Kaffirs. . . . However, it cannot be denied that a few months before his death he had to endure much unpleasantness, not from the Christians, nor from the Europeans, but from the pagans and the Chinese who did not understand his high dignity and therefore did not respect him as they should have done. . . . The strong guard which surrounds the House or Palace of the Cardinal began on January 22, 1710 . . . the reason for it was that some men of the suite of the Cardinal, bad and rough fellows, with whom might was right, Moors or Kaffirs, had laid violent hands on a Mandarin . . ."

[2] Letters of January 25 and July 12, 1710, January 12 and March 14, 1711, *Op.*, Epist., 676, 1478, 1500.

[3] Briefs of September 19 and January 10, 1715, *ibid.*, 1590, 2042.

A supreme token of recognition on the part of the Pope of the sorely tried prelate was the bestowal of the red hat upon him shortly before his death. The Spanish admiral in the Philippines had the bearers of the red hat taken to Macao under the Spanish flag so that the Portuguese were unable to interfere with them.[1] Tournon's nomination to the cardinalate had taken place on August 1st, 1707,[2] and he had expressed his thanks to the Pope on November 30th, 1709.[3] When speaking of him at a secret consistory on October 14th, 1711, the Pope eulogized Tournon as one who had been proved by tribulation, as gold is tried by fire.[4]

(5.)

Clement XI. had done all that it was in his power to do for Tournon. At first he was full of confidence in the King of Portugal. When he received information of the expulsion of the Vicars Apostolic Maigrot, Le Blanc and Visdelou, though not of the arrest of the Legate, he appealed to John V. on March 2nd, 1709, to protect the Christians of China.[5] On the very next day he received news of Tournon's tragic fate. A courier was at once dispatched to Lisbon with a letter in which the Pope once more declared his faith in the King's piety and laid all the blame for the outrageous treatment of the Legate on the royal officials.[6] John V. did not even deign to acknowledge the letter. On January 25th, 1710, and again on July 12th, on the occasion of the grant of a dispensation, Clement XI. renewed his remonstrances. Again there was no answer. At last on January 17th, 1711, there came one with

[1] JANN, 464, 472.
[2] *Ibid.*, 423 ; *Op.*, Orat., 30.
[3] JANN, 462.
[4] *Ibid.*, 469 *seq* ; *Op.*, Orat., 58 *seq.*
[5] *Op.*, Epist., 596.
[6] *Ibid.*, 598.

the assurance that the King had repeatedly ordered the Viceroy of the Indies to set Tournon at liberty. Relying on this word of a King Clement XI. now really believed that his Legate was again free ; he accordingly charged Tournon with the execution of a fresh decree on the rites dated September 25th, 1710, and this time also he prayed for the King's support. Tournon's letter of November .30th, 1709, thanking the Pope for his elevation to the cardinalate, put an end to all illusions. The Pope replied on August 22nd, 1711, but by that time Tournon had long been dead.[1]

The Holy See could no longer look for support from any quarter : Spain was in the throes of the war of succession and Louis XIV. had demanded Tournon's credentials even after the latter's landing at Pondicherry,[2] so that Clement XI.'s only resource was to remonstrate again, and that with the utmost insistence, with the King of Portugal about the outrageous conduct of his officials.[3] Meanwhile appeals against Tournon's measures had reached Rome from China. Several Vicars Apostolic, among them even opponents of the rites, and twenty-two Jesuits, appealed against the Patriarch's prohibition of January 25th, 1707.[4] Such a step is intelligible enough because Tournon's decree had put the missionaries in a most painful position. With the best of wills it was impossible to do away by one stroke with the observance of the rites by the people, but as Tournon had pronounced immediate excommunication for any concession, the missionaries were bound to fall into worse troubles of conscience.[5] The Jesuits and the Dominicans of Macao also appealed to Rome. Tournon had excommunicated the Jesuits of that place because of their non-acceptance of his ordinance, and had placed their college and theological seminary under an interdict.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 1580 ; JANN, 457–463.
[2] JANN, 465.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 430.
[6] *Ibid.*, 450.

In Rome the matter was accordingly discussed anew [1] with the immediate result that the appeal from Macao was rejected on August 8th, 1709. On September 25th, 1710, the Inquisition published a decree [2] confirming both the Roman prohibition of the rites of November 20th, 1704, and that of the Legate Tournon of January 25th, 1707. The Pope prescribed the observance of these prohibitions under pain of excommunication, thus reinforcing his first prohibition of 1704 in Tournon's sense. No pretext, and in particular, no appeal to Rome could excuse disobedience ; detailed instructions on the execution of the decrees were to follow. All publications on the question of the rites were forbidden under pain of excommunication. Previous to this, in March, 1709, the decision of the question of November 20th, 1704, had been published in Rome also.[3]

The arguments used for the purpose of circumventing the decision of 1704 may be gathered from the letter which Antonio Banchieri, Assessor of the Inquisition, addressed to the Jesuit General, Michelangelo Tamburini, on October 11th, 1710, at the same time as he forwarded to him the decree of that tribunal. Some thought, so we read in the letter, that the decision of 1704 obliged only conditionally, that is, on the assumption that the arguments there alleged tallied with actual facts. It was his duty to state that such an interpretation was wrong, hence he prayed the General to

[1] *Cf.* **Miscellanea di Clemente XI.*, t. 236 : Congregazioni tenute nel Febr., 1709 ; Scrittura spettante al dispaccio fatto in Cina dopo questa congregazione nel 2 Mart. 1709 ; t. 237 : Congregazione tenuta avanti il Papa 1709, 8 Agosto, da 11 Cardinali ; Congregazione 4 ottobre 1709, che non fece alcuna risoluzione ; t. 239 : Ant. Vaira, Responsio ad memorialia exhibita Clementi XI. a Patribus Soc. Iesu missionis Sinensis ; t. 240 : Vaira, De ritibus Sinensibus diss. altera ; t. 242 : Paper on the conflict ; t. 243 : also ; Congregatio coram SS. 4 Agosto e Sett. 1710 ; t. 244 : Congreg. coram SS. 18–25 Sett. 1710 ; t. 247 : Session of the Inquisition, September 11, 1710. Papal Sec. Arch.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, II., 280 *seqq.*

BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2380.

transmit to his subjects in China, together with the decree of the Inquisition, this present fuller explanation as having binding force. Tamburini replied on the same day, October 11th, protesting his entire submission and promising to do his best to get his subjects faithfully to carry out the decree. A similar exhortation was addressed on October 17th to the Generals of the Dominicans and the Augustinians as well as to the Commissaries-General of the Franciscans Observant and the *Riformati* who declared their submission on the 18th.[1]

It goes without saying that the enemies of the Society made the most of the excommunication of the Jesuits of Macao. The Jesuits, they said, talked a great deal about submission to the Holy See, but no one was less obedient than they if a papal decree happened to be not to their liking. This accusation gave grievous pain to the Fathers themselves. When the delegates of the Order met in Rome in 1710 for the customary triennial assembly, the most important instruction with which the various Provinces charged the delegates was that they should deal most strongly with a reproach that hurt them far more than all the other innumerable accusations and calumnies, for it touched the Order, as it were, in the apple of its eye. Accordingly the assembly unanimously resolved that the General should protest to the Pope, before the whole Catholic Church, in the name of the Order, its firm and unshakable determination to submit to every decree of the Holy See, and in particular to the decisions on the rites dated November 20th, 1704, and September 25th, 1710, and to the declaration contained in the letter of the Inquisition dated October 11th.

Accordingly on November 20th, 1710, the General of the Society, Tamburini, addressed a letter to the Pope in which he promised submission in the most unequivocal terms. If it were possible, he wrote, to think of words more clear and forcible, with which to express his sentiments, it was his will that the words actually used by him should have that

[1] Printed in *Acta causae rituum seu ceremoniarum Sinensium*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1715, 68–71; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 280 *seq.*, note.

meaning, but if any one of his subjects permitted himself to speak in a different sense, the Order rejected him in advance and considered him as a degenerate son.

The memorial of the Procurators to the General was signed by the latter's Assistants in the name of the various Provinces subject to the Assistants and by the Procurators of the Provinces then in Rome. Among the signatures of the Procurators those of Spain, Portugal, Brazil and the rest of South America, Sicily, Turin, Ireland, Galicia, Masovia are wanting—no doubt because the delegates of those Provinces were unable to be present. The Spanish war of succession may account for much in this respect, hence it is not to be wondered at if Malabar and Goa also did not sign expressly. This deficiency is made up for by the subscription of the Spanish and the Portuguese Assistants. The last signature is that of Provana, the Procurator for China.[1] The General forwarded the letter of the Assessor of the Inquisition to the Visitor of China and Japan and the Vice-Provincial of China with orders not to depart from it neither to the right nor to the left.[2]

In spite of these assurances further papal decrees on the Chinese mission were issued on July 3rd, 1708. Tournon had decreed that no missionary was to enter or leave China, or assume the office of Superior there, without his leave. On March 15th, 1711, Clement XI. confirmed this order of his Legate and extended it to his successor.[3] From this it would appear that the idea of a permanent legation to China was being considered in Rome; as a matter of fact ulterior developments may have suggested the advisability of such a step.

The year 1714 came to an end without any steps having been taken in China to promulgate the decrees of 1704 and 1710.[4] In January, 1715, the Bishop of Peking, Bernardino

[1] The declaration is printed in *Bull. Clementis XI., Romae*, 1725, 517; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 90; JANN, 451 *seqq.*

[2] *TAMBURINI, November 15, 1710; see Appendix No. 2.

[3] *Ius pontif.*, II., 283 *seq.*

[4] Both *letters are in the possession of the Jesuits.

Della Chiesa, instructed his Vicar-General, Carlo Castorano, to undertake at last such a promulgation, but various objections were made immediately. Castorano made stern representations to the Superior of the Jesuits, Stumpf,[1] and the Bishop on his part wrote in the same sense. Stumpf repudiated the reproach of disobedience; as attested by all their letters to Rome and to the Bishop himself, the Jesuits had always been obedient in the past and were so at this time also. Before Castorano and before the Bishop, Stumpf wrote, he had solemnly declared that he had received the Roman decrees on the rites from the General, that he had accepted them, accepted them now and would accept them in the future, as often as the Pope or the Bishop desired it, regardless of personal danger or the fate of the mission. However, a new imperial decree had been published the text of which was not yet known in Lintshing, where the Bishop resided; after seeing it the Bishop's delegate had consented to a delay until the Bishop should be informed. Had he known but one half of what he had learned from the letter of the Jesuits of Peking, the Bishop wrote, he would have held back more than he had done. On January 17th, 1715, the Jesuits Parennin and Stumpf wrote to Della Chiesa that the reason why it was difficult to publish the papal decrees lay in the fact that it would not be possible to keep the knowledge of such a publication from the Emperor, as the Bishop desired.[2] Della Chiesa wrote to the two Fathers to defer the publication and in another letter he acknowledged the Jesuits' obedience[3] whilst he appealed to Rome to grant a surcease of the publication of the decrees. The Franciscan Commissary Fernandez also wrote to Rome that so far not one of the Vicars Apostolic had made up his mind to promulgate the decrees.[4]

[1] See below, p. 463.

[2] *Stumpf to Della Chiesa, October 6, 1715; see Appendix No. 4.

[3] *To Stumpf, Parennin and Contancin, January 25, 1715, *ibid.*

[4] Tamburini's Memorial in *Anecdotes*, VI., 49.

(6.)

When the situation had thus become hopelessly involved, a man was found in the person of the Lazarist Theodoric Pedrini, bold enough either to unravel the Gordian knot or to cut it. Pedrini was born in 1670 at Fermo. He was possessed of remarkable skill in the confection of musical instruments, more particularly in the construction of the precursor of the modern piano. Tournon judged that he would be the right man for the court of Peking; however, when the Legate set out Pedrini missed the connection and reached China after an adventurous journey viâ Chile, Mexico and the Philippines, only just in time to witness Tournon's death.[1] The choice of such a route was assuredly no proof of outstanding commonsense, however, once his pianos had won for him Kanghi's high favour,[2] Pedrini felt emboldened to tackle single-handed the solution of the question of the rites. Kanghi had given orders that every Roman decision on the rites was to be brought to his notice, but so far both the Bishop and the missionaries had taken good care not to give him such information. That which others had kept quiet, Pedrini now revealed openly in a letter to the Emperor,[1] regardless of the fact that Della Chiesa had made him promise on oath to observe silence on the matter,[4] and without considering that by speaking he hopelessly compromised his Bishop. At the same time he did not shrink from accusing his brother priests, the Jesuits, before a pagan Emperor. In spite of his avowed opposition to the rites, Pedrini did not forfeit Kanghi's favour for the time being, on the contrary, he was even commissioned to write to the Pope in the Emperor's name.[5] In so doing he went so far as to insert in his letter the patent falsehood that the rites might be condemned by

[1] Thomas, 118, 220.
[2] *Ibid.*, 229.
[3] *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.*
[4] Tamburini, in *Anecdotes*, VI., 177. *Cf. ibid.*, 51.
[5] Thomas, 238.

the Pope without risk seeing that Kanghi was not interested in the matter.[1]

Pedrini was looked upon as a confidant of Kanghi, hence his communication impressed Rome and encouraged the Pope to issue a fresh and more stringent Constitution.[2] The decrees hitherto issued had failed to create harmony among the missionaries. They were acquainted with them and had submitted to them, but for various reasons they hesitated to carry them out as they feared their execution would be the destruction of the mission. Soon it was rumoured that the Pope himself had suspended his ordinance, that the decrees had not been issued in due form, that the decisions only obliged with the proviso that the facts on which they were based were true, that the Pope would issue further explanations, that the grievous injury which would accrue to the mission excused the non-execution of the decrees and that one could still go by the concessions of Alexander VII. The new papal Constitution of March 19th, 1715,[3] declared all these arguments null and void.[4] It confirmed both the Roman condemnation of the rites, the clauses of which were briefly summed up, and Tournon's prohibition; the Bishops were ordered to carry it through. One important disposition was added: no priest was to be allowed to exercise his functions

[1] *Ibid.*, 260, 261, 264. *Cf.* below, p. 461 note.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*

[3] Constitution "Ex illo die", *Ius pontif.*, II., 306 *seqq.* Commentaries on it in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 245. *Ibid.*, three drafts of the Constitution with the Pope's corrections; votes of the cardinals. *Ibid.*, t. 249–253: documents on the imprisonment and death of Tournon; t. 254: State of the mission in India and China after Tournon's death; t. 255–7: Acts 1711–1720; t. 258: Fatinelli to Clement XI. on the rites and on Tournon, 1707–1716; t. 259–260: Acts of 1699–1713; on the missions of the Capuchins of Madraspatam, of the Dominicans and the Theatines in Tibet, of the Carmelites with the Grand Mogul; t. 261: "Lettere e scritture consegnate a SS. dal card. Fabroni alli 12 Sett. 1716." Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Ius pontif.*, II., 307.

unless he had first sworn to comply with these prohibitions. The decree gave the formula of the oath: all missionaries were to sign it and the signed formulas had to be forwarded to Rome.

Clement XI. had hoped that his decision would clarify the situation but the result was that it became more involved than ever. Acceptance of the new ordinance was greatly hampered by the fact that it was soon learnt that its publication was in part due to Pedrini's inaccurate statements.[1] To this was added the interference of the secular rulers. A month before the arrival of the Bull, the Governor, the Bishop of Macao and the Superior of the Jesuits, had received a royal order from Lisbon not to publish, for the time being, any fresh decrees on the question of the rites. Now the Bishop of Peking had been expressly dispensed by Propaganda from the duty of obeying the King in all that concerned the questions of the rites. Kanghi, too, who was away in Tartary just then, was not indifferent about the new Bull. On being informed of the arrival of some ships from Europe, he at once dispatched an envoy to Canton who, on September 20th, questioned each missionary individually whether a decree on the rites had come from Rome. Now a few missionaries had clandestinely made known the new papal decree, but none of them had the courage frankly to admit the truth before the imperial envoy. The religious said that such orders were

[1] "Attulit haec [navis Lusitana, August 30] epistolas A. R. P. Nostri, praecepti observantiam suis enixe commendantis. Ex his pariter, sicut et ex aliis Romanis non minus certo dolenter intellectum fuit, D. Pedrini clericum, qui Pekini degit, mendacissimis Romae nuntiis persuasisse, nullum in prohibendis ritibus esse periculum, eo quod imperator de iis non curaret: ipsummet Pedrini prohibitionis decreta suae Maiestati singillatim iam proposuisse, nec eam inde commotam, ullumve indignationis signum monstrasse. Ut proinde Roma minime dubitarit, ad praeceptum adeo rigorosum progredi. *Succinta relatio [November 7, 1717] eorum, quae in Sinis contigere circa et post publicatum ibi praeceptum Apostolicum super prohibendis ritibus" (property of the Jesuits). What follows is based on this report.

addressed to the secular priests whilst the latter sought to extricate themselves with evasive answers. The result was that on October 31st, Kanghi published a circular in which the rumours concerning a papal prohibition of the rites were described as malicious inventions: all the missionaries were made to subscribe to the imperial manifesto.

The missionaries' fears of the consequences of the papal decree were justified by the excitement of the Christians when a beginning was made with its promulgation. In the early hours of September 25th a manifesto was found posted up in all the churches of Canton, the author of which declared that he had been a Christian, but that he had found out that the Western Religion was a false one, seeing that it forbade the veneration of the ancestors, hence he urged everyone to cast it off.

In spite of their worst fears all the missionaries of Canton submitted when Cerù, the Procurator of the Progaganda missionaries, to whom the papal Constitution had been forwarded, brought it to their notice, not officially, but in a friendly and informal fashion. All took the required oath and prayed for absolution from any censures they might have incurred.

News of the new Constitution reached Peking in the first days of October. Kilian Stumpf, the Visitor of the Jesuits, requested his subjects to submit to the decision, regardless of the protest of the King of Portugal, and to carry out whatever the Bishops and Vicars Apostolic might enjoin them. On the other hand they should do nothing rash in so important a matter, in which the salvation of thousands was at stake. All those who, with a view to escaping from the straits of conscience which could be foreseen, wished to leave the mission, were free to do so, but he begged all of them to put their trust in God and to remain at their posts, though for the time being they should refrain from exercising their priestly functions until a solution was found. Stumpf submitted his letters to the Bishops for correction by them, if necessary.

In the second half of October, Cerù forwarded printed

copies of the papal decree to the Bishop of Peking[1] who resided at Lintshing in Shantung. Thereupon the Bishop summoned all the missionaries of the province to his residence, whilst he dispatched his Vicar-General, the Franciscan Carlo Orazio of Castorano to Peking for the purpose of promulgating the Bull there. This commission Castorano executed as soon as he set foot in the Jesuit College, but as he was about to proceed with all speed to the residence of the French Jesuits, he was warned not to publish the Bull there just then inasmuch as, by reason of the subscription to the imperial circular, the house was full of suspicious people from the imperial palace ; he would be much safer at the eastern Residence of the Jesuits where he could send for the Fathers individually. However, trusting in Pedrini's assurances, Castorano would not listen to these warnings. The purpose of his visit became quickly known, with the result that he was taken to prison fastened with nine chains for having published a false edict against the customs of the country.

Castorano's arrest was an evil presage. Stumpf spent the whole night writing letters, first to the Bishop, lest the interrogatory to which he too was sure to be subjected should find him altogether unprepared, then to the missionaries of Shantung whom he begged to repair in all haste to Lintshing, to support their Bishop as Della Chiesa was inadequately acquainted with the language of the country.

The Bishop's interrogatory was not long delayed. Della Chiesa admitted that in the course of the preceding years he had on two occasions received decrees from Rome on the question of the rites, but that out of consideration for the Emperor he had not dared to publish them. He had repeatedly informed Rome that these decrees could not be carried into effect in China. During the present year he had received yet another decree, accompanied by severe threats should he refuse to promulgate it. Pedrini had written to the Pope that the Emperor approved the Roman decrees, and that

[1] *Cf. Arch. Francisc. hist.*, XV., 591 ; XXI., 146 ; LEMMENS, 129 *seqq.*

relying on that fact Castorano had gone to Peking by order of his own Bishop for the purpose of promulgating the Bull. His not informing the Emperor was a crime worthy of death, for which he craved forgiveness. Castorano was subjected to even more searching interrogations, but he carefully avoided avowing his opposition to the rites, though he had always fiercely combated them.

However, it was upon Pedrini that, after Kanghi's return from Tartary, the vials of the imperial wrath were poured out. Although put on his guard, Pedrini went to meet the Emperor at a time when he was still ignorant of Castorano's arrest. As soon as Kanghi caught sight of him he took him violently to task through one of the eunuchs and held him responsible for Castorano's fate. Kanghi ordered all Europeans to appear before him on November 12th when he began by reproaching them in general terms with having made an ill return for his favours. After that the storm burst over Pedrini: how dare he send false information to the Pope? When Pedrini replied that such things were beyond him, that he did not meddle with them, Kanghi asked for the memorial on the rites and on the Jesuits which Pedrini had previously presented to him; he himself read a few passages from the document and gave a summary of its contents. On the evening of the following day Pedrini had to endure further reproaches from the Emperor in presence of all the Europeans; he pleaded guilty and was forgiven but was compelled to put his signature to a disavowal of his previous letter to the Pope. Pedrini's pardon was extended to Castorano as to the less guilty of the two, but the latter was ordered to recover all the printed copies of the last Bull and to send them back to Europe. Castorano contented himself with returning two copies, a circumstance which involved him in considerable difficulties with the mandarins.

As for the missionaries everything now depended on the action of the Bishop of Peking. In his interrogatory Della Chiesa had described the Bull as impossible of execution and he had written to the Jesuits of Peking that he would never have given orders for its promulgation if he had had

knowledge of Pedrini's untruths or had suspected that the Emperor's anger would be roused as it was. A little later, however, he wrote that he could do nothing to attenuate the papal order and when pressed by Stumpf he admitted that Pedrini had certainly deserved the galleys,[1] and that he had explicitly written to Rome that in future no credence should be given to so thoughtless a man ; as for instructions on how to deal with existing difficulties, a blind man was no judge of colours.

With the Vicar-General Castorano the Jesuits insisted that he should give them written instructions whether and how the papal ordinances should be translated, what precautions should be taken when bringing them to the knowledge of the Christians and what customs might be permitted to the neophytes ; let him at least give some guidance by his own practice in the churches of the Jesuits. However, all they could obtain from him was that it was enough to acquaint the Christians with the decree by word of mouth, that the Bishops had no further directions to give since the decrees forbade everything ; at most all that could be allowed was a prostration before the coffin of the dead, but somewhat on one side, so that the inclination should not be immediately directed towards the deceased ! Maigrot had already had recourse to an equally ridiculous expedient when, after prostrating before a coffin, he said that his inclination was meant for one of the ladies present.

If for the time being the Jesuits decided no longer to administer the Sacraments and if, after a while, other missionaries adopted a similar line of action,[2] the explanation of their conduct must be looked for in the situation in which they found themselves. People in Europe had no idea of the obstinate tenacity with which the Chinese clung to their

[1] *Cf.* THOMAS, 266.

[2] " *Atque in illorum sententiam postliminium etiam ex illis concesserunt quidam, qui non uno modo praeceptum apud suos exequi studiose allaborarunt : nam in obstacula occurrentes insuperabilia, ne totam rem christianam pessumdarent, manum retrahere coacti sunt." *Succincta relatio.*

customs as something perfectly natural. The opponents of the Jesuits had asserted time and again that the prohibition of the rites would not injure the mission.[1] But a bitter disillusionment was in store for everyone. Those Chinese Christians who gave up the rites were a diminutive number. The overwhelming majority promised at most with their lips to abandon the rites though without any real intention to do so, at any rate they omitted to mention in confession that they had practised them. Hence there was scarcely any alternative for the missionaries except either to disregard the Bull or to baptize and absolve unworthy subjects.[2] For the rest, when the General learnt that his subjects no longer administered the Sacraments, he blamed their conduct in

[1] "*Haec [the jealousy] ut Iesuitas pessumdaret, iam viginti annis Europam implevit clamoribus, manuscriptis, impressis libris, contra conscientiam attestando, nullum periculum esse in condemnandis ritibus vocibusque Sinicis, atque ita compulit commissarium Apostolicum ad condemnandum, condemnationem secuta est ruina ecclesiae Sinensis. CASTNER, Relatio, dedicatio.

[2] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 2383; TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*, 81, 84; "Laureati to Mezzabarba, January 2, 1721, *Anecdotes*, IV., 278 *seq.* *Pauciores reliqui [missionarii], qui sacra ministrare pergunt et occultis adhortationibus maxime intra tribunalis poenitentiae secretum christianos ad decretorum observantiam invitare, non alio id fructu peragunt, quam ut pro mille vix decem reperiant, quibus sacra dispensare mysteria queant, eosque vel famulos dumtaxat suos ac domesticos, vel nullo propinquitatis vinculo colligatos, pauperes atque illiteratos. Aut si qui forte alii, ut divinorum participes fiant, se decretis oboedituros spondent, faciunt tamen postea nihil minus, sed antiquo patriae more suis pro occasione et loco ritibus funguntur, quia revera gravissimis ex causis supersedere illis non possunt. Ut adeo prae his sinceriores Deumque timentiores se christianos prodant, qui suis irretiti impedimentis, sacrorum communionem malunt non petere, quam sacrilege ea frui, ficte promittentes quae observandi firmum nequeunt habere propositum. Quae omnia multiplici et heu nimis certo ipsorum missionariorum testimonio confirmantur." *Succincta relatio.*

the strongest terms. He did not at once succeed in removing all scruples but by degrees the Jesuits resumed the administration of the Sacraments generally, with the exception of Peking where in consequence of an Imperial decree, great caution was necessary at least in public.[1] Many Propaganda missionaries continued to administer the Sacraments inasmuch as they had made up their minds that they were not bound to ask questions in confession on the observance of the rites once the penitents had been informed of the prohibition, or that they could content themselves with a simple promise of the penitents not to practise the rites in future and that they were not obliged to make sure of the sincerity of such a promise.[2]

Thus the greatest confusion prevailed in the interpretation of the papal decree even though all the missionaries in Canton [3] and all the Jesuits [4] had sworn to the Constitution. When on April 16th, 1717, the nine highest tribunals decreed the banishment of the missionaries, the destruction of the churches and forcible abjuration of the Christian faith, Kanghi confirmed their sentence. However, he was unwilling to break completely with the Europeans ; he assured the Jesuits that the sentence would not be carried out against those who obtained a special

[1] TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*,73 *seqq.*, 109, 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, 96.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 462.

[4] " Pour ce qui est de la soumission de ses missionnaires à la Bulle " Ex illa die ", le général a des preuves convaincantes de leur obéissance prompte et volontaire à l'exception d'un petit nombre, dont on a parlé. Les actes de leur serment lui ont été envoïés ; il a eu l'honneur de les montrer à Clément XI., qui les a vûs avec une grande démonstration de joie " (TAMBURINI, *loc. cit.*, 53). The Jesuit Goville of Canton, in answer to certain accusations, writes : " J'y souscrivis [the oath] avec une entière soumission de cœur et d'esprit " ; he can say the same thing with certainty of the other seven Jesuits of the house at Canton, and as for the other Fathers, he has a hundred reasons to believe in the sincerity of their subscription. *Mémoires de Trévoux*, 1735, 2627. *Cf. ibid.*, 1736, 2784 *seq.*

licence, a so-called "Piao."[1] Some further tokens of imperial indulgence towards the Christians raised hopes in Rome for a favourable turn in China, especially as the Portuguese Government also repealed its measures against the execution of the papal decree of 1715 against the rites, and let it be known that it would not object to the appointment of a new papal Legate, provided he journeyed viâ Lisbon.[2]

In these circumstances Rome decided to send out another Legate. For so arduous a task as was the solution of the question of the rites, the ability of the most experienced Roman diplomatist would scarcely have sufficed, yet probably in consideration of the fact that only a young man would be equal to the fatigues of the long sea voyage, the choice for the difficult post fell on Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba who was only 34 years of age. In the consistory of September 18th, 1719, the Pope named him Patriarch of Alexandria and announced his mission; a Brief of September 29th granted him the same faculties as had been given to Tournon.[3] A number of Briefs were addressed to the King of Portugal, to the latter's brother, the Marchese de Abrantes, to the Emperor of China, to the Archbishop of Goa and to the Bishops of China,[4] with a view to paving the way for the Legate.

(7.)

In compliance with Portugal's wishes, Mezzabarba elected to travel viâ Lisbon, but he was soon to realize whilst at the court of Lisbon, that his doing so had by no means removed all difficulties. Like Tournon before him, he too was summoned to produce his credentials, and the Legate submitted to the

[1] Brucker, *loc. cit.*, 2383.

[2] Jann, 490 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 491 *seq.*; *Op.*, Orat. consist., 162 *seq.* *Consultations on Mezzabarba's mission in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 263, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] September 30, 1719, *Op.*, Brevia, 2359–2374.

demand. The Bull was restored to him though with considerable alterations in accordance with the principles of Portuguese Cæsaro-Papalism.[1] On March 25th, 1720, Mezzabarba sailed from Lisbon and on September 23rd he landed at Macao.

The first reports he received there were not encouraging. The year before two missionaries of Tournon's suite had been driven from Macao during a foggy night. The Jesuit Joseph Provana, Kanghi's last envoy to the Pope, had died on the return journey to China. More cheering was the information that two Barnabites who had been instructed to prepare the ground for Mezzabarba, were in fact on their way to Peking with a papal Brief.[2]

After a solemn reception by the Portuguese authorities and by five mandarins, the Legate set out from Macao on October 7th. On December 23rd, after a stay at Canton from 12th till 29th October, he reached the Emperor's country seat of Chamchunyven, three miles from Peking, where the Emperor was staying at the time.[3] Even during the voyage Mezzabarba had a foretaste of the unpleasantnesses that awaited him when Cerù, the Procurator of the Missionaries of Propaganda, who had come to meet him, was arrested

[1] JANN, 500 *seq.*

[2] [VIANI], *Journal de Mezzabarba* in *Anecdotes*, IV., 2 *seq.* It is stated there (*ibid.*, V., 274) that a copy of this Journal was found among the papers of a dead Cardinal of Propaganda, and that Mezzabarba had observed absolute secrecy about his legation. *Cf. Giornale della legazione della China, che incomincia dalli 23 di settembre 1720, scritto dal P. Viani Servita, confessore di M. Patriarca nel tempo della sua legazione*, in *Legazione della Cina di Msgre. Mezzabarba Patriarca* (*Collezione Vaticana di documenti Gesuitici*, vol. 34), printed at Cologne, 1740. The *Journal*, in BAHR's opinion (111), is rather "a slanderous romance" than an impartial report. A companion of Mezzabarba, the priest Bernardine Campi, also left a *Ristretto di memorie del mio passaggio in Cina* (*Arch. stor. Lombardo*, LI. [1924], 260).

[3] [VIANI], *Journal, loc. cit.*, 11, 13, 47, 92.

under his very eyes and kept under restraint for a few days on the plea of an alleged offence against etiquette,[1] and on several occasions Mezzabarba himself had to undergo a kind of interrogatory before some mandarins. At Canton he was questioned on the purpose of his coming and his aims? Whether Tournon had been really sent by the Pope? How it was that during the whole of the past twenty years the Emperor had never heard anything from any of his envoys to Rome? To the latter question Mezzabarba replied that he himself had been appointed by the Pope to act as a substitute for Provana who had fallen ill in Rome. With this he hinted that he had some communications to make about the rites, for Provana had been sent to Rome in connection with the rites. However, he would not as yet openly declare that he had come to carry into effect the Bull on the rites as in that case he would have found it difficult to see the Emperor.[2] At the frontier of the province of Kiangsi the Legate met two more mandarins who questioned him on a papal Constitution with various prohibitions. This time too Mezzabarba evaded the awkward question. The mandarins also wanted to know whether the two Barnabites had been really sent by the Pope and they put the same question with regard to two other personalities frequently mentioned thereafter, namely Pedrini and Ripa, who had come to China with Fabri who was already dead, whom the Jesuits had described as Propaganda missionaries and not as direct envoys of the Pope. The Legate acknowledged the two men as papal envoys.[3]

Mezzabarba underwent his most searching interrogatory at a place thirty miles from Peking. There he expressly stated that the purpose of his mission was to request the Emperor to permit the observance of the Bull on the rites. The manifold difficulties which the Legate was subsequently to encounter began to make themselves felt from this moment.

[1] *Ibid.*, 15–20.
[2] *Ibid.*, 27–32.
[3] *Ibid.*, 49 *seqq.*

He was told that the Emperor's decision was irrevocable, but Mezzabarba replied that the Emperor need not revoke anything, he was only asked to grant to the Christians the free exercise of their religion. What would the Pope say, the Legate was told, if the Emperor of China pretended to decide what customs should be observed in Rome? To this the Legate replied that the Pope had no intention of altering the customs of the Chinese, all he desired was to remove the errors of the Christians. But how could the Pope forbid what his predecessor had allowed? Mezzabarba replied that on closer examination of a question it was quite possible to find that an earlier opinion was a mistaken one. Thereupon the mandarins adopted another tone. They no longer spoke in the name of the Emperor, but speaking as friends they reminded him of the fate of Tournon, Maigrot and Castorano: whosoever followed in their path would fare like them. Mezzabarba replied that he would do all in his power to win the Emperor's favour. At the mandarins' request he then summed up his demands to the Emperor in two short sentences: he prayed for the free exercise of their religion by the Christians, with the observance of the papal Bull on the rites, and for himself liberty to appear everywhere as the Superior of all the Christians in China.[1]

On his arrival at the imperial residence of Chamchunyven, Mezzabarba and his companions were accommodated in a neighbouring house: sentries prevented their leaving it.

On the very evening of his arrival the four mandarins handed to the Legate the answer to his demands. It stated that the Emperor granted everything he had asked for, on condition that he left the elder generation of Europeans in the service of his Majesty whilst he took the others with him to Rome, where he might communicate to them the papal decree and exercise his rights as their Superior. The Europeans who remained at Peking, but not the Chinese, would be allowed to comply with the papal ordinance. Only on these terms would he allow the papal ordinance to have any force

[1] *Ibid.*, 87–91.

at all, for his own commands were irrevocable. Seeing that Maigrot was the cause of the disputes, the Emperor expressed his surprise that Mezzabarba had come without him, so that the latter might justify himself. The Emperor had at first intended to receive the Legate amicably but as he perceived that he was opposed to his laws on two points, he had decided not to admit him at all.[1]

All the Legate could do for the moment was to express his profound disappointment. Maigrot was unable to accompany him, he said, as he was too old and too ill to undergo the hardships of a long sea voyage; moreover he had nothing to do with the Constitution; hence he prayed his Majesty at least to read the Brief in which the Pope explained the reasons that had led him to publish the Constitution. Impossible to persuade the Emperor to do this so long as the Legate maintained his standpoint, the mandarins replied, impossible to persuade the Emperor to approve the Constitution or to change his mind. On the other hand Mezzabarba's request to the mandarins to intervene with the Emperor on his behalf appeared to make some impression. They asked him to set down in writing his demands to the Emperor, they would bring him an answer on the morrow.[2]

However, the next day brought no decision. In the afternoon the mandarins presented themselves once more, when they repeated in substance their previous statements. The Pope, they alleged, had not received Provana, the imperial envoy, with the honours due to him, hence, strictly speaking, the Emperor was at liberty to treat the papal delegate in like manner. Yet the Emperor was prepared to overlook the occurrence had Mezzabarba been the bearer of an agreeable message, but since he brought proposals which were at variance with the laws of the land, the Emperor was resolved to send him back to Europe without delay, together with the other Europeans who would present themselves before the Legate on the following day. Mezzabarba repeated his

[1] *Ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 93 *seqq.* *Cf.* Appendix No. 13.

previous answers, renewed his request that the Emperor would receive the Brief or, since the four dignitaries declared that this request could not possibly be granted, that he would at least allow its contents to be brought to his notice, for instance by Pedrini and Ripa. The mandarins replied that they could not meddle with such matters; Mezzabarba accordingly made a last request, namely that he should be allowed to make a somewhat prolonged stay in the country to enable him to recover from the fatigue of the exhausting journey. So reasonable a request was readily acceded to, though not Mezzabarba's further proposal that the mandarins should offer to the Emperor in his name the presents which he had brought from Europe. By way of concession the Legate announced that he was prepared to forgo his second demand, namely, recognition of his supremacy over the Chinese Christians; as for the Constitution, he could not alter it in any way, but he remarked repeatedly that the Brief allowed those Chinese usages which were not at variance with the Christian religion.[1]

On the other hand the imperial threats were not to be taken too literally. On the following day the Legate was given lodgings in a monastery of bonzes close to the palace. This was done, so he was informed, in order to facilitate his negotiations with the mandarins, as the moment had not yet come for him to see the Emperor himself. He nevertheless

[1] "Que le Pape avoit porté la condescendance jusqu'à permettre les cérémonies de la nation, qui ne sont pas contraires à la religion chrétienne, quoiqu'elles ne se pratiquent pas en Europe [VIANI], *Journal, loc. cit.*, 98); que cet Bref accordoit des permissions fort étendues de pratiquer ce qui n'étoit pas opposé à la foi des chrétiens (*ibid.*, 104). According to this, therefore, the eight modifications published later, were a papal concession. Immediately on his arrival at his summer palace in Peking the Legate communicated the "permissions" to the Mandarins; he had, therefore, brought them from Rome ready-made. *Anecdotes*, IV., 106, 112, 114, 117. *Cf.* BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2386; Appendix No. 13. On the negotiations of December 27, *cf.* [VIANI], *Journal, loc. cit.*, 96–105.

received a communication from the latter on the same day. Was it true, Kanghi inquired, that Mezzabarba had two documents to present, the Constitution and a Brief with mitigations? Pedrini and Ripa, whom Mezzabarba wished to use as interpreters, were unsuitable; Pedrini had offended the Emperor and was a disturber of the peace after the manner of Maigrot; and as for Appiani, he owed it solely to the goodness of the Emperor that he was not executed for matters which it was best not to specify in detail. Maigrot was the author of all the contentions. If concord was not achieved, Kanghi would feel compelled to request the Pope either to send that disturber of the peace to China, to have his head cut off, or to punish him himself.[1]

Mezzabarba replied that he had a Brief which would satisfy the Emperor, Besides Pedrini, he had also asked for Ripa as an interpreter. Maigrot had had nothing to do with the Constitution.

The mandarins now demanded to see the contents of the Brief. After the Legate had been removed to another house, two miles away from the Emperor's residence, he received an imperial order, in the evening, to state the contents of the Brief in writing. Mezzarbarba replied that he had indeed seen a copy of it in Rome but that he could not trust his memory. After further pressure he finally consented to give a short summary of the contents of the Brief as well as of the papal concessions.[2] The Emperor seemed satisfied; two mandarins congratulated the Europeans on the settlement of the dispute since the Pope granted every one of the Emperor's demands.[3] However, on December 29th the Emperor complained once more of Maigrot and Pedrini,[4] but on the following day he sent one of his nephews with the four mandarins to greet the Legate and to express the

[1] *Ibid.*, 105–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 108 *seqq.* Extracts from the Brief, *ibid.*, 114–17; extract from the concessions, *ibid.*, 117–19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 120–7.

Emperor's satisfaction at his arrival; by his command a solemn reception of all the Europeans was held at the house of the papal delegate, and on December 31st the Legate was received in solemn audience by the Emperor when Mezzabarba handed the Brief to Kanghi. The Legate was presented with valuable furs; a banquet followed at which he was waited upon by the same mandarins who had questioned him up to this time. With his own hand Kanghi handed to the Pope's representative a draught of wine in a golden cup, but in the conversation which ensued Kanghi put off for another audience a definitive answer to the burning questions.[1]

If on this occasion the Emperor treated Mezzabarba with extraordinary regard, the fact that the two Barnabites who had been sent to prepare the ground for the Legate, and who had been thrown into prison, were now set at liberty, could also be considered as yet another favour.[2] The Legate was likewise assigned more commodious lodgings.[3] After the audience Mezzabarba sent the presents he had brought for the Emperor [4] whilst the mandarins renewed their efforts to induce him to yield.[5] In his answer the Legate pointed to the many concessions which he was prepared to make in the name of the Pope.[6] As the Emperor was resolved to send yet another envoy to Rome, a priest in the Legate's suite of the name of Rueda was chosen for that duty.[7]

Accompanied by Rueda, Mezzabarba had a second audience on January 3rd, 1721,[8] and a third on January 10th, when

[1] *Ibid.*, 132–141.

[2] *Ibid.*, 127–132.

[3] *Ibid.*, 142.

[4] *Ibid.*, 141–8.

[5] *Ibid.*, 150, 153.

[6] "Que pour faire connoître à S. M. combien le Pape désiroit entrer dans ses sentimens il avoit eu l'honneur de lui envoyer beaucoup de permissions, dont on pouvoit faire usage, et qui suffisoient pour faire connoître que le Pape n'en veut pas aux coutumes de la Chine, mais uniquement à ce qui offense la pureté du culte." *Ibid.*, 153 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 155.

[8] *Ibid.*, 157–166.

he was accompanied by Rueda and Rainaldi, but this time Kanghi did all the talking and gave the Legate no chance to reply.[1] After these somewhat intimate interviews there dawned at last the day which Viani's diary describes as the most splendid one for all the Europeans present, as a day worthy of everlasting remembrance, which would have meant peace for the mission, concord among the missionaries, complete liberty to preach the Gospel, had not "the abominable wickedness of certain godless men" promptly destroyed everything.[2] On January 14th, in presence of all the Europeans, a solemn audience was held,[3] when Kanghi repeated[4] what he had already told Mezzabarba on January 10th before a few witnesses, namely, that the use of the tablets of the ancestors, which the Constitution forbade, did not derive from Confucius and the classical books; they were but the invention of insignificant scribes, whose writings were hawked in the street for the entertainment of the ignorant populace.[5] The whole thing was a trivial matter and not worthy of being submitted to the judgment of the imperial tribunal, in fact it was so insignificant that it was not worth talking about. The conversation then turned to the prohibition of "Tien" and "Shang-Ti" as names of God; Kanghi again suggested that they should speak of something else, for the things hitherto brought forward were of such a trifling nature that he failed to understand why there had been so much contention about them. Mezzabarba sought of course to hold the Emperor to these concessions and prayed him to sanction the directions of the papal decree concerning the tablets of the ancestors and the names of God.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 176–180.

[2] *Ibid.*, 181 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 182.

[4] *Ibid.*, 186.

[5] *Ibid.*, 178.

[6] There were at least four accounts of the proceedings at the audience of January 14 (*ibid.*, 208, 217, 218, 219). By order of Kanghi the Mandarins had to keep a diary of Mezzabarba's Legation from December 25, 1720, onwards: further information

The Legate and the missionaries were overjoyed at the issue of the audience for they imagined that, in view of Kanghi's remarks on the veneration of the ancestors and the divine names, the whole question of the rites was now disposed of and that the Emperor would allow the Constitution to be published.[1] The Jesuits alone did not share the universal jubilation.[2] The Emperor, they said, had not been serious; he often spoke somewhat cryptically and it was necessary to wait for his decree before one could know his real intentions.[3] That they knew and understood Kanghi better than the others was to appear only too soon, but their reserve amid the universal satisfaction was made a reproach to them. It is not difficult to see who were the godless men of abominable wickedness of whom Viani, the enemy of the Jesuits, wrote. Ripa observed to the Legate that he and the other missionaries of Propaganda doubted not that the Jesuits would induce the Emperor to withdraw his concessions.[4]

in *Anecdotes*, V., 210–220, 226–236. The report of the Mandarins on the audiences of January 14 and 19 is given word for word, *ibid.*, 215 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.* On the meaning of the Emperor's words the Mandarins say (*ibid.*, 220): "Les Européens ne comprirent pas le sens des réponses de l'empereur, qui avait parlé par ironie; et parce que le légat avoit fait instance sur instance pour obtenir ce qu'il demandoit; et quelques Européens ont presque été persuadés que l'empereur avoit accordé tout ce qu'on lui avoit demandé." On the audience of January 14, *cf.* the memorial of M. Tamburini, General of the Jesuits to Innocent XIII., in *Anecdotes*, VI., 353–373; also Appendix No. 9.

[1] *Anecdotes*, IV., 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 192, 194 *seq.*

[3] Le P. Morao dit . . . qu'il ne falloit pas chanter avant la victoire; que l'empereur avoit parlé ironiquement; qu'il ne falloit pas compter sur les paroles d'un prince accoutumé à être mystérieux dans ses discours; qu'il falloit attendre le Chy, dont le monarque se servoit pour manifester ses véritables sentimens. . . . Les autres Jésuites entrèrent dans les mêmes sentimes et parlèrent le même language." *Ibid.*, 199 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 200. Already on January 16 we read that (*Anecdotes*, V., 227) the Emperor had changed his mind.

There is, of course, no evidence of the Jesuits having taken any steps in that sense, but the Emperor's sentiments were soon revealed. In the gladness of his heart Mezzabarba was anxious to dispatch Raimond and Rueda at once with a letter to communicate the great news to the Pope, but after the message had been translated into Chinese and submitted to the Emperor, there was no further question of the embassy.[1]

Kanghi now asked to see the text of the papal Constitution.[2] When it was returned it bore the following concluding observation[3]: "All that can be said about this decree is that one asks oneself how the Europeans, ignorant and contemptible as they are, presume to deliver judgment on the lofty teaching of the Chinese, seeing that they know neither their manners and their customs nor their letters. To-day the Legate presents a decree which teaches a doctrine similar to that of the impious sects of the Hoxans and Tassus who tear one another with pitiless cruelty. It is not advisable to allow the Europeans to proclaim their law in China. They must be forbidden to speak of it; in this way many difficulties and embarrassments will be avoided."

Mezzabarba replied to the Emperor in a letter in which he once again prayed for freedom to preach Christianity in its pure form, whilst promising complete submission on the part of the Christians in respect to everything else. The Jesuits were of opinion that the letter would only further rouse the Emperor and refused to sign it; were they to do so, they said, their position in China would be untenable and the mission would be doomed. The only thing for the Legate to do was to suspend the Constitution. But this Mezzabarba was not empowered to do.[4] So the Jesuits sought another way out of the difficulty. The Constitution, some of them argued, was merely a papal "command"; now a command

[1] Viani holds the Jesuits responsible for the disappearance of the letter. *Ibid.*, 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, 210 *seqq.*, 216.

[3] *Ibid.*, 219.

[4] *Ibid.*, 220 *seq.*

does not oblige if its execution is fraught with grievously injurious consequences, as was the case with the Constitution.[1]

The mandarins now informed the Legate that the Emperor would not receive him any longer, but that he was free to submit in writing whatever he might have to say.[2] It would seem that only now did Mezzabarba forward to the Emperor the list of concessions which he had brought from Rome.[3] Whilst his letter on the subject was being translated into Chinese, Pedrini and Ripa were arrested under his very eyes and taken to prison. When the mandarins presented themselves once more before Mezzabarba, on January 19th, the two missionaries were made to accompany them in chains.[4] On the same day the mandarins declared in the name of the Emperor that, as a matter of fact, the forbidden rites were equivocal, but that the Chinese put the right interpretation on them, just as the Chinese names for Ripa, Tournon, Mezzabarba were borrowed from the customs of idolatrous sects but were nevertheless perfectly harmless. The Emperor would send his decision immediately ; as a matter of fact it came that same afternoon. It was written in the Emperor's own hand, in red characters, and was a refusal.[5] Kanghi

[1] *Ibid.*, 222 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[3] His letter, *ibid.*, 230 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 231.

[5] *Ibid.*, 235. Of Mezzabarba's eight concessions (*ibid.*, 117 *seq.* ; *Ius pontif.*, III., 77 *seq.*) the Emperor takes into consideration Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6. The restrictive clause in them is considered unfounded, and the remaining concessions are thereby also disposed of. Regarding the first concession, viz. the use of the tablets of the ancestors, provided only the name of the deceased is written on them, with a short marginal explanation of the meaning of such tablets—Kanghi remarked sarcastically : these are, therefore, tablets of ancestors after the manner of the idolatrous Hoxans. From this it was concluded that the Emperor was ready to grant to the Christians such corrected tablets (notes to Viani's diary in *Anecdotes*, IV., 384). However, among the Hoxans only the (despised) priests used such corrected tablets, whereas their adherents simply followed the usual Chinese custom.

added a lengthy attack on Yentang, viz. Maigrot, who, he alleged, was the cause of all the mischief and who was determined to decide the question though he did not know fifty Chinese characters. The mandarins further explained that the Emperor was thinking of communicating his decision to all the Christian Princes viâ Moscow.[1]

Mezzabarba had perforce to admit that his mission was a complete failure : recognition by the Emperor of Clement XI.'s Bull on the rites was not to be thought of. He now yielded to the insistence of those who begged him to suspend it at least to the extent of writing to Kanghi, praying him to extend his pardon to those Europeans who had trespassed in any way, and to refrain, for the time being, from carrying out his threat of informing the Christian Princes. He himself would inform the Pope of the Emperor's sentiments ; meanwhile he would not interfere, or change anything, but would leave things as they were.[2] The letter also bore the signatures of five Jesuits and seven Propaganda missionaries.[3]

There was nothing more for Mezzabarba to do in China. However, through the intervention of the Jesuits he was received in audience on January 20th, when Kanghi once more vented his resentment against Pedrini and Maigrot, as the authors of all the trouble, and against the Pope. The Legate prayed for leave to take his departure ; this was granted on condition that he came back to China with a favourable answer from the Pope.[4] The Emperor's anger vented itself both against Pedrini who had been made to read one of his accusations against the Jesuits in the latter's presence, and against their Superior, Laureati, who had been instrumental in bringing together Mezzabarba and the Emperor. When Laureati was discovered in his hiding place

[1] *Ibid.*, 420.

[2] " Je m'offre d'aller à Rome informer le Pape des sentimens de Votre Majesté : en attendant je ne changerai rien, je ne ferai aucun acte, et je laisserai les choses en l'état où elles sont." *Ibid.*, 245 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, 250–4.

in a house outside Peking, he was thrown into chains[1]; at the intercession of the Legate he was, however, set at liberty.[2]

In the sequel Mezzabarba was repeatedly received by the Emperor. On January 26th Kanghi re-stated his view on the tablets of the ancestors. Nobody, he said, believed that the souls of the dead were present in them, and no one asked or hoped for any favours from them.[3] On the 27th, on the occasion of a banquet, the Emperor again singled out the Legate as well as the Russian ambassador, by offering them a cup of wine with his own hands,[4] a gesture repeated by him at the farewell audience of March 1st.[5] Mezzabarba had to plead once more on behalf of Pedrini. The Emperor had ordered the mandarins to draw up an account of the various incidents of Mezzabarba's legation, but Pedrini refused to sign the document inasmuch as it accused him of having transmitted lies to Rome. For this the Emperor ordered him to receive the bastinado, whereupon Pedrini allowed himself to be persuaded to subscribe.[6] But this time Mezzabarba's intercession was in vain; the Emperor condemned him to imprisonment, but allowed him to serve

[1] Laureati to Cerù, February, 1721, *ibid.*, 260; *cf.* 255, 258.

[2] *Ibid.*, 266.

[3] "Le monarque lui dit, que la cause pour laquelle il avoit été envoyé étoit finie, qu'il croyoit devoir encore lui déclarer, que la doctrine des tablettes n'étoit conforme ni à celle de Confucius ni aux loix de l'empire, et qu'elle doit son institution à la fantaisie des peuples, qui depuis deux cents ans au plus, avoient fait des portraits, qu'on a gardés pour conserver le souvenir des ancêtres; que les peuples s'appercevant du peu de ressemblance de ces portraits, leur substituèrent des tablettes avec l'inscription: "Siège de l'esprit," quoique tout le monde fût persuadé que l'esprit des défunts n'étoit pas présent à ces tablettes, uniquement établies pour se rappeller le souvenir des ancêtres; que personne n'en espéroit ni bien ni avantage et que par conséquent on ne leur demandoit rien." *Ibid.*, 268 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 271.

[5] *Ibid.*, 328.

[6] *Ibid.*, 309, 311, 317, 326. *Cf.* above, p. 480.

his sentence in the Jesuit residence at Peking. On the part of the Emperor this meant an act of leniency, but for the Jesuits the fact of their being made the gaolers of a fellow missionary was fraught with the worst consequences.[1] On March 3rd, 1721, provided with presents for the Pope and the King of Portugal, Mezzabarba set out from Peking for Macao which he reached on May 27th,[2] after a thirteen days' stay at Canton and a few weeks after Clement XI.'s death.

Mezzabarba remained at Macao until the end of the year and from there addressed a pastoral instruction to the Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic and the missionaries.[3] After a lengthy introduction he exhorts them to concord, which would be established by the execution of all the Pope's commands of the year 1715. There was no need to promulgate these commands anew and he himself permitted none of the things which they forbade. A passage of his letter, January 19th, 1721, recurs here: "We make no innovations but leave things as they are."[4] Contrary to what had been asked of him at the imperial residence,[5] Mezzabarba expressly declares that he in no wise suspended Clement XI.'s Constitution on the rites and permitted nothing that it forbade. Nevertheless, in order to meet certain scruples in connection with the use of the rites, he mentions a few customs which could be tolerated, though the missionaries must see to it that they were gradually abolished and replaced by Christian practices. There follow eight concessions of which there had been question soon after his arrival in China.[6] Permission is given (1°) to keep ancestral tablets in private houses, on condition that they

[1] *Cf.* XXXIV, 90.

[2] *Anecdotes*, VI., 330–8.

[3] It is also embodied in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. of October 4, 1742, *Ius pontif.*, III., 73–83; *Collectanea*, 137 *seq.*

[4] "Non enim opus est, ut aliquem actum faciamus, ut [Clementis XI.] mandata iam promulgata vobis innotescant. . . . Nihil proinde innovamus, sed relinquimus res prout sunt" (*Ius pontif.*, III., 77). *Cf.* above, p. 480, n. 2.

[5] Above, p. 478.

[6] Above, p. 374.

bore nothing but the name of the dead, that a statement on the meaning of the tablet was put by their side, that there was no superstitious practice in the making of the tablets and no risk of scandal. 2° All ceremonies for the dead which are neither superstitious nor suspect, but bear a purely civil character, are allowed. 3° The cult of Confucius is also allowed in so far as it is a purely civil ceremony: the tablets with his monogram are also allowed, if they are corrected and explained in the same way as the tablets of the ancestors. Candles and perfumes might be burnt before such tablets and food could be set before them. 4° Candles and perfumes may be offered at funerals if accompanied by a written explanation. 5° Inclinations, genuflections and the prostration of the whole body before the corrected ancestral tablets, or before the bier, or the bodies of the dead, are also tolerated. 6° Tables with sweets, fruit, meat and other food may be set beside, or before the bier, provided the ancestral tablet was corrected and explained and every trace of superstition removed and if everything was done solely out of respect and piety towards the dead. 7° The so-called "Kotau" before the corrected ancestral tablet at the new year is likewise permitted. 8° Candles may be lit, perfumes burnt before the corrected ancestral tablets as well as upon the graves, where food may also be placed, but only with the safe-guards indicated above.

There follows an appeal to the missionaries' zeal and an exhortation that all should resume their activities. The concessions may be cautiously brought to the notice of the Chinese Christians in so far as it may be useful or necessary. For the rest the instruction is exclusively addressed to the missionaries and it is forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to translate it into the Tartar or the Chinese language or to communicate it to anyone.

In his Bull on the Chinese rites,[1] Benedict XIV. declared that the last clause in particular clearly betrayed the embarrassment in which Mezzabarba found himself. Shortly before Benedict had written to John V. of Portugal that Mezzabarba's

[1] *Ius pontif.*, III., 79.

concessions tended either to deprive Clement XI.'s Constitution of its binding force, or to destroy it altogether; either the Legate had exceeded his powers, or his instructions had been given too wide an interpretation, or put in a wrong light by those who wished to do away with Clement XI.'s Constitution on the basis of these concessions.[1] On the other hand it would seem that Mezzabarba did not altogether act on his own initiative. Numerous questions had reached Rome from missionaries in China on which the Pope sought the opinion of Maigrot and Leonessa. Their answers were communicated to Mezzabarba with instructions to exercise his own discretion in acting on them, though of course the Holy See had not bound itself to confirm the use made by the Legate of these opinions.[2] This much is certain that Mezzabarba's instructions were bound to increase the confusion in China. He had stated that the practices could be tolerated in so far as they were of a purely civil and not of a religious nature. But what rites were purely civil? That was precisely the burning problem. Hence the core of the question was not tackled and nothing was decided; those who regarded the Chinese rites as indifferent from the religious standpoint, might very well persuade themselves that Mezzabarba's declarations had practically robbed Clement XI.'s directions of their binding force. For the rest it does not seem that Mezzabarba forfeited the papal favour. He arrived in Europe towards the end of 1721; in 1725 he was made Bishop of Lodi; there he died on December 7th, 1741.[3]

[1] "Convinti . . ., che le permissioni del Patriarca tiravano o a enervarla [the Constitution of Clement XI.] o a distruggerla, che il medesimo Patriarca o aveva ecceduto i limiti delle sue commissioni, o che le sue determinazioni erano state dilatate, o poste in diverso aspetto da quelle in quelle, in cui le voleva, da chi in seguela di esse pretendeva di ridurre a nulla la costituzione di Clemente XI." Letter of August 11, 1742, in *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXXXIII. (1901), 384.

[2] BRUCKER, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2386 *seq.*

[3] GAMS, 794; CAPPELETTI, *Chiese d'Italia*, XII., Venezia, 1857, 387. JANN (508), relying on PERSICO-STRICKLAND, says erroneously that he died at Macao.

(8.)

The decision of yet another ritual question, that of the Malabar rites, which is likewise linked with Tournon's name, falls into the pontificate of Clement XI.[1] However, in this instance there was question not of rites observed on the Malabar coast but in the interior of the country. The greater part of the coastal territory had long ago been converted to Christianity, but when the missionaries penetrated further inland they met with almost insuperable opposition; only after Robert de' Nobili had adapted himself to Indian ideas in the greatest measure possible did the preaching of the Gospel begin to yield fruits in those parts.[2] Nobili's colleagues followed his example, in particular, they strictly respected the distinction of castes; there were special missionaries for the pariahs and for the higher castes, and the results were remarkable. By the end of the seventeenth century we hear of 150,000 Christians in Southern India, whose conduct was a credit to Christianity. In 1700 Venantius Bouchet founded a French mission in addition to the existing Portuguese one, which likewise did most fruitful work. To this French mission was due the revival of the question of the Malabar rites which had been seemingly disposed of by Gregory XV. during Nobili's lifetime.

In Pondicherry the spiritual care of the European colonists, as well as the evangelization of the natives, was in the hands of the Capuchins. In 1699 the Bishop of Meliapur transferred the evangelization of the pagans exclusively to the French Jesuits. The Capuchins were dissatisfied with this arrangement; so they sent one of their number to Rome, with mission to protest at the same time against the procedure of the Jesuits in the evangelization of the pagans. When their envoy reached Rome in 1703, Tournon had only just left[3] with instructions not only to restore order in China, but

[1] *Cf.* É. Amann in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1704–1745; J. Brucker, in *The Cath. Encyclopedia*, IX., 558–562; Jann, 394–422, 508–512, 473–485.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, XXV., 358 *seqq.*

[3] Jann, 412.

with the right also to deal with the situation in India. Tournon arrived in Pondicherry on November 6th, 1703, and remained there till July, 1704, during which period he was mostly confined to bed by illness. In spite of his dislike of the Jesuits he decided the dispute with the Capuchins in their favour and excommunicated the Capuchins when they refused to submit to his verdict.[1] On the other hand, in a decree of June 23rd, 1704, he finds fault with some of the Jesuits' methods of evangelization such as,[2] for instance, their manner of administering Baptism. From time immemorial, in imitation of the Gospel (Mark vii., 33), one of the ceremonies of Baptism was the breathing upon the neophyte and touching him with saliva. But the Indians felt an insuperable disgust for this rite, with the consequence that the missionaries took the liberty of omitting it, as well as the use of salt, in the administration of the Sacrament. Tournon ordered these ceremonies to be observed, and that quite openly. Moreover the Hindus often bore names derived from pagan divinities, or from famous penitents. Tournon ordered that the neophytes must be given Christian names and that the Baptism of the children of Christian parents should not be unduly delayed. The custom also prevailed in Southern India of marrying children of six or seven years of age, when a so-called "Tally", that is, a small gold tablet with the image, though scarcely recognizable, of a Hindu matrimonial divinity was suspended round the neck of the girl. Tournon took steps against this custom: marriages could only be contracted at a more advanced age and the "Tally" was to be replaced by the image of the cross of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, etc. As for the ceremonies in use at weddings, the Legate found them to be so mixed up with superstition that the best thing was to forbid them altogether. However, he invited the missionaries to make another attempt at weeding out the superstitious elements. The appearance of the first symptoms of physical maturity in girls must not be made the occasion of a family

[1] *Ibid.*, 410 *seq.*; *Ius pontif.*, II., 243 *seq.*

[2] The full text of the Decree is in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. of September 12, 1744; *cf. Collectanea*, 154–7.

feast, nor were women to be debarred at certain periods from the Sacraments, or from entering the church, as if they were unclean. The custom was to carry pariahs, when in mortal sickness, to the church for the reception of the Last Sacraments. Tournon commanded the missionaries to visit them, if possible, in their own houses. Christian musicians were forbidden to play at pagan religious festivals, and this under pain of excommunication. Lastly he forbade the practices by the observance of which Nobili had sought to win for himself the prestige enjoyed by the Saniassi penitents, viz. baths, markings with ashes on the forehead and the wearing of certain cords. Christians were likewise forbidden to read or to keep superstitious or immoral pagan books; this also under pain of excommunication. The Superiors of the Jesuits were ordered to promulgate the decree under pain of excommunication, and their subjects to observe it under pain of suspension. It did not follow that some other superstitious practices were approved because they were not expressly mentioned in the decree. When the Jesuits observed that several of the condemned practices were not in use in their churches, Tournon replied that he did not forbid them *because* they were practised, but *lest* they should be practised.[1]

The decree was only communicated to the Jesuits on July 8th, three days before Tournon's departure.[2] Their consternation was very great; in their opinion the immediate execution of the decree would prove a most serious obstacle to the progress of the mission, yet they had only three days in which to remonstrate with the Legate since Tournon was resolved to proceed at once to China. However, they obtained, though only by word of mouth, a three years' delay for the execution of the decree.[3] But the Archbishop of Goa, Augustine of the Annunciation, would not hear of this three

[1] "Non quod fiant, sed ne fiant." AMANN, *loc. cit.*, 1724.

[2] *Collectanea*, 157.

[3] AMANN, *loc. cit.*, describes this oral admission as "absolutely certain": "restriction verbale, mais qui est absolument certaine." JANN (413) speaks of a "supposed" oral declaration by the Legate.

years' surcease. He forbade the execution of Tournon's orders inasmuch as, in his opinion, it would mean the ruin of the Christian communities. He announced that he would report to the Holy See, especially as he was doubtful about the powers of Tournon who refused to exhibit his credentials.[1] In a pastoral letter of May 12th, 1706, he openly opposed Tournon's mission,[2] for which he was, of course, taken to task by the Pope.[3] Meanwhile the Roman Inquisition had decided on January 7th, 1706, that Tournon's decree must be observed until the Holy See, after hearing the other side, should provide otherwise[4]; at the same time the Franciscan Conventual John Damascene was instructed to draw up a brief survey of all the Capuchins' accusations against the Jesuits.[5]

Since the Inquisition had expressed a readiness to listen to any objections against the decision, the Jesuits took advantage of the invitation. The Procurator of the Malabar Mission, the Portuguese Francis Troyano Laynes, defended in Rome, in a detailed dissertation, the standpoint of the Jesuit missionaries.[6] After Laynes' appointment as coadjutor to the Bishop of Meliapur in 1708 and his return to India, his companion, the Frenchman Venantius Bouchet, received from Clement XI. an oral declaration that Tournon's decree had to be observed, though with the exception of those clauses which, in the opinion of the missionaries, would be contrary to the salvation of souls and the glory of God.[7] Thereupon

[1] JANN, 413.

[2] *Ibid.*, 416 *seq.*

[3] Briefs of October 30, 1706, and January 1, 1707, *ibid.*, 418 *seq.*, 420 *seqq.*

[4] "Donec aliter a Sede Apost. provisum fuerit, postquam eos audierit, si qui erunt, qui aliquid adversus contenta in huiusmodi decreto afferendum habuerint." *Collectanea*, 157.

[5] *Ibid.*, 158.

[6] Title in SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1595; *cf.* II., 86.

[7] "Exceptis iis, quae ipsi patres missionarii in sua conscientia coram Deo iudicaverint obstare bono animarum et maiori gloriae Dei," in AMANN, 1726.

the opinion spread in Southern India that Tournon's decree had been completely abolished and that the Pope had sanctioned at least a good number of the ceremonies which that document condemned. Clement XI. countered this idea with a Brief dated September 17th, 1712 [1]; at the same time he forwarded the earlier decree of the Inquisition so that all might see what was his will even at this time.

In view of the Pope's oral declaration it is not surprising that Laynes, who soon after his return succeeded to the see of Meliapur on the death of his predecessor, promulgated only parts of Tournon's decree. Rome, too, remained long in the dark as to whether the Brief of 1712 had reached its destination for in June, 1712, Laynes had gone to Bengal.[2] Accordingly, on July 24th, 1715, the Prefect of Propaganda wrote not to Laynes but to Visdelou, Bishop of Claudianopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Kweitsheu, in China, who, after his expulsion from China,[3] had gone to reside at Pondicherry: Visdelou was instructed to promulgate the decrees if Laynes failed to do his duty. Laynes was dead by the time Visdelou tried to get in touch with him, so the latter himself published, on January 11th, 1716, the decree of the Inquisition of 1706 and the papal confirmation of it of the year 1712.[4] However, Pondicherry was a French colony where the Gallican liberties were upheld. The Royal Council contested Visdelou's authority to make the promulgation and a similar attitude was adopted by the Vice-Provincial of the French Jesuits of Pondicherry and the Procurator of the Jesuit Mission in India. The consequence was a deep cleavage, not indeed among the simple faithful, who were not acquainted with the disputes among their pastors, but among the missionaries.[5]

Visdelou had been obliged to publish the decree of the Inquisition of 1706 which concluded with a statement of the Congregation's willingness to listen to objections, nor

[1] *Collectanea*, 158; *Jus pontif.*, II., 296 *seq.*

[2] AMANN, 1726.

[3] Above, p. 447.

[4] JANN, 478 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 483.

was Clement XI.'s oral declaration revoked. The Jesuits, accordingly, had recourse to Rome. The Pope received them kindly [1] and entrusted the Malabar question for fresh examination to Prosper Lambertini, the future Benedict XIV., but Clement XI. died before Lambertini came to a final decision; only as Pope Benedict XIV. was he to settle the question definitively. It is not improbable that the foundation, under Clement XI., of a special school for diplomatists was prompted by the Holy See's experience with its diplomatists in China.[2]

[1] "Haud difficilem se praebuit Clemens XI. audiendis missionariis . . . eorumque preces benigne excepit." Benedict XIV., September 12, 1744, *Collectanea*, 158.

[2] F. Procaccini, *La Pontificia Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici.* Memoria stor., Roma, 1889; P. Nardini, *L'Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici*, in *Riv. del Collegio araldico*, IV. (1906); Jann, 508.

CHAPTER VIII.

The City of Rome and the Papal States—Furthering of Science and Art—Death of Clement XI.

(1.)

The difficulties which Clement XI. had to encounter as head of the Papal States were scarcely less than those he met with in the ecclesiastical sphere. Not only did the warlike events during the struggle for the Spanish succession greatly injure his subjects, but physical catastrophes of the worst kind spread fear and terror among the people.

At Christmas, 1701, Rome was visited by an inundation of the Tiber. Clement XI. did all he could to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate people, spending more than 30,000 scudi in alms.[1] Another inundation followed on December 22nd, 1702. Though of short duration, this flood also wrought immeasurable damage.[2] Again the Pope distributed abundant alms. But he also enforced some very remarkable sanitary laws, as advised by his trusted physician, the celebrated Lancisi. The authorities were instructed not only to clear the streets, squares, and other places in their houses which the flood had reached, of all refuse, but also to clean out the sewers and wells. He likewise gave orders for the heating of the damp rooms, and the inhabitants were enjoined not to occupy them until they had been thoroughly

[1] *Giornale del pontificato di Clemente XI., in *Borghese*, I., 578, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Report of Canon Schedelich to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, dated Rome, December 23, 1702, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna; **Avviso Marescotti*, December 30, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; *Report in *Urb.* 1655, p. 250 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Cecconi, *Diario*, 622.

dried.[1] On January 4th, 1703, the Ghetto was again flooded, but the river subsided on the following day.[2]

This calamity was but the foreboding of further misfortunes which were about to befall the Eternal City. On the evening of January 14th, 1703, Rome was shaken by an earthquake accompanied by a hurricane of wind and rain which, though short in duration, was very violent. The Church bells rang of their own accord. Even the bell on the Pope's table sounded of its own accord whilst the secretary of memorials was making his report. Clement hurried into his oratory, where he found several of his household, and made his confession. In all the churches of the city people of all classes gathered to pray. On the following day the Pope went to St. Peter's two hours before sunrise, and said Mass in the presence of a large crowd.[3] He then summoned the Cardinals to a consistory and exhorted them to appease God's anger by works of penance.[4] In Rome, where even strong buildings showed cracks, fear was so great that many people spent the night in the Campagna, sheltering in huts or carriages, in spite of the rain. Reports soon came in of the immense damage caused by the earthquake in many parts of the States of the Church, especially at Norcia, Spoleto, Rieti and Urbino. To all these places the Pope sent generous help.[5]

[1] C. Langer, *Die Assanierungsfrage in Rom, in den Jahren 1695 und 1714.* Extract from *Mitteil. des Vereins der Ärzte in Niederösterreich*, n. 2. *Cf.* also Haeser, III.[3], 397. *Edict on the "spurgo delle case", January 22, 1703, in *Editti*, V., 51, Papal Sec. Archives. This ordinance was repeated in 1709, 1718, and 1719 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

[3] Schedelich's *report to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, dat. Rome, January 20, 1703, *loc. cit.*; *Diary of Count Lamberg and **Avviso* of January 20, 1703, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein; *Report in *Urb.*, 1655, p. 256, Vat. Library; Buder, I., 456 *seq.*; Cecconi, *Diario*, 623.

[4] *Op., Orat.*, 14.

[5] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*; Lamberg's *Diary, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Lafitau, I., 107 *seq.* On the earthquake of 1703, see G. Baglivi, *Opp. medico-practica*, Lugduni, 1704, 501–538, 689–691.

Fresh, though less violent earth tremors followed. The Pope went to the Lateran on January 16th where he proclaimed an Indulgence and a procession of intercession. "To-day," Count Lamberg wrote in his diary, "everyone has been to confession, has fasted and gone to St. Peter's; not even during the Holy Year has such a concourse been witnessed." [1] The plays and fancy dress balls of the carnival were forbidden.[2] Instead of these amusements popular missions were ordered, and these were very well attended. "The earthquake," a contemporary wrote, "has become a great preacher." [3] On January 26th Clement XI. visited the four principal churches and himself heard confessions at St. Peter's. The processions through the streets of the city on the following day were extended to the 29th, to enable everyone to take part in them.[4] The Pope set up a special Congregation for a more effective relief of the material misery.[5]

On Candlemas Day at nine o'clock in the morning, whilst the usual blessing of the candles was taking place in the Sistine Chapel, there occurred such a violent earthquake that everyone present fled. The Pope alone remained calm and fell on his knees on the altar steps. Afterwards he went to pray in St. Peter's, although he was told that the pillars of Bernini's baldachino had been shaken and that mortar had

[1] Lamberg's *Diary, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avviso* of January 27, 1703 (Lamberg Archives): Enormous concourse, especially of the nobility, at the mission in S. Ignazio: Cardinals also attended, "il che reca gran consolatione al Papa per il gran frutto che fanno, onde si conosce di non essere morta la fede in Roma. In somma il tremoto è stato un gran predicatore a Roma." Luxury was such that on account of the extravagant expenditure by women, both nobles and commoners were unwilling to marry. *Cf.* also **Avviso* of January 23, 1703, in *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich.

[4] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

[5] **Avvisi* of January 30 and March 30, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, *loc. cit.*

fallen from the cupola. In the afternoon he visited the holy stairs at the Lateran.[1]

The damage done by the earthquake of February 2nd was considerable. The church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso suffered especially. Three arches of the second tier of the Colosseum collapsed; the stones were used for the building of the Ripetta harbour. Cracks could be seen in St. Peter's, the Vatican and the Quirinal. Fontana estimated the cost of the necessary repairs at 700,000 scudi.[2]

In the night of February 2nd to 23rd the Romans, already in a state of the utmost alarm, were again thrown into the greatest terror. Thieves, with a view to plunder, spread the rumour

[1] Schedelich's *report to Prince A. Fl. Liechtenstein, February 3, 1703, *loc. cit.*; **Avviso* of February 3, 1703, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Gravina's report in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital., Suppl.*, I., 135; LAFITAU, I., 110. REBOULET (I., 100) omits this, the most violent of all the earthquake shocks. *Cf.* GIOV. ANDREA LORENZANI, " *Racconto delle inondazioni e terre moti accaduti in Roma e Stato Ecclesiastico come in altri dominii " (October 18, 1702, to the end of 1703), *Cod. Barb.*, 1699, Vat. Library, and the extremely rare account of LUCANTONIO CHRACAS (with a wood-cut showing the damage): *Racconto istorico de' terremoti sentiti in Roma, e in parte dello Stato Ecclesiastico, e in altri luoghi la sera de' 14 di Gennaro e la mattina de' 2 Febbraio dell'anno 1703: Nel quale si narrano i danni fatti dal medesimo, etc. . . . i provvedimenti da Sua Santità* [Clement XI.], *presi con ogni maggiore sollecitudine e amore in sollievo de' luoghi rovinati,* Roma, Per de Martiis, nella stamp. di Gio. Franc. Chracas, 1704.

[2] *Cf. Avviso* of February 20, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich, and *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.* On the Colosseum, see CLEMENTI, *Il Colosseo*, Roma, 1912, 202. In 1701 Clement XI. conceived the unhappy idea of making of the lower corridors a saltpetre depôt for the near by Polveriera. On the other hand, in 1712 he undertook repairs and had the railings round the building renovated (*cf. Studi e docum.*, 1897, 139). In 1714 a scientific examination of the edifice was begun; see BABUCKE, *Gesch. des Kolosseums*, Königsberg, 1899; COLAGROSSI, *L'amfiteatro Flaviano*, Firenze, 1919, 216.

throughout the city that Rome would be destroyed within two hours. Thereupon everyone fled into the gardens or the open squares where indescribable scenes were enacted. The half-dressed inhabitants cried for mercy, threw themselves on their knees, and full of contrition, awaited the hour of their death. Mothers kissed their children for the last time, married people and friends embraced each other. Many confessed their crimes publicly; others confessed in the open streets. The air resounded with the cry: "Holy God, have mercy on us." The Pope took immediate measures to calm the people and to safeguard their belongings. At the same time he ordered a search for the originators of the false rumour, but they were never discovered.[1] Only gradually did the inhabitants regain their calm. Many continued to sleep in the open or in the gardens, as did Cardinal Ottoboni and many nobles.[2]

Clement XI was not content with ordering numerous penitential processions. He saw in the earthquakes a punishment for sin, hence he took steps to raise the moral standard of his capital. Among other things he enforced the observance of Sunday and the law of fasting.[3] In a consistory of February 19th he announced that the 22nd was to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the safety of the city. He also ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung every year in the papal chapel on Candlemas Day, and that the day before the feast should be observed as a strict fast day.[4] This law is still kept by the Romans to this day. A prayer against earthquakes was inserted in the Breviary, and later on a similar

[1] A *report of February 7, 1703, which Lamberg sent to the Emperor, gives a vivid description of the panic; copy in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*; BUDER, I., 461 *seq.*

[2] **Avviso* of February 6, 1703, *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich.

[3] **Avviso* of February 13 and 27, 1703, *ibid.* *Cf.* BUDER, I., 464 *seq.*

[4] *Op.*, Orat., 15.

one in the Missal.[1] The Pope also ordered scientific observations to be made with a view to the possibility of foretelling earthquakes.[2]

While these services and penitential exercises were still in progress, there were evident signs that the earth was not yet completely at rest. Slight shocks occurred again at the end of March and the beginning of April, whilst on April 15th a mighty whirlwind arose. On May 24th there was another earthquake which, though less violent, caused many to flee into the Campagna. The chronicles of Rome report further storms and earthquakes on October 10th.[3]

The earthquakes did far more damage in other parts of the States of the Church than in the Eternal City, particularly at Norcia, Foligno, Spoleto and Aquila. The Pope sent generous succour to these places. A special Congregation set up by him placed at the disposal of the people who camped in the open the tents of the garrisons of Castel S. Angelo and Civitavecchia. Food as well as money was distributed. Spoleto, which had been specially hard hit, was the object of particular attention ; the governor of the city caused an inscription to be erected in memory of the Pope's liberality. As late as 1704 Norcia, Terni and Narni received considerable sums of money for the assistance of their inhabitants.[4] In November, 1705,[5] and in April, 1706,[6] Rome experienced further shocks. These were followed by an unusually hot summer, a severe drought and a bad harvest.[7]

The winter of 1709 was especially severe throughout the whole of Europe. In Rome a sudden and quite unusually cold spell occurred about the middle of January, and until the middle of February there was snow and ice everywhere. This caused an epidemic of influenza of which Lancisi has

[1] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, Roma, 1891, 16 *seq.*

[3] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit.*

[4] Buder, I., 465 *seq.*, 501 *seq.*, 550.

[5] Cecconi, *Diario*, 627.

[6] **Avviso*, April 20, 1706, *Cod. ital.*, 197, *loc., cit.*

[7] **Avvisi*, June 22 and August 17, 1706, *ibid.*

left us a description. Once again very effective sanitary measures were taken. These were not exclusively due to the memorials of Lancisi, for the Pope also appointed a special sanitary commission of which, besides Lancisi, the famous anatomist Pachioni was also a member. Cardinals Colloredo, Cenci and Este fell victims to the epidemic. In order to restrict its ravages orders were given, under severe penalties, for the streets of the entire city to be cleaned within eight days, and the custom of throwing dirt and offal into the streets and thoroughfares was prohibited. The ditches and marshes in the Leonine city, especially those round Castel S. Angelo, were cleared, and running water was carried from the Vatican gardens, situate at a higher level, through a channel down to the Tiber. A careful watch was kept over the provision market, while physicians were enjoined to devote particular attention to the poorer sections of the population, and to arrange for the immediate removal of the sick from the Campagna to the hospitals.[1]

There were a few more earth tremors at the beginning of 1711,[2] after which Rome was spared this visitation. In 1713, however, the cattle disease, then prevalent over the whole of Europe, also visited the Campagna. There exists a considerable number of edicts which show what steps were taken to arrest the progress of the contagion. In this instance also Lancisi's advice was followed ; the latter rightly recognized that the most effective preventive was the immediate destruction of the diseased animals and the isolation of the healthy ones. Markets were therefore forbidden. To forestall injury to agriculture the farmers received money to purchase cattle and sheep ; measures were also taken to ensure the raising of live-stock. In this connection the Pope saw to

[1] LANGER, *loc. cit.*, 9. *Cf.* LAFITAU, I., 275 *seq.*, and *Historia epidemiae rheum., quae per hyemem anni 1709* [*Romae*] *vagata est, cf.* I. M. LANCISIUS, *Opera, collegit* ASSALTUS, 2, vol., Genevae, 1718.

[2] **Avviso*, January 17, 1711, *Cod. ital.*, 198, *loc. cit.*

a regular supply of grain.[1] In the year 1718 the Pope maintained some 8,000 poor people who had fled from the States of the Church to Rome. In the previous year he had provided Avignon with supplies of corn, and in 1720 he did the same when Marseilles was visited by the plague.[2] The measures against the spread of the epidemic were successful.[3]

During the whole of his pontificate Clement XI. displayed the utmost anxiety to ensure the provisioning of Rome and the promotion of agriculture, which had been so hard hit by wars and physical catastrophes. But he lacked the strong hand which would have been necessary to effect a complete change.[4] The old idea of draining the Pontine Marshes was mooted anew. In this matter the selfish interests of Cardinal Barberini clashed with the intentions of the Pope; as Commendatory Abbot of Fossanova, Barberini was afraid lest his lands should be injured by the draining of the surrounding territory.[5] Extraordinary rainfalls caused extensive flooding of the Po in the Romagna and epidemics in the Marches of Ancona, in Umbria and in the Latium. Clement XI. did all he could to help the victims of these calamities.[6]

The distribution of the States of the Church and the

[1] LANCISI, *De bovilla peste ex Campaniae finibus a. 1713 Latio importata*, Romae, 1715; **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 28, Papal Secret Archives; LANGER, *loc. cit.*, 13, says that even in our own days no better measures could be taken. Abnormal weather conditions prevailed also in 1714; see PELLICANI's notes in the essay by I. GALLI: *L'inverno tardivo del 1712 e le irregolarità delle stagioni nei secoli scorsi*, in *Mem. d. Pontif. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, XXX. (1912).

[2] NOVAES, XII., 271 *seq.*

[3] CRACAS, for 1720.

[4] See the detailed description in BENIGNI, 68 *seqq.* *Cf.* DE CUPIS, 292 *seqq.*

[5] NICOLAI, *De' bonificamenti delle Terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 148 *seqq.* *Documents on this matter in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 18, *loc. cit.* An **Avviso Marescotti* of March 6, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, reports the suspension of the work.

[6] LAFITAU, II., 147 *seq.*

organization of their authorities remained unaltered under Clement XI. There were twelve Provinces, viz. Rome with its environs and the Patrimony properly so-called, the Campagna Marittima, Umbria, the Sabina, the Duchy of Spoleto, the Marches, Bologna, Romagna, the territories of Ferrara, Urbino and Montefeltre. To these must be added the enclave of Benevento and in France the Counties of Avignon and Venaissin. The first named Provinces were ruled by governors, some of whom were prelates, whilst others were secular jurists. At Bologna, Ferrara, in the Romagna and at Urbino, Cardinals with the title of Legates were at the head, with Vice-Legates under them. Avignon also had a Cardinal Legate.[1]

In his biography of Clement XI. the Frenchman Lafitau mentions the Pope's solicitude for the administration of justice. Judges who were not sufficiently impartial were dismissed; those who protracted cases were banished.[2] Rome was ruled with a strong hand. In the early hours of the morning police officers combed the streets and tore down lampoons. The scandal of prostitution was successfully stamped out.[3] It was in keeping with this strictness that a calumnious attack on the person of the Pope was treated as a capital crime and punished by death.[4]

Whilst capital punishment continued to be carried out in the usual barbarous manner, a new idea came into practice in the treatment of prisoners, viz. that of reforming them. In this respect Clement XI. has the distinction of having been a pioneer. When in 1703 he founded in Rome the prison of S. Michele for youthful delinquents, the Pope gave orders for the segregation of the prisoners into various classes,

[1] *Discorso del dominio spirituale e temporale del Sommo Pontefice Romano, in *Cod.* VIII., G 28, p. 361 *seqq.*, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

[2] LAFITAU, II., 247 *seq.*

[3] P. A. PANCETTI, **Lo stato presente della città e corte di Roma, 1718–1721*, in *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

[4] See *Relazione della morte dell' abate F. Rivarola* (1708), in *Arch. stor. Rom.*, V., 323 *seqq.* *Cf.* BRUZZONE, *Un supplicio di un diarista*, in *Messaggero* (Roma), 1913, June 3.

according to age and moral dispositions. He provided single cells, especially for the night-time, whilst he made the prisoners work in common, when silence was enforced. His principal care, however, was their reformation by means of religious instructions and practices.[1] Other salutary measures for the peace of Rome were the suppression, soon after Clement XI.'s accession, of the freedom of the quarter [2] and his action against the bandits of the Campagna.[3]

The effect of warlike disturbances and physical catastrophes is reflected by the state of the population of the Pontifical States,[4] especially that of Rome. At Clement's accession the Eternal City numbered 149,447 inhabitants, though it must be borne in mind that a jubilee was in progress that year; hence the statistics for 1701, which showed 141,789 souls, indicate the normal population. The above number sank to 132,728 by 1707, but by 1716 it had again gradually risen to 137,958. After that year it fell again, so that in the year of the Pope's death Rome counted only 134,254 inhabitants.[5] There were 315 churches, 38 public and private

[1] *Motu proprio della santa memoria di Clemente XI. sopra il buon regolamento della casa di correzione, tanto per quello riguarda il vitto e trattamento de' ragazzi delinquenti, quanto anche rispetto a gli emolumenti e privilegii, che assegna al Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele*, 1720. HOLTZENDORFF-JAGEMANN, *Handbuch des Gefängniswesens*, 2 vols. (1888). *Cf.* MORONI, IX., 268 *seq.*; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII., 311 *seqq.*

[2] BUDER, I., 131 *seq.*

[3] TOMASSETTI, II., 286 *seqq.* Currency edicts of Clement XI. in GARAMPI, *Sul valore*, 101 *seqq.*

[4] F. CORRIDORE, *La popolazione dello Stato Romano*, 1656–1901, Roma, 1906, 21 *seqq.*, 64 *seqq.*

[5] *Studi e docum.*, XII. (1891), 182 *seq.* A census taken in the Papal States in 1702 gave, according to BUDER (I., 409), 1,900,000 souls, 300,000 less than in the time of Urban VIII. BELOCH (*La popolazione d'Italia nei secoli*, XVI., XVII., and XVIII., Roma, 1888), gives (p. 16) for 1656: 1,565,338; for 1701, 1,841,937; for 1736, 1,656,585 inhabitants. In *Zeitschr. für Sozialwiss.*, III. (1900), 770, BELOCH gives for 1656 and 1701 the figures 1,878,650 and 1,983,994.

hospitals and other charitable institutions. The number of parishes rose from 81 to 86.[1] The city was guarded by five companies of infantry, a body of light horse and the Swiss Guards.[2]

The economic situation of Rome was bound to be very adversely affected by the conflicts with the courts of Vienna, Turin and Madrid. In the spring of 1711 there was a dearth of money among all classes.[3] How hard hit the Roman Curia had been appears from the accounts at the close of 1718, when the income of the Apostolic Camera and the Dataria showed a loss of half a million scudi.[4]

In spite of the unfavourable financial situation Clement XI. made vast pecuniary sacrifices in 1716 and 1717 for the war against the Turks, and even so he still managed to promote the arts and learning.

(2.)

Clement XI. showed his love of learning above all by enriching the Vatican Library, of which he was one of the greatest patrons. He acquired for the *Vaticana* fifty-four Greek manuscripts from Pius II.'s heirs.[5] When the niece of the famous traveller, Pietro della Valle, sent him seventy-six oriental manuscripts after her uncle's death in 1652, the valuable Samaritan Pentateuch being among them, he also assigned that collection to the Vaticana.[6] In July, 1711, the Library was further enriched by the collection of MSS of Abraham Ecchellensis and that of the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph which were acquired by the Pope: these collections consisted of sixty-three Syrian and Arabic, and eighteen

[1] *Studi e docum.*, XII., 198.

[2] PANCETTI, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Avviso* of April 12, 1711, *Cod. ital.*, 198, State Library, Munich.

[4] BUDER, III., 788 *seq.*

[5] Duchesne's catalogue in *Bibliothèque de l'École Franç.*, XIII.

[6] POLIDORUS, *Vita*, 472; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 98.

Chaldean codices. Twenty Greek MSS which the Maronite Abraham Massud presented to the Pope also went to the Vaticana.[1]

But Clement was not yet quite satisfied. He was the first to interest himself in the celebrated Syrian manuscripts of the desert of Nitria in Egypt which had their own remarkable history. The codices came from Bagdad which, in the tenth century, had been a seat of literary activity with schools of Syrian Nestorians and Jacobites. When Abbot Moses of Nisibis, of the monastery of St. Mary in Nitria, went to Bagdad in 925 to beg the Caliph Moktadir for a reduction in taxation, he returned to his desert with two hundred and fifty Syriac MSS. which were thus preserved whilst everything perished in Bagdad. The Maronite Gabriel, whom Clement XI. sent to the Coptic Patriarch, was the first to bring tidings of these treasures to the West. Thereupon the Pope sent Elias Assemani, the eldest member of that celebrated family, to Nitria. In 1707 Assemani had the good fortune of bringing to Rome forty valuable MSS. Later, in 1715, Clement XI. sent out Joseph Simon Assemani; however, by this time the monks had become suspicious so that he returned with only a few, though very valuable, documents. The remainder of the precious library was acquired by English gold in 1837 and 1847 and made the British Museum the foremost Syriac Library in the world.[2] Assemani had more luck in Syria than in Egypt. At the beginnings of 1711 he brought to Rome forty-five Syriac and twenty Coptic MSS. Even in the year of his death Clement XI. ordered a new mission to the Orient in the person of Andrea Scandar, whose booty only reached the papal library under Innocent XIII.[3] Clement himself, the real founder of the oriental section of the Vaticana, had the joy of seeing the beginnings of Assemani's celebrated *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*, a publication dedicated to him, which made possible access

[1] Carini, *loc. cit.*

[2] H. Lammens, in *Études*, LXIV. (1895), 286 *seqq.*

[3] Carini, *loc. cit.*

to a vast number of hitherto unknown oriental MSS.[1] Besides MSS. and numerous printed works, two other gifts to the Library recall the Albani Pope at this day, the one, a Roman sarcophagus, discovered on the Via Prænestina, not far from Tor de' Schiavi, which contained some non-inflammable linen of asbestos ; the other an ancient pillar of white oriental alabaster, brought to light near S. Cesario.[2]

Clement XI. also turned his attention to the treasures in the archives of Rome, especially those of the Vatican and to the celebrated printing press of Salvioni in the University.[3] Himself a scholar, he appreciated not only the Greek, Latin and Italian poets, but was also greatly interested in history. As a Cardinal he was in constant relations with contemporary writers in Rome ; these relations continued throughout his pontificate. He bestowed numberless favours on poets and scholars. Giovan Maria Crescimbeni, the *Custode* of the Arcadia,[4] was made Archpriest of S. Maria in Cosmedin.

[1] The first volume appeared in 1719, the third in 1728. Portrait of Assemani by Pier Leone Ghezzi in **Cod. Vat.* 3117, Vatican Library.

[2] FORCELLA, VI., 168 ; PLATNER, II., 326.

[3] " *Invigilando N. S. allo splendore di questa dominante ha finalmente ordinato, che si riduchino in buona forma tutti gl'archivii antichi e si ristabilisca l'antica stamperia del Senato Romano " (*Avviso Marescotti*, August 6, 1702, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Roma, f. 158). *Monday " il Pontefice, con il sig. card. Marescotti passò alla visita di tutti gl'archivii essistenti nel Vaticano ad effetto d'ordinare il regolamento di quelli, havendone fatto fabbricare uno di nuovo per le congregationi che si tengono " *ibid.*, f. 329). **Avviso* of May 10, 1704 : Il Papa fu lunedi all'Archivio Secreto del Vaticano col card. Marescotti, non per altro, dicono, che per far rimettere quelle scritture in miglior ordine, in che sole e cose simili si vale di questo gran cardinale. Questo luogo è il Sancta Sanctorum della politica, ove essendo rinchiusi li principali arcani e li più nascosti alli stranieri, non si permette ad alcuno l'ingresso " (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the printing press, see BUDER, III., 765 *seq.*, and **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 14, Papal Sec. Archives.

[4] On the Arcadia, *cf.* the present work, XXXII., 554.

In this capacity he wrote the history of that church.[1] Another member of the Arcadia, Christoforo Battelli, became Secretary of Briefs and papal librarian.[2] The poet Alessandro Guidi, an old friend of Clement XI., showed gratitude for favours received by rendering six homilies of his distinguished patron into Italian verse.[3] How greatly Clement XI. appreciated him was seen when he ordered Guidi's remains to be buried near those of Tasso in S. Onofrio.[4] The poet Niccolò Forteguerri received a canonry in St. Peter's.[5] Giovanni Antonio Magnani dedicated a poem to Clement XI. on the earthquake of 1703.[6] At times the Pope had the poetic works of members of the Arcadia read to him at table,[7] but his main interest was in scholarly undertakings. He helped the Maurists in their edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great. He allowed the four volumes of the work to be dedicated to him and bestowed gifts on the editors.[8] He encouraged a revision of Ughelli's *Italia Sacra*, and lived to see an enlarged and improved edition of that great work executed by Niccolò Coleti.[9]

[1] Renazzi, IV., 124.

[2] Carini, *Arcadia*, 313 *seqq.*; *Le Marche*, II., Fano, 1902, 33 *seqq.*

[3] Clemente XI., *Sei omelie esposte in versi da* Aless. Guidi, Roma, 1712.

[4] Renazzi, IV., 125.

[5] *Ibid.*, 130. *Cf.* above, p. 365, n. 5.

[6] Copy in Bibl. Corsini, Rome. On a panegyric of Clement XI. in verse by Benedetto Menzini, see A. Mabellini, *Una canzone di B. Menzini*, Fano, 1904.

[7] O. Iustinianus, *Clementis XI. vita*, Senis, 1738, LXI.

[8] **Avviso Marescotti*, April 24, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; The *Opera Gregorii* appeared in Paris in 1705.

[9] An **Avviso Marescotti*, June 7, 1704 (*loc. cit.*), reports: "Ha S. S. pensato di far perfettionare l'Istoria dell'Italia Sacra composta da Ughellio mancante di molte notitie trascurate, havendo a quest'effetto fatta una raddunanza di prelati intelligenti, che assisteranno a quest'opera, e mandate lettere circolari a tutti li vescovi per le notitie antiche e moderne de' loro vescovati per ristamparla." The edition of N. Coleti, with dedication to Clement XI., appeared at Venice, 1717–1722, in ten folio volumes

Domenico Bernino,[1] Alessandro Borgia, subsequently Archbishop of Fermo,[2] the Oratorian Giacomo Laderchi,[3] who continued the Annals of Baronius and Raynaldus, though without equalling his predecessors, also enjoyed Clement XI.'s support. The favour of the Pope was likewise bestowed on the exceptionally versatile Francesco Bianchini, author of an epoch-making historical work by reason of the consideration of monuments.[4] Bianchini had been held in high esteem by Alexander VIII. Clement XI. favoured him no less, nominating him his chamberlain and *presidente delle antichità* and granting him a title of nobility and a canonry at St. Mary Major.[5] Bianchini undertook a new edition of

and is still an indispensable work of reference. On another plan of the Pope an **Avviso Marescotti* of July 19, 1704, reports as follows: "Bramando N. S., che sia data in luce la vita et origine di San Benedetto fondatore della religione Cassinense, ha data commissione a Mons. vescovo di Gallas, di farne diligente inquisitione per descriverla, per il che detto prelato, che sino dalla miserabile rivolutione d'Inghilterra si trova in questa corte, si è portato alla terra di San Benedetto, dove ha havuto il suo domicilio detto Santo, per prenderne le necessarie informationi a fine di ponerla in stampa."

[1] D. Bernino, *Il tribunale della S. Rota Romana descritto*, Roma, 1717 (dedicated to Clement XI.).

[2] Moroni, VI., 51 *seqq.* *Borgia's letters in *Borg. Lat.*, 232, Vatican Library.

[3] On Laderchi, *cf.* Iungmann in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.², 1316 *seq.* Nearly all the literary remains of Laderchi are in the Barberini Library: XLI., 58–64: Lettere al Laderchi (61–2, *Lettere de' cardinali*); XLII., 6–7: Sermoni di L.; 8: Lettere di Laderchi; 9–18, Lettere al L., 17–18: Lettere di Lorenzo Magalotti al L.; 19, 47–53, 57, 58, 60, 62 *seqq.*: writings of Laderchi.

[4] *Storia universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi*, Roma, 1697.

[5] Moroni, V., 208 *seq.* Marini (*Iscrizioni Albane*, pref., VIII.) calls Bianchini "il maggior uomo che abbia prodotto l'Italia in questo secolo". As Carini (*Muratori*, I. [1892], 145) remarks, this is somewhat exaggerated though not without justification.

the famous *Liber Pontificalis*, which was at one time ascribed to Anastasius the Librarian. He dedicated the first volume, a beautiful folio, to Clement XI.[1] Bianchini, besides being a historian and archæologist, was also a brilliant mathematician. In that capacity he was employed on the reform of the Calendar.

Already under Innocent XII. various Bishops and mathematicians had urged the correction of some minor errors which still clung to Gregory XII.'s calendar in spite of all the care bestowed upon it. Clement XI. appealed to the most celebrated Universities of Europe[2] and established a special commission to study the question. This commission consisted of Cardinals Ferrari, Pamfili and Noris, the keepers of the Vatican Library, Zaccagni and De Miro, the two professors of mathematics at the Roman University, Vincenzo Giordani and Domenico Quartaroni, and several learned religious, among them the Jesuit Eschinard. Bianchini acted as secretary.[3] The commission decided to have a meridian made like the one which the famous astronomer Giandomenico Cassini had already made at Bologna. The Pope chose the church of S. Maria degli Angeli for the purpose. On October 6th, 1702 the work was completed; Clement himself unveiled it.[4] The meridian is on bronze with broad marble boarders adorned with the signs of the Zodiac. This work of Bianchini and Maraldi was called the *Linea Clementina*. It recalls to this day the Pope's desire to reform the calendar though it led to no result owing to the circumstance that the

[1] Published in Rome, 1718.

[2] *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, Rome, 1891, 13 *seq.*

[3] Renazzi, IV., 152 *seqq.*; Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 196; *Cf.* Lafitau, I., 119 *seq.*; Renaudot, I., 105 *seq.*; Serassi, *J. Mazzoni*, Roma, 1790, 61 *seqq.* Bianchini's work *De calendario et cyclo Caesaris* appeared in Rome, 1703–4. The particular interest Clement XI. took in the reform of the calendar is noted in **Avviso Marescotti*, December 23, 1702, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[4] According to the **Avviso Marescotti* of August 26, 1702 (*loc. cit.*), Clement XI. inspected the new meridian already at that date. On the unveiling, see **Avviso Marescotti*, October 7, 1702 (*ibid.*).

commission gave up the idea of making any alterations as the errors were of little consequence.

In the disputes over the feudal rights in Parma and Piacenza Clement XI., employed the learned Giusto Fontanini who wrote a whole series of works on this affair.[1] At Montfaucon's suggestion, Fontanini, whose work on the town of Orte shows that he was a sound archæologist, introduced Baron Philip von Stosch to the Pope, who in many ways encouraged this student of the arts and antiquities.[2] Clement XI. summoned from Naples Carlo Majella, a man remarkable as a theologian and a linguist, and appointed him Custodian of the Vatican Library. Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, who was equally at home in Latin and Greek literature, became secretary of Latin Briefs.[3]

An old friend of the Pope's was the celebrated jurist Gian Vincenzo Gravina, professor at the Roman University since 1699. This versatile savant also devoted himself to theological studies and practised the poetic craft.[4] The celebrated satires published by Ludovico Sergardi under the name of Quinto Settano were directed against Gravina.[5] Gravina is the author of the memorials of the papal physician, the celebrated Giovanni Maria Lancisi. The memory of this outstanding savant lives on in Rome through the library founded by him in the hospital of S. Spirito.[6] Lancisi had been professor of anatomy and surgery at the Roman University since 1684. Clement XI., who paid the Lancisi Library the honour of

[1] See above, p. 168. *Cf.* also RENAZZI, IV., 102 *seq.*

[2] IUSTI in *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, VII., 296 *seq.*

[3] RENAZZI, IV., 178 *seq.*

[4] G. PASSERI, *Vita di G. B. Gravina*, in his *Opere scelte*, Firenze, 1826; E. GIUDICE, *Prose di G. B. Gravina*, Firenze, 1857.

[5] *Cf.* R. BATTIGNANI, *Studio su Quinto Settano* (Ludovico Sergardi), Girgenti, 1894; G. LEATI, *La satira di Roma di Quinto Settano*, in *La cultura*, 1895, n. 28–9; D. BASSI, in *Bollett. Senese*, III. (1896), 125 *seqq.*, there also the *Carmen ad Clementem XI.* of SERGARDI.

[6] *Biblioteca Lancisiana descritta dall'abate Cristoforo Carsughi*, Roma, 1718.

a visit, awarded him a canonry at S. Lorenzo in Damaso.[1] The importance of the learned physician's studies on the baleful influence of the marshes on the Roman climate has only been fully appreciated in these latter days. These writings make it quite evident that Lancisi inspired the efforts made for the sanitation of Rome in the years 1695–1714. What he advised in this respect and carried into effect, is valuable even in the light of modern progress, if we allow for the period and the means at his disposal.[2] In 1715 he set up a scientific institute for medicine, surgery and anatomy in his beloved Hospital of S. Spirito.[3] By order of Clement XI., Lancisi published Mercati's description of the collections of natural science of the Vatican founded by Pius V. and laid out by Sixtus V.[4] Lancisi also undertook archæological studies. In this sphere his interests coincided with those of the Pope.

Soon after his elevation Clement issued an edict for the protection of the ancient artistic treasures of the Eternal City. On July 18th, 1701, he renewed previous decrees forbidding the export of statues, bronzes, gems and paintings. A second edict of September 30th, 1704, reinforced the former and extended it to stuccos, mosaics, manuscripts and documents of every kind. The motive for the prohibition was the desire to maintain the splendour of the city of Rome which, in the judgment of foreign nations, was based on its monuments.

Every discovery had to be reported to Francesco Bartoli, the Commissary of Antiquities, and only with his permission and after special drawings had been made, could an object

[1] Renazzi, III., 192 *seq.*; IV., 166 *seq.* *Cf.* Crescimbeni, *Vita di G. M. Lancisi*, Roma, 1721; Fabroni, *Vitae Italorum*, I., 83 *seqq.*; Zappi, *Illustr. ai busti di medici celebri*, Roma, 1868, 113 *seqq.*; Lancisi, *Lettere inedite tratte da un manoscritto della bibl. Albani*, Roma, 1841.

[2] Langer, *Die Assanierungsfrage in Rom.*, *loc. cit.*, 9. *Cf.* also *Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege*, XI., 192.

[3] Renazzi, IV., 168.

[4] *Studi e docum.*, V., 170.

be moved. Inscriptions had to be reported to Francesco Bianchini and manuscripts to the papal archivists.[1]

The inexhaustible soil of Rome also yielded fresh treasures under Clement XI. Most of these belonged to profane antiquity,[2] but in May, 1702, a discovery of supreme importance for Christian archæology was made. To the south-east of the temple of Castor, near S. Maria Liberatrice, at a depth of several metres below the surface, the discovery was made of a great Christian church, viz. S. Maria Antiqua, with frescoes of the time of Paul I. [757–767]. Clement XI. entertained the idea of rendering this most interesting building once more accessible, but he was obliged to give up the idea for fear of the collapse of the surrounding buildings.[3]

[1] BANDI, V., 70, p. 38, Papal Secret Archives, printed in FEA, *Dei diritti*, 76 *seq*. *Cf. Bullet. di archeol. cr̥ist.*, 1876, 131. On the difficulty of exporting works of art, *cf.* LAFITAU, II., 260, and **Avviso* of February 16, 1704: "Non si possono più estrarre da Roma quadri originali nè antichità di prezzo senza licenza, difficile a concedersi, per non spogliare la città del suo bello." Duke Bonelli was arrested on account of this (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Esportaz. da oggi di belle arti da Roma* in *Riv. Europ.*, 1871, 181 *seq*. In 1718 Peter the Great purchased in Rome the Taurine Venus which is now in the Eremitage, Petrograd. The decrees against the exportation of works of art were suggested to the Pope by Francesco Bartoli; see his *memorial to the Pope in which he also proposes that the triumphal Arches should be cleared of vegetation. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 178, Papal Sec. Archives.

[2] *Cf.* Reports of the discoveries from the *Diarii di Roma*, 1700–1742, of VALESIO in *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1885, 76 *seqq*.

[3] See the passage from the *Diarii* of Valesio in CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 370. Other reports of discoveries in GRÜNEISEN, *St. Marie Antique*, Rome, 1904, 34 *seqq*. BAGLIVO, in his *Opera medico-practica*, Lugduni, 1700, 574, mentions a dissertation on the underground Basilica by D. Passionei; see HÜLSEN, *Ausgrabungen*, 1898–1902, Rome, 1903, 86. *Cf.* also **Avvisi Marescotti* of June 3, 1702: "Nel scavare che si faceva in Campo Bovario, per fare li fondamenti di una chiesa, se n'è scoperta un'altra

The last period of Clement's pontificate saw the beginning of the excavations of Domitian's palace in the Farnese gardens on the Palatine which Bianchini described with great learning, though not always correctly. The archæologist Marcantonio Boldetti had been exploring the Catacombs since 1713 [1]; Giovanni Marangoni assisted him in these studies. An inscription by him in the Catacomb of Domitilla recalls the fact that this pious priest was in the habit of meeting with a few others of similar tastes in these venerable crypts, for the purpose of honouring the Martyrs, and that on September 7th, 1716, they sang on this spot a *Te Deum* for the victory of Prince Eugene in Hungary and the relief of Corfu.[2]

Particularly rich remains from ancient times came to light in the autumn of 1704 when a medieval tower near Ripa Grande was demolished. Various precious marbles and lapis lazuli were found. The Pope instructed his nephew Orazio to keep everything "as a treasure", and to take it to the Palazzo Albani. As a matter of fact Clement collected antiquities wherever possible, not only statues, but even antique lead pipes and medals. He had copper-plate engravings made of a great number of these ancient objects; these, with some valuable original sketches and drawings by

sotterranea, fondata da San Paolo I Papa, adornata di bellissime pitture, vedendosi dal lato dritto non ostante l'antichità e l'esser state sepolte dalla terra, tutti li santi latini e la passione di Cristo e nell'altro lato li santi greci et il ritratto di detto Pontefice, e S. S. vuol riddurlo alla publica veneratione," and August 5: "Pervenuto a notitia di N. S., che fosse stata riempita di terra senza suo ordine la chiesa ultimamente ritrovata dietro S. Maria Liberatrice, vi spedì Mons. Bonaventura con ordine che fosse di nuovo scavata," Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Lamberg, in his *Diary (June 7, 1702) also mentions the discovery. Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[1] LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 330. An **Avviso* of June 14, 1704 (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein), speaks of a discovery in the Catacombs.

[2] *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XIII., 19 *seqq.*

famous masters of the preceding centuries, he collected in an art-cabinet at the Albani Palace in which he spent the few free hours which his official duties left him.[1] A choice library adjoined the collection. Boldetti proposed to the Pope that the long corridor leading into the Vatican Library should

[1] **Avvisi*, August 30, 1704: "Essendosi ordinata la demolitione di certe rovine antiche nel Tevere, si è trovato nelle medeme e si trova tuttavia buona quantità di pietre pretiose come di Verde antico, di alabastro orientale, diaspro et altre ora rarissime, e d'ordine del Papa saranno custodite dal S. Don Oratio come un picciolo tesoro," and October 4: "Si cavano tuttavia pietre pretiose dalle rovine dell'antico torrione, che Papa Leone IV. fece far in fretta a ripa nel Tevere, e già ben 20 carrettate sono state trasportate in casa Albani. Fra questi pretiosi fragmenti si trova una quantità di lapislazuli, onde si crede siano delle rovine degli antichi tempii degli idoli; e si dice, che voglia il Papa farne una capella sontuosa nella cattedrale d'Urbino. Nelli giorni di vacanza cala il Papa e si trattiene nella libraria fra li due portoni di palazzo fatta comprare per 5m sc. dall'eredità del cav. del Pozzo, ornata di statuette e medaglie antiche, e fra le belle cose che vi sono si mettono due gran tomi di dissegni, tutti di valent'huomini e di molta stima, con che e lo studio del celebre pittore Carlo Maratta si riempirà di cose rare la casa Albani, e dilettandosi S. S. di cose antiche vuole vedere quanto si va trovando nel cavare anche pezzi di statue e canali di piombo antichi, de' quali sono stati portati a palazzo alcuni pezzi, ove si vedono alcune lettere impresse." Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. On the art collection of Clement XI., *cf.* LAFITAU, II., 261; BUDER, III., 748; IUSTI, II., 276, 290; III., 73. On the valuable drawings of the Albani collection which were taken to England, see *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXII. (1910–11), 281. The Library, enlarged by Cardinals Annibale and Alessandro Albani (see BLUME, 174 *seq.*), was plundered in 1798 by the French (some of the manuscripts got into the Library of Montpellier; see MAZZANTINTI, *Bibl. di Francia*, III., 61 *seqq.*), the books were sold in 1857 (see *Catalogo d. Bibl. d. principi Albani vendita all' asta*, 2 parts, Roma, 1857–8); the manuscripts were acquired by the Prussian Government but were lost by shipwreck; see L. PASTOR, *Le Biblioteche private e specialmente quelle delle famiglie principesche di Roma* in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Roma, 1906.

be used for preserving the heathen and Christian funeral inscriptions. The idea of such a museum greatly appealed to the Pope, but there was no money to carry it into effect.[1]

It has been justly observed that the pontificate of the Albani Pope marks the real turning point for the collection and exhibition of art treasures. The special interest which Clement showed in this respect was the origin of efforts, later on taken up by Clement XII. and continued by Benedict XIV., which in the last quarter of the century resulted in those mighty collections in the Vatican Museum which are the wonder of the artistic world to-day. In greater or less measure all this goes back to Clement XI. It was he who conceived the plan of collecting the inscriptions in the Galleria Lapidaria. He it was, too, who through Bianchini, made the first attempt at a museum of Christian antiquity. He had the long neglected court of the Belvedere cleared and its antique statues protected.[2] He acquired for the palace of the Conservators the remaining antique statues of the Palazzo Cesi which were exposed to the injuries of the weather in the garden of that palace. Among these, two statues of Barbarians are particularly noteworthy: they are of *marmo bigio*, and the headgear shows them to have been chieftains. These admirable works were placed in the court-yard of the palace of the Conservators by the side of a statue of Rome. The Pope also assigned to the palace of the Conservators some Egyptian statues of kings discovered in the Vigna Verospi, as also the antique objects found in Sallust's gardens.[3] Clement visited the

[1] Mai, *Script. vet.*, V., XI.; *Bullet. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 135.

[2] Iusti, II., 37, 280 *seq.* On the Museo ecclesiastico di Clemente XI., see Hülsen, in *Bullet. d. Commis. archeol. comun.*, III. Series, 1890, 270 *seqq.* On a restoration of the Casino of Pius IV., see Friedländer, *Kasino Pius'*, IV., 10.

[3] *Röm. Mitteilungen*, VI., 56. For ten inscriptions by learned men in memory of Clement XI.'s work for the Capitol, see *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 141 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 149, *autograph note of Clement XI. on the inscriptions under the statue of Rome and of the two barbarian princes. *Cf.* Forcella, I., 76.

hall which he had had enlarged in May, 1719, and in October, 1720.[1]

In September, 1703, near the Piazza Monte Citorio of to-day, the remains came to light of the monument erected in honour of Antoninus Pius by his adopted sons and successors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The Pope showed great interest in the discovery and immediately conceived the plan of erecting the granite pillar, with its pedestal adorned with reliefs, in front of the palace of justice. Whilst these excavations were in progress the idea arose of setting up the monument first near the Quirinal, then near the Lateran, or the Fontana di Trevi; but in the end the first plan was carried out. The original estimate of 20,000 scudi was too low; by July, 1704, it was reckoned that 45,000 scudi would be necessary. The raising of the column proved exceedingly difficult; it was only effected after Francesco Fontana had taken his father's place. In the autumn of 1705 Francesco transported the column to the place selected for it. The Pope made him a present of 3,000 scudi and entrusted him with the restoration of the reliefs.[2]

Clement XI.'s interest was not confined to ancient artistic monuments, he was also a great lover of pictures by old and

[1] See CRACAS, *loc. cit.* Clement XI. also restored the statue of Paul IV., which had been destroyed in 1559 (see the present work, XIV., 415). MAFFEI [Rossi], *Racc. di statue autiche e moderne*, Roma, 1704, tav. CLXII.

[2] On the removal of the pedestal (which was later on placed in the giardino della Pigna, see HELBIG, I.[3], 74), and that of the column, CANCELLIERI has published an account in *Effem. lett.*, II. (1821), 214 *seqq.*, based on an inaccurate report, erroneously ascribed by him to Fr. Valesio. The autograph *Diarii of FR. VALESIO in Archives of the Capitol, Rome, give more reliable information (*cf. Bull. d. Commiss. archeol. comun.*, 1889, 161). For what is stated above, I have also made use of the very exhaustive **Avvisi Marescotti* of September 29 and October 13, 1703, April 12, May 10, July 12, August 16, October 11, November 8 and 22, 1704, September 19 and 26, October 17 and 24, 1705, and January 23, 1706, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Cf.* also CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 196.

new masters. When in 1705 the celebrated picture gallery of the Costaguti was about to be put up for sale, he made it known that he wished to acquire the collection.[1] Both the Quirinal and the Vatican were adorned with numerous pictures.[2] For the Quirinal the Pope had marble busts made of twenty-four of his predecessors.[3] The aged Maratta was entrusted with the restoration of Raphael's *Stanze*, but he contented himself with cleaning them by washing them with wine and restoring what had been completely effaced. Maratta was also charged with the supervision of the pictorial decoration of one of the galleries of the Vatican.[4] The Pope greatly esteemed the last of the great masters of the Bolognese

[1] " *Havendo il Papa inteso, che in casa Costaguti si trattava di vendere la superba galleria di quadri pretiosi, perchè tutti veri originali delli più famosi pittori, raccolti in molti anni dal defunto cardinale, ha fatto intendere, che non si debbono metter in vendita " (*Avviso* of June 13, 1705, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On other purchases by the Pope, see *Rass. bibl. dell'arte ital.*, XIII. (1910), 152.

[2] P. A. Pancetti, **Lo stato presente della città e corte di Roma*, 1718–1721, in *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich. On the new chapel in the Quirinal, see Moroni, IX., 162.

[3] **Avviso* of February 23, 1704 : " Havendo il Papa gran genio a risarcir et ornare li palazzi Apostolici, s'intende che voglia adornare la galleria del Quirinale con li busti in marmo di 24 Pontefici, che in varii tempi hanno sostenuto con travagli la Chiesa, con iscrittioni alli piedestalli, che si dicono fatte alla Certosa " (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). **Avviso* of March 8, 1701 (*ibid.*) : " Si vanno distribuendo alli maestri li busti marmorei delli 24 Pontefici, che si devono collocare nella galleria del Quirinale, tra quali sarà quello di Alessandro VIII. come benefattore del regnante Pontefice, che vi havrà anco il suo. E si vanno parimente continuando gli ornamenti nel palazzo Vaticano, dilettandosi il Papa delle magnifiche vaghezze."

[4] " *Ha il pontefice ordinato, che sia dipinto tutto il braccio della galleria nuova al Vaticano da' più eccellenti pittori con la direttione del cav. Maratta celebre pittore, e che si debba terminare l'opera, prima che vi si restituisca la S. S." *Avviso Marescotti*, May 31, 1704. Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

school,[1] but he was likewise willing to encourage living artists. Thus he founded a gobelin factory [2] and gave to the Academy of St. Luke a new constitution with various privileges.[3] Especially famous were the exhibitions which he organized in the Capitol with a view to reviving the arts, and the prizes given to artists, whether painters, sculptors or architects.[4] From 1702 onwards the distribution of prizes, which consisted of gold, silver and bronze medals, used to take place in the spring of each year, in one of the halls of the Capitol where the prize works were on view. This prize distribution developed into a great festival attended by many Cardinals and other prelates. Speeches and poems by members of the Arcadia and musical performances enhanced the splendour of the fête.[5] On April 24th, 1704, it was opened

[1] BELLORI, *Vite*, III., Pisa, 1821, 221 *seq.* An **Avviso* of April 28, 1703, announces : " Havendo il Papa saputa, che il celebre pittore Carlo Maratta come già invecchiato havesse venduto per cinque mila scudi ad un Inglese il suo studio di pittura, lo fece chiamare e gli disse, che non voleva che uscissero da Roma simili studii e raccolte di cose rare, a fine che vi fiorisca ; e scusatosi il Maratta con dire di havere già ricevuto mille scudi per caparra, soggiunse il Papa, che per il medemo prezzo lo voleva lui, per lo che detto Inglese strepita, freme et arrota i denti," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[2] A. TOSTI, *Relaz. d. Ospizio Apost. di S. Michele*, Roma, 1832, 7 *seqq.* A. GALLI, *Cenni economici statistici sullo stato pontificio*, Roma, 1804, 257 ; G. BOTTIGNI MARSETTI, *La scuola degli arazzi nell'Ospizio di S. Michele*, Roma, 1904.

[3] MISSIRINI, 198 *seqq.* NOACK (*Deutsches Leben*, 47) suspects that jealousy of the Academy of S. Luca was partly responsible for the suppression in 1720 of " Schilderbent ", the Dutch Association of Painters.

[4] MISSIRINI, 157 *seqq.* The statutes of a similar Academy in Bologna were approved by Clement XI. ; likewise the statutes of the Bolognese " Academia scientiarum " ; see *Bull*, XXI., 681 ; *cf.* NOVAES, XII., 211 *seq.* ; see also CAVAZZA, *Le scuole dell'antico studio di Bologna*, Milan, 1896, 286, 288 ; G. ZANOTTI, *Storia dell' Accademia Clementina di Bologna*, Bologna, 1739.

[5] **Avviso* of March 4, 1702 : " Alli 25 furono distribuiti li

by a speech of Annibale Albani, who pointed out that it was precisely in times of war that the arts should be fostered. The poems subsequently read did not sing the praises of the papal nephew, by command of the Pope. On the same occasion the oldest Cardinal present, Acciaioli, handed to Maratta, who had just finished the cleaning of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican, the insignia of the Order of Christ of which he had been made a knight. The Brief began with the same words as those of Leo X. when he nominated Raphael architect of St. Peter's.[1]

Maratta, whom the Pope considered as the leading master of the period,[2] enjoyed the greatest favour up to the day of his death. Clement XI. gave to the aged artist commissions for the cathedral of Urbino. Working up to the last, Maratta furnished plans for the frescoes in the cupola of the second chapel of the left aisle of St. Peter's, but he did not live to see their execution in mosaic. The theme of the frescoes was the Blessed Virgin Mary. Maratta died on December 15th, 1713, and was buried in a sepulchre built by himself in S. Maria degli Angeli. The epitaph was revised by the Pope himself. It states that the master had glorified the Queen of heaven

premii di medaglie d'oro, d'argento e di bronzo dorato alli giovani più virtuosi dell'Accademia di pittura, architettura e scultura in una sala di Campidoglio vagamente apparata, in presenza di molti cardinali e prelati, ove si fece oratione e recita di diverse poesie con musica e concerti d'istromenti, e nell'anticamera si vedevano esposte le prove di coloro, che meritarono li premii, essendovi stato per tre giorni gran concorso a vederle," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. *Cf. ibid.*, **Avviso* of April 21, 1704.

[1] Besides Bellori, III., 232 *seqq.*, *cf.* **Avvisi* of April 26 and August 16, 1704, *ibid.* Also Missirini, 170 *seqq.*, and *Accad. di S. Luca, Annuario*, 1909–1911, Roma, 1911, 5 *seqq.*

[2] See the Brief in *Op.*, Epist., 719. An *original letter of Maratta to the Pope, dated September 8, 1710, in which the artist expresses his thanks that the "quadro del Centurione" was not removed from St. Peter's—his anxiety on this account cost him fifteen sleepless nights—in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 39 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

by innumerable paintings.[1] Besides Maratta other artists also, as for instance Carlo Cignani, Giuseppe Chiari, Sebastiano Conca and Giuseppe Passeri, were favoured by Clement XI.[2] Carlo Fontana (*ob.* 1714), his son Francesco (*ob.* 1708) and Carlo's nephew, Carlo Stefano, were employed as architects.[3] The task of these architects consisted chiefly in the restoration of Roman churches [4]; many of these, besides those damaged by the earthquakes, urgently needed restoration. Much was done by Clement in this respect.[5]

At the very beginning of his pontificate, the Pope had turned his attention to the restoration of the three oldest and most venerable basilicas of the Eternal City. He did not confine himself to restoration, but sought to beautify them in accordance with the taste of the time. Thus at St. Cecilia's he had the coronation of the Saint depicted on the soffit by Sebastiano Conca.[6] Conca also furnished an altar picture for San Clemente, viz. the "Madonna di Rosario", as well as several paintings for the chapel of S. Dominic,[7] whilst Carlo Stephano Fontana built a new side entrance to

[1] Bellori, III., 221, 235. *Cf.* Pascoli, I., 141 *seq.*; Nagler, VIII., 288 *seq.* Maratta's tomb is in S. Maria degli Angeli to the right of the entrance; the epitaph in Forcella, IX., 163.

[2] Pascoli, I., 166, 213 *seq.*, 222.

[3] *Cf.* Thieme, XII., 172.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 49 *seqq.*

[5] "*Al presente," P. A. Pancetti writes in his report on Rome, 1718–1721 (see above, p. 499, n. 3), "non vi è chiesa, nè in città, nè fuori delle mura, che non sia stata risarcita, riffatta, abbellita," so that the preachers can no longer complain that one only thinks of palaces. *Cod. ital.*, 93, State Library, Munich.

[6] Thieme, VII., 288. Cardinal Acquaviva, who at the time of the reconstruction of 1725 began to modernize the church, put up a bust to Clement XI. in that building; see Forcella, II., 39.

[7] Thieme, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* L. Nolan, *The basilica of S. Clemente in Rome*, Rome, 1914, 56 *seq.* A contemporary "*Nota delli pittori che hanno dipinto nella chiesa di S. Clemente", in *Cod. Vat.* 8635, p. 45 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

this basilica. Unfortunately the old main entrance, which led into the atrium, was closed and a new façade built. Moreover the old woodwork of the roof was replaced by a heavy, richly gilt soffit, adorned with a painting by Giuseppe Chiari, and the walls of the nave were decorated with paintings by Conca.[1] Otherwise the interior happily escaped the modernization which was the fate of so many ancient Roman sanctuaries at that time. Clement XI.'s great inscription of 1705 inside the building, above the entrance, justly proclaims that the restoration has preserved the appearance of an ancient basilica.[2] This was the Pope's merit, says a contemporary. Only when a church had become utterly ruinous did he order a complete reconstruction; otherwise he endeavoured to respect as much as possible the ancient glory of the basilicas.[3] Clement had a special love for the church of his patron Saint. He raised it to the dignity of a stational church and made it a cardinalitial title which he bestowed on his nephew Annibale. The work began in 1701 but was only completed at the end of 1719.[4]

The ancient basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere, which the Pope often visited, received a new entrance adorned with

[1] Titi, 232 *seq.*; Nolan, 98 *seqq.* *Cf.* Appendix No. 17.

[2] Forcella, IV., 509. In *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 192 *seqq.* (*loc. cit.*). Proposals made to the Pope to reopen the crypt under the Presbytery, which had been closed after the inundation of 1590, were carried into effect. The altar is due to Clement XI.

[3] Ph. Rondininus, *De S. Clemente Papa et Martyre eiusque basilica in urbe Roma*, Romae, 1706, dedication to the Pope, p. xv *seq.* Here, as in the "Vita di Clemente XI.", 136 *seqq.*, added to the work of O. Piselli Ciuccioli, quoted below, p. 519, n. 4, the architectural undertakings of Clement XI. are enumerated.

[4] An **Avviso* of November 26, 1701, reports the beginning of the work: On November 23 the Pope visited S. Clemente, "e vista quella chiesa antica in poco buon stato, stante che vi riposa il corpo del santo Pontefice, ha risoluto di farvi le necessarie riparationi e specialmente il suffitto" (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). On the conclusion of the work, see the inscription of 1719 in Forcella, IV., 510.

four granite pillars, after plans by Carlo Fontana. It has the form of a portico which admirably harmonizes with the character of the building.[1]

In 1703 Carlo Fontana was likewise in charge of the restoration ordered by Clement XI. in the ancient church of S. Teodoro which, situate as it was on the slope of the Palatine, was seriously threatened by water running down the hill, and had become almost inaccessible. It was isolated by the removal of the surrounding terrain, and before the façade a semi-circular court was laid out to which two flights of steps gave access.[2] Almost at the same time Carlo Fontana drew up the plans for the façade of S. Marcello.[3]

S. Maria in Monticelli was reconstructed by Matteo Sassi, who enclosed the ancient columns within the pilasters.[4] S. Stefano dei Mori, behind S. Peter's, was reconstructed, as was the adjoining hospice of the Ethiopians and

[1] P. Morettus, *De S. Callisto Papa et super basil. S. Mariae Transtyb.*, Romae, 1767, 281, 320; Forcella, II., 361; *cf.* 363. An **Avviso* of June 6, 1701, refers to a plan for the portico; *another of November 26, 1701, says: "Per la festa di S. Cecilia il Papa visitò la sua chiesa, e nel passare diede una vista al portico, che fa fabricar in S. Maria in Trastevere con cancelli di ferro, sicome all'altra fabrica dell'Ospitio di S. Michele a Ripa," Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[2] *Cf.* the inscription in Forcella, X., 286; Thieme, XII., 172. **Avviso* of September 23, 1702: The Pope went from S. Clemente to S. Teodoro "e godè perfettionata la fabrica" (*loc. cit.*); *Giornale di Clemente XI., in Borghese, I., 578, Papal Secret Archives; **Avviso* of November 10, 1703: The Pope visited S. Teodoro "che ha fatto risarcire", Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein.

[3] Titi, 321 *seq.*

[4] O. Piselli-Ciuccioli, *Notizie istoriche della chiesa parrochiale di S. Maria in Monticelli di Roma, col ristretto della vita del regnante Pontefice Clemente XI. restauratore della medesima*, Montefiascone, 1719. *Cf.* the inscriptions in Forcella, V., 515 *seq.*, 528. A *Supplica to Clemente XI. to restore the dilapidated churches in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 276, Papal Sec. Archives.

Abyssinians.[1] The church of SS. Peter and Marcellus was completely restored and strengthened and given over to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon.[2] S. Brigida, in the Piazza Farnese, received a new façade and the interior was decorated by Biagio Paccini.[3] Cardinal Annibale Albani had a new façade erected before S. Maria in Cosmedin by the architect Giuseppe Sardi; however, this structure did not harmonize with the interior which is of great antiquity[4]: fortunately the interior was not substantially altered.[5] The changes were more marked in the restoration of S. Sisto, on the Via Appia.[6] S. Anna de' Palafrenieri was provided with a new façade.[7]

Further restorations were undertaken or encouraged by the Pope in the churches of St. John before the Latin Gate,[8] St. Martha,[9] S. Mary of Egypt,[10] St. Michael the Archangel, St. Chrysogonus, S. Maria in Domnica, St. Adrian, St. Sylvester, St. Gregory on the Coelian Hill.[11] The Pope laid the foundation

[1] FORCELLA, VI., 310; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 154; *Repert. für Kunstwissensch.*, XXXII., 249; **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 13, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the valuable essay of M. CHAÎNE: *Un monastère éthiopien à Rome au XVe. et XVIe. siècle, S. Stefano dei Mori*, in *Mél. de la Faculté orient.*, V., Beyrouth, 1910, 1–36.

[2] FORCELLA, XI., 397. [3] TITI, 116.

[4] It was very properly removed during the most recent restoration. *Cf.* G. B. GIOVENALE, *La basilica S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Roma, 1895, 22.

[5] The restoration undertaken by Cardinal De Lanceis in 1758 altered the interior considerably, but now everything has been restored to its primitive condition.

[6] The *Giornale di Clemente XI. (*loc. cit.*) says that on September 20, 1703, the Pope visited S. Sisto "per vedere i ristauramenti ordinati".

[7] See *Vita*, in PISELLI CIUCCIOLI, 142.

[8] FORCELLA, XI., 164.

[9] TITI, 24; G. BOSSI, *La chiesa di S. Maria*, Roma, 1883.

[10] FORCELLA, X., 423. On the *spese* for S. Maria Egiziaca, see **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 13, p. 54, *loc. cit.*

[11] *Vat.* 9034, p. 19 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Besides this contemporary compilation, *cf.* also OCTAV. IUSTINIANUS [S.J.],

stone of the new church of S. Francis of the Stigmata and contributed to the building.[1]

As a result of the earthquake, extensive restorations of the soffit were nceessary in S. Lorenzo in Damaso.[2] In the adjoining palace of the Cancelleria the great hall was restored and provided with a new floor which displays the Pope's arms; Giuseppe Nasini depicted on the walls, in sixteen medallions, the most important events of Clement's pontificate, especially his building activities.[3]

In the autumn of 1705 Clement XI. ordered a complete restoration of the Pantheon which had been changed into a church by Boniface IV. The memorandum of Francesco Bartoli, in which he protested against extensive changes, shows how keen was the general interest in antiquity.[4] The Pope had the roof repaired, the great granite pillars polished, and the niches faced with coloured marbles; he also built a sacristy for the Canons; in the interior he set up several marble statues, among them one of S. Joseph; he also had a splendid new high altar erected, though he did not live to

Clementis XI. Vita, libri III., Senis, 1738. This member of the Arcadia narrates the history of Clement XI. in verse and makes special mention of the trouble the Pope took over the Roman churches.

[1] FORCELLA, IV., 463.

[2] *Giornale di Clemente XI., *loc. cit. Cf. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 12, *ibid.*

[3] TITI, 123. *Cf. Distinta relazione della gran sala della Cancelleria Apostolica ornata nel pontificato di Clemente XI. e aperta al pubblico il 17 febbraio 1709*, Roma, 1719. *Cf. Studi e docum.*, I., 97, note.

[4] *Riflessioni di Fr. Bartoli antiquario sopra il modo di riattare la Rotonda, in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 181 *seqq.*, *loc. cit. Ibid.*, on the work in the Pantheon, November, 1713; *ibid.*, 188 *seqq.*: "*Memorie del ritrovamento de' corpi di S. Basco et Anastasio fatto nella Rotonda e della solennità con cui ne fu fatta la traslazione," *ibid.*, October 4, 1714, 4; *ibid.*, p. 168: *Parere di Aless. Specchi sopra la conservazione degli edifici e fabriche antiche (the roof of the Pantheon must be renovated; the Arch of Janus and that of Septimius Severus must be protected against rain).

see it completed.[1] S. Sebastian outside the Walls was adorned by Carlo Fontana with a chapel in honour of S. Fabian, in which Orazio Albani, the Pope's brother, found his last resting place in 1712.[2]

The completion of the monument of Queen Christine of Sweden in S. Peter's was a work of piety on the part of Clement XI.[3] The mortal remains of Leo I. also found

[1] *Forcella, I., 304; Erol, *Iscriz. nel Pantheon*, Narni, 1895, 276, 481. **Avviso Marescotti*, October 17, 1705, says: "Si è dato principio a ripulire il gran tempio della Rotonda dal cornicione in giù, ch'è tutta vestita quella gran mole di finissimi marmi di varii colori e porfidi, et in specie le colonne la maggior parte giallo antico, a spese della Camera, e riesce il lavoro assai bello e farà una vaghissima veduta per composto di tanti marmi, che annegriti dall'ingiuria del tempo non venivano considerati per quello che sono. Questa opera ha avuto il suo effetto dall'istanza d'un povero artista di quella professione, il quale in una publica udienza del Papa espose a questo le sue miserie di non poter vivere colla sua famiglia, chiedendo aiuto colle suc fatiche, essibendosi di voler ripulire la Rotonda per campare, e N. S. li disse, che ritornasse. Intanto informatosi, quanto poteva importare tal manifattura, gli fu risposto sopra 15m sc., e quando l'artista ritornò, hebbe sul 1. esclusiva per la tanta spesa, et esso esclamando si essibi di farla per 3m scudi, e stentar solo per vivere e non per arrichirsi, onde ne riportò la gratia. Da Monte Citorio si portò il Papa alla Rotonda, per vedere il suddetto lavoro della ripulitura de marmi antichi, ma se non se li rende il suo lustro, non farà quel bel vedere, che si crede" (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). According to Cracas the unveiling of the High Altar in the Pantheon did not take place until January 1, 1724, and the statues were only finished much later.

[2] Forcella, XII., 154 *seqq.* "*Spese per la fabrica d. capella di S. Fabiano nella chiesa di S. Sebastiano" in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 13, p. 103, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See **Avviso* of March 5, 1701, according to which Clement XI. urged the relatives of Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. to contribute towards the completion of the monuments of these Popes (*Cod. ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich). The Brief to Cardinal Boncompagni, November 21, 1714, *Op.*, Epist., 2027, bears witness to the interest Clement XI. took in the completion

a worthy resting place in the basilica. In the chapels of the Presentation and the Blessed Sacrament the domes were adorned with mosaics, three of the great paintings were replaced by mosaics, the roofing of the domes with lead was begun and partially completed, and the soffit of the entrance hall regilt. The Pope also presented to S. Peter's a portable organ and improved the finances of the Fabbrica. He likewise gave instructions for the execution of the statue of Charlemagne, which was to be erected in the entrance hall, facing the statue of Constantine, and ordered the completion of the statues on the colonnades.[1] During the erection of one of the statues the architect Domenico de' Rossi was fatally injured.[2] The completion of the colonnade according

of the tomb of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* the present work, XX., 637) He rewarded the artist, C. Rusconi; see Abate Fracassati *Orazione in lode di Clemente P. XI. per aver premiato Camillo Rusconi celebre scultore dopo aver visitato il deposito di Greg. P. XIII. da quello lavorato per ordine del card. Giac. Boncompagni arcivesc. di Bologna, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, K. 19.

[1] MIGNANTI, II., 119; LAFITAU, I., 130 *seq.*; MORONI, XII., 266; CERRUTI, 39, and the **Note* in Appendix, n. 17. An **Avviso* of December 7, 1700, says: "Nella chiesa di S. Pietro vole [il Papa] che si rifaccino le belle pitture del Domenichino e del Albani che sono nelle cappelle, quali patiscono, si mettino nel Vaticano e le tavole si faccino di mosaico" (*Cod. Ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich). Two magnificent carpets still in use in the basilica, are the gift of Clement XI. They were made in the nineteenth year of his pontificate.

[2] The *Giornale di Clemente XI. reports on August 29, 1703: "Fu sepolto Domenico de Rossi celebre architetto, quale nel far ponere le statue su le colonnate di S. Pietro, mentre si alzava una di esse, fu preso dalla corda impicciata e sbalzato tanto in aria che giunse sopra il tetto de' porticati, qual caduta gli cagionò la morte" (Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*). Mention must also be made of an *Editto, dat. June 27, 1709: "che non si scarichino cascinacci, terra, immundizie etc attorno la chiesa di S. Pietro e suoi siti adiacenti, piazza e portici, nè si atturino ferrate o chiaviche vicino alle fontane, nè si faccino fosse o cava alcuna per

to Bernini's plan was proposed in 1720 by Sergardi; however, nothing was done, probably because of the death of the Pope.[1]

Clement XI. bestowed special care on the basilica of the Lateran. The twelve niches in the pillars of the nave, all decorated with *verde antico*, still lacked the statues for which they were designed. Clement was resolved to remedy this deficiency. It proved, however, a very expensive undertaking since 5,000 scudi were required for each statue, making a total of 60,000 scudi. Of the twice life-size statues of the Apostles, Clement XI. had two made at his own expense. Cardinals Ludovico Portocarrero, Lorenzo Corsini and Benedetto Pamfili, the Duke of Bavaria, the King of Portugal and the Bishops of Würzburg and Paderborn undertook to bear the cost of the rest. Other prelates and princes also helped. Pierre Monnot carved the statues of the Princes of the Apostles; another Frenchman, Pierre le Gros, those of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas and Angelo de' Rossi the statue of St. James the Less. Giuseppe Mazzuoli undertook the statue of St. Philip, Francesco Moratti that of St. Simon and Lorenzo Ottoni that of St. Thaddeus. The statues of SS. Andrew, John, Matthew and James are the work of Camillo Rusconi, whose "St. James" was the most admired of all.[2] The master was rewarded by the Pope with money

fermare l'aqua di quelle per lavarvi robba o altro, nè si tiri con archebugi, balestre o sassi verso la chiesa." *Editti*, V., 51, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See Sergardi's *letter to Albani, vicario di S. Pietro, dat. di casa, September 29, 1720, which states that the completion of the colonnade will not obstruct the view of the cupola, and that it will provide work for many unemployed in these bad times. *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 53, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Baldeschi, *Relaz. d. Nave principale di S. Giovanni in Laterano, in Stato d. chiesa Lat. nell'anno 1723*, p. 10 *seqq.*, 27 *seqq.*; Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 353 *seq.* Valesio in *Arte e storia*, XXXV. (1916), 336; *Documents in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 12, p. 19 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* The Pope's plan and the help given by him are mentioned in an **Avviso* of June 30, 1703, Lamberg Arch., Ottenstein. An **Avviso Marescotti* of July 14, 1703, says: "Portatosi domenica a piedi di N. S. lo scultore mandato dal card.

and the Order of Christ.[1] All these statues, by reason of their individual treatment and inspiration and their monumental size, make a most profound impression.[2] Above the statues, within medallions, busts of the prophets were painted. Here also foreigners bore part of the cost, as for example, the Archbishop of Mayence. The most diverse artists were engaged on the undertaking, so that one sees the work of almost all the painters of the period: Giuseppe Chiari, Benedetto Luti, Luigi Garzi, Marco Beneficiale, Giovanni Odazi, Andrea Procaccini, Francesco Trevisan, Giovan Paolo Melchiorri, Giuseppi Nasini, Domenico Muratori and Pier Leone Ghezzi. Though these paintings were of no great value, the Pope gave presents to all the artists and Cardinal Albani composed a sonnet on their work.[3]

The restoration of the dilapidated basilica of the Holy Apostles resulted in a complete reconstruction of the building. The Pope, who had been a parishioner of this church, was greatly interested in the work which was supervised by Francesco Fontana. He contributed large sums of money towards the building, which started in the autumn of 1701,[4] and laid the foundation stone of the new sanctuary on February 27th, 1702.[5] All that it was possible to save of the

de Medici, per fare la statua di S. Giacomo apostolo nella basilica Later., li presentò il modello della medesima, e dalla SS. fu gradito al maggior segno e lodato per il più bello, che sin hora sia stato fatto" (Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). From a letter of Cardinal Acquaviva to Cardinal Arias, dated Rome, August 15, 1715, it appears that up till then no one was willing to bear the expense of two statues. Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[1] Pascoli, I., 262.

[2] Opinion of Domarus, *P. Bracci*, 6.

[3] Baldeschi, 13 *seq.*, 40; Pascoli, II., 241, 391; Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 354.

[4] See the information from Valesio's *Diarii which Scatassa gives in *Rassegna bibliograf. dell' arte ital.*, XVIII. (1915), 13 *seqq.*

[5] See Lamberg's *Diary in Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. The inscription of the stone in Bonelli, *Mem. stor. d. basilica dei SS. XII. Apostoli di Roma*, Roma, 1879, 24. *Cf.* **Avviso* of

old building was the atrium built by Julius II. when still a Cardinal. Of the rest, nothing could be preserved. It is particularly regrettable that the "Ascension" in the Tribune, by Melozzo da Forlì, one of the greatest pictorial creations of the period of Sixtus IV., perished in this way. However, thanks to the Pope's solicitude,[1] the figure of Christ remained intact; this was put up on the great staircase of the Quirinal. The matchless "Angels" were also saved and put up in the Chapter-Room of St. Peter's.[2] On the other hand the monuments of Cardinals Pietro and Raffael Riario, and that of the French knight, Giraud, were removed from the choir of the old church into that of the new. Eight fluted and spiral columns of white alabaster were used to decorate the chapel of the Crucifix. Whilst the foundations were being dug, proofs were found of the Constantinian origin of the church.[3] Prince Pamfili who contributed considerable sums for the new soffits at St. Pietro in Vincoli, and for the repairs in St. Peter's and the Lateran, gave 40,000 scudi for the church of the Apostles in April, 1704.[4] In August, 1714, the vaulting of the new building was completed.[5] It is the greatest possible simplification of the scheme of the Gesù. The short nave takes one by surprise by its great breadth; the interior,-by its wonderful transition from the brightness

February 25, 1702: The Pope wants to lay the foundation-stone of SS. Apostoli "per la cui fabrica e risarcimento ha S. S. donato 10 mila sc. e concesso la franchigia de' materiali, essendo stato avanti sua creatione di questa parochia" (Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein). F. Santilli, *La basilica dei Ss. Apostoli*, Roma, 1925.

[1] Valesio in Cancellieri, *Mercato*, 33, n. 4.

[2] *Cf.* the present work, IV., 464.

[3] **Avviso Marescotti*, April 21, 1703: "Nelli fondamenti della chiesa de' Ss. Apostoli si sono trovate alcune memorie, ch'indicano il fondatore Costantino il Grande, anzi alcune statuine di bronzo, ove si legge chiaramente, che detto imperatore ponesse di sua mano queste memorie," Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Roma.

[4] Valesio in Scatassa, *loc. cit.*, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, 15.

of the central nave into the darkness of the side aisles, is a masterpiece of decorative art.[1] In June, 1708, Clement XI. inspected the new Tribune which was broader than the old one.[2] Neither Francesco Fontana, who died in July, 1708, nor the Pope, saw the completion of this last baroque church in Rome.

The city of Rome has also to thank Clement XI. for the restoration of its walls,[3] its waterworks and the cleansing of its fountains.[4] The fountains built by Pius IV. near Porta Cavalleggieri was repaired.[5] New fountains were erected in front of the Palazzo Salviati,[6] and S. Maria in Cosmedin [7]; the square in front of this church was regulated [8]; the piazza of the Pantheon was freed from its ugly additions,[9] and over the fountain erected there by Onorio Lunghi in 1755 was placed the upper end of a broken obelisk which came from the temple of Isis and had stood near S. Macuto since the beginning of the sixteenth century.[10] Repairs were also carried out at the Acqua Acetosa.[11] The Hospice of S. Michele

[1] BERGNER, 74.

[2] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 15.

[3] A. NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma*, Roma, 1820, 324, 344, 363. A *Memorial on the restoration of the city walls in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 14, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] LAFITAU, II., 268; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 33. *Cf.* *Editti V., 51, f. 9: *Editto sopra l'Acqua Felice, suoi acquedotti, fontane et altro* (Camera, November 12, 1710); f. 175: *Editto per quelli, che vanno a natare o a lavarsi nel fiume o a bagnarsi nelle fontane* (August 14, 1705). Similarly, f. 176: July 20, 1706; 1707–1718. Papal Secret Archives.

[5] FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

[6] CRACAS, November 2, 1720.

[7] On this beautiful work, executed from a design of Bizzocheri by Franc. Moratti, see GUIDI, *Fontane*, 80 *seq.*

[8] BUDER, III., 657; FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

[9] FEA, *Dei diritti*, 79 *seqq.*, 81 *seq.*

[10] FORCELLA, XIII., 132; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 177 *seq.*; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 24; GUIDI, *loc. cit.*, 45 *seq.*

[11] This is recorded in an inscription of 1712 which has been preserved to this day. FORCELLA, XIII., 113.

was enlarged and a reformatory for youthful delinquents added. Clement XI. gave 27,000 scudi for a home for young girls. He also built the Hospital of St. Martha and a house for foreign priests visiting Rome.[1] The granaries near the baths of Diocletian[2] proved a great boon for the whole population, as did a small harbour on the Ripetta. Alessandro Specchi, taking into account the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, had very cleverly fitted it into the general plan of the city. The harbour was one of the happiest creations of the eighteenth century; it was unfortunately destroyed when the new Tiber bridge was erected.[3] The Pope, who repeatedly inspected the work, was not wholly satisfied with it; he found that the fountains erected there yielded too little water, and that the whole scheme was not easily taken in at one glance.[4]

[1] LAFITAU, II., 265 *seqq.* *Inscriptions for the "Casa della correzione de' giovani", in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 134 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* On the assistance given to the restoration of the Hospital near the Forum, *cf.* PERICOLI, *L'ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione*, Roma, 1879, 80.

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 186. Plan for the fabrica de' granari in **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, 14, p. 161, *loc. cit.*

[3] Reproduced in LETAROUILLY, plate 349. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*; ESCHER, 33; GUIDI, Fontane, 46 *seq.* According to LAFITAU (II., 267), the harbour cost 60,000 scudi. *Cf.* also: A. M. TAJA, *Lettera e poetici componimenti in ragguaglio e in encomio della Nuova Ripa presso al sepolcro de' Cesari in Roma ridotta per ordine di Clemente XI. a foggia di sontuoso navale . . .*, Roma, 1705.

[4] **Avvisi* of August 18, 1703, and August 23, 1704, Lamberg Archives, Ottenstein. The latter says: "Il Papa visitò la fabrica del vicino porto di Ripetta fatta con li denari avanzati dal tribunale delle strade, e non rimase S. S. molto sodisfatto si della scarsezza dell'acqua che getta la fontana, come per non godersi dalla cima il prospetto del teatro, gran difetto, che dall'architetto si attribuisce alla voluntà di mons. Giudice sopraintendente." *Ibid.*, August 9, 1704: "Per il giorno di S. Rocco sarà finito tutto il porto di Ripetta con la fontana et ornamenti." *Cf.* also **Avviso Marescotti*, August 2, 1704: "Si vede quasi terminata la fabrica

Outside Rome also Clement XI. displayed great building ardour. Civitavecchia has to thank him for the completion of an aqueduct begun by Innocent XII. and its consequent draining,[1] Porto d'Anzio for repairs to the harbour of Innocent XII. damaged by a storm,[2] Albano for its development as a city, Narni for the erection of iron smelting works, Nocera for new baths, Pesaro for the diversion of water which constantly threatened the city with fever, Benevento, Urbino and Ferrara for the strengthening of their fortifications, Norcia, Cascia, Ferrara, Gubbio, Sulmona and Sora for assistance for the restoration of their churches, Civita Castellana for the mighty bridge spanning a chasm thirty-six metres deep, and a large part of the Pontifical States for repairs to roads.[3]

di Ripetta, e per maggior ornamento del porto si fabrica una nuova casa, che doverà servire per dogana e magazzini, e nel mentre che hieri l'altro s'alzava una gran lapide all'inscrittione del Papa regnante, per collocarla in sito a tal effetto preparato, rottasi una corda precipitò la lapide e si ridusse in pezzi" (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). On the plan for the decoration of the Fontana di Trevi, see Valesio's *Diario* in *Arte e storia*, XXXI. (1912), 268. On the restoration of this aqueduct which had been damaged by the earthquake (above, p. 491 *seqq.*), "ch'è il latte della città."

[1] CALISSE, 489 *seq.*, where there are further details about the disputes of the Camera with the first contractors. *Cf.* LAFITAU, II., 272.

[2] **Avviso* of December 22, 1700, *Cod. ital.*, 196, State Library, Munich.

[3] *Cf. Vita* in PISELLI CIUCCIOLI (above, p. 519, n. 4), 124 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, 272 *seqq.*, who also gives an account of the work on the Papal Palace, Avignon. On Pesaro, see GALLI, *Cenni economici sullo Stato Pontif.*, Roma, 1840, 45; on Sulmona, *cf.* LAFITAU, I., 203 *seq.* The restoration of the choir in the cathedral of Ferrara is recorded in an **Avviso* of October 30, 1703, in *Cod. ital.*, 197, State Library, Munich. An inscription of 1705 on the Rocca of Civita Castellana tells of the restoration carried out there by Clement XI. About the roads, *cf.* "Scrittura informativa per una congregazione partic. deputata da Clemente XI. sopra il

Strict with his relatives, the Albani Pope was very generous towards his beloved native town Urbino, which belonged to the States of the Church. In 1710 an inscription was put up in the splendid ducal palace there, giving a list of the benefits bestowed by Clement XI. upon the city of his birth, viz.: the liquidation of debts, the erection of an educational establishment for young noblemen, the restoration of the ducal and archiepiscopal palaces, the provision of a splendid high altar for the cathedral as well as gifts of paintings and tapestries interwoven with gold. The Pope also increased the income of the Canons.[1] To all this was added the present of a magnificent bronze eagle as a reading

buon mantenimento e cura delle strade consolari di tutto lo Stato ecclesiastico", in *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 24, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Clementi Pont. Max. | Quod ad publicum gravissimumque aes alienum dissolvendum | Opportuno constituto subsidio | Collegio bonarum artium a fundamentis exstructo | Palatio Apostolico et archiepiscopalibus aedibus instauratis | Ara praenobili in onorem S. Crescentini martiris | Geminis insignium pictorum tabulis | Totidemque magnificis attalicis stragulis | Maiori templo exornato | Canonicalibus proventibus annuo CCCC aureorum censu amplificatis | Inter Maceratensis et Perusinae Rotae auditores | Certa civibus in perpetuum attributa sede | Plurimisque aliis collatis beneficiis | Patriae huic suae veterum temporum felicitatem restituit et auxit | Sebastianus Antonius tit. Sanct. Quatuor Coronat. S. R. E. card. Tanarius | Urbini ad novennium de latere legatus | Quo tempore pontificia fluxit magnificentia | Optimo sanctissimoque principi vero patriae patri | Aeternae laudis monumentum posuit | Anno salutis MDCCX. The inscription is taken from "*Stato della chiesa di Urbino" of 1713, in the Archiepiscopal Archives, Urbino, where details are also found about the Pope's donations. The altar, it says, shows the name and the coat of arms of Clement XI.; it was made in Rome, put on board ship at the Ripa Grande in 100 cases, and arrived in Pesaro on May 26, 1708, after a voyage of two months. It was consecrated on July 2, 1708. On the restoration of the Duke's palace, see **Avviso Marescotti*, June 20, 1705, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

desk for the cathedral from the studio of Federigo of Montefeltro [1]; the founding of a public library in the monastery of the Franciscans Conventual; the construction of a church and monastery for the Piarists [2]; the erection of an obelisk in front of the ducal palace and a statue of his predecessor, Alexander VIII. [3] and the restoration of the city walls. The confirmation of all the privileges already granted to the University of Urbino on March 19th, 1721, was only made public after the death of Clement XI. by his successor.[4]

(3.)

Clement XI. never fully recovered from the severe illness which befell him in 1710.[5] His asthmatic condition, which the heavy air of Rome aggravated, tried him severely.[6] On this account he spent most of the good season of the year at the Quirinal; in spring and autumn he went out to bracing Castel Gandolfo whose palace and gardens he embellished.[7] After a few weeks' stay there he always looked better.[8] With advancing years other infirmities were added to his asthma, but his astonishing mental vigour enabled him to go on with

[1] It is still preserved. It was brought to Rome by Alexander VIII.

[2] Novaes, XII., 256. *Cf.* **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 20, *loc. cit.*

[3] The statue was saved during the French revolution by changing the name: "Divo Petro Coelestino P. O. M. Urbino compatrono." It stands to this day in the Via Bramante at S. Spirito.

[4] *Bull*, XXI., 850.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 70.

[6] Count Gallas' *report dat. Rome, November 17, 1704, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[7] *Cf.* the inscription in A. Guidi, *I paesi dei Colli Albani*, Roma, 1880, 61.

[8] Count Gallas' *reports of September 27, October 13 and 27, 1714, *loc. cit.*

his duties. He would have been in much better condition had he followed the advice of his physician and allowed himself more relaxation. His sense of duty, however, would not let him think of doing so even in his extreme old age.[1]

By the beginning of the winter of 1720 a striking deterioration occurred in the Pope's condition. He suffered from frequent attacks of colic but continued to apply himself to affairs. He himself felt that his end was not far off. In the consistory of November 29th, 1720, he told the Cardinals that he would soon have to appear before the judgment seat of God. In order to prepare himself worthily, he was frequently closeted with his confessor. He bequeathed his small, select library to his nephews. Cardinal Albani was requested to put up a monument to him in St. Peter's, but one as simple as possible. He also dictated to the Cardinal his epitaph, which bears witness to his great humility. It is as follows: Clement XI., Pope, once a Chaplain, then a Canon of this basilica, died on . . . . . in the year . . . . . after a pontificate of . . . . . Pray for him.[2] On December 3rd Rome learnt that the Pope had had several attacks and that his life was in danger. On the same day Cardinal Acquaviva sent two dispatches to Vienna, the second of which dealt with the conclave.[3]

At the beginning of 1721 Clement was once more able to deal with current affairs; the religious controversies in France in particular demanded his attention.[4] He probably hoped to live to see the end of them. He joked about a tactless letter of Cardinal De Mailly to Paolucci, the Secretary of State, by remarking to the Bishop of Sisteron that when the Cardinals came for the conclave, he would address a homily

[1] Lafitau, II., 147 *seq.*; Buder, III., 903 *seq.* *Cf.* *Report to the Emperor, Charles VI., dated Rome, February 18, 1713, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] Lafitau, II., 210 *seqq.*

[3] *Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, dat. Rome, December 3, 1720, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[4] Lafitau's report to the Archbishop of Cambrai, dat. Rome, January 1, 1721, in Michaud, *La fin de Clement XI.*, 43.

to them on the text: "The women came to the sepulchre with the spices they had prepared."[1] On February 11th it was reported that the Pope had caught a chill; on the 19th symptoms of an apoplectic stroke were observable.[2]

Unexpectedly the Pope's condition improved sufficiently to enable him to hold a consistory on March 3rd, 1721, in which the disputed question as to who should be Dean of the Sacred College was decided in favour of Cardinal Tanara[3]. About the middle of March the Pope, whilst personally examining some important documents, caught a bad chill in a cold room of the Archives which prevented him from appearing at the papal chapel on Sunday, the 16th. In spite of this, Clement said Mass on the 17th as usual and resumed his audiences. By midday he was so unwell that he could take no food and had to take to his bed. His physicians found him feverish but declared that there was no danger. In fact the fever abated; the Pope even felt better and believed it to have been but another of those attacks of asthma from which he suffered so often. But on the following morning the physicians found that he was suffering from pneumonia and that his condition was grave. The dying Pontiff received the news with perfect composure. He sent for his confessor, made a general confession and arranged everything necessary with the master of ceremonies, so that Holy Viaticum should be brought to him with the customary solemnity. He received Holy Communion with the greatest devotion. After a prolonged thanksgiving he expressed a wish to see Cardinals Albani and Paolucci. He thanked them in moving terms for their devotion and begged their pardon if he had ever offended them. To Albani he said: "See how all the honours of this world come to an end. Only that is great which is great in God's sight. Make it your endeavour to become a Saint!" A supreme effort of will enabled him to sit up, and he prayed without ceasing. As his sight grew dimmer he was obliged to have the Tridentine Profession of Faith read to him.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Lafitau's reports to the Regent, *ibid.*, 52 and 53.

[3] *Op.*, Orat., 179.

On March 19th, at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, he quietly passed away and as had been his desire, on the feast of St. Joseph for whom he had cherished a special devotion all his life as the patron of the dying.[1]

For twenty years and not quite four months of the seventy-one and a half years of his life Clement XI. had ruled the Church. It has been observed that reigns of such length have for the most part been allotted only to excellent Popes. As a matter of fact Clement XI. was one of the most worthy successors of St. Peter, though by no means one of the most fortunate. If his long reign was full of innumerable political complications, and Rome herself was threatened with the fury of war, it would be unjust to lay the blame on his shoulders. The fact was that the Powers were arrayed against each other in deadly enmity. On every kindness shown by the Pope to one party, the others put the worst possible construction; it became increasingly evident that complete neutrality was impossible. Even the ablest politician would scarcely have extricated himself from so difficult a position.[2] A saying of Adrian VI. may be applied to Clement XI.: "How much depends on the time in which the lot of the most virtuous man is cast!" True, it cannot be denied that the timorous and undecided nature of Clement XI., and his inability to give effect to decisions, rendered his situation much worse when, during the Spanish war of succession, he found himself repeatedly between the upper and the nether millstone.

Complications within the Church itself caused him no less anxiety, viz. the question of the rites and the recrudescence of Jansenism in France. To this were added grave conflicts on questions of Church law with nearly every Catholic Power

[1] Detailed *report of Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome; *Conclave d'Innocenzo, XIII., descritto dal card. Fr. Barberini, in *Cod. Barb.* 4684, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LAFITAU, II., 213 *seqq.*; MICHAUD, 54. See also the accounts in CRACAS and *Distinta relazione della malattia e morte di Clemente XI.*, Firenze [1721].

[2] Opinion of REUMONT (*Beiträge*, V., 330). *Cf.* also VOIGT in HERZOG-HAUCK'S *Realenzykl.*, IV.[3], 151.

in Europe, conflicts intimately connected with the political troubles of the time.

In the face of a world in the throes of a revolutionary process, a world for which the only determining considerations were those of power politics, Clement XI. did his duty manfully and fought indefatigably for the rights and liberties of the Church. Too conscientious to abandon essential rights, he yet strove to restore peace between Church and State, though for the most part in vain. It may be said that he failed to settle satisfactorily any one of the great questions then in dispute. But this was not due to him, but to the spirit of defiance and arrogance which in the various States increasingly displaced the one-time devotion to the Vicar of Christ. "Will you not believe," he wrote to the Bishop of Brixen in 1717, "that as a result of the ceaseless pressure of cares and anxieties we find our life at times a burden? But the more we feel the bitterness that fills our pontificate, the more we are resolved to pursue a resolution once taken, to persevere in it, and always to live in pain." [1] The Pope kept his word. Though almost continuously tried by physical and mental suffering, his most admirable fortitude prevented him from sinking beneath the burden, and he conscientiously discharged all the duties of his office until his last breath. "Everybody has now words of admiration for the dead Pontiff," wrote Andrea Corner, the Venetian ambassador, "even those who until now have found fault with him." [2] The Jansenist sect, which had pained and insulted him in life by every means in its power, alone pursued him even beyond the grave,[3] but it was unable to substantiate its calumnies. The historian of the Bull *Unigenitus* justly praises the apostolic earnestness and

[1] LAFITAU, II., 278.

[2] *Relatione di Andrea Corner, 1724, State Archives, Venice; extract in RANKE, III., 215 *seq.*

[3] See the revolting examples given by SCHILL (200, n. 1), *Raccolta di pasquinate relative al papato di Clemente XI. in *Cod.* 701, Bordeaux Library. Some *Pasquinate* also in *Voyage hist. et polit., de la Suisse, de l'Italie et de l'Allemagne, Francfort,* 1735, 203 *seqq.*

penetrating energy of Clement XI.[1] History has also passed a fairer judgment on the political activity of the Pope now that the original sources have been consulted.[2] Of

[1] SCHILL, 295.

[2] Pometti, who has the honour of having been the first to make use in a comprehensive manner of the treasures of the Papal Secret Archives, for a judgment on the political conduct of Clement XI., defends him (XXI., 308 *seqq.*) against Coxe and Ranke, who accuse him of a " politica dubbia e tentennante di carattere malfermo ". He writes : " Al qual proposito è istruttivo rivelare che uno storico come il Ranke può anche cadere in errore, quando non si esaminano le fonti alle quali si ricorre. Il suo attaccamento a Luigi XIV. ed a Filippo V. prima, poi quello per Giuseppe I. e Carlo VI., guardati sommariamente, danno ragione a quegli scrittori, che avrebbero voluto un Papa o tutto francese o tutto austriaco. Questo giudizio inesatto deriva dall'ignoranza completa degli atti politici di Clemente XI. e delle condizioni che li determinarono ed in mezzo alle quali si svolsero. Ma, anche a prescindere che la sua opera politica non è stata fino ad ora studiata sulle fonti dirette, sarebbe stato da buon politico che un Papa si fosse recisamente manifestato partigano ? É ovvio osservare che si può essere apertamente avversario o favorevole d'un partito fino a quando si milita in esso come gregario ; ma che diventato capo, obblighi vari impongono un'attitudine meno spiccata, se non nel pensiero intimo, almeno nelle manifestazioni esteriori. E non bisogna inoltre dimenticare che, data la natura del papato, la tradizione vietava di chiarirsi nemico tra Austria e Francia, entrambi paesi cattolici.

" Un complesso di riflessioni consigliava un atteggiamento neutrale e moderatore : fortunata condizione, che permetteva l'esplicarsi d'un concetto politico da poter mostrare a talento e adattare a seconda delle circostanze. Clemente XI. aveva fiducia nella potenza e nella fortuna di Luigi XIV., ma prevedeva che tutta Europa si sarebbe coalizzata contro di lui. Ora, un rovescio delle armi francesi impigliava guai infiniti per la Chiesa. ' Sa finesse d'Italien, dice il LEGRELLE (IV., 183), avait aisément pressenti que l'orage cette fois pourrait bien dépasser les forces de la France. Son incertitude étudiée fait honneur à sa perspicacité politique, mais ne répondit peut-être pas à ce que l'Europe chrétienne pouvait espérer du père des fidèles, chargé de faire

Clement XI.'s action in the struggle against the Turks for the safeguarding of Christendom and Western civilization, a Protestant contemporary has said that by it the Pope has earned for himself imperishable glory.[1] His works of charity during the whole of his pontificate also honour his memory; so extensive were they that when he died he only left an exceedingly modest sum.[2] No one questions his services to scholarship and the arts.

For anyone acquainted with history it is impossible to contemplate without emotion the simple stone slab in the choir chapel of St. Peter's, which covers the mortal remains of a man who during the twenty years of his government scarcely enjoyed one moment's peace. His eloquent allocutions, his elegant homilies and his innumerable letters, published by his nephew, constitute a splendid monument to his untiring pastoral zeal which embraced the whole world, his apostolic courage and his unwearied toil.

Clement XI.'s noble sentiments found a most moving expression in the beautiful prayer for the Christian virtues which the Catholic world owes to him. It is as follows:

O my God, I believe in Thee; do Thou strengthen my faith. All my hopes are in Thee; do Thou enable me to realize them. I love Thee with my whole heart; teach me to love Thee daily more and more. I am sorry that I have offended Thee; do Thou increase my sorrow. I adore Thee as my beginning and origin. I aspire after Thee as my last end. I give Thee thanks as my constant Benefactor. I call upon Thee as my gracious Protector. Vouchsafe, O my God,

régner la foi de l'Évangile parmi eux.' Pensiero questo che ci pare rispondente al vero nella sua prima parte, ma che nella seconda mostra un preconcetto, nel quale sogliono cadere anche quegli storici autorevoli, che non sanno, o non vogliono distinguere, nell'essenza del papato, la sua duplice natura, spirituale e temporale."

[1] See BUDER, III., 380. *Cf.* IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 247.

[2] According to a report there were no more than 60 scudi. However, a list was also found of 600 families which he secretly supported; see NOVAES, XII., 273. *Cf.* also above, p. 11.

to guide me by Thy wisdom, to restrain me by the thought of Thy justice, to comfort me by Thy mercy, to defend me by Thy power. To Thee I consecrate all my thoughts, words, actions and sufferings, that henceforward I may think of Thee, speak of Thee, act in accordance with Thy will, and suffer willingly whatever Thou shalt appoint. Lord, I desire that in all things Thy will may be done, because it is Thy will, and that it may be done as Thou willest, where and when Thou willest. I beg of Thee to enlighten my understanding, to inflame my will, to purify my heart, and to sanctify my soul. Let me not be puffed up with pride, deluded by flattery, deceived by the world, and ensnared by Satan. Give me grace to purify my memory, to bridle my tongue, to guard my eyes and to watch over all my senses.

O my God, strengthen me that I may bewail my sins, overcome future temptations, subdue my evil inclinations, and acquire every virtue. Grant me love for Thee, hatred of my faults, zeal for the souls of others, and contempt for the world. Let me ever remember, O Jesus, to be submissive to my superiors, considerate towards my inferiors, true to my friends and charitable towards my enemies.

Help me, O God, to overcome anger by meekness, sensuality by mortification, avarice by liberality, and tepidity by devotion. O my God, make me prudent in my undertakings, courageous in danger, patient in contradiction, and humble in prosperity. May I never omit to have a right intention in my actions and sufferings, may I be attentive at prayer, temperate at meals, diligent in the duties of my office, and constant in my resolutions.

Grant, O Lord, that I may diligently strive ever to have a good conscience, a modest bearing, an edifying conversation and a seemly conduct; that I may continually labour to overcome my evil nature, correspond with Thy grace, keep Thy commandments and work out my salvation. Show to me, O my God, the nothingness of earthly things, the greatness of heaven, the shortness of time, the length of eternity, the evil of sin and the greatness of Thy love. Grant that I may prepare for death, fear Thy judgments, escape hell, and

finally obtain heaven, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

This prayer, which includes everything that man needs for eternal salvation, is a memorial to Clement XI. destined to outlast brass and marble.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXIII.

Abdelmasich (Coptic Priest), 378.
Abrantes, Marchese d', 468.
Acciaioli, Cardinal, 3, 4, 516.
Acquaviva, Francesco (Spanish Ambassador), Cardinal, 136, 137, 144, 150, 152, 155, 160, 161, 163, 164, 176, 347, 532.
Adda, Count Ferdinando d', Cardinal, 4.
Adrian VI., Pope, 534.
Aguesseau, D' (Attorney-General), 184, 244, 256, 265, 285.
Ahmed III., Sultan, 113, 115.
Albani, Alessandro (nephew of Clement XI.), 130, 168, 169.
Albani, Annibale (nephew of Clement XI.), nuncio, Cardinal, 13, 78, 79, 81, 83, 87, 90–3, 103, 163, 170, 240, 287, 317, 349, 516, 518, 520, 525, 532, 533.
Albani, Carlo (father of Clement XI.), 7.
Albani, Carlo (nephew of Clement XI.), 13.
Albani, Gian Francesco, Cardinal (Clement XI.), 4, 6–10, 315, 347.
Albani, Orazio (brother of Clement XI.), 13, 522.
Albani, Orazio (Roman Senator), 7, 510.
Alberoni, Giulio, Cardinal, 121, 122, 127, 134–8, 141, 142, 147 n., 150, 153, 157–174, 353.
Aldobrandini, Alessandro (nuncio in Spain), Cardinal, 174–6.
Aldrovandi, Pompeo (nuncio in Spain), Governor of Rome, Cardinal, 75–7, 77 n., 116, 117, 119, 120, 127, 134–8, 143, 145, 149, 149 n., 152–5, 158, 159, 162–4, 174, 175, 271.
Alemanni (Secretary of the Congregation of Cardinals), 252.
Alexander (Armenian Patriarch), 378, 379.
Alexander VII., 184, 185, 237, 305–318, 320, 329, 410, 460.
Alexander VIII., 2, 4, 8, 194, 347, 505, 531.
Alexandre, Nöel (Dominican), 181, 278, 331.
Alfaro (Jesuit), 6, 214, 215.
Alleurs, D' (French Ambassador at Constantinople), 374, 378.
Althan, Count Michael Frederick von (Viceroy of Naples), Cardinal, 35, 354.
Altieri, Paluzzo, Cardinal, 4.
Amalia (wife of Emperor Joseph I.), 48, 49, 79, 82, 83.
Amelot (Marquis de Gournay), 65, 245–253, 265.
Anastasius (Bishop of Nicosia in Cyprus), 378.
Anastasius (librarian), 506.
Angelita, of Tournon's suite, 438.
Anna (Dowager Queen of the Congo), 381.
Anne (Queen of England), 31, 97.
Anthony of St. Mary (Franciscan), 403, 405, 406.

Anthony Ulrich (Count of Brunswick-Lüneberg), 341, 358, 363, 364.
Antoninus Pius (Emperor), 513.
Appiani, Luigi (Lazarist), 430, 433–440, 442, 444, 447, 474.
Archinto, Girolamo (nuncio at Cologne), 4, 25, 333.
Arias y Porres, Manuel (Archbishop of Seville), Cardinal, 158, 349, 352.
Arnauld, Antonio (Jansenist), 183, 192–4, 225, 288, 305, 317, 405, 411.
Arquien, Marquis, d', Cardinal, 2, 3.
Arxo, De (Jesuit), 448.
Ascoli, Serafino d', 344.
Assemani Elias, 502.
Assemani, Joseph Simon, 502.
Astalli, Fulvio (Legate at Ferrara), Cardinal, 3, 33, 170, 171.
Augusta Dorothea (Countess of Schwarzburg - Arnstadt), 364.
Augustine of the Annunciation (Archbishop of Goa), 487.
Augustine, St., 199.
Aurengsib (Grand Mogul), 387.
Avad, James (Patriarch of the Maronites), 375.
Avellino, Andrea, 343.
Avellino, Prince of, 78.

Baduari, Giovanni (Patriarch of Venice), Cardinal, 348.
Baius, 317.
Baldigiani (Jesuit), 409, 410.
Banchieri, Antonio (Assessor of the Inquisition), Cardinal, 214, 455.
Barace, Cipriano (Jesuit), missionary, 390.
Barbarigo, Gregorio, Cardinal, 3, 4.
Barberini, Carlo, Cardinal, 3, 7, 8, 28, 29.
Barberini, Francesco, the elder, Cardinal, 7, 8.
Barberini, Francesco, the younger (Prefect of Propaganda), Cardinal, 4, 59, 170, 171, 322, 324, 498.
Barcos, Martin de (Abbé de Saint-Cyran), 200, 201.
Baronius (annalist), Cardinal, 505.
Barros (Jesuit), 448.
Bartoli, Francesco (Commissary of Antiquities), 508, 521.
Battelli, Giovanni Cristoforo (Secretary for Briefs and papal librarian), 12, 504.
Bauvers, Canonist at Louvain, 314.
Beauvilliers, F. H. de (Bishop of Beauvais), 178 n.
Beauvollier, Antoine de (Jesuit), 430, 432, 433, 438, 448.
Bellarmine, Robert, 338.
Bellefontaine, Bali de (Knight of Malta), 139.
Belluga, Luis (Bishop of Cartagena), Cardinal, 75.
Belsunce (Bishop of Marseilles), 289, 290, 300.
Benavente, Alvaro de (Vicar Apostolic of Chiangsi), Titular Bishop of Ascalon, 412, 414.
Benedict XIII. (Orsini), 351.
Benedict XIV. (Lambertini), 512.
Beneficiale, Mario (painter), 525.
Bentivoglio, Marco Cornelio (nuncio in France), Cardinal, 170, 178 n., 238, 239, 256, 260, 286, 305, 306, 354.
Bernardini (Master of the Palace), 214.
Bernini, Lorenzo (architect and sculptor), 29, 493, 524.
Bernino, Domenico, 505.
Berry, Duc de, 15.
Besenval (French Agent), 88.

Bevilacqua (nuncio), 103.
Bianchini, Francesco (archæologist and historian), 505, 506, 509, 510, 512.
Bichi, Antonio, Cardinal, 4.
Bissy, Henri de (Bishop of Meaux), 209, 229, 244, 261, 268, 284, 285, 287, 290, 291, 299, 353.
Bochard, Abbot, 211.
Boldetti, Marcantonio (archæologist), 510, 511.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 3.
Boniface IV. (Pope), 521.
Bonnac (French Ambassador at Constantinople), 374.
Bonneval, General, 48.
Borgia, Alessandro (Archbishop of Fermo), 505.
Borromei, Alessio Gilberto (Maestro di Camera), Cardinal, 353.
Borromeo, Carlo, St., 343.
Bossuet, J. B. (Bishop of Meaux), 178 n., 180, 181, 197, 201, 202, 205, 208–210, 261, 353.
Bouchet, Venantius (missionary), 485, 488.
Bouillon, Cardinal, 3.
Boussu, Count Thomas Philip de (Archbishop of Malines), Cardinal, 213, 353.
Bouvet (Jesuit), 431, 433, 443–5.
Brabeck, Jobst Edmund von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 362.
Bracci, Pietro (sculptor), 12.
Brèvedent (Jesuit), 384.
Brigg (Jesuit), 371.
Broue, De La (Bishop of Mirepoix), 276, 277.
Bussi, Giovanni Battista (nuncio), Cardinal, 320, 327, 328, 502.
Byng (English Admiral), 167.

Caffarelli (Governor of Rome), 40.
Calvin, 239.
Camacho y Avila, Didacus (Archbishop of Manila), 388.
Camus, Stefano de (Archbishop of Grenoble), Cardinal, 2, 3.
Canara, Cardinal, 132.
Cantalice, Felix of (Capuchin lay brother), 343.
Cantelmi (nuncio), Cardinal, 4, 103.
Capassulis, Samuel (Greek Patriarch), 378.
Caprara, Alessandro, Cardinal, 347, 348.
Caracciolo, Iñigo, Cardinal, 353.
Caracciolo, Niccolò (nuncio), Cardinal, 353.
Caroelli (Senator), 59, 80.
Carpegna, Gaspare (Vicar-General of Rome), Cardinal, 4, 335, 416, 421, 423.
Casanata, Cardinal, 409, 411, 415.
Casini, Francesco Maria (Capuchin), Cardinal, 132, 351.
Casoni, Lorenzo (nuncio), Cardinal, 60 n., 171, 204, 347, 348.
Cassini, Gian Domenico (astronomer), 506.
Castelli, Giovanni Vincenzo (Dominican), 368, 369.
Castelli (Lazarist), 214.
Castner, Caspar (Jesuit), 414, 417, 421–3, 425.
Castorano, Carlo Orazio da (Franciscan), Vicar-General in Pekin, 458, 463–5, 471.
Catherine of Bologna, St., 343.
Catz, James, 316, 322, 327.
Caumartin (Bishop of Blois), 332.
Cazal, de Joao (Bishop of Macao), 414, 450, 451.
Cellamare (Spanish Envoy), 167.
Cenci, Baldassare, Cardinal, 3.

Cenci, Serafino (Archbishop of Benevento), Cardinal, 497.
Cerù (Procurator of Propaganda in China), 462, 469.
Chaize, Francis de la (Jesuit Confessor of Louis XIV.), 180, 324, 414.
Chalil-Pasha (Grand Vizier), 141.
Chalmette, Stéphan, 207.
Champflour (Bishop of La Rochelle), 206, 209, 212.
Charles Alexander (Duke of Württemberg), 364.
Charles (Archduke of Austria), 15, 94.
Charles II. of Spain, 5, 14, 15, 16, 18, 137.
Charles V. (Emperor), 14, 61, 62.
Charles VI., Emperor (Charles III. of Spain), 23, 24, 31, 38, 39, 40, 45, 52, 54, 59, 60, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 77–9, 84, 86–94, 101, 106, 108, 111–16, 122–7, 131–3, 140–4, 146, 148, 151–4, 160–2, 168, 349, 374, 378.
Charmot, 409.
Chevalier (Vicar-General of Meaux), 268, 270, 271, 283, 285.
Chiari, Giuseppe (painter), 517, 518, 525.
Chiesa, Bernardino della (Bishop of Pekin), 433, 435, 458, 459, 463, 464.
Chigi, Agostino (Marshal of the Conclave), 13.
Chigi, Fabio (Alexander VII.), nuncio, 103.
Christian Augustine of Saxony (Archbishop of Gran), 99, 348.
Christina of Sweden, 7, 8, 522.
Chumacero, 76.
Ciceri, Alexander Louis (Archbishop of Nankin), 414.
Cienfuegos, Alvaro, Cardinal, Imperial Ambassador at Rome, 355.
Cignani (painter), 517.
Clement VII., 61, 62.
Clement VIII., 405.
Clement IX., 2, 184.
Clement X., 2, 3, 4.
Clement XI. (Gian Francesco Albani), *passim* 6–539.
Clement XII. (Lorenzo Corsini), 512.
Clermont-Tonnerre (Bishop of Langres), 226.
Cocchi (Dominican), 403, 405.
Cock, Theodore de (Pro-Vicar of Holland), 316, 319–326.
Codde, Peter (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 315–330.
Coislin, Cardinal, 23.
Colbert de Croissy, Charles (Bishop of Montpellier), 232, 242, 276, 332.
Coleti, Niccolò, 504.
Colloredo, Leonardo, Cardinal, 3, 5, 317, 497.
Colonna, Carlo (Maggiordomo), Cardinal, 12, 347.
Comitibus, Andrea de (Franciscan), 343.
Conca, Sebastiano (painter), 517.
Concha (painter), 518.
Confucius, 396–8, 412, 425–7, 438.
Conrad of the Ascension, 370.
Conti, Francesco (Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and Administrator of Breslau), 345.
Conti, Michelangelo (nuncio), Cardinal (Innocent XIII.), 170, 348.
Cornaro, Giorgio, Cardinal, 3.
Corner, Andrea (Venetian Ambassador in Rome), 535.
Corradini, Pietro Marcellino, Cardinal, 77, 81, 170, 350–2.
Corsini, Lorenzo, Cardinal (Clement XII.), 170, 348, 524.
Cortil (Jesuit), missionary, 389.

Costaguti, Giovan Battista, Cardinal, 4, 5.
Cozza, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 376, 378.
Cracas (printer and editor), 125.
Crescimbeni, Giovanni Maria (custodian of the Arcadia), 503.
Creuilly (Jesuit), missionary, 390.
Cunha Da (Jesuit), 386.
Cunha de Atayde, Nuno da, Cardinal, 349, 350, 352.
Curiel, Louis (writer), 118.
Cusani, Agostino (nuncio at Paris and Vienna), Cardinal, 350.
Cyril V. (Greek Patriarch), 375.
Czacki, Emmerich (Bishop of Kalocsa), Cardinal, 148, 155, 353.

Daemen, Adam (Vicar Apostolic of Holland), 328, 329, 333.
Dalenoort (Jansenist), 330.
Damascene, John (Franciscan), 214, 488.
Darmstadt, Prince of, 61.
Daubenton (Jesuit), confessor of Philip V., 122, 135, 137, 143, 162, 169, 217, 221, 240.
Daun, Field-Marshal, 43, 44, 57, 58.
Davia, Cardinal (nuncio in Vienna), 30, 36, 38, 350, 351.
David III., Negus of Abyssinia, 380.
David of St. Charles, Carmelite, 374, 375.
Delfino, Giovanni, Cardinal, 4.
Desideri, Ippolito (Jesuit), 385.
Diaz, Emanuel, the Elder, 402, 405, 406.
Dodemanut (Takla Haimanot), 380.
Dorsanne (Vicar-General of Paris), 256.
Duberron (Jesuit), missionary, 389.
Dubois, Abbé (French Minister), 169, 303, 304, 306, 307, 310–12.
Dubuc (Theatine), 204.
Dupin, Ellies (Jansenist), writer, 181, 288, 331.
Durante, Daniel (Archbishop of Smyrna), 369.
Durazzo, Marcello, Cardinal, 3.

Ecchellensis, Abraham, 501.
Elce, Scipione D', (nuncio), 103.
Eleonor Charlotte (Duchess of Öls), 364.
Elias (Bishop of Ispahan), 376.
Elisabeth (Farnese), wife of Philip V. of Spain, 117, 119, 121, 122, 134, 142, 152, 168.
Elizabeth Louise (Countess Palatine of Zweibrücken), 364.
Elizabeth of Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel (wife of Charles VI.), 92, 363, 364.
Erizzo (Venetian Envoy at Rome), 17.
Erkel, 322.
Ernest Augustus, Duke (Prince Elector of Hanover), 357.
Eschinard (Jesuit), 506.
Espen, Zeger Van (doctor), 314, 322, 331, 332.
Este, Cardinal d', 4, 497.
Este, Rainaldo d' (Duke of Modena), 17, 48, 54.
Estrées, Cardinal D' (Bishop of Laon), 2, 3, 6, 227, 229, 244.
Eugene, Prince, 22, 24, 27, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 82, 88, 92, 100, 113, 122, 124–133, 140, 141, 154, 169, 343, 510.
Eva, Gabriel (Abbot of Mt. Lebanon), 376.

Fabricius (Professor at Helmstadt), 364.
Fabri (missionary), 470.
Fabroni, Angelo, 8.

Fabroni, Carlo Agostino, Cardinal, 62, 170, 188, 189, 214, 219, 240, 246–9, 251, 253, 287, 316, 318, 347.
Fagan, Luke (Bishop of Meath), 331.
Falconieri, Alexius (Governor of Rome), 156, 161, 344.
Farnese, Francis (Duke of Parma), 121, 135, 136, 138, 141, 151–3, 170–2, 174.
Favoriti, Agostino (Secretary of Briefs), 12.
Federigo di Montefeltro, 531.
Fénelon (Archbishop of Cambrai), 178 n., 189, 191, 196, 205–7, 209, 211, 216, 219–221, 224–8, 235, 237, 238, 240–3, 247, 250, 255.
Ferdinand Charles (Duke of Mantua), 17, 21.
Fernandez, Miguel (Franciscan Commissary), 458.
Ferrari, Tommaso (Dominican), Cardinal, 3, 214, 219, 271, 316, 413, 416, 423, 506.
Ferriol (French Ambassador at Constantinople), 374.
Feuillade, Duc de la, 284–6.
Fieschi (Archbishop of Avignon), 26.
Fieschi (Archbishop of Genoa), Cardinal, 347.
Filippucci, Gabriel, Cardinal, 348.
Fiorelli, Domenico, 172.
Flangini (Venetian Admiral), 139.
Fleury, Joly de (jurist), 256.
Fontaine (Jesuit), missionary, 417.
Fontana, Carlo (architect), 494, 517, 519, 522.
Fontana, Carlo, nephew of above (architect), 517.
Fontana, Francesco, son of Carlo, 513, 517, 525, 527.
Fontana (Jesuit), 337.
Fontanini, Giusto (scholar), 54, 507.
Forbin Janson (Bishop of Arles), 290.
Forbin Janson, Toussaint de, Cardinal, 2, 3, 23, 27, 32, 214, 411.
Foresta de Cologne (Bishop of Apt), 289, 300.
Forteguerri, Niccolò (poet), Secretary of Propaganda, 365, 504.
Francis of Pavia (Capuchin), 381.
Francis of Salem (Franciscan), 379.
Frederick Augustus I. of Saxony (Augustus II. of Poland), 35, 36, 38, 79, 81, 88, 89, 111, 112, 113, 123.
Frederick Augustus II., Elector of Saxony (Augustus III. of Poland), 80, 156, 362, 363.
Frederick I. (King of Prussia), 16, 19, 20, 85, 86, 359.
Fréhel (Parish Priest), 179.
Freyre (Jesuit), 385.
Frossoloni (interpreter), 435, 436.

Gabrielli, Giambattista, Cardinal, 4, 412, 416, 423.
Gallas, Count (Imperial Ambassador in Rome), 147, 148, 155–7.
Galliego, John (Franciscan), 375.
Gama, Lobo da (military judge), 449.
Garzi, Luigi (painter), 525.
Gay (Superior of S. Sulpice), 179.
Gazotti, Augustine (Bishop of Agram and Lucera), 344.
Gerberon, Jean (Maurist), 195, 200, 320, 322.
Gerbillon (Jesuit), 436, 438, 439, 442, 443, 445.
Gesvres, Léon, Potier de (Archbishop of Bourges), Cardinal, 353.

Ghezzi, Pier Leone (painter), 525.
Giordani, Vincenzo, mathematician, 506.
Giraud, Comte, 526.
Giudice, Francesco del (Grand Inquisitor of Spain), Cardinal, 3, 39, 117, 118, 120, 121, 134.
Giustiniani, Benedetto, Cardinal, 368.
Gonzalez, Tirso (General of the Jesuits), 372.
Gottseer, Martin (Jesuit), 362.
Gourdan (Canon Regular), 296.
Gozzadini, Ulisses Joseph, Cardinal (Secretary for Briefs to Princes), 12, 80, 117, 348.
Gravina, Vincenzo (jurist), 507.
Gregory X., 343.
Gregory XII., 566.
Gregory XIII., 381.
Gregory XV., 485.
Grimaldi, Filippo (Jesuit), 412, 417, 419.
Grimaldi, Louis (Prince of Monaco and French Ambassador in Rome), 5.
Grimaldi, Niccolò (Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars), Cardinal, 347.
Grimani, Vincenzo (Viceroy of Naples), Cardinal, 3, 24, 25, 28, 30, 38, 40, 42, 44, 80.
Groenhaut, 316.
Gualtieri, Francesco Antonio (nuncio), Cardinal, 347.
Guerrero, Ferdinando (Archbishop of Manila), 406.
Guetti, in Tournon's suite, 438, 446.
Guidi, Alessandro, 504.

HANDEL, George Frederick, 356.
Harlay, Achille (First President), 184.
Harlay de Champvallon (Archbishop of Paris), 177.
Haro y Moncada, Belluga Torre Castiglio, 353.
Harrach, Count (Viceroy of Naples), 11.
Hébert (Bishop of Agen), 208, 221.
Heinsius, Antony, 58, 320.
Hennebel, 322.
Henrietta of Brunswick (Abbess of Gandesheim), 363, 364.
Hervé, Peter, 449.
Heussen, Hugh van, 316, 320, 322, 327, 332.
Hodermarski (Bishop of the Ruthenians), 373.
Hoock (French Agent), 88.
Huet, Daniel (Bishop of Avranches), 229.
Humbelot (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 259.
Hussein (Shah of Persia), 385.
Huxelles, Marshal, 96, 256, 265, 283.

IBRAHIM of Aleppo (Kapudan-Pasha), 128, 139, 140.
Imperiale, Lorenzo (Cardinal Secretary of State), 4, 92, 132, 171.
Innocent X., 2, 184, 185, 237.
Innocent XI., 2, 3, 8.
Innocent XII., 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 44, 185, 315, 344, 381, 385, 529.
Innocent XIII., 172, 173.

JAMES II. of England, 25, 58.
James III. (Pretender to the English throne), 25, 58, 97; 109, 157, 167, 344, 350.
James of Illyria, 343.
Jassu (Emperor of Assyria), 379.
Javorski, Stephen, 371.
John Baptist of Orleans (Capuchin), 374.
John Christian Augustus of Holstein, 364.
John, King of Portugal, 128, 346, 449, 453, 483.
John of Perugia, 343.

John William (Count Palatine), 38, 102, 105, 325, 326.
John William (Elector of Pfalz-Neuburg), 341, 357.
Joseph I. (Emperor), 34–8, 40, 44–9, 51–9, 63, 65, 69, 78, 82–6, 92–4.
Joseph II. (Tel-Kepha), Patriarch of the Chaldeans, 374, 501.
Joseph III., Patriarch of the Chaldeans, 375.
Joseph of Jerusalem (Franciscan), 379, 501.
Jourdin (Jourdain), Oratorian, 196.
Julius II., 526.

Kanghi (Emperor of China), 397, 407, 408, 410, 412, 417, 428, 430–2, 438–449, 460–2, 464, 467, 469, 474–481.
Kaunitz, Count Francis Charles von (Auditor), 38.
Kiszka, Leo, 372.
Kollonitsch, Count Leopold, Cardinal, 38, 372, 373, 376, 414.
Künigl, von (Prince Bishop of Brixen), 360.
Kurakin (Russian Envoy in Rome), 371.

Laborde, de (Oratorian), 268.
Laderchi, Giacomo (Oratorian), 505.
Lafitau (Jesuit), French Envoy in Rome, Bishop of Sisteron, 272, 275, 283, 305, 306, 312.
Lamberg, Count Ferdinand von, 130.
Lamberg, Count John Philip von, Cardinal, 3, 38, 48, 99.
Lambert, Count Leopold von (Imperial representative in Rome), 2, 17, 21–32, 35, 36, 40, 49, 493.
Lambertini, Prospero (Benedict XIV.), 490.
Lancisi, Giovanni Maria, (physician to Clement XI), 12, 491, 496, 497, 507, 508.
Langeron, 207.
Langle, de (Bishop of Boulogne), 276.
Langlet du Fresnoy, 331.
Languet de Gervy (Archbishop of Sens), 290, 300.
La Parisière (Bishop of Nîmes), 290.
Laureati (Superior of the Jesuits), 480.
Lauro, Liberato da (Franciscan), 343.
Law, John, 306, 308, 309.
Laynes, Francis Troyano (Bishop of Meliapur), 488, 489.
Leake (English Admiral), 58.
Le Blanc (Vicar Apostolic), 447, 453.
Le Comte (Jesuit), 413.
Le Drou (theologian), 214.
Le Gros (sculptor), 524.
Leibnitz (philosopher), 365.
Leo I. (Pope), 344, 522.
Leo X. (Pope), 46, 516.
Leonessa, John Francis (missionary), Bishop of Berytus, 425, 484.
Leopold, Count of Lorraine, 346.
Leopold I. (Emperor), 3, 15–17, 20, 22–4, 27–33, 55, 61.
Le Rouge (Syndic of the Sorbonne), 259.
Lescure (Bishop of Luçon), 207, 209, 212.
Lessius, Leonardo (theologian), 401.
Leszcynski, Stanislaus, 38.
Le Tellier (Archbishop of Rheims), 181.
Le Tellier (Jesuit), Confessor of Louis XIV., 210, 211, 226, 255.
Locatelli, Captain, 42.
Löffelsholz, Freiherr George von, 124.

Lombard, missionary (Jesuit), 390.
Longobardi, Niccolò (Jesuit), 401, 402, 403.
Lorino (theologian), 401.
Lorraine (Bishop of Bayeux), 332.
Louis (Dauphin), 83, 84, 94.
Louis XIV., 2, 14–22, 25–7, 36, 56, 59, 61, 62, 66, 68, 75, 76, 83, 88, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 105–8, 115–17, 177, 181, 183, 186–8, 206, 209–216, 226–234, 242–257, 262, 275, 313, 324, 348, 350, 374, 377, 378, 381, 389, 449.
Louis XV., 115, 311.
Louville, Marquis, 28.
Loyer, Godfrey (Dominican), 382.
Lozurfa (Christian Sultan), 384.
Lu, John (Chinese Catechist), 437.
Luca, Giambattista, de, Cardinal, 7, 8.
Lucchesini, Giovanni Vincenzo (Secretary for Latin Briefs), 12, 507.
Lucchesini, Lorenzo (Prefect of Greek College at Rome), 372.
Lucia of Narni (Bl.), 344.
Lucini, Giuseppe, Abbate, 77, 78.
Lunghi, Onorio, 527.
Luther, 239, 314.
Luti, Benedetto (painter), 525.
Lyonne, Arthur de (Vicar Apostolic of Sutshuen), 415–17, 421.

Macanaz, Melchior, Raphael de (Fiscal of the Council of Castile), 76, 118, 120.
Macarius (Archbishop of Tripoli), 378.
Macarius (Coptic Deacon), 378.
Madot (Bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône), 258.
Magnani, Giovanni Antonio (poet), 504.
Majella, Carlo (Secretary for Briefs to Princes), 507.
Maigrot, Charles (Vicar Apostolic of Fukién), 408–410, 416–18, 421, 424–8, 432, 435–440, 446, 447, 453, 465, 471, 472, 474, 480.
Mailly, François de (Archbishop of Rheims), Cardinal, 289, 290, 306, 353, 532.
Maintenon, Madame de, 177, 208, 211.
Maraldi, 506.
Marangoni, Giovanni (archæologist), 510.
Maratta, Carlo (painter), 513, 516, 517.
Marcolini, Pier Paolo (Diplomat), 111–13.
Marescotti, Galleazzo, Cardinal, 4, 5, 62, 316, 409, 413, 416, 423.
Margil, Antonio, 391.
Mariani, Sabino (Auditor), 433, 443, 444.
Maria (Queen of Congo), 381.
Maria Teresa (daughter of Emperor Charles VI.), 140.
Marie Louise Gertrude of Savoy (wife of Philip V. of Spain), 142.
Marini, Maria, Cardinal, 353.
Marini (Procurator of the Missions), 402.
Marsigli, Count Louis Ferdinand (Commander of the papal troops), 58.
Martel (Dominican), 391.
Martelli, Francesco (nuncio), Cardinal, 347, 348.
Martelli (Theatine), 389.
Martini, 428.
Martinitz, Count (Viceroy of Naples), 44, 45.
Martin I., Pope, 286.
Massillon (Bishop of Clermont), 211, 244, 306.
Massoulié (Dominican), 6.

Massud, Abraham (Maronite), 502.
Matos (Jesuit), 405.
Maurice Adolph (Bishop of Leitmeritz), 363.
Maurice of, St. Teresa (Vicar Apostolic of the Mongolian Empire), 387.
Maurice William (Duke of Sachsen-Zeitz), 363.
Max Emanuel (Elector of Bavaria), 131, 140, 339.
Maximilian (Prince of Hesse), 131.
Mazet, Joseph (Franciscan), 378.
Mazzuoli, Giuseppe (sculptor), 524.
Mechithar (founder), 379.
Medici, Francesco Maria de', Cardinal, 3, 349.
Melchiorri, Giovanni Paolo, 525.
Mellini, Savio, Cardinal, 3.
Melozzo da Forlì, 526.
Mendoza, Baldassarre de (Grand Inquisitor of Spain), 18 n.
Mercati, 508.
Mazzabarba, Carlo Ambrogio (Patriarch of Alexandria), Legate in China, 468–479, 479 n., 480–4.
Mirecki (Benedictine Abbot), 340.
Miro, de (Custodian of the Vatican library), 506.
Mocenigo, Alvise (Venetian Ambassador in Rome and Madrid), 143.
Moktadir (Caliph), 502.
Molina (Jesuit), 202, 302.
Molines, José (Inquisitor-General of Spain), 62, 72–4, 77, 151, 152.
Monnot, Pierre (sculptor), 524.
Monteiro (Provincial of the Jesuits), 2.
Montfaucon (Maurist), 507.
Montgaillard, Perein de (Bishop of St. Pons), 189.
Moratti, Francesco, 524.
Morigia, Giacomo Antonio, Card., 3, 4.
Mosca, Elena, mother of Clement XI., 7.
Moses (Abbot of Nisibus), 502.
Muratori, Domenico (painter), 525.
Muratori, Ludovico Antonio (historian), 54.
Mustafa (Pasha), 130, 140.

Nasini, Giuseppe (painter), 521, 525.
Navarrete, Domenico (Dominican), 407, 408, 411.
Negroni, Gian Francesco, Cardinal, 3.
Nerli, Francesco (Secretary of State), Cardinal, 4, 411, 416, 423.
Noailles, Louis Antoine de (Archbishop of Paris), 2, 3, 5, 177, 180–4, 188–190, 200–216, 227–235, 242–258, 261, 262, 265, 267, 269, 271–3, 276, 277, 281–7, 291, 292, 295–9, 302, 305–9, 312, 313, 414–421.
Nobili, Robert de' (missionary), 485, 487.
Noël, François (Jesuit), 414, 417.
Noris, Henri (Cardinal), 3, 409, 413, 416, 506.
Nuzzi, Ferdinando, Cardinal, 353.

Odazi, Giovanni (painter), 525.
Odescalchi, Benedetto (nuncio), Cardinal, 352.
Odrovanzio, Ceslaus (Dominican), 344.
Olivazzi (Envoy of the Duke of Modena), 90.
Olivieri, Fabio, Cardinal, Secretary of Briefs, 12, 108, 352.
Omodei, Luigi, Cardinal, 4.
Opstraet, John, 322.

Origo, Curzio (Secretary of Memorials), 12, 132.
Orry, 65, 110.
Orsi, Sabbatino d', 401.
Orsini, Pietro Francesco (Benedict XIII.), 3, 5.
Orsini, Princess, 65, 117–19.
Orta, Salvatore d' (Franciscan), 343.
Othmar (Abbot of Brewnow), 340.
Ottoboni, Pietro, Cardinal (Alexander XIII.), 367, 416, 423, 495.
Ottoni, Lorenzo (sculptor), 524.

Paccini, Biagio, 520.
Pachioni (anatomist), 497.
Palermo (Franciscan), 214.
Pallavicini, Ranuccio (Governor of Rome), Cardinal, 31, 40, 347, 348.
Palmeiro (Visitor), 402.
Pamfili, Cardinal, 506, 524.
Pamfili, Prince, 526.
Panciatici, Bernardino (Datarius), 3, 4, 62, 335, 416, 423.
Pao Vitus (Mandarin), 4.
Paolucci, Fabrizio (Cardinal Secretary of State), 3, 12, 28, 32, 36, 62, 63, 67, 67 n., 81, 132, 133, 136 n., 144, 144 n., 145, 145 n., 149 n., 150 n., 152, 154, 154 n., 155 n., 159 n., 160 n., 162, 162 n., 165, 170, 262, 270, 286, 287, 321, 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 532, 533.
Paolucci (papal General), 33, 39.
Papadopoli, Niccolò, Comneno, Professor, 372.
Paracciani, Gian Domenico, Cardinal, 12, 80, 170, 317, 318.
Parrenin, Dominic (Jesuit), 438, 439, 458.
Parthenius (Archbishop of Amida), 378.
Parthenius (Bishop of Heliopolis), 378.
Pascal, Blaise, 179.
Pasio (Jesuit), 401.
Passeri, Giuseppe (painter), 517.
Passionei, Domenico (nuncio), Cardinal, 95–8, 101, 102, 102 n., 103, 103 n., 105–8.
Passionei, Guido (Secretary for Latin Briefs), 12.
Patrizi, Giovanni (nuncio), Cardinal, 132, 353.
Paul III., 365.
Paul V., 405.
Pedrini, Theodore (Lazarist), 459–461, 463–5, 470, 473, 474, 479–481.
Pelisson (Jesuit), 417.
Penna, Orazio della (Capuchin), 385.
Pereyra, Andrea (Jesuit), 442.
Pereyra de Lacerda, Joseph, Cardinal, 354.
Perier, Canon, 179.
Peschard, Jacques (Timothy de la Flèche), Capuchin, 204, 231.
Peterborough, Lord, 157.
Peter, King of the Congo, 381.
Peter the Great, 370, 371.
Petitpied (Jansenist), 304.
Petrucci, Cardinal, 3.
Philip IV., 59.
Philip le Bel, 275.
Philip of Orleans (Regent of France), 115, 127, 134, 167, 255, 256, 265–272, 274–8, 282–291, 303–9, 312.
Philip V. of Spain (Duke of Anjou), 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 28, 29, 31, 35, 38–40, 47, 61, 64–8, 71–6, 84, 95–7, 112, 116–122, 127, 134, 135, 137, 141, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151–8, 160–3, 168–172, 174, 176, 349.
Philopald (Lazarist), 252.
Piazza, Giulio (nuncio in Vienna), Cardinal, 324–350.

Piccnino (Swiss Protestant), 348.
Pico della Mirandola, Ludovico (Maggiordomo), Cardinal, 350, 352.
Pignatelli, Francesco (Theatine), nuncio in Poland, Cardinal, 346.
Pimentel, Domenico, Cardinal, 76.
Pinho Teixeira, Diego de (Commander-in-Chief at Macao), 449, 450.
Pinto (Provincial of the Jesuits), 451.
Pisani, General, 129, 140.
Pius II., 501.
Pius IV., 527.
Pius V., 111, 343, 508.
Polignac, Melchior de (French Ambassador at Rome), Cardinal, 59, 62, 96, 97, 100, 227, 244, 349, 352, 354.
Pomponne (French Minister), 35.
Ponce de León, Cardinal, 355.
Portocarrero, Ludovico, Cardinal, 72, 524.
Potkamp, Gerard (Vicar Apostolic), 327, 328.
Prié, Marquis von (Civil Commissary of the Imperial Army), 43, 57, 59, 63, 64, 69, 80, 81, 86–8.
Priuli, Luigi (Auditor of the Rota), Cardinal, 351.
Priuli, Pietro, Cardinal, 347.
Procaccini, Andrea (painter), 525.
Prokopowitch, Theophanes (Russian Bishop), 371.
Provana, Joseph (Jesuit), 448, 457, 469, 470, 472.
Pucelle, Abbé, 256.

Quartaroni, Domenico (mathematician), 506.
Quesnel, Pasquier (Jansenist), 192–205, 207–227, 229–231, 234, 235, 237–9, 250, 254, 256–8, 261, 265, 271, 276, 280, 287, 290, 293, 301, 302, 310, 318, 321, 322, 331, 332.

Radolovich, Cardinal, 4.
Raimond, 478.
Rainald, 476.
Raphael, 10, 514, 516.
Rasponi, Orazio (Papal Envoy), 126, 127.
Ravechet, Hyacinth (Syndic of the Sorbonne), 259, 260, 263, 264, 267, 268.
Raymond (Jesuit), 433.
Raynaldis (historian), 505.
Regis, John Francis (Jesuit), missionary, 343.
Renaudot, Eusèbe (orientalist), 368.
Riario, Pietro, Cardinal, 526.
Riario, Raffaele, Cardinal, 526.
Ricci, Matteo, 396, 401, 402, 405, 406, 438.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 134.
Richer, 199, 224, 265.
Ripa, Matteo, missionary in China, 470, 473, 474, 477, 479.
Riviera (papal delegate), 42.
Rocca, Count, 165.
Rodriguez, Juan (missionary), 401, 402.
Rohan, Armand Gaston de, Cardinal, 227, 229, 231, 232, 244, 251–3, 260, 261, 272, 273, 283, 284, 287, 306, 313, 350, 351.
Rollin, Charles (Rector of the Sorbonne), 311.
Rossi, Angelo de' (sculptor), 524.
Rossi, Domenico de' (architect), 523.
Rubens, 357.
Rubini, Giambattista, Cardinal, 4.
Rueda (Roveda), 475, 478.
Ruffo, Tommasso (nuncio), Cardinal, 347.
Rusconi, Camillo (sculptor), 524.

SAGRIPANTI, Filippo (Fiscal Advocate), 80.
Sagripanti, Giuseppe (Datarius), Cardinal, 3, 12, 335.
Saint-Cyran, 193.
Saint Stephen (King of Hungary), 126.
Sala, Benedict, Cardinal, 349, 351, 352.
Salerni (Jesuit), Cardinal, 354, 355.
Salvioni (typographer), 503.
Sancia, Cistercian, 344.
Sanfelice (nuncio), 103.
Santa Croce, Marcello, Cardinal, 4.
Santelia (Franciscan Minor), 214.
Sanvitali, Antonio Francesco (nuncio), Cardinal, 349.
Sardi, Giuseppe, architect, 520.
Sardinius (advocate), 411.
Sassi, Matteo (architect), 519.
Sassoferrato, Peter, 343.
Scandar, Andrea, 502.
Schönborn, Damian, Hugo von, Cardinal, 352.
Schrattenbach, Wolfgang Hannibal von, Cardinal, 126, 156, 349.
Schulenberg, Matthias von, Count of Empire, German General, 128, 129, 133.
Scotti, Bernardino, Cardinal, 170, 171, 353.
Seilern, Baron, 82.
Sergardi, Ludovico (Quinto Settano), satirist, 507, 524.
Serra, Raymond (Cistercian), 343.
Sicard, Claude (Jesuit), 384.
Sidotti (missionary), 385.
Silvester (Bishop of Beirut), 378.
Sinzendorf, Count (Imperial Grand Chancellor), 100.
Slusius, Cardinal, 8.
Sixtus IV., 526.
Sixtus V., 508.
Soanen (Bishop of Senez), 231, 232, 276, 277, 332.
Spada, Fabrizio, Cardinal, 4.
Spada, Orazio Filippo (nuncio at Cologne), 26, 30, 62, 347, 416, 423.
Specchi, Alessandro (architect), 528.
Sperelli, Sperello, Cardinal, 4, 411, 413, 416, 421, 423.
Spinola, Giorgio (nuncio at Vienna), Cardinal, Secretary of State, 78, 80, 112, 113, 123, 132, 133, 354.
Spinola, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, 3, 13, 62.
Spinola, Giovanni Battista, the Elder, Cardinal, 3.
Spinola, Niccolò (nuncio in Poland), 340, 353.
Starhemberg (Governor-General of Charles III. in Spain), 92.
Steenoven, Cornelius, 330.
Steffani, Agostino (Vicar Apostolic of Germany), 356, 356 n., 357–362.
Stosch, Baron Philip von, 507.
Stumpf, Kilian (Jesuit), 434, 436–8, 444, 447, 458, 462, 463, 465.
Swaen, De, 316.

TALON, Denis (Gallican), 118.
Tamburini, Michelangelo (General of the Jesuits), 455, 456.
Tamponet (Doctor of the Sorbonne), 301, 304.
Tanara, Seb. Antonio, Cardinal, 3, 170, 316, 317, 533.
Teresa (Cistercian nun), 344.
Terroni (Barnabite), 214.
Tessé, Marshal, 56.
Thomas, Antonio (Jesuit), 438, 439.
Tolomei, Giovanni (Jesuit), Cardinal, 170, 171, 271, 287, 351, 355.
Tommasi, Giuseppe Maria (Theatine), 6, 351.
Torcy, de (French Minister of War), 76, 118, 182.

Tour, de la (General of the Oratorians), 306.
Tournon, Charles Thomas Maillard de (Cardinal Legate in China), 348, 386, 412, 413, 424, 428, 428 n., 429, 429 n., 430–442, 444–455, 457–460, 468–471, 479, 485–9.
Trémoille, Joseph Emmanuèl, de la (French Ambassador to Rome), Cardinal, 69, 212, 215, 240, 252, 272, 274, 283, 286, 295, 348.
Trevisan, Francesco (painter), 525.

Ughelli, Ferdinando, 504.
Umiltà di Faenza, 343.
Urban VIII., 7, 46, 76, 271, 405, 406.
Ursaia (advocate), 415.
Uxelles, d' (*see* Huxelles).
Uzeda, Duke of (Spanish Envoy in Rome), Viceroy of Sicily, 2, 22, 23, 38, 66, 74.

Valignani, Alessandro (Jesuit), 401.
Valle, Pietro della, 501.
Vallemani, Giuseppe, Cardinal, 170, 347.
Varese, Carlo Francesco (theologian), General of the Minors Reformed, 6, 411.
Vartabied, Minas, 377.
Vartanch (King of Iberia), 377.
Vasquez, Gabriel (theologian), 401.
Vasto, Marchese Cesare del, 27, 28, 31, 35, 39.
Vaucel, Du, 315, 316.
Vendôme, Marshal, 32.
Vendôme, Duc de, 121.
Verme, Cardinal del, 3, 5.
Vialart, Felix (Bishop of Châlons), 187.
Viani (diarist), 476, 477.
Vicentini (nuncio at Naples), 157.
Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy (King of Sardinia), 21, 46, 47, 49, 54, 58, 96, 142, 166, 167, 168.
Villalpando, José Rodrigo (representative of Philip V.), 75, 77, 116, 117.
Villeroi, Maréchal, 27, 41.
Vintimille du Luc (Archbishop of Aix), 212.
Visdelou (Jesuit), Vicar Apostolic of Kweitsten 433, 435, 453, 489.
Vitasse (theologian), 235, 331.
Vitelleschi (General of the Jesuits), 402.
Voisin (Chancellor of Louis XIV.), 208, 251.

Wake, William (Archbishop of Canterbury), 288.
Weiss, Liberatus (Franciscan), 380.
William III. of England, 27.
Wolff (Jesuit), 370.
Wratislaw, Count (Chancellor of Bohemia), 82, 92.
Wycliff, 314.

Xavier, Francis, 394.

Yostos (Negus of Abyssinia), 380.

Zaccagni (Keeper of the Vatican), 506.
Zaluski (Bishop of Ermland), 20.
Zeccadoro (Secretary for Briefs), 12.
Zondadari, Antonio Felice (nuncio in Spain), Cardinal, 26, 66, 67 n., 170, 350.

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TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIV.

INNOCENT XIII. 1721–1724.
BENEDICT XIII. 1724–1730.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	xii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xiii
Pontificate of Innocent XIII.—Election and Antecedents—Negotiations with the Emperor about Italy and with Spain and Portugal—Threat of War with Turkey—Jansenism—The Schism of Utrech —Troubles in China	1– 97
Pontificate of Benedict XIII.—Election and Government—Cardinal Niccolò Coscia—Ecclesiastical and Political Concessions to the Emperor and to the House of Savoy	98–157
Benedict XIII.'s Reforming Activity—The Jubilee and the Roman Provincial Council of 1725—Furthering of the Veneration of the Saints and Other Ecclesiastical Activities—The Two Journeys to Benevento—Creations of Cardinals—The Missions	158–204
Jansenism in France and the Netherlands—Death of Benedict XIII.	205–299

CLEMENT XII. 1730–1740.

Election and Character of Clement XII.—His Action as a Reformer	300–354
Loss of the Suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza—The Struggle for the Polish Succession and the Outbreak of War Against the Emperor in Italy—Conquest of Naples and Sicily by the Spaniards—Provocation of the Pope by the Bourbons at Madrid and Naples—The Spanish Concordat of 1737	355–400
Nominations of Cardinals—Activity within the Church—Prohibition of Freemasonry—Religious Conditions in France and Germany—The Missions	401–478
The States of the Church—Last Years of Clement XII.'s Pontificate—The Pope's Patronage of Scholarship and Art	479–510
Appendix of Unpublished Documents and Extracts from Archives	511–581
Index of Names	583–596

For Bibliography see Vol. XXXIII.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIV.

INNOCENT XIII. 1721–24.
BENEDICT XIII. 1724–30.

CHAPTER I.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT XIII.—ELECTION AND ANTECEDENTS—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR ABOUT ITALY AND WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—THREAT OF WAR WITH TURKEY—JANSENISM—THE SCHISM OF UTRECHT—TROUBLES IN CHINA.

A.D.		AGE
	Position in Europe at the death of Clement XI.	1
1721	The Conclave	3
	Its members and	5
	Diverse policies	7
	Candidates for the Papacy	10
	Numerous scrutinies—continued uncertainty	15
	Election of Cardinal Conti as Innocent XIII.	25
	Meets with universal satisfaction	26
	Antecedents of the Pope	27
	His personal appearance and conduct	29
	His first appointments	30
	His relations with Emperor Charles VI.	31
	He strives for but does not obtain the restoration of Comacchio	33
	The Spanish Concordat	35
	The Pope and Portugal	37
	Renewal of Turkish aggression	38
	Relief when Persia is the object of attack	40
	Jansenism	41
	Letter of the seven Bishops to the Pope is	43
1722	Condemned by the Inquisition	44
	Statement of Innocent XIII. on the subject	45
	Cardinal de Bissy's defence of the Bull *Unigenitus*	47
	Provokes violent attack	48
	Resistance to the Bull continues	50
	Measures by the Regent against the Appellants	51
	Changes in the Episcopate and in	55
	The attitude of the Orders	57
	Insubordination in the Dutch Mission	58
	Preparations for the election of an Archbishop	62
	Disaffection in Holland	63

A.D.		PAGE
	Innocent XIII. and the Missions	66
	His action in regard to the Chinese rites	70
	Persecution of Chinese Christians	73
	Attacks against the Jesuits in Rome	74
	Their publications censured	77
	Propaganda takes steps against them	78
	Jansenist calumnies of the Society	81
1723	The Pope directs a Brief to the Jesuit General	83
	Decree against the Jesuits follows	85
	The General's defence of his missionaries	87
	Increasing ill-health of the Pontiff	92
1724	His death on February 12	95
	His short reign	96

CHAPTER II.

PONTIFICATE OF BENEDICT XIII.—ELECTION AND GOVERNMENT—CARDINAL NICCOLÒ COSCIA—ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONCESSIONS TO THE EMPEROR AND TO THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.

	Thirty-one electors enter the Conclave	98
	Their numbers increase to fifty-three	99
	Exclusion of Paolucci by Charles VI.	101
	Confused situation	103
	Successive Candidates	104
	Election of Cardinal Orsini as Benedict XIII.	107
	Sketch of his previous career	108
	As Archbishop of Benevento	110
	His ascetic life and piety	115
	His reforms	116
	New appointments; Paolucci becomes Secretary of State	117
	Personality of Benedict XIII.	118
	His love of liturgical functions	121
	His inexperience in secular matters	122
	Is exploited by his ministers	123
	Niccolò Coscia	124
	Lercari becomes Secretary of State	129
	Coscia's avarice and	131
	Bad administration	133
	The case of the *Monarchia Sicula*	135
	Ends in compromise	144
1728	The Bull *Fideli* provokes dissatisfaction	146
	The House of Savoy trades upon Coscia's venality	147
	An agreement is reached to the	151
	Indignation of certain Cardinals	152
1725	The surrender of Comacchio	154
	Tedious disputes	155

CHAPTER III.

BENEDICT XIII.'S REFORMING ACTIVITY—THE JUBILEE AND THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF 1725—FURTHERING OF THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITIES—THE TWO JOURNEYS TO BENEVENTO—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Benedict XIII.'s reforms	158
	The Jubilee of 1725	161
	A Provincial Council in Rome	162
	Numerous Canonizations	165
	The Pope's personal devotion to the Saints	167
	His benevolence to Religious Orders	168
	His attachment to Benevento and	169
	Visits to that city	171
	His zeal for reform	175
1724–1730	His creation of twenty-nine Cardinals	179
	Reunion of Ruthenia with Rome	190
	Franciscan foundations in E. and W. Indies	191
	Work of the Jesuits in S. America and	192
	India	193
	Their vindication in China	197
	Progress with regard to the Malabar rites	204

CHAPTER IV.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS—DEATH OF BENEDICT XIII.

	Hopes of Jansenism	205
	Doomed to disappointment	206
	Papal sympathy with Dominican opinions	210
	Brief to that Order	211
	Creates great anxiety in Spain	213
1727	The Bull *Pretiosus*	214
	Relations between Innocent XIII. and Noailles	219
	Examination of the latter and	224
	His refusal to comply	225
	His serious illness postpones settlement	234
	Jansenist disputes with the French Government	235
	Defiance in Lorraine—The Bishop of Bayeux is	236
	Seconded by Colbert, Bishop of Montpellier, who	237
	Appeals to the Pope	238
	Judgment pronounced on Colbert by the French Clergy	241
	The case of Jean Soanen: his personal piety, but	242
	His support of Quesnel	243
1726	A Provincial Council called to examine Soanen	245
	At which he is condemned	249

A.D. PAGE

His death, a prisoner at La Chaise-Dieu, aged ninety-three 255
Final submission of Noailles is 256
Hesitatingly received in Rome 258
1728 His *mandement* and retraction published 261
1729 Interventions on his behalf—His death 263
Further Jansenist intrigues, countered by . . . 265
Noailles' successor, Vintimille, Abp. of Paris 1729–1746 267
Submission of the Sorbonne 268
Feast of St. Gregory VII. prescribed by the Pope . 271
Opposition to it by French Clergy is condemned by Brief 273
Jansenism has recourse to "miracles" 276
Disobedience among Religious Orders 278
The Oratorians 279
The Carthusians 281
The Maurists 283
Eventually submit 285
Election of Steenoven as Abp. of Utrecht . . . 286
Is repudiated, likewise that of Barchman . . . 288
Jansenist intrigues in Russia 290
1730 Benedict XIII.'s last illness and death 293
His philanthropy 295
His tomb in Sta Maria sopra Minerva 296

Clement XII. 1730–1740.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT XII.—HIS ACTION AS A REFORMER.

Action of the Camerlengo against Coscia 301
Outbreak among the populace 302
Opening of the Conclave 303
The parties therein 305
Papabili 309
Imperiali's candidature and failure 311
Other candidates 312
1730 Election of Cardinal Corsini 325
Antecedents of Clement XII. and his 326
Personality 329
The Pope's first appointments 332
Cardinal Banchieri made Secretary of State . . . 333
The precarious health of the Pontiff leaves much to . 335
Cardinal Neri Corsini 337
His temporizing policy 338
Removal of abuses 340

A.D. PAGE
Proceedings against Coscia 341
He is found guilty and excommunicated . . . 345
The Sardinian Concordat 347
Financial position of the Holy See 354

CHAPTER II.

LOSS OF THE SUZERAINTY OVER PARMA AND PIACENZA—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLISH SUCCESSION AND THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AGAINST THE EMPEROR IN ITALY—CONQUEST OF NAPLES AND SICILY BY THE SPANIARDS—PROVOCATION OF THE POPE BY THE BOURBONS AT MADRID AND NAPLES—THE SPANISH CONCORDAT OF 1737.

Clement XII.'s measures to preserve peace . . 356
The succession to Parma and Piacenza . . . 357
These Duchies lost to the Church 359
Further political defeats and anxieties . . . 360
The Polish election 362
War 363
Spanish troops in Italy 365
Negotiations with Spain 368
1735 The Peace of Vienna 370
Its conditions rejected by Spain 371
Rioting in Rome 375
1736 Rupture between the Holy See and Spain . . 376
Negotiations for a compromise 381
1737 The Concordat signed 390
Difficulties with Naples 393
Investiture of Charles III. fails to secure peace . 396
Renewed trouble in Spain 397

CHAPTER III.

NOMINATIONS OF CARDINALS—ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—PROHIBITION OF FREEMASONRY—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE MISSIONS.

Clement's policy in his creation of Cardinals . . 401
1732 Two creations of Italian Cardinals 404
Other creations in subsequent years . . . 409
1737 Canonization of St. Vincent de Paul . . . 410
1738 Condemnation of Freemasonry 411
The position in France 413
Fleury's declaration against the Press, combats . 416
Revolutionary principles 419
The action of the Government 420
The King's rebuke to Parliament 422

A.D.		PAGE
	The Government's victory is followed by	427
	Parliamentary resignations	429
	Further Parliamentary interference in Church affairs	432
	Is rebuffed	436
1734	The Law of Silence	437
	Its unfortunate result	438
	Jansenist "miracles"	442
	Convulsionism	447
	Figurism	451
	Fleury's difficulties with the religious Orders	454
	The submission of the Maurists	457
	Intervention of the Pope in Gallican matters and	459
	His action against the Jansenists in Holland	462
	Ideal of Christian unity not realized	463
	Missionary Solicitude of Clement XII.	466
	Its proof in Sardinia	467
	Among Maronites and	468
	Abyssinians	469
	In Paraguay	471
	In Burma and Tibet	473
	The situation in China	474
	Conclusion in regard to Malabar rites	477

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—LAST YEARS OF CLEMENT XII.'S PONTIFICATE—THE POPE'S PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ART.

	The financial position in the Papal States	479
	The Pope's protective tariffs fail of their purpose	484
	His personal liberality	487
	Aid for Ravenna	488
	Attempted annexation of San Marino	490
	Increasing ill-health of the Pontiff	491
1740	His death on February 6	492
	Review of his reign	493
	His support of literature and art	494
	His buildings and	498
	Reconstruction of Streets	501
1732	The Fountain of Trevi begun	502
	Restoration of Churches	503
	The creation of the façade of the Lateran basilica	504
	The construction of the Corsini Chapel therein	507

APPENDIX OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

		PAGE
1	Tournon's Mission	513
2	The Jesuit General Tamburini to the Visitor of Japan and China	525
3	From a Franciscan's Letter to Lisbon	526
4	The Jesuit Visitor Kilian Stumpf to the Bishop of Peking	527
4*a*	Extracts from Letters of the Bishop of Peking	528
4*b*	Kilian Stumpf on the Situation of the Mission	529
5	Visitator Giovanni Laureati to the Jesuits of Peking	531
6	Extracts from Letters of Nic. Tomacelli, of the Order of Clerics Minor	533
7	Catalogo d'alcuni Soggetti che hanno scritto nella Cina in Favore di que' PP. della Compagnia contro le accuse poste da altri	536
8	The Jesuits of Peking to their General	539
9	On the Audience with Emperor Kanghi on January 14, 1721	545
10	from Tamburini's " Informazione ", of January, 1725	546
11	Sommario Addizionale di Nuove Eccezioni Riconosciute in alcuni degli Accusatori de' Missionari della Compagnia della Cina, Cavate dalle Lettere de' medesimi Missionari	547
12	Mamiani to Ruspoli	553
13	The Peking Jesuits to Mezzabarba	555
14	João Mourao to Mezzabarba	563
15	Controversy between Mons. Mezzabarba and P. Magalhaens	569
16	Jansenism in the Missions	571
17	Notizie Sulla Storia dell'Arte	573
18	Memorial to the Cardinals on Noailles' Recantation	577

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INNOCENT XIII. 1721–1724.
BENEDICT XIII. 1724–1730.

CHAPTER I.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT XIII.—ELECTION AND ANTECEDENTS—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR ABOUT ITALY AND WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—THREAT OF WAR WITH TURKEY—JANSENISM—THE SCHISM OF UTRECHT—TROUBLES IN CHINA.

(1.)

IN spite of all treaties and pacts, the political situation of the Curia and the Papal States was on the whole in a very precarious state at the death of Clement XI.; Comacchio still remained a bone of contention, the nunciature of Naples was not yet reopened, disputes with Spain still awaited a settlement and the attitude of France towards the Bull *Unigenitus* was neither unanimous nor reassuring. To all this were added the imperial claims to Parma, Piacenza, as well as those of the Spanish Princes to Castro and Ronciglione.[1] Hence the issue of the impending conclave

[1] See **Discorso* (for the conclave of 1721), *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican (now in State Archives, Vienna); copies in *Cod. ital.*, 184 f., 505–529 and 548 f., 131 *seqq.* State Library, Munich; also *Cod.*, blue, 332 (BÖHM, 1036), State Archives, Vienna (erroneously ascribed to 1730 by a later hand and also by BÖHM, 284; a translation according to an Olmütz Codex in M. v. MAYER, 93 *seqq.* WILLE (*Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. [1918], 179), exaggerates when he calls this supposed diary of Schrattenbach "one of the few descriptions of Conclaves that we possess". *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 2 *seq.* For satires, see "*Pasquinate durante la sede vacante", *Cod.* 10790, British Museum, London, and "*Gabinetto di rime satiriche in sede vacante d'Innocenzo XII. da Clemente XI., 1721", *Fondo Gesuit.*, 83, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

could not be a matter of indifference to the political Powers.[1]

[1] Besides the manuscript sources quoted above, n. 1, and those indexed in GISLER, 144, we must mention : " *Conclave historico descritto dal sig. card. Franc. Barberini et a sua dettatura da me Franc. Velli da Palestrina suo familiare e conclavista fedelmente disteso," *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59 (4684), Vatican Library (*cf.* WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5) ; " *Due conclavi descritti da un fedelissimo conclavista (1721 and 1724), *Cod.*, 871. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican ; Althan's **Diarium* drawn up as a report to the Emperor by his conclavist, Abb. Grassi, with Althan's autograph corrections, in *Cod. ital.*, 55, f. 255–273 and f. 235–252, State Library, Munich (WILLE, *loc. cit.*, 185, speaks of a diary of Althan, but he seems to mean Cardinal Schrattenbach) ; *Report of the conclave of 1721 in *Cod. ital.*, 324, f. 26–82, State Library, Munich, and *Cod.*, blue, 332 (BÖHM, 1036), f. 39–128, State Arch., Vienna, translated from an Olmütz Codex in M. v. MAYER, 7 *seqq.* ; " *Relazione del conclave . . . 1721 dal sig. cav. Vitelleschi . . . donatami 1723 . . . Schönborn " (with the Cardinal's personal signature), calls special attention to Althan's rôle, but does not give any particulars about the proceedings of the conclave ; it is illustrated with a plan of the conclave, with engravings of the fifty-six Cardinals who entered the conclave, a series of illustrations of the most important events of the *sede vacante* period, with divers election and accession papers, an election list, large pictures of the catafalque of Clement XI., and of the ceremonies and the triumphal arches at the *Possesso* of Innocent XIII., *Cod.* 5706, State Library, Vienna ; " *Conclave per l'elezione di Innocenzo XIII. ", *Cod.* 130, Catania Library ; " *Conclave per la morte di Clemente XI. ", t. 1–4, *Cod.* 2961/4, Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library (contains very little that has direct reference to the conclave ; *cf.* WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 41) ; Acquaviva's *general report after the conclusion of the conclave to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives ; CRACAS, XVII., 580 *seqq.* ; *Gründliche Nachricht vom Konklave oder Neueste Historie des röm. Hofes*, 3rd and 4th part, Frankfurt, 1721. *Cf.* also the following accounts : PETRUCELLI, IV., 1 *seqq.* ; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 185 *seqq.* ; Id. in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5 ; EISLER, 183 ; NOVAES, XIII., 3 *seqq.* ; BROSCH, II., 55. The election, personality and pontificate

On March 20th the body of the deceased Pope was transferred to the Sistine Chapel. The first meeting of the Cardinals then took place; the Fisherman's ring and the seal of Clement XI. were broken and Bartolomeo Ruspoli was appointed governor of the conclave.[1] Even before the solemn interment on March 23rd, Ruspoli had issued strict orders prohibiting all public amusements, any kind of disturbance and the carrying of arms.[2] A noticeable shortage of grain in Rome gave rise to fears of a general famine within a short space of time. At the suggestion of Cardinal Pamfili the College of Cardinals decided unanimously that all the grain merchants of the city should be made to sell a third of their store to the public granary; from this store small quantities only were to be distributed, more especially to the farmers for sowing. Flour was also rationed and its quality reduced.[3]

Besides providing for the common welfare, the Cardinals also made arrangements for the coming election. The question arose as to whether Cardinals Noailles and Alberoni should be summoned to the conclave and, if so, in what manner. On March 20th the senior Cardinals, after weighing the matter, decided to place it before the entire College.[4] It was more or less clear that the invitation could not be omitted, as such a step might furnish a pretext for challenging the validity of the election.[5] At the session of the following day Fabroni alone was momentarily in favour of the omission of

of Innocent XIII. are also extensively discussed in the *Report of A. Corner, July 15, 1724, State Archives, Venice (see RANKE, III., 215* *seq.*).

[1] CRACAS, XVI., 576. Agosto Chigi was appointed marshal of the conclave; see the report in MAYER, 35 *seqq.* Congregations, exequies, etc., are fully described in Vitelleschi's *report, *Cod.* 5706, f. 1–54, State Library, Vienna.

[2] CRACAS, XVI., 579.

[3] Report in MAYER, 19 *seq.*

[4] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[5] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, *ibid.* *Cf.* NOVAES, XIII., 8.

the invitation. Finally all agreed that Noailles should be summoned with the other Cardinals,[1] all the more so as the French agent Lafitau had assured Cardinal Albani that Noailles would on no account [2] leave Paris. This decision became applicable to the case of Cardinal Alberoni. There nevertheless ensued a debate of an hour and a half,[3] mainly about the form of the invitation ; for at least officially nothing was known of his sojourn in Switzerland.[4]

At length it was agreed to issue two invitations for Alberoni ; one to the Archbishop of Genoa and one to the Bishop of Brugnato, either for transmission or, should this be necessary, for public promulgation. In order to eliminate the remotest pretext for the Cardinal's possible absence, a safe-conduct for his journey to Rome was issued to him, which was to be valid until ten days after the papal election.[5]

The assembled College received at this time the usual condolences of the diplomatic representatives ; on March 21st Medici spoke for Spain, Guelle for England, Cardinal Conti for Portugal, and on the following day Lafitau for France.[6]

On the evening of March 30th Clement XI. was laid in his

[1] *Discorso* in MAYER, 28 ; Barberini's *Diary, *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59, f. 4b, Vatican Library.

[2] Lafitau had discussed this matter with Albani ; see Lafitau to Dubois, March 19, 1721, in MICHAUD, 54. *Cf.* Acquaviva's second *report to Grimaldi of the same day, Simancas Archives.

[3] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, *ibid.*

[4] The report in MAYER, 25, supposes that many Cardinals were cognizant of this and that they were even in correspondence with him.

[5] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, and more fully, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives ; also Barberini's **Diary*, *loc. cit.*, f. 4b–6. *Cf.* the report in MAYER, 25 *seq.*, and PETRUCELLI, IV., 4. . The *Acts on the admission of Alberoni in *Cod.* 2961, Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library (WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 41) ; *An apologia of the Cardinal, *ibid.*, *Cod.* 2962.

[6] No special Portuguese ambassador had been delegated ; see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives.

final resting-place. Next morning the opening of the conclave was duly celebrated. Cardinal Tanara, as Dean, sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Afterwards twenty-seven Cardinals took part in the solemn entry up the monumental staircase of Constantine. Towards six in the evening, after several of the Cardinals had spent a short time in the afternoon in their palaces, and others had received distinguished visitors in their cells, the conclave was closed. However, the members increased almost daily, until at the end of the conclave, their number amounted to fifty-five.[1]

Of the sixty-eight Cardinals then alive, fifty-four had received the hat during the long pontificate of Clement XI.[2] Those created by Innocent XII. were: Boncompagni, Cornaro, Noailles, Paolucci, Sagripanti and Tanara; Altieri, Barberini, Giudice, Imperiali and Ottoboni belonged to the pontificate of Alexander VIII.; Pamfili owed his dignity to Innocent XI., Marescotti and Orsini theirs to his predecessor Clement X. Twelve Cardinals were unable to attend the conclave: they were the Spaniards Belluga and Borgia, the Portuguese Cunha and Pereira, the Frenchmen Gesvres, Noailles, Mailly and Polignac, the Fleming Boussu, whilst the German Cardinal of Saxony was detained by the Diet of Ratisbon. Marescotti and Fieschi excused themselves on the ground of

[1] At the beginning of the conclave, sixty at the most were expected; *cf.* the *Discorso* in MAYER, 100. The Florentine, Girolamo Maria Allegri, was appointed confessor. A list of the masters of ceremonies, servants and workmen who were admitted besides the conclavists is given in a report in MAYER, 43 *seqq.* CRACAS, XVI., 583, gives a list of the Cardinals present.

[2] They were Cardinals Albani, Alberoni, Althan, Acquaviva, Barbarigo, Belluga, Bentivoglio, Bissy, Borgia, Borromei, Boussu, Bussi, Niccolò and Iñigo Caracciolo, Cienfuegos, Colonna, Conti, Corradini, Corsini, Czacki, Cunha, Cusani, Davia, Fabroni, Fieschi, Gesvres, Gozzadini, Gualtieri, Mailly, Marini, Odescalchi, Olivieri, Origo, Paracciani, Patrizi, Pereira, Piazza, Pico, Pignatelli, Polignac, Priuli, Rohan, Ruffo, Cristiano Augusto di Sassonia, Salerni, Schönborn, Schrattenbach, Scotti, Spada, Giorgio and Niccolò Spinola, Tolomei, Vallemani, Zondadari.

old age. Illness obliged Cardinal Salerni to leave the conclave.[1] Ottoboni, though not yet in Holy Orders as required by Canon Law, was nevertheless allowed by the Sacred College to take part in the election.[2] The Cardinals present were divided into four parties, the adherents of Clement XI. and the "Zelanti" formed the curial group, the imperial and Bourbon Cardinals the political one. Clement XI.'s Cardinals were far too numerous and their influence, owing to the political estrangements of recent years, too divided, to admit of their blending into one homogeneous party. Cardinal Albani, as nephew of the late Pope, would have been the natural leader of the party had he been endowed with the necessary gift of leadership and ability.[3] Hence there were more malcontents than trusty followers, with the result that in an emergency Albani could only rely on a few members of his party, the number of which fluctuated, according to various estimates, between eight and fifteen.[4] The party of the "Zelanti" was even weaker and more insignificant, largely owing to the character of its leader Fabroni.[5] Its estimated membership was from six to eight; however, several of the Clementine party[6] and even Albani[7] were expected to join forces with them. In these circumstances the balance was bound to be in favour of the two political groups whose mutual opposition made itself felt from the

[1] Report in MAYER, 62; NOVAES, XIII., 8. Paracciani did not leave the conclave on April 28, as NOVAES (XIII., 7) reports; however, his illness was so grave that there was talk of such an eventuality; see the report in MAYER, 65, 71 *seq.*

[2] By the Brief "Eligibilitatis". Barberini's **Diary*, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Discorso* in MAYER, 102; the report, *ibid.*, 79.

[4] Properly speaking, he could have had forty-two followers and so have played a decisive part. "*Savie considerationi per formare un perfetto piano," *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] *Discorso* in MAYER, 103.

[6] "*Savie considerationi," *loc. cit.*

[7] PETRUCELLI, IV., 5. In MICHAUD, 60, as many as twelve *Zelanti* are mentioned.

first within the Sacred College; in fact it was the imperial and the Bourbon parties that decided the issue.

The court of Vienna was obliged, for the first time, to do without its alliance with Spain of so many centuries. In view of Clement XI.'s policy which, on the whole, had favoured the Bourbons, Vienna had every reason for following with redoubled interest and, if possible, for bringing its influence to bear upon the proceedings in the conclave.[1] The imperial party presumably disposed of upwards of twenty to twenty-five votes, in spite of the fact that among the Cardinals of the countries adjoining the Habsburg lands, Acquaviva was favourably inclined towards Spain, Salerni and Scotti towards Albani, Bissy and Cusani more towards France.[2] The two Portuguese Cardinals whom it was hoped to win over, failed to arrive in time for the election. Nevertheless the imperialists formed the strongest section.[3] The Austrian Government had lost no time in letting it be known which Cardinals were, or were not, acceptable to it. Already towards the close of Clement's reign, it had had a comprehensive character sketch of the whole College drawn up.[4] About mid-November, 1720, Cardinal Althan, in view of the expected early demise of the Pope who was dangerously sick, was instructed to send in yet a further report to Vienna.[5] This wish was fulfilled in a detailed letter

[1] On the keen interest of the Viennese court, see the Acts of the Consistorial Archives, Vatican Library, in EISLER, 318, and PETRUCELLI, IV., 7.

[2] The "savie considerationi" (*loc. cit.*) reckons on twenty-five votes without the five "diffidenti suddetti"; the report dating from the last days of Clement XI. "*Carattere dei cardinali" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican) reckons only on twenty-two.

[3] *Discorso* in MAYER, 103.

[4] *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Of course, the Cardinals favourable to the Emperor are represented as better, the others worse than they are in reality.

[5] "*Instruttione," dated November 16, 1720, *Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf. ibid.*, the imperial *letter, dated Vienna, October 14, 1720.

to the Emperor, dated January 21st, 1721. The first part dealt with the procedure of a papal election, the parties which would presumably prove decisive in the conclave, and furnished an accurate characterization of twenty-six *papabili*.[1] Althan also expressed the hope that in spite of the defection of Spain, the imperialists, if they but held close together, would be able to face the Bourbon party with twice as many votes ; however, the attitude of some of the Italian representatives of the Habsburgs was yet to be revealed.

On the day of the opening of the conclave, March 31st, Cardinal Althan received instructions from the Emperor [2] expressly commanding him to exclude Cardinals Paolucci, Olivieri and Sagripanti, and urging the inclusion of Pignatelli, Tanara, Conti, Spada, Boncompagni, Davia, Iñigo Carracciolo, Paracciani, Ruffo and Gozzadini.[3] The letter demanded the formal use of exclusion only in case of extreme necessity and recommended to Althan to await the arrival of Cardinal Cienfuegos who had taken part in the Vienna conferences.[4] In addition to consulting with Giudice, Schrattenbach and Czacki, he should, if possible, get in touch with the Cardinals subject to the Kings of Poland and Portugal.

Agreement in the Franco-Spanish party was promptly arrived at. Even before the conclave, the French ambassador in Rome, Lafitau, had approached the King of Spain with

[1] " Carattere dei cardinali formato dal sig. Principe di S. Croce, mandato a Vienna li 21 gennaio 1721," *ibid.*

[2] Imperial letter to Althan, dated March 31, 1721 (*ibid.*), published in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 314 *seq.*

[3] WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 188. This instruction reached Althan only on April 8 (**Diarium* under this date, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich) ; however, Althan had received an explicit order for the exclusion of Paolucci in December, 1720 ; this is made clear by Barberini's own *report in *Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 87, Vatican Library.

[4] On the caution with which Vienna proceeded, especially in the communication of inclusions and exclusions, *cf.* WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 185 *seq.*, and the reports, *ibid.*, 313 *seqq.*

the suggestion that Cardinals Acquaviva, Belluga and Borgia should join forces with France, seeing that the latter country was endeavouring to bring about a united front on the subject of exclusion, in opposition to the imperial plans. Simultaneously Acquaviva, in a special communication to Madrid,[1] repeated the same desire that France should be requested to send appropriate instructions to Lafitau. Moreover a further strengthening of the French party could be hoped for by the addition of Gualtieri, Patrizi, Bentivoglio, Origo and Pico.[2]

Had it not been for the tardy arrival of the Cardinals, the Bourbon party could have counted upon eleven to twelve votes.[3] Acquaviva feared, though without reason, that the imperialists would make a decisive move, in the very first days of the conclave, against an opposition that was still very weak.[4]

After the opening ballots Rohan at least entered the conclave [5] and at once showed his concern for the Spanish interests; before long a complete understanding between Acquaviva,[6] Pico, Bentivoglio and others [7] was effected.

[1] *To Grimaldi, March 25, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[2] How uncertain especially the Italo-Habsburg Cardinals were, may be gathered from " *Carattere dei cardinali ", *loc. cit.* On the position of the Venetians, *cf.* the *Discorso* in MAYER, 104; PETRUCELLI, IV., 5.

[3] Before the conclave the imperial party counted on fifteen votes (" *savie considerationi ", *loc. cit.*); on eleven, according to " *carattere dei cardinali ", *loc. cit.*

[4] Acquaviva's second *letter to Grimaldi, March 21, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[5] Dubois, March 29, 1721, urged Rohan very strongly to see to it that he arrived in time, MICHAUD, 56 *seq.*

[6] *Salvador Ascanio, Acquaviva's agent, to Grimaldi, dat. April 8, 1721, Simancas Archives, and *Acquaviva to the same, dated May 9, 1721, *ibid.*

[7] That these were friendly to Spain, as were Gualtieri and Ottoboni, was stated by Acquaviva in his second *letter to Grimaldi, March 19, 1721, and in that of his agent, Salv. Ascanio, April 6, to the same. Simancas Archives.

On the other hand, Acquaviva was unsuccessful in his appeals to the Spanish Government to hasten the arrival of the remaining Spanish Cardinals.[1] Even the royal instructions for the conclave did not come into Acquaviva's hands until May 7th, by which date the issue of the election was already decided.[2]

Thus at the beginning of the conclave, the prospects of all parties were very indefinite.[3] Only one fact was clear, namely that none of the four parties was in a position to decide the election of a Pope by its own strength alone.[4] How their mutual relations and alliances were likely to shape themselves depended entirely upon the character of the candidatures about to be put forward. But even on this point matters were not clear, except for the fundamental principle upon which all were tacitly agreed, namely that the new Pope must not be too young.[5] Another long pontificate like that of Clement XI., who outlived almost all his electors, was not desired.

On the present occasion the *papabili* were unusually numerous; no less than thirty names were mentioned, including not a few from earlier pontificates. Thus Cardinal

[1] Already in his *letter to Grimaldi, dat. March 18, 1721, *ibid.*, Acquaviva had urged them to be ready to travel by the shortest route from Barcelona to Civitavecchia. Further earnest exhortations are given in two *letters of Acquaviva of March 19 and in those of his agent, Salv. Ascanio of April 6 and 8, and as late as May 6 to Grimaldi, *ibid.*

[2] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, *ibid.*

[3] *Acquaviva's first letter to Grimaldi, dated March 19, *ibid.*

[4] *Discorso* in MAYER, 105.

[5] *Ibid.* With these personal considerations, political ones were likewise combined; *cf.* "*carattere dei cardinali" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican): "Ha ella [the Emperor] per causa de' suoi stati d'Italia necessità di portar al papato un cardinale di età decrepita, perché in questa età i pensieri sono naturalmente indrizzati alla quiete e l'animo suole essere alieno dal tentare cose nuove, che nel breve periodo di pochi anni non potrebbero consumarsi." *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 4.

Orsini, who dated from the pontificate of Clement X., was receiving serious consideration from a few.[1] Although his simple and austere manner was much esteemed, especially among the "Zelanti", the fact of his being a religious caused him to be regarded as unsuitable. Frequent mention was also made of the two surviving Cardinals of Innocent XI., Pamfili and Barbarigo. Pamfili was noted for his open and prudent action for the welfare of the people, his total independence of his relatives, his experience, and his knowledge of the state of the world; on the other hand he was known to be fond of money and parsimonious. Barbarigo, a Venetian by birth, was irreproachable in his manner of life; he may have been put forward because the process of the canonization of his uncle was then in progress.[2] Among Alexander VIII.'s Cardinals three were considered eligible, of whom Altieri, a sombre and enigmatic character, and Barberini, who was unpopular on account of his avarice, were but seldom mentioned, whereas Imperiali's name appears more frequently. Imperiali was on good terms with Austria and the "Zelanti", but less so with Albani; by the French he was regarded as an intriguer.

Among Innocent XII.'s Cardinals five stood a good chance. Cornaro was personally esteemed as a calm, just and highly gifted man, as his nunciature in Spain had shown; but apart from his being considered too young at 61, one obstacle to his election to the papacy lay in his friendship with France, and even more in his close relations with his brother, the Doge of Venice. Sagripanti, officious and too fond of money, was universally unpopular. Boncompagni did not lack

[1] The following characterization is chiefly based on the Austrian statements in: **Kardinals Kollegium*, "*Carattere dei cardinali," "*Savie considerationi," "**Discorso*: conghetture su cui può cadere l'elezione," no. 579 (*Arm.*, I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican), on the two reports in MAYER, 7 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*, on the French statements in MICHAUD, 57 *seqq.*, and on PETRUCELLI, IV., 6 *seqq.*

[2] Bishop Gregorio Barbarigo; *cf.* the present work, XXXII, 563 *seqq.*; XXXI., 131.

friends, but his political connections, especially with Spain,[1] made him appear less desirable. Paolucci, on the other hand, entered the conclave with excellent prospects. The Secretary of State was esteemed for his accommodating disposition. Personally indifferent to the secular Powers, he had greatly endeared himself with the people by his liberality towards the churches and the poor. He was naturally in high favour both with the Spanish court and with Albani, the latter, as a matter of fact, hoped with the concurrence of Spain and France, to win the tiara for him. However, Austria, and to some extent France also, were utterly averse to a continuance of the late Pope's policy, hence they offered decided opposition to his candidature. One of the foremost aspirants was the Cardinal Dean, Tanara, who had won for himself both esteem and goodwill during his nunciatures in Brussels, Cologne, Lisbon and Vienna, and whose relations with the Powers were not bad. He was also esteemed for his excellent business capacity. In spite of his 71 years he was sound both in body and mind, and therefore entirely fitted for the office.

But most of the *papabili*—nineteen in all—were to be found among the Cardinals created by Clement XI. On the French side, for courtesy's sake, the names of Acquaviva, Albani, Gualtieri and Giudice were mentioned, but these candidates, either on the ground of their being too pronounced friends of France, or for other political reasons, would never have obtained the imperial assent. Odescalchi and Spinola were also occasionally mentioned.

On the other hand Pignatelli was regarded as a general favourite. The life of the former Theatine, whose conduct was a model for all, made him acceptable to the "Zelanti". His family, of which Innocent XII. had been a member, enjoyed the special favour of the Vienese court, as well as a measure of esteem on the part of France. The only grounds of hesitation on the part of the Bourbon party were the fact that his brother, the Vice-Regent of Sicily, had greatly

[1] Through the Princess of Piombino; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 10.

distinguished himself in the service of the Habsburgs, at the reoccupation of Naples, and the Cardinal's continual ill health. But he was the first Cardinal created by Clement XI., and this fact sufficed to secure for him Albani's favour. Both groups, Austria and Albani, worked zealously in the conclave for his promotion; Spain's intervention alone defeated them. Corsini also stood in high favour at the beginning of the conclave. His detachment from his family, his culture, his intellectual alertness, his uprightness and his love of justice, had earned for him the highest reputation. At the outset he was recommended by Austria, but was ruled out for various reasons by the French, the Spaniards and—in view of the burning question of the succession in Tuscany [1]—by the German party also. Gozzadini, a learned and upright man, of pleasing appearance, was also considered by the imperial party. But French interests and possibly the thought of his numerous and needy relations stood in his way. Conti was well known for his adroitness and skill in secular affairs [2]; he belonged to a distinguished family which in the past had given many Popes to the Church. As nuncio in Portugal and Switzerland he had gained both experience and friends; the Emperor also held him in respect. As his close connections with Lisbon carried little weight, France also kept him in view.

Less likely, yet deserving of consideration, were some other Cardinals of Clement XI. Thus the choice of the much respected Jesuit Tolomei was open to no objection. Paracciani and Vallemani were, however, too old and feeble. Fieschi was connected with France by the closest family ties, whilst Iñigo Caracciolo, as a Neapolitan, had to contend with political difficulties, hence neither could obtain general recognition. The same was true of Cusani who showed great leanings towards France, and of Scotti whose family was

[1] *Ibid.*, 13.

[2] "*È di complessione non sana, di naturale politico. . . . I suoi parenti sono stimati Angioini ed egli troppo giovane per esser eletto" [He was 66 years old!]. Carattere dei cardinali, *loc. cit.*

none too well disposed towards the Emperor.[1] There were objections of a personal character to Patrizi as well as to Fabroni, the leader of the "Zelanti", on account of the latter's attitude towards France at the time of the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The remaining *papabili* of Clement XI. were all deemed too young. This was the case of Spada, of the group of the "Zelanti", who led an extraordinarily strict life [2] and was popular at every court. Davia, though widely esteemed for his talents and prudence, was objected to solely on account of his relations. Piazza also was said to be experienced and had many friends. There were strong political forces at work against Corradini who, as a typical scholar, had hardly ever been out of Rome but was believed to be to some extent responsible for the war between the Papal States and Austria. Origo's reputation for cunning and his anti-imperialist tendencies, Olivieri's near relationship to,[3] and Bussi's all too great dependence on the House of Albani,[4] could hardly be regarded as good recommendations.

With such an unusually large number of candidates, and such strong divergences within the Sacred College, it was impossible to make any definite prediction about the result of the negotiations, but it was generally expected that, in the circumstances, the conclave would be a long one.[5]

It is not likely that anyone of the twenty-seven Cardinals who, on the evening of March 31st, were enclosed in the conclave, suspected in any way how lively, in spite of their small numbers, the first phase of the election was going to be.

[1] On the other hand, he was blamed for his attachment to Austria; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 7.

[2] "Ma secco e dedito al zelo ed ai rigori." *Ibid.*

[3] Pasquino called him "prince Eugène de la dynastie Albani". *Ibid.*

[4] "Le Benjamin d'Albani." *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* On the other hand, some were anxious to speed up matters; thus Albani who did not wish to await the arrival of Alberoni, and Ottoboni, who did not want to meet Rohan. *Cf.* MICHAUD, 55 *seq.*

The following morning saw them assembled in the Sistine Chapel for the first ballot.[1] Much to their surprise Paolucci received eight votes and two more in the *accessus*. It was evident that Albani, taking advantage of the small number of the electors and the wide-spread desire for a short conclave, strove to secure the pontificate for his uncle's Secretary of State; those present, for the most part created by Clement XI., could, in his opinion, best show their gratitude by giving their consent.[2] Althan, the imperial representative, was visibly angered by such a suggestion and retired in silence to his cell. Albani called upon him there, in the hope of calming him by representing to him that, at the moment, in the absence of forty electors, a decision would hardly be reached.[3] Nevertheless, in consequence of secret negotiations,[4] Paolucci's prospects increased considerably. At the evening scrutiny of the same day, nine votes fell to his name—that is, one more than in the morning. Althan had no alternative but to call immediately upon the Cardinal Dean, to inform him of the imperial exclusion of this candidate. Tanara did not allow this to interfere with the course of the conclave; in subsequent ballots, Paolucci's prospects shaped themselves in such a way that only three more votes were needed for a three-quarter's majority.[5] Althan now felt obliged to take extreme measures. He solemnly pronounced his veto against Paolucci and, walking up to each Cardinal in turn, he repeated the protest in the Emperor's name to each of them individually.[6] Albani's party and those of the "Zelanti" who had

[1] For all the scrutinies of this conclave, see *Fogli de' scrutinii per il conclave, nel quale fu assunto al pontificato il sig. card. M. A. Conti con il nome d'Innocenzo XIII. l'a, 1721, *Cod. Barb.* 4447, Vatican Library.

[2] Report in MAYER, 47.

[3] Althan's *Diarium for April 1, 1721, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich.

[4] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Arch.

[5] On the question of the accurate counting of the votes, *cf.* WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 13 *seqq.*

[6] Althan's **Diarium* for April 1, *loc. cit.* (published according to the Viennese Codex in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 311

joined him, were exceedingly surprised.[1] The meeting was adjourned, and the members separated amid general consternation. Paolucci, who was most affected, was prepared to withdraw, though not without expressing his amazement at such proceedings. There was no sleep for Althan that night; he returned to his cell in a feverish condition in consequence of his great excitement, and sent for the physician.[2] The whole night was spent in negotiations and the Emperor's representative had a personal interview with Albani between two and four o'clock in the morning.[3] The result was soon revealed.

At the scrutiny of the following morning Althan reiterated the imperial veto[4]; not a single vote fell to Paolucci.[5] The excitement had died down. Rohan, France's official representative, who entered the conclave on the same day and called on Althan in the afternoon, thanked the Cardinal in the name of France for his decisive action against Paolucci.[6] This sealed the latter's fate.[7] For all that, on April 4th,

seq.); Barberini's *report in *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 59, f. 86 *seq.*, Vatican Library (extracts in WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 4 *seqq.*). Acquaviva's *report through Salv. Ascanio to Grimaldi, April 1, Ascanio's *letter of April 6, his second *letter of April 8, and Acquaviva's *general report of May 9, 1721, to Grimaldi, Simancas Archives; Lafitau to Dubois, April 7, 1721, in MICHAUD, 306; Report in MAYER, 48 *seqq.*

[1] Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.* (WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 5).

[2] Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.*, f. 86 *seq.*

[3] Althan's **Diarium* for April 1, 1721, *loc. cit.* Later, Althan still negotiated with Conti; see *ibid.*

[4] Barberini's *report, *loc. cit.*, f. 16b (in WAHRMUND, *loc. cit.*, 7).

[5] Althan's **Diarium* for April 2, 1721, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Ibid.* France feared that if Paolucci were Pope, Fabroni would be made Secretary of State; the latter's attitude on the question of the Bull *Unigenitus* had given little satisfaction in France; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 12.

[7] On this public exclusion by Althan, see EISLER, 183; GAUGUSCH, 180 *seq.*; LECTOR, 565; NOVAES, XIII., 8 *seq.*; VIDAL, 64; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 186 *seq.*; Id. in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, esp. p. 9 *seqq.*

Tanara gave his vote to Paolucci, though he was alone in doing so, and on April 9th he even obtained four votes; the reason may have been a desire to ascertain whether the latest instructions from Vienna continued to insist on the exclusion.[1] However, supported by Rohan,[2] Althan pronounced the exclusion for the third time.[3] Albani subsequently assured him that he had had nothing to do with the new move which, he alleged, had come from the "Zelanti".[4] A period of calm negotiations now began and purely as a matter of form, scrutinies continued to be held in which any one name rarely received more than four to six votes.

Albani's unsuccessful attempt on behalf of Paolucci led to a certain *rapprochement* between the political parties. Rohan was not long in establishing an understanding with Spain; on April 4th he wrote to his sovereign about a new plan for a "union of the crowns".[5] Althan was not averse to this. On the other hand the alliance between the nephew and the "Zelanti" was not of long duration. It was even said that in their mutual discussions Albani and Pamfili treated each other none too courteously.[6]

About this time a fresh incident aroused the interest of the Cardinals and of the whole of Rome, viz. the arrival of Alberoni. In the very first days of the conclave the latter had sent word from Bologna of his early arrival and prayed for a fresh safe-conduct. The answer of the Sacred College

[1] WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 188.

[2] Althan's **Diarium* for April 9, 1721, *loc. cit.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 188.

[3] **Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 17, Vatican Library (WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, p. 8). Althan had announced a repetition of his exclusion as soon as three votes were given to Paolucci; *cf.* his **Diarium*, *loc. cit.*

[4] About the middle of the month the "Zelanti" had not as yet given up all hope for Paolucci; *cf.* De la Chausse to Dubois, April 15, 1721, in MICHAUD, 307.

[5] *Ibid.*, 305.

[6] Rohan to the King, April 4, 1721: "Outre les invectives et les menaces on assure que Pamphile ayant été traité de fou par M. le card. Albani, lui jeta son écritoire à la tête" (in MICHAUD, 305). On April 8, Rohan reports fresh difficulties (*ibid.*, 306).

was couched in the most courteous terms. On April 7th the once so powerful Spanish statesman entered the Pope's capital amid immense crowds of curious spectators who had taken their places near the Ponte Molle several hours before he was due to arrive.[1] He entered the conclave on the following day, when he was received by Albani and Paolucci who happened to be the ushers for that day. In the Sacred College he played a most modest and humble rôle, as no one wished to exchange a word with him.[2] Ottoboni and Corsini alone called on him that same evening, with a view to winning him over to the French party. They failed in their attempt [3]; subsequently also Alberoni spent the time of the conclave in settling his own affairs,[4] rather than in taking an active part in the business of the election.

The situation remained confused, but Albani managed to establish at least a negatively united front among his uncle's Cardinals; as a token of regard for the late Pope and his family they agreed not to vote for any of the *papabili* of the previous pontificates.[5] Boncompagni made an unsuccessful

[1] The report in MAYER, 56 *seqq.*, gives a very enthusiastic account of Alberoni. *Cf.* vol. XXXIII., p. 169 *seqq.*, for his subsequent fortunes.

[2] Rohan to the King, April 15, 1721, in MICHAUD, 307. *Cf.* Althan's **Diarium* for April 8: "Fu ricevuto con poca dimostrazione." *Cod. ital.*, 55, National Library, Munich.

[3] PETRUCELLI, IV., 13. Alberoni remained faithful to Spain and spoke of the Spanish King con "infinito respecto". *Salv. Ascanio to Grimaldi, April 14, 1721, Simancas Arch.

[4] In order to shield himself against persecution he was anxious to attach himself not only to France (Lafitau to the King, April 22, 1721, in MICHAUD, 309), but to the Imperialists also (*Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 1, 1721, from the conclave, Simancas Archives). Albani and Spain were the least favourable to him (MICHAUD, *loc. cit.*). On Alberoni's attempt to justify himself before the Cardinal-Deacon, Astalli, made shortly before, *cf.* his "*Sommario aggiunto alla sua giustificazione", in *Cod.* 14296, State Library, Vienna. *Ibid.*, *Cod.* 6062, A *Life of Alberoni.

[5] Salv. Ascanio's second *letter to Grimaldi of April 14, Simancas Archives; Barberini's *report in *Cod. Barb.*, 4684, f. 21, Vatican Library; Report in MAYER, 80.

attempt to bring about a similar though not quite so important an understanding among the five Cardinals of Innocent XII., but when he sought to ally himself with Althan, the latter rejected his proposals.[1] The "Zelanti" too made no serious advance in favour of their own candidate, Spada.

After Albani had achieved what could still be achieved, he remained throughout the course of subsequent events, no more than a starting-point for the political parties which now began to play a decisive part in the negotiations.

France had courted betimes the favour of the still influential nephew. Even before the opening of the conclave 30,000 Roman florins had been sent to Rohan for the benefit of Albani,[2] but several weeks went by before the latter allowed himself to be definitely bound. Meanwhile, at France's instigation, Cornaro was being put forward, chiefly by Ottoboni, who had also received a gift of 30,000 livres and who, as soon as Rohan had arrived, assured him of his unreserved compliance with the wishes of Paris.[3] However, the Germans energetically opposed the septuagenarian Cornaro.[4] Ottoboni, whose diplomacy in this affair was not regarded as particularly astute,[5] thereupon undertook a campaign in favour of Corsini whom Acquaviva had at one time described as not unacceptable[6] and who had momentarily received some support from the imperialists.[7] However, at this juncture Rohan

[1] Althan's **Diarium* for April 21, 1721, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich.

[2] Besides this, nearly 50,000 livres for pensions to other Cardinals. Dubois to Rohan, March 29, 1721, in MICHAUD, 56 *seq.*

[3] Ottoboni to Dubois, April 2, 1721, *ibid.*, 304.

[4] Althan's **Diarium* (*loc. cit.*), for April 20; "poco abile al governo."

[5] Report in MAYER, 66.

[6] Because the Tuscan vassals desired the succession of the Infante Carlo and Corsini also was certainly in favour of it. Salv. Ascanio's second *letter to Grimaldi, April 14, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[7] At a later date, Althan was of opinion that Corsini, as a Florentine, would not be taken into consideration (**Diarium* for May 3, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* above, p. 13.

made difficulties on account of Corsini's action in connection with the Bull *Unigenitus*.[1]

In the course of conversations between Rohan and Albani a number of names were put forward, as for instance, those of Paracciani, Gozzadini and, for a time, that of Iñigo Caracciolo. This aged Cardinal was free from every suspicion of nepotism and might possibly hope for the goodwill of the imperial and Spanish party. But the Germans were not wholly in his favour on account of his friendship with Imperiali, in fact Althan and Cienfuegos were actually working for his exclusion and in a short time they secured thirty-two adherents.[2] Another proposal, that of furthering the chances of Pico, proved less attractive to Albani.[3] In the end he agreed with the French on the name of Conti whose election was seriously considered from April 19th onwards.

Gualtieri and Albani took a particular interest in this new combination. Conti informed them through one of his conclavists that in the affairs of France he had never sought to exercise a decisive influence upon Clement XI.'s policy; more than anyone else he wished to hear both sides and would resist even the Cardinals of the Holy Office for the sake of a cause he knew to be a just one.[4] Only a few months earlier—he was doubly glad to recall the fact—he had spoken to the French ambassador of his very great eagerness for a speedy and satisfactory settlement of pending questions. As a final and decisive contribution on his part Conti promised to gratify the wish which was a determining factor in France's policy in regard to the conclave, namely the immediate bestowal of the red hat on Archbishop Dubois of Cambrai.[5]

[1] Acquaviva's *letter through Ascanio, April 22, 1721, and his *general report to Grimaldi of May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* Rohan to the King, April 19, 1721, in MICHAUD, 309.

[2] Althan's **Diarium* for April 23, *loc. cit.*

[3] Rohan to the King, April 19, in MICHAUD, 308.

[4] Lafitau to the King, April 22, *ibid.*, 309 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Dubois' urgent letters to Lafitau of April 6, and to Rohan of April 9, in MICHAUD, 305 *seq.* In the letter of April 9, he says: "Je ferai courageusement tous les sacrifices qu'il

Ottoboni too allowed himself to be gradually won over to Conti's side: by the end of the month most of Albani's followers had given their adhesion.

The nephew was no less ardently courted from the imperial side; Charles VI had given him a diamond ring and the promise of a yearly pension.[1] Albani began by assuring Althan that no candidature would be successful without his consent. When on April 8th Althan received the imperial instructions, he made various attempts in accordance with them, but about the middle of April he too began to side more and more with Conti against whom Vienna continued to offer some trifling objections; but these were finally disposed of, possibly by the action of the Queen of Portugal.[2]

Conti showed equal readiness to comply with the imperial proposals as with the French wishes. On April 18th, in the course of an interview with Althan, he expressed his profound devotion to and regard for the Emperor.[3] When two days later Cienfuegos entered the conclave with fresh instructions, there occurred no dislocation of the imperial party, as had been generally anticipated[4]; on the contrary, at this very time Althan sent a conclavist to Conti by night, to inform him that the Emperor was most favourably disposed towards

faudra faire sans murmurer." On April 22, Rohan communicated to him Conti's consent (in MICHAUD, 310). On the part of the conclavist and future Cardinal Tencin in these negotiations, see M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et missions du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 27 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.*

[1] PETRUCELLI, IV., 8. Althan's autograph account: *Quittung über Empfang und Ausgabe dessen so I. K. u. K. C. M. mirr zu denen geheimben Spesen allergenädtigst angewissenen Geltern (*Cod.* 8748, State Library, Vienna), gives, *inter alia*, also expenses to a conclavist and to a valet of Albani "for certain informations"; also, e.g., to Abb. Albicini "for a basket with secret drawers for taking my letters into the conclave", and for similar services.

[2] PETRUCELLI, IV., 14.

[3] Althan's **Diarium* for April 18, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Acquaviva through Salv. Ascanio to Grimaldi, April 29, 1721, Simancas Archives.

his person. When on April 25th Conti secured seven votes—maybe by accident—Althan was suspected of an intention of forcing the election through before the arrival of the missing Cardinals. A slight difficulty arose from the rumour that in the event of his elevation Conti intended to make Giorgio Spinola his Secretary of State and Origo his Datarius.[1] Althan let him know that the Emperor emphatically disapproved of such appointments and submitted the names of other candidates, namely Ruffo and Corradini. Conti's conclavist brought his master's reply which, though evasive, was nevertheless regarded as satisfactory enough for the time being.[2] On April 24th the discussions assumed a really serious character: the two great political Powers seemed on the point of agreement on Conti when some further obstacles unexpectedly blocked the way. The most serious was Acquaviva's refusal to collaborate, on the ground that Conti's previous conduct as nuncio in Lisbon had at no time met with the approval of Spain. With complete disregard of all previous agreements, Acquaviva broke with Rohan[3] and even threatened with a Spanish veto.[4] At the same time a number of libellous pamphlets, in which Conti was taxed with Jansenism, were being circulated in the city and even smuggled into the conclave.[5] The Duke of Parma, who had

[1] Conti had at first chosen Imperiali for that post, but on Acquaviva's suggestion he thought of Spinola. PETRUCELLI, IV., 15.

[2] Althan's **Diarium* for April 25, *loc. cit.* According to this Conti's conclavist replied, "ch'il suo cardinale non aveva preso impegno alcuno nè l'averebbe preso, e che perciò ne poteva vivere riposato." Later Conti complied with Althan's wishes in a small way by creating Corradini his *Datarius*; see below, p. 30.

[3] PETRUCELLI, IV., 10.

[4] Lafitau to Dubois, April 22, in MICHAUD, 310.

[5] Rohan to the King, April 29, 1721, in MICHAUD, 312. Such a libel also came into the hands of Althan (**Diarium* for April 29, *loc. cit.*). Rohan made use of these in order to ascertain the opinions of some of the Cardinals about Conti by asking them innocently what they thought of these accusations; Corradini and Tolomei answered in favour of Conti, Fabroni unfavourably.

often acted as intermediary between Acquaviva and Madrid, had approached the Queen of Spain in favour of Conti some time before; as a matter of fact he was now in a position, in these first days of May, to forward a favourable answer to Conti and Acquaviva.[1] Acquaviva continued for a time to urge that the election should be deferred until the arrival of the two Spanish Cardinals, but after a few days he was forced to give up the idea.[2] Strangely enough a further delay was occasioned by Austria. On April 28th a courier brought a message from Bologna announcing the imminent arrival of Count Kinsky, ambassador extraordinary of the Emperor. Kinsky reached Rome at about one o'clock in the morning. On the following day Althan and Cienfuegos negotiated with him at the window of the conclave; they particularly pressed him to hasten the arrival of Cardinals Schönborn, Czacki and Pignatelli who were still absent. On May 1st Kinsky, escorted by a splendid cortège, was admitted to the Sala Regia of the conclave where, in the name of the Emperor, he addressed an eloquent discourse to the Sacred College.[3] The important thing was that Kinsky now took active measures to carry out, at least formally, the imperial instructions which pointed to Pignatelli and Tanara and only in the last instance to Conti.[4] Pignatelli, old and infirm as he was, was now made to enter the conclave on the plea that there was question of his election. However, Althan disclosed to him on the very first evening the insuperable difficulties he had already encountered with regard to his person: the Spanish Government had decided to exclude

[1] PETRUCELLI, IV., 15.

[2] WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 189.

[3] The "Capi d'ordini" were precisely Conti and Giudice, the latter replied to Kinsky's address; see Althan's **Diarium* for April 29 and May 1, *loc. cit.*; *Acquaviva to Grimaldi from the conclave, May 1, Simancas Archives; CRACAS, XVII., 594.

[4] All the original instructions of the Emperor to the ambassadors are in the Kinsky Archives, Chlumetz on the Cidlina; see *Archivalien zur neueren Gesch. Österreichs, hrsg. ius Auftrag der Komm. f. neuere Gesch. Österreichs*, Vol. I., No. 4, Vienna, 1913.

him[1] and France and the "Zelanti" were likewise against him. Thereupon Pignatelli withdrew his candidature. Nor would any action in favour of Tanara have had better prospects in existing circumstances.[2] He would certainly be excluded by the votes of Albani and the Cardinals of Clement XI. Moreover, Kinsky's influence could be detected in the fact that Imperiali, Paolucci and Fabroni resumed their activity on behalf of Spada. Even Albani was willing to join them as soon as Althan was ready to drop Conti.[3]

Thus there was no alternative for the Emperor's representative except to work unhesitatingly for Conti. Ottoboni had dropped his former plans; Cienfuegos who had latterly spread unfavourable reports about Conti's work at Lisbon, also yielded and Albani's party agreed unanimously on May 3rd. On May 5th Rohan and Althan, who until then had each pursued his own policy, agreed on the person of Conti and at once informed Albani of the fact. This decided the issue of the election.[4] Even the hitherto reluctant "Zelanti" were now won over by various promises. During the night of May 5th or 6th Albani, Origo, Spinola and Corradini carried out a preliminary poll; when the result was examined in the morning in Albani's cell, it was seen that there remained only two undecided votes and one against, namely, that of Fabroni.[5] Althan informed Conti of this happy development. Eventually Fabroni's opposition was likewise overcome.[6]

[1] "*Estoy en animo de darle una manifesta exclusiva en caso necessario" (Acquaviva to Grimaldi, May 1, from the conclave, Simancas Archives). *Cf.* Althan's **Diarium* for May 4 and 5, *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich, and PETRUCELLI, IV., 16.

[2] PETRUCELLI, IV., 16.

[3] Althan's **Diarium* for April 30, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* Althan's **Diarium* for those days, *loc. cit.*, and the letters in MICHAUD, 317 *seqq.* The nine votes for Cornaro on April 29 and the ten for Corsini later on, and even the twenty-two for the same in the last days, were mere acts of courtesy on the part of their friends.

[5] PETRUCELLI, IV., 16 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 17.

On the morning of May 7th it became generally known that Conti's election could be considered as certain. In the course of the morning he was visited by Acquaviva, Rohan, Bissy and Gualtieri, who informed him of the approval of the Spanish, French and English [1] Governments. Althan did the same before the evening ballot in the name of the imperial Government. In the evening all the Cardinals met in Conti's cell to congratulate him on his forthcoming election. When Althan subsequently transmitted to him special congratulations in the name of the Emperor, Conti took advantage of the circumstance to express his unswerving devotion to the Emperor.[2] He likewise renewed the assurances previously made by him to France.[3]

The election was purposely postponed until May 8th, feast of St. Michael, Conti's patron. In the early hours of that day, in the seventy-fifth ballot of this conclave, on the fiftieth day after the death of Clement XI., he was unanimously elected as Chief Shepherd of the Church by all the fifty-four Cardinals: Conti's own vote went to the Cardinal Dean. Enthusiasm was general.[4] The first congratulations to the new Pope came from the King and Queen of England who entered the conclave and witnessed from a tribune the "adoratio" of the Cardinals.[5]

[1] On Gualtieri, see Barberini's *report in *Cod. Barb.* 4684, f. 27 (Vatican Library): "parimente additto alla Francia et protettore d'Inghilterra essendo per tutto il tempo del presente conclave caminati concordi et unanimi."

[2] Althan's **Diarium* for May 7 (*loc. cit.*): "E gli [to my conclavist] rinovò le infinite obligazioni che professava alla Maestà Vra, dichiarandoglisi che lui riconosceva il papato prima da Dio e poi dalla Maestà Vra."

[3] The French conditions in the exact text as transmitted by a conclavist of Rohan to Dubois on May 7 are in MICHAUD, 319 *seqq.*

[4] It is said that when the required two-thirds' majority was attained, the first scrutator banged his fist upon the table for joy. PETRUCELLI, IV., 17.

[5] Acquaviva's *general report to Grimaldi, May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives.

Cardinal Pamfili proclaimed the happy result of the election to the expectant multitude from the loggia of St. Peter's.[1] When the new Pope, who took the name of Innocent, came down into the basilica, he was greeted with loud acclamations. The Austrian Cardinals, who were credited with the result of the election by the public, were escorted to their residences by enthusiastic crowds.[2] The King of France also was not long in sending a message expressing his complete satisfaction,[3] whilst Cardinal Acquaviva, who assuredly had been no friend of Conti, thus concluded his report to the Spanish Government[4]: "Everybody has joyously applauded the elevation to the Chair of St. Peter of a man of sterling qualities and sprung from a noble Roman family, one whose sense of justice, farsightedness and grasp of things—which eminently fit him for the duties of a ruler—will give complete satisfaction to all other princes." A Spanish veto against Conti procured at the last moment through Jesuit influence, arrived too late.[5]

(2.)

The new Pope took the name of Innocent, after the most illustrious member of his family, Innocent III. The latter's brother Richard, Count of Sora, whose memory is recalled to this day in Rome by the huge Torre de' Conti,[6] had received

[1] Vitelleschi's *Relazione, *Cod.* 5706, p. 116, State Library, Vienna; CRACAS, XVII., 597; Report in MAYER, 86 *seq.* On the poetical homages at the election of Conti, *cf.* CANCELLIERI *Possessi*, 341, n. 2, for his coronation on May 18 (see NOVAES, XIII., 11), *ibid.*, n. 3.

[2] Althan's **Diarium* for May 8 (*loc. cit.*): "una infinità di popolo gridando sempre: Viva la Maestà Vestra!"

[3] "Le cardinal Conti est un de ceux qui je verrais avec le plus de satisfaction remplir le Saint-Siège." MICHAUD, 323.

[4] Acquaviva's *general report to Grimaldi of May 9, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[5] PETRUCELLI, IV., 18.

[6] Torre de' Conti.

from the great Pope the fiefs of Poli and Guadagnoli.[1] At Poli, a small town north of Palestrina, situate amidst magnificent mountain scenery, Michelangelo de' Conti saw the light of day in the ponderous Barons' palace, on May 13th, 1655.[2] His parents, Carlo and Isabella, *née* Muti, were in the habit of spending the greater part of the year there. The young nobleman began his studies at Ancona, of which his uncle was Bishop; afterwards he frequented the Roman College of the Jesuits. Alexander VIII. made him an honorary Chamberlain and entrusted him in 1690 with the mission of taking a blest sword and hat to the Doge Francesco Morosini. After entering the prelature under Innocent XII., Conti was first made Governor of Ascoli, then of Frosinone and lastly of Viterbo in 1693. In the palace of the *Conservatori* of that town an inscription recalls the splendid work of the Governor in restoring the buildings and improving the streets of the city after an earthquake.[3] In June, 1695, the Pope named him nuncio to Switzerland with the title of Archbishop of

[1] GREGOROVIUS V.[3], 34–6; G. CASCIOLI, *Memorie storiche di Poli*, Roma, 1896, 79. Poli remained in possession of the Conti until their extinction in 1808; it then passed to the Sforza-Cesarini, and in 1820 to the Torlonia; see NIBBY, *Analisi*, II.[2], 569. On the Conti family, which is of Germanic origin, see CONTELORIUS, *Genealogia famil. Comitum*, Romae, 1650; RATTI, *fam. Sforza*, II.; CASCIOLI, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also *Leben Papstes Innocentii des 13*, Köln, 1724. When, in 1920, the restoration of the church of S. Stefano at Poli was begun, the graves of the father of Innocent XIII., Carlo (*ob.* 1690) and of his mother, Isabella Muti (*ob.* 1687), were discovered.

[2] Not at Rome, as has been generally believed up to now; see CASCIOLI, 215, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 479. Many biographical notes on the pontificate of Innocent XIII. are also to be found in a miscellany of the Bibl. Bertoliana, Vicenza.

[3] CASCIOLI, 216. A short *biography, "Michelangelo Conti," with a special reference to his merits and relations to this town, is preserved in the Viterbo Archives. A street of the town was named after him ("Conti", now "Garibaldi"). In the episcopal palace an inscription on stone of the year 1806 also recalls his memory.

Tarsus.[1] In 1698 he went to Lisbon where he gained in a high degree the confidence of the court, more especially that of Queen Mary Anne, a sister of the Emperor Charles VI.[2] On June 7th, 1706, Clement XI. made him a Cardinal though he left him, as internuncio, in the Portuguese capital until 1709. He only returned to Rome in 1710, where he acted as Protector of Portugal until 1712. In 1712 he exchanged the See of Osimo, which he had obtained in 1709, for that of Viterbo, which he was obliged to resign in 1719 for reasons of health.[3]

Contemporary accounts bear unanimous witness to the excellent way in which Conti acquitted himself in the offices entrusted to him,[4] as well as to his blameless life and great prudence. They insist in particular on the excellent relations which his diplomatic skill enabled him to maintain with all the Powers.[5] The circumstance that the Portuguese Government was particularly well disposed towards him could hardly injure his prospects owing to the slender political importance of that State. On the other hand the French did not forget the fact that he had encouraged Portugal to side with the Grand Alliance.[6]

[1] KARTTUNEN, 240. Conti's *reports in *Nunziat. di Svizz.*, 89–91, the *Instructions given to him, *ibid.*, 247 and 159, Papal Secret Archives. Conti's " *Relazione circa li 13 cantoni Svizzeri " in *Ottob.* 2707, p. 45 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. On May 5, 1697, Conti consecrated the imposing new church of the Abbey of Muri; see HÜRBIN in *Festschrift für Knöpfler* (1907), 97.

[2] **Nunziat. di Portogallo*, 54–67, 161–3, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*

[4] On a long dispute about the right of the first fruits between M. Conti and the Jesuits, see FRANCO, **Synopsis Annatum*, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

[5] See the *report on the College of Cardinals, drawn up at the end of the pontificate of Clement XI. for the Emperor, and the **Discorso* on the conclave of 1721 (translated in M. v. MAYER), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf.* Lafitau's report in MICHAUD, 58.

[6] *Mémoire* of May 13, 1721, *ibid.*, 324.

Innocent XIII. was of middle height and very stout, with a round face and a long and unsightly nose.[1] Though the new Pope was not born in the Eternal City, the Romans regarded him as one of themselves; hence on the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran, there was a display of unusual pomp which ill became the seriousness of the time. The fronts of all the houses and churches which the Pope passed on his way to the Lateran were decorated with magnificent tapestries and numerous inscriptions. Near the Capitol and the Arches of Septimus Severus and Titus, triumphal arches had been erected from designs by Alessandro Specchi and these were lavishly adorned with inscriptions, paintings and stucco statues.[2] The Pope stood very much on his dignity. Cardinals and ambassadors were alone permitted to be seated in his presence; even his intimates were treated with grave dignity. He would not tolerate any violent demeanour. When the envoy of Malta pressed his demand for help against the Turks far too impetuously the Pope promptly rang his bell and the audience was at an end.[3]

Innocent XIII. granted audiences but sparingly: even his ministers found access to his person difficult.[4] This was due, in the first instance, to the bad state of his health. Although only 66 years old, his energy was spent and gravel sapped his health which was further injured by lack of exercise which the Pope could not indulge in on account of his

[1] MICHAUD, 58; NOVAES, XIII., 41. Portraits by Hier. de Rossi, in GUARNACCI, II., 381, and by Ant. David; *cf.* THIEME, VIII., 449; DRUGULIN, *Porträtkatalog* 9833.

[2] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 341 *seqq.* In his *report to Grimaldi of November 22, 1721, Acquaviva speaks of the festivity as "solemnidad mas lucida que se haya visto de mucho tiempo". Simancas Archives.

[3] "*Relazione di Andrea Corner" of 1724, State Archives, Venice, extract in RANKE, III., 216*.

[4] Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, July 1, 1721, Simancas Archives.

stoutness; in this way he increased his weight still further. No one dared to promise him a long life.[1]

The slender prospects of a long pontificate were all the more regrettable as the new Pope was not lacking in excellent qualities. This was seen in his very first appointments, which were almost universally applauded.[2] The Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Paracciani, had died on the day of the papal election. To succeed him Innocent XIII. appointed Cardinal Paolucci, Clement XI.'s Secretary of State. Cardinal Olivieri was confirmed in his office of Secretary of Briefs. Cardinal Corradini became Datarius, Cardinal Giorgio Spinola Secretary of State; as nuncio at Madrid (1711–1713) and Vienna (1713–1720) the latter had become thoroughly acquainted with all the more important affairs of State.[3] Riviera, who was on particularly good terms with Cardinals Acquaviva and Rohan, became Secretary of the *Cifra*, Scaglioni became Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Passionei Secretary for Latin Briefs, Giudice was made *Maggiordomo* and Doria *Maestro di Camera*.[4]

Some misgivings arose when Innocent XIII. elevated his brother Bernardo Maria Conti to the cardinalate as early as June 20th, 1721.[5] Happily, however, nepotism did not revive. The Cardinal nephew received not a *soldo* beyond the sum stipulated by the Bull of Innocent XII. The Pope himself blessed the marriage of his nephew Marcantonio Conti; on

[1] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *letters to Grimaldi, July 1 and August 23 ("De verdad pocos son los que le predicen una larga vida siendo sus humores muy torpes), and December 23, 1721, *ibid.*

[2] See Acquaviva's detailed *report to Grimaldi, May 13, 1721, *ibid.*

[3] To distinguish him from his namesake, he was called after his church "cardenal de S. Ines". *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, *loc. cit.*

[4] Acquaviva's *letter of May 13, 1721, *loc. cit.*; NOVAES, XIII., 13 *seq.*; "*Ruolo della famiglia di Innocenzo XIII.," in Conti Archives, which are now in Prince Ruspoli's Archives, Rome.

[5] **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2919, Vatican Library; GUARNACCI, II., 393 *seqq.* The promotion of Dubois of Cambrai occurred at the same time; see below, p. 42.

another nephew, Carlo Conti, he bestowed the Grand Cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. But that was all; expectations of the Roman families related to Innocent XIII. remained likewise unfulfilled.[1]

In keeping with his peaceable disposition [2] Innocent XIII. deemed it his first duty to settle the disputes which had arisen between his predecessors and the Catholic Powers; above all he sought to re-establish good relations [3] with the Emperor Charles VI. with whom he had always been on the best of terms as a Cardinal and who had had a good deal to do with his election.[4] One of Charles VI.'s main aspirations was to receive the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily which had been denied him for more than twenty years. The Emperor's representative Althan did his utmost to bring this about. When the Pope did not at once comply with his request, Charles complained, on June 18th, 1721, of ungratefulness and spoke of the return of the unhappy time of Clement XI.[5] The Emperor was mistaken: Innocent XIII. was inclined to yield but not to precipitate things. On June 1st, 1722, he requested the Cardinals to examine once

[1] "*Relazione di A. Corner," *loc. cit.*; CRACAS, February 21, and March 14, 1722.

[2] "Il suo naturale è placido," says the *report to the Emperor on the Cardinals of Clement XI., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] *Brief of August 11, 1721, *Epist. ad princ.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

[4] In an *autograph letter in which Innocent, on May 14, 1721, announces his election to the Emperor, he assures him of his gratitude: "Anzi la gran parte che la M. V. col mezzo dei cardinali nazionali et aderenti e del conte Kinski suo ambasciatore straordinario al s. Collegio ha voluto avere nella Nostra esaltazione, c'impegna a giustificare e rendere plausibile al mondo questa sua benignissima opera" (*Lettere* 42, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* above, p. 26, n. 5.

[5] *Letter of Charles VI. to the ambassador extraordinary, Count Ferdinand Franz Kinsky, June 18, 1721, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In the *instruction to Cardinal Althan, dat. June 18, 1721, complaints are made about the violation of the concordats.

more the Holy See's claims to Naples and Sicily and to report to him at the next general congregation. Their reply was that nothing stood in the way of the investiture and that Althan's instructions complied with all the formalities.[1] Thereupon the Pope announced, in the general congregation of June 9th, 1722, that he would grant the investiture. A Bull of the same date, signed by twenty-eight Cardinals, solemnly granted to the Emperor the investiture of Naples and Sicily on the same conditions on which it had been granted by previous Popes since Julius II. The feudal tribute which had not been paid for years, was remitted, on condition of its being regularly paid thereafter.[2] On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1722, the solemn presentation of the *Chinea* was made according to ancient custom. The event was surrounded with extraordinary pomp; a magnificent display of fireworks arranged by the architect Alessandro Specchi was particularly admired.[3]

Cardinal Althan took the feudal oath in the name of Charles VI., after which he went to Naples as Viceroy, Cardinal Cienfuegos taking his place as imperial ambassador.[4]

In a letter of June 9th, 1721, to the Emperor,[5] the Pope expressed the hope that now Comacchio would at last be restored to the Holy See. The matter was of importance for the Papal States as their inviolability stood or fell with

[1] **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2919, Vatican Library, for all the relevant documents.

[2] *Bull*, XXI., 905 *seq.*

[3] Ottieri, III., 589; Borgia, *Istoria del dominio temporale d. s. sede nelle due Sicilie*, Roma, 1788. Detailed *reports on the *Chinea* of 1722 in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. There also the remark that until then there were no Archives of the Imperial Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* also *Preciosa e grandiosa raccolta delle stampe di macchine di fuochi artificiali fatte in Roma in occasione che il contestabile Colonna presentava la chinea al Papa a nome del Re di Napoli* (from 1722 to 1785), Roma, 1905, *Catalogo*, Pietro Pieri, XVI., 178, n. 175.

[4] *Nomination of May 8, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] Brief to Charles VI., June 9, 1721, *Epist. ad princ.* ("Matthæo Scagliono secret."), Papal Secret Archives.

the restoration or separation of any one of its component parts.[1] Consequently, soon after his elevation, Innocent XIII. pressed the Emperor to make this restoration, first through Cardinal Czacki and once again through the extraordinary envoy, Count Kinsky. Towards the end of July, 1722, he repeated his demand to Cienfuegos.[2] In January, 1723, during a bout of sickness, he told the imperial representative that the best medicine for him would be the restitution of Comacchio.[3] However, the negotiations were drawn out indefinitely. The Pope showed himself extraordinarily anxious to see this affair settled and bitterly lamented the difficulties experienced in arranging the terms of the surrender.[4] At the end of January, 1724, these difficulties had not yet been eliminated.[5] However much Innocent XIII. pressed for a settlement,[6] it was not granted to him to see it.

With regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* also, Innocent XIII. soon found that nothing was to be obtained from the court of Vienna by negotiations, for in spite of Clement XI.'s Bull abrogating it, Charles VI. persisted in claiming this sovereign privilege. Thus the tribunal of the *Monarchia* was able to continue to function. Innocent XIII. refrained from ostentatious action, but he forbade all the newly appointed Bishops of Sicily who came to Rome for their consecration, to do anything, or to allow any step, that might be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the tribunal.[7]

[1] Opinion of Brosch (II., 57).

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 25, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 16, 1723, *ibid.*

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 4, August 2 and 29, September 5, October 3, and November 15, 1723, *ibid.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 30, 1724, *ibid.*

[6] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of February 12, 1724, *ibid.*

[7] Sentis, 159; Martini, *La Sicilia*, 120 *seqq.* The erection of the bishopric of Vienna into a Metropolitan See led to a dispute between the Archbishop and the Chapter of the Cathedral, which regarded itself as exempt from the Archbishop; it lost its case both before Nuncio Spinola and before Benedict XIII. in Rome;

Charles VI. caused the Pope great sorrow by upholding his pretensions to Parma and Piacenza as fiefs of Empire. In this matter Innocent XIII. could not and would not renounce the ancient feudal rights of the Church, any more than his predecessors. After the Diet of Ratisbon had passed a resolution on December 7th, 1722, thanking the Emperor for having extended the rights of the Empire and charging him to conclude peace with Spain on the basis of the agreements of the Quadruple Alliance, the Pope made up his mind to act. On February 3rd, 1723, he made strong representations to the Emperor about the Church's suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza,[1] whilst Briefs on the subject were simultaneously sent to the Kings of France and Spain and to the Catholic Princes of Germany,[2] though without success. In his reply the Emperor pleaded force of circumstances,[3] and Acquaviva was the bearer of similar excuses from Philip V.[4] Innocent XIII. discussed the matter in a consistory of March 15th, 1723, and addressed fresh Briefs to the Princes concerned,[5] but to Abbate Rota, the auditor of the Paris nuncio, Bartholomeo Massei, he forwarded a formal protest against the infringement of the suzerainty of the Holy See over Parma and Piacenza.[6]

In March, 1721, in Clement XI.'s lifetime, the nuncio of

see ZSCHOKKE, *Gesch. des Metropolitan Kapitels zum hl. Stephan*, 165 *seqq.*, 182 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 162 *seqq.*, the Bull of erection. A *letter about the reform of the Bavarian Benedictines addressed to their General Chapter in *Epist. ad princ.*, 232b, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 279, *Letter to the whole German hierarchy regarding the precept of fasting which had been neglected in times of war.

[1] **Epist. ad princ.*, 211b, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 13, 1723, Simancas Archives.

[4] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, *ibid.*

[5] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, March 20, 1723, to which is added the Pope's *Allocutio*, *ibid.*

[6] The "Protestatio nomine Sedis Apost. emissa in conventu Cameracensi", in ROUSSET, *Suppl. au Corps dipl. de Dumont*, III., 2, 173.

Madrid had been empowered to sign a concordat with Spain. It was now necessary to renew these powers [1] because the Pope had submitted the various articles to a fresh examination. However, to Innocent XIII.'s immense amazement, the matter was not concluded though the Spanish Government meanwhile instructed Acquaviva to work for Aldrovandi's elevation to the cardinalate, though Cardinal Acquaviva was well aware of the hopelessness of the attempt.[2]

Equally impossible was yet another demand of the Spanish Government, to the effect that ecclesiastical immunity should be limited to one or two dioceses for the whole Kingdom. The silence which the Madrid nuncio Aldobrandini continued to observe on the subject of the concordat was significant. Great was the Pope's displeasure when he learnt that the nuncio had judged fit to drop the whole affair.[3] In the sequel Innocent XIII.'s impatience to see this matter settled grew steadily.[4] On June 5th, 1723, the Secretary of State remonstrated with the nuncio inasmuch as nothing had been done though the second year of the pontificate was already over. The delay was as incomprehensible as Aldobrandini's silence.

[1] Acquaviva's *reports to Grimaldi, August 16 and 23, 1721, Simancas Archives.

[2] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, August 23, 1721, *ibid.*, who writes "Aldobrandi".

[3] *Letter of the Secretary of State, Spinola, to Aldobrandini, August 30, 1721, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch. *Cf.* *Spinola to Aldobrandini, May 9, 1722 (*ibid.*): "Non è stato approvato da N. S. il motivo, per il quale V. S. I. si è trattenuta di sollecitare appresso cotesti regii ministri la conclusione del Concordato, poichè se bene da essi non ne veniva parlato a lei, sua per altro doveva essere la premura e la sollecitudine di avanzarne le insinuazioni più efficaci, attese le commissioni ricevute di qua su questa materia, che tanto importa a S. B. Poteva ella anzi riflettere, che dovendosi massime stabilire l'articolo di non imporre pensioni sopra le parochiali per 10 anni, pretenderà cotesta corte, che non incominci mai a correre il tempo, se non da quello della stipulazione del Concordato medesimo, onde ben vede V. S. I. il pregiudizio, che ne risulta alla Sede Apost."

[4] *Spinola to Aldobrandini, July 11, 1722, *ibid.*

The nuncio should make earnest representations both to the King's confessor, Daubenton, and to the ministers, so that the treaty might be concluded at last.[1] About mid-August the Pope complained to Cardinal Acquaviva of the fact that the concordat had not yet been signed. The latter sought to excuse the delay with the absence of the court from Madrid,[2] but in November the situation was still unchanged,[3] in fact it continued thus up to the time of the Pope's death. On January 15th, 1724, Aldobrandini was once more instructed to report on the difficulties responsible for the delay.[4]

It is easy to understand the Pope's insistence, for amid the confusion and the disputes which had prevailed in Spain during the last two decades, ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed and many important canons had fallen into oblivion. To remedy these disorders the Pope now resolved to act. He appointed a special commission to study the question [5]; the result was a Bull dated May 13th, 1723, with excellent rules for the suppression of irregularities.[6] Cardinal Belluga took the Bull with him on his departure from Rome on May 21st, 1723.[7] Though the Bull contained

[1] *Spinola to Aldobrandini, June 5, 1723, *ibid.* On September 4, 1723 (*ibid.*), Spinola expressed his condolence on the death of Daubenton (see BAUDRILLART, II., 546 *seqq.*).

[2] Acquaviva's *report of August 14, 1723, Simancas Archives.

[3] *Spinola to Aldobrandini, November 6, 1723, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Belluga's *Memorial dates from this time, Papal Secret Archives, I., 164. On Belluga's negotiations, see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, Simancas Archives.

[6] "*Breve de la reforma del estado ecl. en España," Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, 1723, f. 166. *Ibid.*, 169, on "reforma nel clero", *Bull*, XXI., 931 *seqq.* (with wrong date). *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 189 *seqq.*, where a wrong date is also given, as in the Bullarium; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 268 *seqq.*

[7] *Spinola to Aldobrandini, May 22, 1723, *Nunziat. di Spagna* 365, Papal Secret Archives. On May 22, Acquaviva sent the *Brief "sobra la disciplina eccl. en España" to Grimaldi. Simancas Archives.

most useful prescriptions, it encountered difficulties on the part of the Spanish officials,[1] until a royal decree of March 9th, 1724, two days after the Pope's death, recommended its observance.[2]

With no Catholic Prince had Innocent XIII., as a Cardinal, been on more excellent terms than with King John V. of Portugal to whom he addressed a cordial autograph letter immediately after his election [3]; he also granted an extension of the *cruzada* for a further six years on November 20, 1721.[4] Building on the new Pope's goodwill the King now hoped to obtain what he had vainly asked of Clement XI., namely, the cancellation of the recall of nuncio Bichi for whom a successor had been appointed in September, 1720, in the person of Giuseppe Firrao.[5] Firrao, however, had been unable to take up his post as the Government were determined to retain Bichi. The Portuguese ambassador in Rome pressed the Pope to give his consent, but his efforts were in vain: Innocent's answer was always the same: "Bichi must obey." Even the threat of the recall of the ambassador in Rome produced no effect. The King's suggestion that he would consent to Bichi's departure if the latter were raised to the cardinalate, was likewise rejected by the Pope.[6]

Bichi accordingly remained at Lisbon, and Firrao, whom Innocent XIII. had confirmed as Portuguese nuncio in May, 1721,[7] was unable to take over the nunciature.

In the summer of 1722 a Turkish fleet was seen in the Mediterranean. The report raised grievous alarm all over Italy, more particularly in Rome. The Isle of Malta seemed

[1] Spinola's *letters to Aldobrandini, October 30 and November 6, 1723, *loc. cit.*

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 189.

[3] "*Lettere di Innocenzo XIII.," t. 42, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] **Epist. ad princ.*, *ibid.*

[5] KARTTUNEN, 244.

[6] NOVAES, XIII., 19; "*Aggiustamento con Portogallo," *Cod.* 33, B. 14 (742), p. 316 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome; "*Mem. di Mercada," *Cod.* 1613, Angelica Library, Rome.

[7] *Brief of May 27, 1721, *Brevia ad princ.*, 43, Pap. Sec. Arch.

to be specially threatened. The envoy of the Knights of St. John urgently begged for assistance.[1] Innocent XIII. resolved to ask the help of the Catholic Powers, but even before he could do so, the Spanish Government offered to guard the Italian littoral, and especially Malta.[2] In a consistory of September 23rd, 1722, the Pope explained to the Cardinals that though presumably there was only question, for the moment, of a threat on the part of the traditional enemy of Christendom, there was reason to fear a serious attack by him in the following year. It was his intention, he said, to invoke the protection of the Catholic Powers. He himself, in spite of his financial straits, was prepared to make his contribution; the Cardinals should do in like manner. Finally special prayers were ordered.[3]

That the attitude of the Spanish Government in the question of the Turks under Clement XI. had been by no means forgotten in Rome, appears from the fact that the Pope put no reliance on Spain's offer, though France also joined that country.[4] On October 6th the Briefs spoken of above were dispatched to all the Catholic Powers, beginning with the Emperor down to the German Princes and the small Italian States.[5]

Whilst the ominous reports about Turkish armaments continued to circulate,[6] a gratifying message was received at the beginning of November, to the effect that the Emperor was resolved to lend assistance,[7] but as for Spain and France

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, dated Rome, July 11, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, September 4, 1722, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* the *Brief to Philip V. of September 4, 1722, *Epist. ad princ., loc. cit.*

[3] **Acta consist., Barb.* XXXVI., 53, Vatican Library.

[4] Cienfuegos' *report, September 26, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] **Epist. ad princ., loc. cit.*

[6] Cienfuegos' *letters of October 17 and November 2, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[7] Cienfuegos' *letter of November 7, 1722, *ibid.*

and the help to be expected from that quarter, the suspicion continued that their promises were not seriously meant. On January 16th, 1723, Cardinal Acquaviva presented Philip V.'s answer, dated October 28th of the preceding year, to the Brief in which the Pope had prayed for help for Malta against the Turks. The King made magnificent promises. Acquaviva proposed that the Pope should form a league of the Christian Princes against the Turks.[1] Innocent replied that this would be a difficult undertaking seeing that the Emperor, France and Venice were on peaceful terms with the Turks; moreover it would be a risky step to summon the imperial troops to Italy. As the conversation proceeded the Cardinal perceived that the enemies of Spain had successfully persuaded the Pope that Philip V. of Spain had no intention to defend Italy against the Turks but rather sought to extend his influence in the Apennine Peninsula; Acquaviva sought to dispel this notion.[2]

Meanwhile rumours continued to circulate in Rome about a secret understanding of Spain and France with Turkey and the Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great.[3] The Pope resolved to grant a subsidy to the Knights of Malta to enable them to fortify their island. He also decided to send 10,000 scudi to Ragusa.[4] In March measures were taken to protect Loreto and Ancona against a surprise attack by the Turks.[5] Contemporary reports about the Turkish plans were utterly contradictory. One report was to the effect that the Porte was about to attack Persia, another that she was going to

[1] "*Formación de la Liga catt. conto il Turco," January, 1723, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, 1723, f. 32. *Ibid.*, 44, "*Propuesto de la Liga contro il Turco," February, 1723. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, 99, 120, 125.

[2] Acquaviva's detailed *report to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, Simancas Archives.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of January 9, 1723, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] Cienfuegos' *reports of January 16 and 23 and February 20, 1723, *ibid.*

[5] Cienfuegos' *report of March 13, 1723, *ibid.*

fall upon Russia and the Christian West. The only certain fact that could be gathered from these contradictory reports was that the Turks were actively arming.[1] Everybody breathed more freely when it was at length learnt that the Osmanlis had moved against the Persian Empire which at that time was torn by internal divisions.[2]

(3.)

The compromise of 1720 was meant to put an end to the Jansenist controversies. Noailles accepted it, but in a way which seemed to revive the Gallican propositions of 1682. Cardinal Rohan was dispatched to Rome to conciliate dissatisfied Pope Clement XI. Such was the situation when Innocent XIII. ascended the papal throne.[3]

The new Pope was advised to insist on the demands of his predecessor, namely, that Noailles should expressly protest his submission to the Holy See, as in 1711, and that the King should renew Louis XIV.'s declaration recalling the decrees of 1682. Rohan proffered different counsel. Noailles, he argued, had been so prejudiced against Clement XI. that he would refuse to submit to anything which in any way derived from the late Pope; hence for the moment Innocent XIII. should remain silent, until the King came of age, when he should write a friendly letter to Noailles, interspersed with some explanations of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and a promise to forget the past. The rest of the Cardinals offered decided opposition to such a proceeding, and Innocent adopted their view. The Pope replied in courteous terms to Noailles' letter of congratulation on his elevation,[4] adding

[1] Acquaviva's *letter of March 13, 1723, Simancas Arch.

[2] ZINKEISEN, V., 601 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* vol. XXXIII., p. 309 *seqq.*

[4] September 19, 1721 [CADRY], III., Sec. 1, p. 42. Rohan handed it to the Pope; see *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, June 24, 1721, Simancas Archives.

that Rohan would give him further information.[1] However, the only message Rohan had to deliver was that the Pope declared null and void the appeal to a Council and insisted on unconditional submission to the Bull *Unigenitus* and the withdrawal of the pastoral instruction of 1719. Noailles made no reply.[2]

Previous to Innocent XIII.'s election Noailles and the Appellants believed that the new Pope was not a keen supporter of the Bull *Unigenitus*. According to them he had stated that in that document Clement XI. only spoke as Giovanni Francesco Albani, not as Pope, hence the news of Cardinal Conti's elevation was received in Jansenist circles with a joy "which it was impossible to put into words".[3] Hopes rose still higher when a rumour spread that the Pope was about to appoint as his theologian the Servite Gerard Capessi. Capessi who, as a matter of fact, did continue to act as the Pope's adviser, was of opinion that further explanations of some of the 101 condemned propositions were necessary, and he was believed to be the author of a French publication advocating such action and that that document had met with Clement XI.'s displeasure.[4] At the conclave which elected him, Innocent XIII. had given his approval to a note recommending to the future Pope the elevation

[1] "*Te hortamur, ut plenum obsequium incunctanter ostendas in iis, quae a card. Arm. de Rohan exponentur." Letter to Noailles, undated, in INNOC. XIII., *Lettere*, 42, f. 23, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] LAFITAU, II., 189–200 [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 61; Ansidei, report, *ibid.*, IV., 82.

[3] [CADRY], III., Sec. 1, pp. 23, 39. In the conclave Cardinal Corradini called the suspicion of Jansenism against Conti "une pure calomnie". He made inquiries about the matter from Cardinal Tolomei, who reassured him completely. MICHAUD, 314.

[4] AUG. FABRONI, *Vitae Italorum*, Pisae, 1781, 243 *seq.* Cardinal De Gesvres is supposed to have said that Conti was not in favour of the Bull *Unigenitus*, but that Innocent XIII. was; "il est entraîné par la cour de Rome." [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 61.

of Dubois to the cardinalate[1] and the avoidance of sharp measures against the Jansenists.[2]

Relying, perhaps, on these rumours, seven French Bishops presumed, soon after Innocent XIII.'s election, to address to him a letter which surpasses all that had gone before by way of calumny of the late Pope and his work.[3] They begin

[1] On Dubois' promotion, see the lively correspondence even after the conclave, in MICHAUD, 331 *seqq.*, and " *Brevi spediti per Msgr. Passarini destinato a portare la beretta al card. Dubois ", July 30, 1721, *Brevia ad princ.*, 43, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* JUSTI, II., 284). On Rohan's exertions on behalf of Acquaviva, see his *letter to Grimaldi, July 1, 1721, Simancas Archives. On the part which the future Cardinal Tencin took, see M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et missions du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 32 *seqq.*, 40–61. Id. in *Rev. de Paris*, October 15, 1898, and in *Rev. d'hist. diplom.*, XV. (1901), 20 *seqq.* In contrast with these earlier criticisms of Cardinal Dubois which, down from Saint-Simon's spiteful *Mémoires*, are in great part unjust—though he is certainly not free from censure (thus even RANKE, *Französ. Gesch.*, IV., 452 *seqq.*; SCHLOSSER, *Gesch. des 18. Jahrhunderts*, I., 30; M. MARTIN, *Hist. de France*, XV., 75, 110, 113, corrected in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, X. [1871], 535 *seq.*)—see the first attempts at rehabilitation: CAPEFIGUE, *Les cardinaux-ministres: card. Dubois et la Régence*, Paris, 1861, and SEILHAC, *L'abbé Dubois*, Paris, 1862, but especially the thorough work of BLIARD: *Dubois card. et premier-ministre*, II., Paris, 1901 (reviewed by BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXIX., 777 *seq.*). On Dubois' other merits, especially his earlier activities, *cf.* also BOURGEOIS, *Le secret du Régent et la politique de Dubois*, Paris, 1911; BLIARD, *Dubois et Saint-Simon*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXX. (1901); WIESENER, *Le Régent, l'abbé Dubois et les Anglais*, Paris, 1891; AL. BUDINSKY, *Wie Abbé Dubois Minister wurde*, in *Beil. zur Allg. Zeitung*, February 26, 1874, No. 57.

[2] BLIARD, II., 222. *Cf.* above, p. 20.

[3] They were: Caillebot de la Salle, formerly Bishop of Tournai, De Berthamont of Pamiers, Soanen of Senez, Colbert de Croissy of Montpellier, De Langle of Boulogne, De Caylus of Auxerre, Cassagnet de Tilladet of Mâcon. *Cf.* FLEURY, LXXI., 177 *seqq.* (some names are misspelt); LAFITAU, II., 200. Extract (French) of the letter in [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 136–144, complete in

by applying to their time expressions used by St. Basil when describing the Arian troubles. According to the seven, new Arians were at work, setting at nought the teaching of the Apostles and the Fathers which they replace by their own inventions; a whole edifice of new doctrines was being raised, doctrines that daily spread farther and farther; unheard of opinions on grace and reprehensible principles of morality were being asserted. A partial condemnation had indeed already taken place in the course of the Roman discussions on grace under Clement VIII. and Paul V., but so far the promised publication of the decision had been waited for in vain, whilst the delay had helped to strengthen the doctrinal edifice which it was intended to-day to raise upon the ruins of the dogmatic and moral teachings of the Fathers. In the opinion of the seven the enterprise started with a book by Cardinal Sfondrati who defended Molinism, and another by the Jesuit Francolini who had attacked Jansenist rigorism. Though he had been denounced to Rome by five French Bishops, Sfondrati had not been interfered with, "protected as he was by the late Pope, whose intimate relations with Sfondrati are only too well known," in fact the censure that had been demanded against him recoiled on those who had asked for it when Quesnel's book was condemned, though that work had been approved by the most distinguished of those prelates. "What a consternation when that decree appeared! A cry of faith went up, louder and more lasting than had ever been heard. What excitement among the Bishops! what grief among the most distinguished theologians! what an uproar among the people! what shouts of triumph among the Protestants!"

After that the seven discuss the Bull in detail. They endeavour to show that it ought to be reprobated because of its agreement with the teachings of Francolini, Sfondrati and

[NIVELLE], I., 504–533. Cardinal Acquaviva encloses it in his *letter to Grimaldi, March 28, 1722, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* SCHILL, 202.

the Jesuit Fontana [1] who had drawn up the bull *Unigenitus* by order of the Pope. "Who can compare the Bull," they write, "with the doctrinal structure of this new theology and not perceive their complete agreement? The Bull treats of the same topics, attacks the same theses, condemns, though the fact seems hardly credible, the same statements of the holy Fathers against which these new teachers have long ago conspired." They then give yet another summary of their grievances against the late Pope: according to the seven, the Bull "attacks religion in its dogmas, the hierarchy in its rights, Christian morality in its foundations and in its spirit"; they consider that it "subverts the penitential discipline, confuses the Old Testament and the New on the very point which differentiates them, subjects God's omnipotence to human freedom, endangers divers truths and censures the consecrated language of the Scriptures and Tradition. Such is our complaint, and our complaint is our crime; but it would seem that only one crime is still seriously punished, viz. the crime of remaining true to the tradition of our fathers".

The first part of the letter finds fault with the subject matter of the Bull, the second half criticizes the manner and the circumstances of its publication.[2] Because Noailles opposed a lax moral teaching, we read, he was attacked by the champions of that morality, who even tolerated idolatry in China. The Archbishop should have been told what it was that was found blameworthy in a book to which he had given his approval. Quesnel, too, was condemned in a fashion that would not have been tolerated even in pagan Rome: he should have been heard before he was condemned. It was clearer than daylight that the 101 propositions had been condemned on inaccurate information. The question should be examined in France itself, and the Bishops who had not

[1] On Celestino Sfondrati (*ob.* 1696), see HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV.[3], 383–390, and BLÖTZER in *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, XI.[2], 235 *seqq.*, on his writings against Gallicanism: *Studien und Mitteil. zur Gesch. des Benediktinerordens*, 1929, 258 *seq.*; on Francolini (*ob.* 1709), see SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 939; on Fontana, see above, XXXIII., p. 236, n. 4. [2] [CADRY], III., Sec. 2, p. 139 *seqq.*

received the Bull must be heard. But whereas Christ would have excommunication inflicted only on those who refuse to hear the Church, Clement XI. employed it against Bishops who had appealed to the Church. There followed complaints about the treatment of the Sorbonne and about the condemnation of books published "in defence of the truth", whereas writings full of corrupt teachings were tolerated and even printed and circulated by order of the Pope: finally they complained that the appeal to a council had been described as a heretical act. The last request of the seven Bishops was that Innocent XIII. should declare his predecessor's Bull to have been surreptitious, thereby putting an end to the disputes. Their wishes would be perfectly satisfied if he consented to summon a General Council.

The letter of the seven is dated June 9th, 1721, but it only reached Rome in November, viâ Austria. This was due to the circumstance that its authors had striven, in Vienna, to secure the support of the Austrian Bishops; but their efforts were in vain.[1] In November their memorial appeared in print in Latin and French; it covered ninety quarto pages. The printing had been done at Louvain.

Van Espen,[2] declared that in his opinion the vigour and wisdom that shone in its pages were not human but divine, heavenly, and worthy of the days of the Apostles. In Rome, however, the curious document was passed on to the Inquisition which condemned it on January 8th, 1722, in severe terms.[3] Thus the Pope's position in regard to the Bull *Unigenitus* was defined clearly enough, but the last doubt was removed by a letter to the young King dated March 24th, 1722, the same day as that on which the decree of the Inquisition against the seven Bishops was published.[4] In his letter

[1] FLEURY, LXXI., 179.

[2] Letter to the Bishop of Boulogne [CADRY] III., Sec. 3, p. 85.

[3] REUSCH, *Index*, II., 740 *seq.*

[4] D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 476 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 264 *seqq.* Acquaviva encloses copies of this Brief, as also the replies of the King and of the Regent, dat. July 20, 1722, in his *letter to Grimaldi of August 15, 1722. Simancas Archives.

Innocent XIII. states in the plainest terms that with regard to the Bull *Unigenitus* he faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. The confusion to which its publication gave rise was due to the disobedience of a few Bishops, which provided certain ill-disposed persons with a pretext for obscuring the plain tenor of the Bull. The Bull *Pastoralis*, the compromise of 1720, Noailles' two ambiguous pastoral instructions, were not expressly mentioned, but everybody could see what was meant when Innocent XIII. praised the late Pope for having taken sterner measures, and approves Clement XI.'s declaration, as against French efforts, that simple, unquestioning obedience to the Roman See was the only means of establishing concord. Experience had shown how very right Clement XI. had been, for all the efforts hitherto made had failed to induce the recalcitrants to make a sincere submission. It was the duty of Clement's successor to complete what that Pope had begun. But at the very moment when Innocent was about to write to the King and whilst he was waiting to hear that Rohan's negotiations had been successful, the "boldness and audacity of the workers of iniquity" had broken out "beyond all measure", in the "wholly schismatical letter of the seven Bishops which, in a heretical spirit," confused things human and divine. And in order that their pestiferous disease might spread still further, they had published their letter by means of the printing press, and to cap everything, they had even attempted to make the papal authority the associate and support of their perverseness, as if it were in the Pope's power to alter the faith of the Apostles to which the whole Church, taught by Peter, clings with the utmost tenacity. This is what the delay of stronger measures has led to. To such shepherds the flock of Christ can no longer be entrusted. The letter concludes with a prophecy of grievous disasters even for the State if things went on like this, and with a request for support by the secular power. The same request was also made in a letter to the Regent.[1]

[1] March 24, 1722, in D'ARGENTRÉ, *loc. cit.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 273 *seq.*

Since the agreement of 1720 the Regent, even though only for political reasons, sided with the supporters of the Constitution. He gave an unmistakable proof of his attitude when he had the two papal letters published by the royal printing press and that without their having been submitted, in keeping with Gallican custom, to the approval of Parliament.[1] He also ordered judicial proceedings against the printers and booksellers who had published the letter of the seven Bishops.[2] Moreover the *Conseil* published a decree [3] which described that letter as "rash, calumnious, insulting to the late King, the Holy See, the Bishops and the French Church, as contrary to the consolidation of peace, to the registered declarations of 1714 and 1720 ?" and as "an attempt against the royal authority, a rebellious act and one exciting to rebellion". The memorial was accordingly prohibited and the seven Bishops were threatened with judicial proceedings. They attempted to defend themselves in a letter to the King, dated July 19th, 1722.[4] After the death of the Duke of Orleans, this letter was likewise condemned by the authority of the State under the latter's successor.[5]

Cardinal de Bissy countered the letter of the seven with a detailed defence of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[6] The Bull, he explained, was above attack and perfectly clear ; it was a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church to which all were bound to give an internal assent. A storm now broke out over De Bissy. His letter had appeared in September ; a few months later it was denounced to Parliament in a

[1] [Cadry], III., Sec. 3, p. 75 ; Rocquain, 30.

[2] [Cadry], *loc. cit.*, p. 76 *seq.*

[3] April 19, 1722, *ibid.*, p. 75 *seq.* ; Rocquain, 27. An attempt to have the seven tried by Parliament miscarried. [Cadry], III., Sec. 2, p. 176.

[4] [Cadry], III., Sec. 2, p. 169–174 ; [Nivelle], II., 534–6.

[5] December 19, 1723 [Cadry], III., Sec. 8, p. 40.

[6] June 7, 1722 (376 pages in 4°, with 204 pages of App.). Fleury, *loc. cit.*, 278 ; [Cadry], III., Sec. 5, pp. 34–42. To the instruction was added a "Traité théologique" on the 101 propositions. [Cadry], *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

memorial couched in violent terms.[1] Bissy, the document said, appealed to the Bull *Pastoralis* which Parliament had never recognized; to prove the universal acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* he referred to the letters of foreign Bishops, but those letters taught the doctrine of papal infallibility and had for their authors prelates brought up in servitude and bowed down by the slavery of the Inquisition.

Before long the biting pamphlet was the talk of the town and Noailles threatened that if Parliament did not deal with Bissy he would censure him himself.[2] As a matter of fact Parliament importuned the Court for a whole fortnight with the request for permission to condemn Bissy,[3] until Dubois vented his annoyance with so many proposals by exclaiming whether they wished to set fire to the four corners of Paris.[4] Nevertheless, in January, 1723, another publication against Bissy saw the light, obviously from the same pen as the first,[5] and in February there occurred a fresh denunciation to Parliament, this time by Abbé Pucelle.[6] However, the Regent let that body know that they were to put off the examination of the pastoral instruction. This demand did not imply that the whole affair had been quashed; accordingly, in March, 1723, a fresh accusation appeared [7] which put the Jansenist element on one side and only attacked Bissy from the Gallican standpoint. Thereupon the victim of aggression requested the King to have his instruction examined; this task was entrusted to two ecclesiastical and two secular dignitaries towards the end of April.[8] But before this commission could give its verdict, six out of the seven recalcitrant Bishops

[1] [Cadry], III., Sec. 6, p. 16–20. Abbé Mengui is the author. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] Fleury, LXXI., 280.

[5] [Cadry], *loc. cit.*, pp. 34–7.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 43 *seqq.*

[7] Couët, *ibid.*, pp. 66–70.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

published a "reply" to Bissy[1] in which they stated that never had the rights of the Crown and the dogmas of religion been more openly attacked than in this instruction.

"Is it Bissy," they asked, "who has written these things, or is it the men who have so long sought to introduce an abominable Pyrrhonism in regard to ecclesiastical tradition, with a view to supplanting it by their own authors?" Then follows the accusation that Bissy made no account of the authority of the Fathers, misquoted texts and made false statements; if the testimony of the foreign Bishops proved the universal recognition of the Bull *Unigenitus*, it also proved papal infallibility. A further accusation is even more violent[2]; it goes so far as to demand that Bissy should be denounced as an enemy of Church and State.

The commission, whose task it was to examine the pastoral letter of the much maligned prelate, at last pronounced sentence[3]; it was to the effect that Bissy had not offended against the Gallican liberties, that the two accusations were a tissue of calumnies, lies and declamations against Pope and Bishops. In 1725 Bissy replied to the six Bishops in a fresh instruction.[4]

Besides Bissy the keenest champion of the Bull *Unigenitus* was Languet, Bishop of Soissons. Whilst Clement XI. still sat on Peter's chair he published an explanatory letter on the questions then pending.[5] This letter saw several editions within a short time; it was reprinted in several dioceses and distributed among the clergy; on the Appellants' own

[1] 228 pages in 4°., *ibid.*, Sec. 7, pp. 53–8. The former Bishop of Tournai did not take part as Bissy was his Archbishopric. On February 13, 1725, the letter of the six was put on the Index. FLEURY, LXXII., 121.

[2] [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 58 *seq.*

[3] May 23, 1723, *ibid.*, p. 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[5] "*Avertissement de Msgr. l'évêque de Soissons à ceux qui dans son diocèse se sont déclarez appellans de la Constitution "Unigenitus"*, 1718 ([CADRY], II., 128 *seqq.*). According to the Jansenists Tournely was the real author. HILD, 144 *seq.*

admission, it did their party much harm.[1] Languet followed up his explanation with similar publications[2]; there was scarcely a manifestation of some importance by the opposition to which he did not answer. Replies by the Appellants were not wanting, right up to the pontificate of Innocent XIII.,[3] and one of Languet's publications was torn up and burnt by order of Parliament.[4]

For the rest it became abundantly evident during Innocent XIII.'s pontificate that the compromise of 1720 could not restore peace. The Government had indeed declared the appeals to the Council null and void, but there were not a few who repeated their appeal thereafter; no less than 1,500 names appeared on the lists of Paris and in the Provinces.[5] Elsewhere also resistance to the Bull *Unigenitus* continued. Innocent XIII.'s first letter to the King was also his last intervention in the French situation. In the Jubilee Bull, at the beginning of his pontificate, he did not expressly exclude the Appellants from its favours and graces, a circumstance which the Appellant Bishops of Boulogne and Senez interpreted as implying that the Pope was in communion with them.[6] But this view was contradicted by the Bishop of Amiens. In a pastoral letter he explained that the Bull stated that it was not the Pope's intention to dispense from any irregularity or excommunication. A heated dispute arose over this affair. The Chapter of Amiens appealed to Parliament against its Bishop and both Bishop and Chapter appealed to the court. Noailles declared that he would not proclaim the jubilee until the pastoral of Amiens was condemned. As a consequence of the Archbishop's pressure and after some consultations at the archiepiscopal palace, Dubois

[1] [CADRY], II., 139 *seq.*, 337.

[2] *Ibid.*, 225, 231, 245, 259, 305–314, 331, 380, 406, 560–574; III., Sec. 5, p. 44; Sec. 6, p. 29; Sec. 7, p. 61.

[3] A reply in five small vols. (1719–1722), *ibid.*, II., 337 *seq.*; III., Sec. 3, p. 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., 227.

[5] *Ibid.*, III., Sec. 1, p. 48; *cf.* p. 22.

[6] *Ibid.*, Sec. 2, pp. 163–9.

instructed the intendants of the provinces to watch lest the Bishops disturb the peace of conscience. The Chapter of Amiens was bidden to withdraw its appeal to Parliament.[1]

Innocent XIII. was of course by no means prepared to enter into ecclesiastical communion with the Appellant Bishops. The documents intended for their dioceses were sent to the neighbouring Bishops. In the eyes of the Quesnellists this too was another of Rome's encroachments. The Bishop of Pamiers complained to his fellow Bishops that one could see that the Pope was taking advantage of the existing situation in order to make himself the universal Bishop.[2] In reality Innocent XIII. was very reserved; only in the last months of his life did he plan sharper measures against the Appellants—at least so it was rumoured.[3] On the other hand the Regent dealt all the more sternly with them. At first Philip of Orleans had imagined that he would best serve the cause of peace by allowing the Quesnellists full liberty, but experience gradually taught him differently, with the consequence that during his last years he let loose a regular flood of orders of silence, sentences of banishment and regulations of every description.

The recalcitrant Sorbonne felt the Regent's heavy hand more often than any other body.[4] On December 11th, 1720, Rollin, its Rector, praised the University for having upheld its appeal in spite of the compromise.[5] Thereupon the Government announced that on its part it would also insist on the execution of its decrees, hence the Sorbonne must immediately reinstate the twenty-two Doctors whom it had excluded on account of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[6] On the occasion of the death of Innocent X., Jollain, the Syndic of the theological Faculty, suggested the celebration of a funeral service, so as to give public proof of the Sorbonne's loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 1 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 42.
[4] SCHILL, 204 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXI., 192 *seqq.*
[5] The discourse is in [NIVELLE], I., 576 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 570. *Cf.* XXXIII., 296.

but in doing so he had taken care to let it be clearly seen that the Faculty upheld its appeal.[1] His speech met with the approval of the Faculty but a royal ordinance [2] forbade its registration. Towards the end of May ten of the Doctors who had renewed their appeal were sent into banishment [3] and fresh measures were issued in the first days of June; at the same time the Faculty was forbidden further to molest the Bishop of Soissons on account of a thesis on papal infallibility, and to discuss matters of this kind without leave of the State Chancellor.[4] Syndic Jollain exhorted the Doctors to remain steadfast and suggested that a deputation be sent to the King,[5] but the court depreciated such a deputation, deposed Jollain and a royal ordinance forced another Syndic upon the Faculty, regardless of the right of election.[6] The mistakes of the new Syndic, Romigny, gave rise to lively disputes, to discussions with the first President of Parliament and to a futile petition to the King.[7] The Doctors treated the new Syndic as an intruder; the latter was eventually forced to have the doors of the Archives battered in to enable him to get hold of the registers of the Faculty.[8] The Government forbade the regular election of a new Syndic which had been fixed for October 1st and upheld its protégé for years.[9] In the space of seven months, up to September 1st, 1721, twelve disciplinary measures had been taken against the Faculty [10] and the end was not yet.[11]

The year 1722 brought fresh storms. Alexander VII.'s

[1] The discourse is in [Nivelle], I., 571; Fleury, LXXI., 196.

[2] April 25, 1721, [Cadry], III., Sec. 1, p. 12 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 31 *seq.*

[5] The discourse, *ibid.*, pp. 32–4; Fleury, LXXI., 202 *seq.*; [Nivelle], I., 572 *seq.*

[6] [Cadry], *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 62–70.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[11] *Ibid.*, 133; Sec. 4, pp. 16, 93, 103.

formula and Arnauld's condemnation had not been subscribed to within recent years; the Doctors loyal to Rome now demanded that the omission should be made good. The court supported their design by ordinances of May 20th and 30th which demanded subscription under threat of exclusion.[1] At the stormy session of August 1st, Romigny submitted a list of 150 Doctors, Licentiates and Bachelors who were to forfeit their doctorate, or the hope of acquiring one.[2] The day before the Keeper of the Seals had sent for the registers of the Faculty when, with his own hand, he deleted the decision on the exclusion of the twenty-two Doctors, the reinstatement of Petitpied, and the declaration of January 17th, 1719, about papal infallibility.[3] The Faculty was forbidden to discuss the formula, a circumstance which led to the exclusion of twenty Licentiates.[4] The supporters of the Bull now constituted a majority among the Doctors.[5]

The other theological Faculties of France were likewise ordered to subscribe to the formula.[6] Only in two Universities did the measure meet with opposition; that of Nantes wished to give only a qualified adhesion to the formula, but when a royal decree ordered it to cancel its decision and expelled three Doctors from the Faculty, six out of the remaining eleven made their submission.[7] The demands of the Government encountered more serious opposition at the University of Montpellier, though the theological chairs were held by Jesuits, for Bishop Colbert was a determined Appellant. There the formula was provided with an introduction which took the sting out of it. The Intendant of Languedoc was instructed to remove the introduction from the registers of the Faculty but this did not prevent the Bishop from upholding it.

[1] *Ibid.*, Sec. 4, pp. 104–111.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 191.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[6] By order of the Secretaries of State, July 11, 1722, *ibid.*, p. 181.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 1 *seqq.*

As not a few ecclesiastics preferred to study with the Oratorians, who were less attached to Rome, than with the Jesuits, and obtained their Doctor's title from the Faculty of Law, a decree was issued to the effect that ecclesiastics could not become Doctors of Law without subscribing to the formula. The resistance of the Bishop, whose deposition was repeatedly considered, caused the Government to intervene more than once in the sequel also.[1]

Acceptance of the formula was to be enforced not alone on the Universities. A circular of the Secretaries of State informed the Bishops that the Regent was surprised that subscription to the formula was no longer demanded; in future no ecclesiastical benefice was to be bestowed on those who had refused to subscribe. A similar order was addressed to the Chapters of Tours and Châlons.[2] Thereafter many Bishops insisted on acceptance of the formula as a condition for the reception of Orders.[3] With a view to bringing pressure to bear on the recalcitrant clergy of Rheims a decree went forth that no Appellant might be present at the forthcoming coronation of the King.[4] Noailles was, of course, invited to the function, but Bishop De Langle of Boulogne was excluded by reason of his being an Appellant.[5] For the same reason Bishop Colbert of Montpellier was not admitted to the Assembly of the States of Languedoc in 1724.[6] The King had been in the habit of assisting at the Holy Week services in the church of the Feuillants, but in 1721 he denied them that honour on account of their being Appellants.[7]

One of the consequences of the attitude of the Government was that no opponent of the Constitution could entertain a

[1] *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 5; Sec. 6, pp. 3, 51, 54; Sec. 7, p. 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sec. 2, p. 181.

[3] *Ibid.* Thus at Evreux, *ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 27; at Châlons, *ibid.*, p. 87; at Laon, *ibid.*, p. 120; at Rheims, *ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 13; at Lectoure, *ibid.*, p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 116 *seq.*; Sec. 5, p. 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, p. 50.

[6] *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 45.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 95 *seq.*

hope of obtaining one of the vacant episcopal sees. Death put an end to the appeals of the Bishops of Mirepoix, Châlons and Verdun in 1720,[1] and to that of the Bishops of Laon and Boulogne in 1721 and 1724, and in 1721 the equivocating Bishop of Arras resigned his See.[2] All these were succeeded by keen opponents of their views.[3] In 1723 and 1724 there occurred a number of vacancies, as at Rouen, Nantes, Luçon, Cambrai, Viviers, Saint-Papoul and Tours. With the sole exception of Saint-Papoul, the supporters of the Constitution had everywhere reason to congratulate themselves on the new appointments.[4] At Boulogne the change was a remarkable one. Bishop De Langle had been an ardent Jansenist and had deprived all the priests who obeyed the Constitution of their faculties to hear confessions; when the Bishop of Amiens was nearing his diocese, the missionaries in his suite saw themselves surrounded by penitents from over the border of the diocese and 4,000 subjects of the Bishop of Boulogne begged the stranger for the Sacrament of Confirmation which their own shepherd withheld from them. The situation at Boulogne had become so tense that a Provincial Council had decided to depose De Langle, but the Government forbade such a step.[5] De Langle's successor was the very antithesis of his predecessor; he did not mind, he declared, whether clothes and hair were worn long or short, his great concern was that people should be genuine Catholics; it would be his aim to make his diocese Catholic and loyal to the Holy See.[6] At

[1] JEAN, 318, 392, 414.

[2] *Ibid.*, 172, 315, 322.

[3] JEAN, *loc. cit.* On the new Bishops, see [CADRY], III.: Châlons, Sec. 3, pp. 87–9; Sec. 7, p. 20; Sec. 8, p. 77; Laon, Sec. 3, pp. 119–162; Sec. 5, p. 58 *seqq.*; Verdun, Sec. 6, p. 40; Carcasonne, *ibid.*, p. 39; Lectoure, *ibid.*, pp. 21, 72; Sec. 7, p. 67; La Rochelle, Sec. 8, p. 67; Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 71.

[4] JEAN for each bishopric; [CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 24 *seqq.* On the Archbishop of Tours, see *ibid.*, Sec. 7, pp. 37, 40, 114–124.

[5] [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 12 *seqq.*, 91, 100.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 75. De Langle died on April 12, 1724, that is, during the conclave of Benedict XIII. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Bayeux conditions similar to those at Boulogne prevailed. The Bishop, Francis of Lorraine (*ob.* 1728) was so strict that not even nuns were able to make their Easter Communion and almost all priests loyal to the Pope were forbidden to hear confessions; the Government itself wrote to him that his whole diocese was on fire.[1]

The Regent's stern measures brought about a change in the theological Faculties also. After fourteen Doctors had been expelled at Rheims, the appeal to the Council was revoked first by the Faculty and eventually by the whole University.[2] Poitiers and Nantes acted in like manner,[3] but difficulties were made by the Faculty of Caen where the Bishop of Bayeux gave his patronage to certain Jansenistic doctrines.[4]

The Government sent plenipotentiaries to the General Chapters of several Orders whose task it was to press for acceptance of the Constitution; thus in 1723 the Bishop of Laon was sent to the General Chapter of the reformed Premonstratensions. He experienced no difficulty in getting the formula accepted, but many members objected strongly to the Constitution.[5] In May, 1724, after Innocent XIII.'s death and during the conclave, the Chapter of the reformed Augustinians accepted the formula by subscribing to it, and the Constitution by word of mouth.[6] A sensation was caused by the opposition to the Constitution on the part of a number of Carthusians.[7] To put an end to the insubordination of

[1] *Ibid.*, Sec. 7, p. 21 *seq.* The Bishop tried to defend himself against the accusations (*ibid.*, p. 22 *seq.*); however, the theological Faculty of Caen, the Archbishop of Rouen and the Parliament of Normandy also raised objections against his views. JEAN, 348.

[2] [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, pp. 10, 86.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sec. 6, pp. 38, 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 43; Sec. 6, p. 9; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 1315 *seq.*

[5] [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 7 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 77.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, pp. 28–36, 195; Sec. 7, pp. 26–34; Sec. 8, pp. 1–16.

individual religious, especially in Paris, the General Chapter of the seven French Provinces of the Order issued a decree which made subscription to the formula and oral acceptance of the papal Constitutions against Jansenism a condition of admission into the Order, of ordination and the exercise of the priestly functions.[1] Thereupon fifteen Carthusians of Paris appealed to Parliament and lengthy disputes ensued. The General Chapter ended by excluding the recalcitrants from the Sacraments, whereupon twenty-six of their number fled to Holland in 1725.[2]

Many Benedictines continued to offer resistance to the Bull *Unigenitus*, but at the General Chapter of the Maurists at Marmoutier, in 1723, the Archbishop of Tours, acting as the King's plenipotentiary, secured at least the acceptance of the formula [3]; a similar result, though only in so far as the recognition of the question of right was concerned, was obtained by the Procurator-General of the Parliament of Besançon at the General Chapter of the Congregation of Saint-Vanne held at Luxeuil in 1723.[4] The Monks' state of mind is sufficiently revealed by a petition addressed to the Chapter of Marmoutier: it describes Clement XI.'s Bull as the most dreadful weapon of Sfondratism and Molinism. Should the Congregation of St. Maurus be destined to founder in the storms raised by the Constitution, it was better it should perish than that it should be defiled: an alliance between the Bull and Christ was a monstrosity; death was better than acceptance of the Constitution! [5] A Carthusian wrote to the Abbot-General that in the whole of the Church's history the Constitution was the measure which it was least possible to uphold.[6]

[1] Ordinance "Quo zelo", April 25, 1723, in [NIVELLE], II., 2, 480; [PATOUILLET], IV., 41 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* [NIVELLE], II., 2, 469–543 (Apology of the fugitives [extract], 532 *seqq.*); [PATOUILLET], I., 95, 104 *seq.*

[3] [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, pp. 35–44; [NIVELLE], II., 2, 652–6.

[4] [CADRY], *loc. cit.*, p. 24 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[6] "L'acte le plus insoutenable qui ait jamais paru dans l'Eglise." *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, p. 3.

As throughout the history of Jansenism, communities of women once again drew attention to themselves by their spirit of resistance. Thus eighteen Visitation nuns of Paris declared their inability to submit to the Constitution [1]; but an even greater sensation was caused by the Ursulines of Orleans, Beauvais and Clermont who were eventually forbidden to teach by the Bishops of these dioceses.[2]

However, on the whole, and in spite of opposition, a change in favour of the much attacked Bull was under way. Rumour had it that in his last days the Regent was planning a great blow which would put an end to opposition to the Bull and with it to disturbances which endangered the State itself. A royal declaration was to safeguard the Bishops' freedom against the encroachments of Parliament, whilst at the same time a papal Brief was to assign a time limit after the lapse of which the Appellants would be regarded as having incurred excommunication. The declaration was urged by the court even after the Regent's sudden death and when the latter had been succeeded as Minister by the Duke of Bourbon; however, Parliament offered decided opposition and when Innocent XIII. died there was no further question of either declaration or Brief.[3]

(4.)

In the Dutch Mission the spirit of insubordination had shown itself openly during the last years of Clement XI.; under Innocent XIII. a complete separation from the Church ensued when the Quesnellists took it upon themselves to appoint a Bishop of their own, independently of the Holy See. For more than a decade the territory of the Seven United Provinces had been without a Bishop. Though the Vicar Apostolic Daemen, who died in 1717, was an Archbishop, the Jansenists had made it impossible for him to

[1] *Ibid.*, Sec. 1, p. 46 *seq.*; Sec. 3, p. 193 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, Sec. 5, pp. 14–34, 79–95; Sec. 7, p. 74 *seq.*; Sec. 8, p. 25. *Cf.* Sec. 6, p. 44 for the Presentandines.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sec. 8, pp. 38–44.

reside on Dutch soil. His successor Bijlevelt, who died in 1727, did not receive episcopal consecration as the opposition of the States would have prevented him from exercising his functions. The wish to have a Bishop of their own, like other Christian countries, favoured the rise among the Quesnellists of a conception of episcopal jurisdiction which was calculated to render feasible the appointment of a Bishop by their own authority. Holland, it was claimed, could not be regarded as a missionary territory administered by simple papal representatives; on the contrary, the Vicars Apostolic, from Vosmeer to Codde, were also true Archbishops of Utrecht, whilst the men whom Rovenius had appointed as advisers to the Vicar Apostolic were to be regarded as the genuine and rightful successors of the old Metropolitan Chapter of Utrecht, and as such enjoying the right of naming a Vicar Capitular at the death of the Archbishop and of electing a successor to the vacant see. The Pope had no right to suppress the prerogatives of the Chapter since he was subject to, and not above, the laws of the Church.

These views did not tally with reality, not even with regard to the facts adduced. Vosmeer and his successors could only be regarded as Vicars Apostolic ruling in the Pope's name and liable to be removed from office at his good pleasure. The college of priests instituted by Rovenius as the assistant council of the Vicar Apostolic, was not the legal heir of the long extinct old Metropolitan Chapter,[1] and even if it were, it would nevertheless not have been empowered to elect a successor to the archiepiscopal see, seeing that this right had passed to Charles V. in the year 1528, with the consent of the Chapter,[2] and since the erection of the new Dutch dioceses by Philip II., the nomination of Bishops lay in the hands of

[1] *Cf.* the present work, XXXII., 492.

[2] The Chapters conceded to Charles V., that they "nullius in eorum episcopum eligendi ius vel potestatem haberent, praeterquam illius, quem dictus Carolus rex ut dux Brabantiae et comes Hollandiae significandum, insinuandum nominandumque duceret". Clement VII., August 20, 1529, in Mozzi, I., 23.

the King of Spain.[1] But even if the Chapter's right of election were beyond question, Canon Law made it impossible to elect a legitimate Bishop independently of the Pope since without his authorization no Bishop could presume to give episcopal consecration; that much was granted even by the oracles of the Quesnellists, Van Espen, and at a later date by Febronius.[2]

But these objections failed to impress the Quesnellists of Holland. The Dutch Church, they declared, was in a state of self-defence against the Pope, seeing that he was bent on destroying her legal existence. Such a situation knew no law so that the Dutch Church was justified in whatever she did to save her existence.[3] Her only difficulty was to find a Bishop who would take it on himself to impart episcopal consecration without the Pope's consent.

It was difficult to find such a Bishop, but they ended by discovering one. Dominic Mary Varlet,[4] a Doctor of the University of Paris, after devoting a few years to the pastoral ministry in his native land, had joined the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions and had become Vicar-General to Bishop Chevrière of Quebec in Canada. Clement XI. turned to this able man when the Superior of the Persian Mission, Pidou de Saint-Olon felt the need of an assistant. On September 17th, 1718, Varlet was named Bishop of Ascalon and Coadjutor of Babylonia and on January 19th, 1719, he received episcopal consecration at the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris. When Propaganda received information of the death of the Bishop of Persia, Varlet was instructed to present himself to nuncio Bentivoglio in Paris and to set out for Persia viâ Holland. However, under various pretexts, Varlet avoided the nuncios of Paris and Brussels for he sided with the

[1] Paul IV., May 12, 1559, *ibid.*, 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, 112 *seq.*

[4] On Varlet, *ibid.*, 115 *seqq.*; [Dupac], 461 *seq.*; [Cadry], III., Sec. 7, p. 44 *seqq.*; *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de Belgique*, XI. (1874), 444 *seq.*

Appellants and feared lest he should be made to subscribe to the Bull against Quesnel. Without leave of the internuncio of Brussels, and on the sole authority of the "Chapter" of Utrecht, he took it on himself to administer Confirmation at Amsterdam where he lodged with the Jansenist parish priest Krys. He then set out for Persia, travelling viâ Moscow, Astrachan and the Caspian Sea. Meanwhile Rome had been informed of Varlet's real sentiments, with the consequence that the Bishop of Ispahan was instructed to forbid him to exercise any episcopal rights.[1] Thereupon Varlet returned to Europe where he rejoined his Amsterdam friends. From there, after a short stay in Paris, he wrote two letters to Pope Innocent XIII. and a third to Propaganda, for the purpose of justifying his conduct. Carafa, Propaganda's Secretary, replied, urging him to submit to the decisions of the Holy See, to accept the Bull and the formula, to leave the company of the rebels and to take up residence in some Catholic town—some of his friends in France would provide for his maintenance.[2] However, Varlet insisted on the Pope first absolving him from all censures and declaring his conduct irreproachable. He formally refused to subscribe to the Bull and the formula and on February 15th, 1723, he appealed to a General Council from the censure of the Bishop of Ispahan and from any papal measure that might be taken in the future in favour of that Bull.[3]

By this step Varlet had thrown in his lot completely with the men of Utrecht so that there remained but little doubt that he would be prepared to consecrate a Bishop even without the consent of the Pope. By means of letters to Innocent XIII.[4] and the efforts of their agent, Le Vage, they had sought to persuade the Pope to give them an Archbishop, but these

[1] The decree of suspension, dated Kasbin, December 17, 1719, in Mozzi, II., 117 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXI., 169 *seq.*

[2] Mozzi, II., 124 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.* The appeal is printed in [Nivelle], II., *Suite*, app., 16–27; extract in [Cadry], III., Sec. 7, p. 47 *seqq.*

[4] June 11, 1721, and September 30, 1722, [Cadry], *loc. cit.*, 50.

endeavours proved in vain, as did the negotiations with the nuncio.[1]

Accordingly on November 17th, 1722, they decided upon independent action. Pamphlets were circulated among the people to prepare them for so rash a step,[2] whilst consultations of scholars and Universities were meant to calm the scruples of the educated classes. However, the answers were not what had been expected. Van Espen gave a favourable reply[3] and the Paris theologians and jurists inclined to side with them, but they made it a condition that their assent should be kept secret. The Universities of Nantes and Rheims were inclined towards greater boldness but the Government forbade them to make their opinion public. Among the scholars who were favourable was the Dominican Hyacinth Serry, but he too did not openly advocate his opinion.[4] After assuring themselves of the favourable dispositions of the Dutch Government,[5] they proceeded, on April 27th, 1723, to elect an Archbishop. The choice fell on Cornelius Steenoven, a student of Propaganda, who had been commissioned to obtain an Archbishop from the nuncio in Brussels in 1706 and 1711. At the time of the election he held the office of Vicar-General of the two Chapters and quite recently (1719), in his funeral eulogy of Quesnel, he had publicly proclaimed his Jansenist sentiments.[6] In that panegyric he congratulated the city of Amsterdam on having had the privilege of giving hospitality, for the space of fifteen years, to a man like Quesnel.[7] Steenoven was recognized by the Jansenist Bishops

[1] [Dupac], 480 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 482 *seq.*

[3] December 12, 1722, *ibid.*, 484.

[4] *Ibid.*, 485 *seqq.* The six questions put to the Universities are given in Mozzi, II., 119.

[5] [Dupac], 491.

[6] *Ibid.*, 492 ; Mozzi, II., 135.

[7] " . . . eenen zoo grooten man, die als een zonne niet alleen verlichtede de geheele wereld, naar zelfs de engelen in den hemel . . ." (in H. J. Allard, in *Studiën*, LIX. [1902], 209).

of France,[1] but only papal approval could have a decisive effect. On the very day of the election a letter was written to Innocent XIII., praying him to confirm Steenoven's nomination and on May 18th the elect himself wrote to Rome, forwarding his profession of faith, viz. that of the Council of Trent which, in view of existing circumstances, could not be considered adequate. Other letters from the Chapter followed on August 1st and December 29th. Innocent XIII. was about to reply with a sentence of excommunication when his voice was silenced by death.[2]

Quesnel's influence made itself felt not only in Holland but in the Austrian Netherlands also.[3] Servais Hoffreumont, a parish priest of the diocese of Liége, was known as an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* and for this he was accordingly taken to task by the Vicar-General.[4] Hoffreumont refused to recognize the Vicar-General as competent to judge him and appealed to the Emperor, on the ground that the action against him was contrary to the laws of the Empire and the prerogatives of Liége. He then repaired to Vienna in person, to forward his cause with the imperial Aulic Council. Besides the incompetence of the judge, he pleaded that the Bull *Unigenitus* had been published without imperial *placet* and accordingly did not possess force of law within the Empire; the Emperor was competent to prevent the introduction of new formulas of faith which lacked the assent of the Church;

[1] In 1723, by the Bishop of Boulogne, in 1724 by the Bishops of Auxerre, Montpellier and Senez (*Recueil des témoignages*, 185 *seq.*, 189, 198). After the consecration, letters of recognition came from the Bishops of Montpellier (November 13, 1724), Auxerre (January 28, 1725), Bayeux (March 5, 1725), Mâcon (March 8, 1725), Pamiers (March 22, 1725), from the Vicar-General of Rodez (March 19, 1725) (*ibid.*, 201–8).

[2] [Dupac], 493; Mozzi, II., 141; [Cadry], III., Sec. 7, p. 51.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, p. 2 *seqq.*

[4] April 23, 1720, *ibid.*, p. 2. On Hoffreumont, *cf.* H. J. Allard in *Studiën*, 1878, 47–54; *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XI., 464.

in acting thus he was not arrogating to himself the right to decide dogmatic questions but merely prevented people from adding anything to the faith professed by the Church without her clear consent.[1]

The imperial Government disapproved of the steps taken by the Vicar-General of Liége and showed itself favourable to Hoffreumont. An ordinance addressed to the Elector of Cologne as Bishop of Liége[2] commanded that an end be put to the Vicar-General's "persecution" of the Jansenists and that a report on the matter be sent in within two months. How Government circles in Vienna viewed the case appears from an instruction of the Emperor to his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Althan. The troubles, we read, to which the Constitution *Unigenitus* had given rise in France, were imperceptibly spreading beyond the frontiers, not only into the Austrian Netherlands, but likewise into divers dioceses of the Empire. As was shown by the memorials enclosed, they had led to an intolerable oppression of clergy and laity. Germany was already sufficiently torn by religious dissensions, hence it was absolutely necessary to stem the progress of the evil and to quench as quickly as possible a conflagration fanned by excessive zeal. But whilst the matter was being studied, they had repeated painful experiences. It was reported that in the dioceses of Cologne, Trèves, Liége, Malines and others, certain ecclesiastical judges allowed themselves to be carried away by the incautious eagerness of certain over-zealous people who lacked vision, for they were inconsiderately taking the unwonted road of a stern Inquisition; their first question to the learned and the unlearned, to men and women in the confessional, and even on their death-beds, related to this unfortunate Constitution of Clement XI. and the dying were allowed to expire without absolution if they pleaded ignorance as their excuse. Thus were spirits embittered, priests rendered odious, the devout scandalized and the ungodly strengthened in their impiety.

[1] [Cadry], III., Sec. 3, p. 3 *seq.*

[2] September 9 1721, *ibid.*, p. 4 *seq.*

Let Cardinal Althan represent to the Pope that in Germany it was not possible to pursue the line of harsh rigour which so many Archbishops and Bishops had taken with their demand for a fresh promulgation of the aforesaid Constitution and their insistence on its being accepted. Especially was it necessary to leave the common people in peace and in its blissful ignorance.

The Elector of Cologne's reply to the ordinance concerning Hoffreumont [1] was to the effect that he was not competent to alter the dogmatic definitions of the Holy See, especially after they had been received by the Bishops, nor could he allow them to be attacked with impunity by his subjects. The ordinance declared that there was nothing the Emperor had so much at heart as to maintain unimpaired the Bishop's authority in the spiritual sphere.[2] But that authority would be overturned if a Bishop was compelled to tolerate priests tainted with the errors of Quesnel, errors which constituted an obvious peril for public tranquillity also. The Constitution had been accepted throughout the diocese of Liége; those who had refused to subscribe to it numbered less than a score. If there were any secret adherents of Quesnel in the diocese, prompt measures must be taken and the Bishop could not suffer such views to take root and to spread among the people. But this would undoubtedly happen if Hoffreumont and his associates were granted what they wanted, for in that event other Quesnellists would spread their errors with impunity all over the diocese. There had never been any "persecution"; nothing more had been asked of Hoffreumont than what had been demanded from the other suspect clergy who, with three or four exceptions, had all subscribed, as had also all candidates for Holy Orders.

The Vicar-General of Liége did not carry the imperial ordinance into effect,[3] and in the end Hoffreumont's appeal was rejected by an imperial decree.[4] Hoffreumont fled to

[1] November 27, 1721, *ibid.*, p. 9 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[4] By imperial decree and covering letter for the Elector, February 5, 1723, *ibid.*, Sec. 6, p. 62.

Holland where he became a professor at the Jansenist Seminary of Amersfoort. He died at Rijnwijck, among the fugitive Jansenist Cistercians of Orval. Shortly before his death he had joined the French Appellants and revoked his previous subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula.[1]

After the Emperor had finally sided with the Bishops in the affair of Liége, he even went a step further. On the representations of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines he declared, by letters to the Governor and the Bishops of the Netherlands,[2] that the Bull *Unigenitus* had been validly promulgated in those countries and that this promulgation was to have its full effect in law. Disciplinary action should be taken against any public and scandalous opposition to the Bull.[3]

(5.)

With regard to the development of the missions, Innocent XIII.'s short pontificate is memorable for the fact that he completed what his predecessors had initiated. Thus he approved the rules of the Missionary College of the Trinitarians of S. Maria delle Fornaci, which had been founded in Rome on the model of the Franciscan Colleges.[4] He subjected it to Propaganda, with the express purpose of fostering the

[1] Copy of the document in [NIVELLE], II., *Suite*, App. 40, *Ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*, are given isolated appeals from Malines, Antwerp. Namur and Liége of the years 1729, 1731, 1735 and 1737.

[2] May 26, 1723, in [CADRY], III., Sec. 7, p. 52.

[3] In 1732 the Prince-Bishop of Liége decreed that all those who did not accept the constitution *Unigenitus* would *ipso facto* fall under the ban of the Church. In Maestricht the Quesnellists appealed against the decree to the States which exercised sovereign power in Maestricht, together with the Prince-Bishop of Liége. The States, in fact, did intervene, a fact which led to altercations between the two Powers (FLEURY, LXXIV., 22–9; Decree of the States, September 6, 1732, *ibid.*, 25 *seq.*). On December 23, 1739, by order of the Pope, the Bishop of Liége published a new decree to enforce the Constitution. This time it met with no opposition (*ibid.*, LXXVI., 281).

[4] *Cf.* XXXIII., 365.

apostolic spirit in the whole Order.[1] On February 3rd, 1721, Clement XI. had created the diocese of Fogaras for the Uniate Rumanians of Transilvania; on July 17th of the following year Clement's successor promulgated a Bull on the subject.[2] For the purpose of healing a schism among the Maronites, the Holy See had despatched to Mount Lebanon Abbot Gabriel Eva.[3] Innocent XIII. was able to congratulate the Patriarch Peter and his people on the restoration of unity.[4] The gravest hindrance to the progress of reunion among the Ruthenians was the circumstance that the converts were punished with confiscation of their property for having remained in schism; a Brief of February 10th, 1724, sought to put an end to this abuse.[5] The new Pope only followed in the steps of his predecessors when, at the request of the Commissary of the Franciscans, Emmanuel del Rio, he confirmed anew all their privileges in the Holy Land[6]; the Custos and Guardian was empowered to administer Confirmation.[7]

The missions were bound to benefit at least indirectly by the erection, by the Pope, of the College of Santiago de Leon of Caracas into a University with nine chairs of philosophy and theology[8]; by the faculty granted in perpetuity to the Augustinian Hermits of Peru and Michoacan to bestow the dignity of Doctors on six of their members,[9] and by the approval of the statutes of the Congregation of St. Hippolytus in the West Indies.[10] The Brazilian Carmelites of the provinces of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão were also empowered

[1] Brief of August 4, 1721, *Ius pontif.*, II., 348.

[2] *Ibid.*, 345.

[3] XXXIII., 362.

[4] HERGENRÖTHER, IV., 148; DIB, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 73 *seqq.*

[5] *Ius pontif.*, 363.

[6] *Ibid.*, 345.

[7] *Ibid.*, 351.

[8] August 19, 1722, *ibid.*, 358 *seq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 353 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*

[10] *Ibid.*, 356 *seq.*

to confer the doctorate in theology.[1] The Augustinian Province of Mexico was authorized to increase the number of its ordinary Masters of theology by eight. From these petitions we gather that the province already numbered twelve Masters of theology, forty-five monasteries, fifty-five parishes for natives and 1,000 members.[2] Whilst these dispositions bear witness to a desire of maintaining and even raising the intellectual level of the missionary Orders, a decree of Propaganda placing the Colleges of the Observants under the immediate authority of the General, points to the determination to put the direction of these most important missionary institutions in the best hands.

The progress of the work of spreading Christianity continued to depend on the religious Orders. The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, which is so important to-day, only entered upon its magnificent development in the nineteenth century; up to the end of the eighteenth century it only fulfilled in a small measure the hopes with which its foundation had been greeted. But its importance was great even in the first years because many of the Vicars Apostolic belonged to it, though in 1722 it only counted nine priests and four Bishops in its Far-Eastern missions.[3] One cause of the growing decline of the Society, besides the difficulties of the period, was the circumstance that the two Superiors, Brisacier and Tiberge, had to strive with all their might to prevent the infiltration of Jansenism: they inexorably refused any applicant who was in any way suspect in this respect.[4] In 1717 three of the Directors of the Society had to be dismissed on account of Jansenism.[5] Tiberge and Brisacier informed the Pope of the fact and in their letter they admit that the heresy had penetrated into the missions.[6] The Seminary was subsequently

[1] *Ibid.*, 361 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.*

[3] LAUNAY, 479 *seq.*, 499, 501 *seq.*

[4] BRUCKER in *Études*, LXVII. (1896), 500.

[5] LAUNAY, I., 491.

[6] "D'une part, ce sont des hommes imbus de nouvelles doctrines, qui se sont introduits dans ces belles missions, et croient

able to purge itself before Innocent XIII. of the suspicion of Jansenism,[1] but on the very day of that Pope's death De Teneim wrote that rumour had it that there were rebels against the Pope in the Seminary. Innocent decided that all these should be dismissed.[2]

We hear but little of fresh conquests in the mission field during the reign of Innocent XIII., though after a royal edict of 1723 all the natives of the Isle of Mauritius were instructed in the Catholic faith, with the aid of the French India Company.[3] In California the Jesuits founded new missions in 1721, so that the Gospel was preached over the whole of the southern section of the Peninsula.[4] The zeal of the Franciscans in the missions of Texas, Ecuador and Peru is attested by the martyrdom of some of their missionaries in 1721.[5] On the Maranhão the Franciscans ministered to

pouvoir seuls les occuper. D'autre part, toute la mission s'attire de la haine et de la jalousie, pour avoir comme admis dans son sein la peste de ces erreurs " (LAUNAY, I., 492). Instead of signing the Bull, the Seminary priest Fleury crumpled it up and threw it in the face of the Provicar who had demanded the signature (*cf.* LEMMENS, 113). When Clement XI. demanded subscription to the Bull *Unigenitus* as a preliminary condition for the consecration of the Seminary priests Le Blanc and Guisain as missionary bishops, instructions were sent to the missionaries from the Seminary by the Jansenist parish priest Krys, of Amsterdam, advising them not to accept the Bull. Le Blanc died in China before his consecration, Guisain was consecrated without having subscribed to the Bull, probably because only the Brief of nomination but not the Papal demand from the consecrators had been transmitted to him. [CADRY], IV., Sec. 29, p. 292). There were disturbances in the seminary when Jobard, an opponent of the Bull, was made Superior; the matter ended with Jobard's appeal against the Constitution and his final expulsion from the Seminary (*ibid.*, 292–312). *Cf.* Appendix No. 16.

[1] LAUNAY, I., 480 *seqq.*

[2] [CADRY], IV., 305.

[3] SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 369 *seqq.*

[4] ASTRÁIN, VII., 273.

[5] LEMMENS, 247, 287, 294.

500 converts in five stations.[1] We read glowing accounts of the great zeal of the Jesuit José Gumilla, on the Orinoco, where he founded five new Reductions between 1718–1722.[2] A report of Archbishop Zuloaga of Lima to the Pope speaks highly of the missions of the Jesuits and the Bethlemites in Peru; among the ten bishops of the Vice-Kingdom he singles out for special eulogy the two Dominicans, Nicolalde, Bishop of Concepción in Chile, and Mimbela of Trujillo.[3] Whilst the Jesuits maintained their high standard in Peru, in spite of the universal moral decadence, symptoms of a loss of fibre appeared in Quito which rendered necessary the intervention of the General of the Order.[4]

In 1722 the Barnabite Calchi and the secular priest Vittoni founded a mission at Pegu in Farther India. The King of Alva authorized Calchi to preach and to build churches; he even went so far as to speak of the Pope as the first among men. Vittoni was sent to Rome as the bearer of the King's gifts to Innocent XIII., to do homage to him in Alva's name and to pray for more missionaries.[5]

(6.)

Calchi and Vittoni had journeyed to the East in the suite of Mezzabarba, the Papal Legate whose "permissions" led to a further increase and confusion of the dispute over the Chinese rites. Naturally enough the Jesuit missionaries in China interpreted Mezzabarba's instruction in their favour. The Emperor Kanghi sent one of their number, Niccolò Gianpriamo, to Rome by the overland route in the suite of the departing Russian ambassador. In November, 1772, Gianpriamo had his first audience with Innocent XIII.

[1] Astráin, VII., 431.
[2] *Ibid.*, 459.
[3] *Ibid.*, 331 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 378.
[5] Schmidlin, 387; Gallo, *Storia del cristianesimo nell' impero Birmano*, I. (1862), 92.

and another in the following year, when he explained[1] that Clement XI., through Mezzabarba, had complied with some of the Emperor's wishes when he allowed precisely those rites which were most contested and which most surprised the Europeans. Only three points were left undecided, on which the Emperor awaited a favourable answer. The first concerned the divine names of *Tien* and *Shang-ti*. Might they not be used to designate the true God, since the Emperor and the Chinese *literati* had so often used them in the same sense? Might not likewise the tablets of Confucius and the ancestors, with the customary inscription *Goei*, be tolerated seeing that according to the Emperor's declaration and in the opinion of the *literati* and that of most of the missionaries, they pointed not to a real but to a purely spiritual presence, or were mere reminders of Confucius and the ancestors? Lastly, was it really necessary, whilst carrying out ceremonies authorized by the Pope, to exact an explicit profession of faith? No one saw anything wrong in these rites, but an impression would be created that there was something evil in them if what the decree seemed to prescribe was actually carried out.

When the Emperor contended for these three points with some of the missionaries, Gianpriamo argues, he fought on behalf of truth which was clearly acknowledged throughout his vast empire. After the promulgation of so many imperial decisions, which Kanghi was prepared to maintain resolutely, the Emperor fought for his honour and prestige as well as for the tranquillity of his empire, which would be destroyed if hands were laid on inviolable laws. Painful experiences had been made in this respect in the course of the past years; the Emperor had been so hurt that he had forbidden the practice of the Christian religion. The execution of the prohibition had indeed been put off, but only in the expectation of an answer from the Pope which would meet the Emperor's wishes. On the basis of this expectation alone

[1] His memorial in PLATEL, VII., 151–4, and in *Anecdotes*, V., 193–8.

the Emperor had instructed the tribunals not to molest the Christians and the missionaries for the time being.[1]

By the time Gianpriamo made these requests they had become objectless. On December 22nd, 1722, Kanghi was carried off by death and as the Bavarian Jesuit Ignatius Kögler writes,[2] with him vanished the last human support for Christianity in China. The new Emperor, Yong-Tshing, had never had any dealings with Europeans and now that he was Emperor he designed at most to make use of one or two of their number. True, the imprisoned Lazarist Pedrini recovered his freedom on the occasion of the change of regime; on the other hand the Mandarin Chao, who favoured the Christians, was thrown into prison and one of the missionaries was executed. The Jesuit Mourao, who had enjoyed the special regard of the late Emperor on account of his knowledge of Chinese, was one day asked by Kanghi who, in his opinion, should succeed him. Mourao endeavoured to evade the dangerous question but ended by praising the qualities of the Emperor's ninth son. The consequence was that Yong-Tshing, who had already rendered six of his brothers harmless, banished Mourao to Tartary together with this ninth son of Kanghi.[3] The rooms in which the two were confined were only separated by a partition, hence they were able to establish communication with each other. This promptly caused them to be suspected of high treason, a suspicion which procured for the prince a harsher confinement whilst it led Mourao to the scaffold.[4]

[1] *Anecdotes*, V., 190–8.

[2] "Cum mortuo cecidit pene omne, quod in humanis erat, sustentaculum s. religionis in hoc imperio." Letter of October 10, 1723, State Archives, Munich, *Jesuit. in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278.

[3] *Letter of the Jesuit Havich, October 8, 1723, *ibid.*

[4] Bahr, *Merkwürdigkeiten*, 130 *seq.* The enemies of the Jesuits spread the rumour that Mourao had really intended to commit high treason. Bahr (131) says, however: "Ich stehe in einem solchen Ort, allwo die ganze Sache nicht unbekannt, ich wohne in demselben Zimmer, in welchem dieser angerühmte Pater lange Iahre gelebet, ich lebe unter solchen Mitbrüdern, die annoch

For the Chinese Christians there now opened a long period of persecution. On September 7th, 1723, the Viceroy of Fukiën published an edict ordering the Christians to renounce their faith, their eighteen churches to be seized and the missionaries to be banished.[1] The tribunal of the rites confirmed the decree; those missionaries who might be of use to the court were to remain at Peking, the others were to be taken to Macao. Meetings for Christian worship were made punishable.[2] The Emperor approved the decision on January 11th, 1724.[3] The missionaries were accordingly expelled and the churches turned into storehouses, schools or pagodas.[4] Only on August 1st, 1724, did Yong-Tshing grant

lebendige Zeugen sein können, sowohl des Lebenswandels dieses Missionarii, als des Ausgangs seines Tods, welches alles zu mehrer Sicherheit dem geneigten Leser dienen mag." Moreover it is hard to believe that if Mourao had really committed high treason, the first penalty would have been mere banishment. Mourao's "confession" contains nothing incriminating either himself or the ninth prince who, according to Mourao, had more than once said that he did not aspire to the throne. The final condemnation of Mourao, although based on treason, furnishes no concrete facts (*Anecdotes*, V., 88 *seq.*). Pedrini also seems to be inclined to believe the accusation, but, says the Carmelite Wolfgang, Pedrini falls under the spell of fixed ideas when he speaks of the Jesuits (Appendix, n. 9, § 3), and he too only speaks of a "suspicion" (soupçons) of the Emperor that the Christians were taking part in rebellions (THOMAS, 327). Recently, in a long chapter, THOMAS (307–315) has asserted that the conspiracy of P. Mourao must be regarded as a fact.

[1] DE MAILLA, XI., 384.

[2] *Ibid.*, 390 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 391.

[4] De Mailla's letter of October 16, 1724, *lettres édif.*, III., 365 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 346–364, further particulars on the edicts of persecution. According to the enemies of the Jesuits the "conspiracy" of Mourao was the principal reason for the persecution of the Christians (THOMAS, 316 *seq.*). But there are many arguments against this supposition: (1) the persecution did not begin at Peking, but at Fukiën; (2) it began only on September 7, 1723,

an audience to the Jesuits, when he informed them that he would allow them to remain at Peking, and in Canton, but that Confucius must not be touched. He told them that he himself, as far as religion was concerned, honoured heaven, the Lord of heaven, *Foe* (Buddha) and the Pope. If the whole of China were to become Christian, she would sink so low as to be no more than a vassal of the Europeans.[1] Every effort to make the Emperor see things in another light was in vain.

If evil days befell the missionaries in China, worse ones came for the Jesuits in Rome. For a considerable time already dark clouds had been gathering over their heads; under Innocent XIII., who was no friend of theirs, the storm seemed about to burst. The worst reports about them had reached Rome. Tournon ascribed his failure to their intrigues; embittered as he was by illness and imprisonment, he suspected in every untoward event that befell him the hand and the ill will of these supposed enemies of his.[2] His friends shared his sentiments. In their opinion Kanghi was prepared to concede everything that the Pope asked of him through Tournon, brilliant prospects were opening for the Church

whereas Mourao's arrest took place already on April 3, 1723; (3) in the documents on the persecution no reference at all is made to Mourao; what is found fault with in Christianity is rather: its recommendation of the practice of virginity, the assistance at divine worship by men and women in common, the neglect of the worship of the ancestors and auricular confession (*cf.* the documents in De Mailla, XI., 379–400). "Depuis le temps que durent vos disputes, vous voyez le train que prennent vos affaires," said Kanghi's thirteenth son to the Jesuits (*ibid.*, 392).

[1] *Letter of the Jesuits of Peking, January 13, 1725, State Archives, Munich, *loc. cit.* There the Emperor is quoted as saying: "Coeli Dominum vocatis Tienchu et risui vos exponitis, sicut secta Foe, per Tienchu vocandi Coeli Dominum." *Cf.* De Mailla, XI., 401.

[2] XXXIII., 446. *Cf.*, e.g., his letter to the Jesuits of January 18, 1715, *Anecdotes*, II., 175 *seqq.* According to this they are the cause of all the misfortunes of the Chinese mission, the Emperor is a mere plaything in their hands, everywhere they put traps for him, i.e. for the Legate.

in China, had not the Jesuits induced the Emperor to insist on the rites and thus destroyed the magnificent hopes for the future.[1] Maigrot, who on his return to Europe was summoned to Rome to report, worked there in the same sense. In a dissertation on the right of patronage in China, he

[1] *Vidde [Tournon] aperta la porta alla cattolica fede, per stabilirsi per sempre nella China, poichè l'imperatore di China stava molto bene inchinato di concederli quanto era per dimandarli in nome del SS. Pontefice, certo che l'havesse dimandato un imperial diploma per firmare in perpetuum la santa fede nella China, o di permettersi in perpetuum in ogni città una chiesa ai christiani, l'havria certamente ottenuto, se non se li fossero opposti, che voglion esser soli per vivere a gusto loro in China.—Vidde e toccò con mani come li pretesi obedientissimi figli della santa madre Chiesa unironsi in Pekino contro di quella. Oh Dio! Se questi si fossero uniti con li santi dettami di Sua Em., o almeno non li fossero opposti, già si saria stabilita per sempre la santa madre Chiesa cattolica in quest'imperio di China, poichè l'imperatore di questa stava ben inchinato a favorirla (Le presenti relazioni, che contengono epilogatamente li più publici e manifesti strapazzi, che patì in China et in Macao l'em. sig. card. di Tournon, National Library, Munich. *Cod. ital.*, 568, *Miscell. stor. eccl.*, f. 221). To this the Jesuits replied: *An ipse imperator in gratiam paucorum Europaeorum convellere opinionem publicam, contra literatorum et procerum suorum sententiam et libros ire, incurrere gravem seditionis ac tumultus metum voluisse censendus est? Quaenam in hoc toto negotio authoritas apud illum nostra esse potuit? Ita enim nonnulli dictitant, nos id ab eo et proceribus consequi posse, ut ritus illi et consuetudines a christianis penitus omittantur. Nae, qui sic loquuntur, errant longissime, neque satis animadvertunt, quam sit natio in priscis moribus ritibusque conservandis religiosa et constans, quos ita mordicus tenet, ut fortunas, dignitates, omnia denique sibi potius eripi patiatur, quos si vel minimum attentare conentur Europaei, tanquam hostes reipublicae, impii, conscelerati exterminabuntur. Testis est Iaponia . . .; floreret adhuc inter Iapones christiana lex, si cautius cum illis et prudentius initio res gesta fuisset. Exulcerati sunt eorum animi a malevolorum dolo aut parum consulta bonorum pietate . . . (Libellus supplex of the Chinese Jesuits to Clement XI., State Archives, Munich, *loc. cit.*, *ibid.*, 279).

endeavours to prove that nothing could be more disastrous for the missions in the East than to grant this right to "the Portuguese, or more correctly, to the Jesuits", whilst contrariwise, nothing would so benefit the Chinese Church as its deliverance from the servitude in which it found itself as a result of the greater part of the Empire having been assigned to the Jesuits.[1] According to the author of this dissertation, every salutary measure of the Holy See was thwarted by the Jesuits; they were tyrants against whom no one dared raise a finger; every violence committed by the Portuguese was instigated by them. The Jesuit General was the Pope in those parts, with full powers to preach the gospel of Confucius.[2]

Maigrot was a member of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions [3] and the most active opponent of the Jesuits in the question of the rites was precisely that Seminary. Quemener and Charmot, who were Maigrot's agents in Rome since 1694, also belonged to it. On the question of the rites the most distinguished missionary Bishop of the rising institution, Pallu, had been completely won over to the views of the Dominican Navarrete, whom he had met at Madagascar when on his way to China whilst the latter was returning to Europe.[4]

[1] *De iure patronatus in ecclesiis imperii Sinarum, Staatsbibl, Munich, *Cod. ital.*, 562.

[2] "Cum omnimoda facultate Confucii evangelium Sinis praedicandi. . . . Verun est, quod quotiescunque Iesuitae Sinarum imperatorem impellent ad Legatum Apost., missionarios et ipsum Papam, si illuc iret, Macaum detrudendos tradendosque in manus Lusitanorum, tunc domini seu potius satellites egregii futuri Lusitani sint, illisque facturi, quidquid Iesuitae voluerint." *Ibid.*

[3] In Reusch, *Index*, II., 773. In another place he is erroneously said to be a Lazarist.

[4] "*Je me trouve si esclairé des entretiens de ce bon religieux et des mémoires que j'en ai dressé qu'il me semble que j'en suis suffisamment pourveu pour me bien conduire dans l'estat présent des affaires de cette mission" (Pallu, December 28, 1670, *Lettres*, I., 129). "Je ne puis vous exprimer combien les entretiens que j'ai eus avec ce bon religieux m'ont donné de secours pour servir

In the sequel the Seminary Priests addressed petition upon petition to the Pope against them [1]; these documents spared neither the defenders of the rites nor their writings. Moreover the Seminary succeeded in getting the Sorbonne to take part in the dispute. As some of the qualificators of the Roman Congregation favoured the Jesuits, Charmot sought to neutralize their influence by obtaining from the Sorbonne, through Archbishop Noailles of Paris, an expression of opinion on the points in dispute which were then being examined in Rome. As a matter of fact, on May 8th, 1700, several Doctors condemned in the severest terms no fewer than twenty-nine propositions dealing with the rites. Moreover the Director of the Seminary denounced to the Sorbonne two publications by the Jesuits Le Comte and Le Gobien; as a result of thirty sittings of the Doctors, five propositions from these writings were condemned on October 18th, 1700.[2] By prohibiting all further writing on the rites Clement XI. put a stop to the polemics, though two decades later the Seminary [3] caused to be published by the Jansenist Villermeule, a collection of documents [4] which constitute an odious libel on the Jesuits.

A Dominican missionary in China, whom the persecution

efficacement la mission de la Chine qui est reduit dans un très fascheux estat" (to Nesmond, August 4, 1671, *ibid.*, II., 350). On his journey Pallu was accompanied by Artus de Lyonne and Charles Maigrot, who were afterwards his most violent opponents in the dispute about the rites. LAUNAY, I., 256.

[1] April 20, 1700 (CORDIER, II., 886), October 15, 1709, and February 2, 1710 (*Anecdotes*, III., 210–18, 222–235), *Réponse à la protestation des Jésuites* (*ibid.*, 236–241), etc. *Cf. Anecdotes*, I., 35 *seq.*

[2] BRUCKER in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2374 *seq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II., 1358–1361. The condemned propositions in FERET, *Époque moderne*, II., 373–8; DUPIN, *Hist. de l'Église*, IV., Paris, 1726, 403 *seq.*

[3] REUSH, *Index*, II., 777.

[4] *Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine*, 7 vols., Paris, Aux dépens de la Société, 1733–1742.

drove to Rome, wrote there in Maigrot's sense.[1] For this reporter also it is quite evident, though he too furnishes no proof, that every unfavourable measure must be ascribed to the Jesuits,[2] though at the same time he extols the conciliatory dispositions of his brethren in religion towards them [3]; care was taken to give the widest publicity to these accusations by means of a Spanish, Latin and French edition.

Even more disastrous for the Jesuits was the enmity of many missionaries and officials of Propaganda. Propaganda's first Secretary, Francesco Ingoli, who was in office between 1622–1649, gave proof of his short-sighted preventions against them, to quote only one instance, by his attitude towards that great Englishwoman, Mary Ward.[4] His successor, Urban Cerri (1675–1679) drew up, on the basis of inadequate material, a report on the missions of so much open hostility to the Order that certain non-Catholics showed their appreciation of it by the publication of a French and English translation at Amsterdam and in England.[5] In his pamphlets against the Jesuits Antoine Arnauld was able to emphasize the fact that he had drawn information not only from the Dominican archives in Rome and Paris,[6] but even from those of Propaganda.[7] After Clement XI.'s condemnation of the conduct of the Jesuits in China, it is easy to understand that the other missionaries should have deemed it a meritorious act, and even a duty, to turn their backs on them. The

[1] François Gonzales de St. Pierre, *Relation de la nouvelle persécution de la Chine jusqu'à la mort du cardinal Tournon*, 1714.

[2] Dupin, *loc. cit.*, 51, 70, 286.

[3] *Ibid.*, 75.

[4] Jos. Grisar in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXIII. (1927), 42. *Cf.* the present work, XXIX., 24 *seqq.*

[5] R. Corrigan, *Die Kongregation "de Propaganda Fide" und ihre Tätigkeit in Nordamerika*, Munich, 1928, 19 *seqq.*

[6] *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXXIV., 314, 319, 466, 471, 562 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 472, 587; XXXIII., 289, 328, etc.

Superior of the French Jesuits in Peking, d'Entrecolles, wrote on November 3rd, 1724, to the French Assistant of the General in Rome, that the missionaries of Propaganda were so prejudiced against the Jesuits, that without a miracle of the first order, it would be impossible to remove their preventions, in fact they could not describe things as they saw them with their own eyes, for if they did they would be accused of having gone over to the Jesuit side, and would be punished accordingly ; thus Tomacelli of the Clerics Minor and a friend of the Jesuits, had been recently recalled from China.[1]

The campaign of calumny, which eventually led to the suppression of the Order, had been inaugurated in the first years of the century. Already there were those who openly worked for the destruction of the Society of Jesus. In the Congregations dealing with the rites, Cardinal Casanata said that though the Society had been at one time the Church's right hand, even the right hand must be cut off when it has

[1] " *V. R. vedrà nella mia lettera scritta al P. Generale, che per la nostra giustificazione mi fondo molto sopra le diffuse scritture degli anni precedenti. In effetto io le stimo convincenti per li fatti, de' quali si tratta. Ma voi direte, queste non sono che testimonianze de' Gesuiti. A che rispondo, che le persone inviate qui dalla S. Congregazione sono venuti così prevenuti contro di noi sulli punti contestati, che sarebbe necessario un miracolo di prima classe il rimuoverli da un tal pregiudicio. Nè pure si sono tralasciate le offerte di danaro per impegnare qualcheduno a sostenere la loro causa. Io lo so da persona che è testimonio a chi fu fatta tale offerta. E come mai si potrà sperare nell'avvenire, che alcun soggetto della S. Congregazione ardisca scrivere le cose come noi le scriviamo e le veggiamo con gli occhi, per non dispiacere a certe persone, perchè ciò basta per il dire che il tale è passato al partito de' Gesuiti, che è un falso fratello e perchè sia severamente punito ? L'esempio del P. Tomacelli chierico regolare minore richiamato quest'ora dalla Cina, come altresì del S. Gagliardi cirussico arresterà da qui innanzi qualunque della S. Congregazione dallo scrivere anche sulla testimonianza de' propri occhi ciò che giudicasse esser favorevole a' Gesuiti." Letter, property of the Jesuits.

become useless.[1] The Procurator of Propaganda in China, Perroni, sums up his opinion of them in one sentence: "Away with them!"[2] When Bishop Laghi of Lorima, Vicar Apostolic of Shansi, replied that if the Jesuits had been at fault, they might amend, his one answer was: "Away with them!" and when told that it was monstrous so to condemn them, he repeated his "Away with them!"[3]

The Jesuits considered as their principal enemy and calumniator the Lazarist Pedrini who long enjoyed unshakeable prestige in Rome.[4] They were so convinced that envy and jealousy were the driving power in the troubles occasioned by the question of the rites, that like the two women before Solomon, they were prepared to renounce utterly the child of their anxiety and toil, the Chinese mission, and to surrender it to their opponents, lest everything perish amid the endless quarrels.[5] The Jansenist literature, which never ceased to fan the discord, took advantage of the accusations against the Jesuits in order to work for their destruction, and on occasion it openly admits the fact.[6]

[1] "*Quod autem ea praecipue adversariorum intentio fuerit, ut Societatem, si possent, penitus destruerent, S. D. N. Clemens XI. ipsemet satis advertit et iterato claris verbis dixit; quin etiam asseruit, non dubitasse em. card. Casanata in una congregatione, cui ipse adhuc cardinalis intererat, palam edicere, Societatem fuisse quidem aliquando manum dexteram Ecclesiae, sed etiam manum dexteram Ecclesiae, cum iam inutilis esset, abscindendam esse." Castner, c. 4. [2] "Eradicemus illos, eradicandi sunt."

[3] *Sommario addizionale, n. 4, in Appendix, n. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 1.

[5] "*Date illi, date, obsecro, infantem vivum et non interficiatur. Date illi missionem totam, integram, plenam, tantummodo ne pereant animae Sinarum, quas in Christo genuimus" (Stumpf, Succinta chronologica narratio, dedicated to the holy Angels). "*Quodque iam alias . . . professi sumus, denuo obsecrare [nos testamur]: detur alteri, dum viva servetur, proles, nec divisa interficiatur" (letter of the Jesuits of Peking to the General, dat. October 28, 1724, appendix, n. 7*a*).

[6] *Anecdotes*, III., 242: "Le feu d'une division [kindled by the Jesuits] qui selon toutes les apparences ne s'éteindra que par

True, Maigrot and Pallu were no followers of Jansenist teachings,[1] but it can scarcely be questioned that the hatred of which the Society was the object sprang from the spirit which, as a result of Jansenist manœuvres, had taken root in a considerable section of the French clergy, in fact that spirit had even reached the missions[2]; and almost more than anything else it insisted on aversion for the Society of Jesus.

The worst consequence for the Jesuits of this aversion was that the Legate Mezzabarba allowed himself to be drawn into the opposition which confronted them. Tournon, his predecessor, deserves our admiration for the intrepidity with which he sought to fulfil his mission, but his successor possessed no such qualities. Mezzabarba was not a strong character. At first and whilst at Peking, he seemed to stand up wholeheartedly for the blamelessness of the Jesuits, but at Macao, and after his return to Europe, he spoke in a different tone. The change of attitude is undeniable. After Mezzabarba's *volte-face* the Jesuit Mourao wrote to him on September 25th, 1726, from his place of banishment at Si-tai-tum. In this letter the Jesuit confronted Mezzabarba with his earlier statements: the Legate, Mourao wrote, had taken heaven to witness that he would support the Jesuits in the affair of the rites.[3] Shortly before Mezzabarba's departure from Peking, the three highest Jesuit Superiors called on him and prayed him on their knees for his parting counsel and advice. If he had any fault to find with them, let him do so freely

l'extinction de la Société qui est l'unique cause de nos malheurs." *Ibid.*, IV., 342 note: [Tournon] "dont la canonisation annoncera à l'Univers la ruine prochaine de la Société qui l'a fait mourir," etc.

[1] LAUNAY, I., 182, 333.

[2] Above, p. 68.

[3] "*Alem destas rezões, que bastão a persuadirme que V. S. Illma não he inimigo nosso, tenho para a mesma persuaçao outro motivo na quelle juramento com que V. S. Illma tomando o ceo per testemunha me uno praesente jurou defender o credito dos Jesuitas na causa Sinica." *Cf.* Appendix, n. 14.

and if they were guilty, let him punish them. The Legate replied that what he had observed in the members of the Order was all most pleasing to God and worthy of the highest praise; if it were otherwise he would not have withheld correction until the last moment. Let the Fathers be of good heart, he would defend their innocence in Rome against those who calumniated them and would procure some relief for them.[1] This was the burden of an apology the accused Jesuits addressed to the cardinalitial Congregation which was charged to decide their fate, and this in Mezzabarba's life-time. In the letter referred to above, Mourao boldly, though in polite terms, tells Mezzabarba to his face that fear was the reason of his change of conduct. Pedrini's name is also mentioned in this letter. In a pamphlet written by the latter and broadcast at Canton by Appiani, Mezzabarba was reproached with partiality for the Jesuits. Now, as the Legate had frequently observed to Mourao, this was precisely the reproach he was most afraid of, for nothing would so damage both his legation and the Mission in Rome.[2] Mourao bluntly tells Mezzabarba that he could only explain certain passages in his pastoral letter to the Chinese missionaries in the light of a desire to counteract the above-mentioned suspicion. The reason why the Legate had put off the defence of the Jesuits in Rome was because of the preventions against them which prevailed there.[3] However, if reasons had existed for temporarily hiding the truth, the time had come for justice to be done to them. Mourao reminds the Legate of declarations made by himself in China; namely that heroic efforts became an

[1] "* . . . se nihil nisi religiosum et valde commendabile in Societatis hominibus notasse, secus se ad illud usque tempus iustam monitionem, increpationem aut animadversionem non fuisse dilaturum. Bono insuper Patres animo esse iussit, se innocentiam et calumniis oppressorum patrocinium Romae suscepturum et levamen certe allaturum." Memorial of the Jesuits to the Congregation of Cardinals, September, 1726 (see below, p. 203, n. 6), No. 18.

[2] Appendix, n. 14 (f. 149b).

[3] *Ibid.* [f. 150b].

ecclesiastic of noble lineage where the service of God and the Church were concerned; he believed that God had reserved to him this mission to China for His service and for the good of the numerous Christian communities there. On another occasion he had declared that there would have been no easier road for him towards the cardinalate than if he had returned to Rome, without further effort to discharge his mission, when the Emperor refused him a first audience. "But of what use would the purple be to me before the tribunal of Christ if I had deceived His Vicar on earth, to the detriment of numberless souls?"[1]

Mezzabarba roundly rejected a later apology of the Jesuits as evidence against them on account of its manifest contradictions,[2] but before a fuller light was thrown on his own testimony, his evidence was bound to tilt the scales heavily.

In view of the constantly recurring accusations the Pope could not remain silent in the long run. By his orders Aluigi Carafa, the Secretary of Propaganda, directed a Brief, dated September 13th, 1728, to Michele Tamburini, the Jesuit General, which can be regarded as a forerunner of the decree of suppression of the year 1773.[3] The document begins by stating that after mature discussion and consideration the Pope had come to the definite conclusion that the excesses of the Jesuit missionaries in China could be tolerated no longer. They were for ever disobeying the directions of the Holy See, refused to carry out their duties as missionaries and to administer the Sacraments, to the very great injury to souls, and never ceased, by means of cunning artifices, to obstruct the execution of the Apostolic ordinances, more particularly that of Clement XI.'s Bull on the Chinese rites, although they had sworn to observe it. The General himself had failed in his duty towards men whose conduct was in

[1] *Ibid.*, [f. 152b].

[2] Below, p. 203 *seq.*

[3] "Ordini intimati al P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesu da Msgre Segretario della S. Congregatione di Propaganda per commando di N. S. Sotto li 13 septembre 1723," *Anecdotes*, V., 254–260.

open contradiction with his solemn declaration of submission of November 20th, 1711. He had also failed to carry out the command which Clement XI. had given to him and to his Assistants, in the presence of the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Sagripanti, and its Secretary, Archbishop Carafa, previous to Mezzabarba's departure, for though the insubordination of the Peking Jesuits in particular had come to his knowledge year by year, he had neglected to take suitable steps to enforce their compliance and had not even appealed to the Holy See when faced by their impudence.

Nevertheless in his fatherly gentleness the Pope was unwilling to act with the strictness with which he might well proceed. He had given his orders to the Secretary of Propaganda by word of mouth and confirmed them by a letter of the Secretary of State dated September 8th, 1723. These were now being communicated, on September 13th, to the General and his Assistants, with strict injunctions for their execution. They were to the following effect: 1. The General must find means to compel the Jesuits of China, Tonking and Cochinchina to obey strictly the papal prohibition of the rites and to resume their missionary activities and the administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the oath they had taken, but which they had failed to keep. Those who refused to obey were to be recalled from the mission field. 2. Within a period of three years, beginning on October 1st, 1723, the General must furnish proof of his own and his subjects' obedience; if he failed to do so the Society would be forbidden to receive novices after the lapse of three years. 3. From the day of the promulgation of this prohibition the General was to send no fresh missionaries to the Far East. 4. The General is to revoke all faculties to the contrary granted by subordinate Superiors. 5. The General is to write to and to bring the utmost pressure to bear on, the Jesuits in Peking in particular "who are known to be the originators and promoters of the imprisonment of other missionaries, where, to the greatest possible scandal they had acted as policemen and gaolers, especially on the occasion of the arrest of the priest Theodoric Pedrini." They must be made to do their utmost

to the end that he, as well as Appiani and Guigues, should recover their freedom. 7. The General must send a circular to the whole Order forbidding all opposition to the decree on the rites. 8. Gianpriamo is not to return to China without the Pope's leave. Nos. 6 and 9 settle the mode of execution.

Like so many other documents, a breach of confidence caused this one too to fall into the hands of the Jansenists, who published it.[1]

There is no need to insist on the crushing effect of this decree on the Chinese missionaries. In November, 1724, in a letter to Lisbon, the Bavarian Ignatius Kögler, after lamenting the collapse of the mission,[2] in consequence of the persecution by the Emperor Yong-Tshing, goes on to say: "Whilst we weep over these pitiful ruins, whilst we hope for some comfort from Europe, all we get is a letter from our General, written by order of Propaganda, which leaves us prostrate with grief and almost kills us! Thus nothing remains to us but extreme and universal abandonment. Good God! Until now I had believed that when, out of pure love of God and the Gospel, a man left his country to go to the ends of the earth, he ran no other risks than those which the Apostle of the Gentiles experienced in so large a measure, and that he would only have to undergo such trials as are wont to befall all men. But it is a more grievous trial and one beyond human endurance that the least of his sons should not only be rendered suspect to the Holy Father of enormous crimes, but that they should be condemned without first being tried, and that punishment should be extended even to our guiltless Mother [the Society of Jesus], a thing that causes the heretics to rejoice, the hypocrites to triumph and which, there is every reason to fear, will do grievous injury to the Church of God. My tears and sighs do not allow me to go on. If your Reverence can do anything, help us and our common Mother;

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] In a letter to Stiehl, confessor of the Queen of Portugal, reported in the latter's *letter of June 17, 1726, State Archives, Munich, *Iesuit. in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278. *Cf.* Appendix, No. 8.

appeal to our royal patrons. . . . Testimonies to our complete innocence of the things we are accused of have been forwarded year by year and in great abundance, so that one is amazed that fresh testimonials should be constantly required. Maybe these documents are buried in the Archives and are not produced lest the calumnies of our accusers should be confounded. Will the fresh attestations meet with a like fate, especially as the most unheard of crimes of which we are accused, are regarded as incontestable ? "

The Pope cannot be held responsible for the harsh language of the decree of Propaganda. When he was told of the manner in which his order had been communicated to the General, he declared that the directions and penalties were only to be regarded as having been intimated and that on the basis of the report of one party ; his wish was that a documented defence should be submitted by the Jesuits. This was done. The Pope reserved to himself the examination of the affair with a view to submitting it to a Congregation of Cardinals.[1]

Innocent XIII.'s death prevented an immediate examination by the Cardinals, but Tamburini, the General of the Society, had submitted an *apologia* during the Pope's lifetime.[2] Tamburini begins by observing that before judgment was given he would like to be informed of the main points of the accusation ; this had also been the Pope's wish, but effect had not been given to it. The Secretary of Propaganda had indeed let Gianpriamo know that he was free to submit anything he liked, but he was told nothing of the nature of the particular accusations. After Tamburini had ascertained that the inquiry was in progress and after Gianpriamo had requested, for three days in succession, that the accusations should be communicated to him, he was told that there were no instructions to that effect. The Secretary of State, Giorgio Spinola, was also approached with a like request. Thus it was clear that the Society had not refused to meet its accusers.[3]

[1] " *Informazione " of January, 1725, Appendix, No. 10.

[2] It is printed in a French translation only, without the documents, in *Anecdotes*, VI., 1–478.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7.

As for the accusations, Tamburini calls God to witness that he felt innocent of every one of the imputations and that he had good reason to believe that the greater number of his missionaries in China had not strayed from the path of duty.[1] To justify his own conduct Tamburini submitted documents showing that he had dispatched instructions to China ordering the prohibition of the rites to be complied with and rebuking the transgression of a few missionaries. Every year he had reported to the Holy See on the situation in the East and on the difficulties created by the observance of the decrees on the rites.[2]

For the rest the papal decrees of 1704 and 1710 were only published in China in the year 1715. The Bishop of Peking had represented to the Holy See the necessity of postponing the promulgation of the decrees and Fernandez, the Commissary of the Franciscans, wrote that not one of the Vicars Apostolic had published them. In these circumstances it was necessary for the General to hold his hand lest his orders should cross those of the Bishops.

With regard to his missionaries, the General states that he was in possession of convincing proofs of their prompt and willing obedience, with the exception of a very few individuals. Documentary attestations of their having sworn to the Bull was dispatched to Clement XI. who received them with every manifestation of intense satisfaction. For China, the

[1] "Non si cognosce gravata la conscienza" (*ibid.*, 4 *seq.*). The reprint of the defence in *Anecdotes*, Vol. VI., accompanies Tamburini's exposition with odious observations which have no objective value. For example, Tamburini's protestation of his innocence is countered thus (*loc. cit.*, 4) : "Le P. Tambourin ne se contente pas de refuser la soumission au jugement du Pape qui le condamne, . . . il se présente aux pieds du S. Père pour lui donner un démenti. Le Pape le blâme de sa négligence, le Général ose assurer qu'il n'a manqué à aucune des diligences nécessaires. Le Pape déclare les Jésuites de la Chine rebelles à ses ordres, le Général a la témérité de les dire innocens et soumis . . ." We refrain from making any further comment on such "answers".

[2] *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*, 42 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*

Vice-Provincial of China and Japan attested that the Jesuit missionaries caused their flock to submit, regardless of the danger of persecution, and a Propaganda missionary testified that all the missionaries had taken the oath to the Constitution.

The Jesuits of Cochinchina were accused of insubordination and the General deemed it his duty to take them to task; subsequently, however, he learnt that they had subscribed four times before the Vicar Apostolic obliged them to do so. When the Bishop of Malacca demanded compliance in Siam he too met with a willing response. One Jesuit, of the name of Sanna, had been singled out as having refused the oath and having permitted the Christians to practise the forbidden rites. By order of Propaganda he was rebuked and punished by Tamburini, but it turned out that Sanna had been falsely accused by the Jansenist Fleury and his innocence was affirmed not only by the Provincial but likewise by the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Buggio and the Franciscan Jerome of the Blessed Trinity.[1]

Tamburini admits that a number of missionaries had ceased to administer the Sacraments to the Chinese. He declares that

[1] *Ibid.*, 53 *seqq.* " *Catalogo di alcuni soggetti (*cf.* Appendix, n. 7) : Il P. Generale della Compagnia per ordine della S. Congregazione di Propaganda a' 28 Febr. 1720 gravissimamente riprende e intima castighi al P. Giov. Batt. Sanna per alcuni supposti reati di lui nella Cocincina. L'istesso ordina al P. Visitatore della Cina, che severamente castighi il P. Sanna e lo rimuova dalla missione. Il P. Sanna al primo Luglio 1721 protesta esser calumnie le accuse poste contro di lui, e d'essere state inventate da persone sospette di dottrina condemnata. A' 22 Luglio 1722 si lagna d'esser condamnato senza esser udito. Avvisa che il sig. Carlo di Flory un de' suoi accusatori fu scommunicato dal Vicario e dal Provicario Apost., ma non fe caso alcuno della scommunica. A' 26 Luglio 1722 asserisce, che il detto sig. Flory di nuovo era stato giudicato e publicamente scommunicato dal P. Cesati commissario delegato da Msgr. Mezzabarba, e manda copia di tali sentenze e scommuniche. Testimonianza del vescovo Bugiense Vicario Apost. a favor della calunniata innocenza del P. Sanna. Altra simil testimonianza d'un P. Francescano Provicario Apost. a favor del medesimo."

he had informed them of his disapproval and that the matter was now in order. The reason of the Jesuits' conduct lay in the fact that on account of their attachment to the rites, even after the papal decisions, most of the Chinese Christians were not fit to receive the Sacraments.[1] The missionaries of Propaganda continued to give the Sacraments, on the ground that there was no obligation to question penitents about their attitude to the rites, or, alternately, that one could be content with a promise on their part, even if one felt that it was not seriously meant. Thus they administered Baptism without saying a word about the prohibition of the tablets of the ancestors.[2] Some of them were content to hear half a dozen confessions after which they felt they could say that they had enforced the prohibition on their entire flock.

One of the most odious accusations with which Tamburini had to deal was that his subjects had instigated the arrest of other missionaries and that they had acted towards them in the capacity of policemen and gaolers. This calumny referred to the case of Appiani and Pedrini. Appiani, whilst acting as Tournon's interpreter, had incurred the Emperor's displeasure[3]; this he expiated by a close on twenty years imprisonment. But he himself admitted that the Jesuits were not to blame for his fate.[4] Pedrini had incurred the Emperor's anger because Kanghi held him responsible for the papal Constitution on the rites.[5] His resentment broke out when Pedrini refused to append his signature to the so-called "Diary" of the Mandarins, viz. an account of Mezzabarba's negotiations at court and likewise refused to state the reasons of his refusal. The Emperor ordered him to be bastinadoed and thrown into prison. However, at the request of Mezzabarba and the other missionaries, he mitigated the sentence

[1] On the reasons for not administering the Sacraments any longer, see *Anecdotes*, VI., 73 *seqq*. *Cf*. XXXIII., 465, and Laureati's letter to Mezzabarba, February 2, 1721, *Anecdotes*, IV., 278 *seqq*.

[2] *Ibid*., VI., 96.

[3] *Cf*. vol. XXXIII., 429 *seqq*.

[4] *Anecdotes*, VI., 166.

[5] *Cf*. vol. XXXIII., 459 *seqq*.

to the extent of assigning the house of the French Jesuits as Pedrini's prison. There he had a large room, with an anteroom and a small garden at his disposal. At a later date the Emperor took the prisoner with him into Tartary. On their return, Pedrini imagined that he was at liberty, but according to Chinese customs this was by no means so. Thereupon he created scenes of such violence for the Jesuits that the latter were compelled to ask for the help of the mandarins.[1] There can be no question of their having acted as gaolers for the Jesuits could not decline the task laid upon them by the Emperor, however distasteful it must have been for them. At the Emperor's death in 1722, Pedrini recovered his freedom in virtue of a general amnesty. Through an oversight Appiani's captivity was prolonged for another nine months. It is remarkable that during his last years Pedrini (*ob.* 1746) lived on terms of friendship with the Jesuits whom he had combatted so long: they assisted him and he sought their advice.[2]

Tamburini formally refutes the accusation that at the audience of January 14th, 1721, Kanghi had been quite willing to drop the question of the rites but that the Jesuits had subsequently induced him to change his mind. He explains[3] that the imperial statement in question only meant that, as far as they themselves were concerned, the Europeans were free to adopt what line of conduct they liked in regard to the rites, but it included no similar permission for the Chinese Christians.[4]

[1] *Anecdotes*, VI., 170 *seqq.*, and Tomacelli's letter of November 29, 1721, Appendix No. 6.

[2] "J'ai consulté trois Pères Jésuites de mes amis, hommes vraiment pieux et judicieux (to I. B. Spinucci on October 24, 1740, in THOMAS, 417). Dans cette maladie les Pères Jésuites (non pas les anciens qui sont morts) m'ont assisté avec grande charité nuit et jour" (to Cerù, October 23, 1741, *ibid.*, 419). "Cette année, j'ai été obligé d'emprunter et les Pères Jésuites qui savent que tout a été fait par ceux qui m'accusent m'ont fait la charité de me prêter un peu d'argent" (letter of 1742, *ibid.*, 420).

[3] *Anecdotes*, VI., 336 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 371.

Finally, Tamburini draws attention to the many accusations against the Jesuits which had proved to be false, as for instance those against Sanna and the Jesuits of Cochinchina.[1] Three accounts of Pedrini's captivity had been proved to be false; two others, drawn up by Appiani and Costerano, had been described as inaccurate by the Franciscans Serrano and Allemoni, whilst the Bishop of Peking had written that too much reliance was placed in Rome on the reports of the two Propaganda missionaries in Peking.[2]

As for the witnesses in favour of the Jesuits, Mezzabarba was not the only one to have acted as their friend whilst in Peking and as their enemy at Macao and in Europe. According to information from China, the other missionaries had decided not to give evidence in their favour, so as to spare themselves any unpleasantness; as a matter of fact the Franciscans had been taken to task on the plea that they had defended the alleged contemners of the papal ordinances. Costerano wrote to a colleague that he had been threatened with forfeiture of his pension on account of his attachment to the Jesuits and that he had accordingly dropped his old friends. Another missionary of the name of Ripa had publicly declared that he would risk his good name in Rome if he spoke in favour of the Jesuits. The other persons in Mezzabarba's suite, it was reported, were similarly disposed towards the Order; it was said that previous to their departure from Macao they had been made to promise that on their return to Europe they would side against the Fathers of the Society. The Franciscan Commissary Fernandez, the Dominican Bishop Gregory Lopez and an Augustinian Bishop, Alvaro de Benavente, had lost all the prestige they had enjoyed in Rome on account of their friendliness towards the Jesuits; as for Tomacelli he had spoken of them at Lisbon and in Rome in a different tone from that which he had adopted at Peking.[3]

Innocent XIII. was unable to reply to this apologia—the

[1] Above, p. 88.
[2] *Anecdotes*, VI., 377.
[3] *Ibid.*, 400.

affair was still pending when he was carried off by death. In addition to the Chinese rites, the Malabar rites were also examined under Innocent XIII. by a special Congregation. The Jesuit Brandolini, who taught theology at Goa, came specially to Rome in order to defend his brethren in religion. In a voluminous document he explained that some of the customs in question had not been sanctioned by the Jesuits whilst the remaining ones had no religious meaning. On this question also the Pope's death prevented a decision being arrived at.[1]

(7.)

Throughout his pontificate Innocent XIII. had been dogged by ill health. The gloomy forebodings expressed at his accession were to be only too fully verified.

In June, 1723, the Pope's condition was such that negotiations for the coming conclave began in good earnest.[2] In December he had another of those attacks of gravel which used to strike him down with unpredictable suddenness.[3] "The danger is over for the time being," Cardinal Acquaviva wrote on December 2nd, 1722, "but it is a good thing to keep the conclave always in mind, so as not to be taken unawares." On the same day the Cardinal drew up a detailed report on the prospects of those Cardinals who could be considered as eligible for the papacy.[4]

On January 1st, 1723, everything was ready for a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for France's preservation from the plague, but at the last moment the Pope felt unable to take part in the service. The Pope's *entourage* strove in vain to disguise the real condition of the ailing Pontiff. Innocent gave audience to a few of his ministers but only on condition that they did

[1] É. Amann, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1727.

[2] Anonymous *report to a Cardinal, dated Rome, June 26, 1722, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cienfuegos' *reports of December 5 and 12, 1722, *ibid.*

[4] Both *reports to Grimaldi, Simancas Archives.

not come to discuss any exacting business.[1] Though there was an improvement in January, everyone knew that a fresh attack of the disease was to be feared at any moment.[2] About the middle of January Cardinal Acquaviva expressed his astonishment at the Pope's mental and physical vigour; for all that his anxiety was fully justified.[3]

In February Acquaviva again mentions the ailing condition of the Pope: "The prospect of a conclave is always an actuality," he writes.[4] In March the Cardinal received the desired instructions for the next election; they were most timely, he writes, because the Pope was once again unable to take part in the religious functions and only his ministers were received in audience.[5] An improvement followed but it did not last. On Easter Sunday Innocent felt unable to assist at the High Mass; he gave his blessing from one of the balconies of the Quirinal.[6] Soon it was rumoured that he intended to take advantage of the return of the warm season for a stay at the Villa Catena, situate between Gallicano and Poli. On April 10th Acquaviva wrote to Madrid that though the Pope was sufficiently recovered to exclude an immediate danger, it was advisable to keep the conclave in view by reason of the uncertainty of the improvement and the Pope's great weight.[7] However, on April 26th the Pontiff set out for Villa Catena where his brother, Joseph Lothair, Duke of Poli, offered to him the keys of the place.

The Pope was accompanied by a number of Cardinals, among them being Alessandro Albani, Corradini, Paolucci, Origo, Ottoboni, Colonna, Barberini, Altieri, Olivieri and the Secretary of State, Spinola. A few members of the diplomatic corps also joined the party, as for instance the Portuguese ambassador and the French *chargé d'affaires*, Tencin. During

[1] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 2, 1723, *ibid.*
[2] Acquaviva's *report to Grimaldi, January 9, 1723, *ibid.*
[3] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, *ibid.*
[4] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 13, 1723, *ibid.*
[5] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 13, 1723, *ibid.*
[6] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 3, 1723, *ibid.*
[7] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, *ibid.*

his stay at the Villa the Pope paid three visits to his native city; on May 1st he said Mass in S. Pietro and presented to that church some precious vestments which have been preserved to this day. The people of Poli and Guadagnolo were gladdened by a remission of taxation for a period of ten years and by donations for the poor.[1]

On May 3rd the Pope returned to Rome. The change seemed to have revived his energy. The summer proved exceptionally cool,[2] and he got satisfactorily through the autumn and the following winter. The new year opened auspiciously. One Wednesday, Cienfuegos reports, Alberoni received the red hat at a public consistory. During the long ceremony the Pope seemed quite well and in excellent spirits.[3] Though not free from his chronic gravel, he soon after visited the church of the English College where he proclaimed an Indulgence for the oppressed Irish Catholics.[4] In the sequel he eagerly discussed with Cienfuegos the terms of a formula for the restitution of Comacchio; he was most anxious to bring that affair to a satisfactory conclusion.[5]

On February 12th, 1724, we hear of a fresh attack of illness[6]; it was hoped that the return of the gravel trouble would be of short duration,[7] however, the condition of the Pontiff grew considerably worse. On February 26th it was reported that there remained some hope of a recovery though the repeated and almost daily attacks were bound to cause

[1] Cascioli, 221 *seqq.*

[2] J. Galli, *Le irregolarità delle stagioni*, in *Mem. d. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, XXX. (1921).

[3] Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery, January 15, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[4] Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery, January 22, 1724, *ibid.*

[5] Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial chancellery, January 30, and February 12, 1724, *ibid.*

[6] Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellery, February 12, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[7] Cienfuegos' *letters to the imperial chancellery, February 19 and 26, 1724, *ibid.*

grave anxiety for his life. The Pope was very weak; his confessor and his physician stayed with him day and night. Though every possible remedy was applied, the effects of a cold could not be overcome.[1] On February 29th the physicians found that the Pontiff suffered from dropsy and the exhausted old man asked for the Last Sacraments.[2] In the sequel good days alternated with bad ones, but there could be no doubt that the Pope suffered from dropsy. "His Holiness may last a few days," Acquaviva wrote on March 1st, "but the end may also be sudden." The Cardinal Secretary of State was alone permitted to see the sick man.[3] At sunset on March 7th Innocent XIII. was released from his sufferings.[4]

The universal grief which prevailed throughout Rome was proof of the dead Pontiff's popularity.[5] In his funeral oration, besides the other excellent qualities of Innocent XIII., the speaker was able to stress the fact that he had left nothing to his family except his name and his choice library which demonstrated his love of learning.[6]

Innocent XIII.'s last resting place is in St. Peter's though no monument recalls his memory in the basilica. His name lives in the liturgy by reason of the extension by him of

[1] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 26, 1724, Simancas Archives.

[2] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, February 29, 1724, *ibid.*

[3] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 4, 1724. *Cf.* also Cienfuegos' *report of the same day, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[4] *Acquaviva to Grimaldi, March 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*; *Cienfuegos on the same day, *loc. cit.* On dropsy as the cause of his death, see CASCIOLI, 225. A Latin poem in which Rome mourns the death of Innocent XIII., in *Cod. Vat.* 7249, f. 25, Vatican Library.

[5] "*Conclave di Benedetto XIII.," *Cod.* I., 8–2, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. *Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellor, Count von Sinzendorf, March 7, 1724, in which he says that Innocent XIII. was "signore e cavaliere nato". Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[6] IAC. AMADORIUS olim de LANFREDINIS, *Oratio in funere Innocentii XIII.*, Romae, 1724.

the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus to the universal Church.[1]

For an equitable judgment of Innocent XIII., both his chronic illness and the shortness of his pontificate must be taken into consideration. In so short a time he was unable to improve conditions in the Pontifical States, but credit is due to him for the fact that in view of the crisis in agriculture and the *annona* which had become acute under Clement XI., he commanded, by an autograph letter of September 27th, 1723, that the prescriptions of previous Popes should at length be carried into effect, viz. the prohibition of hoarding grain for the *annona*, permission for the grain producers of a limited export and maintenance of free trade in the interior.[2] The consequence was that the economic situation in Rome was excellent and the Pope's memory was long cherished by the people. It was generally felt that had he but had a longer pontificate, everything would have been righted and everyone regretted that only a reign of no more than two and a half years should have been granted to him.[3]

The Pope enriched the Vatican library with oriental manuscripts[4] and with Cardinal Alessandro Albani's valuable collection of coins acquired by him.[5] Vincenzo Gravina was given a chair of law at the university.[6] The archæologist Francesco Bianchini was made a Domestic Prelate.[7] He also accepted at the hands of the Maurist Coustant, the edition of the papal letters which that scholar dedicated to him.[8]

[1] NOVAES, XIII., 24. *Cf. ibid.*, 22, 30, 39, on the institution of feasts of Saints.

[2] BENIGNI, 74 *seq.*

[3] DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 121. From these it appears how unjustly M. MARTIN (*Hist. de France*, XV., 142) judges him when he speaks of him as " presque en enfance ", " pontife insouciant et voluptueux ".

[4] CARINI, 102 *seq.*

[5] BLUME, III., 114 ; *Studi e docum.*, V., 373.

[6] *Arcadia, Atti*, III. (1918), 63.

[7] MURATORI, I., 147.

[8] PITRA, *Analecta novissima*, I. (1885), CXXXVIII., *seq.*

Notwithstanding the shortness of his pontificate Innocent XIII. found time to repair the foundations of the bridge of S. Angelo,[1] the Vatican obelisk [2] and the church of St. Eustace.[3] By his order Gian Paolo Pannini decorated several of the rooms of the Quirinal with paintings.[4] About the middle of October, 1723, he gave orders for the construction of the steps leading up to Trinità de' Monti, the erection of some annexes to the Quirinal [5] and the construction of the principal façade of the Lateran basilica [6]—all works the completion of which he was not destined to witness.

[1] CRACAS, August 15, 1722.

[2] *Ibid.* March 27, 1723. *Cf.* SERGARDI, *Discorso sopra il nuovo ornato della guglia di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1723. Innocent XIII. also renovated the pavement of the Sala Paolina in Castle S. Angelo, as appears from his coat of arms there. His coat of arms appears also on the Arco Oscuro which leads to Acqua Acetosa. On the construction of a bridge in Monte Circeo, see *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1905), 193.

[3] CRACAS, September 25, 1723.

[4] *L'Arte*, 1909, I., 20; OZZOLA, *G. Pannini*, Torino, 1921; *Bollet. d'arte*, N. S., III. (1924), 351 *seqq.*

[5] There, in the great court, on a clock over a large picture of the Madonna, there is an inscription of the Pope of the year 1723, in letters of gold, on a blue background; see FORCELLA, XIII., 162.

[6] CRACAS, October 16, 1723; *cf.* November 30, 1723, and CECCONI, *Diario*, 676 *seq.* We must mention here that Acquaviva obtained permission for the Spanish Government to export the paintings bought from Maratta's heirs (*Acquaviva to Grimaldi, January 16, 1723, Simancas Archives). From the accompanying *note it is clear that besides works by Maratta, there were also: a "S. Appolonia" and a "S. Caterina" by G. Reni, a "Martirio di S. Placido", "Pietà", and "L'orazione nell' orto" by Correggio, a "Sacra Familia" and "Marriage of Psyche" by Giulio Romano, a Madonna by Giov. Bellini, numerous works of Annibale and Ludovico Caracci, landscapes by Domenichino (also the Portrait of Gregory XV. by the same), Andrea Sacchi and G. Poussin; finally, packed in a special case, the "Quadro di Raffaelo con suo cornicione intagliato e dorato, rappresentante il riposo di Egitto".

CHAPTER II.

PONTIFICATE OF BENEDICT XIII.—ELECTION AND GOVERNMENT—CARDINAL NICCOLÒ COSCIA—ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONCESSIONS TO THE EMPEROR AND TO THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.

WITH a view to preserving public tranquillity during the vacancy of the Holy See, through the death of Innocent XIII., a number of edicts were issued, with excellent results. Thus, for instance, Alessandro Falconieri, who was confirmed in his office of Governor of Rome, ordered that until the election of a new Pope a light was to be put at night in the window of every house.[1]

On March 20th, 1724, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said and the learned Francesco Bianchini preached the customary sermon on the papal election.[2] The Cardinals then entered the conclave, at the Vatican, which was closed late that same evening. Only thirty-one electors were present at the beginning but by degrees their number rose to fifty-three.[3] Of these one had been created by Clement X. and one by Innocent X., viz. Orsini and Pamfili; five had been created

[1] CRACAS, March, 1724.

[2] FR. BLANCHINUS, *Oratio de eligendo s. pontifice post obitum Innocentii XIII.*, Romae, 1724.

[3] CRACAS made an accurate note of the arrival of each one. Besides the contemporary *Istoria del conclave in cui per morte di P. Innocenzo XIII. è stato assunto al sommo pontificato il card. V. M. Orsini (*Miscell.*, XV., 130, f. 93 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives and *Cod.* I., 8–2, Bibl. Angelica, Rome), written by a well-informed conclavist, and *Conclave nel quale è stato assunto al sommo pontificato il card. Fr. V. M. Orsini . . . (*Cod.* blue, 332 [BÖHM, 1036], f. 129–209, and *Cod.* white, 706 [BÖHM, 383], f. 335–369, State Archives, Vienna, and *Cod. ital.*, 55, f. 76 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich). *Cf.* the detailed *reports of G. B. Gentilotti, Auditor of the Rota and well acquainted with Roman affairs (his tomb is in the Anima; see SCHMIDLIN, 618), to the

by Alexander VIII., viz. Giudice, Barberini, Ottoboni, Imperiali and Altieri; three by Innocent XII., viz. Paolucci, Boncompagni and Sagripanti; forty-one owed the purple to Clement XI.[1]. As for Innocent XIII.'s three Cardinals,

Chancellor, Count von Sinzendorf, in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, No. 6, and the *letters of Count Max Ulrich von Kaunitz to the Emperor, in Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau (resp. Iarmeritz), where I also found the *instruction to Kaunitz and his interesting *diary of 1724. Other reports, made use of in his usually uncritical way, in PETRUCELLI, IV., 23 *seqq.* "*Diaria" and other *writings on the election of Benedict XIII. in *Cod. Barb.*, LI., 60, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, XLIX., 57: "*Scrutinii durante il conclave 1724." *Satires and poems during the conclave of 1724 in *Cod.* 2070, Mazarin Library, Paris, and in *Cod. Ottob.* 2813, Vatican Library. A very rich collection of *Satires in Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau; among them the following must be mentioned: Il Crivello (two parts), Risposta al temerario autore del Crivello, Memoriale dato da un Gesuita al conclave (Sonetto) and Risposta de' porporati al Gesuita (anti-Jesuit), Rimprovero al conclave, Roma ribellata al conclave e Contro il conte Carbonara che si dichiarò parente del card. Olivieri. A priest who, during the Sede Vacante, had published some "sonetti maledici", was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but was pardoned by Benedict XIII. on September 4, 1728; see *Bibliofilo*, XI. (1890), 153.

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 426 *seqq.* Those nominated by Clement XI. were: Pignatelli, Corsini, Acquaviva, Ruffo, Spada, Gualtieri, Vallemani, Fabroni, Priuli, Gozzadini, Annibale Albani, Pico, Davia, Cusani, Piazza, Zondadari, Bussi, Corradini, Rohan, Tolomei, Odescalchi, Bissy, Caracciolo, Scotti, Patrizi, Niccolò Spinola, Borromei, Giorgio Spinola, Bentivoglio, Barbarigo, Belluga, Pereyra, Salemi, Borgia, Cienfuegos, Colonna, Origo, Polignac, Olivieri, Marini, Alberoni. Tanara died during the conclave. The names of the other twelve Cardinals who did not take part in the papal election, in GUARNACCI, II., 429 *seq.* I. RUD. CONLIN, *Roma sancta sive Benedicti XIII. Pont. Max. et Em. et Rev. S. R. E. cardinalium viva virtutum imago. Continentur vitae, familiae, patriae, legationes aliaque scitu et memoratu digna omnium S. R. E. Cardinalium qui ultimo conclavi anno 1724 interfuere*, Augustae Vindelic, 1726, with engravings by I. CH. KOLB.

only Conti and Alessandro Albani took part in the conclave, hence the nephew Conti was only able to make himself felt because the Cardinals of the *squadrone volante* allied themselves with him. Among these the following were considered as *papabili*: Pamfili, Tanara, Spada, Boncompagni, Imperiali and Orsini. The Albani party, whose leaders, Alessandro and Annibale, disagreed, could show a much greater number of *papabili*, such as Gozzadini, Fabroni, Corradini, Paolucci, Corsini, Bussi, Sagripanti, Olivieri, Zondadari and Ruffo.[1]

In view of the political situation harmonious action, during the conclave, by France and Spain could be taken for granted. The interests of Spain were represented by Acquaviva whom Philip V. had ordered on January 23rd, 1723, to proceed in close conjunction with the French.[2] France's representative, Cardinal Rohan, was away from Rome. The Emperor's interests were in the hands of experienced Cardinal Cienfuegos; to support him Charles VI. sent Count Maximilian Ulrich von Kaunitz to Rome as envoy extraordinary.[3]

At the very outset of the conclave the party of the "Zelanti" made an attempt to get Cardinal Imperiali elected, but in view of the latter's extreme unpopularity both with the French and with the Spaniards, the effort failed. The representatives of the Bourbon courts, Acquaviva and

[1] "*Osservazioni intorno al presente conclave con l'esame del genio e modi de' sig. cardinali cavate dalle relazioni del fu conte di Gallas ambasc. Ces. alla corte di Roma," Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau.

[2] Acquaviva's letter to Grimaldi, April 10, 1723, Simancas Arch.

[3] The **Relazione* of Pietro Capello of March 6, 1728, the aim of which is to induce Venice to interest herself more keenly in Roman affairs and which deals rather fully with Benedict XIII., expresses a wish, in view of what happened in 1724, that Venice should take a more active part in the election. Like Tuscany, Venetian prelates and Cardinals should be supported in Rome, evidently with a view to a distinct party of their own, since nowadays a papal election is "di verità più tosto un maneggio politico che un voto d'ispirazione", State Archives, Venice (see RANKE, III., 216* *seqq.*).

Gualtieri, protested vigorously against any precipitate step and insisted on the necessity of awaiting the arrival of the absent Cardinals who were on their way, as well as the instructions of the Catholic crowns, before they seriously proceeded to the election of a new occupant of the papal throne.[1]

For a time it looked as if Cardinal Paolucci would obtain the tiara. In spite of his 73 years he remained hale in body and alert in mind and enjoyed the esteem of the whole of the Sacred College,[2] but in view of his Bourbon sympathies the Emperor had vetoed him at the last conclave and this circumstance still constituted an insuperable obstacle to his election. The hope that Charles VI. might be induced to change his mind was not fulfilled; a negative reply came from Vienna, though it fully acknowledged Paolucci's outstanding qualities.[3]

The proposal by Cardinal Albani of six candidates seemed to offer a solution: the candidates were Corsini, Spada, Bussi, Barbarigo, Piazza and Olivieri. Albani's action was inspired by the secret hope of getting Olivieri elected, or failing him, Bussi.[4] When Cardinal Rohan arrived in Rome on April 12th, a rumour spread in the conclave on the following day that the French Cardinal had been instructed by his sovereign to support Olivieri in every possible way. At the same time a memorial was secretly distributed about the enormous concessions which Olivieri was alleged to have held out to the French Government in return for its support; among other

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports to the Emperor, April 9 and May 7, 1724, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* WAHRMUND, 225, 320; also PETRUCELLI, IV., 30.

[2] *Parere ed informazione del segret. imp. barone de Malanotte per il conclave dell' a. 1724," who says of Paolucci: "Se avesse digerita l'exclusiva e convenisse un' altro governo Albani, sarebbe senza comparazione il più degno del papato" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Gentilotti expresses the same sentiments in his *letter of March 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] *Istoria del conclave, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

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things, so the document stated, he had promised the withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus* and the investiture of Don Carlos with Parma and Piacenza as well as with Castro and Ronciglione. The report provoked a regular uproar. Headed by Fabroni and Fabrizi, the "Zelanti" raised the cry of simony. In the city too there were symptoms of the greatest dissatisfaction with Albani who was generally credited with having put forward and with pushing the election of his friend Olivieri. The excitement was such that Olivieri's candidature had to be dropped.[1]

Meanwhile Cardinal Cienfuegos laboured for the elevation of Piazza, but by the time negotiations to that effect had begun with Rohan, Piazza was stricken with so violent a fever that he was compelled to leave the conclave on April 23rd. Cardinal Polignac entered the conclave on April 25th [2]; the Emperor's envoy extraordinary, Count Kaunitz, also arrived in Rome on the same day. His instructions were to co-operate closely with Cienfuegos.[3]

Cienfuegos' instructions of March 25th, 1724, name as agreeable to the Emperor Cardinals Pamfili, Vallemani, Spada, Piazza, Corradini, Caracciolo, Tanara, Gozzadini, Orsini, Ruffo, Colonna, Davia, Boncompagni, Pico and Pignatelli. Tanara died on April 25th, 74 years old. The Emperor desired the exclusion of Paolucci, Olivieri, Bussi, Sagripanti and Origo.[4]

Count Kaunitz sought at once to establish communication with Cardinal Cienfuegos. In his diary he himself informs us how he managed to do so. It was arranged that the Cardinal should go to the barber's room near whose window

[1] *Ibid.* *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 35 *seq.*, also the *reports of Guidotti, April 15, 22, 25, 1724, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the secret instruction for Kaunitz, dat. Vienna, April 3, 1724, which makes reference to the instruction of the imperial Chancellery. Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau. *Ibid.* "*Riflessioni intorno all'elezione del S. pontefice a S. E. il sig. conte di Kaunitz."

[4] WHARMUND, 319.

there was another small casement to which Kaunitz had access from outside: "The place," Kaunitz writes, "is such that in order to reach the window, which is fairly high up in the wall, I had to mount some wooden steps where I was obliged to kneel on the window sill and as it were force one arm and my head through the window, before I could converse with the Cardinal. Moreover this small casement was so far from the one at which the Cardinal stood that I was obliged to hand over to him your Majesty's most gracious autograph letter by sticking it on the point of my sword." [1]

Cienfuegos gave Kaunitz an account of the conclave which, he said, had made no more progress than on the first day. His task was made difficult by the great number of candidates. If he had betrayed towards which of them he inclined, he would have ruined all the chances of his candidate. His aim was to prevent the election of a man who would be unacceptable to the Emperor.[2] In company with many Cardinals, Cienfuegos had hoped that Kaunitz would be the bearer of the revocation of the exclusion pronounced by Charles VI. against Paolucci: his disappointment was great when this hope was not fulfilled. Paolucci himself bore the heavy blow with wonderful equanimity.[3]

The situation now became even more confused. It was hoped that Rohan, who had returned to the conclave on April 29th after the arrival of a courier from Paris, would make a clear statement of policy, but this too proved a vain expectation.[4] Kaunitz, who on April 30th had the customary

[1] See Count Kaunitz' *journal, entitled: *Anmerkungen zu denen abzustatten kommenden Relationen* (Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau). *Cf.* Count Kaunitz' *report to the imperial chancellery, May 3, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Istoria del conclave, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* When in his *letter of March 7, 1724, Cardinal Cienfuegos asked whether Paolucci should be once more excluded, he made the observation that such solemn exclusions always created very hostile factions. Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[4] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

audience at the main door of the conclave, noted in his diary on May 6th that there was a complete standstill in the electoral negotiations: neither party was willing to make a proposal.[1]

Cienfuegos, who was in constant communication with Kaunitz,[2] reverted to his plan of securing the tiara for Piazza, and as the French were agreeable, he hoped to succeed, though it was necessary for him to reckon always with Albani's intrigues against Paolucci.[3] If the imperial Cardinals had put in an appearance, Piazza would be Pope by now, Kaunitz wrote on May 12th.[4] But even so Piazza's prospects seemed good: thirteen of Clement XI.'s Cardinals were in his favour; they were Paolucci, Ruffo, Gozzadini, Davia, Bentivoglio, the two Spinolas, Conti, Pamfili, Colonna, Origo, Marini and Alberoni. All these belonged to the *squadrone volante*, and they were joined by every one of Alexander VIII.'s Cardinals. Together with the adherents of the great Catholic Powers they constituted a block of thirty-two votes, so that they were only four short of the three-quarters' majority. These four Cienfuegos hoped to secure as Orsini, Cusani and Caracciolo seemed to incline towards Piazza. Small wonder that a rumour circulated in Rome that Piazza's election was imminent.

However, Annibale Albani felt deeply hurt by this attempt to make a Pope without him: he accordingly resolved to do his utmost to wreck a candidature he had himself put forward. On the plea that the freedom of the electors must be safeguarded, he detached Orsini, Pignatelli, Fabroni, Tolomei, Caracciolo and Barbarigo from the party of the "Zelanti". He successfully represented to Cardinals Corsini, Spada, Bussi and Boncompagni, who were all *papabili*, that so youthful and hale a man as Piazza might live a long time and so frustrate their own hopes. He likewise succeeded in winning over to his side Cardinals Patrizi and Scotti and he was also sure of Cardinals Vallemani, Priuli, Pico, Zondadari,

[1] *Journal, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Journal, *loc. cit.*

Corradini, Salerni, Olivieri and Alessandro Albani. He succeeded in prejudicing Cardinal Belluga, who arrived on May 14th, against Piazza by accusing the latter of Jansenism. For all that Cienfuegos did not despair of getting his candidate accepted. He asked Cardinal Paolucci to intervene with Albani. The former was generous enough to forget that the Emperor had vetoed him and accepted the commission, but he met with the most decided opposition on the part of Albani.[1]

How greatly Piazza's prospects had deteriorated was shown on May 23rd when Albani made a trial of strength at which twenty-six votes went to Orsini; on May 24th he received as many as twenty-seven votes. Cienfuegos could no longer hope to get Piazza elected.[2]

[1] The above is from *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Count Kaunitz' *reports of May 13 and 18, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, and the detailed description in Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellery of May 18, 1724, with the *Lista de' card., che fino al giorno d'oggi [18] si sono dichiarati per la elezione del card. Piazza: Orsini, Giudice, Paolucci, Barberini, Sagripanti, Acquaviva, Ruffo, Gualtieri, Gozzadini, Davia, Rohan, Odescalco, Bissy, Scoto, Niccolò Spinola, Borromeo, S. Agnese [= Giorgio Spinola], Bentivoglio, Belluga, Pereira, Borgia, Cienfuegos, Conti, Pamfili, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Altieri, Colonna, Origo, Polignac, Marini, Alberoni (32, one of them for the first time to-day). Dubbi: Pignatelli, Boncompagno, Cusani, Caraccioli. As there are fifty-three in conclave, seventeen are open opponents.

[2] See *Istoria del conclave (*loc. cit.*) and Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial chancellery of June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, which throws a strong light on the intrigues of the Albani. Kaunitz, in his *report of May 27, *ibid.*, tried to console him with the fact that of the votes given to Orsini, six had been from Piazza's partisans and four "dubiosi", so that the Albani could only count on seventeen votes. On May 28 Kaunitz notes in his *Journal the report of the imminent election of Orsini, which, however, he would not believe as he had not heard anything from Cienfuegos. The Journal adds: "Am 29. früh, erhielt ich ein Billett von Kardinal Cienfuegos, worin er mir bedeutet. es scheine. das Gott den heiligen Mann Kardinal Orsini

Meanwhile anger at the length of the conclave had reached its height. The Romans grumbled and even the oldest members of the party of the "Zelanti" no longer repressed their impatience. The number of those Cardinals who realized that the election could not be further delayed grew steadily, hence when Annibale Albani, Tolomei, Corradini and Belluga proposed a neutral candidate in the person of Orsini, the suggestion met with considerable approval, for Orsini was highly respected and possessed of excellent qualities, though one serious drawback was the circumstance that he had no practical experience of government administration. Fabroni gave open expression to these misgivings and it was a fatal thing that the weary electors refused to take this deficiency into account. Rohan was informed of the plan by Corradini and Cienfuegos by Tolomei: both agreed, as did Acquaviva. Orsini's conclavist, Coscia, had not failed to let the two Albani know that his master would not readily accept his election, though if he were elected he would show himself grateful.[1]

When on the evening of May 28th Cardinal Belluga informed

haben wolle"; he would vote for him also because the Emperor had no objection against him. Orsini had always been a faithful subject of the Emperor and had always shown much affection for him and had the imperial inclusion.

[1] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* Here the principal part in the *pratica* in favour of Orsini is attributed to Annibale Albani, whilst Cienfuegos in his *report to the imperial chancellery, June 6, 1724 (Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn), ascribes the real initiative to Tolomei, Corradini, and Belluga, and asserts that the Albani had at first made difficulties because they still thought of Olivieri or Bussi. Cienfuegos, in his report, is evidently anxious to justify, as far as possible, his assent to the election of Orsini. Kaunitz did not agree with Cienfuegos' conduct. On June 4, 1724, he wrote: "Der von Ihrer Mt. den 3. dieses expedirte Kourier ist heutigen Tags allhier angelangt. Wollte Gott, dass selbter um 14. Tag ehender eingetroffen oder dass der H. Card. Cienfuegos nicht also gleich zu der Wahl des ietzigen Papstes concurrirt wäre, so würde selbter noch zurecht ankommen sein, um den Card. Piazza auf den päpstlichen Thron zu setzen." "Journal," in Archives Wrbna-Kaunitz, Holleschau.

Orsini of his impending election the latter showed the utmost reluctance. With sincere humility he excused himself on the ground of his incapacity: he spent a sleepless night in prayer and tears. In the morning Tolomei and Annibale Albani thought that their persuasions had overcome Orsini's resistance. However, it was soon learnt that he was still unwilling; only Corradini succeeded in reconciling him to the inevitable.[1] In deep anguish Orsini repaired to the Sistine Chapel where all the votes fell on him. Even then his resistance was not yet at an end. When he yielded at last, he took the name of Benedict, in memory of the Dominican Pope, Benedict XI. [1303–1304] who had been remarkable for his great humility. It was at first suggested that he should be called Benedict XIV., but the idea was abandoned since Pedro de Luna, who had styled himself Benedict XIII., had been an antipope.[2] Whilst the new Pope was being carried into St. Peter's on the *Sedia Gestatoria*, he had the procession halted before the door and insisted upon entering the basilica without pomp and on foot. Out of humility also he refused to accept the Cardinals' homage before the middle of the altar, as was the custom, but insisted on receiving it on the epistle side.[3] When the ambassadors came to congratulate him, he complained with tears that the Cardinals had forced him to accept a dignity the weight of which was beyond his strength. Such

[1] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Cienfuegos' *report of June 6, 1724, after Orsini had given his vote to Paolucci (Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn). See also Gentilotti's *letter of June 6, 1724, which says: "Nell'eletto si trovò la maggior ripugnanza del mondo di accettare le chiavi di S. Pietro . . . Accettò questa gran dignità colla più bassa opinione di se medesimo che spiegare possa." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.* See also *Sonetto per la elettione del S. P. Benedetto XIII., in "Sonetti diversi", p. 54, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 68, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome (*cf. ibid.*, p. 636); also *inter alia* the leaflet "Ehrengerüst welches Ihr. Päbstl. Heil. Beneditto XIII. zu Ehren im Vorhof d. Card. von Sachsen Residenz ist auffgericht und beleuchted worden, Regensburg, d. 3, September, 1724."

was his excitement that he forgot the protocol and addressed Kaunitz as "Your Excellency".[1]

The elect of May 29th, 1724, towards whose election the French and the Spaniards had co-operated, for the first time, with the Emperor,[2] was sprung from a very old family which had already given two Popes to the Church, viz. Celestine III. [1191–1198] and Nicolas III. [1277–1280], as well as many Cardinals.[3] He was the eldest son of Ferdinand Orsini of Gravina and Giovanna Frangipani, daughter of the Duke of Grumo, and was born on February 2nd, 1649, in the small town of Gravina, not far from Bari,[4] where his parents occupied the famous castle built by the Emperor Frederick II. At the age of eighteen Pietro Francesco Orsini decided to enter the Dominican Order. This decision so distressed his parents that they appealed to Clement IX. The latter sent for Pietro, but

[1] Count Kaunitz' *letter to the imperial chancellery, June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] Acquaviva calls special attention to this in his *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, July 29, 1724 (Simancas Arch.), in which he passes the conclave in review. Biographical notes on the new Pope: "*Compendio d. vita di P. Benedetto XIII.," *Cod.* 14, I., 14, f. 51 *seqq.*, Library of the Seminary, Frascati; PITTONI, *Vita di Benedetto XIII.*, Venezia, 1730; "*Vita di Benedetto XIII.," in *Cod.* 6553, State Library, Vienna.

[3] On the Orsini family, see SANSOVINO, *Hist. di casa Orsina*, Venezia, 1595; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 364; LITTA, *Famiglie*. NOVAES (XIII., 43 *seqq.*) overlooks the fact that the earlier history, up to Orso, son of Bobo and brother of Celestine III., is quite unreliable; see REUMONT, II., 1189. On the coat of arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 46 *seq.* *Cf.* also "*Documenta varia de familia fr. V. M. Orsini", in *Cod.* X., 526, Archives of the Dominican Generalate, Rome.

[4] Three documents in favour of Gravina as his birthplace in D. NARDONE, *Benedetto P.P. XIII.*, *Gioia del Colle*, 1924, 10 *seqq.* Here also, in 1924, the second centenary of his elevation to the papacy was celebrated; *cf.* *Il congresso eucaristico interdiocesano di Gravina e Irsina*, Bari, 1924; P. C. MARTINI, *Il pontificato di Benedetto XIII. Conferenza*, Napoli, 1925, and the pastoral letter of Bishop Giov. Mar. Sanna, *Due centenari diocesani*, Bari, 1924, 9 *seqq.*

after examining his motives, he approved his resolution.[1] Previous to his profession on February 13th, 1668, Pietro renounced his inheritance and all his rights in favour of his brother Domenico.

Fra Vincenzo Maria, as he was now called, read philosophy and theology at Naples, Bologna and Venice. He took a particular interest in Church History: he is said to have read Baronius' Annals twenty-four times.[2] He taught philosophy at the convent of Brescia; there also, in 1671, he pronounced a panegyric of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the protector of the Dominicans, which appeared in print. He had already published some epigrams of a religious nature in 1669.[3] However, in spite of his modesty, the son of the Duke of Gravina could not escape ecclesiastical dignities. At the persistent request of his brother Domenico, Duke of Gravina, who had married Ludovica Altieri, the Altieri Pope Clement X. raised him to the cardinalate on February 22nd, 1672, when he was only twenty-three years old and about to preach a Lenten course of sermons at Bologna.[4] However, in his humility the man thus honoured refused to accept the red hat; only when pressed by the General of the Dominicans, the Pope, and Cardinals Boncompagni and Rossetti, did he desist from his resistance.[5] But even in the purple he remained a modest,

[1] Borgia, *Vita Benedicti XIII.*, 3; Nardone, *loc. cit.*, 16.

[2] Novaes, XIII., 48.

[3] Fr. Vinc. Maria Orsini O. Pr., *La perdita comune. Panegirico nell' esequie dell' em. card. A. Barberino*, Venezia, 1671; P. Fr. Ursinus, *Epigrammata sacra*, Bononiae, 1669 (Italian translation, Roma, 1730).

[4] *Cf.* the present work, XXXI., 745; also "*Documenta varia de episcopali regimine et de cardinalatu fr. V. M. Orsini", *Cod.* X., 527, Archives of the Dominican Generalate, Rome.

[5] *Cf.* Ughelli, VIII., 176, and the *Avvisi* in Ademollo, *Il matrimonio di Suor Maria Pulcheria, al secolo Livia Cesarini*, Roma, 1883, 25 *seqq.*; Cartari, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto. *Brief of Clement X., March 1, 1672, in *Epist. ad princ.*, I., Papal Secret Archives. According to *Cartari (*loc. cit.*), Orsini came to Rome with the General of the Dominicans on March 21, 1672.

ascetic religious. At the beginning of 1675, Cardinal Orsini was named Archbishop of Manfredonia (Siponto), where he reformed both clergy and people and restored the seminary and the cathedral; the latter was adorned by him with paintings and other decorations.[1] His defence of ecclesiastical immunity against Spanish officialdom caused him many an anxious day.

With a view to freeing him from these conflicts, Cardinal Altieri induced him in 1680 to accept the see of Cesena where, as in Manfredonia, he reformed the clergy and saw to the embellishment of the churches. The method adopted by him in his pastoral visitations was already famous at that time.[2] However, the climate of Cesena proved so injurious to his health that, tormented as he was by fever and acting on medical advice, he ended by appointing a Vicar-General in his place, whilst he himself retired to the Dominican convent he had erected at Gravina; there he devoted himself to prayer and study.[3] However, the energy of so excellent a Bishop could not be lost forever to the apostolic ministry. In March, 1686, Innocent XI. appointed him to the archiepiscopal See of Benevento which he was to rule for thirty-eight years. Under his government Benevento became a model diocese.

In the third year of his administration a terrible catastrophe befell Benevento. On Whitsun Eve, 1688, an earthquake destroyed a large part of the town and nearly 1,300 of the inhabitants perished. The archiepiscopal palace fell in ruins, but Orsini, who had called upon his favourite Saint, Philip Neri, had a wonderful escape.[4] The Archbishop, who was

[1] BORGIA, 7 *seq.*; biographical sketch of Orsini in "*Scrittura politica sopra il conclave da farsi per la morte di Innocenzo XI.", Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Orsini's *Methodus synodi dioc. Sipontinae rite ac recte peragendae* was published in 1678 at Trani, his *Epistola di avvertimenti pastorali al clero e popolo della città e diocesi di Siponto* at Manfredonia, 1680.

[2] BARBIER DE MONTAULT, V., 211 *seqq.*; *cf.* 247 *seqq.*

[3] *Biographical sketch in *Scrittura politica, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Lettera narrativa dell'accaduto in Benevento al card. fra Vincenzo*

at all times liberal, now redoubled his charities. He was to be found everywhere, helping, comforting, distributing alms with a lavish hand; when his revenues gave out he drew upon his private means. Work on the restoration of the cathedral, the archiepiscopal palace, the tower of the celebrated Benedictine Abbey of S. Sofia, the seminary and the church of S. Bartolomeo was begun forthwith. In other ways also the city experienced the effects of his paternal solicitude; he repaired the aqueduct, founded the hospital of S. Diodato and a *Monte di pietà*. He did much to promote agriculture,[1] and saw to the safe keeping of the precious manuscripts of the Chapter library on which Cardinal Borgia subsequently drew when he wrote his history of Benevento.[2]

More than anything else the salvation of souls was nearest his heart in this diocese also. He was indefatigable in carrying out the sacred functions, preached frequently,[3] held a number of diocesan synods and regularly visited his diocese, mostly

Orsini O. P., oggi Benedetto XIII., nel terremoto del 1688, dat. in luce da A. PETRONI DI SOLOFRA, Roma, 1726. *Cf.* also UGHELLI, VIII., 178; P. SARNELLI, *Memorie de' vescovi e arcivescovi di Benevento*, Napoli, 1691, 159 *seq.*; *Memorie del collegio S. Spirito di Benevento*, Napoli, 1688; A. MEOMARTINI, *I monumenti di Benevento*, Benevento, 1889, 398; E. ISERNIA, *Istoria d. città di Benevento*, II., Benevento, 1896, 199 *seqq.*

[1] ISERNIA, II., 201 *seqq.* On the help he gave on the occasion of an inundation near Bologna, during his pontificate, see "*Progetto del sig. conte Luigi Ferd. Marsilli per liberare il territorio di Bologna da' danni che gl' inferisce il torrente Reno, 1728" (addressed to the Pope), in *Cod. Barb.* XLVIII., 153, Vatican Library; also F. MARSIGLI, *Memorie idrauliche d. Benedetto XIII. sulle acque del Reno*, Firenze, 1833.

[2] BORGIA, *Mem. storiche di Benevento*, 3 vols., Benevento, 1760.

[3] *Septingenti sexaginta sex super quatuor mille vicibus ambonem accessisse fertur (De vita et rebus restis Benedicti XIII. P. O. M. lapidibus praesertim epigraphis consignatis, in *Cod. Vat.* 8693 (Vatican Library). Many of these sermons were published; see *Cat. Bibl. Casanat.*, I., 538 *seqq.*

on foot.[1] To this day the acts of these visitations bear witness to the diligence with which he proceeded on those occasions.[2] The two provincial councils held by him in 1693 and 1698 drew up some salutary rules for the reform of the clergy.[3] His solicitude for the churches, monasteries and hospitals of his diocese, is recalled to this day by innumerable inscriptions and stone tablets bearing his coat of arms. But the most eloquent testimony of all is the grateful recollection in which his name is held to this day by the people of Benevento.[4] Contemporaries unanimously attest that Orsini administered his diocese with such piety and conscientiousness as made him a model for all. This impression was further heightened by the circumstance that the princely Archbishop and Cardinal continued to live like a simple friar.[5]

In addition to his pastoral labours Orsini still found time

[1] UGHELLI, VIII., 177 *seqq.*; BORGIA, *Vita*, 9 *seqq.*; *Synodicon Beneventanae ecclesiae complectens constitutiones et appendices edit. in XXVII. synodis ab a. 1686 usque ad a. 1722. Accesserunt addit. ex 28a synodo die 24 Aug. 1723 celebrata*, Beneventi, 1723.

[2] The *Atti di visita, in Archiepiscopal Archives, Benevento, which in April, 1903, were put at my disposal through the generosity of the late Archbishop Benedetto Bonazzi, are exemplary and of great historical value, because for each church of the diocese all the documents are carefully collected and a detailed description of all the churches is given. The administration of the diocese is illustrated in all its details in *Bullarium sub V. M. card. Orsini. Also preserved there: Vol. I., 1686–8; Vol. II., 1689–1691; Vol. III., 1692–3; Vol. IV., 1693–8; Vol. V., 1699–1708; Vol. VI., 1709–1724; Vol. VII., 1724–1730.

[3] *Concilia provincialia Beneventana duo habita annis 1693 et 1698*, Beneventi, 1698; *Coll. Lacensis*, I., Friburgi Brisg., 1870, 21–126, 127–156. *Cf.* BORGIA, 12 *seqq.*

[4] A. MEOMARTINI, *Benevento*, Bergamo, 1909, 66 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 129; a reproduction of the monument erected to Benedict XIII. by the inhabitants of Benevento, opposite the archiepiscopal palace, and some gifts in the Tesoro of the cathedral.

[5] *Cf.* the *Scrittura politica in Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna, quoted above, p. 110, n. 1.

to write works of a theological and practical character.[1] His learning, his exemplary life, his humility and liberality were acknowledged by all, though some felt that he stuck too obstinately to his own opinions. A diplomatist, who drew attention to this characteristic, observed in 1689 that he deemed it very unlikely, though not impossible, that a friar of such impetuous zeal should ever become Pope for he resembled rather Elias than kindly and compassionate Eliseus.[2]

Besides his reputation for strictness, especially with regard to ecclesiastical immunity, Orsini's prospects of ever obtaining the supreme dignity were chiefly hampered by the prejudice that the tiara should not be allowed to fall to a Frate.[3] But more than anything else, it was a grievous handicap for him that even those who otherwise admired his excellent qualities, could not be blind to the fact that he lacked the necessary knowledge of the world and of affairs of government.[4] He had never been out of Italy and had only spent a short time in Rome, so that he lacked all the qualifications which would have fitted him to cope with the complicated duties and anxieties that fall to the lot of the Supreme Head of the Church.

Benedict XIII.'s very exterior showed that a stern ascetic had ascended the papal throne. He was of middle height and with his grave, mortified countenance, lofty forehead, long, hooked nose and dark eyes he presented a striking

[1] Collected in *Opere di Benedetto XIII.*, 3 vols., Ravenna, 1728; Vol. I. contains: Lezioni scritturali sopra il s. libro dell' Esodo; Vol. II.: Sermons; Vol. III.: Discourses on Purgatory and *Opuscula* (practical instructions). Other editions in *Cat. Bibl. Casanat.*, I., 538.

[2] *Scrittura politica, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* A *characterization of the papabili of 1721, also " *Parere ed informazione del barone de Malanotte ", both in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. See also Guidotti's *report of March 25, 1724, in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[4] *Mémoire sur les papables*, 1721, in MICHAUD; *La fin de Clément XI.*, 57 *seq.*

figure.[1] From the very first the Pope made it quite clear that he was determined to go on living as a religious, simply and without pomp. He refused to occupy the sumptuous apartments of the Vatican and chose for his residence the modest rooms in the upper part of the palace, to which he ordered the simple bed of his cell in the conclave to be transferred on the very evening of his election.[2] At a later date he had a kind of hermitage constructed for himself in an outbuilding near the Galleria Geographica, from which he had no view at all. The walls were whitewashed, a few holy paper pictures forming their only adornment. The rest of the furniture consisted of a table, a small prayer desk with a large crucifix and a few reed chairs.[3] The magnificent furniture estimated

[1] *Vita in *Cod. Vat.* 8693, p. 120b, Vatican Library. Portraits of Benedict XIII. by Gaillard and P. L. Ghezzi, in DRUGULIN, *Porträtkatalog*, No. 1268/9. *Cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 409. A large statue of Benedict XIII. erected by Cardinal Quirini in the porch of S. Alessio, Rome. A marble bust in the baptisteries of S. Maria Maggiore and S. John Lateran, and in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Urbino, to which the Pope had presented the Golden Rose. A bronze bust in the corridor leading to the sacristy of St. Peter's (FORCELLA, VI., 175), a portrait in relief in the Monastery of the Madonna del Rosario on Monte Mario. The best are the busts of Benedict XIII. by P. Bracci in *Raccolta A. Barsanti, Bronzi ital.*, tab. 50, replica in the hospital of S. Gallicano. The head of the statue on his tomb in the Church of the Minerva is also by P. Bracci; see GANDARA, *P. Bracci*, 35; FERRARI, *La tomba nell' arte ital.*, tab. 181. A magnificent work, for which the artist was highly praised, is the medallion of Benedict XIII. by Hedlinger; see I. AMBERG, *Der Medailleur Ioh. Karl Hedlinger*, Einsiedeln, 1887.

[2] *Istoria del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[3] DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 146 (Paris, 1858). When the Dominicans of Venice decided to erect a marble statue as a token of gratitude, the Pope expressed his grief and reproached them for that: " . . . eo vos processisse, ut simulacrum e marmore Nobis collocandum decerneretis. Alia prorsus et Nos invant et vos decent officia." *Brief of December 14, 1724, Papal Secret Archives.

at 30,000 scudi, which Innocent XIII. had provided for some of the rooms in the Quirinal, was given to the wife of James III., the English Pretender. Benedict was greatly attached to James and bestowed a pension on him. He ordered this costly furniture of the Quirinal to be replaced by a very simple monastic outfit, as he had done in the Vatican.[1]

The first three days following his election were spent by Benedict XIII. in complete retirement and in prayer[2]; on June 4th he was crowned,[3] after which he began to give many audiences at which his kindness and liberality called forth universal admiration. Every day, Cardinal Acquaviva wrote on June 10th, 1724,[4] one hears of actions of his which testify to his great virtue. However, as the Pope's reforming activity at Benevento was well known, not a few people were afraid of his strictness.[5] In view of his tenacity and obstinacy, the diplomatists felt that "negotiations with him, especially in ecclesiastical affairs, would prove difficult". It may be taken for granted, Kaunitz wrote, that Benedict XIII. "will firmly uphold the rights of the Church not only out of a holy

[1] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* MURATORI, XII., 115, where also further details are given about the quarrel between James III. and his wife, Clementina Sobieska.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] *Relazione delle ceremonie e solennità nella coronazione di Benedetto XIII.*, Roma, 1724. The taking possession of the Lateran took place only on September 24, and on account of the great heat the procession started from the Quirinal; see CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 360 *seqq.* According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of September 30, 1724 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope rode at the *Possesso* with all the ease of a young prelate.

[4] *To Juan Baut. de Orendayn, Simancas Archives. Even during the greatest heat of the summer Benedict XIII. gave numerous audiences to all classes of people; see BORGIA, 39.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

zeal, but also because he feels that he understands things at least as well as anyone else ".[1]

Cardinal Cienfuegos' prognostications for the new pontificate were far more optimistic. He hoped for a return of the times of Pius V. who had likewise been credited with inexperience in the affairs of government yet had proved an excellent ruler.[2] The Pope, Cienfuegos reported on June 10th, 1724, was for ever furnishing proofs of the holiness of his life. There was no change in his table and his apartments. He wore the same undergarments as before, gave generous alms to the poor and waited on thirteen of them at table several times a week. He was resolved to reform the manners of the clergy and had already announced that in particular he would not tolerate the wearing of wigs. It was expected that his government would be for the good both of the Church and of the Princes. Cienfuegos singles out the peculiarity that Benedict XIII. was resolved to carry out ecclesiastical functions in person, such as the consecration of Bishops, churches and altars, a thing his predecessors had long ceased to do and which they had never done to such an extent.[3]

Another peculiarity of the Pope gave rise to difficulties on account of the protocol. Benedict XIII. was resolved to continue his habit of taking a two hours' walk before sunset all by himself, for the sake of exercise, and for this purpose he drove out *incognito*, in a closed carriage, saying his Rosary. It was an unheard of thing for a Pope to appear thus in public without escort, the Congregation of the ceremonial accordingly hit upon a middle course ; this was that the Pope should drive out on two or three days of the week with the usual pomp, but on other days he might drive in an ordinary carriage to the place where he intended to take his walk. Though Urban VIII. had acted in this manner,

[1] Count Kaunitz' *Diary, Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Sinzendorf, June 6, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1724, *ibid.* In the liturgical sphere, Benedict XIII. tried to infuse new life into ancient customs ; see *Voyages* de MONTESQUIEU, I., 211.

the innovation displeased a good many people.[1] Fault was also found with the abolition of the bodyguard, the *lanze spezzate*, and the dismissal of a number of honorary chamberlains. Benedict XIII.'s first drive was to the hospital of S. Spirito where he gave Extreme Unction to a dying man; after that he drove to a Villa. He continued this practice in the future also and on all his drives he invariably visited some church or hospital.[2] The appointments to the more important positions at court did not meet with universal approval; the Albani alone appeared satisfied; they boasted that just as they had brought about Benedict XIII.'s election, so were the ministerial posts in the hands of their friends.[3] However, this was only true in part. Corradini retained the post of *Datarius*, Cardinal Olivieri that of Secretary of Briefs, Giudice that of *Maggiordomo*, Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci, who had held that office under Clement XI., became Secretary of State, whilst retaining the office of Vicar of Rome. As *Maestro di Camera* Benedict XIII. named Niccolò Maria Lercari, as Secretary of Briefs to Princes the Neapolitan Carlo Majella, as Secretary of the Cypher Camillo Merlini, as Secretary of Latin Briefs Luchesini and as Secretary of Memorials Niccolò Coscia.[4]

Paolucci's appointment to the most important post of all,[5] that of Secretary of State, Benedict XIII. justified to Cienfuegos on the ground that he was bound to entrust the government of Church and State to men whom he knew, but that he only knew Marescotti, who was too old, and Paolucci whose experience he was in need of since he himself had no personal acquaintance with affairs of Church and State.

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1724, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 10, 1724, Simancas Archives.

[3] Count Kaunitz' *Diary, Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

[4] Count Kaunitz' *report of June 10, 1724 (*ibid.*), which contains a list of the nominations made on June 6.

[5] Baron de Malanotte makes special mention of this in his "*Parere ed informazione per il conclave dell' a. 1724". Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Benedict would have been happy if Cienfuegos had expressed himself satisfied with this choice, but the Cardinal excused his silence on the plea that he had no instructions on the matter from the Emperor. He deemed it inadvisable to oppose the nomination, especially as Paolucci was universally liked and esteemed on account of his gentle disposition and because otherwise the Pope would have appointed one of the "Zelanti", such as Fabroni, Corsini or Spada, an inadvisable choice in view of Benedict XIII.'s character.[1] General opinion, Cienfuegos wrote, is to the effect that in Church matters Benedict will be so strict that it will be almost impossible to avoid collisions with the secular Governments; for the rest his intentions were excellent and his life that of a saint.[2]

In his drives and the visits to the churches made by him on those occasions, the Pope sought to see for himself that everything was in order.[3] On the occasion of a visit to the hospital of the Lateran, on October 12th, 1724, he personally inspected the beds and when he saw the bad state they were in he took the supervisors to task and told them that the sick must be given the same attention as would be given to the Pope himself who, as *servus servorum Dei*, saw in the sick the Saviour Himself.[4] Not only at this visit, which had a salutary effect on the other hospitals,[5] but in other ways also Benedict gave proof of his deep humility and the goodness of his heart. At the repast which followed the ordination by him of Cardinal Ottoboni he insisted, against all established custom, on sitting at the same table as the Cardinal on the

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 6, 1724, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[2] "*Il pronostico, che si fa del governo del Papa, si riduce a crederlo rigido nelle cose ecclesiastiche, e che dove si tratti di queste, possa egli dare in qualche stortura anche colle corone. Per altro le sue intenzioni sono rettissime e la vita sua lo canonizza per santo." *Ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 14, 1724, *ibid.*

[4] *Report of the same, October 24, 1724, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

plea that Fra Vincenzo Maria was eating with the priest Ottoboni.[1] At the procession of Corpus Christi he carried the Blessed Sacrament on foot, to the edification of all, though this too was an innovation.[2] At another procession he carried a candle weighing no less than four pounds.[3] One day, when driving to St. Pauls' Outside the Walls, he saw a poor woman kneeling at the entrance to a *vigna* and begging him with a loud voice for a blessing *in articulo mortis* for a vine dresser who was dangerously ill. The Pope immediately ordered the coachman to drive into the *vigna*, went into the house, heard the sick man's confession and left a generous alms.[4]

On the occasion of a visit to the German College, which he held in particular esteem,[5] he assisted with the students at a liturgical function in their church of S. Apollinare, as if he were one of the pupils. When the kiss of peace was about to be given to him by means of a silver cross, as is done for Bishops, he ordered that it should be given with an embrace, and after the students. At the end of the Mass the celebrant knelt down, waiting for the Pope to give the Blessing, but the Pontiff only blessed the priest and bade him give his blessing to the people.[6] On his frequent visits to S. Maria sopra Minerva, he often remained for a meal in the convent, when he insisted on being waited upon by the lay brothers exclusively, though the most distinguished among the Fathers strove for the honour.[7] He wished to have his last resting place in the church of the Minerva.[8]

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 15, 1724, *ibid.*

[2] Count Kaunitz' note in his *Diary, Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*

[4] The two chamberlains had overlooked the entry of the coach into the Vigna and rode about looking for the Pope: it was accordingly said in Rome "che le guardie del Papa havevano smarrito S. Stà". Cienfuegos' report of October 14, 1724, *ibid.*

[5] STEINHUBER, II., 140 *seq.*

[6] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of August 5, 1724, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[7] *Ibid*

[8] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 2, 1724. *ibid.*

Probably no Pope has carried out so many church functions as Benedict XIII. who was an excellent pastor of souls. After the christening by him of the son of Prince Altieri in 1724, it was calculated that in the course of the first six months of his pontificate he had administered all the Sacraments which a parish priest can give and carried out all the consecrations that appertain to the office of a Bishop.[1]

For the whole duration of the Holy Year, 1725, Benedict determined to stay at the Vatican whereas his predecessors, from Clement X. onwards, had preferred the Quirinal, so much so that—on account of their being buried at St. Peter's—the saying was that the Popes took up residence at the Vatican only after their death.[2]

In the sequel also the Pope showed a marked dislike for the Quirinal. He remained deaf to all representations that in summer the air was unwholesome in the low-lying Vatican, but insisted on residing there even during the greatest summer heat and it was with difficulty that in August, 1726, he was prevailed upon to migrate to the Quirinal. For the sake of relaxation he paid several visits from there to Sixtus V.'s Villa near St. Mary Major.[3] But his favourite resort was the small Dominican convent near the Madonna del Rosario on Monte Mario, whither he was wont to retire once a year, generally during the carnival, or for penitential exercises. At times he would arrive unannounced, with only two companions; occasionally he taught the catechism to the children in the adjoining little church of S. Onofrio.[4]

[1] *Ibid.* On the "spese" of the consecrations, see **Cod. Vat.* 9313, p. 152 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 2, 1724, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Reports of the same, May 18, July 27, August 3, 10, 24 and October 26, 1726, and July 27, 1727, *ibid.*

[4] Benedict XIII. visited this Monastery for the first time in October, 1724, although he had been warned of the unhealthy air (Cienfuegos' *reports of September 30 and October 7, 1724, *loc. cit.*); later on he visited it frequently (*Reports of the same, February 10, March 10, July 14, October 27, 1725, *ibid.*). In 1726 he consecrated several altars in the Church. To this day there

Relying on his strong constitution the Pope devoted himself unsparingly, even during the hottest months, to the exacting and lengthy sacred functions which his predecessors had only undertaken with wise moderation. The consecration of churches and altars in particular was a favourite occupation of his. On the occasion of the consecration of the Lateran basilica in May, 1726, it was calculated that since the beginning of his episcopate, he had consecrated 360 churches and 1,494 altars.[1] Very frequently also he carried out the ordination of priests and gave Confirmation, and he loved to hear confessions. The way in which he taxed his strength during Holy Week gave rise to widespread misgivings. In 1725 he assisted at Tenebrae on Wednesday in Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel. On Maundy Thursday he carried out the whole function at the Lateran, gave his solemn blessing and washed the feet of thirteen priests; the function had begun at six o'clock in the morning and it was one o'clock in the afternoon when it ended. On Good Friday he was again in the Chapel at an early hour; later in the day he waited on the pilgrims at Trinità dei Pellegrini. He also carried out in person the long function of Holy Saturday, beginning with the blessing of the fire and ending with the High Mass, the whole ceremony lasting nine hours. He then took a drink of chocolate, after which, without showing a trace of fatigue, he seated himself in the confessional and remained there till nightfall. Late at night he returned to the Vatican; on Easter Sunday he sang Mass at St. Peter's and gave his solemn blessing. On the last two days, partly owing to his strict fast, symptoms of great weakness had been observed in the

are two inscriptions recording the fact, and his stay in the Monastery, in which, as is well known, Liszt resided later on; see FORCELLA, XII., 270.

[1] CRACAS, May 4, 1726. By November 3, 1728, he had consecrated 1,600 Altars in 377 churches (according to *Lez.*, 89, n. 26, in Benedict XIII., *Lezioni*, on the book of Exodus, *Opere*, I., Ravenna, 1728, 407). In the church of the Minerva he gradually consecrated no less than sixteen Altars; see BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 214.

Pope; his *entourage* and the physicians thereupon pressed him to refrain from such exertions which, in view of his age, were fraught with danger to his life. His reply was that he could only wish for such a death.[1]

Whilst Benedict XIII. was thus absorbed in ecclesiastical functions, pious exercises, visits to churches and hospitals,[2] the actual business of government fell to the ministers. The Pope was himself aware of his utter inexperience in such matters and during the first six weeks he refused to have anything to do with secular business.[3] It was rumoured that he had told his ministers that they should deal with worldly affairs (*fate voi*) as he himself knew nothing of politics—that he would pray for them.[4] Later on, however, he was forced, willy-nilly, to busy himself with such things, but he did so as little as possible for he was unwilling to let a church function escape him. During the Roman Provincial Council of 1725, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Paolucci, was unable to see the Pope for a whole seventeen days. No wonder a satirical poem spoke of the vacancy of the Holy See.[5] In view of this

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of March 31 and April 7, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] There he rendered to the poor the most humble services; *cf.* Acquaviva's *letter to Grimaldi, November 11, 1724, Simancas Archives.

[3] Count Kaunitz' *Diary, June 24 to July 1, 1724, has the following entry: "Until now no foreign Minister has negotiated with the Pope and 'stehet bis dahin die ganze Welt in Ungewissheit, auf was für einen Fuss dessen Regierung gestellet werden wird'. 'Die hiesigen Staatsgeschäfte liegen noch zu dato alle zu Boden und hat sich der Papst darin noch gar nicht informirt, auch darüber mit seinen Ministern nicht gesprochen, sondern hat derselbe alle seine Zeit bis nun in lauter geistlichen Sachen und zu seiner Andacht angewendet.'" July 1–5: Until now only spiritual affairs: "die weltlichen Geschäfte haben Ihre Heiligkeit noch zu dato nicht einsehen wollen." July 8–15: "Alles noch in demselben zustand." Wrbna-Kaunitz Arch., Holleschau.

[4] PETRUCELLI, IV., 51.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of May 5, June 4 and July 7, 1725, *loc. cit.*

peculiarity it is evident that much depended upon the Pope's ministers and advisers.[1] It was a fatal thing that among them was found a man who shamefully abused the ingenuous Pontiff's confidence.

Niccolò Coscia [2] was born in 1681, at Pietra de' Fusi, a Neapolitan village in the diocese of Benevento, of a very poor and obscure family. Chance having brought him in touch with Cardinal Orsini, then Archbishop of Benevento, he so successfully won that prelate's goodwill by his ability that the Archbishop undertook nothing without first consulting him.[3] Orsini heaped favours upon him. In 1703 Coscia became a Canon of S. Bartolomeo and in 1708 he obtained a Canon's stall in the cathedral of Benevento.[4] That same

[1] In his *Diary, *loc. cit.* Kaunitz emphasizes this very strongly, and observes that the choice is all the more important, "zumal der Eifer der Andacht und Religion ohnedem den Heiligen Vater öfters dürfte emportiren." For this reason he and Cienfuegos had exerted themselves with great zeal in this respect in the days from June 1–3, 1724.

[2] NOVAES, XIII., 87; MORONI, XVII., 306 *seqq.*; GUARNACCI, II., 454 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Nascita e fortuna dell' em. sig. card. Coscia nel pontificato di Benedetto XIII., *Ms.* (purchased in 1901 in Rome) in my possession; contains the Roman "dicerie". Authentic details on the life of Coscia are in the *Acts of the process against him. According to these he was born not in 1682, as is generally stated, but in 1681; see the baptismal register: baptized, January 23, 1681, "fil. legitimus et naturalis mag. Vincentii Coscia et mag. Hieronimae Gemma." He received the first tonsure in May, 1696. (Papal Secret Archives, X., 150.) Coscia's portrait ("Paulus de Matheis delin. et pinx. Hier. Rossi sculp.") in GUARNACCI, II., 454.

[3] *Si accrebbe tanto nel cuore del porporato l'affetto verso di Niccolò che divenne da quella ora in poi l'arbitro ed il padrone del cuore e della volontà di Sua Eminenza. Quando essendosi fatta matura riflessione su tal mostruosità non mancarono persone che affermassero di certa scienza che il card. Orsini fu in quell'occasione ammaliato da uno stregono di Nardò. Nascita e fortuna di card. Coscia, *loc. cit.*

[4] From the *Acts of the process against Coscia it appears that from August 25, 1701, to October 20, 1703, he was master of the

year—1708—he became Chancellor of the archiepiscopal curia and in 1716 secretary to the Archbishop.[1] In 1721 the latter took him with him to the conclave. This was repeated in 1724 when Coscia entered into negotiations with the Albani which, if they were not decisive for the election of his master, at least greatly helped it.[2]

With his nomination as Secretary of Memorials, when he also became titular Archbishop of Trajanopolis, the *parvenu* secured a post which, as a rule, formerly fell to a nephew; in this way he had frequent access to the Pope.[3] As early as June, 1724, Cardinal Cienfuegos reports that, as formerly at Benevento, Coscia was all powerful with the Pope, with the result that all the ambassadors sought to win his favour by presents.[4] Cardinal Acquaviva also reports in July, 1724, that, realizing his utter inexperience in the affairs of government, the Pope left them to Cardinal Paolucci, but that besides him Coscia also dealt with a good deal of business.[5]

Coscia, a man of the lowest character, abused the position of trust which Benedict XIII. had allotted to him in the most shameful fashion. He did not shrink from the worst means when there was question of satisfying his covetousness. The unsuspecting Pontiff, almost exclusively occupied with spiritual things as he was, refused to listen to those Cardinals

"mansionariato della metropolitana di Benevento". From October 12, 1703, to April 13, 1708, he was a Canon of S. Bartolomeo, and from April 13, 1708, to January, 1724, a Canon of the Cathedral. He held other benefices besides. Papal Secret Archives, X., 154.

[1] Chancellor from April 23, 1708, to February 27, 1716, secretary of the Cardinal-Archbishop from February, 1716, to December, 1721. *Ibid.*

[2] Above, p. 106.

[3] "*Il segretariato de' memoriali è di confidenza per l'accesso frequente al Papa che suole conferirlo a qualche parente." Parere ed informazione di Malanotte, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Juan. Baut. de Orendayn, June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 51.

[5] Acquaviva's *letter of July 29, 1724, Simancas Archives.

of the party of the "Zelanti" who drew his attention to the conduct of his favourite [1]: he continued in his blind trust.

In January, 1725, it was rumoured that Coscia was about to be raised to the cardinalate. But the project met with the opposition of a large section of the Sacred College, though at that time even so shrewd a man as Cienfuegos was still of opinion that everything that Coscia was reproached with was simply calumny! [2] The Pope was fully convinced that it was so. Obstinate by nature and impatient of contradiction,[3] the Pontiff persisted in his resolve to bestow the purple on Coscia, in spite of the opposition of a number of Cardinals. A consistory was held on June 11th, 1725, in which Benedict XIII. proposed Coscia for the cardinalate, together with his *Maggiordomo* Giudice. When after recommending Coscia, he pronounced the customary formula: *Quid vobis videtur*? nine Cardinals of the "Zelanti" party offered a decided opposition. The Secretary of State spoke first: referring to previous declarations by His Holiness he said that, in view of Coscia's bad reputation, he felt bound to vote against him. Cardinal Fabroni spoke in equally sharp terms: he deemed it a duty of conscience to protest against the elevation of a man of such ill repute.[4] Cardinals Pico, Zondadari, Corradini, Tolomei, Belluga, Salerni and Imperiali also spoke emphatically against the elevation and stated the motives of their decision. But the majority gave its consent, Cienfuegos among them.[5] Thus did Coscia become Cardinal-Priest of S. Maria in Domnica.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter of March 17, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. [3] Letters of the same of May 5 and 19, 1725, *ibid.*

[4] *Voto dell'E.mo e R.mo Signor Cardinale Fabroni in congiuntura della Promozione del card. Coscia, June 11, 1725, in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 196, p. 203, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 12, 1725, *loc. cit.*; P. Cappello's *report of June 16, 1725, State Archives, Venice, extract in Brosch, II., 62 *seq.* The **Votum* of Fabroni in *Cod. Vat.* 8631, p 63, Vatican Library.

[6] The *Diaconia* of S. Maria in Domnica was raised on this occasion to a *titolo presbiterale*. Novaes, XIII., 87.

Benedict XIII. again took no notice of the Cardinals' protests when in July, 1725, at Coscia's request he consented to the resignation by Cardinal Ottoboni of the Abbey of Chiaravalle in favour of the son of a Milanese banker, then still a minor, a step which led to a conflict with the Emperor.[1]

Whilst Benedict XIII. remained only too often deaf to the counsels of his ministers,[2] he lent an all the more willing ear to Coscia, who showed great concern for the health of his master and even prevailed on him, in September, 1725, to give up his accustomed visit to the convent on Monte Mario.[3] On September 5th the Pope, who from attachment to his former church had retained the see of Benevento, appointed his all powerful favourite his coadjutor in that see, with the right of succession.[4] There now occurred a revulsion of feeling in Rome which up to this time had been largely favourable to the Pope. Even Cienfuegos felt grievously disappointed.[5]

On November 5th, 1725, the Pope, accompanied by a small suite, went to Vignanello for the purpose of consecrating a church erected by Francesco Maria Ruspoli, Prince of Cervetri. For two years Ruspoli's daughter had lived apart from her husband, the Duke of Gravina. The Pope, who had at first attempted to bring the two together, now sanctioned their separation, an act which gave rise to scandal. The whole thing was ascribed to Coscia.[6]

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 31, September 15 and 29, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] *Report of the same, August 11, 1725, *ibid.*

[3] *Report of the same, September 1, 1725, *ibid.*

[4] **Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2920, Vatican Library. Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports on September 5, 1725 (*loc. cit.*) to the imperial Chancellery: when Coscia was proposed the Pope spoke very rapidly for fear of contradiction and without any pause let the blessing follow the "Quid vobis videtur?" The measure excites general astonishment.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of September 8 and 15, 1725, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Report of the same, November 10, 1725, *ibid.*; "*Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII.," in *Cod.* 1320, p. 205 *seqq.*, Casanatense

In January, 1726, it was said that the Pope did not receive his ministers, whilst on the other hand he willingly listened to Coscia's advice. About this time the latter was also made a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, a step which gave rise to general dissatisfaction, as only the most deserving among the Cardinals received such an appointment.[1] Benedict's blindness is also shown by the fact that not long after he entrusted Coscia with the visitation of the archdiocese of Benevento.[2] When reasons of health compelled Paolucci to go to Albano, all business came to a temporary standstill. Coscia's partisans, most of them natives of Benevento, as for instance the ill-famed Private Chamberlain Niccolò Saverio Santamaria,[3] seized the opportunity to get hold of all the best posts,[4] and, after the pattern of their patron, to line their own pockets. In this respect, besides the Pope's blind trust, his kindliness, which inclined him to grant requests very readily, was of great profit to them. To this goodness, and to the lack of conscience on the part of the favourites, the Venetian ambassador, Baron Morosini, ascribes the fact that so many extraordinary and unjustifiable favours were granted, and that wholly unsuitable and undeserving persons had positions assigned to them.[5] Coscia sold the public offices,

Library, Rome; on Benedict XIII.'s efforts to reconcile the couple, see Cardinal Acquaviva's *report of June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives. Inscriptions in the church and in the Ruspoli Palace record the visit of Benedict XIII. to Vignanello.

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf, January 5, 12, and 26, 1726, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Reports of the same, February 16 and 23, 1726, *ibid.*

[3] How bad the reputation of this favourite was appears from "*Vita e stravagante fortuna di Msgr. Niccolò Saverio Santamaria Beneventano, vescovo di Cirene, canonico di S. Pietro e già cameriere segreto participante del defunto pontefice Benedetto XIII." (*Cod. Vat.* 9405, p. 63 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Le Bret, *Magazin*, IV., 142 *seqq.*).

[4] Valesio in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 112.

[5] "Relazione di Roma del N. U. Barbon Morosini ambasc. alla corte di Roma (Novembre 5, 1730—Giugno 30, 1731)," in State Archives, Venice, more accessible there than the extremely rare reprint of 1865, Ceneda (pubblicazione per nozze).

granted everything in return for money and presents, and enriched himself shamelessly.[1] As early as August, 1725, it was rumoured that he had amassed two million scudi. His rooms were adorned with pictures taken from the state-rooms of the Vatican. This fashion of decorating one's own apartments was promptly followed by other prelates of the palace.[2]

Dissatisfaction in Rome, and aversion for the Beneventans, rose steadily. There appeared an anonymous publication in the form of a letter, which proved by quotations from the Councils, the Fathers and the Bulls of the Popes, that it was the Cardinals' duty to advise the Pope, and the Pope's to consult the Sacred College. All this was mordantly propounded, and contrasted with the régime in power.[3] Benedict XIII. was informed of the nature of the publication and had inquiries made about the identity of its author, but he made no change in his mode of government. Public affairs seemed to be of no concern to him. He continued to devote all his attention to religious functions which, during Holy Week, he once more carried out with the greatest self-sacrifice. Afterwards he resumed the consecration of altars.[4]

Meanwhile Paolucci's health grew much worse. He had been desirous of retiring already in June, 1724,[5] and it now became necessary to think seriously of a successor. In May

[1] CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 3. *Cf. Voyages*, DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 199 *seq.*

[2] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 114.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 13, 1726, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[4] *Reports of the same, April 20 and May 1, 1726, *ibid.*

[5] According to Cienfuegos' *report of June 24, 1724 (*ibid.*), besides Paolucci's great age a circumstance of decisive effect was that, besides the reform of the clergy, of the court, and of the ceremonial, papal decisions which he could not prevent were ascribed to him. Benedict XIII., however, did not accept the resignation; he is said to have answered that just as he himself had been forced to accept the tiara against his will, Paolucci also must retain the secretariate of state.

Coscia returned from Benevento and presented himself at once before the Pope with whom he remained closeted from one in the morning till five o'clock.[1] Paolucci's illness proved a lingering one ; there were periods of improvement, but he was no longer able to attend to affairs. The two Albani proposed either Patrizi or Scotti as his successor. Coscia seemed inclined to favour Aldrovandi or Cibo, or, if it had to be a Cardinal, Banchieri.[2] Meanwhile all business remained in suspense. At this time Coscia was on such intimate terms with the Pope that, on the strength of a former promise, he addressed the Pontiff in the second person singular after the Neapolitan fashion.[3]

Paolucci died on June 12th, 1726 ; his death was as edifying as his life had been.[4] With him fell the last barrier which up till then had prevented many an arbitrary measure.[5]

As successor to Paolucci in the Secretariate of State, Benedict XIII., to the amazement and annoyance of the diplomatists and of many Cardinals, appointed a simple prelate, namely Niccolò Maria Lercari, a Genoese, born in 1675, whom he had come to know at Benevento, a man of moderate ability, but utterly dependent on Coscia.[6] The

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 11, 1726, *ibid.*

[2] *Report of the same, May 18, 1726, *ibid*

[3] *Report of the same, June 1, 1726 (*ibid.*), relates that when the Pope asked Coscia what he should do regarding a certain nomination, the latter replied " all'usanza napolitana : S. Padre, Tu domandi, che hai da fare ? La parola data da principio devi mantenere, perchè hai da pensare prima di promettere, ma promesso che hai Tu devi osservare la parola ".

[4] " *Lasciando di se ottima opinione per la vita esemplare che ha menata e per la morte santa che ha fatta," Cienfuegos writes on June 15, 1726, *ibid.*

[5] *Voyages* DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 213.

[6] Cienfuegos' *report of June 15, 1726, *loc. cit.* MONTESQUIEU (*Voyages*, II., 35) calls Lercari " bon, mais faible ". On Lercari, *cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 479 *seq.* In his *report to the Emperor, December 14, 1726 (*loc. cit.*), Cienfuegos describes Lercari's character thus : Lercari, 50 years of age, of a middle-class family, healthy, religious, of adequate learning and ecclesiastical spirit,

Venetian ambassador Barbon Morosini thus describes the change which now took place in the government of the devout and well-meaning Pontiff: "At the beginning of his pontificate Benedict showed less determination and frequently listened to representations in an opposite sense, but after he had effected the nomination of Coscia in the teeth of the opposition of several prominent Cardinals, he at last became fully conscious of his power: from that moment, the only thing that restrained him was his sincere veneration for the excellent Cardinal Paolucci whose representations he frequently took into account; but after the death of the Cardinal, the Beneventans could dare and hope for anything. Corradini alone continued to utter words of warning and he prevented many things, but he was no match for Coscia and his Beneventan following, especially as the latter had secretly prevailed on the Pope to make a number of concessions." [1]

The papal auditor Prospero Marefoschi succeeded Paolucci as Vicar of Rome [2]; the office of a *Maestro di Camera*, which Lercari had held, was given to Francesco Fini. The latter was born in 1669 at Minervino in Neapolitan territory [3]

held with little success "governi" in the States of the Church under Clement XI., and as Governatore of Benevento, won the affections of the Pope. As Maestro di Camera he alienated many by his harshness; as Secretary of State he did wonders, against all expectation, worked indefatigably "con somma schiettezza" so that all praised his transformation "in gentilezza". Lercari's tomb [in bad taste—a soft-featured angel holds his effigy] is in S. Marcello al Corso; Epitaph in FORCELLA, II., 320.

[1] B. MOROSINI, Relazione di Roma (*cf.* above, p. 127, n. 5), State Archives, Venice.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 22, 1726, *loc. cit.*

[3] MORONI, XXIV., 310 *seq.* An anonymous author draws a very dark picture of Fini in his "*Vita", in *Cod. ital.*, 548, p. 74 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich; he says: "In verità non così pravi ha avuti i costumi come Coscia e S. Maria benchè ancor esso è stato buona parte contaminatore dell'onestà e pudicizia di tante famiglie e ha fatto profitto nell'intercessione delle grazie al pari degli altri."

and had been one of the Pope's most trusted servants whilst Benedict was Archbishop of Benevento. He had become a rival of Coscia who for the time being succeeded in preventing the bestowal of the red hat on Fini, as was the Pope's intention.[1] Consequently on December 9th, 1726, Lercari and the Franciscan Lorenzo Cozza were alone raised to the purple.[2] Fini nevertheless retained the Pope's favour [3]; on January 26th, 1728, he was admitted into the Sacred College.[4]

Coscia remained all powerful with Benedict XIII. in all the internal affairs of the Papal States.[5] All efforts to open the Pope's eyes to this unworthy personage were in vain. In January, 1727, documentary evidence showed that Coscia had raised, on his own authority, a sum of 11,000 scudi within three months. Instead of taking him to task over it the Pope made a present of the sum to Coscia by an autograph letter.[6] This case is by no means an isolated one. The *Maggiordomo* Camillo Cibo sought to lower the expenses with which Coscia burdened the exchequer of the Apostolic Palace, but the reform was thwarted by Coscia obtaining an autograph letter from Benedict XIII. ordering the continuation of these expenses. A second attempt to remove

[1] Thus Cienfuegos, in his *letter of December 17, 1726, *loc. cit.*

[2] GUARNACCI, II., 471 *seqq.*

[3] Cienfuegos' *report of December 27, 1727, *loc. cit.*

[4] GUARNACCI, II., 495 *seqq.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 1, 1727, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the account in *Teatro storico del pontificato e governo di Benedetto XIII. R. P. coll'aggiunta di un foglio dimostrativo dello stato cattivo e passivo della R. Cam. Apost. e della intrata ed uscita della borsa del Papa (*Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich), where it is stated (f. 185): that Coscia attained such importance "che le stanze sue paiono quelle del Papa e le stanze del Papa quelle del guardiano de' Cappuccini; non si seppe che fosse il principe, o il Papa, che si era spogliato delle sue temporali prerogative d'arbitrio, o Coscia, che si era ursurpato il dominio e le qualità principali".

[6] P. Capello's dispatch of January 25, 1727, in BROSCH, II., 65.

the abuse made by Cibo soon after also failed.[1] After this Coscia's hatred of Cibo no longer knew any limits. For a time he sought to force Cibo to resign his post, but when the latter nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position, Coscia found other means for removing him from the office of *Maggiordomo* : he advocated his elevation to the cardinalate ! By this promotion, which took place on March 23rd, 1729, Coscia successfully removed Cibo from his important post and at the same time forced a dignity on him which he accepted with reluctance, as he lacked the necessary income to enable him to maintain his new position.[2]

When there was question of filling vacant posts Coscia demanded payment in money from the candidates, or he bargained with them for a share in the revenues which the offices yielded. It happened sometimes that the engagement thus made was not honoured ; when this occurred he brought the matter to the notice of the Pope to whom he gave to understand that the contribution had been agreed upon for some pious purpose ; in this way he obtained his own end. Coscia also derived a considerable income from the monopolies created by him ; among them was a monopoly of shoe leather and another of soap, from the holders of which he obtained presents.[3] The disorder of the finances, which Benedict XIII. was quite unable to grasp,[4] eventually became such that it was necessary to appoint a special congregation to deal with it : it included Cardinals Corradini, Collicola and Lercari. The commission resolved to lay before the Pope a scheme destined to eliminate superfluous expenditure, regulate the revenues,

[1] C. Cibo's *Autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.* 99, p. 602 *seqq.*, 608 *seqq.*, 629 *seq.*, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, where the *Chirografi* of Benedict XIII. in the case of Coscia are given in the original text.

[2] *Ibid.*, 102, p. 1 *seqq.*

[3] Brosch, II., 65 *seq.*

[4] Cardinal Acquaviva reports this to Juan Baut. Orendayn in his *letter of August 26, 1724, where he mentions the bad advice given in this matter by Sardini of Lucca. Simancas Archives.

improve the collection of taxes and impose new ones. Benedict XIII. sanctioned everything, but he would not hear of the imposition of fresh taxes. However, as the Venetian ambassador Barbon Morosini wrote, it was impossible to build on such decisions, as there was not the slightest prospect that Coscia would allow the Pope to revoke contracts from which the Cardinal derived so much money, or to curtail expenditure of which the greater part flowed into the Cardinal's pockets.[1]

A computation made in April, 1729, gives us an idea of the financial straits. According to this account the income of the Apostolic Camera, at the beginning of the reign of Benedict XIII., amounted to 2,716,650 scudi, and the expenditure to 2,439,308 scudi, leaving a surplus of 277,342 scudi. After Benedict XIII. had suppressed the meat tax and the *Lotto di Genova*, erected 2,000 new *luoghi di monte*, eased a number of contracts and raised many salaries, the expenditure rose by 383,686 scudi, the result being an annual deficit of 120,000 scudi.[2] A remedy, which it would have been difficult to apply in any case, was not proposed for Coscia's power remained unimpaired up to the Pope's death [February 21st, 1730]. Coscia and his accomplices successfully isolated the Pope by rendering access to his person as difficult as possible and if in spite of every precaution someone managed to speak frankly to the Pope, he became the object of calumny and could be certain that never again would he be received in a private audience.[3] Whenever satires were published against Coscia and his Beneventans, stern ordinances were

[1] Brosch, II., 69. A list of receipts and expenses of 1729 in *Teatro storico, *loc. cit.*

[2] Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, XII., Lucca, 1764, 127; Coppi, *Finanze*, 19. *Cf.* also *Stato economico della Camera Apost., posto sotto gli occhi della Santità di N. S. Benedetto XIII. l'a. 1729, which I purchased in Rome in 1902 (carte, 1107), Baron von Pastor Library; there also the plans of reform.

[3] "*Conclave dopo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII.," *Ms.*, *ibid.*

issued in order to inspire terror.[1] At the beginning of August, 1729, it looked as if a rift had occurred in the relations between the Pope and Coscia,[2] but it was soon seen that Benedict could not dispense with his adviser. When Coscia did not present himself before the Pope for several days, the latter went himself to call upon him, and as the Cardinal happened to be resting, he patiently waited for nearly an hour, walking up and down whilst saying his rosary.[3] When Coscia set out for Benevento in November, the Pope could hardly wait for his return, and as the favourite felt unwell on his arrival in Rome, the Pontiff immediately called upon him.[4] Coscia refrained from meddling with purely religious affairs: in spite of all his arrogance, he was shrewd enough not to interfere with the Pope in such matters, but the internal administration of the Papal States came almost completely into his own hands.

In view of Benedict XIII.'s weakness, Coscia and his Beneventans were in a position, in return for money, to appoint both incapable and bad officials, and in this way they did the Holy See incalculable harm.[5] It was equally disastrous that Coscia's influence extended to the decision of important ecclesiastico-political questions. The diplomatists were not slow to realize what services this sinister personage might

[1] *Report from Rome of July 23, 1729, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] *Report from Rome of August 5, 1729, *ibid.*

[3] *Report from Rome of August 12, 1729 (*ibid.*): "Il Papa l'altro giorno essendo più giorni che esso sig. card. Coscia non era stato da lui, andò a trovarlo, e perchè riposava, non volle permettere la S. S. che fosse svegliato, ma con somma bontà aspettò sopra tre quarti d'ora passeggiando e dicendo la corona. Il fatto è verissimo."

[4] *Reports from Rome of November 17 and 25, 1729, *ibid.* The *report of December 23, 1729 (*ibid.*) says: "Il sig. card. Coscia non vuole ricevere più dame al Vaticano": whether he does this on his own initiative or by command of the Pope, is not known.

[5] *Cf.* Benedict XIV.'s opinion as expressed to Tencin (see below, p. 175; also *Voyages* DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 200, 202.

render them.[1] To win him over was a task that required no long calculation but merely money.[2]

In the important question of the Sicilian Legation (*Monarchia Sicula*), Coscia was quite willing to meet the Emperor's representatives, though it was precisely on this point that Benedict XIII. had spoken quite clearly in a Brief of July 21st, 1725, in which, regardless of all human interests, he thought only of the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. In that document he called upon the Bishops of Sicily to comply strictly with Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, for the self-styled tribunal of the monarchy had been done away with and he strictly insisted on its being considered as suppressed.[3] This attitude of the Pope could surprise no one for, whilst still a Cardinal, he had on one occasion given unequivocal expression to his abhorrence for the Sicilian Legation by subscribing to Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition on his knees. The Emperor's representative, Cardinal Cienfuegos, who was well aware of this, nevertheless protested loudly against the "innovation" which the Brief was said to create.[4] After the consistory of September 5th, 1725, he bitterly reproached the Pope, alleging that in making this innovation he had been badly advised, that he upset the whole of Sicily, regardless of the Emperor of whose attachment he had received so many tokens.[5] Cienfuegos, who had been a Jesuit but who acted rather as an imperial ambassador than as a religious, and who, in February, 1725, had been given the archiepiscopal See of Monreale with its income of 70,000 gold florins,[6] was not concerned about the rights of the Church in this matter, but exclusively about the interests of the Emperor. In his reports to the Chancellor of Empire, Count von Sinzendorf,

[1] *Cf.* Cienfuegos' *report above, p. 124, n. 4.

[2] Brosch, II., 70.

[3] **Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Secret Archives; Sentis, 162.

[4] Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf, August 4 and 11, 1725, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[5] *Report of the same, September 8, 1725, *ibid.*

[6] Cordara, ed. Döllinger, III., 3, who speaks of the enormous expenditure of this Cardinal.

he repeatedly counselled him to resist and by means of threats and strong measures to compel the Pope to yield.[1] In compliance with the Cardinal's advice, Charles VI. sought to render the Brief ineffective. By a decree of December 5th, 1725, he ordered the Sicilians to help him to uphold the tribunal of the monarchy as it had existed at the time of Charles II. of Spain, and not to yield in the slightest degree. The Governor was instructed to expel at once any Bishop who ventured to make the slightest innovation, and he had every copy of Clement's Bull confiscated.[2]

Cardinal Cienfuegos' expectation that Benedict XIII. would allow himself to be intimidated by threats was not fulfilled, on the contrary, the Pope repeatedly declared that he would sacrifice his life rather than tolerate the tribunal as it existed under Charles II.[3]; but though he upheld Clement XI.'s Bull, a Brief expressed his willingness to pave the way for a compromise.[4]

About mid-January, 1726, Cienfuegos asked for an audience with the Pope in the course of which, to quote his report to Vienna,[5] he alternately used wine and vinegar. He began by stating that the Emperor demanded the withdrawal of the Brief of July, 1725, and the restoration of the rights which Charles II. had enjoyed. His Majesty did not deserve such hard blows since he had done so much for Christendom. Cienfuegos' eloquence made no impression. Benedict XIII. told him that however grieved he felt on account of the Emperor's annoyance, he nevertheless felt bound in conscience

[1] Cienfuegos' *reports to Sinzendorf of August 11 and September 8, 1725, *loc. cit.*; his *report of December 8, 1725, *ibid.*, is characteristic of the manner in which Cienfuegos entirely adopts the standpoint of Charles VI.

[2] SENTIS, 162; MARTINI, *La Sicilia* (1907), 124 *seq.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to Sinzendorf of January 12, 1726, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Letter of the same, January 19, 1726, *ibid.* *Cf.* also Felix Cornejo's *letter to S. Riperda of February 16, 1726, Simancas Archives.

to uphold Clement XI.'s Bull to which he had sworn as a Cardinal. For the rest he was willing to satisfy the Emperor in the measure in which this was possible, and he invited him to make suggestions on the subject. The Cardinal replied that this was only possible if the ancient rights which His Majesty had inherited as successor of Roger of Sicily, were restored to him. There followed a lively discussion which lasted a whole hour. In the course of the conversation, Cienfuegos got the impression that though the Pope would not cancel Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, he was nevertheless disposed, through a Congregation specially constituted for that purpose, to prepare the way towards a compromise in the sense that the faculties might be granted to one or more Bishops of Sicily. On his part Cienfuegos wished to see the form of the *Monarchia* preserved; he insisted that the Emperor could not allow a Congregation to sit in judgment on his rights. The Pope maintained his point of view, that in so important an affair he needed the counsel of the Cardinals. Thereupon Cienfuegos proposed that the Cardinal Secretary of State Paolucci, Giudice as protector of Sicily, and Coscia, should be asked for their opinion. To this Benedict XIII. consented.

As the negotiations dragged the Emperor instructed the Roman jurist and imperial agent in Rome, Pietro Perrelli, of Naples, to lend help to Cienfuegos.[1] Perrelli's advice was

[1] P. PERRELLI, "*Storia ed apologia dell' apostolica legazia di Sicilia" (*Ms.* transferred from the Library of the Oratorians, Palermo, to the National Library), written under Clement XII. for Charles III. of Naples, by no means impartial but the only source for many events of that time (*cf.* SENTIS, 163, 175), and extensively used by A. FORNO, *Istoria d. apost. legazione annessa alla corona di Sicilia*, p. II., Palermo, 1801; it is, however, marred by many mistakes (e.g. II., 74: September 5, 1728, instead of 1727, by which even such a careful scholar as SENTIS [170] has been led astray). Perrelli's account has been completed and confirmed by Cienfuegos' *reports, of which, however, those in the Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, go only as far as the end of 1727.

that the Pope should address a provisional Brief to the Emperor, to the effect that he was willing to yield to the many urgent requests of the imperial representatives for a settlement of the question of the *Monarchia Sicula*; that it was his firm intention to clear up this matter, and that he invited the Emperor to suggest some plan which would enable him to do so without failing in his pastoral duties. To this Benedict agreed. After a short consultation between Perrelli, Coscia and Majella, the Secretary for Briefs, such a document was drawn up. The word *Monarchia* was carefully avoided, as was the expression favoured by the other side, viz. "the pretended tribunal" (*assertum tribunale*), and it was agreed to describe the question in dispute by the expression "ecclesiastical jurisdiction". This draft was signed on March 1st, 1727, by Benedict XIII., who suspected nothing untoward, after which the Brief was dispatched.[1] As the representatives of the "Zelanti", Cardinals Olivieri and Corradini, happened to be away from Rome just then, no one drew the Pope's attention to the fact that the imperial party meant to make use of the Brief in their own sense.

A journey by the Pope to his beloved Benevento at this time also served the cause of the imperialists, for the Pope imagined that the splendid reception which the Neapolitans gave him was due to the Brief. In obedience to an injunction from Vienna, Perrelli accompanied the Pope, whilst Cienfuegos continued his activities in Rome. At Benevento Perrelli succeeded in securing for the tribunal of the Monarchy at least an existence *de facto*, though only on sufferance and

[1] SENTIS, 164, who quotes a passage of the *Brief from *Cod. Vat.* 8350, p. 11, Vatican Library, but has overlooked the publication in FORNO, II., 33 *seq.* (instead of 1726 read 1727). In *Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Secret Archives, the Brief is on p. 573. When on March 2, 1727, Cienfuegos dispatched the Brief to the imperial Chancellery, he *wrote: that he had hurried the matter and had taken advantage of the absence of the "ill disposed" Cardinals; he would leave everything in the hands of the Emperor; the result was favourable beyond expectation, considering the opposition of the Pope in this affair. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

provisionally. This was quite against the Pope's real intentions. Perrelli represented to the Pope that it would be a good thing to provide for every eventuality, and for that reason to warn the Bishops of Sicily to exercise the utmost prudence in order to prevent any collision between the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities during the short interval required for the solution of the question. To this Benedict agreed; he also allowed an imperial letter of March 22nd, 1727, which spoke of the prospect of a favourable solution of the problem, to be communicated to the Bishops. In close alliance with Perrelli, Coscia then wrote on April 28th, 1727, from Benevento, to the Secretary of State Lercari, in Rome. On May 13th Lercari sent the ordinance to the Bishops of Sicily together with the imperial letter.[1] By this means the imperialists had gained a great success. The Bishops were no longer able to fight existing conditions and the tribunal of the *Monarchia* was able to function undisturbed.

This was certainly not Benedict XIII.'s intention. On his return to Rome the "Zelanti" among the Cardinals drew his attention to the gravity of the situation. Meanwhile on June 21st, the Secretary of State sent a second letter to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina, to the effect that all that the Pope desired was that, whilst the negotiations were proceeding, the Bishops should not put difficulties in the way of an agreement by public complications, but that it was by no means intended to suspend Clement XI.'s Bull. However, Perrelli, with the help of Coscia, succeeded in obtaining the Pope's approval of a third letter to the above-named Bishops, declaring that the first letter alone was to be regarded as a rule of conduct.[2]

In the course of the deliberations which now ensued with a view to a formal agreement on the pending questions, one of the negotiators attracted particular attention, in fact

[1] SENTIS, 165 *seq.* To the sources given there must be added Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of May 10, 1727, *loc. cit.* The letter of May 13, 1727, in FORNO, II., 43 *seqq.*, but with the wrong date, "May 3".

[2] PERRELLI, *Storia, *loc. cit.*; FORNO, II., 50 *seqq.*

he was destined for a great future. This was Prosper Lambertini, Archbishop of Theodosia and Secretary of the Congregation of the Council.

This learned canonist, who was held in high esteem by Benedict XIII., was instructed to try, in conjunction with Perrelli, to harmonize divergent views by means of a compromise.[1] Lambertini and Perrelli both agreed that this should be done not by means of a Bull but by a Concordat in which Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition would neither be revoked nor expressly confirmed. When the two prelates submitted their draft to Benedict XIII., the Pope found fault in particular with the historical introduction because he wished to see the abolition of the *Monarchia Sicula* by Clement XI. explicitly confirmed in that document. Coscia nevertheless prevailed on the Pope to content himself with a few minor changes. On August 21st the Secretary of State, Lercari, forwarded the draft of the Bull, "the result of incredible labours,"[2] to Cardinal Cienfuegos. The latter sent it on to Vienna on the 25th, with the remark that he regarded the agreement as acceptable in all its parts. More could not be obtained either in the present or in any future pontificate. The introduction mentioned not only the Bull of Clement XI., but also the privilege of Urban II. which had not been hitherto accepted, as it was regarded as apocryphal. This mention was of such importance in practice, that it implied a confirmation of the *Monarchia*. If there were a few minor gaps in the Bull, it should not be difficult to obtain what was lacking by a future Brief. In conclusion Cienfuegos insists once more that so favourable an agreement could not be hoped for from any other Pope or any other officials. Vienna should take note of Benedict's great age. All His Majesty's devoted servants felt as he himself did. He prayed

[1] For what follows, *cf.* PERRELLI, *Storia, printed in great part by FORNO, II., 54 *seqq*. The excellent account of SENTIS (169) is also based on Perrelli.

[2] Cienfuegos emphasizes this in his *report to Sinzendorf, August 25, 1727, *loc. cit.*

for an early decision as Benedict was inconstant and might change his mind.[1]

For the purpose of giving effect to these warnings Perrelli decided to go to Vienna in person. He reached the imperial city on September 5th, 1727, and gave the Emperor a personal account of the state of the negotiations. On this occasion he exhibited the original of a letter of the Archbishop of Palermo to the Pope in which the Archbishop, in answer to the second papal Brief, assures the Pontiff that with regard to Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, he would strictly comply with His Holiness' orders, for he was resolved to give his very blood for the freedom of the Church and to defy every violence that the secular Power might have recourse to. This letter had reached neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State, for the imperialists had intercepted it! Perrelli now made use of it as a proof of the Bishop's determination to obey the Pope, thereby offering the Emperor the alternative either of promptly terminating the dispute on the basis of the negotiations hitherto pursued, or of upholding the *Monarchia* by force of arms.

In spite of this strong pressure Charles VI. put off his decision. He submitted the project to a commission consisting of councillors for Spanish and Italian affairs. Their opinion was unfavourable, on the ground that the project sacrificed the important prerogatives of the Legation. The Emperor was not yet satisfied but laid the affair before his Cabinet, presided over by Prince Eugene. The council announced that the draft was acceptable as a basis for further negotiations, but that everything prejudicial must first be cut out of it. These demands were summed up in an Instruction for

[1] *Ibid.* Another draft of the Bull, with the observations from the imperial side, is included. The last points (39 and 40) are missing; further differences in the "Narratio" are: no mention is made of the Bull of Clement XI., the steps taken by Charles VI., the concessions of Urban II., and all else is exclusively motivated by the difficulties of communication between Sicily and Rome, on account of the distance and of the dangers of the sea voyage, especially in winter.

Perrelli who left the Austrian capital in the first days of February, 1728. In Rome he first discussed the affair with Cienfuegos and Coscia; afterwards he also consulted Lambertini and the latter's friend Galliani.

It was no easy task to get the Pope to consent to the changes desired by the Emperor, especially in the introduction, as that part had been drawn up by Benedict XIII. himself. Coscia was chosen for the delicate task, and when he declined, Perrelli was obliged to assume it. Contrary to all expectations the Pope proved willing to accept the changes and entrusted Lambertini with their execution. As the latter had to return to his diocese of Ancona for Holy Week, his friend Galliani drew up the new introduction which Cienfuegos dispatched to Vienna on March 27th, 1728. The reply, which arrived on June 16th, threw the negotiators into no small embarrassment, because it demanded a great many alterations. Cienfuegos was in despair but Perrelli did not lose heart. He appealed to Lambertini who had become a Cardinal in the meantime. Prolonged discussions finally resulted in a draft which satisfied everybody: for greater safety it was decided to have it confirmed by a Congregation of Cardinals.[1]

Once again Perelli undertook to commend the new draft to the Pope. Very adroitly he began his address by observing that it seemed as if it were God's will that the negotiations on the ecclesiastico-political affairs of Sicily, which had begun under the Dominican Pope Pius V, should be brought to a close under another Dominican Pontiff, whilst the Emperor, on his side, was willing that the business should be finally settled. After that the Pope read the draft with great attention: it satisfied him on the whole. Perrelli declared his willingness to alter certain passages; in respect to some others he sought to reassure the Pope, but the latter declared that before giving his approval he must consult with Cardinal Lambertini. Thereupon Perrelli spoke once more, to represent

[1] PERRELLI, *loc. cit.*; SENTIS, 170 *seq.* The very long *letter of the imperial Chancellery on the desired alterations, dated Laxenburg, June 2, 1728, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

to the Pope that the Emperor, as the great Monarch that he was, must be dealt with accordingly; hence he prayed His Holiness to set up a Congregation of Cardinals; should this commission decide against the agreement, the Emperor would forgo a decision, but if it agreed, then let His Holiness not put off his signature. It is said that after hearing Perrelli's report the credulous Pontiff observed: "*Questo è un angelo*! but which of the Cardinals shall we select for this purpose?" Thereupon Perrelli suggested Cardinals Davia, Vice-Prefect of the Congregation of Immunity, Origo, Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, Lambertini, the Secretary of State Lercari and Coscia. Benedict XIII. agreed to the proposal. Little did he suspect that Perrelli had already submitted the draft to the aforesaid Cardinals, and that he had spoken to them as if the document had already received the papal approval!

On the very next day the Pope sent for Lambertini; he assured the Cardinal of his confidence and put three questions to him:—

1° Whether Perrelli's draft was identical with the one which he himself had drawn up, revised and approved;

2° Whether the cause of God and Holy Church would be safeguarded were it to be accepted:

3° Whether it was proper to submit the draft to a Congregation and whether it was likely to be accepted by the members designated by Perrelli.

Cardinal Lambertini answered the first question in the affirmative; with regard to the second, he replied that the cause of God demanded, and the souls of a whole realm pleaded for a termination of so many and such thorny controversies. The Bishops of Sicily were in the awkward dilemma of either failing in their duty or of provoking their temporal sovereign. Hence His Holiness could do nothing more pleasing to God than to restore peace to the people of Sicily and to meet the religious sentiments of the Emperor by accepting the proposal. The third question Lambertini likewise answered in the affirmative, adding that the aforesaid Cardinals would assuredly approve the conclusion of peace between Church and State.

Benedict XIII. listened to these explanations with great satisfaction and ordered the Congregation to meet within three days. Lambertini and Perrelli took advantage of the brief interval to confirm the members of the Congregation in their favourable dispositions. As a matter of fact the result of the deliberations was wholly in accordance with their wishes. All the five Cardinals approved the agreement and advised the Pope to sign and publish the Bull in the form in which it had been laid before the Congregation. When Lambertini informed the Pope of the decision, the latter signed the draft with the words: "*Approbamus, nec immutetur unum iota.*"

Coscia promptly informed Cienfuegos of everything whilst Lambertini had an accurate report of the sitting forwarded to the Cardinal. Cienfuegos then dispatched a special courier to Vienna.[1] Both he and Perrelli were highly satisfied. At the last moment, however, fresh difficulties arose. The negotiations had been conducted with so much secrecy that the "Zelanti" Cardinals only heard of the agreement when it was an accomplished fact. The *Datarius*, Corradini, was particularly indignant at having been thus ignored. He declined to subscribe to the Bull and persisted in his refusal in spite of Coscia's and Cienfuegos' entreaties, nay even in spite of a formal command by the Pope.[2] To get over the difficulty the *Subdatarius* was eventually made to sign in his place. The Bull *Fideli* was then completed on August 30th, 1728[3]; it was promulgated at Palermo, through a special Pragmatic, on February 15th, 1729.[4]

[1] PERELLI, in FORNO, II., 179 *seqq.*; SENTIS, 173 *seq.*

[2] SENTIS, *ibid.*

[3] *Bull*, XXII., 670 *seqq.*; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 2 *seqq.*; Sinzendorf's and Kaunitz' letters of congratulation to the Duke of Gravina on the compromise over the *Monarchia Sicula*, in Orsini Archives, Rome, t. 17. *Ibid.*, t. 18, *private letters of Benedict XIII. to the Duke of Gravina.

[4] *Pragmatica iuxta litteras S. CC. Maiest. pro observantia bull. apost. in visu concordiae circa usum iurisdict. eccles. tribunalis apost. legatiae*, Panorni, 1729. *Cf.* MARTINI, *La Sicilia*, 131.

The Bull *Fideli* contains no confirmation of the original privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula*,[1] neither does it revoke Clement XI.'s Bull of abolition, on the contrary, it expressly mentions it in the introduction, but adds that the Emperor Charles VI. had explained to the Pope that the rights of the Apostolic Legation in Sicily were his and his successors' in virtue of a privilege of Urban II., and that these rights, which had been granted to Roger, Duke of Normandy, and his successors, had always been in vigour and practice throughout six centuries. Though the Pope knew that these arguments had failed to convince his predecessors, and though he himself had subscribed to Clement XI.'s Bull whilst still a Cardinal, he was determined to put an end to disputes which had done so much injury to souls and to the tranquillity of the State. Hence he decreed that in future only the more important ecclesiastical affairs of Sicily would be reserved to the Pope and that the sovereign of Sicily was empowered to appoint a supreme judge, who would pronounce in the third instance on all other ecclesiastical matters, in virtue of the apostolic authority.

Though there can be no doubt that the Bull does not recognize the legatine rights of the Sovereign of Sicily, and that it makes no concession by which Clement's Bull of suppression would be compromised, the fact remains that, contrary to the attitude hitherto observed by the Curia, it drops the demand for a fresh and express confirmation of Clement's Constitution.[2] In glosses on the Bull published by Lambertini, the latter states his conviction that most of the mischief had been due to the excesses of the judge of the *Monarchia*, and to the fact that by his open rebellion against the Pope's formal commands, that functionary had ended by playing the rôle of an antipope. Lambertini felt that the possibility of a relapse had been removed by the fact that the judge's mandate was expressly based on the apostolic authority of Benedict XIII., and by the disposition forbidding

[1] As MARTINI (131) maintained quite recently.

[2] SENTIS, 185.

the delegate to oppose at any time, or in any way whatsoever, the orders which the reigning Pope, or his successors, issued for Sicily by special rescripts signed by their own hand.[1] Lambertini, however, overlooked the fact that it is the peculiarity of absolutism to ignore the barriers of justice, hence he lived to see the ruler of Sicily, soon after the agreement effected by the Bull *Fideli*, asserting once more his old pretensions to full legatine powers and re-establishing the institution of the *Monarchia* in its old form. This was all the more easy as the King was now free to name the judge without even the necessity of a special confirmation.[2] This explains why many of the older Cardinals were exceedingly dissatisfied with the Bull.

The House of Savoy, in imitation of the example of the Emperor, also sought to exploit Coscia's venality and the favourable conditions thereby created for its Cæsaro-Papistic aims. Vittorio Amadeo II. of Savoy, who had been invested with the royal dignity in 1713, had already been in conflict with Clement XI. over Nicholas V.'s indult on the right of nomination to bishoprics and abbeys, the violation of ecclesiastical immunity and the papal fiefs in Piedmont.[3] With the acquisition of Sardinia fresh misunderstandings had been added to these. The Holy See insisted on its suzerain rights over the island of which the investiture had been granted to the royal House of Aragon by Boniface VIII., under the express condition that it should never be severed from the Aragonese crown, and accordingly declared that Sardinia had reverted to its suzerain, so that Amadeo could not be recognized as its legitimate King until he should have obtained investiture by Rome and the clause about the perpetual union of Sardinia with the crown of Aragon had been abrogated. Hence the new sovereign's right of patronage

[1] LAMBERTINI, *Annotazioni alla bolla "Fideli"*, in GIUS. LO BUE, *Su la facoltà del giudice dell'apost. legazione Sicola in rispetto alle dispense matrimoniali*, Palermo, 1863, 197; SENTIS, 185.

[2] SENTIS, 186, with whose appreciation of the Bull I fully concur.

[3] *Cf.* XXXIII., 344 *seq.*

over vacant benefices was not recognized, with the result that most of the dioceses were orphaned.[1]

No agreement had been arrived at under Innocent XIII. owing to the shortness of his pontificate, hence Benedict XIII., who grieved over the vacancy of so many sees, began fresh negotiations, through the Franciscan Observant Tommaso da Spoleto, in the very first year of his reign. Vittorio Amadeo seemed likewise ready to come to terms; to this end he sent to Rome, in 1725, one of his ablest diplomatists, Vincenzo Ferreri, Marchese d' Ormea.[2]

That shrewd Piedmontese soon perceived which would be the best means for winning the confidence of the pious Pontiff. Almost every morning he assisted at the Holy Father's Mass, with a great show of piety and fingering a big rosary; he also procured for the Pope a relic of St. Francis de Sales.[3] He did his best to keep all knowledge of his plans from the "Zelanti". Like the Emperor's ambassadors, he treated in secret with Coscia to whom he offered his services to enable him to obtain the purple. On June 9th, 1725, he was able to write to Turin that in the favourite he had found an excellent instrument for the realization of his purpose. He also won over Fini, Lercari and Lambertini and the advocates Sardini and Pittonio, by approaching them too from the side from which they seemed most accessible.[4]

In the negotiations for a compromise D'Ormea gave proof of great skill. It was of considerable advantage to him that after Paolucci's death in June, 1726, Coscia's creature, Lercari, became Secretary of State. The last obstacles were removed by Fini and Lambertini. Cardinals Alessandro Albani and

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, *Piemonts Unterhandlungen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl im 18. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, 1877, 25 *seq.*

[2] CARUTTI, *Storia del regno di Vittorio Amadeo II.*, Torino, 1856, 404 *seqq.* (3ª ediz., 1897, 480 *seqq.*); ID., *Storia d. diplomazia*, III., Torino, 1879, 601; PIERANTONI, *Autobiografia di Giannone*, Rome, 1890, 297; GIANNONE, *Il tribunale della Monarchia Sic.*, ed. Pierantoni, *ibid.*, 1892.

[3] CARUTTI, *Vittorio Amadeo*, II., 406, 409 *seq.* (3ª ediz., 481).

[4] *Ibid.*, HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 27 *seq.*

Polignac also lent support. Thus it came about that on October 25th, 1726, a Brief was elaborated, with the utmost secrecy, which granted the King of Sardinia and his successors the right of presentation to the episcopal sees of that island.[1] This indult, and the recognition of Vittorio Amadeo as King, were only made known by Benedict XIII. at a consistory of December 9th, 1726, at which, owing to the bad weather, only a few Cardinals were present.[2]

Other points in dispute had been dealt with at the same time, more particularly the extension of Nicholas V.'s indult to subsequently acquired territories. D'Ormea was shrewd enough to let his Government know that it would be difficult to obtain the right of nomination for all the dioceses of the State, unless the Holy See were empowered to levy pensions up to a certain sum. Turin accepted, but at this moment Benedict XIII. made a settlement of the questions of benefices

[1] RIGANTIUS, *In reg. II. canc.* § 1, n. 20, 51 ; *in reg.* I., § 1, n. 299 (t. I., Romae, 1744, 81, 209, 214). Cienfuegos' *report of November 2, 1727, according to which Benedict XIII. at first refused to publish this agreement in the Consistory, because he could not praise Vittorio Amadeo II. before the question of the benefices in Piedmont and Savoy was settled (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The special congregation which drew up the text of the Brief, consisted of only three Cardinals ; see the dissertation " *Controversia tra la S. Apost. e il Re di Sardegna ", a contemporary *Ms.* purchased by me in Rome in 1908 [in Baron von Pastor Library]. On Albani's collaboration, *cf.* the letters in *Bollet. stor. bibl. subalp.*, XXII. (1920), 305 *seqq.* ; REUMONT, *Kl. hist. Schriften*, 165.

[2] **Acta consist., Barb.* XXXVI., 55, Vatican Library. According to the *Ms.* quoted in the previous note, only " poco più di quattro cardinali " took part in the consistory. In his *reply (dat. December 18, 1726) to the letter of thanks of the King for the " ius patronatus et viros idoneos nominandi ", Benedict XIII. expresses the hope of a compromise for the remaining differences (*Epist.*, II.–III., Papal Secret Archives). On May 9, 1727, Philip V. of Spain protested, through Felix Cornejo Alemán (substituido del card. Bentivoglio), against the papal recognition of the Duke of Savoy as King of Sardinia. *Documents in Papal Secret Archives.

dependent on consideration being given to his complaints about the violation of ecclesiastical immunity. From a papal memorial handed to Marchese D'Ormea it is possible to gather how far the court canonists had stretched what they called the prerogatives of the State in this respect. The memorial raises the following protests among others :—

1° that Church property was subjected to State taxation ;
2° that not only were Bishops from other States who held jurisdiction in those of the King, obliged to appoint a special Vicar-General for those parts of their diocese, but their subjects were formally forbidden to have recourse to their tribunals outside the realm ;
3° that the Government refused to allow preachers, missionaries, and visitors of religious houses to carry out their functions without leave of the State ;
4° that Bulls and rescripts of the Holy See were not allowed to be carried into effect without the *exequatur* ;
5° that the secular authorities proceeded against ecclesiastics in civil and criminal causes ;
6° that the *appellatio ab abusu* had been introduced ;
7° that, contrary to the Council of Trent, charitable institutions were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Bishops ;
8° that the Senate took it upon itself to watch over the observance of holy days, etc.[1]

Benedict XIII., who as Archbishop of Benevento had stoutly defended the rights of the Church against the Spanish Government in these questions, likewise insisted on a change of policy by the court of Turin. When transmitting the memorial, D'Ormea remarked that unless some degree of satisfaction, at least of apparent satisfaction, was given to the Pope in the matter of episcopal jurisdiction and ecclesiastical immunity, all efforts for an agreement would be in vain. He suggested that the facts quoted in the memorial should be denied in writing, so far as it was possible to deny them ;

[1] CARUTTI, Vittorio Amadeo, II., 417 *seqq.* ; HERGENRÖTHER, 36 *seq.*

with regard to the other points in dispute, care should be taken not to enunciate principles which were at variance with those of Rome, but an ambiguous formula should be employed, so as to make a negative answer possible, one that committed them to nothing; only in regard to the article concerning Church property and the *exequatur* no room must be left for any doubts. This cunning proceeding became the rule for all further negotiations.[1]

However, Benedict XIII. proved inflexible with regard to the Church's immunity and freedom. He repeatedly declared that he would rather be cut in pieces than make any sacrifice in this respect; on the contrary, it was necessary to secure the rights of the Church by a concordat. As on the other hand the Government of Turin stuck to its Cæsaro-Papistic principles, the negotiations looked hopeless. D'Ormea began to speak of the possibility of his being recalled. Coscia now intervened and got Lambertini invited to take part in the deliberations. The latter's proposal that they should put up with bad conditions in order to prevent worse ones, greatly impressed the Pope. The Piedmontese Government, too, came to the conclusion that only by means of an agreement could they escape the hateful concordat.[2]

In the question of benefices Lambertini also played an important rôle. This affair was also negotiated by Benedict in great secrecy, with Lambertini, Fini and Lercari on the one hand and D'Ormea on the other. This procedure caused great indignation among the other Cardinals who saw themselves ignored in a matter of such importance. On March 19th, 1727, Cardinal Corradini acted as the spokesman of the malcontents; in grave words he warned the Pope not to allow himself to be deluded by ambitious and inexperienced young people, but to give his confidence to the old and natural counsellors of the Holy See. Thereupon Benedict XIII. spoke of submitting the affair to a fresh and more numerous

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, 38 *seq.*

[2] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 424 *seqq.* (3ª ediz., 498 *seqq.*); HERGENRÖTHER, 43 *seq.*

Congregation of Cardinals, a project from which Lercari, Lambertini and Fini dissuaded him. He decided that the question of the immunity must be settled before his impending departure for Benevento and that of the benefices before his return; the welfare of the faithful, deprived of their pastors, brooked no postponement, he said, hence the stipulations concerning the immunity must be set down in writing, without delay, and subscribed to by his plenipotentiary Fini, and by D'Ormea. He himself would give definite instructions about the bishoprics; the final touches should be put to the Brief during his absence, so that he might sign it on his return.[1]

The plenipotentiaries now hastened to conclude the dispositions concerning ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction. In D'Ormea's clean copy the latter interpolated, on his own authority, after the words stating that the Holy See was unable to approve the previous edicts of the State, a clause to the effect that equally the King of Sardinia could not recognize the imposition of taxes on his property. Either Fini failed to notice the interpolation, or he overlooked it when, on March 24th, 1727, he put his signature to the document submitted to him by D'Ormea.[2]

The discussions between Lercari and Fini on the one side and D'Ormea on the other, which opened after the Pope's departure, proceeded both rapidly and favourably. Complete agreement was reached on the most important points. A new Brief was to state formally that the right of nomination to bishoprics and consistorial benefices was included in Nicolas V.'s indult and that it included the dioceses of Asti,

[1] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 3ª ediz., 503 *seqq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, 47 *seq.*

[2] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 431 *seqq.* (3ª ediz., 504); HERGENRÖTHER, 49 *seq.* B. Morosini in his report (above, p. 127, n. 5), ascribes the principal guilt for the great concessions to Fini: "Il card. Fini si fece suo unico impegno quello di ben servire il Duca" (State Archives, Venice). The text of the "Progetto di accomodamento fra Benedetto XIII. e Vittorio Amedeo II. Re di Sardegna sull'immunità e la giurisdizione ecclesiastica", in NUSSI, *Conventiones*, 48 *seqq.*, and MERCATI, *Concordati*, 301 *seqq.*

Saluzzo, Fossano and Alba; the revenues which came in during the vacancy of benefices were to be collected and kept by a receiver appointed by the King for the benefit of the Church and the successors in office; no innovation was to be introduced with regard to the *spolia* whilst a new indult in favour of the King would be issued for the sees of Casale, Acqui and Alessandria.[1]

Benedict XIII. returned from Benevento on May 28th and on the following day he signed the Brief dealing with the right of nomination to bishoprics [2] and the articles of the concordat agreed upon with D'Ormea on ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction.[3]

All this was done without the knowledge of the Sacred College, hence it was not surprising that when the compromise was made public, several Cardinals, more especially Corradini and Imperiali, openly expressed their indignation,[4] whilst others gnashed their teeth in secret.[5] According to Cienfuegos' report of June 21st, 1727,[6] the malcontents complained in particular of the fact that the Pope should have abandoned so easily one of the prerogatives of the Holy See, seeing that in his time Nicolas V. had only conceded the exclusion from benefices of politically suspect persons.

[1] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 432 *seqq.* (3ª ediz., 504); HERGENRÖTHER, 50 *seq.*

[2] The original text has been made known by MERCATI (*Concordati*, 207 *seqq.*); it differs from the one known up to now. *Cf. Voyages* DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 107.

[3] The most recent impression of the Concordat of May 29, 1727, in MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 310 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 309, the agreement of February 21, 1728, between Fini and D'Ormea regarding the taxation of the clergy in the territory of Montferrat. A manuscript copy with important marginal notes is in the Altieri Library, Rome.

[4] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 437 (3ª ediz., 508); *Arch. Rom.*, XIII., 20.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to Sinzendorf of June 28, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[6] *To Sinzendorf, *ibid.*

That which rendered the concordat still more distasteful to the more rigidly minded was the circumstance that all those who had had anything to do with it, were lavishly rewarded by the Government of Turin. Cardinal Albani obtained a wealthy abbey and the office of Protector of Sardinia, Lercari a pension of 2,000 scudi, Fini one of 1,000 scudi, which was doubled on his elevation to the cardinalate; Lambertini also obtained a pension of 1,000 scudi, with the expectation of a further 500; Lambertini's secretary Millo, a pension of 400 scudi; the Pope's confessor, the Dominican Gregorio Selleri, was granted 300 scudi a year, the Abbate Sardini 200, the Privy Chamberlain Niccolò Francesco Santamaria 1,500, the advocate Pittonio 6,000 scudi; Coscia's reward is not known.[1] The recipients of these gifts may have justified their conduct by pleading that Benedict XIII. did not reject six silver candlesticks and an artistic crucifix with which D'Ormea presented him in June, 1727, in the name of his sovereign, for the cathedral of Benevento.[2]

On D'Ormea's advice and with a view to gratifying the Pope, Vittorio Amadeo, when making his nominations to vacant sees, chose members of religious Orders, especially Dominicans, a circumstance that further increased Benedict's satisfaction. In the Brief of July 12th, 1727, in which he expressed his satisfaction, he once more urged the King to impress upon his functionaries the duty of preserving the Church's immunity.[3] But the differences over the papal fiefs in Piedmont and the Inquisition, remained unsolved, nor was the Turin nunciature re-established.[4] In 1720, by the elevation of Archbishop Ferrero of Alessandria to the Sacred College, Vittorio Amadeo had the satisfaction of securing for his State the right of a crown Cardinal in the

[1] CARUTTI, *loc. cit.*, 437 *seq.* (3ª ediz., 509).

[2] *Ibid.*, 415 (3ª ediz., 509); VALESIO, in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 158.

[3] **Epist.*, IV.–V., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] CARUTTI, *Storia d. diplomazia*, III., 609 *seq.* The *Acts of the negotiations between Fini and D'Ormea of the year 1728 are in the Altieri Library, Rome.

same way as the Emperor, France, Spain, Portugal and Venice.

In spite of his peaceable and accommodating disposition, Benedict XIII. had to suffer at the hands of divers Governments, for the spirit of the age was everywhere in opposition to the Church, even in the Catholic States. The surrender of Comacchio by the Emperor, which after such prolonged and patient waiting,[1] had taken place on February 20th, 1725,[2]

[1] *Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' interesting *report to Sinzendorf, June 24, 1724, on his audience, at which the Pope at once expressed his earnest desire of hearing more about the question of Comacchio. The announcement that the Emperor had decided on the restoration gave the Pope great satisfaction. The audience in which Cienfuegos expressed his desire of concord between the Pope and the Emperor, was marked by great cordiality. The Pope, Cienfuegos reports, rose, contrary to the ceremonial, kissed me several times, and walked up and down the room with me. "Non sono finzioni le opere di questo Papa, la di cui politica è pura santità, non essendo egli avvezzo a trattare con dopiezza, ma bensì di lasciar scorrere dalle labbra ciò che nutrisce nel cuore" (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). On July 29, 1724, *ibid.*, Cienfuegos *reports that the Pope was for ever asking him about Comacchio; on August 5: "Benedict XIII. is very impatient about this matter"; on August 12 and 19: "He is very insistent"; on September 12: "Audience on the agreement about Comacchio." The text of the *Bull of September 16, 1724, on the ratification and the *Brief of September 1, conferring plenipotentiary powers on Paolucci, the *agreement of September 10, between Paolucci and Cienfuegos, the imperial *decree of ratification of February 22, 1724, as also the "Actus solemnis dimissionis et evacuationis civit. Comachi secutae 20 Febr. 1725" (red silk), are in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. See LÜNIG, IV., 325.

[2] In the agreement the rights of the Emperor and those of the Este were reserved; see MURATORI, *Annal.*, XII., 109 *seqq.* The communication to the Cardinals was made in the Consistory of January 29, 1725; see BORGIA, *Vita*, 62 *seq.*; Cienfuegos' *report of February 5, 1725, *loc. cit.* On receiving the news of the evacuation of Comacchio, the Pope at once gave public expression to his joy (Cienfuegos' *report of February 24, 1725, *ibid.*).

was one of the few sunny spells granted to Benedict XIII.; otherwise he found himself for the most part involved in the most tiresome disputes.

Characteristic of the violence with which even the smallest States insisted on their alleged "sovereign rights", is the attitude of the canton Lucerne. On October 27th, 1725, the nuncio of that city, Domenico Passionei, who was anything but a zealot, was obliged to withdraw to Altdorf on account of certain grievous encroachments by the Government on the rights of the Church. Negotiations for a compromise with Lucerne, which had invoked the mediation of France, led to no result; however, a rupture was avoided though Passionei had occasion to complain of further interference by the Government of Lucerne.[1] Even the feeble Duke of Lorraine, to the Pope's deep sorrow, took it upon himself to infringe the Church's immunity.[2]

In Poland Benedict XIII. saw himself compelled to insist on the Church's standpoint in the long standing controversy about the patronage of abbeys, but here too he did not succeed in enforcing his claims.[3] Grievous injury was likewise done to his authority in connection with the Polish nunciature,[4] but he was even subjected to numerous annoyances on account of one of his acts in the sphere of the liturgy. Paul V. had canonized Gregory VII.; on September 25th, 1728, Benedict XIII. extended the Saint's feast to the Universal Church. Naturally enough the historic lessons of the Breviary related in eulogistic terms Gregory VII.'s action against Henry IV.[5] This was considered politically dangerous and

[1] SEGESSER, IV., 611; HÜRBIN, II., 432 *seq.* *Brief of January 3, 1726, reprimanding Lucerne for violating ecclesiastical immunity; *Brief of commendation ("Resipiscentes a coeptis contra eccles. immun. laudat"), of January 25, 1726, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Briefs to the Duke, January 27 and April 22, 1726, *ibid.*

[3] *Zeitschrift für österr. Gesch.*, IV. (1914), 26 *seqq.*, 34 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

[4] *Bull*, XXII., 726; BORGIA, *Vita*, 110 *seqq.*

[5] The passage in the second lesson of the second Nocturn reads thus: "Contra Henrici imperatoris impios conatus fortis

there were those who pretended to see in it an attempt against the sovereignty of princes and an incitement of the subject to rebellion. The Signoria of Venice and the Parliaments and the Jansenists of France got tremendously excited and protested vehemently. The Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht was of opinion that the Pope's command was contrary to the faith, and the Dutch Government "in order to safeguard the reformed religion", forbade the recitation of the Office as well as its impression and sale, under pain of a fine of 1,000 florins.[1] In a memorial of Count Harrach, Viceroy of Naples, the latter had indeed to acknowledge that the Office gave an objective account of the struggle of Gregory VII. with Henry IV., but for all that he assured the Emperor that these Breviary Lessons constituted a grave danger inasmuch as they asserted the Pope's pretension to depose princes. Harrach foresaw that a prohibition addressed to the Bishops would be of no effect, hence he proposed that the printers should be thrown into prison and all copies of the Office confiscated, on the ground that they had been printed abroad, without leave of the Government of Naples.[2] The Senate of Palermo forbade the offending passages under a penalty of 1,000 scudi.[3] In spite of his love of peace, Benedict XIII. was anything but prepared to yield in this matter; on

per omnia athleta impavidus permansit seque pro muro domui Israel ponere non timuit ac eundem Henricum in profundum malorum prolapsum fidelium communione regnoque privavit atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit."

[1] GUÉRANGER, *Instit. liturg.*, II., 450 *seqq.*, in MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, CXLVIII., 233 *seqq.*; *Bull*, XXII., 841, 858; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XIII. (1877), 26 *seq.*; SCHILL, 252; BRUNNER, *Mysterien der Aufklärung*, 164 *seqq.* *Cf.* also DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 113 (Paris, 1858); *Freib. Kirchenlex*, V.², 1125. *Cf.* below, chap. IV.

[2] *Copy of Harrach's long letter, dated Naples, March 30, 1729, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, III., 5.

[3] BURIGNY, *Storia generale di Sicilia trad. d. ling. franc.* dal M. SCAPO, Palermo, 1792, V., 422 *seqq.*

December 19th, 1729, he declared all the decrees of the secular authorities against the Office to be null and void.[1]

The Pope displayed similar firmness towards the Portuguese Government when the latter pressed him to raise nuncio Bichi to the cardinalate.[2]

[1] *Bull*, XXII., 860.

[2] *Cf.* below, p. 181 *seq.*

CHAPTER III.

BENEDICT XIII.'S REFORMING ACTIVITY—THE JUBILEE AND THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF 1725—FURTHERING OF THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITIES—THE TWO JOURNEYS TO BENEVENTO—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—THE MISSIONS.

(1.)

BENEDICT XIII. had been a zealous Bishop at Manfredonia, Cesena and Benevento, and had earnestly striven to raise the moral condition of his dioceses. In view of his serious temperament, the religiously minded felt that they could confidently reckon on the Pope continuing in these sentiments, whilst on the other hand, those who had been affected by the spirit of the age feared his great strictness. However, neither hopes nor fears were destined to be fully realized.

The Pope was assuredly not lacking the will to work for the betterment of the people. As early as the beginning of June, 1724, he gave orders that all the inmates of the papal palace must assist at a sermon every Saturday.[1] There followed earnest exhortations to the Roman prelates, especially to the officials of the Rota, the Segnatura and the Camera, to a blameless life,[2] edicts for the parish priests of Rome

[1] *Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII. (of the papal Master of Ceremonies; *cf. Arch. Stor. Rom.*, IV., 430 *seqq.*), *Cod.* 1319, p. 1 *seqq.* Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[2] Acquaviva's *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, June 24, 1724, Simancas Archives; Cienfuegos' *report of the same day, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. According to this the Pope said to the ecclesiastical officials, he hoped, "che si sarebbero astenuti dal frequentare le conversazioni, massimamente della notte, e dove ci sono dame, mentre il tempo era prezioso e doveva impiegarsi negli studi e non ne' passatempi e ne' giuochi; che se avesse

inculcating the decrees of the Council of Trent to the effect that priests were bound to explain the epistle and gospel to the faithful on all Sundays, and various ordinances on the conduct of clergy and people.[1]

From the first the Pope showed a special aversion to the wearing of wigs by priests, as in this way the tonsure was hidden. The fashion had spread from France, as appears from the portraits of contemporary Cardinals, most of whom, the members of religious Orders excepted, wore uncanonically long hair or enormous perruques.[2] These were an abomination to Benedict XIII., just as his disapproval of clerical beards was so strong that the Capuchins avoided appearing before him.[3] By this time, as far as the Cardinals were concerned, the custom of growing a beard had almost completely died out[4]; now the perruque was also to be done away with. The Pope made known his will with so much emphasis that many, though not all, immediately laid aside their perruques.[5] A stern edict of April 10th, 1725, led to a further improvement,

saputo, se qualche prelato andasse a simili conversazioni, non gli avrebbe mica formato processo, ma poteva bensì il medesimo assicurarsi, che la S. S. non gli avrebbe fatto godere la minima convenienza."

[1] CRACAS, October 7 and December 23, 1724.

[2] See the publication, *Roma Sancta*, of 1724, quoted above.

[3] CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4.

[4] In *Roma Sancta* all the Cardinals, with the exception of the Spaniard, Belluga, appear clean-shaven. *Cf. Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 103.

[5] Cienfuegos' *letter of June 10 and Count Kaunitz' *report of June 17, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. On August 26, 1724, a " *Circolare " against wigs was also sent to the nuncios of Madrid, Venice, Lucerne and Malta, which says that in the first days of his pontificate the Pope had had great consolation " di vedere, che in Roma da tutto l'ordine degl'ecclesiastici, cominciando dai sig. cardinali, siano state con edificazione universale deposte le perrucche ". The nuncios are enjoined to see to the observance of the regulation among the clergy. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Archives.

but isolated Cardinals, such as Altieri, Pico and Alberoni, refused to renounce their beloved head adornment.[1] The Pope made them feel his displeasure very plainly. When Cardinal Alberoni came to take part in a Corpus Christi procession the Pope ordered him to withdraw.[2] The works of Jean Baptiste Thiers and Giulio Bovicelli against the fashion of the perruque, were reprinted by order of the Pope.[3]

In January, 1725, laymen were forbidden, on the basis of an edict of Urban VIII. of the year 1624, to wear neckties resembling those used by the clergy[4] A Constitution of May 2nd, 1725, commanded the Bishops to see to it that ecclesiastics wore clerical attire.[5]

On July 1st, 1724, the Pope gave orders for the continuation of the visitation of the churches of Rome which had begun under Innocent XII.[6] This went hand in hand with a number of regulations for the reform of the Orders.[7] The gamble of the *lotto*, which had crept in from Genoa, had been forbidden by Innocent XI., Innocent XII., and again allowed by Innocent XIII. Now it was once more prohibited for Rome and the whole of the Papal States, at a later date even under pain of major excommunication as the Pope was

[1] NOVAES, XIII., 70. *Ibid.*, 67 *seq.*, on the repeal of the excommunication which Innocent X. had issued on January 8, 1650, against persons taking snuff in church. On the prohibition of Urban VIII., *cf.* the present work.

[2] Acquaviva's *reports to Juan Baut. de Orendayn of June 10 and 17, 1724, Simancas Archives.

[3] G. BOVICELL, *Istoria d. perrucche, loro orig., usanza, forma, irregolarità nelle ecclesiastiche*, Benevento, 1722; J.-B. THIERS, *Hist. des perruques*, Paris, 1690, also translated into Italian: G. TIERS, *La storia delle parrucche, nella quale si fanno vedere l'origine, l'uso, la forma, l'abuso e l'irregolarità di quelle degli ecclesiastici*, Venezia, 1724.

[4] CRACAS, January 27, 1725.

[5] *Bull*, XXII., 158.

[6] *Ibid.*, 70.

[7] NOVAES, XIII., 77, 80, 111, 128 *seqq.*

particularly indignant that even priests should take part in the *lotto*.[1]

As an enthusiast for religious manifestations, Benedict XIII. derived particular satisfaction from the fact that the celebration of the jubilee of 1725 coincided with his pontificate.[2] All the preparations were made with the utmost care, and he himself displayed the greatest keenness to gain the jubilee Indulgences by making the prescribed visits to the churches. The beginning of the better season led to an increase in the number of pilgrims. Up to Holy Week the Archconfraternity of Trinità dei Pellegrini gave hospitality to 37,000 persons. In March the number of strangers in Rome rose to 55,000; one of their number, viz. the widow of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, Violante Beatrice of Bavaria, particularly distinguished herself by her piety.[3] Her suite included the celebrated improvisor Bernardino Perfetti of Siena, a member

[1] *Ibid.*, 71 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 244; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 191. *Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuego's *letters of August 16 and 23, 1727, who disapproves of the severity of the penalties and observes that similar inconsiderate and strong measures are to be feared daily, because the Pope " è troppo soggetto a certi impeti, che non le lasciano godere l'uso di quelle riflessioni, le quali potrebbero farle previamente presenti le conseguenze, che buone o cattive ne hanno da seguire " (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). *Cf.* Felix Cornejo's *letter to Grimaldi of July 20, 1726, Simancas Archives.

[2] Promulgation of the jubilee, June 26, 1724, see *Bull*, XXII., 53.

[3] *Reports in *Cod. Vat.*, 9314, Vatican Library; Giuseppe Giulii Mondi, **Anno santo del 1725, Diario, Barb.* 4777, Vatican Library; " *Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII.," *Cod.* 1320, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome; TOMM. ALFANI, *Istoria degli Anni Santi dal di loro solenne cominciamento per insino a quello del regnante Pontefice Benedetto*, XIII., Napoli, 1725; MANNI, *Anni Santi*, 237 *seqq.* From Germany also came a great number of pilgrims; see **Registrum litt. passuum a. 1725*, in Archives of the Austrian Institute, Rome. The origin of the first " Confraternità del S. Cuore di Gesu " in Rome dates from the year of the jubilee; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, III., 414 *seqq.*

of the Arcadia, who by order of the Pope received the poet's crown on the Capitol, the first instance of such an honour since Petrarch's crowning.[1]

In the course of the jubilee year, thanks to a legacy of the French ambassador Gouffier, Rome received one of its finest ornamental structures with the flight of steps in Piazza di Spagna, erected between 1721 and 1725 by Specchi and Francesco de Sanctis. The problem presented by the not inconsiderable elevation on which the church of Trinità de' Monti stands, has been splendidly solved by so skilful a lay-out that there is hardly any need of exertion in making the ascent. The monumental flight of steps dominates the whole of the Piazza di Spagna; it shines with matchless beauty when the rising or setting sun illumines it, and charms the eye of the visitor who arrives by the Via Condotti.[2]

In spite of the opposition of a number of Cardinals,[3] Benedict XIII. persisted in his plan of holding a Provincial Council in Rome during the year of jubilee. On April 15th, 1725, the day being the second Sunday after Easter, he opened the assembly at the Lateran with an address lasting three-quarters of an hour; thirty-three Cardinals and eighty Bishops were present.[4] On this occasion Benedict spoke with

[1] *Atti per la solenne coronazione fatta in Campidoglio del sig. Bernardino Perfetti, tra gli Arcadi Alauro Euroteo*, Roma, 1725. *Cf.* POSTUMO in *Fanfulla d. Domenica*, II. (1880), *ibid.*, 9. On Violante's subsequent presentation with the Golden Rose, see [M. A. MOZZI], *Relazione della solenne funzione in occ. di essere presentata la Rosa d'oro alla S^ma^ Violante Beatr. di Baviera*, Firenze, 1727.

[2] The inscriptions in FORCELLA, XIII., 90 *seqq.* *Cf.* GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 442; IUSTI, II., 11.

[3] CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 5.

[4] *Concilium Romanum 1725*, Romae, 1725: *Diario del Concilio Romano celebrato 1725*, Roma, 1728; *Cod. Vat.* 9257–9: *Docum. de Concilio Lateran, 1725, collecta a Franc. de Vico, episc. Elusino (*cf.* la *Relazione with plan in *Cod. Vat.* 8688), Biblioteca Vaticana; *Varia notit. collectio ad Rom. Synod. (1725) pertin. per Fulg. Bellelli, *Cod. S.* 3–6, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome;

such energy and ability that everybody was amazed. It was unfair, he said, to attribute to him an intention of introducing inopportune innovations; his real purpose was, on the contrary, to set the Bishops an example for their own provincial and diocesan synods. He uttered grave words on the duties of the Bishops whom he exhorted to restore the collapsing discipline.[1]

Thereafter the Pope was so taken up with the labours of the Council, at which he presided, that his ministers no longer got any audiences and all affairs of Government were at a standstill[2]; religious functions alone he still insisted on carrying out in person.[3] With a view to investing the Council with greater splendour and stimulating the Bishops, he had a special Requiem Mass celebrated at the Lateran for the Bishops who had participated in previous Councils. He himself gave the absolution at the end of the function.[4]

The Roman Council passed a number of excellent decrees on the obligation of Bishops and parish priests to preach, on the instruction of children in town and country, on preaching, which should be adapted to the understanding of the hearers, on the Bishops' duty of making an annual visitation of their dioceses, on the choice of Vicars-General and their qualities, on the qualities of candidates for Holy Orders, on a just and suitable distribution of benefices and canonries, on the drawing up of inventories in all churches and charitable institutions, on the conduct of the clergy, on the sanctification

*Diarium pontif. Benedicti XIII., *Cod.* 1320, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; *Diario del conc. Rom., 1725, descritto da Aless. Formagliari, *Cod.* 352, Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna; I. WALCH, *De emendat. eccl. Rom. per noviss. concilium Lateranense*, Ienae, 1726. Pier Leone Ghezzi's painting of the Council has disappeared; see THIEME, XIII., 540.

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 21, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. On the apprehensions, see *ibid.* *Report of the same of March 17, 1725.

[2] *Reports of the same, April 28 and May 5, 1725, *ibid.*

[3] *Reports of the same, May 5 and 25, 1725, *ibid.*

[4] *Report of the same, April 28, 1725, *ibid.*

of holy days, on the fulfilment of the duty of residence by Bishops and parish priests, on the duty of attending pastoral conferences and on the celebration of provincial and diocesan synods every three years.

In the discussions the Pope did not at first display his characteristic obstinacy,[1] but later on he strongly pressed his views, especially in matters concerning ecclesiastical immunity.[2] On May 28th, the anniversary of his election, the Pope closed the Council with a procession from the Lateran to S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[3] His satisfaction at the termination of the Council was mixed with sorrow because the rights of the Holy See over Parma and Piacenza had been ignored in the treaty of peace of April, 1725, between Charles VI. and Philip V. of Spain.[4] In a lengthy address at a consistory of June 11th, 1725, Benedict pointed out that in the interests of religion he had had no keener desire than to see peace restored between the Emperor and Spain; now that peace had been concluded, it had been spoilt for him by certain clauses detrimental to the Holy See; in particular he could no more recognize the right of succession to Parma and Piacenza which the Emperor had conceded to the Infante Carlos, than his predecessor Innocent XIII., who had raised a protest against this arrangement at Cambrai.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Cardinal Cienfuegos on May 19, 1725, *ibid.* *Cf.* *letter of the same of September 23, 1725, *ibid.*

[3] The decrees were not published until October 25, 1725. *Bull*, XXII., 284.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter of May 23, 1725, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of June 9 and 12, 1725, *loc. cit.*; BORGIA, *Vita*, 70 *seq.*; MURATORI, XII., 111 *seqq.* *Cf.* also BAUDRILLART, III., 192 *seqq.* The Congress which opened in June, 1728, at Soissons, and at which nearly all the European States were represented, caused Benedict XIII. many anxieties; *cf.* the *Brief to the King of France of October 28, 1728, Papal Secret Archives, and HÖFLER in *Fontes rer. Austr. Dipl.*, XXXII., 229 *seqq.* When the treaty concluded at Seville in November, 1729, between France, Spain

June 15th, 1725, saw the publication of a Bull on the Constitution of Gregory XIV. concerning ecclesiastical immunity, and on the 18th another Bull, addressed to the Bishops of Italy, on the duty of erecting seminaries, as prescribed by the Council of Trent. At the same time a special Congregation of Seminaries was created.[1] A decree of March 7th, 1727, prescribed the use of the revised *Cæremoniale episcoporum* for the universal Church,[2] and Lambertini was ordered to draw up an Instruction on the Bishops' duty of periodically going to Rome—*Visitatio liminum Apostolorum.*[3]

Few Popes have done so much for the veneration of the Saints as Benedict XIII. His first step was the promulgation, on June 4th, 1724, of a number of canonizations effected by his predecessors.[4] On December 10th, 1726, he raised to the altars Turibius Mogrobejo (*ob.* 1606), Archbishop of Lima, the Franciscan Observant Giacomo della Marca and the Dominican nun Agnes of Montepulciano[5]; to these were

and England, which Holland also joined in March, decided, among other things, that in order to safeguard the hereditary claims of the Infante Don Carlos, Parma, Piacenza, Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo should be garrisoned by 6,000 Spaniards, Benedict XIII. appealed to Philip V. in a *Brief of January 28, 1730, but in vain. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] CRACAS, June 23, 1725. The Constitution of June 8, 1725, on the immunity in *Bull*, XXII., 198 *seqq.*, that of May 9, 1725, on the Seminaries, *ibid.*, 174 *seqq.* On the tax on the seminaries, see *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, XI.², 109, and circular letter of Pius X., January 23, 1912.

[2] *Bull*, XXII., 508.

[3] AUG. LUCIDI, *De visitatione sacrorum liminum seu instructio S. C. Concilii iussu Benedicti XIII. super modo conficiendi relationes de statu ecclesiarum exposita et illustrata*, 3 vols., Romae, 1888. *Cf. Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 862, and the most recent of the liturgical books of the Roman Rite, viz. the *Memoriale rituum* (or *Parvum Rituale*), latest edition by I. BRAUN, Ratisbon, 1923.

[4] *Bull*, XXII., 1, 7, 12, 16, 23, 31, 36, 41.

[5] A. WALZ, O. PR., *Die hl. Agnes von Montepulciano*, Dülmen, 1922, especially p. 155 *seq.*

added, on December 27th of the same year, the Spanish Franciscan Observant Francis Solano, the Servite Pellegrino Laziosi and the Carmelite John of the Cross, and finally, on December 31st, the Jesuits Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka.[1] Whit-Sunday of 1728 saw the canonization of Marguerite of Cortona, and March 19th, 1729, that of John Nepomuk. The feasts of Pope St. Gregory VII., St. Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, and the Augustinian Hermit, John of Sahagun [John a S. Facundo], were extended to the whole Church.[2]

The following were beatified by Benedict XIII.: in 1726 Giacinta Marescotti, of the Order of Poor Clares; in 1728 the Spanish Franciscan Observant John de Prado; in 1729 the Proto-Martyr of Propaganda, Fidelis of Sigmaringen;

[1] *Bull*, XXII., 460, 464, 466, 474, 477, 480, 483, 487; NOVAES, XIII., 97 *seqq.* *Cf. Vera e distinta relazione di tutto il maestoso apparato, descrizione di medaglioni, e veridica misura di tutto il recinto dello steccato, e trono pontificio, come anche funzioni e ceremonie fatte in S. Pietro dalla S. di N. S. Papa Benedetto XIII. per la solenne canonizzazione de' gloriosi; S. Turribio Mogrobesio, arcivescovo di Lima; S. Giacomo della Marca, Min. oss. di S. Francesco; S. Agnese da Montepulciano, monaca di S. Domenico. Fatta li 10 Decembre, 1726*, Roma, 1726. The magnificent *paliotto* for the canonization of St. John of the Cross is in the treasury of St. Peter's; *cf. Annuaire pontif.*, 1913, 564. On the occasion of the canonization of the two Jesuits, their confrère, G. B. MEMMI, published the learned work entitled: *Il sacro rito di canonizzare i santi spiegato*, Roma, 1726. *Cf.* GIUS. ROCCO VOLPI, *Vitae sanctorum octo a Benedicto XIII. fastis sacris adscriptorum a. 1726*, Romae, 1727.

[2] *Bull*, XXII., 771, 781, 800; NOVAES, XIII., 107 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, VI.², 1659. The canonization of St. John of Nepomuk led to the erection of statues of this Saint on bridges in all Catholic countries; one of the first to be erected was in Rome, for in June, 1731, Cardinal Althan had a statue of the Saint by Pornachini, erected on Ponte Molle, at his own expense; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of June 10, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Consequently, the assertion (which is very common) that this statue dates from the seventeenth century (thus NIBBY, *Dintorni*, II., 581), must be corrected.

in 1730, Pierre Fourrier.[1] The Pope also did much for the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[2] He likewise furthered devotion to St. Joseph,[3] St. Juliana, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Vincent de Paul and other Saints.[4] Among the many Indulgences granted by him, note must be taken of the Bull extending the privileges attached by Innocent X. to the exercise of the Way of the Cross.[5] When the Bishop of Pavia ordered an examination of the relics of St. Augustine, which are preserved in that city, the Pope confirmed their authenticity by a Brief dated August 5th, 1728, and by a solemn Bull of September 23rd of the same year.[6]

The Pope cherished a great personal devotion to St. Charles Borromeo [7] and St. Philip Neri as is shown by his encouragement of the Oratorians.[8] He introduced the Society of the

[1] *Bull*, XXII., 389, 787, 837, 861; NOVAES, XIII., 113 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull*, XXII., 101, 102; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon* [2], V., 1928; VIII., 804, 808, 818, 819, 825; X., 1280, 1283; XI., 692.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI., 1844.

[4] NOVAES, XIII., 115 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon* [2], II., 341, 347; XI., 2010; XII., 998. On the erection of the statue of St. Francis in St. Peter's, see the periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 172, 174.

[5] *Katholik*, 1895, I., 335.

[6] CAPPELLETTI, *Chiese d'Italia*, XII., 484 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*; *Bull*, XXII., 710.

[7] *Zeitschr. für Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, IV., 73; *Theol. Revue*, 1926, 216 *seq.*

[8] MORONI, 155 *seq.*; periodical *Filippo Neri*, Roma, 1894, Nos. 19–20; HEIMBUCHER, II., 341. *Cf.* the *Documents in *Cod.* H. 76, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome. A magnificent cope with Benedict XIII.'s coat of arms, in the sacristy of the Chiesa Nova, Rome. See also "*Misura e stima de' lavori di muro et altro ad uso di stucature . . . per farsi il nuovo oratorio . . ." (with the specifications of the architect, D. Gregorini), Archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, Rome. Besides these, the Pope made donations also to the church of St. Philip Neri in Naples (a chasuble given to him by the Queen of Poland) and to the Library of the Oratorians; the Pope's bust is still to be seen in the great reception room of the Oratory.

French Doctrinarians into Italy.[1] The Benedictine Congregation of the Holy Ghost of Augsburg was granted divers privileges.[2] He also showed great favour to the much attacked Jesuits.[3] To his love for the Dominican Order, to which he himself belonged, he gave expression on every occasion.[4]

[1] *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1875.

[2] HEIMBUCHER, I., 158. On the protection of the Cistercian Monasteries by Benedict XIII. against the abuse of the *commenda*, *cf.* DOM. WILLY, O. Cist., *Päpste, Kardinäle und Bischöfe aus dem Zisterzienserorden*, Bregenz, 1912, 4, n. 8.

[3] CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 3; *Bull*, XXII., 207. On the German College, *cf.* above, p. 119. In a *Brief of September 16, 1724, to the prefect and the assistants of the "congregatio nobilium in domo professae Soc. Iesu Neapolit.", in which he thanked them for their congratulations, he said that he knew the Institute "ab adolesc. ineunte cum in sodalitium vestrum adsciti ad colendam disciplinam optima exempla haurire potuimus". This "iucundissima recordatio" made their homage still more acceptable; he would rely on their prayers (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Arch.). On December 22, 1725, Benedict XIII. strongly recommended "Conr. Herdegen et collegas S.J." to the Archbishop of Salzburg for popular missions in his diocese (*Epist.*, II.–III., *ibid.*) and to the Archbishop of Trèves *on July 2, 1727, the "causa collegii Neoburg, S.J." (*Epist.*, IV.–V., *ibid.*). The celebrated Fr. Caravita had the honour of preaching before Benedict XIII.; see **Diarium* in *Cod.* 1324, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome. In his "Lezioni" on the book of Exodus (lez. 46, n. 24, *Opera*, I., 188) Benedict speaks of "S. Ignacio, patriarca della venerata Compagnia di Gesù".

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 119, and below (Bull of November 6, 1724). In the *Brief of August 7, 1724, to the Provincial of the Dominicans of Lombardy, Benedict speaks in a very touching manner of his love for the Dominicans; in *that of the same day to the "conventus S. Dominici Castellae", he recalls God's goodness which he experienced in this Order in his early youth; by a *Brief of October 6, 1724, he sends the Dominicans of Lyons a donation "pro reficiendo conventu", on October 13, 1724, he *recommends the Dominicans to the Archbishop of Lyons (*Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives). Complaints about the Pope's preference for religious in the appointment of Bishops, see BARB. MOROSINI, **Relazione* of 1731, State Archives, Venice.

The Pope also personally interested himself in the growth of Bartholomew Holzhauser's Congregation of secular priests.[1] Paul of the Cross, whilst planning a Congregation for the purpose of promoting home and foreign missions, received permission from him, in 1725, to receive novices. Thus arose the Order of the Passionists or Discalced Clerics of the Sacred Passion and Cross of our Lord.[2] He approved the College of the Holy Family founded at Naples by that most deserving man, Matteo Ripa, for the education of young Chinese.[3]

Benedict remained extremely attached to his diocese of Benevento. He treasured the memory of his long residence there,[4] during which he had been able to give free play to his attraction towards the pastoral work; even as Pope he felt more at home in Benevento than in Rome. Such was his predilection for that city and diocese that his real confidants

[1] *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Emperor, to the Elector of Bavaria, to the Archbishops of Trèves, Salzburg, Vienna, Posen, Gnesen, Cracow, Prague and Constance, May 2, 1725, to the Bishops of Eichstätt, Würzburg and Freising, October 25, 1726, to the Bishop of Ratisbon, February 18, 1727, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] HEIMBUCHER, II., 286 *seq.*

[3] M. RIPA, *Storia d. fondazione d. Congregazione e del Collegio dei Cinesi*, 3 vols., Napoli, 1832; CEVA-GRIMALDI, *Della città di Napoli*, Napoli, 1857. The rights of the Pope over this foundation are based on the Bull of Benedict XIII. and on those of his successors, though the Italian Government has employed its income for a secular institution; see *L'Antico Collegio dei Cinesi contro il Ministero d. pubbl. Istruzione innanzi alla corte di appello di Napoli*, Napoli, 1883; *Memorandum del Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli al Senato italiano*, Roma, 1888; [R. DE MARTINIS], *Osservazioni sull'intervento giudiziario d. S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide nella vertenza del Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli*, Roma, 1889. See also below, Book III., Chapter IV.

[4] Brief of February 22, 1726, to Cardinal Coscia, Papal Secret Arch. On the records of the Pope in the archiepiscopal palace, in the Chapter House, the Cathedral, the Tesoro and the Archives of Beneventum, see ISERNIA, *Storia di Benevento*. *Cf.* GIUS. MARIA DA ROMA, **Vita et de rebus gestis Benedicti XIII.*, in *Cod.* 8693, pp. 108–200, Vatican Library.

in Rome were all Beneventans. Equally characteristic was his preference for Beneventan artists, regardless of their ability, or lack of it.[1] His very first Brief was addressed to the Chapter of Benevento. In addition to his thanks for their congratulations it includes, characteristically enough, an exhortation to maintain discipline.[2] When at a later date the Government of Venice presented him with the relics of Blessed John Orsini, who had been Bishop of Traù in Dalmatia,[3] the Pope sent them to Benevento in a precious reliquary, and great was his joy that by this means the holy Bishop, his kinsman, would become a special Patron of his beloved diocese.[4] But he longed to revisit in person the scenes where he had laboured so long. His intention became first known at the close of 1725. The Cardinals urged him to desist, for they were afraid lest he should unduly prolong his stay, or even take up his residence there.[5] But Benedict XIII. refused to give up his intention. It was in vain that Cardinal Polignac represented the serious drawbacks of a conclave at Benevento in the event of his death. Other Cardinals pointed to the heavy cost of the journey.[6] But the Pope stuck to his plan.[7] In March, 1726, he instructed Cardinal Corradini to draw up the itinerary as far as Terracina, from whence he wished to visit San Felice near Cape Circeo; his intention was to inspect the new fisheries which the Apostolic Camera had established in that locality at great cost, on the model of those of Comacchio.[8] It would seem that it was the death of Cardinal Paolucci and the nomination of a new Secretary

[1] SCATASSA, *Benedetto XIII. e i suoi artisti Beneventani*, in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 112 *seqq.*

[2] *Brief of June 5, 1724, *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Brief of thanks to Venice, April 6, 1725, *ibid.*

[4] Thus, in the Brief of January 19, 1726, to the Chapter of the Duomo of Benevento, *Epist.*, II., *ibid.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 22, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[6] *Report of the same, December 29, 1725, *ibid.*

[7] *Report of the same, January 5, 1726, *ibid.*

[8] *Report of the same, March 16, 1726, *ibid.*

of State that prevented the journey from being undertaken in 1726.[1]

However, the Pope had not by any means given up his plan. In a brief address to the Cardinals assembled in consistory on March 17th, 1727, he announced his intention of going to Benevento in order to consecrate in person the new church of St. Philip Neri which he had made a vow to build at the time of the earthquake of 1688. He added that he would return before long. In the meantime the Cardinals were to take charge of affairs. He had drawn up a Brief to the effect that the conclave must be held in Rome. The Pope had gone to the consistory with a feeling of anxiety: he left it radiantly happy. The prospect of once more seeing his beloved Benevento seemed to have rejuvenated him.[2] The journey began on March 24th. Early in the morning the Pope went to Chiesa Nuova to say Mass at the tomb of Philip Neri. After a prayer at St. Mary Major he set out from Rome, escorted by a very small suite and with none of the customary pomp. Some found fault with this arrangement and pointed to the pomp displayed on their journeys by Clement XI. and Innocent XIII.; others excused it on the ground of his humility. At Albano Benedict stopped at the house of Cardinal Lercari who had had the table laid as in a monastic refectory. The Pope blessed the table but ate nothing whatever because it was a vigil and a fast day, though he derived great enjoyment from watching the appetite of the company.[3] On the following day he said Mass at the cathedral. So great was the concourse of people that but for the guards the Pope would have been crushed. He left on March 25th without having taken any food, owing to its being a fast day. Nettuno was reached before nightfall.

[1] Already, in April, 1726, he had postponed his journey until October in order to consecrate the church of St. Philip Neri at Benevento which he had built at his own expense; see Cardinal Bentivoglio's *letter to the Duque de Riperda, April 13, 1726, Simancas Archives.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of March 22, 1727, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Report of the same, March 29, 1727, *ibid.*

On the 26th he arrived at Torre Paola where, as a result of his severe fast, he was taken ill and compelled to rest one day.[1] When he set out again he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Turkish corsairs who had made a raid on San Felice on the 26th in the course of which they carried off twenty-six persons into slavery.[2] At the frontier of the kingdom of Naples he was greeted by the Viceroy, Cardinal Althan, who accompanied the Pope as far as Fondi where the Pontiff spent the night at the Dominican convent. On the 29th, escorted by Neapolitan troops, he journeyed to Gaeta, and on the 30th to Capua. In each of these towns he spent the night in a monastery.[3] As soon as he entered the territory of his diocese the Pope began to hold the episcopal visitation of the churches along his route, and to administer Confirmation.[4] Benevento was reached on April 2nd. He repaired at once to the cathedral and in an address of three-quarters of an hour, exhorted the Canons to punctuality in the celebration of the canonical Hours.[5]

The Pope remained at Benevento until May 12th. During that time he was unwearied in giving audience to all and sundry, consecrating churches, teaching the catechism, administering the Sacraments, preaching, and at night, waiting upon the sick in hospital. He carried out in person all the functions of Holy Week. On the return journey he confirmed 506 children at Monte Sarchio, consecrated an altar in the cathedral and gave the first tonsure to a nephew of Cardinal Caracciolo.[6] From May 17th to 21st the Pope stayed at Monte Cassino where he took part in all the religious exercises. On the 19th he consecrated the church which had been reconstructed and splendidly decorated after the havoc of the last earthquake.[7] The feast of the Ascension was

[1] *Report of the same, April 5, 1727, *ibid.*

[2] *Report of the same, May 10, 1727, *ibid.* Consequently, GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti*, 86, must be corrected.

[3] NOVAES, XIII., 132.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of April 5, 1727, *loc. cit.*

[5] NOVAES, XIII., 133.

[6] NOVAES, *ibid.*

[7] *Miscell. Cassinese*, I., Montecassino, 1897, 21 *seqq.*

kept at Frosinone. On 25th May he consecrated a new altar dedicated to St. Philip Neri in the cathedral of Sezze and on the 28th, the eve of the anniversary of his election, he re-entered the Eternal City amid the acclamations of the Romans.[1]

In 1729, to the very great displeasure of the Romans,[2] the Pope paid a second visit to Benevento. Accompanied by a small suite, he set out from Rome on March 28th. During the whole of the journey the nights were invariably spent at some monastery. The Viceroy of Naples wished to give him an escort of a hundred Grenadiers, but he declined the offer. At Benevento he carried out with great devotion all the functions of Holy Week, and held a Provincial Council between April 24th and May 12th. On May 8th he had the body of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, Benevento's Patron Saint, translated from the *duomo* to the new church which he had erected at his own expense. On the return journey, which began on May 23rd, he again consecrated Bishops, churches and altars. On June 10th he was back in Rome.[3] Even more than by these journeys, the Romans were annoyed by the fact that the Pope continually sent on to Benevento nearly all the presents made to himself, as well as important sums of money.[4] He also honoured the cathedral of Benevento by the bestowal of the Golden Rose.[5]

In the autumn of 1727 it became known that the new Elector of Cologne, Clement Augustus I., who simultaneously held the sees of Münster, Paderborn and Hildesheim,[6] intended to come to Rome for the purpose of receiving episcopal consecration there. The difficulties of the ceremonial were overcome by Benedict XIII. deciding to meet the Elector

[1] Novaes, XIII., 134 *seqq.*

[2] Valesio, in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVII. (1914), 139.

[3] Novaes, XIII., 162 *seqq.*

[4] Valesio, *loc. cit.*, XVI. (1913), 157 *seqq.*; XVII. (1914), 139.

[5] Reproduction of the Golden Rose, which exists to this day, in Meomartini, Benevento, 72.

[6] *Cf.* Ennen, *Frankreich und der Niederrhein*, II., 165–370, and *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IV., 302 *seqq.*

at Viterbo, and to carry out the consecration in that city. He persisted in this intention in spite of the Cardinals' efforts to dissuade him. On November 6th, in a storm of rain and snow, he left for Viterbo, where he arrived two days later, taking up residence at the Dominican convent of S. Maria di Gradi. On Sunday November 9th, at the early hour of half-past six, he repaired to the celebrated Dominican sanctuary of S. Maria della Quercia, two kilometres distant from the city. Half an hour later the Elector arrived, when the consecration began at once. The midday meal was taken at the Dominican convent. Afterwards the Pope consecrated an altar in the church of St. Bonaventure.[1] The Elector, who was accompanied by his sister Violante of Bavaria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, presented the Pope with six golden candlesticks, a diamond cross and a cheque for 24,000 scudi for his travelling expenses.[2] The drive to Orvieto for the purpose of venerating the Corporal preserved in that town, had to be abandoned on account of the bad weather. On November 13th the Pope left for Rome, not without having expressed his disapproval of the very worldly court of the Elector.[3]

Whilst thus absorbed in religious functions, Benedict XIII. allowed himself to be far too much distracted from the much more important duties that were incumbent on him. In his efforts for reform he lost himself in minutiae. But the worst was that he continued to give his confidence to Cardinal Coscia and the latter's Beneventan followers. When in August, 1727, he learnt that his prohibition of wigs was not being observed, he spent a sleepless night,[4] but to Coscia's intrigues the unworldly Pontiff remained blind. He lived in habitual disagreement with the Cardinals but obstinately refused to heed the warnings of men who shared the strict

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 15, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] Novaes, XIII., 143.

[3] See the *report referred to in n. 1.

[4] Thus Cienfuegos in his letter of August 23, 1727, *loc. cit.*

views of the "Zelanti". The consequence was that his well-meant intentions to bring about a reform failed to yield the fruits which might have been expected to result from the excellent decrees of the Provincial Council. The intrigues of Coscia and his clique were bound to have a demoralizing effect on the officials, hence also, on the clergy. This explains how no less a man than Benedict XIV. could say that the decline of the Curia began with Benedict XIII.[1] It is tragic that this should have happened precisely under so devout and well-meaning a Pope, for there can be no doubt as to Benedict XIII.'s good intentions.

How greatly the Pope had at heart the reform of the secular and regular clergy outside Rome also, appears from a long list of his ordinances. These extend not only to Italy, where he sought in particular to revive the holding of synods,[2] but likewise include Avignon,[3] Germany,[4] Switzerland,[5] the

[1] Benoît, XIV., *Lettres à Tencin*, II., 282.

[2] *Briefs to Michele Bologna, Archbishop of Amalfi, October 7, 1724; to Iosaphat Battistelli, Bishop of Foligno, December 8, 1724; to Vincenzo Ferrero, Bishop of Gravina, May 4 and June 5, 1725; to Cardinal F. Pignatelli, July 3, 1726; to Alessandro Borgia, Bishop of Fermo, July 26, 1726; to Antonio Fonseca, Bishop of Îesi, September 26, 1726; to Alessandro Litta, Bishop of Cremona, September 30, 1728. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Briefs to the Archbishop of Avignon, May 10 and July 26, 1726, and February 25, 1728, *ibid.*

[4] *Briefs to the Archbishop of Trèves, October 27, 1724, and May 4, 1725 (reform of the Cistercians); to the general Congregation of the Swabian and the Bavarian Benedictines, March 22, 1726; to numerous German Bishops, May 2, 1726 (recommendation of the "institutum clericorum in commune viventium"); to the clergy of Constance, September 5, 1726 (new seminary); to the Emperor, November 15, 1726 (recommendation of the "Seminarium Soeterianum" of Trèves); to the Archbishop of Mayence, and to Duke Leopold of Lorraine, March 14, 1727 (on the same subject); to the Elector, Clement Augustus of Cologne, September 5, 1727 (nullity of his election capitulation). *Ibid.*

[5] *Brief to Joseph, Abbot of St. Gall, July 26, 1727, *ibid.*

Spanish Netherlands,[1] Poland [2] and Spain. Innocent XIII.'s Bull against abuses among the Spanish clergy was approved by a royal decree of March 9th, 1724, and its observance strictly enforced.[3] On September 23rd, 1724, Benedict XIII. confirmed the reform decrees of his predecessors, and ordered them to be printed and dispatched to all the Bishops.[4] As they met with opposition, especially on the part of the Orders,[5] they were inculcated anew and further elucidated in a Bull of March 27th, 1726.[6] The nuncio in Madrid was instructed to see to their strict execution.[7] This was no easy task, for there was question of the most diverse subjects, such as admission to the clerical state and the excessive number of clerics of low degree, the learning and other qualities of the candidates for Holy Orders, the action to be taken by Bishops against unworthy clerics who forgot the duties of their state, the presence of the clergy at the solemn conventual Mass and the pastoral conferences, the conscientious fulfilment by priests having the cure of souls of the obligation of preaching, the erection of new parishes and dioceses, the preservation of the Bishops' prerogatives and honours, the enclosure of convents of nuns, abuses in the sphere of the liturgy, Masses and private oratories, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in general, the observance of the disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent.[8] However, in spite of every effort, the Bull

[1] *Brief to the Archbishop of Tournai, March 21, 1726 (exhortation to fulfil the duty of residence), *ibid.*

[2] *Briefs to the "congregatio Benedict. Poloniae", July 1, 1726; to the Archbishop of Gnesen, April 3, 1728; to "Iacobus Ludovicus princeps regni Poloniae", April 29, 1728 ("Colleg. pontificium Leopoli institutum commendat"). *Ibid.*

[3] HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 189.

[4] *Bull*, XXII., 100. *Letter to nuncio Aless. Aldobrandini, October 14, 1724, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch.

[5] Brief to Philip V., April 3, 1726, *Epist.*, *ibid.*

[6] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 297 *seqq.*

[7] *Letter to nuncio Aldobrandini of April 3, 1726, *loc. cit.*

[8] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*; MARTINI, *Pontificato di Benedetto XIII.*, 11 *seq.*

with its wealth of prescriptions for the strict observance of ecclesiastical discipline was carried into effect only by slow degrees, and not in its entirety.[1]

[1] *Briefs to Philip V. and to the Spanish episcopate, both of March 22, 1727, and to the Prior of the monastery of the Escorial of March 23, 1727. A *Brief to "Tarraconen, et coepiscopi in concilio provinc. congregati" of May 22, 1728; he praises them; *another to the Spanish Bishops, August 24, 1728, concerns the reform of preaching ("we have heard with sorrow gravissimum praedicandi ministerium, quod in spiritus alimentum est institutum, nonnullos in suae ambitionis alimentum et inanem gloriam vertisse", as though they preached not Christ, but themselves; "fucato dicendi genere ad capiendam vulgi auram, ad audiendum verbum convenientibus illudunt levissimis argumentis et concisis ad ingenii ostentationem. Hanc corruptelam avertere cupientes, zelum vestrum hortamur, ut qui simplicibus imbuere mundi contemptum verbo et exemplo debent, vobis advigilantibus officio respondeant," so that they be not accused at the Judgment by those whose praise they have sought. "Qui ministerium susceperunt, christianae doctrinae articulos aut divinae legis praeceptum, prout animarum necessitatibus opportunius, simplici stylo explicent; inobedientes canonicis poenis coerceri volumus, sublata praedicandi facultate, et ecclesiasticis censuris ubi opus"). A *Brief to the same of October 1, 1728, concerns catechetical instruction (one of the most important pastoral cares is the instruction of the faithful, especially of the children, in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. It belongs to our office to stir up your zeal; we are speaking of the most important duty of Bishops, the neglect of which will be severely judged; imitate the zeal of your predecessors. "Exponendae doctrinae methodum certam proponendam curavimus, quam editam utilissimam et parvulis accomodatam experti sumus." We are very happy that some devout men, especially among the clergy, have devoted themselves to this work "et vicos circumeuntes doctrinam populis annuntiant nullis laboribus deterriti"; nothing is more pleasing to us. "Hortamur, ut has exercitationes in dioecesibus vestris instituere et ad eas clericos vestros excitare nitamini." Indulgences are granted both to those who teach Christian doctrine and to those who attend such lessons). A Brief to Philip V., July 12, 1729, recommends the execution of a Brief "pro Cisterciens reformatis". Papal Secret Archives.

On the whole Benedict XIII. was on good terms with the Spanish Government and with most of the other Catholic Governments. He took advantage of this circumstance to obtain the support of these authorities for such Catholic interests as lay outside their respective territories. By this means he sought to obtain relief for the oppressed Catholics of the German *Diaspora*,[1] the Grisons,[2] Great Britain [3] and

[1] After the death of the Vicar Apostolic of North Germany, the excellent Agost. Steffani, Bishop of Spiga, Benedict XIII. *wrote to Charles VI. on May 18, 1728, in order to induce him to intervene on behalf of the rights of the Catholics of Hanover. The opportunity was favourable as the Duke of Hanover was asking for favours and the Emperor could make the "fidem pactorum" a condition. To this period also belong the *Briefs of May 11, 1726, to the King of Spain and to other princes "pro principe Sulzbach" in Iülichberg, and of January 18, 1727, to the Emperor; recommendation of the "rationes domus Palatinae et de Sulzbach contra molitiones march. Brandeburg". (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.) To Benedict XIII.'s solicitude for the converts, the following *Briefs bear witness: to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, July 16, 1726: recommendation of the "baro de Heinscheck", to the Kings of France and Spain, October 2, 1726: recommendation of the "baro de Tann"; to the Emperor, February 21, 1728: recommendation of "Fredericus princeps Saxoniae"; to the Elector Clement Augustus of Cologne, July 9, 1729: recommendation of the former preacher, Herm. Heinrich Peters; to Prince Eugene, September 1, 1729: recommendation of a convert (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives). *Letter to the Spanish nuncio, A. Aldobrandini, August 16, 1727: he should interest the King in Catholic affairs in Iülich-Cleve. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Arch.

[2] *Brief to the Emperor, March 28, to the King of France, June 22, 1729, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Brief to the King of France, June 5, 1726, to the same and to Cardinal Fleury, June 4, 1727, *loc. cit.* *Cf. ibid.*, the *Brief to the former of July 16, 1726: your "regia beneficentia ad fovendos catholicos Nos adducit, ut de tua observantia praeclare sentientes opem tuam ad religionis amplificationem imploremus. Cum Thom. Domin. Williams O. Pr. episc. Tiberiopolit. in meridion. Anglia Vic. Apostol. nullis redditibus vitam sustentare et opus

Holland.[1] His solicitude likewise embraced the Catholics of Serbia,[2] the Maronites oppressed by the Turks,[3] the Catholic Patriarch of Antioch [4] and the Catholics of the island of Naxos who had to suffer from the vexations of the schismatics.[5]

(2.)

During his pontificate of five and a half years Benedict XIII. carried out twelve creations of Cardinals, in which twenty-nine prelates were invested with the purple. At the first nomination, on September 11th, 1724, two Romans received the red hat. They were Giambattista Altieri, who had long been a cleric of the Camera under Clement XI., and Alessandro Falconieri, a man universally esteemed on account of his excellent administration as Governor of Rome.[6] Falconieri

iniunctum perficere non possit, obsecramus, ut pensionem aut beneficium ei conferendum cures ".

[1] Transmission of a *letter of Propaganda to the Spanish nuncio, dated March 3, 1725, on using his influence for the admission of the Vicar Apostolic in Holland. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Brief to the Emperor and to Prince Eugene, January 26, 1726, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Briefs to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, July 8 and December 2, 1727, to the King of Spain and to the Emperor, July 17, 1728, to the King of Poland, August 11, 1729, to the King of Spain, September 20, 1729, *ibid.*

[4] *Brief to the King of France, August 12, 1729, *ibid.* To " Ioseph patr. Chaldaeorum " he sent a *letter on March 12, 1725, encouraging him to resist the Nestorians. *Ibid.*

[5] *Brief to the King of France, September 30, 1727, *ibid.*

[6] GUARNACCI, II., 430 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 201. Cardina Cienfuegos thus describes the new Cardinals: *Altieri Romano è un uomo di ottimi costumi, umile, di tratto amabile e ritirato poco meno del card. Lorenzo suo fratello, è più giovine di lui di qualche anno, non avendo grande spirito nè dottrina, ma buon cuore. Falconieri pure Romano è dotato d'un animo signorile ed eroico, è bene conservato nella sua età di 68 anni, è alquanto

restored the famous Villa of the same name at Frascati, partly Borromini's work, as we see it to-day; his name is seen on the first gate with the date 1729. Benedict XIII. himself consecrated the chapel of the Villa which Falconieri had embellished.[1]

On November 20th, 1724, the Neapolitan Vincenzo Petra, and on 20th December Prospero Marefoschi and Agostino Pipia, were raised to the cardinalate.[2] Petra, who was Secretary to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, happened to be with Cardinal Cienfuegos when he was informed of his promotion. He was no less surprised than the whole of Rome, but there was general satisfaction that a man should be honoured who had faithfully served the Holy See for many years and who had made a name for himself in the learned world by a work on the Penitentiaria and by his commentaries on the Apostolic Constitutions.[3] Prospero Marefoschi had been *Uditore Santissimo* since the pontificate of Clement XI. Agostino Pipia, a native of Sardinia, had been General of the Dominicans since 1721. He was one of the Pope's intimates. At the last nomination, the Pontiff had informed the ambassadors of the great Catholic Powers that he intended

forte nelle cose che imprende, ed è nobilmente fornito di dottrina, avendo sostenuto con somma laude per più anni la carica di auditore della S. Ruota. Though formerly attached to the French party, he has given proofs of his devotion to the Emperor. Letter of November 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[1] On the lower gateway to the garden, now closed, we read: "Alexander | S. Mariae de Scala Diaconus | Cardinalis Falconerius | A° 1729"; in the interior of the villa, over the entrance: "Benedictus [XIII.] Dominus nobis haec ostia fecit 1724." The frescoes are by Maratta, Ciro Ferri, a pupil of Pietro da Cortona and Ghezzi (by the latter also caricatures and a portrait of himself, 1727), the oil paintings are by Hötzendorf. *Cf.* D. Seghetti, *Die Villa Falconieri*, in *Westermanns Monatsheften* 1906, 742 *seqq.*; F. Zidek, *Villa Falconieri* (Progr.), Kalksburg, 1907.

[2] Guarnacci, II., 438 *seqq.*, 443 *seqq.*; Cardella, VIII., 203 *seq.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 25, 1724 (*loc. cit.*); here also he emphasizes Petra's devotion to the Emperor.

to create twelve Cardinals in all.[1] On June 11th, 1725, Niccolò Coscia and Niccolò Giudice received the red hat.[2]

Under Innocent XIII. the Portuguese Government had failed to obtain the purple for Bichi, a former nuncio in Lisbon; its efforts were renewed in the summer of 1724. Though Bichi had been recalled, Portugal persisted in regarding him as a nuncio, refused to allow Giuseppe Firrao, who had been recently appointed in his place, to enter on his office, and declined during the vacancy of the Holy See to receive the letter by which the Sacred College informed it of the demise of Innocent XIII. When the new Pope informed the King of his elevation, the Government intercepted the letter and pretended that it had never arrived. Thereupon the Portuguese ambassador was handed a duplicate of the letter which he dispatched to Lisbon by a special courier. In this he saw a great triumph, so that he thought he would be able to extort Bichi's elevation. Benedict XIII. replied that so long as Bichi remained in Lisbon he would not receive the red hat; let him come to Rome and justify himself; after that it would be decided whether he was worthy to be admitted into the Sacred College. The ambassador's threat to take his departure did not at once induce the Pope to change his mind,[3] but as the peace-loving Pontiff was anxious to avoid a rupture, he yielded in 1725 to Portugal's ceaseless pressure, in spite of the disapproval of many Cardinals, to the extent of promising Bichi's elevation as soon as the latter left Lisbon.[4]

On September 11th, 1726, at the request of the French ambassador, Cardinal Polignac, the purple was bestowed on André Hercule Fleury who had been Bishop of Fréjus from

[1] Report of the same, December 24, 1724, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 125. On Giudice, see MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 504 *seq.*

[3] These incidents are recorded by Cardinal Acquaviva in his *letter to Juan Baut. de Orendayn, August 5, 1724, Simancas Archives.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of June 9, September 15 and 22, 1725, *loc. cit.*

1698 to 1715, then tutor to Louis XV., and, finally, leader of France's policy as head of the Council of State.[1] The candidate of the French Government was a remarkable statesman, religiously minded and of irreproachable morals and altogether worthy of the purple.[2] The Emperor had let it be known that he approved of Fleury's elevation, on condition that Polignac gave a guarantee that in any future creation of Cardinals the Pope would not exceed the number of twelve or thirteen.[3]

In the sequel Benedict XIII. saw himself pressed from every quarter to fill the vacancies in the Sacred College. At a consistory held in the first days of September, 1726, the Portuguese Cardinal Pereyra complained bitterly of the fact that, without consulting his sovereign, the Pope had named Fleury and passed over Bichi, though he had promised to make no promotion without including Bichi. Having made his protest, he left the hall and remained in the ante-room until the end of the meeting. On the previous day Polignac had prayed the Pope not to appoint more than twelve Cardinals after his election. Benedict replied that he could not set a dangerous example to his successors by consenting to a restriction of his right of nomination, but he would promise to create fewer Cardinals than his predecessors. When Polignac continued to press him, the Pope, speaking in a loud and excited tone, so that the bystanders were able to hear him, declared that he would not yield—he would rather return to Benevento.[4]

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 411 *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. ecclès.*, 1910, 830. On September 16 the Pope charged Gualterius to take to the King of France the red biretta destined for Fleury. *Ep. ad princ.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Monograph by VERLAQUE (Paris, 1879).

[3] *Letter of the imperial Chancellor to Cardinal Cienfuegos, dat. Vienna, September 1, 1726. Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of September 14, 1726, according to which the Pope said to Polignac: "Non imponam iugum sacerdotio, non imponam iugum sacerdotio, e più tosto con queste lane di cui vesto, sarò capace di ritornare a Benevento. *Ibid.*

At an audience in October, 1726, Cardinal Pereyra complained that the Pope had had knowledge of a memorial of the Sacred College against Bichi's nomination and that he had inspired it. Benedict was able to deny both statements.[1] About mid-November an order came from Lisbon commanding all Portuguese subjects to leave Rome should Bichi not be promoted within eight days.[2]

Cardinal Bentivoglio, who had become Spanish ambassador in July, 1726,[3] had been pressing the Pope since September to bestow the red hat on the Portuguese Infante Emmanuel. Benedict's answer was that the thing was only possible if the Prince first took Holy Orders and if Portugal gave its consent. Against this Bentivoglio argued that sovereigns had never been obliged to take Orders and quoted some precedents. However, the Pope maintained his point of view, observing that it was not possible so suddenly to exchange the helmet for the mitre.[4] Meanwhile Bichi's nomination had become impossible, although the Portuguese threatened to leave, for the Cardinals, more particularly Corradini and even Polignac, had vigorously protested against the unseemliness of bestowing the purple on a man who refused to obey the Holy See.[5] In like manner when Bentivoglio, supported

[1] Report of the same, October 12, 1726, *ibid.* On November 9, 1726, Cienfuegos writes to the Emperor : the Pope is in a predicament, many dissuade him in order that the party of the Cardinals of Clement XI. might retain its strength for the Conclave ; on the other hand the candidates urge him on. The latter course is the better one for Your Majesty, because the predominance of the Albani would be pernicious, and if he delays, more Cardinals will die, so that in view of the Pope's chronic indecision and his advanced age, the crowns would never see their "nomina" realized. *Ibid.*

[2] *Report of the same, November 16, 1726, *ibid.*

[3] According to Cienfuegos' *report of July 27, 1726 (*ibid.*), the nomination caused a great sensation at the court, as Bentivoglio was known to be very hot-headed and irritable ; even Polignac was not enthusiastic.

[4] *Report of the same, September 28, 1726, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

by Cienfuegos, renewed his demand for the nomination of the Portuguese Infante, the Pope insisted on the Prince first taking Orders.[1] At this time several Cardinals prayed Benedict XIII. to include his nephew, the Oratorian Mondillo Orsini-Gravina, Bishop of Melfi, in the impending promotion. The Pope, who abhorred every form of nepotism, refused to comply with the request.[2]

The nomination was confidently expected to take place at a consistory fixed for the beginning of December, 1726. Bentivoglio and Belluga, whose wishes in regard to the Portuguese Infante were certainly not going to be realized,[3] stayed away from the meeting. The Pope arrived an hour later than announced. When the voting on the canonization of Stanislaus Kostka was over everybody present thought that the promotion would surely follow, but the Pope asked

[1] *Report of the same, dat. December 17, 1726, *ibid.* Already on September 28, 1726, the Secretary of State had written to the Spanish nuncio that the canons required that the Prince of Portugal be ordained before the promotion; therefore explain "che volentierissimo S. B. ammetterà la petizione del Re promuovendo S. A., ma salva la quiete della propria coscienza, non essendosi potuto superare sin'ora questo suo grave scrupolo" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 365, Papal Secret Archives). See also "*Manifestando al Papa el sentimento de S. M.", on the refusal to promote Don Manuel, Archives of the Spanish Embassy at Rome, 1726, f. 126. *Cf. ibid.*, f. 134; 1727, f. 1, 55, 60, 255.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 30, 1726, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. On Benedict XIII., the enemy of nepotism, see NOVAES, XIII., 169 *seqq.*

[3] On Bentivoglio's unceasing efforts, with Cienfuegos, Coscia and others, see his *letters to Grimaldi after his nomination as Minister, August 3, September 21, 25, 28, October 26, November 2, 9, 16, 23, 27, 30, 1727. On December 2 he *reports the last, very lively conversation he had with the Pope and the final negative decision of the Secretary of State of the same day (Simancas Archives). In spite of everything, Bentivoglio made fresh attempts; see his *letters of January 1, February 1, 15, 22, March 8, 12, April 26, June 28, September 20, November 12, 1727, and January 10, 1728 (*ibid.*).

what time it was, and as the hour was advanced, he rose from his throne and withdrew whilst giving his blessing. All present were beside themselves with astonishment.[1]

At length, on December 9th, 1726, nine Cardinals were created, but seven of them were reserved *in petto*, owing to the impossibility of providing for them. In his allocution the Pope commented on the fact of his nephew being passed over. As a Dominican he had long ago renounced all inclination towards flesh and blood, and at this time also he recalled to mind what God spoke to Abraham: "Go out of the house of thy fathers!"[2] The two Cardinals proclaimed on December 9th were the Secretary of State, Niccolò Maria Lercari, and the devout General of the Franciscans Observant, Lorenzo Cozza, whom the Pope held in the highest esteem.[3] Of the seven reserved *in petto*, several were remarkable for their learning, such as the Venetian Angelo Maria Quirini, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino and Archbishop of Corfu since 1723[4];

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 7, 1726, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] *Report of the same, December 14, 1726, *ibid.*

[3] GUARNACCI, II., 479 *seqq.*, 499 *seq.*; CARDELLA, 217 *seq.*, 223. On Benedict XIII.'s affection for Cozza, see Cienfuegos' *report of November 30, 1726, *loc. cit.* In his *letter of December 14, 1726 (*ibid.*), Cienfuegos thus characterizes Cozza: he is reputed to be learned, pious, peaceful, and gentle, is 75 years of age, and in poor health; in the spring he had a stroke. *Cf. Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1172 *seq.* A caricature of Cozza by Ghezzi in the periodical *Roma*, V. (1927), 173. On Lercari, *cf.* above, p. 129.

[4] GUARNACCI, II., 474 *seq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 214 *seqq.*; HURTER, II.², 1395 *seqq.*; monograph by BAUDRILLART, Paris, 1889; life by C. CASTELLI in *Brixia sacra*, 1920, 79 *seq.*; A. SAMBUCA, *Lettere intorno alla morte del card. A. M. Querini*, Brescia, 1757; autobiography of Quirini in *Comment. de rebus pertin. ad A. M. card. Quirini, Brixiae*, 1749. On November 29, 1729, Cienfuegos *reports: Quirini, a friend of Polignac, "sa bene il fatto suo," "ha spirito ed arte," "un naturale placido," in speech "schietezza de' sentimenti", is said to have won the favour of the Pope by such means and even by flattery (*loc. cit.*).

the Bolognese Prosper Lambertini, Secretary of the Congregation of the Council and one of the principal advisers of the Pope in questions of Church policy [1]; Marcantonio Ansidei of Perugia, assessor of the Inquisition since 1722, and the Dominican Gregory Selleri. To these were added Antonio Banchieri of Pistoja, who had succeeded Falconieri as Governor of Rome in 1724; the Treasurer-General Carlo Collicola, of Spoleto, and the *Maestro di Camera* Francescantonio Fini.[2]

There was a widespread belief that Bichi was one of those reserved *in petto*, hence the Cardinals' opposition to his nomination became increasingly sharp. At the end of January, 1727, the Secretary of State, Lercari, presented to the Pope a memorial in this sense bearing the signatures of many Cardinals.[3] This did not remove the anxious feeling that Benedict would nevertheless carry out the promotion on the occasion of his journey to Benevento.[4] However, this

Cf. Fr. Lauchert, *Die irenischen Bestrebungen des Kardinals Aug. M. Quirini, speziell in seinem literarischen Verkehr mit deutschen protestantischen Gelehrten*, in *Studien u. Mitt. aus dem. Benediktinerorden*, XXIV. (1903). Quirini *Epistolae, quotquot latino sermone edidit*, published by N. Coleti, Venetiis, 1756. On his correspondence in the Brescia Library, see *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXI., 47 *seq.*; *Rev. des langues romanes*, XL. (1897), 501 *seqq.* Letters in the University Library, Udine; see *Raccolta Veneta*, I., 82 *seqq.* A very unfavourable criticism of Benedict XIV. on Quirini as a scholar in Heeckeren, I., 141, 317.

[1] Above, p. 139 *seqq.*

[2] Guarnacci, II., 483 *seqq.*; Cardella, VIII., 218 *seqq.*; Marchesi Buonaccorsi, 485 *seq.*, 494 *seq.* On Selleri, *cf.* Taurisano, *Hierarchia ord. Praed.*, Romae, 1916, 117 *seqq.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of January 4 and 25, 1727, according to which Ottoboni refused to subscribe, declaring that the Cardinals could not lay down the law for the Pope (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The text of the petition in *Cod. ital.*, 190, p. 345 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich; a copy in *Cod.* 2670, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of January 25 and April 5, 1727, *loc. cit.* In the *report of August 2, 1727 (*ibid.*), Cienfuegos writes: because the Pope introduced the custom of holding

fear did not materialize, any more than that felt by not a few that Bichi might be promoted without the concurrence of the Cardinals.[1] In September it was rumoured that the Pope was about to proclaim both the Cardinals reserved *in petto* and those proposed by the Great Powers.[2] This anticipation also proved premature. The death of Cardinal Fabroni on September 19th caused a fourth vacancy in the Sacred College.[3]

The Pope had promised the ambassador of Venice to take into consideration the Venetian candidate at the creation of the crown Cardinals. As on the one hand Cienfuegos became ever more insistent, and the Infante of Portugal had withdrawn his candidature, whilst on the other hand there were only four vacant places in the Sacred College, Benedict resolved, in order not to try the ambassadors' patience any longer, to begin by proclaiming the Venetian Quirini, one of the seven reserved *in petto*, with a view to satisfying the other Powers with the four remaining seats.[4] Accordingly, on November 26th, 1727, the following nominations took place: Sigismund Kollonitsch, Archbishop of Vienna, on whose behalf Cienfuegos had exerted himself since the beginning of the year [5]; Diego of Astorga, Archbishop of Toledo, for Spain; John de Motta y Silva, a brother to the Portuguese

Consistories at an early hour in the morning and of beginning them with only two or three Cardinals present, it was feared that he intended to proclaim Bichi in the presence of but a few Cardinals. For this reason the Cardinals handed in a new memorandum on Monday, through the Dean, in which they declared that they had heard with regret certain complaints against the Cardinals, to the effect that they showed but little consideration for the Pope and that so few of them appeared at the consistories; however, they were not to blame, as the Pope began much earlier than was customary, hence they asked for an alteration.

[1] According to Cienfuegos (*report of July 7, 1727, *ibid.*), this had been considered.

[2] *Report of the same, September 27, 1727, *ibid.*

[3] *Reports of the same, September 27 and October 20, 1727, *ibid.*

[4] *Report of the same, November 26, 1727, *ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

ambassador in Rome, for Portugal,[1] and Philip Louis von Sinzendorf, the son of the Imperial Chancellor of Austria, for Poland [2]: Quirini's elevation was published at the same time. Cardinal Ottoboni had sought, at the last moment, though in vain, to get the creation postponed, as he was anxious to procure the purple for his nephew, Minotti Ottoboni, who was also the Venetian candidate. He was very much annoyed when, out of consideration for Cienfuegos, the nomination took place in spite of him.[3]

Of those reserved *in petto* on December 9th, 1726, Fini's nomination was made public on January 26th, 1728,[4] and that of Ansidei, Lambertini, Selleri, Banchieri and Collicola on April 30th, 1728.[5] On the latter date two members of religious Orders were likewise admitted into the Sacred College, namely the Dominican Vincent Louis Gotti and the Benedictine Leander Porzia, Abbot of St. Paul outside the Walls since 1722. Gotti was born at Bologna in 1664. Under Clement XI. he had taught for eleven years at the University of Bologna, and for a time (in 1715), had acted as Inquisitor-General at Milan. He had also written a book on the true Church of Christ to confute the Swiss Calvinist Giacomo Picenino. He was an old friend of Benedict XIII. Gotti's theological erudition, on which the Pope rightly set a very high value, is attested by the sixteen volumes, remarkable both for matter and form, in which he expounds dogmatic theology in the spirit of St. Thomas, and by his Apologia of the Christian religion.[6]

[1] SCHÄFER, *Portugal*, V., 184, 198.

[2] From 1726 onwards the "nomina di Polonia" constitutes the principal theme of Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letters (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). The Pope declined for a long time the nomination of a German proposed by Poland. Biographies of the new Cardinals in GUARNACCI, II., 478 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 229 *seqq.*

[3] Cienfuegos' *report of November 29, 1727, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Acta consist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] GUARNACCI, II., 530 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, 232 *seq.*; QUÉTIF, II., 814; RICCHINI, *Vita card. Gotti*, Romae, 1742; HURTER, IV., 1353–1357; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, V.², 939; COULON, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VI., 1503 *seq.*

On September 20th, 1728, two more Cardinals were named, viz. the Neapolitan Pierluigi Carafa, a kinsman of Innocent XII., who had been nuncio in Florence from 1713 to 1717, Secretary of Propaganda in 1717, and Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1724; and Giuseppe Accoramboni, *Subdatarius* under Innocent XIII., and *Uditore Santissimo* under Benedict XIII.[1]

In the summer of 1728, the Portuguese Government decided to carry out the retaliatory measures which it had so long threatened on account of Bichi having been passed over. In the first days of December the Portuguese subjects in Rome, both ecclesiastical and lay, left the city, whilst at the same time the nunciature was closed at Lisbon and a decree issued forbidding Portuguese subjects to apply to Rome for any benefice.[2] A year later, with a view to paving the way for a compromise, the Pope invoked the mediation of Spain,[3] but Lisbon declined to enter into negotiations.[4] On March 23rd, 1729, Camillo Cibo, a member of the princely house of Massa-Carrara, who had been Benedict XIII.'s *Maggiordomo* since 1725, was received into the Sacred College.[5]

Francesco Borghese, Fini's successor as *Maestro di Camera* and later on Benedict XIII.'s *Maggiordomo*, was given the red hat on July 6th, 1729, at the same time as the Dominican

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 537 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 236 *seqq.*; KARTTUNEN, 238.

[2] MURATORI, XII., 123; *Reports from Rome of November 26, December 3 and 24, 1728, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] *Brief to Philip V., December 3, 1729, Papal Secret Arch.

[4] *Report from Rome of December 30, 1729, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] GUARNACCI, II., 547 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, 239 *seqq.*; the above quoted [p. 132, n. 1]: "*Vita del card. C. Cibo da lui stesso descritta" in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 94–104, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Ibid.*, 86, on his earlier activities. Part of the papers left by Cibo has been preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of Religious; in 1924 they were transferred to the Papal Secret Archives.

Carlo Vincenzo Maria Ferreri. In his allocution in the consistory the Pope said that it was his wish to close the octave of St. Peter with the bestowal of the purple on a Dominican in place of the recently deceased Selleri.[1] On February 8th, 1730, Benedict XIII. proceeded to his last cardinalitial creation when he summoned into the supreme senate of the Church Alemano Salviati, a scion of the ancient Florentine family of the Marchesi of Montieri-Bocchigiani, a prelate distinguished by his virtues and his liberality.[2]

(3.)

In the mission field Benedict XIII. had occasion to extend his solicitude to the Christian East. He confirmed the decrees of the provincial synod of Zamosc of 1720,[3] and following the example of his predecessors, he guaranteed their possessions to the Ruthenians who became reunited to Rome.[4] The Bishops and Archbishops of the Ruthenians were usually taken from the Basilian Order, with the result that not a few of the monks sought outside recommendation for these high posts. Benedict XIII. countered this abuse by decreeing that solicitation of offices without leave of the Archimandrite rendered the persons concerned *ipso facto* incapable of the desired dignity.[5] In the district around Damascus a movement towards the Catholic Church had made itself felt since the beginning of the eighteenth century.[6] In 1724 a former pupil of Propaganda, Seraphin Tanas, having been elected Patriarch of the Melchites, took the name of Cyril VI. and dispatched to Rome another student of Propaganda, John Amenio, for

[1] *Cf.* **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Guarnacci, II., 549 (where instead of "June" read "July"); Cardella, VIII., 241 *seqq*

[2] Guarnacci, II., 559 *seqq.*; Cardella, VIII., 242 *seqq.*; Marchesi Buonaccorsi, 499 *seq.*

[3] On July 19, 1724, *Ius pontif.*, II., 365.

[4] August 12, 1724, *ibid.*, 366. *Cf.* above, p. 67.

[5] December 16, 1728, *Ius pontif.*, II., 411.

[6] Vol. XXXIII., 375.

the purpose of getting his election confirmed.[1] The Capuchin, Dorotheus of the Blessed Trinity, was commissioned to do this,[2] but only after receiving Cyril's profession of faith and a promise not to introduce any changes in the Greek Liturgy. The privileges of the Holy Land, which were enumerated in detail in the document, were also confirmed by a papal decree.[3]

The Franciscans' missionary zeal is proved by the fact that they sought and obtained permission [4] to found a College in each of their Provinces of the East and West Indies for the formation of future missionaries. One of the main theatres of the activity of the Franciscans and the Jesuits was Mexico. A report to the Viceroy, dated June 20th, 1725, speaks in terms of high praise of the Jesuits' work in Ostimuri, Sonora and Cinaloa ; the Indians, we read, earn their livelihood by agriculture ; they are decently dressed, and in many places they were able to enhance the religious ceremonies by a musical accompaniment.[5] In 1690 there were ninety Jesuit missionaries in Mexico ; about the middle of the next century they numbered 120.[6] The Jesuit Ugarte [*ob.* 1730] introduced agriculture into California with a view to making the mission independent of outside aid, but the poverty of the soil and the lack of water prevented him from realizing his plans everywhere. In spite of formidable obstacles in the shape of polygamy, magic, immorality and endless wars and epidemics, a number of missions were successfully founded in California.[7] In 1726 only 1,000 Christian Indians were left in the mission of Florida.[8] In the North, the Jesuits of

[1] *Cf.* the Consistory of February 3, 1744, in *Magnum Bullarium*, XVI., 179.

[2] On August 13, 1729, *Ius pontif.*, II., 414. *Cf.* LEMMENS, 28.

[3] March 3, 1727, *Ius pontif.*, II., 396 ; *cf.* 368.

[4] On April 3, 1727, *ibid.*, 401.

[5] ASTRÁIN, VII., 305 *seq.* For the Franciscans, *cf.* XXXIII., 391.

[6] ASTRÁIN, VII., 245.

[7] *Ibid.*, 274 *seq.* ; Z. ENGELHARDT in *The Catholic Encyclop.*, III., 178 ; ID., *Missions and Missionaries in California*, I., 130 ; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 411.

[8] SCHMIDLIN, 412.

Canada went among the wild Indian tribes, such as the Sioux, as far as the western shore of Lake Superior, whilst Aulneau penetrated even further West.[1] In the rising of 1729 the Jesuit Poisson was murdered by the Natches, and his brother in religion Souel by the Yasus,[2] whilst Rasle was put to death in 1724 at Nanrantsuak by some English who had recently occupied Nova Scotia.[3]

In South America a visitation report of 1730 mentions twenty-two settlements in the Jesuit mission on the Marañon, with 5,194 Christian Indians.[4] At the close of 1727 the General, Tamburini, expressed his satisfaction to the Provincial of New Granada with the progress in the mission of the Llanos.[5] In Paraguay, in 1715, there were 116,488 souls in twenty-two Reductions and 133,117 in 1730.[6] Generally speaking the Indian missions were making constant progress; thus the Franciscans worked successfully in Peru from their centre at Okopa, the Capuchins in the Llanos from their base at Caracas, the Jesuits among the Chiriguans and the Dominicans on Haiti in the Small Antilles.[7]

Benedict XIII. also intervened indirectly in the American missions when in 1726 he appointed Bishop Nicolas of Herrea Vicar Apostolic and Commissary for the district of the Orinoco, including the Antilles.[8] As we learn from Gumilla, a certain Canon Nicolas Labrid of Lyons and three other priests had approached Benedict XIII. with the request that he would send them as missionaries whithersoever he pleased, whereupon the Pope made them Bishops for four continents, the territory of the Orinoco being assigned to Labrid. After

[1] Rochemonteix, I., 182 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 353 *seqq.*

[3] *Cath. Encyclop.*, X., 386; Goyau in *Rev. d'hist. des missions*, I., 121.

[4] Astráin, VII., 415.

[5] *Ibid.*, 461.

[6] *Ibid.*, 565.

[7] Schmidlin, *Missionsgesch.*, 401, 404, 406; Id. in *Zeitschr. für Missionswiss.*, 1929, 15 *seq.*

[8] *Ius pontif.*, II., 390 *seq.*

waiting for a long time in Cayenne for his Bull and Spain's assent, he went among the Caraibs on the Aquire where he was murdered by the savage natives. Years after that event the name of the Pope was still pointed out on the fragments of the broken altar which Benedict XIII. had himself consecrated for the use of Labrid.[1]

In India the Church of the Uniat Christians of St. Thomas maintained itself under the guidance of the Carmelite John Baptist of St. Teresa; in 1725 a colleague of his started new missions at Mahe and Ramatali.[2] Among the old Orders the Franciscans of the Province of St. Thomas, in 1724, had three convents, five colleges, two seminaries, forty-eight parishes, fifteen missions and one hundred and sixty religious[3]; in their oldest convent, that of Schaul, the Dominicans numbered scarcely more than twelve to fifteen friars[4]; outstanding figures among the Carmelites were Innocent (Kollonitsch) of St. Leopold, a brother of the Archbishop of Gran, and Peter of the Holy Trinity, both Vicars Apostolic in Malabar and Bombay.[5] In 1738 the Capuchins maintained two hospices in Bengal and three in Nepal where in consequence of too scanty results, Propaganda saw itself compelled to reduce their numbers.[6] The Jesuits continued to be the most zealous and the most successful labourers on India's soil. A number of Jesuit missions bore evidence of intense vitality, as, for instance, and apart from Goa, the stations in Malabar, where Fr. Hanxleden, a native of Osterkappeln near Osnabrück, distinguished himself as a Sanscrit scholar[7]; in Madura where ten Fathers were at work in seven residences[8] [their

[1] José Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, Madrid, 1745; Schmidlin, *Missionsgesch.*, 406.

[2] Müllbauer, 314.

[3] *Ibid.*, 329.

[4] *Ibid.*, 354.

[5] *Ibid.*, 348.

[6] *Ibid.*, 361.

[7] *Ibid.*, 289; Huonder, *Jesuitenmissionäre*, 174 *seqq.*; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 80 *seq.*

[8] Müllbauer, 239 *seq.*

Superior, Father Vieira, baptized 818 persons at Marara [1]; at Carnate 8,000–9,000 Christians were looked after by five missionaries; in 1727 and 1730 new churches were erected there at the sovereign's expense.

Frenchmen from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, Portuguese Jesuits, Spanish Franciscans and Italian Barnabites—all of them in one vicariate—were at work in Cochin-China. The Paris Seminary accordingly proposed a partition of the missionary territory. In 1727 Benedict XIII. sent out, as Apostolic Visitor, Bishop des Achards de la Baume, of Avignon, who took a large number of their missionary stations from the Spanish Franciscans, though these Fathers had been sent for by the Vicar Apostolic Perez who had confirmed them in all their missions before his death. The Franciscans lodged an appeal with the Pope but the question was only decided under Benedict XIV.[2] In 1729 a persecution broke out in Siam on account of the Christian books; the Vicar Apostolic Tessier of Querelay was summoned to surrender them and when he refused a decree prohibiting Christianity carved in stone was set up in front of the Church.[3] The priests of the Paris Seminary stayed at their posts throughout the period of persecution, viz. in Tongking, under Néez, who died in 1739 after an exemplary government of the mission over a period of sixteen years; in Cochin-China under Labbé, up to 1723 and after that date under the Italian Barnabite Bishop De Alexandris.[4] In November 1724, the Bavarian Franciscan Valerius Rist and the Italian Seraphin of Borgia opened a mission in the Empire of Cambodia, the sovereign having given them leave to spread Christianity.[5]

Under Benedict XIII. the Chinese mission continued as a source of painful anxiety for the Roman See. Most of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 246.

[2] LEMMENS, 114. Acts of the visitation in LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission de Cochinchine*, II., 45 *seqq.*

[3] LAUNAY, 517 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 509 *seqq.*

[5] LEMMENS, 112; E. SCHLUND, *Nach Cochinchina. Die Missionsreise des P. Valerius Rist*, Trier, 1911.

missionaries had been expelled; they only maintained themselves in Kiangnan and Tshekiang, on the plea of age and sickness, whilst they were allowed to remain in Peking solely because the Emperor had need of them. Christian worship continued, but without musical accompaniment. For the benefit of the women Mass had to be said in private houses, whilst in the provinces catechists acted as substitutes for the priests.[1] A few decades later it was reported that the missionaries were returning in secret and resuming their activities as much as possible.[2]

Benedict XIII. did not remain an indifferent witness to the ruin of the mission. Soon after his accession he sent the two Carmelites, Gothardt Rinaldi and Ildefonsus Wolfgang, to Peking[3] with two Briefs for the Emperor Yong-Tshing; the first was one of congratulations on the Emperor's accession; in the second, dated October 6th, 1724,[4] the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the liberation of Pedrini and prayed for a similar favour for Appiani and Guigues. Yong-Tshing received the papal embassy in solemn audience and accepted the two Briefs on the following day. His reply was to the effect that if Appiani and Guigues had not been set at liberty, in spite of the amnesty, the fact was due to forgetfulness on the part of the Mandarins.[5] The two Carmelites were scarcely given a chance to utter a word.

Meanwhile Propaganda's decree of September 13th, 1723, against the Jesuits, with its formidable accusations and corresponding penalties which, if executed, would have amounted to the suppression of the Order, was still in force.[6] In January, 1724, the Jesuit General Tamburini presented to the Pope the apology which he had laid before his predecessor.

[1] Car. Slavicek, *Relatio de missione Sinica of Nov. 20, 1725, State Archives, Munich, *Iesuit. ingen.* fasc. 16, n. 277.

[2] *Report to the Bishop of Noyon, September 12, 1759, *Lettres édif.*, IV, Paris, 1843, 89.

[3] Slavicek, *loc. cit.*; De Mailla, XI., 430.

[4] Translation in Thomas, 326.

[5] On the replies, *cf. Anecdotes*, V., 91, 93; De Mailla, XI., 430, note.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 84.

However, it soon became necessary to supplement that document, for on October 12th, 1724, Tamburini received from the papal Secretary of State a fresh letter with further charges. A report had come from China that though Kanghi's successor had granted complete liberty to preach the Gospel, the Jesuits nevertheless refrained from administering the Sacraments, and that at Macao they were very remiss in the cure of souls and the evangelization of the pagans. It goes without saying that the Jesuits did not remain silent in the face of these accusations. In January, 1725, Tamburini submitted a fresh apology [1] in an appendix to which he gave extracts from letters of his missionaries with statistics of the Sacraments administered and various details of their zealous work for souls at Macao.[2] Thus the charges against the Jesuit missionaries under these two heads were shown to be no less inaccurate than the statement that the new Emperor favoured Christianity. Consequently Tamburini took the liberty of drawing the attention of the Congregation to the fact that one could not rely on the account of a situation by one side only; it was necessary to hear the other side also. It had long been only too evident that the aim of many informers was to render the Jesuits hateful in Rome and throughout Europe. Many missionaries of Propaganda, when setting out for the mission field, had received instructions not to side with the Jesuit party, and not to subscribe to anything that might be written in their defence. Whenever one of these missionaries wrote in favour of the Jesuits he was severely rebuked; it was even said that in the preceding year four of their number had been recalled to Europe for that reason. From Peking false reports spread to the provinces; if an identical report came from Peking and the provinces, the agreement between the two accounts led Rome to conclude that it must be true.

[1] "*Informazione in risposta sopra i nuovi ordini spettanti alla Cina intimati al P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù sotto li 12 ottobre 1724," Property of the Jesuits (as also all the unpublished documents quoted in the sequel).

[2] See *Appendix* No. 8.

These two apologies were not without effect. On February 27th, 1725, Benedict XIII. quashed the worst of the penalties by word of mouth.[1] The Jesuits were once more allowed to receive novices and the General was empowered to propose ten of his subjects for the mission in China. An inquiry by Propaganda would make it clear whether the remaining dispositions of the decree should not be abolished likewise. For the rest the apology of 1725 had drawn attention to the fact that, as a result of Kanghi's death and Pedrini's liberation, many of these dispositions had become meaningless.

The Congregation was in no hurry with its investigation, a circumstance that enabled the Jesuits to submit fresh evidence in their own defence in September, 1725.[2] The main charges against them were that they had not obeyed Clement XI's. prohibition of the rites and that they had shown their insubordination to the papal command by completely abstaining from all pastoral work in China. Now with regard to the Jesuits of Canton, the missionary and notary apostolic Domenico testified on December 8th, 1724, and on December 2nd, the Provincial Commissary of the Franciscan mission, Miguel Roca, that as soon as they received the text of the Clementine Constitution *Ex illa die*, they immediately took the prescribed oath and resumed their pastoral ministry.[3] "I never heard it said that they were wanting in submission to the papal decree," Roca adds. The same testimonial was given on July 15th, 1722, by the

[1] Text in *Anecdotes*, V., 286.

[2] *" Summarium continens testimonia iurata pro vindicandis missionariis S. J. in Sinis a pluribus criminationibus contra illos delatis ad S. Sedem annis praeteritis."

[3] *" Administraron," Roca writes, " siempre los sacramentos a los neofitos : estando en esta ciudad algunos años, por la falta de ministros que havia, acudian a administrar las christianidades de esta mision serafica ; y en las damás misiones en que se hallaron siempre me consta, que administraron, sin que aya oido fama ni rumor en contrario, ni tam poco de que faltassen a la puntual observancia de los preceptos de la dicha constitucion."

Franciscan Observant Emmanuel a Plagis, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Nangking, Emmanuel of Jesus and Mary, to a Jesuit in Tshekiang, and to another on November 22nd, 1724, by the above-named Roca.[1]

To these declarations by outsiders must be added the assurances of the Jesuits themselves. With reference to the decree of Propaganda of September 13th, 1723, the Vice-Provincial of China, Charles von Rezende, attests on October 30th, 1724, that both he and his subordinates submitted fully and punctually to the Apostolic decrees on the rites, more especially to the Constitution *Ex illa die*; that they administered the Sacraments and devoted themselves to the pastoral ministry in accordance with the oath taken and hitherto kept by them. At the same time he protests in his own name and in that of his subjects, that they had done nothing to encourage the Emperor in his opposition to the papal prohibition of the rites. In like manner it was sheer calumny to say that they had had anything to do with the arrest and imprisonment of Pedrini, Appiani and Guigues. Fresh inquiries and sworn evidence had shown that none of his subordinates were involved in the two last named crimes, "which one could not mention without shuddering." With regard to the other commands of Innocent XIII., the Vice-Provincial promises obedience but observes that in view of altered circumstances, they have become partly objectless, or hardly capable of execution on account of the persecution and the dispersion of the missionaries.[2]

[1] *Summarium, § 1-5.

[2] *. . . testor et profiteor me et meos subditos integre et exacte parere apostolicis decretis ad ritus Sinenses spectantibus, sacramenta administrando et missionum munia (ut tempus praesentis persecutionis fert) obeundo, praecipue vero sincera submissione ea omnia adamussim exequi, quae continentur in praecepto Clementis XI. p. m., iuxta tenorem iuramenti, quod et praestitimus et per Dei gratiam hactenus servavimus. Similiter protestor pro me et meis subditis, nos nunquam egisse apud imperatorem aut eius ministros, ut persisteret in proposito non admittendi decreta S. Sedis circa ritus Sinenses. . . . Praeterea

These statements of the Vice-Provincial were personally confirmed by the six Jesuits of the Chinese Vice-Province on October 22nd, 1724,[1] and on 30th October they were joined by the five French Jesuits of Peking.[2] The blame for the Emperor's prompt withdrawal of his alleged permission of the omission of the rites by the Christians, was laid on the Jesuits Bouvet and Suarez who, after the others had been dismissed, were detained by Kanghi at the conclusion of the audience of January 14th, 1721. To destroy "a suspicion so horrible, rash and most false", the two above-named missionaries swore on November 2nd, 1724, on their word of honour as priests and before God, that there was no truth whatever in the whole accusation. The Emperor had never said that he was prepared to tolerate the omission of the rites, in fact he was not even in a position to grant such toleration.[3]

Whereas the documents quoted up till now are content with a mere statement of facts, a letter of the six Jesuits of the Chinese Vice-Province to their General expresses their pain at these terrible accusations.[4] After refuting all the charges as unfounded, they draw attention to the fact that it was not very likely that men who could furnish testimony to the blamelessness of their conduct whilst they were still in Europe, from those who knew them, would suddenly fall into enormous crimes in China.

testor nec me nec meos subditos ullam habuisse partem in comprehensione et detentione tam D. Pedrini quam DD. Ludovici Antonii Appiani et Antonii Guigues. . . . De duobus his postremis facinoribus, scil. molitione, ut imperator Sinarum persisteret in proposito non admittendi decreta S. Sedis circa ritus Sinenses, et instigatione, ut comprehenderentur illi tres missionarii, modo per me facta Pekini interrogatione, ubi ea machinatio solum strui poterat, interposito plurium nostrorum iuramento ad me refertur, nullum e nostris in calumniose nobis imputata ea crimina, quae sine horrore dici non possunt, lapsum fuisse. . . . Summarium, § 7.

[1] *Ibid.*, § 8. [2] *Ibid.*, § 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, § 6. *Cf.* Appendix, n. 9.

[4] **Summarium*, § 88. *Cf.* Appendix, n. 8.

"But if our protests and attestations are not received, or if they are powerless against the arguments, or rather the sophisms of our accusers, and if the charges against us continue to be regarded as incontestable, there remains nothing for us but to throw ourselves, as guilty children, at the feet of His Holiness and the feet of our General and to humble ourselves under the fatherly hand that chastises us. Though we feel innocent of the crimes of which we are accused, we do not deny that we have all offended in many things; far be from us the blasphemy of saying that we are without sin, thus making a liar of Him who is just and true and who cleanses us from all guilt. But even though the Pope be resolved to punish his guilty sons, we cease not to pray that he would at least spare the innocent mother (viz. the whole Order) who has no share in the guilt of her children. The supreme Judge of all judges has laid it down that the father—and the mother also—should not bear the guilt of the son. For the sake of ten just He was willing to spare five cities; is it possible that the most lowly Society of Jesus should be deemed worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, and that the whole body should suffer for the guilt of a few, seeing that it is adorned by so many holy men and by numberless just ones."

In spite of all representations the accused were unable to obtain an acquittal in the cardinalitial Congregation of September 14th, 1725. The Jesuits accordingly made a fresh assault. Up to this time they had only been able to adduce in their discharge the testimonies of members of the Society, or of other Congregations, but now, with a new collection of documents,[1] they threw into the scales the sentence pronounced by Juan de Cazal, Bishop of Macao, on

[1] "*Ristretto de' nuovi documenti, che li missionarii della Compagnia di Gesù dimoranti nella Cina, nel Tunkino e nella Cocincina, esibiscono alla S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, in prova della loro obedienza al precetto Apostolico della Constituzione 'Ex illa die', ed agli altri ordini intimati al P. Generale della medesima Compagnia in nome d'Innocenzo XIII. di glor. mem. da Msgr. segretario della stessa Congr. alli 13 di Settembre l'anno 1723."

the basis of a judicial inquiry conducted by Emmanuel of Jesus and Mary, Bishop of Nangking. The latter attests submission to the Clementine Bull and the continuation of the administration of the Sacraments for thirteen Jesuits on December 1st, 1724, and on the 11th for another five, all of them being mentioned by name ; for a short time only, some of the five had refrained from administering the Sacraments, from scruples of conscience.[1] Two of the above-mentioned thirteen and six others were similarly defended by Bishop Laghi of Lorima, Vicar Apostolic of Shansi, by the Bishop of Nangking once more, by his Vicar-General and by four Franciscans, in duly authenticated depositions.[2] Testimonies from outsiders were not obtainable everywhere, as for instance, in places where there were no other missionaries except Jesuits. Accordingly ten of the latter swore on their word of honour as priests [3] that some of their number had administered the Sacraments immediately after swearing to the Clementine Constitution, and that all did so long before Innocent XIII's. decree was communicated to them.[4] This statement amounts to an admission that some of the above-mentioned ten had not done so immediately after taking the oath to the Constitution, but in this matter those chiefly inculpated were not these ten, but the Jesuits of Peking. Thereupon the six Jesuits of Peking attested under a joint oath signed by them on October 22nd, 1724,[5] that they obeyed, as punctually as possible, all papal decrees, especially the ordinance *Ex illa die*, and that they had always obeyed them. From motives stated by Laureati, the Visitor at the time, motives which Mezzabarba had approved at least in practice, they had refrained for a time, as they explained in a letter to Tamburini, dated October 28th, 1724, from administering the Sacraments publicly, though they had never ceased to do so privately, to such as were prepared to submit to the papal decrees. In view of the Emperor's commands and threats they could

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 1 and 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 2–3, 5–10.

[3] "In verbo sacerdotis."

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 13.

not do so publicly without the obvious risk of the whole mission being destroyed at a single stroke. That the Sacraments were secretly administered is proved by the fact that after Mezzabarba's departure a family of the imperial blood, numbering seventy persons, became Christian almost in its entirety, the only exception being its head.[1] They further protest that they made no attempt to dissuade Kanghi from tolerating the prohibition of the rites nor were they aware that "anyone was guilty of so enormous a crime". The five French Jesuits of Peking issued a similar declaration,[2] as did Placid Hervieu, the Superior of the whole French Mission in China.[3] As Joseph Suarez and Mourao, more especially the latter, were particularly charged with having strengthened the Emperor in his resistance to the papal decree, and with having been the cause of the imprisonment of the three missionaries, documents were furnished in justification of Mourao in particular.[4] That Pedrini's imprisonment had been

[1] On this converted family, many members of which saved themselves from the Emperor's wrath by renouncing Christianity, *cf.* Parennin, Aug. 20, 1724, in *Lettres édif.*, IV., 366–393.

[2] **Ristretto*, n. 14.

[3] In a letter of November 21, 1724, to Tamburini "attesta in primo luogo che tutti i suoi sudditi, che stavano divisi per le provincie, o da che fu loro intimata la constituzione *Ex illa die*, o almeno più anni prima di quel tempo in cui scriveva, avevano amministrato i sagramenti ammettendoci que' christiani che giudicavano essere debitamente disposti a riceverli, de' quali però aggiunge che esso con suo molto dolore, n'aveva trovati pochi. 2. The Sacraments were invariably given to persons dangerously sick. 3. Che fuori di questi casi, quei di loro che nelle provincie fuori di Pekino s'astennero per alcun tempo dall' amministrazione de'sagramenti . . ., protestarono dinanzi a Dio, e di nuovo protestano, che ciò non fecero per mancamento del rispetto e della obbedienza dovuta alla Sede Apost., ma perchè sapevano esserci una gran varietà d'opinioni tra li missionarii, anco degli altri ordini, et tra gl' istessi Superiori ecclesiastici intorno alla natura del precetto contenuto nella già detta constituzione e il sin dove si stendesse. . . ." *Ibid.*, n. 16.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 17–18.

occasioned by his having told a lie about Kanghi [1] is also confirmed by Yong-Tshing's reply to Benedict XIII.'s second Brief.[2] The conclusion declares that the documents submitted are a justification of 40 Jesuit missionaries in China.

The Jesuit missionaries of Tongking were defended by the Dominican Giuseppe Valerio, the Cleric Minor Giovanni Andrea Masnata [3] and Simon Soffietti, and those of Cochin-China by the Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Buggio, two Franciscans, a missionary of Propaganda and an Annamite cleric. The native Christians, the Bishop wrote, are of opinion that the Jesuits upheld most strictly the Clementine prohibitions and it was quite false to say that some of them had ceased to administer the Sacraments. All and each of them worked with exemplary and indefatigable zeal. But for them no missionaries would be left in Cochin-China, especially in these days of persecution.[4] One of the Franciscans expressed the opinion that it would be a good thing if the accusers of the Jesuits would imitate their zeal.[5]

In September, 1726, the accused submitted all these testimonials, together with the three earlier memorials to the same effect, to the Cardinals; at the same time they presented a fresh memorial [6] in which the whole of the material submitted is surveyed and its bearing appraised. With regard to the testimonies without legal authentication, they were so numerous and so weighty as at the very least to counterbalance the statements to the contrary which were also without judicial authentication. This being so the Jesuits' guilt was not established and they must be acquitted.[7]

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII., 459.

[2] **Ristretto*, n. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, n. 20–2.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 23.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] "*Memoriale informativo con la giustificazione de' missionarii della Comp. nella Cina presentata alla S. Congregazione nel settembre del 1726."

[7] *Ibid.*, n. 10.

It was difficult to see why the word of the accusers should carry greater weight than that of the Jesuits and their friends; on the other hand [1] there were objections to the persons of their detractors on account of which their evidence ought to be rejected [2]; this was true of Mezzabarba [3] and a number of others, many of whom were avowed enemies of the Jesuits whilst others were friends of the Jansenists.[4] To all this should be added the duly authenticated evidence in discharge of the accused. The charge of disobedience, the "enormous calumny" that they were responsible for the failure of Mezzabarba's legation to Kanghi and the accusation that they were accomplices in Pedrini's imprisonment were thereby disposed of.[5] After such a justification there was no need for the Jesuits to furnish yet another apology.

The question of the Malabar customs made a step forward under Benedict XIII. The Congregation set up by Innocent XIII. for the purpose of studying this delicate matter, was confirmed by his successor. It approved the decree of the Legate Tournon on the administration of the Sacraments to the pariahs. Thus Benedict XIII. went farther than Clement XI. who had declined to decide this matter.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 11–12.
[2] *Ibid.*, n. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 14–16.
[4] *Ibid.*, n. 17–20.
[5] *Ibid.*, n. 26 *seqq.*
[6] É. Ammann in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1728.

CHAPTER IV.

Jansenism in France and the Netherlands—Death of Benedict XIII.

(1.)

Benedict XIII. had no sooner ascended the throne of St. Peter than a rumour spread in France that, as a Cardinal, the new Pope had been an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* and that he had pleaded on his knees with Clement XI. not to publish it.[1] More than one circumstance seemed to give substance to the rumour. The customary Jubilee Bull published at Benedict's accession [2] contained not a single phrase excluding the Appellants from the graces of the Holy Year; on the contrary, some of its expressions appeared to favour the Jansenist teaching about irresistible grace.[3] The Dominican Church historian Noël Alexandre, though an Appellant, was informed that he might resume his correspondence with Benedict, whereupon Alexandre expressed the hope [4] that the Pope who, as a Dominican, had been reared on the pure

[1] Fleury, LXXI., 719 *seq.* He is still suspected of Jansenism in M. Martin, *Hist. de France*, XV., 142.

[2] June 10, 1724, *Bull.*, XXII., 50.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 78. *Cf.* Letter of the Jansenist Bishops Soanen and Colbert to Benedict XIII., February 1, 1725 (in [Nivelle], II., 1, 285), who exult over the expression of the Jubilee Bull "divinae voluntati resistere neminem". *Cf.* [Cadry], IV., 231.

[4] On August 13, 1724, [Cadry], IV., 8 *seq.* Before his death, on August 24, 1724, Alexandre probably retracted his appeal. *Cf.* Coulon, O. P., in *Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 49 *seqq.*, 279 *seqq.*, who, however, does not take into consideration the letter of August 13, 1724, and merely glides over that of Prior Jainville of January 8, 1725 ([Nivelle], I., 268; [Cadry], IV., 191). *Cf.* XXXIII., 279.

teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, would restore peace to the Church. A pamphlet, in the form of a letter to the Pope, actually demanded that he should withdraw the Bull against Quesnel.[1] The Bishops of Auxerre, Bayeux and Rodez, whose Jansenistic opinions had been condemned by the Inquisition on July 14th, 1723, addressed to the Pope a lengthy apologia in which they sharply criticized the ignorance and presumption of that tribunal which had presumed to summon the supreme shepherds and teachers in the Church before its bar.[2]

However, if there ever were those who doubted Benedict XIII., they were destined to be promptly undeceived. If the presumptuous letter of the three Bishops was not condemned, it was probably due to the fact that it had not been printed. The rumour about Cardinal Orsini's opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus* was laid when a Franciscan Provincial of Avignon appealed to Cardinal Corsini and when the Pope himself described the report as untrue.[3] The deficiency in the Bull of 10th June was made good by a supplementary declaration of 14th July,[4] which became known in Paris during Advent. It was to the effect that the favours of the Jubilee did not extend to those whom the Pope's predecessors had cut off from the charity of the Christian community. The Appellant Bishops ignored this declaration.[5] Further Indulgences granted on 22nd July, were limited to persons in communion with the Holy See.[6] If Benedict XIII. had communicated with Noël Alexandre, it was in the hope of winning over that aged scholar.[7] The Pope spoke quite plainly when praising the zeal of the Bishop of Gap for the Constitution against Quesnel,[8] as well as in a further Brief in which he commented

[1] [Cadry], IV., 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83–9.
[3] Fleury, LXXI., 719 *seq.*
[4] *Bull.*, XXII., 68 *seq.*
[5] [Cadry], IV., 174.
[6] *Ibid.*, 5. *Cf. Bull.*, XXII., 76.
[7] Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 292.
[8] On November 19, 1724, in [Cadry], IV., 173.

on the advice given him by the Bishop of Blois at the beginning of his pontificate. There were two parties, the Bishop had explained,[1] viz. the Jansenists and the Molinists. Up to that time the Popes had only struck at the Jansenists, hence the Molinists were triumphant. The Bishop accordingly prayed Benedict XIII. to defend grace, as his predecessors had fought for freedom, and by expounding the truth, to put an end to the disputes. The Pope replied in courteous language[2] but at the same time he made it perfectly clear that there was only one remedy for the French troubles, namely, simple obedience, and that the Apostolic See could not be blamed if peace had not been restored long ago. People were for ever looking for help which they themselves owed to the suffering Church.

These steps reveal clearly enough why Benedict XIII.'s elevation gave rise both to fear and hope among the various parties in France. As a Dominican the Pope had held the doctrine of efficacious grace. Now one reason why Noailles and the Appellants had rejected the Bull against Quesnel was that it put unjustifiable limits to the freedom of theological schools—in other words, it created difficulties for the advocates of efficacious grace.[3] Since the publication of Pascal's last *Provincial Letter* the Jansenists had, on the whole, taken the standpoint that their teaching on grace was none other than that of the Dominican school.[4] The Jesuits sought to deprive them of this defence by pointing to the divergences of the Dominican from the Jansenist teaching,[5] but a few Molinists had also gone so far as to assert that the Bull *Unigenitus* was irreconcilable with efficacious grace.[6] This opinion was

[1] *Ibid.*, 132–5. [2] Brief of January 12, 1725, *ibid.*, 194.
[3] *Cf.* XXXIII., 251. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] [Patouillet), I., 291–308, III., 183. Cardinal de Bissy affirmed the divergences in his *mandement* of 1710 (*ibid.*, I., 301), the Jesuit Annat enumerates eighteen differences (*ibid.*, 302).
[6] In a censure of Douai, 1722, the Dominicans Massoulié and Contenson were accused of Jansenism, an accusation which called forth many apologias. [Cadry], III., sect. 5, p. 76, 79.

shared by a number of Dominicans who sided with the Appellants for that very reason [1]; in their eyes, to receive the Bull was the same thing as deserting the school of St. Thomas for that of the Molinists.[2] It was, of course, exceedingly painful for an Order which until then had always been a bulwark of the Holy See, to find a spirit of insubordination insinuating itself into its ranks. Antoninus Cloche, the General, took action at once and declared the appeal null and void, and when this measure led thirty-two Dominicans of Saint-Jacques in Paris to appeal both from the Pope and from all present and future ordinances of their General, he forbade all such steps under pain of excommunication.[3]

It seems probable that the divisions within the Order and the suspicions from without, could have been prevented if the Pope himself had spoken one word with a view to settling the dispute. Ever since July, 1714, the Dominican Graveson had sought to influence Benedict XIII. in this sense. He prayed

[1] The Appellants of the Monastery of Saint-Jacques, Paris, give as one of the motives for their appeal of October 10, 1718, the following: "cognita denique aemulorum doctrinae Thomisticae pertinacia, quae eo perducta est, ut passim iactitent tum voce tum scripto, a praefata constitutione ultimum vulnus esse inflictum doctrinae Thomisticae de gratia Dei suapte natura efficaci" ([Nivelle], I., 266). Sharper still are the Dominicans of Angoulême, January 5, 1719: "The Bull has been extorted par les ennemis déclarés de l'école de saint Thomas" who want to do away with a doctrine that is and remains "la lumière et le flambeau de l'Église, voulant substituer en sa place et faire régner des opinions déréglées, une morale relâchée", etc. (*ibid.*, II., 2, 311).

[2] "Pour le groupe des 'appellans' de Saint-Jacques quiconque recevait la bulle, était considéré comme déserteur de l'école de saint Thomas et s'inscrivait par le fait même parmi les partisans de l'école rivale" (Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 281).

[3] Letters of Cloche, February 26, 1717, and December 6, 1718, in Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 77 *seq.*; 79 *seq.* *Cf.* Brucker in Études, L. (1890), 31. Appeal of the "Grand Couvent" of April 1, 1717, in [Nivelle], I., 114. On Cloche (*ob.* 1720), *cf.* *Rev. Thomiste*, XIX. (1911), 421 *seqq.*

for a papal declaration to the effect that efficacious grace and gratuitous predestination to eternal life had not been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*, on the contrary, that this was the teaching of the Church based on the unshakable principles of St. Thomas and St. Augustine. The Pope did not seem disinclined to grant the request. On October 24th, 1724, he requested Graveson that a petition to this effect should be addressed to him in the name of the whole Dominican Order.[1]

The new General, Augustine Pipia, accordingly sent in a petition [2] in which he expressed three demands. The first concerns the doctrine of efficacious grace and predestination to eternal life, independently of any *scientia media*, or any merits foreseen by such a knowledge. The Pope was asked to declare that this was the ancient teaching and that it was the one most in harmony with Holy Writ, the papal decrees and the principles of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, and that it was in no way condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Pope was further requested to declare that no doctrine of St. Thomas, either in dogmatic or moral theology, was affected by the aforesaid Bull; lastly the Pontiff was invited to proceed with canonical penalties against those who dared to censure the doctrine of efficacious grace. The three petitions were followed by a postscript referring to a Bull said to have been drawn up by Paul V. at the conclusion of the celebrated discussions on grace.[3] If the Pope deemed it expedient, with a view to tearing out all new opinions by the roots, as well as benefiting the Church, let him publish that Bull.

It is evident that the petition was not immediately aimed at the Jansenists who made a show of favouring the Thomists, whilst they opposed the Bull, but rather against the protagonists of that document and the enemies of the Thomist teaching, viz. the Molinists. This is evident from the nature of the arguments made use of in the petition. In the very first sentences, protection is asked for the opinions which the

[1] Brucker, *loc. cit.*, 34 *seq.*

[2] Published, *ibid.*, 37–42; Astráin, VII., 171–6.

[3] On the Bull, *cf.* the present work, XXV., 249, n. 1.

Dominicans were stated to have defended so brilliantly and so powerfully in the Congregations *De Auxiliis* under Clement VIII. and Paul V. The petition then goes on to assert that since the days of Innocent I. the Popes had declared the doctrine of efficacious grace to be in conformity with the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, more especially with that of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, but that at the present time false rumours were being spread, especially in France, by means of writings, theses, sermons, to the effect that these two points of doctrine had been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. There follows a quotation from the Bull *Pastoralis* in which Clement XI. rejects, in the severest terms, the Jansenists' false claim that the Bull *Unigenitus* had condemned Thomism. This papal declaration, the petition states, had made no particular impression on the opponents of the Thomist school because the twin doctrines of efficacious grace and gratuitous predestination had not been expressly mentioned.[1] In order to secure concord and peace in the Catholic schools and to guarantee to the Order of Preachers its teaching, Benedict XIII. was accordingly asked to supplement the omission of Clement XI.

There can be no doubt that Benedict XIII. personally held the opinions of the Dominican school, but even a friend of the Dominicans could not comply with everyone of these requests. The Pope issued neither dogmatic decision nor Bull addressed to the universal Church: all he did was to address a Brief[2] to the Order of Preachers in which he exhorts its members to scorn, in their magnanimity, the false accusations against their teaching, more especially against the doctrine of efficacious grace and predestination *ante praevisa merita*,

[1] "Ex eo Clementis XI. silentio adversarii scholae nostrae Thomisticae ansam etiamnum arripiunt huic doctrinae de gratia . . . censurae notam inurendi eamque cum haeresi Ianseniana, quae iure optimo ab Ecclesia damnata est, perperam confundendi, ut his atrocibus calumniis in scholam Thomisticam coniectis omnium catholicorum odium et invidiam ei conflare possint." BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 39.

[2] "Demissas preces," November 6, 1724, *Bull.*, XXII., 109 *seq.*

viz. independently of any merits foreknown by God. The Pope likewise refrained from declaring that the Dominican opinion was better in keeping with the sources of the faith and the principles of St. Augustine and St. Thomas; all he did was to observe that the Order had laudably taught these opinions until then and that it gloried, with commendable eagerness, in having deduced them from the writings of St. Augustine and St. Thomas and the sources of revelation. Alluding to those Dominicans who were also Appellants, the Brief pointedly observes that the genuine disciples of St. Thomas should be distinguished for their unimpeachable loyalty and submission to the Holy See. This amounts to an official statement that in spite of their constant appeal to St. Thomas, the Appellants could not claim to be true followers of the Angelic Doctor. The Brief designates the enemies of the Apostolic See, that is the Jansenists, as the authors of the calumnies against the Dominicans and sees in the accusations against the preaching Friars a sequel to those proffered against the Holy See.[1] Just as these people twisted the Scriptures and the papal definitions, so did they distort the teaching of St. Thomas. If none of this could prove acceptable to the Appellants, least of all could they relish the eulogy of the Bull *Unigenitus* which the very first sentences described as a most salutary and most wise pronouncement by Pope Clement XI. The fact that there was no opposition between the Bull and the Thomist teaching was thus confirmed by the recognition of both.

The Brief did not meet with everybody's approval in Rome. The Pope had not submitted the draft—it was probably from the pen of Graveson—to the Cardinals of the Holy Office.[2]

[1] "Indeque audere nonnullos apostolicae auctoritati ac vestrae existimationi detrahere, quod . . . quodque alienae prorsus calumniosaeque interpretationes ad conflandam memoratae constitutioni invidiam temere excogitatae [by the Jansenists; *cf.* Bull "Pastoralis", 52, *Bull*, XXI., 810] ad iniuriam quoque vestri nominis redundarint."

[2] [CADRY], IV., 165.

On the whole it failed to make the desired impression on the Appellant Dominicans, even though Benedict went so far as to write an autograph letter to the community of Saint-Jacques in Paris [1]; nothing less than the complete withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus* would have satisfied the Appellants of that house. Nor did the Brief lead to the slightest change in the dispute between the theological schools. In a publication by a friend of the Jesuits, an attempt was made to show that the Brief gave the Molinists no cause for anxiety and to the Thomists no reason to exult, nor could the Quesnellists appeal to it; the Brief left the Thomists free to advocate their opinions, but the same was true of the other Catholic schools.[2] A few over-enthusiastic Dominicans did indeed enormously exaggerate the bearing of the papal document. This was particularly the case with the distinguished but passionate Billuart who composed a whole series of polemical pamphlets on this occasion.[3] But more than all the rest the Quesnellists claimed that the Pope had declared that the Thomist doctrine of grace was derived from St. Augustine and St. Thomas, thus completing that which had been begun by the Congregations held under Clement VIII. and Paul V. In this way the Jesuits had been unmasked as calumniators, innovators and seducers of the people, whereas the gentlemen of Port-Royal had been justified.[4] On the whole the Brief confirmed the Appellants in their opposition to the Bull. They regarded the Brief as a kind of payment on account: if the Pope had consented to make declarations on one point of the doctrine of grace, there was reason to hope that he would do likewise

[1] Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 306. They made a full submission in 1728 (*ibid.*, 307).

[2] [Cadry], IV., 169 *seqq.*

[3] Billuart, *Supplementum cursus theologiae*, Würzburg, 1760, *Vita auctoris ad a.* 1724. One of these polemical writings is entitled: Le Thomisme triomphant par le bref "Demissas preces".

[4] [Cadry], IV., 171 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter of the Jansenist Bishops Colbert and Soanen to Benedict XIII., February 1, 1725, in [Nivelle], II., 1, 285.

on other points, until nothing remained of the Bull.[1] As for the French Government, Fleury prevented the registration of the new Constitution which the Dominicans had demanded.[2]

In Spain the Brief gave rise to a veritable theological struggle, which it took all the Inquisition's authority to repress.[3] On the other hand Cardinal Bentivoglio, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, who records the fact, is himself a striking example of the strange notions which the papal Constitution had called forth. When the Pope meditated yet another similar step in 1727, Bentivoglio communicated the matter to Madrid in terms full of positive alarm. It would be remembered, he wrote, that on March 26th, on the occasion of the Pope's projected journey to Benevento, he had expressed a suspicion that advantage might be taken of this journey of the Pontiff to pass some measure against the Bull *Unigenitus* which would upset the Catholic religion throughout the Christian world. That suspicion was now a reality for, on His Holiness' return he had ascertained that a Bull was in print which, on the plea of confirming the privileges of the Dominicans, approved the Dominican teaching in terms that amounted to a condemnation of the Bull *Unigenitus* and robbed it of its efficacy. Suspicion was further increased by the mystery in which the printing was wrapped. The manuscript text of the Bull was sent in, sheet by sheet, the printing was done in the presence of the Dominican Arnia,

[1] *Ibid.*, 172; COULON, *loc. cit.*, 306. On November 13, 1724, NOAILLES wrote to Rome: "L'amour que le S. Père a pour la vérité, ne doit pas se renfermer dans l'école de saint Thomas. Il doit s'étendre sur toutes les vérités auxquelles la bulle donne atteinte" ([CADRY], IV., 132). *Cf.* his letters to the Pope of November 17, 1724 (*ibid.*, 178), and January 15, 1725 (*ibid.*, 209; *cf.* 212); Soanen, August 28, 1726 ([NIVELLE], II., 1, 93, n. XVI): "Sa Sainteté a déjà accompli une partie de nos vœux, et nous ne nous lassons pas d'attendre de sa part de nouveaux secours."

[2] HARDY, 26.

[3] Cardinal Bentivoglio, memorial of June 6, 1727, in [CADRY], IV., 832 *seq.*

who at once took possession of the printed sheets. The excitement which these things called forth in the Sacred College and the ferment throughout Rome could not be imagined. The worst was to be feared; the publication of the Bull might prove the signal of a general war of religion throughout the Christian world and the schism which up till then had been restricted to a few corners of France, might well spread to every country. If one Pope altered the dogmatic definitions of another, what became of papal infallibility? And what security for the future was there for the faithful in matters of faith?

In these circumstances Cardinal Belluga had called on him on Thursday morning and Cardinal Cienfuegos on the previous morning; they had unanimously decided to represent to the Pope that their respective Governments could not remain indifferent in the matter on account of the political disturbances which there was cause to fear. For this reason they prayed His Holiness to communicate the Bull to them previous to its publication as otherwise there was a danger of its not being accepted. A number of envoys had presented a memorial in this sense.[1]

[1] *Tendra V. S. muy presente que en mis cartas de 26 marzo, en que dí cuenta del viage del Papa a Benevento, motivé al mismo tiempo la sospecha y ponderable temor que aqui se tenia de que S. Sd en este su viage hiciese alguna cosa perjudicial a la constitucion Unigenitus que disturbase por todo el mundo christiano la religion catolica, y ahora debo decir a V. S. que este mi rezelo con grande dolor mio viene a verificarse, por averse discubierto en la buelta de S. B. que se imprimió una bula en la qual con pretexto de renovar los privilegios a la religion Domenicana se entra a aprobar su doctrina con tales terminos que la constitución Unigenitus queda totalmente condennada e inutil, siendo lo que maiormente augmenta el temor, el gran recato y cautela con que se ha hecho esta impresion que fue remitiendo aqui el original pliego por pliego, y hechose imprimir en presencia del Pre Mro Arnea Dominicano quien luego que un pliego se acababa da imprimir lo retirava y tenía siempre la imprenta. Asseguro a V. S. che no podra S. M. figurarse la justa commoción que esta noticia ocasionó a todo el s. colegio y el tumulto de toda Roma:

The watchword "efficacious grace", the memorial explains,[1] was a cloak for every Jansenist heresy; in its name they lodged appeals and demanded explanations; the Bull in question would be considered as the desired explanation and the Constitution against Quesnel would be rendered ineffective. Noailles and the Appellants would not fail to misuse the new Bull; they would be triumphant. The expression "efficacious grace" was first used by Calvin. Why then, in opposition to the opinion of many theologians, was the doctrine of efficacious grace ascribed to St. Thomas since it was first propounded by Calvin? Other expressions and definitions in the draft of the Bull were similarly objected to.

The Spanish ambassador had yielded to unfounded fears. Benedict XIII. had indeed had a gigantic Bull drawn up[2] which contained a list of all the privileges of the Dominican

ciertamente la cosa puede ser de mas funestas consequencias, y que si el Papa publica esta su bula, sera indicio de una guerra universal de religion por todo el mundo christiano, y el scisma que iva picando en pocos angulos de la Francia se hará universal a todos los reynos, y si un pontifice retrata las decisiones de otro en materia de fé, en donde estará la infalibilidad de la cathedra de S. Pedro? y que certeza tendran de qui adelante los fieles en su creencia? Sin embargo yo escrivo una carta y no una disertacion. En este tal estado de cosas vino a verme el s. card. Belluga el jueves por la mañana para excitar con su acostumbrado e innato zelo el mio, y ahier mañana viene tambien el s. card. Cienfuegos, y aviendo juntos comparado y examinado la materia, hemos concertado de representar a S. Sd el interes de nuestros respectivos soveranos en esta importantisima materia por las turbulencias civiles que podian temerse en sus reynos y dominios. Por lo que suplicamos a S. B. se dignase communicarnos dicha bulla antes de arreglarla al borron de no ser admitida [?]; el qual passo ambos hemos executado ahier con las memorias que con copia del billete que he scrito al card. secretario de estado incluyo a V. S. Correspondencia del card. Bentivoglio al Marques de la Paz, Simancas Archives.

[1] Extract in [CADRY], IV., 832 *seq.*

[2] By the auditor Accoramboni under the direction of Mola, Procurator-General of the Dominicans. *Ibid.*

Order and confirmed and further amplified them; even a lengthy section on the teaching of St. Thomas in the Dominican Order was not wanting. However, the Pope had no intention to trench too closely on the Bulls *Unigenitus* and *Pastoralis*, though they were not expressly mentioned in the first draft of that particular section.[1] It was likewise a fact that Benedict XIII. had his Bull drafted and printed with the utmost secrecy, though the affair nevertheless came to the knowledge of some of the Cardinals in a roundabout way, whereupon these, that same night, from July 5th to 6th, conferred with the two Albani, Pico, Zondadari and Salerni; they decided to inform Cienfuegos, Polignac and Bentivoglio, the ambassadors of the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. The latter failed to see the Pope in time, but they sent a letter to the Secretary of State in which they complained that the Pope was taking important decisions without the advice of the Cardinals, deprived the Molinists, so it seemed, of their freedom to express their opinions and put the Dominicans in a false position in more than one diocese. The Bull should be withdrawn for the Government would not receive it. Cardinal Belluga further objected that as recently as Innocent XIII.'s reign the privileges of the Orders had been curtailed.[2]

The Pope yielded to these representations to the extent of submitting his Bull to an examination by the Inquisition and as a sequel to its observations and those of Bentivoglio, and in order to prevent the various courts from interfering with it, he had it revised and reprinted.[3] In its definitive form the Bull has a much impugned paragraph in which the teaching of St. Thomas is extolled and earlier papal approbations of his works confirmed anew. Then to stop the calumnies of the troublesome and obstinate disturbers of the Church's tranquillity, it strictly forbids all offensive attacks on the

[1] There is nevertheless question of the "erreurs proscrites de Quênel". *Ibid.*, 835.

[2] *Ibid.*, 831 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 433 *seqq.*

[3] Bull *Pretiosus* of June 28, 1727, *Bull*, XXII., 522–554. Some doubts are removed on September 28, 1728 (*ibid.*, 730).

teaching of St. Thomas and that of his school, which stands in such high repute in the Church, as if it were identical with that of Jansenius and Quesnel, especially where in that school there was question of efficacious grace and predestination.[1]

The final text of this paragraph differs from the draft chiefly by the fact that the doctrine of efficacious grace and unconditional predestination is no longer ascribed to St. Thomas, as it is in the draft, but only to his school. Moreover a clause is omitted which had placed under papal patronage not only those two points of doctrine, but even all those opinions which, in the Thomist view, are intimately connected with it.[2] Furthermore it is no longer stated that up to that time the Order of Preachers had studied the works of its master unfalteringly.[3] In view of the appeals of the French Dominicans such a eulogy may have been considered no longer in place.

Naturally enough the new Bull also led to endless discussions. The Dominicans are triumphant, we read in a Jansenist publication,[4] the Molinists are crushed. It will not be difficult to show that efficacious grace and unconditional predestination were nothing but Quesnel's teaching. At the Archbishop's palace the Bull gave great satisfaction though on account of the numerous privileges granted to the Dominicans and the recognition of the Bull *Unigenitus*,

[1] "Ut autem turbulenti ac pertinaces tranquillitatis Ecclesiae catholicae perturbatores desinant, orthodoxam s. Thomae doctrinam calumniari . . ., mandamus, ne doctrinam memorati s. Doctoris eiusque insignem in Ecclesia scholam, praesertim ubi in eadem schola de divina gratia per se et ab intrinseco efficaci ac de gratuita praedestinatione . . . agitur, ullatenus dicto vel scripto contumeliose impetant, ac veluti consentientem cum damnatis ab Apost. Sede et signanter a constitutione . . . Unigenitus Iansenii, Quesnellii et aliorum erroribus traducant. . . ."

[2] "Aliasque [sententias] cum ipsis in D. Thomae schola intime connexas." *Cf.* [CADRY], IV., 838.

[3] "Inoffenso pede," *ibid.*

[4] July 22, *ibid.*, 839.

it could not be received in France. The innovators, the Archbishop of Arles wrote,[1] were jubilant because they saw the fire started at the Vatican and they merrily danced round the flame. The Jesuits of Paris, we learn from another quarter,[2] behaved as if the affair did not concern them, but those in the provinces felt the blow very deeply. In Rome itself the "Zelanti" among the Cardinals raised yet another protest on account of their not having been consulted in these most weighty decisions. A further ground for complaint was likewise the fear of yet another Bull in favour of the Thomists.[3]

With a view to forestalling unfortunate developments the General of the Jesuits, Tamburini, addressed a circular to his subjects.[4] The Bull, we read, certainly put no obstacle in the path of the Jesuits' teaching, but harm might be caused if one or more Jesuits failed to practise the requisite restraint. In the name, therefore, of the General, Provincials should recall to the attention of everyone the Order's particular obligation of showing the utmost reverence and obedience to the Apostolic See; let no one presume to utter one word against the Constitution or any one of its clauses. Professors of philosophy and theology in particular should give proof of the greatest esteem for the Dominican Order and its teaching; in view of existing circumstances, if the slightest complaint reached the ears of Rome, the worst consequences might ensue.

Benedict XIII.'s successor explicitly stated[5] that it had not been the purpose of his predecessor's ordinances to circumscribe the liberty of the Catholic schools.

[1] *Ibid.*, 840.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Han temido y temen que se maquine alguna nueva bulla acerca de la doctrina de los Thomistas." Bentivoglio to De la Paz on September 20, 1728, Simancas Archives.

[4] July 12, 1727, in Astráin, VII., 181.

[5] On October 2, 1733, *Bull.*, XXIII., 541 *seq.* The Bull *Pretiosus* had already been revoked before (February 13, 1731, and March, 1732, *ibid.*, 232, 324), in so far as it contained any innovation.

(2.)

In his pronouncements on the teaching of St. Thomas, the Pope was undoubtedly also prompted by consideration for Noailles whom he hoped to win over by acknowledging the concept of efficacious grace as uncensurable from the Church's standpoint.

The Archbishop had taken advantage of the accession of the new Pope to attempt a *rapprochement*. He promptly addressed a letter to Benedict XIII.,[1] in which he lavished eulogies on the newly elected Pontiff and expressed the hopes that he would give peace to the Church: the time for action had come, peace must be the everlasting memorial of his reign. He himself yielded to none in humble submissiveness to the Apostolic See; in fact this man of endless changes of opinion went so far as to protest that he wished he were in Rome, as he would then convince the Pope of the straightforwardness which had marked all his actions. Since 1717 no papal document had come into the hands of Noailles hence the Archbishop could look upon it as an event when Benedict XIII. sent him a friendly reply,[2] though not without hinting that it was for Noailles to contribute his share to the restoration of peace. To such exhortations the Archbishop would not listen. He began by enlightening the Pope on the state of affairs in France in a long letter.[3] In his opinion all the mischief was due to the fact that the papal Constitutions were exploited for party purposes. In this way things have come to such a pass that it was not enough to subscribe to Alexander VII.'s formula, unless one renounced at the same time the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Noailles himself was considered a supporter of the Jansenists and distinguished writers contended that the doctrine of efficacious grace was at variance with the papal Constitutions against the Jansenists. With the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus*

[1] July 16, 1724 [CADRY], IV., 7 *seq.*

[2] August 21, 1724, *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 191, Papal Secret Arch. [CADRY], IV., 80; SCHILL, 213.

[3] October 1, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 119–126.

confusion rose to its highest degree and the parties of Molina and Jansenius conspired in falsifying and misusing the Bull by their explanations. It was the Pope's business to provide a remedy; let him, Noailles suggested, explain the Bull. He then enumerates a whole series of points on which the Holy See should give its decision.[1] In the hope of receiving explanations in his own sense, Noailles assured the Pope that he fully submitted to him and to the Church all that he had written, spoken or done, and that he received the Bull *Unigenitus* in the same sense in which the Pope wished it to be accepted and himself accepted it.[2] The fact is that Majella, through his agent, the Dominican Graveson,[3] had let the Cardinal Archbishop know that if he complied with all that was asked of him, Benedict XIII. would grant whatever Noailles would ask for, with a view to the peace of the Church, such as declarations on efficacious grace, against lax moral teaching and abuses in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

The Pope was delighted with Noailles' letter,[4] as a matter of fact it meant a step forward. How greatly the Archbishop realized the insecurity of his position appears from a somewhat later circular with which he sought to obtain, though in vain, the adhesion of his followers among the Bishops to the step

[1] *Ibid.*, 124.

[2] "Je soumets entièrement à V. S. et de [sic !] l'Église tout ce que j'ai écrit, dit ou fait" (*ibid.*, 122); "que je reçois la constitution non d'une autre manière, mais précisément dans le même sens, dans le même esprit et dans les mêmes vues, que V. S. veut qu'elle soit reçue et la reçoit elle même" (*ibid.*, 123).

[3] Graveson on August 29, 1724, *ibid.*, 80 (*cf.* 117).

[4] The Pope read the letter aloud in his private chapel before the Blessed Sacrament to the indescribable jubilation and joy of the whole court, *Cardinal Cienfuegos reports to the imperial Chancellor Sinzendorf on November 11, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. *Cf.* *Cardinal Acquaviva to Grimaldi, November 25, 1724, Simancas Archives. The Pope is said to have exclaimed several times: "Che poteva dire di più questo buon cardinale!" [Cadry], IV., 175.

he had taken in regard to the Pope. In this document Noailles expressly states that it was no longer possible to maintain that the Bull against Quesnel had not been universally accepted by the Church.[1] However, Noailles desired a retreat which would allow him to appear as a victor; the Pope of Rome should issue declarations of the kind desired by the Pope of Paris and submission was to be based on these declarations. Through some intermediaries negotiations in this sense were opened.[2] Noailles offered to submit a draft for a Bull which would give precise directions as to what was to be thought on every single dogmatic or moral dispute that had arisen since the Council of Trent. Those who submitted to the Bull would have done their duty and could no longer be attacked by reason of the distinction of right and fact. As against this Rome insisted that before any declarations Noailles must withdraw his appeal and his pastoral instruction of 1719, or at least include such a measure in his declaration of obedience.[3] The Pope's reply to the Archbishop of Paris' letter was in this sense. The Brief[4] is couched in a conciliating tone, but for all its friendliness it insinuates that the time had come for Noailles to do what remained for him to do, in other words, that the assurances hitherto given were inadequate. The Pope promised to use the utmost mildness in recalling those who had gone astray in France, though the almost unheard of scandals that had occurred there demanded very different treatment; accordingly the Archbishop should join his efforts to those of the Pope with a view to the restoration of peace.

[1] Letter of February 1, 1725 (*ibid.*, 141): "L'argument qu'on tire du silence des églises étrangères, se fortifie par le nombre des années et le laps du temps. En France l'acceptation de la part de tous les évêques, à la réserve de trois ou quatre, est expresse. Comment peut-on dire aujour-d'hui que la constitution n'est pas reçue?"

[2] [Cadry], IV., 127–133.

[3] *Ibid.*, 129, 198; Polignac to Noailles, November 29, 1724, *ibid.*, 176.

[4] *December 5, 1724, *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 364, Papal Secret Arch.; [Cadry], IV., 179 *seq.*; Schill, 213.

Thereupon Noailles sought to obtain another Brief on the model of the one to the Dominicans, with declarations on various important points. On his part he would follow up the Brief with the pastoral letter that was asked of him and in which he would correct his instruction of 1719; after that the formal Bull might follow and serve to cover Noailles' retreat. Noailles forwarded ten articles for which he desired a place in the Bull; these are probably the first draft of the twelve articles which subsequently gave rise to much discussion.[1] In a letter of January 14th, 1725,[2] the Archbishop voices his surprise that anything further should be asked of him at all, though he once more submits everything he has written to the judgment of the Pope, with express mention of his pastoral instruction of 1719. The conclusion of his letter has a retort to the papal summons that he should complete what he had begun against the Pope, as if the Holy See were to blame if peace had not been restored.

Noailles had instructed Graveson not to hand in his answer to the Pope if the examination of the twelve articles was entrusted to the Congregation of the Council[3]; he wished the examination of the twelve articles to be made with the utmost secrecy and without the concurrence of the Inquisition, as had been done in the case of the Brief to the Dominicans.[4] The twelve articles were not submitted to the Congregation of the Council, but to a joint discussion by five Cardinals, viz. Paolucci, Ottoboni, Corradini, Tolomei and Pipia.[5]

Meanwhile a rumour spread in France to the effect that

[1] [Cadry], IV., 201 *seq.* (Noailles' instruction of January 1, 1725). Noailles' printed report dates the dispatch of the twelve articles as from the beginning of December, 1724. Text of the twelve articles in [Cadry], IV., 341 *seq.*; Picot, II., 170 *seq.*; Lafitau, II., 217.

[2] [Cadry], IV., 208 *seqq.*; Fleury, LXXII., 103 *seq.*

[3] [Cadry], IV., 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, 202.

[5] *Ibid.*, 243; Lafitau, II., 221. *Cf.* also *Voyages de Montesquieu*, II., 47 *seqq.*

Cardinal Polignac had let Noailles know [1] that Benedict XIII. was willing to confirm the twelve articles; that the text of a pastoral letter was being drawn up in Rome in which Noailles was made to announce his submission to the Bull *Unigenitus*; that as soon as Noailles returned this pastoral letter with his signature, the twelve articles would be approved and peace could be said to have been restored. The twelve articles were already being spread in a pamphlet,[2] on the very title-page of which they were described as approved by Benedict XIII. At the instance of the nuncio the Royal Council put a stop to this barefaced forgery.[3]

These reports created a great stir. Bishop Languet of Soissons published an open letter [4] addressed to the Jesuit De Vitry in Rome, in which he said that, according to the rumours circulating, Noailles was going to accept the Bull against Quesnel solely on the basis of declarations suggested by himself, but that this would amount to an admission by the Pope that that Bull jeopardized the truth. The Jansenists exulted whilst the Catholics were depressed. The letter in which the Archbishop of Paris announced his submission was equivocal. He avoided those expressions which were considered as evidence of real submission, that is, that he accepted the Bull "without addition or distinction",[5] and that when he said that he accepted it as the Pope himself accepted it, in Noailles parlance this only meant that he accepted with the explanations which he had himself suggested to the Pope.[6] Several French Bishops, headed by Cardinals Rohan and De Bissy, forwarded to Rome a memorial against the twelve

[1] February 22, 1725, [CADRY], IV., 245; *cf.* 247 *seq.* On Polignac's activity in Rome, 1724–1731, *cf.* also E. GRISELLE, *Vers la paix de l'Église de France d'après les lettres inédites du négociateur le card. Polignac* (1725–1732) in *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 271 *seqq.*, 404 *seqq.*

[2] March, 1725, FLEURY, LXXII., 114.

[3] June, 1725, *ibid.*, 115; [PATOUILLET], II., 120 *seqq.*

[4] [CADRY], IV., 251 *seq.*

[5] "purement et simplement."

[6] [CADRY], IV., 252.

articles.[1] The Cardinal Archbishop Du Boussu of Malines, in an open letter to the Pope [2] pronounced himself strongly opposed to Noailles whose plain duty, he said, it was to submit sincerely to the Bull *Unigenitus*.

Opposition to the twelve articles was no less decided in Rome. It was said that a protest against them by twenty-two Cardinals had already been drawn up.[3] The pastoral letter which Noailles was to have published, was submitted by the Pope to the Inquisition which condemned it in severe terms, on the ground that it contained no profession of submission but rather a justification of the Archbishop's rebellion. Noailles was accused of introducing, on his own authority, many alterations into the text sent to him from Rome. To say that he accepted the Bull as Benedict XIII. accepted it, was meaningless for the Pope submitted to it without addition or distinction, expressions which Noailles refused to use. Furthermore Noailles accepted the Bull on the basis of the Pope's learning and piety and that only in the sense expressed in the Brief to the Dominicans. The new formula of acceptance in the sense of Benedict XIII. would only give rise to fresh confusion ; one man would go by the new formula, another by the old one ; disputes would arise as to what was Benedict XIII.'s meaning ; one man would interpret it in the light of the Brief to the Dominicans, another in that of the approval of the twelve articles, and so things would go on.[4]

The commission of five Cardinals charged with the examination of Noailles, gave its decision at the end of March : it was to the effect that Noailles must accept the Bull *Unigenitus* without addition and distinction and withdraw any utterances, writings, or actions of his, which the Holy See had condemned, more especially his appeal and his pastoral instruction.[5] As for the twelve articles, the Pope was resolved to defer

[1] *Ibid.*, 250, 252.
[2] March 16, 1725, *ibid.*, 264–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, 256.
[4] Report of Ansidei, *ibid.*, 257 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 259.

judgment until after the great Provincial Council[1] which he had planned for some considerable time already and which was actually held in Rome from the middle of April until the end of May, and was attended by thirty-two Cardinals, forty-four Bishops, three Abbots and thirty-five representatives of absent Bishops.[2] The Council had an unpleasant surprise for the Jansenists: the assembled Bishops, with the Pope at their head, recognized the Bull *Unigenitus* as a canon of faith. The Jansenists claimed that the words to that effect had only been fraudulently inserted in the text at a later date by the Secretary of the Council, the future Cardinal Fini. However, Benedict XIII. made no protest when the acts were printed in Rome[3]; moreover, quite apart from the expression "rule of faith", the Council demanded complete submission to the Constitution and qualified every opposition to it as a rebellion against which the Bishops were bound to take action. A second edition of the acts of the Council made no change in the expression in question.[4] In the same year the Council of Avignon also described the Constitution as a rule of faith.[5] By the time the Council concluded its work, the decision of the five Cardinals was in Noailles' hands. On July 23rd he replied that he was unable to publish the pastoral letter which had been sent to him from Rome.[6]

The negotiations were nevertheless not yet at an end. The Pope seemed resolved, in dealing with Noailles, to go to the uttermost limits of what was permissible. The draft of a new pastoral letter which Polignac dispatched to Noailles on 29th August, dropped the demand for submission without

[1] *Ibid.*, 339.

[2] Tit. 1, c. 2, in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 346; LAFITAU, II., 223 *seq.* In France the acts of the Council of Rome were confiscated. [CADRY], IV., 480.

[3] SCHILL, 319; FLEURY, LXXII., 5–10.

[4] [CADRY], IV., 602.

[5] *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 479 *seq.*

[6] [CADRY], IV., 405–410; FLEURY, LXXII., 116 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 119, on the proposal for a reconciliation by the Oratorian Girard, July 26, 1725.

addition or distinction hitherto insisted upon, and no longer demanded the publication of the pastoral letter with the submission as a preliminary condition of the approval of the twelve articles. The Inquisition was not to be consulted about the Brief which would be simply addressed to the Dominicans as had been the earlier Brief on efficacious grace.[1] However, Noailles remained unsatisfied; he submitted a fresh draft,[2] one that differed completely from the Roman one and which, in fact, was not presented in Rome.

Meanwhile the Pope's readiness to yield filled a number of people in France with serious misgivings. Polignac was given a commission which had been least expected by those hostile to the Inquisition, namely not to let pass anything in connection with Noailles' affairs which had not been approved by the Inquisition![3] This decision was subsequently altered in the sense that only that was to be accepted which the Pope had decreed together with the Cardinals.[4]

When Noailles' fresh draft of his acceptance of the Constitution became known in France, Cardinals Rohan and Bissy and a little later Cardinal Fleury also, warned Rome of the ambiguity of that document.[5] Noailles, they wrote, proposed a new formula for his acceptance of the Constitution, that is, he was ready to submit to it in the same way as the French clergy. But why a new formula? Its very novelty rendered it suspect. Why was Noailles unwilling to express himself like the others? Why does he not submit like the French clergy? Does that clergy's submission differ from that of the rest of the Catholic world? The Appellants claimed that the French Bishops were not unanimous in

[1] [Cadry], IV., 413

[2] September 17, 1725, *ibid.*, 415.

[3] *Ibid.*, 416.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter to the imperial chancellor Sinzendorf, October 6, 1725, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[5] October 9, 1725 [Cadry], IV., 427–432; Fleury, LXXII., 235 *seq.*; Hardy, 33 *seq.* The letter was printed secretly. [Cadry], IV., 729.

their acceptance of the Bull, hence for that reason alone the new formula was of no use.

The letter of the three Bishops—the "Three Powers" as the expression was—then takes up Noailles' declaration on the subject of his pastoral instruction of 1719. There could be no doubt that that instruction was incompatible with Catholic dogma and the authority of the Church. Could the recantation proposed by Noailles be considered adequate? He merely declared that his thoughts and sentiments were quite alien from whatever might displease the Holy See; should anything of the kind be found in his pastoral instruction, he desired that instruction to be considered as non-existant, if there was in it anything offensive to the Holy See. Now there could be no doubt that there were many things in that instruction at which the Holy See took offence. Hence Noailles must not speak in the conditional but condemn his instruction in simple and direct terms.

As regards the twelve articles, it was a strange request that the Holy See, with a view to an explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus*, should approve articles some of which had nothing whatever to do with that Constitution, or formulated articles of faith which no one impugned, whilst yet others concerned matters of such delicacy that they could not be touched upon without calling forth fresh controversies. The twelve articles had no sooner become known in France than troubles and disputes arose which rendered necessary an ordinance of the Royal Council! Moreover it was dangerous to enter on the path of concessions. The Appellants would feel encouraged to put forward fresh doubts; for ten years already they had done their best to represent the Constitution as equivocal, obscure and as endangering sound doctrine. Should the Pope consent to issue declarations, he would thereby admit that the Bull was in need of explanations, hence also that it was obscure.

The Pope had himself realized that it would be dangerous to issue a formal Bull. On the other hand difficulties would not be removed if the new papal manifesto was given the form of a Brief addressed to the Dominicans. In matters of faith

it was indifferent to whom the decision was addressed. It was accordingly impossible to circumvent consultation with the Cardinals; in any case the Brief would either not be accepted in France or it would be badly complied with. If the Brief were addressed to the Dominicans, the act might be construed as a sort of silent rebuke for other theological schools, since this time there was question of teaching common to all schools. The three prelates conclude with a prayer that every appearance of political huckstering should be avoided; obedience must be sincere and perfect in every respect.

When Polignac laid this new document before the Pope he was given a promise that, in compliance with the King's request, the affair would be examined anew by some of the Cardinals. Accordingly the previously appointed commission met once more, Falconieri taking the place of Pipia who was absent. To them were added the Secretaries of the Congregation of the Council and of Briefs to Princes, Lambertini and Majella, the Master of the Palace, Selleri, the General of the Franciscans Conventual Baldradi, and the Abbot of Montecassino, Porzia, whilst Ansidei, Archbishop of Damietta, acted as Secretary.[1] The discussions opened on January 8th, 1726, and soon took an unfavourable turn for Noailles. His assertion that the Bull *Unigenitus* was being misused in France, was countered by the letter of the "Three Powers", and Noailles' persistent silence when repeatedly challenged to furnish proof of this misuse, could scarcely make a good impression.[2] His case was also grievously damaged by a small publication of the Jesuit De Vitry. How was it possible, so we read there, to give to the Appellants explanations of the Bull, since their heresy consisted precisely in the fact of their demanding such explanations?[3] On top of everything, Rome came to hear of a pastoral letter[4] in which Fénelon's nephew, Beaumont, Bishop of Saintes, severely criticized the twelve articles and the small publication which they had spread

[1] [Cadry], IV., 476.

[2] *Ibid.*, 479.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] November 26, 1725, extract, *ibid.*, 516–19.

as approved by Benedict XIII. Cardinal Paolucci praised the pastoral letter.[1] It was followed by similar pastorals by the Archbishops of Marseilles [2] and Malines [3] and several other Bishops were preparing *mandements* of the same kind or sending drafts of them to Rome.[4]

The Congregation of Cardinals finally declared [5] that the decision of March, 1725, must be upheld. In this way all Noailles' successive steps were declared null and void. Thereupon Polignac secured a mitigation of some of the expressions in the pastoral letter to which the Archbishop was to put his signature,[6] in particular, instead of acceptance of the Constitution "without addition or distinction", acceptance "without limitation or qualification" was now demanded.[7] For the rest, in a letter to the Paris nuncio,[8] Paolucci said that the cardinalitial Congregation would remain adamant in its demands.

Cardinal Polignac was satisfied with these conditions, as was the French court,[9] but not so the jurists and officials whose opinion Noailles had sought. They viewed the draft of the pastoral that had come from Rome as a work of the Inquisition and were appalled that, in opposition to the Gallican liberties, a decree of that body should have force in France.[10] As was to be expected, the consequence was that Noailles refused to sign the draft and laid all the blame for the miscarriage of the compromise on his opponents, as did his adherents. This he did, even before he had in hand the final decision of the Cardinals' Congregation, in a letter to the

[1] Fleury, LXXII., 116.

[2] January 14, 1726 [Cadry], IV., 520–4.

[3] January 20, 1726, *ibid.*, 526.

[4] *Ibid.*, 525; Hardy, 35.

[5] [Cadry], IV., 532; Fleury, LXXII., 236 *seq.*

[6] In the sessions of February 5 and 12, 1726. Ansidei in [Cadry], IV., 533.

[7] "Sans aucune limitation ni relation." *Ibid.*

[8] February 6, 1726, *ibid.*, 553.

[9] Paolucci to the nuncio in Paris; see Ansidei, *loc. cit.*, 538.

[10] *Ibid.*, 558.

Pope overflowing with assurances of his innocence and laments over the wickedness of men.[1] His friends, on the other hand, exercised their ingenuity in finding objections to the demands of the cardinitial Congregation. Noailles, they said had submitted to the Constitution in 1720, "in its true sense," were he to accept it now out of obedience to the Cardinals "without restriction or reference", he would be accepting it without reference to its real sense and without excluding its false interpretation! He was unable to withdraw his pastoral instruction of 1719 since it had only been condemned by a decree of the Inquisition, so that his withdrawal would mean recognition of an authority that was banned in France.[2] The Bishop of Bayeux exhorted his colleague to make it clear to the whole Church, by means of a pastoral, that for the sake of peace and charity he had consented to ask for an explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus* and to concur in the efforts by which it was proposed to restore unity and to safe-guard the honour of the Holy See. Let Noailles repeat his appeal, other Bishops would join him; the names of the Bishops of Auxerre, Blois, Troyes, Rodez were mentioned.[3] The parish priests of the archdiocese came to the assistance of their Archbishop with a declaration against the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Saintes and in defence of the twelve articles; at the beginning of April this manifesto appeared in print.[4] However, the document, which bore the signatures of 163 parish priests and 400 other clergy, met with the displeasure of the Government which had already stated its view on the twelve articles; a decision of the *Conseil* prohibited it on 18th May.[5] For all that fresh negotiations for Noailles' submission were being constantly initiated. This is not surprising. Rome and the Bishops attached to Rome were of opinion that opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus* would be almost completely broken, and not in the archdiocese of

[1] It begins with the words: "Ergone quem amas deseris?" *Ibid.*, 540; FLEURY, LXXII, 239–245.

[2] [CADRY], IV., 554 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 559.

[4] *Ibid.*, 560–3.

[5] *Ibid.*, 577 *seq.*

Paris alone, if they succeeded in winning over the Archbishop. The latter himself felt uneasy in his conscience on account of his obstinate disobedience. Moreover the year 1726 had brought him a fresh embarrassment: 1725 had been kept in Rome as a year of jubilee, with all its rich graces and Indulgences and the Pope had extended the jubilee to the whole of Christendom for the year following; the appellant Bishops, however, had been excepted. In the archdiocese of Paris the Indulgences of the jubilee could not be gained, however much the faithful longed for them, and Noailles felt it greatly that he was to blame for it.[1] The task of finally winning over the Archbishop, who was already wavering, was considered as his particular task by a man who had just then seized the reins of government, for after the fall of the Duke of Bourbon, on June 11th, 1726, André Hercule Fleury was in effect the first minister even though he did not bear the title of one.[2] Noailles promptly got in touch with him through his niece, the Marquise de Grammont, but Fleury insisted, though in the most courteous and gentle terms, on the Archbishop withdrawing his pastoral instruction without any declarations.[3]

In July, 1726, Noailles submitted yet another *mandement*[4] for examination by Rome and this time Benedict XIII. entrusted this task not to a Cardinal, but to a commission of four prelates and four theologians.[5] Now it so happened that

[1] *Ibid.*, 644 *seqq.*, 733 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 273–7. *Cf.* also the three "*Lettere de' zelanti cattolici della Francia scritte alla S. di P. Benedetto, XIII. sopra la dottrina e condotta del sig. card. di Noailles, 1726," in *Cod.*, 14, 1, 14, p. 89 *seqq.* Library of the Frascati Seminary.

[2] HARDY, 36 *seq.*

[3] Letters of June 30 and July 3, 1726, *ibid.*, 41–3.

[4] Extract in [CADRY], IV., 633.

[5] The prelates were: Lambertini, Ansidei, Majella and Fini; the theologians: the Benedictine Abbot of St. Paul, Porzia, the Commissary of the Inquisition, Lucini, the Generals of the Dominicans and the Franciscans Conventual, Ripoll and Baldradi. [CADRY], IV., 635.

previous to this twenty-four Cardinals had lodged a protest against the fact that the Pope had not consulted them, especially in the negotiations with Sardinia and over Noailles.[1] Their being passed over this time also added to their discontent,[2] but in answer to the representations of Cardinal Albani, the Pope stated that he had appointed the commission of prelates for his own benefit, and for his own personal information. On September 21st and 22nd the commission approved the first two articles out of the twelve, but its decision remained without effect because Polignac promptly declared that the French court would only accept decrees of the Congregation for which it had itself prayed. The Pope repeated to Polignac what he had already told Albani, but the meetings of the Congregation were nevertheless put off until October and they were not resumed in the sequel. In December the Pope informed the Cardinal of Paris that he must submit without addition or distinction; in other words he renewed his earlier demands.

For all that yet another *mandement* was being prepared in Paris! In February an extraordinary courier arrived for Polignac, the bearer, it was rumoured, of Cardinal Noailles' definitive compliance with the Roman demands. Now it so happened that precisely at this time Benedict XIII. was unwilling to receive any ambassadors; however, Polignac

[1] It appeared in print: *Mémorial présenté à S. S. Benoist XIII. par les cardinaux soussignés en l'année 1726, ibid.*, 557 *seq.*

[2] *Queda esta corte con summa agitacion por haver mandado el Papa al P. Porcia Benedictino y al P. Graveson que examinasen una carta circular del card. de Noailles sobre la constitucion Unigenitus temiendo de esto que Su Santitad no obstante la justissima oposicion de la congregacion del S. Oficio y sus representaciones, que se le tienen hecho contra las malsonantes pretensiones del referido card. de Noailles y sus parciales, resuelva tan delicado punto sin intervencion de la expresada congregacion, lo qual si sucediesse, seria de considerable escandalo a toda la christianidad, y de summo perjuicio a la iglesia universal. Bentivoglio to the Marquis de la Paz, December 7, 1726, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* [CADRY], IV., 635 *seq.*

insisted so much on the necessity for him to see the Pope at any price, that the latter heard him, half sitting, half standing, in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of St. Peter's. Noailles, so it was rumoured in Rome, had at last really submitted and executed all that was asked of him.[1] In Paris also everybody in January, 1727, awaited the pastoral letter announcing Noailles' submission.[2]

As a matter of fact at the end of November, 1726, Fleury had entered into negotiations with Noailles, with a view to a compromise and numerous discussions had taken place in the Archbishop's palace and at Fleury's house for the purpose of bringing matters to a head.[3] A royal letter requested the Pope to compel Noailles, the Benedictines, the Genovefans and the Oratorians to accept the Bull, promising that after an interval of two months the Government would lend support to the measures taken by the Pope.[4] The Jansenist clergy began to feel anxious about the constancy of its leader; accordingly at Christmas seven parish priests of Paris,[5] and at the beginning of February another thirty, made representations to their ordinary which they further substantiated in a

[1] "*A esta corte llegò al card. Polignac un extraordinario de Paris sobre la importantissima materia de la constitucion Unigenitus y se dice sea la aceptacion de ella arreglada al proyecto que de aqui se le embio al card. de Noailles rechazandole al mismo tiempo diversos temperamentos que este purpurado propuso para ella; el referido card. de Polignac despues del arrivo de dicho correo hizo tanto rumor en protestarse tener precisa necesidad de hablar al Papa que ultimamente enfadado S. Santidad sin embargo de no querer oir absolutamente ningun ministro medio sentado y medio en pie oyò a este en la capilla del Sacramento de la iglesia de S. Pedro y se espera que esta ultima aceptacion del card. de Noailles que se vocifera sea verdadera y la que se deseaba, sobre cuyo particular procurarè informarme." Bentivoglio to De la Paz, February 22, 1727, *Corresp.*, p. 253, Simancas Archives.

[2] [CADRY], IV., 682.

[3] *Ibid.*, 676 *seqq.*, 679, 693. Draft of the *mandement* that ought to satisfy Rome, *ibid.*, 680. *Cf.* HARDY, 50–6.

[4] HARDY, 45. [5] [CADRY], IV., 678; [NIVELLE], I., 584.

memorial.[1] The tone of these documents was exactly the same as that of Noailles' letter to Rome: they began with protestations of deepest regard, after which they announced that he would not be followed should he submit and demand submission from his priests, and as the Archbishop had behaved towards the Pope, and the priests towards their Bishop, so would the laity act towards the clergy: the memorial of the thirty priests states that people of every condition and sex came to them, declaring that they would immediately leave the church if the acceptance of the Bull was announced there. Thus there was rebellion on all sides and all the bonds of ecclesiastical obedience seemed to dissolve.

Even before the opening of the discussions with Fleury, Noailles had drawn up an account of the interrupted negotiations with Rome, in order to justify his conduct. The document is dated September 16th, 1726,[2] and in April of the following year it appeared in print without, it was said, the concurrence of the Archbishop.[3] Rome put it on the Index of forbidden books [4] and published another account of the negotiations written by Ansidei.[5] Thus for the moment relations with Rome were rendered impossible. Moreover Noailles was taken very seriously ill and for a whole year he was almost completely incapable of any mental application. In the course of his illness the representations of the thirty city parish priests received the approval of their colleagues in the country [6]; on the other hand, by a decree of the *Conseil* of June 14th, 1727, the Government proceeded against the thirty, whereupon the parish priests made representations to

[1] [Cadry], IV., 683; [Nivelle], I., 585–592; Fleury, LXXII., 429 *seq.*; 426–8.

[2] [Cadry], IV., 531; Hardy, 57 *seqq.* Polignac was greatly distressed by it and thought of writing a personal apology; see *Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial chancellor Sinzendorf, May 31, 1727, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 776.

[4] September 20, 1727, *ibid.*, 777.

[5] *Ibid.*, 777 *seq.*

[6] June 7, 1727, *ibid.*, 781; [Nivelle], I., 592.

the King, only to draw on themselves a rebuke by the Council of State.[1]

(3.)

Whilst negotiations with Noailles were pending, the French Government had had to occupy itself in other ways also with the Jansenist disputes. The Regent Philip of Orleans had died in 1723, but his death brought about no substantial change in the religious policy of the Government. His successor, the no less dissolute but much less able Duke Louis of Bourbon-Condé also opposed the innovators, not indeed from any religious motives, but for the sake of peace.[2]

The first Jansenist Bishop to come into collision with the Duke was François Armand of Lorraine, Bishop of Bayeux. In spite of his noble lineage, Lorraine had been debarred from the episcopal dignity by Louis XIV. and then for a whole year by the Pope after the Regent had named him for Bayeux in 1718.[3] That he really advocated Jansenist opinions was seen soon after his entry upon office. The Jesuit De Gennes, who was engaged in a dispute with the professors of theology of the University of Caen, appealed to Lorraine [4] and requested him to take steps against various errors, this being his duty as a Bishop. The Bishop, in fact, did take action,[5] but in such a way that the Inquisition prohibited his *mandement*.[6] With the publication, in 1727, of another ordinance against divers small publications,[7] in which he attacked the Bull

[1] HARDY, 60 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], I., 592–5; PATOUILLET, III., 450 *seqq.*

[2] SCHILL, 220.

[3] JEAN, 347.

[4] March 28, 1721, [CADRY], III., 44. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 1315; FLEURY, LXXI., 583, 585.

[5] January 5, 1722 [CADRY], III., 46 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., i, 686 *seqq.*

[6] July 14, 1723; see REUSCH, *Index.*, II., 741. *Cf.* above, p. 205.

[7] July 17, 1724, [CADRY], IV., 69 *seq.*

Unigenitus and the compromise of 1720, Lorraine challenged the Government also, with the result that an ordinance [1] prohibited not only the pamphlets attacked by Lorraine, but likewise the episcopal manifesto on the subject. In October, 1725, the Assembly of the Clergy also dealt with Lorraine's ordinance of 1722; it was resolved to request the Government to allow the holding of a Provincial Council for the purpose of condemning the Bishop of Bayeux.[2]

Lorraine did not suffer these attacks in silence. Together with the Bishops of Auxerre and Rodez he appealed to Benedict XIII. against the decree of the Inquisition.[3] To the King he made lengthy representations on the subject of the prohibition, by the Government, of his second *mandement*. As that prohibition had faced him with the compromise of 1720, he impugned its validity on the plea that the requisite conditions had not been observed.[4] His protest against the decree of the Assembly of the Clergy was rejected by that body [5]; he accordingly defended himself in a detailed pastoral instruction addressed to his diocese [6] and forwarded his protest to the Duke to whom he represented that the root of the religious troubles lay in the fact that the Bull *Unigenitus* was considered as a law both of the State and of the Church.[7] Bourbon replied that he was not a theologian, but this much he knew, viz. that with few exceptions, all the Bishops accepted the Bull. Thereupon Lorraine sought to produce evidence that it had not been accepted unanimously.[8] Bourbon had not been content to reply with the pen only; decrees of

[1] September 4, 1724, *ibid.*, 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

[3] Reusch, *Index*, II., 742.

[4] [Cadry], IV., 74–8; [Nivelle], II., 1, 699–706.

[5] [Cadry], IV., 444 *seq.*

[6] October 25, 1725, *ibid.*, 445; [Nivelle], II., 1, 690–3.

[7] [Cadry], IV., 568.

[8] Lorraine's letters of April 5 and 22, 1726, and that of Bourbon, of April 9 in [Cadry], IV., 568 *seq.* Nivelle (II., 1, 706 *seq.*), is mistaken in putting the correspondence in August.

banishment against Lorraine's adherents were dispatched to Caen and Bayeux.[1] But this was not warning enough for the incautious Bishop of Bayeux; in a pastoral letter of January 15th, 1727, he declared that a General Council was necessary and defended the twelve articles.[2] Several parish priests now pronounced against their Bishop and at the instigation of the Government the pastoral letter was suppressed by the Parliament of Rouen.[3]

Lorraine had defended the Appellants and their right to appeal, though he himself was not of their number, on the contrary, in 1720 he had accepted the compromise the validity of which he later on impugned. Colbert of Croissy, Bishop of Montpellier, who had always been in the front line of the Appellants, asserted himself even more loudly though with much less skill. When in 1722 the Government demanded a fresh subscription to the formula, Colbert provided it with an introduction in which he declared that the signature was only given with the distinction of right and fact in the sense of the Clementine Peace.[4] However, the Government insisted on a signature without any such declaration[5] and on March 11th, 1723, it ordained that if it should become necessary, the subscription might be executed in presence of the Archbishop of Narbonne, Colbert's metropolitan.[6] Owing to the negligence of the Intendant of Languedoc this

[1] [Cadry], IV., 74, 569.

[2] *Ibid.*, 699–701; [Nivelle], II., 1, 708–715.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 784 *seq.* Bishop De Caylus, of Auxerre, also came in conflict with the Government. He had censured some propositions of the Jesuit Le Moine; a correspondence followed between the Jesuits and the Bishop in which the Duke of Bourbon and Fleury intervened. A pastoral instruction of the Bishop was confiscated, but it got into print in a roundabout way (*cf. ibid.*, 315, 505, 620, 745 *seqq.*; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, II., 141, V., 1356). That the instruction savoured of Jansenism appears from the extract in the *Mémoires* of Trévoux, 1727, 1553–1557.

[4] [Cadry], III., sect. 5, p. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, sect. 6, p. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, sect. 8, p. 51.

decree was only put into execution on February 26th, 1724. The majority of the clergy subscribed whilst three Canons who proved recalcitrant, lost their positions.[1] In a letter to the King [2] and another to his diocese,[3] Colbert sought to justify his introduction to the formula with a claim that it was in agreement with the Clementine Peace. Colbert's temerity earned for him the praise and approval of persons in the highest quarters, but a governmental decree of September 21st, 1724, declared that not only was subscription to the formula demanded by a Brief of Alexander VII., but that in addition to this a supplementary royal ordinance decreed the sequestration of the revenues of such Bishops as refused to sign. Colbert was liable to this penalty; the Intendant of Languedoc was to see to it that the Bishop's revenues were administered for the benefit of the poor.[4] This sentence, together with a warning to vigilance in procuring the signature of the formula, was forwarded to all the Bishops, Universities and Cathedral Chapters and for the most part it met with willing compliance.[5] After some delay it was carried into effect in regard to Colbert; the Bishop was accordingly compelled to reduce his household expenses for now he only retained the benefices which he possessed outside his diocese.[6] He now appealed to the Pope himself.[7] He began by extolling the merits of Benedict XIII. and those acts of the Pontiff which were interpreted as opposed to the Bull *Unigenitus*. His election was a manifest proof of divine omnipotence; scarcely had he been raised to Peter's throne when, in the Jubilee Bull, he had spoken of the irresistibility of the Divine Will, and shortly after, to the delight of some and the despair of others, of efficacious grace. Let the Pope

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 11 *seqq.*

[2] May 2, 1724 (64 pages in 4°), *ibid.*, 15–19; [Nivelle], II., 1, 293–315.

[3] June 4, 1724 (69 pages in 4°) [Cadry], IV., 19–21.

[4] *Ibid.*, 107–111.

[5] *Ibid.*, 112 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 111.

[7] February 1, 1725, *ibid.*, 231–4; [Nivelle], II., 1, 284–291.

finish what he had begun. The Bishop then recounts all the encroachments which the French Government had committed against the Bishops and against himself in particular. As a matter of fact in November, 1724, the court had excluded him from the meeting of the States of Languedoc and had forbidden both him and the Jansenist Bishop of Pamiers to take part in the election of the delegates to the Assembly of the Clergy.[1] The Bishops, who had come together for this election, thereupon deliberated whether they should ask for a Provincial Council against Colbert. As soon as the hot-blooded man heard of it, he raised a protest in a circular letter addressed to all the Bishops of France.[2] His letter was printed in July; in November it was prohibited by the State. In Paris it had been the talk of the town. As if he had not already sufficiently proclaimed his Jansenism, Colbert extolled Pavillon as the model and the father of the French Bishops, as the peculiar glory of the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne, as the saintly and magnanimous champion of truth. In like manner the gentlemen of Port-Royal also obtained their meed of praise: "Who has rendered better service to Church and State than those famous men whom it is intended to represent as the enemies of both?" They have helped to win for France that superiority which raises her above other nations; they constituted a seminary of heroes whom God raised in order to cleanse the temple and the sanctuary and to cause Israel to flourish anew. There are no Jansenists for no one defends the five propositions and who are they who are listened to against the alleged Jansenists? They are people who have been induced to propound throughout the world principles and moral teaching so corrupt that the very pagans would blush thereat.[3] Colbert's writings abound in such sallies against the Jesuits.

Two letters to colleagues written at this period[4] give us further insight into the state of mind into which the Bishop

[1] [Cadry], IV., 183.

[2] May 2, 1725, *ibid.*, 334–9; [Nivelle], II., 1, 344–9.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 336 *seq.*

[4] June 20 and August 25, 1725, *ibid.*, 381–6.

had worked himself. "Above all, no compromise! No concessions!" is the gist of them. However much they might deplore the statement of the Roman Council on the Bull *Unigenitus* as a rule of faith, he nevertheless rejoiced thereat, inasmuch as it was bound to defeat every attempt at a compromise. Even with the twelve articles the Bull was unacceptable; the Pope was sure to withdraw it; God's omnipotence guaranteed it; already the Pope had defended efficacious grace, whilst miracles went to show that God was with the Appellants. "So long as every disguise, all secrecy, all lies, are an abomination to us, so long are we invincible, but as soon as we begin to call good evil and evil good, we are lost beyond redemption. I doubt not, and hold it as certain that the day will come when the Bull will be generally scorned and rejected by the Church. I believe that that day will come as firmly as if I already saw it before my eyes."

Meanwhile the Assembly of the Clergy had come together on May 30th, 1725. In his inaugural speech the Bishop of Angers turned sharply upon the Appellants, whilst the Bishop of Toulouse did so in the address to the King.[1] A special commission was set up for the examination of doctrine. On its proposal the Assembly resolved to pray the King for a Provincial Council for the purpose of condemning the Bishops of Montpellier and Bayeux.[2] However, the Assembly had to break up without having done anything. It refused to grant to the Government a fresh heavy tax, namely one-fiftieth on Church property. Thereupon the Duke of Bourbon's anger, which the Appellants had had to feel until then, burst upon the Bishops who were true to the Church. Bourbon dissolved the Assembly on 20th October. He allowed it to sit till the 28th, but on 9th November Maurepas arrived in Paris, entered the Archives of the Assembly and cancelled all the discussions which referred to the fiftieth or which had taken place after 20th October.[3] A letter from the pen of Languet, in which the Bishops laid the situation of the

[1] [Cadry], IV., 337 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 442, 443.

[3] *Ibid.*, 448–455.

Church before the King,[1] nevertheless appeared in print after the termination of the Assembly, but the Parliament of Paris suppressed it.[2] The bitter remarks which the Advocate-General passed on the letter on that occasion were greatly surpassed by the Procurator-General of the Parliament of Rennes when that body likewise prohibited the letter.[3] However, the Procurator-General's invectives were so offensive for the Bishops that the Royal Council suppressed his speech and administered a personal rebuke to him.[4] The speech of the Advocate-General in the Paris Parliament hinted at a wish to see the twelve articles approved; Noailles accordingly made haste to forward them to the Pope.[5]

It goes without saying that Colbert did not accept in silence the judgment pronounced upon him by the French Clergy. However, the pastoral letter [6] in which he informed the diocese of Montpellier of his protest against the Assembly of the French Clergy, was prohibited by the State,[7] together with another pastoral letter [8] in which he sought to exploit an alleged miracle as God's witness in favour of the Appellants. In spite of everything Colbert soon reappeared in the field to defend the twelve articles and to attack, in his usual style, their opponent, the Bishop of Saintes. In his eyes "the pastoral letter of Saintes is a fresh scandal, which one finds it difficult to believe, even when it is impossible to doubt it". In it the most ordinary Christian truths were trampled under foot. "Will it be believed at last," he exclaims, "that there is a conspiracy on foot which aims at eliminating the

[1] *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

[2] January 10, 1726, *ibid.*, 487 *seq.*, 509.

[3] February 27, 1726, *ibid.*, 511.

[4] May 4, 1726, *ibid.*, 575 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 489. A correspondence between the Jansenist Bishops and Bourbon on the occasion of the general assembly in CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 26 *seq.*

[6] December 1, 1725 [CADRY], IV., 472 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., 1, 349–352.

[7] April 15, 1726 [CADRY], IV., 565.

[8] October 20, 1725, *ibid.*, 470.

most solid truths of faith and morals? How often have we not drawn attention to it! This criminal purpose is now unveiled before the whole world." [1]

(4.)

No Provincial Council took place against Colbert; on the other hand such an assembly was convened against another prelate, less noisily self-assertive than the Bishop of Montpellier, but reputed the real saint of the party, viz. Jean Soanen. Born at Riom in 1647, Soanen had entered the Oratory as a young man in 1661 when Quesnel became his spiritual guide. On the completion of his studies he became an appreciated preacher, even before the court and the Assembly of the Clergy. At that time he employed his oratorial gifts in combatting Jansenism.[2] It was undoubtedly his ability as an orator that led to his elevation to the see of Senez. Quesnel took it in very bad part that he did not refuse the mitre. "Soanen," he wrote, "is a little diplomatist whose head has been turned by a desire to make a name for himself. I was his best friend but I think that that is all over now!" [3]

In spite of his preaching against Jansenism, Soanen stuck to his former spiritual director. Even after the Bull *Unigenitus* Quesnel remained in his opinion "an innocent man whom the Jesuits wish to stone and to turn into a heretic against his will, because he has uttered too many truths". In the same way the "*Moral Reflections*" remained for him "a book full of piety, which during thirty years has led to a vast number of conversions and has produced in myself, as in a thousand others, two great effects, viz. that of filling the heart with sorrow for one's wretchedness and with courage to do one's duty".[4]

[1] Pastoral instruction of May 19, 1726, *ibid.*, 616.

[2] JEAN, 200.

[3] LE ROY, *La France et Rome*, 504, n. 2.

[4] Soanen to Noailles [NIVELLE], II., 1, 35.

Soanen stuck to Quesnel even after the papal decision against the latter, hence the Bull *Unigenitus* gave a new turn to his life at a time when he had reached his sixty-sixth year. It was he who, in 1717, instigated the appeal to the General Council and up to the time of his death, in his ninety-fourth year, he displayed the greatest zeal for Quesnel and against the Bull. When the Inquisition condemned his appeal, he convened a synod against the Inquisition. When Clement XI. published the Bull *Pastoralis*, Soanen appealed once more; when the compromise of 1720 came about he appealed again; when Clement XI. died, he instructed his successor, in the letter of the seven Bishops, about the Bull and on the means of getting it out of the way. When the *Conseil* prohibited the letter of the seven, he offered advice to the *Conseil*. In this spirit he replied to De Bissy's pastoral instruction; jointly with De Langle he admonished the newly elected Benedict XIII. not to suffer Molina to triumph over St. Augustine and St. Thomas and a medley of all sorts of corrupt opinions and a sacrilegious mixture of true religion and idolatry to take the place of the religion of Christ.[1]

It was amid such effusions and manifestos, in which the eloquence of the aged author is still perceptible, that Soanen attained his eighty-first year, in fact it was even rumoured that he was dead. Foreseeing that, in effect, his end could not be very far off, Soanen, on August 21st, 1726, took occasion of the rumour to leave his diocese a kind of spiritual testament with his supreme admonitions. As the farewell speech of a dying man, as the last blessing of a Bishop, the document is sufficiently curious. It is a polemical pamphlet of portentous length,[2] born of a fighting spirit and spending itself in fighting. In the very first sentence he speaks of the conflicts of the times on which, he declares, he had sufficiently spoken in the past, on which, however, he could not be silent, and that for six reasons which he develops at length. Even in the introduction Soanen deals hard blows to his opponents:

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, XII.–XV., 30–57.

[2] Two dozen folio pages, in [Nivelle], II., 1, 87–100. Extract in [Cadry], IV., 693–9.

a certain professor of theology—a note carefully gives his name—has taught this and that, for which reason his Archbishop—the Archbishop of Rheims—defends him; when French Bishops condemn false doctrines they are opposed by the Inquisition.[1] Moreover Soanen invariably represents the opponents whom he combats as wicked men; according to him there exists a conspiracy for the purpose of robbing the Church of its most sacred and venerable possession[2]: for several years efforts have been made to infect France, and though the first attempts did not lead to the desired end, evil men pursue their purpose with greater zeal than ever and cherish the hope to see its speedy fulfilment.[3]

After this introduction Soanen casts a retrospective glance at the history of the Bull *Unigenitus* and the subscription to the formula and endeavours to justify every one of his own acts.[4] He then proceeds to defend at great length the twelve articles.[5] He declares himself expressly in favour of Quesnel's book and the 101 condemned propositions extracted from it and condemns the Bull *Unigenitus*.[6] In like manner, in his opinion, subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula was enforced for the sole purpose of provoking fresh troubles.[7] In this concluding part of his farewell letter

[1] [Nivelle], II., 1, 88, n. III.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. II.

[3] *Ibid.*, 89, n. IV.

[4] *Ibid.*, 90 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 96–108.

[6] "Nous [Soanen in 1714] fûmes persuadés après de sérieuses réflexions, que le livre [Quesnel's] ne méritoit pas plus d'être proscrit que les 101 propositions qui en ont été extraites. Aussi lorsque nous fûmes de retour dans ce diocèse, bien loin de faire ancune démarche pour le condamner, nous en fîmes l'éloge en mille occasion..." (*ibid.*, 90, n. II.). He was convinced, "qu'avec quelque correctif que la constitution pût nous être proposée, nous ne pouvions jamais l'accepter" (*ibid.*, 91).

[7] "Les ennemis de la paix... imaginèrent en 1722 un autre expédient pour exciter de nouveaux troubles" (*ibid.*, 93, II.[3] Partie). By demanding the formula they had "cherché de dessein prémédité à aigrir et à multiplier les maux de l'Église. Tel est en effet l'usage qu'on fait des nouveaux ordres du Roi... dans la seule vue de vexer les appellants" (*ibid.*, 94).

Soanen also attacks a number of opponents: Cardinals Sfondrati and De Bissy, the Bishops of Soissons and Saintes and half a dozen Jesuits, "the scandalous teaching of one Antoine Sirmond and the infamous Amadeus Guimenius,"[1] and the casuists in general, whose teaching was worse than that of the pagan philosophers.[2] Apart from his pastoral Soanen had also given scandal by illegally ordaining twelve clerics for the schismatical church of Utrecht.[3] In these circumstances it was impossible to wait for the death of the octogenarian yet it was necessary to tie his hands as soon as possible. The occasion seemed propitious. In mid-June, 1726, the Duke of Bourbon was sent into banishment; sixteen-year-old Louis XV. now announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands. However, this did not happen: in the place of the youthful, indolent prince, the destinies of France were guided by his tutor, seventy-three-year-old Hercule André de Fleury, at one time Bishop of Fréjus and a Cardinal since 1926. Fleury was not only a gifted statesman but also a man of a truly ecclesiastical character. Were it only to restore peace to the distracted realm, he sought to put an end to the religious disputes, and that on the basis of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The favourable occasion of obtaining a Provincial Council against Soanen[4] was taken advantage of by his Metropolitan, Pierre Guérin de Tencin, recently appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Embrun. Guérin had gone to Rome with Cardinal de Bissy in 1721; after the conclave he remained in Rome as French *chargé d'affaires* and at the beginning of July, 1724, Benedict XIII. himself gave him episcopal consecration on his appointment to the archiepiscopal see

[1] *Ibid.*, 102, n. IX.

[2] *Ibid.*, 107, n. XIX.

[3] FLEURY, LXXI., 172 *seq.*

[4] The acts of the Council in Coll. Lacensis, I., 615–742. *Cf.* SCHILL, 224–233. The documents also in [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 1 *seqq.*, and II., 1, 87 *seqq.* *Cf.* P. A. KIRSCH, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXVII. (1907), 3–24, and especially J. CARREYRE in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1929, 47 *seqq.*, 318 *seqq.*

of the little Alpine town of Embrun.[1] In the letter by which he convened the Bishops for August 16th, 1727, the Archbishop was able to appeal to the royal permission.[2] The real object of the Council, the trial of Soanen, is only lightly hinted at in that letter, and even more lightly in another letter inviting Deans, Chapters, Abbots, etc. The Pope had been informed of the intention of holding the Council; he approved it in a letter to Cardinal Lercari.[3] It goes without saying that Soanen nevertheless realized what was toward. He accordingly asked the advocates of the Paris Parliament what he should do if he himself or his instruction were denounced to the Council. No less than twenty advocates signed a memorial[4] stating that Soanen could not be interfered with by the synod seeing that he had appealed to a General Council; this recourse to a higher tribunal bound the hand of the lesser authority; now, according to the Gallican right the Council was above the Pope. The Government's declaration of 1720 had indeed pronounced the appeals null and void and forbidden them for the future, but for a number of reasons the appeal could still be considered valid. If he were summoned to appear before the Council, Soanen should renew his appeal to the General Council as well as to the Parliament of Paris on account of abuse of power.

If further proof were needed that the Gallican liberties meant the abolition of all ecclesiastical discipline, this Paris decision furnished it. Every step of every ecclesiastical authority could be stultified in France by a simple appeal

[1] JEAN, 188; CH. DE COYNART, *Les Guérin de Tencin*, 1520–1758, Paris, 1910; M. BOUTRY, *Intrigues et mission du card. de Tencin*, Paris, 1902, 62–122.

[2] Tencin's letter of June 15, 1727, in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 617, his petition to the King for a Council, April 5, 1727, the royal permission to Tencin and the letter to the Suffragan Bishops, May 24, *ibid.*, 732. Tencin had obtained the permission personally in Paris; on his return journey he issued the convocation in Grenoble. [CADRY], IV., 811.

[3] July 23, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 734.

[4] July 1, 1727, in [NIVELLE], I., 2, 2–6; [CADRY], IV., 858 *seq.*

to a General Council, and that by an appeal which could scarcely be meant seriously, for Soanen was fully aware that at a General Council the Church would pronounce for the Bull *Unigenitus* in the same way as she had done without a Council. For all that several Doctors of the Sorbonne issued a memorial [1] on the same lines as that of the advocates and a number of priests subscribed to various memorials and protests in favour of the Bishop of Senez and against the forthcoming meeting of the Bishops.[2]

Soanen decided to attend the Council in person though his great age would have been sufficient excuse, but whilst on the way thither he stated, in the small town of Savine, before a notary and witnesses, that in view of his appeal to the General Council he did not acknowledge the assembly of Bishops as competent to judge his person or his writings.[3] The Bishops of the province who appeared at Embrun were, besides Soanen, the Bishops of Vence, Glandève and Grasse; the ailing Bishop of Digne sent a deputy [4] whilst the Bishop of Nice was only consecrated during the Council.[5]

In its second plenary assembly the Council took up the affair of the Bishop of Senez. A proposal was made [6] that Soanen should be asked whether he stood by his pastoral letter; that document should be condemned because of its outbursts against Alexander VII.'s formula and because it commended the condemned book of Quesnel.[7] The quite

[1] July 20, 1727 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 6 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 10–24.

[3] August 11, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 646 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], I., 2, 7–9; II., 1, 111–13. On August 23 he informed the King of the steps he had taken. [NIVELLE], II., 1, 114.

[4] *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 637.

[5] September 21, 1727, *ibid.*, 695. He was a subject of the King of Sardinia, who on July 9 had given him permission to attend the council. *Ibid.*, 732.

[6] *Ibid.*, 643.

[7] "Eo scripto continentur monstruosa, ut ita dicam, errorum semina, principia seditionem concitantia, errores ipsi capitales, non semel damnati nec uno Ecclesiae anathemate perculsi." *Ibid.*, 644 d.

unknown theologians whom Soanen had brought along with him, were not allowed to defend him. Thereupon Soanen, who had unhesitatingly declared that he stood by his pastoral letter, acted on the advice of the Paris advocates: he demanded judgment on the notary's deed in which he had denied the competence of the synod. His request was acceded to, but his objections against the competence of the synod were rejected as without foundation.[1] The accused then sought to decline his judges—the Archbishop, on the plea that in the course of a trial he had been accused, at one time, of simony, of which he had never been declared innocent, the other Bishops, because they had spoken of him in a manner which betrayed their partiality. Tencin thereupon submitted documentary evidence in his defence and as a proof that he had not been accused of simony; the Council also refused to acknowledge the objections to the other Bishops as valid in law.[2]

Thereupon the accusation was repeated; it was also decided to summon the Bishops of the neighbouring provinces of Aix, Arles, Vienne, Lyons and Besançon.[3] In this measure some allowance for the Gallican opinion that a Bishop could only be judged by twelve episcopal colleagues is unmistakable.[4] Whilst awaiting their arrival, the Council discussed the questions which were to constitute the substance of its decisions on dogma or Canon Law [5] and which were made generally known in the five public sessions of the Council. Meanwhile Soanen renewed his protest against the competence of the Council, but the assembled Bishops merely put the document among the acts.[6] In a circular letter he also

[1] *Ibid.*, 645–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 650–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 659.

[4] *Cf.* the present work, XXX., 292; XXXI., 243 *seqq.*

[5] Printed in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 621–634.

[6] *Ibid.*, 661, 664. Text of the protests in [Nivelle], II., 1, 118. *Ibid.*, 120. Soanen's complaint that he had been excluded from the "Te Deum" for the delivery of the queen. The reply of the Bishops in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 672.

protested to his fellow Bishops[1] and a little later even to the King.[2] The following Bishops from outside the province were present at the third session,[3] viz. those of Gap, Marseilles, Belley, Fréjus, Sisteron, Autun, Viviers, Apt, Valence and Grenoble. Proceedings against Soanen were now resumed. Three times he was cited and three times he refused to appear in person.[4] But not long after the last citation he attended the conciliar assembly, but only to read the fresh appeal to the Pope and the General Council which he and Colbert of Montpellier had already interposed in June and July.[5] In the evening of the same day he brought forward objections against seven out of the ten newly arrived Bishops and refused each of them individually as his judge.[6] The Assembly declared these objections to be groundless; moreover they came too late for as soon as the outsiders had arrived, Soanen had been asked whether he was content to have them for his judges and he had kept silence.[7] After the Bishops of Grasse and Glandève had given a detailed report on Soanen's pastoral instruction and other matters concerning him,[8] the accused was thrice admonished to condemn his pastoral instruction; after that there followed the Council's sentence on him.[9] That document condemned the pastoral instruction as rash, scandalous and seditious, offensive towards the Church, the Bishops and the royal authority, filled with a heretical spirit and teeming with errors and favouring heresy. The author was forbidden to exercise the episcopal

[1] August 27, 1727 [Nivelle], I., *Appendix*, 29 *seqq.*; letter to the Bishop of Riez, August 18, *ibid.*, 27 *seq.*

[2] September 10, 1727, *ibid.*, 26 *seq.*

[3] September 8, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 667. Of those that were invited five did not appear (*ibid.*, 660).

[4] *Ibid.*, 674 *seq.*

[5] [Nivelle], II., 1, 125–131.

[6] *Ibid.*, 122, incomplete in *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 680 *seq.*

[7] *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 678–682.

[8] *Ibid.*, 707–711, 711–15; *cf.* 673 *seq.*, 683 *seq.*

[9] September 20, 1727, *ibid.*, 690–4. On 15th and 19th Soanen had again protested. [Nivelle], II., 1, 132–5, 136 *seq.*

office and jurisdiction and every episcopal and priestly function, until he should have withdrawn his instruction. In view of the fact of his being particularly odious to the condemned prelate, Bishop Belsunce of Marseilles had asked to be allowed to abstain from the sentence of condemnation; after some hesitation his request was granted.[1] Soanen did not fail to protest against the judgment.[2]

In the last general session,[3] on the report of the Bishop of Marseilles,[4] the Council condemned two dissertations by Le Courayer, a Canon Regular of the Congregation of St. Genovefa. With a view to paving the way for reunion with the Anglicans, Le Courayer had defended the validity of Anglican Orders, and in so doing had denied a whole series of dogmas of the Catholic Church, especially such as bore on the Eucharist. His writings created a sensation and met with both approval and reprobation. Belsunce published a pastoral letter against him [5] and shortly before the Council of Embrun he had also been condemned by an assembly of Bishops presided over by De Bissy.[6] During three whole years Noailles had allowed Le Courayer to say Mass publicly, day after day, in spite of his views on the Eucharist. So as not to lag behind De Bissy, he too now published a sentence of condemnation, bearing an earlier date than De Bissy's sentence, thus saving at least the appearance of zeal.[7] Benedict XIII. likewise condemned Le Courayer's writings.[8]

At the request of the Assembly of Embrun,[9] Benedict XIII. confirmed the decrees.[10] Previously to this [11] he had given

[1] *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 687; *cf.* 695.

[2] [Nivelle], II., 1, 150–3.

[3] September 26, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 698 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 715–724. [5] [Cadry], IV., 790 *seqq.*

[6] Picot, II., 208–215; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III².,1162 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXII., 518.

[7] Fleury, LXXII, 516 *seqq.*

[8] June 25, 1728, *Bull.*, XXII., 665.

[9] September 27, 1727, *Coll. Lacensis*, I., 702 *seq.*

[10] December 17, 1727, *ibid.*, 727.

[11] July 31, *ibid.*, 684 *seq.*

permission for the consecration of the Bishop of Nice at the Council and both on this occasion, as well as at a later date,[1] he had praised the holding of the episcopal meeting.

Soanen's behaviour at the Council was not calculated to create an impression favourable to himself. His position was exactly similar to that of the Bishop of Montpellier. In the latter's case he had recognized, and that in his pastoral instruction, the competence of a Provincial Council[2]; how then could he refuse to acknowledge its judicial power in his own? But once he had taken up such an attitude, it was necessary for him to maintain it and not to reject the tribunal, on the ground of the unworthiness of individual judges, for by so doing he acknowledged its competence in general. Moreover, though he had solemnly proclaimed the unworthiness of his first judges, when challenged to substantiate his assertions, he had remained silent, thereby confessing his inability to do so, and he only objected to seven of the Bishops of other Provinces after the expiration of the legal time limit. With regard to Tencin, he admitted that most of the documents published under his name were not from his pen.[3] In a word, throughout the proceedings he does not give the impression of outstanding capacity but rather of self-opinionatedness and obstinacy.

Throughout the proceedings the Council had carefully refrained from pronouncing upon, or setting itself at variance with, the Gallican views on the superiority of a General Council over the Pope and the lawfulness of an appeal to a General Council. The papal approval of the Council does not refer

[1] August 26 and October 25, 1727, *ibid.*, 735.

[2] "Il faudroit donc an moins qu'en ce cas le procès fût fait à un évêque par le concile de la province, qui seul a droit de le juger en première instance lorsqu'il s'agit de la doctrine." [NIVELLE], II., 1, 95.

[3] *Coll. Lacensis.*, I., 728 c.: "Je sçai par vôtre propre aveu, que la plupart des actes qui ont parû sous votre nom, Monseigneur, n'étoient pas de vous, et que le plus souvent vous n'y aviez d'autre part que la complaisance de les avoir signés ou de les avoir adoptés."

to this attitude [1]; it only refers to its decrees and the decision concerning Soanen. The Bishops likewise carefully avoided pronouncing an explicit sentence of deposition against Soanen, for according to the decrees of Trent this was the prerogative of the Pope; they merely spoke of the suspension of the Bishop of Senez.[2]

The King confirmed the sentence of the Council and confined the obstinate Bishop within the Benedictine Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu, in the diocese of Clermont. He was eighty-three years old but lived to be ninety-three, an object of constant anxiety for the Bishop of the diocese, the celebrated Massillon.[3]

It was to be expected that the synod would meet with opposition. Even before its conclusion Colbert of Montpellier sought to induce the episcopate to intervene with the King and Fleury in favour of Soanen.[4] The Bishop of Castres took similar steps and in so doing described Soanen as the Chrysostom of the age.[5] A little later [6] twelve Bishops, headed by Noailles,[7] presented to the King a memorial in favour

[1] To the King, on April 15, 1728, *Epist. ad princ.*, IV.–V., 327, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. Coll. Lacensis*, I., 635.

[2] According to [CADRY], IV., 865, the Pope gave his consent for the holding of the Council of Embrun on condition that no attempt was made to depose Soanen: "Nous avons vu qu'en l'année 1726 lorsqu'on parloit beaucoup du concile de Narbonne contre M. de Montpellier les lettres de Rome portoient que cette cour y consentiroit, pourvu que le concile ne procédât point jusqu'à la déposition ou privation: Ce fut sur le même pied qu'elle consentit à la tenue du concile d'Embrun... C'est la vraie raison pour laquelle nous verrons que le concile d'Embrun s'est borné à interdire M. de Senez et à le priver de sa jurisdiction, sans l'excommunier, ni le déposer, ni le priver de son titre." *Cf. Coll. Lacensis*, I., 635 *seq.*

[3] JEAN, 108, 201; HARDY, 85. "Chaise-Dieu" is the translation of "Casa Dei" (JEAN, 109).

[4] September 7, 1727 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 35.

[5] October 9, 1727, *ibid.*, 38. [6] October 28, 1727, *ibid.*, 39–41.

[7] Besides him, the Bishops of Mâcon, Angoulême, Montpellier, Montauban, Auxerre, Castres, Blois, Rodez, Troyes, Bayeux and the retired Bishop of Tournai. *Ibid.*, 42.

of the condemned prelate. The Government returned their letter with the remark [1] that His Majesty could only disapprove of the attitude of the twelve which caused them to prefer the protests of a single prelate to the unanimous sentence of fourteen or fifteen Bishops, and to rise, "even before they had seen the acts of the Council," against a legitimate assembly whose decisions had the approval of the authorities of the Church and State. Ten out of the twelve replied with fresh representations to the King,[2] but this time the Bishop of Castres refrained as he had already previously appealed to the King [3] and the Bishop of Mâcon soon broke altogether with the Appellants. The Government replied by forbidding the ten to leave their dioceses. In addition to the Appellant Bishops a great number of priests of the diocese took the part of Soanen,[4] but once more the advocates of the Parliament of Paris distinguished themselves above all others by their keenness in opposing the Council. A memorial drawn up by them [5] declared the sentence of the Council against Soanen as null and void, on the ground of the non-observance of legal formalities, the incompetence of the Council to act as judge, and the complete innocence of the accused. Once more they base their arguments chiefly on Soanen's appeal to the General Council which withdrew him from the competence of all

[1] [PATOUILLET], II., 411; HARDY, 94.

[2] May 14, 1728 [NIVELLE], I., 2, 42–6.

[3] December 8, 1727, extract, *ibid.*, 47–50. Three letters of Soanen to Noailles as head of the twelve and the two replies of the latter, *ibid.*, 50 *seqq.*

[4] [NIVELLE], I., 2, 54–71, and II., 1, 174 *seqq.*

[5] October 30, 1727, extract, *ibid.*, 1, *Appendix*, 73–88. *Cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 321 *seqq.* According to the date the letter of the twelve Bishops is two days older than the consultation of the advocates; there is, however, a suspicion that both documents are by the same hand and that the advocates were first. Their consultation paved the way for the passing of Jansenism into the hands of the jurists (HARDY, 94 *seq.*). Not all the advocates approved of the memorial of the fifty. CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 37.

other judges. In their dogmatic explanations the lawyers start from the principle that ecclesiastical power was only bestowed on the totality of the Church [1]; according to them the Pope is not the visible head *of* the Church but only *in* the Church. To condemn this arrogant document the Government called together thirty-one Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops who happened to be in Paris, with Rohan, De Bissy and Fleury at their head. The Bishops' final judgment [2] was to the effect that the lawyers had made statements about the Church, on the Councils, on the Pope, and so forth, which deserved the severest censure. Accordingly a decree of the State Council [3] condemned the memorial and ordered its suppression. A Brief of condemnation had come before this from the Pope [4] and there followed condemnations by the Bishops of Soissons, Marseilles, Carcassonne, the Archbishop of Cambrai, the Bishops of Evreux, Valence, Saint-Brieuc, Châlons, La Rochelle and Cardinal De Bissy. Guérin de Tencin of Embrun condemned an apology of the memorial and commended to his flock the instruction of the Bishop of Evreux.[5]

The twelve Bishops—subsequently reduced to ten—had meanwhile sunk to nine in consequence of the resignation of the Bishop of Montauban. They drew attention to themselves once again by their opposition to Benedict XIII.'s confirmation of the Council of Embrun. Soanen had appealed to the Procurator General and the first President of the Parliament of Paris,[6] with a view to preventing the registration of any document or Brief which might lend support to the Council. The nine Bishops joined in this appeal,[7] with the result that they too were hit by the sentence of the thirty-one.

After the Council of Embrun the diocese of Senez was lost

[1] "Non uni, sed unitati." [NIVELLE], I., 2, 78.
[2] May 4, 1728, [PATOUILLET], I., 324.
[3] July 3, 1728, *ibid.*, 324 *seq.*
[4] June 9, 1728, *Bull.*, XXII., 659.
[5] [PATOUILLET], I., 327–9.
[6] February 25 and April 7, 1728, [NIVELLE], I., 92, 93.
[7] May 7, 1728, *ibid.*, 94.

to the Quesnellists. Soanen indeed provided for its administration by naming a Vicar-General who claimed to be the sole holder of ecclesiastical authority and who, from his hiding-place, fought the Vicar-General appointed by the Council up to the time when he was arrested [1]; but Soanen's following shrank from day to day. In a letter to the King,[2] in the year 1729, in which he made yet another attempt to defend himself, he mentions only a small number of priests who were still suffering for his sake.[3] Some nuns of Senez stuck to him longer than anyone else [4]; for the rest Alexander VII.'s formula was being subscribed to throughout the diocese.[5] Soanen lived up till 1740, strengthened in his resistance by the applause of the party and by the pilgrims who came to visit him.[6] Before his death he ordered to be read once more the testament [7] drawn up in 1735, in which he had restated his opposition.

The last years of the prisoner of La Chaise-Dieu had been lonely ones. Of the twenty Bishops who had at one time jointly appealed to a General Council, only two remained in office at the time of his death, viz. Bossuet of Troyes and Caylus of Auxerre who died, the one in 1742, the other in 1754.[8] During the last decade of his life, almost every year saw the disappearance of one of the Appellant Bishops [9];

[1] His ordinances in [NIVELLE], II., 1, 214–250. Soanen confirmed these ordinances (*ibid.*, 250–5). From the Parliament of Aix he got a decision in his favour for the portion of the revenues of the bishopric which had been assigned to his opponent; the Government, however, annulled the decision. FLEURY, LXXII., 513.

[2] March 1, 1729 [NIVELLE], II., 1, 166–173 (extract).

[3] In the notes, *ibid.*, 171, six are enumerated.

[4] *Ibid.*, 185–212.

[5] FLEURY, LXXII., 514.

[6] [NIVELLE], II., 1, 257.

[7] *Ibid.*, 256. *Cf.* on Soanen in exile E. JALOUSTRE in *Bullet. hist. et scientif. de l'Auvergne* June-July, 1902.

[8] Ségur of Saint-Papoul, *ob.* 1748, had resigned already in 1735.

[9] *Cf.* the statements in JEAN and GAMS.

1731 saw the death of Tilladet of Mâcon, 1732 that of Arbocave of Dax, 1734 that of Milon of Condom, 1735 that of Berthamon of Pamiers, 1736 that of Beaujeu of Castres, 1737 that of Resay of Angoulême, 1738 that of Colbert, Soanen's old friend, 1739 that of Desmaretz of Saint-Malo. Not a few of the above-named had been lost to Jansenism even before their death, a result to which the Council of Embrun had greatly contributed. Desmaretz informed the Pope of his submission at the end of 1727, a step which secured him recognition on the part of the Pontiff.[1] The following year was particularly disastrous for the Appellants. Lorraine of Bayeux and Hébert of Agen died in 1728; the latter had previously withdrawn his appeal.[2] Tilladet of Mâcon and Resay of Angoulême withdrew their appeals in the same year; for both the Council of Embrun proved the occasion for making their peace with the Church.[3] As for Arbocave of Dax, he was moved to make his submission by an event which proved to be the heaviest blow of all for the Appellants[4]; this was the final submission of their spiritual leader, Cardinal Noailles.

(5.)

The constant hesitations, negotiations and delays of the aged Archbishop show clearly enough that he was aware that his position was untenable. Serious bouts of illness in March and April, 1727, convinced him that he could not long put off a definitive step. Among his friends and the persons of his immediate entourage, his niece, the Marquise de Grammont, the General of the Oratorians, De la Tour, Chancellor Vivant, the Abbé Couet and the celebrated jurist D'Aguesseau, who from an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus* had become an ardent advocate, pressed him to make his

[1] JEAN, 447; FLEURY, LXXII., 711.
[2] JEAN, 127, 348; [CADRY], IV., 775.
[3] JEAN, 133, 232.
[4] *Ibid.*, 68.

submission, but more than anyone else Fleury threw into the scales the whole weight of his influence with his fellow Cardinal and with prudent moderation and gentleness kept urging him to do all that lay in his power to repair the harm which he had done to the Church in France.[1]

However, prolonged discussions were required between December, 1726, and May of the following year, to establish the text of a pastoral letter which safeguarded as much as possible the honour of the susceptible prelate whilst it was considered adequate by Cardinals Rohan, De Bissy, Gesvres, and by Noailles' eventual successor, Vintimille du Luc, Archbishop of Aix. It had been agreed that the three Cardinals and Noailles should separately write to Rome and forward the draft of the pastoral, when a stop was put to further action by Noailles' grave illness, May 21st.[2]

A year went by before another step was taken. When nine Bishops lodged a protest with the Procurator-General against the registration by Parliament of any Brief or any other document favouring the Council of Embrun, Noailles' name was added to the protest, without the latter's knowledge, though in virtue of an earlier authorization.[3] Thereupon, on May 19th, 1728, Noailles withdrew his signature. Of all the things mentioned in the protest, he declared, he would

[1] FLEURY, LXXII., 309 *seqq.*, 419 *seqq.*; [CADRY], IV., 677 *seqq.*, 723 *seqq.*, 777 *seqq.* A detailed exposition of the part taken by Noailles in the discussions from 1721 onwards in *MSS.: "(1) Considerazioni sopra il trattato . . . per la riconciliazione del sig. card. de Noailles; (2) Relazione [sul Noailles]; (3) Osservazioni sopra il libello . . . 'Relazione'; (4) Relazione di lettere e brevi scritti di congregazioni deputate sotto Benedetto XIII. . . . dal sig. card. de Noailles" all in *Cod.*, 14, I., 13, Archives of the Frascati Seminary. *Cf.* also BARTHÉLEMY, *Le cardinal de Noailles*, Paris, 1888.

[2] See above, p. 234. [CADRY], IV., 777.

[3] "Attendu que cette signification a été faite à l'insçu et sans la participation dudit Seigneur card. de Noailles, sur le fondement d'une procuration sous seing privé du 8 avril dernier, dans laquelle il ne juge pas à propos de persister," etc. [NIVELLE], I., Appendix, 97.

only do one, that is, he would pray the Pope, for whose person he cherished so great and so deserved a veneration, to take the means that he deemed most suitable for the removal of the divisions and disturbances in the Church of France.[1] Encouraged by the example of the Bishop of Saint-Malo, who withdrew his appeal about this time, Noailles wrote to Benedict XIII. on July 19th, 1728,[2] that he was resolved to obey the commands of His Holiness in all things, and that with perfect and sincere submission; that he wished to blot out entirely the memory of those things by which he may have displeased His Holiness and to leave to posterity an attestation that his own teaching differed neither now nor in future from that of the Pope, the Cardinals and the Bishops. In presence of Christ, his Lord and Judge, he attested that he received the Bull *Unigenitus* with a sincere heart, that he rejected the book of "Moral Considerations" and the 101 propositions, in the same sense in which the Constitution rejected them; that he withdrew his pastoral instruction of 1719; that he would issue another *mandement* and publish it throughout his diocese in order to ensure the observance of the Bull. Twice he states that, since he had decided to submit, he felt such joy and peace as he had not experienced for a long time.

In Rome the Cardinal's protestations were at first received somewhat coldly. The authorities there had had too painful experiences with the Clementine Peace and with Noailles himself to trust him at once. Benedict XIII. charged seven Cardinals with the examination of the affair. These began by drawing up a document urging caution which was to be signed by all the Cardinals and which, in fact, had already gathered twenty-two signatures. After that, they stated their misgivings to the Pope in writing.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] FLEURY, LXXII., 712.

[3] "*Aviendo tenido el cardenal de Polignac orden de su corte para tratar con el Papa e la S. Sede la reconciliacion del card. de Noailles, quien prometio la aceptacion de la bula Unigenitus, destino S. Sd una congregacion particolar (fuera de la general

Their first difficulty was Noailles' assurance[1] that he accepted the Bull in the same sense in which the Holy See accepted it. Now in his pastoral Noailles had endeavoured to prove that the Bull *Unigenitus* was not a dogmatic definition but a simple administrative or disciplinary measure and that as such, it was revocable. In what sense then does he accept it now? The Cardinals take it as certain that he considers it merely as a disciplinary measure. He goes on to say that he "condemned the 101 propositions of the Bull with the same censures with which the Holy See condemned them". Now in his pastoral letter Noailles had precisely endeavoured to prove the non-dogmatic character of the Bull by the fact that the Constitution did not state with which of the many censures there enumerated each of the 101 propositions was struck. It is in "this same sense" that Noailles now intends to condemn these propositions, that is, he condemns them in a manner which, in his opinion, is not that of a dogmatic Bull.

Of his pastoral instruction the Archbishop says that "he withdrew it", but not that he declared it to be false. Between "withdrawing" and "recanting" there is a vast difference: the latter implies a change of opinion, but not the former. With a withdrawal of the instruction the Archbishop does not alter the judgment therein passed on the Bull and

que estava establecida antes de ahora sobre esta materia) que se compone de siete cardenales y se juntò ahier, pero no se save el resultado por tratarse este negocio con el secreto del S. Oficio; y teniendo el s. colegio que [no] pudiese admitirse la referida reconciliacion del card. de Noailles en terminos perjudiciales a la Iglesia catolica, formò un memorial representando todos los motivos para que este negocio se tratase con toda la debida atencion, el qual se havia de firmar de todos los cardenales y de hecho la avian ya firmado 22, pero despues crehieron mas conveniente poner por escrito en forma de consulta las consideraciones que ocurrian en esta importancia y presentarlas a S. B., como se ha executado." Bentivoglio to De la Paz, August 21, 1728, *Corresp.*, 1728, p. 1031, Simancas Archives.

[1] Memorial in the appendix of the letter quoted.

proclaimed to the whole world: the withdrawal would in the end amount to a mere ceremony and in time to come it might be said that the Holy See had attached no great weight to the whole affair. Noailles has always objected to the expression "to recant", but much less to the word "withdraw".

Moreover it was impossible to ascertain *why* Noailes accepted the Bull and rejected Quesnel's propositions, whether it was because the Holy See rejected them, or because he himself recognized them as false. In this way the Jansenists might claim that Noailles had confirmed the papal sentence by his own, but not that he had submitted to it. For that reason alone the retractation of the Cardinal must be considered as inadequate and ambiguous, "for it was well known what subterfuges the heretics have had recourse to in writings of this kind: they had at all times sought to deceive the Holy See, the Jansenists more than all the others, as we have learned by an all too frequent experience."[1] Nor was Noailles' appeal to the General Council mentioned with as much as one word, though that had been so enormous a scandal as to demand an explicit withdrawal, and besides his pastoral instruction Noailles had published, both before and since, other writings no less scandalous yet not mentioned by him in his withdrawal.

The best thing was not to approve Noailles' letter as in that case the Jansenists would appeal to the Roman confirmation and fresh troubles would ensue, to the great spiritual injury of many who would become more obstinate in their errors. At no time had the Church re-admitted a repentant heretic on the basis of a retractation that was manifestly ambiguous: if this were done now Church history would speak of it as a repetition of the case of Liberius.

On the other hand it would have been exceedingly imprudent

[1] "Essendo ben noto quanti siano li raggiri degli eretici in somiglianti progetti, con li quali hanno sempre procurato d'ingannare la Santa Sede, e principalmente i Giansenisti, de' quali abbiamo tutti pur troppo tanta sperienza."

to repel Noailles abruptly. Accordingly the Pope's reply[1] recognizes all that was good in Noailles' letter but points out with sufficient clearness that everything was not as yet in order. All those who had seen his letter, the Pope wrote, had found in it tokens of true obedience and complete acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*; the Pope eagerly looked forward to the rich fruits which he promised himself from Noailles' submission; all the more willingly and gladly would he grant him a full pardon for everything.

On October 11th, 1728, the Archbishop published his *mandement* with his retractation.[2] He accepts the Bull with sincerest respect and submission, rejects Quesnel's book and the 101 propositions extracted from it, "in the same way and with the same censures with which the Pope had rejected them." And "in order to give still further proof of the sincerity of our submission to the Holy See, we withdraw our instruction of January 14th, 1719, together with all that has been published in our name and which is at variance with this our acceptance". The Bull and the *mandement*, it says in conclusion, were to be registered in the archiepiscopal chancellery, proclaimed and publicly posted up. Thus the Constitution—the long opposed and prescribed Constitution *Unigenitus*—was at last published in the archdiocese, and it was no gain for the Jansenists that isolated copies were torn down on the day of the publication and all of them in the course of the night. The latter action had been foreseen by the police: when the Parisians woke up the next morning, fresh copies had been put up. It is true that when the first copies were posted up the protection of armed men had been necessary.[3] The *mandement* was not to be read in the churches, as it was impossible to rely on the parish priests of Paris.

[1] *August 21, 1728, *Epist. ad princ.*, IV.–V., 476, Papal Secret Archives; FLEURY, LXXII., 715–18.

[2] Printed in [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 100 *seq.*; translation in FLEURY, LXXII, 726–730.

[3] HARDY, 116 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXII., 731. The ordinance seems to have been drawn up by D'Aguesseau; FLEURY writes

Far worse for Noailles than these isolated outbreaks against the *mandement* was the fact that even before the publication of the retractation a document, dated August 22nd, was being broadcast, which stated that Noailles would go back on his subscription to the nine Bishops' memorial of May 7th, 1728,[1] and protest against the misunderstandings that might arise from his withdrawal of his signature: this withdrawal was to be explained as the result of a momentary weakness and surprise. A postscript stated that this declaration of his should serve against any contrary pronouncement which he might be made to subscribe to, either whilst still in full health or on his death-bed. An attestation by twenty parish priests of Paris[2] certified the authenticity of this document and Noailles had to protest continually against being faced with it. In the introduction to his *mandement* of October 11th he complains that the sincerity of his profound respect for the Holy See was being called in question[3]; in a circular[4] in which he brings his *mandement* to the notice of the Bishops, he says that he had begged both Pope and King to attach no credence to a document which, he was told, was being broadcast and which was calculated to give rise to suspicions about the sincerity with which he spoke in his *mandement*. On October 23rd the Archbishop informed the Pope that the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus* was at last an accomplished fact; at the same time he forwarded his *mandement*. He concluded by praying the Pope to give no credence to a

to him: "Gloire en soit rendue à Dieu premièrement, à vous et à madame la marquise de Grammont" (GAZIER, I., 274). Of the posted-up sheet Gasier says (*ibid.*, 237): "Je l'ai sous les yeux, on dirait qu'elle a été imprimée de manière à ne pouvoir pas être lue." But the posting up was a mere matter of form; an edition in the form of a pamphlet followed and the Parisians knew very well what the printed poster meant (HARDY, *loc. cit.*). On the ordinance, *cf.* PICOT, II., 243.

[1] [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 98 *seq.*

[2] March 27, 1729, *ibid.*, 99.

[3] *Ibid.*, 100.

[4] October 30, 1728, *ibid.*, 102; FLEURY, LXXII., 733.

secretly printed document which was being thrown to the public as signed by himself on August 22nd; he asked, on the contrary, that his conduct should be judged by his letter to His Holiness and by the *mandement* which he was forwarding.[1]

Seeing that in his *mandement* Noailles had stated with sufficient clearness that he accepted the Bull out of submission to the Holy See, and that out of obedience to the Pope he also withdrew his pastoral instruction of 1719, as well as all other writings of his which had given offence, there seemed to remain no further justification of the misgivings hitherto felt as to the sincerity of the Archbishop of Paris. Benedict XIII. accordingly announced a public consistory for November 8th, 1728, for the purpose of communicating the great news to the Cardinals.[2] The intervention of Cardinals De Bissy, Rohan and Fleury on behalf of Noailles had greatly helped to dissipate the last misgivings.[3] In their letter they said that the Cardinal had properly and dutifully rendered the obedience due to the Constitution according to Canon Law[4]; hence the three Cardinals had received him with all charity, for once truth had had its due and the cause of the division had been removed, no good purpose could be served by insisting on trifles.[5] They therefore prayed the Pope to give some unmistakable token of reconciliation at a solemn consistory; this would be of immense help to the Archbishop in restoring concord among the faithful; it would likewise strengthen him in the struggles and difficulties he was bound

[1] "Finiens has literas percipio, infaustum quoddam scriptum ceu a me die 22 Augusti hoc anno signatum ac furtive impressum in vulgus spargi. Rogo autem Sanctitatem V., ut . . . nullam ei fidem adhibeat." FLEURY, LXXII., 741; PICOT, II., 245.

[2] *Ibid.*, 735 *seqq.*

[3] October 26, 1728, *ibid.*, 743–8. *Cf. Voyages* DE MONTESQUIEU, I., 197 *seqq.*

[4] "Rite ac debite obedientiam iuxta canones constitutioni Unigenitus debitam exsolvit." FLEURY, LXXII., 743 *seq.*

[5] Inutile est . . . ad singula descendere, omnes rimas investigare et turbas inde concitatas discutere." *Ibid.*, 745.

to encounter with the Jansenists. In their conclusion they repeat that Noailles had acted in accordance with the demands of Canon Law, his letter of July 19th to the Pope was a token of submission, with his *mandement* he had rendered to the Constitution the obedience due to it and had striven to tear out by the roots all that by which he had at one time caused scandal. This was their view of Noailles and his cause—the words are a clear hint that not a few people in Rome may have been of a different opinion. With regard to the secretly distributed document of August 22nd, the three Cardinals refer to Noailles' own statements. Whether there was question here of a forgery under his name, or that the retractation was based on an intrigue, it showed at any rate that the enemies of the Church left nothing untried in order to represent the Cardinal, whose prestige had been their strongest support, as a partisan of theirs.

In addition to the three Cardinals, congratulations reached Noailles from other quarters also: the King sent him a special letter,[1] and he received expressions of satisfaction from Tournely and Syndic Romigny in the name of the Sorbonne, from the Canons of Notre-Dame, the Generals of the Oratorians, Doctrinarians, Benedictines, the Superiors of various religious houses, including even the Jesuits: to the latter Noailles restored the faculties of which he had deprived the Fathers in 1716.[2] The Archbishop was particularly gratified by the visits of his colleagues in the episcopate who until then had kept away from religious functions whenever Noailles took part in them.[3] The faculty whereby the Jubilee Indulgence of 1725 was granted to the archdiocese of Paris for the year 1725 could also be considered as a proof of reconciliation. Crowded processions, in which even the ladies

[1] October 22, 1728, in [Nivelle], I., *Appendix*, 102.

[2] March 6, 1729, Hardy, 132.

[3] Fleury, LXXII., 734. A *letter of congratulation of the Roman Cardinals, November 17, 1728, in Bibl. Sessoriana, Rome, *Cod.*, CCLXIX., *Miscell. hist. eccl.*, f. 165; *another of the Pope to the King, November 13, 1728, in *Epist. ad princ.* IV.–V., 542, Papal Secret Archives.

of the aristocracy joined, marched through the streets, and the King made the prescribed visits on foot.[1]

When the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Bentivoglio, informed Madrid of the solemn consistory in which Benedict XIII. announced the recantation of the Archbishop of Paris, he felt he might write: "Thus, then, the dispute is ended, let us thank God for it!"[2] In reality, however, the troubles were far from ended. Noailles himself was indeed preserved from further struggles and difficulties by death which overtook him on May 4th, 1729, though even he was not spared a foretaste of what was to come. At the time when his retractation was drafted but not yet published, six or seven parish priests called on him to inform him that they would never accept or publish the Bull.[3] A little later twenty parish priests of Paris handed in a declaration on the subject at the Archbishop's palace[4] which, however, did not come to Noailles' knowledge. When on October 23rd the Archbishop's retractation was affixed on the churches and the walls, his alleged protest of August 22nd was posted up by the side of it.[5] The Archbishop's state of mind, it was rumoured, was such that he no longer knew what it was that he was made to sign, only his alleged statements of a Jansenist character were taken at their full value.[6] Five months after his death he was shown in the worst possible light. On September 25th, 1729, Soanen published a paper[7] in which he alleged that Noailles had declared for all time to come that it had never been his intention to accept the Bull against Quesnel without additions and declarations, to withdraw his appeal to a General Council and the teaching contained in his instruction of 1719, or to approve the Council

[1] Brief of November 23, 1728; ordinance of the Archbishop, April 1, 1729, HARDY, 133 *seqq.*

[2] To De la Paz, November 10, 1728, Simancas Archives.

[3] [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 101.

[4] October 16, 1729, *ibid.*, 101 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., XXVI., note.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXVI. *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.*

[7] Dated February 26, 1729, *ibid.*, 103.

of Embrun. It is difficult to believe that Soanen had this document from Noailles, otherwise he would not have spoken in such vague terms of its origin.[1] After the Archbishop's death, his Vicars-General declared it to be spurious.[2] Had it been genuine, the Jansenists would have had Noailles with them once more, but assuredly not as an ornament and support of the party. For the rest his contemporaries bear witness to the strict and blameless conduct of the unhappy Cardinal Archbishop; they speak in high terms of his piety and liberality, his solicitude for his clergy and his Cathedral church of Notre-Dame; thus, for instance, he restored at his own expense the large rose window over the doors of the south transept and the whole of the lead roof.[3] It was his misfortune to have been raised to a position to which he was not equal. On the day on which he died the Queen wrote[4] that his demise would grieve but few people on either side; may God forgive him the evil he has done to the Church. His insubordination, Lafitau writes,[5] did much harm, his submission came too late to do much good.

However, if Noailles resipiscence in the days of his strength would have had very different consequences, even his belated recantation did not fail to make some impression. After the Cardinal's submission Caumartin of Blois, who had not been personally an Appellant, at least ceased to speak against the Council of Embrun.[6] De la Chatre of Agde never broke

[1] "Sa déclaration du 26 Février qui m'est confiée comme un dépôt de sa piété et un gage de sa bienveillance" (*ibid.*, 104). "En même temps qu'il a quitté la terre, je suis devenu le dépositaire de ses deux déclarations" (*ibid.*, 105).

[2] *Lettre de* MESSIEURS LES VICAIRES GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ARCHEVÊCHÉ DE PARIS, *le siège vacant, à S. E. monseigneur le card. de Fleury*, extract in *Mém. pour l'hist. des sciences*, Trévoux, 1730, 355–362.

[3] GAZIER, I., 275; MARCEL FOSSEYEUX, *Le card. de Noailles et l'administration du diocèse de Paris*, 1695–1729, in *Rev. hist.*, CXIV. (1913), 261 *seqq.*, CXV. (1914), 34 *seqq.*

[4] HARDY, 140.

[5] *Ibid.*, 141.

[6] JEAN, 294.

completely with the Jansenists but in 1729, for some reason or other, he promulgated the Bull.[1] Tourouvre of Rodez acted in like manner on September 25th, 1729, sought to help Soanen and became reconciled with the Jesuits from whom he had withdrawn all faculties at his entry into the diocese.[2] Tilladet of Mâcon, who withdrew his appeal immediately after the Council of Embrun, also published the Bull in May, 1729.[3] The only remaining Jansenist Bishops were Coislin of Metz (*ob.* 1732), Kerlivio of Tréguier (*ob.* 1731), Beaujeu of Castres (*ob.* 1736), who, however, kept quiet, and in addition to them the three spokesmen of the party, viz. the Bishops of Troyes, Montpellier and Auxerre. Thus the extinction of the Jansenist Bishops was only a question of time. Moreover, after Noailles' death the party remained without a head. Though he had been made a leader against his will, and had been pushed rather than himself led, he nevertheless provided guidance and pace. After his disappearance the Quesnellists lacked both head and centre.

As was to be expected Fleury saw to it that a friend and defender of the Constitution succeeded Noailles. Charles de Vintimille du Luc, at first Bishop of Marseilles and then for thirty years Archbishop of Aix, had drawn the attention of the Government to himself by his moderation, his zeal against the Jansenist superior of his seminary and his self-sacrifice during the plague.[4] In spite of his seventy-four years he accepted the archiepiscopal see of Paris [5] and retained it for

[1] *Ibid.*, 255. [2] *Ibid.*, 13. *Cf.* HARDY, 148.

[3] JEAN, 232.

[4] *Ibid.*, 19, 41 ; Fleury to the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter, in FLEURY, LXXIII., 39 ; HARDY, 146. The judgment on Vintimille in M. MARTIN, *Hist. de France*, XV., 164, 207, is one-sided and too unfavourable.

[5] The Pope *congratulated him on October 8, 1729 ("opus ab antecessore card. de Noailles demum per sincerum resipiscente inchoatum tibi reservatum perficiendum"), *Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 165, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 253, papal *recognition of his activities for peace and unity, January 5, 1730.

a period of seventeen years, viz. up to 1746. From the first he was fully aware of the difficulties he would have to deal with in the utterly distracted diocese. In his first pastoral letter,[1] in which he exhorts the faithful to submit to the Bull, he draws a gloomy picture of existing conditions. Many Appellants, he writes, had, indeed, come back : some Bishops, the simple faithful without number, several communities, Chapters and theological Faculties ; but the sad consequences of the appeals could be seen on every side : religion shaken in the hearts of men, the spirit of docility, which was the hall-mark of the children of the Church, destroyed or weakened, reverence for the Vicar of Christ forgotten or trodden under foot, the honour of the Bishops attacked by calumny, their authority slighted or attacked from every quarter, their censures scorned and the subordination due to them set aside.[2]

Among the corporations of whose return Vintimille speaks, the Chapter of Paris came first. On the very first occasion of the new Archbishop presenting himself before his Chapter—even before he had taken possession of the archiepiscopal See—for the purpose of guaranteeing to it its privileges on oath, he demanded the immediate acceptance of the Bull and the Canons obeyed.[3] Fleury, working in secret, had been instrumental in bringing about this change.[4] Even more important was the submission of the Sorbonne. A royal letter [5] informed them that the Government's patience was at an end and that all those who had renewed their appeal after 1720, all adherents of Bishop Soanen, all those who had withdrawn their submission to the formula, had forfeited their privileges as Doctors. Accordingly many who attended the next assembly of the Faculty,[6] found themselves deprived

[1] September 29, 1729, extract in *Mémoires* of Trévoux, 1730, 320–330. [2] *Ibid.*, 329.

[3] [Nivelle], I., *Appendix*, 109 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXIII., 40.

[4] Hardy, 173 *seq.*

[5] October 22, 1729, in Feret, *Époqul moderne*, VI., 95 *seq.*

[6] November 4, 1729, Feret ,VI., 96; Fleury, LXXIII., 48 *seq.*; Hild, 170 *seq.*

of their right to vote, hence, after the reading of the royal letter, on the proposal of Syndic Romigny, the decision was put off until the next session which was not attended by those who had been excluded. Romigny had suggested this course in his speech and exhorted them by letter to peace.[1] He renewed his exhortations at the next assembly of the Faculty,[2] in which he referred to Noailles and the Metropolitan Chapter, to the example of the simple faithful and the religious bodies which, especially since the pastoral letter of the new Archbishop, were coming back day by day.[3] On the proposal of the Syndic twelve delegates were then elected [4] for the purpose of examining ways and means of restoring peace. Acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* by the Faculty was considered as an accomplished fact. Forty-nine Doctors made a last attempt to create difficulties by appealing to Parliament which, however, refused to receive it. The next session of the Faculty [5] approved the decisions of the previous meeting by 94 votes against 13. In the discussion of the twelve deputies, Tournely, as chairman, advocated the view that the best means of persuading the recalcitrants would be an account of what had taken place at the time of the acceptance of the Constitution in 1714 and its rejection at a later date. Tournely's clearly drawn up account [6] was read between December 15th and 17th, and achieved its object: by 95 out of 101 votes, five decisions were arrived at: the Faculty's decree of 1714 on the acceptance of the Constitution was stated to be authentic and was re-affirmed; the Constitution itself was described as a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church; the Faculty's appeal of 1717 against that judgment was revoked; a delay of two to four months

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] November 8, 1729, FLEURY, LXXIII., 50 *seqq.*; HILD, 171.

[3] FLEURY, LXXIII., 53.

[4] The names in FERET, VI., 96; HILD, 172, n. 1.

[5] December 1, 1729, HILD, 172.

[6] FLEURY, LXXIII., 59–88; [NIVELLE], I., LXII.–LXIII., *Appendix*, 154–173; HILD, 170 *seqq.*

was granted to those living at a distance for their recantation; in future no one was to be allowed to take part in the discussions of the Faculty who refused to submit to the Bull.[1]

Thus, on the whole, the Faculty had abandoned its opposition to the Bull. Those Doctors who still remained recalcitrant were repeatedly granted a delay for reflection in the course of the ensuing months [2] and a great many of them gave up their opposition.[3] The provincial Doctors made known their agreement; in the end some 707 had accepted the Bull, including thirty-nine Bishops.[4] The efforts of a few obstinate men to delay the march of events by protests to Parliament,[5] proved unsuccessful. Tournely, the most distinguished theologian of the period, who at one time had been excluded from the Faculty on account of his submission to the Bull, became, now that he was dead (*ob.* 1729), the object of the highest eulogies at the sitting of the Faculty of January 2nd, 1730.[6] The King, the Queen, Cardinal Fleury and Chancellor D'Aguesseau gave a most gracious reception to a deputation sent by the Faculty for the purpose of presenting the decisions.[7] The Pope sent a Brief expressing his gratification [8] and the Universities of Cologne and Prague, in lengthy communications, congratulated the Sorbonne on its submission.[9] The Faculties of Angers, Nantes, Rheims, Caen, Toulouse and Poitiers followed the example of their sister Faculty of Paris.[10]

[1] FLEURY, LXXIII., 88–92; LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 405 *seq.*

[2] FERET, VI., 102.

[3] *Ibid.*, 102 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXIII., 212

[4] HARDY, 180.

[5] FLEURY, LXXIII., 187 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

[6] HILD, 175.

[7] FERET, VI., 100 *seqq.*

[8] January 27, 1730, **Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 266, Papal Secr. Arch., also *February 8, 1730 (*ibid.*, 281), to the King, thanking him because "aditus novitatibus obstruatur et unitas coalescat".

[9] FLEURY, LXXIII., 221 *seqq.*, 226. Chronologically the letters belong to the pontificate of Clement XII.

[10] FERET, 104.

The joy of the loyal sons of the Church was countered by the rage of the Quesnellists which vented itself in furious attacks.[1]

The clergy of Paris was less tractable than the Sorbonne. From Vintimille's action with his Chapter the parish priests were able to gather what treatment awaited them. Even before the publication of the Archbishop's first pastoral letter some twenty-five of their number requested their new ruler, in writing,[2] not to carry out an intention with which rumour credited him, namely that of depriving a number of priests of their faculties to preach and to hear confessions.

This was undoubtedly meant as a threat, for it was to be expected that Vintimille would summon the priests, as he had done at Marseilles and at Aix, in order to satisfy himself as to their fitness to hear confessions. However, up till February, 1730, only 30 out of 1,110 priests had their faculties refused to them as a result of this examination, but even this small number was enough for the revolutionary party among the clergy to raise a storm against their Archbishop.[3] Besides scattering a number of loose sheets, they addressed a second letter to Vintimille,[4] together with a detailed memorial, in which they meant to refute the Archbishop's first pastoral, paragraph by paragraph. In this the country priests had made common cause with their colleagues of the capital.[5] As these writings were intended for the public, Vintimille also appealed to the public by addressing a printed letter to the King, giving an account of the state of affairs and invoking the protection of the Government.[6] In this communication he was able to point out that, as a result of his pastoral instruction, several religious bodies had made their submission, viz. the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Premonstratensians and the Doctrinarians, and even a number of parish priests,

[1] HARDY, 181.
[2] September 23, 1729, [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 111 *seq.*
[3] VINTIMILLE, *ibid.*, 128.
[4] December 28, 1729, *ibid.*, 112 *seq.*
[5] October 16, 1729, *ibid.*, 124–6.
[6] February 8, 1730, *ibid.*, 126–9.

who had signed the first memorial addressed to him, were now withdrawing their subscription.[1]

In the memorial of the parish priests of Paris to Vintimille,[2] they had attacked another papal ordinance which gave the enemies of the Constitution fresh occasion for polemical writings. On September 25th, 1728, Benedict XIII. had prescribed for the whole Church the annual observance of the feast of the great Pope Gregory VII. in Mass and Breviary.[3] The Paris police prevented the impression of the Breviary Office and Fleury would gladly have contented himself with this assertion of the Gallican liberties.[4] The Parliament of Paris was of another opinion; all that Fleury could do to counteract its zeal was to examine the manuscript of the speech of the Advocate-General, in order to deprive it of its sharpest points and to refuse to allow the prohibition of the Breviary lessons[5] to be publicly hawked by street vendors.[6] The Parliaments of Rennes, Metz and Bordeaux[7] followed the example of Paris; when the others made mien to enter on the same path they were prevented by the Government.[8]

Among the Bishops the first to speak out was the keen Appellant Caylus of Auxerre.[9] "In order to fulfil all justice and to give to the King fresh proofs of our loyalty and our zeal for the safety of his sacred person and the tranquillity

[1] *Ibid.*, 128; HARDY, 176 *seq.* On the submission of the Dominicans of Saint-Jacques, on October 13, 1729, *cf.* COULON in *Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, VI. (1912), 312 *seq.*

[2] [NIVELLE], I., *Appendix*, 115.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 155.

[4] HARDY, 163.

[5] July 20, 1729 ([NIVELLE], III., 961), printed in Paris in 1729. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] HARDY, 164 *seq.*

[7] August 17, 1729, September 1 and 12, 1729, in [NIVELLE], III., 962–4.

[8] *Ibid.*, 965. In a *Brief of August 18, 1729, Benedict asks for the assistance of the King in the matter. *Epist. ad princ.*, VI., 78, Papal Secret Archives.

[9] July 24, 1729, [NIVELLE], I., 657–660.

of his realm", he forbade the feast prescribed by the Pope. He was followed by the no less zealous Bishop Colbert of Montpellier [1] and after him by the Bishops of Castres,[2] Metz, Troyes and by the Bishop of Verdun from among the supporters of the Constitution.[3]

Rome did not suffer these fresh encroachments in silence: special Briefs [4] condemned the pastoral letter of the Bishops of Auxerre, Metz and Montpellier. Thereupon Caylus of Auxerre protested to Parliament against the papal Brief [5] and a lengthy memorial by a hundred lawyers [6] was meant to add weight to the episcopal request. Not content with this, Caylus followed with letters to the King, the Assembly of the Clergy and to Vintimille.[7] Colbert of Montpellier also appealed to the King [8] and the Assembly of the Clergy,[9] but the efforts of the two Bishops yielded no result. The King would not even open Caylus' letter, ordered the suppression of his pastoral letter and forbade Parliament to have anything to do with the matter.[10] The result of Colbert's letter to the Assembly of the Clergy was that that body prayed the King for a Provincial Council, for the purpose of deposing the Bishop,[11] but it proved impossible to get the Government to participate in measures of this kind against a gentleman of such noble lineage. Rome had issued a condemnation of all the measures of the secular power against the Breviary Office of St. Gregory VII.[12] Parliament did

[1] July 30, *ibid.*, 363–5.

[2] November 11, *ibid.*, 732–6.

[3] August 12, 1729, HARDY, 167.

[4] September 17, October 8, December 6, 1729, *Bull.*, XXII., 841, 858 *seq.* *Cf.* [NIVELLE], III., 966.

[5] FLEURY, LXXIII., 110 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], II., 1, 660.

[6] February 14, 1730, [NIVELLE], II., 1, 661–6.

[7] February 11, August 18, 1730, March 3, 1733, *ibid.*, 666 *seqq.*, 669 *seqq.*, 673–5.

[8] December 31, 1729, *ibid.*, 365 *seqq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 371.

[10] FLEURY, LXXIII., 120.

[11] [NIVELLE], II., 1, 371.

[12] December 19, 1729, *ibid.*, III., 967; FLEURY, LXXIII., 114 *seq.* *Cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, II., 788 *seqq.*

not fail to prohibit this decree also, together with the Office of St. Gregory VII. and the three papal Briefs concerning it.[1] By his conciliatory representations Cardinal Fleury obtained at least that the motives of the prohibition were not made public.[2]

As a matter of fact it was due to Fleury that no more serious complications arose. Rome was anxious about the subject as anything might be expected from French irritation. The Viceroy of Naples had also written on the subject to Charles VI.[3] For Belgium the new Breviary lessons were actually prohibited in 1730.[4] On May 12th, 1730, the Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht also forbade the Office of St. Gregory VII. The Dutch Government made it known that the public recitation of the forbidden Office would be punished by a six months' closure of the churches in which this was done, whilst its impression and sale would entail a fine of 1,000 florins and the forfeiture for Catholics of the right to trade.[5]

Though Caylus' and Colbert's letter did not achieve their immediate purpose, they are none the less characteristic of Jansenism at that time. In his letter to the King, Colbert

[1] February 23, 1730, [Nivelle], III., 968 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXIII., 120.

[2] Hardy, 169.

[3] *On the prohibition of the feast of St. Gregory by four French Bishops: "*se discurrio largamente en la congregacion del S. Oficio del miercoles passado, dudando fuertemente que este negocio quiera tomar gran cuerpo en Francia, y corriendo aqui copia de un despacho del vicerey de Napoleos al S. Emperador en el mismo asumpto, incluyo a V. S." (Bentivoglio to De la Paz, September 3, 1729, Simancas Archives, 1729, f. 724.) "*Yo temo mucho que esta novedad pueda magnamente irritar los animos ya destemplados de los Franceses en perjuicio de la verdadera observacion de la nuestra s. religion y debida obediencia a la S. Sede" (*ibid.*, f. 826).

[4] Van Espen, *Opera*, Suppl., Venetiis, 1769, XXIX.; Reusch, II., 790.

[5] Fleury, LXXIII., 122 *seqq.*; Schill, 252, n.

did not neglect to represent the Appellants as the staunch supporters of the throne.[1] "What a comfort it is for us," he writes, "that we cannot be attacked without undermining the foundations of the monarchy. Yes! Sire, we assume the defence of Your Majesty, whereas all the friends of the Constitution, with only one exception, do not open their mouths when Your Majesty's rights are attacked." In his view the Popes are the enemies of the throne; with cold calculation they proceed step by step in order to subjugate Kings, and they miss no opportunity in the pursuit of that end.[2] The Bull *Unigenitus* was but a mesh in the net knitted in Rome. In it, according to Colbert, the rights of Bishops are trodden under foot, "nor are your rights, Sire, respected. Up till then Rome had not dared to attack the sovereignty and independence of the crown. But when the Bull condemned proposition 91, which states that fear of an unjust excommunication must not stop us from doing our duty, all those who still retained some zeal for the cause of the sovereign, understood that the Roman court aimed at nothing less than the extension of its domination over the sacred person of the King."[3]

Caylus of Auxerre writes to the King in exactly the same strain. He too has knowledge of the wicked *arrière-pensées* of the Roman See and urges that the return of the days of Gregory and his pretensions be made impossible[4]; in other words, according to him Rome is the enemy. The two Bishops had no inkling that the death blow to the monarchy was already being prepared in a very different quarter and that the ideas which they and their partisans advocated, would bring about the subversion of the State even though for the time being, they aimed at no more than the dissolution of all

[1] N. IV., [NIVELLE], II., 1, 366.

[2] N. IX., *seq.*, *ibid.*, 368.

[3] N. XI., *ibid.*, 369.

[4] N. II. and IX., *ibid.*, 666, 669. He also speaks of Quesnel's proposition 91 (*ibid.*, 670), as did many others at that time; see PICOT, II., 250, 282, 292.

ecclesiastical bonds. A pamphlet against Vintimille's first pastoral[1] already expounds the subversive notion that there may be circumstances in which it is the shepherd's duty to obey his flock; that if a Bishop crushed truth, it was the duty of the faithful to defend it in opposition to him. If the whole body of Bishops fell into error, they must be taught, corrected and even judged by the people. But once the people was proclaimed to be the supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters, it was the natural sequel that it would not be long before it would also refuse any higher authority than its own in the political sphere.

For the Jansenist party itself, the fact that it had arrived at such conclusions, was a sign of internal dissolution. Its external decay also became apparent for it was easy to foresee that soon it would be unable to rely on a single Bishop. The Appellants sought to remedy this deficiency, a deadly one according to Catholic principles, by appealing to miracles which, it was claimed, had been wrought in favour of the sect. In the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in Paris there lived a woman who, as a result of twenty years' loss of blood, had become so weak that she could scarcely move even with the help of crutches. On May 31st, 1725, as the Corpus Christi procession was passing her house, she was seen endeavouring to drag herself on hands and knees after the Blessed Sacrament, whilst crying aloud: "Lord, if thou wilt thou canst make me whole!" All of a sudden she rose and followed the procession to the church. In a pastoral letter Noailles declared the incident to be a real miracle.[2] Now the priest who had carried the Blessed Sacrament was an Appellant. This circumstance Colbert sought to exploit; in a pastoral letter[3] he explained

[1] *Remontrances des fidèles du diocèse de Paris à Msgr. leur archévêque, au sujet de son ordonnance du 29 Sept., 1729* (Rocquain, 54; [Patouillet], III, 444). The document was condemned to the flames on February 23, 1730.

[2] [Cadry], IV., 374 *seqq.* The cured person was presented to the King (*ibid.*, 485). *Cf.* Picot, II., 150 *seqq.*

[3] October 20, 1725, appeared 1726, [Cadry], IV., 470 *seqq.*; [Nivelle], II., 1, 355.

that the miracle implied the approval of the principles of the Appellants.

Further "miracles" followed in July, 1725, in the church of St. Géneviève which was in the hands of Appellant Canons. For that very reason the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy, on the occasion of a visit to the shrine of the Saint, had deprecated the customary ceremonial reception on the part of the Canons.[1] The truth is that even if there had been question of true miracles, they could not have been construed into an evident approval of the righteousness of the Appellants' cause. Bishops Languet of Soissons and Belsunce of Marseilles disproved Colbert's assertions to that effect,[2] but the latter continued to uphold his pastoral letter.[3] But about this time miracles were beginning to be wrought by Quesnel's relics in Paris [4] as well as by several Appellants in the provinces as, for instance, by a live Oratorian of the name of Celoron at Lyons [5] and by a dead Canon of the name of Rousse at Avenai [6]; one miracle was also ascribed to the Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht.[7] The body of an Appellant parish priest of Rheims was found incorrupt five years after his death and a sick woman thought she felt better after placing Colbert's pastoral letter on her breast,[8] nay even a Jesuit, said to be dead,[9] was extolled as an Appellant and a wonder worker until, by means of an open letter,[10] he furnished proof that he was still alive. None of the above named Jansenists attained any celebrity though twenty-two parish priests wrote to the Vicar-General of Paris and three others to the Archbishop in support of Rousse, after the authorities of the Church had forbidden

[1] *Ibid.*, 368 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 598 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 795.
[4] *Ibid.*, 757.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 849.
[7] *Ibid.*, 672 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 851.
[9] PIERRE CHAMILLART (*ob.* 1733). *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II., 1052; SCHILL, 260, n. 7.
[10] February 15, 1732, in *La clef du Cabinet*, May, 1732, 345–350.

pilgrimages to his grave. On the other hand a great stir was created by the alleged miracles at the grave of the Jansenist deacon Pâris, in the cemetery of Saint-Médard, in Paris. Pâris had died on May 1st, 1727, at the age of thirty-seven. He had led a strict life in a Jansenist sense, so much so, that on one occasion, in keeping with the spirit of the sect, he omitted his Easter Communion and, on the plea of humility, he steadily refused to allow himself to be raised to the priesthood.[1] His funeral was said to have been marked by a miraculous cure and a second one was reported to have taken place not long after at his grave.

However, the miracles of the Jansenist deacon only played an important rôle during the pontificate of Clement XII. The opponents of the Jansenists complained that "the sect's furious desire" to have as many miracles as possible, and the zeal of its adherents in circulating so many false reports about them, was doing religion incalcuable harm. Unbelievers took occasion of this conduct to call in question and to pour ridicule on the miracles of bygone times, especially when one saw the newspaper writers of the sect drawing a comparison between the alleged miracles of François de Pâris and the miracles of Christ.[2]

(6.)

The rebellion against the Constitution had found its mainstay in the religious communities. However, with the support of the Pope and the Government, Superiors took energetic steps to bring about a change, and an improvement did actually take place even under Benedict XIII., though the efforts for a reform were still meeting with powerful opposition on all sides.

[1] [Cadry], IV., 751 *seqq*. On the writings of Pâris: [Patouillet), II., 116; on his manuscript extracts from the theology of Juenin. *Cf*. D'Alès in *Recherches de science relig*., XI. (1920), 373–387.

[2] [Patouillet], III., 375.

The General of the Oratorians had undertaken to get his subjects to subscribe to the formula, yet in 1724 Cardinal Fleury had to complain that all those who refused to submit found a refuge in Paris. Roused by the writings of Bishop Colbert of Montpellier, the students of the Congregation declared they would rather leave the Oratory than subscribe to the formula. At Condom every one of the Oratorians refused to sign.[1] Only one member of the Congregation of the Lazarists joined the Appellants,[2] though there too the Bull met with not a few opponents, even Bonnet, the General, being among them at first. The Bishop of Castres withdrew all faculties from his house because Bonnet tolerated some Jansenists among his subjects.[3] However, from 1722 onwards, when he had realized that the Constitution had been universally accepted in the Church, Bonnet began to give it his decided support. Together with some theses on grace, which he had had defended since 1723, he forwarded to Rohan and De Bissy a promise to get the Society to accept the Bull at its next general assembly.[4] From Rome he received information that, if he failed in his efforts, the Pope would withdraw the Italian and Polish Lazarists from his authority and suppress the Society.[5] Besides the Pope, the French Government also took up the cause of the Bull; it issued an order [6] that only those were to be admitted to the forthcoming general congregation who had submitted to the formula and to the Bull against Quesnel.

So it was to be expected that the decree on the acceptance of the Constitution [7] would be subscribed to by the members of the Assembly, but it was no less clear, as De Bissy and Fleury told the General,[8] that all would be in vain unless

[1] [Cadry], IV., 190.
[2] [Nivelle], II., 2, 278 *seq.*
[3] [Cadry], IV., 34.
[4] *Ibid.*, 28.
[5] *Ibid.*, 44.
[6] February, 1724, *ibid.*, 29.
[7] *Ibid.*, 45.
[8] August 14, 1724, *ibid.*, 46.

every individual subscribed and such a subscription was demanded before the profession and ordination of members. By carrying into effect these demands the Congregation was purged from Jansenism, but their execution required great sacrifices. Even before the assembly of 1724 Bonnet had been obliged to dismiss his first Assistant and the representative of the Society in Rome for many years, because they worked against him and against the acceptance of the Constitution.[1] Thereupon thirty-five of his subjects declared [2] that one half of the Congregation was against the Constitution, that to accept it would mean the ruin of the Society and that they would never agree to it. Even before the conclusion of the Assembly a memorial appeared urging resistance to its decrees [3] and Bonnet was obliged to dismiss a number of his subjects to break the opposition.[4] But he remained firm; better a few good members, he said, than many bad ones.[5]

Thanks to this ruthless principle the famous Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris was also purged of Jansenism which had penetrated it deeply and thus this important institution was saved for the Church.[6] With this object in view the two Directors Brisacier and Tiberge were prepared for any sacrifice. In October, 1720, Tiberge wrote that for some time already he had admitted no one into the Seminary; that out of every four candidates three were "on the wrong side".[7] The two Directors even thought of handing over the institution to the Lazarists or the Sulpicians in order to save it; there were so many dismissals that by November, 1725, the Seminary had shrunk to four members.[8] The Pope approved

[1] *Ibid.*, 28 *seqq.*, 32 *seqq.*

[2] June, 1724, in [Nivelle], II., 2, 277 *seq.*

[3] [Cadry], IV., 95; *cf.* 190.

[4] *Ibid.*, 384 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 36 *seq.* *Cf.* Picot, II., 258.

[6] *Ibid.*, 290–313, 876–883; A. Launay, *Hist. génér. de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, I., Paris, 1894, 491 *seqq.*; J. Brucker in *Études*, LXVII. (1896) 510 *seqq.*

[7] Brucker, *loc. cit.*, 511.

[8] *Ibid.*, 512; [Cadry], IV., 427.

their conduct [1]; that it was the right one is proved by the magnificent expansion of the institution after its seeming self-destruction.[2] Nowhere, perhaps, was the unsuspected bearing of the contemporary controversy on grace more plainly revealed than in the history of that seminary. In the opinion of the Jansenist Superior Jobard, Molinism was very unfavourable to the conversion of the pagans [3] whereas Tiberge considered that the rigid and stern Thomism, with which Jansenism masked its countenance, was but little suited to the seminary and the missions.[4] In 1729 Jobard entertained a plan for a mission in Indo-China which was to be independent of the Pope, under missionaries who would have nothing to do with the Constitution against Quesnel.[5]

In May, 1725, the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order adopted stern measures against the rebels in its bosom.[6] An earlier ordinance against them was renewed [7] and fresh penalties were added. Thus the twenty-five members who had not submitted to the earlier decree and to the Constitution, were forbidden to exercise their priestly functions; the fourteen Appellants were excommunicated together with ten others who had withdrawn their subscription to the formula; their cell was to be their prison and on three days a week they were to fast on bread and water.[8] One must take it as a proof of ignorance of the world, perhaps only possible in a Carthusian, that eleven of their members now appealed to the Pope [9] in the hope of putting a stop to the action of the General Chapter! It is easier to understand the action of some thirty of the rebels, who carried insubordination to such length that they fled to Holland. There they settled in two

[1] Brief of August 18, 1727, [CADRY], IV., 882.
[2] *Cf.* the figures in BRUCKER, *loc cit.*, 498 *seq.*
[3] [CADRY], IV., 297.
[4] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 511.
[5] *Ibid.*, 512.
[6] [CADRY], IV., 50–62, 151–164, 268–290, 398–403, 459–466.
[7] *Cf.* above, p. 57.
[8] [CADRY], IV., 288.
[9] April 10, 1725, *ibid.*, 358–360.

houses near Utrecht, under the authority of the Jansenist Archbishop, and published protests as well as an apology [1] which was suppressed by Parliament.[2] The example of the Carthusians was followed by fifteen Cistercians of the Abbey of Orval in Luxemburg, after the Premonstratensian Abbot of Grimberghe had opened a visitation there on September 14th, 1725, by command of the Pope.[3] On the other hand, at a General Chapter held towards the end of April, 1725, the Cistercian Congregation of the Feuillants threatened to punish rebellion against the formula and the Bull with the loss of the active and passive voice in the Chapters of the Order. Protests against this decree were raised in about a third of the monasteries.[4]

The Bull continued to meet with strong opposition in the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maurus. True, in 1724 the General, Denis de Sainte-Marthe, sent his submission to Rome, but he applied himself with but little success to the task of inducing his subjects to take the same step. Nevertheless forty of the Monks withdrew their appeal [5]; on the other hand 130 of them protested in writing to the Chapter assembled for the election of a new General, against any step that it might take in favour of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[6] To the next General Chapter [7] a great number of Maurists presented a memorial,[8] requesting it to refrain from any decision concerning the Constitution, as otherwise 600 members of the Order would raise a protest. In spite of everything the new General, Thibault (1725–1729), proposed that the Bull be accepted, but he was unsuccessful though by the King's command all

[1] *Ibid.*, 398–403, 459–466.

[2] April 15, 1726, *ibid.*, 565; [Patouillet], I., 95. Letter of April 13, 1726, to the General Chapter, in [Cadry], IV., 593 *seqq.*, Picot, II., 162.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 456–9, 592 *seq.*, 597 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 316.

[5] *Ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*; Fleury, LXXII., 134 *seq.*, 228.

[6] *Ibid.*, 319.

[7] Begun on May 2, 1726, *ibid.*, 588.

[8] May 23, 1726, in [Nivelle], II., 2, 657–9.

those who had renewed their appeal to the General Council after 1720, were to be excluded from the Chapter as well as from the preliminary meetings.[1] Thibault nevertheless continued during the whole of his three years of office as General to press for submission to the Holy See. To this end Fleury counselled him gradually and quietly to remove the Appellants from their offices.[2] Meanwhile the situation of the Maurists grew steadily worse. Already in March, 1726, De Bissy had let it be known that the Congregation must either submit or perish.[3] In December Cardinal Lercari sent for Dom Maloët, their procurator in Rome, and informed him that the Pope gave them a time limit of three months within which they must submit.[4] Every letter from Italy spoke of the imminent peril of dissolution.[5] Thibault, as a matter of fact, did his best to satisfy the Pope, his efforts being supported by Dom Maloët who, as Prior of Saint-Médard at Soissons, had secured the submission of that house to the Constitution.[6] Cardinal De Bissy repeatedly called together the higher Superiors of the Congregation, with a view to persuading them to obey, but, for the time being, these efforts yielded no result. A letter appeared in print [7] which represented suppression on account of the Bull *Unigenitus* as an honour for the Congregation and as suffering endured for the truth. After all, the Congregation could not endure for ever; so glorious an end would outweigh anything that it might yet have accomplished. Thibault, thereupon, published an appropriate circular [8] in which he explains that the Bull did not combat St. Augustine and St. Thomas and that in the sphere of

[1] *Ibid.*, 659; [CADRY], IV., 587.

[2] [CADRY], IV., 588.

[3] *Ibid.*, 587.

[4] *Ibid.*, 676, 685.

[5] *Ibid.*, 687.

[6] See MAURICE LECOMTE, *Les deux derniers procureurs des Bénédictins à Rome, Dom Conrade et Dome Maloët, d'après leur correspondance*, in *Rev. Mabillon*, IV. (1908), 366–379.

[7] March 18, 1727, [CADRY], IV., 689.

[8] April 5, 1727, *ibid.*, 690. *Cf.* [NIVELLE], II., 2, 660.

Moral Theology Benedict XIII. had re-enacted, at the Roman Council, St. Charles Borromeo's principles for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance. Nearly all the Bishops of the world had agreed with three Popes who had, with one voice, ordered that the Bull should be accepted. "If we do not listen to them, where is the Church, which must be at all times visible, to whose views we owe submission? Let us give up our feeble understanding and cling to the pillar of truth." However, the General's circular achieved very little [1]; in two-thirds of the houses of the Congregation it was not even publicly read, at Corbie the Prior left the room as soon as the reading began and the other Monks followed him; from Dijon the answer to the circular was a declaration that the house would not submit.[2]

For all that the way for the acceptance of the Constitution was being gradually prepared. In spite of isolated signs to the contrary, the number of the Appellants does not seem to have been so very great; the General, Sainte-Marthe, wrote to Cardinal Polignac [3] that it did not amount to one-fourth of all the Monks and at none of the General Chapters had a decree against the Bull been passed. The final settlement of the dispute was greatly helped by a letter of the Maurist Vincent Thuillier,[4] himself a former Appellant. From his letter we gather that many Maurists went so far as to seek support in the Jansenist miracles; one of their number, they alleged, had several times spent the whole of Lent without food.[5] "All your miracles," Thuillier wrote,[6] "even if they were

[1] [Cadry], IV., 764–775.

[2] *Ibid.*, 768, 769.

[3] In Schill, 239, n. 1.

[4] *Lettre d'un ancien professeur en théologie de la Congrég. de Saint-Maur, qui a révoqué son appel, à un autre professeur de la même Congrég., qui persiste dans le sien,* Paris, 1727. There followed a "*seconde*" and "*troisième lettre*". Ch. de Lama, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Congrég. de Saint-Maur,* Monaco, 1882, n. 419 *seqq.*

[5] [Cadry], IV., 691, 767.

[6] *Ibid.*, 691.

more numerous, better attested and more brilliant, could not do away with the plain fact that the Jansenists are a party separated from the Church." He himself would reject an Angel from heaven if he taught a doctrine other than that of the official teachers of the Church. It was beside the point to object that many of the condemned propositions were echoes of sayings of the Fathers of the Church. Criticism was in place even in regard to the Fathers of the Church. It was possible to adduce expressions of writers of the first three centuries against the consubstantiality of the Word or text against the doctrine of original sin from Chrysostom and against Christ's real presence in the Eucharist from St. Augustine. These arguments did not prove generally acceptable in the Congregation. At the General Chapter of 1729 a proposal was made that action should be taken against Thuillier. The Chapter's partiality for the Jansenists also betrayed itself in the elections; in not a few instances these were quashed by the Government. The new General, Alaidon, was not allowed to present himself at court.[1]

Benedict XIII's. reign came to an end before the submission of the celebrated Congregation had made any considerable progress. Whilst fully recognizing the great achievements of the Maurists, the Pope was at times profoundly dissatisfied with them and not sparing of threats.[2] In the end a waiting policy seemed advisable and this attitude was rewarded by the Monks' eventual submission.

(7.)

In the course of the last year of his life Innocent XIII. had received information of the election of Cornelius Steenoven as Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht, and he had ordered a Brief to be drawn up on this illegal step. Further information

[1] PHIL. LE CERF, *Hist. de la Constitution Unigenitus en ce qui regarde la Congr. de Saint-Maur*, Utrecht, 1736; P. DENIS in *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1909, 350 *seq.*; [NIVELLE], II., 2, 663 *seqq.*

[2] [CADRY], IV., 852–6; FLEURY, LXXII., 531 *seqq.*

was received after the Pope's death by the Cardinals assembled in conclave. It was, of course, known in Holland that the Pope would not confirm Steenoven's election; hence it was a burning problem to know what to do in the circumstances. A publication appeared in Amsterdam which sought to prove that the elect might have himself consecrated by any Bishop, in spite of the Pope.[1] Accordingly the assembled Cardinals charged the internuncio of Brussels, Giuseppe Spinelli,[2] to instruct those under his care that the Utrecht electors had no right to style themselves a Chapter and that they had no power to institute parish priests and that the faithful could not receive the Sacraments at the latter's hands. Neighbouring Bishops must be warned against the pretensions of the so-called Chapter which presumed to issue dimissorial letters, appointed parish priests and had ended by electing as Archbishop an excommunicated priest for whose consecration it looked to Varlet, a Bishop who was himself suspended, irregular and excommunicated. Thereupon Spinelli enjoined the Dutch Catholics by letter[3] to have nothing to do with the schismatics. Spinelli begins by declaring that the Holy See had charged him with the government of the Dutch missions[4]; he received episcopal consecration in the following year in order that Holland might have once more a legitimate pastor.[5] The men of Utrecht foresaw that the Cardinals in conclave and the internuncio would speak out and that their warnings would make an impression, hence they took their own measures to counter them.[6] On May 2nd, 1724, they addressed a letter to the Cardinals together with various documents[7] and on June 1st they addressed themselves to the Chapters of Germany.[8] Varlet appealed to the whole Catholic Church[9]

[1] Mozzi, II., 144; [Cadry], IV., 142.

[2] April 8, 1724, in Mozzi, III., 85–90.

[3] May 4, 1724, *ibid.*, 91–5.

[4] "Ad regimen missionum Hollandicarum a S. Sede specialiter deputatus." *Ibid.*, 91.

[5] *Ibid.*, 171; Guarnacci, II., 689.

[6] Mozzi, II., 147 *seqq.*

[7] [Cadry], IV., 142

[8] Mozzi, II., 150.

[9] June 6, 1724, [Cadry], IV., 143.

and, after the Pope's election, to Benedict XIII.[1] who was also requested by Utrecht to confirm Steenoven.[2] No reply was made and they now felt justified to go forward without the Pope. For form's sake they requested five neighbouring Bishops to consecrate their chosen candidate; when they received no reply from that quarter, Varlet remained their only refuge[3]; on October 15th, 1724 he performed the rite in a private house, thus infringing yet another law of the Church.[4] The matter was kept secret, as the consent of the States had not been sought, but by the evening all Amsterdam knew about it. The burgomaster summoned three of those who had engineered the affair to give an account of their conduct, but they were easily satisfied.[5] After that Steenoven informed the Pope of his consecration and prayed for the archiepiscopal pallium. But as he expected excommunication rather than such a distinction, he sought to insure against it by appealing, together with his electors, to the next General Council.[6] In a Brief to the Catholics of Holland[7] Benedict XIII. laid no censure either on the electors or the elect; he, however, declared the election of Steenoven invalid, his consecration illicit and himself suspended. Steenoven was forbidden, under pain of immediate excommunication, either to appoint parish priests or to administer the Sacraments; no one was to communicate with him or receive a Sacrament at his hands. The Brief reached Steenoven on March 1725; by April 3rd he was a corpse. As recently as March 30th he had repeated his appeal to a General Council[8] and on December 6th, 1724, he had published, in Latin and French, a lengthy manifesto on the rights of the Church of Utrecht.[9]

[1] August 6, 1724, *ibid.*

[2] August, 1724; Mozzi, II., 153.

[3] [Cadry], IV., 145.

[4] Mozzi, II., 164 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 167; [Cadry], IV., 147.

[6] November 23, 1724; [Cadry], IV., 148.

[7] February 21, 1725, **Epist. ad princ.*, I., 438, Papal Secret Archives; Mozzi, II., 175 *seq.*; III., 96–9; *Bull*, XXII., 125; Fleury, LXXI., 760.

[8] [Cadry], IV., 237.

[9] *Ibid.*, 236 *seq.*

After Steenoven's death the Pope strove, through the intervention of the Catholic Powers with the Dutch Government [1] and through that of a friend with Varlet,[2] to prevent the election of another Archbishop, but on May 15th Barchman Vuytiers was chosen to succeed Steenoven and on September 30th Varlet consecrated him. He informed the Pope of his nomination and consecration—as all subsequent Jansenist Bishops have done up to our own times. The Pope, as was to be expected, protested.[3] Barchman and his Chapter replied with a fresh appeal to a General Council [4] and Varlet with another apologia.[5] The French Carthusians and the Cistercians of the Abbey of Orval in Luxemburg, who had fled to Holland on account of their Jansenism, joined in the appeal.[6] The French Jansenists recognized Barchman as Archbishop [7] whilst the latter, after the French model,

[1] Briefs of February 27, 1725, to the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, to Venice, to the German Electors, etc., *Epist. ad princ.*, I., 450, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* [CADRY], IV., 392 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 393, and in [DUPAC], 519 *seqq.*, the letter of the Doge Mocenigo and the reply of the States.

[2] [CADRY], IV., 395; MOZZI, II., 207; [DUPAC], 531.

[3] To the Dutch Catholics, August 23, 1723 (*Epist. ad princ.*, I., 79, *loc. cit.*), in MOZZI, III., 100–3; *Bull*, XXII., 241; December 6 (*Epist. ad princ.*, I., 153, *loc. cit.*), in MOZZI, II., 104–7. Barchmann had received his education from the Oratorians and at Louvain under Hennebel ([DUPAC], 525); he and Brodersen were expelled from the College of Louvain ([CADRY], III., Sec. 8, p. 23).

[4] [CADRY], IV., 503.

[5] *Ibid.*, 504.

[6] August 21, 1726, *ibid.*, 596. *Cf.* H. J. ALLARD, *De Orvalisten te Rijnwijck*, in *Studiën*, 1878 and 1886.

[7] Namely, the Bishops of Montpellier (July 29, 1725), Auxerre (October, 1725), Bayeux (November 22, 1725), Senez (December 7, 1725); 41 and later 36 ecclesiastics of various dioceses (June 20 and December 10, 1726), 11 ecclesiastics of Arras and Tournai (March 5, 1727), 30, and then 17, ecclesiastics of Nantes (July 31 and August 17, 1727) besides some isolated approvals. [DUPAC], 539 *seq.* *Recueil des témoignages*, 217–231, 247–276.

appealed to a miracle as a proof of the righteousness of his cause.[1] It happened, however, that on one occasion when he attempted to induct a Jansenist parish priest, the indignant countryfolk forced him to flee in disguise; as for the parish priest, to avoid ill-treatment he had to seek shelter in the house of a Protestant, whilst the community swore it would accept no parish priest from Barchman.[2]

Thereafter the Chapter of Haarlem remained separated from that of Utrecht and subject to the Holy See. Steenoven had assumed the title of Vicar-General of Haarlem. After his death the Chapter of Utrecht bestowed the same dignity on Barchman which he then retained even as Archbishop. When the Canons of Haarlem protested, Barchman replied with another protest.[3] The papal Brief against Barchman, dated December 6th, 1725, was respectfully received by the Canons of Haarlem, but a pastoral letter which the new Archbishop sent to them was returned by them.[4] In spite of this Barchman urged them to elect a Bishop for their own city, but his letter remained unanswered.[5] Some parish priests of Haarlem now claimed that, after the Archbishop's three warnings to the Canons, the right of election had passed to them and that they transferred it to the Archbishop who now appointed a certain Doncquer who, however, was never consecrated.[6]

For his own person Barchman endeavoured to secure a declaration of the States—independently of the nuncio—subjecting all the Catholics of Holland to himself. But he encountered strong opposition. One Catholic travelled all over the country for the purpose of collecting signatures to a petition to the States. After that a Catholic deputation presented itself before the States declaring that they could not accept

[1] [CADRY], IV., 672 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 671.

[3] MOZZI, II., 184 *seq.*, 198 *seqq.* The Haarlem protest, May 19, 1725, *ibid.*, 201 *seq.*; renewed protest, October 2, 1725, *ibid.*, 223–227.

[4] *Ibid.*, 239–241.

[5] *Ibid.*, 256.

[6] [CADRY], IV., 787.

Barchman as their Archbishop. The Government were surprised that there were so many Catholics opponents of Jansenism but gave the petitioners a favourable answer. From that time onwards Barchman was simply described, even by the Protestants, as the Jansenists' Bishop.[1]

Some compensation for this disappointment seemed to await Barchman in the East. Irina Petrowna Gallitzin, wife of Sergius Petrowich Dolgoruki, having accompanied her husband on a journey to western Europe, remained for some time in Holland after the latter's return. Whilst there she became a Catholic, thanks to the influence of a keen Jansenist, the Princess d'Auvergne. On June 11th, 1727, at Leiden, Barchman received her into the Church with great solemnity. Now it so happened that just then the Dolgorukofs were all-powerful under youthful Tsar Peter II.; Catherine Dolgoruki was his fiancée and Alexis Gregorowich Dolgoruki was the real leader of the State. If a priest with knowledge of the world could be sent to Moscow in the capacity of tutor to Irina's children, there might be a prospect of founding a Jansenist patriarchate there. For this difficult post choice was made of Jubé de la Cour, the same who had introduced a liturgy after his own taste at Asnières. Barchman invested him on his own authority and without reference to the Pope, with all the faculties he might require, that is power to absolve, to dispense, to bless and to consecrate, to approve priests, to send them forth and to recall them. At Moscow, Jubé had a serious discussion with the Spanish ambassador on the means for bringing about the reunion of the Churches, for which he himself sought to prepare the way by circulating printed works. Peter II's premature death and the accession of the Empress Anne, an enemy of Catholicism, put an end to these prospects.[2] Under her rule Irena Dolgoruki had occasion to experience what was meant by Russian freedom

[1] Mozzi, II., 241 *seqq.*

[2] P. Pierling, *La Sorbonne et la Russie*, 1717–1747 Paris, 1882; *Ibid.*, *La Russie et le St-Siège*, IV. (1907), 308 *seq.*, 329 *seqq.*, 332 *seqq.*, 354 *seqq.*; H. J. Allard, *Utrecht en Moskou*, in *Studiën*, XL. (1893); [Dupac], 546 *seqq.*

of conscience. Through a common soldier Anne sent to her, an aristocratic lady, an order to go to confession and Communion. Irena preferred exile. When, at her farewell audience, she stooped in order to kiss the Empress' hand, the latter gave her a heavy box on the ear and inveighed against her in the best fishwife's style. Eventually under pressure of the Empress Elizabeth, Irena apostatized from the Catholic religion.[1]

Besides union with Russia, Barchman also busied himself with a mission among the pagan Laos in Farther India. When on May 17th, 1719, Propaganda demanded acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* from all the missionaries in the foreign mission field, Barchman conceived the idea of founding, for a mission among the Laos, a seminary which would be independent of Propaganda. Some missionaries, under the Oratorian Terrasson, were actually preparing to set out, armed with faculties from Barchman, but after the latter's death nothing came of the plan.[2]

Barchman's episcopal consecration proved disastrous for the widely known Louvain professor of Canon Law, Zeger van Espen. He was known to sympathize with the Jansenists, hence when the question of Barchman's consecration arose, he was asked for his opinion as to whether the consecration would be valid if, contrary to the provisions of Canon Law, it was conferred without special papal dispensation and not by three Bishops but by only one. Van Espen not only replied in the affirmative but even spoke unreservedly in the sense of the men of Utrecht. Thereupon the internuncio protested to the Emperor. Charles VI. ordered the document in question to be publicly torn up at Brussels and proceedings to be taken against Van Espen if it was proved that he really was its

[1] PIERLING, *Russie*, IV., 366 *seq.*, 386.

[2] [DUPAC], 552 *seq.* In the Jansenist Colony of the island of Nordstrand, to the West of Slesvig, founded in 1652 (A. MALET in *Études*, CX. [1907], 268), and placed under the Dutch mission by Clement IX., dissensions arose among the parish priests under Benedict XIV. FLEURY, LXXVI., 731–760 ; *cf.* LXXIV., 514 *seq.*

author.[1] The upshot of the affair was that Van Espen was condemned. He escaped to Holland and died there at the Jansenist seminary of Amersfoort.[2]

(8.)

Thanks to ceaseless work, extreme moderation in food and drink, and regular exercise, Benedict XIII. had preserved an enviable robustness up to the threshold of his eightieth year. During the whole of his pontificate we only hear of one really serious illness, namely in the summer of 1729.[3] Passing indispositions were for the most part due to excessive fasting and overwork. At no time would he hear of husbanding his strength: in the hottest as well as in the coldest seasons he carried out long religious functions. When people drew his attention to his advanced years and urged moderation, he was wont to reply that a Pope should die with a cope on.[4]

Even during the severe winter of 1729–1730 the Pontiff refused to spare himself in the slightest degree, though in view of his fluctuating state of health—one day he was full

[1] Mozzi, II., 193, 217 *seqq.* Copy of the imperial edict of September 12, 1725, *ibid.*, 218–221.

[2] *Ibid.*, 261–269. Text of the sentence of February 1, 1728, *ibid.*, 266 *seq.* *Cf.* Fleury, LXXI., 765–769. An earlier consultation of Van Espen on the appeal of 1718 in [Nivelle], II., Suite, *Appendix*, 29.

[3] Reports from Rome, July 14 and August 26, 1729. The latter says: "Il sig. card. Coscia sta molto agitato, va mattina e sera a veder la S. Stà e con persone di sua confidenza sò aver detto, che il Papa cala alla giornata." Coscia has already dispatched "robbe e pitture" to Beneventum. But on September 2 an improvement is *reported and on December 16: "La salute di S. Stà va a meraviglia bene." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] "*Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII.," *Ms.* in my possession [now in Baron v. Pastor Library].

of energy, the next day he felt exhausted[1]—some care would have been advisable. He seemed to be quite well when on February 2nd, 1730, he kept his eighty-second birthday. On the 11th, in spite of his feeling very weak, he held a consistory.[2] An epidemic, which was raging in Rome at the time,[3] attacked him suddenly on the 18th and hastened his end. On the 19th he was unable to rise to say his Mass as was his habit. On the following day he asked for holy Viaticum. Owing to inability to take any food, his weakness grew rapidly. For all that he was anxious to hear Mass on the morning of the 21st in his oratory, but was prevailed upon to desist. He then heard Mass in his own room, remaining on his knees the whole time and with head uncovered. He continued his prayers for another quarter of an hour, at the end of which his weakness was such that he had to take to his bed. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon he expired peacefully.[4]

The news of the Pope's death was not at once made public as it was the last day of the carnival and there was some fear of disorder if a stop were put to the amusements. The streets were filled with masked people, onlookers and carriages, and everybody was anxious to watch the races of the Barberi in the Corso. The races were held and in the evening the theatres opened their doors but during the performance news of the Pope's death began to circulate. Thereupon the performance

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial Chancellery, January 7, 14, and 28, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] *Report of the same, February 11, 1730, *ibid.*

[3] *Report of the same, February 21, 1730, *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, and Bentivoglio's *report to De la Paz, dat. Rome, February 21, 1730, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* " *Conclave doppo la morte ", etc., *loc. cit.* According to the report on the post-mortem here quoted, the cause of death was complete exhaustion. At a later date [1780], Cardinal Zelada, the celebrated librarian, occupied the room in which Benedict XIII. died. Gregory XVI. turned it into the Museo Etrusco ; see *Pubblicazioni della Specola Vaticana*, I., Roma, 1891, 17.

was stopped and the people went home, but many refused to give credence to the report. However, the display of armed forces in the streets and the ringing of the big bell of the Capitol soon convinced them of the truth of the report.[1]

Mention must be made of the fact that Benedict XIII., himself a theological writer, encouraged every scholarly endeavour.[2] He published a very useful Constitution about

[1] " *Conclave doppo la morte," etc., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *letter of Fra G. B. Gagliardi to his father, Giulio, dat. Rome, February 25, 1730, in *Cod.* II., VI., 9, Bibl. Queriniana, Brescia.

[2] On the furtherance of the theological Faculty in Rome, see BORGIA, *Vita*, 84 *seqq.*; on B. Perfetti's poems, *cf.* above, p. 162. On the honours bestowed on Crescimbini, see BAUMGARTNER, VI., 492, on the theological studies at the Sapienza: *Bull*, XXII., 349. On the foundation of the University of Camerino, see *ibid.*, 579; NOVAES, 141; NARDONE, 25. How greatly Benedict XIII. valued serious scholarship appears from his *Briefs to E. Martène, May 1, 1725, and B. Montfaucon, October 3, 1725. *Cf.* also the *Briefs to Ferd. di Sanfelice, May 4, 1726 (thanking him for the dedication of the book *De situ Campaniae*), to the Academy of the Crusca in Florence, June 12, 1727 (thanking it for its *Vocabularium*), Papal Secret Archives. In 1724 G. Vignoli dedicated to the Pope his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*. *Cf.* also *Componimenti poetici dedicati a . . . Benedetto XIII. dalla ragunanza degli Arcadi nel gettarsi la prima pietra ne' fondamenti del nuovo teatro per li Congressi Letterari della medesima l'anno MDCCXXV.*, Roma, 1725. (Benedict XIII. was a member of the Arcadia under the name of Teofilo Sancio, which name he retained as Pope; see NARDONE, 27.) To this place also belongs the *Brief to Cardinal B. Pamfili, March 1, 1729 (Papal Secret Archives): " In order to reward Laur. Phil. de Rubeis for his efforts ' ad publicam studiorum utilitatem in antiquis Urbis et sacris monumentis aere excudendis ' and to encourage him to continue, we thought it befitting, ' tuis suffragiis accedentibus, ut eum Vaticanae Bibliothecae ministerii dignaremur. Ipsum de conservanda antiquitatis memoria et propagatione insignium operum et sacrarum aedium celebritate egregie meritum Chalcographum Vatic. constituimus; privilegium quod ei Clem. XI. per Breve, 24 aug. 1720 concesserat, perpetuum volumus pro heredibus et successoribus, ut nemini praeter ipsos liceat opera a Io. Iac. seu a Dominico de

ecclesiastical archives.[1] He was keen on lowering taxation, to assure the provisioning of the city and to promote agriculture.[2] He made generous provision for mentally afflicted persons at the Hospital of S. Maria della Pietà, in the Via Lungara,[3] and for the destitute victims of skin diseases in the new Hospital of S. Gallicano.[4] Innumerable destitute persons were in receipt of assistance from him.[5] He carried out restorations at St. Paul's outside the Walls, St. Mary Major, S. Maria in Domnica and S. Sisto.[6] S. Niccolò dei Prefetti and S. Filippo in via Giulia were completely

Rubeis incisa vel excusa vel ab ipso Laurentio vel heredibus excudere vel excusa vendere sub poenis expressis. Volumus, ut omnium imaginum typon seu exemplar unum Bibliothecae gratis inferre debeant. Pro singulari studio, quo artes et apostolicam Bibliothecam prosequeris, eum tuearis.' *Cf.* *Brief to Card. Borgia, March 22, 1727 (*ibid.*) : 'Quas Annibal card. Albanus impendit curas ad selectos pios libros e Typographia Urbinate sub patrocinio Nostro instituta magnifice edendos, cupimus, etc.' "

[1] Loewinson, *Un Papa archivista*, in the periodical *Gli archivi italiani*, III., 159 *seqq.*

[2] Benigni, 76 *seq.*; De Cupis, 298 *seqq.*

[3] Forcella, XII., 385 *seqq.*, 394 *seq.* The building was demolished in 1910 (*cf.* Tonetti, *Ipazzi a Roma*, in *Giorn. d'Italia*, 1910, February 6) ; it was the first real lunatic asylum in Rome, founded in 1725.

[4] *Bull*, XXII., 440 ; Forcella, XI., 409 *seqq.* ; *Breve ragguaglio dello spedale eretto in Roma dalla S. di N. S. Benedetto XIII. sotto il titolo di S. Maria e di S. Gallicano e delle opere di carità che vi si praticano*, Roma, 1929. *Cf.* Valesio, in *Rassegna bibl. d'arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 115 *seq.*, 156. By Brief of July 14, 1728, Benedict XIII. recommended the new hospital to the Emperor and to the Kings of France, Spain and Sardinia.

[5] Borgia, *Vita*, 112, 126 *seqq.*

[6] Forcella, VIII., 177 ; X., 535 ; XI., 290 ; XII., 3 ; Jozzi, *S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, 15 *seqq.* ; *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1913), 116 ; Cracas, October 28, 1725 ; *ibid.*, July 20, 1726, on the new bell presented to St. Peter's. *Cf.* *Rassegna bibl.*, *loc. cit.*, 115. On the paintings for S. Clemente, see Nolan, *S. Clemente*, 57 ; restoration of the chapels in the Vatican :

rebuilt.[1] All these undertakings were as unsuccessful as was the new façade of S. Maria sopra Minerva which is wholly devoid of taste, as a result of the Pope's trust in his beloved Beneventans. These also restored, after their fashion, the chapel of St. Dominic in the church of the Minerva.[2] In this chapel Benedict XIII. was buried on February 22nd, 1739,[3] in a sepulchre erected by Cardinals Alessandro Albani, Quirini,

MORONI, IX., 154. Paving of the Piazza of St. Peter's, *ibid.*, XII., 267. During the renovation of the pavement of S. Agnese fuori le Mura, carried out by order of Benedict XIII., the inscription which Pope Damasus had put on the tomb of the Saint, was discovered. The Dominican Brémond wrote an essay on it at the request of the Pope ; see *Bull. ord. Praed.*, VII., 521 *seq.* ; *Romana Tellus*, I. (1912), 92 *seqq.* The excavations on the Palatine which had been begun in 1720 by order of Francesco, Duke of Parma, were continued ; Bianchini gave a description of them ; see HÜLSEN, in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, 1895, 252 *seq.* ; EGGER, *Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hofbibliothek*, I., Wien, 1903, 36 *seq.* On the buildings put up by Benedict XIII. in Civitavecchia, see CALISSE, 543.

[1] FORCELLA, X., 233 ; *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVII. (1914), 138. The most important travel book about Italy, in the German language, and of the first half of the eighteenth century, viz. *Joh. Georg Keyslers Reisen*, 1729/1731, bears witness to an increased general interest in art ; see FRIEDLÄNDER in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1876, 243.

[2] *Cf.* the extracts from Valesio's *Diario* in *Rassegna bibl. d. arte ital.*, XVI. (1923), 113 *seqq.*, XVII. (1914), 138 *seqq.* ; BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 296 *seqq.* Berthier (214 *seq.*) describes also the new high altar presented by Benedict XIII., which, on account of its bad taste, was removed during the last restoration. On the renovation of the Baptistry and of the pavement of the side aisles, see SPINELLI, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, 20 *seq.*

[3] " *Documenta varia de morte et funeralibus PP. Benedicti XIII.," fasc. X., 529, General Archives of the Dominicans, Rome, and " *Documenta varia de translatione corporis Benedicti XIII., in ecclesiam Minervitanam de Urbe ", *ibid.*, fasc. X., 530. *Ibid.*, fasc. X., 528, also " *Documenta varia de pontificatu Benedicti XIII. " ; *cf.* also GHEZZI, " *Diarium Benedicti XIII.," *Cod.* XX., III., 23, Bibl. Casanatense, Rome.

Lercari, Fini, Duke Domenico of Gravina and Tommaso Ripoll, General of the Dominicans, with the magnificence of which the deceased would assuredly have found fault. The plan was furnished by Carlo Marchioni, who also executed the relief on the sepulchral urn representing the Provincial Council of Rome and the angels supporting the coat of arms. The white marble statue of the Pope, which is very effective against a dark background, is the work of Pietro Bracci. The figures on either side of the urn symbolize Religion and Innocence.[1]

The representation of the dead Pontiff on this monument differs from the traditional one in that the aged Pope is shown engaged in fervent prayer, half kneeling and facing towards the altar. As a matter of fact he was one of the most devout and humble Popes. Of this there can be no doubt, but neither can there be any doubt that, in consequence of his lack of knowledge of the world and of men, he relied with an almost childish trustfulness on favourites who deceived him shamefully. He possessed the evangelical simplicity of the dove, says Cardinal Pacca, but not the guileless prudence which is required for escaping the snares of human malice.[2]

[1] GRADUCA, *P. Bracci*, plate 8; BORGIA, *Vita*, 136 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, *Minerve*, 298 *seqq.*; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 19 *seq.*; NARDONE, 29 *seq.*; SPINELLI, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, 83. A bust of Benedict XIII. is in the Bibl. Ambrosiana, Milan, another by Fr. GIARDONI in the Museo Piersanti, Matelica, and yet another in marble, very expressive, in the Baptistery of S. Maria Maggiore.

[2] B. PACCA, *Notizie istor. intorno alla vita di Msgr. Fr. Pacca*, 3ª ediz., Orvieto, 1839, 15. *Cf.* B. MOROSINI, *Relazione di Roma* (see above, p. 127, n. 5), who says: "Egli era di santissimi costumi e di ottima volontà, ma la stravaganza del pensare, l'inesperienza del principato, l'avversione che aveva a Roma, l'abbandono à favoriti di pessimi talenti hanno prodotto le irregolarità che a V. Serenità sono note." See also CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4. An *account in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican says: "Di Papa Benedetto diceva il card. Boncompagni che era il s. sepolcro tra le mani de' Turchi." *Satires against him after his death in *Cod.* 3, 11, 7, Bertoliana Library, Vicenza.

This simplicity rendered him most credulous towards his confidants, more especially Coscia, to a degree almost beyond belief.[1] Nor was he free from great obstinacy, in spite of all his piety [2] and there was a tinge of pettiness and narrowness in his character.[3] Apart from his credulity, his greatest misfortune was the fact that he was unprepared for the management of the affairs of State and too old to learn the difficult art of government for which he lacked all natural aptitude.[4] If even as Pope he treated the General of the Dominicans as his Superior and kissed his hand,[5] the thing may have been a mere formality, but a formality that showed that nature had prepared him for obeying rather than for commanding.

[1] CORDARA, ed. DÖLLINGER, III., 4.

[2] Acts of a process of canonization which was not carried through are in the General Archives of the Dominicans, Rome: "*Processus auctoritate ordinaria compilatus in civitate Derthonensi in causa beatificationis et canonizationis Benedicti pp. XIII. (fasc. X., 531); *Testimonia varia de sancta vita Benedicti XIII. (fasc. X., 532); *Documenta de miraculis per intercessionem ven. servi Dei Benedicti P. P. XIII. obtentis sive in eius vita sive post mortem (fasc. X., 533); *Manuscripta R^mi P. Brémond magistri generalis studio exarata de vita et miraculis ven. servi Dei Benedicti XIII. (fasc. X., 534)"; *Notes and accounts from the correspondence of the Generals of the Order (up to 1750) on miracles wrought through the invocation of Benedict XIII. (IV., several vols.).

[3] That the Pope frequently lost himself in small matters has been observed already by Kaunitz in an entry in his *Diary, June 10 1724, Wrbna-Kaunitz Archives, Holleschau.

[4] "Benoît XIII. n'avait pas la première idée du gouvernement," says Benedict XIV. (Lettres à Tencin, II., 282). "Tout son mal," writes Polignac, July 17, 1727, "est de prendre des partis brusquement et sand consulter. On ne saurait les prévenir et il en coûte pour y remédier. Mais avec un peu de temps et de peine, on en vient à bout, car il a toutes les intentions pures et assez d'humilité pour avouer qu'il aurait pu aller plus doucement et pour revenir sur ses pas," *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 411.

[5] MURATORI, XII., 114.

Coscia and his associates exploited his weakness of character, his credulity and good nature with unheard of impudence. The ensuing grave abuses injured not only the financial position of the Holy See, but its interests and its prestige also—one need only think of the agreement with the Emperor and the court of Turin on the *Monarchia Sicula*. They cast a deep shadow over the pontificate of five and a half years of high-minded Benedict XIII. and strengthened the widespread dislike of the choice of a Frate: to be an able Pope it is not enough to be an excellent religious.

CLEMENT XII. 1730–1740.

CHAPTER I.

Election and Character of Clement XII.—His Action as a Reformer.

(1.)

Benedict XIII.'s death was the signal for the overthrow of the domination of the Beneventan favourites at the Curia.[1] However, the irritation of the public had for its object not so much the unhappy Pontiff, whom the people rather pitied and to whom, with rare affection and fervour, it gave a supreme proof of gratitude,[2] but chiefly Cardinal Coscia and his followers.[3]

[1] The general demoralization, the maladministration of the Beneventans and the indifference of the Pope (*cf.* Zanelli, 11 *seqq.*) are vividly described by Ruele, **Storia del conclave, Cod.*, 5746, State Library, Vienna ("Si può dire al non plus ultra"; even the locks on the doors were stolen). *Cf.* *Conclave nel quale è stato eletto . . . Clemente XII. (1730), A. I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and various *papers on Coscia in *Cod. Barb.*, 4686, Vatican Library; also *Pasquino poet. che descrive l'ottavo sacco di Roma sotto il pontif. di Benedetto XIII., *Cod.*, XV., D 35, National Library, Naples. Other *satires are in *Codd. Vat.*, 9372, 9390, 9728, Vatican Library; in *Cod.*, 1, 8, 5, National Library, Florence; in L. Benveduti Library, Gubbio. The *Vita, dottrina e miracoli di P. Benedetto XIII., *Cod.*, 39, D 2, Corsini Library, Rome, is also satirical.

[2] Thus at the last kissing of the feet of the corpse, *"poichè da gran tempo non si ricordava la gran calca di persone affolate per toccargli o bacciargli i piedi." As the people even cut off pieces from the garments, the guard of honour had to be

By order of the Camerlengo, Cardinal Annibale Albani, the *Maggiordomo* began with a purge of the Apostolic Palace; he proceeded with unpitying severity against Cardinal Coscia, Monsignore Santamaria and Cardinal Fini.[1] The day after the Pope's death—it happened to be Ash Wednesday—they had to clear out of the palace. Coscia had his clothes taken to the house of a friend on the Corso, the Marchese Abbati, where he found a refuge for the next few days.[2] He was ill at the time. An angry crowd was waiting in the square of St. Peter's, ready to vent its fury against any Beneventan. After a sudden downpour of rain and the prudent dispositions of the Swiss Guard had prevented a dangerous outbreak,[3]

strengthened (*Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., see above, p. 292, n. 4). A slipper of Benedict XIII. was taken to Innsbruck, where it is preserved in the Museum Fernandinum.

[3] The reason was: "aver veduto che il Papa era dalli loro così miseramente sedotto, a non riguardarli con quell'affetto che dalla sua santità di vita e affetto paterno si ripromettevano maggiore"; details proofs (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* *Storia del conclave 1730, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna: "Nel governo passato s'erano indegnamente abusati della dolcezza del principe."

[1] "*Quali furono li più sleali et odiati ministri e famigliari nella corte" ("Conclave nel quale . . ." [1730], A. I, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). *Ibid.*, details of the measures taken against Coscia, etc.; Fini could hardly get lodgings. On the measures taken for re-establishing order, *cf.* **Cod. Barb.*, 4686–7, Vat. Library, also WAHRMUND in *Archiv. für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII. (1892), 105 *seqq.*

[2] His servants were recognized and molested. Santamaria likewise had his effects taken to the brothers Vinc. and Fil. Oreste. "*Conclave nel quale . . ." (1730), *loc. cit.*

[3] "*Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit. Ibid.* also an account of the disturbances. See also Cardinal Cienfuegos *report of February 23, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz of February 25, 1730, Simancas Archives; *Autobiography of Cardinal C. Cibo in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 120, pp. 30 *seqq.*, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome; Gagliardi's *letter (see above, p. 294, n. 4), an extract of which is printed in *Arch. Rom.*, XIII., 17. *Cf.* BROSCH, II., 73.

Coscia had himself carried out of the Vatican on a stretcher, in the dead of night, without being recognized.

However, his whereabouts soon became known when the excitement of the masses broke out in a regular mutiny. On the third day of the vacancy of the See, February 23rd, Abbati's house was made to undergo a regular siege ; a hail of stones broke every window ; the populace, uttering terrible threats, threw itself on anyone suspected of being a Beneventan [1] and demanded the death of the " assassins ".[2] It became necessary, for their own protection, to take Coscia's friends Ramone and Negroni [3] to prison in a carriage guarded by mounted troops and a posse of police. At night the bridge of S. Angelo was closed by soldiers in order to prevent some of the mutinous elements of the Trastevere from penetrating into the interior of the city. The Bolognese ambassador Cipro Aldobrandini and the Camerlengo helped Coscia to escape that same night from Rome to Cisterna.[4] Soldiers continued to march through the streets day and night until, as a result of further stern measures by the Camerlengo and the *Capi d'ordini*, tranquillity was at last restored.

At the first cardinalitial congregation, which also took place on February 28th, the Sacred College provisionally replaced the treasurer Negroni by Carlo Sagripanti and the *Commissario dell'armi* Sardini, by Francesco Ricci.[5] On the

[1] " *Tiratelli, tiratelli, amazatelo, che è Beneventano ! " (" Conclave nel quale . . ." [1730], *loc. cit.* Only Fini was spared because he was less discredited ; Santamaria, whom they wanted to get hold of particularly, fled to the Monastery of the Minerva (*ibid.*).

[2] " *Gridò l'infuriato popolo che voleva in mano gl'assassini per trucidarli, tentò di sforzar la guardia, sinchè sopraggiungendo la soldatesca fu dissipato." Storia del concl., 1730, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna.

[3] He was " *tesoriere, notorio concubinario di Bettuccia del medesimo Ramone sorella carnale." *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid. Cf.* *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.* In Cisterna Duke Gaetani took him into his house.

[5] *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

occasion of the customary presentation of condolences by the Powers [1] the diplomatic representatives of Venice and Malta alone spoke. In the absence of the imperial, French and Spanish ambassadors, Cienfuegos, Polignac and Bentivoglio spoke in their place. Ormea and Grasso were not admitted as legitimate representatives of Savoy and Sardinia.[2]

At the conclusion of the solemn obsequies Cardinal Barberini said the Mass of the Holy Ghost on March 5th, in the place of the Dean of the Sacred College, Pignatelli, who was still absent. Amadori Lanfredini delivered the opening discourse after which the Cardinals present [3] entered the conclave.[4]

[1] The letters of condolence of the Emperor and of the Kings of France and Spain in EISLER, 320 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.*, and *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

[3] The figures given vary: *Conclave nel quale . . . 1730 (*loc. cit.*), says 39, but enumerates only 38 by name. ZANELLI (17) says (according to letters of March 8 and 11, 1730), 30, whilst (66 *seq.*) only 27 are enumerated. CRACAS (LIII., 1906, March 11) gives only 25 Cardinals who on March 5 entered the conclave. NOVAES (XIII., 164) mentions 26.

[4] The following sources were used here: (1) " *La storia del conclave . . . 1730 composta dall'abb. Ruele di Roveredo nel Tirolo stato conclavista del sig. card. di Colloniz." Orig. with autographed dedication to the Emperor, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna; Copies: *Cod.* 6310, *ibid.*; *n. 138, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; also two copies in **Cod. white*, 366 (BÖHM, 719), State Archives, Vienna. (2) " *Storia del conclave . . . con le note dell'autore", evidently by a conclavist of Cardinal Cienfuegos (at the end: " dentro il conclave fu dal suo primario ministro molto adoperato il mio zelo, la mia esperienza e la mia fedeltà"), only about external matters, *Cod.* 9240, State Lib., Vienna. (3) *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.* (4) *Conclave nel quale è stato eletto . . . Clemente XII., evidently by a friend of Corradini, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I, in **Cod. white*, 706 (BÖHM, 383), 392–443, State Archives, Vienna, in **Cod. ital.*, 55, pp. 124–265, 184, pp. 697–803, and *Cod.* 319 (with annotations by Cardinal Lamberg), State Library, Munich. (5) *Relazione del conclave di Clemente XII., in *Cod. Barb.* 4686, Vatican Library,

At the death of Benedict XIII. the Sacred College counted 67 members, of whom only 55 intervened in the election. On the day of the election their number had been reduced to 53 [1] as Schönborn had been obliged to leave the conclave through sickness, whilst Conti was carried off by death.[2]

utilized and edited in part in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII. (1892), 105 *seqq.* (6) *Conclave per la morte di Benedetto XIII., *Cod.* 2970–9, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, with protocols of the Congregations, scrutinies, mandates, petitions and reports of the nuncios, etc. (*cf.* WAHRMUND in *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 170, n. 5, pp. 45 *seqq.* (7) *Reports of Bentivoglio and of his agent " al Marchese de la Paz ", Simancas Archives, fasc. 82. (8) Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports to the imperial Chancellery, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, n. 138; *ibid.* *Letters from Vienna to Passi and others. (9) *Relazioni di . . . Rambaldo di Collalto amb. straord. to the imperial Chancellery, *ibid.* (10) Reports to the courts of Turin and Florence, utilized and edited in part by Zanelli. (11) CRACAS, t. LIII.–LIV. (12) Some documents of a history of the Conclave by Pietro Polidoro (auditor of Annibale Albani) which has been lost, in BELLINI, 2 *seqq.* *Cf.* also PETRUCELLI, IV., 56 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 158 *seqq.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 226 *seq.* On Zanelli's account see especially the review in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 125. Other manuscript *reports in *Cod. Borg. lat.*, 28, Vatican Library, in *Miscell.*, XV., *cod.* 130 f., 165 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives, and in EISLER, 144.

[1] A list of the fifty-three who were present and of the eleven absentees in *Storia del Conclave, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna; the former also in CRACAS, LIV., 2020, July 15, 1730, and in ZANELLI, 98 *seq.*

[2] On Conti's death in the conclave, see below, pp. 314 *seq.* Pamfili did not enter the conclave; he died, aged 76, on March 20, after having been a Cardinal for forty-eight years (see *Conclave nel quale . . . Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and CRACAS, LIII., 1972, March 25). The following were absent on account of ill health: Porzia from April 24 to 30 and from June 21 to July 11, Cibo from June 4 to July 11, Ruffo from June 9 to July 11; see CRACAS, LIII., 1897 (April 29), 2005 (June 10), and 2020 (July 15). Schönborn left the conclave on July 1; see *ibid.*, LIV., 2017, July 8; on the state of his health

Cardinal Pamfili died during the interregnum. The eleven absentees were the Roman Cusani, the Germans Schrattenbach and Czacki, the Frenchmen Gesvres and Fleury, the Fleming Boussu, the Spaniards Borgia and Astorga, and the Portuguese Motta, Cunha, and Pereyra. Of those present, twenty-five owed the red hat to Clement XI. and twenty-two to Benedict XIII. Of the Cardinals of Innocent XII. and those of Innocent XIII. only one survived from each pontificate, but of those created by Alexander VIII. there remained four survivors.[1]

On this occasion the number of the parties was extraordinarily great, but it is not easy to differentiate them. The prolonged uncertainty of the negotiations, the absence of any one determining and prevailing party by reason of its numbers, and the undecided attitude of many Cardinals and factions render a general survey difficult.

The numerous Cardinals of the previous Pope might have provided a basis for a powerful party of exclusion or inclusion,[2] but their lack of concord was too great, with the result that many passed over to the "Zelanti" or to the political factions.[3] Somewhat more important was the group of the Clementine Cardinals led by Annibale Albani, though it by no means included all the Cardinals of that pontificate. On the other hand the "Zelanti" soon reached an agreement: Benedict

during the election, *cf.* the letter to his brother, the imperial vice-chancellor, July 11, 1730, in *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. (1918), 194 *seqq.* See also NOVAES, XIII., 164

[1] ZANELLI, 98 *seqq.*

[2] At the beginning Bentivoglio was afraid of the existence of such an exclusion party of about twenty votes; see his *letter to La Paz, February 23, 1730, Simancas Archives. In the course of the conclave the number shrunk to sixteen, some of whom continued uncertain (Quirini and Banchieri rather favoured France, Collicola and Marefoschi were for Albani). The question of leadership also remained unsolved: at first it was G. B. Altieri; when he went over to the *Zelanti*, Collicola, and after him Gotti; see RUELE, **Storia del conclave*, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna.

[3] PETRUCELLI, 58.

XIII.'s accommodating policy was sufficient encouragement for determined action at the election.[1]

Greater still was the excitement of the political Powers [2]; extraordinary envoys came to Rome, as, for instance, the German Collalto, the Spaniard Monteleone, the Savoyard Ormea. The relative attitude of the crown parties was determined by various points of view. The Savoyard privileges formed the main theme of the discussions [3] and the Powers were fundamentally divided in their attitude for or against them. Conscious of its recently acquired strength, the Kingdom of Savoy was, naturally enough, unwilling to give up any of its acquisitions and for that reason intervened with particular energy in the discussions.[4] For the first time, under pressure of King Vittorio Amadeo II., a Savoyard party arose in the Sacred College [5]; it consisted of Cardinals

[1] Already before the conclave they made propaganda both for their programme of reform and for their candidate (ZANELLI, 13). " *Erano tanti giusti motivi ai card. più zelanti di far la scielta d'un Papa di senno, d'esperienza e di capacità tale che fosse bastante a rimediare a tanti mali, a rimettere in credito la Camera Apost., solevare agli sudditi e per fine al far rifiorire l'onore del pontificato, che si vedeva quasi totalmente abbattuto " (Ruele, Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*). Also *Cod. Barb.* 4686–7, Vatican Library; see *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 112. The number of the *Zelanti* grew to about fifteen in the course of the conclave; see *RUELE, *loc. cit.*

[2] On the political situation and its influence on the conclave see ZANELLI, 5 *seqq.*, 9 *seq.*

[3] " *Se l'uno scrisse omelie, l'altro stampò sermoni Mariani di consultar in casi gravi il s. Collegio d'abolire le pregiudizievoli concessioni fatte alla Savoya e di rivocare l'accomodamento di Sicilia, benchè l'utimo articolo si giudicò meglio d'omettere." Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 9240, National Library, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* ZANELLI, 7, but especially G. M. BELLINI, *Il Marchese d'Ormea ed il conclave dell'anno 1730. Documenti inediti*, Teramo, 1892; ID., *V. Amedeo II. e il M. d'Ormea nel conclave dell'anno 1730*, Lanciano, 1907.

[5] BELLINI, *Documenti* 2. An attempt was made to strengthen the party by promises of pensions, but this was turned down by

Coscia, Lambertini, Fini, and Lercari, captained by Alessandro Albani. The latter was an irreconcilable opponent of his brother Annibale whose party, Clement XI.'s Cardinals,[1] together with the "Zelanti", disputed all the privileges of Savoy.

This party was reinforced by another opposition, that between France and Austria, which was due to the decisions of the Congress of Seville in connection with the succession of Parma and Tuscany.[2] France, represented by Polignac as leader, desired a Tuscan Pope; on the other hand Cienfuegos, even before the opening of the conclave, declared in the most unmistakable terms, which interpreted the sentiments of the Emperor, that he was opposed to any Tuscan candidate.[3] Now the Tuscans were either Clementines or "Zelanti", hence opponents of the Savoyards; this necessitated a tactical association between Austria and Savoy. In view of this tense political situation war on Italian territory was generally expected,[4] an event for which each of the

Petra. "*Ormea ha tentato quasi tutto il s. Collegio non meno con offerte di pensioni che con pronti donativi." It is believed that a number of Cardinals were won over. Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, April 11, 1730. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[1] Only a few could be completely relied upon, as Corradini, Origo, Olivieri; Albani won over some by promises of offices or by threats; see RUELE, **Storia del conclave, loc. cit.* Already on account of the last conclave and for other reasons also Albani stood in very strained relations with the Emperor, so that in 1728 a union of the crowns against him was being considered on the Austrian side; see "*Copia di trascritta a S. M. quando si mandò il giudicio de' cardinali", Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I.

[2] ZANELLI, 6, 14; PETRUCELLI, 57.

[3] Thereby he alarmed all the Tuscans; see Bentivoglio to La Paz, February 23, 1730, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* ZANELLI, 16.

[4] RUELE, **Storia del conclave, loc. cit.*; *Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 3, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I. *Cf.* *Relazione della guerra imminente sotto il pontif. di Clemente XII. (1730), *Cod.* 33, G 7, pp. 305–396. Corsini Library, Rome.

interested parties was anxious to secure the goodwill of the next Pope.

As regards numbers, the imperialist party had the advantage: it included four nationals, seven Neapolitans, two Milanese, four other subjects, five Savoyards and Bentivoglio,[1] who on this occasion was in permanent opposition to his Spanish colleague Belluga. France was in a weaker position, with five votes; these only gained some importance after a closer junction with the Cardinals of Clement XI. and Alexander VIII.

Thus the discussions could only lead to a result if both parties came to an agreement—which seemed almost impossible—or if the "Zelanti" joined the imperialists, as they eventually did.[2]

Political considerations also played a large part in the choice of candidates. A year before the death of Benedict the Emperor had had drawn up a character sketch of all the Cardinals,[3] and yet another in which, after excluding the "young ones, of whom there could scarcely be question", and the "senile ones", the Cardinals were divided into "suspects", "well-disposed" and "indifferent" ones, according to their

[1] Thus in all 21–2 votes could be confidently expected, to which perhaps a few "Benedettini" would be added; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* In the event of all the subjects arriving and conforming with instructions, twenty-eight adherents could be counted upon in 1728; see *Copia di trascritta . . ., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. Althan made the strongest opposition to the imperialists and was very obstinate; see *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 3, 1730, *ibid.* On the importance of the imperialists in the Conclave see *Bentivoglio to La Paz, February 21, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[2] Thus RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* This decisive rôle of the *Zelanti* was foreseen; see *Relazione del conclave, 1730, e delli due partiti opposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican A. I.

[3] "*Giudicio che si fa di quei cardinali che al presente compongono il s. Collegio" [on the back page: Memorie per il conclave], drawn up for the Emperor, 1728/1730, *ibid.*

attitude towards the court of Vienna.[1] However, it was not intended to exclude the younger ones on principle; for many reasons their inclusion seemed advisable.[2] On the other hand the imperial party would have to proceed very carefully with the open exclusion, as that weapon was most effective when it remained in the scabbard.[3]

A certain agitation began even before the conclave; thus the "Zelanti" opened a campaign in favour of Imperiali, Cienfuegos for Ruffo and Colonna and the Clementines for Zondadari and Marefoschi[4]; there was talk of close on thirty *papabili*.[5]

Coscia was one of the many absentee Cardinals at the

[1] The *Copia di trascritta a S. M., *ibid.*, enumerates: 17 "nazionali", 5 "protettori delle corone", 15 "giovani e di difficile riuscita", 5 "decrepiti et inabili per la cattiva salute", 6 "sospetti", 8 "ben affetti", 12 "indifferenti" (5 of these "ma non desiderabili"), 18 "cardinali nati sudditi", 4 "dipendenti", 6 friendly.

[2] The reasons are: A lack of suitable old Cardinals, too great a power of resistance on the part of a younger one against excessive pretensions, perhaps also greater moderation and more prudent dealing with existing disorders. *Ibid.*

[3] "*In somma l'esclusiva de' principi è una spada che sfoderata non può servire che due o tre volte al più, ma ritenuta nel fodero fa quanti omicidi si vogliono." *Ibid.*

[4] Savoy also made a selection, a very large one, of *papabili*. Ormea's letter to the King, February 25, 1730, in ZANELLI, 18, n. 1.

[5] Three Neapolitans (Pignatelli, Ruffo, Petra), two Milanese (Borromeo, Odescalchi), two Venetians (Ottoboni, Porzia), two Genoese (Imperiali, Nic. Spinola), four Tuscans (Corsini, Zondadari, Banchieri, Salviati), one from Mantua (Pico), one from Piacenza (Alberoni), and twelve papal subjects (Barberini, Boncompagni, Davia, Corradini, Conti, G. B. Altieri, Marefoschi, Gotti, Altieri, Colonna, Olivieri, Falconieri). Detailed appreciation of these twenty-seven in RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna; eighteen specially important *papabili* are also discussed in "*Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti", Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

moment of the closure of the conclave on the evening of March 5th. The day before he had sent a letter from Cisterna to the Sacred College in which he expressed his willingness to attend the conclave and begged that the most necessary clothes and other articles of his confiscated property might be restored to him.[1] On March 11th the *Capi d'ordini* granted his request as well as a free entry into the city.[2] He presented himself on April 4th but only a few of the members of the conclave greeted him.[3]

The position of the parties was very ill defined when the negotiations opened: many of the national Cardinals had not yet arrived. Only the compact group of the "Zelanti" could risk an immediate advance and this it did in favour

[1] *Copy of the letter and the reply (signed by Ottoboni, Zondadari, Colonna) in *Cod. ital.*, 548, f. 140, State Library, Munich. Coscia calls special attention to the fact that in virtue of the Bulls of Clement V. and Paul V. he could not be subjected to any proceedings during the *Sede vacante*.

[2] "Accompagnato per strada dalle insolenti maldicenze et imprecazioni del popolo"; see Collalto to Borromeo in Milan, in Calvi, 5. He arrived in Rome secretly during the night and found shelter with the Carmelites *alla Traspontina*; see Bassi to Borromeo in Milan, April 1, 1730, *ibid.*, 4. He had to enter the Vatican by the door of the Belvedere.

[3] Among them Ruffo, Ottoboni and Giudice who embraced him, whilst most of the Cardinals were against him; see Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, April 11, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. The *satires on the Cardinals in conclave (*Cod. ital.*, 548, f. 93 *seqq.*, State Library, Munich) are particularly bitter against Coscia and Lambertini; for the Carmelites who sheltered Coscia "contra ius gentium" the wish is expressed that they may have "nec pax nec requies", for the Cardinals who admitted "flagitiosissimum cardinalem", "confusio sempiterna"; Ormea is called "Romae catholicae Catilina"; angry words are also hurled against the Roman populace, "a maiorum strenua virtute degeneri ac latrocinia et cornua libenter exoptanti," they ought to have stoned and banished him. Other *satires on the conclave in *Ottob.*, 2825–8, Vatican Library, in *Ms. Diez.*, 51, State Library, Berlin, and in *Cod.* 10807 and 10834, British Museum, London.

of Imperiali. The latter had great experience in the affairs of the Curia and even more in those of the Camera, but his eighty years and his infirmities[1] seemed to render him unequal to the difficult tasks of the near future. France had excluded him at the last conclave; it was not known if she would maintain her exclusion. At the very first scrutiny on the morning of March 6th, eighteen votes were cast in his favour.[2] Strangely enough even the Camerlengo warmly supported this action, though his sincerity was questioned, all the more so as common experience proved that the first candidatures were, for the most part, those least seriously meant; perhaps Albani merely wished to rob one or other political power of its veto.[3] In this he was successful. Imperiali met with opposition from the Spaniards because of his friendliness towards the Emperor and his attitude in the question of Tuscany, from Portugal because he had prevented Bichi's elevation, and from Savoy because he opposed the privileges granted by Benedict XIII.[4]; even the imperialists were unable to rise to any great enthusiasm for him.[5] In view

[1] "*Prattico della corte e specialmente degli interessi della Camera [but] al governo parato [and] quasi debile di mente." Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] The results of particular ballots in *Scrutinii del conclave . . . 1730, *Cod. Barb.*, 4449, Vatican Library; also in *Cod. Vat.* 10454 (March 7 to July 12), *ibid.*, and in Cardinal Sinzendorf's *reports (May 28 to July 1, 1730), Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

[3] "*Con giusta ragione dunque gli più sensati cardinali rivocavano in dubio la fede del card. S. Clemente [Ann. Albani] per queste pratiche e lo riguardano per un inganno." Ruele, Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[4] All these reasons are stated in *Conclave nel quale . . ., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] On April 21 Albani sent from the conclave a *report to the Emperor with a warm recommendation for Imperiali (*S. Clemente al March. di Rialphi*, copy in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican), the Emperor, however, refused to intervene on behalf of any particular person (*Rialpi to Annib. Albani, May 17, 1730, *ibid.*).

of the elimination, for similar motives, of other candidates,[1] the ground seemed ready for a successful party of exclusion; however, events moved more rapidly.

On March 12th Bentivoglio, the Spanish Cardinal Minister, entered the conclave, in spite of the fact that he felt very unwell; he was forced to do so because his countryman Belluga refused to carry out his Government's definite instructions, which were hostile to Imperiali.[2] It became increasingly clear that France would not pronounce a declaration of exclusion.[3] The situation became particularly serious on March 20th when another twenty votes were cast for Imperiali, whilst it was known that ten other faithful supporters of the action in his favour had only voted "nemini" for appearance' sake. There followed a night of strenuous electorial activity, yet to the disappointment of many, the next scrutiny only yielded twenty-two votes in Imperiali's favour. Nevertheless in the morning Bentivoglio informed the leaders of the parties that Imperiali was excluded by the King of Spain.[4]

[1] RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 4, 1730, Simancas Archives; *Conclave nel quale . . ., Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In his final *report to La Paz, July 14, 1730 (*loc. cit.*), Bentivoglio complained of Belluga's lack of solidarity, he was only a hindrance and had let himself be guided by selfish motives.

[3] It was becoming more and more evident that this time France would leave Spain in the lurch; however, there was still a hope of overthrowing Imperiali, "*sin venir al golpe fatal de la esclusiva" (Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 16, 1730, Simancas Archives). Only "*en el ultimo inevitable caso" did he wish to make use of the exclusion (*Bentivoglio to La Paz, March 16 and 18, 1730, *ibid.*). Polignac even sought to persuade Bentivoglio to favour Imperiali (*to La Paz, March 16, 1730, *ibid.*; *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery by Passi, April 22, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, printed in part in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 323; Barberini's diary,

Thereupon Imperiali's friends, mainly at Belluga's instigation,[1] began an attack on the authenticity of the letter submitted; they argued that it was signed by the Secretary of State, not by the King, and that the date was too remote (August 28th, 1720). A messenger was dispatched to Madrid, to inquire into the validity of the veto; another messenger went to Cardinal Fleury to obtain the intervention of the Paris Government with the Spanish court in favour of Imperiali. The answer was long in coming. Meanwhile the Camerlengo endeavoured to induce the imperialists to change their mind—first Cienfuegos, then Kollonitsch—but all in vain. An imperial instruction, which arrived at the beginning of April, was against Imperiali[2]; finally both the French and the Spanish courier also brought an answer unfavourable to him.[3]

The opposition party, now visibly stronger, put forward new candidates in the persons of Ruffo, Falconieri, Petra, Gotti, but none with decisive results. Meanwhile several minor incidents distracted the attention of the electors for a short time. April 8th witnessed the arrival of the imperial envoy Count Collalto; on the 10th the ambassador addressed

March 21, 1730, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 106; report to La Paz, March 27, 1730, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 226; *Id.*, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXVIII., 103; ZANELLI, 24; PETRUCELLI, 68; EISLER, 184; GAUGUSCH, 161; LECTOR, 565 *seq.*; VIDAL, 65.

[1] "*Dicendogli che questo era uno sfogo di sua passione privata, un suo capricioso et indiscreto sentimento." Ruele, Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] PETRUCELLI, 69.

[3] On April 24 the Spanish courier arrived with the explicit confirmation of the exclusion; see *report to La Paz, May 2, 1730, Simancas Archives; Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, April 29, 1730, in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 322 (*cf.* 226). At the beginning of May the French courier also arrived with the same disappointing answer; see *report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, *loc. cit.*; RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* VIDAL, 65; PETRUCELLI, 75.

the Sacred College; Barberini replied with an address in Italian.[1]

In the scrutiny of the evening of April 17th one vote was cast for Coscia. The Sacred College was indignant,[2] many Cardinals, such as Annibale Albani and Barberini, demanded the annulment of the vote, but others, and they prevailed in the end, insisted that Coscia should enjoy an unqualified active and passive vote.[3] Now it so happened that a few days later the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Conti, succumbed to a stroke of apoplexy[4]; evil tongues connected this sudden death with the vote for Coscia.[5] Conti's body lay in state

[1] RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* The Emperor's letter to the Sacred College of March 8, 1730, sent by Collalto, forms Appendix A in *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Ibid.*, also, Collalto's discourse forms Appendix B and is printed as supplement to his *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 11, 1730.

[2] " *Con universale scandalo: altri volea aprir la scheda, altri sebarla al futuro pontefice, altri chiamava spergiuro il vocale, che non può crederlo degno, quando giura d'eleggerne il più degno " (Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 9240, State Library Vienna). See also *report to La Paz, April 19, 1730, Simancas Archives, and Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 23, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In the conclave leaflets were distributed in the form of a decree from the auditor of the Apostolic camera, which said: " Comburatur schedula una cum electo et electore! " RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[3] RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *ibid.*

[4] CRACAS, LIII., 1987, April 29, 1730.

[5] RUELE (*loc. cit.*) has preserved the following sonnet which was circulated at that time in the conclave:

Un voto a Coscia? E chi fu mai quel Rio
Profanator del sacro giuramento
Che l'infame ladron di Benevento
Scrisse con negra man per vice Dio?
Un voto a Coscia? Oh Santo Spirito, oh Dio!
Punite il diabolico ardimento,

in the Cappella Paolina on the following day, after which, in the presence of the entire Sacred College, it was consigned to the parish priest and the clergy of St. Peter's at the door of the conclave.[1] Cardinal Petra was chosen to succeed him as Grand Penitentiary.[2]

The number of Cardinals present now exceeded fifty and the discussions became again more serious. Cienfuegos, leagued with Spain, Savoy and others,[3] agitated in favour of Ruffo, but the latter was too imperialist for the French and the Clementines and too Savoyard for the "Zelanti".

Fiamma dal ciel sull'empio cada, e al vento
Il cener sparga, e così paghi il fio.
Un voto a Coscia ? Altro briccon che Finy
Far non potea così malvaggia impresa,
Seguace degl'infami, ed assassini.
Io non l'assolverò, troppo è l'offesa.
Così disse, e lasciò vita, e scrutini
Il gran penitenzier di santa Chiesa.

[1] This ceremony took place at 1 o'clock in the morning; the body was then taken to S. Bernardo, the titular church of the Cardinal. RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] As the office brought in 2,000 scudi per annum, there were several candidates (Petra, Corradini, Marefoschi, Pico) and many differences of opinion, so that it was only at a second meeting that Petra was elected with forty-five votes; RUELE, *loc. cit.*, and *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Even with some of the Zelanti, as also with his relative Boncompagni and Ottoboni, a relative of the latter; the votes amounted already to over thirty (RUELE, *loc. cit.*). Against him were the Albani, Benedettini and some of the Zelanti (Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, April 23, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Ruffo had the reputation of being "ambiziosissimo di esaltazione"; see Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *ibid.* A pamphlet against the candidature of Ruffo was circulated in the conclave, the contents of which are refuted in detail in *Storia del conclave (1730), *Cod.* 9240, State Archives, Vienna; in the end, Ruffo withdrew spontaneously; see *report to La Paz, May 20, 1730, Simancas Archives.

Fresh compromises were suggested only to be dropped as quickly, as for instance in favour of Davia,[1] Colonna and Pico. The latter was greatly favoured by the Camerlengo [2]; attempts were also made in favour of Zondadari [3] and, for a moment, of Falconieri also.[4]

[1] As *pensionario dell'imperadore (Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti apposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). He was opposed by France and Spain; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, 71.

[2] On May 21 Albani circulated in the conclave a letter of recommendation in which he praised Pico as the most worthy and refuted all objections. Collalto sent a copy of it to the imperial Chancellery with his *report of May 23, 1730 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). In the meantime Albani's letter remained without effect (*Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, May 23, 1730, *ibid.*). Althan asserted that he knew the dispositions of the Emperor better, that he was in favour of Pico. However, during the night of May 18 Cienfuegos showed an explicit order of exclusion against Pico from the Emperor, written in Spanish, of which Ruele had to inform Cardinals Kollonitsch and Schönborn. They succeeded in collecting over twenty-five votes for the exclusion; the attempt to extort an open exclusion miscarried. Thereupon Pico " *la sera degli 19 di maggio si portò alla cella del card. Camerlengo, ove alla presenza del card. S. Agnese avanti d'un crocefisso protestò che lui si giudicava incapace del pontificato, tanto più quanto che sapeva essergli contraria Sua M. Imp., che perciò lo supplicava di voler desistere dal fare ulteriori pratiche in suo favore" (Ruele, Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* *reports to La Paz of May 22 and 31, 1730, Simancas Archives. Moreover Pico was a French pensioner (*Relazione del concl. 1730 e delli due partiti opposti, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican).

[3] The Zelanti, Savoyards and Benedettini united in his support, the latter on condition that he made certain promises (*Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *ibid.*). But Spain was against him (*Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, May 28, 1730, *ibid.*); the imperialists did not want a Tuscan and a rumour was spread (*cf.* *letter to the Emperor, probably by Ruele immediately after the election, *ibid.*), that France would exclude him on account of his activities as nuncio, in justification of

Corsini's candidature called forth a more lively interest. He was known to be a conscientious administrator and his unselfish liberality had won him popularity. His house was a distinguished social centre. After the definitive failure of the action in favour of Imperiali, the French proposed Corsini [1]; they were joined by Bentivoglio,[2] some "Zelanti" and a few of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals. But the main opposition came from Cienfuegos who was dead against all Tuscans [3] and who became all the more unyielding as the opposite side increased its efforts in favour of Corsini.[4] In the city the latter's election was already looked upon as

which Zondadari himself drew up a report which he handed over to Rohan (Bentivoglio sent a *copy of it to La Paz on June 3, Simancas Archives), evidently without the desired effect (RUELE, *Storia del Conclave, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* *report to La Paz, May 27, 1730, *loc. cit.*).

[4] He met with opposition as head of the Benedettini, as a friend of Coscia and the Savoyards, and perhaps also on account of his violent character; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*; *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*; *report to La Paz, May 31, 1730, *loc. cit.*; *reports of Collalto [who praises him very much] to the imperial Chancellery, May 27 and June 3, 1730, *loc. cit.*

[1] RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[3] The numerous objections on the part of Austria in *Relazione del conclave 1730 e delli due partiti opposti (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican): "Si conoscerà chiaramente che il card. Corsini è totalmente escluso dal pretendere e dal papato." Hence Cienfuegos was unwilling to give his consent without "*espresse e precise istruzioni dalla sua corte di Vienna" (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *ibid.*). *Cf.* Collalto's *report to the imperial Chancellery, May 8, 1730, *ibid.* The Austro-Savoyard league against Corsini was especially consolidated by the assemblies of May 11 and 12; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *reports to La Paz, May 2 and 6, 1730, Simancas Archives; PETRUCELLI, 77; ZANELLI, 36.

[4] At first Rohan, then the Camerlengo himself, but both in vain. *Report to La Paz, May 15, 1730, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ZANELLI, 37.

a certainty. On May 15th the people and the nobility assembled in front of St. Peter's, full of expectation, but they were obliged to go home disappointed for at the morning ballot Corsini's party had only succeeded in collecting twenty-six votes instead of the thirty-four they had hoped for.[1] Thereupon the Cardinal begged his supporters to desist from pushing his candidature.[2] The alliance between the Savoyards and the imperialists seemed, at least for the moment, to have stood this trial of strength, even without an open exclusion.

In the first days of June Davia's prospects seemed so certain that masons and other workmen in the city were engaged for the dismantling of the conclave and many Cardinals were making preparations for their departure.[3] Once again there occurred a great deception: instead of the anticipated thirty-eight to forty votes, only twenty-nine were cast for Davia at the decisive scrutiny of June 7th.[4] The

[1] Twenty-three votes in the scrutiny and three *accessi*; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*; *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, May 13, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] The votes diminished rapidly: in the evening only twenty-five, on May 16 only five. *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, May 18, 1730, *ibid.* *Cf.* RUELE, *loc. cit.*

[3] "*Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.* "*Per rendere la canzonatura più fiera [!] egli [Annib. Albani] fece venire 50 muratori per abbattere i muri, fece applicare le scale alle mura della scala grande ed altre dimostrazioni usate quando riesce l'elezione; li cardinali fecero venire le coppe, e molti trafugarono gl'argenti, tutta Roma era in confusione et in bisbiglio." Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 7, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhot Castle.

[4] On June 4 there were already forty adherents. An assembly of the "Zelanti" on the morning of June 7 described the intrigues against Davia under the mask of the Zelanti as "*un arrabiatissimo maneggio di Polignac e di S. Clemente", and they maintained that the election should no longer be deferred (RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*). Some considered Davia "*avidioso et irresoluto" (Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.*). Personally Cienfuegos agreed, but he pointed out the

result was a great strengthening of Davia's opponents; these now strove for the elevation of Corradini.[1] In reality the only purpose of the French when they put forward this candidature was to extort an imperial declaration of exclusion against him, so as to facilitate the promotion by them of Olivieri or Banchieri.[2] By their joint efforts the Clementines, the French and the "Zelanti"[3] succeeded in winning over

very distressing condition of the Cardinal's health who was deaf and nearly blind; France was opposed on account of his former nunciature; see *report to La Paz, June 7, 1730, Simancas Archives. All objections are refuted in RUELE *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, and in *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

[1] *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 10, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and *report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 8, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

[2] *Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 10, 17, and 20, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, the last letter also in WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 322. The Zelanti, however, were sincere in their intentions; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.* Here also arises the question of a multiple exclusion by the same sovereign; Collalto proposes that the crowns, especially the Emperor, should show that they had the right to exclude several, as Estrées, in the conclave of Innocent XI. (*cf.* the present work, XXXII., 38), had excluded "tutte le creature di Clemente X." (*to the imperial Chancellery, June 17 and 20, *loc. cit.*). A malicious *satire (*Cod. ital.*, 548, State Library, Munich), says of Corradini: "qui singulari eximiaque virtute inter cuncta semper praeclarissime gesta ad pontificatus Romani dignitatem tuendam incredibili constantia nedum alios, sed se ipsum superavit atque in praesenti summo rerum discrimine omni studio incubuit, ut claves apostolici imperii teneret et gubernacula christianae reipublicae tractaret."

[3] *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 20, 1730, *loc. cit.* Thus Althan dissuaded Cardinal Borromeo, "*per la qual via a sviato molt'altri sudditi dell'Imperatore mettendoli il sospetto che ciò era privato capriccio del card. Cienfuegos." *Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 20, 1730, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle. *Ibid.*, also on the very active propaganda

a number of Cardinals to their side, but Cienfuegos and Bentivoglio, whose action was decisive,[1] would neither change their minds nor suffer themselves to be persuaded to precipitate anything,[2] however anxious Althan in particular may have been to compromise the leader of the imperialists.[3] Alessandro Albani[4] also worked steadily in their sense. Cienfuegos answered definitely that even if all the Cardinals voted for

for Corradini and a *Enumerazione probabile delli 30 voti dati al card. Corradini.

[1] Bentivoglio told the advocate Mauri, Rohan's conclavist, "*che egli rendeva le dovute grazie a sua Em. per le compite esibizioni e che le faceva sapere che l'obligo di buon servitore e ministro del Re Cattolico suo signore non gli permetteva d'arbitrare in questa materia; onde gli conveniva d'essere precisamente contrario all'esaltazione del card. Corradini" (Ruele, Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna). *Cf.* the *report to La Paz, June 3, 1730, Simancas Archives; Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, June 27, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican, and to Borromeo in Milan, June 24, 1730, in CALVI, 20 *seq.*

[2] Bentivoglio worked hard against Corradini (*to La Paz, June 10, 12, and 19, 1720, *loc. cit.*), and reported daily from June 15 to 30 to La Paz on the results of the ballots (*cf.* the *reports, *ibid.*). The maximum number of votes was thirty on June 17, in the evening only twenty-seven, on June 18, 29 and 30 respectively. During the following night a strong exclusion party was formed with twenty-two votes, later increased to twenty-six (the names of the members are enumerated in the report to La Paz, June 19, *ibid.*; later they sank to twenty-six). In spite of this Corradini continued to receive 24–8 votes up till the beginning of July; see RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[3] On June 19 the rumour was spread, probably by Althan, that Collalto had said that the Emperor had no objection to Corradini. However, the ambassador immediately denied this statement in a letter to Cienfuegos and in the evening he confirmed the denial by oath, before Kollonitsch's window. RUELE, *loc. cit.*

[4] "*Si morsero allora come furie d'Averno i ministri Savoyardi" (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; added to this, as appendices, the text of the agreement among the Savoyards on the impossibility of Corradini:

Corradini, two votes would never be secured, viz. his own and Bentivoglio's, because the courts they represented had grave misgivings, as had those of Portugal and Savoy.[1] Accordingly it soon became necessary to drop all efforts for Corradini's elevation [2]; on July 1st a formal veto was no longer deemed necessary.[3]

The French now made a direct attempt in favour of Banchieri, but in the opinion of the "Zelanti" this candidate lacked experience and was engaged in a policy of self-interest.[4] The Spaniards and the imperialists also received the proposal coldly.[5] For a moment the imperialists considered Barberini and the opposite side Pignatelli.

Appendix C: Ormea to Al. Albani and Lambertini; Appendix D: Lambertini to Ormea; both documents are also printed in BELLINI, 2–6).

[1] RUELE, *loc. cit.*, describes, no doubt with some exaggeration, the effect on Albani: "Ad una così risoluta risposta S. Clemente tutto confuso ritornò alla sua cella, conoscendo che tutte le sue arti per indurre Cienfuegos o a concorrere in Corradini o a dar fuori la sua esclusiva, erano frustranee." In the same way *Bentivoglio "respondiò francamente al de Rohan que se acordase de la palabra, que le avia dado, que no se hablaria mas de Corradini" (report to La Paz, June 7, 1730, Simancas Archives). *Cf.* *Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, June 20, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] Fearing this, Collalto writes already on June 17, 1730, to the imperial Chancellery: "In sostanza il conclave è in una tale dissensione, che per via di trattati si è totalmente da capo" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican); and on June 10 to Borromeo in Milan (in CALVI, 19): "In somma il conclave è come un teatro, ove or l'una, or l'altra scena si mira de' personaggi, la cui azione poi finisce in tragedia."

[3] Collalto to Borromeo, July 1, 1730 (in CALVI, 22): "avendo sicura l'esclusiva co' voti."

[4] "*Circa Corradini comminciano a vedere l'impossibilità, non disperano però di riuscire con Banchieri, che doppo Olivieri sarebbe il loro Benjamino." *Report of Cardinal Sinzendorf, June 18, 1730, Sinzendorf Arch., Jaidhof Castle.

[5] Collalto to the imperial Chancellery, July 1, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

The length of the conclave and the beginning of the hot season made life in the confined space exceedingly disagreeable.[1] This makes it all the more surprising that at this very moment the electors took up once more the earlier candidature of Corsini and that it led in a comparatively short time to a positive result. What was the cause of this change ?

The first attempt in favour of Corsini had been wrecked against the resistance of the imperial and Savoyard party. But all the means for overcoming their opposition had not been exhausted. Work on his behalf went on in secret and with the imperial Government itself. Corsini's nephew, Neri Corsini, and with him Grand-Duke Giovanni Gasto of Tuscany,[2] the Electress of Bavaria, Anne of Bavaria,[3] and Princess Violante of Tuscany,[4] exerted their influence on his behalf at the court of Vienna. Several weeks of incessant effort were at length crowned with the longed for success. On the evening of July 7th Cienfuegos received an imperial messenger who was the bearer of a letter in which the Government expressed its thanks for the policy he had hitherto pursued in the conclave and instructed him that, in the event of Corsini's candidature coming up once more, the opposition

[1] On the eve of SS. Peter and Paul the fiscal of the Apostolic Camera made his appearance and pressed for a speedy conclusion in the interests of economy. RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Rispettuosissimi e caldissimi uffici da parte del Granduca : Collalto to the Emperor, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf.* the same, June 10, 1730, in CALVI, 19. On Neri Corsini, *cf.* BROSCH, II., 74.

[3] ZANELLI, 55.

[4] Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On the part played by Violante, *cf.* *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII. (*loc. cit.*) : "La gran princessa D. Violante di Toscana aveva sempre conservato un affetto distinto per la casa Corsini ed è certo che non ebbe di parti di aver le prime mane nella di lui esaltazione, e siccome alla corte di Vienna godeva questa distinta dama un straordinario concetto appresso l'imperatore," she spoke to him strongly on behalf of Corsini.

hitherto offered should be dropped. The French felt grievously hurt when Albani suddenly ceased to support Banchieri and began to advocate once more the elevation of Corsini. They suspected the existence of a private understanding between Albani, Corsini and the Emperor which might prove dangerous for France.[1] The impetuous Rohan demanded a French exclusion [2] but the more prudent Polignac was of a contrary opinion. It was resolved to form an exclusion party for the formation of which conferences were held nightly in Ottoboni's cell from July 7th to 9th. In this uncertain situation Annibale Albani formally questioned Cienfuegos on July 10th on his own attitude and that of his party to Corsini's candidature: he then received the hoped for consent. This infuriated the French, all the more so as the "Zelanti" went over in a body to Corsini and even the natural objections of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals [3] and the Savoyards to this opponent of their privileges was overcome by Cienfuegos and Collalto.[4]

France's desperate efforts for the formation of an effective

[1] *Reports to La Paz, July 8 and 14, 1730, Simancas Archives; *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] Albani excused himself by saying that he had to propose one of these, namely Corsini, out of regard for the Cardinals created by his uncle, whereupon Rohan "*tutto furioso all'uso della sua nazione, poco pratico della flemma romana, disse subito, che questo era il Papa che voleva l'imperatore, onde non poter egli soffrire, che si dicesse, che fosse venuto da Parigi a Roma per fargli un Papa a suo piacere a che più dovesse subito darsegli l'esclusiva" (Ruele, *Storia del conclave, *Cod.* 5746, State Library, Vienna). Likewise a *letter to the Emperor immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cienfuegos first personally won over Falconieri for Corsini, and Falconieri his party friends, on the plea that an even stronger opponent of Benedict XIII. could easily be elected. *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *loc. cit.*

[4] Collalto negotiated first with Grossi, and Cienfuegos with Alessandro Albani; see *report to La Paz, July 8, 1730, Simancas Archives.

party in favour of exclusion failed; it was found impossible to get together more than thirteen or fourteen adherents; consequently, on the morning of July 11th, Polignac and Ottoboni announced the formal adhesion of the French Cardinals amid exaggerated apologies for their hesitation.[1] In return they were given an assurance that Banchieri would become Secretary of State.[2]

On the forenoon of July 11th the various parties with their leaders repaired to Corsini's cell for the purpose of offering preliminary congratulations. In the evening the entire Sacred College escorted him to the Sistine chapel and back again. The final election was put off until the next day, the feast of St. John Gualbert, for whom Corsini cherished the greatest veneration.[3] Already at daybreak there was great excitement in the cells. A triple signal with a bell summoned the electors one hour earlier than was customary. All the fifty-two Cardinals present cast their vote for Corsini who shed tears of emotion during the whole of the proceedings. When asked whether he accepted, he fell on his knees, turned towards the altar and after a short prayer uttered his *Accepto*. After four months and seven days it was at last possible to re-open the conclave. Out of veneration for the Pope to whom he owed his promotion, the newly-elected took the name of Clement. Everybody saw the hand of Providence

[1] "*Finalmente si rendettero consentiendo alla elezione di Corsini con incredibile ripugnanza" because they did not wish to have a Pope by the favour of the Emperor (Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, July 12, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Salviati, a friend and compatriot of Corsini, probably had a hand in the affair; see *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), *ibid.* *Cf.* also RUELE, *Storia del conclave, *loc. cit.*, and *report to La Paz, July 14, 1730 (Simancas Archives): "En esta precision juzgaron conveniente los Franceses hacer virtud de la necesidad."

[2] *Secondo il concordato con i Francesi (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, 97.

[3] *"Di lui concittadino e di lui ne vive parzialmente divoto" (Conclave nel quale . . . [1730], *loc. cit.*).

in the elevation of this Tuscan, against whom the powers of this world had worked so violently and yet so vainly.[1]

When the election was made public, the people displayed but little satisfaction, for the Romans had continued to hope for the elevation of Corradini [2] who enjoyed far greater popularity. It was said that out of the 4,000 assembled in the Piazza of St. Peter's, only four or six shouts of acclamation were heard. Only when the new Pope entered St. Peter's, escorted by the Cardinals and the Swiss Guards, were loud acclamations raised, and even more so at the coronation and the *possesso* on the following Sunday.[3] Each of the political parties claimed to have been instrumental in creating the

[1] "*Recarebbe gran meraviglia l'intendere esaltato alla sovranità della chiesa Romana un soggetto, che nello stesso conclave fu contrariato dalla prima potenza dell'Europa e che da questa contro il fine d'ogni umana politica poi commendato avesse a superare felicemente i sospetti compiti dalla nazione francese" (thus begins Conclave nel quale . . . [1730]; *loc. cit.*). A *letter to the Emperor, immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, describes the whole development of Corsini's candidature; it describes his election as "prodigioso" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On this change of Austria in favour of Corsini Cardinal Schönborn writes to his brother, the imperial Vice-Chancellor, on July 11, 1730: "Mithin wird diesmal wohl in den sauren Apffel müssen gebiessen werden"; "dass mann diesen so verächtlich hinweggeworffenen stein wieder hervorgesuchet hat . . ."; "ich sehe es zwar für eine besondere hand gottes ahn, die hier hat zeugen wollen, das umbsonst seye, das der mensch gegen seine göttliche Verhengnus und wahl was erzwingen wolle"; his one consolation is, "das ich ihn von der hand gottes gemacht finde, die ihn dann ahnfehlbar auch führen wird" (*Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, LXXII. [1918], 199, 203).

[2] *Conclave nel quale . . . (1730), Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . . Details on the subsequent conduct of the people are also given there. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, 99.

[3] *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Benedetto XIII., *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Collalto to the Emperor, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . . NOVAES (XIII., 165), gives a number of contemporary sources.

new Pope, with the sole exception of the French who left in a somewhat disgruntled mood.[1] Even the ambassador of Savoy, in his final dispatch, pays tribute to the excellent character of the new Head of the Church.[2]

(2.)

Lorenzo Corsini was sprung from an ancient, noble and wealthy Florentine family which, like the Fuggers and the Welsers, had risen from the merchant class. Already in the fourteenth century the Corsini had played a rôle in the party struggles of the Florentine Republic. Charles IV. bestowed on them the dignity of Counts Palatine. In the era of the Medici they rose to even greater importance.[3] To the Church the family gave several Cardinals[4] and a Saint in the person of Andrew Corsini who died in 1373 as Bishop of Fiesole.[5]

[1] They had opposed him already in earlier conclaves, had announced Banchieri's election in Paris, and now had to give way to the Emperor's initiative; see the *letter to the Emperor immediately after the election, most probably by Ruele, Archives of the Austrian Embassy . . ., also *Storia del Conclave, 1730, *Cod.* 9240, State Library, Vienna. Polignac complained also of Bentivoglio's conduct, whose solidarity with France was not what had been expected; see *report to La Paz, July 15, 1730, Simancas Archives. On the other hand, the Emperor, by an autograph letter, thanked Cardinals Giudice, Accoramboni, Falconieri, Odescalchi and Coscia for their loyal support of Cienfuegos at the election; see *Charles VI. to Cienfuegos, dat. Vienna, August 10, 1730, with copies of the letters to the above five Cardinals, dat. Vienna, August 2, 1730 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). [2] ZANELLI, 64.

[3] L. PASSERINI, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Corsini*, Firenze, 1858. On the coat of arms see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906, 47.

[4] On Cardinal Pietro (*ob.* 1405), see the present work, I., 37, n. 2.

[5] *Acta Sanct.*, 30 Ian., III.[3], 676 *seqq.*; *Bibl. hagiogr. lat. Boll.*, Brux., 1898, 74.

The Pope's father, Bartolomeo, one of the first personages at the court of Florence, was married to Isabella Strozzi. Of this marriage issued Lorenzo, born on April 7th, 1652, at Florence.[1] At the age of fifteen Lorenzo went to Rome to study at the Roman College of the Jesuits. On completing his studies he went to the University of Pisa for five years' further study. There he took a doctorate in both Laws, after which he returned to Rome,[2] in the hope that his career would be furthered by his influential uncle, Cardinal Neri Corsini.[3] When the latter died soon after (1678), he returned to the paternal house in Florence. On his father's death in 1685, he resolved, at the age of thirty-three, to embrace the ecclesiastical state. A third time he journeyed to the Eternal City to enter the prelature. He so distinguished himself that in 1691 there was question of him as nuncio to Vienna; however, the tension between Alexander VIII. and the imperial Government wrecked the plan.[4]

After that incident Lorenzo spent the rest of his career in Rome. In 1696 Innocent XII. assigned to him the important office of Treasurer-General which had been held by his uncle, the Cardinal.[5] Lorenzo was no less esteemed by Clement XI. When the imperialists accused the papal Government of partiality towards France, the Pope entrusted him with the delicate mission of investigating these charges in the capacity of a Commissary at Ferrara.[6] Lorenzo performed his task with so much skill that the Pope raised him to the purple on May 17th, 1706.[7]

[1] According to the author of the *Conclave di Benedetto XIV., in *Cod.* 38, G 20, p. 249, Corsini Library, Rome, Lorenzo Corsini was a seven months' child.

[2] FABRONIUS, *Vita Clementis*, XII., 4 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 175 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the present work, XXX., 66, 133, n. 1.

[4] BISCHOFFSHAUSEN, *Alexander VIII.*, 106 *seq.* *Cf.* the present work, XXXII., 548.

[5] [VITALE], *Mem. stor. dei tesorieri generali pontif.*, Napoli, 1782, LXIII.

[6] FABRONIUS, 11 *seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* XXXIII., 378.

In spite of his many occupations as a member of several Congregations, Lorenzo Corsini nevertheless found time to extend a munificent patronage to art and learning. At his residence in the Palazzo Pamfili, in the Piazza Navona, he collected a splendid library over which he placed the learned D'Inquembert.[1] Scholars, artists and members of the nobility met almost nightly at the house of the Cardinal whose intellectual distinction was of outstanding quality.[2] In this way he became extremely well informed on every event that stirred Rome and the world, whilst he also became accurately acquainted with the whole of the prelature and Roman Society.[3] People particularly appreciated the circumstance that at these brilliant meetings everyone could freely express his opinion, for no one thought that the Cardinal would one day obtain the tiara.[4]

[1] D'Inquembert's testimony on the value of the Library in *Atlante geografico (dedicated to Clement XII. in 1731) in *Cod.* 36, G 1, Corsini Library, Rome. The *Catalogo della biblioteca del card. Gualtieri acquistata dal card. Corsini (pro Clemente XII.) in *Cod.* 602, Carpentras Library.

[2] De Brosses, *Letters*, II., 117.

[3] Petrucelli, IV., 101. *Cf.* Fabronius, 15; Novaes, XIII., 177. "*Da cardinale si è mostrato amante della conversazione di uomini virtuosi, onde nel suo palazzo la teneva ogni sera e vi comparivano in gran copia prelati, cavalieri e letterati, ai quali sempre ha fatto dispensare con animo signorile copiosi rinfreschi e dimostrato altri atti di generosità manifestando gradimento di tale concorso di gente, della quale veniva informato di quanto accadeva in Roma e nel mondo. Per ben che questo Papa si può dire l'uomo più ben inteso delle cose che qualunque altro nel s. Collegio" (Cardinal Cienfuegos to the imperial Chancellery, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). Portrait of Cardinal Corsini, by L. Ghezzi, in *Ottob.*, 3114, p. 20, Vatican Library.

[4] "* Ha ben egli gran conoscenza dei soggetti che compongono la prelatura, perchè li ha tutti trattati nella magnifica conversazione che avea in casa sua, dove pure sopra ogni cosa ed ogni persona cadeva il discorso. Tutti in quella liberamente parlavano, perchè il cardinale per l'età sua tanto avanzata e per l'opposizione

However, after the death of Clement XI., Corsini was reckoned among the *papabili*. He sided with the party of the Albani and at the conclaves of 1721 and 1724 he was excluded by the Powers.[1] The main obstacle to his prospects was the fact of his being a Florentine, which created a suspicion that he would not be impartial when, as was to be expected, the house of Medici would become extinct.[2] To this was added the fear that he might unduly favour his countrymen who were by no means popular in Rome.[3] No one, however, denied that he was uncommonly well acquainted with the situation in Rome, was held in high esteem by the prelates and was most liberal with his wealth.[4] As a priest his conduct was blameless and he gave proof of his truly ecclesiastical sentiments by the firmness with which he declined every kind of transaction with the Albani at the conclave of 1724. He would enter by the door, not by the window, he declared.[5]

The ambassadors were unanimous in acknowledging that the new Pope was most just, prudent, active, affable, straightforward and dispassionate, a gentleman in every way, a lover of splendour and fame, an enemy of flattery, though sensible to certain attentions, the insincerity of which his upright

che ad esso nei decorsi conclavi aveano fatta le corone, non appariva che mai avesse ad essere Papa" (Relazione di Morosini, 1731 [*cf.* above, p. 127], State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* also GIORDANO DE VICARI 's work dedicated to M. Passeri (which is, however, very panegyrical): *La perfezione nell'esercizio degli Apost. ministeri etc. di Clemente XII.*, Salerno, 1732.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 20, note 5.

[2] *Conclave doppo la morte del P. Innocenzo XIII. (*cf.* above, p. 292, n. 4), and *Parere ed informazione del barone de Malanotte 1724 (*cf.* above, p. 101, n. 2). Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] *Giudicio . . . di cardinali and *Relazione del conclave del 1730, both in Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; *Osservazioni intorno al presente conclave, Archives Wrbna-Kaunitz, Holleschau.

[4] *Cf.* besides the sources indicated in the previous note also Gentilotti's report of March 25, 1724, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[5] *Cf.* the report in PETRUCELLI, IV., 32.

character prevented him from perceiving. He was no scholar, though a friend of learning. He loved to display his skill at chess, a game at which he excelled. Whilst he had no special experience of ecclesiastical affairs, he had a thorough knowledge of the financial system; his acquaintance with foreign affairs was adequate.[1] Unfortunately he was seventy-nine years of age and his sight was so weak that in 1732 he became totally blind.[2] He was much tormented by gout in his hands and feet but his mental alertness left nothing

[1] Besides Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report of July 14, 1730 (Simancas Archives) and D'Ormea's *report of July 17, 1730 (Turin Archives; *cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 100), see B. Morosini's *Relazione of 1731 where we read (p. 164): "Soggetto che alla cospicua e ricca famiglia dalla quale è nato unisce le qualità più ragguardevoli di animo nobilissimo, lontano dall'interesse, di perfetto ecclesiastico e di ottimo cavaliere. Egli ama infinitamente la gloria, e vorrebbe che le sue buone intenzioni gli conciliassero applauso; è tutto umanità e dolcezza, qualità che da cardinale in lui non si distinguevano, poichè parea alquanto sostenuto. È di capacità mediocre, nè ha grande esperienza degli affari, perchè non fu molto impiegato nelle congregazioni dai pontifici precessori. Tutta la sua cognizione è nelle materie camerali, sendo stato tesoriere." Cardinal Cienfuegos emphasizes Clement XII.'s sense of honour in his report to the imperial Chancellery, December 22, 1733: "Il carattere e l'indole di S. Stà non la portano a fingere" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The author of *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII. describes his character thus: "Per dire qualche cosa del suo carattere, era ornato di molte virtù, specialmente della liberalità, della candidezza e della giustizia, amante degli uomini dabbene, senza bacchettoneria. Per desiderio di difender gl'oppressi, s'impegnava troppo per chi poco meritava. Tenace nella propria opinione; indefesso nelle udienze; nemico dell'adulazione, ma suscettibile delle carezze di certe arti, di cui la sua sincerità non gli lasciava scuoprire la finzione. Era di ottima comprensione e discernimento, ma non molto versato nelle scienze. Amava il gioco per divertimento, specialmente quello degli scacchi, in cui aveva pochi eguali e meno superiori:" *Cod.* 38, G 20, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] MORONI, VIII., 277, 287; IX., 37.

to be desired.[1] His fresh complexion testified to considerable robustness though his one-time blond hair had taken on the grey hue of age. He had blue eyes, a long, aquiline nose, a prominent upper lip, and was of middle height.[2]

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos *report, July 19, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] FABRONIUS, 156, and in GUARNACCI, II., 575, the portrait of Agostino Masuccio engraved by Rocco Pozzi. Ant. David also made a portrait of Clement XII.; see THIEME, VIII., 449. A very beautiful portrait was made in Germany with the inscription: "Clemens XII. Corsinus Florentinus Pont. Max. Creatus die 12 Julii MDCCXXX Elias Baeck a[lias] H[eldenmuth] sculp. et excud., Aug. Vind. 1730" (28, 2 × 18, 7 cm.). Marble busts of the Pope in S. Giovanni de' Florentini (see Forcella, VII., 41), in the Baptistry of St. Mary Major, in the museum on the Capitol and in the Corsini Library, Rome; Bronze bust in the sacristy of the Lateran (*cf.* FORCELLA, VIII., 79). Magnificent medallions of Clement XII. were made by the Hameran firm where Hermengild and his younger brother Othmar were employed; both had a sort of monopoly of the Roman coin and medal trade which secured official recognition in 1734; see NOACK in *Archiv für Medaillen und Plakettenkunde*, III. (1921–2), 23 *seqq.* On the statues outside Rome see below, Chapter IV. There is a good portrait in S. Niccolò, Bari. The richest collection of portraits and other souvenirs of Clement XII. are in the Palazzo Corsini, Florence. On the first landing of the magnificent staircase there is a large marble statue of the Pope giving his blessing, with the inscription: "Clementi XII | Corsinio | Pontifici | Maximo | Anno | 1737." In the rich picture gallery: No. 279 (Roman school): portrait of the Pope as Cardinal; No. 429: portrait of the Pope as Cardinal by Giuseppe Passeri; No. 422 (Roman school): portrait of Clement XII.; No. 421: portrait of Cardinal Neri Corsini the younger; No. 191 (Roman school): portrait of Clement XII.; No. 434: marble bust of Clement XII. by Ed. Bouchardon; No. 435; marble bust of Cardinal Neri Corsini the elder; No. 430: portrait of Filippo Corsini (the Pope's brother) by Maratta; No. 99: magnificent portrait of Cardinal Neri Corsini the elder by Susterman; No. 204: portrait of Isabella Strozzi (the Pope's mother). *Ibid.*, the rochet of Clement XII. in fine Venetian lace, reproduced in *Vita d'arte*, IV. (1909), 347 *seqq.*

Whereas in his native city of Florence Clement XII.'s election was celebrated with splendid festivities,[1] the first impression in Rome, where the sons of the city of the Arno were not popular, was an unfavourable one. However, a revulsion of feelings occurred before long, as was shown by the enthusiasm which marked the magnificent festivities of the coronation on July 16th, 1730.[2]

The Pope's popularity rose still higher by reason of the readiness with which he granted audiences, appeared in public, with a pomp which had not been witnessed since Innocent III., relieved the poor and did not unduly favour the Florentines, in fact because he gave proof of his sense of justice and began to remove the abuses which had crept in under his predecessors.[3]

Clement XII. thought at first of appointing Cardinal Giorgio Spinola as his Secretary of State, but the objections of the French caused him to desist from this plan[4] and to entrust that important post to Cardinal Banchieri who was as prudent as he was well informed.[5] For the Dataria, Cienfuegos proposed Accoramboni whereas the Spaniards favoured Lambertini, the French Origo, whilst the Camerlengo, Annibale Albani, was for Corradini. In these circumstances the Pope chose a middle course by appointing as Datarius a simple prelate instead of a Cardinal, as had been the uniform

[1] G. Conti, *Firenze dai Medici ai Lorenesi*, Firenze, 1909, 838 *seqq*.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 19, 1724, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On the coronation see the *reports quoted in Novaes, XIII., 183, and Cardinal Bentivoglio's *letter, July 20, 1730, Simancas Archives. On the magnificent ceremony of the enthronement see Cancellieri, 370 *seqq*.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports of July 29 and August 5, 1730. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] B. Morosini's *Relazione (see above, p. 127, n. 5) *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of July 19, 1730 (*loc. cit.*); the Pope consulted him before the election. *Cf.* also B. Morosini's *Relazione, *loc. cit.*

practice up to the time of Alexander VIII. The Pope's choice fell on Antonio Francesco Valenti, an Auditor of the Rota,[1] and as that learned and able man died already on May 9th, 1731, his place was taken by Antonio Saverio Gentili, Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.[2]

The *Maggiordomo* Trajano Acquaviva, the Treasurer, Carlo Sagripanti, and the Secretary of Briefs to Princes, Carlo Majella, Keeper of the Vatican Library, were confirmed in their posts. Giuseppe Livizzani became Secretary of the Cifra, Domenico Rivera Secretary of the Consulta, and Marcello Passeri became *Uditore Santissimo*. The latter had been for years in the service of Clement XII. who put the utmost reliance on his capacity and integrity, though the Romans found fault with the bestowal of such a post on a Calabrian of humble origin.[3]

Cardinal Banchieri was eighty years of age and a victim to gout.[4] He died on September 16th, 1733, whereupon the

[1] The above details are taken from Cienfuegos' *report of July 19, 1730, *loc. cit.* [2] FABRONIUS, 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*; NOVAES, 184; B. Morosini's *Relazione, *loc. cit.* On Carlo Majella, titular Bishop of Emesa, *cf.* MORONI, *Indice*, IV., 230. The *Epistolae ad principes* by Majella and his successor Giov. Vincenzo Luchesini have not been preserved in their entirety. Until 1898 they were entirely wanting in the Papal Secret Archives; in that year, through Msgr. Volpino, three vols. got into the Papal Secret Archives: *Epist.*, A. I. and II. ("Archiep. Emisseno secret."), A. VI. and VIII., IX. and X. (Io. Vinc. Luchesinio secret.), from the *Archivio dei brevi ad principes et delle lettere latine* (which must not be mistaken for the "Brief Archives" which were formerly in the Palazzo Altemps and later in the Cancelleria and are now on the third floor of the Vatican). The years III., IV., and V. are also missing in the copies of the *Epist.* which are preserved in the Corsini Library, Rome. WIRZ is mistaken when he says in *Bullen und Breven in ital. Archiven*, Basel, 1902 (*Quellen zur Schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., XXV.) that the first two years of Clement XII. are missing.

[4] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, March 17, 1731, Simancas Archives.

Pope entrusted the Secretariate of State to Giuseppe Firrao, Bishop of Aversa, who had been raised to the cardinalate in 1731.[1] Clement XII. honoured his nephews by naming Bartolomeo Corsini commander of the light cavalry and Neri Corsini Secretary of Memorials. Born in 1685 at Florence, Neri Corsini, as envoy of Cosimo III., had energetically and ably represented the interests of the Medici in London, Paris and Cambrai. On August 14th, 1730, the Pope named him a Cardinal *in petto* and proclaimed him on December 11th, 1730.[2]

In view of the Corsini's wealth there was no reason to fear a recrudescence of nepotism.[3] Quite apart from that, the Pope was not willing to allow his nephews undue influence. In 1731 the Venetian ambassador, Barbon Morosini, reported that Clement XII. loved his nephews, of whose ability he was fully aware, but refused to be dominated by them. Although the infirmities of age and his blindness made it difficult for the Pope to attend to everything, he nevertheless insisted on being kept fully informed, and for that reason he gave audience to all sorts of people. Cardinals Pico, Imperiali, Corradini and Passeri stood in high esteem. Bartolomeo Corsini was not allowed to meddle with affairs and even Cardinal Neri enjoyed but little influence, in spite of his great experience of State affairs.[4]

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports on September 19, 1733, that he is taking great pains for the nomination of a Secretary of State who will be well disposed towards the Emperor; probably the Pope will nominate a man who is impartial, in all probability Spinola, who will be made a Cardinal on September 28. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] GUARNACCI, II., 601 *seqq.* (with portrait: "Ant. David pinx., Hier. Rossi sculp."); REUMONT, *Toskana*, II., 473, 477, 479, 485.

[3] "* Ama [il Papa] i nipoti, ma si crede con amore regolato, e siccome la sua casa è la più ricca di Firenze ed è positivamente ricca, così pare che non vi aggiungerà altro che splendore esterno," Cienfuegos wrote already on July 19, 1730, *loc. cit.*

[4] "* Onora i suoi parenti con dignità, ma non vi è pericolo ch'egli voglia che dal pontificato ricavino profitto. Li ama,

In the sequel the Pope's state of health nevertheless compelled him to alter his policy. In December, 1730, he had a violent attack of gout accompanied by a high fever and since, in view of his seventy-nine years, there was everything to fear, discussions in connection with the conclave were opened already then.[1] Though the Pope made a comparatively quick recovery,[2] he continued, from that time onwards, to suffer from the infirmities of old age and he was frequently confined to bed by gout. Moreover, in 1732 he

ma non a lasciarsi governare da essi ; e, benchè conosca la capacità che hanno i nepoti suoi, non li adopera negli affari, in tal guisa che siano in situazione d'ottenere l'intento di ciò che potrebbero volere. Quantunque per l'indisposizione e per la cecità sia a lui difficile il badare a tutto, tuttavia vuole d'ogni cosa essere informato ; e per questo motivo e per l'ozio ancora non potendo leggere nè scrivere, amette all'udienza qualsiasi persona che voglia presentarsegli : dal che ne deriva che relazioni e discorsi non i più giusti egli senta e riceva cattive impressioni. Ha gran credito per li cardinali Pico, Imperiali e Corradini. . . . Il cardinale Corsini è uomo d'onore, di cuore perfetto e di buona coscienza, ha esperienza delle cose del mondo, per il lungo ministero da lui per il Granduca sostenuto in Inghilterra ed in Francia, ma le sue maniere non sono le più suavi, ed essendo ancora collo stesso Papa di carattere contenzioso, non ottiene da Sua Santità quello negli affari ch'egli vorrebbe. Il principe Bartolomeo è illuminatissimo, ha ottime ed amabili maniere, il Papa lo stima, ma in niente di esso si vale, ed egli neppure degli affari interni della corte s'informa." (B. Morosini's Relazione, State Archives, Venice ; *cf.* above, p. 127, n. 5.) On December 16, 1730, Cienfuegos *wrote of N. Corsini : " Uomo disinvolto che ha veduto le corti di Francia e d'Inghilterra oltre quella della M. V. Amante delle lettere, prudente e desideroso di contribuire alla gloria del zio che per lui mostra della tenerezza, ma regolata dalla ragione." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial Chancellery, December 3, 1730 (" Domenica passata si sono trovati i domestici del Papa nel timore di perderlo "), *ibid.* ; Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, December 7, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports, December 23 and 30, 1730, *loc. cit.*

became totally blind. A French traveller, President De Brosses, relates that every morning the Secretaries came to the Pope's bedside with the courier of the preceding day, made their report and received instructions and the most indispensable signatures. This was done by their placing the Pontiff's hand, which held the pen, on that spot on the paper where the signature had to be appended.[1] Clement XII. still retained all his mental alertness, but after 1735 his bodily strength diminished more and more. Throughout July of that year there was much talk of a conclave; however, the Pope's rapid recovery gave the lie to the physicians' fears.[2] In July, 1736, we read that the Pope had a fainting fit when, one Sunday after a somewhat prolonged illness, he desired to assist at Mass and to receive Holy Communion. "He has recovered," the imperial ambassador, Count Harrach, wrote, "but he has almost completely lost the wonderful memory he once possessed and his colour is so pale that there is reason to fear his demise at the turn of the season.[3] However, this time too these fears were not fulfilled. Clement XII. was confined to bed by gout during almost the whole of the first months of 1737 and so weak as to be unable to hold a consistory, though his life was not in danger. Great care was taken to prevent his catching cold,[4] but a further loss of strength was evident. His wonted mental alertness also diminished: "the smallest thing suffices to depress him," we read in May, 1737.[5] However, with the return of the better season he recovered once more.

[1] De Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 59, 118. *Cf.* Bezard, *Comment le président De Brosse a écrit ses Lettres d'Italie*, in *Studi ital.*, IV. (1922).

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, July 16 and 23, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn, and *report of Cardinal Bentivoglio, July 10, 1735 (the draft of new instructions for a Conclave is being thoroughly examined), Simancas Archives.

[3] *Report of July 7, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[4] Count Harrach's *reports of February 2 and 9 and April 27, 1737, *ibid.*

[5] Count Harrach, May 25, 1737, *ibid.*

How great the Pope's power of resistance still was, appeared at the canonization of June 16th, 1737. He intoned the *Te Deum* with a strong voice, but the end of the function found him exhausted. He returned at once to the Quirinal, retired to bed and took his lunch, after which he slept. On waking he felt so invigorated as to give a public audience at once.[1] At a consistory in July he seemed to be in perfect health; in August it was remarked that his colour and good humour had returned. However, fainting fits were not lacking and they increased with the return of the bad season. At the same time he showed an unwonted sensitiveness to cold. For all that Harrach thought that Clement XII. might live one or two years longer.[2]

In these circumstances it was inevitable that a vast number of affairs had to be dealt with almost exclusively by the ministers and the Pope's nephew. For that reason it was particularly regrettable that Cardinal Neri Corsini was far more interested in learning and the arts than in the affairs of State. By his order, Fuga carried out a complete reconstruction of the old palace of the Riarios which had been occupied at one time by Queen Christine; only a small part of the original building was preserved. The new palace, with its broad façade, its monumental staircase, its bright arcades and courts opening on the evergreen gardens of the Janiculus, became a magnificent residence, one without its like in the Eternal City.[3] Like Christine of Sweden, Cardinal Corsini, acting on the advice of the learned Bottari, started a collection of pictures, engravings, drawings and books.[4]

[1] Count Harrach's *report, June 22, 1737, *ibid.*

[2] Count Harrach's *reports of July 13, August 24 and 31, November 2 and 23, 1737, *ibid.*

[3] LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 405 *seqq.*, *Planches*, II., 191 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 134 *seq.*; GURLITT, 528 *seqq.*; *cf.* also GOTHEIN, I., 327 *seqq.*

[4] When, in 1889, Tommaso Corsini sold the palace to the State he presented it also with the library and the gallery; the latter formed the nucleus of the "Galleria nazionale d'arte antica", opened there in 1895. *Cf.* MASSARETTE, *Rom seit 1870* (1919), 108.

All this interested him far more than the affairs of State for which he was further unfitted by reason of his timorousness.[1] On the other hand, on occasion the diplomatists, who frequently underestimated him, had to feel that he was not lacking in clear-sightedness.[2]

Fear of the Pope's early demise caused Corsini carefully to avoid taking any measures of importance, so as not to jeopardize his future career; hence he did his best to temporize.[3] This explains many failures of the papal policy in the disputes with the Catholic Powers. If Corsini nevertheless maintained himself in his position, he owed his success to his agreeable manner and to his universally recognized disinterestedness in money matters. Even severe critics agreed that his faults were not due to ill-will but to a lack of statesmanslike qualities; but that which the clear-sighted could not forgive him was the jealousy with which he prevented the rise of any possible political rival. Thus after Banchieri's death, he prevented the very able Cardinal Rivera from obtaining the Secretariate of State and secured it for Firrao.[4] Corsini's jealousy was skilfully taken advantage of by Cardinals Passeri and Gentili who in the last years of Clement XII. enjoyed far greater influence than Firrao, the Secretary of State. Cardinal Passeri, who had always stood high in the Pope's esteem, did his best to hide that fact so as not to rouse Corsini's jealousy, "who," Harrach wrote on July 6th,

[1] "Pauroso dell' ombra sua medesima," says Foscarini; see GANDINO, 4.

[2] *Cf.* ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 29 *seqq.* De Brosses underestimates N. Corsini when he describes him as a man below the average (II., 59), or as a good-natured simpleton (II., 117).

[3] M. FOSCARINI, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Relazione del* CAVALIER ALVISE MOCENIGO, IV., *letta in Senato il 28 novembre 1737 reduce dall'Ambasciata di Roma*, Venezia, 1864. RANKE (III., 220* *seqq.*) has already given an extract. According to Foscarini, Rivera subsequently gained great influence over Corsini; see GANDINO, 3.

1737, " is exceedingly anxious to play the first rôle in directing the Pope's decisions." [1]

The Prodatarius Gentili, who had been raised to the Sacred College in 1733, was even more successful, by pliancy and subservience, in winning the confidence, nay, the friendship of Corsini, to such an extent that the latter initiated him into his most secret plans and made much use of him with the Pope for the furtherance of his schemes. But as Gentili was no great personality and was but little acquainted with foreign affairs, Corsini was repeatedly compelled to consult other counsellors, as, for instance, experienced Giorgio Spinola and shrewd Rivera. However, their influence was impeded by the circumstance that Spinola was regarded as an enemy of the Corsini whilst Rivera had forfeited the confidence which the nephew had at one time placed in him.[2]

[1] *Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Harrach remarks that as *proadiutor* of the Pope, Passeri is omnipotent.

[2] Count Harrach's *reports of March 23 and July 6, 1737, *ibid.* ; in the latter he says with regard to Corsini's jealousy that he would tolerate no one by his side and that everywhere he wished to play the principal part : " A queste idee si boriose e si alte nissuno meglio sa addattarsi che il card. Gentili Prodatario, il quale pieghevole e fertile in progetti, lontano in apparenza dall'ambizione, lusinghiero senza affettazione e bastevolmente accorto, ha saputo talmente guadagnarsi l'amicizia del detto card. Corsini, ch'è diventato il depositario dei di lui più reconditi pensieri ed istromento anche presso il Papa per cavarne le risoluzioni favorevoli in quelle materie, in cui il card. Corsini per suoi fini particolari non truova a proposito di comparire, siccome però Gentili non è mente da per se grande e vasta nè versato nelle cose di stato e negl'interessi delle corti estere, delle di cui cognizioni è affatto digiuno, così negli affari più importanti non è capace di dar consiglio giovevole, e però malgrado suo Corsini talvolta è obbligato di sentire il parere degli altri. Il card. Giorgio Spinola per la sua lunga esperienza, e Rivera per la riputazione ch'egli ha acquistata di uomo prudente, entrano dunque spesse volte nelle congregazioni che si tengono sulli negozi più gravi e di maggior interesse, e sebbene il loro parere sia comunemente libero e diretto al bene del pontificato, pure non se ne fa nella

(3.)

All these circumstances account for the fact that many of the hopes that had been set on Clement XII.'s pontificate, were not fulfilled, though he achieved more than one success, especially at the beginning of his reign, such as, for instance, a partial removal of the abuses and innovations which had crept in under his predecessor. Under Benedict XIII. he had belonged to the opposition, hence his first step was to abolish the soap monopoly and the innovations introduced in the ceremonial. The Guard of the *Lancie spezzate* and the honorary Chamberlains *di cappa e spada* were at once restored.[1] Far more important were some other steps which met with general approval. In August, 1730, four Congregations were set up. The first, called *De nonnullis*, was for the purpose of calling to account those who, amid the universal indignation of the public, had abused the late Pope's confidence in order to enrich themselves, viz. Cardinal Coscia and his Beneventan accomplices. The task of the second was to examine the many favours which Benedict XIII. had been induced to grant ; the third was commissioned to look into the excessive concessions made in the ecclesiastical sphere, whilst the fourth had mission to remedy the disordered finances of the Camera Apostolica.[2]

The Congregation *De nonnullis* was established by a

pratica gran conto, perchè il primo si suppone assolutamente nemico de' Corsini ed il secondo ha perso quella confidenza, che prima Corsini in lui aveva, oltre di che i loro sentimenti trovandosi spesse volte in opposizione alle brame e mire personali di chi governa ora questo paese, ne nasce, che non vengono messi in esecuzione."

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 19, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican ; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* NOVAES, XIII., 185 *seqq.*

[2] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 27, 1730, Simancas Archives ; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, July 29 and August 5, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Motu proprio of August 8th, 1730,[1] and provided with all necessary powers. It consisted of Cardinals Pico, Imperiali, Corradini, Porzia and Banchieri; these were soon reinforced by Cardinal Corsini and at a later date by Cardinals Barberini, Zondadari, Origo and Altieri. The Congregation met at once,[2] but as the secret of the Holy Office was enjoined on its members, nothing definite about their activities transpired at first.[3] Coscia, a chronic victim to gout, as well as Fini, in prevision of the things that were to come, had put up the imperial arms on their residences.[4] Both had been of service at the time of the negotiations in connection with the *Monarchia Sicula*,[5] hence they hoped that Charles VI. would extend his protection to them.

Though this expectation was actually realized, the march of events could not be stopped thereby. A *Motu proprio* of December 1st, 1730, decreed the initiation of a formal process against Coscia and his Beneventans. Accordingly a special commissary was dispatched to Benevento in the person of

[1] The *original copy with the autograph signature of Clement XII. is in Papal Secret Archives, X., 168.

[2] The *acts of the "Congregatio De nonnullis" also called "S. Congregatio Beneventana" which up to now have not been made use of by anybody, are for the most part in the Papal Secret Archives, X., 148–154, 160–181, 198; they contain no less than 30 vols. practically all original documents. In addition there are 3 vols. "* Causa Coscii" in Altieri Archives, Rome, XX., 3. G. I., II., III. from the remains of Cardinal Altieri. A rich *collection of acts and writings is also to be found in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, *Vat.* 8336, pp. 193 *seqq.*, and *Vat.* 8631, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also **Cod.* 2021, State Library, Trent. Ludovicus de Valentibus was "Avvocato fiscale". The Secretary of the Congregations, Domenico Cesare Fiorelli, who had conducted the process against Alberoni, was "Giudice criminale", Niccolò Iacovacci "Fiscale", Antonio Broggi "Procuratore fiscale generale".

[3] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 27, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 135 *seq.*

Monsignore Buondelmonte, for the purpose of gathering material for conviction and for examining witnesses.[1]

Whilst in Rome the people's hatred for Coscia and the Beneventans was on the increase, popular demonstrations in his favour were taking place at Benevento[2]; but the Congregation did not allow itself to be influenced by them. On December 20th it resolved to summon Coscia to resign the see of Benevento.[3] By a letter to the Pope, dated December 23rd, Coscia complied with this demand,[4] though he continued to hope that he would be able to refute the accusations against him.[5] His request to be allowed to repair to Naples had been rejected by the Pope, but in spite of this refusal, and in opposition to a decree of Innocent X., he resolved to put himself under the Emperor's protection. On March 31st, 1731, he fled in disguise to Naples where Charles VI. permitted him to take up residence. The Pope

[1] *Processus contra card. Coscia, Papal Secret Archives, *Arm. X. Cod.* 148 (*cf. ibid., Cod.* 150); AMATO, *Il processo e la deposizione del card. N. Coscia*, in *Atti d. Soc. Stor. del Sannio*, IV. (1926).

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 12 and 22, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican and *that of Cardinal Bentivoglio, September 2 and 12, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 23, 1730, *loc. cit.*, and *that of Cardinal Bentivoglio, September 30, 1730, *loc. cit.* Banchieri's *letter to Coscia in which he demands his renunciation of Benevento, dat. December 20, 1730, in *Cod. Vat.*, 8631, p. 75, Vatican Library.

[4] *Original, dat. Di casa, December 23, 1730, with seal, in Papal Secret Archives, X., 168.

[5] In *Cod. ital.*, 548, State Library, Munich, there is the following printed document: "Alla Stª di N. S. P. Clemente per il card. N. Coscia" with a preface by Coscia to the Secretary of State Banchieri, dat. Di casa, December 29, 1730, asking him to hand this letter to the Pope for his justification, but not "per recedere dalla rassegnazione" of Benevento which the Pope had commanded.

was indignant [1]; he had Coscia's palace searched at once, but without result, for everything of a compromising nature had been removed.[2] A *Motu proprio* of April 23rd, 1731, deprived Coscia of all his privileges and sequestrated his revenues, but in consequence of the imperial protection he was able to enjoy at least those which came to him from Neapolitan territory. May 12th saw the publication of a monitory threatening Coscia with forfeiture of all his benefices should he fail to return within six months, and with deposition from the cardinalate should he continue to be obdurate in his disobedience.[3] In consequence of the fact that, in imitation of Alberoni, Coscia sought to influence public opinion in his favour by means of writings in which he represented himself as the victim of unjust persecution, he was threatened, on May 28th, with excommunication and interdict.[4]

Coscia had no intention to yield; on the contrary, in a letter to the Secretary of State he protested against the violence done to him by his deprivation of the See of Benevento.[5] At the same he caused to be broadcast, through Giuseppe Forziati, an open letter to the Pope.[6] On September 16th he wrote a letter to Clement XII. himself, to justify his flight; this letter was also immediately printed. To excuse his contumacy he produced medical attestations that he was suffering from gout.[7]

Coscia's publications and their diffusion in Naples and Rome obliged the Pope to inform the Catholic Princes,

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 5, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; MURATORI, XII., 134. *Cf.* also the **Avvisi di Roma*, April 7 and 21, 1731, in *Cod.* 716 RR, Monte Cassino Library.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, April 7 and 14, 1731, *loc. cit.*

[3] MURATORI, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 16, 1731, *loc. cit.*

[6] A *copy with the remark that Banchieri had received it on June 14, 1731, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 106 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[7] *Copy of this letter also in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 244 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

through the nuncios, of the state of proceedings which had also brought to light certain moral transgressions of Coscia.[1] The proceedings were even further extended: besides Coscia's brother, some other accomplices of his were likewise arrested.[2] On October 2nd it became necessary to issue a declaration of forfeiture, by Coscia, of all his benefices, on the ground that he had allowed six months to elapse since his flight without presenting himself before his judges in Rome.[3] Coscia was so little intimidated by this step that on November 3rd, 1731, he wrote to the Pope to protest against the nomination of a new Archbishop of Benevento; he had only resigned under pressure and demanded justice.[4] Justice was indeed meted out to him; but the investigation against him was further drawn out on account of the thoroughness with which it was conducted. Coscia ended by realizing that he must obey the summons if he did not wish to ruin his career altogether. After a stay at Naples of nearly a year he went to Terracina on April 1st, 1732: from there he journeyed to Rome where he was interned and questioned at the convent adjoining S. Prassede.[5] He was allowed to choose two lawyers for his defence. With the concurrence of these he succeeded in masterly fashion in drawing out the process month after month until the Pope was compelled to intervene. April 27th and 28th, 1733, witnessed the final

[1] MURATORI, XII., 135. *Cf.* *Informazione per il Nuncio di Vienna, Papal Secret Archives, X., 166.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, April 5 and August 11, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; *Litterae monit. to Filippo Coscia, Bishop of Targa, commanding him to present himself, dat. November 27, 1730, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 307, Vatican Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 250 *seqq.* Also a *letter of the Dominican Orsi according to which the Pope could compel him to resign.

[5] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, July 10 and 12, 1732, Simancas Archives. A *letter of the Neapolitan Viceroy, Harrach, dat. Naples, March 8, 1732, recommends Coscia to Cardinal Barberini. *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 288, *loc. cit.*

and decisive discussion by the Congregation *De nonnullis*, in which all the ten Cardinals took part.

Coscia was unanimously found guilty. In order to gratify his insatiable covetousness, the Cardinals declared, Coscia had acquired illicit gains both before and after his elevation to the cardinalate, had committed effective extortions, had shamefully abused the confidence of his benefactor, Benedict XIII., had bought the post of Treasurer-General for Niccolò Negroni, had sold monopolies and falsified rescripts, an action which enabled him to acquire within a few years, possessions worth 400,000 scudi in Neapolitan territory. All this was proved, as was his disobedience to papal commands and his public reviling of the judicial proceedings. Final sentence was given on May 9th, 1733. Major excommunication, from which the Pope alone could absolve him—except in peril of death—was pronounced against Coscia. He was condemned to ten years' imprisonment in the Castle of S. Angelo, to restore his illicit possessions (for the benefit of the poor), to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi to be spent on charity, to forfeit his active and passive voice in the conclave for the duration of his imprisonment together with all his ecclesiastical benefices.[1] When he was notified of the judgment, Coscia behaved as if it did not concern him at all. He was at once removed to Castel S. Angelo where three rooms were allotted to him; he was likewise permitted to provide for his own maintenance.[2] When the Pope proclaimed the sentence in

[1] Several printed copies of the "Sententia S. D. N. Clementis P. XII. lata et publicata die 9 m. Maii anni 1733 in causa card. Nicolai Cosciae" are in the acts of the process, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* LÜNIG, *Cod. ital. dipl.*, IV., 383 *seqq.* See also Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 9, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] "* Il porporato non si turbò all'avviso della sentenza e si è portato con grande disinvoltura e quasi come se non si trattasse di cose a lui appartenenti. In castello egli ha due camere ed una sala fatte accomodare coi propri mobili ed al suo servizio si truovano un capellano, un aiutante di camera ed un servitore, sentendosi ch'egli stia di buon animo e che mangia con buon

the consistory, the Cardinals were unable to hide their dismay at measures of such severity against a member of the Sacred College, but no one dared speak a word in favour of the culprit.[1]

Coscia's condemnation met with general approval on the part of the Romans, but the whole episode was soon forgotten, so much so that by the end of May it had ceased to be a topic of conversation.[2]

Meanwhile the other new Congregations had likewise been busy. That which had to look into the favours and autographs which Benedict XIII. had been enticed to issue, progressed rapidly with its task. By the end of December, 1730, it had drafted a Bull which, contrary to a permission given by Benedict XIII., forbade the raising of pensions from parishes.[3]

appettito." So far he has not yet been absolved from the greater excommunication, a petition on his part is expected, reports Cardinal Cienfuegos on May 16, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. On October 1, 1735, the same *writes: "Cardinal Acquaviva obtained from the Pope permission for Coscia to leave Castel S. Angelo for the baths of San Cassiano in Tuscany, on condition that he returns again and pays a fine of 15,000 scudi, a proof that his imprisonment will be commuted into banishment." On *October 8 the same: "On Wednesday Coscia left Castel S. Angelo for San Cassiano; the Pope may deprive him of the purple if, on being commanded to do so, he does not return." Both letters in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn (where the reports of Cardinal Cienfuegos from December 4, 1734, onwards are to be found).

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 16, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. According to the *report of Cardinal Cienfuegos of August 27, 1735, the Congregation "De nonnullis" which had reassembled after a long interval, decided with regard to Coscia's brother, that his long imprisonment could be considered as sufficient punishment; Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 30, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, December 30, 1730, Simancas Arch.

In the sequel a number of oral concessions, secret autograph letters, favours and decrees of the late Pope were either altered or qualified [1]: among these was Benedict XIII.'s Constitution in favour of the Dominicans. In view of the fact that the passage of the Bull dealing with the teaching on grace was being exploited against the Jesuits, Clement XII. on October 2nd, 1733, whilst reinculcating the Bull *Unigenitus*, expressly declared that the praise bestowed upon the Thomist school by his predecessors—praise with which he was glad to associate himself—by no means implied a belittling of the opposite view.[2] At the same time he renewed Paul V.'s prohibition of all written or oral censures or condemnations of either school, so long as the Church's supreme *magisterium* had not issued its judgment. On the other hand, Clement XII. rebuked [3] those who, because of the mitigations granted by himself, called in question some earlier privileges of the Dominicans (in connection with processions).

Extraordinary difficulties were encountered by the Congregation whose task it was to revise the concordat with Sardinia. In that treaty concessions had been made, in consequence of the papal plenipotentiaries having been bribed, which had seemed so unusual even in Benedict XIII.'s lifetime, that it was generally felt that they could not be upheld.[4] Clement XII. also judged them to be unlawful [5] and Cardinal Fini was called upon to account for his conduct

[1] *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Bull*, XXIII., 323; NOVAES, XIII., 209.

[2] "Nolumus . . . quidquam esse detractum ceteris catholicis scholis, quarum etiam erga hanc S. Sedem praeclara sunt merita, quominus sententias ea de re tueri pergant, quas hactenus palam et libere, etiam in huius almae Urbis luce docuerunt" (*Bull.*, XXIII., 541 *seqq.* *Cf.* above, p. 215.

[3] April 10, 1733, *Bull*, XXIII., 491.

[4] *Voyages de* MONTESQUIEU, I., 107, 214.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf. Défense du Siège Apost. contre les concordats sur les matières de Savoye et de Piémont etc.*, 1733.

in the affair.[1] The Pope accordingly informed Charles Emmanuel, the successor of Vittorio Amadeo II., who had abdicated,[2] through the King's ambassador, that previous to his elevation to the pontificate he had not been informed of the Sardinian concordat, that before issuing the Bull which had been asked for the Abbey of S. Stefano d'Ivrea, he had wished to examine it, and that whilst doing so he had regretfully come to the conclusion that both in form and in substance these conventions were contrary to equity; that his conscience did not allow him to have them carried into effect. In particular it was not stated in the concordats whether before concluding them the Pope had consulted the Cardinals and such persons as had a right to be heard, more especially in the matter of the *Spolia*. The ministers who had signed the concordats had not been empowered to do so by their sovereigns; there were clauses in them which were most prejudical to the Holy See and which the Pope could

[1] *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, pp. 312 *seqq.*, 322 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. Fini accepted the penalty of not appearing at court and in the Congregations with such resignation that it was relaxed in the autumn of 1732 when he was merely commanded to abstain from meddling with affairs appertaining to the Turin Government (Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 4, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). * Relazione orig. degli attentati contro l'immunità e giurisdizione eccl. nel dominio di Savoya esibita a Benedetto XIII. e dalla S. S. conservata in un libro 'Savoya. Immunità' ed ordinata a forma di sommario, consegnata dal card. Fini al card. Banchieri segret. di Stato, 1731, Altieri Archives, Rome. Against Msgr. Giacomo Sardini also a process was instituted on account of his relations with D'Ormea which were considered harmful to the Holy See (Papal Secret Archives, X., 167, 168). It ended with his condemnation to ten years' imprisonment in the Castle of S. Angelo. Clement XII., however, commuted it into banishment to Albano; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 30, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[2] For Amadeo's dispensation for a new marriage with a widow —he required such a dispensation as he was a Knight of St. Mauritius—and his abdication, see REUMONT, *Kleine hist. Schriften*, 184 *seqq.*

neither grant nor his Majesty accept. Hence it was necessary to formulate them better, otherwise His Holiness would feel constrained to forbid their execution and even to revoke at least those sections which were blameworthy. The Pope communicated these observations directly to the King of Sardinia.[1]

The Government of Turin was all the more unwilling to recognize the Pope's standpoint as the Marchese d'Ormea had meanwhile become Prime Minister. It is easy to understand that d'Ormea would not on any account see his work destroyed. In its defence he was, from the first, not content with mere representations, however skilful,[2] on the contrary, as early as December, 1730, he threatened to break off diplomatic relations.[3] On the other hand, the Pope, convinced as he was that it was his duty to recover those rights of the Church which Coscia's and Fini's venality had caused them to give up, insisted on the necessity of a revision of the concordat; in this attitude he had the unanimous support of the Congregation. On January 8th, 1731, in an address to the Cardinals assembled in consistory, he explained that the concordat injured papal authority and episcopal jurisdiction and set a bad example to the other princes; moreover it had been concluded in secret and by ministers who were not empowered to do so. He demanded that the Cardinals should hand in an expression of opinion on the matter, in writing, and within a fortnight.[4]

Whilst the documents relative to the matter were being distributed to the Cardinals, the Pope, through Bishop

[1] CARUTTI, *Vittorio Amadeo*, II., 480; HERGENRÖTHER, *Piemonts Unterhandlungen*, 60. REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 197.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 60 *seqq.*; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 198.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] Through an indiscretion the Pope's discourse (in **Acta consist.*, *Barb.*, 2922, Vatican Library, and in *Epist.*, I., Papal Secret Arch.) was immediately published; the event caused a great sensation; see Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, January 18, 1731, Simancas Arch.

Guglielmi, sought to initiate negotiations for a compromise at Turin. However, the King refused to receive Guglielmi, recalled his Roman envoy, Count de Gros, and took violent action against two Bishops for not obtaining the *exequatur* for a Jubilee Bull.[1] At the same time it was learnt that pernicious ideas on the Church were being taught at the University of Turin. Thus the dispute became increasingly acute.[2]

As meanwhile the Cardinals had sent in their opinions, Clement XII. resolved to take energetic measures. On August 6th, 1731, he declared the concordat of 1727 null and void and suspended[3] Benedict XIII.'s Brief on the appointment of Vicars by strange Bishops.[4] Clement informed Charles Emmanuel of these steps.[5] The only reply of the Government of Turin was a decree against the Pope's action and stern proceedings against the clergy so as to render the execution of the papal decision impossible.[6] In Rome discussions took place on the steps to be taken in this ominous situation. Opinions in the Sacred College diverged widely. The *Zelanti*, Barberini, Imperiali, Annibale Albani, Pico, Corradini, Giorgio Spinola and Polignac advocated the strongest measures, whereas Bentivoglio, Belluga, Zondadari, Cienfuegos, Falconieri and Petra counselled moderation.[7] In the Congrega-

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, 63 *seqq.*

[2] "*Sono comparse in questa corte molte proposizioni ereticali che dicono insegnarsi publicamente nella università di Torino. Onde sempre più si aumentano le cause delle differenze," reports Cardinal Cienfuegos on June 30, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*; HERGENRÖTHER, 64.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 150 *seq.*

[5] The Pope's *letter to Carlo Emanuele, August 6, 1731, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, 202.

[6] HERGENRÖTHER, 64 *seq.*

[7] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, February 9, 1732, Simancas Arch. *Cf.* "* Voti della Congreg. di 5 Febraio 1732 sopra le pendenze di Savoia", *Cod.* 41, B 13, pp. 94 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

tion of Immunity the stern view ended by prevailing,[1] with the result that no attempts at conciliation, such as Cardinal Bentivoglio would have liked to initiate,[2] were made. A letter of the King, dated October 4th, 1732,[3] only served to pour oil on the flame.[4] In 1731 an official account of the dispute with the Holy See had been published at Turin.[5] A very detailed reply by Giusto Fontanini appeared in Rome, though without the name of either author or publisher.[6] In June of the following year the Turin Government replied with yet another publication,[7] whilst Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the Protector of Sardinia, was all the time doing his

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 16 and 23, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, March 8 and July 19, 1732, Simancas Archives. *Cf.* *Viglietto e memoria (1732) by Bentivoglio, *Cod.* 41, B 13, pp. 88 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome; also *ibid.*, 115, 124, 224, *Piani di aggiustamento proposti, and 154–222 *Fogli diversi informativi per la Congreg. di 6 Maggio 1732.

[3] *Text in *Cod.* 1198, II., pp. 50 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, where there are numerous manuscript documents relating to the dispute, especially proposals for a compromise.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, November 8 and 15, 1732, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] *Relazione istorica delle vertenze, che si trovavano pendenti tra la corte di Roma e quella del Re di Sardegna, allorchè fu assunto al pontificato Benedetto XIII., dei trattati su di esse seguiti, etc., come anche di tutto ciò ch'è succeduto nel pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Torino, 1731. Also another work; see MORONI, LXI., 161, and G. DELLA PORTA (see next note).

[6] *Ragioni della Sede Apost. nelle presenti controversie colla corte di Torino. Cf.* MORONI, LXI., 161 *seqq.* According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of November 22, 1732, the proofs were stolen, which made the Pope very angry. Peace, adds Cienfuegos, is very remote (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On the polemical writings of that time between Rome and Turin see G. DELLA PORTA in *Miscell. di studi storici in onore di A. Manno*, Torino, 1912.

[7] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 6, 1733, *loc. cit.*

best to bring about a compromise. However, every effort of this kind failed [1] as both the Turin Government and the Pope firmly maintained their respective points of view.[2] The sequel showed that the Holy See could afford to wait longer than the court of Turin. Through Cardinal Albani, Marchese d'Ormea, the leading personality in Turin, had learnt of the Pope's keen desire that the Neapolitan writer Pietro Giannone, one of the bitterest enemies of the Holy See, should not find refuge in Piedmontese territory. D'Ormea accordingly ordered Giannone to leave at once; in March, 1736, he lured him from Geneva, where the wretched man had found shelter, into Savoyard territory where he had him arrested and securely guarded [3]; he would even have extradited him to Rome if the King had not opposed the

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, 66.

[2] On November 14, 1733, Cardinal Cienfuegos had *reported that Clement XII., when asked about the prospects of a compromise, "disse francamente che non voleva sentirne parlare se prima il Re di Sardegna non metteva le cose nello stato in cui erano nel pontificato di Clemente XI." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Giannone was not, as BROSCH (II., 5) affirms, lured to the Savoyard shore of the lake of Geneva by an "emissary of the Jesuits, but by Giuseppe Castaldi, a Piedmontese customs official, and at the suggestion of D'Ormea (see OCCELLA in *Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalp.*, III. [1879], 511 *seqq*). Clement XII. tried in vain to get Giannone extradited to Rome; Giannone, *Harrach writes on November 9, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn, was regarded by Rome as a heresiarch on account of his attacks against the Church. On the orders for the arrest of Giannone by the Roman Inquisition in case he should come to Bologna, see BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, 146. At the request of Clement XII., G. A. Bianchi took up his pen against Giannone (*Della potestà e polizia della Chiesa*, 6 vols., Roma, 1745–1751); see RENAZZI, IV., 340; BUCHBERGER'S *Kirchl. Handlexikon*, I., 618; HURTER, II., 1530 *seq.*; *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 812 *seq.* Giannone's **Abiuratio* of March 24, 1738, in *Ottob.*, 3187, p. 27, Vatican Library.

plan.[1] In his letter of thanks for the arrest of Giannone, dated May 4th, 1736, the Pope gave utterance to a lively desire for the settlement of the disputes with the Government of Turin. This led to fresh negotiations, but in spite of the efforts of Cardinals Alessandro, Albani and Rivera, these were so protracted that they were not yet concluded at the time of Clement XII.'s death, February 6th, 1740.[2]

The fourth Congregation had met at the same time as the others.[3] Its task, viz. that of putting order into the financial chaos caused by the previous pontificate, proved all the more arduous as several inveterate abuses were still at work in this department. Clement XII. nevertheless applied at least a partial remedy by the abolition of the contracts for the collection of taxes, a relic of Coscia's days, and by concluding new ones under more favourable conditions. But this measure did not remedy the constant deficit which had reached an alarming point. On the other hand it was impossible to limit expenditure as Clement XII. was unwilling to give up the traditional patronage of learning and art. In his dilemma he had recourse to an economically very risky expedient. On December 9th, 1731, lotteries, which Benedict XIII. had condemned, were once more permitted in Rome, though foreign lotteries continued to be prohibited.[4] The

[1] CARUTTI, *Stor. d. dipl.*, IV., 171. *Cf.* *Fogli diversi sull'arresto del P. Giannone, *Cod.* 41, B 13, pp. 238 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, 67 *seqq.* See also GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 37 *seqq.*

[3] **Motu propio* on its institution, August 12, 1730, in *Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 350, Vatican Library.

[4] BROSCH, II., 75. At first nine draws were held on the Capitol every year. **Cod. Barb.*, 4687, p. 2007, *loc. cit.*; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 15, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican; MURATORI, XII., 189. On other restrictions see HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, IV.[6] 15. *Cf.* also CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 244 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 198. KATHOLICK, 1861, II., 650.

Zelanti remonstrated at once,[1] but the Pope refused to change his mind.[2] Though these lotteries yielded very considerable sums, they fell far short of what was needed. In the further course of Clement XII.'s pontificate, the financial straits became so acute, more especially as the result of the political and ecclesiastical complications, that his successor was forced to take immediate counter measures.[3] "The higher I rose," Clement XII. is reported to have said, "the lower I descended. I was a wealthy *abbate*, a comfortably off Bishop, a poor Cardinal, but I am a ruined Pope."[4] We can understand these words when we learn that at the end of the previous pontificate the annual deficit amounted to 120,000 scudi, and the debt of the Holy See to sixty million scudi.[5]

[1] "*Continuano le mormorazioni de' cardinali zelanti contro il Papa e il cardinale nipote" (on account of the lotto), Cardinal Cienfuegos reports on December 29, 1731, *loc. cit.*

[2] A new permission is *reported by Count Harrach on February 16, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. The Lotto was considered "una specie di voluntaria imposizione"; see **Memorie* in *Cod.* 38, G 20, Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] Brosch, II., 82 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

[4] De Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 117 *seqq.*

[5] See the *Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato ecclesiastico (intended for Clement XII.) in *Cod.* 34, B 4, pp. 66 *seqq.* Corsini Library, Rome.

CHAPTER II.

Loss of the Suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza—The Struggle for the Polish Succession and the Outbreak of War against the Emperor in Italy—Conquest of Naples and Sicily by the Spaniards—Provocation of the Pope by the Bourbons at Madrid and Naples—The Spanish Concordat of 1737.

When Clement XII. out of veneration for Clement XI. took that Pontiff's name, he could hardly foresee that the Catholic Powers would treat him even worse than the Albani Pope.

Clement XII.'s very first step as a ruler was for the preservation of peace. There was danger of a new war on account of the treaty of Seville of November 9th, 1729, which was as advantageous to France as it was prejudicial to Austria. In order to secure for the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, the Infante Don Carlos, his hereditary claims to Parma and Piacenza, it had been laid down in that treaty that 6,000 Spaniards should garrison Portoferraio, Leghorn, Parma and Piacenza, places occupied until then by troops of the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor Charles VI. was indignant at the treaty and he posted an army between Milan and Mantua. Thereupon Queen Elizabeth of Spain, who continued to be the moving spirit at Madrid,[1] urged the allies to compel the Emperor by force of arms to accept the treaty of Seville.

In view of so dangerous a situation Clement XII., on July 28th, 1730, addressed exhortations to preserve peace to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France and to Cardinal

[1] De Pimodan, *Louise Elisabeth d'Orleans, reine d'Espagne 1709–1743*, Paris, 1923; E. Armstrong, *Elisabeth Farnese*, London, 1892.

Fleury.[1] Instructions to the same effect were also sent to the nuncios at Vienna, Madrid and Paris.[2]

Meanwhile the situation continued tense and Grand Duke Giovanni Gasto of Tuscany prepared to resist Austria's demand that he should admit her troops at Leghorn and Portoferrio.[3] In the end the outbreak of hostilities was nevertheless avoided; the disunion of the allies prevented an attack for which Spain pressed whilst Vienna had plenty of reasons for temporizing. These circumstances all worked in favour of the Pope's efforts for peace.[4]

Soon, however, a fresh crisis arose. The death of Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, on January 20th, 1731, rendered acute the question of the succession in these territories.[5] The Spanish Government had begun negotiations with the Pope through its representative, Cardinal Bentivoglio, already in July, 1730. Spain was anxious that the Pope should declare his readiness to bestow the investiture of Parma and Piacenza on the Infante Carlos. The Cardinal assured the Pope that a request would be made to that effect, but only if there was a guarantee of its being granted. The Pope replied that he must first consult the Cardinals; in the abstract, he would not be at all displeased if, through Don

[1] **Epist.*, I., 5, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also BAUDRILLART, IV.: *Philippe V., Louis XIV. et le card. De Fleury 1729–1740.*

[2] *Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit. Cf.* *Cifre al Nunzio di Spagna, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives; *Cifre al Nunzio di Francia, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 441, *ibid.*

[3] REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 485.

[4] LEO, V., 752; REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 486.

[5] The "infausta nova" came to Rome on January 24, 1731; see *Cifra al Nunzio di Spagna of the same day, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit. Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter of January 27, 1731, according to which the Secretary of State, Corsini, and A. Albani immediately held counsel with the avvocato fiscale as to how the rights of the Church over Parma and Piacenza might best be safeguarded. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Carlos, a Power were to arise in Italy which would counterbalance that of the King of Sardinia as well as that of the Emperor who was almost lord of Italy.[1] The Pope stuck to this point of view. He explained the delay of the investiture on the ground that a premature concession would lead to Italy being swept by imperial troops and to the forcible occupation of the Duchies. A declaration in favour of Spain would likewise render suspect his position as mediator.[2] But now that the Duke was dead a decision became imperative.

There remained indeed a faint hope of delaying a decision of the question in dispute as the Duke's widow was reported to be pregnant. In the event of the expectation of a posthumous Farnese remaining unfulfilled, Don Carlos was to receive the Farnese inheritance by the terms of the treaty of London of 1718 and the peace of 1720. As was to be expected, Clement XII. at once asserted his sovereign rights over Parma. Briefs to that effect were addressed to the authorities of Parma on January 25th, 1731,[3] and on January 31st the Pope wrote to the Emperor and to the Kings of France and Spain.[4] The Pope likewise charged the Cardinal Legate of Bologna, Spinola, and the Protonotary, Giuseppe Oddi, to assert the claims of the Holy See at Parma. However, as early as January 23rd the imperial General, Count Carlo Stampa, had announced that he was taking possession of the Duchies in the name of the Emperor, for the benefit of Don Carlos.

This action roused the Pope to the utmost, so much so

[1] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report to La Paz, July 29, 1730, Simancas Archives.

[2] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *reports, August 16, October 2, December 7 and 11, 1730, *ibid.*; also *letter "dalla segretaria di stato" to Bentivoglio, December 11, 1730 (Supplement to his letter of December 12, 1730), *ibid.*

[3] *Brief "Magistratui et populo civitatis Nostrae Parmae", January 25, 1731, *Epist.*, I., 313, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a similar *Brief to the Bishop of Parma.

[4] **Epist.*, I., 335, *ibid.* Also to numerous other princes.

that he talked of using spiritual weapons against the Emperor,[1] and to the representatives of Charles VI. and Philip he complained most bitterly.[2] In the consistory of February 12th, 1731, he gave the Cardinals an account of what had happened and protested against the penetration of the imperial troops into the Duchies[3]; the indignation of the Pope and his ministers continued in the sequel also. At the beginning of March prayers were prescribed in order to invoke the divine assistance in the difficult questions which pre-occupied the Pope: these also included, besides the affairs of Sardinia, France and Spain, the future of the two Duchies.[4]

On his part Philip V.'s representative, Cardinal Bentivoglio, protested against the Brief addressed to the King on March 13th on the ground that that document took it for granted that Philip's troops would participate in the invasion by the imperial troops; the Brief, he declared, could not be received. Clement listened to him quietly, sought to pacify him and pleaded the curial style as an excuse for the form of the Brief; any intention of hurting the King had been far from him.[5]

Almost at the same time—on March 16th, 1731—the Emperor concluded at Vienna an agreement with England which paved the way for an *entente* between Charles VI. and Philip V. In exchange for a guarantee of his *Pragmatic Sanction* the Emperor accepted, on July 22nd, 1731, the dispositions arrived at in Seville concerning Parma and Tuscany and consented to admit 6,000 Spanish troops in the fortresses of the two countries. Three days later an agreement was likewise reached between Tuscany and Spain.[6]

[1] Banchieri said so to Cardinal Bentivoglio; see his *report, February 7, 1731, Simancas Archives.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 31, February 3, 7, and 10, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library, *loc. cit.*; **Epist.*, I., 356, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 3, 1731, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, March 17, 1731, *loc. cit.*

[6] REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 487.

Previous to this, on May 21st, Clement had protested against the infringement of his suzerainty by the treaty of Vienna.[1] A Constitution of June 20th, based on the investiture granted in 1545 by Paul III. to Pier Luigi Farnese, declared that Parma had reverted to the Holy See, except in the event of Antonio Farnese's widow giving birth to male issue.[2] When this hope was frustrated in September, the Protonotary Oddi had the Constitution affixed at Parma and he himself declared in the palace of the Government that he was taking possession of the Duchy. All this was solemnly confirmed by the Pope at a consistory of September 24th, 1731.[3] By way of reply General Count Stampa once more took formal possession of the two Duchies in the name of the Infante Carlos, ordered the oath of fealty to the imperial suzerain to be taken on December 29th and handed over the keys of the city to Dorotea of Parma, the guardian of Don Carlos, then still a minor, steps against which Oddi lodged an immediate protest.[4]

Clement XII. and the entire papal court were extremely hurt by the way in which the Church's claims to Parma and Piacenza had been ignored[5]; the Pope regarded the loss of the two Duchies, which had been fiefs of the Church for centuries, as a humiliation. He spoke of it so openly to all who attended his audiences that in January, 1732, Cardinal Cienfuegos began to fear that he would not be content with protests, but would have recourse to censures.[6] The Pope had some preliminary consultations with individual Cardinals as to what steps he should take.[7] As these yielded

[1] **Acta consist., loc. cit.*; **Epist.*, I., 430, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, May 31, 1731, Simancas Archives.

[2] *Bull*, XXIII., 265 *seqq.*

[3] **Acta consist., loc. cit.*; **Epist.*, II., 34, *loc. cit.*

[4] MURATORI, XII., 136 *seqq.*, 141.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 1, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[6] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 19 and 26, 1732, *ibid.*

[7] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, February 12, 1732, Simancas Archives.

no result Clement XII., at a consistory of March 31st, called upon all the members of the Sacred College to make known to him their opinion on the subject.[1]

The Spanish Government sought to intimidate the Pope by threats.[2] But when, on the eve of St. Peter's day, the Government set up at Parma in the name of Don Carlos omitted to pay to the Apostolic Camera the feudal tribute for the ensuing year, Clement had a formal protest registered by the fiscal of the Holy See.[3] This step effected no result of any kind. On September 9th the youthful ruler Carlos made his entry into Parma with great pomp. He took over the Government and paid no further heed to the suzerainty of the Holy See.[4]

Clement XII. had to put up with some other sensible defeats. In 1731 the Senate of Genoa rejected in an offensive manner his offer of mediation with the insurgents in Corsica.[5] The politico-ecclesiastical disputes with Savoy and Portugal became increasingly acute.[6] As late as 1730 the Pope had authorized Venice to impose a tax of 100,000 gold scudi on Church property,[7] but in 1732 friction between the Roman police and the Venetian ambassador led to disputes with the Signoria and the expulsion of the papal nuncio.[8] To this

[1] **Acta consist.*, Vatican Library, *loc. cit. Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 5, 1732 (*loc. cit.*), and that of Cardinal Bentivoglio of the same day (*loc. cit.*).

[2] *Letter of a Spanish agent, dat. Rome, June 12, 1732, Simancas Archives. Bentivoglio himself was absent from Rome since May; he was in Parma.

[3] Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, July 5, 1732, *ibid.*; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of the same day, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[4] MURATORI, XII., 141.

[5] NOVAES, XIII., 201.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 347 *seq.*

[7] B. Morosini acknowledges with gratitude the greatness of this concession in his *Relazione of 1731, State Archives, Venice.

[8] Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, September 27, October 15, November 1 and 8, 1732, *loc. cit.*; also *Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit. Cf.* FABRONIUS, 65 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 211.

came to be added, at the beginning of 1733, the blockade of Avignon decreed by the French Government for trivial motives.[1] Further grave anxiety was caused to the Pontiff by the religious situation in France [2] and the interference of the imperialists with ecclesiastical affairs at Naples.[3] The Duke of Parma renewed his pretensions to the territory of Castro and Ronciglione of which Innocent X. had deprived the Farnese when he declared it to be a possession of the Camera Apostolica. In 1664, by the treaty of Pisa, Louis XIV. had forced Alexander VII. to revoke this incorporation, allowing the Duke of Parma eight years in which to redeem it. However, the Camera had remained in possession. Don Carlos now revived the old pretensions of the Farnese, a step for which he received support from France and Spain.[4]

Clement XII.'s dispute with Venice was settled in November 1733,[5] but the beginning of that year saw the birth of a complication which was destined to disturb the peace of Europe anew and to involve the Pope also.

On February 1st, 1732, the death took place at Warsaw of Augustus of Saxony, King of Poland.[6] The succession of

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, January 17 and 31, March 7 and 21, and April 25, 1733, *loc. cit. Cf.* FABRONIUS, 75 ; MURATORI, XII., 146 ; *Memorie del pontif. di Clemente XII., *loc. cit.*

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 4, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, February 28, 1733, *ibid.*

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' reports, March 28, April 18, June 13, 1733, *ibid.* ; MURATORI, XII., 146.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' report, November 28, 1733, *loc. cit.* ; NOVAES, XIII., 211.

[6] The Monarch, who had to atone for so many moral transgressions, died after having received the sacraments ; see the report of the Polish nuncio in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 1, 121. *Cf.* also *Spaccato per il lungo d. Basil. di S. Clemente ornata con apparato funebre in occasione d. solenni esequie per la gloriosa memoria di Augusto II. Re di Polonia* (by Fil. Bargione), *Andr. Rossi sculp.*, Roma, 1733. See also R. REYRICH, *Kursachsen und die polnische Thronfolge*, 1733–6 (*Leipziger Hist. Abhandl.*, Heft 36), Leipzig, 1913 ; *Riv. stor.*, 1917, 196.

his son Frederick Augustus was not yet assured, though it had been the chief reason for which, sixteen years earlier, steps had been taken for his reception into the Catholic Church. Both the Emperor and Russia supported Frederick Augustus' candidature, whilst the French Government did everything in its power in favour of the election of Stanislaus Leszczynski, Louis XIV.'s father-in-law, who continued to style himself King of Poland. The Primate of Poland, Archbishop Potocki of Gnesen, whose duty it was to summon the Diet, favoured Leszczynski, who had also the support of the majority of the nobility. Leszczynski, who had crossed Germany to go to Poland, disguised as a merchant, was elected King by an overwhelming majority on September 12th, 1733, but the approach, at the beginning of October, of a Russian army, obliged him to flee to Danzig, there to await the arrival of the promised French assistance. On October 5th a small number of Polish nobles proclaimed Frederick Augustus of Saxony king. Danzig was encircled by Russian and Saxon troops whilst Frederick Augustus was crowned at Cracow on January 17th, 1734. Which of the two competitors would eventually secure power depended on the issue of the siege of Danzig.

As soon as he heard of the death of King Augustus, Clement XII. recommended the election of his son to the Primate, the Bishops and the Estates of Poland.[1] Though the French pressed him to declare himself in favour of Leszczynski,[2] he nevertheless rebuked the Primate for his action against Frederick Augustus and approved the attitude of the Polish nuncio.[3] After Leszczynski's election the French demanded that the Pope should recognize him at once, whilst at the same time they taxed the Warsaw nuncio with partiality. Cardinal Cienfuegos worked against the French and represented to the Pope that he should hold back recognition

[1] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 18, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 15, 1733, *ibid.*

as within twenty days Frederick Augustus' election would be an accomplished fact.[1] Clement was determined to recognize the man who was actually in possession of the realm.[2] Cienfuegos was mistaken when he imagined he had won over the Pope for Frederick Augustus.[3] With the assistance of the English Pretender and Cardinal Ottoboni the French prevailed: at the beginning of October the Pope yielded to their insistence and ordered the nuncio to recognize Leszczynski. The fact that news of Frederick Augustus' election reached Rome on October 23rd did not at first induce the Pope to change his mind.[4]

The Polish complications had provided the French war party, which saw the salvation of the country in a return to the traditions of Louis XIV., with a welcome pretext for the realization of their aims. It was a decisive factor for their policy that they had won over Spain and Sardinia, both of which hoped for an increase of power on Italian soil by driving the imperialists out of the Peninsula. On September 7th, 1733, a treaty was signed, amid the greatest secrecy, between France, Spain and Turin, by the terms of which the imperialists were to be driven out of Italy whilst Don Carlos, after surrendering the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany in favour of his younger brother, Don Felipo, would become King of Naples and Sicily. The King of Sardinia was promised three and a half million livres together with Milan.

The situation of the Emperor who in the autumn of 1733 found himself simultaneously attacked in Italy and in Germany, was all the more critical as a few years earlier, and against Prince Eugene's advice, the army had been reduced by 40,000 men. As there were scarcely any imperial troops left in Italy, the united French and Sardinians had an easy task. Within a short time Charles VI. lost the whole

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 26, 1733, *ibid.*

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 17, 1733, *ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 3, 1733, *ibid.*

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, October 24 and November 7, 1733, *ibid.* *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 70 *seq.*

of Lombardy. On November 4th Charles Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph.

As father of Christendom and as an Italian ruler, Clement XII. bitterly lamented the outbreak of a war in which three Catholic Powers were arrayed against the Emperor. In his efforts for the preservation of his own strict neutrality [1] he issued once more, though in vain, exhortations to peace.[2] At Rome, where Clement XII. was bent on furthering learning and art, the end of peaceful days was particularly resented.[3] Soon a great many deserters flocked thither so that it became necessary to prevent the city from being overrun by vagabonds and thieves.[4] The Emperor's cause was damaged in Rome when news arrived in March, 1734, that, in order to obtain the help of the Protestants in the war against France, the Government of Vienna had dropped the clause of Rijswijk.[5]

[1] "* Mi assicurò il Papa di voler osservare una perfetta neutralità," Cardinal Cienfuegos reports on November 7, 1733, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *ibid.*, *Report of November 28, 1733.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 2, 1734, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Deliciosa pace," says MURATORI (XII., 153).

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 2, 1734, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 20, 1734, *ibid.* *Cf.* HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIII., 195. At the end of the war Clement XII. sent *Briefs to the Catholic Electors (*cf.* ROUSSET, I., 475) on April 14, 1736, and to Charles VI. on April 28, in order to bring about "ut quartus articulus [of the peace of Rijswijk] reviviscat et nova lege confirmetur", as had been done by the Peace of Baden (*Epist.*, Papal Secr. Arch.). The Pope also approached the French Government on this matter. Paris agreed because it "die konfessionelle Frage im Reiche wach halten wollte; der Kaiser aber besass wieder das Objekt, das er beim nächsten Konflikt mit Frankreich den Protestanten von neuem bieten konnte." "Die Kurie diente in Wirklichkeit den französischen und kaiserlichen Politikern nur dazu, um ihr diplomatisches Spiel zu unterstützen. Sie erreichte dafür zwar die formelle Durchbrechung des ihr so verhassten Westfälischen Friedens; als sie aber wünschte, dass das schwerste Hindernis einer tatsächlichen Rekatholisierung der Pfalz durch Beseitigung des Rezesses von 1709 aus dem

However, the Spaniards also showed but scant consideration for the Pope.

At the same time as the French crossed the Alps, Spanish infantry landed at Genoa, whilst a Spanish fleet cruised along the Italian coast. The real director of the military operations was Count Montemar, but the honour of the supreme command was reserved for seventeen-year-old Don Carlos. He arrived in Florence in the first days of February and at once moved his troops in a southward direction. He was allowed to march through the Papal States, on condition that he did not touch Rome. The progress of the Spanish army, 20,000 strong, was not unaccompanied by disorders and the oppression of the population, to the Pope's great grief. However, "Clement XII. cannot raise his head," Cardinal Cienfuegos wrote on March 13th, 1734, "for the Spaniards behave as if they had already conquered Naples." [1]

As a matter of fact they met with no resistance. On April 9th Don Carlos, whose suite included Bartolomeo Corsini, arrived unopposed at Maddaloni, where the delegates of Naples

Wege geräumt werden sollte, versagten sich—angesichts der Machtstellung der Protestanten—ihr alle, der Pfalzgraf sowohl wie Frankreich als auch der Kaiser" (HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*). On the abolition of the clause at the preliminary peace of May 8, 1736, see MENZEL, X., 332 *seq.*

[1] *S. B^ne non può alzare il capo vedendo gli Spagnoli che vanno alla conquista del regno di Napoli, come se già l'avessero in mano, affidati nelle poche forze che ci sono e nelle secrete intelligenze di avervi (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The memorandum on political economy by the imperial president of the Regia Camera of Naples, Federigo Valignani, Marchese di Cepagatti: "Riflessioni sopra il commercio del regno di Napoli" was sent to Vienna in June, 1732, but it was seized on the way and confiscated by the Spaniards; see copy in a manuscript of the Library of the Episcopal Gymnasium, Trent, and in *Cod. ital.*, 58, State Library, Munich, where there is also an interesting "*Relazione dello stato politico, economico e civile del regno di Napoli, nel tempo che è stato governato dai Spagnuoli prima dell'entrata dell'armi tedesche in detto regno". *Cf. Wiener Sitzunger.*, V. (1850), 382 *seq.*

offered him the keys of their city. On the very next day Spanish troops entered the capital. A few forts still held out, but only for a short time. On May 10th, Don Carlos was able to make his solemn entry into Naples.[1] The Spanish ambassador in Rome now demanded that he should be granted at once the investiture of Naples and Sicily. Clement XII.'s reply was that the Kingdom of Naples was not as yet conquered in its entirety and Sicily not at all, hence the investiture would be premature ; at the same time he protested against the disregard of his own suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza, whereupon the ambassador declared himself prepared to enter into negotiations on the subject.[2] The Pope set up a special cardinalitial Congregation for the purpose of examining the line of action to be adopted on the question of Naples, for if he gave way there was danger of a rupture with the Emperor. The Pope's excitement over this affair was such as to give rise to fears of serious injury to his health.[3]

The ambassadors of France and Spain now sought to dissuade the Pope from accepting the Emperor's feudal tribute for Naples for the current year. However, notwithstanding the threat of the recall of the Spanish ambassador, Clement XII., after taking counsel with the Cardinals, decided to receive the *Chinea* from the Emperor as in previous years, until the successor in Naples should have obtained general recognition.[4] Accordingly the Emperor's representative, Scipio Publicola, Prince of Santa Croce, was able to offer the *Chinea* in the customary manner on the eve of the feast of St. Peter,[5] an act against which Don Carlos lodged a protest.[6] At this time the Spaniards also sought

[1] LEO, V., 160 ; REUMONT, *Carafa*, 316 *seq.* On the war see *Arch. Napolet.*, VII. (1882), 110, 293, 555, 685 ; on the subsequent government of the incompetent Don Carlos see M. SCHIPA, *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, Napoli, 1904.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 15, 1734, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 22, 1734, *ibid.*

[4] SCHIPA, 210.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, June 12 and 24 and July 3, 1734, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* SCHIPA, 213.

[6] *Ibid.*, 212.

to obtain, by means of threats, the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo for the Infante Luis, a minor,[1] whilst the Pope was simultaneously grieved by reports of the oppression of the population of Ferrara by the imperial troops.[2] In consequence of his resistance in the affair of Toledo, which the ambitious Queen of Spain urged with the utmost obstinacy, the Pope was himself exposed to strong threats by the Spanish ambassador.[3]

Meanwhile the Emperor had also lost the greater part of Sicily.[4] Much notice was taken of the fact that Don Carlos, who now styled himself Charles III. King of Naples and Sicily, had appointed the Pope's nephew, Bartolomeo Corsini, his lieutenant in Sicily. "It is easy to see," Cardinal Cienfuegos wrote on December 11th, 1734, "how Spain seeks to win over the court of Rome both by love and by fear." [5]

The fact that the Habsburg rule at Naples and in Sicily was replaced so easily and almost without effort by the Bourbons, acted as a powerful fillip to Spanish pride.[6] They now felt that they were able and even entitled to make the Pope feel the power of the strong over the weak.[7] Without a shadow of a right to do so they began to enrol soldiers even in the Pope's capital. They took no notice whatever of the prohibitions issued by the papal Government.[8] The Pope

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 7, 1734, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, August 14, 1734, *ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, September 18, October 23, and November 13, 1734, *ibid.*

[4] MARINO, *La cacciata degli Austriaci dalla Sicilia (1734–5) da documenti inediti*, Palermo, 1920. *Cf. Arch. Napolet.*, 1902.

[5] "*E ben si vede che le mire della Spagna sono dirette a guadagnare questa corte a forza di amore e di timore." Cardinal Cienfuegos on December 11, 1734, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Already on June 19, 1734, Cardinal Cienfuegos had *reported that in spite of all prohibitions the Spaniards were levying soldiers in the States of the Church. *Ibid.*

[8] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 1, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

was helpless.[1] At the beginning of 1735 he even had to suffer the passage through the Papal States of 5,000 men destined for Tuscany. If in the foregoing year the Spaniards had been far from maintaining perfect discipline, now their arrogance knew no bounds. Complaints from the various communities of the violence of the soldiery which conducted itself as if on hostile territory, reached Rome almost daily. When leaving they refused to give a receipt for the provisions commandeered by them and they carried off by force as many inhabitants as there were deserters from their army. The embitterment of the countryfolk knew no bounds.[2]

It was with some alarm that the papal Government awaited the arrival of the new Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Acquaviva.[3] After the latter had presented his credentials on March 21st,[4] discussions began at once in the utmost secrecy. It was easy to guess that the invasion of Naples was their main topic. When the death occurred of the Madrid nuncio, Vincenzo Alamani, difficulties arose in connection with the appointment of a successor to this important post. Cardinal Cienfuegos was of opinion that Spain intended to enforce her demands by threatening to close the nunciature. Acquaviva, who did all he could to obtain a candidate agreeable to the Spanish Government, observed that he was ignorant of any intention to close the nunciature, though things might come to that as Spain had many grievances against Rome.[5] Besides the nunciature, other topics of discussion during those days were the dispensation for the nomination of the Infante Luis, then nine years of age, to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, the grant of the *Exequatur*

[1] According to Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of October 8, 1735 (*ibid.*), Clement XII. himself said so to the Cardinal.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, January 15, 22, and 29, 1735, *ibid.* *Cf. Riv. stor.*, 1915, 33, 52.

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, March 19, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, March 22, 1735, Simancas Archives.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 16, 1735, *loc. cit.*, and Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, April 19, 1735, *loc. cit.*

to the Neapolitan Bishops named by the Pope and the extension of the *Subsidio* and the *Excusado*.[1] These financial concessions were granted on May 10th,[2] whereupon Spain yielded on the question of the episcopal nominations.[3]

Meanwhile the time for paying the feudal tribute for Naples was once more at hand. The result of protracted deliberations by a special Congregation of Cardinals was the expedient of not demanding payment for the current year.[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos, as representing the Emperor, strongly protested against this decision. The fiscal of the Apostolic Camera at the same time renewed the protest already raised in 1732 against Don Carlos' refusal to pay for the investiture of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.[5] With regard to the archbishopric of Toledo, the Pope proposed the expedient of naming the Infante Luis simply commendatory and administrator of the temporalities of the See, putting off his appointment as Archbishop until he should have reached the canonical age. The Brief relative to the affair was only to be expedited after the re-opening of the nunciature. After the King had given a promise to that effect, the various questions were at length settled in September. But then came a demand for the elevation of the Infante to the cardinalate [6] and differences also arose immediately about the person who was to have the ecclesiastical administration

[1] Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, March 29, April 7 and 25, and May 3, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report, May 10, 1735, *ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, May 5 and 14, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, May 21, June 4, 7, and 25, 1735, *ibid.*, and Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, June 5 and 11 and July 3, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, July 2, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, July 21 and 28, August 18, September 1, 8, 9 and 12, 1735, according to which Carlo Gentili especially took much trouble, through his auditor, the Abbate Riganti, to obtain the dispensation for the Infante (Simancas Archives). *Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 6, September 10, 17 and 24, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

of Toledo.[1] The occasion brought to light the extreme difficulty of satisfying the domineering nature of Queen Elizabeth who had all the strings in her hands at Madrid. On the subject of the grant of the investiture for Naples the Pope remained firm. Cardinal Acquaviva made an attempt to bribe the learned Fontanini who had been instructed to draw up a memorial on the question, but that excellent man returned the rich present he had received and informed the Cardinal that his name was *Giusto* Fontanini.[2]

The peace negotiations between France and the Emperor, which had been in progress for some time, were concluded on October 3rd, 1735, at Vienna. The Emperor and France agreed that Leszczynski should renounce the Polish crown in favour of Frederick Augustus; by way of compensation he was to have the Duchies of Bar and Lorraine for his lifetime, that of Bar at once and Lorraine as soon as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany devolved to Francis of Lorraine at the death of Gasto; but at the death of Leszczynski both Duchies were to go to France. To indemnify Don Carlos for Tuscany and the dominions of the Farnese, the latter was to have the Kingdom of Sicily, of which, as a matter of fact, he already was in possession, together with the Spanish maritime places and Elba. France restored to the Emperor the territories conquered by her and recognized his Pragmatic Sanction. He retained Lombardy, with the

[1] Cardinal Acquaviva's *reports, November 3, 10, 17 and 22, December 1 and 6, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[2] Count Harrach's *report, October 22, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. On October 8, 1735, Cienfuegos (see his *report of that day, *ibid.*, and *Brief to Charles VI., November 12, 1735, Papal Secret Arch.) wrote to the Emperor that he desired to retire from his post of ambassador which he had held since 1722. The Emperor appointed as his successor the auditor of the Rota, John Ernest, Count von Harrach, Bishop of Neutra (see ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 5), whose letters are partly in the State Library, Munich, *Cod. lat.*, 11061 (*cf.* ROTTMANNER, 7), partly in Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. Harrach was succeeded by Count Joseph Thun, Bishop of Gurk.

exception of the territories of Novara and Vigevano which were the reward of the King of Sardinia, as well as the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

Once again the Pope had to endure a complete overriding of his suzerain rights over these Duchies. His appeal to France for help was ignored.[1] The Peace of Vienna led to the recognition by the Pope of Frederick Augustus as King of Poland. On that occasion the strange behaviour of the French ambassador nearly led to a rupture with France.[2] The ecclesiastical disputes with Poland were settled by means of a concordat which dealt chiefly with the bestowal of monasteries.[3]

The Vienna agreements on the peace conditions were rejected by Spain, whereas Sardinia declared itself satisfied. After the armistice of November 16th between the Emperor, France and Sardinia, Montemar deemed himself no longer a match for the imperialists under Khevenhüller; he accordingly raised the siege of Mantua and decided to retreat into Tuscany.

[1] On November 19 and December 3, 1735, Harrach *reports that a letter had been dispatched to Paris in which the Pope complained about France consenting to the cession of Parma to the Emperor; that Fleury had been admonished by Brief that as a Cardinal he should look after the interests of the Holy See and work for the admission, so much desired by Clement XII., of a papal representative at the next peace congress (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn). N. M. Lercari was sent to Paris to make fresh representations; see *Brief to Fleury, January 8, 1736, Papal Secret Archives. On May 3, 1736, *Briefs were addressed to Louis XV., to Cardinal Fleury, to the German Electors and to the Bishops to the effect that they should not allow that, against all international law, the Church should be deprived by her own sons of a possession which she had held for over two centuries. *Ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, August 4 and 11, 1736 (Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn), and *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*

[3] Text of the concordat with Poland of August 6, 1736 (ratified by the King on July 14, 1737), in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 1, 123 *seq.*, and MERCATI, *Concordati*, 311 *seqq.*

This measure once again imperilled the northern section of the Papal States. A particularly flagrant injury to the Papal neutrality occurred at Bologna when Spanish troops marched through the town and when, on November 27th, imperial Hussars entered it in their turn on the plea of capturing the Spaniards who had remained behind. Both the Legate and the Pope protested against this violation of the rights of nations. As the Emperor forbade Khevenhüller to cross the Tuscan frontier, the imperial troops spread along the borders of the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna and provisions and money were being requisitioned even in the Marches and in Umbria. The Pope's protests against the invasion by the imperialists of the territory of Ferrara and the occupation of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza by Charles VI.,[1] yielded no result: on May 3rd, 1736, Prince Lobkowitz took possession of the Duchies in the name of the Emperor.[2]

[1] MURATORI, XII., 173; Count Harrach's *reports, November 5 and 26, December 3, 10, 17, and 31, 1735, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. *Cf.* also *Briefs to the Emperor, November 28, 1735, and January 5, 1736, in which we read: "We have received your letter, but no consolation." "Sive Ital. Duces, qui exercitum traduxerunt, tibi non renuntiarunt, sive ab exsequendis mandatis abstineant, extrema pernicies populo imminet." It is not as when the Spanish troops marched through quickly and paid for their provisions with money and certificates, but by making their winter quarters there "ea licentia cives degravant, ut si viverent in hostili loco. Auget molestiam annonae difficultas. Exponet archiep. Ephes. Nuntius", We trust that the generals will lead them away and liberate Our people, whose complaints daily reach Our ears" (Papal Secret Archives). On the efforts for a general pacification of Italy see Lisoni's *reports from Florence to Sinzendorf in Vienna, December, 1735, Sinzendorf Archives, Jaidhof Castle.

[2] On account of Parma and Piacenza and on account of the "entire destruction" of the States of the Church by the imperial troops, Clement XII., in a private letter, dated "XII. Kal. Majas 1736" made a personal appeal to Charles VI. (*Epist.*, VIII.–X., 698 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives). On the letters sent to France on May 3, 1736, see above, p. 371, n. 1). The final

Meanwhile Cardinal Acquaviva had been very active in Rome but had failed to obtain the investiture for Don Carlos.[1] The differences in connection with the appointment of a nuncio for Spain and an ecclesiastical administrator of Toledo continued for some time, but the way for a compromise was paved by the admission of the Infante Luis into the Sacred College on December 19th, 1735.[2] It was hoped that so weighty a concession would be followed by the reopening of the tribunal of the Madrid nunciature and the acceptance of Silvio Valenti Gonzaga as nuncio[3]; but this expectation proved illusory and the auditor Guiccioli had to go on acting as *chargé d'affaires*.[4]

peace between France and the Emperor was not signed until November 18, 1738, at Vienna; see FLASSAN, *Dipl. franç.*, V., 97. Charles Emmanuel III. acceded to it on February 3, 1739 (CARUTTI, *Dipl.*, IV., 109). On July 25, 1739, Clement XII. sent a Brief to Charles Emmanuel in which he expressed his joy for the peace for which he had always worked, especially on account of the tranquillity of Italy. God be praised who has inclined the princes to peace; may they be more ready now to listen to the Supreme Pastor who will always protest against the seizure of Parma and Piacenza. He learnt with great sorrow that all the injustices, especially those which had to be conceded to the heterodox powers, had been incorporated in the peace stipulations. He hoped that the piety of the princes will heal this wound, but must proclaim what a great danger this was to their eternal salvation. He hoped that God would inspire them "to procure for Us this consolation in Our old age, so that We may leave this See intact", *Epist.*, VIII.–X., 529, *loc. cit.*

[1] Count Harrach's *report, October 29, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[2] Thus was repeated, says MURATORI (XII., 175), "l'uso od abuso de' secoli da noi chiamati barbarici."

[3] Count Harrach's *report, January 21, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[4] The *reports in cipher of Guiccioli, who was in a very difficult position, in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Arch. According to his *report of June 15, 1736, he asked Molina ("governatore del Consiglio di Castiglia") to see to it that Nuncio Valenti was accepted; Molina answered that this would be too inglorious for

The new year failed to put an end to the troubles of the neutral Papal States: both Spanish and imperial troops wintered on the Pope's territory.[1] To the complaints of the Secretary of State, Charles VI.'s envoy, Count Harrach, replied that Cardinal Mosca was to blame if the papal subjects had had so much to suffer; the Cardinal had been unwilling to allow the provisioning of the troops, hence officers and men had been obliged to help themselves; if the imperial troops molested the Papal States, it was because they were driven to it by the refusal of the French and the Spaniards to carry out the peace preliminaries.[2]

Even more than these acts of violence in the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna, the Pope was bound to resent the fact that, in spite of his readiness to satisfy the Spanish Government, especially by the elevation of the Infante Luis, Spanish recruiting agents exercised their activities in Rome itself, in spite of every prohibition, and with the ruthlessness of a press-gang. These agents were all over the city; they made use of the worst characters, even of the public prostitutes, to deceive young Romans in order to force them into the army. Peaceful citizens were seized in the streets at night; others, under some pretext or other, were lured into houses where they were detained till nightfall, when they were forcibly put on board ship at Ripa Grande. In this way many fathers

the King. Molina's real motive, however, was his wish of being made a Cardinal, in spite of the great harm he had done to the liberty of the Church and to the Holy See. He said to me that, to the King and to Patino he spoke very differently than he had done to me, and he regretted that this had happened during the pontificate of a Pope who was so well disposed towards Spain!

[1] *Cf.* *Brief of complaint to Philip V., October 30, 1735, *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Count Harrach's *report, January 28, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn. *Cf. ibid.*, *report of February 4, 1736, according to which a partial reparation by the Emperor would not be enough, as the States of the Church would be treated less favourably than Venice.

lost their sons and wives their husbands.[1] The resentment against the Spaniards in Rome and throughout the Papal States was probably fanned by the imperialists [2]; it was not long before it produced a violent explosion.

On March 23rd, 1736, a crowd of people, in which the most resolute of the Romans, the men of the Trastevere, were particularly well represented, set at liberty some of their fellow citizens who were being detained by Spanish recruiting agents in a house in the Piazza Farnese. The incident was repeated in the Borgo and in other quarters of the city. Papal troops ended by dispersing the excited populace. Cardinal Acquaviva declined the offer of a guard as he himself had put his palace on the Piazza di Spagna in a state of defence. The measures taken by the Government assured tranquillity for the following day, which was Saturday before Palm Sunday, but as the whole town knew that forcibly enlisted men were being held in captivity in Acquaviva's palace, there was reason to fear fresh disorders on the following Sunday. The Trastevere continued to be the centre of the excitement. The Pope had accordingly caused the bridges to be barricaded so as to prevent the exasperated populace from invading the centre of the city. This manœuvre proved successful at Ponte Sisto, but at Ponte Quattro Capi a section of the people forced a passage. Papal troops, however, prevented them from reaching the Palazzo di Spagna. But popular resentment continued, in fact it increased and seized also the inhabitants of the Monti. In the end the Pope saw no other remedy except to open negotiations with the mutineers through Prince Santa Croce and the Conservator Marchese Crescenzi. The mob demanded the liberation of all those who had been enrolled in their quarters of the city and an amnesty. When this was granted they went their way to the cry of "Long

[1] *Cf.* V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione dei tumulti accaduti in Roma l' a. 1736* (drawn up by Abbate Conti, according to a MS. in the Bibl. Angelica; see below, p. 376, n. 1), Roma, 1882, 15 *seq.*, and the terrible details from the *Relazioni del Fiscale (*Coa.*, 1182, Corsini Library, Rome).

[2] DAMILA, 275; SCHIPA, 214.

live the Pope!" A stern decree against the recruiting agents was issued but it did not put a stop to their activities.[1]

The situation was rendered still more serious by the circumstance that 6,000 Spanish troops, whilst on their way from Naples to Upper Italy, happened to be in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they looked like remaining, under the imaginary pretext that they tarried there by the Pope's leave in order to protect him from the excited populace![2] Rome, as Clement XII. lamented in a private letter to Philip V., was practically blockaded.[3] Relying on the Spanish troops, Cardinal Acquaviva, in obedience to orders of his Government, received on April 21st, was in a position to demand the most exorbitant satisfaction for the King of Spain and the Spanish nation. For the rest during the troubles not one Spaniard lost his life. Yet Acquaviva demanded the extradition of the instigators and their trial, with participation of a Spanish official; in case of a refusal the Madrid nunciature would be closed and Spaniards would be forbidden to have any dealings with the Holy See.[4] As it was impossible to cancel the amnesty which had been conceded, Cardinal Corsini suggested that Acquaviva should be content with an apology by the Conservators in the name of the

[1] Count Harrach's *report, March 26, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn, and V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione*, 19 *seqq.* (in manuscript also in *Cod.* 733, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, in *Cod.* 1182 and 1185, Corsini Library, Rome, in *Cod. ital.*, 55, State Library, Munich, and in *Cod.* 5835, State Library, Vienna. In the latter report, which represents the Pope's point of view—Acquaviva's reports to Patino, March 24, 26 and 29, 1736 (Simancas Archives) give the opposite view—the insult to the coat of arms at the Palazzo Farnese (see Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*), is said to be unproven. On the encroachments, *cf. Gli archivi ital.*, IV., 4 (1919), 223, n. 1.

[2] V. DE BROGNOLI, *Relazione*, 32, where the Pope's protest against the circulation of this rumour is also published.

[3] This private *letter dat. IV., Id., April, 1736, written in Italian, is in *Epist.*, VIII.–X., 693, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Acquaviva's *letter, April 22, 1736, in V. DE BROGNOLI, 34, n. 1.

Senate. However, Acquaviva insisted on extradition and trial.

Meanwhile excitement grew in the Papal States in consequence of the oppression practised by the Spanish soldiery who conducted themselves as if they were in conquered territory.[1] The inhabitants of Velletri were particularly incensed for already on the occasion of the Spaniards first march through their city they had been forcibly driven from their homes to make room for the soldiers.[2] On hearing that a Spanish regiment was to enter their city, they prepared to offer armed resistance. It was with great difficulty that Cardinal Barberini, whom the Pope had dispatched to Velletri, succeeded in persuading the citizens to content themselves with guarding their gates in return for a promise by the Spaniards that they would not enter the city and would spare the fields.[3] Previous to this another incident had occurred at Ostia where salt miners had rushed a Spanish barque and set at liberty the forcibly enrolled men who were detained on board. This incident also was the object of a protest by Acquaviva.[4]

There still seemed to be a possibility that the discussions between him and the Secretary of State on the subject of compensation would lead to a compromise acceptable to both parties,[5] when instructions from the Spanish Government reached Acquaviva, ordering him to leave the Eternal City together with all Spaniards, Neapolitans and Sicilians resident in Rome, as well as Cardinal Belluga and the auditor. On May 7th the Pope was informed of the order. Acquaviva also had to inform him that the nunciatures of Madrid and Naples had been closed and that all communications between the

[1] Count Harrach's *report, April 28, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[2] Informazioni stragiudiziali in V. DE BROGNOLI, 30, n. 1.

[3] Count Harrach's *reports, April 28 and May 5, 1736, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* V. DE BROGNOLI, 30 *seqq.*

[4] Count Harrach's *report, April 14, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[5] Count Harrach's *report, May 5, 1736, *ibid.* *Cf.* V. DE BROGNOLI, 37 *seq.*

Dataria and Spain had been broken off. A last attempt was made to negotiate through Cardinals Barberini and Corradini but it was learnt that the brief time limit for the departure was unalterable.[1]

At the same time the Spanish troops began to exact vengeance on their own authority, as if they were already masters of the Papal States. On May 11th three hundred dragoons invaded Ostia which they ravaged with fire and sword.[2] A few days earlier Velletri had been occupied by 1,300 Spaniards who immediately set up gallows, forced the people to surrender their arms and obliged the fugitives to return by threatening to set their houses on fire and to plunder their property. Further action against those who had instigated the arming of the citizens was threatened [3] and a fine of 8,000 scudi was laid on the town. Palestrina also had to pay 15,000 scudi for having shut its gates against the brutal Spanish soldiery.[4]

In a report of May 12th, Count Harrach wrote that the Pope's sovereignty had been trodden under foot, that the Papal States were on the brink of ruin and that, in the event of Clement XII.'s death, the freedom of the conclave was threatened.[5] Spain's formal rupture with Rome took place on May 12th with the departure of Acquaviva who, on the 13th, was followed by Belluga and on the 14th by the remaining Spanish residents in Rome. The Neapolitans were likewise made to leave the city.[6] At Madrid the tribunal of the nunciature was closed and Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, who had been appointed nuncio in succession to Alamani, was not

[1] Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.* At the time of the conflict with Clement XII., the Auditor had not been recalled. Acquaviva left on June 26; see his *report to José Patino of the same day, Simancas Archives.

[2] See the *Relazione* in V. DE BROGNOLI, 41, n. 1.

[3] Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*; *Diario* in V. DE BROGNOLI, 42, n. 1.

[4] MURATORI, XII., 180.

[5] Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[6] Count Harrach's *report, May 14, 1736, *ibid.*

allowed to enter Spanish territory. Raniero Simonetti, the nuncio in Naples, was expelled from that town.[1]

There could be no doubt about the aim of the Cabinet of Madrid and Naples when they adopted such a policy: it was to extort by sheer violence the investiture for Don Carlos and for Spain various concessions of an ecclesiastico-political kind, especially in regard to the right of patronage and the Dataria.[2]

The instigator of these attempts was the Augustinian Gaspar Molina y Oviedo, Bishop of Malaga, though he spent most of his time at the court of Madrid. Louis XIV.'s Gallicanism was Molina's ideal. The auditor Guiccioli, whilst still at the nunciature at Madrid,[3] was not slow to perceive the evil influence which this head of the Spanish regalists exercised upon the Government, the weak King and the passionate Queen. On June 15th, 1736, Guiccioli reported that accurate accounts of the troubles in Rome were not allowed to reach the King. In the event of negotiations for a compromise, these should not be allowed to pass through the hands of Molina who, though a religious and a Bishop, spoke in the bitterest terms of the Holy See.[4] He had instilled

[1] Novaes, XIII., 239.

[2] Count Harrach's *report, May 12, 1736, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Guiccioli's *report, dated Madrid, June 30, 1736, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] The new building of the nunciature had been begun at the beginning of 1735; see Guiccioli's report of January 22, 1735, who welcomed this as in this way the revenues of the vacant See of Toledo remained in Spain. *Ibid.*

[4] *Molina did not trouble about the conduct of the Spanish troops at Ostia. "E non mi maraviglierei, che se egli avesse comandato le truppe, avrebbe fatto peggio con tutta la tonaca regolare e la croce da vescovo in petto, poichè oltre le ardenti espressioni fatte nuovamente meco, mi ha detto Mons. Ratto, che le parole, che escono da quella bocca in proposito di queste torbolenze e della materia del preteso patronato sono tanti bottoni di fuoco contro Roma." Great harm would be done to Rome if the negotiations had to pass through his hands. "In una parola, da lui non si può sperare alcun bene per la S. Sede, se non è conducente al servizio e vantaggio del Re, che pare sia l'oggetto

similiar sentiments into the Queen who had observed that in order to obtain a thing from the priests it was necessary to use either bribes or threats.[1] On August 20th Guiccioli wrote that he was afraid he would have to leave Spain, though the stiff attitude of the Government was only adopted for the purpose of realizing its pretensions.[2]

By the middle of June the Spanish troops had gradually evacuated the Pontifical States,[3] but in July the Pope was taken seriously ill.[4] The sufferings of mind which he, a blameless man, had had to endure through Spain's fomentation of trouble in Rome,[5] the pretensions of the imperialists [6] and the French ambassador,[7] and lastly the conflict with the

principale delle sue contemplazioni." Patino does not wish the King to see accurate reports. Guiccioli, June 15, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[1] "*Mi è stato detto, che la Regina ultimamente disse, che per conseguire dalli preti quel che si desidera, non vi è altra maniera che danari e bastone." This has been suggested to her by Molina, who would be capable of destroying religion here. Neither remonstrances nor favours can curb his violence, they only serve to incite him further to scoff at the Holy See. Guiccioli's *report, August 6, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[2] Guiccioli's *report, August 20, 1736, *ibid.*

[3] Count Harrach's *report, June 16, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[4] See above, p. 336.

[5] Spain, says MURATORI (XII., 180), was punishing the Pope, "per eccessi non suoi e a quali non aveano mancato i suoi ministri di apprestar quel rimedio che fu possibile." *Cf.* the *letters in cipher complaining to Guiccioli, July 14, August 4 and 25, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Sec. Arch.

[6] On the moderate demands made by Harrach in connection with the arrest by the police of an imperial sergeant, see his *reports, February 18 and 25, March 10, 26 and 31, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[7] The pretensions of the French ambassador on account of the Pope's attitude to Stanislaus *Leszczyński* nearly led to a rupture; see Harrach's *reports, June 21, July 28, August 4, 11, and 25, and September 1, 1736, *ibid.*

King of Sardinia,[1] had proved too much for the aged Pontiff. Muratori is right when he says that it looked as if at that time every sovereign were determined to abuse his power in order to injure the Pope.[2] Clement XII.'s grief was enhanced by the circumstance that it was a religious and a Bishop, viz. Molina, who persuaded weak Philip V. to adopt so harsh a conduct.[3] If the Pope endured every provocation meekly and patiently and contented himself with a fatherly exhortation to Philip V.,[4] the explanation is to be looked for in his reliance on the promise of Him who had made Peter Head of the Church.

Negotiations for a compromise with Spain were first initiated by the Archbishop of Naples, Spinelli[5]; they also had the support of the French Government.[6] Cardinal Corsini was willing to make peace at any price,[7] but the Pope and the majority of the Cardinals insisted on the dignity and the prerogatives of the Holy See being safeguarded.[8] In August it was reported that the Pope would not hear of a compromise unless the Madrid nunciature was first opened and Spain sent as ambassador a man who would promote peace better than Acquaviva.[9] The fact that in the question of the patronage the majority of the higher prelates of Spain took the Pope's side was particularly advantageous to Clement XII.[10]

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 347 *seqq.*

[2] MURATORI, XII., 180.

[3] *Cifra to Guiccioli, July 14, 1736, *Nunciat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cifra to Guiccioli, September 29, 1736, *ibid.*

[5] Count Harrach's *report, June 2, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[6] Count Harrach's *report, July 7, 1736, *ibid.*

[7] Count Harrach's *report, July 21, 1736, *ibid.*

[8] Count Harrach's *report, August 18, 1736, *ibid.*

[9] Count Harrach's *report, August 11, 1736, *ibid.*

[10] On account of the pretensions of the Spanish King to a general "Patronage", the Brief "Inter egregias" was sent to the whole Spanish Episcopate on September 29, 1736; on the same day, Clement XII. communicated it also to Philip V. (*Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives). On September 29 the Pope

Even now the Spanish Government refused to admit that wisdom demanded compliance, on the contrary, with a view to deriving as many advantages as possible from the negotiations, it took a further step against the Holy See by publishing, on October 24th, 1736, a decree ordering all papal Bulls, Briefs and Rescripts, with the exception of the ordinances of the Penitenziaria, to be submitted to the council of State.[1] This decree was declared null and void by a Brief

thanked the Archbishop of Seville for his constancy in the matter of the patronage (*ibid.*). A Brief of October 6 admonished Molina in very earnest terms to do his duty: "Horret animus" at the rumour that you have raised up the storm and by fomenting it are disturbing ecclesiastical discipline, "canonum censuras negligens"; this is intolerable on the part of a Bishop who has sworn fidelity (*ibid.*). On the other hand, on October 13, 1736, *Briefs of commendation were sent to Bernard Martin, Abbot-General of the "Congregatio Vallisolit. Hisp.", and to the Abbots of the Spanish Cistercians (*ibid.*). On November 5, 1736, Guiccioli *reports from Madrid: The circular Brief has met with universal approval, both with the Bishops and with the people, and is everywhere received with public demonstrations of joy; people rejoice that the "inventori del patronato", whom everybody hates, have been reprimanded. The Briefs to His Majesty and to the Infante have caused consternation at court. Molina plays the regalist because he wishes his Cardinal's hat to be one of the conditions of the agreement. The French ambassador said to me that the Court showed itself as reluctant to improve conditions as Portugal. *Nunciat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Guiccioli's *report, dat. Madrid, November 12, 1736, according to which Molina boasted of the Brief of blame, as he was considered a regalist in Rome. On November 19, 1736, Guiccioli *reports: The Venetian ambassador, on seeing Molina enter, said: "Ecce Episcopus contra Pontificem!" This is the general opinion; many people say that unless he is compelled to reside [in his diocese] under pain of censures, the Holy See will have no peace. Three theologians in the "Gran Giunta" are in favour of the Pope. The King commanded the Inquisitor not to prohibit any book in favour of the patronage and the Inquisitor obeyed; when I reminded him of the Brief he replied:

to the Spanish episcopate dated December 15th, 1736, for the Pope could not subordinate the freedom of the Bishops in ecclesiastical matters, and still less that of the Holy See, to a secular authority.[1] At the same time, Acquaviva was told by the Congregation which had been set up for the purpose of dealing with Spanish affairs, that the simplest way to peace was the reopening of the Spanish nunciature. By their acts of violence in the Papal States the Spaniards had indemnified themselves so amply that there was no need for further satisfaction by the Pope, on the contrary, it was he who was entitled to claim compensation from Spain. If the Spanish Government was able to furnish authentic documentary proof of its claims to the right of patronage and of the alleged abuses of the Dataria, the Pope would be willing to apply a remedy.[2]

When at a session of the State Council on December 23rd the King announced that new negotiations with the Holy See were about to begin, he described the October decree on the *placet* as the best means of enforcing his demands in Rome.[3] But by this time public opinion was no longer on the Government's side. Guiccioli's reports make it clear that a change had occurred. Molina, Guiccioli wrote on

"Espero en Dios che no he de faltar a mi dever." On November 26, 1736, Guiccioli *reports: "Molina è da tutti riconosciuto per l'autore e promotore di queste discordie colla S. Sede, e dopo il Breve monitoriale fa peggio in vece di emendarsi. Prima s'incolpava ancora il S. Patigno, ma presentemente la colpa è sua, per esser quello, che principalmente tratta col Re e Regina di questa materia, e che è il capo delle Giunte, in una delle quali pure si è parlato di proibire alle religioni di acquistare beni stabili." *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[1] **Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Harrach's *report, December 15, 1736, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. In a *Cifra al Guiccioli of December 15, 1736, the Secretary of State dwells on the sorrow of the Pope, and adds: "Non prende certamente Mons. Molina la vera strada per meritarsi il cappello." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.*

[3] HERGENRÖTHER, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 192.

December 17th, 1736, had lost some of his former influence with the Queen and he was spoken of as a heretic and another Luther and plans for a compromise were being discussed at court.[1] In January, 1737, Guiccioli reported that Molina was blamed for having needlessly raised a storm against the Holy See, and that he was even described as a Jew and an atheist. The Duke of Gemini was reported to have said that the devil was at the bottom of these disputes. Molina continued to work in secret and told his followers that they only needed to remain firm as once the Dataria's revenues were stopped, Rome would be compelled to yield.[2] In February, Guiccioli reported that Molina himself was seriously thinking of a settlement of the disputes, though only from selfish motives, for he aspired to the red hat.[3]

Cardinal Acquaviva had volunteered to conduct the negotiations in Rome. He was accredited in February.[4] He too was bound to desire peace for in the event of the Duke of Montemar, who had always disapproved of his conduct, becoming minister, there was an end to his influence. On the other hand Molina was wholeheartedly with him.[5]

The negotiations hitherto conducted in Rome by Spinelli had for their chief object the grant of the investiture to Don Carlos, in exchange for which the Pope demanded the reopening of the nunciature in Madrid and the embassy in Rome.[6] The negotiations, which were conducted by Spinelli, Gentili and Corsini, were wrapped in the greatest secrecy.[7] They appeared to enter into a decisive stage with Acquaviva's arrival in Rome on 3rd March, when the Pope appointed a special Congregation of Cardinals to deal with all pending questions and charged Spinelli to treat in his name with the

[1] Guiccioli's *report, December 17, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[2] Guiccioli's *reports, January 7 and 14, 1737, *ibid.*

[3] Guiccioli's *report, February 18, 1737, *ibid.*

[4] Guiccioli's *report, February 25, 1737, *ibid.*

[5] Harrach's *report, January 19, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[6] Harrach's *reports, January 5, February 2 and 9, 1737, *ibid.*

[7] Harrach's *report, March 2, 1737, *ibid.*

Spanish Cardinals.[1] The Congregation consisted of Cardinals Corradini, Spinola, Porzia, Firrao, Gentili, Spinelli, Corsini, Zondadari and Rivera; subsequently Cardinal Aldrovandi, who had been nuncio in Madrid in 1717 and 1718, was added to their number. Cardinal Spinelli kept a diary of the negotiations which opened on March 8th; this document is preserved to this day in the Papal Secret Archives.[2]

Complete uncertainty prevailed at first. About the middle of March the Secretary of State remarked to Count Harrach that it was not possible to say that the various questions would not be settled, but it was equally impossible to say that they would be settled.[3] The negotiations gave rise to a tremendous tension throughout the court. Before long everyone resigned himself to their being either long drawn out, owing to the big demands of the Spaniards, or even to their complete failure.[4] The latter alternative was certainly to be expected if the Spanish Government persisted in its obstinate demand of the investiture for Don Carlos and in its refusal to discuss ecclesiastical affairs, more particularly the resumption of relations with Rome, before this was granted. Clement refused to agree to such a demand.[5] Equally unacceptable

[1] Harrach's *report, March 9, 1737, *ibid.*

[2] "Giornale della negotiatione intrapresa in Roma tra il sig. card. Acquaviva . . . e il sig. card. Spinelli arcivescovo di Napoli deputato dalla Stà di Clemente XII. a trattare con detto Ministro sopra tutte le controversie vertenti fra la S. Sede e le due corti di Madrid e di Napoli dal dì 8 Marzo fino al dì 26 Settembre, 1737," *Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* PORTILLO, XVII., 326 *seqq.*, where there is further information about the other sources, the correspondence of the Spanish nunciature and Acquaviva's and Belluga's reports in the Simancas Archives.

[3] Harrach's *report, March 16, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[4] Harrach's *report, March 30, 1737, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Cifra al Guiccioli, April 13, 1737, on the "esorbitanza delle proposte del card. Acquaviva," *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 449, *loc. cit.*

[5] How decided the refusal of the Pope was appears from the instruction to Guiccioli of March 23, 1737: "L'essersi dichiarato sempre N. S. per lo spazio di più mesi di non poter essere in stato

were the initial demands of Acquaviva (who, for the rest, desired to negotiate solely as a Cardinal, not as an ambassador) for there was again question, even in a more accentuated form, of pretensions advanced in the days of Urban VIII. but subsequently dropped by Spain herself; they were that all papal dispensations should be granted gratuitously, that the Pope should forgo his right to the *Spolia* and that the Madrid nunciature should be without any jurisdiction.[1] Spinelli declared that the Pope could not consent to such suggestions. Thereupon Acquaviva requested the immediate concession, without further discussion, of all that Villalpando had demanded of Aldrovandi in Paris in 1717, in the days of Clement XI.[2]—a strange demand which completely failed to take into account the concordat of 1717. In his love of peace the Pope went so far as to allow Villalpando's demands to be examined, though not by the general cardinalitial Congregation but by a smaller committee.[3]

The fact was that the Congregation of nine members had proved unwieldy. On Acquaviva's proposal[4] three members of the Congregation, viz. Cardinals Corradini, Gentili and Spinelli were charged, at the beginning of April, first to treat with Acquaviva and Belluga and then to report to the

di accordare la richiesta investitura, se nel tempo stesso non si riaprisse l'interrotto commercio fra la S. Sede e le due corti di Spagna e di Napoli e non si rimettesser le cose nel piede, in cui erano prima del tumulto di Roma, facea sperare che coll'arrivo del sig. card. Acquaviva in questa corte, persuasa alla fine la Mtà del Re Cattco delle ragioni di Sua Stà, avesse dato ordine al suo ministro di trattar insieme della investitura e delle altre controversie, almeno di quelle insorte dopo il tumulto; ma con meraviglia si è inteso dallo stesso sig. card. Acquaviva insistere sempre la Mtà Sua nella concepita idea di voler l'investitura prima che si possa dar principio a trattare di verun'altro affare: al che la Stà Sua non ha creduto di poter aderire con sicura coscienza e senza grave preguidicio della dignità della Sede Apost." *Ibid.*

[1] *Cifra al Guiccioli, March 30, 1737, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* vol. XXXIII., 75 *seqq.*

[3] *Cifra al Guiccioli, April 4, 1737, *loc. cit.*

[4] Acquaviva's *report, April 11, 1737, Simancas Archives.

Congregation. With the appointment of this commission Acquaviva felt sure of success for he thought that Corsini and Firrao would side with him; thus he would be able to count on six votes in the discussions of the Congregation.[1] However, even thus the negotiations proved so long drawn that Madrid began to despair. Guiccioli reported that, seeing that Acquaviva was making no progress, their Majesties regretted their having sent him to Rome.[2] In the sequel even the Spanish Government was forced to realize more and more that it was in its interest to terminate the dispute. The people were discontented because it was no longer possible to obtain any dispensations, especially matrimonial ones; there were those also who thought they perceived signs that Molina no longer enjoyed the entire confidence of the court.[3]

Meanwhile the negotiations were once more being indefinitely drawn out for Acquaviva was determined to extort the acceptance of Villalpando's demands as well as a heavy financial burdening of the Spanish clergy.[4] On these

[1] PORTILLO, XVII., 336.

[2] Guiccioli's *report, April 22, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna, loc. cit.*

[3] Guiccioli's *report, June 17, 1737, *ibid.* On July 8, Guiccioli reports (*ibid.*): I spoke to the ministers about the concordat, etc. "Mons. Molina benchè decaduto dal concetto del Re, tiene nondimeno mano nelle cose di Roma a dispetto di tanti che gli fanno guerra et attendono, che la Regina si mostrerà stufa di lui per rovinarlo." The three theologians are against him. On July 15, 1737: Molina was very angry with me. I spoke to him about the heavy tax on ecclesiastical property; he said I had better not meddle with this matter as the clergy had the biggest possessions. Regarding the concordat: "che il Concordato bensì fu quello fatto dopo in S. Lorenzo in virtù di special decreto del Re e confermato per Breve del Papa, e non potendolo negare, lo disprezzò, dicendo: 'Que fue una patorata y imbrogliata de Alberoni in contentarsi di cose ridicole'." The whole ministry is divided on this matter. *Ibid.*

[4] Corradini's illness and the long delays before Acquaviva received any replies from Madrid and Naples delayed the negotiations; see Acquaviva's *reports, May 16, June 6 and July 25, 1737, Simancas Archives.

points the Congregation of Cardinals based its conduct on the concordat of 1717.[1] Another difficulty was the circumstance that age had so weakened the Pope that he no longer took any important decision alone but invariably consulted his intimate advisers.[2]

At the beginning of August most people, Acquaviva among them, believed that a happy issue of the negotiations was at hand. A little later it was rumoured that scruples had suddenly arisen in the minds of some of the Cardinals, to the very great annoyance of Acquaviva and Corsini.[3] The Cardinals demanded that the compromise with Naples should be upheld and that the question of the King's universal right of patronage should remain in abeyance. Acquaviva's advice was that this should be accepted.[4] In the end the Holy See let it be known that it was prepared to discuss once more the concordat of 1717, but Acquaviva sought to rob this big concession of its effect by asserting that that concordat had been signed by Alberoni, without the royal authorization. It was proved at once that this assertion was not in conformity with truth.

In the sequel the struggle turned chiefly round the King's demand of the right of patronage and the taxation of the Spanish clergy, on which agreement proved impossible; on all the other points a compromise was arrived at.[5] When

[1] *Cifre al Guiccioli, May 25, June 8, 15, 22, and 29, and July 20, 1737, *loc. cit.*

[2] Harrach's *report, July 6, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn.

[3] Harrach's *report, August 3, 1737, *ibid.*; Acquaviva's *report, August 8, 1737, *loc. cit.*

[4] Portillo, XVII., 336.

[5] " *Egli [Acquaviva] ha ben compreso la forza di quest'argomento, quale non ha saputo altrimente eludere che col supporre essere il Concordato stato sottoscritto dal sig. card. Alberoni senza plenipotenza del Re; il che è falsissimo, non pure per quello che nello stesso trattato apertamente si legge, ma per ciò che ne ha asserito lo stesso sig. card. Alberoni, il quale interpellato su questo articolo ha risposto aver'ancora appresso di se nelle sue carte la controversa plenipotenza, e quando anche questo non

on August 23rd the Holy See, reluctantly and solely in order to prevent a greater evil, more especially the royal patronage, consented to a taxation of the clergy of Spain for a period of five years,[1] there seemed to be at last a serious prospect that a settlement agreeable to both parties would be speedily arrived at. On August 24th Harrach wrote that Cardinal Corsini and the Secretary of State had told him that a compromise was assured but that two or three months might pass before its conclusion.[2]

fosse, basta a persuaderne il solo riflettere che in sequela del suddetto trattato finirono allora le controversie colla Spagna. Non so poi come siansi costì potuti così facilmente lusingare di un prossimo accomodamento, mentre, qualunque cosa abbiano scritto alla corte i sig. cardinali Spagnuoli, è certo che, se bene di tutti gli altri punti siasi in un certo modo convenuto, nulladimeno in niente si è potuto ancora convenire con i tre sig. cardinali deputati circa l'articolo delle contribuzioni degli ecclesiastici." Cifa al Guiccioli, August 10, 1737, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Cifra al Guiccioli, August 24, 1737, which says on the subject of the tax on the clergy that without this concession no settlement would have been reached. " É stata questa l'unica remora e l'unica difficoltà che per tre mesi " made us despair of success. " Dopo avere assolutamente rigettate molte altre esorbitantissime pretensioni, che in questa materia si formavano da' regii ministri, ha [the Pope] creduto non poter dispensarsi di conceder loro qualche cosa per evitare un male molto maggiore ; si è considerato inoltre, che non potendosi in altro modo metter argine al gravissimo inconveniente de regii patronati, da cui tanto pregiudicio ne proveniva non meno agli ecclesiastici di cotesto regno che alla Sede Apost., conveniva in ogni maniera andarvi al riparo anche in qualche temporaneo aggravio degli ecclesiastici medesimi." However, the tax must not be permanent (*loc. cit.*). According to Cardinal Spinelli's **Giornale*, the last decisive session of the Congregation of Cardinals took place on August 24, 1737 ; Acquaviva showed himself satisfied though he still made a few objections ; see *Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., *loc. cit.*

[2] Harrach's *report, August 24, 1737, Reuss Archives, Ernstbrunn. A " piano e parere sulle pretensioni della corte di Spagna per la Congregazione " of August 12 in *Cod.* 1183, p. 187 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome. As Acquaviva was afraid the Pope

The final decision of the Madrid Government arrived on September 16th, sooner, that is, than had been expected.[1] Thereupon the five Cardinals of the committee drew up the provisional text of the concordat.[2] However, great difficulty was still found in determining the amount of the tax with which the King desired to burden his clergy.[3] The course of the negotiations was smoothed for Acquaviva by the circumstance that he had bribed some of the papal officials who let him see the letters of the Secretariate of State—even those in cypher![4] With such officials, who represented an after-effect of the era of Coscia, it is surprising that the terms of the concordat arrived at in the negotiations between Acquaviva and the Secretary of State, Cardinal Firrao, were at all supportable for the Holy See. On September 21st the concordat was handed to Acquaviva in its definitive form.[5] However, fresh difficulties arose at the last moment.[6] On September 26th a last lively discussion of two hours' duration took place at the palace of the Quirinal between the Secretary of State, Firrao, acting as the Pope's plenipotentiary, and Cardinal Acquaviva as representing Philip V.[7]; at the end of this final exchange of views both signed the new concordat.[8]

would die before long he urged his Government at least to make sure of what had been attained, according to the old Spanish proverb: "Tornar y pedir"; see his *report, August 29, 1737, Simancas Archives.

[1] Cardinal Spinelli's *Giornale, *loc. cit.*

[2] Portillo, XVII., 336.

[3] *Ibid.*, 336 *seqq.*; Harrach's *reports, August 31 and September 1, 1737, *loc. cit.*

[4] Portillo, XVII., 338 *seqq.*

[5] Cardinal Spinelli's **Giornale*, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*, September 24, 1737.

[7] "*He encontrado tales difficultades que ciertamente puedo asegurar a V. S. que he tenido en que merecer para superarlas . . . y finalmente despuès de dos horas de contrasto, se ha executado este acto." Acquaviva a Seb. de la Quadra, dat. Roma, 1737, Septiembre 26, Simancas Arch.

[8] The two originals of the concordat are still preserved, at Madrid in Arch. Histórico Nacional (Estado, 3, 565), and at Rome,

The stipulations, with which both parties seemed at first greatly satisfied,[1] comprised twenty-six articles. The first offered satisfaction to the Holy See for the measures that had been taken against the nunciature: the nuncio, his tribunal and his officials were to enjoy as previously and without the slightest curtailment, all their rights and prerogatives; all decrees to the contrary were to be abolished and everything was to be brought back to the conditions which obtained previous to the latest incidents, with the sole exception of the changes made by the present concordat; relations with the Holy See were to be resumed and papal Bulls and decisions in matrimonial questions were to be given effect as before. The other dispositions of special importance concerned the restriction of the right of asylum, the putting in force of several Tridentine decrees against the excessive number of clergy and the too frequent application of ecclesiastical censures. There followed a prohibition of temporary benefices which were in opposition with the very notion of a benefice, an order for the visitation of monasteries, the introduction of the *concursus* for the collation of all parishes and the limitation of the practice of the Holy See of burdening with pensions the benefices of the assistant clergy. The prerogatives of the nuncio were curtailed. The lowering of the fees of the tribunal of the nunciature and the question of the King's general patronage were to be the subject of future arrangements together with other points which had formed the subject of negotiations by Villalpando during the pontificate of Clement XI. With regard to the share of the clergy in the burdens of the State, further taxation was deemed

Papal Secret Archives, AA Arm., I.–XVIII., 473. MERCATI collated his reprint with the latter (*Concordati*, 321 *seqq.*). It appeared in print at Madrid in 1738; copies in Simancas Archives and in Archives of the Madrid nunciature (see PORTILLO, XVII., 325). The treasures of the latter collection have not yet been completely exploited; its transfer to Rome is being planned. On this concordat, see also Roda's *report, January 21, 1761, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] See the evidence quoted by PORTILLO (XIX., 69).

necessary; meanwhile an annual impost of 150,000 Spanish ducats was granted for a term of five years. The concordat was ratified by Philip V. on October 18th, 1737, and by Clement XII. on November 12th.[1]

There only remained the difficult problem of a settlement with the new King of Naples. When they broke off relations with the Holy See, the courts of Madrid and Naples had acted together: Philip V. refused to allow the nuncio to enter Spain, Charles III. expelled the nuncio from Naples; like his father he too recalled his representative from Rome, compelled the Neapolitans and the Sicilians to leave the Eternal City and forbade all relations with the court of Rome. The intention was to extort far-reaching concessions by means of these provocative measures. Acting on the advice of anti-clerical elements, more especially that of Tanucci and Genovesi, Charles III. demanded the right of nomination to all episcopal sees and the collation to ecclesiastical benefices in his realm, the reduction of the number of monasteries, the restriction of the acquisition of property by mortmain, the suppression of the tribunal of the nunciature and of all judicial rights of the nuncio, and the investiture with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.[2] How greatly, then, those had deceived themselves who, as for instance Cardinal Lanfredini, had hoped that better days would dawn for the Church with the expulsion of the imperialists from Naples![3] The situation grew worse,

[1] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 327. The royal and the papal ratification are in the correspondence volume, 1737, p. 968, according to the report of November 14, 1737, Simancas Archives; the former and the text are in the corresponding volume, p. 230, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] BROSCH, II., 81.

[3] Lanfredini's *letter of June ,1734, *Cod.* 1181, p. 123, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* SENTIS, 187. Already at the time of Benedict XIII. the Spanish diplomatists had sought to rouse suspicions about the Bourbons. In a *letter to the Marquis de la Paz, of December 10, 1729, Cardinal Bentivoglio reports that he had told the Secretary of State that he should rejoice, for the sake of the Holy See, at the extension of the Bourbon power, "pues

not better, which is not surprising seeing that the youthful King had for his advisor Tanucci, a man who was perhaps the bitterest political enemy whom the Holy See ever encountered in a Catholic State.[1]

The negotiations for an agreement with Naples, difficult as they were in themselves on account of the heavy inroads into the Church's freedom and immunity by the secular power,[2] were rendered still more arduous as a result of the innovations introduced by Tanucci immediately after the seizure of the realm in 1734, to the injury of ecclesiastical rights.[3] The King adopted whatever counsel his anti-clerical entourage gave him and tolerated the most grievous violations

bien conoce V. E. quanto importa al Papa y a la Iglesia que se introdusca en Italia este nuevo principado y tan grande principe hijo de un monarca de la España de la real sangue de Francia para tener a freno la potencia excesiva de la sobervia alemana y las continuas violencias y amenazas, con las quales los ministros cesareos conturban esta corte." How had Clement XI. been treated! Simancas Archives.

[1] Opinion of Brosch (II., 78). *Cf. Arch. Napolet.*, I., 373; III., 102, 211; IV., 365, 447; Picot, III., 12.

[2] Count Harrach's *letter, September 7, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[3] On August 20, 1734, the Spanish nuncio, Vincenzo Alamani, *reported that he had complained to Patino that by his conduct with regard to ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction, Don Carlos was acting exactly like the imperialists. On November 17, Alamani reports: I complained to Patino about the violation of immunity in Naples, especially by the secretary, Tanucci. Patino said, "che Roma pretendeva sempre mille cose dal Re, ma che per altro S. M. non ne poteva ottener alcuna grazia dal Papa, non già per il buon cuore di N. S. sempre lo stesso verso il Re, ma per alcuni consiglieri poco inclinati verso questo corona ed impegnati ad opporsi a tutto quello, che il Re desidera: onde in avvenire non avrebbe S. S. udita più alcuna istanza da questa corte, dopo tante prove, che aveva avute della poca sorte, che incontravano le premure della M. S." I replied that the Pope was still full of vigour and would not let himself be ruled by his advisers. *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 224A, Papal Secret Archives.

of the Church's immunity.[1] There can be no doubt that his aim was to establish in Naples the anti-ecclesiastical principles of Gallicanism.

After settling with Spain, the cardinalitial Congregation began its examination of the Neapolitan affair that very same day, August 23rd, 1737.[2] In 1736 Clement XII., who was anxious for an agreement with Naples, had laid down as preliminary conditions for investiture, the admission of the nuncio at Naples, the opening of the tribunal of the nunciature and the withdrawal of several laws hostile to the Church. The Neapolitan Government had replied that the Holy See would obtain neither the right of collating to benefices nor the withdrawal of decrees contrary to ecclesiastical immunity, unless the investiture was granted: if it was refused now, it would never again be asked for.[3] Thus Spinelli's negotiations proved fruitless. At this time Celestino Galliani, the Neapolitan Cappellano Maggiore, came to Rome for the purpose of lending support to Acquaviva. Both stated that though they were empowered to listen to suggestions, they were not authorized to make any themselves. It soon became evident that what the new masters of Naples aimed at was not only to uphold the encroachments of the imperial Government, but to add to them.[4]

[1] SCHIPA, *Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*, Napoli, 1904, 206, 210.

[2] Cardinal Spinelli's **Giornale, Nunziat. di Spagna*, App. III., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* the reports quoted by SENTIS (190).

[4] In a *retrospect on the previous negotiations we read: "Ma di molto è poi cresciuto il nostro rammarico quando ci siamo accorti esser fisso nell' animo di quel nuovo ministero non pure di niente rilassare dalle passate usurpazioni sopra i diritti della Chiesa, ma anzi di crescerle a dismisura di maniera che si era qui seriamente incominciato a pensare di procedere per le vie canoniche" (Cifra al Valenti, November 23, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.*, *ibid.*, the enumeration already made on April 11, 1737, of the "*Aggravii che soffre nel regno di Napoli la giurisdittione eccles., presentati per ordine di Clemente XII. al card. Acquaviva per mezzo del Card. Spinelli."

Galliani had looked for energetic support by Acquaviva, but the latter had received a different commission from his court, one that was much more to his liking than the Neapolitan disputes. He was charged to obtain a marriage dispensation for Maria Amalia, fourteen-year-old daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland, Don Carlos' prospective bride, and to make sure that she would meet with a suitable reception on her passage through the Papal States. Accordingly Galliani was left to his own devices in his negotiations with Ferroni, the Assessor of the Inquisition, who was subsequently joined by Tria, Bishop of Larino.[1]

Galliani's position became still worse in the course of the negotiations with the Cardinals which opened on September 6th. These soon showed that Spinelli was on the Pope's side whilst Acquaviva interested himself chiefly in the affairs of the new Queen of Naples. On December 1st, 1737, the Cardinal obtained the necessary dispensation. When the Queen's reception came to be discussed, the question of the investiture cropped up once more with the result that ecclesiastico-political discussions sank into the background. The Tuscan envoy was of opinion that it was the intention of the Holy See to transfer these negotiations to Madrid as agreement with Tanucci seemed out of the question.[2] Although Molina too wished the negotiations to be transferred to Madrid, the opposition of the Neapolitan Government rendered such a step impossible. The Queen of Spain urged Don Carlos to come to terms in order that he might at last obtain investiture. At the very first audience of the new Madrid nuncio, Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, at the end of November, 1737, she brought up this topic, urging that Rome also should show an accommodating disposition for, "one hand washes the other and both wash the face."[3] At a second audience she reverted

[1] SCHIPA, 219 *seq.* On Galliani, *cf.* C. PASCAL, *Vita ed opere dell'abate Galiani*, Napoli, 1885.

[2] SCHIPA, 221.

[3] Valenti's *report, dated Madrid, November 26, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, Papal Secret Archives.

to the subject of the investiture.[1] Clement XII. was willing to grant it but only on condition that a stop was put to anti-ecclesiastical tendencies at Naples. This it seemed impossible to obtain. As undisputed master of the two Sicilies, Charles III. looked on investiture as a mere formality which could well be dispensed with. He let it be known that it must be given without condition; if it was denied, he could do without it nor would future rulers of Naples ever ask for it.

For fear lest so dangerous a precedent should be established, Clement XII. felt that he ought to yield.[2] In the hope that Charles III. would make concessions in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere,[3] he resolved, on May 10th, 1738, to sign the Bull of investiture which was issued on the 12th.[4] On the same day Maria Amalia set out from Dresden for Italy. The Pope arranged a splendid reception for her in the Pontifical States. At the frontier of Ferrara, whither Acquaviva had betaken himself, she was welcomed by Cardinal Mosca in the name of the Pope; at Pesaro she was greeted by Cardinal Albani and at Velletri Cardinal Corsini presented her, by order of Clement XII., with valuable presents, a diamond and two magnificent mosaic pictures.[5]

Nuncio Simonetti was now able to return to Naples whilst Acquaviva became the representative of the King of Naples in Rome. The Cardinal showed a readiness to make concessions of such importance in questions touching the Church that

[1] Valenti's *report, dated Madrid, December 1, 1737, *ibid.*

[2] Brosch, II., 81.

[3] *Brief to "Carolus utriusque Siciliae rex", May 20, 1738, *Epist.*, VIII.–X., 195, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Bull.*, XXIV., 377 *seqq.*; Novaes, XIII., 276 *seq.*

[5] Muratori, XII., 191; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4ª, Serie XX., 167 *seqq.*, 170 *seq.*, 172; Schipa, *loc. cit.*, 222; *Lettere spett. al viaggio d'Italia di Maria Amalia di Sassonia sposa di Carlo Borbone Re di Napoli scritte a Gaetano Boncompagno duca di Sora e princ. di Piomb. l'a, 1738, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, E, 126–7; review, *Il Muratori*, I., Roma, 1892, 42 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*, 93 *seqq.*; P. Antolini, *Passaggio e dimora di Maria Amalia di Polonia per andare sposa a Carlo III.*, Argenta, 1900.

Galliani spoke of treason.[1] However, the latter need not have felt anxious for there was no change in Tanucci's policy; that minister continued his policy, which was most detrimental to the Holy See and in which he had the support of officials who were, to a man, adherents of Giannone. Clement XII. continued in his hope of concluding a satisfactory concordat with Naples, so as to have at least one secure point which Tanucci would not be able to circumvent,[2] but all was in vain.[3] In a detailed private letter to Charles III's confessor, the Pope, now on the brink of the grave, commanded the latter, in contrast to the ruler's evil counsellors, to draw the King's attention to the grievous wrong he was doing by his violations of the Church's freedom and jurisdiction.[4]

Just as Charles III.'s investiture did not lead to peace with Naples, so did the concordat of 1737 fail to bring about peace with the Government of Madrid. For this failure the Pope was not to blame for Clement XII. carried out loyally all the concessions embodied in that treaty. By a Brief of November 14th, 1737, he restricted the right of asylum in Spain whilst a circular to the Spanish hierarchy confirmed and explained the concordat. Orders were issued for the visitation of monasteries.[5] Appropriate instructions were likewise sent to the new Madrid nuncio, Silvio Valenti Gonzaga,[6] who was at last able to leave Bayonne and to present himself at Madrid.[7] However, on December 1st, 1737, the Infante Luis was appointed ecclesiastical administrator

[1] SCHIPA, 222 *seq.*

[2] BROSCH, II., 81.

[3] *Cf.* GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 35, and the complaints about the violation of ecclesiastical liberty in Naples in *Cifre al Valenti, June 17 and July 2, 1739, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Private letter to the "archiepiscopus Nisibis utriusque Siciliae et Hierosol. regis confessarius", dated 1739, III., Non. Majas a.g., in *Epist.*, VIII.–X., 721, *ibid.*

[5] HERGENRÖTHER, in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht.*, XI. (1864), 252; PORTILLO, XVIII., 314, 316 *seqq.*

[6] *Brief of November 14, 1737, *Epist.*, VI., 485, *loc. cit.*

[7] PORTILLO, XVIII., 312.

of Toledo but Bernardo Froilano de Saavedra, titular Archbishop of Larissa, was assigned to him as ecclesiastical co-administrator.[1] On December 20th, at Philip V.'s request, Molina obtained the ardently desired red hat as a crown cardinal.[2]

To all these favours the Spanish Government replied with base ingratitude. The concordat favoured Spain more than Rome[3]; but as not all demands had been conceded, efforts were made to extort them by every possible means, especially the general right of patronage for the King and a higher taxation of the Spanish clergy.[4] But in spite of these and other difficulties,[5] the treaty was duly published and many, though not all, of its clauses were carried into effect.[6]

Given the ecclesiastico-political tendencies at Madrid, the position of the papal representative at Madrid remained a very difficult one, for Molina was bent on extorting the universal royal patronage.[7] In the opinion of the nuncio's

[1] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 252.

[2] Count Harrach's *report, December 20, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[3] "Più utile per la corte di Spagna che per quella di Roma," says A. MOCENIGO, *Relazione di Roma* (see above, p. 338, n. 4).

[4] PORTILLO, XVIII., 315 *seqq.*, 319 *seqq.*

[5] Difficulties arose at once with regard to the opening of the nunciature. *Cf.* *the reports of December 9 and 15, 1737, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 244A, *loc. cit.*

[6] PORTILLO, XVIII., 324. In his essays published in the review *Razón y Fe*, XVII., 325 *seqq.*; XVIII., 311 *seqq.*; XIX., 60 *seqq.*, 68 *seq.*, based on a profound and extensive study of the Archives, Portillo refutes most successfully the assertions of BLAS JOVER ALCAZAR (*Examen del Concordato*, Madrid, 1747), Gregorio Mayans y Siscar and other Spanish regalists about the concordat of 1737: "que fué nulo, que España accedió forzada, que no se publicó como debiera, que el Papa no sólo no cumplió lo prometid sino que repetidas veces faltó a sus cláusulas, que fué un Concordato vago, diminuto e ineficaz." *Cf.* also HERGENRÖTHER, *loc.cit.*, 253.

[7] A *Cifra to Nuncio Valenti of September 18, 1738, says: "In risposta di quanto V. S. Illma . . . N. S. sente con gran dispiacere le difficoltà che s'incontrano sul bel principio nella materia

auditor, Molina's suggested compromise at the close of 1738 only meant that the Holy See should simply do whatever Madrid wanted: Molina went far beyond the stipulations of the concordat.[1] When the auditor declared that it was impossible to consider such proposals, Molina lost his temper, but calmed himself with the thought that it would be possible to find another formula for a compromise.[2] However, there was nothing to hope for in this direction as Molina worked for the introduction of Gallican principles, though it was made quite clear to him that as a result of these principles religion had become a mere name in France. Even the remonstrances addressed to him as Bishop of Malaga, to the effect that the application of these principles in France had reduced the Bishops to the rank of slaves of Parliament failed to make a lasting impression.[3] To a fresh proposal,

del Patronato suddetto, e che invece di dar esecuzione al Concordato, si vuole impugnare ciò ch'è stato stabilito. Questa materia è la più importante che sia nel Concordato; per questa si è condesceso a molte altre determinazioni purtroppo pregiudiciali, e sènza questa non si sarebbe accordata alcuna cosa; e perciò è il più grave affare che possa occorrere a V. S. Illma nell'esercizio del suo ministero, e Sua Sta l'ha volentieri confidata alla sua destrezza e zelo." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 429, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] "*La maniera dell'accomodamento sarebbe quella di fare tutto quello, che loro vogliono, senza nepure stare all'ultimo Concordato. Io procurai di fargli [Card. Molina] vedere l'irragionevolezza di tutto ciò," says a letter of the Auditor, Cervini, to the Cardinal Secretary of State, dat. Madrid, September 20, 1738. *Cod.* 1184, p. 85, Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] Cervini's *report, October 20, 1738, *ibid.*, p. 87.

[3] On November 29, 1738, Cervini *reports: "I was with Molina for four hours on account of the book on the patronage and I showed him that its object was to introduce into Spain the French legal principles, faciendo gli insieme riflettere, che da tale introduttione potevano attendirsi li medesimi pregiuditii, che si deplorano in Francia, dove la religione è ridotta a un puro nome, con fargli inoltre riflettere, a qual grado di suggestione erano ridotti i vescovi di Francia da' parlamenti." The Cardinal seemed to be moved by my words. *Ibid.*, p. 89 *seqq.*

for a compromise made by the nuncio in July, 1739, Molina replied in terms which the auditor described as "unseemly, impertinent and scandalous".[1] The nuncio had given his approval to the draft of a compromise; during the oral discussion of the document the auditor told Molina that if Madrid desired to make its own Canon Law, it would be better to break with Rome and to cease talking of a compromise; if things went on as at present, in fifty years the Spanish liberties would far exceed the Gallican ones.[2] The Pope was well aware of the rôle which material interests played in Madrid, hence he sought to win over the Government by concessions in this field. In 1707 Philip V. had united the administration of the Order of Montesa with the council of the military Orders, thereby effecting a centralization of the administration which was very advantageous to the Government: on May 22nd, 1739, Clement XII. confirmed the royal disposition. In the course of the same year he allowed the King to raise two million *reals* from the property of the Church within his dominions.[3] At the same time, by a Brief of January 27th, 1740, the Pope sought to remove the obstacles which prevented an understanding on the question of patronage[4]; it was Clement XII.'s last Brief to Madrid.

[1] "*Una risposta impropria, impertinente e scandalosa." Cervini, July 11, 1739, *ibid.*, p. 91.

[2] Cervini's *report of July 25, 1739, on his three hours' conversation with Molina, in which he says: "Alla fine arrivai a dirgli, che se volevano fare li canoni a modo loro, era meglio separarsi intieramente da Roma e non parlare più d'accomodamento, . . . che io haverei scommesso quanto avesse voluto, che tra 50 anni, se le cose continuavano nella maniera cominciata, le libertà della chiesa Spagnola sarebbero molto maggiori di quelle della chiesa Gallicana." *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[3] HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für Kath. Kirchenrecht*, XI., 253.

[4] **Epist.*, VIII.–XI., 658, Papal Secret Archives.

CHAPTER III.

Nominations of Cardinals—Activity within the Church—Prohibition of Freemasonry—Religious Conditions in France and Germany—The Missions.

(1.)

It is in the very nature of the Primacy that the Pope should be absolutely free in the choice of the highest dignitaries of the Roman Church, who are to be his true and closest advisers, so that any dispositions that may exist concerning such a choice, can only be directive, but never binding ones. When the Council of Trent made it an obligation for the Head of the Church to bestow the purple on men of all nations whenever possible, it at once restricted this direction by adding: "in so far as the Pope has opportunities to become adequately acquainted with foreigners, and has solid reasons for giving them his full confidence."

Given the hostility to the Church which was becoming increasingly strong even in countries that had remained Catholic, the Pope, unfortunately, could only give his confidence to a very few national and crown Cardinals proposed to him by the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. The above-named Powers based their right of presentation on their rôle of protectors of the Church. However, these patrons threatened more and more to become oppressors, and they only proposed men who had the interests of the State far more at heart than the welfare of the Church. Hence it was natural that the Popes should seek to restrict the Powers' right of nomination, a right now also claimed by Portugal, Poland and Venice, and that they occasionally ignored it, or put off the promotions of foreigners proposed for the cardinalate with a view to securing some advantage for the Church by their eventual surrender.[1]

[1] Rottmanner, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 33 *seqq.*

It is in this light that Clement XII.'s creations of Cardinals must be viewed. Whereas other Popes had taken into account the nominations made by the Great Powers at the outset of their pontificate, Clement XII. nominated for a considerable time only Cardinals of Italian nationality, although the ranks of the foreigners were being thinned by death. Clement's selection was likewise influenced by the advice of Cardinal Corsini who wished to make sure of a party at the next conclave. But the chief consideration that guided the Pontiff was that in view of the hostile attitude of the Catholic Powers, it was expedient, as much as possible, to keep their representatives out of the Sacred College.

At the first creation, on August 14th, 1730, Neri Corsini was named *in petto* [1]; at the second, on October 2nd, 1730, the purple was bestowed on the nuncios of Madrid, Vienna and Paris, the Florentine Alessandro Aldobrandini, the Genoese Girolamo Grimaldi, Bartolomeo Massei of Montepulciano and the Secretary of Propaganda, the Roman Bartolomeo Ruspoli.[2]

[1] Published on December 11, 1730: *[Declaravit card. reservatum] "Magistrum Nereum Corsinum Protonot. Apost. et a secretis libellorum supplicum, Nostrum secundum carnem ex germano fratre nepotem, cuius optimam indolem atque erga doctrinas et bonas artes ingenuum studium vitae integritati coniunctum rerumque gerendarum usum in publicis negotiis apud externos etiam principes transigendis fore speramus in huius S. Sedis obsequiis ac ministeriis utilem et opportunum, cum praesertim plerique vestrum in congregationibus exploratum suo apud Nos testimonio comprobarint." *Acta consist.*, *Barb.* 2922, Vatican Library.

[2] Guarnacci, II., 605 *seqq.*; Cardella, VIII., 246 *seqq.*; Marchesi Buonaccorsi, 503 *seq.* Al. Aldobrandini was nuncio in Naples, 1708–1713, in Venice, 1713–1720, then in Spain; G. Grimaldi in Brussels, 1706–1712; in Poland, 1712–1721; then in Vienna; B. Massei since 1722 in France. A favourable appreciation of the above-named in Cardinal Bentivoglio's *report, December 7, 1730 (Simancas Archives), and in *that of Cardinal Cienfuegos, July 21, 1731 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On B. Ruspoli, *cf.* Sforza-Ruspoli,

The greatest dissatisfaction with these nominations was shown by the Portuguese Government which had broken off diplomatic relations already under Clement XI. on account of the Lisbon nuncio, Vincenzo Bichi, having been passed over. This abnormal situation had continued under Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII., to the very great injury of the Church in Portugal. Accordingly, in order to prevent greater evils, Clement XII. was inclined to buy peace with Bichi's elevation, though on condition that the latter apologized for his disobedience. Negotiations conducted through Cardinal Pereyra had yielded no result by the end of 1730.[1] A happy issue was hoped for in the spring of 1731,[2] but this was only secured in October, when the Pope's demand that Bichi should leave Lisbon and justify himself at Florence was agreed to. This justification could only take the form of excuses, and the Pope was satisfied with these, in spite of the opposition of the "Zelanti".[3] On September 24th, 1731, Bichi at length obtained the purple. With him were named Giuseppe Firrao, a Neapolitan, who had been appointed to succeed Bichi as nuncio in Portugal, the Maestro di Camera Sinibaldo Doria of Genoa, the Florentine Carmelite and Bishop of Arezzo, Gian Antonio Guadagni, and the *Datarius*, Antonio Saverio Gentili.[4] Public opinion was unanimously favourable to the new Cardinals.[5]

J. *Marescotti*, Firenze, 1914, 42. *Original of Ruspoli's nomination to the cardinalate in Ruspoli Archives, Rome.

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 16, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Ibid.*, *Proposizioni che si fanno parte del Re di Portogallo alla S. di N. S. P. Clemente XII. mandate dal s. card. Pereira per sedare le correnti emergenze tra quella e questa corte.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, April 21, 1731, *ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, September 22, 1731, *ibid.*

[4] GUARNACCI, II., 624 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 251 *seqq.*

[5] In his *letter of September 29, 1731, Cardinal Cienfuegos describes them thus: Doria: "uomo di ottimi costumi e di prudenza"; Firrao: "uomo di dolci e illibati costumi, savio, fornito di capacità, di uno zelo regolato dalla prudenza";

October 1st, 1732, saw the reception into the Sacred College of the Neapolitan Trojano Acquaviva de Aragona, *Maggiordomo* to the Pope, and of Agapito Mosca of Pesaro, a relative of Clement XI. whom the Pope held in the highest veneration.[1] These new Princes of the Church also enjoyed an excellent reputation.[2]

The year 1732 witnessed two creations of Cardinals. In the first, on March 2nd, Domenico Rivera of Urbino, Secretary of the Consulta, received the red hat at the request of James III.[3] At the second, on September 28th, the elevation took place of the Pope's auditor Marcello Passari, a Neapolitan

Guadagni: "religioso rigido ed ottimo vescovo"; Gentili: "è dotto, applicato indefessamente al suo uffizio. Il costume suo è illibato, il tratto dolce e santo senza affettazione" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). On Gentili, *cf.* above, p. 339.

[1] The Pope's *address in *Acta consist., Barb.* 2923; he creates "Acquaviva archiep. Lariss. Praef. Pal., conspicuis huius S. Sedis ministeriis laudabiliter functum, cui generis claritatem et domestica virtutis exempla, Francisci praesertim card. patrui sui, ad res pro Dei gloria et s. Ecclesiae rationibus bene gerendas novo incitamento futura plane confidimus," and "Agapitum Mosca cler. Camerae, in obeundis muneribus ab eadem S. Sede sibi demandatis cum laude probitatis, integritatis prudentiaeque versatum, propinquum f. r. Clem. XI." (Biblioteca Vaticana). *Cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 64 *seqq.* CARDELLA, VIII., 257 *seqq.*; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 515 *seq.* Already in the former promotion Cardinal Albani had used all his influence on behalf of Mosca; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *letter quoted in the preceding note.

[2] On October 4, 1732, Cardinal Cienfuegos *reports: [Acquaviva] "in ogni occupazione ha dato segni di un uomo savio ed amante del giusto"; [Mosca] "dotato di sufficiente capacità e dottrina, è ritirato, fa una vita di ottimo e esemplare ecclesiastico." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] "*Creavit card. Dominicum Riveram protonot. a Secretis Congreg. consultat. status, optimis studiis excultum ac diuturnis huius S. Sedis obsequiis summa cum fidei et consilii laude perfunctum" (*Acta consist., Barb.* 2923, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* GUARNACCI, II., 654 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 261 *seq.*

subject, and that of the deserving Governor of Rome, Giambattista Spinola of Genoa.[1] Spinola's successor as Governor, the Bolognese Pompeo Aldrovandi, was likewise raised to the purple on March 24th, 1734, together with the Roman Serafino Cenci, Archbishop of Benevento, the learned Servite Pier Maria Pieri, a Sienese subject, and the Florentine Amadori Lanfredini. Cardinal Cienfuegos paid homage to the excellent qualities of the new dignitaries, but he also calculated that Corsini's party now disposed of seventeen votes, so that it could exercise the right of exclusion at the conclave.[2]

After the deserving Archbishop of Naples, Giuseppe Spinelli, had become a Cardinal on January 17th, 1735,[3] Clement XII. at last named the first crown Cardinal when, on December 19th, 1735, at the instant request of Philip V., he granted the red hat to the latter's son, the Infante Luis, a minor.[4]

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 660 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 262 *seqq.* On Spinola, *cf.* MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 509 *seqq.* On Passari (also spelt Passeri), Cienfuegos remarks in his *report of October 3, 1733, that he does not please the enemies of the Emperor; of all the papal Ministers he is the most trustworthy and he "possa sull' animo del Papa" more than anyone else; as his conclavist he contributed much to the election of Clement XII., for this reason the Pope has great confidence in him and wishes to have him constantly near him; he is a noted canonist, "circospetto, accorto, prudente, moderato, sincero." Spinola is described by Cienfuegos as "ottimo ecclesiastico", politically indifferent. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] GUARNACCI, II., 668 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 265 *seqq.* *Cf. Vita di Giac. card. Lanfredini*, Roma, 1761; Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of March 27, 1734 (*loc. cit.*) says: Aldrovandi is a good canonist, but he is selfish and favours France; Cenci "buon ecclesiastico", a nominee of Corsini, is not exactly sagacious, but full of good will; Lanfredini: Learned, pious, "scrupuloso"; Pieri, nominated against Corsini's will, is "di ottimi costumi".

[3] GUARNACCI, II., 686 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 173 *seqq.* On Spinelli's activity as internuncio, 1721–5, and as nuncio in Brussels, 1725–1731, see above, p. 286 *seqq.*

[4] GUARNACCI, II., 693 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 276 *seqq.* That the creation took place on December 19 (not in November,

In the course of the stormy year 1736, during which no nomination took place, the Pope had to learn by experience with what ingratitude Spain's ruler repaid his readiness to meet the King's wishes. Similar ingratitude was shown by the Portuguese Government. After the great concession implied in Bichi's elevation, King John V. had indeed revoked his decrees forbidding relations with the Holy See,[1] but the activity of the new nuncio, Gaetano de' Cavalieri, was at once impeded.[2] The Portuguese monarch, who at Mafia erected the Escorial of Portugal, and in the Lisbon Jesuit church of S. Roque built what is perhaps the most sumptuous chapel in the whole world, and who spanned the valley of Alcantara with a giant aqueduct, cherished the ambition that in regard to all round splendour and magnificence, his realm should vie with the greatest and most powerful European countries.[3] The patriarchate of Lisbon also was to be provided with every imaginable wealth and the greatest pomp; consequently his aim was to obtain from Rome, either by persuasion or by violence, that the dignity of a Cardinal and of a *Legatus natus* of the Holy See should be attached to the patriarchate.[4]

as Cardella says (*loc. cit.*), appears from the *originals in *Acta consist., Cod.* 1276, Corsini Library, Rome. On the Brief directed to Philip V. on May 2, 1736, the following remark is made in **Epist.*, VI., 147: "Hoc et sequentia brevia pro dilatione pilei cardinalitii ob diuturnam moram mutatis quamplurimis rescripta fuerunt die 9 nov. 1737."

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, November 24, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[2] "*Mem. del pontificato di Clemente XII.," Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* By *Brief of December 3, 1731, Clement XII. had announced to the King the dispatch of the nuncio and at the same time granted him rich indulgences for the church of Mafra. *Brief of G. de Cavalieri's nomination, dated March 29, 1732, in *Epist.*, II., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* SCHÄFER, V., 196 *seqq.*, 200 *seqq.*, 203 *seqq.*; M. B. BRANCO, *Portugal na epocha de Dom João V.*, Lisboa, 1886.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, June 13, 1733, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. In order to win the favour of

Such a distinction for little Portugal met with opposition from the representative of the Emperor, Cardinal Cienfuegos, but in May, 1737, Corsini remarked that in order to put an end to the troubled religious situation in Portugal the Pope would probably be obliged to yield.[1] The procedure in the matter was examined by a Congregation of Cardinals which was in favour of granting the Portuguese demands.[2] In order to speed up the negotiations the Government of Lisbon threatened to break off diplomatic relations all through the summer and autumn.[3] Clement XII. was anxious to avoid such an extremity. However, if he satisfied the wishes of little Portugal, he could no longer put off the other Catholic Powers [4] which demanded, under threats, the creation at long last of crown Cardinals.[5]

In these circumstances the Pope resolved to proceed to the great promotion of December 20th, 1737, which, as Cienfuegos wrote, gratified the wishes of Europe.[6] The following nominations were made : for the Emperor, Dominic Lamberg, Bishop of Passau ; for France, Henri Oswald de la Tour, Count of Auvergne, a member of the ducal family of Bouillon and Bishop of Vienne ; for Spain, Gaspar Molina, Bishop of

Clement XII. Portugal intervened on his behalf in the affair of Castro and Ronciglione in 1733 at Vienna, Madrid and London ; *cf.* the Pope's *letter of thanks in Italian to the King of Portugal, dat. Cal., August, 1733, in *Epist.*, VIII.–X., 477, *loc. cit.*

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 18, 1737, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, May 25, 1737, *ibid.*

[3] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports, June 29, August 24 and November 23, 1737, *ibid.* The concordat with Portugal of December 19, 1737, in MERCATI, 328 *seq.* On the whole dispute with Portugal, *cf.* also **Merenda, Mem.*, in *Cod.* 1613, p. 30 *seq.*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[4] Already at the beginning of 1735 the imperial and the French ambassadors brought pressure to bear upon their respective Cardinals ; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, February 26, 1735, *loc. cit.*

[5] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 28 *seqq.*, 31.

[6] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 20, 1737, *loc. cit.*

Malaga; for Poland, John Alexander Lipski, Bishop of Cracow; for Venice, Carlo Rezzonico, Auditor of the Rota. For Portugal, the cardinalate was bestowed on the Patriarch of Lisbon, Thomas de Almeida, with a declaration that the dignity would remain with his successors in the patriarchate, but that it would be conferred after election to the patriarchate, at the first consistory to be held, and that in this way satisfaction had been given to the first royal nomination of a crown Cardinal.[1] These dispositions were, however, kept secret for fear lest other Powers should make similar demands.[2]

In 1738 Clement XII added two new members to the Sacred College. On June 23rd the nomination took place of Domenico Passionei, a man as learned and able as he was impulsive, who had acted as nuncio in Switzerland from 1721 to 1730, and at Vienna since 1731.[3] Silvio Valenti

[1] *Cf.* GUARDACCI, II., 698 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 277 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 267; MARCHESI BUONACCORSI, 501 *seqq.*, for Rezzonico. Cardella is mistaken when he says (282) that Raniero Dolci was also made a Cardinal at that time; see the authentic **Acta consist.*, in *Cod.* 1279, Corsini Library, Rome. The Bull on the Patriarch of Lisbon in *Bull*, XXIII., 338 *seqq.*

[2] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 32.

[3] GALLETTI, *Mem. p. s. alla storia della vita di D. Passionei*, Roma, 1762; DOMINICUS CARD. PASSIONEUS, *Acta legationis helveticae, 1723–9*, Romae, 1738. In his *report on the occasion of the proposal of Passionei as nuncio in Vienna, August 12, 1730, Cardinal Cienfuegos speaks of him as: "uomo molto dotto, amante delle lettere e pratico delle corti. È il più anziano nel servizio della S. Sede di tutti gli altri nunzi toltone l'attuale presso V. M. che è il più antico di tutti" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican). The nomination to the nunciature took place in October, 1730, but his departure was delayed; Cienfuegos *reports it to Vienna on March 17, 1731. He says in that report that Passionei has brought many books from Switzerland for there is nothing that he loves more than books. He speaks with the Pope and with the ministers "con grande libertà"; he desires concord between the Emperor and the Pope and before his departure he made a retreat on the Soracte (*ibid.*). In May, 1738,

Gonzaga, who was named on December 19th, was likewise a diplomatist with an excellent record. He had represented the Holy See at Brussels from 1731 to 1736, and after that at Madrid.[1]

Three further creations of Cardinals fall into the last years of Clement XII.'s reign. On February 23rd, 1739, he promoted Gaetano Stampa, Archbishop of Milan, who had been nuncio in Florence from 1718 to 1720, and from 1720 to 1735 at Venice, together with Pierre Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun,[2] an ardent opponent of the Jansenists. On July 15th he promoted the Governor of Rome, Marcellino Cori[3];

Camillo Merlino became Passionei's successor in Vienna. In September, 1738, the nuncio of Cologne (there since 1735), Fabrizio Serbonelli, was recalled; his predecessor, Iacopo Oddi (1732–5), had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report of December 18, 1734: "Si è poi destinato alla Nunziatura di Venezia Msgr. Oddi che è attualmente Nunzio di Colonia, ed il Papa mi ha fatto sapere che è venuto a questa deliberazione affine di levarlo da Colonia, giacchè V. M. aveva dei motivi di lagnarsi della di lui parzialità" (*loc. cit.*). On the short term of office of the Dominican, Ludwig Fliegen, as Papal Inquisitor in the archdiocese of Cologne, see PAUL, in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, LXXIV., 127 *seqq.* Passionei's cell at Camaldoli, near Frascati, is still shown; also his tombstone, which has been transferred to a kind of museum—the inscription on it reads: "Dominicus | tit. S. Bernardi ad Thermas | S. R. E. presb. card. Passioneus | ut intelligeret | et novissima provideret | hunc sibi locum paravit | A.D. 1739."

[1] L. M. Lucini's *letter to Cardinal Lambertini, December 20, 1738, *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library; GUARNACCI, II., 736 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 291 *seqq.*; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XLVIII., 265 *seq.* The Cardinal's great baroque palace in Mantua is to-day a granary.

[2] GUARNACCI, II., 743 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 295 *seqq.* On Tencin, of whom we shall speak again when treating of Benedict XIV., see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 1345 *seqq.*; MASSON, *Mad. de Tencin*, Paris, 1909; DE HEECKEREN, *Lettres de Benoît XIV. au card. Tencin*, Paris, 1912.

[3] GUARNACCI, II., 750 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 298.

on September 30th, the Roman Prospero Colonna, who had held the office of an *Uditore di Camera* since the pontificate of Innocent XIII., and yet another Roman, Carlo Maria Sagripanti, who since 1730 had held the very difficult post of Treasurer-General.[1]

By his Bull of October 5th, 1732, Clement XII. made some additions, though not of an important nature, to the legislation on the election of a Pope. An autograph letter of December 24th of the same year dealt with financial affairs during the vacancy of the Holy See; for that reason it met at first with opposition on the part of several Cardinals.[2]

One canonization took place during the pontificate of Clement XII. Vincent de Paul, the Jesuit, John Francis Regis, Catherine Fieschi Adorno of Genoa and Juliana Falconieri of Florence were canonized on June 16th, 1737[3]; whilst Catherine Ricci and Joseph da Leonessa were beatified.[4] The Pope also furthered the cultus of several other Saints.[5]

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 754 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VIII., 299 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull.*, XXIII., 443 *seqq.*, 456 *seqq.* *Cf.* EISLER, 151; SÄGMÜLLER, *Kirchenrecht*, 364; STUTZ, *Bischofswahlrecht*, 234 *seqq.* Cardinal Cienfuegos' *reports on December 13, 1732: "La bolla per il regolamento del conclave è già sottoscritta dai cardinali presenti," only Barberini, Albani and Cibo had at first refused to sign, later on, however, they complied; Albani alone could not be persuaded to append his signature. In his *letter of January 3, 1733, Cienfuegos says that the "Regolamento" of December 24, 1732, ought to rescue the Camera Apost. from distress. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] *Bull.*, XXIII., 232 *seqq.*, 246 *seqq.*, 261 *seq.*, 274 *seqq.* The canonization of the four Saints mentioned above was finally decided upon in the consistory of May 6, 1737. **Acta consist.*, in *Cod.* 1279, Corsini Library, Rome.

[4] *Bull*, XXIII., 287 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XIII., 253 *seqq.*

[5] NOVAES, XIII., 254 *seqq.*, 258 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.[2], 1939. *Ibid.*, I., 110; VII., 1131, 1133, on the promotion of the devotion of the stations of the cross. A *Bull of Clement XII., May 25, 1735, grants permission to celebrate the commemoration of St. Columban "sub ritu primae classis", Mehrerau Archives in the Museum at Bregenz.

The Pope approved the Augustinian Canons of Notre-Dame [1] founded by Pierre Fourier, confirmed the privileges of the Calced Mercedarians [2] and furthered the Order of the Bethlehemites and the Passionists.[3]

A proof that the Holy See never relinquished its watchfulness when there was question of the defence of Christianity was furnished by Clement XII.'s famous Constitution of April 28th, 1738, in which he condemned the Secret Society of Freemasons.[4] The anti-Christian spirit of that Society, founded in London in 1717, is clearly shown forth in the constitutions published in 1723 by the Grand Lodge of London.[5] The spirit, tendency and organization of this dangerous Society are described with classical terseness in the Bull of Clement XII. Its purpose, the Pope declares, was to unite in a strict and close association, with its own laws and statutes, men of every sect or religion who were satisfied with the outward semblance of a natural morality, and who bound themselves by a strict oath on the Bible and under exaggerated threats of punishment, to observe a rigorous secrecy concerning all that took place at their meetings. Clement XII. condemned these tendencies in the severest terms and inflicted on all members of the craft the penalty of excommunication, absolution from which was reserved to the Pope, and all Bishops and Inquisitors were instructed to act accordingly.

The reason for action was the fact that English Freemasonry spread rapidly abroad. The circumstance that England's power had just then become established in the Mediterranean favoured its progress in Italy also. A lodge was founded at Florence in 1733, and another in Rome two years later. The members of the latter lodge who, in point

[1] HEIMBUCHER, II.², 88.

[2] *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XIV. (1875), 825.

[3] *Bull.*, XXIII., 246; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.², 543; IX., 2100; HEIMBUCHER, III.², 295.

[4] *Bull.*, XXIII., 366 *seqq.* As early as 1736 the Roman Inquisitors proceeded against the infiltration of Freemasonry into Bologna; *cf.* BATTISTELLA, *S. Officio*, Bologna, 1905, 150 *seq.*

[5] *Stimmen der Zeit.*, XCII., 261.

of fact, were not numerous, were mostly partisans of the Pretender, Charles Edward, son of James III. There is no evidence that they engaged in any Jacobite activities, in fact the minutes of their meetings, which exist to this day, show that this is altogether unlikely.[1] Observance of the Bull of 1738 was further enforced in an edict published in Rome, and on January 14th, 1739, a fresh ordinance forbade membership of the craft under pain of death and confiscation of property and created a general obligation to bring its gatherings to the notice of the authorities.[2]

Freemasonry seemed more dangerous in Florence where it was believed that after the extinction of the Medici, it had found an adherent even on the throne in the person of the new Grand Duke, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Teresa.[3] Freemasonry was brought to Florence by the English Resident, and before long it found adherents not only among the nobles and the burghers, but even among the clergy.[4] One of its chief promoters was the celebrated antiquarian Baron Philip von Stosch of Küstrin, who had settled at Florence in 1731.[5] Great activity on its behalf was also displayed by the poetaster Tommaso Crudeli, a native of Poppi, who as a teacher of languages had become friendly with the English Resident, and who had drawn attention to himself by his biting verses against the clergy. At the time when the papal Bull put an end to the lodge, Crudeli was its secretary. After that, no more meetings were held;

[1] B. Marcolongo (*La Massoneria nel sec.*, XVIII., in *Studi stor.*, X., 413) complains of the lack of reliable information about the first Masonic Lodge in Rome. Such information, however, does exist in the work of William James Hughan, *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome*, 1735–7, Leicester, 1910.

[2] Cracas, January 24, 1739. *Cf.* also Reusch, II., 801; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XIX., 291 *seq.*

[3] This was reported by a Utrecht newspaper on August 3, 1737. *Acta hist. eccl.*, II., 1058.

[4] F. Sbigoli, *Tommaso Crudeli e i primi frammassoni in Firenze*, Milano, 1884, 68, 70 *seqq.*

[5] On Stosch, *cf.* Justi, *Winkelmann*, II., 218.

the members were in fear of the Inquisition, which ordered the trial of Crudeli as the person most compromised. His arrest was obtained from Francis II. through an energetic letter of Cardinal Corsini, dated April 16th, 1739. Crudeli endured a painful confinement in the prison of the Florentine Inquisition until the new nuncio, Archinto, obtained his liberation by getting him transferred into the fortress of San Giovanni Battista. When final sentence was passed in 1740, it was to the effect that he should recant, after which he was to be banished to Poppi.[1]

(2.)

Noailles' submission seemingly eliminated the last obstacle to religious peace in France, and there was reason to hope that his successor would, by resolute action, finally heal the discord. Whilst the Cardinals were still assembled in the conclave which elected Clement XII., Fleury decided to come to the Archbishop's assistance with a comprehensive law against the Jansenists,[2] which would make a Jansenist clergy impossible. No one, it was decreed, should obtain or retain either ordination or benefice without previously subscribing to the formula, and that unconditionally. Moreover, the Constitution *Unigenitus* was declared a law of the State, and

[1] A full account in Sbigoli's monograph quoted above, p. 412, n. 4. On the punishment of some Jews who had uttered heretical blasphemies (1736, 1738), see *Rev. juive*, II., 257. On the Inquisition in Sicily, see *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VIII., 345.

[2] March 24, 1730, text in PICOT, II., 276 *seqq.*; [NIVELLE], III., 339–341. Extract in SCHILL, 251; CAHEN, 40. *Cf.* LAFITAU, II., 289–295. A. MOCENIGO (*Relazione*, 18) says: "Il sempre mai lodevole card. Fleury, grand'esemplare nel ministero politico, ha saputo tener sempre soggetta la politica alla religione, senza mai confondere l'autorità spirituale con la temporale." Some letters of Dom Louvard, who had been incarcerated in the Bastille, 1728–1734, and one of the most violent opponents of the Bull *Unigenitus*, have been published by DENIS in *Archives de la France monastique*, IV. (1908–9), 498 *seqq.*

the clergy were empowered to instruct the faithful on their obligations in regard to it without thereby offending against the law of silence of the year 1720. Bishops were authorized to debar from ordination and benefices persons who had appealed, or written against the Constitutions; appeals on account of abuse of authority were to have no power of suspension in all cases mentioned in the law, nor could there be question of abuse of authority in them. Writings against the Bull or against the Bishops were forbidden.

The introductory part of the law proclaims that the King would see to the preservation of the principles of the realm and the Gallican liberties. He was convinced that the Parliaments would know how to differentiate between the enlightened zeal which defends these principles intelligently, and the suspicious intentions of those who merely look for a pretext to hinder the desired peace. However, the Parliament of Paris was not slow in perceiving that all this was aimed at its encroachments in the ecclesiastical sphere. The stormy scenes which marked the sitting of March 28th, 1730, made it clear that it would be impossible to obtain the registration of the royal declaration,[1] and when the King came in person in order to enforce it,[2] he had to witness the most emphatic manifestations of disapproval. President De Lesseville left his place in order to throw himself at the feet of the King, but was stopped by the Chancellor; however, when his turn came to state his opinion, he said that the man who had suggested a declaration of this kind was a traitor to his country and his sovereign; he begged His Majesty to have the matter discussed; he felt convinced that such a subject would be sent to the scaffold by a majority of votes. The Abbé Dalbert gave it as his opinion that the present disputes had no other aim than to rob the King of crown and sceptre; the declaration was the most unjust law that ever was proposed to a Prince. Finally, without having counted the votes, Chancellor D'Aguesseau proclaimed the order for

[1] [Nivelle], III., 342; Hardy, 197.

[2] April 3, 1730, in Cahen, 41; Glasson, II., 84 *seqq.*

registration ; whereupon, one of the Presidents sent word to him that he should call for water to wash his hands with.[1]

Long before March 24th, 1730, Fleury, who foresaw these conflicts, had endeavoured, by means of a strictly private letter, to bring pressure to bear on the most dangerous of all the parliamentary orators, the Abbé Pucelle.[2] The Jansenists, he wrote, were anything but martyrs ; they disguised their political aims and underground activities under the cloak of religion, and described as persecution what was no more than reaction against political and ecclesiastical rebellion.[3] In existing circumstances nothing would be more perilous than a break with Rome, for all Europe was in danger of going up in flames. The Emperor would exploit such a rupture in his own interest and rouse the Pope still more against France. The country could not hope to gain anything by a quarrel with Rome, as experience had taught them only too often.[4] If he himself was so keen on the Bull *Unigenitus*, it was because that document was now invested with everything that gave it force of law, and because it was not possible to take one's stand against it without overthrowing all the principles and foundations of ecclesiastical authority.[5]

Custom had it that after an order of registration from the throne, Parliament continued to sit in order to discuss the command. After the sitting of April 3rd, the first President, Portail, by royal command, ordered the House to rise. Parliament, however, was not in the habit of acquiescing in such orders in silence. On the other hand, Portail was determined not to tolerate a general meeting of the members of Parliament, all the more so as some fresh royal ordinances forbade any kind of discussion of the last session. On April 4th

[1] CAHEN, *loc. cit.* ; HARDY, 198 *seqq.*

[2] December 21, 1729, HARDY, 187–192.

[3] *Ibid.*, 189 *seqq.*

[4] "Il n'y a jamais rien à gagner pour nous dans les affaires avec Rome, et nous ne l'avons éprouvé que trop souvent." *Ibid.*, 190.

[5] *Ibid.*

and again after Easter, viz. on 19th and 24th of the month, tumultuous scenes occurred, to which Portail put an end each time by suspending the sitting.[1] Two of the four sections of Parliament made a public protest,[2] whereupon the King summoned a deputation of the court of justice to Fontainebleau.[3] He expressed his displeasure to the members and ordered them to insert in the minutes a report drawn up by royal authority. This put an end to the affair.

At a sitting on May 3rd a few speakers tried to make objections but the first President refused to let them speak, a step which caused general perplexity. At length octogenarian Lesseville rose to speak: "When the Emperor Theodosius, at the head of his army," he began. This opening sentence portended a lengthy oration. The alarmed assembly rose and fled. Theodosius and his army had decided the conflict over the declaration.[4]

The Parliaments of Rouen and Dijon also protested against the King's declaration of March 24th, but royal ordinances suppressed all further objections.[5]

The concluding paragraphs of the royal declaration were aimed at the Jansenist press. It was by no means the first law against the use of a weapon of which the sect had taken advantage from the first in masterly fashion, and to which it probably owed most of its successes.

On May 10th, 1728, Fleury had published a declaration against the printers of memorials, letters, ecclesiastical news or any other works dealing with ecclesiastical disputes, especially when these publications offended against Bulls received in the realm, the respect due to the Pope and the

[1] *Ibid.*, 200; [NIVELLE], III., 342–4.

[2] The "Chambres des enquêtes et requêtes", on April 22, 1730, [NIVELLE], III., 344.

[3] May 1, 1730, *ibid.*, 345 *seq.* The Pope encouraged the King in his resistance: "Laicis magistratibus inhibeas, ut cognitionem arripiant," regarding the Apostolic Constitutions. *Brief to the King, September 11, 1730, *Epist.*, I.–II., Papal Secret Archives.

[4] GLASSON, II., 92.

[5] [NIVELLE], III., 351–9.

Bishops and the prestige of the King. Anyone convicted of having printed such writings was to be condemned to the stocks for the first offence and to the galleys in the event of a second offence. Vendors of such literature fell under the same penalties whilst the authors were threatened with temporary or even perpetual banishment.[1] The law produced no effect. "At Rouen the populace gathered round a vendor in the stocks, looking on him as a martyr. Perquisitions in printing houses yielded no results. In spite of the law a number of secret printing presses were at work. Printing was being done in back rooms, in barns, in cellars. If there was reason to fear the vigilance of Paris, printing was done in the provinces: if there was reason for fear in the provinces, printing was carried on abroad and the book was smuggled back to France. Both ecclesiastical communities and secular bodies had their secret presses; private persons, both in town and in the country, made use of hand presses." [2]

Among the various products of the press aimed at by Fleury's declaration of May 10th, 1728, its author must have had especially in view a weekly news sheet which had started publication in February, 1728, under the title of: "Ecclesiastical News or Documents for the Story of the Bull *Unigenitus*." [3] Any opponent of Quesnel, whether a minister or an Archbishop, was fiercely attacked and ill-treated in those sheets.[4] Even Parliament, on February 9th,

[1] ROCQUAIN, 49.

[2] "All these facts are gathered from the *règlement* of February, 1723, from the decisions of the Conseil of February 8, 1727, from the declaration of May 10, 1728, and from the decisions of the Conseil of May 29 and December 22, 1729, which are directed against printers and hawkers." ROCQUAIN, 50.

[3] *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la bulle "Unigenitus"*, 1728–1803; index for the years 1728–1760 by Bonnemare, 1767. *Cf.* GASIER, I., 310 *seqq.*; SÉCHÉ, II., 70 *seqq.* First printed by Philippe Boucher; see *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1811 *seqq.*, V., 275.

[4] LAFITAU, II., 275.

1731, ordered the sheet to be burnt [1] and in the following year royal decrees were issued against the journal.[2] The Archbishop of Paris and the Bishops of Laon, Marseilles and Chartres forbade it by special ordinances and on April 15th, 1740, Rome ordered it to be burnt at the stake.[3]. The police did their best to discover the editor, but the cunning of the party enabled the latter—the appellant priest Jacques Fontaine de la Roche [4]—to escape their search for the space of thirty years. The fact was that each of the itinerant vendors and booksellers only knew his own immediate employer so that an arrest could yield no far-reaching results.[5] One day a lieutenant of police was searching a house for a secret printing press: he found nothing, but when he returned to his carriage he found on the seat a copy of the paper fresh from the press and not yet dry. Another time he was informed that at midday copy for the press would be smuggled through a specified gate. Every incoming and outgoing person was subjected to a rigorous search, yet the bearer of the manuscript managed to slip through—it was a dog with a false coat.[6] The immense financial resources of the Jansenists made possible a most extensive diffusion of the paper; in this way the party was brought to the notice of a very wide public; even the above-mentioned condemnation by the Archbishop of Paris, which had to be read in the churches, contributed to this result.

[1] *Ibid.*, 315; FLEURY, LXXIII., 466 *seqq.*

[2] May 10 and 14, 1732, LAFITAU, II., 337.

[3] [PATOUILLET], III., 175. Not only Patouillet (III., 155–176) condemns the paper in the strongest terms, but even moderate Jansenists and D'Alembert, in FELLER, *Biogr. universelle*, V., Besançon-Paris, 1839, 298 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 299, the Archbishop of Auch on January 24, 1764.

[4] *Cf. Biogr. universelle*, XV., 183 *seqq.*, on the men who continued the work, viz. Guenin (Saint-Marc) and Jean B. Mouton, *ibid.*, XIX., 15 *seqq.*; XXX., 346 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* the illustration of the organization in CAHEN, 55.

[6] GAZIER, I., 312.

As a matter of fact the spirit of opposition to the Government which the Jansenist weekly displayed, became ever more and more the spirit of the age, in which signs of the approaching revolution manifested themselves with increasing clearness. The chief organ of this tendency was the Parliament of Paris. As the royal laws were without authority unless they were registered by Parliament, its members, though originally they constituted no more than a judicial magistrature, became increasingly conscious of being a political corporation and the representatives of the people, hence that body began to consider itself as the real depositary of sovereign authority. Gallicanism, too, had prepared the ground for the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, since according to the Gallicans, authority to govern is really vested in the universal Church, the Pope and the Bishops only exercising power in its name, so that a General Council may call the Pope to account and even depose him. To transfer this conception to the political sphere was only one step. The real supreme ruler, it was said, is the people, the King exercises authority solely by commission of the people, hence the people may call the King to account and send him to the scaffold.[1] Louis XV.'s Government showed great weakness in dealing with Parliament. Though it issued various decrees against the encroachments of the judicature in the political and ecclesiastical sphere, it lacked the courage to carry them into effect. It repeatedly banished the rebellious Parliament, but invariably entered into negotiations with it and ended by giving way.

Of the declaration of March 24th, 1730,[2] Lafitau says [3] that it might have restored tranquillity in Church and State. But though it was registered in the solemn sitting of April 3rd,

[1] "Au sein des Parlements, comme parmi les Jansénistes, c'était désormais un principe admis que la nation était au-dessus des rois comme l'Église au-dessus du Pape." D'ARGENSON, VIII., 153, in ROCQUAIN, 174.

[2] See above, p. 413 *seqq.*

[3] II., 296.

the declaration, of which some of the Bishops took advantage, was dropped by the Government. At a later date the Parliament of Rouen said that it was not carried through on account of the opposition of the officials,[1] and it was even stated that Fleury went so far as to promise the first President of Parliament [2] that the Government would take no further steps in regard to the declaration.

Outwardly the Government seemed bent on energetic action when in the first period of Clement XII.'s reign, the question arose once more of the Breviary lessons of St. Gregory VII., which had aroused so much resentment among the Gallicans. One month after Clement XII.'s election, Bishop Caylus of Auxerre, who had already written to the King during the last days of Benedict XIII., appealed to the Assembly of the Clergy then sitting,[3] to defend the rights of the Crown. The Bishops replied that they needed no such exhortations, least of all from a prelate who was at variance with ecclesiastical authority. They charged the Archbishop of Paris to make himself the interpreter of their annoyance with the Jansenist prelates.[4] Caylus' answer came two years later in a letter to the Archbishop of Paris.[5]

Colbert of Montpellier, who on December 31st, 1729, had represented to the King the danger which these Breviary lessons constituted for the State, fared no better.[6] Louis XV. passed on Colbert's letter unread to the Assembly of the Clergy.[7] A committee appointed by the Assembly suggested on September 9th that they should protest to the King against Colbert's accusation that the clergy lacked zeal in the defence of the King's rights and that his letter contained schismatical,

[1] [NIVELLE], III., XV.

[2] April 16, 1730, *ibid.*; HARDY, 202.

[3] August 18, 1730, *ibid.*, 669 *seqq.* (extract).

[4] FLEURY, LXXIII., 288.

[5] March 3, 1733, [NIVELLE], III., 673 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 365 *seqq.* *Cf.* FLEURY, LXXIII., 292 *seqq.*; HARDY, 217.

[7] Fleury himself presided and opened it with a speech. HARDY, 209 *seqq.*

not to say heretical, doctrines. A memorial to the King,[1] signed by five Archbishops, nine Bishops and nineteen Abbots, passes a severe condemnation on Colbert and the Jansenists and describes the Bull *Unigenitus* as a dogmatic statement accepted by the whole Church. The memorial renews the request for Provincial Councils, in the first instance against Colbert. This request was renewed in the speech of the Bishop of Nîmes, delivered in the presence of the King, at the close of the Assembly.[2] The Bishops, the speaker declared, could not possibly make concessions in matters in which the episcopal jurisdiction, which was itself based on the faith, was at stake. But at this time laymen rose up against Christ's teaching, simple priests against the Bishops and against a judgment of the Church, as when the parish priests of Paris publicly protested against the pastoral letter of their Archbishop. In order to escape ecclesiastical censures it was asserted that the condemnation of the 91st proposition of the Bull *Unigenitus* was contrary to the liberties of the realm and that excommunication tended to render the subjects disloyal to their sovereign; by means of false statements about ecclesiastical censures things had come to such a pass that every individual took it on himself to judge of the validity and justice of an excommunication.[3]

Great was Parliament's anger. At the end of some heated discussions it was decided[4] to denounce the Breviary lessons of St. Gregory VII., but with regard to the memorial of the clergy and the speech of the Bishop, the assembly only requested the King to have those passages deleted which were damaging to the secular power.[5] On this point they contented themselves with verbal representations to Louis

[1] September 11, 1730, FLEURY, LXXIII., 294–8; HARDY, 214 *seqq.*

[2] September 17, 1730, FLEURY, LXXIII., 299–305. Cardinal de Bissy presented a memorial, dated December 15, 1730, for a council to be held at Narbonne. HARDY, 219 note.

[3] FLEURY, LXXIII., 303 *seq.*

[4] December 16, 1730, [NIVELLE], III., 346.

[5] FLEURY, LXXIII., 305 *seq.*

XV.,[1] but a written complaint touched on two other topics: one concerned the prohibition to remonstrate against the declaration of March 24th, but this complaint could only be lightly touched upon on account of the obligation of silence; on the other hand many arguments were put forward to substantiate the complaint [2] about the King's too frequent intervention in the administration of justice by reserving a number of decisions to himself.

The Government's answer was a sharp rebuke. Parliament, the King pointed out,[3] existed for the purpose of giving judgment, but in so doing it was bound by the laws and was obliged to give an example of submission. If it complained of the frequency with which the King reserved particular cases to his own decision, Parliament had only itself to blame, for the reason was its setting aside of the law; whatever was done in opposition to the royal ordinances was *ipso facto* invalid. After that Parliament assured the King of its obedience,[4] though it had no intention to fulfil such a promise.

The royal rebuke did not refer exclusively to the magistrates' conduct in regard to the Breviary lessons. A much greater sensation had been caused by a dispute, the beginnings of which dated from the last month of Benedict XIII.'s life. Three Jansenist priests had been suspended from their ecclesiastical functions and deprived of their benefices by the Bishop of Orleans, for having refused to read a pastoral letter on the Council of Embrun. Relying on an ordinance which they had obtained from Parliament, the three priests took no notice of the Bishop's sentence, and when the latter called them to account, they again appealed to Parliament and sought to cover themselves with a memorial drawn up by forty advocates.[5]

[1] [NIVELLE], III., 349 n.

[2] Letter of complaint, January 9, 1731, *ibid.*, 346–9.

[3] *Ibid.*, 349. There is a grave error in FLEURY's translation (LXXIII., 307), when Parliament is made to complain "de evocationibus 'ad Romanam [!] curiam'".

[4] FLEURY, LXXIII., 349 *seq.*

[5] LAFITAU, II., 299 *seqq.*; HARDY, 151 *seq.*

This memorial caused no small stir. In it principles were developed which were bound to lead to a complete overthrow of established conditions. In the view of the advocates, Parliament receives its power from the people and no man is above the decrees of Parliament. The King is described merely as the head of the nation, Parliament as the nation's senate and its members as assessors of the throne.[1] The Bishops are accused of making a tyrannical use of their authority. Parliamentary decrees, because of abuse of spiritual power, are effective in the face of ecclesiastical censures. Thereupon the Assembly represented to the King that if immediate steps were not taken against such things, faith would be in danger, deism and atheism would benefit by the spirit of independence which was daily gaining ground. The memorial of the advocates was suppressed by a decree of the royal council, whereupon the forty begged leave to expound their opinions more fully; this they did to the complete satisfaction of the representatives of the secular power, but they withdrew none of their attacks on ecclesiastical authority.[2]

The Bishops decided that they would not remain silent. The first to speak were the Archbishop of Embrun and the Bishop of Apt, but their manifestos were promptly suppressed

[1] [PATOUILLET], I., 336 *seqq.*; FLEURY, LXXIII., 471 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, II., 307 *seq.* The advocates affirm: "L'Église est dans l'empire et fait partie de l'État . . . l'autorité souveraine ne s'étend pas seulement au gouvernement temporel, la discipline ecclésiastique fait une partie intégrante de la police générale de chaque nation chrétienne," etc. (HARDY, 224). The suspended parish priests can "reprendre l'exercice de leurs fonctions sans être obligés de recourir à l'autorité ecclésiastique ni pouvoir en être empêchés que par un jugement définitif qui prononce qu'il y a abus" (*ibid.*, 225 *seq.*).

[2] FLEURY, LXXIII., 473 *seq.* The Pope expressed his displeasure; see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial Chancellery, December 30, 1730, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

by Parliament.[1] A few days later a protest was handed in against a letter of the Bishop of Laon. The protest contested the principle that spiritual authority could be regarded as jurisdiction, whereupon the Bishop forbade all his subjects to teach any view but his own. The Archbishop of Embrun had described the advocates as men "swollen with presumption and the heralds of heresy".[2] An instruction against them by the Archbishop of Paris also contained some vigorous expressions[3]; he even went so far as to qualify many of their assertions as heretical or favouring heresy. Those who felt hit by these accusations now appealed to Parliament, but the Bishops were determined to ignore any decisions by that body in matters of faith.[4] Thereupon the Government stepped in; in a decree of March 10th, 1731, it sought to lay down the respective limits of the prerogatives of the spiritual and the secular power; at the same time a general silence was enjoined.[5] However, the Bishops were of opinion that they could not be forbidden to speak on a dogma of the faith and that the declaration of March 24th, 1730, excepted them from the obligation of silence. Meanwhile they at least obtained the further explanations, viz. that in the recent decree of March 10th by "ecclesiastical" authority "episcopal" authority must be understood and that the authority of the Bishops was a real "jurisdiction"; further frontier disputes between Church and State would be examined by Cardinals Fleury, Rohan and Bissy, with the assistance of several high officials; however, these "spiritual surveyors" failed to arrive at a decision.[6]

The order of silence proved inadequate to restore peace. In a memorial to the King, Vintimille complained that Parliament had accepted an appeal because of abuse of

[1] January 29, 1731, FLEURY, LXXIII., 476; LAFITAU, II., 316 *seq.*; HARDY, 232.

[2] CAHEN, 42.

[3] January 10, 1731, FLEURY, LXXIII., 476 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 477.

[5] *Ibid.*, 477 *seq.*; HARDY, 234.

[6] FLEURY, LXXIII., 483–5; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 44 *seq.*

authority against his pastoral letter; he maintained every one of his accusations against the forty advocates, even that of heresy. Thereupon the Government reserved judgment on the appeal to itself, forbade all further controversy and withdrew the prohibition of the pastoral letter.[1]

This roused the advocates. "If we are heretics," they said, "we are no longer fit to discharge our office." As a matter of fact they stopped work on August 25th. Two days previously 300 of their number, amid a huge concourse of the populace, had vainly presented themselves at the house of the first President and that of the Attorney-General to demand the suppression of the Archbishop's pastoral.[2] So provocative a conduct could not fail to produce its effect upon the opposition. If the King took no steps against the lawyers, Clement XII. threatened to intervene. Cardinal Rohan announced that he would no longer attend at court whilst Marshal Villars gave it as his opinion that one score of the lawyers should be hanged, another score should be sent to the Bastille and the rest into exile. Fleury contented himself with banishing ten of them, whereupon their associates announced their readiness for martyrdom. However, their eagerness for martyrdom was not so very great. As the weeks went by without the Government troubling about them, they decided to give in; on November 26th they took up their duties once more and a royal ordinance succeeded in satisfying the Archbishop also.[3] By itself, therefore, the revolt of the advocates was of no importance, but it was so by reason of its consequences. Parliament eagerly seized the opportunity to measure itself with the Government and to give it a proof of its power. The years 1731 and 1732 abound in friction between the crown and that influential body. Stormy scenes occurred even within Parliament itself. The first President, who was thought to be too favourably disposed towards the

[1] July 30, 1731, HARDY, 238.

[2] *Ibid.*, 239 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 240 *seqq.* On the satisfaction of Clement XII., see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, December 29, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

Government, was the object of downright insults whereas the leaders of the opposition party were extolled as heroes, as "Romans" and "Spartans". As usual the most fiery of them all was the Abbé Pucelle. On July 30th he plainly stated that the source of all the mischief lay in the training given to the King by Fleury; that the barricades round the throne must be removed, for the King was surrounded by a handful of Bishops and Cardinals who only sowed dissension and roused the King against Parliament.[1]

What the magistrates thought of the relations between Church and State appears from a resolution of September 7th, 1731, which reasserts the Gallican theses of 1682 with the following additional paragraph: "The secular power alone possesses jurisdiction, including the right to use visible, external coercive force in regard to the King's subjects. The ministers of the Church are accountable to the secular power, that is, for the exercise of the jurisdiction which they have from the King, to the King himself and in case of abuse of official authority to the courts of justice; as for the power which they have from God immediately, they are accountable to the King at least as regards whatever might upset public tranquillity and the laws and statutes of the State."[2] It is true that during the Parliamentary recess, the Government had this resolution expunged from the Parliamentary registers even before it was printed, but the action gave rise to stormy scenes when the Assembly resumed its sittings. The first President was called to account for what had happened[3]; his answer was that the King had imposed silence on the matter. A letter came from court, obviously with a similar order of silence. So as not to seem rebellious, a majority expressed the wish to remonstrate with the King before opening the letter, but the President, who was opposed to any representations, insisted on the letter being read.

[1] CAHEN, 42 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 43; FLEURY, LXXIII., 493; HARDY, 247. *Cf.* LACRETELLE, *Hist. de France pendant le XVIIIe. siècle*, II., Paris, 1808, 85.

[3] November 28, 1731, HARDY, 249.

A long dispute ensued. As neither party was willing to make itself responsible for a suspension of the sitting, the members remained in their seats for three whole hours, with folded arms, until at length a parliamentary councillor asked whether they expected a superior illumination from the lighting of the lamps in the evening; everybody laughed and the house rose.[1] The following day, August 29th, brought another royal letter which had perforce to be opened, together with the letter of the previous day. When this had been done, the Abbé Pucelle broke out and began to thunder against Fleury and the fence that had been drawn round the throne. In order to open the King's eyes they must needs proceed to Marly where the monarch was staying at the time. "To Marly," they shouted on all sides and fourteen coaches with fifty Parliamentarians set out for the royal residence. However, even swifter messengers had already warned Fleury of the approach of the fourteen vehicles. He disappeared from Marly and when the Parliamentarians reached the castle they found no one qualified to introduce them to the King. In their embarrassment they wandered through the corridors of the castle until the King sent word that he was annoyed with them and that they had better go home. On the return journey they met Cardinal Fleury who smilingly expressed his regret at having missed them. After that Parliament sent its first President to the King with a threat to suspend its labours, but the King turned his back on the messenger and there was no further question of suspension of work.[2]

Thus, for the time being, the Government was victorious; however, apart perhaps from Fleury's time, the monarchy played a pitiable rôle in the fifty years' conflict with Parliament which now opened. In order to break the opposition to the royal declaration of March 24th, 1730, Louis XV., on May 9th, 1732, sent for three of the Presidents of Parliament. Parliament, Fleury told them, had shown too much zeal against the Constitution *Unigenitus*, thereby upsetting the peaceful intentions of the Government; in future the

[1] GLASSON, II., 105.

[2] HARDY, 249 *seqq.*

magistrates must not meddle with such matters without royal leave. The King personally repeated the same injunction and forbade all representations and discussions to the contrary. For all that a discussion took place on May 12th and was about to be resumed on the 13th when a fresh order summoned an even larger deputation into the royal presence at Compiègne.[1] Once again the parliamentarians had to listen to an expression of the royal displeasure, and when the President was about to open his mouth in order to remonstrate he was stopped by a curt "Hold your tongue!".[2] Thereupon the Abbé Pucelle made some written representations to the crown, but they were torn up and he himself, with some others, was banished and the parliamentary councillor Titon thrown into prison. Parliament now resolved to carry into effect its previous threat; on May 16th it decided to suspend its official duties. The King administered a reprimand but in vain. Each functionary received an individual royal order to repair to his office.[3] They did so but refused to discharge their duties. Thereupon an ordinance was issued on May 25th,[4] ordering everyone to fulfil his "customary" duties in the "accustomed" manner.

This was interpreted as including permission to deal with ecclesiastical questions as they had been in the habit of doing, and in order to render evident their victory over the Government, the magistrates eagerly seized an opportunity that presented itself at that very moment. The Archbishop of Paris had published a pastoral letter against the newspaper *Ecclesiastical News*.[5] Twenty-one parish priests refused to read it from the pulpit, even after a repeated command of their Archbishop to do so; finally they appealed to Parliament. That body now decided to show its strength in connection with this pastoral letter which, they alleged, constituted an

[1] Fleury, LXXIV., 5 *seqq.*; [Nivelle], III., 359 *seq.*; Hardy, 273 *seq.*

[2] [Nivelle], III., 364; Fleury, LXXIV., 7 *seqq.*

[3] [Nivelle], III., 361 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 362 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXIV., 11.

[5] April 27, 1732, Hardy, 267–271. *Cf.* above, p. 418.

intrusion into the secular sphere. True, the legal experts considered such a step too risky, but Parliament announced that it would act without their counsel. The accusation against the Archbishop was accepted and his pastoral was prohibited for the time being.[1] Four parliamentary councillors were now sent into banishment, deputies of Parliament were summoned to appear before the King for the purpose of listening to the reading of a decree of the royal council [2] which reversed the parliamentary decision. As the President was about to reply Louis XV. cut him short by curtly bidding him go. Thereupon 150 members of Parliament laid down their office,[3] and as the first President was unwilling to accept their resignations, the 150 approached him in twos and handed in their resignation in writing. An immense crowd pressed around them as they filed past, extolling them as true "Romans" and fathers of their country.[4] Fleury was afraid lest the Upper Chamber should follow the example of their colleagues, so he sent for their representatives and received them most graciously. However, the whole transaction had no further sequel, for after a few discussions,[5] both Chambers agreed to resume their labours,[6] though on condition that they would be allowed to make extensive representations.[7]

The Government's answer to these representations [8] was the announcement, at an audience to the representatives on

[1] June 13, 1732, [NIVELLE], III., 366 *seq.*

[2] June 16, 1732, *ibid.*, 367.

[3] From the parliamentary sections, *Enquête and Requête.*

[4] [NIVELLE], III., 367 *seq.*

[5] HARDY, 275–281.

[6] July 6, 1732, HARDY, 281; GLASSON, II., 113 *seq.* The heroism of the members of Parliament was not very remarkable. More than one directed to the representatives of the Government letters similar to the one of Paris de la Brosse: "J'ai signé la démission de ma charge avec tous ceux qui composent la Chambre où je suis, ne pouvant pas m'empêcher d'exécuter ce qui passe à la pluralité . . ." HARDY, 281.

[7] FLEURY, LXXIV., 14 *seq.*

[8] August 2, 1732, [NIVELLE], III., 369–372.

August 19th, of a fresh royal declaration.[1] This declaration was meant to clear up every one of the points which, during the recent conflicts with the Government, had given rise to differences of opinion, such as the right to make representations to the King, appeals because of abuse, the right of discussion, the duty of dealing out justice without interruption. The declaration [2] was then handed to the deputies with the order to register it.[3]

Parliament refused to obey. On August 20th it rejected the royal declaration by a majority of 120 votes. By the 22nd fresh representations were ready, but the King announced that he would not listen to them. On the 23rd Parliament decided to make them in spite of this refusal, only to receive the same answer. On the 26th the resolution of the 23rd was confirmed anew, but word was brought that these demands were not to be repeated and a similar answer was given by the ministers to written representations.[4]

In view of the persistent insubordination of Parliament the only course left open to the King was to have his declaration registered in his own presence. Parliament was accordingly summoned to Versailles for September 3rd. After the Chancellor and the first President had spoken, the Attorney-General was told to propose registration. He did so in a speech in which he expressed regret for his inability to escape such a duty. The Princes, Dukes and *Pairs* were then asked to state their view, and after them the members of Parliament, whose only answer was silence.[5]

On the following day Parliament decided to make fresh representations: they would not stop, but would go on representing to the King that the execution of the declaration was impossible.[6] Thereupon the Government decided to take

[1] Proclamation by the Chancellor, *ibid.*, 372 *seq.*

[2] August 18, 1732, printed, *ibid.*, 377–9; extract in CAHEN, 44 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXV., 17 *seq.*

[3] [NIVELLE], III., 373.

[4] *Ibid.*, 373–4.

[5] *Ibid.*, 374–7.

[6] *Ibid.*, 379 *seq.*

forcible action: on the very first manifestation of fresh discontent 139 members of Parliament were sent into banishment.[1] Only one of the four divisions of Parliament, the "Great Chamber", was now able to devote itself to the administration of justice, but its position was being gradually undermined—the people regarded its members as cowards because they had left their associates to their fate. Eventually the Government felt compelled to enter into negotiations; it recalled the exiles and on December 4th gave a promise not to carry the declaration into effect. In return the magistrates undertook to observe silence on religious questions.[2]

Zeal for religion had not prompted Parliament in the conflict. Jansenist teaching properly so-called found at most but one or two advocates among its members; many of them were unbelievers, or men addicted to pleasure, whose Jansenism resolved itself into Gallicanism or hatred of the Church.[3] This did not prevent the various Parliaments, after the almost complete extinction of the appellant Bishops,

[1] Index, *ibid.*, 380 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 382; CAHEN, 46; HARDY, 288 *seq.*; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 53 *seq.*

[3] GAZIER, I., 297 *seq.*: "C'était un Jansénisme laïque et, comme nous dirions, anticlérical" (*ibid.*, 298). "On pouvait dire qu'en général personne n'entendait rien aux questions de doctrine dont elle [the Bull *Unigenitus*] contenait l'exposé. Des cinquante avocats qui avaient signé la consultation [of 1728 against the council of Embrun], six ou sept seulement y comprenaient quelque chose. Mais il suffisait que la Bulle servît de drapeau aux ultramontains pour que les Jansénistes proprement dits, les Gallicans, tous les ennemis de Rome, en un mot, se réunissent contre elle dans une même opposition, entraînant avec eux les mécontents de toute sorte et ceux qui par humeur aimaient le trouble ou cherchaient nouveauté" (ROCQUAIN, 48). In the Chambers of the *Enquête* and *Requête*, however, that is to say among the younger members, many were "même gagnés aux pratiques convulsionnaires" (HARDY, 275). The obscurity of the concept "Jansenist" had for a consequence that one may dispute whether this man or that could be justly described as a Jansenist.

from considering themselves their heirs and acting as the spokesmen of the anti-papal movement. As such they were the leaders of the Jansenist party which, however, was now but little interested in the five propositions of Jansenius and in efficacious grace but concerned itself all the more eagerly with the relations between the secular and the spiritual power and increasingly advocated wholly subversive opinions.[1]

How far Parliament could go in its eagerness to intervene in ecclesiastical matters, and what consequences it deducted from its ecclesiastico-political principles, had been demonstrated at the beginning of 1731.[2] At Orleans the Sacraments had been denied to a Jansenist woman stricken with mortal illness. The matter was brought before the Parliament of Paris and that body decided that the Bishop could not withhold the Sacraments from the woman.[3] Abbé Pucelle deduced Parliament's competence to deliver decisions of this kind from the fact that the secular officials were "the guardians of the laws of the Church and entrusted with the preservation of external order and of all that contributed to public tranquillity".[4] The council of State indeed pronounced the ordinance to be null and void,[5] but that proud body replied with a lengthy document in which it expostulated with the King,[6] and when this document was rejected, it forwarded

[1] On August 1, 1730, Fleury wrote to D'Aguesseau (in HARDY, 219): "En vérité toute la patience humaine et la prudence échouent contre ce que fait journellement le Parlement. C'est lever ouvertement l'étendard de la révolte contre l'autorité de l'Église et du Roi. On voit un parti pris de détruire la juridiction episcopale. . . . Ce qu'il y a de vrai, c'est que la religion est perdue si l'on ne fait rien, et qu'en faisant quelque chose, on aura bien de la peine à la garantir de sa perte." *Cf.* Fleury's letter to the Abbé Pucelle on the wholly revolutionary character of Jansenism in its last stages, *ibid.*, 189 *seqq.*

[2] SCHILL, 277.

[3] [NIVELLE], III., 431–444.

[4] *Ibid.*, 432.

[5] July 6, 1731, [NIVELLE], III., 435.

[6] July 24, 1731, *ibid.*, 436–440.

yet another of the same kind.[1] A fine phrase to mask these unheard of encroachments was promptly coined: it was to the effect that the priests who favoured the Constitution were introducing a schism into the Church by debarring a section of the faithful from the Sacraments—it was Parliament's wish to prevent a schism![2] For the rest some Jansenists sought to make sure of the Sacraments, even without any parliamentary decrees, by contesting the principle that for the valid administration of the Sacrament of Penance a confessor must receive faculties from the Bishop.[3]

Parliament had no sooner resumed its labours in the following year, than it undertook to decide whether or no the Bull *Unigenitus* could be described as a "rule of faith".[4] In Paris a sick woman had been denied Holy Communion at Easter because of her refusal to accept the Constitution as a rule of faith, and publications had appeared to prove that the Constitution was rightly so described. To clear up this question the judges assumed the rôle of theologians on April 12th, 1732. "Without pronouncing on a question of dogma," President Ogier observed, "and without claiming a right it did not possess, the corporation was surely entitled to decide that the Bull is not a rule of faith and cannot become one." The parliamentary councillor Titon asked whether one single member of Parliament recognized the Bull as a rule of faith; the answer was a general silence. Abbé Pucelle declared that the King's right to give a decision in the question in hand could not be contested, unless they at the same time denied that the realm had power to suppress fanaticism and to forestall a schism. Others spoke in a similar strain. In the end, however, they shrank from giving judgment on the refusal of the Sacraments, but denounced writings were

[1] August 17, 1731, *ibid.*, 442–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 443, etc.

[3] SCHILL, 276.

[4] MENTION, 76; FLEURY, LXXIV., 197 *seq.* Already on February 24, 1732, Parliament was bent on prescribing the theological textbooks to be used in the classroom (*ibid.*, 196).

suppressed.[1] The royal council replied with a declaration of nullity. This led to fresh excitement in Parliament. More speeches against the Bull followed and fresh representations to the King,[2] insisting on the danger to the State if the 91st proposition of the Bull—on excommunication—was likewise declared a rule of faith. The Government upheld its decision, but Parliament on its side declared [3] that it would never cease to remind the King of the consequences and to protest that "with a view to protecting the King and upholding public order, the competence of Parliament could not be questioned". A strong argument in favour of Parliament was the fact that the King had previously addressed a circular to the Bishops [4] in which he recognized the Bull as a "dogmatic judgment of the universal Church in matters of faith", but had requested them to refrain from the equivalent expression "rule of faith", on the plea that it gave offence.

Parliament intervened once more in Church matters when in 1737, 1738 and 1739 there was again question of the refusal of the Sacraments or of Christian burial.[5] In 1735 the Parliament of Rennes imitated the example of its colleagues of Paris [6] and in 1731 those of Bordeaux gave orders to the Archbishop on the administration of the Sacraments and wrote to the King on the subject; the latter, however, through Chancellor D'Aguesseau, rejected their representations, declaring at the same time that it was the province of ecclesiastical authority to decide whether or no the Bull against Quesnel was a dogmatic definition.[7]

One of these cases of the refusal of the Sacraments created considerable stir. In 1737 a Canon of Douai had been denied

[1] April 25, 1733, [Nivelle], III., 385 *seq.*

[2] May 15, 1733, *ibid.*, 388–391.

[3] May 19, 1733, *ibid.*, 392.

[4] July 27, 1731, *ibid.*, 395 *seq.*; Fleury, LXXIII., 491 *seq.*; Lafitau, II., 324; Crousaz-Crétet, 46.

[5] [Nivelle], III., 444–474. A case of the year 1734 in Fleury, LXXIV., 480.

[6] [Nivelle], III., 474–482.

[7] Fleury, LXXIII., 487–490.

the Last Sacraments and ecclesiastical burial on account of his obstinate refusal to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus*. The deliberations of the Parliament of Paris on this incident were put an end to by an ordinance of the Council of State of February 17th, 1737, reserving judgment to the King. Parliament now linked the expression of its discontent to its complaints about an earlier incident. In a pastoral letter [1] on the obligation of acting at all times from the love of God, the Archbishop of Cambrai had based his views on the papal decisions against Baius and a decree of the Inquisition of the year 1690. Soon after [2] in a thesis defended at the Sorbonne, it was asserted that obedience was due to all papal Bulls, even though they had not been received in France. In the opinion of Parliament all this was contrary to the principles of the realm; the episcopal instruction and the thesis were accordingly condemned.[3] Thereupon both the Archbishop and the Faculty had recourse to the King who declared the decree of Parliament null and void.[4] Clement XII. also issued a Brief against this decree [5] which in its turn was prohibited by Parliament [6]; a pastoral letter of the Archbishop,[7] giving an account of these events, shared a similar fate,[8] but in all this Parliament earned a good deal of ridicule by its petty fault finding.

It goes without saying that the members of Parliament felt profoundly hurt by their being so constantly called to order. After many speeches had been delivered in the course of 1735, in which the loquacious Abbé Pucelle distinguished himself as usual,[9] lengthy representations were at last made

[1] August 14, 1734, *ibid.*, LXXV., 22.
[2] October 30, 1734, *ibid.*
[3] February 18, 1735, *ibid.*, 25.
[4] February 20 and May 10, 1735, *ibid.*, 27 *seq.*
[5] May 18, 1735, Reusch, II., 755.
[6] June 17, 1735, Fleury, LXXV., 30 *seqq.*
[7] May 19, 1735, *ibid.*, 31.
[8] June 13, 1735, *ibid.*, *Cf.* Hardy, 306 *seq.*
[9] [Nivelle], III., 445 *seq.*

to the King on April 6th, 1737,[1] the purpose of which was to justify the proceedings against the Archbishop of Cambrai. At the same time the Douai case of the refusal of the Sacrament was once more brought up.[2] That action, it was alleged, like the pastoral instruction of Cambrai, sprang from the same source, namely ultramontane views on the authority of the Church. In a somewhat lengthy statement, Chancellor D'Aguesseau replied on August 21st that "the zeal of the worthiest defenders of our principles has not prevented them from recognizing, and that with the knowledge and consent of Parliament, that any dogmatic definition, expressly or tacitly accepted by the Church, constitutes part of her teaching."[3] Parliament replied with more representations[4]; the King answered in general terms and with that the matter ended. Parliament fared no better when it suppressed the Bull of canonization of St. Vincent de Paul and some theses of the Sorbonne, in which the Council of Florence was described as a General Council.[5]

If for the sake of peace the Government withstood the Appellants more than once, for the same reason the supporters of the Constitution were also made to feel its heavy hand, as, for instance, the historian of the Bull *Unigenitus*, Pierre François Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron.[6] In 1723 the Quesnellists had begun the publication of a "History of the Book of Moral Considerations and the Constitution *Unigenitus*", in which they gathered in the form of Annals everything connected with the Bull.[7] But their four heavy quarto volumes had no

[1] *Ibid.*, 448–455.

[2] N. 22, *ibid.*, 455.

[3] *Ibid.*, 456.

[4] September 6, 1737, *ibid.*, 458.

[5] HARDY, 310 *seq.*; FERET, VI., 133.

[6] LAFITAU, II., 343–6; HARDY, 300 *seq.*

[7] This is the work so often quoted by us under the name of the authors Louail and Cadry. Notwithstanding its Jansenistic tendencies, it is indispensable on account of the many documents quoted. It was expressly prohibited by *Brief of January 26, 1740. *Bull*, XXIV., 664.

great sale. When in 1728 publication began of the Jansenist weekly *Ecclesiastical News*,[1] the work was discontinued, but one Villefore published a summary of the more important passages [2] which proved more effective than the bulky tomes. Many Bishops were of opinion that the book provided an occasion for summoning a national synod for the purpose of dealing with the religious situation, but to this the King would not consent. Fleury, however, desired at least a refutation; De Bissy recommended Lafitau who published his answer in 1733. Much pressure was brought to bear on the Court against the work; for the sake of peace, it was urged, silence must be imposed on both parties. Fleury yielded; one and the same ordinance [3] prohibited both Catholic and Jansenist writings, among them Villefore's book and Lafitau's refutation.

In spite of its apparent impartiality, the prohibition put the Catholics at a grave disadvantage. The law of silence of March 10th, 1731 was now interpreted as implying that even the Bishops could no longer speak in defence of the Church's teaching. Thus the Catholics, who felt bound to obey the Government, had their mouths effectively shut, whereas their opponents, who heeded no law of silence, were able to continue their attacks.

Three Archbishops and six Bishops now laid their complaints before the King [4] and, by means of the press, also before the public. But all that they achieved was that the

[1] See above, p. 417 *seq.*

[2] *Anecdotes ou Mémoires secrets sur la Contitution Unigenitus*, without name of author, printer or place, 1730 (*cf.* [PATOUILLET], I., 57); translated into German: *Geheime Nachrichten von der Konstitution "Unigenitus"*. *Cf.* SCHILL, 57, 269.

[3] January 26, 1734, FLEURY, LXXIV., 568–570; *cf.* 209, 471, and LXXV., 248.

[4] The Archbishops of Arles, Aix, Embrun, the retired Bishop of Apt, the Bishops of Belley, Marseilles, Laon, Digne, Sisteron, in a letter of June, 1734, FLEURY, LXXIV., 472 *seq.*; LAFITAU, II., 346 *seqq.*, 368. Subsequently, the Bishop of Verdun also joined the above-named; his letter was suppressed on May 1, 1735. HARDY, 301.

Government took proceedings against them.[1] In stating the reason for its sentence, the Government declared that the Bishops should not have made their grievances public without leave of the King; each of them might have made an individual appeal to the King, but without his consent they were not free to come together for joint action. The nine then represented to Fleury that the rulers of the Church had always enjoyed such a right: a joint appeal to the King had been made by nineteen Bishops under Louis XIV., by twenty-eight under the Regent and recently by twelve under Fleury. Thereupon Fleury made some vague promises, but the nine did not quite trust him and appealed to the Assembly of the Clergy.[2] By underhand means Fleury sought to prevent the election of the nine and that of three others, in particular Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron, as deputies to the Assembly. The affair became generally known and Lafitau sought to save the freedom of election by suggesting that he should be elected and afterwards voluntarily withdraw. His proposal was not acted upon, hence he made a public protest against Fleury's action.[3]

That keen opponent of the Jansenists, Étienne Joseph de la Fare, Bishop of Laon, fared no better.[4] It was he who, as a matter of fact, had provided Parliament with a pretext for discussing the ecclesiastical and civil power with the publication, on November 13th, 1730, of a pastoral letter on submission to the Bull *Unigenitus* and on the secular power and the rights of the Bishops. On February 20th, 1731, the pastoral letter was the subject of a reasoned condemnation by that wholly Gallican body.[5] La Fare replied with a pastoral on the authority of the Bishops and Parliament with a prohibition of the new pastoral.[6] On April 1st the Bishop nevertheless published yet another reply, thereby provoking a regular

[1] August 14, 1734, LAFITAU, II., 474 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 476 *seqq.*

[3] FLEURY, LXXV., 53 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* LABOURET in *Bulletin de la Société académique de Laon*, XXXII., 151 *seqq.*; LAFITAU, II., 356 *seqq.*

[5] The condemnation is printed in [NIVELLE], III., 939–941.

[6] March 2, 1731, *ibid.*

storm in Parliament which demanded the convocation of a general assembly of all the Chambers ; the *Pairs* of France were also invited to a solemn session.[1] The Government sought to calm the excitement by reserving the affair to itself, suppressing La Fare's instruction, threatening him with confiscation of the revenues of his see if he published any more writings of the same kind, and revoking the privilege previously granted to him, of publishing his pastorals without further formality.[2] In spite of all this the Bishop published two more letters in 1733,[3] in which he explained that Parliament could claim no teaching authority in the Church ; at the same time he forbade the faithful of his diocese, under pain of excommunication, to read the parliamentary edicts against himself. Once again the Government forestalled parliamentary action by forbidding the Bishop to cross the boundaries of his diocese.

This banishment from the capital proved disastrous for La Fare's action against Jansenism. The Jesuits, to whom the King had conceded a College at Laon, at the Bishop's request, did much damage to the Jansenists by their popular missions and by their work as teachers. The heretics sent for a lawyer from Paris for the purpose of devising counter measures and even sought to persuade Louis XV. to deprive the dangerous religious of their College. As La Fare was debarred from seeing the King, he had recourse to the Assembly of the Clergy.[4] He prayed for its intervention and its approval of his teaching on the relations between the spiritual and the secular power as expounded by him in his pastorals [5] ; he also lodged a complaint against Bishops Bossuet of Troyes and Colbert of Montpellier, the former of whom had taught Jansenist propositions in two pastorals whilst the latter had

[1] *Ibid.*, 948 *seq.*

[2] Beginning of September, 1731, *ibid.*, 952.

[3] May 10 and July 1, Fleury, LXXIV., 200.

[4] June 1, 1735, *ibid.*, LXXV., 56 *seq.*

[5] Summary of his own teaching in eight propositions, and of that of his opponents in nine, *ibid.*, 59 *seqq.*

attacked the papal condemnation of his letter on the Jansenist miracles.[1]

La Fare's representations had the same result as those he had made at the preliminary Assembly at Rheims: the Bishops praised his teaching but took no further steps, and his complaints in yet another letter[2] were equally useless. He now appealed to Clement XII. who eulogized his teaching in two Briefs. Whereas the Government had previously suppressed even the Bishop's representations to the Assembly of the Clergy, the King now received him in audience and certain hints thrown out by Fleury led him to think that freedom to speak would be restored to him. It was a vain hope, his opinions were opposed as before. On returning to his diocese, La Fare at once prohibited a number of Jansenist writings which circulated under the names of Caylus, Soanen and Colbert and broke off communion with those prelates.[3] La Fare did not print his letter on the subject, but his opponents saw to it that this was done, and with some biting annotations. Thereupon the Government proceeded against him once more, though it also condemned at the same time Colbert's attack on Clement XII. and two letters of Bishop Soanen.[4] The Bishop fared no better in 1737 when he insisted on his right to defend the Church in spite of every edict and attacked the ecclesiastical policy of Fleury[5] to whom he continued to address a great many remonstrances which invariably remained unanswered.[6] Undeterred by all the decrees of the Government and Parliament, La Fare, in conjunction with the Bishops of Amiens, Marseilles, Nantes, Châlons, Dol and Boulogne, printed abroad, viz. at Ypres, an ordinance debarring the

[1] *Ibid.*, 62. On May 23, 1735, Clement XII. had condemned this letter to the flames (*ibid.*, 71). On the younger Bossuet *cf.* also E. Jovy, *Une biographie inédite de J. B. Bossuet, évêque de Troyes*, Vitry, 1901.

[2] July 22, 1735, *ibid.*, 64; Hardy, 304.

[3] April 1, 1736, Fleury, LXXV., 67 *seq.*

[4] June 27, 1736, *ibid.*, 69–72.

[5] *Ibid.*, 515 *seq.*

[6] Hardy, 299.

Appellants from the Sacraments and ecclesiastical burial. Parliament, of course, took action[1] but La Fare merely renewed his ordinance,[2] whilst Clement XII. issued a Brief condemning Parliament's sentence against the seven Bishops.[3] For the rest La Fare's conduct did not wholly meet with the approval of the nuncio and several other Bishops.[4] In 1739 the King himself intervened in favour of the rights of the Bishops; a Prefect was punished for having sought to enforce the administration of the Sacraments.[5]

The Archbishop of Arles, Forbin Janson, was likewise condemned to a nine months' banishment in his abbey of Saint-Valéry because of a pastoral letter[6]; for all that, in 1736, he refused the Sacraments to the dying Jansenist Bishop of Castres and excommunicated the Dominican who administered them.[7] Colbert's successor at Montpellier, Berger de Charency, was harried by lawyers' memorials[8] when one of his priests refused to subscribe to the formula, as was the Archbishop of Sens when the parish priests refused to accept his catechism. The lawyers decided that in such matters the parish priests were not bound to obey.[9]

(3.)

Since the Government disposed of all the highest ecclesiastical posts, it was easy to see that before long the Jansenists would not have a single bishop to side with them. If they

[1] April 22, 1739, [Nivelle], III., 411.

[2] Fleury, LXXVI., 274 *seq.* Parliament did so on September 1, 1740, [Nivelle], III., 412.

[3] January 26, 1740, Fleury, LXXVI., 623 *seq.*; *Bull*, XXIV., 667.

[4] Fleury, LXXV., 516; Hardy, 304, n. 3.

[5] September 8, 1739, Fleury, LXXV., 275 *seq.*

[6] Jean, 36; Hardy, 301.

[7] Jean, 9.

[8] May 29, 1739, Fleury, LXXVI., 282, 627. *Cf.* [Patouillet], II., 444.

[9] Fleury, LXXVI., 284.

wished to remain Catholics, they could not but feel this deficiency as a disaster for their cause since in Catholic opinion the office of teaching is entrusted to the entire body of the episcopate, in union with the Pope, and its decisions are final even though "an angel from heaven" were to say aught to the contrary.[1]

As early as the days of Pascal the Jansenists had appealed to the voice of God who, they alleged, had pronounced in their favour by miracles.[2] After Vintimille had become Archbishop of Paris, they appealed once more to this testimony of God. The miracles wrought at the grave of the Deacon Pâris increased in a remarkable degree during the first years of the Archbishop's rule. Within a few years the number rose to no less than 200 and accounts of them were circulated, bearing the signature of surgeons and physicians. Everybody flocked to Pâris' grave which Noailles had allowed to be covered with a marble slab supported by low pillars.[3]

There were not enough vehicles to convey the pilgrims and the curious and people paid to get a place near the grave.[4]

The Government was at a loss what to do to stop the cultus of the Jansenist "saint". Simply to forbid it, on the ground that Pâris had been an Appellant, seemed too dangerous and a prohibition would infallibly have had for its consequences an appeal to Parliament.[5] So the affair had to be left to the Archbishop who ordered a strict inquiry into one of the miracles. One Anne Lefranc was said to have been cured of paralysis and blindness by the Deacon Pâris and over a hundred

[1] *Gal.*, I, 8.

[2] "C'est dans de telles conjectures [the Regent's rejection of the Jansenists] et lorsqu'il ne reste plus aux Appellans ni espérances, ni ressources du côté des hommes, que Dieu rompt enfin le silence pour parler en leur faveur [by miracles]." Thus *Jésus-Christ sous l'anathème*, Maastricht, 1739, 61, in MOSHEIM, *Dissertationes ad hist. eccl. pertinentes*, II., Altona, 1767, 341.

[3] L. LOEVENBRUCK, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 1756 *seq.*

[4] LAFITAU, II., 331.

[5] So says a memorial, HARDY, 257.

witnesses testified to the genuineness of the cure.[1] But the inquiry established the fact that many signatures had been either forged or extorted and Lefranc's own brother attested that his sister had never been blind.[2] True the paralysis was real enough but it continued the same after the "cure".[3] Vintimille published these facts in a pastoral letter,[4] in which he described the miracles of Paris as generally undeserving of credence and forbade his cultus.

The Jansenist parish priests were dissatisfied with this measure. Twenty-three of their number presented a petition to the Archbishop,[5] in which they admitted that some of the miracles might not be genuine, but five had been examined under Noailles and these they asked Vintimille to have investigated. A few weeks later [6] they demanded an examination of another thirteen miracles. However, one of those "cured", a certain Le Doulx, urged by remorse of conscience, confessed to his Bishop, La Fare of Laon, that the whole thing was a fraud. He requested the Bishop in writing to bring his confession to the knowledge of the public; this La Fare did in a pastoral letter of April 10th, 1732. On May 30th Le Doulx repeated and reaffirmed his statement in presence of the Archbishop of Paris.[7]

Thus even though shortly before the unmasking of the miracle a woman who was said to have scoffed at the miracles, was suddenly struck with paralysis at the grave of Paris,[8] it was nevertheless up to the new Saint to do something in

[1] *Ibid.*, 258; [Patouillet], I., 482.

[2] His testimony in Trévoux's *Mémoires*, 1731, 2013 *seq.* *Cf.* [Patouillet], III., 430.

[3] *Cf.* Lafitau, II., 327.

[4] July 15, 1731, *ibid.*, 258; [Nivelle], I., app. 136.

[5] August 13, 1731, in [Nivelle], *loc. cit.*, 135–7; on the examination under Noailles, *ibid.*, 141. *Cf.* [Patouillet], II., 261 *seq.*

[6] October 4, 1731, [Nivelle], I., app. 137–9.

[7] [Patouillet], III., 492–5. On another "miracle" at Blois, *ibid.*, II., 442.

[8] The widow Delorme, August 7, 1731, Gazier, I., 279.

order to restore his diminished prestige. A somewhat simple-minded Jansenist cleric of Montpellier of the name of Bécherand, felt that he ought to provide him with an occasion to do so.[1] Since the end of August, 1731, Bécherand repaired once or twice each day to the cemetery of Saint-Médard. After he had been laid on Pâris' grave and whilst the assistants were praying, he was seized with convulsions, foamed at the mouth, turned livid and leaped in the air. His example became contagious; with every passing day more and more men and women crowded round him, with the result that some hundreds of persons gave themselves up to convulsions in the restricted space and caused the surrounding streets to become obstructed.

The Jansenists announced that Bécherand's cure was indeed progressing slowly, but a gradual miracle was still a miracle.[2] Some wags laughingly observed that there were twelve lines in an inch (*pouce*)—think of it, twelve lines!—surely it was asking too much of the new wonder-worker that he should provide the twelve lines at one go! Others said that in the days of the Apostles miracles went differently. In spite of everything Bécherand continued for months in his trust in Pâris, even throughout the whole of winter, until the Government, on January 27th, 1732, on the plea of overcrowding round the Deacon's grave, decided to close the cemetery.[3] Thereafter Bécherand only went as far as the church, until on February 23rd the police took him to Saint-Lazare where he was confined for a time in the section reserved for lunatics.[4]

It is strange that those who crowded round Bécherand were not drawn from the ranks of the common people, but even the most prominent personages of the Jansenist party

[1] A. Noyon, in *Études*, CLVI. (1918), 412–432; Hardy, 264.

[2] [Patouillet], I., 476.

[3] Mention, 73. Another decree of February 17, 1733, against convulsions in private houses, *ibid.*, 74. The inscription for the cemetery after it had been closed is well known:

De par le Roi, défence à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.

[4] Noyon, *loc. cit.*, 416 *seqq.*

seemed to have succumbed to a kind of spell in presence of the alleged miracles. Colbert, Bécherand's Bishop, wrote at this time that he was lost in astonishment at the wonders which God wrought daily in the person of Bécherand. If He had cured him at once, thousands would have refused to believe that he had ever been paralysed. Instead of one miracle, God now wrought several each day, in order to summon all Paris to so astounding a spectacle. Everyone could see with his own eyes both the evil and the progress of the cure; the spectators all went away with the conviction that here the finger of God was at work. The cure interested the whole Church; the Church prayed for it and without a doubt her prayers would be answered.[1] In a letter to Bécherand himself Colbert wrote that God had made him a spectacle for the whole of France, or rather for all Europe and the whole Church. There were more marvellous cures, but none that occurred more completely before the eyes of all.[2]

Colbert's pastoral letter of 1725, on the first of the Jansenist miracles,[3] was followed by a second in which he met the attacks of Languet and defended the occurrences at the graves of the priest Rousse and the Deacon Pâris.[4] A few weeks earlier [5] Bishop Caylus of Auxerre, who shared Colbert's opinions, had drawn attention to a Jansenist miracle which was supposed to have happened at Seignelay, in proof of the holiness of Pâris and the truth of Jansenism, for soon the miracles were no longer restricted to Paris, but made their appearance in all Jansenist centres.[6] Rome, of course, did not remain silent in the face of these strange pastorals. A special Brief was issued

[1] *Ibid.*, 418.

[2] *Ibid.*, 424. "Personam gerit Ecclesiae" said the partisans of Bécherand (HARDY, 264).

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 276.

[4] February 1, 1733, [NIVELLE], II., 357–362.

[5] January 1, 1733, *ibid.*, 655–7; [PATOUILLET], III., 11 *seq.*

[6] HARDY, 256. Soanen also acknowledged the Jansenistic miracles in his "Spiritual Testament" (1735), [NIVELLE], II., 1, 257, and FLEURY, LXXV., 247.

against Colbert's letter and when he replied with another pastoral on a miracle wrought by Pâris in his own diocese, there followed a second condemnation.[1] The Bishop of Auxerre fared no better.[2] The Roman Inquisition passed a severe judgment on a "Life of Pâris"[3] and not long after the Archbishop of Paris condemned three such biographies. In this he had been preceded by La Fare of Laon and he was followed by the Bishops of Marseilles and Angers and the Archbishop of Cambrai.[4] Bishop Languet had drawn a reply by Colbert to a pastoral letter of his on the first of the Jansenist miracles. In 1734 he published yet another examination of these manifestations which greatly embarrassed his opponents. The parish priests of Paris turned to Parliament for help[5]; that body had declared the Roman condemnation of the "Life of Pâris"[6] to be null and void.[7] However, in the course of this same year Archbishop Vintimille published a letter

[1] Briefs of October 3, 1733 ([PATOUILLET], II., 290), and October 11, 1734 (*Bull*, XXIV., 8 *seq.*). Colbert had replied by his *Lettre pastorale pour prémunir son diocèse contre un Bref de N. S. P. le Pape* (April 21, 1734), [PATOUILLET], II., 516–19.

[2] Brief of July 19, 1734, REUSCH, II., 748.

[3] August 22, 1731, *ibid.*, 747. Colbert wrote to Caylus: "Le décret de Rome contre M. Pâris est horrible. Par là Rome se ferme peut-être la dernière porte que Dieu lui ouvrait pour rentrer en elle-même . . . C'est une étrange chose que de déclarer la guerre à Dieu même" (in NOYON, *loc. cit.*, 425, n.).

[4] January 30, 1732, [PATOUILLET], IV., 204–8.

[5] April 19, 1735, [NIVELLE], I., app. 140–3.

[6] On this condemnation by the Holy Office and the public burning of the book, see Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report to the imperial Chancellery, September 1, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[7] [NIVELLE], III., 972. "*In proposito di Francia si sta qui con molta amarezza per essersi da quel parlamento fatti due arresti molto ingiuriosi all'autorità del Papa e della S. Sede contro le scritte condanne del libro," *La vie de Monsieur Paris Diacre* . . . Cardinal Cienfuegos' report to the imperial Chancellery, October 27, 1731, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

in which he described the Jansenist miracles as having been rashly published, as unproven and unworthy of credence.[1]

Soon after the episcopal prohibition of pilgrimages to Pâris' grave, things occurred in connection with the alleged miracles which could certainly not be of divine origin. A certain Aimée Pivert experienced strong convulsions when she touched the grave and the most fantastic contortions of her limbs. A few days later the same phenomena appeared in a deaf and dumb woman of Versailles. The convulsions of Abbé Bécherand worked like a contagion: the cemetery became filled with a crowd of people who leaped, screamed and underwent all sorts of contortions. Even the Rector of the University, Charles Rollin, and the translator of Polybius, Folard, took part in the proceedings.[2] The growing disorder, which interfered with the traffic, provided Government with a welcome pretext for closing the cemetery. But this action only made the situation worse; the gatherings of the convulsionists were now held in private houses, and when these too were prohibited by a decree of February 17th, 1733, they took place with even greater secrecy. There was now talk of esctasies, of discourses in unknown tongues, of prophecies. In order to alleviate the pain which accompanied the convulsions, the victims were struck on sensitive parts of the

[1] "téméraírement publiés, destitués de preuves et indignes de toute créance" ([Nivelle], I., app. 140). *Cf.* on the miracles of Pâris, Bened., XIV., *De canonisat.*, l. IV., p. 1, c. 7, n. 20 (*Opp.* IV., Venetiis, 1767, 35); Muratori, *Antiquit. ital. medii aevi* diss., 60, t. V., 97 *seq.*

[2] "On le [Follard] vit en effet, avec peine, affronter le ridicule s'engageant dans la secte des convulsionnaires" (*Nouv. biogr. gén.*, XVIII., 543). "Le bon Rollin, en effet, crut aux miracles du diacre Pâris et ne dédaigna pas de se mêler aux convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard" (*ibid.*, XLII., 571). On page 634 of his essay quoted in the next note, Gazier calls Rollin "L'un des adeptes les plus fervens des convulsions naissantes". The writer Fr. V. Toussaint (*ob.* 1772) composed some hymns in honour of the deacon Pâris (*Nouv. biogr. gén.*, XLV., 556). Gazier, *Hist. génér.*, I., 280.

body, for instance on the abdomen, or a board was laid on them on which as many as ten persons placed themselves. Instances were reported of invulnerability and of persons insensible to burning. Convulsionists were said to have struck non-convulsionists with daggers without the weapons penetrating; one Marie Sonnet laid herself in the fire whilst in a state of convulsion, without as much as her clothing being set alight and a young girl had her feet nailed to a cross at night, after which she slept soundly and was able to attend to her work in the morning.[1] Besides these outbreaks of fanaticism there were also cases of incredible foulness [2] and of downright immorality.[3]

The outstanding advocate of the convulsions was Louis Baptiste Carré de Montgeron, a member of Parliament. Montgeron was a man utterly devoid of either faith or morals when he visited the cemetery of Saint-Médard on September 7th, 1731, in order to witness and test the alleged miracles. However, he did not test them for that which he saw in the cemetery made such an impression on him, that he threw himself on the ground before Pâris' grave; he remained in that attitude for the space of four hours, after which he began a new life. His one thought now was to prove the truth of Pâris' miracles to the whole world. He spent a fortune

[1] Aug. Gazier in *Revue des deux mondes*, 5e pér., XXXII. (1906), 627, 629, 638 (Voltaire's brother's evidence on miracles and convulsions).

[2] Le Paige, advocate at the Parliament in a letter to Montgeron, told him "qu'une jeune convulsionnaire de 18 ans, pendant 21 jours entiers n'a bu que de l'urine et n'a mangé que de l'excrément d'homme", etc. [Patouillet], IV., 189.

[3] "Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y a dix ou douze filles [convulsionists] grosses, et que ces chefs de doctrine et de prédiction engagent les femmes du peuple qui ont cédé à la persuasion, de leur livrer elles-mêmes leurs filles, ce qu'il font en vue de Dieu" (Barbier, *Journal*, II., 527; Hecquet, *Le naturalisme des convulsions dans les maladies de l'épidémie convulsionnaire*, Paris, 1733, 69 *seqq.*; Waffelaert, in *Dict. apologét.*, I., Paris, 1911, 711).

in collecting every possible evidence and in publishing it in a bulky volume illustrated with beautiful engravings.[1] He then penetrated, without leave, into the King's chamber in order to present him with a copy of the book. By this action he earned a stay in the Bastille and eventually banishment. During his exile he wrote two more volumes [2] dealing with the convulsions.[3]

Even the Appellants were not all in agreement with the naïve credulity with which Montgeron viewed the convulsions. On more than one point Colbert and Soanen, as well as the editor of the Jansenist newspaper, differed from him, and on January 7th, 1735, thirty Doctors of the party of the Appellants published a manifesto in which they stated that not everything connected with the convulsions came from God; they condemned the alleged prophecies,[4] the violent remedies—*secours*—and the pretensions of laymen and women to exercise functions proper to the priesthood. In this document the convulsions still received a limited approval, but others rejected them altogether so that two parties were formed which were in sharp opposition to each other.

It is not the historian's task to judge and explain the strange phenomena connected with the convulsions.[5] It is enough

[1] *La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. de Pâris, démontrée contre M. l'archevêque de Sens* [Languet], Utrecht, 1737. The first Paris edition of 5,000 copies was burnt under Montgeron's window in the Bastille.

[2] 1741 and 1747.

[3] GAZIER, *Hist. génér.*, I., 280–6; HARDY, 315 *seq.*

[4] On the discourses of the convulsionists, *cf. Recueil de plusiers convulsionnaires*, 1734, [PATOUILLET], III., 351-9.

[5] According to GAZIER (I., 286), physicians described to him the cures related by Montgeron, especially those of Palacios and Thibault, as well attested and absolutely inexplicable. [PATOUILLET], IV., 202, however, says: "Le célèbre miracle de Pierre Gautier de Pezenas [n. 6 of Montgeron] . . . se trouve aujourd'hui juridiquement reconnu pour une pure supercherie. On a reçu d'Espagne une sentence authentique de l'Officialité de l'Escurial, où il est juridiquement déclaré, que tout ce qu'on

to recall the fact that such things have occurred more than once in the course of human history,[1] that they occur even at this day and often act like a contagion, even on great masses. The medieval St. Vitus' dance and the dancing dervishes are instances in point.[2]

By comparison, then, with the first period of Port-Royal, Jansenism had sunk to the lowest level within a few decades; once engaged on this inclined plane, it seemed incapable of refraining from any folly. To convulsionism was added figurism.[3] About the year 1712 Jean Baptiste de Sesne de Menilles, Abbé d'Étémare (1682–1770), had excogitated a new method of scriptural interpretation. According to him every incident and every personage of Holy Scripture are figures of future events in the history of the Church.[4] In his view the universal apostasy at the end of time coincided with the general acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*; the false prophets of the last days are the Pope and the opponents of efficacious grace, the protagonists of Pelagianism and a lax morality. The Roman Church, so he hints with sufficient clearness, was foreshadowed by the beast of the Apocalypse. Since, then, the end of the world was at hand, the conversion of the Jews could not be long delayed and Elias was about to return. Étémare's explanations are a tissue of absurdities. According to him Mathathias of the Book of Machabees typifies Saint-Cyran, Judas Machabee the great Arnauld, Balaam's ass the priests whom ill-treatment by the Bishops compels to

a publié de l'infirmité et de la guérison miraculeuse de Dom Palacios [n. 1 of Montgeron], est un pur mensonge."

[1] LOEVENBRUCK, *loc. cit.*, 1757 *seq.* Description of similar hysterical spasms by Charcot and Richer in WAFFELAERT, *La science cath.*, II. (1888), 278 *seq.*

[2] LA TASTE, *Lettres théolog. sur les convulsions*, 2 vols., in 4°, Paris, 1733–1740.

[3] *Cf.* MANGENOT, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, V. (1913), s.v. *Figurisme*, 2299–2304.

[4] Catalogue of Étémares' writings, only partially in print since 1860, *ibid.*, 2301 *seq.*; particulars about his career in GAZIER, II., 37 *seqq.*

open their mouths against the Bull *Unigenitus*. But the same ass is likewise a figure of Mère Angélique and of the nuns who had declared themselves opposed to the Constitution. Elias would place himself at the head of the Convulsionists and restore all things in the sense of the Quesnellists, and so forth.[1]

Abbé Étémare's disciples, such as Joubert, De Fourquevaux, the two Essarts, carried their master's ideas a step further. In 1731 the figurist teaching began to take root among the convulsionists. The war of the beast of the Apocalypse against the Saints, so it was reckoned, had begun with the royal declaration of March 24th, 1730, and in September, 1733, it would come to an end. The time of Elias' return was known and preparations were being made to meet him. For the rest the adherents of figurism were not exclusively recruited from the ranks of dreamers among the common people, they also included the Jansenist Bishops Colbert, Soanen and Varlet together with La Roche, the editor of the Jansenist newspaper. The Deacon Pâris was also said to have been a figurist.[2]

Figurism did not simply remain a method of scriptural interpretation, on the contrary, it ended by becoming a formal sect which held that the world was so stained with sin that retribution and the last Judgment could not be far off. Not a few of its members purposely committed every imaginable

[1] [Patouillet], II., 439 *seq.*, *cf.* 354; Extract from *De l'avènement d'Élie*, *ibid.*, I., 148–156, from *Conjectures des derniers temps* (1733), *ibid.*, 308 *seq.*, from *Discours sur les Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (by Le Gros), *ibid.*, 457 *seq.* Prophecy that a Jew would become Pope, *ibid.*, 460.

[2] Colbert (in Mangenot, *loc. cit.*, 2302) wrote in 1737: "Isaïe voit un temps où les étoiles du ciel seront languissantes, les cieux se plieront . . . Qui peut douter que le ciel dans toutes ces prophéties ne désigne l'Église, que le soleil, la lune et les étoiles ne soient le symbole des docteurs," etc. ([Patouillet], II., 290). On the figurism of the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, *ibid.*, III., 163. Soanen wrote an essay in favour of the miracles of Pâris (Fleury, LXXV., 247).

enormity so as to fill up the measure of sin as quickly as possible, in order to hasten the coming of the Judge. Others proclaimed themselves to be God's heralds and the forerunners of the Judge of the world. "Brother Augustine," viz. Jean Robert Cosse, styled himself servant of the servants of God, forerunner of Elias and fourth person in the Blessed Trinity: he would lie on a table, in the attitude of the Lamb of God, and demand adoration. Abbé Vaillant claimed to be Elias and founded the "Eliseans".[1] The "Convulsionists", we read, in a letter of the time,[2] "have got it into their heads that Elias would come to renew the Church, but that all crimes must first reach their height and must previously be expiated by the zeal of the brethren, on the site of the monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs. In Paris they organized nocturnal processions of expiation; they marched to Port-Royal, that is, to the spot where the convent had stood; there they slew an animal, after which they marked with its blood all the houses—as far as Versailles—which would be spared by the Destroying Angel at the coming of Elias. They then drew lots to ascertain which of their number should be crucified in expiation of sin: the lot fell on a certain Abbé Sévin. They were already in the act of scourging him, in spite of his resistance, when he exclaimed that a victim must be willing to be sacrificed, but that he did not yet feel the proper dispositions of a victim; the Saviour Himself had sweated blood in the Garden of Olives before His Passion. Thereupon he was given twenty-four hours in which to get himself into the appropriate frame of mind, but at the expiration of the time limit Abbé Sévin was nowhere to be found.

One is tempted to think that it was fortunate for the first Jansenists that their bodies no longer reposed in the cemetery of Port-Royal; scenes such as those described would have made them turn in their graves, as the saying is. Yet at bottom Port-Royal was responsible even for the follies of the

[1] CAHEN, 49.

[2] DUBUISSON, *Lettres au Marquis de Caumont*, éd. Roussel, Paris, 1882, 6 *seq.* *Cf.* FLEURY, LXXV., 73, 246 *seq.*

Convulsionists.[1] The spirit of rebellion against the authority of the Church which had grown up there was bound, in the end, to lead to utter recklessness. In the case of reasonable people, convulsionism stripped Jansenism of all its prestige; Pâris' grave became its grave also. Religion was most grievously injured by Pâris' "miracles" and all that accompanied them; unbelief, which was spreading more and more, used them as a weapon against the miracles of the Gospel and Christian miracles in general; David Hume, the well-known sceptic, exploited them for his purpose.[2] For all that, miracles and convulsions served the cause of Jansenism with the broad masses of the people. Of efficacious grace the ordinary man understood nothing whatever, but the spectacle of the miracles and convulsions roused his curiosity and attracted him: two-thirds of the people of the capital, says Barbier,[3] were Jansenists.

The Jansenists enjoyed one final triumph when in 1735 the Bishop of Saint-Papoul went over to them. Jean Charles de Ségur began life as an army officer, later on he became an Oratorian for a time, but he never made any serious studies and knew no Latin.[4] Soon after leaving the Congregation,

[1] "Quas foeditates [convulsionistarum et fanaticorum] cum legeremus, in mentem nobis venit, Iansenianorum per simulationem pietatis iactare se volentium in Ecclesia, quam graviter superbiam Deus perculerit, et pestilentissimae sectae conatus ad haec dedecora tandem rediisse permiserit, quasi dixerit Dominus: Revelabo pudenda tua . . ." (*Nahum*, 3, 5), thus Clement XIII., on November 14, 1764, to the Bishop of Sarlat (*Bull. Cont.*, III., Romae, 1838, 22).

[2] D. Hume, *An Enquiry concerning human understanding*, sect. 10 (*Essays and Treatises on several subjects*, II., London, 1777, 133). The *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* put (December 24, 1731), Pâris miracles on a par with the miracles of Christ. [Patouillet], III., 156 *seq.*

[3] Hardy, 164.

[4] "L'abbé de Ségur, disait d'Orsanne, n'a point de théologie et ne sait pas même le latin" (Picot in *Biographie universelle*, XLI., 474).

when 28 years of age, he became Bishop of Saint-Papoul. He supported the Bull *Unigenitus* but likewise entered into relations with Soanen and Colbert. As a result of their influence he resigned in 1735, begged his diocese to forgive his having defended the Bull, gave a belated adhesion to the appeal of the four Bishops in 1717 and finally went into retirement.[1] The document in which he announced his action called forth immense joy among the Jansenists,[2] but a decree of the Council of State of April 2nd, 1735, suppressed it. The Archbishops of Embrun and Tours and the Bishops of Laon and Châlons publicly expressed their indignation,[3] all the more so as, following Ségur's example, the Bishops of Grenoble and Agde withdrew all that they had done against Soanen at the Council of Embrun.[4]

(4.)

Fleury's efforts to get the Bull generally accepted were not without success with the University of Paris and the religious communities.

The Sorbonne had submitted to the Bull under the pontificate of Benedict XIII., at the time of Vintimille's appointment as Archbishop, so that there remained nothing for Clement XII. to do except to congratulate the Faculty.[5] This he repeated in a letter addressed to the King,[6] after the Faculty of Philosophy had followed the example of its theological sister Faculty. The submission of the philosophical Faculty was of the utmost importance because in its hand

[1] Mandement of February 26, 1735, in [NIVELLE], II., 1, 676–9.

[2] Letter of Soanen and Colbert, *ibid.*, 679 *seq.* The Paris advocates also congratulated him (HARDY, 313).

[3] [PATOUILLET], I., 10; FLEURY, LXXV., 49.

[4] FLEURY, LXXV., 48. On the precautions taken by the police, see HARDY, 314.

[5] Brief of January 16, 1731, in FERET, VI., 105.

[6] October 2, 1739, *ibid.*, 105 *seq.*

lay the training of youth, and the Rector, the Syndic and the Archivist were chosen from among its members, as were also the assessors of the Rector who decided all general questions in conjunction with him.[1] It was to be expected that such a change would not come about unopposed, but Fleury intervened energetically and enforced his will.[2] To the other Universities, Colleges and Seminaries the Cardinal also gradually assigned teachers of proved loyalty to the Church,[3] and he even interviewed in person when there was question of suppressing printed works.[4]

Fleury met with greater difficulties in dealing with the religious Orders than with the Universities. His chief success in this sphere was achieved precisely with that religious body which had offered the strongest opposition to him, viz. the celebrated Benedictine Congregation of the Maurists. At their last General Chapter in 1729 it had been found impossible to get the Bull *Unigenitus* accepted. In the following year fifteen Superiors met again in council. The Minister of Police, Hérault, was present at the deliberations and by command of the King no one was permitted to take part in the assembly, or assume any office in the Order, who did not submit to the Bull. The formula submitted for signature, in which the Bull was recognized as a law of Church and State, was subscribed to, with but one exception, by all the fifteen members headed by Alaidon, the General of the Congregation.[5]

[1] HARDY, 330 *seq.* On the withdrawal of the appeal by the "artium facultas", Clement XII. sent special laudatory *Briefs to Cardinal Fleury on July 14, 1739, and to the King on October 2, 1739. *Epist.*, VIII.–X., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] HARDY, 331–2; [NIVELLE], I., app. 181–4, and the documents, *ibid.*, 184–208. A *Brief to Cardinal Fleury, dat. March 19, 1737, praising him for this and further exhorting him, in *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] HARDY, 333 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXVI., 266–276.

[4] HARDY, 335 *seq.*

[5] [NIVELLE], II., 2, 665 *seq.* On Alaidon, *cf.* P. DENIS in *Rev. hist. Ardennaise*, XVI. ((1909), 5–50.

However, this represented no great gain. Those of the Monks who were opposed to the Bull, refused to accept the decision of the assembly and a number of them made a written protest.[1] Consequently the Government, which was dissatisfied with Alaidon also, kept a close observation, down to the smallest detail, on the preparations for the next General Chapter, which was put off until 1733.[2] In spite of these precautions the elections of delegates by the Provincial Chapters were not in accordance with the hopes of the supporters of the Constitution [3]; many refrained from voting on the plea that the election was not free.

The General Chapter, which met on July 1st, 1733, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Tours, Rastignac, proved very stormy. Twenty-two out of the thirty-two delegates refused to subscribe to the formula by which they were to accept the Bull and revoke all contrary steps. Thereupon Rastignac consented to the delegates signing the formula merely in their own name, not as delegates, of their provinces, but even so eighteen delegates refused their signature, for which they were excluded from the deliberations of the assembly. They then declared that the remaining fourteen, two of whom had held back for a time, could not be considered as representing the Order, but when consulted by the Archbishop, the King ordered the deliberations to be proceeded with. In place of Alaidon, who had died, Hervé Menard was elected General and with few exceptions, in the case of less important houses, the opponents of the Constitution were removed from all posts of authority.[4] It was to be expected that already during the Chapter and afterwards loud protests would be raised both against the action of the fourteen and against the newly appointed Superiors: they would only be obeyed in order to avoid more grievous mischief.[5]

[1] [Nivelle], II., 2, 666.

[2] *Ibid.*, 668.

[3] *Ibid.*, 670–8. Remonstrances to the future General Congregation, dat. June 24, 1733, *ibid.*, 674 *seq.* Pâris' miracles are therein acknowledged (676) as authentic.

[4] *Ibid.*, 678–685.

[5] *Ibid.*, 685–715.

However, things were not so desperate as they looked. The new General, Menard, took vigorous steps for the restoration of peace. Cardinal De Bissy, as Commendatory Abbot of Saint Germain-des Prés, worked in the same sense. True his formula of submission was rejected, as coming from an unauthorized quarter, but he was the means of Thuillier and Le Seur writing a history of the Bull *Unigenitus* and thus clarifying the matter in dispute.[1]

Other writings by Thuillier too did not fail to make an impression on many people. The fact that the King withdrew his decree excluding the recalcitrants from all influential positions and expressed his confidence that those who benefited by this concession would not abuse the royal confidence, also greatly helped to calm the excited spirits. One of the chief occasions of exasperation was thus removed, with the consequence that in 1735 many who had at one time opposed the Bull, now informed Rome of their submission, for which they were praised by the Pope: the others were at least prevailed upon to keep silence.[2] The next General Chapter was held in accordance with the rules. However, it could hardly be said that order had been completely restored because, on the whole, silence was observed about the Bull, but there was hope that in time everything would once more run smoothly. Moreover the most distinguished Maurist scholar, Bernard de Montfaucon (*ob.* 1741) was not an Appellant, nor were such ornaments of the Congregation as Maran, Martène, Bouquet, or if they were, theirs was but a momentary hesitation.[3] The long lists of Maurists who, for instance, were supposed to have sided with Soanen when the latter

[1] É. De Broglie, *La société de l'abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés au XVIIIe. siècle*, II., Paris, 1891, 260.

[2] Paul Denis, *Les Bénédictins de St. Germain-des-Prés et la cour de Rome en 1735*, in *Rev. Mabillon*, IV. (1908), 324–366; Braunmüller in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1076. *Cf.* *Brief of August 30, 1736, to Claude du Pré commending him for his and Menard's good services, *Epist.*, VI., Papal Secret Arch.

[3] Braunmüller, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Fleury, LXXIV., 481.

was condemned,[1] are largely forgeries.[2] For the rest the Congregation had by then passed its peak.

Under Fleury also, as had repeatedly happened in the history of Jansenism, a community of nuns drew attention to itself by its obstinacy.[3] Father Joseph, Richelieu's collaborator—the "Grey Eminence" as he was called—had founded the Society of the Ladies of Calvary. The institute was governed by a college of three Superiors which, at the death of any one of its three members, always completed itself by a free election. In 1737 this college consisted of the Jansenist Bishops Colbert of Montpellier, Bossuet of Troyes and Caylus of Auxerre; the whole Congregation was of course Jansenist. At the death of Colbert in 1738, Clement XII., at the King's request, issued a Brief[4] by which he conferred plenary powers of visitation on the Archbishop of Paris for the convents of his diocese, for a period of four years, and for the other houses to the ordinaries for a period of two years. At the end of the two years all reports of the visitations and proposals of reform were to be forwarded to the Archbishop who was empowered to choose his advisers, and in conjunction with them to reform the Society, to depose all Superiors, even the highest, and to appoint others in their place. A royal decree[5] declared that the Brief was not contrary to Gallican liberties and must be put in execution. As was to be expected the Archbishop met with opposition. The nuns declared in writing[6] that they were filled with deepest respect for Vintimille and Clement XII. but refused to submit to the Brief seeing that it had not been registered with Parliament. In like manner they refused to recognize the validity of the deposition of their Superioress General

[1] [Nivelle], I., App. 71–3.

[2] According to La Taste, *Lettres théologiques, Lettre 21*, part 3, p. 1641, in [Patouillet], II., 199; letter of P. de la Prade to Chauvelin, October 22, 1728, Hardy, 146, n. 1.

[3] Hardy, 327–330; Fleury, LXXVI., 277–281.

[4] August 1, 1738, in [Nivelle], II., 2, 562–4.

[5] November 10, 1738, *ibid.*, 564 *seq.*

[6] December 11, 1738, *ibid.*, 565 *seq.*

a circumstance which caused the latter to be sent into banishment. There followed petitions to the King and to Fleury, protests by the former Superiors Bossuet and Caylus, intervention by Parliament and a protest by the nuns against the election of a new Superioress General.[1] The affair dragged on until 1741. It is characteristic of the "Gallican liberties" that they would not even suffer the Pope to call to order a handful of refractory nuns.[2]

In his eagerness to leave nothing undone for the restoration of peace, Fleury had recourse once again, in 1735, to the means which had so often proved useless, namely the bringing together of the conflicting parties by declarations of the Bull. The twelve articles which were said to have come very near being approved under Benedict XIII., were put forward once more, though reduced to eight. Theologians of both sides were heard, among them the Jansenist Nicolas Petitpied, who had been allowed to return from Holland two years earlier, and Colbert of Montpellier. The result of the conversations was the draft of a Bull which was forwarded to Rome for papal approval. It was strongly recommended to the Pope by the French ambassador, the Duke de Saint-Aignan. Clement XII was not unwilling, but he expressed a wish that some one, for instance De Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, should come to Rome for further discussions. However, no conclusion was reached.[3] Clement XII. hoped for very little from attempts at reconciliation and general ordinances in this sense.[4] He considered the Jansenist question as definitely

[1] *Ibid.*, 566–577.

[2] A declaration of the Carmelite Nuns of Lectoure against the Bull (beginning of July, 1735), *ibid.*, 596 *seq.*

[3] FLEURY, LXXV., 266 *seqq.* On the steps taken by the nuns after the death of Caylus to obtain from Benedict XIV. the appointment of Bishop Fitzjames as their superior, *cf.* E. DE HEECKEREN, *Correspondance*, DE BENOIT, XIV., vol. 2, Paris, 1912, 341, 351.

[4] *Cf.* *Raccolta di scritt. sopra le cose di Francia colla corte di Roma dell' a 1730 e seg., *Cod.* 32, f. 3–6, Corsini Library, Rome, and *Lettere di Nuntii Apost. di Francia al C. Corsini 1730–1740, *Cod.* 32, f. 8, *ibid.*

decided and merely requested the King to give effect to the decrees issued long ago.[1] He also strove to avoid whatever might give rise to fresh conflicts. When a number of people pressed him to prohibit the great Bossuet's defence of the four Gallican Articles, he refrained from doing so, out of regard for so deserving a prelate and in order not to provoke a fresh dispute.[2] But he nevertheless saw himself compelled to take action against the Quesnellists in particular cases. Thus he proceeded more than once against Bishop Colbert of Montpellier. When the Chapter of that city submitted to the Bull *Unigenitus*, Colbert was so angry that he declared the action of the Chapter null and void and forbade the faithful of his diocese to receive the Bull without his permission. Clement XII.'s answer was a Brief,[3] couched in the severest terms and condemning Colbert's treatment of his Chapter. The Parliament of Paris on its part declared the papal Brief as of no effect [4] in an ordinance which also attacked the decree of the Inquisition against a biography of Pâris.[5] Colbert's pastoral letter in defence of the Jansenist miracles [6] was once more prohibited by Rome,[7] whereupon that obstinate prelate brought to the notice of his flock an alleged miracle by Pâris in the diocese of Montpellier. The new pastoral letter shared the same fate as the previous one—it was condemned by the Pope.[8]

The Jansenists' hankering after miracles was rebuked in

[1] LAFITAU, II., 296.

[2] Letter of Benedict XIV. to the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, *Anal. iur. pontif.*, XVII. (1878), 29; R. DE MARTINIS, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, Neapoli, 1894, 555; REUSCH, II., 833.

[3] August 22, 1731, *Bull*, XXIII., 283 *seq.* FLEURY, LXXIII., 495 *seqq.*

[4] September 28, 1731, in [NIVELLE], III., 972.

[5] August 22, 1731, see above, p. 445.

[6] February 1, 1733, [NIVELLE], II., 1, 357.

[7] October 3, 1733, FLEURY, LXXIV., 686.

[8] October 11, 1734, *Bull*, XXIV., 8; FLEURY, *loc. cit.*; REUSCH, II., 748. Some obscure statements on other steps taken by the Pope against Colbert in FLEURY, LXXV., 79.

yet another papal manifesto, namely in the Bull of canonization of St. Vincent de Paul.[1] There we read that Vincent had been glorified by God by miracles at the very time when the innovators strove to spread their errors in France, to disturb the peace of the Church and to detach the faithful from their unity with the Holy See by the publication of false and imaginary miracles. Twenty parish priests of Paris declared that these remarks were obviously meant for them, because they had often spoken in favour of the miracles of Pâris. They accordingly appealed to Parliament and protested against the registration of the Bull.[2] A lawyer's memorial[3] and a parliamentary ordinance[4] approved their action. This was the last joint petition of the parish priests of Paris against ecclesiastical authority. However, at the prayer of Vincent de Paul's sons, the Lazarists, Louis XV. quashed the judgment of Parliament which again lodged a protest against that measure.[5] One reason for the opposition of the Jansenist priests to the glorification of the new Saint was the circumstance that Vincent had been a decided opponent of the rising heresy.[6] On other points also the Pope came in conflict

[1] June 16, 1737, *Bull*, XXIV., 232 *seqq.*

[2] [NIVELLE], I., App. 145. *Cf.* the *Cifra to Nuncio D'Elce, January 23, 1738, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 441, p. 396, Papal Sec. Arch.

[3] January 16, 1738, [NIVELLE], I., App. 145 *seq.* (*cf.* p. XXXII.); [PATOUILLET], I., 330; II., 479.

[4] January 22, 1738, [NIVELLE], *loc. cit.*; HARDY, 310 *seq.*

[5] June 28, 1738, [NIVELLE], III., 464 *seq.*

[6] FLEURY, LXXV., 482 *seqq.* Already in 1672 the Jansenists raised a protest on that account against Abelly's "Life of Vincent" ([PATOUILLET], I., 355). The Jansenist work "L'advocat du diable" calls Vincent "un infâme délateur et un exécrable boutefeu" (*ibid.*, 178). On June 28 Parliament defended the suppression of the Bull by saying that it "établit des maximes contraires à celles du royaume" and that it "tend à troubler la tranquillité de Vos sujets"; that it teaches by Vincent's example "le recours immédiat au Saint-Siège" and favours "ces mouvements impétueux qui les [the priests] porteroient à proposer, solliciter, presser les mouvements violens, les voies

with Parliament, as, for instance, in connection with the affairs of the Archbishop of Cambrai.[1]

Twice Clement XII., much against his inclination, was obliged to attend to the Jansenists in Holland. Archbishop Barchman, whom they had appointed by their own authority, died in 1732. Twice during Clement XII.'s pontificate, in 1733 and in 1739, they gave him a successor in the person of Theodore van der Croon and John Meindaerts, and twice the Pope seized the opportunity of condemning such presumption in the same terms as his predecessors had done.[2] When van der Croon informed Rome of his election, he received no reply whatever, and when the votes of the Chapter of Utrecht fell on Meindaerts, a Brief of condemnation was issued, it would seem, even before an official announcement had reached the Eternal City.[3] Van der Croon appealed to a General Council and invoked the intervention of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, but the latter rejected the request in the most unequivocal manner,[4] an act which earned for him Clement XII.'s approval.[5] Van der Croon was equally unlucky when he requested the State to subject all the Catholics

d'autorité pour trancher les contestations qui arrivent dans l'Église" (*loc. cit.*, 464). *Cf.* FLEURY, LXXVI., 1–19.

[1] See above, p. 435, and Brief of January 26, 1740, *Bull*, XXIV., 667. Of the same day are two Briefs against LOUAIL-CADRY's History of the Bull *Unigenitus* and Courayer's translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*. *Ibid.*, 664 *seq.*; FLEURY, LXXV., 351 *seq.*

[2] Briefs of February 17, 1735 (in MOZZI, III., 107–111) and of October 6, 1739 (*ibid.*, 112–16; *Bull*, XXIV., 591). Croon received letters of recognition from the Jansenist Bishops of Montpellier (December 28, 1734) and Sénez (February 18, 1735); see *Recueil des témoignages*, 282 *seq.* Meindaerts was recognized by the Bishops of Sénez (December 7, 1739), Auxerre (March 15, 1753) and Luçon (August 15, 1755), *ibid.*, 112–15.

[3] MOZZI, II., 290, 312.

[4] Two letters: Malines, January 14 and September 18, 1736, in ROSKOVÁNY, III., 126 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.*

[5] Brief of June 30, 1736, *ibid.*, 137 *seq.*

in the seven Provinces to his jurisdiction.[1] Attempts at a compromise with the internuncio in Brussels could scarcely be meant seriously since the Jansenist party was determined beforehand not to accept the Bull *Unigenitus*.[2]

Clement XII. protested against Meindaert's election; he had to leave to his successor, Benedict XIV., the duty of opposing his consecration.[3] The latter Pope had to busy himself repeatedly with the Jansenist Church of Holland.

(5.)

There exists a document of the year 1735 with the following title: "Memorial of the Sacred Congregation of the Cardinals." The document contains proposals for a united action by all the Catholic Princes for the purpose of winning back for Catholicism the various Protestant States of Europe. Forcible means were to be employed, according to a uniform plan, under the guidance of the Pope. The Protestant Princes of Germany "were to be punished as rebels with the edge of the sword in body and soul".[4]

The ideal of united Catholic action and the efficacy of papal influence which is here taken for granted, was in sharp contrast with reality. The Protestants assuredly were greatly divided, and Calvinists and Lutherans were for ever at war among themselves, but this opposition was abundantly compensated for by the political antagonism between the Great Catholic Powers, especially between France and the Emperor. To this must be added the fact that the States which had remained Catholic were infected by the new spirit of hostility to the Church, and most of them

[1] Mozzi, II., 290.

[2] *Ibid.*, 288.

[3] Brief of January 24, 1741, *ibid.*, III., 117 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, Benedicti XIV., vol. I., 13; Roskovány, III., 152.

[4] The document is printed in Droysen, IV., 4, 417–433; the words quoted also in Windberg, *Die sog. Denkschrift der Heiligen Kongregation*, 1735, Leipzig, 1900, 47.

were involved in conflicts with the Holy See. The memorial was long considered as authentic even by Protestant historians of mark,[1] but to-day it is unanimously regarded as a clumsy forgery.[2]

How little the Holy See was bent at that time on a forcible conversion of the Protestants appears from Clement XII.'s memorable attempt to win over the Protestant Saxons, whose ruling House had become Catholic, by guaranteeing to them, by a Bull of July 9th, 1732, the undisputed possession of all secularized Church property in the event of their return to the Catholic Church.[3] The attempt was abortive, but even

[1] DROYSEN, IV., 4, 416, and in *Berliner Sitzungsbericht.* 1869, 663 *seqq.*; also RANKE, *Zwölf Bücher preuss. Geschichte*, VI., 5, 228, but in the most recent edition he no longer holds this opinion.

[2] *Academy*, 1872; *Katholik*, 1891, II., 1 *seqq.*; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 816 *seqq.*; ERDMANNSDÖRFFER, II., 392; HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 136 *seqq.*; WINDBERG, 32, 56, 60. How strong a sense of solidarity obtained at that time among all Protestants was seen when the Archbishop of Salzburg, Leop. Ant. v. Firmian (on his counter-reformation activities see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXV., 473 *seqq.*), acting in accordance with the axiom "Cuius regio, eius religio", compelled his Protestant subjects (about 22,000) to emigrate by decree of October 31, 1731. *Cf.* WIDMANN, III., 384 *seqq.*; MENZEL, X., 197–218; also the earlier essay of L. CLARUS, *Die Auswanderung der protestantisch gesinnten Salzburger in den Jahren 1731 und 1732*, Innsbruck, 1864, as also the work of C. FR. ARNOLD, based on official documents, though not always reliable and to the point: *Die Vertreibung der Salzburger Protestanten und ihre Aufnahme bei den Glaubensgenossen*, Leipzig, 1901. Also the contemporary work: *Sammlung Einiger der Vornehmsten In dem Saltzburgischen Emigrations-Wesen Bisshero öffentlich zum Vorschein gekommenen Schrifften und Glaubhafften Urkunden*, von D. H. I., Augsburg, 1732. For the bibliography, see DOBLHOFF, *Beiträge zum Quellenstudium salzburgischer Landeskunde*, Heft 4: *Zur Emigrationsliteratur.*

[3] In the consistory of July 21, 1732, according to the **Acta consist.* (*Barb.* 2923, Vatican Library), the Pope said: Solicitude for the salvation of souls urges Us especially in the case of Saxony "in qua novissimis temporibus haeresis exorta in alias subinde

a Protestant scholar has recently observed that it does not deserve the contempt with which it is usually treated.[1]

There is no lack of proof of the fact that the Catholics of Germany were very much on the defensive. In the North-German Diaspora, difficulties were such that in 1731 the Pope was obliged to appeal to the Emperor for help.[2] In the course of the same year complaints were made by the Catholics in the territory of Cleve of oppression by the Prussian Government,[3] whereas the adherents of the ancient Church in the

provincias et regna misere influxit, et ad quam revocandam atque in S. Ecclesiae sinum reducendam tot labores et vigilias praedecessores Nostri Rom. Pont. impenderunt. Cum autem diu multumque apud animum Nostrum cogitaverimus, quae potuerint difficultates occursare, quominus eorum consilia prosperum optatumque successum haberent, praecipuum divini operis impedimentum inde provenire putavimus, quod plerique aegre admodum in animum possent inducere, ut ea bona dimitterent, quae olim ad ecclesias pertinebant, iisque vitae commodis, quibus consueverant, et ipsi carerent et eorum liberi destituerentur, nec suppeteret, unde aliter ea fortunarum detrimenta reique familiaris dispendia resarcirent". In order to remove difficulties, We have decided, after consulting the Cardinals and following the examples of Our predecessors and the intention of Clement XI., to restore their possessions to those who are converted, etc. Here follows a Brief ("fore autem confidimus, ut quos calumniatorum licentia a via veritatis abduxit, hoc Nostrae caritatis studio intelligant, a Nobis cuncta conferri, ut reportemus finem fidei Nostrae, salutem animarum; We pray God to help Us that not only Saxony but the other provinces also may return to the Roman Church"), and a decree regarding Saxony; the latter is printed in *Bull*, XXIII., 414 *seqq.* *Cf.* L. Richter, *Klemens XII. an die protestantischen Sachsen*, 1732, Leipzig, 1831.

[1] Hermelink in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch*, XXIV., 609 *seqq.* A Bull of July 13, 1735, granted the ecclesiastical possessions "in Palatinatu inferiore et duc. Neoburg," to those who became Catholics (*Bull*, XXIV., 59 *seqq.*).

[2] See *Brief of December 27, 1731, *Epist.*, I.–II., Papal Secret Archives. Also the Brief to the Dowager Empress, Amalie, *ibid.*

[3] See *Brief to Archbishop Clement Augustus of Cologne, December 8, 1730, *ibid.*

March of Brandenburg enjoyed a large measure of tolerance under King Frederick William I.,[1] but any considerable expansion of the Catholic Church was not to be thought of.[2] When the Catholic Duke Charles Alexander became ruler of Württemberg in 1733, he was obliged to subscribe to conditions in the religious sphere which confirmed anew the painful situation of the Catholics.[3] The Pope also appealed to the Emperor with a view to the preservation of the Catholic religion in Hungary.[4]

(6.)

In the mission field Clement XII. showed his zeal by his solicitude for the missionary training colleges. The most

[1] *Cf.* the report probably drawn up for Clement XII., in *Quellen und Forschungen*, V., 126 *seqq.*

[2] On the situation, *cf.* also ROTTMANNER, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, 35 *seqq.* Some conversions caused a sensation: as, for example, that of Prince Frederick of Birkenfeld-Zweibrücken and Crown Prince Frederick of Hessen-Kassel (MENZEL, XI., 114–123), the Prince of Sittenberg, 1734 (**Cod. Ottob.*, 3157, Vatican Library), and Baron Pöllnitzer, 1730 (**Cod.* 1054, Corsini Library, Rome). On Senator Bielke's relations with Clement XII., see LEBRET, *Magazin*, III., 403 *seqq.*, 424 *seqq.*, and BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Märken i Rom*, Stockholm, 1900, 41 *seq.*; picture of his tomb in S. Brigita (p. 40); Inscriptions in FORCELLA, I., 81, 86; IX., 304.

[3] *Cf.* STÄLIN, in *Allg. Deutche Biographie*, XV., 368 *seq.*; *Die altwürttembergischen Religionsreversalien von 1733*, in *Beilage der Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1898, n. 6. *Reports in *Nunziat. di Germania*, 239 (Lettere di Vienna, 1734), Papal Secret Archives. When, after the death of Charles Alexander (March 12, 1737), attempts were made to convert the ducal family to Protestantism (*cf.* MENZEL, X., 225 *seqq.*), Clement XII., by *Brief of March 27, 1738, asked the Bishop of Constance and Augsburg to use his influence as Director of the circle of Swabia to oppose these efforts. *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* *Brief of January 19, 1732, *ibid.*

important of these institutions, Propaganda in Rome, was chronically in financial straits: according to a calculation of Forteguerri the expenditure exceeded the income of 3,321,990 scudi by as much as 530,319 scudi. Already under Benedict XIII. the College had made various proposals to the Pope with a view to relieving its rising financial embarrassment; Clement XII. ordered a visitation and laid down directions for the payment of debts and the balancing of income and expenditure.[1]

A Franciscan missionary College in Sardinia was subject to Propaganda; the Pope gave proof of his benevolence towards the establishment by guaranteeing once more its independence from subordinate superiors which it had enjoyed until then.[2] A Franciscan College for the upkeep of the missions in the mountainous district of Cimapan in Mexico also received papal confirmation.[3] Matteo Ripa, a missionary in China, who had gone to the Far East with the bearers of the Cardinal's biretta destined for Tournon, conceived the plan of founding a College for training native missionaries in China itself. After Kanghi's death, he made a beginning at Naples where he acquired a house in 1724. With Clement's approval[4] he opened there the College of the Holy Family which sent out its first two missionaries to China on September 10th, 1733. The rules of the house[5] also received papal approval.[6] At Ripa's request Charles VI. took the College under his patronage.[7] Up to this time the young clerical

[1] Chirografo of February 26, 1733, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 116 *seqq.*

[2] October 16, 1730, *ibid.*, II., 423.

[3] July 23, 1733, *ibid.*, 442. The college was erected by Benedict XIII., on April 3, 1727, *ibid.*

[4] April 7, 1732, *ibid.*, 431 *seq.*; Ripa, *Storia della fondazione della Congregatione e del Collegio de' Cinesi, scritta dallo stesso fundatore*, Napoli, 1832. *Cf.* Balan, VI., 1306.

[5] Printed in *Bull*, XXIV., 122.

[6] April 16, 1736, *Ius pontif.*, II., 477. Favours and privileges for the College, *ibid.*, 488, 490.

[7] Thomas, 342, where the inscriptions on the collegiate church and on Ripa's tomb (*ob.* 1746) are reproduced.

students of the Greek Rite in Lower Italy had been obliged to get their training in Latin Colleges, a circumstance which was not without many inconveniences; accordingly Clement XII. provided for them a College of their own Rite at Ullano, in the diocese of Bisignano, by allocating to them a Benedictine Abbey together with the necessary means.[1] The Superior of the new "Corsini Seminary" was to be a Bishop, having the right of ordaining the so-called Italo-Greeks in both Sicilies[2] and exempt, together with the Seminary, from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bisignano. The first Bishop of the College was Felix Samuel Rodota.[3] For the formation of missionaries amongst the Maronites, Clement XI. had founded a College in Rome, near the church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and had sent for some Monks from Mount Lebanon.[4] Clement XII. approved the Monks' Rules and Constitutions[5]; in the same way he also confirmed the Rules of the Greek-Melchite Congregation of St. John the Baptist of Soairo, on Mount Lebanon,[6] which had a College in Rome for the training of missionaries for the East. The Pope assigned to the College the church of S. Maria in Domnica.

In other respects also Clement XII. had to busy himself with the faithful of Lebanon.[7] With a view to the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in all its purity, the Maronite Patriarch and his Bishops prayed the Pope to commission their countryman, the learned librarian of the Vaticana, Joseph Simon Assemani, to take part in a national Synod. The synod was held in 1736; it was attended by fourteen Maronite, two

[1] October 11, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 436 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 458 *seqq.* *Cf.* confirmation of the rules (printed, *ibid.*, VII., 122 *seqq.*, and in *Bull. Propag.*, II., 211 *seqq.*), April 16, 1736, *Ius pontif.*, II., 481.

[3] *Ibid.*, 485 *seqq.*; *cf.* 499 *seqq.* Rodota's commendation and favours for the college, *ibid.*, VII., 122.

[4] Clement XII., on March 31, 1732, *ibid.*, II., 428 *seq.*

[5] March 31 and July 14, 1732, *Ius pontif.*, II., 435. The Constitutions in *Bull.*, XXIII., 328 *seq.*

[6] September 14, 1739, *Ius pontif.*, II., 505.

[7] *Cf.* the documents, *ibid.*, 467 *seq.*

Greek and two Armenian priests, and among other dispositions, the synodal decrees reduced the bishoprics from sixteen to eight.[1] In accordance with a decision of the synod, the Maronite Monks of the Congregation of S. Isaias sought the papal approval of their Constitutions; Clement XII. granted their request on July 21st, 1738.[2]

To the Abyssinian Monks in Rome Clement XII. gave the church of St. Stephen.[3] The Negus of Abyssinia entertained the idea of reunion with Rome; the Pope accordingly sent out Franciscans.[4] The Franciscan James of Kremsir was sent to the Patriarch of the Copts,[5] to exhort him to carry at length into effect the noble plan he had conceived,[6] to which end the Friar was to obtain his subscription to a profession of faith. Clement XII.'s solicitude for the various eastern Churches was necessarily bound to extend itself also to the Holy Land.[7] Apart from the above-mentioned efforts on behalf of the Copts and the Abyssinians, all we know of Clement's further steps for the dark Continent is the permission given by him to the Prefect of the Franciscan Mission of Mequinez in Morocco,[8] to establish at Madrid, subject to Propaganda, a centre for collecting alms for his mission.

We have fuller information about the missionary territories of America. The difficulties and the sacrifices amid which the pastoral ministry was at times carried out in South America are illustrated by a memorial of the Hermits of St. Augustine

[1] *Coll. Lac.*, II., 75 *seqq.*

[2] *Ius pontif.*, II., 516 *seq.*; VII., 149 *seq.* Favours for the Congregation of the Lebanon and for a Maronite charitable association, *ibid.*, II., 445, 464.

[3] January 15, 1731, *ibid.*, 424.

[4] February 24, 1737, *ibid.*, VII., 140.

[5] Brief of August 20, 1737, *ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[6] "Ut ad ea quae . . . iamdiu meditaris ingentia facinora, tandem manus admoveas."

[7] Briefs of September 12, 1731, and February 13, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 427, 443.

[8] August 22, 1738, *ibid.*, 493 *seq.*; BÉTHUNE, *Les missions cath. d'Afrique*, 96; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 375, n. 3.

and the Dominicans of Peru and Chile. They relate how they attend to their priestly duties in convents far removed from the towns, or situate in miserable hamlets and so poor that they can only maintain from three to six religious, in spite of Paul V.'s decree that communities should consist at least of eight members. This situation had now lasted 120 years and during this period the members were excluded from participation in the provincial chapters. Clement XII. decided that they should enjoy the same rights as their brethren in religion.[1] For the Order of St. Hippolytus in Mexico another difficulty arose from the great distance of individual convents; it was impossible for the Superior-General to visit all the houses within the brief span of three years. Permission was accordingly granted [2] for the General Chapter of the Order to meet only once in six years. Light is thrown on ideas and conditions by the request of the Mexican Hermits of St. Augustine [3]—a request which was granted—to the effect that the mulattos and mestizos should not be permitted to join their Order, as it would be a shame if they had to admit persons from the common populace, whose depravity made them the objects of universal contempt. In Brazil the Portuguese Jesuits put up a courageous fight for the freedom of the Indians, though even some of the Bishops complained that their action on behalf of their protégés was detrimental to the State and to the white population. In 1734 King John V. ordered an investigation into these complaints which resulted in the complete justification of the Jesuits.[4] In order to promote the missions to the pagans, Clement XII. dispensed the French Capuchins from the direction of Canon Law which forbids priests to practise medicine.[5]

The Reductions of Paraguay were still the most flourishing

[1] July 19, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 446.

[2] April 9, 1735, *ibid.*, 456.

[3] August 6, 1739, *ibid.*, 504 *seq.*

[4] Hergenröther-Kirsch, IV., 162; Schmidlin, *loc. cit.*, 400.

[5] January 5, 1735, *Ius pontif.*, II., 455.

of all the South American missions. However, already at the time of Clement XI.'s death heavy storm clouds were gathering over those happy creations of missionary zeal, clouds that were to discharge all too soon their destructive lightnings. On the whole the Spanish population alone was affected by the revolutionary movements which disturbed the country between 1721 and 1735, first during the struggle for the governorship, and from 1730 to 1735, through the machinations of subversive elements—the so-called *communeros*—whose domination led to utter chaos.[1] Hatred of the Jesuits as the defenders of the Indians and their freedom did not fail to take advantage of these circumstances. On two occasions, from 1724 to 1728 and from 1732 until the restoration of order in 1735, they were driven from the capital, Asunción. A proposal was made to the King that they should be deprived of the Reductions and the Indians handed over to the owners of *commendas*. Such a measure the Bishop of Asunción, the Franciscan José de Palos, wrote to the King, would be the most effective means "to destroy utterly the most flourishing and the most profitable Christian communities which Your Majesty possesses in America".[2]

The Jesuit Province of Paraguay of that time was not co-extensive with the modern Republic of the same name; it also included the whole of the Argentine, Uruguay and parts of Bolivia and Brazil. Consequently the revolutionary movements in Asunción did not interfere with the activities of the Jesuits beyond the boundaries of present day Paraguay. In 1735 the Governor of Tucumán, Juan de Ormaza y Arregui,[3] wrote that the Jesuits "have ten Colleges, a Novitiate and two Residences; they are zealous in the discharge of the pastoral ministry and go to the assistance of the secular priests whose

[1] P. Lozano [*ob.* 1759], *Historia de las revoluciones de la provincia del Paraguay en la América meridional desde el año de 1721 hasta el de 1735*, Buenos Aires, 1892 and 1905; Astráin, VII., 506–603.

[2] Astráin, VII., 546. A similar suggestion was made already in 1708 (*ibid.*, 495, 497).

[3] *Ibid.*, 605 *seq.*

parishes are so extensive that, but for the zeal of the Jesuits, most of their parishoners would die without the Sacraments. In addition to this, they devote themselves to the elementary education of children, teaching them their letters, as well as to higher education. The only University in those parts, that of Córdoba de Tucumán, is in their care, and through their missions they provide the only religious assistance available to the faithful who are widely scattered over the country ". This testimony only refers to the Jesuits' activity among the Spaniards. At the same time the enterprising missionaries also sought to reach those of the Indians who still remained pagans, such as the tribes of the Chaco and southern Brazil and the obdurate Chiriguans among whom, in 1733, Julian Ligardi paid for his zeal with his life.[1]

On the other hand these revolutionary movements proved most injurious to the Reductions in Paraguay proper. In 1724 Antequera, who had arrogated to himself the post of Governor, invaded the four nearest Reductions, with the result that the Indians fled into the mountains from which it proved exceedingly difficult to induce them to return. With a view to restoring order the Governor of Buenos Aires, Bruno Mauricio Zabala, enrolled between 8,000 and 10,000 Indians as soldiers. In this way the Reductions were deprived of their labour in the fields and they themselves fell victims to epidemics, so that fresh levies were constantly required. Worse still, the Spanish soldiers infected them with the vices of civilization, thereby rousing the former savage in them. These conditions caused some of the missionaries to lose heart and to fear the early ruin of the Guarani missions, seeing that the Indian population of 141,252 in 1732 had sunk to 107,543 in 1736.[2]

In the Far East, Corea remained closed to the Gospel. On the other hand, by 1732 there were in the Philippines 816,615 Christians in 700 parishes, of whom 252,973 were subject to the Augustinians, 160,199 to the Jesuits, 131,279 to secular priests, 120,000 to the Franciscans, 98,780 to the

[1] *Ibid.*, 606 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 608 *seq.*

Dominicans, 53,384 to the Recollects. Besides their various houses, the Jesuits had sixteen Colleges.[1]

The mission begun in Burma by the Barnabite Calchi [2] seemed full of promise. The year of Calchi's death, 1728, saw the arrival of two auxiliaries, one of whom, the Propaganda missionary Rossetti, was put in charge of Ava by the Congregation, whilst to the Barnabite Gallizia were assigned the Kingdoms of Pegu and Martabano. As written appeals for help met with no response, the missionaries journeyed in person to Rome where Clement XII. received them graciously, though he felt unable to comply immediately with their request.[3] At this time the Paris Seminary had 80,000 Christians in Tongking, the Jesuits 120,000, the Augustinians 30,000, the Dominicans 20,000. In Cochin-China the Christians numbered 60,000.[4] Among the ten Jesuits of the mission, Fr. Siebert held the post of court mathematician and physician. Among the Jesuits of Tongking the German Caspar Kratz, a native of Golzheim, near Düren, and three of his brethren in religion, sealed their apostolic career with their blood in 1737.[5]

Under Prefect Orazio della Penna, some Jesuits and subsequently Italian Capuchins penetrated from Northern India into Tibet. With the permission of the Dalai Lama they established a convent at Lhassa where they converted a number of Buddhists ; in fact the King and the Lama granted them freedom to practise their religion by special letters.[6] In order to promote their labours as well as with a view to

[1] *Kath. Missionen*, 1880, 224.

[2] See above, p. 70.

[3] GALLO, *Storia del cristianesimo nell' impero Birmano*, I. (1862), 110 *seq.*

[4] SCHMIDLIN, 389.

[5] FR. ORTMANN, *Liber de vita et pretiosa morte ven. P. I. G. Kratz et sociorum*, Augsburg, 1770 ; *Kath. Missionen*, 1874, Nos. 6 and 7.

[6] *Missio Apostolica Thibetano-Seraphica*, Romae, 1738 ; HUC, IV., 12 *seqq.* ; JANN, in *Festschrift* für G. Schnürer, Paderborn, 1930, 128–207.

encouraging the rulers to embrace Christianity and winning their goodwill, Clement XII. dispatched most gracious and friendly Briefs to the King and to the heads of the priests, but a persecution had broken out a year earlier, though without ruining the mission.[1] However, for the time being, no striking successes were realized in Tibet.[2]

On the situation in China, the Jesuit missionary Romanus Hinderer wrote on August 24th, 1736, that the persecution then raging had begun in the first year of Emperor Yong-Tshing, in the second year it had spread to every province, that it had gone on for thirteen years and was becoming more and more violent.[3] Up to the year 1732, besides Peking, the missionaries had been tolerated in Canton also, but on August 18th of that year the Governors of the city informed them that they must all withdraw to Macao: the order had to be complied with. This measure was occasioned by a protest from some Mohammedans who complained that, contrary to the imperial prohibition, Christianity was still being preached at Canton.[4] When the missionaries drew Yong-Tshing's attention to the fact that Macao had no convenient harbour for communication with Europe, the Emperor allowed three or four of them to remain in Canton; moreover, without counting a few native priests, some thirty European missionaries successfully remained in hiding in the provinces.[5] At an audience the Emperor reproached the Christians for not honouring the ancestors; such impiety, he said, could not be tolerated. The Europeans quoted the

[1] LAUNAY, *Hist. de la mission du Tibet*, I., 39.

[2] Brief of February 26, 1733, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 119, n. IX.

[3] *Iesuitica in gen.*, fasc. 16, n. 278, State Library, Munich.

[4] Wolfg. Steinpöck, *Compendiosa narratio persecutionis Cantoniensis motae a. 1732 contra religionem christianam, May 15, 1733, *ibid.*, n. 277. *Cf.* Le Roux des Hautesrayes in DE MAILLA, XI., 494 *seq.*

[5] "*Praeter aliquot sacerdotes Sinenses in variis imperii provinciis agunt occulti Europaei sacerdotes fere 30, singularique Dei provindentiae tribuendum, quod nullus ad haec usque tempora denuntiatus sit." Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

fourth commandment and declared that they too honoured the dead. This answer surprised Yong-Tshing; he ordered an examination of the Christian teaching, but after a few months their books were returned to them without a reply.[1] The future of the mission seemed desperate,[2] though hope revived to some extent when Yong-Tshing died on October 7th, 1735. Milder treatment was expected at the hands of his successor Kienlong, but the persecution continued under him also.[3]

Mezzabarba's legation had failed to restore concord among the missionaries in China. On the one hand the Legate had granted the eight "permissions", but he had also declared that Clement XI.'s decision in the Bull *Ex illa die* was not affected thereby, even though not all the permissions appeared to agree with the Bull.[4] Nevertheless the protests in Rome by the opponents of the permissions were not at once taken into account. When on August 6th, 1730,the Vicar Apostolic of Shansi and Shensi, Saraceni, titular Archbishop of Lorima, forbade the use of the permissions in regard to the tablets of the ancestors, he was made to withdraw his pastoral letter and this prohibition.[5] There even followed a decision in the opposite sense. The new Bishop of Peking, the Augustinian Francis of the Purification, had sought to restore concord among the missionaries by means of two letters dated July 6th and December 23rd, 1733, in which he put them under obligation to make use of Mezzabarba's permissions. Thus arose fresh disputes; Clement XII. accordingly annulled the decrees of the Bishop, who had died in the meantime, and

[1] De Mailla, XI., 499 *seq. Cf.* *Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*In fine Aprilis et initio Maii Macaum pervenerunt litterae Pekinenses. Hae sunt plenae lamentationibus circa statum missionis. . . . Ex variis ecclesiis Pekinensibus advectae huc litterae in hoc consentiunt, ab isto imperatore nihil non timendum et radicem missionis vix tenuibus haerere fibris." Steinpöck, *loc. cit.*

[3] De Mailla, XI., 512 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 483.

[5] Brucker, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2387.

reserved to himself the right, after mature consideration, to make known to the Chinese Christians the judgment of the Holy See in these matters.[1] The pastoral letter of July 6th had been occasioned by a conference of the Jesuits of Peking with the Bishop. The latter charged the Jesuit Provincial Pinheiro to communicate it to the Franciscan Castorano and others, but they refused to subscribe to it on the ground that, as attested by Pedrini, the missionaries of Propaganda had not been previously informed.[2] At the end of 1735 Castorano arrived in Rome for the express purpose of obtaining the condemnation of the two pastoral letters and of Mezzabarba's permissions. He obtained the condemnation of the pastorals without difficulty ; as for Mezzabarba's permissions, a special committee of the Inquisition was charged to examine them ; its task was concluded at the beginning of 1737 and a cardinalitial Congregation was set up for the purpose of giving a final verdict. At the request of the Jesuit General, Fr. Retz, Clement XII. granted a delay pending the arrival in Rome of the Procurator of the Japanese Province who had already reached Lisbon. Retz also sought to obtain the intervention of the King of Portugal.[3] The fresh examination of the question was only concluded under Clement XII.'s successor.

On the other hand a conclusion was reached in the dispute

[1] September 26, 1735, *Ius pontif.*, II., 463.

[2] *Petition of Castorano and others to Propaganda, October 8, 1733. For the rest at this time the witness Pedrini plays a remarkable rôle : on October 9, 1733, three Jesuits attested on oath that together with the Jesuits he had petitioned the Bishop of Peking that the latter would order all the Peking missionaries to observe what he had laid down in his pastoral letter concerning Mezzabarba's permissions ; it was his wish that this order be extended to the whole of China. To the Provincial of the Chinese Jesuits he wrote that not only had he addressed this petition to the Bishop, but he would also submit it to the Pope, together with the Jesuits. Propaganda Archives, *Indie Or. e Cina*, 1733–6, Scritture riferite Congreg., 21, n. 8.

[3] *Retz to Carbone at Lisbon, January 5, 1737 (property of the Jesuits).

on the Malabar rites. Benedict XIII.'s decision had not become known in India, hence his successor was requested to take up the matter once more, for in spite of all decrees there still were those who refused to give up their objections or their hopes for mitigations. In six final sessions [1] the Holy Office issued explanations of Tournon's decree. The sixteen points of the decree were confirmed as a whole, though a few individual mitigations were granted.[2] Thus in particular cases of necessity, a dispensation was granted from the use of the saliva and the breathing on the Catechumen in the rite of Baptism, for a period of ten years, but the candidates could not be given the names of pagan divinities or penitents, though Tournon's order that names should be taken from the Roman Martyrology, became a mere counsel.[3] The ceremonies observed when a girl reached the age of puberty were altered by having a different object assigned to them : child marriages were to be regarded as mere betrothals ; only on the attainment of puberty were they to become true marriages which might be celebrated with the customary solemnities. Thus the outward solemnity was preserved whilst the objectionable element was avoided.[4] Tournon's decision with regard to the translation of Christian expressions was maintained, whilst the decree conceded that the translations already in use were unobjectionable.[5] The prohibition of the *Taly*—that is the commemorative medal with its objectionable representations, given to the betrothed—was maintained—but the fresh prohibition expressly mentions the fact that the missionaries had never allowed its use. An addition was made to Tournon's directions concerning the Baptism of pariahs which is intelligible enough—it was to the effect that Indians could not be admitted to Baptism if they held that pariahs were rejected by God ; those who did not rid

[1] January 21, April 22, May 13, July 22, September 9 and 16, 1733.

[2] Brief of August 24, 1734, *Ius pontif.*, II., 448–453.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, n. 1–2.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, n. 3.

themselves of such a prejudice were themselves cast off by God.[1] The demand that marriages must be contracted according to the Tridentine form, was restricted by a clause stating that this only applied to places where the Council of Trent had been published and the observance of the Tridentine form was possible.[2] To Tournon's prohibition of marks made on the forehead with ashes the declaration adds that Gregory XV.'s Constitution of January 31st, 1623, should be taken into account, in other words these symbols were not forbidden if they were stripped of every superstitious association.[3] For the rest the Cardinals expressed a wish that the missionaries should be formally forbidden to sanction without papal leave, observances peculiar to the pagans or to alter them into Christian ones, and in order to prevent confusion of Christian and pagan customs aspirants to Baptism should be carefully instructed, in accordance with Alexander VII.'s instructions.

This decision seemed destined to put an end to the disputes in India. The defenders of the Malabar rites had promised to obtain submission to the Pope's judgment and the General of the Jesuits issued instructions to his subjects demanding unconditional obedience. Information reached Rome that all the missionaries had subscribed to the papal Brief, that the schism between Jesuits and Capuchins at Pondicherry had come to an end and that all the missionaries had declared their willingness to minister to the pariahs.[4] Yet there were not wanting complaints of inadequate submission. Clement XII. accordingly renewed his command and demanded from all Bishops and missionaries in India a promise on oath that they would obey the papal prescriptions.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, n. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 15.
[4] AMANN, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1730.
[5] Brief of May 13, 1739, *Ius pontif.*, II., 501 *seqq.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—LAST YEARS OF CLEMENT XII.'S PONTIFICATE.—THE POPE'S PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ART.

(1.)

The repeated passage of imperial and Spanish troops and the prolonged rupture of relations between the Holy See and the courts of Naples, Madrid and Lisbon did most grievous injury to Rome and to the States of the Church. Thus the damage done by the imperial troops was reckoned to amount to one and a half million scudi.[1] How adversely social conditions in Rome were affected by the interruption of relations with Spain, Naples and Portugal is graphically described by the Venetian envoy Alvise Mocenigo in his report for the year 1737. Thousands of families, he writes, had sunk from wealth into poverty and many others from an assured existence into misery. An extraordinary large number of Spaniards, Neapolitans and Portuguese who had come to live in Rome for the purpose of obtaining benefices either for themselves or for others, had vanished from the city, and many Romans had followed them in order to seek their fortune elsewhere. The population of the Papal States fell at the same time.[2]

[1] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 10.

[2] The passage in question was first printed in RANKE, III., 222*, then in the complete edition of the report which appeared in Venice in 1864. The population of Rome numbered in 1730: 145,494 souls; in 1734, 151,334; in 1735, 150,665; in 1736, 150,649; in 1737, 149,180; in 1738, 147,119; in 1739, 146,750; see *Studie e docum.*, XII., 185 *seq.* On the population of the whole of the States of the Church, see besides CORRIDORE, 22, especially

All credit is due to Clement XII. for refusing to despair in circumstances of such difficulty and for endeavouring, by every means in his power, to bring about an improvement in the conditions which then prevailed in the Papal States.

Before all else it was necessary to remedy the financial straits. The first step towards this end was taken in 1731 when the Pope introduced the *lotto* which yielded considerable sums.[1] The interception of the revenues from Spain, Naples

G. Beloch, *La popolatione d'Italia nei sec.*, XVI. XVII. e XVIII. Roma, 1888, 16 *seqq.*, according to which the population of the States of the Church (not counting Rome), which in 1701 was 1,841,937 inhabitants, had fallen to 1,656,585 in 1736.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 353. A. Mocenigo describes the *lotto* as the " ruina de' popoli ", and he compares it to alchemy. What he says on the finances is so interesting that it deserves to be mentioned. He thinks that in Rome there continued to exist a " contrasto del buono e del cattivo costume ; alla medesima condizione sono pure le milizie di quello stato, piutosto destinate ad ornamento di principato che a difesa e moderazione dei popoli, e la piccola squadra delle galere pontificie non merita che io ne trattenga un momento l'eccellent. Senato. Qualche cosa bensì non posso dispensarmi d'esporre alla Serenità Vostra sopra l'economia e l'erario di Roma, non solo messo in rovina, ma incapace assolutamente di ricevere provedimento che vaglia. Infatti due principi cozzano fra di loro nel governo di Roma per impedire ogni buon regolamento nelle cose economiche. L'uno è il principato elettivo, l'altro il principato assoluto. Il primo fa che le famiglie regnanti nulla curano la miglior conservazione di quei stati, che non si tramandano alla posteriorità. Il secondo, che non trova riparo qualunque malversazione. Si pretende inoltre originata dall'instituzione de' Monti la piaga insanabile di tre millioni di scudi riservati in Castel S. Angelo sotto i più stretti vincoli : ma dei quali presentemente mancano per lo meno 2/3 del capitale, quando la Camera regolarmente paga il frutto dell'intiero. Niente minore è l'aggravio assunto da Innocenzo XI. nell'abbolizione dei dodici chiericati di Camera, avendo dovuto restituire il danaro in ragione di 60m scudi per uno. Anche Papa Clement XI. ha lasciati di debito alla Camera presso di sei millioni di scudi, i quali sono anche accresciuti sotto li pontificati seguenti. Le rendite dello stato non reggono alle spese ordinarie, che vi si

and Portugal was all the more painfully felt as the budget of the Papal States was intimately linked to that of the Holy See. The State was unable to make up for the loss of revenue from the above-named countries. It was all the more difficult to make good the deficit as it was necessary to pay interest on the huge public debt, whilst Clement XII., who personally lived very simply,[1] was unwilling to give up the patronage of the arts which his predecessors had also practised. Thus recourse was finally had to the expedient of issuing paper money, but the remedy only increased the evil. The paper money became an object of traffic which even people of humble condition were obliged to purchase, at a serious loss to themselves, for no notes below the value of twenty scudi were issued. The capital of the banks of S. Spirito and Monte di Pietà, which issued the notes, fell from one million to 130,000 scudi. The debts of the *Monti* were for the most part owing to foreigners, Genoese and Florentines, who spent their revenues abroad. "In this way," the Frenchman Charles de Brosses writes, "all the money from the Papal States leaves the country or, more correctly, none comes in. The money which should come in, makes so many detours, through the manipulations of those who should pay it, that it ends by sticking to the fingers of the Genoese and the Florentines." From his banker, Count Giraud, the gifted Frenchman learnt immediately on his arrival that in consequence of the system of paper money, coin was almost unknown in Rome.[2]

In a lively account of the lack of money which prevailed in Rome in the autumn of 1736, Cardinal Cienfuegos mentions some further causes of this unhappy state of affairs, viz.

fanno, di maniera tale che bisognerebbe, o aumentare le prime, o diminuire le seconde. Lo stato non comporta maggiori gabelle, e le famiglie dei Papi non permetteranno mai, che si minorino le spese, a segno che il presente pontificato ha piutosto voluto ricorrere alla spargirica del Lotto, che sottoporre a limiti ragionevoli l'economia." *Relazione*, 12–13.

[1] De Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 83.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20 *seqq.* *Cf.* Brosch, *Kirchenstaat*, II., 84.

the bad administration of the Zecca (mint) by people who did not understand anything, the absence of industries, which necessitated considerable imports, the failure of the harvest in the preceding year and the expensive billeting of troops, which made it necessary to buy corn and other foodstuffs elsewhere.[1] Clement XII. ordered an inquiry about means for remedying this situation. Consultations with the leading merchants took place, but the root of the evil was not touched; all that happened was the publication of an edict renewing the old prohibitions of the exportation of money[2] which, after Benedict XIII. had attached to the *Zecchini* a disproportionately high value, had been indulged in on an even larger scale.[3]

On top of all these misfortunes a cattle plague was carried across from Neapolitan territory.[4] Edicts were published by the Government in 1737 with a view to encouraging the sowing of wheat in the Campagna and ordinances were issued against usurers and smugglers.[5] However, the financial straits continued. In 1737 Alvise Mocenigo reports that the economic condition was such that the State was unable to provide for the future or to relieve present distress.[6] Mocenigo's successor, Marco Foscarini, recognizes that there was no lack of goodwill to remedy the financial situation, but the Government shrank from fresh taxation and did not feel justified in touching Sixtus V.'s treasure in Castel S. Angelo,[7] even for the war against the Turks as this campaign was an offensive not a defensive one. The money which Clement XII. sent to the Emperor in 1739 for a struggle which ended so unhappily, came partly from his personal estate and partly

[1] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 13, 1736, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 20, 1736, *ibid.* *Cf.* CRACAS, October 27, 1736; *ibid.*, July 26, 1738, on a fresh stern edict against traffic in coins.

[3] GARAMPI, *Monete pontif.*, 101.

[4] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, October 20, 1736, *loc. cit.*

[5] BENIGNI, 79 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 480 *seq.*, n. 1.

[7] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 9 *seqq.*, 11.

from a collection made among the Cardinals and the clergy.[1] Mocenigo also describes in detail the efforts made by Clement XII. to revive the languishing trade with a view to improving the revenues of the State. Efforts in that direction were, so to speak, in the air. Southern Europe began at last to see how far it lagged behind the North as a result of the neglect of economic conditions. Alberoni, and after him José Patino, did much in this direction in Spain, and an extensive literature on political economy also grew up at this time.[2] By comparison with other countries, the people of the Papal States continued to enjoy the advantage of a very low taxation but as trade and industry were almost completely prostrate, economic conditions were very bad. The most necessary articles of daily use, above all clothing material, had to be imported. In this way, and because the *Monti* were mostly in the hands of foreigners, whatever money flowed to Rome, went abroad immediately.[3] Misfortune dogged the home industry. The wool and carpet factory set up by Innocent XII. at S. Michele a Ripa was badly managed and its products were too dear so that the Romans preferred to buy foreign

[1] *Ibid.*, 24; FABRONIUS, 128; ZINKEISEN, V., 713; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* On the excommunication of Rákóczi, and on the Pope's offer to the Emperor, if he restored to the Church both Parma and Piacenza, of two million florins from the treasury of Sixtus V. (this was a case when it was permissible to draw upon it), *cf.* *Brief to Charles VI., dat. III. Non. Majas, 1738, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives: "ma alcuni ministri di Vienna, indurati nell'errore, non si vergognarono di dichiarare che più presto vedrebbero il Turco sotto Vienna (quod Deus avertat) che l'imperatore si spogliasse dei mentovati ducati di Parma e Piacenza." On the imposition of a tenth for five years on ecclesiastical property in the imperial States for the war against the Turks, see *Brevia Clementis XII. in *Brief Archives*, Papal Sec. Arch. On the war and the unfavourable peace of Belgrade, see besides ZINKEISEN, V., 669 *seqq.*, also *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XL., 1 *seqq.*, and *Mitteil. des österr. Kriegs archivs*, 1881.

[2] BAUMGARTEN, *Geschichte Spaniens*, I., 61 *seqq.*

[3] *Voyages de Montesquieu*, I., 193, 205, 215.

goods. The Roman stocking merchants also failed to prosper; though the articles sold by them were far better than those made in Venice, Naples and Turin, the Romans bought the latter products because of their cheapness.[1]

In 1734 a Florentine academician published a book in which he explains exhaustively and with great clearness by what means trade, agriculture and the income of the exchequer might be improved.[2] Clement XII., who was sprung from a family engaged in commerce, gave earnest consideration to these endeavours. A vast number of suggestions, projects, calculations and plans were submitted to him.[3]

The Pope sought to guard the home industries by protective tariffs.[4] The complete prohibition of the importation of foreign textiles imposed by his predecessors Clement XI., Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII. and at first confirmed by him also, had led to a considerable improvement in the home textile industry in Rome, Narni, Perugia, Rieti, Tivoli, Alatri, Veroli, Segni, Subiaco, Sanseverino and Giulianello, but in 1735, by the advice of a Congregation, the Pope

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 64.

[2] *Testamento politico d'un academico Fiorentino, Colonia, 1734.* According to the catalogue of the Corsini Library, Rome, the author is Leone Pascoli, 1674–1744. He rejects pure mercantilism and advocates, before Quesnay, physiocratic ideas. On the widespread interest in political economy and zeal for reform, see G. Ricca-Salerno, *Storia delle dottrine finanziarie in Italia*, Palermo, 1896, and T. Fornari, *Delle teorie economiche nelle provincie Napolitane*, Milano, 1882.

[3] Ranke (III., 218* *seqq.*) discusses some of these drafts, but he only quotes them as "Ms. Rom." After prolonged research, I finally found his source. It is: *Cod.* 1172 (34, B 4), Corsini Lib., Rome, where, on p. 66 *seqq.*, are the "*Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato eccles.", and numerous other documents, which throw a new light on the deliberations about protective duties.

[4] *Cf.* above, n. 3, and below, p. 485, n. 2, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 1917, II., 291. On the duty on imported silk imposed in 1736, see *Bull*, XX., 351.

withdrew the prohibition and allowed the importation of textiles against payment of a duty.[1] No one rejoiced more over this measure than the Venetians who had long watched the development of the cloth factories of the Papal States, now gravely threatened, with an anxiety equal to that with which they had noted the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the Pope and the Emperor.[2] Connected with this treaty was

[1] " Chirografo di N. S. col quale ritorna a permettere a ciascheduno indistintamente di poter introdurre in tutto lo stato eccles. (eccettuato però Roma per quello riguarda a damaschi e velluti) ogni qualunque sorta di pannine, damaschi e velluti, purchè si paghi un 20 per cento di gabella " (see CRACAS. *Cf.* A. . GALLI, *Cenni economico-statistici sullo stato pontif.*, Roma, 1840, 374. The *Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico, of which RANKE (III., 219*) gives extracts, advocates the renewal of the prohibition and its extension to silk goods. RANKE adds that he did not find that this measure had any results, but had he only turned a few pages in *Cod.* 1172, Corsini Library, Rome, he would have discovered there the *edict of March 20, 1738, on a new " gabella " on all foreign silk goods. Mention is also made of it by GALLI (*loc. cit.*).

[2] B. Morosini *writes in 1731 : " La straordinaria gabella imposta sulla cera forestiera rende minorato il commercio che su questo capo facea la dominante con Roma ; i panni forestieri proibiti, dall'editto quelli soli delli stati ereditari dell'Imperatore sono stati poi eccettuati, fa che soffrano i sudditi di Vostra Serenità, che introducevano nello stato pontificio ed in Roma quantità di panni. Sino i merli di Chioggia sono stati vietati, proibizione che io per il corso di tre anni trattenni e poi non vi fu modo di impedire. É vero che niente è succeduto in odio di Vostra Serenità, perchè gli editti sono universali e per motivo solamente di far uso delle cose dello proprio stato, procurare nel medesimo la circolazione del danaro e impedirne l'uscita dallo stato del Papa, ma se quelli, che devono a tali materie versare, fossero o dalla nascita o dall'inclinazione portati in vantaggio di Vostra Serenità, nemmeno questi pregiudicii ell'avrebbe risentito ; come nè pure si sarebbe formato quel trattato di commercio coll'Imperatore, del quale, quantunque sia incerto e probabilmente vano l'effetto, tuttavia fu stabilito per l'insinuazioni del Cervelli che trovò benevoli ascoltatori." *Relazione*, State Archives, Venice.

a plan for the establishment of direct communication by sea between the Papal States and the Austrian coast. To this end, in 1733, a disposition of Clement VIII., of the year 1594,[1] was re-enacted and Ancona declared a free harbour, and great works were undertaken for the creation of a commercial harbour.[2] Venice watched the vigorous efforts of the Pope with a jealous eye. Clement used the money brought in by the *lotto* to pay for the extension of the harbour buildings and the erection of a safe and well-equipped quarantine hospital. By 1737, 200,000 scudi had been expended on the work, but the experts reckoned that a further 660,000 scudi would be required for its completion. The Venetian envoys comforted their Government by explaining that the Pope would not be able to raise such a sum and that the aged Clement's successor was unlikely to prosecute the undertaking.[3] At any rate they had the satisfaction of seeing that the hope of a revival of trade in the Papal States remained unfulfilled.[4] This was all the more painful to Clement XII. as he took the greatest interest in the matter, up to the very end of his pontificate. The hospital designed by Vanvitelli, who had already built Caserta, was a brick building round a central court in the middle of which stood a chapel in the form of a rotunda. On the northern wall of the harbour of

[1] GALLI, 374.

[2] Cardinal Albani's *edict of February 16, 1732, *Cod. Barb.* 4687, p. 2022, Vatican Library. An edict of September 2, 1734 (see CRACAS), appointed a commission of five Cardinals "per il stabilimento e buon regolamento del porto franco di Ancona", which had to meet at least once a month. Further *documents concerning this subject in *Cod.* 34, B 8 and 9, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf.* ANDERSON, *Gesch. des Handels*, VII., 185.

[3] *Relazione* del CAV. A. MOCENIGO of 1737, ed. Venezia, 1864, 24 *seq.* Similarly, *Foscarini*, 1738, in BROSCH, II., 84. *Cf.* also GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 13.

[4] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 14 *seq.*, 16; mention is also made there of Cardinal Albani's efforts to improve the glass industry in Urbino; for this purpose samples were brought not only from Murano, but even from Saxony.

Ancona, which the Pope constructed as a continuation of the ancient Roman one, a monument designed by Vanvitelli was erected in his honour—the Arco Clementino—only a few yards from Trajan's magnificent triumphal arch. A marble statue of Clement in a sitting position, carved by Cornacchini in 1739, adorned the Piazza Maggiore near the church of St. Dominic.[1] The people of Iesi erected a triumphal arch in honour of the Pope to mark its gratitude for the new road from Nocera to Ancona which passed through Iesi; the road was called *Via Clementina* after its founder.[2]

In 1734 Clement XII. distributed 300,000 scudi among the distressed communities in the Papal States.[3] In the same year the valley of the Chiana was changed from a swamp into fertile land by the construction of a canal to the Tiber.[4] On the other hand the plan of rendering the Tiber navigable from Perugia to Rome was not carried out. In addition to a number of privileges the town of Cesena received assistance towards the construction of a bridge over the Sinapi, in return for which the town erected a marble statue of the Pope.[5] A similar honour was paid him by Bologna: the Pope had contributed 25,000 scudi towards the waterworks, 2,000 towards the seminary and 10,000 towards the library and astronomical instruments bought in London.[6]

[1] LEONI, *Ancona illustrata*, Ancona, 1832, 323 *seqq.*; FABRONIUS, 62, 189 *seqq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 249. On the military hospital, *cf.* **Cod.* 32, B 16, p. 39, and **Cod.* 34, B 4 (= 1172), p. 410 *seqq.* (Vanvitelli's defence), Corsini Library, Rome.

[2] FABRONIUS, 62 *seq.*, 185 *seq.* On the concern of Clement XII. for the roads in the States of the Church, *cf.* **Cod.* 1170, Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] NOVAES, XIII., 226. *Ibid.*, 198, on other municipal subsidies. *Cf.* also the inscription in Tivoli, V. PACIFICI, *L'archivio Tiburtino di S. Giovanni Evangelista*, Tivoli, 1922, XVIII.

[4] FABRONIUS, 85.

[5] *Ibid.*, 60 *seqq.*, 194. The Communal Archives, Cesena, Parte III., *Congregazioni*, 1464, preserve the *deliberations of 1731–2 on the statue.

[6] NOVAES, XIII., 285 *seq.*; FABRONIUS, 193.

In Rome the Pope took steps against the excessive luxury in wearing-apparel, issued an ordinance against the carrying of arms, restricted the right of asylum and saw to a better administration of justice. The excellent reputation of the Rota, the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, dates from this time.[1] In 1738 Clement XII. established a papal printing press in the Piazza della Pace; the celebrated publishing house of the De Rossi (De Rubris) constituted the nucleus of this establishment.[2]

The Pope did a very great deal for Ravenna which, thanks to him, awoke to a new life. As early as 1732 he gave orders for the junction in one bed of the Rivers Montone and Ronco so as to free the city from the constant danger of inundation.[3] A stone bridge was thrown across the united rivers—a work worthy of the Romans of old.[4] The merit of having completed this difficult undertaking belongs to Cardinal Alberoni who was appointed Legate of the Romagna on January 17th, 1735.[5] For the work of uniting the two rivers in one bed recourse

[1] NOVAES, XIII., 195, 238; FABRONIUS, 88 *seq.*, 97; *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.*; *Ragioni ingerite a P. Clemente XII. per ovviare di frequenti omicidi, in *Cod.* X., E 58, National Library, Naples. *Cf.* Cardinal C. Cibo's *autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 103, p. 1 *seqq.*, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. BROSCH (II., 85) also acknowledges the efforts of Clement for a better administration of the law. On the Rota, *cf. Relazione* of A. MOCENIGO, 1737, Venezia, 1864.

[2] REUMONT, in *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1874, n. 356 (*Beil.*) and 364; E. OVIDI, *calcografia Romana*, Roma, 1905. *Cf.* the periodical "Emporium", 1922, Gennaio, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXVIII., 500.

[3] Chirografo of Clement XII. "per la diversione dei fiumi", dated 1732, Ottobre 10 (printed) in Bibl. Classense, Ravenna. *Cf. Ragguaglio istorico della diversione dei due fiumi*, Bologna, 1741 (anonymous; Filippo Diego Bellardi, Alberoni's biographer, is the author); mention is also made of the inundation of 1736; see also NOVAES, XIII., 220.

[4] SANTI MURATORI, *Del ponte nuovo presso Ravenna e di un epigrafe di Giambattista Vico*, Imola, 1911.

[5] Cardinal Cienfuegos' *report, January 22, 1735, Reuss Arch., Ernstbrunn.

was had to the most eminent hydraulic engineers of the time viz., Eustachio Manfredi and Bernardino Zendrini. Work continued even at night and Alberoni superintended it in person. On some days he appeared on the scene as often as three times. Thus came into being one of the greatest hydraulic achievements of the century. Work had begun in July, 1735; December, 1736, saw its completion.[1] Commemorative medals, inscriptions and poems extolled the union of the rivers, the new bridge and the new road (*Via Roma*).[2]

Alberoni furthered the well-being of Ravenna by every means, set the administration in order and drove out the bandits. To him and to the Pope the city likewise owes the navigable canal to the sea, ten kilometres long, constructed in 1737, and the new outer harbour which was given the name of Corsini, as was the new city gate.[3] In 1738 the grateful citizens erected a colossal marble statue of the Pope in the principal square, between the columns bearing the statues of SS. Apollinaris and Vitalis. Pietro Bracci has produced a seated figure of the aged Pontiff in the act of blessing the city, his countenance radiating gentleness and kindness.[4]

[1] See SANTI MURATORI's monograph, p. 3 *seqq.*, quoted above.

[2] See besides SANTI MURATORI, 7 and 8 *seqq.*, also P. D. PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, Roma, 1912, 2, who, on p. 217, gives a reproduction of the commemorative medallion. The inscription says: "Clemens XII. P. M. | Bedesis, et Vitis aquis | Ravennae utrinque imminentibus | corrivatis | magnifico ponte superimposito | Romanaque via restituta | urbem ab alluvione immunem | reddidit | viatorum saluti et commodo | prospexit | a. s. MDCCXXXVI. Pont. VI. | opus curante | Iulio card. Alberono | Flaminiae legato | S. P. Q. R. | principi beneficentissimo p."

[3] *Cf.* besides Alberoni's biographies: FABRONIUS, 201 *seqq.*; TARLAZZI, *Mem. stor. di Ravenna*, Ravenna, 1852, 473 *seq.*; GOETZ, *Ravenna*, 128. *Acts in Municipal Archives, Ravenna. *Cf.* also B. FIANDRINI, **Annali Ravennati*, Ms. in Bibl. Classense Ravenna; A. BACCARINI, *Il portocanale Corsini*, in *Giorn. del Genio civ.*, 1868, n. 5; *Nuova Antologia*, 4th Series, CXVIII. (1905), 329.

[4] Reproduced in PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, 216; RICCI, *Raccolta artist. di Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1905, 123 *seq.*; V. DOMARUS, *Bracci*,

The removal, in July, 1867, by order of the municipal council, of this monument of a ruler who had done more for the city than any other prince, from its place of honour, and its consignment to the museum of antiquities, is not a brilliant page in the history of Ravenna.[1] For all that Clement XII.'s name still lives at Ravenna at this day, as does that of Alberoni.

The practical, useful work done by Alberoni at Ravenna by no means exhausted the energy of that remarkable man whose fame was once more in the ascendant.[2] In the gravelike silence of the city of Theodoric, the man who had been for a time the all-powerful minister of Spain and who had entertained plans which would have revolutionized the world, continued his adventurous dreams by drawing up fantastic schemes for the conquest of the Turkish Empire and its partition among the Christian Powers.[3]

This plan for changing the map of Europe, which was neither original nor practical, was much more harmless than Alberoni's attempt, in 1739, to rob San Marino of its independence and to subject the little Republic to the authority of the Pope. Encouraged by and relying on the enemies of the local oligarchy, he presented himself on horseback, at the head of an armed force, on October 17th, 1739,

1 7, 24. *Cf.* the rare work (a copy is in Bibl. Classense, Ravenna) : *Erigendosi nella piazza di Ravenna* | *la statua* | *del beatissimo Padre* | *Papa Clemente XII.* | *componimenti* | *degli Accademici Informi* | *consecrati* | *alla Santità Sua* | *dal Senato e popolo di essa città* | *in dimostrazione* | *di ossequiosissima gratitudine* | In Ravenna per Anton-Maria Landi, MDCCXXXVIII., contains : " Alla Santità di Nostro Signore Clemente XII. P. M. il Maestrato de' Savi di Ravenna ; Introduzione del cav. Marcantonio Giovanni [?] principe dell'Accademia ; Orazione del marchese cavalier Simone Ignazio Cavalli in lode di Clemente XII. P. M. (recitata alla presenza del card. Alberoni) " ; then follows a series of poems.

1 Pasolini, *Ravenna*, 215 *seq.*

2 *Cf.* Frugoni's letter of 1738, in *Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, XV. (1920), 62 *seqq.* See also *Riv. stor. ital.*, 1921, 69.

3 Vestnitsch, *Le card. Alberoni pacifiste*, in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1912 ; Michael, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CX., 445 *seqq.*

and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Pope. The Cardinal Secretary of State had not been averse to action against San Marino as the situation there seemed to threaten the security of the Papal States. But when messengers arrived, demanding justice for the Republic, it was quickly realized in Rome that they had been misled by exaggerated reports. In the first days of November, 1739, the Pope decided that no annexation was to take place without a previous free vote of the citizens. Alberoni was publicly disavowed for exceeding his instructions and at Christmas, 1739, he was relieved of his legation. Enrico Enriquez went to San Remo as papal commissary, to supervise the plebiscite; the result of the voting was such that he restored its independence and freedom to San Remo.[1] With this act, in the words of Muratori, Clement XII. crowned the end of his pontificate.[2] Besides the affair of San Marino, various chicaneries in secular and ecclesiastical matters on the part of the new Government of his native Florence caused the aged Pontiff both vexation and pain[3]: but these were the last trials of his thorny pontificate.

To the gout which tormented Clement XII., there was

[1] C. Malagola, *Il card. Alberoni e la repubbl. di S. Marino*, Bologna, 1886; I. Raulich, *Il card. Alberoni e la repubbl. di S. Marino* (*Contributo di documenti Vaticani*), in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5ª, Series XXXIX. (1907), 353 *seqq.* *Cf.* also the dispatches, *ibid.*, 4th Series, XX., 361 *seqq.*; Gandino, *Foscarini*, 6 *seqq.* The collection of documents on this matter in *Cod.* 34, B 2, Corsini Library, Rome, has not been made use of by Raulich; also *Relazione al D. G. M. de Valenzuola 1739, in *Cod. ital.*, 189, n. 30, State Library, Munich. Brosch treats twice (I., 392; II., 85 *seqq.*), of the attack against San Marino, but does not devote one line to the beneficial activity of Alberoni and Clement XII. on behalf of Ravenna. As a matter of fact, he only dwells on the shadows in the picture, so that his History of the States of the Church becomes a real caricature.

[2] Muratori, XII., 202.

[3] *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Fabronius, 130 *seq.*; Reumont, *Toskana*, II., 39, about the County of Carpegna.

added a hernia which, towards the end of 1738, caused the court considerable anxiety.[1] In October of the following year the Pope's weakness was such that his death was expected daily. His condition improved once more, but he was compelled to keep to his bed during almost the whole of the last months of 1738, which were extraordinarily cold.[2] In January, 1740, there supervened bladder trouble which caused a good deal of sleeplessness.[3] On the 28th the Pope asked for Holy Viaticum and on the 29th he was anointed. He also suffered from a heavy catarrh, but his strong constitution continued to resist the approaching end.[4] Only when the sick Pontiff was no longer able to take even the chocolate on which he had been fed, was all hope given up. On the morning of February 6th he expired after a brief agony, aged close on 88 years.[5] His pontificate had lasted nine and a half years. When we remember that he had been totally blind since 1732 and that during the last years his weakness had been such as to compel him to keep almost continuously in a reclining position, we can only wonder at the energy which caused him to apply himself to affairs to the best of his power. That in view of his great age and his ailing condition

[1] Reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 176 *seq.* In May, 1738, Clement XII. confessed for the first time that he was feeling the weight of the years. At that time L. M. Lucini *wrote to Cardinal Lambertini: "Il Papa non sta male e non sta bene." Report of May 3, 1738, *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library.

[2] *Conclave di Benedetto XIV., in *Cod.* 38, G 20, p. 249 *seqq.* Corsini Library, Rome.

[3] Acquaviva's *report to the Marquis de Villanas, January 28, 1740, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] L. M. Lucini's report on the illness in his *letter to Cardinal Lambertini, January, 1740, states: "È mirabile che tanta vecchiaia possi tanto resistere, onde si conosce di quanta fortezza sia la di lui complessione." *Cod. Ottob.* 3052, Vatican Library.

[5] Reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 360 *seqq.*, 365 *seqq.*; Acquaviva's *report to the Marquis de Villanas, February 6, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Card. Quirini, *Scrittura sopra la morte di Clemente XII., *Cod.* A CXLIII., 11, Marucelliana Library, Florence.

many things escaped him and the reins finally slipped from his hands, was as inevitable as the impossibility for him to remove completely the faults of government which he had inherited from his predecessors. At any rate the extraordinary severe sentence against Coscia was a stern warning to the officials of the Curia. Clement XII. kept himself absolutely free from nepotism.[1] In the face of the arrogance and arbitrariness of the Catholic courts he sought to restore peace by patience and an accommodating disposition,[2] with a view to saving as much as could be saved of the rights of the Church. In this way tolerable agreements were arrived at with Portugal and Spain, but the ecclesiastical disputes with the courts of Turin and Naples remained unsettled. The Pope was likewise painfully affected by the utter disregard of the ancient feudal rights of the Holy See over the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

(2.)

Clement XII. has deserved well of learning and art. The appointment, soon after his election, of the learned Cardinal Angelo Maria Quirini as Prefect of the Vatican Library was a particularly happy decision. Quirini had at heart both the increase and the practical usefulness of the treasures of the *Vaticana* which, by reason of its manuscripts, ranked as the first library in the world.[3] On May 26th, 1731, the Pope thanked him for the gift of his own library to the Vatican collection and for his having caused Joseph Simon Assemani to begin work on an edition of the works of St. Ephrem the

[1] GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 51.

[2] As the pontificate of Benedict XIII., L. M. Lucini writes in his *letter to Lambertini, November 28, 1730, had been made unhappy by Coscia, so that of Clement XII. was so through "fatalità"; "Papa cadente in tutto con notorietà di tutto il mondo che *non habet nec velle nec nolle* e senza restare inteso delle difficoltà in contrario si fa dire di si e di no, come pare agli interessati." *Cod. Ottob.*, 3052, Vatican Library.

[3] GADDI, *Roma nobilitata*, 90.

Syrian.[1] Clement bought manuscripts for the Vatican Library, added another wing to it with new bookcases, and presented it with 200 Etruscan vases, most of which he had acquired from the collection of Cardinal Gualtieri. A truly princely gift was that of 328 antique medals, including some superb pieces from the Albani collection, which he bought for the sum of 10,000 scudi and left to the *Vaticana*. He also provided further funds for the acquisition of manuscripts and printed books.[2] Only a short time before his death the Pope consigned to the Vatican Library the original of Eugene IV.'s Bull of Union and five rare papyri from the collection of Scipio Maffei.[3] The circumstance that, as Bishop of Brescia, Cardinal Maffei frequently resided in that city, increased the importance of the rôle of the sub-librarians; these were the Chaldean Joseph Simon Assemani, the celebrated editor of the *Biblioteca Orientalis*,[4] and the archæologist Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, the editor of a new edition of the dictionary of the Crusca, whom the Pope had summoned from Florence. Bottari's work on Bosio's book on the Catacombs, undertaken at Clement XII.'s instigation, was less happy.[5] The Vatican

[1] *Brief of May 26, 1731, *Epist.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.*, *ibid.*, *Briefs of January 5, 1732, and February 20, 1737; CARINI, *Bibl. Vat.*, 108; *Opera*, EPHRAEMI, 6 vols., Romae, 1732–1746.

[2] Brief of August 24, 1739, in CARINI, *loc. cit.*, 105 *seq.* *Cf.* A. M. QUIRINI, *Comment. de Bibl. Vat. a Clemente XII. aucta*, Brixiae, 1739; CARINI, 107. On the collection of vases, see GADDI, 94; JUSTI, *Winkelmann*, III., 344 *seq.*

[3] *Brief of thanks to S. Maffei, January 29, 1740, *Epist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* *Briefs of thanks for the dedication of works, June 21, and (to M. Hergott), June 28, 1738. "Confirmatio censurarum Sixti V. pro Bibl. Vatic.," August 24, 1739, in *Bull*, XXIV., 571.

[4] *Bibl. Orientalis*, 3 vols., Romae, 1719–1728.

[5] G. G. BOTTARI, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimeteri di Roma, pubblicate già dagli autori della Roma Sotterranea, ed ora nuovamente date in luce colle spiegazioni, per ordine di N. S. Clemente XII.*, tomo I. con 48 tavole in rame, Roma, 1737. *Cf.* A. NICCOLINI, *Alcune lettere a mons. Giov. Bottari intorno alla corte di Roma* (1724–1761), Bologna, 1867.

Library was not as yet open to the public, but any one even slightly known to its officials, was able to use it on certain days when, as Charles de Brosses attests, he could be sure of a courteous reception.[1]

Clement XII. summoned to Rome, to act as Secretaries for Briefs to Princes, two of the most distinguished latinists of the period, viz. Carlo Majella, and after the latter's death in 1735, Giovanni Lucchesini.[2] Cardinal Domenico Passionei was appointed Secretary of State for Briefs in June, 1738, and in that capacity he lodged in the Consulta where he also set up his famous library.[3] To his old friend the poet Niccolò Forteguerri of Pistoia, the courageous censor of the abuses introduced by Coscia and his Beneventans, the Pope assigned a secure position by naming him Secretary to Propaganda,[4] whilst the Florentine poet Niccolò Ridolfi became Master of the Apostolic Palace.[5] The Pope also gave assistance to Francesco Lorenzini, one of the principal members of the Arcadia, in the latter's endeavours for the presentation of classical comedies [6]; on the learned D'Inquembert, his former librarian, he bestowed the see of Carpentras in 1735.[7] The

[1] De Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 204. Clement also favoured in this way Coquelines who made use of the Secret Archives for his great *Bullarium*.

[2] Fabronius, 147 *seq.* On Majella, see above, p. 333. On Luchesini, see Renazzi, IV., 179 *seqq.*; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XIX., 224, 228.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 255.

[4] Renazzi, IV., 130; Baumgartner, VI., 498 *seq.*; F. Canonici, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di N. Forteguerri*, Siena, 1895, 30 *seqq.*, 107 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.*, who made use of the manuscripts of the Forteguerri Archives, Pistoia.

[5] Renazzi, IV., 97.

[6] *Ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[7] *Hist. de M. d'Inquembert, évêque de Carpentras*, Cavaillon, 1867. The Carpentras Library has a number of manuscripts from D'Inquembert's literary remains which serve for the history of Clement XII., thus *Cod.* 9, *Memorie del pontificato di Clemente XII., especially on the disputes with France; *Cod.* 39, *Memorie del papato di Clemente XII. raccolte da M. d'Inquembert.

Florentine Dominican Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, who had dedicated to the Pope his work on papal infallibility, was summoned to Rome by Cardinal Neri Corsini, to act as his theologian.[1] The above-named Cardinal always showed great favour to men of letters. In his palace on the Lungara he founded a library which exists to this day and which is extraordinarily rich in manuscripts, printed books and engravings.[2] There he also received the Accademia de' Quirini which, previous to Clement XII.'s elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, had held its meetings at the latter's palace.[3]

Mention must also be made of Clement XII.'s plan for a further reform of the Calendar.[4] To the celebrated Swedish astronomer Anders Celsius he assigned a room under the clock tower of the Quirinal for his observations of the sky [5] and he gave assistance to the able Giambattista Nolli for his work on an accurate plan of the city of Rome.[6] On the Capitol he established a home for the secret archives of the Camera Capitolina.[7]

The Pope proved himself a true Florentine by his energetic

[1] HURTER, IV.[3], 1505 *seq.*

[2] DUDIK, *Iter Rom.*, I., 95 *seqq.*; F. CERROTI, *Memorie p. servire alla storia della incisione compilate nella descrizione delle stampe nella Bibl. Corsiniana*, I., Roma, 1858; Id., *Lettere e Mem. autogr. ed inedite di artisti tratte dai Mss. d. Corsiniana*, Roma, 1860; LAEMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 113 *seqq.*; GACHARD, *La bibliothèque des princes Corsini à Rome*, Bruxelles, 1869; PÉLISSIER, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VIII. (1891), 177 *seqq.*, 297 *seq.*; *Catalogo d. Bibl. del card. Gualtieri acquistata dal card. Corsini, in *Cod.* 69, Carpentras Library.

[3] RENAZZI, IV., 121. On the Accademia Quiriniana, see CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 129.

[4] *Raccolta di scritture sopro un progetto per la riforma del Calendario Gregoriano 1735 (Fil. Lud. Giuliani's project), in *Cod.* 36, F 7, Corsini Library, Rome. *Cf. ibid.*, *Cod.* 41, F 1, p. 228 *seqq.* *Parere di Eustachio Manfredi.

[5] M. DE BENEDETTI, *Palazzi e ville reali d'Italia*, I., Firenze, 1911, 35.

[6] CRACAS, August 18, 1736.

[7] *Gli Archivi italiani* (Rivista), VI., (1919), 165.

patronage of art. In his commissions to artists, as in other respects also, he gave preference to his countrymen. The two great architects whom he chiefly employed, Ferdinand Fuga [1] and Alessandro Galilei, were both Florentines. Among sculptors the Roman Pietro Bracci was the most eminent; most of the others, viz. Giambattista Maini, Agostino Cornacchini, Filippo Valle, Giuseppe Lironi, were natives of the city of the Arno.

It is matter for amazement that, in spite of financial straits, the Pope should have succeeded in making of his pontificate one of the most splendid and fruitful periods of artistic achievement. Already in 1736 Giambattista Gaddi was able to enumerate an impressive list of buildings with which the Pope had embellished Rome.[2] But these new constructions did not hinder Clement XII.'s solicitude for the relics of old Rome. In the very first period of his pontificate he ordered the restoration of that venerable monument of the triumph of Christianity, the Arch of Constantine. The work was directed by the architect Girolamo Teodoli and Marchese Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, a noted archæologist, whilst the restoration of the statues was carried out by Pietro Bracci.[3]

[1] Fuga died in 1738; see FORCELLA, VIII., 479.

[2] G. B. GADDI, *Roma nobilitata nelle sue fabriche dalla S^tà di N. S. Clemente XII., descritta da G. B. G.*, Roma, 1736. This is supplemented by the continuation of Falda and Specchi's *Nuovo teatro* by GIOV. DOM. CAMPIGLIA: *Il quinto libro del nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici, fatte fare in Roma e fuori di Roma da Clemente XII., disegnate et intagliate*, etc., Roma, 1739, with thirty copper plates. I consulted the original copy of this extremely rare work dedicated to Clement XII., which Cardinal Neri Corsini assigned to the Corsini Library. *Cf.* also *Fabriche div. disegnate con le loro iscrittioni fatte da Clemente XII.*, formerly *Cod.* 1056, Corsini Library, now in Gab. d. stampe d. Galleria Corsini, 158, J. 6.

[3] GADDI, *loc. cit.*, 177 *seqq.*; GRISAR, I., 96 note; v. DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 16 *seqq.*; *Bullet. d. Commiss. archeol.*, XLVI. (1918), 161 *seqq.* *Cf.* GRADARA, in *Rassegna d'arte*, November, 1915.

To the skilled hands of Capponi, who was assisted by Abbate Marchesini, Clement XII. entrusted the arrangement of the museum of statues in the third of the palaces on the Capitol completed under Innocent X. The nucleus of the museum was the celebrated collection of imperial busts and inscriptions of Cardinal Alessandro Albani which that Prince of the Church, who just then happened to be in great need of cash, had sold to the Pope for the sum of 60,000 scudi.[1] To this were added antique objects from the palace of the Conservators and numerous new acquisitions, such as two precious columns of verd-antique, 187 inscriptions, described by Bianchini, from the so-called tomb of Livia's freedmen discovered in 1726, and the magnificent statue of Antinous found in the garden of the Villa Adriana. Albani himself enriched the Capitoline museum with spontaneous gifts of which the best known is the group of "Amor and Psyche". The aged Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni also contributed several statues, among them that of the *Vecchia ubriaca* ("Drunken Old Woman"). The statue of the "Dying Gladiator" was bought by the Pope from the Ludovisi and placed by him in the museum which was inaugurated in 1734.[2]

The Florentine Pope's distinction of having created the first public museum of antiquities in Europe[3] is recalled by an inscription and the arms and bust of the Corsini Pope

[1] HAUTECŒUR, *Rome à la fin du XVIIIe. siècle*, 10.

[2] MICHAELIS, *Storia della collezione Capitolina di antichità*, in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, VI. (1891), 58 *seqq.*; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 158 *seqq.* According to *Ristretto delle spese per la collocazione delle statue comprate da Clemente XII. dal card. Albani nel Campidoglio sotto la direzione di M. A. G. Capponi, in *Cod.* 41, F. 1, Corsini Library, Rome, the expenses amounted to 20,972,77 and 10,335,32 scudi.

[3] The antiques which Sixtus IV. presented to the Palazzo dei Conservatori (*cf.* the present work, Vol. IV., 459), as also the Cortile di statue of Julius II. in the Belvedere (*cf.* VI., 487), were architectural decorations of the same kind as those in use in private palaces; *cf.* FURTWÄNGLER, *Über Kunstsammlungen alter und neuer zeit*, in *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1899, App., n. 67.

above the Marforio fountain in the *cortile* of the museum.[1] At one time the great hall of the museum was adorned with a more than life-size statue of the Pope which the Senate had erected in the autumn of 1734, in recognition of the benefits confered by the Pontiff upon the city. The statue, designed by Pietro Bracci and cast by Francesco Giardoni, has unfortunately disappeared without a trace: it was probably destroyed during the period of French domination in 1798.[2] The Capitoline museum, to which was to be added a picture gallery,[3] was not yet finally arranged at the time of Clement XII.'s death and further additions were constantly being made.[4] The contemporaries justly extol this collection which was destined to become the great book of archæologists. "Of all the embellishments of the Eternal City," wrote Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, "this collection of ancient statues, inscriptions and reliefs on the Capitol is the most important, the most sensible; by itself alone it would suffice to commend and endear to posterity the memory of Clement XII."[5]

Facing the Quirinal and not far from the Giardino Colonna, Fuga completed in 1730–1731, by order of Clement XII., the mews begun by Michelangelo Specchi under Innocent XIII.[6]

[1] FORCELLA, I., 79; *ibid.*, the other inscriptions about Clement XII.

[2] See DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 22 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* the document from *Miscell. d. Bibl. Corsini*, published by OZZOLA in *Corriere d'Italia*, 1907, n. 8. The exportation of pictures especially to England (see DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 49), was considerable; *cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti da Roma*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1871, 186 *seq.* Already in 1729 MONTESQUIEU (*Voyages*, I., 205) wrote: "Il faudrait faire une loi dans Rome que les principales statues seroient immeubles et ne pourroient point se vendre qu' avec les maisons où elles seroient sous peine de confiscation de la maison et d'autres effets du vendeur. Sans cela Rome sera toute dépouillée."

[4] DE BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 180, 208.

[5] *Relazione*, ed. Venezia, 1864.

[6] GADDI, 57 *seqq.* In the Quirinal there is an inscription almost completely destroyed, of which only the ending is still legible: "A° 1731 Pontif., II."

The Quirinal, which was his habitual residence, received an extension along the street leading towards Porta Pia, for housing the Pope's familiars, viz. the Manica Lunga and the adjoining Palazzina. This addition was also made by Fuga, who used constructions raised by Alexander VII. and Innocent XII.: the work was completed in 1732. For the benefit of the Swiss Guards a chapel dedicated to Blessed Nicolas von der Flüe was set up in the building.[1] Opposite the Quirinal, on the south side, Fuga was instructed to replace the old palace of the Consulta, restored by Paul V., by a new building, the upper storey of which was to house the officials of the tribunal of the Consulta and the Secretaries of the Cypher whilst the basement was to be occupied by the papal cavalry. The demolition of the old building, which began in 1732, unfortunately entailed the destruction of a frieze painted under Leo X. by Polidoro Caravaggio.[2] The foundation stone of the new Consulta was laid in October, 1732; the work, which was paid for with the copious returns from the *lotto*, was completed in 1735.[3] The palace was skilfully adapted to the existing space: the vestibule is characterized by a noble simplicity whilst the double flight of stairs leading to the topmost storey is magnificently proportioned; the long façade has two orders of pilasters, the lower one partly rustic, the upper one Ionian; both carry an attic and a high balustrade extending the whole length of the façade; the tympanums of the portals are adorned with trophies and allegorical figures.[4] The magnificent coat of arms of Clement XII. above the principal cornice, surrounded by allegorical figures, was completed in 1735.[5] Giambattista Maini's marble statues of Justice and Religion were set up over the main entrance in October, 1739.[6] The spacious palace of the Consulta and

[1] GADDI, 47 *seqq.*

[2] VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXVI. (1917), 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18 *seqq.* *Cf.* GADDI, 63 *seqq.*

[4] LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 169, *Planches*, I., 29; EBE, 822 *seq.*; GURLITT, 526; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 124.

[5] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 19.

[6] CRACAS, October 31, 1739.

the extensive buildings of the Mews gave an entirely new appearance to the piazza of the Quirinal.

In the interior of the city Clement XII. opened a new street towards the palace of Monte Citorio [1]; the Corso was widened near the Palazzo Sciarra.[2] For paving the streets he adopted the "new method" of using bricks, a process which though more costly was more lasting.[3]

Clement XII. enlarged the Vatican Library by the addition of a new wing,[4] contiguous to the part which Paul V. had had adorned with paintings. To the house of correction of S. Michele in Ripa he added a prison for women. In view of the fact that great damage was done in May, 1734, when the wood store in the city caught fire, he established a new one outside Porta del Popolo.[5] He provided Castel S. Angelo

[1] GADDI, 124 *seqq.*

[2] CRACAS, February 2, 1737. *Cf.* FABRONIUS, 199. According to FEA (*Dei diritti*, 82 *seq.*), Clement XII. also laid out anew the Piazza Pollarola.

[3] "*Il nuovo metodo di selciare le strade a quadrucci di tanto maggior durata benchè di spesa più considerabile," say the *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII.*, Corsini Library, Rome, *loc. cit.* The work was almost completed in 1738; see GANDINO, *Foscarini*, 13. On the taxes to be imposed on the owners of houses, see the Memorial *Intorno alle strade dentro e fuori di Roma, Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican. *Cf.* also *Cod.* 34, A 8, Corsini Library, Rome. The population of Rome in 1730 was 145,494; in 1739, 146,750 inhabitants; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 185 *seqq.*

[4] GADDI, 89 *seqq.* On October 25, 1732, Cienfuegos *reports: "Mercoledì scorso si portò [Clemente XII.] a vedere la Biblioteca Vaticana, in cui si è accresciuto un nuovo braccio per mettervi i libri del card. Quirini." Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[5] GADDI, 121 *seqq.*; FORCELLA, X., 509; FABRONIUS, 197; A. TOSTI, *Ospedale Apost. di S. Michele*, Roma, 1832, 11 *seqq.* On the fire in May, 1734, see *Relazione del grandissimo incendio seguito nella città di Roma il dì 5 di Maggio 1734*, Firenze, 1734; at this time Clement XII. gave orders for the creation of a fire brigade; see **Cod.* 32, D 1, p. 244 *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

with a supply of water and a fountain.[1] In 1732, in execution of a plan entertained by more than one of his predecessors, a competition was organized for the adornment, on a monumental scale, of the Fountain of Trevi, for the Pope was dissatisfied with the work of the Neapolitan Paolo Benaglia, begun under Benedict XIII. The most distinguished artists took part in the competition, such as Vanvitelli, Pietro Bracci, Niccolò Salvi, Giambattista Maini and two Frenchmen, Edmé Bouchardon and the elder Lambert Sigisbert Adam. Sixteen plans were submitted and all were publicly exhibited at the Quirinal.[2] Clement XII. began by selecting Vanvitelli's design but ended by deciding in favour of that of Salvi who devoted himself unreservedly to his task.[3]

Thus arose a work which delights the eye of every beholder. On the south side of the Palazzo Conti (Poli) there rises in the form of a gigantic triumphal arch a façade measuring 50 m. in breadth harmoniously divided by three Corinthian pilasters at the sides and by four engaged Corinthian columns in the protruding centre. The figures of the four seasons and a large inscription surmounted by Clement XII.'s coat of arms held up by two genii, crown the central structure. Between the pilasters are seen the windows of the palace; the principal niche of the central structure is set apart for the colossal statue of Neptune. The sea god stands on a coach formed by a shell drawn by sea horses led by tritons. Over the lateral niches with their allegorical figures of Health and Plenty, there are reliefs showing Agrippa, the first builder of the conduits of the Acqua Virgo, and the maiden who, according to legend, led the thirsty soldiers to the spring. The Neptune group rises from a block of travertine over which a copiously nourished cascade of water, together with a number of smaller cascades and waterspouts, comes

[1] The inscription referring to this still exists.

[2] Fraschetti, *Bernini*, 134; Domarus, *P. Bracci*, 48 *seqq.*

[3] Valesio in *Arte e storia*, XXXI. (1912), 265 *seqq.* *Cf.* Guidi, *Fontane*, 83 *seqq.*

tumbling down into a vast marble basin beneath, as into a lake.[1]

The cost of this magnificent structure was so considerable that work had to be stopped at one time. But here also the profits from the *lotto* came in useful.[2] In July, 1736, the great inscription was put in its place and in December the coat of arms was fixed on the attic, when a commemorative medal was struck.[3] But the fountain was by no means quite finished at the time of the Pope's death: Giambattista Maini had only made stucco models of the group of Neptune and the statues of the maiden and Agrippa; the whole of the front part was also missing.[4]

Clement XII. contributed towards the restoration of the churches of S. Prisca,[5] S. Lorenzo in Piscibus,[6] S. Orsola,[7]

[1] GADDI, 98 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 710 *seq.*; GURLITT, 525 *seq.*; DOMARUS, 49 *seqq.*; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 163.

[2] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*

[3] A. CASSIO, *Corso delle acque*, I., Roma, 1756, 310; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 50. The first draft of the inscription, defended in a dissertation in *Cod.* 32, D 1, p. 11 *seqq.*, Corsini Library, Rome, was rejected.

[4] DOMARUS (50) refers only to *Roma antica e moderna*, II. (1750), 251. An accurate description of the state of the fountain in 1739 is given by CAMPIGLIA (above, p. 407, n. 2), p. 12: "Veduta della fontana dell' Acqua Vergine non terminata," a copy of which, in the Corsini Library, Rome, has the following autograph annotation by Cardinal N. Corsini: "Così lasciò Clemente XII. la fontana e scudi 40,000 per finirla." The fountain, erected by Clement XII. at Porta Furba (in MAGNI, *Il barocco a Roma*, III., Torino, 1911, 60), bears an inscription to the effect that Clement XII. "fontem Aquae Felicis iam diu collapsum publicae restituit commoditati 1733". The fountain before the Rocca of Spoleto also bears an inscription of Clement XII., 1736.

[5] FORCELLA, XI., 107, 173. *Ibid.*, 509, on a subsidy to the Monastery of S. Bernardino di Siena, VI., 371, on a chapel in S. Maria in Trastevere, VII., 221, refectory in SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini.

[6] FABRONIUS, 178; NIBBY, I., 307.

[7] FABRONIUS, 182.

S. Pellegrino,[1] S. Nicola in Carcere[2] and the portico of St. Mary Major.[3] He also contributed to the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Name of Mary[4] and the erection of the elliptic cupola of S. Maria della Morte near Palazzo Farnese.[5] The churches of the Bambino Gesù, opposite S. Pudenziana, and SS. Celsus and Julian, near the Bridge of S. Angelo, were erected at his own expense.[6] The national church of the Florentines, S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, which had been begun under Leo X., owes its completion to Clement XII. with the addition of an imposing façade of travertine.[7] Alessandro Galilei furnished the plan but he did not succeed in bringing his work in harmony with Sansovino's building with its broad lateral aisles, although it shows skilful arrangement and sound architectural lines.[8] The statues on either side of the papal arms above the main portal are by Filippo Valle; of the four reliefs, that of the "Baptism in the Jordan" is one of Pietro Bracci's best works.[9] The work was begun in March, 1733, and concluded in the following year. Here also the money was provided by the abundant yield of the *lotto*.[10]

Clement XII. took up once more a scheme which had been keenly discussed under Innocent XII. and Clement XI., when he resolved to provide the basilica of the Lateran with

[1] FORCELLA, VI., 257.

[2] FABRONIUS, 177.

[3] VALESIO in *Arte e storia*, XXXVI. (1917), 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, 21.

[5] *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXIII., 16 *seqq.* *Cf.* VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 20; GURLITT, 526.

[6] GADDI, 81 *seqq.*, 105 *seqq.* *Cf.* VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 22; FABRONIUS, 180, 198.

[7] Reproduced in BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 136 *seqq.* *Cf.* MORONI, II., 297; FORCELLA, VII., 40. B. MOSCHINI in the periodical *Roma*, III. (1925), No. 6, p. 269–272 (with reproduction), gives reports drawn from Archives on its gradual completion.

[8] GURLITT, 524. *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138.

[9] TITI, 422; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 21.

[10] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 20 *seq.*

the main façade which it still lacked.[1] The Pope, who had this undertaking particularly at heart, set up a special Congregation in connection with it in October, 1731.[2] There was nevertheless a delay before work could begin as none of the plans met with universal approval. The archpriest, Cardinal Ottoboni, discussed the matter with Cardinal Corsini. Borromini's plan was rejected and a competition was announced in which, among others, Luigi Vanvitelli, Ludovico Sassi, Fuga and Galilei took part. The sketches, drafts and models were exhibited in the gallery of the Quirinal in June, 1732. In the committee of artists, which included the architects Antonio Valeri and Antonio Derizet, the sculptors Giovanni Rusconi and Giambattista Maini, the painters Sebastiano Conca, Niccolò Ricciolini, Pier Leone Ghezzi and Giovan Paolo Pannini, four favoured Galilei's plan, three Vanvitelli's and one Sassi's. The Congregation of the *fabbrica* pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of Vanvitelli's plan but left the final decision to the Pope.[3] The latter selected the plan of his countryman Galilei, who left Florence for Rome in 1732 and at once entered upon his task. On December 8th, 1733, the Pope blessed the foundation stone which was laid by the Cardinal-Vicar Guadagni. By the end of 1735 the work was far enough advanced for the statues to be placed on the

[1] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXV. (1916), 335 ; DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 14. Pozzo's plans in BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138 ; view of the façade in 1700 in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII., 70.

[2] Cardinal Cienfuegos' report, October 6, 1731. On November 24, Cienfuegos reports : " Nella congregazione di martedì si è risoluto finalmente la fabrica della gran facciata della Basilica Lateranense." Next week begins " spianamento della piazza ", where some graves have been purchased. Archives of the Austrian Embassy at the Vatican.

[3] CERROTI, *Lett. di artisti*, Roma, 1860, 21 *seqq.*, 41 ; VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXV. (1916), 337 *seqq.* See also DOMARUS, *loc. cit.*, 5 ; *Accad. di S. Luca Ann.*, 1909–11, Roma, 1911, 22. According to the *Acts in *Cod.* 32, D 1, p. 488, Corsini Library, Rome, at first four were for Galilei's plan, three for Vanvitelli's, and two for Sassi's.

façade.[1] The greater part of the cost, which amounted to over half a million scudi, was met by the Pope, the rest was paid for with the proceeds of the *lotto*.[2]

The main façade of the Lateran, facing east and entirely built of travertine, admirably commands the vast, silent piazza which extends as far as the walls of Aurelius and from which one enjoys a splendid view of the distant mountains.[3] Galilei's work [*obiit.* 1737],[4] is an achievement of the first rank, characterized by magnificent simplicity and unity. Here one sees what the façade of St. Peter's might have been. Here also there are two storeys, but the upper storey above the open portico of 9 m. in depth and 56 m. in breadth forms with it an imposing unity, and the loggia of the upper storey, from which the Pope blesses the people on the feast of the Ascension, harmonizes most happily with the main portal, yet stands out from it.[5]

[1] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, 338 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII., Corsini Library, Rome. GADDI (9 *seqq.*) gives an accurate description. For the lay-out of the piazza the old building of the Penitenzieri had to be demolished. The Pope erected a new home for them south of the Basilica; see LAUER, 593 *seqq.* The inscriptions, also the one on the statue of the Emperor Constantine, which the Pope had removed to the porch in 1737, in FORCELLA, VIII., 81 *seqq.* The inscription over the door leading from the upper loggia to the palace: "Clemens XII. P. M. A° VI.°," is missing here. On the pavement of the porch we read: "A° VIII., 1737."

[2] According to Angelo Orlandi's *accounts of 1737, preserved in *Cod.* 32, D 1, Corsini Library, Rome, the expenses of the façade amounted to 489,425,46 scudi; to this must be added 60,599,04 scudi for the "fabriche annesse".

[3] OCTAV. JUSTINIANUS, S.J., a member of the Arcadia (*Clementis XI. vita*, Senis, 1738), in a poem on the buildings erected by the Pope, calls special attention to the powerful impression which the façade made on the visitor approaching it from the south.

[4] Epitaph in the porch, in FORCELLA, VIII., 83.

[5] LETAROUILLY, *Texte*, 495 *seqq.*; BERGNER, 75. *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, I., 138 *seqq.*; GURLITT, 522 *seqq.* EBE (822)

Charles de Brosses, a contemporary, thus describes the gigantic structure by the erection of which Clement XII. presented the Eternal City with one of the most magnificent and most imposing church façades: "The façade is of a composite order with five lofty, narrow arcades which form a portico supporting a gallery with *loggias*. The projecting central section has columns, the sides have pilasters, and this arrangement is observed in the lower order of doors and windows as well as in the principal order forming the façade. This principal order is surmounted by a frieze and the projecting centre is crowned by a single, beautiful tympanum."[1]

Whilst this work was proceeding Galilei was also engaged in constructing on the south side, to the left of the entrance, a chapel destined to serve as a mortuary chapel for Clement XII. and his family. This chapel was to be dedicated to S. Andrew Corsini whom the Pope held in highest veneration.[2] In the course of excavations for the foundations in February, 1732, a number of antique objects were found. On May 18th, 1732, Cardinal Guadagni laid the first stone of the chapel which was only ready for consecration on January 7th, 1735.[3]

remarks that although the final balustrade is too high and the statues that crown it are too colossal, nevertheless the whole is enormously impressive and is nowhere surpassed in these times.

[1] *Lettres*, II., 264.

[2] In the Duomo of Fiesole, Clement XII. arranged for a worthy setting of the Cathedra of S. Andrea Corsini; the fact is recorded in an inscription.

[3] VALESIO, *loc. cit.*, XXXVI. (1917), 16 *seqq.* *Cf.* GADDI, 23 *seqq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 245. The *Mem. del pontif. di Clemente XII. (Corsini Library, Rome), remark that Clement XII. erected the Chapel "del suo proprio danaro cioè de' vacabili ricadenti". CRACAS mentions a bronze bust of Clement XII. erected in the Corsini Cappella on April 8, 1736; also a marble bust of the Pope in the porch of the Lateran Basilica. Cardinal Cibo presented Clement XII. with a Crucifix and eight candlesticks for the Cappella Corsini; see Cardinal Cibo's *autobiography in *Fondo Gesuit.*, 103, p. 113, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Other busts of Clement XII. are in the Ambrosian Library, Milan,

The Cappella Corsini, beneath which is the burial vault, has the form of a stumpy Greek cross with a coffered barrel vault and a cupola over a quadrangular tambour. A magnificent bronze grille admits the visitor into the light-flooded hall. The vault with its decoration of richly gilt stucco, the pilasters of the white marble walls, form the finely-toned frame with which the many-hued marbles and the sombre bronze of the sepulchral monuments unite in producing a harmonious impression.

Above the altar adorned with lapis lazuli, precious stones, gilt bronze and two columns of verd-antique, the visitor sees in an alabaster niche the mosaic portrait of St. Andrew Corsini, after a painting by Guido Reni. On the pinnacle of the altar are two seated marble figures of "Innocence" and "Penance" by Pincellotti; above this is a large marble relief by Agostino Cornacchini showing St. Andrew Corsini as the protector of the Florentines at the battle of Anghiari.

The two large niches on either side are each adorned with two porphyry columns, their bases and capitals being of gilt bronze. The niche on the Gospel side is occupied by the tomb of Clement XII. For a sarcophagus, use has been made of a magnificent antique porphyry basin from the portico of the Pantheon; on it lies a cushion of precious black eastern marble (*paragone orientale*) on which rests the tiara. High above this, on a pedestal of black marble, is seen the great bronze statue of the Pope seated, clothed in gilt vestments, wearing the tiara and in the act of giving the blessing: the statue was cast by Giardoni from a model by Giambattista Maini. On either side of the pedestal are the white marble statues of "Munificence" with the plan of the façade of the Lateran, and "Plenty" with the cornucopia, by Carlo Monaldi. In the opposite niche stands the plainer monument of Cardinal Neri Corsini, the Pope's uncle, who died in 1678. The marble statue of the dead Cardinal and the flanking

and in the Baptistery of St. Mary Major. Gius. Passeri painted his portrait as a Cardinal (1713); see Voss, 607. *Cf.* above, p. 331, n. 2.

figures of "Religion" with the decalogue and a sorrowing genius with the pastoral staff, are by Maini.[1]

In the corners beside the niches, above the four small doors made in the pedestal, there are four sarcophagi of black marble for members of the Corsini family: they are surmounted by four niches with statues of the cardinal virtues, the whole being surmounted by reliefs of scenes from the life of St. Andrew Corsini; one of these is by Pietro Bracci and is one of the best of the master's works.[2] Giuseppe Rusconi carved the statue of "Fortitude", Filippo della Valle that of "Temperance", Giuseppe Lironi that of "Justice" and Agostino Cornacchini that of "Prudence", so that the chapel constitutes a small museum of contemporary Roman sculpture.[3]

Perhaps too great a claim has been made when the burial place of the Corsini was described as one of the finest chapels not only of Rome, but of the whole world.[4] But it is undoubtedly a masterpiece of elegance, harmony and magnificence. The mausoleum of the Corsini bears as eloquent a testimony to Clement XII.'s artistic feeling[5]

[1] GADDI, 27 *seqq.*; NIBBY, *Roma moderna*, I., 252 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, *Édif. de Rome*, II., *planche* 224, 227; BERGNER, 74 (with reproduction). The inscriptions in FORCELLA, VIII., 80, 84. G. B. Maini's sketches for the statue of the Pope in Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin; see BRINCKMANN, *Barock bozzetti ital. Bildhauer*, Frankfurt, 1923, 156.

[2] DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 16.

[3] BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., Berlin, 1919, 276, 279 (*cf.*, 378); DOMARUS, *P. Bracci*, 8. See also BERGNER, 104 *seq.*, where Cornachini's *Prudenza* is reproduced.

[4] LETAROUILLY (*Texte*, 499) says: "Et comme la beauté du travail ne le cède par à la richesse des matériaux, il en résulte que tout concourt à faire de cette chapelle l'une des plus belles qu'on puisse citer, non seulement à Rome, mais dans le monde entier." *Cf.* also GURLITT, 524 *seqq.*; THIEME, XIII., 97; ORTOLANI, *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, 68 *seq.*

[5] Clement XII. intended also to give a new sacristy to St. Peter's, planned by Galilei; see *Progetto di una nuova sagrestia

as does the Lateran façade—the fruit of one single conception—to the transition then in progress of Italian architecture to classicism.[1]

in S. Pietro con disegni e piante fatti da Aless. Galilei, in *Cod.* 32, D. 1, Corsini Library, Rome.

[1] WOERMANN, *Gesch. der Kunst.*, III., Leipzig, 1911, 460 *seq.*; MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 396 *seq.*

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Tournon's Mission.[1]

(a) *The Augustinian Bishop of Ascalon, Alvarus de Benavente, Vicar Apostolic of Kiangsi, to the King of Spain.*

Canton, December 7, 1707.

. . . Ducebat secum patriarcha [Tournon] ingentem hominum comitantium copiam, quae multum etiam augebatur magno numero missionariorum, qui se ipsi iungebant in Chinis. Tanta veluti aulicorum et servorum turba sufficere poterat cuilibet Nuntio Apost. Sedis ad faciendum Matriti ingressum satis superbum. Ad haec iam inde a principio affectabat ille dare signa suae authoritatis non inter gentiles minus quam inter christianos, id quod penitus erat alienum ab eo more, quem tenere debent in China superiores. — Iunio mense profectus ipse eram Cantonem ad salutandum patriarcham. Commoratus apud ipsum per tres paene hebdomades, satis abunde didici, quod in suo procedendi modo non teneret consuetum ordinem et usitatas leges. . . .
[State Archives, Munich, *Iesuitica in genere*, fasc. 16, no. 278.]

(b) *Kilian Stumpf to Vice-Provincial Monteiro.*

Peking, May 29, 1707.

De Rev^ae V., sociorum et totius missionis casu quantum doleamus Pekini, quis explicabit? Missionarii quidem caeteri de huiusmodi tristissimis eventis dolore simplici, quod videant sine causa interiisse vineam, quam excolebant, nos triplici

[1] Among the literary remains of the author only one piece was found ear-marked for the Appendix and which appears here as No. 17. To fill the gap we print a few documents dealing with the dispute over the Chinese rites. If the Jesuit standpoint is advocated in all of them, the circumstance is justified by the fact that the views of their opponents have been abundantly stated in the numerous publications of the Jansenists so that historians are not a little influenced by them. Even so our selection can only give a few samples; a complete collection is not to be thought of for the time being. Unless otherwise indicated all the pieces are the property of the Jesuits.

afflictione conterimur: 1. omnibus communi, sed nobis acerbiore, quo enim studiosius missionem nostris laboribus fovimus, eo profundius contristamur in eius excidio; insuper in nos irruit 2da et 3a declarationis causa, qua spiritum nostrum quidam conturbant, dum clamant alii, nos ruinae tam fatali causam dedisse, alii nos ruinam non avertisse, cum deberemus et possemus, atque ideo nos esse tam nefandi mali [reos], de quo Ecclesia Dei amare plorabit.

Si calamo indulsero, in decumanum lessum se diffundet. Verum quid proderunt aut lacrimae aut querelae quantumvis iustae? Sedemus hic Pekini factorum et futurorum ignari, iam pridem nullae ad nos litterae veniunt, ultimae erant missae Nankino 12 Aprilis significantes exterminium tristissimum DD. S. George et Herve . . . Hodie audimus ex palatio, Imperatorem . . . domum redire magnis itineribus, hinc timor et tremor nos occupant, dum sollicito cordi multa occurrant ab eo quaerenda, et nihil inveniamus et nihil inveniemus quod respondeatur . . .

Credat R. V. nos ad omnia promptos, quaecumque praestare possumus, sive in obsequium D. Patriarchae, sive aliorum, sive nostrorum; si autem nihil, aut post occasionem procurandi resciverimus, quid mirum, si nostra solertia defecerit? Difficilia nunc sunt tempora et negotia pessima; ut vel parum possimus consequi, diu multumque erit cogitandum, ideo in tempore sumus admonendi. Numquam eam habuimus potentiam, immo ne centesimam quidem partem illius potentiae, quam aliqui convitiandi gratia nobis tribuunt, sed si aliquid in nobis facultatis aliquando fuit, id certe inter has pudendas turbas interiit, et Imperator se a nobis offensum credit, . . . nec quidquam aut precum aut intercessionis sinit a nobis interponi. Reliquum est, ut R. V. orem quam possum enixissime, ut nos doceri procuret, et scire faciat per suas epistolas, quid ibi in solatium et levamen emorientis missionis cogitetur, dicatur et fiat. Commendo . . .

1*a*. Libellus supplex SS. D. N. Clementi P. O. M. XI. Patres S. J. Evangelii praecones apud Sinas ad pedum oscula humillime prostrati.

Beatissime Pater! Nisi nota esset singulis illa Sis Vae pietas, quae facit, ut negotiis omnibus ad religionem

spectantibus et audiendis praebeat patientissimas aures, et examinandis invictam sollicitudinem adhibeat, non ausi fuissemus, Illam de argumento iam toties disceptato interpellare. Neque vero, si nostra privata tantum causa ageretur, esset, cur post scripta tam multa, rursum verba faceremus. Sed quia agitur gravissimum et certissimum in missione florentissima periculum, quod scimus S^ti^ V^ae^ prae primis cordi et curae esse, non possumus Illius aequitatem et sapientiam non inplorare. Satis intellexit S. V., veritatem factorum, de quibus agitur in causa Sinensi, non posse melius, quam ex missionariorum et ipsorum Sinarum auctoritate testimoniisque cognosci, eamque partem iudicandam esse altera probabiliorem, quae pluribus et gravioribus nititur testibus. Omissis igitur molestis disputationibus, quae annis superioribus fuerunt agitatae, satis habebimus, proferre testes, qui quod libet hinc affirmant, inde negant. Tum quibus magis credendum sit S. V. pro sua aequitate iudicabit. Unius tantum partis testimonia in actis nuper editis producta sunt, alterius etiam, ut par est, sententiam, nomina testium et dicta quaedam praecipua breviter proponemus.

1° Quaeritur : An ad significandum Deum O. M. repellendae vel retinendae voces Sinicae Tien, i. e. coelum, et Xamti, i. e. supremus imperator.

Putant repellendas, quia non significant Deum, quem christiani colunt : Semedo, *Relazione della gran Monarchia di Cina*, qui tamen non dicit, sacrificari coelo materiali et visibili, sed tantum coelo ; Maffaeus, *Hist. Indic.*, p. 100 ; Ioa. Gruberus in libr. Ital. *Notizia della Cina*, p. 88. *Memoriale* P. Procuratoris Generalis S. J. § 1 : il primo, sed expedit legere etiam seqq. §§ ; Lud. le Comte in libr. *Nouveaux Mémoires*, t. I, p. 186 ; P. a Leonissa in suis resp. ad quaest. s. Congreg^is^ et Em^i^ Casanate ; Longobardus apud Navarrete, t. 1, p. 24^b^.

Putant retinendas : P. Matthaeus Riccius cum fere omnibus PP. S. J. ab annis amplius centum in Sinis missionariis ; D. episcopus Ascalonensis, qui maiorem partem missionariorum ita sentire scribit, M. 1, p. 75, KKK, D. ep. Pekinensis, D. ep. Nankiensis, D. ep. Macaensis, D. ep. Andrevillensis, D. ep. Rosaliensis, qui se vocat Tien Hiao Su, h. e. coeli doctrinae doctorem in libello supplici, quem obtulit proregi Chekiam

a. 1598, M. 1 5, p. 52; D. a Leonissa, nunc ep. Berytensis, qui in lapide sepulchrali D. episcopi Basilitani saepius utitur voce Tien ad significandum Deum, F. Bonaventura de Roma Franciscanus, Augustiniani PP. missionarii, qui negant, posse opinionem hanc in dubium verti, Fr. Joannes Fernandez, Franciscanus. F. Basilius de Glemona, vicarius Ap., in dictionario, quod in lucem edidit, Tien explicat sic: Tien, Coeli moderator, Deus. Lieu Paulus senex, literatus insignis, qui addit: Tien chu (quo nomine pars contraria Deum vult exprimi) esse modum loquendi humiliorem, F. Augustinus a s. Pasch., Ord. Min., Fr. Antonius a s. Maria, primus missionarius ex ord. s. Franc., Fr. Petrus Pinuela ex eodem. Confucius Sinarum philosophus, cuius est haec vox et sententia memorabilis: Qui peccat in coelum, non habet, quem deprecetur, ut poenam effugiat; certe non intellexit coelum materiale et visibile, sed locutus est modo quo s. codices multis in locis: Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo (1 Mach. 3), peccavi in coelum (Lc. 15); Fr. Joannes de Paz Ord. Praed., Fr. Dominicus a s. Petro sive Sarpetrius ex eodem. Missionarii ex eodem in Fokien. F. Ioannes Bapt. de Morales ex eodem. PP. Brancatus, Faber, Intorcetta, Grelon, Gabiani, Buglius, Sebast. de Amayn, Emmanuel Laurifex, Ant. Thomas, Ioachim Bouvet e S. J., Li Cinensis literatus per 30 annos occupatus in palatio imperatoris in componendis libris, et a quo libri P^is^ Riccii versi sunt e Sinensi idiomate in Tartaricum. Sin Quam Ki, doctor Sinensis et primus imperatoris minister: Sine discrimine, inquit ille, Li Pie vam Xamti est vivorum et mortuorum dominus. Doctor Fum ym Kim; D. Yam Tin Yam; D. Chin y; D. Li Chi Chao, qui ait: religio christiana unice spectat servire Deo, id autem est, quod nostri doctores vocant: nosse Tien et servire Xam ti; Licentiatus Chu cum yven; Lic. Cham Kem, qui ex classicis probat, Deum non vocari aperte Tien Chu, coeli Dominum, sed tantum Tien, syncopa vid. Sinis usitata, qui dum loquuntur de imperatore, abstinent ab eius nomine, dicuntque: aula, thronus, palatium etc. De nomine Xam ti addit, illud voce tantum differre a Tien Chu, utrumque enim idem significat (there follow seven Chinese names).

Praeterea mandarini 18 christiani, cum 32 partim candidatis mandarinatus, partim baccalaureis itidem christianis, qui omnes in aula et curia Pekinensi degunt, supplicemque

libellum ea de causa miserunt ad SS. Pontificem a. 1707, et praeter cetera, quae in hoc asserunt iurati post omnia diu multumque examinata testantur, appellari Deum, quem christiani adorant, Tien et Xam ti, orantes Pontificem non prohibere velit christianis usum harum appellationum, quae iuvant plurimum ad christianam legem maiori facilitate praedicandam. Idem asserunt vocato in testem Deo, idemque flagitant a Pont. Max. mandarini Nan Kin, duo primarii christiani, proxime promovendi baccalaurei. Idem testantur, iurant, postulant 33 christiani ex urbe Sum Kian, et oppido Kiam Tim literati variisque doctrinae et honoris insignibus ornati. Idem confirmant 30, edito similiter iuramento ex urbe Su Chen literati et plures exu rbe Xam Itai; 15 ex urbe Nan Tchan provinciae Kiam Si, 10 ex Chanchen, 5 doctores ex provincia Huquang . . .

. . . Mahometani utuntur in China voce Tien et Xam Ti ad significandum Deum, qui profecto non adorant coelum materiale aut insitam illi virtutem . . . Finally the Emperor's declaration. Haec declaratio imperatoris tanti est ponderis, ut contra obiici nil possit. Tanta enim eius in suo imperio est auctoritas, ut quidquid ille de vocum et quotidiani sermonis usu, intelligentia, significatione etc. statuit, oraculi vim habeat et aliter interpretari usurpareque voces atque ille declaravit nefas sit omnibus. Idem imperator Em. Cardinali, et D. episcopo Cononensi declaravit, voce Tien significari Deum, quem colunt christiani. Nonne autem imperator se merito ridendum omnibus literatis praebuisset, si aliter atque illi sentirent vocem illam explicuisset?

Quaeritur 2do: An permitti possit, ut appendatur in ecclesiis christianis tabella inscripta: King Tien, coelum colito.

Negant supra citati, quia coelum materiale aut insitam nescio quam virtutem significari putant, Semedo etc., quorum testimonia non scrutamur, in iis quibus citata sunt locis.

Affirmant, qui per Tien coeli dominum significant: ac praeter citatos maior pars missionariorum, teste episcopo Ascalonensi in epistola ad s. Congregationem 17 nov. a. 1700 data; qui addit: christianos literatos tenaciter defendere, veteres Sinas sub coeli nomine Deum coluisse. Fr. Ioa. Serrani Franciscanus affirmat, literam Tien in Sinicis vocabulariis

explicari pro una prima causa, quae remuneratur bonos et punit malos. Fr. Augustinus a s. Pasch. adducit classicos, in quibus declaratur, Xam ti significare Deum, qui regit omnia. Dominicani in eo parte provinciae Fokien, quae finitima est provinciae Che Kiam, in suis ecclesiis habent expositas tabellas cum inscriptione King Tien. Idem in variis suis libris Tien vocem pro Deo usurpant. Instar omnium testimoniorum et argumentorum est decretum imperatoris, qua declaratur, per voces Tien et Xam Ti intelligi coeli et terrae, rerumque omnium originem, authorem et dominum. Ex eodem decreto intelligitur, illas voces, quamcumque tandem significationem olim habuerint aut habuisse dicantur, nunc apud Sinas significare coeli dominum, adeoque earum usum videri christianis permittendum.

Quaeritur 3° : An Confucius colatur apud Sinas ut sanctus? an habeat sacella et templa, ubi sacrificia et oblationes ipsi fiant?

Affirmant Semedo, Kircherus in *China illustrata*, de Marinis, *Hist. de felic. success.*, de Rhodes in catech. et rel. *Historia de Tunchino*, Bartoli, *La Cina*, Trigaultius et Riccius ut dicitur.

Negant D. episc. Macaensis, D. ep. Nankinensis, D. ep. Ascalonensis, D. electus ep. Andrevillensis. Religiosi ordines, quicunque in Sina testimonium dixerunt de veritate facti expositi in decreto Alexandri VII., in quo negatur, coli Confucius ut sanctus, affirmaturque, aulas eius esse gymnasia non vero sacella aut templa. Habentur testimonia signata et authentica Fr. Ioa. Fernandez Serrani, Fr. Bonaventurae de Roma, Fr. Augustini a s. Pasch., PPum Augustinianorum, qui diserte respondent, praxes circa cultum Confucii et progenitorum sibi visas fuisse probabiles ideoque eas nunc permittimus permittemusque etc. et addunt, se ex fama deprehendisse, nonnullos ex Dominicanis praxes easdem permittere; Fr. Ioannes de Paz, Dominicanus, testatur, se id habere pro certo et profert testimonia antiquorum in eodem ordine, qui dicunt auditos a se infideles affirmantes, coli a se Confucium ut magistrum, neque ullam ipsum habere potestatem, ad se iuvandos etc. Confirmatur hoc ipsum ex facto gubernatoris in urbe Cham Xa Fu, cuius iussu graviter inflictis plagis vapulavit Bonzius propterea, quia imaginem

Confucii in fano quodam posuisset. Eadem de Confucio affirmat Fr. Franciscus de Acuna ex eodem ordine. Eadem Fr. Dominicus Sarpetri, Fr. Gregorius Lopez eiusdem ordinis, natione Sina : quibus adscribi potest Fr. Dominicus Navarrete, quippe qui suum calculum addiderit Cantoniensibus, in quibus factum Alexandro VII. expositum comprobatur, cum in eo conventu nomine Dominicanorum in Sina missionariorum tanquam eorum praeses loqueretur. D. de Courtaulion, antiquus vicarius Apostolicus generalis in Cocincina negat, ullam in cultu Confucii esse superstitionem, neque solum se audivisse cerimonias ab aliis relatas, sed se interfuisse testatur. Missionarii Societatis Iesu, quorum praxim censendus est approbasse D. episc. Cononensis, cum sacramenta ministravit christianis, palam sequentibus eandem praxim. Eiusdem praxeos rationes et fundamenta ostendit e libris Sinicis P. Franc. Xav. Philippuccius in prolixo tractatu.

Item PP. Brancatus, Faber, Hurtado, Intorcetta, Trigaultius, Riccius et Franc. Noël negant, inscriptionem in aula Confucii positam esse vertendam latine : Sedes spiritus Confucii. Negant, spiritum Confucii a Sinis existimari residere in hac tabella aut ad eam accedere. Negant esse vestes proprias huic addictas functioni et ab usitatis literatorum vestibus distinctas. Negant, vocem Miao significare proprie templum, affirmant vero, ceremonias, quae adhibentur Confucio et progenitoribus mortuis adhiberi etiam vivis doctoribus, mandarinis et hospitibus etc., in quorum gratiam occiduntur animalia interdum etc. et ad alia id genus usurpantur. Eadem cum PP. Soc. Iesu affirmant negantque P. Lopez, Sarpetrius, Navaretta, de Paz. Immo D. a Leonissa in plerisque consentit. Omitto testimonia procerum, literatorum et doctorum Sinensium, non solum christianorum, sed et ethnicorum, qui una voce omne clamant, Confucium honorari tantum ut magistrum etc., nihil ab eo sperari, peti etc. Omitti tamen non potest testimonium a declaratione et decreto imperatoris, quo legem Sinis omnibus imponit, ita loquendi et sentiendi.

Quaeritur 4° : An defunctis progenitoribus fieri solitae oblationes sint sacrificia proprie dicta? Num tabellae certis vocibus inscriptae sint superstitiosae? Num in mortuis maioribus agnoscant Sinae quidquam divinitatis aut ullam dignitatem seu potestatem humana maiorem?

Affirmant Bartoli, Kircherus, Le Tellier, Lopez, a Leonissa, Marinis, Rhodes, Trigaultius, Maffaeus, Semedus aliique citati in actis.

Negant citati Quaes. 3, qui negant Confucium ut sanctum aut ut Deum sacrificiis et templis coli, D. episc. Basilitanus ex ord. Praed., D. episc. Ascalonensis, D. a Leonissa episc. Berytensis, D. episc. Cononensis (M., I., p. 50). (Segue una lunga serie di letterati cinesi, ecc.). Fr. Augustinus a s. Pasch., Fr. Petrus de la Pinuella, Fr. Serranus, Bonaventura de Roma, Franciscani et Augustiniani, Fr. Thomas Hortiz, Michael Rubius etc. Ex. Societate Iesu Riccius, Trigaultius, Martinez, Philippuccius, Furtado, Faber, Ant. Thomas, Philippus Grimaldi, Thomas Pereyra, Ioa. Franc. Gerbillon, Ios. Suarez, Ioachim Bouvet, Kilianus Stumpf, Ioa. Bapt. Regis, Lud. Pernoti, Dom. Parrenin, et qui nunc in urbe est, Franc. Noël, qui ex libris classicis Sinensium docet, ea quae in actis nuper editis exponuntur, mendosa esse et falso interpretata multis in locis. Unum exemplum hoc esto: litera Sinica Goey exponitur 'Sedes' seu thronus spiritus vel animae. Interim haec litera Sinica non id significat, ut patet ex dictionariis, sed significat rem aliquam, quae erigitur, qualiscunque sit. Itaque vertendum esset: tabella erecta in memoriam spiritus. Sic imagines maiorum et parentum in aedibus vulgo ad eorum memoriam conservandam appenduntur. Hanc interpretationem confirmat litera Chu, quae in eadem inscriptione legitur, et significat intentionem, mentem, memoriam, repraesentationem etc. Resp. n. 290. In testibus praecipuum locum obtinere potest frater imperatoris natu minor, primum vero sibi vindicat in hac causa imperator ipse, qui palam in scripto asseruit, eorum tabellis Confucii et progenitorum aliisve, quae ad sepulcrum fiunt ceremoniis, nec honorem nec felicitatem etc. a defunctis petere Sinas, sed tantum fungi officio grati et memoris animi. Idem anno 1700 pronuntiavit, Sinas non credere, animas in tabellis illis residere. Citati authores passim negant, addictas esse istis mortuorum ceremoniis vestes speciales, sacerdotes et ministros proprios etc. Negant invitari animas quasi dein invitatae adventurae essent, et sessurae in tabellis expositis. Negant supra manipulum palearum infundi vinum etc. et docent, plerasque ex illis ceremoniis adhiberi etiam ad honorandos vivos, excipiendos convivas, salutandos hospites: alias plerasque iam non usurpari.

Habet hic Sanctitas V., Beatissime Pater, utriusque partis testimonia. Perspicuum est, partem illam, quae Sinenses ritus vacare superstitione affirmat, superiorem esse altera numero testium, auctoritate, gravitate. Cui enim persuaderi poterit, eos qui contra sentiunt, doctiores, prudentiores, experientia maiori et probitate esse praeditos, quam istos, qui modo sunt a nobis enumerati? Quid obiici tandem aut excogitari potest ad fidem eorum testimoniis abrogandam? An scelerati dicuntur esse? aut ignari? aut corrupti?

Sceleratos nemo dicet tot praesules, tot sacerdotes, tot religiosos viros. Nemo, inquam, suspicabitur, eos de perdenda religione, de veritate adulteranda, de adstruenda falsitate coniurasse. Quid illis tanti esse potuit, ut sibi sempiternum consciscerent exitium, tanto scelere suscepto? Idcircone tot illustres legis divinae ministri, episcopi, vicarii Apostolici, coenobitae Europa relicta nuntium fortunis et commodis remisisse credendi sunt et precarium inter Sinas, quibus exteri omnes contemptui ac odio sunt, spiritum aegre ducere, ut se ac religionem perditum eant?

Multo minus suspicari licet, eosdem testes ignorantia laborasse, nescivisse quid dicerent, quid testarentur, quid iurarent, homines in imperio Sinensi diu versatos, sermone bene peritos, in volutandis eruditorum libris contritos, plerosque indigenas, de christiana lege, moribusque gentis probe instructos.

Restat illud tertium, ut corrupti fuisse dicantur. A quibus corrupti? Ab hominibus Societatis? qua spe, quo metu in fraudem induci ac scelus ab iis potuerunt? Quodsi de mandarinis quibusdam suspicio esset, Franciscani et Dominicani ab iis etiam corrupti fuere? an ipse imperator in gratiam paucorum Europaeorum convellere opinionem publicam, contra literatorum et procerum suorum sententiam et libros ire, incurrere gravem seditionis ac tumultus metum voluisse censendus est? Quaenam in hoc toto negotio authoritas apud illum nostra esse potuit? Ita enim nonnulli dictitant, nos id ab eo et proceribus consequi posse, ut ritus illi et consuetudines a christianis penitus omittantur. Nae qui sic loquuntur errant longissime neque satis animadvertunt, quam sit natio in priscis moribus ritibusque conservandis religiosa et constans, quos ita mordicus tenet, ut fortunas, dignitates, omnia denique sibi potius eripi patiatur; quos si vel minimum attentare conentur Europaei, tanquam hostes

reipublicae impii conscelerati exterminabuntur? Testis est Iaponia, quam delicata sint fastidia, suspiciones principum, ubi de legibus ac moribus imperii agitur. Floreret adhuc inter Iapones christiana lex, si cautius cum illis et prudentius initio res gesta fuisset. Exulcerati sunt eorum animi a malevolorum dolo aut parum consulta bonorum pietate: pulsi sacerdotes, excarnificati legis christianae praecones, eversa templa et messis uberrimae spes radicitus excisa. Si quid tamen ex illis ceremoniis aut sensim deradi, aut inducta religione detrahi quoquo modo potest, id et factum fuit a nobis hactenus diligenter et in posterum fiet.

Quid plura? Si corrupti dicuntur a nobis, quos producimus testes, qui proferuntur ab adversariis, an non ab iis pariter corrumpi potuerunt? facilius illis fuit, decem aut viginti, quam nobis, decem aut viginti millia corrumpere.

Quodsi neque corrupti sunt, neque ignari, neque improbi: si plures, si docti, si probi, cur paucioribus, neque numero, dignitate doctrinave praestantioribus credetur? Cur pars probabilior, quae vincere in omnibus causis solet, in hac vincetur aut cedet?

Tot testibus hactenus allatis addimus illos ipsos Em. ac doctissimos cardinales, huic Sinensi causae examinandae a S. V. praepositos, qui cum minime ignorarent, quam multi, quam graves testes starent in opposita sententia, dederunt operam diligenter, ne ab antiquo more Sedis Apostolicae recederent, quae super expositorum huiusmodi veritate seu falsitate pronuntiare non consuevit (in actis, p. 37) atque adeo locum semper ulterius quaerendi ac decernendi relinquit. Itaque ex causa super 1. articulo non pronunciarunt, designari vocibus Tien et Xamti coelum corporeum et materiale, aut virtutem quandam ipsis insitam, sed, si istis vocibus designatur nihil aliud nisi coelum corporeum et visibile, tunc ab iis penitus esse abstinendum (act. p. 33). Quod nemo prudenter ac vere dictum non fateatur. Similem in caeteris ipsorum responsis observare prudentiam et cautionem licet, nec de ceremoniis Sinensibus loqui se profitentur, nisi prout relatae sunt. Item: 'iuxta ea, inquiunt, quae proposita sunt' et alibi aperte declarant; 'nihil certi firmari posse quoad propositiones enuntiatas' (act. p. 27, 38) etc., ac proinde minime dubitamus, quin citatos modo testes, dum aliter rem exponunt, benigne auscultent.

Quae cum ita sint, B. Pater, si neque certior alia suppetit ad cognoscendam in praesenti causa veritatem, quam testimonium proborum et sapientum, neque tot tantique testes recusari iure possunt, obsecramus ut eorum aliquam rationem habere velit S. V., ac saltem concedere, ut liceat evangelii ministris id usurpare, quod Alexander VII. licere ipsis voluit, quod tot sacerdotes, tot antistites, tot vicarii Apostolici, tot religiosi omnium ordinum viri, tot literati doctoresque Sinici, quod imperator ipse, in ritibus suae gentis unus omnium instar audiendus, declarant, affirmant, iurant verum et rectum esse. Cuius tandem testimonium, cuius auctoritas tanta esse potest, ut tot hominibus doctis, prudentibus, probis, unam in sententiam conspirantibus anteferri debeat?

Omnino speramus, B. Pater, quae S^is^ V^ae^ prudentia et aequitas est, nunquam fore, ut a posteris dici patiatur, quam causam Alexander VII., Clemens IX., tot summi et sanctissimi Pontifices condemnare veriti sunt, imo quam tutati sunt et amplexi, eandem, licet pluribus quam olim argumentis et gravioribus testimoniis fultam, liquidius et certius tot testium ore declaratam, per Clementem XI. eversam penitus et profligatam fuisse.

Non soli, B. Pater, huc adsumus ad S^is^ V^ae^ pedes provoluti. Nobiscum adest innumerabilis christianorum multitudo, quorum lacrimas, gemitus et preces ad Sedis Apostolicae solium deferimus, quippe qui se crudelissimis exitiis et saevissimae persecutioni obiiciendos vident, nisi periclitantibus S. V. mature succurrat, En, supplices ad Illam manus tendunt, et negatam ab aliis opem ut enixe flagitant a S^e^ V^a^, sic ab eius clementia fidenter expectant.

Quid esse vero causae potest, cur eorum suspiriis et lamentabili florentis ecclesiae ruina nonnulli minime moveantur? Cur amplectantur sententiam, nec similiorem veritati et magis adversam infestamque religioni? Timent scil., ne gravem admittant noxam, si quam approbent superstitionem. Laudamus metum, si ratione probabiliori vel auctoritate nitatur. At inanem esse metum, et causam esse probabiliorem, testimonia praesentia satis docent. Periculum est, inquiunt, ne quid statuatur parum pie. Quid? ne pietas ipsa funditus e vastissimo imperio exterminetur, periculi nihil est? At reddenda ratio religionis Sedi Apostolicae

divinitus commendatae. Nec reddenda vid. erit ratio religionis, eversae, quae sine cuiusquam damno; cum omnium, paucis demptis, approbatione, cum incredibili totius Ecclesiae catholicae honore fructuque poterat conservari ?

Metuunt offensionem hominum et scandalum. At quorum ? peritorumne ac prudentium, qui probe norunt huiusmodi ceremonias a viris optimis et doctissimis diu multumque consideratas fuisse ? Iis certe hominibus scandalum creari nullum potest. Ab aliis vero si quod male suscipiatur, condemnandum est ac repudiandum. Quodsi metuitur offensio, quanta dabitur tot episcopis ? tot vicariis Apostolicis ? tot literatis proceribusque Sinicis ? qui reclamant acriter, nec mirari satis ac dolere possunt, paucorum hominum suffragia contra summorum virorum tot ac tanta testimonia sic audiri.

Nonne dabitur locus ethnicis conquerendi de Apostolica Sede, qua suos cultores ac filios, tot laboribus partos destituat, sacris obterat fulminibus, suppliciis omnibus exponat propter peregrinos quosdam ritus, de quorum veritate ac falsitate nec statuere vult pro suo antiquo in factis huiusmodi diiudicandis more (in act. p. 37), nec si velit potest ? Quis erit cultissimae nationis et prudentissimae sensus, cum audiet, sermonem Sinicum, ritus et libros ab exteris aliter atque ipsimet Sinae sentiunt, declarant, contestantur, explicatos, damnatos et proscriptos fuisse ? Ridiculi nobis et merito viderentur, si de ritibus ac libris Europaeis pronunciare Sinae auderent, nos vero quales ipsis videbimur ?

Imperator autem, ille Orientis arbiter et sapientiae regalis absolutissimum exemplar, quo tandem erit animo, cum decretum ac declarationem suam, in publicas illic relatum tabulas, a literatis suis et mandarinis approbatum, toto quam late patet imperio Sinensi promulgatum, cum inquam eandem hic neglectam et condemnatam audiet ? Cuius sententiam, christianae religioni tam favorabilem in summi beneficii loco Ecclesia tota numeravit, quam pretio quolibet mercari Sedes Apostolica merito deberet, hanc ipse spretam turpiter et auctoritatem suam ac maiestatem proculcatam non dolebit ? non equuleos, non rotas ad christiani nominis perniciem expediet ?

Ut huic certissimae cladi totque periculis obiicerentur tot animae sempiterno exitio perituraе, an non oporteret aliquid

inventum fuisse in opposita sententia ineluctabile malum, quod cum omnibus divinis humanisque legibus adversa veluti fronte pugnaret? Cum tamen haec sententia fundetur, ut levissime dicam, "in valde probabili opinione, cui nulla contraria evidentia opponi potest" (in act. Cantoniens.): ita loquuntur et sentiunt trium ordinum religiosi sacerdotes, unum olim in coetum congregati. Nec dubitamus, quin idem loquantur modo et sentiant omnes paucissimis exceptis, missionarii, si rursum facultas illis a S. V. detur, in ipsa Sina conveniendi unum in coetum, ad controversiam dirimendam.

Floruit christiana res in imperio Sinensi, B. Pater, ac tamdiu florebit, dum valebit prudentissimum illud S. olim Congregationis de Prop. fide monitum, quo vicariis Apostolicis in Sina praecipitur: "Nullum ut studium ponant, nullaque ratione suadeant illis populis, ut ritus suos, consuetudines et mores mutent, modo ne sint apertissime religioni et bonis moribus contraria" (A. 1656). Enitendum profecto videretur, ut omnibus modis quacunque tandem ratione licitis, adducerentur Sinenses populi ad Ecclesiae Romanae sinum vel reluctantes et inviti. Eosne accedentes nunc ultro et admitti flagitantes, repelli nullam ob causam cum religione et bonis moribus aperte pugnantem et in perpetuum excludi, paterna Sis Vae caritas patietur?

Haec sunt, B. Pater, quae confidimus fore, ut S. V. pro sua pietate, prudentia et aequitate consideret; quippe quae probe intelligit ac porro laetabitur, se in hac arce Romani positam imperii non tam ut destruat et evellat, quam ut aedificet et plantet. Ier. 1.

[State Archives, Munich, *Iesuitica*, fasc. 16, n. 279.]

2. The Jesuit General, Tamburini, to the Visitor of Japan and China.[1]

November 15, 1710.

Cum mens SS. Pontificis circa ultimum decretum de ritibus Sinensibus nequeat melius explicari quam per litteras illmi Assessoris S. Officii, quas ipse ad nos scripsit, illarum copiam hic accludimus, simul et nostrum responsum. Probe introspectum habet R. V., quanta esse debeat Societatis oboedientia

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII, p. 456.

erga S. Sedem Apost. ; ideoque ab hoc novo praecepto Sanctitatis Suae minime sibi suisque subditis liceat ne latum quidem unguem deflectere vel ad dexteram vel ad sinistram ; et hoc ipsum accurate faciat innotescere suis omnibus et singulis subditis.

P. Vice-Provinciali Sinensi litterae eiusdem tenoris missae sunt eodem die 15 Nov. 1710.

3. From a Franciscan's Letter to Lisbon.

Canton, December 2, 1710.

Recepi ad 27 Septembris praesentis anni affectuosissimas litteras V. Paternitatis, datas sub 27 Ianuarii 1709 . . . Credo quod V. Paternitas isto tempore inquisiverit notitiam negotii mei cum em. legato Turnone, qui tantis crucibus me oneravit, ut opus fuerit exclamare : non amplius. Nisi [esset] assistentia fratrum meorum correligiosorum Hispanorum discalceatorum, quibus me tempore missionis meae aggregavi, mortuus fuissem prae fame. Nam ab anno 1702 nec vidi nummum de subsidio, quo me privavit Em^us^ praedictus, vel melius ipsius familiares, praesertim Dom. Sabinus Mariani etc., atque ita ferme animam vendere ex necessitate debuissem.

Frater car., apparet totum infernum positum esse ad eradicandum totaliter vineam istam Domini, et quidem per instrumentum illorum, qui promovere et augere deberent. Patres S. J. sunt in ista magna tempestate scopulus, contra quem insurgunt undae, maxime furiosae procellae, et tamen certe sunt et fuere indefessi maxime prae aliis ministri Chinensis ecclesiae, non in doctrina solum, qua conciliatos sibi semper tenuerunt primae dignitatis homines, sed etiam in sanctitate, et tamen, hoc non obstante, in Europa existimantur gentilibus peiores. Bone Iesu ! hae animae tam candidae Mauris nigriores depinguntur ! Id quod me maxime affligit, est, quod aliqui ex nostris religiosis et fratribus non desinant sequi daemonis pedicas. Considera, frater carissime, quomodo unquam fieri possit, ut unus non dico religiosus, sed etiam saecularis Europaeus velit relinquere, quanta habet in re et spe in Europa, et transire maria ab Europa tam longinqua, tot inter vitae pericula, ut veniat in Chinam ad patiendum mille incommoda et vivendum cane peius et ab ipsis christianis contemptus, et postea (quod incredibile) velit hic post tanta passa mori et se praecipitare in infernum faciendo se participem idololatriae ?

De operario Christi nec cognitari quidem hoc potest ab uno, qui vel modicum sensus habet. Multi huc venerunt, sed non ut fatigentur et sudent pro Christo, sed ex intentionibus pessimis, quas habuerunt, ut iam notum est tribunali s. Inquisitionis, et si aliud non traxit illos, ambitio praefecturarum. Amoveat manum suam Sedes Apostolica a certis promovendis, qui sub pelle ovina reipsa sunt lupi rapaces, et videbit, nemo eorum se resolvet amplius in istas partes venire. Ista dico, frater carissime, quia mihi omnino nota sunt, nec auderem talia dicere et in rebus tam grandibus ita explicare mentem meam, ni talia non ipsis manibus palpassem. . . .

[State Archives, Munich, *Iesuitica in genere*, fasc. 16, n. 279.]

4. The Jesuit Visitor Kilian Stumpf to the Bishop of Peking.[1]

October 6, 1715.

Quod ait Illma V^{a} me cum meis debere parere S. Sedis decretis et mandatis, respondeo ; me et meos semper paruisse et parere ; ita testantur omnes epistolae nostrae ab anno 1707 sive Romam, sive ad Ill^{am} V^{am} datae, quin unquam de oboedientia argui potuerimus. Quod si modo agitur tantum de eo, quod Ill^{mae} V^{ae} delegatus mense Ianuario et Februario Pekini fecit aut facere omisit, respondeo : me coram delegato praesente verbo et scripto, coram Illma V^{a} absente scripto vere, legitime, solemniter protestantum, quod decreta pontificia circa ritus Sinicos et iam receperimus ab A. R. P. N. Generali, [et] iterum recipiamus, et recepturi simus, quoties aut SS. Pontifici aut Ill^{ae} V^{ae} visum fuerit, etiam quocumque nostro periculo et missionis successu secutro . . . An hoc est inoboedientium? Repraesentavi tamen tam delegato, quam deleganti periculum novum ex novo mandato Imperatoris, nondum cognito in Lin cim [in residentia episcopi Pekinensis]. An hoc contra prudentem humilitatem? Hoc novo mandato Pekini cognito, delegatus concessit inducias, ut de eodem delegans informaretur. Delegatus [delegans?] informatus rescripsit, si dimidium eorum scivisset, quae rescivit ex litteris PP. Pekinensium, se nunquam processurum fuisse, et nunc scribere ad delegatum, ut desistens ab incepto conatu publicandi decreta, quamprimum revertatur. Quae in

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII, p. 465.

hoc culpa mea, aut meorum ? Aut unde mihi criminatur alii, quod metu percellam D. episcopum, ne procedat ad publicationem ? Periculum agnovit Ill^a V^a in suis ad P. Contancin 13 Dec. 1714, quae adhuc sunt Pekini ; quod autem 20 Dec. post eas litteras die miserit delegatum ad urgendam publicationem, non ego in causa fui, sed informatio segnior et apertum mendacium Domini Pedrini.

Periculum agnovit Ill^a V^a in fine Ianuarii, ut constat in litteris eius datis ad P. Dominicum Parrenin et suum delegatum R. P. Carolum a Castorano. Quod nunc conqueratur de non perfecta publicatione, non est, quod desierit, aut non fuerit periculum, aut ego periculum finxerim ; sed quod doleant alii, machinam suam non habuisse effectum, et dolum Domini Pedrini fuisse detectum.

Coram Ill^a V^a reverenter assero, sicut pridem asserui, me et meos accepta quidem decreta omnibus suis publicaturos, ac primum voluerit. Id nunc supplico, ut quod mei subditi ex me iure quaerent, ex Ill^a V^a prius mihi discere liceat. Neque enim audeo respondere ex me in casu, qui totus est episcoporum. . . .

(Proponit episcopo aliqua dubia ab ipso resolvenda ante publicationem, et quidem magni momenti.)

4*a*. Extracts from Letters of the Bishop of Peking.

1. To the Jesuit Contancin, Lin zing.

January 25, 1715.

Di già ho risposto in fretta alla sua delli 16 Gennaro per mezzo del P. Visitatore, quali li sarà capitata, et anco per scrivere al P. Carlo [Castorano], che desisti dall'incominciato e se ne torni quanto prima, e se havessi saputo l'ammettà [sic !] di quello che ne ha scritto il mio caro Parranni, non haverei fatto quello ho fatto certissimamente, pensando di fare cosa grata a Iddio, alla Chiesa et alle Paternità Vostre, ne ho havuto altra mira mondana per gratia del Signore. Vero è che ho scritto ogn'anno a S. Santità che subbito fosse venuto il degreto sarebbe ricevuto da tutti, ma vedendo le cose mutate non ho stimato bene . . . Lo credo fermamente, che tutti li PP. della Compagnia siano obedientissimi, e lo siano per essere usque ad finem mundi . . .

2. To Parrenin, January 25, 1715.

La vostro lettera delli 17 Gennaro mi fa mutare, credendo a quanto mi scrivete, cioè idcirco V. S. dignetur distincte praescribere, quid regi dicendum, quid omittendum, a quo dici debeat, quomodo et quando, ne in tam gravi negotio imprudenter peccemus ansamque praebeamus adversariis dicendi Iesuitas omnia perdidisse. Conosco essere un poverello ne voglio mettere in pericolo la missione. Scrivo al P. Carlo che non prosigua, ma che se torni et il Signore ci benedica et assisti sempre.

4*b*. Kilian Stumpf on the Situation of the Mission.

(End of October, 1718; report to the General.)

The Emperor remains unwilling to tolerate the prohibition of the rites; eight proofs of the fact are furnished. "His vero positis, num dubium esse potest, quin clausus etiamnum perstet missionis aditus? Attamen in Europam a nonnullis scribi, patere portam, pariter non dubito, cum certo sciam, sic Manilam scriptum fuisse . . . Et creditum etiam Manilae fuit, quod scriptum est tam parum sincere: nam ecce effectum piae credulitatis! Hoc ipso anno 1718 mense Februario Manila adfuerunt seni e D. Dominici et seni e D. Francisci familia operarii, praeclara virorum duodecas; pleni persuasione, deducto foribus pessulo, nemine obstante, se missionem ingressuros. Ne unus tamen intravit." Some ascribe this to the intrigues of the Portuguese and the Jesuits. "Verum, si credi sibi volunt, dicant, cur quinque PP. Franciscani, ab antiquo degentes Cantone, et R. P. Muñoz O. P. a 12 annis ibidem iussu imperatoris habitans, omnes linguam terrae probe docti, omnes rerum Sinicarum periti, omnes familiariter noti mandarinis, ne pro uno quidem publicam ingrediendi facultatem impetrarunt? Nempe ad portam custos vigilat . . ."

But it is said, "it is enough if we can slip in secretly"! "Illos recenseo, qui ab anno 1707, quo porta occlusa fuit, latenter passim reingressi, partim de novo subierunt: ex RR. DD. clericis D. Balluer, D. Mullener, D. Vigier; ex RR. PP. Dominicanis P. Astudillo, P. Petrus M. Sanchez [sic!], P. Michael de Arriba, P. Paulus Matthen, P. Joachim Roys; ex RR. PP. Augustinianis P. Ioseph Ferrer, P. Gabriel Palacios; ex RR. PP. Franciscanis duo Itali, quorum nomina

hucusque mihi ignota voluit Rev. Lorimensis : omnes numero 12. Quod si forte unus aut alter memoriam ac calamum effugit, hos expungent D. Balluer et P. Ferrer, qui iam in pace requiescunt, et P. Astudillo, qui sponte recessit. Quid, quaeso, clandestinae istae 11 capitum suppetiae, per 11 annos missioni ministratae, si ad annua huius detrimenta conferantur? Quid ad 115 operarios, qui ab ingressu D. Patriarchae ad Sinas usque hodie deesse sciuntur? Quid ad senescentium et magnis passibus deficientium operarum iacturam, quae ingravescit? Ecce, quot hoc anno nondum evoluto iam mortuos luximus. (The names follow.) Ut taceam, qui gravi aegritudine decumbentes, mortis faucibus iamiam imminent, ecce unus annus non integer 11 annorum subsidia propemodum devoravit! Quid fiet, si tribus aut quatuor annis mors ita saevire pergat? . . ."

Grief over the situation is partly responsible for these deaths. "Ante hac laborabant sudabantque in agro Domini, quin et persecutiones iniquae gentilitatis sustinebant: at haec omnia dulcia fiebant ex fructu animarum laboribus maiore. Nunc sine fructu aratur in lapide, Sinis non suscipientibus rituum suorum prohibitionem, sudatur in frigido, multis cum fide primam caritatem exuentibus, persecutiones autem, quas privatorum concitabant odia adversus s. religionem, nunc summorum magistratuum auctoritate armantur saeviuntque." Reports about the favourable condition of many missions are misleading.

"Atque haec quidem extrinsecus tantummodo missionarios affligunt eorumque vitae infesta sunt; quod vero intus et in animo cruciat, omni gladio ancipiti peius vulnerat et plagam spiritus longe acerbissimam infligit, summas inter angustias undique coarctato. Sapientissime equidem intendit SS. Pontifex cor unum, os unum, mentem atque vocem unam omnibus circa ritus Sinenses infundi; sed enim ex sonitu vehementi apparent dispertitae linguae, et heu malum! non in eodem spiritu, nec in una intelligentia praecepti Apostolici. Incredibile quidem in Europa videbitur, verissimum tamen est, in Sina nec duos episcopos aut Vicarios Apostolicos, immo vix duos missionarios inveniri, qui inter se concordent sive de sensu praecepti, sive de praxi executionis. Hinc dum plerique impositum iuramentum praestitere, fuerunt (etiam qui non sunt de nostra Societate), qui iurare distulerint, alii

autem ex illis post iuramentum a publicanda prohibitione abstinuerunt, alii publicarunt, mira tamen rursus varietate in diversum tendentes. Nam hi quidem sola vitandorum publicatione contenti, nihil quidquam rituum Sinicorum permisere, illi vero quosdam permiserunt, et aliqui ex privata duntaxat auctoritate, pauci etiam ex arbitrio, etiam Episcopi, alii rursum sacramenta fidelibus ministrare non sunt ausi, nonnulli, qui dispensare illa acceperant, experientia edocti Sinas insuperhabita observantiae promissione peragere suos ritus antiquo more, quin nec posse ab iis hic et nunc desistere, a ministerio postliminium denuo cessarunt, ne irreverentiae exponerent SS. Ecclesiae mysteria ; quidam tamen eadem indiscriminatim impertiunt, quin attendant aut curare videantur, si christiani stent promissis, prohibitaque vitent, sive non. Sic fuit ab ingressu praecepti Apostolici in Sinam, sic etiamnum est, ut fere in numerum capitum dividantur opiniones et praxes, nec datur signum in bonum, ad quod respicientes in unum coeant sensum, eandem sequantur operationem. Interea apud plerosque angores increscunt mentis et scrupulorum agmina insurgunt, tam circa seipsos, quam circa alios, an incurrerint censuras."

5. Visitator Giovanni Laureati to the Jesuits of Peking.

(Submitted to the Legate by the Rector of the College of Peking.)

Canton, October 22, 1720.

" Tutto il mondo sa come le RR. VV. sono in questa corte l'amparo delle missioni e de' missionarii, senza del quale niente potressimo operare nelle provincie per la gloria divina. Ma quest'amparo sino adesso è stato di persone particolari ed in negotii transitorii, adesso però è giunto il tempo per che si deve estendere a tutto l'imperio e per la durata de' secoli futuri. Trattasi adesso, miei RR. PP., o di conservarsi o di rovinarsi tutta la missione di questo grande impero, la qual disgratia se accaderà, si può temere, che sarà perpetua con perduta d'infinite anime. Inde dalle RR. VV. queste medesime anime dimandano la loro salute. La procurino adunque per quanto ponno con le sue preghiere ed instanze efficacissime avanti di questo monarcha.

Questo straordinariamente desidera il S. P. Clemente XI. che ci manda con tante spese lec^mo sig. Legato fra tanti, delle di cui grandi qualità, bella indole ed amore per la nostra Compagnia già ho longamente scritto alle RR. VV. come ancora della sua santa e nobile compagnia. Legano le RR. VV. con qualche attentione questo Breve pontificio e vedino con qual zelo richiegga da noi altri questo obsequio sino ad abbassarsi ad uno "Petimus" quella somma autorità che deve essere venerata ed obbedita da tutti, ma specialmente da noi, che con voto speciale siamo a ciò obbligati. Legano le RR. VV. questa inchiusa carta del N. R. P. Generale e vedino, se possino inventarsi espressioni più efficaci che di quelle che usa per moverci tutti al maggior sforzo che sia possibile. Considerino le RR. VV. in quali contingenze si trovi la Compagnia, la quale tutti dobbiamo amar tanto. Se faremo della nostra parte, quanto potiamo [?], essa sarà lodata in tutto il mondo, e quai favori non potrà sperare da un Papa sodisfatto, quando dal medesimo ne ha ricevuti tanti e si grandi anche quando ci giudicava colpevoli? E qual crudeltà useremo noi con essa, se per nostra colpa e negligenza sarà condannata ai rigori che li stanno preparati.

Tanto più che per via certa io so che S. S^tà ha concesso, quanto era possibile concedere dentro i limiti della purità della nostra s. religione. Onde esagerino miei amantissimi PP. a questo monarcha il molto che si è concesso, ed extenuino il poco che non si è potuto concedere. Operiamo a vista d'un Legato Apostolico e di una comitiva disinteressata e dispassionata, che saranno testimonii delle nostre attioni e li accreditaranno nel mondo tutto.

E principalmente a voi parlo, RR. PP. Domenico Parrenin e Giovanni Mourao, a quali Dio N. S. ha dato gratia maggiore con questo monarcha. Io m'imagino che questi talenti ab aeterno li abbia determinati Iddio N. S., perchè moltiplicassero il cinque, e li abbia posti nelle vostre mani perchè crescessero in tanta abbondanza, che di essi si sostentassero le anime Cinesi per molti secoli. Le RR. VV. daranno un gran trionfo al N. S. P. Ignatio e chiuderanno la bocca delli heretici e nostri malevoli. Dunque non vi sia trascuraggine, non negligenza, non omissione o indifferenza, ma locano [?] tutti con tutto lo sforzo in campo, perchè qualunque piccolo sonno in questa occasione sarebbe di sommo pregiuditio e può essere

irrimediabile. Ben so che si grande negotio non dipende dalle RR. PP., ma se chiederanno, se instaranno, se piangeranno, se proporranno all'Imperatore i motivi per appiacevolirsi e contentarsi, io spero che quel Dio, nelle di cui mani stanno i cuori dei re, appiacevolerà il generoso di questo Imperatore. Questo io desidero, questo io chieggo, e spero che le RR. VV. daranno [?] e conseguiranno questa somma allegrezza e per il cielo e per il mondo tutto. . . ."

6. Extracts from Letters of Nic. Tomacelli, of the Order of Clerics Minor.

(*a*) To the General of the Order Basalotti.[1]

Peking, September 23, 1721.

" . . . Ingannò il Papa chi scrisse, questo Imperatore esser indifferente a qualsisia mutazione de' suoi riti. Questi sono come superstiziosi condannati, e in tanto noi stiamo qui in corte in un assedio che sarà impossibile continuare sul piede presente. La maniera in che siamo riguardati in corte è honorifica, ma piena di mille circospezioni e mille obblighi in mezzo d'una turba di gentili dominanti. . . . Mons. Patriarcha [Mezzabarba] parte per Europa, e da lui potrà sentire il mio operato. Li PP. della Compagnia che in queste parti adempiscono il loro dovere, qui si contradistinguono per una numerosa cristianità e per la molta tolleranza nelle fatiche apostoliche, ma più si sono distinti nelle presenti emergenze in dar contrasegni di perfettissima obbedienza alla S. Sede come ben tutti l'habbiamo veduto ; ma non sta in loro potere il rinversare le leggi di questo impero. Il tempo farà conoscere, che mal giudica delle cose Cinesi chi è poco pratico di questa corte. . . ."

(*b*) To Carlo Casnedi at Lisbon.

Peking, October 23, 1721.

" . . . Ma quello che sempre ho havuto più a cuore di scrivere tanto a V. P. M. R. quanto in mie lettere reiterate alla S. Congregazione, si è l'esatta ubbidienza alli ordini di S. Stà, per i quali non vi è europeo missionario in Cina che non abbia travagliato. Ma se Mons. Patriarcha nè tutti noi, nè

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 91.

il P. Giovanni Laureati sommamente impegnato da un Breve pontificio, non abbiamo potuto ottenere l'intento di S. Stà, è provenuto dalla diversità dell'oggetto della consaputa controversia differentemente rappresentato in Roma et in Pekino. In somma quel 'vade et vide' dettomi in Roma mi ha fatto sempre evitare le prevenzioni e per conseguenza conoscere le cose al chiaro. Mi fu detto in Roma che il P. Visitatore Laureati era un refrattario delli ordini di S. Stà, e come tale lo havrei considerato alla prima veduta, se dall'hora istessa egli non faceva conoscere il suo zelo . . . (Then follows a detailed account of Laureati's conduct.)

(*c*) To Giov. Giac. Fatinelli.[1]

Peking, November 29, 1721.

" . . . Già dissi come prima della partenza di Mons. Patriarcha avanti a' suoi occhi il sigr. Pedrini fu battuto e carcerato e che le lagrime e le reiterate preghiere di Mons. con tutti noi all'Imperadore per lui non li potessimo ottenere il perdono totale, ma solo in parte, atteso l'Imperadore per bocca del suo secondo eunuco et in scritto con publica sentenza s'espresse, volergli perdonare la vita, ma acciò si corregerebbe da' passati falli, d'aver scritto in Roma, egli essere indifferente ne' suoi riti, volea, che sia alleggerito dalle catene e dall'opprobrio delle publiche carceri, consegnandolo giusta il costume di Cina alli più prossimi, et amici a guardare, coll'istesso rigore, come se fosse nelle prigioni della città. L'ordine fu in lingua Tartara ; in esecuzione del quale il sigr. Pedrini fu consegnato alli PP. Gesuiti francesi, i quali benchè mal volentieri pigliassero questa cura, pure convenne accettarla per l'ordine espresso dell'Imperadore, e di Mons. Patriarcha. In una stanza grande, e simile a quella de' Padri stiede, finchè l'Imperadore partendo per Tartaria, lo volle condurre seco. Il detto sigr Pedrini, e molti di noi stimassimo per tal causa averli già perdonato l'Imperadore ; ma poi si conobbe l'opposto ; perchè fu consegnato al terzo figlio dell'Imperadore con ordine di tenerlo bene custodito con proibizione ad ogni Europeo di parlarli. Ma dovendo ritornare l'Imperadore da Tartaria in questi ultimi giorni li mandarini a persuasione de' PP. Gesuiti dimandarono all'eunuco già detto, che doveva

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII, p. 482.

farsi del sigr. Pedrini? Quegli risposero, osservarsi l'ordine antecedente. Fu condotto il sigr. Pedrini nella casa de' PP. Gesuiti francesi, li quali avendo di fresco fatto fabricare un piccolo appartamento con stanze per servidori e cucina e due atrii o giardini; ivi, come in luogo più capace e più agiato, il condussero, dandoli per quel poco spazio di tempo li PP. e li mandarini la libertà di trasportare le sue robbe, ed accomodare li conti con li servidori e mulattieri, che avea condotti da Tartaria. Il sigr. Pedrini prese questa poca libertà come argomento, che non dovea [essere] più rinserrato; onde si espresse chiaramente alli PP., che egli non voleva più vivere come prima, asserendo l'ordine essere falso, e che li PP. lo volevano tenere in prigione per forza, senza la volontà dell'Imperadore; e ciò detto, benchè li PP. protestassero, che gl'imponeva una falsa accusa ed une enorme calunnia avanti tutti i cristiani, il detto sigr. Pedrini subito andò in sagrestia, e vestitosi disse la messa, quale finita proseguì a perorare contro detti PP., dicendo sempre, l'ordine esser falso. In questo tempo arrivassimo da Cian Ciun iuen alla casa di detti PP. francesi il P. Rinaldo da S. Giuseppe, il P. Wolfango a Nativitate Teresiani,[1] et io; e temendo noi maggiori disturbi, per non potere i PP. dar conto all'Imperadore d'un tal uomo, con le preghiere ottenessimo, che li Padri mostrandoli il decreto dell'Imperadore, patientassero quel troppo desiderio di libertà del sigr. Pedrini, che lo faceva parlare in quel modo. Donde il P. Parrenin gli mostrò il decreto, con esibire se stesso a grave colpa in caso, che non fosse vero. Letto questo, spiegato e tradotto, convenne alla fine il sigr. Pedrini essere vero, ma come dato nella seconda luna, diceva nella quarta aver ricevuta la grazia dall'Imperadore: Su questo si dibattè molto, dicendo li PP., che non avevano ordine di rivocare l'antecedente; nè il sigr. Pedrini potea mostrarlo. Noi fossimo per tutto quel giorno afflitti testimoni di tali contese. In questo mentre l'Imperadore venne in Pekino, e quivi li Padri per loro indennità avvisarono li mandarini, acciò senza strepito certificassero il sigr. Pedrini; ma questi contro l'intenzione de' PP. avvisarono l'Imperadore, e questo alla presenza di molti comandò, che sia fortemente custodito, con poca speranza di uscire avanti il ritorno del Patriarcha. Il decimo terzo figlio dell'Imperadore informato da un servitore del sigr. Pedrini, venne

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 281.

in corte, e ricercò noi, perchè li PP. francesi tenevano carcerato il sigr. Pedrini. Gli fu da noi risposto, che non sapevamo la causa, per il che egli chiamò un mandarino di quelli, che presiedono alle cose Europee, et avendoli l'istesso richiesto, gli fu brevemente risposto essere espresso ordine dell'Imperadore, anche al presente confermato: il che finì di certificare chi dubitava di tal'ordine. Ll PP. Gesuiti si lagnano con qualche risentimento, e mi pare, che ne abbino ragione, e dicono, che molto a torto senza osservare il fine, nè il principio delle cose, qualcheduno de' nostri l'abbia calunniati di voler tenere carcerati li missionari di Propaganda, essendo il sigr. Pedrini il terzo dopo il sigr. Appiani, e'l P. Castorano, che ritengano per non vederlo esposto all'ignominie delle pubbliche prigioni. In fatti il sigr. Pedrini soffre l'incommodo di star rinserrato, li PP. soffrono molto in ritenerlo; il sigr. Pedrini ivi tenendo nove servidori, per altro un poco impertinenti; perocchè per dormire han gettate giù le porte dell'ambito assegnato al sigr. Pedrini, et avendoli li PP. date 12. o 14. tavole grandi, migliori per dormire, con tutto ciò la notte seguente fecero l'istesso, non ostante le promesse fatte a noi dal sigr. Pedrini di non far simil cosa, come anche di licenziare si fatta canaglia senza alcun'uso, avendo il sigr. Pedrini servidori, quanti ne abbiamo noi tutti qui di Propaganda. Ogni giorno sentiamo qualche cosa di nuovo e per parte de' PP. lamenti per il detto sigr. Pedrini Assicuro V. S. Illma, che io, e noi tutti non sappiam ove andaranno a terminare l'affari della missione, vedendo così discordi li missionari. L'infedeli ugualmente, e li cristiani si scandalizano. Alli già ora narrati travagli aggiunga V. S. Illma le notizie afflittive, che tuttavia capitano alla corte de' mali costumi d'alcuni Europei, quali vengono accusati all'Imperadore da' mandarini, e benchè tutti stimiamo le dette accuse esser calunnie, nondimeno molto ci conturbano. Qui è un vivere infelice, che se non fosse per Dio, sarebbe disperazione."

7. Catalogo d'alcuni soggetti, che hanno scritto nella Cina in favore di que' PP. della Compagnia contro le accuse poste da altri.

On November 15, 1720, the Bishop of Peking writes to three newly arrived Propaganda missionaries in favour of

the Jesuits of Peking; jointly with them, so he informs one of them, he had been writing to the Pope and to Propaganda since November 10, 1707. On April 30, 1715, he writes to two Franciscans that for several years he had suspended the publication of the apostolic decrees with a view to saving the mission; he had informed the Pope of the grave perils which threatened it and implored him to show consideration for them. In November, 1716, he acknowledged, in presence of three mandarins sent by the Emperor, that he had acted thus in order to avert danger from the mission and to avoid giving offence to the Emperor; he had informed Rome that it was not possible to publish and execute the decrees in China. On November 21, 1716, the Franciscan Michele Fernandez writes that the Bishop of Peking was very sorry he had given notice of the apostolic decree and that he had empowered the missionaries to act in the matter as they deemed best.

On January 25, 1719, the Bishop of Lorima, Vicar Apostolic of Shansi and Shensi, praises the Peking Jesuits because of all the good they did in the mission, condemns the calumnies of their adversaries and expresses his sympathy in their trials.

On January 18, 1717, the Bishop of Peking writes that Pedrini deserved to be punished for what he had written against the Jesuits; he himself was writing to Rome to ask that Pedrini should not be employed on the Pope's business with the Emperor. According to a letter of the Secretary of State to Fr. Laureati, Mezzabarba had spoken highly of the latter to the Pope and borne witness to the great services which he had rendered to the Holy See. On June 21, 1721, Mezzabarba wrote about the good services of the Jesuits to him and of their excellent conduct towards him. . . .

On November 10, 1707, the Bishop of Peking extols the Jesuits of China, defends those at the court against gossip, writes in their defence to the Pope and to Propaganda. . . On October 7, 1708, he once more takes up the defence of the Jesuits at the court of Peking and states that he was appealing on their behalf to the Pope and to Propaganda.

Il medesimo a' 31 Ottobre 1712 scrive di aver per più anni scritto a S. Stà e alla S. Congregazione in conformità di quello,

che i PP. Gesuiti di Pekino ne avevano scritto. Aggiunge, che in Roma non lo voglion sentire; e che è superfluo lo scriverlo di nuovo: e che in Roma s'ingannano in voler credere al sigr. cardinale di Tournon contro di que' Gesuiti; ed attesta d'avere scritto a Roma, che le accuse di Sua Em^za^ contro di detti PP. sono state false; e che Sua Em^za^ è stata causa dello sdegno di quell'Imperatore, e non i detti Padri della Compagnia. E replica d'aver ciò scritto a S. St^à^ ed alla S. Congregazione; e confessa d'aver da due anni appresso di se il decreto della S. Sede circa i riti.

Il P. Aleman, Commissario Provinciale de' PP. Francescani scalzi a' 23 Novembre 1716 scrive deplorando la perdita della mission della Cina; dice, che quei, che han rappresentata per cosa facile la proibizion de' riti, la trovan difficile e pericolosa, e che falsamente spaccian gli altri per disubbidienti, quando essi sono i disubbidenti, e non osservano i decreti.

Il P. Fra Giovanni Fernandez Serrano, Commissario Provinciale de' PP. Francescani a' 21 Gennaro 1718 scrive, non potersi amministrare i sagramenti senza scrupoli insopportabili. Che i missionari della S. Congregazione di Propaganda non osservano il precetto Apostolico, e perciò non può seguitarsi il lor dettame. Ch'è impossibile a' Cinesi osservare la proibizion de' riti, e perciò è impossibile a' missionari l'amministrar loro i sagramenti.

Il P. Fra Francesco della Concezione Francescano a' 23 Novembre 1718 scrive, che i cristiani non vogliono accomodarsi alla proibizion de' riti, ancorchè raddolcita da alcune nuove concessioni del vescovo di Pekino.

Il P. Giov. Battista Serravalle Francescano missionario della S. Congregazione agli 8 Agosto 1719 scrive, che di 212 da lui battezzati, appena ne conta le feste soli 25.

Il P. Fra Francesco della Concezione Francescano agl'11 Maggio 1719 scrive, che non amministrava i sagramenti a' cristiani, perchè questi non si accomodavano alla proibizione de' riti, ancorchè modificata da Mons. vescovo di Pekino. E che i cristiani, a' quali il vicario del vescovo di Pekino amministrava i sagramenti, non observavano la proibizion de' riti, e che l'istesso vicario lo confermava.

(Then follow testimonials from Tomacelli, Roveda, Castorano, Pedrini, Fernandez Serrano, etc.)

8. The Jesuits of Peking to their General.[1]

October 28, 1724.

Adm. Rev. in Christo Pater Generalis.

"Inexplicabili nos dolore non modo prostratos obruit, sed penitus eliso velut spiritu suffocavit, quam a P^te V. A. R^da 27 Septembris 1723 datam, per R. P. Viceprovincialem nostrum die 19 mensis et anni currentis accepimus. Immensus autem dolor iste non tam exinde oritur, quod innocentes gravissimorum atque enormium scelerum, quae sine horrore audiri nequeunt, iteratis toties et delationibus postulemur et exprobrationibus redarguamur: id enim secundum spiritum minimae Societatis nostrae gloriae potius nobis ducimus, ut contumelias, falsa testimonia et iniurias patiendo, assimilemur et aliquo modo imitemur Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, cuius vestibus et insignibus indui ardenter exoptamus. Nec etiam eo titulo gravissime premit dolor, quod saeva hic persecutione circumvolutis nobis ac ferme ad nihilum redactis, nonnisi suprema derelictio et omnimoda quasi desperatio proveniat e quorum vultu praesidium, levamen atque solatium afflictionibus nostris sperabamus: nam et hoc ad imitationem Christi Regis, atque Salvatoris nostri pertinet, qui in agonia crucis inter mortis angustias amore nostri constitutus, ab ipso Deo Patre suo derelictum se fuisse dolenter ingemuit. Sed neque summa doloris vis inde cruciat, quod dum pro virili cum malignis hic geniis colluctamur, ut Christi haereditatem ab eorum violentia vindicemus, illinc boni angeli de principibus primi, tamquam si istis in adiutorium venirent, ex utraque parte in nos servos suos flagella ingeminent sine intermissione multis plagis verberantes: nam et hic superandi propter eum, qui dilexit nos, fiducia est, cum certos reddat Apostolus, quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque virtutes separare nos poterunt a caritate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu. Doloris, qui nos perimit, vehementia et excessus in eo praecipue fundatur, quia propter nos minimos indignosque filios suos non tantum P. V. A. R. acerbissima tot annis sollicitudine ac moerore affligi sentimus, sed insuper dilectissimam Matrem nostram Societatem omnem periclitari gravissima authoritate denuntiatur. Hoc enim vere est, quod in

[1] Probably drawn up by J. Kögler. *Cf.* above, p. 85.

intima grassatur viscera, quod ipsam animam transverberat et inconsolabili ad mortem usque tristitia opprimit.

Multus hic esset locus pro innocentia et indemnitate Matris protestandi aeque ac deprecandi, si lacrimae et gemitus permitterent. Quamquam nec istud officii genus, quod superioribus annis per plures litteras sufficienter iam adimplesse existimabamus, a nobis modo R. A. P. V. exspectat, sed alia tum subiectionis, tum innocentiae nostrae argumenta praecipit et exposcit. A. R. Pater, quantumvis forte videri possimus timore plusquam servili, nequam instar mancipiorum, ad frugem adigi et compelli, libere tamen profitemur nos vero filiorum metu timere a mandatis, quae ex sanctissimi Domini nostri iussu et voluntate nobis iniungit, eamque cum omni qua par est humilitate ac submississima veneratione suscipere ; utque istis extemplo et examussim obediamus, non infra subscripti Societatis Iesu sacerdotes viceprovinciae Sinensis, Pekini degentes.

1. coram Deo et secundum conscientiam nostram testamur, nos non minus prompte quam integre et exacte parere Apostolicis decretis, ad ritus Sinenses spectantibus, ministrando sacramenta, caeteraque missionum exercitia obeundo : praecipue vero sincera submissione ea omnia (quantum in nobis est) adamussim exequi, quae continet ac mandat constitutio Clementis XI. incipiens "Ex illa die" ; cuncta iuxta tenorem iuramenti, quod ut obedienter praestitimus, sic per Dei gratiam sancte hactenus servasse confidimus, certe servare studuimus. Verumtamen cum executio decretorum perfecta a nobis solis non pendet, immo vel maxime a fidelibus Sinis, non possumus non, sic exigente rei veritate, iterum iterumque contestari, illam difficillime obtineri, nec nisi a perpaucis curate observari, propter causas pluries iam enucleate perscriptas : indiscretius autem eandem urgere, sane quam periculosissimum esse, prout impraesentiarum (heu dolor !) acerbo minis exemplo experimur.

2. Similiter coram Deo et secundum conscientiam nostram testamur, nos apud Imperatorem Sinarum eiusque ministros neutiquam egisse, ut persisterent in proposito non admittendi decreta S. Sedis circa ritus Sinenses, neque constare nobis ullum alium e nostris tam enormis sceleris esse reum. Serio item proponimus, nihil in posterum diligentiae omittere, si qua aliquando opportuna occasio sese offerat ab illo eos con-

silio amovendi. Ubi tamen rursum sincerissimo cordis candore, ut filios ad Patrem loqui decet, profitemur, hic et nunc de argumento illo vel mentionem ingerere, periculo non vacare, nisi coram iis, quos divini Spiritus motio valide iam inclinavit ad religionem nostram amplexandam.

3. Praeterea coram Deo et secundum conscientiam nostram testamur, nulla nostra instigatione aut cooperatione, saltem positiva, accidisse, ut tam D. Pedrinus quam DD. Appianus et Guiges custoditi detinerentur, quin aegre admodum nos sensisse, quando primo illi ob suammet culpam custodia, et quidem in Societatis quadam domo assignata fuit : carceris enim strictum nomen eiusmodi custodiae satis immerito ac perquam invidiose tribuitur. Testamur pariter D. Pedrinum iam altero anno liberum agere : sed et de aliis duobus Cantonienses litterae ferunt pari eos libertate gaudere.

Circa 4, quoque coram Deo testamur, quia a supremo Ecclesiae pastore sic iussum et ordinatum fuit, humiliter ac venerabunde nos acquiescere, dicentes : Dominus est, quod bonum est in oculis suis faciat. Quodque iam alias commotis visceribus nostris super Sinensi ecclesia, tot inter labores sudoresque decessorum nostrorum in Christo genita, educata et custodita professi fuimus, denuo obsecrare : detur alteri dum viva servetur proles, nec divisa interficiatur. Inter haec autem, eheu ! emissae ex orco furiae hic personant veluti triumphantes : nec his, nec illis, sed occidatur et pereat.

5. Denique in simili forma testamur, sanctissimi Domini nostri per P. V. Z. R^{dam} mandata atque praecepta a R. P. Viceprovinciali nostro, ut primum ea per viam S. Congreg. de propag. fide recepit, illico nobis transmissa et communicata fuisse cum ulteriori iussione, ut superaddito iuramento in verbo sacerdotis humilem omnium ac singulorum observantiam executionemque promptam contestemur. Quod quidem in breviori folio succinctius iam fecimus, et rursum in hac epistola paulo deductius innovamus.

Commendatis autem humilis observantiae subiectionisque testimoniis, secundum ac praeceptum fuit, integre, ut arbitramur, perfuncti, suppliciter nunc P. V. A. R^{dam} oramus atque obtestamur, ut dum illa beatissimo Patri ac Domino nostro coram exponit, simul exhibita hac epistola eundem communi nostro infimorum servorum nomine prostrata confirmet, paratos nos esse mori magis, quam dictatas a Christi vicario

leges praevaricari, haud aliter ac superiore anno gemini nostri PP. in Tunkino alter in carceris aerumnis, alter sub capitali supplicio pro sancta fide vitam posuerunt,[1] uti pagina docet separatim adiecta. Affirmabit pariter, nos voti memores, quod Summo Pontifici fecimus, apostolicis ministeriis nunquam nos abdicasse, cuius rei abundans testimonium dicet vel sola, quae nuper iam transmissa fuit et nunc iterum adiungitur, relatio de illustrissima neophytorum nostrorum familia, propter fidem praeteritae aetatis tempore in exilium hinc amandata.[2] Verum est, a publica sacrorum dispensatione, abstinueramus, gravissimis rationibus, quae pluries perscriptae fuerunt, persuasi atque coacti, ne traditores essemus causae Dei et animarum, sacraque mysteria profanarentur. Easdem rationes P. Ioannes Laureati, tum visitator, coram hac scripto proposuit Illmo Patriarchae Alexandrino: tantumque abest, ut improbarit iste, ut etiam probasse visus sit, PP. nostros theologice operatos fuisse reponens.

Ex hisce argumentis nulli dubitamus, quin sanctissimus Dominus pernoscat fecisse nos iudicium atque iustitiam, ut proinde in profundissima reverentia supplicare ei liceat, ne nos tradat calumniantibus nos, sed suscipiat servos suos in bonum, ne superbi nos calumniemur. Valebit etiam ad firmandam hanc deprecationem, si P. V. A. R^da^ ulterius contestetur per ipsos, quos in Europa superiores habuimus, perque Patres omni religiosa virtute conspicuos, qui in Christo nos genuerunt atque in spiritu Societatis educarunt, nos haudquaquam disciplinae religiosae intolerantia eiusque subterfugiendae, ac libertatis sectandae studio, neque spe terrenas quasdam dignitates occupandi, sed solo amore Dei zeloque animarum impulsos, multis votis et plurium annorum precibus obtinuisse, procul a patriae commodis ad extremas mundi

[1] Francesco Bucharelli and Giambattista Messeri.

[2] The Sunu family, see above, p. 201. Thomas (350 *seq.*) endeavours to oppose the Jesuit De Mailla (*ob.* 1748) to the Jesuit Parrenin, to whom we owe the account of the Sunu family. He overlooks the fact that the years 1723–1780 in De Mailla's work (XI., 369 *seqq.*) are from the hand of the editor, Le Roux des Hautesrayes. The latter's account also makes it quite clear (462 *seq.*) that the family's punishment was increased on account of its professing Christianity. But it had incurred the imperial disgrace apart from that circumstance.

oras transmitti. Tales autem cum nos Europa dimiserit, eundemque spiritum quotidianis Instituti nostri exercitationibus conservare, per Dei gratiam, usque nobis curae sit, qui probabile reddi queat, repente pessimos enormiterque sceleratos nos evadere? Num infelix adeo Sinensis agri est terra, ut cum externo habitu etiam imbibitos ab adolescentia religionis mores omnisque christianae vitae principia deponi et obliterari faciat? Si tam diram in nos tyrannidem exercet, qui fit, ut alii eam in se non experiantur? An forte quia non sunt sicut caeteri hominum? Equidem quia tales erroribus nos atque naevis vel septies in die obnoxios esse inficias haud imus, scimusque continenter falce opus esse, qua rescindamus, quae ex corrupto peccati fomite repullulant, ab his qui mundi sunt accusatores nostri, primi in nos lapides mittant: dum vero enormium nos scelerum postulant, suspicio est aut ingentes trabes suismet in oculis circumferre, aut certe obducti glaucomate oculos, videre se opinantur, quae non vident, phantastica animi occupatione decepti, ut de notorio fratrum calumniatore taceamus.

Quod si autem hae contestationes a R. P. V^a^ illaeque nostrae attestationes aut non recipiantur, aut non valeant adversus delatorum nostrorum argumenta, seu verius sophismata (quae quidem ut competenter confutemus, qualia proferant, ac comminiscantur, ignoramus nec divinare possumus), ita ut extra controversiam, sicut iam habentur, sic persistant imputata nobis delicta; aliud nobis non restat, quam ut ad pedes sanctissimi Domini et innocentissimi Patris nostri peccatores provolvamur filii et humiliemur sub paterna castigantis manu: etsi enim quorum incusamur criminum, reos nos esse haud agnoscamus, in multis tamen offendisse omnes non diffitemur; exhorretque animus tantam blasphemiam, ut dicentes, quoniam non peccavimus, mendacem faciamus eum, qui fidelis et iustus est, ut emundet nos ab omni iniquitate. Interim misericordiam implorare non cessamus, ut dum delinquentes plectere filios constituit, saltem innocenti parceat Matri, quae nullam in filiorum delictis partem habet, ut iustam iudicis contra se iram proritet; et vel ipse supremus iudicum arbiter olim definierit patrem (utique et matrem) iniquitates filii non portaturum. Propter decem iustos pepercisset idem infamibus Pentapolitanis: quomodo fieri queat, ut ipsis Sodomis ac Gomorrha peior

reputetur minima Iesu Societas, pauciorumque noxa sociorum universa luat, quam tot sancti viri et innumeri undique iusti exornant, quam praeclarissima per universum orbem de Ecclesia Dei merita illustrant semperque S. Sedi commendatissimam reddiderunt? Nec inter postrema habentur in Sinensi parta imperio, nisi a lividis oculis conspiciantur. Proh, quantum triumpharet orcus, effectum si nanciscantur, quae in 4° et 5° articulis contra Societatem statuuntur! quantum laetarentur haereses masticem suam constringi et impotentem reddi! quantum hypocritae [1] applauderent, qui venenosi dogmatis sui sementem non una satione iam huc usque proseminarunt, ut sectae suae sequaces subnascantur!

Haec quanto cordolio, quanta maerentis animae compunctione conscribamus, testis est Iesus, cuius militiam sequimur, cuius nomine insignimur, cuius fidem gentibus annuntiamus. Submissionem erga S. Sedem publice profitemur, eius decreta venerabunde suscepimus, iuravimus oboedientiam profuso etiam sanguine testaturi; executionis partem, quae a nobis est, explemus, humiliter deprecamur culpam, qualiscumque vel nos, vel quemcumque nostrum maculare credatur. Si haec non sufficiunt, quid ultra exposcimur? ut tamquam purgamenta mundi huius et omnium peripsema substernarum conculcantibus nos? Neque hoc abnuimus, dummodo glorificetur Christus in nobis, cui in cruce commori peroptamus, certi beatitudinis, quam iustitiae causa persecutionem patientibus promisit.

Ut finiamus demum lacrimosam epistolam, ad P. V. A. R^dam^ convertimur, quam nostri causa tam diuturnis moeroribus conflictari iustissime indolemus, utque non tam super nos quam super vineam Sinensis ecclesiae ingemiscat, demisse hortamur: ecce inter sacrum et saxum quam vere, tam lamentabiliter constitutam! Novus Imperator operarios evangelii in exilium amandat: sed et ex Urbe alii subsidio mitti prohibentur, alii iubentur remitti aut a sacro opere vacare. Atque sic quasi caelum et infernus, boni simul et mali angeli contra illam conspirasse videntur. Magnitudo doloris plura non permittit. Originem utriusque calamitatis attribuentes peccatis nostris, in spiritu paenitentiae ingemiscamus: Pater, peccavimus in caelum, et coram te, fac,

[1] The Jansenists.

quaesumus, humillima apud Sanctissimum deprecatione, ut residuam hic scintillam, quam in indignis filiis tuis extinguere tantopere satagit inimicus, misericorditer et paterne in spem futuram huius vineae conservet. Il ipsum per communia suffragia Societatis obtineri etiam atque etiam precamur."

"Pekini 28 Octobris 1724. Adm. R. P. V^ae minimi in Christo filii:

Embertus Xaverius Fridelli Collegii Pekinensis Rector m. pp.—

Iosephus Suarez S. J. m. pp.—Carolus Slavicek S. J. m. pp.—

Ignatius Kogler S. J. m. pp.—Andreas Pereyra S. J. m. pp.—

Aloysius Fan S. J. m. pp."

Summarium (cfr. above, p. 197, n. 2), § 8.

9. On the Audience with Emperor Kanghi on January 14, 1721.[1]

Adm. Rev. Pater Generalis.

"Tametsi nos duos infrascripti Societatis Iesu sacerdotes ac missionarii in curia Pekinensi per testimonium, quod iuxta articulos ab A. R. P. V. praescriptos et commendatos cum aliis Pekini societatis nostrae sacerdotis fecimus atque subscripsimus, videri possimus satisfecisse obligationi nostrae atque oboedientiae nobis iniunctae in litteris suis 27 Septembris 1723 datis, tamen quia vario rumore comperimus, nos ambos fuisse nominatim atque speciatim in pessimam suspicionem tractos, tamquam si voluntatem Imperatoris Sinensis, quando dimisso alloquio, quod ill^mo Patriarchae Alexandrino cum omnibus Europaeis 14 Ianuarii 1721 benigne indulserat, nos duos paululum coram se remanere iussit, pervertissemus, ut denuo mutaret sententiam in iis quae circa ritus Sinenses petenti ill^mo Patriarchae iam concessisse praetendebatur; ut pessimam hanc suspicionem, immo temerariam atque falsissimam penitus convellamus atque signate a nobis amoliamus, in verbo sacerdotis iuramus coram Deo, qui nos aeque ac delatores iudicaturus est, nos nihil omnino dixisse vel egisse, per quod praetenderemus aut procuraremus Imperatorem a praetensa illa concessione revocare, aut per quod Imperator incitari potuerit ad mentem suam mutandam, idque

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII, p. 475 *seq.*

tanto minus, quia extra dubium est, Imperatorem in eo alloquio nihil eorum, quae praetendebantur, circa ritus Sinenses concessisse, immo nec velle nec posse concedere, sicuti quam saepissime iteratis asseverationibus a viginti et amplius annis verbo et scripto publice ac constanter contestatus fuit. Pekini 2 Novembris 1724.

Iosephus Suarez S. J. m. pp.—Ioachimus Bouvet S. J. m. pp."

Summarium (cfr. above, p. 197, n. 2), § 6.

10. From Tamburini's "Informazione" of January, 1725.[1]

"Ex litteris P. Francisci Xaverii Dentrecolles datis Pekino 9 Oct. 1723: Hoc anno baptizati, magna ex parte infantes, numerantur dumtaxat 700 circiter, 50 adulti sacramenta rite muniti in hac christianitate obierunt.—Ex litteris P. Caroli de Resende Viceprovincialis Sinensis datis Pekino 31 Oct. 1723: Hoc anno sensim sine sensu Pekini aperta est ianua administrationi sacramentorum absque discrimine personarum, et quamprimum publice etiam administrabitur eucharistia. Per provincias nihil novi circa administrationem; ubique administratur.—Ex litteris P. Stephani Couteuls datis ex Han Yang 6 Septembris 1723: Praeter ea, quae anno praeterito ad R. P. V. scripsi, tribus ultimis anni mensibus abfui a mea ecclesia decurrendo varias christianitates; praesenti hoc anno abfui iam per duos menses, et post aliquot dies proficiscar ad pagos usque ad initium Ianuarii; vires supplebit Deus. A Maio anni 1722 unque ad Iunium praesentis anni numeravi 620 baptizatos, 2383 confessiones, 842 communiones; non est proportio confessiones inter et communiones, quia multae sunt occasiones, in quibus fieri non potest sacrum. Caeterum non existimet P. V. permissiones ab ill. Legato explicatas sufficere ad tollendas omnes difficultates in praxi. Sunt adhuc puncta non pauca, circa quae variae sunt missionariorum sententiae.

Ex litteris P. Iosephi Pirez Provincialis Iaponiae datis Macao 29 Novembris 1723: Ex dictis intelliget P. V., quam alienum a veritate sit dicere, sacerdotes Collegii Macaensis id temporis vitam degere otiosam; numero pauci, senectute

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 195.

graves atque adversa valetudine utentes, munera gravissima, quibus collegium de more se obstrinxit, libenter seu illibenter adimplent. Tribus in hebdomade diebus et festis per annum totoque tempore Quadragesimae a fine orationis matutinae usque ad secundam mensam et aliquando usque ad occasum confessiones excipiunt. Omnes praedicationes, quae toto anni tempore et Quadragesima habentur, tam in nostra quam in cathedrali ecclesia, Domo misericordiae et tribus parochiis (totidem enim sunt in hac civitate) non a Religiosis hic etiam habitantibus, sed a Sociis habentur. Omitto instructionem captivorum ; quorum magnus est numerus, ad collegii ianuam a duobus sacerdotibus in Quadragesima, necnon alia pia opera, quae . . . exercentur. Praeter sodalitatem Sinensium neophytorum, quibus praeest christianorum Pater in ecclesia separata, in hac nostra a multis annis, quatuor sunt erectae praeter novam a P. Visitatore sub invocatione SS. Iesu Christi Cordis."

11. Sommario addizionale di nuove eccezioni riconosciute in alcuni degli accusatori de' missionari della Compagnia della Cina, cavate dalle lettere de' medesimi missionari.[1]

N° 1. Da una lettera del P. Franco Saverio Dentrecolles, scritta da Pechino al P. Generale della Compagnia nel 1 Novembre 1724.—" Romae scit (D. Pedrini) eam esse inditam de se idaeam, quam nullae quantumvis verae accusationes valeant maculare : quid non audeat homo, qui credit, se quidvis tuto audere posse et saepius ausum esse ; a levioribus in se ad graviora recte nonnumquam concluditur ; hinc evulgatum illud : disce ab ungue leonem : quo tempore ad instantiam illmi Legati Mezabarba D. Pedrini de mandato Imperatoris translatus e carcere publico fuit in locum apud nos, ubi expresse de eodem Imperatoris mandato debuit manere rigorose clausus, ita ut a nemine inviseretur, nihilominus P. Dentrecolles illum quotidie, aliquando post prandium, aliquando post caenam [invisit], per horam circiter apud ipsum manebat confabulando ; ita ut si forte per otium ire non potuisset, D. Pedrini illum amice per famulum rogabat, ne se solita consolatione privaret ; nihilominus in relatione illa sua famosa

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 79 *seq.*

de actis in suo carcere, et quae casu Cantone fuit deprehensa, legitur : P. Dentrecolles veniebat quotidie semel visurus tamquam rigorosus carceris custos, num tuto in carcere clausus essem, ne possem aufugere : munus enimvero viro ingenuo et religiosae domus superiore dignum? Accepta casu huius relationis certa notitia P. Dentrecolles, hoc ingratitudinis genere eo magis stomacatus, quod amicis talem ingratitudinem a tali viro praedicentibus non credidisset, hoc exprobravit D^no^ Pedrini, qui negavit haec a se fuisse scripta ; at, quaeso, quis illo silente ista somniasset? Ut iterum hic revocem vim adagii superius memorati : homo, qui facta tam sine pudore invertit, estne, quaeso, aliqua fide dignus? "

N° 2. Da una lettera del P. Giacomo Filippo Simonelli da Cantone al P. Generale sotto li 10 Decembre 1725.—" Idem D. (Mulliner) habet secum unum clericum natione Sinensem, qui fuit eius famulus a longo tempore ; est ex infima plebe, filius unius christiani, propter affixos publice contra Societatis Patres infames libellos tempore E^mi^ de Tournon apud omnes christianos pessime audientis. Patri suo similem se probavit filius. Nam Pekini sese cum D. Pedrini inclusit, nequicquam reluctantibus PP. Gallis (Romae autem fertur a Patribus inclusum), fuitque illi pro amanuensi in scribendis pluribus infamatoriis libellis, quos ad ianuas publicas collegii Pekinensis et residentiae ibidem PP. Gallorum affigi curarunt, et insuper uno scripto infamatorio adhuc peiori eo, quem D. Appiani Cantone conscripserat. Omnia praedicta exarata erant litteris, et idiomata Sinico. Post haec facinora ab eodem Illmo ordinatus sacerdos nuper fuit."

N°. 3. Da una lettera del P. Giuliano Placido Hervieu da Cantone al P. Generale sotto li 19 Decembre del 1725.—" Examinet etiam, quaeso, Sua Sanctitas et P. V., an non timeri possit, ne ille ipse D. Pedrini, qui alias convictus est clam accusasse apud defunctum Imperatorem, Patres Societatis Pekineneses et mandarinos quosdam aulicos, ne, inquam, ille ipse, si quid audiat de ideis P. Bakoski, rem deferri curet Imperatori aut alicui regulo, sicque Societati nostrae soli nocere intendens, ansam praebeat Imperatori iudicandi suas suspiciones legitime esse fundatas, et ne videar Suae Sanctitati ac V^ae^ P^tl^ liberius loqui de D. Pedrino, cogor addere, quod hoc ipso anno dixit R. P. Volfangus Carmelita [1] coram P. Dentre-

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 195.

colles, dictum D. Pedrini, cum agitur de Iesuitis, minime esse liberum."

N° 4. Dalla sopradetta lettera del P. Simonelli citata al n° 2.—"Cum ill^mus Lorimensis cum P. Perroni loqueretur: motus scilicet ex iis, quae audierat a viro omni fide digno nec Iesuita; quoad innocentiam nostram circa omnia ea tam horrenda, quae nobis Romae imponuntur, et diceret: Si hi Religiosi humiliarent se, et si in aliquo peccassent forte, emendationem serio promitterent, numquid pro illis spes veniae non esset? Respondit P. Perroni: Minime, eradicemus illos. At adiunxit Ill^mus: Christus Dominus praecepit, ut peccatori paenitenti non dimittatur solum usque septies, sed usque septuagies septies. Excandescens praedictus Pater: Minime, inquit, illme D^ne, minime, eradicandi sunt, eradicemus illos. Is nempe, et non alius eorum finis est, quem factis iamdiu, nunc vero, cum se prope tenuisse vident, quod peroptant, etiam dicto manifeste declarant."

N° 5. Da una lettera del P. Giov. de Saa Viceprovinciale al P. Generale da Cantone.—"Iam aliquid dicendum dehominibus Sacrae Congregationis hic degentibus. D. ep iscopus Lorimensis indifferenter se habet. D. Moliner positive semper contrarius, spirans minarum in Societatem nostram. D. P. Perroni Procurator S. Congregationis odium formale contra nos, quod hoc anno saepius declaravit, videtur ad sepulchrum usque allaturus, accusationibus, calumniis omnis generis contra nos concinnandis semper intentus, illius enim praecipue sunt illae frequentes voces: eradicentur Iesuitae. Hoc anno homo, qui se vendit honoris Summi Pontificis zelantissimum, permisit munera pontificia ad Imperatorem Sinicum deferri titulo tributi, in itinere fluviatili erecto magno vexillo flavo cum magnis litteris Sinicis hoc ipsum significantibus; hoc per totum imperium publica nuntia diffamarunt. Simile improperium numquam hactenus nos tulimus, uti de facto praemonuimus D. Patriarcham Alexandrinum, et olim P. Bovet efficacissime restitit in faciem mandarinorum idem attentantium, protestatus se ne unum quidem gressum progressurum, quod defunctus Imperator probavit; idem facere potuisset P. Perroni, cum de hoc expresse ab aliis monitus, sed homo de nostra infamia summe sollicitus et in ea procuranda audacissimus, pro Summi Pontificis honore tuendo animum non habuit, nec de eo sollicitus fuit."

N° 6. Item da altra lettera del citato P. Simonelli al P. Generale da Cantone sotto li 10 Decembre 1725.—" Huius metropolis Cantoniensis Prorex (serione, an illudendi nobis animo, novit ipse) rumorem sparsit, Imperatorem indignabundum iubere, ut omnes Europaei, nullo praeter Pekini degentes excepto, intra Macai fines coercerentur. Tunc enim vero S. Congregationis homines quasi fulmine icti expallescere, amaris querelis intimum animi sensum prodere : et qui siccis oculis intrepidoque corde innumerabilium spectabant animarum excidium, unius domus ridenda, si cum illo conferatur, iactura miro modo turbantur : adeo grave illis accidebat (liceat clare edicere quod est : quid enim ulterius dissimulemus ?) nidulo illo extrudi, ubi enormes adeo, atque a tot annis numquam interruptas calumnias ad famam Societatis evertendam totque machinas ad eius operarios e his terris eradicandos (eradicandos enim saepius expresse dixerunt) fabricantur. Interim vix credibile est, quot et quam atroces calumnias in dies contra nos comminiscantur spargantque, quam graviter hominum Societatis famam indesinenter vulnerent, adeo ut ex eorum convictu unus timoratioris conscientiae ea petulantia tandem stomachatus e communi se mensa subtraxerit, neque ad eam ut rediret, persuadere passus est sibi, nisi recepta sponsione fore ut in posterum a detractionibus saltem publicis omnino abstinerent."

N° 7. Dalla lettera del P. Domenico Perenin al P. Assistente di Francia da Pechino 3 Novembre 1725.—" Ils (les Jansénistes de France) ont des émissaires à la Chine comme partout ailleurs, ils en ont à Canton pour distribuer leurs livres et leurs appels contre la Bulle Unigenitus à leurs camarades du Tunquin et de la Cochinchine. Ils ont eu soin d'y joindre les Lettres Provinciales pour servir de lecture spirituelle à leurs néophites, et leur inspirer de bonne heure toute la haine pour la Compagnie, qu'ils portent partout avec eux.

Ce fait est démontré par la sentence juridique d'excommunication, fait prouvé dans les formes par le député de l'Ordinaire du lieu contre le sieur Guigues.

Vous verrés cette sentence. Ils en ont d'autres icy et à Canton pour nous attaquer et crient contre nous à Rome, en France, en Hollande où tout s'imprime. Ils ont pour cela chacun une grosse pension du Séminaire de la rue du Pacq. Cet argent passe aussi par les mains du dit Mr Guigues, sans

quoy la modique pension de la S. C. ne suffiroit pas pour tant d'ancre et de papier, et comme ils ont encore besoin de présans pour mieux réussir contre nous, c'est Mr l'évêque de St. Malo appellant, qui les leur fournit par caisses. Je ne vous citeray pas en preuve une sentence juridique, mais j'en appelle au témoignage des missionnaires de Canton à qui la chose est connue, et même à Rome tous ne l'ignorent pas. Je sçay de leurs gens, qui en ont donné avis. On passe le voile par dessus pour de bonnes raisons. Mais qui sont ceux, dirés vous, qui font se vilain métier? Ce sont Mr Pedrini et son confrère Mr Appiani. Pourquoy ne les pas nommer, puisque ce sont les principaux dont on fait valoir le témoignage contre nous, et qu'on n'écouteroit pas, si on voioit l'histoire de leur vie, qui a été envoiée en Europe, du moins en abrégé."

No 8. Dalla lettera del P. Ignazio Kogler al P. Generale da Pechino 1 Novembre 1725. "Venerat eo dem die ad Collegium R. P. Wolfangus,[1] quem ex occasione seorsim rogavimus P. Suarez et ego, ut sua subscriptione dignaretur testimonium firmare de eo, quod nuper a R. D. Pedrino coram nobis testis compellatus fuerit facti sui promissi, scilicet se scripto interrogatum, similiter scripto responserum. At vero, R. Pater, et si verissimum id esse affirmaret, constanter tamen abnuit sua subscriptione testari, aiens testimonium, istud nec necessarium nec utile sibi videri, immo nocivum potius ac praeiudicio futurum in Europa, Romae praesertim, quod in causa contra D. Pedrinum se passus sit immisceri. Addidit, se persuasum esse D. Pedrinum illa sua dicta numquam inficiaturum, ac certo etiam responsurum, si scripto interrogetur: an vero illud bene, an male, ad propositum, an extra chorum, se non audere polliceri. Eccum autem novo hic exemplo confirmatum, quantopere etiam pro agnita veritate testimonium dare viri boni ac religiosi refugiant, si norint eam displicere eo loco, unde vel promotiones sperant, vel sua sibi metuunt stipendia curtari."

No 9. Da una lettera del P. Dentrecolles al P. Assistante di Francia da Pekino 6 Ottobre 1724.—" . . . Une de nos peines est de vivre près d'un Mr Pedrini et d'un P. Renaldi Carme Déchaussé, gens plein de duplicité et de mensonges et nullement embarassés d'être surpris sur le fait. Leur occupation est d'attraper un mot ici et un mot là, et de bâtir ensuite de fausses nouvelles contre les Jésuites, nouvelles qu'ils sçavent être les

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 195.

seules agréables, crues et récompensées. On les a confondu sur des choses qu'ils disoient avoir récemment ouies d'un tel ; leur regret pour lors n'est que d'avoir été déconcertés. Le R. P. Tomacelli de l'ordre des Clercs Réguliers Mineurs, est rappelé par la S. Congrégation d'une manière humiliante. Les prèmieres paroles que Mr Pedrini luy dit en le voiant sont celles-ci : Voilà ce qui vous est arrivé pour avoir été du coté des Jésuites. Il falloit donc venir à la Chine résolu d'écrire contre nous, quoy qu'on pût voir et toucher au doit étant arrivé en Chine."

N° 10. Da altra lettera del P. Simonelli da Cantone 8 Decembre 1725. — " . . . Negl'anni passati le calunnie si mandavano alla sorda. Quest'anno si strombettano ad alta voce. L'intento non pare altro, se non ispaventare i due Ill^{mi} Nankinense e Lorimense, perchè non ardiscano impegnarsi per gl'innocenti oppressi : onde ancor si vantano, e sopra tutti il sig^{r} Appiani, che solo ad essi dassi credito in Roma, e che non si fa nè più nè meno di quanto essi insinuano."

Item da altra lettera del medesimo citata al n° 5. " . . . Hoc anno ab incepto non deviabunt ; immo conatum duplicabunt, eo violentius quo intentum finem prope iam se tenere vident, eoque confidentius quo persuasum habent palamque de eo gloriantur, quicquid aliunde quam per ipsos Romam scribatur, nullam fidem inventurum : quod dictum in quantam Summi Pontificis ac Sanctae Sedis iniuriam cedat, nemo est qui non videat."

N° 11. Da una lettera del P. Placido Hervieu al P. Generale da Pechino 25 Settembre 1725. — " . . . His observatis, moneo P^{tem} V^{ram} A. R. et eos omnes, quibus communicandam iudicabit hanc meam epistolam et adiunctum, ei folium, moneo, inquam, haec me scribere et observare, ut hoc exemplo pateat, quam sit periculosum et aequitati parum consonum, accusationes Romae admitti, quae hic non fuerint communicatae accusatis. De caetero nullatenus intendo recriminari. Si enim Ill^{mus} Myriophytanus [Mulliner], loquens cum Illmo Nankinensi, recessit ab aequitate et caritate, utramque servavit postea, quando ad eum recurrimus pro elucidanda veritate ; et nobis hoc sufficit. Utinam per hoc ipsum non offenderit suos ! Audivi enim eum a quibusdam vituperari non de facta criminatione, sed quod eam non miserit occulte Romam, ut iam toties factum, et quod diluendae hic accusationi dederit

locum. O tempora! Authographas ill^{mi} episcopi Myriophytani subscriptiones hic servamus ad cautelam."

12. Mamiani to Ruspoli.

Dal Gesù, September 21, 1725.

"L'ill^{mo} ed ecc^{mo} Msgr. Ruspoli segretario di Propaganda fide viene riverito con tutto l'ossequio dal P. Mamiani, il quale havendo inteso che Domenica si doveva di nuovo radunare la S. Congregazione deputata sopra gli affari della Cina, ha giudicato esibire a sua Eccellenza altri nuovi documenti giunti dopo i primi in giustificazione de' missionari della Compagnia, perchè si compiaccia riferirli in Congregazione. Il primo consiste in una testimonianza giuridica del vescovo di Nankino e suo Vicario generale sopra altri cinque missionari havere amministrato i sagramenti et haver'osservato i Decreti Apostolici. Al che si aggiunge il 2º del P. Kogler, che riferisce il numero de' sagramenti amministrati in Pekino negl'ultimi quattro anni.

Dove si prega a fare tre riflessioni. La prima è che tutti i missionari Gesuiti, sopra de' quali si sono esibite le testimonianze, non sono in così poco numero come si suppone, mentre se ne contano ventisei, quindici Francesi e sette della viceprovincia; anzi affermando il P. Resende V.-Provinciale nel § 7 del predetto Sommario anche con giuramento che tutti i suoi sudditi hanno amministrato e efettuato i decreti Pontificii, e niuno hauer cooperato ad altri delitti opostigli, pare che quasi tutti siano compresi.

La 2ª è che l'amministrazione in Pekino è evidente, confessandola ancora alcuni [di] Propaganda nelle loro lettere particolari. Che se non si sono procurati i loro attestati anche sopra i due punti di non haver cooperato i Gesuiti nè alla opposizione del'imperatore defonto alla osservanza de' decreti Pontificii, nè alla carcerazione de trè missionarii consaputi, deve riflettersi, che essendo stati il sig. Pedrini con altri i delatori a Roma di questi due delitti imputati a' Gesuiti, come hauerebbero potuto contradirsi, con affermare a favore de' Gesuiti che tutto ciò fosse falso? Oltre di che è troppo notorio nella Cina quanto pregiudichi a chiunque scrive a favore de' Gesuiti, come si può leggere nel documento 5º delle presenti scritture.

La 3ª riflessione si è che in alcune provincie non si trovano,

fuori de' Gesuiti, altri missionari, e però riesce impossibila trovare in quelle altri attestati che de' Gesuiti, come si accenne nell'altro Sommario ultimamente esibito, § 11. Si conchiude che se si hauesse da prestar fede solamente alle semplici relazioni di quelli di Propaganda come indubitabili, e che le attestazioni de' Gesuiti ancora giurate dovessero stimarsi spergiuri, sarà superfluo procurare altre diverse giustificazioni, anzi impossibile.

Intorno alla scarcerazione de' due di Cantone, non vi è dubbio, che tutte le lettere di Pekino la suppongono seguita, ma si è scoperto essere stato un falso rumore colà sparso; poichè in una lettera scritta da Pekino al P. Generale, dove si suppone la stessa scarcerazione, si trova una nota fatta dal P. Hervieu Superiore de' PP. Francesi, che si trovava in Cantone, nelle cui mani capitò la detta lettera; nella quale scritta di diverso carattere in margine si avverte essersi sparsa falsamente questa nuova in Pekino, restando ancora col titolo di carcerati i due missionari, come si può leggere nel documento 3º con la circostanza di potere uno di essi, il sig. Appiani scorrere liberamente per tutta la città, siccome si riferisce in altre lettere dell'anno precedente; e il sig. Guige parimente con la libertà di andare ne' villaggi circonvicini, come si legge nella sua sentenza esibita nel documento 4º. Che poi fosse comune in Pekino questa opinione, oltre le dette lettere, s'inferisce dalle lettere del sig. Pedrini, dove non fa menzione d'hauer procurata la detta scarcerazione, come doveva, e poteva per l'entratura che ha in palazzo, segno che ancor'esso era dell'opinione degli altri.

Si aggiunge per 4º documento la sentenza data dal commissario del vescovo di Macao contra il sig. Guige uno delli due, come fautore di eretici, e per colpe in materia de' costumi, della quale sentenza potranno gli Em^i^ Card^li^ farne quell'uso, che giudicaranno più conveniente.

Per ciò che spetta alla nomina de dieci sogetti per mandarli alla Cina, e alle missioni adjacenti, non è possibile al P. Generale il metterla in effetto adesso, per non havere ricevuto da due anni in qua instanza da alcuno de' suoi sudditi che dimandasse quelle missioni, perchè essendo notoria la proibizione fatta al detto P. Generale, non ha più ricevuto simili instanze, senza le quali non suole mandare alle missioni. Che se chiedeva la libertà di poterli mandare come prima, era per

animare i suoi a chieder le missioni. Quelli poi che restano in Cantone essendo la maggior parte vecchi, e di età avanzata, non sono in stato di andare ad altre missioni di diverse lingue. Solamente si rappresenta, che se quella proibizione provisionale fu in pena delle colpe supposte, essendosi giustificati i suoi missionari con tanti attestati, pare che non haveva più da sussistere la detta pena. E chi scrive con ogni rispetto si rassegna a comandi di Sua Ecc^za^."

13. The Peking Jesuits to Mezzabarba.[1]

November 25, 1726.

"Praeteritis his diebus ad nos . . . pervenit una 'ad Praelatum quendam epistola', quae ab Ill[ustrissima] D[ominatione] T[ua], falso haud dubie, scripta supponitur, viro sane nobili legatoque Apostolico prorsus indigna. Quid enim a nobili viro magis alienum quam atrocissimae calumniae malaque in omnibus fides, quibus est referta? . . ."

We now give a few material facts from the lengthy refutation of the accusations :—

"D. T. Ill 25 Dec. ann. 1720 sic scripsit ad Imperatorem : 'devo humilmente V. M. supplicare in nome del SS. Pontefice, de permettere che si osservi liberamente e da' missionarii e da' christiani Cinesi la sua Constitutione che comincia "Exo illa die,"' etc. Ad tam subitam declarationem in primo primi sui adventus prope Pekinum responso Imperator iratus 26^a^ eiusdem mensis sic respondit : 'qui sunt in artibus periti, aetate provecti et infirmitatibus detenti, relinquam in Sinis, caeteros vero, qui legem praedicant in Sinis, tu tecum accipe et deduc in Europam.' Ad has perterritus minas D. T. Ill. rogat clementiam Imperatoris, ut saltem dignetur recipere Breve SS. Pontificis. Imperator abnuit et rursus mandat, ut eos qui non possunt illi inservire, reducat secum in Europam. D. T. Ill. petit inducias, ut liceat saltem soluta glacie ad annum subsequentem expectare. Ea occasione Imperator illi exprobrat, quod sibi non constiterit, Cantone aliter, aliter prope Pekinum locutus fuerit, insurgit contra Ill. D. Maigrot et D. Pedrini, conqueritur de modica aequitate etc. tunc temporis,

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 83. The first page of the document is signed, probably in the writer's own hand : Mons. Mezzabarba vescovo di Lodi.

cum nihil superesse videretur nisi missionarios e toto Sinarum imperio exire, praeeunte omnium superiore Apostolico Legato, D. T. Ill. permissiones circa decretum Brevi pontificio adiungens rogavit Mandarinos, qui negotia sua tractabant, preces suas dignarentur addere precibus, ad obtinendum eas admitteret Imperator, qua de re M. S. monuerunt.

D. T. Ill. negare non potest rem ita fuisse peractam, et consequenter veram hanc esse viam, quae illi aperta est ad producendas dictas permissiones : hoc est ad id fuisse coactum, quod forte in mandatis habebat, ne omnia pessum daret.

Cum autem Imperator audivit aliquas esse permissiones coniunctas cum Brevi pontificio, non dubitavit, quin D. T. Ill. in suis instructionibus haberet, ut non statim, non ultro, sed paulatim coactisque a SS. Pontifice accepta rescripta in lucem proferret. Idcirco ut primum audivit, iussit uni ex suis Mandarinis, ut ad D. T. Ill. rediret, utrumque folium de mandibus eius reciperet et de mandato suo diceret illi haec verba : 'S. Pontifex dedit tibi duplicis generis Breve, duplicis generis permissiones tibi mandans, ut ad me secundum rerum circumstantias referres.'

Horum omnium testis fuit D. T. Ill., vidit, palpavit, palparuntque et viderunt socii omnes, et ex hoc ultimo non potuit non concludere Imperator, persuasum habere D. T. Ill., permissiones omnes nondum produxisse, sed aliquas tantum tunc obtulisse, alias secundum rerum circumstantias oblaturum, quod per se patet."

The Emperor, the mandarins, and the Europeans present now showed their satisfaction that the affair promised to end favourably. But "Ipsamet D. T. Ill. adeo aberat ab existimando permissiones praedictas Imperatori abunde satisfecisse, ut tertio post oblatas die, cum publice coram magnatibus in conspectum Imperatoris primum admissus est, absolutis in simili casu consuetis caeremoniis, ipso interrogante, quid haberet dicendum, necesse iudicaverit in suo responso authoritatem S. Pontificis ab ipsa a Christo Deo in definiendo data potestate firmare, qua stabilita petiit nomine S. S. Clementis XI., ut M. S. dignaretur permittere christianis Sinensibus, decretis Apostolicis circa ritus patrios sese conformarent et illa observarent ; haec autem dixit audientibus tum magnatibus, qui ad illam audientiam iussi fuerant adesse, tum omnibus

legationis Apostolicae sociis et aliis tam dudum Pekini degentibus Europaeis ".

Ripa thought that Kanghi considered the dispute at an end; however, "D. T. Ill. non erit immemor praedicti D. Ripae iteratarum apud illam supplicationum, ut per mitiores explicationes ad plura permissiones extenderet."

With regard to the accusations: 1° The Jesuits deny that they spoke disrespectfully of the papal Brief. "Verum est et libenter fatemur, nos ad D. T. Ill. conquestos fuisse, uti filii humillimi ad patris aequitatem recurrentes, in eo phrasim quandam reperiri, quam inscio S. Pontifice insertam fuisse asserebamus et nunc quoque asserimus, in eo scil. loco, ubi loquendo de non-reditu Patrum, quos Imperator Romam miserat, sic ait: 'Egregiae tuae moderationis exemplum tunc dedisti . . ., tametsi non deessent, qui malevolo in nos animo nequiter tibi suaderent, eiusmodi eventum incuriae nostrae et forsan etiam dignitatis tuae contemptioni ac despicientiae tribuendum esse, adeoque authores tibi forent ad ea in nostros missionarios statuenda, quae certe praeter modum acerba accidissent.'

Haec sunt, Ill. D., quae in Brevi pontificio improbavimus. Ecquis non improbaret eos praesertim, qui talia tamque calumniosa scripsere? Improbavit D. T. Ill. Summi Pontificis legatus, dum in compendio Brevis ad Imperatorem misso reticuit, licet fuerit ex duobus unum, quae praecipue ipsi commendabantur; dum ad iustas nostrum omnium querelas negavit tale quidquam in Brevi pontificio reperiri, Romae nihil de eo audivisse, nec esse in exemplari, ex quo compendium ad Imperatorem missum extraxerat. Eadem igitur, quae in nos cadit calumnia, in D. T. Ill. cadere pariter necesse est; de caetero negamus absolute, in ullo unquam defuisse honori et reverentiae S. Pontificis Brevi Apostolico debitae, et audacter affirmamus, nullum unquam hominum nos in hoc peccasse posse demonstrare.

Qui tam odibilem calumniam ad S. Sedem detulit, sibi pro certo non persuaserat, illam unquam ad tantem lucem fore producendam: non ignoravit D. T. Ill., quid egerit in tali occasione D. Theodoricus Pedrini, qui forte maiorem in eo partem habet, quomodo sese aliis interpretibus opposuerit, ut totus ille articulus in versione totaliter omitteretur; quomodo se nihil proficere videns, morbum simulaverit; opus

cui interesse iussus fuerat, repente deseruerit domumque reversus fuerit; quomodo versione absoluta iussus cum auxilio unius scriptoris mandarini eam cum originali conferre, omnibus modis illi persuadere conatus sit, ut illas lineas vel omnino omitteret, vel alia illis substitueret. Certe si nos tanti, cuius in Brevi S. Pontificis accusamur criminis rei fuissemus, non tam constanter illius conatibus et voluntati obstitissemus, verum innocentia in medium apparere non formidat.

An idem de dicto D. Pedrini dici potest? Iis quae modo fecisse diximus et quae non ignoravit D. T. Ill., num ansam praebuit non mediocrem suspicandi, ipsum tam atrocis calumniae fuisse authorem? Ad quid enim tanta commotio? Ad quid ea animi perturbatio, quae illum censurarum ecclesiasticarum immemorem ad Brevis Apostolici falsificationem impulerit? . . ."

2. Against the accusation that the Jesuits had represented the papal Constitution as a mere act of revenge of Maigrot and Pedrini against them, they state that it was (*a*) "atrox accusatio a multis conclamata, sed a nullis hactenus probata, nec unquam probanda"; (*b*) The Emperor's testimony at Mezzabarba's audience of January 14, 1721: "'Antiqui Europaei cum mira patientia calumnias passi sunt, et sapientissimo illorum agendi modo vere commotus sum: non solum in Europa apud S. Pontificem accusati sunt, quod doctrinam religioni christianae contrariam docerent: Pedrini, Ripa et alii saepius apud me accusationes factitarunt, illi sciverunt, siluerunt, et nihil unquam contra eos quidquam ad me retulerunt.' Haec sunt, quae D. T. Ill. ab ipsissimo Imperatoris ore excepit, quae omnes sui comitatus socii audierunt, quae in faciem DD. Pedrini et Ripa omnibus Europaeis adnibus obiurgarat . . ."; (*c*) The Jesuits were not the first to inform the Emperor of the existence of the dispute over the rites. "Certum est et indubitatum, primam huiusce litis notitiam Imperatori Kanghi fuisse datam ab ill. D. de Tournon postea cardinali; Patris Societatis eatenus fuerant semper attenti, ne Imperator aut Sinenses, praesertim aulici, scirent aliquam inter Europaeos inesse controversiam circa illorum ritus et caeremonias, quare prius rem tantum Imperatori proposuerant amicorum curiositati satisfaciendi gratia. Res erat adhuc in eo statu, cum 25 Dec. anni 1705 ill. Legatus

coepit de iis ritibus disputare cum uno ex delegatis ab Imperatore mandarinis, qui per modum familiaris colloquii ab eo petebat, an decleratio Imperatoris supra ritus Sinicos in Europa non fuisset cum plausu recepta, unde famosum illud D. Mariani dictum, qui valde improbabat ill. D. de iis disputare: 'hoc est perfodere parietem.' De eo non contentus, non diu post . . . ill. D. Maigrot in aulam advocavit et invitis, quin immo et sese opponentibus ill^{o} D^{o} Ab Ecclesia tunc episcopo Pekinensi et omnibus Patribus Societatis in aula degentibus ad Imperatorem introduxit, ut cum illis de ritibus disputaret.—Certum est et indubitatum, D. Pedrini primum decreta pontificia suo modo adaptata Imperatori declarasse, et R^{m} P^{m} Castorano, ill. episcopi Pekinensis tunc temporis Vicarium generalem, ea promulgasse, de quo R. ille P. tam amare conquestus est in sua ad S. Congregationem de Propaganda Fide relatione his verbis: 'me etiam publicatorem decretorum S. Pontificis revelat.' Certum est et indubitatum, praedictum D. Pedrini multoties Patres Societatis tum verbo tum scripto hic in Sinis accusasse, ut odium principis in eos commoveret. . . . Oculatum habuit argumentum D. T. Ill., dum de mandato principis iussus est dictus D. Pedrini, ipsemet unius libelli supplicis versionem latinam facere, in quo inter alia bene multa accusabat nos, inscio Imperatore, 'in carceribus DD^{os} Appiani, Guigue et Bourghesi Cantone a 5 annis detinere, ita ut Bourghesi mortuus sit in carcere', et quosdam aulicos mandata Imperatoris vel falsificasse vel executioni non dedisse, in Sinis capitale crimen, ut D. T. Ill. propriis oculis videret, quam mereatur fidem, qui tam horrendas imponit proximo calumnias. . . ."

3. Third accusation: The Emperor would have been willing to drop the rites. When informed of the "concessions", of which Mezzabarba was the bearer, he was said to have expressed his entire satisfaction. At the audience of January 14, 1721, he was reported to have said "che le cose proibite in quella Constitutione erano bagatelle, e che non erano dottrina di Confuzio, ne contenute nei libri classici, e che per l'avvenire non se ne parlasse più, mentre il negozio era finito". But on both occasions the Jesuits were said to have persuaded the Emperor not to yield. The answer to this charge is: Kanghi was not the man to be persuaded to say one thing to-day and another to-morrow. When on December 28, 1705,

Tournon presumed to say that Kanghi "faciles alicui praebuisse aures", the mandarins were indignant: "Imperatorem suum non tam levis esse cerebri ut ad susurronis nutum mutet consilia . . . injuriam hanc Imperatori suo illatam ferri non posse." Tournon himself, Clement XI., and the writings of the opponents of the rites, give quite another picture of the Emperor. In particular the assertion that when he first heard of Mezzabarba's concessions he had shown himself satisfied, is disposed of by a simple narrative of the facts (see XXXIII, pp. 468 *seqq.*). As for the audience of January 14, 1721, it is impossible to believe that the Emperor should have thought that neither Confucius nor the classical books speak of *Tien* and *Shangti* and the veneration of ancestors. The adversaries of the rites, such as Maigrot and Visdelou, endeavour to justify their opinions by the classical books, hence there must be question of them in those volumes. Hence either Kanghi's words are an invention, or he spoke ironically "praesertim cum remisit D. T. Illam ad mandarinos Cantonienses et ad tribunalia quae religioni christianae fuerunt semper adeo opposita ut nihil nobis esset metuendum magis." . . .

4. The accusation that the Jesuits had told the Emperor that in France also due obedience was not rendered to papal Constitutions is refuted by the fact that the Company of Jesus glories in its obedience to the Pope: "Utinam idem possemus affirmare de omnibus aliis extra Societatem missionariis: non audivissemus cum tanto nostri animi dolore Iansenistarum libros ingenti decretorum Apostolicorum contemptu ex Europa venire ad Sinas. D. T. Ill. non ignoraverit huiuscemodi librorum arcas his annis praeteritis ad D. Guigue missionarium Gallum venisse: sciverit haud dubie consuetudinem et commercium, quod interest . . . inter eos, qui a Constitutione Unigenitus ad futurum concilium appellarunt, istorumque libros, amicorum opera, ad ultimas usque regiones disseminari: quam plurimi sparsi reperiantur in Cochinchina, in Tunkino, in Sinis libros scimus; pecuniam saepe missam aliaque pretiosiora dona scimus, quo vero animo, quo intuitu haec omnia mittantur, satis patet: non certe ad oboedientiam S. Pontifici et suorum decretis, nec S. Sedis reverentiam debitam in animos tum missionariorum, tum etiam neophytorum insinuandam."

5. Concerning disrespectful remarks about the Pope. . . .

6. At the time when Mezzabarba contemplated returning to Europe, the Jesuits are accused of having forced him, through the Emperor, to present his companion, Roveda. The answer is a narration of the events to the truth of which Mezzabarba himself is quoted as a witness.

7. On the mandarins' Diary: "(*a*) Meminerit D. T. Ill., cum 20 Febr. 1721 esset coram Imperatore simul cum sociis et antiquis missionariis, praedictam relationem, de qua est quaestio, Imperatorem accepisse, illi et nobis omnibus ostendisse illique dixisse haec verba: 'quae in suo legationis negotio peracta sunt, iussi a meis mandarinis sinice scribi et ab antiquis Europaeis latine verti; vidi et nihil nisi verum dixisse reperi, haec sunt, quae prae manibus teneo, verissima sunt et ne unus quidem character vel addi vel detrahi potest; haec sunt vera mea mandata, ut tecum accipe et ad S. Pontificem deferas.' . . . (*b*) 15ª die eiusdem mensis mandarini de mandato Imperatoris dederant praedictum diarium, ut fieret latina versio a quatuor ex antiquis Europaeis, DD. scilicet Pedrini et Ripa cum duobus ex nostris. . . . Verum quidem est, praedictos DD., cum non noverint characteres Sinicos, totum laborem in duos alios transtulisse; sed cum isti aliquas paginas paratas habebant, ad illos mittebant, ut conferrent simul, quod D. Pedrini sub diverso sed vano praetextu semper renuit. D. vero Ripa ope unius Sinae partem unam accurate examinavit et approbavit, et si integram versionem cum Sinico non contulerit, ad alia ab uno mandarino vocatus per otium non licuit, illius testimonium non recusamus [sic!]. Non negamus, Dm Ripa interposita contestatione praedicto diario subscripsisse; sed asserimus, uti certum est, non id fecisse, quod iudicaret versionem latinam in aliquo fuisse infidelem et mancam; sed aliqua in diario referri, quae cum non vidisset, de eorum veritate aut falsitate testari se non, posse existimabat: praeterquam quod utrumque exemplar, et sinicum et latinum, multiplici via Romam missum est; Romae non desunt, qui sinicos characteres se scire gloriantur . . . dicant in quo traductores errarunt . . . cum fiducia illos provocamus.

Fatemur nihilominus, diversam missam fuisse praedicti diarii versionem, unam, quam puram et simplicem vocare liceat, aliam alteratam et auctam, sed non ab alio quam ad Ill. D. T., meminerit enim se post lectam et attente examinatam

puram versionem nobis dixisse, in eo Imperatoris diario pauca inesse minus vera et alia omissa, peropportunum sibi videri, ut adderentur omissa, resecarentur falsa et emendarentur minus vera ; addiditque pluries, et sua et nostra et missionis maxime interesse, ut S. Pontifex et Em. S. Congregationis cardinales viderent in praedicto diario, se totis viribus institisse, ut executionem decretorum S. Pontificis permitteret Imperator, nihilque egisse aut dixisse, quod illi tantillum obstare posset . . .

Post factam, quam desiderabat, mutationem, omnibus antiquis Europaeis subscribendam relationem suam proposuit, qui paucis exceptis, omnes subscripserunt, etiam D. Ripa, non protestando sicut prius, nullus enim ad subscribendum compellebatur . . ."

8. On the mission of the Jesuit Antonio Magalhaens to Rome : " . . . Die 19 Febr. 1721 Imperator petiit, qua navi [Legatus] reverti vellet. Respondit D. T. Ill., 'eadem qua veni.' Tunc Imperator ait, 'nonne tipi expedit, ut regi Lusitaniae de te tam bene merito aliqua munera deferas, quae meo dentur nomine ? ' Cui libentissime acquievit. Verum aliquot post diebus mutavit sententiam Imperator et iudicavit magis opportunum, aliquem Lusitanum designare, qui cum D. T. Ill. iret in Europam et praedicta munera nomine Imperatoris deferret ad suum regem ; quare 2 die Martii facta abeundi copia ultimo admisit in conspectum Ill. D. T^m, comitantibus sociis aliisque Europaeis in aula degentibus. Imperator multa, ut in aliis audientiis, dixit, quae repetere non est opus. Quibus dictis advocavit D. T. Ill. ad thronum suum, propriis manibus dedit illi tredecim uniones inclusas in capsella ad S. Pontificem deferendas, quo facto iussit P. Ant. Magalhaens accedere pariter ad thronum suum, et propriis manibus todidem uniones in simili pyxide remisit ad regem Lusitaniae destinatas ; horum testes fuerunt socii caeterique adstantes Europaei.

Dictus P. Magalhaens Pekino versus Cantonem cum D. T. Ill. profectus est, vidit in via locorum mandarinos non dubitasse, quin esset verus in Europem ab Imperatore missus, vidi Cantonienses talem illum habuisse, talem Macaenses—qui igitur fieri potest, D^m T. Ill. de vera legatione dicti Patris dubitasse ? " Magalhaens returned with a Portuguese envoy ; both were received at Macao amid the chiming of bells and

salvoes of gunfire ; the mandarins were informed, the Viceroy informed the Emperor " de reditu P. Magalhaens prius in Europam missi ab imperatore . . . ", the two envoys parted at Macao : Magalhaens first repaired to Canton where the mandarins received him with the honours due to an ambassador. Accompanied by a mandarin he reached Peking on September 24. At an audience with the Emperor the latter, to express his satisfaction at the successful issue of the embassy, presented him " suum pretiosis pellibus biretum. Quis post haec negare potest dictum Ant. Magalhaens verum fuisse ab Imperatore Kanghi ad regem Lusitaniae legatum ?

Haec sunt, Ill. D., quae breviter tantum ex ' Epistola ad Praelatum ' delibare licuit. Ex quibus attamen satis apparet, quanta sit iniuria, quam D[1] T. Ill. infert, dum illam talis epistolae facit authorem. Nos qui ipsius probitatis fuimus testes, quibus tam saepe contra illatas nobis calumnias missionisque perturbatores clarissime mentem suam declaravit, qui non ignoravimus, quam bene in nostrum et missionis favorem hinc Romam scripsit, quam clarum et ab ulla aequivocatione alienum testimonium relationi imperatoriae circa legationis suae negotia dedit, quam honorifice quantisque laudibus nostros in aula degentes aliosque quos in via viderat Societatis missionarios Macai extulit ac celebravit, qui audivimus gloriosum testimonium, quod in favorem nostrum in primo suo in Europam adventu scripto dedit, qui persuasum habere possemus, inter tot de nobis nostroque optimo perseminandi Evangelii modo elogia, talem epistolam unquam scripsisse. . . ."

14. João Mourao to Mezzabarba.[1]

Si-tai-tum, September 25, 1725.

" . . . Na mesma carta [of the year 1723] me queyxey [fol. 149b] a V. S. Illma de que proxime a navegar para Europa deixasse contra toda a expetação na sua carta pastoral hum docomento de que os inimigos da Companhia se havião de valer para mais fortemente accuzar a nossa inocencia, a qual V. S. Illma mostrava incuzar, reprehendendonos de não executar em Pekim a prohibição dos Rittos Sinicos, emposibilitandonos na mesma Pastoral com os mais rigorosos preceitos

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 81.

que permitte o jus ecleziastico, a reduzir a praxi o mismo que nos suadia, e não mandava, executar.

Soponho que V. S. Illma entendeo a principal razão por que me queixey, assim como eu alcancey o motivo porque V. S. Illma nos deo materia para a minha queixa. Persuadome que o motivo, porque V. S. Illma escreveo a sua Pastoral, foi originado da famoza relação do Senhor Pedrini, divulgada em Cantão pelo Senhor Appiani, a qual comunicou a V. S. Illma o P. Fr. João Frz. Serrano e nella procurava o auctor de tantas fiçoens malquistar a V. S. Illma, como se fora parcial dos Jesuitas. Esta nota era, a que mais V. S. Illma temia, como me disse muitas vezes, e que mais poderia enredar em Roma os seus negocios e os da missão. Pello que se vio V. S. Illma obrigado a desvanecer com actos contrarios o conceyto que poderia cauzar a iniquidade da ditta relação : por esta cauza na Pastoral rebate V. S. Illma as senistras expoziçoens com que o Senhor Pedrini escreveo as promessas de V. S. Illma nos seus memoriaes para o Imperador da China. O tomar V. S. Illma a nossa suspenção por materia para a sua Pastoral, foi cauza o não achar outra mais propria para condecorar as omissões, de que se via incuzado pello Senhor Pedrini : e o não nos mandar sob graves penas, mas suadirnos somente a administ ração dos neofitos, ajuntando as excomunhoes preceitos sobre o segredo da ditta Pastoral ; foi advertirnos, que a fizera constrangido de evitar com ella o que maiz temia, sem animo de nos obrigar ao que notoriamente era incompativel com a duração destas christandades. A este mesmo fim creo, que expedio V. S. Illma o P. Cerù para Roma por outra via com copias da sua Pastoral.

Tambem me persuado que não foi diversa a causa da questão que em Macao excitou V. S. Illma contra o P. Antonio de Magalhães quazi ao mesmo tempo em que V. S. Illma recebeo a relação do Senhor Pedrini que athé hum ponto tam claro, quis enredar, se V. S. Illma julgasse que se lhe devia entregar o mismo do Imperador para Sua Magestade Portugueza sem duvida proporia o lazo ao Mandarim llegado na ocazião da entregua, que fez ao P. Antonio de Magalhães conforme as ordens do Imperador seu amo. Intrepretando eu tam naturalmente o sentido destas ultimas operaçoens de V. S. Illma em China, ja se ve que o queixarme naquella carta foi cooperar ao mesmo fim com o provido animo de V. S. Illma desvanecendo

a fama de parcial dos Jesuitas, em isto me acomudey a advertencia, que V. S. Illma me mandou fazer ao P. João Priamo sobre elle dever em Roma falar mais mal que bem de V. S. Illma athé entrar inoffenso pede naquella sagrada curia. Se eu não interpretasse na forma assima ditta o animo de V. S. Illma nos dous apontados cazos, seria necesitado a persuadirme, que tudo quanto V. S. Illma obrara em Penkim fora maquinado em hum coração fingido. Histo porem não deveria eu supor em hum homen particular medianamente honrado, e muito menos emhum tam illustre Senhor como V. S. Illma e em hum legado de Sua Santidade, sendo V. S. Illma tam reflexivo no seu obrar e ainda em palavras de nenhuma consequencia como abreria comigo tanto o seu interior em pontos que tinhão correlação com o credito de V. S. Illma. He certo que não fiaria tanto do meu silencio, se uzara commigo com animo menos sincero e alheyo do sangue de seus illustres progenitores e pouco conforme a provida advertencia que observey em V. S. Illma a quem a sagrada curia fez seu dignissimo legado e tanto honrou a corte de Portugal, julgando a V. S. Illma sogeito digno de tam singulares attençoes. No mesmo sentido intrepreto as novas vozes, de que V. S. Illma chegando a Roma se declarou contra nos e contra esta infausta missão. De nenhum modo me persuado que in re assim seja ou tenha succeedido : julgo sim que presentindo V. S. Illma não poder sem detrimento proprio resistir ao empenho de nossos adverarios, procrastinou o patrocinar a missão e defender a verdade para o tempo em que amainada a tempestade pudesse V. S. ser servido em favor destas christandades e perseguidos missioneros. No que ouvi em Pekim a V. S. Illma me fundo para assim entender o animo, com que se portou voltando a Roma. Em huma occazião perguntey a V. S. Illma por que rezão properava tanto a sua viagem para Europa : ao que me respondeo as seguintes palavras : 'Procuro partir logo para Roma, porque o remedio desta missão totalmente depende de que eu pronto veja a Sua Santitade, de que ella seja por outros enformada nos negocios desta legacia ; se os informes de outros sugeitos chegarem pronto que eu a Roma, não serey so bastante a defenderme, nem menos poderey ja tratar os negocios da missão a seu favor.' Em outra occazião me disse V. S. Illma o seguinte : 'Rogue a Deus que chegado eu a Roma esteja 8 dias sem me arguirem de algum crime que me

embarasse o representar os negocios desta tam debatida cauza.' E suadindo eu huma vez a V. S. Illma, que em prezença do Imperador falasse hum pouco mais do que costumava, V. S. Illma me respondeo ; ' Não falo mais, porque temo, que Pedrini e outros para me enredarem interpretem para Roma em sinistro sentido as minimas palavras : e a rezão de não quererme deter nesta corte athé a festa natalicia do Imperador he para evitar occaziões de que elles me emredem.'

Destas palavras e de outras mais que por brevedade não aponto, duas couzas colegi naquelle tempo. Primeira a senciridade com que V. S. Illma me tratava, e o bom animo de favorecer a missão. Segunda, quam potente fosse em Roma o partido de nossos adversarios, pois sendo V. S. Illma legado de Sua Santidade tanto temia, de que os enformes do Senhor Pedrini e de outros sogeitos particulares fossem bastantes a infirmar as instruçoens de V. S. Illma. Bem conhecia o Senhor Pedrini esta potencia, o qual antes de V. S. Illma partir de Pekim disse a hum dos que ficavão na corte que, ' fora bem ditozo, em não acompanhar a V. S. Illma, o qual sem duvida havia de ser em Roma mal recebido e que a mesma fortuna encontrarião os da sua comitiva.' Pello que enformado eu desta absoluta predição do Senhor Pedrini e dos condicionados presagios de V. S. Illma mais sensivelmente comessey a temer o infelis exeito da cauza Sinica, quando me constou a navegação tao moroza de V. S. Illma e o infausto fim, que encontrou no Brazil a não em que se embarcou em Macao V. S. Illma. Por esta cauza julgo que quando chegou a Roma, sem duvida acharia ja a sagrada curia inclinada as instroçoes do Senhor Pedrini, e pouco propensa a dar attenção aos enformes de V. S. Illma, os quaes sendo conformes a verdade, necessariamente havião de ser contrarios aos que primeiro tinhão sido acreditados e por isso, não poderião ser os de V. S. Illma bem admettidos ; imo forte serião com detrimento proprio rescitados. Neste estado, parece, estava a sagrada curia, quando V. S. Illma la chegou : e prevendo talves não lhe ser possivel defender sem o perigo proprio a verdade, julgou rezbalar para milhor tempo o patrocinalla, e não impossibilitarse a defendella sem emolumento da missão e sem se prejudicar a si mesmo. Alem destas rezões, que bastão a persuadirme que V. S. Illma não he inimigo nosso, tenho para a mesma persuação outro motivo naquelle juramento com que V. S.

Illma tomando a ceo por testemunha, me uno praesente jurou defender o credito dos Jesuitas na cauza Sinica. Bem se ve, que se não constasse a V. S. Illma a nossa inocencia nesta cauza, não juraria defendella, nem em tantas occazioens louvaria a paciencia com que por tantos annos fomos ultrajados.

Tambem sei que muitos fundandose em mais segura theologia, julgao que V. S. Illma como legado Apostolico devia ex justitia informar claramente a Sua Santitade da verdade, que conheceo e confessou em China e não supremilla ; porque em a suprimir foi necessariamente cooperar com os que falsamente conformarão a santa curia em damno de tantas christandades e detrimento grave da inocencia, o que tudo ja se executou, e talves se não executaria, se V. S. Illma intrepidamente representasse ao Sumo Pastor o perigo evidente, em que ficavão estas suas disgraçadas ovelhinas. Se não corrião perigo, por que tantas vezes o chorou V. S. Illma em Pekim com tão copiosas lagrimas? Nemhuma outra cauza seria bastante a ferir tão vivamente o coração de V. S. Illma. Incrivel paresse, que V. S. Illma representasse a Sua Santidade a verdade, que conheceo na China e perigo que tão amargamente lamentou, não ouvesse de fazer mais favoravel mossão nas paternas entranhas ao Santissimo Vigario de Jesu Christo. Se a sagrada Curia, por não irritar o Imperador Kamté, aceitou a instancia de V. S. Illma sobre o não serem chamados para Europa os Jesuitas de Pekim, tambem admeteria as outras propostas, que V. S. Illma lhe devia fazer, a fim de evitar a ultima indignação do Imperador. Bem previa V. S. Illma que não voltando a China, como lhe prometeo verbo tenus muitas vezes, e em dous memoriaes e varias cartas, se havia de seguir sem duvida a ruina de toda a missao, e inevitavel a publicar por todo o mundo oprobiozissimos decretos contra o decoro da Santa Sé, os quaes em Londres e Ambstardão serião bem aplaudidos. Bem vio V. S. Illma os que estavão ja preparados para se publicarem, quando para os impedir, e a ruina da missão se vio obrigado a pedir repetidas vezes com muitas lagrimas huma interina suspenção, em quanto V. S. Illma voltava a Roma a informar a Sua Santidade promettendo tornar brevemente com resposta a S. Magestade Imperial. Nem menos previa V. S. Illma que corrião perigo de vida o Senhor Pedrini e talves outros mais : huns prezos por

falsarios em relatar os sucessos que passarão em prezença do Imperador, e outros porque abonarão as promessas de V. S. Illma a quem he evidente que eu offereci a minha cabessa em fiança da palavra de V. S. Illma. Nem duvido, que sobre mim caheria a mayor furia da indignação daquelle monarcha ; ao qual procurey abrandar, fazendolhe dizer, ser costume entre os principes da Europa reconhecer as promessas dos seus legados ; e que sendo V. S. Illma de muito nobre nacimento, de nenhum modo se atreveria a macular toda a sua Illustre Caza enganando a Sua Magestade com promessas que nao julgava comprir.

Fiz dizer estas couzas ao Imperador com o consenso de V. S. Illma, afim de impedir os males, que ja choravamos, como executados ; e tambem, porque julguey, que dizia a verdade segundo as praticas das cortes de Europa, e o que se tinha praticado na sagrada Curia nos procedimentos do Senhor legado de Tournon, por cujo credito a Sé Apostolica julgou aprovar, quanto elle ca fizera, ainda as couzas, em que passou os limites das suas commissoes. Sabendo pois, os que assim discorrem, ser isto tudo certo a e w. S. Illma tão notorio, não podem persuadirse, que o SS. Padre não ouvesse de dar assenso as propostas de V. S. Illma maxime sendo ellas em favor destes neofitos o que não se achara nas instruçoens do M. de Tournon : imo julgão que esta ultima rezão bastava na corte do Sumo Pastor para [que] os verdadeiros enformes de V. S. Illl^ma^ em remedio das ovelhas Sinicas devessem pervalecer aos do antecedente Senhor legado Apostolico totalmente oppostos a diuturnidade desta missão, como supoem que V. S. Illma assim devia discorrer ; por isso julgao, que supremindo em Roma a verdade, que na China conheceo e confessou, não fez o que em justiça devia fazer, comforme a abrigação de legado Apostolico, a quem o Sumo Pontefice incarregou o bem destas christandades.

Se eu ouvesse de discorrer, segundo este sisthema poder me hia fundar aliunde em certas palavras, que ouvi a V. S. Illma e por serem tão notaveis, me ficarão impressas no coração. Conversando eu hum dia com V. S. Illma sobre os negocios desta missão, me disse assim : 'Se eu attendesse ao meu aumento temporal, de outro modo havia de ter obrado ; que ocazião mais propria para conseguir o cardinalado, que o voltarme para Roma quando, proximo a esta corte, me

mandava voltar o Imperador sem me querer admitir? Que me aproveitaria porem no tribunal de Christo a purpura, se eu enganasse na terra o Seu Vigario com detrimento de tantas almas? En outra ocazião me disse V. S. Illma as seguintes palavras: 'Hum homem bem nascido, que elegeu a vida ecleziastica, não obrara conforme a sua livre eleição e nascimento senão fizer alguma acção heroica em servicio de Deos e da Igreja, eu suponho, que Deos me meteo nas maos esta cauza da missão para a concluir conforme o Seo divino serviço e bem de tão amplas christandades.' Fundandome pois nestes tão notaveis sentimentos de V. S. Illma, quando esteve em Pekim, não seria de admirar, se eu sentisse com o comum parecer? Acomudandome porem aos antecedentes presagios de V. S. Illma suponho, que o que obrou em Roma, ou deixou de obrar, tudo foi originado das mas dispoziçoens, em que achou a sagrada Curia, totalmente persuadida, que não havia perigo nas execuçoens dos Ritos prohibidos. Espero porem agora, que fortalecida V. S. Illma com o inegavel documento do perigo ja executado, se animara a representar intrepidamente a verdade, que antes julgou ad tempus supremir. Bem sey que a ruina da missão he muy universal, e que cada vez se mostra mais irreparavel: porque alem da publica sentença, e execuçoens a instancia do Cumto acuzador Man Pao, novamente sahio huma terrivel critica ou perpetua sentença deste Imperador, que ja fez publicar por todo o Imperio, ajuntando a santa religião as outras seitas falsas, e ordenando declararse a sua critica cada mez ao povo, ensinarse nas escolas, e examinarse sobre ella os letrados. Tam radical damno não chegamos a prever, os que da prohibição dos ritos presagiamos certa ruina da missão. Como porem este mesmo mal se originou da ditta prohibição, talves se podera desvanecer e reparar com resposta a Sua Magestade Imperial. . . ."

15. Controversy between Mons. Mezzabarba and P. Magalhaens.[1]

"Paragrafi d'alcuni documenti sopra l'essersi Mons. Mezzabarba mutato in Macao da favoravile in contrario a' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù circa gl'affari della Cina, e d'essersi mutato coll'occasione, che il P. Ant. di Magalhaens non li volle cedere

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 81.

i regali da offerirsi al Ser. Re di Portogallo in nome dell'Imperatore della Cina.

§ degli atti d'una consulta provinciale tenuta in Macao sopra l'affare de' sudetti regali, ove il P. Vicepronviciale del Giappone Franc. Pinto, dando la sua sentenza a' 29 d'Ottobre 1721, disse così a tutti i consultori, e così lo riferisce al P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù: quoniam vero idem excellentissimus Dominus adhuc fortius questibus ac etiam minis me ursit dicens, debere me consulere Societati ac missioni, quarum bonum vel malum ex hac re pendet, idcirco teneri me iudico, rigorosum oboedientiae praeceptum imponere P. Antonio de Magaglianes.

Dalla lettera del menzionato Viceprovinciale del 26 novembre 1721 al Generale:

Omnes qui ex Europa ad Sinas venerunt cum D. Patriarcha (excepto R. Benedicto Roveda saeculari presbytero, et fortasse etiam R. P. Nicolao Tomacelli ex Clericis minoribus), non erant bene affecti Societati nostrae, statimque aliis antiquis nostris adversariis conglutinati sunt, et una omnes nunc Pekinensia acta vitio vertunt Pekinensibus Iesuitis, quos multo acrius quam antea (ut credimus) accusabunt apud Sedem Apostolicam, falsissime tamen. Certissimum enim est, Pekinenses Patres minime posse ab Imperatore obtinere, ut prohibitionem rituum a S. Pontifice imperatam permittat in Sinarum imperio contra antiquissimas leges per tot saecula in imperio ipso tenacissime observatas, quas etiam, si ipsemet Imperator relaxare vellet, magnam omnium subditorum suorum indignationem incurreret et in gravissimum periculum se coniiceret. Idipsum D. Patriarcha clare vidit, atque intellexit Pekini, et S. Pontificem de totius rei veritate informatum, nostrorumque innocentia defensatum [?] non solum Pekini, sed etiam Macai saepe dixit. Postquam autem P. Magalhaens coepit dicere, non traditurum se supradicta imperialia munera Excellentiae suae, frigere coepit ipse excellentissimus Dominius in re praedicta, et in partem adversariorum nostrorum inclinare visus est. Haud poterit tamen dicere, Iesuitas Pekinenses non obtemperasse Exc. Suae, cum enim rei impossibilitatem videret, nihil omnino illis praecepit. Verissimum praeterea est, nostros semper et ubique non solum debita, sed etiam non debita obsequia D. Patriarchae praestitisse, praesertim Macai, unico excepto P. Magalhaens in casu praedicto. . . ."

16. Jansenism in the Missions.[1]

Letter of the Jesuit Goville to his confrère Nyel.

" . . . Saprete dalle lettere della Cocincina quello che c'è accaduto per conto del Signor Carlo Fleury prete del Seminario delle Missioni straniere e sostegno del Giansenismo in quella Missione. E da altra parte già sa la R. V. i discorsi scandalosi che tenne a Yam Gin Ly nella chiesa de' PP. Francescani il Signor Antonio Guigue sacerdote del medesimo Seminario. Il Rev. Padre Cerù l'obligò in punto di morte a ritrattarsene due o tre anni sono, perchè allora il detto Signore fu in gran pericolo di morire nella sua casa di Safousse. L'istoria di Bengala è anco fresca in Roma: due signori dell'istesso Seminario sono voluti prima morire senza sacramenti, che ritrattarsi delle proposizioni giansenistiche, che avevano messe fuori in più occasioni. Tutti questi fatti possono dar molto che pensare intorno ai veri sentimenti di questo Seminario in materia di Giansenismo. La scoperta che qui s'è fatta in quest'anno, è una conferma sonora di questo stesso: che non si può nè negare nè scusare.

Il primo di Settembre del 1722 gl'interessati nel vascello d'Ostenda avendo fatto venire a Cantone i loro bauli e le casse di mercanzie, il doganiere gl'andò a fare la sua visita in compagnia d'un tagino Tartaro e del P. Murano, tagino anch'esso, mandato dall'Imperatore a Cantone. Tra quelle casse ce n'era una diretta al signore Guigue piena di libri mandatili dal Seminario di Parigi, affine che esso poi l'inviasse al Seminario di Siam. Dopo che questa cassa fu aperta dal doganiere, il P. Murano ebbe curiosità di vedere qualcuno di questi libri, ed avendo veduto che il primo, a cui diede di mano, era giansenistico, ne prese un altro e poi un altro, che non erano punto megliori del primo. Allora pregò il doganiere, che avesse per bene, che la cassa si portasse in sua casa, come fu fatto inmantinente, non senza qualche repugnanza per parte de' mercanti fiammenghi, a conto di cui erano caricate, ed a cui questa medesima cassa con due altre più piccole erano state singolarmente raccomandate. Queste seconde furono consegnate segretamente al signor Guigue, che non volle che andassero alla dogana: per quell'altra più grande non temeva di nulla non v'essendo altro che libri.

[1] *Cf.* above, pp. 79 *seq.*

Subito che questa fu in casa del P. Murano, egli invitò i PP. italiani e due PP. Francescani ad andare da lui per un negozio d'importanza. Fece questo, perchè volle avere de' testimonii nell'aprire la detta cassa e nel fare l'inventario de' libri che c'erano, e così in presenza di quattro testimoni, che furono li PP. Perroni e Miralta, di S. Rosa e Alaman, si finì d'aprire la cassa. I due nostri PP. Jaque e Gaubil, ci si trovarono anch'essi, ma per caso o a dir meglio, per un tiro di providenza. Non è credible l'opposizione che fece il P. Perroni per salvare la riputazione de' signori del Seminario, suoi buoni amici. Ma ciò non ostante si fece l'inventario di tutti i libri contenuti nella cassa, al qual inventario si sono sottoscritti i quattro PP. nominati di sopra. Io ne mando una copia, che basterà per fare conoscere a Roma questo famoso Seminario.

Il P. Perroni volendo risparmiare a' suoi buoni amici la confusione d'essere scoperti e colti in flagranti, volle mettere in ballo anco noi per far paura al P. Murano. Disse dunque che anco noi nella nostra chiesa ricevevamo de' libri cattivi, ed in particolare citò il P. Foquet. Disse questo in presenza di due Spagnoli, che riferito poi ad altri Spagnoli, si prese molto scandalo di noi. Il P. du Baudory si trovava a Yam Gin Ly convalescente d'una malattia, di cui è stato vicino a morire; esso vedendo il scandalo, parlò in difesa mia e di questa nostra casa: ma appena se li credeva, tanta era l'impressione che aveva fatta il dire del P. Perroni. Questo ha dato occasione ad una specie di lite tra questo religioso e me. Mando a V. R. tutto il processo, affine che si comunichi al R. P. Assistente e per suo mezzo al R. P. Generale. Il P. Perroni fece ricorso al P. Visitatore: ma perchè in quello che scriveva di me non c'era verisimilitudine, il P. Visitatore non li fece altra risposta. Ma nel suo ritorno a Cantone ha veduto tutte le lettere, che sono passate dall'una e dall'altra parte: et ha detto chiaramente, che nelle mie non c'era che riprendere: ma fu ben lontano da fare l'istesso giudizio di quelle del P. Perroni. V. R. ne giudichi.

Finisco con tornare per la seconda volta al signor Guigues. Sul vascello cinese che portava alla Cocincina li RR. PP. Cesati et Alessandri Barnabiti, Mons. Guigues mandò di grossi dispacci: e perchè altri ancora ne mandavano, era su quel vascello una gran quantità di lettere. Per lo che il mandarino del luogo in vedere tante lettere, venne in pensiero che ci fosse qualche conspirazione contro lo stato formata e fomentata dagl'Europei, ed a fine di prevenirla, tratenne le lettere e le sorprese.

Gl'Europei avendo compreso il sospetto del mandarino stimavano di non potere far cosa di meglio per distruggerlo che abbandonare le lettere, nè prendersene pensiero alcuno. Il mandarino aspettava, che si sarebbero dati gran briga per ricuperare le loro lettere, ma essi non se ne presero nessuna, di modo che quegli per levarsi la curiosità, le aprì e chiamò un missionario (che io credo che fosse il P. Pires, al presente Provinciale del Giappone), perchè li spiegasse queste lettere. Così se ne trovò una del signor Guigues trattante dell'affare dell'appello del signor cardinale di Noaglies, che egli mandava a' suoi confratelli : e mandandoglielo, si congratulava con essi loro della buona nuova che loro dava ; pregandoli ancora, che per comune consolazione facessero passare di mano in mano la copia di quell'appello. Su questo fondamento si potrà credere che la ritrattazione, che il P. Cerù suo confessore li fece fare prima di darli il s. Viatico, fosse sincera? Almeno è certo che non fu molto chiara nè publica, come necessariamente doveva essere per riparare lo scandalo.

PS. Si tien memoria in Francia, che Mons. di Cicé vescovo di Sabula, mentre tornava da Parigi a Siam nel 1699 o nel 1700, fece naufragio vicino ad Orleans. Si ripescarono i suoi bauli e si fecero sigillare. Tra quelli pure si ci trovavano de' libri molto cattivi, de' quali il libraro che gl'ebbe per asciugarli, restõ tanto scandalizzato, che non potè trattenersi di non farne de' rimproveri all'istesso prelato. In oltre Mons. de Vigyer, che allora era soggetto del Seminario di Parigi, venne alla Cina per la strada del Peru nel 1710 o 1711. Sen'andò a Namcham capitale di Kiansi, e la sua barca s'aprì : e tra' libri che egli aveva ricevuto dal Seminario di Parigi e portava alla Cina, sene trovarono di molto cattivi. Finalmente il libro di Quesnel, hora condannato colla bolla Unigenitus, fu portata nella Cina da' questi signori del Seminario. E uno di loro ne fece presente al P. Vizdelou, ora vescovo di Claudiopoli. Tutti questi fatti certi uniti insieme serviranno a levarsi la maschera a dette persone che sin allora non s'era ben conosciuto chi fossero."

17. Notizie sulla storia dell'arte.

(*a*) Nota di quello che è stato fatto nella Basilica Vaticana dal 1713 sino al 1720 corrente.[1]

1. Dieci statue di stucco di palmi trenta l'una sopra i cinque arconi del tempio, a' quali mancava tale ornamento.

[1] *Cf.* XXXIII, p. 523.

2. Gradino di Verde antico colle cornici di metallo dorato all'altare del santissimo Sagramento, che prima era di legno.

3. Altro simile gradino fatto all'altare sotterraneo dei ss. Apostoli, che parimente era di legno.

4. Li sportelli di metallo dorato fatti di nuovo alla balaustrata della Confessione.

5. Cristallo con cornice di metallo dorato avanti l'immagine della Madonna detta della Gregoriana.

6. Altro cristallo con cornice simile avanti l'immagine della Madonna detta della Colonna.

7. Ciborio fatto di nuovo per l'altare della Gregoriana.

8. Organo portatile fatto di nuovo tutto intagliato e messo a oro.

9. Cupola della Presentazione ricoperta di mosaico per due terze parti.

10. Cupola del coro cominciata e terminata.

11. Tre sordini della stessa cupola cominciati e terminati.

12. Cupola del santissimo Sagramento rifatta tutta di nuovo e ornato il lanterino della medesima.

13. Tre copie di tre quadri grandi di S. Pietro, che devono servire di cartoni per farli a mosaico, essendo già tagliati i peperini per quello del Lanfranco dato al Cristofani.

14. Il pulpitino di noce, dove si ricevono e si notano l'elemosine delle messe, fatto di nuovo.

15. Quattro cartoni per i sordini, due per la cupola degli angioli fatti dal Lamberti, et altri due dal Ricciolini per quella del coro.

16. Ripuliti e risarciti li stalli del coro e indorati i leggii del medesimo coro.

17. Credenzone di noce fatto di nuovo nella sagrestia per custodia degl'argenti.

18. Scala che dalla sagrestia porta alla cappella del coro fatta di nuovo e datoli il lume.

19. Cappella di S. Clemente, che si sta attualmente facendo nella sagrestia, dove prima si ritenevano gl'argenti.

20. Sei modelli di diversi architetti per la fabbrica della sagrestia.

21. Cancellate del portico ripulite e resarcite colla giunta dei metalli che mancavano.

22. Voltone dalla parte del Constantino indorato di nuovo.

23. Voltone sotto il campanile ornato di stucchi e indorato.

24. Opera del Carlo Magno, per la quale è stabilito il modello in piccolo e avanzato il modello in grande, come pure staccato il marmo dalla montagna di Carrara.

25. Lastricati i cornicioni della facciata con tavole di marmo, acciò non penetri l'acqua.

26. Avanzato il lavoro del mattonato in coltello sopra lo scoperto di S. Pietro.

27. Ricoperta di piombo la metà e più della cupola grande, che haveva patito per lo scirocco e faceva danno l'acqua.

28. Modelli di maestro Nicola Zabaglia de' ponti in aria, che attualmente s'intagliano per servizio della Rev^{da} Fabbrica, e sarà un libro di cinquanta e più rami con le sue spiegazioni.

29. A tutto questo s'aggiunge l'estinzione di 170^{m} scudi di debito, come costa da riscontri del banco, e circa scudi 40^{m} di credito, in mano del depositario della Rev^{da} Fabbrica, oltre più migliara di scudi pagati per frutti de'luoghi de' Monti estinti, dovendosi ancora il riflesso alla gran quantità di danari mancati per le note vertenze dalla Cruciata di Spagna e Nunziatura di Napoli e anche da Malta per il soccorso a' preti Siciliani esiliati.

Papal Secret Archives, *Miscell. di Clem.*, XI., t. 12, p. 50–1.

(*b*) Piazza di S. Pietro.

Le 50 statue di travertino, poste sopra li due bracci delli portici di S. Pietro, sono state fatte et alzate nel terzo anno del pontificato di S. S^{tà}.

Discorso sopra le nicchie o sian tabernacoli della Basilica Lateranense e dell'altezza delle statue che proporzionalmente vi devono essere collocate secondo il disegno del cav. Borromini, a Msgr. Corsini, Tesoriere di S. S^{tà}., dat. Di casa 16 marzo 1703, *Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 12, p. 19–21, Papal Secret Archives.

Memoria del danaro impiegato per fare le dette statue de'ss. Apostoli, ivi p. 23.

Denaro del re di Portogallo, ivi p. 24, del principe elettore di Baviera, ivi p. 25.

Ristretto dello stato presente del dare e dell'avere delle dette statue, ivi p. 27.

Notizia degli artefici e de' disegni di dette statue, ivi p. 28.

Capitali in essere a favore della facciata da farsi alla chiesa di S. Giovanni in Laterano, ivi p. 31. [Inoltre : il moltiplicato che fa il rev. capitolo d. medesima (in tutto 36,665).]

Pareri d'alcuni architetti sopra la facciata, ivi, p. 32.

Notamenti (in parte di mano propria di Clemente XI.), sopra accrescimento di libri stamp. e ms. per la Biblioteca Vaticana. Trasporto di caratteri e di libri nell'anno 1713, ivi, pp. 101–120.

Notizia distinta di tutti li benefici et opere fatte da P. Clemente XI. nel Palazzo Apost. Vat.: ovunque restauri in tutte le parti del Palazzo; Biblioteca: "200 codici mss. in lingua Siriaca, Araba e Cofta fatti trasportare dal Egitto in due volte presentemente ristaurate tutti le pitture d. Biblioteca." Cure per l'Archivio: "Armeria vaticana accresciuta"; abbellimento dei giardini. Cura del "cortile delle statue", ivi, pp. 124–134.

Chiesa di S. Clemente: Capitali, fondo e frutti destinati da Clemente XI. per fare il soffitto di S. Clemente, ivi, p. 211.

Idea de' quadri da dipingersi e porsi ne' muri laterali, ivi, p. 212.

Quadri dipinti nel soffitto con le notizie de' loro autori, ivi p. 215.

Spese del cardinale Ferrari per la "Cappella di S. Domenico", ivi, p. 206.

Lista del danaro fatto pagare da Clemente XI. a quelli che anno operato in S. Clemente sotto la direzione di Carlo Stefano Fontana architetto, sottoscritto di propria mano da lui, ivi, p. 217.

Iscrizione in S. Clemente del 1715, ivi, p. 218.

Iscrizione antica trovata in S. Clemente nel 1725, ivi, 220.

18. Memorial of the Cardinals on Noailles' Recantation.[1]

Beatissimo Padre.

Essendo uno de' negozi più gravi che possa offerirsi alla Chiesa di Dio l'accettazione di cui ora si tratta, e che deve fare della bolla Unigenitus il signor cardinal di Noailles, ed essendo stata da Vostra Santità commessa la discussione di quest'affare ad una congregazione particolare, è restato sorpreso il Sacro Collegio dall'intendere che la forma, colla quale pretende detto

[1] *Cf.* above, pp. 259 *seq.*

signor cardinale di Noailles di accettare detta bolla, e condanna le 101 proposizioni in essa condannate " del medesimo modo, e con le medesime censure, che la Santa Sede le ha condannate, e revoca la sua istruzione pastorale dell'anno 1719 con tutto quanto in essa si dice e contiene ", giudicando esso cardinale, che questo basti per adempire al suo obbligo con Dio, con la Chiesa universale, e con la Santa Sede, e di dover essere perciò ammesso alla sua communione, e che basti ancora per dar la pace alla Chiesa ed al regno di Francia. Ha per tanto il medesimo Sacro Collegio giudicato essere di sua precisa ed indispensabile obligazione di qui rappresentare umilissimamente alla Santità Vostra quanto se gli offerisce sopra questo progetto per non mancare dal canto suo di far noto tutto quello, che occorre in questo rilevantissimo affare, ed acciò possino tanto maggiormente detti signori cardinali far quel giudizio, che richiede simile progetto.

A questo effetto bisogna presupporre, che uno de' principali assunti di detta istruzione pastorale del signor cardinale è che la bolla Unigenitus non sia dogmatica, ma solo di polizia e di disciplina, ed in conseguenza sia ritrattabile : il che s'impegna egli a trattare in primo luogo per la natura delle proposizioni condannate, ed in secondo, perchè se bene in detta bolla dette proposizioni si condannino con varie censure usque ad haeresim inclusive, queste però sono in globo, senz'assegnare ad ogn'una la censura particolare, che merita, onde conchiude, che non può essere nè ammettersi, come dogmatica, nè come regola di fede, mentre per esser tale bisognerebbe che insegnasse la qualità del veleno che ciascheduna racchiude, il che in detta bolla non si dichiara.

Supposta dunque una tale dottrina, della quale detti signori cardinali averanno formato quel giudizio, che si deve, come similmente di molte altre proposizioni contenute in detta istruzione, per le quali essa pure fu condannata dalla Santa Sede con più censure usque ad haeresim inclusive, non dubita il Sacro Collegio di giudicare, che con la sopradetta formola di Noailles non accetta la bolla Unigenitus come bolla dogmatica, ma come di mera polizia e disciplina, e conseguentemente come ritrattabile. Imperochè per una parte egli dice, che accetta la bolla e condanna le 101 proposizioni, come la Santa Sede le ha condannate, e con le medesime censure ; e per l'altra giudica, e ferma nella sua istruzione che questa bolla, appunto

perchè condanna con la censura in globo le 101 proposizioni, è una bolla non dogmatica, ma solo di disciplina ; onde condannando egli dette proposizioni nell'istessa maniera, cioè in globo, con questa ragione medesima fa vedere, che ora l'accetta, come ha fatto fin ora, cioè a dire come bolla di disciplina retrattabile, nel che ha mai avuta difficoltà. E ciò tanto più è vero, quanto che in questa formola di accettazione ei non ritratta il contenuto in detta sua istruzione pastorale, ma solo la revoca, cioè non ne vuole ora far uso, ma lascia intatte come prima, la dottrina e le massime stabilite in essa, onde si vede con evidenza essere questa una accettazione, non già relativa alla spiegazione, che prima domandava, nè a quella che gli ha data alle proposizioni, ma relativa al giudizio da esso fatto della bolla, che sia di mera disciplina, e dichiarato nella sua istruzione.

E che in detta formola benchè revochi l'istruzione, non per questo ritratti, e condanni il contenuto nella medesima, si riconosce assai chiaramente dalla diferenza, che passa fra il revocare, ed il ritrattare, perchè il ritrattare è disdire quello che si è detto, e mutare di parere, e giudicare altrimenti, e manifestare un giudizio contrario a quello che si è detto e fatto ; ma con il revocare non si forma giudizio alcuno dello scritto o detto, che si revoca, nè della verità o falsità di esso, perchè il revocare solamente si riferisce all'atto esterno di averlo detto, scritto o fatto, ma non percuote la verità o falsità di ciò, che lo scritto o fatto conteneva ; onde non può dedursene la sua riprovazione, quando sia dannabile ; e perciò col rivocare la sua pastorale il cardinale non muta punto il giudizio già fatto in essa della bolla, e pubblicato con le stampe non solo alla sua diocesi, ma a tutto il mondo, e così egli rimarrebbe nell'errore come prima, e si ridurrebbe tutto a un atto puramente cerimoniale, e si direbbe ne' futuri secoli che con una simile riconciliazione la Santa Sede si è data per sodisfatta ed in conseguenza non ha giudicato il caso presente di tanta gravità, che meriti altro. Che non sia dunque lo stesso il rivocare che il ritrattare può dichiararsi con mille esempi, come nelle promesse ; imperochè se uno avesse promesso di fare qualche cosa, che giudica d'essere lecita, e dopo propostosegli ragioni politiche o di timore o di convenienza, la rivocasse, da questo non s'inferirebbe necessariamente che l'avesse rivocata per esser detta promessa di cosa illecita, perchè può essere stato mosso a farlo da altri motivi. Così parimenti si può discorere de' contratti, delle

querele, e più chiaro può osservarsi nelle appellazioni ; se uno appella da una sentenza, la quale giudichi ingiusta, e revochi detta appellazione, non si può eseguire certamente da questo, che abbia poscia stimata giusta la detta sentenza, perchè può averlo fatto per cento altri motivi, come sarebbe per prudenza per evitare qualche sconcerto, per condescendere alle preghiere di un amico ad altre simili.

Ma senza cercare esempi, e tralasciata ogn'altra ragione, basta convincere che vi è differenza esenziale tra' li sudetti termini rivocare e ritrattare l'osservare che il sudetto signor cardinale ha sempre resistito alla parola ritrattare, non così alla parola rivocare, mentre se fosse il medesimo, e così lo riputasse, l'avrebbe rigettate o ammesse ambedue, ed all'incontro il termine ritrattare benchè sia assai più del semplice rivocare, è però quel meno, che può domandarsegli per le ragioni ponderate fin ora.

Oltre di questo il Sacro Collegio osserva parimenti in detta formola, che dicendo il cardinale di accettare la bolla Unigenitus e di condannare egli stesso le 101 proposizioni, come la Santa Sede le ha condannate, e con le medesime censure, lascia in dubbio quale sia il motivo della sua accettazione, se sia perchè le ha condannate la Santa Sede o perchè esso le condanna, d'onde facilmente i Giansenisti potranno dire, che intanto ha accettata la bolla, perchè esso con la sua condanna di dette proposizioni ha approvata la condanna fattane dalla Santa Sede, e non già perchè questa le abbia condannate, sottoponendo in questa forma il giudizio della Santa Sede a quello del cardinale : Capo per cui solo, benchè mancassero gli antecedenti, non si deve reputare sufficiente la detta accettazione, ma bensì equivoca e sospetta, essendo ben noto quanti siano li raggiri degli eretici in somiglianti progetti, con li quali hanno sempre procurato d'ingannare la Santa Sede e principalmente i Giansenisti, de' quali abbiamo tutti pur troppo tanta sperienza.

Inoltre considera il Sacro Collegio, che in questa formola da esso proposta non si fa alcuna menzione dell'appellazioni interposte dal signor cardinale così avanti la sua carta pastorale, come nella medesima al futuro concilio, e di altri atti fatti, e pubblicati dal medesimo, che meritano altrettanta riprovazione, come la detta pastorale, e così benchè rivocasse e ritrattasse la sua carta pastorale con tutte le proposizioni, dottrine e fatti

che contiene come indispensabilmente deve fare senza che sopra di ciò possa cadere alcun dubbio, questa ritrattazione non si può nè si potrà mai riputar sufficiente se almeno non vi si aggiunga la rivocazione e ritrattazione di tutti gli atti fatti da esso e a nome suo avanti e dopo di detta pastorale, perchè altrimenti in detta rivocazione e ritrattazione dell'istruzione non ponno intendersi compresi nell'appellazione ne gli altri atti sudetti, ne meno implicitamente, come almeno è necessario in ogni maniera, tanto più che essendo stata specialmente detta appellazione di scandalo si enorme dovrebbe ritrattarla e condannarla esplicitamente.

Il Sacro Collegio non dubita, che terranno tutociò presenti li signori cardinali di detta congregazione, e che ogni volta che il signor cardinale di Noailles almeno non dica che accetta la bolla *Unigenitus* senza nessuna restrizione colla condanna delle 101 proposizioni fatta dalla Santa Sede, e con le medesime censure : e che revoca e ritratta la sua carta pastorale con tutte le proposizioni, dottrine e fatti che in essa contengonsi e che similmente revoca e ritratta tutti gli atti e scritti fatti da se, o a nome suo, così avanti, come dopo detta istruzione non si può, nè si potrà mai dire, che abbia sodisfatto al suo obbligo, nè che possa restituirsi alla communione colla Santa Sede.

Perchè se si facesse altrimenti (*quod absit*) non solo non si darebbe la pace alla Chiesa e la quiete al regno di Francia, ma più tosto si ecciterebbero maggior dissidii e turbazioni che pur troppo si comincerebbero a sperimentare ben tosto ; si darebbe maggior forza ai Giansenisti per sostenere i loro errori che appoggierebbero su questa accettazione e su questo fatto della Santa Sede ; si cagionerebbero sempre maggiori ruine delle anime, che sempre più si acciecherebbero ne' loro errori, e finalmente si darebbe un gravissimo scandalo a tutta la Chiesa, e sarebbe il primo caso tra quelli che si leggono nell'istoria ecclesiastica di tanti contrasti, che in tutti i tempi ha avuto la Chiesa, e di riconciliazioni fatte di eretici penitenti, che nissuno si leggerà ammesso alla communione colla Santa Sede, essendosi conosciuto l'equivoco, e l'insufficienza della formola di ritrattazione degl'errori per li quali era stato separato, come qui ben si conosce, e si è dimostrato. E finalmente si darebbe materia assai funesta alle istorie ecclesiastiche ed armi agli eretici contro di noi, e fomento ai medesimi per paragonare questo caso con quello di Liberio degno di aversi presente in questa occasione,

come si riferisce dal Baronio nell'anno 357 dalla colonna prima del foglio 668.

Da quanto si è detto fin'ora, Beatissimo Padre, apparisce ben chiaro di quanto pregiudizio sarebbe alla Santa Sede, alla cattolica religione ed all'onore di Vostra Santità e di tutto il Sacro Collegio, se si approvasse il progetto del cardinale, e quanta anche sarebbe la turbazione in questo case del medesimo Sacro Collegio, il quale ancorchè la dottrina, la perspicacia ed il zelo de' signori cardinali deputati lo persuada non esservi bisogno di anteporre queste considerazioni, niente dimeno per l'obbligo strettissimo ed indispensabile, che abbiamo tutti in corpo ed ognuno in particolare li cardinali di rappresentare e di fare anche non ricercati tutto quello che giudichiamo opportuno per cooperare alla conservazione della Chiesa e della religione nella sua purità e la Santa Sede in quell'onore e buon nome, che è l'unica arma, onde, come dice S. Paolo, *vereatur qui ex adverso est*, ha creduto di non potervi dispensare dal far questa parte, ed è certo che in qualunque evento, anche a tenore del proprio giuramento, è e sarà sempre risoluto e pronto di spargere il sangue per il buon servigio della Chiesa, della Santa Sede e di Vostra Santità."

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXIV

Abbati (Marquis), 301, 202.
Achards de la Baume, Des (Apostolic Visitor), 194.
Accoramboni, Giuseppe, Cardinal, 189, 332.
Acquaviva, Francesco (Spanish Ambassador), Cardinal, 7, 9. 10, 12, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 34–6, 39, 92, 93, 95, 100, 106, 115, 124, 368, 370, 373, 375–8, 381, 383, 384, 386–8, 390, 394, 396.
Acquaviva de Aragona, Trajano, Cardinal, 333, 404.
Adam, Lambert Sigisbert, the Elder (sculptor), 502.
Agnes of Montepulciano (Dominican), 165.
Aguesseau, D' (Procurator-General), 256, 414, 434, 436.
Alaidon (General of the Maurist Congregation), 285, 455, 456.
Alamani, Vincenzo (nuncio at Madrid), 368, 378.
Albani, Alessandro, nephew of Clement XI., 93, 96, 100, 105, 106, 147, 153, 216, 296, 307, 320, 321, 323, 351, 352, 353, 396, 498.
Albani, Annibale (nephew of Clement XI.), nuncio, Cardinal, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15–21, 24, 100, 101, 102, 104–107, 216, 232, 301, 305, 311, 314, 323, 332, 350.
Albani, Carlo (father of Clement XI.), 7.
Albani, Carlo (nephew of Clement XI.), 13.
Albani, Gian Francesco, Cardinal (Clement XI.), 41.
Alberoni, Giulio, Cardinal, 3, 4, 17, 94, 104, 160, 343, 388, 483, 488–491.
Aldobrandini, Alessandro (nuncio in Spain), Cardinal, 35, 36, 402.
Aldobrandini, Cipro (Bolognese Ambassador), 302.
Aldrovandi, Pompeo (nuncio in Spain, Governor of Rome), Cardinal, 35, 129, 385, 386, 405.
Alexandris, De, Bishop (Italian Barnabite), 194.
Alexander VII., 52, 66, 219, 244, 247, 255, 361, 478, 500.
Alexander VIII., 5, 11, 27, 99, 104, 327.
Alexandre, Noël (Dominican), 205, 206.
Almeida, Tommaso di (Patriarch of Lisbon), Cardinal, 408.
Althan, Count Michael Frederick von (Viceroy of Naples), Cardinal, 7, 8, 13, 15–17, 19–25, 31, 32, 64, 65, 99, 101, 172, 320.
Altieri, Giambattista, Cardinal, 179.
Altieri, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 93, 110, 160, 341.
Altieri, Ludovica, 109.
Altieri, Paluzzo, Cardinal, 5, 11.
Altieri, Prince, 120.
Amenio, Giovanni, 190.
Angélique, Mère, 451.

Anne (Electress of Bavaria), 322.
Anne (Empress of Russia), 290.
Ansidei, Marcantonio (Assessor of the Inquisition), Cardinal, 186, 188, 228, 234.
Antequera (Governor of Paraguay), 472.
Appiani, Luigi (Lazarist), 82, 85, 89–91, 195, 198.
Arbocave, Bishop of Dax, 256.
Archinto, Alberico (nuncio at Florence), 413.
Arnauld, Antoine (Jansenist), 53, 78, 450.
Arnia (Dominican), 214.
Assemani, Joseph Simon, 468, 493, 494.
Astorga, Diego de' (Archbishop of Toledo), Cardinal, 187, 305.
Augustus of Saxony (King of Poland), 361.
Auvergne, Princess of, 290.

Baius, Michael, 435.
Baldradi (General of Conventual Minors), 228.
Banchieri, Antonio (Secretary of State), Cardinal, 129, 186, 188, 319, 321, 323, 324, 332, 333, 338, 341.
Barbarigo, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 11, 101, 104.
Barberini, Antonio, Cardinal, 109.
Barberini, Francesco, the Younger (Prefect of Propaganda), Cardinal, 5, 11, 93, 99, 303, 314, 321, 341, 350, 377, 378.
Barbier (writer), 453.
Barchman, Buytiers (Jansenist), Archbishop of Utrecht, 288–291, 462.
Beaujeu, Honoré de (Bishop of Castres), 256.
Beaumont (Bishop of Saintes), 228.
Bécherand, 444, 445, 447.
Belluga, Luis (Bishop of Cartagena), Cardinal, 5, 9, 36, 105, 106, 125, 184, 214, 216, 308, 312, 313, 350, 377, 378, 386.
Belsunce (Bishop of Marseilles), 250, 277.
Benaglia, Paolo (Sculptor), 502.
Benavente, Alvaro de (Vicar Apostolic of Chiangsi), Augustinian Bishop, 91.
Benedict XI., 107.
Benedict XIII. (Orsini) Pope, passim 107–304, 345–7, 353, 403, 422, 454, 459, 467, 482, 484, 502.
Bentivoglio, Macro Cornelio (nuncio in France), Cardinal, 9, 60, 104, 183, 184, 213, 216, 265, 302, 308, 312, 317, 320, 321, 350, 351, 356, 358.
Berger de Charency (Bishop of Montpellier), 441.
Berthamont de (Bishop of Pamiers), 42 n, 51, 256.
Bianchini, Francesco (archaeologist), 96, 98, 498.
Bichi, Vincenzo (nuncio in Portugal), 37, 157, 181–3, 186, 187, 189, 311, 403, 406.
Bijlevelt, John (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 59.
Billuart, René (theologian), 212.
Bissy, Henri de (Bishop of Meaux), 7, 25, 47–9, 223–6, 243, 245, 250, 254, 257, 263, 279, 283, 424, 437, 457.
Boncompagni, Cardinal, 5, 8, 11, 18, 99, 100, 102, 104, 109.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 146.
Bonnet (General of the Lazarists), 279, 280.
Borghese, Francesco, Cardinal, 189.
Borgia, Seraphin of (Franciscan), 194.

Borgia, Francesco, Cardinal, 5, 9, 305.
Borromeo, Carlo, Saint, 284.
Borromini, Francesco, 180, 505.
Bosio, Antonio (archæologist), 494.
Bossuet, J. B. (Bishop of Meaux), 460.
Bossuet, J. B. (Bishop of Troyes), 255, 439, 458, 459.
Bottari, Giovanni Gaetano, 337, 494.
Bouchardon, Ed. (sculptor), 502.
Bourbon-Condé, Duc Louis Henri de, 235, 236, 240, 245.
Bouquet, Mart., 457.
Boussu, Count Thomas Philip de (Archbishop of Malines), Cardinal, 5, 224, 305.
Bouvet (Jesuit), 199.
Bovicelli, Giulio, 160.
Bracci, Pietro (sculptor), 297, 489, 497, 499, 502, 504, 509.
Brandolini (Jesuit), 92.
Brisacier (Superior of Foreign Missions in Paris,) 68, 280.
Brosses, Charles de, President, 336, 481, 494.
Buondelmonte, Monsignore, 342.
Bussi, Giovanni Battista (nuncio), Cardinal, 14, 100, 101, 104.

Caillebot de la Salle (Franciscan), Bishop of Tournai, 42.
Calchi (Barnabite), 70, 473.
Calvin, 215.
Capessi, Gerardo (Servite), 41.
Capponi, Marchese Alessandro Gregorio (archæologist), 497, 498.
Caracciolo, Iñigo (nuncio), Cardinal, 8, 13, 20, 102, 104.
Carafa, Pier Luigi (Secretary for Propaganda), Cardinal, 61, 83, 84, 189.
Caravaggio, Polidoro da (painter), 500.
Casal, Juan de (Bishop of Macao), 200.
Casanata, Cardinal, 79.
Cassagnet de Tilladet (Bishop of Mâcon), 42 n, 256, 267.
Castorano, Carlo Orazio da (Franciscan), Vicar-General in Pekin, 476.
Catherine of Genoa (Fieschi Adorno), 410.
Caumartin (Bishop of Blois), 266.
Caylus (Bishop of Auxerre), 42 n., 255, 272–5, 420, 440, 445, 458, 459.
Celestine III. (Orsini), Pope, 108.
Celoron (Oratorian), 277.
Celsius, Anders (astronomer), 496.
Cenci, Serafino (Archbishop of Benevento), Cardinal, 405.
Cerri, Urbano (Secretary of Propaganda), 78.
Chao (Mandarin), 72.
Charles Alexander (Duke of Württemberg), 466.
Charles Emmanuel III. (King of Sardinia), 348, 350, 364.
Charles Edward (Pretender to the throne of England), 412.
Charles II. (King of Spain), 136.
Charles III. (Carlo, Infante of Spain, King of Sicily), 164, 355–7, 359–361, 363, 365–7, 369–371, 379, 384, 385, 392, 395–7.
Charles V. (Emperor), 59.
Charles VI., Emperor (Charles III. of Spain), 13, 14, 21–5, 31–4, 39, 63, 65, 100, 101, 103, 108, 136–8, 143, 145, 146, 164, 274, 291, 299, 323, 341–3, 355, 358, 359, 364, 372, 467.
Charmot, 76, 77.

Chatre, De la (Bishop of Agde), 266.
Chevrière (Bishop of Quebec), 60.
Christine of Sweden, 337.
Cibo, Camillo (maggiordomo), Cardinal, 129, 131, 132, 189.
Cienfuegos, Alvaro, Cardinal (Imperial Ambassador at Rouen), 8, 20, 21, 23, 24, 33, 94, 100, 102–6, 116–8, 124, 125, 135–8, 140, 142, 144, 152, 154 n., 180, 184, 187, 188, 214, 216, 303, 307, 309, 313, 315, 317, 320, 321–3, 350, 359, 362, 363, 365, 367–9, 405, 407, 481.
Clement VIII., 43, 210, 211, 486.
Clement X., 5, 11, 98, 120.
Clement XI. (Gian Francesco Albani), 1, 3, 4–7, 10–15, 20, 24, 25, 28, 31, 33, 38, 41, 45, 46, 58, 67, 99, 104, 108, 135–7, 139, 140, 145, 146, 171, 205, 210, 211.
Clement XII. (Lorenzo Corsini), 278, passim 324 to end.
Clement Augustus I., Prince Elector of Cologne, Bishop of Münster, Paderborn and Hildesheim, 173.
Cloche, Antoninus (General of the Dominicans), 208.
Codde, Peter (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 59.
Coislin, Cardinal, 267.
Colbert de Croissy, Charles (Bishop of Montpellier), 42 n., 53, 54, 237, 239, 241, 242, 249, 252, 256, 273–9, 420, 421, 439, 440, 441, 445, 446, 449, 451, 458–460.
Collalto (Imperial Envoy Extraordinary in Rome), 306, 313, 323.
Collicola, Carlo (Treasurer-General), Cardinal, 132, 186, 188.
Colonna, Carlo, Cardinal, 93, 102, 104, 309, 316.
Colonna, Prospero (Uditore di Camera), 410.
Conca, Sebastiano (painter), 505.
Conti, Bernardo Maria (brother of Innocent XIII.), 30, 100, 104, 304, 314.
Conti, Carlo (nephew of Innocent XIII.), 31.
Conti, Giuseppe Lotario (Duke of Poli), 93.
Conti, Marcantonio (nephew of Innocent XIII.), 30.
Conti, Michelangelo (nuncio, Card.), Innocent XIII., 4, 8, 13, 20–8.
Conti, Count Richard, of Sora, 26.
Cori, Marcellino (Governor of Rome), Cardinal, 409.
Cornacchini, Agostino (sculptor), 487, 497, 508, 509.
Cornaro (Doge of Venice), 11.
Cornaro, Giorgio, Cardinal, 5, 11, 19.
Corradini, Pietro Marcellino, Cardinal, 14, 22, 24, 30, 93, 100, 102, 105–7, 117, 125, 130, 132, 138, 144, 150, 152, 170, 183, 222, 319, 321, 325, 332, 334, 341, 350, 378, 385, 386.
Corsini, Andrea (Bishop of Fiesole), 326.
Corsini, Bartolomeo (father of Clement XII.), 327.
Corsini, Bartolomeo (nephew of Clement XII.), Commander of Light Cavalry, 334, 365, 367.
Corsini, Lorenzo, Cardinal (Clement XII.), 13, 18–20, 100, 104, 118, 206, 317, 318, 321, 323.
Corsini, Neri, Cardinal (nephew of Clement XII.), 334, 337–9, 341, 376, 381, 384, 385, 389, 396, 402, 405, 407, 413, 495, 505.

Corsini, Neri, Cardinal (uncle of Clement XII.), 327, 508.
Coscia, Niccolo, Cardinal, 106, 123–140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 153, 174, 175, 181, 298–302, 307, 309, 314, 340–2, 349, 353, 390, 493, 495.
Cosimo III. (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 334.
Cosse, Jean Robert (figurist), 452.
Costerano, 91.
Couet, Abbé, 256.
Cour, Jubé de la (Jansenist), 290.
Coustant (Maurist), 96.
Cozza, Lorenzo, Cardinal (General of Franciscan Observants), 131, 185.
Crescenzi, Marchese, 375.
Christian Augustus of Saxony (Archbishop of Gran), Cardinal, 5.
Croon, Theodore van der (Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht), 462.
Crudeli, Tommaso (poet), 412, 413.
Cunha, de Atay de Nuno da, Cardinal, 5, 305.
Cusani, Agostino (Nuncio at Paris and Vienna), Cardinal, 7, 13, 105, 304.
Czacki, Emmerich (Bishop of Kalocsa), Cardinal, 8, 23, 33, 305.

Daemen, Adam (Vicar Apostolic of Holland), 58.
Dalbert, Abbé, 414.
Daubenton (Jesuit), Confessor of Philip V., 36.
Davia (nuncio in Vienna), Cardinal, 8, 14, 102, 104, 142, 143, 316, 318, 319.
Derizet, Antonio (architect), 505.
Desmaretz (Bishop of St. Malo), 256.
Dolgoruki, Alexis Gregorowich, 290.
Dolgoruki, Catherine (fiancée of Tsar Peter II.), 290.
Dolgoruki, Sergius Petrowich, 290.
Domenico di San Pietro (missionary), 197.
Doncquer, 289.
Doria, Sinibaldo (maestro di camera), 30.
Dorotea of Parma, 359.
Dorotheus of the Blessed Trinity (Capuchin), 191.
Dubois, Abbé (French Minister), 20, 42, 48, 50.

Elias (Bishop of Ispahan), 61.
Elizabeth (Empress of Russia), 291.
Elizabeth Farnese (wife of Philip V. of Spain), 355, 370.
Emmanuel (Infante of Portugal), 183, 184, 187.
Emmanuel of Jesus and Mary (Bishop of Nankin), 201.
Enriquez, Enrico (papal commissary), 491.
Entrecolles, D' (Superior of the French Jesuits), 79.
Espen, Zeger van (Doctor), 45, 60, 62, 291, 292.
Essarts, Des, 451.
Étémare, Abbé d', Jean Baptiste de Sesne de Menilles, 450, 451.
Eugene, Prince, 141, 363.
Eugene IV., 494.
Eva, Gabriel (Abbot of Mt. Lebanon), 67.

Fabrizi, 102.
Fabroni, Carlo Agostino, Cardinal, 3, 6, 14, 24, 100, 102, 104, 106, 118, 125, 187.
Falconieri, Alexius (Governor of Rome), 98, 179, 180, 313, 316, 350.

Falconieri, Juliana, 410.
Farnese, Antonio (Duke of Parma), 356, 359.
Farnese, Francis (Duke of Parma), 22.
Farnese, Pier Luigi (Duke of Parma), 359.
Febronius, 60.
Fernandez, Miguel (Franciscan Commissary), 91.
Ferreri, Carlo Vincenzo (Dominican), Cardinal, 190.
Ferroni (Assessor of the Inquisition), 395.
Fidelis of Sigmaringen, 166.
Fieschi, Lorenzo (Archbishop of Genoa), Cardinal, 5, 13.
Fini, Francesco (maestro di camera), Cardinal, 130, 147, 150, 151, 153, 186, 188, 225, 297, 301, 307, 341, 347, 349.
Firrao, Giuseppe (Secretary of State), Cardinal, 37, 181, 334, 338, 385, 386, 390, 403.
Fleury, André Hercule, Cardinal, 181, 182, 213, 226, 231, 232, 234, 245, 252, 254, 257, 263, 267, 268, 272, 274, 279, 283, 305, 313, 356, 413–17, 420, 424, 429, 437, 438, 440, 454, 455, 459.
Fleury (Jansenist), 88.
Foland (writer on military subjects), 447.
Fontaine de la Roche, Jacques (Appellant), 418.
Fontana (Jesuit), 44.
Fontanini, Giusto (scholar), 351, 370.
Forbin Janson (Bishop of Arles), 441.
Forteguerri, Niccolò (Secretary of Propaganda), 467, 495.
Forziati, Giuseppe, 343.
Foscarini, Marco (Venetian Ambassador), 482.
Fourrier, Pierre, 167, 411.
Fourquevaux, De, 451.
Francis II., 413.
Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Francis I., Emperor), 412.
Francis of the Purification (Augustinian Bishop of Peking), 475.
Francis (Bishop of Lorraine), 56, 370.
Francolini (Jesuit), 43.
Frangipani, Giovanna, mother of Benedict XIII., 108.
Frederick II. (Emperor), 108.
Frederick Augustus II. (Augustus III. of Poland), 362, 363, 370, 371, 395.
Fuga, Ferdinando (architect), 337, 497, 499, 500, 505.

Gaddi, Giambattista (writer), 497.
Galilei, Alessandro (architect), 497, 504–7.
Galliani, Celestino (Cappellano Maggiore), 142, 394, 395, 397.
Gallitzin, Irina Petrowna, 290, 291.
Gallizia (Barnabite), 473.
Gasto, Giovanni (Duke of Tuscany), 322, 356.
Gennes, De (Jesuit), 235.
Genovesi, Antonio, 392.
Gentili, Antonio Saverio (Datarius), Cardinal, 333, 338, 339, 384–6, 403.
Gesvres, Léon Potier de (Archbishop of Bourges), Cardinal, 5, 257, 305.
Ghezzi, Pier Leone (painter), 505.
Giampriamo, Niccolò (Jesuit), 70–2, 85, 86.
Giannone, Pietro (writer), 352, 353, 397.
Giardone, Fran (sculptor), 499, 508.
Giraud, Comte, 481.
Giudice, Francesco del (Grand Inquisitor of Spain), Cardinal, 5, 8, 12, 99.

Giudice, Niccolò (Maggiordomo), Cardinal, 39, 117, 125, 137, 181.
Gonzaga, Aloysius (Jesuit Saint), 166.
Gonzaga, Silvio Valenti (nuncio in Spain), Cardinal, 373, 378, 395, 397, 409.
Gotti, Vincent Louis (Dominican), Cardinal, 188, 313.
Gouffier (French Ambassador in Rome), 162.
Gozzadini, Ulisses Joseph, Cardinal, 8, 13, 20, 100, 102, 104.
Grassi, Abbot, 303.
Graveson (Dominican), 208, 211, 220, 222.
Gravina, Vincenzo (jurist), 96.
Gregory VII., 155, 156, 166, 272, 274, 275, 420, 421.
Gregory XIV., 165.
Gregory XV., 478.
Grimaldi, Girolamo (nuncio in France), Cardinal, 402.
Gros, Count de (Envoy in Rome), 350.
Guadagni, Antonio (Carmelite Bishop of Arezzo), Cardinal, 403, 505, 507.
Gualbert, John, Saint, 324.
Gualtieri, Francesco Antonio (nuncio), Cardinal, 9, 12, 20, 25, 101, 494.
Guelle (English envoy in Rome), 4.
Guglielmi, Bishop, 350.
Guiccioli (auditor), 373, 379, 380, 383, 384, 387.
Guigues, 85, 195, 198.
Guimenius, Amadeus (Moya, Jesuit), 245.
Gumilla, José (Jesuit), 70.

Hanxleden (Jesuit), 193.
Harrach, Count von (Imperial Ambassador in Rome), 336, 337, 338, 339 n., 374, 378, 385.
Harrach, Count von (Viceroy of Naples), 156.
Hébert (Bishop of Agen), 256.
Henry IV. (Emperor), 155, 156.
Herault (Director of French Police), 455.
Hervieu, Placid (Jesuit), missionary, 202.
Hinderer, Romanus (Jesuit), 474.
Hoffreumont, Servais, 63, 64, 65.
Holzhauser, Bartholomew, 15, 169.
Hume, David, 453.

Imperiali, Lorenzo (Cardinal Secretary of State), 5, 11, 20, 24, 99, 100, 125, 152, 309, 311–13, 317, 334, 341, 350.
Ingoli, Francesco (Secretary for Propaganda), 78.
Innocent X., 98, 167, 498.
Innocent XI., 5, 11, 110, 160.
Innocent XII., 5, 11, 12, 19, 27, 30, 160, 383, 500.
Innocent XIII., passim 26–97, 99, 115, 147, 160, 164, 171, 181, 285, 403, 484.
Inquembert, d', librarian of Cardinal Corsini (Bishop of Carpentras), 328, 495.

James III., Pretender to the English throne, 115, 404.
James of Kremsir, 469.
Jerome of the Blessed Trinity (Franciscan), 88.
Jobard, Superior, 281.
John Nepomuk, 166.
John Baptist of St. Teresa (Carmelite), 193.
John of the Cross, 166.
John of Sahagun, 166.
John (King of Portugal), 37, 406, 470.
Jollain (Syndic), 51, 52.
Joseph P. (Eminence Grise), 458.
Joubert (figurist), 451.

KANGHI (Emperor of China), 70–2, 74, 89, 90, 199, 202–4, 467.
Kaunitz, Maximilian Ulrich von (Imperial Envoy Extraordinary to Rome), 100, 102, 103, 104, 115.
Kervilio, O. de, Bishop of Tréguier, 267.
Khevenhüller, General, 371, 372.
Kienlong, 475.
Kinsky, Count (Ambassador Extraordinary of the Emperor), 23, 24, 33.
Kögler, Ignatius (Jesuit), 72, 85.
Kollonitsch, Innocent of St. Leopold (Carmelite), 193.
Kollonitsch, Count Sigismond von (Archbishop of Vienna), Cardinal, 181, 313.
Kostka, Stanislaus (Jesuit), 166, 184.
Kratz, Caspar (Jesuit), 473.
Krys, Jansenist Parish Priest, 61.

LABBÉ (missionary), 194.
La Fare, Étienne Joseph de, Bishop of Laôn, 438–441, 443, 446.
Lafitau, François (Jesuit), French Ambassador in Rome, Bishop of Sisteron, 4, 8, 9, 266, 419, 436, 437, 438, 440.
Laghi (Vicar Apostolic of Shansi, Bishop of Lorina), 80, 201.
Lamberg, Count Dominic von (Bishop of Passau), Cardinal, 407.
Lambertini, Prospero (Benedict XIV.), 140, 142–7, 150, 151, 153, 165, 186, 188, 228, 307, 332.
Lanfredini, Amadori, Cardinal, 303, 392, 405.
Langle de (Bishop of Boulogne), 42 n., 50, 54, 55, 243.
Languet de Gervy (Bishop of Soissons), 49, 50, 52, 223, 240, 277, 445, 446.
Laureati (Jesuit), 201.
Laziosi, Pellegrino (Servite), 166.
La Roche, 451.
Le Comte (Jesuit), 77.
Le Doulx, 443.
Lefranc, Anne, 442, 443.
Le Gobien (Jesuit), 77.
Leonessa, Joseph da, 410.
Lercari, Niccolò Maria (Cardinal Secretary of State), 117, 129, 131, 132, 139, 140, 143, 147, 150, 153, 171, 185, 186, 246, 283, 297, 307.
Le Seur (Maurist), 457.
Lesseville de (President of the Parliament of Paris), 414, 416.
Leszcynski, Stanislaus, 362, 363, 370.
Ligardi, Giuliano (Jesuit), missionary, 472.
Lipski, John Alexander (Bishop of Cracow), Cardinal, 408.
Lironi, Joseph (sculptor), 497, 509.
Livizzani, Giuseppe (Secretary of the Cypher), 333.
Lobkowitz, Prince, 372.
Lopez, Gregori (Dominican Bishop), 91.
Lorraine, François Armand de (Bishop of Bayeux), 235, 237, 256.
Lorenzini, Francesco, 495.
Louis XIV., 40, 235, 361, 363, 379, 438.
Louis XV., 45, 52, 54, 182, 245, 270, 419, 420, 422, 427, 429, 439.
Lucchesini, Giovanni Vincenzo (Secretary for Latin Briefs), 117, 495.

Luis (Infante of Spain), Cardinal, 367, 368, 369, 373, 374, 397, 405.
Luther, 384.

MAFFEI, Scipione, Cardinal, 494.
Majella, Carlo (Secretary of Briefs for Princes), 117, 139, 220, 228, 333, 494.
Maigrot, Charles (Vicar Apostolic of Fukien), 75, 76, 78, 81.
Mailly, François de (Archbishop of Rheims), Cardinal, 5.
Maini, Giambattista (sculptor), 497, 500, 502, 503, 505, 508, 509.
Maloët, Dom. (Procurator of Maurists in Rome), 283.
Manfredi, Eustachio (hydraulic engineer), 489.
Maran, Prud. (Maurist), 457.
Marca, Giacomo della (Franciscan Observant), 165.
Marchesini, Abbate, 498.
Marchioni, Carlo (sculptor), 297.
Marefoschi, Prospero (Cardinal Vicar in Rome), 130, 180, 309.
Marescotti, Cardinal, 5, 117.
Marescotti, Giacinta (Poor Clare), 166.
Marguerite of Cortona (Saint), 166.
Maria Amalia (Queen of Naples), 395, 396.
Maria Anna (Archduchess of Austria), Queen of Portugal, 21, 28.
Maria Teresa, daughter of Charles VI., 412.
Marini, Maria, Cardinal, 104.
Martène, Edmond (Maurist), 457.
Masnata, Giovanni Andrea (Cleric Minor), 203.
Massei, Bartolomeo (nuncio in France), Cardinal, 34, 402.
Maurepas, 240.
Medici, Francesco Maria de, Cardinal, 4.
Meindaerts, John (Archbishop of Utrecht), Jansenist, 462, 463.
Menard, Hervé (General of the Maurists), 456, 457.
Merlini, Camillo (nuncio in Poland and Vienna), 117.
Mezzabarba, Carlo, Ambrogio (Patriarch of Alexandria), Legate in China, 70, 71, 81–4, 89, 91, 201, 202, 204, 475, 476.
Millo, Secretary of Cardinal Lambertini, 153.
Milon, Luigi (Bishop of Condom), 256.
Mimbela (Dominican), Bishop of Trujillo, 70.
Mocenigo, Alvise (Venetian Ambassador in Rome and Madrid), 479, 482, 483, 499.
Mogrobejo, Turibius (Bishop of Lima), 165.
Molina, Luigi (Jesuit), 220, 243.
Molina y Oviedo, Gaspar (Augustinian Bishop of Malaga), Cardinal, 379, 381, 383, 384, 395, 398–400, 407.
Monaldi, Carlo (sculptor), 508.
Monteleone (Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary in Rome), 306.
Montemar, Count, 365, 371.
Montfaucon (Maurist), 457.
Montgeron, Louis Baptiste Carré de (Member of French Parliament), 448, 449.
Morosini, Barbon (Venetian Ambassador at Rome), 127, 130, 133, 334.
Morosini, Francesco (Doge of Venice), 27.
Mosca, Agapito, Cardinal, 374, 396, 404.

Motta y Silva, Giovanni de, Cardinal, 187, 305.
Mourao (Jesuit), 72, 81, 82, 202.
Muratori, Ludovico Antonio (historian), 381, 491.
Muti, Isabella (mother of Innocent XIII.), 27.

NAVARRETE, Domenico (Dominican), 76.
Néez (missionary), 194.
Negroni, Niccolò (Treasurer), 302, 345.
Nicolalde (Dominican), Bishop of Concepcion in Chile, 70.
Nicholas III. (Orsini), Pope, 108.
Nicholas V., Pope, 146, 147, 151, 152.
Nicholas, von der Flüe, 500.
Nicholas (Bishop of Herrea), 192.
Noailles, Antoine de (Archbishop of Paris), Cardinal, 3, 4, 5, 40, 41, 44, 46, 48, 54, 77, 207, 215, 219, 220–235, 241, 250, 252, 256–262, 264, 267, 276, 413, 442.
Nolli, Giambattista, 496.

ODDI, Giuseppe (protonotary), 357, 359.
Odescalchi, Benedetto (nuncio), Cardinal, 12.
Ogier (President), 433.
Olivieri, Fabio, Cardinal, 8, 14, 30, 93, 100, 102, 105, 117, 138, 319.
Origo, Curzio (Secretary of Memorials), 9, 14, 22, 24, 93, 102, 104, 143, 332, 341.
Ormaza, y Arregui, Juan de (Governor of Tucuman), 471.
Ormea, Vincenzo Ferreri, marchese d' (Minister of Savoy and Piedmont), 147–153, 303, 306, 349, 352.
Orsi, Giuseppe Agostino (Dominican), 496.
Orsini, Domenico, brother of Benedict XIII., 109.
Orsini, Blessed John (Bishop of Traù), 170.
Orsini, Pietro Francesco (Dominican), Cardinal, Benedict XIII., 5, 11, 98, 100, 102, 104–113, 123, 206.
Orsini, Gravina Mondillo (Oratorian), Bishop of Melfi, 184.
Ottoboni, Minotti, 188.
Ottoboni, Pietro, Cardinal (Alexander VIII.), 5, 6, 18, 19, 21, 24, 93, 99, 118, 126, 188, 222, 323, 324, 363, 498, 505.

PACCA, Cardinal, 297.
Pallu, François (Bishop of Heliopolis), 76, 81.
Pamfili, Benedetto, Cardinal, 3, 5, 11, 17, 26, 98, 100, 102, 104, 305.
Pannini, Gian Paolo (painter), 96, 505.
Paolucci, Fabrizio (Cardinal Secretary of State), 5, 8, 12, 15–18, 24, 30, 93, 99–105, 117, 118, 124, 126, 128–130, 137, 147, 170, 222, 229.
Paracciani, Gian Domenico, Cardinal, 8, 13, 20, 29.
Paris, François de (Jansenist Deacon), 278, 442–8, 451, 453.
Pascal, Blaise, 442.
Passeri, Marcello, Cardinal, 333, 334, 338, 404.
Passionei, Domenico (nuncio), Cardinal, 255, 408, 495.
Passionei, Guido (Secretary for Latin Briefs), 30.
Patino, José, 483.
Patrizi, Giovanni (nuncio), Cardinal, 9, 14, 104, 129.
Paul III., 359.
Paul V., 43, 155, 209–211, 470, 500, 501.
Paul of the Cross (Founder of

the Congregation of Passionists), 169.
Pavillon (Bishop of Alet), 239.
Pedrini, Theodore (Lazarist), 72, 80, 82, 84, 89–91, 195, 197, 198, 202, 204, 476.
Penna, Orazio da (Capuchin), 473.
Pereyra, de Lacerda, Joseph, Cardinal, 182, 183, 305, 403.
Perez (Franciscan), Vicar apostolic, 194.
Perfetti, Bernardino, 161.
Perrelli, Pietro (Imperial Agent), 137, 137 n., 138–144.
Perroni, Domenico (Procurator of the Propaganda in China), 80.
Peter the Great, 39.
Peter II., Czar, 290.
Peter, Patriarch of the Maronites, 67.
Petitpied (Jansenist), 53, 459.
Petra, Vincenzo, Cardinal, 180, 303, 315, 350.
Philip II., of Spain, 59.
Philip V. of Spain, 34, 39, 100, 164, 355, 358, 376, 381, 390, 392, 405.
Philip of Orleans (Regent of France), 46, 47, 48, 51, 54, 56, 235.
Piazza, Giulio (nuncio), Cardinal, 14, 101–5.
Picenino (Swiss Protestant), 188.
Pico della Mirandola, Ludovico, Cardinal, 9, 20, 102, 104, 125, 160, 216, 316, 334, 341, 350.
Pieri, Pier Maria (Servite), Cardinal, 405.
Pietro della SS. Trinità, 193.
Pignatelli (Viceregent of Sicily), 12.
Pignatelli, Francesco (nuncio in Poland), Cardinal, 8, 12, 23, 24, 102, 104, 303, 321.
Pincellotti (sculptor), 508.
Pinheiro (Provincial of the Jesuits), 476.
Piombino, Princess of, 12 n.
Pipia, Agostino (General of the Dominicans), 150, 209, 222, 228.
Pittonio (advocate), 147, 153.
Pius V., 116.
Pivert, Aimée, 447.
Poisson (Jesuit), missionary, 192.
Polignac, Melchior de (French Ambassador at Rome), Cardinal, 5, 102, 147, 170, 181–3, 216, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 232, 284, 302, 307, 323, 324, 350.
Portail (President of the Parliament of Paris), 415, 416.
Porzia, Leander (Abbot of St. Paul outside the Walls), Benedictine Cardinal, 188, 228, 341, 385.
Potocki (Primate of Poland), 362.
Priuli, Pietro, Cardinal, 104.
Publicola, Scipione (Prince of Santa Croce), 366.
Pucelle, Abbé, 48, 415, 426–8, 432, 433, 435.

Quemener, 76.
Quesnel, Pasquier (Jansenist), 43, 44, 60, 62, 63, 65, 206, 207, 215, 217, 221, 223, 242–4, 247, 260, 265, 277, 279, 281, 417, 434.
Quirini, Angelo Maria (Benedictine of Monte Cassino), Cardinal, 185, 187, 188, 296, 493.

Ramone, 302.
Rasle (Jesuit missionary), 192.
Rastignac, Louis Jean de (Archbishop of Tours), 456.
Regis, John Francis (Jesuit missionary), 410.
Reni, Guido, 508.
Resay of Angoulême, 256.

Retz (General of the Jesuits), 476.
Rezzonico, Carlo (Auditor of the Rota), Cardinal, 408.
Ricci, Caterina (beata), 410.
Ricci, Francesco, 302.
Ricciolini, Niccolò (painter), 505.
Ridolfi, Niccolò (Master of the Apostolic Palace), 495.
Rinaldi, Gottardo (Carmelite), 195.
Rio, Emanuele del (Franciscan Minor), 67.
Ripa, Matteo (missionary in China), 91, 169, 467.
Ripoll, Tommaso (General of the Dominicans), 297.
Rist, Valerius (Franciscan Minor), 194.
Rivéra, Domenico (Secretary of the Consulta), 333, 338, 339, 353, 385, 404.
Riviera (Papal Delegate), 30.
Roca, Miguel (Provincial Commissary of the Franciscan Minors), 197, 198.
Rodota, Felix Samuel, 468.
Rohan, Armand Gaston, Cardinal, 9, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 30, 40, 41, 100–3, 223, 226, 254, 257, 263, 279.
Rollin, Charles (Rector of the Sorbonne), 51, 447.
Romigny (Syndic of the theological Faculty of the Sorbonne), 52, 53, 264, 269.
Rossetti, Cardinal, 109.
Rossetti (missionary of Propaganda), 473.
Rossi De (De Rubris), 488.
Rota, Abbate (Auditor of Paris nunciature), 34.
Rousse, Canon (Jansenist), 277, 445.
Rovenius (Vicar Apostolic), 59.
Ruffo, Tommasso (nuncio), Cardinal, 8, 22, 100, 102, 104, 309, 315.
Rusconi, Camillo (sculptor), 505.
Rusconi, Giuseppe, 509.
Ruspoli, Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 3, 402.
Ruspoli, Francesco Maria (Prince of Cervetri), 126.

SAAVEDRA, Bernardo Froilano de (titular Archbishop of Larissa), 398.
Sagripanti, Carlo Maria (Treasurer-General), Cardinal, 302, 333, 410.
Sagripanti, Giuseppe (Datarius), Cardinal, 5, 8, 11, 84, 99, 100, 102.
Saint-Cyran, 450.
Saint-Olon, Pidou de, head of the Persian Mission, 60.
Sainte-Marthe, Denis de (General of the Congregation of Maurists), 282, 284.
Salerni (Jesuit,) Cardinal, 6, 7, 105, 125, 216.
Salvi (sculptor), 502.
Sanctis, Francesco de (architect), 162.
Sanna (Jesuit), 88, 91.
Sansovino (architect), 504.
Santa Croce, Prince, 375.
Santamaria, Niccolò Saverio, 127, 153, 301.
Saraceni (Vicar Apostolic of Shansi), 475.
Sardini, Giacomo, Abbate, 153, 302.
Sardinius (advocate), 147.
Sassi, Ludovico (architect), 505.
Scaglione (Secretary of Briefs to Princes), 30.
Schönborn, Damian Hugo von, Cardinal, 23, 304.
Schrattenbach, Wolfgang Hannibal von, Cardinal, 8, 305.
Scotti, Bernardino, Cardinal, 7, 13, 104, 129.
Ségur, Jean Charles de, Bishop of St. Papoul, 453, 454.
Selleri, Gregorio (Dominican),

Confessor to Benedict XIII., 153, 186, 188, 190, 228.
Serry, Hyacinth (Dominican), 62.
Sévin, Abbé, 452.
Sfondrati, Cardinal, 43, 245.
Siebert (Jesuit), 473.
Simonetti, Raniero (nuncio in Naples and Savoy), 379, 396.
Sinzendorf, Philip Louis von, Cardinal, 188.
Sirmond, Augustine (Jesuit), 245.
Sixtus V., 120.
Soanen (Bishop of Senez), 42 n., 50, 242–255, 265–368, 440, 449, 451, 454, 457.
Soffietti, Simon, Friar Minor, 203.
Solano, Francesco (Franciscan Observant), 166.
Sonnet, Marie, 448.
Souel (Jesuit missionary), 192.
Spada, Orazio Filippo (nuncio at Cologne), 8, 14, 19, 24, 100–2, 104, 118.
Specchi, Alessandro (architect), 29, 32, 162.
Specchi, Michelangelo (architect), 499.
Spinelli, Giuseppe (internuncio at Brussels), Cardinal, 286, 381, 384–6, 394, 405.
Spinola, Giorgio (nuncio at Vienna), Cardinal, Secretary of State, 12, 22, 24, 30, 35, 35 n., 86, 93, 95, 104, 332, 339, 350, 357, 385.
Spinola, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, 104.
Spinola, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, Governor of Rome, 403.
Spinola, Niccolò (nuncio in Poland), 105 n.
Stampa, Count Carlo, Imperial General, 357, 359.
Stampa, Count Gaetano (Archbishop of Milan), 409.
Steenoven, Cornelius, 62, 63, 285–9.
Steffani, Agostino (Vicar Apostolic of Germany), 178 n.
Stosch, Baron Philip von, 412.
Strozzi, Isabella, mother of Clement XII., 327.
Suarez, Joseph (Jesuit Vice Provincial), 99, 202.

Tamburini, Michelangelo (General of the Jesuits), 83, 86–91, 192, 195, 196, 201, 217.
Tanara, Seb. Antonio, Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College, 4, 8, 12, 15, 17, 23–25, 100, 102.
Tanas, Seraphin (Cyril VI.), Patriarch of the Melchiorites, 190, 191.
Tanucci, Bernardo (Minister in Naples), 392, 393, 395, 397.
Tencin, Pierre Guérin de, Cardinal, 69, 93, 245, 248, 251, 254, 409, 459.
Teodoli, Girolamo (architect), 497.
Terrasson (Oratorian), 291.
Tessier de Quérelay (Vicar Apostolic of Siam), 194.
Thibault (General of the Maurist Congregation), 282, 283.
Thuillier, Vincent (Maurist), 284, 285, 457.
Tiberge (Superior of the Seminary for the Foreign Missions), 280, 281.
Tilladet (Bishop of Mâcon), 256, 267.
Titon (Councillor of the Parliament), 428, 433.
Tolomei, Giovanni (Jesuit), Cardinal, 13, 104, 106, 107, 125, 222.
Tomacelli, Niccolò Maria of the Clerics Minor, 79, 91.
Tommaso da Spoleto (Minor), 147.

Tour de la (General of the Oratorians), 256.
Tour, Henri Oswald de la, Count of Auvergne, Cardinal, 407.
Tournely, Honoré, Doctor of the Sorbonne, 264, 269, 270.
Tournon, Charles Thomas Maillard de (Cardinal Legate in China), 74, 81, 89, 204, 467, 477, 478.
Tourouvre (Bishop of Rodez), 267.
Tria (Bishop of Larino), 395.

Ugarte (Jesuit), 191.
Urban II., 140, 145.
Urban VIII., 116, 145, 160, 386.

Vaillant, Abbé, 452.
Valenti, Antonio Francesco (Datarius), 333.
Valeri, Antonio (architect), 505.
Valerio, Giuseppe (Dominican), 203.
Valle, Filippo (sculptor), 497, 504, 509.
Vallemani, Giuseppe, Cardinal, 13, 102, 104.
Vanvitelli, Luigi (architect), 486, 487, 502, 505.
Varlet, Dominic Mary, 60, 61, 286, 287, 288, 451.
Viera, Antonio (Jesuit), 194.
Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy (King of Sardinia), 146–8, 153, 306.
Villalpando (representative of Philip V.), 386, 387, 391.
Villars, Marshal, 425.
Villefore (Jansenist), 437.
Villemeule (Jansenist), 77.
Vintimille du Luc (Archbishop of Aix), 257, 267, 268, 271, 273, 275, 424, 442, 443, 446, 458.
Vincent de Paul, 410, 436, 461.
Violante Beatrice of Bavaria (Grand Duchess of Tuscany), 161, 174, 322.
Vitry, de (Jesuit), 223, 228.
Vittoni (secular Priest), 70.
Vivant (Chancellor), 256.
Vosmeer (Vicar Apostolic in Holland), 59.

Ward, Mary, 78.
Wencelaus, St. (Duke of Bohemia), 166.
Wolfgang, Ildefonsus (Carmelite), 195.

Yong-Tshing (Emperor of China), 72, 73, 85, 474, 475.

Zabala, Bruno Mauricio (Governor of Buenos Aires), 472.
Zendrini, Bernardino (hydraulic engineer), 489.
Zondadari, Antonio Felice (nuncio in Spain), Cardinal, 100, 104, 125, 216, 309, 316, 341, 350, 385.
Zuloaga (Archbishop of Lima), 70.

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HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XXXV.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited as to Vols. I.–VI. by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.–XXIV. by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory, and Vols. XXV.–XXXIV. by DOM ERNEST GRAF, of Buckfast Abbey, Vols. XXXV.–XXXVII. by E. F. PEELER.

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

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E. F. PEELER

VOLUME XXXV

BENEDICT XIV. (1740–1758)

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FOREWORD

THIS Volume XXXV. of the *History of the Popes* corresponds to the first part of Volume XVI. of the German original, which was published in three parts and covers the period beginning with the election of Benedict XIV. and ending with the death of Pius VI. (1740–1799).

The portions of the MS. of this German volume which were incomplete at the time of the author's death (1928) were rounded off with the material he had left behind him. The chapters on the internal activity of the Church, the missions, and the conclusion of the ritual dispute were written by Fr. Kneller, of Munich. Dr. W. Wühr, of Munich, described the conclaves of 1740, 1758, and 1774–75, the sections on the ecclesiastical history of the German-speaking countries and Poland, and the last three chapters of the pontificate of Pius VI. Chapters VII.–X. of the pontificate of Clement XIII. and the description of the conclave of 1769 were the work of Fr. Kratz, of Rome, who also contributed towards the chapters dealing with ecclesiastico-political events in the reign of Pius VI.

For the history of the missions use was made of the compilations of Professor Dr. Schmidlin, of Münster.

The motto on p. vii was chosen by the author himself. He had written in his diary for February 12th, 1923: "Coronation ceremony in the Sistina. As I listened to the stirring words of the Gospel ('Tu es Petrus') the thought came into my mind that they were the right motto for the last volume of my *History of the Popes*."

In accordance with the wish of His Holiness Pope Pius XI., Her Excellency Freifrau Constanze von Pastor dedicated the final volume of her departed husband's life-work to the first Pope and Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter.

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Motto :

" Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam."

Matt. XVI., 18.

70958

NOMINI HONORI
PERBEATI SIMONIS PETRI
APOSTOLORUM PRINCIPIS
PRIMIQUE A CHRISTO SERVATORE
CONSTITUTI ROMANI PONTIFICIS
HOC HISTORIARUM VOLUMEN
QUOD LABORE EXTREMO EXTREMUM
LUDOVICUS DE PASTOR ABSOLVIT
CONSTANTIA CONIUX SUPERSTES
SACRUM VOLUIT

ANNO DOMINI MCMXXXI.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXV.

	PAGE
Collections of Archives and Manuscripts referred to in Volumes XXXV.–XL.	x
Complete Titles of Books quoted in Volumes XXXV.–XL.	xii
Table of Contents	xxxviii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xliv
The Conclave of the Year 1740—Career and Personality of Benedict XIV.—The Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti Gonzaga—The Church's Peace Policy—The Concordats with Savoy, Naples, and Spain	1–75
Benedict XIV. and the War of the Austrian Succession—His Attitude towards the Elections of the Emperors Charles VII. and Francis I.—The Peace Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle	76–140
The States of the Church—The Encouragement of Art and Learning	141–225
Jansenism in France and Holland	226–293
Benedict XIV.'s Activity within the Church—The Veneration of the Saints—The Jubilee Year of 1750—The Appointment of Cardinals—The Index—The Beginning of the Undermining of the Society of Jesus	294–391
Benedict XIV. and the Missions	392–476
Appendix of Unpublished Documents and Extracts from Archives	477
Index of Names	500

COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXXV.–XL.

AACHEN—Municipal Archives.
AUGSBURG—Ordinariats-Archiv.
——— Municipal Archives.

BENEVENTO—Archiepiscopal Archives.
BERLIN—Secret State Archives.
——— State Library.
BOLOGNA—Biblioteca dell' Archiginnasio.
——— Archiepiscopal Library.
——— University Library.
——— Malvezzi Library.
BROLIO DEL CHIANTI (Tuscany) Ricasoli Archives.

COLORNO—Private Ducal Archives.
COLOGNE—Archdiocesan Archives.
—— Municipal Archives.

DRESDEN—Catholic Parish Archives.
DÜSSELDORF—State Archives.
—— Landes-Archiv.

FLORENCE—State Archives.
——— Biblioteca Laurenziana.
FORLÌ—Biblioteca Comunale.
FRASCATI—Seminary Library.
FREIBURG (im Breisgau)—Archdiocesan Archives.
FRIBOURG (Switzerland)—Episcopal Archives.

GENOA—State Archives.
GLATZ—Gymnasial-Archiv.

INNSBRUCK—Pastor Library.
——— State Library.

KARLSRUHE—General-Landes-Archiv.

LONDON—British Museum.
LUCERNE—State Archives.

MADRID—Arch. General Central. (Alcalá de Henares.)
——— Arch. Prov. Toledo.
——— Bibl. S. Isidro.
MAINZ—Cathedral Archives.
——— Municipal Archives.
——— Municipal Library.
MODENA—Bibl. Estense.
MOSCOW—Archives de la Mission de Varsovie.
——— State Archives.
MUNICH—State Archives.
——— State Library.

NAPLES—Boncompagni Archives.
——— State Archives.
——— National Library.

OSNABRÜCK—State Archives.

PADUA—Archives of the Curia.
——— Chapter Archives.
PARIS—Foreign Affairs Archives.
——— Archives Nationales.
——— Bibl. Nationale.
PARMA—State Archives.
——— Private Archives of the Duke of Parma.
PIACENZA—Collegio S. Lazaro.

PLESS—Archives of Prince Metternich.

ROME—

Archives :

Apostolic Nunciature to Munich.
Austrian Historical Institute.
Boncompagni.
Briefs, Archives of.
Civiltà Cattolica.
Congr. Cerimoniale pontificia.
Costaguti.
Galician Province S.J.
German Province S.J.
Papal Secret Archives.
Propaganda.
Prosperi.
S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
S. Pietro.
SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.
Spanish Embassy.
State.

Libraries :

Angelica.
Casanatense.
Corsini.
Corvisieri.
Luzietti.
Ricci.
Torricelli.
Vallicelliana.
Vatican.
Vittorio Emanuele.

ST. PETERSBURG—State Archives.
——— State Library.
SALZBURG—Provincial Government Archives.
SIMANCAS—Archives.
SION (Sitten)—State Archives.
SOLOTHURN—State Archives.
SPEYER—Cathedral Chapter Archives.
SPOLETO—Campello Archives.
SUBIACO—Archives of St. Scholastica.

TRENT—Library of the Episcopal Seminary.
TURIN—State Archives.

URBINO—Archiepiscopal Archives.

VENICE—State Archives.
VIENNA—Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.
——— State Archives.
——— Archives of the Ministry of Education.

COMPLETE TITLES OF BOOKS QUOTED IN VOLUMES XXXV.–XL.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXV.

Benedict XIV. 1740–1758.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF THE YEAR 1740—CAREER AND PERSONALITY OF BENEDICT XIV.—THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE, VALENTI GONZAGA—THE CHURCH'S PEACE POLICY—THE CONCORDATS WITH SAVOY, NAPLES, AND SPAIN.

A.D.		PAGE
1740	Diplomatic preparations for the Conclave	1
	The varying numbers of the members. Coscia	4
	The parties in the Conclave	5
	"*Papabili*"	9
	Ruffo's popularity	10
	Local preparations	11
	Fruitless activity	12
	Aldrovandi's candidature	17
	Election of Cardinal Lambertini—Benedict XIV.	19
	The antecedents of Prospero Lambertini	23
	His career	24
	His personality	27
	As Archbishop	29
	Opinions of the Pope's character	33
	His outward appearance	34
	Daily habits	36
	Jests	39
	Freedom from nepotism	41
	Distribution of offices: Valenti Secretary of State	42
1756	Archinto Secretary of State	46
1741	Concordats with Savoy and	47
	Naples	51
	Dissatisfaction, disputes, and settlement	54
1753	Concordat with Spain	57
	Difficult negotiations	60
	The confessors Le Fèvre and	63
	Rábago	66
	The Pope's displeasure with Spain	67
	A fresh understanding reached	68

CHAPTER II.

BENEDICT XIV. AND THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION—HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ELECTIONS OF THE EMPERORS CHARLES VII. AND FRANCIS I.—THE PEACE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

A.D.		PAGE
	Attitude of the Curia towards the Imperial election	76
	Benedict XIV. and Frederick II.	79
1741	The Legate Doria at Frankfort	80
	His support of Charles Albert	84
1742	Charles Albert's election	86
	The States of the Church in the turmoil of war	87
	Rome and the Imperial election	89
	The Pope's neutrality	91
	Tension between Austria and Rome	93
	Charles VII.'s election a disappointment for the Pope	95
	Secularization schemes	97
	The Pope's distress	98
1744	Lobkowitz threatens Naples	104
	The Austrian retreat	108
	Charles III.'s entry into Rome	108
1745	Ravaging of the Papal States	111
	Death of Charles VII.	112
	Saxony and the Imperial Crown	113
	Neutrality of the Holy See	114
	Stoppani at the Diet of Frankfort	115
	Election of Francis I.	118
	Benedict XIV.'s attitude towards the election	119
	Relations between Rome and Vienna	121
	The main obstacles to an agreement	122
1747	Agreement reached	124
	Benedict XIV. and the Elector of Mayence	125
	Parma and Piacenza	126
	Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle	127
	Jacquet at Aix	128
	Papal aims frustrated	129
	Jacquet and the proposed Papal protest	133
1748	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	135
	St.-Séverin's tactics	136
	The Papal protest	137
	The Pope's satisfaction with the Peace of Aix	139

CHAPTER III.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART AND LEARNING.

	Benedict XIV.'s efforts to restore the finances	141
1743	New demarcation of the Rioni. Nolli's plan of Rome	145

A.D.		PAGE
1746	Reconstitution of the aristocracy	146
	The theatre	147
	The carnival. Ghezzi's caricatures	148
	Vasi's engravings	149
	Piranesi's engravings	150
	Benedict XIV.'s philanthropy and	151
	Economic decrees	152
	Harbour construction and coastal protection	153
	The Pope's generosity towards Bologna	156
	Restoration of S. Maria Maggiore	157
	Of Santa Croce	161
	Of Santa Maria degli Angeli and St. Peter's	163
1743	Completion of the Fontana Trevi	166
1745	Porcelain collection in the Quirinal	168
	Care of ancient monuments	169
	Benedict XIV. and the Colosseum	171
	The Capitoline Museum	173
	As a centre of modern art	178
	The awarding of prizes for art-students	181
	The Roman academies	183
	Encouragement of Church history	185
	Roman places of learning	188
	Encouragement of the profane sciences	189
	Benedict's patronage of the University of Bologna	192
	Its library	193
	Briefs to Cornaro and the Bollandists	195
	Benedict XIV. and Muratori	196
	The question of interest and usury. Maffei	200
	Concina	202
	Benedict's relations with other scholars	203
1745	Voltaire's *Mahomet*	205
	Maupertuis and Algarotti	209
	Genovesi and Bandel	210
	Amort and Cardinal Quirini	211
1755	Quirini's successor, Passionei	218
	The Museum of Christian Antiquities	219
	Benedict XIV.'s interest in the Vaticana	222
	Its catalogue	225

CHAPTER IV.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE AND HOLLAND.

Benedict's approval of the French Bishops' attitude	226
The Jubilee Bull and the Jansenists	227
Benedict reluctant to take extreme measures	230
Jansenism and the religious Orders	231
Noris	232
Berti	233
The Dominican Viou	235

A.D. PAGE

The Jesuit Pichon 236
Archbishop Beaumont's uncompromising attitude . 238
1747 His conflict with the Parliament 239
1749 The case of Charles Coffin 240
1751 The Moisan case 242
1752 The Lemère case . . . . . .
Parliamentary decree on the refusal of the Sacraments 245
Confusion in Paris 246
Weakness of the Government 247
Further trouble : the nuns of St. Agatha . . . 249
1753 Parliament banished 251
1754 The king gives way 255
Further encroachments of the Parliament . . 256
1755 Disagreement among the Bishops 259
Parliament's dispute with the Sorbonne . . . 260
A Papal decision sought 261
The Pope's previous reluctance to intervene . . 262
Choiseul's embassy to Rome 265
The opinions of the Cardinals 267
1756 The king's objections 274
Draft of an Encyclical on the refusal of the Sacraments 275
Its reception in Paris 276
Beaumont's pastoral letter against the misguided love of peace 277
Archinto's disapproval 278
The Pope's illness 279
The Papal Encyclical 280
1760 Its acceptance by the clerical assembly of 1760 . 281
Its prohibition by the Parliament 282
1756 The royal manifesto 283
1757 Damiens' attempt on the king's life ; compromise with the Parliament ; the situation of the clergy . . 285
Cardinal Bernis 287
The Jansenist hierarchy in Holland 288
The ex-Capuchin Norbert in Holland 289
He wins Broedersen as an ally 290
1748 Nicolini's report on the Catholics of the Netherlands 292

CHAPTER V.

BENEDICT XIV.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—HIS LEGISLATION—THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS—THE JUBILEE YEAR OF 1750—THE APPOINTMENT OF CARDINALS—THE INDEX—THE BEGINNING OF THE UNDERMINING OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

The Pope's desire to raise the standard of the clergy 294
His legislative activity 297

A.D.		PAGE
	His services to the liturgy	301
	The Pope and the religious Orders	302
	The Pope and the Jesuits	307
	New religious Orders	311
	Canonizations	312
	Beatifications	316
	Maria of Ágreda	317
	Benedict's devotion to the Mother of God	318
	The veneration of the Saints	319
	Beatification of Bellarmine and	320
	Palafox	322
	Diminution of feast days	323
	Preparation for the Jubilee	325
1749	Encyclical and announcement	327
1750	The Jubilee Year	330
	Its extension till 1751	332
1743	Appointment of Cardinals	333
	Dissatisfaction of the Powers	337
1747	The promotion of April 10th	339
	The Cardinal of York	340
1753	The promotions of November 26th	342
1754	April 22nd	344
1756	April 5th	345
	Reorganization of the censorship	347
	Previous complaints against it	348
	The "Jansenist Library"	350
	Condemnation of Pichon and	353
	Stadler	354
1753	The Constitution on the Index, of July 9th	356
	Berruyer	359
	Muratori and Zaccaria	362
	Noris and his doctrine of grace	363
1747	Put on the Spanish Index	364
1758	Removal therefrom	369
	Encyclopedism and the Index	370
	Freemasonry	371
	Undermining of the Society of Jesus. The hatred of the Jansenists	375
	Amort and Bassi	377
	Benedict XIV. and the Jesuits; the reasons for their unpopularity	379
	The anti-Jesuit party in Rome	381
	Cardinal Passionei and	382
	The Jansenists	384
	The Augustinian General Vasquez	387
	The final aim of anti-Jesuitism	388
	The plan for the suppression of the Jesuits	390
	Literary campaign against the Society	391

CHAPTER VI.

BENEDICT XIV. AND THE MISSIONS.

A.D.		PAGE
1741	Congregation for the missionary colleges	392
	The Pope's interest in them	395
	Abyssinia, the Maronites	396
	Anna Agemi	398
	Cyril Tanas	400
	The Armenians	401
	Copts and Chaldæans	404
	Palestine	403
	The Greek Archipelago	406
	The Slavs in Eastern Europe	408
	The missions in South America	410
	Paraguay	414
1750	Boundary Treaty between Spain and Portugal, accusations against the Jesuits	417
	The ruin of the mission in Maranhão	421
1755	The law against the enslavement of the Indians	425
	Chile, California, and Mexico	426
	North America, Africa	427
	Asia: Persia	428
	Georgia, Tibet, and neighbouring countries	429
	Farther India	430
	S. Asia and the rise of the Protestant maritime Powers	432
	The situation in China; Mezzabarba's concessions	433
	The Jesuits attacked and defended	436
	Pedrini	437
	The Jesuits charged with disobedience	438
	Benedict XIV.'s attitude	443
	Benedict XIV. and John V. of Portugal	444
	The Jesuit General Retz	446
1742	Benedict's final decision on the ritual dispute	448
	His defence of it in a letter to John V.	449
	The reception of the Constitution	450
	Varying opinions on its implications	454
1744	Souza's objection	455
	The Pope's reply	456
	The effects of his decision	457
	The Chinese under the persecution	458
	The Malabar rites	461
	The Bull on these rites	463
	The Capuchin Norbert	369
	The Pope's opinion of him	473
	His eclipse	474

APPENDIX OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

		PAGE
1.	Pope Benedict XIV. to King John of Portugal . .	479
2.	Pope Benedict XIV. to Queen Elizabeth of Spain .	480
3.	Pope Benedict XIV. to Emperor Charles VII. . .	482
4.	Pope Benedict XIV. to King John of Portugal . .	484
5.	The Correspondence between Voltaire and Pope Benedict XIV.	486
6.	Documents relating to the Malabar rites . . .	490

BENEDICT XIV. A.D. 1740–1758.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF THE YEAR 1740—CAREER AND PERSONALITY OF BENEDICT XIV.—THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE, VALENTI GONZAGA—THE CHURCH'S PEACE POLICY—THE CONCORDATS WITH SAVOY, NAPLES, AND SPAIN.

(1)

THE conclave that followed the death of Clement XII. lasted more than six months and was thus not only the longest of the century but the longest of any that had taken place since the Great Schism.[1] On account of the continuous ill-health of the late Pope diplomatic activity had begun betimes. On

[1] A detailed treatment of the conclave based on the French material in the Archives for Foreign Affairs in Paris is to be found in GABR. DE MUN, *Un conclave de six mois au milieu du XVIIIe siècle et son résultat imprévu*, in the *Revue des deux mondes*, XXIV., Paris, 1914, 490–530. Chapter 4, " Le conclave de Benoît XIV.," of BOUTRY's *Intrigues et missions du card. de Tencin*, 166 *seq.*, is only a slightly expanded version of his treatise in the *Revue d'hist. dipl.*, XI. (1897), 263 *seq.*, 387 *seq.* Of the Austrian material some has been published [ROTHMANNER] on the basis of the Cod. lat. 11063 in the State Library, Munich ; most of the remainder is in the State Archives, Vienna. The Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican contain the Austrian and Venetian ambassadorial reports : Cod. 260 " *Atti della ambasc. straordin. d. principe d. Santa Croce ", March 5–October 8, 1740, and Cod. 261 " *Conclave sotto l'e. ambasc. Cav. Foscarini " fos. 1–93, distinctly informative. Count Thun did not make over his correspondence to these archives. The most important Spanish reports are in the Archives of Simancas ; in addition, reference should be made to Legs. 189, 303 in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. A number of other reports on the conclave are listed in

the Austrian side [1] there are memorials extant concerning the eligible Cardinals which were written as early as 1732 and 1737, and on the Spanish side there is one of January 1739.[2] By October 1739, when the Pope's death seemed imminent, the negotiations of the interested Powers had begun in earnest ; instructions were sent to Rome,[3] and the Emperor

EISLER 145. A contemporary print is in the *Acta historico-ecclesiastica*, IV., Weimar, 1740, Part 24, pp. 1040 *seq.* : " Was bey der Sedisvakanz und im Conclave vorgegangen." The following sources have also been drawn on : " *Conclave doppo la morte del Pont. Clemente XII.," a description arranged in weeks, with inserted texts, Cod. ital. 323 in the State Library, Munich, also " Conclave in cui fu eletto papa il s.c.Pr. Lambertini da Bologna, detto poi Benedetto XIV.", reprinted from a MS. in the Library of Count Malvezzi de' Medici, Bologna, in FR. X. KRAUS, *Briefe Benedikts XIV.*, 151–173. This is Otto Hartwig's chief authority for his article in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, XLVI. (1886), 243–258. *Cf.* also a *Report on the conclave in Cod. 38 G. 20, fos. 249–381 in the Biblioteca Corsini, Rome (with an autograph marginal note by Cardinal Corsini, fo. 361) and " *Narrativa da cui si rileva quanto possono i mezzi umani in promosso al pontificato il Lambertini oggi Benedetto XIV.", in Cod. T. VIII., fo. 260 *seq.*, Fondo Gesuit. of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. An article by J. MARANGONI on the conclave for the Papal election of 1740 is in *Analecta eccles.* VI. (1898) 77 *seq.*

[1] " *Discorso e riflessioni intorno al sistema delle cose d'Italia fino al tutto Marzo 1732 coll'analisi della corte di Roma e sopra tutto ciò che riguarda il futuro conclave," Cod. ital. 58 in the State Archives, Munich, and in a MS. in the Episcopal Seminary, Trent. Also a memorandum of Cardinal Giudice, March 30, 1737, in [ROTHMANNER] 23–27.

[2] *Cardinal Acquaviva to Quadra on January 22, 1739, Archives of Simancas. The report was made in obedience to a royal command given on December 29, 1738.

[3] Thus the Imperial instructions to Giudice and the Minister Count Harrach, dated October 30, 1739 (in [ROTHMANNER] 6–30). On the latter's death at the end of the year Count Thun, Bishop of Gurk, was nominated Imperial Pro-Minister (Charles VI. to Count Thun on December 28, 1739, *ibid.*, 49). On February 17,

appointed Count Thun, Bishop of Gurk, as envoy extraordinary.[1] These feverish preparations, which increased rather than diminished the uncertainty of the situation, were thought to betoken an abnormally long conclave,[2] and naturally enough, the lengthy vacancy of the Holy See gave rise to a large number of satirical compositions.[3]

Shortly before the death of Clement XII., which took place on February 6th, 1740, the prescriptive number of the members of the Sacred College had been reduced to sixty-eight by the deaths of Cardinals Davia and Borromei on January 11th and

1740, Santa Croce was deputed as the new ambassador extraordinary (Imperial letter of recommendation to the College, *ibid.*, 69 *seq.*). He was responsible for the report " *Fogli che danno il vero lume del potere e considerabile autorità della Corte Romana ", from the Archives of Prince Santa Croce, now in the Archives of the Austrian Historical Institute, Rome. This was preceded by another report on the situation : " *Stato presente dell'Italia e della corte di Roma da presentarsi a S.M.C. nel principio dell'anno 1740, e trasmesso al marchese de Rialpi nel 1739," in the State Archives, Vienna, t. 46, and a MS. from the Santa Croce Archives, since 1910 in the possession of L. von Pastor. To the importance of these relations the following reference is made, *ibid.*, 9 : " la necessità che sopra tutti li altri ha la corte di Vienna di aver l'amicizia de' sommi pontefici, massime nelle congiunture presenti."

[1] Rescript of October 28, 1739 in [ROTHMANNER], 5 *seq.*

[2] *Acquaviva to Quadra on March 10, 1740, Archives of Simancas ; *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, State Library, Munich, 1st week : " they are behaving as though the conclave were going to last ten years " ; BROSSES, *Lettres*, II., 323, 340. Morosini had foretold what would happen in a report made as early as 1730 : " il nuovo conclave, per l'età e per le indispositioni del papa non può essere probabilmente lontano, sarà tanto imbarrazato, quanto il decorso " (from the State Archives, Venice, printed in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3rd series, VII.).

[3] " *Componimenti poetici usciti in sede vacante di Clemente XII. l'anno 1740," Cod. Ottob. 2814, Vatican Library ; " *Satire sopra Clemente XII. e sede vacante 1740," British Museum, 10835 ; other satires in *MS. Diez 51 in the State Library, Berlin, and in *Cod. Vat. 9373, Vatican Library.

22nd. Nearly half this number, thirty in all, had been raised to the purple during the pontificate which had just expired; nineteen had been created by Benedict XIII.; one had survived from the time of Innocent XIII.; sixteen had been created by Clement XI.; and the remaining two by Alexander VIII.[1] On the first day of the conclave (February 19th) only thirty-two were present,[2] most of the others arriving in the course of March and April. Altogether fifty-six members of the supreme council of the Church took part in the electoral proceedings,[3] though on the decisive day only fifty-one were present, death or illness having accounted for the absence of the five others.[4]

For the past seven years Cardinal Coscia had been undergoing confinement in the Castle of S. Angelo. Clement XII. had acknowledged his eligibility for the Papal office,[5] and Coscia now addressed an urgent protest to the Sacred College, repeatedly affirming his innocence and producing exhaustive evidence to prove the invalidity of any electoral action that might be taken without his participation as an active elector.[6] His appeal was successful. On the evening before the first scrutiny the secretary to the conclave, Livizzani, conveyed to

[1] A list of the Cardinals in the conclave in KRAUS, 171–3; BROSSES, *Lettres*, 317–322; *Acta hist.-eccl.*, 1040 *seqq.*; [ROTHMANNER], xxx *seq.*

[2] Scrutiny list in the *report of Count Thun to the Emperor, February 19, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The following Cardinals did not take part: Fleury, Gesvres, Polignac (France), the Infante and Molina (Spain), Da Cunha, Motta, Almeida (Portugal), Schönborn (Germany), Lipski (Poland); also, on account of illness, Pieri and Odescalchi (Italy). MUN (497, n. 1) erroneously includes L. Altieri among the permanently absent and omits Pieri and Almeida.

[4] Ottoboni died on February 28, G. B. Altieri on March 12, Porzia on June 10, Cenci on June 24; L. Altieri left the conclave on account of illness.

[5]* Count Thun to the Emperor, February 13, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] February 6, 1740, " *Protestatio card. Nic. Coscia in arce s. Angeli detenti anni 1740 pro libertate ferendi suffragium in

him the favourable decision of the Cardinals, and after midnight the ex-Secretary of State, escorted by the camerlengo Annibale Albani, entered the conclave.[1] At the same time the remainder of his sentence was remitted.

At first the party groupings in the electoral college presented their usual picture ; but what was novel and peculiar to this conclave was that the numerous factions formed themselves into two large unions of almost equal voting strength, which, with only minor readjustments, counterbalanced each other throughout.[2] The opposition between them was twofold : that of the Crowns on the one hand and that of the "creatures" on the other.

A year previously Cardinal Fleury had proposed to the Imperial Government in Vienna that they should work together in the coming conclave.[3] The negotiations produced provisional lists of candidates favoured by both sides,[4] but in spite of this, Cardinal Tencin, who appropriated to himself the conduct of French affairs in Rome,[5] excluded the Germans

comitiis futuri pontificis apost. sede vacante," in F 39, Boncompagni Archives, Rome ; a German translation in *Acta hist.-eccl.*, 1045–1050. *Cf. Conclave* in KRAUS, 153.

[1] *Count Thun to the Emperor, February 20, 1740, *loc. cit.* Foscarini's *report of February 20, 1740, Cod. 261 in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] This development could have been foreseen at any time during the pontificate of Clement XII. Thus Morosini in his report (*loc. cit.*) : "durando il sacro collegio in due partiti diviso." *Cf. Conclave* in KRAUS, 156 : "restava diviso il conclave non in fazioni, ma in due unioni" ; *Acquaviva to Quadra, March 17, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[3] If all its subjects and nationals had held together, the Imperial party could have counted on 18 votes, which number would have sufficed for an exclusion, but would not, of course, have decided the issue. See Santa Croce, **Fogli*, Archives of the Austrian Historical Institute, Rome.

[4] Thus, in particular, the Emperor to Count Harrach, October 30, 1739, in [ROTHMANNER], 6–23 ; *cf. ibid.*, 30, 37–42, 51–3.

[5] For his rivalry with St-Aignan, see BOUTRY, 153–165, 172–6, 185–8, 193 *seq.*

from the preliminary discussions.[1] As, however, at the beginning of the conclave, instructions came from Paris demanding a closer understanding with Austria,[2] relations improved as time went on,[3] though Cardinal Giudice, the leader of the Imperial party, found occasion to complain of Tencin's insincerity.[4] Contrary to his instructions from Vienna, he went so far as to disassociate himself from the union with the French and even threatened to form a separate group in the electoral college.[5]

The tension between Austria and Spain, on the other hand, was insuperable from the very beginning;[6] which circumstance led to curious adjustments. For although instructions from the Government at Madrid to the Spanish Crown Cardinal Acquaviva advised co-operation with France,[7] and the two Courts were in the closest possible union, an ever-increasing estrangement developed between the parties in the

[1] Charles VI. to Count Thun, February 7, 1740, in [ROTHMANNER], 56.

[2] *Count Thun to the Emperor, February 20, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Acquaviva to Quadra, April 7, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cardinal Giudice to the Emperor, March 5, and to Sinzendorf and Metsch, March 12, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Corsini's *note to S. Croce, March 23, 1740 (supplement to S. Croce's letter to the Emperor of March 25, 1740): "Io ho risposto che diceva bene, ma ch'erano cose da discorrersi dopo quattro mesi di conclave." *Ibid.*

[6] The points of dissension between Austria and Spain and the alterations in the situation consequent on the change of ownership in Tuscany are discussed quite fully by Santa Croce in his relation, **Fogli*, Archives of the Austrian Historical Institute, Rome. *Cf.* Foscarini's *second report of February 20, 1740, Cod. 261 of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[7] *Acquaviva's final report of August 25, 1740, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Merenda's *relation, fo. 10, in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. The French instructions also advised collaboration with Acquaviva; see HEECKEREN, I., ix.

conclave, to the advantage of the Franco-Austrian union.[1] Spain, in consequence, allied itself all the more closely with Naples and Tuscany, and the Austro-French party was faced by a Spanish one.

In addition to this, two more opposing bodies were formed within the college of Cardinals. The *nepote* Neri Corsini, whose personal qualities were seldom the subject of praise,[2] took it upon himself to form a dominant elective *bloc* composed of all the "creatures" of Clement XII. The plan met with only partial success,[3] and Corsini's efforts produced an opponent in the person of Annibale Albani, whose experience of former conclaves and undisputed diplomatic ability now stood him in good stead. Firstly[4] as head of the "Zelanti",[5] and then by winning over the Cardinals appointed by his uncle, Clement XI., together with many of those of the time of Benedict XIII., he succeeded in setting up in opposition to Corsini's "young" Cardinals a comprehensive union of "old" ones. Subsequent negotiations for a union with France and Spain did not attain so speedy a success.[6] On the other hand, his old hostility towards his brother, Cardinal

[1] *Acquaviva's reports to Quadra of April 14 and 21, and May 26, 1740, *loc. cit.* This came as a complete surprise to the Germans; *v.* *Santa Croce to the emperor, April 30, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 317 *seq.*

[3] **Stato presente*, in the ownership of L. von Pastor.

[4] See *ibid.*; Mocenigo in his report of November 11, 1737: "il più formidabile conclavista dei nostri tempi . . ., sopra tutto profondissimo conoscitore delle più secrete maniere di questa corte ed artefice maraviglioso di qualsivoglia lavoro di spirito che possa appartenere al conclave." (Venezia, 1864.) *Cf.* Foscarini's *second report of February 20, 1740, Cod. 261, *loc. cit.*; Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 319.

[5] Foscarini's *report of February 20, 1740, *ibid.* In his relation of November 11, 1737, Mocenigo calls the "Zelanti" "quei cardinali che sotto colore di zelo per l'onore di santa Chiesa cercano con tutti i mezzi d'abbattere il partito Corsini" (*loc. cit.*).

[6] **Stato presente, loc. cit.* His efforts failed entirely with the French, but only at first with the Spaniards.

Alessandro Albani, was quickly forgotten by both parties,[1] and with Alessandro the faction of Savoy was also won.

A fusion between the greater political and curial groups was brought about by France's siding with Corsini. The Imperial Government was anxious at first to avoid an open breach with the influential camerlengo Albani [2]; Giudice, in fact, openly supported his party,[3] but, as time went on, the "young" Cardinals formed a common front with the French and German Cardinals.[4] Consequently, Acquaviva, with his adherents, contrary to instructions from his Government, which favoured Corsini, was forced into Albani's camp.[5]

[1] "*In oggi è certissimo, che questa inimicizia nel fondo è tutta dimersa, rimanendone unicamente una certa apparenza e questo farà sempre sospettare dell'uno e dell' altro." **Stato presente*, fo. 43, *loc. cit.*

[2] Even as late as June 6 the Emperor, when writing to Liechtenstein, sought to clear Giudice of the suspicion of having supported Albani and demanded the union of the Germans and the French with Corsini so as to form a front against Albani and Acquaviva (in [ROTHMANNER] 141). His instructions to Giudice were in the same vein (*ibid.*, 138). But that the relations between the two powers were still strained on several points is shown by their dispute about the title of honour, "filius primogenitus" (fils aîné de l'Église) which was used also by France on the occasion of an audience to ambassadors (*v. ibid.*, 129 *seq.*, 133); also *Cardinal Giudice to the Emperor on April 24 and *Cardinal Kollonitsch to the same on April 30, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The Emperor condemned this severely in his letters to Giudice, Count Thun, and Santa Croce, of March 19, 1740 (in [ROTHMANNER], 96–109), and again when writing to Giudice on March 25, 1740 (*ibid.*, 119). His instruction of October 30, 1739, however, had demanded that good relations should be preserved with Albani and the "Zelanti" and that Corsini should be treated with a certain suspicion (*ibid.*, 19 *seq.*).

[4] *Count Thun to the Emperor, May 7, 1740 (*ibid.*). See also above (p. 7) and PETRUCELLI, IV., 21.

[5] France in consequence held him responsible for everything; see the *relation by Merenda, fo. 10. Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. *Cf.* also *Santa Croce to the Emperor on July 2, 1740, State

Naturally, in the course of these long preliminaries the prospects of a large number of " papabili " were the subject of discussion, and descriptions of their characters were in considerable demand by the various Courts.[1] In some quarters, moreover, views were expressed as to the considerations which ought to prevail in the coming election.[2]

Much-discussed candidates such as Aldrovandi, Corradini, Gotti, and Zondadari, had both friends and enemies among the political Powers. Lambertini [3] and Firrao [4] were widely reputed on account of their past experience. Lercari was

Archives, Vienna, and Acquaviva's *final report on August 25, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[1] For Spain : Acquaviva's *report to Quadra on January 22, 1739, *ibid.* ; for Austria : **Discorso e riflessioni*, Library of the Episcopal Seminary, Trent, and Cod. ital., 58, State Library, Munich ; **Stato presente*, in the ownership of L. von Pastor ; Santa Croce, **Fogli*, Archives of the Austrian Historical Institute, Rome ; *anonymous memorandum from the conclave, t. 46 of the State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 317–322.

[2] E.g. " *Discorso dell'ambasciatore dello Stato ecclesiastico per la sede vacante di Clemente XII., fatto partitamente in otto distinte udienze a lui date dal sagro collegio ", cod. ital., 26, State Library, Munich. This demanded for the future Pope the " capacità e fermezza " of Sixtus V., the " carità e amor paterno " of Innocent XII., and the " magnanimità e il gran cuore " of Clement XII., and " che regga sul trono " like St. Peter. The economic decadence of the Pontifical State was described, the ruinous Colosseum being selected as " un imaggine viva dello stato ecclesiastico ".

[3] " *Per verità uno de' più plausibili, per l'abilità, per la pratica degl'interessi de' principi e della sede apost., per la sua gran dottrina unita ad un somma quadratura di testa, non attaccato ad alcun principe fuori di qualche prevenzione per il Re di Sardegna, nè in disgusto con alcun di essi." *Stato presente*, fo. 53, *seq.*, *loc. cit.* Fo. 39 (*ibid.*) and **Discorso e riflessioni*, *loc. cit.*, are similarly laudatory.

[4] " *Ha molta esperienza delle cose publiche e tratta qualunque affare con molta distrezza essendo dotato di molto spirito e talento, ha la proprietà di tutti gli altri nunzi . . ." *Discorso e riflessioni*, *ibid.*

credited with a childish confidence in a brilliant personal future.[1] Undoubtedly the greatest measure of popularity was enjoyed by Ruffo, who was spoken of by everyone in Rome as the future Pope.[2] Albani could name no other of his adherents as having better prospects than he [3]; Spain had long since bestowed its favour on him [4]; and the Cardinals of Benedict XIII., the "Zelanti", and the French knew of nothing that told against him; only Corsini and the Emperor would have viewed his elevation with disfavour; Giudice, nevertheless, in spite of the Emperor's desire that he should be excluded, was bold enough to give him his support.[5] As it happened, however, things were to take an entirely different course.

Even before the opening of the conclave it was rumoured that Giudice, acting on Imperial instructions, intended to exclude all the Neapolitan Cardinals,[6] and it is true that

[1] "*Entra in conclave con una tal persuasione di riuscirne papa che niente più." *Stato presente*, fo. 39, *loc. cit.*

[2] Together with Aldrovandi he was looked on in Rome as "pater patriae"; see *Conclave* in KRAUS, 155.

[3] See especially **Stato presente*, *loc. cit.*, and **Discorso e riflessioni*, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Acquaviva to Quadra, January 22, 1739, Archives of Simancas. Acquaviva was here referring to previous instructions given to Bentivoglio, in which he was already regarded as a desirable candidate. The author of **Stato presente* even presumes that Acquaviva will propose him ("un esperimento reale"): "questo sia il più facile ad essere il nuovo papa." *loc. cit.*

[5] See the letters from the Emperor mentioned above (p. 8, n. 2).

[6] "*Giudice vorrebbe escludere e le creature Corsiniane e li nazionali Napolitani," in "Lettere del Fra Luigi M. Lucini, commiss. del s. Offic. di Roma, al card. Lambertini a Bologna", of February 13, 1740, in Cod. Ottob. 3052, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the Imperial dispatch to Count Thun of March 19, 1740, in [ROTHMANNER] 100. Cardinal Passionei was the first to address an official inquiry to Santa Croce, the answer being "*Io risposi francamente di nò" (Santa Croce to the Emperor, April 2, 1740, State Archives, Vienna).

these instructions from Vienna contained the order to prevent at all costs the election of Ruffo, Corradini, or Pico [1]; but an open exclusion was to be avoided by all possible means.[2] The Emperor accordingly directed that the rumour was to be emphatically denied, without directly paving the way to the Papacy for a Neapolitan.[3]

Several days were spent in performing the usual preliminary ceremonies in the Congregations.[4] On the morning of February 19th the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by Ottoboni, after which the customary address on the Papal election was given by the learned Maronite Assemani.[5] The Cardinals then

[1] Charles VI. to Count Thun, March 19, 1740, *loc. cit.* For the unheard-of proposal to exclude a whole nation, see Foscarini's *reports of March 12 and April 2, 1740, Cod. 261, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] See the Imperial instruction to Santa Croce of February 17, 1740: "decrevimus nulli publicam aut solemnem aut strepitantem exclusivam dare" (WAHRMUND, 324; [ROTHMANNER], 74); similarly on March 25 (ROTHMANNER, 111). "*Questa è la maniera di escludere senza azzardo e senza odiosità, mentre l'altra di presentare un'esclusiva d'autorità è soggetta a diversi incommodi e diversi pericoli." There follows a detailed exposition of the various disadvantages of an open exclusion. Santa Croce, *Fogli*, Archives of the Austrian Hist. Inst., Rome. See WAHRMUND, 227 *seq.*; EISLER, 185 *seq.* Consequently in this long conclave there was not a single formal announcement of an exclusion.

[3] Letter to Count Thun of March 19, 1740, *loc. cit.*, 100. As time went on it was possible to suppress the rumour, as *Cardinal Giudice informed the Emperor, Sinzendorf, and Metsch on June 22 (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] See NOVAES, XIV., 6 *seq.* Foscarini's *first report of February 20, 1740, Cod. 261, *loc. cit.*, refers to the audiences given to the various diplomatic representatives.

[5] "*Asseman Maronita o del monte Libano, uno de' piu famosi uomini del secolo per la vasta cognizione di tutte le lingue orientali, non così nella latina eloquenza" (Count Thun to the Chancellor Sinzendorf, April 9, 1740, State Archives, Vienna). The address was printed: "Oratio de eligendo summo pontifice

moved into the apartments set aside for them. Of these a contemporary gives us a graphic description,[1] in which it is interesting to note that the two parties were already differing in externals as well as in their views: "All the cells of the Cardinals created by Clement XII. are hung with violet serge, whereas those occupied by members of the "old College" are hung with green serge. . . . The apartment of the Infante, which remains unoccupied, is far more sumptuous than the others, with damask, pier-glasses, marble tables, and windows with panes of crystal." [2]

In the very first days of the conclave the two parties were formed,[3] and it was a bitter disappointment to each to discover that the opposing side was pretty much as strong as itself. This meant that each party would be able to exclude the opponents' candidate but would not be able to secure the election of its own.

Consequently in the second week attempts were made to throw bridges across to the enemy's camp. First, Rivera, a relative of Albani's, was proposed,[4] but objection was raised to him by most of the Crown Cardinals; then the former Uditore of the Camerlengo, Spinola, was proposed but he found little backing from the "old" Cardinals.[5]

More important were the tactics employed by Acquaviva in support of his candidate, Ruffo. The Imperialists especially

ad Em. et Rev. principes S.R.E. cardinales, habita in ss. Basilica Vaticana a Iosepho Simonio Assemanno, Romae ex typogr. apost. Vat. 1740."

[1] Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 325–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 327. This illicitly rich decoration of the Infante's cell is mentioned also by Count Thun in his *letter to the Emperor of February 20, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cardinal Acquaviva to Quadra, March 17, 1740, Archives of Simancas; *Foscarini's report of March 26, 1740, Cod. 261 of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[4] *Foscarini's report of March 5, 1740, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* and the same on April 9, 1740, *ibid.* Spinola had already 15 votes. See *Count Thun to the Emperor, April 9, 1740, *loc. cit.*

were approached,[1] and Giudice actually declared himself in favour of Ruffo.[2] It was not until the arrival of further messages from Vienna, insisting on Ruffo's rejection, that the French and German Cardinal Ministers issued a joint declaration against him,[3] this being the first sacrifice made by the Germans in the interests of the French alliance.

On the failure of these initial moves a pause ensued. Cardinal Ottoboni was removed from the conclave in a dying condition and expired a few days later.[4] His death was attributed to an encounter with Corsini, who was said to have inveighed against him in the most violent manner—an incident which Albani, Corsini's adversary, was not slow to exploit.[5] Meanwhile the electors awaited the arrival of the French Cardinals Rohan and De la Tour and the German Cardinals Kollonitsch and Sinzendorf, besides the Imperial envoy extraordinary, Scipione di Santa Croce,[6] almost all of

[1] Thus Ruffo himself assured the Imperial ambassador, " *ch' egli aveva il cuore austriaco " ; but being a Neapolitan and of a great age, he found no support. See Santa Croce's **Diario*, March 6, 1740, *ibid.*

[2] Corsini expressed his keen dissatisfaction with this, which was *reported by Santa Croce to the Emperor on March 26, 1740, *ibid.* On the receipt of the Imperial instruction of March 19 (in [ROTHMANNER], 96–109), however, Giudice gave way. See *Count Thun to the Emperor, April 2, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Count Thun to the Emperor, March 12, 1740, *ibid.*

[4] " Con molto rammarico del collegio vecchio " (*Conclave*, in KRAUS, 158). See also *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (2nd and 3rd weeks), State Library, Munich ; the *letter of Count Thun to the Emperor of March 5, 1740, State Archives, Vienna ; *Santa Croce's report of March 5, 1740, Atti d. ambasc. di Santa Croce, Cod., 260, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican ; *Foscarini's report of February 26, 1740, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* O. HARTWIG, *Deutsche Rundschau*, XLVI., 250 *seq.*

[5] MUN, 508 *seqq.*

[6] A full description of the audience given to Santa Croce by the Sacred College on March 23, 1740, in Santa Croce's *report of March 26, 1740, *loc. cit.*, also in MUN, 512 *seq.* A printed account of the audience was sent by Santa Croce to the Emperor

whom were expected to bring with them detailed instructions. Thus the month of March was spent in the occasional proposal of an isolated candidate and in fruitless attempts at agreement.[1] It was about this time that Giambattista Altieri succumbed to the paralytic stroke which he had had in the Sistina.[2]

At the beginning of April the discussions centred round Porzia. Partly because he had been proposed by Corsini, who hoped thereby to form a connexion with the Cardinals of Benedict XIII., and partly as the result of his own propaganda, whereby he made so bold as to censure the inertia of the College,[3] he succeeded on one occasion in securing thirty votes. Only one more vote was needed, and his election was prevented only by intrigues which nearly deprived Corsini and Tencin of the confidence of their adherents.[4]

A certain delay was caused by Holy Week and Eastertide ; and insignificant moves in favour of Gentili, Aldrovandi, and

with his *letter of April 2, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* Foscarini's *report of March 26, 1740, *loc. cit.* For the French envoy's audience, see " Narrazione della publica udienza data dagli em. e rev. s. card. in conclave la mattina della domenica 24 Aprile 1740 al Duca di Sant'Aignan . . . , Roma 1740 ".

[1] In Passionei's cell light conversation and various other ways of passing the time were continually indulged in ; thus on one occasion Acquaviva and Albani argued whether one ought to say " tredecim " or " tresdecim ", and a bet was taken on the question (*Santa Croce to the Emperor, March 12, 1740, *loc cit.*). On May 4 Cardinal Corsini *reported to the Imperial envoy, " La conversazione di Passionei è composta dei cardinali Camerlengo, Acquaviva, Lambertini, Aldrovandi e di altri del medesimo partito " (supplement to Santa Croce's *letter to the Emperor of May 7, 1740, *ibid.*).

[2] See *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (3rd week), State Library, Munich, also Count Thun's *letters to the Emperor of March 5 and 19, 1740, State Archives, Vienna, Santa Croce's *report of March 19, and Foscarini's *report of March 5, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[3] Mun, 516 ; Hartwig, *loc. cit.*, 251.

[4] See *Conclave* in Kraus, 160 ; Santa Croce's and Foscarini's *reports of April 9, 1740, *loc. cit.*

others were merely diversions.[1] Then one morning in the Sistina Porzia found a satirical pamphlet aimed at him.[2] He immediately flew into a passion, demanded, in spite of all the attempts made by Albani to calm him, a formal inquiry into the authorship and dissemination of the pamphlet, and left the scrutiny in a towering rage. He was already suffering from kidney disease, but when he died, on June 10th, he was generally spoken of as a victim to " Papal fever ".[3]

Meanwhile, a conversation which had an important bearing on further developments had taken place between the leaders Albani and Corsini. In this Albani declared roundly that all his adherents were " papabili ",[4] while Corsini narrowed his pretensions to more definite propositions: of the eldest Cardinals he named as desirable Massei and Cori, of the middle group D'Elce, Firrao, Cenci, and Aldrovandi, and of the young ones Gentili and Spinola.[5]

In May and June the endless conferences and proposals began again. Corsini canvassed for Cori,[6] who soon gave up of his own accord, then for Spinola, who was voted against by Acquaviva and others.[7] Next, Albani worked for Gotti,

[1] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (9th week), *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *reports of April 16 and May 7, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[2] On it was printed: " Sino a tanto che non si daranno delle bastonate a quel frate di Porzia, non usciremo noi da questa via." This is the text in *Conclave* in Kraus, 162, and is very similar in *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (11th week), *loc. cit.* It is also cited, though not word for word, in Cardinal Kollonitsch's *letter to the Emperor of April 25, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] " Rabbia papale "; see Brosses, *Lettres*, II., 393. *Cf.* Mun, 518; Hartwig, 251; Foscarini's *report of June 11, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[4] " *Egli rispose, que tutte le sue creature le stimava degne del papato." He and his party also insisted that if not one of the " old ones ", at least one of Benedict XIII.'s cardinals should be considered. Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (10th week), *loc. cit.*

[5] *V. ibid.*; also *Count Thun to the Emperor, April 23 and *Giudice to the Emperor, April 24, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[6] Foscarini's *report of May 14, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[7] The repeated attempts to win over Acquaviva were *reported

who also had to be sacrificed in the face of French threats.[1] The opposite side then supported D'Elce,[2] and after him Cenci, who had just been given the Last Sacraments.[3] On June 25th it was presumed that Firrao would be elected for certain, and the people and the workmen were only waiting for the conclave to close,[4] when again everything miscarried.

So the days and weeks went by. The heat of summer rendered living conditions in the conclave more and more uncomfortable[5] and yet the general feeling among the

by him to Quadra on April 7, 21, and 28, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[1] France's objection to him was reported by *Count Thun on May 6 to Sinzendorf and to the Emperor on May 18, 1740 (*loc. cit.*). But since a break with France on that account had to be avoided (see also the later instructions from Vienna, even that of June 6 in [ROTHMANNER], 138, 145, 147), *Cardinal Kollonitsch wrote in his own hand in a postscript to Sinzendorf on May 18, 1740: "Wir haben umb die union zu conserviren mit denen C. Tencin, Rohan, Corsini bis weiteren befelch den C. Gotti sacrificiren muessen, welcher darumb nicht proponirt worden" (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Santa Croce's *reports of May 14 and 21, 1740, and Foscarini's *report of May 21, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*Rappresentando qualmente questo signore [Elce] è un buon ecclesiastico al pari dell'em. Gotti" (Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (15th week), *loc. cit.*). For Gotti, *v. ibid.* (14th week). *Cf.* *Acquaviva to Quadra, May 19 and June 2, 1740, *loc. cit.*; *Cardinal Kollonitsch to the Emperor, May 28, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *reports of May 28 and June 4, 1740, *loc. cit.*, Cod., 261, in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] *Conclave*, in KRAUS, 164 *seqq.* After recovering for a while he died on June 24 through having caught a chill while watching the Corpus Christi procession from his cell. Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (19th week), *loc. cit.*; *Count Thun to the Emperor, June 25, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *reports of June 25 and July 2, 1740, *loc. cit.*; MUN, 521.

[4] Foscarini's *reports of June 18 and 25, 1740, *loc. cit.*; *Count Thun to the Emperor, *ibid.*; BOUTRY, 226. BROSSES (*Lettres*, II., 394 *seq.*) relates how the Cardinals had already congratulated him in his cell and were solemnly escorting him to the Sistina.

[5] *Count Thun to the Emperor, July 16, 1740, *loc. cit.* Further

Cardinals was that they would have to go on being patient and unyielding.[1] In the city public prayers for the speedy election of a Pope had been suspended, since, notwithstanding the plenary indulgence, the people had ceased to attend the services.[2] Among the satires that were broadcast was an engraving in which the conclave was represented by the Ark; a Cardinal was keeping the window closed, lest the dove with the olive branch might come in, and the drawing was accompanied by the words, "It is not yet time."[3]

Then happened what was previously thought to be an impossibility: the three political Powers agreed among themselves and with Corsini to favour a candidature of Aldrovandi's, which was enjoying strong support, especially from Acquaviva.[4] By July 3rd there were already thirty-one Cardinals voting in his favour, and within the next few days this number rose to thirty-three. According to the number of electors present, only one more vote was needed. At this critical juncture Albani, an out-and-out opponent of Aldro-

the numerous employees of the Curia and their families were suffering severe monetary losses through being out of work; *v. ibid.*

[1] "*Ora si sta nel conclave in un puro equilibrio di discorsi, non azzardandosi nessun capo di proporre, perchè essendo i partiti forti e da una parte e dall'altra ogn'uno teme d'avere in voti una aperta esclusiva." Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (16th week), State Library, Munich. *Cf.* BOUTRY, 220.

[2] *Acta hist.-eccl.*, IV., 1053.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Thus *Acquaviva to Quadra as early as July 21, 1740, Archives of Simancas. In the event of his election Valenti was to be Secretary of State and Lambertini Datarius; see *Acquaviva to Quadra on July 11, 1740, *ibid.* On this occasion, at any rate, he must have collaborated with the Germans in order to pass him through; see *Acquaviva's final report of August 25, 1740, *ibid.* *Cf.* Foscarini's *reports of July 9 and 16, 1740, and Santa Croce's *report of July 9, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

vandi's,[1] had recourse to a ruse by which, with the assistance of the Minorite Conventual Ravalli, the unsuspecting Aldrovandi was tricked into sending a letter to the Camerlengo in which he assured him of his loyal attachment to him.[2] By this means Albani hoped to expose him as a vote-stealer. Aldrovandi, however, maintained that he was innocent of any simoniacal intention,[3] and again obtained thirty-one votes. Day after day, for weeks, the situation remained unchanged, Albani's opposition party, with nearly always seventeen votes, consistently supporting the purely formal candidature of Corradini.[4] On July 31st, there still being no sign that the game would ever end, Aldrovandi made an announcement in writing, asking his supporters to cease their efforts on his behalf.[5]

In spite of this, Corsini refused to abandon Aldrovandi's cause, so that the first weeks of August brought no change,[6]

[1] *Santa Croce to the Emperor, April 6, 1740, State Archives Vienna.

[2] For the text, see *Conclave* in KRAUS, 167 *seq.*, and *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, fo. 85–8, *loc. cit. Ibid.*, fo. 93 *seq.* "*Dichiarazione del p.m. Ravalli intorno al biglietto scritto all'em. sig. card. Aldrovandi," which he made in the following week. *Cf.* Santa Croce's *report of July 9, 1740, *loc. cit.*; HARTWIG, 255.

[3] *Count Thun to the Emperor, August 6, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. He had actually been accused of simony; see *Ruele to the Emperor and to Metsch, July 9, 1740, *ibid.*

[4] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (22nd–24th weeks), *loc. cit.*; *Count Thun to the Emperor, July 23, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *reports of July 23 and 30, 1740, and Santa Croce's *reports of July 16, 23, and 30, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[5] "*Ringraziamento in scritto fatto dall'em. Aldrovandi al s. collegio li 31 Luglio" (Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, fo. 103 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*; translated in *Acta hist.-eccl.*, IV., 1054 *seqq.*). *Cf.* Foscarini's and Santa Croce's *reports of August 6, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cardinal Kollonitsch to the Emperor, August 6, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. Thus Petra, for example, was said to have been won over by a *'Biglietto dell'em. s.c. Quirino al s.c. Petra', in which reference was made to "la lunghezza del conclave, quale è al certo un castigo della collera divina". Archives of

only Carafa being won over.[1] It was hoped to obtain the two votes that were still necessary by asking the Emperor to send a pressing letter of recommendation to the *Capi d'ordine*.[2]

And then one fine day thirty-three votes were again cast for Aldrovandi. Albani saw a trap in this: it was evidently going to be left to him to turn the scale with his personal vote. He was mistaken, however, for at the evening scrutiny there were again only thirty-one votes for Aldrovandi. No further progress being made on the following day, Corsini finally dropped Aldrovandi after six weeks' striving on his behalf.[3]

It was now the middle of August, and as far as could be seen the electors might just as well have been at the beginning of their negotiations; but the end was astonishingly near. A triduum had just been celebrated on the feast of the Assumption for a speedy and desirable conclusion,[4] when, probably at the instigation of Cibo,[5] attention was centred on Lambertini. His name had already been proposed from time

the Austrian Embassy in Rome and *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, fo. 111 *seq.*, State Library, Munich.

[1] Through Acquaviva; see his *letter to Quadra of August 4, 1740, Archives of Simancas. These 32 votes were held for a long time; see Acquaviva's *letter of August 11, 1740, *ibid.*

[2] On August 6, 1740, Cardinal Acquaviva sent a lengthy *petition to the Emperor to this effect, setting out Aldrovandi's particular fitness in virtue of the assent given by all the Crowns and by so many Cardinals; Italian text in the Archives of Simancas. While Vienna was thinking of some way by which this request might be acceded to, the news came of Lambertini's election; see the Imperial communication to Count Thun of August 31, 1740, in [ROTHMANNER], 160.

[3] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (26th week), *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *reports of August 13 and 17, 1740, *loc. cit.*

[4] NOVAES, XIV., 8.

[5] Thus *Conclave* in KRAUS, 166, HEECKEREN, I., x, MUN, 525 *seq.*, HARTWIG, 253. *Cf.* Santa Croce's *report of August 23, 1740, *loc. cit.* MOURRET (VI., 425) speaks of a proposal by Acquaviva.

to time,[1] usually with an insignificantly small number of votes, but now all hopes of salvation were set on his candidature.[2] The Cardinal Ministers quickly agreed among themselves to give him their support,[3] and Albani promised not to form a party to oppose him, if only to avoid the election of Aldrovandi.[4] The Cardinals of Benedict XIII. agreed without ado, and several of Corsini's followers declared that they too were well-disposed.[5] Corsini himself still had his doubts, but they were dissipated after a time,[6] and within the space of a few

[1] Thus, for example, in Santa Croce's **Diario* under date March 6, 1740, *loc. cit.*; also in a talk between Acquaviva and Kollonitsch, see the *letter sent by Kollonitsch to Sinzendorf on April 2, 1740, *loc. cit.* By the beginning of July he was being spoken of more seriously; see *Count Thun to the Emperor on July 2, 1740, *ibid.* *Santa Croce describes him as being particularly capable and reputable on account of his canonistical and historical knowledge, his diplomatic ability, and his open-hearted love of justice: "ed il miglior ecclesiastico che possa desiderarsi" (*Fogli*, Archives of the Austrian Hist. Inst. in Rome). *Cf.* also above, p. 9, n. 3. Brosses states in his *Lettres* (II., 337, 402) that he thought more of Lambertini than of any other Cardinal and that he voted for him in a mock conclave held at a social gathering.

[2] Cordara's reminiscences (Döllinger, *Beiträge*, III., 8): Cardinales longa fatigati mora, cum hominem noscerent lingua illum quidem paulo solutiore, sed vita probum, magna integritate, moribus incorruptis, ad haec aequi bonique cultorem eximium, affabilem, popularem, tanta inprimis humani divinique iuris scientia, ut hac laude doctissimos quosque sui ordinis anteiret.

[3] According to Acquaviva's *report to Villarias of August 18, 1740 (Archives of Simancas), the three Cardinal Ministers and Corsini met together, at Cibo's suggestion, in Rohan's cell, where they came to an agreement. *Cf.* Foscarini's *report of August 20, 1740, Cod. 261, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; Boutry, 231.

[4] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323 (after the 26th week), State Library, Munich; *Conclave* in Kraus, 170.

[5] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, *loc. cit.*

[6] Foscarini's *report of August 20, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Mun, 526 *seq.*

hours the electors attained the unanimity for which they had been labouring in vain for half a year.[1]

Lambertini himself knew next to nothing of what was afoot. Later he was able to write [2] that he had not let slip a word to any living soul that might bring him to the Papacy; on the contrary, he had done all he could to avoid the honour. About two o'clock in the morning he was about to enter Acquaviva's cell in order to take tea there, as was his custom, when the latter urgently requested him to return to his own cell. Lambertini, however, declined to do so and when he was seated more and more Cardinals, from all parties, entered the cell and kissed his hand in homage.[3] At the same time notes were sent out into the city announcing his imminent election.[4]

Whereas in the scrutinies of the previous day not a single vote had been cast for Lambertini, in the next scrutiny—it was the morning of August 17th and the 255th scrutiny of the conclave—all fifty votes were given to him.[5] Departing from one of the traditions of the conclaves, the newly elected candidate gave his vote, not to the Cardinal Deacon, but to the candidate, Aldrovandi, who had been the centre of so much contention. He excused himself by saying that he had given it to him for forty-five days and that he would give it

[1] "*Compita la grand'opera in sei ore, quando non si era potuto adempire in sei mesi di ostinato contrasto e di un penosissimo carcere." Draft of a letter from Albani, probably to the Chancellor Sinzendorf, of August 20, 1740, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] To Tencin, March 1, 1743, in HEECKEREN, I., 36.

[3] Complete descriptions of the proceedings in: *Santa Croce to the Emperor, August 23, 1740, State Archives, Vienna; *Cardinal Acquaviva to Villarias, August 18, 1740, Archives of Simancas; Foscarini's *report of August 20, 1740, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* HARTWIG, 256.

[4] *Conclave, Cod. ital., 323, *loc. cit.*; *Conclave* in KRAUS, 171.

[5] A reproduction of this scrutiny list in LECTOR, 616 *seq.*

again to the one who had had to withdraw in his favour. In honour of the Pope to whom he owed his promotion, he took the name of Benedict XIV. Thus the great cleavage between the " creatures " of Clement XI. and Clement XII. was bridged by the election of one of the " middle " group.

The joyful news was announced to the waiting populace from the Loggia of St. Peter's by the First Cardinal Deacon, Marini.[2] Within as well as without the Sacred College great hopes were set on a pontificate which had begun after such difficulties.[3] The solemn coronation took place on August

[1] *Santa Croce to the Emperor, August 23, 1740, *loc. cit.*; Foscarini's *report of August 20, 1740, *loc. cit.*; BOUTRY, 237.

[2] " *Roma si trova in un pieno giubilo nella ferma fiducia de la somma capacità et intelligenza del nuovo pontefice." Cardinal Albani to Chancellor Sinzendorf, probably on August 20, 1740, draft in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; MUN, 528.

[3] " *Si sperava dal suo gran spirito e capacità un ottimo governo et il restoramento della s. sede assai pregiudicata particolarmente nell'economico." Cardinal Albani to Metsch, August 27, 1740, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. — *Satires on the election of Benedict XIV. in: Cod. Vatic. 9373, Vatican Library; Cod. XIV. F. 15, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; Cod. 10835, British Museum; *Sonetto, dated 6 Agosto 1740: " Che ha a fare il conclave per l'elezione di Bened. XIV. in dialetto Bolognese," Miscell. XIII., Bibl. Comunale, Forlì; RAVAGLI, *Due sonetti nell'elezione di Bened. XIV.*, in *Erudiz. e belle arti*, IV., 1–2; other poems in FRATI, *Opere di bibliografia*, Bologna, I. (1888), 172 *seq.* In a letter of March 1, 1743, the Pope himself expressed his opinion of the conclave in these terms: " Nous avons scandalisé l'Europe par une si longue durée, dont l'unique cause a été l'opiniâtreté du cardinal Corsini à vouloir pour pape une de ses créatures, afin d'avoir un chapeau à sa disposition " (HEECKEREN, I., 36). For the festivities in Bologna on the occasion of this election, see LONGHI, *Il Palazzo Vizani*, Bologna, 1902, and FR. CANTONI, *Lambertiniana*, Bologna, 1920, 12 *seq.* Here, among other sayings, is " Se volete un santo, fate Gotti, se un politico, Aldrovandi, se un buon uomo, scegliete me ". Similarly in HEECKEREN, I., x.

22nd. It was not possible to perform the customary ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran until April 30th of the following year, on which occasion the Papal blessing was given for the first time from the Loggia of Clement XII.[1]

(2)

Prospero Lambertini, born in Bologna on March 31st, 1675,[2] derived from a family, of Guelphic sentiments, mentioned as early as the tenth century, several members of which had distinguished themselves in military service, civil administration, and scholarship; it had also produced two *beatæ*: Imelda (d. 1333) and Giovanna, a pupil of St. Catherine Vigri of Bologna.[3] Once wealthy, the Lambertini had lost a large part of their estates through inundations of the Reno.[4] Marcello, Prospero's father, died at the age of forty-two, and his mother, Lucrezia Bulgarini, contracted a second marriage, with Count Luigi Bentivoglio. She provided Prospero[5] with

[1] NOVAES, XIV., 9; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 379 *seqq.* Thun *reports the ceremony thus on May 6, 1741: "S. Sta. non avendo mai in vita sua cavalcato se ne andò in lettica." Only ten cardinals looked on. State Archives, Vienna. Contemporary reports also in CANCELLIERI, 380, n. 1 and 2.

[2] The modest two-storied birth-house (with memorial tablet) in the Via delle Campane, No. 3016 (now Via Benedetto XIV., No. 6), reproduced in F. CANTONI, *Lambertiniana*, 15, now belongs to Senatore Nerio Malvezzi de' Medici.

[3] *Cf.* C. CONTUZZI, S.J., *De Benedicto XIV. Oratio*, Romae, 1741; P. I. DOLFI, *Cronologia delle famiglie nob. di Bologna*, Bologna, 1670; NOVAES, XIV., 3 *seq.*; REUMONT, *Kleine Schriften*, 453 *seqq.*; G. PIETRAMELLARA, *Elenco d. famiglie nobili Bolognesi*, Bari, 1895, 14 *seq.* "*De quibusdam illustr. viris Lambertinae gentis testimonia," Cod. 48, Bibl. dell'Università, Bologna. See also Thun's *report to Charles VI. of August 23, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. For the family crest, see PASINI FRASSONI, 46 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Thun's *report just mentioned.

[5] For what follows, see the two Latin "Lives" in KRAUS,

excellent teachers in the persons of Paolo Pasi and Sante Stancari, who knew how to direct their highly gifted pupil's vivacity along the right lines and to increase his zeal for learning. While other boys were playing, Prospero sat at his books. Later on, he attended the aristocratic Convitto Del Porto conducted by the Somaschi.[1] In 1688, at the age of thirteen, he was sent to Rome to continue his education at the Collegio Clementino, which was also managed by the Somaschi.[2] There he soon made such progress that he outstripped all his fellow-pupils. A speech made by him in 1691 brought his ability to the attention of Cardinal Benedetto Pamfili. The Cardinal recommended him to Innocent XII., who assigned to him a small benefice which brought him in a hundred gold scudi.

On leaving the Collegio Clementino in 1692, Lambertini devoted himself with both diligence and circumspection to the study of theology and of civil and canon law, concentrating more on historical exposition than on scholastic-speculative deduction. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Church Fathers, the decisions of the Councils, and the Papal Bulls, and derived great profit from his intercourse with the Dominican Tommaso Ferrari. In his leisure hours he read Dante, Tasso, and Ariosto, to enliven his style and imagination. In 1694 he obtained his doctorate in law and theology at the University of Rome.

In order to prepare himself in a practical manner for the career of advocate, Lambertini became an assistant to a countryman of his, Alessandro Caprara, the Auditor of the Rota. Here he more than proved his worth and was rewarded by a stream of clients coming from all quarters. Under

Briefe, 207 *seqq.*, 235 *seqq.* *Cf.* [Caracciolo], *Vita*, 23 *seqq.*, and the "Comment. de vita Benedicti XIV. auctore Ios. Silvestrio", printed as an appendix to the "Opera Benedicti XIV.", vol. XVII., P. 2, Prati, 1847.

[1] *Cf.* *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna*, 1921, 67.

[2] *Cf.* G. Donnino, *I convittori del Collegio Clementino*, Roma, 1898, 17.

Clement XI. he was advanced to higher posts: in 1701 he was appointed Consistorial Advocate, in 1708 *Promotor Fidei*. As holder of the latter office he carried through to a successful conclusion the canonization processes of Pius V. and Catherine Vigri of Bologna. To the exhaustive studies he made at this time, which were justly praised by his contemporaries,[1] and which he afterwards pursued with untiring energy, posterity is indebted for his celebrated work "On the Beatification and Canonization of the Servants of God".[2] "I could have turned to more pleasurable studies," he wrote to the Canon Regular Galli, "to which I was naturally prone by reason of my lively character, but I felt within me that I was called by religion itself to work for its glorification, and having the opportunity of occupying myself with the processes of beatification at an early stage of my career I did not find it difficult to devote myself to this theme. I undertook the work all the more gladly inasmuch as the procedure followed in canonizations was practically unknown to anyone except the persons actually engaged in it. There were very few days when I was not exceedingly exhausted by the investigations I had to make, but just as one fails to notice the discomforts of a long journey when one is travelling in company, so I forgot this fatigue in the joy of having fellow-workers who helped me with my task; I should have been frightened at my isolation, for fear of going astray, had I really been alone. Moreover, when my mind dictates, my pen is guided by my heart, by reason of the lively joy I feel at being able to be

[1] *Cf.* F. Galiani, *Delle lodi di P. Benedetto XIV.*, Napoli, 1758, 12 *seqq.* Benedict XIV.'s private library, which was extraordinarily rich in theological, historical, and other MSS., passed to the University Library in Bologna. *Cf.* the detailed catalogue by L. Frati in *Studi ital. di filologia classica*, XVI., Firenze, 1908 *seqq.*, 103–142. To the same library Benedict presented his collection of over 30,000 valuable engravings and woodcuts, which, owing to several instances of embezzlement, has not been preserved in its entirety (see *Köln. Volkszeitung* of October 27, 1881).

[2] *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatificatorum canonizatione*, Bononiae, 1734–8, 4 vols.

of use to religion. For a writer to derive full satisfaction from his work he must be heart and soul in it ; if he undertakes it only for some temporary gain or out of vanity, his mind is only half satisfied, and his work is lost for Heaven. The trivialities I wrote in my youth have given me pleasure only in so far as they led to more serious things. I might liken them to stones which are thrown into a torrent that has to be crossed, and which, as we tread on them, serve to bring us to our goal. If the little outbursts of impatience which this voluminous work has caused me were to be denoted by commas and stops, there would be enough of them for a second punctuation and they would cover a great deal of paper. You know my vivacity ; I cannot bear my pen to be hovering in the air while waiting for an inspiration. But religion, in supplying me with brush and colour, has put me in a position to paint in lasting fashion ; there is nothing higher than what it offers us ; even philosophy is beautiful only as long as religion lends it its beautiful side, since it embraces time and eternity. When I saw my work lying before me with its imprint, I said to it, 'Fear not to forge your way through the sophistries, the fooleries, and the depravities of this age. The truth which constitutes your essence will preserve you in spite of your mistakes and weaknesses, and when the fashionable writings which dazzle the public with the splendour of their phrases will have disappeared you will still be living and will be read by persons of intelligence.' This is my last farewell to my work, which is dear to me, not because it is the product of my brain, but because it will be, I trust, my intercessor with God for the forgiveness of my negligence and errors." [1]

On one occasion Lambertini convinced some doubting Englishmen of the strictness with which canonizations were conducted in Rome by showing them the documents relating to a case ; and they were greatly astonished to hear from him that on account of some seemingly insignificant objections raised by the "*Advocatus Diaboli*" the Congregation had refused the canonization in question.

[1] Caracciolo, 169–171.

Clement XI., a warm friend of all scholars, did not fail to show his appreciation of Lambertini's knowledge and diligence. In 1712 he made him a Canon of St. Peter's, in the following year a consultor of the Inquisition, and then a member of the Congregations of Rites, of ecclesiastical immunity, of the residence of the Bishops, and the *Segnatura di Grazia*, and finally secretary to the Congregation of the Council. To all these offices Innocent XIII. added in 1722 the post of canonist to the Penitentiary. "They must take me for a man with three heads," wrote Lambertini to a friend in his jovial fashion, "to have loaded me with so many offices. For each of these posts I should need a separate soul, and mine can hardly look after me."[1]

Lambertini was by no means a mere bookworm and red-tapist. The same man who prepared decisions on the most complicated matters for the Congregations was also a most entertaining companion, whose witty sayings amused the whole of Rome. In the evening, after the burden of the day, it was his custom to gather around him a number of "Curiali" and men of letters whom he would entertain with charm and sprightliness in the most attractive manner. In this way he made a host of acquaintances which were of great service to him in later life. He was very often in the company of the celebrated Maurist Montfaucon, who summed up his character with these words: "Lambertini has two souls, one for science, the other for society." It is related that one day when Montfaucon and Lambertini were engaged in a violent dispute about the rights of the Popes, Lambertini brought it to an end by saying good-humouredly, "A little less liberty on the part of the Gallican Church and less pretensions on our part would even things out nicely." [2]

From this observation it may be gathered that Lambertini had not yet arrived at the conviction which he cherished in his later years, namely that Gallicanism was incompatible with the God-given rights of the Holy See. Otherwise he was careful not to depart from ecclesiastical principles, however

[1] *Ibid.*, 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, 26.

much, when the Church had to take up a position, he stressed the practical rather than the ideal aspect of a problem.[1] In this respect he worked as far as possible for compromise and conciliation, especially under Benedict XIII., who greatly valued his opinion. "What has our doctor to say on this point?" was a frequent question of the Pope's.[2] The "doctor's" counsel prevailed in the negotiations with the Emperor over the *Monarchia Sicula* and the concordat with Savoy,[3] although in many quarters the excellent reputation he had previously enjoyed suffered in consequence of the great conciliatoriness he showed on this occasion [4]; but with Benedict XIII. he was as much in favour as before.

Titular bishop of Theodosia in 1725, he was appointed by the Pope to the archbishopric of Ancona on January 26th, 1727. It became known at the same time that he had already been reserved as a Cardinal *in petto* since December 9th, 1726. He was not proclaimed as such until April 30th, 1728.[5] "Rest assured," he wrote to a friend, "with this transformation I am only changing my colour. I am still the same Lambertini in my character, my lightheartedness, and my friendship for you." [6]

As Archbishop of Ancona, Lambertini showed once more that he knew how to appreciate the essential and true significance of every office that was entrusted to him. In the reformatory spirit of the Tridentine decrees, he worked untiringly for the welfare of his diocese by means of visitations, synods, pastoral letters, and instructions. The restoration of

[1] Justly emphasized by SENTIS (*Monarchia Sicula*, 177).

[2] See the *Vita* in KRAUS, *Briefe*, 247.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV, 140 *seqq.* Count Thun observes in his *letter to Charles VI. of August 23, 1740: "V.M. si degnerà specialmente di rammentarsi che da Lui fu perfezionato l'affare della bolla della Monarchia di Sicilia, che in quel tempo stava tanto a cuore di V.M." State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Cf.* the observation in the *Vita di Fini, Cod. Vat. 9405, Vatican Library.

[5] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV, 186, 188.

[6] CARACCIOLO, 30.

several churches and his gift to his cathedral of a magnificent high altar testified to his practical sense and his love for art. He was also keenly solicitous for the material welfare of his flock.[1]

With the same zeal and with the same success as in Ancona he devoted himself to the archdiocese of Bologna, to which he was translated as its chief pastor by Clement XII. in May 1731. When informing the Senate of Bologna of his imminent arrival he mentioned his desire to be buried in the Cathedral, in which he had been baptized fifty-six years before and confirmed ten years later; he was coming with his heart full of love for his fellow-citizens and with the desire to bring them every benefit; he asked them for their support in his intentions and their forbearance in his shortcomings.[2]

The new archbishop brought no large suite with him; his only attendants, a contemporary remarked, were his virtues.[3] Conditions in his native city having become a little unfamiliar to him, he refrained at first from taking action and contented himself with acquiring full information on every subject. "I do not wait," he said, "for the truth to come to me but go forth to seek it; it is of too exalted a rank to be kept waiting in an anteroom." Very simple in his mode of living he was generous towards all in need. Once a week he paid a visit to the tomb of the great founder of the Dominicans, whose mortal remains rest in Bologna, in order that through his intercession he might be given the necessary strength to fulfil his weighty office; he would then visit the sons of St. Dominic to discuss with them matters of religion or learning. As in

[1] See the *Vita* in Kraus, *Briefe*, 249 *seqq.*, and Maroni, *Lettere*, 718 *seqq.* On July 5, 1729, Lambertini presented a MS. in his possession to the Bibl. Casanatense in Rome; it is Cod. 103; Giov. Ferrarese, **De immortalitate animae* (saec. 15, with miniatures).

[2] Kraus, *Briefe*, 142 *seq.*

[3] Caracciolo, 31. *Cf.* F. M. Pirelli, *Delle lodi del S. P. Benedetto XIV.*, Prosa detta in adunanza d'Arcadia 17 Sett. 1741, pp. xi *seqq.*

Rome, he soon became the focus of the intellectual *élite*; men such as Manfredi, Beccari, Galeazzo, and Zannotti delighted in his witty and informative conversation, for he possessed the gift of being able to impart a lesson under cover of a joke.[1]

But the Archbishop of Bologna had little leisure, since all his energy was devoted to the administration of his diocese, where he is still remembered to this day. When he had found out the needs of the most remote Apennine villages by making visitations to them, he issued the necessary orders to the diocesan synods. Further visitations served the purpose of informing him to what extent the synodal statutes had been carried out and what results they had had.[2] His ordinances, which were compiled and published in 1733,[3] were so excellent that they served as models for many other bishops. He placed great value on the holding of popular missions, for which he found the right man in Leonardo of Porto Maurizio. The restoration of the seminary of Bologna and of many churches was due to him, and he took a particular interest in the completion of the cathedral of S. Pietro. In the cathedral he chose the spot where his bones were to lie, for being devoid of any ambition he was certain of ending his days in Bologna.[4] Needless to mention, he took great interest in the archiepiscopal library [5] and the other learned institutions of his native city.

It is amazing how with all this he still found time for considerable literary activity. His great work on canonization was finished in Bologna,[6] and that on diocesan synods was

[1] Testoni in *Nuova Antologia*, Gen.–Febb. 1906.

[2] For the two visitations of his archdiocese, see the *'Atti delle sue visite pastorali' in the Archivio generale arcivescovile, Bologna.

[3] *Notificazioni, editti e istruzioni*, Bologna, 1733.

[4] Letter of Benedict XIV.'s, published by Gualandi in *Studi e mem. per la storia dell'Università di Bologna*, VI., Bologna, 1921, 100.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See above, p. 25, n. 2.

begun there. It was not without truth that he said that his best friend was his pen.[1]

The following incident is typical of Lambertini's way of governing and of his character in general. A parish priest who had been guilty of some grievous offences received an unexpected visit from his archbishop. "I owe it to God's grace alone," he said to the astounded priest, "if I too am not grievously in error. I have come to weep with you, not to cast reproaches at you. The scandal you have given can only be repaired by your leaving the parish, but as I do not want to make your situation worse I offer you another benefice of equal worth. Come, now, sin no more and embrace me as your father who sheds tears over his son, who is always dear to him." [2] It is not surprising that a man of this clemency should be impervious to personal affronts. A poetaster had written a bitter satire on him; Lambertini improved the composition himself and sent it back with the remark that in that form it would possibly find a better market.[3]

Lambertini's biographers do not conceal the fact that owing to his lively temperament he occasionally displayed his irritation in a violent manner; but this never lasted long; his good nature quickly gained the upper hand, and he would try to repair the lapse by showing especial friendliness.[4] Far more difficult for him was to keep his ever sparkling wit within due bounds. Once he even gave free play to his sarcastic vein when writing to the Pope. Clement XII. had remonstrated with him about the behaviour of the Vicar General of Bologna, complaints of whom had reached Rome. Lambertini, considering these complaints to be entirely without foundation, wrote to the Pope, expressing his opinion without reserve, adding, "Loftiness of situation exposes Your Holiness to the danger of deception, to which I am less subject, having time to make careful investigations. I would sacrifice the accused

[1] See, besides CARACCIOLO, *loc. cit.*, GUARNACCI, II., 492.

[2] CARACCIOLO, 34 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, 32. *Cf.* the *Vita* in KRAUS, *Briefe*, 248.

Vicar if he were guilty, but I know him and I pray daily to our divine Saviour that He may be as content with His vicar on earth as I am with mine." [1] Clement took the joke in good part; he knew Lambertini and continued to seek his counsel in all matters of importance. All that the Pope asked was that the learned canonist should always speak his mind, which was not always that of the Curia.

The high repute enjoyed by Lambertini among the diplomats in Rome may be gauged by the opinion formed of him by the Imperial ambassador to the Conclave, Santa Croce. "The Cardinal of Bologna," he wrote on the eve of the conclave, "combines erudition with purity of morals and so many other good qualities that he must be regarded as one of the most excellent members of the Sacred College." [2] His great erudition was universally recognized. "Not for ages has there been a Pope so versed *in iure et praxi Romanae curiae*," reported Kollonitsch to the Emperor Charles VI. "A man of excellent character, he has administered his archbishopric of Bologna in the most commendable manner." [3]

According to the Abbé Certain, secretary to the Duke Saint-Aignan, the basic features of the new Pope's character were his good nature and his probity. His good nature, he says, was almost excessive; he could never refuse a favour. His elevation to the highest dignity had made no difference to his sentiments, or his discourse, or his way of living; he was as simple and as affable as ever. He had received his friends with incomparable cordiality, even those of the lowest rank. He had reminded them of the past, had joked with them, and had refused to let them kiss his foot, offering them his hand instead, saying, "We shall always remain friends." [4]

[1] Caracciolo, 34.

[2] *'Stato presente dell'Italia e della corte di Roma da presentarsi a S.M.C. nel principio dell'anno 1740', formerly in the Archivio Santa Croce, purchased by L. von Pastor in 1910 in Rome, from Bocca; see above, p. 2, n. 3.

[3] *Kollonitsch to Charles VI., August 17, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Report of August 19, 1740, in Heeckeren, I., xxii–iii.

The Imperial Pro-Minister, Joseph, Count Thun, in a report which he made shortly after the election, mentioned as the most prominent characteristics of Benedict XIV. his sincerity and frankness ; any kind of duplicity was abhorrent to him, and he said openly what he felt, while often indulging in witty jests.[1]

The Venetian ambassador, Marco Foscarini, in announcing the result of the election, pointed out that the new Pope, having never held a nunciature, had no great knowledge of political conditions, but that his lively temperament, his excellent memory, and his good sense rendered him capable of sound judgment. He is naturally good-hearted, continued Foscarini, pleasant-mannered, eloquent, inclined now and then to indulge in witty sayings, and easily excited, but he soon calms down again. He has had no occasion to occupy himself with public finance ; in his private life he has shown more inclination towards liberality than thrift, providing for the churches and the poor in the manner of the first Christians. Otherwise he has always allowed others to administer his finances ; he is said not to know the value of money. He will see to the good discipline of the clergy, but without being too strict. Although he has devoted himself chiefly to juristic studies, he will encourage all scholars and will pick good officials for himself. Hitherto he has shown no tendency to promote undeserving relatives. If any conclusion can be drawn from his previous conduct as to his management of affairs, he will be more forbearing than severe. With regard to the jurisdictional conflicts of the Holy See, he has always been inclined to be so yielding that it was said of Monsignore Lambertini that he wrote excellently but that he found it too easy to avoid unpleasantness and to wriggle out of a difficulty. This attitude was especially noticeable in the

[1] " L'indole di S. Stâ è specialmente ingenua e sincera avendo orrore alla doppiezza e parlando con la lingua come la senti nel cuore. Perciò fu sempre tenuto come uomo libero e franco nei suoi consigli spiegandosi talvolta con motti faceti che gli sono assai naturali." Report by Count Thun, August 23, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

time of Benedict XIII., when he was dealing with the troubles with Savoy.[1]

Four years later, another Venetian ambassador, Francesco Venier, gave it as his opinion that Benedict XIV. had remained as he had been when a prelate : open-hearted, straightforward, and honest, an enemy to all those arts which are known as " Roman ".[2]

All things considered, Benedict XIV. may be said to have been the incarnation of the best and the most pleasing side of the Italian character.[3] The same may be said of his appearance : of medium height, he was inclined to corpulence ; his full, fresh-complexioned face, beneath his chestnut-coloured, slowly greying hair, was expressive of goodness and benevolence ; his large, blue, and unusually lively eyes radiated prudence and intelligence ; around his mouth lay a line of humour.[4] Shortsightedness, the bane of scholars,

[1] Report of August 20, 1740, in MATSCHEG, 30.

[2] RANKE, III., 223.

[3] KRAUS, *Briefe*, xiii.

[4] Benedict's character is excellently portrayed in Pietro Bracci's bust in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*cf.* SCHOTTMÜLLER, *Ital. Skulptur*, 193 ; *id.*, *Ital. Bildnisbüsten*, Berlin, 1923, 10, illus. 15). A second bust by Bracci is in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (*cf.* GRADARA, *Bracci*, tav. XXXIV.). Of two other busts by Bracci, also good, one is in the museum at Grenoble, the other in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (see DOMARUS, 41). Other busts of the Pope in marble are in the Cathedral at Ancona (of 1748) and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Sala delle Muse), by P. Verschaffelt (see BERINGER, 34), in the baptistery of S. Maria Maggiore and the Bibl. Angelica in Rome, in Padua Cathedral (see *Vita di Clemente XIII.*, Venezia, 1769, 13), and at Castel Gandolfo (as Cardinal). For G. B. Maini's over-lifesize marble statue on the staircase of the former Convento di S. Agostino (now the Ministero della Marina), see *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXXIV., 14 *seqq.* ; it gives a better idea of the Pope's character than the statue on his tomb in St. Peter's. The statue in Trinità de' Pellegrini is a good work (Fot. Moscioni 22388, DOMARUS 37), as is also the half-figure in marble which the Cistercians had executed by Carlo Marchionni in the Convento

di S. Croce in Gerusalemme (reproduced in ORTOLANI, *S. Croce i.G.*). Another excellent work is the marble statue, nearly 7 feet in height, by P. Verschaffelt at Monte Cassino (see BERINGER, 34). The bust set up in 1754 at the entrance to the lower church of S. Francesco at Assisi records the elevation of the church to a patriarchal basilica (see KLEINSCHMIDT, *Die Basilika des hl. Franziskus zu Assisi*, Berlin, 1915, 59) ; in the treasury at Assisi there is also a gold chalice of the Pope's. For the bust in the Palazzo Civico at Ancona, see MARONI, *Lettere*, 721 *seqq.* — The best-known portrait is that by P. Subleyras (d. 1749) in the Museum at Chantilly (see GRUYER, *Peint. au château de Chantilly*, II., [1898], 302 ; *cf. Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1925, 70), which Benedict presented to the Sorbonne (see *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 284) ; it has been repeatedly engraved (see the catalogue published by C. Lang in Rome of the *Ritratti ital. della Raccolta Cicognara Morbio*, 23 ; here too, " tav. II.," is the reproduction of an unsigned but excellent portrait " *en manière noire* ") By the same artist are the portraits in the Pinacoteca at Ferrara and in the Mansi Collection at Lucca (see VOSS, 643). Subleyras' portrait is reproduced also in the first volume of the *Corresp. de Benoît XIV.*, the editor, E. de Heeckeren, remarking (p. xi) : " C'est un tableau d'apparat : draperies, fauteuil, costume, tout y est d'une richesse destinée sans doute à donner plus de solennité au personnage, somptuosité bien inutile d'ailleurs, le spectateur étant pris dès l'abord par la physionomie du modèle, d'une ressemblance parfaite, comme on peut facilement le constater par la comparaison des portraits connus." Of these the best-known are by Jacques Gautier Dagoty (*cf.* THIEME, XIII., 291 *seq.*), Et. Desroches, and Laurent Cars (*Galerie hist. de Versailles* ; see the Index of Portraits ed. by W. Coolidge Lane and Nina E. Browne, Washington, 1906, 121). Other artists who painted Benedict XIV.'s portrait were P. G. Batoni (see THIEME, III. 36 ; VOSS, 645) and L. Stern (see NOACK, 46). Further examples of portraits in oils have been noted in the museum at Faenza, in the Museo Piersanti at Matelica, in S. Niccolò at Bari, and in the Hospital at Kues on the Moselle. In the Museo Nazionale at Naples there is a painting by Pannini : " Carlo III. visita Bened. XIV." The Viennese artist G. K. v. Prenner, in Rome from 1743 onwards, opened his series of portrait-etchings of famous contemporaries with that of Benedict XIV. (see NOACK, 43). As Cardinal, Lambertini was painted by G. M. Crespi

had been spared him; in his eighty-fourth year he could read any kind of writing without glasses, even the most difficult.[1] What was more important, he enjoyed the best of health for very many years; though sixty-five years old at his election, he seemed hardly to be in the fifties, so lively were his movements, so fresh his complexion.[2]

The preservation of his good health was due in no small measure to his remarkable temperance. For breakfast he took chocolate and biscuits, at midday, soup, vegetables, and roast meat, followed by a pear, in the evening nothing but a glass of water flavoured with cinnamon; at midday, too, he drank only water; it was not until the close of his life that he took a little Montepulciano.[3]

Benedict XIV. had been so much a man of labour that he could justly say that it had become second nature with him.[4] On being raised to the highest dignity, he exerted himself even more than before, resolved, like a brave soldier, to die fighting.[5] Rising as early as five o'clock, he was active the whole day long and retired to bed late. The morning was usually so much occupied with audiences that he had to return to his study immediately after the midday meal.[6]

(*cf.* H. Voss, *G. M. Crespi*, Roma, 1921, 13) and by P. Nelli (an engraved copy by G. Massi in *Cod. 1323, 104, of the Bibl. Casanatense, Rome). A drawing of Lambertini by P. L. Ghezzi is in the *Cod. Ottob., 3112, 68, of the Vatican Library. In the Museo d'Arte Industriale in the Palazzo Margellini, Bologna, is an attractive oil-painting of Benedict XIV. at the age of six, with a serious expression (reproduced in F. Cantoni, *Lambertiniana*, Bologna, 1920, 23).

[1] Io. Maria Merenda, **Memorie del pontificato di Benedetto XIV.*, Cod. 1613, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] **Ibid.* *Cf.* the beginning of Part 4 of the *Acta hist.-eccles.*, Weimar, 1740, 1050.

[3] Heeckeren, I., 127, 213, II., 539. *Cf.* the supplement to the *report by Kollonitsch to Sinzendorf of August 23, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Heeckeren, I., 52, 70.

[5] *Ibid.*, 49.

[6] *Ibid.*, 45, 52, 112, 142, 229.

In one of his letters to Cardinal Tencin he said that it seemed to him a miracle that he was able to satisfy all the demands that were made upon him ; his first secretary, who had served him for twenty years, had succumbed to the strain and had had to retire for a rest to his home in Ancona ; his second secretary, who had been in his employment for an equal number of years, was asking to be spared, wherefore he had chosen a third one. "Although We," he continued, "are thirty-five and forty-five years older than the aforementioned, We hold out at dictation while they tire at writing." [1]

In order to retain his freshness under the burden of so much labour, Benedict XIV., both before and after his election, moved about as much as possible. In the morning he would often repair to one church or another to say Mass and then take a walk. In the afternoon, two hours before the *Ave Maria*, he would regularly drive out in his carriage, first to a church to visit the Blessed Sacrament, and then for another walk.

The minimum of pomp with which he took these drives did not escape attention,[2] but greater surprise was caused when, beginning with the autumn of 1743, he extended his excursions through the city in all directions, whereas his predecessors had shown themselves in public only five or six times a year.[3] The Pope could be met with in the streets of Rome like an ordinary Monsignore ; his steps supported by a cane, he wandered here and there throughout the city, even penetrating into out-of-the-way, poor-class districts, such as Trastevere, where he would stand talking quite happily in the street with people of low degree.[4] Another innovation of his was to give

[1] *Ibid.*, 477.

[2] Thun's *report to Charles VI. of August 27, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* in this connexion I. M. MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[3] CARACCIOLO, 62.

[4] Ruele's *report to Uhlfeld of October 19, 1743, and the *report to Maria Theresa of October 12, 1743, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 93.

audiences in the garden of the Quirinal,[1] where he eventually had a *casino* built for the purpose. Women were received only in the chapel of a church; they were not admitted to the Vatican or the Quirinal except in the Pope's absence.[2]

Regularly at the end of May and in October he permitted himself a *villeggiatura* at Castel Gandolfo[3], where he was entirely free from ceremonial but not from work.[4] From here he visited the surrounding churches and villas, conversed with the country folk, and wandered through the woods, refreshing himself with the sight of Nature.[5] Only once, in the jubilee year 1750, out of regard for the pilgrims to Rome, did he cut short his country holiday, which he had also allowed himself regularly every year when resident in Bologna.[6]

In the seventh year of his reign an alteration in his mode of living was occasioned by the death of his physician, Antonio Leprotti[7], who was succeeded by the Bolognese Marcantonio Laurenti. The Pope laid little store by doctors, believing that life and death depended on God alone; nevertheless, Laurenti succeeded in depriving him of the conviction that the only way to keep well was to indulge in plenty of walking. Thenceforward, on Laurenti's advice, Benedict took only a moderate amount of exercise in his apartments and then went out for a drive. Laurenti also prescribed a different diet for the Pope,

[1] Mellini's *report to Kaunitz of October 8, 1752, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] CARACCIOLO, 62.

[3] *To-day, wrote Cardinal Albani on June 3, 1741, His Holiness departed for Castel Gandolfo, "dove è passata senza comitiva non desiderando nessuna e bramando di godere la sua quiete e la piena sua libertà."

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 58.

[5] Thun's *report to Maria Theresa of June 10, 1741, State Archives, Vienna, and a Roman *newspaper of June 24, 1747, in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, 74.

[6] I. M. MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[7] HEECKEREN, I., 240. For Leprotti, see LOMBARDI, III., 139, 223 *seq.*; for Laurenti, *ibid.*, 202.

in accordance with which wine was completely banished from his table.[1]

Every morning Benedict XIV. received his Secretary of State, and then the Datario and the Sottodatario. The other high officials, such as the Auditor and the Secretary of the Memorials, were not admitted until the evening, after which it was the Pope's custom, just as it had been in Bologna, to enjoy a brief hour of relaxation, discussing in an intelligent and witty manner with an intimate group of friends such topics as art, literature, and the latest happenings in Rome or anywhere else in the world. To this inner circle belonged the Maggiordomo, the Maestro di Camera, the physician-in-ordinary Leprotti, the archæologist Bottari [2], and the learned philologist Bouget, who had been made a privy chamberlain.[3]

This Frenchman had been a friend of the Pope's for forty years, Benedict having always been strongly attracted towards him on account of his consistently gay and witty character and his highly refined culture ; they frequently competed with each other in quoting from the classics.[4] The abstemious Benedict was especially amused at Bouget's lack of practical sense and of his weakness (though he was otherwise a good priest) for the pleasures of the table. There are numerous witty allusions to this in the Pope's correspondence with Cardinal Tencin.[5]

In consequence of Benedict XIV.'s fondness for enlivening himself and his *entourage* by cracking jokes, a number of

[1] According to Merenda's *report, *loc. cit.* For the two physicians, see also MORONI, XLIV., 137, and HEECKEREN, I., 241, 249, 251, 268, 285, 477, 499, II., 114 ; praise of Laurenti in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 38.

[2] *Giornale*, 53, 475.

[3] *MERENDA, *loc. cit.* ; CARACCIOLO, 61, 104 ; L. DELAUNAY, *Un ami de Benoît XIV. le prieur Bouget*, Angers, 1918.

[4] CARACCIOLO, 104.

[5] *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 47, 102, 226, 280, 464, 471, 476, 483, 488, 493, 499, 511, II., 8, 14, 42, 62, 75, 77, 126.

sayings and anecdotes have been ascribed to him, the authenticity of which it is impossible to guarantee.[1] That Benedict, whose sense of humour had to find expression, no matter what the occasion, sometimes overstepped the mark, can hardly be denied. Even though he was Pope, his ebullient personality was not to be restricted. As he was not always able to keep his tongue in check, sometimes remarks escaped him which were not exactly seemly.[2] But this weakness was accompanied with so much *bonhomie* that no one took it ill ; a false interpretation was precluded by the moral earnestness of his conduct,[3] which was never called in question.[4] To Benedict XIV. a certain unrestrainedness was one of the necessaries of life. On it being suggested to him that now he was Pope he should refrain from using the coarse expressions of the Bolognese

[1] R. Giovagnoli (*Leggende Romane. Papa Lambertini.* Roma, 1887) publishes uncritically *motti* based on oral tradition as well as on literary evidence. Probably the most authentic jokes are those retailed by Caracciolo. In the course of time Benedict XIV. became a legendary figure in this respect, and among the sayings attributed to him many were of a most outspoken nature. The only truth there is in the matter is that he usually expressed himself with the naturalism characteristic of Italians. In 1826 (!) Count Carlo Rangone of Bologna drew up a list of his jokes that were still in circulation in that city. This collection, preserved in *Cod. B. 2868 of the Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, has been published, with a copious commentary, by F. Cantoni (*Lambertiniana ossia i motti di Papa Lambertini*, Bologna, 1904). They have, of course, no claim to authenticity.

[2] According to a private *letter of Count Thun's, of August 18, 1742, Benedict XIV. attested the truth of a statement he had made to him with the protestation, " Se ciò non era vero, che il diavolo lo portasse via subito " (State Archives, Vienna). Thun, however, who soon became ill-disposed towards Benedict XIV., is unable to report any other unseemly utterance.

[3] " *Ha sempre manifestato una piena integrità di costumi," writes Santa Croce on August 23, 1740, to Charles VI. State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Not even the frivolous President De Brosses ; see his *Lettres*, II., 401.

dialect, his reply was that he was now in a position to ennoble the parlance of his homeland.[1]

Not infrequently Benedict used his humour as a weapon in diplomatic conversations. More than once, he said, he had extricated himself from an embarrassing situation by means of a joke, and if he had to compile a manual for statesmen he would advise them to follow his example. In this way questions which one was anxious to avoid could be put well into the background, and the threads of a conversation which one would rather not pursue could be broken off quite easily.[2]

Benedict XIV.'s characteristic clemency and magnanimity were manifested at the very beginning of his reign, when he released Cardinal Coscia from his confinement in the Castel S. Angelo [3] and overloaded with benefices Cardinal Corsini, who had been so hostile towards him.[4]

What, more than anything, won universal recognition was that he kept himself entirely free from nepotism. His brother Egano, secretary in Bologna, received the order not to show himself in Rome until he was summoned by him—which summons was never issued. The Church was his family, he said, and the Lord's coat was not to be divided.[5] All the distinctions which Spain offered to his family he refused.[6] On sending his nephew to be educated at the Collegio Clementino he strictly forbade the rector to treat him differently from the other pupils. He let it be clearly understood that no member of his family would rise to a higher position through him. His family was to continue in the same simple, modest circumstances as before.[7]

[1] CARACCIOLO, 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, 113.

[3] *Cf.* *MERENDA, *loc. cit.* ; CARACCIOLO, 42.

[4] The Venetian ambassador Foscarini says that this was "il più eroico di S. Stà ". See GANDINO, *L'ambasceria di M. Foscarini*, 73.

[5] CARACCIOLO, 70, 160. Benedict disapproved of Innocent X.'s nepotism ; see HEECKEREN, I., 326.

[6] HEECKEREN, I., 205.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 505, II., 213, 226, 232 *seq.*, 560. *Cf.* also KRAUS,

Even before his coronation, which took place in August, 1740, Benedict XIV. proceeded to fill the most important offices.[1] That of Secretary of State was entrusted to Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga, that of Prodatarius to Cardinal Aldrovandi, a Bolognese,[2] who at first exerted great influence on the Pope and persuaded him, generous and good-hearted as he was, that it was sometimes necessary to say "No".[3] Francesco Mario Spannochi was confirmed in his office of Sottodatario, Passionei and Gian Vincenzo Lucchesini in the Secretariat of Briefs. Giuseppe Livizzani was made Secretary of the Memorials, Antonio Rota the Secretary of the Cipher, Prospero Colonna di Sciarra the Maestro di Camera, Girolamo Colonna the Maggiordomo, Teodoro Boccapaduli the Elemosiniere, Mario Bolognetti the Tesoriere, and Ludovico Merlini the pro-Uditore, but only until the arrival of Count Melara from Bologna, where he had already been a confidant of Lambertini's.[4] In September Benedict XIV. invited Cardinal Gotti

Briefe, 92, and GUARNACCI, I. Praef. vi. "*La sua famiglia molto antica in Bologna apena aveva mille scudi d'entrata, et in 18 anni di pontificato apena si conta che possa adesso averne cinquemila e forse non averebbe neppur questo, se il card. Millo non avesse usata tutta l'industria," writes MERENDA, *loc. cit.*

[1] See Cardinal Acquaviva's *letters to M. de Villarias of August 18 and 20, 1740, Archives of Simancas, and Thun's *report to Charles VI. of August 23, 1740, *loc. cit.*; also *MERENDA, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MORONI, XLI., 136, 271.

[2] *Cf.* FANTUZZI, *Mem. d. vita del card. Aldrovandi.* In his native city he built the magnificent palace in the Via Galliera, No. 8 (now the Palazzo Montanari). See F. CANTONI, *Lambertiniana*, 12, and the monograph by RICCI, Bologna, 1886. Aldrovandi afterwards lost his influence and resigned the Dataria in 1743.

[3] Thus Santa Croce *reports to Charles VI. on September 19, 1740. On November 23, 1741, Thun *announces to Maria Theresa: "Il card. Aldrovandi vedendosi decaduto del credito e confidenza del papa s'astiene dal parlargli d'altre cose se non beneficiali e qualche camerale, rendendosi in oltre inaccessibile." State Archives, Vienna. On Aldrovandi's death in 1756 Benedict XIV. characterized him as a restless person; see KRAUS, *Briefe*, 91.

[4] Count Melara, who, according to Thun's *report of August 23,

to take up his residence in the Papal palace, as he wished to retain his services as theological adviser, as Clement VIII. had done with Bellarmine and Innocent XII. with Gabrielli.[1]

Silvio Valenti Gonzaga was born in 1690 in Mantua, where the great palace still stands as a witness to the importance of his family. Coming to Rome when still a youth, he was already employed in important affairs under Clement XI. Made Consultor of the Inquisition by Benedict XIII., he rose to still higher offices under Clement XII. He was nuncio in Brussels from 1731 to 1736, and from then until the end of 1739 in Madrid, where his prestige was of the highest.

Versatile, untiring, and keen-witted, Valenti acquired during his nunciatures the policy which was described by a contemporary as knowing everything without appearing to know anything.[2] Clement XII. had raised him to the purple on December 9th, 1738, and had then nominated him as legate of Bologna.[3] On his being promoted Secretary of State his post at Bologna was filled by Alberoni, at the instigation of Cardinal Acquaviva, who at first commanded considerable influence,[4] but to the scant joy of the Bolognese. With

1740, had already pleased the Pope in Bologna with his " umore faceto ", retained his influence in Rome (*Letter from Thun to Maria Theresa, November 19, 1740, *loc. cit.*). The former Maggiordomo, Capponi (d. 1746), was given a fine monument, designed by Fuga and executed by R. M. Slodtz, in S. Giovanni de'Fiorentini; see *Bollet. d'arte*, 1913, 181. For G. Colonna, see Renazzi, *Storia de' Vicedomini del Pal. Lat.*, 160 *seqq.* For Gian Vincenzo Lucchesini, see Moroni, LXIII., 273, and Lombardi, III., 242. He compiled the **Epist. ad princ.* 109–111, Papal Secret Archives, from 1740 till October 28, 1744, when his place was taken by Gaetano Amato (**Epist.*, 111–121, *ibid.*). For the " sostituto dei brevi ad princ. Fil. Maria Bonamici ", see Mazzuchelli, II., 4, 2316 *seqq.*; Renazzi, IV., 332.

[1] *Thun's *letter to Charles VI., September 3, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Caracciolo, 44 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Elogio del card. S. Valenti Gonzaga*, Roma, 1776.

[4] Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.* Merenda relates that the " segretario di brevi Passionei che colle sue maniere sprezzanti

Cardinal Lambertini, Valenti Gonzaga had long been on friendly terms, a bond between them being their love for learning and art.[1] These interests Cardinal Gonzaga continued to manifest when Secretary of State.

Chairs of chemistry and physics were founded by him in the University of Rome, and he instructed the Jesuits Boscovich and Maire to undertake the measurement of the degrees and the making of a detailed map of the Pontifical State.[2] Well away from the hubbub of the capital, near the Porta Pia, in the vineyards of the Florentine family Cicciaporci, he built for himself an elegant country seat (afterwards the Villa Bonaparte), in the park and gardens of which he grew exotic plants and fruits, including the first pine-apples. The two-storied Casino, built by the French architect Maréchal to designs by Gian Paolo Pannini, contained a choice library, antique and other works of art, scientific instruments, and Chinese porcelain.[3] Here, on Sundays and holidays, the highly cultured Cardinal gathered around him a coterie of scholars and artists. Among them were not only political economists

aveva disgustato molto il card. Corsini, di cui era creatura, dovera nei primi giorni secondo il consueto supplire alle veci di segretario di stato." Corsini is said to have tried to remove Passionei, who with Acquaviva's help had kept his position, without, however, enjoying the Pope's favour.

[1] Even as a simple *abate* Valenti had sufficient knowledge of art to be entrusted by Prince Eugene with the purchase of various works (Arneth, III., 72). In 1750 Valenti undertook the restoration of S. Urbano a Campo Carleo (Forcella, IX., 503, 507), and he helped towards the restoration of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (*ibid.*, XII., 25). For his interest in Raphael's Loggie, see our account, vol. VIII., 317, n. The engraver Paolo Fidanza da Camerino dedicated several of his works to him, and Venuti did likewise with his *Numismata Rom. Pont.*, Romae, 1744.

[2] *Cf.* Renazzi, IV., 236 *seqq.*, 288.

[3] F. Cancellieri, *Descrizione delle carte cinesi che adorano il palazzo della villa Valenti*, Roma, 1815, 3 ; Moroni, LXXXVII., 248, C214 *seq.* ; Heeckeren, II., 350, 381. *Cf.* " *Versi sciolti della villa del card. S. Valenti scritti dall'Ab. Bettinello ", in Fondo Gesuit. 107, 227 (Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome).

and literati, but also mathematicians, such as the learned Jesuit Boscovich and the commentators of Newton, Le Seur and Jacquier, of the Order of Minims; another visitor was Winckelmann.[1] It was in such company that Valenti, who had something about him of the Cardinal Princes of the Renaissance,[2] sought relief from the heavy burden of governmental business. This "unique man", as Benedict XIV. called him, was untiring in the execution of his official duties and earned the Pope's approval so completely that he spoke of him as being not so much a minister as a master of the thorny problems of the Pontificate.[3] The collaboration of the two men was never disturbed by any discordant note; it was so close indeed that it is impossible to separate the Pope's work from that of his Secretary of State.[4]

Other men who were influential in matters of State besides Valenti were the Uditore Argenvilliers and Millo, who was appointed Datarius on Aldrovandi's dismissal in 1743; but Valenti always remained the chief adviser of the Pope, though the latter was highly independent and often made decisions on his own account.[5] When Valenti had a seizure at the end of December 1751, Benedict considered it a most serious misfortune. "May God," he wrote to Cardinal Tencin, "yet preserve for Us this excellent minister, whose devotion to Us is as great as his knowledge of affairs."[6]

[1] *Cf.* JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II., 104; NOACK, *Das deutsche Rom*, Rome, 1912, 160 *seq.*, with a reproduction of the villa.

[2] Merenda (**Memorie*; Bibl. Angelica, Rome) tells us that Valenti had a "piccolo nano" who was well-known as being "mirabile et straordinario nella piacevolezza". *Cf.* also "*Lettere private del card. S. Valenti Gonzaga a Luigi Gualterio arcivesc. de Myra a. 1744", Cod. 20615, British Museum.

[3] CARACCIOLO, 127.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., xviii., lxv., with a successful attack on the *Mémoires de Choiseul.*

[5] Relation of Mocenigo, of 1750, in RANKE, III., 223* *seqq.* *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 88. In spite of Valenti's determined opposition, Benedict XIV. made Argenvilliers a Cardinal; see below, pp. 343, 344.

[6] HEECKEREN, II., 158. *Cf.* CIBRARIO, *Lettere*, 277, 279.

A delicate regard for the stricken Cardinal induced the Pope to postpone the nomination of his successor, though the names of the most varied candidates were already being suggested by the diplomats.[1] For the time being he entrusted current business to the Secretary of the Cipher, Rota,[2] for whom he had a high regard, while the more important questions were reserved for personal discussion between himself and Valenti, whom he visited for this purpose twice weekly in his villa by the Porta Pia.[3] A second seizure, at the end of December, 1754, put an end to the hopes that had been cherished that Valenti might at least partially recover. When Rota fell ill too, the Pope had to shoulder nearly all the work alone, but hard as this was for him and though he too was repeatedly unwell, he still would not hear of nominating a successor to Valenti. "We must bow to the will of God," he insisted, "and accept whatever He sends Us."[4] With the utmost patience he continued to deal with every question single-handed until, at last, on August 28th, 1756, Valenti was released from his sufferings at Viterbo, where he had been vainly seeking a cure from the baths.[5]

Only three days later, Cardinal Alberico Archinto, whose unswerving love of justice as Governatore of Rome had gained the respect of everybody and the especial approbation of the Pope,[6] was appointed the new Secretary of State.

[1] *Cf.* Mellini's *letter to Uhlfeld of December 22, 1751, in which Cardinals Doria, Paolucci, Spinelli, Landi, Lanti, Oddi, Barni, Crescenzi, and Stoppani are mentioned as candidates. On July 2, 1752, *Mellini is able to report to Kaunitz that Valenti had been corresponding with France and Frederick II. and that his first thought on recovering from his stroke had been to seal this correspondence and hand it over to a nunnery for safe-keeping. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Heeckeren, I., 104, II., 234. Unfortunately Rota had been bought by France; *ibid.*, I., 104, n. 5.

[3] Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[4] Heeckeren, II., 383; *cf.* 381.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., 524.

[6] *Cf.* Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.*, and Justi, *Winckelmann*, II., 10.

Benedict wrote at the time that he had made this choice because Archinto had acquired a deep knowledge of diplomatic affairs as nuncio in Florence (1740–46) and Poland (1746–54) and because he was a man of excellent character.[1]

The appointment of Archinto, who, incidentally, was as much a lover of art as Valenti,[2] proved so successful that the Pope was able to say of him, " I should have to have ten eyes to follow all his actions, they are so deft and rapid. He works as another would play, with astounding ease ; and serious as he is, he laughs at my jokes, good and bad alike. I let him do everything, merely scribbling my paraph at the foot of all his documents ; I am quite certain that all that he suggests is excellent. Sometimes I regret that our Government has not the brilliance of the Prussian King's, so that my Cardinal's talent might show to better advantage ; but when I think of the repose that we enjoy I say to myself, Why wish for storms when we have so beautiful a calm ? " [3]

For the more important ecclesiastico-political questions Benedict XIV. was his own Secretary of State. He who under Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. had already played a decisive part in the negotiations undertaken with the object of settling the manifold ecclesiastico-political differences with the Catholic Powers, now, as Pope, set himself the task, by means of skilful mediation and well-timed concessions, of steering the bark of Peter between the Scylla of State absolutism and Gallicanism and the Charybdis of " enlightenment " and rationalism. Keeping clear of any curialistic subtlety or harshness, he directed all his energy towards the restoration of peace with the Catholic Governments, knowing full well

[1] HEECKEREN, II., 525 ; *cf.* 532. Cardinal Portocarrero had declared his opposition to Cardinal Doria as Secretary of State ; see the former's *report to R. Wall of September 2, 1756 (Archives of Simancas).

[2] One artist he encouraged was Raphael Mengs ; *cf.* NOACK, *Deutsches Kunstleben*, 71.

[3] CARACCIOLO, 147.

that any disturbance in this sphere would bring great profit to the enemies of religion.[1]

The negotiations for a settlement with the Court of Turin had been interrupted by the death of Clement XII.[2] Benedict XIV. immediately renewed them in no half-hearted fashion and supplied his Secretary of State with precise information of the course taken by the conflict with Savoy since the time of Innocent XII.[3] Then, excluding any kind of intermediary, he put himself in direct correspondence with the leading personages, the Marchese d'Ormea and King Emanuele III.[4]

Thanks to the marked spirit of conciliation shown by the Pope, it was possible, as early as January 5th, 1741, for two agreements to be signed by Cardinals Valenti and Alessandro Albani on the one hand and the Sardinian plenipotentiary, Count Rivera, on the other, with the approval of a Congregation of Cardinals.[5] The first agreement concerned the long-disputed question of the Papal feudal territories in Piedmont, and arranged for the transference of the Vicariate Apostolic to the King of Sardinia, with the obligation of paying a feudal tribute. The second, while confirming the enactments of Benedict XIII, regulated the difficult question of benefices. With regard to the administration of the revenues of vacant benefices it was laid down that only a cleric should be entrusted with the task.[6]

Nothing more remained to be settled but the differences of

[1] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, *Piemonts Unterhandlungen*, 69.

[2] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *letter to M. de Villarias, February 6, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[3] This *report is in Cod. 1210, p. 229 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

[4] " *Inventando una nuova specie di brevi epistolari in Italiano col suo picciolo sigillo nella qual forma scriveva continuamente molte lettere in Italia e fuori," writes MERENDA (**Memorie, loc. cit.*). Letters to D'Ormea in CARUTTI, *Carlo Emanuele* III., t. 1, doc. 344 *seqq.*, 347 *seqq.*, 352 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 254 *seqq.* to the King. *Cf.* SEMERIA, *Vita di Carlo Emanuele III.*, II. (1831), 30.

[5] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[6] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 330 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 437 *seqq.*, the cession of the rights over the principality of Masserano on July 13, 1753.

opinion regarding ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction. For this purpose the Titular Archbishop of Athens, Ludovico Merlini, was sent forthwith to Turin, where, however, he met with such difficulties, especially at the hands of the President of the Senate, Count Caissoti, that the Pope, who was usually so mild, wrote a letter of bitter complaint to D'Ormea on June 5th, 1741.[1] In the hope of obtaining a better hearing from D'Ormea, with whom he had been on friendly terms in former times, and from the King, the Pope drew up another proposed agreement, which, before he dispatched it, he submitted to Cardinal Gotti. In this document local immunity, which had not been touched upon in the Concordat of Benedict XIII., was regulated entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Turin Government. Nevertheless, the proposal met with no acceptance.[2]

Nothing, he wrote to the King on September 9th, 1741, had so saddened him since the beginning of his Pontificate as this attitude on the part of Turin. He asked for his proposal to be reconsidered, but not by those who hoped to bring about a rupture with the Holy See.[3] Thereupon the King showed his readiness to engage in fresh negotiations, and after the Pope had again exposed the situation frankly and sincerely to the King and D'Ormea, an agreement was finally reached. It was contained in an instruction to the Sardinian Bishops, dated January 6th, 1742, which had already been contemplated in the Concordat of 1727. The arrangements made in that agreement Benedict confirmed and amplified. It was made a duty for the foreign Bishops to appoint their own Vicars General for their portions of the Sardinian dioceses; ecclesiastical jurisdiction and right of sanctuary were reduced; and the Church property acquired after 1620 was made liable to the usual State taxes. The inspection of Papal ordinances

[1] CARUTTI, 355 *seqq.* The project of sending an agent to Turin had already been reported by *Acquaviva on January 12, 1741 (Archives of Simancas).

[2] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, *Unterhandlungen*, 83.

[3] CARUTTI, 357 *seqq.*

by the State authority, without the affixture of a mark or decree (*semplice visura* ; already tolerated by Benedict XIII.), was not to apply to dogmatic Bulls in matters of faith, to disciplinary Briefs, Jubilee Bulls, and Bulls of Indulgence, nor to the decrees of the Penitentiary and the other Roman Congregations.[1]

Benedict XIV.'s hope that by this instruction peaceful relations between Church and State would be totally restored[2] was substantially realized. The nunciature in Turin was reopened and was handed over, on February 14th, 1742, to Ludovico Merlini, who had conducted the negotiations.[3] The good relations which subsequently prevailed between Rome and Turin were manifested in the issue of a Bull concerning the military Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus (1744), the erection of the bishopric of Pignerol (1748),[4] the great consideration paid to the King's wishes in the bestowal of benefices,[5] and finally in a new agreement of June 24th, 1750, whereby the Holy See renounced the right to spoils and to the loading of benefices with pensions for the benefit of foreigners.[6] Through its being sent a gift of consecrated swaddling clothes for the heir to the throne, in 1751, the royal house of Piedmont was indirectly placed on an equal footing with the other Catholic dynasties of Europe[7]; but not content with this, the Government of Turin then coveted the privilege enjoyed by the Courts of Vienna, Paris, and Madrid, of having

[1] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 365 *seqq.* ; HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 86 *seqq.*

[2] Letter to Carlo Emanuele of June 6, 1742, in MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 364.

[3] KARTTUNEN, 250.

[4] *Bull.*, XVI., 218 *seq.* ; GAMS, *Series*, 821.

[5] *Cf.* CIBRARIO, *Lettere*, 253 *seqq.*, 274, 280 *seq.*

[6] MERCATI, *loc. cit.*, 410 *seqq.*

[7] *Cf.* G. CARBONELLI, *Benedetto XIV. al battesimo di Carlo Emanuele IV. di Savoia*, Torino, 1906, where the Pope's letters to the King are reproduced. As is clear from the letter of June 12, 1751 (16 *seqq.*), the matter was put before a Congregation of Cardinals. *Cf.* also HEECKEREN, II., 121 *seq.*, 209.

their nuncios raised to the purple on retirement. The Pope was willing to accede to this demand but was prevented by the opposition raised elsewhere, especially Poland.[1] On Merlini being passed over in the promotion of November 26th, 1753, the Government of Turin replied by closing down the nunciature.[2] Benedict consoled himself with the thought that it was better to lose one nunciature than three, as would certainly have happened had Merlini been made a Cardinal.[3] But if he thought that the measure taken by Turin was only temporary, he erred. How dangerous were the currents that were gaining strength in Turin was seen by the proposal of the Minister Ossorio to prohibit appeals to Rome,[4] and by a decree of June 20th, 1755, which attacked the rights of the Congregation of the Index. In the case of the Turin Professor Chionio, however, who had been teaching false doctrines, the King sided with the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Rovero, so that the Pope was able to commend him on his pious attitude.[5]

In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies the relations between Church and State were in far worse case. Here, too, as soon as he had ascended the throne, Benedict held out the hand of peace. The negotiations were conducted at first by Cardinal Acquaviva,[6] who left for Naples in November, 1740, the Pope hoping that he would return as a messenger of peace.[7] More definite proposals regarding an agreement were brought to

[1] G. Demaria in the *Rev. stor. ital.*, XII. (1895), 62 *seqq.* *Cf.* Tortonese, 32 *seqq.*

[2] Demaria, 62.

[3] Heeckeren, II., 311. Merenda (**Memorie, loc. cit.*) makes the interesting statement that " In questa congiuntura da molti savi si rifletteva che in molti luoghi, come alli Svizzeri, in Colonia, Torino, Napoli, Fiandra, Firenze etc., potrebbe risparmiarsi la spesa di mandare li Nunzii, bastando per il decoro della S. Sede tenerli nelle Corti primarie ".

[4] Demaria, 89 *seq.*

[5] Hergenröther, *loc. cit.*, 91 *seqq.*

[6] Cardinal Acquaviva's *report to Villarias of August 25, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[7] " *Accusiamo una sua lettera dei 15 nella quale con nostro

Rome in December by the competent Abate Ferdinando Galiani.[1] A little hunchback, full of intelligence and wit, Galiani had won to a high degree the confidence of Charles III. and the Minister Tanucci.[2] In Rome too he was soon at his ease. In view of the Pope's conciliatory character, not only Acquaviva but also the Imperial envoy, Count Thun, had hopes of a speedy settlement.[3]

Already, in fact, by January 1741, it was possible for Cardinal Aldrovandi to present the Pope with a complete plan of agreement,[4] but despite the latter's peaceful inclina-

distinto contento abbiamo intesa la nuova del suo felice arrivo a Napoli e le benigne espressioni colle quali coteste Reali Mtà si sono degnate di parlare della nostra miserabile persona. Potrà Ella assicurarle che nutriamo per esse un affetto paterno non disgiunto dalla profonda stima che ne habbiamo e che ne avranno i rincontri anche coll' opera se crederanno che siamo in grado di servirle. La sua lettera non sarà veduta da veruno perchè letta è stata subito consegnata alle flamme. Ci restano bensì impressi nell' animo i sentimenti ed i savi consigli ch'ella ci ha accennati ed assolutamente ci conformaremo ad essi sapendo quant' ella per sua bontà ci ami e quante sono le memorie che abbiamo dell'affetto e della beneficenza della casa Acquaviva verso di Noi. Subito ch'ella può ritorni a Roma e venga come Mercurio araldo di pace e di buona armonia come sommamente desideriamo fra la S. Sede e cotesto benedetto regno di Napoli." Letter of Benedict XIV. to Cardinal Acquaviva, of November 18, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[1] Acquaviva's *letter to Villarias of December 18, 1740, *ibid.*

[2] For Galiani, see Justi, *Winckelmann*, II., 192 *seq.* Most of Galiani's correspondence is still unpublished; *cf.* Ademollo in *Opinione*, 1879, No. 297, and *id.*, *Bartol. Intieri, l'abate Galiani e Msgr. Bottari nel 1754*, Firenze, 1879.

[3] Thun's *letter of December 10, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Acquaviva's *letter to Villarias, January 9, 1741, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* B. Peluso, *Docum. intorno le relazioni fra Stato e Chiesa nelle due Sicilie.* I.: *I progetti del Concordato del* 1741 (including the period from 1734 onwards), Napoli, 1898. See also the letters written by Benedict XIV. and Charles III. in Carignani, *La politica italiana nei sec. XV. al XIX.*, Napoli, 1864.

tions[1] the negotiations, conducted on the one hand by Cardinals Valenti, Aldrovandi, Gotti, and Corradini, and by Acquaviva and Galiani on the other, dragged on for another four months.[2] Much difficulty especially was caused by the unyielding attitude taken up by Corradini.[3] Finally, however, a result was arrived at, and on June 2nd the concordat with Naples was signed by Valenti and Acquaviva and was ratified forthwith.[4]

On all points the agreement presented a compromise, in which the Holy See made important concessions with regard to personal, real, and local immunity. The right of sanctuary especially was restricted. By the setting up of a "mixed" court of clerics and laymen (provided for by Article 8) laymen were authorized to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and not only to decide disputes about ecclesiastical competence but also to sit in judgment on clerics in a higher court. This stipulation, together with the exclusion of foreigners from benefices and pensions in the Neapolitan realm, which affected principally Curialists, not unnaturally aroused ill-feeling in Rome.[5] In Naples, too, neither the people nor the clergy were contented.[6] In an appendix, six further, secret, articles were

[1] Acquaviva's *letter to Villarias, February 16, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *letters of March 23, April 13, May 11, 18, and 25, 1741, *ibid.* See also SCHIPA, 223 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 297.

[4] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 338 *seqq.*, 359; in manuscript, for example "*Piano intorno le controversie vertenti fra la S. Sede e la Real Corte di Napoli composte 1741", Cod. ital., 55, State Lib., Munich. For the ratification, see Acquaviva's *reports of June 22 and 29, 1741, *loc. cit.* The concordat was valid only for Naples, not for Sicily; see SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, 200. The official publication (without the secret articles), Naples, 1741, with the documents of ratification. "Trattato di accomodamento tra la S. Sede e la corte di Napoli 1741," in Cod. ital., 189, No. 40g. State Lib., Munich. *Correspondence dealing with the concordat in 'Aff. esteri' No. 1177, State Archives, Naples.

[5] SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, 19 *seq.*

[6] According to the *report made to Maria Theresa on August

agreed upon, dealing with the execution of the treaty and the unification of certain small bishoprics. According to the second article, the King, " with his well-known piety," was to see to the carrying-out of Papal Bulls, Briefs, and other ordinances [1]; this article was dangerous inasmuch as it afforded the crafty counsellors of Charles III. an opportunity of exercising the *placet*.[2] The new Bulls of July 6th, 1741, and August 11th, 1745, which extended the powers of the royal chaplain-in-chief, were also regarded with misgiving.[3]

Like that with Savoy, the concordat with Naples had not been first submitted for approval to the Sacred College, and the Cardinals showed great dissatisfaction at not having been consulted in two such important matters.[4] What was much more painful to Benedict was that the beneficial results which he hoped the concordat would obtain failed to materialize. He had granted the Neapolitan Court far more than Clement XII. had been willing to concede in his time,[5] and still satisfactory relations were not established, owing to the Government's failure to carry out the stipulations which were inconvenient to it and the continual recrudescence of the old State Church spirit.[6]

In his interview with Charles III. in Rome at the beginning

26, 1741 (State Archives, Vienna), by Thun, who carefully noted every sign of dissatisfaction in Naples.

[1] MERCATI, 259 *seq.* Bull of confirmation for this " tractatus secretus ", dated mid-June 1741, in Cod. 1210, 177, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

[2] B. PELUSO, in *Il diritto di placitazione nelle due Sicilie* (Napoli, 1898, 24), accordingly vaunts this article as a " triunfo della politica Borbona ".

[3] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, ed. R. de Martinis, I., 75 *seqq.*, 130 *seq.*, 269 *seqq.*

[4] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[5] *Cf.* " *Confronto del Concordato (1741) e del piano stabilito nel pontificato di Clemente XII.", Cod. 1210, 119 *seq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

[6] See the examples in *Cod. 41, A.5, p. 39 *seqq.*, *ibid.* *Cf.* also SENTIS, 191 ; *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 394 ; RINIERI, *Rovina*, 5.

of November 1744, the Pope had already had to complain of the erroneous interpretations of the concordat, and in June 1747 he found himself compelled to repeat his protests in an urgent letter, with especial reference to the extension of the *placet* to purely ecclesiastical matters. Only the stipulations which were favourable to the Government had been carried out, he wrote, but not those which brought advantage to the Church and the Holy See.[1]

A serious conflict had already developed by 1746. A false rumour that the Archbishop Spinelli intended to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Naples, threatened to cause disturbances. The badly advised King tried to forestall this by issuing a decree which made it impossible for the Bishops to intervene in any way in matters of faith. In the face of this the Pope could not keep silent, but he proceeded in the most considerate and careful manner possible.[2] The King's weakness and his Prime Minister's ignorance caused him as much perturbation as embarrassment.[3]

MERENDA writes in his **Memorie, loc. cit.*: "Si accorse poi il Papa, ma tardi (e si pentì inutilmente), d'essere stato circonvenuto dal frate Galiani nel Concordato con Napoli in molti gravi punti, come nel Tribunale misto e nella riserva di 20m scudi di pensione da potersi distribuire a sudditi Pontificii, perchè non ebbe effetto in questa parte e nel punto del Tribunale misto l'ebbe soverchiamente eccessivo, perchè si arrogò tutta l'autorità sopra li Vescovi, che più non ricorrevano alle Congregazioni; e sebbene nel Concordato si dica che il Re debba nominare tre sogetti, tra li quali il Papa possa scegliere il Presidente di questo Tribunale misto, con tutto ciò per un accordo segreto fu accordato che sempre sarebbe il Cappellano Maggiore." For *correspondence of the year 1747 relating to the dispute following on the concordat of 1741, see also in 'Aff. esteri' No. 1178 in the State Archives, Naples.

[1] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 386 *seq.*

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 297 *seq.*, 321; AMABILE, II., 86 *seqq.* Numerous *documents bearing on the matter in Cod. E 129 and 130, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 348. *Cf.* the sharply worded *Cifra al nunzio G. B. Barni of January 11, 1748, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, Papal

Benedict XIV., who was perfectly well acquainted with conditions in Naples, and especially with the Minister Tanucci's hostility to the Church, wrote in April 1750 to Cardinal Tencin that there was no lack in Naples of evil counsellors and of persons who from time to time spat out their venom and that the King was in want of a good spiritual adviser.[1] It was not surprising, therefore, that innovations were continually being made to the detriment of the ecclesiastical authority.[2] There was no end to the disputes about the exequatur, the censorship of books, and the execution of various stipulations of the concordat.[3] The Neapolitan ambassador accredited to Rome since 1750 in the person of Geronimo Sersale, Duke of Cerisano, had the best possible intentions but was frustrated by the unsteadiness and heedlessness of the Neapolitan Court.[4] In these circumstances there was no hope of success for the various projects that were being formed for a new concordat.[5] In 1753 conditions in Naples were characterized by the Pope as being such that the numerous enemies of the Holy See were only looking for an excuse to remove the nuncio.[6] "You cannot imagine," wrote Benedict to Cardinal Tencin, "what we are continually having to endure at the hands of the Neapolitan Government. The Ministers that surround the King are as bad as they could be." [7]

An arrangement by which Cardinal Spinelli retired from the Archbishopric of Naples on the plea of old age was negotiated

Secret Archives. For Cardinal Landi's unsuccessful mission to Naples in the spring of 1747, see AMABILE, II., 104 *seq.*

[1] HEECKEREN, II., 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, 28, 225.

[3] *Cf.* PELUSO, *Documenti*, II., 25 *seqq.*, 34 *seqq.*, 36 *seqq.*; SCHIPA, 515.

[4] HEECKEREN, II., 261.

[5] PELUSO, II., 1 : *I progetti di un nuovissimo concordato durante il Ministero di B. Tanucci 1747–1756*, Napoli, 1898. *Cf.* also SCHIPA, 515 *seq.*

[6] *Letter to the King of Sardinia of August 15, 1753, State Archives, Turin. See *Riv. stor.*, XII. (1895), 75.

[7] Letter of June 27, 1753, HEECKEREN, II., 276.

by the young Roman prelate Gianangelo Braschi, who was afterwards to ascend the Papal throne as Pius VI.[1] There was considerable difficulty at first in filling the vacant See of Naples, but, thanks to the sagacity of the Pope, a suitable occupant was found at last in the person of Antonio Sersale, Archbishop of Taranto, who was even approved of by the Government.[2] That Benedict XIV. was also able to say " No " was discovered by Charles III. in 1754 on his applying for the granting of the *Cruzada* to Naples. This request was firmly rejected by the Pope on the grounds that this favour had not been granted even to the Emperor during his occupation of the Kingdom of Naples and that such a concession had never been made where there was no tribunal of the Inquisition.[3]

Far surpassing in importance the agreements made with Sardinia and Naples was the concordat with Spain of 1753. Its prehistory is interesting.

The main endeavour of the Spanish Government was to extend the royal patronage as it already existed in Granada and America to every bishopric and benefice in the realm. This desire had not been granted by Clement XII. in the concordat of 1737 ; over eleven articles conflicts had arisen, over others friendly negotiations were in prospect. Already in Clement XII.'s lifetime complaints about the methods of the Dataria and nunciature were continually coming in from Spain, particularly with regard to provisions and bank-bills.[4] Of Benedict XIV., who as Cardinal had been on the best possible terms with the Spanish Government and had warmly espoused its interests,[5] it was expected in Madrid that he would

[1] [F. Berattini], *Fasti di Pio VI.*, I., 18.

[2] Heeckeren, II., 300, 305, 312, 328, 336.

[3] *Ibid.*, 328.

[4] *Cf.* Benedict XIV.'s confidential letter to Tencin of February 28, 1753, published by P. A. Kirsch in *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, LXXX. (1900), 320 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* Bentivoglio's *reports of April 21 and June 30, 1731, Archives of Simancas. It is to be gathered from a *letter of Acquaviva's to Villarias of January 26, 1741 (*ibid.*), that

remedy these grievances, and indeed on December 22nd, 1740, the Pope expressed to the Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Acquaviva, his readiness to issue briefs concerning the execution of the concordat of 1737 and to contribute to the comprehensive settlement of all outstanding questions.[1] The negotiations, begun in 1741, were conducted simultaneously with those concerned with the Neapolitan concordat. In a letter dated April 25th, 1741, Philip V. assured the Pope of his pacific intentions.[2]

During the negotiations the Pope displayed his almost excessive conciliatoriness in a matter which the Spanish monarch had very much at heart. On September 18th, 1741, he bestowed on the Infante Luis, who was barely fifteen years of age and who was already a Cardinal Deacon and the lay administrator of Toledo, the civil administration of the archdiocese of Seville ; the spiritual affairs of the diocese were put into the hands of the Archdeacon Gabriel de Torres y Navarra.[3]

Lambertini had been granted a yearly pension by Spain of 1,000 doubloons since 1730 but that it had been paid only two years. " Nunca me ha hablado S.B. cosa alguna sobre este particular," observes Acquaviva, and advises the payment of the eight years' deficit.

[1] " *El Papa me ha asegurado que se dara faculdad a ese nuncio para publicar el censurado concordado y los breves concernientes a el [*cf.* PORTILLO in *Razón y Fe*, XVIII., 319 *seq.*] y tambien para ajustar las controversias de patronato y fenezer todos los puntos pendientes acerca del mismo concordado." Acquaviva to Villarias, December 22, 1740, Archives of Simancas.

[2] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *reports to Villarias of April 6, May 11 and 18, 1741, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *reports to Villarias of May 25, June 1, 15, and 29, July 6, 13, 20, and 27, August 3 and 31, September 7, 14, 18, and 28, 1741, *ibid.* *Cf.* RIGANTIUS, *Nota in reg. XXIV.*, fo. 2, II., 373 ; *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 346 *seq.* The evil consequences of this concession were afterwards described in frank terms by Enriquez, the nuncio in Madrid, in a coded *report of June 23, 1745 : " Il Marchese Scotti amministra dispoticamente le due chiese di Toledo e di Siviglia, senza pensare

In November 1741, to accelerate the negotiations for a settlement, in which the question of patronage occupied the foremost place, the ambassador Acquaviva was given as assistant the excellent Cardinal Belluga.[1] As a basis for the negotiations, the fiscal of the Council of Castile, Gabriel de Olmeda, drew up, on behalf of the Government of Madrid, a treatise on the extension of the patronage.[2] At the beginning of August 1742 the Pope caused to be handed to the two Cardinals a detailed reply to these expositions,[3] but it met with so little success that in a note written by Cardinal Valenti in November a protest was raised against the Spanish pretensions in the question of patronage.[4] In the course of

e sapere che le amministri. Tutta questa torta si maneggia da un suo segretario e da altri subalterni di esso, tutte genti venali. Costoro dispongono a loro senno della giustizia e delle tante entrate ecclesiastiche, ed il Marchese è solo reo di omissione. Se anche volesse, non avrebbe tempo, siccome non ha lume proporzionato da prender cognizione di tali cose. Dico tutto ciò perchè non si reputi lui autore di quelle ingiustizie che si fanno nella spedizione de Benefizii di dette due Chiese. Molto resta pure scusato dalle massime troppo regaliste del Confessore e de' Consiglieri della Camera di Castiglia, dai quali in parte deve dipendere nel particolare di giurisdizione. In somma egli ci fa male senza saper di farcelo e senza sapere il modo di non farcelo. Emo Padrone, questo è un vero mistero, nel quale forse si potrebbe conoscere ciò che si deve da noi conoscere, ove si danno a fanciulli e secolari l'amministrazione della Chiese." Nunziat. di Spagna, 250 A, 186, Papal Secret Archives. The Infante, not feeling himself called to the ecclesiastical state, renounced his archbishopric in 1754 (see HEECKEREN, II., 366 *seqq.*) and the cardinalate in 1755. Benedict XIV.'s judgment was that "il poverino era nato per fare il prete, ma l'etichetta spagnuola di fare, che i loro principi nulla studino e nulla imparino, ha reso giustificato il suo passo". KRAUS, *Briefe*, 111.

[1] For Belluga, see HEECKEREN, I., 44.

[2] *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, XI. (1864), 254.

[3] It was sent by Acquaviva to Madrid together with a *letter on August 2, 1742 (Archives of Simancas).

[4] Acquaviva's *report to Villarias, November 2, 1742, *ibid.*

these fruitless negotiations the aged Cardinal Belluga died on February 22nd, 1743.[1] On Barni, the nuncio at Madrid, being made a Cardinal, in June 1743, the immediate necessity arose of agreeing on a suitable successor. This was no light task,[2] and the nunciature remained unoccupied until the appointment of Enrico Enriquez in January 1744.[3]

The state of relations between Rome and Spain at this time were described by the Pope to Cardinal Tencin with considerable frankness. There were a number of points at issue, he said, between the Holy See and the Government of Madrid, in which right was undoubtedly on the side of Rome. They had written and written, and negotiated and negotiated, but without obtaining a decision; they could not even obtain a reply. All the tokens of goodwill offered to the Court in Madrid and to its representative in Rome had availed nothing; fresh demands, accompanied by threats, were made daily, no attention being paid to the Pope's inability to grant many of them owing to the continued presence in the Pontifical State of Austrian troops and his fear of their allies, the English.[4]

The chief obstacle to a favourable development in negotiations on ecclesiastico-political affairs was the baneful influence of the regalists at the Court of Madrid; Cardinal Molina, in particular, was indefatigable in pouring oil on the flames.[5] This misguided prelate, in support of the contention that the royal patronage should be extended over the whole of Spain, had had collected a number of Papal Bulls and had sent them to Rome. The compilation, however, had been made without

[1] "*En gran concepto por sus virtudes y con universal dolor de los pobres," writes Acquaviva on February 28, 1743, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* Acquaviva's *reports of August 29, September 19 (in which Tempi, Stoppani, Imperiali, and Enriquez were proposed), October 14 and November 14, 1743, *ibid.*

[3] KARTTUNEN, 143, 243.

[4] Letter to Tencin of January 3, 1744, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 550, n. 1. For the situation in the Pontifical State, see below, Ch. II., pp. 103 *seqq.*

[5] Benedict's opinion in the letter of February 28, 1753, mentioned above (p. 57, n. 4).

any sense of discrimination, and the learned Pope had little difficulty in utterly confuting it in a treatise which he wrote unaided in 1742. An attempt at a reply by Olmeda provoked only ridicule, even among pronounced regalists, such as Gregorio Mayans.[1] It was realized that it was out of the question to present such arguments in Rome.

In October 1744 the nuncio was instructed to press for a reply, long overdue, to the Papal exposition [2]; but nothing of the kind appeared; instead, the concordat of Clement XII. was flagrantly violated. Lest infringements of the rights of patronage be afterwards defended on the plea of custom, Enriquez was given further instructions on August 12th, 1745, to demand an expression of opinion on the arguments of Benedict XIV.[3] Again the Spanish Government held its peace.

The death of Cardinal Molina on September 1st, 1744, brought no relief to the Pope, for Molina's closest friend,[4] Cardinal Acquaviva, was abusing his privileged position in Rome so outrageously that his attempts at intervention were making it more and more difficult even to maintain public

[1] MIGUELEZ, 187 *seq.*; *cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 140.

[2] " *Dica pure V. S. Ill. francamente che mai è comparsa la risposta alla dissertazione del Papa sopra il Padronato fatta da S. Stà per confutare tutte quelle bolle apocrife che il card. Molina mandò sul principio del pontificato." Cipher of October 17, 1744, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, 35b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] " *Vedendosi che l'affare del Padronato va imperversando a misura che cade in mano di ministri trasportati e troppo politici, vuole Nro Sigre che non lo perdiamo di vista nè lasciamo correre tanti atti di pregiudizio; sicchè, per non restare in un assopimento come codesti Togati ci vorrebbero, faccia V. S. Illma una valida et autentica istanza, corroborata con la di Lei più sagace industria, affinchè venga communicata la replica fatta alla risposta di Nro Sigre, la quale sta costì da tanto tempo soppressa. Questa domanda è fondata sulla giustizia della causa e sulla convenienza, che si deve alla dignità del Papa, non meno che all'amorevolezza del di lui cuore." Cipher of August 12, 1745, *ibid.*, 59.

[4] Thus Enriquez's *report of September 1, 1744, *ibid.*, 250A.

order. In consequence, the situation had become extremely tense.[1] Even in Madrid the Cardinal's behaviour was viewed with disapproval, for it was only making Spain hated in Rome; nevertheless he was still left at his ambassadorial post.[2] "It is clear," wrote Cardinal Valenti to the nuncio in Madrid on October 21st 1745, "that whatever affairs pass through Acquaviva's hands will never go well."[3] In these circumstances it must be considered fortunate that at this juncture the Cardinal was attacked by an incurable disease from which he was finally released by death in March 1747. The Pope did no more than his duty in admonishing the dying man and his confessor to make good all the injustice which he had done to the Holy See during his term as ambassador by the advice he had given to the Spanish Court and the plots he had hatched with Molina.[4]

Before this, at the beginning of March 1746, Benedict had made a fresh attempt to bring about an agreement on the disputed questions of patronage and coadjutors, for the absolutely one-sided procedure which had been adopted by the Spanish Government was becoming more and more

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 29, 87, 91, 100 *seqq.* *Cf.* the *ciphers to Barni of September 12, October 4 and 29, December 5 and 12, 1743, *ibid.*, 430.

[2] "*La condotta di Acquaviva nel consaputo intrigo tra l'officiale e soldato spagnuolo e cotesto Ministro di Sardegna è stata qui disapprovata dal primo all' ultimo. Si tiene qui il buon Cardinale per un ignorante capriccioso e capace di metter fuoco all' erba verde, e di far più odiare in Italia questa nazione. Scotti al suo solito va gittando mezze parole di vicina mutazione in cotesto Ministero, ed Ensenada la bramerebbe. Ma questo, a mio credere, non sarà mai finchè vive il Duca d'Atri, bensì, morto lui, lo sarebbe incontanente. Iddio dunque tiene in vita questo buon mezzo cadente, per esercitare con le violenze di cotesto fanatico la pazienza di Nostro Signore e di V. E." Cifra of Enriquez, January 5, 1745, *ibid.*, 250A, 124.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 217, 222, 247, 257, 263, 283 *seqq.*, 285, 298, 300 *seqq.*, 310, 311 *seq.*, 313.

intolerable. To a Brief addressed to the King and couched in general terms the nuncio was to attach a memorandum in which a sharper note was struck. Cardinal Valenti had little hope of this step being of any use, but at least it served the purpose of affirming that the infringements were not assented to and kept the way open for subsequent reclamations.[1]

A large, if not the chief, portion of the blame for the failure of Rome and Madrid to come to an understanding was ascribed by Benedict XIV. to Philip V.'s confessor, the Jesuit Le Fèvre, an impetuous Frenchman, who was even advising the King to repudiate the concordat of 1737.[2]

The nuncio Enriquez had to contend with Le Fèvre from the beginning but neither by severity nor friendliness could he manage to get on satisfactory terms with the influential priest.[3] In vain he represented to him, in accordance with Valenti's instructions, that the Pope was ready to redress all of Spain's legitimate grievances ; in vain he pointed out that the slight offences against the concordat which had been committed in Rome were not to be compared with the violations of the Spanish Government, which continually ignored those parts of the articles of the treaty which were favourable to the Holy See. It was Cardinal Valenti's belief that the root cause of Le Fèvre's hostility was his conviction that Benedict was unfavourably disposed towards the Society of Jesus. The Cardinal Secretary of State emphatically denied that this was so, citing in support of his contention the excellent relations that existed between the Pope and the General of the Jesuits. Le Fèvre, he said, was utterly mistaken if he feared that a blow was about to be struck against his Order,

[1] *Cifra al Enriquez of March 3, 1746, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, *loc. cit.* The Brief to the King, of February 23, 1746, in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 308. *Re* the coadjutors, *cf. ibid.*, I., 360, and HEECKEREN, I., 270.

[2] Benedict XIV.'s letter to Tencin, of July 27, 1746, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 551, n. 2.

[3] *Cifre al Enriquez of August 15 and 22, 1744, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, *loc. cit.*

whose services for the Church and the Holy See were recognized in Rome.[1] To all these assurances the hot-blooded Frenchman refused to give any credence ; even when Valenti sent him, on October 3rd, a note, dictated by the Pope, affirming the

[1] " *Resti pertanto persuaso il Padre Confessore che qui non seguirà se non quello è convenuto, tale essendo l'animo e l'indole di Sua Santità, la quale dice ad ogni modo che, se mai alcuna cosa sfugge di qua, che sia contraria al concertato o pure al gusto di cotesta Corte e nazione, vorrebbe che per atto di buona intelligenza se ne facesse qui la rimostranza et un amichevole ricorso, perchè certamente vi si apporterebbe rimedio, senza che si venisse costì al fatto con prepotenza, perchè un tal modo inasprisce e non agevola il rimedio e dimostra piuttosto alienazione d'animo che confidenza : tanto più che, esaminando imparzialmente e cumulativamente gli articoli tutti del Concordato, vedrà Sua Paternità quanti non si osservano, che sono a nostro favore, e che la legge distributiva vorrebbe che si ponessero in osservanza, e non si lagnassero, se in qualche piccola parte per accidente scorre dal canto nostro un qualche mancamento, quando dal canto altrui si commettono giornalmente tante trasgressioni... La restringo per tanto ad assicurare Monsignore che la cosa non è essenzialmente quale si apprende per quanto toccò alle disposizioni generali de Padri Gesuiti. Nei fatti poi particolari può darsi il caso che li principii e sentenze di Nostro Signore non s'incontrino con quelli della Compagnia ; ma ciò non merita la definizione che Sua Santità sia d'animo contrario. Il Padre Generale, che è l'unico che tratta con Sua Santità degli affari riguardanti il loro ceto, mi pare resti più appagato degli altri che non trattano con Sua Santità, e conviene in alcune virtù che non si possono comprendere sì facilmente da quelli che giudicano dal loro tavolino. Aggiungerò, se bene eccedo in ciò il mio dovere, che, per quanto a me, ho fisso e fermo non solo in rendere giustizia alla considerazione che si deve fare d'un Corpo tanto illustre, ma al merito ancora di molti soggetti particolari, e sono persuaso che non nascerà novità alcuna, che sia, come si suol dire, un colpo capitale contro la Compagnia, che conosco e confesso essere tanto vantaggiosa alla Chiesa et alla Santa Sede. Sappia però il Padre Confessore che alcune cose sono causate dalle circostanze o ancora per difetto di qualche particolare, che bisognerebbe vedere cogli occhi proprii per

benevolent intentions of the Holy Father towards the Jesuit Order,[1] he would not budge from his preconceived opinion. An attempt to influence him through the French ambassador[2] likewise failed. Valenti advised the nuncio on October 31st to concentrate on winning over "the dangerous man" at least in particular cases.[3] Valenti admitted that the Dataria had made mistakes when dealing with Spain but insisted that Le Fèvre exaggerated them.[4]

The attachment of the Father to his Order and his fear that an anti-Jesuit Bull was being prepared in Rome, were so great, reported the Spanish nuncio Enriquez in February 1745, that he was capable of anything.[5] In August the nuncio

esserne ben istruiti; et a tali casi non è facile dar providenza. A me basta poter' asserire, che il male in tali occasioni non viene dalla massima generale." Cifra al Enriquez of September 5, 1744, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cifra al Enriquez of October 2, 1744, *ibid.*, 250A, 93.

[2] *Cifra al Enriquez of October 17, 1744, *ibid.*

[3] *Cifra al Enriquez of October 31, 1744, *ibid.*

[4] *Cifra al Enriquez of September 30, 1745, *ibid.*

[5] *Cifra di M. Nunzio di Madrid, February 16, 1745: "Il Padre Confessore del Re, di cui ora più che mai abbiamo di bisogno, mi disse ier l' altro con voce appassionata e con viso acceso, che egli aveva notizie sicure lavorarsi ora in Roma una nuova Bolla contro i Gesuiti. Io le risposi che non ne sapevo nulla. Quando ciò non fosse vero, come lo bramerei, sarebbe opportuno che V. E. scrivesse una lettera al detto Padre per metterlo in calma ed assicurarlo che non siamo nemici del suo Ordine, pregandolo con tale occasione di dare cortese orecchio a tre istanze di somma importanza e di piena giustizia, che da me in breve gli saranno fatte. Se poi il di lui timore fosse vero, mi dica ciò che devo fare acciò che il colpo gli riesca men duro. Per iscarico de'miei doveri, devo dire a V. E. che questo buon Padre nella condotta della sua carica mi sembra un uomo tutto giustizia senza privati risguardi e senza proprio interesse. Ma per contrario nell' attacamento al suo Ordine è impastato di tanta e tale passione, che per ciò sicuramente è capace di non farci bene e più che probabilmente di farci male." *Ibid.*, 143.

referred to him as a "mortal enemy".[1] On the death of Philip V. on July 9th, 1746, the Pope took further steps to obtain a settlement with Spain in ecclesiastico-political affairs.[2] But Le Fèvre immediately influenced the new king, Ferdinand VI., against the Holy See, so that Benedict XIV. was obliged to protest to the General of the Jesuits. "This Father," so ran his opinion of him, "thinks himself a great canonist, he wants to introduce the French liberties into Spain, and he designates the lawfully acquired rights of the Holy See in Spain as swindles on the part of Roman priests."[3]

Benedict XIV. sighed with relief when in the spring of 1747 Le Fèvre suddenly lost his position as royal confessor and was replaced by the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Rábago. Having received the most favourable assurances regarding the new confessor from the General of the Jesuits, he immediately sent him a complimentary Brief.[4] Of a similar tenor were the reports from the nuncio in Madrid, who at the same time was able to inform him of the favourable intentions of the Queen.[5] The Pope now had strong hopes of an improvement in his relations with the Spanish Government, though he would not hear of a new concordat, experience having shown him that the Spanish Ministers observed only the stipulations that brought them advantage.[6]

Quite apart from the persistent discord in the field of politics, a factor which worked against a settlement was the

[1] "*Il nostro mortale nemico è il velenoso confessore del Re." Cifra of August 31, 1745, *ibid.*

[2] Briefs of August 23, 1746, on the patronage and the coadjutors in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 360 *seqq.*

[3] Letter to Tencin of November 16, 1746, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 551, n. 3.

[5] Heeckeren, I., 326.

[4] *Cifra al Enriquez of July 13, 1747, Nunziat. di Spagna 430, *loc. cit.*

[6] "*Egli è d'avvertire però che oramai a nostre spese abbiamo provato che non conviene far trattati formali perchè alla fine si osserva la parte meno favorevole a noi e va la più favorevole in oblivione." *Ibid.*

attitude adopted by the Government in the conflict between the Pope and the Spanish Inquisitor General, who had put on the Spanish Index the work by Cardinal Noris on the Pelagians and had adhered to this decision despite the contrary one that had been taken by the Pope.[1]

Cardinal Portocarrero, who had succeeded Acquaviva, reported in the autumn of 1750 how deeply the Pope resented the Government's attitude in this affair and the violation of the concordat of 1737 in respect of the stipulations regarding the coadjutors. His Holiness was therefore most averse to granting the favours asked for by the King, nor were the circumstances favourable for concluding a new agreement concerning the matters in dispute. In making his report the Cardinal drew attention to the fact that they had to deal with a Pope who was not only very learned but who had a particularly deep knowledge of the matters in question.[2] At the end of September three requests of the Spanish Government met with a flat refusal.[3] In an audience given to Portocarrero in November the Pope complained bitterly that former important favours granted by him to Spain had not been reciprocated; the attitude adopted in the affair of Cardinal Noris was a personal affront to him; and doubtless his early decease was hoped for in Madrid. The Pope's language was so emotional that Portocarrero feared a rupture with Spain.[4]

But already there was resident in Rome the man who was

[1] For this *cf. infra*, Ch. IV. The question of the character of the Spanish Inquisition (see our account, Vol. IV., 398) was thoroughly discussed at the time in a *Relazione del S. Offizio, compiled by the assessor Ric. Giul. Guglielmo, dated April 15, 1749 (Nunziat. di Spagna 253,90 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*), in which it was historically demonstrated that the Inquisition in Spain, as in other countries, was subject to the Pope.

[2] Portocarrero's *letter to Carvajal of September 17, 1750, Archives of Simancas.

[3] Portocarrero's *letter to Carvajal of October 1, 1750, *ibid.*

[4] Portocarrero's *letter to Carvajal of November 12, 1750, *ibid.* For the favours to which the Pope referred in the conversation, see HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv. f. Kirchenrecht*, XI., 254 *seq.*

to cause affairs to take an entirely different course. Manuel Ventura Figueroa, the new Uditore of the Rota for Castile, had arrived in the Eternal City in the middle of July and had made an excellent impression on the Spanish Embassy.[1] There no one had the slightest knowledge that the Minister Marquis de la Ensenada had given the Uditore the secret mission of negotiating a new concordat. The only persons who knew of the proposal, Ensenada wrote to Figueroa on July 14th, 1750, were the Pope, Cardinal Valenti, the King, his confessor Rábago, and they two. Sufficient money—which could do so much in Rome—had been placed at his disposal to enable him to obtain a concordat even more advantageous than that of 1737; the favourable opportunity was to be made the most of, especially with regard to the royal patronage.[2]

The differences with Sardinia having been settled by direct negotiation, of which only a few persons had been aware at the time, Benedict XIV. readily agreed to the proposal to seek an understanding with Spain by the same method. Previous experience had shown him only too well that the exchange of notes and polemical treatises, so far from composing differences, only complicated them by resurrecting questions already settled.[3]

The exclusion of the Spanish ambassador Portocarrero, in whom Madrid had lost all confidence, was most welcome to Cardinal Valenti, who was on bad terms with that diplomat,[4] and the Pope made no demur, having discovered from previous relations with Portocarrero that his scanty credit in Madrid

[1] Portocarrero's letter to Carvajal of July 16, 1750, in MIGUELEZ, 191.

[2] MIGUELEZ, 192 *seqq.* For the intimate connection between Ensenada and Rábago, who both fell at the same time, see HEECKEREN, II., 451.

[3] *Cf.* the note on the introduction to the concordat of 1753 in MERCATI, *Concordati*, 423. See also the letter to the Spanish nuncio of July 28, 1751, in *Razón y Fe*, XVII. (1907), 22.

[4] MIGUELEZ, 193.

and his inexperience in affairs brought forth nothing but empty speeches and promises.[1]

Figueroa, who had already, in October 1749, drawn up a memorial on the questions of patronage,[2] at the order of Ferdinand VI., was very well informed in the subjects under consideration; but although he showed great skill in the negotiations and was not above bribery,[3] the discussions went on for two and a half years, for much was demanded on the Spanish side. The decisive factor that finally induced the Pope to give way on all important points was his fear of a complete break with Spain. He wrote himself in a confidential letter to Tencin that he had seen the flashing of the sword as it hung above his head and that there was a fear of the King being carried away by his impetuous counsellors and of settling the matters in dispute in arbitrary fashion by a single stroke of the pen. So as not to lose everything and to save what was to be saved, he had concluded the new concordat.[4]

In the Quirinal, on January 11th, 1753, Valenti, in the name of the Pope, and Figueroa, in the name of the King, set their signatures to the document.[5] It settled the most important of the questions on which for more than a generation five Popes and two Kings had been unable to agree, entirely in favour of

[1] Thus in the letter to Tencin mentioned above, p. 66, n. 3.

[2] Reproduced in TEJADA, VII., 113 *seq.*; the memorial probably resulted from Benedict XIV.'s statement to Portocarrero, who wrote from Madrid to Ravago on June 17, 1749: "El día antes de partir yo de Roma, me dijo el Papa: Ya que va a Madrid, sería bien que dijesse algo sobre la conveniencia de ajustar con tratado las cosas de Patronato y otros derechos que el Re juzga tener; porque de mi parte facilitaré cuanto pudiere" (MIGUELEZ, 189).

[3] *Ibid.*, 195, 198 *seq.*, 443 *seqq.*

[4] *Archiv. f. Kirchenrecht*, LXXX. (1900), 321 *seqq.* The preamble to the concordat also stresses the danger of an "infelice rottura".

[5] Best text in MERCATI, *Concordati*, 422 *seqq.* Excellent abstract by HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, XI. (1864), 255 *seqq.*, a shorter one *ibid.*, VII., 365. For earlier printed copies, *cf.* PORTILLO in *Razón y Fe*, XIX. (1907), 295 *seqq.*

the Spanish Government, which hereby obtained the ardently desired universal patronage of the Catholic King in the fullest measure. The Pope was left with only 52 ecclesiastical posts (mostly archdeaconries, precentorships, scholasticates, and treasurerships to chapters) wherewith to reward distinguished or meritorious clerics, whereas the King received the right of presentation to 12,000 benefices formerly contested.[1]

To this general agreement were annexed eight articles containing detailed stipulations concerning the occupation of vacant benefices. In accordance with these the Bishops retained their former right of presenting prebends in the months of March, June, September, and December, by the Tridentine method of *concursus*. Special patronages, whether clerical or lay, were not affected by the concordat. Apart from the 52 benefices reserved to the Holy See, the nomination and presentation to all the others throughout the kingdom were to be made thenceforth by the Crown. Now included therein were all higher dignities below that of bishop, canonries in cathedral and collegiate churches, abbacies, and secular and regular benefices with or without cure of souls, in cases where the founder had not reserved the right of presentation. This universal patronage of the King was not to be prejudiced in any way and no one was to be given an indult to assign ecclesiastical posts in the formerly Papal months.

To maintain episcopal authority undiminished, firstly the Ordinaries were enabled to impart the canonical institution to the persons "provided" by the King, without it being necessary to issue a Papal Bull, except in cases concerned with the confirmation of elections or with dispensations or pardons which the Bishops were not empowered to grant. Further, the Bishops were to remain in possession of their jurisdiction, since no sort of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over churches and ecclesiastical persons was to accrue to the King from his rights of nomination and patronage.

[1] Hergenröther, *loc. cit.*, 256, to whose excellent analysis I am indebted for what follows.

Together with the indults, reservations, and, in great part, exemptions, which were thus abolished, the spoils, which had hitherto fallen to the Apostolic Camera, and the so-called bank-bills [1] were also done away with.

By way of compensation for the very heavy financial losses suffered by the Holy See and its officials as a result of these stipulations, the following provisions were agreed to :—

1. Under the title of a compensation for the rights of collation transferred to the King, Ferdinand VI. pays once for all for the benefit of the Dataria and Cancelleria a capital sum of 310,000 Roman scudi, which at 3% yield 9,300 scudi annually.

2. As a substitute for the abolished pensions and bank-bills and for the benefit of the Roman officials of the Curia, the King pays 600,000 scudi, which at 3% produce 18,000 scudi annually.

3. As a substitute for the abolished spoils the King pays 233,333 scudi, which at 3% bring in 7,000 scudi annually.

4. As indemnity for the receipts from the intercalary fruits the Court of Madrid sets apart from the revenue of the *Cruzada* an annual sum of 5,000 scudi for the maintenance of the nuncio and his officials.[2]

The concordat was ratified by King Ferdinand VI. as early

[1] Of these Benedict gives this explanation in his Bull of confirmation : "Consuetudo a longo tempore vigens, ut in beneficiorum collationibus et provisionibus, quae per S. Sedem fierent, quaedam pensiones annuae super eorundem beneficiorum fructibus et proventibus reservarentur, et pro earum certiori solutione publicorum Argentariorum cautiones seu cedulae Bancariae a provisis Beneficiatis exigerentur."

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 260. Hergenröther thinks it improbable that the continued application of the "Pase Regio" (Exequatur) was permitted by an additional secret article in the concordat, but he cannot definitely deny it (*ibid.*, 261 *seq.*). PORTILLO produces documentary evidence to show that no such secret article existed ; see *Razón y Fe*, XIX. (1907), 209 *seqq.*

as January 31st, 1753,[1] by Benedict XIV. on February 20th.[2] After the payment of the indemnity the agreement was further confirmed and explained in a Bull of June 9th.[3] Enriquez, the nuncio in Madrid, whose first circular letter to the Spanish Bishops had given the Government cause for complaint, was made to replace it by another.[4] Enriquez had been bitterly mortified by his exclusion from the negotiations for the new concordat and remained an opponent of it until his death, in spite of Benedict XIV.'s and Valenti's assurances that it was precisely his reports that had prompted them to give way to the Spanish demands.[5]

Seldom has a secret been kept so well as on the occasion of this new concordat with Spain. It was not until its actual

[1] *Ibid.*, 294.

[2] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 125 *seqq.*

[3] MÜNCH, *Konkordate*, I., 468 *seqq.*, where, however, " June 5 " should read " June 9 ". See *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 437 *seq.*, and PORTILLO, *loc. cit.*, 295 *seq.*

[4] HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.* The date of the Brief in MÜNCH (I., 483 *seqq.*) is also wrong ; it is not December 10, but September 10 ; see *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 451 *seq.*, and PORTILLO, *loc. cit.*, 295, 297.

[5] MERENDA (**Memorie*) relates of the year 1756 : " Alli 26 del mese di aprile si ebbe l'avviso della morte del cardinale Enriquez in Ravenna, dopo lunga penosa malattia, alla quale credesi contribuisse un poco la passione dell'animo. Poichè, parlando esso con molta libertà in biasimo del Concordato con la Spagna, come fatto senza saputa e intelligenza, e continuando a parlare nella medesima maniera, benchè avvertito per ordine del Papa a moderarsi et a parlare con più riserva, perciò Sua Stà et il card. Valenti avevano fatto cavare un estratto delle sue lettere, tanto in cifra che in piano, su questa materia, dalle quali risultava la spinta che vi aveva data con le sue rappresentanze, e si stava sul punto di dar fuori un manifesto contro di lui e far palese la parte che vi aveva avuta, e ne restò sospesa la publicazione per la malattia sopragiuntali, per cui dopo un mese e mezzo è morto. Era egli rimasto il solo della sua famiglia, e da Governatore di Macerata era passato Nunzio in Spagna, con speranza ancora di salire più alto. Il Papa, intesa la di lui morte, mandò ordine per staffetta a Msgr. Onorati V. Legato di prendere e sigillare

publication that anything was known of the negotiations that had preceded it.[1] In Rome the general public first got wind of the matter by the excitement caused by the arrival in the middle of February of a huge consignment of money—1,300,000 *scudi*—which was taken to the Castel S. Angelo.

There can be no gainsaying that this indemnity was far from being an adequate compensation for the revenues yielded by the benefices which had now come under royal patronage. The surprise and indignation of the Curiali was accordingly very great. We are told by a contemporary that their outbursts of wrath and their vehement expressions of opinion were indescribable.[2] The older members related how Benedict XIII. in his time had refused to make such a concession to Spain, although he had been offered an indemnity of 5 millions, besides another million for Cardinal Coscia—an offer which Lambertini, then Secretary to the Congregation of the Council, had approved of.[3] It was feared also in many quarters that similar concessions would now be demanded by other Governments.[4]

Cardinal Valenti endeavoured to justify the new agreement by a more exhaustive exposition of the circumstances,[5] but when it was known that he had received a second present from the King of Spain of 50,000 scudi,[6] in addition to one of 45,000 scudi already received, he became the chief object of attack.

tutte le scritture del defunto e tenerle a disposizione di Sua Santità." Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

[1] Cordara in DÖLLINGER, III., 16. *Cf.* MIGUELEZ, 206. The conclusion of the concordat was first reported by Albani on March 3, 1753, to Colloredo. More detailed information was sent by Stadion, the Auditor to the Rota, on April 4, 1753, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*, and the report in HEECKEREN, I., lv *seq.* A venomous *satire of the time in Cod. Vat. 9020, 101 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] *Merenda, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.* *Cf.* MIGUELEZ, 206.

[5] *MERENDA, *loc. cit.*

[6] MIGUELEZ, 444, and PORTILLO, *loc. cit.*, XX. (1908), 197.

It was said of him that he had already promised to make an agreement of this nature when he was nuncio in Madrid.[1]

If the concordat of 1753 brought about a fundamental change in the discipline of the Church in Spain,[2] it also altered conditions in the Roman Curia. The number of the applicants for Spanish benefices who now departed from the Holy City is said to have been as high as 4,000. It was entirely in the interests of the Church that Rome should be freed of these elements, but it was not at all to the liking of those who had derived a living from them. Not only inn- and lodging-house-keepers but a countless number of agents and procurators now found themselves deprived of their source of income. In a similar plight was the numerous personnel of the Dataria which now became superfluous. Many a man who had lived very comfortably on Spanish money was now suddenly impoverished.[3]

Thus a storm of abuse rained down on Benedict XIV.[4] But calm observers admitted even then that there was much to be said on his side. Those who came to Rome seeking benefices were not of the best type, and their arrogant demeanour often led to disturbances. Many of them were given well-endowed positions, not in virtue of their services but because they had persisted in their application for years on end. In a city of the size of Rome they were able to elude the surveillance of the ecclesiastical authorities. Some of them were so poor that to keep themselves alive they had to resort to quite unworthy occupations, donning their clerical robes—which they often lent to one another—only once a month, when they had to present themselves at the Dataria.[5] These abuses were now brought to an end.

Another consideration which had equally affected Benedict's decision was the danger of the situation ; for the Spanish regalists, pointing to the influence wielded by the rulers of France in the filling of ecclesiastical offices since the concordat

[1] *Merenda, *loc. cit.*

[2] Gams, III., 2, 348.

[3] Cordara, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Caracciolo, 121.

[4] Miguelez, 207.

[5] Cordara, *loc. cit.*

of 1515, were advising Ferdinand VI. to claim similar rights for himself, without reference to the Holy See.[1]

The Pope himself maintained to Cardinal Tencin that much had been saved by him which would otherwise have been lost. They had striven, he wrote, not to burden the Papal treasury with fresh debts, which would unavoidably have happened had they lost the yearly revenues without obtaining any compensation. They had seen to it that on the one hand the Bishops should suffer no injury, and that on the other the vast host of Spanish aspirants, who were like "bees without a queen" and who were leading scandalous lives, should be removed from Rome. They had got rid of the most obnoxious phenomenon of the bank-bills, which were more the property of a bank than of the Dataria. And the Pope had no need to threaten a fresh closure of the Dataria, which had already happened four times in his lifetime.[2]

Nevertheless the complaint is still being made that Benedict XIV. was too conciliatory in his dealings with Spain. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the loss to the Holy See was great,[3] while the advantage gained by Caesaro-papalism was immense.[4] There was, however, in Benedict's favour the circumstance that grave abuses were undoubtedly being committed, which according to the description of them given by the negotiators, threatened to provide a pretext for a complete rupture. This Benedict was determined to avoid, even though it meant his going to the uttermost limit of what was possible for him to do.

[1] *Ibid. Cf.* MIGUELEZ, 201, 209.

[2] *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, LXXX. (1900), 321; HEECKEREN, II., 247 *seq.*

[3] "Irreparable" is the term used by SPITTLER in *Vorlesungen über die Gesch. des Papsttums*, pub. by Gurlitt, 1st Appx., 1st Continuation, Hamburg, 1827, 27.

[4] MIGUELEZ, 211 *seqq.*, PORTILLO, *loc. cit.*, 198. Not content with what it had already gained, the Government lost no time in claiming the annates about which so many complaints had been lodged with the Popes. By Briefs of April 6 and May 10, 1754, there was ceded to the Crown half of the annates from all the benefices subject to its right of presentation; see HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, 263.

CHAPTER II.

Benedict XIV. and the War of the Austrian Succession —His Attitude towards the Elections of the Emperors Charles VII. and Francis I.—The Peace Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

(1)

Benedict XIV. had hardly been on the Papal throne for two months when the death of Emperor Charles VI. on October 20th, 1740, and the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession placed him in a highly difficult situation. While Maria Theresa was making every effort to secure the election, as emperor, of her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria was raising claims to the inheritance of the Habsburgs, and the Spanish Queen, Elizabeth, who held the reins of government in the place of her melancholy husband, was planning to endow her second son, Philip, with Austrian possessions in her Italian homeland. Both Charles Albert and Elizabeth hoped for the support of the French Cabinet, which had decided in advance to prevent the election of Francis Stephen and to obtain this honour for Bavaria.[1]

In a letter written in his own hand on November 26th, 1740, Benedict XIV. expressed his condolence with Maria Theresa on the death of her father,[2] but on other matters he reserved his opinion. Cardinal Aldrovandi, who was still influential, was for the immediate recognition of Maria Theresa as Charles VI.'s inheritress ; Cardinals Passionei and Valenti, on the other hand, advised the Pope to be silent for the nonce and to await developments. After a month's delay the Pope decided, in spite of the opposition of the French and Spanish

[1] Immich, *Staatensystem*, 304 *seqq.*

[2] *Original of this letter in the State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorrespondenz.

ambassadors, Cardinals Tencin and Acquaviva, to recognize Maria Theresa's right of succession.[1]

At the same time the question arose as to the attitude to be adopted by the Holy See towards the impending imperial election. Though the Pope's influence in the appointment of a new head of the Empire had long been considerably less than it had been of old, it still seemed strong enough to the interested parties for them to vie with one another in enlisting the support of the Curia.[2]

Foreseeing that he would soon be assailed by advice, suggestions, and demands, in the form of prayers, coming from all quarters, Benedict XIV. sought enlightenment from above. For this purpose he announced a jubilee to invoke the divine assistance and instructed the famous Franciscan preacher Leonardo da Porto Maurizio to hold missions in Rome. In the procession for the obtaining of the jubilee indulgence, which went from S. Maria degli Angeli to S. Maria Maggiore on November 20th, 1740, he took part in person.[3]

As nuncio for the electoral diet in Frankfort the Genoese Giorgio Doria was appointed, with the full powers of a *Legatus a latere*.[4] He was instructed not to give his support to any particular candidate but to work generally for a result that

[1] See MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, and the Venetian reports in MATSCHEG, 79 *seqq.*, 131. The *original of the letter to Maria Theresa, which was written on parchment under date December 20, 1740, and implicitly recognizes Maria Theresa as Charles VI.'s inheritress, is in the State Archives, Vienna, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* MATSCHEG, 45 *seqq.*

[3] Thun's *report to Maria Theresa, November 19, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Thun reports Doria's appointment on November 12, 1740, and his departure, fixed for the following day, on December 17, 1740, *ibid.* Merenda (**Memorie, loc. cit.*) refers to Doria as a " degnissimo prelato ". Benedict XIV. also was highly laudatory ; see HEECKEREN, I., 20, 30. Doria's *Cifre to Valenti (Nunziat. di Germania, Papal Secret Archives) begin with a report dated Bamberg, February 1741, and Frankfurt, February 17, 1741.

would be to the advantage of the Catholic religion and the Holy See. Similarly the Briefs sent by Benedict to the Catholic electors contained only the general exhortation to choose a candidate who would be able to protect the interests of the Church.[1]

This impartial attitude was not to the liking of any of the candidates, and remonstrances were made in Rome by all the parties. To the complaint made by the French ambassador, Cardinal Tencin, that the desire for a powerful emperor, as expressed in the Briefs, was tantamount to favouring Maria Theresa's husband, the Pope simply replied that he was convinced that he had acted rightly.[2] Early in the year 1741 the Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Acquaviva, also remonstrated with the Pope for having, as he said, sided with the Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany. Benedict assured him that he was far from having any such intention and he told him in confidence that for him the Lorrainer was the least desirable of all the candidates, on account of the usurpation of Parma and Piacenza ; in strict confidence he added that he did not know how much reliance could be placed on that prince's religious sentiments.[3]

The Pope succeeded in convincing both Acquaviva and Tencin that he had no desire to intervene in the electoral

[1] The *Briefs to Charles Albert of Bavaria of the 14, to Cologne and Trèves of the 20, to Mayence of November 25, 1740, in the *Epist. ad princ.* 109, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Thun's *report to Maria Theresa, December 31, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *El santo Padre que ciertamente es incapaz de decir una cosa por otra mi dixo que yo le conocia y savia la amistad que tenia conmigo y mi jurava que no havia ni menos pensado de ayudar al Duque de Lorena, antes mi dezia con toda la confianza que de todos los principes catholicos que podian ser elegidos era este el unico que le disgustaria que fuese et tenia toda la razón para con Dios porque ninguno convendria menos que este para la Sede Apost. mientras mantenia la usurpacion hecha de los estados de Parma y Plasencia y de la Carpeña y en fin me añadio con la maior reserva que no savia como este principe estava en materia de religion." Acquaviva to Villarias, January 19, 1741, Archives of Simancas.

negotiations on Francis Stephen's behalf. When Tencin reported this to Paris he added that no doubt the Pope was obliged to tread warily as the proximity of the Lorrainer as Grand Duke of Tuscany might be dangerous to the Pontifical State.[1]

The more acute the electoral struggle at the diet in Frankfort became, the more difficult became the position of the Papal legate, Doria. In Rome it was impressed upon him to exercise the greatest care in all directions and not to commit himself too far with anyone, not even with the French delegate.[2] At the same time he was advised to pay as much consideration as possible to the Protestants, whom he was to mollify.[3] But above all he was to bring about a settlement between Bavaria and Austria in the dispute about the succession.[4] If he succeeded in this, the balance between the two great Catholic Powers in Germany would be restored, the papal influence in that country would be considerably increased, and the Catholic Church would have a firm bulwark against the Protestants. Actually the plan was wrecked by the old opposition between the houses of Wittelsbach and Habsburg proving insurmountable.[5]

As in the case of the Imperial election, the Pope allowed himself to be affected by no other interests than those of the Catholic religion in his attitude towards the Prussian king and his invasion of Silesia.

Already by the end of 1740 the Pope had said of Frederick II. that he was a man to be feared, being in control of considerable forces and having no religion.[6] Immediately he heard the news

[1] Tencin to Fleury, January 6, 1741, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 43.

[2] *Cifre al Doria, January 21 and February 18, 1741, Nunziat. di Germania, 570, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cifra al Doria, March 4, 1741, *ibid.*

[4] *Cifra al Doria, March 18, 1741, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* W. von Hofmann, 215 *seqq.*

[6] *" che questo era un principe da temersi, perchè aveva molte forze e niuna religione." Thun to Maria Theresa, December 31, 1741, State Archives, Vienna.

that the Prussian king was trying to obtain possession of the duchy of Berg, Benedict XIV., on December 20th, 1740, called on the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne, and Pfalz-Neuburg to resist.[1] And when the unexpected invasion of Silesia followed, the indignation in Rome was very great.[2] For lack of means, the Pope had to refuse a request for monetary aid put to him by Maria Theresa's envoy, Count Thun,[3] but on January 25th and February 11th, 1741, he turned to the Catholic princes of Germany, both ecclesiastical and lay, and urged them to support Maria Theresa in her struggle for her heritage.[4]

Meanwhile fresh complaints were coming in from France about Doria's behaviour in Frankfort, formulated in such a way that one might have supposed, as the Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti, wrote, that Doria had been sent to further party interests rather than as the representative of the Holy See, with the mission of promoting the welfare of religion and of preserving the peace of the Empire. Accordingly Valenti, on April 14th and 21st, 1741, pointed out to the French nuncio that the aims of the Pope as the common Father of all Christians were very different from those of the French statesmen; the Holy Father, he said, was bound by his position to maintain an impartial attitude towards all the candidates.[5] But

[1] **Epist. ad princ.*, 109, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Letter from Cardinal Albani to Sinzendorf, January 21, 1741, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] *Thun to Maria Theresa, January 7, 1741, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MATSCHEG, 168 *seqq.*

[4] **Epist. ad princ.*, 109, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Thun's *reports of January 25 and February 11, 1741, *loc. cit.*, and MATSCHEG, 134.

[5] *Cifra al nunzio Crescenzi, April 14, 1741: "Non occorre che si lagnino davantagio costì di Msgr. Doria, perchè non hanno a pretendere che egli parli il linguaggio loro: così differenti sono le intenzioni ed i fini. Non basta che smentischino le dichiarazioni dei loro ministri nell'Imperio, quando quelle sono costanti e comuni a tutti i loro rappresentanti. Si contentino adunque di tolerare che il nostro Nunzio mostri tanta propensione pel Gran Duca quanta ne può mostrare per lo elettore di Baviera e quello

how far from peaceful were the intentions of the Powers was shown by the treaty of alliance of June 4th, 1741, between France and the King of Prussia, whereby the latter, in secret separate articles, in return for the guaranteeing of Lower Silesia, promised his electoral vote to the French candidate for the Imperial Crown, Charles Albert, while France promised the Bavarians armed support for an attack on Austria. Through this treaty, in which Austria's old and new enemies joined hands, the Silesian War developed into a European one.[1] Charles Albert, conscious of his own powerlessness, threw himself entirely in the arms of France and, turning a deaf ear to all Doria's exhortations to make peace, attacked Passau on the last day of July and entered Upper Austria. The Pope most strongly disapproved of this violation of the peace, but the Briefs which he addressed on the subject to Charles Albert and Cardinal Fleury[2] had no effect. Acutely distressed, not only by the harm that would accrue to the Church in Silesia but by the prospect of the weakening of Austria and the consequent strengthening of the Protestants in Germany, he wept at Maria Theresa's desperate position

di Sassonia. Poi il Papa dice da dovero, quando si protesta d'essere imparziale e però il suo contegno è paterno ed amorevole inverso tutti i concorrenti..." *To the same, April 21, 1741: "Non cessa questo Sigr. cardinale di Tencin di dolersi di Msgr. Doria, come se egli fosse stato mandato in Francfort per opporsi a qualcuno dei candidati; e non come un ministro Apostolico unicamente interessato a procurare il bene della rel gione e la pubblica tranquillità. Diversi fini e diverse mire si hanno dalla Francia, che non compatiscono con quelle del Padre comune. Deve egli essere imparziale e, per mostrarsi tale in effetti, non deve desiderare più uno che l'altro. Il di lui ministro se dice che sentirà con piacere eletto il Gran Duca, opera coerentemente al sistema di Nostro Signore, perchè con egual piacere si sentirà che la providenza abbia scelto l'elettor di sassonia o quello di Baviera." Similarly again on April 28, 1741. Nunziat. di Francia, 442, pp. 11 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] IMMICH, 308; *cf.* DROYSEN, V., 273 *seqq.*

[2] Thun's *report of August 19, 1741, *loc. cit*

and again commissioned Doria to mediate for peace.[1] But in Munich the Papal envoy was referred to the Elector Palatine in Mannheim—a clear proof how hopeless it was to attempt to check the outbreak of war.[2]

In Paris the Papal mediation was viewed as a selfish intervention on behalf of Maria Theresa's husband. This interpretation was energetically denied by Cardinal Valenti. The fall of Austria, he wrote to the Paris nuncio, would destroy the bulwark against the Turks and at the same time ensure the predominance of the Protestant Powers in Germany. If the Pope sided with Maria Theresa it was not because he favoured any party in the Imperial election nor because he opposed the claims of other Powers to the Austrian territories ; his sole motive was his dutiful desire to protect Catholic interests. This was the only standpoint from which the matter was viewed by Rome.[3]

[1] *Cifra al Doria of August 26, 1741, Nunziat. di Germania, 572. *Cf.* *Cifra al Nunzio di Francia of August 18, 1741, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, *loc. cit.*

[2] Thun's *reports of September 16 and 23, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[3] In the *Cifra al Nunzio Crescenzi of August 25, 1741, Valenti expatiated on the Pope's fear for Maria Theresa : " questo è il vedere talmente annichilata la regina di Ungheria che non potrà mai tenere in soggezione le potenze eretiche dell'Imperio nè far fronte al Turco. Questa non è parzialità per far riuscire il Gran Duca nè contrastare le pretensioni, le quali giustificatamente possono avere altri principii sul patrimonio della casa d'Austria; ma questo è un timore che si risveglia in tutti i cattolici disappassionati e che agita specialmente Sua Santità." On September 15, 1741, Valenti returned to the question : " *Queste [premure e riflessioni di N. S.] si riducono a prescindere onninamente dall' elezione dell' Imperio, che cada in uno o in altro sogetto, e compiacendosi quando cada nell' elettor di Baviera ; ma trema di veder posta tutta la Germania e quasi l'Europa in fuoco con tanta effusione del sangue cristiano, e di vedere un sicuro esterminio di vari paesi cattolici, con accrescimento di forze e di autorità per le potenze eretiche e con l'annichilamento di quella potenza, che si trova essere per necessità la barriera del Turco..." On September 20 Valenti wrote : " *Finalmente si contentino di non prendere

When at first the fortunes of war seemed to be going against Maria Theresa it was feared more than ever in Rome that the Austrian monarchy would be utterly destroyed and that Protestant Prussia would acquire still greater influence in Germany at the cost of the Catholic Church.[1] Valenti accordingly let it be known in Paris how great a mistake it was to help increase the power of a prince who would very soon shake the foundations of Germany and the whole of Europe.[2]

In the meantime, however, everything had gone as the French Cabinet desired. The French army's passage of the Rhine on August 15th had an immediate effect on the electoral negotiations. On August 27th, 1741, Doria reported that Frederick II. had declared himself in favour of the Bavarian

a male la parte che N. S. va replicando in favore della regina d'Ungheria, poichè altro fine non ha la Stà Sua se non quello di non veder distrutto un principato tanto utile in Germania contro l'eresia, ed ancor più contro gl'infedeli ai quali fa barriera. Le cose sono ridotte a un punto che non solamente sono per apportarse utile alla casa di Baviera, ma per necessità di questa combinazione deve smembrarsi per impinguare altri principi dell' Imperio e particolarmente il Prussiano. Ecco quello che ferisce l'animo di Sua Stà e che bramerebbe fosse preso in considerazione del sigr. cardinale di Fleury." Nunziat. di Francia, 442, pp. 26, 30, 32. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cifre al Nunzio Crescenzi of October 6 and 27, 1741, *ibid.* In the latter it is said : " Guai, se un giorno o l'altro, o casualmente, o maliziosamente, si risveglia in Germania un qualche movimento che interessi i religionari. Veda V. S. Illma che sbilancio, avere da una parte Prussia, Hannover con tutti gli altri acattolici, tra i quali forza è annoverare anche la Sassonia, e dall' altra parte porvi i pochi cattolici che rimangono, i quali non formeranno che un bujo di gente collettizia. Dica quello che vuole l'umana politica, sarà sempre vero che la nostra religione v'ha a soffrire un fortissimo colpo, che non so come si potrà riparare, ancorchè Sua Emza abbia la migliore intenzione."

[2] " *Fa male la Francia ad ingrandirlo [Frederick II.] e farebbe bene riguardarlo come il mal fermento che deve un giorno l'altro sconvolgere la Germania e l'Europa." Cifra al Crescenzi of November 3, 1741, *ibid.*

candidature, which seemed to make the choice of Charles Albert all the more certain, especially as the Elector of Mayence, Philip Charles of Eltz, who had hitherto been favourably disposed towards Austria, had now crossed over to the Bavarian side and, Doria added, would persist in this attachment even were Frederick II. to change his mind.[1] At the beginning of September, Doria, who was now quite certain that Charles Albert would be promoted Emperor,[2] betook himself to Munich, where the Elector scouted the idea of making peace with Austria but held out favourable prospects with regard to his attitude when Emperor.[3] The nuncio now openly took his side and promised him his assistance in procuring a unanimous election. From Würzburg, where he was visiting the Prince Bishop Frederick Charles of Schönborn, a man experienced in politics and a faithful servant of the Holy See,[4] he was able to report on September 16th that the Prince Bishop's brother, Francis George of Schönborn, the Elector of Trèves, intended to give his vote to the Bavarian Elector.[5] On his return to Frankfort, Doria reported on September 23rd that Charles Albert's election might be regarded as an accomplished fact, as Saxony and Hanover also intended to vote for him.[6] And in fact, Augustus of Saxony, although he had thought of securing the Imperial

[1] *Cifra of August 27, 1741, in which Doria asserts that he has always said that everything depends on Prussia (Nunziat. di Germania, 546, *ibid.*). Frederick's instructions to his delegates at the diet, which won over the Electorate of Mayence, were dispatched on August 22, 1741; see DROYSEN, V., 1, 335.

[2] "*L'affare si può dire fatto." Cifra of August 27, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cifra di Monaco of September 5, 1741: "The Elector considers himself to be nearly Emperor already. I told him that the Pope would rejoice at his election. Formerly I never did more than forward the interests of religion and peace. It was not until I saw the way things were going that I altered my tone." *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* the Pope's praise in HEECKEREN, I., 265.

[5] *Cifra of September 16, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cifra of September 23, 1741, *ibid.* In the *Cifra of September

crown for himself, placed his vote at the disposal of Bavaria. Even George II., King of England and Elector of Hanover, found himself constrained by French and Prussian troops to withhold his support of Maria Theresa. On September 27th he concluded a treaty of neutrality with France, binding himself not to vote for the Lorrainer.[1]

The Bavarian Elector, surrounded by French and Bavarian

27, 1741 (*ibid.*), Doria reports that Charles Albert is certain of eight votes; "il Prussiano è stato il fundamento e causa di tutto"; Bavaria now acknowledges the treaty concluded with Prussia on June 11. In the *Cifra of October 7, 1741, Doria announces that Hanover has gone over to Bavaria and claims that Vienna has no grounds for complaining ou his (Doria's) conduct. He defends his conduct in these terms: "Mostro è vero tutta la compiacenza di vedere prossima l'elettione del sigr. Duca di Baviera, ma questo non è contrario, anzi conforme al carattere dichiarato da N. S. padre comune, che non può non compiacersi del bene che tocca ad uno di suoi figlii, il quale si è spiegato di non amare [uno] meno degl'altri. Non potrà però mai dirsi ch'io abbia portato alcun elettore a dar il voto più all' elettore di Baviera che al Duca di Lorena. Già di Hannover e Sassonia abbiamo saputo le intenzioni da altri che da loro. Per Magonza me parlò il conte Eltz già risoluto. È vero che mi sono esibito col Maresciallo e al Duca di Baviera di cooperare all' unanima elettione e di trattare ancora con msgr. vescovo di Bamberga, ma in sostanza nulla ho fatto. Treviri già aveva la sua risoluzione e msgr. vescovo tanto per suo fratello quanto per Vienna aveva già formato le sue idee prima del mio arrivo." Valenti commended Doria's procedure in Munich in a *Cifra of September 22, 1741: "We will see how things turn out; but there seems to be no hope for Maria Theresa." In the *Cifra of September 30, 1741, he returns to the subject of Maria Theresa's desperate position: "N. S. ha cercato di salvarla dall' ultimo precipizio, ma pare la providenza abbia disposto altrimente, si che senza voltarle le spalle conviene che andiamo secondando le traccie dell' odierna probabilità tanto più che cadendo questa in un principe così degno e in una casa così cattolica come quella di Baviera potiamo sperare vantaggio alla religione." Nunziat. di Germania, 570, *ibid.*

[1] "What else could he do at such a time," asks HEINEMANN

generals, had made his entry into Linz on September 10th. As he was now only a few days' march from the Austrian capital, where all was in confusion, a speedy advance would have brought him the most brilliant successes. Frederick II. was all for the march on Vienna, but instead of this Charles Albert crossed the Danube and entered Bohemia. For this step he has long been blamed, but recent researches have shown that this all-important alteration in the plan of campaign, which was of the greatest possible service to Austria, was forced on Charles Albert, entirely against his wishes, by the French, lest an out-and-out success might make Bavaria great and strong and put a spoke in the wheels of the French policy. As Charles Albert realized too late, the aim of this was to weaken both Bavaria and Austria by setting them at each other's throats and then to step in and take the lion's share.[1] Instead of Vienna, therefore, Prague became the allies' objective, and here Charles Albert was crowned king with unwonted pomp on December 19th.[2] From Prague the protégé of France moved to Mannheim, there to await his election as Emperor. In Frankfort, where the electoral delegates had been sitting in conference the last two months, the decision was finally taken on December 20th, after lengthy deliberations and on the insistence of Prussia, to hold the election on January 24th, 1742. Charles Albert was elected without a single vote being cast against him, and on February 12th he was crowned Charles VII.[3]

(2)

Meanwhile, Spain was arming with all speed, intending to take advantage of Maria Theresa's predicament to set up a kingdom of Lombardy for the Infante Philip. In the latter

(*Gesch. von Braunschweig und Hannover*, III., Gotha, 1892, 253), "but give his vote too to the Bavarian Elector ?"

[1] Heigel, *Der österr. Erbfolgekrieg und die Kaiserwahl Karls VII.*, Nördlingen, 1877.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ohlenschläger, IV., 312 ; Droysen, V., 1, 390.

half of November 1741, troops and war material were dispatched from Barcelona and Naples to fortified places on the Tuscan coast which were already in Spanish occupation. On December 9th the commander-in-chief of the army, the Duke of Montemar, landed in Orbetello, where he was to be joined by Spanish troops from Naples, to the number of 12,000. Already in early October the Pope had feared that they would attempt to pass through the Pontifical State,[1] and in the middle of November the Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Acquaviva, sought his permission for them to do so.[2] Benedict had declared in June 1741 that he would forbid the passage of troops through his territory, no matter whence they came,[3] but defenceless as he was he was now unable to carry out this intention. On November 18th, 1741, Cardinal Albani wrote to Sinzendorf that the Pope had not the power to defend his territory; his enemies had a free hand; even the French would not lift a finger to protect Tuscany, although they were guarantors of its integrity.[4]

Benedict placed no trust in Acquaviva's assurances that the inhabitants of the Pontifical State had nothing to fear, but towards the end of December he was forced to permit the passage of the army from Naples.[5] In any case, the neutrality of the Papal territory had already been violated by Austria, which had sent troops through the Bolognese district. This was not the only complaint which Benedict had to make to

[1] Acquaviva's *report to Villarias, October 9, 1741, Archives of Simancas.

[2] Acquaviva's *report to Villarias of November 18, 1741, *loc. cit.* Benedict's anger at Acquaviva's request is shown in the *Cifre al Crescenzi of November 17 and 24, 1741, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Thun's *letter to Maria Theresa of June 14, 1741, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Albani's *letter in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[5] Acquaviva's *letter of December 21, 1741, Archives of Simancas. *Cf.* Thun's *reports of December 10 and 17, 1741, *loc. cit.*

Count Thun ; there was also the non-recognition of his feudal right over Parma and Piacenza,[1] to the maintenance of which he had drawn attention as far back as March 6th, when he had demanded the oath of fealty from Maria Theresa.[2]

Relations between Rome and Vienna had been good at first—the Pope, for instance, had consented to stand godfather to Maria Theresa's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph, born on March 13th, 1741 [3]—but already by June 1741, heated words had passed between Thun and Valenti as a result of the former having accused the Cardinal of Spanish leanings.[4] Austria's enemies, on the other hand, were far more tactful in their dealings with the Pope. In order to obtain his recognition of Charles VII. as quickly as possible, the French ambassador and the representatives of Bavaria and Cologne upheld in Frankfort the rights of the Catholics and the Holy See.[5] This was acknowledged with gratitude in Rome, together with the fact that Bavaria and Mayence had frustrated an attempt by the Elector of Trèves, Francis George of Schönborn, to abolish appeals to the Pope and his nuncios.[6] Further, Cardinal

[1] Thun's *report of October 14, 1741, *ibid.*

[2] See the allocution in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, Vol. I., 44.

[3] In a *letter of February 18, 1741, Thun reports to Maria Theresa the Pope's acceptance of the sponsorship and his nomination of Cardinal Kollonitsch as proxy. On April 22, 1741, Thun reports the audience given to Count Kaunitz as the bearer of the news of Joseph's birth. "Al conte fu permesso per grazia di ritinere la spada" ; but permission to remain covered could not be obtained. As a present he received a rosary "in pietra dura", set in gold. The difficulties about the *cappello cardinalizio*, which was given only to the first-born son of the Emperor, but not of kings, were resolved by the Pope in Maria Theresa's favour. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* MATSCHEG, 207 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* Thun's *report of June 24, 1741, *loc. cit.*

[5] The Paris nuncio Crescenzi received instructions on December 22, 1741, to thank Fleury for this ; *cf.* *Cifra of January 26, 1742, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Cifra al nunzio Crescenzi, January 19, 1742, *ibid.* : "Ci avvisa msgr. Doria che per parte dell' elettore di Treveri si era tentato di sottoporre all' esame della Dieta l'articolo delle

Fleury announced his desire to protect the Papal suzerainty over Parma and Piacenza.[1]

When the news arrived in Rome on the night of February 2nd that the Bavarian Elector had been chosen Emperor, it was received with joy.[2] On Doria's visit to Munich, Charles Albert had made him far-reaching promises anent his devotion to the Holy See,[3] and his electoral capitulation also seemed quite satisfactory.[4] Despite Thun's remonstrances, therefore, the recognition of the election took place as early as February 28th, 1742, in a solemn allocution to the Cardinals assembled in consistory.[5] Before taking this step, the Pope had consulted

appellazioni alla S. Sede ed ai nunzi, reclamando contro le medesime e pretendendo farle abolire; ma che non gli era riuscito, opponendosi vigorosamente i ministri di Magonza e di Baviera, ai quali si sono uniti quelli ancora del marchese di Brandebourgh e di Hannover. Vuole però N. S. che V. S. Illma ne parli col sigr. cardinale di Fleury e lo preghi a voler vivamente raccomandare al sigr. maresciallo di Belisle di assistere msgr. Doria e per l'articolo suddetto delle appellazioni, se caso mai tornasse a parlarsene, e per l'altro di Risvich, che deve premere anche alla Francia."

[1] *Cifre al Crescenzi of October 26, 1740, and January 19, 1742, *ibid.*

[2] *Cifra al Nunzio Crescenzi, February 2, 1742, *ibid.* "Questa notte abbiamo avuto il corriere di Francfort che porta l'elezione dell'Imperatore. N. S. ne è sommamente contento, sì per essere questo grave articolo perfezionato, sì per la stima grande che nutrisce delle qualità personali dell' eletto, e finalmente perchè spera con questo considerabile avvenimento si farà strada a calmarsi le turbolenze d'Europa. La nostra santa religione è stata protetta nella capitolazione e dagli uffici zelantissimi de' ministri francesi e dalla pietà del nuovo eletto."

[3] *Cifra al Crescenzi of September 22, 1741, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 84, n. 3.

[4] For the electoral capitulation, see *Acta historico-ecclesiastica*, VI., 481 *seqq.*; MENZEL, X., 423 *seqq.*

[5] HEIGEL, *Osterr. Erbfolgekrieg*, 284. *Cf.* Thun's *reports to Maria Theresa of February 12 and 24, 1742, State Archives, Vienna. Here also is a *copy of Charles VII.'s letter to Benedict

ten of his Cardinals (Valenti, Ruffo, Annibale Albani, Rivera, Lercari, Aldrovandi, Corsini, Passionei, Gentili, and Corradini),[1] as Clement XI. had done at the election of Charles VI., when the votes of Bavaria and Cologne were lacking.[2]

Maria Theresa declared the election of Charles VII. to be null and void[3]; but what was more important than this

XIV., dated Mannheim 1742 Jan. 25: Announcement of the election, "quod singulare domus meae incrementum haud exigua ex parte bonis Stis Vrae officiis adscribendum habeam." A second *letter from Charles VII. to Benedict XIV., of January 31, 1742, in Nunziat. di Germania, 604, Papal Secret Archives. For the proceedings in the Anima, see SCHMIDLIN, 607 *seqq.* In *Acta Benedicti XIV.* (II., 358 *seq.*) the *Confirmatio* of the Imperial election is dated August 6.

[1] Thun's *report of February 3, 1742, State Archives, Vienna. According to his *report of January 20, 1742, Benedict XIV. had already stated that he would do nothing "senza il consiglio d'una buona parte del s. collegio equivalente alla consistoriale". *Ibid.*

[2] Benedict XIV. pointed this out to Maria Theresa in a *letter of justification (*di proprio pugno*) of April 7, 1742, remarking "Il trattenere di fare il solito nulla avrebbe servito per gli altri interessi ed avrebbe pregiudicato a Noi et alla massima della nostra condotta". State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp.

[3] RANKE, in his *Preuss. Gesch.* (III., 20), cites a statement taken from the records of the Imperial Diet, that on February 3, 1741, on the arrival of the news of the Imperial election, Maria Theresa assembled the Estates in the throne room of the palace of Favorita, where, in the presence of the clergy, headed by the Papal nuncio, she made them renew their oath of loyalty before a crucifix. ARNETH (II., 464) has pointed out that this account is out of place in the year 1741 and that in any case it is hardly credible. "How did the Papal nuncio," he asks, "come to be among the ranks of the Austrian Estates? How is it that there is not the faintest reference to the event either in the Imperial Archives, or in the archives of the Austrian Estates, and that not a word of the affair is to be found in Capello's reports, which are extant in their entirety, or in the Viennese 'Diarium'?" In spite of these weighty objections, Ranke, in the new edition

protest was the success of her arms in Bavaria, whose capital was occupied by Austrian troops on February 13th, 1742.[1]

In Rome, the two belligerent parties levelled similar accusations against each other. Thun, Maria Theresa's representative, launched the most violent invectives against Cardinal Fleury for inciting the Protestant king of Prussia and even the Turks against Catholic Austria. The French party no less violently accused the sovereign of a barbarous people of ravaging a Catholic country with fire and sword in the inhuman fashion of the Turk.[2] The Pope deplored the war between two

of his *Preussische Geschichte*, insists that the event is shown to be "irrefutably certain" by the sources to which he has had access. In reply to this, HEIGEL (*Österr. Erbfolgestreit*, 384) observes that as the authorities which are usually the best informed are significantly silent, the truth is to be obtained only from the records of the Viennese nunciature. But in these *records (Nunziat. di Germania, 325, 342, and 345; Papal Secret Archives) there is not a word of the whole affair. Nor is there any mention of it in the **Lettere confidenziali* of the Viennese nuncio Paolucci to the Cardinal Secretary of State Valenti (*ibid.*, 337). It would be in complete contradiction to all the other declarations made by the Holy See.

[1] In the Carnival the sarcastic Romans depicted Charles VII. as the King of the Beggars, and the following couplet was circulated :—

> Gallia vicisti, profuso largiter auro,
> armis pauca, dolo plurima, iure nihil.

Santa Croce's *report to Sinzendorf of February 3, 1742, State Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *report by Thun of March 10, 1742, on a pasquinade on the "corsa fatta dal Papa nella ricognizione del Bavaro in imperatore". A most interesting, anonymous, proposal of a reconciliation purporting to be made by Francis of Lorraine to Charles VII. in the early part of 1742 has been discussed and edited by SCHWERDFEGER in *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LXXXV., 2, 359 *seqq.*

[2] See Thun's memorandum of May 25, 1742, in DUDIK, *Iter Romanum*, I., Vienna, 1855, 346 *seq.*; HEIGEL, *Erbfolgekrieg*, 284 *seq.*

Catholic Powers, but declined to act as judge between them and exhorted them to make peace. On April 27th, 1742, he led on foot a procession to invoke peace, from the Minerva to the Chiesa Nuova.[1] He longed for the war to end, especially as since the end of February 1742, the defenceless States of the Church, notwithstanding Papal neutrality, had had to be thrown open for the passage of the armies of both parties. It was a particular grief to Benedict XIV. that his beloved homeland of Bologna should have to suffer the most at the hands of the Spaniards, Austrians, and Sardinians. On his complaining of this, both the Austrians and the Spaniards accused him of taking sides—as though, as he wrote to Cardinal Tencin, they had not both loaded themselves with the guilt of abusing the patience of a defenceless Pope.[2]

In Vienna, in the spring of 1741, it was hoped that an Italian league might be formed under the presidency and direction of the Pope, to counter the superior forces of the Bourbons. To Benedict XIV., however, such a position was incompatible with that of the Father of all Christians; he knew, too, that the States of the Church, in their defencelessness, would be the most exposed to an attack by Neapolitan and Spanish troops. He rightly, therefore, declined to allow

[1] Ruele's *letter to Uhlfeld of April 28, 1742, State Archives, Vienna, and Albani's *letter to Uhlfeld of the same day, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. *Cf.* " *Modo che ritenne [the Pope] nella solenne processione fatta gli 12 Aprile 1742," in Cod. Vat. 8545, pp. 37 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] Heeckeren, I., 6 (*cf.* 7, 12); Garampi's letter from Rimini, of February 1742, on the calamities caused by the war, in Spicil. Vat. 554 *seqq.*, and Albani's *reports to Sinzendorf of March 10, 24, and 31, to Uhlfeld of April 28, 1742, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. For Benedict XIV.'s violent indignation on hearing of the wrecking of his garden and the plundering of his family's palazzo by the Spaniards who had invaded Bolognese territory, see Ruele's *letter to Uhlfeld of May 26, 1742, State Archives, Vienna. The Pope showed his displeasure quite clearly to Acquaviva; see the latter's *letter of June 9, 1742, *ibid.*

the Holy See to take an active part in the war.[1] The ill-feeling caused thereby in Vienna was increased by the recognition of Charles VII.'s election as Emperor. Maria Theresa complained not only of this but also of the favour which she alleged was being shown to Charles's French and Spanish allies. Her relations with the Pope deteriorated to such an extent that she charged him with actual hostility towards her and her house.[2]

While the Pope's pain and indignation at the devastation of the Papal States by the belligerents was ever increasing,[3]

[1] This view is supported by ARNETH (*Maria Theresia*, IX., 2 [*cf.* II., 151, 496]) and by MATSCHEG (133, 199, 356). Benedict XIV. wrote to Tencin on August 3, 1743: "La spada non sta bene in mano a chi benchè indegnamente è vicario di Gesù Cristo." *Miscell.*, XV., 154.

[2] ARNETH, IX., 2 *seq.* In a *Brief of March 9, 1742 (apparently not yet printed) Benedict explained to Maria Theresa that in spite of his goodwill he was not able "fatali quadam necessitate" to concede all her demands. "Non ea sunt tempora, quando e sacrorum canonum legibus pontifici maximo iudicandum erat de legitima Caesaris electione. Tunc enim insidebat in Germanorum principum mente, non alibi quam apud summum sacerdotem de tanta re iudicium residere posse... Postmodum suae falso timentes auctoritati nihil magis studuerunt, ac ab husiusmodi negotio divertere pontificem maximum eosque ipsi agendi in hac re fines designare, ut confirmet ratamque habeat imperatoris electionem tantamque illi mandatam dignitatem agnosceret, qui ab electoribus creatus in eiusdem possessionem venerit et ab aliis principibus hoc nomine consalutatus fuerit catholicamque inprimis religionem profiteatur." By this We shall have to abide. "Servandus praeterea Nobis est indifferens erga suos filios patris amor." *Epist. ad princ.*, 109, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* especially the letters to Tencin (not included in Heeckeren's edition) of July 13 (of the complete compensation which had been agreed upon "nè si è pagato nè si paga se non quello che si vole e corre il sesto mese di una orribile permanenza"; the Austrian Hussars were taking everything that had been left by the Spaniards in the districts of Bologna and Ferrara), of July 19 (similar contents), and of August 3 and 25, 1742 (further complaints about the devastation of the Papal

the Austrian envoy, Thun, although he was an Auditor of the Rota, went so far in June 1742 as to adopt a disrespectful attitude towards the Head of the Church, so that for some time the Pope refused to receive him in audience.[1] Benedict afterwards declared that never again would he accept as an envoy an Auditor of the Rota.[2] Thun put the blame for everything on the advice tendered by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti, whom he represented as the Pope's evil genius.

Maria Theresa trusted Thun completely and in August 1742, to show her displeasure with Valenti in the most tangible manner possible, she took the forcible step of confiscating all his ecclesiastical benefices on Austrian soil.[3] In an autograph letter of September 7th, 1742, Benedict protested against such an unwonted measure, which had not been taken even in the war with Clement XI.[4] Maria Theresa replied angrily that she could not understand how the cause of religion and the rights of the Holy See demanded the ignoring of complaints made by the party which had been attacked and oppressed and the favouring by every possible means of the authors of scandalous injustices. To give point to her ill-humour, she did not reply in her own hand but added only a few words to the official communication, pleading her insufficient knowledge of Italian and her dislike of copying someone else's composition.[5]

States; "disgrazie indecibili"); see *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI.' 48 *seqq.*

[1] Ruele's *letter to Uhlfeld of June 23, 1742, which contains the following: "Si querela la Stà Sua primo che Monsignore gli abbia parlato con poco rispetto sino con alzare seco lui la voce, secondo che egli abbia representato cose non vere." It was Ruele's belief that Thun had been listening to the counsel of a false friend. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Heeckeren, I., 5.

[3] Arneth, *Maria Theresia*, II., 180, 503.

[4] *Original in the Hofkorrespondenz of the State Archives, Vienna.

[5] Arneth, II., 181, 503.

It is significant of Benedict's love of peace and of the effect produced in Rome by the military successes that on October 13th, 1742, he addressed another long letter to the Queen in his own hand, in which he did his best to justify not only himself and his behaviour with regard to the Imperial election and the passage of the troops, but also Cardinal Valenti's attitude.[1] Maria Theresa demanded as a condition for the raising of the sequestration that her affairs should be dealt with without reference to Valenti.[2] The Pope was ready to agree to this,[3] but the sequestration was not raised. At the end of 1742 the Pope wrote to Tencin that conditions in the Papal States were going from bad to worse, for the Spaniards had taken up their winter quarters in the plain of Bologna, the Austrians in the neighbouring mountains and in the district of Ferrara.[4]

The Pope's cares were further increased by the failure of the hopes which he had placed in the new Emperor. The first discordant note was struck when, on the Holy See insisting on its right to confirm the Imperial election, Charles VII. let it be known that for this purpose he would keep strictly to the formality observed by the Austrian ambassador De Prié on the accession of his predecessor Charles VI.[5] The Pope referred the matter to the congregation of Cardinals which he had appointed immediately after the election to discuss the questions appertaining thereto; at the same time Cardinal Tencin acted as mediator; but it was not till six months after the election, in August, that the affair was closed. A secret consistory held on August 6th, 1742, gave its approval to the indult of the *primae preces* and to everything relating to the

[1] *Original in the Hofkorrespondenz, State Archives, Vienna. The Pope is complaining here of the quartering of troops in the Papal States.

[2] Arneth, II., 185, 505.

[3] Thun's *letter to Maria Theresa of December 22, 1742 (presented January 5, 1743), State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Heeckeren, I., 19; *cf.* 13, 17.

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII, 93.

election, but this latter document was to be kept secret and was not to be referred to except in case of necessity.[1]

In his letter of congratulation to Charles VII. the Pope had stressed the fact that the elevation of the House of Wittelsbach had been well deserved by reason of the devotion to the Catholic cause which had been shown by his ancestors, and at the same time he had expressed the hope that their descendant would prove himself to be an equally zealous champion of the Church.[2] It was soon seen, however, how little there was to be hoped for in this respect from a monarch who in a confidential letter written to Törring immediately after his election compared himself to " Job, the man of sorrows, sick in body, with no country and no money ".[3] He showed no sign

[1] P. A. Kirsch in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 46 *seqq.* Besides the sources drawn upon there are Thun's *reports of July 28, 1742 (the congregation of Cardinals decided to confirm the recognition of the election, with the usual clauses, and to receive Cardinal Borghese, nominated by Charles VII. protector of the Empire, as the envoy deputed to perform the rite of obedience), of August 4 (the " obedience " was carried out without ceremony ; Borghese delivered the address, as the old Bavarian envoy, Scarlatti, was on his death-bed ; the " primae preces " were not granted), of August 11 (from the decree of confirmation Thun picks out the following : " confirmantes, supplentes et sanantes etiam in essentialibus electionem "; *cf. Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 358 *seq.*). " Si è poi divulgato che gli atti di questo concistoro si tenevano così gelosamente segreti, affinchè i ministri di V. M. in Germania non rendessero ai principi protestanti odioso il presumpto imperatore et che il Papa medesimo aveva adotta questa ragione." Valenti told Thun that this was untrue. State Archives, Vienna. Acquaviva *reported on August 9, 1742, that Borghese stayed away from the consistory because he disagreed with the wording of the Bull. He could not say more on account of the pledge of secrecy. Archives of Simancas.

[2] *Geschichte und Thaten Karls VII.*, 120 *seqq.* Besides the *Brief of March 3, 1742, Benedict sent another *letter to Charles Albert the same day, written in his own hand and of a similar purport ; see Nunziat. di Germania, 604, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Heigel, *Österr. Erbfolgekrieg*, 283.

whatever of the energy which Rome had expected of him. Indirectly he had a share in the loss of Catholic Silesia to Protestant Prussia, while for the recovery of Parma and Piacenza for the Pope he did nothing ; only in ecclesiastico-political questions was there any prospect of a favourable solution.[1] All things considered, it became clear as early as October 1742, that the elevation of Charles VII. was to prove a bitter disappointment. The only consolation was that the new Emperor, who since September had been in correspondence with the Pope on all difficult questions, seemed to have the best intentions so far as he himself was concerned. This impression was confirmed by Doria.[2]

Great, then, was the consternation of the nuncio and the Pope when it became known at the beginning of 1743 that at the peace negotiations in London, Charles VII.'s envoy had proposed the secularization of the bishoprics of Salzburg, Passau, Freising, Regensburg, Eichstätt, and Augsburg, to indemnify Bavaria, and that the plan had been supported by Prussia. The plan had been originated by Frederick II., acting in conjunction with England[3] ; but Charles VII. was imprudent enough to flirt with the idea and to imagine that the Holy See would give its consent to it.

The matter was broached by Doria in an audience with the Emperor on January 5th, 1743, when he learnt to his most painful surprise that the Emperor was far from being entirely averse to the dangerous project. In a second audience, on January 8th, the Emperor attempted to justify the plan on the plea that several ecclesiastical princes had abused their worldly power. In a third audience, on the 21st, he said that he thought that in these circumstances the Holy See might give its consent. In vain Doria explained that this was out of the question, as it would be the first step towards a universal

[1] W. von Hofmann, *Das Säkularisationsprojekt*, 216.

[2] *Ibid.* 217. For the autograph correspondence between the Emperor and the Pope, *cf.* Doria's *report from Frankfort on October 9, 1742, Nunziat. di Germania, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Volbehr, *Forsch. zur deutschen Gesch.*, XXVI., 275 *seqq.*

secularization and would lead to the predominance of the Protestants in Germany. In vain he appealed to the Emperor's sense of honour and to his duty as protector of the Church. Charles VII. persisted in saying that the Pope could give his consent.[1]

When Benedict XIV. heard of the plan for secularization, at the end of January, and of the support given to it by the Emperor, he was horrified. He would rather die, he said, than agree to such shameful proposals, which would have the very worst effect on the Church in Germany and would bring about the triumph of Protestantism. It was suggested to him that the loss of worldly power would force the German bishops to live as spiritual princes, but to this reasoning too he refused to listen. He observed bitterly that if the Emperor complained that the heads of the German clergy lived more like worldly than spiritual princes, he was possibly correct but that he seemed to forget that his brother, the Elector Clement Augustus of Cologne, not content with his archbishopric, had managed to obtain for himself the bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and Osnabrück. If the abuses in Germany were to be corrected, the first step to take was to put a stop to the practice of individuals gaining possession of a number of dioceses, a practice to which the Holy See had given its unwilling consent only as the result of the pressure put upon it by the German princes.[2] The Cardinal Secretary of State also considered the position to be most serious; in his view it only needed an energetic policy on the part of Prussia and England for the project to be realized.[3]

Immediately on receipt of the alarming news the Pope took steps at the French court to induce it to use its great influence

[1] W. von Hofmann, 223, 226 *seqq.*

[2] Heeckeren, I., 27 *seqq.* *Cf.* K. Sommer, *Die Wahl des Herzogs Klemens August von Bayern zum Bischof von Münster und Paderborn* 1719, *zum Koadjutor mit dem Recht der Nachfolge im Erzstift Köln* 1722, *zum Bischof von Hildesheim und Osnabrück* 1724 *u.* 1728 (Diss.), Münster, 1908.

[3] W. von Hofmann, 223, 225.

with Charles VII. to divert him from his baneful purpose.[1] Both Doria and the Pope supposed that Maria Theresa was in agreement with the secularization plan, but in this they were entirely mistaken. Austrian diplomacy saw at once that the plan was a weapon that could be used against Charles VII. It was therefore published, with the observation that the Emperor toadied those who were stronger than himself and bullied those who were weaker; so as to make Bavaria a monarchy he intended to suppress those who were immediately subject to him and to abolish the most distinguished ecclesiastical ranks, whereas the Queen had no desire to burden her conscience with the abolition of ecclesiastical bishoprics. These proclamations produced a deep impression over the whole of Southern Germany. The storm of indignation that rose against Charles VII. was so violent that, for fear of losing his closest adherents, he was forced to take the humiliating course of denying that he had ever approved of the plan.[2]

In Rome, too, Count Thun, who was eagerly collecting satires directed against the Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti,[3] attempted in early March to use the plan to turn opinion against the Emperor. Benedict XIV., who at the time was particularly embittered by the quartering of Austrian troops in the legation of Ferrara,[4] answered curtly that the supposed secret had long been known to him and that the Emperor had been warned against such a step by a Papal letter in

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 28, 37. *Cf.* *Cifre al Nunzio Crescenzi of March 8 and 15, 1743, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] ARNETH, II., 211; W. VON HOFMANN, 232 *seqq.*

[3] *Reports to Uhlfeld of January 19 and March 7, 1743, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[4] Ruele *reported on February 23, 1743, that a courier from Ferrara had brought news of the Austrian request for permission to quarter troops. "Certo è che il Papa dopo che l'ebbe lette, si vide tutto il giorno infuriato contro di noi prorompendo alle volte in parole poco misurate." State Archives, Vienna.

autograph, to which no reply had yet been received.[1] On its receipt the Pope, on March 30th, 1743, expressed his joy to the Emperor that the rumours which had been spread about him were now declared to be false.[2] Nevertheless, suspicion still attached to Charles Albert. Not till the Last Day, wrote Benedict in a confidential letter to Cardinal Tencin, would it be known whether the Bavarian envoy in London had actually proposed the secularization plan.[3] The Cardinal Secretary of State was of the opinion that the question of how far the Emperor had committed himself had better be left unplumbed.[4]

Though Charles VII., on receiving the Papal admonition, no doubt took good care not to pursue the dangerous project any further, Frederick II. continued to make propaganda for it. In consequence, Doria, and with him the Pope, viewed the future with anxiety. It was not till September 1743 that Rome considered the project to be finally dead and buried,[5] but it was precisely at this juncture that the bogy came to life again. Another campaign of publicity against the threatened plan of secularization was opened by the Cabinet in Vienna, in which suspicion was cast on both the Emperor and the Pope, the former being accused of wanting to impose Gallican-French conditions on the Empire. How unwise the Emperor had been in dallying with the proposal for secularization in its inception was shown by the revival in Rome at the end of the year of the suspicion that he was still in favour of it.[6]

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 37 *seq.*

[2] *Copy of this letter written "proprio pugno" in the Hofkorrespondenz, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 46.

[4] Instruction to Doria of March 23, 1743; see HOFMANN, 238.

[5] *Ibid.*, 239 *seqq.*, 242 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 244 *seqq.*; also the Brief in answer to the German Bishops' appeal of February 15, 1744 (*Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 176 *seqq.*, to Cardinal Lamberg). According to the *Epist. ad princ.*, 110 (Papal Secret Archives), similar *Briefs were sent to the ecclesiastical electors and the Bishops of Salzburg and Würzburg concerning the plans for secularization, one of the authors of

(3)

All the time these disturbing questions were in the air, the effects of the war were causing ever greater injury to the Papal States. In 1743 both Austrian and Spanish troops made their way across Papal territory without the least regard for its neutrality, transferring thither the theatre of war. What was lacking in their military supplies they took from the unfortunate inhabitants and carried off goods and money as though they were in enemy country. As early as March 20th, 1743, the Pope complained in a letter to Maria Theresa written in his own hand that in the territory of Ferrara, General Traun was behaving in so arbitrary a fashion that one might think the Pope did not exist.[1] What little attention was paid to this complaint may be seen in the confidential letters sent by the Pope to Cardinal Tencin, which are full of lamentations about

which was said by malicious persons to be the Pope (HEECKEREN, I., 143). The Briefs were regarded as a vote of censure on Charles VII., which deeply offended him; see HOFMANN, 249 *seqq.* Here also are further particulars of the counter-action taken by the ecclesiastical princes of Germany. Among those who suspected the Pope was Cardinal Passionei, with regard to which Ruele *reported to Uhlfeld on April 4, 1744: "Il detto cardinale dunque trovandosi nell'anticamera del Papa, con uno dei suoi soliti furiosi entusiasmi si lasciò uscire da bocca di essergli finalmente riuscito di togliere dall' animo del Papa l'orrore, che aveva concepito contro il progetto della secolarizazione con fargli comprendere, che abusandosi i vescovi di Germania delle loro grosse rendite con far bagordi e mantenere il lusso e le caccie, non era che ben fatto il ridurli poveri, perchè così sariano stati migliori ecclesiastici ed avrebbero meglio adempito le loro obligazioni vescovili." Uhlfeld had been *told of the real state of affairs by Albani as early as January 11, 1744: "The chief supporter of the secularization plan is Prussia; it is not true that the Curia agrees to it." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] In this *letter (State Archives, Vienna; Hofkorresp.) Benedict instances the support given on various occasions by Innocent XI. and Clement XI. to Germany and the House of Habsburg in particular.

the ravaging of his country by the belligerents.[1] In September Civitavecchia was threatened with bombardment by the English fleet because some Spanish troops had taken refuge in that harbour.[2] In addition to this, there was the danger of there being brought to Rome the plague which had broken out in Messina. Although every precaution was taken by the Papal Government it was accused of negligence by those who wished it ill.[3]

The Pope's agitation was further increased when it became known in the autumn that the Spanish troops intended to settle for the winter in Pesaro and Rimini, the Austrians, despite the intervention of Portugal on the Pope's behalf,[4] in the districts of Ferrara and Bologna.[5] Hostility towards the Court of Vienna, whose representative, Count Thun, never ceased to annoy the Pope, was steadily increasing, and the situation was not improved by Maria Theresa's obstinate refusal to grant her *placet* to Pozzobonelli's nomination as Archbishop of Milan. In October Benedict declared that the prospect of a definite rupture with Maria Theresa caused him little concern, for at least it would rid him of Count Thun, who did nothing but sow the seeds of discord.[6] On October 25th the most senior in rank of the Cardinal Bishops, Priests, and Deacons addressed a letter of protest to Maria Theresa, assert-

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 33, 34, 41, 42, 44, 50, 56, 58, 59, 69. *Cf.* the *Cifre al Nunzio Crescenzi of March 22 and 29, April 5 and 19 1743, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 84, 86, 111. *Cf.* MURATORI, *Annali*, 1743.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 72, 77, 78. *Cf.* FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 65, 69.

[4] *Cf.* Benedict's autograph *letter of thanks to King John, which is reprinted in the Appendix (Ia) as an example of the way in which the Pope corresponded with princes.

[5] HEECKEREN, I., 88.

[6] *Ibid.*, 89 *seq.*; *cf.* 95. In a *Brief addressed to Lobkowitz on October 9, 1743, Benedict admonished him to spare Bologna and remarked that if the States of the Church were ruined the Holy See would not be able as before to render assistance against the Turks. *Epist. ad princ.*, 239, p. 127, Papal Secret Archives.

ing that the Papal States were being ruined by the military occupation and urgently demanding redress. On the following day the Pope wrote to her in a similar strain, adding that he had also demanded from Madrid the withdrawal of the Spanish troops.[1] These representations went unheeded, and the Pope continued to be the victim of the bloody struggle. As he had feared in October, the Austrian army remained in the district of Bologna, the Spanish in that of Rimini. The latter, he complained, leave us very little, the former nothing at all. Only a miracle could relieve the situation.[2] The Marches and Romagna having been bled white by the foreign troops and rendered incapable of paying taxes, an extra tax for 1744 had to be imposed by the Pope on Rome and its environs.[3]

The new year brought with it the old tribulations for the Papal States, increased to such an extent that Benedict declared that he could write a treatise on " The Martyrdom of Neutrality ". The war was conducted with such bitterness that with the best will in the world it was impossible to satisfy either of the parties.[4] While waiting for the coming of better weather these foreign armies, the Austrian under Lobkowitz, the Spanish under Gages, sat facing each other on Papal territory and ravaged it as though it belonged to the enemy. In a letter to his old friend Innocenzo Storani the Pope described the afflictions which his country had had to endure for two years—the robberies, the murders, the devastation of the country—by which the estates of the archiepiscopal see of Bologna and of his nephew had also been affected. He said resignedly that his sins had brought this punishment upon him and there was nothing more that he could do but commend himself to the Almighty, that He might avert still greater scourges.[5]

[1] The originals of both *letters in the Hofkorrespondenz of the State Archives, Vienna.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 93, 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, 106.

[4] *Ibid.*, 114; *cf.* 115, 120, 128 *seq.*, 131; also the *Cifra al Nunzio di Francia of April 15, 1744, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Letter of March 18, 1744, in MARONI, *Lettere*, 733 *seq.*

On April 21st Lobkowitz received a definite order from Maria Theresa to put an end to the inactivity that had reigned thitherto and to attempt the capture of Naples. On Thun's suggestion, the Austrian commander decided to proceed southward through the Roman Campagna instead of through the Abruzzi. After increasing his force to 26,000 men, he struck his camp at Macerata on May 4th and took the road for Foligno. He reached Spoleto on the 10th and Civita Castellana on the 15th, and on the 18th he moved into camp at Monterotondo, a few hours north of Rome.[1] This in itself was enough to make the Pope's position most unenviable,[2] but it was now made even worse by the approach of an army from the south: Charles III., not wanting his territory to be the theatre of war, advanced at the head of 24,000 men and halted in Valmontone. In a letter to the Pope of May 20th the King attempted to justify his invasion on the score of strategical necessity.[3] Lobkowitz, whose hussars had been scouring the Campagna since the beginning of the month and had shortly afterwards occupied the approach to the Ponte Molle,[4] was bold enough to ask the Pope for an audience. It was granted him, but only as a private person.

On Whitsunday, May 24th, Lobkowitz, accompanied by his officers, entered the Holy City, where the unprincipled Romans received him with enthusiasm.[5] After dining with Cardinal

[1] Arneth, II., 359 *seqq.* *Cf. Arch. stor. Napol.*, VI., 37, with Maria Theresa's proclamation to the Two Sicilies of April 14, 1744.

[2] " *Ci troviamo in situazione la più dolorosa che si possa pensare." Cifra al Nunzio di Francia, of May 16, 1744, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *Cifra of May 20, 1744, *ibid.*

[3] Heeckeren, I., 237.

[4] *Ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*

[5] To counterbalance the one-sided Austrian reports in Arneth, II., 363, 543, see the *Cifra al Nunzio Durini of July 11, 1744: " Non so se le querele, che costì fanno per le tante dimostrazioni usate da questo popolaccio verso il principe di Lobkowitz sieno giuste, ma i fatti sono veri. Sono stati eccessivi gli applausi et immenso il concorso verso questo signore, ma non è vero che prorompessero gli eviva verso la regina d'Ungheria, se non che

Alessandro Albani, he was received by the Pope, who exhorted him to maintain a strict discipline among his troops.[1] Benedict XIV. wrote to Cardinal Tencin on May 27th that his position between two armies both of which treated the Papal States as though they were no man's land was almost too bad to imagine.[2]

In order to bar the Spaniards' passage to Rome, Lobkowitz, on May 29th, took up a strong position on the heights of Frascati, whence two routes to Naples stood open to him: the road via Velletri and Terracina, and that via Frosinone and San Germano. On the Austrians showing signs of pushing on to Velletri, the Spanish-Neapolitan force was concentrated in and around that town. Lobkowitz now advanced as far as Marino and on June 2nd pitched his camp on the heights lying to the south-east of Lake Nemi.[3] The havoc wrought by both armies was immense. The Spaniards did indeed offer to pay for the damage they had caused, but the Pope was under no delusion that they would be able to replace a fifth part of what they had destroyed. The Austrians, he related on June 3rd, 1744, laid their hands on everything; in Marino their soldiery had got drunk, had let the wine run out, and had robbed the

nel cortile del cardinale Alessandro Albani. Non si potrà dire però che il Governo sia stato della medesima tempera e che vi abba data la mano, poichè qui si tentò ogni strada per impedire la venuta di questo Signore, il quale era stato posto nei sbalzi pretendendo mille distinzioni nel cerimoniale. Nulla si volle accordare e ad ogni modo egli venne come qualunque altro particolare. Li fautori austriaci vollero fare questa scena di commedia, in cui i fanatici del paese fecero così indegna comparsa. Se ciò merita l'indignazione di costà, il Ministero certamente et il Principe nostro meritano piuttosto compassione, essendo questi posti come bersaglio alle cieche passioni di questa gente forsennata." Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 116, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 138; MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 138.

[3] ARNETH, II., 363.

inhabitants not only of their money but even of their furniture.[1] The Holy City itself was blockaded, and there was a threatened lack of food. As Lobkowitz was assuming a provocative attitude, the gates were carefully guarded.[2]

Instead of launching a surprise attack on the army which barred his way to Naples, Lobkowitz gave the enemy time to strengthen his position. On the night of June 16th–17th the Spaniards felt themselves to be strong enough to deliver a sudden attack on the Austrians and forced Lobkowitz to withdraw his camp to Genzano.[3] The Austrian attempts to induce the Pope to prevent the payment of tribute by the representative of Charles III. on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul were unsuccessful, and the ceremony took place without disturbance.[4]

Determination and courage were as lacking in Charles III.'s camp as in the Austrians'. He rested content with the minor success won on June 17th and until August 10th the two armies stood inactive on Papal soil,[5] facing each other across a deep valley.[6] On the Neapolitans gradually becoming

[1] Heeckeren, I., 139.

[2] Acquaviva's *report to Villarias of June 13, 1744, Archives of Simancas.

[3] Arneth, II., 366.

[4] Acquaviva's *reports of June 27 and July 1, 1744, *loc. cit.* The elaborate festivities which usually accompanied the offering of the tribute were not resumed until 1749; see Ferrari, *Bellezze architettoniche per le feste della Chinea in Roma nei secoli* 17 *e* 18, Torino, 1921, 12 *seqq.*; *Macchine pirotecniche della Chinea* 1731–1785 (no place or year of publication) tavv. 5 (1744; Giove sublimato agli onori divini), 6 (1745: Il ritorno del Re in Napoli), 7 (1749: La scoperta del teatro di Ercolano), etc.

[5] *Letter of complaint from Benedict XIV. to Cardinal Tencin of July 7, 1744 (missing from the Paris edition, copy in the State Archives, Vienna), with the passage: "Si contradistingue il Card. Aless. Albani nell'attacco alla regina d'Ungheria andando publicamente al campo Austriaco in compagnia di msgr. Thun."

[6] On July 6, 1744, there was a procession in Rome, from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Giovanni in Laterano, to implore the

careless, Lobkowitz made up his mind to risk an attack on Velletri. In the night of August 10th–11th his troops forced their way into the town and almost captured the King of Naples as he lay in bed in the Palazzo Ginetti. He owed his escape solely to the fact that the Austrians, diverted by the prospect of a rich spoil, entered the houses, loaded themselves with money and other valuables, and drank deeply of the town's delicious wine. This gave the Neapolitans and Spaniards time to recover, and after a furious street-battle they drove the Austrians out again.[1] For a long time after this episode both armies reoccupied their old positions, to the great misfortune of the luckless inhabitants of the Papal States, on whom, as Benedict declared, even the Turk would have taken pity.[2] The Pope's only hope was in God; he trusted firmly, he wrote to a friend on August 15th, 1744, in Him who had come to Peter's rescue in the storm on the lake of Genesareth.[3]

Meanwhile Austria's ally, the King of Sardinia, was being very hardly pressed by the Spaniards and French in his own country. Consequently, in the middle of September, Maria Theresa was forced to give Lobkowitz the order to abandon

intercession with God of the two Princes of the Apostles, that the States of the Church might be freed from the two armies. See *Cod. Vat. 8545, pp. 105 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] For the unsuccessful attack on Velletri, which is depicted in the castello at Nemi (see TOMASSETTI, II., 277), *cf.* BONAMICI, *Castruccii de rebus ad Velitras anno* 1744 *gestis commentarius*, Lugd. Batav. 1749 (also Dresdae 1779); *Osterr. milit. Zeitschrift* 1830, I, 3 *seqq.*; ARNETH, II., 373 *seq.*; F. SFORZA-CESARINI, *La guerra di Velletri* (1744). *Note storico-milit. con nuovi doc.*, Roma, 1891; *Arch. Napolet.*, XXX., 339 *seqq.*; SCHIPA, 437 *seqq.*; HEECKEREN, I., 152; M. GALDI, *Un poemetto maccheronico inedito sulla battaglia di Velletri*, Napoli, 1925. Reports by Lobkowitz and Acquaviva have been published by Pasquali and Pasini (Velletri, 1893); other *correspondence on the subject in Cod. E., pp. 132–6, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 147; *cf.* 145, 149, 152 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

[3] MARONI, *Lettere*, 741. For Portugal's further attempts at mediation, see Appendix Ib.

the attempt on Naples. Benedict XIV. sighed with relief when, on October 23rd, the retreat was begun by the Austrian vanguard.[1] On November 1st Lobkowitz left his headquarters in Genzano, and his whole army, marching past the walls of Rome, crossed the Tiber by the Ponte Molle and by a bridge-of-boats which had been thrown across the river hard by. Two hours later it was followed by the Spanish-Neapolitan army, which took up a position in the vineyards between the Porta Pia and the Ponte Molle. Their attempt to cross the Tiber was prevented by the Austrian artillery, and Lobkowitz was enabled to continue his retreat unhindered, by way of Viterbo and Orvieto, through Umbria, to the Romagna.[2]

On November 3rd Charles III., with a brilliant escort, entered Rome, where the Pope welcomed him with salvoes as his liberator. A famous painting by Pannini shows the king's reception in the coffee-house in the garden of the Quirinal.[3] The king remained one and a half hours with the Pope. After this meeting, which was to both parties' satisfaction, Charles III. visited St. Peter's, the Vatican, where a banquet was held in his honour, and the Lateran. In the evening he returned to Velletri.[4]

[1] On September 26, 1744, Valenti expressed his hope of a speedy release from the Austrian army (*Cifra al Nunzio Enriquez, Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, Papal Secret Archives) ; on October 30 he *wrote that owing to Lobkowitz's want of organization this hope had not been realized. *On October 10 : " ' Stenta quest' armata a partire perchè si trova nella maggior confusione del mondo,' but we shall soon be free." *On October 24 : " Ecco finalmente in marcia questa armata Austriaca, la di cui vangardia . . . è passata questa mattina sotto queste mura." *Ibid.*

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 159 *seqq.*

[3] The Museum in Naples contains Pannini's " The reception by the Pope in the Quirinal garden " and " The procession of Charles III. to St. Peter's ". The former painting is reproduced in RICCI, *Kunst in Oberitalien*, 404, and both in OZZOLA, *Pannini*, Torino, 1921, tav. 6 and 7.

[4] *Cf. Relazione della venuta in Roma della M^tà di Carlo Re delle Sicilie*, Roma (Chracas), 1744 ; SCHIPA, 443 *seqq.* ; Thun's

A few days later the Pope addressed to the Spanish Queen Elizabeth a letter in his own hand in which he described her son's visit as the only consolation that had hitherto been granted him in his arduous pontificate. It was, he added, the first visit of a king to Rome since the time of Charles V., and although the Neapolitan monarch had come incognito and a few days earlier than had been arranged with Cardinal Acquaviva, he flattered himself that he had treated him as he would the Emperor and had given him satisfaction. The Pope was lavish in his praises of Charles's qualities, especially his heroic modesty.[1] In a confidential letter to the Marchese Camillo Caprao Bentivoglio he said jokingly that the royal visit, short as it was, had cost him as much as three *villeggaturas* at Castel Gondolfo.[2]

As the bad season of the year approached, Benedict was horrified to see that what he had feared as far back as July [3] was coming true; the two commanders of the armies had again decided to take up their winter quarters in the States of the Church, there to continue the struggle when the better weather came.[4] A special Congregation of Cardinals met in

*report of November 7, 1744, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* ARNETH, II., 545; HEECKEREN, I., 160 *seqq.*

[1] Appendix 2.

[2] B. MANZONE, *Frammenti di lettere inedite di Benedetto XIV.* (pubblicazione per nozze), Brà, 1890, IV., n. 2.

[3] *Cifra al Durini of July 8, 1744, in which it is said: "La guerra vi fu unicamente contro di Noi desolando il paese e gli abitanti." Nunziat. di Francia, 442. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] On December 3, 1744, Valenti addressed the following *Cifra to Valenti: "Un altro articolo molto afflittivo di questa Corte e di questo Stato è il vedersi imminente un quartiere d'inverno. Li Spagnuoli più vicini già ce lo fanno capire, e gli Austriaci più lontani ce lo fanno temere. Sono tre anni che tutta la batosta della guerra sta sulle nostre spalle. Avevamo giusta speranza di vedercene liberati, et ora all' improvviso, contro ogni apparenza e contro quello che pareva diritto et interesse di guerra, vediamo arrenati li Spagnuoli, i quali, dopo essere stati sul confine della Toscana, ripiombano sopra di noi, con dare motivo agli Austriaci

the presence of the Pope to deliberate the matter,[1] but no solution presented itself. The protests issued by the Cardinal Secretary of State in all directions [2] were of as little avail as the exhortations to peace addressed at the end of November to the Kings of Spain and France, to Maria Theresa, and to the Emperor Charles VII.[3] The Austrian army, which on its retreat had laid waste to a portion of the Papal States which had hitherto been spared, settled down again in the territories of Ferrara and Bologna and in the Romagna, the headquarters being moved to Imola. The Neapolitan troops, after pursuing the Austrians to Viterbo and Perugia, turned back and spread themselves over the countryside around Corneto, Viterbo, and Bolsena ; and not content with their quarters and the usual requisitions of hay, straw, wood, and lighting, they levied monetary tribute to the amount of 26,000 *scudi*

di far lo stesso, aspettandomi ad ogni momento che piglino questo pretesto, a cui non si saprà che rispondere. Mi perdonino se io le dico che niuno può capire una simile risoluzione, quando stava in mano loro di fare entrare gli Austriaci nello Stato del Gran Duca e seguitarli. Questo è un danno così pesante che abbatte l'animo del Papa e de' suoi sudditi e che vorrei poter io alleggerire col sangue mio, mentre da questo sorgente mille altre cruci e mille altre male contentezze saranno sempre per derivare." Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, fo. 43, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Thun to Uhlfeld on December 12, 1744 ; even Thun admits here : " La verità è che questo stato andrà certamente all' ultima rovina se deve sostener il quartier d'inverno di queste due armate e molto più se dovesse proseguirsi la guerra all' apertura della campagna nel medesimo." Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] *Cifre al Nunzio di Francia of December 19, 1744, and al Nunzio di Spagna of December 10, 1744, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 162, 165 *seq.*

[3] See the Briefs in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 251, II., 378 *seqq.*, and the autograph *letter to Charles VII., *Epist. ad princ.*, 175, p. 10, Papal Secret Archives (reproduced in Appendix 3). *Ibid.*, 173, p. 217, a similar *letter to King John of Portugal, also of November 28, 1744. The proclamation of the jubilee for peace, of November 20, 1744, in *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 254 *seq.*

per month.[1] The Austrians' demands were far greater: as in the previous year, they demanded natural produce and money to the value of 100,000 *scudi* per month, although their numbers had shrunk from 30,000 to 10,000.[2]

Needless to say, there was no question of extracting further taxes from the provinces on which these foreign troops had been quartered, and there was no source from which the resulting deficit could be recovered, especially when in addition 200,000 *scudi* had to be found for provisions against the plague and 16,000 *scudi* for the guarding of the city of Rome. It was no wonder, then, that it was found impossible to produce a budget which was in any way satisfactory.[3]

"The two armies," wrote the Pope at the beginning of 1745, "are ruining the States of the Church. The Spaniards are the authors of our misfortune, but the Austrians expect to live entirely at our expense. Unless God has mercy on us, Our Pontificate will be famous for the injuries we suffer." [4] On the whole, the attitude of the Spanish generals seemed to the Pope to be far more tolerable than that of the Austrians, and besides this there were continual provocations coming from the Viennese Court. Further still, the confiscation of Cardinal Valenti's benefices in the Milanese province was still being maintained by Maria Theresa, although it was considered by the Pope as a personal affront to himself.[5] The Pope's anger with Austria had already found its full expression in November 1744, on the occasion of Thun's farewell audience. In telling his bitter adversary the truth Benedict had not minced his words. He reproved him for paying no attention either to his bishopric of Gurk or to his duties as auditor of the Rota, while as an envoy he had stirred up his Court against the Holy See and had blown on the flames instead of quenching them.[6]

[1] MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 168.

[3] *Ibid.*, 169, 170.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 172.

[5] *Cifra al Enriquez, of January 7, 1745. Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] HEECKEREN, I., 173.

With his irascible nature Thun had fallen foul also of Austria's supporters in Rome. After his departure the management of current business was undertaken by Cardinal Alessandro Albani, who had already been nominated Crown Protector of the Austrian patrimonial dominions by Maria Theresa in March 1743, on the death of Cardinal Giudice. The celebrated art-collector, however, performed this new duty very slackly, paying far more attention to his own interests than to those of the country he was representing.[1] The best policy he could devise in dealing with the Pope and his Secretary of State was to instil fear into them.[2]

Thus the situation in Rome was not at all propitious from Maria Theresa's viewpoint when Charles VII., broken-hearted at the misfortunes which had befallen his country, died after a short illness on January 20th, 1745.

The wearer of the Imperial crown and the claimant to the patrimony of Charles VI., who, as soon as he ascended the throne, had been aptly described by the Pope as "an illustrious but needy gentleman",[3] thus quitted the arena of European politics, and his departure was as pregnant in important consequences as it was unexpected. The first news of his death arrived in Rome on January 27th. Cardinal Valenti saw it as a dispensation of Providence, which plays havoc with human scheming. He was in no doubt that Maria Theresa would now cherish fresh hopes of raising her husband, the Archduke Francis of Tuscany, to the Imperial throne, and if France intended to impose its views on others sword in hand, it would have considerable difficulty in doing so in the present state of affairs.[4] As for the attitude to be adopted by the Holy See,

[1] Arneth, IX., 4.

[2] In his *letter to Uhlfeld of January 23, 1745, Albani sneers at the Pope's efforts to make peace and proposes "con poche e forti parole mettere il card. Valenti ed il Papa in qualche soggezione e timore". State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Letter of August 10, 1742, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 48.

[4] *Cifra al Enriquez, January 28, 1745: "Eccoci dunque da capo la Casa d'Austria ripiglierà gran vigore e grandi speranze.

the Cardinal Secretary of State informed the French nuncio Durini that, as before, Rome would demand the nomination of a Catholic candidate and would have to declare itself in favour of the one who would be most easily elected. The nuncio was to inform himself of the intentions of the French Cabinet through Cardinal Tencin, whom the Pope trusted as a special friend.[1]

Durini was soon able to report that France was striving with every means at its disposal to put on the Imperial throne the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, Frederick Augustus II. But Frederick Augustus, with his innate laziness and unconcern, had little inclination to shoulder the burden inseparable from such a dignity, and he feared, too, that his candidature would endanger, for himself and his house, the possession of the Polish crown, to which he had become attached. To the influential Queen, however, and the Minister Brühl the splendour of an emperor's crown seemed most desirable. Their remonstrances left the King irresolute ; on the one hand

Se la Francia vuol fare come per lo passato, volendo le cose a modo suo colla spada alla mano, difficilmente, secondo la presente providenza, può riuscirgli. Alla Spagna, secondo il mio corto intendimento, niuna cosa può giovar più che intrecciare un maneggio che le porti la sicurezza dello stabilimento che essa ricerca, ma senza ingolfarsi in un nuovo mare di spesa e di casualità." Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, fo. 52, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cifra al Durini, January 27, 1745 : "Per quanto a noi, credo che ripiglieremo sempre il medesimo metodo di bramare un principe cattolico ed aderire a quello che sarà più facile ad eleggersi. Questo contegno non dovrebbe dispiacere a chiunque avrà influenza nell' elezione ; ma pure abbiamo provato il contrario nell'elezione del defonto. Onde il zelo di Sua S^tà^ avrebbe di bisogno di essere questa volta meglio rispettato che non fu l'altra. Ciò resti per di lei primaria istruzione. Veda poi secondariamente ciò che può ricavare da cotesta Corte, ma singolarmente dal sigr. Card. di Tencin per lume nostro ed indrizzo. N. S. confida in Lei come in un particolare amico, e V. S. Illma deve su questo piede regolarsi con lui." Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 136, Papal Secret Archives.

he endeavoured to use the proffered candidature as a lever wherewith to obtain from Maria Theresa a territorial indemnity in Silesia ; on the other, he continued to treat with France. To gain time, he let it be known in Paris that he would only put forward his candidature on condition that the Pope intervened on his behalf.[1] But Benedict XIV. and Cardinal Valenti thought it more advisable to adopt a waiting policy.

The Venetian envoys, it is true, were able to report that for a moment the idea was entertained in Rome of setting up against Austria the candidature of the deceased Emperor's son, Max Joseph, who was not yet eighteen years of age [2] ; but this was hardly probable. What is certain is that any such plan was rendered purposeless when Max Joseph accepted Maria Theresa's offer of peace and at the Peace of Füssen, April 22nd, 1745, renounced his claims on Austria and promised his vote at the imperial election to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The news of the Austro-Bavarian settlement also induced King Frederick Augustus to announce that he would not oppose the election of the Grand Duke.[3]

" We have strong reasons," Cardinal Valenti had written to Durini on May 19th, " for not intervening in the election and for showing no partiality whatever, although France would like

[1] Arneth, III., 33 *seqq.*

[2] See Andrea da Lezze's dispatches in Brosch, II., 101, n., who believes in them entirely. On March 20, 1745, the Pope wrote to Cardinal Tencin that malicious Austrians were complaining of his partiality for Max Joseph, " comme si nous étions assez fou pour nous risquer à ce jeu sans connaître les intentions de la France " (Heeckeren, I., 186). The French *chargé d'affaires* De Canillac boasted of having persuaded the Pope to encourage the Polish King Augustus to accept the candidature ; see Kirsch in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 49 *seqq.* But this is contradicted by the *Cifre al Durini, to whom Valenti wrote on March 27, 1745 : " The Polish envoy says that his king does not want to be emperor, nor does the Bavarian Elector," and on April 14 : " In the question of the election the Pope intends to be impartial." Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Arneth, III., 39, *seqq.*

us to support the Polish King."[1] Subsequently the Pope repeatedly declared that he intended to preserve a strict neutrality towards the various candidates, even at the risk of the Holy See having to expect even greater afflictions at the hands of Francis of Lorraine, when Emperor, than he was already meting out to it as Grand Duke of Tuscany.[2] At the same time Valenti wrote to Durini that the Imperial crown would assuredly fall to the husband of Maria Theresa, so that to support other aspirants would be useless and contrary to the impartiality of the Holy See.[3]

Already by the end of February 1745 the Papal delegate to the diet in Frankfort had been appointed in the person of Giovanni Francesco Stoppani, a Milanese, who had been the nuncio in Florence in 1735–39, the nuncio in Venice in 1739–43, and thereafter the representative of the Holy See at the Court of Charles VII.[4] Stoppani's intention was to pay his first official visit to the Elector of Mayence, John Charles of Ostein, but the latter persuaded him, under all manner of pretexts,

[1] *Cifra al Durini, *loc. cit.* Albani had stated in his *letter to Uhlfeld of March 27, 1745: "Questa corte di Roma aderendo alle massime della Francia fatte fare al Papa pel mezzo del card. Valenti cerca di excitare sempre più nel animo del Re di Polonia il desiderio e l'ambizione del imperio." On June 5, 1745, he reports that when the Pope saw that the Polish king had not wanted to accept the candidature he refused to allow Valenti to persuade him to encourage the king again. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Letter to Tencin of June 2, 1745, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 52.

[3] *Cifra al Durini of June 2, 1745, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 161 (Papal Secret Archives): "Vedo ancor io che la corona imperiale andrà a cadere sulla testa del Gran Duca, non essendovi competitore. I nostri maneggi sarebbero inutili e contrari inoltre a quell' indifferenza et imparzialità con cui dobbiamo condurci. V. S. Illma su questo punto non poteva parlare più saviamente come ancora su l'altro del Berrettino."

[4] MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. *Cf.* the Brief to the Elector of Cologne of February 28, 1745, in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, ed. De Martinis, I., 254. Similar *briefs to the other Catholic Electors; see *Epist. ad princ.*, 111, Papal Secret Archives.

to make a beginning with the Elector of Bavaria. Max Joseph received the Pope's representative in a fitting manner, and the attitude of the Elector Palatine was similarly respectful. King Augustus of Poland, as Elector of Saxony and the Grand Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire, allotted to him the same lodging in Frankfort as had been occupied at the last election by the nuncio Doria. The Elector of Mayence, however, who knew of Austria's aversion to Stoppani,[1] cited a decree of 1711 in support of his contention that a foreign envoy should not be allowed to remain in the place of election. Benedict XIV., in reply, pointed out very rightly that the decree had not been observed in the last election, of 1741–42, and that the Papal nuncio was not to be included among the foreign envoys, seeing that he was appearing as the representative of the person whose authority, according to the ancient stipulations, was necessary in every case of an imperial election.[2] Nevertheless the Elector of Mayence insisted on Stoppani's exclusion, and he was joined in this by the Electors of Cologne and Trèves.[3]

Benedict XIV. was indignant at his representative being treated with such hostility, not by Protestants, but by the three ecclesiastical electors. Of the Elector of Mayence he said quite bluntly that his behaviour towards the Holy See was that of a hired assassin in the pay of Vienna ; he ascribed it to the Elector's annoyance at not yet having been raised to the rank of Cardinal.[4] For some time he refused to receive the Elector's agent.[5] Cardinal Valenti took the matter more calmly. The scanty respect paid to the representative of the Holy See was, he said, unfortunately nothing new ; in the

[1] One of Stoppani's worst persecutors was Albani. In a *letter to Uhlfeld of February 27, 1745, he referred to Stoppani as a "creatura venduta del card. Valenti e de Francesi" and worse than Doria. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Letter to Tencin of June 30, 1745, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 53, n. 1.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 211, 212.

[4] See the letter mentioned above, n. 2.

[5] MERENDA, *Memorie*, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 53, n. 2.

circumstances, however, it was just as well that Stoppani had not to take part in the proceedings. The conflicting passions and the influence of the Protestant Powers were too great for Papal mediation to be of any use, and it was for this reason that the Pope had decided from the beginning to be strictly impartial. If in spite of this he incurred the suspicion of every party, it made no difference so long as peace was obtained.[1] On July 14th the Paris nuncio was again instructed not to meddle in the business of the election but only to report.[2] The Pope's impartial attitude was deeply resented in Paris, where Stoppani was accused of partiality towards the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Valenti immediately and energetically defended the envoy against this charge, and later the Pope, too, in a letter to Cardinal Tencin, protested strongly against the accusations which had been made in Paris. With regard to the complaint that Stoppani had not used the language common to all the diplomatic representatives of the foreign and belligerent Powers, the Pope retorted that the representative of the Holy See was obliged to speak Italian, but not French or Spanish. Moreover, the nuncio was the plenipotentiary of a prince who had no power in war and was the common

[1] "*Non è nuova l'indifferenza che si ha per i Ministri della S. Sede et il poco conto che se ne fa; ma nelle circostanze in cui siamo, credo che dobbiamo piuttosto riguardare come una buona sorte il venir trascurati et il tenerci lontani da ogni ingerenza. Troppo animate sono le parti e troppo di connessione passa tra le medesime e le potenze eretiche per farci sperare utile la nostra mediazione; ond'è che sin dal bel principio si fece N. S. un sistema di tenersi in una perfetta neutralità et imparzialità, non ostante la quale, ci siamo resi sospetti a tutti, come V. S. Illma ben sa. Poco però importa quando si faccia la pace, ch'è l'unico oggetto della S^tà^ Sua et alla quale si diriggono tutti i suoi voti, purchè non ne risenta pregiudizio alcuno la religione. Questa viene raccomandata al zelo di V. S. Illma e deve fare tutto il suo pensiere, intendendosela col Cardinale di Tencin, a cui dovrà anche ricordare l'obbligo che gli corre di pensare agl'interessi della S. Sede in Italia." Nunziat. di Francia 442, fo. 162 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cifra al Durini of July 16, 1745, *ibid.*

father of all. He described as sheer madness the accusation of partiality towards the husband of Maria Theresa, who had done such harm to the States of the Church and was always ready to perform some hostile act towards them.[1]

Already by the beginning of July the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany was reckoned as a certainty in Rome,[2] and subsequent events amply verified this forecast. Even Frederick II., on August 26th, 1745, in the convention with England and Hanover, declared his readiness, in return for the recognition of the Peace of Breslau, to vote for Francis of Lorraine, but to this proposal Maria Theresa would not consent.[3] The day before, Valenti had written to the French nuncio in Paris that to prevent the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which was France's object, was impossible and that the most that could be done was, by raising difficulties, to incline the Viennese Cabinet towards peace.[4]

The official electoral proceedings had begun in Frankfort on July 31st, after the arrival of the Elector of Mayence, who then used every means at his disposal to win over Bavaria and Cologne for the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In this task he was assisted in the promise made by England of considerable subsidies. The delegate of Saxony did not arrive in Frankfort until August 28th. The day following Saxony bound itself still more closely to Maria Theresa with a new treaty. Only the delegates of Brandenburg and the Palatinate were still recalcitrant. Their efforts, even to postpone the election, were unsuccessful, whereupon they left the city. Consequently Maria Theresa's husband was elected emperor without their participation, by seven votes, on September 13th, 1745, and was duly crowned on October 4th.[5]

By the time that the result of the election was brought to

[1] Letter to Tencin of September 29, 1745, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 59, n. 3.

[2] *Cifra al Durini of July 7, 1745, *loc. cit.*

[3] Arneth, III., 92 *seq.*; Immich, 326.

[4] *Cifra al Durini of August 25, 1745, *loc. cit.*

[5] Arneth, III., 102 *seqq.*; Droysen, V., 2, 541 *seq.*

Rome by a courier of Stoppani's, on September 20th,[1] the Pope had already made a definite statement regarding the position he intended to adopt. In a coded letter to the Paris nuncio Durini of September 8th he explained that it was not the hostility of France and Spain towards the Lorrainer, but solicitude for the rights of the Holy See and religion that made it a duty to exercise extreme care towards a prince who had shown himself to be far from well-disposed towards the head of the Church and who was surrounded by suspicious counsellors.[2] After the treatment which Stoppani had received in Frankfort, the Pope naturally feared that the new Emperor would attempt to impair his old-established rights. And this fear was soon to be increased. It was not until the middle of October that

[1] Letter of Benedict XIV. of September 22, 1745, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 62, n. 2.

[2] " *Questo principe pur troppo si è mostrato sinora prevenuto contra di Noi, di modo che non abbiamo che motivo di temerne, e come imbevuto di massime a noi contrarie, e per le persone che lo circondano e alle quali egli confida. Dio voglia che c'inganniamo, ma le difficoltà che si fanno al Nunzio, tanto rispetto alla sua ammissione alla Dieta che al trattamento dovutogli, ci fanno molto temere per tutti gli altri atti, che il nuovo eletto deve fare verso la S. Sede et in favore della religione ; in difetto de' quali ben vede V. S. Illma che N. S. sarà giustamente imbarazzato nel partito che dovrà sciegliersi. Qualunque sia, non sarà mai per le istanze, che già prevediamo veranno fatte con tutto il calore da chi sarà opposto all' elezione e specialmente dalle due Corti di Francia e di Spagna. Sono questi motivi estranei per un Papa, il quale non ha preso nè prende parte alle querele, alle mire et agl'interessi delle Potenze guerreggianti. La S^tà^ Sua non deve avere in veduta che di far mantenere i diritti della S. Sede et illesa la religione da ogni pregiudizio." Cifra of September 8, 1745, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 172, *loc. cit.* Similarly in the *Cifra of October 13, 1745 : The recognition of Francis I. depends on whether he fulfils his duty to the Holy See ; our interests are not the same as those of the belligerents. We are waiting to see whether the Emperor will do what he should ; after that we will take up our position. *Ibid.*

Francis I.'s emissary, the Marquis of Pontcallier, arrived in Rome with an Imperial communication, in which the newly elected Emperor expressed himself in only general terms and in quite a different manner from that used on a similar occasion by Charles VII., different even from that used by Charles VI. After carefully deliberating with his Cardinals, the Pope demanded with the greatest firmness another letter, which at the very least was to be composed in the manner of that written by Charles VI. and which was to authorize its bearer to present the customary declaration of obedience to the Holy See and to sue for a Brief which would accord the right of the "first prayers" (*primae preces*). Impressed by the firmness of the Pope's attitude, Vienna agreed to comply with these demands.

The news of this reached Rome on December 8th, and on the 10th the Congregation of Cardinals declared itself unanimously in favour of recognizing Francis I. as Emperor. The recognition was solemnly announced by the Pope in a consistory held on December 15th.[1] The representatives of France and Spain, La Rochefoucauld and Acquaviva, did all they could to prevent it, but the Pope, to Valenti's regret, was not to be dissuaded.[2]

[1] P. A. Kirsch in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI., 66 *seqq.*, 70 *seqq.*, 73 *seqq.*, where the allocution of December 15, 1745, is reproduced.

[2] *Re* Valenti, *v. ibid.*, p. 76, n. 2. *Cf.* the full *reports by Acquaviva to Villarias of September 9 (the French envoy informs Acquaviva of his instructions with regard to the imperial election), October 28 (consultation of the Cardinals; "temo saldrà S.S. con algun temperamento y medio termine que no guste ni a l'una ni a la otra parte"), November 11 (conference of the Congregation of Cardinals), November 18 (Acquaviva asks for the recognition to be postponed), December 2 and 9 (the demands of the Curia), December 16, 1745 (in an hour's audience the Pope explains to me that now that all his demands have been fulfilled by Vienna he cannot put off the recognition any longer; the French envoy also did his best with the Pope but had no more success than I). Archives of Simancas. *Cf.* the reports of the French ambassador in De Brimont, *Le card. de la Rochefoucauld et l'ambassade de Rome 1743–8*, Paris, 1913.

But at this juncture Vienna delayed taking the steps which, according to the promises made to Cardinal Albani, should have followed at once on the formal recognition. To the joy of the French, the negotiations that ensued dragged on for a whole year; but finally, as the Pope would not give way, the Emperor was forced to do so. On November 25th Cardinal Albani was received as the envoy extraordinary of Francis I. for the performance of the act of obedience. Two days later, after the Pope had explained the whole course of events to the Cardinals in a secret consistory and had had read the instrument of election, the Bull of confirmation was signed by the Pope and the Cardinals, and the Brief on the "first prayers" was executed.[1]

The settlement of this affair paved the way for the resumption of good relations between Rome and Vienna. How seriously they had been disturbed may be gauged by the refusal of the Holy See to appoint another representative in Vienna when the nuncio Paolucci was raised to the purple on September 9th, 1745, and shortly afterwards left the Imperial city.[2] This was the Holy See's rejoinder to Austria's refusal to fill the vacant post of envoy in Rome. Finally, however, it seemed to the Pope that estrangement from one of the greatest Catholic Courts was too serious a matter to be allowed to continue, and he stretched out the hand of peace.[3] In February 1746 the nunciature in Vienna was reoccupied, the choice for

[1] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 386 *seqq.*; KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 79 *seqq.* The end of the affair was *reported by Acquaviva to Villarias on November 17, 1746, *loc. cit.* *Reports on the negotiations conducted by Cardinal Albani in Nunziat. di Germania, 604, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Paolucci left Vienna in the middle of October 1745; see *Nunziat. di Germania, 343, *ibid.*

[3] As early as April 10, 1745, Santa Croce had *reported to Uhlfeld: "Io notifico per fine all' E. V. che dopo la morte del fu elettore di Baviera tanto il Papa che il segretario di Stato son venuti nella deliberazione di compiacere la nostra regione in tutto . . . e di togliere di mezzo tutti i motivi delle passate amarezze." State Archives, Vienna.

the post falling on Gian Francesco Stoppani, who, the Pope knew, would be welcome to Maria Theresa.[1] The Queen-Empress responded by sending to Rome as the German auditor of the Rota Count Christoph Anton Migazzi, who, as soon as he arrived, on April 2nd, 1746, set about the task of effecting an agreement.[2]

His was no light undertaking, especially as the question of the recognition of the imperial election had not yet been settled. On both sides there was a feeling of resentment, which found expression in a series of mutual recriminations.

There were two main obstacles in the way of an agreement; on the one hand the sequestration of the Secretary of State Valenti's benefices in Lombardy had not yet been raised, and on the other, the Pope declined to comply with Austria's desire that a cardinalship should be conferred on the auditor of the Rota, Mario Mellini.[3]

In Migazzi's first audience with the Pope, on July 27th, 1746, these two grievances came under discussion. The Pope's opinion was that even were he to do everything in his power to please the Court of Vienna, the enmity towards him would still go on because Maria Theresa listened to calumnious reports about him. Migazzi replied that the Pope was misinformed; if Mellini were to be given the red hat, Maria Theresa would certainly show her gratitude. Benedict's objection to this was that though he had long considered the matter he could not think of any way by which the Queen-Empress's desire might be fulfilled. Finally he confided to Migazzi that the root cause of the misunderstandings with Vienna was the behaviour of Cardinal Albani, who said one thing and wrote another; by these methods they would never arrive at a settlement.[4] The Pope expressed himself in similar fashion in confidential letters to Cardinal Tencin.[5] In Vienna

[1] Arneth, IV., 55. *Cf.* Heeckeren, I., 245.
[2] Wolfsgruber, *Migazzi*, 29 *seqq.*
[3] *Cf.* below, Ch. V.
[4] See Migazzi's report in Wolfsgruber, 30 *seqq.*
[5] Heeckeren, I., 258; *cf.* 180.

the chief cause of the trouble was ascribed as before to Cardinal Valenti's hostility to Austria and his attachment to Spain and France. But the Pope's confidence in his Secretary of State remained unshaken ; in March he made him Camerlengo and Prefect of the Propaganda.[1]

Meanwhile a fresh cause for dissension had arisen between Rome and Vienna. The Elector of Mayence had been largely instrumental in securing the election of Francis I. as Emperor, and after the death of the Bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg, Frederick Charles of Schönborn (d. July 25th, 1746), he was hoping that Austrian influence in Rome would obtain for him a Brief which would render possible his election to Würzburg.[2] The Pope, however, declared that there was no question of his conferring such a favour on him, Prince of the Church though he was, on account of his hostility towards the Holy See.[3] The Emperor took this ruling of the Pope's as a serious affront to himself, asserting that such a refusal was unheard of. " We could refute him with several examples," wrote Benedict to Cardinal Tencin, " but it would only be a waste of time." [4]

At the time when the recognition of Francis I. as Emperor was still under consideration, Portuguese diplomacy, at the instigation of Queen Marianne of Portugal, an aunt of Maria Theresa's, had rendered services of mediation. The Portuguese envoy in Vienna, Marquis Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, worked hard for an agreement between Rome and Vienna,[5] and it seemed likely that this would come about when Maria Theresa promised to raise the sequestration of Valenti's benefices. At the last moment, however, the putting of this concession into effect was made dependent on the issue of

[1] *Ibid.*, 309, 314.

[2] A so-called " breve eligibilitatis ".

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 265.

[4] *Ibid.*, 269.

[5] The Pope at first did not set much store by Carvalho's mediation, for, as he said in an *Instruction to the Viennese nuncio Paolucci of October 24, 1744, he saw " purtroppo ogni giorno che non v'è altra mira che di strapazzare il Papa e la S. Sede

the Brief for the Elector of Mayence.[1] The Pope refused to bargain in this way, but he gave a definite proof of his conciliatory attitude by making Mellini a Cardinal on April 10th, 1747. Taking advantage of the favourable impression produced in Vienna by this appointment,[2] Carvalho redoubled his efforts to bring about a settlement,[3] though pointing out that threats were not the right way to obtain favours.[4] After lengthy deliberations it was finally decided in Vienna, in May, to put an end to the sequestration which Valenti had so bitterly resented.[5] The Cardinal expressed his thanks to Maria Theresa on June 1st.[6] A few days later the ageing Pope acknowledged with gratitude the interest taken in his health by the Queen-Empress, who had sent him some Tokay wine.[7]

Outwardly, therefore, good relations between Rome and Vienna seemed to have been restored, but a really cordial agreement was still a long way off. So soon afterwards as

in compensazione di quel molto che più troppo si è fatto e si sta facendo in beneficio e sollievo degli offensori." Moreover, the Pope had not sought the mediation of the Portuguese as if he were in the wrong. State Archives, Vienna. See Appendix 4, *Benedict XIV. to King John of Portugal. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 309, 329, 340.

[2] *Cifra di Serbelloni, dated Vienna, April 22, 1747, Nunziat. di Germania, 366, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cifra di Serbelloni of April 29, 1747, *ibid.*

[4] *Cifra di Serbelloni of May 6, 1747, *ibid.*

[5] Albani's *letter to Colloredo of May 27, 1747; in a *letter to Colloredo of April 10, 1747, Albani had recommended the measure in return for the appointment of Maria Theresa's Crown Cardinal. State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Original in the Hofkorrespondenz, *ibid.*

[7] In his *letter of June 3, 1747, the Pope remarks: "Il nostro predecessore Clemente XII., per quanto ci vien detto, negli ultimi anni della sua vita per consiglio de' medici usava colla dovuta discretezza il vino Toccai. Noi senza consiglio del medico facemo lo stesso ed al titolo di nostra benefattrice, che ben volentieri diamo alla Maestà Vostra, aggiungeremo l'altro di regina interessata per la nostra salute." *Ibid.*

July, Benedict XIV. had to complain to Francis I. of the occupation by Tuscan troops of Carpegna and Scavolino.[1] Meanwhile the Mayence affair became more involved, partly because too many persons were taking a hand in it: Albani, Migazzi, and the Portuguese envoys in Rome and Vienna. Migazzi pointed out to the Empress how difficult it was to settle an affair when several channels had to be explored at once.[2] He had also proposed to her in April 1747 that the management of the ambassadorial affairs in Rome should be withdrawn from the incompetent Albani and entrusted to Cardinal Mellini.[3] In May 1748 the suggestion was put into action [4] and it proved to be as much to the advantage of the Austrian cause in Rome as it was welcome to the Pope, who had a very high opinion of Mellini.[5]

With regard to the Mayence affair Benedict XIV. insisted with the greatest firmness that the required favour could not be granted to the Elector until he had made a binding declaration as Vice-Chancellor of the Empire that the Papal nuncios would be admitted as before to the elections and that Stoppani's exclusion from Frankfort should not constitute a precedent. For a long time the Elector refused to comply with these conditions, but it was not until he had made the declaration in a completely satisfactory form that he obtained the required Brief, in April 1748; and this did not make possible his election to five bishoprics, as he had demanded, but only

[1] See Benedict's *letter of July 5, 1747, in which he refers to the friendly settlement made between Clement XII. and Charles VI. An attached memorandum describes the historical development of the quarrel. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, 37.

[4] *Cf.* *Cifra di Serbelloni of May 8, 1748, Nunziat. di Germania, 366, *loc. cit.*

[5] Migazzi had already *reported to Vienna on June 24, 1747: "Cardinal Mellini is much thought of here. The Pope has a high opinion of him, and even his enemies cannot deprive him of his reputation of an able, zealous, and absolutely disinterested servant of Your Majesty." State Archives, Vienna.

to Worms and Würzburg, with the qualification that after one of these bishoprics had been obtained the Brief ceased to be valid for the other.[1]

(4)

With the same firmness with which he held fast to his time-honoured rights when dealing with the Elector of Mayence, Benedict maintained his resolution throughout the vicissitudes of the war of the Austrian Succession not to cede any of the rights of ownership inherent in his temporal sovereignty. This attitude was clearly shown in the old controversy concerning the suzerainty of the Holy See in respect of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. "The Pope is Spanish by inclination and French through fear," was Migazzi's opinion.[2] It was fear of France's power that induced Benedict to set his diplomatic compass by Paris, and in so doing he experienced several unpleasant surprises. In a Brief of June 2nd, 1745, he foresaw that sooner or later a general peace would be made, when he looked to France to represent the rights of the Papacy, for he held unflinchingly to his claim to Parma and Piacenza.[3] His love for Spain inclined him to view with sympathy the ceaseless efforts made by Queen Elizabeth to win back for her family her beloved cities of Parma and Piacenza, but he would not allow the right of the Holy See to be impaired thereby.

When in the summer the tide of war in Italy turned in favour of the Spaniards, who occupied Parma and Piacenza, the Pope endeavoured to win the support of the Cabinets of

[1] Heeckeren, I., 340, 355, 393, 401. Numerous reports touching on this matter in the *Cifre di Serbelloni, Nunziat. di Germania, 366, *loc. cit.*

[2] Wolfsgruber, *Migazzi*, 29.

[3] *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 530, n. 3. An analysis of the foundation of the claims made by the Pope in the protest of March 6, 1741 (see above, p. 88) is to be found in Nic. Antonelli, *Ragioni della Sede Ap. sopra il ducato di Parma e Piacenza esposte a'sovrani e principi d' Europa, con documenti*, 4 vols., Roma, 1741.

Madrid and Paris for the formal recognition of his suzerainty over the two principalities. The difficult negotiations over the enfeoffment of the Spanish queen and her family were already far developed when, in the spring of 1746, the tide of war turned again and Parma was retaken by the Austrians. The Pope now considered it inadvisable to take any further steps towards the realization of his project of enfeoffment, fearing that in the event of the publication of the negotiations, which had hitherto been kept secret, the victors would take their revenge on him.[1] The question of the enfeoffment with Parma and Piacenza came up again, however, when the universal need of peace led to a congress of all the belligerents at Aix-la-Chapelle. To protect the interests of the Holy See, Pier Luigi Jacquet, Suffragan Bishop and Vicar General of the Prince Bishop of Liége, Theodore of Bavaria, was instructed in December 1747 to attend the congress, not, however, in the capacity of an official envoy but only as a semi-official representative.[2] To forestall objections on the part of Protestant

[1] See the detailed account by P. A. KIRSCH in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 530 *seqq.*

[2] The proposal was first made to Jacquet in a *letter of Valenti's of October 14, 1747: "Correndo voce possa in Liegi o nelle vicinanze radunarsi un congresso oppure un equivalente per le negoziazioni della pace generale bramarebbe la S^tà^ quando ciò sussista avere una persona savia ed avveduta, la quale potesse ragguagliarsi quelle cose più sostanziali che ivi si trattassero e che specialmente accudisse a quelle che possono interessare la S. Sede. Egli è facile avervi uno che faccia il novellista, ma non è così facile avervi uno che sia sagace e ben inteso." On December 2: "*Ho ricevuto ordini positivi di accertarla della risoluzione presa sopra la di lei persona in occasione del congresso. Tutte le circostanze rendono questa scelta plausibile ai pochissimi che qui la sanno"; takes for granted Jacquet's acceptance. "Si prevede che non sarà ottenibile che vada non dico come rappresentante de primo ordine perchè sarebbero infiniti gl'imbarazzi ma nè tampoco uno quale V. S. Ill. vidde in Utrecht, perchè allora vi furono delle casualità e qualche altra cosa che non è espediente in oggi di rammemorare." There would be time to discuss details when the congress was fixed (GARAMPI, 94).

delegates or delegates not friendly towards Rome, it was impressed upon him that his attitude should be that of a non-political personage and that he should bring into the foreground his position as the Vicar General of the Prince Bishop of Liége, to whom Aix-la-Chapelle was subject.[1]

The instruction sent to Jacquet on March 9th, 1748, directed him, apart from the question of the suzerainty over Parma

On December 23, 1747, Valenti *informed him of his mission to Aix-la-Chapelle, " per accudire privatamente agli interessi della S. Sede " (Nunziat. di Germania, 609, Papal Secret Archives). For Jacquet's personality, see, besides the encomium in HEECKEREN, I., 409, the information given by MERENDA (**Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome). In the *Cifra al Durini of February 21, 1748, he is spoken of as a " uomo capace ". Nunziat. di Francia, 442, *loc. cit.*

[1] " *Le corti che hanno promesso a N. S^re^ di secondare al congresso gli affari della S. Sede ed assistere la persona che ne sarebbe incaricata, insinuano con premura che questa tale persona tenga un contegno il più privato e che dia meno negli occhi che sia possibile per non eccitare nelli rappresentanti acattolici qualche strana opposizione fomentata ed accalorita da quelle potenze, che sebbene cattoliche non vedono ad ogni modo di buona voglia gl'interessi nostri o li nostri maneggi. Da questi suggerimenti così pressanti e dal borbottare che fanno quelli d'una certa corte, che V. S. può ben figurarsi, ha presa N. S. deliberazione di regolare il contegno di V. S. in modo che semplicemente apparisca che monsignore suffraganeo di Liegi in qualità di superiore spirituale del luogo del congresso vi abbia libero e franco accesso senza che gli estranei possano dirgli contro, ma che si possa egli servire di tale opportunità per rendere servizio alla S. Sede . . . sempre in aria privata e senza ostentare la minima apparenza di ministro." What follows is in DENGEL, *Garampi in Deutschland*, 13, n. 1. Jacquet's mission has been agreed to, definitely by France, in a general way by Spain. " Da Vienna poi si sono spiegati tra i denti mostrando desiderio che il nostro rappresentante non favorisca le parti di Spagna e di Francia. Al che risponde S. S^tà^ che ci fanno troppo onore." Cifra al Jacquet of April 6, 1748, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.*, *Cifra of May 11, 1748 ; GARAMPI, 94.

and Piacenza, to bear in mind the Papal rights to Castro, Ronciglione, and Carpegna, to press for a guarantee of the actual state of political possessions in Italy, and to prevent any attempt at secularization in Germany.[1]

Several weeks went by after the plenipotentiaries had assembled in Aix in the second half of March before regular negotiations began, and they were conducted only by the representatives of the principal Powers. So far as the smaller States were concerned, even in matters which affected them directly, their plenipotentiaries had no choice but simply to accept whatever had been decided.[2]

Jacquet's position, which was difficult in any case, was rendered more so by the failure of the two Powers which were supposed to be most in sympathy with the Pope to fulfil his expectations.[3] The French delegate, Count St-Séverin, left nothing undone in the way of exquisite courtesy towards Jacquet,[4] but kept him in ignorance of the actual negotiations. Maria Theresa's envoy, Count Kaunitz, who was inclined to hold Voltairian views, treated him to hypocritical disquisitions on the exclusively spiritual interests which the Pope should have had at heart, the Church being not of this world. From all accounts it was the astute Prussian envoy who was the most friendly disposed towards the Papal representative.[5]

[1] The *instruction, with accompanying letter, of March 9, 1748, in Nunziat. di Germania, 609, *loc. cit.*

[2] BEER, *Gesch. des Aachener Friedens*, in *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, XLVII., 13 *seqq.* *Cf.* BROGLIE, *La paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle*, Paris, 1892.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 392 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 399.

[5] Jacquet became so intimate with the Prussian delegate that Valenti advised him to be careful, as the Viennese Court regarded the Pope as favouring Frederick II. " *A. V. E. sono ben noti i riguardi che dobbiamo avere oltre di che, come ella può ben comprendere, ogn'uno ci darà buone parole, le quali poco costano " (Cifra of July 6, 1748). November 2, 1748: " *Mostri pure tutta la gratitudine al ministro de Prussia, ma con quella riserva che è necessaria per non dar gelosia ad alcuno " (Nunziat. di

Despite all his efforts Jacquet could glean no information of what was being finally decided, and when on April 30th, 1748, the peace preliminaries were concluded between France, England, and Holland, the nuncio at Cologne knew of them before the Suffragan Bishop in Aix.[1] Article four of the preliminaries provided that the Spanish Infante Philip was to receive the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; in the event of his dying without male issue or of his obtaining the throne of Naples, they were to revert to their present possessors, viz. Parma and Guastalla to Austria, Piacenza to Sardinia. The Pope's pleasure at the conclusion of the preliminaries was marred by the fact that once again the question of the Holy See's suzerainty over the duchies had been passed over in silence.[2] He hoped, nevertheless, that this offence against the rights of the Papacy might be remedied by Philip being obliged by the peace stipulations to sue for the Papal enfeoffment.[3] The Spanish Government, he thought, would support him when it was pointed out that the provision in the preliminaries for the reversion of the duchies would be detrimental not only to his rights but to those of Queen Elizabeth and her children.[4] Jacquet accordingly was instructed to

Germania, 609, Papal Secret Archives). In his report of November 16, 1748, Jacquet mentioned that he had declined the English delegate's invitation to a dinner in celebration of George II.'s birthday. GARAMPI, 94.

[1] See the *Cifra to Jacquet of May 18, 1748, which contains the announcement of the arrival of a courier from the Cologne nuncio with the news of the peace preliminaries and expresses the impatience with which news on this subject was awaited from Jacquet. Nunziat. di Germania, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cifra al Durini of May 22, 1748, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, *ibid.*

[3] P. A. KIRSCH in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 545.

[4] *Cifre al Enriquez of June 6, 13, and 26, 1748, Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, Papal Secret Archives. In the first message the following occurs (fo. 98): "Parma e Piacenza si assegna al sig^r Infante con il patto riversivo alla Casa d'Austria. Ciò è lo stesso che approvarlo per feudo imperiale e continuare l'ingiustizia

bring this viewpoint to the attention of the Spanish envoy in Aix.[1]

In Rome the hope that the project would succeed was strengthened by the knowledge that the French Cabinet had secretly given its consent and approval.[2] In the event, however, Madrid was definitely against the Pope's plan and was in favour of accepting the preliminaries as they were.[3]

verso la Santa Sede. Vi è di più l'ingiuria che si fa al Cardinale Infante et alla successione della Regina Madre. Questa Principessa tre o quattro anni sono promosse qui di volere l'investitura per se e suoi figli. Stimò il Papa che, considerandola come ultima del sangue Farnese, l'equità voleva che si distinguesse e si considerasse non come semplice femina della Casa, perchè queste sono escluse dal papa Paolo III., ma come rappresentante la famiglia intiera. Non si concluse questo affare perchè Sua M^tà^ et il Marchese Scotti volevano che questo titolo d'equità si rendesse titolo di giustizia perpetuo a tutte le femine in avvenire. Vi ripugnò il Papa, perchè fuori del caso presente non credeva doversi derogare alla Bolla della prima investitura, e ritornando un' altra volta il caso nei termini suoi, parevagli di dare bastantemente uno esempio da potersi fare altrettanto. In somma la cosa non si conchiuse. Veda ora V. S. Illma se mai e colla Regina vedova e colla Corte regnante si potesse fare qualche cosa di buono — in questo proposito. Ciò sarebbe certamente d'utile alla Regina Madre."

[1] Cifre al Jacquet of June 8 and 15, 1748; GARAMPI, 94.

[2] "Sappia ella che l'insinuazione ce n'è stata fatta segretamente dalla Francia medesima, anzi ne siamo stati eccitati, onde ella vede che potiamo sperare tutto il buon successo." Cifra al Jacquet of June 8, 1748, *ibid.*

[3] In his *Cifra al Jacquet of July 4, 1748, Valenti propounds the following interesting argument: "Ritrovandomi io del 1719 in Vienna in tempo della ratifica di questo infame trattato di Londra e riclamandosi per parte nostra per l'aggravio di Parma e di Piacenza al ministro inglese, non ebbe questi difficoltà di dire francamente esser vero e confessare egli medesimo che Parma e Piacenza appartenevano al Papa, ma che era espediente al ben publico che non gli appartenessero più. Quando tali massime predominano, non resta che di fare uso della destrezza per non perdere maggior terreno e per tenersi in guardia di riguadagnarlo

When the news came of their actual acceptance Benedict was bitterly indignant.[1]

But perhaps another piece of news was still more painful to him. It was learnt that the French envoy to Aix, St-Séverin, was directly working for the frustration of the Pope's plan of enfeoffment and, what was even worse, was endeavouring to bring it about that Philip should sue for enfeoffment not the Pope, but the Emperor.[2]

quando una provida occasione si presentasse. Presentemente dunque tutto il nostro studio deve essere di procurare che cotesta Corte, vedendo irreparabile il torto, che le vien fatto in questi preliminari, s'induca ad abbracciare il solo partito che le resta di voltarsi a noi e di desiderare e cercare che l'Infante riceva dalla Santa Sede l'investitura degli Stati suddetti, con che aiuterebbe nello stesso tempo anche noi altri. Ecco quanto è di comune tanto ai suddetti Ministri di Sua S^tà^, che a V. S. Illma. — Non mi aspettavo di più da cotesto primo Ministro intorno alla proposizione da Lei fattagli, nè mi sorprende la di lui indolenza e freddezza, perchè conosco troppo cotesta Corte, e poco però mi lusingo di vederla ridotta al segno che da noi si vorrebbe. Si aspetti Ella pure che, dopo qualche tergiversazione, accederà semplicemente ai preliminari, quando non sia ciò già seguito. Ciò non ostante non dobbiamo noi tutti tralasciare di fare quanto possiamo, per non avere rimorso d'essere stati indolenti in una congiuntura che dimandava tutto il zelo di Sua S^tà^ e la cooperazione de' suoi Ministri. — Non si stanchi dunque V. S. Illma d'insistere con cotesti Ministri affinchè arrivino a conoscere l'interesse che ha la loro Corte di non rendere un suo Infante ligio dell' imperatore e dell' imperio, e che viceversa ve lo troverà tutto nel ricercare e prendere l'investitura dalla Santa Sede. — A Msgr. Nunzio di Francia si scriva in particolare di procurare che quella Corte se l'intenda con cotesta, giacchè Ella medesima ci ha eccitato ed insinuato a fare i passi che facciamo con cotesta Corona." Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, 103. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See, besides the Cifra to Jacquet of July 6, 1748 (GARAMPI, 94), *that to Enriquez of July 18, 1748, Nunziat. di Spagna, *loc. cit.*

[2] Benedict XIV.'s letter to Tencin, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV., 544, n. 1 and 2. The following sentence occurs in the *Cifra to

The Pope had now definitely to abandon any hope of his original plan being realized, and was forced to direct all his efforts to preventing the right of investiture being conferred on the Emperor, a project for which the Viennese Cabinet was working. The fear that this would happen, in spite of the Pope's opposition, caused the Curia the greatest anxiety until September.[1] It was not till then that Benedict was somewhat reassured by a message from Cardinal Tencin [2] that there would be no imperial investiture so long as Spain maintained its opposition, which, however, was a matter of extreme uncertainty for a considerable time.[3] The Pope's anxiety was not entirely dispelled until October, when he was informed that Louis XV. had instructed his envoy in Aix to see, when the peace treaty was being framed, that Philip was not obliged to seek investiture from the Emperor.[4] In these circumstances Benedict considered it advisable to pay some regard to French wishes concerning a protest against the infringement of his feudal rights to Parma and Piacenza.

Originally Jacquet had been given instructions to raise the protest in as solemn a form as possible,[5] a necessary condition being the co-operation of Spain and, above all, France, on which the Pope was relying with complete confidence.[6]

Jacquet of July 20, 1748: "È pure troppo vero che dobbiamo più temere che sperare dal contegno del conte de Sanseverino." Nunziat. di Germania, 609, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *Cifre to Jacquet of July 27 and August 3, 1748, *ibid.*; Durini's reports in CALVI, 132 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*, 139; HEECKEREN, I., 425, 428.

[2] Letter to Tencin, *loc. cit.*, 547, n. 2.

[3] *Cifre to Jacquet of August 24 and 31, September 7, 14, and 21, 1748, *loc. cit.*

[4] Letter to Tencin, *loc. cit.*, 547, n. 1.

[5] "*nel più solenne modo che sia possibile" are the words used in Jacquet's instruction, Nunziat. di Germania, 609, *loc. cit.* The Briefs ("Breve facoltativo") for the protest, dated 1748, March 8, in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 501 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* the *Cifra al Durini of June 5, 1748: "Già pur troppo comprendo che il grave affare di Parma e Piacenza finirà per

Jacquet had advised against a protest being made immediately after the publication of the peace preliminaries [1] and had pointed out that it ought to include all the separate protests made by the Holy See since the Treaty of Cambrai. The relative documents were accordingly sent to him from Rome.[2] To obtain Rome's approval of the form of the protest, he submitted three drafts to the Secretariate of State, which rejected all of them, insisting on the wording of the document dispatched on July 6th, which contained an historical exposition of the events leading up to the present situation and cited the protests made by Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., and Benedict XIV.[3] On August 10th Jacquet was instructed to have the protest printed, so as to be able to produce it at the opportune moment and to hand it to all the delegates, including the Protestant ones, and to send it to the nuncios in Vienna, Madrid, Paris, and Warsaw.[4] The intention of having the protest recorded in the protocol of the congress [5] had to be abandoned, as no general protocol was kept in Aix as in former congresses, each delegate having his own.[6] To overcome the difficulty it was decided to

noi con una bella e solenne protesta, ma toccherà almeno ai nostri buoni amici d'aiutarci perchè la protesta sia ricevuta e registrata e non abbiasi a farci il violento aggravio di chiuderci la bocca: cosa che non si suol negare a chiunque soccombe." Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 237. Papal Secret Archives.

[1] " *Per non offendere li ministri de' principi che in altri capi d'interesse della S. Sede avessero voluto favorirla e fu in fatti sperimentato assai utile questo pensiero, perchè si tolse così una nuova occasione ai plenipotentiarii Austriaci di fare un maggior impegno per l'investitura imperiale," says the Ristretto mentioned below.

[2] *Cf.* " Ristretto di tutto il negoziato di Msgr. Jacquet nel congresso di Aquisgrano ", GARAMPI, 94.

[3] *Ibid.* The text of the *protest issued on July 6, 1748, in Nunziat. di Germania, 609, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cifra to Jacquet, August 10, 1748, *ibid.*

[5] *Cifra to Jacquet of June 1, 1748, *ibid.*

[6] Jacquet's report of July 27, 1748, in GARAMPI, 94.

have the document filed in the Elector Palatine's court in Aix.[1]

Of the necessity for a protest Rome was convinced, though the French were not in favour of such a step, even after the danger of an imperial investiture had been averted.[2] In October, in view of the expected counter-protests on the part of Austria, their wishes were met with to the extent of instructing Jacquet to keep his protest a complete secret for the time being.[3]

On October 18th, 1748, after long and difficult negotiations, the peace treaty in its final form was signed by the French, English and Dutch delegates. On October 20th they were joined by the representatives of Spain, and on the 23rd by those of Austria. In its principal terms the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle corresponded to the preliminaries of April 30th : all claims from all quarters were to be dropped. The articles of the treaty of 1718 concerning the guaranteeing of the Protestant succession in England and the expulsion from France of the Pretender James Stuart and his family were confirmed ; Francis of Lorraine was recognized as Emperor, and the Pragmatic Sanction, with the exception of the cessions to Prussia and Sardinia, was guaranteed by all the Powers. The King of Prussia was specially confirmed in his possession of the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz. The Emperor retained Milan, Mantua, and Tuscany, the King of Sardinia his hereditary States, enlarged by portions of Lombard territory ; the House of Este retained Modena, with the right of succession to Massa-Carrara ; Venice, Genoa, and Lucca retained their possessions, and the House of Bourbon the

[1] *Cifra to Jacquet of August 10, 1748, *loc. cit.* According to Professor Dr. Lauchert, the court in question was the aldermen's court of the " gran Pretore ". Its political documents are now housed in the Landesarchiv in Düsseldorf ; in the Municipal Archives in Aix-la-Chapelle there is only a small bundle which is of no importance for our purpose.

[2] *Cifre to Jacquet of September 14 and 21, 1748, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cifre to Jacquet of October 5, 10, and 19, 1748, *ibid.*

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, also Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, on the conditions laid down in the preliminaries.

There was no mention in the treaty of imperial investiture for these territories, and Rome sighed with relief at one danger being thus averted [1] but could not understand why the French were urging the abandonment of any kind of protest. The behaviour of the French envoys was rendered all the more suspicious by their inability to offer any good reason for their request or to explain what harm could be done now by a protest.[2] Jacquet and the nuncios in Paris and Madrid were asked to find out the cause of this curious attitude,[3] and it was then learnt that it was St-Séverin who was opposing the protest, having promised the Austrians to do so in return for their agreement not to raise the question of the Imperial investiture.[4]

St-Séverin's tactics were disapproved of by the French envoy in Rome. The Pope, having feared from the very beginning that no good would come of St-Séverin's anti-Roman views,[5] was not in the least surprised at his conduct, but rather at Du Theil's support of his colleague. As for St-Séverin's talk against Jacquet, Cardinal Valenti wrote to the latter not to take any notice of it, as the Pope was wholly satisfied with his representative.[6]

Shortly before Christmas, Rome was informed by its nuncios in Paris and Madrid that there too St-Séverin's conduct was

[1] *Cifre to Jacquet of October 26, 1748, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* the " Ristretto " mentioned above, p. 134, n. 2.

[3] *Cifre to Jacquet of November 10, 1748, to Durini of the 6th and 13th, to Enriquez of the 7th.

[4] *Cf.* the above-mentioned " Ristretto ".

[5] Heeckeren, I., 382, 387.

[6] " *Non deve ella far caso alcuno di quello abbia scritto o potuto scrivere il Conte de Sanseverino ; N. S. è rimasto sodisfattissimo della di lei condotta e tanto basta. Neppure il ministro di Francia si capisce per qual motivo siasi opposto il suddetto conte alla nostra protesta. Di lui veramente non mi meraviglio, ma bensì di Monsieur du Theil, uomo savio e giudizioso, ma forse avrà voluto secondare il capriccio dell' altro." *Cifra to Jacquet of December 14, 1748, *loc. cit.*

in disfavour. After further deliberations, instructions were sent to Jacquet on December 21st to publish the protest, but without any special solemnity, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, to file it in one of the archives in Aix, and to send it to the nuncios. Other protests would be made, added Valenti, so that Rome's should not attract undue attention.[1] These instructions were repeated on December

[1] " *Nostro Sign. dopo aver sentito il parere dei due Nunzi di Francia ed di Spagna, ed esaminato maturamente il pro ed il contra intorno al farsi o no la nostra protesta, è venuto in risoluzione, che V. S. all' arrivo di questa dovendosi credere che saranno allora giunte le ratifiche del trattato, venga alla pubblicazione della medesima, dopo averla fatta deporre, e registrare, o in uno di cotesti pubblici archivi, o in qualche magistrato et insomma dove troverà ella più facilità. Anche il ministro di Francia conviene che sia necessario il farsi da noi un tal atto, e V. S. havrà potuto sentire da Mons. Nunzio di Spagna che non sarà per dispiacere neppure a quella Corte di Vienna, tanto venendo il caso del patto di riversione, quanto nell' altro di molestie, che potessero venirgli inferite dalla Corte sudetta. Qualunque sia stato il motivo che abbia avuto il Conte di Sanseverino per consigliare di non protestare, viene in oggi a cessare, essendo già consumato il trattato, e questo ancora ratificato da tutte le potenze, onde resta fissa e invariabile, nè abbiamo luogo a temere variazione alcuna, qualunque strepito che facessero i ministri di Vienna, e qualunque promessa che avesse potuto fare loro il Conte di Sanseverino, alla quale indubitatamente deve attribuirsi il consiglio datoci di non protestare. Si aggiunge che non sarà sola la nostra protesta, essendovene delle altre, come V. S. sà, onde non può nè deve fare un maggior strepito la nostra. V. S. dunque la faccia pure lasciandosi in di lei libertà di cogliere il tempo della pubblicazione, che si farà della pace o prima o dopo, com' ella giudicherà meglio. Solo se le raccomanda, che nell' esecuzione e nella distribuzione degli esemplari si proceda con tutta la riserva, e senza farne pompa. Si lascia anche il carico di mandarne qualche esemplare ai Nunzi, affinchè possano distribuirne nelle rispettive Corti, e solo si avverta quella di Vienna di non darla fuori." Cifra al Jacquet of December 21, 1748, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Durini's report to Valenti of March 18, 1748, in Calvi, 118.

28th, 1748, and on January 4th, 1749, with the additional one that the document was to bear the date of the day of publication, to obviate any doubt of its having been issued after the dissolution of the congress. Once the treaty had been finally concluded there was no danger of any subsequent addition being made concerning the Imperial investiture. This view was shared by the French and Spanish envoys in Rome. "Let Vienna make its complaints and counter-protests," said Valenti, "it is enough for us to make known our divergent viewpoint." Nothing was to be added to the document, as the Pope intended to announce it to the next consistory.[1]

On January 25th, 1749, Jacquet reported that the instructions had been carried out.[2] The filing of the protest had presented difficulties as, Aix being an imperial city, the filing could not be done in the municipal archives. There was no other course open to him but to file it in the court of the Elector Palatine in Aix and in the episcopal archives in Liége. Valenti adjudged that the latter was sufficient, for whatever

[1] *Cifre al Jacquet of December 28, 1748, and January 4, 1749, *ibid.* In the latter it is repeated that: "La pubblicazione venga fatta senz' alcuna formalità bastando che ella dopo averla inserita in qualche archivio la distribuisca costà et ai ministri che resteranno in Aquisgrana come un atto semplice et estragiudiziale." With regard to this the writer of the "Ristretto" remarks: "Questa protesta non fu giudiziale . . . perchè il congresso era stato senza conferenze pubbliche, senza mediatore, senz' archivio e senza protocollo e senza luogo pubblico ove li plenipotenziarii si radunassero, e così ancor all' atto della nostra protesta dovette passare in forma stragiudiziale, giacchè nè i ministri del congresso volevano riceverla nè avrebbero potuto per non avere ove registrarla, e delle altre proteste degli altri principi seguì la medesima cosa" (GARAMPI, 94). *Cf.* in this conncxion the *Cifre al Durini of January 1 and 22, 1749, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Papal Secret Archives. The Pope did not have his consistorial allocution on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle printed, but he communicated it in confidence to his friends in Bologna. See KRAUS, *Briefe*, 54 *seq.*

[2] The *letter is in Nunziat. di Germania, 609, *loc. cit.*

was lacking had been made up by the inclusion of the protest in the Papal allocution of November 27th, 1748.[1]

No mention at all had been made at the congress of the disputed questions of Castro, Ronciglione, and Carpegna. With regard to these and to the possession of Comacchio and Ferrara the Pope was somewhat reassured by article 15 of the treaty, which guaranteed the *status quo* of all the Italian states.[2] He was no less gratified by France's steadfast opposition to the Bavarian elector's demand for compensation in the form of secularization and by its prevention of any discussion of the subject.[3] The Curia's apprehensions on this score had been very great at first.[4] Keenly as Rome resented the lack of respect towards the Papal suzerainty over Parma

[1] *Cifra al Jacquet of February 8, 1749, *loc. cit.* Pennachi *reported to Uhlfeld on January 25, 1749, that on communicating his protest to the Cardinals the Pope expressed his pleasure "dal non essersi eseguito il divulgato progetto della secolarizzazione de' vescovati in Germania". State Archives, Vienna.

[2] The "Ristretto" mentioned above (p. 134, n. 2) remarks that "Si usò molta destrezza principalmente in tener segreti i timori del Papa d'essere perturbato nel possesso de' suoi domini, e siccome si trovò molta facilità nel ministero di Francia per condiscendere alle premure di S. Stà, così fu facile l'inserzione nel medesimo articolo, approvato anche dalle corti di Spagna e di Sardegna".

[3] "Inquanto alla secolarizzazione di alcuni vescovati di Germania, benchè fosse questa promossa dal duca di Baviera, il quale bramava di così avere un compenso de' danni sofferti dalla guerra, nondimeno la Francia non vi volle mai aderire, quantunque avesse a cuore gl'interessi di quell' elettore, anzi diede ordine al Conte di San Severino di tagliar curto su questo articolo, acciochè nel congresso non se ne facesse discorso, conoscendo benissimo esser questa una cosa di pessimo esempio, e che rovescierebbe tutto il sistema dell' impero." Ristretto, *loc. cit.* Hanoverian plans for the secularization of Osnabrück, in DROYSEN, V., 3, 485.

[4] *Cf.* Durini's report of January 15, 1748, in CALVI, *Curiosità*, III; *Cifra al Durini of February 7, 1748, *loc. cit.*; MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome; HEECKEREN, I., 441.

and Piacenza,[1] it was nevertheless a consolation that no right of investiture had been given to the Emperor. On the whole, Benedict considered that he might well be satisfied with the "general pacification", in that it had wrought no great damage to the Church or the Holy See.[2]

[1] HEECKEREN, 411.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 440 *seq.* Jacquet's position during the congress was very difficult. "*Nel fondo," he wrote on July 27, 1748, "non vi è ministro alcuno che si curi di noi e delle cose nostre, pochi sono informati, di modo che bisogna masticar lor la pappa e le insinuazioni in voce a nulla servono, e quante se ne faranno tante se ne porterà il vento." This last remark is an attempt to justify himself for having put forward some arguments *in writing*, concerning the cession of Parma, which step he had been advised not to make in a *Cifra of July 13, 1740. In the end the Pope was completely satisfied with his conduct; see the Cifra of February 8, 1744, in GARAMPI, 94. With regard to Parma and Piacenza the Pope, in 1752, protested also against the treaty of Aranjuez concluded on June 14 between Austria and Spain. *Cf.* *Millini to Uhlfeld on November 18, 1752, State Archives, Vienna, and HEECKEREN, II., 227.

CHAPTER III.

The States of the Church—The Encouragement of Art and Learning.

On ascending the Papal throne Benedict XIV. had every intention of improving the condition of his subjects to the best of his ability. First and foremost he directed his attention to the improvement of the financial situation, which had become deplorable. The State debt had mounted to 56 million *scudi*, and in 1743 the deficit for the year was 200,000 *scudi*.[1] The Pope straightway reduced expenditure on food and drink, lessened the number of domestics, and cut down the pay of the officers (by half) and the soldiers, which was abnormally high. He abstained from reviving the *Monti vacabili*, which had become extinct through the deaths of the beneficiaries, and urged the greatest possible thrift in all departments.[2] Among the many important measures of economy which he carried out the most outstanding was the reduction in the number of the troops. Of these there were not very many even before the reduction,[3] and they usually failed in an emergency.

[1] Merenda, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[2] Thun's *report to Charles VI. of August 30, 1740, in which it is noted that Benedict XIV. intends "formare la sua corte sul piede di quella d'Innocenzo XII. ch'è la ristretta dopo l'abolizione del nipotismo, toltone però quella di papa Benedetto XIII., che non volle nel roto del palazzo apostolico neppure le otto lancie spezzate o siano cavalieri di cappa e spada che aveva papa Innocenzo". The reduction in the soldiers' pay is *reported by Thun on September 24, 1740, State Archives, Vienna. See also M. Foscarini's report of September 3, 1740, in Brosch, II., 92, n. 2. *Cf.* Novaes, XIV., 14. A "*Discorso per un' economico regolamento della Camera Apost.", composed by the Marchese Girol. Teodoli in 1740, in Cod. Vat. 8677, pp. 253 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] Thun's *report of December 24, 1740, State Archives, Vienna.

In 1741, his expenditure showing no decrease, he took the advice of Cardinal Aldrovandi and endeavoured to create a fresh source of income by introducing stamped paper for legal documents, as had been done by the Governments of France, Spain, and Sardinia.[1] But as this measure failed to have the desired effect [2] he abolished it in 1743, on Argenvilliers' advice. The taxes on imported cattle, oil, and raw silk had been reduced on the introduction of the stamped paper, but this concession had now to be withdrawn and new taxes imposed on lime, china clay, salt, wine, straw, and hay.[3]

As early as 1741 the Pope had discovered irregularities in the accounts of the Dataria, and to put a stop to them he ordered the accounts to be submitted direct to him, month by month.[4] Later on he gave instructions that the accounts of all the communes in the Papal States were to undergo examination and that debts found to be owing to the Camera were to be collected.[5] This measure, however, was impossible of execution, as the Papal States were too sorely stricken by the storm of war in which every European Power was successively involved. Unable to defend himself, the Pope was forced to look on while his neutral territory was used by the Spaniards, the Austrians, and the Neapolitans as a passage, a theatre of war, and winter quarters. In these circumstances it was impossible to put the State finances on a sound footing. By the end of 1743 the deficit had risen from 180,000 to 200,000 *scudi*.[6]

Consequently the Pope found himself obliged to raise the taxes for 1744 in Rome and district on land, house-rents, the

[1] *Cf.* Thun's *report of March 4, 1741, *ibid.*; Moroni, LXXIV., 313.

[2] Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[3] "Muratori ad ann. 1741"; Novaes, XIV., 22; Brosch, II., 94; Heeckeren, I., 78. For Argenvilliers' influence, see Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[4] Thun's *report to Maria Theresa of July 8, 1741 (*loc. cit.*), according to which Aldrovandi was offended by the measure.

[5] Brosch, II., 94.

[6] *Ibid.*, 95.

feudal benefices of the barons, and pensions derived from prebends.[1] In 1745 a tax which was expected to produce 400,000 *scudi* was imposed on the Monte creditors, though only for one year.[2] Even then it was found impossible to balance the budget. The Pope sought to remedy the situation by lessening administrative costs and by reducing his military expenses by 110,000 *scudi* annually, but neither now nor at any future time in his pontificate did he manage to free himself from financial trouble.[3] In a confidential letter to his old friend Innocenzo Storani of Ancona, of October 13th, 1751, he said that apart from the sums that were necessary for his upkeep he had not taken a bajocco from the Camera, and that if his predecessor had acted likewise there would not be a debt of millions causing a perpetual deficit.[4] Even

[1] Edict of December 18, 1743 ; see NOVAES, XIV., 71 *seq.*

[2] " Motu proprio " of January 16, 1745 ; see BROSCH, II., 95.

[3] BROSCH, II., 96, where there is further information about the deterioration of military power in the States of the Church. In these circumstances, MERENDA's complaints in his **Memorie* (Bibl. Angelica, Rome) about Benedict XIV.'s " neutralità disarmata " seem to be unjustified. Once the Great Powers had developed their military strength to a degree corresponding to their vast extent, it was impossible for the diminutive States of the Church to protect their neutrality, even if no expense had been spared for the development of the army. BROSCH (II., 97) rightly judges that the only means of protection for the States of the Church lay in the political situation, not in the army, which no longer commanded respect. This being so, it is also easy to understand how Benedict XIV. was more conciliatory towards the Neapolitans and Spaniards, who were closer at hand, than towards the Austrians. The ineffectiveness of the Papal troops was demonstrated in 1752 at the uprising in Subiaco against Cardinal Spinola, who was commendatory abbot there ; see COPPI, *Annal. ad ann.* 1752 ; BROSCH, II., 97 n. After Spinola's death, Benedict XIV. separated the Abbot of Subiaco's judicial powers in the ecclesiastical sphere from those in the civil sphere, and he intended to repeat this measure in other places ; see MURATORI, *Annal. ad ann.* 1752.

[4] MARONI, *Lettere*, 791.

his severest critics could not deny that he deserved the compliment paid him at the beginning of his reign by the Venetian ambassador Marco Foscarini, namely that it was fortunate that they had a Pope who was free from ambition and self-seeking, for otherwise the States of the Church would have fallen into irreparable decay.[1]

In the sphere of political administration, too, the Pope had many unpleasant experiences, for doubtful elements had crept in here since Coscia's time which were not easily removed.[2] Wherever improvement was possible, Benedict did not shirk his duty, and many abuses he ruthlessly removed.[3] Innovations of a radical nature, however, especially in the administration of the States of the Church, he could not bring himself to make. "I am too old," was his excuse, "and it is impossible for me to say whether my successor would continue so laborious and costly an undertaking." [4]

From every point of view the "general pacification" agreed to at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle brought considerable relief to the ruler of the Papal States, for it freed him of the fear that the "tragedy" of the first years of his reign would be repeated.[5] The whole of Italy now began to enjoy a period of peace which was to last for forty years and which has not yet been granted to the peninsula a second time. It made it possible, after a long period of warfare, to attend to the healing of grievous wounds with some prospect of success.

[1] M. Foscarini's report in Brosch, II., 98, n. 3.

[2] Benedict remarked sardonically to Cardinal Tencin in a letter of August 1, 1753, that unfortunately he had to plough with his predecessor's oxen. Heeckeren, II., 82.

[3] Spittler, *Gesch. der europäischen Staaten*, II., 105; Brosch, II., 99. An order of October 30, 1756, was directed against the clipping of coins; see *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 262. For Benedict XIV.'s coinage, see Martinori, *Zecca*, 21.

[4] Caracciolo, 135; *cf.* 143.

[5] "*Gran peso," Benedict had written to Cardinal Tencin on July 28, 1742, "è quello del pontificato, ma intollerabile quando fra i principi cattolici non si è pace." *Miscell.* XV., 154, Papal Secret Archives.

Of this epoch, which was of particular benefit to the city of Rome,[1] the peace-loving Benedict was a true representative. In his reign the population of the city rose from 145,580 (in the year 1740) to 154,058.[2]

One improvement made in the Eternal City was the new demarcation of the Rioni, which had been increased to fourteen under Sixtus V. The project was announced in 1742 and put into effect the following year under the direction of the Cardinal Camerlengo Albani. Formerly the boundaries had been so ill defined that it was uncertain to what district many a house belonged, a case in point being the Palazzo Conti, about which a dispute arose in the time of Innocent XIII.[3] The manifold irregularities thus occasioned were now removed.

The instigator of this reform was the Prior of the Caporioni, Count Bernardino Bernardini, who in 1744 published an exact description of the fourteen Rioni, with their churches, convents, hospitals, hospices, colleges, palaces, ancient monuments, piazzas, and streets.[4] The boundaries were marked by marble tablets bearing names and coats of arms, [5] many of them being still extant. With their aid, both residents and visitors could find their way about without difficulty. The basis of the whole work was a large plan of ancient, mediaeval, and modern Rome made by the famous surveyor and architect, Giovanni Battista Nolli, of Como. Drawn and engraved in accordance with the researches made by the learned Jesuit Contucci and the Papal chaplain Antonio

[1] *Cf.* Reumont, III., 2, 656 *seqq.*

[2] *Monografia d. città di Roma,* II., 354. According to Corridore, *La popolazione dello Stato Romano,* Roma, 1906, the total population of Rome in 1742, including the city districts, was 622,535.

[3] See the work by Bernardini (pp. 8 *seqq.*) mentioned below. *Cf. Baracconi,* 26.

[4] B. Bernardini, *Descrizione del nuovo ripartimento de' Rioni di Roma fatto per ordine di N. S. Papa Benedetto XIV.*, Roma, 1744. *Cf.* Forcella, I., 83.

[5] *Ibid.*, 19.

Baldani, it was published in 1748.[1] Nolli, turning to account the invaluable work done by the Roman topographer Leonardo Bufalini, edited the latter's plan (which had been published in 1551)[2] with a new orientation and at the same time produced a new plan showing ground-plans and sites with great distinctness. Orientation east and west which had formerly been the rule, was here abandoned altogether in favour of that by north and south. In addition to this, Nolli's plan, in twelve sheets, marks an important advance in that it provides, not a bird's-eye view, as did its predecessors, but an exact and detailed ground-plan, including those of the churches and palazzi, public grounds, and the villas and their gardens, also the conformation of the ground. This work, which was incidentally a remarkable example of copper-engraving, became the prototype of modern Roman cartography. More recent plans are improvements on it only in point of technical production.[3]

The constitution of the Roman aristocracy was regularized by a decree of Benedict XIV.'s dated January 4th, 1746, and it thenceforward remained essentially unaltered until the dissolution of the Papal States.[4] Benedict's decree, which was known by its opening words, "*Urbem Romam,*" restricted the title of "*nobilis Romanus*" to 187 families, whose names were entered in a golden book. The right to bear the title was granted only to those whose ancestors, or they themselves, had taken part in the administration of the city of Rome,

[1] *Cf.* De Rossi in *Studi e docum.*, IV. (1883), 153 *seqq.* See also Justi, II., 122. A new and reduced copy of Nolli's large plan, which is no longer easy to obtain, was given in the last volume of Reumont's *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XIII, 363.

[3] Petermann's *Geograph. Mitteilungen*, LVII. (1911), 311; Gnoli, *Mostra di Topografia Romana*, Roma, 1903, 10, 16; Brinckmann, *Stadtbaukunst*, 52, 57, who remarks that with the exception of Verniguet's large plan of Paris nothing on this scale had ever been done for any other city. A rectification of Nolli in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXIX., 538 *seqq.*

[4] Decrees of only a supplementary nature were issued by Pius IX. on May 2, 1853; see Reumont, III., 2, 657.

either as "*conservatori*" or "*caporioni*". To perpetuate the memory of the ancient Senate, sixty of these families were accorded the special title of "*Cives nobiles conscripti*". Applicants for admission to this latter circle were subject to examination by a heraldic commission presided over by the Senator, while plain nobility was granted by a communal council composed of families which had distinguished themselves in public service; the Pope's relatives were *ipso facto* plain nobles. From their ranks were to be chosen the holders of the most important posts: the *Conservatori*, the Prior of the *Caporioni*, the consuls of the guild of land workers, the superintendents of roads and buildings, and the fifty councillors of the Roman people—the last relic of the Senate—who were to officiate during the vacancy of the Papal See.[1]

The Pope, while coming to the aid of impoverished nobles, strongly advocated the diminution of the immoderate luxury which had brought many of them to ruin.[2] The incomes of most of the Roman notables were insufficient because of the bad management of their estates and the considerable expense attached to their exalted positions. Large sums were spent in repairing their vast palazzi and in performing social duties.

The "*Conversazioni*", as receptions were called, were continued in the theatre, where music held first place. An ordinance of Benedict XIV.'s published in 1742 shows his solicitude lest the bounds of propriety be exceeded on the stage.[3] Every noble owned a box in the public theatres (Alibert, Argentina, Tor di Nona, Valle, Capranica), and here the ladies received their visitors, paying no regard to the beginning of the melodrama, in which, as before, women were

[1] *Ibid.*; *Bull.*, XIV., 337 *seq.* *Cf.* the inscription in FORCELLA, I., 85. In this connexion it is worth noting also the "*Ristretto di notizie di famiglie nobili esistenti in Roma sotto il pontificato di Innocenzo XII. raccolte dagli Archivi particolari, dall' istorie etc. sino all' Anno Santo 1750", in the Costaguti Archives, Rome.

[2] NOVAES, XIV., 14.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 116 *seq.*

forbidden to appear. The expenses of the Carnival were borne by the aristocrats ; it was they who drove in the gala carriages and showered sweetmeats on the populace, and it was their horses which ran in the Barberi races.[1] Though the Carnival festivities had now lost much of the roughness with which they had been accompanied even in the foregoing century, outbreaks of licence were not unknown. Against these excesses Benedict XIV. set his face as sternly as he did against public immorality[2]: the wearing of masks was forbidden on Fridays, Sundays, and holidays in Carnival time and the practice was not to be extended into Ash Wednesday.[3]

An excellent notion of the Roman Carnival in the first half of the eighteenth century, when numerous visitors were attracted to it from abroad, especially England,[4] may be gained from the drawings of Pier Leone Ghezzi.[5] The portraits, mostly caricatures, of this amusing artist have immortalized the inhabitants of Rome of his time, from the Pope and the Cardinals down to the beggars, charlatans, and cooks. The ecclesiastical world was not spared thereby, but this did not prevent Benedict XIV. from enjoying the caricatures.[6] In the same way he tolerated the free criticism of the Government, the Secretary of State, and even himself, at social gatherings and in the cafés. He even listened with a placid

[1] NAVENNE, II., 53 *seqq.* For the prohibition of women on the stage, see MARONI, *Lettere*, 754 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report from Rome, dated November 29, 1747, in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, and CARACCIOLO, 159.

[3] For the decrees of 1748 and 1751, which applied to the whole of the States of the Church, see BARBIER, VII., 83 *seqq.*, 85 *seqq.*, 90 *seqq.* ; BANDINI, *Roma al tramonto del settecento*, Roma, 1922, 123.

[4] *Cf.* *Report from Rome of December 21, 1748, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[5] HERMANIN, in *Bollet. d'Arte*, 1907, I., 2, 17 *seqq.*

[6] *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, II., 430 *seq.* ; HERMANIN, *loc. cit.*, 19 ; TIETZE, *Handschriften der Rossiana*, 165.

content when this kind of talk was reported to him.[1] The prevailing atmosphere in Rome at this period was one of gaiety and unrestraint, an unbelievable freedom as Winckelmann expressed it.[2]

In conjunction with Ghezzi's coarsely realistic drawings, the files of the contemporary Roman journal *Cracas* provide an unusually vivid picture of daily life in Rome. Every event was fully reported: firstly the ecclesiastical functions, then the academic disputations, the illuminations and fireworks on public holidays, the new plays and works of art, and even the sacred music performed in the Oratories. In the matter of dress the Spanish fashion of the preceding period had been ousted by the French,[3] though in some other respects the influence of the Iberian peninsula was still perceptible, one instance being the bull-fights in the Mausoleum of Augustus.[4]

The setting in which this unique world lived and moved—a world to which its numerous foreign visitors and residents imparted an international flavour—may be seen in the ten volumes of engravings by Giuseppe Vasi, published in 1747–61, with an historical explanation by Giuseppe Bianchini. In 250 small folio engravings Vasi depicts the Rome of his time—its gates, piazzas, basilicas, and streets, its most famous palazzi, its bridges, parish churches, convents, schools, villas, and gardens. Never delving beneath the surface he presents a faithful picture of the exteriors of buildings and

[1] CARACCIOLO, 158.

[2] JUSTI, II., I, 11, and OTTO HARNACK, *Deutsches Kunstleben in Rom im Zeitalter der Klassik*, Weimar, 1896, xiv. By reason of the Romans' lighthearted way of living, the pilgrimages to the church "Del Divino Amore", near Castel di Leva, on the Via Ardeatina, built in 1744, also took on the character of popular festivals, which has continued to the present day. See G. ZAMBONI, *Ist. del santuario del D.A.*, Roma, 1872; PEZZANI, *La Madonna del D.A.*, Roma, 1908; TOMASSETTI, II., 430 *seqq.*

[3] NAVENNE, II., 55.

[4] *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *La giostra dei tori nel mausoleo d'Augusto* 1755, in *Rassegna settim.*, III., Roma, 1879, No. 78.

localities, but his uniform and unimaginative style soon becomes wearisome.[1]

On an immeasurably higher level of artistry are the engravings of his pupil Giovanni Battista Piranesi, a native of Venice who was living in Rome in 1740–43 and permanently settled there in 1745. No other exponent of reproductive art has produced so powerful an impression of the characteristic magnificence of ancient and modern Rome. His etchings, most of which appeared in the largest folio size, are perfect in technique and illustrate in the manner of a genius the imposing bulk and overawing effect of the ancient ruins.[2] The passionate enthusiasm with which he drew easily compensates for a few exaggerations and artistic licences.[3] His *Antichità Romane,* published in four volumes in 1756, won for him a European reputation.[4]

To some extent as a relief from this work, which inaugurated the systematic study of the Roman ruins, Piranesi began to produce in 1748 a series of *Vedute di Roma,* which eventually totalled 137 sheets.[5] A comparison with his teacher Vasi is wholly favourable to Piranesi. Though Vasi's Roman picture may be more comprehensive, his pupil's is infinitely more impressive, colourful, romantic, and lifelike. The effects produced by his distribution of light and shade were so magical that he was known as the Rembrandt of the ancient ruins. Another distinctive feature of his earlier sheets is the originality

[1] Gius. Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna con una spiegazione istorica del P. Gius. Bianchini,* Roma, 1747–1761, 10 vols.

[2] *Cf.* Missirini, 238 ; Justi, 342 *seq.* ; Vogel, *Goethes römische Tage,* 67 *seqq.* ; Giesecke, *G. B. Piranesi,* Leipzig, 1911, 41 *seqq.* ; Sulger-Gebing in *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* XVIII., Frankfort, 1897, 221 *seq.* ; H. Focillon, *G. B. Piranesi,* Paris, 1918, 51 *seqq.,* 145 *seqq.*

[3] Vogel, 68 *seq.* ; Focillon, 218 *seqq.*

[4] Giesecke, 86 *seqq.* ; Focillon, 204 *seqq.* Benedict showed his approval of Piranesi by allowing him to import for his "Antichità" 200 bales of paper free of duty, which was equivalent to a substantial sum of money ; see Focillon, 72.

[5] Giesecke, 41 *seqq.* ; Focillon, 122 *seqq.*

of his accessory figures. At the foot of his buildings, both ancient and modern, the whole of Roman street life is seen in action : carriages and sedan chairs, gallants, ladies in bustles, priests, monks, beggars, soldiers, cooks, bakers, hawkers, and artisans, succeed each other in animated sequence. Piranesi has created a picture of the Rome of Benedict XIV. the like of which has not been drawn for any other city in the world.[1] In his work there lives still the city through which the light-hearted Pope was so fond of wandering.

Hand in hand with Benedict's good spirits went his readiness to relieve distress. Thrifty where his own person was concerned, he was extraordinarily generous to all in need.[2] So as to be able to support the poor, he refrained from revisiting his beloved home-town.[3] In times of widespread disaster his assistance was on a lavish scale. In 1741 he spent 100,000 *scudi* in relieving the grave distress caused by an earthquake in Urbino, the Marches, and Umbria. Generous alms were given by him at the great flooding of the Tiber in December 1750 [4] and on the occasion of further earthquakes which wrought much damage in Umbria in the latter part of his reign.[5]

[1] Justi, II., 342 *seq.* ; Giesecke, 47 *seqq.* ; Focillon, 123 *seqq.* ; Ant. Muñoz, *G. B. Piranesi* (1920), 28 *seq.*

[2] Benedict XIV. displayed his charity so promptly and in so high a measure that Thun *reported it to Charles VI. on August 23, 1740, adding : "essendo di sua natura portato a far del bene." State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Maroni, *Lettere*, 746.

[4] For these subsidies, see the *Avvisi of August 21 and 28, and December 18, 1751, February 12, September 9, and November 28, 1752, and May 25, 1754 (Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich).

[5] Novaes, XIV., 34 ; Caracciolo, 148 *seq.* Rome was visited by another natural misfortune in Benedict XIV.'s reign ; in 1749 occurred a violent storm which caused great damage (*cf.* Boscovich, *Sopra il turbine che la notte tra gli XI. e XII. Giugno MDCCXLIX. danneggiò una gran parte di Roma*, Roma, 1749). For the overflowing of the Tiber, see *Lettere di uomini illustri*,

The many ordinances issued by Benedict XIV. for the reform of civil and criminal jurisdiction were highly beneficial,[1] and the enlightened spirit shown by the learned jurist in this sphere was also manifest in his decrees affecting economic administration. As early as March 30th, 1741, he ordered ecclesiastical penalties to be revived for anyone who impeded the import of foodstuffs into Rome. No one was to be exempt, not even Cardinals and princes.[2] In the same year, during his stay at Castel Gandolfo, there came to his ears the complaints of the poor peasants who had been forbidden to glean what was left of the crops after the harvest. Moved by true Christian charity, he opposed this harshness in an ordinance of May 22nd, 1742. [3] The great landowners, however, being too selfish to observe this ordinance, it was later renewed under pain of penalty and at the same time the custom of gleaning was so regulated that no harm could come to the landowner's property.[4]

For the better provisioning of their inhabitants the Pope ordered granaries to be built in every town and village of the Papal States, and various reliefs were granted to the bakers in Rome, who were groaning under the burden of the taxes laid upon them.[5]

A Motu Proprio of July 8th, 1748, contained a particularly wise measure by which the Pope permitted the free export

128; ARMELLINI in *Triplice Omaggio a Pio IX.*, Roma, 1877, 89. Benedict XIV. had previously commissioned two engineers to make a thorough study of the whole course of the Tiber, which became the basis for the famous work: *Della cagione e dei rimedii delle inondazioni del Tevere, della somma difficultà d'introdurre una felice et stabile navigazione da Ponte Novo sotto Perugia e del modo di renderlo navigabile dentro Roma,* Roma, 1746. See also the periodical *Buonaroti*, 1871.

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 268 *seqq.*, XVII., 205 *seqq.*, XVIII., 41 *seq.*; *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 161 *seqq.*, 188 *seqq.*, 202 *seqq.*

[2] DE CUPIS, 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, 310.

[4] ARDANT, *Papes et paysans*, 165.

[5] See BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 83, and, for a *memorial by

of grain, vegetables, cattle, and wood, not only from place to place, but also from province to province and from legation to legation. Those districts, however, which were subject to the Annona, Rome's provisioning authority, were excepted.[1] Speculation in oil, an indispensable commodity for Rome, the Pope had already countered by allowing it to be imported free of duty.[2] Two edicts issued in 1749 had as their object the prevention of harm being done to shepherds by speculation in pastures.[3]

An ordinance of December 30th, 1748, specified the measures to be taken for the repair and upkeep of the roads of the Papal States, which had been badly damaged by the passage of the troops.[4] Attempts were made to encourage industry, cotton-spinning in particular, by the granting of privileges, but unfortunately they were not successful.[5]

As the Mediterranean was still being made unsafe by the Barbary pirates, Benedict provided corresponding protection for the coasts of the Papal States. These measures, which

the Prefect of the Roman Annona in Arm. XI., Miscell. 202 of the Papal Secret Archives, see CANALETTI-GAUDENTI in *Corr. d'Italia*, 1921, No. 3.

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 233 *seqq.*, *cf. ibid.*, XVIII., 38 *seqq.*; MORONI, LXXIV., 312.

[2] *Reports by Mocenigo of March 30 and April 6, 1748, State Archives, Venice. *Cf.* BROSCH, II., 98.

[3] DE CUPIS, 663 *seqq.*, 667 *seqq.*

[4] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 300 *seq.* According to the *Avviso of February 1, 1755, the chief streets of Rome were to be bordered with elms (Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich). In 1749 the cleaning of the city's streets was regularized; see *reports from Rome of January 4 and 11, 1749, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[5] CARACCIOLO, 66; MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. The latter reports for the year 1745 the invention of a new cannon by an engineer of Rieti. It was tried out in the presence of the Pope, but no order for casting ensued. For the project of utilizing mineral products near Tolfa, see HEECKEREN, I., 319.

profited also the English and Dutch merchantmen, helped to make the name of the learned Pope respected in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic world. Evidence of this is the praise offered him by Vattel in his work on international law published at Neuchâtel in 1758.[1]

To guard the coast against the pirates Benedict commissioned a new galley, named after himself, to be built in the yards of Civitavecchia, and later two frigates were bought in England and named after the Princes of the Apostles.[2] At the end of April 1745 the Pope went to Civitavecchia to attend the launching of the *Benedetta* and to christen the vessel himself.[3] In the May of the previous year he had visited Porto d'Anzio from Castel Gandolfo,[4] having in mind the modernization of the old harbour on the plan drawn up by the French engineer Maréchal,[5] who was also inspecting the dykes of Fiumicino and the harbour of Ancona.[6] But, like Innocent XIII., he was unable to realize his design ; in March 1752 the work, which was very costly, had to be abandoned.[7] The Pope then devoted all the more attention to Civitavecchia. He confirmed and

[1] N. Vattel, *Le droit des gents*, I., 266. *Cf.* also the inscription in Forcella, II., 502.

[2] Guglielmotti, *Ultimi fatti*, 139 *seqq.*, 163 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 138 *seqq.* ; Calisse, 552 *seqq.*

[4] Guglielmotti, 137.

[5] See the *Nova sent to Vienna by A. Albani on June 29 and August 17, 1748, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. *Cf.* Merenda, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.*, and Heeckeren, I., 412. One of Maréchal's three plans is preserved in the State Archives, Rome.

[6] Heeckeren, I., 412.

[7] *Cf.* the detailed information in the *Avvisi of June 6, 1750, March 13, April 24, July 10 and 24, 1751, January 29, February 5 and March 18, 1752, where there is talk of building a harbour in Stagno di Maccarese instead of in Anzio. The Pope, however, still thought of building a harbour in the latter place ; see *Avvisi of August 12, November 4, and December 30, 1752, and November 23, 1754 ; Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich.

extended its privileges as a free port,[1] so that its maritime trade, which was already considerable, was greatly increased. He had more granaries built there, also a new church and, by the harbour, a handsome fountain designed by Vanvitelli. Improvements were made to the harbour walls, the harbour itself, and the landing place. In the town he saw to the erection of better dwelling-houses. The church at the Porta Romana was enlarged, and outside the gate a fine new suburb arose.[2] Similarly the harbour of Ancona was freed of its old deficiencies.[3]

Other benefactions made by Benedict to the States of the Church were the embellishment of the pilgrimage-church of Loreto [4] and of the palazzo at Castel Gandolfo,[5] the restoration of S. Maria della Piazza at Ancona,[6] and the assistance

[1] GUGLIELMOTTI, 122 *seqq.*; CALISSE, 564 *seqq.* Thun notes in his *report of August 12, 1741, that in spite of this Civitavecchia would hardly compete with Leghorn, "perchè il governo dei preti è poco atto a cattivare il commercio," as was evident in the case of Ancona. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] CALISSE, 568 *seqq.*, 572 *seqq.*

[3] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[4] The church was given a new campanile and portico; for the arms of Benedict XIV. over the door leading from the palazzo to the campanile, see *Guida di Loreto*, 163. In the palazzo the Pope had the great Salone restored, and here his portrait has been hung; further information in the *Avvisi of October 3, 1750, and October 27, 1752, *loc. cit.*

[5] "Il Maggiordomo durante l'estate aveva fatta accomodare la galleria del Palazzo di Castello et allestire altre piccole stanze con pitture a guazzo del Ghezzi, il quale vi dipinse diverse caricature, nelle quali era eccellente, di diversi familiari e fra gl'altri Msgr. Reali primo Maestro di Cerimonie che scaccia un asino," reports MERENDA (**Memorie, loc. cit.*) for the second year of the Pope's reign. Benedict had built here a clock tower and a vaulted gallery (called the "Galleria del bigliardo" after the billiard table it contained) with beautiful landscapes in fresco, of the surrounding country, and an open view of the sea. I also found two coats of arms in the palazzo.

[6] MARONI, *Lettere*, 793.

given towards the rebuilding of the cathedral at Fossombrone.[1] But the town which profited most from the Pope's generosity was his native city of Bologna. On becoming Pope he remained its archbishop and paid the See especial honour by conferring on it the Golden Rose.[2] The sum of 200,000 *scudi* was spent on completing the cathedral church of S. Pietro (a sumptuous façade and two new chapels being designed by Alfonso Torregiani) and the adjoining seminary.[3] The cathedral also received many handsome gifts in the form of church utensils; the silver altar-frontal, with cross and candlesticks, were valued at 20,000 *scudi*. On relinquishing the archiepiscopal dignity in 1756 to Cardinal Malvezzi, the ageing Pope sent to the cathedral, to commemorate the new archbishop's consecration, two silver candlesticks costing 13,000 *scudi*.[4] A still more handsome present was the set of large tapestries woven to the designs of Raphael Mengs in the factory attached to S. Michele a Ripa in Rome. They were hidden away when the cathedral was plundered by French revolutionary troops and are used to this day to decorate the church on high festivals.[5] The church of S. Petronio in Bologna received a large and

[1] *Avviso of October 19, 1754, Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich.

[2] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 195 *seqq.*; KRAUS, *Briefe*, 80.

[3] *Cf.* G. GATTI, *Descrizione delle più rare cose di Bologna*, Bologna, 1803, 1 *seqq.*; M. GUALANDI, *Tre giorni in Bologna*, Bologna, 1850, 31 *seqq.*; G. ZUCCHINI, *Bologna*, Bergamo (no date), 134 *seq.*, 138; BERINGER, 31 *seqq.*; L. MANARESI, *La cattedrale di Bologna*, in *Bollet. d. dioc. di Bologna*, I., 198 *seq.*

[4] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 254, II., 135; HEECKEREN, II., 309; NOVAES, XIV., 225, 255. *Cf. Atti d. Emilia*, II. (1877), 196 *seq.* The second consecration of the cathedral did not take place till 1756; see *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 222.

[5] The tapestries are marked "Petrus Ferloni fecit in Hospitio". Benedict XV. had them photographed; illustrations in C. CANTONI, *Lambertiniana*, 27 *seq.* *Cf. Diario Benedettino che contiene una ampia serie di beneficenze fatte da Benedetto XIV. alla sua patria*, Bologna, 1754.

richly ornamented reliquary,[1] and costly gifts were made to the church of S. Caterina.[2] The Pope's first episcopal church, that of Ancona, was richly rewarded every year,[3] but the churches which received his chief attention were those of the Eternal City.

The approach of the jubilee year 1750 afforded a particular incentive for the restoration of various churches.[4]

An extensive scheme of this nature had been undertaken at the Pope's command in the first year of his reign, and the cost of it he had partly borne himself. At S. Maria Maggiore, the glorious church of the Virgin crowning the summit of the Esquiline, the south-east portico, a work of Pope Eugene III., was threatening to collapse.[5] The task of erecting in its

[1] A. GATTI, *Catalogo del Museo di S. Petronio*, Bologna, 1893, 30 *seqq.*, for the "reliquario detto della passione". *Cf.* KRAUS, *Briefe*, 11, and *ibid.*, 88, for Aldrovandi's plan for a façade for S. Petronio.

[2] *Report from Rome of October 21, 1747, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] MARONI, *Lettere*, 727 *seqq.*, 737, 742 *seqq.*, 744, 749, 753, 763 *seq.*, 772, 777, 781, 783 *seq.*, 786 *seq.*, 788 *seq.*, 790, 792.

[4] *Cf.* *Avviso of October 4, 1749, Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich; MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. For the complete rebuilding by Cardinal Quirini of his titular church, see ZAMBARELLI, *SS. Bonifacio e Alessio nell' Aventino*, Roma, no year of publication, 141. For the later restoration of S. Luigi de' Francesi, see HEECKEREN, II., 523.

[5] See Thun's *report of 1741, mentioned below, p. 158, n. 1. On December 26, 1740, Thun had *reported: "Ascenderanno a 20,000 scudi le propine che per le dette chiese [in Portugal] appartengono al papa, il quale ha ordinato, che si depositino, volendo formare un capitale per metter mano alla fabbrica della facciata della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore." State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 205, according to whom a further 30,000 scudi were set aside for S. Maria Maggiore. *Cf.* also *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 281 *seqq.*, and *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 447 *seqq.* In a letter to the Marchesa Camilla Caprara Bentivogli of December 23, 1744, the Pope reckoned that 80,000 scudi had already been spent on S. Maria Maggiore and that 50,000 more

place a new façade consisting of two galleries, one above the other, was entrusted to Ferdinando Fuga, who until his departure for Naples in 1750 held the position of Papal architect to which he had been appointed by Clement XII. The foundation stone of this new structure was laid by Benedict XIV. on March 4th, 1741.[1] In the lower gallery the eight fine antique columns of granite were re-erected. In order to preserve in the façade as far as possible the valuable mosaics of the early fourteenth century, Fuga created the upper gallery, with the loggia from where the Pope was to give his blessing on the feast of the Assumption, this being placed in such a position in front of the old façade as to preserve the old mosaics. For the embellishment of the façade and porch, statues and reliefs were commissioned by the Pope from the best-known sculptors of the day: Giuseppe Lironi, Filippo della Valle, Carlo Marchionni, Agostino Corsini, Carlo Monaldi, Giambattista Maini, Pietro Bracci, the Frenchman Michelangelo Slodtz, and the Fleming Peter Verschaffelt. Simultaneously with these works, which were completed in 1749,[2] the ancient basilica underwent a thorough restoration, in the course of which the pavement was renewed in places, the ceilings of the aisles were decorated with stucco work, and, unfortunately, the choir was lowered and the tabernacle of the high altar, a gift of Cardinal Estouteville's, was replaced by a new one.[3] On the roof of the baldacchino, which is borne

would be necessary. See B. Manzone, *Frammenti di lettere inedite di Benedetto XIV.*, Brà, 1890 (Nozze Publ.), IV., n. 2.

[1] *The Pope proceeded in state to S. Maria Maggiore "e vi ha fatta la funzione di porre la prima pietra al nuovo portico che vi si fa a spese di S. Stà essendosi demolito l'antico da' fundamenti perchè minacciava rovina." Thun's report of March 4, 1741, State Archives, Vienna. For the ceremony, see *Cod. Vat., 8546, pp. 1 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] D. Taccone-Gallucci, *S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1911, 83. Over the principal entrance in the portico is a tablet inscribed: "Benedictus XIV . . . 1753," and over the inner portal another: "Bened. XIV. . . . 1750."

[3] *Cf.* Letarouilly, *Édifices*, text, 613 *seq.*, 617 *seq.*, 624 *seq.*;

by four ancient columns of porphyry wound around with garlands of gilded bronze, rise four angels sculptured in marble by Pietro Bracci, with palms and lilies in their hands. Above them is a gilded crown held aloft by two putti.[1] The high altar itself was also renewed by order of the Pope ; his marble table rests on a bronze-gilt porphyry basin that was thought to be the sarcophagus of the patrician Johannes, the founder of the church.[2]

Finished in 1750,[3] this restoration is said to have cost over 300,000 *scudi*. The character of antiquity formerly possessed by the Basilica Liberiana has undoubtedly been impaired, if not actually obliterated by it. This was realized by many observers at the time,[4] including the Pope himself, who imparted his opinion to his architect with his customary

LAVAGNINO-MOSCHINI, *S. Maria Maggiore*, 41 ; FORCELLA, XI., 92 *seqq.* ; ADINOLFI, *Roma*, II., 178 *seq.* ; JOZZI, *Storia di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, 16 ; TACCONE GALLUCCI, 90 *seqq.*, 117 ; *Boll. d'arte*, 1915, 22, 140, 147 *seqq.* ; BRAUN, *Altar*, II., Munich, 1924, 240. For the sculptures in the decoration of the vestibule, see TITI, 250 *seq.* ; MORONI, XII., 125 *seqq.* ; NIBBY, *Roma moderna*, I., 384 ; DOMARUS, 8, n. 2. For Bracci's statue of Humility and Maini's companion piece, Virginity, see DOMARUS, 28 *seqq.* ; *cf. ibid.*, 31 *seq.* for Bracci's marble relief representing the Council which was held in S. Maria Maggiore in 465. See also C. GRADARA, 48 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, 103. For Verschaffelt's putti, see BERINGER, 27 *seqq.*

[1] DOMARUS, 36 ; GRADARA, 62 *seqq.*, 105, and tav. XIX. and XX.

[2] LETAROUILLY, 625. *Cf. Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 176. Later, Bianchini submitted his history of S. Maria Maggiore, in manuscript, to the Pope, who advised him to have it printed ; see Cardinal Albani's *letter of May 17, 1755, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] *Cf.* the inscriptions in FORCELLA, XI., 95 *seqq.*

[4] " *Nel giorno di S. Tomaso, il Papa volle consagrare la gran Tribuna di S. Maria Maggiore fatta di nuovo, sostenuta da quattro gran colonne intiere di porfido coll'urna compagna. In tale congiuntura fu scoperto il soffitto e le navate laterali terminate di abellire di stucchi et indorature e di motivi in simetria. Fatto

frankness.[1] Nevertheless he not only entrusted him with the designing of a new wing and cemetery for the hospital of S. Spirito,[2] but saw to it that he was given the task of erecting

un calcolo della spesa fatta dal Papa in rinovare questa Basilica nella facciata e palazzo laterale, nel spiccolire e ridurre a simetria le colonne, capitelli e basi, nel sbassare e rifare il coro, pavimento, ara massima, navate et altri infiniti lavori, si trova che passano li 300m scudi. Molti però desideravano e piangevano quella venerabile e santa antichità così scomposta e sproporzionata come era, de tanti magnifici abellimenti et ornamenti." MERENDA, *loc. cit.*

[1] According to CARACCIOLO, 84, Benedict's words were "Non abbiamo motivo di gloriarci troppo di quest' opera; potrebbe credere taluno che noi fossimo impresari di teatro: giacchè sembra essere una sala da ballo". See MAGNI, *Storia dell'arte ital.*, III., Roma, 1901, 603; BIASIOTTI, *La basilica Esquil.*, Roma, 1911, 22.

[2] See MERENDA, **Memorie*, who relates that "Considerando poi che l'Ospedale di S. Spirito in tempo di influenze e specialmente nell' estate non haveva luogo per ricevere tanti infermi, li quali perciò dovevano porsi nei granari con incomodo degl'infermi e dei serventi, per consiglio del card. Gentili, che n'era visitatore, ordinò la fabrica del nuovo braccio suntuoso, e nello scavare le fondamenta fu trovata una cassa nella quale si contenevano due corpi vestiti, l'uno d'huomo più grande del naturale, e l'altro di donna ben piccola, senza alcun segno di cristianesimo, et avendosi voluti estrarre, andarono in polvere le vesti e le ossa, restando una catena d'oro con alcune gioie al collo della donna e sopra il coperchio dell' urna le lettere G. I. P. IIII. in caratteri romani, che diedero molto esercizio alli belli ingegni per interpretarli". Bibl. Angelica, Rome. *Cf.* the inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 448 *seqq.*, 452 *seqq.*, which mention also the restoration of the Palazzo del Commendatore. The cost amounted to 100,000 *scudi*; see HEECKEREN, I., 241. For the laying of the foundation stone of the new building by the Pope, see *Cod. Vat., 8545, pp. 245 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. The wing erected by Benedict XIV. was pulled down in 1908, when the new Ponte Vittorio Emanuele was being constructed; nothing remains but the portal with its inscription. *Cf.* CANEZZA in *Atti d. Accad. "Arcadia"*, I. (1917), 164, and in the *Corr. d'Italia* of June 5, 1928.

a new church, S. Apollinare, for the German College. To this church too the Pope presented a splendid high altar at his personal expense.[1] In the valley between the Cœlius and the Esquiline, not far from the Lateran, was the church of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus, who were martyred in the reign of Diocletian ; it was on the point of collapse, and Benedict had it rebuilt by the Marchese Girolamo Teodoli.[2] The old church of S. Michele in Borgo was restored in 1756.[3]

The restoration of his old titular church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme was entrusted by the Pope to Domenico Gregorini. This Romanesque basilica, notwithstanding various improvements and additions made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had retained in the main its ancient character, but it was now to lose it almost entirely. Only the picturesque campanile was left untouched. The interior was embellished in the latest fashion by Gregorini, assisted by Pietro Passalacqua. Of the twelve stately columns of granite which stood in the nave, four were converted into piers ; the ceiling was replaced by a new one, with a painting by Corrado Giaquinto ; and the character of the apse was completely

[1] FORCELLA, VII., 523 ; STEINHUBER, II [2], 144 *seqq.* ; HEECKEREN, I., 397 ; GURLITT, 526 ; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 113. Ant. Pennachi *reported to Uhlfeld on April 20, 1748, that on the following day the Pope would consecrate S. Apollinare, " ch'è riuscita bella, ma non a proporzione della spesa, perchè Sua Beat. di propria borsa ha spesi 50,000 scudi per incrostare l'altare maggiore di fini marmi e di metalli." State Archives, Vienna. In the church are the Pope's coat-of-arms and an inscription on red marble with bronze-gilt keys.

[2] *Avvisi of April 11, May 2 and 30, 1750, Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich, according to which the cost amounted to 30,000 scudi. An *Avviso of July 22, 1752, records the completion of the exterior of the church, and *one of December 16, 1752, records the completion of the whole (*ibid.*). *Cf.* FORCELLA, XII., 398. To the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso Benedict XIV. presented a new altar ; see *Cod. Vat., 8545, pp. 85 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[3] FORCELLA, VI., 273.

altered by stucco decorations and the erection of an altar-ciborium in the manner of Bernini. The old portico was replaced by Gregorini with an oval vestibule with a surrounding passage and a curved and boldly projecting front, which comprised an order of large pilasters and was crowned with statues,[1] including one of John the Evangelist, of classic simplicity and dignity.[2] The work was commenced in 1741 and was finished in 1744. The Cistercian abbot of S. Croce, Raimondo Besozzi, presented the Pope with a history of the basilica in which he observed that a majesty and splendour had been given to the building which would astound anyone who had known it in its former condition.[3]

Paolo Posi's various works of restoration in the interior of the Pantheon were unsuccessful,[4] and still more unfortunate

[1] Besozzi in the work mentioned below (n. 3), 42 *seqq.*, 48 *seqq.*; S. Ortolani, *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, Roma, no year of publication, 22, 28, 35 *seq.*, 45 *seqq.*; Brasiotti in *Bollet. Parroch.* A., II. (1913), No. 18; Braun, *Altar*, II., 240. *Cf.* also Justi, *Winckelmann*, II., 143; Gurlitt, *Barockstil*, 534; Thieme, XIV., 578.

[2] Beringer, 30. Here also (28 *seqq.*) are illustrations of Verschaffelt's relief in stucco, four putti with the instruments of the Passion, in the interior of the church.

[3] R. Besozzi, *La storia della basilica di S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, Roma, 1750, in the preface. According to Merenda (**Memorie*) Benedict XIV. was not of the same opinion: "terminata l'opera con spesa eccessiva ne fu assai mal contento avendo guastata la venerabile antichità di quella chiesa con una porcaria moderna come si diceva" (Bibl. Angelica, Rome). According to the letter to the Marchesa C. Caprara Bentivogli mentioned above (p. 157, n. 5), the cost amounted to 100,000 scudi.

[4] Justi, II., 140; Eroli, *Iscrizioni del Pantheon*, 277. *Cf.* *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 271. Caracciolo (130) praises the restoration of the Pantheon: "Il di fuori divenne più maestoso e di dentro più lucido," and the many English visitors to Rome had congratulated the Pope on this restoration! Details of the works are recorded in the *Avvisi of September 27, 1755, and October 9, 1755 (plan for a "cupolino sopra il Pantheon" to protect it against the weather!), Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich.

were the alterations made in 1749 to S. Maria degli Angeli. It was the Pope's desire to build a chapel there to the memory of Blessed Niccolò d'Albergati ; Luigi Vanvitelli selected for its site the former entrance, which was therefore walled up. In consequence, the arrangement of this magnificent structure, a work of Michelangelo's, was completely distorted. The imposing nave, originally the central apartment of the Baths of Diocletian, Vanvitelli turned into a transept ; the choir was made into a chapel of St. Bruno ; and the entrance was moved to the west side. For the sake of symmetry eight columns of brick and stucco were set up in the new nave which were supposed to resemble the eight antique columns of red syenite in the central apartment of the baths.[1]

In 1735, in the reign of Clement XII, there had been a recrudescence of the rumour originally started in the time of Innocent XI.,[2] that the cracks which had appeared in the dome of St. Peter's would lead to the collapse of this architectural marvel. At the end of 1740, Benedict XIV., very soon after his accession, set up a commission composed of Cardinals Amadori, Lanfredini, and Rezzonico, for the purpose of making a minute examination of the whole structure. Their opinion was that no danger threatened Michelangelo's work.[3] Since, however, the disquieting talk went on, the manager of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, Monsignor Olivieri,[4] had a fresh

[1] NIBBY, *Roma moderna*, 331 *seqq.* ; LETAROUILLY, *Édifices*, 657 *seqq.* ; GURLITT, 538. For Michelangelo's building, see our account, Vol. XVI., 443 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXII, 35.

[3] MIGNANTI, II., 133 *seqq.* ; the periodical *Roma*, II. (1924), 402.

[4] MERENDA (**Memorie*) records for the year 1752 : "Era morto in Pesaro Msgr. Olivieri, Canonico di S. Pietro et Economo della Fabrica. La Basilica di S. Pietro deve molto e molto alla affezionata attenzione di questo Prelato, il quale, oltre varie spese fattevi del proprio, fece serrare molti buchi e spiragli d'aria e porte, rendendola calda l'inverno e commoda l'estate, dove prima era impraticabile in ogni tempo, a fece ornare, dipingere et ordinare le grotte nella maniera che ora si vedono come una galleria." Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

examination made, under the direction of the architect of the Fabbrica, Luigi Vanvitelli, which resulted in the same conclusion. In spite of this, Benedict XIV. was still apprehensive, and in the autumn of 1742 the stability of the colossal structure was tested yet again by the architects Domenico Gregorini, Ferdinando Fuga, Pietro Ostini, Nicola Salvi, and Vanvitelli. They reported with absolute assurance that there was no cause for alarm and that the cracks meant nothing more than that the structure had settled; the same effect had been produced in other domes, in that of Florence Cathedral, for example. This opinion was confirmed by the highly reputed mathematicians Ruggero Boscovich, the Jesuit, and Thomas le Seur and François Jacquier, of the Order of Minims, who were consulted by the Pope in the early part of 1743. Desirous of taking every possible precaution, Benedict then sought the advice of the famous Professor of Mathematics at Padua, Giovanni Poleni, making him acquainted with all the consultations and the numerous reports which had previously been published and which differed as to the measures to be taken for the future security of the structure.[1] In the end the Pope decided to take the advice of Poleni, for whom he had a very high regard and who demonstrated with considerable perspicacity that the cracks were caused by the lateral pressure of the upper components.[2] His proposal was that the dome should be strengthened by more of the iron rings which had been affixed to it in the time of Sixtus V. This work was accordingly carried out under Vanvitelli's supervision in 1743–44.[3]

[1] MIGNANTI, II., 134 *seqq.* *Cf.* GURLITT, 534; FREY, *Michelangelo-Studien*, Vienna, 1920, 99 *seq.*

[2] G. POLENI, *Memorie istoriche della gran Cupola del Tempio Vaticano*, Padua, 1748, who cites all the writings on the dome of St. Peter's that had appeared up to his time but consistently ascribes the damage to a structural defect. *Cf.* NAVIER, *Mechanik der Baukunst*, translated by Westphal-Föggl, Hanover, no year, 176. Praise of Poleni in FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 64.

[3] MIGNANTI, II., 136; VOSS, 631, 651; DURM, *Renaissance in Italien*, 72; E. PUCCI in the periodical *Roma*, II. (1924), 40_2

It was also Vanvitelli who was responsible for the enrichment with gilded stucco of the vaulting of the three tribunes in St. Peter's.[1] In 1746–47 new copies in mosaic of paintings by Pietro Bianchi and Pierre Subleyras were made under the superintendence of the painter Pier Leone Ghezzi for the altars of SS. Basil and Chrysostom.[2] Afterwards, other altarpieces were replaced by mosaic copies, the originals in every case being transferred to S. Maria degli Angeli.[3] As the bells installed by Innocent VI. had cracked, Benedict XIV. presented the church with a new one, which he consecrated himself.[4] Other gifts made by the Pope to the basilica of the Princes of the Apostles took the form of gorgeous vestments, several costly antependia, six silver candlesticks and a cross, and the same gilt urn which is still used for laying before the Confessio the newly blessed pallia.[5]

Maria Clementina Sobieski (d. 1735), the wife of the pretender to the English throne, James III., was given a particularly handsome monument in St. Peter's, at the beginning of the left aisle, over the door leading to the dome.

seqq.; FREY, 100 *seq.*; PLATNER, II., 1, 208. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 52 (for the costs).

[1] MIGNANTI, II., 121, with information about further works of restoration.

[2] THIEME, XIII., 540.

[3] KRAUS, *Briefe*, 57. An *Avviso of October 15, 1757, relates that "as the famous picture by Batoni, 'The fall of Simon Magus,' could not be executed in mosaic, as the Pope would have wished, he presented it to S. Maria degli Angeli." Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich.

[4] *Cod. Vat., 8545, pp. 161 *seqq.*, Vatican Library. MERENDA (**Memorie*) notes for the year 1753: "Msgr. Costanzo nuovo economo della fabrica fece in questo tempo levare la balaustrata di marmo posta d'intorno alla guglia della piazza di S. Pietro postavi in tempo di Papa Innocenzo XIII." *Loc. cit.*

[5] The vestments and *paliotti* are kept in the treasury of St. Peter's. One of the paliotti is illustrated in *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1913, 565. The museum at Parma has a "palmetta pasquale" of Benedict XIV.'s. His famous altar-veil with embroidery in relief is still used on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

It cost the Pope 18,000 *scudi*. The memory of so pious a queen, her good husband, and their worthy children deserved to be cherished, wrote Benedict to Cardinal Tencin.[1] The imposing monument was designed by Filippo Barigioni ; its sculptures were executed by Pietro Bracci. Maria Clementina was the third woman to be given a tomb in St. Peter's, the two former being Matilda of Tuscany and Christina of Sweden. This honouring of the queen, whose faith had been the cause of her dying in exile, was indirectly a protest against England's falling away from the Church.[2]

It was also under Benedict XIV. that St. Peter's acquired some of its finest statues of saints : in 1744, St. Bruno, perhaps the best sculpture ever made by the Frenchman Michelangelo Slodtz ; in 1745 and 1754, St. John of God and St. Teresa, by Filippo della Valle ; in 1755, St. Vincent de Paul, by Bracci, and St. Joseph Calasanctius, by Maini's pupil, Innocenzo Spinazzi ; in 1756, St. Girolamo Miani, also by Bracci.[3]

A noble work which Clement XII. had left his successor to finish was the construction of the Fontana Trevi. The sculptors Salvi and Maini failing to agree on the decorative statues and reliefs, the Pope commanded the fountain to be made without them for the time being.[4] By June 1742 the marble

[1] Heeckeren, I., 175.

[2] Domarus, *Bracci*, 26.

[3] See *Cracas* in the respective years ; Domarus, 2, 7, 8, 38, 40 ; Justi, II., 135. Actuated by a sense of duty, Benedict XIV. saw to it that Cardinals Davia and Tanara had monuments erected to them in S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Maria della Vittoria respectively.

[4] The decorative statuary was completed in the reign of Clement XIII. ; see Gradara, *Bracci*, 78 *seq.* For the work done under Benedict XIV., see the series of sketches beginning with the year 1740 in *Arte e storia*, 1912, 271 *seq.* According to the letter to the Marchesa C. Caprara Bentivogli mentioned on p. 157, n. 5, the cost was 60,000 scudi. It was only for this structure and for the rock-monument in the garden of Montecavallo that the Pope drew on the funds of the Apostolic Chamber ; in every other instance he defrayed the cost himself. (*ibid.*)

surround of the basin and the steps ascending to it had been finished, and on a blazing day in August of the following year, before a dense concourse of spectators, the waters of the Aqua Virgo, brought from the hills many miles away, flowed for the first time over the massive blocks of stone piled up as if by the hands of Titans, and fell foaming into the lower basin.[1] After the inscription *Perfecit Benedictus Pont. Max.* had been affixed, in July 1745, the Pope paid a visit of inspection to this, the largest and most famous of all the Roman fountains,[2] from which it is the custom to drink when leaving Rome, in accordance with the old tradition that to do so ensures the traveller's eventual return to the Holy City.[3]

In the garden of the Quirinal, which was still the official residence, Benedict XIV. had a casino built, where he could entertain his learned friends without restraint.[4] It was a building remarkable for its dignified simplicity and was decorated with paintings by Batoni and Pannini.[5] In the

For the restoration of the fountain, see FEA, *Acque*, 10 *seq.* A fountain in the Via Collatina bears an inscription of Benedict XIV.'s dated 1753.

[1] *Cracas*, 1742, No. 3882, 1743, No. 4068.

[2] *Cracas*, on July 4 and 11, 1744; *cf.* DOMARUS, 50. JUSTI (II., 143), in reply to those who found the inscription too emphatic, rightly observes: "Nowhere else should we assent with such goodwill to the Popes' self-praise in lapidary style as here, where following the example of their unbaptized predecessors, even those patriarchs who founded empires, by sinking wells they pour out 'rivers of living water'." *Cf.* JUSTI, *Briefe aus Italien*, 249.

[3] There is no written evidence until the nineteenth century of the custom (still practised, especially by German visitors) of drinking from the Fontani Trevi on leaving Rome, but there is an earlier Roman tradition; see NOACK, 357.

[4] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, 91.

[5] A picture of the Casino, which cost 12,000 scudi (see Benedict's *letter to the Marchesa C. Caprara Bentivogli mentioned above, p. 157, n. 5), is included in the painting (in the museum at Naples) of the meeting of Benedict XIV. with Charles III.; see *L'Arte*, XII., 21; OZZOLA, *Gian Paolo Pannini*,

gallery of the Quirinal was displayed the costly porcelain presented by King Charles III. as the first products of the factory which he had established at Capo di Monte, near Naples, in 1743.[1] They were considered by experts to be

Turin, 1921, tav., 7. *Ibid.*, tav., 4 and 5, illustrations of the lunette and façade of S. Maria Maggiore on the walls of the Casino at the Quirinal. The ceiling-paintings by Batoni depict two scenes from the New Testament; see BARBIER, *Les Musées et Galeries de Rome*, Rome, 1870, 81; *cf.* M. DE BENEDETTI, *Palazzi e Ville Reali d'Italia*, 21, 64, 68 *seqq.*; FORCELLA, XIII., 163.

[1] The first consignment was accompanied by an autograph letter from Charles III. (dated Naples, 1745, July 27; see *Princ.*, 172, p. 21, Papal Secret Archives), to which the Pope replied on August 10. With reference to Charles's statement that he was sending these "primizie" as "tributo", he observed: "*Questa è una specie di primizie, non dissimile da quella, che Moisè intimò al popolo eletto che dovesse fare al sacerdote, dopo esser entrato nella Terra assegnatagli per sua abitazione da Dio; imperocchè Vostra Maestà ci favorisce delle prime produzioni della sua fabbrica di porcellane poco dopo il suo ritorno più glorioso del primo ingresso, ed assai più specioso per la visibile assistenza del Signore, alla Terra destinatale e mantenutale da Dio per sua abitazione e dominio. Noi siamo benchè indegnamente il Sacerdote, e riconoscendo di non dover ricevere le primizie senza adempire l'obbligo annesso ad esse, che era di pregare Dio per gli offerenti, promettiamo a Vostra Maestà di continuare ad aver memoria di Lei e della sua reale famiglia ne' nostri benchè tepidi sacrifici anche per il sopradetto titulo aggiunto" (*ibid.*, 22). On receiving from Charles in 1746 a "bellissima tazza di porcellana e un bastone col manico pure di bellissima porcellana", the Pope wrote in acknowledgment on January 27: "*E ritornando al regalo che non ci può uscire di mente per la finezza con cui ci è stato fatto, diremo a V. M. di riconoscere in esso, che se Noi amiamo lei come padre, ella ama Noi come figlio, pensando il buon figlio ai bisogni del padre, e conoscendo ancor Noi che la nostra avanzata età ci conduce a poco a poco all'uso del brodo, per cui sarà opportuna la tazza trasmessaci, ed a non lasciare il bastone per poter caminare: per lo che, o bevendo o caminando, saremo necessitati a ricordarci di V. M." (*ibid.*, 45).

superior even to Dresden ware, and the collection here was reputed to be the best in Europe.[1]

In the course of time Raffaello da Montelupo's marble statue of the Archangel Michael on the Castel S. Angelo had been badly damaged by weathering and lightning. This conspicuous addition to the huge Mausoleum of Hadrian the Pope had replaced by a bronze statue cast in 1752 by Francesco Giardoni from a model made by the Flemish sculptor Peter Verschaffelt.[2]

[1] " *Non vi è principe che ne abbia altrettanto," Benedict XIV. was already writing to the Marchesa C. Caprara Bentivogli (*loc. cit.*) on December 23, 1744. Vases with the arms of Benedict XIV. were preserved in 1870 ; see BARBIER, *Les Musées*, 77.

[2] BORGATTI, *Castel S. Angelo*, Roma, 1890, 159, which also see for the completion of the " Appartamento per il Castellano " begun by Clement XII. For Benedict XIV.'s alteration of the amphitheatre in the Court of the Belvedere, see FREY, *Michelangelo-Studien*, 48. See also NOACK, 45 *seq.* ; RODOCANACHI, *St-Ange*, 233 ; BERINGER, 31. Benedict lent his support to the rebuilding of the convent of S. Agostino (see *Repert. für Kunstwiss.*, 1911, 11 *seqq.*), the fountain in its courtyard being his gift ; see FORCELLA, V., 103 *seq.* Reference to the help he gave in the erection of other buildings is contained in the inscriptions *ibid.*, XIII., 191 *seqq.*, and in *Inventario*, 263, 279. For the restoration of the fountain at the Villa Giulia, see LETAROUILLY, Text, 40. His restoration of the city walls is proved by inscriptions (see FORCELLA, XIII., 42 *seq.*), especially the portion between the Porta S. Sebastiano and the Lateran. For the new road from the Lateran to S. Croce, see ADINOLFI, *Roma*, I., 272. Inscriptions with threats of penalties for befouling the streets in *Inventario*, 467, and in MAES, *Curiosità Romane*, III. (1885), 34 *seq.* When the piazza near S. Cecilia was being laid out, the Pope, after reading the architect's report and viewing the site himself, gave more of the public ground than was asked for by the titular of the church, Acquaviva ; see Thun's *report of August 19, 1741, State Archives, Vienna. In the Via degli Schiavoni I took down the following inscription : Benedicto XIV. | P. M. quod in haec aedificia veteribus | iam paene collapsis | in ornatiorem amplioremque formam | iussu et auctoritate | Caroli Rezonici S. R. E.

Another monument of importance in the history of the Church was preserved by Benedict XIV. when he had a true copy made from fragments and old drawings of the mosaics in the middle tribune of Leo III.'s triclinium and commissioned Fuga to erect in its place a new tribune near the Scala Santa.[1] It stands in the street leading to S. Croce, which the Pope had rebuilt at great expense.[2] Luckily the proposal to restore the venerable basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura was not carried out; Benedict confined himself to a careful renovation of the portraits of the Popes, the task being entrusted to the painter Monosili, assisted by the learned Giuseppe Marangoni.[3]

The base of the column of Antoninus Pius, which had been excavated in the time of Clement XI. and whose principal face displayed the apotheosis of the Emperor and his wife Faustina, was set up by the Pope on the Monte Citorio. A competition was announced for the best suggestion as to how this base was to be surmounted.[4] Some suggested the

card. | patroni beneficentissimi | recens excitata | aquam virginem in sextante deduci | sua liberalitate concesserit | curante Ferdinando M. de Rubeis | patriarcha C.politano | nationis illuricae [*sic*] congregatio | largitori munificentissimo | D. N. M. Q. E. | Anno salut. MDCCLIII.

[1] "*Benedetto XIV., di genio naturalmente fabricatore, pochi mesi dopo la sua assunzione al Pontificato aveva posto mano a più fabriche in un tempo, ciò è ad aprire la gran strada o piazza da San Giovanni a Sta Croce in Gerusalemme, con spianare vigne, empire valli e spianare alture con spesa grandiosa, come si vede, e terminata la piazza, fece copiare al naturale il celebre Triclinio e lo pose, ove ora si vede." MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. The *Avvisi of March 25 and May 6, 1752, record the Pope's intention "di rendere in linea diritta la strada Papale" near S. Andrea della Valle. Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich.

[2] NOVAES, XIII., 261, XIV., 156. *Cf.* DAVID in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXXI. (1923), 139 *seqq.*

[3] I. MARANGONIUS, *Chronologia Rom. Pontif. superstes in pariete basil. S. Pauli apost.*, Romae, 1751; NOVAES, I., 3 *seqq.*, XIV., 154; *Papers of the British School*, IX., 174 *seqq.*; WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, II., 563 *seq.*

[4] Thun's *report of May 18, 1743, State Archives, Vienna.

granite column that lay in the courtyard of the Curia Innocenziana,[1] others a statue of Justice and Peace. As no agreement could be reached, either on this point or on the site of erection, the matter was left in abeyance.[2]

In 1748, during the strengthening of the foundations of a house near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, there was brought to light the great obelisk of the sun which had been mentioned by Pliny. On the advice of Costantino Ruggieri, Benedict XIV. had it completely excavated, having no desire, as he playfully remarked to Cardinal Tencin, to have the reputation of being a " Gothic " Pope. Owing to scarcity of funds, however, the credit of restoring this monument, which had been broken into three pieces, had to be left to his successor.[3]

The Pope's treatment of the Colosseum was a great benefit to the city. Situated in a sparsely populated neighbourhood, the labyrinthine passages and dungeons of this gigantic building had long been used as a place of retreat by gangs of ruffians. For this reason, in 1675, under Clement X., the outer arches had been walled up and the interior enclosed for the performance of the Stations of the Cross. Later, however, after being severely damaged by the earthquake of 1703, in the time of Clement XI., the building was again neglected. President de Brosses suggested in 1739 that the portion lying over against the Monte Celio should be pulled down and that

[1] This column was used by Pius IX. for the monument in the Piazza di Spagna commemorating the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

[2] Cerroti, *Lettere di artisti*, Roma, 1860, 49 *seq.*; Justi, II., 140. Under Pius VI. the pedestal was taken to the Vatican Gardens, under Gregory XVI. to the Villa of the Giardino della Pigna (see G. de Fabrio, *Il Piedestallo d. Colonna Antonina*, Roma, 1844), and in 1855 it was moved to its present position; see Helbig, I³, 74.

[3] Heeckeren, I., 405; *Lettere d'uomini illustri*, 85. The obelisk was written about by G. Poleni; see Lombardi, VI., 37. A " *Commento sull' obelisco di Campo Marzo ", by Ridolfino Venuti, dedicated to Cardinal Quirini, in Cod. Vat., 9024, pp. 181 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

the remainder should be restored to its original condition. "The arena," he wrote, "would make a fine open space, and would not half a tidy Colosseum be better than a whole one in this dilapidated state? And then, ye noble Romans, why not set up in the middle of the space so created a great fountain, or even make a lake there and revive the ancient *naumachia*?"[1]

Benedict XIV. was not in the least inclined to adopt the plan put forward by the French free-thinker. In 1743 he devoted a considerable sum of money to the restoration of the enclosing walls; in the following year he issued an edict forbidding the misuse of the ruins under pain of penalty; and on the approach of the jubilee year he decided[2] to renew the measures taken in 1675 and to preserve from ruin Rome's most imposing monument of antiquity by consecrating it to the memory of the sufferings of Christ. A simple cross was set up in the middle of the arena and the fourteen Stations of the Cross which surrounded it were restored; the latter were consecrated by the Vizegerente Ferdinando de' Rossi. The devotion of the Stations of the Cross took place every Friday and Sunday, two hours before the Ave Maria: it was conducted by the Lovers of Jesus and Mary, a confraternity founded at the time, to which the Pope presented the Stations in 1752.[3] In Lent especially, when they were conducted by a Franciscan, the devotions were attended by large crowds.

[1] See BROSSES, *Lettres* (tr. *Briefe*), II., 190 *seqq.*

[2] On December 13, 1749; for the decision, which was taken as the result of a memorial presented by Leonardo da Porto Maurizio, see PRINZIVALLI, *Anni Santi*, 181 *seq.*, who consulted the text of the decision preserved in the Capitoline Archives.

[3] P. COLAGROSSI, *L'anfiteatro Flavio nei suoi venti secoli di storia*, Florence, 1913, 217 *seqq.* *Cf.* CLEMENTI, *Il Colosseo*, Roma, 1912, 203 *seqq.*; BARTOLI, *Cento vedute di Roma antica*, Florence, 1911, Nos. 17 and 18; BABUCKE, *Kolosseum*, 40, 47, 52 *seq.* A splendid engraving by Piranesi shows the stations which, as Justi (II., 142) correctly observes, "fell victims to the neo-Italian fanaticism." Since 1919, at least, the beautiful custom of performing the Stations of the Cross here has been revived.

At the end of the jubilee year, on December 27th, 1750, a service of this nature was held in the Colosseum by Leonardo da Porto Maurizio, a Franciscan who was highly esteemed by Benedict XIV. Here where human creatures had been sentenced to torture and death to indulge a savage lust, Leonardo preached with eloquent words the sufferings of Him who had freed the world from such atrocities.[1] The Pope gave 2,500 *scudi* for the maintenance of the Cappella della Pietà, which was set up in the inner arches facing the Lateran.[2] From time to time the interior of the Colosseum was used as if it were a church. Thus on September 19th, 1756, the Pope's Vicar General, Cardinal Guadagni, celebrated High Mass in the arena, with a general Communion in which thousands participated.[3]

As with the Colosseum, the name of the learned Pope is inseparably connected with the collections in the palaces on the Capitol, the statues adorning which he had restored.[4] Firmly convinced that the masterpieces of ancient art ought not to be at the mercy of the whim of private owners, Benedict enriched the Capitoline Museum with magnificent donations. Although in other directions scarcity of money forced him to be careful, in this matter his generosity was unbounded. In Rome, he said, ruins were riches ; one had only to look around a little and one found treasures.[5] By tightening up, in 1750, Clement XII.'s ban on exportation,[6] he kept control of

[1] *Opere compl. di S. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio*, IV., Venice, 1868, 52 *seq.*, 393 *seqq.* *Cf.* B. Innocenti, *S. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. Prediche e Lettere*, Quaracchi, 1915, p. x.

[2] *Avviso of May 5, 1735, Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich. Here also was set up the large inscription, the text of which is in Colagrossi, 21.

[3] Colagrossi, 222.

[4] *Cf.* Rodocanachi, *Capitole*, 178 *seq.*

[5] Caracciolo, 75.

[6] *Avviso of January 17, 1750, Cod. ital., 199, *loc. cit.* A list of the licences issued by Benedict XIV. for the export of works of art is given by Bertolotti, *Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti da Roma*, in the *Rivista Europea*, 1877, II., 724.

everything that was brought to light in the course of excavation.[1] Further, he seized on every opportunity of making acquisitions on favourable terms. Thus he entered into negotiations with the Bishop of Piacenza with a view to obtaining the bronze tablet of the Emperor Trajan found in Velleia.[2] From Duke Francis III. of Modena, to whose persistent lack of money Dresden owes its picture gallery, he bought the pick of the sculptures from the Villa d'Este, most of them originating from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. Year after year the Capitoline collection was increased, either by presents made to the Pope by Cardinals and others [3] or by purchases. As early as 1741

[1] *Cf.* Fea, *Miscell.*, II., Roma, 1836, 208 *seqq.*; Hautecœur, 57. An *Avviso of September 2, 1752, mentions antique finds in Frosinone, which were brought to the Capitol. *Avvisi of September 30 and October 7, 1752, record the discovery of rooms with paintings and mosaics near the Pyramid of Cestius, which were to serve as models for a room in Cardinal Valenti's villa. *Avviso of March 20, 1756: Excavations outside the Porta Maggiore. *Avviso of April 24, 1756: Finds near the Palazzo Bolognetti (Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich). A *report from Rome of September 14, 1748: "Nella continuazione del cavo si fa a S. Maria Maggiore, è stato ritrovato un superbo bagno sotteraneo con un mosaico molto bello ed intatto con tutti li suoi acquedotti di piombo." Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] C. Masnovo, *La tavola alimentaria di Velleia, Benedetto XIV. e G. du Tillot*, in *Bollet. stor. Piacent.*, VIII. (1913), 3, in which four letters from the Pope to the Bishop of Piacenza are published.

[3] Forcella, I., 84; Rodocanachi, *Capitole*, 161. For the antiquities presented by the Bishop of Spalato, see Maroni, *Lettere*, 752, 755, 758 *seq.* In the catalogue of the Capitoline Museum published in 1750 (see below, p. 176), which was acquired by the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele from the estate of Cardinal Besozzi, is a handwritten note referring to the "Piede di Fontana" found near S. Croce in Gerusalemme and mentioned on p. 62 of the catalogue: "*Questo piede fu ritrovato quando io Card. Besozzi ero abbate di S. Croce e fu poi donato alla St^à di N. S. Benedetto XIV. nell' occasione che si portò a S. Croce e donò per un suo chirografo alla chiesa il stradone et apertura

the Pope bought the Boy struggling with a goose ; in 1743 he bought the double herma of Epicurus and his favourite pupil Metrodorus (discovered during the building of the front of S. Maria Maggiore) ; in 1744 the figure of a girl arbitrarily entitled " Flora ", the Harpocrates, and the Amazon sarcophagus ; in 1746 the Satyr with a bunch of grapes, in *rosso antico* ; in 1749 the group of Cupid and Psyche found on the Aventine ; in 1752 the famous Venus, probably identical with that found in the reign of Clement X., opposite S. Vitale. In 1753 he paid 5,000 *scudi* for twelve of the best marble statues in the Villa d'Este, including the Praxitelean Satyr, the Cupid bending his bow, two Amazons, a Venus, and the Tormented Psyche.[1] From the Vatican Gardens the Pope ordered to be brought to the Capitol the tombstone of Titus Stuilius Aper, from Araceli the Capitoline fountain-mouth, from S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura the pedestal dedicated to Jupiter Sol Serapius, from Albano the reliefs of events in the life of Jupiter, from Nepi the sarcophagus with the education of the boy Bacchus,[2] from Anzio mosaics.[3] It would be tedious to enumerate the many other statues, busts, sarcophagi, bas-reliefs, mosaics, columns, and inscriptions which were taken to the Capitol at this period. A particularly valuable acquisition was the fragments of the ancient plan of the city of Rome which were discovered in the reign of Pius IV. behind the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, came into the possession of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and were first described by Bellori in 1673. After difficult negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador Acquaviva, Benedict XIV. obtained them for

con la piazza che da S. Croce porta a S. Giov. Laterano, sito che prima era signato e comprato dalla S^tà Sua era stato fatto aprire nella maniera che ora si vede. Furono nella stessa occasione donati a N. S. alcuni libri."

[1] Justi, II., 26, 135. *Cf.* Helbig, I.[3], 426, 431, 445 *seq.*, 447, 474, 477, 480, 485, 487, 488, 490, 491, 494, 497 ; Rodocanachi, *Capitole*, 160 ; Heeckeren, II., 268. For the purchase of hermæ, see Amelung, II., 502 *seq.*

[2] Helbig, I.[3], 419, 422, 423, 434, 485, 488.

[3] Forcella, I., 84.

his museum from Charles III. of Naples at the end of 1741 [1]; they were then immured in the walls of the staircase.[2]

The catalogue of the Capitoline Museum compiled by Ridolfino Venuti and published in 1750 by the keeper, Marchese Giovanni Pietro Locatelli, informs us how the treasures were exhibited.[3] The most important were on the upper floor. In the first room, called the Stanza del Vaso after a splendid marble vase found near the tomb of Caecilia Metella, were the most valuable reliefs, the sarcophagi with the Muses, the Battle of the Amazons, the myth of Endymion, and the Fate of the human soul. The second room, named after the Hercules slaying the Hydra, contained the Cupid and Psyche, the tormented Psyche, the Drunken old woman, the statues of the children with the snake, the mask of Silenus, and the Goose; in the centre of the room was the seated Agrippina, on the wall the *Lex Regia*, before which Cola di Rienzo had proclaimed the sovereign powers of the Roman people and which Gregory XIII. had had removed hither from the Lateran. Facing each other in the central room, which was lit by three windows, were the bronze statues of Innocent X., the builder of the palace, and Clement XII., the founder of the museum. Of the many ancient sculptures assembled here, notably the Juno Cesi, the Vestal Virgin, and the

[1] Acquaviva's *reports to Villarias of September 14, October 26, November 9, December 7 and 9, 1741, Archives of Simancas. The inscription of the town plan in FORCELLA, I., 82.

[2] *Avviso of November 14, 1750, Cod. ital., 199, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Museo Capitolino o sia Descrizione delle statue, busti, bassirilievi, urne sepolcrali, iscrizioni ed altre ammirabili ed erudite antichità, che si custodiscono nel Palazzo alla destra del Senatorio vicino alla chiesa d'Araceli in Campidoglio," Roma, 1750. *Cf.* JUSTI, II., 139. In the Appendix of the catalogue, pp. 69–71: "Nota de' preziosi e rari marmi, che dalla munificenza del regnante Sommo Pontefice Benedetto XIV. sono stati al Museo donati." An *Avviso of January 16, 1751, states that the museum has doubled itself under Locatelli (Cod. ital. 199, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* PLATNER, II., 2, 328 *seq.*, 333 *seq.*; H. MACKOWSKI, *J. G. Schadow*, Berlin, 1927, 74 *seq.*

Amazon of Sosicles, five statues were placed in the middle of the room as being of particular importance: the dying Gaul, the youth from Hadrian's villa, wrongly named Antinous, an Egyptian priest from the same place, Harpocrates, the god of silence, and the Discus thrower, restored by Monot as a warrior. The adjoining Room of the Philosophers contained busts of philosophers and other men, some famous, some obscure. In the Room of the Imperial Busts, which were arranged in chronological order, were the colossal statue of the youthful Hercules, chiselled out of green touchstone, and the so-called "Flora". The passage and a room opening off it were also filled with antique statues.

On the ground floor was the Egyptian Museum inaugurated by Benedict XIV. in 1748, its nucleus being the Roman imitations of Egyptian statues found in the shrine of Serapis (Canopus) in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. Here also was the statue of Anubis, the guardian of graves, found in 1750 in the Villa Pamfili at Porto d'Anzio.[1]

The Capitoline Museum was open to all for the purpose of study. In 1753 anyone who wished to take a plaster cast had first to obtain a special permit.[2] One of the greatest of the scholars who took advantage of the opportunity of studying the treasures here was Winckelmann, who arrived in Rome in 1755 and was continually visiting the museum. "This is Rome's treasure trove of antiquities, statues, sarcophagi, busts, inscriptions, and the like," he wrote to Dresden on December 7th, 1755, "and one can wander about here quite freely from morning till night." It was probably here that the great archæologist conceived the outlines of his history of art.[3]

A comprehensive publication on the Capitoline Museum had appeared before Venuti's. Its author, the Abbate Guido

[1] The Egyptian monuments in the Capitoline Museum were transferred to the Museo Egizio in the Vatican by Gregory XVI. in 1836; see MARUCCHI, *Museo Egizio Vaticano.*

[2] *Avviso of September 29, 1753, Cod. ital. 199, *loc. cit.*

[3] JUSTI, II., 136.

Bottari, born in Florence in 1689, had worked in that city for ten years on the lexicon of the Crusca before coming to Rome, where he was employed in arranging the Corsini collections of paintings and engravings.[1] He had long been acquainted with Lambertini,[2] who, on becoming Pope, made him the keeper of the Vatican Library [3] and preferred him to a canonry in S. Maria in Trastevere. He was entrusted by the Pope with the re-editing of Bosio's *Roma Sottoterranea.*[4] The first two volumes of his description of the Capitoline Museum appeared in 1750. He stated here with pride that Benedict XIV. was increasing the collection daily.[5] A third volume followed in 1755, a fourth in 1782. He was assisted in this work by Pier Francesco Foggini, Giuseppe Querci, and Niccolò Foggini.[6] The engravings were supplied by Giuseppe Vasi, who published also a separate volume of engravings of "the glories of ancient and modern Rome".[7]

Benedict XIV.'s desire, however, was to make the venerable Capitol a centre, not only of ancient but also of modern art. Encouraged by his art-loving Secretary of State, Valenti, he decided to establish a picture gallery in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a project which had already been considered by Clement XII.[8] The idea was first entertained by Benedict in 1744. His motive was to prevent the best pictures leaving the country, and with this intention he had already contemplated the purchase of the large collection of paintings owned by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 138 *seq.*

[2] P. Lambertini (poi Benedetto XIV.), *Lettere autografe scritte a Msgr. Giov. Bottari 1726–1746, Cod. 32 G. 49, Bibl. Corsini, Rome.

[3] *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 177.

[4] The work, which had begun under Clement XII., was not a success; see KRAUS, *Roma Sottoterranea*, 14; BUCHBERGER, I., 713.

[5] *Museum Capit.*, I., 1.

[6] CERROTI, *Lettere di artisti*, Roma, 1860, 59, 63.

[7] "Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, con spieg. istor. del P. Gius. Bianchini," Roma, 1747 and 1752.

[8] COLASANTI, *La Galleria Capitolina*, Roma, 1910, iv *seq.*

Sacchetti family.[1] The purchase was effected, and for the reception of the paintings the Pope reserved the room which was built in 1747–48 above the archives of the Capitol.[2] His second important acquisition consisted in the paintings forming part of the estate of Cardinal Pio da Carpi.[3] An inspection of his pictures made by the Pope in the middle of October 1751 convinced him of the necessity to extend the gallery.[4]

A bust of the Pope by Peter Verschaffelt, with an inscription

[1] MERENDA relates in his **Memorie* : " Essendo il Papa molto dotto et amante della erudita antichità, andava arrichendo lo studio di Campidoglio, eretto da Clemente XII., con molte rarità, e prese fin d'allora il pensiero di erigere incontro all'altro un nuovo studio di pitture insigni per impedire che non escissero da Roma, e diede ordine di trovare il sito proprio per fabbricarvi le sale per collocarvi li quadri. Non si avvide esser questo un suggerimento del Card. Colonna Pro-Maggiordomo a stimolo della sua favorita Dama Patrizi, figlia del Marchese Sacchetti, per indurre poi il Papa a comprare li quadri di quella casa, che andava in rovina." Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

[2] " Descrizione delle statue, bassorilievi, busti, altri antichi monumenti e quadri de' più celebri pennelli che si custodiscono ne' palazzi di Campidoglio," ediz. terza, Roma, 1775, 141 ; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 179. A *report of December 14, 1748 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican) states that the " nuova fabbrica " for the gallery was then almost finished.

[3] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[4] " *Il Papa verso la metà del mese [ottobre anno XII°] andò a veder li quadri collocati e disposti nella nuova Galleria in Campidoglio, ma restano ancora da collocarsi altri 150 pezzi, e forse dei migliori della casa Pio, per li quali si cerca il luogo per proseguire la Galleria. Forse e senza forse era più decente e proprio di collocare questi quadri nelle Gallerie di S. Pietro e di Monte Cavallo. In Campidoglio fu ricevuto dal Card. Valenti." (*ibid.*). *Cf.* HEECKEREN, II., 145 *seq.* ; *Avvisi of January 23, March 29, October 18 and 23, 1751, January 1 and March 4, 1752 (plan sanctioned), Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich.

recording his services to art, was set up in the first room in 1752.[1]

Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, who had been legate in Ferrara and Bologna in 1626–31, under Urban VIII., had specialized as a collector in works of the famous school of Bologna. Like his brother Alessandro, he was a close friend of Guido Reni, while Marcello Sacchetti stood in a like relationship with Pietro da Cortona. Cardinal Pio da Carpi's collecting had been done by the painter Giovanni Bonatti, chiefly in Venice.[2] Of the works purchased by Benedict XIV. for the Capitoline Gallery, nearly 200 in all, a large proportion were of outstanding merit, and most of these are still exhibited in the Capitol.[3] Guido Reni is particularly well represented by a Magdalen, a Sebastian, his self-portrait, and the two unfinished pictures of a soul rising to Heaven; Domenichino equally well by a Sebastian and the Cumæan Sibyl; Annibale Carracci by a St. Francis; Ludovico Carracci by a Sebastian; Pietro da Cortona by the Triumph of Bacchus, Alexander and Darius, and the portrait of Urban VIII.; Domenico Tintoretto by a Scourging of Christ, His crowning with thorns, and a Magdalen; Guercino by one of his most famous pictures, the Persian Sibyl. Of the many other works in the gallery the most remarkable are Titian's Baptism of Christ, Garofalo's Annunciation, Caravaggio's Fortune-teller, Paolo Veronese's Rape of Europa, Romanelli's St. Cecilia, Rubens' Romulus and Remus (a delightfully naive group of children), and finally Vanvitelli's charming views of Rome, of the first half of the eighteenth century. As Bottari observed in the third volume (1754) of his edition of Bosio's *Roma Sottoterranea*, all these treasures, together with the antiquities in the Capitoline Museum, would have been scattered far and wide, had it not been for the foresight of Benedict XIV.

[1] Illustrated in BERINGER, plate 6.

[2] See in this connexion *Cod., 33 A 11, Bibl. Corsini, Rome. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXII., 313, and L. OZZOLA in the *Corriere d'Italia*, 1907, No. 8.

[3] AD. VENTURI, *La galleria del Campidoglio*, Roma, 1890.

The Pope was as interested in contemporary artists as he was in the old masters. He used to say with a smile that not having sufficient gravity himself he relied on artists to supply him with it.[1] Unfortunately, however, he was precluded from indulging in a thoroughgoing patronage of art by the lack, not only of financial means, but also of artists of creative ability. Of the architects employed by him only Fuga was outstanding, of the sculptors Bracci and Verschaffelt, of the painters Giuseppe Maria Crespi of Bologna,[2] Pannini of Piacenza, and Batoni of Turin. And how puny they were compared with the great men of the Renaissance and the baroque period ![3]

One of the objects of the Capitoline Gallery was to provide models for the students of the academy of St. Luke. The yearly prize-givings at this institution, which was intended to foster the arts of sculpture and architecture as well as that of painting, had been suspended for some time past, but they were now revived. In the jubilee year of 1750 the Pope attended the prize-giving in person. The speech of the day was delivered by the Bolognese Francesco Zannotti. In presenting his report on the prize-winning works he emphasized the Pope's services to art, making special reference to the two collections on Rome's most famous hill. After the performance of a piece of music composed by the musical director at St. Peter's, Nicola Iommella, there followed the distribution of the prizes, which took the form of silver medals with portraits of St. Luke (the patron of the academy) and

[1] Missirini, 228.

[2] *Cf.* H. Voss, *G. M. Crespi*, Roma, 1921, 15.

[3] Justi observes aptly (II., 144) that "In the same way as Batoni's genius was slight in comparison with Carlo Maratta's, Maratta is a mere imitator compared with Domenichino and Guido, to whom Titian and Correggio appear in the light of heroes". Batoni, a friend of Winckelmann and Mengs, wanted to strike out on his own but remained nothing more than an accomplished eclectic, notable only as a portrait-painter; see Woltmann-Woermann, *Gesch. der Malerei*, III., Leipzig, 1888, 914 *seqq.*

the reigning Pope. The proceedings ended with the recital of poems by members of the Arcadia.[1]

Another function which had a stimulating effect on artistic life was the exhibition of pictures held every year in the portico of the Pantheon, under the auspices of the society of virtuosi located there, the opening day being the feast of St. Joseph. From time to time similar exhibitions were held in the church of S. Rocco.[2]

Up to this time the only institution in Rome where art students could draw from the nude (and then only from male models, by order of the Papal Government) was the French Academy, which had moved in 1725 from the Palazzo Capranica to the Palazzo Nivers-Salviati on the Corso.[3] Benedict XIV. and Cardinal Valenti were responsible for the first public institution in Rome to offer facilities for drawing from the nude. It was founded in 1754 and was situated in a circular room beneath the Capitoline picture gallery, near Vignola's arch and facing the Monte Tarpeo. In this Accademia del Nudo instruction was free and was regulated by an ordinance of the art-loving Cardinal Girolamo Colonna. The sessions lasted three hours and took place in the evening, under the supervision of an academician of St. Luke. Not only Italians but Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Germans were to be seen here, among the last being Raphael Mengs, who had returned to the Church in 1754.

Benedict's love of art, great as it was, was exceeded by his zeal for learning. Ten years before he was raised to the see of Peter, when still Archbishop of Ancona, he wrote to the archæologist Giovanni Bottari, " The duty of a Cardinal, and the greatest service he can render to the Holy See, is to attract

[1] *Avviso of May 30, 1750, Cod. ital. 199, *loc. cit.*

[2] NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 55.

[3] See *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 94 *seqq.*, and the *Descrizione delle statue*, etc., 164 *seq.*, mentioned above (p. 179, n. 2). *Cf.* NOACK, 55; HAUTECŒUR, 43 *seq.*, 51. According to CARACCIOLO (101), Benedict XIV. said of the French Academy: " Ringraziamoli con tutto il cuore che così vengono con la loro emulazione a suscitar de' grand' uomini."

learned and honest men to Rome. The Pope has no weapons or armies ; he has to maintain his prestige by making Rome the model for all other cities." [1] Benedict XIV. put the ideas of Lambertini into practice ; he attracted scholars to the Eternal City from every part of Italy and did his best to encourage learning with every means at his disposal.

One of the first steps he took was to establish in Rome four academies, each of which was given a meeting-place, a definite membership, a patron, and a secretary. The first academy, that of the Councils, which was regarded as a revival of the one founded by Ciampini in 1671, met in the Propaganda ; the second, devoted to church history, in the convent of the Oratorians near the Chiesa Nuova, where Baronius had written his famous *Annals* ; the third, for liturgy and rites, in the college of the *Pii operai* near S. Maria ai Monti ; the fourth, for Roman history and antiquities, which was supposed to work in the tradition of Livy, on the Capitol.

The respective patrons of these academies were Cardinals Landi, Tamburini, and Portocarrero, and the " Gran Conestabile " Lorenzo Colonna. The secretaries were Niccolò Antonelli, Giuseppe Bianchini, Niccolò Panzuti, and Antonio Baldani.[2]

The number of the members was twelve in each case, except for the academy of Roman antiquities, where it was fourteen. The original members were nominated by the Pope but were expected to fill subsequent vacancies themselves. Meetings took place monthly, on Mondays, and there was a printed list of the subjects to be discussed.[3] Lectures could be delivered

[1] JUSTI, II., 132.

[2] " Notizia delle Accademie erette in Roma per ordine della S. di N. S. Papa Benedetto XIV.," Roma, 1740. *Cf.* RENAZZI, IV., 277 *seqq.*, 280 ; JUSTI, II., 133 *seqq.* ; NOACK, 55. For Baldani and Contucci, see JUSTI, II., 122 *seq.*, 124 *seq.* ; for Bianchini, see CABROL, *Dict. d'archéol.*, II., 1, 837 *seqq.* Brief reports on the first sessions in January 1741 in *Arch. stor. ital.* 4, Series XX., 369.

[3] " Argomenti de' discorsi da farsi nelle Accademie, negl'anni 1742, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56."

in Italian as well as in Latin, except in the Propaganda, where only Latin was allowed, on account of the presence of foreign-speaking students. After the Pope had invited the academy of church history to hold a session in his presence in the Quirinal, in 1745,[1] the other academies were similarly honoured. The seating arrangements were such that the Pope could not be seen by any of the academicians except the lecturer. After the session the lecturer was presented to the Pope, who spoke with him and the others on the subject of the lecture. Enthusiasm was stimulated by commendation and awards.[2] To maintain the scholarly character of the meetings and to confine them to purely intellectual matters, even Cardinals were excluded unless they were members of an academy. The sole exception was the highly popular Cardinal York.[3]

Among the academicians were many of the most distinguished scholars then living in Rome: the Dominicans Orsi and Mamachi, the Augustinians Berti and Giorgi, the Jesuits Contucci, Faure, Lazzeri, Azevedo, and Giuseppe Rocca Volpi, the Theatines Paciaudi and Vezzosi, the Minorite Pietro Bianchi, the Minims Jacquier and Le Seur, the Somaschi Antonio de Lugo and Giovan Francesco Baldini, the two Assemani, Buonamici, Gaetano Cenni, Giuseppe Garampi, Michelangelo Giacomelli, Giovan Pietro Locatelli, Bottari, Francesco Antonio Vitali, Francesco Vettori, and Ridolfino

[1] Heeckeren, I., 213. The *lectures given in the presence of the Pope by Ridolfino Venuti "sulle supplicazioni degli antichi" (January 23, 1747) and "degl' edili e loro ufficio" (July 12, 1746) in Cod. Vat. 7292, pp. 217 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*, Vatican Library; the *lectures given in the presence of the Pope by G. Bianchini "sopra l'antico Foro Boario" (September 1, 1749), "sopra gli antichi spettacoli dei gladiatori" (July 23, 1750), and "sopra la curia e sua situazione" (September 6, 1751) in Cod. Vat. 8113, pp. 1 *seqq.*, 42 *seqq.*, 113 *seqq.*, *ibid.* The following appeared in print: G. Cenni, *Dissert. sopra varii punti interess. d. istoria eccl., pontificia, canonica e romana*, ed. B. Colti, Pistoia, 1778 *seq.*

[2] Caracciolo, 111.

[3] Heeckeren, I., 364.

Venuti, who preceded Winckelmann as commissioner of Papal antiquities.[1]

The study of Roman antiquities had, it is true, for long been flourishing in the Eternal City, but Benedict XIV. had the joy of seeing church history also, especially the history of the Popes, take on a new lease of life during his reign. A number of works of solid worth were published on these subjects, such as the two-volumed biography of Paul IV. by the Theatine Bartolomeo Carrara and the copious biography of Sixtus V. by the Franciscan Casimiro Tempesta. Pollidorus' monograph on the noble Marcellus II., which is still useful, was written at Benedict XIV.'s instigation, and the edition of Gregory XIII.'s important records by the Jesuit Giampietro Maffei was dedicated to the Pope.[2] This was the case with many other historical works: Domenico Giorgi's biography of Nicholas V.,[3] Borgia's Life of Benedict XIII.,[4] Antonio Fonseca's monograph on S. Lorenzo in Damaso,[5] Marangoni's history of the Sancta Sanctorum,[6] Giuseppe Garampi's article on a silver coin of Benedict III.'s,[7] Marescotti's work

[1] RENAZZI, IV., 179; JUSTI, II., 84 *seqq.*, 123, 126, 128, 134, 255 *seqq.*, 339. *Cf. ibid.*, 316 *seq.*, for Mgr. G. M. Ercolani's visit to the Accademia delli Infecondi. For Garampi's participation, see DENGEL, *Garampis Tätigkeit*, 2.

[2] For these works, *cf.* our account, Vol. XIV., 11, n. 2, 489 *seqq.*

[3] Rome, 1742. In the dedication of this work, which deals especially with the encouragement given to art and letters by the first Pope of the Renaissance, the author draws a parallel between Nicholas V. and Benedict XIV. D. Giorgi's '*Istoria del dominio temporale d. S. Sede sopra il ducato d'Urbino, il Montefeltro e la Massa Trabaria', which was begun at the instigation of Clement XII. and was dedicated to Benedict XIV. in 1740, has remained unprinted (Cod. Vat., 7758–7761, Vatican Library).

[4] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 108 *seqq.*

[5] FONSECA, *De Basilica S. Laurenti in Damaso libri tres*, Romae, 1745.

[6] *Lettere d'uomini illustri*, 70.

[7] *De nummo argenteo Benedicti III.*, Romae, 1749. *Cf.* DENGEL, *Garampi*, 3.

on the Fontana Trevi,[1] the large collection of Bulls and Briefs relating to St. Peter's,[2] the edition supervised by the Jesuit Lesley of the Mozarabic liturgy,[3] and the first volume, edited by Joseph Aloisius Assemani, of the famous *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiæ universæ*.[4] The Pope took a personal part in the last-mentioned work, also in the *Kalendaria Ecclesiæ universæ*, edited by Joseph Simonius Assemani,[5] and in the new edition of the works of Leo I.

This last work had been undertaken at the Pope's instigation. It was necessitated not only on scholarly but also on ecclesiastical grounds, the critical supplements of Quesnel's edition of 1675 showing distinct traces of their author's Jansenistic and anti-Papal doctrines. The brothers Pietro and Girolamo Ballerini, who were commissioned with the work, were granted by the Pope the unusual privilege of access to the relative Vatican manuscripts not included in the library. He also obtained for them the requisite collations from other libraries. They were thus able to say, in dedicating the work to the Pope, that it was his edition they were laying before him.[6] It was worthy of its exalted patron, for it was a truly model production.

[1] Mgr. MARESCOTTI, *De Aqua Virgine commentarii ad Benedictum XIV.*, 1742, *MS. in the Bibl. Corvisieri, Rome, which unfortunately was sold in 1904.

[2] *Collectio Bullarum eccl. basilicæ Vaticanæ*, t. I., Romæ, 1747.

[3] *Missale mixtum sec. regulam b. Isidori dictum Mozarabes* ab A. Lesleo S.J., 1755.

[4] Rome, 1749. By 1758 two more volumes had appeared. — *Cf.* also Gerdil's (afterwards Cardinal) 'Einleitung zum Studium der Religion' (see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V, 361); '*Seminarii Vaticani descriptio, eiusdem hoc tempore status a Raphaele Sindone rectore,' Cod., 701 (1367), University Library, Bologna; Aemil. Naise, O.S.B. (Weihenstephan-Freising), '*Isagoge ad reparandam optatam pacem et unitatem fidei in Germania', Cod. 599 (1105), *ibid.*

[5] Vol. I. (Romae, 1755) was dedicated to the Pope.

[6] See the dedication of the first volume, which appeared in Venice in 1753, the second following in 1756, the third in 1757.

A new edition of the letters of Innocent III. was entrusted by the Pope to Domenico Giorgi and, after he had died, to the learned Dominican Tommaso Maria Mamachi,[1] who dedicated to the Pope the first volume of his annals of the Dominican Order.[2]

Mario Guarnacci's biographies of the Popes and Cardinals [3] owed more than their origin to Benedict XIV. They were to be a continuation of the work by Ciaconius and Oldoin, which ended with Clement IX. For this purpose Guarnacci was granted access to the archives.[4] Benedict found time to give him precise instructions as to the desired method of treatment, which was not to be too detailed. Before the work was printed he had it examined by other scholars, and he himself corrected his own biography, which stopped short at his election to the Papal see.[5] The work thus ends with the year 1740. Avoiding every kind of polemic, it aimed at being a reliable and factual exposition. A work that may suitably be read in conjunction with it is that by Ridolfino Venuti, still much esteemed, on the medals of the Popes, from Martin V. to Benedict XIV. The Minorite Antonio Pagi the younger continued the epitome of the history of the Popes which his uncle had commenced. He was allowed to dedicate his work to the Pope and was encouraged to complete it by a Papal commendatory Brief.[6] The General of the Dominicans,

Adopting the suggestion made in the dedication, Benedict XIV., in 1754, gave to Leo I. the title of "Doctor Ecclesiæ" in the Liturgy.

[1] *Lettere d'uomini illustri*, 58.

[2] *Annales ord. Praedic.*, I., Romæ, 1756.

[3] *Cf.* Renazzi, IV., 334 *seq.*

[4] Guarnacci, I., Præf. XII. The first volume was dedicated to the Pope.

[5] Heeckeren, II., 101.

[6] "*Dilecte fili etc. Pater Procurator Generalis vestri Ordinis ad Nos detulit quatuor antiquos Libros de Gestis Romanorum Pontificum et etiam Librum quintum a te nuper editum, et Nobis dicatum, una cum aliis muneribus, quae omnia Nobis, tuo nomine, dono dedit. Libenti animo omnia accepimus, tibique

Tommaso Ripoll, was also of service to historiography with his edition of the great Bullarium of his Order; on falling ill in his old age, he was frequently visited by the Pope.[1] Benedict cordially approved of the Spanish Government's intention to set up an academy for the study of church history in the Iberian peninsula, and he placed at its disposal the relative archival sources.[2]

To cultivate the historical sense among young students, especially future priests, the Pope caused to be set up in the Roman College chairs for church history and liturgy and provided for their future.[3]

Every effort was made by Benedict XIV. to prevent the decline of the Roman University, of whose condition he had gained first-hand knowledge when he had been its Rector, under Clement XI.[4] In the very first year of his reign he showed his interest in it by celebrating High Mass in the university church on the feast of its patron, St. Ivo, on May 16th, 1741, and by listening to a speech delivered in the Great Hall. A preliminary measure of reform followed in 1744, when the privileges of the consistorial advocates in

ex corde gratias agimus. Lectioni quinti Libri proximo mense Octobris operam dabimus, et ex nonnullis quae cursim legimus, videmus te strenuam operam navasse, egregie facinora Nostrorum Praedecessorum tuis scriptis illustrando. Ea profecto merebantur egregios scriptores; sed nullus, praeter te, Patruumque tuum, repertus est, qui rem pro dignitate perficeret. Perge itaque, dilecte fili, nec manum a calamo et atramento submoveas: sed, quae supersunt, adimple. Scias Nos esse tui amantissimos, semperque promptos, ut rem gratam oblata occasione pro te faciamus. Tibique interea Apostolicam Benedictionem impertimur." Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 19 Septembris 1748. Pontificatus Nostri Anno nono. *Epist. ad princ.* 241, p. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Merenda, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[2] *Bolet. de la Acad. de la Historia,* LXVIII. (1916), 76 *seqq.*, 418 *seq.*, 435 *seqq.*

[3] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, I., 527 *seq.*

[4] Renazzi, IV., 64.

regard to the rectorate were extended. Undesirable rivalry for the occupation of the professoriates was lessened by the Pope's reserving for himself the nomination of deserving scholars.[1]

Botany being of particular interest to Benedict XIV., he appointed a second professor in this subject and, the Botanic Garden having fallen into decay, he had it renovated and made himself acquainted with its condition by a personal visit.[2]

In his reform of the university, in the course of which considerable obstacles were encountered, the Pope adopted the proposals made by the Rector, Argenvilliers, for whom he had a very high regard, and by the jurists Filippo Pirelli and Niccolò de' Vecchi. The principal innovations were set down in an autograph letter of October 14th, 1748. They consisted in the regularization and increase of the lectures, in the stipulation that every professor would have to confine himself to the department to which he had been appointed, in the renewal of Leo X.'s decree that the professors were to devote themselves exclusively to their professorships and were to deliver their lectures regularly, and in the establishment of a special fund under the control of the Rector for the Botanic Garden and for anatomical and physical research.[3]

The reform aroused dissatisfaction in many quarters. The professors in particular were indignant that their lectures, but not their salaries, had been increased. Another defect in the reform, the omission to excite the students' zeal, was made good by the awarding of titular honours to those who had pursued their studies with success for three consecutive years.[4]

On Cardinal Valenti's suggestion, two new professorial chairs were instituted in the autumn of 1748, one for higher mathematics, the other for chemistry, a branch of the natural sciences in which considerable research was then beginning to

[1] *Ibid.*, 200 *seq.*, 207, 450 *seqq.*

[2] Renazzi, IV., 220 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 212 *seqq.*, 214 *seqq.*, 453 *seqq.* For Leo X.'s reform, see our account, Vol. VIII, 272.

[4] Renazzi, IV., 218 *seqq.*, 224.

be made.[1] Nor did it escape the many-sided Pope that the teaching of physics at the Roman University no longer corresponded to scientific progress.[2] On the retirement of the Theatine, Orsi, he accordingly appointed in his place a distinguished Frenchman, Jacquier, a Minim. The Pope also saw to the establishment of a chemical laboratory and a physical institute, and it was to him that the university owed the renovation of its " anatomical theatre ". On a visit to the university on the feast of St. Ivo, 1751, he was able to see with his own eyes that these improvements had been duly carried out. The visit was repeated five years later, though on this occasion the eighty-year-old Pope was no longer able to mount the steps to the Great Hall, and the reception took place in the laboratory on the ground level.[3]

Professor Giovanni Carafa, whom Benedict had appointed to the chair of church history, was entrusted with the task of compiling the history of the university. This was dedicated to the Pope,[4] and the author was rewarded with the bishopric of Mileto. He was succeeded in the professorship by the learned Theatine, Francesco Vezzosi, who edited the works of Cardinal Tommasi. Other professors who owed their appointments to the Pope were the botanist Francesco Marotti, the chemist Luigi Filippo Giraldi, and the famous Latinist Benedetto Stay, who was an intimate friend of the Jesuit Boscovich.[5] Ruggero Giuseppe Boscovich, a Dalmatian from Ragusa, famous as a mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher, was a professor at the Roman College, where among other objects that he showed the Pope was the model of the observatory he had designed.[6]

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 280 *seqq.* For chemistry, see the works mentioned in Herder's *Konversationslexikon*, II.[3], 635.

[2] See the works mentioned in Herder's *Konversationslexikon*, VI.[3], 1597; Lombardi, II., 216 *seq.*, 218.

[3] Renazzi, IV., 222 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.*

[4] Ios. Carafa, *De gymnasio Romano*, Romæ, 1751.

[5] Renazzi, IV., 262, 270, 281.

[6] *Ibid.*, 302. *Re* Boscovich, see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1828 *seqq.* The mathematician H. Poincaré referred to him

A service to physical geography was rendered by Benedict XIV. when he commissioned Boscovich and his fellow Jesuit, Maire, to measure a degree of the meridian and to prepare a detailed map of the Papal States.[1] To promote the study of the natural sciences, experimental physics in particular, he reorganized the old Accademia dei Lincei and called it the academy " dei Nuovi Lincei ".[2]

In his solicitude for Rome Benedict XIV. did not forget

as the precursor of modern ideas on the composition of matter. His *Theoria philosophiæ naturalis* has been reprinted (with an English translation by J. M. Child) by the Open Court Publishing Co. (London and Chicago, 1923). *Cf. Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 5th series, L 243; SIR WILLIAM THOMSON, *On Boscovich's Theory*, in the *Report of the British Association*, LIX., 494–6; *Nature*, XL. (1889), 545–7; *Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report*, 1889, Washington, 1890, 435–9. The discoverer of oxygen, Priestley (d. 1804), agreed with Boscovich's ideas on the nature of matter; see *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, XLVI., 361. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility of Boscovich's ideas on the subject being contradicted.

[1] R. J. BOSCOVICH ET C. MAIRE S.J., *De litteraria expeditione per pontificiam ditionem ad dimetiendos duos meridiani gradus et corrigendam mappam geographicam iussu Benedicti XIV. P.M.*, Romæ, 1755. " Il Boscovich," reports MERENDA in his **Memorie*, " fu incaricato dal Papa, che ne somministrava la spesa, di girare per tutte le provincie dello Stato minutamente, misurare le altezze e le distanze dei luoghi per elevarne poi una carta geografica esatta di tutti [luoghi ?] e delle provincie in particolare, come ancora per rettificare il meridiano di Roma." Bibl. Angelica, Rome. Further details in the *Avvisi of September 19, 1750, April 10, 1751, April 1, 1752, Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich. The Pope's plan of inducing the Protestant princes, through the medium of the nuncio Stoppani, to adopt the Gregorian calendar, had to be given up owing to the circumstances being too unfavourable. The " *Memoria sopra l'affare del Calendario ", dated November 1, 1744, in which the advantages of the new calendar were set out, is in the Nunziat. di Vienna, 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] MORONI, I., 43.

his native city of Bologna. His dissatisfaction with the state of studies there [1] was an added incentive to him to arouse among the Bolognese a desire for knowledge. In commissioning (and financing) Mauro Sarti to write a history of the University of Bologna [2] and Costantino Ruggieri to write another of the Bolognese bishops,[3] he was actuated not only by his interest in history but also by the hope that the memory of its great past would revive scholarship in Bologna. The same purpose was to be served by his generous presents of books and coins to the Istituto delle Scienze in Bologna. As an expression of its gratitude, the Accademia degli Inquieti, which was located in that institution, called itself the Benedettina.[4]

Too noble to be influenced by prejudice, Benedict gave his consent to two learned women being appointed professors at Bologna : Maria Gaetana Agnesi, who was famous as a mathematician, and Laura Caterina Bassi, who was making a name for herself as a philosopher.[5]

Benedict had already endeavoured to revive the practice of anatomical studies in Bologna when he was archbishop there, pointing out that a decree of Boniface VIII.'s of the year 1299 which apparently forbade it was directed only against the profanation of corpses. Among other points he made in the course of his argument was that Francis of Sales, when afflicted by a serious illness in his youth, had given directions for his body to be handed over to the anatomists in the event of his illness proving fatal.[6] When he was Pope,

[1] *Cf.* Kraus, *Briefe*, 84, 108, 116, 123, 126.

[2] *Cf.* the preface in M. Sarti e M. Fattorini, *De claris archigymnasii Bonon. professoribus a sæculo XI. usque ad sæculum XIV.*, Bononiæ, 1769–1772, iterum ed. C. Albicinius et C. Malagola, t. I., Bononiæ, 1888.

[3] *Lettere d'uomini illustri*, 58.

[4] *Cf.* F. Cavazza, *Le scuole dell' antico studio Bolognese*, Milano, 1896, 286 ; Le Bret, *Magazin*, IX., 546 *seq.*, 556. *Cf.* Edith E. Coulson James, *Bologna* (London, 1909), 84, 190.

[5] *Cf.* Cavazza, *loc. cit.*, 289 ; Lombardi, II., 57, 132. For M. G. Agnesi, see the monograph by L. Angelotti (Milano, 1900).

[6] Giov. Martinotti, *P. Lambertini e lo studio dell' anatomia in*

Benedict founded a chair of surgery [1] in Bologna and handed over to its occupant, Professor Molinelli, the valuable surgical instruments given him by Louis XV.[2] In 1752 he spent a considerable sum in founding an anatomical museum, and in 1757 he sent there a collection of anatomical preparations.[3] His chief concern, however, was that the Istituto delle Scienze should have a well-stocked library, and in this he found a sympathetic helper in the friend of his student days, Cardinal Filippo Maria Monti, who bequeathed to the institute his uncommonly useful collection of 20,000 volumes. On the Cardinal's death, on January 17th, 1754, Benedict saw to it that these treasures were duly conveyed to their proper destination.[4] The gift was all the more pleasing to the Pope inasmuch as he too had decided in 1750 to make over his private library to the institution. On February 2nd, 1754, he wrote to Bologna that it would have given him great pleasure to visit his native city once again and to have consecrated its cathedral, but that the building operations had lasted too long and he was retained in Rome by the burden of his years and his financial straits. As a proof that he had not forgotten his native city he was now sending it as a substitute Cardinal Malvezzi, who was to be its archbishop, while to the institute he was sending his beloved and, if he might so call it, his famous library, which was worth more than his person.[5] In July 1755 the printers were given instructions to supply the

Bologna, in *Studi e mem. p. la storia dell' Univ. di Bologna*, II., Bologna, 1911, 148, 151 *seq.*, who rectifies the information given by Töply in the *Handbuch der Gesch. der Medizin*, edited by Neuburger and Pagel, II., Jena, 1903, 227, as though the ordinance of 1747 applied to Rome.

[1] See the Motu Proprio of August 23, 1742, in *Lettere, brevi e chirogr. di Benedetto XIV. per la città di Bologna*, I., Bologna, 1749, 258 *seq.*

[2] Cavazza, 285, 290.

[3] Martinotti, 173, 174, 175.

[4] E. Gualandi in *Studi e mem. p. la storia dell' univ. di Bologna*, VI., Bologna, 1921, 76, 81 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 100.

library of the institute with presentation copies, and in the autumn of that year, presuming that he was not to live much longer, he had a beginning made with the transport of his private library to Bologna. A year later he commanded the library of the institute to be thrown open to the public.[1]

It was a truly regal gift that Benedict was making to his native city, for his private library comprised the rarest and best works from the most diverse countries, and all were magnificently bound and stamped with the family arms.[2] It also included about 450 MSS. of historical, literary, artistic, and palæographical value. Among these were the *Codex diplomaticus Bononiensis,* forty-four volumes of copies from Papal archives, which Benedict XIV. had had collected by Costantino Ruggieri, and a MS. of Dante's *Divine Comedy,* of the middle of the fourteenth century, which has been the subject of much discussion recently.[3] Rome apart, no other Italian city could boast of such a library as was now possessed by Bologna.[4] With the books presented by Cardinal Monti and some other acquisitions, it numbered 80,000 volumes and 2,500 MSS.[5] The statue of Benedict XIV. which was erected by Bologna has disappeared, but his library endowment has endured; the handsome room with its beautiful cases containing so many precious treasures still bears witness to the enlightened vision of the greatest scholar Bologna has produced.[6]

[1] *Lettere, brevi e chirogr. di Bened. XIV. p. l. città di Bologna,* III., 385; GUALANDI, *loc. cit.,* 84 *seq.*

[2] GUALANDI, *ibid.*

[3] FRATI in *Sorbelli, Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche di Bologna,* XV., Forlì, 1908, 5 *seq.* For the Cod. diplom. Bonon., see BLUME, II., 138 *seq.*; *ibid.,* 143, for the Pope's interest in the manuscripts of the Spanish College. For the Dante MS. see *Esemplare della Divina Commedia donato da Papa Lambertini (Benedetto XIV.), edito secondo la sua ortografia, illustrato dai confronti di altri XIX. codici Danteschi inediti e fornito di note critiche da Luca Scarabelli,* 3 vols., Bologna, 1870–3.

[4] HEECKEREN, II., 307.

[5] *Notizie stor. d. Bibl. univ. di Bologna nel* 1898, 13.

[6] GUALANDI, *loc. cit.,* 85.

Benedict XIV.'s support of learning was not confined to his homeland of Bologna. It was extended in many other directions,[1] principally in Italy. The number of scholars whom he promoted and encouraged is extraordinarily large.[2] In the works of many of them he took the greatest interest. He was delighted to receive from the Venetian senator Flaminio Cornaro a copy of his great work on the Venetian bishoprics. In a long Brief he encouraged the author to continue with the work, acknowledged its solidity, and spoke of the benefit which would accrue to the Church therefrom. At the same time, citing a number of examples, he refuted the idea that ecclesiastical matters of this sort ought not to be handled by a layman. He mentioned also that the Bollandists had made use of Cornaro's works for their excellent *Acta Sanctorum*.[3] The praise which on this occasion he bestowed on the huge work undertaken by the Belgian Jesuits was a repetition of that contained in the Brief which he had addressed to them on April 3rd, 1751. It was occassioned by the unjustifiable attempt made on the authority of a private letter written by the Pope, to show that his opinion of the *Acta Sanctorum* was no longer favourable. He affirmed that this was far from being the truth and that he had never thought of censoring the work on account of some isolated errors. At the same time he expressed the hope that the Bollandists would be able to finish their enormous task before the end of his pontificate and suggested various improvements

[1] In the University of Coimbra Benedict XIV. founded new chairs of Church History and Liturgy; see NOVAES, XIV., 269.

[2] In addition to those already mentioned: F. Danzetta, G. de Cattaneo, V. M. Avvocati (Avogadro), B. Beccari, G. B. Bortoli, C. Polini, F. M. Ottieri, Fr. Quadrio, Fil. Scarselli, P. Chelucci, G. Lagomarsini, D. Vallarsi, G. Vita, A. Olivieri, P. L. Galletti, A. Politi, P. Grazioli, Ed. Corsini, A. M. Bandini, G. Lombardi; see LOMBARDI, I., 122, 172, 350; II., 46; IV., 10, 12, 18, 29, 144, 173; V., 150, 265, 305, 312; VI., 79, 87, 91, 118, 175, 205, 216, 244, 276.

[3] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 164 *seqq.*

for the volumes which had already appeared.[1] To the Bollandist Johannes Stiltinck, who went to Rome at the end of 1752 for the purpose of further study, he gave the warmest welcome.[2]

With the greatest Italian historian then living, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Benedict XIV. had become acquainted in the autumn of 1731 when he was Cardinal of Bologna.[3] Muratori expressed his joy that in Benedict God had given the Church a Pope from whom the furthering of scholarship might confidently be expected.[4] He had heard, he said, with particular pleasure of the institution of the new academies in Rome and of the choice as secretaries of such scholars as Bianchini and Valesio, for men of this type would bring

[1] *Ibid.*, 81 *seqq.* A second *Brief, not yet printed, to Joh. Stiltinck S.J. and the other Bollandists, dated 1748, Jan. 20, was in reply to a letter of November 11, 1747. In it the Pope observes: "Magnam vero semper apud Nos fuisse opinionem, adeoque esse, de ingenti opere "Acta Sanctorum" nuncupato, quod a decessoribus collegii vestris optimo consilio susceptum, atque incredibili labore continuatum, nunc demum vestro studio ac diligentia in hanc amplitudinem, in qua conspicitur, perductum fuit. Ex hoc opere libenter agnoscimus ac profitemur Nobis suppeditata fuisse, si quae sunt eruditorum gustui non inepta in Nostris Libris de Canonizatione Sanctorum alias conscriptis: quorum editioni Bononiae olim factae, alteram nuper addidimus Patavii adornatam, quae et accurata correctione, et complurium rerum utiliter cognoscendarum accessione, priori illi multo antecellit. Haec ut ad vos perferatur, idem Hieronymus [Lombardus S. J.] affirmavit se curaturum. Iidem nunc libri iterum subiiciuntur praelo typographi Romani, qui unica editione tum ipsum opus de Canonizatione Sanctorum, tum alia omnia a Nobis exarata, ac secundis curis retractata, et aucta, complectitur. Vos pergite in Sanctorum monumentis colligendis, illustrandisque, de Ecclesia Dei bene mereri etc. *Epist. ad princ.* 241, fo. 470, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] His long audience is reported in the *Avviso of December 30, 1752, Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich.

[3] *Studi e docum.*, XXI., 347. For Muratori's biography, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXIV., 333 *seqq.*, 524 *seqq.*

[4] *Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, ed. Campori, IX., 4057, 4065.

honour and profit to the Holy See. Writing to Bianchini on this occasion, Muratori expressed himself in really memorable words on the subject of church history. If the academy which had been founded for this purpose was to produce good fruit, it must be given the necessary freedom. Certainly the actions of the Popes should be upheld as much as possible, but adulation should be ruled out. Nor should anything be passed off as old and lawful, which was not so. A healthy criticism of books, authors, miracles, legends, and other similar matters should be allowed. "It is better," continued Muratori, "that we ourselves should speak the truth than that we should hear it spoken by our enemies with scorn. Nothing is gained, and much is lost, by pretending that something is true when it is not. I keep before my mind the immortal Baronius, who was often daring in his judgments. Holy Church has no need of lies, thank God. She does not fear the truth. I say this because the people in Rome are sometimes too timid and anxious—an error which is not made by true scholars, who have always and everywhere loved the truth. Praised be God who has given us a Pope who is imbued with these opinions." [1]

Benedict XIV. showed himself to be most favourably inclined towards "the father of Italian historical research"; he ranked him more highly than any other Italian writer of the time and he doubted that he had his equal beyond the Alps. The Holy See, he wrote, has need of men like him.[2] As the aged scholar could not comply with the Pope's desire that he should come to Rome,[3] Benedict did what he could to secure his material existence in Modena.[4] Muratori dedicated to his exalted patron his excellent work *Dei difetti della*

[1] See the letter to Bianchini of November 5, 1740, *ibid.*, IX., 4074. *Cf.* also the letter *ibid.*, 4091.

[2] A caustic criticism of the ecclesiastical intelligentsia of the period in a letter of June 30, 1745, in KRAUS, *Briefe*, 27 *seqq.*, and elsewhere; *cf.* above, p. 187, n. 6.

[3] *Cf. Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, IX., 4172.

[4] Letter to the Marchese d'Ormea of July 31, 1742, in B. MANZONE, *Frammenti di lettere inedite di Benedetto XIV.* (1900) (Nozze-Publ.), II., No. 1.

Giurisprudenza,[1] and in 1743 he sent the Pope through Cardinal Tamburini some notes on the proposed reform of the Breviary, suggesting at the same time that new editions should be brought out of Ughelli's *Italia sacra* and Leandro Alberti's *Italia*.[2] Benedict repeatedly showed his approval of Muratori through letters and the bestowal of favours, besides sending him copies of his own works.[3]

In one of his letters of thanks, in August 1748, Muratori announced as a return gift his work on the early Roman liturgy. He wrote also that he intended shortly to send his defence of a Papal letter to the Bishop of Augsburg for examination but that he first wished to submit it for approbation.[4] Shortly after this occurred an incident which caused much pain to both parties. The Spanish Inquisitor General had ordered the suppression of the history of Pelagianism written by Cardinal Noris of the Augustinian Order, and Benedict XIV., in a confidential letter handed to the Procurator General of the Augustinians, had expressed his disapproval of the prohibition, observing that the works of distinguished writers ought not to be forbidden even though they might contain some erroneous information. By way of example, he mentioned, together with the works of the Bollandists, Tillemont, and Bossuet, the name of Muratori. To the Procurator General's suggestion that the letter might suitably be printed at the head of Noris's works, the Pope replied that it was not to be published yet and that when the time did come Muratori's name was to be omitted. In spite of this the letter was published two days later, at which the Pope was so angry that he forbade the Procurator General ever to enter his palace again.

The publication of the Papal letter was a grievous blow to Muratori. In a letter to the Pope of December 17th, 1748, he

[1] *Cf. Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, X., 4289.

[2] *Studi e docum.*, XXI., 350.

[3] *Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, IX., xvi *seq.*, X., 4311, 4671, XI., xi. *seqq.*, 5046 *seq.*, 5186.

[4] *Ibid.*, XI., xxi., 5187.

stated candidly, though respectfully, the bewilderment, if not despair, which had come upon him. The unfavourable judgment, he complained, would endure for ever; never would it be forgotten that he had incurred this reproach without being formally condemned, and his errors and demerits would be thought to be greater than they actually were. Relying on the continuance of the favourable attitude that had formerly been taken towards him, he asked that his errors be pointed out to him, that he might retract them and thus by his dutiful repentance obtain forgiveness. In this way the fatherly hand which had inflicted the wound would also bring relief.[1]

Benedict XIV. lost no time in rehabilitating this faithful son of the Church, to the latter's complete satisfaction.[2] In a letter of September 25th, 1748,[3] he told him quite frankly of the indiscretion committed by the Procurator General. With regard to the passages to which exception had been taken, he assured him that it was not a question of dogma or discipline but merely of the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome within his States, concerning which Rome adhered to other principles than those held by Muratori and could not accept as true several assumptions and facts which Muratori had stated. Had they been published by any other author, such matters would have undoubtedly been publicly denounced by the competent Congregation. In Muratori's case, however,

[1] *Studi e docum.*, XXI., 352; *Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, XI., 5203 (*cf.* XII., 5549); BRAUN, *Ehrenrettung Muratoris durch Papst Benedikt XIV.*, Trier, 1838, 17 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* the letter to Bianchini of October 6, 1748, *Epist. di L. A. Muratori*, XI., 5213.

[3] Printed in GIAN FRANCESCO SOLI-MURATORI, *Vita del provosto L. A. Muratori*, Venice, 1756, 416, and *Riv. Europ.*, VIII. (1877), III., 430. *Cf.* BRAUN, *loc. cit.*, 18 *seqq.*; CANTU, *Eretici*, II., 302. *Cf.* also Benedict XIV.'s letters to Cardinal Quirini of September 4 and November 9, 1748, in FRESCO, *Lettere*, XIX., 183 *seqq.* In this second letter the Pope especially stated that his censure referred to Muratori's statement concerning the "giurisdizione temporale del Papa ne' suoi stati e suo dominio e tutto ciò concerne l'acquisto di Ferrara".

this step had not been taken, on account of the great affection and respect in which he was held by the Pope.[1] In handing this Brief to a friend, Canon Pier Francesco Peggi, of Bologna, the Pope referred to Muratori as " the light of Italian scholarship ".[2]

Another scholar towards whom Benedict XIV. showed the utmost leniency and indulgence was Scipione Maffei of Verona, who was one of his oldest friends, having been a student with him in Rome.[3] As the result of a controversy which had arisen in his native city, Maffei published in 1744 a work on the use of money, in which he subjected the Church's condemnation of interest to a thorough examination. He came to the conclusion that it was not every kind of interest that was condemned by the Scriptures, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Popes but only that which was oppressively high and which was extorted from the poor, and that a moderate interest taken from the rich was not in itself unjust.[4] This assertion gave rise to considerable discussion.

Benedict XIV. could hardly maintain silence on the subject, especially as the work in question had been dedicated to him. Accordingly, in July 1745, he appointed a commission of Cardinals and theologians, among whom was the Dominican Daniele Concina, to examine impartially the Church's principles in the matter of interest and usury. The report of this commission adhered to the Church's principles, and the Pope confirmed it in an Encyclical of November 1st, 1745. It was stated in the document that " on the one hand the profit obtained from the loan and in virtue of the loan is stamped as

[1] Braun, 19 *seq.*

[2] Kraus, *Briefe*, 57. For Muratori's life, *cf.* Tiraboschi, *Bibl. Modenese*, III. and VI. Lombardi (IV., 74) was of the opinion that Muratori was too harshly judged by G. Fontanini.

[3] See Benedict's *letter to Maffei of October 31, 1744, thanking him for a literary work he had sent him: " Così è, dal 1698 incomincia l'epoca della nostra amicizia." *Epist. ad princ.* 240, p. 195, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Dell' impiego del danaro*, Verona, 1744. *Cf.* Funk in the *Tübinger Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXI. (1879), 6 *seqq.*

usury, so that any loan-interest is shown to be sinful, whether it be large or small, whether it be taken from the poor or the rich, or whether the loan in question be used by the borrower to relieve his financial straits or to enrich himself. On the other hand, the exaction of interest is declared permissible when special titles are attached to the loan which are in no way naturally connected with it and which justify it, or when the investment of capital can be effected in other lawful contractual forms. It is admitted that this may often happen but at the same time the view is rejected that the exaction of a moderate interest is always allowed, whether it be the case of a loan based on special titles or by the application of other contracts. This view is opposed by the Scriptures, the teaching of the Church, and human intelligence, for no one can deny that there are cases in which a man is bound to come to the assistance of his neighbour with a simple loan for which no charge is made. This is the doctrine to be taught, and the putting forward of a contrary doctrine is liable to be censored. Questions in dispute among the theologians and canonists, to which a solution cannot be found, are to be left to the decision of the scholars. These are admonished to beware of extremes, which are always wrong, and in this case consist either in holding the view that any profit drawn from money is unjust and usurious or in being so indulgent as to hold that every form of profit is free from usury; nor are they to consider controversies on the subject of usury mere battles of words, on the plea that interest is demanded on nearly every loan".[1]

The Encyclical was couched entirely in general terms; no mention was made of Maffei or his publication. Maffei was so convinced of the correctness of his view that he could not think of retracting it. So far was he, indeed, from doing this that he asked permission of the Pope to bring out a new edition of his treatise. This was granted by the Pope on condition that the text of the Encyclical be inserted as well as the letter in which Maffei sought to show that by no manner

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 328 *seqq.*; FUNK, *Gesch. des Zinsverbotes*, Tübingen, 1901, 67 *seqq.*

of means had he taught the doctrine which had been condemned but rather that he had anticipated the doctrine contained in the Encyclical.[1]

Meanwhile the Dominican Concina had made known his intention of dealing with the question of interest in a special article. Benedict had a high opinion of Concina as a theologian but feared that as before he would adopt too immoderate a tone and draw too far-reaching conclusions from the Encyclical. At first, therefore, he was not prepared to consent to Concina's work being printed.[2] But when the new edition of Maffei's work appeared in 1746 he gave permission for his opponent's work to be published also. He refused, however, to comply with Concina's request that Maffei's work should be censored.[3] A few years later the Pope had to compel Concina to retract the unfounded accusations the contentious Dominican had brought against some Jesuits on account of their moral doctrine.[4] Another occasion on which Benedict decided against Concina was when the latter put forward too rigorous views concerning what was lawful on the stage. Maffei opposed him in a treatise on the ancient and modern theatre, and in a letter to Maffei of October 6th, 1753, the Pope remarked that he had read his defence of dramatic art with satisfaction. Maffei, he said, had defended him too, for his decree on the theatre was not by any means intended to be a prohibition of every comedy and tragedy but only to

[1] Fresco, *Lettere*, XVIII., 294; Heeckeren, I., 244. *Cf.* Funk, *loc. cit.*, 43 *seq.*

[2] Heeckeren, *loc. cit.*; Fresco, 296 *seq.* It appears from a *letter of Concina's to the Pope, dated Venice, 1744, June 24, in which he thanks him for accepting the dedication of his theological textbook, that the Pope had counselled him to be more moderate in his dealings with his opponents (Papal Secret Archives). In a letter of October 18, 1746, the Pope advised Cardinal Quirini not to engage in polemics over Broedersen's work, *De usura* (1743); see Fresco, *Lettere*, XIX., 159 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Funk, *loc. cit.*, 48 *seqq.*, 54 *seqq.*

[4] Heeckeren, II., 157, 162; *cf.* 483.

prevent decency and morality being outraged in the theatre.[1]

In a previous letter to Maffei of October 31st, 1744, Benedict had made the remark that the only happy moments in his hard life were when he had the chance to take up a book.[2] He let fall a similar observation when writing to Canon Peggi of Bologna: "The only relief We get from Our continual and painful labours is when We take a glance at Our library."[3] That such an ardent book-lover should be sent new publications from every quarter is not to be wondered at.[4] Much to his pleasure, the most distinguished writers, not only of Italy but of all countries, vied with one another in keeping him supplied with their newly-published works. Thus in 1754 Giovan Maria Mazzucchelli sent him the first two volumes of his lexicon of Italian authors (a work which is still indispensable) and received the praise he deserved.[5] The nephews of the archæologist Francesco Bianchini, who had died in 1729, sent him the works, published by themselves, of their famous uncle, who also was praised by Benedict as a noted scholar and a holy priest.[6] The Jesuit Lazzeri dedicated his edition of Dante to the Pope, knowing how fond he was of reading the works of the "*sommo poeta*" in his leisure hours.[7]

[1] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 159. *Cf.* also HEECKEREN, II., 323 *seq.*, for Quirini's edicts against the theatre. For Benedict's ordinance, see above, p. 147.

[2] "*Non avendo altro momento felice in questa nostra miserabile vita che quello in cui ci è permesso il leggere qualche libro." Divers., 173, p. 195, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] KRAUS, *Briefe*, 22.

[4] *Cf.* CARACCIOLO, 66. Numerous *letters on this subject in the *Epist. ad princ.*, 239–241, *loc. cit.*

[5] Mazzucchelli's *letters to Benedict XIV. of September 20, 1754, and January 12, 1758 (sends the fifth volume of the *Epist. card. Polo* and promises to send before long the third volume of his *Scrittori*, which the Pope praised), *ibid.*, 240, p. 217.

[6] *Briefs to Gasp. and Franc. Bianchini of November 24, 1753, *ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* KRAUS, *Dante*, 754, and SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1609 *seqq.* Benedict XIV. appointed Lazzeri Corrector of the

Pietro Metastasio, whom Benedict had introduced to the practice of the law in days gone by, in Rome, was invited by him to come to Rome, but the celebrated poet preferred to remain in Vienna.[1] Another highly commendatory Brief was received by the Venetian diplomat, Marco Foscarini, who was also distinguished as a scholar.[2]

Of German scholars the one who received the greatest recognition from the Pope was Anton Roschmann, the Tyrolese historian, topographer, and archæologist. Almost all the works of this uncommonly industrious investigator were honoured by commendatory Briefs; for example, the "Life of St. Notburga", his studies of St. Cassian, and his writings on the Roman town of Veldidena (Wilten), with which he became the pioneer in the study of the ancient topography of the Tyrol.[3]

The number of French works which were sent to the Pope was especially large. He did not speak the language but he took great pleasure in reading the masterpieces of French literature; the eloquence of Bourdaloue and Bossuet in particular excited his admiration.[4] The French ambassadors

Oriental Books and employed him in the reform of the Index. *Cf.* Renazzi, IV., 343.

[1] Landau, *Italienische Literatur*, 538.

[2] *Brief of January 16, 1753, *loc. cit.*, 239, p. 174. For the relations between Benedict XIV. and the writer Fr. Benaglia of Treviso, see A. Marchesan, *Vita e prose di Fr. Benaglia*, Treviso, 1894.

[3] *Briefs to A. Roschmann of December 9, 1752, April 14, 1753, and January 26, 1754, *loc. cit.* 240, pp. 174 *seqq.*, 181 *seq.*; for Roschmann, see *Beiträge zur Gesch. Tirols*, pub. by the Ferdinandeum, II., Innsbruck, 1826, 1 *seqq.*, and *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXIX., 167 *seqq.* With regard to Germany, see also the *Brief of acknowledgment to I. A. Zeidler of June 19, 1756 (*loc. cit.*, 250, p. 11). I. A. v. Ickstatt (*cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXX., 359 *seqq.*, 585 *seqq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XIII., 740 *seqq.*) sent the Pope one of his writings, accompanied by a *letter dated Ingolstadt, 1757, Jan. 1.

[4] Caracciolo, 137.

were always suggesting to their king to send the Pope the finest productions of the printing press in the Louvre. Cardinal Tencin and his talented sister rarely omitted to take the opportunity of pleasing the Pope by putting him in the way of some literary novelty or a rare edition. France's foremost writers sent their works to the learned head of the Church; Archbishop Belsunce of Marseilles sent him his history of his diocese, the Benedictine Remy Ceillier his rare work on ecclesiastical writers, President Hénault his chronology—and Voltaire his *Mahomet*.[1] The tragedy was submitted to the Pope by Cardinal Passionei, who at the time was on very friendly terms with the author,[2] and later he was handed by Monsignore Leprotti the famous verses which Voltaire had composed for the Pope's portrait:

> Lambertini hic est, Romae decus et pater orbis,
> Qui mundum scriptis docuit, virtutibus ornat.

In return the Pope sent Voltaire some gold medals, for which the poet thanked him in a most dutiful letter dated August

[1] HEECKEREN, I., xc., 542 *seq.* The Brief to Belsunce in *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 418 *seqq.* Ceillier's *letter accompanying his *Bibl. eccl.* and the resultant commendatory *Brief of September 4, 1751, in Princ. 241. Papal Secret Archives. The learned Bishop of Carpentras, D'Inquembert, also received encouragement from Benedict XIV.; see MAZZATINTI, *Bibl. di Francia*, III., 18.

[2] *Cf.* E. CELLANI, *Voltaire e Passionei*, in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXVI. (1904), Nos. 19 and 20, who quotes (from Passionei's collections of material on the Bull "Unigenitus" in the *Miscell. d. Bibl. Angelica*) a bitter satire of Voltaire's on this Papal decree. Voltaire here declaims against Rome, extols the Gallican Church, and scoffs at St. Ignatius, the Jesuits, and the Bull "Unigenitus":—

> Et du Siège de Rome une Bulle émanée,
> Traitant l'amour de Dieu de vaine et d'erronée,
> De ce premier précepte affranchit les esprits.
> Nos prélats, lasches et perfides,
> De la pourpre romaine avides,
> Reçoivent le dogme inconnu, etc.

17th, 1745, which was handed to the Pope by Cardinal Acquaviva.[1] The medals, he said, were worthy of the age of Trajan and Antoninus and he rejoiced to know that a ruler who was loved and honoured as much as these emperors had been was in possession of medals of such excellence. The couplet was the result of reading the book with which his Holiness had enriched the Church and literature. He was astonished at such a stream of learning remaining undisturbed by the whirlpool of affairs. "Permit me, Holy Father," he continued, "to express the wish of all Christendom and to beg of Heaven that Your Holiness may be gathered as late as possible among the Saints whose canonization You have examined with such diligence and such success. Kissing Your Holiness's feet with the greatest veneration, I ask with the deepest respect for Your blessing."

The unsuspecting Benedict acceded to this request in a letter of September 15th, 1745, in which he thanked Voltaire for the compliments he had paid him. For the sake of saying something else, he added that a French *littérateur* had found fault with the couplet on prosodic grounds, the word *hic* having been used as though it were a short syllable. He himself, however, did not agree with this complaint and cited in Voltaire's support two passages from Virgil which he happened to remember, although he had not read that poet for fifty years.

Voltaire, who felt himself highly honoured, replied in a letter full of flattery on October 10th, 1745. He acknowledged the infallibility of His Holiness, he wrote, in questions of literature as well as in other and more venerable matters, and he marvelled at his knowledge of Virgil. Among monarchs who engaged in writing none were so scholarly as the Popes, but among these there was none who to such an extent embellished scholarship with literary knowledge. He ended with another fulsome compliment: on the election of Benedict XIV. Rome must have called out, "*Hic vir hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis.*"

[1] For this and subsequent correspondence between Benedict XIV. and Voltaire, see the Appendix, No. 5.

That the Pope should have entered into friendly relations with a writer such as Voltaire inevitably led to gossip. When it came to Benedict's ears that an exaggerated importance was being given to the affair, he tried to clear himself in a letter to Cardinal Tencin of February 9th, 1746. He wrote that the letter from Voltaire which accompanied the presentation of his tragedy *Mahomet* was full of expressions of reverence towards the Holy See and the Primacy. Under the impression that the author was not outside the Church, he thought that he ought to reply to him. He had had before his mind the example of St. Jerome, who when he was reproached for having praised Origen, replied, "We had in mind the philosopher, not the dogmatist." Later, when an Italian translation of *Mahomet* had come into his hands he had forbidden the tragedy to be printed or staged.[1]

This affair, in which Benedict XIV. had undoubtedly failed to act with the necessary caution,[2] was not allowed to die a natural death in France. On October 7th, 1746, François Philibert Louseau of Paris addressed a letter to the Pope which was definitely frank in tone. Every good Catholic in France, he wrote, had heard with the keenest regret that His Holiness had honoured the "infamous atheist Voltaire" by sending him two gold medals. Being sure that the Pope had not read all the works of this "monster", Louseau cited a number of blasphemous passages from Voltaire's writings and asked the Pope to honour another French writer, Louis

[1] Heeckeren, I., 246.

[2] De Lanzac de Laverie in his article *Un grand pape du XVIIIe. siècle*: "Il participait dans une certaine mesure à l'engouement de son siècle pour les écrivains et philosophes français; tout en condamnant et en réfutant leurs doctrines, l'éclat de leur célébrité lui en imposait quelque peu. C'est ainsi qu'au lieu de prendre la dédicace de la tragédie de Mahomet pour ce qu'elle était en réalité, c'est-à-dire pour le comble de l'impertinence et de la dérision, Benoît XIV. commit la faiblesse d'en accuser réception à Voltaire, et d'engager une controverse avec lui sur une question de prosodie latine." *Correspondant*, CCXLIX. (1912), 676.

de Racine, son of the famous tragic poet and a member of the "Académie des Inscriptions", who had merited the favour of His Holiness through his poems on "Grace" and "Religion". It is not known what reply was made to this letter, but Benedict acceded to the request that Racine be thanked for his poetry.[1]

Other French scholars and men of letters, whose religious opinions were by no means beyond suspicion, took advantage of the Pope's liberal interest in literature to put themselves in touch with him.[2] Voltaire's bitter adversary, Pierre Louis

[1] I found the original of Louseau's *letter in the Instr. Miscell., 5370, of the Papal Secret Archives. It begins thus: "Tous les bons catholiques de France ont apris avec une extrême douleur que V. Sté avait envoyé à l'infame Athée Arrouët de Voltaire deux médailles d'or comme une marque de la protection et de la bienveillance dont V. Sté daigne l'honorer. Sans doute que V. Sté ne connait point tous les ouvrages du monstre quelle [*sic*] a daigné récompenser." There follow a number of blasphemous passages taken from Voltaire's works. In view of these declarations, said Louseau, he was much embarrassed, especially as "nous avons en France un poète aussi estimable par son esprit que par ses ouvrages qui a fait un poème admirable sur la grâce et un autre sur la religion qui n'est pas moins beau et qui à juste titre méritoit la bienveillance de S. Sté, c'est Racine de l'Académie des Inscriptions." In a postscript Louseau says that he has written direct to the Pope because France's representative in Rome, Canillac, is a friend of Voltaire's.

[2] Caracciolo, 71, who defends the Pope in these terms: "Ma affin di non trovar dissonanze nella sua condotta, bisogna considerar due personaggi in Lambertini, l'uomo letterato, ed il Pontefice; e così non recherà più maraviglia vederle scrivere a Volter sopra la sua tragedia di Maometto, sentirle a far l'elogio della poesia, leggere la sua dissertazione intorno gli spettacoli in una lettera al celebre Scipione Maffei, sapere che conversava co'Russi, cogli Inglesi, in somma cogli uomini illustri di tutte le comunioni. In questi casi non è più Benedetto XIV. che parla, ma un poeta, uno storico. Quando poi ringrazia Racine pe' due suoi poemi sulla Grazia e sulla Religione, in tal caso risponde da Pontefice, perchè il soggetto così richiede."

Maupertuis, President of the Berlin Academy since 1740, known for his principle of mechanics but a most confused philosopher, was able in 1749 to thank the Pope for a letter he had received from him and took the opportunity to ask to be presented to a canonry in his native town of St-Malo.[1] As it happened, the post had already been allocated,[2] but in 1756 Maupertuis was again favoured by the Pope,[3] who tried from time to time to make use of his influence with Frederick II. for the benefit of the Silesian Catholics.[4] Another member of Frederick's literary circle, Count Francesco Algarotti, a charming writer but not a man of stainless character,[5] sent the Pope one of his works in 1751 [6] and received in return a Brief which he triumphantly communicated to the Prussian king. By way of thanks Algarotti wrote to the Pope that Frederick II. was great as a warrior, Benedict as a prince of peace.[7]

[1] Maupertuis' *letter, dated St-Malo, 1749, March 4, in Princ., 239, p. 370, Papal Secret Archives. This and subsequent letters from the scholar are all originals but wrongly included in the "Lettere di principi". For Maupertuis, see the monograph by DAMIRON (Paris, 1856), especially p. 149; HARNACK, *Gesch. der Berliner Akademie*, I., 254 *seqq.*

[2] See the draft of the *Brief to Maupertuis of March 19, 1749 (*loc. cit.*, 369) in which the Pope assures him of his good-will.

[3] *Letter from Maupertuis, dated Berlin, 1756, March 23 (*ibid.*), in which in high-flown language he thanks the Pope for his "présent inestimable" (probably a book written by the Pope) and says that he is "comblé des bienfaits du pape".

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 264.

[5] *Cf.* MICHELESSI, *Mem. int. alla vita d'Algarotti*, Venice, 1770. Algarotti is severely judged by MAYNARD in his *Voltaire* (Paris, 1867); see also HARNACK, *loc. cit.*, 253 *seq.*

[6] See Algarotti's flattering *letter, dated Berlin, 1750, November 28, in Princ. 239, p. 207, *loc. cit.*

[7] Algarotti's *letter to the Pope, dated Berlin, 1751, February 6 (*ibid.*, p. 209), enclosing Frederick II.'s letter of February 20, 1751 (old style), praising the Pope as a "grand homme" (*Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, XVIII., 78). In a *letter dated Venice, 1754,

No less remarkable in appearance were the friendly relations between Benedict XIV. and the Neapolitan Antonio Genovesi, whose subsequent attitude was entirely hostile to the Church.[1] In 1747 Genovesi asked the Pope's permission to dedicate to him his *Metaphysics*, for which, as regarded miracles and prophecies, he was greatly indebted to the Pope's works. He wanted, he said, to defend religion against the unruly spirits beyond the Alps.[2] Benedict immediately accepted the dedication,[3] and Genovesi, highly pleased, expressed his thanks and sent "the supreme judge of the Church and the great scholar" a copy of his *Logic* too, announcing at the same time his intention of writing a theological work.[4] In thanking him for his *Logic*, part of which he had read, the Pope took the author at his word with regard to what he had said about writing on theological matters.[5] The truth was that he was only too willing to give encouragement, without worrying overmuch whether the work done was really worthy of a Papal Brief. Thus Papal recognition was accorded more than once to the Professor of Law at Constance, Joseph Anton von Bandel, who in a weekly journal and other publications had been attacking the Protestants and Febronians in excessively caustic language.[6]

May 12 (*loc. cit.*, p. 210), Algarotti writes that illness prevented his coming to Rome.

[1] Brosch, II., 11; G. M. Monti, *Due grandi riformatori del settecento: A. Genovese e G. M. Galanti*, Florence, no date [1926].

[2] *Letter, dated Naples, 1747, July 8, Princ. 239, p. 287; Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Brief of July 14, 1747, *ibid.*, p. 289.

[4] *Letter, dated Naples, 1747, August 15, *ibid.*, p. 290; *Brief of August 29, 1747, *ibid.*, p. 291.

[5] *Brief of August 29, 1747, *ibid.*

[6] "*Si heterodoxi adversus iubilæum insurrexerunt, gratias agimus Deo quod tu invicto robore adversus eosdem pugnas. Perge igitur," runs the *Brief of May 29, 1751, Princ. 240, p. 561, *loc. cit.* Similar in tone is a second *Brief of August 28, 1756 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* also Bandel's *letters to Benedict XIV. (*ibid.*). For Bandel, see *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, II., 39; Hurter, V.[3], 42.

On the other hand, in matters of which he had first-hand knowledge Benedict XIV. showed himself possessed of accurate judgment and proportionate circumspection. When Eusebius Amort,[1] a Canon of the Lateran in the convent of Polling, who in his day was Germany's most important theological writer, asked the Pope's permission to dedicate to him his work on scholastic theology,[2] Benedict first asked to see a portion of the work. The author was reluctant to comply with this legitimate request, but Benedict persisted in it.[3] Eventually Amort submitted the first part of his book, and the Pope passed it for examination to the Secretary of the Index, the Dominican Tommaso Agostino Ricchini, to obviate any unpleasantness that might arise after publication both for the author and himself. At the same time he advised Amort to submit his works for approval before publication on future occasions.[4] On the conclusion of the affair he was able to commend the author's willingness to accept Rome's revision.[5]

The Pope proved himself to be a good judge of character in his dealings with Cardinal Angelo Maria Quirini,[6] who

[1] For Amort, see BAADER, *Das gelehrte Bayern*, I., Nürnberg, 1804, 20 *seq.*; WERNER, *Gesch. der kath. Theologie*, 97 *seqq.*, 108 *seqq.*; *Hist-polit. Blätter*, LXXVI., 107 *seqq.*; HURTER, V.[3], 226; *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 1115 *seqq.* Amort had been invited to Rome on a previous occasion (1733 ?) by Cardinal Lercari, who was afterwards secretary to Benedict XIV.; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter, loc. cit.*, 110 *seq.* Joh. Friedrich's disquisitions (*Beiträge zur Kirchengesch. des* 18 *Jahrhunderts*, compiled posthumously from Amort's writings, Munich, 1876) are arbitrary and in many places erroneous. An earlier request is mentioned in a *Brief of July 13, 1748. Princ. 241, p. 38, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Theologia eclectica moralis et scholastica.*

[3] *Briefs of January 10 and February 25, 1750, *loc. cit.*, 241.

[4] *Brief of January 2, 1751, *ibid.*

[5] *Brief of February 20, 1751, *ibid.* In consequence of this, Amort had printed on his work: "sub auspiciis S.D.N. Benedicti XIV." The Pope thanked Amort for his moral theology in a *Brief of July 2, 1752, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 185.

was ranked with Tamburini, Monti, and Passionei as one of the greatest scholars of his time and whose reputation in certain quarters was undeservedly high. The Pope, who had known him for a long time, gave him a proof of his confidence in him at the very beginning of his reign, by making him Prefect of the Congregation of the Index,[1] in the hope that so great a scholar would increase the efficiency of this authority.[2] Quirini had been Prefect of the Vatican Library since 1730, but even after this appointment he continued in his habit of spending the greater part of the year in his bishopric of Brescia. Naturally enough, the Pope, in his solicitude for the library, could not view with equanimity the absence of its chief director. Quirini refused to retire from his bishopric and offered to resign his post as Prefect of the Vaticana. Benedict would not hear of this, but as the library, which at that time had been increased by purchases, could not be left deserted for long periods at a time, he appointed Cardinal Passionei as Pro-Librarian for the months in which Quirini was away in Brescia. Although Quirini had been advised by the Pope of this justifiable step, he took it in very bad part.[3]

However, good relations were soon restored, they wrote to one another in a friendly way, and they exchanged books and gifts.[4] Benedict thought more of Quirini's suggestions concerning the Congregation of the Index than he did of the Dominican Orsi's [5] and he showed as much interest in Quirini's health as in the success of his scholarly researches. For the edition of Cardinal Pole's letters which Quirini began to publish in 1744 he allowed him to use the relative manuscripts,

[1] Coleti, p. l.; *Epist., I., Papal Secret Archives; Baudrillart, *Card. Quirini vita*, 35.

[2] L. Fresco, *Lettere inedite di Benedetto XIV. al card. A. M. Quirini*, XVIII., 37. The edition is based on the copy in the archiepiscopal library in Udine. A better text is provided by the *Cod. Ashburnh. 1341, in the Bibl. Laurenziana, Florence. *Cf.* Amelli, *Il card. A. M. Quirini*, in *Rassegna naz.*, 1911, II., 371.

[3] Fresco, *loc. cit.*, 37 *seqq.*, 40.

[4] *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.*

[5] Amelli, *loc. cit.*, 369.

knowing full well the importance of the work for the true history of England under the Tudors, which was frequently distorted by the Anglicans.[1]

Quirini's services to scholarship, which were undeniable, brought him many honours. He was even elected a honorary member of Protestant academies in Germany. Writers of the most diverse tendencies, including Voltaire and Frederick II., wrote in praise of the learned Cardinal,[2] who accepted all these tributes in a very self-complacent spirit. Benedict XIV. also gave him credit for his industry and erudition, without, however, being blind to his weaknesses. He considered it his duty as a genuine friend to warn him against intellectual pride and the concomitant disdain for others. He reminded him of the great humility of Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, the fathers of church history and dogmatics, and cited the examples of Cardinals Noris, Sfondrati, Casanata, Aguirre, and Ferrari, who had carefully guarded themselves against any inclination to conceit and contempt for others, even when they were provoked.[3] When in the summer of 1744 Quirini was attacked in an abusive article which appeared in The Hague *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Benedict XIV. took the Cardinal's part but warned him to be moderate in his defence. Such attacks, he said, should be treated with contempt; the competent authorities in Rome would take action, but there was no need to set up a special Congregation for the purpose, as Quirini was demanding.[4] The Cardinal, whose vehemence had developed in the course of many previous disputes, was so annoyed by this advice that he accused the Pope of making common cause with the Protestants. Benedict XIV. felt this

[1] FRESCO, 73 *seq.*

[2] For his election to the Berlin Academy, see HARNACK, I., 475; for his relations with Voltaire, see BAUDRILLART, 79 *seqq.* See also the *Otto lettere inedite di Federico il Grande al card. Quirini*, published by G. Livi in the *Illustraz. Ital.*, 1885, November 15.

[3] See the Pope's beautifully composed letter of March 21, 1744, in FRESCO, XVIII., 80 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 84, the letter of July 4, 1744.

[4] See the letters in FRESCO, XVIII., 87 *seqq.*

charge to be beneath his notice and put it out of his mind as soon as Quirini had made his peace with him.[1] On May 6th, 1745, he praised him unstintingly for his defence of the Holy See against the Gallicans.[2] About this time Quirini sent him the proof-sheets of his work on Paul III. Benedict made some apposite remarks about it and urged the author, for the sake of historical truth, to mention also the failings of the Farnese Pope, particularly his nepotism,[3] but the self-opinioned Cardinal gave little heed to this advice.[4] At the same time another matter threatened to disturb his good relations with the Pope. Quirini had presented his valuable library to the Vaticana, and the gift had been made known by the erection of a marble tablet and the distribution of printed Briefs of commendation issued by Clement XII. In the summer of 1745 Quirini asked the Pope to cancel this donation, so that he might give his library to his bishopric of Brescia. Benedict considered this unfitting and proposed, by way of compromise, that Quirini should compensate the Vaticana with a sum of money. Lengthy negotiations had to be gone through before this proposal was accepted.[5] Subsequently, however, the two men recommenced a lively correspondence the tone of which was never anything but friendly. The Brief concerning the transference of the library to Brescia was drawn up by the Pope entirely in accordance with Quirini's wishes.[6]

In the spring and autumn of 1748 the Cardinal, who among his many other activities busied himself with peaceful attempts to win back the Protestants,[7] made two journeys to Germany, to visit the Benedictine monasteries in Swabia and Bavaria.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 91.

[2] *Ibid.*, 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, 279 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 282.

[5] *Ibid.*, 283 *seq.*, 286, 288 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, XIX., 164. *Cf.* E. Michel, *La Biblioteca Quiriniana di Brescia*, Città di Castello, 1916.

[7] Lauchert in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden*, XXIV. (1903), 243 *seqq.*; *Illgens Zeitschrift*, VII., 166.

[8] Lauchert, *Die Reisen des Kardinals Quirini in Bayern und Schwaben*, in the *Beil. zur Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1902, Nos. 41 and 42.

The Pope, who as time went on was becoming more and more distrustful of Quirini's vanity and rashness, took care to mention in a letter to Cardinal Tencin that these excursions were not being made with his approval and recalled Quirini's failure to achieve his object of reconciling to the Church a Lutheran preacher and the ex-Jesuit writer Quadrio.[1] In 1748, when the question of reducing the number of feast-days became a controversial topic, Quirini, in opposition to his friend Muratori, stoutly asserted that no such step was necessary and went so far as to maintain that it was not a question of discipline but of dogma.[2] The Pope was highly incensed at this [3] and rendered the imprudent prelate a service in forbidding him to engage in any further polemics. Quirini obeyed but considered that his honour demanded that he should justify himself in Rome in person, and he took it sorely amiss that the Pope, diminishing the number of feast days in the Kingdom of Naples, should have decided against him.[4]

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 442. For Quadrio and Benedict XIV., *cf.*, to supplement the brief note in LANDAU, 228, the detailed information in FRESCO, *Lettere*, XIX., 170, 172, 174, 182, 184, 190 *seq.*, 193. Quirini was also completely mistaken about the Benedictine F. Rothfischer, whom he visited in Ratisbon in 1748; in 1751 Rothfischer went over to Protestantism, and Quirini wrote several letters to him in a vain endeavour to win him back; see *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXIX., 362 *seqq.*

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 453. *Cf.* also AMELLI, 375 *seqq.* For Quirini's relations with Muratori, see the letters published by Zanelli in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, II., 324 *seqq.*, and PALMIERI, *Spicil.*, I., 143 *seqq.*

[3] "*Il Papa sempre più irritato contro il Card. Quirini coll' occasione d'una Congregazione di Stato adunata per altre materie, propose le sue querele e si dolse della maniera poco rispettosa e quasi scismatica colla quale scriveva contro Sua Stà, chiedendo consiglio per obbligarlo a tacere; ma fu creduto dai cardinali più sano espediente il mostrarne disprezzo." MERENDA, **Memorie*, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.

[4] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 283 *seq.*, 286 *seq.*; HEECKEREN, I., 453, 454, 462. *Cf. Riv. Europ.*, 1877, III., 423 *seqq.*; FRESCO, *Lettere*, XIX., 179, 187 *seq.*

Quirini's exalted opinion of himself grew more and more difficult for the Pope to tolerate [1] and finally he went too far when in 1750, in the conflict between the Pope and Venice with regard to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, he took up the cudgels for the Republic and even adopted a threatening attitude towards the Pope.[2] He now fell into complete disgrace. Although his conduct in this affair, in which the Head of the Church had no other interest than the good of souls, was inexcusable, he tried to stir up the Cardinals against the Pope.[3] In these circumstances it is easy to understand how Benedict was forced to resort to sterner measures. When Quirini, who had stayed in Rome the whole of the jubilee year of 1750, sought a farewell audience of him, it was intimated to him that this would not be granted unless he undertook not to take advantage of the opportunity to argue with the Pope on the question of Aquileia. As Quirini was unwilling to agree to this the audience was not granted.[4]

How strained their relations were may be judged by Benedict's refusal to grant the Cardinal's application for permission to take up residence in Rome in the winter of 1751–52. Benedict wrote to his friend Tencin that Quirini's only object was to open an academy for satire and scandal.[5] The prelate thus reproached allowed his resentment to get the better of him to such an extent that he sent a letter to the Cardinals in which he cited the examples of Cardinals Paleotto and Sadoleto in support of his contention that it was his duty to oppose the Pope when his actions were harmful to the Church.[6] Further, in his dedication to Tencin of the fourth volume of Cardinal Pole's letters he insinuated some more charges against the Pope. Benedict, however, declared that

[1] Heeckeren, I., 518; *cf.* 471.

[2] Fresco, XVIII., 11.

[3] Heeckeren, II., 16, 19 *seqq.*, 29 *seqq.*, 38. *Cf.* also Amelli, 372, 377 *seq.*, 381. For the dispute, *cf.* the present work, vol. XXXVI., Ch. III.

[4] Heeckeren, II., 101 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 174.

[6] Fresco, XVIII., 13; XIX., 213 *seqq.*

any reproofs that came from persons of this kind left him completely unmoved.[1] Nevertheless he was just enough to express his thanks to Quirini in a Brief of August 4th, 1753, for establishing a sacerdotal college.[2] This was all the more creditable inasmuch as shortly before the Cardinal had placed him in an awkward situation.

In the early part of 1753 Quirini had written to his friends in Rome that he intended to travel to Berlin to perform there a great task in the service of the Church. The news aroused universal interest. Some conjectured that the object of the journey was the conversion of Frederick II., others that it was the conversion of Voltaire, with whom Quirini was on very good terms. The Pope's view was that the Cardinal had such a lively imagination that he always saw his hopes as already fulfilled. The worst aspect of the journey, he said, would be its utter uselessness. The world, however, would ascribe every kind of project to the appearance of a Cardinal in the Prussian capital. In Germany especially the rumour would go around that he had been entrusted with a mission concerning the election of the Roman king. "Meanwhile," he concluded, "We shall be subjected to every kind of attack by Germany."[3] In this delicate situation the Pope consulted a Congregation of Cardinals as to what was to be done. The Cardinals addressed a letter to Quirini in which they advised him not to make the journey. Although it was couched in the most laudatory terms it was far from being sufficiently complimentary to satisfy the recipient.[4] In the end the journey was never made, as it was also opposed by the Government of Venice.[5] Quirini also intervened in a very clumsy manner in the negotiations concerned with the beatification of Cardinal Bellarmine,[6] and on the publication of the Pope's new and wise ordinance

[1] HEECKEREN, II., 221 ; *cf.* 356.
[2] FRESCO, XVIII., 8.
[3] HEECKEREN, II., 238.
[4] *Ibid.*, 239 *seqq.*, 251 *seqq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 247, 252, 256.
[6] *Ibid.*, 295.

regarding the Index he tried to secure for himself the honour of having been its author, although his share in it was inconsiderable.[1]

When Quirini died, in 1755, not a word in his disfavour was heard to come from the Pope's lips. On the contrary, he acknowledged his efficiency as a bishop and his generosity to the poor.[2] His services to learning were possibly underestimated by Benedict XIV., but his judgment of the Cardinal's character was shown to be correct: when the Venetian Government took possession of Quirini's papers there was found among them his correspondence with an unnamed person in Rome, which was full of spite and calculated to provoke nothing but discord.[3] The general opinion in Rome was that Quirini had been a very learned man who had enjoyed a great reputation but that in all his undertakings he had revealed an inordinate desire for fame.[4]

Quirini's successor as Prefect of the Vatican Library was the well-known bibliophile, Cardinal Passionei. The appointment was made by Benedict XIV.[5] although he was well aware that the Cardinal was not without his weaknesses, especially his vanity and his childish animosity towards the Jesuits. The Pope, however, merely smiled at his follies, as at his predecessor's,[6] and with justice, seeing that as a scholar

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 392. In the new cathedral at Brescia an inscription set up by the Septemviri in 1737 praises Quirini in these terms: "quod praeclaro huic templo perficiendo ab anno MDCV aedificari coepto curam omnem impendens proprio aere large collato illud ara maxima et splendidis aliis ornamentis munificentissime decoraverit."

[3] HEECKEREN, II., 428.

[4] "*Era huomo dotto e di molta reputazione, ma vaniglorioso in ogni sua cosa" (MERENDA, *Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome). Quirini's autobiography: Brescia, 1749, continued by Sanvitale, *ibid.*, 1761.

[5] Brief of February 22, 1755, in ASSEMANI, *Cat. Bibl. Vat.*, I. (1756), xxiv.

[6] More authentic than the story about the Pope having a work

he towered above them both, but, unlike them, was distinguished for his modesty. In a letter to Quirini of April 3rd, 1749, he mentioned that of all the books that had been dedicated to him he had never read one of their dedications to the end, as he had always passed over the pages that he saw were devoted to his praise.[1]

Passionei's previous appointment in 1741 [2] as Pro-Librarian of the Vaticana was due in some measure to the project then being considered of opening a museum of Christian antiquities in connexion with the library, as had already been proposed to Clement XI. by Marcantonio Boldetti and Francesco Bianchini.[3] The idea had engaged the attention of Benedict XIV. even before he had been raised to the see of Peter.[4] He was now able to acquire the collection of Cardinal Gaspare Carpegna, a large part of which consisted of objects taken from the Catacombs.[5] The gilded glasses and imperial coins in this collection had been discussed in separate publications by the Florentine senator Filippo Buonaroti.[6] Further acquisitions were the leaden seals formerly belonging to the antiquary Francesco Ficoroni and the antiquities collected with great difficulty and at much expense by Francesco Vettori and generously presented by him. Included in this latter collection were no less than 6,500 gems. A numismatic cabinet was also formed ; to supplement the imperial coins the Albani collection of coins, with an atlas in copper, was

of the Jesuit Busenbaum's put on Passionei's desk, so as to be able to laugh at his annoyance (see Justi, II., 2, 97), are the remarks he passed about him in his letters to Tencin (Heeckeren, II., 250, 288, 295). *Cf.* also Kraus, *Briefe*, 28.

[1] Fresco, *Lettere*, XIX., 197.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 212.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 509 *seq.*

[4] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 282.

[5] *Cf.* *Cod. Vat. 9153/54, Vatican Library ; *Docum. per la storia dei Musei d'Italia*, II., Roma, 1879, 182 *seqq.* ; Corsini, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 110 ; Cerroti, *Lettere*, 47 ; Fresco, *Lettere*, XVIII., 39.

[6] Fil. Buonaroti, *Osservaz. sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi,*

bought for 12,000 *scudi*, and to these were added the Papal coins collected by Clement XII.[1]

The Carpegna and Vettori collections formed the nucleus of the museum, which was established at the instigation of Scipione Maffei, who dedicated to the Pope his description of the museum of Verona. Benedict XIV. took up the proposal with enthusiasm, a collection of this nature seeming to him to be truly worthy of the Holy See and the city of Rome.[2] As Maffei in particular had pointed out, a Christian museum would not only be of assistance to archæology but it would demonstrate the antiquity of Catholic dogma and the discipline of the Church to those who denied them.[3] Further, the members of the academies of church history and liturgy which the Pope had founded would find here excellent material for their learned productions.[4] The Pope was strengthened in his purpose by the archæologist Bottari, who in 1750 observed in the dedication of his work on the paintings in the Catacombs that all who were interested in the antiquities of Christianity looked to Benedict to open a museum of this kind.[5] Valuable

Roma, 1698; *Osservaz. sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornati di figure trovati nei cimiteri di Roma*, Firenze, 1716.

[1] Fresco, *Lettere*, XVIII., 39; *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 283; Justi, II., 287; Carini, 110.

[2] See the *Brief to Scip. Maffei of September 13, 1749, in which the Pope thanks him for the dedication of the *Museum Veron.* and "per haver proposta l'idea di fare un Museo cristiano alla quale certo non lascieremo d'andar pensando riconoscendola per un' opera propria d'un Papa e di Roma." Princ. 240, p. 197, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] "Neque de recreandis solummodo primum animis ac de sacrae eruditionis cultoribus iuvandis agitur. Dogmata ipsa catholica incorruptamque disciplinam mirum est, quantum contra veteres recentesque oppugnatores monumenta antiqua . . . confirment, corroborent, patefaciant."

[4] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 282.

[5] "Quicumque bonas litteras et antiqua, quae ad nostrae religionis cultum ritusque pertinent, impense amant, a te hoc [Museum] expectant." Dedication of *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum eccl.*, Romae, 1750.

finds made in the Catacombs in 1749, 1751, and 1752 were now earmarked for this collection; its location, however, remained uncertain for some time yet, the two possible sites being the Capitol and the Vatican.[1] It was not until the autumn of 1755 that the decision was made to establish it in connexion with the Vatican Library.[2]

In the preface to the third volume of his *Roma Sottoterranea*, which appeared in 1754, Bottari lamented the fact that there were so many Christian monuments distributed in different places and he eagerly welcomed the new undertaking.[3] To the Oratorian Giuseppe Bianchini the Pope entrusted the task of collecting material for the Christian Museum. This scholar proposed that the passage leading to the library should be used for the housing of the inscriptions. The science of keeping a museum being still in its infancy, no effort was made when the various inscriptions were gathered together from different churches into one collection, to ascertain the places where they had originally been discovered. Another mistake that was made was to saw off the sculptures from the Christian sarcophagi which had been brought together from private palaces

[1] *Avvisi of January 16, 1751 ("una rarissima testa di vetro fuso", much admired by the Pope, is deposited in the "Museo sagro"), February 26, 1752 (expansion of the "Museo sagro"), May 6, 1752 ("urna sagra" from the catacombs of S. Sebastiano with a representation of the miracle of the loaves and five fishes, reserved by the Pope for the "Museo sagro"), Cod. ital. 199, State Library, Munich. MERENDA's report for May 10, 1749, concerning the discoveries in the catacomb of Priscilla (**Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome): "Veramente venerabili sono le s. catacombe ultimamente scoperte fuori porta Salara, mentre si è ritrovata la piccola chiesa di quelli antichi cristiani con tre ordini di sepolcri di s. martiri, e molto s'internano continuandosi però il cavo. Si è rinvenuto il corpo di s. Priscilla coll' ampolla del sangue del suo martirio in una urna di superbo marmo, dal che si è rinvenuto essere quelle le catacombe Priscilliane, che non eransi mai scoperte, e la suddetta urna S. S. ha destinato mandarla nella sala del Campidoglio per la sua rarità."

[2] *Avviso of October 18, 1755, *loc. cit.*

[3] DE ROSSI in *Triplice Omaggio a Pio IX.*, Roma, 1877, 93.

and from public localities, so as to be able to hang them on the walls of the museum. Splendid cases were made at the Pope's order for the other Christian antiquities. Here were placed the glasses, paintings, ivory carvings, bronze and clay lamps, gems, jugs, works in gold and silver, leaden seals, and the Papal coins from Adrian I. to Benedict XIV. which had been collected by Saverio Scilla and had been bought with money from Benedict's privy purse.[1] Pagan antiquities also were admitted. All scholars were to have the free use of the museum, and their studies were to be facilitated by a detailed inventory.[2]

The inscription placed above the entrance in 1756 relates that the museum was founded to heighten the splendour of Rome and to confirm the truth of the Catholic religion.[3] Francesco Vettori was appointed director, with a monthly salary of 100 *scudi*. On his death the Prefect of the Library was to assume charge of the collection for the time being.[4]

Benedict XIV. had so much at heart the interests of the library at the Vatican that he transferred to it his rarest

[1] *Ibid.*, 94, and in *Bollett. di archeol. crist.*, 1876, 137 *seqq.* *Cf.* GALLETTI, *Passionei*, 227 *seqq.*; RENAZZI, IV., 281 *seq.*; KRAUS, *Roma Sottoterranea*, 15; FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 297. In the courtyard of the Palazzo Rondinini on the Corso is the following inscription: "Sarcophagum | quo facta quædam ex veteri testamento | repræsentantur | Iosephi marchionis Rondanini donum | Benedictus XIV. | in sacro Vatic. Museo collocavit. | 1747. In FORCELLA, XI., 354, the inscription in S. Agnese recording the transference thence in 1757 of a sarcophagus to the Museo Cristiano. In 1854 almost all the sarcophagus sculptures were taken to the Museo Lateranense Cristiano, which was then in course of erection; see FICKER, *Die altchristl. Bildwerke im Christl. Museum des Lateran*, Leipzig, 1890; MARUCCHI'S *Catalogo*, Roma, 1898.

[2] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 316.

[3] BARBIER DE MONTAULT, *Œuvres*, II., 187. *Ibid.* for Giov. Angeloni's frescoes (*cf.* THIEME, I., 512) depicting Benedict XIV.'s buildings, in the last room of the library wing.

[4] *Acta Benedicti XIV.*, II., 282 *seqq.*, 312.

printed works and many Oriental, Greek, and Latin manuscripts.[1]

Of immeasurably greater value were the two famous private collections acquired by the Vaticana during Benedict's pontificate. The Marchese Antonio Gregorio Capponi, who died in 1746, left his antiquities to the Museo Kircheriano, and his choice library to the Vaticana, which was thus increased by numerous incunabula, other rare prints, 285 MSS., and the famous Ruthenian calendar.[2] On the death of the last of the Ottoboni in 1748 the library founded by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni was threatened with dispersal, but the whole collection was bought by Benedict XIV. Part of the purchase money came from his private resources, the remainder from the Banco di S. Spirito, which was to be paid back from the revenue of the Vaticana.[3]

The praise which even his contemporaries bestowed upon Benedict XIV. for acquiring the Ottoboni library was fully deserved. The nucleus of the collection was the library of the learned Pope Marcellus II., who bequeathed it to Sirleto. Increased by him, it was bought by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, who also added to it. On his death it passed into the hands of Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps. Finally the greater part of it was combined with his own manuscripts by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, who, on becoming Pope Alexander VIII., added to it 100 codices forming part of the bequest of Queen Christina of Sweden. In this way the Ottoboniana possessed more Greek, Latin, and Hebrew manuscripts than any other private collection in Rome ; they numbered in all 3,300.[4]

[1] "Alla Biblioteca Vaticana sempre abbiamo consegnate le cose più rare che ci sono state regalate ancorchè si avessero potuto conservare nella nostra domestica biblioteca donata per uso pubblico all'Istituto di Bologna." *Ibid.*, 311. *Cf.* Assemani's catalogue of the Vaticana, I., xxiv.

[2] *Catalogo della libreria Capponi*, Roma, 1747 ; G. Salvo Cozzo, *I codici Capponiani d. Bibl. Vatic.*, Roma, 1897.

[3] Carini, 112 *seqq.* *Cf.* Kraus, *Briefe*, 57.

[4] Blume, III., 67 *seqq.* The work written for Benedict XIV. by Costantino Ruggieri, the last librarian of the Ottoboniana, is

Various other manuscripts were presented to the Vaticana by Benedict XIV., notably a Pentateuch in Persian and a commentary on Dante. Other gifts were the drawings by Pier Leone Ghezzi, the manuscripts on the religion and history of the Chinese which had been left to the Pope by the missionary Fouchet, and a volume of the records of the Council of Constance which had been given him by Abbot Norbert of Wilten.[1]

Benedict, who also devoted his attention to the Roman archives,[2] reached the summit of his efforts on behalf of learning when he took in hand the vast undertaking (which

mentioned here as being to hand in manuscript form, but it has not been used ; it was published by A. Mai in *Mem. stor. degli archivi della S. Sede e della Bibl. Ottoboniana*, Roma, 1825, 40 *seqq.* *Cf. Codices manuscripti græci Ottob. Vatic. Bibl.*, Romæ, 1893, xv. *seqq.*, xxv. *seqq.*, xl. *seqq.*, which contains a new and better reproduction of Ruggieri's treatise. See also Fresco, *Lettere*, XVIII., 294, 297. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXII., 553, 554.

[1] Carini, 113 *seqq.* The *Brief of thanks to the Abbot Norbert, dated 1754, IV. Cal. Mai., in Princ., 241. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] The employment of G. Garampi in 1749 was of epoch-making importance for the Papal Secret Archives. Appointed Prefect on August 1, 1751, on the death of Ronconi, he set about the task of cataloguing the archives with great energy ; see Dengel, *Garampis Tätigkeit*, 3 *seqq.* Another acquisition for the Holy See made by Benedict XIV. was the papers of Clement XI., which had remained in the hands of the Albani (see Heeckeren, II., 155). He also saw to the safekeeping of the records in the Castel S. Angelo ; see Rodocanachi, *St-Ange*, 191, 232 *seq.* *Cf.* Kraus, *Briefe*, 57 *seqq.* For the institution of the Archivio del Tribunale delle Strade in 1743, see *Gli Arch. ital., Rivista*, VI. (1919), 163 *seqq.* *Cf.* Forcella, I., 82. Other acquisitions for the Papal Secret Archives were 307 MSS., mostly in the Fondo Pio (see *Catalogo dei libri della Biblioteca di casa Pio, fatti acquistare dall' Em. Valenti per l'archivio nell' anno 1753, in Archivietto, 1, fo. 148, *ibid.*), and, for 25 scudi, the MS. of Bernardo of Naples (for whom see Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, II.², 1, 267, n. 6), Reg. Vatic., 29A, through a donation of Benedict XIV.'s, " qui in colligendis apost. sedis monumentis nulli parcit sumtui, nulli labori, nullique diligentiæ."

was not resumed until the time of Leo XIII.) of bringing out a detailed and complete catalogue of all the manuscripts in the Vatican Library.

This colossal work, which was to make accessible to every scholar the treasures of the finest collection of manuscripts in the world, was to be contained in twenty folio volumes: six for the Oriental, four for the Greek, and ten for the Latin, Italian, and other European manuscripts. A beginning was made with the Oriental treasures by Stephan Evodius and Joseph Simon Assemani, who in 1756 were able to present the Pope with the first folio volume, which dealt with the Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts.[1] Two more volumes, dealing with the Syrian manuscripts, followed in 1758 and 1759.

In the preface to the first volume, which is dedicated to Benedict XIV., the editors enumerate his services to learning: his "own golden works", the restoration of the frescoes in the Salone Sistino and the decoration of the cases there with paintings, the important increases made to the manuscripts, especially through the purchase of the Ottoboniana, and the collections of antiquities that had been joined to the library, notably the Christian Museum, which might well be called the Lambertinian. Since the days of Sixtus IV. and V. no other Pope had done so much for the Vatican Library—a tribute well deserved by the man who was called by Montesquieu the "scholars' Pope".[2]

[1] *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae codicum mss. Catalogus in tres partes distributus, in quarum prima orientales, in altera graeci, in tertia latini italici aliorumque europaeorum idiomatum codices:* STEPHANUS EVODIUS ASSEMANUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS APAMENSIS, ET IOSEPH SIMONIUS ASSEMANUS EIUSDEM BIBLIOTHECAE PRAEFECTUS . . . *illustrarunt.* Partis Primae Tomus primus, complectens codices ebraicos et samaritanos, Romae MDCCLVI. Ex typographia linguarum orientalium Angeli Rotilii, in aedibus Maximorum. For the fate of the first four volumes, which were printed down to 1768, and almost the whole edition of which was destroyed in a fire, see BLUME, III., 98 *seq.* After this the printing was suspended.

[2] *Lettres familières du Président de Montesquieu, Baron de Brède, à divers amis d'Italie* (no place of publication), 1767, 214.

CHAPTER IV.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE AND HOLLAND.

(1)

Religious conditions in France were at first scarcely affected by Benedict XIV.'s accession to the throne. In acknowledging the congratulations of the French bishops he took the opportunity of expressing his approval of the attitude they had adopted hitherto towards Jansenism. Thus he commended the action taken by Colbert's successor to the See of Montpellier, Berger de Charancy, who had demanded the subscription to Alexander VII.'s formulary. This, he said, would pave the way for the acceptance of the "most salutary" constitution, *Unigenitus*, which was extremely dear to the heart of the new Pope, "on personal as well as other grounds."[1] Bishops La Fare of Laon, Lafitau of Sisteron, and Belsunce of Marseilles were commended[2] for the zealous way in which they had upheld the Bull in the face of the opposition of certain Dominicans in Marseilles and Sisteron. Saint-Albin of Cambrai and Belsunce were thanked for their writings against the Jansenists,[3] and La Rochefoucauld of Bourges and Fitzjames of Soissons were encouraged to take action against error.[4] The Jansenists, therefore, had no cause to rejoice at Lambertini's election; though the admonition he gave to Charancy,

[1] "Sternet viam ad publice proponendam saluberrimam Constitutionem Unigenitus, nobis unice privato etiam sensu commendatissimam." Document of October 14, 1740, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 28; *cf.* 29, 39.

[2] On February 7, September 18, and December 18, 1741, *ibid.*, 40, 84, 86.

[3] On December 9, 1741, and January 17, 1743, *ibid.*, 86, 141.

[4] On December 15 and 20, 1740, *ibid.*, 29, 30.

not to take any steps that might cause a stir without first consulting Fleury,[1] might possibly have been regarded as a preliminary symptom of the cautious attitude adopted subsequently by the new Pope. On another occasion too he let it be understood [2] that the Minister's wary method of procedure met with his approval, and he was particularly pleased [3] that on Fleury's instigation the king was demanding that the Sorbonne should submit to the Bull.[4] There were in fact a considerable number of the doctors, about 200 in all, who were now for the first time announcing their submission.

An embarrassing situation arose immediately on the occasion of the jubilee indulgence [5] which it was the custom to grant at the beginning of every new pontificate. Should it be said in the Bull proclaiming the indulgence that the appellants were excluded from the graces of the Holy Year ? If this were done the French parliaments would seize the opportunity to ban the Bull. Ought nothing at all to be said about the appellants ? The Jansenists would undoubtedly make use of this silence to represent the Pope as being in favour of them. Cardinal Fleury was strongly against anything that might lead to trouble,[6] it having been found possible to reduce the number of the innovators by taking action against avowed Jansenists, by keeping agitators and suspects out of public appointments, and by reserving episcopal sees and prebends for those who could be trusted. As a result of this policy, he maintained, parliamentary opposition was becoming less lively and some of the worst infected religious congregations were showing signs of repentance. But let them be under no delusion : the party was still in existence and its adherents, now dispersed, would reunite on the slightest excuse. The first principle of this sect was its independence of any authority, whether

[1] *Ibid.*, 28.
[2] On January 7, 1741, *ibid.*, 35.
[3] On November 26, 1741, *ibid.*, 85.
[4] Document of September 6, 1741, in FERET, VI., 106.
[5] HEECKEREN, I., xxii. *seq.*
[6] To Tencin on October 13, 1740, *ibid.*

spiritual or temporal; the Jansenists were no less enemies of the State than of the Holy See.[1] Thus the wary Minister. On the other hand, the Inquisition and the supporters of the Bull in France were pressing for a strongly worded pronouncement against the innovators.[2]

Benedict XIV. tried to escape from the dilemma by using only general terms in his jubilee Bull [3] in excluding from the graces of the jubilee year all who had incurred ecclesiastical censure. In an accompanying Brief addressed to Louis XV. the appellants were expressly included in their number, but it was left to the king to publish this Brief or not, as he thought fit.[4] Even so the jubilee was not accepted in France.[5]

In the midst of the turmoil caused by the war of the Austrian succession, by which the States of the Church also were sorely affected, Benedict XIV. proclaimed another jubilee for Italy and the surrounding islands.[6] Louis XV. desired it to be extended to France, and the difficulties of 1740 were renewed.

[1] "Le fond de cette secte est l'indépendance de toute autorité spirituelle ou temporelle et ils ne sont pas moins ennemis de l'État que du Saint-Siège" (*ibid.*, xxiii.). Of the appellants in particular Massillon draws a picture that is hardly flattering: "Je connais le caractère des appellants, et c'est parce que je les connais que dans aucun temps il ne m'a été possible de les gouter: orgueil, amour de la singularité, mépris pour tout ce qui ne pense pas comme eux, quelque rang qu'on puisse tenir dans l'Église, partis extrêmes sur tout, hardiesse à décider et à revenir sur ce qu'il y a mieux établi, nulle règle, nul amour de la paix, une intrigue et une cabale éternelle et puérile; les ignorants, les femmes, les dévotes, les mondaines, tout leur est bon. Si vous les connaissez, les voilà. Je les ai toujours vus tels à mes propres yeux pendant près de 30 ans que j'ai été à Paris." To Tourouvre on February 28, 1728, in SICARD, *L'ancien clergé de France*, I., 471.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., xxiii.

[3] Of November 11, 1740, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 1 *seq.*

[4] HEECKEREN, I., xxiv.

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 2, 1745, *ibid.*, 170; *cf.* 31, 159.

[6] On November 20, 1744, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 254.

The Pope desired the proclamation of the jubilee year because it contained the last remaining evidence that France was in communion with the Holy See.[1] However, he handed the matter over to the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, Tencin, who was to come to an agreement with the nuncio, and said that he was ready expressly to exclude the Jansenists in the Bull or in the accompanying Brief, or to omit such a clause, just as the king wished.[2] At this point, to make things awkward for Tencin, Canillac, the French ambassador to Rome, spread the rumour that the Pope had already published a jubilee Brief without the clause against the Jansenists. On being informed of this by Fleury's successor, Boyer, Benedict replied[3] that the appellants were already excluded from the jubilee year without the need for a separate declaration and that therefore Boyer could follow Tencin's advice as to what he was to do in any particular case. The jubilee Brief for France[4] was the same as that for Italy, except that it was made a condition for obtaining the jubilee indulgence that prayers should be said for the king, who had just recovered from an illness. In an accompanying letter to the king[5] the Pope explained why the appellants had not been excluded expressly but only indirectly. On this occasion, probably out of consideration for the king, for whose health prayers were being offered, the parliament placed no difficulties in the way.

[1] " *È stata una politica ridicola quella del sig^r. d'Argenson. Sarà però bene dissimulare sino a che sia una volta pubblicato il Giubileo, troppo importando, che non se ne perdesse costà affatto la memoria, come che è il solo segno che vi resta della communione colla Santa Sede." The Secretary of State to the nuncio Durini on June 9, 1745, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 162, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 175.

[3] On February 5, 1745, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 253. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 175, 177, 198.

[4] Of February 18, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 287.

[5] Of February 20, 1745, *ibid.*, 287. *Cf.* P. RICHARD in *Revue des quest. hist.*, XCII. (1912), 373 *seq.*

Benedict wrote not only to individual French bishops on the question of the Jansenists but also to them all collectively.[1] On the latter occasion he confirmed their authority to proceed against anyone, even members of religious Orders, who refused to submit to the Bull *Unigenitus* or who defended the tenets put forward by Bajus, Jansen, and Quesnel, which had been condemned by the Apostolic See. The Brief was written at the request of many of the Bishops themselves, who complained that the audacity of the innovators was growing from day to day.

Even before this admonition the aged Fleury had done his best towards the end of his life to deprive the innovators of their mainstay in the religious Congregations. In so doing, however, he pursued his usual policy of avoiding anything that might cause unrest, contenting himself with banishing particularly noisy exponents of Jansenistic opinions, with closing certain theological seminaries, and with preventing the Quesnelists from filling important posts.[2] The Pope in his turn took care not to intervene with general measures which were certain to have met with parliamentary opposition. The new Bishop of Montpellier, for example, had been forced to withhold the Sacraments from some Jansenistic nuns and wanted the Pope to approve his action in writing. Benedict assured the Bishop of his full approval, but so as not to expose himself to the accusation of causing unrest in France, he referred him to Fleury and sent the latter a letter of commendation for the Bishop.[3] A former vicar of Saint-Médard in Paris, who had played a conspicuous part in the alleged miracles of the deacon Pâris, was continuing his malpractices as an official of the Order of Malta in the archbishopric of Rheims, and the Vicar General, for fear of Parliament, did not dare to withdraw his licence to say Mass. The nuncio appealed to Rome, but Benedict contented himself with writing for assistance to the Grand Master of the Order,[4]

[1] On August 4, 1741, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 83 *seq.*

[2] HARDY, 325.

[3] Of May 3, 1742, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 123.

[4] On January 7, 1746, *ibid.*, 286.

who some time before had instructed the superiors of the French province [1] not to allow any cleric who was an appellant to serve in the churches of the Order or to share in its revenue.

Fleury, who died a nonagenarian, was succeeded by the former Bishop of Mirepoix, Jean François Boyer, of the Order of Theatines, who in his administration of ecclesiastical affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. In 1746 he succeeded in wresting from the Jansenists one of their chief strongholds, the Congregation of the Oratorians. The appellants had been excluded from the general assemblies of the Congregation since 1723, against which measure, needless to say, they had never failed to protest.[2] The Superior General, De la Tour, although he himself had once been an appellant, did his utmost to secure the acceptance of the constitution, but contented himself for the time being with demanding the signature of the formulary. Under the generalship of De la Valette, De la Tour's successor, it was decreed by royal command that no one should attend the general assembly of 1745 who had not accepted the constitution *Unigenitus*. The assembly had to be postponed till the following year and even then it met under serious difficulties. Protests were sent by several of the Order's establishments ; many of the houses of the Congregation failed to elect a delegate ; and others had to be excluded at the assembly itself. The remaining eighteen members accepted the formulary, with the distinction between right and fact, and the Bull as a law of the Church and the State, but not as a rule of Faith. On the conclusion of the assembly very many of the Oratorians protested.[3] It was hardly surprising that Benedict XIV. gave voice to his displeasure [4] when he read the minutes, and a letter from the

[1] On March 7, 1742, *ibid.*, 107.

[2] [NIVELLE] II., 2, 618–623.

[3] *Ibid.*, 623–630.

[4] To the Superior General on December 28, 1746, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 395 *seq.* ; to Tencin on December 14, 1746, HEECKEREN, I., 288. On September 1, 1745, Benedict had written to Tencin of the necessity of having the general assembly superintended by a commissary. *Ibid.*, 208.

Superior General afforded but little satisfaction. Nevertheless, the Oratory as such had submitted, and the assemblies of 1749 and 1752 were further manifestations of loyalty to the Church.[1]

The Congregation of Doctrinarians, founded by César de Bus,[2] had decided on obedience some time before. One of their three provinces, that of Avignon, was loyally inclined, and it was from here that attempts were made to induce the other two provinces, Paris and Toulouse, to accept the Bull. This object was attained at the general assembly at Beaucaire in 1744, by the same means as had been used in the case of the Oratorians, though naturally here too vigorous protests were made by those who were inclined towards Jansenism. Acceptance of the Bull was made a condition for attendance at the meetings of the Order, for electing a Superior, for taking vows, and for receiving holy orders. These stipulations were renewed by the next general assembly, of 1749.[3]

In the same way the acceptance of the constitution was obtained in the French Congregation of Canons Regular known as the Genevievans,[4] in 1745, 1748, 1751, and 1753. Everywhere the general assemblies were held in the presence of royal commissioners and on instructions given by Boyer.

Benedict XIV. was very chary of intervening personally in the French situation, which may have been the reason why he was represented by the Jansenists as an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus*. A Papal letter of 1749 in particular was interpreted in this sense. Two works by a well-known Augustinian scholar, Cardinal Noris, had been put on the list of forbidden books, or rather books which needed correction, by the Spanish Inquisition, after the author's death in 1704. Noris's works having been examined and passed in Rome both before and after they had been printed, before his nomination as Cardinal, and again afterwards, the Pope wrote a confidential

[1] [Nivelle], II., 2, 630–33.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vols. XXIII, 185, XXIV., 165.

[3] [Nivelle], II., 2, 633–642.

[4] *Ibid.*, 644–652.

letter to the Grand Inquisitor,[1] pointing out that even if the forbidden books did bear traces of Bajanism and Jansenism, it would be inexpedient to condemn them after so long an interval, if only on account of the commotion that would be bound to arise among the Augustinian and other scholars. On these grounds the Holy See had waived its right to censorship in many previous instances, the examples quoted by Benedict being Tillemont, the Bollandists, Bossuet, and Muratori, who was still living. Through a breach of confidence on the part of the Procurator General of the Augustinians the letter became public knowledge, and the Pope was forced not only to propitiate Muratori,[2] but to defend himself against the French Jansenists,[3] who drew the inference from his letter that he had revoked the Bull *Unigenitus*. This was pure imagination, said the Pope; he had merely instructed the Grand Inquisitor not to encroach on the liberty of the Catholic schools, the Thomists, the Augustinians, and the Jesuits. The Dutch Jansenists, he said, would have declared their readiness to submit, if only they had not to accept the Bull publicly; but he had demanded their acceptance of it in plain terms, without conditions. So much for his so-called revocation of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[4]

Like Cardinal Noris in Spain, another Augustinian, Lorenzo Berti, became the object of violent attacks in France. In a vast synthesis he had composed of the whole of theological knowledge he propounded a new way of explaining the efficacy of grace. According to him, grace consisted in a supernatural sweetness, which, when it attracted the will so strongly as to overcome the contrary attraction of sin was efficacious

[1] On July 31, 1748, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 554 *seq.*; Reusch, II., 832 (*cf.* 671 *seqq.*). *Cf.* above, p. 198.

[2] On September 25, 1748, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 396; also the Bollandists (letter of April 3, 1749, in Fleury, LXXIX., 703 *seq.*).

[3] To Tencin, May 14, 1749, Heeckeren, I., 485.

[4] "Voilà comment Nous avons révoqué la bulle Unigenitus." *Ibid.*, 486.

grace; when it failed to do so it was only sufficient grace.[1] Needless to say, this solution of the problem had points in common with Jansenism. Consequently, Ize de Saléon, Bishop of Rodez and, from 1746 onwards, Archbishop of Vienne, petitioned the Pope to take action against the book. This petition was repeated by Archbishop Languet of Sens,[2] who stressed the fact that the Pope's silence was being represented by the Jansenists as approval of the Jansenistic doctrine. Archbishops Tencin of Lyons and De la Rochefoucauld of Bourges also held unfavourable opinions of Berti's book.[3] The assembly of the French clergy only refrained from condemning it because the case was pending in Rome.[4] In this matter, as in so many others, Benedict XIV. took a moderate course. Wishing to form his own opinion on the subject,[5] he gave Berti time to defend himself, for, as he maintained, even when it was only a book that was in question and not also its author, it was difficult not to give the author a hearing.[6] Finally he replied to the Archbishop of Vienne [7] that nothing had been found in Berti's work which was against the decisions of the Church. An over-hasty judgement, he added in his reply to Languet,[8] might start a fire that would spread to the ends of the earth. It was not just to condemn

[1] *Cf.* for instance, CHR. PESCH, *Praelectiones dogm.*, V.[3], Freiburg, 1908, prop. 21, p. 156.

[2] *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to Tencin on May 5, 1745, HEECKEREN, I., 197; to Saléon on January 22, 1749, and December 30, 1750, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 33, 74; to Languet on July 17, 1750, and May 12, 1751, *ibid.*, 397, 412. Languet's letter of complaint (not Saléon's, as stated by REUSCH, II., 838) in FLEURY, LXXX., 667–687.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 281, 313.

[4] *Ibid.*, 316.

[5] To Tencin on October 6, 1745, *ibid.*, 216.

[6] November 16, 1746, *ibid.*, 281. *Cf.* the letter to Tencin of June 10, 1749, in *Études*, CXXXII. (1912), 342 *seq.* (not included by Heeckeren).

[7] On December 30, 1750, *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 74.

[8] On July 15, 1750, *ibid.*, 397.

everything that had been put to a wrong use by sectarians, especially the Jansenists. Some harsh expressions that had been used by Berti and his fellow-Augustinian Bellelli, whose writings had also been attacked, had been satisfactorily explained by them in other passages.[1] After both parties in the dispute had written against each other,[2] Berti and Bellelli were left in peace, but a list of Jansenistic works compiled by the Jesuit De Colonia was banned in Rome, one reason being that it had included works by Noris, and the same fate befell the new and enlarged edition of Patouillet's list, which omitted Noris but included Berti and Bellelli.[3]

Another matter brought the Pope into direct conflict with the Paris parliament. A Dominican of the name of Viou, who

[1] May 12, 1751, *ibid.*, 412.

[2] Vols. 5–7 of Berti's *Theologia*, published at Bassano in 1776, are full of these writings (*Baianismus redivivus* and *Iansenismus redivivus*, by Saléon, also Languet's pastoral letter). *Cf.* HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV.[3] (1910), 1371, V.[3] (1911), 1 *seqq.*; REUSCH, II., 837 *seq.* The *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* of 1751 devoted an appendix of 22 pages to Berti's case. DUDON in *Recherches de science rel.*, IX., 247.

[3] REUSCH, II., 827 *seqq.* The Pope called the book an "ouvrage hardi qui donne le brevet de janséniste à tant d'hommes élevés par leur dignité, leur piété et leur savoir" (To Tencin on January 22, 1750; in HEECKEREN, II., 5). *Ibid.*, I., 209, Benedict XIV. applied the epithet "livre vraiment mauvais" to Bellelli's book discussed by [PATOUILLET] in II., 107 *seqq.* The Jansenists exulted at the prohibition, although, as the Pope ordered to be written to the French nuncio: "*è un trionfo ben ridicolo quello che fanno i Giansenisti del decreto proibitivo della Biblioteca Giansenista, mentre non so vedere cosa possino dedurne a loro favore. La Congregazione non deve soffrire che un particolare di sua propria autorità s'arroghi il diritto di dichiarare Giansenisti o sospetti almeno di Giansenismo una quantità di scrittori cattolici e di comprendervi ancora un Cardinale tanto dotto e tanto benemerito della S. Sede. Questa temerità doveva reprimersi." The Secretary of State to the nuncio Durini on December 17, 1749, Nunziat. di Francia, 442 *seq.*, fo. 328v, Papal Secret Archives.

had become a confirmed Jansenist, on being expelled from his Order went to Paris and appealed to the parliament, which ruled that he was to stay in his monastery and wear the habit of his Order.[1] If the king did not come to his aid in this affair, wrote the Pope, he would not know what to do in future. If he took no action against the Jansenists, he was accused of favouring them, and if he did proceed against them out of a sense of duty he had his arms and legs cut off.[2] The king sided with the Pope against Viou, as did also the judgement given by twelve advocates.[3]

The question which had been the subject of Antoine Arnauld's first publication, when Jansenism was only just beginning, still seemed to be a burning one in Benedict XIV.'s time. In 1745 a Jesuit, Jean Pichon, after thirty years of missionary work among the people, considered it his duty to resort to the pen to advocate frequent, even daily, Communion [4]—a daring undertaking at a time when the deacon Pâris was being praised for abstaining from Easter Communion, especially as Pichon represented frequent Communion as nothing less than a duty.[5] His book caused a great sensation. Although it had been published with the approval of five bishops, twenty of their colleagues declared themselves to be against Pichon,[6] several of them being firm opponents of the Jansenists, such as Languet of Sens, Brancas of Aix, Beaumont of Paris, and Tencin of Lyons. Pichon found himself compelled to sign a recantation, which was published by the Archbishop of Paris in a pastoral letter. This rendered

[1] Heeckeren, I., 41, 47, 77.

[2] To Tencin, October 24, 1744, *ibid.*, 159.

[3] To the same, January 9, 1745, *ibid.*, 171.

[4] *Cf.* P. Dudon in *Recherches de science religieuse*, VI. (1916), 513 *seqq.*, VII. (1917), 110 *seqq.*, 507 *seqq.*, VIII. (1918), 102 *seqq.*, 256 *seqq.*, IX. (1919), 243 *seqq.*, 373 *seqq.* In a private letter to Rome a Jesuit in Paris surmised that Pichon's object was "denuo suscitare extinctum prope fidelium in Gallia fervorem circa frequentem Eucharistiæ et Poenitentiæ usum". *Ibid.*, VII., 508.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI., 522.

[6] *Ibid.*, VII., 121; Sommervogel, VI., 718–722.

pointless the action which had already been brought by Antoine Arnauld's family, first in the parliament and then in the royal council, against the defamer of his name [1]; but Pichon failed to put into print in time a second edition of his book which had been prepared by the Jesuit Patouillet [2] on the advice of Languet and Rastignac, Archbishop of Tours, and thus to expunge his inaccurate quotations and exaggerations. The Paris nuncio Durini was very guarded in his judgement of the matter. The majority of the French bishops, he wrote,[3] have made no move and were right in not doing so; those who did speak were not unanimous in their opinions, and some of them held suspicious doctrines. Even when this was not the case it was difficult to see on what grounds they had condemned Pichon. Among most of the Paris Jesuits, said Durini, Pichon found no support. Benedict XIV. was also of the opinion [4] that Pichon's little book hardly deserved the uproar that was being made about it, especially as it had been written in such good faith. Nevertheless the book was put on the Index on August 13th, 1748, though by order of the Pope its suppression was not published [5] until September 11th, 1750.[6] Nor was Pichon's teaching on frequent Communion the reason for its suppression.[7]

The affair had an unpleasant sequel for the Pope.[8] The publication of Pichon's book prompted Archbishop Rastignac of Tours to publish some pastoral letters, one of which, on Christian justice, was thought by many to be dangerously akin to Jansenistic notions, when treating of the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. Benedict XIV. was most

[1] Dudon, VI., 524 *seqq.*; Régnault in *Études*, 1876, II., 810–820.

[2] Dudon, VII., 507–519, VIII, 256 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 376.

[4] To Tencin, March 20, 1748, Heeckeren, I., 391.

[5] To the same, September 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 517.

[6] Reusch, II., 453 *seq.*

[7] Communication of the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, Thomas Esser, O.P., of June 1, 1910, in Dudon, IX., 253.

[8] Dudon, VIII., 102–122.

upset at the thought of another controversy among the Bishops of France after all that had already happened in that country.[1] He had the letter examined, entrusting this delicate task to the scholars whom he thought to be least affected by party spirit.[2] Rastignac's death on August 3rd, 1750, put an end to the investigation ; a few months before, when writing in defence of his letter, he had declared in the most unambiguous terms his acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* and his rejection of Quesnel's 101 propositions.[3]

(2)

On March 13th, 1746, Vintimille du Luc, Archbishop of Paris, died at the age of ninety-one, and was succeeded by Gigault de Bellefonds, who reigned only for a few weeks. Next to succeed as the first prelate of the realm was Christophe de Beaumont de Répayre, who had exchanged the diocese of Bayonne for the archdiocese of Vienne as recently as 1745 and had shown himself to be a zealous bishop.[4] The Jansenists gave the appearance of being pleased with the choice of the new primate ; in Rome the pleasure was genuine.[5]

Beaumont was determined from the start to oppose Jansenism in the most definite manner possible and not to allow anyone to exercise the cure of souls who had not accepted the Bull *Unigenitus* with both outward and inward obedience.[6]

[1] To Tencin, June 11, 1749, Heeckeren, I., 490.

[2] To the same, February 11, 1750, *ibid.*, II., 10.

[3] Dudon, VIII., 120.

[4] Biography by E. Régnault in *Études*, 1876 *seqq.* (special edition, Paris, 1882).

[5] " *Non mi fa specie che i Giansenisti si mostrino contenti del nuovo arcivescovo. Questo è il loro solito anche quando non lo sono internamente. Conosco particolarmente il prelato quanto savio altrettanto zelante per la buona causa ; onde voglio sperarne un ottimo governo." The Secretary of State to the nuncio Durini, April 13, 1746, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 187v, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] Régnault, 1876, II., 796.

That these principles would bring him into conflict with the parliament was brought in upon him as early as the second year of his administration, by the fate that befell one of his colleagues. The Bishop of Amiens had demanded the acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* as a condition for giving Communion to the dying and the parliament suppressed this instruction.[1] In this case, it is true, the matter ended with the king forbidding the justiciaries to pronounce judgement in ecclesiastical affairs,[2] but the incident was only a foretaste of what was to follow. During the war of the Austrian Succession the controversy about the refusal of the Sacraments temporarily ceased, but after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 it blazed up more furiously than ever. Everything depended on the attitude of the Court. Personally the king had preserved a certain feeling for religion deriving from his education by Fleury; the Bull *Unigenitus* he regarded as a law of the Church and of the State, and consequently, to his mind, the Jansenists were disturbers of the peace and of his personal tranquillity. He was, however, entirely dependent on his entourage, and here the pious Queen Marie Leszczinska and her daughters were opposed by the Pompadour, advised by the Comptroller-General and Keeper of the Seals, Machault, by Marshal de Noailles (with whom it was a family tradition to regard Jansenism as a mere chimera), and in the last instance by the anti-religious party of the so-called philosophers. The Chancellor, D'Aguesseau, was on the side of the clergy but had no influence. Not ill-disposed at first towards the clergy, the king allowed himself to be influenced more and more by the Pompadour's party. Decisive measures, which alone could have saved the situation, were never to be expected of him.[3]

The struggle between the new Archbishop and the parliament began in connection with the so-called "confession

[1] On January 7, 1747, [NIVELLE], III., 625. *Cf.* CAHEN, 52.

[2] RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.*; GLASSON, II., 147 *seq.*

[3] CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 109–113; Nuncio Durini on April 24 and May 22, 1752, in CALVI, 243–5.

tickets ".[1] Authorization to hear confessions being unobtainable from the Archbishop by Jansenist priests, one of them tried to prove in a quarto volume of 800 pages that episcopal authorization was in any case unnecessary, as the authorization was given by the universal Church.[2] These principles were put into practice. Jansenist priests went from one Parisian parish to another hearing the confessions of their adherents.[3] The giving of Communion to the sick, however, remained the exclusive right of the parish priest. To put a stop to this unauthorized hearing of confessions by Jansenist priests, Beaumont ordered that Communion should be given to the dying only when they could prove by the production of a " confession ticket " that they had confessed to an authorized priest. This was no new measure. It had already been used by Cardinal Noailles against the Jesuits, to prevent them from taking part in the cure of souls.[4] In 1749 there died without the Sacraments a noted appellant, Charles Coffin, who had been Rector of the University, then director of a school to which the Jansenists were pleased to entrust their sons, and incidentally the composer of the hymns in the new Paris breviary. Coffin had asked his parish priest, Bouettin, to give him Communion and Extreme Unction but had

[1] F. Rocquain, *Le refus des sacrements* in *Rev. hist.*, V. (1877), 241–264.

[2] [Travers], *Les pouvoirs légitimes du premier et du second ordre dans l'administration des sacrements* (1744). *Cf.* [Patouillet] III., 273 *seqq.* ; first draft of 1734, *ibid.*, I., 340. Another Jansenist maintained that in view of absolute predestination confession was futile. Rocquain, *loc. cit.*, 250.

[3] Régnault, 1877, I., 76. " Entre eux, ils se confessent, et s'administrent, dit-on, les sacrements secrètement sans s'embarrasser autrement des pouvoirs de l'archevêque." (Barbier, *Journal*, IV., 504 ; Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 86). In the Lemère case (see below, p. 243) a parliamentary councillor defended the confession tickets on the ground that " trop souvent des prêtres habillés en laïques et l'épée au côté, vont confesser les malades sans pouvoir aucun ". Crousaz-Crétet, 102.

[4] Régnault, 1877, I., 77 ; Crousaz-Crétet, 94–161.

steadfastly refused to divulge the name of the priest who had heard his confession. His family referred the matter to the Archbishop, who demanded as a condition for the administration of the Last Sacraments that the dying man should submit to the Bull *Unigenitus* ; but Coffin would not hear of such a thing. As he finally died without the Sacraments, the clergy took no part in his funeral, which was made the occasion for an imposing demonstration against the Archbishop. The University was represented by the Rector, the faculty of philosophy by the procurators of the four nations, and over four thousand persons are said to have followed the hearse through the streets.[1] It was a manifestation of the spirit of revolt, which for the time being was directed only against the spiritual authority ; but already by 1750 the Parisians were being called " republicans ".[2]

The dead man's nephew then procured four counsels' opinions on the case and distributed them in Paris. They contained the advice to bring an action in the parliament against the Archbishop for abuse of official authority. But whatever steps the parliament might have taken were forestalled by a decision of the Council, issued on August 1st, 1749, annulling the four counsels' opinions.[3]

The Government thus seemed to have decided to leave Church matters to the Church. But it failed to abide by this principle. When six more actions were brought in the parliament for refusal of the Sacraments [4] the king, in his reply, abided by his last decision but at the same time declared that in matters of this kind he would be the guardian of public order and that further cases would be reported to him. If anyone were refused Communion in a public church, the royal judges could decide the case.[5] Thus the Government ran with

[1] Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 80 *seq.* ; Glasson, II., 153 *seq.*

[2] Barbier, *Journal*, V., 253, in Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 81, n. 3.

[3] Régnault, *ibid.*, 83 *seq.* For the parliament's deliberations on this occasion, see [Nivelle], III., 492–494.

[4] [Nivelle], III., 494.

[5] Decision of March 20, 1750, *ibid.*, 497.

the hare and hunted with the hounds, and it was easy to see where this would lead, even though the king did continue to hold to his former principles in the complications that at first ensued. One case that cropped up not long afterwards aroused considerable feeling.

The same young member of the Coffin family who had complained about the treatment of his uncle fell ill himself towards the end of the year and asked his parish priest—Bouettin again—for the Sacraments. Bouettin having been asked in vain three times, Coffin appealed to the parliament.[1] The court was only too glad to hear the case; lengthy discussions ensued and Bouettin was kept in custody for a day, but finally the parliament found itself in a blind alley, for the Archbishop persisted in maintaining that he had found the rule as to confession tickets already in existence and that he neither could nor would alter it. The parliament then put the case before the king, who said that he would reserve it for a royal decision. In the end all the parties concerned were relieved of their difficulties by the sick man agreeing to make his confession to a priest authorized by the Archbishop. The parliament, however, availed itself of the opportunity to make a lengthy representation to the king[2] in which it again defended its right to intervene in matters relating to the administration of the Sacraments.

A further collision with the parliament came about as the result of Beaumont's measures against the Jansenist nursing sisters in the general hospital in Paris.[3] The Archbishop forbade these nuns to go into the town whenever they liked on the pretence of going to confession; whereupon the Mother Superior with some of the Sisters left the convent altogether. At the election of a new Superior Beaumont decided in favour of a widow of the name of Moisan, who was supported by the most highly reputed but not the majority of the electors; of the twenty-two votes only ten were cast in her favour.

[1] [Nivelle], III., 499–515.

[2] On March 4, 1751, *ibid.*, 507–515. For Coffin, *cf.* Régnault, 1877, I., 81–91.

[3] Régnault, *ibid.*, 208–220; Glasson, II., 165–173.

Nevertheless, the Archbishop's action was approved in a royal declaration of March 24th, 1751, which also empowered him to nominate the chaplains to the hospital. This led to a contest which had a most important bearing on the future history of the constitution. When the time came for the parliament to enter the royal declaration in its records, it demanded that it be amended according to the wishes of the court ; in other words, this was the first occasion on which the parliament intervened in the legislation and assigned to itself a legislative power. This time, it is true, the Government upheld the Archbishop in his choice of the new officials and on August 16th administered a reprimand to the parliament, which replied with further remonstrances. The whole affair was important as a sign of the times : the Revolution was announcing its approach through the principles held by the parliament and by the treatment meted out to the Archbishop by the Jansenist church journal. On its reassembly after the vacation the parliament continued its resistance, and on November 24th went so far as to suspend itself, though it very soon thought fit to resume its functions. The truth was that the parliament's prestige was on the decline at this period ; the prices asked for the parliamentary posts which were for sale had dropped considerably.[1]

But the parliament, as the chief opponent of the monarchy, which was becoming more and more despised, still had a strong support in the people, and the recovery of its influence was accelerated by the weakness shown towards it by the king. At the beginning of 1752 the Sacraments were refused to a sick priest named Lemère—once again by Bouettin—and the game began anew.[2] Lemère appealed to the parliament, which summoned Bouettin before it, forbade him under pain of heavy penalties to set a bad example again, and ordered the Archbishop to prevent the repetition of similar scandals.[3] The king declared this order to be null and void, but when the sick

[1] Glasson, II., 170–175.

[2] [Nivelle], III., 515–530.

[3] " Ordonne en outre que l'archevêque de Paris sera tenu de veiller à ce que pareil scandale n'arrive plus." *Ibid.*, 517.

man had again asked for the Sacraments, this time through the court-bailiff,[1] without success, and a parliamentary deputation went to wait on the king, he began to give way. He promised [2] to give the necessary orders without delay and to take care of the invalid, and he assured the deputation that they could rely both on his zeal for religion and his determination to preserve public order. Meanwhile Lemère died. On the eve of the Easter recess the parliament met at six o'clock in the evening and remained in session until three o'clock the following morning, which was that of Maundy Thursday. At midnight the order was given for Bouettin's immediate arrest, but he had taken to flight.

After the Easter vacation [3] the king annulled the decree against the parish priest and reserved to himself the right to decide on the whole affair. The parliament, as a matter of course, made more remonstrances,[4] in which it represented itself as the judge of both matters of Faith and of Bishops, and tried to intimidate the king by stressing the danger of a schism if a section of the faithful were to be excluded from the Sacraments. Louis XV. now as good as yielded. He said in his reply [5] that he would always listen to the parliament's representations with a favourable ear when they had as their subject the good of religion and the peace of the State ; he then spoke of the danger of schism and announced that he had punished a parish priest of Orleans who had preached a sermon of which the parliament had complained, that measures were being taken to remove Bouettin from his parish, and that he had never intended entirely to withdraw from the parliament's control the matters now in question. A commission of prelates and officials was to discuss the appropriate measures to be taken.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 520.

[2] On March 27, 1752, *ibid.*, 518.

[3] On April 9, *ibid.*, 521.

[4] On April 15, *ibid.*, 525–528.

[5] [Nivelle], III., 528 *seq.*

[6] Crousaz-Crétet, 104 ; Durini to Valenti, May 22, 1752, in Calvi, 245.

This gave the parliament what it wanted. As expected, the commission effected nothing, and on April 28th, 1752, there was published the fateful decree of the parliament by which clerics were forbidden to do anything that might lead to schism. In particular it was forbidden publicly to refuse the Sacraments on the ground that no confession ticket had been produced, or that the name of the confessor had not been stated, or that the Bull *Unigenitus* had not been accepted. Further, clerics were not allowed to use in their sermons such terms as innovators, heretics, schismatics, Jansenists, and semi-Pelagians, when speaking of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Offenders would be treated as disturbers of the peace.[1] In the face of this decree the Government acted with its usual weakness. It published an order in council in which it undertook to settle the question by itself but allowed the parliament's decree to stand, and in a covering letter to the Bishops it recommended its observance.[2]

Naturally those who were loyal to the Church did not fail to raise their voices against the counsellors who had prevailed upon the king to make "so weak and submissive a reply" to the "provocative and subversive" remonstrances of the parliament, but they made no impression on the originators of the answer, the Comptroller-General, the Pompadour, and Marshal Noailles. With the exception of the Chancellor, who protested in vain, the Ministers had been bought by the Pompadour and feared to lose their posts.[3]

The Jansenists had good cause to exult. Printed copies of the parliamentary decree were distributed by the thousand, and they were soon to be seen posted up at every street corner; they were even affixed to the Archbishop's palace in twelve different places. Many persons had a copy framed and hung it at the head of their beds, along with the images of Saints. They also distributed printed invitations to the funeral of "the noble lady, Madame la Constitution *Unigenitus*, daughter of Clement XI., widow of Monsieur

[1] [Nivelle], III., 530.

[2] Régnault, 1877, I., 231 *seq.*; Glasson, II., 181.

[3] Nuncio Durini on April 24, 1752, in Calvi, 243.

Formulaire, who died suddenly in the Great Hall of the parliament in Paris." [1]

To make things difficult for the clergy several Jansenists took up their residence in the parish of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, knowing that the Sacraments would be refused them there.[2] "You all know," wrote the Bishop of Amiens, "the confusion that reigns in Paris. The king commands his subjects to obey the Bull as much as if it were a law of the State, while the parliament punishes those who demand this obedience. I should like to know what object the king had in view when he published his order in council. It is easy to see what the parliament wants, but for the life of me I cannot see what the king is aiming at." [3] Other Bishops would have liked the Pope solemnly to condemn the representations of the parliament, since that would have impressed those who meant well. But in that case the parliament would have burnt the condemnation in public, and the situation would have been worse than before.[4] Beaumont then circulated for subscription by his parish priests a memorial in which the confession tickets were described as an old custom of the archdiocese. This gave rise to further debates in the parliament, to interrogations, to declarations of invalidity on the part of the Court, and to threats on the part of the parliament to cease functioning.[5] There was no lack of attacks on the Archbishop, one decree of the parliament referring to the schism "of which the Archbishop dares to declare himself in favour".[6] In the face

[1] Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 232 *seq.*; Rocquain, 156.

[2] Glasson, II., 184. "Il était évident," Glasson says here, "que le Parlement, au lieu d'éteindre le feu, l'excitait."

[3] Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 232 *seq.*

[4] Durini to Valenti, May 22, 1752, in Calvi, 244. C. Stryienski in *Le dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1912, 136: "Le Parlement fait du Jansénisme une arme politique empiétant le pouvoir ecclésiastique, fomentant sous le couvert des libertés gallicanes une opposition qui menace le pouvoir royal."

[5] [Nivelle], III., 530–539.

[6] *Ibid.*, 534; repeated in the president's first speech before the king, *ibid.*, 538.

of these insults Beaumont's fellow-Bishops made representations to the king.[1] "What," they asked, "will the people think, what will they be able to respect, when those who in virtue of their office ought to cultivate submissiveness set it an example of insubordination; when they set themselves up as censors and teachers in matters in which they ought to allow themselves to be instructed, namely in matters of religion?" At the same time, with Beaumont at their head, they protested against the violations of the ecclesiastical authority.[2] But it was all in vain. While the decree of the parliament was being circulated in thousands of printed copies a royal command forbade the publication of the Bishops' petitions. Nevertheless, these latter, which were signed at first by twenty Archbishops and Bishops, were eventually agreed to by sixty prelates.[3] At about this time the nuncio Durini represented to the Minister Saint-Contest that the king would have to deprive the parliament once for all of the right to pronounce unfavourable judgement on the refusal of the Sacraments. If Jansenism were no longer able to rely on the royal protection, he maintained, it would disappear from France in a few years. It seemed to the nuncio that his representations had made a certain impression, but nothing resulted from them.[4] With Marshal Noailles he was even less successful.[5]

The parliament took advantage of the weakness of the Government to make the fullest use of its decree against the refusal of the Sacraments. Clerics were found guilty and arrested in every diocese that was within the administrative area of the Paris parliament.[6] In the parish of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in Paris, by July 1753, not only the parish priest

[1] On June 11, 1752, in RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.*, 234.

[2] RÉGNAULT, 1877, I., 235; FLEURY, LXXVII., 695.

[3] RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.*; SCHILL, 282 *seq.*

[4] Durini to Valenti, July 17, 1752; CALVI, 248.

[5] Durini on October 9, 1752, *ibid.*, 254.

[6] *Cf. Journal historique* of the parliamentary sessions from May 17 to September 6, 1752, in [NIVELLE], III., 548–595, from November 29, 1752, to the banishment of the parliament, *ibid.*,

Bouettin but also his three vicars had fled before the persecution of the parliament,[1] so that there was no priest left to conduct the services. The Bishop of Amiens wrote to the king that several parishes in his dioceses had been deserted, their pastors having flown ; surely the king would not abandon the clergy to the wrath of his lay officials.[2] Nevertheless, the persecution continued. When the parliament went into recess at the beginning of September its part was taken over by the *Chambre des Vacations*, and when this retired from the scene on October 27th, 1752, it was replaced until the parliament reopened on November 12th by the officials of the Châtelet, who ordered a letter from their Archbishop to be burned by the public executioner.[3] "Things are going persistently badly for us," wrote this prelate on September 22nd, 1752 [4] ; "the Court, it is evident, is disturbing itself very little on our account, and the parliament, which is being given a free hand, is bent on destroying the Bull so far as France is concerned, and it will succeed in its purpose only too well if the clergy are forced to administer the Sacraments to the Jansenists. If the lower ranks of the clergy are not supported they will lose courage and do whatever the parliament wants. No respect is paid to the Bishops ; false hopes are held out to them, and they are prevented from taking action. Everyone to whom I write replies that we can only wait ; but the parliament does not wait ; it persecutes us incessantly." [5]

651 *seqq.* ; also, for the parliamentary vacations, the records of the *Chambre des Vacations* for 1752, *ibid.*, 595 *seqq.*, for 1753, *ibid.*, 721 ; of the Châtelet for 1752, *ibid.*, 607 *seqq.*, for 1753, *ibid.*, 723. For the measures taken by the tribunals dependent on the parliament, *ibid.*, 619 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* the records in [Nivelle], III., 539–548.

[2] Rocquain, 161.

[3] Glasson, II., 185.

[4] In Régnault, 1877, I., 237 *seq.*

[5] "Au commencement de 1753 la querelle entre les Jansénistes et les Molinistes [namely over the refusal of the Sacraments] avait pris un degré d'acuité inouï et cela au dépens de tous,

At the end of 1752 another case in which the Sacraments were refused gave rise to more confusion and to far-reaching discussions on constitutional law.[1] In the convent school of St. Agatha five of the Jansenist nuns had already died without the Sacraments,[2] and when in December 1752 a certain Sister Perpetua had an apoplectic stroke, the parliament ordered the Sacraments to be given her. The vicars of the parish cited the prohibition of the Archbishop, and when he refused to retract his former instructions the court ordered the episcopal revenues to be confiscated and invited the peers of France together with the king to sit in judgement on Beaumont, since he, being a peer, could only be tried by his equals. At this the prelates who were present in Paris, the rest of the clergy, and, to no less a degree, the king, were highly indignant. The king called the parliament an assembly of republicans and could find no other consolation for himself than that the present state of things would last at least as long as he did.[3] He reserved for himself the handling of the affair and forbade the convening of the peers,[4] which action gave rise to the following questions of constitutional law : Had the parliament the right to convene the peers ? Could the king reserve for himself the judgement of a case after the summons to the peers had gone forth, and if he did so, could a peer be subsequently judged by the Council of State ? [5] The first question was answered by the parliament in the affirmative, by the king in the negative ; nevertheless the parliament convened the peers, and the king again forbade them to assemble. Then the parliament sent a deputation to the king to explain the necessity for the summons, and he replied curtly that he had

surtout au préjudice de la religion. Ces querelles faisaient soulever des controverses de toutes sortes et régner un véritable souffle révolutionnaire." GLASSON, II., 186.

[1] [NIVELLE], III., 542–8, 654–662 ; RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.*, 240–243 ; GLASSON, II., 187.

[2] [NIVELLE], *loc. cit.*.

[3] RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.* ; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 113.

[4] On December 16, 1752, [NIVELLE], *loc. cit.*, 657.

[5] GLASSON, II., 189 *seqq.*

every respect for the peers, but that they knew what command he had issued, and that he was amazed at the parliament's presumption. This reply was then the subject of long and heated arguments among the magistrates, and nine different proposals were made as to what was to be done.[1] Finally they agreed on twenty-two articles as the basis of an extensive representation to be made to the king.[2] Meanwhile Sister Perpetua had recovered from her stroke and had been taken to the convent of Port-Royal in the suburb of Saint-Jacques, which had long ceased to be Jansenist. The other nuns had to dismiss their pupils and were dispersed among other convents.[3]

While the proposed representations were being elaborated the parliament continued on its former course, though opposed by the royal Council of State. On January 18th, 1753, the Bishop of Orleans received instructions to administer the Sacraments to a sick nun within an hour.[4] The Council reserved the case for its own judgement, but in spite of that the parliament imposed a fine of 6,000 *livres* on the Bishop and summoned him to appear in person, whereupon the Council again objected to all that had been done.[5] The parliament also met with objections and censures on the part of the jurists. Opinions were published which disputed its authority in the matter of the administration of the Sacraments, notable examples being that which was signed at the end of January 1753 by forty doctors of the faculty of law in the University of Paris, and another one which appeared about the same time and was signed by various canonists and barristers. There was also a recrudescence of the old question

[1] Glasson, *loc. cit.*

[2] Copy in [Nivelle], III., 678.

[3] Régnault, 1877, I., 342.

[4] [Nivelle], III., 662 *seqq.* She was the twentieth nun in her convent to die without the Sacraments. *Ibid.*, 663.

[5] [Nivelle], III., 662–673. At the time the Bishop of Autun proposed a national council, but it was not approved of by the nuncio Durini. Durini to Valenti, February 26, 1753. Calvi, 257.

whether the Jansenists still believed in the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. The parliament, of course, condemned all these documents.[1]

To put an end to the turmoil the king addressed letters patent to the parliament on February 22nd, 1753, forbidding it to occupy itself any further with the question of the Sacraments.[2] The parliament replied by deciding to extend the representations to the king, which had been in preparation for a long time past. On April 5th the work was ready at last, and the king was asked when a deputation might appear before him. His answer was that it would be enough for him to see the outline of the representation, namely the twenty-two articles of February 25th. On May 4th, 1753, he announced his decision not to accept the representations in full and ordered the parliament to place on record his letters patent of February 22nd. The parliament's reply was that as it was impossible to bring the truth to the steps of the throne, the chambers of the parliament would continue to sit but without performing their official functions. The king ordered it to resume its functions and to record the letters patent of February 22nd. This command being disobeyed, there was no other measure to apply but that of force. At 3 o'clock on the morning of May 9th orders were handed by musketeers to every member of the five parliamentary chambers of the *Enquêtes* and the two chambers of the *Requêtes*, according to which they were to betake themselves within twenty-four hours to specified towns in the kingdom. The highest section of the parliament, the *Grand'Chambre*, was spared, and on May 10th dealt with another case of refusal of the Sacraments, but with no cases of another kind ; and this, indeed, was not possible, owing to the barristers having ceased to function. On May 11th the *Grand'Chambre* was also banished, to Pontoise ; but here too it refused to attend to any other matter than the refusal of the Sacraments. The banished members were cheered by the people in the streets, and incidentally

[1] [Nivelle], III., 635–642.
[2] *Ibid.*, 673.

were quite content to be in exile, which for them was by way of being a holiday.[1]

The voluminous representations of April 9th, 1753,[2] failed to fulfil their purpose inasmuch as they were never laid before the king, but they are noteworthy nevertheless as presaging the principles of the coming revolution. After violent protests had been made against the "pretensions" of the clergy it was explained to the king that he was acting unjustly in interfering with the jurisdiction of the parliament so as to reserve for himself the decision of certain cases, and that the resistance of the parliament was justified. In other words, the nation, of which the parliament felt itself to be the representative, was above the king.[3]

The banishment of the parliament naturally entailed some very harmful consequences. The administration of justice practically ceased; almost the only court which continued to function was that of the Châtelet, which dealt with minor cases only. Advocates and auxiliary officials were deprived of their living, there was no longer any revenue from the tax on legal documents, and provincials no longer came to Paris to have their cases heard. It was calculated that the population of the city was reduced by 20,000.[4]

Some substitute, therefore, had to be found for the missing courts. In November 1753 the king removed the members of the parliament from Pontoise to Soissons, and with this the *Grand'Chambre* was dissolved. A *Chambre Royale* was set up in its place, but no one would make use of it; its members met and after waiting for a quarter of an hour went away again.[5] In the provinces the other parliaments joined with

[1] Glasson, II., 195; Cahen, 54.

[2] [Nivelle], III., 678–708 (heads 60).

[3] "Il y a dans ces remontrances un reflet de la doctrine nouvelle qui commençait à se faire jour et suivant laquelle la nation est au-dessus du roi, comme l'Église est au-dessus du pape." Glasson, II., 199. These remonstrances have been termed "le coup de tocsin avant-courreur de la révolution." Régnault, 1877, I., 347.

[4] Glasson, II., 199, 205.

[5] *Ibid.*, 203, 205, 209.

that of Paris in resisting the Government, and the persecution of the clergy there was continued with greater energy than before.[1]

Even before his differences with the parliament the king's prestige had sunk extremely low, owing to the maladministration of the Government, the impoverishment of the people, and the presence of the Pompadour. On one occasion when the Dauphin and his wife were driving to Notre-Dame to give thanks for the birth of a child, their carriage was surrounded by two thousand women who shrieked out at them, "Give us something to eat, we are starving! Away with that strumpet who is ruling France and bringing her to ruin! Once we lay our hands on her there won't be enough of her left to make relics of!"[2] In his reports to Rome the nuncio Durini related that the king was bringing about his own downfall by his weakness towards the parliament and that the ground was being prepared for a political as well as a religious upheaval.[3] All, he said, who were still Catholic in thought and cared for the king's honour and renown deplored the remissness of the

[1] Glasson, II., 207.

[2] Rocquain, 144.

[3] On May 22, 1752, in Calvi, 243–5. The king did not realize, wrote Durini on October 9, 1752 (*ibid.*, 254), "che la debolezza delle sue risoluzioni è la vera maniera di perdere affatto colla religione anche la sua autorità, ed aprire la strada a catastrofi che saranno un giorno senza riparo, se con forza non vi si rimedia a tempo." Similarly on March 12, 1753 (*ibid.*, 262): "L'indolenza è grande, e l'ignoranza o piuttosto malignità di chi guida i gabinetti di Versailles è incredibile." While the parliament was active, "la corte non dà segno di vita, perchè si travaglia sempre dal Guardasigilli [Machault] colle sue lancie spezzate [Noailles] che ha nel Consiglio, a ritenere il Re da quelle maschie risoluzioni che mostra di tanto in tanto di voler prendere, ora con larva d'emozione nel popolo, ed ora con pretesti, di non doversi fare nuove illegalità, perchè queste darebbero maggiori prese ai Parlamentarii di conculcar davantaggio l'autorità regia. Così il povero Re è tradito, e la religione ogni giorno più discapita con scandalo universale e dolore dei buoni, che pure non ne mancano in questa cloaca d'iniquità."

Government. The queen herself had spoken to him about the matter with tears in her eyes. The king was fundamentally good at heart but ill-advised. He could find no way out of his difficulties and meanwhile his reputation was lessening every day, and when things had become desperate in both the religious and political sphere it would be too late for him to exert his authority. He listened willingly enough to the remonstrances of the queen and Boyer, but when it came to making a decision he followed the advice of the Ministers, who out of regard for a false policy, for the sake of their own interests, and for lack of intelligence and religion, inspired the king with the fear of still greater encroachments on his rights by the parliament, and told him that it would do no harm to religion to abolish the Confession tickets. It had been said in the Council that Christ Himself gave Communion to Judas.

The chief obstacle to any decisive action was the popularity of the parliament, which had been increased enormously by its resistance to the maladministration of the Government; and the loss of prestige suffered by the king was accompanied by a corresponding lack of respect for the clergy, which was looked on as an ally of the Government. At the time when the parliament was preparing its grand remonstrances with Louis XV. posters with the words "Long live the parliament! Death to the king and the bishops!" were affixed to the walls of houses; every night for a week mounted troops rode through the streets to maintain public order; the Archbishop's palace was guarded by soldiers; and clerics could rarely appear in the streets without being insulted.[1] To the banished *Grand'Chambre* legal officials who had also been banished wrote, "The king may have 100,000 men but the parliament has the hearts, the respect, and the will of all."[2] Even at this time a work written against the grand remonstrances of the parliament contained the warning that its republican principles were more threatening to the crown than all the teachings of Rome regarding indirect authority, which had raised such an outcry in France. Thanks to the influence

[1] Rocquain, 170.

[2] *Ibid.*, 173.

it had won it was more in a position to dethrone the king than was the Pope. The Bishop of Montauban seems to have had the gift of prophecy when in a pastoral letter he reminded his readers of the English revolution and the fate of Charles I.[1]

Louis XV. gradually realized that he would have to make peace. Welcomed by bonfires, the parliament returned in September 1754, and its sessions were opened to the accompaniment of cheers and clapping. The "Royal Chamber" was dissolved before it had given its first verdict.[2] On September 2nd the king had an announcement read in the parliament, imposing a general silence on religious questions and instructing the parliament to see to its observance.[2] In spite of this concession the parliament made difficulties about recording the announcement. On September 5th it debated the matter from nine o'clock in the morning till five in the evening and in addition sent deputies to the king to protest against much that had been said to the detriment of the parliament in the preamble to the announcement.[4] It was also stated expressly that the parliament's attitude towards the administration of the Sacraments remained unchanged.

For the clergy the reconciliation between the king and the parliament brought no relief, but rather the reverse. Hitherto

[1] *Ibid.*, 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, 184; GLASSON, II., 208; [NIVELLE], III., 994 *seq.*

[3] GLASSON, II., 209; [NIVELLE], III., 995 *seq.* The congratulations of the various Paris corporations on the parliament's return, *ibid.*, 998–1000.

[4] GLASSON, 210 *seq.* The opinion in Rome was "*Il silentio imposto non sarà osservato et invece di quiete continueranno i torbidi e ne insorgeranno dei nuovi, sì coi fatti che con i scritti, come in simili casi ha fatto conoscere l'esperienza del passato. Sopra tutto ha fatto ammirazione l'audacia e temerità del Parlamento, che, abusando della facilità e bontà del Re, ha registrato la regia dichiarazione con tante modificazioni e riserve che intieramente la distruggono, specialmente con aver dichiarato che a tenore della medesima dichiarazione abbia ad intendersi proibita qualunque innovazione nell' amministrazione esteriore e publica dei sagramenti." To the nuncio Gualtieri, September 25, 1754, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 458. Papal Secret Archives.

the king had been, on the whole, on the side of the clergy; that this was no longer the case was discovered by the Archbishops of Paris and Narbonne, when, together with Cardinals Soubise and La Rochefoucauld, they remonstrated with the king about the decree he had issued in September commanding silence; they were simply turned away.[1] The truth was that the situation had entirely altered. A law of silence was nothing new; what was new was that the bitterest enemy of the clergy had been appointed as guardian of this silence and to judge whether it had been observed.[2] The parliament saw at once that there was no longer any fear of its decisions being quashed by the Council of State and made good use of the new conditions. The vacation chamber had been dealing with the case of a Canon of Orleans, Cougniou by name, who on his deathbed had called the Bull *Unigenitus* a work of the Devil and had consequently been refused the Sacraments. On August 25th 1755, by way of punishment the Paris parliament inflicted a fine of 100 *livres* on the Canons of Orleans and compelled them to give 400 *livres* to charity; four of them were permanently banished from the country, their property was confiscated, and part of the capital had to be spent on holding an annual commemorative ceremony for the deceased and on erecting a marble tablet in the church as a lasting record of the judgement of the court.[3] A protest sent to the king by the clergy met in assembly effected nothing, whereupon the Bishop of Orleans forbade services to be held in the church. The parish priest, however, continued to hold them, and not only he but also the Bishop were sent into exile by the king.[4] Incidentally, the parliament took it upon itself to declare as an abuse the fact that some priests were calling the Bull *Unigenitus* a rule of Faith.[5] But against this encroachment on the spiritual sphere

[1] [Nivelle], III., 996.

[2] Régnault, 1878, II., 673.

[3] [Nivelle], III., 1000–3.

[4] Schill, 287 *seq.*; [Nivelle], III., 1020 *seq.*

[5] "Et attendu les faits de la cause, reçoit le procurateur général du Roi incidemment appellant comme d'abus de

the Royal Council intervened. This time the parliament accepted the reprimand, having secret information that the Council of State had only made this gesture because the king was hoping to obtain from the assembly of the clergy a contribution of fifteen to sixteen millions for the conduct of the Seven Years' War, which was just commencing.[1] By the beginning of 1775, however, priest-baiting had become general,[2] and the harshest measures were approved. A cleric who in the name of his Archbishop had openly, in church, forbidden two priests to take the Sacraments to a Jansenist, was condemned —in his absence, it is true—as a disturber of the peace, to be branded with a red-hot iron and to work for the rest of his life in the galleys.[3] Other than that of Paris, the parliaments that showed the greatest zeal in persecuting clerics were those of Aix, Rennes, and Toulouse.[4] Even prelates could not count on being spared. At Troyes the Bishop himself had taken the place of a parish priest who had been driven away, and he had refused the Sacraments to a Jansenist. For this he was fined 3,000 *livres*, his property was sold, his income was sequestrated, and he was relegated by the king to a humble little town in his diocese. From here he wrote a pastoral letter in which he complained of the insolence of the Jansenist heresy, and the document was publicly torn up and burnt by the public executioner. The Bishop in his turn forbade his subordinates to take any cognizance of this decree of the parliament, and the conflict continued until in 1756 the king removed the

l'exécution de la bulle Unigenitus, notamment en ce qu'aucuns ecclésiastiques prétendent lui attribuer le caractère ou lui donner les effets de règle de foi." Decree of March 18, 1755, [NIVELLE], III., 1002.

[1] ROCQUAIN, 188.

[2] "Ces hostilités étaient générales au commencement de l'année 1755" (GLASSON, II., 215). For cases of refusal of the Sacraments brought before the parliament of Toulouse, see A. DEGERT, in the *Bulletin de littérat. eccl.*, 1924, 277 *seqq.*

[3] On May 14, 1755, [NIVELLE], III., 1005 *seq.*

[4] GLASSON, II., 219.

Bishop to Murbach in Alsace, where he was outside the parliament's jurisdiction.[1] The Bishop of Auxerre had forbidden his clergy to follow the Jansenistic custom of reading aloud the Canon of the Mass. Even this instruction was adjudged by the parliament to be an abuse and a breach of the peace and it was accordingly abrogated.[2] A document in which the Bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Auch expressed their common opinion on the refusal of the Sacraments had to be torn up and burnt by the executioner at the order of the Paris parliament.[3] Such incidents as these should be remembered in connection with certain features of the French Revolution. The people were deliberately trained to despise first the spiritual authority and then authority of any kind.

The cleric who had most incurred the wrath of the all-powerful tribunal was the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont. When questioned about a case of the refusal of the Sacraments which had occurred in his archdiocese his reply was that for this he was answerable to God alone. He was then charged with contempt of court by the president of the parliament, whereupon the king banished the Archbishop to his country residence of Conflans, near Paris. Here he continued to express his standpoint in fresh cases of the refusal of the Sacraments and forbade two priests who in defiance of his prohibition had administered the Sacraments to Jansenists, to exercise their priestly functions. Beaumont was then banished to Legay, which was still further from Paris, but was soon allowed to return to Conflans.[4]

The Bishops who were faithful to the Church spoke of a systematic religious persecution. "Our priests," wrote the Bishop of Amiens,[5] "are still scattered, with no assistance or protection. Everything is managed so carelessly in this respect

[1] [Nivelle], III., 1021–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1027.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1027–9. *Cf.* Schill, 286; Degert, *loc. cit.*, 340; Rohrbacher, *Hist. universelle de l'Église*, XIII., Paris, 1877, 99.

[4] [Nivelle], III., 1003 *seq.*, 1001–1020; Régnault, 1878, II., 674–688.

[5] On September 17, 1753, in Régnault, 1877, I., 353.

that the greatest indifference would not be worse. Hard as your life may be "—he was writing to a Trappist—" there are days in mine which are bitterer. When I am forced to see people who openly talk against the Bishops and the Pope, flout their judgements and then have the impudence to demand the Sacraments and extort them by the temporal power, I can no longer control myself, and my suffering is intensified by the number of priests who allow themselves to be intimidated. A persecution with fire and sword would be easier for me to bear, for then the people would not be led astray. But if the Sacraments are given to everyone without distinction the people do not understand why they should not subscribe to views which do not exclude them from the Sacraments."

Not only were the Bishops attacked from without, but they were not fully agreed among themselves. An assembly of twenty-six prelates, headed by Cardinals La Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Bourges, and Soubise, declared it to be unnecessary to demand Confession tickets, and to meet their wishes the Archbishop of Paris consented to postpone the discussion of the matter until the assembly of the clergy. This decision was approved by the Pope in a letter to the two Cardinals.[1] Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, Boyer's successor as administrator of ecclesiastical affairs and consequently the leading personality among the prelates, was inclined as far as possible towards conciliation and compromise.[2] At the assembly of the clergy which took place on May 25th, 1755, a commission under his presidency discussed the questions connected with the Bull *Unigenitus*, the refusal of the Sacraments, and the rights of the spiritual and temporal authority. Their principles were embodied in ten articles, which were signed by seventeen Bishops and twenty-two delegates. In disagreement with them, 16 Bishops and 10 delegates formulated their views under eight headings.[3] Both parties agreed that the Sacraments had to be refused, even publicly, to notorious opponents

[1] Crousaz-Crétet, 131 *seq.*; P. Richard in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XCII. (1912), 397; Heeckeren, II., 404; Boutry, 37.

[2] Brimont, *Le cardinal de la Rochefoucauld*, Paris, 1913.

[3] Roskovány, III., 196–8; Schill, 288–293.

of the Bull *Unigenitus*, but they differed as to what constituted notorious opposition.[1] The tenets of the minority struck a clearer and more definite note, but as they did not enter into difficult individual cases, they might, in practice, have led to excesses. For although no one was in any doubt that an unworthy person ought not to receive the Sacrament, the Church's principle was that, as a rule, the question of worthiness or unworthiness must be left to the conscience of the recipient. It was only in certain cases that the Sacrament could be openly withheld. The assembly failing to come to an agreement, there was no other course open but to ask the Pope for his decision. In a letter to the king the assembly asked for freedom for the Bishops and for theological instruction, for the cessation of the unprovoked molestation of the clergy, and the recall of the Archbishop of Paris.[2] Both to this request of the Bishops and to that of the parliament, that a circular letter written by the prelates to their fellow-Bishops should be suppressed, the king gave no definite reply.[3]

One reason for his non-committal attitude may have been that there were already under way negotiations with the Pope, which the Government did not want to prejudice. Consideration for Rome may also have had something to do with the Government's failure to support the parliament in the measures it was taking against the Sorbonne. Some theses which were not entirely Gallican in tone had incurred the disapproval of the self-opinioned magistrates, who warned the syndic not to allow anything of the kind in future. This order of the parliament the faculty was commanded to enter in its records. Secretly encouraged by the Government, the doctors refused to obey the order, and when, on May 14th, 1755, they were

[1] La Rochefoucauld being in control of the "*feuille des bénéfices*", his followers were known as *Feuillants*; their opponents, who adhered to the principles of the former Theatine Boyer, went by the name of *Théatins*.

[2] Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 690 *seq.*

[3] [Nivelle], III., 1029 *seqq.*

forced to appear before the parliament and to make the required entry in the records, which had been brought with them, all examinations for the licentiate and baccalaureate ceased forthwith. The parliament objected, but further theses which displeased it were defended. The parliament raised objections again, and again the examinations for the licentiate and baccalaureate were suspended. Then, when two doctors sought the right to attend the meetings of the faculty, they were asked to subscribe to the decree of December 15th, 1729, by which the faculty had submitted to the Bull *Unigenitus*. The parliament examined the decree, judged it to be invalid, and forbade it to be signed. This decision of the parliament the theologians were commanded to put on record, but it was cancelled by a decree of the Royal Council.[1]

(3)

When, in 1755, on the birth of the future Louis XVIII., the Bishop of Castres, in a pastoral letter, invited the mediation of the king, so that peace might be restored to France through a Papal decision, the letter was banned by the parliament as being an insult to the country, whose king and laws were a sufficient guarantee of peace.[2]

Nevertheless it was becoming clearer as time went on that even for Gallican France the last hope of its escaping from its difficulties lay in an appeal to Rome. It had long been evident to everyone that nothing was to be expected from the Court. The hope that had been cherished in Church circles that the assembly of the clergy would provide a solution had proved to be illusory. It has come to no conclusion, wrote the Bishop of Amiens,[3] and has possibly done more harm than good. To show its contempt for it, the parliament had been persecuting the priests even more than before. While the

[1] [NIVELLE], III., lxxvii., 1031–8.

[2] DEGERT, *loc. cit.*, 341.

[3] On January 25, 1756, in RÉGNAULT, *loc. cit.*, 697.

assembly was still in progress this same prelate had complained [1] that the king was abandoning the clergy entirely to the mercies of the parliament, which was boldly attacking religion and was treating its servants as disgracefully as it could. If this continued they would have a Gallican religion in France in the same way as England had its Anglican religion.

As it happened, the Bishop underestimated the utility of the assembly's activity, since its deliberations were the starting-point of Benedict XIV.'s decision which, so far as the ecclesiastics were concerned, put an end on all cardinal points to the doubts about the administration of the Sacraments. Even before the assembly met, at the end of 1754, Louis XV. had appointed Count Choiseul-Stainville, afterwards Duke of Choiseul, to be envoy extraordinary to Rome.[2] His instructions began with the statement that religion had always been the foundation of the kingdom, the safeguard of princes, and the joy of nations.[3] It went on to say that the king had devoted all his attention to settling the religious troubles, and that the Pope could rely on his prudence and constancy but that not one of the Gallican liberties would be surrendered.[4]

Like the Bishop of Amiens, Benedict XIV. feared that a State Church independent of the Pope would be formed in France under the leadership of the parliament, on the model of the English one.[5] Consequently conditions in France caused him more anxiety than any other consideration.[6] No one with any religion and any heart, he wrote, could fail to be appalled by what is being done there against the Church and

[1] On August 21, 1755, *ibid.*, 690.

[2] *Cf.* Boutry, *Choiseul à Rome*, Paris, 1895; W. Marcus, *Der Jansenistenstreit und seine Beilegung durch Choiseul* (Progr.), Wohlau, 1906; P. Richard in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XCII., 27–61, 364–403.

[3] Boutry, iv.

[4] *Ibid.*, xxi.

[5] To Tencin, March 21, 1753, Heeckeren, II., 253; to the same, January 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 384.

[6] July 4, 1753, *ibid.*, 278.

the royal authority, without there appearing to be any human solution of the trouble.[1] He was quite convinced that France was threatened with nothing less than the "utter ruin of religion and the kingdom", with the "destruction of the Faith, the Church, and the realm",[2] and with a repetition of the old persecutions of the Christians,[3] and he deplored the "intolerable indifference" with which the most important matters were treated in France.[4] It was therefore with the keenest attention that he followed the sequence of events in the country which he had formerly thought to be the strongest bulwark of the Church.[5] There was no action taken by the parliament against the Church that he did not bitterly bemoan in his correspondence with Cardinal Tencin,[6] no sign of firmness on the part of the king that did not fill him with joy.[7]

It was therefore certainly not indifference, but only unfavourable circumstances, that kept the Pope from openly intervening. During the last centuries, he wrote, the Pope's prestige had been damaged by the French; the propagation of their tenets in Germany, in parts of Spain, and even in Italy had done much harm to the Papacy. In consequence the Popes had not been able to come to the aid of the oppressed as in the past.[8] There were few countries now, he lamented, which did not offer insults to the Pope.[9] As for France, the parliament was showing the utmost contempt for the Papal authority; no one from there had asked for his advice in the present situation. He refrained from intervening, for fear of doing greater harm, although this attitude reminded him of Nero, lyre in hand, looking down from his window on the

[1] May 21, 1755, *ibid.*, 414.
[2] October 9, 1755, *ibid.*, 464.
[3] February 19, 1755, *ibid.*, 395.
[4] January 30, 1754, *ibid.*, 319.
[5] Letter of October 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 365.
[6] *Ibid.*, 234, 237, 251, etc.
[7] *Ibid.*, 213, 269, 310.
[8] To Tencin, May 28, 1755, HEECKEREN, II., 414.
[9] To the same, October 18, 1752, *ibid.*, 219.

burning city of Rome.[1] The Jansenists, indeed, made use of this silence of the Pope's to depict him as a supporter of the parliament and an opponent of the Bull *Unigenitus*. To Durini, his nuncio in France, he had to administer a sharp reproof when he reported to him the stupid stories and gossip about his supposed indifference [2]; as a rule, however, he was silent when this kind of talk came to his ears. "What means have We," he wrote,[3] "to close the mouths of these calumniators?" He replied to them indirectly, however, by issuing a Brief in condemnation of a work written in defence of the parliament, for, as he said, he would never let pass the slightest opportunity of showing his adherence to the Bull *Unigenitus*, and he firmly believed that he was strictly bound to do so.[4] Unfortunately, however, his Brief was suppressed by the Royal Council of State, on the plea that it was thus preventing the parliament from having it publicly burnt. In these circumstances, he asked, how was he to comply with Archbishop Languet's request that he should declare that to disobey the Bull was a grievous sin? [5] In other matters, too, the parliament was trampling under foot the authority of the Holy See. That was the thanks he got for the moderation and the extreme delicacy with which he had consistently avoided an attack on the doctrines of the French, opposed as they were to those of Rome, and, in fact, to those of the rest of the world, and even

[1] Letter of June 14, 1752, *ibid.*, 193.

[2] Durini to Valenti, August 14, 1752, in CALVI, 264. "*Li Giansenisti sostenevano e dicevano publicamente in Parigi che il Papa stesso fosse del loro sentimento, et è certo che vedeva mal volontieri il card. Durini, perchè, quando era Nuncio in Francia, avesse scritto con sincerità questa falsa nova per stimolarlo a fare qualche passo publico che la smentisse, come fece con alcuni Brevi e con la proibizione di alcuni libercoli." MERENDA, *Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, 1613, fo. 155.

[3] On August 9, 1752, HEECKEREN, II., 205.

[4] December 6, 1752, *ibid.*, 230; *cf.* 228.

[5] February 7, 1753, *ibid.*, 243. Actually he agreed with Languet. *Ibid.*, 365, 376, 415, 495. Choiseul maintained that he had heard the opposite. BOUTRY, 104.

to those which had been held by the French themselves before 1682.[1] He was not asking the French to speak in the Italian way, but they ought to let the Italians speak in their own way.[2]

There was only one action that the Pope thought that he could take without harming France still more, namely to write again to the king, as he had already done on several previous occasions,[3] since, in spite of his weakness and incompetence, he was the only protection against the parliament. His hopes were raised somewhat when there was talk of an assembly of the clergy,[4] but they sank again when the assembly failed to invite his intervention, when it protested in vain against the "outrageous" decree of the parliament dealing with the chapter of Orleans, and finally when dissension among the Bishops seemed to preclude the possibility of any definite action.[5] Nevertheless he still held back, it being the opinion of many in Rome that there was only one way of uniting the Bishops : for the Pope to open his mouth ; then with one voice they would all turn against him.[6]

On Choiseul's arrival in Rome Benedict's attitude towards him was again guided by the thought that nothing could be done in the religious question without the king. He therefore let the envoy make his peace proposals, merely making a few additions to them and adapting them to the requirements of the Church. The Secretary of State, Valenti, assured Choiseul at their very first meeting that the Pope would do nothing that would displease the king. Benedict himself spoke in the same vein [7] and continued to maintain a friendly attitude

[1] March 14, 1753, Boutry, 251.

[2] May 30, 1753, *ibid.*, 268.

[3] *Ibid.*, 196, 207 (1752), 318 (1754), 395, 397 (1755).

[4] Letters of November 27, 1754, and May 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 375, 411.

[5] Letters of September 10, October 8 and 29, 1755, *ibid.*, 438, 445, 551.

[6] To Tencin, November 12, 1755, *ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

[7] Choiseul on November 6 and 13, 1754, Boutry, 4–9.

towards the envoy,[1] even when the Archbishop of Paris was banished to Conflans and the attitude of the French Bishops on this occasion was the daily talk of the Cardinals in Rome, while he himself was writing to Tencin [2] that the news of the Archbishop's banishment had made his blood run cold, and finally when a storm of indignation was sweeping through the city, and the French nuncio was forwarding bitter complaints to Rome.[3] On the other hand, Valenti explained to the envoy that it was hardly surprising that the Pope considered himself obliged to make representations to the French Court, for it was very painful to him to be accused of cowardice by the French Bishops.[4] Benedict did in fact send a letter to the king,[5] emphasizing the unrestricted right of the Church to decide on matters connected with the Sacraments; and Cardinals Besozzi, Tamburini, and Galli were instructed to confer together on the French situation.[6]

Otherwise, however, in spite of the many alarming events in France, the Pope remained steadfast in his resolution to show every confidence in the French Government. He accepted Rouillé's explanation of the banishment of the Archbishop of Paris, that the king had only wanted to forestall the parliament and to prevent its interference.[7] When, on March 18th, 1755, the parliament decided against the validity of the Bull *Unigenitus* [8] Valenti expressed his amazement at such arrogance, but after the decree in question had been declared invalid by the Council the Pope expressed himself as satisfied [9] and said that he would act in conjunction with the king and that he had his confidence.[10]

[1] *Ibid.*, 40.
[2] On December 18, 1754, Heeckeren, II., 380.
[3] Choiseul on January 8, 1755, *ibid.*, 27.
[4] The same on November 15, 1754, *ibid.*, 11.
[5] On February 26, 1755, *ibid.*, 30, n. 2.
[6] Choiseul, on January 8, 1755, *ibid.*, 23.
[7] *Ibid.*, 14.
[8] See above, p. 256, n. 5.
[9] Choiseul on April 23, 1755, *ibid.*, 43.
[10] *Ibid.*, 53 *seq.*, 59.

Choiseul would have liked Benedict to have settled the trouble without having recourse to a Congregation of Cardinals but the Pope assured him that only those Cardinals would be called in consultation who had his, Choiseul's, approval. Accordingly Tamburini, Galli, and Spinelli were selected. D'Elce was rejected by the envoy as being too old, and in his place he chose Landi, on account of his sincere devotion to France. Passionei, too, had to be included as being too dangerous a personage to be omitted, and it was thought that in spite of his pride, his fiery temperament, and his superficial way of thinking, he would follow the lead of Tamburini and Spinelli.[1] Thus, to quote the Pope, the selection of the Cardinals might have been made by the French Court itself.[2]

On December 19th, 1755, Rouillé wrote to Choiseul that the Pope ought not merely to issue another Brief in the manner of Clement IX., whose acceptance would have to be ensured by a decree of the Royal Council, but that he should make up his mind to publish a formal Bull which would acquire legal force through being registered in every parliament. In this Bull the expression *Motu proprio* was to be avoided, the Bull *Unigenitus* was not to be described as a rule of Faith or by any other means to be given its full value ; it should simply be said that it was to be respected and obeyed by the faithful. Finally, in the spirit of the royal declaration of September 2nd, 1654, the Pope was to recommend silence on the points at issue and to leave to confessors in the confessional the decision as to disobedience against the Bull *Unigenitus*.[3]

In a covering note intended only for Choiseul the Government itself expressed its doubts as to the possibility of all the foregoing stipulations being observed.[4] Under the same date the king forwarded the Pope the statement made by the assembly of the clergy and assured him of his intention to

[1] *Ibid.*, 61 *seq.*

[2] HEECKEREN, II., 484.

[3] BOUTRY, 68 n.

[4] CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 147.

co-operate with him in settling the various disputes.[1] Again the Pope received Choiseul in a very friendly manner. He agreed with what had been said in the royal communication about the incompleteness of the Clementine peace and he read the relative passage twice.[2] He made no difficulty about undertaking to issue a Bull in which French ears would not be offended by any objectionable expression and said that he was prepared to submit the draft of it to the French king. Nor had he any objection to silence being imposed on the questions in dispute. But the other points gave rise to difficulties in his mind. How could he avoid expressing his opinion on the character of the Bull *Unigenitus* ? All the Bishops of France described it as a dogmatic Bull and consequently as a rule of Faith.[3] The demand that seemed to the Pope the most difficult to grant was that the question of revolt against the Bull *Unigenitus* should be decided only in the secrecy of the confessional. A concession such as this needed careful consideration if it was not to provoke a fresh war. Open rebellion demanded open atonement, and whoever declared himself to be opposed to the Bull on his death-bed ought also to suffer public ecclesiastical punishment. Choiseul replied that he would report to the king.[4] It was then agreed that the Pope was to set down briefly in writing the doubtful points in the proposed Bull and refer them to the six Cardinals

[1] Boutry, 67 n.

[2] *Ibid.*, 70.

[3] Choiseul, suspecting that Benedict held a different view of the matter, asked him point blank whether he personally considered it to be a rule of Faith. " I ? No," replied the Pope, caught off his guard. " Well," said Choiseul, " all that the king wants is Your Holiness's personal opinion." " In this matter," said Benedict, " we shall be able to satisfy the king " (*ibid.*, 71 ; *cf.* 208 and Piatti, *Storia de' Pontefici*, XII., Venezia, 1768, 423). The only conclusion to be drawn is that according to Benedict XIV., and theologians as a whole, the Bull is not a rule of Faith in the strict sense ; its validity in other respects, however, Benedict frequently upheld in unambiguous terms. See above, p. 226.

[4] Boutry, 73.

composing the commission, who in their turn were to write down their individual proposals for the draft of the Bull and present them signed and sealed, without conferring among themselves, to the Pope. The Pope was then to draft the Bull himself and to send the draft to the king, who was being informed by a Papal letter [1] of the proposed method of procedure. Benedict then delivered to the six Cardinals the memorial presented by the assembly of the clergy, together with the covering letter from the king, the proposals of the French Court, and an instruction from himself, asking for suggestions how the troubles in France might be finally settled.[2]

The Cardinals began their work but made but little progress, while the envoy did his best to expedite affairs and to remove possible obstacles. In particular he asked the Pope not to reply to any letters that might come from the French prelates, lest he might tie his hands by some imprudent expression of opinion. Benedict replied that he had already written to them that he could not give them a decision until he had come to a clear understanding with the king, and as for the memorial of the Archbishop of Auch, which was particularly unwelcome to the envoy, he had made no mention of it to the Cardinals.[3] Choiseul also wrote to Paris that communication between the Bishops and the Pope ought to be restricted as much as possible ; in their letters they spoke in an exaggerated fashion of schism and the downfall of religion. In any case the Pope was apprehensive, and after a time it would be impossible to banish this fear from his mind. Moreover, if the slightest sign of this came to the knowledge of the Cardinals the negotiations would be spun out indefinitely. It was therefore suggested that the king should hold back the letters from the French Bishops for six months, by which time everything would probably be settled.[4]

[1] Of January 3, 1756 (*ibid.*, 74 *seq.*, n.), delivered on January 15 (*ibid.*, 80).

[2] *Ibid.*, 81.

[3] Boutry, 82.

[4] *Ibid.*, 83 *seq.*

Meanwhile Choiseul was doing all he could to bring the matter to a conclusion. Through Valenti he urged the Pope to spur on the Cardinals in their work [1]; he visited the Cardinals separately [2] and in Paris he advised that the Pope's letter be answered with the least possible delay, since, until he had an answer, the Pope would take no further step.[3] To confirm the Pope's good will, he suggested in Paris [4] that at the same time as the draft of the Bull was returned the Pope should be sent the draft of the royal declaration by which the Bull would be endowed with full legal force in the eyes of the French law. At last Choiseul was able to hand the Pope the royal reply of January 25th,[5] which described the order of universal silence on the points in dispute as the only way of obtaining peace.[6] But with this the Pope refused to agree, arguing that he was being asked to take a step which would cover him with shame both at the present time and in the centuries to come. To this Choiseul said quite openly such expressions made him feel that it was the French Bishops who were speaking through the Pope's mouth. On the question of silence another lively argument arose in connection with a memorial on the French demands.[7] The Pope, highly indignant, said that he would not allow his work to suffer the same fate as the Bulls of Clement XI., that it was unthinkable that a Pope should prevent his Bishops speaking about a Papal decree, that he had no desire to make himself despised, in short, that he refused to yield on this point. Nor would he allow Choiseul's retort to pass uncorrected, that in other countries besides France a deep silence was everywhere maintained on the Bull *Unigenitus*. In France, he replied, the Bull had actually been

[1] *Ibid.*, 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, 87.

[3] *Ibid.*, 85, 86.

[4] On February 4, 1756, *ibid.*, 88.

[5] On February 7; see Choiseul on February 11, 1756, *ibid.*, 89 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 90 n.

[7] *Ibid.*, 91 *seq.*, n.

demanded, by Louis XIV., which was not the case in other countries. Nevertheless Choiseul persisted in his request, arguing that the king knew his country and that the memorial had indicated the only means of obtaining peace which he could accept at the hands of the Roman Court. The Pope responded with general assurances that he would do nothing without the king and referred the envoy to the draft of the Bull, which he would have ready in a short time.

The other demands made in the memorial met with no opposition. It was desired in Paris that the Pope should not describe the Bull *Unigenitus* as a judgement on the teaching of the Church, since then, on the strength of the opinion expressed by the French Bishops, it would be represented as a rule of Faith, and this would provoke the opposition of the civil authorities. The last point made in the memorial concerned the opponents of the Bull. The king, it held, obviously could not insist on secret ecclesiastical penalties for the public contradiction of the Bull, but once the law of silence was promulgated its infringement became a public offence and could be punished publicly as well as privately.

By the middle of February the Cardinals who had been asked for their opinions had handed them in, except Passionei and Tamburini, who were still engaged in preparing a lengthy joint memorial. The Cardinals' opinion on the law of silence was more accommodating than the Pope's; it was that the Bull should recommend but not actually command silence; the king could then give this admonition the force of law. As to the duty of questioning an applicant before administering the Sacraments, they held that the parish priest ought not to put any questions on his own authority but to follow the ritual of the diocese and when dealing with the sick not to be guided by any other principles than those he would follow when dealing with the healthy. Choiseul made out that he had persuaded the Pope's theological adviser, the Dominican Ricchini, to adopt the more lenient view. Cardinal Spinelli had assured Choiseul that the Pope had said himself that to satisfy the king he would alter the draft of the Bull four or five times if necessary. During the Carnival, said Choiseul, the Pope

would make up his mind and draft the Bull. Once the draft had been prepared, the king would have won the game, for the Pope valued his work too much to allow it to be wasted altogether ; rather than that he would resign himself to the most far-reaching alterations.[1]

And indeed, immediately after Shrove Tuesday, Choiseul was able to report that the Pope had finished his work and that after it had been looked over by the Cardinals it would be in his hands.[2] Its secrecy was well kept even though there were fifteen persons who could have divulged it.[3] The Pope wrote to Tencin that in spite of his old age and the pain he was suffering from the gout, he had seen, read, and examined everything, and had then drawn up the outline of the constitution, which he had communicated to the most judicious and moderate of the Cardinals.[4] Debts had to be paid before the Easter Communion, he said jokingly to the envoy,[5] and he too hoped that everything would be finished before then. The remarks that had been sent in by the nuncio Gualtieri and those which he foresaw would be made by the French Bishops would be disregarded, since time was precious.[6] Translated into French and accompanied by a letter to the king, everything was then sent to Paris through Choiseul.[7] The Pope had abstained from issuing a formal Bull owing to the many formalities which would be necessary to make it effective in France ; he contented himself with writing an ordinary Encyclical to the Bishops.[8]

But although Benedict did all he could to show that he trusted in the French Government, he was very doubtful that his efforts would be rewarded with success,[9] and events seemed

[1] Choiseul to Rouillé, February 18, 1756, *ibid.*, 98 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, 108, 131.
[4] To Tencin, March 10, 1756, Heeckeren, II., 484.
[5] On March 17, *ibid.*, 486.
[6] *Ibid.*, 484.
[7] Letter, of March 24, 1756, *ibid.*, 487.
[8] Crousaz-Crétet, 150.
[9] Choiseul, on May 5, 1756, Boutry, 136.

to show that he was right. Week after week went by, but no answer came.[1] At last he became impatient, complaining that when he had been at work a pistol had been held to his head, forcing him to hurry, but that now the Government seemed in no hurry at all.[2] Choiseul did his best to calm him and at the same time urged haste on Paris, for at the end of May the Pope would retire into the country, when the envoy would be able to speak to him only once a month and would thus be unable to refute the arguments of his adversaries.[3]

Meanwhile the Bishops who had formed a minority at the assembly of the clergy were writing treatise after treatise.[4] Benedict read the first part of their memorial and then sent word to France that there was no need to send the second.[5] There were also a number of writings being sent in by the majority party at the assembly, including a letter from Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, but Choiseul wrote to Paris[6] that it would be dangerous to hand on anything of this kind to the Pope, lest he might think that he was being taught his business. Benedict refused to accept a memorial presented by the majority party, saying that all that kind of writing was futile. He had reflected long enough, he maintained, and he had made up his mind what course to take. When the king's answer came he would decide the matter without reference to either party. He had read something of what had been written by La Rochefoucauld's opponents and was convinced that it

[1] " *Continua N. S. le sue serie applicazioni sul grande ed importantissimo affare, ma sempre più dubbioso dell' esito, attesa, come ha detto, la debolezza della Corte, l'ardire del partito e la disunione de' vescovi, i quali di tanto tempo non hanno neppur terminato non che trasmesse le loro informazioni." The Secretary of State to the nuncio Gualtieri, March 3, 1756, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 519v, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] For the cause of the delay, see Crousaz-Crétet, 150 *seq.*

[3] Choiseul, on April 21 and May 3, 1756. Boutry, 134, 136 *seqq.*

[4] The same on May 5, *ibid.*, 136 *seqq.*

[5] The same on April 7, *ibid.*, 128 *seqq.*

[6] On May 12, 1756, *ibid.*, 141.

was only adding fuel to the flames.[1] He also wrote to Tencin [2] that the writings of the minority had been examined by himself as well as by Tamburini and Galli, and they were all of the opinion that in places they had overstepped the limits of a salutary strictness, that their assertions were theologically and canonistically untenable, and that if put into practice they would disrupt the country.

On the night of May 23rd the courier arrived with Louis XV.'s reply.[3] In the accompanying memorandum exception was taken to three points in the Papal draft. Disobedience to the Bull, it was thought in Paris, ought not to be described as grievous sin, since the Bishops had not employed this term. Submission to the Bull " in mind and heart " ought not to be demanded, since this would make it an article of Faith. Finally, up till then, the only discussion in France had been about the refusal of Communion to persons who were seriously ill ; the draft, however, contemplated the withholding of it from the healthy also, and this might provoke fresh disputes.[4] It was also asked that the Pope should make no mention of appellants, and that both appellants and reappellants, if there were any of them left, should be allowed to live and die in their obscurity, for their day was over. Nor should there be any mention of the writings against the Bull, since their authors had not disclosed their names.[5] The Pope replied to Choiseul that he could not give an immediate decision on these matters. He had the memorandum inspected in turn by Cardinals Spinelli, Landi, Tamburini, Galli, and Valenti, and assured Choiseul of his intention to meet the king's wishes as far as possible but that nothing would come from his pen that might afterwards be brought up against him as being a slur

[1] Choiseul, on May 19, 1756, *ibid.*, 143, 145, 153.

[2] On May 12, HEECKEREN, II., 498.

[3] Of May 14, *ibid.*, 150 n.

[4] Benedict to Tencin, June 2, 1756, *ibid.*, 504 ; BOUTRY, 154 n.

[5] " . . . afin de ne pas en rendre le goût qui commençait à passer et jugeant préférable de laisser les appellants et réappellants, s'il en reste encore quelques-uns, vivre et mourir dans leur obscurité." BOUTRY, 155 n.

on the Papal reputation.[1] He did not ask the French to speak Italian instead of French, and he ought not to be asked to speak French instead of Italian.[2]

In his eagerness to satisfy the French Court the Pope continued to work during his villeggiatura in Frascati. To the French Court's desire that he should send an Encyclical to the Bishops rather than issue a Bull, he assented, and consideration was paid to all the proposed modifications. In this Encyclical he refrained, for the sake of peace, from saying a word about the maltreatment of the French Bishops by the parliament, and it was only in an accompanying letter to the king that any reference was made to the rights of the episcopate. If the usual custom had been followed the Encyclical would have been printed in Rome, but out of special consideration for the king permission was given for this to be done in Paris, and it was left to him to decide whether it was to be published or not.[3] As all the wishes of the Court had been fulfilled it seemed to Benedict unnecessary to send the draft of the Encyclical to Paris a second time, but when Choiseul insisted on it he gave way.[4]

In a covering letter to the king [5] the Pope stated that he had been unable to make any further concession and that it had been difficult enough to carry the Cardinals with him as far as he had. He asked the king to see to the observance of the Encyclical, for without the support of the royal authority it would be of no avail. He asked him also to see that his Brief was put into effect, otherwise the ecclesiastical authority in the matter of the administration of the Sacraments would be suppressed, and the clerical and civil authorities would never be in harmony. It was impossible for the Bishops to relinquish the authority with which God had endowed them for the guidance and the welfare of souls.

[1] *Ibid.*, 148 ; to Tencin on June 23, 1756, Heeckeren, II., 509.
[2] To Tencin, May 26, 1756, *ibid.*, 502 ; Boutry, 154.
[3] To Tencin, June 30, 1756, Heeckeren, II., 510.
[4] Choiseul, on July 7, Boutry, 158.
[5] Of July 18, *ibid.*, 163 n.

Again there was an interval of over two months before an answer came from Paris. At the end of August Benedict expressed his discontent in unmistakable terms. When he had been at work pressure had been put upon him to make all possible speed for the sake of religion and the kingdom, but now more time was being taken than Rome had found necessary to examine and make ready the whole draft of the letter. It was clearly useless for him to entertain the hope of seeing peace restored before his death.[1]

Choiseul impressed on Paris the necessity for speed, especially now that the Secretary of State Valenti was dead,[2] and there was little hope of obtaining any successful result from his successor Archinto when he took command of affairs. The Pope declined to delay Archinto's nomination for a fortnight, by which time the king's reply was expected to arrive, but he made the concession of allowing the envoy to continue dealing directly with himself.[3] On the whole, the Pope was more than satisfied with the envoy; he paid him the compliment of saying that when Choiseul had returned to France he would have two nuncios there.[4]

At last, on September 23rd, the draft of the Encyclical came back from Paris,[5] with remarks made by the Court; but of these the only one which seemed at all encouraging to the Pope was that the envoy was empowered to conclude the negotiations without further reference to the king. Apart from some minor points, which were easy to settle, there was one great stumbling block: the king desired that "notorious" Jansenism, on which account the Sacraments were to be withheld from the dying, should be found to be present only when it was confirmed by a judicial decision or by the admission of the invalid himself; a "notoriety" deduced from

[1] Choiseul, on August 31, 1756, Boutry, 170 *seq.*

[2] He died on August 28, 1756, Heeckeren, II., 528.

[3] Boutry, 174.

[4] Choiseul, on September 29, 1756, *ibid.*, 176; Benedict XIV. to Tencin on August 11, 1756, Heeckeren, II., 520.

[5] Boutry, 176.

the general conduct of the invalid in the past was not to be recognized, since this would subject him entirely to the caprice of the parish priest. The Pope rejoined[1] that notoriety resulting from the actual behaviour of the invalid was recognized by everyone, including the Bishops at the last assembly of the clergy; he could not leave the Bishops in the lurch, and the precise description of actual notoriety as contained in his Encyclical precluded any abuse.[2] Finally, Choiseul had to rest content with Benedict's toning down of some of his expressions.[3]

But before the final conclusion was reached, several other difficulties and disturbances had to be overcome. The Pope wanted to discuss with the Cardinals the concessions he had made, but except for Landi and Galli all the consultors were away from Rome.[4] And then at the most unfortunate moment possible another disturbance arose in France. On September 19th the Archbishop of Paris, who had been banished to Conflans, had read from the pulpit a pastoral letter which he had also had printed in secret and distributed.[5] In the introduction to this letter Beaumont protested against the misguided desire for conciliation which on the plea of maintaining peace compromised dogma to some extent. The Bishops had kept silent because of their love of peace, the fear of embittering relations, the hope that better times would come, and the thought that a shepherd of souls was in duty bound to exhaust every expedient that was charitable and moderate; but when he saw how the Church was laid waste, the sanctuary desecrated, the Sacraments handed over to the authority of secular courts, dogmatic decisions flouted, priests banished, imprisoned, and outraged, he quivered with indignation at the silence that was being kept. He therefore forbade his

[1] To Tencin, September 29, 1756, HEECKEREN, II., 531.

[2] *Ibid.* *Cf.* letters to Tencin on October 20 and November 3, 1756, *ibid.*, 536, 538.

[3] Choiseul on October 9 and 17, 1756, BOUTRY, 182, 184.

[4] To Tencin, October 6, 1756, HEECKEREN, II., 533.

[5] RÉGNAULT, 1878, II., 833; FLEURY, LXXVII., 703 *seq.*

flock to read or to keep certain parliamentary decrees. Whoever, in order to receive the Sacraments, invoked the intervention of lay judges or advised others to do so, were forthwith excommunicated, as was also every official or judge who in his official capacity interfered with the administration of the Sacraments. Priests were forbidden to administer the Sacraments in compliance with an official order.[1] Quite a number of Bishops openly sided with Beaumont.[2]

The Archbishop's letter was welcomed by the French Government. Rouillé wrote at once to Choiseul,[3] instructing him to give an exact description of the incident to the Pope and to use it as a means of extracting from the Pope the desired alterations in the Encyclical; the envoy was unlikely to have a better opportunity of rendering an important service to the Church and State. The Secretary of State Archinto most definitely disapproved of the Archbishop's action and told Choiseul that the Pope too would condemn it as an obstacle to the peace which it was hoped to restore and as showing scanty respect for the king or even for the Pope. Benedict did indeed express his astonishment at the pastoral letter and said that he had thought Beaumont was more discreet.[4] Nevertheless he did not entirely withdraw his favour from the Archbishop, describing as "fine" the

[1] Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 834–6; Fleury, *loc. cit.*, 704.

[2] Between October 29 and December 5 the Bishops of Saint-Pons, Troyes, Metz, Amiens, Auxerre, Tours, Chartres, Meaux, Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux. Régnault, *loc. cit.*, 841.

[3] On September 26, Boutry, 179 n.

[4] Choiseul on October 6, 1756, *ibid.*, 179 *seq.* In a letter of October 10 Benedict asked the king "de continuer d'user de son héroique modération à l'égard du pauvre archevêque de Paris, . . . sur ce qu'il n'a pas fait, dans l'embarras où il se trouvait, toutes les réflexions qu'il aurait dû faire" (*ibid.*, 182 n.; Heeckeren, II., 534 n.). In writing to the king, the Pope informed Tencin on October 13 (*ibid.*, 534), he had disregarded the "fond du mandement" [of the Archbishop] "qui nous a paru juste" and had based his letter on the assumption that Beaumont had broken his promise to the king.

accompanying letter which Beaumont sent him together with his pastoral letter, though, in accordance with the king's wish, he replied to it with an admonition to keep the peace.[1]

Archinto was thus able to write to Gualtieri [2] that the Pope had played his part and that it was now the duty of the king, in accordance with his repeated promises, to persevere in exerting his authority for the preservation of religion and the peace of the realm.

After Choiseul had sent the Pope's Encyclical to Paris his task in Rome had been accomplished, and he was thinking of returning to France when, on November 18th, the Pope was seized with an illness which brought him near to death.[3] On November 21st he received the Last Sacraments and on December 14th he signed the profession of Faith to which it is the custom of the Popes to subscribe before their death.[4] Arrangements for the funeral had already been made and the order given for the preparation of the conclave.[5] But even on his sick-bed Benedict still continued to take an interest in French affairs and asked if a courier had come with news of his Encyclical.[6] To the surprise of his physicians he rallied once again and at a consistory of Cardinals at the end of the year spoke of his recovery and gave notice of his Encyclical and of the accompanying Brief.[7] On January 3rd, 1757, he gave them fresh news of the steps taken by Louis XV. in dealing with the Parliament.[8]

Meanwhile the two documents had arrived in Paris. The

[1] HEECKEREN, II., 540. The letter has been lost. BOUTRY, 189.

[2] *On October 20, 1756, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 544v, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Choiseul on November 20, 1756, BOUTRY, 194.

[4] Choiseul *ibid.*, copy, and on December 15, BOUTRY, 200.

[5] The same on December 22, *ibid.*, 201.

[6] *Ibid.*, 199, 202, 204.

[7] FLEURY, LXXVII., 726 *seqq.*

[8] " *Diede parte al s. Collegio delle resoluzioni prese dal Re di Francia col suo Parlamento con un discorso proprio e bello et all' improviso, che poi nell' istesso giorno volle dettare ad istanza del marchese di Stainville ambasciatore di Francia per mandarlo

Encyclical,[1] which alone was the subject of public discussion, was addressed to the members of the clerical assembly, whose representations had called forth the Papal decision. The expressions to which the Government had objected for the sake of the parliament were not employed. Thus the Bull *Unigenitus* was not explicitly referred to as a " rule of Faith ", nor its rejection as a " grievous sin ", nor was it demanded that submission to the Bull must be made " with mind and heart " ; but all this was expressed in equivalent terms of speech. The authority of the Bull within the Church was so great, it was stated, and in every place it called for such sincere respect, compliance, and obedience that no member of the Church could refuse the submission due to it or oppose it in any way without endangering his eternal salvation.[2] Whoever, therefore, publicly and notoriously revolted against the Bull and was convicted of this revolt by a judicial sentence, his own admission, or his conduct, could not receive Communion ; on the other hand, he was not to be excluded because of rumours, conjectures, and the like. Whoever, therefore, asked for the Sacraments for the dying, was in general not to be refused unless he was excluded from the Easter Communion. But if anyone was suspected with good reason, the parish priest was to speak to him in private and make it clear to him what he was about to do. If he continued

al Re, e ciò fu cagione che nella notte fu nuovamente attaccato dalla febre e dal male d'orina e ridotto a cattivi termini. Per altro la dichiarazione del Re accennuta, della quale fu fatta tanta pompa, non era punto favorevole alla Chiesa ; e così ne giudicavano prudentemente quelli che erano bene intesi dei costumi di Francia, et è certo che il Papa fu sorpreso e circonvenuto dal marchese di Stainville ambasciatore di Francia." MERENDA, *Memorie*, fo. 162v, Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[1] Of October 16, 1756. FLEURY, LXXVII., 706–716 ; ROSKOVÁNY, III., 199–203. The well-informed Merenda writes : " *Questo Breve o lettera fu opera del card. Spinelli, studiato e consultato in Palestrina con alcuni teologi e particolarmente col Castegnasco, Min. obs." *Loc. cit.*

[2] FLEURY, LXXVII., 709.

to demand the Sacrament he was to be left to the judgment of his own conscience.

Choiseul's task being now completed, he sent his letter of farewell to the Pope on March 25th, 1757.[1]

(4)

The assembly of the French clergy of the year 1760 gave its unanimous assent to the Papal Encyclical.[2] With regard to the Brief, the Archbishop of Paris was of the opinion [3] that the zeal of many of the faithful would not be satisfied by it but that it contained all that was essential; had the Pope been able to do more in the conditions which then prevailed in France, he would have done it. The Bishop of Amiens, one of the most zealous of the Bishops who formed the minority party, wrote of the Papal decision [4] that what was essential had been said and that the Jansenist party could no longer assert that the Pope had no great opinion of the Bull *Unigenitus* and would like to see it buried in an everlasting silence. Against the Jansenists it had been laid down that it was not to be rejected without grievous sin, and against the parliament that there were cases in which the Sacraments must be publicly refused. It was true that the boundaries had been drawn in such a way that refusals of the

[1] BOUTRY, 217.

[2] CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 187.

[3] On January 27, 1757, RÉGNAULT, 1878, II., 696. A satire on the Encyclical, dedicated to Cardinals Spinelli and Tamburini, was communicated to all the Cardinals in Rome. Its author was thought to be a Jesuit (*MERENDA, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, 1613, fo. 166^{v}, 169^{v}; dispatch by the agent of Lucca, Filippo Maria Buonamici, of August 13, 1756, in *Arch. stor. ital.* XX. [1887], 373; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 758 *seq.*). Benedict XIV. condemned the writing in a Brief of September 5, 1757 (*Bull.* XIX., 287). "*Il peggio è," writes Merenda (*loc. cit.*), "che il Papa presso li Francesi sia tenuto comunemente per favorevole ai Giansenisti."

[4] On November 29, 1756, RÉGNAULT, 1878, II., 695 *seq.*

Sacraments would be extremely rare ; on the other hand, it was not good that everything should be left to the judgment of the priest. For himself, he was firmly resolved to comply with the Papal answer and he thought that the majority of the Bishops, if not all of them, would act as he did.

But though the Bishops might bow to the Papal decision there was another power which had no desire for peace, least of all when it came from the hands of the Pope. Even while the Encyclical was still in preparation the courts had vented their fury on the pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Paris and on the Bishops who supported him.[1] When Beaumont's letter appeared the parliament was in recess, but on September 24th the vacation chamber forbade the priests to publish it.[2] Then a series of judgments were issued by the Châtelet against the Bishops who had agreed with the Archbishop of Paris. On November 9th it condemned a document written by the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines to be torn up and burnt ; and the same treatment was ordered for the pastoral letters of the Bishops of Saint-Pons, Auxerre, and Troyes (on the 19th) and for the writings of the Bishops of Orleans and Amiens (on the 26th). More lenient was the sentence passed by the court of Tours against the Archbishop of that town ; his letter was only prohibited.[3]

When the parliament reassembled after the vacation the Archbishop's pastoral letter was the first matter to which it directed its attention. Twice, however, the king commanded it to postpone the debate on this subject. Between November 25th and December 7th protest after protest was made against this order, the occasions for them being provided by a pastoral letter of the Bishop of Troyes, a sequel to the Cougniou case in Orleans, and a fresh refusal of the Sacraments in Paris.[4] The king continuing to answer evasively, the parliament became more explicit and on December 7th banned the Pope's

[1] A list of them in [Nivelle], III., lxxxiv.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Fleury, LXXXIII., 216 *seq.*

[4] [Nivelle], III., iv–lxxxvi.

Encyclical.[1] This action was copied by the parliament of Rouen on December 9th.[2] On December 7th also fresh protests were made by the Paris parliament against a letter written by the Bishop of Troyes, who had been banished, and two days later similar protests were made against the Bishop of Orleans.[3] In the protests made on December 7th it was claimed that the excesses of the French Bishops who were revolting against the royal authority had increased to such a terrible extent that only the most unconditioned and continuous exercise of that authority, with the full force of the law, could prevent the fatal evils, domestic strife and disturbances, with which France was threatened.[4]

The king now announced that he would attend in person a *lit de justice* to be held on December 13th. The first step taken at this meeting was the proclamation of a manifesto [5] on the religious question. In the preamble of this manifesto Louis XV. stated that, for the purpose of restoring peace, he had tried to ensure for the Bull *Unigenitus* the respect due to it but that he had also tried to obviate the abuse of attributing to the Bull an importance which it did not possess. It was for this purpose that the command of silence had been issued. His efforts in the cause of peace, he claimed, had been acknowledged by the Pope ; to complete his work he was issuing some further regulations for the execution of previous laws. There followed five points which were supposed to satisfy both the Bishops and the parliament and which, of course, satisfied neither. To every concession made to the Church was attached a clause which to some extent at least nullified it. All the former ordinances concerning the Bull, it was affirmed, remained in force, but it was to have no right to the title, nature, or consequences of a rule of Faith. The law of silence was not to hinder the Bishops in the religious

[1] Fleury, LXXXIII., 221–4.
[2] *Ibid.*, 220.
[3] [Nivelle], III., lxxxvii.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Of December 10, 1756, Fleury, LXXVII., 717–722.

instruction of the people, but nevertheless it was to be strictly observed. The right to give rulings as to the administration of the Sacraments was withdrawn from the civil judge, who in no circumstance was allowed to order their administration, and the priest was not to be arraigned for refusing to administer the Sacraments when the applicant was under ecclesiastical censure or had announced his intention of disobeying the Bull. But all these concessions were rendered practically valueless by the fact that the right of appeal to a civil court in cases of alleged abuse of the official ecclesiastical authority was expressly upheld. All previous judgments on ecclesiastical disputes were to be forgotten.

The manifesto on the religious question was not the only one to be proclaimed at the *lit de justice* on December 13th. The Government had long desired to restrict the excessive influence of the parliament; but the attempts made in previous years to increase the jurisdiction of the *Grand Conseil* at the expense of the parliament had been in vain. The king now issued two more manifestoes, the first of which suppressed two chambers and sixty-four places in the council which formed part of the department of the parliament concerned with the examination of lawsuits, while the second effected drastic changes in the procedure of the court.[1] The right of remonstrance was severely curtailed, the junior members of the parliament were excluded from the general meetings of all the parliamentary chambers, and the right to register royal decrees was denied to any but these general meetings.

The result of these measures was that except for a round score of councillors of the *Grand'Chambre* the whole of the parliament ceased functioning, so that the Government was again faced with the choice of giving way on yet another occasion to the overweening magistrates or of suspending legal activity, which would have stirred up the discontent of the people, which was already near revolt, and would thus have forced the Government to give way in any case. The

[1] CAHEN, 59 *seqq.*

dilemma was solved by the attempted assassination of the king by Damiens on January 5th, 1757, the king being slightly wounded by a penknife. Damiens having been a servant in the Jesuit College in Paris twenty years back, the Jesuits became the object of the worst suspicions.[1] At the inquiry, however, it came to light that Damiens had attended the meetings of the parliament with great enthusiasm and had imbibed his hatred of the king and clergy from the speeches which he had heard delivered there.[2] The magistrates, having no desire to appear as the accomplices of an assassin, were willing to accept a compromise by which the rearrangement of the parliament was indeed postponed but not abandoned, and thus the Government was enabled, at least to some extent, to save its face.[3] Subsequently the victorious parliament stressed still more its alleged rights as a sharer in the governmental authority and became still more of a danger to unlimited monarchy by reason of the fact that all the parliaments in the realm formed themselves as "classes" into one great body.[4]

As for the clergy, their position improved after the publication of the Pope's Encyclical in so far as "Confession tickets" were no longer demanded. The parliament, however, continued to consider itself entitled to interfere in the administration of the Sacraments. After Damiens' attempt at assassination the banished Bishops were allowed to return, though the Archbishop of Paris was soon expelled again from his city of residence for having taken measures against some Jansenist hospital sisters.[5]

The Government was bolder in its dealings with the Sorbonne than it was with the parliament. A royal decree of

[1] RÉGNAULT, 1879, I., 198.

[2] Abstracts from the judicial examinations in ROHRBACHER, *Hist. universelle de l'Église cath.*, XIII., Paris, 1877, 101.

[3] CAHEN, 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*

[5] RÉGNAULT, 1879, I., 211 *seq.*, 220; A. GAZIER, *Une suite à l'histoire de Port-Royal. Jeanne de Boisgnorel et Christophe de Beaumont*, Paris, 1906.

December 2nd, 1757, forbade it to make any mention, in its lectures or its records, of the disputes about the Bull *Unigenitus*, since this would be an offence against the law of silence, which was renewed by the manifesto of December 10th, 1756. The order was impossible of execution, for how was one to lecture on the doctrine of grace without referring to the Bull which was the burning question of the hour? The faculty was therefore compelled to remonstrate against it, and since it stood on its rights in spite of many signs of unfriendliness evinced by the Government, the king gave way again in December 1758.[1]

In other respects also the law of silence was found to be incapable of restoring peace. It closed the mouths of the Catholics, while the Jansenists paid it little attention. The journal *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* pursued its former course, and it was precisely the period beginning with 1750 that saw the appearance of a number of voluminous historical works on Port-Royal, whose authors, although otherwise at loggerheads with one another, were at one in their glorification of the famous abbey.[2]

Even the Government saw that other methods would have to be adopted. Secret negotiations were opened between Paris and Rome, for the expenses of which Louis XV. is said to have placed a million *livres* at the disposal of the Comptroller-General, Laverdy. Their object was to induce the Pope to issue a Bull in which were laid down clearly and definitely the tenets concerning the doctrine of grace which must be held by every Catholic. It has been said that Benedict XIV. viewed the plan with favour and that the matter was taken up again in the reign of his successor but came to nothing.[3] Rome could not but have been shocked to find that in the Government's decree on Benedict's Encyclical the king had

[1] Feret, VI., 112–16.

[2] Gazier, II., 127–130.

[3] *Ibid.*, 109–113. The only source for these negotiations is the account given by Augustin Clément, who was sent as a delegate to Rome to represent the Jansenists.

taken it on himself to decide that the Bull *Unigenitus* was not a rule of Faith. To this new encroachment on his rights Benedict said nothing, either because it had been kept from him in his poor state of health, or because he was not inclined to ascribe too much importance to a single statement.[1]

From the beginning of 1757 the leading statesman in France was the Abbé Bernis, who was made a Cardinal in the October of that year. His principle was to keep on friendly terms with both parties to the struggle, namely the parliament and the Bishops, to offend neither of them, and by evasive methods to avoid collisions with them. Similarly he advised the new envoy to Rome, Bishop Rochechouart of Laon, to hold Rome in check by means of Gallicanism, and Gallicanism by means of Rome. Acting on these principles, he had succeeded in making a beginning with the reconciliation of the king and the parliament and in bringing about the recall of the banished clerics. On the Archbishop of Paris, however, he practised his art of persuasion with no success, although Beaumont's banishment met with only his qualified approval. At the end of 1758 Bernis himself was sent into exile by the Pompadour, his place being given to Choiseul.[2]

(5)

In Holland the cleavage between Catholics and Jansenists was essentially complete. In the provinces of Zealand, Gelderland,

[1] " *Per quello poi che mi richiede di ciò che fece Benedetto XIV. dopo la sua enciclica famosa, le dirò che quel pontefice non fece mai verun atto contro l'arresto del Re, in cui eravi l'espressione avanzata di non attribuire alla constituzione Unigenitus la qualità di regola di fede. Egli o nello stato languente in cui era di salute nulla seppe o non credette che una semplice espressione meritasse tanto risentimento contro l'arresto d'un Re e d'un Re che allora prometteva tutto benchè poi niente obtendesse." The Secretary of State to the Spanish nuncio Pallavicini on October 14, 1762, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, fo. 483v, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Crousaz-Crétet, 162–185.

and the Upper Yssel there was not a single Jansenist priest; Friesland, with the exception of Leeuwarden, had long since cast them off entirely; and not one village in the province of Utrecht had a Jansenist as parish priest. In the chief towns of the province of Holland there were Jansenists enough, but they were as shepherds without flocks.[1]

Moreover, the Jansenist Church was not only small in numbers; it was threatened with extinction. Its four Bishops, Steenoven, Barchman, Van der Croon, and Meindaerts, had been consecrated by the deposed missionary Bishop Varlet, but Varlet had died on May 15th, 1742, and however much the Jansenists might boast of their recognition abroad, no Catholic Bishop was prepared to give them a new head in the event of Meindaerts' death. Meindaerts himself, therefore, nominated and consecrated as Bishops of Haarlem, first Hieronymus de Bock, a parish priest of Amsterdam, in 1742, and then, on his speedy demise, another parish priest of Amsterdam, Van Stiphout, in 1744.[2] Against these new Bishops Benedict XIV. did not fail to raise his voice.[3] Later, in 1757, Meindaerts nominated a third Bishop, Bartholomaeus Johannes Bijlevelt of Deventer, whom he consecrated on January 25th, 1758.[4] To Meindaerts' advice of the election of the new Bishop

[1] Mozzi, II., 333 *seqq.* For conditions in the Dutch mission in 1741, see A. Van Lommel in *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 1874, 59–117.

[2] Mozzi, II., 337, 370 *seq.*

[3] Against the election and consecration of De Bock on January 24, 1741, and September 1, 1742 (Mozzi, III., 117 *seqq.*, 121 *seqq.*; *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 115, 127), against the election and consecration of Van Stiphout on June 26 and August 28, 1745 (Mozzi, III., 136 *seqq.*, 141 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, *loc. cit.*, 302, 311).

[4] Mozzi, II., 382 *seqq.*; [Dupac], 592–602. Documents for the Haarlem election in *Recueil des témoignages*, 291–9; for that of Deventer, *ibid.*, 300–4. The Jansenist Bishop of Auxerre had declared himself in favour of both the Haarlem and the Deventer elections (*ibid.*, 294, 297, 299, 328), for Deventer, also Verthamon of Luçon (*ibid.*, 363).

Benedict XIV. answered in the usual way [1]; to his announcement of the consecration he made no reply. In this last communication [2] Meindaerts had abandoned the humble, suppliant tone he had used in his former petitions of a like character; it was nothing but a violent attack on the Jesuits, whom he accused of having been the cause of the schism. Like so many other writings against the Order at this period, it was repeatedly printed and translated.[3] When appealing in 1744 against their condemnation in Rome, Meindaerts and De Bock had sent in a confession of Faith; this also failed to escape the Papal condemnation.[4]

The chapter of Haarlem had had no part in the election of the Haarlem Bishops. It was not till May 27th, 1743, that De Bock informed it of his election and consecration,[5] and it quickly protested.[6] De Bock had no church in Haarlem, his permanent residence being in Amsterdam.

In the reign of Benedict XIV. some more or less serious negotiations were undertaken by the Jansenist and Catholic clergy for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity.[7] After some fruitless discussions had taken place,[8] the ex-Capuchin Norbert in particular, who had won notoriety in the troubles in Malabar and who found himself in Holland in 1747, saw in the confused conditions in that country a promising field for his disturbing activity. There was no quarter in which he

[1] On December 29, 1757, in Mozzi, III., 189 *seqq.*; *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 326.

[2] On February 13, 1758, [Dupac], 600; Mozzi, II., 386.

[3] [Dupac], 602.

[4] Of June 26, 1745, in Mozzi, III., 132; *Bull., loc. cit.*, 303: *Acta*, II., 303.

[5] In Mozzi, III., 345 *seqq.*

[6] On June 21, 1743, *ibid.*, 348 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 148 *seqq.*; G. Brom, *De H. Stoel en de Klerezy*, reprinted from the *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XXXVIII. (1912).

[8] *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem*, XX. (1895), 1 *seqq.*, 221 *seqq.*; XXI. (1896), 429; XXIII. (1898), 178 *seqq.*

failed to exert his influence. To the Stadtholder he propounded the argument that it was the concern of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical authority to extirpate the roots of national disunity. The favour of Cardinal Corsini he succeeded in winning to such an extent that the Cardinal wrote him two letters, in November and December 1747, encouraging him in his project. He won over to himself the dean of the so-called chapter of Utrecht, Nikolaus Broedersen ; and another notable person whom he induced to fall in with his way of thinking was the Italian prelate Antonio Niccolini, who in June 1748 had been commissioned by the Secretary of State Valenti to report on conditions in the Netherlands on his way from England to Rome. The Brussels nuncio, Crivelli, on the other hand, would have nothing to do with Norbert ; he instructed the arch-priest Van der Valck to keep himself clear of the peace negotiations. Norbert's audacity and liking for trickery were notorious, he said, and it was impossible to be too much on one's guard against him.[1] Everything should be done to bring about his departure from Holland at the earliest possible moment.[2]

Neither Norbert nor the Jansenists were serious with their submission to the decrees of Rome. On March 8th, 1747, Broedersen wrote to Cardinal Valenti that the impediment to agreement was the stringent prohibitions issued by the States against acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* ; it would be best, therefore, for Rome to be satisfied with a general promise of

[1] " Novimus illius in suscipiendo audaciam ac in confingendis fallaciis et commentis proclivitatem adeoque numquam satis commendatum putamus, ut ab illius fraudibus vos caveatis." (Crivelli to Van der Valck, June 30, 1748, in Brom, *loc. cit.*, 10). " Infinita pena mi dà co' suoi raggiri il Padre Norberto unito co' Giansenisti ; ha suscitato un vespaio e lo sta stuzzicando in maniera da sentire pessime conseguenze " (Crivelli to Valenti, July 12, 1748, *ibid.*, 15).

[2] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Crivelli under the same date to Valenti (*ibid.*, 16) : " Prevedo che se non si trova la maniera di sradicare d'Olanda questo frate ben presto, ci metterà in combustione colle sue machine, raggiri e menzogne tutta quella fioridissima missione."

obedience to the Papal decrees, among which, though not expressly mentioned, the constitution *Unigenitus* would be included.[1] The probable object of these proposals, however, was to bring about the Pope's recognition of the Jansenists without their acceptance of the Bull against Quesnel. But Benedict XIV. was not to be deceived. He wrote to Cardinal Corsini[2] that Father Norbert had no right to speak of Broedersen's obedience to the Apostolic constitutions on the ground that he accepted the Tridentine confession of Faith and the ruling of the Council of Florence on the primacy of the Pope; Quesnel too could have been had on these terms. What was intended, he wrote, was to get hold of a letter from the Pope or some other important person and to turn it to a wrong use. For this reason he himself was on his guard and he trusted that Corsini was, too. Broedersen's proposals were examined by a Congregation of Cardinals, which at a meeting on October 6th, 1748,[3] decided that the Dutch Jansenists must first adopt the formulary of Alexander VII. and the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Jansenists, of course, were not prepared to do this, as they had already stated expressly in a manifesto of September 12th, 1747, though no actual protest was made.[4] Meanwhile, the Brussels nuncio, Crivelli, had bluntly refused to listen to Norbert and his citation of letters from Cardinal Corsini and had ordered him to leave the Dutch mission without delay.[5]

In spite of everything, however, a not inconsiderable movement had been set going among the Dutch Jansenists by Norbert's proposals. Putting their trust in the States, they

[1] Mozzi, III., 148 *seqq.* Van der Valck's opinion on Norbert's motives was expressed to Crivelli on August 16, 1748: "... cum Iansenistæ hic culinam eius tam sollicite curent." (Brom, 29.)

[2] On May 20, 1747, Mozzi, III., 146. *Cf.* the letter to the Brussels nuncio of November 11, 1747, *Acta*, I., 453.

[3] Extract from the records in Mozzi, III., 148–163. The members of the Congregation were Cardinals Valenti, Corsini, Tamburini, Besozzi, and the secretary Lercari.

[4] Mozzi, III., 158.

[5] *Ibid.*, 154 *seq.*

pressed for a public conference with the Catholics who were faithful to the Pope and they appealed also to the civil Government to bring such a conference into being. Benedict XIV. then became apprehensive lest some unwelcome Papal decision might provoke the States against the Catholics. Preferring not to make any reply at all and to let the matter rest, he desired, before coming to a definite decision, to have the opinion of the most reputable priests in Holland.[1] Their opinion, given almost unanimously, was that it would be wrong to enter into negotiations with the Jansenists, as they were not to be trusted. To allege as an excuse the State decrees against acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus* was a dishonourable evasion, for of the priests in Holland who had been questioned some had said they had failed to discover any such decrees,[2] while others professed their ignorance of any difficulties put in their way by the Government on account of the Bull *Unigenitus*,[3] although it was aware that this constitution was accepted by the Catholics along with all the others.[4] Accordingly the Congregation of Cardinals, meeting again on May 1st, 1749,[5] declared that it abided by its decision of the previous year.

In his report to Cardinal Valenti [6] on conditions in the Dutch mission and the prospects of reincorporating the Jansenists, Niccolini spoke most highly of the Catholics in the Netherlands. He said that he had never seen a finer Church and that were it not for the schism it would certainly be the best of all.[7] As opposed to the 200,000 Catholics there were

[1] Letter of Cardinal Valenti, December 21, 1748, *ibid.*, 166 *seq.*

[2] Mozzi, III., 172.

[3] *Ibid.*, 182.

[4] *Ibid.*, 180. An ordinance of the States of September 20, 1730, concerning the office of Gregory VII., is cited by Broedersen; it mentions the Bull but lays down no penalty for the infringement of the ordinance. *Ibid.*, 183; *cf.* 177.

[5] Extract from the records, *ibid.*, 164–189.

[6] End of August 1748, in Brom, 36–67.

[7] "Ho provato la consolazione di vedere una chiesa di cattolici, di cui, benchè in mezzo agli eterodossi, non ho giammai

only 6–10,000 Jansenists. Among the faithful the Pope was held in the highest respect. The places of worship, including those in the country, were fully equipped with costly furniture and vestments, while the parish priests, though living on the charity of their flocks, had more than enough with which to support the poor. Everywhere the parish priest was the central figure of his parish and its sole leader and comforter ; among the Catholics scandals were unknown.[1] The schism, however, was disuniting families : parents were in disagreement with their children, fathers with mothers, relatives with relatives, to such a degree that they had ceased to recognize each other in the street.[2]

veduto sin ora la più bella e che . . . chiamarei semplicemente e assolutamente la bellissima per eccelenza." *Ibid.*, 39.

[1] *Ibid.*, 40 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 44.

CHAPTER V.

Benedict XIV.'s Activity within the Church—His Legislation—The Veneration of the Saints—The Jubilee Year of 1750—The Appointment of Cardinals—The Index—The Beginning of the Undermining of the Society of Jesus.

(1)

When, at the beginning of his reign, Benedict XIV. addressed himself in an Encyclical to all the Bishops of the Church,[1] he put before them as their chief duty the education and maintenance of a good clergy. They were to be careful in their choice of candidates; it were better to have fewer priests so long as they were good ones. They were to establish seminaries, for clerics needed to be trained from their youth onwards. These seminaries were to be visited frequently, for clerics were not born but made. Priests entrusted with the cure of souls were to be impressed with the necessity for Sunday sermons and for teaching Christian doctrine. Other episcopal duties were residence among the flocks, visitations, and vigilance, for what had been prescribed at a visitation had also to be carried out. To ensure a supply of good Bishops a special Congregation was instituted,[2] which was to decide on the merits of the nominees. The duty of visiting Rome every three years was henceforth to apply not only to Bishops but also to all who wielded the equivalent of episcopal authority [3]; an instruction was drawn up, giving the points to which attention was to be paid on visits to the Eternal City [4]; and a Congregation was established for the purpose of answering questions on difficult points propounded by the Bishops.[5]

[1] On December 3, 1740, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 3 *seq.*

[2] On October 17, 1740, *ibid.*, 7 *seq.*

[3] Brief of November 23, 1740, *ibid.*, 11 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 13 *seq.*

[5] On November 23, 1740, *ibid.*, 16 *seq.*

The Pope returned more than once to the episcopal duty of residence ; for example, in a constitution for the Bishops of Ireland [1] and, a few years later, in a special Bull, in which the subject was treated generally.[2] It would be difficult, he said, to name any requisite for Church discipline that had been more frequently inculcated by the Councils and the Popes than this particular duty of the Bishops. So long as the prelates conformed to it, he ruled, they would be entitled to the nomination to benefices in the Papal months alternately with the Holy See, during the term of his pontificate. There being differences of opinion about the length of time during which Bishops might legitimately absent themselves from their Sees, Benedict XIV. revived the Congregation which had already been instituted by Urban VIII. for the settlement of the various questions arising therefrom.

So that ecclesiastical offices might be held by the most deserving persons available at any particular time the Council of Trent had prescribed the method of competition ; Benedict now supplemented the regulations for this procedure.[3] The pastor's most important duty, he declared, was to instruct the faithful in the Christian religion.[4] For all clerics he confirmed the prohibition against engaging in commerce.[5] As a means of strengthening the priestly spirit he recommended yearly exercises,[6] which he himself performed under the direction of a Jesuit, on the approach of the jubilee year.[7] The undertaking of such spiritual exercises in retirement would be blessed by the Church ; since the time of Ignatius of Loyola all the Orders had performed these exercises, and the Jesuits had established special houses for the purpose. On several occasions Benedict XIV. showed his approval of the

[1] Of August 15, 1741, *ibid.*, 39.

[2] On September 3, 1746, *ibid.*, XVII., 79.

[3] On December 14, 1742, *ibid.*, XVI., 121–5.

[4] On February 7, 1742, and June 26, 1754, *ibid.*, XVI., 64 ; XIX., 108.

[5] On February 25, 1741, *ibid.*, XVI., 19.

[6] Of September 3, 1740, *ibid.*, 3.

[7] Novaes, XIV., 148.

movement by granting special favours.[1] Similarly he praised the exercises of the Capuchins [2] and encouraged missions to the people, the benefits of which he had observed when holding former posts, including that of Bishop.[3] Missionaries in England who were members of an Order were bidden [4] to retire to the Continent every six years and there devote two weeks to spiritual exercises. On several occasions he ordered that seminarians should perform these exercises regularly.[5] Related to these decrees on exercises was one in which he recommended the practice of contemplative prayer.[6]

Having so much at heart the need for good priests, the Pope naturally did not fail to bestow his favour on the institutions devoted to their training. On acknowledging his regulations,[7] the seminary at Naples was endowed with spiritual favours,[8] while that at Coimbra, which had just been established, received an increase of revenue.[9] The training school at Recanati was given the property of a dissolved brotherhood,[10] and a similar establishment at Piacenza was presented with the property of a hospital which had closed its doors.[11] To the German College in Rome Benedict XIV. showed especial friendliness. Its church was rebuilt at his instigation, the

[1] Briefs of January 25, 1746, March 29 and May 16, 1753, *Acta*, I., 305, 433–6; Institutiones ecclesiasticæ in *Benedicti XIV. Opp.*, X., Romae, 1747 *seqq.*, Inst. 51 and 104; *De synodo*, Ferrariæ, 1764, I., 11, c. 2, n. 16, p. 65. *Cf.* H. WATRIGANT, *Benoît XIV. . . . et les retraites spirituelles*, Enghien-Paris, 1919.

[2] *Bull. Cap.*, VII., 376.

[3] To the Bishops in the Kingdom of Naples, on September 8, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 315 *seq.*

[4] On May, 30, 1753, *ibid.*, XIX., 54.

[5] *Ibid.*, XVII., 270; *Acta*, I., 317.

[6] On December 16, 1746, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 97. The Brief was issued at the instigation of Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. WATRIGANT, 25.

[7] January 13, 1746, *Acta*, I., 301, 304.

[8] On August 19, 1746, *ibid.*, 359.

[9] On March 10 and July 29, 1755, *ibid.*, II., 227, 461.

[10] On June 3, 1748, *ibid.*, I., 539.

[11] On February 23, 1746, *ibid.*, 309–329.

foundation stone was laid by his hands, and the high altar was his gift. He never failed to attend there for the devotion of the Forty Hours.[1] The greatest proof, however, of his interest in training schools was the visitation which he ordered to be made of all the colleges dependent on the Propaganda.[2] For the dioceses also he considered visitation the chief means of remedying defects. He had recommended it to the Bishops, and in Rome the custom was inaugurated by Cardinal Annibale Albani in 1745.[3]

Benedict XIV.'s importance in the life of the Church consisted chiefly, however, in his activity as a legislator. From the very beginning he seems to have set himself the task of finishing what was incomplete in ecclesiastical statutes, of clearing up uncertainties, of filling in gaps, and of recalling what had been more or less forgotten.[4] In this way it might be said of him that he rounded off the modern, post-Tridentine development of Church discipline.[5] In so doing he drew freely on the "store of experience and wisdom" which had been amassed in the Roman Church in the course of the centuries; on the other hand, "a wealth of excellent annotations and wise judgments owed their origin directly to him."[6] Of the constitutions he issued in the first six years of his pontificate, noted for their "wealth of material and their legal-historical foundation", he himself made a collection,

[1] STEINHUBER, II., 144.

[2] See below, p. 392.

[3] NOVAES, XIV., 79.

[4] To quote his own words, "Per omnem vitæ Nostræ ætatem nihil curavimus impensius, quam ut e medio sublatis contentionum, litium disceptationumque forensium dissidiis et tricis, per solam liquidamque veritatis inspectionem ius suum unicuique tribueretur." Brief for the Italo-Greek College in Rome, of December 17, 1745, *Ius pontif.*, III., 248; similarly in the Brief of February 15, 1748, on the Marian Congregations, *Institutum S.J.*, I., Florentiæ, 1892, 305.

[5] H. LÄMMER, *Zur Kodifikation des kanonischen Rechts*, Freiburg, 1899, 27.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36.

which is of great legal value [1]; he was known as "the greatest of all canonists".[2]

His legislative activity began in the first years of his pontificate. He was already issuing ordinances in 1741 concerning the system of benefices, which was to be kept free of any commercial spirit.[3] These were followed in the same year by regulations for the observance of Lent,[4] which were later repeated in a Bull addressed to all the Bishops of the Church.[5] More important were a constitution designed to protect from abuse the administration of the Sacrament of Penance,[6] and another [7] which forbade over-zealous confessors asking their penitents the names of their accomplices in sin. Many of Benedict's ordinances relate to the Sacrament of marriage. "Marriages of conscience," i.e. those celebrated without the prescribed public announcements, he did not entirely forbid, but made dependent on the permission of the Bishop.[8] He

[1] *Ibid.*, 27.

[2] RICHTER, *ibid.*, 36. *Cf.* J. FESSLER, *Sammlung vermischter Schriften über Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenrecht*, Freiburg, 1869. Particular aspects of Benedict's work on the diocesan synod are praised by SCHULTE also (III., 505), who disapproves of it as a whole: "Since at the time of its publication the book was incontestably the best exposition of the subjects under review . . . unexcelled for the clarity and intelligibility of its exposition, surpassing every other in its practical usefulness . . . the effect of the book must have been enormous." "For canon law it is the most important work of modern scholarship in existence." "Benedict was well ahead of his time; no other disciplinary body had a book so valuable as this. Benedict inaugurated for canon law the era of historical jurisprudence."

[3] NOVAES, XIV., 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23.

[5] Of June 10, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 298 *seqq.* *Cf.* PICOT, III., 96 *seqq.*

[6] Of June 1, 1741, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 32 *seq.* *Cf.* the decree of July 7, 1745, *ibid.*, 304 *seq.*

[7] Of June 7, 1746, *ibid.*, XVII., 29 *seq.* *Cf.* the Briefs of June 2 and September 28, 1746, *ibid.*, 29, 88 *seq.*

[8] On November 17, 1741, *ibid.*, 53.

took steps to put a stop to the malpractice which had arisen in Poland through the ignorance of the ecclesiastical courts of too hastily adjudging marriages to be invalid.[1] On the other hand, dispensation to enter into marriage was not to be given too easily.[2] In marriages among Jews it was tolerated that the husband might give his wife a bill of divorce in the presence of the rabbi; but this was forbidden to baptized Jews; in this respect they had to keep to the instructions of St. Paul.[3] A very important decree was that concerning marriages in the Netherlands; the Pope decided [4] that marriages there between Protestants and between Catholics and Protestants were valid; this was an exemption from the legislation of the Council of Trent, which was followed by many other exemptions for other regions.

There were also questions of other kinds that needed to be settled. Through imprudent zeal, Jewish children had been baptized without the consent of their parents. On this matter the Pope set forth the Church's principles at some length.[5] The question whether Confirmation administered by Greek priests in Italy was valid was now decided in a negative sense,[6] on the ground that the necessary authorization from the Pope had not been obtained. *A propos* of this, Benedict XIV. often gave simple priests authority to confirm, especially those in missionary countries.[7] Many of the decrees he issued related to the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Priests were allowed to accept alms at the celebration of the Mass but they were to take care to guard against avarice.[8] Severe

[1] On April 11, 1741, and May 18, 1743, *ibid.*, 26 *seq.*, 160 *seqq.*

[2] Brief of February 25, 1742, *ibid.*, 73 *seq.*

[3] Brief of September 16, 1747, *ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*

[4] Declaration of November 4, 1741, *ibid.*, XVI., 52 *seq.*

[5] On February 28, 1747, *ibid.*, XVII., 110–137. Amplified in the Brief of December 15, 1751, *ibid.*, 247. *Cf.* C. Ruch, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 341–355.

[6] On May 26, 1742, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 96 (in the constitution for the Italo-Greeks).

[7] *Cf.* the list in Hughes, II., 568, n. 4.

[8] Brief of June 30, 1741, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 35.

measures were enacted against persons unlawfully posing as priests [1] and against anyone who stole consecrated Hosts for superstitious reasons.[2] Another question settled by the Pope was what cases of necessity entitled a priest to say two Masses in one day.[3] In Spain and Portugal every priest was to be allowed to say three Masses on All Souls' Day.[4] Another ruling was that every parish priest was bound to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass for his flock on Sundays and holidays,[5] and that during the Mass an image of the Crucified was to be exposed on the altar.[6] In 1757 his own infirmity induced the Pope to apply his learning to the question whether a priest might be allowed to sit when celebrating Mass.[7]

Nearly all the reformatory decrees already mentioned were enacted during the first years of the Pope's reign. It would seem that as Benedict XIV. he felt impelled to remedy with the least delay the shortcomings he had observed as Prospero Lambertini. Also in the years that followed he discovered much that needed his decision and elucidation. Thus in 1744 he issued regulations for the Penitentiary, and in 1746 for the Dataria.[8] His Brief on interest and usury amounted to a relaxation of the stringent views which had hitherto been held.[9]

[1] January 20, 1744, *ibid.*, 196.

[2] March 4, 1744, *ibid.*, 161.

[3] On March 16, 1746, *ibid.*, XVII., 8.

[4] August 26, 1748, *ibid.*, 276–280. *Cf.* KNELLER, in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theologie*, XLII. (1918), 74–113. The concession was granted as the result of a written work by the Jesuit Em. de Azevedo. SOMMERVOGEL, I., 726, n. 10.

[5] August 19, 1744, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 214 *seqq.*

[6] Brief of July 16, 1746, *ibid.*, XVII., 77. At private Masses there was to be no obligation to administer Communion. November 13, 1742, *ibid.*, XVI., 117.

[7] NOVAES, XIV., 242 *seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 70, 85.

[9] Of November 1, 1745. *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 328; PICOT, III., 99–105; FUNK in the *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1879, 6, and in the special edition issued in honour of A. Schäffle, Tübingen, 1901; T. TIBERGHIEN, *Encyclique Vix pervenit*, Tourcoing, 1921; REUSCH, II., 847. See above, pp. 100, 201.

His decree on duelling was important,[1] and, as was only to be expected, he took up the question of ecclesiastical immunity,[2] which had given so much trouble to his immediate predecessors.

No one, it has been said, has possessed so wide a knowledge of the liturgy as Benedict XIV.[3] In this field he rendered service both as a writer, in his work on the Mass and the feasts of the Church, and as Pope, through several legislative measures. At the time when the King of Portugal was contemplating the production, at his own expense, of a new edition of the missal and a translation of the martyrology (a list of the Saints, to be used each day in choir), the Pope took the opportunity to have the martyrology read through and improved.[4] In Croatia the Glagolitic missal in the Old Slavonic language of the Church was still in use ; as many modern Croat and Latin elements had been incorporated in it, the Pope ordered a return to the unadulterated Old Slavonic.[5] He decided also to have the liturgical books of the Alexandrine rite printed in the Arabic and Coptic languages and entrusted the task to Raphael Tukhi, a former pupil of the Propaganda, who, after completing it, died in 1772.[6] The edition of the Greek Euchologion, on which work had been in progress in Rome since the time of Urban VII. and Innocent X., was completed in the reign of Benedict XIV. ; a Brief of March 1st, 1756, prescribed it for the use of the Greeks.[7] In 1741 a start was made with the revision of the Roman breviary, whose

[1] Of November 10, 1752, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 19. *Cf.* Brief to Stadler of March 3, 1753, *Acta*, II., 127 ; FOURNERET in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IV., 185 *seq.*

[2] On March 15, 1750, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 161.

[3] " . . . la plus vaste science liturgique dont jamais homme ait été orné." GUÉRANGER, *Institutions liturgiques*, II., Paris, 1880, 494, quoted in the *Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne*, II., Paris, 1910, 771.

[4] Brief to the King of Portugal, of July 1, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 240.

[5] On August 15, 1754, *ibid.*, XIX., 112.

[6] KARALEVSKIJ in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, III., 863.

[7] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 192.

defects had been observed by Benedict before he became Pope.[1] In 1744 a special Congregation, composed of Cardinals Gentili, Monti, Valenti, Tamburini, and Besozzi, was appointed to examine the proposals made by the consultors, but when the Cardinals handed in their work the Pope expressed his extreme dissatisfaction with it. If only, he wrote,[2] he had undertaken the work himself, unaided! It was easier to put the breviary itself to rights than the proposals for improvement made by the Cardinals. He did in fact take up the work himself but could not find the time to finish it.[3] The Congregation for the breviary had allowed itself to be influenced by various currents of thought running in France, where since c. 1680 almost every diocese had a breviary for itself.[4] The revision, however, of the manual for episcopal functions (*Cæremoniale episcoporum*) which had been begun under Benedict XIII. was brought to a conclusion; it was published together with a Brief on March 25th, 1752.[5] The Pope also attempted to free Church music of the theatrical style which had invaded it [6] and opposed the habit of behaving in church as in a concert hall.[7]

(2)

In the organization of the religious Orders Benedict found no lack of opportunity to act as legislator or as protector of ecclesiastical legislation. Of importance here are his directions regarding the relations between religious and their Bishops [8]; they were to be subject to them in all that concerned the

[1] Bäumer, *Brevier*, 562–584. Of his plans for its improvement Benedict wrote to Tencin on June 7, 1743, Heeckeren, I., 61. Of the need for improvement he spoke in *De can.*, IV., 2, c. 13.

[2] To Tencin, on August 7, 1748, Heeckeren, I., 421; *cf.* 125.

[3] To Tencin, on September 25, 1748, *ibid.*, 431; Bäumer, 584.

[4] Bäumer, 529–536.

[5] *Ibid.*, 530.

[6] On February 19, 1749, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 9–24.

[7] Brief of March 11, 1755, *ibid.*, XVII., 240 *seqq.*

[8] Bulls of November 6, 1744, and February 24, 1746, *ibid.*, XVI., 249; XVII., 1.

cure of souls, and the same rule applied to their relations with the Vicars Apostolic, in India or England, for example.[1] Religious living outside the house of the Order were likewise subject to episcopal authority.[2] That churches of an Order could be visited by the Bishop had already been ordained by the Council of Trent ; a few doubtful questions connected with this decision were now settled by Papal decree.[3] The question whether a priest could join a religious Order without the permission of his Bishop had been raised by Cardinal Quirini at the time when Leonardo Chizzola, Archdeacon of Brescia Cathedral, became a Jesuit without informing the Cardinal. Benedict XIV.'s decision [4] was that everyone must be free to choose a more perfect state of life. A special commission to examine the matter was unnecessary, he maintained, since out of a hundred archdeacons scarcely one would want to enter an Order, while out of a hundred monks almost all would like to be archdeacons. Ordination of a religious, the Pope ruled,[5] was the right of the Ordinary ; a religious was not to apply to any Bishop he liked.

A question of prime importance was touched on by the Pope in a Brief addressed to the Hermits of St. Augustine. The Order was contemplating a return to its original custom, by which the Prior General was chosen for life. Benedict permitted and encouraged this step. On confirming the election of the new Augustinian General [6] he said that for the

[1] Decree of May 30, 1753, *ibid.*, XIX., 49 *seq.* For the importance of the Bull, *cf.* A. GASQUET, *History of the Ven. English College at Rome*, London, 1920, 175 *seqq.*

[2] Brief of May 27, 1746, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 28.

[3] On November 6, 1745, *ibid.*, XVI., 49.

[4] On January 14, 1747, *ibid.*, XVII., 101.

[5] On February 17, 1747, *ibid.*, 106.

[6] On August 6, 1745, *ibid.*, XVI., 289. *Cf. Acta Capituli generalis a. 1745 Bononiae celebrati*, in *Analecta Augustiniana*, XIII. (1929), 5 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 82, renewed Papal confirmation of December 13, 1749, and *ibid.*, 86, records of the general chapter of 1753.

heads of Orders lifelong office was desirable. On March 4th, 1748, he enlarged upon the difficult question when the validity of vows taken in an Order might be contested.[1] Another constitution protected the enclosure of an Order by abolishing the authority to grant dispensations [2]; this important requisite of discipline in religious Orders was re-emphasized for the benefit of female religious in particular.[3] Benedict would have liked nunneries to be independent of the male branch of the Order,[4] but as the execution of such a plan was fraught with difficulties he had to content himself with issuing an instruction [5] that female religious should be given an extraordinary confessor from time to time.

The privileges of the Order of Malta and the association of secular priests that went by the name of the "Pious Workers" were confirmed by Benedict XIV.,[6] also those of the Olivetans [7] and the Brothers of Charity [8]; to the Premonstratensians he granted exemption [9] and the right to take charge of parishes.[10] The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he ruled,[11] was to be subject to the Bishops and was not to regard Mary Ward as its foundress. For the canons and the women members of the Order of the Holy Ghost who lived too far from Rome he prescribed [12] that they should now be subject, not to the

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 220 *seq.*

[2] On January 3, 1742, *ibid.*, XVI., 60.

[3] Under the same date and on October 13, 1749, *ibid.*, XVI., 62, XVIII., 54. Special decree for Portugal, of June 1, 1741, *ibid.*, XVI., 30.

[4] To Tencin, August 19, 1750, HEECKEREN, II., 50; *cf.* 40, 43, 97.

[5] On August 5, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 39.

[6] On March 12, 1753, and April 12, 1752, *ibid.*, XIX., 38 *seqq.*, and XVIII., 299 *seq.*

[7] On April 1, 1755, *ibid.*, XIX., 137.

[8] On February 14, 1749, *Acta.* II., 5–24.

[9] On September 11, 1753, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 66.

[10] On September 1, 1750, *ibid.*, XVIII., 174.

[11] On April 30, 1749, *ibid.*, 30–8.

[12] On April 5, 1741, *ibid.*, XVI., 24.

Superior of the Roman Hospital of the Holy Ghost, but to their Bishops.

The importance ascribed by Benedict to the various Orders was also shown by his consenting on several occasions to preside in person over the election of new Generals. He paid this honour to the Franciscan Conventuals on May 20th, 1741, to the Franciscan Observants on May 16th, 1750,[1] and to the Dominicans on July 5th, 1756.[2] He would have liked Ricchini, the Secretary of the Index, to become General of the Order of Preachers, but it was urged against Ricchini that he was devoted to the Jesuits. This "devotion", objected Benedict, merely meant that he did not place individual opinions on the same level as defined dogmas and did not approve of an acrimonious dispute between two famous Orders whose unity would have brought to the Church much benefit which was now prevented by their discord.[3]

This was not the only reproach which Benedict XIV. had to make against the conduct of the Orders in his time. The Capuchins alone received his unqualified praise. On March 11th, 1743, he decreed[4] that the preacher for the Apostolic Palace was always to be provided by this Order, as, indeed, had long been the custom in the past. Among the Capuchins whose sermons he had heard he singled out for praise Bonaventura Barberini, who had been raised to the archbishopric of Ferrara. To a letter thereupon addressed to him by Bonaventura he replied[5] that the Order of Capuchins deserved the praise that had been given it, since it was the

[1] NOVAES, XIV., 32, 158; to Tencin on May 20, 1750, II., 33, 34. The allocution of May 16, 1750, in *Bull. Benedicti XIV.*, Vol. XIII., Mechliniæ, 1827, 179.

[2] To Tencin, June 9 and July 7, 1756. II., 505, 512. An anecdote connected with this election in REUMONT, *Ganganelli*, 215. The Pope's address to the assembled electors in *Bull. Benedicti XIV.*, Vol. XIII., 199.

[3] HEECKEREN, II., 505.

[4] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 141.

[5] On March 26, 1753, *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 356.

only remaining example of evangelical perfection.[1] It had an abundance of distinguished preachers, and the truths to be proclaimed from the pulpit to the Pope, the Cardinals, and the prelates sounded better coming from the lips of a Capuchin than from any others.

Obviously this praise implied a rebuke for other Congregations, and in fact Benedict expressed his objection to the Orders of his time more than once. Thus he complained that the Dominicans in France had often showed themselves favourable to Jansenism.[2] As for the Jesuits, the continual complaints that in China and India they did not obey the Papal ordinances found credence with him at first.[3] At the same time, these complaints against the Dominicans and Jesuits were applicable, as Benedict expressly said, only to small groups within the two Orders.[4] He also observed serious disorders among the Franciscans.[5] On the other hand it must

[1] "cum sit unicum exemplar, quod hodiedum de perfectione evangelica remanet" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* EBERL in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 134. At about this time there were two members of the Capuchin Order who were afterwards beatified: Angelo d'Acri (d. 1739) and the lay-brother Crispino of Viterbo (d. 1750). There had already been mention of the office of preacher to the Papal Court in the middle ages. Father Antonio Massa, a Minorite, preached in 1422 at the Court of Martin V., the Vicar General of the Capuchins, Father Francesco da Iesi, in 1529, under Clement VII. But it was not until the pontificate of Paul IV. (1555–59) that the permanent office of preacher to the Papal Court was established. Until the time of Benedict XIV. the Preachers Apostolic were chosen from various religious Orders; thus Fathers B. Palmi, Toledo, Oliva, Segneri from the Society of Jesus, Da Pegna from the Carmelites; Fathers Brandi, Riccardi, and Ferrari were Dominicans, Father Pellegrini was a Missionary Brother, others were Capuchins. *Cf.* MORONI, LV., 74.

[2] See below (p. 444) and the Briefs to the Bishops of Sisteron (Lasitau) and Marseilles (Belsunce), of September 18 and December 9, 1741, *Acta*, I., 84, 86.

[3] See below, p. 445.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] To Tencin, March 27, 1745, I., 188.

not be forgotten that at that time this last-mentioned Order included among its members a great Saint whom the Pope highly valued: Leonardo of Porto Maurizio—and Leonardo himself testified of the reform group of the Franciscans, to which he belonged, that it had rendered excellent service and was most highly thought of in every quarter.[1] Teofilo da Corte, canonized in 1930, died shortly before Benedict XIV.'s election.

Otherwise, when speaking of the religious associations of his time, the Pope can hardly be cited as a witness to the general decay of the Orders. When certain reforms among the Carthusians came up for consideration, he wrote [2] that this Order was worthy of every consideration and if in France it was the most exemplary of all, the same was true of the Order in Italy. The Brief [3] with which he reserved for the Theatines a post among the consultors of the Congregation of Rites, speaks of the shining examples of piety and religious perfection, combined with outstanding knowledge of sacred subjects which the sons of the Order, from its very beginning, had given the world, day after day, to the benefit of the Catholic Church. Among the Theatines who had rendered meritorious service Cardinal Giuseppe Maria Tommasi [4] and Gaetano Merati (d. 1745) were singled out for special praise.

When Benedict XIV. allotted to the Jesuits also a permanent place among the consultors of the Congregation of

[1] "Non si può negare che questa Congregazione non faccia un gran bene nella nostra Italia, e da per tutto dove vado sento il buon odore di questi ottimi operai, perchè assistono al confessionale e sono indefessi in aggiustare le anime e porle nel buon sentiero." To Benedict XIV., on July 9, 1751, in INNOCENTI, 301.

[2] To Tencin, April 26, 1752, II., 182.

[3] Brief of March 20, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 288: "luculenta pietatis et religiosæ perfectionis exempla . . . , quae . . . in dies proferre pergunt religiosissimi eiusdem [ordinis] alumni."

[4] "immortalis memoriæ vir, doctrinæ præstantia, morum sanctimonia et austerissima vivendi forma clarissimus et spectatissimus". (*ibid.*). *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 351.

Rites he did not stint his praise of the Society of Jesus in the introduction to his Brief. The members of this Order, he wrote, by their practice of virtue and learning, were still justifying [1] the universal conviction that God had opposed the reformers of the sixteenth century with St. Ignatius and his sons, so that they deserved fresh evidence of the good favour of the Holy See ; the Society of Jesus which was being so violently decried for its disobedience was then described as " most devoted to the Holy See ".[2] A few years later, from among the many virtues for which the Order was famous, he picked out for special tribute no other than its extraordinary obedience to the Apostolic See,[3] and gave the missionaries of the Order special privileges. On quite a number of occasions he went out of his way to compliment them. Thus in one of his Briefs [4] he said that he was opening the store of heavenly treasures for those who from love of God and their neighbour and from religious zeal were doing their utmost to promote the welfare of souls in the missions, and that among them he included the members of the Society of Jesus, especially those who had been sent out by the then General, Retz.

These words of commendation were borne out by the favours which he bestowed on the Order. Great relief was afforded to it by the granting of its repeatedly expressed desire for the

[1] " comprobare pergunt ". Brief of April 24, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 227.

[2] " addictissima huic S. Sedi ipsa Iesu Societas ". *Ibid.*

[3] " Quo luculentioribus religiosarum virtutum exemplis ac præsertim singulari erga Nos et Apostolicam hanc Sedem observantia et obedientia increscere te, dilecte fili [the Jesuit General, Visconti], et inclitam Societatem Iesu . . . magna cum pontificii animi Nostri lætitia intelligentes gratulamur, eo amplioribus apostolicæ benignitatis potestatisque argumentis par æquumque esse ducimus, uti te eiusdemque Societatis tuæ religiosos alumnos [in the Portuguese possessions], assiduos labores sedulamque operam navantes, prosequamur." Brief of March 3, 1753, *Acta*, II., 128 ; similarly in the Brief of March 2, for the Spanish colonies, *Ius pontif.*, III., 520.

[4] Of January 12, 1743, *Acta*, I., 139 ; *Ius pontif.*, III., 95.

abrogation of Innocent X.'s instruction that a general congregation be held every nine years.[1] In the introduction to the relative Brief the Pope again bore witness to the Society's indefatigable activity, which was of the greatest profit to the Church of God.[2] Further evidence of his good will towards the Order was afforded by his confirmation of all the privileges enjoyed by the Marian congregations,[3] the beneficial effects of which he had himself experienced in his youth, and by his recommendation of the Jesuit exercises.[4]

The General of the Order, Retz, was honoured by the Pope with special marks of his esteem; his state of health was frequently described by him in his correspondence [5] and once, when he was ill, he was unexpectedly visited by Benedict from Castel Gandolfo.[6] He was received by the Pope on an appointed day in every week, and on important matters he

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXX., 178.

[2] "Devotam maiori Dei gloriæ promovendæ adiuvandæque proximorum saluti Societatem . . . sicuti Ecclesiæ Dei utilissimam operam assidue navare . . . compertum habemus," etc. Brief of December 17, 1745, *Institutum S.J.*, I., 262.

[3] "Golden Bull" of September 27, 1748, *ibid.*, 283–292.

[4] See above, p. 295. In a Brief of April 24, 1748, concerned with these Congregations he said that the sons of the Order "Christi bonus odor sunt et ubique gentium habentur" (*Instit. S.J.*, I., 278). In a Brief of July 15, 1749, it was said of the priests of this Order that they "non ultimum locum et gradum inter tot religiosos ordines . . . sibi vindicant, quippe qui assiduis laboribus", etc. (*ibid.*, 293 *seq.*).

[5] To Tencin on November 4 and 25, 1750, II., 73, 75.

[6] To the same, November 4, 1750, II., 70. On this occasion he referred to him as a "grand homme de bien et de beaucoup de prudence" (*ibid.*). On the death of Visconti, Retz's successor, Benedict wrote: "Questa morte è stata ed è di rammarico agli esteri ed ai domestici; agli esteri, appresso i quali era in una gran stima per la sua prudenza: ai domestici, perchè governava con tutta piacevolezza e bon garbo" (to Tencin, on May 7, 1755, II., 410; Papal Secret Archives, Arm. XV., Vol. 157). On the election of Centurioni, Visconti's successor, the Pope wrote to Tencin on December 3, 1755 (II., 459): "Non ha avuto altra

was asked to write letters to the Court confessors, which very often had the desired effect.[1] On the other hand, the Pope had serious complaints to make against the confessor of the Spanish king, the French Jesuit Le Fèvre,[2] nor was he satisfied with Querini, the confessor of the Polish king, Augustus of Saxony; for fear of the Protestant Minister, he alleged, Querini was not sufficiently active on behalf of the Catholic religion, which consequently made no progress in Saxony in spite of the presence there of seventeen Jesuits.[3]

As Archbishop of Bologna, Prospero Lambertini had written to the Jesuit Caravita and thus indirectly to the General of the Order, Retz, that as time went on he was more and more pleased with the conduct of these learned and holy religious.[4] As Pope, he made use of their services in important questions of canon law and for the improvement of his own written works. Two Jesuits who were intimate friends of his were the Venetian Lombardi and Budrioli, whom he valued particularly highly on account of his experience in matters connected with canonization. In difficult cases the Pope sought the opinion of the Jesuit Turano, the theologian of the Penitentiaria. In his view the most sagacious of the Italian Jesuits was Egidio Maria de' Giuli, who had a firm grasp of the Church's principles, was moderate in his views, and was well versed in canon law and Church history. For Benedict XIV.'s most outstanding work, on the diocesan synod, the material supplied by himself was arranged and co-ordinated by Giuli, who was also responsible for its Latin form; its rather long preface was provided by Cordara. In return for these services Giuli was to have been offered the post of one of the secretaries

eccezione che quella dell' età" (70 years). Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[1] Cordara in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, III., 12.

[2] To Tencin, May 17, 1747, I., 326. See above, pp. 63 *seqq.*, and P. A. Kirsch in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIV. (1903), 551.

[3] To Tencin, February 22, 1747, I., 307.

[4] "*che sempre più sono contento di questi suoi dotti e santi religiosi". Letter of September 5, 1731, original in Jesuit ownership.

to the Congregation of the Bishops, but he died before he could take it up.[1] Another Jesuit who enjoyed Benedict's favour was Emanuel de Azevedo; in collaboration with his fellow-religious Lazzeri he brought out in 1747–1751 a complete edition of Benedict's works, the cost being met by the King of Portugal.[2]

Benedict XIV. was also destined to realize that even in the rationalistic eighteenth century the Church still possessed sufficient vigour to produce new Orders. To two religious associations that had recently come into existence he bestowed the Papal confirmation: in 1741 to the Passionists, founded by Paul of the Cross (d. 1775),[3] and, on February 25th, 1749,[4] to the Redemptorists, founded by Alphonsus Liguori in 1732. Two other associations, missionary Orders like the Passionists and Redemptorists, were formed in the reign of Benedict XIV. and received from him the confirmation of their rules: the so-called Scalzetti,[5] founded by the Spaniard Juan Varella y Losada, and the Baptistines, founded by Domenico Francesco Olivieri and confirmed by the Pope on September 23rd, 1755. More lasting than the Baptistines was the female congregation of that name, founded by Giovanna Battista Solimani, directed by the same Olivieri, and papally approved in 1744. The Church therefore had its Saints in those days too.

[1] To Tencin, February 16, 1746, October 31 and November 20, 1748, I., 247, 438, 442. Costantino Ruggieri wrote on November 16, 1748, the day after Giuli's death: "Era un galantuomo di 24 carati, amato e stimato moltissimo per la sua grande abilità ed onoratezza dal Papa e da tutta Roma. Era anche amicissimo del nostro Concina." NARDINOCCHI, 95.

[2] To Tencin, May 29, 1748, I., 407. A *letter of Benedict XIV.'s to the king of Portugal, of December 4, 1748, with a request for support for Azevedo's liturgical publications, in Princ. 173, p. 342, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX., 1719.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII., 2025 *seq.*

[5] "Ordo religiosus de pœnitentia," *ibid.*, II., 1450; V. MENGHINI, *Memorie storiche del servo di Dio P. Giovanni Varella y Losada*, Roma, 1879.

(3)

It was not only as a scholar that Benedict XIV. had much to do with Saints and canonizations. He himself reviewed his services in this field in his Consistorial address of April 18th, 1746.[1] As a young jurist he came into touch with the future Cardinal Caprara, who was then auditor of the Rota and who initiated him into the procedure of that tribunal. The Rota having occupied itself with canonizations in former times and as Caprara was also consultor of the Congregation of Rites, Lambertini was afforded the opportunity, which he eagerly seized, of perusing the records of canonizations. On becoming Consistorial advocate he was entrusted by Clement XI. with the processes of Pius V. and Catherine of Bologna, and the same Pope afterwards made him *Promotor Fidei*; this latter office he filled for twenty years, handling all the processes of canonization which were brought forward during the reigns of Clement XI., Benedict XIII., and Clement XII. As Cardinal he was allotted to the Congregation of Rites, but he was soon called away from Rome by his elevation to episcopal rank. When a Bishop he managed through skilful disposition of his time and by working late into the night to expand the notes he had made in his stay in Rome into a large work on beatification and canonization. For the accomplishment of this task he was greatly helped by the libraries of his episcopal residence, Bologna, and by the intercourse he had there with various physicists and doctors. After he became Pope he brought out a second edition of his work.

And yet only one solemn canonization was celebrated by Benedict XIV. It took place in St. Peter's, the church expressly designated by him for canonizations and beatifications. On one or two occasions Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. had departed from the ancient custom of performing these

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 62. *Cf.* above, p. 25. For his services for the beatified members of the Franciscan Order, see below, p. 315, n. 3. For the processes of the canonization of Augustinians under consideration in his reign, see *Analecta Augustiniana*, XIII. (1929), 103–6.

ceremonies in the largest of the churches and had chosen in its place the Lateran ; Benedict XIV. now restored its rights to St. Peter's. The ceremony was carried out on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul in 1746, in honour of five new Saints.[1] The Order of Capuchins, which up to then had had only one canonized Saint, Felix of Cantalice, was now able to give him two companions. One of these was Fidelis of Sigmaringen, who in 1622 in consequence of his apostolic activity had been done to death by Calvinist peasants in the Prättigau and had been beatified by Benedict XIII.[2] ; the other was Joseph of Leonissa (d. 1612), who also suffered the torments of martyrdom at Pera in Turkey and after his rescue spent twenty more years as an ardent missioner to the people in Italy.[3] These two Capuchins were joined by a third son of St. Francis : Pedro Regalato (d. 1456), a Spaniard who was a reformer of the Spanish Observants. Whether or not he himself was an Observant is still disputed,[4] but there is no doubt that his reforming activity, which he exercised in collaboration with Petrus Villacretius, was of importance for the whole Church, seeing that the reformed convent of S. Maria Saliceti, which was under the direction of the two men, produced Cardinal Ximenes, who prepared the ground for the Catholic reform of the sixteenth century. Camillus de Lellis (d. 1614), founder of the " Fathers of a Good Death ", had been raised to the altars as one of the beatified by Benedict XIV. on April 7th, 1742 ; after only four years he was now honoured as a Saint.[5] Like the family of St. Francis, the Third Order of the Dominicans was also honoured by the canonization of Caterina de'

[1] The Bulls in *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 35, 40, 46, 51, 56.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXVII., 212, XXXIV., 166. Biographies by F. von Scala (1897) and F. de la Motte-Servoleix (1901).

[3] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI., 1869 *seq.*

[4] Novaes, XIV., 91 ; *Acta SS. Mart.*, III. (reprint), 850 *seqq.*

[5] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 83 ; *cf.* 74. Biographies by Bäumker (1888), Latarche (1907), and others. Description of the beatification in Amici, *Memoria intorno S. Camillo de Lellis*, Roma, 1913, 73 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 83, for the canonization. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXI., 140 *seqq.*

Ricci (d. 1590), a noblewoman of Florence who was a contemporary of Philip Neri and Maddalena de' Pazzi and shared their ideals.[1] Honour was paid by Benedict XIV. to still another Saint: Queen Elizabeth of Portugal (d. 1336), who had been declared a Saint by Urban VIII. in 1625 but who had not been given the usual testimony in the form of a Bull; this defect was now remedied.[2]

Apart from this one solemn canonization, Benedict XIV. furthered the veneration of several deceased persons of saintly life. Only on six occasions, however, in the years 1741–1753 did he actually proceed to solemn beatification. The first person to be beatified in this period was Alessandro Sauli, the "Apostle of Corsica" (d. 1592),[3] the last the Minorite Joseph of Copertino (d. 1663), whose life was so full of unusual and inexplicable features that he finally had to be removed to secluded convents on account of the immoderate attention he attracted.[4] All the other four persons to be beatified (and afterwards canonized) were founders of Orders: besides Camillus de Lellis, the founders of the Somaschi and the Piarists, Girolamo Miani and Giuseppe da Calasanza,[5] and Francis de Sales' collaborator in the founding of the Order of the Visitation, Jeanne Françoise de Chantal.[6]

[1] Only two years after her death her biography was published by the Bishop of Fiesole, Francesco de Cataneo Diaceto, and it was followed by others. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XIX., 191, n. 7.

[2] By the Bull of April 28, 1742, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 84.

[3] Brief of April 23, 1741, *ibid.*, XVI, 27; P. Casari, *In occasione d. solenne triduo che si celebra in S. Carlo a'Catinari per il b. Alessandro Saoli vescovo di Aleria in Corsica, rime offerte alla Santità di N. S. Papa Benedetto XIV.*, Roma, 1741. *Cf.* Cibrario, *Lettere*, 268, and our account, Vol. XVII., 237 *seqq.*, XIX., 81, n. 4.

[4] Brief of November 20, 1753, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 37. For his influence on the conversion of Duke John Frederick of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1651), *cf.* Räss, *Konvertiten*, VI., 451.

[5] Briefs of July 17 and September 22, 1747, and August 7, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 204, 261, 271.

[6] Brief of November 13, 1751, *ibid.*, XVIII., 243. For this, *cf.* our account, Vol. XXVI., 68 *seqq.*; Cibrario, *loc. cit.*, 270.

On the strength of declarations made by the Congregation of Rites, Benedict XIV. confirmed in many cases, though not by solemn beatification, the veneration, mostly long-established, of distinguished members of the Church. Among them was a queen of France, Jeanne de Valois (d. 1505), who, after the annulment of her marriage with Louis XII., founded the Order of the Annunciation (the Annunciades).[1] A Cardinal, the Carthusian Niccolò d'Albergati (d. 1443),[2] was honoured in the same manner, and along with him a Servite, Francesco Patrizi (d. 1328),[3] and a Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Silvester Guzzolini (d. 1267), Ugo degli Atti, who was also a pupil of that Saint; also the laymen Girio or Gerard (d. 1298) and Heinrich of Bozen (d. 1315), and Andreas of Rinn, a child said to have been murdered by the Jews in 1460. Benedict XIV. sanctioned the traditional veneration of these persons but on May 23rd, 1755, refused their canonization. Of the other holy persons eight were Franciscans. Some of them bore famous names: the Blessed Coletta (d. 1447, canonized in 1807), whose reformation of the Clarissines spread to the male branch of the Order, Odorico Matiussi da Pordenone (d. 1331), the heroic traveller and missionary, who though without the means of transport available in later days penetrated to the heart of Asia and reached Peking,[4] and the

The decree, stating that the beatification could confidently be proceeded with, was composed by the Pope himself (letter to Tencin, August 25, 1751, II., 136). For the beatification, *cf. ibid.*, 142 *seq.*, 153.

[1] Decree of July 18, 1742, *Acta SS. Febr.*, I., 574–591; HEIMBUCHER, II.[2], 271 *seq.*

[2] Decree of October 4, 1744, FRESCO, XVIII., 24; XIX., 201. For D'Albergati, see our account, Vol. II., 14–18.

[3] A fuller account of the persons subsequently mentioned and of the date of the confirmation of their cult, in NOVAES, XIV., 95–108. The Pope related his services in connexion with the canonization and beatification of Franciscans in his allocution to the General Chapter, *Bull. Benedicti XIV.*, Vol. XIII., Mechliniæ, 1827, 181.

[4] *Acta SS. Ian.*, I., 984–6; BUCHBERGER, II., 1193.

learned Angelo da Chiavasso (d. 1495), who compiled a synthesis of moral cases (*Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*). The other Franciscans to be honoured are noteworthy as showing that even in the periods before and during the Reformation holiness in the Church was not extinct. They were Gabriel Ferretti, of the fifteenth century; Pacifico da Ceredano (d. 1482); the Pole, Ladislaus of Gielniow (d. 1505); the lay-brother and son of Ethiopian slaves, Benedict "the Moor", of San Philadelfi (or S. Fradello; d. 1589) [1]; and the Franciscan Sister, Serafina Sforza (d. 1478). Only slightly less was the number of Dominicans whose veneration was confirmed. Of these Pedro Gonzalez Telmo (d. 1246) is well known through the "St. Elmo's fire" which takes its name from him. Marcolino Amanni of Forlì (d. 1397) and Álvaro of Cordova (d. ca. 1430) were distinguished for their zeal in reforming the Order, while Matteo Carrieri (d. 1470) and Giovanni Liccio, who was more than a hundred years old when he died in 1511, were famous preachers. The Third Order of St. Dominic was represented by Giovanna (Vanna) of Orvieto (d. 1306) and Stephana de Quinzanis (d. 1530).

Many processes for beatification which were not brought to a conclusion during his pontificate were furthered by Benedict XIV. by means of Briefs. One of these processes was that of the Cardinal of Arezzo, Paolo Burali, whose virtues he declared to be heroic [2]; another was that of the Jesuit, Andrew Bobola, a missionary in Lithuania, who was to be considered as good as a martyr.[3] In the case of Crescentia of Kaufbeuren, however, laudatory reports of whom had reached the Pope even during her lifetime, he impressed caution on the Bishop of Augsburg on May 17th, 1744, and

[1] Picot, III., 114.

[2] February 8, 1756, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 191. For Burali *cf.* our account, Vol. XVI., 165, and the biographies by G. B. Bagatta (Venice, 1698), G. Bonaglia (Rome, 1772), and G. A. Cagiani (Rome, 1669).

[3] February 9, 1755, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 120. *Cf. Anal. iuris pontif.*, XX., 927.

repeated this admonition in a long Brief,[1] in which he also disapproved of the extraordinary pictures of the Holy Ghost which Crescentia was supposed to have distributed. The Brief afforded an excuse for Protestant attacks, which were answered by Muratori.[2] The beatification of the Franciscan nun Maria of Ágreda (d. 1665) was impeded by the writings, including alleged revelations, which were ascribed to her. They had been approved by the Spanish Inquisition after an examination lasting fourteen years, but had been condemned by the Sorbonne and on August 4th, 1681, had been prohibited by Rome, though, at the request of the Court, Spain was exempted from the prohibition. The dispute, in which Cardinal Aguirre had taken part in 1699 and Eusebius Amort in 1734, was still in progress when Benedict XIV. pronounced on January 16th, 1748,[3] that it was not certain at the time of speaking whether the writings were really those of Maria of Ágreda ; but until the doubts connected with the revelations had been cleared up, the discussion of the nun's virtues could come to no conclusion. On the veneration enjoyed by Lucas Casalius at Nicosia, and Maro among the Maronites,[4] the Pope expressed his opinion at some length in a document [5] of his own composition ; from the Catacomb of St. Thraso he sent

[1] Of October 1, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 318–323. Crescentia (d. April 5, 1744) was beatified in 1900 ; biography by Jeiler ([6]1901). For the pictures of the Holy Ghost, mentioned later, *ibid.*, 5th ed. (1900), 176–183.

[2] Novaes, XIV., 83.

[3] To the Minister General of the Franciscans, Raffaele de Lucagnano, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 214–220. *Cf.* Fresco, XVIII., 25 ; Kraus, 47. According to Friedrich (Döllinger, I., 403) it was Amort who had induced the Pope to come to this decision. The difficulties in which he was involved by this affair were described by Benedict in letters to Tencin on February 14 and April 3, 1748 (I., 384 *seq.*, 395), and to Quirini on August 17, 1748 (in which he spoke of Gonzalez' writing against Amort). Fresco, XIX., 178.

[4] Brief of September 28, 1753, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 70 *seq.*

[5] Of February 8, 1747, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 138–147. *Cf. Lex. für Theol. u. Kirche, I.* (1930), 146 *seq.*

to Bologna relics which on the score of several distinguishing marks were held to be the body of a St. Procus [1]; and at the request of the Council of Tarragona he permitted [2] a greater veneration to be paid to St. Maginus. The veneration of the Empress Aelia Pulcheria, which had already been granted to the Augustinian Canons in Portugal, he extended to the Society of Jesus.[3]

Of his devotion to the Mother of God Benedict XIV. gave many proofs.[4] He had the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore restored, endowed it with a yearly income,[5] and ordered a solemn Papal Cappella to be held there every year on the feast of the Immaculate Conception.[6] He drafted a Bull on the Immaculate Conception but it was never published; in it was stated that it was not to be doubted that the holiness of the Mother of God began at the first moment of her existence.[7] In a Brief on the veneration of the Holy House of Loreto [8] he stated frankly that his visit to it had filled him with devotion. A decree of Innocent XII.'s making the Holy

[1] Brief and letter of April 20, 1745, *ibid.*, App. ii–x. *Cf. Acta*, I., 254.

[2] On December 22, 1745, *Acta*, I., 285.

[3] On February 2, 1752, *ibid.*, II., 90. Benedict XIV. to Cardinal Quirini on the cult of St. Simeon, in CIBRARIO, *Lettere*, 284.

[4] "quam toto vitæ Nostræ cursu propitiam Nobis atque indulgentissimam experti sumus." Allocution of May 5, 1749, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 70. *Cf.* allocution of September 30, 1750.

[5] On February 11, 1745, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 281 *seq.*

[6] In the consistory of November 26, 1742, *ibid.*, 282. *Della papal cappella per la festa dell' Immacolata Concezione di Maria Vergine Madre di Dio da N. S. Papa Bened. XIV. in perpetuo decretata. Discorso storico e panegirico.* Padova, 1752.

[7] V. SARDI, *La solenne definizione del dogma dell' Immacolato Concepimento di Maria SS. Atti e documenti*, II., Roma, 1905. *Cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1905, IV., 59 *seq.* For discussions on the Immaculate Conception in the reign of Benedict XIV., see *Civ. Catt.*, *loc. cit.*, 513–527, 655–674.

[8] Of December 2, 1747, *Acta*, I., 459.

House independent of the Bishop of Loreto had given rise to disputes ; Benedict ordered the collation of the Papal decrees [1] by which the disputes were to be settled. He encouraged the pilgrimage in honour of Our Lady at Coimbra by granting favours to those taking part in it.[2] The most striking proof, however, of Benedict XIV.'s devotion to the Mother of God was the great Bull of September 27th, 1748, by which he confirmed the privileges of the Marian Congregations.[3]

He ordained that the feast of SS. Peter and Paul was to be solemnly celebrated not only on June 29th but also in the following octave [4] and that the two Princes of the Apostles were to rank as the chief patrons of the Eternal City.[5] An ancient shortcoming of the Roman Church, due to excessive cautiousness, had been the insufficient honour paid to one of the most prominent of its teachers in the times of the Fathers, Leo the Great ; Benedict now named him a Doctor of the Church.[6]

Of mediaeval Saints Benedict honoured St. Francis by conferring special privileges on his basilica at Assisi [7] ; of the Apostle of Andalusia, Juan de Ávila (d. 1569),[8] of John Leonardi (d. 1609),[9] and of the Trinitarian Michael de Sanctis (d. 1625) [10] he said that they had reached the degree of virtue which was required for canonization.

[1] On January 3, 1743, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 129. *Cf. Anal. iuris pontif.*, I., 470.

[2] On February 25, 1748, *Acta* I., 493.

[3] *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I. (Bull.), Florentiæ, 1892, 283. Other decrees on these Congregations, *ibid.*, 278 ; *Acta*, II., 94.

[4] Bull of April 1, 1743, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 155. Two of the Pope's treatises on the celebration in Rome and Antioch of the feast of the Chair of Peter were published by Foscolo (Rome, 1828) and J. G. Brighenti (Rome, 1829).

[5] Decree of October 16, 1743, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 157.

[6] On October 15, 1754, *ibid.*, XIX., 115.

[7] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II., 21.

[8] Decree of February 8, 1758, *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XX., 7.

[9] Decree of December 27, 1757, *ibid.*, 802.

[10] Decree of March 6, 1742, Novaes, XIV., 40.

A noticeably large number of Benedict XIV.'s pronouncements were concerned with Jesuit Saints. He gave his permission for special prayers to be said to Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier and attached indulgences to them.[1] At the request of the King of Portugal he nominated Francis Xavier patron of the foreign missions,[2] and Francis Borgia patron of Portugal.[3] He said of Ignatius of Azevedo and of Rudolph Acquaviva that they were to be regarded as martyrs,[4] and of the Indian missionary John de Brito that his alleged observance of Malabar customs, even if a fact, was no obstacle to his beatification, seeing that he was a martyr.[5] The process of the Pole Andrew Bobola gave him the opportunity of elucidating certain doubts connected with beatification in general,[6] as did also the decree on the heroic virtue of the apostle to the negroes, Peter Claver.[7] He attached an indulgence to the feast of St. Aloysius and allowed a beginning to be made with the processes of beatification of John Berchmans and Luis de Ponte.[8] The last decree which he signed, on May 10th, 1758, shortly before his death, was concerned with the beatification of the Jesuit Franciscus de Hieronymo.[9]

In Benedict XIV.'s correspondence very many references are made to the beatification of Cardinal Bellarmine.[10] Under Clement XI. Prospero Lambertini had been *Promotor Fidei*

[1] *Acta*, I., 187 ; II., 298.

[2] On February 24, 1748, *Ius pontif.*, III., 367 *seq.*

[3] *Acta*, II., 265.

[4] Novaes, XIV., 35, 40. For Azevedo, *cf.* our account, Vol. XVIII., 326 *seq.*

[5] Decree of July 2, 1741. *Cf. Anal. iuris pontif.*, I., 1257.

[6] Brief of May 22, 1749, *Ius. pontif.*, III., 398 *seq.*

[7] September 24, 1747, *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XX., 8–10.

[8] On March 23, 1754, *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I., 580 ; II., 388 ; X., 185.

[9] *Ibid.*, IV., 1824 ; Novaes, XIV., 244.

[10] Heeckeren, II., 265, 274, 277, 280, 288, 292, 294, 295, 300, 301, 339, 356 *seq.*, 364, 374 *seq.* *Cf.* Brucker in *Études*, LXVII. (1896), 663–676 ; Rosa, *Passionei e la causa di beatificazione del ven. card. Bellarmino*, Roma, 1918.

in Bellarmine's process and in this capacity had had to bring forward objections to the holiness of the great controversialist, but he disposed of all of these in his work on beatification. After becoming Pope, Benedict caused the process to be revived and at the General Congregation of May 5th, 1753, he himself bore witness on Bellarmine's behalf in brilliant fashion[1]; of the votes cast by the twenty-one Cardinals and six consultors only three were against him, those of Passionei, York, and Corsini. With feverish activity the enemies of the Jesuits had launched a campaign to prevent the beatification.[2] Passionei did all he could to disparage Bellarmine, but Benedict XIV. said quite definitely that all his "gossip" (*ciarle*) made no impression on him.[3] In France, however, the defenders of the Gallican liberties saw in Bellarmine their mortal enemy; Benedict, not wanting to "throw oil on the flames", decided to let the matter rest "as long as the bull was on the rampage".[4] When Choiseul arrived in Rome the following year as envoy he had been given instructions to raise objections to a resumption of the proceedings; Bellarmine's canonization would never be recognized in France, he said.[5] At the same time the Minister Boyer wrote to the General of the Jesuits

[1] "Le cardinal Bellarmin, outre qu'il était très savant, a été comme religieux, comme archevêque et comme cardinal un exemple vivant de vertu." In addition, he performed "travaux immenses et utiles" in the various Congregations (to Tencin, May 9, 1753, II., 265). "Nous savons parfaitement ce qu'en bonne justice nous devons faire, mais en même temps nous voyons le danger auquel nous nous exposons en la rendant" (to the same, July 25, 1753, *ibid.*, 280).

[2] Rosa, 14 *seqq.*

[3] "Nous avons dit au général des Jesuites que le retard de la cause ne provenait pas des pauvretés [ciarle] débitées par le cardinal Passionei, mais des tristes circonstances du temps; que ne voulant pas jeter de l'huile sur le feu, nous croyons ainsi rendre service à la cause." To Tencin, August 29, 1753, *ibid.*, 288.

[4] To the same, September 19, 1753, *ibid.*, 292.

[5] "que certainement pareille canonisation ne serait jamais reconnue en France." Boutry, 237 *seqq.*

that at the moment, if an uproar was to be avoided, it would be better to raise any other person to the altar than a Jesuit, and any Jesuit rather than Bellarmine; Bellarmine's canonization would be the signal for the adherents of the parliament to raise a tumult.[1] Consequently the process was left in abeyance until recent years, when the facts concerning Bellarmine's holiness established in Benedict XIV.'s time were taken into consideration.[2] On the process of the canonization of his predecessor, Innocent XI., Benedict expressed himself unfavourably.[3]

Hostility towards the Society of Jesus not only postponed the honouring of Bellarmine but favoured the process of beatification of an opponent of the Jesuits, Palafox.[4] The idea of paying him this honour had first cropped up in 1691. It was supported by the Spanish king and about a score of Spanish Bishops, but when the General of the Jesuits, Gonzalez, had convinced the Bishops that an insulting letter written against the Jesuits [5] really was the work of Palafox, the matter was shelved.[6] In 1726, however, the process of beatification was actually begun. In 1756 Cardinal Passionei, whose task it had been since 1741 to promote the process, joined with Cardinal Enriquez in seeking support from the Spanish Court. Subsequently, the Spanish envoy in Rome was instructed to take no steps for the time being, either for or against the process [7]; but it was not long before Passionei's request was

[1] Régnault, *Beaumont*, I., 259.

[2] For an account of Bellarmine's canonization, see Dudon in *Recherches de science relig.*, XII. (1921), 145–167; Raitz von Frentz in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXIX. (1930), 332–344.

[3] To Tencin, November 14, 1744, I., 162. On October 10, 1744, the French envoy *wrote that there was no fear of Innocent being canonized in his time; it was only with a view to the future that the Pope allowed the witnesses still living to be heard. Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Cifre al Durini, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] For Palafox, see our account, Vol. XXX, 207 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 211, n. 1.

[6] Astráin, VI., 369. Letter from Gonzalez to the Spanish king in *Vie du vén. Dom Jean de Palafox*, Cologne, 1767, 506 *seq.*

[7] *Wall to Portocarrero, March 9, 1756, Archives of the

granted, probably as a result of the influence exercised by the Minister Wall.[1]

Notwithstanding all his zeal for the veneration of God and His Saints, Benedict XIV. considerably diminished the number of feast days. From the beginning of his pontificate, he wrote,[2] requests of this nature had reached him from Bishops on both sides of the Alps. These desires were satisfied by him in a Bull of September 13th, 1742.[3] He had long studied the question and had inserted a discussion of it in his work on canonization, in which he wrote in favour of a diminution of the number of feast days, on the grounds that they were not worthily celebrated by many persons and that their excessive number made it difficult for the poor to earn their living. After publishing this discussion the Pope sought the opinions of forty scholars; thirty-three were in favour of diminishing the number of feast days, fifteen suggested that the Holy See should draw up a new table of feasts for the whole Church, and eighteen were of the opinion that any such reform should be granted only to the Bishops who might apply for it. Between 1742 and 1748 twenty-five Bishops from Spain alone applied for the diminution, eight from the Papal States, and six from Tuscany.[4] On a dispute arising between

Spanish Embassy to Rome, Reales Órdenes, 39; *Portocarrero to Wall, April 1, 1756, *ibid.*, Registro de la correspond. oficial, 99.

[1] *Wall to Portocarrero, November 16, 1756, *ibid.* R. Órdenes 39; *Portocarrero to Wall, December 9, 1756, *ibid.* Registro, 99.

[2] To the Bishop of Breslau, March 1, 1755, *Acta*, II., 224; letter of August 17, 1748, in Fresco, XIX., 179. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXXVII., 697.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 116. As far back as 1727 the Council of Tarragona had presented a petition to the Pope for the diminution of the feast days. The people went on working on these days in spite of the prohibition, pleading as an excuse the infertility of the soil, the heavy taxes, and the fact that there were as many as ninety-one holidays of obligation in the year. *Coll. Lac.*, I., 785.

[4] Novaes, XIV., 134 *seq.*; Brief for Naples, December 12, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 286; for Poland, 1745, *ibid.*, XVI., 312;

Muratori and Cardinal Quirini on the diminution of the feasts the Pope suppressed it by a decree of November 14th, 1748, in which he forbade anyone to write on the subject.[1]

The demand for the diminution of feast days may have been due to some extent to the decrease of religious fervour. On the other hand there were living at that time in Italy quite a number of persons who were afterwards paid the honour of canonization,[2] notably Alphonsus Liguori (d. 1787), the founder of the Redemptorists, Gerard Majella (d. 1755),[3] a lay-brother in the same Order, Paul of the Cross (Paolo Danei; d. 1775),[4] the founder of the Passionists, the Franciscan Leonardo da Porto Maurizio (d. 1751),[5] and the secular priest Giovanni Battista de Rossi (d. 1764).[6] Even in her best

for Maria Theresa and the Milanese possessions, December 3, 1754, *Acta*, II., 214. According to the Brief of September 28, 1745, the Ascension was not to be included in the diminution of feast-days for Spain. *Ibid.*, I., 284.

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 283; AMANN in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 2554 *seq.* — A writing of Muratori's against Quirini in *Scritti inediti di L. A. Muratori, Documenti*, Bologna, 1872, 261–322. *Cf.* above, p. 215.

[2] DE WAAL, *Roma Sacra*, 546 *seq.*

[3] Biography by DILGSKRON, Dülmen, 1909.

[4] Biography by STRAMBI (Rome, 1786); AMADEO DELLA MADRE DEL B. PASTORE, *Lettere di S. Paolo della Croce*, disposte ed annotate, Roma, 1924. Paul of the Cross wrote about thirty letters weekly; 2,000 have been preserved.

[5] *Opere*, 12 vols., Roma, 1853 *seq.*; 5 vols., Roma, 1867 *seq.* (in the latter edition the "Diario delle missioni"; biography by Salvatore d'Ormea at the beginning of the editions); *Prediche e lettere inedite*, published by B. Innocenti (Quaracchi, 1915).

[6] *Cf.* KATHOLIK, 1881, II., 487–526; biography by Leitner (1899). — Among others who died with a reputation for sanctity were the Capuchin Archbishop of Ferrara, Bonaventura Barberini (see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 130; *cf.* above, p. 305); Paolo Buono (Pianelli) of Naples, who tended the poor for forty years, and was buried in S. Lorenzo in Damaso (*MERENDA, *loc. cit.*); the Franciscan Conventual Francesco Antonio Fassani, d. 1742 (PICOT, III., 369).

periods the Church has seen nothing better than the lives and influence of these men and their followers.

(4)

For De Rossi, whose priestly activity was entirely devoted to the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned, the jubilee year of 1750 was an especially fruitful opportunity of showing his love for the poor among the pilgrims.[1] No less zeal was displayed by Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. In preparation for the Holy Year, and beginning in July 1749, he gave three missions lasting two weeks each, with intervals of one week between them; the Pope was present in person at the sermons and gave Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament.[2] The missions were followed by exercises.[3] This great missionary had long had at heart the devotion to the Passion of Christ by means of Stations of the Cross, of which he was responsible for the erection of no less than 572, and through him the devotion was adopted by the whole Church. In the jubilee year he set up the most famous of these Stations; on November 27th, 1750, at his instigation, a cross with the appropriate Stations was erected in the middle of the Colosseum.[4]

Benedict had a very high regard for this ardent preacher. He gave him permission to come into his presence every Sunday without formality[5] and often had to come to his assistance when, carried away by his zeal, the indefatigable missionary discovered that he had promised to be in two places at once.[6] Thus it was that the Pope himself summoned

[1] Stocker in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X., 1300.

[2] Novaes, XIV., 146.

[3] Innocenti, 271.

[4] "Discorso fatto nell'istituzione della Via Crucis eretta nel Colosseo di Roma" (*Opere*, vol. IV.), Venezia, 1867, 393; Innocenti, x.; "Statuti della ven. Arciconfraternita degli Amanti di Gesù e di Maria eretta in Roma nell' anno del giubileo 1750," Roma, 1773.

[5] Innocenti, 289.

[6] "Esso è un degno religioso, ma non può essere in cinquanta luoghi nello stesso tempo, come forse per la sua gran carità

Leonardo to Rome to hold the jubilee missions and encouraged the aged religious to step into the breach and die there fighting like a brave soldier.

Already in 1749 missions were being held in all the principal churches of Rome, mostly by Capuchins [1]; the next year they were resumed for the benefit of considerably increased congregations.[2] The Pope considered the missions to be of the greatest possible value and himself instructed the missionaries how their duties were to be performed.[3]

Benedict desired most ardently the success of the jubilee in all its aspects, and he had given it his attention for a long time past. As far back as September 25th, 1748, he had written [4] that he would not leave Rome the following month but that he would spend it all at his desk; much preparation was required for the Holy Year, for it was really to be a holy year, a year of edification and not of scandal.

The principles enunciated by Benedict on this occasion were subsequently carried into practice by him. He issued

bramerebbe d'essere. Dice di sì a tutti, e poi ritrovandosi imbrogliato, ora chiama in aiuto il Papa, ora il suo P. Generale." Benedict to Storano, March 1, 1747, in MARONI, 751.

[1] *Roman newspapers of October 25, 1749, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio wrote on April 25, 1749 (INNOCENTI, 271): "Noi daremo principio alle nostre [missioni] dopo l'Ottava di S. Pietro, e primieramente se ne faranno tre in varie piazze, e poi esercizi spirituali in varie chiese. Nel mese di Novembre si ripiglieranno le missioni, e allora non saremo soli, ma 7 o 8 missionari in varie chiese; e poi seguiteremo gli esercizi sino al Natale."

[2] *Roman newspapers of February 28, 1750, *loc. cit.* The Pope had appointed the ablest preachers: for St. Peter's the regular cleric Bona, for the Gesù the Jesuit Tommaso Carli, for the Minerva the Dominican Tacconi, for S. Lorenzo in Damaso the Servite Galeotti, for Araceli Ludovico da Siena, for S. Eustachio Pier Maria da Casalini, etc. On January 24 and May 21 mention was made of the large numbers of pilgrims.

[3] *Avviso for December 13, 1749, in Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

[4] To Tencin, I., 431.

a dozen ordinances on the subject, generous in length and full of learning based on history and canon law. An Encyclical of February 19th, 1749,[1] addressed to the Italian Bishops, instructed them to get rid of anything that might give scandal; the jubilee pilgrims were not to find ruinous or dirty churches, with sacred vestments in tatters or without any vestments at all; Benedict XIII. had held up as models the churches of the Capuchins, which though not costly were clean and neat. The Pope was particularly anxious that singing and church music should be edifying and to this subject he devoted a large portion of his letter.[2] In an address to the Cardinals on March 3rd, 1749,[3] he asked them to take to heart the duty of repairing their titular churches in Rome; he himself when he was younger had seen to the improvement of the high-roads and later had done his best to improve the decoration of the Roman churches, especially S. Apollinare; the Cardinals were asked to do likewise. Another allocution [4] followed on May 5th announcing the Holy Year and explaining how it was to be made holy: the Pope would arrange for missions to be held, would address instructions to the Bishops, appoint confessors, invest them with special powers, and elucidate the doubtful points connected with the customary instructions for the celebration of the jubilee. On the same day the announcement of the jubilee was made to all the faithful.[5] In this the Pope explained that on account of the sinfulness and the indifference of the world special times had been reserved in which the Church could issue special exhortations. "Do penance" was the burden of his message. Another reason for his invitation to the world to make a pilgrimage to Rome was that it was thus given an opportunity of witnessing

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 9 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 12–24.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 66.

[4] *Ibid.*, 69 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 70 *seqq.* On May 12, 1749, Ruggieri called the Bull "un capo d'opera e ve lo dico senza adulazione." NARDINOCCHI, 106.

the splendour of Christian Rome.[1] "What could give a Christian greater joy than to see the glory of the cross of Christ shining with a more brilliant splendour than anywhere else on earth, and to testify with his own eyes to the glorious victory won by our Faith over the world? We see here how the greatest worldly power bows down in awe before religion and how what was once the earthly Babylon has been transformed into a new, heavenly city that instead of threatening to destroy whole peoples and subjugate nations with the force of arms and the tumult of war, sets before our eyes a heavenly doctrine and a spotless morality for the enlightenment and salvation of the nations. Here we see the former rule of superstition buried in oblivion, while the pure worship of the true God and the majesty of divine service cast their radiant light in all directions; we see the sanctuaries of false gods razed to the ground, while the temples of God are hallowed by holy veneration; we can see here with our own eyes how the godless pastimes of the theatre and the insane spectacles of the circus have vanished from the memory of man and how instead of them the resting-places of the martyrs are thronged with visitors; how the monuments of tyrants lie prostrate in the dust, while the burial places of the Apostles, built by the hands of emperors, rear themselves aloft; how the precious works intended for the honouring of Roman pride are used for the embellishment of churches; how the memorials erected in thanksgiving to heathen deities for the subjugation of provinces, now, purged of their godless superstition, bear on their summits, with more right and as the emblem of a greater blessing, the victorious symbol of the unconquerable cross. Lastly, the sight of the countless bands of the faithful who during the jubilee year pour into the Eternal City from all points of the compass will fill your hearts with joy, for each of you will find his own Faith shared by the members of many different nations, speaking different languages. With all of these you will be joined in brotherly love in the Lord, under the protection of our common Mother, the Church, and you

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 73 *seq.*

will feel with joy how the dew of heavenly grace will be rained down on you more lavishly."

The following month saw the publication of another Encyclical [1] which after a learned preface dealing with the antiquity of pilgrimages in general and of that to Rome in particular was directed especially to Bishops, priests, and religious. The reason why the invitation to Rome was issued was to venerate the Princes of the Apostles; moreover, Rome was the head of the Catholic religion and the centre of its unity, and the prospect was offered of the complete remission of the punishment for sin by means of a plenary indulgence. The Encyclical then dealt with the confessors, who were instructed how they were to prepare the faithful for the gaining of the jubilee indulgence. The confessors' powers were enumerated in a special decree,[2] and in a further instruction [3] the difficulties which had formerly attached to the use of these powers were discussed and solved under ninety-one headings. According to custom, all indulgences except the jubilee indulgence were suspended during the Holy Year.[4] A special Brief [5] set forth the manner in which those persons were to be treated who were prevented from visiting the Holy City, namely enclosed nuns, invalids, and prisoners. After the Holy Year had begun apostates from monastic life were invited to return.[6] Thus nothing seemed to be forgotten; even judges were appointed to settle possible legal disputes among the pilgrims.[7]

At a secret consistory on December 1st the Pope made arrangements for the opening of the Holy Door, which according to custom had to be performed at the beginning of the

[1] Of June 26, 1749, *ibid.*, 78–97.

[2] Of November 25, 1749, *ibid.*, 97–102.

[3] Of December 3, 1749, *ibid.*, 102–145.

[4] Brief of May 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 77.

[5] Of December 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 149–151.

[6] On February 12, 1750, *ibid.*, 151–2.

[7] Brief of November 28, 1749, *ibid.*, 145. Quirini had advised the Pope to invite also the Protestant sovereigns to the jubilee. FRESCO, XIX., 196.

Holy Year by the Pope at St. Peter's, by Cardinals at certain other basilicas.[1] In the first week of December he summoned the mission preachers and personally instructed them in their duties.[2]

As the days went by the jubilee year furnished an impressive proof that the adherents of the Catholic Faith formed a body that was still pulsing with life. According to Merenda, there were already 30,000 visitors in Rome by the end of 1749; in the following January he noted that 200 Armenians and Greeks had come for the jubilee.[3] The Holy Year had opened well, wrote the Pope. A band of Armenians, who were living at their own expense, were attracting attention, and eight hundred Catholic Swiss who were visiting the basilicas in procession were edifying all who saw them. Pilgrims from Vienna had arrived already, also from Casale. As so many were travelling in spite of the severe winter, even larger bodies of visitors might be expected when the better weather came.[4] Of the Armenians he wrote again [5] that there were a hundred of them, mostly merchants; they had brought with them their womenfolk, but the latter were always veiled when they went out of doors; it was only when they were being entertained in the refectory of St. Peter's by the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity that one saw their jewels and diamonds; at table the men were waited on by six Cardinals, the ladies by the wives of the envoys from France and Venice and by princesses.[6] Many more bands of pilgrims arrived for Lent. The ceremonies of Holy Week were attended by large numbers of the Italian and foreign aristocracy; the concourse was so great that people of rank had to go on

[1] The allocution in *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 147 *seq.*

[2] *Newspapers of December 11, 1749, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] **Memorie*, 92 *seq.*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. Marangoni supplied a booklet for pilgrims: *Il devoto pellegrino guidato*, Roma, 1749.

[4] To Tencin, January 7, 1750, II., 1 *seq.*

[5] On January 28, 1750, *ibid.*, 6.

[6] *Merenda, 95, *loc. cit.*

foot to St. Peter's because all the carriages had been reserved for visits to the basilicas and other devotions of the Romans. More than 17,000 pilgrims had to camp out in the open. The people visited the basilicas with great reverence.[1] In April and May the Pope wrote that visitors were still pouring into the city.[2] At Whitsun, he said, he intended to celebrate a triduum at S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Carlo in the Corso, and S. Andrea della Valle ; every morning he would attend a sermon and give Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament.[3] In the manner of the pilgrimages of old, the Bishop of Spoleto, accompanied by a goodly part of his chapter and his priests, altogether 70 persons, had made the pilgrimage entirely on foot and had himself borne the cross in front of the procession. He wanted to take up his quarters with the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, but this the Pope would not allow.[4] Incidentally, this confraternity estimated its expenditure on entertaining the pilgrims from December 1749 to the end of March 1750 at 65,000 *scudi*.[5] The people attended with great devotion the Corpus Christi procession [6] and the celebration of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, which took place after the Pope's return from Castel Gandolfo and was also attended by an "enormous" number of aristocrats ; besides the Cardinals, forty Bishops were present and in the evening the dome of St. Peter's and the colonnades were illuminated.[7] At the closing of the Holy Door, wrote the Pope,[8] the concourse of the foreign aristocracy defied description, and at the giving of the Papal blessing the crowd had filled the piazza of St. Peter's and part of the adjoining streets.

Requests were made in many quarters for the extension of

[1] March 11 and 23, 1750, II., 18, 21.
[2] April 1, 22, 29, May 6 and 22, 1750, *ibid.*, 21, 24, 26, 27, 32.
[3] April 22, *ibid.*, 24.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Benedict on April 29, 1750, *ibid.*, 26.
[6] Benedict on June 3, 1750, *ibid.*, 36.
[7] Benedict on July 8, 1750, *ibid.*, 41.
[8] On December 30, 1750, *ibid.*, 82.

the jubilee for the whole Church to the year 1751, but before acceding to them Benedict considered it advisable to sound Cardinal Tencin [1] how such a step would be likely to be received in France. On November 11th he was able to write [2] that the extension of the jubilee year was actually requested by the French envoy. On acceding to this wish on December 25th, 1750,[3] and on reviewing the past year in a corresponding letter to the Bishops,[4] the Pope was able not only to pride himself on the preparatory measures he had taken—the repair of the roads in the Papal States, the provision of food, the restoration of the Roman churches—but also to speak of the brilliant success of the Holy Year itself. Pilgrims had come from the most remote places, from Armenia, Syria, and Egypt; he himself had taken part in the two previous jubilees, but the number of people who had flocked to Rome on this last occasion had been far larger. That the Bishops had prepared their flocks for the jubilee year in accordance with the Papal instructions was shown by the fact that the basilicas had never been visited by so many people showing evident signs of devotion and piety as during the past year. Very many general confessions had been made, as he had learnt from the penitentiaries. Nor had the inhabitants of the city allowed themselves to be outdone in devotion by the strangers. The crowds which had attended the mission sermons and the piety they displayed were incredible. Edifying examples of repentance and devotion had been given by all classes. Those whose duty it was to set a good example to others, namely the Bishops, the Cardinals, and the gentlefolk, had done so to the Pope's satisfaction. He knew, and had seen it with his own eyes to some extent, how they had made the prescribed visits to the churches, had waited on the pilgrims at table, had washed their feet, and had given them generous alms.

[1] On January 28, 1750, *ibid.*, 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, 72.
[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 50.
[4] Of January 1, 1751, II., 156–161.

(5)

Benedict XIV. did not always speak so approvingly of his Cardinals. It is significant that he was in no hurry at first to fill the vacancies in their College. Even after two years had passed since his election he wrote [1] that the position of the Holy See was not favourable for the nomination of Cardinals. Except for Doria, he said, not one of the nuncios in office was worthy of the red hat. Doria combined noble blood with purity of morals and erudition; but the others were lacking in knowledge, and yet either all or none of them had to be promoted. The difficulty was increased by the severity with which their intellectual views were held: whoever was not a Molinist or an upholder of lax morality was promptly dubbed a Jansenist.[2] In any case, he declared, he was determined to make no concessions to flesh and blood when making his choices. His difficulties were still further increased by the financial straits of the Holy See; he certainly had several hats to dispose of but he had not the means with which to endow the new Cardinals in fitting fashion. Perhaps, however, it was not a bad thing, he added slyly, for pleasure-seeking gentlemen to be kept a little short.[3]

Meanwhile four more Cardinals had died: Pieri, Giudice, Belluga, and Colonna.[4] Pieri did not leave enough behind him to pay for the funeral that befitted his position; Giudice, on the other hand, left vast riches. He envied the former, wrote Benedict XIV., not the latter.[5]

By the end of 1743 it became almost impossible to put off

[1] To Tencin, December 29, 1742, I., 20.

[2] Allusion to the difficulties connected with Berti, Bellelli, and Cardinal Noris.

[3] To Tencin, March 8, 1743, I., 38 *seq.*; *cf.* 40.

[4] *Ibid.*, 28, 38. On January 17, 1743, Acquaviva *wrote that with the death of Cibo there were eighteen hats free; on February 14 he reported the death of Corradini, on the 28th that of Cardinal Belluga, who died "in gran concepto por sus virtudes y con universal dolor de los pobres".

[5] To Tencin, February 1, 1743, I., 28.

the long-awaited nomination of new Cardinals any longer. The first appointment to be made, though then only *in petto*, was that of Emperor Charles VII.'s brother, Duke John Theodore, Bishop of Liége and administrator of Freising and Ratisbon, where he had been Bishop. The "Cardinal of Bavaria", as he was called, did not pay a single visit to Rome in the course of his life, which ended in 1763; the red hat was sent to him by the Pope through the hands of Lazarus Opitius Pallavicini, afterwards Secretary of State under Clement XIV. and Pius VI.[1]

As a companion for this foreigner from the North Benedict appointed a Spaniard: Joaquin Fernando Portocarrero, a Knight of Malta and the Order's envoy to Charles VI., who made him Viceroy of Naples. After he had adopted the ecclesiastical state in Rome, he became Patriarch of Antioch, Protector of the Spanish realm (1749), and Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina (1756). Though not a scholar himself, he was a protector of scholars and was described as a man of straightforward and friendly disposition.[2]

Except for these two foreigners only Italians were invested with the purple in 1743. Some of these had done duty as nuncios: Camillo Paolucci in Poland and Vienna, Giambattista Berni in Switzerland, Giacomo Oddi in Lisbon, Cologne, and Venice, Marcello Crescenzi in Paris, where also Federigo Marcello Lante had been sent to present the consecrated swaddling clothes. Giorgio Doria, a Genoese of noble birth, was nuncio at the Diet of Frankfort which elected Charles VII. and had remained with the emperor in the same capacity.[3] He earned high praise from Benedict XIV., who

[1] M. Rottmanner, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, Munich, 1877.

[2] For those promoted in 1743, see Novaes, XIV., 53; Bartholomaeus Ant. Talenti, **Vita seu necrologia Benedicti XIII., Clementis XII. et cardinalium a d. 20 mart. 1730 ad 29 iun. 1743 defunctorum, additis iconibus et insigniis ære incisis*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, 1701; *Item cardinalium defunctorum 1743 ad 1758, ibid.*, 1702; *Item cardinalium defunctorum 1758–1768* and *1767–1777, ibid.*, 1703 and 1704; Moroni, IX., 192 *seq.*

[3] Novaes, XIV., 53 *seqq.*

wrote [1] that he had known him during the six years when Doria had been vice-legate in Bologna ; he was a man of intelligence and knowledge, and not only in legal matters ; as nuncio he had contributed 100,000 *scudi* towards his expenses from his private means.

High praise, though on other grounds, was also bestowed on the French nuncio, Marcello Crescenzi, who died in 1768 as Archbishop of Ferrara. He was not the man to write a commentary on Aristotle, was the Pope's opinion, but seeing that he had been a canon of St. Peter's with him he had known him for a long time and knew that he was a consistently good ecclesiastic.[2] Since 1730 Crescenzi had been a close friend of the great Franciscan missionary Leonardo da Porto Maurizio.[3]

The learned Bolognese Filippo Maria Monti (d. 1754)[4] had been a friend of Benedict XIV. in his boyhood and student days ; he was the author of a work on the Cardinals, and as Secretary of the Propaganda he wrote a history of the mission to Tibet.

On the whole, Benedict XIV.'s first promotion took the form of a mark of honour paid to learning ; though he could find no scholars among his nuncios he had not to look far for them in Rome in other walks of life. Raffaello Cosimo Girolami, from Florence, was one of the most competent theologians of his time and found ample opportunity to exercise his knowledge amid the various Roman Congregations. A deep knowledge of jurisprudence was possessed by Carlo Leopoldo Calcagnini (d. 1746), who left behind him ten manuscript volumes of legal decisions and also printed works,[5] and by Carlo Alberto Guidoboni Cavalchini, who was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri and Dean of the Sacred College when he died in 1774 at the

[1] To Tencin, February 8, 1743, I., 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, and to the same, on March 8, 1743, *ibid.*, 38.

[3] INNOCENTI, 304.

[4] GUALANDI in *Studi e memorie per la storia dell' Università di Bologna*, VI., Bologna, 1921, 59 ; Benedict to Tencin, October 11, 1743, I., 89.

[5] His tomb is in S. Andrea delle Fratte ; see FORCELLA, VIII., 232 ; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 33.

age of ninety. It was probably only the "exclusion" exercised by France that prevented his being elected Pope on the death of Benedict XIV. Giuseppe Pozzobonelli, who died in 1783 as the Archbishop of Milan, left behind him a reputation for virtue, scholarship, and beneficence. Francesco Ricci, the Governor of Rome under Benedict XIV., was also regarded as an authority on jurisprudence but he was more highly esteemed on account of his moderation, faithfulness to duty, and piety.[1] Francesco Landi was also noted for his learning; he died as Archbishop of Benevento in 1757. Antonio Ruffo, on the other hand, who died in 1753, had no reputation for learning, but for piety. Three more Cardinals who owed their promotion to their learning were members of Orders: the Dominican Ludovico Maria Lucini (d. 1745),[2] the Benedictine Fortunato Tamburini, theologian to the Roman Council under Benedict XIII. (d. 1761), and the Cistercian Gioacchino Besozzi (d. 1753). Tamburini received high praise from Benedict when the latter was distressed by the prospect of losing him through death; he was, he said, an excellent theologian and an untiring worker, and he wrote in a good style, both in Italian and Latin. Moreover, he lived in a little room with his fellow-religious and had declined a rich abbacy with the remark that he had enough to live on and that by the favour of the Holy See he had enough to pay for his burial.[3]

Besides the nineteen Cardinal Bishops and Priests whom we have named above, six Cardinal Deacons were created in 1743. Of these it was learning again that distinguished

[1] "*L'illibatezza de' suoi costumi, l'integrità e la vigilanza nell' esercizio delle sue cariche, la sua esemplare pietà e solida devozione e finalmente la sua invitta pazienza e rassegnazione nella sua ultima malattia gli meritarono la morte de'giusti" (Bibl. Ricci, Rome). His merits are duly recorded in the *Storia di S. Agnete di Montepulciano*, Siena, 1779, 148. Caracciolo (38) describes Tamburini as "learned", Portocarrero as "judicious and straightforward"; in 1758 the latter almost became Pope.

[2] *Cf.* TAURISANO, *Hierarchia Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Roma, 1916, 76.

[3] To Tencin, March 13, 1754, II., 327.

in Bellarmine's process and in this capacity had had to bring forward objections to the holiness of the great controversialist, but he disposed of all of these in his work on beatification. After becoming Pope, Benedict caused the process to be revived and at the General Congregation of May 5th, 1753, he himself bore witness on Bellarmine's behalf in brilliant fashion[1]; of the votes cast by the twenty-one Cardinals and six consultors only three were against him, those of Passionei, York, and Corsini. With feverish activity the enemies of the Jesuits had launched a campaign to prevent the beatification.[2] Passionei did all he could to disparage Bellarmine, but Benedict XIV. said quite definitely that all his "gossip" (*ciarle*) made no impression on him.[3] In France, however, the defenders of the Gallican liberties saw in Bellarmine their mortal enemy; Benedict, not wanting to "throw oil on the flames", decided to let the matter rest "as long as the bull was on the rampage".[4] When Choiseul arrived in Rome the following year as envoy he had been given instructions to raise objections to a resumption of the proceedings; Bellarmine's canonization would never be recognized in France, he said.[5] At the same time the Minister Boyer wrote to the General of the Jesuits

[1] "Le cardinal Bellarmin, outre qu'il était très savant, a été comme religieux, comme archevêque et comme cardinal un exemple vivant de vertu." In addition, he performed "travaux immenses et utiles" in the various Congregations (to Tencin, May 9, 1753, II., 265). "Nous savons parfaitement ce qu'en bonne justice nous devons faire, mais en même temps nous voyons le danger auquel nous nous exposons en la rendant" (to the same, July 25, 1753, *ibid.*, 280).

[2] Rosa, 14 *seqq.*

[3] "Nous avons dit au général des Jesuites que le retard de la cause ne provenait pas des pauvretés [ciarle] débitées par le cardinal Passionei, mais des tristes circonstances du temps; que ne voulant pas jeter de l'huile sur le feu, nous croyons ainsi rendre service à la cause." To Tencin, August 29, 1753, *ibid.*, 288.

[4] To the same, September 19, 1753, *ibid.*, 292.

[5] "que certainement pareille canonisation ne serait jamais reconnue en France." Boutry, 237 *seqq.*

that at the moment, if an uproar was to be avoided, it would be better to raise any other person to the altar than a Jesuit, and any Jesuit rather than Bellarmine; Bellarmine's canonization would be the signal for the adherents of the parliament to raise a tumult.[1] Consequently the process was left in abeyance until recent years, when the facts concerning Bellarmine's holiness established in Benedict XIV.'s time were taken into consideration.[2] On the process of the canonization of his predecessor, Innocent XI., Benedict expressed himself unfavourably.[3]

Hostility towards the Society of Jesus not only postponed the honouring of Bellarmine but favoured the process of beatification of an opponent of the Jesuits, Palafox.[4] The idea of paying him this honour had first cropped up in 1691. It was supported by the Spanish king and about a score of Spanish Bishops, but when the General of the Jesuits, Gonzalez, had convinced the Bishops that an insulting letter written against the Jesuits [5] really was the work of Palafox, the matter was shelved.[6] In 1726, however, the process of beatification was actually begun. In 1756 Cardinal Passionei, whose task it had been since 1741 to promote the process, joined with Cardinal Enriquez in seeking support from the Spanish Court. Subsequently, the Spanish envoy in Rome was instructed to take no steps for the time being, either for or against the process [7]; but it was not long before Passionei's request was

[1] Régnault, *Beaumont*, I., 259.

[2] For an account of Bellarmine's canonization, see Dudon in *Recherches de science relig.*, XII. (1921), 145–167; Raitz von Frentz in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXIX. (1930), 332–344.

[3] To Tencin, November 14, 1744, I., 162. On October 10, 1744, the French envoy *wrote that there was no fear of Innocent being canonized in his time; it was only with a view to the future that the Pope allowed the witnesses still living to be heard. Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Cifre al Durini, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] For Palafox, see our account, Vol. XXX, 207 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 211, n. 1.

[6] Astráin, VI., 369. Letter from Gonzalez to the Spanish king in *Vie du vén. Dom Jean de Palafox*, Cologne, 1767, 506 *seq.*

[7] *Wall to Portocarrero, March 9, 1756, Archives of the

granted, probably as a result of the influence exercised by the Minister Wall.[1]

Notwithstanding all his zeal for the veneration of God and His Saints, Benedict XIV. considerably diminished the number of feast days. From the beginning of his pontificate, he wrote,[2] requests of this nature had reached him from Bishops on both sides of the Alps. These desires were satisfied by him in a Bull of September 13th, 1742.[3] He had long studied the question and had inserted a discussion of it in his work on canonization, in which he wrote in favour of a diminution of the number of feast days, on the grounds that they were not worthily celebrated by many persons and that their excessive number made it difficult for the poor to earn their living. After publishing this discussion the Pope sought the opinions of forty scholars; thirty-three were in favour of diminishing the number of feast days, fifteen suggested that the Holy See should draw up a new table of feasts for the whole Church, and eighteen were of the opinion that any such reform should be granted only to the Bishops who might apply for it. Between 1742 and 1748 twenty-five Bishops from Spain alone applied for the diminution, eight from the Papal States, and six from Tuscany.[4] On a dispute arising between

Spanish Embassy to Rome, Reales Órdenes, 39; *Portocarrero to Wall, April 1, 1756, *ibid.*, Registro de la correspond. oficial, 99.

[1] *Wall to Portocarrero, November 16, 1756, *ibid.* R. Órdenes 39; *Portocarrero to Wall, December 9, 1756, *ibid.* Registro, 99.

[2] To the Bishop of Breslau, March 1, 1755, *Acta*, II., 224; letter of August 17, 1748, in Fresco, XIX., 179. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXXVII., 697.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 116. As far back as 1727 the Council of Tarragona had presented a petition to the Pope for the diminution of the feast days. The people went on working on these days in spite of the prohibition, pleading as an excuse the infertility of the soil, the heavy taxes, and the fact that there were as many as ninety-one holidays of obligation in the year. *Coll. Lac.*, I., 785.

[4] Novaes, XIV., 134 *seq.*; Brief for Naples, December 12, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 286; for Poland, 1745, *ibid.*, XVI., 312;

Muratori and Cardinal Quirini on the diminution of the feasts the Pope suppressed it by a decree of November 14th, 1748, in which he forbade anyone to write on the subject.[1]

The demand for the diminution of feast days may have been due to some extent to the decrease of religious fervour. On the other hand there were living at that time in Italy quite a number of persons who were afterwards paid the honour of canonization,[2] notably Alphonsus Liguori (d. 1787), the founder of the Redemptorists, Gerard Majella (d. 1755),[3] a lay-brother in the same Order, Paul of the Cross (Paolo Danei; d. 1775),[4] the founder of the Passionists, the Franciscan Leonardo da Porto Maurizio (d. 1751),[5] and the secular priest Giovanni Battista de Rossi (d. 1764).[6] Even in her best

for Maria Theresa and the Milanese possessions, December 3, 1754, *Acta*, II., 214. According to the Brief of September 28, 1745, the Ascension was not to be included in the diminution of feast-days for Spain. *Ibid.*, I., 284.

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 283; AMANN in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 2554 *seq.* — A writing of Muratori's against Quirini in *Scritti inediti di L. A. Muratori, Documenti*, Bologna, 1872, 261–322. *Cf.* above, p. 215.

[2] DE WAAL, *Roma Sacra*, 546 *seq.*

[3] Biography by DILGSKRON, Dülmen, 1909.

[4] Biography by STRAMBI (Rome, 1786); AMADEO DELLA MADRE DEL B. PASTORE, *Lettere di S. Paolo della Croce*, disposte ed annotate, Roma, 1924. Paul of the Cross wrote about thirty letters weekly; 2,000 have been preserved.

[5] *Opere*, 12 vols., Roma, 1853 *seq.*; 5 vols., Roma, 1867 *seq.* (in the latter edition the "Diario delle missioni"; biography by Salvatore d'Ormea at the beginning of the editions); *Prediche e lettere inedite*, published by B. Innocenti (Quaracchi, 1915).

[6] *Cf.* KATHOLIK, 1881, II., 487–526; biography by Leitner (1899). — Among others who died with a reputation for sanctity were the Capuchin Archbishop of Ferrara, Bonaventura Barberini (see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 130; *cf.* above, p. 305); Paolo Buono (Pianelli) of Naples, who tended the poor for forty years, and was buried in S. Lorenzo in Damaso (*MERENDA, *loc. cit.*); the Franciscan Conventual Francesco Antonio Fassani, d. 1742 (PICOT, III., 369).

periods the Church has seen nothing better than the lives and influence of these men and their followers.

(4)

For De Rossi, whose priestly activity was entirely devoted to the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned, the jubilee year of 1750 was an especially fruitful opportunity of showing his love for the poor among the pilgrims.[1] No less zeal was displayed by Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. In preparation for the Holy Year, and beginning in July 1749, he gave three missions lasting two weeks each, with intervals of one week between them; the Pope was present in person at the sermons and gave Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament.[2] The missions were followed by exercises.[3] This great missionary had long had at heart the devotion to the Passion of Christ by means of Stations of the Cross, of which he was responsible for the erection of no less than 572, and through him the devotion was adopted by the whole Church. In the jubilee year he set up the most famous of these Stations; on November 27th, 1750, at his instigation, a cross with the appropriate Stations was erected in the middle of the Colosseum.[4]

Benedict had a very high regard for this ardent preacher. He gave him permission to come into his presence every Sunday without formality[5] and often had to come to his assistance when, carried away by his zeal, the indefatigable missionary discovered that he had promised to be in two places at once.[6] Thus it was that the Pope himself summoned

[1] Stocker in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X., 1300.

[2] Novaes, XIV., 146.

[3] Innocenti, 271.

[4] "Discorso fatto nell'istituzione della Via Crucis eretta nel Colosseo di Roma" (*Opere*, vol. IV.), Venezia, 1867, 393; Innocenti, x.; "Statuti della ven. Arciconfraternita degli Amanti di Gesù e di Maria eretta in Roma nell' anno del giubileo 1750," Roma, 1773.

[5] Innocenti, 289.

[6] "Esso è un degno religioso, ma non può essere in cinquanta luoghi nello stesso tempo, come forse per la sua gran carità

Leonardo to Rome to hold the jubilee missions and encouraged the aged religious to step into the breach and die there fighting like a brave soldier.

Already in 1749 missions were being held in all the principal churches of Rome, mostly by Capuchins [1]; the next year they were resumed for the benefit of considerably increased congregations.[2] The Pope considered the missions to be of the greatest possible value and himself instructed the missionaries how their duties were to be performed.[3]

Benedict desired most ardently the success of the jubilee in all its aspects, and he had given it his attention for a long time past. As far back as September 25th, 1748, he had written [4] that he would not leave Rome the following month but that he would spend it all at his desk; much preparation was required for the Holy Year, for it was really to be a holy year, a year of edification and not of scandal.

The principles enunciated by Benedict on this occasion were subsequently carried into practice by him. He issued

bramerebbe d'essere. Dice di sì a tutti, e poi ritrovandosi imbrogliato, ora chiama in aiuto il Papa, ora il suo P. Generale." Benedict to Storano, March 1, 1747, in MARONI, 751.

[1] *Roman newspapers of October 25, 1749, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio wrote on April 25, 1749 (INNOCENTI, 271): "Noi daremo principio alle nostre [missioni] dopo l'Ottava di S. Pietro, e primieramente se ne faranno tre in varie piazze, e poi esercizi spirituali in varie chiese. Nel mese di Novembre si ripiglieranno le missioni, e allora non saremo soli, ma 7 o 8 missionari in varie chiese; e poi seguiteremo gli esercizi sino al Natale."

[2] *Roman newspapers of February 28, 1750, *loc. cit.* The Pope had appointed the ablest preachers: for St. Peter's the regular cleric Bona, for the Gesù the Jesuit Tommaso Carli, for the Minerva the Dominican Tacconi, for S. Lorenzo in Damaso the Servite Galeotti, for Araceli Ludovico da Siena, for S. Eustachio Pier Maria da Casalini, etc. On January 24 and May 21 mention was made of the large numbers of pilgrims.

[3] *Avviso for December 13, 1749, in Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

[4] To Tencin, I., 431.

a dozen ordinances on the subject, generous in length and full of learning based on history and canon law. An Encyclical of February 19th, 1749,[1] addressed to the Italian Bishops, instructed them to get rid of anything that might give scandal; the jubilee pilgrims were not to find ruinous or dirty churches, with sacred vestments in tatters or without any vestments at all; Benedict XIII. had held up as models the churches of the Capuchins, which though not costly were clean and neat. The Pope was particularly anxious that singing and church music should be edifying and to this subject he devoted a large portion of his letter.[2] In an address to the Cardinals on March 3rd, 1749,[3] he asked them to take to heart the duty of repairing their titular churches in Rome; he himself when he was younger had seen to the improvement of the high-roads and later had done his best to improve the decoration of the Roman churches, especially S. Apollinare; the Cardinals were asked to do likewise. Another allocution [4] followed on May 5th announcing the Holy Year and explaining how it was to be made holy: the Pope would arrange for missions to be held, would address instructions to the Bishops, appoint confessors, invest them with special powers, and elucidate the doubtful points connected with the customary instructions for the celebration of the jubilee. On the same day the announcement of the jubilee was made to all the faithful.[5] In this the Pope explained that on account of the sinfulness and the indifference of the world special times had been reserved in which the Church could issue special exhortations. "Do penance" was the burden of his message. Another reason for his invitation to the world to make a pilgrimage to Rome was that it was thus given an opportunity of witnessing

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 9 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 12–24.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 66.

[4] *Ibid.*, 69 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 70 *seqq.* On May 12, 1749, Ruggieri called the Bull "un capo d'opera e ve lo dico senza adulazione." NARDINOCCHI, 106.

the splendour of Christian Rome.[1] "What could give a Christian greater joy than to see the glory of the cross of Christ shining with a more brilliant splendour than anywhere else on earth, and to testify with his own eyes to the glorious victory won by our Faith over the world? We see here how the greatest worldly power bows down in awe before religion and how what was once the earthly Babylon has been transformed into a new, heavenly city that instead of threatening to destroy whole peoples and subjugate nations with the force of arms and the tumult of war, sets before our eyes a heavenly doctrine and a spotless morality for the enlightenment and salvation of the nations. Here we see the former rule of superstition buried in oblivion, while the pure worship of the true God and the majesty of divine service cast their radiant light in all directions; we see the sanctuaries of false gods razed to the ground, while the temples of God are hallowed by holy veneration; we can see here with our own eyes how the godless pastimes of the theatre and the insane spectacles of the circus have vanished from the memory of man and how instead of them the resting-places of the martyrs are thronged with visitors; how the monuments of tyrants lie prostrate in the dust, while the burial places of the Apostles, built by the hands of emperors, rear themselves aloft; how the precious works intended for the honouring of Roman pride are used for the embellishment of churches; how the memorials erected in thanksgiving to heathen deities for the subjugation of provinces, now, purged of their godless superstition, bear on their summits, with more right and as the emblem of a greater blessing, the victorious symbol of the unconquerable cross. Lastly, the sight of the countless bands of the faithful who during the jubilee year pour into the Eternal City from all points of the compass will fill your hearts with joy, for each of you will find his own Faith shared by the members of many different nations, speaking different languages. With all of these you will be joined in brotherly love in the Lord, under the protection of our common Mother, the Church, and you

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 73 *seq.*

will feel with joy how the dew of heavenly grace will be rained down on you more lavishly."

The following month saw the publication of another Encyclical [1] which after a learned preface dealing with the antiquity of pilgrimages in general and of that to Rome in particular was directed especially to Bishops, priests, and religious. The reason why the invitation to Rome was issued was to venerate the Princes of the Apostles; moreover, Rome was the head of the Catholic religion and the centre of its unity, and the prospect was offered of the complete remission of the punishment for sin by means of a plenary indulgence. The Encyclical then dealt with the confessors, who were instructed how they were to prepare the faithful for the gaining of the jubilee indulgence. The confessors' powers were enumerated in a special decree,[2] and in a further instruction [3] the difficulties which had formerly attached to the use of these powers were discussed and solved under ninety-one headings. According to custom, all indulgences except the jubilee indulgence were suspended during the Holy Year.[4] A special Brief [5] set forth the manner in which those persons were to be treated who were prevented from visiting the Holy City, namely enclosed nuns, invalids, and prisoners. After the Holy Year had begun apostates from monastic life were invited to return.[6] Thus nothing seemed to be forgotten; even judges were appointed to settle possible legal disputes among the pilgrims.[7]

At a secret consistory on December 1st the Pope made arrangements for the opening of the Holy Door, which according to custom had to be performed at the beginning of the

[1] Of June 26, 1749, *ibid.*, 78–97.

[2] Of November 25, 1749, *ibid.*, 97–102.

[3] Of December 3, 1749, *ibid.*, 102–145.

[4] Brief of May 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 77.

[5] Of December 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 149–151.

[6] On February 12, 1750, *ibid.*, 151–2.

[7] Brief of November 28, 1749, *ibid.*, 145. Quirini had advised the Pope to invite also the Protestant sovereigns to the jubilee. Fresco, XIX., 196.

Holy Year by the Pope at St. Peter's, by Cardinals at certain other basilicas.[1] In the first week of December he summoned the mission preachers and personally instructed them in their duties.[2]

As the days went by the jubilee year furnished an impressive proof that the adherents of the Catholic Faith formed a body that was still pulsing with life. According to Merenda, there were already 30,000 visitors in Rome by the end of 1749; in the following January he noted that 200 Armenians and Greeks had come for the jubilee.[3] The Holy Year had opened well, wrote the Pope. A band of Armenians, who were living at their own expense, were attracting attention, and eight hundred Catholic Swiss who were visiting the basilicas in procession were edifying all who saw them. Pilgrims from Vienna had arrived already, also from Casale. As so many were travelling in spite of the severe winter, even larger bodies of visitors might be expected when the better weather came.[4] Of the Armenians he wrote again [5] that there were a hundred of them, mostly merchants; they had brought with them their womenfolk, but the latter were always veiled when they went out of doors; it was only when they were being entertained in the refectory of St. Peter's by the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity that one saw their jewels and diamonds; at table the men were waited on by six Cardinals, the ladies by the wives of the envoys from France and Venice and by princesses.[6] Many more bands of pilgrims arrived for Lent. The ceremonies of Holy Week were attended by large numbers of the Italian and foreign aristocracy; the concourse was so great that people of rank had to go on

[1] The allocution in *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 147 *seq.*

[2] *Newspapers of December 11, 1749, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] **Memorie*, 92 *seq.*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. Marangoni supplied a booklet for pilgrims: *Il devoto pellegrino guidato*, Roma, 1749.

[4] To Tencin, January 7, 1750, II., 1 *seq.*

[5] On January 28, 1750, *ibid.*, 6.

[6] *MERENDA, 95, *loc. cit.*

foot to St. Peter's because all the carriages had been reserved for visits to the basilicas and other devotions of the Romans. More than 17,000 pilgrims had to camp out in the open. The people visited the basilicas with great reverence.[1] In April and May the Pope wrote that visitors were still pouring into the city.[2] At Whitsun, he said, he intended to celebrate a triduum at S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Carlo in the Corso, and S. Andrea della Valle ; every morning he would attend a sermon and give Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament.[3] In the manner of the pilgrimages of old, the Bishop of Spoleto, accompanied by a goodly part of his chapter and his priests, altogether 70 persons, had made the pilgrimage entirely on foot and had himself borne the cross in front of the procession. He wanted to take up his quarters with the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, but this the Pope would not allow.[4] Incidentally, this confraternity estimated its expenditure on entertaining the pilgrims from December 1749 to the end of March 1750 at 65,000 *scudi*.[5] The people attended with great devotion the Corpus Christi procession [6] and the celebration of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, which took place after the Pope's return from Castel Gandolfo and was also attended by an "enormous" number of aristocrats ; besides the Cardinals, forty Bishops were present and in the evening the dome of St. Peter's and the colonnades were illuminated.[7] At the closing of the Holy Door, wrote the Pope,[8] the concourse of the foreign aristocracy defied description, and at the giving of the Papal blessing the crowd had filled the piazza of St. Peter's and part of the adjoining streets.

Requests were made in many quarters for the extension of

[1] March 11 and 23, 1750, II., 18, 21.
[2] April 1, 22, 29, May 6 and 22, 1750, *ibid.*, 21, 24, 26, 27, 32.
[3] April 22, *ibid.*, 24.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Benedict on April 29, 1750, *ibid.*, 26.
[6] Benedict on June 3, 1750, *ibid.*, 36.
[7] Benedict on July 8, 1750, *ibid.*, 41.
[8] On December 30, 1750, *ibid.*, 82.

the jubilee for the whole Church to the year 1751, but before acceding to them Benedict considered it advisable to sound Cardinal Tencin [1] how such a step would be likely to be received in France. On November 11th he was able to write [2] that the extension of the jubilee year was actually requested by the French envoy. On acceding to this wish on December 25th, 1750,[3] and on reviewing the past year in a corresponding letter to the Bishops,[4] the Pope was able not only to pride himself on the preparatory measures he had taken—the repair of the roads in the Papal States, the provision of food, the restoration of the Roman churches—but also to speak of the brilliant success of the Holy Year itself. Pilgrims had come from the most remote places, from Armenia, Syria, and Egypt; he himself had taken part in the two previous jubilees, but the number of people who had flocked to Rome on this last occasion had been far larger. That the Bishops had prepared their flocks for the jubilee year in accordance with the Papal instructions was shown by the fact that the basilicas had never been visited by so many people showing evident signs of devotion and piety as during the past year. Very many general confessions had been made, as he had learnt from the penitentiaries. Nor had the inhabitants of the city allowed themselves to be outdone in devotion by the strangers. The crowds which had attended the mission sermons and the piety they displayed were incredible. Edifying examples of repentance and devotion had been given by all classes. Those whose duty it was to set a good example to others, namely the Bishops, the Cardinals, and the gentlefolk, had done so to the Pope's satisfaction. He knew, and had seen it with his own eyes to some extent, how they had made the prescribed visits to the churches, had waited on the pilgrims at table, had washed their feet, and had given them generous alms.

[1] On January 28, 1750, *ibid.*, 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, 72.
[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 50.
[4] Of January 1, 1751, II., 156–161.

(5)

Benedict XIV. did not always speak so approvingly of his Cardinals. It is significant that he was in no hurry at first to fill the vacancies in their College. Even after two years had passed since his election he wrote [1] that the position of the Holy See was not favourable for the nomination of Cardinals. Except for Doria, he said, not one of the nuncios in office was worthy of the red hat. Doria combined noble blood with purity of morals and erudition; but the others were lacking in knowledge, and yet either all or none of them had to be promoted. The difficulty was increased by the severity with which their intellectual views were held: whoever was not a Molinist or an upholder of lax morality was promptly dubbed a Jansenist.[2] In any case, he declared, he was determined to make no concessions to flesh and blood when making his choices. His difficulties were still further increased by the financial straits of the Holy See; he certainly had several hats to dispose of but he had not the means with which to endow the new Cardinals in fitting fashion. Perhaps, however, it was not a bad thing, he added slyly, for pleasure-seeking gentlemen to be kept a little short.[3]

Meanwhile four more Cardinals had died: Pieri, Giudice, Belluga, and Colonna.[4] Pieri did not leave enough behind him to pay for the funeral that befitted his position; Giudice, on the other hand, left vast riches. He envied the former, wrote Benedict XIV., not the latter.[5]

By the end of 1743 it became almost impossible to put off

[1] To Tencin, December 29, 1742, I., 20.

[2] Allusion to the difficulties connected with Berti, Bellelli, and Cardinal Noris.

[3] To Tencin, March 8, 1743, I., 38 *seq.*; *cf.* 40.

[4] *Ibid.*, 28, 38. On January 17, 1743, Acquaviva *wrote that with the death of Cibo there were eighteen hats free; on February 14 he reported the death of Corradini, on the 28th that of Cardinal Belluga, who died "in gran concepto por sus virtudes y con universal dolor de los pobres".

[5] To Tencin, February 1, 1743, I., 28.

the long-awaited nomination of new Cardinals any longer. The first appointment to be made, though then only *in petto*, was that of Emperor Charles VII.'s brother, Duke John Theodore, Bishop of Liége and administrator of Freising and Ratisbon, where he had been Bishop. The "Cardinal of Bavaria", as he was called, did not pay a single visit to Rome in the course of his life, which ended in 1763; the red hat was sent to him by the Pope through the hands of Lazarus Opitius Pallavicini, afterwards Secretary of State under Clement XIV. and Pius VI.[1]

As a companion for this foreigner from the North Benedict appointed a Spaniard: Joaquin Fernando Portocarrero, a Knight of Malta and the Order's envoy to Charles VI., who made him Viceroy of Naples. After he had adopted the ecclesiastical state in Rome, he became Patriarch of Antioch, Protector of the Spanish realm (1749), and Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina (1756). Though not a scholar himself, he was a protector of scholars and was described as a man of straightforward and friendly disposition.[2]

Except for these two foreigners only Italians were invested with the purple in 1743. Some of these had done duty as nuncios: Camillo Paolucci in Poland and Vienna, Giambattista Berni in Switzerland, Giacomo Oddi in Lisbon, Cologne, and Venice, Marcello Crescenzi in Paris, where also Federigo Marcello Lante had been sent to present the consecrated swaddling clothes. Giorgio Doria, a Genoese of noble birth, was nuncio at the Diet of Frankfort which elected Charles VII. and had remained with the emperor in the same capacity.[3] He earned high praise from Benedict XIV., who

[1] M. Rottmanner, *Der Kardinal von Bayern*, Munich, 1877.

[2] For those promoted in 1743, see Novaes, XIV., 53; Bartholomaeus Ant. Talenti, **Vita seu necrologia Benedicti XIII., Clementis XII. et cardinalium a d. 20 mart. 1730 ad 29 iun. 1743 defunctorum, additis iconibus et insigniis ære incisis*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome, 1701; *Item cardinalium defunctorum 1743 ad 1758, ibid.*, 1702; *Item cardinalium defunctorum 1758–1768* and *1767–1777, ibid.*, 1703 and 1704; Moroni, IX., 192 *seq.*

[3] Novaes, XIV., 53 *seqq.*

wrote [1] that he had known him during the six years when Doria had been vice-legate in Bologna; he was a man of intelligence and knowledge, and not only in legal matters; as nuncio he had contributed 100,000 *scudi* towards his expenses from his private means.

High praise, though on other grounds, was also bestowed on the French nuncio, Marcello Crescenzi, who died in 1768 as Archbishop of Ferrara. He was not the man to write a commentary on Aristotle, was the Pope's opinion, but seeing that he had been a canon of St. Peter's with him he had known him for a long time and knew that he was a consistently good ecclesiastic.[2] Since 1730 Crescenzi had been a close friend of the great Franciscan missionary Leonardo da Porto Maurizio.[3]

The learned Bolognese Filippo Maria Monti (d. 1754)[4] had been a friend of Benedict XIV. in his boyhood and student days; he was the author of a work on the Cardinals, and as Secretary of the Propaganda he wrote a history of the mission to Tibet.

On the whole, Benedict XIV.'s first promotion took the form of a mark of honour paid to learning; though he could find no scholars among his nuncios he had not to look far for them in Rome in other walks of life. Raffaello Cosimo Girolami, from Florence, was one of the most competent theologians of his time and found ample opportunity to exercise his knowledge amid the various Roman Congregations. A deep knowledge of jurisprudence was possessed by Carlo Leopoldo Calcagnini (d. 1746), who left behind him ten manuscript volumes of legal decisions and also printed works,[5] and by Carlo Alberto Guidoboni Cavalchini, who was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri and Dean of the Sacred College when he died in 1774 at the

[1] To Tencin, February 8, 1743, I., 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, and to the same, on March 8, 1743, *ibid.*, 38.

[3] INNOCENTI, 304.

[4] GUALANDI in *Studi e memorie per la storia dell' Università di Bologna*, VI., Bologna, 1921, 59; Benedict to Tencin, October 11, 1743, I., 89.

[5] His tomb is in S. Andrea delle Fratte; see FORCELLA, VIII., 232; DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 33.

age of ninety. It was probably only the "exclusion" exercised by France that prevented his being elected Pope on the death of Benedict XIV. Giuseppe Pozzobonelli, who died in 1783 as the Archbishop of Milan, left behind him a reputation for virtue, scholarship, and beneficence. Francesco Ricci, the Governor of Rome under Benedict XIV., was also regarded as an authority on jurisprudence but he was more highly esteemed on account of his moderation, faithfulness to duty, and piety.[1] Francesco Landi was also noted for his learning; he died as Archbishop of Benevento in 1757. Antonio Ruffo, on the other hand, who died in 1753, had no reputation for learning, but for piety. Three more Cardinals who owed their promotion to their learning were members of Orders: the Dominican Ludovico Maria Lucini (d. 1745),[2] the Benedictine Fortunato Tamburini, theologian to the Roman Council under Benedict XIII. (d. 1761), and the Cistercian Gioacchino Besozzi (d. 1753). Tamburini received high praise from Benedict when the latter was distressed by the prospect of losing him through death; he was, he said, an excellent theologian and an untiring worker, and he wrote in a good style, both in Italian and Latin. Moreover, he lived in a little room with his fellow-religious and had declined a rich abbacy with the remark that he had enough to live on and that by the favour of the Holy See he had enough to pay for his burial.[3]

Besides the nineteen Cardinal Bishops and Priests whom we have named above, six Cardinal Deacons were created in 1743. Of these it was learning again that distinguished

[1] "*L'illibatezza de' suoi costumi, l'integrità e la vigilanza nell' esercizio delle sue cariche, la sua esemplare pietà e solida devozione e finalmente la sua invitta pazienza e rassegnazione nella sua ultima malattia gli meritarono la morte de'giusti" (Bibl. Ricci, Rome). His merits are duly recorded in the *Storia di S. Agnete di Montepulciano*, Siena, 1779, 148. Caracciolo (38) describes Tamburini as "learned", Portocarrero as "judicious and straightforward"; in 1758 the latter almost became Pope.

[2] *Cf.* TAURISANO, *Hierarchia Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Roma, 1916, 76.

[3] To Tencin, March 13, 1754, II., 327.

Alessandro Tanara; his decisions on legal cases which he reached as Auditor of the Rota were printed in Rome in 1747 in two volumes. Mario Bolognetti, the Treasurer General, was esteemed for his intelligence and his integrity. A similar reputation was enjoyed by Prospero Colonna di Sciarra, of the ducal family of Carbognano, afterwards Prefect of the Propaganda. Other scions of the Roman aristocracy besides Prospero Colonna and Bolognetti were Girolamo Colonna, the Pope's Maggiordomo, and Domenico Orsini d'Aragona, Duke of Gravina, who had been the Queen of Naples' envoy to Clement XII. and who was now given his cardinalship after the death of his wife. Girolamo Bardi derived from the noble Florentine family of the Counts of Vernio. Famous for his rectitude, piety, and charity, he bequeathed 30,000 *scudi* for the foundation of a hospital for the poor. Though not created a Cardinal on this occasion, Lazzaro Pallavicini was highly commended at the Consistory of September 9th, 1743, for having repeatedly declined the purple.[1]

In Vienna the nominations of September 9th aroused a storm of indignation. It was true that among the new wearers of the purple were two Florentines and four Milanese—that is to say a sufficient number of the princely pair's dependents—but no importance was attached to this; what had been taken for granted was the promotion of Mellini, for which the Austrian statesmen had been working since the beginning of the new pontificate.[2] The Pope, however, could not grant him this honour as he was too strong a supporter of Austria, which was one of the worst oppressors of the Papal States. It was Cardinal Kollonitsch who was prominent in urging Mellini's advancement. The discontent at his having been

[1] MERENDA in his **Memorie* (43, *loc. cit.*) renders high praise to several of those promoted in 1743. Girolami, for instance, is described as "dotto e santo", Cavalchini as "dotto e ecclesiastico esemplare", Crescenzi as "di costumi angelici", Landi as "dotto", Ricci as "di non molto sapere, ma dolce, ecclesiastico e di santi costumi".

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 122 *seqq.*

passed over was aggravated by the grievance that in the appointment of Monti and Landi, France—and in the latter case Spain too—had been favoured in preference to Austria.[1]

In addition to this the three Powers, France, Spain, and Austria immediately began to press for the nomination of Crown Cardinals. France especially was insistent in its demand that the Archbishop of Bourges, De la Rochefoucauld, be admitted to the Sacred College. The Pope, however, was unable to meet the wishes of all three Powers, since he had not at the time that number of Cardinals' hats to give away; nor could he yield to the demand of the French envoy, Canillac, that France should be preferred to Spain and Austria, since this would have antagonized the neglected princes and would have provoked Austria especially to further acts of oppression in the States of the Church. Benedict therefore urged Canillac to persuade the other Powers to agree to the selection of a Frenchman.[2]

Another motive for the postponement of the nominations was put forward in Paris through the nuncio Durini: the oppression of the Papal States. Let France put an end to the bondage, Durini was told, and the promotion would follow without delay.[3]

Thus the Governments, unwilling though they were, were forced to contain themselves in patience. On January 16th, 1746, the nomination of the "Cardinal of Bavaria", which had formerly been *in petto* only, was openly proclaimed and he was given precedence over the other wearers of the purple who had been appointed with him in 1743[4]; but it was not

[1] To Tencin, October 11 and 25 and December 6, 1743, also on June 10, 1744, I., 89, 94, 103, 141.

[2] To Tencin, March 27, 1745, *ibid.*, 186 *seq.*

[3] "*che venga a liberari dalla schiavitù in cui siamo per colpa della Francia, e non si tarderà allora per parte nostra la promozione." To Durini, October 15, 1746, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, fo. 207–8, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Rottmanner, *loc. cit.*, 43. *Cf.* above, p. 334; Dengel, *Garampi*, 67.

until April 10th, 1747, that the next promotion of an appreciable size took place [1] and it was clear that in this the satisfaction of the secular princes was the first consideration.[2] Austria and France saw the demands which they had urged so violently fulfilled by the admission to the Sacred College of Mario Mellini and Frédéric Jérôme de la Rochefoucauld de Roye.[3] Spain and Portugal were given their Crown Cardinals in the persons of Álvaro de Mendoza and the Patriarch of Lisbon, José Manuel d'Atalaia. The pressure exerted by Venice, in the one case, and consideration for the Pretender to the English throne, James III., in the other, resulted in red hats being given to the Patriarch of Aquileia, Daniel Delfino, and to the Frenchman Armand Rohan de Soubise. The kings of Sardinia and Poland saw their efforts crowned with success in the nominations of Carlo Vittorio Amadeo delle Lanze, Elemosiniere of Charles Emmanuel III., and Gian Francesco Albani. Raniero Simonetti, internuncio in Turin, nuncio in Naples, and Governor of Rome, who died as Bishop of Viterbo in 1749, had probably no need of the recommendations from high quarters which he actually received ; and the same may be said of Ferdinand Julius Count Troyer, an alumnus of the German College and Prince Bishop of Olmütz since 1746, " an energetic and zealous pastor," who died in 1758.[4]

Whereas the promotion of all the foregoing was facilitated by their noble birth, that of Giambattista Mesmer, the son of

[1] For the various Cardinals, *cf.* NOVAES, XIV., 122–7.

[2] *Cod. Vat. 8545, p. 181–5, Vatican Library. Only two were nominated without reference to the considerations of the sovereigns.

[3] DE BRIMONT, *Le card. de Rochefoucauld et l'ambassade de Rome* 1743 *à* 1748, Paris, 1913. The following opinion of him as envoy to Rome was expressed by Benedict XIV. on October 27, 1745 (I., 221) : " Nous n'avons pas assez de mots pour louer l'archevêque de Bourges, type accompli d'un ambassadeur ecclésiastique, dont la vie et le respect qu'il marque au Saint-Siège devraient être un sujet de confusion pour tant d'autres."

[4] STEINHUBER, II., 280.

a middle-class family of Milan, was due entirely to his own ability. Among the others, too, who owed their new dignity to the recommendations of princes, there was considerable merit. Thus the protégé of Spain, Mendoza, who was ninety years old when he died in 1761, was a famous enemy of pomp and pride and was known for his perspicacity, courage, and prudence ; his copious income he distributed among the poor. Delfino of Aquileia was a model priest, a zealous Bishop, and very charitable. The death of Rochefoucauld in 1757 was lamented by the poor. Towards the close of his life, which ended in 1784, the Piedmontese Lanze left liberal incomes to be used for the promotion of the canonization of the poorest of the poor, Benedict Labre (d. 1783), and he founded at his last place of residence, the Abbey of S. Benigno di Fruttuaria, a seminary in which he maintained thirty pupils at his own expense. On his elevation to the cardinalate the Pope wrote to him that the honour was a reward for his virtue.[1]

In July 1747 there was another promotion to Cardinal's rank of an unusual nature : only one admission was made to the Sacred College, but it was celebrated with an unwonted solemnity. The cannon in the Castel S. Angelo were fired at the moment when the Pope, on July 8th, was placing the red hat on the new member's head, and when this newly created Cardinal visited St. Peter's in the afternoon he was received at the door by four Canons, to the accompaniment of a peal of bells.[2] The Cardinal in question was the grandson of James II. of England, Henry, Duke of York. After the battle of Culloden in 1746 had deprived the Stuarts of their last hope of obtaining the throne of England, the Duke of York left Paris secretly on April 29th, 1747, for Rome, there to enter the ecclesiastical state. On June 30th the Pope gave him the tonsure with his own hands and accorded him the cardinalate [3] ; and he had no cause to regret this mark of his favour. " The Cardinal of York," he wrote at various times, " is an example

[1] Cibrario, *Lettere*, 251.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, July 12, 1747, I., 338.

[3] To Tencin, July 5, 1747, *ibid.*, 337.

to all [1]; his conduct is irreproachable and his love of study unbelievable [2]; he is an angel in human form and edifies the whole of Rome." [3] Duke Henry was made Bishop of Frascati in 1761 and Bishop of Ostia in 1803. He died as the last of the Stuarts in 1807—a redeeming conclusion to the history of an ill-starred family.[4]

It was not long after the names of the new Cardinals had been announced that complaints came in from Madrid that two Cardinals, Mellini and Troyer, had been granted to the Government of Vienna [5]; Spain must demand an honour of equal value for herself.[6]

Petty jealousies in other quarters deferred another promotion till 1753, by which time death had brought about seventeen gaps in the Sacred College. King John V. of Portugal, after several attempts, succeeded in persuading Rome to agree to the nunciature in Lisbon carrying with it the practical certainty of a future cardinalship; in fact the nuncio was not to leave Lisbon without actually receiving his nomination. Lisbon was thus placed on the same footing as Vienna, Paris, and Madrid. At this point, however, the same preferential treatment was claimed for himself by the king of Sardinia, and when the rumour got abroad that steps were being taken to procure the red hat for the nuncio in Turin (Merlini), Poland, Naples, and Venice objected to being ranked lower than Sardinia and threatened to close the nunciatures in their States if Sardinia was to be honoured more than they. Benedict

[1] To Tencin, August 2 and 23 and November 15, 1747, *ibid.*, 342, 346, 364.

[2] To Tencin, November 15, 1747, *ibid.*, 364.

[3] To Tencin, May 15, 1748, *ibid.*, 404.

[4] Herbert M. Vaughan, *The last of the royal Stuarts: Henry Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York*, London, 1906; A. Shield, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and his times*, London, 1908. *Cf. Dublin Review*, CXIX. (1896), 97–120.

[5] Archives of the Spanish Embassy to Rome, August and September, 1747, 64 and 79.

[6] **Ibid.*, October 1747: the envoy was to "pedir equivalente indemnizacion por los capelos concedidos a Vienna y Turino".

XIV., not wanting the Church to lose its influence in Turin or to give offence to the three other Powers, thought to solve the problem by keeping back one of the red hats at his disposal at the next promotion and to give it to Merlini after a suitable interval, during which he hoped that the three Powers would have quietened down again.

There was yet another difficulty which stood in the way of an early promotion. The Secretary of State, Valenti, would have liked his relative and friend, Gian Francesco Stoppani, the nuncio in Vienna, to be vested with the purple, but at the Diet of Frankfort Stoppani had supported the election of the Duke of Bavaria, as against that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and consequently Maria Theresa, through her representative, Cardinal Mellini, was opposing his promotion. Were Benedict to give way to this objection there was a danger of the princes conferring on themselves the right to exclusion in the choice of Cardinals, just as they had long claimed it in the election of a Pope. Moreover, Stoppani's action at Frankfort was only in accordance with Papal orders. Through skilful negotiations the Pope succeeded in overcoming Maria Theresa's objection.[1]

When at last the long-awaited promotion took place on November 26th, 1753,[2] Stoppani, who had represented the Holy See in Florence and Venice besides Vienna, was one of the five prelates who were raised to the rank of Cardinal in reward for their services as nuncios. The other four nuncios were Fabrizio Serbelloni, Luca Melchiorre Tempi, Carlo Francesco Durini, and Enrico Enriquez ; Serbelloni had been nuncio in Florence, Cologne, Poland, and Vienna ; Tempi in Brussels, Cologne, and Lisbon ; Durini in Switzerland and Paris [3] ; Enriquez in Madrid. Cosmo Imperiali, Vincenzo Malvezzi, and Gian Giacomo Millo [4] had long been personal

[1] Novaes, XIV., 195 ; Benedict XIV. to Tencin, September 12, 1753, I., 290 *seq.* ; Tomassetti, *Palazzo Vidoni*, 44 *seq.*

[2] Novaes, XIV., 208 *seqq.*

[3] A crucifix presented by Louis XV. to the nuncio Durini is in the Durini Gallery, Milan.

[4] For the tomb of Millo (d. 1757) in S. Crisogono, see Domarus, *Bracci*, 59.

friends of the Pope. Imperiali had been governor of various towns, lastly of Rome, also President of the Archives and the Annona. The Bolognese Malvezzi had been made a canon by Lambertini when Archbishop of Bologna; on Lambertini becoming Pope, Malvezzi was summoned by him to Rome and was appointed his successor to the archiepiscopal see of Bologna in 1754. Millo had been Lambertini's Vicar General in Ancona and Bologna; he, too, was called to Rome when Lambertini became Pope and was given by him the posts of Datarius and Prefect of the Congregation of the Council. Like Imperiali, Gian Francesco Banchieri, Ludovico Maria Torrigiani, and Luigi Mattei had made their mark as civil officials: Banchieri as treasurer, Torrigiani as governor (on Archinto's death he was made Secretary of State in 1758), and Mattei as an official in the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, as Auditor of the Camerlengo, and as Vicar of St. Peter's. Flavio Chigi had occupied various positions in the Apostolic Chamber, while Giuseppe Livizzani had been universally admired as Secretary of the Memorials.[1] Antonio Andrea Galli, Canon Regular of the Holy Redeemer and General of his Congregation, owed his new dignity to the recommendation of an able theologian of unknown identity who for thirty years was consultor to the Holy Office but whose delicate health had made him unwilling to become a Bishop or a Cardinal. Benedict XIV. had once asked this good friend of his to name the ablest of the theologians who were free from any partisanship. He replied that there were only two: Galli and Mancini. The Pope chose the elder of the two, Galli, who was incidentally a Bolognese. A man of particularly interesting character was Clemente Argenvilliers, a Roman of low estate, who by his own efforts had become a famous advocate in the Curia. A summer holiday spent at Ariccia brought this capable person in touch with the Pope at Castel Gandolfo, and after the promotion of

[1] On Livizzani's falling ill, Benedict XIV. wrote to Tencin on March 27, 1754 (II., 329): "On craint beaucoup pour lui à notre grand regret et à celui de tout le monde, tant il est aimé pour l'exactitude et la douceur qu'il a mises à toutes ses fonctions."

1743 the Pope, despite the strong objections made by Valenti and others, made him his Auditor. Argenvilliers was most outspoken but he gained the Pope's confidence. He was known as the Seneca of the Curia ; a tall, spare man of chilly and severe demeanour, he bore also a physical resemblance to the Roman philosopher, whose appearance was well known by his bust.[1]

At the opening of the promotion of 1753 the Pope announced that he had reserved two Cardinals *in petto* in 1747 but that in the meantime both of them had died. It was surmised that the persons in question were Ormeo and Galiani.

Merlini, therefore, was not made a Cardinal in 1753 and in his vexation at this omission the king of Sardinia closed the nunciature in Turin. He did not, however, recall his envoy from Rome, so that there was still some hope of friendly relations being restored, especially as the Pope had reserved two Cardinals *in petto* in 1753, with the intention of publishing their names when circumstances were sufficiently favourable to allow of his doing so. As it happened, however, a return of favourable conditions were awaited in vain until the Napoleonic period.[2]

In the promotion of 1753 the claims of only the Apennine peninsula were met ; in that of the following year a foreigner, namely a Spaniard, was given the red hat, besides another Italian.[3] Both were famous as Bishops. Antonio Sersale, Bishop of Brindisi in 1743, Archbishop of Taranto in 1750, and Archbishop of Naples in 1754, was promoted on April 22nd ; when he died in 1775 he had acquired the reputation of being an untiring and extraordinarily zealous guardian of the spiritual and temporal welfare of the poor, for whom, especially

[1] *Merenda, *loc. cit.* *Description of the nominated Cardinals in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy to Rome, September 12, 1754.

[2] Novaes, XIV., 196, 215. The king was still friendly at heart, wrote Benedict to Tencin on December 4, 1754 (I., 376), realizing that Merlini's nomination would have meant the closing of three nunciatures.

[3] Novaes, XIV., 225 *seq.*

in the famine of 1764, he had not only founded hospitals and pledged his silver plate but had even contracted debts. Luis Fernandez de Cordova, dean of the chapter of Toledo, had waived his right to the rich inheritance which devolved on him on the death of his brother; after he had been made a Cardinal at the instigation of King Ferdinand VI. the archbishopric of Toledo had to be forced upon him. He died in 1771 with the reputation of a pastor who might well have lived in early Christian times: modest, unassuming, an enemy of luxury and idleness, but charitable to the last degree. Benedict XIV. had formally to apologize to his friend Tencin for conferring the purple on a foreigner [1] but it did not mean that Spain was to have another Cardinal's hat, for at the same Consistory of December 18th at which Fernandez was promoted the Cardinal Infante Luis de Bourbon resigned both the purple and his two bishoprics of Toledo and Seville. Thus there was no cause for any other nation to demand another Cardinal's hat for itself. It would seem that it was not blind prejudice in favour of his compatriots that caused the Pope to promote only Italians the year before; the conferment of distinctions on foreigners was clearly a matter that called for extreme caution.

This careful weighing of the pros and cons, and the endeavour to be fair to all the Powers, were shown in Benedict XIV.'s last promotion, that of April 5th, 1756,[2] which came about as the result of the representations made by the envoys, Choiseul, the French representative, having persuaded all his colleagues to make a joint demand for another nomination of Cardinals.[3] Benedict acceded to their request, and on this occasion the choice of every nominee was influenced by the proposals made by the various sovereigns. Maria Theresa had recommended the Archbishop of Vienna and Imperial Councillor, Johannes Joseph Trautson of Rodt-Busmannshausen, Spain the Archbishop of Seville, Francisco de Solis

[1] To Tencin, December 18, 1754, I., 380.

[2] NOVAES, XIV., 238 *seqq.*

[3] To Tencin, March 31, 1756, II., 488; *MERENDA, fo. 151 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

Folch de Cardona, Portugal the Patriarch of Lisbon, Francisco de Saldanha da Cama. Louis XV. had proposed his Grand Almoner, Nicolas de Saulx de Tavannes, Archbishop of Rouen, Poland the Bishop of Beauvais, Étienne René de Gesvres. Even England's interests were considered, since the Archbishop of Sens, Paul d'Albert de Luynes, owed his promotion to the petitions of James III. The vacancy which Venice might have claimed remained unfilled, owing to the Signoria having issued an anticlerical decree.[1] Merlini was again passed over on this occasion; the Pope wrote to Turin that his nomination could not take place until the nunciature there was reopened.[2] Sardinia, however, had its share in the honours paid to the Great Powers, inasmuch as the Archbishop of Turin, Giambattista Rovero, was also given the red hat. After considering the interests of so many others, the Pope was entitled to think of his own, which he did by admitting to the Sacred College Alberico Archinto, formerly nuncio in Florence and Poland and, after Valenti's death, Secretary of State from September 1756 onwards. Although State interests played the decisive part in these nominations, it was definitely acknowledged that all the persons selected were worthy prelates.

The promotion of 1756 was the last to take place under Benedict XIV. In seven promotions he had raised sixty-six persons to the purple.

(6)

Benedict XIV.'s claim to greatness rests not only on his constructive activity as a legislator but also on his services

[1] To Tencin, II., 488; *cf.* 490.

[2] *Merenda, *loc. cit.* The fact that Merlini's nomination was out of the question solved a difficulty that had arisen with the Court of Naples, which had demanded, in the event of Merlini's promotion, the red hat for the Neapolitan nuncio Gualtieri (*ibid.*). "*Pendenze colla corte di Napoli rispetto all promozione al cardinalato del Nunzio Apost. alla corte di Torino." Boncompagni Archives, Naples, Benedetto XIV. F 44; *cf.* E 129.

in checking anticlerical views and tendencies through his reorganization of the censorship.

As soon as he had ascended the throne he was called upon to deal with an embarrassing affair left to him as a legacy from his predecessor. It originated in a literary undertaking. In 1739 a bookseller in Venice had begun the printing of an Italian translation of Fleury's history of the Church. Fleury's Gallicanism and the pro-Jansenist attitude of Fabre, who continued his work, had induced Cardinal Corsini in the time of Clement XII. to demand the suppression of the book by the Signoria. This was also desired by the French Government, to escape the indignation of the Jansenists which any action of the Index against Fleury was expected to arouse. But when Benedict XIV. renewed in Venice the demands put forward by Corsini, the reply was that the French edition of Fleury's work was being sold openly in Rome and was in everybody's hands, so that the suppression of the translation would simply cause bewilderment. Besides, the printing of the Italian version had already begun. Benedict got out of the difficulty by making the publisher a present of 200 pistoles to indemnify him for the sheets which had already been composed.[1]

More important than this particular step was Benedict XIV.'s legislation for the administration of the censorship. He had been thinking of reorganizing it, he wrote,[2] since the second year of his pontificate. In the time preceding the appearance of his own constitution on the subject in 1753 [3] he had ample opportunity of gaining personal experience in it. He stated in his Bull [4] that both in the Inquisition and in the Index—that is to say in the two Congregations that concerned themselves with literary productions—he had taken a personal part in the examination of suspected works and he could vouch for the abundant reflection and good sense with

[1] HEECKEREN, I., xxi. *Cf. Analecta iuris pontif.*, XX., 513 *seqq.*

[2] To Tencin, October 3, 1753, II., 294.

[3] On July 9, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 39 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

which the task was done. This did not mean, however, that no mistakes were made. The examination of the writings, wrote Benedict himself,[1] had not always been what it should, either because it had been entrusted to persons of insufficient knowledge of the subject in question or because the examiners had been lacking in circumspection. For the most part the censorship was in the hands of the Dominicans; while the Holy See expressed its recognition that this famous Order led the way in theology and was capable of giving a trustworthy judgment of what was consistent with the principles of the Faith and what was not, there was another side to the picture: the Preacher Friars were saddled with the burden of invidiousness inseparable from their judicial office, and they would have been angels instead of men if they had prevented the value they placed on their own views from at least colouring their judgments. As a natural consequence, those adversely affected were embittered. When the Spanish Inquisition took it upon itself to prohibit the first fourteen volumes of the work produced by the Bollandists, solely because Elias had not been recognized as the founder of the Carmelites, the Flandro-Belgian province of the Jesuits proposed at the ensuing General Congregation that the Pope be asked to grant the Jesuits the privilege of not having their books censored by the Dominicans, a similar privilege, according to report, being already possessed by the Franciscans.[2] When one remembers that it was not young hotheads who were chosen as delegates to the General Congregations, such a proposal is a striking proof of the degree of intensity which the discontent had reached . . . a discontent which led to further regrettable expressions. The Jesuit Raynaud considered it his duty to expose his grievances to the general public,[3] which was certainly not seemly. It was

[1] To Tencin, August 1, 1753, II., 281.

[2] ASTRÁIN, VI., 355.

[3] "De immunitate authorum Cyriacorum a censura. Diatribe Petri a Valle clausa": Opera, XX., 267 *seq.* It need scarcely be said that the work was put on the Index (in 1662).

curious, he wrote, that books written by Dominicans hardly ever appeared in the Index, although the weaknesses they displayed were numerous enough; on the other hand, the Franciscan Archbishop MacCaughwell (d. 1626) had complained that it was especially the members of his Order and the Jesuits who were treated tyrannically.[1] Works by thoroughly Catholic writers, continued Raynaud, were frequently pilloried together with the productions of all kinds of gaol-birds; what was especially noticeable was that there appeared regularly among atheists, heretics, and pornographers the name of a Jesuit. An even more deplorable effect of these conditions was the loosening of discipline within the Orders. Without obtaining the approval of their Superiors, which was prescribed by the constitution of their Order, writers who had been found wanting by the Index published written defences on the plea that the authority to defend their good name was a natural right that preceded any statutory ordinance.

It cannot be said that books were put on the Index which offered no scandal at all, but many people thought that works which taken by and large were useful should be treated more leniently, by overlooking their minor blemishes.

Grievances of this nature were raised in the first years of Benedict XIV.'s reign. In 1744 a Jesuit work was prohibited in a manner likely to offend the honour of the Order in its most susceptible spot. Bernardino Benzi, professor of moral philosophy in Venice, had published in 1743 a booklet on reserved cases in the diocese of Venice, namely cases in which an ordinary confessor was not empowered to absolve the penitent.[2] In this little work Benzi had maintained that certain sins against chastity—not, however, those of the most serious nature—did not in certain circumstances come under the reservation. Benzi was thereupon opposed by the

[1] *Ibid.*, 268, 313.

[2] Cordara in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 11; REUSCH, II., 818. A *report on Benzi's work in the Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Soc. Iesu, 58.

Dominican Concina, who in his "Letters on Moral Theology" wrongly ascribed to his opponent the statement that the matters in question were not sins at all. By prohibiting Benzi's work on April 16th, 1744, the Congregation of the Index seemed to side with Concina. Benzi submitted, but two of his fellow-religious took it upon themselves to publish anonymously two works intended to dispel the shadow which the prohibition had cast over the whole Order. When the names of the authors, Faure and Castellini, were discovered, the Inquisition was about to take action against them, when the Pope intervened and dealt with the case himself; the upshot was that the General of the Order had to impose a heavy penance on the two religious. Meanwhile Benzi's banned work was withdrawn from circulation, while Concina's reply was read as much as before. Consequently the dispute went on [1]; a bitter satire against Concina was also put on the Index, until finally, on February 19th, 1746, the Inquisition issued an order to the Generals of both Orders forbidding any further polemical writings. At the beginning of the quarrel Benedict XIV. had remarked [2] that the trouble with the Jesuits was that, unlike other religious bodies, they made an individual's business the business of the whole Society.

Five years later there was more trouble of the kind. In 1722 the French Jesuit Dominique de Colonia had had published a list of Jansenist or pro-Jansenist writings with short extracts or characterizations.[3] It appeared in its fifth edition in 1744 and especially as revised by Patouillet in 1752 is still of value for the historian. A decree of the Index of

[1] Some of the controversial writings in SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1316. According to Cordara (in DÖLLINGER, III., 11), they were not concerned with the condemned passage but with other misrepresentations made by Concina.

[2] To Tencin, June 17, 1744, I., 143.

[3] "Bibliothèque Janséniste ou catalogue alphabétique des livres Jansénistes, Quesnellistes, Baianistes ou suspects de ces erreurs," [Lyon] 1722, 1731, 1735, 1739, 1744; "Dictionnaire des livres Jansénistes ou qui favorisent le Jansénisme," Anvers, 1752. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, II., 1328, VI., 355; REUSCH, II., 832.

September 20th, 1749, directed against De Colonia, and another of March 11th, 1754, against Patouillet, condemned the work as containing much that was false and ill-considered and offensive to Catholic schools and writers, including individuals on whom high ecclesiastical honours had been conferred.[1] This was probably an allusion to Cardinal Noris, who on the authority of the " Jansenist Library " had been put on the Spanish Index. Circumstances rendering it impossible to have Noris removed from the latter, its source was put on the Roman Index.[2] The condemnation of the " Jansenist Library " was regarded by the Jansenists, however, as a victory for them. In France, complained Bishop Champflour of Mirepoix, the struggle against Jansenism was being waged night and day, and now all efforts were rendered null and void by a single stroke of the pen in Rome.[3] The Spanish Minister Carvajal and the Court Confessor Rábago expressed their astonishment that declared enemies of the Church should find protection in Rome and that the Jansenists should be able to brag about it.[4] Benedict was not unaffected by these

[1] Copy of the decree in MIGUÉLEZ, 442. The " Bibliothèque " has now been removed from the Index.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 235.

[3] " *che in Francia si faticava giorno e notte per reprimere et annientire il Giansenismo, et in Roma con un tratto di penna si guastava tutto " (to Valenti, December 1, 1749, Nunziat. di Francia, Cifre 491, Papal Secret Archives). For Tencin's *complaints about the decree, see Durini's letter to Valenti on December 29, 1749 (*ibid.*). For the ill-feeling among the Catholics and the jubilation of the Jansenists, *cf.* *Durini's letters to Valenti, of November 24, December 1 and 29, 1749, and January 5, 1750 (*ibid.*).

[4] *Carvajal to Portocarrero, April 13, 1751, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Órdenes ; Rábago to the same on April 13 and May 18, 1751, *ibid.* Exped. 65/1. A. M. WEISS (*Lebensweg und Lebenswerk*, Freiburg, 1925, 514) : " When the invaluable *Bibl. des livres Jansénistes* was put on the Index on account of a few mistakes, their [the Jansenists'] respect for this institution knew no bounds."

complaints, especially as the condemnation encouraged the rumour that he himself was in favour of the Jansenists. Against the talk of the Jansenists, he wrote,[1] he was powerless; the journals printed whatever they liked. As for his attitude towards Jansenism, he had already given sufficient proofs. But he allowed all Catholic currents of thought to have their freedom, and if a school were unjustly attacked he would take its part. A book such as the "Jansenist Library" which stamped as Jansenists so many men of high rank, piety, and scholarship could not be endured, even if its condemnation were to give offence.

The condemnation had an unpleasant sequel. The Jesuit Lazzeri opposed it in a writing[2] in which he held that the decree against the "Jansenist Library" was solely the work of Ricchini, the Secretary to the Index, who had persuaded the Pope that it would be an effective answer to the prohibition of Cardinal Noris's works by the Spanish Index. The monks employed in the Index should be replaced by prelates of learning, maintained Lazzeri, since, as a result of their work, the prohibitions of the Index were being treated with utter contempt. The censure passed on Lazzeri's writing, namely that it contained false, rash, scandalous, and rebellious passages, which were also insulting to the Holy See, was fully deserved. But even then the author refused to hold his peace. Ironically he thanked Ricchini for the prohibition, which had once again displayed the partiality of the Index, for whereas Ricchini had taken his writing so ill, he had approved of Lorenzo Berti's apology, had violently attacked the Archbishop of Vienne, and had left untouched the writings of Bishop Caylus of Auxerre, in which Benedict XIV. had been numbered among the Jansenists.[3]

[1] To Tencin, January 21, 1750, II., 4 *seq.*

[2] *Epistola Doctoris Sorbonici ad amicum Belgam,* Parisiis [?], 1749.

[3] 'Sorbonici Doctoris ad Rev. Ricchinium . . . gratiarum actio, quod epistolam Sorbonicam nomine s. Congregationis proscribendo confirmaverit' [no place or date of publication].

Following closely on Lazzeri's heels, the gifted but quick-tempered Jesuit Faure published a pamphlet which according to its title was a commentary on the Bull concerned with the constitution of the Inquisition but was actually a bitter criticism of the methods employed by the Dominicans in the Inquisition. The reason for the Inquisition being in disrepute, he alleged, was not the organization itself but the way in which it was managed. This time seven years went by before this work, too, was included in the list of forbidden books. Moreover, Benedict XIV. appointed Lazzeri as a consultor to the Index.[1]

Cordara's opinion, given many years afterwards, on the conditions prevailing at this time was that the judging of books by the Index was in the hands of the eight consultors, four of whom were always Dominicans, who formed a party against the Jesuits; moreover, one of the four was the influential commissary. Among the Cardinals of the Index had been Passionei, Tamburini, Spinelli, and Orsi, all of whom were hostile to the Jesuits; it was not surprising, therefore, that almost every book that had been denounced was also condemned.[2]

Almost simultaneously with the condemnation of the "Jansenist Library", another agitation arose in France over Pichon's book on frequent Communion.[3] Three complete issues of the Jansenist *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* [4] were devoted to an attack on Pichon, and the appellant Caylus, Bishop of Auxerre, railed against both the book and the Jesuits. For a time it looked as if "Pichonism" would cause a split among the Bishops.[5]

[1] SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, 1609.

[2] DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 11 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* above, pp. 236 *seq.* and PICOT, III., 136–9; RÉGNAULT, I., 142–153; REUSCH, II., 453 *seqq.*

[4] Of February 20 and 27 and March 6, 1747, RÉGNAULT, I., 144.

[5] "*Dubito, che siamo alla vigilia di una scissura fra i vescovl di Francia a conto del noto libro della frequente comunione dei P. Pichon, Gesuita Lorenese" (Durini to Valenti, December 29, 1749, Nunziat. di Francia, Cifre 491, Papal Secret Archives).

Rome, it appears, was at first in favour of the book,[1] but afterwards changed its opinion. On December 16th, 1748, and September 11th, 1750, it was prohibited by the Inquisition. In a letter written to the Archbishop of Paris from Strasbourg on January 24th, 1748, Pichon had already publicly recanted.[2] The case was comparable to that of Arnauld, who had escaped the Index. Some years later the Jesuit Faure delivered to the Master of the Sacred Palace a refutation of Arnauld's book on frequent Communion, but Cardinal Corsini had been prejudiced against Faure by Foggini,[3] with the result that the work did not appear till 1791.[4]

In the censoring of another book the merits of its learned author were taken into consideration by Benedict XIV. A decree issued by the Bavarian Elector, Max Joseph, provided his Court Confessor, the Jesuit Daniel Stadler, with the opportunity of writing at length on the evils of duelling.[5] From the theological and historical viewpoint the work was

For Rastignac (see above, p. 237) *cf.* also *Durini to Valenti on April 8, 1748, *ibid.* Rastignac is called here " l'antesignano di questo fuoco ". *Durini to Valenti on April 28, 1749 (*ibid.*) : Rastignac " diede la mossa a tutte le condanne et lettere pastorali uscite contro il libro del P. Pichon ".

[1] On January 17, 1748, Valenti *warned the nuncio Durini not to give any cause " di far trionfare quelli che sostengono opinione di rigorismo contro il vero spirito della Chiesa ". Nunziat. di Francia, Cifre 442, *ibid.* *Cf.* Benedict to Tencin, July 24, 1748, I., 417.

[2] Regnault, I., 145 ; Sommervogel, VI., 718 ; Reusch, II., 453 *seq.*

[3] " *Memoria per l'Em. Feroni che concerne le difficoltà incontrate del P. Faure nella stampa d'un suo libro, con vari fogli annessi a questa materia " [November 28, 1755], Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Soc. Iesu 58.

[4] Sommervogel, III., 566.

[5] *Tractatus de duello honoris vindice*, Ingolstadt, 1751. For the author, see Duhr in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, III., Rome, 1924, 239 *seqq.* ; for the condemnation, see Duhr, *Gesch.*, IV., 2, 397 *seq.* ; Reusch, II., 823 *seq.* ; Friedrich, *Beiträge*, 84.

soundly done,[1] but Stadler asserted that if one disregarded civil and ecclesiastical prohibitions and decided to discuss the lawfulness of duelling from the standpoint of the natural law, on purely rational grounds, duelling was permissible in certain extreme cases. This would hold good, he opined, in a State in which complete anarchy reigned. The work was denounced in Rome.[2] The two objectionable statements completed Benedict XIV.'s collection of false tenets on the subject of duelling, five of which he condemned in a special constitution of November 10th, 1752.[3] Otherwise the Pope dealt gently with Stadler, and his book was not prohibited. He had wanted, he wrote to Tencin,[4] to show his displeasure with the scandal of duelling in Germany, which Stadler had treated too leniently. It had been impossible for him to preserve complete silence on the matter, as the statements complained of had also been made by other theologians. He had privately instructed the author to alter the censored passages, and to give him time to improve them he had postponed the publication of the condemned theses. The required improvement, he added, had been carried out. In January 1753 Stadler addressed himself to Rome, to declare his submission but at the same time to complain that his opponents and those of the Jesuits in general were now representing the affair as though the Bull against duelling were aimed against him alone, whereas of the five tenets which had been condemned only the last two were his and even these had been advanced by other theologians.[5] A Brief of March 3rd, 1753,[6] commended the Court Confessor on his obedience; the Pope, it was stated, had no other intention but of depriving duelling of

[1] *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXX., 159; HURTER, *Nomenclator*, V.[3], 240 *seq.*

[2] Perhaps by the Franciscans. *Oefele to Lori, December 12, 1751, State Library, Munich, Oefeliana, 63, VII.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 18.

[4] November 29, 1742, and January 3, 1753, II., 229, 235.

[5] *Amort to Bassi, December 26, 1752, State Library, Munich, Clm 1408, No. 73.

[6] *Acta*, II., 127.

any possible defence ; the other three condemned tenets had originated with the Franciscans Reiffenstuel and Sporer and the Dominican Milante.[1] To Tencin the Pope wrote [2] that the Bavarian Jesuit could have no cause to complain about him.

At about this time Benedict gave further evidence of his leniency in his treatment of another German scholar. Johann Kaspar Barthel, professor of canon law in Würzburg, was accused in Rome of having allowed expressions detrimental to the Holy See to appear in his lecture notes. Barthel defended himself in a letter addressed to the Pope, and the charges made against him had no further result.[3]

While dealing with Stadler's case, Benedict was preparing the constitution which was to obviate the many complaints which were being made against the Index, whether justified or not. The constitution appeared on July 9th, 1753,[4] and was retained unaltered when the Index was reorganized under Leo XIII. In it Benedict laid down regulations for the examination of books both by the Congregation of the Index and by the Inquisition.

In cases where the Inquisition was unwilling to hand over to the Index the judgment of a written work and reserved the matter to itself, it was to instruct a consultor to draw up a written report in which the alleged errors were to be noted, together with the passage in question and the page of the book in which it occurred. The censure was then to be sent together with the book to the consultors and with their

[1] Stadler's letter and the Pope's reply were printed under the title *Epistola S. D. N. Benedicti P. XIV. ad authorem tractatus de duello P. Danielem Stadler S.J.*, Munich, 1761 ; reproduced in Busembaum-Lacroix, *Theol. mor.*, ed. Zaccaria, I., Venice, 1761, 246.

[2] On January 3, 1753, II., 235.

[3] Reusch, II., 944. According to I. F. Schulte, III. (1880), 184, Barthel protested against the " Curial encroachments " and upheld the view " that the Bishop derived his power directly from God ".

[4] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 39 *seqq.*

remarks to the Congregation of Cardinals for their final decision.

In the case of Catholic writers, if the condemnation had been approved by all the consultors, a second censor was to be appointed, and if he presented a divergent report, a third censor was to be appointed. If this third censor approved of the condemnation, the matter was to be referred immediately (otherwise only after a fresh examination by the consultors) to the ordinary Congregation of Cardinals or, if the Pope so desired, to the Congregation of Cardinals which came to a decision in his presence.

With regard to the Congregation of the Index, the Pope stated that he had already intended at the beginning of his pontificate to prescribe a fixed method of procedure for the examination of books. After consulting Cardinal Quirini,[1] as the Prefect of the Index, and the Dominican Orsi, his former secretary, he was now issuing his instructions. The first principle of these was that as a rule the Index was to concern itself only with books which had been definitely denounced as dangerous. The Secretary of the Congregation on whom fell the duty of accepting the denunciation was first to inquire into the grounds on which the condemnation was desired, and then to read the book carefully with the aid of two consultors. If the book seemed to the Secretary to deserve condemnation, an expert critic was to draw up a written report containing precise information about the errors and the places in the book in which they occurred. This report was to go to the Congregation of the consultors, which was to meet at least once a month and was to consist of the Master of the Sacred Palace and six assistants. The matter was then to come before the Congregation of Cardinals. For the final condemnation the confirmation of the Pope was necessary.

If the writer of the work under consideration was a Catholic of repute against whom no complaint had previously been made, he was to be informed of the objectionable passages. If

[1] That he was mentioned merely for politeness' sake appears from Benedict's letter to Tencin, October 3, 1753, II., 294 *seq.*

he was prepared to amend them, the prohibition of the book was not to be published unless a large number of copies of the first edition were already in circulation, in which case the prohibition was to appear as though it applied to this first edition only.

The Congregation had been blamed for having, in many cases, condemned books without giving a hearing to their authors. It was true that the object of the censorship was not to condemn persons but to protect the faithful from misleading doctrines, but when the writer was a well-known or deserving Catholic and his work could be published after the removal of certain passages, his defence was to be heard or he was to be provided with a lawyer, as had often been done already. When important Catholic books were under consideration the Pope was to attend the final session, either of the Inquisition or the Index. Strict silence regarding their proceedings was imposed on both Congregations; the consultors were to be men of unblemished reputation, erudite, impartial, and capable of passing judgment. They were not to start their work with the idea that the book was to be condemned at all costs. If in the course of the examination any one of them saw that he had not the necessary technical knowledge he was to inform the Secretary. In passing judgment they were not to be influenced by their attachment to any nation, family, or school of theology, for there were not a few opinions which were held by certain schools and nations to be beyond the possibility of doubt but which might be rejected by others, with the knowledge of the Holy See and without causing any harm to Faith. Passages were not to be torn from their context, nor were doubtful matters to be interpreted in a favourable sense. Writers were not to be allowed to plead that they were merely informing their readers of pernicious doctrines and that their failure to insert a refutation did not mean that they approved of such doctrines. Finally, the examiners were not to let pass abusive language or to allow mere opinions to be presented as doctrines of the Church. On all these points St. Thomas Aquinas was to be the model for Catholic writers.

No small service was rendered by the Pope when he caused his constitution on the censorship of books to be followed by a new edition of the Index, for " the best edition of the Index prior to 1900 is undoubtedly that of Benedict XIV., of 1758, which is immediately seen to be a great improvement on its predecessors ". Until the time of Leo XIII. Benedict XIV.'s Index underwent " no alteration, even of a formal nature, except for occasional additions, and certainly no improvement ; on the contrary, in the course of time, many grave editorial errors found their way into the new impressions." [1] The new edition appeared with a special introductory Bull of December 23rd, 1757. Compared with previous editions it represented on the whole a relaxation of the strictness which had hitherto prevailed.[2] Most of the many misprints and inaccuracies of earlier impressions had been rectified. The chief merit for the improvement was due to the Dominican Ricchini, who had been Secretary to the Congregation of the Index since 1749.[3]

Not long after his constitution on the censorship the Pope was given an opportunity of putting into practice his principles of circumspection and leniency. The French Jesuit Isaac Joseph Berruyer, who in 1728 had undertaken the task of bringing the intelligentsia of his time into closer touch with the time-honoured stories of the Old Testament by means of an imaginative and almost romantic recital, afterwards attempted to perform the same service for the New Testament.[4] Neither undertaking lacked the support of the reading public : three years after its appearance, Berruyer's " History of the People of God from its origin to the Advent of the Messias " had gone into seven editions and had been translated into several other languages ; but in 1732 and again in

[1] Hilgers, 14.

[2] Thus, the prohibition of writings in defence of the Copernican system was rescinded, the Church history by the Dominican Noël Alexandre was allowed to circulate in Roncaglia's edition, and so forth.

[3] Reusch, II., 880.

[4] *Cf.* Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1357 ; Régnault, I., 359–367.

1757 it was banned by the Index. Even greater offence was given by the continuation of the work, " from the Birth of the Messias to the End of the Synagogue ", which appeared in 1753. This, too, both sold well and provoked opposition [1]; on the Jansenist side the author was charged with Arianism, Nestorianism, and Socinianism, while Alphonsus Liguori included him in his list of heretics.

In 1753, immediately after the appearance of the volumes dealing with the New Testament, Archbishop Beaumont of Paris placed 10,000 scudi (*écus*) at the disposal of the head of the Paris Jesuits, for the purpose of buying them back from the publisher, but too many copies had already been put into circulation. The Jesuit Provincial broadcast a statement that the book had been printed without the knowledge or the approval of himself and the author's Superiors, and on December 13th, 1753, an assembly of about twenty Bishops at Conflans forbade the book to be read, though they made no mention of Berruyer's name or the Jesuits. The French journal of the Jesuits published a statement of the Superiors that they agreed with the declaration of Conflans.[2] On December 3rd, 1754, the second part of Berruyer's work was condemned in Rome, too, but true to the regulations laid down in his constitution on the Index Benedict XIV. postponed the publication of the condemnation until he had heard the verdicts given in France.[3] But despite the invitation no

[1] The Jesuits, too, expressed their disapproval. *Gualtieri to Valenti, July 1, 1754, Nunziat. di Francia, 492, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Régnault, I., 360 *seq.*; Heeckeren, II., 315 *seq.*, 418. The first to write against Berruyer was a Jesuit, Duhamel. The rumour that the Pope encouraged the Italian Jesuit Trigona to have an Italian translation of the book made (Cordara in Döllinger, III., 12) must be founded on error, seeing that Benedict knew in good time of the objections raised by Beaumont and the Paris Superiors and that he himself had disapproved of the continuation of the Spanish translation. To Tencin, August 21, 1754, II., 355.

[3] *Valenti to Gualtieri, October 2 and 23, 1754, Nunziat. di Francia, Cifre, Papal Secret Archives.

Jesuit appeared for the defence, and the appointed lawyer failed to weaken the charges brought against the book. The Pope accordingly ordered the decree of the Index to be made known but would not allow Berruyer or the Jesuits to be mentioned in it. When, after the delivery of the decree, a belated reply was received from the author, the Pope had word sent to him that he was ready to have the matter re-examined if fresh cause for so doing could be proved.[1] Under Clement XIII. various works in defence of the book were put on the Index, in 1759 and 1764, also the third part of the book itself, in 1758.[2] Benedict XIV. had refused to allow the apologies to be put on the Index, as, in his opinion, there was too much partisanship in the matter.[3] Up to the last he was ready to provide learned and impartial judges for Berruyer's case.[4]

Berruyer found himself opposed in Parliament, too. On a motion put forward by the Attorney General, Joly de Fleury, the *History of the People of God* was burnt by the public executioner on April 9th, 1756, not because of its anticlerical doctrines but because it might corrupt its readers with " the ultramontane doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope ", the

[1] Letter to Tencin, June 11, 1755, II., 418.

[2] For this and the numerous polemical writings connected with the work, *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 1362–9. Three apologies which Sommervogel (I., 1362) and Reusch (II., 811) ascribe to Berruyer were written, according to the Paris Jesuits, by a non-Jesuit who hoped thereby to bring about the condemnation of the work by Rome. *Gualtieri to Valenti, August 12, 1754, supplement B, postscript, Nunziat. di Francia 492, *loc. cit.*

[3] " Nell' affare del predetto religioso [Berruyer] regna molto lo spirito di partito, et ella [Tencin] dice molto bene che forse anche si pensarà a far proibire le difese del libro. Noi leviamo il ' forse ' e le diciamo, che a questo si è anche pensato, e che Noi abbiamo ostato, e che asciugata questa burrasca, si vedrà quello che si potrà fare rispetto alla causa principale, che vuol dire, all' opera già proibita " (Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. Arm. XV., t. 157). *Cf.* the letter to Tencin, September 24, 1755, II., 442.

[4] To Tencin, November 12, 1755, II., 454.

doctrine of " this unlimited power by which an unwarranted holiness was attached to him ".[1]

In Berruyer's case the Pope had proceeded against a blameworthy book with great clemency ; in another case he acted as the protector of the justifiable freedom of scholarly inquiry. Incited by the Calvinist Leclerc, Muratori had set forth the rights of a prudent criticism of certain opinions which had endeared themselves to the defenders of the Faith.[2] To others, however, many of his assertions regarding the veneration of the Virgin seemed to infringe the rights of piety, which involved him in not a few attacks, to which he duly replied. The dispute dragged on for decades and was continued even after Muratori's death, in 1751, one of his writings published in 1747 arousing particular opposition.[3] Benedict XIV. had the book examined by the Congregation of the Index, whose verdict, given on December 18th, 1753, was that Muratori's writing was not deserving of the slightest censure and that his teaching was irreproachable ; the objects of his attacks were either abuses or popular opinions which had not the Church's approval.[4]

Another writer to whom the Pope extended his protection was the Jesuit Zaccaria.[5] Zaccaria had written a defence of the Bollandists [6] in which he had discussed the descent of St. Dominic from a family of Spanish grandees and the foundation of the Carmelite Order by the Prophet Elias. Zaccaria submitted to the suspension of the printing of his work, which was ordered by the General of his Order at the instigation of the Venetian and Roman Inquisitions, but

[1] Régnault, I., 365.

[2] Lamindus Pritanius [Muratori], *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio*, Paris, 1714. *Cf.* E. Amann in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 2551–4.

[3] Lamindus Pritanius, *Della regolata divozione de' cristiani*, Venice, 1747.

[4] " Nullam illi posse vel levissimam censoriam notam inuri." Amann, *loc. cit.*, 2554.

[5] *Civiltà Catt.*, 1930, I., 349 *seq.*

[6] *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana . . . vindicata*, Antwerp, 1755.

subsequently appealed directly to the Pope, complaining that the Inquisitions at Venice and Padua had placed difficulties in his way and that in Rome he had been threatened with the Index, whereas Sarpi's work had been let pass. Benedict allowed the work to be completed and to be dedicated to him.[1]

(7)

An outstanding occasion on which Benedict XIV. put into practice his principle of allowing free play to all Catholic schools and views within the bounds of dogma was when the Augustinians, following the lead of Cardinal Noris, an Augustinian himself, put forth a new view on the difficult problem of reconciling grace with free will. This naturally aroused considerable opposition. Enrico Noris (d. 1704), who ranked with Mabillon as the most important scholar of the seventeenth century, was possessed of great sagacity and, in the prime of his life, the strength to study fourteen hours a day ; he acquired an extensive knowledge not only of the history of theology, but also of secular history, archæology, numismatics, and chronology.[2] In his *History of Pelagianism* and his *Vindiciæ Augustinianæ* ("Defence of Augustine"), however, he made assertions about the doctrine of grace for which he was attacked in Germany, Spain, and France. Thus, according to him, unbelievers are incapable of good works, because only Faith can sufficiently direct actions towards their final end ; sufficient grace is withheld from many as a punishment for original sin ; and unbaptized children have to endure positive sufferings in eternity.[3] Noris's great name won support for his doctrines, so that he became the founder of a new school of theology, which for a time was brought into prominence by his fellow-Augustinians Bellelli (d. 1742) and Berti (d. 1766).

It would be useless to deny that this school shows points of

[1] Benedict XIV. to Zaccaria, September 13, 1755, *Civiltà Catt., loc. cit.*, 350 *seq.*

[2] HURTER, IV.[3], 855 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXII, 642.

[3] PORTALIÉ in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 2485.

contact with Jansenism. With Baius and Jansenius, it regards supernatural gifts, especially sanctifying grace, not as completely free gifts of God, but as belonging to the equipment of the rational creature. The creature cannot demand them, but the goodness of God owes it to itself not to leave His creature without them. Also, according to the Augustinian school, grace confers on the creature not only the capacity for action but action itself; further, since the committing of original sin, free will has no longer the power to determine its own destiny; and finally free will gives way to the attraction either of grace or concupiscence, according to which attracts it with the greater sweetness; according to the Jansenists, however, free will gives way inevitably to this attraction, according to the Augustinian theologians freely, which is difficult to understand. Differing from Jansenius, the Augustinian school teaches that Christ died for all men; but it also teaches that God does not apply the merits of Christ to everyone, which is again in accord with Jansenistic thought.[1]

The Augustinian school holds that these assertions are the teaching of Augustine, but it is possible that such interpretations of Augustine would never have been thought of had it not been for the Jansenists; they were probably conceived for the purpose of rescuing the Doctor of Hippo from the Jansenists; but that they are also capable of preparing the ground for Jansenism is obvious. It is not surprising, therefore, that the printing of Noris's history of the Pelagians was forbidden in France and was permitted in Venice only after much hesitation.[2] Noris's name was included in the Jesuit Colonia's "Jansenist Library" and when an extract from Colonia's work was attached to the 1747 edition of the Spanish Index, Noris was banned in Spain, too,[3] whereupon the Spanish Augustinians appealed to Rome.

[1] Portalié, *loc. cit.*, 2486 *seq.*

[2] *Clarorum Venetorum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullosque alios epistolæ*, Florentiæ, 1745, ep. 16 of April 8, 1674, ep. 18, *ibid.*, p. 45; Jemolo, 138.

[3] Miguélez, 91. The editors of the Index were the Jesuits

So far as can be seen, Benedict XIV.'s views on the question of grace were inclined to accord with the stringent doctrine of the Dominicans and Augustinians. In a Brief of March 31st, 1745, which the Spanish Augustinians presented to the Inquisitor General in vindication of Noris, he had praised the Augustinian doctrine and praised Noris as a resplendent light of the Catholic Church.[1] So long as the Dominican doctrine on grace was permitted in the Church, it was impossible to forbid the Augustinian view.

As soon, therefore, as the Pope was informed by the Augustinian General Gioja of what had happened in Spain he wrote [2] to the Grand Inquisitor, Pérez de Prado y Cuesta, that even if Noris's works did show traces of Baianism or Jansenism, as had been maintained, unjustly, in the " Jansenist Library ", one ought to refrain from condemning them so long after the author's death (in 1704), lest the Church's unity be disturbed by fresh disputes. The Holy See had acted in this manner on many previous occasions, said the Pope. Thus under Clement XI. the denouncers of the Jansenistic historian Tillemont had

Casani and Carasco (*ibid.*, 92), Casani and Guerrero (*ibid.*, 473 *seq.*) ; *cf.* E. De Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, 1904, III., 344 n., 1023 ; II., 194 n., 2116. The MS. cited by Miguélez (94, 107, 149) is not by a Jesuit ; see Uriarte, I. (1904), 280 n., 866.

[1] " Maximi enim omni tempore fecimus insignem huiusmodi familiam, tum propter eiusdem s. Augustini tutissima atque inconcussa dogmata ab illius alumnis tradita ac servata, tum propter eximios viros, quos edit pietate et doctrina præstantes et quorum instar b.m. Henricus . . . Norisius nuncupatus, cuius olim in minoribus constituti amicitia fruebamur, licet quarumcumque gentium linguis celebretur, a Nobis tamen sine speciali laude tamquam Romanæ ecclesiæ splendidissimum lumen numquam est nominandus." Analecta Augustiniana, XIII. (1929), 31.

[2] On July 31, 1748, *Bull. Benedicti Papæ XIV.*, Vol. XIII. (Suppl.), Mechliniæ, 1827, 105 *seqq.* ; *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 554 ; *Anal. iuris pontif.*, XVII., 28 ; *Katholik*, 1884, I., 181 *seqq.*

produced much of his work that was deserving of censure [1] but the Holy See had kept silent. Clement XII. had pursued the same course in dealing with the Bollandists and with Bossuet's defence of the four Gallican theses. Much that was worthy of censure in Muratori's works had been discovered by himself or had been brought to his attention by others; nevertheless he had kept silent and would continue to do so. But in any case Noris was not deserving of any censure at all. At the time when his history of the Pelagians and his treatise on the five general synods outside Rome were about to be printed they were denounced on account of the alleged Jansenistic statements they contained. They had to be sent to Rome for examination, but no fault had been found with them there. After their publication the assertion was made that passages had been inserted in them after their examination by Rome, but Rome had replied by promoting Noris to be the chief curator of the Vaticana. When his nomination as Cardinal was under consideration, Innocent XII. had appointed eight theologians to examine his works afresh and had afterwards admitted him as one of the consultors of the Inquisition. Then, in 1695, as he was still being attacked, Noris had been forced to defend himself in five learned treatises, and that his apology was accepted was shown by his promotion to the rank of Cardinal and by his being made a member, in this capacity, of the Inquisition.

In view of these facts, continued Benedict, it was not the business of the Spanish Inquisition to re-examine Noris's works and still less to condemn them; the Grand Inquisitor ought therefore to be thinking of repairing his mistake. On the question of grace the doctrines of the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Jesuits were all tolerated. The Bishops and Inquisitors ought to be guided not by the censures which scholars passed upon each other in the course of their disputes but by whether these censures had been confirmed by the

[1] Tillemont had been denounced by Laderchi and defended by Justus Fontanini. *Clarorum Venetorum ad Ant. Magliabechium . . . epistolæ*, I., xlix.

Holy See, which allowed its freedom to each of the various schools. The Bishops and Inquisitors might well imitate the Holy See in this respect.[1]

It need hardly be said that there were unpleasant consequences when this Papal letter was made public through a breach of confidence on the part of the Procurator General of the Augustinians.[2] Muratori protested to the Pope, and the Bollandists' complaints that they had been mentioned in the letter to the Grand Inquisitor were also brought before him; his reply to them was that the letter was a confidential one that had become public through an indiscretion and that there had been talk of attacks but not that these attacks were justified.[3]

The Procurator General's rashness had made it impossible to have Noris's name removed from the Index clandestinely. Once the affair had become a topic of general discussion it was naturally a point of honour for Spain to adhere to its original decision.

The Pope's next step was to declare invalid, by a Brief of February 19th, 1749,[4] the Spanish censure of Cardinal Noris. The Brief was to be made public by the Grand Inquisitor or, in the event of his refusal, by the Spanish nuncio.[5] The king, however, forbade both the Inquisitor and the Pope's representative to take any further action until he himself had remonstrated with Rome.[6] In May 1749 the Spanish envoy to Rome, Cardinal Portocarrero, who was in Spain on business, had long discussions with the Grand Inquisitor.[7] Ferdinand

[1] "Hæc [Sedes Apost.] libertati scholarum favet, hæc nullum ex propositis modis conciliandi humanam libertatem cum divina Omnipotentia usque adhuc reprobavit. Episcopi ergo et inquisitores . . . eodem modo se gerant."

[2] Fiorano on September 17, 1748, *Epistolario di L. A. Muratori, ed. e cur. da Matteo Campori*, XI., Modena, 1907, n. 5612, p. 5203; Brief of September 25, 1748, *Acta*, II., 396. *Cf.* above, pp. 198 *seq.*

[3] Fleury, LXXIX., 703; Brief of April 3, 1751, *Acta*, II., 81.

[4] Fabroni, *Vitæ Italorum*, VI., 119.

[5] Miguélez, 112.

[6] *Ibid.*, 120.

[7] *Ibid.*, 122 *seqq.*

VI. wrote twice to the Pope about the matter [1] and received two replies.[2] The grounds on which the Spaniards defended their position are typical of their general attitude towards the Holy See : they assured it of their respect and obedience but clung tenaciously to the privileges which they considered to have been guaranteed by Papal investiture. The Spanish Inquisition, it was insisted, functioned independently of the Roman Index, in virtue of a privilege granted by the Papacy,[3] but in any case there were reasons enough for not allowing Noris's views to take root in Spain. Up till then that country had been spared the evils of Jansenism and Quesnelism and there was no desire to jeopardize its orthodoxy for the sake of Noris.[4] To ban his writings it was enough that they were undoubtedly suspicious ; in France and Germany the authorities would have nothing to do with them ; and the Jansenists had received Benedict XIV.'s letter to the Grand Inquisitor with a shout of triumph and had made him out to be an abettor of Jansenism. The peace of the realm, unity of Faith, and the honour of the Inquisition demanded that the banning of Noris be adhered to. The royal confessor, Rábago, was a prominent supporter of these views.[5]

Since the Pope could not reply by including in the list of forbidden books the whole of the Spanish Index of 1747 or even only its appendix (the extract from the " Jansenist Library " mentioning Noris), he restricted himself to having the source of the appendix, the " Jansenist Library ", forbidden by the Roman Index.[6]

[1] On July 1 and October 28, 1749, *ibid.*, 399, 403.

[2] On September 10 and December 3, 1749, *ibid.*, 401, 405.

[3] Ferdinand VI., *ibid.*, 400 ; Rábago, *ibid.*, 417, etc.

[4] " que España a ignorado con mucha dicha suia las controversias de Jansenio y Quesnel, y que no quiere aventurar su religion por medio de Noris." *Ibid.*, 419.

[5] " Puntos que . . . se deben presentar a Su Santidad," *ibid.*, 418 *seq.*, and Rábago's instruction to Portocarrero, *ibid.*, 412–18 ; Papeles del P. Rábago, *ibid.*, 412–442.

[6] On September 12, 1749. Copy of the Index decree *ibid.*, 442. *Cf.* above, pp. 351 *seq.*

The Pope subsequently addressed several admonitions to Spain regarding the matter but at first always without success. In the end, however, he gained his point. In 1757 both the offices of Grand Inquisitor and royal confessor changed hands, owing to the king appointing the new Inquisitor General, Manuel Quintano Bonifaz, to be his confessor. These changes meant that the Noris question was now viewed in an entirely different light. Following a report by the new head of the Inquisition,[1] a decree of the Inquisition dated January 28th, 1758,[2] removed the Cardinal's name from the Index. On February 22nd Benedict XIV. was able to thank the king for this.[3]

(8)

Whether it was a bulwark against Jansenism, as some maintained, or whether it was a bridge leading to it, as was feared by others, the Augustinianism of the eighteenth century was important only for its relations towards the most dangerous heresy that was then rife in France. But after a period of rule among the upper classes of that country Jansenism had to relinquish its sceptre to yet another mode of thought : the complete denial of Christianity. The great destroyer was Voltaire ; he would not have the existence of God denied, as the idea of God was necessary to hold the masses in check, but with this proviso he set himself out to make a laughing-stock of Christianity with his quips and sneers. The creation of a new interpretation of the meaning of human existence was undertaken by Rousseau ; its main features are delineated in *The Confession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar* ; in the *Contrat Social* he propounds a social order in which God plays no part ; and in his *Émile* he expatiates on the education of the child on a purely naturalistic basis.

[1] On December 23, 1757, *ibid.*, 468–479.

[2] *Ibid.*, 248 *seq.* ; translation in *Anal. iuris pontif.*, II., 2656.

[3] Miguélez, 481 ; Ferdinand VI.'s reply, of March 14, 1758, *ibid.*, 482.

To understand the immediate welcome which was given to those new ideas we must seek its origin in the complete denial of religious authority contained in Protestantism and in its implied denial in Jansenism. Just as the principle of free inquiry held by the disciples of Luther and Calvin had led to endless quarrels and the formation of countless sects, so that many persons doubted more and more in the existence of any religious truth, similarly the contesting and the perversion of Papal decisions by the Jansenists resulted in many persons doubting the existence of any truth at all. The continual abuse of their opponents, principally the Jesuits, by the Jansenists led to a general disgust for religious controversy to which Voltaire gave expression in his wish that every Jesuit might be flung into the sea with a Jansenist round his neck, or that the last Jesuit might be strangled with the entrails of the last Jansenist.[1] Thus the way was prepared for a mode of thought that turned its back on every sort of controversy and was content with the simple truths of a natural religion. Another force which worked still more strongly in the same direction was the immorality of the France of Louis XV. ; the yoke of the Christian moral code had been thrown off and an attempt was being made to justify what was actually being practised. In addition, a distrust of what was old and traditional was astir. Natural science, then awakening, had been making breaches in the older natural philosophy, though the conclusion that the whole of the philosophy that had gone before was tottering was unjustified though understandable, especially as Descartes, Locke, and Condillac offered a substitute. Finally, so much which had formerly been held in reverence was shown by historical criticism to be only legend that the doubt was entertained whether the historical foundations of Christianity itself could stand the test.

To this new current of thought the Roman Index devoted little attention. The English deism of the first half of the eighteenth century, the father and the forerunner of French encyclopedism, was the concern of English Protestantism ;

[1] To Helvetius, May 11, 1761, in Jemolo, xxx.

special prohibitions of the Index would only have drawn attention to it, and most deistic or obscene literature was already forbidden by the general rules of the Index and by the conscience of the individual. This explains why it was only on rare occasions that such writings were expressly condemned by Rome. Nor was it to be expected that a warning conveyed by a definite prohibition would have much effect on the writings of the French deists. As a rule, therefore, Rome contented itself with prohibitions issued through the medium of the civil power, with episcopal admonitions, and with refutations by Catholic writers.[1] Nevertheless, by its condemnation of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* [2] in 1745 the Roman Congregation of the Index anticipated the Sorbonne, which banned the book in 1760, and in 1753 Voltaire's works were forbidden.[3] On the other hand, Lamettrie's *L'Histoire Naturelle de l'Âme* and *Pensées Philosophiques*, two works written in defence of materialism, were publicly burnt by order of the parliament in 1746, whereas it was not till 1770, in the pontificate of Clement XIV., that a Papal Brief was issued against the author.[4] Montesquieu's *De l'Esprit des Lois* was dealt with gently in Rome inasmuch as no mention was made of the author's name when it was put on the Index on March 3rd, 1752.[5]

The same causes which underlay the rise of deism had led since 1717 to the development of freemasonry into an organization where the followers of the new ideas forgathered.[6]

[1] Picot, III., 61, 93, 119, 139, 141, 163, 177, 195, 298, 308, 350, 381.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93. The English original appeared in 1714.

[3] Picot, III., 234 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 119, 121.

[5] C. Constantin in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X. (1929), 2387. *Ibid.*, 2386, for the attacks on the book.

[6] H. Gruber in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX., New York [1911], 772 *seqq.* Literature *ibid.* and in Bertrand van der Schelden, *La Franc-Maçonnerie belge sous le régime autrichien 1721–1794*, Louvain, 1923.

The new society was condemned by Clement XII.[1] but in spite of this it continued to spread. Benedict XIV. wrote on March 25th, 1744,[2] that the freemasons had held meetings at Nîmes and Montpellier at which they had gained fresh adherents; that the party from Avignon which had attended the celebrations were intending to form a lodge in their own town on returning thither, having already attempted to form one under the title of the "Society of Happiness", which had been prevented by the Archbishop; and that Tencin was to represent to Louis XV. that the freemasons ought not to be tolerated and that they were being fought in other countries. On Italian soil it was especially in Naples that the association tried to secure a foothold.[3] At the head of the lodge was the Prince of San Severo, who, according to Tanucci's report,[4] had succeeded in convincing the king's confessor, Archbishop Bolaños, of the invalidity of the Papal censures of the association and in the privy council had shown it to be harmless. The army, the Government, and even the clergy were riddled with freemasons.[5] On May 26th, 1751, Benedict complained [6] that

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 411.

[2] To Tencin, I., 28.

[3] *Arch. Napolet.*, XXII., 404 *seqq.*, 529 *seqq.*, XXIII., 249 *seq.*, 305 *seq.*; MERENDA, **Memorie*, 103, Bibl. Angelica, Rome; KELLER in the monthly publications of the Comenius-Gesellschaft, XIV. (1905), 169–189; E. FERRERI, *Le prime loggie di Liberi Muratori a Livorno e le persecuzioni del clero e della polizia*, Roma, 1911; B. MARCOLONGO, *La massoneria nel sec. XVIII.* (in Tuscany, Lombardy, Piedmont, Savoy, Genoa, Naples, until 1730), in *Studi storici*, XIX. (1900); *Le prime loggie dei Liberi Muratori a Napoli* [1749–1751], in *Arch. stor. per la prov. napolit.*, XXX. (1905).

[4] *Tanucci to Corsini, January 9, 1751 (confidential), Archives of Simancas, Estado 5934.

[5] "*Tutto l'esercito, la curia, la corte, la Chiesa ancora eran pieni du quei confrati." Tanucci to Finochetti, July 21, 1751 (confidential), *ibid.*

[6] To Tencin (II., 118). A printed "Edicto [of July 10, 1751] contra los Francmazones en el reyno de Napoles: Carlo Re de due Sicilie" in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy to Rome.

San Severo had persuaded the king that there was nothing wrong with the lodges and that in Paris they were open to the public, which latter statement, the Pope admitted, had been confirmed by trustworthy witnesses. Tencin was to use his influence with the king to turn him against those sects which had crept into France from England, were not tolerated even in Holland, and could bode no good seeing that they were veiled in secrecy. Then in a special Bull [1] freemasonry was again forbidden. The effect of this in Naples was that Charles III. took action against the freemasons: members had to promise in the presence of Government officials to resign, and those under suspicion had to promise not to become members. Tanucci tried to belittle the importance of the step by pretending that it had been instigated by caricatures against the monks and by writings against the supposed mysteries of the Order; he admitted, however, that the prohibition of secret societies was a just one.[2]

Benedict XIV. had also a personal motive for opposing the association. The rumour had been spread that he himself was a freemason in secret and that he had not confirmed the Bull issued against the association by his predecessor because he disapproved of its judgments and excommunications.[3]

Leonardo da Porto Maurizio expressed his joy at this (to Benedict XIV., on July 9, 1751, in INNOCENTI, 301); he knew of lodges in Nice and Provence (*ibid.*).

[1] Of March 18, 1751, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 212 *seq.*

[2] To Del Riccio, August 17, 1751 (confidential), Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.* To his confessor Tanucci wrote: " *Abbiamo qui fatto molto contro i Liberi Muratori. Iddio ha toccato il cuore del Re, e ha benedetto lo zelo del P. Pepe, a cui prego V.R. di ricordarmi servitore " (to Mico, July 15, 1751, *ibid.*). *Writing to Corsini on February 13, 1751 (*ibid.*), Tanucci scoffed at Pepe's opposition to the Freemasons.

[3] GENN. MARIA MONTI, *Due grandi riformatori del settecento: A. Genovese e G. M. Galanti*, Firenze [1926], 117, n. 6; JEMOLO in *Riv. trimestrale di studi filosofici e relig.*, IV., 23; RIGATTI, *Un illuminista trentino del sec. 18, C. A. Pilati*, Firenze, 1923, 213 *seq.*; P. DUCHAINE, *La franc-maçonnerie belge au XVIIIe siècle*, Bruxelles, 1911, 41, 473. *Cf. Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XIII.

To the latter charge Benedict replied in his Bull that he had already given sufficient indication of his attitude but that nevertheless he now expressly confirmed the decision taken by Clement XII.[1] He, too, bore witness to the widespread extension of the sects.[2] In Belgium, for example, in spite of the Papal prohibitions, there were many clerics in the lodges, where members were asked to pray for deceased freemasons, and the hour of Sunday Mass was announced so that members could attend it before meeting at the lodge, and so on.[3]

In Spain, it has been said, the first lodge was established in Gibraltar in 1726, and in 1750 a list of ninety-seven lodges was handed in to the Inquisition.[4] A memorial was laid before Ferdinand VI. by his confessor Rábago, in which it was pointed out that the principles adopted by the sects had as their object the overthrow of the State and the Church, and that the danger was underestimated by princes.[5] As had already been done by Philip V., Ferdinand VI. issued on July 2nd, 1751, a sharply-worded prohibition of secret societies, citing the Bull of Benedict XIV.[6] Even so, in 1757 there was recorded an action taken by the Inquisition against a French manufacturer of the name of Tournon, who was punished with a year's custody and banishment for the crime of freemasonry.[7] After Charles III.'s arrival in Spain a new Grand Lodge is said to have been formed there, its Grand Master being Aranda, its chief dignitaries Campomanes, Nava del Rio, and Valle y Salazar.[8]

(1912), 153. Refutation of the rumour in Van der Schelden, 412–17.

[1] Bull of March 18, 1751, *loc. cit.*

[2] "in quibusdam regionibus tunc [under Clement XII.] late diffusas atque in dies invalescentes."

[3] *Cf.* Van der Schelden, 297 *seqq.*; *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XX. (1924), 291.

[4] Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 87 *seq.*; Cuevas, IV., 402.

[5] Leguina, *El P. Rábago*, 45 *seqq.*

[6] Menéndez, III., 88.

[7] *Ibid.*, 89 *seq.*

[8] Gallerani-Madariaga, 110 *seq.*; Cuevas, IV., 102.

The Savoyard envoy, La Marmora, writing from Paris to his Court in Turin on February 21st, 1768, said that it was astonishing that Rome knew nothing or apparently wanted to know nothing of the revolution in ideas that had taken place in Europe some time ago.[1]

Nevertheless the whole of Benedict XIV.'s government and attitude show that Rome was well aware of the new currents of thought and that it paid them due attention. Such new aspirations as were sound at heart presented no danger to the Church and could therefore be encouraged, as indeed they were. It was a very different matter, however, when movements were afoot which aimed at the total destruction of Christianity.

(9)

One of the chief obstacles that stood in the way of the anti-christian movements of the time was the Society of Jesus, which, having almost a monopoly of the education of the young, had to be removed at all costs if the way was to be cleared for a thorough-going deism. The leaders of anti-religious thought were animated first and foremost by their hatred of the Holy See, of which the Jesuits had won for themselves the reputation of being the stoutest defenders. Hence the desire to annihilate the Order, and the means to do so was not lacking to its enemies, since no Cabinet of any Government was free of their influence.

To further their purpose the leaders of the various States found an ally in the Jansenist party. It has been said of the Jansenism of the eighteenth century that it spent itself in its hatred of the Jesuits. It can certainly be said that the bond of unity that held together the divergent elements in Protestantism, namely the rejection of the Pope and everything Catholic, was paralleled in Jansenism by the detestation of the Society of Jesus. The party embraced the most divergent views but besides their exaltation of Jansenius or

[1] "Il est bien étonnant qu'on ignore ou qu'on paroisse vouloir ignorer à Rome la révolution qui s'est faite dans les idées à cet égard en Europe depuis quelque temps." State Archives in Turin, Lett. min. di Francia, in TORTONESE, 129.

Quesnel all its members were agreed in their hostility towards everything characteristic of the Jesuits: Molinism in dogma, probabilism in morals, the principles of the "Exercises" in asceticism. A Jansenist has been defined as a Catholic who hated Jesuits or as an excellent man whom the Jesuits disliked.[1] From the beginning the Jansenist journal *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*[2] set itself the task of waging war against the Order and as time went on its hostility grew more and more acute until finally it was openly working not merely for the moral ruin of its enemy but for its complete destruction through suppression. During the fifties of this century, when the changing fortunes of the Seven Years' War, and philosophical and political controversies, were diverting attention from the questions of grace and predestination, it was above all by its campaign against the Society of Jesus that the journal succeeded in recapturing the interest of its readers.[3] Through the editor, who was nothing more than their mouthpiece, the heads of the party relentlessly pursued their object of bringing about the destruction of the Order, until it was finally achieved.[4] To the lower ranks of the clergy they portrayed the Jesuits as the instruments of Papal and episcopal tyranny, to the higher ranks they denounced their writings as containing anti-ecclesiastical doctrines, to the parliaments and secular powers they pointed out their seditious tendencies.[5] In four years the journal published 157 anti-Jesuit allusions,

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXIX., 152. SAINTE-BEUVE (*Port-Royal* III.[5], Paris, 1888, 211, n. 1), speaking of the necrology of Port-Royal, says that hostility to the Jesuits was sufficient title for admission to this roll of honour. "*Odioso nome di Giansenisti, che in sostanza non significa altro, secondo la diffinizione di un huomo savio che: vir egregius qui non placet Iesuitis" (to the nuncio to Spain, 13 October, 1680, Nunziat. di Spagna, 156, fo. 36a, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* JEMOLO, XXXVIII.: "asserzione dei Giansenisti che questi pretesi eretici (they themselves) altro non fossero se non buoni cattolici poco amati dei Gesuiti." *Cf. ibid.*, 44 *seq.*, 99. GAZIER (I., Introduction), quoting no authority, attributes the definition to Cardinal Bona.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 417 *seq.* [3] PRÉCLIN, 291.

[4] *Ibid.*, 305. [5] *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

quotations, or articles [1]; in one way or another the same question was always asked: "Is it possible, without gross neglect of one's duty to religion, the lawful authorities, the country, public order, the welfare of the nation—yes, even humanity itself—to allow to exist any longer a society that must be regarded as the common enemy of the whole of mankind?" [2] Even so violent an opponent of the Jesuits as Tanucci wrote in 1757 that the journal was allowing its prejudice against the Order to be too easily seen,[3] ascribing as it did every evil in the world to the Jesuits, their system of morals, and their confessors.[4] The journal's hatred of the Jesuits even outlasted their suppression. On having occasion to relate [5] that among the victims of the rising of September 1792 were twenty-one Jesuits who "also gladly gave their lives for religion", it could not repress the comment, "Not a sign could be seen of any regret for having belonged to a society that has done more harm to religion than all the atheists in France." On account of the general policy of the journal, some of its issues were prohibited in Rome in 1740, and the journal as a whole in 1742,[6] but without any effect. In spite of the Church's ban, protested Benedict XIV. in 1750, it was allowed to continue publication, and the king put up with it although it was causing much harm and confusion among the Catholics by its unbridled style of writing.[7]

In Catholic Southern Germany, Austria excepted, anti-Jesuitism was especially active in the diocese of Augsburg and the electorate of Bavaria. Next to Canon Bassi, the Augustinian Canon Eusebius Amort and the Bavarian court councillors Osterwald and Lori were most prominent in using every means to break down the influence of the Jesuits and to

[1] *Ibid.*, 305. [2] *Ibid.*, 306.

[3] "*Riesce un poco satirica la Gazzetta Ecclesiastica, e scuopre troppa aversione ai Gesuiti." To Cantigliana, July 16, 1757, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5948.

[4] *To the Duke of Salas, June 28, 1757, *ibid.*

[5] On September 23, 1796, *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXIV. (1899), 645. [6] Reusch, *Index*, II., 759 *seq.*

[7] To Tencin, January 21, 1750, II., 4.

reorganize clerical studies on what they considered to be progressive lines.[1] Influenced by Amort and Bassi, the Prince Bishop of Augsburg, Landgrave Joseph of Hesse-Darmstadt, put into execution his predecessor's project of establishing at Pfaffenhausen a separate diocesan seminary under the direction of secular priests, and to this new seminary were assigned the diocesan *alumni* formerly boarded in the school of St. Jerome at Dillingen, which was superintended by the Jesuits.[2] To defray the cost of the students' maintenance he proposed to collect an annual subscription from the parishes and convents in his diocese. To obtain the necessary permits from the Pope he addressed a letter to Rome on May 6th, 1746, in which, to prove the necessity for the new institution, he painted the teaching capacity of the Dillingen Jesuits in the blackest colours. Though they held the most brilliant testimonials, he wrote, the students did not know as much about religion as was necessary for a layman. They were ignorant of the simplest truths in the Catechism; they knew neither the number of the Sacraments nor which were necessary for eternal salvation, nor how many natures and persons there were in Christ. They had no piety, no manners, and no respect for their Bishop. In the new seminary those subjects would be taught which the Jesuits refused to teach, namely exegesis, dogmatics, disputation, canon law, and the history of the Councils and the Church.[3] The originator of this letter, which bears obvious marks of exaggeration and mendacity, was, as he himself acknowledged in a letter to Amort, Canon Bassi,[4] who completely dominated the pious but weak-willed Bishop and was feared and detested throughout the diocese for his high-handed manner and his proclivity to slander. The cathedral chapter avoided his company and forbade its subordinates to have any dealings with him.[5]

[1] DUHR, IV., 1, 248 *seqq.*; IV., 2, 565 *seq.* For Bassi, *cf.* DENGEL, *Garampi*, 44, 72.

[2] DUHR, IV., 1, 250 *seq.*

[3] FRIEDRICH, *Beiträge*, 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 3.

[5] DENGEL, *Garampi*, 72.

In Rome, too, dislike of the Jesuits never died down,[1] once the Jansenists had gained a foothold there, which they did in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, thanks to Pontchâteau and Du Vaucel.[2] Cordara, in fact, suggests that the causes of the final suppression of the Society should be sought not so much in the Bourbon Courts as in the deep-rooted hostility of certain circles in Rome.[3] Clement XIII., in the course of a conversation with the General of the Jesuits, let fall the remark that the greatest enemies of the Church and the Society had their home in Rome.[4] Benedict XIV. was not, on the whole, unfavourable towards the Jesuits. Certainly he made them more often than others the butt of his good-humoured sallies, but on serious occasions he often spoke in praise of them [5] and he availed himself of their services to such an extent that Cordara, who lived through seven pontificates, said that no Pope that he had known had so many Jesuits about him as Benedict XIV.[6] At the same time Cordara admits that he never could be quite sure what was the Pope's real opinion of the Order, and it was generally thought that Benedict had little love for the Jesuits.[7]

Apart from the undeniable failings of individual members of the Society and its attitude in the Chinese and Malabar questions, the reason why it was disliked by so many persons, including Catholics, may have been its general tendency. Among the intellectuals of Rome, including those of the highest ecclesiastical rank, there were quite a number who gloried in their detestation of the Jesuits,[8] who for their part took things more seriously than their opponents and, in the

[1] ALBERTOTTI in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXXII., 1079 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXII., 429 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 1084, and *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 5, 12; MARONI, Ep. II., 11, 31, 32, etc.

[4] RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 63.

[5] See above, pp. 307 *seq.*

[6] *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, 12.

[8] "Certains ecclésiastiques, même des premières dignités, qui pour faire les beaux esprits, disent et écrivent bien des pauvretés

literary sphere, notwithstanding the concessions they made in cultivating the vernacular, paid the greatest attention to the classical writers and Latin. Another concession made by the Jesuits was to natural science, for the sake of which a reform in their course of studies was inaugurated by the seventeenth general congregation of 1751,[1] the details being set out by the General, Visconti, in a general instruction.[2] Broadly speaking, however, they were reluctant to let go entirely of Aristotle. When a go-ahead young member of the Roman College, Benvenuti by name, pleaded the cause of experimental physics in his theses for disputation, to the almost entire exclusion of every other consideration, the General of the Society proposed to remove him from Rome, but on the instructions received from the Pope had to content himself with assigning him another faculty.[3] If this clinging to what was old led to disagreements within the Society, it was only natural that it should be far more severely criticized by those outside it. The Jesuits' adherence to scholasticism offended not only the champions of experimental physics but also those who seemed to think that all knowledge was confined within the limits of critical-historical work. Nor could it be gainsaid that the Society represented a strong intellectual force within the Church. In 1749, according to a list printed in Rome, it numbered no less than 22,589 members, 11,239 of whom were priests, 5 assistancies (6 from 1755 onwards), 39 provinces, 24 professed houses, 669 colleges, 61 noviciates, 176 seminaries or *convitti* (boarding schools), 335 residences, and 273 mission stations.[4] As a whole, the discipline

et se font gloire de haïr les Jésuites." Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 27, 1752, II., 234.

[1] Decret. 13, *Institutum S.J.*, II., 436 *seq.*

[2] *On July 22, 1752, Sylloge ordinationum et epistolarum Præp. Gen. II. (1651–1763), 345 *seqq.* *Cf.* PACHTLER in *Monum. Germ. Paedag.*, IX., Berlin, 1891, 436.

[3] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, September 28, 1754, II., 360; ROSA, *Gesuiti*, 339 *seq.*

[4] DUHR, IV., 1, 3. The figures in ROSA (*loc. cit.*, 335 *seq.*) show some slight differences.

of the Society was well maintained; offences, whether grave or slight, though inevitable in so large a body,[1] were punished, and steps were taken to prevent their repetition; these men in their thousands performed their various tasks in a spirit of enthusiasm common to all. When one considers the animosity and bitterness engendered by clashes between opposing currents of thought one can understand to some extent at least how even among Catholics there were some who worked for the destruction of their adversaries.

This was especially true of the Jansenist or pro-Jansenist party in Rome, whose power in that city and in the rest of Italy was particularly strong in the reign of Benedict XIV. and which found a not inconsiderable number of allies among the secular and regular clergy, among the members and the consultors of the Congregations, and even in the highest ranks of the hierarchy. Though the movement may not have supported all the errors of the Jansenists concerning grace and predestination, its adherents were certainly well-disposed towards the aims of the sects and were hostile towards the Jesuits.[2] It is related of Benedict XIV. himself, that before becoming Pope he frequently expressed the opinion that Jansenism was a chimera invented by the Jesuits and that it was they who had induced Clement XI.

[1] Benedict XIV. spoke of this in a letter to Tencin of November 12 1755: "Vedendosi anche pubblicamente in qualcheduno di loro [the Jesuits] qualche specie di rilasciamento, che vien tollerato dai superiori per soggezione delle protezioni che si godono dai rilasciati" (Papal Secret Archives, *Miscell. Arm.*, XV., t. 157; HEECKEREN, II., 455). Similarly to Tencin on December 3, 1755: "Quando era vivo il buon Visconti [the Jesuit General] pareva al buon P. Centurione che fosse un poco troppo mite, e che lasciasse nella Compagnia correre qualche disordine, che quantunque in sè non molto grave, col tratto del tempo però lo può divenire. Ora essendo venute nelle sue mani le redini del governo, vedrassi come lo maneggerà, e se bisognerà, che ancor esso pel quieto vivere tolleri ciò che credeva non doversi tollerare da chi prima di lui era Generale" (Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*; HEECKEREN, II., 459). *Cf.* DUHR, IV., 2, 483 *seqq.*

[2] ROSA, 336; CORDARA, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 7.

to promulgate the Bull *Unigenitus*.[1] In view of the Pope's lively and unrestricted way of speaking, it is not impossible that he may have let slip some similarly sounding remarks which were eagerly seized upon, given greater point and misconstrued.[2] It is very possible that the reports of such remarks may have given the Jansenists cause for hoping that with the election of the new Pope their day had come. Benedict himself was painfully affected by these rumours. After condemning a Jansenist writing,[3] he observed that it was a matter of conscience for him to take every opportunity of showing that he upheld the Bull against Quesnel. Many unfavourable opinions of the constitution uttered in Rome had been repeated in foreign countries, he said, but he had had no part in them. These opinions came from clerics, some even in the highest ranks, who wanted to appear "enlightened" and for this reason spoke and wrote many petty things and prided themselves on being Jesuit-haters. Outside Rome it was difficult to make men realize that these persons wrote without the connivance of the Pope. Hence the false reports which were in circulation.[4]

The leading spirit of the Jansenist and anti-Jesuit party in Rome was Cardinal Passionei.[5] In 1706, at the age of twenty-four, Domenico Passionei, a glittering young diplomat, who spent his substance on making as fine a show as possible, was sent to Paris as the bearer of the cardinal's hat to the nuncio. During his two years' stay there he was surrounded by the flattery of the *beau monde* and became acquainted with such scholars as Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Renaudot, but

[1] CORDARA, 8 *seq.*

[2] Hints of such rumours in the Pope's letter to Tencin of May 17, 1743, I., 55 *seq.*

[3] *Apologie de tous les jugements.* REUSCH, II., 237, 241 *seqq.*

[4] To Tencin, December 27, 1752, II., 234. *Cf.* above, p. 379, n. 8.

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 408 ; GOUJET, *Éloge historique*, La Haye, 1763 ; VERNARECCI, *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi ai nostri*, II., Fossombrone, 1914, 744. A fairly full description of Passionei's character is unavoidable here.

also with the frivolous French wits. In 1714 he was the Papal agent at the conclusion of the peace treaties of Utrecht and Baden,[1] in 1730 he was nuncio in Vienna, where he officiated at the wedding of Maria Theresa and Francis I. in 1736, and in 1738 he was Secretary of the Briefs in Rome and a Cardinal. As a scholar he was as superficial as he was as a diplomat. The valuable library he amassed was partly composed of costly books he had simply appropriated on his travels beyond the Alps.[2] The villa he built for himself at Camaldoli near Frascati was so well stocked with art-works and antiquities that it acquired an international reputation and was visited as such by Popes and princes. This seat of the Muses, in which a statue of Minerva occupied the place of honour, he called his "Hermitage", but there was such a superfluity of comforts there, said Benedict XIV.,[3] that it was a suitable place for the most pampered nabob to perform his spiritual exercises. Passionei, he said, gave more for his gewgaws in Camaldoli than his fortune warranted. Nor did Benedict's opinion of Passionei's judgment and knowledge coincide with that of his admirers. Passionei had taken it upon himself to deliver to the Pope the apology which Prades had composed for his dissertation. Benedict wrote afterwards to Tencin that he was hardly surprised to hear it. Passionei, he said,[4] had his head full of titles of books and notes on their various editions; he had read much but he had never studied. He was, he wrote on another occasion, one of those scholars who are always reading and retain much in their memory; now and then such people managed to get along with some useful notes, but when they attempted to take a hand in practical life they were generally not only useless but harmful.[5] In the same way as he had supported

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 95–107.

[2] VERNARECCI, II., 779 *seq.* Passionei's collection of valuable books, acquired by the Augustinian General, Vasquez, on December 19, 1762, now forms part of the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. *Ibid.*, 781.

[3] To Tencin, June 7, 1747, and April 17, 1754, I., 330; II., 334.

[4] To Tencin, March 7, 1753, II., 250.

[5] "Ma se non passano più oltre, riescono in atto prattico il

Prades, Passionei also acted on behalf of Montesquieu when his *L'Esprit des Lois* was being examined by the Index; he managed to have the prohibition of the book postponed and then to persuade the Secretary of the Congregation, Ricchini, to await the emendations which, as he said, the author was prepared to make.[1] In the event, however, as little attention was paid to the objections in the new edition of the work, the book was finally banned, both in the original French and in the Italian translation.[2] With the French Jansenists and free-thinkers Passionei kept up a lively correspondence; even before 1744 he was probably in touch with Voltaire, who on more than one occasion sent him a copy of one of his works. When Voltaire's writings were finally condemned in Rome, Madame du Boccage was able to report to France that Passionei approved of the condemnation of the works but admired their author.[3] It was probably Passionei and his fellow-thinkers whom Benedict had in mind when he wrote to Tencin [4] that he could not be held responsible for the conduct of the many Romans who exchanged letters with the enemies of the Church for the sake of appearing important and earning what foolish flattery they could. It must be said in Passionei's favour that he placed no difficulty in the way of scholars who wished to consult his rare books [5] and many

più delle volte non solo inutili ma perniciosi. E nel numero di quelli (sia detto in confidenza) si debbon riporre i due card. Passionei e Monti e forse anche, se vivesse, Msgr. Fontanini." To Peggi, June 30, 1745, in KRAUS, 27 *seq.*

[1] *Passionei to Bottari, August 28, 1757, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, 2054.

[2] Montesquieu, however, was at peace with the Church when he died. FELLER, *Dict. hist.*, VI., 453 *seq.* *Cf.* *Gualtieri to Valenti, February 10 and April 21, 1755, Nunziat. di Francia, 493, Papal Secret Archives; *Valenti to Spinola, May 15, 1755, Nunziat. di Spagna, Registro 428, *ibid.*

[3] VERNARECCI, II., 760 *seq.*

[4] On March 12, 1755, II., 399.

[5] GALLETTI, 179; VERNARECCI, II., 768.

instances of his beneficence have been related.[1] Nevertheless he was not a popular character; on account of his arrogant bearing he was known among the people as "Cardinal Scanderbeg", "the Prussian Cardinal," or, from his birthplace, "the Pasha of Fossombrone."[2]

Already when staying in Paris and then when residing in Belgium and Holland, Passionei seems to have been affected by Jansenism.[3] As early as 1713 [4] Fénelon wrote him a long letter about the intellectual condition of France after the publication of the Bull *Unigenitus* and urged the young diplomat to remain loyal to the See of St. Peter. In his library Passionei collected works on Jansenism but excluded any books by Jesuits.[5] While Winckelmann was reading Plato in the "Hermitage" at Camaldoli, the Cardinal, seated below a portrait of Arnauld, buried himself in Pascal's *Provincial Letters* [6]; and it was on Passionei's suggestion that Goujet wrote the introductions to Arnauld's works.[7] In a letter to

[1] GOUJET, 218 *seq.*; GALLETTI, 223 *seq.*; VERNARECCI, II., 778 *seq.*

[2] George Castriota (d. 1468), the "Lion of Albania", the national hero, was also known by his Turkish title of Scanderbeg (Skander Bey = Prince Alexander). JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II.[3], 119.

[3] His adviser in Utrecht was the Abbé Tosini, whose book on Jansenism (Concordia, 1717) was banned in 1728. REUSCH, II., 719.

[4] On November 22 (FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VIII., Paris, 1851, 198): "En quelque endroit du monde que le père commun vous envoie, soyez-y un enfant plein de candeur, de désintéressement et de docilité," etc.

[5] VERNARECCI, II., 765 *seq.*; JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II.[3], 112; *Vita del Papa Benedetto XIV. Traduzione dal Francese*, Venezia, 1783, 12.

[6] JUSTI, *loc. cit.*, 114.

[7] REUSCH, II., 660. It is related in a *letter from Florence of March 27, 1758, that the bookseller Gresset of Lausanne had reported on his way home from Rome that the Pope had sent for him and had earnestly advised him to publish Arnauld's works; the misgivings which he had at first entertained as to the financial success of the proposal were dispelled when three Cardinals — Tamburini, Spinelli, and Corsini or Passionei — had

his confidant Bottari[1] he described himself as the head of the Roman Jansenists. Cordara bears witness to his being an open and honourable opponent of the Jesuits who made no secret of his attitude,[2] while Tamburini, Orsi, and Spinelli were more underhand in their work against the Society.[3] The suspicion that Passionei was the chief author of the plot to destroy the Society of Jesus, Cordara goes on to say, is not

offered to guarantee it. Papal Secret Archives, Regolari Soc. Iesu, 58.

[1] Of February 12, 1752, in Rosa, *Passionei*, p. 11 : " I calumniatori al solito [viz. the Jesuits] non sanno che il Priore [of the Hermitage, namely Passionei] e fra Giovanni sono capi de' Giansenisti di Roma, e che i Giansenisti non dicono mai bugia."

[2] " Iesuitarum amicus a prima juventute fuit. At contracta in Belgio consuetudine cum Gerbertuio aliisque eiusdem farinae doctoribus adeo mentem ac voluntatem mutavit, ut Societatem insectari deinde nunquam destiterit : hoc laudandus tamen, quod inimicitiam exercebat aperte atque, ut ita dicam honeste, non, ut alii quidam ex occulto et simulate " (Cordara, *De suis ac suorum rebus*, lib. 11 ; Rosa, *Passionei*, 7). Gerbertuius cannot be the well-known Gerberon, who was in prison in Amiens and Vincennes in 1703–10 and died as soon after his release as March 9, 1711.

[3] Cordara, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 11, 32 *seq.* For the anti-Jesuit Cardinals, see Jemolo, 101. With regard to Tamburini it is stated in the *Vita del Papa Benedetto XIV.*, fo. 58a : " il card. Passionei bramò sempre di vederlo Papa, considerandolo capace di finir tutte le dispute della Chiesa e di riconciliarsi la stima di tutti li sovrani." Of Spinelli, Tanucci wrote to Caracciolo on February 12, 1752, that he was an enemy of the Jesuits and the Bull *Unigenitus*, but in secret (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5941). On March 12, 1752 (*ibid.*) Tanucci *reported to Cantiglia that the French envoy Stainville (Choiseul) would like Spinelli to be Pope. During the conclave of 1758 he *assured the envoy Montealegre on May 30 (*ibid.*, Estado 5947) : " Di Roma si dice che i Francesi vorrebbono un Papa giansenista e per tele abbiano posti gli occhi su Spinelli e Tamburini." *Cf.* *Tanucci to Cantiglia on May 20, 1758, *ibid.* ; Rosa, *Passionei*, 53 ; Boutry, *Choiseul*, 224 *seqq.*

without foundation, seeing that he had come to an understanding on the matter with the Bourbon Ministers.[1]

The Jansenistically-minded prelates Bottari and Foggini [2] were Passionei's friends and fellow-workers, and he was also on good terms with the anti-clerical Spanish envoy and future Minister, Roda, who deplored his death as a great loss.[3]

The anti-Jesuit movement was joined by many members of religious Orders who had been antagonized by intellectual or personal differences aggravated by the imprudent actions of individual Jesuits.[4] Most prominent among these was the General of the Augustinians, Francis Xavier Vasquez, a Peruvian and a stormy character, who repeatedly incited Roda to take the offensive.[5] From his friends Vasquez made no attempt to conceal his leaning towards Jansenism; in his view, the condemnation of the Synod of Utrecht was the work of the Jesuits, who in their omnipotence were striving "to destroy that noble portion of the Church of God".[6] Many of his letters to Roda ended with the ironic formula, "in communion with the interpreter of Jansenism," or "greetings from the interpreter of Jansenius".[7] In one letter to him he asked that the archbishopric of Valencia might be given to his fellow-religious Lassala; the Minister was invited

[1] "Suspicio haud vana fuit quod coquebatur inter ministros principum Societatis excidium, Passioneo praesertim auctore ac architecto deliberatum fuisse." *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 32.

[2] Rosa, *Gesuiti*, 363 *seqq.*

[3] *Roda to Wall, July 26, 1759, and July 9, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4965 and 4966. Roda's proposal to buy Passionei's library for the Spanish Government came to nothing; it was acquired by F. X. Vasquez. *Vasquez to Roda, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, I.

[4] Cordara, *De Suppressione*, 41 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 95.

[5] *Rábago to Portocarrero, August 24, 1751, Archives of the Spanish Embassy to Rome, Expedientes, P. Confessor.

[6] "*Se ha empeñado a destruir aquella noble porción de la Iglesia de Dios." Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, *loc. cit.* Varie nuove.

[7] *Vasquez to Caprara, November 26, 1767, *ibid.*; *Caprara to Vasquez, November 5, 1767, *ibid.*

to use his customary dexterity to sway the hearts of those who had these favours to grant, "so that Jansenism might triumph and ignorance perish."[1] The Jesuits considered Vasquez to be as proud as Lucifer,[2] while Vasquez wrote to Roda that "the Society of Jesus is like a hydra; as soon as you cut off one of the monster's heads it grows another".[3]

Although to all appearances it was only the Jesuits who were the object of attack, in reality it was the Church itself and the Holy See, as was realized by persons of insight at the time and was to be shown more clearly in the near future.[4] Both openly and, more often, secretly, the party caused to be published writings containing spiteful attacks on the Church's jurisdiction, which it tried to restrict and belittle in favour of secular princes.[5] Among its various groups the Jansenist *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* was passed without hindrance from hand to hand,[6] and the members of the party kept each other informed of the latest writings against the Jesuits and Rome.[7] The Jesuit General wrote to the confessor of the Spanish Queen-Mother that the campaign against

[1] "*que con su acostumbrada destreza maneje los animos de los dispensadores de la gracia, de modo que triumfe el Jansenismo, y muera la ignorancia." To Roda, November 2, 1769, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Vasquez to Roda, October 18, 1769, and January 25, 1770, *ibid.*

[2] *To Roda, June 11, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *To Roda, June 6, 1768, *ibid.*

[4] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 63 *seqq.*

[5] Vasquez attacked some theses on the Church's jurisdiction whose tone was very moderate and which had been defended in the Roman College, but since his attack was without effect in Rome he had printed in Portugal a memorial couched in violent terms: *Memorial del P. Geral da Ordem de S. Agostinho ao SS. P. Clemente XIII. sobre algunas conclusoens dos Jesuitas*, [1765], in Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, Papal Secret Archives. Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 12.

[6] *Bandini to Foggini, November 22, 1763, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1607.

[7] *On November 22, 1763, Bandini informed Foggini that a book had been published in Venice in which the Church's right of

his people was being carried on with such subtlety that even men of great intelligence and honesty were deceived.[1]

The suppression of the Society was in fact the result of

asylum had been utterly disproved ; and on *April 18 he sent him a satirical poem directed against Zaccaria and the Jesuit morality (*ibid.*). " *Le trasmetto due frontespizi di un libro assai terribile pubblicato a'giorni scorsi contro la Compagnia, e nel quale si cava fuori con un'arte assai sopraffina tutto il veleno che s'incontra ne' libri pubblicati fino al presente contro la medesima. La cosa più curiosa si è che anno aggiunto in fine un gazzettino di vari fatti seguiti in diverse case de' Padri. Quando ne voglia un pacchetto di esemplari, potrà esser servita. . . ." (Bandini to Foggini, April 29, 1760, *ibid.*). *On November 28, 1760, Orsini offered to send the Minister Tanucci *I lupi smascherati*, which he described as the cleverest book which had appeared for years, its purpose being to incite the Powers to dissolve the Jesuits. Archives of Simancas, Estado 4964.

[1] " *Le circostanze del tempo siccome danno luogo a temere ogni cosa, così consigliano ogni prevenzione. Incomincio a sentire certe voci, le quali mi mettono in sospetto, che i nostri nemici, e ugualmente, anzi principalmente nemici della Chiesa e della religione siano per muoverci adesso guerra in coteste parti, risoluti di non desistere, finchè abbiano, se Dio il permetterà, ottenuta l'abolizione della Compagnia. Le loro arti sono sì varie e sì fine, che giungono ad ingannare e prevenire contro di noi anco persone di molta intelligenza, d'integrità, anzi di probità. Queste qualità convengono tutte al S. Emanuele di Roda . . . , ma per quanto mi asseriscono molte persone riguardevolissime, non abbiamo la sorte di meritare il suo favore. Siccome io l'ho trattato con tutto il rispetto, così egli ha trattato me con tutta la cortesia, onde non ho riprove immediate di ciò che scrivo, ma questo sentimento è comune. Ho una intiera fiduzia nelle penetrazione e clemenza di coteste Maestà e so che finalmente le nostre sorti sono in mano di Dio, nè ci serà recato più danno di quel che egli per i suoi rettissimi fini permetterà. Tuttavia egli pur vuole che si adoperino i mezzi umani. Perciò credo mio debito ragguagliare V. R. acciò ella faccia e procuri, che sieno fatte le prevenzioni che crederà opportune, non già facendo il minimo nocumento a veruno, ma solo per impedire le sinistre impressioni, nè mai per offesa, da cui per divina misericordia

a well-considered plan.[1] On a pre-arranged weekday the party leaders met in the Archetto, the house of the Prefect of the Vatican Library, Bottari. Nearly all were priests, both secular and regular, from outside Rome, a goodly portion coming from Tuscany. They were Cardinal Neri Corsini, the Augustinian General Francis Xavier Vasquez, the Abbé Antonio Niccolini,[2] the Oratorian Prospero Buttari, Foggini, and others, including the sixteen-year-old nephew of the Jesuit General, Scipione de' Ricci, a pupil of the Jesuits from the Roman Seminary, afterwards Bishop of Pistoia.[3] Another

sono alienissimo, ma quanto solo è necessario per mera difesa." Ricci to Bramieri, April 25, 1765, *Epist. gen. secretæ*, in Jesuit ownership.

[1] "Non temere, non casu, sed consilio ac deliberatione res agebatur. Conveniebant certa die certam domum partium primipili, presbyteri ferme externi ac coenobitae ad consultandum, quid facto esset opus. Multa ponebantur in medio, sententiae rogabantur, acta ad Passioneum cardinalem referebantur. . . . Illud videtur semel de communi sententia constitutum, viribus omnibus connitendum, ut exciderent Iesuitae hac existimatione, quam apud vulgus hominum obtinebant. . . . Ubi satis obscurata aut detrita penitus fuerit Societatis fama, tum demum de eius extinctione cum spe aliqua agi posse. . . . Hanc fuisse belligerandi formam in iis conventiculis praestitutam, non tam linguis ac literis quam ipsis rebus revictum est. Nam post id tempus tam multi diversis locis, tam probrosi in Societatem prodiere libelli aut de novo conditi aut recusi, ut tota prope oppropriis Iesuitarum inundaretur Europa atque ad ultimos usque Americanos et Indos inundatio pervenerit." CORDARA, *De suis ac suorum rebus*, lib. 9; ROSA, *Passionei*, 8, n. 1.

[2] "il più mordace della Compagnia," "il più spietato avversario dei Gesuiti." Since he spoke so freely to Bottari of his "critiche mordaci al papato, le accuse ai procedimenti tenuti dalla Curia e dagli ordini regolari, le approvazioni entusiastiche ai ministri del Portogallo e della Francia", Bottari must have been of one mind with him. "Non per nulla del resto i Gesuiti accusavano il Bottari qual capo dei Giansenisti romani." RODOLICO in the *Rassegna nazionale*, CLXXXIII. (1912), 339.

[3] "in questa conversazione [at Bottari's] non meno che in

of their meeting-places was the Oratorian convent at the Chiesa Nuova.[1] In Florence the anti-Jesuits met most frequently in the Biblioteca Riccardi, where their host was the learned Giovanni Lami, the chief representative of Jansenistic thought in Italy,[2] who through his periodical *Novelle letterarie* (1740–1767) was largely instrumental in propagating Jansenist ideas in Tuscany.[3] At these meetings were discussed the measures to be taken against the Jesuits, and the decision was reported to Passionei : first, the reputation of the Society was to be undermined by writings on probabilism and the ritual dispute, and then, when this object had been attained, the suppression of the Society could be undertaken with success. Accordingly, from that time onwards, Catholic countries were flooded with anti-Jesuit writings. A list of publications inserted by the Venetian publisher Bettinelli in a work attacking Bellarmine's beatification [4] included forty-seven large and forty-five smaller works written against the Jesuits, all printed in the one year, 1761.

Thus by incessant attacks and slanders the ground was prepared in every Catholic country. The first action to be taken was in Portugal, the occasion being the conditions in the missions.

quella dei Filippini [the Oratorians] . . . io cominciai a disingannarmi su molte cose relative a'Gesuiti." GELLI, *Memorie di Scipione de' Ricci*, Firenze, 1865, 8 (*cf.* 5, 13) ; RODOLICO, *loc. cit.*, 338.

[1] *Cf.* the foregoing note.

[2] " Rappresenta il Lami lo speciale atteggiamento dei liberali cattolici italiani a metà del 700 di fronte al pensiero giansenista francese." RODOLICO, *loc. cit.*, 344.

[3] " Le Novelle letterarie concorrono così a divolgare in Toscana il pensiero giansenista francese." *Ibid.*, 343 ; documentation *ibid.*

[4] *Voti* of Cardinals Barbarigo, Casanata, Azzolini (Ferrara, 1761), 59–64.

CHAPTER VI.

Benedict XIV. and the Missions.

(1)

In the history of the missions the period of Benedict XIV.'s pontificate was of great importance. On many of the occasions when he personally intervened in the course of events in his legislative capacity, his intervention was of permanent effect, and where conditions radically altered of their own accord they heralded a new era ; so that for either reason a comparatively full description of the situation seems to be essential.

One of the first governmental actions taken by the new Pope, on January 14th, 1741, was to entrust the nuncios in Vienna, Poland, Cologne, and Belgium with the visitation of the colleges which were maintained by Papal subsidy and whose object was the training of missionaries to work among the heretics and unbelievers.[1] In the exhausted state of the Papal treasury, said the Pope, he could not be so generous as his predecessors ; nevertheless in so far as it was possible, the colleges would not lack the care of the Apostolic See. The nuncios, therefore, were to ascertain the condition of the Papal seminaries by obtaining answers to a list of seventeen questions and to report the result to Rome. Pending the arrival of these reports the precedent set by Innocent X. would be followed : the payment of the Papal subsidies would be suspended. This Brief was amplified by a *Motu Proprio* published on February 8th, 1741.[2] At least forty years before, it was stated, a Congregation of Propaganda Cardinals had been in being whose task it was to superintend the Papal colleges. This Congregation was now revived as a permanent institution. It was to consist of five Cardinals who were to meet three times a year and who had full authority to further the spiritual and temporal welfare of the seminaries.

[1] *Ius pontif.*, III., 15–17. [2] *Ibid.*, 17–19.

Information about the activity of the Congregation is contained in the archives of the Propaganda.[1] The Congregation for the colleges, we learn, was reconstituted here in 1640, and its last session was held in 1698. There was then appended a list of the subsidized seminaries, which were surprisingly numerous. Beyond the Alps, besides the Bohemian boarding school for poor students,[2] there were seminaries in Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, Fulda, Braunsberg, Dillingen, Vilna, Douai, and Cologne. All these, except that at Fulda and the Bohemian school, derived their financial support from the marriage dispensations granted by the Dataria. The Irish college in Louvain and the Armenian and Ruthenian colleges at Lemberg were financed by the Propaganda; the two seminaries at Avignon, the college at Como (S. Maria di Rondineto), and that at Graz were supported by the Pope. In Rome there were the Propaganda itself and the Irish, Scottish, Greek, German, Maronite, and English colleges; at Loreto was the Illyrian college, maintained by the Santa Casa. The following, though not strictly Papal seminaries, were dependent on the Propaganda: the Irish colleges in Lille, Douai, Antwerp, and Tournai, the Scottish colleges in Paris, Douai, and Madrid, the English colleges in Lisbon, Seville, and Alcalá, the archiepiscopal seminary and the Norbertinum of the Premonstratensians in Prague, the Greek college in Padua, and the Swiss college in Milan. It was also at the request of the Propaganda that the Chinese college in Naples and the college at Ullano for Italo-Greeks from Albania were first established.[3] To these institutions, already numerous enough, must be added the colleges belonging to the various Orders. In Rome, the Discalced Carmelites had a college at S. Pancrazio, the Riformati at S. Pietro in Montorio, the Observants at S. Bartolomeo on the island in the Tiber, the Trinitarians at the Madonna delle Fornaci; at Assisi was a college

[1] *Visite 41, Archives of the Propaganda in Rome.

[2] In Prague; see Kröss, *Gesch. der böhm. Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, I., Vienna, 1910, 532 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 467, 468.

of the Minorite Conventuals. Under the Generals of the Franciscans were S. Isidoro in Rome, the college of the Immaculate Conception in Prague, a college in Louvain, and another at "Boulaggio",[1] all for students destined for Ireland. The Franciscans were also in possession of missionary convents or colleges in Algarve (S. Antonio di "Barataxo")[2] and Mexico (S. Croce, at Querétaro), also other institutions in Varatoio, Brancanes,[3] Guatemala, and Guadeloupe. The Benedictines possessed the Scottish seminary at Ratisbon, in which they were confirmed by the Holy See in 1737, and an English college at Douai. The institutions at Ghent, Liége, and St-Omer were in the hands of the Jesuits.

In a session held on February 18th, 1741, the five Cardinals appointed by the Pope to form the supervisory Congregation divided the colleges among themselves for the purpose of reporting on them. San Clemente (Annibale Albani) was given the institutions at Vilna, Lemberg, Braunsberg, and Assisi, Cardinal Petra those in Vienna and Olmütz, the Illyrian colleges at Fermo and Loreto, and the college at Assisi; Carafa took charge of Fulda, Dillingen, and S. Pietro in Montorio, Gentili the English college at Douai, the Irish college at Louvain, and the institutions at Cologne and Avignon and that on the island on the Tiber; Rezzonico took over Prague, S. Pancrazio, and the Bohemian school for poor students.[4] All these institutions were treated by Rome as though they

[1] Boulages in the Champagne? *Cf.* "Boulaes" in MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, VII., 1, 643.

[2] Baradoxa; *cf. Ius pontif.*, II., 52 n.

[3] The names Brancannes (*sic*) and Varatoio in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 332.

[4] The report of the visitation of Vilna and Braunsberg is to be found on p. 57 of the *Visite 41, that of Fulda on p. 181, Douai on p. 234; on p. 247 the "Informazione del collegio detto di casa salda in Colonia", on p. 253 the desire of the Bishop of Assisi to visit the college there. Several colleges could not be visited on account of the war. For the college at Vilna *cf.* the Brief to the Ruthenian Bishops of August 14, 1753, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 63.

were missionary colleges, even when their students were destined for pastoral work among heretics.

The Pope's solicitude for the colleges was shown also in other ways. The very scanty revenues of the Chinese college in Naples he increased by making over to it the Benedictine monastery of S. Pietro at Eboli,[1] afterwards transferring to it also a yearly income of 500 ducats which he had held back from the first donation. Besides its eight students from China and India, the college was to maintain eight more from Wallachia, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania.[2] He approved the rules drawn up by the rector of the Italo-Greek college in Palermo, whose students were to train for pastoral duties among the Albanians and as missionaries in the Near East.[3] The Corsini College established at Ullano for the purpose of supplying pastors to the Greeks of the Two Sicilies, had enjoyed the usufruct of the former Benedictine monastery in that town ; this privilege the Pope confirmed by re-conferring it on the director of the college.[4] Duke Casimir of Nieswitz was thanked for the zeal he had displayed in supporting the efforts made to win back the schismatic Ruthenians, also for the foundation of a Ruthenian seminary.[5] The Pope commended to the Duke's patronage the Ruthenian seminary at Lemberg.[6] On the new missionary college for the Franciscan Observants which José de Moraes Sarmento was proposing to establish in Portugal [7] the Pope bestowed [8] all the privileges

[1] Brief of August 31, 1743, *Ius pontif.*, III., 118 *seq.* The monastery was " sine cura et conventu ", namely empty. In the Briefs the name of the place was written sometimes Ebulo, sometimes Embumbo or Embulo.

[2] Brief of October 6, 1746, *ibid.*, 364. Confirmation and extension of the privileges, of December 18, 1746, and December 28, 1756, *ibid.*, 310, 668.

[3] On February 25, 1757, *ibid.*, 680 *seq.*

[4] On January 2, 1743, *ibid.*, 94.

[5] " seminarium svirnense " (Schweidnitz).

[6] *Acta*, II., 67.

[7] " in loco de Vinkaes " (Vinhaes). *Ius pontif.*, IV., 332.

[8] On February 20, 1753, *Acta*, II., 126.

which had been granted by Innocent XI. to the convent of St. Antony at Baradoxa on December 23rd, 1679. To the Dominicans Benedict sent his congratulations [1] on the foundation of a seminary for missionaries on the Monte Mario, near Rome.

(2)

Benedict XIV. was much occupied with the furtherance of Christianity in the East.[2] The first country to demand his attention in this respect was Abyssinia, which in his time was most difficult of access. When Count Le Roux d'Esneval was forming a trading company to open up the country, the Pope took the opportunity to write to the Negus Bakafa,[3] who had been reported as having leanings towards Catholicism, recommending to him as a messenger of the Faith the Franciscan Michael Angelus de Vestigné. The project, however, came to nothing. In 1751 another attempt on Abyssinia was made by the Franciscans, this time at the express invitation of King Yasu II., who had written to the "Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre" in Jerusalem. A small band of missionaries reached Gondar on March 19th, 1752, and laboured so well that their expulsion was demanded and obtained by the Abyssinian clergy.[4]

For the Maronite Church the foundations of the reorganization of ecclesiastical affairs had been laid at the Synod of Lebanon, held in 1736 [5]; meanwhile, however, much objection had been taken to them. The Congregation of Cardinals appointed by his predecessor to investigate the matter was confirmed by Benedict, and after a fresh examination by the Italo-Greek Rodota and two Maronites who chanced to be in Rome (the Archbishop of Cyprus, Gabriel Eva, and the

[1] On July 10, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 267; Walz, 369.

[2] *Benedetto XIV. e le chiese Orientali in Roma e l'Oriente*, VII. (1914), 263–274; Balan, *La Chiesa e gli Slavi*, 216 *seqq.*

[3] On January 21, 1741, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 152 *seq.*; Lemmens, 185.

[4] Lemmens, 185 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 468.

Abbot-General of the monks of St. Antony of Lebanon), the decisions of the Synod of Lebanon were approved at a final session of the Congregation of Cardinals held in the Pope's presence on August 7th, 1741. They were subsequently ratified by Benedict XIV., after he had taken cognizance of each one of them, in a Constitution of September 1st, 1741.[1] A further Brief contained particulars regarding the diocesan partition and the dues which had formerly been paid to the patriarchs on the occasion of the delivery of the consecrated oils; it was now laid down that the dues were to be paid at another time, namely the Sunday following the Assumption.[2] The Papal delegate to the Synod was attacked in various writings ascribed to the Maronite and Melchite patriarchs, but the controversy was brought to an end by a Brief issued by Benedict on February 16th, 1742.[3]

The bearer of these decisions was still on his way home when the Patriarch Joseph El-Khazen died, on May 13th, 1742. On May 15th the prelates who had been present at his burial elected as his successor the Archbishop of Damascus, Simon Avad, and then, when he had declined the office, the Archbishop of Arka, Elias Mochasseb. At this election no attention had been paid to the absence of the Archbishops of Cyprus and Tyre, who, annoyed at this neglect, promptly consecrated two new Bishops, and with their co-operation proceeded to elect a new Patriarch, their choice falling on the Archbishop of Cyprus, Tobias El-Khazen. Both of the Archbishops thus honoured appealed to Rome, and Benedict ruled that both had been invalidly elected[4] and exerting his absolute power as Pope and in accordance with the law of the Western Church he declared the Archbishop Simon Avad of Damascus to be Patriarch.[5] The Pope did not take this step without

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 44 *seq.*; Dib in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 83.

[2] Dib, *ibid.*, 83, 123; *Ius pontif.*, III., 48; *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 66 *seq.*

[3] *Acta*, I., 103 *seq.*

[4] On March 13, 1743, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 146.

[5] On March 16, 1743, *ibid.*, 147.

misgiving; no notice of it was conveyed to the delegates in Rome of the two pretenders to the patriarchal throne and the execution of the Papal decisions, so far as the Lebanon was concerned, was entrusted to the Custodian of the Holy Land, the Franciscan Giacomo da Lucca.[1] However, the Maronites' loyalty to Rome withstood the test, and on October 11th, 1743, Simon Avad was enthroned, the secretary to the Papal envoy, Desiderio da Casabasciana, taking back with him to Rome a large number of declarations of obedience.[2]

Very soon afterwards Desiderio had again to intervene as the Pope's confidential representative, this time in Syria, where five Bishops had disputed the jurisdiction of the Patriarch and had nominated an administrator of the Patriarchal power. On both parties appealing to Rome, it fell to Desiderio to restore harmony in the name of the Pope.[3] In a consistory of July 13th, 1744, the Pope expressed his pleasure that this had been successfully accomplished.[4]

It was in the reign of Simon Avad that there first attracted attention towards herself a visionary who subsequently was a cause of disturbance in the Lebanon until nearly the end of the century. Anna Agemi,[5] surnamed Hendiye, thought that she had been appointed by Heaven to call into being a Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and she did in fact succeed in founding at Bekorki a convent in accordance with her wishes. Among the simple folk of the Lebanon the supposed visionary soon gained adherents; even the Jesuits, one of whom was her spiritual director, supported her at first. The Patriarch confirmed the rules of her convent in 1750, and

[1] To Da Lucca on March 16, 1743, *ibid.*, 150; to the Maronites on the same day, *ibid.*, 152.

[2] *Cf.* Dib, *loc. cit.*, 85–8. Sending of the pallium to the Patriarch: Brief of August 4, 1744, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 207; praise of the Maronites: Brief of August 11, 1744, *ibid.*, 208 (with appendix of documents, 208–214).

[3] *Ibid.*, 88.

[4] *Acta*, I., 224–231.

[5] We keep this form of the name which is in general use; Dib writes Hendiye or Hendiyah (of the family of 'Ajeymi).

a priest instructed by Simon Avad to examine her spoke highly of her. Gradually, however, the Jesuits deserted her, but as the Patriarch was still faithful to her the opposition between the two parties became so acute that Avad forbade the Maronites to have any dealings with the Jesuits.

The affair was now ripe for the intervention of the Pope, to whom the Jesuits had appealed. In a Brief of January 4th, 1752, he reprimanded the Patriarch for taking such serious steps without consulting the Holy See, suppressed the new Congregation of the Sacred Heart, and ordered Agemi to be moved to another convent.[1] On December 9th he instructed Desiderio da Casabasciana to go to the Lebanon to undertake a further investigation of the matter. This lasted from May 18th to July 17th, 1753, and its issue was so favourable to Agemi that Desiderio thought it better not to carry out the instructions issued by the Holy See in her respect.[2] In a letter of March 12th, 1754, Benedict urged the Patriarch to provide the alleged visionary with suitable spiritual guides, while she herself was to seek a place of quiet and retirement where there would be no opportunity for indulging in vainglory or for giving rise to fresh disputes. At the same time he requested Desiderio to supply him with a detailed report consisting only of facts and of evidence which could be vouched for by Desiderio himself. Isidore Mancini, of the Order of Minims, was instructed to examine the writings on Agemi. Once again Desiderio declared himself in her favour, the other consultors in her disfavour. In January 1755 the matter came before a Congregation of Cardinals, and on the 25th the Propaganda wrote to the Patriarch that Agemi's ecstasies and visions were clearly self-delusions and that her spiritual advisers could not be spared the reproach of credulity.

[1] Dib, *loc. cit.*, 88 *seq.* The Brief is found in *Ius pontif.*, III., 482, with the date "4. Ian. 1752 anno Pontif. 12" and in the *Acta Bened. XIV.* with the date "4. Ian. 1748 anno Pontif. 8"; in both cases the source given is the Bullarium of the Propaganda, App. II., 160.

[2] Dib, *loc. cit.*, 89 *seq.*

Accordingly the Pope appointed a new adviser for her in the person of the Franciscan Observant, Carlo Innocenzo da Cuneo. Agemi made a pretence of accepting her new director but failed to break off relations with her old one, and Innocenzo soon left Bekorki.[1]

Rome's verdict on Agemi's visions did not put an end to her cause. Propaganda had expressed no opinion on her person and still less on her Congregation ; the former order for its dissolution seems to have been forgotten. This, added to the fact that the verdict on her visions was probably little known by the people, explains how it was that after Benedict XIV.'s death her repute increased to an incredible extent, especially as the Patriarch Tobias El-Khazen, who succeeded Simon Avad (d. 1756), though not particularly attracted by Agemi, did not actually oppose her.[2]

Benedict XIV. also espoused the cause of the Maronites by defending the holy monk Maro, from whom the Maronites derived their name, against the Greek Melchite Patriarch Cyril, who had had the pictures of Maro torn up, on the ground that he was not a Saint but a heretic. Benedict replied in a Constitution of 1753 that Cyril had mistaken St. Maro, to whom Theodoretus and John Chrysostom bore testimony, for a later Maro.[3]

To the Greek Melchite Patriarch of Antioch, Cyril VI. Tanas, Benedict XIV. had addressed a Constitution ten years before, for the purpose of replying to several misgivings which had been expressed in Rome under Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. They referred to the rites and usages of the Greek Church, particularly the celebration of Mass and the law of fasting, to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch as it affected his Maronite colleague and the Latin missionaries, and finally

[1] *Ibid.*, 90.

[2] *Ibid.*, 90 *seq.* For Tobias' election and its confirmation, see *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 273–8.

[3] Constitution of September 28, 1753, *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 70 *seq.* An indulgence for the feast of St. Maro, of August 12, 1744, in *Bened. XIV. Acta*, I., 231.

to the religious Orders. It was decided that the Eastern rite was to be observed in all its details and was not to be altered by the Patriarchs.[1] Not only the Patriarch but the missionaries in the East were commanded to respect the foreign rites; the Easterns were to return to the unity of the Faith, but not to become Latins.[2] Nevertheless, in spite of the Papal reprimand administered to Cyril, Rome soon found itself obliged to some extent to come round to his way of thinking; the Pope was forced to grant a dispensation from several of the ordinances contained in his Constitution [3] and to supplement it with an instruction.[4] Cyril Tanas received the pallium with a Brief of February 29th, 1744.[5] He died in the Lebanon, where he had taken refuge from the persecution of the schismatic Patriarch. The firman by which Cyril had been allowed the free exercise of his office had been revoked at the instigation of his rival and the Catholics had been abandoned completely to the latter's will. To set the matter to rights the Pope invoked the mediation of Louis XV.[6]

It was in the reign of Benedict XIV. that there came into existence the patriarchate of the Armenians of Cilicia and Lesser Armenia, in union with Rome. The Archbishop of Aleppo, Abraham Ardzivian, who had been elected Patriarch of Cis in Cilicia by three Bishops of his nation, came to Rome in person to declare his obedience to the Pope. Benedict XIV. conferred the pallium on him on November 26th, 1742. As

[1] Constitution of December 24, 1743, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 166 *seqq.* In accordance with this the Armenians were forbidden on December 29, 1755, to celebrate three Masses on Christmas Day, as is done in the West. *Ibid.*, XIX., 187 *seq.*

[2] The Holy See desires "ut diversae eorum [the Easterns] nationes conserventur, non destruantur omnesque . . . catholici sint, non ut omnes Latini fiant". Brief of July 26, 1755, *ibid.*, 151–166.

[3] Briefs of March 7 and 10, 1746, *Acta*, I., 329, 331; *Ius pontif.*, VII., 188.

[4] Confirmed on March 18, 1746, *Acta*, 336–344.

[5] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 198 *seqq.*

[6] On January 23, 1749, *Acta*, II., 34.

a pledge of his loyalty to Rome he took the surname of Petrus. Hard pressed by the heretics, he was forced to follow the example of his predecessors and take up his residence in the Lebanon.[1] His two successors, Petrus II. Jacob and Petrus III. Michael, also received the pallium, in 1750 and 1754.[2] Abraham Ardzivian may also perhaps be regarded as the real founder of the Armenian Congregation of the Monks of St. Anthony, which was promoted by Attar-Muradian [3] and Jacob Hovsepian.

The history of the Uniat Armenians was also in the pontificate of Benedict XIV. a series of tragedies. The Porte recognized only the schismatic Patriarch as the civil head of the Armenians; which explains how it was that their own schismatic countrymen, rather than the Turks, were the oppressors of the Catholics; the only refuge left to them was the Pope, who on their behalf appealed in turn to Louis XV. and Augustus of Poland. In 1745 Benedict sent to Constantinople, as Visitor, the Archbishop Francesco

[1] Rattinger in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, III. (1872), 36 · Lübeck, *Die katholische Orientmission*, Köln, 1917, 130; S. Weber in the *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, I., Freiburg, 1930, 668; L. Petit in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 1911; Gams, *Series*, 455; Tournebize in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, I., 183 *seq.*; Benedict XIV. to Tencin on November 30, 1742, Heeckeren, I., 14. In the Brief of November 24, 1742 (*Ius pontif.*, III., 83), the name of the Patriarch appears as Petrus Abraham Vartabiet. — As the Patriarch was returning by way of Marseilles the Pope commended him to the Bishop there on January 14, 1743. *Acta*, I., 40.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, VII., 175 *seqq.*, and III., 576 *seq.* Petrus II. was lauded by the Pope as "vir magni meriti, archiepiscopalem Alepinam ecclesiam rexit multa cum laude, pro amplificanda fide catholica Galatae, Angorae et Aleppi plurimum laboravit multasque persecutiones ab haereticis excitatas pertulit, cum ter carceribus inclusus et bis in exilium fuerit amandatus". *Ibid.*, VII., 177.

[3] "le même sans doute qui est appelé par quelques auteurs Poresiph ou Porisacco." Tournebize, *loc. cit.*, 184.

Girolamo Bona, who was first to deliver with his own hand a Brief to the French monarch.[1] A second Brief to Louis XV. followed in 1753,[2] and two years later envoys from Constantinople again requested the mediation of the Pope.[3] The intervention of the French king was successful more than once. On October 10th, 1742, he was thanked by the Pope for the restoration of their five churches to the Armenians of Aleppo and Ancyra ; the Pope also noted with pleasure that the peace of which they had been deprived by the bribery of the schismatic Patriarch had been restored to them by the French envoy and that the hostile Patriarch had been induced to keep silent in return for a sum of money. It would, he said, make a good impression on the Porte if the Latin Vicar Bona were to be received with due formality by the French envoy.[4] But the peace did not last long. In 1751 news came from Aleppo that the Armenians there had had to suffer for their Faith imprisonment, fines, stripes, banishment, and the loss of their churches. On their behalf the Pope appealed to the king of Poland.[5] He had already raised his voice in Paris for the sake of the Catholic Armenians and their Capuchin missionaries in Georgia in 1743 [6] ; later it was heard that the Capuchin missionary Damian a Leone had successfully appealed for their religious freedom to King Kulican.[7]

To the General Chapter of the Dominicans the Pope addressed an admonition to conduct their Armenian mission at Naxivan with greater zeal,[8] and in 1758 the Armenians in Constantinople, who had hitherto been subject to the Latins, were given a Vicar Apostolic of their own, in the person of

[1] Brief of August 16, 1745, *Ius pontif.*, III., 232.

[2] On April 25, *Acta*, II., 134.

[3] Brief of August 16, 1755, *ibid.*, 235.

[4] *Ibid.*, 357.

[5] On July 17, 1751, *ibid.*, 85.

[6] To Tencin, August 23, 1743, I., 81 ; *cf.* 15.

[7] Brief of September 15, 1753, *Acta*, II., 145. *Cf. Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 247 *seq.*

[8] On April 10, 1748, *Acta*, I., 511.

Athanasius Merassian, who was subject to the Latin Apostolic legate.[1]

Influenced by the Capuchins, the Georgian Catholicos Jesse went over to the Catholics in 1754 but was deposed by a Synod in 1755 and together with the Capuchins was banished.[2] According to a report made to the Propaganda in 1746, the missionaries in Georgia reckoned the number of Catholics in that country at 10,000.[3]

The Copts of Egypt also acquired ecclesiastical independence. Hitherto the Popes had tried to win over the Coptic-schismatic Patriarch to union with Rome, but, taught by long experience of the hopelessness of these endeavours, Benedict gave the Copts who were true to Rome a Vicar Apostolic of their own,[4] in the person of the Bishop of Jerusalem, the only Bishop of his nation who did not cleave to its errors.

Also Elias Denha, the Patriarch of the so-called "Chaldæans", namely the converted Nestorians of Urmia and Cotchanes, wrote in 1751 and on many other occasions to the Pope, asking for union with the Roman Church.[5] In Mesopotamia, Bagdad, which since 1720 had been the seat of a Carmelite mission and an Apostolic Prefecture, became the residence of a Bishop in 1742[6]; to Mosul, in 1750, came

[1] RATTINGER, *loc. cit.*, 40; LÜBECK, *loc. cit.*; TOURNEBIZE, *loc. cit.*, 339. Instructions for the Archbishop of Carthage, Apostolic Visitor in Constantinople, mentioned in HEECKEREN, I., xcvii.

[2] SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 369; LÜBECK, *Georgien und die kathol. Kirche*, Aachen, 1919.

[3] *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 237; R. JANIN in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, VI., 1284. The rise of the Capuchin mission in Georgia began under Innocent XI., when king George, the Patriarch Entimius, and the Prince Barzim became Catholic (*Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 237, 240 *seq.*). *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXII. 465.

[4] On August 4, 1741, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 38. A decision on doubtful points in Coptic ritual, of May 4, 1745, *ibid.*, 292 *seq.* *Cf.* Brief of June 19, 1750, *ibid.*, XVIII., 165.

[5] GAMS, *Series*, 456.

[6] LÜBECK, *Orientmission*, 141.

Italian Dominicans who set up a flourishing mission there; through them the Uniat Chaldæan Church was placed for the first time on a firm foundation.[1]

For the benefit of the Holy Places in Palestine, Benedict XIV. ordered[2] in 1741 that at least twice yearly, and in 1743 that at least four times a year, the needs of the Holy Land should be recommended from the pulpit to the charity of the faithful. A firman, decreed in August 1757 and put into force in the following December, wrested from the Catholics the place of the Nativity and the basilica at Bethlehem, and the church erected over the tomb of the Virgin. In the Holy Week of 1757 the Greeks had forced their way into the Church of the Sepulchre, where they had broken the candlesticks and slashed the precious tapestries, and had held the Catholics responsible for the damage.[3] To set in order the legal conditions of the Franciscans' custody of the Holy Land, the Pope instructed the Minister General of the Holy Land, Raphael a Lucagnano, to draw up statutes, to which he imparted the Papal confirmation.[4] Roughly 160 Franciscans were to dwell in the Holy Land, of whom not more than two were to come from each province of the Order, and none of them was to stay more than three years in the Holy Places.

In other respects also Benedict took steps on many occasions to set to rights the conditions of the Christians under Turkish rule. After the Albanian National Council of 1703[5] fresh abuses had crept in, and these were countered by a Papal Constitution.[6] On the other hand, the seventeen pupils of the Propaganda and the Illyrian college at Loreto, who as secular priests saw to the cure of souls in the diocese of Scutari, received all possible praise.[7] A difficult question arose in

[1] *Ibid.*, 142; WALZ, 371.

[2] On January 10, 1741, and August 20, 1743, *Ius pontif.*, III., 14, 118.

[3] LEMMENS, 72 *seq.*; *cf.* 69.

[4] On January 7, 1746, *Acta*, I., 287–301; *cf.* 307 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII, 368.

[6] Of February 2, 1744, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 173 *seq.*

[7] *Acta S. Congr. de Propag. Fide a. 1750, Congr. 16 Feb.

connection with the church property which had come into the hands of Christians after its confiscation by the Turks or after the destruction of churches; the matter was raised by the Archbishop of Antivari, Lazarus Vladagni and was settled by Benedict with his usual indulgence.[1]

The Pope's desire to have the missions conducted uniformly led him in 1747 to give also the islands of the Greek Archipelago a Vicar Apostolic, in the person of the Capuchin Arturo Marturi.[2] Some Briefs of Benedict XIV. throw light on conditions in that vicariate. On Santorin the Christians were taxed exorbitantly and those unable to pay were faced with the prospect of the rod, prison, and chains. Their cathedral was threatening to collapse, they had no means to rebuild it, nor could permission to do so be obtained. Through its inability to pay its taxes the sole Dominican nunnery on the island was falling into decay. Appealed to for support by the inhabitants of the island, the Pope apportioned them a sum of money from the funds of the Propaganda and recommended the envoy to the island, Luca Barbarigo, to the king of Poland.[3] The Reformed Franciscan Anton Bartuska, a Viennese by birth, who had been a missionary on Rhodes and Chios for seventeen years, had built several churches for the Catholics, the most notable one being in Chios, near the town, but both the Bishop of the island and the missionary saw their work threatened by the intrigues of the schismatics. On January 22nd, 1743, and again on January 20th, 1752, and January 22nd, 1753, the Pope turned for help to the Empress Maria Theresa, asking her to obtain permission from the Porte for the Catholics on Chios to celebrate divine service.[4] On the island of Patmos the Catholics and the Basilians were threatened by pirates. To put a stop

[1] Brief of March 9, 1752, to the Secretary of the Propaganda, Lercari, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 266, and of March 2, 1754, *ibid.*, XIX., 101.

[2] Gams, *Series*, 448.

[3] On October 16, 1744, *Acta*, I., 251.

[4] *Ibid.*, II., 88, 124.

to this the Pope directed the Archbishop of Chios [1] to excommunicate the pirates, by which means Innocent XI., Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. had in their time come to the assistance of the islanders; for the benefit of the islands Tinos and Mykoni especially, the Pope, in a letter to the competent Bishop,[2] renewed the relative Briefs of Innocent XI. and Benedict XIII.

On Tinos, according to a visitation report of 1744, there were eighty-four chapels, a Jesuit church, and in every village a parish church; on Mykoni, however, there was only one church. The Visitor Guarchi praised all the Jesuit missionaries, with only one exception.[3] Two years later a report on Santorin was made by its Bishop. Praise was again accorded to the Jesuit missionaries, both on this island and on Chios and Naxos, also to the Observants of Santorin, where thirty-three Ursulines were working under the direction of the Jesuits.[4] In 1747 the Bishop of Santorin, Razzolini, visited the islands of Thermia, Zea, Siphanto, Argentiera, Paros, and Antiparos.[5] In one place on Siro there were, together with 100 schismatic Greeks, 2,000 Catholics with five churches; the Capuchins preached in the cathedral,[6] while the Jesuits there were so needy that they were thinking of giving up the mission.[7]

Concerning the Capuchins on the Greek islands there is a report by Romanus of Paris, of the year 1745.[8] It confirms previous news of the mission. A noteworthy point is that the Capuchins had opened several schools in the archipelago.[9] In Pera they owned a college where twelve boys were taught Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Armenian, and Turkish, and

[1] On April 8, 1741, *ibid.*, I., 45.
[2] Of May 27, 1756, *ibid.*, II., 266.
[3] *Acta S. Congr. de Propag. Fide, 1744, n. 10.
[4] **Ibid.*, Congr., February 28, March 29, and September 5, 1746.
[5] **Ibid.*, Congr., February 27, 1747.
[6] **Ibid.*, Congr., August 29, 1757.
[7] **Ibid.*, Congr., November 12, 1753.
[8] Terzorio, *Missioni*, IV., 76, 141, 181, 241, 302.
[9] *Ibid.*

were trained as interpreters.[1] From about the year 1750 onwards the Capuchins began to die out on the Greek islands.[2]

To the Slavs in Eastern Europe Benedict XIV. repeatedly devoted his attention. Through Propaganda he had empowered the Ruthenian Bishops to promote the union of the Basilians in one Congregation. In executing this commission the Bishops did not show overmuch zeal, fearing that their authority over a single Congregation would not be so great as over isolated convents. A statement made by the Pope [3] calmed their fears on this score. In Lithuania and Poland the union in two Congregations had already been effected, and these were confirmed and more precisely regularized by means of statutes.[4] The Bishops and archimandrites in Poland being chosen from among the monks, the Pope warned them not to attempt to secure these posts by means of intrigues, though he did not want them to renounce any such offices by formal vows.[5] The authority of the Metropolitans and archimandrites over the monks was more nearly defined by a Constitution.[6] The college founded by Gregory XIII. for Ruthenians and Russians having ceased for some years to accommodate pupils from Russia, Benedict allowed their places to be filled by Ruthenians.[7] The Uniat Ruthenian Church was, as ever, the

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV., 302 (Andros), 338 (Milos), etc.

[3] On November 27, 1742, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 120.

[4] On May 2, 1744, *ibid.*, 198.

[5] April 12, 1753, *ibid.*, XIX., 47.

[6] On May 30, 1756, *ibid.*, 217.

[7] April 5, 1753, *ibid.*, 63 *seq.* At the urgent request of the Capuchin Felix of Bologna in St. Petersburg, Propaganda tried to better the conditions of Catholics in Russia and for this purpose invoked the mediation of King Augustus III. of Poland. But, as the king predicted on May 11, 1743, no success was possible, although the Empress Elizabeth showed the Western missionaries many signs of friendliness (PIERLING, IV., 400 *seqq.*). The wish of Emperor Francis I. to replace the Capuchins in Moscow by other missionaries the Pope declared himself unable to grant, owing to the difficulty of finding others who could speak German, French, and Italian fluently. Brief of July 5, 1755, *Acta*, I., 234.

victim of plots on the part of the schismatics, which were all the more dangerous inasmuch as the Uniats were not considered as equals by the Latin Catholics. In a letter addressed to the king, the Bishops of Poland, the Bishop of Plock, and the Ruthenian Archbishop, the Pope exhorted them to support the rights of the Uniats to their churches and convents,[1] which were disputed by the schismatics, who thereby earned the favour of the Russian empress. Benedict had already written on this subject to the king and to Cardinal Lipski and to the Archbishop of Gnesen.[2] In fact he did everything in his power to protect the Union,[3] especially by his forbidding the adoption of other rites, even the Latin.[4] This measure was important, since the Ruthenians of superior birth or breeding inclined towards the Latin rite, as giving them the status of Poles. The Union thus became a religion of the peasants and its powers of resistance against Moscow were crippled.[5] On the death of the Metropolitan it was the custom of the Ruthenian Bishops to recommend a successor to the king. Benedict ruled [6] that the king was not to be bound by these proposals. The inhabitants of Borisov earned the praise of the Pope for having returned from schism to the Union and he congratulated the Ruthenian Metropolitan Hrebnicki and the coadjutor of the Bishop of Vilna on contributing to this success.[7] To the Bishop of Oradea Mare he gave a suffragan for the Uniat Greeks of the diocese.[8]

In Italy itself there was quite a number of persons of Greek or Albanian provenance who had fled across the sea from the Turks, and the question arose how they were to observe their Eastern rite in Latin dioceses. Paying due

[1] On April 25, 1750, *Acta*, II., 50–4.
[2] On September 19, 1744, *ibid.*, I., 233 *seqq.*
[3] According to Pelesz (489).
[4] *Ibid.*, 484, 489.
[5] *Ibid.*, 482 *seqq.*
[6] On April 1, 1748, *Acta*, I., 510.
[7] August 8, 1753, *ibid.*, II., 143–5.
[8] On August 30, 1757, *ibid.*, I., 559.

attention to decisions taken by former Popes, Benedict XIV. restored order in the situation.[1]

A Brief affecting all the Churches of the East was issued by Benedict XIV. on February 24th, 1746.[2] As the regulations ensuring the election of suitable prelates to bishoprics in Christian countries could hardly apply to Churches in countries ruled by non-Christians, a questionnaire was compiled for the Churches in Albania, Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Persia, and Armenia, and another one for the islands of the Ægean; these were to be answered by the Bishops, their primary object being to provide information concerning the state of Christianity in these parts. By means of other questionnaires it was sought to ascertain the suitability of candidates for the episcopate, their claims having to be backed by attested depositions.

A Bull[3] of far-reaching importance for all parts of the earth was that by which parishes in missionary lands, even when they were administered by religious, were subject to the Bishops in all that concerned the cure of souls and the administration of the Sacraments.

(3)

In his decrees for the Eastern Churches, Benedict XIV. pursued the same aims on which rests his importance in the Christian missions in general, namely everywhere to remove legal uncertainties, to settle questions of long standing, and to establish principles for the regularization of difficult situations. This legislative activity was least noticeable in the missionary territory of South America, where, in the pontificate of Benedict XIV., there took place events of great consequence.

There was, however, at least one Constitution of Benedict

[1] On May 26, 1742, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 94 *seq.* *Cf.* Pietro Pompilio Rodota, *Dell' origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia, osservato da' Greci, monaci Basiliani ed Albanesi*, Roma, 1763.

[2] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 264 *seqq.*

[3] Of February 24, 1746, *ibid.*, XVII., 1.

XIV.'s applying to South America which was of universal import: a Brief to the Portuguese Bishops in that country, upholding the human rights of the Indians. The owners of plantations, especially in Brazil, being persuaded that they could not succeed without slave-labour, had made slaves of the Indians and were buying and selling them.[1] Benedict XIV. now instructed the Bishops of South America [2] to forbid anyone and everyone,[3] under pain of excommunication, to take part in the seizure and sale of Indians or to defend such action as permissible. This Brief, like the former one issued by Urban VIII., had been brought about through the representations of the Jesuits, who in South America had long defended

[1] ASTRÁIN, VII., 418, 474, *seq.*, 828; LEMMENS, 279.

[2] On December 20, 1741, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 58.

[3] "Universis et singulis personis tam saecularibus etiam ecclesiasticis cuiuscumque status. . . et dignitatis etiam speciali nota et mentione dignis existentibus, quam cuiusvis Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, etiam Iesu, Religionis et Instituti Mendicantium et non Mendicantium ac monachalis Regularibus, etiam quarumcumque militiarum, etiam hospitalis, s. Ioannis Hierosolymitani fratribus militibus." The reason why some classes are here distinguished by the word "etiam" is that many Orders, on account of their privileges, have to be mentioned specially when they fall under the law. Thus, laws for the Orders in general do not automatically apply to the military Orders, nor do laws for the military Orders necessarily apply to the Knights Hospitallers. This is also the case with the Jesuits, as was stated on a certain occasion by Benedict XIV. himself: "in vigore de' medesimi ['privilegi' of the Jesuits] se non sono nominati [in the clauses of the law], non sono compresi" (see below, p. 450). That the Knights Hospitallers and Jesuits are specially mentioned in the above clauses affords no grounds, therefore, for presuming that they taught the permissibility of the slave-trade, still less that they themselves took an active part in it. Nevertheless, among the many calumnies against the Jesuits of the eighteenth century there occurs from time to time the accusation that they traded in slaves. ASTRÁIN, VII., 416. *Cf.* SCHEPENS in *Recherches de science relig.*, XI., Paris, 1920, 388 *seq.*

the liberty of the Indians.[1] In 1755 King Joseph I. of Portugal also declared the enslavement of Indians to be definitely at an end, though his purpose was only to force the planters to buy negro slaves from Pombal's trading company at high prices.[2]

Of fundamental importance also was a Brief addressed to the Bishop of São Paulo, Bernardo Rodriguez Nogueira, who shortly after his elevation had reported that there were several religious in his diocese who were living outside their convents with laymen and were devoting themselves to worldly business. Benedict XIV.'s reply[3] was that such religious were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, who could take action against them. Nogueira was the first Bishop of São Paulo; on December 6th, 1746, the Pope had created out of the excessively large diocese of Rio de Janeiro the bishoprics of São Paulo and Marianha and the independent prelatures of Goyaz and Cuyaba.[4]

As regards the rest of South America, there is extant a report on the missions in the Orinoco region, sent by the Audiencia of Santa Fé de Bogotá to the King of Spain on September 1st, 1754. According to this, there were, in thirty-four localities, 15,429 Christian Indians, 9,487 of whom, in sixteen localities, were under the care of the Jesuits; for the remainder, the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans had made themselves responsible.[5] The report relates only to the territory of the Audiencia; the remote stretches along the Orinoco had been divided by arrangement among the Capuchins, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits.[6]

Also in the rest of Spanish South America the Jesuit missions in particular were in a flourishing condition in the pontificate

[1] The texts in Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln*,[4] 656, 660. *Cf.* Schmidlin, *Missionsgesch.*, 400.

[2] Schmidlin, *ibid.*; Hergenröther, IV., 162.

[3] On May 27, 1746, *Bull. Lux.*, XVII., 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, 93; Gams, *Series*, 136; Streit, *Bibl. Miss.*, I., 527–590.

[5] Astráin, VII., 477 *seq.*, 833 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 466 *seq.*

of Benedict XIV., that is to say just before their final abolition. In 1744, by royal command, the Bishop of Quito had to appoint a Visitor for the missions on the Marañon. He reported [1] that forty-one communities there, comprising 2,939 catechumens and 9,970 Christians, were administered by eighteen Jesuits. The missionary Adam Widman received especial praise ; the Visitor, a parish priest from Quito, found his little church and everything necessary for divine service in good condition and the children of the parish well instructed. The only regrettable feature was the lack of missionaries ; to judge from the great success of the few that there were, all these peoples, he said, would be won over, if only there were Jesuits enough. The Visitor's representative reported that the Franciscans on the Marañon had five communities with five priests and a lay-brother and 500 Christians. A report of 1762 states that in the Marañon region there were thirty-five Christian communities, with twenty-four missionaries and 14,236 of the faithful.

In 1747 Superunda, the Viceroy of Peru, reported to the Spanish king on the state of the missions among the Moxos. The Dominicans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians were still in charge of the parishes which had been allotted to them in the first years of the Spanish conquest, but they were not devoting themselves to the conversion of the heathen. In their twenty-one settlements among the Indians the Jesuits were maintaining forty-six missionaries, including three lay-brothers ; the number of Indians they had converted amounted to 33,290, many of whom were still catechumens. It was impossible for the Jesuits to furnish more missionaries, as in the towns they had to maintain colleges and attend to the cure of souls among the whites. As most natives of South America were unable to bear the fatigue of missionary work, reinforcements had to be drawn from Europe. Nine Franciscans were caring for 3,000 Indians in three reductions. Information about the Chiquitos and Moxos missions was supplied to the king in 1754 by the Bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Juan Pablo de

[1] *Ibid.*, 428–432.

Olmedo. "I saw," he wrote,[1] "this young offspring of Christendom so faithful to the obligations of the Faith, so humble in submission to its teachers, and so careful in its habits, that one feels compelled to thank God for it. Among both missionaries and Christians I found nothing which I ought to have corrected as a judge, but only that which I had to admire as a father. In Santa Cruz and in both missions I confirmed 17,000 persons, and 45,000 in the rest of the province." For the seven missions among the Chiquitos the Jesuits had only two missionaries and it was "a miracle of the goodness of God" that these two indefatigable priests were able "to sow the seed of the Faith in the hearts of so many". A similar disproportion between the number of the faithful and the missionaries existed in the twenty-two communities of the Moxos, where the handful of Jesuits had to redouble their efforts to maintain the mission at its former level.

Important work was done in Peru by the Franciscan missionary Francis of St. Joseph, who laid the foundation of the missionary college of Ocopa in 1734. From Ocopa a similar institution for Chile was founded in Chillán in 1756; another for Bolivia had been started at Tarija in 1755.[2] Already in 1756 the Pehuenches were applying to Chillán for missionaries for their country east of the Andes.[3] Tarija supplied the missionaries for the seventeen missions among the Chiriguanos of the Cordilleras; it was not till after 1765 that successes were obtained there by the Franciscan Francis del Pilar.[4]

The Paraguayan missions, especially under Benedict XIV., were attacked in defamatory writings, the object of which was to cause the missionaries to be suspected by the Spanish

[1] *Ibid.*, 369 *seq.*

[2] Lemmens, 295 *seqq.*, 310.

[3] *Ibid.*, 311; Rob. Lagos, O.F.M., *Historia de las Misiones del Colegio de Chillan*, Barcelona, 1908; [Al. Corrado, O.F.M.], *El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones*, Quaracchi, 1884; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCV., 307 *seqq.*

[4] Lemmens, 319; Schmidlin, 403.

Government. The adventurers who were arriving in the New World at this period for the purpose of acquiring wealth wanted to exploit the Indians on the plantations without restraint, and for this reason they hated the Jesuits as the protectors of the natives and their freedom. As early as 1715 the Spanish king had been handed a memorial by a French cleric, in which it was stated that the Indians in Paraguay numbered not about 300,000 souls—which was double the actual number—but 300,000 families, from which population the Jesuits drew a yearly revenue of five million pesos. It was also alleged that the Jesuits could put in the field a force of 60,000 armed men and that they were cheating the Spanish monarch of his dues.[1] The Dutch Protestant newspapers eagerly seized on this story, and from 1732 onwards a reprint of the publication was given consideration by Spanish statesmen,[2] seeing that even in Paraguay the reports by Aldunate and Barua in 1726 and 1730 had recommended the transference of the reductions to the civil authorities.[3] Philip V. had the complaints investigated on the spot by Juan Vazquez de Aguero, who in 1736, after studying the question for three years, delivered a report which was favourable to the Jesuits and was approved by two Ministers.[4] Nevertheless another examination was made by the Council of the Indies ; it resulted in the royal decree of December 28th, 1743, which contained

[1] ASTRÁIN, VII., 612 *seq.* For MS. reports on Paraguay in Spain and Portugal, *cf.* ALFRED DEMERSAY in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 2nd series, II., Paris, 1865, 363, 365 *seq.*, 571. As for the supposed silver-mines owned by the Jesuits Demersay says (365) : " On sait aujourd'hui ce qu'il faut penser des richesses extraites du sol par la célèbre Compagnie et des informations positives ont mis à néant ces imputations gratuites." For Paraguay, *cf.* MARIA FASSBINDER, *Der Jesuitenstaat in Paraguay*, Halle, 1926 ; MOUSSY, *Mém. hist. sur la décadence et la ruine des missions des Jésuites dans le bassin de la Plata*, Paris, 1864.

[2] ASTRÁIN, VII., 613.

[3] *Ibid.*, 545, 564 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 613 *seqq.*

a complete vindication of the missionaries to Paraguay.[1] At the end of it the king expressed his joy that the false information and calumnies of Aldunate and Barua had been shown to be unfounded and his hope that the missionaries would continue to show the same zeal as before. Shortly before his death the Bishop of Asunción, José de Palos, also spoke in favour of the Jesuits in a report to the king: whatever was said against them was due to sheer spite; there were men who wanted to be the masters of the Indians in a greedy desire to turn their work and services to profit; he considered it to be the indisputable truth that without the Jesuits the province would be given over to ignorance and vice.[2] The Bishop of Buenos Aires, who travelled through the reductions in 1740, spoke in 1743 with real enthusiasm of the conditions which he had observed with his own eyes.[3] From 1740 onwards the Jesuits had been trying to extend their work to Patagonia.[4]

But Philip V.'s decree of 1743, approving of the missionaries in Paraguay, failed to put an end to the calumnies against them. On the contrary, the accusations reached their highest pitch in 1756 when there appeared a publication bearing the title, *History of King Nicholas I., King of Paraguay and Emperor of the Mamelukes.* Although it was a pure invention that the Jesuits had set up a kingdom in Paraguay, the story found credence all over Europe.[5]

In spite of every calumny, however, the Spanish kings had hitherto shown themselves favourable to the mission. But on January 18th, 1750, King Ferdinand VI. agreed to a treaty with Portugal which was the heaviest blow suffered hitherto by the reductions in Paraguay. To put an end to the everlasting frontier-disputes between Spain and Portugal, the two

[1] *Ibid.*, 616–618.

[2] *Ibid.*, 619.

[3] *Ibid.*, 620–2.

[4] *Ibid.*, 623–5.

[5] DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 234 *seqq.* A Franciscan from Paraguay was showing round in Rome a coin with the head of King Anthony (*sic*) of Paraguay. Benedict XIV. to Tencin, November 7, 1755, II., 452 *seqq.*

Powers agreed on a line running from the mouth of La Plata to the Orinoco and at the same time exchanged certain territories.[1] One of these was a large tract of land between the rivers Uruguay and Ibicuy in what is now the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul ; not only was this ceded by Spain to Portugal but the seven Indian reductions it contained were to be removed to the other side of the Uruguay. Where exactly they had to go, the Indians were not told ; they simply had to desert their homes, with the estates and public buildings, and find another home on the other side of the river, somewhere in remote, uncultivated country, for the land immediately adjoining the river was already in other hands. As compensation for the property they were leaving, worth millions of pesos, and for the enormous cost of emigration, the Indians were to be paid 28,000 pesos, which did not amount to even one peso per head, seeing that there were 29,191 Indians in the seven reductions. For the exchange of territories lying more to the north it was arranged that the Indians should be allowed to remain or emigrate as they wished, but no such privilege was granted to the seven southerly reductions,[2] nor was there any mention of it afterwards.

The Jesuits now found themselves in the gravest predicament. They had already been accused by the Jansenists of a want of obedience, and now they were again faced with an order the execution of which would involve them in the most serious difficulties. In addition, the rumour was being spread

[1] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 217 *seqq.* ; ASTRÁIN, VII., 536–689. *Cf.* DUHR in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII. (1898), 689–708 ; HAFKEMEYER, *ibid.*, XXXII. (1908), 673–690.

[2] Text of Art. 13–16 of the treaty in ASTRÁIN, VII., 638–640. *Cf.* FASSBINDER, 136 *seqq.* Popular opinion in Lisbon was against the treaty, and it was hoped that it would not be carried out. Even Pombal thought it harmful. Thus, the Uditore *Ratta to Valenti, Lisbon, December 29, 1750, Nunziat. di Portog., 110A, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf* *Ratta to Valenti, February 9, 1751, *ibid.* For Pombal's preliminary attitude of opposition, see *Instruction for the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, March 30, 1753, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7239, 7378.

in France, England, Holland, Portugal, and Spain that they possessed such vast treasures in the seven reductions that they could only be made to surrender them by force of arms ; the king would do well, therefore, to include a threat against them in the treaty itself. Ferdinand VI., far from following this advice, as good as vouched for the willing obedience of the missionaries with his royal word. As if to heighten their distress to the utmost, the Superiors of their Order now seemed to turn against them : the General Retz and, on his death in 1750, his successor Visconti intimated that they too had to bind the missionaries to ready obedience ; it was Visconti's wish that the emigration should be completed before the arrival of the commission for the execution of the treaty of partition.[1]

The missionaries took counsel among themselves but decided by sixty-eight votes to two that the emigration was impossible ; nevertheless representations in Madrid had no effect.[2] Accordingly a search was made for localities which might be suitable for a new settlement, but only a few tolerable spots were found. Their situation worsened when in 1752 the commission appointed to arrange the details of the frontier between the Spanish and Portuguese territories arrived in Buenos Aires, for they were headed by the Marqués de Valdelirios, who was firmly convinced that the resistance of the natives was due solely to the influence of the missionaries. To add to this misfortune, Luis Altamirano, who had been attached by the General of the Order to the commission as the highest authority over the Jesuits, was also of this opinion and he bound his subjects under the most serious obligation

[1] Visconti's letter, of July 21, 1751, in Astráin, VII., 644 *seq.* A letter from the Provincial of Paraguay, of August 2, 1753, to the royal confessor in Madrid, Rábago, in Miguélez, 454 *seqq.* ; a letter from Altamirano, of July 22, 1753, to the same, *ibid.*, 461 *seqq.*

[2] Astráin, VII., 648–651 ; the Jesuit Province of Peru to the king, dated from Córdoba del Tucumán, March 12, 1751, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7377.

to perform orders which were scarcely possible of execution.[1]

In June 1752 a beginning was made with the emigration [2] but it was soon seen that it was not possible to complete it. The inhabitants of several Indian villages started out on their journey but soon retraced their steps and in their indignation at the unjust demands that had been made of them rounded on the missionaries. On the natives of Santa Tecla declaring that they would allow the passage of the Spanish commissioners but not that of the Portuguese, the commission had recourse to force, and in an ensuing skirmish 1,311 Indians and Spaniards lost their lives. The seven reductions were taken by force, the Indians fled into the forests, and the few that stayed behind were compelled to emigrate. Finally, of the 30,702 Indians enumerated in the census of 1756, 14,284 were removed to the other side of the Uruguay.[3]

The events in Paraguay naturally supplied the enemies of the Jesuits with ample material with which to hasten the destruction of the hated Order. Being unable to put the plan of partition into execution, the commissioners of both Governments put all the blame for their failure on the missionaries. They complained, for instance, that on their halting at Santa Tecla they were opposed by an army of 8,000 men led by the Jesuits,[4] and such reports as these were readily believed in Europe. In the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon the opinion was obstinately held that it was entirely the fault of the Jesuits that the Indians were unwilling to vacate their old settlements. Richard Wall, who had become the Spanish Minister in 1754, on the death of Carvajal, wrote to the Marqués de Valdelirios that the opposition to the Government was inspired solely by the Jesuits. Valdelirios was to act with firmness, especially against the missionaries, he was not to listen to their objections, and he was not to accept any proposal but that of

[1] ASTRÁIN, VII., 654 *seqq.* Altamirano's orders *ibid.*, 526 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 661.
[3] *Ibid.*, 685.
[4] *Ibid.*, 667.

absolute obedience. He was not to believe in their innocence, even though they might defend themselves by taking the most sacred oaths, supported by apparently irrefutable arguments. He was to reply to everything that the king said the contrary and that the sovereign's word was the strongest proof that was recognized by law.[1]

Better times came for the missionaries when a new general of the royal troops in Paraguay was appointed in the person of Pedro Ceballos. In his instructions [2] also the guilt of the missionaries was maintained, and even though everything might be settled peaceably he was to cite eleven Jesuits by name and to send them back to Europe, unless he could convince himself of their innocence by secret inquiry. Ceballos, an honourable, upright character, was so convinced. On May 25th, 1757, he wrote to Wall that no necessity had arisen to cite even one of the eleven missionaries and that they should refrain from the use of force and leave the emigration of the Indians to the peaceful influence of the missionaries. As Blasco Gascón, the secretary to the Marqués Valdelirios, wrote to Wall on July 6th, 1757, the new general frequently stated in his presence that he did not believe in the guilt of the Jesuits.[3] To make the matter clear, Ceballos had a judicial inquiry opened in due form in 1759, at which over seventy Indians and various Spanish officials gave evidence under oath. The upshot of this inquiry was that the revolt was to be attributed to the Indians alone, and that the Jesuits had been in no way implicated.[4]

Meanwhile even the instigator of the treaty of partition, the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Gomez Freire de Andrade, had lost his desire to pursue the matter, probably because he had convinced himself that the ardently desired gold-mines were not to be discovered in Paraguay. On the death of

[1] Wall on October 7 and December 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 680 *seq.*

[2] Of January 31, 1756, *ibid.*, 681 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 686.

[4] *Ibid.*, 687. Three reports from Ceballos, November 8 and 30, 1759, and November 30, 1765, *ibid.*, 835–9.

Ferdinand VI. of Spain in 1759 his brother and successor Carlos III. brought about the annulment of the treaty, and the Indians were allowed to return to their reductions.

Almost at the same time as in Paraguay the first troubles began in the missions in Maranhão. Until about the middle of the century the work of converting the Indians had made really gratifying progress. As late as 1752 the Jesuits Tedaldi and Machado had been appointed to missionary work among the Gamellas and Acoroas in the region watered by the Mearim,[1] and in the same year their fellow-religious Santos had founded the Indian village of St. Xavier on the Solimões, to which, by December 8th, he had brought eighty Indians from the wilderness.[2] It was about this time, too, that the mission procurator Fonseca, full of hope, asked the General of the Order for ten more missionaries from Germany and Italy.[3]

But hopes soon sank when Pombal's younger brother, Francisco Xavier Mendonca de Furtado, was made governor of the colony.[4] As early as November 20th, 1752, the Rector of Pará, Alexius Antonius, reported to the General of the Order [5] that the college and seminary were flourishing but that the new governor was putting the patience of the missionaries to a severe test by the difficulties he was creating among the slaves, Indians, and missions. A year later the rector insisted that he was doing all he could to preserve the peace; the missionaries were making friends of the Portuguese soldiers

[1] *Benedict da Fonseca to the General of the Order, Visconti, Lisbon, February 8, 1752, in Jesuit possession (also the Jesuit MSS. cited below).

[2] *Emanuel dos Santos to Visconti, Pará, October 20, 1753, *ibid.*

[3] *Fonseca, *loc. cit.*

[4] The nomination followed in 1750 (SCHÄFER, V., 242, n. 2). ROBERT SOUTHEY (*History of Brazil*, III., London, 1810, 507 *seq.*) describes Mendonca as a despot who upset the missionaries in various ways and at the same time sent to the Court frivolous complaints about the condition of the missions. HANDELMANN, *Gesch. Brasiliens*, 277; MURR, 18, n. 1.

[5] *MS. in Jesuit possession.

and were supplying them with meat, flour, and medicaments, with the result that even their enemies had to acknowledge their kindness, but the question of the missions and the Indians was still a burning one.[1]

In fact Mendonca was not only trying to deprive the missionaries of the temporal administration of the Indian villages [2] but was making the further spread of Christianity practically impossible. His officials were forcing catechumens and newly made converts to give their services as rowers without payment, the result being that many of them left the reductions embittered and returned to their forests.[3] With the foundation of the Maranhão and Grão Pará trading company on June 6th, 1755, there began a veritable life-and-death struggle. The so-called " trading " of the Jesuits, who sold the surplus produce of their estates for the benefit of the missions, was regarded by the company as a threat to their monopolies.

To get rid of these obnoxious competitors it was now decided to have the missionaries expelled one after the other. " Were it not for the fear of arousing the anger of the king against the whole Order," wrote the missionary Francis da Veiga on July 1st, 1755, to the General of his Order, " we should do best by giving up the mission altogether and placing ourselves at the disposal of the Bishop." [4] Francis da Toledo, who in view of the ever worsening situation had been appointed Visitor to the mission by the General of the Order, Visconti, reported to him on August 18th, 1755, that he had received from the Bishop a royal command of March 3rd to send back to Portugal the three missionaries Theodore da Cruz, Anthony Joseph, and Rochus Hundertpfund. The reason given for the command was that it was demanded by the service of God and the welfare of the Order; but after inquiries

[1] *Pará, 1753.

[2] *Vice-Provincial Emanuel Ferreira to Visconti, Pará, October 27, 1753.

[3] *The Rector of Pará, Ignatius Xaverius, to Visconti, October 2, 1754; *Francis da Veiga to Visconti, July 1, 1755.

[4] **Ibid.*

had been made it was found that the three men were not to blame for anything. To forestall complaints against him, he had had Baretta, a professor of theology who had let fall a sarcastic remark, transferred on his own authority to the village of Tremenbeen. But under Pombal's despotic rule they would have to be prepared for a wholesale expulsion.[1]

This fear was proved to be well-founded. The parishes were taken away from the Jesuits and given either to secular priests or to other religious.[2] In the following year two more missionaries were sent back to Europe ; one was charged with having objected to the admission of Indians into the Order, the other with having set limits to the sale of flour, so as to be able to supply the troops with the prescribed quantity.[3] Toledo bore the best possible testimony to the character of the two priests, and to that of the province in general. Were it not that the welfare of the Indians compelled the missionaries to protest against the oppression, they would bear everything in silence ; the governor, however, was a despot who accused the Jesuits to the king of disobedience, and he would not want for false witnesses. The General of the Order would do well to inform the king of the true state of affairs.[4]

On February 5th, 1757, the governor called a meeting of the missionaries and made known to them a royal decree of June 7th, 1755,[5] by which it was henceforth determined by law

[1] According to *Da Veiga (*loc. cit.*) the first two were banished for utterances of no importance, Hundertpfund for having written to the Queen Mother, then deceased, about the conditions in Maranhão. According to *Toledo, the reason for the expulsion was the frankness with which he advocated the payment of the Indians for their services as rowers (to Visconti, August 18, 1755).

[2] *Toledo to Visconti, Pará, October 29, 1755.

[3] *Toledo to the General of the Order, Centurioni, on October 12, 1756, *ibid.* ; MURR, 23. The Bishop of Pará, Michael de Bulhões, informed the Visitor *on October 16, 1756, that the two Jesuits were to be taken to Lisbon in accordance with a royal decree.

[4] *Toledo to Centurioni, October 17, 1756.

[5] Text in [BIKER] I., 20 *seqq.*

that the temporal administration of the reductions had been taken away from the missionaries. The Jesuits, it was stated in the decree, were unfit to exercise an authority of this nature by reason of their vows, and as for the Capuchins, who were also in charge of reductions on the Marañon, this authority was out of keeping with the humility which was an essential feature of their Order. At a second meeting, on February 10th, the Bishop announced that complete jurisdiction over the religious belonged to him. The Jesuits' attitude to these two communications was described in a letter to the king from the Visitor, Toledo. With regard to the first point, they submitted unconditionally, but asked to be allowed to retain their property pending a contrary decision by the king. As to the second question, he had not directly denied the Bishop's claim, as had been stated, but he had put certain questions to the prelate, the answer to which would decide whether he would be able to allow his subordinates to continue to act as parish priests in the mission.[1]

The mission was now in a hopeless state. The Visitor, utterly discouraged, wrote to the General that the work of conversion among the Indians was as good as paralysed. To address written complaints to the king was useless, as the letters were either confiscated or submitted to Pombal for his approval. The Bishop, too, he said, was unfavourably disposed towards the Jesuits.[2] Toledo's fears were only too well justified, for at the close of the year 1757 he and fourteen companions in distress were conveyed back to Portugal.[3]

One of the factors in the expulsion was the property administered by the Jesuits, though it was not so valuable as

[1] *MS.

[2] *Letter dated from Pará, April 1757. As early as *October 29, 1755, Toledo had expressed his fear that the colonial authorities were aiming at the destruction of the Jesuit mission.

[3] *Letter of the Governor, September 14, 1757, in Jesuit possession ; Nuncio Acciaioli *to Archinto, February 21 and May 2, 1758, Nunziat. di Portog., 198, Papal Secret Archives ; Murr, 38.

had been thought. Their possessions, wrote a Jesuit in Maranhão to his General, were certainly large but they were not profitable, as they consisted mostly of worthless estates, which might well be sold and exchanged for smaller ones.[1] When the reduction of Trocano was taken from the Jesuits and, under its new name of Borha Nova, was handed over to a secular priest on January 1st, 1756, the governor, on January 2nd, made careful inquiries about the property belonging to the station but the Visitor could only inform him that it was saddled with a huge debt.[2]

Connected with the law of June 7th, 1755, by which the Jesuits and Capuchins were deprived of the civil administration of the reductions, was that forbidding the enslavement of the Indians, signed by the king on the previous day.[3] The motive of this latter ordinance, however, was scarcely more philanthropic than that of the former. The fact was that the trading company in Maranhão had the privilege of trading in negro slaves, and the liberation of the Indian slaves compelled the planters to buy negroes at high prices from the trading company. The law was not proclaimed by Mendonca until the slave ships from Africa had arrived in South America.[4]

For the Jesuits in Maranhão the emancipation law had an evil consequence. The State, they maintained, having first sold Indians to the plantation-owners and then having forced them to set them free, was in justice bound to restore the purchase price to the planters.[5] Pombal interpreted this opinion as obstinate opposition to the abolition of slavery, whereas in actual fact the Jesuits in Brazil had always upheld

[1] *De Roche, April 21, 1757.

[2] *Toledo, on February 23 and October 21, 1756.

[3] Text in [BIKER] I., 14 *seqq.*

[4] CAEYRO, **De exilio provinciarum transmarinarum Soc. Iesu in Lusitaniam*, libri III., f. 90 *seq.*; " *Relazione di Msg. Ratta di quanto ultimamente è accaduto nel America " (undated [October 4, 1756 ?]), Nunziat. di Portog., 113, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] MURR, 25.

the human rights of the Indians, incurring much odium thereby.[1]

The Jesuit mission to the Araucan Indians in Chile was also in a difficult position. An uprising there in 1723 had ruined everything, but in spite of this there were 112,296 baptisms in the mission in the years 1734–1762.[2] Both the suffragan Bishop of Concepción, Pedro Felipe de Azua, and the Dean testified to the good work done by the Araucan missionaries.[3]

No less difficult than in Chile was the missionary work among the Indians in California. As recently as 1734 two Jesuits had been murdered by malcontents and the whole existence of the mission had been threatened; but it quickly recovered from the setback.[4] A survey made in 1742 enumerates fifteen stations, all of which were founded, not with State funds, but with charitable donations.[5] In 1793 the viceroy De Revillagigedo estimated the number of Christian Indians in California in the years 1740–1750 at 20,000.[6] The Spanish government would have liked to increase the number of missionaries but this was prevented by the lack of money.[7]

In Mexico the missionary work of the Franciscans and Jesuits continued to succeed.[8] Conspicuous among the Jesuits was a German, Franz Hermann Glandorff, from Osterkappeln, near Osnabrück. He went to Mexico in 1719, even before he had completed his theological studies, and after his ordination he devoted himself untiringly for forty years, amid the greatest hardships, to the care of the Indians in the rugged mountains

[1] *John de Maia, Governor of Maranhão, to John V., September 10, 1725; official report of the royal commissary Edward dos Santos in Weld, 81; Hernández, *Organización social*, II., 27 *seq.*; "*Informatio Benedicti da Fonseca S.J. pro libertate Indorum tuenda ad regem Ioannem V.," of December 22, 1745.

[2] Astráin, VII., 711–737.

[3] *Ibid.*, 734, 735.

[4] *Ibid.*, 275.

[5] *Ibid.*, 283, 812.

[6] *Ibid.*, 284.

[7] Engelhardt, 232 *seq.*

[8] Lemmens, 239 *seqq.*

of Tarahumare. In 1745, in view of the fact that they were maintaining in Mexico 120 mission posts in an area larger than Spain itself, the Jesuits proposed to the king that they should hand over twenty-two of these stations to the secular clergy. The plan, however, was not carried out until 1754, owing to the unwillingness of the Indians to part with their spiritual guardians.[1] In Florida only a pitiful relic remained of the Franciscan mission that had formerly flourished there.[2]

In Central America a personal intervention of the Pope has to be recorded, namely the raising of the bishopric of Guatemala to an archbishopric, with the suffragan bishoprics of Nicaragua, Chiapa, and Comayagua.[3] In North America, so far as it was under English supremacy, there was naturally no question of any Catholic missionary activity. In 1755, when Acadia passed from French to English ownership on the conclusion of peace, the Catholics had to quit the country in a body, unaccompanied by their priests.[4] In French Louisiana the Jesuits were maintaining missions among the Choctaws, Alibamons, and Arkansas, with little success; among the Illinois, however, the prospect was more promising.[5] The mission to the Iroquois, who were concentrated in settlements similar to reductions in the environs of Quebec and Montreal, was hampered by the ill-will of the Government and the bad example set by the French.[6] Prominent in their care for the scanty relics of the Huron tribe were De la Richardie and Potier.[7]

(4)

Of the African missions in Benedict XIV.'s time there is little to relate. The Lazarist Arnolph Bossu was appointed

[1] ASTRÁIN, VII., 321 *seqq.*, 815 *seqq.* For Glandorff, see KEMPF, *Die Heiligkeit der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Einsiedeln, 1925, 260, 275.

[2] SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 412.

[3] Bull of December 16, 1743, *Ius pontif.*, III., 122 *seqq.*

[4] ROCHEMONTEIX, II., 66 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 382 *seqq.*, 388.

[6] *Ibid.*, 20.

[7] *Ibid.*, 55.

Vicar Apostolic for the Christians in Algiers and Tunis,[1] and he in his turn, on account of the vastness of the territory under his command, was to appoint the Capuchin Felix of Affori as Pro-Vicar for Tunis. In 1740 [2] the French possessions on the "Bourbon Islands" (Mascarenhas) were entrusted by the Pope for ten years to Beaumont, the Archbishop of Paris, who was to send Lazarists there. In 1750 the Capuchins were maintaining six permanent residences in their Congo mission, and four in Angola.[3] In Portuguese East Africa the Dominicans were still maintaining twelve stations with 2,630 of the faithful in the year 1751. Adults, however, they did not dare to baptize until they were on their death-beds, and the missionaries were generally hampered by their poverty.[4]

(5)

In the missionary activities in Asia Benedict XIV. frequently intervened in person, sometimes very incisively. The Shah of Persia, Tamas Kulikan, he congratulated on his victory over the Turks and was successful in his request that the Capuchins in Tiflis be exempt from taxes.[5] Kulikan allowed the Christians freedom of conscience. The missions had been tolerated by his predecessor, Shah Nadir (murdered in 1747), whose confidence had been gained by the medical knowledge displayed by a Capuchin, and who had appointed a Jesuit as his first physician in 1746. Shah Nadir had had thoughts of founding a religion himself; he had the Bible of the Christians translated, listened to the disputations between them and the Mohammedans, and often decided in favour of the former. Under Kulikan's successor the Persian mission fell into decay; the last effort to revive it was made in 1755.[6]

[1] On July 11, 1746, *Ius pontif.*, III., 282 *seqq.*
[2] On October 6, *ibid.*, 6.
[3] *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 191.
[4] Schmidlin, *Missionsgesch.*, 374.
[5] On January 30, 1742, *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 247.
[6] Terzorio, *Missioni*, VI., 170 *seqq.*

The Capuchin mission in Georgia, on the confines of Europe and Asia, appeared at first to be developing favourably. Between 1750 and 1755 the Catholicos, who had been banished to Russia as a heretic in the latest persecution, came over to the Catholic Church and he was very shortly followed by a hundred Georgians. The conversion of a noble lady in the reign of King Taimuras, however, led to the persecution of the Catholics. The Catholicos was deposed and banished, the Capuchins were driven out of the country, and the churches fell into the hands of the schismatics. The efforts of Propaganda to obtain the mediation of the European Powers met with no success. It was not till 1767 that the mission was reopened in Tiflis and Gori.[1]

Among the Armenians of Diarbekir and Mardin there began, under the influence of the Capuchins, a movement for union with Rome. In 1747 the mission was interrupted in a curious manner: an impostor acted the part of Papal nuncio and ordered the Capuchins to take their departure. At the order of Propaganda they returned.[2]

It was the Capuchins again who did their best to spread the Gospel in Tibet and the lands that bordered it.[3] In 1733 the Prefect of the mission, Orazio della Penna, had journeyed to Rome to obtain fresh missionaries. After returning to Patna in 1739 he stayed some time at Bettia in Nepal, where he restored to health the son of the rajah; in consequence, the father, Durup, wrote to Clement XII., asking for more Capuchins for his country. On February 6th, 1740, Della Penna went on to Bhatgaon, also in Nepal, where he was received in very friendly fashion by the rajah Zaije Ranagita Malla Deva, who by a formal decree allowed the Christian

[1] *Ibid.*, VII., 272.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI., 195 *seqq.*, 201 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 385, 473; ADELHELM JANN, *Die missionarische und literarische Tätigkeit des Apostol. Präfekten von Tibet P. Franz Horatius Olivierius della Penna di Billi 1712–1745*, in the special publication for Gustav Schnürer, Paderborn, 1930, 128–207.

doctrine to be preached and who also asked the Pope for more Capuchin missionaries. Both rajahs were granted this request by Benedict XIV.[1] In 1740 Della Penna was back in Lhasa; here King Pho-lha-nas, who had been in correspondence with Clement XII., assented by an edict of September 7th, 1741, to the Pope's desire for the official toleration of Christianity. When, however, a Christian refused to offer the requested marks of esteem to the Dalai Lama, the king changed his attitude, and a regular persecution ensued. In 1745 Mass was said for the last time in the chapel of the Assumption in Lhasa; Della Penna retired with twenty-seven Christians of Nepalese origin to Khatmandu in Nepal, where the mission was continued. About a score of Christian Tibetans were banished. Della Penna died the same year, 1745.[2] He was the author of a Tibetan-Latin dictionary, and most of what was known about Tibet in his day was based on his reports to Propaganda.

In the realm of Pegu in Farther India the legate for China and Eastern Asia, Mezzabarba, had opened a mission at the instigation of the Holy See.[3] This was developing well in the town of Syriam, especially after the appointment of the Barnabite Paolo Nerini as Vicar Apostolic of Ava; there were in Syriam a boys' school, a girls' school, and a not unimposing church, to the cost of building which an Armenian had contributed.[4] It seemed, however, as if these successes were being jeopardized by jurisdictional disputes. Syriam, with the whole of Pegu, belonged to the diocese of Meliapur, so that it lay outside the Vicariate Apostolic of Ava, which alone had been

[1] "Illustri ac potentissimo regi Batgao" and "Illustri ac potentissimo regi Bittià", both Briefs of May 1, 1742, *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 92. *Cf.* JANN, 183.

[2] *Ibid.*, 206. Briefs of September 25, 1746 (dispensation from fasting for the Tibetan Christians), and September 13, 1753 ("Praefecto Missionum Tibeti", authority to confirm), *Bull. Capuc.*, VII., 266; STREIT, 433.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 70.

[4] *Cf.* Brief of December 31, 1753, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 178; *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 171. A Brief of the same date and on the same subject, to the king of Portugal: *Acta*, II., 174.

entrusted to Nerini. The Bishop of Meliapur felt himself obliged to exert his episcopal rights but for so doing incurred a reprimand from the Pope, who did not hesitate to take the Barnabite mission under his personal protection.[1]

The missionaries in Farther India being of various Orders and nationalities, it was inevitable that differences should arise regarding the boundaries of their respective spheres of activity. The Visitor dispatched by Benedict XIII. in 1727 issued a decree on July 2nd, 1740, by which each Order was allotted its separate mission-field.[2] The Franciscans, who had been represented in this decree as interlopers, appealed to the Holy See, which at first, on September 29th, 1741, more than confirmed the Visitor's decision, but subsequently, on November 23rd, after receiving further remonstrances, ordered a fresh inquiry, which resulted in the Franciscans being given back their missions. By a Brief of November 26th, 1744, the execution of this decision was entrusted to the Vicar Apostolic of East Tongking, the Augustinian Hilarius Costa.[3] There were also disputes between the Augustinians and the Dominicans over certain districts in East and South Tongking. To settle the matter the Dominican missionary Hernandez betook himself to Rome, where he obtained a favourable ruling for his Order.[4]

In Cochin China the preaching of the Christian doctrine was forbidden by royal decree in 1750 and again in 1753. The missionaries suffered much maltreatment and were driven out of the country but many of them managed to return to their missions in secret.[5] Edmund Bennetat, the coadjutor of

[1] *Ibid.* Writing from Chandernagor on August 15, 1748, Nerini gave the Jesuit missionaries a *commendatory testimonial, saying that they were full of zeal and that they visited the huts of the pariahs. Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Indie Or. e Cina, Scritt. riferite Congr. 25, n. 56.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 194.

[3] *Bull. Lux.*, XVI., 255 ; *Ius pontif.*, III., 192 ; LEMMENS, 114.

[4] GISPERT, *Historia de las misiones Dominicanas en el Tunking*, Ávila, 1928, 251 *seq.*

[5] LEMMENS, 115.

the Vicar Apostolic, was expelled several times. In reply [1] to a letter of his written from Pondicherry in 1754, the Pope sought to encourage him by the prospect of a brighter future; as he had suggested to him once before, [2] the persecution of Christianity always bore within itself the pledge of a subsequent revival.

Firstly the Vicars Apostolic in India and then all Vicars Apostolic in general received instructions from Benedict XIV.[3] to appoint in their lifetime a coadjutor with the right of succession or a vicar general with far-reaching powers; this would obviate the confusion which might otherwise be caused by their deaths. It was emphasized by the Pope that the decisions of the Council of Trent concerning the rights of Bishops in relation to religious were valid also for missionary Bishops and Vicars Apostolic.[4]

In Southern Asia serious difficulties for the missions were caused by the rise of the Protestant maritime Powers. Thus in India the English East India Company, though not actively hostile towards the Catholic mission, as were the Dutch, nevertheless protected and thus encouraged the heathen cults.[5] The Bishops of Cochin being prevented by the persecutions of the Dutch from landing in Ceylon, authority to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation was conferred by the Pope [6] on the Oratorians of Goa, who were working in Ceylon under the most difficult conditions. On the Dutch becoming supreme in Indonesia all the missions there were done away with. It was only on Timor and Flores that the Dominicans held out till 1754.[7] In the Philippines, however, under the Spanish rule, Christianity continued to exist. As late as 1740 the Dominicans founded the large mission of

[1] On September 1, 1755, *Acta*, II., 239.

[2] On December 4, 1751, *ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

[3] On January 26, 1753, and August 8, 1755, *Ius pontif.*, III., 519, 621 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 217–221.

[5] Hergenröther-Kirch, IV.[6], 158 *seq.*

[6] On February 17, 1745, *Ius pontif.*, III., 135 *seq.*

[7] Schmidlin, 397; Walz, 372.

Santa Cruz on the island of Luzon, and in 1750 they baptized the Mohammedan Sultan of Ioló. On the island of Mindanao the Jesuits were active.[1] To the work of the Augustinians in the Philippines the Pope accorded special praise.[2]

(6)

For some decades before the accession of Benedict XIV. the burning question as to what attitude was to be adopted by the Christians in China towards the national customs connected with the worship of Confucius and family ancestors had been fraught with ever growing confusion. Clement XI.'s Constitution, which was taken as the ruling pronouncement on the matter, had laid it down that only those customs were to be allowed which were of a purely civil, as opposed to a religious, nature. Which forms of the worship were to be considered as purely civil was to be left to the decision of the competent Superiors. The legate Mezzabarba accordingly declared to be permissible the laying out of food, the lighting of candles, and the burning of incense before the tablets of Confucius and ancestors and before the grave of the deceased, also obeisances in honour of ancestors or to the coffin, it being presumed there was no trace of superstition in the performance of these customs.[3]

As Mezzabarba wrote in 1740,[4] Suarez, the noted Jesuit in China, would have liked still more concessions. This may refer principally to the non-extension of the " permissions "

[1] SCHMIDLIN, 395 *seqq.*

[2] On April 25, 1753, *Acta*, II., 135.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 482 *seq.*

[4] *To the Propaganda, dated from Lodi, October 10, 1740, Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or e Cina 1737–1740, Scritt. rif. Congr. 22, n. 49. The mandarin Chao commented thus on Suarez' dissatisfaction : " Questo è troppo. Che volete di più ? Io voglio esser giusto. Queste permissioni bastano, sietene contenti " (*ibid.*). Mezzabarba *speaks (*loc. cit.*) of concessions " in Brevi pontificio ad Imperatorem Sinensem ". *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 473, n.

to the obeisances before the tablet of Confucius, that is to say to the worship of him such as was prescribed by custom for lettered people.[1]

In other respects Mezzabarba's eight permissions were favourable to the Jesuits, and for this reason it was not to be expected that the opposing party would acquiesce in Mezzabarba's ruling and accept in silence that which they had formerly opposed. In the same way as the Jesuits had once resisted Tournon, their adversaries now resisted Mezzabarba. Hence the dissension among the missionaries, which was brought to a head by Clement XII.'s rejection of the Bishop of Peking's attempt to turn the legate's permissions into prescriptions.[2] Some were of the opinion that the tablets of ancestors and Confucius should be abolished then and there; as the missionary Arcangelo Miralta wrote,[3] that could be

[1] Scant satisfaction with the concessions was shown in a *letter from the Peking Jesuits to their General, of July 17, 1722: "Certum tamen est, disseminatas permissiones proborum animis Christique fidelibus bonae voluntatis plus perturbationis quam solatii iniecisse alio quidem sensu ac quam innuit Ill^us^. Ingemuerunt videlicet auditis illis, usque sibi aditum claudi filiisque suis ad literarios honores, ad officia publica ac magistratus gerendos; usque constringi s. legem ad vilissimae sortis homines, et vel his ipsis despicabilem reddi, cum eius ingressu atque exercitio arceantur, quicumque in republica honorati et ingenui censentur" etc. The legate had brought nothing more "quam permissiones aliquot vix usui futuras, quia implicitas conditionibus, quas adimplere suo minime in arbitrio sit positum. Nostra enimvero cura fuit, ad patientiam et longanimitatem denuo hortari atque erigere, ex ore ipsius D. Patriarchae, qui iubeat illos bono animo esse spondeatque, se integre cognita Imperatoris voluntate nunc Romam pergere indeque quam citissime rediturum cum pleniore ipsorum solatio."

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 475.

[3] *Letter to the Secretary of the Propaganda, from Macao, dated December 20, 1736: From letters sent by Chinese missionaries the Propaganda could see "che veramente dai soli ministri, quando questi vogliono uniformemente, dipende il togliersi affatto le tavolette, progenitori e Confusio; e il Breve

done if only the missionaries acted in concert; Clement XII.'s banning of the Peking pastoral letters [1] had been of no avail, he maintained; the Holy See must suspend Mezzabarba's permissions and then religion in China would be preserved in all its purity. Miralta did not consider as excessively severe the prohibition of the permissions by Saraceni, Bishop of Lorima.

A different opinion was held by the Franciscan Eugenio da Bassano, of Shan-si. On receiving Saraceni's prohibition he felt himself obliged to inform the Propaganda of his misgivings relative to the tablets and the table with food set before the coffins of the deceased.[2] Rochus Wohnsiedler, a Franciscan missionary in Shan-si, also described the rites that took place before the tablets of ancestors and the coffin, and added that it was extremely difficult for Christians to take no part in all these things.[3] Juan de Villena, another Franciscan, went so far as to say that if the permissions were

di S. S^{tà} che annulla le due pastorali del quondam Mr Pekinense niuna specie ha fatto nelli impegnati con la tolleranza, che se li concede delle permissioni del Mr Mezzabarba, chiamate da cotesto Mr Fochet [Foucquet] 'mali radix'; quali, quando venghino sospese dalla S. Sede, si potrà conservare in Cina la purità della nostra s. religione. E dalle lettere sudette potrà scorgere altresì, se sii rigorosa o no la pastorale di Mr Lorimense" [the banning of the concessions; *cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 475] (Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1733–36, Scritt. rif. Congr. 21, n. 61). A "Relazione dello stato presente, in cui si trova la missione di Cina" (*ibid.*, n. 62) is to the same effect: "Ritus, decreta, observatio facilis, ubi volunt missionarii. Dicitur, in quibus provinciis vigeat; non viget in provinciis, ubi sunt Patres Soc. Iesu."

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 475.

[2] *On August 20, 1735. "Se recepisse epistolam circularem episcopi Lorimensis cum instructione a s. Congregatione ad istum missa et eiusdem responsum ad instructionem. Proponit dubia circa tabellas et mensas cum cibis et potibus ad feretra defunctorum paratas, quas describit." *Ibid.*, n. 40.

[3] *Letter of June 6, 1736: "difficillimum esse, christianos ab omnibus abstinere." *Ibid.*, n. 56.

to be abolished he would return to his province, since without them consciences would be disturbed.[1]

In these confused conditions it was inevitable that after Mezzabarba's embassy complaints against the Jesuits should continue. On acceding to the Papal throne Benedict found that he was expected to deal with a mass of these complaints, and he himself had often spoken harshly of the Jesuits.[2] A Visitor to the missions in distant Shan-si, the Franciscan Francesco Maria da Ferrere, had reported to Rome [3] that the Jesuits of Peking had retained the superstitious tablets in spite of the Papal Constitution.[4] From Bhatgaon in Nepal a Capuchin wrote that if the Jesuits were allowed to do as they pleased Christ would soon be worshipped in Nepal on one altar together with Shakiatula and Zongaba, just as in China this doubtful honour was paid to Him in the company of Confucius, and, as in Malabar, there was bound eventually to be a hotchpotch of paganism and Christianity.[5] But these are not the depositions of eye-witnesses. More expert knowledge may be attributed to the dismissed Jesuit Fouquet, who said of his former French fellow-religious in Peking that they were still clinging obstinately to the condemned rites.[6] That Fouquet's testimony was not considered valueless in Rome may be deduced from his promotion to the titular

[1] On August 5, 1734: "*Si dichas permisiones estan quitadas, desde luego me parto de mi mision, y me buelbo a mi santa provincia, porque sin dichas permisiones todo es inquietud de conciencia." *Ibid.*

[2] *To Tencin, September 1 and 7, 1742, Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. Arm. XV., t. 154 (not in Heeckeren).

[3] *On May 8, 1727, Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1727–28, Scritt. rif., n. 13.

[4] "*Patres Pekinenses de observantia Constitutionis quoad tabulas superstitiosas non curasse." *Ibid.*

[5] **Ibid.*, 1733–36, Scritt. rif. Congr. 21, n. 10.

[6] "*Supplicatio ad Papam," c. 1728. He says of the French assistant to the General of the Order, Joseph de Gallifet, that he was "intimo amico e l'appoggio di quei Padri francesi di Pekino, che hanno sostenuto et sostengono alla Cina il più pertinacemente i riti condannati." *Ibid.*, 1727–28, Scritt. 19, n. 38.

see of Eleutheropolis. Similarly, Visdelou, another Jesuit who opposed the rites in question, was created Bishop of Claudianopolis. But Fouquet's depositions were not impartial; on being dismissed from the Society he was embittered against it and became one of its opponents.

Contrary evidence, in favour of the party so keenly attacked, is also extant. The Bishop of Nanking, Manuel de Jesús Maria, wrote in a report on his diocese [1] that all the missionaries there observed the Constitution *Ex illa die* and in a strongly-worded letter he described the principal opponents of the Jesuits, the missionaries Guigues, Perroni, Appiani, and Pedrini, as disturbers of the peace and as the plague of the mission; they ascribed the guilt of individuals to the whole body.[2]

Pedrini, the chief accuser, addressed to Propaganda a letter of his own [3] on the subject of the disobedience of the missionaries in China. It may be presumed that everything that could be said against them on this score is included in this missive. "I take it for granted," begins Pedrini, "that the Jesuits have submitted to Rome written defences of their conduct, purporting to show that they have obeyed the Apostolic decrees on rites. The Sacred Congregation is well aware of the number of letters they presented in the time of

[1] *Of December 31, 1728, *ibid.*, n. 82.

[2] *Letter of December 28, 1725, *ibid.*, n. 65. For Pedrini's final reconciliation with the Jesuits, *cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 90; also the letter from the procurator of the Lazarists in Rome to Noiret (*Mémoires de la Congr. de la Mission*, VII., 403): "Elle [Propaganda] est bien informée du testament qu'il [Pedrini] a fait dans sa dernière maladie en faveur des Pères Jésuites et que lorsqu'il était moribond, il se leva et prit un bâton pour chasser de chez lui un missionnaire de la Propagande qui était allé pour l'assister." That he chased him out of the room with a stick is not true, but he did tell the missionary Centurioni who was worrying him with money matters to go away and let him die in peace (*ibid.* 436).

[3] Of November 25, 1726, *Mémoires de la Congr. de la Mission*, VII., 202.

Clement XI., of the number of petitions for repeal that came from them, of the number of declamations they have distributed throughout the world—is this evidence of their willingness to obey ? They have resisted to the last breath in their bodies and they are still struggling although they are half dead. They have moved heaven and earth, they have prevented the success of two Apostolic legations, they have rejected a Bull, they have turned the East and West upside down, they have deputed as ambassadors their Provanas and Gianpriamos, their Barros and Beauvolliers, in their attempts to avoid the duty of obeying these decrees . . . is this how one obeys ? I should like to see those defensive writings. No one could answer them better than we who are on the spot ; but although I have not seen them I can assure Your Eminence that they are full of lies or at least ambiguities. Here they have never made known to the Christians the Constitution *Ex illa die* on a day when there was a great concourse of the people, as they should have done. If any of them ever said a word about it to an individual Christian it was said under their breath or as it seemed good to them, and that is enough for them to say and swear that they have published the Constitution. Further, nothing has been seen here of any emendation made in any of their pestiferous books. Their catechists—as I have heard several Christians say—are still preaching the same doctrine. . . . Your Eminence must believe me when I say that they will certainly mislead the Congregation with their crafty writings. Unless supported by evidence from us too, they are scarcely to be believed." Of the witnesses who had appeared in their defence, he asserted, Tomacelli and Chiesa no longer had the same opinion of them, and Roveda knew little about China.

The historian in search of solid facts will hardly be impressed by these arguments of Pedrini's. The first portion of his letter consists of mere declamations and generalities, and as for its particular complaints the publication of the Constitution was in the first place the duty of the Bishops.[1] The arraign-

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII, 463, 464.

ment of the Jesuits, therefore, could have no point unless they had disobeyed the instructions of the Bishops, and of this we hear nothing.[1] And in any case they could not possibly keep the Constitution from the knowledge of the Christians, seeing that they were not the only missionaries in China. As for the accusation that they failed to emend their books, some light is thrown on this by other expressions of opinion uttered by Pedrini and Mullener.[2] In Matteo Ricci's book, for instance, those sections ought to be changed, they said, which explained as designations of the true God the names Tien and Shang-ti which occurred in the classical Chinese books.[3] But it is not at all clear that this demand was justified. The Congregation had passed no judgment on the theoretical question how the names Tien and Shang-ti in the Chinese classics were to be interpreted; it had only desired that in practice the name Tien-chu only should be used for the true God. Besides, the books could not be amended in a minute; in the meantime, whatever corrections had to be made with reference to the Constitution could be made by oral instruction. And even though it had been attested that several catechists of the Jesuits had been preaching improperly [4] it need not necessarily be inferred that no action was taken against them.[5]

[1] *Cf.* below, p. 452.

[2] In THOMAS, 360 *seq.*

[3] " Jusqu'à présent ils n'ont pas corrigé les livres qui sont presque tous infectés des caractères condamnés Tien et Schangti " (Pedrini, on October 17, 1725, *Mémoires*, VII., 196). " On distribue des livres avec les caractères Tien et Chang-ti " (MULLENER, *ibid.*, 201; THOMAS, 361).

[4] On October 17, 1725, Pedrini made a report in this sense about a catechist of the family Ho, but on November 25, 1726, he himself wrote that the person in question was no longer in the service of the Jesuits (*Mémoires*, VII., 196, 202). Two others who let themselves be known as *former* catechists of the Jesuits " et mordicus ritus damnatos defendebant " are mentioned in the " *Relatio visitationis missionum provinciae Schansi mandato episcopi Lorimensis ", of May 8, 1727, Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1727–28, Scritt. rif. Congr. 19, n. 13.

[5] THOMAS; 361: " Le bienheureux Sanz, Vic. Apost. de

The Jesuits, therefore, did not consider themselves to be guilty of disobedience. Three years before Benedict XIV.'s accession they assured their General "most emphatically and in all sincerity" of their "constant docility, most respectful submissiveness, and blind obedience" to every ordinance of the Holy See, particularly the ritual decrees of Clement XI. In accordance with their vow they took the greatest care in administering the Sacraments to the newly baptized and in fulfilling the other duties of a missionary, "so far as we are concerned and so far as it is possible in these difficult times and amid the constant dangers arising from persecution." [1]

Foukièn, ne pouvait obtenir non plus (en 1733) des Jésuites de sa juridiction qu'ils fissent le serment contre les rites et qu'ils exerçassent le ministère" (Journal de M. Connat [read : Connain] M. E. Op. cit. [*Mémoires de la Congr.*], VII., 360). Actually the Jesuits had all taken the oath and had resumed the cure of souls long before 1733. The truth of the matter, therefore, must have been that when Sanz asked help of the Jesuits for Fukiën they declined to take the oath *again* on entering another vicariate and gave up all claim to the cure of souls *in Fukiën*. For the question "utrum unica praestatio iuramenti coram uno episcopo vel vicario apost. sufficiat pro missionariis ex uno in alterum vicariatum transeuntibus, an coram omni novo vicario apost. debeat renovari", *cf.* Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1741–43, Scritt. rif. Congr. 23, n. 9 (see also n. 32, June 7, 1742); also *Collect. de Propag. Fide*, n. 350, p. 179.

[1] "*Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater! Nos infrascripti Societatis missionarii Sinenses coram Paternitate Vestra admodum Reverenda humillime provoluti, unanimi corde et ore omnique cum asseveratione ac sinceritate profitemur ac declaramus SS. Domino Nostro Sanctaeque Sedi Apostolicae constantissimum obsequium, reverentissimam submissionem et obedientiam caecam in amplectendis et exequendis, quaecumque per eandem S. Sedem decreta et imperata fuerint, iisque speciatim, quae circa ritus Sinenses a SS. D. N. Clemente XI. f. r. edita et constituta fuerunt. Quae quidem omnia integre, exacte et ad amussim iuxta iuramentum alias a nobis praestitum et iteratas saepius contestationes observamus et exequimur in sacramentorum erga neophytos administratione caeterisque missionariorum functionibus atque

This last restricting clause certainly deserves consideration. Even in Christian countries the eradication of ingrained habits requires the continuous exercise of the pastoral duty for several decades. In the country districts of China, however, even in times of peace, there were only travelling missionaries, so that it is easily understandable that when pastoral work was interrupted by persecution it was impossible to remove every irregularity at once. The Lazarist Mullener, Vicar Apostolic of Suchuen, wrote of the mission in Hupei [1] that the Christians were well aware of the Papal Constitution but that they had no clear idea to what it bound them and consequently retained much that was forbidden. But such evidence as this was no proof of the missionaries' disobedience.

In any case accusations levelled against the Jesuits from all quarters characterize the period preceding the suppression of the Society; even in Rome there was a considerable

exercitiis, quantum in nobis est et difficillimis hisce temporibus inter assidua persecutionum pericula fieri potest. Atque in praefato sensu assertaque obedientia cum divino auxilio perstabimus semper. Pekini 14. Maii 1737." Here follow the signatures of 31 Jesuits. Then: "Et ego Philippus Sibin Societatis Iesu Visitator provinciarum Iaponicae et Sinarum testor, omnes supramemoratas subscriptiones esse autographas, eidemque professioni, declarationi, protestationi nostrae cum omnibus articulis, punctis, clausulis in ea contentis sincere coram Domino etiam subscribo. Haec sunt, quae omnes firmiter tenemus, haec docemus, haec christianis nostrae curae commendatis per nos et catecistas nostros, quoad possumus, inculcamus; et si quis ex nostris Patribus contrarium aliquid supradictae Constitutioni Clementis XI. docere praesumeret, quod Deus avertat, eum tanquam non genuinum Societatis nostrae filium mente respuimus, animo aspernamur. Humillime interim et enixe supplicamus adm. Reverendae Paternitati V., ut sincerae huic protestationi et declarationi nostrae omnem fidem adhibere ne dubitet. . . . Macai 12. Dec. 1737, Philippus Sibin m. p." Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1737–1740, Scritt. rif. Congr. 22, n. 5.

[1] On August 2, 1732, *ibid.*, 1720–1732, Scritt. rif. Congr., 20, n. 42.

prejudice against them. To the complaints made on this score by the Peking Jesuit Ignatius Kögler the General of the Society, Franciscus Retz, replied that he was not to take it too much to heart that accusations should be addressed to Rome and that certain measures followed in their trail. The lot of the religious was everywhere the same: after they had done all the work they were treated as useless servants and sometimes even as pests. Kögler must console himself with the example of Christ, who had fared no better.[1]

Nevertheless, however much the Jesuits may have thought that adherence to Mezzabarba's "permissions" was not to be construed as disobedience to the Bull of Clement XI., the fact remained that the prescriptions of that Bull were still not being universally observed, in spite of the many Papal decrees. In leading circles in Rome, in consequence, belief in the disobedience of the Chinese Jesuits had taken root so deeply as to be almost ineradicable.[2] The Pope himself gave pointed expression to this view in a letter to John V. of Portugal, when the latter had proposed as Bishop of Peking the Jesuit

[1] "*Opto non nimis dolenter ferri, si contingat huc adversus nostros querelas scribi, maxime in rebus non magni momenti, ut saepe sunt, et tamquam creditis aut veris remedium adhiberi. Communis haec omnibus nostris conditio est, ut postquam faciunt omnia, tamquam servi inutiles et aliquando etiam ut noxii tractentur. Non sunt servi meliores Domino suo, ac proinde omnia, quae huic acciderunt, ab illis expectari debent. Accedit, quod priusquam illuc adveniat, vix eorum quae scripta sunt, hic memoria habeatur, nisi novis querelis refricetur" (Retz to Kögler, October 29, 1738, in Jesuit possession). — Against isolated cases of disobedience action was taken by the Superiors. Thus, the French Jesuit Du Halde had, despite the prohibition, discussed the Chinese rites in his *Description de la Chine* (Vol. 3, Paris, 1735). The General of the Order did not hesitate to "désavouer, reprouver et aboler" the work. *Anal. iuris pontif.*, II. (1857), 2648.

[2] "*Opinio de nostrorum Patrum inobedientia, quae aliunde multorum animis adeo hic insedit, evelli vix ac ne vix quidem possit." Retz to Carbone in Lisbon, January 21, 1741, in Jesuit possession (as are also the following letters from Retz).

Polycarp de Souza. He had, he wrote,[1] a sincere esteem and love for the Society of Jesus; he could cite as witnesses the Generals themselves, with whom he had had relations during the long period of forty years when he had been active in Rome. But some of the Fathers, especially those of Portuguese origin, were making it a point of honour and a subject of study to evade the Apostolic decrees and the Bull of Clement XI. against the rites. Taking their stand on ill-founded interpretations they confused the issue on the fine-sounding pretext of converting the unbeliever.

Propaganda also objected to Souza being elected Bishop of Peking,[2] and a memorial opposing him was presented by Castorano.[3] For his part, Benedict XIV. was inclined to give ear to this objection, seeing that Souza had not distinguished himself by his obedience and Clement XI. had been against any Jesuit holding the see of Peking; nevertheless, to please the king of Portugal, he acceded to his desire.[4]

The Papal letter treating of the matter was communicated by Lisbon to the General of the Society, Retz, who in his reply

[1] On December 24, 1740, Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1737–1740, Scritt. rif. Congr., 22, n. 57, reproduced by P. A. Kirsch in the *Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1901, 377 *seq.*

[2] *Wednesday session of August 24, 1740, Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1744–45, Scritt. rif. Congr., 24, n. 63: The reports on Souza, which had been handed over to the Inquisition, were to be laid before the Pope, "ne de Souza in episcopum Pekinensem eligatur." The see of Peking had been vacant since 1734; already on August 20 and September 2, 1738, the Inquisition had *voiced its opposition to Souza's election. *Ibid.*, n. 57; *cf.* n. 58 *seq.*

[3] *On September 20, 1740, *ibid.*, n. 60: "non convenire, ut Iesuita sit episcopus, ob praxim antiquam Iesuitarum quoad ritus. . . ." Under the same date Castorano addressed a *report to Perroni, who was then the assessor of the Inquisition (*ibid.*, n. 61). Like Pinheiro and Fridelli he was accused of having omitted several ceremonies (the use of saliva) from the baptismal rite (*ibid.*, n. 62).

[4] *Letter of December 24, 1740, *loc. cit.*

to Portugal[1] wrote that it was but another sign of "how difficult a situation we are in here. At every turn we have to listen to similar complaints against us, and we shall never be rid of the deep-seated prejudice against us until our envious rivals cease their accusations, and of this there is little hope." The king's reply, however, was, he said, a consolation. In this reply John V. had agreed to the Pope's request for his support of Clement XI.'s Constitution, and added that his belief was that the Portuguese missionaries had always been obedient.[2]

That John V. had put in a word for the Jesuits was apparent from the Pope's reply, in which he tried to rebut the charge of prejudice against the Society of Jesus or any other Order. He was fond of the Dominicans, he wrote,[3] but he condemned the attitude of some of them who in France and Flanders rebelled against the Papal Constitutions against Jansenism and Quesnel. To prove the sentiments he had entertained towards the Fathers of the Society of Jesus he could call well-informed witnesses out of their own ranks, who would testify to all the assistance he had given the Society during the forty years he had been working in Rome and the ten years he had been Archbishop of Bologna. But when day after day it came to

[1] *To Carbone on June 11, 1741: "Quam arduo ac difficili loco res nostrae hic sint, potuerit Rev. V. affatim ex scripta illuc epistola ac mecum communicata colligere. Similes de nobis querelae in omni occasione audiendae sunt, nec habemus modum eximendi alte de nostris impressam opinionem, nisi finem de nobis querendi invidi aemuli nostri fecerint, quod tamen sperandum vix est. Interim non modico solatio adiecta copia responsi digna sane conditione scribentis."

[2] "Se semper curasse et procuraturum observantiam Constitutionis . . . et putasse, missionarios lusitanos obedisse" (letter of February 4, 1741, in Kirch, *loc. cit.*, 380). This is followed by further reference to Souza and other Jesuits. Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, n. 58; another copy, *ibid.*, 1741–43, Congr., 23, n. 3.

[3] "*Ex arce Gandulphi" on June 15, 1741, *ibid.*, 1737–1740, Congr., 22, n. 55; Kirch, *loc. cit.*, 381.

his ears that some of them were unwilling to obey the Constitutions of Clement XI. and XII. on the rites of China and Malabar, and when he saw that there were many among them who, when convinced of the truth of the charge, merely shrugged their shoulders and deplored the obstinacy of their fellow-religious, it cut him to the heart and led him to suspect that this was why these missions had so little success and that it was precisely for this reason that either no conversions were made at all or were made in a discreditable manner. The Apostles had preached the word of God in its purity and simplicity, not wrapped around with the subterfuges of provisos and mental reservations.[1] Against the French Dominicans he had appealed to the king of France; against the Jesuits in China he appealed to the king of Portugal.

To Benedict XIV.'s reference to the primitive Church, John V. retorted [2] that there was a difference between Apostolic times and later conditions. Other remarks made by the king referred to Mezzabarba's "permissions",[3] the proposed condemnation of which had been announced by Benedict XIV. to the Court at Lisbon. John V. pointed out that the Jesuits in China were strongly in favour of their retention and that the decisions made by a legate of Clement XI. invested with full authority ought to be upheld.

The royal plea on behalf of Mezzabarba had been made at the request of the Jesuits. The discussions which had been held on the subject of the legate's concessions in the reign of Clement XII. and which had not been brought to a conclusion had been resumed [4] under his successor at the beginning of August 1741 and were threatening to result in a verdict unfavourable for the Jesuits. Benedict XIV. seems to have

[1] "non coperta col raggiro di occulte intenzioni e di mentali restrizzioni" KIRCH, *loc. cit.*, 382.

[2] *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to John V. on August 11, 1742, in KIRCH, *loc. cit.*, 384.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 482.

[4] "*Intellexi etiam sub secreti fide, proximo die lunae initium dandum examini permissionum circa ritus Sinenses." Retz to Carbone, August 5, 1741.

held the preconceived opinion that the concessions were legally invalid and that consequently the Chinese missionaries' appeal to them was inadmissible ; had he not held this view he could hardly have accused the Jesuits in China of disobedience, seeing that they would have been covered against Clement XI.'s prescriptions by Mezzabarba's concessions.

Apart from the Pope's attitude towards the question, many other circles in Rome were against the ratification of Mezzabarba's modifications, and many of them were vigorously active in their opposition. For this reason Retz, the General of the Society, had tried to obtain the mediation of John V., though without much hope of success ; there was no other course left open to the Society, he wrote, than to obey the decisions, whatever they might turn out to be, and to trust in Providence.[1] He was appealing to Lisbon, he said on another occasion, because the Jesuits had not a single friend in Rome who had the ear of the Pope and who had the courage

[1] " *Videmur quidem post terminatum feliciter . . . negotium episcopi Pekinensis . . . sperari posse ac debere, quod . . . res illius ecclesiae tranquillius processurae sint ; id tamen polliceri vix audemus ob multitudinem ac gravitatem oppositionum, quae etiamnum fiunt contra notas declarationes Constitutionis ' Ex illa die ' factas a Clemente XI. s. m. Unde a viris magnae auctoritatis ac Societati faventibus insinuatum mihi fuit, opportunum fore, Ser. Lusitani regis hac in re authoritatem ac patrocinium implorare, ut nempe Maiestas S. res ecclesiae Sinensis SS. Pontifici commendet eumque roget, ut afflictam illam missionem protegat, nec permittat, nova obstacula inici propagationi fidei et Sinensium conversioni. Id quod tamen fieri deberet generatim solum, non facta distincta mentione declarationum, multo plus missionariorum Societatis, ne alioquin plus nocumenti quam commodi afferatur ac confirmetur opinio de nostrorum Patrum inobedientia, quae aliunde multorum animis adeo hic insedit, ut evelli vix ac ne vix quidem possit. . . . A nobis [in Rome] nihil videtur illi [missioni] hic praestari posse auxilii, neque aliud in praesentibus circumstantiis agere poterimus, quam caece iis quae decreta fuerint obedire, quaecumque illa sint, ac caetera divinae providentiae commendare." Retz to Carbone, January 21, 1741.

in the time of need to put in a word on their behalf.[1] The General was no doubt intending to prepare his subjects in China for what was to come when he wrote to the Vice-Provincial there, Domingo Pinheiro, that under the reigning Pope the Society was suffering from the prejudice that it was not sincerely and loyally submitting to the decrees against the rites, and that this prejudice was so deeply rooted that it would not be possible to remove it or even to lessen it by means of exculpations but only by deeds and by the exact observance of Papal ordinances. That this would be done he had often pledged his word, both to Benedict's predecessor and to Benedict himself, so that he now exhorted the Vice-Provincial with the utmost urgency to demand obedience, to insist on it, and to impress it on his subordinates. The General concluded by expressing the hope that the Vice-Provincial would take every opportunity of relieving him of his anxieties.[2]

Meanwhile the discussion of the problem by the Inquisition was continuing. Former missionaries and even four young

[1] " *Maxima qua laboramus [inopia] habendi hic minimum amicum, qui aure, gratia atque authoritate apud SS. gaudeat, quique rerum nostrarum curam aliquam gerere et verbum aliquod in casu necessitatis pro nobis loqui non vereatur." Retz to Carbone, March 10, 1742.

[2] *Letter of November 8, 1741: " Praeiudicium, quo apud hodiernum Pontificem laboramus, de minus sincera ac fideli observantia decretorum in materia rituum, tale ac tantum est, ut nullis excusationibus, sed factis solis et accurata in iis exequendis obedientia imminui aut eximi posse videatur. Cuius cum me tum apud illum, tum apud eiusdem praedecessorem vadem saepius constituerim, nequeo non sollicitissime commendare Rev. V^ae^, ut illa ab omnibus efficaciter exigat, urgeat et inculcet. Expecto suo tempore a Rev. V. tam circa hoc punctum, quam circa alia supra exposita aliquod sollicitudinis meae levamen." The " supra exposita " were thanks for comforting news, praise for the love shown to the missionaries of other Orders, and the exhortation to practise simplicity, lest the usual accusation of having great wealth be brought against the Jesuits.

Chinese were questioned, not only on Mezzabarba's concessions but also on the worship of Confucius and ancestors in general. On the subject of the concessions the Cardinals and consultors failed to reach an unanimous verdict. The majority gave it as their opinion that they did not clash with Clement XI.'s Constitution, but many of those who made up this majority considered that the concessions had been couched in too general and indefinite terms, so that they paved the way for the actual transgression of Clement XI.'s prescriptions.[1]

With the Bull *Ex quo* of July 11th, 1742,[2] the ritual controversy was finally brought to a conclusion. The document contains first the confirmation of the Inquisition's decree of 1710 and of Clement XI.'s Constitution of 1715,[3] which were repeated word for word in the new Bull. After so solemn a Constitution, it went on to say, which, in Clement XI.'s own words, put an end to differences of opinion, those who inscribed on their banner their outstanding devotion to the Holy See ought, in justice and equity, to have submitted humbly and refrained from seeking further means of evasion. But certain disobedient and captious men [4] thought that they could avoid the exact execution of the Constitution. First they maintained that in its title the Constitution described itself only as a precept (*præceptum*) and concluded from that that it was not a matter of an inviolable "law" but only of an ecclesiastical "order".[5] They then considered the Constitution to be limited by Mezzabarba's concessions.

With regard to the first plea Benedict XIV. now emphasized that Clement XI.'s decree was concerned with the purity of Christian worship, which was to be kept free of any blemish of superstition. No one therefore might treat the Constitution lightly, as though it contained no decision of the Holy See and

[1] Brucker in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 2387.

[2] *Ius pontif.*, III., 73–82.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIII., 455, 460.

[4] "inobedientes et captiosi homines" (§ 9).

[5] For the difference between "law" and "order" *cf.* our account, Vol. XIV., 257.

as though its contents did not refer to religion but was something of no importance or was merely a regulation of ecclesiastical discipline subject to alteration. This conception was rejected as false and Clement XI.'s Constitution was confirmed and reinforced.[1]

The Pope then turned to the "permissions". Mezzabarba's decree on the subject was also inserted in full, as was also Clement XII.'s Brief against the Bishop of Peking, who wanted to introduce the permissions as obligatory. Mezzabarba's action was excused on account of the embarrassing situation in which he found himself, but his permissions were declared to be null and void and it was forbidden to make use of them. The vow which had been imposed on the missionaries to China by Clement XI. was now extended. Formerly they had to swear obedience only for their own persons; now they had to promise to urge submission on the Chinese Christians also and not to attempt to avail themselves of Mezzabarba's concessions.[2]

In the accompanying letter which he sent with his Bull to John V. of Portugal, Benedict XIV. assured the king[3] that the greatest care had been taken in its preparation. In the end, however, the Pope's view of the matter had developed into the conviction that Clement XI.'s Constitution was inalterable, that Mezzabarba's permissions tended to invalidate it or to destroy it altogether, and that either the Patriarch had exceeded his authority or that his statements had been amplified or had been viewed in a false light by those who wanted to set aside the Clementine Constitution. God was his witness that he had been actuated only by his zeal for the purity of God's worship. The prospect of death would have filled him with terror if he had left unsettled a matter of such far-reaching importance. The Jesuits were not cited in the Bull as its adversaries; it spoke only of missionaries in general. It was only in those passages where obstructive privileges were restricted or abolished that the Jesuits were

[1] § 9–10, p. 76.

[2] § 23, p. 81.

[3] On August 11, 1742, KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 383.

mentioned by name; this had to be done because in virtue of their privileges the Jesuits were affected by an order only when they were expressly mentioned.[1] The Pope ended his letter by asking the king to extend his protection to the Bull. With this request the king complied in a letter of September 27th, 1742.[2]

It was only right that the Jesuits should have been treated with consideration in the Bull, inasmuch as they were not expressly mentioned as the wrongdoers in the complaints and accusations made therein, but "disobedient and captious men" were harsh epithets and there was no doubt for whom they were intended.

For his treatment of the Jesuits in the Bull *Ex quo* Benedict XIV. did not escape reproach from certain quarters. Cardinal Tencin seems to have represented to him that the French Jesuits in China were not disobedient and that the Jesuits in France were the Pope's army. Benedict replied [3] that neither as Archbishop nor as Pope had he omitted any opportunity of showing his good will towards the Society and individual members, and he intended to maintain the same attitude in the future. But that did not preclude his using the whip when one or other out of so great a number strayed from the right path. If the French Jesuits or all the Jesuits in China were not disobedient, his Bull did not apply to them, for he did not speak therein of Jesuits in particular but only of disobedient Chinese missionaries in general [4] and the reproach had

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 411, n. 3.

[2] *Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1741–43, Scritt. rif. Congr., 23, n. 21. *Ibid.*, *Letter of September 26, 1742, to the Bishop of Peking and "ad capitaneum generalem V.-'Regem' Indiae Marchese de Lourical". *Ibid.*, Congr., 23, n. 20, the news that the Constitution had reached the Apostolic Vicar of East Tongking, Hilarius Costa.

[3] To Tencin, October 6, 1742, I., 3 *seq.*; Kirsch, *loc. cit.*, 387 *seq.*

[4] "Se nella Cina non v'è verun Padre della Compagnia che sia mai stato o sia disobbediente, nemmeno si è parlato de' Gesuiti della Cina." Kirsch, *loc. cit.*, 388.

more reference to the past than to the present. His expression "disobedient and captious men" the Pope endeavoured to justify in a letter to the Bishop of Coimbra, Michael of the Annunciation,[1] who on the occasion of the despatch of eighteen Jesuit missionaries from Coimbra had complained to the Pope that the Constitutions on the customs in China and Malabar were being used as evidence of Papal disapproval of the Jesuits. The report was being spread by "malicious persons", wrote the Pope, that these words were intended for the members of the Society of Jesus,[2] but he was only saying what had already been said in the time of Clement XI. If Clement XI.'s words were not construed as evidence of disapproval, why should his? Besides, his expressions were directed against recalcitrants in general, whether Jesuits or secular priests.[3] Against the reproach of unfriendliness towards the Jesuits, Benedict defended himself by a long enumeration of the marks of favour he had shown the Society.[4]

If the Bull gave offence to the friends of the Jesuits, the Jesuits themselves were hurt still more. They did not feel themselves to be guilty of disobedience, and their General was hard put to it to prevent their protests and expressions of discontent from becoming generally known, which would only have called forth fresh accusations.[5] Retz sent the Bull to China

[1] Of June 26, 1748, *Acta*, II., 392–6.

[2] "verba huiusmodi [concerning the 'inobedientes et captiosi homines'] ab hominibus malevolis contendatur pro religiosis viris Societatis posita fuisse." *Ibid.*, 394.

[3] *Ibid.*, 396.

[4] *Ibid.*, 392–5.

[5] "*Non sine multa aedificatione perlegi carissimam R. V^ae epistolam 18 Sept. ad me scriptam: ut quae digna quovis genuino filio s. parentis nostri sensa atque consilia mihi exhibere videbatur. Utinam eorum similia omnes nostri foverent: non maneremus certe expositi tot tamque gravibus inobedientiae accusationibus, quot nunc impetimur. Hanc ob causam nihil frequentius, nihil diligentius commendare conatus sum, quam sinceram ac fidelem observantiam Decretorum ac Constitutionum Apostolicarum. . . . Dolorem omnem inter nostros ac lamenta

with an accompanying letter on October 25th, 1742, and both documents were immediately communicated to his subordinates by the Superior there. He assured the General that in the matter of the rites the Jesuits in China had observed the precepts of their immediate Superiors, so that the sharply worded expressions and the denunciations in the Constitution did not apply to them, or, if it did, it applied also to the Vicar Apostolic. In the archives of the Propaganda there should be a letter from the Vicar Apostolic, Mullener, in which after his visitation to the Christians in the care of the Jesuits he had attested that with regard to the rites he had found nothing objectionable in the communities he had visited. As the General had written to China, the letter had been communicated to him at the time. And indeed the missionaries had observed the instructions of the Vicar Apostolic so exactly that to fall in with his varying wishes and not without great inconvenience they had already on four occasions changed the form of the ancestral tablet and the attached declaration.[1]

cohibere non potui, cum non deessent, qui iudicarent, de quo agitur in tempus opportunius reiici aut certe mitiori aliquo modo confici potuisse: Cum tamen diligentissime ne ullum doloris publicum signum daretur [operam dedi], et ad impediendum omnem suspicandi occasionem, ab adeundis amicorum cardinalium palatii consulto abstinui. Optandum nunc est, ut illi, ac illi ad quos observantia atque exsecutio pertinet, et ipsi dolori suo modum ponant, neque sinant obligationibus suis illum praevalere; sed hoc sperare iuvat, praecipue ubi intellectum fuerit ipsam regiam Maiestatem protectionem suam ultimae Bullae addixisse." Retz to Carbone, November 10, 1742.

[1] " *Constitutionem Apostolicam et adiunctam V. Paternitatis epistolam absque mora notam feci paucis meis subditis hic praesentibus, ac ceteris meis subditis Pekini et per provincias degentibus ea misi diligentia, qua his in terris uti possumus. Omnium iuramenta venire ad me non posse ante navium discessum certo certius est." He would send the rest to Europe at the first opportunity. . . . " Quis futurus sit effectus Constitutionis, vaticinetur qui voluerit. Interim debeo certiorem facere Paternitatem V., meos subditos in provinciis, circa ceremonias sinicas, accurate et constanter eam secutos fuisse

The Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan, Joachim Enjobert de Martillat, Bishop of Ecrinea, who, his health broken, returned to France in 1745, bore witness in Rome in 1749 that the Jesuits were not the cause of the persecution and that the Papal Constitutions on the rites of China and Malabar were being faithfully observed. It is significant of the prevailing atmosphere, however, that the Pope advised him not to speak about these matters, as his statements might be misconstrued.[1] The Jesuit Louis Marie Dugad wrote from Huquam on November 3rd, 1752, that so far as he knew there was not one of his brethren who was not obeying the Papal Constitutions and the precepts of the Vicars Apostolic in the most exact and almost scrupulous manner and that nothing could be more painful to the

praxim, quam superior ecclesiasticus immediatus praescribebat, ac proinde vel non cadere in meos gravissimas illas seu querelas seu obiurgationes, quae in Constitutione leguntur, aut eas cadere pariter in Vicarium Apostolicum. Exstat Romae aut éxstare debet in Archivo Congregationis de Propaganda Fide epistola Ill. ac. Rev. Dñi Mullener b. m. iam a multis annis scripta, quae post visitatas nostras christianitates testatur se nihil in iis invenisse, quod reprehenderet circa ceremonias sinicas, de quo Ill. Praesulis testimonio scivit V. Paternitas ex s. Congregatione et nos tunc temporis monuit. Et vero nostri missionarii tam accurate inhaerebant Praesulis directioni, ut, non sine molestia satis gravi, necesse habuerint ad inconstantem praesulis nutum quater mutare formulam tabellae emendatae et adiunctae declarationis." He wanted to make this known to the Father General so that it might reassure him (Autograph [?] of Julianus Placidus Hervieu, Macao, December 30, 1743). *Cf.* Roman Hinderer to the Vice-Provincial Pinheiro on August 29, 1734: " *Quoad tabellas defunctorum R. P. Mendez, tunc Vice-provincialis, statim post intimationem praecepti apostolici ' Ex illa die ' impressit [had printed] formulam, quae multis millibus exemplarium per omnes Societatis missiones dispersa fuit, monitis neophytis, ut iuxta praefatum praeceptum suas tabellas antiquas corrigendo et novas scribendo formam illam observarent, nec defuimus nostro officio, ubi omissum invenimus, debito modo instando et urgendo."

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, April 23, 1749, I., 478.

missionaries than to be decried in Europe as insubordinate.[1]

Along with the General of the Jesuits, the Generals of the other Orders wrote special letters to the Propaganda promising their obedience to the Bull.[2] But immediately afterwards there arose another dispute as to the scope of Benedict XIV.'s prescription. For much had been allowed by Clement XI.'s Bull and later by Mezzabarba ; for example, the tablets with just the titles of the deceased and an attached explanation. Now that Mezzabarba's concessions had been declared null and void, was one no longer allowed to practise what had been conceded previously by Clement XI.? The Vicar Apostolic of Shan-si and Shen-si, Eugenio Piloti, Titular Bishop of Portimaea, the Jesuits, and Pedrini maintained that Clement XI.'s concession still held good ; on the other hand, the reformed Franciscan Gabriel of Turin, who had formerly allowed a simple obeisance to the deceased ancestors, would have none of any such distinctions and asked for permission to

[1] " *Circa obedientiam pontificiis decretis, quod caput esse intelligo eorum quae Rev. adm. Paternitas V. avet rescire, nullum ex nostris scio, qui non accuratissime atque, ut ita dicam, scrupulose SS. Pontificum Constitutionibus atque Vicariorum Apostolicorum statutis respective plenissime obedientem et morigerum se praebeat, prout conscientiae suae rationes et Societatis nostrae bonum postulant. Certe nihil gravius nos percellit, nullaque in opere evangelico poena gravior nos exercet, quam quod in Europa haberi nos e traduci tamquam Sedi Apost. inobedientes audiamus." In Jesuit possession.

[2] *Thus the General of the Dominicans, Thomas Ripoll, on September 15, 1742 ; the General of the Augustinians, Felix Leoni, on September 21 ; the Vicar General of the Discalced Augustinian Congregation for Germany and Italy, Alexander of the Passion of our Lord, on September 25 ; the Theatine General Cajetan a Laurino, on September 29 ; the General of the Regular Clerics Minor, Anton Nuñez, on September 29 ; the Superior of the Paris Missionary Seminary, Combes, on November 12, 1742. Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1741–43, Scritt. rif. Congr., 23, n. 45–6, 48–51.

return to Europe if he was not to be allowed merely to obey the Pope.[1]

For some time there were no further developments of the dispute. When the same doubts came to the fore again a few years later, Propaganda condemned the more lenient view and complained that the Papal decisions were again being deliberately misinterpreted. To honour the deceased all that was allowed was burial, the preservation of their portraits and their insignia of office, the setting up of inscriptions recording their achievements and offices, and, if the deceased was a Christian, all the ceremonies which it was the custom of the Catholic Church to perform. All other practices were to be extirpated by the missionaries when instructing the neophytes. If a penitent in good faith and through ignorance was still practising the forbidden rites, or was clinging to Mezzabarba's concessions, and the confessor saw that neither instruction nor admonition would be of any avail, he was not on that account to forgo the admonition. Christians were not to take part in burial feasts at which the food offered to the dead was eaten.[2]

The submission of the missionaries to the decision of Benedict XIV. did not by any means entail to a corresponding degree the disappearance of the forbidden rites among the Christians.[3] The Bishop of Peking, Polycarp de Souza, wrote

[1] *Letter from Gabriel of Turin to the Propaganda, *ibid.*, n. 46. for Pedrini *cf. Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, VII., 411 *seq.*

[2] To the Apostolic Vicar of East Tongking on January 14, 1753, Collectanea of the Propaganda, 228, n. 386. Thus, by this decree the bowing to the coffin of the deceased was also forbidden, as was declared by the Congregation on June 30, 1757 (*ibid.*, 258, n. 406). — In other ways, too, the Congregation was inclined to be strict with the newly converted. For instance, the first three days of the new year were celebrated in Tongking and it was thought that the faithful would be released from fasting and abstinence on these days, but on February 28, 1760, the Inquisition refused to grant the dispensation which had been solicited on this account (*ibid.*, 276, n. 425).

[3] Mouly, the Administrator of the diocese of Peking, wrote as late as 1857 : " comme les chrétiens sont encore portés à quelques

to the Pope on May 5th, 1744, that in the prevailing circumstances there was no hope of obtaining from the Christians the necessary obedience since the preaching of the Gospel was not so much restricted as entirely suspended. The Christians, he wrote, were driven into the temples of the idols by force and intimidation, so that it looked as if the whole mission would come to an end. In such circumstances the abandonment of ancestor-worship was clearly dangerous, since by so doing one betrayed oneself as a Christian. For this reason, Souza surmised, the Christians would continue to practise their old abuses and would not expose themselves to torture and other penalties for the sake of the Apostolic Constitution. The Pope replied on December 19th, 1744,[1] that he had not been able to delay the publication of the Bull and that persecution would have come even if Mezzabarba's concessions had been allowed to remain. Souza had written previously to the Pope [2] to defend himself against the accusation of disobedience, which he called a calumny and which he sought to rebut by

superstitions envers les morts, et qu'ils ne s'en abstiennent qu'à cause de la défense du Saint-Siège et non pas pieusement parce que c'est une chose mauvaise en soi . . ." *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, VIII., 1101.

[1] *Ius pontif.*, III., 210 *seq.*; Collectanea of the Propaganda, 178, n. 349; THOMAS, 377 *seqq.* On p. 376 Thomas, on the authority of evidence given by Rinaldi in the *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, VII., 198, writes: "Les chrétiens des Jésuites étant habitués dans leurs anciennes pratiques, beaucoup désobéirent, partie par malice ou faiblesse, partie faute d'exhortations." But Rinaldi's letter in the *Mém.*, VII., 198, is of November 4, 1725, and has therefore nothing to do with the Bull of 1742. Moreover, Rinaldi, in the passage referred to, did not write "beaucoup désobéirent" but "peu parmi eux sont vraiment obéissants en fait". Of the citations in Thomas we have checked only those on pp. 317–321 and 359–361; these swarm with inaccuracies and arbitrary assertions. For a criticism of his work *cf.* above, p. 439, n. 5, and our account, Vol. XXXIII., 394, n. 1, and 412, n. 1.

[2] On January 5, 1744, Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1744–45, n. 51.

means of testimonials in his favour.[1] In the following year, 1745, Arcangelo Miralta of the Order of Minor Clerics reported that the publication of the Constitution *Ex quo* had caused some disturbances at first but that they had died down.[2] The German missionary to China, Augustin Hallerstein, afterwards President of the Mathematical Tribunal in Peking, wrote to his brother in Vienna on October 6th, 1743 [3]: "You will want to know what the effect has been here of Benedict XIV.'s new instructions regarding Chinese customs. My answer is: what it was bound to be. We have accepted them and sworn to

[1] From the Jesuits Kögler (of June 4, 1743) and Pereyra (of June 3), from the Discalced Carmelite Sigismund of St. Nicholas (June 26, 1743), and from Pedrini (June 5, 1743), *ibid.*, n. 48. On November 1, 1743, Souza sent his own "Iuramentum de sua constanti et zelosa obedientia erga Constitutionem 'Ex illa die'. In manibus meis Hilarius episc. Macaensis" (*ibid.*, n. 47). On November 28, 1744, the Roman Inquisition demanded from the Propaganda "documenta super aliquas inobservantias Iesuitarum in China et in specie Patris de Souza episc. Pekinensis" (*ibid.*, n. 55.).

[2] "*La Costituzione 'Ex quo singulari Dei providentia' nel principio della sua publicazione cagionò bastanti disturbi dalli osservanti delle permissioni, però prontamente sono cessati, passandosi in silenzio detta Costituzione" (*loc. cit.*, 1746–48, Congr., 25, n. 23). "Il [Pedrini] m'écrit [on August 25, 1744] qu'il y avait eu dans la province de Chansi des troubles parmi les chrétiens au sujet de la nouvelle Constitution 'Ex quo', mais qu'il les croyait présentement entièrement assoupis." ENJOBERT DE MARTILLAT, Journal, in *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, VII., 411.

[3] PRAY, III., 320. "La charité parmi eux [the Jesuits of Peking] va de pair avec l'obéissance au Saint-Siège, et cette obéissance est totale et parfaite. Le Saint Père a parlé, cela suffit. Il n'y a pas un mot à dire; on ne se permet pas même un geste; il faut se taire et obéir. C'est ce que je leur ai souvent oui dire et récemment encore à l'occasion du nouveau Bref" (P. [?] Attiret à d'Assant, Pékin, November 1, 1743, *Lettres édif.*, III., 794). Attiret was one of the lay-brothers, so that before them at least the priests were careful in their speech.

carry them out, and we shall do so. Indeed there are not by any means the same difficulties in the matter as before, since the Christians in China consist almost entirely of people who hardly have any food or shelter. There is no question, therefore, of their procuring the customary gifts for their ancestors, or of erecting special buildings for this purpose." [1]

What Hallerstein says of the Chinese Christians of his day is more or less true of subsequent times also. With the decisions of Benedict XIV. the ritual question was settled once for all, and the oath of loyalty to his Bull taken by all missionaries to the Chinese prevented its revival. The spreading of Christianity was not made impossible by the Constitution, for to-day there are ten times as many Christians in China as in the time of Benedict XIV. The original plan, however, of winning over first the upper classes and with them China as a whole, had to be abandoned; in the rare event of a literate person turning towards the Christian faith he is not baptized nowadays until he is on his death-bed. The failure of this plan in the reign of Benedict XIV. need not be regretted too keenly, since the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the breaking up of the Orders in the turmoil of the Revolution would have in any case brought it to nought fifty years later. The Papal prohibitions of the Chinese rites thus diverted the missionary work into another channel without inflicting on it any permanent injury.

The situation in the time of the persecution that followed the death of Kang-hi was conceived more or less in these terms. Owing to the unfavourable circumstances, it was necessary to make use of native catechists, it being difficult for European priests to conceal their identity. A training institute for these

[1] Under Kanghi also most Christians were of the common people, but, as the Peking Jesuits wrote to their General on July 17, 1722: "audivit [Mezzabarba], quantum nobis divina bonitas praepararit catechumenorum numerum, etiam ex suprema nobilitate tartarica, ex comitum ordine, ex regia imperante familia, qui et auctoritate sua columnae, et exemplo ac fervore apostoli queant esse novellae in hac aula ecclesiae . . ." In Jesuit possession.

catechists had been established in the capital of Siam by the Paris seminary for missionaries ; on their reaching the age of forty and after having acquitted themselves creditably they were consecrated priests, and thus the mission continued to progress in spite of the lack of European missionaries.[1] Before coming to China, wrote a missionary in 1759, he thought the mission there to be barren, but now he considered it to be one of the most successful, especially in the country districts. In Canada the savages had first to be turned into human beings, whereas in China the people were already possessed of sufficient intelligence and honesty ; thus religion was steadily spreading, although a probationary period of two or three years was demanded before baptism.[2] Another Jesuit [3] was of the opinion that there were even advantages in the altered situation : for the missionaries the work was more of an apostolic nature and they had a greater share in the Cross of Christ through having to wander about with no fixed abode. Many of them had been incarcerated and tortured in the most fearful fashion. Both the Dominicans and the Jesuits had had their martyrs. Few persons of wealth or position had withstood the storm, but among the remainder brave witnesses

[1] Letter from Macao, September 14, 1754, *Lettres édif.*, IV., 36. *Cf. Journal d'André Ly, Prêtre chinois, Missionnaire et Notaire Apostolique* 1746 *à* 1763, edited by A. LAUNAY, Paris, 1906.

[2] Lamathe to Brassand, August 20, 1759, *Lettres édif.*, IV., 83. For the successes of the Dominicans in China see WALZ, 375, of the Franciscans, see LEMMENS, 146 ; MATHIAS DE S. TERESA Y ALCAZAR, Ord. Min., ex-miss. apost. de Cochinchina y actual de Cina : *Mission seraphica española de Xantung* en este Imperio de la gran China perteneciente a la santa y apost. provincia de S. Gregorio de la regular y mas estrecha observancia de N.S.P.S. Francisco en las islas Filipinas. The account (of his missionary journey, lasting from November 29, 1756, to July 9, 1757, and undertaken from Tsi-nan-fu) is dated September 5, 1759 ; a copy of this rare MS. in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, III., 9.

[3] Roy to the Bishop of Noyon, September 12, 1759, *Lettres édif.*, IV., 89.

to the faith were not rare. Hallerstein wrote in a similar vein [1]: "There is no lack of heroic souls, even among the weaker sex, who show their unshakable courage in the most glorious fashion."

Here as elsewhere there distinguished itself by the number of its martyrs that Order which, according to Papal records, was in the habit of winning the crown of martyrdom—the Dominicans. The Vicar Apostolic of Fukiën, Peter Martyr Sanz, Bishop of Mauricastro, gave his life for the faith at Fogan in 1747. We read of him in a letter of about this time [2]: "He was a holy prelate, I hear, whose canonization is going forward in Rome." With four other members of his Order, who shed their blood in the following year, he was in fact beatified in 1893. Benedict XIV. sounded their praises in the Consistory of September 16th, 1748,[3] and addressed a Brief about them to the Dominicans in the Philippines.[4] He wrote a letter of encouragement to the Chinese missionaries and wrote also to the Emperor of China on their behalf, while the king of Portugal, at whose request he had just nominated Francis Xavier as patron of the missions, was to support the Pope's representations in Peking.[5]

In Indochina also messengers of the Faith met with bloody deaths. Thus the two Dominicans Gil Federich and Matthias

[1] On November 28, 1749, in PRAY, III., 336.

[2] Of September 14, 1754, *Lettres édif.*, IV., 36. For Sanz's martyrdom *cf. ibid.*, III., 800 *seqq.*; for the death of the Jesuits Henriquez and Athemis, *ibid.*, 825 *seqq.*, and E. MASSARA (Cividale, 1908). In Kiangsi a Silesian member of the Franciscan Order was executed for "seducing the people by false doctrines". PRAY, III., 336.

[3] *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, I., 560–2. *Cf.* the letter to Tencin of September 25, 1748, I., 431.

[4] On December 2, 1752, *Acta*, II., 116. Ferdinand of Spain also wrote about these martyrs to the Dominicans (*ibid.*). For the Dominican martyrs *cf. Bull. Benedicti XIV.*, Vol. XIII., Mechliniae, 1827, 167 *seqq.*, 174 *seqq.*, 185 *seqq.* (allocution on the martyrdom of Francis Serrano), 191 *seqq.*, 195 *seqq.*

[5] All three letters of February 24, 1748, *Acta*, I., 487 *seqq.*

Leziniana were beheaded at Tongking on January 22nd, 1745.[1] They had been preceded in 1737 by a number of Jesuits.[2]

In Indochina, moreover, there were almost the same difficulties regarding the prohibitions of rites as in China proper. For West Tongking the Vicar Apostolic, Louis Néez, Titular Bishop of Cermania, testified on October 29th, 1744, that every missionary without exception had taken the oath of loyalty to the Constitution.[3] In East Tongking the Vicar Apostolic, Hilarius a Jesu Costa, titular Bishop of Corycus, made a similar statement.[4]

(7)

Thanks to the Pope's energetic action the ritual question was thus settled so far as China was concerned, and he was only acting in accordance with his character in undertaking the solution of the disputes in Malabar.

The Briefs of Clement XII. issued in 1734 and 1739 had not succeeded in quietening restless spirits in Southern India. The Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, Giambattista Maria of St. Teresa, titular Bishop of Lirima, forwarded on December 8th, 1740, the forms of oath signed by the missionaries and promised to apply himself with redoubled energy to the task of removing all remaining traces of paganism ; but he spoke of those also who defended the old way of things and who maintained that they had not been given a hearing in Rome ; their opposition, it seemed to him, would make it very difficult to extirpate everything.[5] The Archbishop of Cranganore, the Jesuit

[1] *Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1744–5, Congr., 24, n. 9 ; Walz, 643. They were beatified on May 20, 1906.

[2] *Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1737–1740, Congr. 22, n. 35. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 473.

[3] **Ibid.*, 1744–5, n. 54. *On January 16, 1745, Néez repeated : " Omnes missionarii iurarunt in Constitutionem ' Ex quo ' " (*ibid.*, n. 68) ; similarly on July 12, 1745 (*ibid.*, n. 76).

[4] On July 16, 1745, *ibid.*, n. 78 : " omnes utriusque vicariatus missionarios obedire Constitutioni ' Ex quo singulari '."

[5] " *Con l'arrivo del P. Florentio . . . ho ricevuti li Brevi . . . ,

Antonio Manuel Pimentel, reported on November 4th, 1740, that he had received the letters of the Propaganda,[1] and on January 2nd, 1741, he related what three Jesuits[2] had written to him some years previously regarding their "complete submission". Nevertheless the Vicar Apostolic of Siam, De Lolière-Puycontat, reported on the authority of a letter written by the Capuchins on August 17th, 1740, that the Jesuits of Malabar, in spite of their oath, were not conforming to the prohibition of the rites, on the plea that it was not a matter of faith and that the Holy See was badly informed.[3]

The Capuchins, however, were not a disinterested party in

la executione de' quali, quanto appartiene a tutti noi, non sarà negligentata, come vedranno nei giuramenti sottoscritti; e con tutto che da' nostri missionarii sempre si sia travagliato in estirpare quel che puol essere di gentilicio, con più accuratezza si farà con la publicazione che si farà fra breve tempo de' sudetti Brevi, quali più riguardano le missionì di Majasul [Mysore ?], di Madure e Carnati, nelle quali col battesimo si ricevono tali riti gentilici, che per estirparli par mi sarà molto difficile, atteso che gli assertori si difendono di non esser stati uditi, come più volte li habiamo uditi; spero in Dio, che si potrà porre qualche rimedio, instruendo li christiani dell'ordini, che si mandano." Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, 1737–1740, Scritt. rif. Congr., 22, n. 51. *Cf. ibid.*, 1744–5, Congr., 24, n. 11: "*Scritture circa i riti malabarici dopo la spedizione del Breve emanato nel 1734 e ciò che si sia poi risoluto nella Congregazione del s. Officio." *Ibid.*, 1746–8, Congr., 25. *Letter from the Archbishop of Cranganore, October 15, 1740: "se declarationes factas supra decreto card. Tournon circa missiones Madur., Maissur. et Carnatensem cum effectu executioni dedisse, et P. Franc. Cardoso provincialem Soc. Iesu sibi scripsisse, quod omnes Patres Soc. Iesu scripto se obligaverint ad publicandas etc. easdem. Contrarium qui dixerit veritati adversari."

[1] **Ibid.*, 1737–1740, Congr., 22, n. 51.

[2] *Franc. Cardoso on May 25, 1736, from Travancore; Salvador dos Reys, from Serrinha, on June 16, 1736; Manuel Henriquez, from Mysore, on September 17, 1736. *Ibid.*, 1741–3, Congr., 23 n. 2.

[3] **Ibid.*, n. 22.

the Malabar dispute, and the expressions used in their reports are not to be taken literally. Benedict XIV. testified in his Bull on the customs of Malabar that all the Bishops and missionaries had sworn to observe exactly the decrees of his predecessor, and that the certificates regarding this oath had come into his hands on the death of Clement XII. The missionaries protested that the accusation of perversion brought against them was unjust.[1] It is a fact, however, that the Jesuits in Rome had been working for a dispensation or, rather, since one had already been granted for ten years, for a continuation of it. The Bishop of Meliapur, Joseph Pinheiro, asked the Congregation on October 12th, 1740, for a dispensation from the use of saliva and insufflation at baptism and from entering the houses of pariahs, which would mean the ruin of the mission.[2] The draft of a letter in reply contains a severe censure for the petitioner, who is commanded to be obedient.[3] Similar drafts of replies to Archbishop Pimentel of Cranganore and the Bishop of Cochin complains of certain missionaries allowing or taking part in a superstitious rite.[4] On November 19th, 1742, Archbishop Pimentel again approached the Pope. Tournon's decree, he wrote, had been published except for three points : the use of saliva and salt and insufflation in baptism, the admission of women in certain circumstances to the sacraments, and the entry into the houses of the pariahs. The observance of these things, he said, would mean the ruin of the mission.[5]

Benedict XIV. had no need to be informed about the disputes in Malabar. As Consultor to the Inquisition in the reign of Clement XI. he had already composed a survey of their development and had discussed the question with the

[1] *Ius pontif.*, III., 175, § 14–16.

[2] *Congr., 23, n. 26.

[3] **Ibid.*, n. 27. Whether this " piano di lettera " was executed and dispatched is not apparent.

[4] " *qui permittunt aut practicant aliquem ritum superstitiosum." *Ibid.*, n. 28.

[5] " *Haec enim observata ruinarent missionem." *Ibid.*, n. 55.

emissary of the Jesuits in S. India, Brandolini.[1] When Pope, he settled the matter once for all by a solemn Bull.[2]

On this occasion his manner towards the Jesuits was far more lenient than it had been two years before, when he condemned the Chinese rites. As he wrote to Cardinal Tencin,[3] he had kept the Bull on his desk thirteen months before publishing it; God knew, he wrote, how much pains it had taken him not to give offence and at the same time not to fail in his Apostolic office. He had discussed everything with the Jesuits and had done his best to point out to them clearly the moderation and reasonableness of his decision. They had no right to complain, therefore, at least not openly. Their General himself had expressed his gratitude to him. They might murmur to themselves, he wrote to Peggi,[4] but it was an impertinence to expect the Pope to turn the seat of truth into a seat of concealment merely so as not to offend the Jesuits.

The Bull against the customs of Malabar deals principally with three requests made by the missionaries. Firstly they had complained that they had been bound to obedience by oaths and excommunications. This was an oppressive and unbearable burden which involved them in the most grievous difficulties of conscience. Being in continual fear of losing their own souls they could hardly give a thought now to the saving of others.[5] The Pope, however, would not consider any

[1] "qui de nostro agendi more modoque se nobis valde devinctum ostendit" (Benedict XIV. to the Bishop of Coimbra on June 26, 1748, *Acta*, II., 392). Under Innocent XIII. he took care to see that "omnia pontificiae tolerantiae et benignitatis officia reipsa impertirentur" (to the Jesuits) (*ibid.*).

[2] "Omnium sollicitudinum," of September 12, 1744, *Ius pontif.*, III., 166 *seqq.*

[3] On December 19, 1744, HEECKEREN, I., 167.

[4] On October 17, 1744, KRAUS, 20. *Cf. Fragmentum vitae Benedicti XIV.*, *ibid.*, 243.

[5] The embarrassing situations may have been caused more by the unduly stringent administration of the censures than by the censures themselves. The following case, though from China, not India, may serve as an example. At the denunciation of the

alleviation in this respect. The oath which had been imposed upon the missionaries was, he said, the best way of ensuring unity among them and was the best safeguard against arbitrariness in thought and interpretation. The censures affected only infringers of Papal laws and perverse persons who were not to be kept obedient by any other means.

Secondly, the missionaries had asked again to be dispensed from the use of saliva in the rite of baptism and not to have to use insufflation too openly. This request had already been granted in 1734 for a period of ten years, and in 1744 Benedict XIV. granted another postponement for ten years, but this was to be the last one and the dispensation was to be used only in case of necessity. He expressed, however, his displeasure that he had not been able to note that the missionaries for their part had exerted themselves to overcome the distaste of

Bishop of Peking proceedings were instituted at Tsi-nan in Shantung against sectarians whose doctrines had been widely disseminated also in Ho-nan and Kiang-nan and who were hatching revolutionary schemes under the guise of Christianity. As a result of the proceedings the true Christians also appeared in a suspicious light, and as the Emperor had sent a plenipotentiary to obtain information about the revolutionaries the matter threatened to have fatal consequences. Luckily, the viceroy was favourable to the Christians and when it happened that funeral rites were about to be performed for a deceased missionary he offered to take part in them, accompanied by his mandarins. The missionary of Tsi-nan, the Franciscan Michael Fernandez, was now in a dilemma. To reject the viceroy's offer would be tantamount to an insult ; to accept it would be equally hazardous, on account of the ritual prohibition. Fernandez thought to overcome the difficulty by explaining to the viceroy in a written exposition that he looked on the rites merely as civil ceremonies and that he was setting out this view by an inscription in large letters on the catafalque. But the missionary was treated by the episcopal vicar general as if excommunicated and his missionary activity was consequently brought to a standstill ; three years passed before news came from Rome that his case had been judged. *K. Stumpf to the General of the Order, Peking, 1718, in Jesuit possession.

the natives. If the Indians obstinately held to the opinion that these ceremonies were reprehensible in themselves they had not the disposition necessary for the worthy reception of baptism.

The third petition of the missionaries concerned the question of the pariahs: the prejudice held by the Indians that a missionary who entered a pariah's hut to administer the sacraments to him was to be considered as polluted, so that he was no longer able to converse with the higher castes. To circumvent this difficulty the Jesuits had offered to appoint special missionaries who were to devote themselves permanently and exclusively to the service of the pariahs. The Pope accepted this offer. An account of its execution would have to be rendered to the Holy See in five years, and another relating to the baptismal ceremonies within ten years. If the Jesuits failed to carry out these ceremonies other missionaries would have to attempt what they, not through their fault, had been unable to perform. For the replacements which would possibly be necessary the Pope was already making his arrangements.

After replying to these requests the Pope spoke of other abuses which had already been forbidden by Tournon but which were still being practised. To his unspeakable dismay he had heard that many missionaries were still allowing the wearing of the *Taly* with its objectionable representation of a heathen marriage-god as the evidence of a consummated marriage; that at weddings the future was still being foretold by the breaking of a coco-nut, and this with the consent of the missionaries; and that at certain times women were forbidden to enter the house of God.

In spite of its softening expressions the tone of the composition was undeniably sharp when referring to the Jesuits. This was justified by the reports from India which had been rendered to the Pope and on which he had to rely. But probably much in these reports was exaggerated. The superior of the French Jesuits in S. India, Gaston Laurent Cœurdoux, immediately he received the Papal Constitution, ordered an inquiry to be made into the use of the *Taly*. Among 8,000

Christians there were found only two of these prohibited amulets.[1]

The situation in this respect seems not to have been so good among the Indians of Madura, where, however, Benedict XIV.'s instructions were fully executed. The Jesuit Thomas Celaya wrote to the General of the Order on August 25th, 1746, that the last Papal decree had met with a willing obedience on all sides. Throughout the mission the *Taly* had been replaced by Christian symbols. Six Jesuits had been appointed by the Provincial for the exclusive service of the pariahs, and four of them had already entered on their duties; in public they wore different clothes from those of the other missionaries. Saliva and insufflation were used in baptism and whoever would not submit to these ceremonies were not admitted to the sacrament. Fortune-telling by means of broken coco-nuts was forbidden and had been practically abolished.[2] On July 14th, 1747, the Visitor to the Jesuit missions in Malabar, Angelo de' Franceschi, bore witness to the obedience of all the Jesuits, especially with regard to four points on which they had been accused,[3] and on November

[1] " *Praecepi duobus missionariis, ut disquisitionem facerent circa Taly: inter octo millia christianorum repererunt solum duas tesseras reficiendas et quae certe contracti matrimonii die datae non fuerant. Certe si in tali numero totidem in adulterium aut in ipsam idololatriam incidisse deprehenderentur, num missionariorum vitio merito vertatur?" Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1746–48, Scritt. rif. Congr., 25, n. 21.

[2] " *Ultimo decreto pontificio exacte obeditum est ab omnibus. Tessera nuptialis dicta Taly in omnibus missionis Madurensis partibus mutata est. Parreis dumtaxat curandis sex socios designavit P. Provincialis; ex iis quatuor iam ea provincia fungi coeperunt, eorumque domos palam ingrediuntur ac procedunt alia induti veste ac ceteri missionarii, qui nobiliorem tribum curant. Saliva et insufflationes iam modo adhibentur in baptismate, quo non donabitur in posterum, nisi qui his sacramentalibus, deposito salivae horrore, se subiicere velit. Fractio fructus dicti Cocco in ceremoniis matrimonii ineundi iam prohibita est et paene abolita est." *Ibid.*, n. 20.

[3] **Ibid.*, n. 39.

9th this evidence was confirmed by the Archbishop of Cranganore, Pimentel.[1] Lucas da Costa Cravo, Vicar General of the Augustinian Bishop of Meliapur, spoke to the same effect.[2] The Bishop himself wrote in 1750 that the French and Portuguese Jesuits had been the first to publish Benedict XIV.'s Constitution.[3] When, in 1759 and 1764, after the abolition of the Portuguese and French Jesuit provinces, the missions in Malabar passed into the hands of the priests from the Paris Seminary, the latter found that the prohibited customs had been almost entirely extirpated in the communities which the Jesuits had been able to control more closely.[4]

The introduction of special missionaries for the pariahs did not endure. In the eyes of the Indians it created two distinct Churches and confirmed the higher castes in their pride. The distinction between the missionaries to the pariahs and those to the Brahmins gradually lessened, and with the suppression of the Society of Jesus the arrangement ceased altogether.[5]

So far as the native Christians were concerned, wrote the Carmelite Giambattista Maria of St. Teresa,[6] the condemnation of the Malabar rites was accepted by them without demur, except on one point: the sign of the ashes.

The consequences which followed the Papal prohibitions were not so bad as had been feared. It may be that many

[1] **Ibid.*, n. 43.

[2] "*Patres Soc. Iesu missionis Madurensis omnia ad normam Constitutionis peragere." *Ibid.*, n. 68.

[3] "*Fr. Ant. ab Incarnatione O. Erem. S. Aug. episc. Meliapurensis testatur 22 Sept. 1750 Patres Soc. Iesu gallos et lusitanos primos fuisse missionarios, qui Constitutionem 'Omnium sollicitudinum' publicaverint illosque in executione omnium mandatorum ceteris missionariis posteriores non esse." Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, Scritt. rif. Congr., 26, n. 85.

[4] Amann in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IX., 1734.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1734 *seq.*

[6] *Verapoli, on September 21, 1744, Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.*, 1744–45, Congr., 24, n. 10.

members of the higher caste now fell away, but in the years that followed the prohibition of the rites the increase in the number of Christians was almost as great as before. It is true that in 1840 the number of Christians in Malabar was no greater than a century before but this lack of increase is easily explained even when the prohibition of the rites is left out of consideration.[1] In the end, therefore, the Pope was proved to be right in countering the fears of the missionaries by referring them to the inward strength of Christianity and to the duty of obedience.

The severe accusations made at first by Benedict XIV. on account of the disobedience of the missionaries in China were not subsequently maintained by him. Already in preparing the Bull on the customs of Malabar the tone in which he dealt with the Jesuits was considerably milder [2] and nine years later he paid a handsome tribute to the obedience of the Order.[3]

(8)

When writing to Cardinal Tencin about the settlement of the Malabar question, Benedict XIV. closed with the remark that the Capuchin Norbert had had no influence on the judgment, for he knew him for a confused thinker and a trouble-maker.[4] But Norbert took good care to see that the disputes in Malabar had an unpleasant aftermath for the Jesuits.

Pierre Curel Parisot, born in 1697 at Bar-le-Duc, became a Capuchin at the age of seventeen and took the name of Norbert. He was pugnacious by nature and his whole life was fatally affected by his attitude towards the Jesuits. As a missionary in Pondicherry he came into conflict with his Bishop, a Portuguese Jesuit, on account of excessive independence in his pastoral duties and in his direction of an Ursuline

[1] AMANN, *loc. cit.*, 1735 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 464.

[3] See above, p. 308.

[4] " *Rispetto poi al P. Norberto Cappucino esso non ha avuto che fare nella Bolla, conoscendolo ancor Noi per un uomo torbido et imbroglione." To Tencin, March 19, 1744, Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. Arm., XV., t. 154; HEECKEREN, I., 167.

convent which he had founded.[1] His relations with the French colonial authorities at Pondicherry he undermined by the violence with which when speaking from the pulpit he attacked the attitude of the Jesuits in the ritual dispute. This was on the occasion of an address he gave on the life of the Jesuit Bishop Visdelou [2] (died 1737) who on account of differences of opinion on the ritual question had lived apart from his fellow Jesuits, with the Capuchins. In February 1740 [3] Norbert left the mission. In Rome, where he arrived in April 1741, he found the situation favourable for further attacks on the Jesuits, who at that time were unpopular in the city. Documents from the archives of the Propaganda were actually placed at his disposal [4] for the writing of a memorandum on the dispute between the Capuchins and Jesuits at Pondicherry.[5] On receiving a copy of the work,[6] the Pope replied that he would read it through and would deal with the trouble ; meanwhile he sent him the Apostolic blessing. Norbert then set about publishing a work on the ritual dispute in Malabar,[7]

[1] [PATOUILLET], *Lettre sur le livre de P. Norbert*, [no place of publication], 1745, II, 14.

[2] Reproduced in Norbert's *Mémoires historiques*, Lucca, 1744, III., 241–307.

[3] This date is given by Norbert himself in his *Mémoires historiques apologétiques*, III., London, 1751, 410. *Cf.* P. A. KIRSCH in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift*, LXXXVI. (1904), 368, n. 2.

[4] Benedict XIV. to the Brussels nuncio Crivelli on November 11, 1747, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1930, I., 513 ; French text in FELLER, *Journ. hist. et litt.*, 1787, 340–6.

[5] *Mémoires utiles et nécessaires, tristes et consolans sur les missions des Indes Orientales*, Avignon and Lucca, 1742.

[6] On June 9, 1742, in FAURE, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Venice, 1746, 343 ; NORBERT, *Mém. hist. apolog.*, III., 427.

[7] *Mém. hist. présentés au souverain Pontife Benoît XIV. sur les missions des Indes Orientales*, 3 vols., Lucca, 1744. The Italian translation, which appeared simultaneously, is by the Capuchin Agostino da Parma (REUSCH, II., 775). The work was re-issued more than once : *Mem. hist. apolog.*, 3 vols., London, 1751 ;

which appeared in French and Italian at the end of July 1744, in Lucca, where on the recommendation of two Roman Cardinals he had had no difficulty in obtaining the Archbishop's permission to print the book. It had been passed by two Roman theologians, the Piarist Ubaldo Mignoni and the Observant Carlo Maria da Perugia, Qualificator of the Inquisition and Consultor of the Index, and it had been warmly commended by the Dominican Stefano Maria Mansi.[1] The work comprised a number of documents, accusations, and attacks on the Jesuit missionaries for their attitude in the ritual dispute, and on account of these invectives it enjoyed an unusually large circulation in Rome. It was smuggled into

also an edition in 4 vols. published simultaneously in Nuremberg and Lucca in 1754. Of the last-mentioned there is a reissue in 8 vols., published at Lucca in 1760, the author's name appearing as Abate Curel Parisot Platel; Vols. I.–IV. correspond to Vols. I.–IV. of the Lucca edition of 1744. The Lisbon edition of 1766, in 7 vols. (*Mém. hist. sur les affaires des Jésuites avec le Saint-Siège.* Par l'abbé C. P. Platel, with a dedication to the king of Portugal and a portrait of him is a revision.

[1] *Mém. hist.*, I., xii–xix. KIRSCH's assertion (*loc. cit.*, 366) that the book had been approved by the Pope also, is due to a misreading of the following passage from Benedict XIV.'s letter to Tencin of February 6, 1745 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. XV., t. 154, p. 519 *seq.*): "Alcuni religiosi a'quali fu comunicata in Roma, benchè ne abbiano [the MS. is quite clear] fatta un' approvazione assai cautelosa . . . , sono stati però da Noi represi." For "abbiano" Kirsch read, in error, "abbiamo." *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 177 *seq.* MERENDA'S **Memorie* (in KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 364, n. 1), which, among other things asserts that the Pope had accepted the dedication of the book, merely repeats the rumours that were current in Rome. Norbert himself asserts that he had presented the book to the Pope and that he had accepted it with pleasure (*Mém. hist. apolog.*, III., 502). Merenda and others confused the *Mémoires utiles*, of 1742, with the *Mémoires hist.*, of 1744. Norbert relates that permission to print was politely refused by the Maestro di Palazzo, who recommended Lucca as a place of publication. *Mem. hist. apolog.*, III., 493, 497 *seq.*

the city and it was not until two copies had been left in the Papal antechamber that the Pope had any knowledge of the book or of its dedication to himself.[1] He immediately reproved the censors who had sanctioned the work and ordered its examination by the Inquisition. With the Pope's concurrence, Norbert received an order from the French envoy Canillac to quit Rome. Feeling that he would not be safe in his convent he took refuge at nightfall with Cardinal Neri Corsini, and at the beginning of February 1745 he fled to Florence.

By this fresh attack the good name of the Jesuits was of course jeopardized once more, and they doubted that any assistance would be forthcoming.[2]

Norbert had his friends even in the Congregation which was to pronounce judgment on his publication,[3] and it needed the personal intervention of the Pope to ensure its condemnation at the decisive session of April 1st, 1745. For several hours speeches were made and opinions were expressed in support of varying views until at last the Pope spoke, whereupon Norbert's supporters also voted for the book's condemnation.[4] The grounds for this were set down in the Congregation's decree [5]: Norbert had composed his book in Rome and had had it printed outside the city without the permission of the

[1] Benedict XIV. to the nuncio Crivelli, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1930, I., 513 *seq.*; to Tencin, February 6, 1745, I., 177 *seq.*

[2] "*grave interim vulnus accepit fama nostra ex vulgato a certo P. Cappuccino, Norberto, contra Societatem libro. An medelam obtenturi simus incertum." The Jesuit General to Fr. Carbone in Lisbon, January 19, 1745, in Jesuit possession.

[3] *Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 26, 1745, Papal Secret Archives, Miscell. Arm., XV., t. 154 (not mentioned by Heeckeren); to the same, March 20, 1745, Heeckeren, I., 185.

[4] To Tencin, April 7, 1745, I., 190 *seq.*; Kirsch, *loc. cit.*, 365. Passionei and Corsini were prominent in their support of Norbert. *Mém. hist. apolog.*, III., 627.

[5] Of April 1, 1745, *Anal. iur. pontif.*, I., 1257. The continuation of Norbert's work was prohibited (on June 16, 1746), as was also the edition of 1751 (by a decree of the Inquisition of November 24, 1751, *ibid.*).

Maestro dei Sacri Palazzi, which was an offence against a decree of Urban VIII.'s which had been renewed by Benedict XIV. on September 14th, 1744. Further, on December 19th, 1672, Propaganda had forbidden any work on the subject of the missions to be published without its consent. This prohibition had been confirmed by Clement X. on April 6th, 1673, but had been disregarded by Norbert. It was impossible to sanction the work without giving scandal to worthy people and endangering souls. The decree condemning the work was drawn up by Benedict XIV. himself. The Jesuits, he wrote to Tencin,[1] might well complain of the bungled composition; he would see that justice was done to them. Although he had disagreed with the methods they employed as missionaries he had no desire that so worthy and meritorious a society should be calumniated. Pater Norbert was an "obstinate fool" who meddled in matters which did not concern him; his book had been condemned on account of its effrontery, its falsehoods, and its insults. He had fellow-workers in Tuscany, but as for his Roman friends, they could only applaud, having neither the courage nor the ability to work. Among the Jesuits the belief was current that they had to thank the king of Portugal for the condemnation.[2] The Paris nuncio Durini had to prevail

[1] On April 14, 1745, I., 192 *seq.*; KIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 365, n. 3.

[2] *Retz to Carbone in Lisbon, April 14, 1745: "Mirum, quantum crevit ex opportunitate beneficium, quod satagente R. V^a serenissimus Rex tamquam clementissimus protector missionum Societati contulit permovendo Summum Pontificem, ut notum infamem Cappuccini librum a compluribus defensum, tandem efficaciter prohibere vellet." Thanks to Fr. Carbone and to the King. — Retz to Carbone on May 1, 1745: "Cum elapso die lunae ad pedes SS^mi osculandos accessissem, ultro mihi in commissis dedit, scriberem ac significarem R. V^ae nullatenus per D. Commendatorem Zampaio stetisse, quominus per decretum famosus liber P. Norberti Cappuccini citius prohiberetur: institisse ipsum septem saltem vicibus, sed moras ac difficultates aliunde obiectas fuisse; cupere proinde, ut hanc Ministri sui diligentiam ac sollicitudinem, si necesse videretur, constare faceret serenissimo Regi R. V^a atque impleti in hac

on them not to write against Norbert, lest by so doing they might merely fan the flames; the steps taken by the Pope were a sufficient defence.[1]

When Pater Norbert felt himself unsafe in Florence also, his superiors assigned him a residence in a convent in Switzerland. From there he soon fled to Holland, where he prided himself on being in correspondence with the Holy See. In a letter to Cardinal Corsini he assured him of his attachment to the Catholic religion; it was only anxiety for his personal safety that had driven him to Holland. He then asked for money, on the ground that heretics would be scandalized at seeing a man who had sacrificed himself for the Church forced to beg. The Pope replied to the Cardinal that he regarded the monk as an apostate but that he would extend to him his charity if Norbert would choose a convent in a Catholic country for a permanent residence.

In a further letter the fugitive described his efforts to bring the Dutch Jansenists back to the Church.[2] Benedict replied to Cardinal Corsini that the offers made by the Jansenists did not go far enough, that Pater Norbert was not the right man for such negotiations, and that he ought to leave Holland; his association with the Jansenists there was giving scandal.[3] Further, he said, Norbert, on the strength of Corsini's letters,

parte officii testimonium eidem praebeat." The Pope desires to be informed of Carbone's reply. In Jesuit possession.

[1] " *Sarà molto lodevole l'opera e l'industria di V. S. Ill., se arriverà a far tacere i Gesuiti rispetto al libro del Padre Norberto Cappuccino. Di grazia, non accendino maggior foco e lascino alla Santa Sede la cura di mortificare i loro avversari. In voler difendersi si esporranno a tutte quelle ripartite, che con tanto buon giudizio ha V. S. Ill. posto loro in considerazione. Non è piccola disapprovazione del libro l'esiglio dato al Padre e la condannazione seguita ultimamente del medesimo libro." The Secretary of State to Durini, April 14, 1745, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, f. 151^{v}, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 289 *seq.*

[3] Benedict to Crivelli, *loc. cit.*, 514 *seq.*; to Tencin, October 16, and November 27, 1748, I., 435, 445.

had succeeded in making the Brussels nuncio believe that everything was being done in the name of the Pope, who wanted to keep in the background. Finally, he said, if the Dutch authorities had driven Pater Norbert out as an impostor, the mission would be well rid of the pest.[1]

The further vicissitudes of the wayward adventurer scarcely deserve to be mentioned in a history of the Popes. Driven out of Holland, Pater Norbert tried his fortune in England, as a director of a carpet factory,[2] negotiated with the French Minister D'Argenson for his entry into France, caused attempts to be made in Rome to bring about his reconciliation with the Church,[3] and published a further volume of his memoirs, which attacked the Jesuits even more bitterly than his previous one.[4] Probably on account of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, he left England for Germany, residing

[1] To Tencin, I., 445 ; *cf.* II., 234.

[2] HEECKEREN, II., 429 n. *Cf.* *Gualtieri to Valenti, July 8, 1754 (Nunziat. di Francia, 492, Papal Secret Archives) : "Mi è stato riferito, che il rinomato P. Norberto Cappuccino seguita a dimorare a Londra, assistendo ad una manifattura di quella città, che ha seco una nipote o sorella, ch'egli è ben veduto da quel Duca di Courbelland [Cumberland], e che mesi sono non gli fu permesso di dire la messa, com' egli voleva, nella capella di quel ministro di Toscana per mancanza di dimissorie ; e qualcuno venuto di fresco di colà mi ha detto, che non vive con gran reputazione di esatezza, talmente che a taluno si rende sospetta la sua religione." A *Letter of Norbert's to Benedict XIV., towards the end of 1750, in the antiquarian catalogue, 336, by HIERSEMANN, No. 2171.

[3] Extract from three letters from Norbert to D'Argenson (January 12, February 9, June 19, 1755) in HEECKEREN, II., 429 n. Benedict XIV. was not disinclined to grant him permission to transfer to a less strict Order (to Tencin, July 30, 1755, II., 428 *seq.*). It was about this period that Norbert wrote his *Lettre à Msgr. le Prince de . . . au sujet des guerres présentes*, Anvers, 1757. It includes a commendatory letter sent him by Benedict XIV. ; see the *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, 1930, 467 *seq.*

[4] Thus, he accuses the Jesuits of having tried to poison Tournon ; *Mém. hist. apolog.*, III., Lisbonne, 1766, 99–149

in Wolfenbüttel and Berlin, and while in Germany in 1759 he received permission from Clement XIII. to live as a secular priest.[1] After a short stay in France, he betook himself, now known as the Abbé Platel, to Portugal, in 1760, to enter the service of Pombal as a pay clerk.[2] In 1763, however, he deemed it better to return to France, where he published an enlarged edition of his memoirs. Towards the end of his life he resumed the habit of his Order but is said to have again laid it aside. In July 1769 the unhappy man died at Commercy in Lorraine.

(Angelita's account, extract in THOMAS, *Hist. de la Mission de Pékin*, Paris, 1923, 186 *seq.*). *Cf.* DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 776 *seq.*

[1] Lettera del Sign. Abate Curel Parisot detto per l'innanzi il P. Norberto, con cui indirizza all' Ordine de' Cappuccini il Breve di Clemente XIII. che gli permette passare allo stato di prete secolare, Venetia, 1760, 4. *Ibid.*, p. 12, he calls himself "consiliarius actualis ser. Ducis Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis". The permission had been obtained for him by Cardinals Passionei and Corsini. *Passionei to Foggini, July 31, 1759, Bibl. Corsini in Rome, 2054.

[2] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, Badajoz, August 29, 1760, Nunziat. di Portogallo, 117, Papal Secret Archives; DUHR, *Pombal*, 25–8. Norbert is suspected of having written the lives of St. Anne and Antichrist for which Malagrida was condemned. MURR, *Gesch.*, II., 256.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

1. Pope Benedict XIV to King John of Portugal.[1]

(*a*)

Rome, 11 April, 1744.

Ci è sempre dispiaciuto di non avere la santità del gran Leone Magno, o dell'altro gran Pontefice S. Gregorio nostri Antecessori per poter governare la chiesa e la Santa Sede nella maniera con cui essi la governarono in tempi infelici e simili ai nostri, ma ora siamo necessitati ad aggiungervi un nuovo dispiacere che è quello di non avere l'eloquenza di S. Leone e la proprietà di S. Gregorio nello scrivere perchè volentieri ce ne prevaleressimo per rendere a V. M. le dovute grazie per il generoso impegno preso da essa, ed anche dalla Maestà della regina sua consorte, appresso la regina d'Ungheria per accomodare colla sua autorevole interposizione le differenze che vertono fra la detta regina d'Ungheria e questa Santa Sede, che in verità ci sono una spina in mezzo al cuore, vedendoci oppressi senza una nostra minima colpa, e ridotti in miseria i nostri poveri sudditi senza un loro peccato veniale. Nei favori che ci comparte la M. V. non sappiamo quale sia quello che maggiormente ci rende obbligati, dovendo Noi molto valutare la prontezza nell'accudire alle nostre richieste, l'efficacia dei dispacci spediti per la regina d'Ungheria, che sono tali quali Noi stessi avressimo potuto fare componendoli per Noi, e per il Nostro affare, e la prontezza del Commendatore Sampajo suo ministro nello spedire con tutta sollecitudine un corriere a Vienna con tutte le opportune istruzioni. In tale stato di cose il miglior partito ci sembra di rendere alla M. V. cordialissime grazie d'ogni e qualunque cosa fatta per Noi in questa contingenza, riconoscendo in ciàscheduna d'esse un animo agio, un cuore pieno di affetto verso la Santa Sede e verso la Nostra persona, assicurandola che di tutto conserveremo eterna reminiscenza ; e giachè si è entrato nel punto dei ringraziamenti si contenti la M. V. che pure le rendiamo grazie delle beneficenze anche ultimamente usate verso il Commendator Sampajo, cio è della qualificazione di fidalgo,

[1] Cf. p. 102, n. 4.

della nuova Commenda e del regalo straordinario dei sei mila ducati, non potendo dissimulare il vivo interesse che ci prendiamo per ogni vantaggio del detto suo ministro, che così degnamente accoppia al dovere del ministero, e di suddito un particolare affetto alla Nostra persona, e qui intanto teneramente abbracciando la M. V. con paterno affetto le diamo l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 11 Aprilis 1744. Pontificatus Nostri Anno quarto.

[*Epist. ad. princ.* 173, 200, Papal Secret Archives.]

(*b*)

Rome, 24 October, 1744.

Il corriere arrivato giorni sono a questa città, spedito da Vostra Maestà al suo ministro il Commendatore Sampajo, ci porta una di lei lettera ripiena delle più gentili espressioni verso di Noi e di questa Santa Sede, che sarebbero capaci di accrescere la nostra stima ed il nostro affetto verso la M. V., se la nostra stima ed il nostro affetto non fossero già antecedentemente arrivati a quell'ultimo grado che non è capace d'aumento. Nella stessa lettera leggiamo la spedizione che ella fa del suo abile e valente ministro D. Sebastiano de Caravaglio a Vienna per trattare con quella corte la sospirata composizione dei nostri affari. Siamo confusi per tante grazie, siamo ripieni di riconoscenza, ci protestiamo sempre pronti a fare per V. M. quanto potremo, così esigendo le nostre obbligazioni. Non passa giorno in cui nelle Nostre benchè tiepide orazioni, e nei Nostri sacrifizi non ci ricordiamo di lei pregando il grande Iddio per la sua conservazione, che è di tanto giovamento alla Religione Cattolica, alla Santa Sede, ed a Noi. Ed intanto abbracciandola con pienezza di cuore le diamo l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 24 Octobris 1744 ; Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto.

[*Ibid.* 216.]

2. Pope Benedict XIV to Queen Elizabeth of Spain.[1]

Rome, 7 November, 1744.

L'unico giorno di consolazione, che abbiamo avuto in quattro e più anni di questo Nostro troppo scabroso Pontificato, fu quello di martedì prossimo passato 3 del corrente, in

[1] Cf. p. 109.

cui avemmo la gran sorte d'abbracciare il Re delle due Sicilie figlio di Vostra Maestà. Entrò esso a cavallo con una nobile comitiva di cinquecento persone pure a cavallo. Fu servito colle guardie de' Nostri Suizzeri e colle Nostre mute. Nelle piazze della città erano disposte le Nostre soldatesche, e dai canoni che sono nel bastione del Nostro palazzo di Monte Cavallo, nel quale abitiamo, e da quelli che sono nel castel S. Angelo fu più volte con salve reali salutato, e non mancarono per le strade le acclamazioni giulive del popolo. I primi suoi passi furono di venire a ritrovarci ; onde sempre a cavallo colla sua nobile comitiva e colle nostre guardie, vide le più belle piazze di Roma, proseguì il suo viaggio alla Basilica di S. Pietro, nel coro della quale s'abboccò col Re d'Inghilterra, e dopo aver dati segni pubblici della sua gran pietà e divozione nella Basilica, uscitone entrò nel Palazzo Vaticano, vide le cose più riguardevoli, ed ebbe la bontà di lasciarsi servire al pranzo in una camera del detto Palazzo, essendo stata pure servita nel medesimo tempo tutta la di lui corte ; dopo le quali cose immediatamente entrò in muta, si portò alla chiesa di S. Giovanni Laterano ; e susseguentemente intraprese col seguito di cinquanta persone a cavallo il viaggio per Velletri, ove felicemente giunse la stessa sera, dovendo passare la mattina seguente a Gaeta per riveder la regina moglie, e susseguentemente a Napoli, ove a quest'ora sarà certamente arrivato. Esso è stato il primo Re che sia venuto a Roma dopo l'Imperator Carlo Quinto, e benchè sia venuto in una forma d'incognito, e ci abbia in una tal qual maniera sorpresi, perchè secondo il concertato col Cardinale Acquaviva non doveva arrivare che tre giorni dopo l'arrivo degli Austriaci, siamo sicuri d'averlo trattato nello stesso modo, con cui fu trattato Carlo Quinto, e ci lusinghiamo, ch'esso sia partito contento di Noi. Fu con Noi un'ora e mezza ; e con protesta di non adulare, non essendo in verità questo mai stato il nostro costume, assicuriamo Vostra Maestà d'averlo ritrovato un Principe pio, timorato di Dio, rimesso perfettamente nelle sue mani, amante della giustizia e de' suoi sudditi, in tal maniera che avendoci descritta la sorpresa di Velletri, ed il pericolo in cui era stato, e la fiducia che ebbe nella intercessione di' Maria Vergine in quella gran congiuntura, ci mosse a tenerezza. A queste doti, che sono le più riguardevoli, altre succedono di gran pregio da Noi in esso riconosciute. Non manca il Re

assolutamente di coraggio, non manca di bella apertura di testa, di vivacità d'ingegno, d'un ottimo giudizio, essendovi stata maniera in un'ora e mezza di discorso di toccar vari tasti, entrar in diversi punti ed in questo modo riconoscere le qualità poc'anzi esposte, che non saranno riconosciute . . . o da chi non le sa ben distinguere, essendo come sono nel Re rivestite d'una eroica modestia. Compatisca Vostra Maestà la lunghezza della lettera ; avendo Noi creduto, che avressimo mancato al Nostro dovere, se non avessimo dato alla Regina Madre un distinto ragguaglio d'un Re suo figlio. Per non accrescere gl'incomodi intendiamo, che questa Nostra sia comune al Re marito e padre rispettivamente dando Noi ad ambedue con pienezza di cuore l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 7 Novembris 1744. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto.

[*Ibid.* 174, 485.]

3. Pope Benedict XIV to Emperor Charles VII.[1]

Rome, 28 November, 1744.

Abbiamo avuto continue prove della generosa compassione, con cui Vostra Maestà ha mai sempre avuta la bontà di riguardare la Nostra infelice situazione nella guerra d'Italia. Sono più di tre anni, che vediamo passeggiare in questo Nostro Principato due eserciti ; sono più di tre anni, che sentiamo le grida de'Nostri poveri sudditi innocenti, rubbati e maltrattati da chi vive colla forza, e nulla dà alla ragione ; e sono ormai più di tre anni, che l'Erario Apostolico vien gravato da sborsi e spese esorbitanti, in tal maniera che reso ormai esausto, non è più in grado di dare il conveniente mantenimento al capo della Chiesa e suoi Ministri, non che di sovvenire siccome sin ora ha fatto, ai poveri fedeli, che da tutte le parti del Mondo vengono a Roma, ed a somministrare, occorrendo ai Principi Cristiani, come tante volte è convenuto di fare, e si è fatto, somme riguardevoli, per difenderli dalle oppressioni degl'Infedeli. Quando a Noi non premesse come a Vicario di Gesù Cristo in terra, senza però verun nostro merito e come a capo visibile, benchè indegno, della sua Chiesa,

[1] Cf. p. 110, n. 3.

la Pace universale fra Principi Cristiani sopra il qual punto il grande Iddio sà se di continuo l'abbiamo pregato e fatto pregare ed attualmente preghiamo con private e pubbliche preci, non crediamo potervi essere persona così maligna nel mondo che non ce ne creda sommamente ansiosi, se non altro, pel Nostro particolare interesse ; non essendo molte settimane, che fra una porta e l'altra di questa Città di Roma abbiamo veduti accampati due eserciti nemici opposti l'uno all'altro, ma sempre però concordi nel danneggiarci ed insultarci, ed in abusarsi della Nostra neutralità disarmata. Abbiamo creduto di dover e poter fare questo sfogo, scrivendo a V. M. che essendo stata collocata da Dio nell'alta e sublime Dignità Imperiale, ed avendo nelle vene un sangue puro, netto, e non mai contaminato e sempre inclinato a pro della cattolica Religione e della Santa Sede, è vero avvocato e vero difensore dell'una e dell'altra. Scriviamo a tutti i Principi Cattolici, animandoli con ogni possibile efficacia a pensar seriamente in quest'inverno alla Pace universale ; essendoci sembrato, esser finita la passata campagna in un modo, che pronostica proseguimento di guerra nella ventura primavera per l'ultima rovina dell'Europa. Scrivendo agli altri, ci saressimo resi meritevoli di riprensione, se non avessimo anche scritto a V. M. così esigendo il sublime suo grado, così volendo il nostro sincero paterno affetto verso di Lei ; ma non così certamente esigendo il contegno della M. V., che sappiamo quanto ha fatto per dare la Pace alla Germania, Pace troppo connessa colla Pace universale. A Noi dunque altro non resta, che pregarla per le viscere di Gesù Cristo a proseguire nel far quanto potrà per la Pace, che ci protestiamo di desiderare unita con tutte le sue Imperiali convenienze. Al valore militare della M. V. già noto per tutto il mondo, se unirà, come vogliamo sperare, una Pace gloriosa, non solo lascierà ai posteri la fama d'un Imperatore, a cui nulla sarà mancato delle doti necessarie per farlo tale, ma, ciò che più importerà, si farà un gran merito appresso il Signor Iddio, che è quel beato fine, a cui dobbiamo aspirare, ed a cui sappiamo che V. M. ha diretti tutti i suoi pensieri. Ed intanto con viscere di vero padre abbracciandola diamo a V. M. ed a tutta la sua Imperiale Famiglia l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 28 Novembris 1744. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto.

[*Ibid.* 175, 10.]

4. Pope Benedict XIV to King John of Portugal.[1]

Rome, 6 June, 1744.

È ritornato da Vienna il corriere spedito dal Commendatore Sampajo, che ci ha communicato la risposta della Regina d'Ungheria a V. Maestà. Ne siamo restati molto sorpresi, riconoscendo continuarsi nell'asprezza, e ripulsa di prima, non ostante l'interposizione di un Monarca seco congiunto di sangue e di tanta importanza nel mondo cattolico, non ostante che l'armata della detta Regina, che si porta alla conquista delle due Sicilie, sia qui assistita con tale puntualità, che il Principe di Lobkovitz, che la conduce, se ne chiama molto soddisfatto, non ostante che gl'incomodi che attualmente soffrono i Nostri sudditi vicini a Roma, siano indicibili, non ostante che dopo aver questa armata preso il quartiere d'inverno tirato avanti sino a tutto Aprile nelle Legazioni di Bologna, Ferrara e Romagna, abbia avuto il coraggio di prendere da quei poveri paesi cento mila scudi il mese, non ostante che ora stando nella campagna Romana, viva per la maggior parte sui nostri generi, e su il nostro contante senza speranza di riceverne un soldo, come l'esperienza pur troppo ci ha fatto vedere, mentre essendo restato debitore l'Imperadore suo padre defunto di settecento mila scudi e più al povero Stato Pontificio per l'accantonamento che otto anni fa presero in esso le sue truppe, non si è infino ad ora veduto un minimo soldo di rimborso, anchorchè il debito fosse da esso riconosciuto ed esso ancora promettesse di pagarlo.

Ciò sia detto alla M. V. per uno sfogo della nostra disgrazia : e dopo ciò proseguendo il filo dell'affare che è sul tavoliere, essendo il Commendatore Sampajo ben pratico di tutto, non solo per essere ben informato di quanto passa, ma ancora per la piena confidenza che abbiamo nella sua persona, ci ha esso mostrato una copia del dispaccio che scrive a cotesto Segretario di Stato, in cui a capo per capo risponde ad ogni punto delle querele. Questo dispaccio è da Noi ben volentieri approvato, e preghiamo V. M. a prevalèrsi dei lumi in esso esposti, e Noi, trattandosi d'un affare di molta importanza, crediamo per una Nostra forse superflua delicatezza opportuno l'aggiungere per piena notizia del tutto a V. M^tà^ le seguenti circostanze.

Circa la promozione di Mons. Mellini, il Card. Kollonitz, che

[1] Cf. pp. 102, 106.

ne trattò con Noi in Roma, quando viveva l'Imperadore, e che con poco buona fede ha consegnate alla Regina le Nostre lettere scrittegli su tal proposito, rimproverato da Noi, risponde di non aver mai detto, nè poter dire, che gli abbiamo promesso cosa veruna, e che l'assertiva della promessa è una falsa illazione dei ministri della corte di Vienna, e non potendo Monsignor di Thunn negare, nè negando d'averci detto, che la Regina desiderava Cardinale Mons. Mellini per farlo suo ministro in Roma, quando vi fossero state per impossibile cento promesse, la predetta assertiva sarebbe stata bastante a distruggerle.

Circa il non aver Noi risposto alle lettere della Regina essa è quella che non si è degnata di rispondere alle nostre lettere, nelle quali le raccomandavamo l'indennità dei nostri poveri Stati, quando nel prossimo passato Agosto le sue truppe v'entrarono sotto il comando del Conte Maresciallo di Traun ; essa è quella che nemmeno ha risposto ai nostri Brevi, ne' quali le raccomandavamo la Religione Cattolica che va a precipizio nella Silesia.

Ma rispondendo direttamente alla querela, Sua Maestà ci scrisse, che rimetteva tutto nel re di Sardegna, informandolo del tutto. Noi non lasciammo d'aderire all'istanza, mandammo a quella corte tutte le nostre giustificazioni, e dopo avere i ministri del regno tardato più mesi ad abboccarsi col marchese d'Ormea Segretario di Stato, finalmente comparvero, dando un foglio pieno di ciarle, ed avendogli il marchese risposto, che per parte Nostra si portavano i documenti, e per parte loro non si portavano che invettive e parole, terminò tutto il trattato colla sentenza proferita dai detti ministri, che la loro corte non trattava che nella detta maniera ; per lo che la corte di Torino ci scrisse che ne lasciava l'ingerenza.

Circa alcune lettere intercettate dell'Imperadore che scriveva a Noi, non ci possiamo figurare, che siano state altre, che di ringraziamento per l'elezione seguita del duca Teodoro suo fratello in vescovo di Liegi, ed il fatto è il seguente.

Un anno prima della vacanza fece l'Imperadore istanza per il Breve d'elegibilità a pro di suo fratello, e gli fu risposto, che avevamo difficoltà a concedere simili Brevi. Essendo imminente la vacanza, la Regina d'Ungheria fece istanze per un Breve d'elegibilità a pro del vescovo d'Augusta. Per non darle occasione di nuove querele, si prese risoluzione di darlo, e nello

stesso tempo anche di darlo al fratello dell'Imperadore. Si diede contentezza di tutto il fatto non meno alla Regina che all'Imperadore. Essa s'è data per disgustata ; e l'Imperadore rispose ringraziando non meno del Breve dato a suo fratello, che dell'altro dato al vescovo d'Augusta.

Circa finalmente la lettera scritta da Noi a Mons. Galiani, il Commendatore Sampajo dice molto ben che è apocrifa, non avendo Noi mai scritta simile lettera ed essendo una compassione come la regina è mal servita da' suoi ministri, essendo questa la decima contingenza, in cui le hanno fatto scrivere d'aver nelle mani le tali e tali lettere originali, facendole poi negare di volerle produrre, quando è stata pregata di farlo.

Ecco la pura e sincera verità, che autentichiamo anche col nostro giuramento, quando ve ne sia di bisogno. Ora V. M. è instrutta del tutto : l'unica fiducia che abbiamo in questo mondo, è in lei. Vivamente dunque la preghiamo di non abbandonarci, ed a fare per Noi quanto la sua ben conosciuta prudenza saprà suggerirle. Se Noi non lo meritiamo, lo merita certamente questa povera Santa Sede bersagliata da quelli stessi, ai quali in tante occasioni ha somministrati tanti e tanti aiuti. Dopo quattro anni di tempesta desideriamo di vedere un poco di sereno, per non esser poi anche posti al cimento di dover rivoltarci agli annali della Chiesa, e prender esempio dai nostri Santi Predecessori, non meno circa la misura del sopportare, che circa il contegno da tenersi dopo che l'affare è giunto all'insopportabile. Speriamo in Dio, speriamo nella M. V. di non dover essere strascinati a questi duri cimenti : E con pienezza di cuore abbracciandola le diamo l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem die 6. Iunii 1744. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.

[*Ibid.* 173, 211.]

5. The Correspondence between Voltaire and Pope Benedict XIV.[1]

Voltaire's letter to Benedict XIV, of August 17th, 1745, and the Pope's reply, dated September 15th, 1745, are printed in Voltaire's works. The original of the letter of August 17th is in

[1] Cf. pp. 205 *seqq.*

the Papal Secret Archives but its text is quite different from that of the printed letter.[1]

Alla Santità di nostro Signore,

Parigi, 17 agosto 1745.

Beatissimo Padre, ho ricevuto co-i Sensi della piu profonda venerazione e della gratitudine piu viva, j Sacri medaglioni di quali Vostra Santita s'e degnata honorar mi. Sono degni d' el bel' Secolo de' j Traiani ed Antonini ; ed e ben' giusto che un Sovrano amato e riverito al par' di loro, habbia le sue medaglie perfettamente come le loro, lavorate ; teneva e riveriva io nel mio cabinetto una Stampa di vostra Beatitudine, sotto la quale ho preso l'ardire di scrivere

Lambertinus hic est Romae decus, et pater orbis,
Qui Scriptis mundum edocuit, virtutibus ornat.

Quella iscripzione che almeno e giusta fu il frutto della lettura che havevo fatto del libro con cui Vostra Beatitudine ha illustrata la chiesa e la letteratura ed ammiravo come il nobil fiume di tanta erudizione non fosse stato turbato dal tanto turbine degli affari.

Mi sia lecito Beatissimo padre di porgere j miei voti con tutta la cristianita, e di domandare al cielo che Vostra Santita sia tardissimamente ricevuta tra quegli Santi dei quali ella con si gran fatica e successo, ha investigato la canonizatione.

Mi conceda di bacciare umilissimamente j Sacri suoi piedi, e di domandar le col piu' profondo rispetto la Sua benedizione

Di vostra beatitudine
il devotissimo umilissimo ed obligatissimo
servitore
Voltaire

Original, with remains of the seal, in the Papal Secret Archives, *Epist. ad princ.* 239, 327. Spelling and punctuation as in the original.

The Pope's reply, which is also in the Papal Secret Archives

[1] The only point in common between the letter in the Vatican Archives and that which precedes *Mahomet* is the date, August 17th, 1745. The latter states that the author dedicates his drama to the Pope and humbly requests his protection and blessing. Tr.

and is written in the hand of the Papal Secretary, Nicola Antonelli, created Cardinal in 1757, also differs from that printed in Voltaire's works.[1]

Roma, 15 settembre 1745.

Dilecto filio Voltaire (Parisios).

Benedictus PP. XIV. Dilecte fili etc. Settimane sono il Cardinale Passionei ci presentò in di lei nome il suo bellissimo ultimo Poema. Monsig. Leprotti ci diede poscia parte del distico fatto da Lei sotto il Nostro ritratto. Ieri mattina poi il Cardinale Acquaviva ci presentò la di Lei lettera dei 17 d'Agosto. In questa serie d'azioni si contengono molti capi, per ciascheduno de' quali ci riconosciamo in obbligo di ringraziarla. Noi gli uniamo tutti assieme e rendiamo a Lei le dovute grazie per così singolare bontà verso di Noi, assicurandola, che abbiamo tutta la dovuta stima del suo applaudito valore nelle Lettere. Pubblicato il di Lei distico sopradetto, ci fu riferito esservi stato un suo paesano Letterato, che in una pubblica conversazione aveva detto, peccare in una sillaba, avendo fatta la parola *hic* breve, quando sempre deve esser lunga. In contanti rispondemmo, che sbagliava ; potendo essere la parola e breve e lunga, conforme vuole il poeta, avendola Virgilio fatta breve in quel verso : Solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labentem, avendola fatta lunga in un altro verso : Haec finis Priami, fatorum hic exitus illum sorte tulit. Ci sembra d'aver risposto bene e presto, anchorchè siano più di cinquant'anni che non abbiamo letto Virgilio. Benchè la causa sia propria della sua persona, abbiamo tanta buona idea della sua probità, che facciamo Lei stessa giudice sopra il punto della ragione a chi assista, se a Noi, o al suo oppositore. Ed intanto restiamo col dare a Lei l'Apostolica Benedizione. Datum Romae ecc.

Die 15 Septembris 1745.

Original draft, in the hand of Nicola Antonelli, *ibid.* 239, 330.

[1] The latter is dated September 19 and acknowledges the presentation of "la sua bellissima tragedia di *Mahomet*". It says that Cardinal Valenti (not Acquaviva) presented Voltaire's letter of August 17 and that Passionei presented "il suo eccellente poema di Fontenoi". Otherwise the two letters are substantially the same. Tr.

In the same archives is a second letter from Voltaire, in the original, dated October 10th, 1745. The text is as follows : [1]

Parigi, 10 ottobre 1745.

Beatissimo Padre, non vengono meglio figurate le fatezze di vostra Santita su i Suoi medaglioni, di quello che si vedono espressi lingegno, lanimo e 'l gusto suo nella lettera della quale S'e degnata donorar mi, ne porgo ai Suoi piedi le piu vive ed umilissime grazie.

Veramente sono in obligo di riconoscere la Sua infaillibilta nelle decizioni di letteratura si come ne altre cose piu riverende ; vostra Santita e piu prattica del latino che quel' critico franceze, il di cui sbaglio s'e degnata di corregere. mi maraviglio come si ha ricordato cosi appuntino del suo virgilio. tra i litterati Monarchi, i piu dotti furono sempre i sommi pontifici, ma tra loro credo che non sene trovasse mai uno u n o [sic] che adornasse tanta dottrina di tanti fregi di letteratura.

Agnosco rerum dominos gentem que togatam Se il franceze che sbagliò ne' l reprehendere questo hic, avesse tenuto a mente virgilio come fa vostra beatitudine, havrebbe potuto citare un verso (ben'addattato al presente tempo), nel quale la parola h i c e breve e longa insieme, quel bel verso mi parve un presagio dei favori a me conferiti dalla Sua beneficenza, eccolo h i c v i r h i c e s t, t i b i q u e m p r o m i t t i s e p i u s a u d i s cosi Roma doveva gridare quando fu esaltato Benedetto decimo quarto.

le baccio con ogni humilita e riconoscimento i santissimi piedi

di vostra Santita
humil^{mo} devot^{mo}
ed osseq^{mo}
Servo Voltaire

Original, *ibid.* 239, 331.

The Pope's letter to Cardinal Tencin, of February 9th, 1746 (Heeckeren, I, 246), calls for comment, principally with regard to the Brief of September 15th, 1745, in which Passionei

[1] The letter printed in Voltaire's works differs in minor details only and it is undated. Tr.

is mentioned as having presented the copy of *Mahomet.* It is doubtful that another letter was presented by Passionei along with the *Mahomet.* There is no trace of it in the archives. The words may refer to the letter of August 17th or to a letter which has been lost and whose tenor was the same as that cited by Heeckeren. The Pope may have given it away.

6. Documents Relating to the Malabar Rites.[1]

(*a*) *Attestation of the Archbishop of Cranganore.*

Ioannes [Luiz] Episcopus, Archiepiscopus electus Cranganorensis, per praesentes literas, fidem facimus, et attestamur, quatenus, iuxta iuramentum a nobis emissum ante nostram consecrationem, curavimus, an omnes Missionarii, qui nostra in Dioecesi sunt, observarent, necne, Decreta Apostolica circa Ritus Malabaricos, ad Nos misisse Missionarios iuramenta uniuscuiusque manu propria subscripta, quae cum hac nostra attestatione per manus Rm̃i D. Praepositi Generalis Societatis Iesu, Patri Nostri transmittimus, et offerimus Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, ad effectum praesentandi Ss^{mo} D^{no} N^{ro}.

Cum autem specialiter circa cuiuslibet Decreti observantiam Sanctitati suae rationem reddere necessum sit, acceptis testimoniis Catechistarum, et aliorum in Missionibus, Madurensi, et Mayssurensi nostrae Dioecesis, etiam determinate attestamur sequentia. 1. In collatione Baptismi tam pueris, quam adultis nullum Missionariorum omittere Sacramentalia, palamque adhibere salivam, salem, et insufflationem, ac in casu aliquo pronunc non uti Dispensatione. Necnon semper imponi baptisando nomen alicuius Sancti, ac nunquam nomen Idoli, vel falsi Paenitentis. Neque etiam Crucis, Sanctorum et rerum sacrarum nomina immutare, et explicare, nisi Latinae significationi liquido respondeant, vel etiam latino idiomate. Utuntur autem ab initio Missionis nomine Chaldaico, nempe " zeliva " et dicunt " xilivei " pro Cruce. Si incuria parentum infantes intra praefixum a Missionariis tempus ad ecclesiam non deferant baptisandos, illos aliqua poena afficere. 2. Matrimonia ante aetatem a Sacro Concilio Tridentino praescriptam Missionarios fieri non permittere, si quaedam, ipsis

[1] Cf. p. 461 *seqq.*

insciis, fuerint, cohabitationem prohibere, donec completa legitima aetate, et explorato consensu, in faciem ecclesiae, matrimonium validum contrahant. Christianas mulieres, reiecto priori Tally, tesseram nuptialem signo Sanctissimae Crucis ornatam, absque funiculo centum et octo filis composito, collo appendere ; si aliquod dubium circa Tally intervenerit, a Missionariis ab ingressu ecclesiae prohiberi, donec dubium cum fractione Tally deponatur. Caeremonias nuptiales superstitione maculatas, adhibita diligentia, omnino prohiberi cum assistentia alicuius Catechistae ; nec fructum vulgo Cocco, neque secreto, neque publice frangi, et a Christianorum nuptiis omnino reiectum. Si Catechista alter, circa praescriptum in aliquo deficiat, ab officio arceri. 3. Missionarios omnes, nec per se ipsos, nec per Catechistas, nec per alios quoscumque mulieribus menstruali morbo laborantibus prohibere accessum ad ecclesiam, vel ad Confessarium, vel ad Sacram Communionem, neque etiam permittere festum etc. pro prima purgatione puellis contingente sub titulo menstrui. 4. Sufficientem numerum Missionariorum pro Pareis deputatum esse, eosque eorundem domos, ubi aegrotant, petere, Sacramentisque munire. Sunt alii infimi generis homines dicti " Paler " qui in Missione Mayssurensi nullo modo se immiscent cum Pareis : fere duo millia sunt huius sortis Christiani, qui a Missionariis pro Pareis, horum ministerio utentibus, facta omni possibili diligentia, nolunt adhuc recipere Sacramenta, a Nobilium vero Missionariis prompto animo accipere statuunt ; ne illos omni spe privatos relinquere sinamus, Antecessor noster sanxit nobilium Missionarios illorum curam agere, donec Sancta Sedes, quam de hac re certiorem reddidit, aliter eorum Saluti provideat. 5. Christianos tibicines, et alios, si operam praestent in idolorum pagodis et festivitatibus, ab ecclesia expelli, donec ex corde resipiscant, et poenitentiam agant. 6. Missionarios omnes non uti lavacris, nisi ad corporis munditiem, et sanitatem, non statutis horis. 7. Christianos non uti cineribus ex vaccae stercore confectis, nec signis superstitiosis, neque Missionarios cineres benedicere, nisi feria quarta Cinerum. 8. Cura Missionariorum, Christianos fabulosos gentilium Libros non retinere, illorumque lectionem audire prohiberi.

Haec omnia ex testimoniis acceptis, quae cum veridica absque ulla formidine iudicemus, praeterquam quod, cum

etiam per nosmetipsos lingua eorum discriminatim inquirentes, post Constitutionem Ss^mi^ D^ni^ N^ri^ Benedicti XIV. quae incipit " Omnium sollicitudinum " pro tunc Visitatoris munus agentes in Missione Madurensi, atque etiam per Missionem Mayssurensem iter facientes, ita custodiri inspexerimus, et cognoverimus, in praesentiarum supradictis in Missionibus observare attestamur.

Datis Malabariae apud Nostram ecclesiam Syriacam Puttencherensem, die 4ª Novembris Anno Millesimo Septingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio. Sub nostro signo, et sigillo.

Ioannes Ep. Archiep. el. Cranganoren.
Alvarus Cardoso Secretarius.

In Jesuit possession, Goa 52 *seq.*, 264.

(*b*) *Attestation of the Jesuit Missionary Gaston Cœurdoux.*[1]

Missam a Paternitate vestra novam constitutionem " Omnium sollicitudinum " omnimoda submissione et veneratione accepimus. Optandum foret ut tandem via Episcoporum legitima, post scilicet duos annos a quibus Romae aedita fuit, ad nos perveniret. Praesens bellum, locorum distantia, difficultas itinerum his regionibus maxima, mors Episcopi Mailapurensis, obstitere quatenus nobis intimaretur ab Episcopis, quod tamen post breve tempus fiet ut aiunt, quod non impedivit quin eius executioni incumberemus, faciendo etiam plus quam iubetur, nostro more.

1º Etiam si non spectet ad hanc urbem Gallicam Pondicherry, utpote sitam extra tres celebres Missiones Carnatensem, Mayssurensem, Madurensem, sic egimus respective ad Pareas : conveniunt scilicet hic in magna Ecclesiae capella iuxta altare maius, ita ut capella illa sit pars Ecclesiae, imo et Sanctuarii. Capella illa separatur a reliqua Ecclesia mensa Communionis simplici in uno latere, ex alio clathris quibusdam ad normam mensae Communionis cum porta qua daretur transitus ex hac Capella in reliquam Ecclesiae partem, eo scilicet modo quo Cardinalis Turnonius, dum in illa domo versaretur, fieri curaverat, ut testantur eius litterae typis mandatae : haec ultima clathra eorumque portam auferri mandavi. Quae licet paulatim facta sint, non leve tamen damnum secutum est, defectio

[1] For Coeurdoux *cf.* MAX MÜLLER, *Die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, I, Leipzig, 1892, 209 *seq.*

catechumenorum, Christianorum Xutrum Rebellio, conventus, absentia ab Ecclesia, aliaque innumera scandala, quibus mederi non potuerunt nec exhortationes nostrae et preces, nec minae nec ipsa Gubernatoris authoritas, a quo, me insinuante, praecipui tumultus authores in carcerem missi sunt. Pacati tamen sunt animi post duos menses, hac unica de causa quod Parei ex seipsis, semper ut antea, in locum sibi destinatum convenirent, si paucos excipias, idque tum ex consuetudine tum ut gratum facerent nobilioribus quorum auxilio, protectione, eleemosinis indigent. Hoc autem unum Xutros exasperat, quod a Gentibus tum consanguineis, tum superioribus sibi, quorum ope perpetuo indigent, exprobraretur, Christianos a legibus paternis, a patria, a casta sive tribu defecisse, factos esse Pareas, atque sic habendos esse in usu vitae civilis, et reipsa sic haberentur. Numerus autem illorum Xutrorum istius Parochiae accedere videtur ad quatuor millia. Res autem nota est, in ista Francide [?] Ecclesia prae caeteris istius orae, vigere pietatem morumque innocentiam, et caeteris afferri in exemplum. Verum suarum legum, consuetudinum, nobilitatisque tenaces sunt, ut nos nostrarum. Debuissem, inquiet Paternitas vestra, expectare publicationem ab Ordinario faciendam ! Tales moras non passa est obedientia nostra, cum autem ex se ipsis Parei in locum sibi a Cardinale Turnonio destinatum conveniant et a nullo arceantur ab Ecclesiae caeteris partibus, id tamen adhuc displicet invidis : quapropter facta dicta publicatione rem omnem vicario Generali dioecesis (mortuus est enim Episcopus) exponam fuse, et quidquid ille iusserit, mandabitur executioni ; sive iubeat ut absque levissima separatione, omnes promiscue sedeant, sive iubeat, ut vel in urbe Gallica ad normam ultimi decreti, aliquis specialiter procurandis Pareis destinetur. Ab aemulis autem scribetur Romam supradictum scandalum nobis authoribus secretoque procurantibus ortum fuisse : verum procul dubio tacebunt se mendacii et calumniae in faciem convictos fuisse.

2° Quod spectat ad Missionem, scripsi olim eam esse bipartitam, partem a lingua Tamulicam dici, aliam ultra montes positam, dici Telougou a linguae nomine. In priori parte plurimi sunt Pareas ; in altera rari. Ut igitur executioni mandaretur nova constitutio, etiam ante eius tum promulgationem tum intimationem faciendam ab Episcopis (quod

tamen in posterum non fiet si nova supervenirent mandata) convenimus quotquot aderant patres ; lecta et relecta attente quae de novo iubentur circa Pareas ; praecipue deliberatum de modo quo facilius et absque tumultu et scandalo res posset fieri : in hoc consilium plurimi devenere, caeteris minus probantibus, ut scilicet duo simul iungerentur Missionarii ; unus qui Xutris, alter qui Pareis operam daret, uterque Missionarius eadem domo et mensa uteretur, alter in solito templo functiones suas exerceret, alter idem praestaret pro Pareis in alio loco iis solis destinato et in Ecclesiam converso. Tentatum est, verum nondum absoluta media parte visitationis Tamulicarum Ecclesiarum, revocandi fuerunt Missionarii duo ad hanc visitationem deputati ob inconvenientia et incommoda prius [?] agendae rationis. Supersedimus igitur per aliquod tempus, sperantes, nobis ab Episcopis locorum tutam nobis certamque viam ostendendam esse, qua inoffenso pede incederemus. Cum autem nondum ad Episcopatum Mailapurensem nova pervenerit Constitutio, iterum a nobis initum consilium novusque initus agendi modus. Tres erant Xutris destinati Missionarii iuxta novum systema. Missionarii in regione Tamulica, duo Pareis destinati, quorum unus dictus P. Ioannes Bapt. Martin, alter Ioannes Pelissier, imo et tertius addetur fortasse prout aderunt tum pecuniae, tum Missionarii. Iuxta novum systema Missionariis quibusque suus locus, suae domus, suae Ecclesiae separatae. Difficultas maxima, ex superbis et inimicis Gentilibus aut Mahometanis nova loca ad novas Ecclesias, praecipue Pareis aedificandas, obtinere : res enim illis videtur ridicula et mala. Hinc ex una parte optima Ecclesiarum Pareis concessa, obtenta prius Gentilis Principis facultate non nisi difficultate et probris, alibique aedificata Ecclesia pro Xutris. In quibusdam locis facultas omnino denegata, in alio concessa, alibi concessa et postea revocata : sic non sine angustiis et difficultatibus undique exurgentibus nova mandata exequimur, fidentes, tum Summi Pontificis precibus tum Paternitatis Vestrae totiusque Societatis. Spes est, antequam annus integer elabatur, opus consummandum esse. Verum de illius stabilitate, eiusque ad faciliorem populorum conversionem utilitate sponsor nolim esse. Iubemur, obtemperamus, hoc nobis sufficiat, imo plus quam iubemur, praestamus pro nostro more. Praeterquam quod enim duo supra appellati Missionarii domos publice

Pareorum ingrediantur etc., statutum est idem etiam praestandum ab aliis, qui Xutris solis destinati sunt, quando Parei aegrotarent graviter et abesset Missionarius Pareorum. Quod tamen praestabunt quando aliter fieri non possit absque aegrotantis incommodo, idque secreto, si fieri possit, publice autem, si aliter fieri non possit : tandem si aliquoties sacramenta administranda essent Pareis ad Ecclesiam Christianorum accedentibus, iussum est, ut iuxta Sanctuarium brevis aliqua Capella construatur, ubi supradicti Parei recipiant sacramenta vel in Xutrorum Ecclesia, idque factum inhaerendo vestigiis Cardinalis Turnonii, ut supra dictum est.

Talia autem nec tanta praescribit nova constitutio. Haec de Missione Tamulica sola intelligenda.

3° Nunc sermo sit de regione dicta Telougou. Vix ad illam spectant nova de Pareis mandata ; ratio est, quia Parei vel etiam Gentiles rari sunt in dicta regione, in una Ecclesia duo, in alia quatuor, in alia viginti, in plerisque ne unus quidem, idque in plerisque locis absque spe novos ad fidem convertendi. Vanum igitur, imo malum foret, eiusmodi paucissimis hominibus peculiares Missionarios destinare. Verum hic etiam plus quam iubet Summus Pontifex quodque summe expectat faciemus. In eodem templo coniungentur cum Christianis nobilioribus, eodem, quo supra diximus, modo iussum et factum [1] a Cardinale ipso Turnonio. Sacramenta autem iisdem graviter aegrotantibus Pareis administrabuntur a Christianorum Missionariis in Pareorum domibus quando necessitas id exiget, fietque secreto, si potest, et publice, si non potest. Speramusque tum ex divina bonitate tum ex eo quod tam despecti non sint in dicta regione Parei, quam in aliis regionibus, nullam inde eventuram persecutionem. Verum fateri necesse est, non parum et a nobis et a religione alienos fieri Gentiles ubique, dum mores et leges regionis a nobis tam parvi fieri intelligunt. Hinc etiam intelliget Paternitas Vestra, quam difficile sit Romae statuere leges universas pro totis Indiis, cum regio sit vasta moresque diversi et diversae linguae.

4° De usu salivae in Baptismo : fere omnibus administratur istud sacramentale, et post breve tempus omnibus administrabitur. Claram petiere responsionem Episcopi, advenit, sufficit. Si inde probra in religionem recidant, indeque Gentilibus

[1] Read : iusso et facto ?

ridicula et immunda videatur, ut quibusdam in locis fieri coepta est ista occasione, eademque occasione si catechumenorum numerus minuatur, iam ad nos non pertinet. Metus autem iniectus Romae ne forte neophyti haberent salivam tanquam materiam ineptam Sacramentali baptismi, nullo modo nos afficit, scientes istorum hominum fidem et ingenium ; talem cogitationem cuiquam illorum menti inhaerere ne levis quidem nobis suspicandi locus est.

Horrorem salivae ab illorum animis eripere in baptismi administratione, iniungitur : res est confecta iam diu, si, quando agitur in nova constitutione de ista materia, haec verba "Gentes", "Populi" de neophitis intelligantur, ut credibile est. Si autem, quod non videtur, intelligantur de ipsis etiam gentilibus, fateor hoc et Missionariorum omnium vires et meas superare, nec a nobis nec decem nec viginti annorum spatio praestandum tale prodigium. Eodem iure nobis iniungeretur, ut omnes isti ethnici decem annorum spatio a nobis ad fidem convertantur.

5º Iamvero venio ad accusationes contra nos intentatas. 1ª est superbiae, qua tumentes veriti sumus, ignobilium casas subire. Tantamne in Italis Jesuitis experiuntur Romae, ut idem de Gallis istis crederent nobisque publice exprobraretur ? di istis superbis haec pauca accipiat Paternitas vestra. *a*) Qui heri cum Brachmanibus aliisque regionis nobilioribus versabatur familiariter, cras ad oram maritimam accedens adit Pareos, subit illorum domos, hortatur, administrat sacramento etc. *b*) Novis auditis mandatis, ut scilicet specialiter deputarentur aliqui Pareis procurandis, non solum omnes qui aderant verbo, et qui aberant scripto se ad id munus obtulere, sed orta etiam contentio, illo aetatem, isto vires, alio aliam afferente rationem ut caeteris in hoc munere praeferretur. *c*) Longe maior pars Christianorum in missione Tamulica est ex gente Pareorum licet a dominis eorum Gentilibus ex aliis causis magnae difficultates sese opponant illorum ad fidem conversioni. *d*) Quam multae aliae fiunt impensae tum pro Pareorum pauperrimorum sustentatione, tum pro educandis alendisque plurimis catechistis allorum tum conversioni, tum conversorum instructioni destinatis ? in hoc Pondicherii brevi territorio septem a nobis aluntur. *e*) Quoties evenit ut ad duos vel tres dies itineris pergerent Missionarii ut aegrotis sacramenta ministrarent. Haec sunt nostrae superbiae signa, hic est noster

gentis Pareorum contemptus. Quod autem Christianos minus bene affici videantur erga Pareos, hoc unum dicam : utinam in Europa servi a Dominis, plebeii a proceribus, ruricolae a nobilibus tam bene tractarentur quam illi ab illis ! Hic ut in Europa variis inter se gradibus distinguuntur homines.

6º Tria alia sunt, quae ut vera non afferuntur a Summo Pontifice, sed quae sibi ab aliis Missionariis scripta sunt, ut fert nova constitutio p. 41. Factum bene, quod iam non possimus accusari nisi evidentibus calumniis. Prodeant si audent e tenebris, qui affirmarunt, Mulieres quodam morbo laborantes et a templo et a sacramentis a nobis arceri : dicant a quo, cui mulieri, quo in loco istud evenerit. Non facient certe sordidi simul et impudentissimi calumniatores illi : nos vero quotquot sumus, parati sumus contrarium iuramento affirmare. Idem dicendum de fructu Coco, quem ad vana auguria sumenda frangere dicuntur Christiani nostri matrimonii tempore. Ubi etiam sic factum fuerit ab istis Christianis, dicant illi et probent. Ego vero paratus sum etiam iuramento affirmare me quindecim annorum spatio non modo id permissum aut toleratum a Missionariis, sed etiam a Christianis ipsis patratum ne semel quidem, investigatione facta, audivisse aut deprehendisse. Et hoc igitur putidum est commentum. Quod autem etiam delatum est, nos permittere Christianis mulieribus gestationem Taly a Cardinale Turnonio prohibiti : haec calumnia olim coram loci Ordinario intentata et ab eodem publice lata sententia diluta est anno 1712. Qua fronte iterum renovatur ? Nedum permittamus monile illud, si deprehendatur aliqua mulier cum dicta tessera nuptiali, illi eripitur, alio modo fieri curatur vel nostris impensis, ne se paupertatis titulo excusent, fitque iuxta typum ab ipso Cardinale Turnonio datum. Adde et estud factum : occasione istius accusationis duobus Missionariis praecepi, ut disquisitionem facerent circa Taly. Inter octo millia Christianorum quot repertae sunt tesserae reficiendae, quae certe Matrimonii die datae non fuerant ? duae tantum. Certe si in tali numero tot in adulterium aut idolatriam ipsam incidisse deprehenderentur, num Missionariorum vitio merito vertatur ? Porro etiam si de Missionariis Gallis Carnatensibus tantum loquar, utpote mihi subiectis, iudicari potest alios Missionarios esse ab illis calumniis immunes. Nos enim sumus, nos inquam Galli, quos praecipue impetunt plures Norberti : nam inter adversarios

nostros alii adhuc reperiuntur libellorum calumniosorum artifices.

7° Minae autem intentatae, nos scilicet post certum tempus Europam revocandos, parum afficiunt plerosque Missionarios plurimum affectos taedio erga Missionem, et in ea precibus retinendos. Absque tumultu igitur relinquetur, si necessitas aliquando incubuerit. Verum Missiones istae fundatorem habent Regem Christianissimum, illiusque liberalitate sustententur Missionarii; utrum illo inscio tunc deserendae sint necne, monebit Paternitas Vestra, tunc enim silere aut loqui par videtur esse periculum. Derelictis autem Missionibus tribus Indicis num etiam Goa a Lusitanis aut ista urbs Gallica Pondicherri, aliaeque coloniae Gallicae, ubi more Europeo vivimus, ubi litteris patentibus regiis id praecipiendibus domos Ecclesiasque aedificavimus, ubi ex eiusdem Regis nominatione Parochias administramus, an inquam ista omnia statim derelinquenda Europaque repetenda? hoc enim non leves difficultates patitur. Si casus, evenerit, Paternitati Vestrae incumbit rebus omnibus rite perpensis monere quid a nobis agendum.

8° Quod autem spectat ad usus indicos hoc de me possum praedicare, me erga illos severiorem esse quam laxiorem. Hinc *a*) etiam ante ultimae constitutionis adventum nonnullae disquisitiones a me factae sunt et reformationes; *b*) in rebus a decretis praescriptis plura a nobis quam ab illis prohibentur, nec utimur facultatibus nonnullis ab iisdem decretis concessis; *c*) plura tum a meis praedecessoribus reformata et a me, quam a decretis quibuscunque, meaque vel ab ipsis adversariis laudata est ut aiunt vigilantia. Num tandem silebunt illi aut calumniari cessabunt? Non certe: testis est novus, qui manuscriptus hic prodiit, libellus, tum in me, tum in Missionarios, tum in ipsam Societatem, quem libellum tribunal saeculare a tortore publico lacerari et flammis dari iussit edicto, ut reipsa factum est. Adeo pessimus et calumniosus visus est vel saecularibus ipsis, cuius auctor eiusdem instituti ac famosus Norbertus. Quid effutiisse iudicandus est, nisi quod a suis fratribus centies audierat, eo quo est ingenio praeditus? Caeteri isto minus stulti ac pariter affecti, non publice, ut ille, sed consultius secreto calumniantur ut olim ipsis asserentibus, etiamsi cygnis candidiores corvis ipsis nigriores iudicabimur. Quod sane satis lubenter tolerandum foret, nisi ipse Summus Pontifex erga nos male affectus foret,

aut si superbia aliaque eiusmodi exprobrarentur. Verum dum satis clare publica constitutione tanquam refractarii arguimur aut etiam ut idololatriae fautores, ne dicam ut idololatrae, tunc silere aequumne esset, an non potius scandalosum ? Dicam igitur vel coram Summo Pontifice tria in nos impacta et imposita in quibus etiamnum parum dicto audientes pronuntiamur decretis Apostolicis. Asserunt illi, nos negamus. Quibus credendum ? credatur probationibus ; illas igitur praeferant, detur responsionibus locus, plectamur si rei sumus, si minus, in aeternum obturentur ora loquentium iniqua. Quamdiu nos, qui reipsa portamus pondus diei et aestus, gravius increpabimur, dum indulgetur diem integrum stertentibus ? Si Missionarii sunt, ex operibus probent ; fuci mel apum comedere norunt, conficere non norunt. Habemus quandam Ecclesiam dictam Pinnepondy a loci nomine : in quodam alio loco dicto Alamparre a supradicta Ecclesia septem leucas distante RR. PP. Capucini novam Ecclesiam aedificant, licet cautum sit, ne in tanta vicinia alterius ordinis Missionarii sedem figant. Videmus et silemus ; licet satis praevideamus nostros Christianos ad dictam Ecclesiam advocandos, indeque novis dissidiis locum dandum esse postea. Ex quibus omnibus plane intelliget Paternitas Vestra, quantum Societatis integrae precum subsidio indigeamus, quibus, et praecipue Paternitatis Vestrae SS. SS. me et omnes Missionarios Carnatenses commendo

Pondicherrii 20 oct. 1746.

Paternitatis Vestrae
Humillimus et obsequentissimus Servus
Gasto Laurentius Cœurdoux.

In Jesuit possession, Goa 52 *seq.*, 201 *seqq.*

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOLUME XXXV

Acquaviva, Cardinal Francesco, 6, 8, 12, 15, 17, 21, 43, 51–3, 58–9, 61–2, 77–8, 87, 109, 120, 175, 206.
Acquaviva, Rudolph [Blessed], 320.
Acri, Angelo d' [Blessed], 306 n.
Agemi, Anna (Lebanese visionary), 398–400.
Agnesi, Maria Gaetana (mathematician), 192.
Agreda, Maria of, 317.
Aguero, Juan Vazquez de, 414.
Aguesseau, d' (French Chancellor), 239.
Aguirre, Cardinal, 317.
Albani, Cardinal Alessandro, 7–8, 48, 105, 112, 121–2, 125.
Albani, Cardinal Annibale (Cardinal Camerlengo), 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14 n., 15, 17–20, 87, 90, 145, 297, 394.
Albani, Cardinal Gian Francesco, 339.
Albergati, Niccolò d' [Blessed], 163, 315.
Alberoni, Cardinal Giulio (legate at Bologna), 43.
Alberti, Leandro, 198.
Aldovrandi, Cardinal Pompeo, 9, 14–15, 17–21, 42, 45, 52–3, 76, 90, 142.
Aldunate, Bartolomé de, Governor of Paraguay, 415–16.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 4, 223.
Alexandre, Noël, 359.
Algarotti, Count Francesco, 209.
Almeida, Cardinal Tommaso di, 4 n.
Altamirano, Luis (Jesuit), 418.
Altemps, Duke Giovanni Angelo, 223.
Altieri, Cardinal Giambattista, 4 n., 14.
Altieri, Cardinal Lorenzo, 4 n.
Alvaro of Cordova [Blessed], 316.
Amadori, Cardinal, 163.
Amanni, Marcolino [Bl.], 316.
Amato, Gaetano (Secretary of the Briefs), 43 n.
Amort, Eusebius August, 211, 317, 377.
Andrade, Gomez Freire de (Governor of Rio de Janeiro), 420.
Antonelli, Niccolò, Cardinal, 183.
Antonius, Alexius (Jesuit, Rector of Pará), 421.
Appiani (missionary in China), 437.
Aranda, Count, 374.
Archinto, Cardinal Alberico (Secretary of State), 46–7, 276, 278, 343, 346.
Ardzivian, Abraham (Archbishop of Aleppo), 401–2.
Argenvilliers, Cardinal Clemente (Uditore), 45, 142, 189, 343–4.
Assemani, Joseph Aloisius, 184, 186.
Assemani, Joseph Simonius, 11, 184, 186, 225.
Assemani, Stephen Evodius, 225.
Atalaia, Cardinal José Manuel d' (Archbishop of Lisbon), 339.
Attar-Muradian (Armenian monk), 402.
Atti, Ugo degli [Blessed], 315.
Augustus (King of Poland and Elector of Saxony), *see* Frederick Augustus II.

Avad, Simon (Maronite Archbishop of Damascus), 397–9.
Ávila, Juan de (Apostle of Andalusia), 319.
Avvocati, V. M., 195 n.
Azevedo, Emanuel de (Jesuit), 184, 311.
Azevedo, Ignatius de [Blessed], 320.
Azua, Pedro Felipe de (Suffragan Bishop of Concepción), 426.
Azzolini, Cardinal Decio, 391 n.

Bakafa (Negus of Abyssinia), 396.
Baldani, Antonio (Papal chaplain), 146, 183.
Baldini, Gian Francesco (Somaschan), 184.
Ballerini, Girolamo, 186.
Ballerini, Pietro, 186.
Banchieri, Cardinal Gian Francesco, 343.
Bandel, Joseph Anton von (Professor of law, Constance), 210.
Bandini, A. M., 195 n.
Barbarigo, Cardinal, 391.
Barbarigo, Luca (envoy to Santorin), 406.
Barberini, Bonaventura (Capuchin, Archbishop of Ferrara), 305, 324.
Barchman (Jansenist bishop), 288.
Bardi, Cardinal Girolamo, 337.
Baretta (Jesuit), 423.
Barigioni, Filippo, 166.
Barni, Cardinal, 46 n., 60.
Barral, Jean S. de (Bishop of Castres), 261.
Barthel, Johann Kaspar (Professor of Canon Law), 356.
Bartuska, Anton (Franciscan missionary), 406.
Barua, 415–16.
Bassi, Canon, 377–8.
Bassi, Laura Caterina (philosopher), 192.
Batoni (painter), 167, 181.
Beaumont de Répayre, Christophe de (Archbishop of Paris), 236, 238–249, 258, 277–8, 282, 285, 287, 360, 428.
Beccari, B., 30, 195 n.
Bellarmine, Cardinal [St.] Robert, 43, 217, 320–2.
Bellelli (Augustinian), 235, 363.
Bellori, 175.
Belluga, Cardinal Luis, 59, 60, 333.
Belsunce (Archbishop of Marseilles), 205, 226.
Benaglia, Fr. (writer), 204.
Benedict "the Moor" [St.], 316.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 4, 7, 28, 43, 50, 73, 134, 312.
Benedict XIV. (Prospero Lambertini), *passim* 9–476.
Bennetat, Edmund (Vicar Coadjutor of Cochin China), 431–2.
Bentivoglio, Count Luigi, 23.
Bentivoglio, Marchese Camillo Caprara, 109.
Bentivoglio, Mart. Cornelio, Cardinal, 10.
Benvenuti (Jesuit), 380.
Benzi, Bernardino, 349–350.
Berchmans, John [St.], 320.
Berger de Charancy (Bishop of Montpellier), 226, 230.
Bernardini, Count Bernardino (Prior of the Caporioni), 145.
Bernardo of Naples, 224.
Berni, Cardinal Giambattista, 334.
Bernis, Cardinal, 287.
Berruyer, Isaac Joseph (French Jesuit), 359–362.
Berti, Lorenzo (Augustinian), 184, 233–5, 352, 363.
Besozzi, Cardinal Gioacchino, 174 n., 266, 302, 336.

Besozzi, Raimondo (Cistercian, Abbot of S. Croce), 162.
Bettinelli (publisher), 391.
Bianchi, Pietro (Minorite), 184.
Bianchi, Pietro (painter), 165.
Bianchini, Francesco (archæologist), 203, 219.
Bianchini, Giuseppe (Oratorian), 149, 183, 196–7, 221.
Bijlevelt, Bartholomaeus Johannes (Jansenist Bishop of Deventer), 288.
Bobola, Andrew [St.], 316, 320.
Boccage, Madame du, 384.
Boccapaduli, Teodoro (Elemosiniere), 42.
Bock, Hieronymus de (Jansenist Bishop of Haarlem), 288–9.
Bolaños, Archbishop, 372.
Boldetti, Marcantonio, 219.
Bolognetti, Cardinal Mario (Tesoriere), 42, 337.
Bona, Cardinal Francesco Girolamo, 376 n., 403.
Bona (Regular Cleric), 326 n.
Bonavisa, Paolo (Bishop of Spoleto), 331.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 192.
Bonifaz, Manuel Quintano (Grand Inquisitor), 369.
Borghese, Cardinal, 96 n.
Borromei, Cardinal Alessio Gilberto, 3.
Bortoli, G. B., 195 n.
Boscovich, Ruggero I. (Jesuit, mathematician), 44–5, 164, 190–1.
Bossu, Arnolph (Lazarist missionary), 427.
Bottari, Giovanni Gaetano (archæologist), 39, 182, 184, 220–1.
Bottari, Guido, 178, 180, 386, 387, 390.
Bouettin, Père, 240, 242–4, 248.
Bouget (philologist), 39.
Boussu (Archbishop of Malines), 282.
Boyer, Jean François (Theatine, Bishop of Mirepoix), 229, 231–2, 254, 321.
Bracci, Pietro (sculptor), 34 n., 158–9, 166, 181.
Brancas (Bishop of Aix), 236.
Brandolini (Jesuit), 464.
Braschi, Gianangelo (later Pius VI.), 57.
Brito, John de [Blessed], 320.
Broedersen, Nikolaus (Dean of Utrecht), 290–1.
Brosses, President Charles de, 20 n., 40 n., 171.
Brühl (Saxon minister), 113, 310.
Budrioli (Jesuit), 310.
Bufalini, Leonardo (topographer), 146.
Bulgarini, Lucrezia (mother of Benedict XIV.), 23.
Buonamici, 184.
Buonaroti, Filippo (Florentine senator), 219.
Burali, Paolo [Blessed], 316.
Bus, César de (founder of Doctrinarians), 232.
Buttari, Prospero (Oratorian), 390

Caissoti, Count (President of senate in Turin), 49.
Calasanza, Giuseppe da [St.], 314.
Calcagnini, Cardinal Carlo Leopoldo, 335.
Camillus de Lellis, St., 313.
Campomanes, Pedro Rodriguez (Fiscal of the Council of Castile), 374.
Canillac (French ambassador to Rome), 114 n., 208, 229, 338, 472.
Capponi (Maggiordomo), 43 n.
Capponi, Marchese Antonio Gregorio (antiquarian), 223.
Caprara, Cardinal Alessandro (Auditor of Rota), 24, 312.

Caracciolo, Cardinal Giovanni Costanzio, 336 n.
Carafa, Cardinal Pier Luigi, 19, 394.
Carafa, Giovanni (Professor of Church history), 190.
Carasco (Jesuit), 365 n.
Caravita (Jesuit), 310.
Carli, Tommaso (Jesuit), 326 n.
Carlo Emanuele III., *see* Emanuele III.
Carlo Maria da Perugia (Franciscan), 471.
Carlos III., King of Spain, 421.
Carpegna, Cardinal Gaspare, 219.
Carpi, Cardinal Pio da, 179.
Carrara, Bartolomeo (Theatine, biographer of Paul IV.), 185.
Carrieri, Matteo [Blessed], 316.
Carvajal (Spanish minister), 351, 419.
Carvalho e Melho, Marquis Sebastião José de, *see* Pombal.
Casabasciana, Desiderio da, 398–9.
Casalini, Pier Maria da, 236 n.
Casalius, Lucas, 317.
Casanata, Cardinal Gir., 391 n.
Casani (Jesuit), 365 n.
Casimir of Nieswitz, Duke, 395.
Castellini (Jesuit), 350.
Castorano, Carlo Orazio of (Franciscan), 443.
Caterina de' Ricci, St., 313–14.
Catherine (Vigri) of Bologna, St., 23, 25, 312.
Cattaneo, G. de, 195 n.
Cavalchini, Cardinal Carlo Alberto Guidoboni, 335–6.
Caylus (Bishop of Auxerre), 352–3.
Ceballos, Pedro (general of troops in Paraguay), 420.
Ceillier, Remy (Benedictine), 205.
Celaya, Thomas (Jesuit missionary), 467.
Cenci, Cardinal Serafino, 4 n., 15, 16.
Cenni, Gaetano, 184.
Ceredano, Pacifico da [Blessed], 316.
Certain, Abbé (secretary to Duke St.-Aignan), 32.
Champflour (Bishop of Mirepoix), 351.
Chantal, Jeanne Françoise de [St.], 314.
Charles III., King of Naples, 52, 54–5, 57, 104, 107–9, 176, 373.
Charles VI., Emperor, 10–11, 19, 76, 90, 95.
Charles VII., Emperor, 88–90, 93, 95–100, 110, 112.
Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria (later Charles VII., Emperor, q.v.), 76, 81, 84, 86.
Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine and of Bavaria, 116, 135.
Chelucci, P., 195 n.
Chiavasso, Angelo da [Blessed], 316.
Chiesa, Bernardino della, Bishop of Peking, 438.
Chigi, Cardinal Flavio, 343.
Chionio, Professor, 51.
Chizzola, Leonardo (Jesuit), 303.
Choiseul, Duke of, 262, 265, 267–281, 287, 321, 345.
Christina, Queen of Sweden, 166, 223.
Ciampini, 183.
Cibo, Cardinal Camillo, 19.
Clément, Augustin, 286 n.
Clement VIII., Pope, 43.
Clement X., Pope, 171, 473.
Clement XI., Pope, 4, 7, 27, 43, 90, 94, 134, 171, 312, 443.
Clement XII., Pope, 1, 7, 29, 31–2, 43, 48, 54, 57, 134, 158, 163, 166, 173, 178, 220, 312, 366, 372, 434.

Clement XIII., 379, 476.
Clement Augustus, Elector of Cologne, 80, 98, 116.
Cœurdoux, Gaston Laurent (Jesuit superintendent in South India), 466, 492.
Coffin, Charles (Jansenist), 240–1.
Coletta [St.], 315.
Colonia, Dominique de (Jesuit), 235, 350–1, 364.
Colonna, Cardinal Ascanio, 223.
Colonna, Cardinal Girolamo (Maggiordomo), 42, 182, 337.
Colonna, Lorenzo (Gran Conestabile), 183.
Colonna di Savoia, Cardinal Prospero, 333.
Colonna di Sciarra, Cardinal Prospero (Maestro di Camera), 42, 337.
Combes (Superior of Paris Missionary Seminary), 454 n.
Concina, Daniele (Dominican), 200–2, 350.
Condorcet (Bishop of Auxerre). 258, 278 n., 282.
Contucci (Jesuit), 145, 184.
Copertino, Joseph of [St.], 314.
Cordara, 310, 353, 379, 386.
Cori, Cardinal Marcellino, 15.
Cornaro, Flaminio (Venetian senator), 195.
Corradini, Cardinal Pietro Marcellino, 9, 11, 18, 53, 90.
Corsini, Agostino (sculptor), 158.
Corsini, Cardinal Neri, 7, 8, 10, 13–15, 17–20, 41, 90, 290–1, 321, 347, 354, 390, 472–3.
Corsini, Ed., 195 n.
Coscia, Cardinal Niccolò, 4–5, 41, 73, 144.
Costa, Hilarius a Jesu (Vicar Apostolic of East Tongking), 431, 461.
Cougniou (Canon of Orleans), 256.
Cravo, Lucas da Costa (Vicar-General of Meliapur), 468.
Crescentia of Kaufbeuren, 316–17.
Crescenzi, Cardinal Marcello, 46 n., 334–5.
Crespi, Giuseppe Maria (painter), 181.
Crispino of Viterbo [Blessed], 306 n.
Crivelli, Ignazio (nuncio in Brussels), 290–1.
Croon, Theodore van der (Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht), 288.
Cruz, Theodore da (Jesuit missionary), 422.
Cuneo, Carlo Innocenzo da (Franciscan), 400.
Cunha, Cardinal de Atay de Nuno da, 4 n.
Cyril VI. Tanas (Greek Melchite Patriarch of Antioch), 400–1.

Damian a Leone (Capuchin missionary), 403.
Damiens, Robert François, 285.
Danei, Paolo, *see* Paul of the Cross.
Danzetta, F., 195 n.
Davia, Cardinal, 3, 166.
Delfino, Cardinal Daniel (Patriarch of Aquileia), 339–340.
Denha, Elias (Chaldean patriarch), 404.
Doria, Cardinal Giorgio, 79–84, 89, 97, 99, 100, 116, 334–5.
Doria, Cardinal Sinibaldo, 46 n., 47 n.
Dugad, Louis Marie (Jesuit missionary), 453.
Duhamel (Jesuit), 360.
Durini, Cardinal Carlo Francesco (nuncio in Paris), 113, 115, 237, 247, 253, 264, 338, 342, 473.
Durup, Rajah, 429.

ELCE, Cardinal Scipione d', 15, 16, 267.
Elizabeth of Portugal, St., 314.
Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, 76, 109, 126, 130.
El-Khazen, Joseph (Maronite patriarch), 397.
El-Khazen, Tobias (Maronite Archbishop of Cyprus), 397, 400.
Emanuele III., King of Sardinia, 48–9, 107, 135, 339, 341, 344.
Enriquez, Cardinal Enrico (nuncio at Madrid), 60–1, 63, 65, 72, 322, 342.
Ensenada, Marquis de la (Spanish minister), 68.
Esser, Thomas, O.P., 237.
Estouteville, Cardinal, 158.
Eugene III., Pope, 157.
Eugenio da Bassano (Franciscan missionary), 435.
Eva, Gabriel (Maronite Archbishop of Cyprus), 396.

FARNESE, Cardinal Alessandro, 175.
Fassani, Francesco Antonio, 324.
Faure (Jesuit), 184, 350, 353–4.
Federich, Gil [Blessed] (Dominican martyr), 460.
Felix of Assori (Capuchin, pro-Vicar of Tunis), 428.
Felix of Bologna (Capuchin), 408 n.
Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe (Archbishop of Cambrai), 385.
Ferdinand VI. (King of Spain), 66, 69, 71–2, 75, 368, 374, 416, 418, 421.
Fernandez, Michael (missionary), 465.
Fernandez de Cordova, Cardinal Luis, 345.
Ferrari, Tommaso (Dominican), 24, 306.
Ferrere, Francesco Maria da (Franciscan), 436.
Ferretti, Gabriel [Blessed], 316.
Ficoroni, Francesco (antiquary), 219.
Fidelis of Sigmaringen, St., 313.
Figueroa, Manuel Ventura (auditor of Rota), 68–9.
Firrao, Cardinal Giuseppe, 9, 15, 16.
Fitzjames (Bishop of Soissons), 226.
Fleury, Cardinal André Hercule, 4 n., 5, 81, 89, 91, 227, 230–1.
Fleury, Joly de, 361.
Foggini, Niccolò, 178, 354.
Foggini, Pier Francesco, 178, 387, 390.
Folch de Cardona, Francisco de Solis (Archbishop of Seville), 345–6.
Fonseca, Antonio, 185.
Fonseca (Jesuit missionary), 421.
Fontenilles, A. R. de (Bishop of Meaux), 279.
Forgách de Ghymes (Bishop of Oradea Mare), 409.
Foscarini, Marco (Venetian ambassador), 33, 41 n., 144, 204.
Fouchet (missionary in China), 224.
Fouquet (Jesuit), 436–7.
Franceschi, Angelo de' (Visitor to Malabar missions), 467.
Francesco da Iesi (Vicar-General of Capuchins), 306 n.
Francis I., Emperor, 118–121, 123, 125, 135.
Francis III., Duke of Modena, 174.
Francis del Pilar (Franciscan missionary), 414.
Francis of St. Joseph (Franciscan missionary), 414.

Francis of Sales, St., 192.
Francis Stephen of Lorraine (Grand Duke of Tuscany, later Emperor Francis I., q.v.), 76, 78–9, 112, 114–15, 118.
Franciscus de Hieronymo [St.], 320.
Frederick II., King of Prussia, 79–81, 83–4, 86, 97, 100, 118, 209, 213.
Frederick Augustus II., Elector of Saxony (King Augustus III. of Poland), 85, 113–14, 116, 402.
Fridelli, 443.
Fuga, Ferdinando (Papal architect), 43 n., 158, 164, 170, 181.

Gabriel of Turin (Franciscan missionary), 454.
Gages (Spanish General), 103.
Galeazzo, 30.
Galeotti (Servite), 326 n.
Galiani, Abate Ferdinando, 52–3, 314.
Galletti, P. L., 195 n.
Galli, Cardinal Antonio Andrea, 25, 266–7, 274, 277, 343.
Garampi, Giuseppe, 184–5, 224.
Gascón, Blasco (secretary to Valdelirios), 420.
Genovesi, Antonio (philosopher), 210.
Gentili, Cardinal Antonio Saverio, 14, 15, 90, 302, 394.
George II., King of England, 85, 130 n.
Gerard [Blessed], 315.
Gerard Majella [St.], 324.
Gerberon (Maurist), 386 n.
Gerdil, Cardinal, 186 n.
Gesvres, Cardinal Étienne René de (Bishop of Beauvais), 346.
Gesvres, Cardinal Léon Potier de (Archbishop of Bourges), 4 n.
Ghezzi, Pier Leone (artist), 36 n., 148–9, 165, 224.
Giacomelli, Michelangelo, 184.
Giambattista Maria of S. Teresa (Vicar-Apostolic of Verapoly), 461, 468.
Gianpriamo, Niccolò (Jesuit), 438.
Giaquinto, Corrado (painter), 161.
Giardoni, Francesco (sculptor), 169.
Gigault de Bellefonds (Archbishop of Paris), 238.
Gioja (Augustinian General), 365.
Giorgi, Domenico (Augustinian), 184, 185, 187.
Giovanna of Orvieto [Blessed], 316.
Giraldi, Luigi Filippo (chemist), 190.
Girio [Blessed], 315.
Girolami, Cardinal Raffaello Cosimo, 335, 337 n.
Giudice, Cardinal Niccolò, 6, 8, 10, 13, 112, 333.
Giuli, Egidio Maria de' (Jesuit), 310.
Glandorff, Franz Hermann (Jesuit missionary), 426–7.
Gonzaga, Cardinal Silvio Valenti (Secretary of State), 42–6, 48, 53, 59, 62–5, 68, 69, 72–3, 76, 80, 83, 88, 90, 94–5, 98–9, 111–18, 120, 122–4, 136–8, 178, 182, 189, 265–6, 274, 276, 302.
Gonzalez (Jesuit General), 322.
Gotti, Cardinal Vincenzo Ludovico, 9, 15, 42–3, 49, 53.
Goujet (Jansenist), 385
Grazioli, P., 195 n.
Gregorini, Domenico (architect), 161–2, 164.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 176, 185.
Gresset (bookseller), 385.
Guadagni, Cardinal Antonio (Pope's Vicar-General), 173.

Gualtieri, Ludovico (nuncio), 272, 346 n.
Guarchi, Ludovico (Visitor to Greek islands), 407.
Guarnacci, Mario (biographer), 187.
Guenet, Paul A. (Bishop of Saint-Pons), 278 n., 282.
Guerrero (Jesuit), 365 n.
Guglielmo, R. G. (assessor), 67 n.
Guigues (missionary in China), 437.

HALLERSTEIN, Augustin (missionary in China), 457–8, 460.
Heinrich of Bozen [Blessed], 315.
Hénault, President, 205.
Hernandez (Dominican missionary), 431.
Hovsepian, Jacob, 402.
Hrebnicki (Ruthenian Metropolitan), 409.
Hundertpfund, Rochus (Jesuit missionary), 422.

ICKSTATT, I. A. von, 204 n.
Imperiali, Cardinal Cosmo, 342–3.
Innocent XI., Pope, 322.
Innocent XII., Pope, 24, 43.
Innocent XIII., Pope, 4, 27, 134, 145.
Iommella, Nicola (musical director of St. Peter's), 181.
Ise de Saléon, Jean (Archbishop of Vienne), 352.

JACQUET, Pier Luigi (Vicar-General of Liége), 127–130, 133–5, 136–8.
Jacquier, François (Minim), 45, 164, 184, 190.
James III. (Pretender to English throne), 135, 165, 339, 346.
Jesse (Catholicos of Armenia), 404, 429.
John V., King of Portugal, 341, 442, 444–6, 449–450.
John Theodore, Duke, Cardinal (Bishop of Liége), 334, 338.
Joly de Fleury (French Attorney-General), 361.
Joseph, Anthony (Jesuit missionary), 422.
Joseph, Archduke of Austria (later Emp. Joseph II.), 88.
Joseph I., King of Portugal, 412.
Joseph, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt (Prince-Bishop of Augsburg), 316, 378.
Joseph of Leonissa, St., 313.

KAUNITZ, Count Wenzel Anton von, 88, 129.
Kögler, Ignatius (Jesuit missionary), 442, 457 n.
Kollonitsch, Count Sigismond von, Cardinal (Archbishop of Vienna), 13, 32, 88 n., 337.
Kulikan, King of Georgia, 403.

LABRE, Benedict [St.], 340.
Laderchi, Giacomo (Church historian), 366 n.
Ladislas of Gielniow [Blessed], 316.
La Fare, Etienne Joseph (Bishop of Laon), 226.
Lafitau, François (Bishop of Sisteron), 226.
Lagomarsini, G. (Jesuit), 195 n.
Lambertini, Bl. Giovanna, 23.
Lambertini, Bl. Imelda, 23.
Lambertini, Cardinal Prospero (Benedict XIV.), 9, 17 n., 23–32, 73, 310, 312, 320, and *see* Benedict XIV.
Lambertini, Egano (brother of Benedict XIV.), 41.
Lambertini, Marcello (father of Benedict XIV.), 23.
La Marmora (Savoyard envoy in France), 375.

Lamettrie, Julian Offray de (French philosopher), 371.
Lami, Giovanni (Jansenist), 391.
Landi, Cardinal Francesco, 46 n., 183, 267, 274, 277, 336, 338.
Lanfredini, Cardinal, 163.
Languet de Gergy (Archbishop of Sens), 234, 236–7, 264.
Lante, Cardinal Federigo Marcello, 334.
Lanze, Cardinal Carlo Vittorio Amadeo delle, 339–340.
La Rochefoucauld de Roye, Cardinal Frédéric Jérôme de (Archbishop of Bourges), 120, 226, 234, 256, 259, 273, 338–9.
Lassala (Augustinian), 387.
La Tour, Cardinal Henri Oswald de, 13.
La Tour, de (Superior of Oratorians), 231.
Laurenti, Marcantonio (Papal physician), 38.
Laurino, Cajetan a (Theatine General), 454 n.
Laval Montmorency, L. J. de, Cardinal (Bishop of Orleans and Metz, 282.
Laverdy (French Comptroller-General), 286.
Lazzeri (Jesuit), 184, 203, 311, 352–3.
Leclerc (Calvinist), 362.
Le Fèvre (Jesuit, confessor of Philip V.), 63–6, 310.
Lemère, Père, 243–4.
Leonardi, John [Blessed], 319.
Leonardo da Porto Maurizio [St.], 30, 77, 173, 307, 324–6, 335.
Leoni, Felix (Augustinian General), 454 n.
Leonissa, Joseph of [St.], 313.
Leprotti, Antonio (Papal physician), 38, 39, 205.
Lercari, Cardinal Niccolò Maria, 9, 90, 211 n., 291.
Le Roux d' Esneval, Count, 396.
Le Seur, Thomas (Minim), 45, 164, 184.
Lesley, A. (Jesuit), 186.
Leziniana, Matthias [Blessed] (Dominican martyr), 460.
Liccio, Giovanni [Blessed], 316.
Liguori, Alphonsus [St.], 311, 324, 360.
Lipski, Cardinal John Alexander, 4 n., 409.
Lironi, Giuseppe (sculptor), 158.
Livizzani, Cardinal Giuseppe, 4, 42, 343.
Lobkowitz, Prince, 103–8.
Locatelli, Marchese Giovanni Pietro (keeper of Capitoline Museum), 176, 184.
Lolière-Puycontat, de (Vicar-Apostolic of Siam), 462.
Lombardi, G. (Jesuit), 195 n., 310.
Lori (Bavarian Court councillor), 377.
Louis XIV., King of France, 271.
Louis XV., King of France, 133, 228–9, 239, *passim* 241–287, 401–2.
Louis XVIII., King of France, 261.
Louseau, François Philibert, 207.
Lucagnano, Raphael a (Minister General of the Holy Land), 405.
Lucca, Giacomo da (Franciscan, Custodian of the Holy Land), 398.
Lucchesini, Gian Vincenzo (Secretary of Briefs), 42.
Lucini, Cardinal Ludovico Maria (Dominican), 336.
Lugo, Antonio de (Somaschan), 184.
Luis, Cardinal Infante of Spain, 4 n., 58, 59 n., 345.

Luis de Ponte, Ven., 320.
Luynes, Cardinal Paul d' Albert de (Archbishop of Sens), 346.

MABILLON, 382.
MacCaughwell, Franciscan, Archbishop, 349.
Machado (Jesuit missionary), 421.
Machault (French Comptroller-General), 239, 245.
Maffa, Antonio (Franciscan), 306 n.
Maffei, Giampietro (Jesuit historian), 185.
Maffei, Scipione, 200–3, 220.
Maini, Giambattista (sculptor), 34 n., 158, 166.
Maire (Jesuit), 44, 191.
Malagrida, G. (Jesuit), 476 n.
Malvezzi, Cardinal Vincenzo (Archbishop of Bologna), 156, 193, 342–3.
Mamachi, Tommaso Maria (Dominican historian), 184, 187.
Mancini, Isidore (Minim), 343, 399.
Mandeville, Bernard de, 371.
Manfredi, Eustachio (engineer), 30.
Mansi, Stefano Maria(Dominican), 471.
Manuel de Jesús Maria (Bishop of Nanking), 437.
Marangoni, Giuseppe, 170, 185.
Marcellus II., Pope, 185, 223.
Marchionni, Carlo (sculptor), 34 n., 158.
Maréchal, J. P. (architect), 44, 154.
Marescotti, 185.
Maria, Queen-Mother of Portugal, 423 n.
Maria Theresa, Empress, 76–7, 80–5, 90, 93–5, 99, 102, 104, 107, 111–12, 114, 118, 122, 342, 406.
Marianne, Queen of Portugal, 123.
Marie Leszczinska, Queen of France, 239, 254.
Marini, Cardinal Maria, 22.
Maro (founder of Maronites), 317, 400.
Marotti, Francesco (botanist), 190.
Martillat, Joachim Enjobert de (Vicar-Apostolic of Yunnan), 453.
Marturi, Arturo (Capuchin, Vicar-Apostolic of Greek islands), 406.
Massei, Cardinal Bartolomeo, 15.
Massi, G. (engraver), 36 n.
Matilda of Tuscany, 166.
Matiussi, Odorico, da Pordenone [Blessed], 315.
Mattei, Cardinal Luigi, 343.
Maupertuis, Pierre Louis (President of Berlin Academy), 209.
Max Joseph (Elector of Bavaria), 114, 116, 354.
Mayans, Gregorio, 61.
Mazzucchelli, Giovan Maria, 203.
Meindaerts (Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht), 288–9.
Melara, Count, 42.
Mellini, Cardinal Mario, 122, 124, 337, 339, 341–2, 346.
Mendonca de Furtado, Francis Xavier (Governor of Paraguay), 421–2, 425.
Mendoza, Cardinal Alvaro de, 339–340.
Mengs, Anton Raphael (painter), 47 n., 156, 182.
Merassian, Athanasius (Vicar-Apostolic of Armenians, Constantinople), 404.
Merati, Gaetano (Theatine), 307.
Merlini, Ludovico, Cardinal (Titular Archbishop of Athens), 42, 49–51, 341, 344.

Mesmer, Cardinal Giambattista, 339–340.
Metastasio, Pietro (poet), 204.
Mezzabarba, Carlo Ambrogio (legate in China), 430, 433–5, 445–6, 449.
Miani, Girolamo [St.], 314.
Michael de Sanctis [St.], 319.
Michael of the Annunciation (Bishop of Coimbra), 451.
Migazzi, Cardinal Count Christoph Anton (Auditor of Rota), 122, 125–6.
Mignoni, Ubaldo (Piarist), 471.
Milante (Dominican), 356.
Millo, Cardinal Gian Giacomo (Datarius), 45, 342–3.
Miralta, Arcangelo (missionary in China), 434–5, 457.
Mochasseb, Elias (Maronite Archbishop of Arka), 397.
Moisan, Mme., 242.
Molina y Oviedo, Cardinal Gaspar, 4 n., 60–1.
Molinelli (Professor of Surgery at Bologna), 193.
Monaldi, Carlo (sculptor), 158.
Monosili (painter), 170.
Montealegre, Duke of (Spanish Ambassador to Venice), 386 n.
Montelupo, Raffaello da (sculptor), 169.
Montemar, Duke of (Spanish Commander-in-Chief), 87.
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de, 225, 371, 384.
Montfaucon (Maurist), 27, 382.
Monti, Cardinal Filippo Maria, 193, 194, 212, 302, 335, 338.
Moraes Sarmento, José de, 395.
Moriot, F. N. (Bishop of Tours), 278 n.
Morosini (Venetian ambassador to Rome), 3 n., 5 n.
Motta y Silva, Cardinal Giovanni de, 4 n.
Mouly (Apostolic Administrator of Peking), 455 n.
Mullener (Vicar-Apostolic of Suchuen), 439, 441, 452.
Muratori, Ludovico Antonio (historian), 196–200, 215, 233, 324, 362, 366–7.

Nadir, Shah of Persia, 428.
Nava del Rio (Freemason), 374.
Néez, Louis (Vicar-Apostolic of West Tongking), 461.
Nerini, Paolo (Vicar-Apostolic of Ava), 430–1.
Niccolini, Antonio, 290, 292, 390.
Nieswitz, Duke Casimir of, 395.
Noailles, Cardinal Louis Antoine de, 240.
Noailles, Marshal de, 239, 245, 247.
Nogueira, Bernardo Rodriguez (Bishop of São Paulo), 412.
Nolli, Giovanni Battista (architect), 145–6.
Norbert (Abbot of Wilten), 224.
Norbert, Pater (ex-Capuchin), *see* Parisot.
Noris, Cardinal Enrico, 67, 198, 232, 235, 351, 352, 363–9.
Nuñez, Anton, 454 n.

Oddi, Cardinal Giacomo (nuncio in Lisbon), 46 n., 334.
Odescalchi, Cardinal Benedetto, 4 n.
Odorico da Pordenone, *see* Matiussi.
Olivieri, Domenico Francesco (founder of Baptistines), 311.
Olivieri, Mgr. A., 163, 195 n.
Olmeda, Gabriel de (fiscal of Council of Castile), 59, 61.
Olmeda, Juan Pablo de (Bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra), 413–14.

Orleans de la Motte, Louis F. G. de (Bishop of Amiens), 239, 246, 248, 258, 261, 262, 278 n., 281, 282.
Ormea, Vincenzo Ferreri, Marchese d' (Piedmontese minister), 48–9.
Ormeo, 344.
Orsi, Cardinal Giuseppe Agostino (Dominican), 184, 212, 353, 357, 386.
Orsi (Theatine, professor of physics), 190.
Orsini d'Aragona, Duke of Gravina, Cardinal Domenico, 337, 389 n.
Ossorio (Sardinian minister), 51.
Ostein, John Charles of (Elector of Mayence), 115–16, 118, 123, 125.
Osterwald, Peter von (Bavarian Court councillor), 377.
Ostini, Pietro (architect), 164.
Ottieri, F. M., 195 n.
Ottoboni, Cardinal Pietro, 223.
Ottoboni-Minotti, Cardinal, 4 n., 11, 13.

Paciaudi (Theatine), 184.
Pagi, Antonio (Minorite, historian), 187.
Palafox, 322.
Paleotto, Cardinal, 216.
Pallavicini, Cardinal Lazarus Opitius (Secretary of State), 334, 337.
Palma, Giuseppe (Archbishop of Lucca), 471.
Palmi, B. (Jesuit), 306 n.
Palos, José de (Bishop of Asunción), 416.
Pamfili, Cardinal Benedetto, 24.
Pannini, Gian Paolo (painter), 35 n, 44, 167, 181.
Panzuti, Niccolò, 183.
Paolo Buono, 324.
Paolucci, Cardinal Camillo (nuncio at Vienna), 91 n., 121, 334.
Paolucci, Cardinal Fabrizio, 46 n.
Pâris, Deacon (Jansenist), 230, 236.
Paris, Nicolas Joseph (Bishop of Orleans), 250, 256.
Parisot, Pierre Curel (Pater Norbert, ex-Capuchin), 469–476.
Parma, Agostino da (Capuchin), 470 n.
Pasi, Paolo, 24.
Passalacqua, Pietro (architect), 161.
Passionei, Cardinal Domenico, 42, 76, 90, 101 n., 205, 212, 218–19, 267, 271, 321–2, 353, 382–7.
Patouillet (Jesuit), 235, 237, 350–1.
Patrizi, Francesco [Blessed], 315.
Paul of the Cross [St.], 311, 324.
Pazzi, Maddalena de', 314.
Pedrini (Missionary in China), 437–9, 454.
Peggi, Pier Francesco (Canon of Bologna), 200, 203, 464.
Pegna, Da (Carmelite), 306 n.
Pellegrini, P., 306 n.
Penna, Orazio della (missionary in Tibet), 429–430.
Pepe (Jesuit), 373 n.
Peralta, J. de (Bishop of Buenos Aires), 416.
Pereyra (Jesuit), 457 n.
Perpetua, Sister (Jansenist nun), 249–250.
Perroni (missionary in China), 437, 443 n.
Peter Claver [St.], 320.
Petra, Cardinal Vincenzo, 18 n., 394.
Petrus II., Jacob (Patriarch of Uniate Armenians), 402.
Petrus III., Michael (Patriarch of Uniate Armenians), 402.
Philip V., King of Spain, 58, 63, 66, 415–16.

Philip (Infante of Spain), Duke of Parma, 76, 86, 130, 132, 133.
Philip Charles (Elector of Mayence), 84.
Pho-lha-nas (King of Tibet), 430.
Pichon, Jean (Jesuit), 236–7, 353–4.
Pico della Mirandola, Cardinal Ludovico, 11.
Pieri, Cardinal Pier Maria, 4 n., 333.
Piloti, Eugenio (Vicar-Apostolic of Shan-si and Shen-si), 454.
Pimentel, Antonio Manuel (Archbishop of Cranganor), 461–3, 468.
Pinheiro, Domingo (Jesuit Vice-Provincial, South China), 447.
Pinheiro, Joseph (Bishop of Meliapur), 443 n., 463.
Pio da Carpi, Cardinal, 179–180.
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista (engraver), 150–1, 172 n.
Pirelli, Filippo (jurist), 189.
Pius V., Pope [St.], 25, 312.
Pius VI., Pope, *see* Braschi, Gianangelo.
Pius IX., Pope, 117 n.
Platel, Abbé, *see* Parisot.
Polanco y Amendariz, A. de Paredes de (Bishop of Quito), 413.
Pole, Cardinal, 212, 216.
Poleni, Giovanni (Professor of Mathematics, Padua), 164, 171 n.
Polignac, Cardinal Melchior de, 4 n.
Polini, G., 195 n.
Politi, A., 195 n.
Pollidorus, 185.
Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho y Melho, Marquis of, 123–4, 423–5.
Pompadour, Madame de, 239, 245, 253, 287.
Poncet de la Rivière, Matthieu (Bishop of Troyes), 257, 278 n., 282.
Pontcallier, Marquis of (Imperial envoy), 120.
Pontchâteau (Jansenist), 379.
Ponte, Luis de, 320.
Portocarrero, Cardinal Joaquin Fernando, 47 n., 67–8, 183, 334, 367.
Porzia, Cardinal Leander, 4 n., 14–15.
Posi, Paolo (architect), 162.
Potier (missionary to Hurons), 427.
Pozzobonelli, Cardinal Giuseppe (Archbishop of Milan), 102, 336.
Prades, Jean Martin de, 383.
Prado y Cuesta, Pérez de (Grand Inquisitor), 365.
Prié, Marquis de (Austrian ambassador), 95.
Priestley, Joseph (scientist), 191 n.
Provana (Jesuit), 438.

Quadrio, Fr. (ex-Jesuit), 195 n., 215.
Querci, Giuseppe, 178.
Querini (Jesuit, King of Saxony's confessor), 310.
Quesnel, Pasquier (Jansenist), 186, 230, 238, 376, 382.
Quintano (Grand Inquisitor), 369.
Quinzanis, Stephana de [Bl.], 316.
Quirini, Cardinal Angelo Maria, 157 n., 202 n., 211–18, 303, 324, 357.

Rabago, Francesco (Jesuit confessor to Ferdinand VI.), 66, 68, 351, 368, 371.
Racine, Louis de (French poet), 208.

Rastignac, Louis Jacques de (Archbishop of Tours), 237–8.
Ravalli (Minorite), 18.
Raynaud (Jesuit), 348–9.
Razzolini (Bishop of Santorin), 407.
Reboul, P. F. X. (Bishop of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux), 278 n.
Regalato, Pedro [St.], 313.
Reiffenstuel (Franciscan), 356.
Renaudot, 382.
Reni, Guido, 180.
Retz, Franciscus (Jesuit General), 308–310, 418, 442–4, 446, 451.
Revillagigedo, de (Spanish Viceroy), 426.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (Clement XIII.), 163, 394.
Ricchini, Tommaso Agostino (Dominican, Secretary of Index), 211, 271, 305, 352, 359, 384.
Ricci, Cardinal Francesco (Governor of Rome), 336.
Ricci, Caterina de' [St.], 313–14.
Ricci, Lorenzo (Jesuit General), 388.
Ricci, Matteo, 439.
Ricci, Scipione de', 390.
Richardie, de la (missionary to Hurons), 427.
Rienzo, Cola di, 176.
Ringhieri, O. (Bishop of Assisi), 394 n.
Rinn, Andreas of [Bl.], 315.
Ripoll, Tommaso (Dominican, General), 188, 454 n.
Rivera, Cardinal Domenico, 12, 90.
Rivera, Count (Sardinian diplomat), 48.
Roche, de (Jesuit missionary), 425 n.
Roche-Aymon, Cardinal, C. A. de la (Bishop of Rheims and Narbonne), 256.
Rochechouart (Bishop of Laon), 287.
Roda (Spanish envoy), 387–8.
Rodota, Felix Samuel, 396.
Rohan, de Soubise, Cardinal Armand Gaston de, 13, 256, 259, 339.
Romanus of Paris (Capuchin), 407.
Ronconi (Prefect of the Vaticana), 224 n.
Roschmann, Anton (archæologist), 204.
Rossi, Ferdinando (Vicegerente), 172.
Rossi, Giov. Batt. de [St.], 324–5.
Rota, Antonio (Secretary of Cipher), 42, 46.
Rothfischer, F. (Benedictine, convert to Protestantism), 215.
Rouillé (French minister), 266–8.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 369.
Roveda, 438.
Rovero, Cardinal Giambattista (Archbishop of Turin), 51, 346.
Ruffo, Cardinal Antonio, 336.
Ruffo, Cardinal Tommaso, 10–13, 90.
Ruggieri, Costantino, 171, 192, 194, 223 n., 311 n., 327 n.

SACCHETTI, Alessandro, 180.
Sacchetti, Cardinal Giulio (legate in Ferrara and Bologna), 180.
Sacchetti, Marcello, 180.
Sadoleto, Cardinal, 216.
Saint-Albin (Bishop of Cambrai), 226.
Saint-Contest (French minister), 247.
Saint-Severin, Count (French envoy to Congress of Aix), 129, 132, 136–7.

Saldanha da Cama, Francisco de (Patriarch of Lisbon), 346.
Saléon, Ize de (Bishop of Rodez, later Archbishop of Vienne), 234.
Salvi, Nicola (sculptor), 164, 199.
Sanctis, Michael de [St.], 319.
San Severo, Prince, 373.
Santa Croce, Scipione di (Imperial envoy), 3 n., 13, 32.
Santos (Jesuit missionary), 421.
Sanz, Peter Martyr [Blessed] (Vicar-Apostolic of Fukien), 460.
Saraceni (Bishop of Lorima), 435.
Sarti, Mauro (historian), 192.
Sauli, Alessandro [Blessed], 314.
Scarlatti (Bavarian envoy in Rome), 96 n.
Scarselli, Fil., 195 n.
Schönborn, Cardinal Damian Hugo von (Bishop of Speyer), 4 n.
Schönborn, Francis George of (Prince-Archbishop of Trèves), 84, 88, 116.
Schönborn, Frederick Charles of (Prince-Bishop of Würzburg), 84, 123.
Scilla, Saverio, 222.
Segneri (Jesuit), 306.
Serbelloni, Cardinal Fabrizio (nuncio in Vienna, etc.), 342.
Sersale, Cardinal Antonio (Archbishop of Naples), 57, 344–5.
Sersale, Geronimo, Duke of Serisano (Neapolitan ambassador), 56.
Sforza, Serafina [Blessed], 316.
Siena, Ludovico da (preacher), 326 n.
Sigismund of St. Nicholas, 457 n.
Simonetti, Cardinal Raniero (Governor of Rome), 339.
Sinzendorf, Cardinal Philip Louis von, 13, 87.
Sirleto, 223.
Sixtus V., Pope, 145.
Slodtz, R. Michelangelo (sculptor), 43 n., 158, 166.
Sobieski, Maria Clementina (wife of James III.), 165–6.
Solimani, Giovanna Battista (founder of Baptistines), 311.
Soubise, Cardinal, *see* Rohan.
Souza, Polycarp de (Bishop of Peking), 443, 456.
Spannochi, Francesco Maria (Sottodatario), 42.
Spinazzi, Innocenzo (sculptor), 166.
Spinelli, Cardinal Giuseppe (Archbishop of Naples), 46 n., 55–6, 267, 271, 274, 281 n., 353, 386.
Spinola, Cardinal Giorgio, 12, 15, 143 n.
Sporer (Franciscan), 356.
Stadion (Auditor to the Rota), 73 n.
Stadler, Daniel (Jesuit, Bavarian Court confessor), 354–5.
Stancari, Sante, 24.
Stay, Benedetto, 190.
Steenoven, Cornelius (Jansenist bishop), 288.
Stiltinck, Johannes (Bollandist), 196.
Stiphout, van (Jansenist Bishop of Haarlem), 288.
Stoppani, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco (nuncio to Vienna), 46 n., 115–17, 119, 122, 125.
Storani, Innocenzo, 103, 143.
Suarez, Joseph (Jesuit missionary in China), 433.
Subleyras, Pierre (painter), 35 n., 165.
Superunda (Viceroy of Peru), 413.
Szembek, C. A. (Archbishop of Gnesen), 409.

Tacconi (Dominican), 326 n.
Taimuras (King of Georgia), 429.
Tamas Kulikan, Shah of Persia, 428.
Tamburini, Cardinal Fortunato, 183, 198, 266–7, 271, 274, 302, 336, 353, 386.
Tanara, Cardinal Alessandro (Auditor of Rota), 166, 337.
Tanucci, Bernardo (Minister in Naples), 52, 56, 372, 377.
Tavannes, Cardinal Nicolas de Saulx de (Grand Almoner of France), 346.
Tedaldi (Jesuit missionary), 421.
Telmo, Pedro Gonzalez [Blessed], 316.
Tempesta, Casimiro (Franciscan), 185.
Tempi, Cardinal Luca Melchiorre (Papal nuncio), 342.
Tencin, Cardinal (Archbishop of Lyons), 4–5, 14, 77–9, 95, 113, 133, 205, 229, 234, 236, 332, 372–3, 450.
Teodoli, Marchese Girolamo, 161.
Teofilo da Corte [St.], 307.
Theil, du, 136.
Theodore of Bavaria, Cardinal (Prince-Bishop of Liége), 127, 334, 338.
Thun, Joseph, Count (Imperial envoy in Rome), 2 n., 3, 33, 52, 80, 88, 89, 91, 94, 99, 102, 104, 111–12.
Tillemont (historian), 365.
Toledo, Francis da (Visitor to Paraguay mission), 422–4.
Toledo (Jesuit), 306 n.
Tomacelli, Niccolò Maria (Cleric Minor), 438.
Tommasi, Cardinal Giuseppe Maria, 190, 307.
Torregiani, Alfonso (architect), 156.
Torres y Navarra, Gabriel de (Administrator of Seville), 58.
Torrigiani, Cardinal Ludovico Maria, 343.
Törring, Count, 96.
Tosini, Abbé, 385 n.
Tournon (Freemason), 374.
Traun, Gen., 101.
Trautson, Cardinal Johannes Joseph (Archbishop of Vienna), 345.
Trigona (Jesuit), 360 n.
Troyer, Ferdinand Julius, Count, Cardinal (Prince-Bishop of Olmütz), 339, 341.
Tukhi, Raphael (liturgist), 301.
Turano (Jesuit), 310.

Urban VII., Pope, 295.

Valck, van der (Archpriest), 290.
Valdelirios, Marqués de, 418–420.
Valenti, Cardinal, *see* Gonzaga.
Valesio, 196.
Valette, de la (Superior of Oratorians), 231.
Vallarsi, D., 195 n.
Valle, Filippo della (sculptor), 158, 166.
Valle y Salazar (Freemason), 374.
Valois, Jeanne de [Blessed], 315.
Vanvitelli, Luigi (architect), 155, 163, 164–5, 180.
Varella y Losada, Juan (founder of Scalzetti), 311.
Varlet, Dominic Mary (Jansenist bishop), 288.
Vasi, Giuseppe (engraver), 149–150, 178.
Vasquez, Francis Xavier (Augustinian General), 387–8, 390.
Vasquez de Aguero, Juan, 415.

Vattel, N. (writer on international law), 154.
Vaucel, Du (Jansenist), 379.
Vecchi, Niccolò de' (jurist), 189.
Veiga, Francis da (Jesuit missionary), 422.
Venier, Francesco (Venetian ambassador), 34.
Venuti, Ridolfino (commissioner of Papal antiquities), 44 n., 176, 185, 187.
Verschaffelt, Peter (sculptor), 35 n., 158, 162 n., 169, 179, 181.
Verthamon (Bishop of Luçon), 288 n.
Verthamon de Chavagnac, Michel de (Bishop of Montauban), 255.
Vestigné, Michael Angelus de (Franciscan missionary), 396.
Vettori, Francesco (Director of Vatican Museum), 185, 219, 220, 222.
Vezzosi, Francesco (Theatine), 184, 190.
Vigri, Catherine, of Bologna [St.], 23, 25, 312.
Villacretius, Petrus, 313.
Villena, Juan de (Franciscan missionary), 435.
Vintimille du Luc, Charles de (Archbishop of Paris), 238.
Viou (Jansenist), 235–6.
Visconti (General of Jesuits), 380, 381 n., 418, 422.
Visdelou (Jesuit, Bishop of Claudianopolis), 437, 470.
Vita, G., 195 n.
Vitali, Francesco Antonio, 184.
Vladagni, Lazarus (Archbishop of Antivari), 406.
Volpi, Giuseppe Rocca (Jesuit), 184.
Voltaire, 205–8, 213, 369–371, 384.

Wall, Richard (Spanish minister), 323, 419–420.
Ward, Mary, 304.
Widman, Adam (missionary in S. America), 413.
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim (art historian), 45, 149, 177, 385.
Wohnsiedler, Rochus (Franciscan missionary in China), 435.

Xavier, Francis [St.], 320, 460.

Yasu II., King of Abyssinia, 396.
York, Henry, Cardinal Duke of, 184, 321, 340–1.

Zaccaria (Jesuit), 362–3.
Zaije Ranagita Malla Deva (Nepalese rajah), 429.
Zannotti, Francesco, 30, 181.
Zondadari, Cardinal Antonio Felice, 9.

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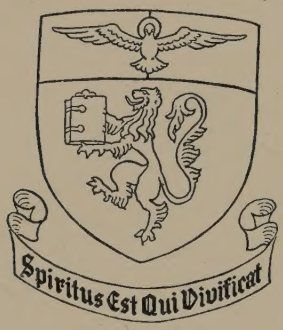

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVI.

PAGES

BENEDICT XIV., 1740–1758.

Benedict XIV. and Portugal—Pombal's Reforms and His Fight against the Jesuits 1–23
Benedict XIV.'s Care for the Silesian Catholics—His Relations with Frederick the Great 24–89
The Disputes about Carpegna and the Patriarchate of Aquileia—Foundations of Bishoprics and Conversions in Germany—Beginning of the Seven Years' War—Illness and Death of the Pope . 90–142

CLEMENT XIII., 1758–1769.

The Conclave of 1758—Clement XIII.'s Care for the States of the Church—His Encouragement of Art and Learning 143–193
The End of the Seven Years' War and the Election of King Joseph II.—The Change of Dynasty in Poland and the Conflict over the Rights of the Dissidents 194–235
Jansenism in France and the Netherlands—Febronianism in Germany—Political "Enlightenment" under Maria Theresa 236–293
The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal—Rupture of Diplomatic Relations between Rome and Lisbon 294–370
The Suppression of the Jesuits in France . . 371–504

Index of Names 505

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVI.

BENEDICT XIV. 1740–1758

CLEMENT XIII. 1758–1769

CHAPTER I.

BENEDICT XIV. AND PORTUGAL—POMBAL'S REFORMS AND HIS FIGHT AGAINST THE JESUITS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Benedict XIV.'s conciliatory attitude towards John V. of Portugal	1
1757	Pombal becomes Minister for the Interior	3
	His plans	5
	His character	6
	His attitude towards the Church and	7
	The Jesuits	8
	His expulsion of individual Jesuits	9
	His first blow against the Society	11
	Timoni's letter to Joseph I. of Portugal	12
	The nuncio's attitude	13
	Pombal defends his policy in Rome	16
1758	Saldanha's appointment as Visitor of the Portuguese Jesuits	18
	The Pope's letter to Saldanha	22

CHAPTER II.

BENEDICT XIV.'S CARE FOR THE SILESIAN CATHOLICS —HIS RELATIONS WITH FREDERICK THE GREAT.

	The situation of the Silesian Catholics	24
1741	Cardinal Sinzendorf arrested	25
	His character	27
	Royal supremacy claimed by Prussia	28
	To evade it, Sinzendorf's proposal of a Vicariate Apostolic	29
1742	His letter on the subject to Benedict XIV.	31
	Rome's consideration of it	33
	Sinzendorf's relations with Frederick the Great; the Pope's reply to the Cardinal	34
	Further correspondence between the Pope and the Cardinal	36
	Further negotiations about the Vicariate General	37
1743	Protestant progress in Silesia; Prussian draft instruction for the Vicar General	41
	The Pope's view of the Vicariate General	44
	The question shelved indefinitely	46
	Schaffgotsch proposed as Sinzendorf's coadjutor	47
	Rome's rejection of him	50
	Schaffgotsch proposed as prelate of regular canons	52

A.D. PAGE

1744 His nomination by the Pope 54
The question of a coadjutor revived 54
Schaffgotsch the royal nominee 56
The Pope's objection 57
1747 Sinzendorf's collapse 61
Mixed marriages in Silesia 62
Introduction of Prussian marriage law 65
Schaffgotsch's ambition to succeed Sinzendorf as Bishop of Breslau 68
His nomination by Prussia; Bastiani sent as plenipotentiary to Rome 70
1748 Schaffgotsch nominated Bishop by the Pope . . 73
Frederick's further demands 74
The Pope and Frederick's royal title 76
St. Hedwig's Church in Berlin 77
Oppressions and 80
Alleviations 81
Further ecclesiastico-political demands by Frederick the Great 82
1753 The royal edict of June 21st 84
1754 Civil censorship of episcopal edicts 85
Schaffgotsch and the Abbé de Prades 87
Schaffgotsch's fall from favour and his death; the hanging of Andreas Faulhaber 89

CHAPTER III.

THE DISPUTES ABOUT CARPEGNA AND THE PATRIARCHATE OF AQUILEIA—FOUNDATIONS OF BISHOPRICS AND CONVERSIONS IN GERMANY—BEGINNING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE POPE.

1749 The dispute about the overlordship of Carpegna . 90
1750 French intervention 93
1754 The dispute settled after long delay 97
The dispute about the Patriarchate of Aquileia . 98
1749 Gorizia a Vicariate Apostolic 99
The disapproval of Venice 100
1750 Breach between Rome and Venice 102
1751 The breach closed 103
1752 The erection of the Bishopric of Fulda 107
Protest by the Archbishop of Mainz 109
1756 The conflict composed; conversions and journeys to Rome of persons of high rank 111
The conversion of Friedrich of Hesse; his concessions 114
Austro-French alliance; the Pope's attitude . . 118
The so-called Religious War 121
The last years of Benedict XIV. 123
His ill-health and 124

A.D. PAGE

1758 Death. His tomb 132
Opinions of his character 133
His letters to Tencin 136
The final verdict 138

Clement XIII. 1758–1769

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONCLAVE OF 1758—CLEMENT XIII.'S CARE FOR THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART AND LEARNING.

1758 Diplomatic preparations for the conclave . . . 143
The parties in the conclave 146
The opening of the conclave 149
Colonna di Sciarra Protector of France . . . 151
Cavalchini's candidature 152
Rezzonico's candidature and 155
Election as Clement XIII. 156
His previous career 158
His character 160
His distribution of offices 162
Torrigiani Secretary of State 163
The Pope's ill-health 167
1763 Famine in the States of the Church . . . 170
1765 The Pope's steps to mitigate it 173
Grave financial situation 175
Encouragement of art: Mengs and Piranesi . . 176
1762 Fontana Trevi completed 177
1763 Villa Albani completed 180
1765 Acquisitions for the Capitoline Museum . . . 183
1763 Winckelmann Commissioner of Antiquities . . 184
Libraries and their administration 185
Encouragement of apologists and 187
Scholars, notably 189
Garampi 191
Orsi and Furietti 192

CHAPTER V.

THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND THE ELECTION OF KING JOSEPH II.—THE CHANGE OF DYNASTY IN POLAND AND THE CONFLICT OVER THE RIGHTS OF THE DISSIDENTS.

Clement XIII. and Maria Theresa 191
Clement anxious for a speedy peace 194
1761 Garampi in Augsburg 197
1764 Election of Joseph II. 199
The nuncio at the Electoral Diet 200

A.D. PAGE

The royal election 203
1763 Death of Augustus III. of Poland 205
Poland threatened by Russia and Prussia . . 206
1764 The national diet of convocation 209
The question of the dissidents 212
1766 Visconti's report on the situation 214
The national diet 215
The question of the dissidents again discussed . 218
1767 Podowski Primate of Poland. The congress of Radom 222
Soltyk and 223
Podowski 225
Soltyk at the diet of pacification 226
The treaty 229
Plan for a Polish national Church 230
The Pope's attitude 231
1768 Confederation of Bar and other such unions . . 234

CHAPTER VI.

JANSENISM IN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS—FEBRONIANISM IN GERMANY—POLITICAL "ENLIGHTENMENT" UNDER MARIA THERESA.

Attitude of the French Government . . . 236
Civil incursions into the ecclesiastical sphere . . 237
Clement XIII. and French Jansenism . . . 239
1763 Provincial Council of Utrecht 242
Its attitude towards Leclerc and 243
The Jesuits 244
1765 The Pope's reply to the Council 245
A result of Leclerc's condemnation 246
Germany and the doctrine of Papal infallibility . 247
Hontheim 250
His views on the Papacy, ... 254
The return to the Early Church, and . . . 257
The rights of the State 258
The effect of the *Febronius* 261
Lucini and *Febronius* 264
Febronius condemned 265
Reluctantly in some quarters 268
1764 The author's identity discovered 269
Success of the *Febronius* 271
Hontheim and the Elector of Treves . . . 272
Hontheim and the nuncio Caprara 274
"Enlightenment" in Austria 276
Count Kaunitz 277
Gerhard van Swieten's reforms 278
Paul Joseph Riegger 283
Van Swieten's censorship of books 284
Joseph von Sonnenfels 290
The State Council's ecclesiastical reforms . . 291

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS FROM PORTUGAL—RUPTURE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ROME AND LISBON

A.D.		PAGE
	Saldanha	294
1758	The Papal Brief of visitation	295
	The Jesuits suspended from pastoral duties	296
	Ricci, General of the Jesuits	299
	His petitions to the Pope	302
	Literary campaign against the Jesuits	303
	Acciaioli's report to Archinto	305
	Pombal's charges against the Jesuits	306
	The Papal attempt at mediation	307
	The attempt on the life of Joseph I.	308
	The Jesuits accused	309
	The worthlessness of the charges exposed in the proceedings	314
	Royal decree against the Jesuits	316
	Rome's lack of information about the anti-Jesuit proceedings	318
1759	Execution of the royal decree	319
	Saldanha's letter to the Pope	321
	The king's demands of the Pope	323
	The Pope's reply to the king	324
	Almada's complaints	326
	Arrival of the Papal dispatches in Lisbon	328
	Pombal's delaying tactics	330
	Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal	331
	The dungeons of St. Julian	336
	The Jesuit refugees in the Papal States	337
	Pombal's further demands	338
	The Papal reply	339
	Almada's offer to mediate	340
	The Pope's letters to Joseph I.	341
	Steps taken against the Archbishop of Bahia	342
	The nuncio in disfavour	344
1760	His expulsion	347
	Almada leaves Rome	352
	The Pope's steps against trouble-makers in Rome; his efforts to restore peace	353
	Difficulty of the negotiations	354
1761	Spain as intermediary	358
	Malagrida	359
	Pombal's enmity against the Jesuit Saints and the clergy in general	363
	His hatred of the Church	364
1763	The Pope's attempts to restore peace by his letter to Joseph I. and	367
1767	Through the Madrid nuncio Pallavicini	368

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.

A.D.		PAGE
	The general aims of the campaign against the Jesuits	371
	The enemies of the Jesuits in France	373
	The attitude of Louis XV.	377
1757	Damiens' attempted murder of the king	380
	Portents of the coming storm	382
	Lavalette in Martinique	383
1756	Bankruptcy of Lioncy and Gouffre	387
	Further illicit dealings by Lavalette	389
1759	The whole Society declared liable	391
1761	The judgment of the Paris Parlement	395
	Ricci's attitude	397
1762	Lavalette condemned	404
	Attempts to satisfy his creditors	405
1761	The Society's constitutions before the Parlement	407
	The attitude of the Parlement and of	409
	The Pope	413
	The project of obtaining the opinion of the Bishops	415
	Their opinion	417
	Ricci's disapproval of the concessions made by the Paris Jesuits	420
	De la Croix's letters of justification	422
	Ricci's verdict	423
	Declaration of the Paris Jesuits	425
	Extenuating circumstances	427
	Condemnation of tyrannicide demanded	428
	The project of a French Vicar General	431
	Its supporters	432
1762	The proposals put to Ricci	437
	His reply	439
	Details of the Commission's plan	444
	The Jesuits abandoned by the French Court	445
	Ricci's judgment of events	447
	The Paris Parlement's publication in defence of its action	449
	Its resolution of August 6th	451
	The resolutions of the provincial Parlements	452
	Works written by the Jesuits in their own defence	460
	Other projected means of self-defence	463
	Pro-Jesuit demonstrations in France	465
	Papal messages to the French episcopal assembly and to	467
	The nuncio	470
	The Papal allocution	471
	Further attacks on the Jesuits by the Parlements	472
	Fitz-James and his supporters	475

A.D.		PAGE
1763	Beaumont's pastoral instruction	479
	The French Jesuits without a refuge	482
	The dissolution of the Society in France imminent	485
	Examples of loyalty to vocation	489
	The laxity of weaker members	491
1764	The royal decree of dissolution	494
	Clement XIII.'s attitude towards it	497
1765	His Constitution on the Jesuits	498

CHAPTER I.

Benedict XIV. and Portugal. Pombal's Reforms and His Fight Against the Jesuits.

At the time of Benedict XIV.'s election to the Papal throne Portugal was still feeling the effects of the conflict of 1728.[1] The new Pope found that only the bishoprics of Lisbon and Leiria were occupied. Ossonoba-Faro-Silves had been left vacant since 1738, Braga and Elvas since 1728, Coimbra since 1718, Oporto since 1716, Evora since 1715. Benedict immediately hastened to put an end to this disgraceful state of affairs, no matter at what cost. New Bishops were presented to Ossonoba-Faro-Silves, Miranda-Braganza, and Portalegre on December 19th, 1740, to Evora on December 10th, to Lamego and Viseu on January 2nd, 1741, to Coimbra on February 12th, to Oporto on March 12th, to Braga and Guarda on November 26th, 1742.[2] Whereas formerly in Papal edicts it was announced that the Pope was filling the vacant sees "at the request" of the king, Benedict XIV. allowed it to be announced henceforward as being done "on the presentation" of the king.[3]

In other ways too Benedict XIV. did all he could to win the good will of the Portuguese monarch. In Lisbon great value was laid on outward show and titles. To please the king the Patriarch of the metropolis had had his Canons clothed almost like Cardinals,[4] and the Patriarch himself showed in his arms the Papal tiara with the two keys; to be protected against these false keys, suggested the French envoy, the locks in the gates of Paradise would have to be altered.[5]

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 189.

[2] Gams, *Series*, 94–112.

[3] *Cod. Barberini, 38, G 20, p. 49 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, June 10, 1744, Heeckeren, I., 141.

[5] "*Disse pure S. Mtà nella privata conversazione all'ambasciatore di Francia, che la corte di Portogallo non pensava ora nè

Childishness such as this had no effect on Benedict XIV. For fear of breaking with the king, however, he found himself unable, in spite of his reluctance, to avoid the necessity of presenting to ecclesiastical benefices John V.'s four bastards, who had been acknowledged as royal children.[1] The king's delight in titles he indulged by bestowing one on him and his successors: in the same way as France had long had a "most Christian" and Spain a "Catholic" king, Portugal's ruler was to be known henceforward for all time as the "most faithful" king (*rex fidelissimus*). In granting this title, wrote Benedict XIV., he was only carrying out Pius V.'s intention.[2] When we read of the high praise accorded to John V.'s services we should remember that the best way of reminding exalted persons of their duties is to represent as already done what one would like to be done. In view especially of the decade that was to follow, the new title of honour seems almost a mockery.

Serious difficulties in its relations with the Holy See began

a negozii, nè a giustizia, ma solo a publicar leggi a favore della Patriarcale. Quindi soggionse che quel Patriarca usava nelle sue armi la tiara pontificale con le due chiavi come usano i Papi. Onde l'ambasciatore disse in aria di barzelletta che si doveva mutare la serratura delle porte del paradiso, di che il Re ha riso per più giorni." *Cifra* from the nuncio at Madrid, of April 6, 1745, Nunziat. di Spagna, 250 A, f. 165v, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] To Tencin, March 5, 1755, II., 398.

[2] Brief of December 23, 1748, *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 1; allocution thereon, of April 21, 1749, *ibid.*, 2; to Tencin, April 30, 1749, I., 480. "Tamquam catholicae fidei propagatores" was how the kings were to be known (Brief of December 23, 1748); "à titre de récompense pour tout ce qu'il a fait sans interruption au profit de la religion et du Saint-Siège" (to Tencin, *loc. cit.*). In a *letter of December 28, accompanying the Brief, occurs the following: "Abbiamo poi scelto per la M. V. quello [titolo] di Fedelissimo, non meno in risguardo delle gloriose gesta fatte da' suoi maggiori in vantaggio della nostra S. Sede, che in risguardo di quel sommo che V. M. ha fatto e va facendo per la dilatazione di essa nei paesi più barbari o per l'esatta sua conservazione nei suoi felicissimi stati." Lett. di princ. 173, f. 344, Papal Secret Archives.

to arise in Portugal after John V.'s death, when Joseph I. ascended the throne and a new Secretary of State assumed the reins of government.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, born in Lisbon on May 15th, 1699, Count of Oeyras from June 16th, 1759, and Marquis of Pombal[1] from September 17th, 1770, had begun his political career as a *chargé d'affaires* in London. In 1745 he moved to Vienna as Portuguese envoy,[2] here marrying his second wife, the niece of Marshal Daun. On his return to Lisbon at the beginning of December 1749 he was popularly looked on as the future Secretary of State,[3] and on August 3rd, 1750, a few days after Joseph I.'s accession to the throne, he was appointed by that monarch Minister for War and for Foreign Affairs.[4] On the death of the Prime Minister, Pombal resigned these two offices to become Minister for the Interior.

[1] In describing the period both before as well as after 1770 we refer to him by the name by which he is known in history.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV, 123.

[3] "* Si aspetta di ritorno in breve il sig. de Carvalho, che era inviato a Vienna, dicendosi che occuperà uno de' posti di segretario di stato" (the nuncio Tempi to Valenti, Lisbon, August 19, 1749, Nunziat. di Portog., 104, Papal Secret Archives). " *Nella scorsa settimana è ritornato da Vienna il sig. de Carvalho, il quale si dice sarà dichiarato uno de' segretari di stato" (from the same to the same, December 9, 1749, *ibid.*). *Cf.* also *Auditor Ratta to Valenti, Lisbon, December 9, 1749, *ibid.*, 104A. The higher ranks of the nobility would rather have had one of their own men occupy the post (*Tempi to Valenti, June 9, 1750, *ibid.*). For a time Pombal was under consideration also as ambassador in Paris (Tempi to Valenti, December 30, 1749, *ibid.*, 104) or even in Rome (*Ratta, March 13 and April 14, 1750, *ibid.*, 110A).

[4] *Ratta to Valenti, August 4, 1750, *ibid.* — " *Digo ultimamente: à Carvalho quien le puso en el ministerio fuè la Reyna Madre" (Sotomayor to Carvajal, undated, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7234). *Pombal became Minister "adnitente maxime P. Iosepho Moreira, qui novo regi iam pridem a confessionibus erat" (according to the Jesuit Provincial John Henriquez,

His fellow Ministers soon became merely his tools, as everything had to pass through his hands.[1]

Pombal's appointment met with universal satisfaction,[2] as he was expected to introduce a reform, and reform was sorely needed in Portugal. During the many years of King John V.'s sickness everything had fallen into decay. Shipping was stagnant, trade was mostly in the hands of foreigners, and in the army no promotion had been made for fifteen years.[3] The two most active Secretaries of State, Azevedo and Guedes da Miranda, had died while the king was still living, and the third and last, Pedro da Motta, was so afflicted with old age and ill health that for years he was confined to his home.[4] The burden of managing the affairs of State was borne mainly by two members of religious Orders: the royal confessor Gaspero da Incarnação, a Recollect, and the Jesuit Carbone, who had been detained in Lisbon by the king when on his way to the Chinese missions. These two men did their best to prevent the machinery of State from coming to a complete standstill.[5]

Pombal's stay in England had left a deep impression on him. The great material prosperity of the island kingdom, its brisk trade, the boldness with which it struck out on new ventures, and the progress of its national culture were duly noted by him and contrasted sharply with the decay of his own country. Accordingly he evolved on the English model

Informatio de origine persecutionis Soc. Iesu in Lusitania, Lusit., 87, f. 136, in Jesuit possession). *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 1; MURR, 7.

[1] *Nuncio Acciaioli to the Secretary of State Archinto, August 16, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 112, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* DUHR, 14.

[2] The promotion of Pombal and Mendoza were "*elezione degna ed applaudita universalmente", said Tempi on August 4, 1750 (Nunziat. di Portog., 105, *loc. cit.*). "*Uno y otro nombramiento han sido muy bien recividos" (Sotomayor to Carvajal, August 6, 1750, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7220).

[3] WELD, 1. *Cf.* *Ratta to Valenti, May 12 and October 20, 1750, Nunziat. di Portog., 110A, *loc. cit.*

[4] WELD, 1.

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 5, 1750, II., 28.

far-reaching schemes for the resuscitation of his native land.

According to the reports of foreign envoys Pombal was an industrious and skilful worker.[1] Moreover, his royal master, who had no love of work or self-confidence, passed his time with the aid of music, the theatre, and the chase,[2] and left him an entirely free hand, so that Pombal, with his enterprising and ambitious character and his determination, which bordered on obstinacy, became the actual ruler of the country. But no blessing was brought to it by his reforms.

As an adherent of the French physiocratic school Pombal thought to increase the natural resources of Portugal by the advancement of trade, industry, and agriculture. But he failed to adapt his measures to the character of the country and to the abilities and needs of its inhabitants, to instil his ideas into the nation, and to train it to work on his lines. On the contrary, he made himself and his procedure detested through his disregard of justice and liberty. Consequently nothing of what he did endured. "Of all his mighty schemes, carried out with as much precipitation as severity—yés, it is useless to deny it, often with unexampled cruelty—and practically never with any regard for the peculiarities of the country, little or nothing has remained."[3] Wherefore recent archival research has considerably diminished the admiration for the "great marquis" which formerly existed.[4] His regime

[1] The Spanish ambassador De Almodovar to Floridablanca, in DUHR, *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXIII. (1899), 450, n. 4, 457, n. 1.

[2] Starhemberg in DUHR, *Pombal*, 9. It was not easy to get his signature even when it was indispensable (*ibid.*, 13). For his inordinate expenditure on the theatre, see SCHÄFER, V., 233 *seq.*

[3] OLFERS, *Mordversuch*, 311 *seq.*

[4] F. L. GOMES, *Le Marquis de Pombal. Esquisse de sa vie publique*, Lisbonne, 1869 (based on the documents in the Ministries in Paris and Lisbon); DUHR in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXIII. (1899), 444 *seqq.* (based on the papers at Simancas); DU HAMEL DE BREUIL in the *Rev. hist.*, LIX. (1895), 1 *seqq.*, LX. (1896), 1 *seqq.*, 272 *seqq.*; MIGUEL SOTOMAYOR,

is now viewed as one of unrestricted and unscrupulous absolutism. Of his personal character the foreign envoys draw a gloomy picture. Already by the 29th April the Spanish ambassador to Lisbon, the Duke of Sotomayor, reported that all the Ministers looked on Pombal as a visionary, as an intriguer, as treacherous, greedy for power and honour, and not over-nice in the choice of his tools.[1] This appraisement of him had undergone no change by the time Pombal was nearing the end of his career.[2] At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits the Papal nuncio wrote [3] that everywhere there was discontent and that Pombal was the most despotic Minister there had ever been, not only in Portugal but in the whole of Europe. In truth he was ready to adopt the cruellest of compulsory measures when in his opinion the welfare of the State demanded them, and for him the welfare of the State coincided with the interests of his administration. Thus, in slavish adherence to his principles, he threatened with the death penalty anyone who exported coins.[4] By a royal decree of August 17th, 1756, a permanent commission [5] was instituted to discover persons who spoke against Cabinet Ministers or plotted against their lives.[6] When Pombal had vested with

O Marquez de Pombal, Porto, 1905; J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *O Marquez de Pombal e sua epoca*, Lisboa, 1909 (*cf. Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XII., 1911, 337 *seq.*); S. Almeida, *O grande Marquez de Pombal*, Lisboa, 1906 (*cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIX., 1908, 945); Bice Romano, *L'espulsione dei Gesuiti dal Portogallo*, con documenti dall'Archivio Vaticano, Città di Castello, 1914. For the earlier literature, see Duhr, *Pombal*.

[1] To State Secretary Carvajal; see *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, *loc. cit.*, 445.

[2] The Spanish ambassador Almodovar on *March 28, 1769, State Archives, Vienna (Portugal, 1769); Duhr, *Pombal*, 15.

[3] To Torrigiani, November 28, 1758, reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII (1898), 760. Further evidence in Duhr, *Pombal*, 17, n. 1.

[4] Vogel in the Sunday supplement of the *Vossische Zeitung*, No. 223, May 14, 1899, p. 155.

[5] "devassa sempre aberta."

[6] Olfers, *Mordversuch*, 279 *seq.*

unwarranted privileges one of his creations, the trading company of Grão Pará and Maranhão, the Lisbon trading syndicate was bold enough to make a respectful protest. The composer of the memorial was straightway condemned to deportation to Africa, the eight members of the syndicate were condemned to expulsion, and the committee itself was broken up, and all without any legal trial.[1]

Naturally the despot would suffer no power to exist beside his own, lest it might offer some hindrance to his arbitrary government. Accordingly he turned against the nobility, whose sole function, to his mind, was to heighten the brilliance of the Crown, without itself possessing any power. The Church also was opposed. His contact with "enlightenment" in England and with Caesaro-papalism in Vienna during his years as envoy there had made a lasting impression on him,[2] and State absolutism has never allowed a free Church to co-exist with itself, least of all in the eighteenth century, when even Catholic princes, following the example of their Protestant compeers, wanted to be territorial Bishops. Appealing to the natural law and to the "original" conditions of Christianity, they extended the so-called rights of the Crown in ecclesiastical affairs to such a degree that even the gentle Benedict XIV., yielding as he was to the utmost limits permissible, complained of the opposition which all his measures met at the hands of the secular power.[3] Pombal tried by every means to weaken the influence of the clergy, including the Head of the Church, to restrict ecclesiastical rights and liberties more and more, and to subject the Church

[1] VOGEL, *loc. cit.*; MURR, 15.

[2] Cardinal Pacca, in WELD, 14 *seq.*

[3] "Nous ignorons si nos prédécesseurs ont porté les choses au delà des justes bornes et que cet abus de leur puissance ait engagé les laïques à leur résister; mais nous sommes sûr de n'avoir jamais commis de tels attentats et, malgré cela, nous n'éprouvons dans toutes les parties du monde que des oppositions à tout ce que nous faisons uniquement pour le service de Dieu et non certainement pour d'autres fins." Benedict XIV. to Tencin, August 19, 1750, II., 52; *cf.* 414 *seq.*

completely to the tutelage of the State. So as not to arouse the indignation of the people, who were faithful to the Church, he made use of the ecclesiastical administration to execute his plans, filling the highest and most influential offices with his relatives and venal creatures.

Under Pombal the use of force against representatives of the Church was frequent. The Archbishop of Bahia had to go to Lisbon in 1760 and was unable to return to his diocese. The Bishop of Belem was confined in 1764 in the Benedictine monastery in Oporto. The same fate befell the Bishop of Coimbra with thirty-three of his priests; his crime was the banning of various irreligious or dangerous books, such as the French Encyclopædia, Dupin's Church History, Marmontel's *Bélisaire*, Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, and Febronius. On the charge of an attempt on the royal power he was arrested, his pastoral letter was burned, and he himself was deposed. All who had gained their doctorate under him at Coimbra lost it. The Bishops were forced to issue in their own names the marriage dispensations reserved for the Pope. The religious Orders were treated by Pombal in the same tyrannical manner: Oratorians, Augustinians, and Carmelites were recalled from America and kept in confinement. It fared no better with the Benedictines, Servites, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who found their way to prison in droves. The roads overflowed from time to time with religious being led along by a military escort. The theological works of Diana, Suarez, Vasquez, and Lessius were banned, while books which had been condemned by the Church were translated and distributed; for example, a pastoral letter by the Jansenist Bishop Fitzjames and Colbert's Jansenist Catechism.[1]

To an all-powerful Minister with such aims as these an institution such as the Society of Jesus was an intolerable obstruction. Through its five confessors at Court, through its schools and pastoral works, the Society extended a far-reaching influence among both nobles and commons, not to mention its missions oversea. On the death of the Portuguese envoy Sampajo in Rome, his post was filled for a time by the

[1] *Rev. hist.*, LX., 279 *seq.*

Jesuit Cabral, to the satisfaction of Benedict XIV., who would have liked to keep him as envoy; his failure to retain the post was due solely to his firm refusal of the honour.[1] As long as Pombal's influence with the king was not sufficiently strong for the purpose, namely during the lifetime of the Queen Mother (d. 1754), who was friendly to the Jesuits, he had to hold his plans in abeyance; indeed, according to many reports, at first he made himself out to be a devoted friend and admirer of the Society.[2] But as soon as the material hindrances had been removed, especially after he had won the complete confidence of the king through his prudent conduct after the great earthquake in Lisbon of November 1st, 1755, he showed his true colours. An excuse for breaking with the Society was provided by the events in Paraguay and Maranhão.

The ruthless campaign of calumny against the so-called "Jesuit State" in Paraguay and against the alleged rebellion of the Society during the demarcation there of the Hispano-Portuguese frontier, had created in Europe an anti-Jesuit feeling[3] which Pombal made good use of in his schemes against the Society. The accusations disseminated against it on account of its behaviour in Maranhão facilitated the execution of measures in the mother country which prepared the ground for the final extinction of the Society.

Pombal began with the expulsion of individuals. On July 30th, 1755, the Jesuit Ballester received the express order to leave Lisbon for Braganza within one hour, for having preached against the king's new law. The capitulars, however, who had attended the sermon, had heard nothing that might have offended the king, and the text of the sermon, which the banished priest produced, with the sworn statement that it

[1] To Tencin, June 17, 1750, II., 36 *seq.*

[2] WELD, 8. From Rome Valenti was still sounding Pombal's praise on July 24, 1755 ("*del quale N.S. ha sempre più motivo d'esser sodisfatto per tante prove d'amor filiale e la particolare divozione che si fa gloria di manifestar"). To Acciaioli, Nunziat. di Portog., 178, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 414 *seq.*

corresponded with what he had said, also failed to contain anything of the kind.[1] Three months later Benedict da Fonseca was banished from Lisbon without any charge being preferred against him.[2] On September 28th, 1756, the nuncio reported from Portugal in what bad odour the Jesuits were as the result of the events in Maranhão [3]; Pombal, it was related, was complaining that the Jesuits were abusing their position there to injure the royal authority and that they were treating the natives like slaves [4]; their principles must lead to the destruction of justice and Christian liberty; they engaged in a slave trade, disseminated doctrines against the Church and Crown, and instigated riots and conspiracies against the colonial government.[5] When in 1757 the vintagers of Oporto stirred up an insurrection, Pombal pointed to the Jesuits as the instigators, although the forced monster-trial, in which 482 persons were involved and in which seventeen death sentences were passed, failed to bring to light a trace of evidence against the suspected Society. The insurrection arose solely because Pombal had forced the wine-growers to deliver their wine exclusively to his "Company of the Upper Douro" and at a price fixed arbitrarily by the company.[6]

The General of the Society, Centurioni, did all he could to allay the storm which threatened his people. Two missionaries of whose disrespect towards Count Michaelis grave complaints had been made, were brought to Europe and there dismissed.[7] To the king, Centurioni addressed a letter of

[1] *The Provincial Anton de Torres to Centurioni, August 5, 1755, Lusit., 99, f. 152, in Jesuit possession.

[2] *Torres to Centurioni, October 26, 1755, *ibid.*, f. 153.

[3] *Acciaioli to Valenti, Nunziat. di Portog., 197, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, November 30, 1756, *ibid.*

[5] *The same to the same, March 8 and 22, 1757, *ibid.* Two Jesuits who had been sent back to Europe for having preached sermons likely to cause riots, were declared by their Provincial to be innocent. *The same to the same, May 10, 1757, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* SCHÄFER (based on Pombal's own reports), V., 362; DUHR, *Pombal*, 34, 36.

[7] *Centurioni to the royal confessor Moreira, July 5, 1757;

apology, which reached the hands of Joseph I. through the Jesuit Cabral and the royal confessor. In this he besought the king not to visit the imprudence of individuals on the whole Society ; he had always, and on this occasion more than ever, inculcated obedience on his subjects, and any special wishes of the king he would readily perform.[1] For some time his letter was left unanswered. A second letter from the General, signed, after his death, by the Vicar General Timoni,[2] informed the royal confessor that strict rules for behaviour had been imposed on the new Portuguese Provincial Henriquez in order to avoid a clash. At the same time Timoni renewed the order of dismissal for the two Jesuits who had drawn on themselves the king's anger.[3]

But before these letters could reach Lisbon, Pombal had dealt his first violent blow against the hated Society. On the night of September 19th, 1757, he had the confessor to the royal family removed from the palace, and the next day all Jesuits were strictly forbidden to show themselves at Court.[4] Besides this, the Jesuits were struck off the list of preachers in the cathedral.[5] To the nuncio, Pombal cited as his chief defence of these measures the rebellion of the Jesuits in Maranhão and in Grão Pará ; against such obstinate resistance, he said, he must defend the rights of the king at all costs. He also repeated the accusation that the Jesuits were suppressing the freedom of the Indians and were annexing their property, all this being in contravention of the Papal Briefs, especially

*Moreira to Centurioni, August 1 and 23, 1757, Lusit., 90, f. 143 *seq.*, in Jesuit possession. Further details in CAEYRO, *De exsilio provinciarum transmarinarum Soc. Iesu in Lusitaniam libri 3, Lusit., 95, f. 145, *ibid.*

[1] *Letter of July 19, 1757, Lusit., 90, f. 146, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MURR, 28 *seq.*

[2] *Letter of October 4, 1757, Lusit., 90, f. 143, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Ibid.*, f. 146 ; *Henriquez' reply, November 7, 1757, *ibid.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, September 27, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 198, Papal Secret Archives ; MURR, 21 *seqq.* ; WELD, 93 *seqq.*

[5] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 12, 1757, *loc. cit.*

Benedict XIV.'s latest edict against the enslavement of the Indians,[1] for the carrying out of which the Government had been pressing for the last year and a half. On protests against this conduct being made to the Portuguese Provincial, Pombal continued, the answer given was that the Jesuits in Maranhão were not subject to him, as though he could not have apprised his General of the situation. This reply had made the king irritated with the Portuguese Jesuits, who in any case had been in touch with the missionaries in Maranhão. The king had therefore decided no longer to suffer these religious to live among the Indians.[2]

At a subsequent interview with the nuncio, Pombal raised still graver charges against the Jesuits: revolution, tyrannical procedure, and shady commercial transactions. He had proofs of all these crimes in his hands and would show them to the nuncio when he could find the time to spend a whole morning with him. If strong counter-measures were not taken then and there, he said, in ten years the Jesuits would be so powerful that the armies of all the rulers in Europe would be unable to drive them out, for in the missions they possessed a vast territory with hundreds of thousands of men who had become their slaves. With the help of European engineers disguised as Jesuits they had cast very good cannon, laid out regular defensive positions, and had trained the Indians in military service.[3]

On hearing of the events in Lisbon, Timoni expressed in a letter to Joseph I. his deep grief that certain Jesuits had incurred the royal displeasure. The Jesuit authorities had always impressed on their subordinates the duty of respecting and obeying the royal commands, and the most severe measures had now been taken against all delinquents. He therefore begged the king to show the Society his former favour

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 411.

[2] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 4 and 12, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 198, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* ROMANO, 27.

[3] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 14, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 117, *loc. cit.*

and to express his wishes, which would certainly be put into effect.[1] At the same time the Vicar General asked Pombal for his powerful support.[2] The Minister gave Timoni's letter an apparently friendly reception and even assured the Jesuit Provincial that the king's benevolent attitude towards the Society had in no way diminished.[3]

Replies to the letters addressed to the king and to Pombal were promised [4] but were never sent. On the other hand, at the beginning of March 1758 a special messenger brought to Rome a royal missive dated October 8th, 1757, and addressed to Centurioni, whose death had been known in Lisbon long before. It contained the most bitter complaints and accusations : the heads of the Society had often been informed of the bad behaviour of their subordinates but they had failed in their duty. The indictment, however, confined itself to general terms, giving no particulars on which an inquiry could be based.[5]

Pombal's action naturally caused a great commotion and was variously judged. The Papal nuncio, who was indebted to the Minister for many favours,[6] at first was on his side. In November 1757 he wrote to Archinto that if everything that had been said of the Jesuits in Maranhão, Grão Pará, and Paraguay was true he would not dare to call them religious, no, not even Christians.[7] When Timoni commended the Society to the nuncio's protection, Acciaioli's reply [8] was cool in the extreme and amounted to a refusal. He would do his duty, he wrote, but he regretted that for the present he could

[1] *Lusit., 90, f. 147, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Ibid.*, f. 149.

[3] *Provincial Henriquez to Timoni, December 26, 1757, *ibid.*, f. 151.

[4] *Henriquez to Timoni, January 9, 1758, *ibid.*

[5] *Caeyro, *loc. cit.*, f. 146 ; Murr, 29.

[6] Murr, 51. *Cf.* *Memoria di fatto, of July 11, 1760 (towards the end), Nunziat. di Portog., 117, *loc. cit.*

[7] **Ibid.* ; Murr, 34.

[8] *Of December 6, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 201, *loc. cit.*

do nothing for the Brazilian Jesuits since they were independent of the Portuguese Province; moreover, he could not but be doubtful of their readiness to obey, since for years they had refused to obey the Pope, the Bishops, and the king, who would now force them to do so. The Jesuits in Lisbon professed to be ignorant of all this, but so shocking and grievous facts had been made public that these accusations, in view of the circumstances in which they were made, left no room for doubt. Subsequently Acciaioli again reported to Archinto [1] that unfortunately it was true that the fleet from Rio had brought back fresh proofs of the Jesuits' guilt, and to the report on the fifteen missionaries banished from Maranhão he added the remark that all were guilty of the offences set out in the pamphlets.

In Rome the nuncio's reports caused a certain impression, which was strengthened by verbal and printed news emanating from the Portuguese envoy Almada, a relative of Pombal's. Archinto wrote to Acciaioli on December 21st, 1757,[2] that if the reports on the Jesuits were true his revulsion would disappear, and for himself he would not dare to condemn the forcible measures taken by the Court to counter so great an evil. A few weeks later [3] he thought fit to quote the saying, "There is no corruption so bad as that of the best."

Nevertheless the nuncio does not seem fully to have believed the Portuguese reports on the Jesuits. Frequently he gives unequivocal expression to this distrust in his confidential letters, which are usually in cipher as less likely to be understood by anyone violating the secrecy of the post. For example, after reporting, in a communication of March 8th, 1757, Pombal's complaints against the Jesuits in Maranhão, he adds that there are reasons for his not believing that the accusations had any grounds, Pombal being personally connected with the new trading company [4] and his brother

[1] *On February 7, 1758, *ibid.*, 198.

[2] **Ibid.*, 180; ROMANO, 30.

[3] On January 18, 1758, Nunziat. di Portog., *loc. cit.*

[4] On every pipe (8 barrels) of wine Pombal received three

being governor of Maranhão. The Cardinal Secretary of State was to take this purely confidential information as the key to the correct interpretation of what in his official report he would represent as certain.[1] His reports, therefore, were written with the knowledge that they might be intercepted.

In Rome, too, there was much dissatisfaction that summary accusations should be made with no tangible evidence. On January 20th, 1757, Archinto wrote that he regretted that the nuncio still had no news about the events in Maranhão although Pombal affirmed that he was in possession of the evidence. "It is really time," he continued, "that he made a statement at last, after raising your hopes day after day for months on end; and he must surely know that the said religious are subject to the ecclesiastical authority by reason of their holy institution and, as prescribed by every law, the accusations against them must be examined by this same authority."[2] On January 18th, 1758, Archinto, although no great admirer of the Society, requested the nuncio to support and protect the Jesuits in Portugal; in so doing he could reckon on the Pope's assent.[3]

florins, which amounted to a yearly income of 60–75,000 florins. DUHR, *Pombal*, 63 *seq.*

[1] "*E tutto ciò dico ex officio, ma in particolare ho materia di non creder questo, ma puittosto, che nella specie di sollevazione colà incominciata contro una compagnia nuova di commercio, nella quale è interessato e tra gli interessati supplicanti sottoscritto uno, che poi è sottoscritto sotto il Re nel decreto d'approvazione, e il fratello di questo è governatore colà, siano dipendenti e consigliati da' Padri i capi del rumore. Questo è lume particolare per V. E., et è argumento, ma giusto: altro si vuol far credere: di nulla mi impegno, quello che è verità arcisecura V. E. lo leggerà nelle relazioni d'uffizio, ma non disprezzi questo piccolo confidenzialissimo lume per chiave di quello che con certezza dirò nella relazione d'uffizio: mi sono troppo diffuso, ma lo ha esatto la gelosa materia." To Archinto, March 8, 1757, Nunziat. di Portog., 117, f. 4 *seq.*, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Acciaioli to Archinto, November 1 (?), 1757, *ibid.*

[2] *Nunziat. di Portog., 180, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Ibid.*

As far back as October 8th, 1757, there had been drawn up in Lisbon for the Portuguèse envoy in Rome an instruction which was to justify to the Pope and the Curia the expulsion of the confessors from the Court. The charges were framed in the usual general terms: disobedience to the Church and State, slanders against the Government, lust for money, land, and power. Even the Order of Templars, it ran, which had been stamped out on account of its crimes, had given less scandal, for it had not set up republics, as the Jesuits had done, it had not incited subjects to rebellion, it had not proposed to gain control of whole realms, as the Jesuits had intended and would have succeeded in doing in a few years had not their plans been discovered in time. Again the assertion was made that through their colonies, extending from Maranhão to Uruguay, through their colleges and professed houses, and through their flourishing commerce they would have become so strong in ten years that no power in Europe would have been able to dislodge them. In spite of this the missionaries had been protected by the Court confessors, wherefore the king had been forced to dismiss them and to forbid the Court to all Jesuits. The Pope, it was suggested, should take effective steps to ensure that "a Society which had rendered so many services to the Church should not be utterly ruined by the moral corruption of its members and by the general scandal which its excesses had given." Let the Jesuits, rendered incapable of meddling in politics and commerce, and free from the corrupting desire to control Courts, perform useful services for God and their fellow-men, following the glorious examples of SS. Ignatius, Francis Xavier, and Francis Borgia.[1]

In a second instruction for Almada, of February 10th, 1758,[2] more or less the same accusations were repeated.

[1] Copy of the instruction in [Biker], I., 41 *seqq.*; German translation in [Klausing], II., 345 *seqq.* The instruction was not despatched till February 10, 1758, accompanied by a second instruction and the "Relação abreviada". [Klausing], II., 275; Weld, 125.

[2] Copy in [Biker], I., 44 *seqq.*; German translation in

Disorders in Maranhão, brought about with the object of frustrating the frontier treaty, insurrections in Paraguay and Uruguay, yes even in the Royal Court of Portugal, were laid to the charge of the Jesuits. Finding themselves unable to shake the king's determination to carry out the frontier treaty, they were broadcasting calumnies and insults against his Government and were trying to upset the good relations between the Portuguese and Spanish Governments. Their own trade being threatened by the trading company of Pará, the Jesuits Ballester and Fonseca had stirred up ill-feeling against the company. At the time of the earthquake they spread panic by invented prophecies and declared that the disaster was a punishment for public offences. By calumnious writings calculated to provoke rebellion and by abominable falsehoods uttered in the Palace and in the pulpit they had at that juncture brought almost the whole realm to the verge of destruction.[1] On the establishment of the port wine company they had incited the inhabitants of Oporto against this company.[2] When the king dismissed them from the office of Court Confessor, they retorted with calumnies: their conduct in South America had been irreproachable and they were being persecuted solely because of their defence of the Faith, for there had been movements afoot to abolish the Inquisition, to introduce freedom of conscience, and to marry the Princess Royal to a heretic; the revolt of Oporto was justified, in any case was of no importance, and the punishments had been unjust. To counter these calumnies, the king had had two papers printed, one with excerpts from letters written by Gomes Freire de Andrada, Francis Xavier de Mendonca, and the Bishop of Pará, the other with the judgment given at the trial in Oporto.

In 1758 Pombal considered that the ground had been sufficiently prepared for him to strike the Society a decisive

[KLAUSING], II., 351 *seqq*. *Cf*. WELD, 118 *seqq*. Both instructions, signed by the Foreign Minister, Luis da Cunha, originated with Pombal.

[1] Probably an allusion to Malagrida's publication on the cause of the earthquake; see below, p. 360. [2] See above, p. 10.

blow. On pressure from him, the weak King Joseph I. demanded a Brief that would put a stop to the alleged abuses among the Jesuits in Portugal and its oversea possessions. In two dispatches from the Court of Lisbon the abuses were described in lurid colours and their removal was imperiously demanded.[1] In addition, Pombal had had the much-quoted "Shortened Report"[2] sent to the Pope and the Cardinals.[3] As Almada wrote to the Foreign Minister Da Cunha on March 9th, 1758,[4] he had used forceful language in an audience he had had with Benedict XIV.: if the Pope would not take drastic measures to put an end to the evil, the king would make use of that supreme power which both canon and civil law conferred on him in such cases. This language, he said, had impressed Benedict, whereupon the envoy had somewhat moderated his tone but had left the Pope with only two alternatives: the total abolition of the Society or its stringent reform.[5]

In view of the general attitude which Benedict XIV. was in the habit of adopting towards secular princes it almost went without saying that he would not send to the king a definite refusal to listen to him. On April 1st, 1758, he appointed the Portuguese Cardinal Francesco Saldanha as reformer and visitor of the Portuguese Jesuits.

It fell to Cardinal Passionei, as Secretary of the Briefs, to draft the decree for Saldanha. The Pope's remarks on Passionei's draft[6] reflect the embarrassment caused him by

[1] Instrucção to Almada, October 8, 1757, and February 10, 1758, in [Biker], I., 41 *seqq.*, 44 *seqq.* Another urgent *letter in the Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Soc. Iesu, 58. *Acciaioli to Archinto, February 14, 1758, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Portog., 113.

[2] "Relação abreviada."

[3] [Biker], I., 22–41.

[4] *MS. in Jesuit possession, Lusit., 110.

[5] "*ou total extinção ou huma riguroza reforma."

[6] "*Rimandiamo al Nostro degno card. Passionei l'annesso Breve di Portogallo che merita ogni lode come meritano tutte le opere del predetto Nostro cardinale; ma perchè esso non è in tutto e per tutto inteso di quanto succede, è d' uopo che abbia l'avertenza a quanto Noi siamo in procinto di suggerirgli.

the king's insistence. He was displeased by the domineering tone of the royal dispatches, which simply demanded belief for every accusation made against the Jesuits and ruled out any idea of making closer investigations, but on the other hand he was of the opinion that he ought not to offend the king " in any way ", although the accusations which Portugal was now making against the Jesuits had already been voiced in Spain some years before but had been declared to be unjustified by Philip V.'s edict of December 28th, 1743. He therefore struck out of the draft expressions which were too strong or offensive and softened others. The best way of meeting the king's demands, he stated, was to appoint a Cardinal to investigate

Il Re di Portogallo ha la pretensione, che quanto dice ed espone nei ricorsi che fa alla Santa Sede, si abbia per una verità talmente sicura, che non sia lecito il prendere da qualsivoglia veruna informazione, il che certamente è una cosa assai dura e contraria anche alla practica di tutte le altre corti, che lasciano la libertà di cercare le informazioni per sapere se l'esposto è vero. Ma perchè non complo in veruna maniera il disgustare il Re di Portogallo, ancorchè i PP. Gesuiti mostrino un decreto fatto dal Re Filippo V di Spagna, che nell' Indie aveva lo stesso interesse che il Re di Portogallo, ed in cui assolve i Gesuiti da tutte le imputazioni, che sono appunto quelle medesime che a loro dai Portoghesi presentemente si oppongono, è d' uopo garbeggiare.

E però venendo alla pag. 1 del Breve, parerebbe che si dovessero levare le parole rigate, come troppo forti ed irritanti.

Rispetto alla pag. 2 e 3 parerebbe che potesse bastare il dire avere il Re di Portogallo esposti vari inconvenienti, che sono nelle provincie de' PP. Gesuiti del Portogallo e delle Indie, allo stesso Re sottoposte, ed essere ancora stato informato il pubblico di quanto è successo, e va succedendo, mediante un volume dato alle stampe, consegnato a Noi e distribuito a tutto il Sacro Collegio, facendo istanza a Noi, che provedessimo al male; abbiamo creduto non esservi mezzo più adatto e più decoroso per la Compagnia di Gesù, che Noi per altro amiamo con viscere di Padre, che il deputare un cardinale che a Noi somministri i lumi necessari per poter prendere le opportune providenze: in quella guisa che, quando in Roma v'è stato bisogno di provedere ai disordini, sono stati soliti i Romani Pontefici di deputare uno

the charges, and for the Pope, assisted by some of his Cardinals, to consider his report and to take whatever measures were necessary; by this procedure, also, the honour of the Society of Jesus, which the Pope loved with a father's heart, would best be respected.

The actual Brief was composed in accordance with these instructions.[1] The king of Portugal conveyed his thanks and expressed his satisfaction to Cardinals Archinto and Passionei, especially because the affair had been transacted so secretly that the Jesuits knew nothing of what was happening.[2] And

o più cardinali, col consiglio de' quali si è poi dai Romani Pontefici posto il dovuto rimedio.

Alla pag. 5 al fine parerebbe che si dovesse levare la negoziazione della mercatura.

Alla stessa pag. 5 parlandosi delle Costituzioni Apostoliche, sembrarebbe a proposito nominarle, e particolarmente il Nostro Breve, non potendo ora avere luogo la relazione al detto di sopra, mentre mutandosi quanto era scritto nella pag. 2, non può più aver luogo la relazione.

Alla pag. 6 e 7 quella commutazione di volontà de' testatori parerebbe doversi levare, come una troppo severa nimietà.

Alla stessa pag. 7 dopo le parole 'consilium capiemus', si può aggiungere che istabiliremo il tempo in cui dovrà durare la commissione."

Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Soc. Iesu, 58. The remarks are undated. — The suspicion that the Brief was never even seen by the Pope, who was seriously ill (CORDARA, *De Suppressione*, 29 *seq.*), is therefore unfounded. He must have examined the draft at least. With regard to the paragraph beginning "Alla stessa pag. 5" it is to be noted that in the final draft the charge of illicit commerce is not raised; there is mention, however, of the Brief of Urban VIII., of February 22, 1633, which includes the forbidding of missionaries to trade. To judge from the final version, "Il Nostro Breve" is the Brief of December 20, 1741, against trading in slaves. Passionei, therefore, had raised the charge of slave-trading on page 2 of the draft of the Brief.

[1] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 244; *Benedicti XIV. Acta*, II., 336; *Bened. XIV. Bullarium*, XII., Mechlin., 1829, 403 *seqq.*

[2] "*Le sudette grazie pontificie ed in particolare il Breve della

it was for this reason, according to a report made by the Torinese envoy in Rome, Rivera,[1] that the Brief was received in Rome with no little astonishment, for it was the custom in such cases first to allow the interested parties to have their say. Moreover, the choice of Saldanha as Visitor was not a happy one. If the investigation was to take place on the spot, namely in Lisbon, the Cardinal could hardly be passed over, but Saldanha could not be regarded as a judge who stood above the parties. An impartial verdict could hardly be expected from a relative of Pombal's and one who was completely dependent on the Minister. Further, the instructions in the Brief seemed to be contradictory. Whereas at the beginning and end of the document it was impressed on the Visitor that he was to report to the Holy See on serious abuses in the Society and to await its final verdict, in the main portion of the Brief he was invested with far-reaching powers and allowed to act on his own initiative, without the Jesuits being allowed to appeal to a higher authority.

This discrepancy gave rise to the suspicion that the deputy Florius, who signed the Brief in place of Passionei, may have forged parts of it ; this surmise was supported by the fact

riforma è stato di sommo piacere a S. Maestà ed in particolare per la secretezza con cui fu espedito in cotesta Curia senza si penetrasse dalla perspicace acutezza di tanti religiosi Gesuiti. . . . Nel real nome del medesimo Signore procurerà V. S. Ill. tanto l'Em. card. Archinto, che l'Em. Passionei facendogliene per parte di S. Maestà tutti quelli complimenti ed atti di ringraziamenti che meritano per aver concorso per un opera cotanto santa e pia" ("Capitolo di lettera" of May 9, 1758, Nunziat. di Portog., 117, Papal Secret Archives). "N'oubliez pas de me faire pour Pacionei et Archinto deux bagues en diamants et quelque autre chose que vous trouviez digne de leur être offerte" (the Portuguese ambassador Almada to Pombal, April 7, 1758, in GOMES, *Le marquis de Pombal*, Lisbonne, 1869, 154).

[1] To the Ministry, May 1758, in TORTONESE, 100. *Cf.* CORDARA, *De Suppressione*, 29 *seq.* ; *idem*, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 19 ; MURR, *Geschichte*, I., 141 *seqq.*

that under Clement XIII. Florius was confined in the Castel S. Angelo without any charge being made against him.[1]

Simultaneously with the Brief, which was transmitted to the Visitor through the king,[2] Benedict XIV. sent a letter with an instruction to Cardinal Saldanha himself. In this letter[3] he admonished the Cardinal not to shut his eyes to faults but at the same time steadfastly to exercise moderation and leniency, in the spirit of the Church, especially as an Order was concerned which had hitherto enjoyed the highest reputation. In administering any punishment he was to keep to what was prescribed by canon law and to the promptings of prudence combined with Christian charity. Especially was he not to listen to persons who might offer mischievous counsel actuated by animosity. To avoid still greater scandal the Pope advised that the utmost secrecy be used, and finally he desired the Visitor not to diverge from the regulations laid down in the accompanying Instruction, the careful compliance with which would serve to remove any irregularities and abuses.

The Instruction to which Saldanha was referred imposed on him the duty, first of all, to investigate the supposed irregularities, in particular the non-observance of the Society's laws and the transaction of commercial business to the detriment of the State finances. The Pope desired enlightenment on this point especially, the reports of the Portuguese Court affording no satisfactory evidence. By interrogating the lay brothers and examining the account books the Visitor was to try to ascertain whether it was a question of commerce as forbidden by canon law or whether it was only that the Jesuits sold the superfluous produce of their estates, as was done by other

[1] CORDARA, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III., 19; *idem*, *De Suppressione*, 30.

[2] *Acciaioli to Archinto, May 9, 1758, Nunziat. di Portog., *loc. cit.*

[3] *Copia della lettera scritta da Papa Benedetto XIV. al card. di Saldanha . . . estratta da' registri di Palazzo, in Jesuit possession, German translation in MURR, 44 *seqq.*

religious. Once more Benedict emphasized the need for moderation, leniency, and the utmost secrecy, so as not to offer the Ministers an occasion for intervention and consequent injury to the Papal authority. The result of his inquiry was to be reported by the Cardinal, through the nuncio, to the Holy See, which would decide, in conjunction with the General of the Society, what measures were necessary. In this way it was hoped to render groundless the complaints made by the Lisbon Court and to avoid the harmful consequences which might arise from shutting one's ears to the continual accusations that were being made and refraining from any countermeasures.[1]

Whether Saldanha ever set eyes on the Papal document is doubtful. The Brief, however, brought about the most grievous consequences for the Society; it enabled the all-powerful Minister to set in motion his work of destruction under cover of the ecclesiastical authority.

[1] *Copia dell' istruzione data da Benedetto XIV. al card. di Saldanha costituendolo visitatore della Compagnia di Gesù in Portogallo, estratta da' registri di Palazzo, in Jesuit possession: "repertum inter scripta A. R. P. Ricci et ab eo conservatum teste Boero." *Cf.* *Compendio istorico dell'espulsione dei Gesuiti dai regni di Portogallo e da tutti i suoi domini, Nizza [Venezia], 1791, 68–71 (*cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, III., 1070); MURR *Geschichte*, I., 148–152; CORDARA, *De Suppressione*, 30 RODRIGUES, *Iesuitophobia*, Porto, 1917, 232–4.

CHAPTER II.

Benedict XIV.'s Care for the Silesian Catholics. His Relations with Frederick the Great.

(1)

The territorial changes made by the Peace of Westphalia increased the number of Catholics in Prussia, who formerly were completely isolated. Nevertheless they were still merely tolerated, and the State took the viewpoint that only individuals, or at the most separate parishes, were to be allowed, but not the hierarchic erection of the Church.[1]

This situation was altered by the acquisition of Silesia, when the vast bishopric of Breslau, the principal diocese in Prussian territory, demanded special consideration. King Frederick II., who shortly after the death of the Emperor Charles VI. succeeded in substantiating his claims to Silesia by force of arms,[2] was personally all for toleration, though, to be sure, it was a toleration whose ultimate foundations were based on purely political theories and interests [3]; nevertheless outrages against Catholics were committed by the Protestant Prussian soldiery.[4]

The apprehensions of the Catholics were increased by the rapid success enjoyed by Frederick, whose troops were already marching into Breslau on January 3rd, 1741. When Pope Benedict XIV. called on the Catholic Imperial Princes to

[1] *Cf.* K. A. Menzel, XI., 129. — For this chapter preliminary studies by Dr. v. Castelmur (of Chur) were available.

[2] Theiner, I., 3.

[3] *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, LXXXIX. (1882), 764; Lehmann, II., Nos. 1, 2. His motive was not Protestant fanaticism but tolerance, exercised, however, for political reasons; *cf. ibid.*, X., 442 *seq.*, 667 *seq.* For his tolerance in theory and practice, see Heinrich Pigge, *Die religiöse Toleranz Friedrichs d. Gr.*, Mainz, 1899, especially pp. 141 *seqq.* for Silesia.

[4] Theiner, I., 4.

uphold the Church's interests in Silesia,[1] and the nuncio in Vienna seemed to be encouraging the Imperial Government to wage war against Prussia in common with Poland,[2] Frederick issued an emphatic assurance through his diplomatic representatives in Dresden and Warsaw and at the Diet of Ratisbon that no danger was threatening the Church in Silesia.[3]

And yet it is undeniable that the Catholics of that country, especially the nobility and the clergy, had grievously to suffer [4]; it was preferably on them that contributions were levied and troops were quartered.[5] Worst of all, at the end of March 1741, the most distinguished Silesian Catholics, headed by the Bishop of Breslau, Cardinal von Sinzendorf, were made prisoner. The latter, trusting in the king's word, had betaken himself to his country seat of Freiwaldau,[6] whence he was led away with little consideration for his dignity by a strong military escort. The Minister Podewils had to explain this action by accusing Sinzendorf of having corresponded with the enemy, and he excused its severity by citing similar measures which had been taken in the past against other good Catholic princes; on his representations [7] the king mitigated the

[1] *Ibid.*, 5.

[2] *Cf.* LEHMANN, II., No. 24.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 19, 20, 21 *seq.*, 28; MÖHRS, 2 *seq.*; L. KAAS, *Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit*, 71.

[4] RANKE (*Preuss. Gesch.*, III., 430) tried to make it credible that Frederick would gladly have raised Catholics to higher positions, had not the Silesian Catholics offered opposition. — No doubt the king aided individuals, but only when he expected to reap immediate political profit from their compliance.

[5] *Cf.* the account in THEINER, I., 6 *seqq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XI., 445; *Katholik*, 1856, 304. Nevertheless, it was just at this time that there took place the romantic deliverance of the Prussian king from his Austrian pursuers in the Cistercian convent of Kamenz. In 1745 Frederick was rescued here a second time; see SKOBEL, *Kamenz in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 5. Lief., Kamenz, 1925, 11 *seqq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXIV., 109 *seqq.*

[6] THEINER, I., 9; MÖHRS, *loc. cit.*

[7] LEHMANN, II., No. 31; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XI., 445; PIGGE, 149

conditions of the Bishop's arrest and he was allowed to move about freely in Breslau.[1] Soon afterwards, on April 18th, the Minister was able to inform him of his release, on condition that he left Breslau and Silesia, refrained from all suspicious correspondence, and applied himself in Vienna to the release of prisoners of war.[2] For this the Papal Secretary of State, Valenti, tendered his thanks on May 13th to the Prussian resident Minister in Venice.[3]

The fortunes of war were more and more favourable to Frederick. Maria Theresa gave up hope of saving Silesia and released her subjects there from the obligation to offer any kind of resistance to Prussia. Like the princes and Estates of Lower Silesia, the Bishop and clergy decided on submission. On December 1st this news was sent from Olmütz by Cardinal Sinzendorf to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti, with the hope that he would be able to celebrate Christmas in his diocese.[4] Relations with the Prussian king quickly improved, he thinking to have removed the antipathy of the Silesian Catholics and having assured the Bishop that each Church would retain in full its rights and privileges.[5] And indeed, in due course, toleration was exercised outwardly,[6] but as time passed it became more and more evident that it was intended not only to raise the Protestant Church to a position

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 31 (April 14, 1741).

[2] *Cf.* Sinzendorf's report to the Pope, of April 23, 1741, in THEINER, I., 9; LEHMANN, II, No. 34; MÖHRS, 4. Benedict XIV. had appealed to the Catholic Powers on April 14, 1741, to intervene on the Cardinal's behalf. *Cf.* Louis XV.'s written reply of May 1, 1741 (in THEINER, I., 10, n. 3), in which he rejoiced that the Prince of the Church had been released by his captors of their own accord.

[3] LEHMANN, II., No. 39. Benedict XIV. had complained in a consistorial address of Frederick's procedure. See *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XI., 446 *seq.*

[4] THEINER, I., 11.

[5] LEHMANN, II., No. 51 (October 29, 1741); MÖHRS, 5.

[6] Thus, *inter alia*, Corpus Christi processions were allowed *cf.* LEHMANN, II., No. 40 (May 23, 1741).

of equality but to make it the dominant State Church. Thus the important seats in the senates and the government departments were to be filled by Protestants, as was demanded by the secret ordinance made by Frederick on October 11th, 1741, in the camp at Friedland, in the case of the burgomasters, syndics, and treasurers of the Lower Silesian towns.[1] Also the secular rights of the cathedral chapter of Breslau were to endure only in so far as they did not conflict with "the common good and the safety of the country" as determined by the law then in force.[2]

Similarly in the ecclesiastical sphere the promise to preserve the *status quo* was not kept. The fatal part of the whole matter, however, was that the man who was then at the head of the Silesian Church was incapable of dealing with the difficult situation. Cardinal Sinzendorf was completely captivated by the ideas of enlightenment that then held sway and in his intermediate position, often invidious, between Pope and king, he proved to be only too faithful a servant of the latter. He had received the purple through the intercession of his father, the Imperial High Chancellor, Philipp August von Sinzendorf. Though endowed with remarkable intellectual gifts and with elegant manners, he was not free from human weaknesses. Through his connections with the Court at Berlin he hoped to gain more for his charges from the favour of the monarch than by a purposeful, resolute conduct. His vision was so much obscured by the personal manifestations of the royal favour that it was not till too late that he perceived the dangers lurking behind the courteous, charming mask, and even then consideration for his own feelings prevented his adopting a bold change of front.[3]

The Prussian plans, which were already beginning to be put in operation during the absence of the Bishop, were comprised

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 53, resolution of November 5, 1741.

[3] *Cf.* his career as given in THEINER, I., 12 *seq.*; MÖHRS, 8, 49; *Katholik*, 1856, 305 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXIV., 412–16.

in the conference protocol of December 8th, 1741. Its basic principle was the separation of ecclesiastical doctrine from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the latter to form a branch of civil law and administration. This meant the application to Catholic territory of the powers appertaining to the royal headship of the Protestant Church. For both confessions justice would be administered by two consistories to be established at Breslau and Glogau ; appeals could be made to the Upper Court of Appeal in Berlin. As a matter of principle, the granting of dispensations was reserved for the king, as a sovereign right.[1]

It was principally the Ministers Arnim and Cocceji who urged their sovereign to come to a decision in these questions, whereby Papal influence was to be completely eliminated.[2] Frederick, however, considered it expedient to move with the greatest caution, neither providing the Catholics with any ground for complaint nor neglecting his own rights. Accordingly, on January 5th, 1742, he ordered that matters in dispute between Catholics should be settled, as before, by the episcopal consistory and the ecclesiastical courts of appeal.[3] In the same way the reorganization of Church affairs in Silesia was regulated by the notification patent of January 15th, 1742, on the principle that only the spiritual affairs of Protestant subjects should come before the new consistories at Breslau and Glogau ; further, all authorities were reminded of the necessity of preserving religious freedom.

All the same, many innovations were introduced that were in accordance with the protocol to the conference : thus the assignment to the secular courts of civil cases in which the principals were clerics ; the settlement by the State of marriage dispensations ; and, above all, the promotion of the Berlin tribunal to the court of appeal above the two royal consistories

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 60. *Cf.* PIGGE, 153 *seq.*

[2] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 63, 70 (December 30, 1741).

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 72. This is the royal reply to the question put by the Ministers Arnim and Cocceji (Nos. 63 and 70). *Cf.* KAAS, 75 *seq.*

and the episcopal consistory, though it is true that Catholic cases were to be judged according to Catholic law.[1] Thus any influence emanating from the Papacy and any appeal to the nuncios were both ruled out.

In his negotiations with Cocceji, Cardinal Sinzendorf wanted to prevent the Berlin tribunal, which was composed entirely of Protestants, being the final court of appeal, since the judgment of such an authority could never bind the conscience of a Catholic. It was in this way that there arose the plan of a Vicariate Apostolic for the territory governed by the Prussian monarchy. The Vicar Apostolic, though outwardly the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Silesia, might well be in secret agreement with the Papal See.

In a letter of January 29th Sinzendorf described this project to the Pope.[2] Cocceji's report on it was received favourably in Berlin, where Sinzendorf was considered to be the right person to fill the new post.[3] The Cardinal, who was soon induced to favour the execution of the plan, contemplated the erection in Berlin of a special tribunal of appeal for Catholic cases and of a chancellery whose decrees would be carried out by royal officials. To Cocceji's mind Frederick's prestige would be much enhanced should he succeed by this method in enrolling a Cardinal in his service, and he already foresaw Berlin as a new Rome for the Prussian Catholics. There was also a financial advantage in the project, for henceforward the dispensation fees would remain in the country.[4] Cocceji saw clearly that ultimately, in practice, the Prussian Catholics would be detached from Rome, and in a letter of February 20th, 1742, to the Minister Podewils in Berlin he remarked that the king would probably agree to the plan as submitted,

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 83; MÖHRS, 8 *seq.*; KAAS, 77 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, I., 15 *seq.* (Sinzendorf to the Pope). *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XCV., 527 *seqq.*; PIGGE, 159 *seqq.*; *Katholik*, 1856, 306 *seqq.* Contrary to the general opinion, KAAS (84) tries to show that the plan was initiated by Cocceji; similarly MÖHRS, 9 *seq.*

[3] LEHMANN, II., No. 92.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 94.

especially as a matter of principle was involved.[1] As the court of appeal for all cases which had hitherto been dealt with, in the name of the *Pope*, by nuncios, Provincials, and Visitors, the Vicariate General would deal with all questions, on Catholic principles, in the name of the *king*.[2] Frederick announced his satisfaction with the new arrangement as early as March 17th, 1742. His only comment was that the tribunal was not to be made competent to deal with too many matters and that it was to be kept under careful and continual observation, lest, as the result of intrigues, it might meddle in matters which could not be considered to fall within its province. Cardinal Sinzendorf was to be written to on behalf of the king with regard to his acceptance of the Vicariate General.[3] The formal approval of Cocceji's proposals followed on March 26th, 1742. In this missive he was asked to prepare an instruction for the Vicar General and a patent notifying the Silesian officials of the change in Catholic conditions. Frederick trusted completely in Cocceji's ability, since he possessed "the necessary insight both into spiritual rights and into the tricks of the Papal clerics" and would thus be able to take whatever precautions were necessary.[4]

Cocceji lost no time in preparing his instruction; the draft was ready by April 16th, 1742. In it he provided for an oath of fealty to be taken by the Vicar General, who was to perform his official duties in the *king's* name.[5] Sinzendorf, however, declared that he could not take the prescribed oath without Papal approbation since it contained demands for the Papal approbation of which he could not sue. Moreover, the Cardinal did not want to reside permanently in Berlin, as the financial side of the business also seemed to him too insecure.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 95. "J'ai envoyé le plan pour établir le Vicariat général au roi. Comme c'est une affaire de conséquence, je suis sûr, que S.M. le goûtera."

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 100.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 111.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 116.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 118; Möhrs, 11.

The Cardinal put his views before the Prussian king in a letter of April 23rd, 1742. He recognized the necessity of a Vicariate General for the Prussian Catholics, but pointed out that this was not to be attained without Papal co-operation; at the same time, for this occasion at least, he offered to mediate on the king's behalf.[1] Frederick gladly accepted the Cardinal's offer, since he too saw that nothing could be done without an understanding with the Roman Curia. He hoped, however, that the Cardinal would be able to obtain the Pope's agreement with the Prussian plan and that thus any obstacle to the Cardinal's acceptance of the proffered dignity would be removed.[2] Sinzendorf was also invited to work out a plan for the Vicariate General that would accord with his conscience.[3]

Direct authorization to commence negotiations with Rome was given to the Cardinal in a royal letter written on May 1st, 1742.[4] Armed with this support, Sinzendorf accepted his nomination as Vicar General, subject to Papal confirmation, but he declined, as before, to undertake the duty of residing in Berlin.[5] On May 19th, 1742, the Cardinal began to write to the Pope on the subject. After describing the favourable attitude of the Prussian Government towards the Catholics he said that Frederick's wish was that spiritual matters should no longer be taken before tribunals outside the country, just as they were not so taken in Catholic States. The establishment of a nunciature in Berlin being impracticable, the king's wish was that the difficulty should be overcome, as in Holland, by a Vicariate General, whereby the jurisdiction of the Bishop

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 119.

[2] Verbal decision made by Frederick on April 27, 1742, *ibid.*, No. 119.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 120.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 122; MÖHRS, 12.

[5] LEHMANN, II., No. 128. The letter pleased Frederick so much that he wrote in the margin "very good". Podewils had already asked Cocceji on May 5 to accommodate the Cardinal on the questions of the oath and the residential obligation, lest the whole plan might be endangered. *Cf. ibid.*, No. 127.

of Breslau would continue to exist as fully as before. The Vicar General would exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the name of the Pope and would be supported therein by the new tribunal in Berlin. The latter would be composed of some assessors and a secretary, and only suitable persons would be appointed. The Cardinal then remarked that Frederick wanted the Vicar General to be one of his own subjects who would be loyal to him and would not stir up trouble in the State under the cover of religion. Sinzendorf explained that he had been chosen for this new dignity but that he had declined to take up his permanent residence in Berlin; a Pro-Vicar therefore would have to be appointed, on whom Rome might confer the rank of Bishop *in partibus*. The Holy See, according to the Cardinal's letter, should grant wide powers of dispensation to the Vicar General, to obviate his having to apply to Rome too often, which, in view of the distance, would be inconvenient. The Vicar General should also be given the right to give the final sanction to all benefices in the country, so that the various dignitaries would not have to obtain the Papal sanction. Sinzendorf stressed the king's express desire that this should be done and said that Frederick would not relinquish this demand; on the other hand, the king was willing to guarantee the Vicar General completely unrestricted intercourse with Rome. Of the proposed oath to be taken by the Vicar General, Sinzendorf made not the slightest mention.[1]

The contents of this letter the Cardinal made known to Frederick, who heartily approved of it and promised his support. Further dealings with the Cardinal he relegated to his Minister Cocceji.[2] Benedict XIV., however, was accurately informed about the real intentions of the Prussian Government; he knew that Frederick's aim was to found in Prussia an exclusive, Catholic, national Church, on which the Pope would cease to have any influence. This threatened evil he hoped to avert through the intervention of France.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 135.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 145, 146.

[3] *Nunziat. di Francia, 442, Cifra al Nunzio, of February 23,

When Sinzendorf's letter of May 19th, 1742, arrived in Rome, the Pope referred the matter for consideration to a Congregation of Cardinals, the question of the Vicariate General especially causing him anxiety.[1] The Congregation besought the Pope to summon Sinzendorf to Rome for a conference. Particular annoyance was caused by the proposal to present the Vicariate General to the public as a royal institution, and further difficulties were raised by the territorial area allotted to it.

1742 (Papal Secret Archives): "Una cosa angustia fortemente S. S^tà^ et è il capriccio violente del marchese di Brandenburgh, che dà a divedere di voler fare stravaganze nelle materie ecclesiastiche e di religione della Slesia." *Ibid.* *Cifra al Nunzio of March 16, 1742: "Il sigr. cardinale [Fleury] ha ben ragione di non fidarsi del marchese di Brandenburgh e di starne con timore. . . . S. Em^za^ dovrebbe seriamente riflettersi e non aspettare che quel principe ambiziosissimo e di niuna fede arrivi a maturare i suoi pessimi disegni e contro i cattolici in Germania e contro la Francia medesima." *Cf.* Benedict XIV.'s letter to Cardinal Fleury, of March 10, 1742 (LEHMANN, II., No. 105); also Fleury's letter to the Prussian ambassador Chambrier in Paris, of March 29, 1742, in which he advises the Prussian king against any innovation in the ecclesiastical affairs of Silesia (*ibid.*, No. 112). Fleury renewed his remonstrances on June 1, 1742 (*ibid.*, No. 148). In a draft of the reply to Cardinal Fleury (May 30 to June 4, 1742), Frederick represented himself as greatly astonished that "the Bishop of Rome" (*l'évêque de Rome*) should have turned to France with complaints of religious conditions in Prussia and Silesia, since the whole world knew his way of thinking, which was entirely hostile to religious oppression. Were the "Roman Bishop" to maintain a negative attitude towards his request for a royal Vicar General, the blame for any trouble that might occur would fall on Rome, for he would forbid his subjects all communication with Rome on pain of sequestration of their property (*ibid.*, No. 150).

[1] In his letter to Tencin of March 29, 1743, the Pope described Sinzendorf as "une des épines de notre pénible pontificat" and the plan of the Vicariate General as "monstrueux". See HEECKEREN, I., 44. *Cf.* *Thun to Maria Theresa on July 14, 1742, State Archives, Vienna.

Meanwhile, on July 3rd, 1742, Frederick had arrived in Breslau to take possession of his new territories. With the higher ranks of the Catholic clergy he took especial pains to establish good relations. Cardinal Sinzendorf was veritably dazzled by the king's friendliness. He described his impressions in a letter to Benedict XIV. He felt himself fortunate, he said, to have the monarch stay in one of his villas and to be visited by him more than once. Frederick had even expressed the wish to attend High Mass and a sermon. The king having refused to have a throne set up in the church, the Cardinal had had a sofa placed near the altar for him. With obvious satisfaction Sinzendorf informed the Pope that the king and the princes with the whole Court had attended the ceremony with more silence and respect than could be observed in the Papal chapel. After the church ceremony there were balls and other festivities in the Bishop's palace. On this occasion Frederick had conversed with Sinzendorf on Church matters, among others, had tried to dissipate all his misgivings, and had said that Cocceji was a pedant who went too far, but that the Cardinal had nothing to fear. The conversation had also turned on freemasonry, of which the king was a Grand Master. Sinzendorf ventured the opinion that there was no evil in freemasonry but that the invocation of God in the mason's oath seemed to him rather out of place. Frederick appeared to be greatly astonished at this and asked why God should not be called to witness when one promised to be a better man in the future.[1]

The Pope replied to the Cardinal's communications in a Brief of July 14th, 1742. He first expressed his pleasure that Frederick was so favourably disposed towards the Catholics of Silesia and particularly so towards their spiritual head. For this the Cardinal was to transmit the Papal thanks, which Benedict could not convey in person. For the establishment of a Vicariate General, Benedict laid down two main principles. First and foremost, on the establishment of this institution, the Pope was to be acknowledged, as before, as the

[1] THEINER, I., 27 *seqq.*; letter of July 16, 1742.

universal head of the Church; the Prussian Catholics were not to be detached from their union with Rome. Secondly the Pope stipulated that in the new condition of affairs the Catholics should not lack anything that was necessary for their spiritual guidance. He then entered into some of the misgivings felt by the Congregation and asked especially for information about the principles on which the assessors of the ecclesiastical tribunal in Berlin were to be appointed. Sinzendorf was invited to come to Rome for a verbal discussion; if, however, he was unable to come in person he might send a suitable delegate.[1] On August 5th, 1742, the Cardinal informed the king of Prussia of the Papal letter but only in so far as it expressed the Pope's thanks for the royal protection of the Catholic religion. Sinzendorf regretted that he was not able to transmit this message in person and expressed his desire to continue the negotiations with Cocceji.[2] Thus Frederick was led to presume, with satisfaction, that the project of the Vicariate General was making good progress.[3]

The peace negotiations between Austria and Prussia ended provisionally on July 11th, 1742, with the Preliminaries of Breslau. Church affairs were regulated by Article 6, by which Frederick undertook to maintain the *status quo* of the Catholic Church in Silesia. All the Catholics in Silesia were to be protected in the property, liberties, and privileges which they lawfully enjoyed. To the Protestants the king reserved the right to practise their religion in freedom and to himself sovereign rights.[4] To Article 6 in its final phrasing in the definitive peace terms of July 28th, 1742, was added the proviso that the king of Prussia would not exercise his sovereign rights to the detriment of the *status quo* of the Catholic Church.[5]

This indefinite and broad phrasing of Article 6 caused even Cardinal Sinzendorf grave misgivings, as the possibility of

[1] *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*, and Docum. No. 36 (II., 219).
[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 175.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 179.
[4] *Ibid.*, 130 (No. 152).
[5] *Ibid.*, 145 (No. 168).

the so-called rights of sovereignty being abused was not remote, especially as the Prussian conception of these rights included that of the royal headship of the Protestant Church, which extended over all the king's subjects. However, Sinzendorf consoled himself with the thought that his personal relations with Frederick would avert all harm from the Catholic Church in Silesia. He begged the Pope to be as accommodating as possible to Frederick, as he might have to lay the Papal missive before the king. Also, the king might be thinking of admitting him to the Order of the Black Eagle. To decline this honour might offend the monarch, wherefore he asked the Pope to allow him to accept it. He thought that he would be doing his duty to his religion if he kept away from the services of the Order in the Calvinist church and refrained from wearing the insignia of the Order at ecclesiastical functions.[1]

The Cardinal's letters of the 16th and 23rd of July were answered by the Pope on August 11th, 1742. Benedict had received precise information from various quarters as to conditions in Prussia and Silesia, also as to those matters about which the Cardinal was silent. As was only natural, he viewed with anxiety the further development of the situation. He made it clear to Sinzendorf that Prussia's claim to exercise the episcopal right over Catholics as well as Protestants would be a violation of the *status quo* which had been settled by the treaty. In a fatherly and considerate manner he exhorted the Cardinal to be on his guard, so that the Catholic religion might be preserved in all its purity. Permission to accept membership of the Order of the Black Eagle he withheld on the ground that the Order was not recognized by the Holy See.[2] In a second letter, on August 11th, Benedict gave his views on Sinzendorf's explanations in his letter of July 16th, in which the Bishop had represented his attitude towards Frederick as being the only prudent and efficacious one possible. This view was opposed by the Pope on

[1] THEINER, I., 30 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 32, and Docum. No. 37.

the score that dissimulation and ingenious manœuvres were out of place in matters of religion. Much as he rejoiced at the Prussian ruler's benevolent disposition towards the Cardinal's *person*, he did not forbear to point out most seriously that this was no guarantee of the Church's freedom. It was more important to set a shining example in religious feeling. The achievement of this end was not furthered by balls in the bishop's palace nor by sofas near the altar and superficial talk about freemasonry. Such conduct was not likely to edify Catholics or to produce among heretics a correct knowledge or respect for the Catholic Church and her services. The Pope earnestly warned Sinzendorf not to buy the sovereign's good will at the expense of the Holy See. He reminded him of the history of the Church, which showed that the desire to please was often the chief cause of disaster and that truly great Bishops had used other means of obtaining advantages for the sake of religion.[1]

Meanwhile the matter of the Vicariate General was not at a standstill. The desire of the Prussian Government to settle it before the conclusion of peace, so that the new situation might form part of the *status quo*, was not realized.[2] On August 7th, 1742, Sinzendorf returned to the subject in a letter to the Pope. He had gathered from the Papal reply of July 14th that Benedict did not object to the proposal on principle. The Curia's fears that the Prussian Catholics would be detached from Rome he tried to dissipate by the ingenuous remark that there was no national bishop in Prussia and that Frederick saw quite well that a Church without a centre would no longer be the Catholic Church, so that Rome would be the centre as before. The long distance from Rome, however, called for a Vicariate General; but Frederick would never

[1] *Ibid.* Docum. No. 38. In a *letter to Tencin of August 7, 1742, the Pope complained that Frederick had never kept his word and never would. Miscell., XV., 154, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, a *letter of August 10 in which Benedict wrote of the parlous state of the Church in Silesia.

[2] *Cf.* LEHMANN, No. 134 (May 19, 1742).

agree to its being called a *Papal* one, as he had chosen the title "Royal Vicariate General". Another piece of news which the Cardinal was pleased to be able to give to the Pope was that the king was willing to provide for the maintenance of the new officials in a manner worthy of their station. For this purpose the religious houses in the Vicariate would be subject to a new tax. Sinzendorf feared that this would provoke displeasure both among those affected and in Rome, but he found nothing extraordinary or unjust in it. For the rest, Sinzendorf undertook not to make any definite agreements without previously acquainting the Pope with them and advised him that the detailed plan of the Vicariate General would be sent to him in the near future.[1]

On August 26th, 1742, Sinzendorf, on Cocceji's suggestion, had submitted a draft, prepared by himself, of the instruction for the Vicar General, cloaked in the form of a criticism of the royal proposal. The oath he shaped in such a form as to admit, as he thought, of his taking it without scruple, it being no longer stipulated that the king should appoint the Vicar General, but only that he should select a person for the office.[2] On the basis of this new draft the negotiations made rapid progress, so that on September 12th, 1742, Cocceji was able to report to the king that every question, except that of mixed marriages, had been settled. In his capacity of Vicar General, Sinzendorf was to receive the title of Minister.[3] The Prussian Government, however, had not abandoned its viewpoint that the Pope could never be recognized as the highest judge. On the other hand, it left the holder of the new office free to come to an understanding with Rome regarding its canonical confirmation.[4]

Sinzendorf considered that he could build up his project on this foundation and hoped also to find a solution to the question of mixed marriages. Should a plea of nullity be

[1] THEINER, I., 37 *seqq.*
[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 187.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 195, 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 204, 208.

advanced against such a marriage on any score, it was, according to Cocceji's plan, to be decided by a mixed tribunal of Catholics and Protestants.[1] To this Sinzendorf objected that a non-Catholic could not obtain the necessary authority to judge such a case. His counter-proposition sought to preserve for the Catholic partner of the marriage the right to apply to the Catholic tribunal and to abide by its decision. To this the Government agreed in substance but stipulated that when the invalidity of the marriage could be removed by dispensation, this was to be granted by the Vicar General. In this reply to Sinzendorf it was emphasized also that the retention of the *status quo* in confessional matters applied only to the Catholics and that, on the other hand, the religious freedom of the Protestants and the sovereign rights of Prussia were safeguarded.[2]

Considering Sinzendorf's previous conduct, it is not surprising that Frederick hoped to obtain all his ecclesiastico-political demands through him. He now desired to acquire for himself the right enjoyed by Catholic princes of nominating a Cardinal. Most obediently Sinzendorf transmitted the royal desire to the Pope. Had not the situation been so grave and disquieting the attitude of this Prince of the Church at Breslau would certainly have provided the talented and witty Pope with material for some sarcastic observations. As it was, Benedict showed the Cardinal his diminished respect for him by replying to his letters with hand-written notes bearing no title or signature.[3]

This demeanour gave Sinzendorf to think, and he made an attempt to regain the Papal confidence and to justify his conduct. He admitted that Frederick made fun of religious matters now and then but added that his wit was directed only towards the superstition of ignorant priests and monks, in which attitude indeed he supported the king. On the other hand, Sinzendorf considered that he had acted meritoriously

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 233 (November 6, 1742).

[3] THEINER, I., 44.

in having declined the royal invitation to become a freemason. He described to the Pope how on this occasion he had explained to Frederick that he was perfectly acquainted with the laws of the Church in this respect and he attached to his letter his pastoral letter of September 1st, 1742, in which he instructed the clergy about the sect and warned them against it. Finally he defended himself against the charge of using frivolous expressions with the remark that Frederick and he always conversed in French, the delicate nuances of which language were often misconstrued by the general company.[1]

The Cardinal, however, did not succeed in deceiving the Pope as to the true state of affairs. Benedict saw quite clearly that Sinzendorf's methods were hurrying the Catholic religion along the road to ruin. What distressed him most was his complete helplessness in face of the danger. The Court of Vienna considering it inopportune to intervene in favour of Catholic Silesia, lest it might antagonize Frederick, Benedict set his hopes on France. He therefore kept his friend Cardinal Tencin regularly informed about events in Silesia and asked him and Cardinal Fleury [2] to mediate at the Court in Paris. On Cardinal Sinzendorf he no longer set any hope at all. His policy now was to postpone the Vicariate General as long as possible and to confine himself to granting only for each separate case the necessary powers for which Sinzendorf was continually suing.[3] For this reason he answered the Cardinal's long epistle with only a short note on November 24th, 1742. Further incidents, such as Sinzendorf's allowing the Prussian monarch to appropriate to himself the episcopal palace at Neisse without opposition, and his breach of confidence in publishing a statement made by Benedict about Frederick on July 14th, 1742, must have displeased the Pope still more.[4]

Meanwhile the position of the Catholic Church in Silesia was

[1] Letter of October 15, 1742, *ibid.*, 46.

[2] Brosch, II., 107, n. 1.

[3] Heeckeren, I., 3.

[4] Theiner, I., 49 *seq.* Sinzendorf apologized on January 21, 1743, *ibid.*, 59 *seq.*

growing worse. Protestantism was making much progress, though it was not reported to the Pope by Sinzendorf. His omission, however, was made good by various German prelates, who observed with extreme regret what was happening in Silesia. This information impelled the Pope to take action, but even now to spare the Cardinal he decided on November 24th, 1742, to send him a secret letter written in his own hand, which Sinzendorf was to destroy directly he had read it. This action of the Pope's has become known only through the Cardinal's written reply, of December 24th, which has been preserved. Sinzendorf could not deny the steady growth of Protestantism in Silesia but tried to exonerate himself from any blame for it. He regretted that Providence had helped the Prussian arms to victory and complained of the insufficient education of his clergy, of the bad state of the schools, of the moods of the king and the crookedness of his Ministers. He earnestly besought the Pope not to hold him responsible for everything, as he could not prevent it.[1] The good will shown by the Cardinal clearly gladdened the Pope. He wished him all success in the visit to Berlin which he was shortly to make and exhorted him to admit all Catholics to his chapel there, as according to canon law the chapels of Cardinals ranked as public churches.[2]

The chief object of the consultations in Berlin, whither Sinzendorf repaired for a few weeks at the beginning of 1743, were the affairs of the Church in Silesia, particularly the question of the Vicariate General. The result of the negotiations was a new draft of the instruction for the Vicar General, bearing the date February 9th, 1743. Sinzendorf so much approved of this draft that he remarked that it now needed nothing but the Papal approbation. The Cardinal felt himself to be completely master of the situation. On February 19th, 1743, he described to the Pope in eloquent language the sagacious step he had taken.[3] As from a lofty watch-tower,

[1] *Ibid.*, 50 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* Docum. No. 40 and p. 56 (January 12, 1743).
[3] *Ibid.*, 63.

he wrote, he noticed every incident and was content if he could realize only five of every ten wishes, since the others could be attained with sagacity and patience; things were not so easy in Prussia as in the Papal States.

It was not till March 4th, 1743, that Sinzendorf sent the Pope the final draft of the instruction for the Vicar General,[1] on which he had prepared a commentary.

The proposed vicariate comprised, within the frontiers of the German Reich, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Pomerania, and Krossen, together with the principalities of Halberstadt, Minden, and Kammin. To these was added the Prussian portion of Silesia with the county of Glatz and the principalities of Troppau and Jägerndorf. In the first-named Prussian territories the Vicariate General was to deal with ecclesiastical matters in the first and second instance, whereas for Silesia it was to serve only as a court of appeal, since the jurisdiction of the episcopal consistory at Breslau was to continue.

The person selected for the new post was Cardinal Sinzendorf, who had to pledge himself to further the king's temporal and spiritual welfare and was not allowed to have himself released from this oath by any authority. All matters appertaining to the interior economy of the Church, such as ordinations, sacraments, preaching, and fasting, were to be decided by him, except in so far as they were affected by the other ordinances made in connection with the Peace of Westphalia. A special duty of the Vicar General was to see that no foreigners, such as nuncios, provincials, visitors, or commissaries, interfered in future in ecclesiastical matters within Prussian territory. Only Prussian nationals were to be appointed to ecclesiastical posts. The Vicar General's right to visit all the religious houses in his province was recognized, and the duty was imposed on him of seeing that discipline and order were strictly maintained. The assets of the religious houses were to be compiled by him in inventories, whereby the

[1] Text in LEHMANN, II., No. 278 (pp. 245–254), in THEINER, I., 70–8.

State expressly reserved to itself the right to exercise control. The election of the Superiors of Orders was to be conducted by the Vicar General, in the presence of royal commissioners. To enable the Vicar General to enforce his rights the Prussian Government allowed him to inflict ecclesiastical penalties on recalcitrants. That of excommunication, however, was not to be pronounced without the previous knowledge of the king. The supreme jurisdiction over ecclesiastics and the exercise of justice in all criminal cases in which ecclesiastics were concerned were claimed by the State. Hitherto in Silesia the ecclesiastical courts had exercised the supreme jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, except in cases of high treason, which were judged by the civil courts.

The innovations proposed in this draft were serious divergences from the *status quo*, which had been guaranteed by treaty. The same may be said of the matrimonial legislation. Here only Silesia was concerned, as in the other territories the question was already settled according to Prussian law. In purely Catholic matrimonial suits brought forward in Silesia the episcopal consistory in Breslau was retained as before as the court of first instance. Appeals, however, were to go before the Vicariate General in Berlin. The new office in Berlin might also, in purely Catholic suits, grant the necessary dispensations, which, however, had to be brought to the notice of the State courts. In matrimonial suits in which the contending parties were of different religions that of the plaintiff was to determine whether the case was to go before the ecclesiastical, Catholic, judge or before the royal consistory. It was laid down, however, that both consistories should come to an agreement on the matter before judgment was pronounced, so that neither side should be burdened in its conscience. If the two authorities were unable to agree, the case was to be referred to the civil judge.

Sinzendorf remarked in his covering letter to the Pope of March 4th, 1743, that doubtless there was much to be objected to in the instruction but that it was the best that could be obtained in the circumstances. He then asked Benedict XIV. to approve the instruction as it stood. The appointment of the

Vicar General by the king, the encroachments made on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, together with the fact that the Vicar General was not to be styled the Papal Vicar, aroused no misgivings in Sinzendorf's mind.[1]

Benedict XIV. in his reply of March 23rd, 1743,[2] acknowledged the Cardinal's good intentions and the peculiar difficulties of the situation. Immediately after Easter he set himself to the study of the instruction and already by April 23rd he was writing to the Cardinal on the subject. He drew a clear distinction between the two portions of the Vicariate. For the establishment of the first portion, and of the court of appeal in the first and second instance, certain areas would have to be withdrawn from the Vicar Apostolic of Hanover. Benedict saw no difficulty in this ; he remarked, indeed, that it might even be an improvement, as the new Vicar would be nearer to these areas.

The only demand made by Benedict XIV. was that the new Vicar General should be installed *legally*. This could only be done, he pointed out, by the installation of a worthy, acceptable person by the Pope, unaffected by external influences. The Catholic Church and her law knew only of "Apostolic" Vicars, not "Papal" or "Catholic", still less "royal" ones. The Pope appreciated the ruler's wishes, seeing that the occupation of the office was not a matter of indifference to him, but he firmly refused to cede to Prussia the right to nominate the Vicar General and declared his readiness for co-operation only to the extent of recognizing the right of the State to name three persons, one of whom would be finally chosen by the Pope. In the draft which had been sent to him Benedict also noticed the absence of any safeguard against abuse of the office.

Regarding the second part of the draft, which dealt with the second instance for Silesia, Benedict remarked that with a stroke of the pen parts of dioceses would be taken away from other Bishops without their even having been informed

[1] THEINER, I., 78–86.

[2] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

of the project, which might be a dangerous precedent for Germany.

The Pope announced his readiness to make it possible that most ecclesiastical cases should be decided inside the country. Instead of to Rome, appeals could be made to the appropriate nuncio, who could delegate capable persons in the country concerned to settle the questions, as was already done in several countries. "Why should not this procedure be applied to Silesia also, instead of upsetting the whole of the existing organization?" The Pope objected strongly to the view that Rome opposed the reorganization projected by the Prussian Government only because the Curia would obtain less money thereby.

Benedict laid it down as an inalterable principle that he would never agree to a solution which made a breach in the Catholicity of the Church and erected a wall between the head and the members. Similarly he firmly refused to consent to the abolition of the *status quo* in Silesia, which had been decided by the peace treaty, since he could not abandon the security measures taken by Maria Theresa. Nor would he agree to the separation of the Silesian areas which were under Austrian Bishops, as this would be tantamount to a violation of the Concordat with Maria Theresa. The Pope ended by assuring the Cardinal that he might presume from the Brief that he would gladly co-operate but that he could not take it upon himself to burden his conscience.[1]

With this Brief the question of the Vicariate General was settled. Sinzendorf soon had to admit that the plan on the preparation of which he and the Prussian Government had consulted so long was impracticable, and the realization of this grievously dispirited him. On June 4th, 1743, he reported to the king that the draft had met with unexpected difficulties in Rome and that it would take some time to clear them away.[2] The king considered that the Pope was adopting an imprudent attitude towards a ruler who had done so much for the

[1] *Ibid.*, 88–97, and Docum. No. 44; MÖHRS, 15 *seq.*

[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 335.

Catholics in his dominions. To this opinion he joined the threat to make use of his authority as head of the Protestant Church, as had been given him by the Peace of Westphalia, if within two months the Pope had not confirmed the Vicar General's appointment. He requested Sinzendorf to represent his view clearly to the See of Rome.[1] However, as the most pressing matter now became the appointment of a coadjutor for Sinzendorf, for which the good will of Rome was needed, the Cardinal asked the king to suspend the project of the Vicariate General.[2] Frederick gave his consent to this on June 23rd, 1743, but noted that he would not abandon his intention despite the Papal opposition. He hoped to find ways and means of making the Pope compliant, since the whole affair was more to the advantage than the disadvantage of the Catholics of Silesia.[3]

With this the question of the Vicariate General came to an end for all practical purposes, though Sinzendorf continued for the rest of his life to negotiate with Rome, but, as was only to be expected, without success.[4]

(2)

In the same way as he had claimed for himself ecclesiastical jurisdiction in virtue of the authority over the Catholics wielded by the head of the Protestant Church, Frederick thought that he would be able to dispose of Catholic benefices according to his own judgment. He therefore set on foot inquiries to discover to what extent the former sovereigns of Silesia had taken part in the conferment of canonries and in the appointment of the suffragan Bishop of Breslau.[5] In so doing, the Prussian monarch quite ignored the fact that his

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 342 (June 11, 1743); Möhrs, 16.

[2] Lehmann, II., No. 350 (June 16, 1743).

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 354.

[4] Theiner, I., 98. The plan of a Vicariate General cropped up again under Sinzendorf's successor, Bishop Schaffgotsch, in 1747, but again fruitlessly. *Cf.* Kaas, 96 *seqq.*

[5] Lehmann, II., No. 258.

predecessors had been of the Catholic faith and that their ecclesiastical powers had been fixed by arrangement with the Pope. He thought that he could take their place without further ado.

Above all he intended to see that Cardinal Sinzendorf, who was often in poor health, was succeeded as Bishop of Breslau by someone devoted to his interests. At this juncture there presented itself an excellent opportunity of interfering, with the help of the Cardinal, in the question of benefices in Silesia. Sinzendorf had nominated as Canon of Breslau the twenty-six-year-old Count Philipp Gotthard von Schaffgotsch. The cathedral chapter refused to accept him and threatened to suspend the church ceremonies, on the ground that Schaffgotsch, being a freemason, was excommunicated in their eyes; moreover, he led a frivolous life. Sinzendorf and Schaffgotsch turned for support to the king.[1] When Podewils, the Minister in Breslau, also wrote to the king that the chapter's opposition rested principally on Schaffgotsch's adherence to freemasonry,[2] Frederick decided that, as Grand Master, he would have to interfere; by means of a letter from the Cabinet, dated May 26th, 1742, he reassured Schaffgotsch and promised to represent his interests.[3]

Both the Cardinal and the chapter appealed to the Pope. Since the chapter had failed to proceed in accordance with canonical regulations, Benedict XIV. gave permission for Count Schaffgotsch to be freed from censure as soon as he had left the sect of freemasonry.[4] The Pope was consequently all the more pained to hear that Schaffgotsch, after obtaining absolution in Olmütz, where he occupied a canonry, had again been seen wearing the badges of freemasonry. Finally, however, Schaffgotsch decided to resign from the organization and to destroy the insignia (leather apron and trowel); his

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 129, 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 142.

[4] THEINER, I., 23 (June 23, 1742). But this is not to be taken as a sign of friendliness towards freemasons; see *ibid.* Docum. No. 38 (August 11, 1742).

mode of life, on the other hand, he failed to alter,[1] though this did not prevent his winning the friendship of Frederick II.

The young Canon showed himself to be a cultured, keen-witted person with very frivolous views on morals and religion but with the ability to acquit himself with distinction at balls and other festivities held in the bishop's palace ; all of which qualities were eminently suited to win him Frederick's favour.

A decisive factor in the question of a coadjutor for the Bishop of Breslau was Schaffgotsch's stay in Berlin as Sinzendorf's companion during the negotiations concerning the Vicariate General. The king began a secret intrigue with Schaffgotsch which did not at first come to the knowledge of the Cardinal. Through confidential channels he then informed Sinzendorf of his plan as one that might possibly be realized in the distant future.[2] Sinzendorf was willing to act as Schaffgotsch's patron but not to have him as a rival. Not daring to resist openly, he informed the Pope of Frederick's intention, painting Schaffgotsch in the gloomiest colours ; were the Pope, he wrote, to dispense the Canon, who was only twenty-seven years old, from conforming to the conditions as to age, it would provoke discontent throughout Silesia.[3]

When in March 1743 the king was again staying in Breslau, the Minister Münchow had to approach the Bishop for the purpose of bringing about the election of a coadjutor as speedily as possible. Sinzendorf, however, denied its necessity and persisted in withholding his assent.[4] Nevertheless Frederick desired to bring the matter to a conclusion without violating the external canonical forms and aimed at a regular election of a coadjutor by the cathedral chapter with the agreement of the Bishop. Forbidding the Government in

[1] *Ibid.*, Docum. No. 37 (August 11, 1742), and p. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 100. For the whole question of a coadjutor *cf.* Ed. Cauer in the *Schles. Zeitschrift*, IV. (1862), 225 *seqq.*, and U. Stutz, *Deutsches Bischofswahlrecht*, Anh. No. 30, pp. 142–8, and the literature there cited.

[3] Theiner, I., 100 *seqq.* ; Möhrs, 21.

[4] Theiner, I., 104 *seq.*

Breslau to interfere in the business of the election, he announced his desire to observe the *status quo*.[1] The shrewd Münchow, however, was given the task of changing the minds of the Bishop and the chapter. Sinzendorf yielded only on terms. He asked for the royal protection against undisciplined conduct on Schaffgotsch's part and the means wherewith to pay the coadjutor without lessening his own income as Bishop.[2] Frederick was delighted with this change of mind, especially as Sinzendorf had now offered even to recommend Schaffgotsch to Rome. In a letter to Benedict XIV. of April 14th, 1743, the Cardinal wrote that he had been convinced by Frederick that a coadjutor would be a great blessing for the Church in Silesia. Sinzendorf supposed, therefore, that the Papal confirmation would not be difficult to grant. Schaffgotsch's entry into freemasonry he now represented as an act of youthful inconsequence which was of little account compared with his good qualities, which promised so much for the Church. The Cardinal asked the Pope, therefore, to dispense Schaffgotsch from the age bar and to issue him with a Brief of eligibility. This was Sinzendorf's official letter, which he made known to the Minister Münchow and then handed over to the royal post for dispatch.[3]

Under the royal pressure the Cardinal had actually changed his attitude towards Schaffgotsch. In a private letter sent at the same time to the Pope he tried to remove the bad impression created by his first letter about Schaffgotsch by saying that he had written it when under the stress of emotion and when excessively dominated by outside and calumnious influences. He asked the Pope therefore not to attach any value to this letter.[4]

Frederick readily fulfilled the episcopal desires [5] and thanked the Cardinal for his good will. He was highly pleased that by

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 298.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 303, Münchow's report of April 14, 1743.
[3] THEINER, I., 106 *seqq.*; LEHMANN, II., No. 306.
[4] THEINER, I., 109 *seqq.*
[5] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 307, 308.

this means the difficulties of a future episcopal election would be avoided. He promised to see that the newly elected coadjutor behaved at all times with the respect due to his Bishop and superior. On Schaffgotsch's failings he did not look too sternly. Of the Pope the Prussian king expected sufficient tact not to oppose the royal desire. At the same time Cardinal Sinzendorf received the Order of the Black Eagle, for which he had been seeking.[1]

Benedict XIV.'s reply to Sinzendorf was so friendly in its tone that it could be laid before the king without misgiving.[2] At bottom, however, the Pope had no wish for any coadjutor to be elected, being convinced that Sinzendorf was acting only under compulsion. Schaffgotsch's scandalous behaviour had been known in Rome since the time of the last conclave.[3] On May 11th, 1743, the Pope had it brought to Sinzendorf's knowledge that the Cardinals of the Congregation were of the unanimous opinion that Schaffgotsch's election could not be justified before God; and he added that he himself shared this view.[4] As for Sinzendorf's acceptance of the Order of the Black Eagle, he expressed his regret that he could view it only as another fetter binding him to Frederick.[5]

Sinzendorf was much depressed by the unwilling attitude taken up by Rome. He feared the king's displeasure, which might bring about his downfall and grave injury to the Catholic Church in Silesia. Most of all was he pained by the thought that the king would doubt his sincerity and suspect double-dealing. Frederick, too, had not expected the Pope's

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 315, 318; MÖHRS, 22 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, I., 113.

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 53 *seqq.* (March 10, 1743). The Pope was astonished that the French ambassador M. de Canillac had intervened in Rome on Schaffgotsch's behalf. However, he regarded it more as a personal and private action on the ambassador's part.

[4] THEINER, I., 113 *seqq.*; MÖHRS, 25; HEECKEREN, I., 53.

[5] THEINER, I., 115. Benedict had forbidden the Cardinal to accept the Order, but Sinzendorf had taken no notice of this. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., 71 (July 19, 1743).

opposition. Both still hoped that Rome would yield. Sinzendorf asked the king for a threatening letter [1] and used it in his report of June 17th, 1743, to influence the Pope. He earnestly begged him to fall in with the king's wishes. On June 23rd, 1743, Frederick threatened more forcibly; the grenadiers, he suggested, who had made the "Margrave of Brandenburg" [2] the lord of Silesia would find no difficulty in beinging about the election of a coadjutor who would be an acceptable person.[3]

The Pope had thought that he had already expressed his mind clearly enough to Sinzendorf, so that he was all the more displeased to receive the Cardinal's fresh representations together with the threatening letter. But what was to be done in the matter? The Pope did not want to subject the Catholics of Silesia to persecution through his refusing the dispensation; on the other hand it went against his conscience to help to the highest dignity of the Silesian Church a godless man who often scoffed at religious matters in order to curry favour with his king. Consequently it was decided in Rome to refer the matter to the consideration of another Congregation of Cardinals. Benedict had been hoping that Austria would intervene, but Vienna did not dare to do anything that might offend Prussia.[4]

On July 27th, 1743, the Pope sent Cardinal Sinzendorf two Briefs.[5] The first was a detailed reply to his letter and to the threatening letter from the king. In this Benedict assured the Cardinal that the rejection of Count Schaffgotsch was due only to the candidate's unworthy character. His high opinion of Frederick, he added, forbade him to think that the king would not understand and approve of these reasons. In

[1] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 346, 352, 353. The draft originated with the Bishop himself. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 118 *seqq.*

[2] The Pope did not recognize the Prussian royal title. *Cf.* below, pp. 76 *seq.*

[3] LEHMANN, II., No. 354.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 71 *seqq.* (July 19 and 26, 1743).

[5] THEINER, I., 123–131.

his second, confidential, Brief the Pope stated that he would abide by Sinzendorf's first letter, which he had written in complete freedom and under no outside influence, and in which he had begged the Pope to preserve the Church of Breslau from the scourge of Schaffgotsch, who was unbridled in speech and writing. Benedict complained bitterly that Sinzendorf no longer reported to him the truth about Schaffgotsch's notoriously immoral life. "My Lord Cardinal," wrote the Pope, "too much is too much." The Brief ended with the fatherly and solemn warning, "Remember, too, that you are a Bishop and a Cardinal and be mindful of the oath which you took at your consecration and on receiving the Cardinal's hat."

While Sinzendorf, in obedience to the royal will, continued his endeavours to depict Schaffgotsch as a reformed Augustine, further events took place which showed with what brutal force Frederick II. intervened in Church affairs.

Meanwhile Schaffgotsch enjoyed the royal favour to an increasing degree; and what better means had Sinzendorf of pleasing Frederick than by promoting Schaffgotsch? Sinzendorf accordingly proposed Schaffgotsch to the king as prelate for the orphaned college of regular canons at the Sand in Breslau. He thought, moreover, that by this means he would ensure the maintenance of the new coadjutor without lessening the episcopal income. Although Sinzendorf was for postponement, Frederick and his Minister thought that they could venture on Schaffgotsch's "election" and fixed the date for July 26th.[1]

But the business was not to succeed so easily. To Schaffgotsch's utmost consternation, both the Canons and the Bishop—the latter's ardour for the king's cause having been damped once again, this time by the severity of the new tax regulations—declared that they would first have to submit the question to the Pope.

Schaffgotsch, surmising correctly the real reason of the Cardinal's refusal to co-operate, asked the Government to

[1] Lehmann, II., Nos. 330, 347, 358, 359; Möhrs, 23.

relax the taxes in order to facilitate the business of the election.[1]

This was enough to pacify Sinzendorf, and he now decided to attain his object by another method: the Canons were to be induced to agree to Schaffgotsch's postulation, whereby the right of approval would fall to the Cardinal in his capacity of Bishop. In this way Rome would be circumvented.[2] With Schaffgotsch's co-operation Sinzendorf drafted another royal letter of warning to the electors which, he hoped, would bring about the desired result.[3]

The Canons viewed the situation with apprehension. On July 4th, 1743, they appealed to the nuncio in Vienna.[4] They appealed also to the Prussian king, asking him to allow them to choose their abbot of their own accord.[5] In his reply of July 13th Frederick stated that he had not the slightest intention of encroaching upon their freedom of choice on *future* occasions but on this one he held to his demand.[6]

It was in these circumstances, then, that the convent assembled on July 24th to make its decision. Johann von Ehrenwald, whose good qualities had earned him universal esteem and regard, was elected abbot by twenty-two votes to seven. The efforts made by Sinzendorf, who conducted the procedure of election in the presence of royal commissioners, proved to be useless. Extremely agitated, he left the convent in the company of the commissioners. Returning later, he announced that the king regarded the election as invalid. Both the college of electors and the newly elected abbot were overwhelmed with flattery and threats. After heated arguments Sinzendorf extorted another scrutiny, in which Schaffgotsch, with twenty-five votes, was postulated as candidate

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 366 (Schaffgotsch to Münchow, July 7, 1743); MÖHRS, 21, 24.

[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 367 (Schaffgotsch to Münchow, July 8, 1743).

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 368, 369.

[4] THEINER, I., 134 *seq.*

[5] LEHMANN, II., No. 372; THEINER, I., 135 *seqq.*

[6] LEHMANN, II., No. 373; THEINER, I., 137 *seq.*

for the abbacy. To his signature on the protocol Schaffgotsch appended the phrase: "at the command of his royal majesty." Well did he know to whom he owed his promotion. In the electoral capitulation he had to make various concessions to the electors.[1]

The Pope, who had been informed by the nuncio in Vienna of all that was going forward in Breslau, looked on the whole business as an omen for the coadjutor's election and followed the course of events with the greatest attention. The nuncio forwarded to him all the documents relating to the election. On September 28th, 1743, the Pope addressed to Cardinal Sinzendorf a Brief[2] in which he announced his extreme astonishment that he had to be informed of the events in Breslau by others and expressed himself in severe terms on the subject of the abbatial election, on the course of which the Cardinal had had sent to him a report that was nothing less than a misrepresentation of the facts. The postulation was already invalid since Schaffgotsch, being a secular priest, could not be elected a superior of an Order without a dispensation. On the other hand, Benedict shrank from exposing the Catholics of Silesia to the sovereign's vengeance and persecution. He therefore referred this case also to the consideration of a Congregation of Cardinals. Finally, on January 4th, 1744, he nominated Canon Schaffgotsch as the holder of the conventual benefice *in commendam*, whereby the nominee had to promise on oath not to interfere in the internal affairs of the abbey.[3]

The question of the coadjutor, however, which it was desired to settle without delay, was still unsolved. Sinzendorf's position between the Pope and the king became increasingly difficult. For this reason he wanted to be quit of the whole matter and he wrote in this sense to the Minister Münchow on August 21st, 1743.[4]

Since the reports which Benedict had called for from several quarters, in particular from the Prince Bishop of Olmütz, had

[1] THEINER, I., 138–144.
[2] *Ibid.*, Docum. No. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 152.
[4] LEHMANN, II., No. 394.

described Frederick's demand for a coadjutor as inevitable, Benedict was forced to seek a solution. He proposed to send a man of skill and proved worth to investigate the matter on the spot.[1]

Sinzendorf eagerly fell in with the proposal and promised to make it known immediately to the Minister Münchow and the king[2]; he asked only that the legate's dispatch and investigation should not cause much stir and should take every consideration into account.[3] By a Cabinet order of October 22nd, 1743, Münchow was instructed to conduct the affair in accordance with these proposals.[4] The Pope received notice of the royal decision on October 27th through Sinzendorf.[5] Benedict was highly pleased by this quick and unexpected solution. With the exception of one condition made by Frederick, that the legate was to bring with him without fail the Brief of eligibility, the Pope accepted the counter-proposals. He had chosen as legate Monsignor Archinto, who was to stop at Breslau on his way to Warsaw and make his investigations there as quietly as possible.[6]

In spite of these negotiations being under way, Frederick II. acted arbitrarily. By a Cabinet order of December 5th, 1743, he instructed Münchow to fix the election of a coadjutor for March 15th, 1744, and to make the necessary arrangements. Frederick intended to be in Breslau himself about this time,[7] but on December 17th, 1743, he declared himself in agreement with Archinto's mission. He hoped to meet him in Breslau but nevertheless persisted in his demand that the election should take place on March 15th, 1744. To his letter he added the following observation[8]: "The Holy Ghost and

[1] THEINER, I., 152–161, and Docum. No. 51. *Cf.* MÖHRS, 28.

[2] Sinzendorf's letter of October 21, 1743, THEINER, I., 168–171.

[3] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 416, 417; MÖHRS, 29.

[4] LEHMANN, II., No. 420.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 424; THEINER, I., 173.

[6] THEINER, I., 174, and Docum. No. 52 (November 23, 1743); MÖHRS, 31.

[7] LEHMANN, II., No. 447. *Cf.* MÖHRS, 30; PIGGE, 181 *seqq.*

[8] LEHMANN, II., No. 458; MÖHRS, 32.

I have jointly decided to make the prelate Schaffgotsch coadjutor of Breslau. Those Canons who object to him will be regarded as adherents of the Imperial Court of Vienna and of the Devil and as those who resist the Holy Ghost and who consequently deserve utter damnation."

The cathedral chapter, which hitherto had been left unconsulted throughout the whole affair, was now officially notified, but to the surprise of the Cardinal and the Minister, it showed its unwillingness to hold the election. It took its stand on the decrees of the Council of Trent and retorted pointedly that if the royal will was the only motive for the election of the coadjutor there was really no reason for an election at all. The Cardinal now appealed to the Pope again. He asked him to sanction the holding of an election of a coadjutor in Breslau, stressed the awkward situation in which he had been placed by the royal command, and besought the Pope to dispatch Archinto with the least possible delay.[1]

The cathedral chapter also appealed to the Pope. On January 4th, 1744, it represented to him the impropriety of the election and protested that no free vote was possible seeing that they had been expressly ordered to elect Schaffgotsch and no other.[2]

To extricate himself from his embarrassment the Cardinal made the king another fateful proposition: following the example of France, he was to claim for himself the right of nomination to the bishopric of Breslau and the Silesian abbeys, so that in this way he would be able to nominate Schaffgotsch *de iure* as coadjutor.[3] By this means the Cardinal

[1] THEINER, I., 177 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 180.

[3] This actually happened. *Frederick II. "ha con atto pubblico dichiarato di non voler più nella Silesia elezione veruna, voler esso nominare al vescovado di Breslavia ed a tutte le altre abbadie regolari con motivo esser ciò un appendice della sua sovranità in quelle parti." Benedict XIV. to Emperor Charles VII. on April 18, 1744, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp. *Cf.* LEHMANN, II., No. 485 (Sinzendorf's draft as addition to the letter of January 19, 1744); MÖHRS, 34.

hoped at least to gain time, but in this too he was disappointed, for the king insisted that the question of a coadjutor should first be settled in his way [1] and that his right to nominate to all Silesian benefices should be made good afterwards.

By now Schaffgotsch was advising the king to act summarily and to "show his teeth" to Rome in a really threatening manner. In this way he hoped to intimidate the Pope and to induce him to yield. He wanted to confront the Holy See with a *fait accompli* in which the Pope would probably acquiesce. He reminded Frederick of what had happened at his abbatial election, when in the end he had been recognized by the Pope in spite of all the protests of Rome.[2]

Sinzendorf's influence with Frederick had come to an end; Schaffgotsch had displaced him. Frederick held fast to his edict and decreed through a Cabinet order of February 7th, 1744, that no deviation was to be made from the prescribed election.[3]

Sinzendorf's efforts to induce the Pope to issue the required Brief were unavailing. Benedict again referred the question to the Congregation of Cardinals appointed to examine the affair, and they did not hide from him their surprise at his reopening a question which had already been decided. Benedict consequently gave as his decision that neither the licence for a coadjutor nor a dispensation for Schaffgotsch on account of his age could be granted. To further persuasive manœuvres he replied with unmistakable irony.[4]

Minister Münchow had realized at an early stage of the proceedings that the election of Schaffgotsch as coadjutor was not within the bounds of possibility. He pointed out to Frederick that the only way of reaching the goal was by a royal nomination, after which the Papal confirmation might be

[1] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 486, 490–3; MÖHRS, 35.

[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 498.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 501.

[4] THEINER, I., 184 *seqq.* Schaffgotsch even wanted to go through the novitiate and take vows, so as to be a real abbot.

expected. The Minister also made known to the king Schaffgotsch's wish to be created a prince at the same time. Sinzendorf also informed the king on February 15th, 1744, that there was no other way of effecting Schaffgotsch's promotion, and he added that he was making the necessary arrangements for the royal deed of nomination.[1]

In these circumstances the cathedral chapter of Breslau was now to be convened on March 16th, 1744, merely for the purpose of receiving a royal message.[2] It was left with the choice between submission and open rebellion against the royal will forcibly expressed. Consequently it declared its readiness to take cognizance of the royal will.[3]

The royal message was drawn up in Berlin on March 4th, 1744; it was nothing more or less than the formal appointment of Schaffgotsch to be the coadjutor of the Bishop of Breslau. Frederick's justification of this was his right as a sovereign to dispose of both superior and inferior benefices in Silesia. Schaffgotsch was described as a worthy candidate and on Sinzendorf's death was to be Bishop of Breslau without more ado. Under the threat of the royal displeasure Frederick demanded from everyone due obedience to Schaffgotsch. By missives bearing the same date the royal decision was made known to Sinzendorf and the cathedral chapter.[4] Schaffgotsch's actual induction took place in Breslau on March 16th and 18th, 1744.[5]

To Sinzendorf fell the painful duty of informing the Pope of what had happened. He did this briefly on March 17th, 1744, explaining that the power which had conquered Silesia had appointed Schaffgotsch as coadjutor. Of the resistance offered by the Canons and of the royal threats he made no mention. More in accordance with the truth was his report of March 24th, in which he depicted his powerlessness in regard

[1] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 506, 509.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 510.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 515.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 527, 528, 529; THEINER, I., 195 *seqq.*
[5] *Cf.* the detailed report in THEINER, I., 202–6; MÖHRS, 35 *seq.*

to the king, who now claimed as sovereign the right of appointment to all Silesian benefices. The Cardinal omitted to acknowledge himself as the originator of this disastrous idea; he even went so far as to remark that his compliance with regard to Schaffgotsch's nomination now made it possible for him to show the king his opposition to the idea.[1]

Sinzendorf, however, could not prevent the Pope receiving precise information of all that had actually happened, for the cathedral chapter of Breslau again sent him all the documents through the nunciature in Vienna and asked for his intervention with the Catholic Governments of Europe.[2] Benedict was indignant at the steps which had been taken and at Frederick's claims to patronage,[3] and his feelings were shared by the Congregation, to whom he imparted all the information in his possession. He acceded to the requests of the chapter, if only to forestall an Imperial intervention on behalf of Schaffgotsch, and asked Cardinal Tencin to use his influence in France in support of the Papal attitude. He announced that a special Brief would be written to the French king, in which he would be invited to demand from Prussia, on the strength of the Peace of Westphalia, the preservation of the *status quo* in religious matters.[4]

To the Emperor the Pope appealed on March 8th, 1744, in a solemn letter, in which he accused Sinzendorf of treachery to the Church and asked Francis I. to try every means of upholding Catholic interests.[5] On the same day a Brief was sent to Sinzendorf with the most earnest exhortations not to

[1] THEINER, I., 206 *seqq.*; MÖHRS, 36.

[2] THEINER, Docum. No. 13 (March 16, 1744) and pp. 211 *seq.*

[3] HEECKEREN, I., 131 *seq.*; LEHMANN, II., No. 540 (March 17, 1744), 542 (same date).

[4] Benedict XIV. had already, on March 10, 1744, sent a request, through the nuncio in Frankfurt, to the Prussian envoy Klinggräffen, not to proceed with Schaffgotsch's nomination, but the reply was put off until it was possible to plead that it was an accomplished fact. LEHMANN, II., Nos. 535, 544.

[5] THEINER, I., 214, and Docum. No. 58 (April 18, 1744); MOHRS, 36.

lose courage in the face of every danger that threatened, for the Church had undergone greater persecutions in the past and had emerged victorious.[1]

The dignified attitude taken by the Canons of Breslau was a pleasing contrast to Sinzendorf's behaviour. They stood by their refusal to acknowledge Schaffgotsch and declared that they would rather suffer imprisonment and death than swerve from the path of duty and justice.[2]

On June 16th, 1744, Benedict XIV. forbade Schaffgotsch's consecration and threatened Sinzendorf in the event of disobedience with the Papal displeasure, which would have as a consequence the withdrawal of his cardinalship.[3] To Tencin the Pope complained that Cardinal Sinzendorf had not conducted himself as a Cardinal and Bishop towards the heretic prince. The Emperor's reply had also disappointed him.[4] Cardinal Tencin, in his capacity of French Minister, was alone in urging Prussia to comply with the desires of the Holy See.[5]

On June 30th, 1744, Sinzendorf tried for the last time to uphold Schaffgotsch's cause. He hoped also that the Pope would understand his own conduct and declared that at all times he had faithfully fulfilled the duties of his office. To lose his favour with the king seemed to the Cardinal the greatest misfortune that Silesia could suffer, since he would no longer be able to use his influence for the Catholic cause. The Pope, however, had every reason not to allow himself to be persuaded.[6]

Frederick II. vented his anger on the Breslau cathedral chapter; two Canons were banished to Magdeburg. Sinzendorf's intervention on their behalf, as also that of the

[1] THEINER, Docum. No. 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 224, and Docum. No. 59. The Pope had also forbidden the Suffragan Bishop of Breslau to consecrate Schaffgotsch.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 140 (June 10, 1744).

[5] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 570, 571; *cf.* Nos. 583, 595, also HEECKEREN, I., 150 *seq.*

[6] THEINER, I., 227 *seq.*; HEECKEREN, I., 155 (September 5, 1744).

Metropolitan of Gnesen, Archbishop Szembek, proved fruitless, as Frederick gave as the ground of his action "reasons of State".[1]

Although neither the idea of a Vicar General nor that of a Coadjutor was abandoned by Frederick II., both projects receded into the background on the outbreak of the second Silesian War. After the Peace of Dresden Frederick hoped to arrange the matter of the coadjutor through the mediation of Saxony and Poland, but the plan was again frustrated by the opposition of the Pope, on whom neither the Imperial nor French mediation had any effect.[2]

Sinzendorf's behaviour had lost him both Frederick's favour and the Pope's confidence. When, in addition, he was continually confronted with difficulties in his internal administration, the desire arose within him to quit not only Breslau but the whole of Prussian territory, and to end his days in peace elsewhere. He had a faint hope of realizing this desire by occupying the vacant episcopal see of Salzburg, where he held a canonry. But as he was loath to vacate the see of Breslau before it was necessary, he was forced to apply to the Pope for a Brief of eligibility for Salzburg. This he did on June 14th, 1747. But this wish, too, the Pope had to deny him, as his translation to Salzburg would make it difficult to avoid Schaffgotsch's succession to the see of Breslau.[3] Nevertheless Sinzendorf travelled to Salzburg to attend the election of a Bishop and to present himself as a candidate, thinking that at the last moment the Pope would take pity on him. His final disappointment, therefore, was very bitter. Plunged in grief and writing with a trembling hand, he described his condition to the Pope: "I am weary of life, consumed with grief, and with no courage or life in me."

With a heavy heart Sinzendorf returned to Breslau, and it was not long before the misfortune which had attended all his actions—largely through his own fault—brought about his

[1] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 596, 606, 618, 620, 629, 634.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 676, 689 (January 5 and February 28, 1746), also No. 703 (April 16, 1746); MÖHRS, 38.

[3] THEINER, Docum. No. 65 (July 15, 1747), also I., 229 *seqq.*

utter collapse. The edifying manner of his death, on September 28th, 1747, reconciled him with his cathedral chapter and made a fleeting impression even on Schaffgotsch. A final letter of condolence sent to Sinzendorf by Benedict XIV., in which he assured him of his friendly feelings in spite of all their differences, failed to reach the Cardinal while he was yet alive.[1]

(3)

The innovations in the marriage laws of Silesia introduced by Frederick after his conquest of the country were one of the chief causes of friction with the ecclesiastical authorities. In October 1740 he decreed that all children of mixed marriages, irrespective of their sex, were to be brought up as Protestants.[2] The State consistory was to be the court of last instance for matters of dispute arising from purely Catholic marriages and was to be the only court at every stage for cases concerned with mixed marriages. The right to grant marriage dispensations the king reserved to himself.[3]

Naturally these decrees were opposed by the Catholics. Sinzendorf had tried to find a way out of the difficulty by proposing that for purely Catholic marriages the Vicariate General be substituted for the Berlin court of appeal, and, in order to make the Vicariate General possible, Frederick had admitted his readiness to make some concessions in the case of mixed marriages. Accordingly, on September 29th, 1742, he decreed that the Catholics would have to obtain marriage dispensations in accordance with the principles of their Church. He also declared that he would not be able to protect Catholics who infringed this decree from the consequences resulting from their action, so long as they belonged to the Catholic Church. All marriage dispensations granted were to be reported to the State authorities.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 238, 242 *seq.*

[2] LEHMANN, II., No. 11.

[3] LEHMANN, II., No. 86. *Cf.* FRANZ, *Gemischte Ehen in Schlesien*, 22.

[4] See above, p. 38; LEHMANN, II., No. 214.

Frederick, however, did not always keep his promises. Although purely Catholic matrimonial suits were reserved for the judgment of the ecclesiastical authorities by both the guaranteeing of the *status quo* and the notification patent of January 15th, 1742, Frederick intervened in a purely Catholic suit in the same year. It concerned the purely Catholic marriage of a young convert, Count Beess, whose father had applied for the declaration of its nullity by the State.[1] Even in Cocceji's opinion it was a matter for the episcopal court,[2] but Frederick decided otherwise, quoting the Prussian law by which children could not contract a legal marriage without the permission of their parents, and referred the case to the upper court at Breslau, which after lengthy discussions rejected the father's application, declared the marriage to be fully valid, and denied the old Count the right to disinherit his son.[3] But this judgment failed to prevent Frederick interfering in purely Catholic matrimonial suits.[4]

When the question of mixed marriages threatened to wreck the negotiations concerning the Vicariate General, a legal reorganization took place in the year 1743. In part a return was made to the Austrian decrees formerly in force.[5] By an edict of July 16th, 1743, it was ordained that on attaining their 14th year children of mixed marriages should be given the right to decide in favour of this or that religion of their own free will.[6] To save the Vicariate General, Frederick made a further concession, declaring simultaneously his readiness to adhere to the *status quo* exactly until the establishment of the Vicariate General.[7]

But Sinzendorf also had to make concessions. Instead of

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 225.

[2] Franz, 23; Stölzel in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Kirchenrecht*, XIX. (1884), 397 *seqq.*

[3] Lehmann, II., Nos. 244, 409.

[4] E.g. in the Schimonski case; see Lehmann, II., Nos. 392, 560; Stölzel, *loc. cit.*, 403 *seqq.*

[5] Franz, 23.

[6] Lehmann, II., No. 395.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 578.

a written agreement, taking the place of an oath, to have the children of a mixed marriage brought up as Catholics, he had to be content with the negative demand, that no agreement expressly aimed against the Catholic religion should be entered into by the Catholic party. In a circular letter to the clergy he urged them to press for written marriage pacts, so that the question of the children's upbringing should rest on a solid basis and not merely on an ordinary promise made by the non-Catholic party.[1]

A royal decree of December 17th, 1743, ordered that mixed marriages should be blessed. The place of betrothal was, as a general rule, to be the parish church of the bride, while the betrothal itself was to be performed according to the confession of the bridegroom. A further royal decree, of May 9th, 1744, stated that when this arrangement could not be made on a basis of friendly agreement, the party that had less scruples of conscience was to give way, that he might show his willingness to please the party which was weaker and burdened with prejudices. If this method also failed to produce an agreement, the procedure was to be determined by a judge.[2]

These new marriage regulations introduced in 1743 were not in consonance either with the practice hitherto observed in the diocese of Breslau or with the requirements of the Holy See. For this reason Sinzendorf forbore to bring them to the notice of the Pope; he reported to him only isolated cases in which dispensations were needed on account of forbidden degrees of kindred or in which he had been able to obtain some small success.[3]

In isolated instances Sinzendorf gave way still more; for example, when it was a question of granting a dispensation

[1] FRANZ, 24. This situation was confirmed by the edict of February 25, 1746.

[2] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 459, 563.

[3] E.g. in the case of Count Areo; see LEHMANN, II., Nos. 438, 461, 479; THEINER, II., 246; STÖLZEL, *loc. cit.*, 392 *seqq.* *Cf.* the authority for marriage dispensations, of May 4, 1748, LEHMANN, III., No. 149.

on account of kinship in the case of a mixed marriage. Although the Bishop knew that he had no powers in the matter, under royal pressure he granted the dispensation. Also, instead of representing the express Papal demand for the strictly Catholic upbringing of the children, he even recognized the marriage pacts by which the children were to receive separate religious training according to their sex.[1]

When in 1746 Frederick, on more or less worldly grounds, declared dissolved a valid Catholic marriage between the daughter of a Breslau merchant and a Pole,[2] the Catholics were indignant at the sacrament of marriage being treated in this manner. On August 4th, 1746, Sinzendorf drew the king's attention to the fundamental issues raised by the affair. He asked Frederick to fulfil his promise to maintain the *status quo* and consequently to observe the decisions of the Council of Trent; but he met with no success.[3] More than once Frederick forbade the clergy to use any form of pressure in the matter of bringing up children. On the other hand he allowed that no Catholic priest was to be obliged to administer the sacraments to persons whose manner of living did not correspond with the dogma of the Catholic Church.[4]

By State legislation the anti-clerical marriage practice of Prussia was to be made the marriage law of Silesia. This was done by the royal edict of April 22nd, 1747, which ordained that no wedding ceremony was to be performed by a priest without the legally prescribed agreement, which included that between the parties to be married, and especially the consent

[1] *Ibid.*, II., Nos. 671, 683. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 275; STÖLZEL, *loc. cit.*, 394 *seqq.*

[2] For this Contessa case, see LEHMANN, II., Nos. 726, 732, 733; STÖLZEL, *loc. cit.*, 399 *seqq.*

[3] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 735, 736, III., No. 421.

[4] LEHMANN, II., No. 805, III., Nos. 269, 270, 271, 276. In cases where the Catholic parish priest declared his inability to bless a desired marriage, Frederick made the following order: "The couple have only to go to the town hall, make their contract as in Holland, and I declare their children to be legitimate" (February 2, 1749). LEHMANN, III., No. 266.

of the parents and of other authorized persons (lords of the manor). All marriages that infringed these regulations were declared to be capable of dissolution. After such a dissolution Protestants regained their complete freedom, whereas for Catholics the indissoluble marriage bond still held, with no civil consequences of any kind. The whole system of marriage was thus controlled by the State. Clerics who acted in opposition to the edict were to be removed.[1]

By this new edict the Protestant principles of Prussian marriage legislation were transplanted in Silesia, although they were not in accord with the *status quo*, which had been guaranteed by treaty.

Benedict XIV.'s fear was that Catholic marriages might be prevented by the parents and lords of the manor withholding the required assent. To dispel the Pope's misgivings the king declared his readiness to recognize Cardinal Sinzendorf as arbitrator in such cases, but in his letter to the Cardinal he added that he wished him not to abuse the concession and always to act in the royal interest.[2]

In December 1749 the king renewed the law whereby in mixed marriages the sons should follow the father's, the daughters the mother's, religion, and stressed the necessity of observing the age of discretion, on reaching which children were to be allowed, uninfluenced by others, to choose their own religion.[3]

The Catholics of Silesia bitterly resented the disrespect thus shown towards the Church's precepts regarding marriage. When finally, after several years, Frederick expressed his willingness to investigate these and other grievances of the Catholics, in order to obtain recognition of Schaffgotsch as

[1] *Ibid.*, II., No. 815.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., No. 180.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 300. On November 2, 1751, Frederick again insisted on the enforcement of this decree, and declared that what counted in matters concerned with the religious upbringing of children was the law, not the will of the parents. LEHMANN, III., No. 384; *cf.* Nos. 398, 430.

Bishop,[1] the negotiations led to the settlement of August 8th, 1750, whereby the following points were established: all marriage articles referring to the confession of the children had no force in law; in this respect, moreover, the ordinance of the previous year was renewed. On the death of the father the Protestant mother had to send her son to a Catholic school until his fourteenth year. Orphan children were to have guardians of their own confession. Death-bed changes of creed were to have no effect on the confession of the children.

Mixed marriages were referred for judgment to the royal courts, which were to deal with each party to the marriage in accordance with the principles of his or her religious views.[2] Great was Schaffgotsch's astonishment when he discovered that in the official text of the settlement changes had been made by the Prussian Government without reference to any other body. He brought this to the notice of the Pope on December 24th, 1750, remarking that in Berlin one did what one liked and even the best-sounding promises made in the course of negotiations were no protection against actions in the contrary sense, since the goal in view was the destruction of the Catholics.[3]

Benedict XIV.'s attitude towards matrimonial questions in Silesia continued to be consistent, without his being overstrict in details.[4] Throughout his life Sinzendorf tried in vain to obtain from the Pope the authority to dispense from forbidden degrees of kindred in the case of mixed marriages.[5] Schaffgotsch was similarly unsuccessful; in February 1750 he

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 119, 120. Sinzendorf had already asked him to take the *gravamina* into consideration, whereupon Frederick set up a commission for the purpose on May 16, 1744, but it did not meet till the summer of 1750. FRANZ, 41, THEINER, II., 68.

[2] LEHMANN, III., No. 322; FRANZ, 41 *seqq.*; MÜTING, 39 *seqq.*

[3] FRANZ, 42 *seq.*

[4] According to MEYDENBAUER (196).

[5] FRANZ, 29. *Cf.* the case of the Neumeister marriage, where Sinzendorf declared that he had no permission to grant dispensations for mixed marriages without a special authorization from the Pope.

promised the Pope not to trouble him further with requests of this kind.[1] In individual cases the Pope granted dispensations but held to his demand that the non-Catholic party must first forswear heresy.[2]

(4)

The death of Cardinal Sinzendorf was reported to Berlin by Münchow, who had had the deceased's estate sealed and had suspended the cathedral chapter's official activity pending the arrival of royal instructions.[3] On the day that Sinzendorf died (September 28th, 1747) Schaffgotsch also wrote to Frederick II. and asked him for the bishopric of Breslau, the most important position he could wish for. The ambitious prelate hoped that on this occasion also Rome would submit to an accomplished fact.[4] Frederick made his decision as early as September 30th, 1747. Schaffgotsch was to be put in possession of the *temporalia* of the bishopric; its purely ecclesiastical business he handed over to the suffragan Bishop, Count von Almesloe.[5] The cathedral chapter, on the other

[1] MEYDENBAUER, 197 *seq.*, 201.

[2] *Cf.* FRANZ, 29. — Because of the mention of mixed marriages in the Brief of September 26, 1750, MEYDENBAUER (201) applies the whole substance of the Brief to dispensation for mixed marriages and says "with almost complete certainty" that Benedict "wanted to dissimulate" also in the matter of dispensations for mixed marriages. The passage "concedendosi da Lei qualcheduna delle *dette* dispense lo faccia colla dovuta causa e quando non può fare diversamente" applies only to the Brief of September 12, 1750, since the Pope is speaking here only of this and no longer of Schaffgotsch's request of September 8, as is shown by the text of the Brief of September 26 with all the clearness that could be desired. *Cf.* MEYDENBAUER, 244, No. 22.

[3] LEHMANN, III., No. 1; THEINER, I., 301 *seq.*

[4] LEHMANN, III., No. 2; MÜTING, 9.

[5] LEHMANN, III., No. 5. On Münchow expressing his fear that Austria would sequestrate the episcopal properties situated in its territory, Frederick declared that in that case he would confiscate the possessions of Austrian bishoprics situated in Prussia. *Ibid.*

hand, asked the king to guarantee its right to vote freely and to protect its rights *in sede vacante*.[1]

Meanwhile Münchow had entered into negotiations with the cathedral chapter, as a result of which he was able to apprise the king on October 1st, 1747, of the conditions on which the Canons were ready to comply with the royal desires: at future elections the freedom of the voters was to be preserved; the co-operation of the State was to be restricted to ensuring that the cathedral chapter should produce from among its ranks a person suited to the king; all religious *gravamina* were to be satisfied, the chapter was to benefit from all revenues during the vacancy of the See, and Schaffgotsch was to refrain from any interference in matters concerning the bishopric until he was in possession of the Bulls of confirmation. Münchow advised the king to accede to the first of these wishes, seeing that Schaffgotsch had declared his acceptance of them. The last proposition, however, he wished to be applied to the *spiritualia* of the bishopric. The Minister also reported that two Canons had been won over completely to Schaffgotsch, and that one of them was being sent to Rome with 15–20,000 thalers to bring about "the corruption of the Papal Court".[2]

Meanwhile the royal command of September 30th, 1747, had reached Breslau. Munchow, without waiting for a reply to the conditions made by the cathedral chapter, proceeded to take action. The measures he took are described in his report of October 2nd, 1747. Aware of "the advantage of celerity in such cases and the stunning effect of getting in the first blow", he convened the Canons, at the royal command appointed Schaffgotsch successor to Sinzendorf, and made over to him the administration of the *temporalia* of the diocese, while the administration of spiritual matters was entrusted to the suffragan Bishop, Count von Almesloe, and to Canon Franckenberg. "Prince Schaffgotsch," reported

[1] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 7, 8. *Cf.* STETTINER, 5, and, for the whole question of the nomination of the Bishop, U. STUTZ, *Deutsches Bischofswahlrecht*, Anh. No. 30, pp. 148–152.

[2] LEHMANN, III., No. 10; THEINER, I., 307 *seq.*

Münchow, "has played the part I assigned to him quite admirably." His limbs trembling, and with tears in his eyes, Schaffgotsch had refused the honour offered to him and because of his "unworthiness" had entered a protest in the documents previously handed to him by the Minister. This play-acting, as was admitted in Munchow's report, had as its object the deception of Rome and the general public regarding the true facts of the case.[1] For this reason Schaffgotsch was apparently summoned by a sharply-worded Ministerial decree of October 3rd, 1747, to comply with the royal command without consideration for his conscientious scruples, since, if he refused, a layman would be entrusted with the administration of the chapter's property.[2] Frederick having assented to the conditions made by the cathedral chapter, with the restriction proposed by Münchow, Schaffgotsch was nominated Bishop of Breslau on October 5th, 1747, on the authority of his elevation to the position of coadjutor in 1744.[3] The Canons protested against this authority, for which they received a sharp rebuke from the king.[4]

To obtain the Papal confirmation Schaffgotsch decided to send a plenipotentiary to Rome. The person selected for this mission was the Abbé Bastiani.[5] Frederick's wish was that he should act in Rome in conjunction with the Prussian agent Coltrolini, whom the king had commissioned on October 7th

[1] LEHMANN, III., No. 12; THEINER, I., 302 *seqq.*; STETTINER, 5; *Katholik*, 1856, 422 *seqq.* Münchow, not quite trusting the Suffragan Bishop, associated with him for the purpose of administering the *spiritualia* Canon Franckenberg, who "is entirely of a different mind" from Almesloe. By exploiting this enmity the Minister hoped to discover from one of them what the other was keeping from him (LEHMANN, *loc. cit.*; MÜTING, 9 *seq.*). *Cf.* also Schaffgotsch's own report to the Pope in THEINER, I., 309 *seqq.*

[2] LEHMANN, III., No. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16, 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 21, 22.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 26; also No. 167, where Frederick refers to Bastiani having been sent to Rome with his consent and on his advice. *Cf.* STETTINER, 7 *seqq.*

to bring about the recognition and ratification of Schaffgotsch's nomination.[1]

Bastiani had had a remarkable past. The son of a poor Venetian tailor, he had formerly belonged to the Order of St. Francis of Paula. Brought to Breslau by Cardinal Sinzendorf's brother, he soon won the confidence of the Cardinal,[2] and with his ambition and his superficial cleverness succeeded also in obtaining the king's favour.[3]

Benedict viewed the situation with a penetrating eye. As soon as the news of Sinzendorf's death was brought to him he avowed to Cardinal Tencin that he would never recognize Schaffgotsch's enforced promotion as coadjutor. He saw it as his duty, despite all difficulties, to see that only a worthy person occupied the bishopric of Breslau.[4] At this juncture, as previously, Schaffgotsch did not shrink from making false assertions to the Pope, namely that he had been a victim of the royal will and that this had occurred " on no account as the result of a request, a petition, or a secret demand on my part." His hypocrisy, however, reached its zenith in the postscript of this letter, with its " Confession of his many sins ", for which he begged for absolution. By three such letters written on the same day Schaffgotsch tried to make the Pope believe in his conversion.[5]

Benedict, seeing through every stratagem, persisted in his attitude of negation. Schaffgotsch and Frederick II. he called " the two pillars " on which was built " the devilish structure "

[1] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 14, 23. For Coltrolini's position, see below, p. 74.

[2] THEINER, I., 313 *seq.*; FECHNER in the *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, XVII. (1880), 467; FR. ANDREÄ, *Giov. Batt. Bastiani*, in *Schles. Lebensbilder*, II. (1926), 78–86.

[3] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 624, 626, 627, 628, 637, 640, 654.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 360. *Cf.* LEHMANN, III., No. 87, where Frederick declares that the German Concordat is inapplicable to Silesia. See also Albani's *reports to Colloredo, of October 28, and to Uhlfeld, of November 4 and 25, 1747, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] THEINER, I., 309 *seqq.* (October 20, 1747).

of these Silesian affairs. He feared the worst.[1] However, he willingly agreed to listen to Bastiani, whom he had known personally in the past, and, lest he might harm religion in a country ruled by a non-Catholic prince, he was ready to make every concession compatible with the honour of the Holy See.[2] Although Bastiani carried out his task in a masterly fashion,[3] Benedict still thought it necessary to have a confirmatory investigation made into Schaffgotsch's mode of living.[4] Schaffgotsch himself announcing his readiness to give an account of himself to any Papal commissary, Benedict reverted to his former project of entrusting the investigation to the Polish nuncio Archinto. This was not to be of a judicial nature and was to be concerned only with Schaffgotsch's present mode of life, since he had acknowledged his past faults.[5] Meanwhile Frederick had given his written assent to the chapter's demands and had also expressed his agreement with Archinto's mission.[6] On February 5th, 1748, after a fortnight's stay in Breslau, Archinto drew up a detailed and favourable

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 362 (November 1 and 8, 1747). *Cf.* THEINER, I., 313.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 365 (November 22, 1747). In the same letter the Pope informed Cardinal Tencin that Coltrolini had been appointed as Prussian agent in Rome and that he had legitimized himself as such.

[3] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 291 *seqq.* Benedict praised his manner and procedure when writing to Tencin; see HEECKEREN, I., 377.

[4] HEECKEREN, I., 368 (November 29, 1747).

[5] *Ibid.*, 369 (December 6, 1747); *Albani to Uhlfeld on December 16, 1747, State Archives, Vienna; THEINER, I., 315–322; MÜTING, 12. How little, in spite of everything, Schaffgotsch afterwards, when Bishop, altered his mode of living for the better, is shown by FECHNER in the *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, XX. (1883), 120 *seqq.* Schaffgotsch wrote to the Pope that he was living like a hermit (THEINER, II., 61), but actually, through his manner of living and his debts he was giving cause for serious dissension; see STETTINER, 25 *seq.* Benedict XIV. was among those who distrusted the rumours of Schaffgotsch's improvement, see HEECKEREN, I., 275.

[6] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 119, 120, 134.

report on the result of his inquiries. Benedict imparted the contents of this document to all the Cardinals present in Rome and reported on the negotiations with Bastiani and Coltrolini. The sixteen Cardinals met in assembly were of the unanimous opinion that a genuine improvement in Schaffgotsch's conduct was to be presumed and that his recognition could no longer be refused. On March 5th, 1748, the Pope nominated Prince Schaffgotsch as Bishop of Breslau without making any mention of the royal nomination.[1]

Frederick had thus attained at last the object he had eagerly desired. To him his success appeared to be due solely to his intervention. His conception of his relations with the new Bishop is seen from his letter of March 28th, 1748, in which he congratulated Schaffgotsch on his new dignity: "I most certainly count on my never having to remind you that you have me to thank for your success." Never, he added, were any persons to be admitted into the cathedral chapter who had little zeal for the royal service.[2]

The prelacy "on the Sand" at Breslau Bishop Schaffgotsch was allowed to retain.[3] The provostry of the Holy Cross, together with a canonry of Breslau, he endeavoured to obtain for his brother, but Frederick wanted to keep Bastiani under an obligation to himself and subsequently presented him with both these benefices.[4] Schaffgotsch's aim was to rid himself of Bastiani, whose demands were boundless,[5] as speedily as possible; he therefore recalled him, but this was not to the liking of Frederick, who censured the Bishop's

[1] Detailed description of the events in THEINER, I., 328–351. *Cf.* STETTINER, 14; *Albani to Colloredo on February 24 and March 9, 1748, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] LEHMANN, III., No. 162; THEINER, I., 354 *seqq.*, Docum. No. 26.

[3] LEHMANN, III., No. 151.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 161, 163, 168, MUTING, 15 *seqq.* For a long time the Pope withheld the benefices from Bastiani. *Cf.* LEHMANN, III., Nos. 193, 195.

[5] LEHMANN, III., No. 165. Even without emoluments Bastiani's expenditure in Rome had already amounted to over 7,000 thalers.

action in a Cabinet letter of April 2nd, 1748. He told Münchow that it was not for Schaffgotsch to know whether he had charged Bastiani "with one or several subsidiary commissions".[1]

Schaffgotsch's relations with the king had changed remarkably quickly. Just as he in his day had ousted Sinzendorf from Frederick's favour through his intrigues, he now found himself outflanked by the wily Venetian. Bastiani having solved the question of the Breslau bishopric with great skill, the Prussian king entrusted him with secret commissions which escaped Schaffgotsch's knowledge. Through Bastiani and Coltrolini negotiations between Prussia and the Holy See were conducted directly for the first time since the religious schism.

Coltrolini, who was primarily the agent of the Palatinate in Rome, had observed that Silesian clerics and laymen were turning to Rome with complaints about religious conditions in their country. He offered to bring all such steps to the knowledge of the Prussian Government and received the additional appointment of Prussian agent in Rome. In spite of a legitimation of August 27th, 1747,[2] Frederick did not regard Coltrolini's position as a public one. On the other hand, Frederick had proposed to the Pope the establishment of a nunciature in Berlin; but Benedict would not agree to this as he was already regarded as pro-Prussian at the Court of Vienna and such a step would have caused too great a stir.[3]

Frederick's chief confidant, however, was Bastiani. He was to obtain from the Pope the separation of the county of Glatz from the bishopric of Prague, also the granting to the king of the right to nominate persons to all Silesian benefices, and this in acknowledgment of his services to the Catholic

[1] LEHMANN, III., No. 167. The points of difference between Schaffgotsch and Bastiani increased until they culminated in 1754 in a lawsuit, which was followed by a series of disputes; see below, pp. 85 *seq.*

[2] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 810, 816, 822, 829, 849.

[3] HILTEBRANDT, *Verkehr zwischen dem päpstlichen und preussischen Hofe*, in the *Quellen und Forschungen des preuss. Hist. Instituts zu Rom*, XV. (1912), 377.

Church. Bastiani was advised by the king to proceed with prudence and moderation.[1]

However, the Secretary of State, Valenti, declared that the royal desire conflicted with the standards of canon law, especially as Frederick was a Protestant prince. Benedict on this occasion not being prepared to give way, Bastiani advised the king to adopt the method of threats and to inform the nuncio at the Polish Court that any other monarch would long since have secularized the property of the Church if his royal demands had not been met. To lay stress upon his wishes he delivered to the Pope a copious memorandum on the royal right of nomination to all Silesian benefices on patronage and feudal grounds in so far as they corresponded with the conditions in France. Nevertheless, Benedict could not acknowledge the proofs as valid.[2]

At the same time rumours arose in Rome that Frederick II. was thinking of entering the Catholic Church. Bastiani reported to the king on May 11th, 1748, that the Polish nuncio Archinto had passed the news on to Rome. The Pope touched on the matter in an audience with Bastiani, asking him if there was any fresh news of the king's conversion, but Bastiani could give him no information on the subject.[3]

[1] LEHMANN, III., No. 132; *Albani to Colloredo, August 24, 1748, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 171, 176, 193, 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, 196, 217. "*Cresce l'opinione e la voce comune che il Re di Prussia abbia determinato di farsi cattolico e che per tanto vada trattando di poter esser eletto Re di Polonia in caso di mancanza del presente regnante" (Ant. Pennachi to Uhlfeld, June 1, 1748, State Archives, Vienna). "*In fatti però è vero ch'il Re di Prussia ha mostrato di voler trattare l'affare della sua conversione per convenzioni, che si maravigliano qui tutti, come un uomo stimato, dotto e di spirito l'avesse pensate, come sarebbe quella di non voler confessare i suoi peccati e simili pretensioni, che se non avessero dell' empietà, sarebbero ridicole. . . . Ma le lettere del confessore del Re di Francia portavano ch' egli era seriamente risoluto" (the same on June 15, 1748, *ibid.*). — Five years later Cardinal Quirini wanted to go to

Frederick, seeing that Bastiani would achieve nothing, recalled him on July 30th, 1748 [1]; through his tempestuous manner he had lost all support in Rome.

One success, however, Bastiani was able to achieve as Frederick's delegate. Benedict now seemed more inclined to recognize Frederick's title of King of Prussia. The Pope, indeed, was alone in calling him merely the Margrave of Brandenburg. Frederick had already taken offence at this on several occasions. On the appearance of the printed version of the Papal allocution on the last Imperial election, in which there was mention of the "Marchio Brandenburgensis", Frederick instructed his ambassador at the Imperial Court to make his displeasure known to the nuncio. The ambassador, Klinggraffen, replied on July 28th, 1742, that on receiving the information the nuncio had prevaricated and would give no direct answer.[2] Frederick then instructed his representative at the imperial diet at Frankfurt to protest to the nuncio there against the Pope's refusal to use the royal title; the instruction was accompanied by a threat: "Such unseemliness," he wrote, "was merely annoying, it did not alter facts, and might very likely have to be paid for dearly by the Roman Court." On further representations being made by the Prussian ambassador at the Imperial Court, the nuncio managed to escape adroitly from an embarrassing situation by explaining that the Pope had merely conformed to the usual etiquette; since the religious schism the rulers of Prussia had taken no notice of the Papal See and had never apprised it of the assumption of the royal title, so that the Pope, in accordance with ceremonial, could use no other title than that in use before the schism. Since, however, Frederick II. valued so

Berlin, to convert Frederick II., as he said; but the Pope would not allow him to undertake the journey, the Cardinals having found it inconsistent with their honour to expose the dignity of one of their number to Frederick's derision (*cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 217). HILTEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 378.

[1] LEHMANN, III., No. 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., Nos. 157, 169.

highly the honour of being addressed with the royal title by the Pope, Benedict XIV. eagerly desired to have the matter settled in a satisfactory manner.[1] A formal recognition, however, the Pope was not quite prepared to make. But to avoid the offensive title "Margrave of Brandenburg" he made use of the expression "Ruler" or "Sovereign" of Prussia and Silesia in his correspondence with Sinzendorf.[2] It was not till the year 1748 that the situation altered somewhat. In the Brief of March 5th, by which Schaffgotsch was nominated Bishop of Breslau, Benedict spoke of the "royal person" of Frederick II. and admonished the new Bishop to recite those prayers for the sovereign which the Church provided for kings. Bastiani did not omit to bring this fact to the attention of Frederick, who found the Papal letter "admirable".[3] Benedict went a step further; he informed Bastiani that in his letters to Schaffgotsch and the Polish nuncio he had quite spontaneously referred to Frederick as a "great monarch" and even "king"[4]; he regretted that the attitude adopted towards the question by previous Popes laid on him restrictions which were all the more irksome to him since he had the greatest respect for the reigning monarch of Prussia.[5]

The Pope's accommodating attitude in the matter of Frederick's title was probably due mainly to the encouragement given by Frederick to the building of St. Hedwig's church in Berlin. Liking to appear as the most tolerant man in the world, as early as March 12th, 1743, he had intimated to Sinzendorf that the existing Catholic chapel in Berlin was far too humble and could no longer satisfy requirements. He declared that he would gladly give permission for a new building but regretted that the bad state of his finances would not

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 170, 176, 194.

[2] Many documents in THEINER.

[3] THEINER, II., Docum. No. 73; LEHMANN, III., Nos. 154, 162.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 196.

[5] THEINER, II., 24; Benedict XIV.'s letter of May 11, 1748, *ibid.*, 309. *Cf.* STETTINER, 16.

allow him to make a personal contribution. He therefore invited Sinzendorf to look for ways and means of carrying out the plan with monetary help from the Catholics.[1] But as not much help from foreign Catholics was to be expected before the conclusion of a general peace, the question of building a new church was left in abeyance until the year 1746, when the Catholics of Berlin asked Frederick to allow them to begin a new building out of their own resources. He granted this request in letters patent of November 22nd, 1746. The church might be of any size and might have one or more towers. As a mark of especial favour Frederick assigned the Catholics an appropriate site. He also authorized the Carmelite Eugenio Mecenati of Mantua to collect subscriptions for the church building from the Catholics in all Prussian territories. It was expressly stated by the king that the church was never to be used for any other purpose.[2]

The announcement of November 22nd was hailed by the Catholics of all Germany as a noble deed of the king's. Sinzendorf described his generosity to the Pope in fulsome language; Frederick, he said, was even disposed to supply some of the building materials at his own expense. The Cardinal also submitted to Benedict the king's desire that the Pope should invite all the Archbishops and Bishops throughout the world to contribute voluntarily towards the cost of the building.[3] Pleased as he was with Frederick's accommodating attitude, the entrusting of the financial side of the undertaking to Mecenati caused Benedict grave misgivings, since in most countries Mecenati's reputation was of the worst, owing to his frauds. After several changes of opinion, Frederick seemed finally to decide to renounce him when Mecenati was surprised by death in October 1747.[4] Benedict now delayed no longer

[1] LEHMANN, II., No. 288; OTTM. HEGEMANN, *Friedrich d. Gr. und die kath. Kirche*, 34; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XI., 449.

[2] LEHMANN, II., Nos. 293, 772; NOVAES, XIV., 120 *seq.* *Cf.* *Albani to Uhlfeld, December 16, 1747, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] THEINER, I., 278 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 280 *seqq.*; HEECKEREN, I., 299; LEHMANN, II., No. 795.

in giving the project of the new church wholehearted patronage. On November 20th he held a consistory at which he highly commended Frederick for his co-operation and encouraged the Cardinals to subscribe towards this most necessary undertaking. He himself set the example by contributing 1,000 pistoles. On the same day he issued a circular letter to the whole episcopacy, asking that the Catholics of all countries be invited to make contributions.[1]

The Catholics of Berlin set great hopes on the king of Portugal, who contributed generously towards religious undertakings, and invited him through the mediation of the king of England to take the new church under his protection. Frederick agreed to this, and it was endorsed by the Pope. The king of Portugal, in his letter of reply, of January 11th, 1748, declined the honour, as he was too far from Berlin to render help when necessary, but he sent the Pope a large subscription to the building fund. The king's example was followed by the two Portuguese Cardinals Saldanha and Da Cunha.[2] Cardinal Quirini was also outstanding as a promoter and benefactor of the new church [3]; it was at his cost that the pedimented portal with six Ionic columns was erected.

In Rome the Pope had collected by the middle of January 1748 the considerable sum of 10,500 Roman thalers, although the fund had not yet been closed. The Emperor, too, promised

[1] LEHMANN, III., No. 77; HEECKEREN, I., 365; THEINER, Docum. No. 66. *Cf.* *Albani to Uhlfeld, November 18 and December 2, 1747, *loc. cit.*

[2] THEINER, I., 285. Rather different sums in LEHMANN, III., No. 143.

[3] HEGEMANN, 36; LEHMANN, III., Nos. 423, 427. In his letter of September 4, 1748, Benedict XIV. thanked the Cardinal for his support of the Berlin church, "che fra le sovvenzioni mandate di qui e per le Nostre incessanti premure dalla Spagna a quest'hora avrà avuto 50,000 scudi. Noi battiamo in Francia ed in Polonia, e se otterremo, erit oleum de saxo durissimo; ci dispiace che l'idea presa dai presidenti alla fabrica è stata troppo sublime" (FRESCO, *Lettere*, XIX., 183). Quirini published his fulsome correspondence with Frederick II.; see HEGEMANN, 36.

a subscription. Benedict was clearly disappointed by the reply made by Cardinal Tencin, which deprived him of all hope of support from France.[1] The final result of the Papal collection in Rome was that more than 27,000 scudi were sent by a Roman banker to Berlin.[2] Benedict was displeased at the church being begun in too magnificent a style,[3] for he feared that sufficient money would not be obtained. Subsequently recourse had to be had to a lottery in aid of the church building.[4]

The favourable impression made on the Pope by Frederick's good will towards the Berlin Catholics was obliterated by his procedure in Silesia. The Catholics there were so grievously oppressed by taxes and duties that many were thinking of emigrating. The religious houses seemed to be doomed to gradual ruin. Benedict besought Schaffgotsch to obtain alleviation from the king, but Schaffgotsch did not dare risk arousing in Frederick's mind the slightest suspicion that he was ungrateful.[5] And yet it was through a despatch of

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 379.

[2] THEINER, I., 286.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 79, n. 3.

[4] LEHMANN, III., No. 244; HEGEMANN, 36. MERENDA, **Memorie*, f. 78: "Per altro il Re di Prussia si portava con molta moderazione a riguardo dei cattolici suoi sudditi, ai quali in questo tempo aveva permesso di fabricare una magnifica chiesa a Berlino. Il Re aveva donato il sito e molti materiali. Per il resto fu fatta una colletta generale per tutti li paesi cattolici. Il Papa diede parte al s. Collegio di questa buona opera con una bella allocuzione, in cui parlava con lode molto del Re di Prussia, animando ogn' uno a contribuirvi e depositare il denaro nel banco Belloni. Il Papa diede grossa somma e li cardinali ancora chi più chi meno, e così la prelatura et altri" (Bibl. Angelica, Rome). Frederick sanctioned the lottery on condition that most of the tickets be sold to foreigners and that the plan of the lottery be submitted to his approval. *Cf.* LEHMANN, III., Nos. 491, 492.—The building of the church was suspended from 1755 to 1766, and the church was finally consecrated on November 1, 1773. *Cf.* HEGEMANN, 37 *seqq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XI., 449.

[5] HEECKEREN, I., 400 *seq.*; MÜTING, 23 *seqq.*; PIGGE, 244 *seqq.*

Schaffgotsch's, forwarded by the Polish nuncio Archinto, that Benedict had been exactly informed of the conditions in Silesia.[1]

As reported in this despatch, Catholicism was being threatened by other unfair measures besides fiscal ones. Thus by a decree of the Prussian Government no one was allowed to enter upon the priestly office without permission from the civil authorities, which permission was no longer granted to any candidate who was less than twenty-four years old, was fit for military service, and could dispose of property of his own.[2] Moreover, the municipal bank of Breslau refused to pay to clerics interest on sums deposited. By these measures the situation of the clerics and religious houses was made so difficult that a scarcity of priests was expected to develop within a short time, especially as the Prussian Government was striving to keep foreigners out of religious appointments.

Since the plan of the Vicariate General remained unfulfilled, and all legal cases had to be decided within the country, the Catholics had no court of appeal unless they were willing to have recourse to the secular courts.[3] As this was not infrequently done, Benedict made mediatory proposals which Schaffgotsch passed on to the king. The latter declared that an abatement of taxes was impossible but that he was prepared to make concessions on the other points. Thus he agreed that for the hearing of appeals clerics should be appointed who were empowered for the purpose by the competent nuncio. He also expressed his agreement with the lower age limit of twenty-two years for the taking of vows, as laid down by the Council of Trent.[4]

Frederick's unexpected agreement on these points was probably due in part to his desire to see other matters settled for which he required the Pope's assent. He wanted, for

[1] For this memorandum of Schaffgotsch's see THEINER, II., 4 *seqq.*; *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, XX. (1883), 126 *seqq.*

[2] MÜTING, 28 *seqq.*; PIGGE, 266 *seqq.*

[3] MÜTING, 26 *seq.*

[4] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 176, 197, 180; THEINER, II., 9 *seqq.*

instance, all the religious Orders in Silesia to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Breslau.[1] Benedict, however, knowing that the object of the Prussian Government was to set up a national Church, replied that it would be impossible to fulfil Frederick's wish without stirring up against himself the members of religious Orders throughout the world. He was willing, however, to concede the Bishop of Breslau the right of superintending the religious houses of Silesia.[2] With this solution Frederick expressed himself as satisfied.

On August 1st, 1748, the Pope sent the nuncio Archinto the necessary authorization for the establishment of the Silesian courts of appeal. This arrangement between himself and the Holy See was announced by Frederick to the Silesian authorities by an edict of October 6th, 1748[3]; in return for this, Benedict had authorized the submission of candidates for ordination to an examination according with the principles of the State legislation, and finally he also had given way on matters concerned with the royal presentation to benefices.

The principal subjects of dissension between the Church and State in Silesia which had come to the surface now seemed to have been settled to the satisfaction of both sides. Frederick sent the Pope a costly casket of amber with several rare books. Benedict was highly appreciative of this token of good feeling and instructed Schaffgotsch to convey to the monarch his deepest thanks.[4] Thus the Bishop of Breslau's relations with Frederick also improved; during a visit to Berlin he was overloaded with compliments by the king. But the friendly understanding between the Church and State in Silesia did not last long, for Frederick was soon approaching the Pope

[1] LEHMANN, III., 180. *Cf.* PIGGE, 240 *seqq.*; HEECKEREN, I., 487.

[2] THEINER, II., 18 *seqq.*; LEHMANN, III., No. 205; HEECKEREN, I., 488.

[3] THEINER, II., 34 *seq.*; LEHMANN, III., Nos. 230, 251. On December 22, 1755, this edict was extended to embrace the nobility, who were formerly exempt. LEHMANN, III., Nos. 717, 718.

[4] THEINER, II., 47; LEHMANN, III., No. 825.

again with his old ecclesiastico-political demands, which showed clearly that he was far from abandoning his views on the royal dignity of being the head of the Protestant Church and on the hierarchic unification of Silesia.

Firstly the influence of foreign Bishops on the Catholics of Silesia was to be removed. The attempt to regulate on the model of Breslau the process of appeal in the districts belonging to Cracow, Olmütz, and Prague failed.[1] On the other hand, the king now desired the union of the county of Glatz with the bishopric of Breslau.[2] The Pope was again ready to come to an arrangement, but stated that he was willing to undertake the separation only with the agreement of the Bishop of Prague. The Minister Massow at Breslau advised against the union on financial grounds, fearing that the Viennese Government would then demand the separation of the Austrian districts from Breslau, which would mean a diminution in the Bishop's income of 20–30,000 florins, whereas the Bishop of Prague drew only 1,000 florins from Silesia. Frederick gave up the plan immediately and observed that for all that he would dispose of the benefices of the county of Glatz according to his own pleasure and even take the place of a Bishop there when the occasion called for it.[3]

Out of consideration for the Pope, the death sentence passed on a monk of Oberglogau for having helped a maltreated Catholic soldier to desert, was subsequently reduced to a fine,[4] and Frederick attempted to use the opportunity to free the Silesian monasteries from their bond of allegiance to their various Orders. Benedict XIV. tried to compose the matter by proposing that the Prussian Government should bring this desire for separation to the knowledge of the Generals of the Orders through Coltrolini.[5] Frederick agreed

[1] Lehmann, III., Nos. 337, 342, 352, 369, 373.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 512 (March 2, 1754), 515; Müting, 61 *seqq.*

[3] Lehmann, III., Nos. 577, 579.

[4] Theiner, II., 83, and Docum. No. 32.

[5] *Ibid.*, 85 *seq.*, and Docum. No. 92. This proposal, too, regarding the separation of the monasteries, had been made to the king by Sinzendorf (1743, no date in Lehmann, II., No. 271).

to this but preferred Schaffgotsch rather than Coltrolini to be entrusted with the mission. The heads of the Orders were ready to negotiate on the matter with the Pope, only the Jesuit General offering objections.[1] Finally Frederick published an edict whereby all Provincials of Orders in Silesia were to be confirmed in their appointments by the king of Prussia.[2]

These efforts on Frederick's part clearly indicate his object of shutting up the Catholic Church of Silesia within its territorial frontiers. The great plan to establish a Vicariate General had been brought to nought by the opposition of the Pope, but the subsidiary successes were a certain consolation.

To the oppressive fiscal ordinances was added a series of new laws which rendered legacies for spiritual purposes almost impossible. A royal edict of June 21st, 1753, ordained that no member of a religious Order was to be allowed to dispose of property by will, and the testamentary freedom of secular clerics also was restricted. The laity was not allowed to set aside more than 500 thalers for Church purposes, and the dowry brought on entry into a religious house was greatly reduced. All wills containing bequests for religious purposes were subjected to Government control, including dispositions made before the edict. The edict was published on July 21st and it was Frederick's wish that it should be strictly enforced.[3] Protests made by the Bishops and other prelates, even by the Pope himself, made little or no difference; only for Mass bequests was some relaxation obtained.[4]

Schaffgotsch's continual complaints had exasperated the

[1] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 483, 484, 485, 488, 529; see also Nos. 530, 567. For the Carmelites *cf.* *Albani to Colloredo on February 16, 1754, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 596, 599. At the same time he forbade Silesian Catholics to make pilgrimages abroad. The main justification put forward for this was that too much money would be taken out of the country.

[3] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 454, 457; MÜTING, 48 *seqq.*

[4] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 467, 468, 471, 478, 479, 503; THEINER, I., 94 *seqq.*

king, who had not thought it possible that the new Bishop would do aught but blindly comply with his desires. Cocceji fanned the flame by accusing Schaffgotsch of making false reports, which brought the latter a sharp rebuke.[1] Bastiani, who would gladly have become Bishop of Breslau, joined in the intrigues against Schaffgotsch.[2] The storm-cloud that had been gathering over the defenceless Bishop's head was now on the point of bursting.

It did so on the publication of Benedict XIV.'s Brief reducing the number of feast days in Silesia. Frederick had indeed signified his agreement with the text of the Papal letter on February 28th, 1754 ; but during a dispute between the Bishop and the Minister Massow about the legacy of a Mother Superior in Breslau [3] the Minister drew the king's attention to passages in the Brief which greatly impaired the prestige of the Prussian State, seeing that they spoke of " the calamities and hardships of the wretched inhabitants of the city and bishopric of Breslau and the present unhappy times ". Massow considered Schaffgotsch to be the culprit, complained again of his arrogant behaviour, and proposed that all episcopal edicts should be censored.[4] Frederick turned a willing ear to his Minister's suggestions, held Schaffgotsch responsible for the compromising description of Silesian conditions in the Brief, and required that in future all episcopal and Papal edicts should bear the civil " Placet ".[5] Schaffgotsch asserted that before publication he had submitted all documents to Massow for his approval, and that he had then made no complaint. The Minister could not deny this and had further to admit that the passages complained of were not in the episcopal draft of the Brief. To make up for this, he then suggested to Frederick that Schaffgotsch had not laid before him the true draft of the Brief.[6]

[1] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 496, 502.
[2] THEINER, II., 111.
[3] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 510, 525, 527, 529, 534 ; MÜTING, 57 *seqq.*
[4] LEHMANN, III., No. 536. *Cf.* MÜTING, 65 *seqq.*
[5] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 538, 539 ; THEINER, I., 111 *seq.*
[6] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 541, 548, 549.

In this state of affairs Schaffgotsch had to be prepared for anything. A movement was afoot to treat the matter as one of high treason. Fearing internment in a fortress, the Bishop left Prussian Silesia and withdrew to his seat of Johannesberg in Austrian territory.[1]

Meanwhile, however, Frederick had accorded him his pardon and had requested him to write to the Pope about the improper expressions in the Brief. Lest he might seem to have an understanding with Austria against Prussia, Schaffgotsch now returned to Breslau.[2]

Benedict regretted the unintended effect of his Brief and instantly showed his readiness to issue another without the offending passages. Frederick was satisfied with this announcement, but now no longer desired the abolition of the feast days but only their transference to Sundays. As the Pope did not agree to this, the king let the matter rest.[3]

Hardly had these squalls subsided when Bastiani was the cause of further trouble. Through Frederick he had been presented with many rich livings, whereby not the slightest regard had been paid to canon law. As Canon of Breslau he was guilty of the most serious embezzlements, also of a monstrous deed of violence against the chapter house, which he despoiled of its archives.[4] When the Pope took a serious view of these matters, Frederick, apart from a slight rebuke administered to Massow,[5] who was implicated, shielded his minion.[6]

Surrounded by hostile and envious persons, Schaffgotsch was eager to seize any opportunity to set before the king fresh

[1] THEINER, II., 113 *seqq.*; HEECKEREN, II., 346; MÜTING, 68 *seq.*; LEHMANN, III., No. 551.

[2] THEINER, II., 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, 124; LEHMANN, III., Nos. 574, 637, 658, 659.

[4] THEINER, II., 126 *seqq.*; FECHNER, *Die Streitigkeiten des Abbé Bastiani mit dem Breslauer Domkapitel und dem Fürstbischof Schaffgotsch* 1753–6, in the *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, XVII. (1880), especially pp. 477 *seqq.*

[5] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 670, 672, 673.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 664, 667, 676, 686.

proofs of his good will. This was provided by the French Abbé Jean Martin de Prades, who had been debarred from the Sorbonne on account of his doctoral thesis and his contribution to the *Encyclopédie* and whose works had been put on the Index on March 2nd, 1752. To this highly cultured man Frederick cordially extended his hospitality. On Prades expressing his desire to be reconciled with the Pope, the king recommended the matter to the attention of the Bishop of Breslau, who brought it to the Pope's notice.[1] At first Benedict paid as little attention to this petition as to the written defence submitted to him by Prades through Cardinal Passionei, since Prades defended himself only against the censures of the Sorbonne, making no mention of the Papal condemnation of his works. Afterwards, however, Benedict did his best in the matter and asked Cardinal Tencin to mediate in Paris.[2] Hearing to his pleasure that the Sorbonne had come to a favourable decision, he was able to submit to the Bishop of Breslau a formula of recantation of the errors, which Prades was to sign and return to Rome.[3]

Prades complied with every stipulation; he submitted to the ecclesiastical courts of judicature and wrote to the Sorbonne. On April 6th, 1754, he thanked the Pope for his fatherly leniency; and Frederick expressed to Schaffgotsch his satisfaction with the success of his efforts.[4]

The position of the Catholics in Silesia was again seriously worsened by the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Schaffgotsch did all he could to make Frederick favourably inclined towards them. He composed a pastoral letter in which he urged both the clergy and the laity to pray publicly for the

[1] THEINER, II., 135. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, II., 172, 177, 250, 275; NOVAES, XIV., 218 *seqq.*

[2] HEECKEREN, II., 241, 250, 308, 316, 318 *seq.*, 321; THEINER, II., 139 *seqq.* Tencin intervened for Prades with the Sorbonne, where the obstacles to be overcome were chiefly formal; see HEECKEREN, II., 340, 350.

[3] *Ibid.*, 323, 325 *seq.*

[4] THEINER, II., 141 *seqq.*; LEHMANN, III., No. 775. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 383.

success of the Prussian arms. The Berlin Government was so pleased with this episcopal edict that it had to be published also in the churches of Berlin, Potsdam, Spandau, and Stettin.[1] Nevertheless the Government refused to believe that the Catholics were friendly to Prussia. To save himself, Schaffgotsch now spoke of the Catholics' bad faith and of their unprincipled attitude towards Prussia, and regretted his inability to remedy this state of affairs.[2] But in spite of his protesting that he was supporting the Prussian cause with every possible means and that he did not want the return of slavery under Austria, for which he professed an undying hatred, he could not remove Frederick's suspicion that both he and the whole of the Catholic clergy of Silesia had an understanding with the enemy.[3]

In December 1757 the Austrian armies advanced victoriously into Silesia and took possession of almost all the country, but they were soon thrown back, and Schaffgotsch did not dare to remain in Silesia any longer. Before leaving, he nominated as his vicar general the worthy Canon Franckenberg, to whom he handed over the direction of the diocese in his absence. Frederick refused to recognize Franckenberg and nominated Bastiani in his stead. The cathedral chapter, on March 10th, 1758, protested against this to the Pope, who annulled Bastiani's appointment on April 15th. He ordered the Canons to choose a worthy dignitary from among their own numbers.[4]

Meanwhile Schaffgotsch had travelled by way of Vienna to Rome, where the Pope granted him an audience.[5] In Rome he

[1] LEHMANN, III., Nos. 780, 781, 782; MÜTING, 72; *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, XX. (1883), 129 *seqq.*

[2] LEHMANN, III., No. 786.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 795, 815, 816, 817, 818. Schaffgotsch was unscrupulous enough, for private reasons, to accuse even his Suffragan Bishop Almesloe of high treason; see JUNGNITZ, *Die Breslauer Weihbischöfe*, Breslau, 1914, 239.

[4] THEINER, II., 146 *seqq.*; LEHMANN, IV., Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 25. *Cf.* U. STUTZ, *Deutsches Bischofswahlrecht*, 152.

[5] THEINER, II., 148; *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch.*, *loc. cit.*, 157 *seqq.*

had nothing to fear, as the relations between Benedict XIV. and Frederick II. had cooled; nevertheless the Bishop was admonished to be loyal to his sovereign.[1] However, his efforts to regain Frederick's favour [2] failed, he had to keep out of Prussia for ever, and he now lived for the most part in his castle of Johannesberg, where in 1795 he died.[3]

The effect of the anti-Catholic current in Silesia may best be judged from the Faulhaber case. To avoid punishment a deserter had declared that the chaplain Andreas Faulhaber had, in reply to a question, said in the confessional that desertion was a grave sin but that God forgave it. Faulhaber, on arrest, declared that the soldier's statement was false, but declined to give further information, being prevented by the seal of confession. Although the soldier retracted his statement in a second examination, the investigation was continued, and the deserter was induced to repeat his accusation. In consequence, on December 29th, 1757, Faulhaber was hanged on a gallows on which a deserter was already hanging. His accuser was condemned to run the gauntlet; he declared afterwards that he was guilty of the chaplain's martyrdom. The latter was generally regarded as a victim of the seal of confession.[4]

[1] STETTINER, 29.

[2] In letters of January 1748 and February 1763 he begged the Prussian king for forgiveness; see *Katholik*, 1856, 512 *seqq.*; *Zeitschrift für preuss. Gesch., loc. cit.*, 167 *seqq.*; STETTINER, 31 *seq.*

[3] *Katholik*, 1856, 519; STETTINER, 33; PIGGE, 83. For Schaffgotsch's restless wandering, see MÜTING, 75 *seqq.*

[4] LEHMANN, III., No. 701, IV., No. 1; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXVI. (1884), 217–222, XXXIX. (1890), 222–4. Faulhaber's innocence is shown in A. J. NÜRNBERGER'S *Neue Dokumente zur Gesch. des P. Andreas Faulhaber*, Mainz, 1900. *Cf.* E. LOCHMANN, 12; BACH-VOLKMER, *Die Grafschaft Glatz unter dem Gouvernement des Generals De la Motte Fouqué*, Habelschwerdt, 1885; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XCV. (1885), 533 *seqq.*; PIGGE, 224 *seq.* For another death sentence, not carried out, for aiding a desertion, *cf.* above, p. 83, and LEHMANN, III., Nos. 396, 402.

CHAPTER III

THE DISPUTES ABOUT CARPEGNA AND THE PATRIARCHATE OF AQUILEIA. FOUNDATIONS OF BISHOPRICS AND CONVERSIONS IN GERMANY. BEGINNING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE POPE.

(1)

THE Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, left unsettled the question of the legal overlordship of the county of Carpegna [1] —a question that had been in suspense for centuries—since the ruling that the state of possessions in Italy then prevailing were to be maintained merely preserved the provisional settlement of 1731 made in the reign of Clement XII. and was no permanent solution. The lords of the territory, the Conti di Carpegna, were paying—as had been done for the previous two centuries—a yearly tribute to Florence on the score of a supposed treaty of protection, while for their enfeoffment they had to apply to the Curia.[2]

In 1749 the controversy was revived by the death of Count Francesco Carpegna and led to serious dissensions between Rome and Vienna for several years [3]; the German Emperor Francis I. was, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, lord of the city of Florence and an active defender of its legal claims.

Francesco Carpegna had designated as the heir to his sovereignty his grandson Antonio Gabrielli, the son of his daughter Laura Gabrielli.[4] The Pope expressed his agreement

[1] See our account, Vol. XXXV., 130 *seqq.*). Carpegna and Scavolino together numbered less than 400 souls. REUMONT, *Toskana*, II., 39.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., 1.

[3] *Migazzi to the Lord Chancellor Uhlfeld, July 12, 1749, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 7, 1749, I., 482 (the nomenclature "Marius Ganelli" used here is erroneous).

with this, but Florence was expected to raise difficulties. Accordingly Benedict XIV. sent the Imperial Court a note, according to which the change of government in Carpegna could cause no complications since the state of affairs was clear if previous agreements were honoured.[1] The Emperor's reply, however, was far from satisfactory: Francis I. did not feel himself in any way bound by arrangements made by his predecessor with Pope Clement XII.; as Grand Duke of Tuscany he relied rather on an old arrangement between Florence and the house of Carpegna, by which, years ago, the dominion of Scavolino had been temporarily occupied by Tuscan military guards on the occasion of a similar change of ruler[2]; the same situation had now arisen in the case of Carpegna.[3]

Shortly after this communication from the Viennese nuncio news reached the Pope of the entry of Florentine troops into Scavolino and Carpegna.[4] Their commandant extorted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the Emperor's person and issued a proclamation in accordance with which Florence was taking possession of the inheritance of the Counts of Carpegna for the protection of the Imperial rights. There was no question either of a temporary occupation to ensure the succession nor of the slightest regard for the long recognized Prince Cavalieri of Scavolino.[5] It seemed that the peace of Italy and the state of possessions in that country were

[1] *Benedict XIV. to Francis I., July 5, 1749 (State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp.), with reference to the friendly settlement of 1731 and with the memorandum as an appendix.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 7, 1749, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Idem*, on June 18, 1749, I., 493 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.* — "*essendo venute certe notizie che nel feudo di Carpegna sian passati altri soldati dalla Toscana, onde vi si ritrova un presidio di circa 1000 Tedeschi per la pretensione sia quel feudo devoluto da questa S. Sede per ottenere dalla corte di Vienna vi possa succedere il sig. March. Antonio Gabrielli erede del defonto conte di Carpegna. . . ." Avviso di Roma, of June 28, 1749, Cod. ital., 199, State Library, Munich.

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, June 25, 1749, I., 497.

endangered and that on this point the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been violated.

For the Pope speedy action was necessary, lest Antonio Gabrielli, to save his inheritance, should resolve to take it in fee from the Emperor. Benedict XIV. threatened him therefore, in that event, with the confiscation of his extensive and valuable private possessions in the States of the Church,[1] and at the beginning of June 1749, in accordance with a resolution made by a Congregation of Cardinals, he sent the Emperor, through the nuncio Serbelloni, an urgent Brief of warning, with a detailed memorandum.[2]

The nuncio in Vienna, however, in spite of repeated requests, was not permitted to deliver the Brief. The Imperial representative in Rome, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, did, it is true, ask for an interview with the Pope, that he might explain the matter, and this was granted him, but as he did not proceed beyond trivialities, the Pope, at the end of the interview, alluding to Carpegna, threatened to recall the nuncio in Vienna if the latter did not eventually obtain an audience with the Emperor. In a note which the Pope sent to Albani the same day he demanded satisfaction, to be made public, for the patent disrespect shown to his representative at the Imperial Court, and a speedy answer to his Brief; if these demands were not met, he must regard the behaviour of the Viennese Cabinet as a downright refusal to consider his point of view.[3]

At long last Serbelloni was admitted to the Emperor's presence. In the most friendly language the latter justified the action he had taken in Scavolino and Carpegna by the obligation which had been laid upon him by the German princes at his election and which he had accepted under oath, to win back in the most active way possible all the Imperial fees in Italy.[4] Similar in effect was the long awaited reply in writing which arrived in Rome at the beginning of September and in

[1] *Ibid.*, li.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, June 25 and July 9, 1749, I., 497, 504.

[3] *Idem*, on August 13, 1749, I., 508 *seq.*

[4] *Idem*, on August 20, I., 509 *seq.*

which the Emperor proposed negotiations with the Pope on the subject of Carpegna.[1]

The Pope and a newly convened Congregation announced their agreement with this proposal and gave Serbelloni the necessary powers ; but an indispensable preliminary condition was that the Tuscan troops were to be withdrawn.[2] But the Emperor was unwilling to abandon so quickly the project of extending his Grand Duchy, however insignificant the extension might be, and he profited by the Pope's demand, by non-compliance with it, to protract the proffered negotiations and thereby a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.

The Pope was now left with no other course but to invoke the intervention of France as the guarantor of the treaty of 1748. Cardinal Tencin was his spokesman at the Court of Versailles but could obtain only a conditional assent ; it was desired that the Courts of Madrid and Turin be induced to mediate at the same time, seeing that they were more directly interested in the peace of Italy and that their co-operation would increase the desired effect in Vienna.[3] Accordingly the French ambassador at the Imperial Court, Blondel, was instructed to take no steps except in collaboration with these two Governments [4] ; but there were difficulties in the way of this too, as at the time neither of the two ambassadors was in Vienna.[5]

[1] *Idem*, on September 3, 1749, I., 514.

[2] *Benedict XIV. to Francis I. on September 6, 1749 (Serbelloni as negotiator ; *cf. ibid.*, under November 29, 1749), on February 7 (thanking him for his readiness to negotiate and asking for the withdrawal of the troops), and on May 9, 1750 (proposing an honourable retreat), State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp.

[3] Cardinal Tencin wrote to the Pope on this subject on September 8, 1749 ; see HEECKEREN, I., 520 *seq.* ; Durini to Valenti, August 4, 1749, in CALVI, 186 ; *cf. ibid.*, 188 *seq.*, 190, 199. Serbelloni had already spoken to the French ambassador Blondel on the matter, but the latter could undertake nothing at the time owing to lack of instructions ; see *ibid.*, 185.

[4] Durini to Valenti, February 2, 1750, *ibid.*, 197 *seq.*

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, October 1, 1749, I., 521.

The slowness with which affairs were conducted in Vienna was proverbial,[1] and this occasion was no exception. The Pope had to wait months for a reply. To the nuncio the Emperor showed an attitude of utter indecision [2]; meanwhile, however, the troops in Carpegna were unexpectedly reduced.[3] At the same time the diplomats in Vienna succeeded in transforming the question of the sovereignty of the disputed territories into a quarrel between Gabrielli and Cavalieri solely about the legal succession. On the Imperial side it was already being proposed that a third party take over the whole inheritance.[4] Benedict XIV., however, refused to allow the point at issue to be confused, insisting time after time that the title of both heirs was indisputable [5] and that in any case the fundamental question of the sovereignty must first be settled before the personal succession was discussed.[6]

It was now the summer of 1750. Carpegna had been illegally occupied for over a year, and the Emperor was still seeking excuses for the occupation. When at last a reply did come from Vienna the Pope's dismay was greater than before. As a condition of the negotiations on the disputed fief it was

[1] "Avec sa lenteur habituelle Vienne ne manquera pas de trainer l'affaire en longueur." *Ibid.*

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, October 15, 1749, I., 523 *seq.*

[3] The same on November 5, 1749, I., 526.

[4] The same on November 26, 1749, and January 21, 1750, I., 530; II., 4.

[5] Benedict XIV. pointed out that even if the Counts of Carpegna had always acknowledged themselves to be the vassals of Florence, they were not entitled to do so, since they were not sovereigns. To Tencin, December 3, 1749, I., 532.

[6] In the spring of 1750 the Pope again made his position known to the Emperor (*Letter of April 29, 1750, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp.): "Due sono i punti della controversia, la sovranità sopra lo stato della Carpegna e l'accomandigia, chi si pretende dover regolare la presente successione allo stato della Carpegna." *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 13, 1750, II., 29 *seq.*, and Maria Theresa's *dispatch to Cardinal Albani of April 25, 1750, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

demanded that the county of Carpegna be handed over to the aged mother and on her death to the sisters of Antonio Gabrielli—in other words the rightful heir was to be debarred from his inheritance. Needless to say, this proposal also had to be rejected by the Pope.[1]

On the other hand, the efforts of the Papacy to secure the intervention of the Bourbon Courts had in the meantime met with greater success. Spain [2] and Sardinia,[3] as well as France,[4] announced their deepest interest in the maintenance of peace and order in Italy. Spain's representative still being absent from Vienna, Blondel, yielding to Serbelloni's insistence, undertook, in conjunction with the Sardinian envoy, in December 1750, to remonstrate personally with the Emperor, whose subsequent reply took the form only of a lengthy justification in writing of his action.[5]

In the next two years also no appreciable progress was made. In 1751 Francis I. sent a circular letter to the European Courts, asking them to abstain from intervention on behalf of the Pope, since on the strength of the aforesaid treaty of protection between Florence and Carpegna he was wholly justified in securing the succession for the healthy daughters of Laura Gabrielli rather than for her sickly son.[6] French support, which had never been too active,[7] now became even weaker and, compared with pro-Papal activity, especially

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, August 5 and December 23, 1750, II., 46 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*

[2] Durini to Valenti, April 6, 1750, *ibid.*, 202.

[3] *Idem*, May 18 and October 5, 1750, *ibid.*, 204 *seq.*, 210.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 14 and February 25, 1750, II., 2, 13; Durini to Valenti, April 13, 1750, in CALVI; 203. The French Minister Puisieux was preparing an instruction for Blondel on the subject of Carpegna. *Ibid.*, 209.

[5] Durini to Valenti, December 14, 1750, *ibid.*, 213.

[6] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, February 17 and April 14, 1751, II., 97, 108. The Pope received a copy of the circular letter by devious channels (*ibid.*, 100). The Imperial proposal of autumn 1752 was to the same effect; see *ibid.*, 220.

[7] Blondel "camminava co' piedi di piombo per noi in riguardo al'a Carpegna, questi [Blondel's successor, A. Contest] li avrà

that of the Sardinian envoy, it developed almost into crippling antagonism.[1] At the end of the year Vienna made a fresh attempt at adjustment, which was no more likely than the preceding ones to secure for the Pope the maintenance of neutrality and feudal overlordship: Laura Gabrielli was only provisionally to take over the total inheritance; should she die before the settlement of the dispute, Antonio would succeed her.[2]

The affair dragged on, month after month, and its progress was delayed still further by its becoming connected with another dispute about the succession to the estate of the Conti Ubaldini.[3] At the beginning of the year 1753 a final proposal was made to the Vatican by the Emperor: the successors desired by the Pope—Cavalieri in Scavolino and Antonio Gabrielli in Carpegna—were to be recognized, but only on the authority of the Imperial enfeoffment.[4] The real aims of Viennese policy were thus exposed[5]; the Pope could now

di marmo ben pesante per non muoversi un passo a nostro favore" (Durini to Valenti, October 4, 1751, in CALVI, 231). The French did not want to intervene too much, lest their good relations with Vienna be impaired. Durini on October 18, 1751, *ibid.*, 233 *seq.*

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, May 26, June 23, and, especially, July 14, 1751, II., 118, 124 *seq.*, 129; Durini to Valenti, December 20, 1751, in CALVI, 237.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 15, 1751, II., 157. A similar proposal was made to the Pope by Nivernais (Benedict to Tencin, September 1, 1751, II., 137 *seq.*). *Cf.* Durini to Valenti, October 23, 1752, in CALVI, 254 *seq.*

[3] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 10, 1753, II., 237 *seq.* — Under date August 19, 1752, the Pope *complained to Maria Theresa not only of the decline in ecclesiastical activity in Tuscany but also because "appartiene al temporale l'occupazione e ritenzione fatte con mano armata e da tanto tempo in qua vigenti, della Carpegna e di Scavolino senza essersi mai veduto un minimo effetto delle Nostre preghiere per vedercene liberati" State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 10, 1753, II., 237 *seq.*

[5] Durini to Valenti, January 22, 1753, in CALVI, 257.

not be unyielding enough and he again sought the intervention of the Bourbon Courts. This time he was successful [1]; in July their three representatives presented themselves to the Emperor and conveyed to him the definite wish of their Governments that the territories in dispute be speedily evacuated.[2] France looked for little success from this representation, unless the Emperor was threatened in clearer terms, for which the full co-operation of Madrid and Turin would be necessary.[3] In autumn there were further conferences between the envoys and the Austrian Cabinet.[4]

At last, in June 1754, Francis I. yielded to the pressure that was continually brought to bear upon him and at the same time ceased negotiations on the matter. In silence, without any diplomatic explanations, he acknowledged the justice of the Papal claims by withdrawing his troops from both territories,[5] by allowing the sequestrated revenues to be surrendered to the two rightful heirs, and by allowing them to take possession of their dominions.[6] Thus a long and bitter dispute about a tiny tract of land was settled in complete tranquillity. Only a brief correspondence between the Cardinal

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, July 12 and August 23, 1752, II., 200, 208. *Cf.* also "*Relation sur l'origine et les progrès de l'affaire de Carpegna" (Ristretto dell'affare di Carpegna, fragments of an intercepted correspondence between Nivernais, French ambassador in Rome, and Hautfort, French ambassador in Vienna), Varia, t. 49, State Archives, Vienna, also *letter to Durini, dated Rome, 1752, November 8 ("appunto per questa ragione [i.e. on account of the 'mire della corte di Vienna'] deve la Francia assisterci in brachio forti e mettere un freno alle ideali e chimeriche pretensioni di quella corte, la quale non attende che l'esito di quest'affare per portarle all'eccesso in tutta l'Italia"). Nunziat. di Francia, 442, f. 439, Papal Secret Archives; further, *Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, *ibid.*

[2] Durini to Valenti, July 30, 1753, in CALVI, 276 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, also on August 6, 1753, *ibid.*, 279.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, November 7, 1753, II., 301; Durini to Valenti, October 29, 1753, in CALVI, 287 *seqq.*

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, June 12, 1754, II., 344; *cf.* I., li.

[6] *Idem*, June 26, 1754, *ibid.*, 346.

Secretary of State Valenti and the Chancellor, Count Kaunitz, confirmed the settlement which had taken place.

(2)

Almost contemporaneous with the dispute about Carpegna was that about the patriarchate of Aquileia, in which the Imperial Government had every reason to obtain the support of Rome, in order to make good its claims against the Republic of Venice.

For centuries the territory of this patriarchate [1] had been partly under Austrian, partly under Venetian dominion; Aquileia itself belonged to the Austrian portion, whereas the patriarch had long resided only in Udine, that is on Venetian soil. In consequence, since the end of the fifteenth century, all the holders of the patriarchal office had been Venetians, and most of them had come from a few privileged families, although Austria had never yielded her claim to the right of nomination.[2] The spiritual activity of the Patriarch had confined itself more and more to the territory of the Republic; after Ferdinand II., in 1628, had had to forbid the clergy of the county of Gorizia, which had come into his possession, to have any connexion with Udine, an archdeacon ministered to the needs of the Austrian domains, while the episcopal functions were exercised by the Viennese nuncio.[3]

This situation became more and more insupportable the less the nuncio was able to exercise his pastoral duties, and the more Church discipline and Church life deteriorated in consequence. A Vicariate Apostolic for the Austrian territory had

[1] A general survey of the constantly changing boundaries of the patriarchate in BUCHBERGER, *Lexikon f. Theologie u. Kirche*, I.², 583.

[2] P. ANTONINI, *Il Friuli*, 396; CZOERNIG, *Görz und Gradisca*, 353 *seqq*. The 16 Patriarchs since 1476 had sprung from only six Venetian families.

[3] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 3, 1749, I., 532; CZOERNIG, *Stadt Görz*, 41 *seq.*; *idem*, *Görz und Gradisca*, 355.

been projected by Urban VIII.[1] and had been frustrated only by the opposition of Venice; with the Patriarch's counter-proposal that a new, separate bishopric, subject to him as Metropolitan, be founded, Vienna could not agree.[2] Similar projects were formed under Emperor Charles VI. It was not, however, until the general requiescence of political life in 1748 that Benedict XIV. showed a greater readiness to clear the ground for a solution.[3]

It was from Maria Theresa that there now emanated the suggestion that a separate bishopric be founded for the areas subject to her. But the Pope, wanting to avoid a clash with the Republic, could only agree, after long negotiations,[4] with the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic with the character of a Bishop *in partibus*, whereby he would be immediately subject to Rome.[5] A Brief [6] authorizing in principle the establishment of a vicariate followed on November 29th, 1749, whereby the foundation was described as a temporary solution. A permanent settlement was envisaged by the Pope only in the distant future, since in his, justifiable, opinion Venice would do all in its power to postpone such a settlement as long as possible, if not to prevent it altogether. The Brief awarded the Vicar the title and dignity of Bishop, obliged him to take up his permanent residence in Gorizia, gave him powers deriving directly from Papal authority, and reserved the right of nomination also for the Pope alone.

[1] See Benedict XIV.'s allocution of December 1, 1749, in *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 227 *seq.*; CZOERNIG, *Görz und Gradisca*, 921; ANTONINI, *loc. cit.*, 397 *seqq.*

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 3, 1749, I., 532.

[3] ANTONINI, 400.

[4] *Avvisi di Roma of May 10 and August 2, 1749, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

[5] *The Pope advised the Empress "si contenti del Vicario Apostolico perpetuo con quelle maggiori facoltà, le quali si possono desiderare, e col ricorso a dirittura alla S. Sede, levandola dal Patriarca". Mellini to Uhlfeld, June 15, 1748, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 225 *seqq.*

When the contents of this Brief were announced by Benedict XIV. to the Consistory held on December 1st, 1749,[1] no objection to it was actually expressed, even on the part of the Venetians [2]; the person and the various powers of the Vicar were to be announced in another Brief. The Pope, however, had to add that the plan had been approved by Vienna but not by Venice [3]; on the other hand he reckoned on the Patriarch Delfino taking a more favourable view and prudently giving way.

By this decision of the Pope's most of the Venetian senators were highly incensed. A firm protest was decided on,[4] Cardinal Rezzonico was empowered to reopen negotiations with the Pope,[5] and at the beginning of 1750 Cardinal Quirini was also delegated for this purpose,[6] so that with the two ambassadors Foscarini and Capello four representatives of the Republic were now active in Rome. As time went on, Quirini's behaviour became more and more strange, as he took a hand in everything and always wanted to be the one to take the final decision, without using the necessary discretion.[7]

Benedict XIV., determined in spite of everything not to leave the faithful in the eastern part of the patriarchate without a shepherd, worked out a draft of the special Brief of

[1] Text of the allocution, *ibid.*, 227 *seq.*

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 3, 1749, I., 532.

[3] *Cf.* *Mellini to Uhlfeld, August 30, 1749, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] The Patriarch Delfino also made a protest, though a very moderate one; see *Albani to Colloredo, March 24, 1750, *ibid.*

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 17, 1749, I., 536. Of Rezzonico's activity Mellini *wrote to Uhlfeld on January 3, 1750: "Il sig. card. Rezzonico si trova pieno di confusione: non avendo quell' abilità, che il negozio ricerca, nè quella stima nella Repubblica, la quale gli dia il coraggio d'illuminarla dell' imbroglio." State Archives, Vienna.

[6] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, February 4, 1750, II., 9.

[7] *Idem*, February 4 and 11, March 4, 18, and 25 (the last letter particularly satiric), and June 24, 1750, *ibid.*, II., 9, 11, 16, 19 *seq.*, 20 *seq.*, 38; *cf.* I., lii. *seqq.*

appointment[1] and brought it to the knowledge of both Governments. Venice replied with threats and tried to obtain the intervention of France, in which it was completely unsuccessful.[2] The Pope, intent on a speedy settlement of the matter, finally refused to grant an audience to Quirini,[3] who with his gossip was directly provoking hostility towards him.[4]

The arrival of the Imperial Government's assent was followed, on June 27th, 1750, by the special Brief of establishment,[5] by which Karl von Attems[6] was appointed Vicar of Gorizia, his possessions and revenues were defined, and his pastoral duties were pressed on his attention. An accompanying Brief to the Empress contained an earnest request that the new Vicar be urged to take up his residence immediately and to begin his visitations as soon as possible.[7]

At the same time the Pope tried by means of a special letter to render this solution agreeable to the Venetian Senate[8]; the ensuing reply was in more courteous terms than before, but the old refusal was adhered to and fresh negotiations were requested. In the Republic the people were goaded on to ever greater indignation.[9] Cardinal Quirini played the part of a patriotic hero, and finally the radical majority in the Senate decided on measures of violence: Venetian troops

[1] *Idem*, March 18, May 13, and June 17, 1750, II., 16, 30, 37.

[2] The French envoy Nivernais assured the Pope of his king's appreciation of Rome's standpoint. *Idem*, March 25, 1750, *ibid.*, 20.

[3] *Idem*, June 24, 1750, *ibid.*, 38.

[4] *Idem*, May 6, 1750, *ibid.*, 29.

[5] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 228 *seqq.*

[6] For this family, see *Allg. D. Biogr.*, I., 632.

[7] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, July 1, 1750, II., 40. Attems followed these instructions (*idem*, September 9 and 16, 1750, *ibid.*, 58) and in the succeeding months worked with great diligence and success (*idem*, December 9, 1750, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.*).

[8] *Idem*, July 1 and 15, 1750, *ibid.*, 40 *seq.*, 44. Benedict XIV. showed his great desire to reach an agreement, but without success.

[9] *Idem*, July 22, 1750, *ibid.*, 45.

assaulted the Imperial ambassador,[1] the Papal nuncio was formally expelled, and the Bishops were ordered not to recognize the tribunal any longer; also the Venetian envoy in Rome was recalled.[2] Thus diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See was suspended. What else could the Pope do but ask Maria Theresa to recall her envoy from Venice and to dismiss the Venetian representative in Vienna?[3]

Yet there was one person in Venice who was far from approving of this sudden rupture of relations: Cardinal Rezzonico. Of his own accord, as it was shown afterwards, he opened the prospect of fresh negotiations in a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Valenti.[4] Benedict XIV. immediately showed his readiness on principle to negotiate and asked the Empress to refrain once more from the breaking off of diplomatic relations, which had already been decided on in Vienna.[5] Nevertheless Venice again replied only in general terms,[6] so that even Rezzonico was unable to pave the way for the resumption of relations.[7]

Meanwhile Venice had again approached the French Government for the purpose of seeking its support. The Minister Puisieux replied, however, that only on the request of both parties would it be possible to intervene.[8] When the

[1] *Idem*, August 26, 1750, *ibid.*, 53.

[2] *Idem*, September 16, 1750, *ibid.*, 59; *Albani to Colloredo, July 11, 1750, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Idem* to Tencin, September 16, 1750, II., 59. For the Pope's dissatisfaction: *idem*, June 17 and 24, 1750, *ibid.*, 37, and *Mellini to Uhlfeld, September 26, 1750, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] **Idem*, August 8, 1750, *ibid.*; Benedict XIV. to Tencin, September 16 and 23, 1750, II., 59, 61.

[5] *Idem*, September 23 and 30, 1750, *ibid.*, 61, 63. Maria Theresa declared her intention of really breaking off relations if Venice did not resume relations with the Vatican within two months. *Idem*, October 7, 1750, *ibid.*, 64.

[6] *Idem*, October 21, 1750, *ibid.*, 67 *seq.*

[7] *Idem*, December 9 and 16, 1750, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.*, 79 *seq.*

[8] Durini to Valenti, March 16, 1750, in CALVI, 200. On the other hand, Mellini suspected France of working in secret in

importunity of Venice became more and more impetuous the following resolution was passed by the Cabinet towards the end of 1750: the French king had best propose to the Republic the abolition of the patriarchate and the erection of two separate bishoprics, otherwise Austria, sooner or later, on the strength of its possession of the city of Aquileia, would lay claim to the patriarchate also.[1]

Venice's last hopes of stronger help from France were therewith finally dispelled. The Pope too grew more and more inclined to view the French solution as a guarantee of a lasting peace. Rezzonico tried again to find another way of settling the question, this time by proposing the erection of a patriarchate of Udine,[2] but this Venice violently rejected, so that by the beginning of the year 1751 the Republic was left with no other choice but to acquiesce in the French proposal.[3]

In an audience with the Pope in February 1751 the Venetian Cardinal could now announce some gratifying news[4]: the Senate was about to appoint a new envoy to the Vatican, the Papal nuncio was free to return to Venice and open his tribunal, Cardinal Quirini would be recalled from Rome, and the project to replace the patriarchate by two bishoprics with

support of Venice; see his *letters to Uhlfeld of August 29 and October 3, 1750, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, November 25, 1750, II., 76; Durini to Valenti, December 28, 1750, in Calvi, 214. Puisieux had previously questioned the nuncio Durini as to his approval; see his letter of December 7, 1750, *ibid.*, 211. The same proposal was made by Nivernais to the Pope; see Benedict XIV. to Tencin, December 16, 1750, II., 80.

[2] *Idem*, December 16 and 23, 1750, *ibid.*, 80, 82.

[3] Durini to Valenti, February 8, 1751, in Calvi, 217. Mellini had already *reported to Uhlfeld, under date January 12, 1751, on a lengthy conversation with Rezzonico about the project. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also **ibid.*, under date January 30, 1751.

[4] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, February 3, 1751, II., 91; *Avviso di Roma of March 25, 1751, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

equal rights met with no disapproval. Thus the way was opened by which speedy progress could be made.

Within a few weeks a mutual understanding was attained. Quirini, the persistent trouble-maker, now discredited even with Venice,[1] departed from Rome without a final audience.[2] At the beginning of April, Cardinals Mellini and Rezzonico were received together by the Pope and handed to him the letters of their Governments requesting that he put an end to the dispute.[3] Thereupon Benedict ordered a Bull to be drafted and to be submitted to the two Powers.[4]

During his stay at Castel Gandolfo in the summer the Pope got ready for publication both this Bull and an allocution for the coming consistory.[5] The latter was held on July 2nd. The Vicariate of Gorizia, he said in his speech,[6] was called into being only as a provisional solution ; it was a Papal right to erect, divide, or abolish dioceses. He then thanked, after God, the Empress Maria Theresa and the Doge and Senate of Venice for their readiness to come to an understanding, and

[1] He was informed that his gossiping would do nothing but harm and that he was forbidden to make any further announcement without the permission of the State ; see Benedict XIV. to Tencin, April 21, 1751, II., 111.

[2] *Idem*, March 10 and 24, 1751, *ibid.*, 101 *seq.*, 104. He was here called by the Pope a " Narcisse fort amoureux de lui-même "

[3] *Idem*, on April 7, 1751, *ibid.*, 107.

[4] " *Si è ordinato da N. S. di formare la nuova Bolla per l'erezione delli due nuovi vescovadi per l'aggiustamento dell' affari d'Aquileja, uno nella parte austriaca e l'altro in Udine, per poterne considerare prima la minuta acciò venghi poscia concordemente anche dalle potenze interessate stabilita la sudetta Bolla e li vescovadi." (Avviso di Roma of April 13, 1751, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich). On April 24, 1751, *Mellini informed Uhlfeld that the Pope was granting the Empress the right of nomination to Gorizia (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to Tencin, April 28, 1751, II., 111 *seq.*

[5] *Idem*, June 16, 1751, *ibid.*, 123.

[6] *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 224 *seq.* *Cf.* *Mellini to Uhlfeld, July 7, 1751, *loc. cit.*

Cardinals Rezzonico [1] and Mellini for their mediation. As the Papal edict on the abolition of the patriarchate and the setting up of two archbishoprics in Gorizia and Udine was to be a consistorial Bull, Benedict sent it for their signature to all the Cardinals present in Rome.[2] On July 6th the Bull was published.[3] It announced the dissolution of the Vicariate of Gorizia and contained, word for word, the text of the agreement between Vienna and Venice: the Patriarchate of Aquileia with all the institutions, titles, and dignities connected with it was declared to be extinct; its place was taken by the two new archbishoprics; only the reigning Patriarch Delfino was personally to retain his title during his lifetime; the Pope recognized these arrangements and was giving orders for the necessary alterations; the right of nomination to these new metropolitan sees would belong to the Governments of Venice and Vienna; the venerable patriarchal church at Aquileia was exempt and was subject only to a Papal delegate.

The assent of the Imperial Government was obtained without difficulty, but owing to the slowness with which affairs were conducted in Vienna it was not until April 18th, 1752, that the archbishopric of Gorizia was finally erected, with Karl von Attems, then Vicar Apostolic, as the first

[1] For the approval of Rezzonico's activity, see the *report of April 24, 1751: "Le Sénat vient de marquer d'une manière éclatante au cardinal Rezzonico, combien il est satisfait de ses services, en criant son frère Sénateur, ce qui est le plus grand honneur que la République pût faire à sa famille, qui n'étoit pas sénatoriale. La cour de Rome n'est pas moins contente de la sage conduite de cette Éminence, qui de son coté désire et demande son rappel pour pouvoir retourner dans son diocèse et se donner tout entier au soin de son troupeau." State Archives, Vienna, Varia, t. 49.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, July 14, 1751, II., 129.

[3] Text in *Bull. Lux.*, XVIII., 235 *seqq.*, and in MERCATI, *Concordati*, 413–422 (here without the signatures). The contemporary, official printed text (Romae, 1751) is noted by KRAUS, *Briefe*, 285, No. 186. *Cf.* ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IV., 56.

Metropolitan and the other Illyrian bishoprics as suffragans.[1] Austria paid honour to the new dignity by minting a commemorative coin and by promoting the Archbishop of Gorizia to the rank of a prince of the Empire in the year 1766.[2] Venice was more tardy in giving its assent; it was not till January 29th, 1753, that Benedict XIV. could announce in consistory the definite installation of the Patriarch Delfino as Archbishop of Udine, together with more particular dispositions.[3]

There was reason to hope that all parties would be satisfied with this arrangement, but it was clear that Venice could not overcome its regret at losing the patriarchate. The opposition party gained strength rapidly and as early as 1754 it had passed a senatorial decree by which, on account of numerous abuses, all subjects were forbidden to apply to Rome for pardons or dispensations without a State *placet*.[4] The Pope rightly regarded this as a purely spiteful act and threatened to pass over the Venetians when the next occasion occurred of creating

[1] " *Sono state spedite le Bolle per il nuovo vescovado eretto di Gorizia dichiarata metropolitana nello Sig. Attembs che fu preconizzato nel passato concistoro per l'aggiustamento seguito del patriarcato di Aquileja a tra poco verrà dichiarato l'altro nuovo arcivescovo d'Udine per l'Em. Delfini patriarca a tenore del suddetto accomodamento " (*Avviso di Roma of May 6, 1752, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich). Text of the Bull in *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 1–8. *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to Tencin, April 26, 1752, II., 183.

[2] P. ANTONINI, *Il Friuli*, 401. Gorizia cathedral received half the cathedral treasure of Aquileia and rich gifts from Maria Theresa; see CZOERNIG, *Stadt Görz*, 46. Other ways in which the Empress showed her solicitude for Gorizia were the reclamation of the marshes and the political reorganization of the country; see *idem*, *Görz und Gradisca*, 750. An Austro-Venetian commission examined the records in 1754 and carried out a thorough delineation of the boundaries; see ANTONINI, 401.

[3] Text of the Bull, of January 19, 1753, in *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 23 *seqq.* *Cf.* Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 31, 1753, II., 242.

[4] *Albani to Colloredo on September 28, 1754, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* HEECKEREN, I., LIV.

Cardinals or filling vacancies in the Rota.[1] The Republic fell back on its old tactics of expressing its readiness to discuss the alleged abuses but of not going beyond general statements.[2] Again the mediation of France seemed to offer the best way out of the difficulty.[3] The negotiations dragged on, and it was not until 1758, when the Venetian Rezzonico had ascended the Papal throne, that the decree was finally repealed.[4]

The second foundation of a bishopric which took place under Benedict XIV, in Germany, was also fraught with great difficulties. This was the promotion of the old Benedictine abbey of Fulda to a diocese in itself.

The second foundation of a bishopric which took place under Benedict XIV., in Germany, was also fraught with great differences with the neighbouring diocese of Würzburg. In 1722 the chief questions were settled by the Concord of Karlstadt [5] and in return for some slight concessions on the part of the convent the quasi-episcopal powers of the abbot of Fulda were guaranteed. Also a precise delimitation of the boundaries was undertaken and the wording of the letter by which the newly elected abbot was to inform the Bishop of his promotion, and the latter's reply, were agreed upon.

In the course of time this solution proved unsatisfactory and Fulda's desire grew ever stronger to see all the subjects of dispute between itself and Würzburg settled by its

[1] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, March 12, 1755, II., 399 *seq.*

[2] *Idem* on March 19, April 23, September 17, 1755, and January 7, 1756, *ibid.*, 402, 408, 442, 469. Venice wanted also to curtail the flow of money to the Curia; the Pope was considering pointing out to the Republic that his contributions to the funds made necessary by the war against the Turks were far greater.

[3] *Idem*, August 18, 1756, *ibid.*, 521.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., LIV. As early as January 4, 1755, *Albani informed Colloredo that Venice did not intend to put this decree into execution; on the other hand, on April 13, 1757, *Albani was still reporting to Count Kaunitz that Venice had no intention of suspending it. State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* below, p. 158.

[5] SIMON, *Verfassung Fuldas*, 53.

acquiring the dignity of a bishopric. To this proposal the Imperial Government willingly gave its assent.[1] Accordingly, in 1751 at Hammelburg, the Prince Abbot Amand von Buseck renewed the treaty of concord with the Bishop of Würzburg, Karl Philipp von Greiffenklau.[2] Under date October 1st, 1752, the arrangements made [3] were confirmed by Benedict XIV., with the exception of a paragraph of the Karlstadt text, according to which eleven abbatial parishes enjoyed the right to appeal to the Bishop of Würzburg. This was done to round off and unify the extensive portions of territory belonging to the abbey, which were now coalesced into a compact administrative district.

A few days later, on October 5th, the Pope announced in a Bull [4] the erection of the bishopric of Fulda. In the introduction Benedict recalled the ancient services and privileges of the convent of St. Boniface, and praised the teaching [5] and pastoral activity of the monks, their exemplary life in the cloister, and their punctual payment of taxes to Rome. Wherefore he gladly, *motu proprio*, set up the separate bishopric of Fulda, with the complete retention of its monastic constitution, so that the elected abbot would also be the elected Bishop, the convent his residence, the convent church his cathedral.[6] The right to vote would be held by the Dean, who was at the same time Provost of St. Andreas, eight provosts in various dependencies, and five other capitulars of St. Andreas. When assisting the Abbot-Bishop at divine service, the Dean and provosts, who had been allowed to wear

[1] *Ibid.*, 54. As the Empress's arch-chancellor, the Prince Abbot of Fulda was in close relations with the Court of Vienna.

[2] SIMON, 53.

[3] Text in *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 9–15.

[4] *Ibid.*, 15–17, original in the State Archives at Marburg (see G. RICHTER, *Statuta mai. eccl. Fuld.*, LXV.). *Cf.* *Albani to Colloredo on November 10, 1753, State Archives, Vienna; NOVAES, XIV., 185.

[5] In 1733 a university was founded; see SIMON, 20.

[6] The prelate of Fulda was thereby abbot, bishop, and prince; see *ibid.*, 24.

a golden cross since the time of Clement XII., were now allowed to wear the mitre and ring. The importance attributed by the Pope himself to this raising of status is clear from his including this Bull in his work *De synodo diœcesana* [1]; the matter, he said, was one of importance for the whole Church and a deliberate reminder of the Anglo-Saxon monastic and itinerant Bishops of the days before the Anglican schism, to whom Fulda, among other institutions, owed its creation.

Fulda was thus placed on an equal footing with Würzburg, and it was not surprising that the latter, which had knowledge of the negotiations, demanded certain indemnities. The demand was met by the Pope in a Bull, issued on the same day,[2] in which he acknowledged with thanks the meritorious co-operation of the Bishop of Würzburg in solving the problem of Fulda. As a special mark of distinction he bestowed on him the pallium, which was usually given only to Archbishops, and the right to have a cross borne before him.[3]

The old dispute about Fulda thus seemed to have been happily settled, but subsequently further difficulties were raised, this time by the Archbishop of Mainz, Johann Friedrich Karl von Ostein. In the Bull of erection it was not clearly

[1] "Celebris fuit, non in Germania modo, sed in universo etiam orbe catholico abbatia Fuldensis. . . ." (*De syn. dioec.*, III., 7, n. 13). *Cf.* RICHTER, *loc. cit.*, XLV.

[2] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 17 *seq.*

[3] "*Essendo stato ultimato il grand' affare dell' erezione in vescovato dell' abbadia di Fulda per il istesso abbate m. Armando de Busech, e dichiarati canonici l'istessi monaci, ne è stata formata la particolar Bolla, e questo nuovo vescovato fu proposto dall' istessa S^tà^ Sua nel passato concistoro, onde per compensare le opposizioni del vescovo e principe di Erbipoli alla sudetta erezione in vescovato per varie giurisdizioni pretese in quell' abbadia con particolar indulto di S. S^tà^ si è concesso al medesimo principe e vescovo l'onorifico del pallio arcivescovile per se e suoi successori; lo stesso pallio però è stato portato in Erbipoli dal suo agente sig. abbate Delli, che partì la notte di sabato a quelle volte." Avviso di Roma of December 9, 1752, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

stated whether the new bishopric enjoyed exemption as the abbey had; an obscure passage was capable of being interpreted in this sense.[1] This gave rise to an energetic protest on the part of the Archbishop and to a copious polemic in writing.[2] Nor was the bestowal of the pallium on Würzburg to the Archbishop's liking, although it was expressly stated in the Papal Bull that it would create no prejudice with regard to rights which remained reserved to the Metropolitan.[3] It was thus only a few weeks after the foundation of the bishopric that the Pope heard through the French auditor Argenvilliers of fresh troubles with regard to Fulda.[4]

The dispute went on for some time. After the death of the Bishop of Würzburg in 1754 Mainz, through the agency of the Imperial Government, tried to induce his successor, Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, not to apply to Rome for the conferment of the pallium. But as this distinction was associated with the office and not the person of the Bishop, the Pope threatened to withhold from the new Bishop not only the pallium but also other sanctions of importance.[5] The Mainz intrigue was thus frustrated.

When in August 1755 Benedict XIV. put the questions concerning Fulda before a meeting of the Auditors of the Rota, it was shown that the conferment of the pallium on Würzburg was unassailable; in regard to the exemption of Fulda, however, the Metropolitan rights of Mainz over the new bishopric, within the limits set by the Council of Trent,

[1] "ita ut imposterum ut prius regularis numquam esse desinat, in cathedralem et episcopalem, quae ut antea Sedi Apost. immediate subiecta ac regularis existat, ecclesiam . . . erigimus et instituimus." *Cf.* SIMON, 57.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Benedict XIV to Tencin, January 31st, 1753, and March 19th, 1755, II, 240 *seq.*, 401. Thus the Bishop was not allowed to wear the pallium when the Archbishop was staying in the diocese.

[4] *Idem*, January 31, 1753, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Idem*, March 19, 1755, *ibid.*

ought to be recognized.[1] It was more than a year later, on September 15th, 1756, that a just distinction was drawn, and the conflict composed, by a Papal Bull [2] which ruled that all the usual powers belonged to the Archbishop of Mainz, but that the former exemption should continue to be enjoyed by the convent and the convent church and the persons of the abbot and the monks, but not by the secular clergy and the laity.

By this clear distinction between monastic rights and episcopal duties the foundation was laid for an understanding. In a concord of February 1757 Mainz and Fulda, taking as their base a former concord of 1662, came to an agreement in accordance with the Papal ordinance, the text of which was included in the treaty.[3] The ending of the five years' dispute about the new bishopric of Fulda was confirmed by a Papal Bull [4] issued on May 21st, 1757.

(2)

Benedict XIV. considered that he was consoled for the disappointments he experienced during his pontificate whenever he could note the increasing sympathy with Rome and the Catholic Church shown by the Protestant princely houses of Germany. The rumours of the imminent conversion of the Prussian king proved to be unfounded,[5] but Rome's Church and art won many a new friend in these circles.

Thus in the year 1746 Prince Friedrich of Zweibrücken, through the influence of a Jesuit, the confessor at the court of the Palatine electorate, had returned to the Catholic Church. The Pope, who was informed of the conversion both by Friedrich himself and by the Elector Karl Theodor,[6] rejoiced exceedingly, especially when the prince made a long stay in Rome in 1751.

[1] *Idem*, August 13, 1755, *ibid.*, 433.

[2] *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 250 *seq.* *Cf.* SIMON, 57 *seq.*

[3] SIMON, 58.

[4] Text with an exact copy of the concordat of May 21, 1757, and the ratifications of the two chapters in *Bull. Lux.*, XIX., 278–284.

[5] See above, p. 75.

[6] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, January 4, 1747, I., 295.

The visit began with a Papal audience and reached its climax on Ash Wednesday, when the prince received the sacrament of confirmation at the hands of the successor of St. Peter, Cardinal Passionei standing as godparent.[1] An especially cherished hope which Benedict XIV. associated with the prince's journey to Rome [2] was to be fulfilled a few years later: in 1755 his younger brother Karl August, who had accompanied him, also changed his confession, so that, as the Elector wrote with delight to the Pope, in this branch also of the house of Wittelsbach there was no longer a single Lutheran living.[3]

Other famous journeys to Rome made by German princes fall within this period of revived enthusiasm for art. One was made by Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg, who, although a Catholic, did not seek an audience because he was unwilling to pay the usual homage of kissing the Pope's foot.[4] In 1748 he had married a Protestant princess of Bayreuth in the presence of a Protestant clergyman.[5] The journey to Italy made by the Archbishop of Cologne, Klemens August of Bavaria, was conducted with great pomp. He travelled to Rome by way of Venice,[6] inspected the art monuments in the Eternal City with much interest and left behind costly gifts.[7]

[1] *Idem*, February 17 and March 3, 1751, II., 95, 99. The Pope presented him with costly gifts.

[2] *Idem*, December 16, 1750, and March 31, 1751, *ibid.*, 79, 105.

[3] *Idem*, April 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 408.

[4] "*Questa sua renitenza ha sorpresa tanto più questa corte, quantochè crede il primo esempio d'un principe cattolico, che abbia avuto ripugnanza di baciar il piede al sommo sacerdote" (Albani to Colloredo, March 31, 1753, State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* HEECKEREN, II., 256.

[5] HEECKEREN, I., 466, 473, 481. The two youngest, Catholic, sons had already been staying some time in Italy, with a Protestant tutor. *Ibid.*, 394, 404.

[6] "Passaggio dell' Elettore di Colonia per Venezia nel 1755," Venezia, 1893. *Cf. Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXI., 481.

[7] *Avvisi di Roma of August 23, September 23, October 4, 21, and 28, 1755, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

Much attention also was aroused by the stay in Rome, with her husband Friedrich Wilhelm, of the Margravine Sophie Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, sister of the Prussian king.[1] Her seventeen-year-old son was already in Rome in 1753, when illness prevented him, much to his regret, from attending the Holy Week ceremonies. When received in audience by the Pope he performed the kissing of the foot.[2] In the summer of 1755 the Margravine arrived in Rome with her husband and made a long stay there; she attended divine service in St. Peter's on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul[3] and opened negotiations for a meeting with the Pope[4]; this, however, did not take place. Rumours of her imminent conversion were exaggerated,[5] but there was no doubt that on leaving Rome her husband promised to see that a church should be built for his Catholic subjects in his own country. For this building Benedict XIV. instructed Propaganda to donate 1,000 *scudi*[6] and in special Briefs invited the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and the Bishops of Passau and Augsburg to contribute towards it and to allow collections of money to be made in their dioceses.[7]

The event that provoked the most discussion, owing to the

[1] NOACK, *Deutsches Leben in Rom*, 105. *Cf.* the Margravine's memoirs, Brunswick, 1810, new ed., *ibid.*, 1845.

[2] *Albani to Colloredo on March 31, 1753, State Archives, Vienna; Benedict XIV. to Tencin, March 14, April 18 and 25, 1753, II., 252, 260, 262.

[3] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, July 2, 1755, II., 423.

[4] *Idem*, May 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 414.

[5] She read Catholic books. *Idem*, January 21, 1756, *ibid.*, 474.

[6] "*Di somma consolazione è stata la partecipazione, che il margravio Barait, poco fu partito da Roma, abbia concessa tutta la facoltà alli cattolici permanenti nelli suoi stati di potervi fabbricare una commoda chiesa. Per una tal fabbrica si è ordinata una questua generale per la Germania, e da S. S^tà si è ordinato, che da questa Propaganda Fide li siano mandati mille scudi di elemosina." Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1755, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich.

[7] *Avviso di Roma, August 23, 1755, *ibid.*

highly important consequences that followed in its train, was the conversion of Friedrich, heir to the reigning Prince of Hessen-Kassel. Friedrich,[1] son of Landgrave Wilhelm VIII. and son-in-law of the English king George II., had secretly made a confession of the Catholic faith before the Archbishop of Cologne, Klemens August, in 1749.[2] Subsequently, his increasing preference for the company of Catholics was probably not unobserved by his father, but it was not till 1754 that the latter received certain knowledge of his son's change of faith through an imprudent letter written by the Duchess Elisabeth of Brunswick.[3] The Landgrave Wilhelm was not only enraged, as a father, by his heir's break with the traditions of the house ; far greater was his fear for the future of his subjects, whose Protestant faith was in danger, at his death, of suffering a severe set-back, if not actual suppression.

Only a few days after the intelligence he had received had been verified, Landgrave Wilhelm induced his son to sign a sworn deposition whereby the latter promised to provide sufficient guarantees for the preservation of the Lutheran faith in his family and his country. On October 1st, 1754, Friedrich gave the desired assent and three weeks later he was presented with the detailed draft of this guarantee, which, after a few unimportant alterations had been made, he signed. This "act of assurance", of October 28th, 1754,[4] embraced in 19 articles every means which, in the opinion of the Landgrave and his advisers, secured the religious *status*

[1] For Friedrich, see Räss, *Konvertiten*, X., 113 *seqq.* ; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, VII., 324 *seqq.*

[2] Hartwig, *Übertritt Friedrichs von Hessen*, 25 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 30.

[4] Printed at Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1755. Contemporaneous *copy in the Cgm 4012 of the State Library, Munich. There also the aforesaid *declaration of October 1, 1754. An analysis of the deed in Hartwig, 36–42. *Cf.* Fitte, 8 ; Brunner, "Die Umtriebe Frankreichs und anderer Mächte zum Umsturz der Religionsverschreibung des Erbprinzen Friedrich von Hessen-Kassel," in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hess. Gesch.*, N.F., XII. (1886), 5 ; Herm. Meyer, *Evang. Fürstenbund*, 14.

quo, and to which the heir to the title assented "irrevocably, with a willing heart and mind". As for his own family, he had to promise that all his children, including those of a possible second marriage, would be given a Protestant education and that they would be provided for adequately and in a manner befitting their rank. In the country whose reigning prince Friedrich would one day be, he was to introduce no changes regarding religion; he was not to check the Protestants nor advance the Catholics; and, as hitherto, all public offices were to be reserved for the Protestants, who were to be neither expelled nor exchanged.

But to the anxious father even this declaration did not seem to offer complete security, so he sought for other means to reinforce it. Without much difficulty he succeeded in inducing England and Prussia to act as guarantors of the "act of assurance"[1]; they were subsequently joined by the *Corpus evangelicorum* of the German Diet and then by the Governments of Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands. The States-General of Hesse were summoned to meet at Cassel as early as December 1754; at their final meeting on January 11th, 1755,[2] they adopted the text of the act and also another sworn assurance given by the hereditary prince. In his will too the Landgrave made the necessary alterations. In February, at the insistence of the English king, Friedrich even had to break off marital relations with his wife; leaving his country, he betook himself to Hamburg.[3]

As was only to be expected, these affairs provoked reaction among the Catholic Powers; on the strength of the Peace of Westphalia they were entitled to oppose the Hessian "act", which removed their hopes of strengthening the Catholic portion of the people. Thus, under date February 20th, 1755, Benedict XIV. addressed various Briefs to the Emperor and Empress, the Catholic Princes of the Empire, Archbishops

[1] HARTWIG, 46–56.

[2] Text of the decision with all appendices in the edition of the deed (see p. 114, n. 4). *Cf.* BRUNNER, 5.

[3] HARTWIG, 58, 61–73.

and prelates,[1] asking them to work against the participation in the guarantee by the *Corpus evangelicorum.* An attempt was indeed made by Mainz and the Palatine Electorate to bring about a union of the Catholics, but it was frustrated by the attitude of the Imperial Court, which for the time being was still neutral.[2] In a Brief [3] sent to Prince Friedrich in April the Pope encouraged him to cling to the true faith, whatever difficulties were in his way.

Friedrich's stay in Hamburg offered an opportunity of influencing him without attracting attention. The French especially wanted to induce him to sign a solemn protest which was to be kept secret until the death of his father.[4] It was also hoped to draw him away to some Catholic Court of importance, but as early as June the prince returned to Hesse. Nevertheless the plan was not abandoned, and in December Friedrich had resolved with the aid of Catholic friends to flee secretly to Vienna. But everything was betrayed to the father in time for him to frustrate the plan, which he did with the severest measures. Imperial officials being involved in the plot, the Landgrave protested both to the guarantors and to the Court of Vienna, which replied in a tone bordering on the ironic.[5]

At the same time the Paris Government had appealed to Berlin and Vienna to intervene on the prince's behalf. The reply of the Prussian king amounted to a refusal. The Imperial Court, on the other hand, agreed to intervene actively.[6] In February 1756 the envoy extraordinary Pretlack was sent to Cassel, ostensibly to compose the quarrel in the name of the Emperor, actually to bring Friedrich to Vienna by means of

[1] *Ibid.*, 77; BRUNNER, 9.

[2] FITTE, 9; BRUNNER, 9–13.

[3] Text in HARTWIG, 239 *seqq.*; *cf.* 76.

[4] That this protest was actually signed is denied by HARTWIG (107 *seq.*) and affirmed by BRUNNER (28 *seqq.*). In the latter, details about the part played by France (esp. 20 *seqq.*).

[5] Text of this reply in HARTWIG, 260; *cf. ibid.*, 118 *seqq.*, 137–157; BRUNNER, 43 *seqq.*

[6] BRUNNER, 46 *seqq.*

a patent which appointed him master general of the ordnance.[1] Benedict XIV. also, to whom the most sensational rumours concerning the prince's fate had been reported, appealed to the Imperial couple on March 6th, 1756,[2] to lend their support to Friedrich.

However, when Pretlack reached Hesse the prince was no longer there, having departed on April 8th for Berlin, where Frederick II. received him most cordially and made him a lieutenant-general in the Prussian army.[3] By this may be seen how the prince's resolutions and sentiments had been influenced by the stern treatment he had undergone at his father's hands. To the Catholics this step was a bitter disappointment, for Landgrave Wilhelm it was a happy solution. When the latter died in 1760 a change of policy for his successor was impossible: the Seven Years' War was at its height and Landgrave Friedrich, although a Catholic, was a field marshal in the Prussian army.[4] The act of assurance came into force.[5]

(3)

Two weeks after the hereditary prince of Hesse entered the Prussian army there broke out the third Silesian war, which in many respects was to prove of particular importance. For one matter the division of the Powers was different from what it

[1] HARTWIG, 160 *seqq.*; FITTE, 9.

[2] *Benedict XIV. to Francis I. on March 6, 1756, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp. *Cf.* W. BENNECKE, "Ein Brief Benedikts XIV. an Franz I. zugunsten des Erbprinzen Friedrich von Hessen," in *Hessenland, Zeitschrift für hess. Gesch.*, XIX. (1905), 2 *seqq.*

[3] HARTWIG, 180–4; BRUNNER, 55; FITTE, 11.

[4] HARTWIG, 207 *seqq.*

[5] Pope Clement XIII., by means of letters sent to the Empress on February 19, and to the Emperor on February 29, 1760, made a further attempt to prevent the assurances, which had been unjustly forced upon the prince, being carried into effect; the Emperor, he alleged, as protector of the Church, ought not to allow it. *Bull. Cont.*, III., 317 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*

had been before and shows most clearly the diplomatic displacements that had occurred during the preceding years of peace. What had been considered impossible ten years previously had come to pass: the two great Catholic Powers of Austria and France, after centuries of conflict, had come to an agreement. To the Pope, who as head of the Church and the ruler of the Papal States had always had to suffer most as a result of the conflict, this development was especially welcome.

In August 1747, even before the conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Benedict XIV. had expressed to the Imperial envoy Migazzi his earnest desire for an alliance between these two Catholic Powers. Prussia, he said at the time,[1] gave him more cause for fear than the Turks, and he could never approve of France's concurrence with Frederick II.; had not the prestige of the Holy See sunk so low and had not France's actions been so suspicious, he would immediately have worked for a reconciliation between France and Austria. When, two years later, this same project of an alliance was warmly recommended to the Viennese Cabinet by Count Kaunitz he still could not obtain the approval of those with whom the decision rested.[2]

In the years that followed, however, the situation imperceptibly changed. During the discussions about Carpegna and Aquileia and during the affair of the hereditary prince of Hesse there developed more and more strongly between the Governments of Vienna and Paris a tacit regard for each other's interests, in some respects indeed a common course of action.[3]

[1] *Migazzi to Colloredo and Uhlfeld, August 5, 1747, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] ARNETH, IV., 271 *seqq.*; STRIEDER, *Krit. Forschungen zur österr. Politik*, 10 *seqq.*; KOSER, I., 585.

[3] A more serious conflict between Vienna and the Franco-Prussian understanding was caused by the question of the election of the Archduke Joseph as king of the Romans (*cf.* ARNETH, IV., 290 *seqq.*, 314 *seqq.*, 327; HERM. GEHLSDORF, *Die Frage der Wahl des Erzherzogs Joseph zum römischen König, hauptsächlich von* 1750–2, Diss., Bonn, 1887, esp. 60 *seq.*). For

At the same time, Austria and England, whose king had helped most to banish the hopes which the Catholics had set on Hesse, were gradually estranged,[1] and this estrangement was increased the more the colonial war between the English and French which had broken out in 1754 threatened to cast its shadows across the Continent, including also the Empire. It still seemed impossible to detach France from her union with Prussia, when the Anglo-Prussian treaty of alliance signed at Westminster on January 16th, 1756, brought about a fundamental change.[2] The pro-Austrian element in the Court of Versailles, represented by Madame Pompadour and her devoted assistant the Abbé Bernis, gained the ascendancy, and the latter was empowered to make it known to Austria that Paris was no longer willing to delay coming to an understanding with the Imperial Court.[3] The Pope again expressed his keenest interest in such a union of the orthodox and requested the Paris nuncio to keep him exactly informed of the course of the negotiations.[4] On May 1st, 1756, the Treaty of Versailles was concluded; the Pope hoped that it would last long and have beneficial results, although he himself had to decline to enter into it directly, owing to the military insignificance of the Papal States.[5]

the steps taken by Prussia at the Vatican in this affair, see *Migazzi to Uhlfeld on August 10, 1748, State Archives, Vienna.

[1] CLUDIUS, *Von Aachen bis Westminster*, 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 18; SCHÄFER, I., 128–153; RANKE, *Werke*, XXX., 123 *seqq.*

[3] KOSER, I., 591; FITTE, 14; RANKE, *loc. cit.*, 150 *seqq.*

[4] "*E veramente desiderabile, che le due potenze, le quali senza dichiarazione si fanno la guerra, si accordino in qualche maniera . . .; se le potenze cattoliche per altro aprissero gli occhi, sarebbe questa la più propria occasione per porre un buon freno agli eretici; corre qualche voce, che possa seguire l'unione fra cotesta e la corte di Vienna." Cipher to the nuncio Gualtieri of February 25, 1756. Nunziat. di Francia, 442, f. 518, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Benedict XIV. to Tencin, June 16 and July 21, 1756, II., 506, 515; CARACCIOLO, 150 *seq.* *Cf.* the *letters of June 1756 to the nuncio Gualtieri, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, *loc. cit.*

War broke out that same year as the result of the Prussian army's invasion of neutral Saxony,[1] occasioned by Austria's military preparations, and its further advance towards Bohemia. France declared that a *casus fœderis* had arisen,[2] and attempts were made to include Spain in the alliance.[3] Benedict XIV., whose help as an intermediary had been sought, instructed the Spanish nuncio Spinola in December 1756 to offer in the Papal name the most zealous support to any inclination or proposals to join the alliance that might come to light at the Court of Madrid but otherwise to use the greatest caution.[4] When the king of Saxony, hard pressed, besought the Pope to obtain for him at least financial help from Spain.[5] Benedict agreed to do so but only on the condition that similar representations were made at the same time by the Governments of Vienna and Paris.[6] The Allies' wish that

[1] " *Deplorabili pur troppo et inaudite sono le ostilità e violenze del Prussiano che pur troppo si ritrova in Dresda o sia ne' suburbii " (autograph note of the Pope to Cardinal Albani, included in the latter's *report to Kaunitz of September 25, 1756, State Archives, Vienna). *The Pope " compiange le veramente troppo gravi disgrazie di quella regia famiglia [Saxony] e de' suoi stati " (to the nuncio Spinola on December 19, 1756, Nunziat. di Spagna, 438, f. 119, Papal Secret Archives). On September 22, 1756, Benedict XIV. wrote to Tencin that when he heard this news his hair stood on end (II., 530).

[2] Koser, II., 41. The Pope had also sent a Brief of exhortation on the matter to France ; see the autograph *note of the Pope in Albani's *report to Kaunitz of September 24, 1756. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] For a treaty of friendship between Austria and Spain, concluded in 1752, for securing their Italian possessions, see Arneth, IV., 536 *seqq.*

[4] *Letter to the nuncio Spinola, December 19, 1756, Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, f. 124, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Letter to Spinola, December 23, 1756, Nunziat. di Spagna, *loc. cit.* For the financial embarrassment of the Allies, *cf.* Schäfer, I., 396.

[6] *The Pope " mi ha in oltre ordinato di parteciparle, che Ella, quando l'istanza de' due ministri imperiale e francese sia ancora

a special Brief on the subject be sent to the king of Spain he considered himself unable to fulfil.[1]

In the political writings of the time and in certain negotiations between the Cabinets the struggle of the Powers was regarded in the light of a religious war. On the Prussian side especially this watch-word was quickly adopted, and Frederick II. was hailed as another Gustavus Adolphus, as the defender of Protestant freedom, for he willingly played the part of such even in Saxony.[2] But on this subject it is no longer necessary to go into detailed arguments: the Prussian king was, of course, aware that his defeat would be of great advantage to the Imperial, and therewith to the Catholic, party,[3] but what weighed most with him was always political, never religious, considerations.[4] At the same time it would be foolish to deny that confessional animosity was aroused at the beginning of the Seven Years' War [5]; firstly, the ground was prepared for

pendente, s'intenda con i medesimi, ed in nome della S^tà Sua faccia le più vive ed efficaci premure e preghiere o a dirittura a S. M^tà o per mezzo di quei ministri, che saranno giudicati i più atti a farsi che in una causa sì giusta e di tali e tante conseguenze ognuna delle quali dovrebbe muoversi la nota religione del monarca cattolico ad assistere sotto mano la casa d'Austria sua stretta parente, alleata ed amica; impieghi Ella in somma nel nome pontificio tutti quei termini e riflessioni che crederà più proprii per ottenere l'intento, assicurandola io che Lei non può far cosa di maggior gradimento e di maggior di Lei merito presso S. B^ne". To Spinola on June 9, 1757, Nunziat. di Spagna, *loc. cit.*, f. 125 *seq.*

[1] *To Spinola, July 14 and August 18, 1757, *ibid.*, f. 126 *seq.* Subsequently England made ineffectual attempts to win Spain over to her side; see SCHÄFER, I., 536 *seqq.*

[2] Such were his own words (*Œuvres*, XXVIII., 50); see FITTE, 32. *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XVI., 476.

[3] RANKE, *Werke*, XXX., 220.

[4] *Ibid.*, 294; FITTE, 33; ED. LOCHMANN, 73.

[5] See, e.g., the "Handschriftlich-satirische Zeitung, datiert Rom den 11. August 1756", mentioned in the list of journals and reviews, catalogue No. 81 of the bookseller Max Harrwitz, Berlin, 1900, p. 8.

it by the political effects of the Prince of Hesse's conversion, and secondly it arose spontaneously as a result of the regrouping of the Great Powers, which, though resulting from purely political motives, seemed at first sight to coincide with confessional differences.[1] Moreover, the Prussian king knew very well from previous experiences the effect on the people of arguments of this nature and for this reason he even tried to form the other Protestant princes of the Empire into a "League of Protestant Princes".[2] However, in spite of the king's untiring assiduity, the plan had to be acknowledged as impracticable in the period in question. Benedict XIV. was not deceived as to the true significance of the battle-cry "war of religion" and urged his representatives never to use a word with which Frederick II. might obtain merely political helpers and confederates.[3]

On the Imperial side, therefore, confessional animosity was discouraged. It was soon possible to show that such points of view were indefensible by pointing to the military alliance between Austria and Sweden, which had certainly not yet forgotten the traditions of Gustavus Adolphus.[4] Moreover, the Emperor persuaded several Protestant princes of the Empire to form an Imperial army against Prussia.[5]

Frederick II.'s plan of waging a concentrated war against Bohemia in the year 1757 was given a serious set-back by the

[1] FITTE, 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, 24; HERM. MEYER, *Der Plan eines evangelischen Fürstenbundes im Siebenjährigen Krieg*, Celle, 1893. *Cf.* H. GÜNTHER, *Das evangelische Kaisertum*, in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXVII., 387 *seqq.*

[3] "*Perchè l'autore d'un tanto male, per accrescere il proprio partito, continua a spargere e non senza frutto, che questa è guerra di religione, ciò mi muove ad avvertirla di nuovo, che si astenga anche in questo caso dal nominare la religione" (to the nuncio Spinola on December 23, 1756, Nunziat. di Spagna, 430, f. 125, Papal Secret Archives). Also already *on December 19, 1756 (*ibid.*, f. 124).

[4] KOSER, II., 46 *seq.*; FITTE, 33.

[5] KOSER, II., 49; SCHÄFER, I., 255, 424 *seqq.*

defeat of Kolin.[1] This victory of Daun's caused much joy in Rome [2]; in early July the Pope, in spite of his grievous illness, had himself borne in a closed litter to S. Maria Maggiore to offer thanks.[3] His condition had now become so parlous that for fear of shattering his health the later news from the theatre of war, which was not so favourable to Austria, had to be conveyed to him as gently as possible.[4] When in the autumn of 1758 the Imperial victory at Hochkirch struck the Prussian king a bitter blow and at the turn of the year the Franco-Austrian military alliance was further strengthened by a third treaty of Versailles—the second having been concluded in May 1757 [5]—Benedict XIV.'s successor had already been seated on the throne of Peter for several months.

(4)

Thanks to his strong constitution and his very great temperance, Benedict XIV., in spite of all the strain and excitement inseparable from the conscientious exercise of his high office, enjoyed excellent health until his seventy-fifth year. It was not till the autumn of 1749 that anything unfavourable was reported of his condition,[6] and even then he was able to perform the ceremonies of Christmastide, which were made doubly tiring by the opening of the Porta Santa. At the same time he had to admit that they made him realize for the first time the burden of his years.[7] Although from now onwards he

[1] ARNETH, V., 183 *seqq.*; SCHÄFER, I., 324 *seqq.*

[2] *Albani to Count Kaunitz, June 29, 1757, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] **Idem*, July 6, 1757, *ibid.*

[4] BROSCH, II., 107.

[5] ARNETH, V., 438 *seqq.*; SCHÄFER, I., 280 *seqq.*; KOSER, II., 43 *seq.*

[6] KRAUS, *Briefe*, 64. In his *report of October 18, 1749, to the Imperial chancellor, Cardinal Albani wrote that it was time to be thinking of the conclave and that he therefore asked for instructions. Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[7] HEECKEREN, I., 537 *seq.*

was forced by attacks of podagra to have recourse to the aid of a stick, he was able to deal with all demands made on him by the ceremonies of the jubilee year of 1750. Apart from the gout, his health remained satisfactory for many more years.[1] Sleeplessness, which also troubled him, he had suffered at Bologna twenty years before.[2] When one has reached a certain age, he wrote in August 1752, having spent his whole life in working, certain troubles are unavoidable and one must be grateful to Providence if in spite of them one can fulfil one's duty.[3] This the Pope continued to do as before to the fullest possible extent.[4] To keep himself refreshed he continued to take his daily walks.[5]

At the end of March 1754 he had a bad attack of gout in his feet but he had soon recovered enough to be able to move about his rooms, leaning on a stick. At Easter he attended High Mass and imparted the solemn blessing from the loggia of St. Peter's. He looked for a further improvement from the onset of the warm season and his stay in Castel Gandolfo, whither he repaired at the end of May.[6] While there he was diligent in taking walks.[7] In the heat of the summer his gout did indeed leave him,[8] but only to return in February 1755. The Pope was content not to have to lie up and to be able to

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, I., 538, II., 2; Portocarrero's *reports of May 4 and August 24, 1752, Archives of Simancas; MERENDA, **Memorie*, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. Another attack of gout took place in 1751; see KRAUS, *Briefe*, 83.

[2] HEECKEREN, II., 89.

[3] *Ibid.*, 203.

[4] *Ibid.*, 141.

[5] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[6] HEECKEREN, II., 329, 330, 332, 334, 336.

[7] Portocarrero's *report to the Duque de Huescar, June 6, 1754. On May 30 he had *reported that he would comply with the request made by the king on April 7 for a notification of the "papabili", which would take some time; in any case, the Pope's health was good. The detailed *description of all the Cardinals was not sent off till September 12, 1754. Archives of Simancas.

[8] HEECKEREN, II., 372.

transact all his business and to give audiences while seated at his desk; he also held a consistory. The only thing he could not do was to celebrate Mass, as he was unable to stand.[1] How strong he still was is shown by the fact that during the serious illnesses of the Secretary of State Valenti, the Auditor Cardinal Argenvilliers, the Consistorial Secretary Antonelli, and the *Promotor Fidei* Veterani, he was able to take the whole burden of business on his own shoulders.[2] It seemed that these extraordinary exertions actually increased his strength. He was also present at important ceremonies such as the High Mass celebrated on the feast of St. Peter in 1755 in the basilica of that prince of the Church, when there was also present,[3] in a tribune specially erected for her, the Margravine of Bayreuth, the sister of Frederick II., she being then on a visit to Rome.[4]

In the February of the following year the Pope had another bad attack of gout,[5] but, since Cardinal Valenti was still unwell, he carried out all the business of the Secretariat of State. He was still as good-humoured as ever. His pontificate, he said jestingly, had left him with only two things: his library and his gout. In July he presided over the General Chapter of the Dominicans in S. Maria sopra Minerva. In the autumn, when everyone else had gone away to rest in the country, he put in order, after Cardinal Valenti's death on August 28th, 1756, all those matters which, owing to the Secretary of State's long illness, had fallen into great confusion.[6] The nomination of Archinto as Valenti's successor at the end of August was fortunate in view not only of the persistent ill-health of the Secretary of the Cipher, Rota, but

[1] *Ibid.*, 394, 396.

[2] *Ibid.*, 400. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV, 46.

[3] HEECKEREN, II., 423.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 113.

[5] HEECKEREN, II., 477. *Cf.* Millini's *letter to Kaunitz of February 18, 1756, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] HEECKEREN, II., 508, 512, 533. The entirely satisfactory state of the Pope's health was *reported by Portocarrero to Wall on August 26, September 9, October 7 and 20, and November 4, 1756, Archives of Simancas.

also of the severe chill caught by the Pope in the middle of November, though it did not prevent his attending to business with his usual zeal.[1] What was far more serious than the chill was that at the age of eighty-one he should be seized with kidney trouble.[2] When this was accompanied by a high fever, the physician Pietro Ponzio announced that his patient was in danger of death. On December 10th Benedict received the Last Sacraments devoutly and with resignation to God's will. He was expected to die that night, but while this news was being taken by courier to the principal Courts an improvement took place and was maintained, so that it was possible to hold a thanksgiving service on the first day of the year 1757 in S. Maria Maggiore.[3] On January 3rd, though still in bed, the Pope held a consistory on the French affairs and made a fine

[1] HEECKEREN, II., 541. *Cf.* Albani's *reports of November 13, 17, and 20, 1756. Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, and Portocarrero's *reports of November 11 and 18, 1756, Archives of Simancas.

[2] HEECKEREN, I., xcv.

[3] *Cf.* Portocarrero's *reports to Wall, of December 2, 9, and 30, 1756, Archives of Simancas, and Albani's *letters to Kaunitz, of December 15 and 18, 1756, *loc. cit.* MERENDA reports in his **Memorie* (*loc. cit.*): "Il medico del Papa osservava da qualche tempo e non senza apprensione che il gonfiore delle gambe di Sua Stà andasse scemando. All' improvviso, verso la metà di Novembre, si sparse per Roma la voce che il Papa fosse gravemente infermo con pericolo, sorpreso dall' affanno al petto che li toglieva il respiro, onde fu stimata formata certamente l'idrope di petto. Ciò non ostante, contro le regole mediche, per dar rimedio al pericolo presente, li fu cavato sangue e li fu replicata l'emissione nel giorno seguente, talmente che si sentì molto alleggerito e sollevato, riacquistando il respiro libero, a segno che fu creduto guarito. Ma di là a pochi giorni fu attaccato da soppressione di orina con dolori atroci e convulsioni, onde, dopo vari rimedii inutili, dopo il bagno d'olio et altre esperienze, fu chiamato un Pietro Ponzio, sperimentato operatore di siringa e cognito al Papa per sgravarnelo, come seguì; ma, siccome rimanevano le convulsioni con febre gagliarda e le materie venivano marciose, il medico credè che fosse fatta l'infiammazione e la cancrena dei

speech on the situation. He insisted on dictating the text of his allocution, but the exertion brought on a relapse.[1] Subsequently his condition was most irregular, one day bad, the next better again.[2] The invalid, though well aware that there were many in Rome who thought that after a pontificate

reni e lo dichiarò spedito. In questo stato, la mattina delli 10 Decembre furono avvisate tutte le Creature che S. S^tà^ si sarebbe comunicata per viatico e averebbe avuta l'estrema unzione, onde tutti li s^ri^ cardinali accorsero a Palazzo. Fu dunque Sua S^tà^ comunicata per viatico e nel giorno ebbe ancora l'estrema unzione, e si dispose a morire con pietà e rassegnazione degna del Sommo Sacerdote, e furono chiamati li Generali di diverse Religioni per darli l'assoluzione e applicarli diverse indulgenze. . . .

" La mattina seguente, continuando il male, il Papa chiamò il card. D'Elce Decano, al quale raccomandò la Chiesa et una concorde elezione del successore e volse ancora parlare al card. Vicario, sicchè si credeva che in quella notte certamente sarebbe morto ; e furono spediti li corrieri a diverse corti.

" Pietro Ponzio anche in quelli creduti estremi momenti volle quasi a forza fare la sua operazione della siringa, e li cavò quasi un orinale di materie grasse e marciose, e dopo tale operazione il Papa incominciò a sentirsi meglio et andò sempre migliorando, sicchè dopo quattro giorni il s. Collegio, ringraziato dell' incomodo presosi cessò di andare a Palazzo ogni mattina et il card. Millo prese questa opportunità per farsi dichiarare prefetto della Congregazione del Concilio con lasciarne però il titolo al card. Spinelli fino a tanto che sarà Datario.

" Continuò questo miglioramento in modo che la colletta ' pro infirmo morti proximo ' fu mutata in quella ' pro infirmo ' semplicemente, e poi alla fine di Decembre fu ordinata l'altra ' pro gratiarum actione ' nel primo giorno dell' anno nuovo, in cui fu cantato in S. Maria Maggiore il ' Te Deum '."

[1] *MERENDA, *ibid.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV, 279.

[2] See F. M. Bonamici's reports of February 1 and March 5, 1757, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 370 *seqq.* ; *Avviso of March 5, 1757, Cod. ital. 199, of the State Library, Munich. Albani *wrote on April 13, 1757, that on account of his kidney trouble the Pope was hovering constantly between life and death, and that he often lost consciousness ; and, *on April 16, 1757,

of seventeen years he had lived too long already,[1] hoped to find relief in a stay at Castel Gandolfo. The Lenten sermon, he said to the Palace Preacher at the beginning of May, was to be brought to him there ; if he could not hear it he could at least read it.[2]

But a stay at the beloved Castel Gandolfo was not to come to pass, for the aged Pope's powers of resistance were gradually but irresistibly worn away by kidney disease. On Good Friday, April 8th, 1757, Rome was disturbed by the news that he was again at death's door. On April 10th he received the Holy Viaticum, but by the evening his condition had improved. By the middle of April the fever had subsided. The Pope could take his meals out of bed, dictate letters, and receive his ministers.[3] At the end of April he had another bout of fever, which soon subsided. On Whitsunday (May 29th) he imparted the solemn blessing from the loggia of the Quirinal. Although this was followed by a fresh relapse, he still spoke of going to Castel

that Benedict XIV. owed his improvement largely to the Tokay sent him by Maria Theresa. State Archives, Vienna.

[1] *Cf.* the letter in JUSTI, II., 146.

[2] See Bonamici's report of March 5, 1757, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Bonamici's report of April 16, 1757, *loc. cit.* ; Portocarrero's *letters to Wall, of April 13 and 14, 1757, Archives of Simancas, and MERENDA, **Memorie* (*loc. cit.*) : "Nel venerdì santo, che in quest' anno cadde alli 8 d'Aprile, incominciò a sapersi e publicarsi che il Papa nuovamente era attaccato da febre risentita con affanno, catarro e difficoltà maggiore di orina et aggiunta l'enfiagione notabile dello scroto, si rendeva molto difficile e penosa l'operazione della siringa, onde li fu cavato sangue per due volte, ma, crescendo il male, l'affanno et il catarro, nella domenica di Pasqua 10 Aprile fu publicato il caso per disperato affatto et irremediabile, sicchè fu munito del viatico et averebbe avuta ancora l'estrema unzione, se non si fosse considerato dal card. Galli Penitenziere e dal sagrista essere questa una continuazione del male patito fino dal Novembre. Il Datario però tenne Dataria straordinaria nella 2ª e 3ª festa di Pasqua ; ma nel martedì sera, dopo un lavativo et altro sgravio avuto naturalmente, cominciò a sentirsi meglio, onde nel mercoledì era restato senza febre e tornato allo stato di prima."

Gandolfo.[1] At the beginning of July he had himself carried in a closed litter to S. Maria Maggiore to give thanks for the victory of the Empress Maria Theresa over Frederick II.[2] This exertion again brought him within danger of death, but against his physicians' advice he still insisted on making these excursions.[3] Thus the summer and autumn passed away.

Benedict was much distressed by his having been rendered unable to celebrate Mass since October 28th, 1756. He considered the question whether he might not do so seated and dictated a learned treatise which decided the question in an affirmative sense.[4] On and after the feast of All Souls he resumed the celebration of Mass seated at an altar especially made to his requirements.[5] Just before Christmas he held a consistory.[6]

Apart from the French affairs the Pope was much occupied at this time with the dispute with Venice, which the Signoria, despite the mediation of the Courts of Paris and Vienna, showed no sign of wishing to bring to an end.[7] With all the more pleasure, therefore, did he receive in the middle of February the news that the Spanish Grand Inquisitor had at last raised the ban on the works of Cardinal Noris.[8] In March

[1] Bonamici's reports of April 30 and June 18, 1757, *loc. cit.*, 372 *seqq.*; *Portocarrero's *letters of April 28, May 5 and 26 and June 2, 1757, Archives of Simancas; *MERENDA, *loc. cit.*

[2] Albani's *letter to Kaunitz of July 6, 1757, *loc. cit.*; Portocarrero's *report of July 7, 1757, *loc. cit.*

[3] Bonamici's reports of July 9 and 16, and August 13, 1757, *loc. cit.*, 373 *seqq.*; Portocarrero's *letter of September 22, 1757, *loc. cit.*; MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

[4] Albani's *letter to Kaunitz of October 29, 1757, to which the printed work was attached: "Lettera della Stà Benedetto XIV. a monsignor Ignazio Reali (Master of Ceremonies) sopra il celebrare la messa sedendo," dated in Rome in October 1757, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 300.

[5] Albani's *letter to Kaunitz, of November 2, 1757, *ibid.*

[6] Portocarrero's *report of December 22, 1757, *loc. cit.*

[7] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.* *Cf.* above, p. 107.

[8] Portocarrero's *reports to Wall, of February 16 and 23 and March 2, 1758, *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, the *original letter of Benedict XIV.

the Pope lost his old friend Cardinal Tencin.[1] He himself, although he was now entering his eighty-fourth year, still hoped to live for some time, and to find relief from his ill-health, if not at Castel Gandolfo, then in some villa lying nearer to Rome.[2] On April 22nd Filippo Maria Bonamici reported that the Pope was passably well and that he intended with the advent of better weather to have himself carried daily into the casino of the Quirinal, where he would give audiences.[3]

Shortly afterwards it was being said that in the dispute with Venice a solution had been found which was very advantageous for the Republic [4]; but it was not possible to dispatch in due course the relative document on account of the Pope being attacked with fever and convulsions on the night of April 26th. The physicians found that their patient was suffering from inflammation of the lungs.

Benedict saw that the end was near. On the night of May 1st he received the Body of the Lord with complete resignation to the will of God. The next morning he signed the profession of faith and the decree for the beatification of the Jesuit Francesco de Hieronymo; then he summoned to his side the Dean of the Sacred College and the Secretary of State and

to the king of Spain, dated February 22, 1758, "apud S. Mariam Mai.," in which the Pope thanks His Majesty "avendo Ella posto l'animo Nostro in calma che era fuor di modo agitato per aver veduto posto nell' espurgatorio il nome e le opere del fu card. Noris doppo che già esse erano state esaminate tre volte e sempre lasciate correre come esenti da ogni errore dal tribunale di quest' Inquisizione generale di Roma. Mediante l'autorità ed inalterabile giustizia della Mtà V. prima di morire vediamo terminato un affare di tanta importanza e conseguenza per Noi e per la Santa Sede". See our account, Vol. XXXV., 369.

[1] The last note sent to Tencin, dated February 15, 1758 (HEECKEREN, II., 560), probably never reached the Cardinal's hands, seeing that he died on March 2, 1758.

[2] Bonamici's report of April 8, 1758, *loc. cit.*, 377.

[3] Bonamici's report of April 22, 1758, *ibid.*

[4] MERENDA, **Memorie, loc. cit.*

asked them and all the Cardinals to forgive him his failings, especially his impatience, which was due to his natural temperament, not to ill-will. At the same time he exhorted them to be of one mind in choosing the new head of the Church. Finally he sent for the Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Portocarrero, whom he told, according to the testimony given by one who was present, that he was disappointed with the conclusion of the Spanish concordat. Its originators had since died; as they, so he, would have to render account to God; he hoped, however, to find a merciful judge, for his intention had always been good. This avowal the Cardinal was to convey to the Spanish king.[1]

[1] MERENDA's report in the **Memorie*, which should be compared with Bonamici's reports (*loc. cit.*, 377 *seq.*), runs as follows: "Benedetto XIV., dopo aver languito per un anno e mezzo sempre con timore di mancare ad ogni momento, la notte del 26 aprile fu attaccato da febre risentita con convulsioni per cui li fu subito cavato sangue: replicò nel giorno dei 27 l'accesso anche più gagliardo e seguitò similmente nel dì 28, e nel sabato dei 29 si manifestò la infiammazione di petto già fatta con sputi sanguigni e marciosi e con dolore acuto nel fianco sinistro; onde fu giudicato il male irrimediabile, e si voleva in quell' istessa notte munirlo de' santi sagramenti; ma avendo poi preso qualche sollievo leggiero, fu differito fino alla notte del lunedì primo Maggio; di che fatto avvisato il s. Collegio andò tutto in anticamera la mattina dei 2. Il Papa in questa mattina sottoscrisse la professione di fede, et il decreto per la beatificazione del R° P^e Francesco de Girolamo Gesuita, e poi, chiamato in camera il card. Decano e Segretario di stato domandò scusa delle sue mancanze, assicurò il s. Collegio della stima sempre avuta per lui in generale e per li cardinali in particolare, benchè in qualche congiuntura per il suo naturale avesse data materia di credere diversamente, e l'esortò ad una sollecita e concorde elezione del successore. Chiamò poi il card. Portocarrero ministro di Spagna e confessò con lui che nel Concordato con la Spagna era stato ingannato: che quelli che l'anno ingannato sono andati prima di lui a rendere conto a Dio e che lui fra pochi momenti similmente andarà a renderne conto, e sperava che Dio li faccia misericordia per la sua retta intenzione, e lo incaricò di scrivere al Re questa

Benedict would now have nothing more to do with business. This, he said, he handed over to the Secretary of State, his mind being now set entirely on religious matters. He told his attendants, who were in tears, not to bewail the departure of an old man who had burdened them so long with his impatience and other defects ; he left them in the hands of God, the best of all masters, who never died. " For myself," he concluded, " I am going to silence and oblivion, the only place that befits me." Recognizing a prelate from Bologna, he told him that poor Prospero was now on the point of losing his very name : *sic transit gloria mundi*. When his voice failed it was noticed that his eyes turned to heaven. It was clear, says his biographer, that his soul already rested in God.[1] He died at midday, on May 3rd, in the presence of the Grand Penitentiary Gotti and the Promaggiordomo Colonna.[2]

The corpse was taken from the Quirinal to St. Peter's, where it was buried.[3] The Cardinals whom Benedict had created had made for him there a magnificent tomb which was designed by Pietro Bracci, was not finished till June 1769, and cost 11,000 *scudi*.[4] Carrying out a new and anti-traditional

sua dichiarazione. L'autore di questa Memoria ha saputo questo fatto da chi fu presente servendo il Papa moribondo. Verso le 22 dell' istesso giorno, perdè la parola, ma non la cognizione, fino a che la mattina delli 3 Maggio, circa le ore dodici e mezza, spirò santamente l'animo."

[1] CARACCIOLO, 162 *seq.*

[2] Letter of May 3, 1758, in LONGHI, *Il Palazzo Vizani*, Bologna, 1902, 223 ; autograph *report by Albani to the Emperor (draft in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican) and Portocarrero's *letter to Wall (Archives of Simancas), both of May 3, 1758. *Cf.* " *Ragguaglio della infirmità e morte di Benedetto XIV.", Cod. E 23 of the National Library, Naples, and " Distinta relazione della malattia e morte di Benedetto XIV.", Bologna, 1758.

[3] " Ragguaglio dell' infirmità, morte e trasporto a S. Pietro d.s.m. di Benedetto XIV." [1758].

[4] DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 61 ; GRADARA, *Bracci*, 163 ; PIATTI, XII., 427. The removal of Benedict XIV.'s corpse to the tomb above

conception, the artist represents the Pope in an upright position, his left hand resting on a child's head, his right raised high in blessing, whereby the slender body leans slightly to the same side.[1] It is indeed difficult to recognize in the theatrical attitude of this marble figure the consistently simple, natural, lively, and good-humoured Pope who in spite of his great learning retained a deep humility and an attractive sense of proportion.

Bracci was far more successful with his finely conceived figure of Wisdom, who sits on the left with an open book and is looking up at the Pope, A beautiful female figure executed by Gaspare Sibilla on the other side symbolizes Disinterestedness.[2]

It is strange that Bracci should so have misrepresented Benedict XIV. with this work of his, for his true character was well known to all his contemporaries. Even immediatelv after his death there was only one opinion of his simple, quietly intelligent, and practical nature. Even the Romans, with their natural aptitude for ridicule and their habit of indulging in malicious talk, especially after a long reign, were cast down.[3] In foreign countries universal honour was paid to the Pope who during his pontificate of seventeen years, eight months, and sixteen days had kept the peace of the Church by prudent moderation and had inspired respect even in the anti-Christian philosophers.

This was the first time since the schism that the Protestant

the sacristy door had already taken place on August 28, 1768; see Cod. Vat. 9415, p. 136 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] Fr. Knapp, *Ital. Plastik*, plate 158, text p. 129; Gradara, xxv. (*ibid.*, xxiv., sketches for the tomb). Domarus (61) considers Cicognara's criticism (*Storia d. scultura*, VII., 75) to be too strong. Another unfavourable opinion is that of Hautecœur (184). Gradara (73 *seq.*), on the other hand, probably goes too far in his praise.

[2] A coin which falls from the cornucopia held by a cherub bears the inscription: "Sibilla Rom. | invenit | et | sculp."

[3] See Bonamici's report of May 6, 1758 (*loc. cit.*, 378), and that of the Sardinian envoy, in Petrucelli, IV., 137.

world had not refused to acknowledge the merits of the occupant of the See of Peter. Even during his lifetime the greatest goodwill had been felt towards Benedict XIV. One expression of it was the poem on the Pope composed by the son of the English Prime Minister, Horace Walpole, and translated into Italian by Niccolini. It proclaimed that Prospero Lambertini, Bishop of Rome, with the name of Benedict XIV., was ruling faultlessly despite his omnipotence and that by his virtues he had renewed the splendour of the tiara; beloved by Catholics and esteemed by Protestants, he was a priest without pride or self-interest, a prince without favourites, a Pope without nepotism, a writer without vanity, the best of all Popes.[1]

Historians of the most varied tendencies,[2] even those with strong objections to the Papacy itself, have expressed themselves in a similar vein.[3] On the other hand, during Benedict XIV.'s lifetime and later, up to the present time, less favourable judgments have been passed, based especially on the Pope's

[1] KRAUS, *Briefe*, 128 *seqq.* CERROTTI (*Bibliografia di Roma*, 192), on the authority of Cod. 1552 f. 117, of the Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, mentions another form of the eulogy, "tradotta dall' Inglese in Italiano, posta nel piedistallo di una statua di Benedetto XIV., collocata in Londra nella galleria del figlio di Lord Walpole e della Contessa di Oxford" (? Orford). *Cf.* MORONI, V., 49, who mentions the monument erected to the Pope by Pitt.

[2] Along with Macaulay, in whose opinion Benedict XIV. was the best and the wisest of the 250 successors of St. Peter, the following authors should be consulted. Of Protestants: SCHRÖCKH, VI., 428 *seqq.*; SISMONDI, XVI., 376; RANKE, *Päpste*, III., 125 *seq.*; HASE, II., 1, 128; ZÖPFFEL-HAUCK in Herzog's *Realenzvklopädie*, II.[3], 573 *seq.* Of Catholics: REUMONT, III., 2, 655; KRAUS, *Briefe*, xii.; MERKLE in *Hochland*, 1914, I., 341 *seqq.*; FOCILLON, 30.

[3] *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 138; BROSCH, II., 110. The latter calls Benedict XIV. "one of the best rulers of all times" but discusses the case of Maria da Riva in his usual malicious manner. For this affair, the statements of the Venetian ambassador, which here as elsewhere form Brosch's sole source of information, should be confronted with the Pope's statements in his confidential letters (FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 64, 72, 76, 79, 83, 86, 87 *seq.*).

habit of making concessions to temporal rulers.[1] The extraordinary esteem in which the Pope was held, even by the enemies of Christianity, gave rise to the suspicion among many Catholic writers that he had adapted himself too much to the spirit of the age. A distinguished ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, who had been raised to the purple, insisted to the last that brilliant as Benedict's pontificate had been it had its shady side in its excessive willingness to give way to secular Governments.[2]

A correct judgment and a full understanding of Benedict XIV. may now be gained with the aid of sources recently made available. The most important of these are the numerous private letters written by him to the Ancona archdeacon Innocenzo Storani, the Bolognese Canon Pier Francesco Peggi, and the Cardinals Quirini and Tencin.[3] These effusions,[4]

[1] MERENDA was already writing in his **Memorie* (*loc. cit.*): "La sua facilità in accordare ai principi tutto ciò che chiedevano, ha molto pregiudicato ai diritti dei Papi successori e particolarmente nella immunità locale, reale e personale."

[2] HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchengesch.*, IV.[6], 168. *Cf.* MÖHLER-GAMS, III., 316, 329; BRÜCK, *Kirchengesch.*, 712; PORTILLO in *Razón y Fe*, XVII. (1907), 20 *seq.* The Pope's yielding disposition is criticized by BALAN in his *Storia d'Italia* (VIII.[2], Modena, 1897, 128 *seq.*, 132, 184, 185, 188 *seqq.*) even more severely than by Hergenröther.

[3] For the titles of the above-mentioned sets of correspondence, see the Bibliography. Formerly, of private correspondence, twenty-nine letters to Cardinal Delle Lanze had been published by CIBRARIO (*Lettere di Santi, Papi, Principi, etc.*, Torino, 1861). Apart from a few isolated writings printed by B. Manzone at Brà in 1890 as a Nozze publication (*Frammenti di lettere inedite di Benedetto XIV.*), the following are still unpublished: (1) "*Lettere autogr. di P. Lambertini (poi Benedetto XIV.) a Msgr. Giov. Bottari 1726–1746," in the Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 32, G 49; (2) the *Letters to the Marchesa Caprara Bentivogli, in the University Library in Bologna; (3) the *Letters to Cardinal Alberoni, in the Collegio S. Lazzaro near Piacenza.

[4] In a *letter to Scip. Maffei of December 1, 1753, Benedict

which were not intended for the public eye and in which he allowed his pen the greatest freedom, afford us a deep insight into his private opinions and enable us to have a clear knowledge, not only of his disposition but also of his intentions. We may here appreciate in the most intimate fashion his character, his consistently witty and extraordinarily attractive nature and his striving to compose differences, whether external or internal. In every letter there speaks a sovereign ruler with a single passion to which he devoted the whole of his life: the conscientious fulfilment of his duties.

Of no other Pope do we possess so many confidential expressions of opinion in the written word. The letters written to his close friend Tencin between the years 1742 and 1756, which fill two printed volumes,[1] are something unique, an

XIV. calls attention to the fact that his letters to friends were not meant to be printed. Princ. 240, p. 204, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Thankful as we are to E. de Heeckeren for giving us access to Benedict XIV.'s letters to Tencin, it is regrettable that he did not copy them from the *originals in the Papal Secret Archives (Miscell., XV., t. 154–7) instead of the French translation which Tencin had made for the French Foreign Office (preserved in the *Archives des affaires étrang.* in Paris). Especially in the case of a man of Benedict XIV.'s type one needs to peruse the original text. Only a few letters are in his own hand; nearly all were dictated by him to his secretary Nic. Antonelli. T.1 (Miscell., XV., 154) is of the period July 1742–6, 1002 pp.; t. II. (XV., 155), 1747–1750, 970 pp.; t. III. (XV., 156), 1751–4, 1019 pp.; t. IV. (XV., 157), 1755–8, 365 pp. Heeckeren omits also a number of letters, e.g. right at the beginning, the *letters of July 13, 19, and 28, August 3, 10, 17, and 25, September 1, 7, and 14, 1742; also the *letters of August 18, 1745, November 9 and 30, 1757, and January 18 and March 1, 1758; and, finally, the important letter of June 10, 1749, which DUDON brings to our knowledge in *Études* (CXXXII.; 342 *seqq.*). Neither the Rome nor Paris collection has the *letter to Tencin of July 7, 1744, I found a copy of which in the State Archives in Vienna (Varia). Besides other failings of Heeckeren's to which Dudon (*loc. cit.*, 332 *seqq.*) draws our attention, such as the omission

historical source such as no other pontificate has produced. Every one or two weeks the Pope wrote the French Cardinal a lengthy letter in which he enlarged more or less fully on the events of the day, important and unimportant, and on political, ecclesiastical, academic, and artistic matters. The breadth of his views, the nobility of his sentiments, his consistently delicate and profound judgment, and his genuine piety—all find expression here. No chronicler could have described better or more accurately how Benedict XIV. lived and worked. Always he speaks with the greatest frankness of current affairs and the persons implicated in them. Not only prelates but even members of the supreme senate of the Church are subjected to the keenest criticism, especially when they show signs of vanity or greed. Nor was Benedict sparing with his censure of his predecessors, especially in the matter of nepotism ; but a man who was clearly disinterested himself in all things had a right to be strict with others. On the other hand, however much he deplored in these pages the shortcomings of his assistants and the difficulties of the times, they are all lightened with the gay humour which he managed to retain even in his darkest hours. Great as is the number of satirical remarks to be found here, they are mostly clothed in that good-humoured form which is so characteristic of Benedict XIV. Gaiety and gravity are often curiously intermingled.[1] It is remarkable how in this rich nature the love of raillery is joined to a great nobility of soul. Untoward experiences might sadden his great heart but not embitter it. When Benedict discovered that Tencin was in secret correspondence with the Secretary of State he complained about it

of enclosures and the occasional erroneousness of the commentary, there are several misspellings of names: I., 118, " Folsa " should read " Tolfa " ; II., 235, " Stalder " " Stadler " ; 248, " Frisalte," " Trisalti," and so on.

[1] *Cf.*, for example, the combination of the Apostolic Blessing with humorous remarks in the letters to Peggi (KRAUS, 51, 55, 68). It is also strange to hear that in the arduous career of a priest " la vincita del giuoco non vale la spesa della candela ". *Ibid.*, 33.

in a gentle fashion but his affection for Tencin remained as heretofore.

The greatest consideration was shown by Benedict when his Secretary of State Valenti fell ill. To spare the feelings of the man who had worked with him so long and was unwilling to resign his post, he refrained from nominating his successor and in spite of his own advanced age bravely undertook the management of all important matters for two years. Accustomed to the most exacting work from his earliest youth, he did not disdain to occupy himself with the solution of difficult questions and to deal with great masses of documents when on holiday at Castel Gandolfo.[1]

Benedict was always ready to accept both good advice and justifiable blame; unfounded accusations had as little effect on him as fulsome praise. When speaking about Walpole's poem he remarked jestingly that he was like the statues on the façade of St. Peter's, which made a good impression only when viewed from a distance.[2] This modesty was based on a genuine humility which made him considerate and charitable in putting up with persons and conditions. In theological disputes he made a clear distinction between dogmas and the opinions of schools.[3]

However much freedom he wanted to prevail in the domain of learning he was a zealous guardian of the purity of doctrine. For nothing in the world would he sacrifice anything essential of the truths of faith or the rights of the Holy See. He never forgot that one day he would have to render an exact account of the duties imposed on him by his lofty office.[4] How much he felt his exalted dignity to be a burden and how deeply he was imbued with the sense of responsibility may be seen in a letter which he wrote to the Bishop of Spoleto shortly after his accession to the throne. "I don't know myself," he said, "I am so overwhelmed with duties and ceremonies; I am

[1] DUDON, *loc. cit.*, 340 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 46, 275.

[2] KRAUS, *Briefe*, 128.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 352, 362 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* DUDON, *loc. cit.*, 339.

as though fettered with continual visits, I am suffocated with praise, and I have to row incessantly against the current of lies which I am supposed to accept as truth and to defend myself against the intoxication of pride which they try to excite in me and against the annoyances of every kind which are the accompaniments of the Papacy. Pray God that He will take account of the violence which I suffer. I often have to rewrite a letter entirely two or three times, and this is what the world thinks to be an honour, this is what it calls the very summit of good fortune. So far as I am concerned I am ready to bear testimony that there is nothing to be found in my free and exalted position but grounds for fear both in this world and in eternity." [1] In a letter to Cardinal Quirini, Benedict wrote: "Some time or other we shall have to give an account, not of our learning, but of what we have done for the good of souls, and for that we shall have to account very strictly." [2]

It goes without saying that such a man as this would be the last deliberately to abandon ecclesiastical rights. As an expert canonist and theologian he was very well able to distinguish between essential and inessential rights, between what had to be upheld at all costs and what might be abandoned without harm, in fact what could not be retained if greater harm was to be avoided.

A man of extraordinary benevolence, he was inclined by nature towards ductility and mediation. It could only be of profit to the Church that in matters unconcerned with dogma he was as accommodating as could possibly be desired. In the most difficult circumstances he did his best to maintain friendly relations with the rising power of Protestant Prussia in the interest of the Catholics in that country. He did not, for example, withhold from Frederick II. the royal title which former Popes had refused to use. He showed his ability to

[1] CARACCIOLO, 47.

[2] "Iddio non cercherà nè da Noi nè da Lei conto delle questioni erudite, cercherà bensì conto strettissimo della salute delle anime." Letter of June 1745, in FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 282.

adapt himself to the times, not only in this matter but also in the difficult question of mixed marriages, the diminution of holydays, and in his moderate and careful ordinances relating to the Index.[1]

Though in these matters he took into account the demands of the age he adhered to apparently mediæval views and principles much more closely than the praises bestowed on his tolerance by contemporary freethinkers might lead us to suppose. Noteworthy evidence of this is provided by the correspondence with Tencin. In this Benedict XIV. disapproved of the overhasty and forced conversion of the Huguenots but called the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. the most glorious deed of that monarch and invoked the aid of the secular arm against those who reverted to heresy.[2]

One of the chief accusations brought against Benedict XIV. by Catholics is that in the Concordats with Savoy, Naples, and Spain he conceded too many of the Church's rights to the State; these transactions, they allege, were carried out wholly under the influence of the circumstances of the time and provided no lasting solution of the matters in dispute.[3] More than one opinion may be held on this point; to form a correct judgment one must consider the general state of public affairs. Even Catholic Governments were in the grip of the spirit of absolutism and an anticlerical "enlightenment". Conditions were such that, in view of the prevailing spirit of the age, the greatest prudence and foresight were necessary if incalculable harm was not to be done to the Church by strictness and abruptness. For this reason the Pope persisted in his policy of appeasement, although he realized as early as 1743

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., pp. 298, 323, 347.

[2] Benedict XIV. to Louis XV. on February 24, 1756, in HEECKEREN, II., 554 (*cf.* 155, 493); DE LANZAC DE LABORIE in the *Correspondant*, CCLXIX. (1912), 684 *seqq.* Lanzac pertinently remarks (671) that Benedict XIV. was not exempt from the fate of popular personages of having their life and character distorted by legends.

[3] This is the judgment formed by HERGENRÖTHER (*loc. cit.*).

that his accommodating attitude would meet with no response.[1]

There is no doubt that the Pope's hand was forced. In its inordinate desire for wholesale reformation, despotism was ready to join forces with its deadly enemy, the awaking spirit of revolution, against the sole remaining independent power, the Church. "In whatever direction the Pope looked, he could see no prospect of support for his aims; all he could see was a ring of enemies bent on thwarting his plans. At such a critical stage was the Pope to adopt an "all or nothing" attitude and give a categorical *non possumus* answer to questions in which he, a skilled and experienced canonist, had to admit that for the sake of a greater good he was ready to make far-reaching concessions which would not involve the dereliction of his duty? Or was he with an unrelenting determination to risk everything and with a rigid adherence to the letter of the law to provoke the coming catastrophe half a century before its time?"[2]

There can be no doubt about the right answer to this question. Benedict cannot seriously be charged with having been able to postpone but not to avert the gathering storm. No one deplored his powerlessness more than himself, as is especially evident in his letters to Canon Peggi. He knew the monstrous disease of his time, in which, as he wrote to Peggi at the beginning of 1756, the Ministers of every ruler thought that they had to make their fortune by the suppression of the Church and the Holy See; and it has been well said that it was the greatest sorrow of his life that he was unable to intervene here with any good effect.[3] It was certainly not,

[1] HEECKEREN, I., 49.

[2] P. A. KIRSCH in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXX. (1900), 314. *Cf.* also MERKLE, *loc. cit.* E. MASI (*La vita di Fr. Albergati*, Bologna, 1878, 19 *seqq.*) takes no account whatever of the contemporary situation and consequently arrives at a most unjust verdict; see FRESCO, *Lettere*, XVIII., 35, n. 2.

[3] KRAUS, *Briefe*, xiv., 119. *Cf.* also the letter to Bologna, in which Benedict XIV. points out that the time and circumstances in which he reigned could not have been more difficult and

therefore, through failure to apprehend the appallingly grave situation that he hoped, by waiting patiently and by giving way as far as he could, to avert the dangers that threatened the Church. To-day it is easy enough to see that in this he was to be disappointed; but Benedict, in spite of his extraordinary knowledge of affairs and his erudition, was only human and could not be expected to foresee the future. With his particular talents, peculiarly Italian, and his aptitude for compromise, he was a master of circumventing difficulties that would have demanded a solution.

Even if his calculations proved to be inaccurate and the concessions he made were too great, his confidential letters show quite clearly that his intentions were always of the best. If he failed, it was certainly against his will.[1] That his confidence was abused at the conclusion of the Spanish Concordat is shown by the statement he made to Cardinal Portocarrero when on the threshold of eternity.[2]

Though Benedict XIV. lacked the energy of a Gregory VII. or Innocent III., he was not only one of the most learned but also one of the noblest Popes, who through his distinguished writings and his excellent decrees still makes his beneficent influence felt both in theological science and ecclesiastical practice.[3]

thorny. *Atti e mem. per la storia dell' Univ. di Bologna*, II. (1921), 99.

[1] DUDON, *loc. cit.*, 339.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 131.

[3] In Italy the fourteenth Benedict is still not forgotten and is so popular that whenever his noble and most lovable figure makes its appearance in a famous play, "*Il cardinale Lambertini*," it is always received with enthusiastic applause by both believers and free-thinkers. All the stranger is it, therefore, that up to now he has found no biographer. A. Theiner has not proceeded beyond the collection of material, which has been kept among his *papers in the Papal Secret Archives. In view of the lack of historical judgment shown by Theiner in all his works it is hardly to be regretted that the *Vita* of the great Pope has not fallen into such unsuitable hands.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conclave of 1758. Clement XIII.'s Care for the States of the Church. His Encouragement of Art and Learning.

(1)

When Benedict XIV.'s health, originally good, gradually failed, the political Powers began to make their preparations for the coming conclave. As early as the end of the year 1749, when the Imperial influence at the Roman Court was still of little weight, the Cardinal Protector Alessandro Albani sent the Viennese Chancellor Colloredo a detailed memorandum, the tone of which was still quite hostile to France.[1] A few months later there issued from the hand of Migazzi a fresh report to Vienna on the Papal election which might be necessary in the near future; in this the writer, as though foreseeing what would come to pass, already alludes to the long-standing custom of exempting the Venetians from the usual exclusion of the national Cardinals; already, too, there was mentioned by name the Venetian who eight years later was actually to ascend the throne of St. Peter.[2]

It was not till 1754 that a definite interest in the future conclave was again shown by the European Courts. In the May of this year the Spanish king asked the Cardinal Protector of his country, Portocarrero, for a detailed report; Portocarrero complied with this request in the enclosure to his

[1] *Memorandum of December 13, 1749 (State Archives, Vienna): "che abbiamo pochissimi amici e che pochissimi ci stimano."

[2] *Reports to Uhlfeld, April 4 to May 2, 1750, *ibid.* Especially interesting is the retrospective portion dealing with the principles of exclusion. For further memoranda of Austrian origin, see Arneth, IX., 6.

letter of September 12th, 1754.[1] Almost at the same time another report for the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, came from the pen of Christiani; in three stately volumes he proffered full descriptions of the characters of all the Cardinals and of many other ecclesiastical dignitaries.[2] A further report for Vienna was compiled by Migazzi.[3] But on this occasion too the expectation of a conclave in the near future proved to be premature.

After a short interval, however, preparatory steps were again taken. In November 1756 a memorandum on the College of Cardinals was sent from Rome by Choiseul to his Government in Paris [4]; in April 1757 it was followed by a second memorandum on the pressing tasks that faced French policy in Rome, and by a third on the "Papabili", the possibilities of diplomatic collaboration, and the attitudes adopted by the leading ecclesiastical and political personalities in Rome.[5] In the same year Cardinal Albani [6] and Brunati [7]

[1] *To R. Wall, September 12, 1754, supplement: Nota de los cardenales que componen el sacro Colegio. Archives, Simancas.

[2] *Report of September 13, 1754, State Archives, Vienna. The three next vols. are merely duplicates.

[3] *Of August 19 to October 9, 1754, *ibid.* For the Spanish classification of the candidates, see Migazzi's *Report of December 30, 1754, *ibid.*

[4] In Boutry, 221 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 256 *seqq.*, 266 *seqq.*

[6] *On March 23, 1757, State Archives, Vienna. There also a *Memorandum from the Tuscan agent Sainte-Odile to Emperor Francis I., of January 1, 1757.

[7] *Li soggetti che nel prossimo futuro conclave potrebbero aver più credito per il pontificato (on the reverse: Considerazioni intorno al prossimo futuro conclave stesse del agente imp. e regio Franc. de Brunati 23 Marzo 1757, di lui una copia a s. ecc. Colloredo ed a s.e. Kaunitz spedite a Vienna il 26 Marzo 1757, e 15 Marzo 1758 a s. ecc. il c. Christiani a Milano), Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. The notes about the Cardinals agree word for word with the *Varie considerazioni . . . *ibid.* (see the following note). Of a similar nature is Brunati's

each sent to Kaunitz fresh opinions on the Cardinals likely to be elected. The direction of Imperial policy, however, was shown most clearly by two other memoranda, one of which appeared after Benedict XIV.'s death,[1] the other about a year earlier.[2]

On the Pope's death after severe sufferings, at the beginning of May 1758, there were fifteen vacancies in the Sacred College [3]; as, further, a number of Cardinals were unable to attend the conclave, by reason either of the distance to be travelled or of ill-health, it was reckoned that there would be about forty-five participants,[4] which calculation proved to be accurate. Cardinal Bardi was forced by illness to leave the conclave prematurely,[5] so that on the actual day of the election only forty-four Cardinals were present.

Most of the Cardinals owed their rank to the Pope who had just died; of the time of Clement XII. there still survived Corsini, Colonna di Sciarra, D'Elce, Guadagni, Mosca, Passionei, Rezzonico, Sagripanti, and Spinelli; Borghese had been given his rank by Benedict XIII., Alessandro Albani by Innocent XIII.

*report of 6 May, 1758, State Archives, Vienna. On May 24, 1758, the French envoy Laon sent a *Memorandum on the papabili to Colloredo. *Ibid.*

[1] *Varie considerazioni intorno al presente conclave, clearly from Brunati to an imperial minister, with marginal notes by a strange hand, between 1758 and 1765. Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] *Memorandum for the conclave, *ibid.* The ages of the Cardinals as given here show the document to date from about a year earlier.

[3] *Report of May 6, 1758, to the two chancellors, probably from Brunati, *ibid.*

[4] *Varie considerazioni, *ibid.*

[5] *Report of Mgr. Clemente to R. Wall, June 29, 1758 (Archives of Simancas), of the Venetian envoy *Correr, of June 25 (Conclave sotto l' amb. C. Correr, Cod. 261, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican), and of the Lucchese envoy Bonamici, of July 1, 1758 (SFORZA, 14).

The many Cardinals created by the late Pope had neither a capable leader nor common interests to bind them closer together [1]; Portocarrero attempted the task unsuccessfully.[2] The highest object to be attained was to unite the Cardinals of the late Pope in collectively excluding all other creatures; in other respects they were divided in different directions. The party of the "Elders", on the other hand, were, under Corsini's experienced leadership, of one mind, though they could dispose of only seven or eight votes. The "Zelanti" group, led by one of their most determined representatives, Cardinal Spinelli,[3] were more numerous. Though his zeal had cost Spinelli the loss of the good-will of most of the Crowns, his friends remained all the more true to him on this account. On essential points the two parties were closely united and stood in opposition to the "Union of the Crowns", which came into existence as a result of the Austro-French alliance. Whereas, therefore, the present conclave resembled that of 1740 in the formation of two large main groups, on this occasion the nationals and curials were separated; then the dividing line had run through both camps.

The decisive preponderance lay with the political Powers, who were very active in exercising their influence. France, which was represented by only two inexperienced Cardinals—Luynes and Gesvres—tried to strengthen herself by an alliance with the Spaniard Portocarrero [4] and the Venetians

[1] Bonamici's report of May 13, 1758, in SFORZA, II; *Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cardinal Albani's report to Kaunitz, June 21, 1758, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] "*Passa per una della più dotte menti del s. Collegio, ma per altretanto presuntuoso, zelante, severo, sostenitore dell' immunità ecclesiastica, austero ne' costumi e tenuto come un riformatore de' grand' abusi" (Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*). Very similarly, *Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz, May 6, 1758, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] "*un buonissimo cristiano ed onoratissimo cavaliere, ma d'un carattere indolente e diametralmente opposto al sopra accennato" [Acquaviva]. Wherefore there was no party of the Crown. The

Delfino and Rezzonico [1] and also with the Polish Protector Gian Francesco Albani.[2] Furthermore, much depended for France on the election of a new Protector; Cardinal Tencin had died on March 2nd, 1758, so that presumably the appointment of a successor would take place within the period of the conclave. In the same way Austria had most closely allied herself with Piedmont, through her Protector Alessandro Albani, and with the Austrian dependencies, especially Milan and Tuscany.[3] On this occasion Piedmont was able to send four electors. Thus, as far as could be seen, the Imperial party was the strongest. On account of the close alliance between the two principal political Powers,[4] no candidature seemed to have any hope of success without their consent. But those who thought that this implied a short conclave, in which the voting would be unanimous,[5] were to be disappointed.

How keen was the interest of the principal Cabinets in the outcome of the Papal election is shown by the closely-reasoned arguments of many of the aforesaid memoranda,[6] especially the proposals, worked out to the last detail, for the appointment to the Secretaryship of State and other high offices,[7] the

Neapolitans too forewent a faction of their own and combined with the Italians. Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

[1] **Ibid.*

[2] **Ibid.* See also Correr's second *report of June 17, 1758, Cod. 261, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] *Varie considerazioni and *memorandum for the conclave, *ibid.*

[4] For the negotiations for an agreement between the French envoy and Cardinal Albani, see the *report of May 6, 1758, to the two chancellors, probably by Brunati, *ibid.*

[5] See **ibid.*

[6] From the imperial viewpoint the *Memorandum for the conclave (*loc. cit.*) deals at greatest length with the necessity of the best possible understanding between Vienna and Rome.

[7] That the French had long succeeded in shaping the election of the Secretary of State to their own ends is brought out in the *Memorandum for the Conclave and the *Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

occupation of which the experiences of the last pontificate had shown to be on many occasions as important as that of the Holy See itself. Further, the controversy about the Society of Jesus, with its many defenders and attackers, was already becoming a prominent feature of the times.[1] Everyone was trying to secure for himself as many advantages for the future as lay in his power; in this connexion a remarkable passage in an Austrian report should disillusion anyone who would like to think of the Emperor as the Defender of the Church even at this period: even if an earthly-minded Pope were elected, the passage runs, he would have to be flattered, so as the more easily to be won over; it was better to give way in small matters and to satisfy Rome with fine phrases.[2] Similarly France, with her internal ecclesiastical disputes, was intent on setting on the Papal throne one who was not too vigorous a champion of the Bull *Unigenitus*.[3]

The obsequies, which were carried out in the utmost calm,[4]

[1] *Cf.* the separate *Character studies; also the undated *Supplement to Brunati's *report of June 24, 1758, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; CORDARA, edited by Döllinger, III., 20 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI, IV., 141 *seq.*

[2] Such a Pope one would have to "*coltivare ed accarezzare — e non alienarlo come talvolta è succeduto, non già per cause gravi, nel qual caso non s' intende parlare, ma per leggierissime cagioni, a segno che talvolta si sono guardate più misure con un prelato, benchè avverso alla corte di Vienna, che col Papa istesso del quale avendosene bisogno . . . conviene in questi casi cedere qualche cosa delle controversie, che si hanno con Roma, di buona maniera, per farsene merito ed ottenere poi cose che molto più importano, senza di che è impossibile di potere esigere tutto con non voler dare mai nulla. . . ." Memorandum for the Conclave, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Giornale del conclave del 1758, *ibid.*; Bonamici's report of May 13, 1758, in SFORZA, II.

[4] *Report of May 6, 1758, to the two Chancellors, probably from Brunati; also Correr's *report of the 6th and a second *report by Correr of May 13, 1758, Cod. 216, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. *Cf.* *Satire della sede vacante di Benedetto XIV. ed elezione di Clemente XIII. 1758, which

lasted only eight instead of the usual nine days, owing to the intervention of Whitsuntide. On the other hand, some of the Congregations of Cardinals held in the sacristy of St. Peter's were animated ; against all custom, after frequent discussions, a secular priest was appointed confessor to the conclave.[1] On Whit Monday, May 15th, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the address on the Papal election given by Archbishop Batoli, twenty-seven Cardinals entered the conclave,[2] which was closed about the third hour of the evening.[3]

Of the political Powers no official representative had yet arrived with his instructions.[4] For this reason alone no serious electioneering was to be expected for the first few days. Nevertheless on the taking of the votes on the morning of May 16th, eight were cast for D'Elce, who secured three more in the *accessus*.[5] During the next few days there was hardly any appreciable change in the situation, and negotiations were

also treats of the contemporary election of the Jesuit General Ricci and of the Cardinals in the conclave, purchased in 1902 for the library of L. v. Pastor ; *Satire on the conclave of 1758, in the Altieri Library, Rome. Another collection of *satires is described and used by MOSCHETTI in his *Venezia e la esaltazione di Clemente XIII.*, Venice, 1890, 7 *seqq*. But *cf.* *La rivoluzione del popolo di Città di Castello sotto pretesto di sedia vacante, seguita l'anno 1758, [poemetto] composto da Silvestro Ghirelli sotto nome di poeta straniero, examined by L. v. Pastor in a Roman bookshop (Piazza Araceli 16) in 1902.

[1] *Giornale del conclave del 1758, and Correr's second *report of May 13, 1758, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] *Report of May 17, 1758, probably by Brunati, *ibid.* The copperplate *plan of the conclave was enclosed by Clerici in his *report to Emperor Francis I. on July 22, 1758. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Bonamici's report of July 20, 1758, in SFORZA, 11.

[4] *Report of May 17, 1758, probably by Brunati, *loc. cit.*

[5] For the result of this and further scrutinies, see the *Giornale della sede vacante di Benedetto XIV., Cod. 14.I.16, of the Seminary Library at Frascati. *Cf.* *notes and writings on the conclave in the Cod. Barb. LI. 30 of the Vatican Library. Boisgelin, afterwards Archbishop of Aix, is said to have written

initiated very slowly. Portocarrero and the French ambassador asked indeed for the voting to be postponed until the arrival of the national Cardinals and envoys.[1] Alessandro Albani also worked for the same purpose in the name of the Emperor.[2]

In spite of this, Corsini, the leader of the "Anziani" or Seniors, made a serious effort to canvass for Spinelli, the leader of the "Zelanti", showing how quick was the reaction of the general opposition against the national groups. Orsini, however, showed each Cardinal in turn a circular letter in which the King of Naples asked the electors to refrain from supporting this candidate.[3] This gave rise to the first commotion in the College, for Corsini refused to abandon his project at once but tried to work against the objection of Naples and to arouse sympathy for his proposal among the other Courts.[4]

At this point the Nationals and the "Juniors" set to work more vigorously, and Orsini and Portocarrero succeeded in joining together many of the Cardinals of Benedict XIV. They failed, however, to agree on a practical policy; various proposals were made but met with no approval. The first candidature to arouse much attention was that of Archinto, which showed signs of finding support both among the "Zelanti" and some of the Courts,[5] but he encountered an insurmountable opposition in the closed ranks of Corsini's adherents. Corsini's counter-proposal in favour of Crescenzi was similarly unsuccessful.

Meanwhile May was drawing to a close and the gradual arrival of the Crown Cardinals and of instructions was expected. During the last days of the month the Venetian

a description of the conclave during his stay in Rome but it was lost; see CORRESPONDANT, XCIII. (1921), 1015. Further sources in EISLER, 145.

[1] *Giornale del conclave del 1758, *loc. cit.*

[2] PETRUCELLI, IV., 149 *seq.*

[3] See *Gionale, *loc. cit.*, also the relevant *draft, *ibid.* *Cf.* Correr's *report of June 3, 1758, *ibid.* Cod. 241, and *Clemente to R. Wall on June 15, 1758, Archives of Simancas.

[4] PETRUCELLI, IV., 149.

[5] JUSTI II., 214 *seq.*

envoy Correr was admitted to an audience, in which he made an address and delivered a message from the Doge written in Latin.[1] On June 4th the French Cardinal Luynes arrived with secret instructions from his king.[2] Great excitement was caused when on June 9th he handed to Cardinal Colonna di Sciarra the royal document appointing him Protector of France [3] and on the following day officially communicated this news to the *Capi d'ordini*.[4] Colonna was much liked on all sides [5] and had for long enjoyed the confidence of many notabilities, so that he was in a position to initiate in the best possible way the less experienced Frenchmen into the state of the electoral negotiations ; on the other hand, many another Cardinal had hoped that he would be appointed, if only for the sake of the considerable honorarium attached to the post, and was now disappointed and out of humour.[6] Colonna being a man of much experience, with friends among the Italians, the position of the French was considerably strengthened by his appointment. The conclave had still longer to wait before

[1] Fully described by *Correr on May 27, 1758, *loc. cit. Cf.* *Bonamici on the same day, in SFORZA, 11.

[2] Correr's *report of June 10, 1758, *loc. cit.*, and Brunati's *report to Colloredo and Kaunitz on June 7, 1758, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Albani to Kaunitz on June 24, 1758, *ibid.* ; undated *supplement to Brunati's *report of the same day, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; *Giornale del conclave del 1758, *ibid.* ; reports of the Lucchese envoy Bonamici on June 10 and 17, 1758, in SFORZA, 13. *Cf.* (also for the whole conclave) *Biglietti scritti dall' ambasciatore di Francia al card. Colonna di Sciarra protett. di quel regno dal 29 Maggio al 6 Luglio durante il conclave per la morte di Benedetto XIV. sul quale fu eletto Clemente XIII., in Cod. Barb., XLIII., 73, of the Vatican Library. They are followed by *Avvisi scritti di Francia da altri Ministri al med. cardinale 1758/59, *ibid.*

[4] Correr's *report of June 10, 1758, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[5] *Varie considerazioni, *ibid.*

[6] Correr's second *report of June 17, 1757, *ibid.*

the arrival of the Imperial Cardinal-Minister Rodt of Constance, who had first been summoned to Vienna to receive his instructions.[1] Crescenzi was accompanied on his way to the conclave by large crowds who impetuously demanded his elevation to the Chair of Peter.[2]

During the next period the negotiations in the Electoral College centred steadily more and more on Cavalchini, though the canvassing for Archinto still persisted.[3] Cavalchini's candidature was promoted by Corsini and Portocarrero working together. On their sounding the French they received a reply which, though evasive, was certainly not a rejection. On June 19th twenty-one votes were recorded for Cavalchini, on June 21st twenty-six, and on the evening of June 22nd as many as twenty-eight.[4] But at this juncture the French envoy Laon, acting on fresh instructions, informed Cardinal Luynes that Louis XV. would never be reconciled to such an election.[5] The attitude of the French was consequently quite equivocal, and on making known their decision to Corsini and Portocarrero they had to submit to an accusation of bad faith. In spite of the French objection, the Spanish Cardinal mustered all Cavalchini's supporters and was able to dispose of at least thirty-three of the forty-three votes. Luynes, more at a loss than ever and unfamiliar with the methods of procedure in the electoral negotiations,[6] now thought that he would have to have recourse to extreme measures: he informed the Cardinal Dean D'Elce of the official veto of his

[1] Bonamici's report of May 27, 1758, in SFORZA, 12.

[2] "*Fu accompagnato da numeroso seguito di popolo dalla di lui casa sino al portico di S. Pietro con continuata acclamazione di volerlo per Papa; cosa che non fu bene intesa dall' universale e che può fargli gran pregiudizio nei scrutinii." (Correr's report of June 10, 1758, *loc. cit.*). Similarly *Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz on June 7, 1758, *loc. cit.*; Bonamici's report of June 10, 1758, in SFORZA, 12.

[3] Correr's *report of June 25, 1758, *loc. cit.*

[4] **Ibid.* (also for what follows).

[5] *Cf.* WAHRMUND, 229.

[6] *Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

Government and asked him to make it public.[1] With this Cavalchini's fate was sealed. "You French must always contradict the Holy Ghost,"[2] was Guadagni's comment on this occasion; and in any case the instructions from Paris had been all against a public exclusion.[3]

Cavalchini received the news of his exclusion from his friend Lante. Falling on his knees, he thanked God for the turn of events and on the following morning he paid visits to all his colleagues, the French in particular, to thank them.[4] Nevertheless the French thought it necessary to send a messenger with a justification for the step they had taken. It was the last public exclusion of the eighteenth century and the only one that was ever exercised by the French.[5] The reason for the disapproval of Cavalchini was his attitude in the beatification of Bellarmine and in matters connected with the Constitution *Unigenitus*.[6] The public use of the exclusion was looked on as a gaucherie by the conclave and damaged

[1] *Draft for the Giornale del conclave del 1758, *loc. cit.*; *Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz on June 24, 1758, *loc. cit.*, used by WAHRMUND, 325.

[2] PETRUCELLI, IV., 154 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XV., 6. *Cf.* Apg, 7, 51.

[3] Instruction for Cardinal Rodt, May 30, 1758, in WAHRMUND, 326. "*In somma l'esclusiva è una pistola che scarigata non può ammazzare che uno al più, ma tenendola sempre carica colla semplice minaccia e col farla sol vedere produce tutti quei buoni effetti che si vi vogliono, tanto più che vi sono tant' altri mezzi men'estremi prima di venire a questo e che li voti dell' esclusiva sono facili a ritrovarsi in ogni cardinale che ha la pretenzione al papato, pochi de' quali ne vanno esenti da questa brama." Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

[4] Detailed description in Brunati's *report of June 24, 1758, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Bonamici's report of the same day, in SFORZA, 13.

[5] WAHRMUND, 228; EISLER, 186; LECTOR, 567 *seq.*; MOSCHETTI, 12.

[6] *Rodt to Maria Theresa, July 27, 1758, State Archives, Vienna; Brunati's *report, June 24, 1758, *loc. cit.*; Correr's *report, July 1, 1758, *ibid.* "*Excluyeron [los cardenales franceses] á Cavalchini como uno de los más afectos á las maximas de la Compañía [de Jesús], que es objecto de suma importancia en la

the reputation of the French [1]; in any case it was unnecessary, as the Imperial desire was also opposed to Cavalchini's candidature, though with the definite stipulation that a public exclusion was to be avoided, even in an emergency.[2]

On Thursday, June 29th, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Cardinal Rodt, awaited by the whole college in a fever of impatience [3] and acclaimed by huge crowds of people, finally entered the conclave.[4] As a Minister serving two sovereigns he laid claim to having a double right of exclusion. It was firmly believed by many that in a few days he would bring the electoral contest to an end,[5] and indeed the end was soon to come.

Meanwhile canvassing for fresh candidates had been taking place: the French and Corsini were working for Crescenzi, Portocarrero for Paolucci.[6] The former was given up because

actual situación de las cosas internas de estere yno." Masones to R. Wall, Paris, July 15, 1758, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4535.

[1] *Cf.* Clerici's *report to the Emperor, July 6, 1758: "I cardinali Luynes e Gesvres hanno persa tutta la confidenza e questi due col cardinale Prospero Colonna fanno poca figura ed il modo loro di trattare non sembra convenevole" (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* *report of June 22, 1758, probably by Brunati, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Rodt's instruction in WAHRMUND, 326.

[3] *Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz, June 24, 1758, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Brunati to the same, June 28 and July 1, 1758, *ibid.*; Clemente's *report to R. Wall, June 29, 1758, Archives of Simancas; Bonamici's report of July 1, 1758, in SFORZA, 14. *Cf.* MOSCHETTI, 13.

[5] Correr's *report of July 1, 1758: "Egli intende di valersi di due esclusive stante che è ministro di due sovrani, de' quali è riconosciuta particolarmente in questa corte la loro distinta sovranità." Cod. 261 of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[6] Brunati's *report to Colloredo and Kaunitz, July 1, 1758, *loc. cit.* Paolucci was a nephew of the deceased Cardinal Paolucci, who was the victim of the Imperial exclusion in 1721. See PASTOR,

the instruction from Vienna, though assenting to him, preferred Sagripanti or Paolucci. But these recommendations also failed on account of the various misgivings of the French,[1] who put forward four other names: Bardi, Tempi, Lante, and Imperiali. None of these met with the approval of Corsini and Rodt. The latter now entered into direct negotiations with Spinelli, and Rezzonico was agreed on, though as a Venetian he was not likely to be received with universal enthusiasm.[2]

It was found possible, however, to win over several Cardinals to his cause, though difficulties were raised by Albani, Portocarrero, and the French. His election was already held to be assured when on July 4th, contrary to expectation, only four votes were cast for him[3]; and proportionately more were given to Crescenzi. The representatives of France and Spain announced with regret that they would have to withdraw their assent. Canvassing for Rezzonico was resumed with vigour and soon produced visible success. The French again became almost desperate and turned to Laon for directions. His answer was that if no exclusion by means of votes could be obtained they would have to give way.[4] With this the chief obstacle was overcome and the election as good as settled.

When Rodt conveyed the information to Cardinal Rezzonico he held out long against it and with tears in his eyes protested his unworthiness.[5] At the following scrutiny on the evening of July 6th his supporters had already had the Papal vestments brought to the altar of the Sistina and as

History of the Popes, XXXIV., 15. See also *Varie considerazioni, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Rodt to Maria Theresa, July 27, 1758, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Ibid.* *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 159; MOSCHETTI, 17.

[3] Similarly on July 2, 3, and 5; it was not till the morning of the 6th that eight votes were cast for him, with four more "in accessu". *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 160.

[4] *Giornale della sede vacante di Benedetto XIV., Cod. 14, I., 16, of the Seminary Library, Frascati.

[5] *Rodt to Maria Theresa, July 27, 1758, *loc. cit.*

they entered the chapel they whispered words of encouragement to all the electors.[1] Of the forty-four votes thirty-one were for Rezzonico [2]; his election was therefore decided. At the "adoratio" he thanked Cardinal Rodt with the words: "For all that I am I have you to thank." [3] His friend Lante urged him to appoint Cavalchini Datarius, saying to him: "Remember, Your Holiness, that Cavalchini had thirty-three votes!" [4] The feelings of the Cardinal who had been so unexpectedly elected were shown in the letter he wrote to his brother Aurelio on the same July 6th: "Who would have thought it? My entreaties and protests failed to turn away this immeasurable burden from myself. I am completely bewildered before God and man and feel so oppressed that I am quite beside myself. Commend me to our Lord God; if ever it was necessary it is now. You know my failings; if the others had known they would never have done what has come to pass. I must hope that it is the work of God, for in no way have I taken a hand in a matter which must be all His concern. This is my only consolation. Wherefore prayer and again prayer!" [5]

In memory of the Pope who had raised him to the purple, Rezzonico chose the title of Clement XIII. His native city of Venice [6] and his episcopal city of Padua [7] celebrated his

[1] *Giornale della sede vacante, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 163.

[2] *Rodt to Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, *loc. cit.*; Portocarrero to R. Wall, July 6, 1758, Archives of Simancas; also Bonamici's report of July 8, 1758, in SFORZA, 14. *Cf.* NOVAES, XV., 6; MOSCHETTI, 19.

[3] *Rodt to Maria Theresa, July 27, 1758, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Giornale della sede vacante, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Vita di Clemente XIII.*, 17.

[6] MOSCHETTI, 20 *seqq.* For Venetian satires on the election, see *ibid.*, 26 *seq.* Cf. *Brevi e distinte notizie dell' esaltazione al pontificato di S. Sta Clemente XIII. Rezzonico Veneziano regnante creato il 6 Luglio* 1758 *e di tutto ciò che in segno di pubblica e comune allegrezza è di giorno seguito*, Venezia, 1758.

[7] Racconto delle funzioni sacre e feste fatte dalla città di Padova per l'esaltazione al Sommo Pontificato dell' em. sig.

election as the successor of St. Peter in the most festive manner possible. When it was made known to his mother, who was still alive, the shock of unexpected joy was so great that she died soon afterwards, on July 28th.[1] On the three nights following the election the Venetian embassy in Rome arranged for magnificent illuminations and popular amusements, with music and free wine [2]; similarly on the day of the coronation, July 16th.[3] In a letter of July 10th the Pope thanked the Emperor for Austria's valuable co-operation in his election.[4] On August 6th the new Imperial envoy Clerici was admitted in the most solemn audience.[5]

Rezzonico's election had also an immediate effect on Venetian relations with the Vatican.[6] Already before the

cardinale Carlo Rezzonico suo vescovo che prese il nome di Clemente XIII., Padova (Gonzatti), 1758; GRIMANI, 18; MOSCHETTI, 22. *Cf.* Per la gloriosa esaltazione al Pontificato di N. S. Papa Clemente XIII. festive ed umili dimostrazioni della città di Fano (September 24, 1758), Fano, 1760. For Orsara, see MOSCHETTI, 22.

[1] NOVAES, XV., 3.

[2] MOSCHETTI, 24. For the detailed costs of these celebrations see Correr's *reports in Cod. 261, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] *Clerici to Francis I. on June 22, 1758, in the "Atti dell' ambasciata straordinaria al conclave dell'a. 1758 di s. e. il sig. Generale Marchese Clerici". Cod. 423, *ibid.* For the taking of possession on November 12, see Esattissima relazione della solenne cavalcata fatta dal Palazzo Vaticano alla Basilica Lateranense e di tutte le ceremonie occorse nel Possesso della S^tà di N. S. PP. Clemente XIII., Roma (Cracas), 1758; Storica descrizione formata sul fatto istesso del fausto giorno in cui prese il solenne possesso il S. Pont. Clemente XIII., by GIOV. REFFINI, Roma (Komarek), 1758.

[4] *Copy of the letter in Cod. 423, of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[5] See his *report to the Emperor, August 9, 1758, *ibid.* This contains also notes on his journey (*report of July 6, 1758) and copies of his credentials.

[6] *Cf.* p. 156. This was expected to be an immediate result of

death of Benedict XIV. negotiations had been initiated with the object of repealing the Venetian decree of September 7th, 1754, regarding communication with Rome,[1] but no agreement could be reached. Clement XIII. immediately informed his native city of his elevation [2] and received delighted letters of congratulation from the Doge and the Senate,[3] whereupon he asked [4] that the strained relations with the Curia be put an end to by the repeal of the decree. Under date August 12th it was announced both to Clement XIII. and to the Rectors and Capi of the Republic that on that day, in consideration of the high honour paid to a Venetian Cardinal, the decree was declared to be repealed.[5]

(2)

Carlo Rezzonico, a scion of a family which had moved from Genoa to Venice in 1640 and which had been admitted to the Golden Book of the nobility in 1687,[6] first saw the light of day in the city of the lagoons on March 7th, 1693. His parents, Giambattista Rezzonico and Vittoria Barbarigo, of whom the latter died shortly after her son had been elected Pope,[7] entrusted their ten-year-old Carlo to the Jesuit school in

his election ; see *Giornale della sede vacante, *loc. cit.* ; Clemente's *report to R. Wall, July 6, 1758, Archives of Simancas.

[1] Correr's *report, May 13, 1758, Cod. 261, *loc. cit.*

[2] Text in GRIMANI, 10 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 12 *seqq.*, 15 *seqq.*

[4] Under date August 5, 1758 ; see *Vita di Clemente XIII.*, 25 ; MOSCHETTI, 31 *seq.*

[5] *Clerici to Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, August 13, and to the Emperor, 16 August, 1758, *loc. cit.* ; in both are copies of these decrees (f. 44 *seqq.*). *Cf.* MOSCHETTI, 32 *seq.* The Pope wrote a letter of thanks under date August 19, 1758.

[6] *Clerici's report to Maria Theresa, dated Rome 1758, July 8, State Archives, Vienna ; G. BALLERINI, *Lettera a Msgr. Giov. Batt. Rezzonico sopra l'antica origine della ecc. famiglia Rezzonico della Torre*, Roma, 1768. For the coat of arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, 48.

[7] *Cf.* p. 157.

Bologna. On his return thence to his native country, Carlo studied theology and canon law in the university of Padua. After obtaining his doctorate he entered the academy for noble clerics in Rome in 1714, became a prelate two years later, and after being consecrated priest was sent by Clement XI. as Governatore to Rieti, whence he moved in the same capacity to Fano in 1721.[1]

Called to Rome as a member of the Consulta in 1725, he was made in 1729 Auditor of the Rota for Venice, an office which he filled with great diligence.[2] Already he was acquiring a reputation both for his refined manner and his great piety,[3] so that it was with universal approval that on December 20th, 1737, Carlo Rezzonico was admitted by Clement XII. to the Sacred College.[4] In 1743 he was appointed by Benedict XIV. to the see of Padua, which had been left vacant by the death of Cardinal Ottoboni. His consecration as bishop was performed by the Pope himself in the church of SS. Apostoli.

At Padua Rezzonico devoted himself to his official duties with the greatest conscientiousness, modelling himself on Carlo Borromeo and his predecessor and blood-relation Gregorio Barbarigo. In 1746 he held a diocesan synod. His chief aims were the restoration of church discipline and the training of capable clerics, for which reason he took a keen interest in the enlargement of the seminary. Despite the considerable sum deriving from his own means which was also at his disposal, he was always in want of money, for his liberality was so great that he would give away everything to

[1] GUARNACCI, II., 723; *Vita di Clemente* XIII., 7 *seqq.* (evidence of Nicc. Ant. Giustiniani, episc. Torcell., of October 15, 1716, regarding the conferment of the *prima tonsura*); CARDELLA, VIII., 285; NOVAES, XV., 3 *seqq.*; *Lebensgeschichte aller Kardinäle*, III., Regensburg, 1772, 298 *seqq.*

[2] *Decisiones S. Rotae Romanae coram R. P. D. Carolo Rezzonico*, 3 vols., Romae, 1759. *Cf.* E. CERCHIARI, *Cappellani Papae et Ap. Sedis auditores seu S. Rom. Rota*, II., Romae, 1920, 226 *seq.*

[3] B. MOROSINI, *Relazione di Roma 1737*, Venezia, 1864, 24.

[4] *Report of Mgr. Harrach, December 21, 1737, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; GUARNACCI, II., 726.

the poor, down to the clothes off his back. All the Paduans spoke of him as the Saint.[1] In Rome too he commanded the greatest respect. Though the diplomats estimated his talent as only moderate, they freely recognized his straightforward conduct, his affability, his devotion to duty, and his lofty ideals.[2] Cardinal Rezzonico, opined the Spanish ambassador in 1754, is strictly ecclesiastically minded; his skilfulness greatly contributed to the settlement of the Aquileia controversy.[3]

His contemporaries describe the sixty-five-year-old Pope as of medium height, with a marked tendency to corpulence, of fresh complexion, but already almost entirely bald and somewhat bowed.[4] His demeanour betokened a mild and gentle temperament.[5] The foundation of his character was

[1] " *Vive nel suo vescovato di Padova con santa esemplarità," wrote Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz on May 6, 1758 (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf. Vita di Clemente XIII.*, 10 *seqq.*, and the special works on Padua listed in GAMS, 799. *Records of Rezzonico's episcopal activity, his visitations and benefactions, his work for the cathedral and the diocesan seminary are in the Archives of the Curia and in the Chapter Archives in Padua.

[2] " *Il card. Rezzonico, creatura di Clemente XII. di 64 anni, sano e di buona complessione. Questi ha per se il cuore di tutta Roma, è di talento mediocre, ma di costumi ottimi, affabile, applicato a' suoi doveri, pieno di sentimenti di onestà e di santità " (Brunati to Colloredo and Kaunitz, May 6, 1758, *loc. cit.*). In a *memorandum for a conclave, probably composed in 1757, Rezzonico is described as a " uomo dabbene e zelante, di mente e capacità molto ristretta ". Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] " *Zelante eclesiastico y con la comision de su republica contribuyó mucho por su prudencia al acuerdo de Aquileja." Portocarrero to R. Wall, September 12, 1754, Archives of Simancas.

[4] See the Lucchese report in SFORZA, 14.

[5] A portrait of Clement XIII. as Cardinal (engraving by Hier. Rossi) in GUARNACCI, II., 723. Goethe (*Italienische Reise*, ed. Schuchardt, I., 556) praises the portrait of Clement XIII. by R. Mengs as the most splendid picture painted by the master; it was then in the ownership of the senator Prince Rezzonico

a deep-seated piety and extreme benevolence. He could justly call himself Clement, for his mildness knew no bounds—except where the rights of the Church were involved. He accorded favours easily and gladly but it was only in the most urgent cases that he dispensed from the precepts of the Church.[1] Nothing was so dear to him as the maintenance of

and is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. Another portrait by Mengs, painted shortly after 1758, is in the Pinacoteca in Bologna. A third, probably unfinished and completed by a later hand, is in the Stockholm Museum (*cf.* Voss, *Malerei*, 658, 660). A portrait of the Pope by Batoni, with another by another artist, is in the Bishop's Palace in Chur or Coire (the Bishop of Coire at that time, Johann Anton von Federspiel, was a friend of Clement XIII.). Another portrait is in S. Niccolò at Bari. The portrait by I. d. Porta is reproduced in SEIDLITZ, *Allg. hist. Porträtwerk*, I., Munich, 1884, and in VOGEL, *Goethes röm. Tage*, 80, copied from an engraving by Camillo Tinti. A good portrait by an unknown painter is in the Galleria in Venice (Sala XIII.). There is a portrait of Clement XIII., almost full figure, seated, with his hand raised in blessing, engraved, according to the signature, by J. B. Piranesi and D. Cunego (according to Focillon [74] probably by Cunego alone). Other engravings are listed in the catalogue of the Ritratti ital. d. Raccolta Cicognara-Morbio, 54, published by C. Lang in Rome. A bronze bust of Clement XIII. is in the sacristy of the Lateran. The busts of Clement XIII. made in 1762 by Bracci, one for the Pope, the other for Cardinal Rezzonico, have disappeared; see DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 57. Medallions with his portrait in relief are in the refectory of SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini. The statue on Clement XIII.'s tomb in St. Peter's, by Canova, is a fine work. His episcopal city of Padua possesses a statue on the Prato della Valle, two busts in the cathedral and in the large parterre room of the episcopal residence, and a portrait in the Sagrestia Maggiore dei Canonici. Other busts of Clement XIII. are in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome and in the Palazzo Comunale in Ancona (by Varlè). The treasury of St. Peter's possesses a mosaic palliotto of Clement XIII. (see *Annuaire pontif.*, 1913, 564). His rich vestments in Padua Cathedral were exhibited at the Eucharistic Congress in Venice in 1897.

[1] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 514.

clerical discipline.[1] Cordara, who knew him intimately, wrote of him: "He had all the virtues which could grace a prince and a Pope. He was naturally kind-hearted, generous, candid, and truthful, abhorring any kind of dissembling or exaggeration. He had a lively mind, great powers of endurance, and an indefatigable capacity for work. It was easy to gain admittance to him; his conversation was kind but not unmeasured; pride and contempt for others was utterly foreign to his nature. Although destiny allotted him the highest dignity, he succeeded in preserving a marked condescension and meekness." [2]

But besides these laudable qualities Cordara does not omit to mention Clement XIII.'s chief failings: his indulgence—which, as he says, is of harm to a ruler when excessive—and his great lack of self-confidence. Of extreme timidity and conscientiousness, he was most indecisive and never dared to take anything on himself; consequently he listened far too much to the advice of others.[3] He was thus abnormally dependent on his entourage. At the very beginning of his reign Cardinals Spinelli and Archinto exerted an immoderate influence over him. Spinelli had been very closely connected with him before, and Archinto was confirmed by him in the important position of Secretary of State. Neither Cardinal was favourably inclined towards the Jesuits, and their influence prevented him, friendly to the Society though he was, from taking the firm stand in Portugal that Pombal's unscrupulous procedure necessitated.[4]

As for the distribution of offices, the Maggiordomo Marcantonio Colonna, like Benedict XIV.'s Secretary of State, was left at his post, which he relinquished on September 24th, 1759, the day of his admission into the Sacred College. Antonio Maria Erba Odescalchi became Maestro di Camera, Cardinal

[1] See the Lucchese report in SFORZA, 15.

[2] Cordara in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 33.

[3] CORDARA, *loc. cit.*, 22. Great indecisiveness and dilatoriness were also characteristic of the cardinal-nephew; see SFORZA, 40.

[4] See below, chapter VII.

Cavalchini Prodatarius,[1] the Pope's nephew Carlo Rezzonico Secretary of the Memorials, Andrea Negroni Uditore Santissimo, and Winckelmann's learned friend Michelangelo Giacomelli Secretary of the Latin Briefs.[2]

As early as September 30th, 1758, Cardinal Archinto succumbed to an apoplectic stroke,[3] and in the middle of October the Secretaryship of State was entrusted to Cardinal Luigi Torrigiani,[4] who agreed to accept this responsible position only after the Pope's repeated and earnest requests.[5] With his appointment there took place a complete change of policy, Torrigiani being an exceedingly great friend of the Jesuits.[6]

[1] See above, p. 156.

[2] Albani's *report to Kaunitz, July 8, 1758, State Archives, Vienna. Colonna was succeeded by Giov. Ottavio Bufalini, who, on becoming Cardinal, was followed in 1766 as Maggiordomo by the Pope's nephew, Giov. Batt. Rezzonico; see MORONI, XLI., 271 *seq.* Erba Odescalchi also became Cardinal in 1759, and, in 1766, his successor, Giov. Carlo Boschi, whose post was filled by Scipione Borghese; see MORONI, XLI., 136 *seq.* For Negroni, *cf. ibid.*, LXXII., 203. For Giacomelli, see, besides JUSTI, II., 86 *seqq.*, MORONI, XXX., 200 *seq.*, and FORCELLA, III., 460, VI., 460. The Secretary of the Briefs was first Gaetano Amato (*Epist. I., II., Papal Secret Archives), then Toma Emaldi (*ibid.*, II., III., IV.), and, from the fifth year of the pontificate till its end, Giacomelli.

[3] *Rodt to Colloredo and Kaunitz, October 13, 1758, State Archives, Vienna; SFORZA, 16. Tombstone in S. Lorenzo in Damaso; see FORCELLA, V., 212.

[4] L. Torrigiani had been raised to the purple by Benedict XIV. in 1753 (see Vol. XXXV., 343). He died at the beginning of 1777. His family came from Lamporecchio, on the west slope of the Pistoian Hills. Portrait of Torrigiani in TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 227. For the archives of the Torrigiani family, see D. MARZI in the *Atti d. Congresso Storico di Roma*, 1903, III., 383 *seqq.*

[5] See the Lucchese report in SFORZA, 17. For the satisfaction of the Imperial court with his appointment, see Colloredo's *report to Albani, November 6, 1758, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[6] CORDARA, *loc. cit.*, 25.

Capable and talented, as even his bitterest opponents acknowledged,[1] serious, diligent, and energetic, he acquired an influence over the Pope that was increased by the fact that,

[1] "Torrigiani, forse il peggiore, ancorchè di molto talento," says the anti-Jesuit **Vita di Clemente XIII.* in Cod. 41, A 5 of the Bibl. Corsini, Rome. In the above-mentioned *Memorandum for the Conclave he is described as "Uomo di talento e di molta capacità. Di naturale però forte ed amico della sua opinione. Un tal sogetto è stato con ogni sforzo promosso al cardinalato dalli pressanti offici del card. Valenti" (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Cf.* also the judgments of him in the *report of Cardinal Portocarrero to R. Wall, September 12, 1754 (Archives of Simancas) and of the Lucchese envoy in SFORZA, 17. — In a *fragmentary document of 1769, which contains information about thirty Italian Cardinals, Torrigiani is described as a "Uomo giusto, di proposito costante, de' molti talenti, faticatore instancabile, incorrotto, e pulito di cuore e di mano. Due sono l'eccezioni, che se li danno: una il fidarsi troppo di se stesso, e disprezzare gli altrui sentimenti, e il voler far tutto da sè, perchè crede niuno poter far meglio di lui, l'altra di essere soverchiamente attaccato all' interesse. Si attribuiscono a lui tutte le disgrazie del pontificato, le male soddisfazioni dei Sovrani, l'ostinata difesa dei gesuiti. Ma si vuol dir delle persone il bene ancora, quando se ne scuoprono i difetti. Molte cose sono state addossate al Ministro, che [sono] state parte del Padrone. Di molti fatti è stato esecutore, non promotore. Il suo disinteresse apparisce nel rifiuto delle cariche più ambite, come della Cancelleria e del Camerlingato; erano ambedue le sue se le avesse volute; gran temperanza è stata lo averle rifiutate ed aver anche rinunciato la Segretaria di Stato costretto quasi a forza a riassumerla. Ha sempre rifiutato donativi. Sanno i parrochi di Roma le somme considerabili da lui somministrate per doti di fanciulle e per soccorso de' miserabili. Sanno le badie le profuse somministrazioni di frumento da lui ordinate negli anni di penuria. Se poi avesse doti sufficienti per la carica, che ha sostenuta, non glielo accordan coloro che desiderano una più profonda cognizione del diritto pubblico, delle massime delle Corti, delle relazioni che ha ciascuna con Roma, dell' origine, e progressi del dominio, e giurisdizione della Sede Apostolica, dei mezzi di conservarla in quello stato in cui si è trovata. Egli governerà nel conclave i Rezzonici, e

contrary to all expectation,[1] the Pope's nephew, Carlo Rezzonico, created Cardinal on September 11th, 1758, held himself completely aloof from public affairs and lived only for his duties as Secretary of the Memorials and for pious exercises.[2]

Cardinal Torrigiani, as is admitted even by diplomats who were inimically inclined towards him, was well able to control himself, so that he maintained complete composure even in the most difficult situations.[3] With all his friendship for the

continuerà nel partito gesuitico, in cui è entrato non per corruttela di volontà, ma per errore di mente" (State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnes. 1504). *Cf.* *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge of Venice, January 3, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286. MERENDA (**Memorie*, f. 135 *seq.*) calls Torrigiani a "huomo di spirito e di talento, capacità e sufficiente dottrina, risoluto et autoritativo". Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

[1] Card. Rodt, in a *letter to Maria Theresa, August 2, 1758, gave it as his opinion that the nephew would be given charge of most of the business affairs. State Archives, Vienna.

[2] SFORZA, 17; RENAZZI, IV., 240. *Cf.* Adunanza degli Arcadi per l'esaltazione alla dignità di senatore di Roma di S. E. il s. d. Abondio Rezzonico nipote di Clemente XIII., Roma, 1766. Cardinal Rezzonico's tomb with an excellent portrait of him is in the Santa Croce chapel in the Lateran.

[3] *Cf.* the *report of Manuel de Roda y Arrieta to R. Wall, May 26, 1763 (Archives of Simancas), on his conversation with Torrigiani; the report shows that JUSTI (III.[2], 13) trusts too hastily a partisan of the type of Tanucci, who calls the Cardinal as "feroce" as Boniface VIII., rough, and insolent. In the course of the conflict about the Jesuits there were violent altercations between Torrigiani and the diplomats; the latter speak of the Cardinal's "outbursts of rage" but he is not to be blamed therefor without further examination. Of Torrigiani's self-control during the dispute about the non-acceptance of the Brief dealing with the Spanish pragmatic (PASTOR, XXXVI., Ch. I.), Manuel de Roda y Arrieta sets down the following carefully-considered description in the above-mentioned *letter of May 26, 1763: "Ni entonces ni en todo mi anterior discurso, que durò cerca de una hora, me interrumpiò, replicò ni hablò una palabra, me oyò con suma atención y solo pude notar en las mutationes

Jesuits, he wanted to keep himself independent in his position and for this reason did not choose a Jesuit as confessor.[1] For a long time yet he had to share his influence over the Pope with Spinelli, who persisted in his anti-Jesuit attitude until he died on April 11th, 1763, and who on this account had far less weight with the Pope towards the end of his life than at first.[2] As previously in temporal,[3] so now also in spiritual affairs Torrigiani became the determining personality. Convinced that a grave injustice was being done to the Jesuits and that the ultimate intention of their enemies in striking at them was to strike at the Holy See, Torrigiani intervened in their behalf with the greatest resolution. Naturally this drew on him the hatred of every enemy of the Society. The lengths to which this hatred went may be seen from the scurrilous pamphlets which under the screen of anonymity painted the blackest picture of his character.[4] His letters to the nuncios,

del semblante y color de su rostro la agitación que padecía en su ánimo. . . . En tan larga sesión de tan poco gusto para el cardenal y tan contraria a su genio sobre no haverme quedado escrúpulo de haver omitido reflexión ni specie alguna que pudiera conducir al honor del Rey y a la prueba del error, que havian cometido en remitirle semejante Breve, tengo la satisfación de que haviendolo hecho conocer y retratar, no me diò el menor motivo de queja ni resentimiento, antes bien se excediò con la urbanidad, atención y cortesía."

[1] Report of the Lucchese envoy, December 9, 1758, in SFORZA, 17.

[2] See Brunati's *letters to Colloredo, April 23 and 24, 1763, *loc. cit.*, and the reports of the Lucchese envoy in SFORZA, 29, 32.

[3] See our account, Vol. XXXV, 343.

[4] One of the most violently abusive writings bears the title *Carattere di Clemente XIII. e di vari altri personaggi di Roma, 1766, Cod. 41, A 5, red pagination 47 *seqq.*, Bibl. Corsini, Rome. Widely disseminated (other copies: Cod. Z 6, p. 15 *seqq.*, of the Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, also Cod. 8430, in the British Museum, London, in the Fondo Gesuit. 196, p. 348 *seqq.*, of the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, and in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, here dated June 1766), this bungled work, a hotchpotch of truth and error, has long determined the

however, provide a splendid justification of the Cardinal, who, acting entirely on his convictions, considered it his duty to defend as actively as possible the rights of the Church and the Holy See and their most loyal supporters, the Jesuits.

To the Pope Torrigiani was faithfully devoted; when the Head of the Church held views which did not coincide with his own, he willingly deferred to his.[1] In spite of all the hostility shown towards him he maintained his dominant position throughout the Pontificate.[2] This was made easier for him by the fact that the Pope's health was not of the best.

opinion of historians. Even RANKE (III., 134, note 2) founded his delineations of character on this partisan publication. DENGEL, on the other hand (*Garampi*, 84, note 4), had already justly observed that the work of so fierce an enemy of Torrigiani as this anonymous writer was, should be used with caution. Filled with an anti-clerical spirit, the author scoffs in the most indecent manner at the piety of the cardinal-nephew Rezzonico and covers Torrigiani with reproaches, abuse, and slanders. That Torrigiani, in spite of his great influence, always deferred to the Pope in the last instance is testified by Garampi (DENGEL, *Garampi*, 84, n. 5); for the fact that he did not offend the diplomats with his violence and abruptness, see above, p. 165, n. 3; that the Cardinal was not so selfish as the author would have us believe is shown by the fact that he persistently refused to take over the post of Camerlengo, though this was compatible with the Secretaryship of State (see Brunati's *report to Colloredo, June 22, 1763, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* above, p. 164, n. 1). The cause of the anonymous pamphleteer's hatred, who repeats the slanders circulated by Almada (see our description, Vol. XXXVII., Chap. I), was Torrigiani's championship of the Jesuits, which was also the reason why the rest of Clement XIII.'s entourage was abused. Thus: "Il confessore Msgr. Adeodato Barcali [the parish priest of S. Biagio della Pagnotta] regola la conscienza del Papa da vero terziario professo della venerabile società." Torrigiani's part in improving the Campagna is praised by the expert Tomassetti (II., 227).

[1] *Cf.* above.

[2] Torrigiani's intention to resign, reported by *Albani to Colloredo on January 2, 1762 (State Archives, Vienna), was not realized.

Already in 1759 he was subject to repeated attacks of fever, and on June 3rd, on the advice of his physicians, he went to stay for a while at Castel Gandolfo.[1] The change of air had such salutary results [2] that in the following years the beautiful residence above the Lake of Albano was regularly occupied by the Pope in May and October. During these vacations the slackening in the conduct of affairs was so slight that it might be said that the Holy Father had only changed his location; Cardinals, envoys, and secretaries of Congregations were received at Castel Gandolfo as in Rome. Daily in his leisure hours the Pope visited the Blessed Sacrament in one of the outlying churches, at the same time distributing generous alms to the poor.[3] In the spring of 1762 he changed his country residence to Civitavecchia. Here too he was generous in his almsgiving and visited the hospital. A trip to Corneto he utilized for a visit to the prisoners there. At Civitavecchia he made presents also to the convicts in the galleys and gave orders for the erection of a hospital for sick women and orphans.[4]

At the beginning of the year 1763 the Pope was afflicted with eye-trouble. His increasing corpulence was even then giving rise to the fear that he would not be long-lived,[5] and in 1765 it seemed that this would be verified. On the evening of August 19th he was visiting, as was his daily custom,[6] the Blessed Sacrament in the church of S. Rocco. Here the plethoric and corpulent Pope was seized with so severe an attack of faintness that he was in immediate danger of death and was given the Sacraments for the dying. He quickly recovered,

[1] Novaes, XV., 19 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the *report of Cardinal Portocarrero to R. Wall, June 28, 1759, Archives of Simancas.

[3] Novaes, XV., 20, 68 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 64 *seqq.*; Guglielmotti, *Ultimi fatti*, 187.

[5] Brunati's *report to Kaunitz, January 3, 1763, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] *Reports of Manuel de Roda y Arrieta, January 14 and March 18, 1762, Archives of Simancas.

however, and after only two days the supplicatory prayers that had been ordered in the churches could be changed into thanksgivings.[1] In spite of the assurances of the physicians it was thought by many at this time that the Pope would not recover. The Government in Madrid instructed its representative to report on the members of the Sacred College, so that it might be prepared in the event of a conclave.[2] On the night of December 14th the Pope had a similar attack of faintness, but not so serious ; though an improvement followed rapidly after a blood-letting, the doctors were again uneasy. It being a question of apoplectic attacks, they feared that the Pope would die suddenly.[3] The diplomats busied themselves more than ever with a possible conclave.[4] Not the

[1] Gentile's *report to Colloredo, August 21, 1765, State Archives, Vienna ; *Letter from Tomas Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 22, 1765 : " El lunes salió el Papa las cinco y media de la tarde, como acostumbra, a visitar las 40 horas, que estaban en la iglesia de S. Roque, donde estuvo cerca de tres quartos de horas en oración. Bolvió a su palacio y al salir la escalera sintió un afan al pecho que despreció por entonces, pero se fue aumentando tan aceleradamente que lo puso a las puertas de la muerte de cuyo riesgo está no solo libre gracias a Dios si que se halla tan mejorado que los medicos aseguran haver recobrado la salud " (Archives of Simancas). *Cf.* also SFORZA, 39.

[2] Azpuru's *letter, September 26, 1765, *loc. cit.*

[3] Albani's *report, December 18, 1765, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican ; Azpuru's *report, December 19, 1765, *loc. cit.* Torrigiani *wrote in cipher on December 14 to the nuncio Pamfili in Paris : " La notte di sabato 14 del corrente alle ore 6 1/2 fu sorpreso N. S. da un insulto di sangue simile a quello che soffrì nell' agosto passato. Fu per altro assai più breve e leggiero, poichè nè perdè mai l'uso di tutti i sentimenti." Nunziat. di Francia, 453. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Albani sent a *report on the conclave on January 25, 1766, the condition of the Pope being " minacevole " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). Azpuru had already sent his *report on October 24, 1765 ; with his *letter of December 5, 1765, he promised to send further news of the Cardinals in accordance with the king's wish (*loc. cit.*). The preparations and negotiations

least of the reasons why Clement XIII. lived on for many years in spite of these ominous symptoms and the mental disturbances occasioned by the times is that he finally decided to take plenty of outdoor exercise. He would not abandon his evening visits to churches but in the mornings he was to be seen diligently taking a walk in one or other of the splendid villas of Rome.[1]

(3)

Nothing was dearer to the heart of Clement XIII., writes Cordara in his character sketch of the Pope, than the welfare of his people.[2] How justified this opinion is, is shown by the steps taken by the Pope in the distressing years of 1763 and 1764.[3] A great drought had caused a failure of the crops, so that the whole of Italy, especially its southern parts, was suffering from a rise in prices and from famine. Clement XIII. did everything possible to alleviate the distress. For the support of the parishes a new "Monte", "dell'Abbondanza," was instituted in September 1763.[4] The Pope's solicitude for the provision of oil, one of Rome's staple commodities, is still commemorated by an inscription on the oil stores in the Piazza delle Terme.[5] The unfavourable weather that set in at the beginning of the year 1764 made it impossible for work in the fields to begin at the proper time. From all parts of the Papal States, also from Tuscany and Naples,[6] there streamed into

anent the conclave went on in 1766; see Azpuru's *reports of February 6 and 13, March 13, and April 3, 1766, *ibid.* The Pope felt unwell again at the veneration of the newly beatified Simon de Roxas, whereupon he was bled (Azpuru's *report, May 22, 1766, *ibid.*).

[1] Azpuru's *reports of October 13, 20, and 27, 1768, *loc. cit.*

[2] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 514.

[3] *Cf.* [Campelli], *Penuria de' grani* 1763/64, Roma, 1783.

[4] NOVAES, XV., 77.

[5] DE CUPIS, 319. *Cf.* NOVAES, XV., 107.

[6] **Vita di Clemente XIII.*, in Cod. 41, A 5, of the Bibl. Corsini, Rome; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ultimi fatti*, 189.

Rome needy folk, the accommodation and feeding of whom was no easy task. The Pope displayed unflagging energy in rescuing thousands of starving people. A special Congregation of Cardinals deliberated with the Secretary of State on the measures to be taken.[1] In March the situation in Rome was so critical that it was feared there would be an outbreak of famine such as was already ravaging Naples.[2] To avert it an intercessory procession was held at the beginning of April.[3] The Pope tried to obtain corn from outside the country, to save those who were starving, but France refused to allow its export.[4] When it was finally possible to obtain grain from various sources,[5] a price double that of the previous year had to be paid.[6] There was no other course but to break into the treasure of Sixtus V. in the Castel S. Angelo, so that grain might be bought at any price, even the highest. Half a million *scudi* were taken from the treasure,[7] but as this did not suffice, in August the same taxes had to be imposed for one year on Rome and its environs as had been prescribed by Benedict

[1] *Report of Manuel de Roda y Arrieta, March 8, 1764, *loc. cit.* On April 5, 1764, he *reported (*ibid.*) that the Pope had been deeply affected by the calamities; he was praying assiduously, he had celebrated personally in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel, and he was taking every possible step against want and the rising cost of bread. *Cf.* NOVAES, XV., 79.

[2] *Brunati to Colloredo, March 17, 1764 (*loc. cit.*): "La penuria e carestia di pane in questo stato e dentro Roma è arrivata a un segno, che, non ostante le più provide diligenze, si teme che si possa restare senza grano prima della nuova raccolta." In Naples the people were already dying of hunger. *Cf. Riv. stor.*, 1915, 12.

[3] *Cifra al Nunzio di Francia, April 4, 1764, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* SFORZA, 33.

[4] Lucchese report, April 21, 1764, in SFORZA, 34.

[5] It came especially from Sardinia and Piedmont; see the *Brief of thanks to King Carlo Emanuele of Sardinia, April 21, 1764, Epist. VI., Papal Secret Archives.

[6] **Vita di Clemente XIII.*, *loc. cit.*

[7] Brunati's *report to Colloredo, April 11, 1764, *loc. cit.*

XIV. in 1743 in a like situation.[1] Even adversaries of the Papacy admit that the Papal Government did all that was possible in those days to relieve the terrible distress. It is not surprising that the effort was not completely successful, for credit had been shaken and the means at the disposal of the Papacy were limited; moreover, the necessary economic knowledge was lacking at that time, so that in taking action against high prices errors were inevitable. In addition, some of the Governors were so wanting in conscience as themselves to speculate in grain—a practice forbidden to landlords and merchants—and thus to increase their own personal fortunes.[2]

At first the poor had been housed at S. Teodoro's and in the Borgo S. Angelo; afterwards the Pope had shelters built for the men in the Baths of Diocletian, for the women and children at S. Anastasia's. The spiritual care of the former was entrusted to the Jesuits, that of the latter to secular priests. In this manner 8,000 needy Romans were provided for until the end of May, when work in the fields could at last be begun; on leaving the shelters all were given alms in the form of food and money. Those living outside Rome, who were said to have numbered 6,000,[3] received similar treatment on their departure. On Whitsunday, June 11th, 1764, the Pope held a procession to give thanks to Heaven for the ending of the tribulations.[4]

In order not to be entirely dependent on other countries in the future, Clement XIII. sought, from 1765 onwards, to compel the large landed proprietors in the Roman Campagna to undertake a more intensive cultivation of grain, but the ting of *latifundia* owners was too strong for this plan to be carried out.[5] The lack of grain in the summer of 1766 [6] had to

[1] Novaes, XV., 83.
[2] Brosch, II., 123.
[3] Novaes, XV., 79–82.
[4] *Ibid.*, 79 *seqq.*
[5] De Cupis, 321; Benigni, 87.
[6] Azpuru's *reports to Grimaldi, July 31, August 7, 21, and 28, 1766, Archives of Simancas.

be remedied by imports from outside, the cost, half a million *scudi*, again being met from the treasure of Sixtus V.[1] In 1767 the ordinance of Benedict XIV. by which gleaning was declared to be permissible to the utterly necessitous, was extended to all the provinces of the Papal States.[2]

The Pope had already given proof of his great charity both before his election, when he was a member of the Congregation of Trinità de' Pellegrini,[3] and in the first year of his reign, when he distributed food[4] and handed over to the poor a present from his brother of 10,000 *scudi*.[5] He also showed his kindheartedness on his first visit to the hospital of S. Giacomo, where he personally attended the sick and took so loving an interest in the most repugnant cases that all were moved to tears.[6] It must be admitted, however, that the Pope's benignity had one drawback: justice was administered far too leniently. Not only in Rome, where the numerous places of refuge made it particularly difficult to arrest wrongdoers, but elsewhere also there was great insecurity,[7] and crimes abounded. The criminal registers show that during the eleven years of the reign of Clement XIII., 10,000 murders were committed, of which 4,000 took place in the Eternal City.[8]

The population of the Papal States in 1768 was 2,036,747, Rome claiming 158,906. Since 1736 the population of the provinces had increased by 190,519, that of the capital by only 8,257.[9]

[1] Azpuru's *report, August 7, 1764, *ibid.*; Lucchese report, in SFORZA, 47.

[2] DE CUPIS, 322 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 152.

[3] FORCELLA, VII., 223.

[4] NOVAES, XV., 16.

[5] SFORZA, 15.

[6] *Ibid.* For the patronage of the Hospital of S. Spirito, see FORCELLA, VI., 455.

[7] For the decree against the bandits in the Campagna, see NOVAES, XV., 57.

[8] *Ibid.*, XVI., 1, 27.

[9] CORRIDORE, *Popolazione*, 24. Two works of importance for the knowledge of the Eternal City and its art treasures were

Very serious thought was given by Clement XIII. to the difficult problem of regulating the areas under water in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna.[1] He also contemplated draining the Pontine Marshes. This latter project he had been considering since 1759, and in October 1760 it was decided to put it into execution.[2] It was at this time that the famous astronomer Lalande, a witness beyond suspicion, expressed his admiration for the Pope who was so deeply devoted to the welfare of his people. In the course of an audience Lalande was asked by Clement for information on some technical questions. "I took the liberty of remarking," relates Lalande, "that the draining of the Pontine Marshes would be the glory of his reign, whereupon Clement XIII., raising his hands to heaven and almost weeping, said to me, 'It is not glory that We seek but the good of Our people'."[3]

The report of the president of the Province of Marittima and Campagna, Emmerich Bolognini, who had made the necessary study of the marshland with the assistance of the surveyor Angelo Sani, was ready in 1759, but the old difficulties

published in 1763: R. VENUTI, *Descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma*, 4 vols., and F. TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma*. Most widely circulated was the guide by G. Vasi, who with his fine views was a forerunner of Piranesi (see JUSTI, II., 110, and SULGER-GEBING in the *Goethejahrbuch*, XVIII., Frankfurt, 1897, 220 *seq.*). For the condition of the Catacombs at this period, see *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1911, 105 *seqq.*

[1] ANT. LECCHI d. C. d. G., *Piano per l'inalveazione delle acque danneggianti il Bolognese, il Ferrarese e il Ravennate, formato per ordine di P. Clemente XIII. dal P. Lecchi e dagli architetti T. Temanza e G. Verace*, Roma, 1767. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma, of October 5, 1760, Cod. ital. 554, of the State Library, Munich. See also LOMBARDI, II., 282. A *letter of Brunati's, March, 5, 1763, emphasizes the difficulty of the undertaking: "opera di così difficile riuscita come sarà ancor quella che si sta per intraprendere sul Reno di Bologna e di Ferrara." State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Avviso, October 24, 1760, *loc. cit.*

[3] BENIGNI, 87.

hindered its execution. Clement, however, was not to be deterred; by a Motu Proprio of 1762 he announced that the project was to be carried out at the cost of the Camera. Its superintendence was entrusted to Cardinal Cenci, but his sudden death on March 2nd, 1763, brought about a stoppage lasting till November 28th, when his place was taken by Cardinal Bonaccorsi. Like those that preceded it, this plan too was wrecked by the opposition of the Gaetani and the commune of Sezze,[1] and in any case the means available would have been inadequate.

At the very beginning of Clement XIII.'s reign the financial situation caused such grave anxiety that the Cardinals were requested to formulate proposals for its relief.[2] But all deliberations proved useless. A harsh light was thrown on the situation by a report made in April 1764. According to this, the State debt amounted then to over 70 million *scudi*. It was impossible to raise the interest on this sum, the income amounting to only two to three million *scudi*, and, unlike other States, no help was to be had from agriculture or trade.[3] In these circumstances there was nothing for it but to make further inroads on the treasure of Sixtus V., though its reimbursement was assured. On the occasion of the first withdrawal of half a million *scudi* repayment was promised by the Pope in a consistory held on April 9th, 1764.[4] On his continuing on this course in 1766 many Cardinals in Rome expressed their dissatisfaction,[5] which was manifested par-

[1] *Cf.* the Lucchese reports in SFORZA, 24, 29, 30, 31, 37; BENIGNI, 87.

[2] Cod. Vat. 9724 contains numerous *memoranda dating from 1758/59 from Cardinals and prelates, including one from Ganganelli about the liquidation of the debts (Vatican Library). For the financial situation, see MORONI, LXXIV., 313 *seq.*

[3] Brunati's *report to Colloredo, April 11, 1764, *loc. cit.* For the encouragement given to a new branch of industry (high-class paper), see NOVAES, XV., 63 *seq.*

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 875.

[5] *Report of an Austrian agent, August 6, 1766, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

ticularly in the consistory of December 22nd, 1766, when for the third time half a million *scudi* had to be taken from the treasure.[1] The opposition was unjustified, seeing that the treasure had been left untouched "until all other means of procuring money had been tried in vain, the floating of a new loan (of 300,000 *scudi*) had proved unsuccessful, and the banks of S. Spirito and Monte di Pietà had been compelled, to the alarm of their depositors, to take up the Government's unwanted loan." [2]

Clearly nothing but a thorough fiscal reform could bring order into the financial situation. Consequently the introduction into the Papal States of a uniform system of customs dues was seriously considered, but the project could not be carried out owing to the impossibility of raising the money to establish customs stations on the frontiers. As a result it was decided at the end of the year 1768 to raise the tax on meal in the Papal States, only Rome and the Campagna being excluded, in the hope of procuring an annual income of 200,000 *scudi* by this means, but this plan too was shattered by the resistance of the people, who, in their complete distrust of the officials, refused to submit to it.[3]

The acuteness of the financial situation may be gauged by the inability to execute such useful schemes as the enlargement of the port of Terracina [4] and the regulation of the mouth of the Tiber at Fiumicino,[5] while for art and learning still less was undertaken.

The most prominent artists in Rome at this period were Raphael Mengs, whom his contemporaries compared with the great Raphael of Urbino, and Giovan Battista Piranesi, the unrivalled engraver.

[1] *Report of December 22, 1766, *ibid.* For the refund of the sums withdrawn, see *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1440 *seq.* (July 17, 1768).

[2] Brosch, II., 125, according to Venetian reports.

[3] *Ibid.*, 125 *seqq.*

[4] Benigni, 87.

[5] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma, March 29, 1760, Cod. ital. 556, of the State Library, Munich.

Mengs painted two masterly portraits of Clement XIII. and was decorated with the high Order of the Golden Spur, but in August 1761 he accepted an invitation to the court of Charles III. in Madrid, whence he did not return to Rome till 1770.[1] Thus it was that the Pope's favour was concentrated on Piranesi, with whom he was already intimate through their both having come from the same part of the country.[2] Piranesi dedicated several of his famous works to his exalted patron, notably, in 1761, his "*Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani*", in 1762 his edition of the *Fasti consolari*, and in 1764 the "*Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*", which resulted from a chance invitation to the Pope's summer residence.[3] In 1767 this master too, who excelled in imparting to the ruins of Rome the charm of a poetic transformation,[4] was honoured by the Pope with enrolment among the Knights of the Golden Spur.[5] Piranesi was also held in high regard

[1] *Cf.* NOACK, 361; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXI., 348 *seqq*. For Mengs' invitation and journey to Madrid, *cf.* the *reports of Manuel de Roda y Arrieta to R. Wall, July 16 and 23, August 6, 13, and 20, 1761, Archives of Simancas. For Maron, Mengs' fellow-lodger, who was afterwards his brother-in-law, see NOACK in the *Österr. Rundschau*, XIV. (1908), 1389 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* FOCILLON, *Piranesi*, 73 *seq.*

[3] A. SAMUEL, *Piranesi*, London, 1910, 202 *seq.*; FOCILLON, 74 *seq.*, 107, 112 *seqq.*; A. HIND, *G. B. Piranesi*, London, 1922, 84 *seqq.* In Castel Gandolfo there are the following memorials of the Pope: inscriptions on a gate (Clemens XIII. Pont. Max. laxata porta mollito clivo amplita via ac strata commodiori accessui consuluit Pont. sui anno III.), in the courtyard (*cf.* GUIDI, *Colli Albani*, 62), and in the church of St. Thomas (inscription of 1763, praising the Pope for having steps made in front of the façade, for having improved the open space in front of them, for having surrounded the altars with marble screens, and for having presented numerous utensils for the celebration of divine service), also frescoes and his coat-of-arms in the diplomats' reception room.

[4] Muñoz calls him "Il poeta delle rovine" (*G. B. Piranesi*, Roma, 1920, 5).

[5] FOCILLON, 118.

by the Pope's nephews: the senator Abbondio, Cardinal Carlo, and the Prior of Malta, Giovan Battista Rezzonico.[1] From his designs chimneypieces and furniture were made for the Palazzo Senatorio and for the residence of the Grand Prior.[2] Giovan Battista Rezzonico also commissioned him with the restoration of the old church of the Order on the Aventine; Piranesi transformed the church and its surroundings into a masterpiece of "romantic classicism".[3] It was here also that the poet of the Roman ruins found his last resting-place.[4]

In St. Peter's Clement XIII. had made the beautiful screen of the Choir Chapel,[5] and he also presented to the basilica the splendid "Paliotto", which had been used for the canonization of Frances de Chantal.[6] For S. Paolo the Pope planned the erection of a new façade, whose design, by Pietro Bracci, is still preserved.[7] The Cappella Paolina in the Quirinal received a tasteful new altar.[8] In the palace a picture gallery was installed, the garden was embellished, and the adjoining

[1] *Ibid.*, 74, 114.

[2] Muñoz, *loc. cit.*, 34.

[3] Tietze in *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen*, 1912, 117, who observes: "Rostra and putti, weapons and sun's rays, ecclesiastical insignia and classical intaglios are here built up into extravagant trophies which more than anything else are forms of decoration of a naturalistic effect." *Cf.* also Nohl, *Skizzenbuch*, 208; Muñoz, 34 *seqq.* Brinckmann (*Baukunst*, 130, 139) notes that it is here that early-Christian and Egyptian motifs are used for the first time. *Cf.* the inscriptions in Forcella, VII., 263.

[4] Piranesi died on November 9, 1778. Forcella, VII., 264.

[5] Mignanti, II., 121. There, too, the Pope's coat-of-arms.

[6] This magnificent work of art is still in the treasury of St. Peter's.

[7] Domarus, *Bracci*, 42.

[8] Moroni, VIII., 140; IX., 169. The altar was to be finished in November 1760; see *Avviso di Roma, October 8, 1760, Cod. ital. 554, of the State Library, Munich. For the bronze-gilt cornucopias holding the great crystal candlesticks with ever-burning lights, affixed in 1768 to the mosaic picture of the Blessed Virgin beneath the palace clock, see Novaes, XV., 145.

building accommodating the Papal officials was enlarged.[1] Many restorations were undertaken in the Vatican.[2] The new oil-store next to S. Maria degli Angeli, of which mention has already been made, was given in 1764 a simple, tasteful gate designed by Bracci.[3] For the "Padri pii operaii" the Pope had a new house built on the Lungara,[4] and the Greek College at S. Anastasio owes its enlargement to him.[5]

Niccolò Salvi having died in 1751, the completion of the Fontana Trevi was handed over by Clement XIII. to the architect Giuseppe Pannini, a son of the famous painter of architectural pictures. The alterations made by Giuseppe were not successful: the statues of Agrippa and the Virgin designed by Salvi he replaced by the allegorical figures of fertility and health; beneath the chariot in the form of a sea-shell he placed three large basins over which the water flows down into a central one, whereas Salvi intended it to gush forth in one fall. The two allegorical figures were made in marble by Filippo della Valle, the central figures were entrusted to Pietro Bracci. The relief over the right side-niche (Agrippa ordering the construction of the aqueduct) was made by Andrea Bergondi, that over the left one (the Virgin showing

[1] *Avviso di Roma, February 3, 1760 (*loc. cit.*): "S. B^ne ha fatto chiudere la porta dello scalone d'estate ed ha formato in essa una nuova galleria adornata di antichi celebri disegni fatti trasportare dal Vaticano." *Cf.* FORCELLA, XIII., 164.

[2] FORCELLA, VI., 180, 182, 183. The Papal coat-of-arms was at the entrance of the Sala Clementina; *cf.* A. DE WAAL, *Ein Besuch im Vatikan* (*Die Kunst dem Volke*, No. 13), Munich, 1913, p. 11.

[3] DOMARUS, 58.

[4] Via della Lungara 45: D.O.M. | Domum hanc piorum operariorum | Clementis XIII. pietas | a fundamentis erexit. | A. 1764.

[5] P. DE MEESTER, *Collège pontifical grec de Rome*, in *La Semaine de Rome*, II. (1909), 107. There the inscription runs: Clemens XIII. P.O.M. has aedes a fundamentis Graecor. collegio restituit auxit exornavit A° 1769. *Cf. Architettura min. in Italia, Roma II.*, Torino [1927], 86.

the spring to the soldiers) by Giovan Battista Grossi.[1] On the evening of May 20th, 1762, the Pope was able to view the finished work, the finest of all the Roman fountains. In the speech he made on this occasion Pannini and Bracci were duly complimented.[2]

In the pontificate of Clement XIII. there took place the completion of one of the wonders of Rome: the Villa Albani outside the Porta Salaria. "Begun in the true Roman spirit"[3] while Benedict XIV. was still living, this "grove sacred to the cult of the antique"[4] was not finished till 1763. Its architecture was due to Carlo Marchionne, its garden to Antonio Nolli, the whole work being under the superintendence of Cardinal Albani, the art-enthusiast who in Winckelmann and Ridolfino Venuti had the best possible advisers.[5]

Albani's collection of antiquities was next in importance to

[1] DOMARUS, 53 *seqq.*; GRADARA, *Bracci*, 79. The inscription in FORCELLA, XIII., 115.

[2] Cracas, May 29, 1762. His frequent residence in Castel Gandolfo determined the Pope to build a new private chapel in the palace; see MORONI, IX., 159. Clement XIII.'s name is inscribed also on the well at Genzano. He had a new chapel built in S. Cristina at Bolsena.

[3] "Alexander Albanus cardinalis Romano animo instruxit a° 1757" is the inscription above the door of the atrium in the Casino. *Cf.* also D. STROCCHI, *De vita Alexandri Albani cardinalis*, Romae, 1790.

[4] TIETZE in *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen*, 1912, 118.

[5] JUSTI, II., 289 *seqq.*, whose classic description I have borrowed almost word for word, no better one being possible. *Cf.* also GOTHEIN, I., 367 *seqq.*, II., 289. For R. Venuti, see T. Venuti's article in *Arte e Storia*, X. (1907), 97 *seqq.* Like the Vatican and the Capitol, the Villa Albani was plundered by the French. Of the 294 statues carted off to Paris only one returned: the Antinous relief, one of the best sculptures from Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli. The rest of the sculptures were sold, the owner shying at the cost of transport; a large number of them were acquired by the Glyptothek in Munich. The villa was afflicted by a second disaster in 1866, when it was bought by Prince Torlonia from the Castelbarco family of Milan, the heirs of the

that of the Vatican. It consisted of 150 statues, 176 heads, busts, and masks, 161 reliefs, 49 animal figures, 29 dishes, basins, and vases, 29 fountains, candelabra, urns, cippi, and altars, 171 columns, and 81 inscriptions. Some of these objects were exhibited in the buildings, others in the garden, amid the trimmed green hedges.

The villa has two entrances; the one reached from the Via Nomentana has a predominantly rural character, that reached from the Via Salaria is architectonic. The palazzo, also known as the Casino, was built by Marchionne in the Roman baroque style then in vogue, in two stories, with an ornate portico borne by eighteen granite columns, on the garden side. Opposite, beyond a parterre of flower-beds laid out in an arabesque design delineated by box-hedges, with an eagle fountain in the centre, rises a broad, semicircular portico with forty Doric columns (the *Portico circolare*), reminiscent of the lay-out of the theatre at Frascati.[1]

A special feature of the Villa Albani is the avoidance of anything suggestive of a museum. The founder's intention was that the antiquities should "have the effect of a plastic decoration made for this very building", as they would have done at the time when they had not yet become "antiques" "Every portico, every entrance-hall, every room, and every closet had its own character, its chief figure or series of figures which set the tone of the apartment."[2] The portico received the statues of Roman emperors; it is continued by two open

family which became extinct in 1854. The disfigurements made at the order of the "tobacco king" have actually been perpetuated by him by means of inscriptions. The ugly buildings of the Third Rome which surround the villa have completely destroyed its general effect, which was incomparable. The strict instructions regarding the visiting of private collections preclude any but selected persons entering the villa. *Cf.* MASSARETTE, *Rom seit* 1870 (1919), 118; VOSS, *Malerei*, 655 *seq.*; HEECKEREN, II., 534 *seq.*; MORCELLI-FEA-VISCONTI, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, Roma, 1869. For the chapel, see ANGELI, 551.

[1] *Cf.* GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 535 *seqq.*; GOTHEIN, I., 369.

[2] JUSTI, II., 292.

galleries devoted to poets and generals. The semicircular portico contained the statues of the greater gods; of its eleven arches the middle one leads to the Egyptian cabinet, the "Canopus", which is adjoined by a portico known as the "Café". Later, as there were still many antiquities to be accommodated, several small rooms were added to the portico and the casino. The multitude of antiquities was so happily distributed that "nowhere was there any congestion or dissonance; in fact, as far as was possible, the ancient works seemed to be restored to their original destination." The gems of the collection were placed in a magnificent room on the first floor of the casino, the Galleria Grande, which it would be difficult to equal. "The walls are lined with the rarest of coloured marble, most of which the Cardinal had found in the ruins of Porto d'Anzio. The pilasters are embellished with fine mosaic arabesques, alternating with modern Florentine work. They are inset with gems; above is a terracotta frieze; over the cornices of the doors are grouped trophies with sphinxes and alabaster vases; reliefs are let into the walls and framed in yellow marble like paintings, and as the excavations failed to provide the Cardinal with a ceiling-painting, Mengs had to supply one."[1] His fresco, once so famous, known as the "Parnassus", depicts Apollo, the Muses, and their mother Mnemosyne.[2] In the large mirror-niches opposite the windows stood the statues of Leucothea (Eirene) and Pallas, both of which were carried off by Napoleon and were afterwards taken to Munich. From the balcony, before the modern blocks of apartment dwellings restricted the view, one could enjoy an incomparable prospect of the desolate Campagna as far as the majestic chain of the Sabine Mountains and the rounded slopes of the Alban Hills. This view, together with the gardens, where time and again the eye could find refreshment, was an

[1] *Ibid.*, 294. Mengs' Roman frescoes are well described in Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler*, Abt. I., Bd. II., Leipzig, 1878, No. 17, pp. 32 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst, N.F.*, XIV. (1894), 72 *seq.*, 174 *seq.*, 286 *seqq.*

essential feature of the ensemble. The amalgamation of plastic art with Nature was nowhere effected so completely as here, where one feels oneself to be entirely enveloped in the spirit of antiquity.

In July 1763 the Villa Albani, which had cost 400,000 *scudi* to create, was visited by Clement XIII., who, it is reported, had first caused all the indecent statues to be clothed.[1] The antiquities in the Vatican had already undergone the same treatment in 1760,[2] while in the Sistine Chapel Daniele da Volterra's successor, Stefano Pozzi, was painting over the nudities of the Last Judgment.[3] All this was due to Clement XIII.'s over-anxious conscientiousness, certainly not to any hostility to art or antiquity. A proof of this is his splendid acquisitions for the Capitoline Museum. In 1765 he bought for this collection out of Cardinal Furietti's estate the dove mosaic discovered in the Emperor Hadrian's Tiburtine villa, and the pair of Centaurs by Aristeas and Papias found in the same place.[4] Also a statue of Apollo and the Ilian tablet, found at the Osteria delle Frattocchie near Albano—a relief in palombino showing the cycle of Trojan legends—were brought by him to the Capitoline Museum.[5]

[1] Report of the Lucchese envoy, July 16, 1763, in SFORZA, 32.

[2] "This week," said Winckelmann contemptuously in February 1760, "the Apollo, the Laocoon, and the other statues in the Belvedere are going to have lattens tied on to them by means of wires fastened round their hips; I suppose the same thing will happen to the statues in the Capitol. Rome could hardly have had a more asinine government than the present one." JUSTI, II., 15.

[3] CHATTARD, *Vaticano*, II., 41; STEINMANN, *Sixtin. Kapelle*, II., 516.

[4] *Corresp. d. Direct.*, IX., 391; HELBIG, I.[3], 438, 482; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 161.

[5] HELBIG, I.[3], 443, 480. Clement XIII. is still commemorated by an inscription on the church tower by the entrance to the Corso, a memorial stone by the convent of S. Maria dei Sette Dolori, and by fountains in Ariccia and Genzano; see TOMASSETTI, II., 256.

On the death of Ridolfino Venuti in the spring of 1763 the Pope gave the much sought-after post of commissioner of antiquities to Winckelmann and thus enabled the founder of the archæology of art to remain in his beloved Rome, where in the following year he brought to a finish the fruit of his researches, the *History of Ancient Art.* It was this work "to which he devoted all his energy and for which he spread every sail", that made him famous.[1] "It is the best situation I could have desired," wrote Winckelmann, after his appointment; "I have got more than I deserved and more than I could have imagined in a dream."[2] In May 1763, to supplement his protegé's income, Cardinal Albani secured for him a scriptor's post in the Vatican Library, to which was to be joined the superintendence of a Vatican museum of profane antiquities.[3] An inscription in gold letters announces the opening of this collection in the year 1767.[4] To Clement XIII.'s generosity it owes a number of Italic-Greek and Etruscan vases, also a collection of coins from Assemani's estate.[5]

A second inscription records the enlargement of the Vatican

[1] JUSTI, III.[2], 69 *seq.*

[2] JUSTI, III.[2], 24. *Ibid.*, 390, Winckelmann's patent as commissioner of antiquities, dated April 11, 1763.

[3] JUSTI, III.[2], 26 *seqq.* On Winckelmann's work being brought to a sudden end in 1768 by the hand of an assassin, Clement XIII. handed over the post of commissioner of antiquities to Giambattista Visconti, who had been proposed by Winckelmann at the Pope's request that he nominate his deputy before his departure. This action shows that Clement XIII. was not the "narrow-minded" person such as O. Harnack, among others, would have him be (*Deutsches Kunstleben*, 4). For Winckelmann's death and burial, and the legal action taken against the murderer, *cf.* also the *letters to Kaunitz of June 20 and 23, July 28, and August 29, 1768, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[4] FORCELLA, VI., 182.

[5] CARINI, 121. *Cf.* I. B. PASSERIUS, *De tribus vasculis Etruscis encaustice pictis a Clemente XIII in Museum Vaticanum inlatis*, Florentiae, 1772.

collection of manuscripts in the pontificate of Clement XIII.[1] The increase was due principally to the acquisition of Oriental manuscripts formerly belonging to the Assemani, Adrian Reland, and the Transylvanian bishop Innocenz Klein.[2] Other manuscripts had already been acquired for the Vatican in 1759, when the collection of the famous antiquary Philipp von Stosch was auctioned; this included the earliest register of Philippe Auguste of France.[3]

There were not sufficient funds to buy the valuable library of Cardinal Passionei. After his death, on July 5th, 1761, it became clear that, as Winckelmann says, this extraordinary man had, as librarian of the Vatican, arrogated to himself too much freedom.[4] During the period of his direction (1755–1761) grave irregularities had crept in. One of the worst malpractices was that of greedy scriptors who, neglecting their own duties, handed over to the first comer, in return for a handsome fee, copies of manuscripts, even when they were of the earliest centuries.[5] This induced Clement XIII. to issue in great haste, as early as August 4th, 1761, a new library regulation which,

[1] FORCELLA, VI., 182.

[2] CARINI, 119 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* The Papal Secret Archives were enriched by the transference to them from the Spada Library of MSS. relating to the Holy See; see Garampi's *list of December 6, 1759, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* also a *list of records of the time of Benedict XIV, collected by Garampi in Bologna and transferred to Rome. *Cf.* SFORZA, 23.

[4] JUSTI, III., 27; BLUME, III., 74, 85 *seqq.* For a fire which broke out in the Vaticana, see BLUME, III., 112.

[5] BLUME, III., 85, and DENGEL in the *Mitteil. des österr. Hist. Instituts*, XXV, 301. Passionei, in his inordinate love for books and MSS., abused in other ways also the trust reposed in him. Thus one reads in Cod. 2666 of the Bibl. Angelica in Rome: *Sulla guardia, leggesi: Nos nunc nostrum codicem comparavimus Callii e comite Beroaldo indocto homine, possessore autem bibliothecae quam collegerat abbas Guastallensis doctissimus Baldus. Proh dolor! Ex bibliotheca nobis innotuit postquam expilata iam fuerat ab insigni illo circulatore maniobiblico et fure cardinali Passionaeo! See *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXVI. (1904), No. 19.

caused by the Pope's eagerness for reform, went too far.[1] According to this regulation the use of the manuscripts and the catalogues was to be confined to the Prefect of the Library, the custodians, and the directors of the Papal Secret Archives, and it was denied to any assistants these officials might wish to employ. Foreign visitors were allowed to look at certain rare pieces for a short time but they were strictly forbidden to make a personal examination of manuscripts and catalogues or even to make copies of them. Library officials were allowed to make copies for outsiders, only with the express permission of the Pope written by the Secretary of State. The same special permission was necessary when particularly favoured persons were allowed, as exceptional cases, to make personal use of manuscripts and catalogues; and the permission thus granted could only be made use of after precise information had been given of the purpose for which the manuscripts and catalogues were to be examined.[2]

These unfortunate regulations,[3] which were not completely

[1] *Cf.* the highly justified complaints of J. F. Böhmer in JANSSEN, *Böhmer*, I., 331. The difficulties in the use of the Vaticana had begun still earlier; *cf.* the interesting letter from Lorian Stengel, dated Munich, December 10, 1758, in MONE, *Quellensammlung*, I., 31. Albani's appointment as Passionei's successor was made on August 12, 1761 (see DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 307); the instruction therefore was issued when the post was vacant. Under Albani, however, the library funds were no better managed than under Passionei. (DENGEL, *loc. cit.*)

[2] Text of the instruction in Bull., II., 259 *seqq.*

[3] Clement XIII.'s instruction had been tacitly withdrawn in Blume's time (see Iter, III., 87); the theft of MSS., however, in the time of Pius IX. (*cf. Allg. Zeitung*, August 8, 1851) resulted in Clement XIII.'s restrictions being renewed by a Motu Proprio of November, 1851. Subsequently the procedure was repeatedly changed, but the difficulties were still very great at the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII., as the author discovered to his great distress in 1879 when he was preparing material for his History of the Popes. The transformation of the Vaticana into a model institution satisfying all demands is the lasting work of Cardinal F. Ehrle.

withdrawn till the time of Leo XIII., caused a stoppage in the use of the famous collection of manuscripts, although it was precisely at this period that the Church's defenders would have been greatly assisted in their fight against its opponents by a supply of weapons.

The attacks, which were directed not only against the Holy See and the Catholic religion, but even against Christianity itself, came chiefly from France, where there had been formed a closely united party which, filled with the fiercest hatred of the divine founder of the Church, had decided on the destruction of religion as the object of their activity. Their chief work was the great Encyclopedia which, under the direction of D'Alembert and Diderot, endeavoured very skilfully to spread the new philosophy among the widest possible circles.

Clement XIII. was not content with condemning the anti-Christian literary productions [1]; in an Encyclical to all bishops, issued on November 25th, 1766,[2] he pointed out the danger and exhorted them to combat it.

The defenders of religion and the rights of the Holy See were frequently encouraged by the Pope by means of Briefs and were asked to continue their activity. Many of these Briefs are available in print, one of them being the letter of thanks sent to the Sorbonne for its declared opposition to the confession of a deistic, dogmaless, natural religion in Rousseau's *Émile*.[3] The number of Briefs of this kind which have not been printed is much larger. In them the Pope makes special mention of the comfort afforded him by those scholars who in the midst of a flood of books inculcating godless opinions into the inexperienced, had offered successful opposition to the atheists and libertines.[4] Many written works in German

[1] The condemnation of the "Encyclopedia", September 3, 1759, in *Bull. Cont.*, III., 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1119.

[3] *Ibid.*, 827. *Cf.* our description, Vol. XXXVII, Chap. III.

[4] Thus in the *Briefs to the opponents of Febronius (see below, p. 192) and in the *Brief to Ant. Valsecchius, O.P., March 21, 1767. *Cf.* *Brief to Lod. Poxiensis et Seraphin. Paris. fratr.

in defence of the Holy See were also sent to the Pope, notably by Joseph Anton von Bandel, of Constance. Clement had these works carefully examined before sending a letter of thanks.[1] In his letter to the Jesuit Roth in regard to the edition of a work by Leo the Great, Clement XIII says, "Hardly ever before has the authority of the Holy See been attacked so much as now; it is therefore of great service

Capuc., July 13, 1763 (thanks for their elucidation of the psalms), *Brief to the same persons and to Claudius Franc. Paris., December 12, 1764 (thanks for four more volumes of their exegetic work), *Brief to Mich. Ang. Maria ord. Minim., October 23, 1765 (thanks for the third volume *De Vitis veter. patr. eremit.*), *Brief to Hubert. Recollecto, October 23, 1765 (thanks for a written work), *Brief to Carondus canonic. Suession., August 27, 1766 (the book *De eccl. immunit.*; the content similar to the Brief to Ant. Valsecchius), *Brief to Hier. Brunellus cathed. Patav. canonic., September 20, 1766 (thanks for the Italian translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*), *Brief to Petr. Carminatus iur. utr. doctor, September 26, 1766 (thanks for the refutation of a book directed against the authority of the Pope, recently published by the enemy), *Brief to Lud. Patovillet S.J., July 22, 1767 (thanks for a two-volumed history of Pelagianism), *Brief to Carol. Veronesius, November 7, 1767 (thanks for the book written by his deceased uncle Card. Veronesius, *De necessitate communicandi cum Sede Apost. ad sartam tectam tenendam cath. Ecclesiae unitatem*), *Brief to Chaudon Benedict. congr. Cluniac., January 20, 1768 (thanks for his *Dictionnaire* directed against modern philosophers, which is composed in a pleasing style and is directed against those "qui homini rationem detrahunt, omnem iuris et aequi regulam tollunt, inter pravum et rectum nullum esse volunt discrimen, voluntati liberam adimunt potestatem nullumque adeo relinquunt legibus locum"), *Brief to Bergierus s. theol. doctor, January 31, 1769 (thanks for his two-volumed defence of the Christian religion against the "nefarii libertini"). Epist., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See the *Brief to J. A. Bandel, May 7, 1768, Epist. X., *ibid.* For Bandel, see J. FRANCK in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, II., 39 *seqq.*, who indeed dismisses this little-discussed writer as a "notorious theological prize-fighter of the Catholic Church". See our account, Vol. XXXV, 210.

to propagate works showing the reverence and obedience once paid to the supreme head of the Church."[1] The Jesuit Daniele Farlati also received a Brief of acknowledgment for sending the third volume of his *Illyria Sacra*.[2]

The extent to which everyone's attention was engaged in the contest is shown by the rarity of letters of acknowledgement for profane works. On one occasion one comes across an acknowledgment for some poems,[3] on another, one for the history of Capua dedicated to the Pope by the Bishop of Sessa.[4] Much interest and pleasure was taken by Clement XIII. in the edition of inscriptions of mediæval and modern Rome by the industrious Benedictine, Pier Luigi Galletti, the publication of which he made possible and protected against reproduction.[5] On the author he bestowed a scriptorate in the Vatican library.[6] Old associations were revived by the Pope's receipt of a medical work in two volumes written by the Paduan anatomist Giambattista Morgagni. "We rejoice," he wrote in his letter of thanks, "that through your work,

[1] *Brief to Karl Roth, S.J. (*cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VII., 209 *seq.*), April 27, 1768, in which occurs the following: "Vix unquam Apost. Sedis oppugnata est ut nunc oppugnatur auctoritas." Epist., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Brief of September 11, 1765, Epist., VIII., *ibid.*

[3] *Brief to Io. Iac. de Pompignan, May 29, 1765, Epist., VII., *ibid.* A poem on the election of Clement XIII. was composed by the Jesuit Raimondo Cunich; see RENAZZI, IV., 555.

[4] *Brief to Fr. Granata, Bishop of Sessa, April 18, 1766 (*loc. cit.*) for his *Storia sacra della chiesa di Capua*, 2 vols., Napoli, 1766, dedicated to Clement XIII. Granata had already published a *Ragguaglio istorico della città di Sessa sin'all' a.* 1760 (Napoli, 1763). J. A. Assemani dedicated tc the Pope the third volume of his *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae universae* (1758), in four volumes, which he had begun in the time of Benedict XIV.; see its preface. Volume IV. appeared in 1763.

[5] *Inscriptiones Romanae infimi aevi*, 3 vols., Romae, 1760. *Cf.* Bull., *loc. cit.*, 378 *seq.*; NOVAES, XV., 54; FORCELLA, I., xv *seqq.*

[6] *Cf.* RENAZZI, IV., 371.

composed with humanistic elegance, you have brought so much light into medical science—to the benefit of humanity—but We rejoice still more over your religious zeal, with which We became acquainted when Bishop of Padua." [1]

The university of his former episcopal city was presented by the Pope with a huge coriaceous turtle, which had been caught by fishermen near Ostia and had been brought to Rome, where it had excited universal wonder. With this gift, so ran the accompanying letter, he wanted to show that his love for the university of Padua was no less than Benedict XIV.'s for Bologna, which had received a similar gift. The rare object, it continued, should be viewed with awe, not only by naturalists but by all who studied the works of God.[2]

To the Roman University Clement XIII. showed many signs of his good will, notably when, after the death of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna (January 10th, 1763), he nominated as chancellor his nephew, Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico.[3] Special advancements were given by the Pope to the professor of medicine, Giovan Maria Volpi, to the professor of rhetoric, Benedetto Stay, and to his successor, Rodesindo Andosilla.[4] The mathematician, Francesco Maria Gandio, had the Pope to thank for his appointment to the Sapienza.[5]

The learned Michelangelo Giacomelli was appointed by Clement XIII. to be Secretary of Briefs to Princes and Canon of St. Peter's.[6] Tommaso Agostino Ricchini was given in

[1] *Brief of March 23, 1765, Epist., VII., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* LOMBARDI, III., 222. Morgagni died on December 6, 1771; his tombstone is in S. Massimo, Padua.

[2] *Brief to the Sindici Academiae Patavinae, October 20, 1780, Epist., II.–III., *loc. cit.* When a Cardinal, Clement XIII. commissioned G. Brunazzi with the compilation of a history of the Church in Padua, which, incidentally, involved the archives of Padua in the loss of several records. *Cf.* BLUME, I., 167.

[3] RENAZZI, IV., 228 *seqq.*, 239 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 266, 270 *seq.*

[5] LOMBARDI, II., 281.

[6] RENAZZI, IV., 332. In 1760 the Pope appointed the adventurer Casanova, whose true character had not yet been

1759 the important post of a Maestro del Sacro Palazzo and the task of writing the life of Cardinal Barbarigo.[1]

The distinguished Prefect of the Archives, Giuseppe Garampi, had been entrusted in 1759 with the direction also of the archives of the Castel S. Angelo,[2] but in 1761 a diplomatic mission to Germany took him away from his academic work.[3] The thorough knowledge of German conditions acquired by Garampi led him to make very remarkable proposals about the best way of combating anti-religious literature. He was surprised by the interest with which well-written historical works were read on the other side of the Alps, and by the way Protestants and bad Catholics used history to oppose the Papacy. On the other hand, as he pointed out to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Torrigiani, there was a lack of Catholic literature which met the demand of the times, the great controversial compendia in Latin being largely neglected by professors on account of their unwieldiness and their lack of criticism in the historical sense. Garampi therefore strongly recommended the Church not to rest content with prohibitions and condemnations but to oppose inimical works with positive ones. He also proposed the formation in Rome of a republic of scholars from every nation, whose task it should be to refute the modern errors with the instruments of the enemy, in an objective, scientific way, and thus to mitigate the acute differences and gradually to win back the lost ground.[4]

Although this plan was not acted on, it was at Garampi's instigation that Febronius and his attack on the constitution of the Church was opposed by a literary action which broke with the opportunist practice of silence which had prevailed hitherto.[5]

discovered, to be a Knight of the Lateran and Protonotary Apostolic.

[1] MORONI, XLI., 217; LOMBARDI, I., 132.

[2] DENGEL, *Garampi*, 8.

[3] *Cf.* below, chap. V.

[4] DENGEL, 79 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* This action (see below, chap. V.) Clement XIII. tried to support with every means. Evidence of this is the

Clement XIII. showed his appreciation of Garampi by sending him on another mission to Germany in 1764[1] and by making him Secretary of the Ciphers two years later. Garampi accepted this office only on condition that he should retain his position as Prefect of the Archives, which enabled him to engage in literary work; for six years he had endeavoured, along with his activity in the State secretariat, to proceed with his great historical work, *Orbis Christianus*, a feat deserving of every recognition.[2]

Two noted scholars were made Cardinals by Clement XIII.: Giuseppe Agostino Orsi and Giuseppe Alessandro Furietti. The Dominican Orsi, author of many valuable theological and controversial works, had already been rewarded for his defence of the Holy See by Benedict XIV., who had made him a Maestro di Palazzo. While occupying this position he continued his literary activity and under Clement XIII. he made good progress with his history of the Church, a work in twenty volumes remarkable for its fine style and judgment, directed chiefly against Fleury. Orsi was admitted to the Sacred College in 1759 but died on June 13th, 1761.[3]

Furietti of Bergamo is known to all archæologists for his lucky discovery, when on holiday in Tivoli, of the pair of centaurs and the dove mosaic. He was thereby inspired to write his work on mosaics,[4] which won the admiration of scholars throughout Europe. Furietti was also keenly active in other forms of literature, such as the edition of the works

encouraging Briefs which he addressed to various literary opponents of Febronius: the *Briefs to J. A. Bandel, December 8, 1764, to Iul. Ant. Sangallus Min. Convent., November 5, 1766, to Ladisl. Sappel ord. S. Francisc. Recoll., November 7, 1767, to Ioh. Godef. Kaufmann facult. theolog. Lovan. Decanus, August 20, 1768, Epist., Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* below, chap. V.

[2] DENGEL, 82.

[3] *Cf.* RENAZZI, IV., 98 *seqq.*; LOMBARDI, I., 201 *seqq.*; HURTER, II.², 1436 *seqq.*

[4] *De musivae artis origine, progressu.*, etc., Romae, 1752. *Cf.* RENAZZI, IV., 323 *seq.*; HURTER, V.³, 200.

of Gasperino Barziza and the writing of his life. He was made a Cardinal in 1759, but lived to enjoy the purple only till January 14th, 1764.[1] In the national church of the Bergamasques, S. Maria della Pietà, is the Cardinal's tomb, with his portrait; the inscription praises his learning and blameless life.[2]

Clement XIII. intended to raise to the purple the Jesuit Pietro Lazzeri,[3] who had already been highly esteemed for his knowledge of Oriental languages by Benedict XIV., and the historian Francesco Maria Nerini,[4] but he was not able to put his wishes into effect.

[1] Not 1767, as given by Renazzi (IV., 324).

[2] FORCELLA, VI., 520.

[3] SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, IV., 1609–1615. Regarding the appointment of a Jesuit as Cardinal, Cordara relates (in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 22): "Cavit [Clement XIII.] diligenter, ne quid praeberet indicium praecipuae in Iesuitas propensionis et benevolentiae. Vel illud documento sit, quod etsi deliberatum fixumque habebat, si quos religiosorum creasset cardinales, in eum numerum eligere unum aliquem ex Iesuitis, quod erat sane mitigando eorum dolori et famae sarciendae consilium opportunissimum; continuit tamen se metu, ne rex Lusitaniae offenderetur. Hunc nempe illi metum iniecit [cardinalis] Spinellus," who advised him to create Cardinal a man who was a Jesuit by disposition, not one who was merely dressed as such, and he recommended Ganganelli.

[4] RENAZZI, IV., 343, 347.

CHAPTER V.

The End of the Seven Years' War and the Election of King Joseph II.—The Change of Dynasty in Poland and the Conflict over the Rights of the Dissidents.

(1)

Although legitimized Catholic interests were jeopardized in the conflict between the European powers, both Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII. were equally careful on every occasion to divest the hostilities which had broken out of the appearance of a religious war. This, however, did not preclude Clement from recognizing the justice of the Austrian cause far more than did his predecessor and from bestowing his favour on Maria Theresa.[1] He gave evidence of this at the very outset of his pontificate, by granting her the honorary title of "Apostolic Queen"[2]; he could not make a better beginning to his reign, he wrote to the Empress,[3] than by granting her this distinction, which would devolve on every successor to the royal throne of Hungary. Since the time of St. Stephen Hungary had rendered many great services as the bulwark of Christianity, in return for which its ruler had enjoyed the rare privilege of having the cross borne before him by a bishop at public functions and of bearing the title "Apostolic King". Since no certain evidence of the origin of the title

[1] Schäfer, II., 1, 204 *seq.*

[2] Maria Theresa had conferred this title on herself for the first time in Clerici's credentials for the conclave of 1758, with the instruction that the privilege was to be obtained for her officially; the Cardinals, however, postponed the matter until after the Papal election. Arneth, IX., 8 *seq.*

[3] On August 19, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 22. Cf. Arneth, IX., 10.

could be found, he now renewed it by virtue of his plenary powers.

Investigations in the Papal archives had indeed led to no definite result, whereupon Clerici had strongly recommended that the Pope grant the privilege "*Motu Proprio*".[1] At a solemn consistory on October 1st, 1758, Clement informed the Sacred College of this honour paid to the Hungarian nation, the House of Austria, and the Empress.[2]

Clement XIII. had no scruples in encouraging Maria Theresa with material aid as well. He granted her subsidies[3] and issued an indult for the taxation of German convents for war purposes.[4] On the other hand, he wanted to avoid giving the impression that he regarded the struggle of Catholic Austria against the Protestant King of Prussia as a war of religion. All the more, however, was Frederick II. determined to excite the masses with the war-cry of religion.[5] At the time when the defeat of Hochkirch was causing him a passing fit of despair, just when the news of it was brightening the Empress's birthday in an unexpected way, there arose the rumour that the Pope had honoured the victorious general Daun by sending him a consecrated cap and sword. It is now established that this legend took its origin principally from an alleged Papal Brief, which was composed and published in May 1759 by no other than Frederick II. himself.[6]

[1] *Clerici to Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, August 5, 1758, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 51 *seq.*

[3] But only on the condition of the strictest secrecy, "*che dal Re di Prussia non si possa interpretare sussidio per continuare una guerra di religione." Clerici to Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, August 9, 1758, *loc. cit.* *Cf. ibid.* *Letter of August 12, 1758.

[4] KOSER, II., 209; DENGEL, *Garampi*, 15; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XCII. (1883), 856. Later the possibilities of assistance were exhausted; see *Clement XIII. to Maria Theresa, October 2, 1762, Epist. V., f. 37, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* above, pp. 121 *seq.*

[6] P. MAJUNKE (*Der geweihte Degen Dauns*², Paderborn, 1885) tried to suppress this rumour, which had been long believed, but

In other pamphlets also he tried to stir up his people by playing on their religious susceptibilities.[1] In 1758 there was again revived for a short time the idea of a union of Protestant princes.[2]

The Pope, on the other hand, was continually thinking of how to bring about a speedy peace. In 1758 he sent to his nuncios in Paris and Vienna detailed instructions in regard to this.[3] Both parties were by now so exhausted and war-weary that in 1760 serious peace proposals were made. It was proposed by Austria that a general peace congress be held, to which invitations were issued by the five Allied powers on March 26th, 1761, and which was to meet in Augsburg in the middle of July. After some weeks' delay Prussia and England announced their readiness to take part.[4]

Since the Westphalian bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim had long been unoccupied and both Prussia and Hanover had been thinking of taking possession of these religious foundations,[5] it was feared in Rome that when peace was made some ecclesiastical property would be secularized. Already in 1758 the courts of Vienna and Paris had to dispel the misgivings of the Curia on this score by means of assurances couched in general terms.[6] The Pope now considered it necessary to warn the various governments anew, which he did through a number of Briefs to the Emperor and Empress,

his material was insufficient (see the discussion by Fechner in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LIV., 513 *seqq.*). Convincing proof is supplied by Heigel in the supplements to the *Allg. Zeitung* of July 29, 1895, and October 15, 1902, and in *Geschichtl. Bilder und Skizzen*, Munich, 1897, 27 *seqq.* *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XV. (1845), 616, LIII. (1864), 170 *seqq.*, XCII. (1883), 827 *seqq.*, XCVI. (1885), 294; DENGEL, *Garampi*, 16 *seq.*

[1] *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XCII., 852 *seqq.*

[2] HERM. MEYER, *Der Plan eines evangel. Fürstenbundes*, 80 *seqq.*

[3] DENGEL, 17 *seqq.*

[4] ARNETH, VI., 204 *seq.*, 217–225; SCHÄFER, II., 2, 197 *seqq.*

[5] DENGEL, 27.

[6] *Ibid.*, 24 *seqq.*

to the Kings of France, Spain, and Poland, and to many Catholic princes of the Empire.[1] In addition, counsel was already being taken in Rome in 1760 whether a representative of the Holy See ought not to be sent to the coming congress. The French and Austrian courts showing scant approval,[2] recourse was had to the Spanish king.[3] Further, the nuncios in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna were instructed to oppose to the utmost any threat of appropriation of church property.[4] If no Papal representative was admitted to the congress (ran the message to the nuncio Pamfili [5]), the direction taken by French policy would be the decisive one, since the position to be adopted by the German princes depended largely on France.

France, in fact, allowed herself to be won over to the idea that in accordance with the practice of the last few decades a private emissary of the Pope might be allowed to appear in Augsburg.[6] For this delicate mission the Prefect of the Archives, Giuseppe Garampi, was selected.[7] To conceal the real purpose of his mission [8] he was at the same time to visit the imperial convent of Salem, in Swabia. In August 1761

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 61 *seqq.* *Cf.* DENGEL, 28, n. 1.

[2] DENGEL, 29.

[3] *Cifre al Nunzio, April 3 and May 22, 1760, March 12 and April 30, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cifre al Nunzio Pamfili, March 11, May 6, June 3 and 10, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *ibid.* ; *Cifra al Nunzio Pallavicini, March 12, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *ibid.*

[5] *Cifre al Nunzio Pamfili, July 1 and 8, August 12, and November 18, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *ibid.*

[6] DENGEL, 31.

[7] For his personality, *cf.* A. FR. CANCELLIERI, Notizie sul card. Gius. Garampi, in *Memorie di religione, di morale e di letteratura*, XI., Modena, 1827, 385–442.

[8] The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Roda y Arrieta, knew of it and *wrote on September 3, 1761, to R. Wall, that Garampi's secret instruction was "invigilar sobre la secularizacion de obispados de Germania" (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Cf.* DENGEL, 41.

Garampi went to Germany as a private agent, "*Ministro senza carattere*," but he experienced one disappointment after another. On the one hand the chances of the congress ever meeting seemed always to be lessening, until finally they disappeared altogether as the result of the separate negotiations between France and England.[1] On the other hand, the danger of secularization was not so great as Rome supposed.[2] After months of silent waiting, after visiting Salem and travelling through Switzerland, western Germany, and Austria for the purpose of study, and after settling some minor affairs,[3] Garampi returned to Rome at the end of May 1763.

Meanwhile, other means had been taken to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. After various separate peace treaties had been made by the belligerents, finally Austria and Prussia came to terms in the Peace of Hubertusburg. Although Clement XIII. had again issued warnings against secularization by means of several Briefs at the end of 1762,[4] this last treaty showed that all such fears were unfounded. In a letter to the Emperor [5] the Pope was able to express his satisfaction with the settlement which had been made, since the situation of the Catholics had at any rate not been worsened, though he was pained by the renewal of the Peace of Westphalia, which Rome still condemned as much as before. On the other hand, he was consoled by the restoration and re-

[1] SCHÄFER, II., 2, 330, 394 *seqq.*; ARNETH, VI., 262.

[2] DENGEL, 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, 44–74, 142–184. For the pleasure given to the Convent of Salem, see *Letter of Clement XIII. to the Convent of Salem of April 24, 1762, Epist., III., f. 254, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, III., f. 72, a Papal *letter of recommendation for Garampi to the Bavarian Elector, of November 14, 1761, regarding his admission to the Elector's library. Garampi's travel-diary was published by Gr. Palmieri: *Viaggio in Germania, Baviera, Suizzera, Olanda* e *Francia compiuto negli anni 1761–3. Diario del card. Giuseppe Garampi*, Roma, 1889. *Cf.* WEECH, *Röm. Prälaten am deutschen Rhein*, 8–38.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 618 *seqq.*

[5] *Of April 20, 1763, Epist., V, f. 168b, *loc. cit.*

occupation of the Westphalian bishoprics which had taken place in the meantime.[1]

In a secret clause of the treaty of Hubertusburg, Frederick II. promised, in the event of a royal election taking place in the near future, to vote for the son of the imperial couple, Archduke Joseph. Shortly after the end of the war Prince Kaunitz took this feature of the election in hand and succeeded, after laborious negotiations, in overcoming the objections and misgivings of the German electors.[2] Accordingly, a meeting of electors was called for January 1764, to be followed by an election in Frankfurt.

The incidents which had occurred at the election of Emperor Francis I.[3] led Rome to presume that on this occasion also there would be difficulties about the position of a Papal emissary at an election. It was therefore expedient to send representatives conversant with German affairs and in close touch with the electoral courts. The choice fell on the nuncio Niccolò Oddi, who had held the nunciature of Cologne in 1754–1760 and since then that of Switzerland. As assistant he was given Garampi, who in his travels through Germany in recent years had formed many connexions with princely houses. In a letter of January 14th, 1764, Clement XIII. informed the German electors of Oddi's mission and warmly espoused the candidature of the Austrian archduke, whose outstanding natural gifts were highly praised, also the religious zeal characteristic of his house.[4] Oddi's instruction was

[1] DENGEL, 74. *Cf.* I. M. KRATZ, *Das Hochstift Hildesheim im Siebenjährigen Kriege und die Wahl des Fürstbischofs Friedr. Wilhelm Frh. von Westphalen*, Hildesheim, 1874.

[2] ARNETH, VII., 69 *seqq.*

[3] See our account, Vol. XXXV, 115 *seq.*

[4] "Regios sibi ingeneratos mores eorumque sanctissima doctrina suo inditum esse animo summum in religionem studium egregiamque illam pietatem quae propria semper fuit Lotharingii et Austriaci sanguinis" (*Bull. Cont.*, III., 845 *seq.*). A similar *Brief to the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, Sigismund Christoph von Schrattenbach, of the same day, in the Viennese records C 89 of the Archives of the Provincial Government in Salzburg.

couched in the same sense.[1] At the same time the Elector of Mainz, as superintendent of the election, was assured that the validity of an election of a king of the Romans would not be contested, even if non-Catholic electors took part in it and Francis I. had not yet been crowned emperor.[2]

When Oddi and Garampi met in Frankfurt in the middle of February they encountered numerous difficulties.[3] Thus, a tedious dispute arose about the honour of the first visit, which the newly arrived emissaries owed to those who were already present, whereas the Papal representative claimed for himself an old right of exception.[4] On Oddi being refused this right, the Pope also expressed displeasure at the slight offered to his legate, who had in any case announced his

[1] DENGEL, 32 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 846.

[3] Briefly compiled in the *Notizie della vita di Clemente XIII. : "In quest' istesso anno, essendosi adunata in Francoforte la Dieta dell'Imperatore per l'elezione del Re de' Romani, vi fu spedito dalli Svizzeri un Nunzio Apostolico, che fu Msgr. Oddi, il quale incontrò l'istesse difficoltà che aveva incontrate Msgr. Stoppani nella Dieta d'elezione del regnante Imperatore, non volendosi ammettere Ministri pontificii in simili adunanze ; con i quali ciò non ostante vengono praticati tutti i riguardi di stima e di rispetto, ma non riconosciuto il loro carattere, nè la loro missione come necessaria. Ciò non ostante, valse molto la sua presenza a frastornare una idea appoggiata dall' Elettore di Magonza e dal Palatino, di togliere intieramente gli appelli alla Sta Sede, e contradetta non solo con modo speciale da' plenipotenziarii di Baviera, ma eziandio, il che reca maggior maraviglia, da quelli degli Elettori protestanti di Brandemburgo e d'Annover." Cod. 1474 (41 A 5), f. 55 of the Biblioteca Corsini, Rome.

[4] *Diario e viaggio del card. Garampi per la Germania nel 1764, in *Miscell. di Garampi*, 77, and Nunziat. di Germania, 653, Papal Secret Archives ; copy in Cod. 1117 of the General Provincial Archives, Karlsruhe ; also Garampi's *Relazione dei negoziati di Msgr. N. Oddi nella straordinaria Nunziatura alla Dieta elettorale per l'elezione di S. M. Giuseppe II Re di Roma . . . nell' a. 1764, Nunziat. di Germania, 653 and 721, *loc. cit.*

arrival to the other ambassadors.[1] The situation became still more unpleasant when the electoral college, in virtue of a decree of 1745, forbade the presence of foreign emissaries at the election and the nuncio Oddi was included in this ban. Garampi's attempt to secure the support of the Archbishop of Mainz for the privileges of Rome was unsuccessful[2] and he obtained only evasive replies from the electoral courts of Trier and Cologne.[3] The situation was made still more difficult by a dissension among the members of the cathedral chapter of Speyer. In a dispute with its dean, August, Count of Limburg-Styrum, the chapter had lodged an appeal with Rome, which had accepted it without waiting for the decision of the court of the first instance. The Palatine elector, Charles Theodore, who supported Styrum, proposed an addition to

[1] " *La nuova che ha recato [the express courier] è stata, che avendo egli [Msgr. Nunzio Oddi] fatto partecipare a tutti i Ministri elettorali il suo arrivo, neppur uno di essi erasi mosso a usargli o fargli usare la consueta attenzione del benvenuto, nè altra menoma dimostrazione. Questa nuova ha tanto sorpreso e il Papa e la corte quanto verun altra delle più spiacevoli, che siano mai venute " (Brunati to Colloredo, March 7, 1764, State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Colloredo's *letters on this subject, of February–July, 1764, in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] " *Risposi che riconoscendo egli l'ingiustizia fattasi al Nunzio, dovea appunto e come capo del collegio elettorale e come ecclesiastico assumere questo impegno ; che il Nunzio appella appunto a lui come a custode delle leggi dell' impero, affinchè il concluso del 1745 in questa parte non si exeguisca. Replicò esser vero tutto ciò, ma che nelle circostanze critiche presenti, non gli conveniva di fare scopertamente alcun passo..., che egli come arcivescovo avrebbe fatto al rappresentante pontificio tutti i possibili onori, che non poteva accordargli come Elettore. [The Archbishop of Cologne also wrote] che il Nunzio non sarebbe stato nè ricevuto nè riconosciuto, essendo che erasi stabilito di non voler più Ministri esteri alla Dieta. Che anche da Magonza eransi avuti non dissimili riscontri " (Diario e viaggio del card. Garampi nel 1764, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also Garampi's *Relazione, *loc. cit.*

[3] Garampi's *Diario e viaggio, *loc. cit.*

the usual *gravamina* of the electoral capitulation, whereby civil cases in which clerics were involved were not to be brought before a higher ecclesiastical court and appeals were to be allowed only in important cases.[1] Finally, this addendum was foregone, but for the future king the directions for the settlement of the other *gravamina* were emphasized in advance.

Of little avail was the letter written by the Pope to the Empress on March 8th, 1764, expressing in forcible terms his displeasure with the unworthy treatment accorded at the electoral diet to his representatives and to Church matters.[2]

[1] **Ibid.* For this suit, which caused a stir, *cf.* JAKOB WILLE, *August Graf von Limburg-Styrum, Fürstbischof von Speier* (1913), 18 *seqq.*, and the literature mentioned therein; also DENGEL, 60 *seqq.* Garampi also did not approve of the acceptance of the appeal in Rome (DENGEL, 63, n. 2). The Bishop of Speyer, Cardinal von Hutten, saw a connection between this affair and the work of Febronius. Oddi succeeded in persuading the Pope to deal with the matter himself, to quash the decision of the Signatura Justitiae, and to refer the case back to the court of the first instance, the Metropolitan Court of Mainz.

[2] " *This slighting of Our Nuncio is an insult which We cannot pass over in silence; We must bring to Your notice Our pain and Our complaints. Consider what a disgrace it is for the Catholic religion that the Apostolic See should be thus despised and trampled on in full view of the heretics. This was not the way of Your imperial forebears, who despite their power and glory honoured the Roman Church, who in their loyalty received the nuncios with special honours, who showed their zeal particularly at the election of the emperor, the protector of the Church. How can you stand by and allow the nuncio of the Mother and Teacher, the Catholic Church, to be despoiled of all honour and almost ridiculed? This insult, which makes the heretics laugh and is an offence to Catholics, cannot be tolerated. Wherefore We ask You to see that through Your services to the nuncio the dignity of the Holy See be restored. May what You do for the dignity of the Catholic Church and her servants redound to your praise" (Epist., VI, f. 225, Papal Secret Archives). For the rejection of this Brief at the Viennese Court, see ARNETH, IX.,

Like the foreign emissaries, the nuncio Oddi left the city on the day before the royal election and returned to it on the following evening, March 27th.[1] The descriptions of the royal election by so sharp-witted an observer as the young Goethe [2] are completed by the detailed notes in Garampi's diary [3] and the daily letters of the newly elected king to his empress-mother,[4] through which there passes like a gloomy shadow his grief at the recent loss of his wife, Isabella of Parma. Once more in pomp and splendour the German empire, "overladen with so much parchment, papers, and books," seemed to come to life again, in tangible glory, and the young poet of Frankfurt too felt the "unending attraction" of this "politico-religious ceremony". "Here before our eyes," he writes in his memoirs,[5] "we have the majesty of earth, surrounded by all the symbols of its power; but when it bows before that of heaven we are conscious of the union of the two."

On April 2nd, the day before the solemn coronation, the nuncio Oddi was received with every mark of honour by the emperor, the king, and the Archduke Leopold,[6] and thus the painful impression which the strange behaviour of the electors towards him must have made was to some extent publicly effaced. The Pope seemed to want to forget entirely the violation of his privileges when in August of this year the Elector of Mainz tried to justify his conduct with the excuse that any slight that had been offered to the nuncio had been

13. *Cf.* *Protesto originale fatto da Msgr. Oddi doppo la Dieta on March 6, 1764, Nunziat. di Germania, 652, f. 93, *ibid.*

[1] Garampi's *Diario e viaggio, *loc. cit.*

[2] GOETHE, *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 5th Book, ed. Otto Heuer, Frankfurt a.M., 1921 *seq.*, I., 252 *seqq.*

[3] *Diario e viaggio, *loc. cit.*

[4] These and all the other letters of Joseph's referring to his journey to Frankfurt, in ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, I., 19–127, here especially 50–74.

[5] GOETHE, *loc. cit.*, 282.

[6] Garampi's *Diario e viaggio, *loc. cit.*

against his wish and that no precedent had been created thereby. A Papal answer of September 26th closed the matter and commended the respectful attitude of the Metropolitan of Mainz.[1]

At the consistory of May 4th, 1764, the Pope announced to the Cardinals the election and coronation of the king of the Romans and read the letters on the subject sent to him by the emperor and the king.[2] Nevertheless, he felt himself compelled to dispatch on the same day the declaration that the Pope could confirm the election only when the newly elected king expressly applied for this confirmation,[3] and this had not been done in the aforesaid letters. Thus it was not until June 11th, 1765, that Clement XIII. was able to confirm the election of Joseph II. as Roman king and to grant him the privilege of the *primae preces.*[4]

A few weeks later the Emperor Francis I. died suddenly at Innsbruck from apoplexy. The Pope sent letters of condolence to his widow and son [5] and delivered a memorial speech in the consistory of December 9th.[6] Maria Theresa then appointed Joseph II. co-regent, with the proviso which had been attached to her husband's appointment, namely, that she ceded none of her personal supremacy over the kingdoms and hereditary lands.[7] At the same time Joseph succeeded his father in his capacity of emperor without meeting with any objection from any quarter.

[1] *Letter to the Archbishop of Mainz, September 26, 1764, Epist., VII., f. 120, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 868 *seqq.* The wording of the Papal *letter of congratulation " Iosepho Romanorum Regi electo " of May 5, 1764 (Epist., VII., f. 271, Papal Secret Archives) is very similar to the letters written on the election of Leopold and Francis I.

[3] Bull., *loc. cit.*, 870 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 187–190 ; on pp. 193 *seq.* news of this to various German chapters and convents.

[5] *To Maria Theresa on September 17, to Emperor Joseph on October 19, 1765, Epist., VIII., f. 103 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] **Ibid.*, f. 189.

[7] ARNETH, VII., 169.

(2)

After a reign of thirty years, the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, who, like his father, Augustus II., also occupied the royal throne of Poland, died on October 5th, 1763. Though of blameless intention and conduct, the king had not been able to stem the increasing decay of the Polish power. Rarely residing in his kingdom, he convened his diets at one place or another on the frontier, so as to be able to return to Saxony as quickly as possible.[1] Thus he never came into close contact with either the nobility or the people of Poland. For the protection of Church interests he could always be relied on, so that with justice Clement XIII., both in his consistorial speech of May 9th, 1764,[2] and in his letter of sympathy to the Polish primate, Archbishop Lubieński of Gnesen, of May 12th,[3] could use words of grateful acknowledgment for the deceased prince's official activities.

King Frederick Augustus was the second and the last Wettin on the throne of the Polish elective monarchy. His failure to secure this inheritance for his sons was due primarily to the opposition of foreign powers, secondarily to the activities of political parties within the Piast realm and to its system of government.

On this occasion there were little grounds to fear the outbreak of a European war about the heritage of the Jagellons, as when Augustus II. had ascended the throne. France and Austria, which at first indeed favoured the Wettin crown prince, Frederick Christian, had no desire to encumber themselves unduly with Polish intrigues.[4] Moreover, Frederick

[1] HANISCH, *Gesch. Polens*, 246, 248.

[2] Text in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 2, 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, 40 *seq.* *Cf.* BENEDETTI, 28. Benedetti finds fault with the one-sidedness of Theiner's publication with much verbiage, but himself offers few citations from original sources.

[4] From the correspondence between Maria Theresa and the Saxon Electress Maria Antonia, in AD. BEER, II., 324 *seq.* For other efforts made by the latter for her husband Frederick Christian, *ibid.*, I., 107 *seqq.*; *cf.* 117 *seq.* For the activity of the Austrian State Chancellor Kaunitz in the question of the Polish

Christian died during the interregnum.[1] Also, the Papal nuncio Visconti, at Warsaw, received the instruction, in reply to a question put by the primate, who favoured the Saxon cause, to keep himself as aloof as possible from the electoral contest and only to intervene when foreign powers took a hand in the affair to the detriment of the Church.[2] This last misgiving proved to be only too well founded; Russia and her close ally Prussia now saw that the time had come to penetrate still more deeply into Polish affairs and to realize their long-cherished desires to enrich themselves with Polish territory.[3]

In the July of the previous year Catherine II. had made herself the ruler of Russia by the forcible removal of her incapable husband, the Czar Peter III. Her government was characterized by a curious contradiction. In her manifestoes and her political decrees this "Semiramis of the North" spoke in the language of the progressive enlightenment of the age, and with an incomparable gift of imitation and not without success she courted the homage of the literary giants of western Europe.[4] In her governmental practice, however, this princess of a German house, turned Russian, was a despot of the worst type of absolutism, for whom any personal or diplomatic means, no matter what their moral worth, were

succession, see *ibid.*, 118–125, 150 *seqq.* *Cf.* ARNETH, VIII., 33 *seqq.*, 45 *seqq.*

[1] BEER, I., 112; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 113. For the candidature of the Saxon Elector Prince Xaver, which followed closely on this, see BEER, I., 135 *seqq.*, and MASSÉ, *Un candidat au trône de Pologne*, in the *Revue de Paris* of October 1, 1905.

[2] Instruction for Visconti, October 29, 1763, in BENEDETTI, 105 *seqq.*; *cf.* 29.

[3] This was also foreseen in Rome: "*Teme [N.S.] e con fondamento che qualche nazionale compri dalla Prussia e dalla Moscovia il regno di Polonia con patti assai pregiudiziali alla religione e colla cessione di qualche paese alle due sopradette potenze." To Nuncio Pamfili in Paris, December 14, 1763, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, f. 104, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] JANSSEN, 33.

good enough to serve her ruthless system of government and not least her own person.

Naturally, therefore, Catherine eagerly embraced the opportunity which was now offered of conquering Poland. Since the time of Peter I. plans of this kind had formed part of the foreign policy of the Czars, though they were first unfolded in the agreements made between Prussia and Sweden in 1656.[1] On this occasion, too, the Prussian king, Frederick II. indicated that ideas of this kind were not distasteful to him, and so, still formally initiated by Peter III., an offensive and defensive treaty[2] was entered into by Catherine and Frederick, with secret clauses on the Polish question.

The principles herein enunciated, which were confirmed in 1764,[3] formed the guiding policy for every subsequent action against their helpless neighbour. Both powers undertook to see that the royal crown of Poland did not become hereditary and that in future it did not fall to a foreign prince, and that completely equal religious and political rights be obtained for the non-Catholic Poles. Thus, with admirable acumen were discovered in Poland's rusty machine of State the two levers which needed only to be pressed with a firm and ruthless hand to bring about the inevitable self-disintegration of the unhappy country.[4] Already, too, Catherine had found a suitable successor to Frederick Augustus[5] in Stanislaus Poniatowski, an enervated, indecisive weakling, who even in Peter III.'s lifetime indulged in illicit relations with the

[1] For the prehistory of the plan of partition, *ibid.*, 11 *seqq.*

[2] Of November 2, 1762, in THEINER, IV., 2, 1.

[3] JANSSEN, 44; KOSER, II., 437 *seq.*

[4] For the negotiations about the Polish succession and Russia's share, see BEER, I., 56–105.

[5] In a letter of October 11, 1763, she pointed out to the Elector in polite but unmistakable terms the poor prospects he had in the election; he ought not to stake his fortune on it, for she could only support a free and unbiassed election (BEER, II., 326). Whereupon the Elector assured her, under date November 28, 1763, he had no intention of using means that might endanger peace (*ibid.*, 326 *seq.*).

Czarina and on whom his sensual and brutal mistress considered she could rely on every possible occasion.[1]

Poniatowski's candidature for the Polish throne, however, was enthusiastically supported in his own country also by a prominent party, with whose leaders, the Czartoryski,[2] he was most closely related. To reacquire their old influence on the Polish government the Czartoryski had taken the lead in a powerful confederation of the nobility, which aimed at a reform of the constitution involving a stronger central authority and the curtailment of parliamentary rights.[3] Above all, the *Liberum veto*, viz. the privilege of every deputy to veto any decision, was to be abolished, since for many years past this right had rendered nugatory every national diet. The prospect of these plans succeeding considerably increased when the Czartoryski found that one of their relatives had been chosen by the Czarina as the pretender to the throne. After some preliminary misgivings they wholeheartedly supported Poniatowski, little dreaming what disappointments their so rapidly formed friendship with Russia had in store for them.[4]

Only one who trusted blindly in the slavish dependence of the lovesick adorer on the coolly calculating mistress of the political game could have believed in the success of the Russian plan. Catherine's confidence in the attainment of her object is seen most clearly in the instruction she drew up on the death of Frederick Augustus for her Warsaw representative, Count Keyserlingk,[5] and the subsequently notorious Repnin.[6] In this she repeated the fundamental

[1] See especially the study by FORST-BATTAGLIA, particularly in this connection, pp. 97 *seqq.*

[2] For this "family" party, see BEER, I., 114 *seq.*; HERRMANN, V., 365 *seqq.*

[3] JANSSEN, 47 *seqq.*

[4] Visconti's report of February 1, 1764, in THEINER, IV., 2, 25.

[5] For the character of this former professor of Königsberg, see BEER, I., 127 *seqq.*

[6] For this instruction, of November 6, 1763, *cf.* JANSSEN, 38 *seqq.*, and BEER, I., 130–134.

demand for the maintenance of the Polish electoral system in favour of a native of the country, and she nominated Poniatowski as the most suitable and worthy candidate, on condition that he promised, out of gratitude, to comply with all the Czarina's wishes in the future. The chief of these were the granting of equal rights to the dissidents and the most comprehensive right of intervention to Russia as the general guarantor of the Polish constitution. In this Catherine was already showing herself to be in the clearest opposition to the party of the Czartoryski, who were merely to serve her plan of ensuring the election of her favourite in Poland. At the same time she, as also the Prussian king, who faithfully followed her lead,[1] had the impudence to declare solemnly to the Poles that she wished to guard and defend their freedom and inviolability.[2] These words were to be repeated so often in the next few years that finally even the most gullible had to acknowledge the dishonesty such phrases cloaked.

On May 7th, 1764, when the national diet of convocation [3] met to prepare for the election in conformity with the constitution, the capital of Warsaw and its environs, particularly the royal palace and the place of assembly, were occupied by Russian troops and those of the Czartoryski.[4] The republican party, which was violently opposed to the confederation's programme of reform, first asked that the troops be withdrawn,[5] and then, on receiving an evasive reply from the Russian envoy,[6] they handed in a written protest and left the diet and the city [7]; their counter-confederations

[1] Visconti's report, February 22, 1764, in THEINER, *loc. cit.*

[2] JANSSEN, 40.

[3] For this diet, *cf.* HERRMANN, V., 369 *seqq.* Even during the elections for this diet there was a bloody encounter with Russian troops at Graudenz (BEER, I., 157 *seqq.*).

[4] Visconti reports fully thereon under date May 9, 1764, in THEINER, IV., 2, 28 *seq.* *Cf.* BEER, I., 161 *seqq.*

[5] Thus the primate under date April 16, 1764, in THEINER, IV., 2, 37 *seq.*

[6] Of April 17, 1764, *ibid.*, 38.

[7] Visconti's report of May 16, 1764, *ibid.*, 29.

were dispersed by soldiers of the Czarina.[1] The rump diet of the Czartoryski, despite its very limited duration, was thus enabled all the more quickly to conclude many reforming laws, aimed principally at increasing the power of the king and the royal commissions. The abolition of the *Liberum veto* was prevented by the objection of the foreign powers.[2] A discussion on the question of the dissidents, on the other hand, urged by the foreign representatives, was rejected by the meeting. Thus, this momentous question was left open from the beginning; Poniątowski's election was too much in the forefront.

Pope Clement XIII. had written personally to the Polish primate, the president of the senate, to thank him for his resistance to the demands of the dissidents.[3] A memorandum made by Stanislaus Konarski, one of the most highly reputed Polish theologians, is of importance in the matter.[4] There could be no question, he said, of the dissidents in Poland being in a state of oppression, since from early times the non-Catholics had enjoyed the free practice of their religion and the protection and legal assistance of the State—concessions which in the Protestant States of Europe had been made to religious minorities only through the most recent ordinances or not at all. The only rights they now needed for complete equality were political, namely, eligibility for the offices of national deputy and senator, of *Starost* (district governor) with judicial powers, and of the dignitaries of the crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. These restrictions had with good reason been maintained, to preserve the peace of the people as a whole. If these concessions were made, in the name of Christian love of one's neighbour, as

[1] Visconti's report of August 8, 1764, *ibid.*, 29 *seq.*

[2] JANSSEN, 48; BEER, I., 165.

[3] Letter of August 18, 1764, in THEINER, IV., 2, 42 *seq.* In a *Brief of June 2, 1764, the primate was given directions regarding the election. Epist., VI., f. 290, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* also *Briefs to other Polish bishops and dignitaries.

[4] Reproduced in THEINER, IV., 2, 69 *seqq.*

was demanded, the way to the most responsible positions in the State would be open to every imaginable body of thought, including even deists and atheists, and in view of the notorious activity of all these groups it was to be feared that in measurable time the Catholic majority of the nation would have to beg to be tolerated in these positions. Where in England, Holland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark had this Christian love of one's neighbour been practised towards the Catholics? When one thought of the religious wars in other countries, the Polish dissidents ought to consider themselves fortunate in the assured possession of their goods. Complete freedom of opinion and religion was guaranteed to them, as well as unrestricted opportunity for promotion in the army, and in the eyes of the State and the law they were equal to any other citizens.

In the last days of August 1764 the electoral diet was opened [1] and again functioned merely as the confederation of the Czartoryski. On September 3rd the Papal nuncio Visconti was granted a solemn audience by the assembly, in the open air.[2] In his address Visconti spoke of the necessity of preserving the Catholic Church and its guaranteed privileges.[3] On September 7th the result of the election was announced by the primate: Poniatowski, now called Stanislaus Augustus, had been elected unanimously.[4] Among the forty-seven articles of his electoral capitulation, the "*Pacta conventa*",[5] were some that considerably enlarged the royal power,[6] and others that promised peace and security

[1] BEER, I., 173 *seq.*

[2] The ceremony in all its details in THEINER, IV., 2, 43 *seq.* Visconti himself reports fully on it on September 6, 1764, *ibid.*, 31 *seq.*

[3] Text of the speech and the replies to it, *ibid.*, 44 *seqq.*

[4] Visconti's report of September 7, 1764, *ibid.*, 32. The Pope's recognition was conveyed to Visconti by a cipher message on May 4, 1765, BENEDETTI, 107 *seq.*

[5] In THEINER, IV., 2, 47 *seqq.* *Cf.* Visconti's report of September 19, 1764, *ibid.*, 32.

[6] JANSSEN, 51. The Papal *letter of congratulation on the

to the dissidents, but without prejudice to the privileges of the Catholic nobility. Also the other measures of reform decided on by the convocational diet were confirmed and thereby put into force, and the confederation of the Czartoryski was again upheld. The new king announced his election to the Pope and to most of the European princes[1]; the letter of thanks to Catherine II. was particularly cordial: by a unanimous vote the Polish nation had declared the most worthy man to be the one who had been proposed by the Czarina. The predominance of Russian influence in every direction was shown in the externals of the coronation ceremonies, at which the nuncio was ostentatiously placed second to Repnin in order of rank. The only excuse the king could proffer was that it created no precedent for the future.[2]

At this diet, too, the question of the dissidents was reopened by memoranda from the Russian and Prussian envoys.[3] The Czarina recalled her responsibility for the welfare of all the Orthodox, who ought not to be suppressed any longer. Clement XIII., however, had recently sent a letter to the primate and all bishops and senators, urging them to offer the greatest possible resistance in the matter, and as a result of this the government party again prevented the discussion of the question. In a conversation with Prince Czartoryski, the influential uncle of the king and the Lord Chancellor of Lithuania, Visconti obtained the assurance that despite the memoranda

election was dispatched to the king under date October 6, 1764; see Epist., VII., f. 125, Papal Secret Archives. On the same day (*ibid.*, f. 127) a *Brief was sent to the primate about the peaceful outcome of the election.

[1] THEINER, IV., 2, 55 *seqq.* For the difficulties in connection with the recognition, especially in Vienna and Paris, see BEER, I., 175–183; ARNETH, VIII., 73 *seqq.*

[2] See the royal declaration on November 23, 1764, in THEINER, IV., 2, 64, and Visconti's report of December 5, 1764, *ibid.*, 35 *seq.*

[3] Of September 14, 1764, *ibid.*, 63 *seq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN, 55 *seqq.*; BEER, I., 188.

there need be no fear of any innovations.[1] A similar assurance was given to the nuncio by the king. To Repnin's representations Visconti replied by referring to the hard lot of the Catholics in Russia,[2] and he made a similar retort to the Prussian envoy, Benoît, who paid him a visit to discuss the matter.[3]

When King Stanislaus Augustus sent the Pope notice of his coronation he promised renewed and unconditional protection of ecclesiastical rights and recommended to him his relative, Prince Joseph Czartoryski, as Polish chargé d'affaires.[4] On March 30th, 1765, the Pope communicated with the Emperor and Empress and on April 3rd with the kings of France and Spain, drawing their attention to the threatened situation of the Catholics in Poland and to the new king's manly championing of their rights ; on the latter's behalf he sought an alliance of friendship from the emperor and empress, and a demonstration of good will from the kings.[5] However, for the time being, the participation of the Catholic powers in the fate of Poland went no further than mere letters of congratulation.[6]

[1] Visconti's report, December 5, 1764, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Visconti's report, December 19, 1764, *ibid.* 36.

[4] February 1, 1765, *ibid.*, 72 *seq.* *Cf.* Visconti's report of January 2, 1765, *ibid.* 91.

[5] *Ibid.* 76 *seq.* Visconti reported on this to the king, who thanked him and made the most solemn promises (see his report of May 1, 1765, *ibid.* 92). *Cf.* the allocution of the Pope in the consistory of April 22, 1765, *ibid.*, 77 *seq.* In the *Cifra of April 4, 1765, to the Spanish nuncio Pallavicini the Pope draws attention to the importance of Poland, which was being seriously threatened by the heretic and the Turk. Nunziat. di Spagna, 462, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] The conditions made by France are mentioned in the cipher to Visconti of May 18, 1765, BENEDETTI, 109. For the Pope's subsequent disappointment at the reception given to his requests for intervention, *cf.* the ciphers to Visconti of December 5, 1767, and May 2, 1768, *ibid.*, 110, 112. The evasive reply written by

At first sight it seemed that the Russo-Prussian plans for Poland had failed, but actually their first condition of success had been fulfilled: Poniatowski was the acknowledged king, and the last traces of opposition to him in the country itself had disappeared. And so with perseverance and finally with the aid of force still more could be accomplished. Subsequently, however, the discord between Repnin and the Czartoryski grew steadily greater [1]; the king, instead of following the dictates of prudence and endeavouring to effect a compromise between the two, had recourse more and more to temporization, and before long found himself tossed hither and thither like a ball, the prey to the most varying moods.

Under date September 24th, 1766, Visconti supplied Rome with a detailed report on the situation.[2] He praised the outward activity of the king, who every morning called together an inner council of state and, in addition, frequently arranged for sessions of the senate. Moreover, according to the judgment of the nuncio, he was quite devoid of the inaccessibility of other sovereigns, being always ready to listen to the envoys, quite apart from official audiences. Repnin, however, was held in higher regard than the Papal representative, for which reason both avoided official functions so as not to be involved in further ceremonial embarrassments. Above all, it was difficult, owing to the numerous influences at work, especially those of the king's uncles, to obtain a decision from the government, too many individuals being involved. The ecclesiastical situation would be better were the bishops to show as much wisdom as zeal; even the primate, with whom, incidentally, the nuncio was not on the best of terms,[3] frequently forgot that he was a prince of the

the Spanish king, June 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 125 *seq.* The Imperial Government answered later in a similarly indefinite manner; see Von Chotkowski in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXLV., 43. *Cf.* Janssen, 42 *seqq.*

[1] Beer, I., 187; Ssolowjoff, 37.

[2] Second report on this day, in Theiner, IV., 2, 93–100.

[3] *Cf.* Visconti's report of October 1, 1766, *ibid.*, 100.

Church rather than a politician. The Polish clergy was unbelievably ignorant, while the laity, especially the governing circles, worshipped the prevailing ideas of " enlightenment ". The rich possessions of the Church and the inactivity of many of the Orders met with Visconti's disapproval, and the burdensome taxation of the clergy was discussed. The most important features of the situation were that the State wanted to restrict ecclesiastical rights as far as possible to the sacraments and dogma, while the clergy displayed too little tenacity and powers of resistance. Not much reliance should be placed on it by Rome.

Most bitterly, however, the nuncio complained on this occasion, too, that Russia and Prussia, relying on the catchword " toleration ", pressed unremittingly for equal political rights for the non-Catholic aristocracy. Other reports from Visconti [1] are also full of fears about forcible measures that might be taken by the Russians.

One could be quite certain, therefore, that at the coming national diet, which in the ordinary course would begin in the first days of October 1766,[2] these matters would inevitably have to be settled, the foreign representatives no longer having any grounds for postponing the decision in favour of more pressing tasks, as they had done at the last diet. In view of the Russian threats [3] the worst was to be feared.

Accordingly, the Catholic party had to prepare and arm itself with every means at its disposal. On this occasion, too, its spokesman was certainly not the primate Lubienski but the resolute Bishop Soltyk of Cracow. Already on July 8th of this year he had issued an urgent pastoral letter on the imminent danger that threatened the true faith.[4] He appealed

[1] Thus the report of September 17, the first of September 24, and that of October 1, 1766, *ibid.*, 93, 100.

[2] Fully reported in JANSSEN, 63 *seqq.* ; HERRMANN, V., 397 *seqq.*

[3] Visconti's report of September 24, 1766, in THEINER, IV., 2, 93. For the Russian preparations for this diet, see SSOLOWJOFF, 40 *seqq.*

[4] THEINER, IV., 2, 106 *seq.*

therein expressly to all deputies and senators and reminded them of their double responsibility, to God and to the fatherland. As bishop he ordered special prayers to be said daily before the Blessed Sacrament and at every Mass during the preparatory provincial diets and from September 28th until the end of the national diet; on the opening day, October 6th, a votive Mass of the Holy Ghost was to be celebrated in every church. Preachers were to read this pastoral letter on four holidays and at every opportunity they were to speak about the troubles of the time. Both the secular clergy and members of the religious orders were asked to say special prayers and to offer up many good works.

Soltyk also took political action. As the bishop of the largest diocese in Poland he turned for help to a number of Catholic princes abroad.[1] He spoke of the persistent pressure maintained by the representatives of non-Catholic powers at the court of Warsaw and asked that the king be not left in the lurch by the Catholic States. In September came a Papal letter [2] urging the primate, in conjunction with the other bishops of Poland, firmly to oppose the demands of the heretics, to support the king in this matter and to protect him from foreign influence. Lubieński's personal position, however, offered little hope of activity on his part in this direction.

At this national diet the king's personal attitude was more obscure than ever. For him there were other matters that were much more urgent than the question of the dissidents, one being the continuation of the constitutional reforms, on whose account he was again moving away from Russia and siding with the Czartoryski.

At the very beginning of the diet,[3] after the preliminary formalities, Bishop Soltyk obtained leave to make a speech, which was charged with lively ardour and Polish energy.[4]

[1] On August 10, 1766, *ibid.*, 107 *seq.*

[2] Of September 6, 1766, *ibid.*, 108; *Bull Cont.*, III., 1107.

[3] *Cf.* BEER, I., 195 *seqq.*

[4] Text of the speech, of October 11, 1766, in THEINER, IV., 2, 116 *seqq.*

As a bishop it was his duty to keep the wolves away from the sheepfold. As the representative of eternity he recalled the glorious centuries of the Polish people when it was one in faith. From pre-Reformation times he cited the laws against heretics inscribed in the written constitution of the State. However, the object of his speech was not only the preservation of the legal situation which had hitherto prevailed; he formulated a bill by which it would be forbidden in future, under pain of heavy punishments and the confiscation of goods, to work for equal rights for dissidents in the Polish State. The effect of these inflammatory words was great: the bishops assented, the deputies signified their agreement, the senators were silent.[1]

At this decisive moment the king intervened,[2] and what could be expected of him but that he would frustrate the whole proposal with his timorous circumspection? He praised the religious ardour of his people but considered it highly dangerous to undertake obligations in perpetuity, which was the prerogative of God. He then succeeded with a few turns of speech in diverting the attention of the assembly in another direction. The question of the dissidents was relegated to the end of the diet and was handed over to a commission for consideration. Opinions were divided on the prudence of Soltyk's action; many thought that his intervention was useless in view of the probability that the deputies would be easily influenced in another direction by the opposing party in the course of the national diet; others, that the dissidents would now undoubtedly work with every possible means to obtain a definitive success.[3]

Meanwhile, the question of constitutional reform was discussed. The latest innovations had met with success in the State finances [4] and consequently it was possible to decide on further reforms. In army and financial matters the

[1] Visconti's report, October 15, 1766, *ibid.*, 100 *seq.*

[2] Text of his speech, *ibid.*, 119 *seqq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN, 67.

[3] Visconti's report, October 15, 1766, *loc. cit.*

[4] JANSSEN, 67.

Liberum veto was to give way before the vote of the majority. But once again Repnin and Benoît came forward with the threat that their governments would regard such a decision as a formal declaration of war by Poland.[1] Under the pressure of Russian troops the Czartoryski had to forgo their programme for the second time.

Finally, the question of the dissidents came up for discussion. As recently as the end of October the king had disclosed to the nuncio that he had explained to the Czarina that her demands were impossible to fulfil, even if it meant the jeopardizing of his royal title and his life.[2] On November 4th Repnin was admitted to an audience with the national diet.[3] After some flattering words of introduction he made clear Catherine's unalterable wishes and handed in a memorandum [4] in which the Russian government referred to the Peace of Oliva in 1660, which designated the "northern Powers" as guarantors of the freedom of the Polish dissidents, and proclaimed its desire, for the sake of prosperity and internal peace, of removing the final obstacle of any outstanding disagreements; for freedom, it was here stated, rested on equality. A number of clerical rights and complete political equality were demanded, in which demands the governments of Prussia, Denmark, and England joined in further declarations.

Naturally Visconti, in his audience with the diet, had also to make a public declaration,[5] which he did in one of the most comprehensive and certainly one of the most moving speeches ever delivered before this assembly.[6] He gave vent to his indignation that such reprehensible tendencies had

[1] Visconti's report of October 22, 1766, *loc. cit.*, 101. The pronouncements of November 11, 1766, *ibid.*, 121. *Cf.* BEER, I., 198 *seqq.*; JANSSEN, 67; HERRMANN. V., 401.

[2] Visconti's report, October 29, 1766, *loc. cit.*, 101; JANSSEN, 67.

[3] Visconti's report of November 5, 1766, *loc. cit.*, 101 *seqq.*

[4] In THEINER, IV., 2, 109 *seqq.*

[5] The ceremonial of the audience, *ibid.*, 122 *seqq.*

[6] Text of the speech, *ibid.*, 124 *seqq.*

arisen in the Polish nation, which was otherwise so religious, and he spoke of the acute distress felt by the Holy Father on learning of these events. He painted in the most glaring light the consequences of the proposed laws of toleration. His words, which seemed to press upon each other in the overflowing of his emotion, amounted to a continual "*Cavete, vigilate*". He was in no way in favour of suppressing or persecuting those in error, but he demanded that the orthodox should not forget or underrate the one thing necessary. To this end he conjured the king personally in a lengthy address, also the bishops and the deputies. "I have spoken, the spirit of the Lord has spoken through me; His word has been uttered through my tongue. Carry out what you have received and heard, and the God of peace will be with you!" The effect of his speech was indescribable; by means of printed copies and translations its text was circulated throughout the country.[1]

How unjustified was the reference made by the foreign powers to their special character as guarantors of the peace of Oliva, was shown in a written reply from the Polish deputies to Benoit.[2] It was true that by this peace the free practice of their religion was conceded to the dissidents, but with the express proviso that it was to be "in accordance with the laws of the State", and the legislature of the time had not granted in any way the rights now demanded. Moreover, these clauses affected only the dissidents in the Prussian towns, certainly not those of the whole country. Any designation of Prussia as guarantor of the treaty was nowhere to be found; on the contrary, Prussia had strongly advised the Poles not to accept a foreign guarantor, which rôle Sweden was trying to adopt. No foreign voice had been raised in protest when the last laws affecting dissidents had been passed, from 1717 onwards, and it was precisely the Protestant and the Orthodox Powers which had set the best

[1] Reports of Visconti, November 19, 1766, and January 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 102, 208.

[2] *Ibid.*, 130 *seqq.*; *cf.* the Memoria in BENEDETTI, 98.

possible example of how to succeed in depriving of their rights the members of other faiths.

Further protracted negotiations were carried on in the diet among the bishops and between the king and the ambassadors.[1] Finally, the political demands of the dissidents were again rejected ; on the other hand, the former protective laws were renewed and several reliefs were granted them in the practice of their religious life, so far as the building of churches, divine service, burials, and stole fees were concerned. The privileges of the Catholic nobility remained intact.[2]

Thus, in a double attack through the regular constitutional channels the Russo-Prussian aims had proved to be unattainable. There were, however, irregular channels in the political life of Poland which, used in conjunction with methods of sheer force purporting to be most peaceful, promised to lead to ultimate success.

In a letter to the Polish king, Catherine II. was not sparing with her censure for the unsuccessful issue of the national diet which had just been held.[3] In the most harmless manner she pledged herself to act all the more energetically to ensure the welfare of her neighbour-nation ; the demands of the dissidents being of a civic, not a religious nature, no one could harbour the suspicion that the Czarina was in any way desirous of injuring the independence and the interests of Poland. Accordingly she proposed to Stanislaus Augustus an extraordinary diet of pacification for 1767. This was duly convoked.

At the same time, under the pressure of Russian soldiers and agitators, and not least of Russian money,[4] armed confederations of the dissident nobility were being formed.

[1] Visconti reports fully thereon on November 26, 1766, in THEINER, IV., 2, 102 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* the extracts from the diet records for November 29, 1766, which Visconti sent to Rome, *ibid.*, 129 ; JANSSEN, 69 *seq.*

[3] Her letter, of February, 3, 1767, and a similar one from Panin to Repnin, in THEINER, IV., 2, 151 *seqq.*, 155 *seqq.*

[4] JANSSEN, 71 ; SSOLOWJOFF, 49 *seqq.*

As early as March Repnin informed the king of leagues existing at Thorn in Poland and at Sluzk in Lithuania.[1] Both were under the explicit protection of the Russian sovereign, which apparently they had sought of their own accord. Repnin actually went so far as to fix a time for the king to decide either, as was expected by the Czarina, to recognize the confederations and to admit them to an audience, or to allow the Russian threats to be put into execution. Meetings of the cabinet alternated with counter-representations up to the last moment. Finally, all serious resistance gave way before the inexorable attitude of the ambassador.[2]

How much more decisive and unequivocal were these representations of Russia, compared with those of the Catholic Powers! What was the use of Clement XIII. praising with cordial thanks the friendly attitude towards the Church shown by the king and the deputies during the past year and of his urging them to continue in their loyalty?[3] What was the use, when the Pope's pleas for intervention[4] made to the Catholic cabinets of Europe met with only a feeble response? On the death of the primate of Poland, Lubieński, in June 1767,[5] the king, under pressure from Repnin, named as his

[1] Visconti's reports of March 25 and April 1, 1767, *loc. cit.*, 209 *seq.*; BEER, I., 203 *seqq.*; HERRMANN, V., 410 *seqq.*

[2] Fully reported on by Visconti, April 18, 1767, *loc. cit.*, 210 *seqq.*; SSOLOWJOFF, 53 *seq.*

[3] Letters to the king, April 18, and to the primate, April 21, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 147 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1147 *seq.* Further letters of admonition, of July 15 and 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 1289 *seq.*, 1292 *seq.*

[4] See the Papal letters of April 29 and 30, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 160 *seq.* *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, III., 1154 *seq.* In the same way as he had urged Vienna and Madrid, says the *cipher of April 29, 1767, to the nuncio Pamfili, the Pope was urging also the king of France to protect the Polish Church against the attacks of the Czarina, and at the same time he explained the legal situation of the dissidents in Poland. Nunziat. di Francia, 455, especially f. 82 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf. ibid.*, *cipher of June 5, 1767.

[5] Visconti's report of June 24, 1767, *loc. cit.*, 213 *seq.*

successor, Podowski, whose reprehensible character and unqualified compliance with the wishes of Russia were well known.[1] At first, in spite of all Podowski's fine promises, the Pope, too, refused to recognize him and demanded deeds instead of words.[2] At the end of August, however, Podowski was confirmed by the Papal authority as Archbishop of Gnesen and Polish primate.[3]

Meanwhile, Russian attempts to foment a revolution in Poland against the king and the national diet continued,[4] and even affected many circles of the Catholic nobility opposed to reform. Here, too, under Russian protection, confederations were formed throughout the country.[5]

It was a masterpiece of Russian diplomacy, quite in keeping with Repnin's brutality, to join all these greatly varying movements into one solid attack on Warsaw for the benefit of Moscow. This was the object of the congress held at Radom on June 23rd, 1767.[6] Each single confederation here united into a general one; by the wish of the Czarina, Prince Radziwill, who had been living in exile in Dresden, became its leader. The representatives of the Catholic groups of nobles were in the majority, so that they especially were surprised by the wording of the instrument which, under Russian

[1] Visconti's reports of June 24 and July 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 213 *seq.*, 215 *seq.* *Cf.* BENEDETTI, 41 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, p. 90, No. 18, Podowski's letter to the Pope, July 19, 1767, asking for recognition, is cited.

[2] Papal letter of August 12, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 171 *seq.*

[3] Letter of August 31, 1767, *ibid.*, 175 *seq.* Even Soltyk and the Cracow chapter finally supported him (*ibid.*, 162 *seqq.*); similarly under date July 18, 1767, Visconti, in spite of his former reluctance (*ibid.*, 216 *seq.*). For his consecration by Soltyk and the subsequent celebrations, see Durini's third report of September 30, 1767, *ibid.*, 226.

[4] By the beginning of June, 24 confederations had been formed in Lithuania alone; see SSOLOWJOFF, 57; HERRMANN, V., 419.

[5] BEER, I., 206 *seq.*; SSOLOWJOFF, *loc. cit.*; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 131.

[6] BEER, I., 207 *seqq.*; HERRMANN, V., 420 *seqq.*

pressure, was laid before them for their signature.[1] Their republican desires were here relegated completely to the background to make way for the most definite demands on behalf of the dissident nobility which were to be made in the name of the confederation. Naturally, they demurred; but anyone leaving the building without having signed was faced by Russian firearms and cannon. The Catholic confederates had to yield to force and sign, but nearly all with the express reservation that the Catholic privileges be preserved.[2] However, the Russian rule of force went further still and extracted a resolution from the general confederation denying every senator or deputy who would not adopt their programme the right to vote.[3] In this way even the bishops, headed by the primate and followed even by Bishop Soltyk of Cracow, were induced to join the confederation on terms, reluctant to bar every avenue to themselves at a single stroke and to abandon their dioceses to an enraged soldiery.[4]

At the end of August there began the provincial diets for the elections to the diet of pacification. The conditions in which they were held present much the same picture of Russian brutality; wherever any resistance to the general confederation showed itself it was crushed by Repnin with the harshest measures.[5] In other parts of the country, however, the realization of the gravity of the situation overcame the

[1] This programme of June 23, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 163 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*; Visconti's report of July 29, 1767, *ibid.*, 217. More detailed are Durini's report of August 19, 1767, *ibid.*, 218 *seq.*, and the supplement to his report of October 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 236 *seqq.*

[3] Durini's third report of October 3, 1767, *ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[4] Durini's report of August 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 219 *seq.* For the difficult negotiations about the text of their declarations of adherence, *cf.* Durini's reports of September 23 and October 3, 1767, *ibid.*, 223 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*, and the texts, *ibid.*, 166 *seq.*, 172 *seq.*

[5] Durini's reports of September 2, 9, 23, and 30, 1767, *ibid.*, 221 *seqq.*

fear of Russian terrorism, and the national deputies were given instructions which were less in accordance with Repnin's desires.

In the midst of these troubles the voice of the Church had not been silent. On hearing that Catholic confederations had joined with those of the dissidents, the Pope wrote urgent letters to the king and the primate and to all the bishops, asking them, in view of the prevailing confusion of ideas, to provide the Catholic people with clear principles and to set them a personal example.[1] Once more the first to answer the summons was Soltyk, who sent a circular letter to all the provincial diets.[2] He justified this step by recalling his membership, as a bishop and senator, of the electoral body of the nation and the well-known attitude he had adopted towards the question of the dissidents at the last national diet. God, the Church, and the whole world, he said, now awaited from the Poles a proof of their loyalty to the old faith. Finally, he admonished all to frame suitable instructions for those they had elected. As in the previous year, Soltyk also issued a pastoral letter to his diocese [3] and encouraged it to persevere in the long and serious trial with which it had pleased God to visit it but which with His help could be overcome. On this occasion, too, he ordered that prayers be said in all the churches, especially at every Mass, that a reference to the national diet be made from the pulpit, and that many good works be offered up. In the whole of the kingdom there was only one other bishop who could approach Soltyk in zeal, Zaluski of Kiev. He composed a similar pastoral letter [4] and had later to share Soltyk's fate.

Most unworthy, on the other hand, was the attitude of the new Polish primate, who devoted himself unreservedly to the furtherance of the Russian aims. He was even bold enough

[1] Papal letters of July 15 and 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 168 *seqq.*

[2] Under date August 15, 1767, *ibid.*, 172 *seq.* *Cf.* SSOLOWJOFF, 61.

[3] On August 28, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 173 *seq.*

[4] Dated August 30, 1767, *ibid.*, 174 *seq.*

to approach Soltyk as a tempter, assuring him of Repnin's genuine good will if he would refrain from causing the same inconveniences at the forthcoming national diet as he had done at the previous one. On the bishop failing to be affected by these vain prospects, Podowski tried to frighten him with the horrible measures of violence which would be taken by the Russian potentate.[1] He was made, however, to feel the moral superiority of his suffragan, who reminded him of his duties as a bishop and, in view of the far-reaching concessions already made to the dissidents, rejected all his demands.

The date fixed for the extraordinary national diet was drawing near. Once more Clement XIII. had written clear admonitions to king and bishops, senators and provincial deputies.[2] To Stanislaus Augustus he repeated the words of Pope Celestine I. to the Emperor Theodosius: "The cause of the faith must have greater weight with you than that of the State; you must be more solicitous for the peace of the Church than for that of the world. Let God's will be done first, and all good fortune will follow in its wake." How bad the situation was in respect of the Church's influence at the Polish national diet is shown by what happened on the occasion of these Papal communications; it was only with difficulty that those friendly to the Church succeeded in having the Papal Briefs read at the ensuing discussions.[3]

Repnin had agreed with the leaders of the general confederation on a plan of action[4]: the discussions were not to be allowed to take their own course as hitherto; the power of the national diet was to be reduced. The most extreme measures were ready to be taken. To quell Soltyk's resistance Russian troops had invaded his bishopric and had taken up

[1] *Cf.* the record of the conversation of September 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 176 *seq.*

[2] On September 12, 1767, *ibid.*, 177 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1360 *seq.*

[3] Durini's report of October 6, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 229 *seqq.*

[4] Durini's report of October 4, 1767, *ibid.*, 227.

their quarters there in a ruthless fashion, especially in the episcopal property.[1]

At the opening of the national diet on October 4th,[2] the king sanctioned the general confederation [3]; Prince Radziwill was made marshal of the assembly. The opening speech, setting out the programme of the general confederation and proposing a treaty of protection and guarantee with Russia, showed straightway to what a pass the famous Polish freedom had been reduced. Instead of debating the problems of the day in full session—said the speaker—it would be better to submit them to a committee—this was Repnin's desire—for consideration and decision, subject to the subsequent approval of the whole diet. Within this committee of sixty members the decisive authority would lie with an inner commission. These duties were to be completed before February 1st of the coming year; until then the plenary session might adjourn.[4]

Bishop Soltyk, perceiving the injustice of this procedure, argued in a calmly-delivered speech [5] that it was not in accordance with the intention of the authorities and instructions given to the provincial deputies; above all, it was entirely contrary to the spirit of the Polish constitution, which, indeed, protected a *Liberum Veto*, to concede to a few persons such a power of authority in momentous questions. The bishops agreed with him, only the primate remaining silent [6]; Rzewuski, however, the palatine of Cracow, spoke in support of his bishop's viewpoint. Nevertheless, on the second day the proposal to set up the committee was laid before the house.[7] A number of bishops and provincial deputies

[1] A record of all the plundering and excesses, *ibid.*, 188.

[2] Comprehensive report thereof by Durini, October 5, 1767, *ibid.*, 227 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* BEER, I., 213 *seqq.*

[4] HERRMANN, V., 424.

[5] Of October 5, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 187 *seq.* *Cf.* Durini's report of the same day, *loc. cit.*

[6] On this very day Soltyk, in an admonitory letter, had reminded him of his duties to the Church. THEINER, IV., 2, 186.

[7] Text, *ibid.*, 185 *seq.*

announced their disapproval of the project to entrust the decision to the committee and wanted it to be granted only preparatory powers. Subsequently, after a brief adjournment of the diet, more intimate discussions took place in the king's presence.[1]

When the diet met again in full session on October 12th, Soltyk considered it opportune to announce his emphatic opposition to the aims of the general confederation and the Russian agitators.[2] Firstly, he protested against the presence in Polish territory of " Russian auxiliary troops ", which had lately been reinforced. They were unnecessary, he said, since Poland was neither waging war, nor intending to wage war, on anyone ; if they were necessary for the preservation of peace within Poland, that implied a serious breakdown of the State. At the last national diet the proposal to increase the army had been rejected on account of the cost ; how then was it now proposed to maintain a foreign army in the country ? Moreover, the behaviour of the Muscovite troops was scarcely peaceful and friendly.

Turning to the proposal to grant full powers to the committee, Soltyk contested the necessity for a fresh treaty with St. Petersburg. If the Polish dissidents considered themselves maltreated they could protest to the competent Polish authorities. And it was perfectly absurd to appoint one party to the treaty, namely Russia, as guarantor ; even anyone unversed in politics could see how ridiculous that was. And why appoint a guarantor before they knew the substance of the treaty ? If this resolution was passed it might well be the last to be passed by free Poland. With an earnest appeal and quoting from the books of Maccabees, the courageous bishop brought his inspiriting speech to an end.

It was to be his last. On the following day the doughty champion of freedom, along with his most loyal helpers, Bishop Zaluski of Kiev, the Palatine Rzewuski of Cracow,

[1] First report by Durini on October 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 231 *seq.*

[2] Text of his speech, *ibid.*, 190 *seqq.*

and his son, was arrested.[1] They were taken across the frontier into tne interior of Russia, where they remained in banishment. Soltyk's diocese received from him a stirring letter of farewell, expressing unbroken strength and fortitude.[2] He set out with care the administration of his orphaned flock and assured his readers that his spirit would live on in the diocese in his faithful helpers. The righteous anger of the Pope [3] and the many efforts of his friends [4] to obtain his release were unavailing. Because of these violations of international law the Lord High Chancellor of the realm, Zamoyski, surrendered his office to the king.[5] Owing to the spirit of depression which afflicted the whole country, the proposal to invest the committee with full powers was now easily converted into a resolution.

Repnin's attitude towards this committee of negotiation was just as arrogant as ever.[6] Towards recalcitrants he used the most insulting language and personally subjected them to methods of violence. In the question of the dissidents he presented his demands in six points, later formulated in twenty articles, and he pressed for their acceptance without a debate.[7] Though the committee had been selected

[1] Second report by Durini on October 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 233, *Cf.* also NOVAES, XV., 112; JANSSEN, 83 *seq.*; BEER, I., 216; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 133; SSOLOWJOFF, 71 *seq.*; ARNETH, VIII, 131.

[2] Dated October 13, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 188 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* his letter to the primate, November 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 201. In three letters of November 21, 1767, Clement XIII. comforted the prisoners and confirmed Soltyk's instructions. *Ibid.*, 198 *seqq.*

[4] The bishops addressed a petition to the king, dated December 19, 1767 (*ibid.*, 202 *seqq.*). In the diet, too, the petition was subscribed to; *cf.* Durini's two reports of October 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 233 *seq.*

[5] Durini's first report of October 17, 1767, *ibid.* His post was occupied by a friend of the Russians. Durini's report of October 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 235 *seq.*

[6] Durini's report of December 23, 1767, *ibid.* 246.

[7] Durini's report of November 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 239 *seq.*

unanimously, considerable liveliness was displayed at some of its thrice-weekly sessions. The Church party put forward as their minimum demands a number of privileges and safeguards known as the "six articles".[1] According to these the Catholic religion was to continue to enjoy its predominance, the king and queen would have to belong to it, apostasy would be punished as a crime, and the Greek Uniates would be protected by the State. Conditions in Prussia, Courland, and Semgallen called for special treatment. In a few weeks this part of the treaty was drawn up,[2] and Repnin demanded its signature without reservations. The first to sign was the primate, who was followed by the other members of the committee.[3]

The second part of the treaty dealt with the Polish constitution.[4] All previous reforms were set aside and twenty-four basic and unchangeable laws were proposed for the Polish nation. To these was joined, under fourteen heads, a combination of the State laws which would be passed by the Polish national diet, provided that complete unanimity was attained.[5] The utmost consideration had been paid to the desires regarding the constitution held by certain aristocratic circles which were most hostile to reform; the reform programme of the Czartoryski was thereby ruined.[6] The guaranty of both parts of the treaty was to be undertaken by Russia.

This did not by any means exhaust the Czarist plans for breaking up the ecclesiastical constitution of Poland.[7] In

[1] Durini's report of November 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 241 *seq.*

[2] As the "Actus separatus primus" of the "Everlasting Treaty", *ibid.*, 250 *seqq.*

[3] Durini's report of December 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 243 *seq.*

[4] Durini's report of December 9, 1767, *ibid.*, 244 *seq.* *Cf.* BEER, I., 220 *seqq.*; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 135 *seq.*

[5] As the "Actus separatus secundus", in THEINER, IV., 2, 260 *seqq.*

[6] The previous reforms were annulled. JANSSEN, 87 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* *Cipher of November 18, 1767, to the nunzio Giraud in Paris: "sicchè da questi soli commissari, o per meglio dire, dal

several separate interviews with the primate and with other members of the committee Repnin still discussed the project of completely severing the Church of Poland from Rome [1]; the nunciature in Warsaw was to be closed and the supreme ecclesiastical and civil powers were to be transferred to a Polish national synod on the Russian model. A number of learned theologians drew up counter-proposals,[2] and the bishops presented to the king a vigorously-worded protest [3]; Durini, too, who had succeeded Visconti in the Warsaw nunciature in August, 1767, spoke in the plainest terms.[4] The bishops were particularly indignant because Catherine had expressly promised in her letter that the Catholic Church would be secured in its former existence; it might well be that differences of opinion would arise with Rome, as in other States, which could be discussed; but the example of France and other States showed that they ought not to think of a complete break on that account. Repnin also made violent attempts at the sessions of the committee to force upon it the establishment of the "Everlasting Synod" but repeatedly had to postpone the question for further consideration.[5] The objection of the Lithuanians and several bishops he countered, as was his wont, with a veritable torrent of abuse.[6] However,

capriccio della Czarina può dipendere il sovvenimento [sovvertimento ?] di tutto lo stato sì civile che religioso dell' intera nazione, resa già schiava di una potenza, che, sotto titolo di amica, di vicina e di protettrice, la opprime nei modi più inauditi e violenti: e quindi Ella ben vede se con gran ragione il Nunzio Apost., i vescovi e le persone zelanti doveano agire con ogni vigore e senza umani riguardi per riparare una sì gran rovina." Nunziat. di Francia, 455, f. 118, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See especially Durini's reports of December 23, 1767, and January 17, 1768, *loc. cit.*, 246, 267 *seq.*

[2] Thus Konarski again; see Durini's report of January 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 267.

[3] Under date December 19, 1767, *ibid.*, 202 *seqq.*

[4] Durini's report of January 31, 1768, *ibid.*, 268.

[5] Durini's report of January 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 267.

[6] Durini's report of January 31, 1768, *ibid.*, 268.

at the end of January 1768 the proposal, outwardly modified and partly treated as a secret document, was adopted.[1]

The turn taken by ecclesiastical affairs in Poland after this pacification diet was most distressful to the Pope, especially as he was already strongly at variance with most of the other governments over the Jesuit question. Consequently he appealed once more to the Viennese government for support for Poland,[2] whose king and episcopacy in a few weeks' time also received fresh admonitory letters from Rome.[3] On Christmas Eve 1767 the Pope called an extraordinary consistory after vespers and informed the Cardinals of the disastrous events which had taken place in Poland.[4] He told

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Under date November 7, 1767, to Maria Theresa and Joseph II., *Bull. Cont.*, III., 471 *seq.*

[3] Under date January 6, 1768, to the king, the primate, and the bishops, *ibid.*, 479 *seqq.*

[4] This allocution in the consistory of December 24, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 205 *seq.* The cipher of December 5, 1767 (probably to Durini, not Visconti), in BENEDETTI, 110 *seq.*, speaks of the complaints about Repnin's tyrannous behaviour, of the dissatisfaction with the primate and the government, and of the disappointment caused by the failure of the requests for intervention by the Powers. Similarly the *cipher of December 31, 1767, to the nuncio Lucini in Madrid: "Nostro Signore ha graditi i passi da Lei fatti con S. Mtà Cattca riguardo all' afflittissimo stato della religione in Polonia. La Stà Sua è ricorsa egualmente alle corti di Parigi e di Vienna, ma senza ottenerne frutto alcuno. Questa però, prescindendo anche dai motivi di pietà, s'accorgerà prima degli altri, ma troppo tardi, del gran male che sovrastà alla Germania dal predominio che i Moscoviti han preso nella Polonia. Questa dovrà in avvenire servilmente soggiacere a ogni loro capriccio, e introdotto che sia, come succederà in breve, nel Senato un buon numero di protestanti e di scismatici, s'impedirà nelle Diete ogni risoluzione che non sia per essere di piacere alla Czara, e quel corpo d'esercito, che seguiterà a dimorare nel regno per l'esecuzione del nuovo empio trattato, sarà anche a portata di entrare a ogni primo suono di tromba nei stati

them of the unlawful arrest of the two bishops, of the reign of terror imposed by the Russian troops, and of the grave fears he had regarding the national diet which was to reassemble in February to ratify the measures that had been taken since the last session. He then besought the Sacred College to dwell on these matters in their private prayers during the feast of Christmas. Furthermore, he caused public prayers to be said before the Blessed Sacrament in the principal churches of Rome during the next few days,[1] and the culminating point of the triduum of prayer was to be a solemn procession of intercession in St. Peter's on the feast of the Holy Innocents, December 28th, in which the whole College, the prelature, and the clergy of the city were to participate [2] and on which occasion a plenary indulgence would be granted on the usual conditions. Special prayers for the welfare of Poland were composed in the Vatican, printed, and generally distributed.[3]

When, amid intense excitement, the national diet of pacification met for its second series of sittings, in February 1768, the number of those present was considerably less than before.[4] The "everlasting treaty between the Republic of

austriaci e nello impero germanico." Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, f. 133 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] The instructions of December 24, 1767, in THEINER, IV., 2, 206 *seq.*

[2] Extracts from the instruction in BENEDETTI, 92, No. 25. *Cf.* NOVAES, XV., 112 *seq.*

[3] See the Papal instruction to the clergy to take part in the procession, in THEINER, IV., 2, 207. To BENEDETTI's repeated complaints (36 *seq.*, 40, 43–7) that the Pope pursued merely an ecclesiastical, opportunist policy, to Poland's detriment, whereas he alone might have saved Poland, as by a miracle, should be opposed Clement XIII.'s use of every political means at his disposal in the generally difficult situation and that in his conscientious inflexibility in ecclesiastical matters he was serving only the independence of Poland.

[4] For the failures and difficulties of the Church party in the diet, *cf.* *cipher of January 20, 1768, to the nuncio Giraud in

Poland and the Empire of Russia",[1] as it had been signed by the committee, was ratified without difficulty, thereby subjecting the constitution and the independence of Poland to Russia as the superintending guarantor.[2] There was now no other course open to the Papal nuncio Durini but to make a public protest.[3]

Paris: "Le cose della religione in Polonia sono purtroppo rovinate affatto. N. S. ha scritto nuovi Brevi al Re, al Primate, ai vescovi, benchè poco o niun frutto ne speri, essendo già iniquamente prese tutte le risoluzioni. Msgr. Durini ha praticate tutte le diligenze possibili, ma il consiglio dei malignanti, sostenuto colla forza, ha prevaluto. Anzi, per mettere il Nunzio in stato di poter meno agire e renderlo più odioso al partito innovatore, si è cercato di screditarlo, come se avesse voluto propugnare la libertà della nazione in pregiudizio dell'autorità regia. Su di questo punto ha avute da Noi le più precise istruzioni per prescinderne; ma è anche vero, che, dovendo egli eccitare i più zelanti della nazione al sostegno della religione, ed essendo questi mescolati anche nelle cose politiche, sarà parso ai male intenzionati, o almeno è tornato loro conto di credere e spargere che il Nunzio vi mettesse fuoco. Per altro alcune cose politiche erano di tal natura ed hanno sì stretta unione colla religione, che non poteva a meno il Nunzio di non interloquirvi. In tanto se gli e segretamente ordinato di fare nella riassunzione della Dieta una solenne protesta contro tutti i pregiudizii inferitisi alla religione." Nunziat. di Francia, 455, f. 135 *seq.*, *loc. cit.*

[1] Text in THEINER, IV., 2, 247–264.

[2] The king and marshals signed the treaty on March 5, 1768, and the confederation was thereby dissolved. *Cf.* BEER, I., 222; KOSER, II., 450.

[3] Durini's report of February 10, 1768, *loc. cit.*, 268: "Stiamo con gran sospensione d'animo attendendo l'esito della Dieta di Polonia. La protesta fatta da Msgr. Durini ha fortemente irritato il Ministro Russo. Ma Dio buono! come mai può N. S., senza tradire il proprio pastorale ufficio, ammutolirsi nel vedere che un regno cattolico è costretto a sottomettersi a leggi le più inique ed ingiuste e contrarie alle massime e alla integrità della nostra religione." (Cipher of March 9, 1768, to the nuncio Giraud in Paris, Nunziat. di Francia, 455, f. 143, *loc. cit.*) The Papal

Repnin now thought himself to be master of the situation, but he was wrong. The method he had himself adopted, that of revolution within the bounds of the constitution, was to be used without pity against him. The landed nobility of Poland, glorying in the liberties that had been bestowed upon them, refused to submit to his rule of force. With the watchword, "Follow me, all who love their country and their Church!" there was formed at Bar within a few months, under Krasiński's leadership, a confederation of the "Malcontents".[1] In a short time there arose a number of similar unions which on many occasions successfully offered armed resistance to the advancing Russian troops.[2] Bar itself fell to the Russians.[3] The situation was then complicated by the rising of Ukrainian Orthodox peasants, the so-called Haidamaks, who, obviously by agreement with the Russians, fought against the confederations.[4] The general insecurity became so great that soon the whole of Poland was as if in a state of war. On top of all this, in October 1768 came the Turkish declaration of war on Russia.[5] Those who favoured the Bar movement rejoiced in this unexpected friendship of alliance and followed with rising spirits the news of the overwhelmingly

minute on the protest in BENEDETTI, 93, No. 28; *ibid.*, No. 29, Poniatowski's letter of justification, February 13, 1768.

[1] Durini's report of June 8, 1768, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* BEER, I., 226 *seqq.*; SSOLOWJOFF, 77; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 137 *seq.* The Pope advised caution at first towards the new confederation (cipher to Durini—instead of Visconti—of May 14, 1768, in BENEDETTI, 113). In the instruction for Durini, of June 26, 1768 (*ibid.*, 114 *seqq.*), Rome's demands in the Polish Church question were fully set out under nine heads.

[2] Durini's reports of June 15 and 29 and September 7, 1768, *loc. cit.*, 270–2.

[3] *Cf.* BEER, I., 232; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 140 *seq.*

[4] Durini's report of July 6, 1768, *loc. cit.*, 271 *seq.*; SSOLOWJOFF, 79 *seqq.*

[5] Durini's report of October 26, 1768, *loc. cit.*, 273. *Cf.* his reports of May 18 and 25, 1768, *ibid.*, 268 *seq.*; BEER, I., 233 *seqq.*, 237 *seqq.*

victorious advance of the Ottoman army.[1] When the fighting shifted to Polish territory and Prussian troops took up positions on the frontier, the king could not but fear that before long everyone would take up arms and that his country would become a theatre of war in which foreign powers would struggle for supremacy.[2] During the preceding months he had been lamentably wanting in self-reliance and he now realized with terror how near his country was to ruin, not without the fault of its chosen and crowned leader. He felt himself lonely and abandoned and too weak to stem the flood of civil war which had been released.[3] When, in November 1768, the national diet was due to reassemble, only fifteen deputies presented themselves, owing to the general insecurity, and the king refused to open the diet.[4]

The year 1769 brought at first no recovery or lessening of hostilities. New confederations sprang up in every corner of the realm. Even the Protestant aristocracy of Lithuania closed its ranks in revolt against the Russian rule of force and against the excessive concessions to the dissident party which had been forced upon it.[5] Bloody encounters between the Czarina's troops and the confederates followed one upon the other.[6] Finally, the latter stood outside the capital. The Russian envoy prepared himself for flight, while the king had his palace shut off with chains every night and protected by cannon.[7] Poland's fate seemed to be sealed. Amid a ferocious civil war there came to an end the first part of the tragedy which during succeeding pontificates was to lead to the complete disintegration of the kingdom.

[1] Durini's reports of February 15 and 18, 1769, *loc. cit.*, 281.

[2] Durini's reports of November 8, 1768, and February 18, 1769, *ibid.*, 274 *seq.*, 281.

[3] Durini's report of November 8, 1768, *ibid.*, 274 *seq.*

[4] Durini's two reports of November 9, 1768, *ibid.*, 275.

[5] A pronouncement of the confederation to this effect, in April, 1769, *ibid.*, 278 *seq.*

[6] Durini's report of February 18, 1769, *ibid.*, 281.

[7] Durini's reports of April 1 and May 31, 1769, *ibid.*, 282 285 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI

Jansenism in France and the Netherlands—Febronianism in Germany—Political "Enlightenment" under Maria Theresa.

(1)

Benedict XIV.'s Encyclical on the administration and the withholding of the Sacraments had no more put an end to the French parliament's encroachment on the internal affairs of the Church than had Louis XV.'s pronouncement of December 10th, 1756.[1] In the opinion of the Roman Secretary of State the Government displayed inconstancy and weakness in matters which affected religion no less than the royal prestige, whereas the parliament was bold and decisive in putting its principles into practice and in favouring a party which openly opposed the authority of the Church and the king. If the Government thought that by such indulgence they were showing their contempt for the Jansenists, one could only hope for their enlightenment from above. Nothing of such contempt would be apparent to the Jansenists themselves, who at last had met with toleration after a forty years' struggle, and still less would they interpret in this sense the severity with which bishops and priests were punished when they dared to open their mouths, not to mention what happened when they took action in accordance with the laws of the Church. The people, witnessing the banishment and condemnation of defenders of the true faith, would regard these steps not as contempt for the Jansenists but rather as disrespect for the ecclesiastical and civil power. The Government had declared itself to be against the Jansenists often enough, but the people were by now accustomed to

[1] *Cf.* our description, Vol. XXXV, 280 *seq.*

seeing them come off best.[1] In the absence of the banished archbishop, moreover, it was no wonder that the convulsionaries and *illuminati* were once more the talk of the town.[2]

In these circumstances the assembly of the clergy which met in the year 1765 deemed it necessary not only to fight against the incursion of free thought but also to emphasize once more the rights of the spiritual power and to declare their submission to the Bull *Unigenitus* and Benedict XIV.'s Encyclical. The parliament's reply to this was to suppress the announcements made by the assembly of the clergy and

[1] " * L'incostanza e fiacchezza con cui la Corte si regola negli affari che interessano non meno la religione che l'autorità del Sovrano, è ben dissimile dalla fermezza e dal coraggio con cui i parlamentari avanzano sempre nel loro cammino, seguendo le proprie massime ed aumentando il loro potere e credito, con proteggere un partito, che apertamente resiste all'autorità della Chiesa e quella del Re. Dio voglia che S. M^tà e i suoi ministri s'illuminino un giorno su questo articolo e arrivino a comprendere che i giansenisti non potranno mai attribuire a disprezzo che si abbia di loro quella tolleranza che si vedranno accordata dopo quaranta in cinquanta anni d'un contratto, in cui sono stati con tanto vigore sostenuti dai parlamenti, e molto meno il rigore con cui si puniscono i vescovi e gli ecclesiastici che ardiscono solamente parlare, non che procedere contro di loro secondo i canoni. Il popolo spettatore degli esigli e condanne dei difensori della sana dottrina, non concepisce certamente disprezzo pel giansenismo, ma bensì per l'autorità della Chiesa ed anche per quella del Re, che tante volte ha dichiarato il suo impegno per questa causa, avvezzandosi a veder con applauso i vantaggi che si riportano dal partito contrario alle professate intenzioni della corte." The Secretary of State to the nuncio Gualtieri, April 11, 1749, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, fo. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] " * Sentiremo gli espedienti che prenderà la Corte sopra i fanatici convulsionari e le non meno fanatiche illuminate. Ma se il superiore ecclesiastico risiedesse nella sua chiesa e si lasciasse operare secondo la sua autorità e il suo zelo, o non nascerebbero tali inconvenienti, o resterebbero presto corretti e soppressi." The Secretary of State to Gualtieri, December 6, 1758, *ibid.*, fo. 19.

to condemn to burning a circular letter in which the assembly had recommended their resolutions to the French bishops for publication.[1] "It would seem," wrote the Bishop of Amiens, "that the parliament intends utterly to dominate religion and to shake off obedience to the Pope and the bishops."[2]

The king, it is true, now declared both of the parliament's decrees to be invalid, but this made no difference to actual conditions. None of the prelates could help the Church, wrote again the Bishop of Amiens.[3] The Archbishop of Paris was doing what he could, but without any success. Recourse was had to the Procurator General when anyone who would not forgive his enemies was refused the Sacraments on his death-bed. In a word, the Church was ruled by the secular officials. The parish priests dared not do anything, and if they obeyed the episcopal commands they were banished. It was disheartening for the bishop to see how good priests were expelled and were replaced by bad ones. The king could issue announcements favourable to the Church as often as he liked, but if anyone acted against the wishes of the parliament he was banished and forced to resign his position and to take to flight. Even during the assembly of the clergy the gates of an Ursuline convent were broken open, at the parliament's orders, so that a conscienceless priest might impart the Sacraments of the Dying to a Jansenist nun.[4]

Nor did Papal edicts find any favour in France. When Mésenguy's much-read *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne*, in which Jansenist doctrines were undisguisedly propounded, was condemned in a special Brief, after it had already been condemned in Rome and had been re-examined by a theological commission, the Brief was banned by the governments of France, Spain, Naples, Vienna, and Venice.[5] Choiseul

[1] RÉGNAULT, II., 120 *seq.*; CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, 217.

[2] CROUSAZ-CRÉTET, *loc. cit.*

[3] On January 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 129.

[4] RÉGNAULT, II., 122 *seq.*

[5] [PATOUILLET], III., 136–141. For the banning of the book, see Cordara in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 32 *seq.*; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 765 *seq.*; GAZIER, II., 115–122.

wrote to the Pope that he would not allow him to set France ablaze.[1] One might wonder what power was still left to the Pope if he was not to be allowed even to pronounce judgment on the truth of a doctrine !

This being the state of affairs in France, it is not surprising that at first Clement XIII. made no attempt to intervene. Not that this meant that the oppression of the Church afflicted him any the less. The defenders of the Faith, he wrote,[2] had their mouths stopped, but the innovators did not adhere to the commands of silence ; written and spoken attacks on the dogmatic decisions of his predecessors went unpunished. Priests who administered their office according to the precepts of the Church were insulted, thrown into prison, driven into exile, and branded with disgrace, while, without the assent of the bishops, teachers of youth were appointed whom the true Faith had reason to fear. Nevertheless, said the Pope,[3] he had preferred, trusting in God, the bishops, and the king, to await the course of events in silence. With regard to the Jansenists he had restricted himself, on entering office, to excluding the opponents of the Bull *Unigenitus* from the favours of the customary jubilee year,[4] to confirming in a letter to the assembly of the clergy [5] Benedict XIV.'s decision on the administration of the Sacraments, and to expressing his joy [6] at the assembly's pledging their obedience to him in a letter of May 16th, 1758.

On the strength of a royal promise to protect the rights of the Church with all possible means, the assembly had, in fact, derived some hope and had written to the king that, trusting in this announcement, they would protect the Church, its ordinances, servants, temples, and altars against the usurpation of the secular power and that they consequently protested against any interference in the matter of ecclesiastical doctrine

[1] GAZIER, II., 120 *seq.*

[2] On June 9, 1762, *Bull. Rom. Cont.*, III., 643 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] To the king on January 10, 1759, *ibid.*, 89.

[5] Of March 17, 1760, *ibid.*, 326.

[6] On June 28, 1760, *ibid.*, 362.

and the administration of the Sacraments. The parliament was silent but called a meeting of the peers of France for January 9th, 1761, in order to deliberate how the ecclesiastical cleavage might be prevented and how to end the banishment of the parliament of Besançon, which was held to have been the victim of excessive discipline. The peers, however, did not assemble, being forbidden to do so by the king, though the prohibition provoked an objection by the Duke of Conti.[1]

However much the assembly of the clergy may have entertained genuine hopes for an improvement in conditions, the Pope was under no such illusions. In reply to a letter of complaint from the Bishop of Lodève [2] he wrote that no success was to be expected from the steps that had been taken hitherto on the ecclesiastical side. Failing divine intervention, religion in France would be completely extinguished. He gathered from numerous episcopal writings that religious doctrines in that country had been vitiated by the errors of Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel; defenders of the true cause had been condemned to silence; what was sacred had been delivered into unconsecrated hands and thrown to the dogs; bishops had been banished or robbed; priests who dared to open their mouths had been imprisoned or expelled; in brief, the whole of the Church in France was lying in chains or was groaning under the yoke. The cause of all this evil was a new philosophy which dragged men down almost to the level of beasts, and undermined morality, religious order, and even political order, since according to this philosophy authoritative power rested only on a bargain between the king and the people. The way for this philosophy, as the bishop not unjustly observed, had been paved by Jansenism, which, disregarding divine and human rights, placed no value whatever on the authority of the Church or of the king. The bishop had asked the Pope to advise him what to do in such a situation. Clement XIII.'s answer amounted to saying that he could think of no advice to give. What he

[1] Fleury, LXXXIV., 445–450.

[2] Of September 17, 1763, *Bull. Rom. Cont.*, 819 *seq.*

was able to do had already been done; he had confirmed Benedict XIV.'s Encyclical on the reception of the Sacraments, but no good effect had ensued; the Sacraments were being given sacrilegiously as often as before to open despisers of ecclesiastical authority and the Bull *Unigenitus*. Moreover, he had banned Mésenguy's catechism and had raised his voice against the condemnation of the institution of the Society of Jesus. There was no lack of good will, therefore, on his part, and the bishop similarly should do what he could.

Similar thoughts were expressed by Clement XIII. in a whole series of letters to France.[1] As could be seen from these decrees, the Pope's silence was misunderstood in France. On the ecclesiastical side the result was that his views on the errors of the time were not clearly appreciated; on the opposite side the news was spread that at last it had been seen in Rome how useless were the Papal edicts against Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel.[2] The Pope was accused of softness [3] towards the Jansenists. For his part Clement XIII. again asserted that he had confirmed Benedict XIV.'s Encyclical and had condemned Mésenguy [4]; as a punishment for the sacrilegious use of the Sacraments God was allowing the mischief that was afflicting France [5]; the deepest root of all,

[1] On November 9, 1763, to Bishop De Catelan of Rieux, *ibid.*, 828; to D'Arche of Bayonne, *ibid.*, 830; to Bausset Roquefort of Béziers, *ibid.*, 831; to De Champflour of Mirepoix, *ibid.*, 835; on November 19, 1763, to Bauyn of Uzès, *ibid.*, 836; on December 7, 1763, to the Bishop of Montpellier, *ibid.*, 837, and to De Morel de Mons of Viviers, *ibid.* 839; on December 14, 1763, to De Marcel of Couserans, *ibid.*, 841; on August 15, 1764, to De Montillet of Auch, *ibid.*, 887; on October 1, 1764, to Montmorin of Langres, *ibid.*, 900; on November 4, 1764, to Montesquiou of Sarlat, *ibid.*, 901; on November 14, 1764, to De Fleury of Tours, *ibid.*, 903.

[2] To the Bishop of Langres, *ibid.*, 900, n. 3; to the Bishop of Bayonne, *ibid.*, 830, n. 2.

[3] "mollities"; to the Bishop of Sarlat, *ibid.*, 901, n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, 888, n. 3.

[5] To the Bishop of Rieux, *ibid.*, 829, n. 3; to the Bishop of

however, was Jansenism, which had stirred up the secular power against the bishops; just when the heresy had apparently died out it had been awakened to new life and it now thought that it could realize its plans.[1] Also the complaint had to be made that some bishops, certainly only a few, had applauded the encroachments of the secular power, and had thereby assisted them, or at least had acted as though they did not see them.[2] On the other hand, Archbishop Beaumont received the praise due to him.[3] In all these letters occurs the exhortation to the bishops to agree with one another and to maintain their connexion with the Apostolic See.

(2)

In the time of Benedict XIV. the Jansenist church in Utrecht had presented itself with a second and third bishop and had thus ensured its continued existence. Now, under Clement XIII., it hastened to show itself to the world as refortified, by convening as a provincial council its three bishops, together with six canons and nine parish priests. The assembly laid emphasis on its self-given title of the "second" synod of the kind,[4] thus drawing as near as possible

Mirepoix: "quam quidem horrendam in augustissimam Christi corpus iniuriam iure suspicamur tantam malorum super Gallicanum regnum traxisse molem (*ibid.*, 835, n. 1). Dei Filium . . . indignissime stipatum satellitibus duci ad ludibrium et contumeliam" (*ibid.*, 841, n. 1).

[1] *Ibid.*, 832, n. 3; 835, n. 1.

[2] To the Archbishop of Auch, *ibid.*, 888 *seq.*, n. 2. *Cf. ibid.*, 900, n. 2, against members of the middle party.

[3] "Est inter vos episcopali dignitate vir et summa senectute venerabilis, qui districtum in Apost. Sedem gladium strenue retudit. Mirum in extrema aetate versantem tantas edidisse vires, sed unum fuisse, qui in hanc gravissimam causam descenderit mirum magis" (*ibid.*, 838, n. 5). On the occasion of his instruction about the Jesuits, Beaumont received highly commendatory Briefs on February 8 and 15, 1764. RÉGNAULT, II., 90 *seq.*

[4] Acta et decreta secundae synodi provinciae Ultraiectensis, in

to the old Catholic Church, the "first" provincial council of Utrecht having been held in 1565 before the destruction of the old state of affairs.

The first part of the synod's record of proceedings contains a series of documents intended to express the faith of the assembly.[1] But what would have been most to the point, namely, a definite adherence to the decrees of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., was missing.

In the second part of the record [2] the synod purports to defend the Catholic faith against actual and supposed attacks. A certain Pierre Leclerc had composed a screed [3] in which many Papal decrees and the Popes themselves were denounced to the Church: the decrees because they subverted religion and both divine and human rights; the Popes and their court because they were the origin of evils and scandals which ravaged everything in the flock of the Lord, in His temple and sanctuary. In this composition Pius IV.'s confession of faith made at Trent was rejected, of the general councils only the first seven were recognized, the Greek Church seemed to be placed above the Roman, etc. Now Leclerc was not merely an appellant and not only a follower of the fantastically-minded Jansenist Vaillant, who was living in Holland as a fugitive from French justice, but he was also a protegé of the Jansenist bishop Van Stiphout of Haarlem,

sacello ecclesiae parochialis sanctae Gertrudis Ultraiecti celebratae. Die XIII. Septembris MDCCLXIII. Ultraiecti, sumptibus Societatis, MDCCLXIV.

[1] Viz. the Nicaean Creed (p. 40), the creed of the Council of Trent (p. 43), adherence to Bossuet's exposition of faith (p. 45), to the exposition of the chapter in the presence of Benedict XIV. in 1744, a declaration on the articles of the French clergy of 1663 for Bishop Choiseul of Coutances (pp. 63 *seqq.*), on the five articles of the Louvain theologians of 1677 (pp. 76 *seq.*), and on the twelve articles of Noailles (pp. 90 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 97–588.

[3] Précis d'un acte de dénonciation solennelle faite à l'Église: 1. d'une multitude des Bulles . . . ; 2. des évêques de Rome eux-mêmes, Amsterdam, 1758.

whom he served as subdeacon when the bishop celebrated solemn Mass.[1] On account of his eccentricity the Dutch Jansenists were anxious to shake off Leclerc, and this they proceeded to do most thoroughly and completely[2]; the prerogatives of the Holy See were thereby fully defended but only in the sense of the Council of Bâle.[3] After disposing of Leclerc the assembly dealt with the chief enemy, the Jesuits. In the opening speech the most violent accusations were hurled against them by the president, Archbishop Meindaerts. Deceived by their apparent piety, humility, and care for souls, Sasbout Vosmeer had admitted them to the Dutch mission but they had soon discarded the mask, their piety revealing itself as hypocrisy, their humility as pride, their care for souls as covetousness; quite shamelessly they fell on the Dutch Church like ravenous lions and threw everything into confusion. And they acted in this way because of the unshaken loyalty of the Dutch mission to those tenets of faith and morals which had long been vigorously attacked by the Jesuits; also because of the firmness and resolution with which that Church was standing up for its own rights and the rights of the hierarchy, which were hateful to the Jesuits, and because it upheld the form of government which was instituted by Christ and which was faithfully observed by all Catholic Churches.[4] The resolutions passed were consonant with this introduction. Hardouin's and Berruyer's errors, which were certainly inexcusable, were exposed and condemned in a thorough and malicious manner, and then actually or allegedly false statements taken from Pichon's book and a small instructional book on frequent Communion, and finally from the writings of the casuists, were made the object

[1] For Van Stiphout, see BADICHE in the *Bibliographie univers.*, Suppl. LXXI., 92–4.

[2] Acta, 125–357.

[3] "R. Pontificem, tamquam Petri successorem, esse iure divino caput visibile et ministeriale Ecclesiae . . . ac proinde eiusdem Christi primum esse in terris vicarium" (*ibid.*, 236).

[4] *Ibid.*, 10 *seq.*

of horror and detestation.[1] The third part of the synodal proceedings dealt with the administration of the Sacraments.[2] This was followed by the signatures, among which, contrary to canon law, appeared those of simple priests acting as judges in matters of faith.[3] Finally, there was a written request to Clement XIII. to confirm this provincial council.[4]

The receipt of the proceedings was acknowledged by the Pope in a written reply. The Brief [5] began by saying that the three bishops, who had long been excluded from the Church, had no right to act as judges in matters of faith. Since they were sending the printed proceedings of the council to other bishops, perhaps to elicit from them an agreement or a written reply which might be interpreted as an indication of ecclesiastical unity, it was the Pope's duty to raise his voice, lest his silence be interpreted as consent. Accordingly, he declared the synod and its resolutions to be null and illegal, he condemned the printed proceedings as containing passages which condoned schism and which were false, calumniatory, and scandalous, depreciatory to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and insulting to the Apostolic See. He forbade them to be read, together with all other writings favourable to the synod. The Papal declaration was followed by condemnatory judgments pronounced by the Archbishop of Cologne,[6] the University of Cologne,[7] the Bishop of Liége,[8] and the bishops, about thirty in number, composing the French assembly of the clergy.[9] The synod, of course, received support from Jansenistic quarters, including the Paris faculty of law, whose decree, however, was declared to be null by the Council of

[1] *Ibid.*, 357–589.
[2] *Ibid.*, 589–626.
[3] *Ibid.*, 627–631.
[4] *Ibid.*, 632–7; FLEURY, LXXXV., 197–200.
[5] Of April 30, 1765, in MOZZI, III., 194 *seqq.*; FLEURY, 202–8.
[6] On July 2, 1765, in MOZZI, II., 441.
[7] On September 13, 1765, *ibid.*, 441–6; FLEURY, 209–221.
[8] On September 16, 1765, in MOZZI, II., 442.
[9] On June 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 447. The report by the Archbishop of Toulouse to the assembly, *ibid.*, 421.

State,[1] and some Portuguese and Spanish prelates.[2] Particular joy was evinced by the three Jansenist bishops at the concurrence of some Benedictines from the famous Congregation of St-Maur.[3]

A result of Leclerc's condemnation by the synod was that the Bishop of Haarlem sent him a summons ; Leclerc, however, appealed from his decision to the General Council, and attacked

[1] *Ibid.*, 429.

[2] *Ibid.*, 449.

[3] " * Reverendis admodum Patribus D. Durand, D. Tassin, D. Baussonet, D. Clemencet et D. Clement Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Lutetiae Parisiorum.—Omnium quas hinc et inde accepimus litterarum a multis qui nostrae synodi decretis adhaesere, nulla certe fuit quae maiori nos gaudio affecerit et consolatione ea quam nobis, Reverendi admodum Patres, scripsistis epistola. Testimonium Congregationis vestrae membrorum, per se quidem grave, aliud quoddam et non leve ex sparsa undique iam diu cum exactissimae sacrarum legum doctrinae amoris fama saltem apud viros sanissimae antiquitatis veterumque scriptorum peritos et amatores, robur capit et incrementum. Verum attento, quanta opera et studio doctissimis ingenii vestri monumentis utilitatibus Ecclesiae salubriter per vos consultum est, et nunc etiam quotidie consulitur, Reverendi admodum Patres, fateri necesse est novum suffragio vestro robur et quasi laudis cumulum accessisse. Illustres dignoscendorum diplomatum autores, historiae litterariae Galliarum, itemque celeberrimae Portus-Regii domus scriptores, et secundi Ultraiectensis concilii Actis adhaerentium catalogo adscriptos laeta grataque videbit posteritas. In eo quod tulistis de iisdem Actis iudicio argumentis et rationibus firmato agnoscet splendorem ingenii, solertiam ac sapientiam, quae in omnibus vestris elucet operibus ; tantumque exemplum quod imitetur, vestros pacis et caritatis affectus mirabitur, votaque vestra, ut iis tandem, apud quos adversarii nostri (iidem quos habet Ecclesia) calumniantur nos, innotescat innocentia nostra, fidei nostrae integritas, accensumque nostrum Ecclesiae Sanctaeque Sedis studium. Si quid est, per quod tantam gratiam a Deo impetrare possimus, eam certe per virorum bonorum perque vestras preces nos assecuturos speramus. Obsecramus vos, ne eas Patri misericordiarum offerendo

with derisory writings the synod and the Dutch Quesnellists, who amounted to only three per cent of the Catholic population.[1]

Archbishop Meindaerts of Utrecht died in 1768. He was succeeded by Michael Walter of Niewenhuylen, concerning whom Clement XIII. made the same pronouncements on June 1st, 1768, as his predecessors had made on a similar occasion.[2]

(3)

Until well into the second half of the eighteenth century it was the universal teaching of Catholic theologians in Germany that the Pope was preserved from error when declaring a doctrine to be an article of faith and commanding the faithful to accept it. It is true that Peter Canisius had not made use of the expression "Papal infallibility" in his Catechism, but he had represented as free from doubt the matter which is customarily denoted by this expression.[3] And it was not only in doctrinal decisions that the supreme authority of the Pope was uncontested in Germany. Of the theologians, apart from the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the Benedictine Gallus Cartier had declared in 1757 that the Gallicans had never been able to establish their views on the Church and the Pope outside France or before the fifteenth century—to

defatigemini, donec exaudiat. Hac spe cum sincero animo singularique veneratione sumus, Reverendi admodum Patres, Reverentiarum vestrarum addictissimi in Christo famuli † Pierre Jean Archevêque d'Utrecht, † Joannes Episc. Harlem., † Bartholomeus Joannes episc. Deventer." Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. franç. 25538, pp. 49, 50.

[1] BADICHE, *loc. cit.*, 93 *seq.*

[2] MOZZI, II., 450, III., 200 *seqq.*

[3] [SS. Pontifices], penes quos de sacris definiendis suprema semper potestas fuit. *De praeceptis Ecclesiae*, n. 11 (Summa), Dilingae, 1731, 83. *Cf.* KNELLER in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, LI. (1927), 211.—In this and the following section use has been made of the preliminary studies by Prof. Vierneisel of Heidelberg.

be more precise, before the Fraticelli.[1] When the lectures of the Parisian theologian Tournely were reprinted in Germany his Gallican statements about the infallibility of the Pope were left out.[2] The Benedictines of St. Emmeram in Regensburg did send one of their young clerics to the French Maurists to acquire further knowledge but they took the precaution of forbidding the German monk to accept the French views.[3] And the Abbot Martin Gerbert of St. Blasien, though championing the modernization of theology, held fast to the doctrine of Papal infallibility and rejected the idea of appealing from the Pope to a council.[4] The Salzburg Benedictine Gregor Zallwein,[5] though not uninfluenced by Gallican views, testified in 1743 that Germans and Italians, in contrast to the French, adhered to their belief in the supremacy, the infallibility, and the supreme authority of the Pope; even Febronius (Hontheim) bears witness to the same effect.[6] "In the flood of writings which have appeared in Bavaria since the Reformation in defence of the Papal primacy," "beginning in the

[1] KNELLER, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 210.

[3] J. A. ENDRES, *Korrespondenz der Mauriner mit den Emmeramern*, Stuttgart, 1899, 22.

[4] WERNER, 204 *seqq.*

[5] *Principia iuris ecclesiastici*, I., Augsburg, 1743, 338: "Itali cum Germanis pro superioritate, infallibilitate et suprema authoritate Pontificis, Galli econtra pro suis libertatibus gallicanis . . . zelarunt." The liberties of the French Church, he considered, would be better called the liberties of the parliaments. *Ibid.*, IV., 428.

[6] "Et quis canonistarum ac theologorum praesertim regularium adhuc hodie, saltem in Italia et Germania (in Gallia enim quodammodo aliter sapitur), a teneris annis imbutus systemate monarchiae ecclesiasticae et cum hoc proxime coniunctae Pontificiae infallibilitatis eadem principia suis discipulis non instillat?" *De statu Ecclesiae*, Bullioni, 1763, preface, fo. e. Thus it came about "ut Italorum et Germanorum vix unus aperta fronte ac cum subscriptione nominis ausit vestro systemati contradicere."

year 1519 and continuing until about the year 1750, the infallibility of the Pope has consistently been taught whenever there is any mention of his authority to teach." [1]

The teaching of the theologians, however, did not always correspond with the views of the spiritual princes, who were not over-anxious to burden themselves with knowledge. For some little time many of these exalted persons had been aiming at the greatest possible freedom from Rome, on the Gallican model [2]; the interference of the Papal nuncios was especially irksome to them, and the right of dispensation which Rome exercised through the nuncios they claimed for themselves.[3] In Rome open conflicts had been avoided hitherto by investing the bishops with the plenary powers to which claims had been laid; these powers, the so-called quinquennial faculties, were to be valid for five years in each case, and were granted in virtue of the Pope's absolute power.[4] The bishops even complained to the secular authorities of the Empire about the nuncios. To the *Gravamina* against the Roman Curia, originating in the electoral capitulation of Charles V., had been added, on the occasion of the imperial election of 1653, the complaint that the nuncios and the Curia had withdrawn even civil cases from the jurisdiction of the spiritual princes. This article had been repeated at the elections of Charles VII. and Francis I., in 1741 and 1745.[5]

The sort of views that enjoyed complete supremacy in the

[1] *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, LXXI. (1873), 581. *Cf.* especially *ibid.*, 581 *seq.*, 688 *seqq.*, 825 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXI., 138 *seqq.*

[3] Concerning this, see L. MERGENTHEIM, *Die Quinquennalfakultäten*, Stuttgart, 1908; *idem* in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXIV. (1907), 181 *seqq.* "At first, up to the time of Febronius, the Rhenish Archbishops never dared to deny openly and as a matter of principle the Papal power of dispensation. . . . They always gladly accepted these plenary powers, in fact they themselves asked for them" (*ibid.*, 187).

[4] MERGENTHEIM, *Quinquennalfakultäten*, 291 *seqq.*

[5] JOH. JAK. MOSER, *Karls VII. Wahlkapitulation*,[2] Frankfurt a.M., 1771, especially II., 423 *seqq.*, III., 162 *seq.*

courts of the secular princes is more than sufficiently shown in the history of the first half of the eighteenth century. Almost everything possible was done to humiliate the Pope and to make him realize that he was unable to back his claims with military force. Only the State was looked to to provide any benefit, and the princes seemed to think that the most precious part of their authority was missing when they were not ruling inside as well as outside the Church. Whereas formerly confessors and theologians were invited to conferences, so that their opinions on what was lawful and what was unlawful might be heard, especially in ecclesiastical matters, they were now excluded on principle, as people who were under suspicion from the first and were aiming at the extension of ecclesiastical rights. This new spirit was greatly encouraged by the irreligion and the immorality which was being spread throughout Germany, especially by agnostic French literature.[1]

In this state of affairs the appearance of a book which with a specious air of knowledge justified what had long been the behaviour towards the Pope and the ecclesiastical authority must have been welcomed by large circles of the population. There would seem to be something fateful about the fact that after Richelieu, Mazarin, and Alberoni it was again to be a cleric who was to inflict the most grievous injury on his Church: Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, suffragan bishop of Treves.

Hontheim (1701–90) sprang from a family of Treves which

[1] "* Lo spirito di irreligione e di libertinaggio che si è introdotto negli ultimi tempi in tutta la Germania . . . Sembra loro che il principe manchi d'ogni solido fondamento di sovranità, se non ha un pieno gius circa sacra e in tutte quelle cose che chiaramente lege divina non prohibentur . . . Sono per massima ora comune in tutti i gabinetti allontanati i confessori e teologi dalle consulte delle cose ecclesiastiche, come persone sospette e che vogliono dilatare la giurisdizione della Chiesa." Relazione della negoziazione di Msgr. Oddi (1764), Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 18v *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, 653.

had been ennobled by Ferdinand II. He received his most lasting impressions when a university student at Louvain, which Bernhard van Espen had caused to become one of the main strongholds of Gallican and Jansenist teaching, and at Leyden, where the new political science of absolutism held sway.[1] A three-years' education tour, especially visits to Vienna and Rome, strengthened these views. In 1728 he entered the service of the archbishopric of Treves, to the government of which he was made privy councillor in 1742. Seven years later he was appointed suffragan bishop, vicar general, and diocesan official. In this last capacity he represented the archbishop for thirty years, being especially independent in the time of Elector Johann Philipp von Walderdorf (1756–1768). Hontheim possessed extraordinary energy; besides dealing with his copious official work he devoted himself with enthusiasm to historical research and with two exemplary documented works[2] he founded the systematic compilation of the history of his native city. It was not so much in this sphere as in his co-operation in the 1748 edition of the Breviary that his new principles came to light; besides some minor alterations in the historical lessons he suppressed the Feast of St. Peter's Chair and the Feast of Gregory VII.[3] For the rest, Von Hontheim is reputed to have conscientiously observed the canonical hours and to have been widely known for his beneficence. That he sought after a bishopric by unlawful means has been proved to be false,[4]

[1] FRANZ STÜMPER, *Die kirchenrechtl. Ideen des Febronius* (Würzburger Dissert.), Aschaffenburg, 1908, 10 *seq.*; ZILLICH, *Febronius*, in the Halle *Abh. zur neueren Gesch.*, 1906, 15 *seq.*; VIGENER, 30; *Katholik*, LI. (1871), 2, 19.

[2] *Historia Trevirensis diplomatica*, III., Augsburg, 1750; *Prodromus historiae Trevirensis*, II., Augsburg, 1752. *Cf.* also Krufft in MEJER, 222, 236, 238 *seqq.*

[3] BÄUMER, *Gesch. des Breviers*, 554.

[4] LEO JUST, *Hontheims Bemühungen um einen Bischofsitz in den österr. Niederlanden*, 1756–1762, in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XXI. (1930), 256 *seqq.*

although in such matters as these his contemporaries had not too strict a conscience.[1]

Treves was represented at the electoral diet of Frankfurt in 1742 [2] by Jacob Georg von Spangenberg, the converted son of a clergyman from the Harz, and Hontheim accompanied him as assistant. Among the subjects discussed on this occasion were the old *Gravamina* and their influence on the religious cleavage in Germany.[3] In this connection Spangenberg suggested the writing of a learned treatise such as Hontheim was afterwards to undertake.[4] The latter subsequently interested himself in Gallican literature and found in the canonist Georg Christoph Neller, who had been called in 1748 from Wurzburg to the seminary of Treves, an expert in and a fellow-champion of these ideas.[5] Hontheim worked for two decades at the compilation of a book which saw the light of day at the most opportune moment. The lively dispute about the dean of Speyer Cathedral, Count August von Limburg-Styrum, which induced also the Elector of Treves to prohibit all appeals to Rome and to adopt a markedly uncompromising attitude at the royal election of 1764,[6] may have been a final spur. The book was set up in print by the firm of

[1] *Cf.* for example BRÜCK, *Rationalistische Bestrebungen*, 38, n. 20.

[2] Leo Just undertakes (*loc. cit.*, 275) to publish and discuss the material on this subject.

[3] *Cf.* MEJER, 57 *seq.*, 238, 256.

[4] HEINRICH SCHMID, *Gesch. der kath. Kirche Deutschlands*, Munich, 1874, 2 *seq.* For the part played by Hontheim at the Diet, *cf.* also *Relazione della negoziazione di Msgr. Oddi (1764), Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 18 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Katholik*, LI. (1871), 539–557; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 944. A short autobiography of Neller in WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, *Gesta Trevirorum*, III., appx., 60 *seq.*

[6] MEJER, 54, 62; WEECH, *Röm. Prälaten*, 5. Simultaneously Hontheim brought about a university reform in Treves by restricting Jesuit participation and by emphasizing Gallican (though also probabilistic) principles; see KRUFFT, *loc. cit.*, 254 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHMID, 71: STÜMPER, 12.

Esslinger in Frankfurt,[1] through the good offices of Hontheim's relative and future biographer, Andreas Adolf von Krufft, and in September 1763 the sensational work appeared under the title "The Book of Justinus Febronius about the Condition of the Church and the legitimate Authority of the Roman Pope, for the Purpose of uniting in Religion contrary-minded Christians." For personal reasons the author assumed the pseudonym of "Justinus Febronius".[2]

The historical importance of "*Febronius*" is to be measured by the fact that he caused the outbreak of an ecclesiastical crisis which, so far as the inner life of the Church was concerned, was settled only by the Vatican Council. It was not that his ideas were new: he himself asserts, by way of justification, that he has made no statement which did not follow automatically from the accepted tenets of Gerson, Bossuet, Alexander Natalis, and Claude Fleury.[3] He propounded, however, a new and fundamentally important principle, that of the national-cum-natural law, which he had imbibed in the school of Leyden without appreciating its opposition to

[1] Neller's *Principia iuris publici ecclesiastici* had already appeared here in 1764; though placed on the Index in 1750, they were made much use of by Febronius. See *Katholik*, LI. (1871), 1, 555, and 2, 21.

[2] Iustini Febronii I[uris] c[onsul]ti de statu Ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis liber singularis, ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione christianos compositus, Bullioni apud Guillelmum Evrardi MDCCLXIII. It was printed by Esslinger at Frankfurt.

[3] SCHWAB (*Franz Berg* [1869], 204) was the first to draw attention to the *Traité de l'autorité du Pape* (2 vols., The Hague, 1722; *cf.* for the composition of this work and the placing of it on the Index, REUSCH, *Index*, II., 574) as a text not cited by Febronius. MEJER (42, n. 2) sees in this an unfounded suspicion. It is curious, however, that this work too contains a foreword addressed to the Pope and expressly holds him responsible for the continuation of the schism. On the other hand, it is not directed exclusively against the Pope, but seeks also to produce exhaustive evidence against Protestantism.

Catholic dogma; for there was no question of his intending to attack this himself.[1]

One cannot indeed but ask oneself how dogma could have been kept pure when the constitution of the Church had become so adulterated as Febronius depicts it as the result of the last thousand years of its history.[2] For him this result was due to the monarchical position of the Pope in the Church, to the use of force, of usurpations, and of adulterations, the foundation of which was now recognized to be the decretals of pseudo-Isidore. What he holds to be the correct constitution of the Church as desired by Christ is not the Papal monarchy but something that hovers between the aristocracy of the bishops and the democratic idea of a Church to which, in the person of St. Peter, the power of the keys, the basic power, has been transferred.[3] He objects to the application of political ideas to the constitution of the Church but he is unconsciously dominated by the constitutional idea of the eighteenth

[1] Febronius quotes Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke, and others, but he objects to deductions of a general nature drawn from such quotations when used against himself. *Cf.* ZILLICH, *Febronius*, 79.

[2] Detailed analyses of the work by A. RÖSCH, in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIII. (1907), 449 *seqq.*, 620 *seqq.*, and FRANZ STÜMPER, *Die kirchenrechtl. Ideen des Febronius* (1908). Also valuable are J. MARX, *Gesch. des Erzstiftes Trier*, V., 93 *seqq.*; WERNER, 206 *seqq.*

[3] This basic thesis derives from Richer, who makes the following declaration: "Sacerdotium Christi ecclesiae in commune creditum est, velut causa efficiens potestatis clavium et iurisdictionis ecclesiasticae." Fundamentally, it is the doctrine preached by the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Both by them and Febronius the holders of the spiritual office are called "ministri". "Neither Richer nor Febronius noticed that this principle not only undermines the prerogative of St. Peter and his successors but that it also destroys the rights and the authority of the whole hierarchy" (MARX, *loc. cit.*, 104). This basic thesis, in fact, must logically lead to democracy. In his work published in 1741 Martin Gerbert had drawn particular attention to this consequence. Gerbert had himself sent Hontheim a copy of his book, but had Hontheim been willing to pay heed to Gerbert's work,

century, with its fundamental principle that public authority derives from the people and that the legislative and the executive power must be separate. Accordingly Febronius also would have a primacy, a primacy of divine right, which, however, would be connected only actually, not inseparably, with the Roman episcopacy, a Pope as the successor of St. Peter, a primacy not merely in point of honour but also of right. Febronius was at pains to fill this lawful primacy with substance but at the same time he divests it of everything which makes the Pope a monarch in the Church: universal episcopacy, infallibility, legislative power for the whole Church. For these are rights belonging to the bishops collectively as successors to the college of Apostles. Whence follows the unqualified superiority of the General Council to the Pope; the Council alone possesses the right to issue binding doctrinal decisions and to legislate for the whole Church.[1] The Pope, it is true, may take the initiative in either sphere when the council is not assembled—it would be advisable for it to fix its next meeting of its own accord, and on each occasion!—but the Pope's definitions and disciplinary laws become binding only through the express or tacit assent of the whole Church, through their acceptance by the national Churches and by the various dioceses. For although the word of the Pope, or an expression of his desire, is to be received with respect, basically it is of no more value than the word of any other bishop. And it is precisely to reinstate the bishops in their original powers (which, because they are divine, cannot be lost)—powers which have been wrongfully taken from them—and to restore their old functions to the old

"he would have had to condemn his own entirely (by that time presumably quite completed), seeing that it is based on a principle proved by Gerbert to be false" (*ibid.*, 102, n. 1). Mamachi showed him afterwards that he was really adopting Rousseau's standpoint (*ibid.*, 102).

[1] In support of this Hontheim cites, among others, his gifted compatriot of the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cues, without, however, adding that the latter very quickly corrected himself (*ibid.*, 104).

intermediary courts, such as the metropolitan, provincial, and national synods, which is the positive, fundamental object of the book, the obverse of its negative object: to restrict the Pope to those rights which Christ wished him to have.

It was not for nothing that the author had studied the oppositional literature for twenty long years. All its bitterness and hostility towards Rome and the Roman Curia, misrepresented (as he says) as the heiress of the ancient, venerable Roman Church, entered into his soul and speaks from the pages of his book.[1] Even its alleged object—the reunion of the separated Churches with the Catholic Church [2]—says clearly enough where the obstacle to the union is to be sought, and in other ways too it fills the reader with hatred and contempt of Rome as the greatest despoiler of the Church. All the old complaints and charges against the Curia are renewed, culminating in the monstrous accusation that it is responsible for the irreconcilability of the Eastern Church, for the schism in the West and its prolongation, and for all the abuses in the Church itself which still survived the Council of Trent.[3] Protestantism is adjudged to be a dogmatic error and Luther

[1] Its language is much more that of the Jansenists than of the Gallicans. "His complete agreement with them in this doctrine [the doctrine of the primacy] and in the distorted and offensive treatment of the Roman See is evident from the great number of passages marked by Febronius's own hand in a large work on the schismatic Church in Utrecht" (*ibid.*, 145). Thus he marked the sentence: "Do not believe that a good Catholic can ever be at peace with Rome unless he has been abashed by the prestige of a General Council."

[2] Marx (111) conjectures "that Hontheim, bearing in mind that highly desirable object, tried to soften and sweeten the excessive harshness and bitterness which was so much in evidence in his work and of which he was doubtlessly aware". That he himself believed that this object would be gained is to attribute to him a degree of short-sightedness for which there is no justification.

[3] How different a picture of the part played by Rome in the life of the Church may be obtained from other sources! To mention

is denied the right to appeal from the Pope to the General Council because at the time of his appeal he no longer recognized the Church as Mother and Teacher, but Protestant dogma is represented by Hontheim as an obstacle easy to overcome once the Roman, monarchical, political system in the Church has been removed.

But Hontheim is not only anxious to discharge his wrath: he wants to set the Church in a commotion in order to restore its old, genuine constitution. He explains in detail how this is to be brought about and in four prefatory discourses addresses himself to those agents to whom he looks for this restoration: to the Pope himself, to the bishops, to the princes, to the theologians and canonists. It is here that his thoughts are most directly expressed. His assurances of respect for the Papacy compel him to include the Pope among those he addresses, but what escapes his lips consists entirely of accusations and sarcastic reproaches; he does not appeal to the Pope as such but turns from Clement XIII. as representative of the Curia to Clement XIII. as Venetian, former bishop of Padua, and fellow-citizen of Sarpi.[1] At bottom he does not

only one, the publication by IGNAZ PHILIPP DENGEL, *Die politische und kirchliche Tätigkeit des Monsignore Joseph Garampi in Deutschland 1761–1763* (1905), the convent of Salem cherished for decades a feeling of gratitude to the Papal commissary for the work he performed in the years 1761–2 for the peace of the convent. In the Salem register of deaths, Garampi is described as "Aeterna Salemitanorum memoria dignissimus" (*ibid.*, 184). *Cf.* also Garampi's effort to free the diocese of Liége from an unworthy bishop (68 *seqq.*), and his endeavour to proceed against a canon of Augsburg who had come into disrepute (72 *seq.*).

[1] The words used by Archbishop Migazzi of Vienna in a letter to Maria Theresa after the appearance of *Febronius* are much to the point: "He entreats the Pope to make a reply to his accusation; but at the same time he asks His Holiness not to reply to him as head of the Church but with the sincerity he possessed when Bishop of Padua and a Noble of Venice. How degraded a condition is that of a Pope! His private capacity or some other

expect much from the Bishops either ; he sees them, especially in Germany, as too closely bound by capitulations and personal interests to be capable of the energy necessary for resistance to Rome. For the theologians and canonists he evolves the conception of a new Church science—the old, scholastic learning he rejects, both on its own account and as the real prop of the Roman system—a science which will build the true svstem of the Church on rational foundations, with the spirit of the old, universal Church and the correct interpretation of the early Fathers of the first rank, together with their true followers, from Gerson to Claude Fleury. In his view, the representatives of this science are first and foremost the instruments by which the people are to be enlightened about the true nature of the Church and, by reason of the intimate connection between learning and welfare in the State and in the Church, they are the natural protectors of spiritual and secular prerogatives.

But all these are subordinate, preparatory, or subsidiary arguments. The most important rôle in the battle for the liberation of justice was allotted by Febronius to the State,[1] and this was the starting-point of his most fatal influence : for its own sake, apparently, he delivered the Church into the hands of the State,[2] and for a hundred years the State, whether

dignity would procure him more credit than his sublime position as the head of the Church and the vicar of Jesus Christ ! " (WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 389).

[1] In this matter also, however, only modest expectations are expressed in a letter written at the time when the *Febronius* was being printed : " Si Dieu voulût le [the work] bénir pour quelque royaume, peut-être avec le tems ce bien se pourroit-il étendre en d'autres parties de l'Europe ! " (*Journal von und für Deutschland*, 1791, I., 355).

[2] That Hontheim's real enthusiasm was for the State is to be seen from spontaneous assertions made by him at other times rather than from the book itself. *Cf.* for example his talk with the nuncio Caprara in 1768 in MEJER, 75, or his description of the success of *Febronius* in WALCH, *Neueste Kirchengesch.*, I. (1771), 159 *seq.*, and another inconspicuous turn of phrase in his letter to

despotic or liberal, has made use of his arguments and suggestions. He regards the powers belonging to the Prince—for with him the State always appears as "the Prince"—within and in relation to the Church as having two characters: he is sovereign and he is the protector of the Church. As sovereign he possesses in relation to the Church those powers necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity in the State, economic prosperity, and the rights of the subject. Thus the attention of the Prince is directed towards the Pope as the disturber of the peace, the despoiler of the Church's estate, and the usurper of episcopal rights. The Bishops, he says, have to examine every ecclesiastical measure, lest it offend against the safety and the welfare of the State. The strongest weapon in the hands of the State is the *Placet*, which, as approved by the latest ordinances of Charles III. of Spain, is to be applied, as a natural right of the Prince, to everything which might claim to have a legal character. Febronius goes so far as to measure the monarchy of the Pope within the Church by the conception of the sovereign State and to reject the former in favour of the latter. He points the way whereby the State may interfere still more fatally with the existence and conduct of the Church: the Prince, as the Church's protector, is made nothing less than the guardian of the true Church and thus in actual practice he is raised above the Pope and bishops. Actually, therefore, it is only to the Princes that Febronius attributes a wholehearted interest in the restoration of the true constitution of the Church and it is exclusively their function to bring this about.[1] He urges them, it is true, in

Cardinal Migazzi after his recantation (in WOLFSGRUBER, *loc. cit.*, 393).

[1] In the eyes of "enlightenment" in Catholic Germany, Hontheim has become the founder of the new canon law; but he belongs to this movement in a wider sense also, though he deems the other matters which offend the "enlightened" as "leviores lapides offensionis". By this he means the "superfluum et odiosum" in the matters of the worship of the saints, the honouring of relics and images, of purgatory, and indulgences. "We are," he says, "in a manner of speaking less Christian than

spiritual matters, to avail themselves of the counsel of enlightened clerics, but he expects them to take the decisive steps; they are to make it the duty of the Bishops to observe the old laws of the Church; they are to call the national synods, which will announce, at first to the various "particular" Churches, the new, viz. the restored old, church-law; they are to effect among themselves the union of the various national Churches, firstly the German with the Gallican, as the great example of such a union, then also the Spanish and the Venetian [1]; in extreme cases they are to lend the secular arm to the Churches, when they in their struggle against an obstinate Pope throw off their obedience to him; even the sword may be used with moderation by the ruler against such a Pope. Febronius seeks with particular eagerness to render the Orders and the monks, and above all the Jesuits, suspected and hated by the State as being bodies organized in all States for the upholding of the Roman pretensions.

Hontheim firmly and passionately believed that his system of Church government was right.[3] What at first he saw only

our forbears and have infinitely more 'officia et preces' than they" (Foreword to the Princes). *Cf.* in this connection the following assertion made by Hontheim in a letter of August 7, 1763, to his spiritual agent in Frankfurt: "Les réflexions que vous faites dans votre lettre du 20 Juillet sur les misères des églises d'Allemagne sont très justes, et feroient la matière d'un volume plus gros que celui-ci qui se publie aujourd'hui, aussi faudroit-il pour exécuter ce plan un écrivain encore plus hardi que moi. Le mien est général" (*Journal von und für Deutschland*, 1791, I., 355).—Also in conformity with the "enlightened" view is the following passage from a letter dated July 23, 1763 (*ibid.*, 354; the critical words have been italicized by me): "Il [Febronius] espère d'avoir dit le vrai solidement; *c'est au public à en juger. Des matières éclaircies à son tribunal, seront toujours bien jugées.*"

[1] After the conscience of the universal Church has died away and given place to a particular, i.e. national, Church conscience, the particular Churches will be brought together again for purely practical purposes.

[2] He is continually protesting his truly religious intentions; a saint could not write better than he did in a letter to his spiritual

as an alluring picture, namely that presented by the Gallican Church, he now thinks he recognizes, with the aid of the new, positive, theological method, as the picture of the Church of the first four or five centuries. Actually he was lacking the true historical sense, which thinks itself into the spirit of the age and adjudges laws and constitutions according to the needs of peoples and periods.[1] He was "governed by the mechanical view that a limited sphere of rights within which the Pope and Bishops were allowed to move was suitable for all stages of civilization" and it did not occur to him that even the pseudo-Isidorian decretals are capable of an historical explanation.[2]

It was with a real anxiety that the sixty-two-year-old Hontheim waited to see what effect his work would produce.[3] The publisher had been bound to the strictest silence regarding the author's identity. A copy of the manuscript was made at Frankfurt under the supervision of a cleric and only this copy was handed to the printer. The author had carefully disguised his accurate Latin style, lest it might betray him.[4]

The extraordinary sensation caused by the book [5] was largely due to its mysterious origin. The first, and noticeably early, literary report of it, which appeared on September 26th,

agent at Frankfurt shortly before the appearance of the work: "Le Seigneur pourvoira au succès suivant sa divine volonté et les dessins impénétrables qu'il peut avoir sur son Église" (*Journal von und für Deutschland*, 1791, I., 355).

[1] This censure and the quotations that follow are taken from MÖHLER, *Kirchengesch.*, III., 295–7.

[2] *Cf.*, for example, MÖHLER'S "Fragmente aus und über Pseudo-Isidor", in his *Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, I. (1839), 348 *seqq.*

[3] This is shown in Hontheim's letters written at the time of the printing, published in the *Journal von und für Deutschland*, 1791, I., 354 *seqq.*

[4] KRUFFT, *loc. cit.*, 257. How this trick deceived even the nuncio is related on p. 264.

[5] "Nullus Febroniano liber exstitit a multo tempore fortunatior," admits the *Antifebronius vindicatus*, I. (1771), 3.

1763,[1] referred to the author merely as a "very eminent member of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany". But the widely enthusiastic reception of the book revealed at a stroke all the silent antipathy for the Roman Curia which had established itself in courts and governments, universities and literary circles. To the political cabinets Febronius was of service by his doctrine of the superiority of the State to the Church and by his attacks on the Orders and monasticism. The work was circulated through many European countries.[2] In Spain the Council of Castile provided for a reprint by granting subsidies. In Portugal, where a translation appeared, the book was cited in a royal edict against the Jesuits; a bishop who composed a circular letter against Febronius in his own hand found himself in prison.[3] In France translations were prepared in 1766 and 1767. In Venice an edition appeared which had the approval of the Senate; the Italian translation of 1767 received a thirty-years' privilege, and in every sacristy there were facilities for subscribing to it. For publishing his *Antifebronius* in 1767, the Duke of Modena banished his librarian, the Jesuit Zaccaria, from his domains. The Austrian government also gave its approval to the work,[4] and in the Habsburg Netherlands it enjoyed the protection of the highest authorities.

Among German Catholics Febronius let loose a flood of anti-Papal writing which, in conjunction with the general spirit of the age, caused an anti-clerical feeling in educated circles. Certain theologians formed a canonistic school with Febronian convictions.[5] At the same time, however, there

[1] In no. 116 of the Göttingen *Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, II., 937 *seqq*. For the first reviews, *cf.* ZILLICH, *Febronius*, 34 *seq.*, 37 *seqq.*

[2] What follows is in accordance with KRUFFT, 264 *seq.*

[3] MARX, V., III, n. 1, according to the message of a correspondent of the French newspaper at Leyden, 1769.

[4] *Cf.* below, p. 287. Zaccaria's *Antifebronius* was placed on the Austrian index of forbidden books; see SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VIII., 1408.

[5] *Cf.* for example *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXXIV., 233 *seqq.*

arose in Germany, with support from Italy, a formidable body of opinion with opposite views,[1] whose publications attained a considerable volume even in the time of Clement XIII.[2] The first of these was a writing against Febronius by the aged Augustinian canon Eusebius Amort, who was followed in the same year by the Jesuit Joseph Kleiner of Heidelberg. The next year, 1765, brought forth three anti-Febronian writings by various members of Orders and the condemnatory finding of Cologne University. From 1766 onwards non-German Catholics also entered the lists, particularly the Italians, most prominent of whom were the learned opponent of Gallicanism, Pietro Ballerini, and Zaccaria, with his *Antifebronius*.[3] Even in Gallican France, if the evidence of the Assembly of the Clergy of 1775 is to be believed, Hontheim's work was not held in too high repute.[4]

Contrary to expectation, although the professed object of the book was to promote the union of the Churches, no pronouncement on it was made in Protestant circles.[5] As a means of paving the way for a reunion it was almost universally rejected, but it was welcomed, on the other hand, as a confirmation of Protestant views on the Papacy.[6] In fact,

[1] WERNER, 220 *seqq.*; SCHEEBEN in *Katholik*, XLVII. (1867), 1, 166.

[2] Details in MEJER, 83 *seqq.*; GLA, *Repert. der kath. theol. Literatur*, I., 2, 551 *seqq.*

[3] Pesaro, 1767. Zaccaria's foreword addressed to the Pope matches that of Febronius; his intention is brought out most effectively in his conclusion (440 *seqq.*).

[4] MARX, V., 112 *seq.*; MEJER, 104.

[5] ZILLICH, 43 *seqq.*

[6] *Nova Acta eruditorum* (Leipzig, 1764, 1): "Ab ipsis sane Lutheri temporibus nemo extitit, qui in medio quasi coetus Romani gremio contra abominandos illius abusus et vanam pontificis potestatem tam intelligenter, cum tanto lectionis et doctrinae apparatu, tam denique fortiter disputavit." It is thus correctly quoted in ZACCARIA, *Antifebronius vindicatus*, I., 5, whereas Krufft (in MEJER, 266) offers an altered version of the opening words: "A plus uno saeculo"!

the first opponent of Febronius was a Protestant, the Leipzig Magister Karl Friedrich Bahrck. Its rejection by the rationalists was still more caustic.[1] Deep-thinking Protestants saw through the contradictory character of the book. Lessing's opinion, as recorded by Jacobi, is significant: the book was nothing more than a flattery of the Princes, for every argument against Papal privileges could be used with far more weight against the secular power.[2]

Rome's efforts to counter the evil effects of the book extend through the last three pontificates of the century. On August 28th, 1763, even before the work appeared, the Cologne nuncio Lucini received information about the printing of a book in Frankfurt which was thought to have been written by a bishop and which contained fierce attacks on the Holy See. The nuncio passed on the news immediately to Rome, observing that he had no doubt that the suffragan bishop of Treves was the author, probably with Neller's assistance.[3] At the Michaelmas Fair the *Febronius* was openly distributed.[4] On September 18th Lucini sent a copy to the Papal Secretary of State but now doubted very much that Hontheim was the author: the book almost gave the impression of having been written by a Protestant and was nowise in keeping with the learned style of the suffragan bishop of Treves. Hontheim, however, was still commonly thought to be the author, only Lucini suspecting first a pupil of the Würzburg canonist Barthel,[5] then the Benedictine Oberhauser. In a letter of November 5th the

[1] *Allg. Deutsche Bibliothek*, II. (1766), 176 *seqq.*, beginning with Hontheim's portrait and "one of the most daring sentences from his work". The editor, F. Nicolai, sent him some copies accompanied by a flattering letter (MARX, V., 116).

[2] F. H. JACOBI, *Werke*, II., 334 *seqq.* *Cf.* Jacobi's opinion, *ibid.*, 401 *seq.*

[3] Lucini to Torrigiani, August 28, 1763, in CARDAUNS, *Entdeckung des Verfassers des "Febronius"*, 729.

[4] *Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764), c. 16, Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 123, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] For Barthel, see *Katholik*, LI. (1871), 1, 543 *seqq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, II., 103.

nuncio told Hontheim of the suspicion resting on him and asked for explanations. This is probably what induced Hontheim to publish in the newspapers a denial of his authorship. Lucini and Torrigiani let it be understood that they were satisfied; further conjectures were made about the author's identity, while Lucini went on with his tentative investigations for a long time.[1]

In Rome the book was put on the Index by a decree of February 27th, 1764.[2] Clement XIII., however, not content with this, sent in the middle of March Briefs to all the German bishops, instructing them to attack the book with vigour.[3] In all these letters the opinion is expressed that by this onslaught of Hontheim's the Church itself, if it were possible, was endangered to its foundations. The Pope alluded to the evil fate suffered by those Churches whose bishops thought that they could increase their own power and importance by diminishing papal authority. The author of the book, according to these Briefs, had accumulated all the abuses hurled at the Church by former enemies and had mixed with them a quantum of nonsense, so as not to be outdone by any of his predecessors. The work would not convert heretics but was likely to throw Catholics into confusion, especially at a time when every unbeliever was filled with downright rage against the Bishop of Rome.

These Papal Briefs were delivered partly directly, and partly through Oddi, nuncio extraordinary to the Frankfurt

[1] CARDAUNS, 730 *seqq.*

[2] The decree was printed with others of the kind on February 28, 1764, and publicly exhibited on March 1. *Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 941.

[3] *On March 14 to Treves, Würzburg, Speyer, Constance, Freising; on the 15th to Mainz, Salzburg, Vienna, Cologne; on the 17th to Hildesheim, Paderborn, Prague, Augsburg, Gorizia, Trent; on the 19th to Eichstätt; on the 24th to Olmütz. *Epist.*, VI., fo. 228 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Several Briefs are mentioned also in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, fo. 126 *seqq.*, *ibid.*; *Bull. Cont.*, III., 860 *seq.*, 879 *seq.*, 887, 895, 933, 1028; ZACCARIA, *Antifebronius vindicatus*, I., 27 *seqq.*

Diet of 1764,[1] but none of them was received in the manner desired by Rome. In many cases, it was only after hesitation and delay that the bishops decided to publish the prohibition in their dioceses and to put it into execution. At first most of them wanted to wait until the ecclesiastical Electors had given them a lead, while the Electors looked to Mainz, the diocese in which the book had been printed, to set them an example.[2] Here, however, at first, the question was evaded on various pretexts: in Germany Papal prohibitions were blindly obeyed without further ceremony, furthermore it was not customary for the diocese to repeat prohibitions in this way.[3] Thereupon the nuncio Oddi personally importuned the Archbishop Emmerich Joseph von Breidenbach, pointing out to him that the Febronian principles closely concerned not only the Holy See but also the rights and interests of the German Churches. As a result he brought about the publication on May 21st, 1764, of a decree of the vicariate general, applying to the whole diocese, whereby, at the order of the Elector, the book was to be destroyed and any attempt to print supplements or translations was to be prevented. This prohibition was to be enforced with especial strictness against both spiritual and temporal subjects in Frankfurt.[4]

In the archdiocese of Cologne many clerics had rendered approbatory reports on Febronius, so that the Elector first

[1] For example, to the Archbishop of Treves on May 21, 1764; see WEECH, 49.

[2] *Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764), Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 123, *loc. cit.*

[3] "*I Ministri andavano in varie guise eludendo le premure di Monsignore, ora allegando non costumarsi di fare nelle curie ecclesiastiche di quelle contrade simili proibizioni di libri, ora adducendo che le proibizioni di Roma vengono in Germania ciecamente ammesse, nè esservi bisogno di ulteriori pubblicazioni da farsi dagli ordinari." *Ibid.*, fo. 124.

[4] *Ibid.*; ZACCARIA, I., 34 *seq.* *Cf.* *Extractus protoc. archiepiscopalis vicariatus Mogunt., of May 21, 1764, Nunziat. di Germania 652, *loc. cit.*, also the Vicariate's *letter to the Spiritual Counsellor and Dean Amos, of August 2, 1764, *ibid.*

wanted to examine the work himself. At the instance of the nuncio Lucini a prohibition was issued on July 14th, 1764.[1] A similar decree by the Archbishop of Treves, Johann Philipp von Walderdorf, dates from the same day. In the episcopal city of Treves the difficulties were particularly great, no one wanting to take steps against Hontheim, even though he was seriously suspected of being the author of the book. In a letter of May 9th, 1764, Clement XIII. had again demanded from the Elector a proof of his fidelity,[2] and in his reply [3] the latter acknowledged that it was his duty to take action against the prohibited book. In the course of a discussion on the matter a number of votes were given for Febronius [4]; nevertheless, on July 14th, a decree banning the book was sent to the vicar general in Treves and to the Official in Coblenz.[5] As Oddi stated that he was still not satisfied with the decree, it was reworded and reissued on August 5th. Already fears were being expressed that too much undeserved attention was being given to the book and that the result would be other than the one intended.[6]

[1] *Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764), *loc. cit.*, fo. 128; text of the prohibition in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *ibid.*, and in ZACCARIA, I., 38 *seqq.*

[2]**Epist.*, VI., fo. 277b, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Dated at Ehrenbreitstein, May 27, 1764, Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *ibid.*; ZACCARIA, II., 35 *seqq.*

[4] "*La proibizione nostra merita d'esser ben apprezzata, e se non fosse stato il reflesso di render più meritevole V. Ecca appresso la S. Sede, non senza difficoltà saressimo pervenuti a questo passo, essendo stati più consiglieri, tanto ecclesiastici che secolari, d'un contrario sentimento." Letter from the archiepiscopal Official Radermacher (probably to Oddi), dated at Ehrenbreitstein, July 28, 1764, Nunziat. di Germania, 652, fo. 187, *loc. cit.*

[5] Both the first (not executed) and the final *text, of July 14, 1764, in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *ibid.*; the latter also in ZACCARIA, I., 37 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* Radermacher's *letters from Ehrenbreitstein of July 31 and August 5, 1764, *loc. cit.* In the latter (fo. 190): "Però non so se tutte queste proibizioni avranno l'effetto desiderato, specialmente in vista della repugnanza dell' altre corti come

The Bishop of Bamberg and Wurzburg, Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, also showed little desire at first to take any step and tried to evade the issue. Oddi attributed this to the influence of the Würzburg canonist Barthel, who had just published three works infused with Febronian ideas.[1] On the Bishop merely expressing disapproval of Febronius, the Pope, in a Brief of February 3rd, 1765, asked him to ban the book publicly in the same way as other bishops had done.[2] After a few weeks a decree was issued to this effect[3] and was commended by Clement XIII. in a special Brief of thanks.[4]

Landgrave Joseph of Hessen-Darmstadt, Bishop of Augsburg, was at first an enthusiastic admirer of *Febronius*, describing the book as useful and necessary for the regaining of ecclesiastical liberties. Oddi tried to change the opinions of the diocesan councillors and paid a personal visit to the Bishop at his country residence.[5] It was only because a

quella di Vienna, Virzburgo ecc. Mi sembra che si fa troppo onore al Febronio con metter contro di lui tutto in movimento, e forse sarebbe stata più proficua la semplice condannazione di Roma, come è stato praticato con tanti altri libri, poichè spreta vilescunt."

[1] " *Questi nelle tre dissertazioni che ha pubblicate sui concordati di Germania, ha non oscuramente, con qualche riguardo però e risparmio della riputazione della S. Sede, gettati i principali fondamenti delle massime febroniane." Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764), Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 129v, *ibid.*

[2] *Bull. Contin.*, III., 51 *seq.*

[3] *On March 11, 1765, for Würzburg, in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*; ZACCARIA, II., 44 *seqq.*; on March 13 for Bamberg, *ibid.*, 48 *seqq.*

[4] *Of June 19, 1765, *Epist.*, VII., fo. 466, *loc. cit.*

[5] Garampi, Oddi's companion, reports: " *Parlai col sigr. Vicaro Generale e mi lamentai che non fosse finora uscita veruna proibizione di Febronio. Mi disse che tanto egli che altri del vicariato fin da molto tempo aveano promossa una tal cosa, ma che il vescovo pareva essere di differento avviso, e mi pregò a fare in modo che il vescovo si risolvesse." Diario e viaggio del card. Garampi per la Germania nel 1764, Miscell. di Garampi, 77, and Nunziat. di Germania, 653, *loc. cit.*; copy as Cod. 1117 in the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe; *cf.* WEECH, 6.

Jansenistic book which had been published at Augsburg with the approval of the vicar general was banned at that time that Oddi was able to secure the same treatment for Febronius, who had taken the Jansenists of Utrecht under his protection.[1] In the dioceses of Freising and Regensburg Bishop Klemens Wenzeslaus of Saxony published the ban under date June 14th, 1764,[2] for which he was especially thanked in a Papal Brief of August 4th.[3] Passau [4] and Bâle [5] were also repeatedly reminded of the matter by the Pope. Thus in the course of time action was taken after all in most of the dioceses against Febronius' work.[6] As if by way of conclusion, Cologne University delivered a reasoned condemnation of the book in September 1765,[7] for which it was thanked by the Pope under date October 19th.[8]

Meanwhile the efforts to discover the identity of the author met with a definite success. The secretary [9] who had been sent

[1] *Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764), Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 130, *loc. cit.*; *Prohibition of October 7, 1764, in Nunziat. di Germania, 625, *ibid.*; ZACCARIA, II., 54 *seq.*

[2] In *Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*; ZACCARIA, II., 55 *seq.*

[3] **Epist.*, VII., fo. 24, *loc. cit.*; *Bull. Cont.*, III., 887 *seq.*

[4] *March 31, 1764, *Epist.*, VI., fo. 242, *loc. cit.*

[5] September 12, 1764, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 895.

[6] In Leyden by a pastoral letter of December 16 and a decree of December 22, 1764, in Constance on May 18, 1764, in Prague on May 20, 1764 (*texts in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*, the last two also in ZACCARIA, II., 40 *seqq.*, 52 *seqq.*). Bishop Wilhelm Anton of Paderborn wrote to Lucini (*on March 17, 1768, *loc. cit.*) that the prohibition was unnecessary in his diocese, where there were no Protestants and no "taberna literaria"! For Vienna, where the censorship lay with the Government, see below, p. 287.

[7] This *Iudicium academicum was forwarded by Lucini on September 22, 1765 (letter and enclosure in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*).

[8] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1028 *seq.*

[9] Lucini's report of April 22, 1764, in CARDAUNS, 733 *seq.* CARDAUNS (735) supposes that this secretary was Garampi, but this seems impossible to DENGEL (*Garampi in Deutschland*, 81)

by the Cologne nuncio Lucini to assist Oddi, the nuncio extraordinary to the election at Frankfurt, happened, when in Frankfurt, to win the friendship of the cleric who had superintended the printing of the *Febronius*. This was Canon Du Meitz, of the Cathedral of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt.[1] Oddi, as well as the secretary, was allowed to have a look at the original MS. of the *Febronius*, but for a long time the Canon could not be induced to divulge the name of the author; all that could be discovered was that he was a German bishop. At last, however, Du Meitz revealed the secret. The secretary made as though he did not believe it, until the Canon showed him some letters from Hontheim referring to the printing of the book. An unsuccessful attempt was made to gain possession of portions of these letters, but Du Meitz subsequently sent the nuncio some sheets of MS. with addenda for the second edition of the *Febronius* which was just appearing, together with a letter purporting to be from Krufft to Hontheim.[2] Lucini and Oddi immediately reported the matter to

and WEECH (38). Garampi would surely have reported it in his *Diario e viaggio del card. Garampi per la Germania nel 1764 (*loc. cit.*); instead, he speaks therein of the arrival in Frankfurt on February 21 of the official from the Cologne nunciature, "Girami maestro di Camera," as Oddi's assistant.

[1] "*Il canonico Du Meiz, consigliere del pr. di Stavelò e canonico della chiesa imperiale di S. Bartolomeo di Francfort, è quello che da Giustino Febronio è stato incaricato della stampa del suo libro fattasi qui dall' Esslinger. Non è stato possibile il trargli di bocca il vero nome dell'autore, se non che ha detto una volta per incidenza che è un vescovo" (Diario e viaggio del card. Garampi per la Germania nel 1764, Miscell. di Garampi, 77, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] "*J'ai enfin attrappé une feuille des augmentations que l'on fait à Fébronius" [and I am sending it in the original] (Du Meitz to Oddi, June 4, 1764); "*voici encore un échantillon des additions faites à Fébronius" (June 21, 1764); *[I am sending important documents]: "l'un est d'une lettre écrite à Msgr. de Honteim, comme je suppose avec raison, par Krufft, et que celui-ci a communiqué à son libraire, le sollicitant en conséquence de pousser

Rome.[1] The general public, however, refused for a long time afterwards to believe that Hontheim was in any way implicated.[2]

The Roman Curia now had sufficient proof of the identity of the author of the forbidden book but as the material evidence was not in its hands it was difficult to take any direct action against him.[3] Du Meitz thought that silence was the best policy,[4] and Oddi's attempts to have the author exposed in the various electorates produced only assurances of a general nature. For more than a year after this Hontheim exulted in his unassailability.[5]

The first edition of *Febronius* had a rapid sale. The very next year, 1764, a German translation appeared and in 1765

la nouvelle édition avec toute la ferveur possible ; l'autre est l'ordre que S. A. E. de Mayence a envoié à notre chapitre" (on August 15, 1764). Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Relazione della negoziaz. di Msgr. Oddi (1764) (Nunziat. di Germania, 721, fo. 133b, *ibid.*) : "Oddi è riuscito di avere in mano non solo gli attestati di chi ha veduto l'originale manoscritto dell' opera, ma eziandio alcuni fogli originali di giunte fatte dall' autore per la nuova ristampa."

[1] See Lucini's letters of April 22 and June 30, and Oddi's letter to Torrigiani of May 31, 1764, in CARDAUNS, 733–7.

[2] Thus Radermacher in his *letter of August 15, 1764 : "Dal suo [scil. di Hontheim] discorso non averei potuto inferire d'esser lui istesso autore, più tosto io dovrei giudicar il contrario." Nunziat. di Germania, 652, fo. 195, *loc. cit.*

[3] CARDAUNS, 736.

[4] The letters which had been divulged (published in the *Journal von und für Deutschland 1791*, 354 *seqq.*) and the original MS. of the *Febronius* were handed over by Du Meitz in September 1778 to a Protestant scholar of Heidelberg (according to MEJER, 57, to the church-councillor Mieg ; *cf.* the preface to this publication of the letters). Oddi's discovery of them was afterwards made public by Hontheim himself ; see WALCH, *Neueste Kirchengesch.*, I. (1774), 155. Krufft (in MEJER, 224, 266) gave rise to a false idea, which was first contradicted by CARDAUNS (738).

[5] Thus in WALCH, *loc. cit.*

there was a second edition of the Latin original.[1] The text had been lengthened by a third and there were 150 extra pages of appendices containing discussions with the chief critics. Hontheim again protested his Catholic sentiments but attacked with redoubled ferocity the theological and canonical methods of teaching hitherto in force and the activities of the Society of Jesus. Here and there an expression was watered down ; innumerable others, on the other hand, were rendered more malicious.

The emboldened author watched the increasing success of his work with rising spirits ; any attempt of Rome to influence him would have been useless. The strong protection afforded him by his lord, the Elector of Treves,[2] a man of little self-reliance, stood him in the greatest stead. He received almost equal protection from Johann Philipp von Walderdorf's successor, Prince Klemens Wenzeslaus of Saxony and Poland, elected on February 10th, 1768. The grandson of Emperor Joseph I., he was related to several of the great princely houses and in April 1763, without being ordained priest, he was elected Bishop of Freising and Regensburg.[3] It was not till after years devoted more to court life than to spiritual

[1] WOKER, *Hontheim und die römische Kurie*, 11. For the reviews of these works, see ZILLICH, 35. Garampi *reported in September 1764 : " É anche stato tradotto il libro in tedesco, a nella traduzione si è anche peggiorato il testo dell' autore " (Diario e viaggio del Card. Garampi per la Germania nel 1764, Miscell. di Garampi, 77, *loc. cit.*).

[2] For his reign, *cf.* the report of the Imperial envoy in Mainz, of December 17, 1765 ; see BRUNNER, *Humor*, II., 422 *seqq.*

[3] The documents concerning his solicitations in BRUNNER, *ibid.*, I., 113 *seqq.*, II., 331 *seqq.*, 424, 426, 428 (II., 386 *seq.*, and 396 *seqq.* refer to him erroneously). *Cf.* DENGEL, *Garampi*, 34 ; F. SCHRÖDER, *Wie wurde Klemens Wenzeslaus Erzbischof von Trier ?*, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXX., 24 *seqq.* ; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, IV., 309 *seqq.* ; *Katholik*, LI. (1871), 2, 29 *seqq.* The " enlightened " principles on which he governed are reported by SCHÜLLER in his *Aufklärung und geistl. Behörden im Erzstift Trier*, in the *Trierische Heimat*, IV. (1928), 106 *seq.*, 117 *seqq.*

preparation that he had himself consecrated bishop on August 10th, 1766. He already possessed a Brief enabling him to be elected episcopal coadjutor in Treves when the Elector of that city died, and thanks to the powerful intercession of the Empress Maria Theresa, Klemens Wenzeslaus became his successor in 1768. In August of the same year he ascended also the episcopal throne of Augsburg, for which he had to resign Regensburg and Freising. By way of compensation he was later presented with the provostry of Ellwangen, which carried with it the rank of a prince.

An ecclesiastical prince who had availed himself of Rome's favour to establish himself in such a brilliant position should for decency's sake have refrained from granting the revealed author of the *Febronius* as much protection as he actually did. Hontheim was not only confirmed in his former post of a vicar general "*in spiritualibus*" but was also empowered to participate in actual governmental business as a "Privy State and Conference Councillor", and, what was more, he was entrusted with the superintendence of relations with the Roman Curia and with the nuntiature of Cologne.[1] Naturally Rome took exception to this, but the new archbishop defended his action on the plea that he had come as a complete novice to a disordered diocese and that he sorely needed the support of the experienced suffragan bishop. He also gave his assurance that the rights of the Holy See would not suffer in any way under his rule and that Hontheim did not acknowledge the authorship of the *Febronius*, which had been laid to his charge.[2]

This letter from the Elector crossed with another complaint from Rome,[3] which, incidentally, was unfounded. The Archbishop's second reply,[4] which had been drafted by Hontheim, reaffirmed that the suffragan bishop had publicly contradicted in the newspapers all the rumours of which he

[1] MEJER, 66 *seq.*

[2] Letter of March 26, 1768, *ibid.*, 67.

[3] Of March 30, 1768.

[4] Of April 14, 1768, in MEJER, 68 *seq.*

was the subject, and that in the execution of his office he had never in his counsel or in his actions put Febronian principles into practice. This evasive and intentionally misleading answer produced a letter from Rome that was all the more decisive. Cardinal Albani wrote [1] that the Archbishop's defence of Hontheim, "complete and powerful as it is" was doubtless convincing on the whole but that "since the Holy Father has asserted and still asserts that he knows him to be the author of the noxious book, on account of irrefutable proofs," he would not dare to contradict this decisive judgment. There were only two ways of pacifying the Pope; either to call in Hontheim only for the most vitally urgent business or to obtain from him a written declaration that he was neither the author of the book nor in agreement with its doctrines. The latter ought not to be too difficult, seeing that the suffragan bishop had already made a similar declaration in the public journals.

The Elector of Treves, placed by this letter in an embarrassing situation, chose the former of the two alternatives and replied [2] that on the arrival of the letter from Rome the suffragan bishop had already departed for Treves, his official residence, so that he could not bring about the step desired by Albani; but he would only recall him to his court for pontifical functions or in other pressing circumstances.

In the autumn of this year a conversation about *Febronius* took place between Hontheim and the new nuncio at Cologne, Caprara.[3] On the nuncio's announcing his intention to visit the electoral court of Treves in Coblenz, the suffragan bishop was sent to meet him with a court carriage at Andernach. As they drove together thence to Schönbornslust, the nuncio tactfully initiated a discussion of the book, stressing strongly

[1] Under date May 4, 1768, *ibid.*, 68 *seqq.*, 297 *seq.*

[2] Of the two versions (*ibid.*, 299 *seqq.*) probably the first was chosen, it alone bearing the date May 22, 1768.

[3] *Cf.* MEJER, 73 *seqq.*, and Hontheim's report written on the same evening in Krufft's papers, *ibid.*, 268 *seqq.*; also SCHNÜTGEN, *Ein Kölner Nuntius*, 752 *seq.*

its harmful influence on the relations between Church and State, while acknowledging the need for reform in many quarters. Hontheim ascribed the importance of the book principally to the stir that Rome was making about it, but otherwise took the side of the governments whose demands the nuncio complained were going too far. Finally Caprara suggested that he should publish explanations of some of the more objectionable features of the book. Hontheim's report of the conversation does not make it clear whether Caprara directly addressed him as the author, but his reply to the suggestion indicates that this was so. Any question of a recantation was impossible, he said, for a man of honour acting with the best intentions, and in any case it was purposeless, as had been shown by the pronouncements made by the French assembly of the clergy in 1682. But if it were merely a question of elucidation, it was only necessary to cite the points at issue. At this juncture the conversation came to an end, though the nuncio continued to maintain the friendliest relations with the suffragan bishop of Treves.[1]

The steps taken by Rome to check the further influence of the *Febronius* were thus confined for the time being to bringing about its prohibition in both German and extra-German lands [2] and to encouraging every branch of literature that opposed it.[3]

[1] SCHNÜTGEN, 752.

[2] For a prohibition issued by the Spanish Inquisition, see *Cifre al Pallavicino, of July 9, 1767, and *al Lucini, of January 7 and 28, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] A list of Febronius's literary opponents in WOKER, *loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*; see also STÜMPER, *Kirchenrechtl. Ideen*, 157. Papal *Briefs of praise to, e.g. Joseph Anton Bandel of December 8, 1764, in Nunziat. di Germania, 652, *loc. cit.*, to Sangallo of November 5, 1766, in *Epist.*, IX., fo. 117 *seq.*, *ibid.* For a Papal letter sent to the nuncio Caprara, urging that Kaufmanns (a cleric of Cologne) continue his rebuttal, see *Cifra al Lucini, of January 7, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *ibid.* Kaufmanns was written about by WESSELMANN (Kempen, 1881); *cf. Annalen des Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, XLIII. (1885), 210.

(4)

During previous pontificates the cool relations that frequently arose between Rome and the German Imperial house were predominantly due to purely political differences. But now, in the latter part of Maria Theresa's reign, an essential change in the policy of the Imperial government gradually took place, and considerable concessions were made to the anti-clerical spirit of the age.[1] The Empress herself was thoroughly pious in the strictly ecclesiastical sense and she was often more of a hindrance than anything else to the progress of the new spirit,[2] and yet, without realizing it, she was laying the foundation stone of what was later to be called

[1] *Cf.* ALBERT JÄGER, *Das Eindringen des modernen kirchenfeindlichen Zeitgeistes in Österreich unter Karl VI. und Maria Theresia*, in the *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theologie*, II. (1878), 258 *seqq.*, 417 *seqq.*; W. DEINHARDT, *Der Jansenismus in deutschen Landen*, Munich, 1929.

[2] How much the Pope relied on her attachment to the Church and with what earnestness he besought her to intervene with other States in ecclesiastico-political matters is shown, for example, by a *Brief "di proprio pugno" addressed to her on June 29, 1768: "Did not Your piety, the first of all virtues, wherewith God adorned Your soul, give Us confidence that You regard every anxiety of the Head of the Church as Your own, We would not turn to You with Our complaints in accord with so many sons—to You who are the first protectress of the Church. We are sure, however, that Your Majesty, exalted above all reasons of State, which mislead rulers, regards the rape of the sanctuary with anguish. We beseech You, the consolation of Our old age, to obtain that peace which is so necessary for religion, for Our Church prays for Your Empire. It is Our duty to exhort You; it is only because We fulfil it that We are attacked. We place all Our defence in the hands of God and those of Your Majesty, with whom the sovereigns that stand in opposition to Us are allied. Obtain from them, who follow false counsels, peace for the Church and Her subjects. Nothing will withstand the power of Your rare virtues, the glory will always be Yours." *Epist.*, XI., fo. 53b. *Ibid.*, 57–63, a similar *letter of encouragement to Joseph II., Papal Secret Archives.

Josephism after her son and successor. This was brought about for the most part by the unbounded confidence with which she appointed to influential posts those whose ecclesiastico-political aims were directed at the secularization of the schools and institutes of higher education, at the diminution of clerical privileges, and the toleration of every kind of philosophical opinion.

It would be idle to deny that at this period the Austrian dominions were in need of a reform in consonance with the times, but that the plans for this reform were rooted in the North German and French "enlightenment", in Jansenist and Gallican ideas, was not sufficiently realized by the Empress, nor did she clearly foresee the consequences of such a movement. Faint rumours of certain episcopalian tendencies in Catholic Germany had already been heard in the time of Joseph I. and Charles VI.[1] but they did not take definite shape until the appearance of Hontheim's much-disputed work.[2] To bring these plans to fruition, however, was the ultimate purpose of the authors of the gradual changes which began during the close of Benedict XIV.'s reign and which increasingly determined Imperial policy in the reign of Clement XIII.

Austrian policy at this time was in the hands of Count Kaunitz,[3] a man on whom the Empress depended, bestowing on him her esteem and confidence, in spite of the many points on which their views conflicted. The sixth of the sixteen children of a Moravian count, he was originally destined for the Church but soon struck out in other directions, studying law in Vienna, Leipzig, and Leyden, and undertaking extensive

[1] *Cf.* VIGENER, *Gallikanismus*, 27 *seqq.* For the dispute about the quinquennial faculties, see LEO MERGENTHEIM, *Die Quinquennalfakultäten* "pro foro externo" (STUTZ, *Kirchenrechtl. Abh.*, 52–5), 1908; also IGN. BEIDTEL, 32, and JÄGER, *loc. cit.*, 261–273.

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 250 *seqq.*

[3] GEORG KÜNTZEL, *Fürst Kaunitz-Rittberg als Staatsmann*, Frankfurt a. M., 1923, 2 *seqq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XV., 487 *seqq.*; BRUNNER, *Humor*, II., 164 *seqq.*; also ARNETH'S two works on Maria Theresa.

tours of education in England, France, and Italy. At the age of twenty-four he became an Imperial court councillor and from 1741 onwards he was employed in diplomatic duties. In 1753 he undertook the conduct of foreign affairs, at the earnest request of the Empress, and he initiated the new Francophile system.[1] The writings of Voltaire had turned him into an enlightened freethinker,[2] though, paying heed to the maternal strictness of his Imperial mistress, he did not neglect to present her with a "confession ticket"[3] on Maundy Thursday. Similarly the parish church of his birthplace, Austerlitz, afterwards to become so famous, was his foundation and provided both him and his family with their last resting place. His ecclesiastico-political principles he found expressed in the work of Febronius.

Another man who was governed by progressive views, though to a far greater degree, and who also exerted the strongest influence on Austrian cultural policy, was Gerhard van Swieten.[4] Of Dutch Catholic parentage, a student of philosophy in Louvain and of medicine in Leyden, he became the physician of Maria Theresa's sister and in 1745 was called away, practically from her death-bed, from Brussels to Vienna, on the recommendation of Count Kaunitz. In Vienna he filled the posts of physician-in-ordinary to the Empress, prefect of the court library, and university lecturer in medicine, in virtue not so much of his professional knowledge as of the personal impression he made on the Empress. Prevented by his Catholicism from succeeding his teacher and master Boerhaave of Leyden,[5] Van Swieten was always thought to be

[1] See above, p. 118.

[2] KUNTZEL, *loc. cit.*, 57.

[3] A certificate showing that a confession had been made.

[4] *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXVII., 265 *seqq.*; ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, III., 165 *seqq.*; R. KINK, *Gesch. der Universität Wien*, I., 1, 442 *seqq.*; BEIDTEL, 39; JÄGER, 278 *seqq.*, 285 *seqq.*; WURZBACH, XLI., 37 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* his letter to the Empress of January 17, 1749, KINK, *loc. cit.*, I., 1, 442.

a model of religion by Maria Theresa,[1] who failed to see that his Dutch Catholicism was deeply imbued with Jansenism, This was the cause of the fierce campaign he waged against the Society of Jesus,[2] in which he was especially successful in the spheres of education and the censorship of books.

At the head of ecclesiastical Vienna at this time was, at first, Archbishop Trautson.[3] Through a pastoral letter of 1752 he had undeservedly acquired the stigma of a dangerous enlightenment, though his intention in the letter was consonant with perfectly orthodox views. On his death he was succeeded by Archbishop Migazzi,[4] who was admitted to the Sacred College in 1761. His active support of the preservation of ecclesiastical principles and privileges made him the antagonist of Van Swieten and, as he was frequently alone in this defensive position, he was forced willy-nilly into the rôle of a perpetual complainant. In the course of time this position was as unsuccessful as it was irksome. How far he was from being a born fighter is shown by his governing principle, " to be the nearest to Your Majesty's feet of all your subjects." [5] It is true that he meekly advised the Empress not to claim for herself rights that belonged to others but his powers of resistance were no match for the aggressiveness of his opponents.

Van Swieten's reformatory activity in the intellectual life of Vienna began with measures within the medical faculty which were technically laudable though their manner was not incontestable.[6] Gradually, however, they were extended over the whole university. His chief aim thereby was the loosening

[1] On the protocol of the relinquishment of his office the Empress wrote in her own hand that his religious zeal and example were as pure as his faithfulness to her person and her family. ARNETH, IX., 168.

[2] *Cf.* KINK, I., 1, 489, n. 643.

[3] *Cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI., 2017 *seqq.*

[4] See, in conjunction with WOLFSGRUBER's study, WURZBACH, XVIII., 244 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 345.

[6] KINK, I., 1, 445 *seq.*; JÄGER, 287.

of the close connection between the university and ecclesiastical circles, in particular the Jesuits,[1] who enjoyed an independent right to a number of professional chairs which since 1623 had been confirmed by law.[2] A new order of studies promulgated on June 25th, 1752,[3] as good as preserved this dominant position of the Order, and the newly created directorships of the philosophical and theological faculties were given to two competent Jesuits, De Biel and Joseph Franz. The supreme head of the faculties was to be a protector of studies, for which post Archbishop Trautson was destined. Subsequently this ordinance was included among the objects of Swieten's unremitting hostility and he shrank from no injustice to set the Empress against the Fathers.[4] Within the next ten years, much to his satisfaction, the Jesuits were withdrawn from leading positions in the university; in 1757 the Rector of the Jesuits retired from the reformed consistory of the university,[5] and in 1759, after Swieten had pressed the matter for years, the two Jesuit directors of faculties were replaced by seculars of an entirely different type, such as the canons Stock and Simon.[6] At the same time, by a court decree of September 10th, 1759, the Archbishop received the right of nomination to the directorship of the theological faculty and to theological chairs, which also was obviously to the advantage of non-Jesuits and seculars.[7] The Jesuit right of occupying the chairs was reduced to one of co-operation, though the professors coming from the Order, once they had been appointed, were to be left at their posts for a considerable time; the Augustinians and Dominicans, however, were equally entitled to expound their theological

[1] DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 2, 34 *seqq.*

[2] KINK, I., 1, 357 *seqq.*; JÄGER, 294 *seq.*

[3] The theological course of studies in the main in H. ZSCHOKKE, *Die theolog. Studien und Anstalten der katholischen Kirche in Österreich* (1894), 13 *seqq.* *Cf.* BEIDTEL, 39, 264 *seq.*

[4] KINK, I., 1, 490, n. 644.

[5] *Ibid.*, 487 *seqq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 294.

[6] BEIDTEL, 40.

[7] *Ibid.*, 267 *seqq.*; ZSCHOKKE, 27 *seq.*

doctrines alongside the Jesuits. The Jesuit teacher of canon law also withdrew from the consistory.[1]

The influence of the Jesuits continued to decrease. One by one they lost their customary posts as court confessors.[2] The attempt to dislodge them from the secondary and higher schools failed only for want of suitable teachers to replace them. With Trautson's death the post of protector of studies lapsed in 1757; three years later, to replace it, a special court commission of studies was set up to control the whole educational system in the patrimonial dominions.[3] In this, however, although they played a preponderating part in higher education, the Jesuits were not included. Though Archbishop Migazzi was the president, Swieten, acting as his deputy, was the real director of the new commission. How anti-Jesuit this group was, apart from the Archbishop, may be seen from a rescript of the Empress's, couched in an appeasing tone, in which she replies to a general complaint against the Order formulated by Stock[4]: in matters of religion and doctrine great care must be taken to give way to every susceptibility, and everything must be avoided that had the faintest resemblance to persecution of the Jesuits.[5] Actually matters had already gone much further, and Van Swieten, as one of his friends relates, was looking forward with patriotic impatience to the total suppression of the Order.[6]

The Viennese policy of higher education, as introduced by Van Swieten,[7] aimed at bringing the university completely

[1] KINK, I., 1, 492.

[2] BEIDTEL, 40; DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 2, 438.

[3] JÄGER, 300 *seq.*

[4] For Stock's relations with Jansenism and its further incursions into Austria, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXXVI., 720.

[5] KINK, I., 1, 495.

[6] *Ibid.*, 501 *seq.*

[7] For the university of Louvain, *cf. Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XXIX. (1901), 300. In Rome there were fears in 1767 lest reforms might be introduced into the Flemish university by the Viennese professor, Pater Gazzaniga, who was

under the control of the State. Its autonomous character was to be abolished, and its professors were to be appointed solely as State teachers. A court commission had begun to exercise supervision over all educational foundations, including the university,[1] in 1750, and in 1753 the university funds were incorporated in the State finances. At the same time the State schools received favours withheld from those controlled by the Orders; for, according to the court decree of October 31st, inland benefices were to be bestowed only on theologians who had either studied at a State university or had proved their competence to the satisfaction of special examiners.[2] Furthermore it was not long before Archbishop Migazzi, who had presided over the court commission of studies since 1760, was replaced by Baron Kresel.

While these efforts were being made to bring higher education under State control, special attention had to be paid to canon law, that branch of learning which was capable, as no

travelling thither; see *cipher to the Abbé Sozzifanti in Paris, of May 20, 1767: "Siccome però [il P. Gazzaniga Domenicano] ha avuto varie segrete conferenze colla Imperatrice Regina, così siamo entrati in sospetto che egli sia spedito in Fiandra per fare ivi qualche riforma di studi coerente ai piani di Vienna. Siccome però noi, quanto siamo contenti delle dottrine presenti dell' Universita di Lovania, altrettanto siamo amareggiati dalle perniciose innovazioni che sonosi fatte in altri Stati austriaci a suggestione del medico Vanswieten, che presso l'Imperatrice Regina ha credito etiandio di teologo e canonista, così ci conviene di stare guardinghi, acciò le stesse innovazioni non vadano a corrompere anche le Fiandre, dove è pienamente accettata e propugnata la Bolla Unigenitus" (Nunziat. di Francia, 455, fo. 84^{v}, Papal Secret Archives). The *cipher of September 9, 1767 (*ibid.*, fo. 97) to the same person announces that Gazzaniga did not intend to carry through his course of studies in Louvain, but it was to be feared nevertheless that he would try to do so in Vienna; moreover he adopted the view that no regard need be paid even to dogmatic Bulls if they lacked the authorization of the Government.

[1] KINK, I., 1, 457, n. 593.

[2] BEIDTEL, 265 *seq.*; JÄGER, 283.

other was, of scientifically underpinning the new ecclesiastico-political structure and of making it acceptable to the new generation of officials. This professorial chair, forming part of the faculty of jurisprudence in Vienna, was allotted in 1753, with a generous stipend, to Paul Joseph Riegger.[1] A professor at Innsbruck since 1733, he had been teaching in Vienna also, at the Theresian Ritterakademie, which had been founded by the Empress in 1749, and he was held to be the right man for the new government policy. He occupied his chair at the university until 1773. Riegger was not quite the enlightened canonist strictly so called, in the manner of Eybel or Hontheim ; according to him, the Pope still had the right to confirm conciliar decrees and he was still infallible when deciding questions of faith or morals. But new ideas were mixed with old ones in his disquisitions on the superiority of the State to the Church. He followed Christian Wolff's theory of natural law in demanding a natural, rational canon law. Arguing from natural premises, he deduced the right of the State to control ecclesiastical persons and goods in all earthly matters and found the ruler's *placet* for ecclesiastical decrees and the appeal to the State for alleged abuse to be justified. From the mediæval rights of the churchwarden, Riegger deduced a number of further ecclesiastical powers belonging to the State : the combating of heresy and schism, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and the banning of pernicious books.

Despite repeated protests on the part of the bishops, the Empress was not opposed to these conceptions. Riegger's text-book remained the standard work for university instruction, though Simon Ambros Stock, who became head of the

[1] For Riegger, see HURTER, V.[3], 511 *seq.* ; KARL WERNER, *Geschichte der kath. Theologie*, 214 *seqq.* ; JOH. FR. v. SCHULTE, *Gesch. der Quellen und Literatur des kanon. Rechts*, III., 1, 288 *seqq.* ; *id.* in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXVIII., 551 *seqq.* ; WURZBACH, XXXV., 129 *seqq.* ; ARNETH, IX., 184 *seqq.* ; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, *Gesch. der Rechtswissenschaft*, III., 381 *seq.*; JÄGER, 419 *seq.*

theological faculty after De Biel's removal, had to make a compilation of theses which owing to the excessive facility with which they gave rise to differences of opinion at examinations and disputations were to be excluded.[1] Not only was Riegger raised by the Empress to knightly rank but his prestige was still further enhanced in 1767 by the suppression of a canonistic chair in the theological faculty formerly occupied by a Jesuit, and by it being made obligatory for theologians to attend Riegger's lectures. In this way canon law was incorporated outwardly as well as inwardly in the secular sphere of civil law. The Archbishop, who was absent from the court commission of studies when this resolution was passed, seems to have made no protest. This is all the more surprising in view of the motion being based on the direct complaint that "no teaching of canon law either profitable or suited to the State of these days was ever to be expected of a religious, least of all of a Jesuit."[2]

The second sphere of influence captured by Van Swieten in his campaign to bring about the intellectual transformation of Austria was the censorship of books.[3] Besides the ecclesiastical censorship, which was exercised by the Archbishop of Vienna, in 1753 all religious and theological writings were subjected to State censorship also; even "prayers, hymns, and other trifles", according to the court decree of April 1st, needed State approval and the written permit of the book-examining commission.[4] In the following year members of

[1] JÄGER, 420.

[2] KINK, I., 1, 501, n. 662.

[3] ARNETH, *Regierungszeit*, III., 159 *seqq.*; FOURNIER, *Van Swieten als Zensor*, in the *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, LXXXIV.

[4] BEIDTEL, 265. A Papal *Brief to Maria Theresa, of February 6, 1768, dealing with censorship difficulties in Milan, objects fundamentally to this interference of the State: "The worst of all Our cares at the present time is the flood 'deterrimorum librorum, qua Europam inundavit impietas'; everything threatens religion, an open war is raging against it. In December 1766 We commanded every Bishop to keep these books away from his diocese; many do so with great care. We rejoiced also that You

religious Orders had to obtain the permission of the State-appointed protector of studies and the commission of studies before they could publish theological theses and dissertations, which permission within a few weeks was made to apply to all theological, legal, canonistic, and philosophic literature, insofar as it had been issued uncensored within or without the confines of the country.[1] In effect this did not mean protection from non-ecclesiastical influences; it led rather to a considerable increase in Protestant and "enlightened" works.

In this sphere too Van Swieten's efforts were aimed at the exclusion of Jesuit influence.[2] Thus by the early '50's, when alterations in the censorship system were in progress, he succeeded in wresting from the Order its supervision of philosophical works by proposing himself for this task to the

were fired by Our letter to ward off this evil from Your country, but We fear that the way indicated did not fulfil Our intentions. Last year We warned You through the nuncio Borromei about the censorship in Milan but with no effect. For the salvation of souls We make known to You Our intention regarding the new method: the greatest injury is inflicted on religion and public welfare in Milan when it is mainly the royal deputies who make decisions in censorship matters and pronounce judgment on the laity when they write against religion, morals, and faith. In this way the Church is deprived of the liberty to preserve the 'depositum fidei'. If the right of censorship is taken from the Church, the Faith may suffer the worst disaster in consequence. The two deputies do not suffice, for when opinions differ the secular deputies pass a scandalous book, and a quarrel arises between the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium*. In Milan, therefore, the decisions of the councils of the Lateran and of Trent are to be carried out, as emphasized by the nuncio in the provincial synods. You could do nothing better than uphold these injunctions. Every innovation is dangerous; wherefore allow no change and You will acquire merit for having served the Church" (*Epist.*, X., fo. 207, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* in conjunction, also referring to the censoring of theological books by the laity in Milan, the Brief of January 31, 1767, to Maria Theresa, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1129 *seqq.*

[1] KINK, I., 1, 457, n. 593, 462, n. 599; BEIDTEL, 39, 266 *seq.*

[2] JÄGER, 299 *seq.*

Empress, who accepted the offer. Nevertheless he had at this time to work in the examining commission with some Fathers who still retained the spiritual censorship of theological books and the right to participate in the censorship of other works. It was in this commission that a notable clash occurred in 1752, when Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois* was under consideration.[1] The lay members of the commission voted for the release of the work, which had hitherto been banned in Austria, while the two Jesuits wanted it to be restricted to scholars and trustworthy readers. Swieten persuaded the Empress to permit its unconditional release. In 1758 he saw to it that a Jesuit who formerly needed only the Archbishop's nomination to become a member of the commission, was not admitted. At the same time Swieten was elevated to the presidency of this censoring commission, which thenceforward was completely under his control.[2] The Jesuits now withdrew from it and, at Swieten's suggestion, were replaced by non-Jesuits, so that ultimately, after 1764, no priest of the Society of Jesus took part in the imperial censorship.[3] This fact and Swieten's

[1] *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 307 *seqq.*

[3] How far the tendency to exclude clerics from the State censorship went in individual cases is shown by an instance which happened in Innsbruck and which was the subject of a complaint in a Papal *Brief of June 1, 1768, addressed to Bishop Leopold of Brixen. "We were gratified by the solicitude which moved you to send Us the Innsbruck theses. You rightly complain that some of them are false; We shall inform the censor. It is to be regretted that they were not sent to you before they had been printed and were about to be discussed. This shows that it was intended to evade your censorship. We have observed for some time that the lay authorities want to oust the clerical authority from the book censorship. If this ancient right is taken away the Christian religion is in danger. The point has been much disputed in the Milanese, and We wrote to the Queen too that this is the most dangerous procedure and We will have Our nuncio bring forward a complaint that this evil threatens to creep into Innsbruck too. Use your influence at the Court to bar the way to this abuse" *Epist.*, X., fo. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

dominant position in the intellectual life of the country were important inasmuch as the censors not only declared books to be unfit for publication but also undertook responsibility for all books which were released and when approving them made use of a whole scale of more or less commendatory judgments.

In his capacity of censor Swieten had banned works by Machiavelli and Rousseau, Voltaire and Lessing, Ariosto and Wieland [1]—whether on account of his own convictions or out of consideration for the views of the Empress must be left undecided. The dispute, however, which centred round Hontheim's *Febronius* is significant.[2] This work was eagerly sought after in Vienna as elsewhere and after a triple examination it passed the censor. Its effect was prodigious; Febronianism soon became the fashion among the clergy; but when Rome pronounced its condemnation in February 1764 Cardinal Migazzi raised objections in Vienna too against its reprehensible observations on the primacy and against the satirical description of the Papal court.[3] The Empress sent for the memorandum which Swieten had made as censor, and hostilities between archbishop and censor broke out. Swieten referred to the memoranda made by the canons Stock, Gürtler, and Simon in their spiritual capacity, and to the legal opinion given by the jurist Martini; he complained about an ambiguous or at least indeterminate attitude taken by Migazzi, and finally advanced a view of the case which would supposedly win the day: "This book upholds the rights of sovereigns, especially those of the Princes of the Empire. It is said to

[1] *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXVIII., 268 *seq.*

[2] JÄGER, 432 *seq.*

[3] Clement XIII. had communicated with Migazzi on this matter on March 14, 1764 (see above, p. 265, n. 3), and again under date July 14, 1764 (*Bull. Cont.*, III., 1), having heard that the "pestiferum librum per manus etiam Caesareae istius aulae procerum non sine quorumdam approbatione circumferri". Migazzi then held out hopes to the Pope that the book would be banned in Vienna after all (*letter of July 30, 1764, Nunziat. di Germania, 652, Papal Secret Archives).

have been written by a learned man and under the eyes of an Elector." [1] On the appearance of the German edition the spiritual members of the commission were somewhat hesitant, whereupon Swieten insisted that no difference should be made between the Latin and the German editions. The Empress agreed with him on this last point but disagreed on all the others. On December 10th, 1764, she gave instructions through the court chancery to the censor's office that both editions were to be everywhere suppressed. Swieten subsequently succeeded in having the instruction reduced to one of bare prohibition,[2] but in his dealings with the Empress he pouted and played the part of injured dignity. Maria Theresa tried to appease him; but *Febronius* was not released till five years later and then only in a restricted manner for scholars and "other modest purchasers".[3]

A similar principle had been put into practice by the commission, with the consent of the Empress, in 1766, in the matter of the naturalistic, free-thinking *Institutiones iuris divini*, by Thomasius. In the following year Migazzi objected to a new weekly publication by Sonnenfels—two earlier ones had been banned because of their blatant criticism—with the significant title "The man without prejudice". In an article on the right of asylum the editor had made slighting remarks about ecclesiastical rights and usages [4]; Swieten himself censored this issue and allowed it to appear. When the Empress, roused by Migazzi's urgent complaint in writing, expressed her displeasure to the censor's office, Swieten offered to resign his presidency.[5] But Maria Theresa again placated

[1] Radermacher *wrote on July 28, 1764, probably to Oddi, from Ehrenbreitstein: "Sappiamo che il Msgr. Nunzio di Vienna ha messo tutto in movimento appresso la corte imperiale per effettuar una tal proibizione, e che tutti i passi suoi non anno avuto verun effetto" Nunziat. di Germania, 652, fo. 187, *ibid.*

[2] ARNETH, IX., 149 *seq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 388 *seqq.*

[3] ARNETH, IX., 150.

[4] WOLFSGRUBER, 395.

[5] JÄGER, 435–9.

him with flattering praise for "the principles which he had consistently maintained against all opposition".

Swieten, thus confirmed in his position, passed in 1766 the condemned Jansenistic *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne*,[1] by Mésenguy, in spite of its condemnation in Paris and Rome, also the anonymous *De l'autorité du clergé et du pouvoir du magistrat politique sur l'exercice des fonctions du ministère ecclésiastique*.[2] The latter work was subsequently banned by the Empress in January 1767, on account of its ecclesiastico-political doctrines, after Migazzi had twice objected to it in the face of fresh memoranda submitted by the commission, the court chancery, and the State Council. In 1769 it was released along with *Febronius*. Marmontel's indecent and immoral romance, *Bélisaire*, also originally released, is said to have been approved only in an expurgated edition as the result of an objection lodged by the Cardinal. Naturally enough Migazzi's isolated opposition rendered many a dangerous book doubly attractive.

Meanwhile a new organization had been formed within the Viennese government which was thenceforward to be the prime mover in all reforms: the State Council, afterwards to become famous in the reign of Joseph II.[3] In the economic and military difficulties which followed the defeat of Torgau it was called upon to unify and reduce the costs of the ramified machinery of government and under the immediate direction of the Empress to advise on, to prepare, and to control all State measures. It was initiated by the State Chancellor Kaunitz, its members were appointed on December 30th, 1760, and the opening session took place on January 21st, 1761.

[1] *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne ou Instruction sur les principales vérités de la religion*, Utrecht, 1744. *Cf. Freib Kirchenlex.*, VIII.², 1299 *seq.*; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 1251.

[2] The author was the Paris parliamentary advocate F. Richer. In this work a number of ecclesiastical rights were awarded to the reigning prince. *Cf.* JÄGER, 439 *seq.*

[3] HOCK-BIDERMANN, *Der österr. Staatsrat*, Vienna, 1879.

It was now in this circle that the arguments between the supporters of the old and the new principles were conducted and here too the disagreement between Maria Theresa and her reform-loving son, King Joseph II., soon became manifest—a deep-seated conflict that was to cause the Empress Mother much disquiet in the last years of her reign.[1] In 1765 Joseph submitted to the State Council a memorandum which in many respects already predicted subsequent changes. Thus, with regard to education and the Church, the treatise demanded an improvement in studies, the removal of the universities to smaller places, the restriction of university teachers' incomes to their lecture fees, the admission to religious vows or to a religious Order at the age of twenty-five, and the reconstitution of pious foundations for public welfare.[2] These and many other plans for reform were discussed in the State Council.

Of particular importance was the proposal put forward by the Council in 1763 that a chair be set up for the teaching of "Police and Fiscal Knowledge", now known as political economy. The teacher appointed, Joseph von Sonnenfels,[3] was very much in favour with the Council [4] and subsequently exerted a deep influence on the intellectual and political life of Austria. His parents were Jewish. His father, who had been a Rabbi in Berlin, had himself baptized, probably in Vienna, and was ennobled on taking up the post of university "magister" of Oriental languages. His son's strength lay in his eager adoption of whatever was new in any sphere of thought and in his ability to pass it on to others in an attractive form. His skilful manner and the objectiveness of his lectures

[1] *Cf.* T. v. KARAJAN, *Maria Theresia und Joseph II. während der Mitregentschaft* (1865).

[2] ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, III., 335–361. *Cf.* HOCK-BIDERMANN, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seqq.*

[3] FRANZ MUNCKER in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXXIV., 628 *seqq.*; KINK, I., 1, 496 *seqq.*; ARNETH, *Regierungszeit*, III. 200 *seqq.*; ROSCHER, *Gesch. der Nationalökonomie*, 536 *seqq.*; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, *loc. cit.*, 401 *seqq.*; BRUNNER, *Mysterien*, 54 *seqq.*

[4] HOCK-BIDERMANN, 59 *seqq.*

enabled him to wield a powerful influence over his youthful pupils, although he was " no creative intellect abounding in ideas " but rather " a restless, active instrument of Josephian enlightenment ".[1]

The duty allotted to this young professor made him the professional critic and preacher of reform in every domain of public life. In his dissertations, which sometimes exceeded the bounds of propriety, ecclesiastical life was included among the objects of his diatribes and ridicule. In his manual of instruction he stood for the secularization of Church property and for fixed pay for the clergy.[2] A compilation of theses printed in 1767, which Sonnenfels had caused to be defended by his pupils—who afterwards became high State officials—was the object of a vigorous demand by Cardinal Migazzi for its prohibition. The Empress, however, refused to listen to him and was lavish with her marks of favour for the accused.[3] She was so convinced of the blessings of the new learning that she even recommended the theologians to study it. By a decree of July 28th, 1769, it was made compulsory in competitive examinations for theologians applying for a parish under patronage.[4] Sonnenfels, who was at one with Riegger in teaching the supremacy of the State as part of his doctrine of the natural law, found himself frequently supported in his literary activity by the like-minded Van Swieten. In 1770 he was, in fact, made censor of plays and member of the commission for studies and censorship.[5]

The Viennese State Council, however, had also set itself the task of putting into practice the new principles of civil law. Its services in the improvement of public administration, of the conduct of finance, and of the provincial governments are unquestioned. Its proposals in the ecclesiastical sphere

[1] MUNCKER, *loc. cit.*, 635.

[2] ROSCHER, *loc. cit.*, 544.

[3] WOLFSGRUBER, 341; KINK, I., 1, 499, n. 658; ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 205 *seq.*

[4] KINK, 500, n. 660.

[5] HOCK-BIDERMANN, 62.

usually met with the approval of the Empress. In 1765, at the instigation of the State Chancellor, and out of consideration for the French alliance, the Imperial *placet* was not accorded to the Papal Bull favouring the Society of Jesus.[1] In the State Council there was a general discussion on the subject, in which the most contradictory opinions on the Society itself were voiced. Two memoranda were consequently submitted to the State Chancery, one favourable, the other not. The principal speaker against the Jesuits was Count Haugwitz, who had been the leading spirit in the Council since its inception.

The archives of the State Council contain a number of memoranda of the same period dealing with proposals for ecclesiastical reform,[2] all based on the supposition that the reform of the Church was the duty of the State. Imperial ordinances restrict the acceptance of candidates seeking admission to a religious Order, and the sale of monastic property, and there are plans for a general secularization. On the expiry of the Papal indult for the taxation of the Austrian clergy, the State Council, in 1768, pronounced a Papal permit to be superfluous, whereupon the taxes were collected as before.[3] An ordinance of October 1st of the same year made Papal excommunications subject to the State *placet*, which amounted to the abolition of the Church's authority to excommunicate. At the foundation of a university by the Jesuits it was stipulated that the non-theological chairs, except for that of canon law, be occupied by lay professors, that there be no teaching of probabilism or casuistry, and that German law and the history of law be taught in the German language.[4] Similarly, when applications were made for the censorship of anti-clerical books, the State Council used its influence in an extenuating sense. In 1769 the ecclesiastical right of asylum was abolished and the validity of wills made

[1] *Ibid.*, 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, 49.
[3] *Ibid.*, 50.
[4] *Ibid.*

by clerics was made dependent on their being submitted to the provincial government. A proposal by the Court Chancery that the number of processions and fraternities be lessened was at first rejected by the Empress but after some years was approved by her, though with important qualifications.[1] The proposal to celebrate all *kermises* on one and the same Sunday, which also was seconded by the Court Chancery, was opposed by the State Council on politico-economic grounds. With the intention of standardizing stole fees, the State Council replied to remonstrances made by the Bishop of Passau that the reigning prince might determine the fees to be paid by his subjects.[2] In 1769 the Council also entered into negotiations with Rome about the diminution of Church festivals, and these efforts, too, were successful within the next few years.[3]

Thus the Court Chancery and the State Council made further and further encroachments into ecclesiastical life, even laid down principles on the question of union in Transylvania, and attacked popular religious customs which they considered superstitious, all in virtue of a new conception of law which gave the State a free hand in ecclesiastical matters. But the Government cleverly avoided any serious clash, and still more any open breach, with the Church. Thus, from these beginnings the far-reaching reforms of Josephism were able to develop fully towards the close of the century.

[1] *Ibid.*, 51.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 52.

CHAPTER VII.

The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal—Rupture of Diplomatic Relations between Rome and Lisbon.

(1)

The Brief by which Benedict XIV. appointed Cardinal Saldanha Visitor to the Portuguese Jesuits was dated April 1st, 1758, but a whole month elapsed before it was published.[1] Meanwhile, neither in Rome nor Lisbon did any Jesuit even know of its existence.[2] The nuncio in Lisbon was in ignorance of it [3] and even Saldanha was not taken into confidence.[4]

In Portugal the consternation of the Jesuits was profound [5]; in Rome those competent to judge opined that the Pope could not have acted otherwise without exposing the Society of Jesus to a veritable convulsion.[6] Whatever may have been the Pope's intentions, in actual fact the Brief became a

[1] Latin and Portuguese text in [Biker], I., 48 *seqq.*, German in [Klausing], II., 360 *seqq.* *Cf.* above, pp. 18 *seqq.*

[2] Cordara, *Commentarii*, 524; Murr, 42. On June 28, 1758, Archinto wrote to the nuncio, "*il famoso Breve di visitatore e riformatore de' Gesuiti, del quale Roma non ne ha avuta la notizia che da Lisbona" (Nunziat. di Port., 180, Papal Secret Archives). Just as no one in Rome had heard of the Brief, so no one knew that Benedict XIV. had firmly refused on his death-bed to retract it, as is stated in *L'administration de S. J. Carvalho*, III., Amsterdam, 1778, 205, and consequently by Schäfer (V., 263).

[3] *Acciaioli to Archinto, on May 16 and August 22, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, on May 9, 1758, *ibid.*, 198.

[5] Cordara, *loc. cit.*

[6] Thus *Archinto to Acciaioli on June 28, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 180, *loc. cit.*, partly reproduced in Romano, 33.

terrible instrument for the destruction of the Order.[1] Pombal now had a free hand to execute his plans. According to the description of the Papal nuncio, Saldanha was a good-natured and morally unexceptionable Prince of the Church, not particularly gifted or learned, but equipped with sufficient theological knowledge and a sound judgment ; his will-power, however, was very weak, especially towards Pombal, to whom he owed everything. From a simple Monsignore he rose in 1755 to prebendary of the Patriarchal church, in 1756 to Cardinal, in 1759 to Patriarch. One of his brothers was made ambassador in Madrid, another was raised to the rank of count. Of his cousins, one was viceroy in Goa, a second was Rector of the Sapienza at Coimbra, a third Governor of Madeira. One of his relatives was promoted by Pombal to the see of Elvas, a second to the see of Miranda.[2] The Visitor felt himself bound by gratitude to the Minister and never dared utter a word in contradiction. According to the nuncio, his behaviour was not that of a Visitor but of a subordinate instrument of Pombal's.[3] The latter was now able to carry out his plans under the cover of ecclesiastical authority and, while the Holy See was vacant, he had no need to fear any objection from the Pope.

On the evening of May 2nd, 1758, the Papal Brief, which had arrived at the end of April, was proclaimed, on Saldanha's instructions, in the professed house of the Jesuits, St. Roch.[4]

[1] " *Ha permesso Dio che tutta questa tempestà dei Gesuiti abbia origine dal Papa, dotto e incorrotto Lambertini, che fece la Bolla al patriarca portoghese per visitare e giudicare li Gesuiti, onde vennero li processi contro la mercatura gesuitica, e passo passo la causa di Leoncy [Lioncy] e del P. La Valetta." Tanucci to Cantillana, April 14, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5988.

[2] *Acciaioli to Archinto, August 22, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Acciaioli to Archinto, June 13 and August 22, 1758, *ibid.* " *Perchè certo il card. Saldanha nulla ha fatto di visitatore, ma di ministro subalterno al conte d'Oeyras." Acciaioli to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760 (confidential), *ibid.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, May 9, 1758, *ibid.*, 198 ; MURR, 41.

After nearly the whole month had gone by, Saldanha opened the visitation on May 31st, arriving at St. Roch's with a large retinue and having the inmates pay homage to him as Visitor. Immediately afterwards he made his departure.[1] On June 5th the first result of the "Visitation" appeared in the form of an edict issued by the Cardinal, announcing that he had certain knowledge that in every college, residence, noviciate, and houses of other kinds owned by the Order, under the protection of Portugal, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, scandalous commercial transactions had been carried on, offending against the canons and Papal Bulls. After Saldanha had then forbidden all trade under penalty of excommunication, he finally ordered the surrender of all account books.[2] Two days later, on June 7th, an edict was found posted up on all church doors and in every public place in the capital, by which the Cardinal Patriarch Atalaya of Lisbon suspended all Jesuits in his jurisdiction from preaching and hearing confessions, "from just causes, for the honour of God, and for the benefit of the Christian people."[3]

Naturally these two ordinances gave rise to great excitement and indignation both among the common people and in higher circles; the Infante Dom Pedro in particular and a large section of the highest aristocracy showed that they were

[1] *Acciaioli to Mgr. Antonelli, June 6, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 198, *loc. cit.* MURR (47) erroneously gives May 30 as the opening day of the visitation.

[2] Text in [BIKER], I., 53 *seqq.*, German in [KLAUSING], II., 366. *Cf.* MURR, 47. The edict was dated May 15, printed on May 27, and published on June 5 (*Acciaioli to Mgr. Antonelli, June 6, 1758, *loc. cit.*). SOTOMAYOR'S opinion (*Pombal*, 212), "The Cardinal's verdict was given as the result of the instigations and probably at the dictation of the Minister," is confirmed by the nuncio, who *wrote to Archinto on August 22, 1758, "La materia però è tutta di Carvalho, che me ne parlò con somma compiacenza." Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[3] Text in [BIKER], I., 59. Cf. MURR, 48, n. 1. Copy and printed version in Nunziat. di Port., 204, *loc. cit.*

greatly incensed.[1] The nuncio, on the other hand, seemed to harbour the suspicion that the accusation of illicit trading was not without foundation. He advised the Visitor not to engage in inquiries into the discipline of the various Jesuit houses or into the manner in which the cure of souls was performed, for such inquiries would be fruitless; the only scandal that actually existed was the commercial one.[2] Nevertheless, the Visitor had to hear from the nuncio that his edict was excellent but for one slight omission—the evidence—without which it was nothing but a calumnious document.[3] And the Cardinal Secretary of State, Archinto,

[1] *Archinto to Acciaioli, August 22, 1758, *loc. cit.* "*Tutto il mondo qua ne dice male, e l'infante D. Pietro con molta fidalghia ne freme: io non parlo, perchè ora il noto Breve e i Gesuiti sono privativa del card. visitatore a esclusione del Nuncio, come ella sa." Acciaioli to Archinto, June 27, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*In tanto al sig. cardinale consigliai di non pigliar la visita sulla vita regolare, sulle prediche, confessioni, scuole, congregazioni etc. dell' Istituto, perchè co' Gesuiti poco avrebbe concluso et avrebbe perduto il tempo, ma sulla publica negoziazione, che è l'unico scandalo, che diano tali religiosi" (to Archinto, August 22, 1758, *loc. cit.*). CORDARA (*De suppressione*, 32 *seqq.*) affirms that it was not trading in the meaning of canon law; the Jesuits had only sold the superfluous produce of their landed properties so as to buy with the proceeds goods needed by their missions. There was no other way of defraying their not inconsiderable outgoings. Moreover, they had engaged in this kind of "trade" since the foundation of the missions, with the approval of the Bishops, the nuncios, and the Portuguese kings, without anyone taking objection to it until the foundation of the trading company for Maranhão. All the other missionary societies did the same thing. *Cf.* DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 646 *seq.*; HERNANDEZ, *Organización*, I., 262 *seqq.*; [OLIVEYRA], *Compendio istorico dell' espulsione dei Gesuiti dai regni di Portogallo*, Nice, 1791, 74 *seqq.*, 80 *seqq.*

[3] "*Ma senza un tal minore, difese e conseguenze non so giudicarlo che un libello infamatorio." To Archinto, August 22, 1758, *loc. cit.*

observed that since the visitation was opened on May 31st and the decree had already been printed on May 27th, the condemnation had already been pronounced before the proofs could be extracted from the account books and the offence legally established.[1]

The second edict, that of the suspension of all Jesuits from the cure of souls, contravenes ecclesiastical regulations; a Bishop may suspend individual members of an Order but not the community as a whole.[2] Moreover, the Patriarch had up to then consistently honoured the Jesuits with his confidence and only a year previously he had appointed several of them synodal examiners.[3] Pombal, however, feared that by their influence in the confessional the number of the malcontents would be increased.[4] The nuncio discovered that the edict was sent for signature from the Portuguese State Secretary's office to the Patriarch about midnight. The old man wept

[1] *"Si è ancora osservato l'editto pubblicato dal sig. card. Saldanha il dì 3 [read: 5] giugno, in cui si proibisce ai Padri della Compagnia la negoziazione, e benchè in questo punto si conformi ai sagri canoni ciò che in esso si prescrive, col tutto questo asserendosi stampato il dì 27 maggio ed il dì 31 aperta la visita, si dichiarò il delitto prima che fosse giuridicamente provato, di maniera che la pubblicazione che si è fatta dell' editto anteriormente alla prescritta esibizione dei libri, fa chiaramente conoscere, che siano stati condannati prima di essere intesi e che dall' esibizione di detti libri risultasse la prova del supposto delitto di negoziazione." Archinto to Acciaioli, September 7, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 180, *loc. cit.*; reproduced in ROMANO, *L'espulsione*, 25, n. 1, where the word "supposto" is missing and "Aprile", which was not in the original, has been inserted after "31", which renders the evidence worthless.

[2] This was the judgment given by Clement X. on June 21, 1670. *Cf.* Cod. iur. can. can. 880, § 3, and VERMEERSCH, *De religiosis institutis et personis*, II[4]., Brugis, 1909, 566. Acciaioli *wrote to Archinto on August 22, 1758: "Ma approvare quella sospensione sì irregolare mi è parso non doverlo fare, e però parlai con forza." *Loc. cit.*

[3] MURR, 48 *seqq.*

[4] *Acciaioli, *loc. cit.*

but signed, and the selfsame night the copies which had been kept in readiness were everywhere exhibited.[1] The Patriarch, who thus had had very little to do with the edict, betook himself on the day of publication to his country residence, where he died on July 9th.[2]

A week later the Jesuits suffered another blow. The Superior of the professed house in Lisbon, Torres, formerly Provincial, received the express order on June 14th to depart within three days to Braganza, in the north of the kingdom, and until then not to leave the house. The nuncio among others was made to suffer by this order, for Torres was his confessor and adviser. No grounds for this measure were communicated to the nuncio.[3]

(2)

While these events were taking place, the Holy See was still unoccupied and the Cardinals were assembled in conclave. The General of the Jesuits, Centurioni, had also died, his decease preceding that of the Lambertini Pope. The personal qualities of the future Pope and the future General were naturally of the greatest importance for the further development of the situation in Portugal.

On May 21st, 1758, a man was appointed head of the Society whom one would hardly have regarded as a likely candidate: a novice in government, who had entered the Society at the age of fifteen and after a long period of teaching had become Spiritual Father at the Roman College, whence only two years previously Centurioni had taken him out to be his secretary. Lorenzo Ricci, of Florence, was a pious and gentle ascetic. The motive that induced the Congregation to elect him appears to have been based on one of their decrees. The superiors, runs this decree, are frequently to impress on

[1] *Acciaioli to Archinto, June 13, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Acciaioli to Mgr. Antonelli, June 13, 1758, *ibid.*, 198.

[3] *Acciaioli to Archinto, August 22, 1758, *loc. cit.*

their subordinates that the well-being of the Order depends entirely on its zeal for spiritual things. "For if it should please God (whose decrees in their wisdom must always be adored) to permit us to be tried by adversity, God will not forsake those who are loyal to Him and are bound to Him with all their heart, and as long as we take refuge with Him, with a clear conscience and a faithful heart, no other protection will be wanting to us."[1] In other words, in the coming storms, the Congregation looked for little to human sagacity and resolution. But with this view not all the Jesuits were agreed: Ricci, with his gentle character inclined more towards long-suffering than action, seemed to them little suited for the stormy times that demanded daring and unusual methods. "Ricci," wrote the ardent Carlo Borgo, in 1780,[2] "was a man of unequalled goodness, kindness, and purity of morals, but timorous, indecisive, and quite incapable of undertaking any enterprise that needed courage and circumspection. I myself have heard many of the most thoughtful Jesuits bemoan the misfortune of having so unsuitable a General in such terrible times. Had it not been for his passivity, they thought, the Order could have forestalled the disaster or at least have prevented it to a great degree. On receiving the repeated messages about the plotting of our enemies that came to him from all quarters year after year, the good Society member but hardly competent superior did nothing but weep and pray. This weakness was well known to the whole world, and consequently the audacity of the enemy increased beyond all bounds."[3] Substantially the same opinion was given by

[1] "Nam si forte Deo ita permittente placeat (quae adoranda consiliorum eius ratio est), ut adversis exerceamur: Deus adhaerentes sibi atque intime coniunctos non deseret, et quamdiu pura mente ac sincero corde ad eum confugere poterimus, nullum aliud deerit nobis praesidium," Congr. 19, decr. 11: *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., Florentiae, 1892, 449.

[2] *Memoria cattolica da presentarsi a Sua Santità*, Cosmopoli [Roma], 1780, 163.

[3] Rosa, *Gesuiti*, 386.

Cordara,[1] Ricci's friend and confidant, and it has been repeated until our day even by historians friendly to the Jesuits.[2]

But Ricci was not quite so passive as he has been described. In many of the storms that arose he displayed an energy that would have done honour to an Aquaviva. What is certain is that he never failed in his duty, nor was he lacking in prudence and untiring diligence, as is testified by many documents which were unknown to his contemporaries. The difficult situation and the cunning of traitors who crept in everywhere forced him to keep every step he took secret even from those who were most in his confidence. For this reason, too, he wrote almost all his letters in his own hand. These causes, together with the ill-success of his efforts, gained for him the reputation of timidity and indecision. There was, however, a certain element of truth in the reproach; but this, on the other hand, is the best rebuttal of the worst accusation that was hurled against him: that of craftiness and intrigue.[3]

A few weeks after Ricci's election the Church too received another head in the person of Clement XIII. The new Pope was favourably inclined towards the Jesuits, but, especially at the outset of his pontificate, he allowed himself to be greatly influenced by his entourage, in which there were many enemies of the Society, both open and hidden. Cardinal Spinelli,

[1] *Commentarii*, 525. There was also one of the General's assistants who was not satisfied with his attitude; *cf.* ROSA in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1913, IV., 464. Ricci himself was gravely disheartened from time to time. Thus he wrote to Nectoux, the Aquitanian Provincial: "*Familiae nostrae bono consuleret maxime et compendiario Deus, si alium illi daret praepositum, qui uberiori lumine ab eo illustrari et virtute ex alto indui mereatur, aut saltem non illi calamitates accerseret peccatis suis." Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666 (Regulares, Jesuitas).

[2] RAVIGNAN, I., 387; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Hist.*, V., 262. *Cf.* the letter to Pintus, of January 30, 1773, in DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 1, 14 *seq.*

[3] ROSA, *Gesuiti*, 354 *seqq.*

in particular,[1] was successful in restraining the Pope from any decisive step by pointing a warning finger at the precedent of Henry VIII. of England.[2] Clement accordingly recommended three things to the Jesuit General: silence, patience, and prayer; for the rest, Ricci was to leave affairs in his charge.[3] These three points form the gist also of all the circular letters sent by the General to his Society, from the first, of September 26th, 1758, to the last, of February 21st, 1773, which, written just before the disaster, is once more "a fresh encouragement to prayer in the face of the greatest peril threatening the Society".[4]

At the first audience which Ricci had of Clement XIII., on July 31st, 1758, he handed him a petition in which he protested against the illegal procedure taken by the two Cardinals Saldanha and Atalaya and sought the Pope's protection.[5] The Pope referred the petition to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, among whose members were the Cardinals Spinelli, Passionei Tamburini, Archinto, and Corsini, Protector of the Portuguese nation, along with other dignitaries who were either unfavourably disposed towards the Jesuits or were dependent on the Portuguese Court. The Congregation disapproved of the conduct of the Visitor and the Patriarch

[1] "*Spinelli, nemico de' Gesuiti e della Bolla [Unigenitus], ma occulto" (Tanucci to Caracciolo, Caserta, February 12, 1757, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5941). On August 9, 1759, the Spanish envoy Roda y Arrieta *thanked the Minister Wall for the confidential information about the Jesuit affair in Paraguay, which he had sent for the benefit of Passionei and Spinelli (*ibid.*, Estado, 4966). *Cf.* the description of Spinelli's character in CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 526 *seq.*, 537 *seq.* It was through Spinelli that Ganganelli was created Cardinal (see p. 193, n. 3).

[2] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 527; *De suppressione*, 38 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Epistulae Generalium*, II². (1909), 257 *seqq.*

[5] *Italian text in Nunziat. di Port., 180, *loc. cit.*, Portuguese in [BIKER], I., 59 *seq.* The attached "Memorandum of the Sacred College" is merely Cardinal Passionei's vote (correctly described in *Acciaioli's letter to Torrigiani, February 20, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 199, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* MURR, 55; WELD, 162.

but at the same time advised against abrupt measures, lest the king be still more embittered.[1]

Official secrecy was violated and the petition came into the hands of the Portuguese ambassador, Almada, who had it annotated by the Piarist Urbano Tossetti and published in printed form.[2] There being nothing objectionable in Ricci's document itself,[3] the editor harked back to the old charges of regicide, commerce, idolatry, and the corrupt Jesuit morality.[4] From the archives of the Propaganda he produced a long indictment from the time of the ritual dispute, which had been procured for him by the secretary of the Propaganda, Marefoschi, but of the Jesuits' rebuttal he made no mention.[5] Out of regard for the king of Portugal the scurrilous composition was not prohibited by the ecclesiastical authority.[6] Thus encouraged, the anti-Jesuits in Rome were more and more emboldened. Every week meetings were held in the residence

[1] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 527; *De suppressione*, 38.

[2] German translation in [KLAUSING], I., 4 *seqq.*

[3] SOTOMAYOR'S opinion (*Pombal*, 220) is that the only accusation that can be brought against the General is of being over-lenient in his references to the Visitor and the royal Ministers. See MURR, 54, n. 1. *Cf.* also CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 38.

[4] Among other things he stated that the Jesuits had brought about the deaths, by the dagger or poison, of a score of princes; to these he added the death of Cardinal Archinto, who died of apoplexy on September 30, 1758. CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 528; *De suppressione*, 40; *Portocarrero to Wall, October 12, 1758, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5131.

[5] In the "Appendice alle Riflessioni del Portoghese sul Memoriale del P. Generale dei Gesuiti presentato alla Santità di PP. Clemente XIII.", with the false addition of "Genoa 1752". According to others, this document derives from Bottari. *Cf.* ROSA, 364; CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 528.

[6] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 40. The printer Nicola Pagliarini was sentenced to the galleys after the breach between Portugal and the Curia, but was soon pardoned by the Pope. By way of Naples, where he was eagerly assisted by Tanucci, he fled to Portugal, where he worked in the pay of Pombal. Under Clement XIV. he was pardoned and was raised to the rank of

of their ringleader, where they discussed ways and means of bringing about the downfall of the hated Order.[1] While the Jesuits, obeying the Papal injunction, maintained a patient silence, their adversaries skilfully enlisted the services of the Press. With ample funds at their disposal they had distributed throughout the world pamphlets of every description, some being new publications, others reprints. Week after week the much-read Lugano gazette, financed by Portugal, published anti-Jesuit reports, either freely invented or inspired with prejudice, which were greedily devoured. On it coming to the ears of the Pope, he bewailed the unhappy lot of the Jesuits and at times even wept about it but he could not bring himself to decide to put an end to the activity of the faction, solely from fear of a schism. He was strengthened in this attitude by the arrogant attitude of Almada, who was always at hand with his threats, and by the suspicious silence of the king, who left unanswered for eight months the hand-written message whereby Clement XIII. had informed the monarch of his election.[2]

If only for the sake of doing something, the Pope had a letter sent to the nuncio Acciaioli, instructing him to intimate to the two Cardinals Saldanha and Atalaya in a friendly way and as if speaking for himself, that their decrees against the Jesuits had displeased the Pope, since they had been issued without observing the formalities of the law and without a regular visitation.[3]

a Roman noble. [BIKER], III., 297 *seq.*; CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 69; *Tanucci to Charles III of Spain and Count Pignatelli, Naples, February 9, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5976; *Tanucci to Galiani, Orsini, and Bottari, Naples, February 13, 1762, *ibid.*; *Nicola Pagliarini to Marco Pagliarini, Naples, February 9, 1762, *ibid.*, Estado, 4967.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV, 390.

[2] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 528 *seq.*; *De suppressione*, 41 *seqq.*; *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, November 28, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 114, Papal Secret Archives; *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, November 23, 1758, *ibid.*, 183.

[3] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 528.

At first, indeed, it would seem that far-reaching measures were planned in Rome. Already on June 13th, 1758, the nuncio had expressed the thought that the new Pope might call the Patriarch to account for having decreed the suspension of the Jesuits without having previously admonished them and without having given them the opportunity of defending themselves. But in any case, he had no hope of much success, for "Carvalho does everything", as he said, "and the poor Patriarch can do nothing and thinks of nothing but how he is to live."[1] According to reports which reached Acciaioli, Clement had told a Cardinal of his intention to alter the Brief of visitation and to appoint the nuncio reporter and co-visitor. This plan was opposed by Acciaioli with all his might, as it would make his position, already difficult enough, still worse and would finally lead to an open breach with the Holy See. In his view it would be far better if the Pope were to ask Saldanha for the report which was provided for in the Brief; this would open the way to a correspondence and give the Head of the Church an opportunity of expressing his mind and of curbing the insensate wrath of the Minister, who had completely won the king over to his side. It was above all the illusion that until now the Jesuits had ensnared him by means of the confessional that had enraged the king against them. Since his conversation with Saldanha about the Patriarch's edit of suspension neither Pombal nor the Visitor had spoken to him about the steps taken against the Jesuits, although he had often tried to lead the conversation in that direction. He presumed from this that they regarded him with suspicion; but he did not consider that he ought to approve of such an illegal suspension and therefore he had spoken his mind about it quite unambiguously.[2]

Rumours about an alteration of the Brief of visitation had come also to Pombal's ears through his agents in Rome.

[1] *Acciaioli to Archinto, June 13, 1758 (Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*): "Ma il povero patriarcha non val nulla, e non pensa nulla che a vivere."

[2] *Acciaioli to Archinto, August 22, 1758, *ibid.*

In a conversation with the nuncio on September 11th, 1758, he brought the most grievous charges against the Jesuits, accusing them of slander and rebellion against the king; they were the cause of the outbreak and the continuance of the war in Paraguay,[1] which up till then had cost more than 26 million *crociati*.[2] By way of Holland they had spread news prejudicial to the royal authority both in the town and countryside, and from Rome they were working against the prince and his ministers in speech and writing. There was no need to mention their commercial transactions, as they were public knowledge. The stores in their magazines were not, as they contested, the products of their estates but had been bought up in the missionary countries and in many cases had been acquired by unlawful and sacrilegious methods, namely by selling "della Marca" Briefs and fabricated dispensations. The crime of the Portuguese Jesuits was that they made common cause with the missionaries, trained young men in their noviciate, and then sent them to the missions. Much blame was ascribed by the Minister to the Court confessors. Relying on their protection and their supposed power, the missionaries had made the poor heathen folk entirely subservient to their will, had bribed the lay judges, and had been guilty of the cruellest tyranny. Against such rebels the king could really have taken action without violating their immunity or their obedience to the Pope, but by asking for the Brief of visitation he had shown his respect for the head of the Church. So far as he was concerned, he knew that the Jesuits were making every effort to win the Holy Father and the Cardinals over to their side, but he sincerely hoped that the Pope would make no alteration in the Brief. He looked forward also to the king taking stronger measures after his recovery.[3] On the nuncio objecting that after the suspension one could hardly

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV, 418.

[2] 1 crociato = 2 lire = 1s. 8d.

[3] The conversation took place a week after the attempt on the life of Joseph I. (see pp. 308 *seqq.*).

take any further steps, and on his expressing the hope that the king would not allow himself to be rushed into taking measures that would disgrace the priesthood and the religious habit, Pombal retorted that the Jesuits were insufferable rebels and disturbers of the peace and were striving after royal power. From this heated intercourse the nuncio gained the impression that Pombal intended him to understand that he wanted no change whatever to be made in the Brief of visitation.[1]

Before the nuncio's letter had been written, the Cardinal Secretary of State Archinto had assured him, on September 6th, 1758, that the new Pope had no intention of departing from the course pursued in the previous pontificate ; his only desire was that the visitation should proceed according to instructions and that he should be kept informed of what happened.[2] To anticipate malicious comments, Archinto informed him on the following day, the Pope had appointed a Congregation of Cardinals, in accordance with the established precedent, so that he might have their opinion of the affair of the Jesuits.[3]

As Clement XIII. feared that any drastic action on his part would only provoke the king and Pombal to open opposition, he tried to bring about through Pombal himself a mitigation of the measures taken by the Patriarch. By word

[1] *Acciaioli to Archinto, September 12, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 199, *loc. cit.*, partly reproduced in ROMANO, 39 *seqq.*

[2] " *Da una lettera d'ufficio Ella comprenderà due cose, cioè che qui si vuol camminare sulla massima fissata nel passato pontificato e che si desidera che tutto si faccia rite et recte ed essere intesi di quello che si fa. La massima non può essere nè più giusta nè più equa e vorrei per il bene dell' affare che si pensasse costì egualmente " (Nunziat. di Port., 180, *loc. cit.*). Already on April 28, 1757, Archinto had informed the nuncio that the Pope " non intende, nè vuole salvare li medesimi Religiosi, se veramente sono rei ", but " solamente che si proceda contro di essi " according to the prescriptions of canon law. Nunziat. di Port., 178, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 180 ; ROMANO, 41 *seq.*

of mouth only the nuncio was to explain to the Minister the object of the petition made by the Jesuit General and to emphasize the respectful terms in which it was couched.[1] Should he then perceive a softening in his manner, he was to remark quite casually and as if coming from himself, that only if the Brief was carried out in a spirit of charity could it contribute towards a happy issue of the visitation, the honour of the king, and the good name of the Society, which hitherto had done nothing but good and had performed great services on behalf of the Church.[2] Under date October 26th, 1758, Torrigiani, Archinto's successor as Secretary of State, again declared that Rome had no reason to alter the former instructions given to the nuncio.[3] To subdue the excitement artificially aroused by Pombal and his associates, the new Secretary of State had another statement issued in November 1758 that the Holy Father had never had the intention of revoking his predecessor's Brief nor had the Jesuits made any such request. In his submissive memorial the Jesuit General had only asked that the innocent might be not punished with the guilty.[4]

In the middle of these transactions an event took place which gave the Jesuit cause an unexpected turn for the worse: the "attempt on the life" of the king.[5] On the

[1] A copy had been attached by the Cardinal Secretary of State to his letter of September 7, 1758.

[2] Archinto to Acciaioli, September 7, 1758, in ROMANO, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Nunziat. di Port., 183, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.* The dispatch is undated but was written on November [23 ?], 1758.

[5] *Cf.* OLFERS, *Über den Mordversuch gegen den König Joseph von Portugal*, in the supplement of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin, 1838, Berlin, 1839, 273–360 (also published separately); DUHR, *Der "Mordversuch" gegen den König von Portugal*, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII. (1890), 396 *seqq.*; *idem* in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII. (1898), 756 *seqq.*; *idem*, *Pombal*, 82 *seqq.* General accounts: SCHÄFER, *Gesch. von Portugal*, V., 264 *seqq.*; MURR, 58 *seqq.*; WELD, 184 *seqq.*; ROMANO, 49 *seqq.* Further sources are mentioned in the above works.

morning of September 4th, 1758, the rumour spread through the whole of Lisbon that the king was seriously ill and that he had been bled several times during the previous night. The first reports said that on going into the gardens during the night, he had fallen down the steps in the darkness and had badly injured his shoulder.[1] This was also the official report of the incident which Pombal sent shortly afterwards in a circular letter to the foreign envoys, but almost simultaneously another rumour went through the capital that the matter presented a less innocent aspect. The king, it was whispered with the greatest secrecy, had been wounded by several gunshots on the night of September 3rd, as he was returning from the young Marchioness Teresa de Tavora, with whom he was on intimate terms. The reports of the Papal nuncio [2] and of the Imperial [3] and British [4] envoys all agree that the king was shot at but that the ball was intended not for him but for his valet Texeira, his constant companion on his nightly expeditions. Whereas for weeks afterwards the Court adhered to the first explanation of the affair,[5] rumour, almost from the start, ascribed it to the kinsfolk of the marchioness, who felt that their family honour had been slighted. In all probability the attack was instigated by the Duke of Aveiro, who wanted to revenge himself personally on Texeira for a grievous insult.[6] For weeks on end no one

[1] Acciaioli's report of September 5, 1758, in ROMANO, 51 *seq.*

[2] See Acciaioli's reports of September 12, 19, and 26, October 3, and November 28, 1758, reproduced by DUHR in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII., 756 *seqq.*

[3] DUHR in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII., 396 *seqq.*; *idem*, *Pombal*, 82 *seqq.*

[4] DUHR in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII., 401; SCHÄFER, *Gesch. von Portugal*, V., 265 *seqq.*

[5] Acciaioli to Torrigiani, November 28, 1758, in DUHR, *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII., 757 *seq.*

[6] ANSELMUS ECKART, S.J., *Historia persecutionis Soc. Iesu in Lusitania*, in MURR, *Journal*, VIII., 131. *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 82, n. 2; *idem* in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII., 402 *seq.* (with other evidence); WELD, 193 *seqq.*

except his nearest relatives was allowed to see the wounded monarch, and the reports on his state of health were sometimes favourable, sometimes the reverse.

More than three months passed and then the mysterious darkness suddenly lightened. Quite unexpectedly, on December 13th, 1758, there appeared an edict, accompanied with serious threats and promises, by which all subjects who had any knowledge of the perpetrators were to inform the authorities.[1] On the same day the Duke of Aveiro, the old Marquis of Tavora, with his wife and several of his relatives and some of the Duke's domestic staff, were arrested. Their trial proceeded most irregularly, with the open violation of legal usage[2]; of the eighteen principal defendants twelve

[1] The edict is dated December 9, 1758; text in [Biker], I., 62 *seqq.* In the description of the incident, circumstances are mentioned which either could have been known only from the investigation or were in notorious disagreement with the actual course of events (Olfers, *Mordversuch*, 279).

[2] The Imperial envoy, Count Khevenhüller, to whom Pombal had given the original case for him to read, observes in his dispatch to Kaunitz on January 15, 1759: "On the other hand, the form of the proceedings may cause quite a stir. The twelve judicial votes are held by only six judges, of whom two hold eight votes more, on the ground that, since these two persons sit at other times in three or four councils, they are entitled to so and so many votes for each council. Moreover, in the proceedings the facts are cited, but with no proofs." (Duhr, *Pombal*, 86.) The numerous contradictions in the proceedings have already been demonstrated several times. *Cf.* Murr, 77 *seqq.*; Olfers, *passim*; Duhr in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII., 410 *seqq.*; Romano, 75: "La sentenza fu pronunciata il 12 gennaio; essa effettivamente fu il risultato di un processo condotto con la massima irregolarità e con palese violazione delle forme giudiziarie, improntato all' odio del Pombal per l'aristocrazia che voleva ad ogni costo distruggere." — "*I Portoghesi anno condotto le loro avversità con poca lode del pubblico. I processi, fondamento della severità, non anno sodisfatto" (Tanucci, to Ludolf, Portici, April 28, 1759, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5955).

were condemned to death on January 12th, 1759,[1] and were executed on the following day with barbaric cruelty. From a palace window Pombal looked on at this horrible spectacle, which lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon.[2] The blood-penalty exacted from the nobles showed the Jesuits what they had to expect.

Quite soon after the assault the Senator Ignaz Ferreira Souto, a declared adherent of Pombal's, had accused the Jesuits of being the authors of the deed.[3] Although this accusation had no after-effect at first, the Fathers soon perceived that something untoward was in store for them. On their sending the customary rice-cakes to the Court on the Feast of St. Francis Borgia (October 10th, 1758), in accordance with an old custom, the cakes were returned to them—a sign of the royal displeasure.[4] Again a few weeks passed and then the Provincial, Father Henriquez, received from the Cardinal Visitor, on November 21st, 1758, an order forbidding him to move any of his subordinates.[5] On the evening of December 13th, when the members of the house of Tavora were arrested, all seven of the Jesuit establishments in Lisbon were surrounded by soldiers and a guard was posted in every house with strict orders to admit no one without

[1] Text of the sentence in [BIKER], I., 64 *seqq.*

[2] A printed Portuguese report of the time (in Nunziat. di Port., 115, *loc. cit.*) gives a detailed description of the execution of the sentence. — The first vol. of the *Raccolta d'opuscoli curiosi ed interessanti intorno gli affari presenti di Portogallo* (Lugano, 1760) contains an engraving which depicts in seven sectional pictures the attempt on the king's life and the execution of the nobles. Detailed descriptions of the execution, etc., in MURR, 71 *seqq.*; SCHÄFER, V., 272 *seqq.*; DUHR, *Pombal*, 85 *seq.*

[3] MURR, 61. This rumour, however, does not seem to have circulated widely, since it is not mentioned in any of the numerous reports by the nuncio or the other envoys.

[4] Acciaioli to Archinto, October 24, 1758, in ROMANO, 54.

[5] *Nunziat. di Port., 114, *loc. cit.* The Latin translation of the prohibition was sent by the Provincial to the nuncio, as the latter had ceased visiting Jesuit houses, for reasons of discretion.

permission.[1] On the same day Saldanha issued instructions to the Father Provincial to forbid all his subordinates in the city to leave their houses.[2] To the nuncio Pombal gave as the reason for these measures the protection of the Jesuits against the fury of the mob, which thought they had played some part in the attempt on the king's life.[3] Ten days later, on the afternoon of December 23rd, troops of soldiers entered almost simultaneously all the Jesuit houses in order to search for hidden weapons. The search proved fruitless,[4] and the

[1] MURR, 66. *Informazione of August 8, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Latin translation in Nunziat. di Port., 114, *loc. cit.*

[3] MURR, 67. The nuncio could hardly have attached much credence to this explanation, seeing that he had already reported to Rome in a ciphered dispatch on November 28, 1758: "The whole city is on their [the Jesuits'] side, first and foremost the Infante Dom Pedro, whose example is followed by the princesses and almost the whole Court; but neither he nor the others dare open their mouths about it. The whole affair originates in Carvalho's passionate nature; he is really a despot and there is no one to oppose him. Even the King of Portugal fears him, and this is public knowledge." (DUHR in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII., 758). In the nuncio's confidential *report to Torrigiani on March 18, 1760, in which he enumerates the various measures taken against the Jesuits, he writes: "Il blocco a tutte le loro case di soldati col pretesto scritto dal card. [Saldanha] al Papa, che il popolo faceva rumore et era pronto a brucciare i collegi e case loro per odio di aver essi cospirato alla vita del Re, quando non vi fu chi parlasse, e chi si movesse, e arrivò a tutti nuovo il blocco, che nessuno pensò mai, che i Gesuiti fossero mescolati nel tentato parricidio, che dopo uscita la sentenza, nella quale erano nominati i tre Malagrida, Alessandre e Mattos." Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[4] [KLAUSING'S] anti-Jesuit *Sammlung der neuesten Nachrichten* (I., 2, 11): "On this very day a policeman with an officer and some soldiers visited all the Jesuit colleges on the pretext that they were carrying out searches for tobacco. They investigated everything most minutely, but as they found nothing suspicious, everything was on the same footing as before, namely

Jesuits were beginning to think that they might breathe more freely again when on the night of January 11th–12th, 1759, ten of the Fathers were arrested as participators in the "conspiracy" against the king.[1]

Not one of the ten priests was ever examined or placed on trial, but in the proceedings for high treason they were described as convicted authors of the plot. According to § 4 of the death-sentence,[2] the Fathers, at their frequent meetings with the accused nobles, especially the Duke of Aveiro, who was aiming at the crown, encouraged them to commit the deed by remarking "that everything would be arranged to meet his wishes as soon as His Majesty had ended His precious and glorious life". The same Fathers were also said to have decided "that the murderer who killed His Majesty was not even committing a venial sin".[3] Possibly

that only the guards outside the gates were left." A similar description of the incident is given by MURR (67). Accordingly the *account given by the nuncio on December 26, 1759 (Nunziat. di Port, 199, *loc. cit.*), that it was being said that cases full of guns had been found in the Jesuit houses, which they intended to send to the colonies, may be considered as an empty rumour.

[1] MURR, 70. Among the arrested were the Provincial (P. Henriquez), P. Jos. Moreira (the former king's confessor), and the Patres Gabriel Malagrida, John de Mattos, and John Alexandre. On the list of the accused only the last three names appeared. Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *loc. cit.*

[2] [BIKER], I., 67 *seq.*; [KLAUSING], I., 2, 13 *seqq.*

[3] The expression of opinion regarding the venial sin was made, according to the *Mémoires du Marquis de Pombal* (II., 49), in a note sent by P. Malagrida to the old Marquise de Tavora, but without any particulars as to the matter to which it referred. According to the written proceedings the statement that the murder of the king was not even a venial sin (*não peccaria, nem levemente*) was made by P. Hyacinth da Costa, with the agreement of P. Timotheus d'Oliveira. They, therefore, would have been the chief instigators of the plot; but in the sentence, in which other Jesuits were cited by name, no mention whatever was made of them. It is further to be noted that the whole content of §4 is

Pombal, who was the leading spirit in the whole proceeding, sensed the inadequacy of such statements extracted under torture,[1] for he tried to increase their evidential value by so-called legal assumptions. Since it is not to be supposed (we read in § 25 of the proceedings) "that a man would commit a great misdeed without having a great interest in it, it is also to be assumed that the man who has an interest in the deed must be he who committed it, unless he can clearly prove that someone else committed it". Now, since the Jesuits, whom the king had deprived of their office of Court confessors and had forbidden to trade, had a great interest in the death of the king, "this legal presumption alone would be enough for it to be considered on the basis of the law as a clear proof that they have had responsibility for this accursed deed."[2]

On such principles, says a Protestant scholar, "applied completely, as is here the case, seeing that the whole series of assumptions are founded on nothing documentary, half the world could be brought to the scaffold."[3] Actually, every historian who has examined the case in detail has declared

based entirely and exclusively on the admission made after torture by the Duke of Aveiro (OLFERS, 328, nn. 1 and 2).—Also the particulars about the places where the secret meetings are said to have been held arouse grave misgivings (*cf.* MURR, 79 *seq.*). At a moment when the embarkation of the Duke of Aveiro's domestic staff, who had been condemned to deportation to India, was going rather slowly, the Duke's gate-keeper is reported to have said, "I'm being put to the torture, so that I shall say that the Jesuits were continually coming in and out of my master's house; and because I can't say that, I've got to go to India, poor devil that I am" (Chargé d'affaires Keil to Kaunitz, February 3, 1761, in DUHR, *Pombal*, 86, n. 1).

[1] The evidence for the participation of the Jesuits in the "conspiracy" rests exclusively on admissions extorted under torture from certain witnesses and three co-defendants (OLFERS, 307).

[2] Text in [BIKER], I., 75; [KLAUSING], II., 2, 34.

[3] OLFERS, 301.

himself in favour of the Jesuits.[1] "Carvalho would certainly not have desisted from the formal charge (against the Jesuits) if any definite prospect of obtaining a condemnation on even ostensible grounds had shown any signs of appearing."[2] Even the most stringent surveillance and the most meticulous investigation had failed to produce any evidence.[3] How sure of their innocence the Jesuits themselves were is shown by the fact that after Pombal's downfall the ex-Jesuits pressed most urgently for a re-hearing of their case.[4]

Although in the proceedings for high treason the gravest charges had been brought against the Society of Jesus and had been represented as proven facts, the finding contained no punitive measure to be taken against it nor against the three Fathers who had been cited by name, Alexandre, Mattos,

[1] *Cf.* DUHR in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII, 403 *seqq.*; *idem*, *Pombal*, 86, n. 1 (where there is other evidence).

[2] OLFERS, 309 *seq.* "Had it been possible to embroil individuals [Jesuits] or the whole Society in this affair, he would have done so" (*ibid.*, 307). The Paris nuncio Gualtieri *reported on June 25, 1759, to the Secretary of State Torrigiani that neither Choiseul nor the members of parliament gave any credence to the reports about the participation of the Jesuits in the conspiracy and the attempt on King Joseph's life (Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 507, Papal Secret Archives). Gualtieri had made a similar observation in a *letter of February 5, 1759 (*ibid.*, 503).

[3] That Seabra da Sylva was able to publish only two extremely unimportant letters in his violently worded "deduction" against the Jesuits, which was produced at the Minister's command, shows that, although the strictest investigation was made, nothing useful for Carvelho's purpose was found in the houses of the Society." (OLFERS, 308.)

[4] "After Pombal's fall the Jesuits lost no time in presenting to the king and queen a petition, with 13 points on which Pombal, 'the originator of so many frauds' was to be questioned. Points VI.–XII. bring out very justly the weak sides of the sentence relating to the Jesuits mentioned therein." (OLFERS, 310, n. 1.) *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 91 *seqq.* For the 13 points of the petition, see MURR, 165 *seq.*

and Malagrida.[1] But a week later, on January 19th, 1759, there appeared a decree, signed by Joseph I., ordering the confiscation of all Jesuit property and the confinement in their houses of the members of the Society, on the ground that they had contrived the war in Paraguay and had taken part in the plot against his life.[2] A circular letter bearing the same date was sent in the name of the king to all the Bishops in the country to inform them of the "godless and dangerous errors" which the Jesuits had been disseminating throughout the realm and by means of which and the abuse of their holy office they had misled the consciences of the executed assassins. In conclusion, the Bishops were warned to guard the flocks entrusted to their care from the poisonous pasturage of the Jesuits.[3] So that these charges might bear more weight with the people, Pombal compelled the Bishops to issue pastoral letters in the sense of the royal communication. Slavishly complying with the behest of the all-powerful Minister, they wrote against the Jesuits, of whose services for the cure of souls they had always availed themselves hitherto, and accused them of immorality, a godless doctrine, and pernicious schools.[4] The nuncio thought that no good purpose would be served by informing the Bishops of the Papal disapproval of the pastoral letters, for on the one hand they

[1] There is an engraving with the heads of the three Fathers in the large collection of pamphlets dating from the time of the suppression, in the library of the Civiltà Cattolica in Rome.

[2] Text in [BIKER], I., 79 *seqq.*, German translation in [KLAUSING], I., 2, 48 *seqq.*

[3] Text in [BIKER], I., 84 *seqq.*, German translation in [KLAUSING], I., 2, 54 *seqq.*

[4] Some of the printed pastoral letters of the Bishops are in the Nunziat. di Port., 115 and 116, *loc. cit.*, and in the Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 444. *Cf.* MURR, 90 *seq.*—Pombal, dissatisfied with the Bishops' judgment, published a pamphlet entitled "Erros impios e sediciosos, etc.", text in [BIKER], I., 85 *seqq.* *Cf.* MURR, 91 *seq.*; also CAEYRO, **De exsilio provinciarum transmarinarum* [MS.], Lusit., 97, fo. 39, in Jesuit ownership.

were only yielding to pressure and on the other such a step would only have fanned the flames.[1]

Vindication came, however, though from another quarter. Hardly had the Bishops of the other Catholic countries heard of the pastoral letters issued by their Portuguese colleagues when they sent to the Pope letters full of recognition of the life and work of the Jesuits in the Church and in the schools. Had their letters been published they would have constituted a telling defence of the Society.[2] Well over 200 letters [3] full of praise of the Society arrived in Rome, prelates of the highest rank hastening to testify before the Father of Christendom to the injustice of the abuse which had been heaped on the Fathers whose beneficial activity they had observed in their own dioceses. The three spiritual Electors of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, Cardinal von Lamberg, Prince Bishop of Passau, the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, the Prince Archbishop of Prague, Primate of Bohemia, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, Cardinal Rovero, Archbishop of Turin, the Archbishops of Messina and Montereale, the Bishops and Archbishops of France, Poland, and, above all, Spain—all raised their voices to the Holy See in defence of the heavily attacked Society.[4]

In Rome anxiety about the events in Portugal was increased

[1] "*Ai vescovi è difficile far nota la disapprovazione del S. Padre alle loro irregolari lettere pastorali, mentre sono stati forzati; e non essendone alcuno qua, converrebbe scrivere, il che potrebbe accendere maggior fuoco a far girare con disdoro alla S. Sede per commenti, e altre ciarle, che naturalmente si darebbero al pubblico colle stampe che qua, come V. E. ha potuto conoscere, no si risparmiano." Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 4, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.*

[2] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 531 *seqq.*; *De suppressione*, 51. Fr. Lagomarsini had collected all the letters; see RAVIGNAN, I., 158, n. 1.

[3] After the death of Clement XIII. a large part of these letters were removed from the Papal archives, RAVIGNAN, II., 79, n. 1, and 178, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, 178, n. 1.

by the total obscurity surrounding the progress of the visitation. Even before the issue of the Brief of visitation the Cardinal Secretary of State Archinto had repeatedly asked for evidence and documents substantiating the complaints and charges against the Jesuits.[1] Time and again the nuncio had to refer him to the reports promised by Pombal, which would "shortly" be to hand; the best he could do was to repeat the general accusations of the Minister. Even the charges made in the "Short Report" (*Relação abbreviada*), though they made a deep impression, could not remove the very great doubts of the Roman Curia. It was hoped that the visitation would throw more light on the confused affair in which the gross aspersions cast on the Jesuits by the Portuguese Government were met by them with a blunt denial. But this hope was in vain; a few weeks before his death, on September 6th, 1758, Archinto had again pressed for a report from the Cardinal Visitor.[2] Before the letter reached its destination the nuncio had reported under date September 12th, 1758: "What Saldanha and the Secretary of State (Pombal) are doing or not doing with regard to the visitation, no one knows; the matter is veiled in the deepest secrecy."[3] Nor could Acciaioli obtain any information by word of mouth. "From Saldanha," he wrote, "there is nothing to be learnt"[4]; "Saldanha is impenetrable"[5]; "Saldanha says nothing."[6] At last, on January 2nd, 1759, appeared a new ray of hope: "Pombal recognizes the duty of the Cardinal to inform the Holy Father of the course of the visitation and avers that the king will personally inform the Pope of the Jesuits' share in the attack on his life."[7]

[1] *Archinto to Acciaioli, January 20 and April 7, 1757, Nunziat. di Port., 178 and 180, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 180.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 17, 1758, *ibid.*, 199.

[5] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 24, 1758, *ibid.*

[6] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, December 26, 1758, *ibid.*

[7] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, *ibid.*

In spite of all these promises, however, no report came. Another urgent request for information was made on January 25th, 1759, by the new Secretary of State, Torrigiani: "Rome awaits with impatience the full report on the offences of the Jesuits which, according to Your Excellency, Carvalho has long since been on the point of sending." And Torrigiani took care to add: "General accusations are not convincing proofs of the alleged offences."[1] On February 8th the Secretary of State is asking again: "Why does not Saldanha write to the Pope, as is prescribed in the Brief? A detailed report from the Visitor, with documentary evidence, is necessary, even if the king himself informs us about everything."[2] Evidently Pombal intended to present the Apostolic See with accomplished facts. The nuncio, who having written on February 13th that the Minister had repeatedly assured him that no action would be taken against the Jesuits without the consent of the Holy Father,[3] had to report by the next post (on February 20th) that a beginning had already been made with the sale of the Fathers' movable property, and that the Cardinal Visitor and his secretary averred that they knew nothing about it.[4]

In the early morning of February 5th, 1759, each of the seven Jesuit establishments in Lisbon was entered by a royal commissary with instructions to execute the sequestration of property in accordance with the edict of January 19th, 1759.[5] The inmates of the four smaller houses were distributed among the three larger ones, except for the six Fathers of the Hospice of St. Borgia, who were taken to the fortress of St. Julian at the mouth of the Tagus. Then began the sale of all the foodstuffs and kitchen supplies in all the houses. For his daily

[1] *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, *ibid.*, 183.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 199.—Among other matters Pombal had told the nuncio that the Cardinal Visitor had not found a copy of the institution or of the rules of St. Ignatius in any of the Jesuit houses—a proof that they had not been living up to their rules. *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* p. 316.

sustenance each Jesuit was allotted one *tostao* (6*d.*); had they not been supplied with alms and food by pious benefactors the Fathers would have starved. Their fabulous "wealth", in spite of industrious searches, remained undiscovered; even the floors and walls were opened up in the hope of finding secret hiding-places, but to no purpose. The only sums of any importance were found in the hospice of St. Borgia, where the capital funds of the oversea provinces were administered. But even this discovery fell far short of expectations, for the money found was not even enough to cover the considerable debts that were owing. The furnishing of the various rooms was in complete conformity with religious poverty; the most opulent articles were a portable iron stove for preparing tea or chocolate and some Japanese or Chinese porcelain cups, which were no rarity in the Portugal of those days.[1]

There being apprehension in Rome lest the Portuguese Government proceed against the Jesuits in contravention of

[1] Acciaioli, who had already specified in 1758 the open trading carried on by the Jesuits as their only scandalous activity (see p. 297, n. 2), makes the following observation regarding the sale of their property: "*La roba venduta fu certo di scandalo per parte de' Padri, perchè non era a uso di Religiosi, nè in quantità di Religiosi, ma da magazzini di mercanti, come essi erano" (to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*). A more modern historian arrives at another conclusion as the result of a close study of the missions: "As rendas [das missões] à primeira vista enormes, nem sempre bastavam a satisfazer por completo as necessidades das missões. Se em tal assumpto podessemos baixar ás estatisticas, certo encontrariamos que jamais empreza de magnitude tal se realisou com tão limitados meios" (J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *Os Jesuitas no Grão-Pará*, Lisboa, 1901, 208 *seq.*). See Murr, 100, n. 1. Some light on the above-mentioned observation of the nuncio's is afforded by the information that Pombal had a portion of the valuable household furniture of the Tavora and a part of the provisions from the mission-stores brought to the little hospice of St. Borgia and sold by auction there (Murr, 100). A full description of the whole sale, *ibid.*, 94 *seqq.*

ecclesiastical immunity, Clement XIII. decided to communicate personally with Joseph I. After congratulating the king on his recovery, the Pope expressed his horror at the criminal assault and his hope that in the punishment of whatever clerics might be guilty the canonical statutes would not be disregarded.[1] In spite of this personal step taken by the Holy Father, no need for any hurry was felt in Lisbon; on March 22nd, 1759, Torrigiani had again to complain that the promised report on the visitation and the criminal proceedings were still not to hand.[2]

Meanwhile, however, on March 20th, 1759, Saldanha had written to the Pope.[3] But he still failed to send a canonical report on the visitation. On the receipt of the Brief of April 28th, 1758, he had, he wrote, asked for and received the support of the secular arm. The Jesuits being incorrigible, the king had decided to expel them all. On the strength of the Brief *Immensa pastorum* of 1741, the envoy's *aides-mémoire*, and the much-referred-to "Short Report", the Cardinal Visitor accused the Fathers of stirring up discord,

[1] *February 22, 1759 (copy), Nunziat. di Port., 181, *loc. cit.* In an accompanying letter to Acciaioli, Torrigiani approved of the attitude adopted by the nuncio, who had remonstrated with Saldanha and Pombal, not in order to protect those who were really guilty but to press for the observance of ecclesiastical statutes in the criminal procedure (*February 22, 1759, *ibid.*, 180A). "Qui non si intende di scusare il delitto, quando veramente in essi vi sia, ma non si può nemmeno scusare che si proceda tanto notoriamente contro persone ecclesiastiche e regolari senza la previa notizia ed intelligenza del Sommo Pontefice, massime atteso il precipuo obbligo, che imponeva al cardinale di Saldanha il suo Breve di visitatore, ben noto a cotesta corte, di non procedere a nessuna essecuzione contro gli stessi Padri, senza darne prima parte al Sommo Pontefice ed attendere la sua suprema approvazione. Si starà però attendendo con ansietà di sentire dalle prime lettere di V. S., come si vorrà costì giustificare un passo tanto pubblico e cotanto avanzato" (April, 1759, in Romano, 89 *seq.*).

[2] *Nunziat. di Port., 183, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 204, fo. 7 *seqq.*

of provoking wars in the colonies, and of maligning the monarch and his Government. Their commercial dealings were notorious, quite apart from the evidence of their ledgers. Their participation in the murderous attack on the king had been demonstrated by the sentence of the court. To save them from being lynched [1] the Government had posted guards in their houses and he had forbidden them to quit them. The king was in duty bound to take into custody the participators in the conspiracy and to separate the remaining Jesuits from his loyal subjects. It was true that their goods had been sequestered but their disposal and the legal proceedings would not take place without the assent of the Head of the Church. Finally, he wished to bring forward two facts: all classes of the people had begged the king to eliminate without trace the authors of the crime, and all talk to the contrary was false, fabricated, and mendacious.

The probable purpose of this letter, in which the writer showed himself to be a docile pupil of Pombal's,[2] was to pave the way in Rome for the demands which Joseph I. was shortly to present to the Holy See. It did not satisfy the Curia, which insisted on a proper report on the visitation.[3] This, however, was never rendered by Saldanha, who, in fact, was quite unable to do so, seeing that he had never really performed a visitation.[4] Since receiving his commission, he had entered a

[1] *Cf.* the nuncio's *reports mentioned on p. 312, n. 3.

[2] "Il card. sta a scuola ed eseguisce i precetti del segretario suddetto [Carvalho], senza mai replicare, non che opporsi." Acciaioli to Torrigiani, November 28, 1758, in DUHR's article in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII, 758.

[3] *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, April 26, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 183, *loc. cit.* In this *letter to Acciaioli, Torrigiani very rightly stresses that the general question about the condition of discipline among the Jesuits must be kept strictly separate from that of the misdemeanours of individual Jesuits. The Portuguese Government seemed to want to amalgamate the two.

[4] "*il nulla fatto di visita regolare dal cardinale" (Acciaioli to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, *ibid.*, 117). "* . . . e dica chiaramente [in the audience with the King of Spain] che il sig. card.

Jesuit house on two occasions only, and then only for a short time.[1]

On April 20th, 1759, the king's letter to the Pope, which had been expected for months past, was dispatched at last.[2] It contained the well-known charges against the Jesuits: they had been unfaithful to the rules of their Society, they had brought on the war in Paraguay, and they had instigated the attack on his person. To preserve peace and order in his realm he had made use of the power invested in him by divine and natural right and had ordered the expulsion of the Society from Portugal. He cherished the hope that the Pope would approve of his unalterable decision. To avoid conflict between the spiritual and the temporal power he recommended the granting of the accompanying request of the crown procurator José da Costa Ribeira [3] and the extension of the authority to prosecute clerics for high treason (which authority had been granted by Gregory XIII. to the Tribunal of Conscience [*Mesa da consciencia*]) to all ranks of the clergy and in all similar cases for all time, so that the death penalty might be inflicted also on those of the conspirators who were members of an Order.

The Pope's disappointment with this letter was magnified

Saldanha in vece di riformargli e corregergli, come portava la commissione della visita, ha prestato la sua mano servile al Ministro per distruggerli, non avendo mai reso conto alla S. Sede" (Torrigiani to Acciaioli, September 11, 1760, *ibid.*, 182).

[1] MURR, 54. *Cf.* our description, p. 296.

[2] [BIKER], I., 100 *seq.* The courier arrived in Rome on May 22 but the documents were not handed over till June 7.

[3] [BIKER], I., 101, German translation in [KLAUSING], II., 377. The request is dated: "Lisbon, 15 April. 1759."—The accompanying **Deducção* or *Promemoria*, consisting of 31 paragraphs, contains, besides an enumeration of the measures taken against the Jesuits, only the well-known accusations of immorality, trading, non-observance of the rules of the institute, and the instigation of revolts in the colonies and the mother country. Text in [BIKER], I., 102 *seqq.*, German translation in [KLAUSING], II., 270 *seqq.*

by the Spanish Government's recent exoneration of the Jesuits from all responsibility for the war in Paraguay, the verdict being the result of a careful investigation.[1] Further, he was loath to grant the required permission to so great an extent, having no desire to remove the clergy for ever from its customary judge.[2] To be on safe ground, he called a special Congregation of Cardinals and prelates, who at their first session voted unanimously for the granting of the requested indult. It was, however, to be restricted to that particular case, and clauses were to be inserted which were intended to preclude any possible abuse. For the approval of the banishment of the Jesuits, which had also been sued for, not a single vote was cast, since their case had not been examined (*causa non cognita*).[3]

In the hope of calming the storm, even at this late hour, the Pope decided to reply in the sense of the Congregation's resolution. By a Brief of August 2nd, 1759, he granted the members of the *Mesa da consciencia* authority to proceed

[1] *Torrigiani to Gualtieri in Paris, July 11, 1759 (Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*) : " *Quanto alle pretese reità de' medesimi gesuiti nelle cose del Paraguai, pare che il giudizio non possa formarsene da altri meglio che dalla Spagna, di cui è interesse il farsi prestare la dovuta ubbidienza ne' proprî dominî. E pur non promove ella contro de' gesuiti querela alcuna. Prendo detto come per scherzo dal Duca di Choiseul l'aumento di commercio, che si può ripromettere l'Italia dal venire qua trasportati i gesuiti di Portogallo. E quanto al diritto de' monarchi di espellere da loro stati gli ordini religiosi, tutte le volte che non si credono più utili ai medesimi, la di lui proposizione va troppo avanti."

[2] **Informazione*, August 8, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, fo. 325 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.* The same *Informazione* was sent to all the nuncios in the more important Courts and contains a description of the events which occurred between September 3, 1758, and the beginning of August, 1759.

[3] The congregation consisted of Cardinals D'Elce, Spinelli, Cavalchini, Tempi, Rezzonico, and Torrigiani, and the Monsignori Ratta, Garampi, and Boschi. The session took place on July 22, 1759 (Nunziat. di Port., 203, fo. 11, *loc. cit.*) ; for the votes and resolutions, see *ibid.*, fo. 14 *seqq.*

against clerics and members of religious Orders, except Bishops and high prelates, and to inflict on them the punishments determined by law, including the death penalty, in so far as they might be found guilty of the attempted murder.[1] At the same time Clement XIII. addressed two letters to Joseph I. In the first one he apprised the king of the permission which had been granted, asking him, however, not to allow the innocent to suffer with the guilty, and adjuring him to act in a spirit of clemency and to save his Christian people from the horrible spectacle of the shedding of priestly blood. In making this intercession he believed he was acting in the spirit of the Church, which too, in handing over a criminal to the secular arm, entered this plea.[2] Regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits, Clement made known to the monarch in the second letter his grief at the decision which had been taken, reminding him of the services already rendered by the Society to the Church, of the great good which it was still doing throughout the world, of the praise which had been given to it by the king himself and his progenitors, and of the ill-fame into which it would be brought by so disgraceful an expulsion. The whole Society ought not to suffer for the guilt of a few of its members. As for the prevalent abuses, the visitation might be continued; the Pope would gladly offer his help in restoring the Society to the flourishing state it formerly enjoyed. Its complete extermination was conducive neither to the honour of the Church nor to the good of the State. The Pope finally implored the king not to carry out his

[1] Copy and Portuguese translation in [Bikir], I., 149 *seqq.* The date is given here as August 11, which is probably a copying error, since the missives had already been dispatched on the night of August 1–2. This date has been retained in the *Bull. Rom. Clementis XIII.*, Romae, 1835, I., 217, and in Prati, 1842, I., 237, in the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz aus den Jahren 1759 und 1760 betreffs die Bestrafung und Ausweisung der Jesuiten aus Portugal*, Göttingen, 1850, 12 *seqq.*, etc.

[2] Original in Nunziat. di Port., 203, *loc. cit.*; Latin text and Portuguese translation in [Biker], I., 156 *seqq.*

project, which would cause such suffering to the Vicar of Christ.[1]

In taking this step Clement XIII. hoped to avert the catastrophe at the eleventh hour. But the Portuguese envoy, Almada, who had long been poisoning the political atmosphere with his intrigues, abusive pamphlets, and false news,[2] again obstructed the work of peace. On July 30th he complained in writing to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the king's letter was still being left unanswered,[3] although a week had passed since the Congregation had held its session. The king may have delayed his answer to the Papal missive, but

[1] Original in Nunziat. di Port., *loc. cit.*; reprint in [BIKER], I., 152 *seqq.*

[2] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 16, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.* The same view was expressed by the Cardinal Secretary to the nuncio in his letter of October 18, 1759: "Almada, il quale non avendo più commercio con altri che con persone fanatiche e male intenzionate, beve ai loro fonti tutto il veleno che poi si sparge costì per alienare cotesta corte dalla nostra, il che pur troppo gli riuscirà, se resterà più lungamente incaricato degli affari" (in ROMANO, 119 *seq.*). The means by which it was sought to bring the Jesuits in disrepute is shown by the following report. The Lisbon gazette of August 23, 1759, contained a report from Naples that the Cardinal Archbishop of that city, accompanied by a royal official, had entered the room of the Jesuit Pepe, who had died a few days previously in the odour of sanctity, and had found there 600 ounces of gold in bars and gold dust, a credit note for 56,000 ducats, 1,600 pounds of wax, 10 tins of Dutch tobacco, 3 alarm clocks, 200 silk handkerchiefs, and 300,000 florins in cash. He had had a very large statue of the Madonna made of solid silver for the church of the Immaculate Conception and had given to the same church a velvet vestment embroidered with gold (Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 4, 1759, in ROMANO, 108 *seq.*). On October 11, 1759, Torrigiani informed the nuncio that the whole story was nothing but a lying fabrication (*ibid.*, 109).

[3] On account of his inimical and personally insulting attitude, the Cardinal Secretary of State had given him to understand that he need not trouble himself personally any more in the matter. *Almada to Torrigiani, July 30, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 181, *loc. cit.*

there was a difference between a letter of courtesy and one affecting the life of the king and the safety of his realm. In the interval the Jesuits might be spreading their poison at the Papal court and slandering the king and his excellent Government. In this way support would be lent to the suspicion that their execrable conduct was finding, if not support, at least toleration, in so holy a place.[1] These suspicions were refuted by Torrigiani on the same day in a calm, factual manner.[2] Two days later, on August 1st, another complaint came from the Portuguese envoy, who was receiving from his secret agents [3] the most exact information about everything that was going on in the Curia. This time it was that the Papal decision was to be sent to Lisbon by a special courier instead of through himself.[4] He was given the answer that this was being done out of special regard for the king.[5] The real reason, however, why this course was adopted was to keep the Pope's communication with the king as secret as possible, it being feared that a premature disclosure of the Papal decision (which would be only too likely if it was made known to Almada) would impair its effect. The covering letters were expected to have more success if they arrived in Lisbon without Almada's additions and annotations.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* *Acciaioli to Archinto, September 12, 1758, *ibid.*, 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, 203.

[5] *Torrigiani to Almada, August 1, 1759, *ibid.* *Cf.* there also the *observations sent by Torrigiani to the nuncio Acciaioli on August 2, 1759.

[6] *[Prima] Informazione of August 8, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.* " *A chi poi è cognito il carattere del suddetto Ministro, e chi sa, che il suo fanatismo non è minore della sua incapacità, bisogna che confessi, che non era possibile di trattare seco, tanto più che, avendo voluto N. S. per giustissimi riflessi tener segrete le sue risoluzioni, il communicarle a lui sarebbe stato l'istesso, che renderle pubbliche a tutto il mondo." (Seconda Informazione of 24 October, 1759, *ibid.*). The Cardinal Secretary of State was still more explicit in his *dispatch, in cipher, to the

To forestall such difficulties, Torrigiani dispatched the special courier to Portugal on the night of August 1st–2nd, 1759.[1] A fall from his horse, however, held him up near Aix and he was foolish enough to hand over his dispatch-case to the courier who had immediately been sent after him by Almada and who offered to take the packet to the nuncio.[2] Almada's courier reached Lisbon on August 19th and handed the Papal dispatches to the Secretary of State Da Cunha, who did not forward them to the nuncio till the 21st.[3] Immediately he received them, Acciaioli informed the Ministers that he wished to speak to them. The Foreign Secretary, how-

nuncio Pallavicini in Madrid (May 14, 1761), which at the same time provides an instructive insight into the activities of the anti-Jesuit party in Rome. "*Non furono però questi i veri motivi, che fecero abbracciare il partito di tener segrete al Ministro le pontificie risoluzioni; ma bensì l'imprudente condotta di lui, e di tutto il partito antigesuitico, che con troppa ansietà si mostrava curioso di vedere che cosa si sarebbe fatto, e prevedevasi disposto a glossare, a criticare, ad avvelenare tutto ciò, che non fosse intieramente conforme alle concepite speranze. Continui complotti tenevansi e presso il Ministro, e in altri luoghi, che a Lei forse verranno in mente; giravano gli emissarii, le ambasciate, i viglietti. Onde fu prudenza il non aggiungere materia ad una tale fermentazione, che dalla malignità d'alcuni, dal trasporto e dall' imprudenza di altri, in un paese, ove regna l'acutezza di pensare, e la libertà di parlare, poteva portarsi agli estremi, sperando miglior incontro in Lisbona al Breve pontificio e alle lettere che l'accompagnavano, se colà fossero giunte vergini, che se prima passate sotto la censura di questi pazzi" (Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.*).

[1] *[Prima] Informazione of August 8, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[2] Thus the official description in the *Seconda Informazione of October 24, 1759, *ibid.* The nuncio Acciaioli seems not to have believed that it was a mishap, as he speaks of "la malattia certamente non naturale del Corriere spedito al Nunzio colle risposte" (*to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *ibid.*). *Cf.* also MURR's description (135 *seq.*).

[3] *Seconda Informazione of October 24, 1759, *loc. cit.*

ever, who was the first to whom he applied, declared that the Jesuit affair was Pombal's business. Pombal in his turn refused to accept the dispatches on the score that since the matter had been referred to Rome it was a foreign affair, for which Da Cunha was the competent authority.[1] The nuncio finally succeeded in arriving at an understanding with Da Cunha and left with him a copy of the dispatches,[2] but on September 7th, to his astonishment, he received a note from the Foreign Office saying that the king was willing to accept the two letters from the Pope but that he must postpone for the time being the acceptance of the Brief until further negotiations had been undertaken.[3] The reasons put forward for this refusal were that the Brief had not been agreed upon with the Portuguese envoy nor had it been sent through his agency; besides, it had only been attached to the Pope's letters so as to force the king to accept it, which, however, was impossible, since the requested powers had not been given for all time.[4] The nuncio retorted that no request for negotiations had been made either at the time when the royal communication had been delivered nor afterwards, and in any case all faculties necessary for the present case had been granted. The Court of Lisbon, too, he averred, had often made use of a special courier, passing over the nuncio. It was true that the Brief had not been sent separately but then the Crown Procurator's request had also been attached to the royal missive. In vain Acciaioli protested that he could not hand over the documents separately, since they were closed with one and the same Papal seal, which he was not authorized to break.[5]

In order not to provoke a scandal, the nuncio decided to

[1] *Ibid.* *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 4, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.*, and November 13, 1759, *ibid.*, 202; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *ibid.*, 117.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] [Biker], I., 159 *seq.*

[4] *Seconda Informazione of October 24, 1759, *loc. cit.*; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*

approach the king, although this step now seemed hopeless. At the audience on September 11th, Joseph I. refused to accept the Pope's letters together with the Brief, on the grounds already cited, so that the nuncio had to retire, his mission unperformed.[1] When he wanted to inform the Pope of what had happened and to obtain fresh instructions, permission to use the post horses was withheld, with all manner of excuses, until September 15th.[2] On the appointed day there set off also a royal express-courier with dispatches for the Portuguese envoy in Rome, instructing him to obtain a Brief corresponding to the king's wishes. The messenger arrived in the Holy City on October 3rd. But when a fortnight passed without Almada imparting any information either to the Pope or to his Secretary of State, Clement XIII. instructed the Lisbon nuncio to bring to the attention of the Secretary of State Da Cunha his displeasure at the insulting rejection of his Brief and letters and to complain about Almada's objectionable behaviour towards the Roman Court.[3]

It was thought in Rome that the explanation of this curious treatment of the Pope and his representative was that Pombal intended to render purposeless and ineffectual Clement XIII.'s defence of the Jesuits by delaying tactics, for while these events were taking place a beginning had already been made with their expulsion from Portugal. The Portuguese Government was merely looking for an excuse for saying eventually that the intercession had come too late, although they must

[1] *Ibid.* *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 13, 1759, *loc. cit.* The nuncio was not even allowed to hand to the queen the Brief of August 2, which was addressed to her and in which the Pope asked her to use a softening influence on her consort (original in Nunziat. di Port., 203, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Seconda Informazione, *loc. cit.* ; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *loc. cit.*

[3] For a full description of these incidents, see the *dispatches of the nuncio to the Cardinal Secretary of State, September 13, 1759, and March 18, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 177, *loc. cit.* (already frequently cited) ; also the *Seconda Informazione (*loc. cit.*) and the **Memoria di fatto*, of July 11, 1760 (*loc. cit.*).

have been aware of the contents of the letters from the copies which had been handed to them.[1]

(3)

While Rome was still waiting for the delivery of the new dispatches, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal was already under way ; 133 Fathers had had to leave the port of Lisbon on September 17th, 1759, and had been landed on October 24th at Civitavecchia in Papal territory.[2] To the Curia, where Almada had not breathed a word about these measures, such an action as this came as a shock.[3] Pombal, it is true, had repeatedly held it out as a threat, the king had sought Papal approval of it (April 20th, 1759),[4] and the nuncio had referred to it in his reports of the preceding months,[5] but the Minister's threats had not been taken in real earnest and it was still hoped that the monarch would change his mind. At first, it seems, the Portuguese colony of Angola was chosen as the place of exile,[6] but in July already the news was trickling through from Paris that Pombal was planning to send the Jesuits to Italy. The sarcastic style, however, in which the report was made led Torrigiani to believe that it was an ill-timed jest on the part of the Minister Choiseul.[7] The first transport was already at sea when, on October 5th, 1759, there was published a royal edict, dated September 3rd,

[1] *Seconda Informazione, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.* Six Fathers who were members of the most aristocratic families in the land were transferred to convents of other institutes. For further details of the deportation, see MURR. 111 *seqq.*

[3] *Seconda Informazione, *loc. cit.*

[4] See p. 323.

[5] E.g. *on April 3, June 26, and August 21, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.* See also ROMANO, 110.

[6] On hearing that the King of Portugal had had some of the Jesuits deported to Africa, OEFELE, who was completely unsympathetic, composed the following couplet: "Transtulit in Lybicas Socios Iosephus arenas | Ne careat monstris Africa terra novis. | Hac 20. Nov. cecini". (*Oefeleana*, 61 [1759], last page, MSS. department of the State Library, Munich.) *Cf.* MURR, 104.

[7] *Cf.* above, p. 324, n. 1.

which, repeating the well-known charges, condemned all the Jesuits to banishment as open rebels and traitors and forbade them to reside in Portuguese territory under pain of death. The same punishment would be incurred by whoever gave them refuge or had verbal or written communication with them.[1] A letter with the same purport and bearing the same date was sent to the Cardinal Patriarch and all the Bishops in the realm. On the same day also Saldanha published a pastoral letter in which, referring to the royal communication which preceded it, he warned the faithful against having any dealings with the expelled Jesuits. The visitation, he said, had met with no success; instead of returning to the observance of their holy institution they had neglected their duties more and more. The faithful were asked to join their prayers with his, that these unfortunates who had strayed from the path of virtue might be given the grace of conversion.[2]

In the last part of his decree the king, exercising his royal clemency, had allowed the younger Jesuits who had not yet taken their final vows and who had not yet been initiated into the evil doctrines of the Society, to remain in the country on condition that they had themselves released from their vow by Cardinal Saldanha in his capacity of the Visitor General of the Society. If this decision was made with the intention of avoiding the appearance of cruelty, seeing that it was impossible for all these young men to have taken part in the alleged misdeeds, it also had another purpose: to deal the Society's prestige a fresh blow, by inducing its younger members to leave it. In an edict of August 8th, 1759, Saldanha had invited all of them to bring him openly their requests and complaints; he would listen to their wishes like a father and fulfil them to the best of his ability.[3] As this offer met with little success, the younger members of the Society, including

[1] Text in [Biker], I., 114 *seqq.*, German translation in [Klausing], II., 381 *seqq.* For the dating, *cf.* Acciaioli to Torrigiani, October 9, 1759, in Romano, 117, n. 1.

[2] [Biker], I., 118 *seqq.*; [Klausing], II., 387 *seqq.*

[3] Murr, 110.

the novices, were brought together in the two colleges of Coimbra and Evora, after all the professed members had been removed, and there they were again offered their release. To put their constancy to the keenest test, they were allowed to a large extent to associate with their relatives, which had formerly been forbidden to them. Several weak-willed ones did indeed allow themselves to be persuaded by their relatives to return to the world, but the great majority remained true to their vocation.[1] This constancy was not shown to the same degree everywhere. Of the 453 members of the Brazilian province only 283 could take the decision to endure banishment rather than abandon their vocation. In general, the information available is too vague for exact figures to be quoted, but it is estimated that six-sevenths of the Portuguese Assistancy kept faith with the Society,[2] in spite of the

[1] Particulars in MURR, 117 *seqq.* On October 2, 1759, Acciaioli *reported to Torrigiani: "Molte diligenze si sono fatte per far lasciar l'habito a tutti quelli del primo voto [!], ma soli 25 o 30, obbligati da' parenti, che temevano la rovina delle loro famiglie, lo hanno fatto, e gli altri sono stati forti, e non hanno voluto; anzi si vuole, che obbligati uno o due a scrivere i loro sentimenti lo abbino fatto con molto spirito, e in sense di uomini di Dio, ma tutto si tiene celato e segreto, e si discorre sotto voce temendo ogni uno, che parli il proprio esterminio; le querele e disapprovazioni di tali tratti sono universali, perchè universale è la compassione" (Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the nuncio's *letter of September 4, 1759, *ibid.*

[2] In 1759 the Portuguese assistancy numbered 1,698, of whom 909 were oversea; 1,091 were banished to Italy (including the 9 Fathers who were already staying in Italy); between 90 and 100 died on the journey or soon after their arrival in Portugal; 100–120 were serving in China and other independent territories; and about 180 were detained in prison. Thus according to HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, 30, n. 2; *Synopsis hist. Soc. Iesu* (printed as a MS.), col. 337; Appendices to *Catalog. Prov. Lusit.*, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906. In his *account of the expulsion from France (p. 61), Ricci, the General of the Society, speaks only in a general way of a great purification of the Portuguese provinces.

strong physical and moral pressure brought to bear on them,[1] whereby even ecclesiastical bodies attempted to confuse the issues and to shake the Jesuits in their loyalty to their vocation, harassed and persecuted as they already were. Saldanha, "the slave of the despotic Oeyras",[2] actually accorded the release, although the Brief of visitation gave him no authority to do so, and thus, to quote the nuncio, reformed the number but not the morals of the Jesuits.[3] He thereby incurred the most grave reproach from Clement XIII. that by this illicit action he had endangered not only his own conscience but that of those he had released.[4]

When Pombal saw that his efforts had almost entirely failed, he determined to send the rest of them either into exile or into prison. In the course of the next two years seven more transports of Jesuits arrived in the Papal States, followed in 1767 by another small batch.[5] The expulsion was carried out without incident. The Jesuits, whom the Minister in his manifestoes had described as rebels, traitors, and regicides, resigned themselves to their hard fate without resistance. If the reports circulated by Pombal and his venal creatures are to be believed, there would have been a unanimous cry of joy over the liberation from the Jesuit yoke, but the messages sent by the Apostolic nuncio, who was on the spot to observe the impression created by Pombal's measures, were of a very different import. "The country," he observed in connexion

[1] At the college at Bahia 21 novices were called to the gate, robbed there of their habits, and forced to leave the house (*Catalog. Prov. Lusit.*, 1903, Appendix xiii).

[2] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, October 2, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 200, *loc. cit.* Pombal became "Count of Oeyras" in 1759.

[3] "*Ora si dice, che i sette e più Gesuiti che sono usciti dalla Compagnia non abbiano ne avuta la dimissione dal P. Generale loro, ma dal sig, cardinale che in tal maniera riformerebbe il numero, non i costumi e le doctrine." Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 4, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., *loc. cit.*

[4] *December 27, 1759 (Minuta), *ibid.*, 203. *Cf.* *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, *ibid.*, 117.

[5] *Synopsis hist. Soc. Iesu*, 337.

with the expulsion of the Jesuits, " is highly discontented with all this and is speaking openly and freely against the Count of Oeyras, who has become the most despotic Minister Portugal—I will go so far as to say the whole of Europe—has ever had. Saldanha is silent when I manage to speak to him on this subject and is clearly confused because he is unable to transgress the suppressive measures taken by the Count, who completely dominates him. However much I express my mind, he dare not reply, lest he displease the said despotic Minister, who in truth has spat out his venom against the Church. I have to deal with a Cardinal who is of no help to me at all." [1] Acciaioli returns to the subject of the expulsion in his dispatch of September 30th, 1759 : " The Government has caused several rumours to be circulated in order to put a stop to the talk (of the people), but this is impossible, for the expulsion was approved by few, and the manner in which it was conducted by still fewer." [2] Many details have been reported by eye-witnesses.[3] Throughout their voyage, which lasted two months and took place in the hottest season of the year, the Brazilian Jesuits had to remain below decks and were not allowed to come up for a breath of fresh air. The daily fare for each of them consisted of vegetables and three cups of water. The Jesuits from India were conveyed to Europe in similarly inhuman conditions. The result was that their ranks were thinned more and more rapidly in the course of the five-months' journey. No less than twenty-three of them died at sea and of the 119 who reached Lisbon most were so ill that only 46 could continue the journey to Italy.[4] With the sudden expulsion of a round 900 missioners the Jesuit missions in Portuguese possessions were dealt a mortal blow.

[1] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 25, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MURR, 121 *seq.*

[2] ROMANO, 116, n. 2.

[3] *Cf.* MURR, 109 *seqq.* ; Acciaioli to Torrigiani, October 23, 1759, in ROMANO, 116, n. 1.

[4] MURR, 132 ; WELD, 308 *seqq.*

For many of the missionaries the tribulations of the long sea voyage were only the beginning of their trials. Most of the foreigners, for whom expulsion would have been but a release, were brought, together with the more highly placed of the Portuguese Fathers, to the dungeons of St. Julian, which thenceforth acquired a sinister fame.[1] Deprived of the Sacraments, of Holy Mass, and even of Easter Communion, many languished away physically and spiritually in their underground fastness.[2] It was not till the death of Joseph I. in 1777 that the survivors regained their freedom.[3] The Imperial envoy, Von Lebzeltern, in order to check the missionaries' accounts, which he suspected to be exaggerated, entered the prisons in disguise and recorded his impressions in his dispatch of April 8th, 1777: "I saw their prisons myself. Of so great sufferings as these I shall be able to give only a very faint picture, for they exceed anything the imagination could invent, and at the very sight of them one's blood runs cold with horror. The dwellings of these men consist of holes four spans square, situated in an underground chamber barely lit by large torches. At high tide they are flooded to a depth of two spans. This is the melancholy place in which these unfortunates have miraculously existed for

[1] Quite detailed descriptions are given by Fr. Moritz Thoman, who himself languished as a prisoner in the fortress of St. Julian (more recent editions published under the title *Ein Exjesuit*, Regensburg, 1867, and Lindau, 1869). See also MURR, 159 *seqq.*; WELD, 339 *seqq.* Further literature, *ibid.*—Plans of the six dungeons in which the Jesuits were confined are to be found in the Appendices of the *Catalog. Prov. Lusit.*, 1892 and 1904.

[2] The dying were allowed to receive the Viaticum if the physician certified on oath that death was imminent (MURR, 161, n. 1).

[3] Information about their number varies. WELD (368) speaks of about sixty, the *Synopsis hist. Soc. Iesu* (col. 366) of forty-five. The latter is certainly too low an estimate. A number of them were either released or deported to Italy in the course of the next few years. Through diplomatic action on the part of France and Austria several French and German Jesuits were repatriated. *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 142 *seqq.*

eighteen years, receiving for their daily sustenance only half a pound of bread, two ounces of meat, and a little salad, while for clothing they are given one shirt a year."[1]

To revenge himself on the Pope and at the same time to exert pressure on him, Pombal had all the Jesuits who still remained behind in Portugal transported, against all international law, to the exiguous Papal States, for which the arrival of nearly 1,100 destitute religious was no light burden.[2] Despite much misgiving the exiles were received with loving care, and several houses were allotted to them in Tivoli, Castel Gandolfo, and Rome, where they gradually settled down and lived in accordance with their rule. At first many generous benefactions were made, but in the course of time this support ceased. Adhering to the rules of the Society, their General, Ricci, refused to procure for them permission from the Pope to receive Mass stipends, especially as it was widely supposed that the Portuguese Fathers would soon be recalled to their own country. To meet the emergency to some extent, at first all expenses in the Jesuit houses not absolutely necessary were forbidden by order of the General, then the food was restricted, and finally a kind of contribution was levied on all the colleges. But since quite a number of the establishments were themselves in debt and therefore unable to make this contribution, and as some rulers forbade the export of gold to Rome, a beginning was made with the distribution of the younger Portuguese Fathers among the Jesuit houses in the Papal States. Some also were entrusted by the Bishops with parish duties or with the direction of seminaries. It being considered undesirable to burden the Italian colleges with the upkeep of the Portuguese, the General made himself responsible for their livelihood. At first a portion of the income of the Roman College and of some pious foundations was used for this purpose, then several paintings, gifts from princes, were turned into cash, and

[1] *Ibid.*, 164.

[2] For the following particulars, see CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 532 *seq.*; *De suppressione*, 59 *seqq.*

finally part of the costly church decorations was sold, some beaten silver from the Gesù, for example, realizing around 26,000 gold florins. It was not until all other sources had been exhausted that Ricci asked the Pope's permission for the Portuguese Fathers to receive Mass stipends. Then, when, on the outbreak of the persecutions in Spain and Naples, many Italian colleges lost their possessions and income in those States, Clement XIII. assembled 400 Portuguese Jesuits in a large palace in Rome and made them an annual allocation of 12,000 gold florins from State funds to save them from beggary.

While the expulsion of the Jesuits was taking its course, Pombal was opening negotiations in Rome for a new Brief which was to grant the "Tribunal of Conscience" the right in perpetuity of passing sentence of death on clerics guilty of high treason. In an *aide-mémoire* presented by the envoy Almada on November 19th, 1759, the Papal Brief of August 2nd, 1759, was declared to be notoriously crafty and misleading [1] and insulting to the king. The nuncio was accused in the *aide-mémoire* of having opposed, without instructions from a higher authority, the suspension of the Brief, as had been suggested to him, of having put forward worthless excuses for his opposition, and of having forced the king by improper means to accept the Brief, in that at the audience he had refused to hand over the two letters from the Pope, on the ground that they were all under the same cover and seal.[2] Finally, the king was waiting for the Holy Father to put a stop to the calumnies which the Roman Jesuits, supported by certain Papal officials, were disseminating against his person.[3] At the second session of the special commission on Portuguese

[1] "notoriamente obrepticio, subrepticio."

[2] The nuncio had shown the sealed packet to the Secretary of State Da Cunha so that he could prove with his own eyes the truth of his statement. **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Text in [BIKER], I., 165, German translation in [KLAUSING], III., 75 *seqq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 29 *seqq.*

affairs,[1] which was held on November 25th, all the members agreed that the Pope could not possibly approve of the expulsion of all the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property. The extension in perpetuity of the authority sought for the "Tribunal of Conscience" was also to be refused, though indirectly.[2] Correctly assessing the ecclesiastico-political situation, Torrigiani declared that Portugal would never be satisfied with any concessions as long as the Holy Father did not expressly approve of the expulsion of the Jesuits and the measures that had been taken against them, it being Pombal's intention to use the Papal authorization to justify his illegal action in the eyes of other Powers. But this approval could never be given by the Holy See without full knowledge of the facts. It would be better to allow a rupture to occur and the nuncio to be expelled; the Pope would then have his hands free and could take action against the Government and also against Saldanha and his co-operators. Meanwhile, however, every legitimate means should be used to avoid a rupture. Summing up, Clement XIII. decided that the Portuguese envoy should be informed of the grounds why the Pope could not grant a perpetual indult but at the same time readiness to negotiate should be shown, so that the greatest possible regard might be paid to the king's wishes. If Almada were to insist on the formal approval of the expulsion, it was to be made clear to him in a considerate manner that there was no hope whatever of his obtaining it, particularly in view of the circumstances in which the expulsion of the Jesuits had taken place and especially since Jesuit property had been seized without any reference to ecclesiastical authority.[3]

On November 28th the Papal reply was transmitted by Torrigiani to the Portuguese representative. It said that in spite of the grief caused by the rejection of the Brief, the Holy Father was ready for further negotiations, which were to be

[1] *Nunziat. di Port., 203, fo. 11v, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*ma con qualche mezzotermine."

[3] *Nunziat. di Port., 203, fo. 88 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

conducted by the envoy on the one side and by the Prodatarius Cavalchini and the Cardinal Secretary of State on the other. In the matter of the handing over of the documents in Lisbon, the nuncio had acted entirely in accordance with the instructions of the Holy See. The Pope's views on the Jesuit affair were immutable, being based on the principles of justice. On the other hand, it was not permissible to treat the guilty and the innocent in the same manner, still less to extend the punishments possibly deserved by some members so as to injure and disgrace a whole community. For the punishment of individual culprits the Pope had already granted full powers. Since the Jesuits professed a way of life that was approved by the Popes and benefited the Catholic Church, they enjoyed the protection of the Apostolic See and the Holy Father. If the Roman members of the Society and certain Curial officials had been wanting in respect for the king, either in speech or in writing, the Pope would punish them immediately, if they were made known to him by name and they were found guilty.[1]

Almada declined to confer, on the ground that all the essentials of his mission were already contained in the memorandum of November 19th. But so that he too might show his love of peace he made a proposal on his own account, relying on the concurrence of his Court. This was that the Holy Father should grant the desired powers in the present case in the form already agreed upon, but that in future cases he should stipulate that the "Tribunal of Conscience" be presided over by an ecclesiastical dignitary approved by the king.[2] The Curia gladly agreed to consider this proposal[3]

[1] Italian and Portuguese texts in [BIKER], I., 168 *seqq.*, German in [KLAUSING], III., 82 *seqq.*; Italian and German texts in the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*; 35 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*

[2] Almada to Torrigiani, December 4, 1759, in [BIKER], I., 174 *seq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 88 *seqq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 42 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

[3] Torrigiani to Almada, December 12, 1759, in [BIKER], I, 176 *seq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 90 *seq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 44 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*

and immediately had a fresh draft [1] sent to Almada, so as to provide him with the opportunity of making observations on it. Certain alterations having been suggested by the envoy,[2] a second draft was prepared.[3] This was dispatched by the Pope as a sign of his paternal benevolence on December 27th, 1759, to the Portuguese representative, for transmission to his Court, so that he could make known any further wishes before the final version was drawn up. The minute of the Brief was accompanied by two letters from Clement XIII. to the king. The first was a commentary on the Brief, concluding with the request that the prince exercise clemency rather than severity. In the second the Holy Father reminded the king of the dignity of the Holy See, of the rights of the Church, and of the unchangeable principles of justice, and he complained vigorously about the rejection of his letters of August 2nd and the ensuing expulsion of the Jesuits. He also protested against the calumnies against his own person and his officials.[4] In another letter dispatched at the same time Clement XIII. seriously remonstrated with Cardinal Saldanha for not having replied to the letter of August 2nd and the Papal commission to co-operate with him in removing the obstacles which prevented the visitation being brought to a successful conclusion. Contravening his Brief of installation, Saldanha had dissolved vows and had thereby endangered his own and others' souls.[5] In his reply of March 20th

[1] [BIKER], I., 177 *seqq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 92 *seqq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 45 *seqq.*

[2] Almada to Torrigiani, December 17, 20, and 21, 1759, in [BIKER], I., 182 *seqq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 96 *seqq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 49 *seqq.*

[3] [BIKER], I., 186 *seqq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 102 *seqq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 54 *seqq.* *Cf.* MURR, 137 *seq.*

[4] *Clement XIII. to King Joseph I. of Portugal, December 27, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 209, *loc. cit.* The Brief also is dated December 27.

[5] *December 27, 1759, *ibid.* Acciaioli too had made representations to the Visitor on this matter (*to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*).

of the following year the Patriarch denounced the charges made against him as calumnies. In his edict of October 5th, 1759, he had not said that his commission had expired but that it was still unsuccessful, so that there was no point in reporting on it. Further, he had thought that as reformer general he had the same rights as the General of an Order and had accordingly granted releases, but only to those not yet professed, and only at their request.[1]

The Pope's most accommodating attitude failed to produce any favourable effect in Portugal. Although the nuncio repeatedly pressed for an answer,[2] none was received by the Curia. In Rome, Almada had demanded a decision with violent impatience [3] but after the Papal communication had arrived in Lisbon the Cabinet there merely wrapped itself in profound silence.

The negotiations were still awaiting a conclusion when a fresh incident occurred. In a letter of November 2nd, 1759, Joseph I. informed the Holy See that, as patron, he had chosen Dom Manoel de Sant'Inez, formerly Bishop of Angola, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of the Archbishop Dom José Botelho de Matos of Bahia, and he now asked that this nomination be approved.[4] When the Curia asked for the deed of resignation, which was missing from the dossier, Almada affirmed that it would follow in a few days, whereupon the Pope ordered the preparation of the Bulls to be deferred until the arrival of the document. The missing deed never arrived, the prelate in question never having had any intention of resigning his see. As delegated Visitor he had published Saldanha's decree about the commercial transactions of the Jesuits (on September 9th, 1758) but he had had misgivings

[1] *Ibid.*, 204.

[2] *Cf.* **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *ibid.*, 117.

[3] Almada to Torrigiani, December 13 and 26, 1749, in [BIKER], I., 177, 185.

[4] *Pombal to Acciaioli, December 3, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 116, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MURR, 139 *seq.*; [BIKER], I., 131 *seq.*

about the suspension of all the Fathers [1] and the sequestration of the property of the Jesuit colleges on the ground that it had been acquired illegally, viz. by illicit trading. A judicial inquiry had convinced him, on the contrary, that the Fathers were completely innocent. While he was reporting the result of his investigations in Lisbon [2] a royal order was sent to Bahia that the insubordinate prelate be removed from his palace, that his revenues be suspended, and that a vicar capitular be chosen from among the canons there, pending the dispatch by the monarch of a new Archbishop.[3] This incident was afterwards used by Almada to bring against the Cardinal Secretary of State an accusation of *lèse-majesté*, on the ground that he had not placed implicit confidence in the king's assurance.[4]

(4)

In appearance Pombal's measures were directed against the Jesuits alone, but ultimately they were aimed against the Church itself and its freedom.[5] Although thereby he made frequent use of ecclesiastical persons and organizations, it must be remembered that in the period in question he could hardly have acted otherwise if he wanted to preserve the appearance of legality and to avoid rousing wholesale public indignation against himself. Scarcely had he attained his first objective, the expulsion of the Jesuits, when he opened hostilities against the Church itself, beginning with the representative of the Holy See in Lisbon. At first the nuncio

[1] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, November 20, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 202, *loc. cit.*

[2] On November 13, 1759, the nuncio *reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Archbishop of Bahia was defending the innocence of his Jesuits with priestly frankness. *Ibid.*

[3] MURR, 139 *seq.*

[4] [BIKER], I., 131 *seq.*; [KLAUSING], III., 15 *seq.*, 48 *seq.*

[5] " *il detto dispotico Conte [d'Oeyras], che veramente ha gettato fuori il suo veleno contro la Chiesa " (Acciaioli to Torrigiani, September 25, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 117, fo. 178, *loc. cit.*).

Acciaioli[1] had been held in high honour both by the Court and by the Ministers, especially Pombal, who continually assured him of his friendship and accorded both him and his relatives many favours.[2] But this close relationship grew more and more distant as the nuncio, who at the outset of the Jesuit affair had been inclined to side with Pombal, began, though still not actually championing the Jesuits, to urge respect for ecclesiastical regulations in view of the arbitrary and forcible encroachments made upon them. The first note of discord was struck on the evening of July 7th, 1758, when Acciaioli solemnly protested to the Cardinal Visitor against the wholesale and unjustified suspension of all the Jesuits in the Patriarchate. By this protest he acquired for himself the reputation in the eyes of Pombal and Saldanha of being pro-Jesuit.[3] To obviate further suspicion, the nuncio ceased visiting Jesuit houses[4] and in his dealings with the Minister and the Visitor he tried to avoid giving the impression that he wanted to interfere in the matter,[5] even declining the appointment of Co-Visitor, fearing that it would lead to unpleasant complications.[6] In spite of this discreet behaviour his relations with Pombal worsened as the trouble developed

[1] Filippo Acciaioli, of a famous Florentine family, was born in Rome in 1700, appointed Archbishop of Petra *i.p.i.* by Benedict XIV. in 1743, and was nuncio in Lucerne for ten years, after which he was transferred to Lisbon. He was created Cardinal in 1759 and died on July 4, 1766, in Ancona, where he was Bishop. *Cf. Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, I.², 149; NOVAES, XV., 21; *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, I., 263.

[2] **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *loc. cit.*; MURR, 51.

[3] *Acciaioli to Archinto, August 1, 1758, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Archinto, October 24, 1758, *ibid.*, 199; *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, December 26, 1758, *ibid.*

[5] *Acciaioli to Archinto, June 27, 1758, *ibid.*, 117; *to the same person, September 12, 1758, *ibid.*, 199; *to Torrigiani, March 16, 1760, *ibid.*, 117; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *ibid.*

[6] *To Archinto, August 22, 1758, *ibid.* *Cf.* p. 305.

into an open conflict between the Curia and the Portuguese Court. The Minister showed his displeasure with the nuncio in a petty and inconsiderate manner. At the evening receptions given by his wife he failed to return his greeting and was frequently "not at home" when he called.[1] On one occasion his dislike of Acciaioli was even more pointedly expressed. In the consistory of September 24th, 1759, Clement XIII. had created the nuncio a Cardinal.[2] According to custom, the king should have placed the Cardinal's hat on the head of the new wearer of the purple. The biretta had already been brought to Lisbon by Acciaioli's nephew, but the ceremony was put off time and again with all manner of excuses and queries about points of etiquette, until finally the nuncio was expelled from the country.[3]

To release Acciaioli from his embarrassing position, his name being all too closely connected with the Jesuit affair,[4] the Curia had already submitted to the Portuguese envoy on April 5th, 1759, a list of candidates who might succeed Acciaioli in the nunciature. The list was forwarded to the Portuguese Court,[5] but no attempt was made to expedite the matter. To a representation made by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Almada replied on January 1st, 1760, that his master thought that he would have to refrain from replying for the time being, as his decision depended on the granting of jurisdiction over the priests, which had been sought on April 20th, 1759. In any case the king firmly hoped that in the present complicated situation the Holy Father would propose only prelates who were neither ex-pupils of the

[1] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *ibid.*; *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, August 1, 1760, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, September 24, 1759, *ibid.*, 183; *Clement XIII. to Acciaioli, November 12, 1759, *ibid.*, 181.

[3] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, December 18, 1759, March 13 and 18, and June 3, 1760, *ibid.*, 117, and *April 1, 1760, *ibid.*, 116.

[4] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, March 18, 1760, *ibid.*, 117.

[5] *Almada to Torrigiani, January 1, 1760, *ibid.*, 203.

Jesuits nor supporters of their principles.[1] The proposed candidates having been otherwise disposed of, owing to the long delay in dealing with them, the Pope had another list prepared and hoped that it would meet with the king's approval.[2] But by now Lisbon had no desire for any nuncio at all; the Bishops, it was said, were quite sufficient.[3]

Acciaioli was becoming more and more firmly convinced that Pombal was only looking for some good excuse for bringing about a break with the Holy See and he was therefore careful not to afford in an unguarded moment the opening which he had hitherto avoided for so long and with such diplomatic skill. Consequently the all-powerful Minister had to force the issue.[4] On June 6th, 1760, a marriage was unexpectedly arranged between Dom Pedro, the king's brother, and his daughter Maria Francesca, Princess of Brazil. On the same day Da Cunha, as Secretary of State, sent an official intimation of the marriage to all the foreign representatives [5] but passed over the representative of the Holy See. On Acciaioli asking personally for an explanation, he was informed by Da Cunha that the object of the notice was not to announce the marriage to the ambassadors but to give them information about the order of precedence at the customary reception, when congratulations would be offered to the bridal pair. The nuncio, representing the supreme head of the Church, took precedence of all the others, so that there was no need to send him a notice. Acciaioli, having learnt of the text of the notice from the French ambassador, was able to reject this excuse straightway, pointing out that only the second part of the notice gave instructions about the order of rank, whereas the first part contained the notification of the betrothal. Of this at least he should have been informed. He finally made the

[1] *Ibid.* In reply to a question formerly put to him, Almada had *stated on June 1, 1759, that he had not yet had the list back from his Court. *Ibid.*, 203.

[2] *Torrigiani to Almada, January 3, 1760, *ibid.*

[3] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, June 3, 1760, *ibid.*, 117.

[4] ROMANO, 114.

[5] *Copy and translation in Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

earnest request that he be not placed in the awkward position of having to take no part in the public rejoicings. Da Cunha promised to report the matter fully to the king and to let him know the result, but no reply came. Consequently the nuncio refrained from illuminating his palace during the festivities, which were appointed to be held on June 7th, 8th, and 9th. But so as not to offend the newly married pair he sent them an apology by the Count of São Lourenço and apprised them of the reason for his attitude.[1]

Almost a week had passed and neither the Court nor the people had given any sign of its displeasure, when, on June 15th, just as Acciaioli was about to vest for Mass, the commissary João Calvao and the brigadier Mendoza appeared at his residence with a military escort and handed him a message from the Secretary of State, Da Cunha. This, dated June 14th, informed him that, to uphold the royal authority and to avoid disturbances, the king commanded him to leave the city without delay and the country within four days. To protect him from insults he would be escorted to the frontier by a military guard of honour.[2] Acciaioli's request to be allowed to send a note to the Secretary of State was refused, as was also his request to be allowed to say Mass or at least to hear it, seeing that it was Sunday. The nuncio made a formal protest against these forcible measures but was taken across the Tagus and, escorted by thirty dragoons who were ostensibly to do him honour but actually to prevent his escape, he was conveyed to the frontier. At the Spanish frontier town of Badajoz he was received with honours by the Commandant.[3]

The Uditore Testa had remained in Lisbon to carry on the

[1] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, June 10, 1760, *ibid.* *Cf.* the opposite view taken by PACCA in his *Memorie storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania* (Rome, 1832), 149 *seq.* See MURR, 140 *seq.*

[2] [BIKER], I., 191 ; [KLAUSING], III., 118 *seq.*

[3] *Uditore Testa to Torrigiani, June 17, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.* ; *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, Badajoz, June 20 and July 4, 1760, *ibid.* ; **Memoria di fatto*, July 11, 1760, *loc. cit.* A detailed description based on Vatican documents (not quoted) is to be found in P. A. KIRSCH's *Die Ausweisung des päpstlichen*

business of the nunciature but, as Acciaioli had foreseen,[1] he was not to stay there long. On August 2nd, 1760, he was handed a note from Da Cunha with express instructions to leave the capital within 24 hours and the country within a week.[2] A similar order was received on the same day by Count Giacinto Acciaioli, who had brought his uncle the Cardinal's hat.[3] A royal decree of August 4th prescribed the expulsion from Portugal of all Papal subjects; a second decree, dated the same day, forbade intercourse with the Curia or the acceptance of Bulls, Briefs, dispensations, and the like; and a third decree laid an embargo on imports from the Papal States.[4]

The nuncio's expulsion from Portugal inevitably affected the relations between the Portuguese envoy and the Holy See. On June 30th, 1760, Almada had requested an audience with

Nuntius Acciajuoli aus Portugal im Jahre 1760, in the *Wissenschaftl. Beilage* of *Germania*, 1906, no. 5, pp. 34 *seqq*. The Austrian chargé d'affaires Keil, in Lisbon, writes of the affair in a report of June 24, 1760: "As may easily be imagined, everyone is well-nigh stupefied both by its contents [Da Cunha's circular note] and by the incident itself, and all the *Ministri* stationed here, without exception, feel themselves bound to make the self-same observations, in a manner occasioned by the nature of the case" (DUHR, *Pombal*, 125). *Cf.* DUHR's account of the incident based on the reports from the Austrian embassy (*ibid.*, 121 *seqq*), which correspond exactly with the nuncio's account. The same opinion prevailed in diplomatic circles in Paris, where all the foreign envoys were "astounded and indignant" at the expulsion of the Lisbon nuncio (*Uditore Berardi to Torrigiani, July 7, 1760, original in Nunziat. di Francia, 508, *loc. cit.*). Of a similar nature are the *cipher dispatches of July 14, 21, and 28, 1760, *ibid.*, 513. *Cf.* THEINER, *Histoire*, XIV., I., 30.

[1] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, Badajoz, July 4, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[2] [BIKER], I., 202.

[3] *Ibid.*, 203.

[4] For the three decrees, which are nothing more than renewals of the edicts issued by John V. on July 5, 1728, at the time of the breach with Rome, see [BIKER], I., 203 *seqq*.

the Pope. It was at first granted for Friday, July 4th [1] and then, at Almada's urgent request,[2] for Wednesday, July 2nd.[3] But when in the course of July 1st the first indefinite news of the incidents connected with the betrothal festivities reached Rome, Clement XIII. thought it better to postpone the audience until further communications had given him a more precise picture of the state of affairs. Almada,[4] who wanted to anticipate the nuncio's reports, was so irritated by this postponement that on July 2nd he had an order posted on the door of the Portuguese national church of S. Antonio, making violent attacks on the Cardinal Secretary of State and ordering all Portuguese resident in Rome to make themselves ready to leave the city.[5] At the same time he addressed a letter to the representatives of the other Powers, setting forth the reasons for his intended departure.[6] He also informed the Cardinal Protector of the Portuguese nation, Neri Corsini, of his intention [7] and asked him to transmit an enclosed memorandum [8] to the Pope. Although Clement XIII. had acquired fairly definite knowledge of the expulsion of his representative through written messages put into circulation by Almada, he

[1] MURR, 142.

[2] *Almada to the Maestro di Camera, Nunziat. di Port., 203, *loc. cit.*

[3] *The Maestro di Camera to Almada, July 2, 1760, *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Portuguese text in [BIKER], I., 195 *seq.*, Italian in *Nunziat. di Port., 181 and 203, *loc. cit.*

[6] [BIKIR], I., 196. [7] *Ibid.*, 193 *seq.*

[8] The first three memoranda, with a *Deducção*, of May 29, 1760, in [BIKER], I., 127 *seqq.*; the last *aide-mémoire*, *ibid.*, 194 *seq.* The Portuguese account of the expulsion of the nuncio Acciaioli, *ibid.*, 191 *seqq.* The second *aide-mémoire* contains a notice as to how the king proposed to dispose of the Jesuit property; the third a complaint about the refusal to issue Bulls of appointment for the new Archbishop of Bahia (*cf.* above, p. 342); the others accuse the nuncio and, above all, Torrigiani, of having brought on the rupture by their insidious policy, wherefore the prince could no longer deal with them. *Italian translation in Nunziat. di Port., 203, *loc. cit.*

gave an interview to the Cardinal Protector on the morning of July 3rd. Corsini communicated to him the various complaints and demands made by the envoy and intimated that the outstanding differences could easily be overcome if he would appoint some other person than the Cardinal Secretary of State to negotiate with Almada about the business in hand. Clement XIII. rejected this insulting proposal and told the Cardinal that in future he would listen to no one but him on Portuguese affairs.[1]

Corsini appears to have misunderstood this answer. Thinking that the Pope had appointed him as sole negotiator between the Curia and the Portuguese envoy, he informed Almada that the Holy Father had granted his wish. At the same time he submitted for his consideration the possibility of temporarily postponing the breaking off of relations with the Apostolic See, which had already been announced.[2]

The rumours of the nuncio's expulsion were confirmed when at midday on July 4th a courier arrived with letters in which Acciaioli gave a full description of the events of which he had been the centre from June 6th until his arrival on Spanish soil.[3] A session of the extraordinary Congregation for Portuguese affairs was immediately called for the following day (July 5th) in order to consider what attitude to adopt towards the Court at Lisbon and what steps to take against its representative. After a lengthy deliberation it was agreed that no countermeasures were to be taken for the present.[4]

[1] "Commossa giustamente Sua S^tà^ da una si trana proposizione non solo la rigettò colla maggior fe mezza, ma persuasa non esservi più modo di proseguire con pace la discussione di tali materie col commendatore d'Almada, si spiegò, che in avvenire non voleva di questi affari trattare con altri che con S. E. medesima" (Ragguaglio of July 9, 1760), *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 192.

[2] Two notes from Corsini to Almada, July 3, 1760, in [BIKER], I., 197 *seq.*; Almada's reply, *ibid.*, 196 *seq.*

[3] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, June 10 and 20, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Expulsione del Ministro: dilata (*ibid.*, 203, fo. 326 *seqq.*, *ibid.*, fo. 12).

But on July 5th a fresh announcement was made by Almada, in which he apprised his countrymen that for the time being he had resumed relations with the Holy See, the Pope being persuaded that it would be impossible for the Portuguese envoy, in contravention of the express instructions given him by his sovereign, to have further dealings with the "political Ministry" of the Pope. Instead, the Cardinal Protector Corsini had been entrusted with the conduct of negotiations between the Curia and the envoy.[1] On hearing of this step of Almada's Clement XIII. sent for Corsini on the same evening and protested against such a misrepresentation of his words. He had made it abundantly clear, he said, that he wished to have no further relations with Almada, and now Almada was interpreting the situation as if the Cardinal Protector, to the exclusion of the Secretary of State, had been appointed sole intermediary between the Roman Curia and the Portuguese envoy. In these circumstances, declared the Pope, he must decline to treat any further with the Portuguese Government about the matters in dispute, so long as its representative resided within the confines of the Papal States.[2] In consequence of this, Almada made a third announcement[3] on July 6th to all Portuguese residents in Rome, that the appointment of Cardinal Corsini as negotiator with the Holy See had

[1] [Biker], I., 199. The announcement was dated July 4 but was not published till July 5.

[2] "Non fu possibile alla S^tà Sua di usar maggior tolleranza alla notizia di questo nuovo fatto, e mandato a chiamar per quella medesima sera il sig. card. Corsini li fece conoscere, quanto fosse l'abuso, che si faceva dal commendatore d'Almada del discorso avuto il giovedì innanzi con Sua Eminenza, mentre la dichiarazione fattale di non voler trat are degli affari d Portogallo che coll' Eminenza Sua (il che portava per la sua retta e naturale intelligenza una positiva esclusione del detto Ministro), l'avea egli stravolta a far credere, che il sig. card. Corsini dovesse essere il mezzano delli discorsi e trattati da farsi tra la S^tà Sua e lui medesimo con totale esclusione del suo primo Ministro" (Ragguaglio of July 9, 1760), printed in *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 193.

[3] [Biker], I., 200 *seq.*; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 105.

produced so untoward effects that he found himself obliged to leave Rome without delay. Likewise all subjects of the Portuguese crown were to leave the Papal States before the end of September. Almada left Rome on the night of July 7th, accompanied by Pombal's son and some members of the embassy staff.[1]

Before his departure the envoy sent all the other foreign representatives a discursive, one-sided memorandum, in which, distorting many of the facts, he attributed all the blame for the rupture to the Apostolic See and its Ministers.[2] The Curia decided that a counter-manifesto was unnecessary, the Portuguese publication being a sufficient justification of its attitude, but in order effectively to rebut the malicious representations which Almada and his partisans had already disseminated and would continue to disseminate in and outside Rome, the Secretary of State, acting on instructions from the Pope, supplied the diplomatic corps with a report on the events which had taken place in Rome in the period between the expulsion of the nuncio from Portugal and the departure of the Portuguese representative from Rome.[3]

[1] Almada to Corsini and to the envoys of the other powers, dated Rome, 1760, July 7, in [Biker , I., 201 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 132 *seqq.* ; *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 65 *seqq.*

[3] Ragguaglio of July 9, 1760, Nunziat. di Port., 181 and 203, *loc. cit.* ; reproduction and German translation in the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, 90 *seqq.*, 186 *seqq.* As opposed to this official account issued by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Corsini, in his memorandum, which he addressed, on July 12, to Da Cunha and to the ambassadors of the Catholic Powers in Rome (in [Biker], I., 208 *seq.*), held fast to his interpretation of the Papal reply and declared that Clement XIII. had relieved him of the rôle of intermediary only because Almada had misused the Papal declaration. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this account with the continuation of the memorandum, in which Corsini says that he did not convey the Pope's second statement to Almada, because the envoy had already prepared himself for departure, since there was no reason for the departure as long as the Portuguese envoy was aware of the first Papal answer only in Corsini's version of it.

It was not until Almada had left Rome that Clement XIII. took serious steps against the chief trouble-makers in the city. The printer Nicola Pagliarini, who had either printed or imported all the many scurrilous writings against the Curia and the Jesuits, was arrested, in spite of his royal Portuguese patent, and was sentenced to the galleys.[1] Shortly afterwards pardoned by the Pope, he was released and fled by way of Naples to Pombal, so as to continue representing his interests.[2] Several other disturbers of the peace were punished by expulsion, but most of them adapted themselves to the new policy and became professedly enthusiastic friends of the Jesuits, though under the succeeding pontificate they lost no time in joining forces again with the most bitter enemies of the Society. The most notorious of them was the learned Dominican Mamachi, a Greek by birth. Completely denying his past opinions, he now openly sided with the Jesuits but under Clement XIV. he returned to his true convictions, publishing the most violent and abusive writings against the Society.[3]

Hardly had diplomatic relations with Portugal been broken off when the Pope began his efforts to re-establish peace. Just as he had shown an almost inexhaustible patience in order to avoid the rupture, he now displayed untiring zeal and perseverance in his desire to rejoin the severed connections. Fully realizing the sublimity of his pastoral office and foreseeing with sadness the grave calamities which would result from the rupture with the Holy See, he repeatedly appealed to the other Catholic Powers for their help as intermediaries. With this purpose in view he addressed a Brief to King Charles III. of Spain on July 9th, only two days after Almada's departure. In it he expressed not only his deep grief at the

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, December 18, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* p. 303, n. 6. The incarceration of the secretary Florius was related earlier (p. 22).

[3] CORDARA, *Commentarii*, 535 *seq.*; *De suppressione*, 69 *seqq.*; ROSA, 360 *seq.*

expulsion of the nuncio from Lisbon but also his joy and gratitude for his honourable reception in Spain, and he besought the king most urgently to use all his influence to help restore the injured dignity of the Apostolic See.[1]

To accelerate intermediary negotiations a direction was sent to Acciaioli, who, on Papal instructions, had remained near the Portuguese frontier, to ask for an audience at the Court of Madrid, where he was to draw the attention of Charles III. to the turbulent ecclesiastical conditions in the neighbouring State. Above all he was to describe quite clearly how Pombal was abusing his master's confidence and how, under his arbitrary regime, no regard was being paid to justice or humanity. He might then depict the feeble attitude of the Cardinal Patriarch, the servility of the Court Bishops, the flagrant improprieties of the secular and regular clergy, together with the growing immorality among all classes of the people, emphasizing the danger to which the Catholic Faith in Spain would also be exposed in the event of a schism. Should the subject of the Jesuits be broached, he was neither to defend nor condemn them. He might admit that they too had their failings like all other large associations, but he was also to stress the beneficial effects they had had on Portugal as elsewhere. He was to say quite frankly that Saldanha, instead of reforming these religious, had slavishly lent a hand to the Minister in his efforts to destroy them. Saldanha had never rendered an account of his actions to the Holy See, nor had he shown the nuncio any definite information or evidence regarding the alleged abuses. No documents relating either to the visitation or the action at law had been sent in; in fact, nothing was known of what he really had done. With regard to the conspiracy, Acciaioli was to let the whole matter rest and to confine himself to stating that it had never been the Pope's intention to extend his protection to any participant; on the contrary, he had given every authority for the

[1] *Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.*; German translation in KIRSCH's article in the *Wissenschaftl. Beilage* of *Germania*, 1906, no. 5, p. 37.

punishment of the criminals. In his dealings with the Minister Wall the nuncio was to exercise the utmost circumspection, being known that he was not well disposed towards the Roman Court; he might even have friendly relations with Pombal. Acciaioli might thank him for the attentions paid to him by the Spanish officials, express his regret at what had happened in Portugal and declare that so far as he was concerned he was in no way responsible and that he was prepared to defend his conduct before the whole world.[1]

The Pope had sounded France too on the question of its mediation in the conflict with Portugal. He was relieved to hear that both the king and the Duc de Choiseul disapproved of the attitude of the Lisbon Court[2] and appeared to be willing to act as intermediaries.[3]

The Curia was anxious to avoid anything that might further incense tempers already embittered and lead to actions fraught with dire and almost irremediable consequences. "Carvalho's character is well known here," wrote Torrigiani to the Abbate Berardi, "and we fear much harm from him, especially in the direction you indicated in your last dispatch and which would be more deplorable than anything else."[4] This cautious attitude was occasioned by various sinister rumours that had reached Rome by devious channels. The news of a Portuguese national council had not been verified,[5] and the

[1] *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, September 11, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Torrigiani to the nuncio Pamfil, August 6 and 13, and September 24, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 8, 1760, *ibid.* *Cf.* his *letters of December 3, 10, 17, and 24, 1760, *ibid.*; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 10, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *loc. cit.*—Naples had also offered to mediate (*Tanucci to Charles III. of Spain, dated Caserta, 1761, January 27, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5968).

[4] August 13, 1760. *Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 18, 1761, *ibid.*

appointment of Pater Norbert (Platel) as the king's confessor turned out to be merely a surmise,[1] but it was certain that the versatile ex-Capuchin was in Pombal's service as a hired writer.[2] With the express intent of justifying the action taken by the Portuguese Government against the Jesuits, he was planning to continue his *Mémoires historiques* in spite of their having been condemned by Benedict XIV. and forbidden by his successor.[3] Although, in view of his second-rate talent,[4] there was no danger of the book doing much harm, the Holy See, having refused to approve of the forcible measures taken by the Lisbon Cabinet, would be compelled in consequence to condemn a work of such a tendency. The Paris nuncio Pamfili received instructions to raise objections with Choiseul against the printing of the book, on the ground that it would render negotiations considerably more difficult, if not quite impossible.[5] Greater perturbation was caused in Rome by a message from Choiseul that it was to be feared that religious reforms were afoot in Portugal; in accordance with a request of the Portuguese Government, French Jansenists had compiled a handbook (*Nuovo corpo di dottrina*) for use in Portuguese schools.[6]

Notwithstanding all the polite assurances of France and Spain, the negotiations failed to make a proper start, much to the chagrin of the Pope, who on December 31st, 1760, addressed a request to the French Cabinet, through the nuncio Pamfili, to press for an acceleration of the intermediary

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 17, 1760, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* our description, Vol. XXXV., 476.

[3] See our description, Vol. XXXV., 479.

[4] *Torrig ani to Pallavicini, October 30, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. it.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 18, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, *loc. cit.* Similarly *on April 15, 1761, *ibid.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, March 19, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 15, 1760, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *ibid.*; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 10, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *ibid.*

procedure in Madrid.[1] The hindrances were partly of a personal, partly of a factual nature. The Spanish premier, Riccardo Wall, maintained a cool reserve, as was only to be expected from his previous attitude towards Rome.[2] The French Government was too much occupied with the war with England and Prussia and the unfavourable financial situation.[3] The chief difficulties, however, lay in Portugal itself, where, owing to Pombal's animosity and unyielding obstinacy, the breach was widened by further hostile measures.[4]

On March 4th, 1761, an edict was published in Lisbon, under date February 25th, by which the king, on his own authority, assumed to himself the disposal of the Jesuit property and allotted a large part of it to the Treasury and the Exchequer.[5] The Cardinal Secretary of State had reason to suppose that Pombal had decided to publish this edict on hearing from the envoy Silva that King Charles III. was thinking of acting as an intermediary. Torrigiani inferred that the Minister was opposed to the idea of an agreement and was therefore creating as many difficulties as possible.[6] It was certainly remarkable

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, December 11 and 29, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* BOURGUET, *Une négociation diplomatique du Duc de Choiseul relative aux Jésuites*, in the *Revue d'hist. dipl.*, XVI. (1902), 161 *seqq.* Numerous *letters in this connection in Nunziat. di Francia, 513, 514, 515, *loc. cit.*

[4] "I should like Pombal to be good," so that the king might be successful in his mediatory efforts; "but there is little hope if he is as Your Excellency says." (*Tanucci to Losada, dated Caserta, 1761, May 26, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5970.)

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 15, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.* The royal resolution had met with the approval of the Portuguese theologians and lawyers; the decree, they declared, was entirely "tan arreglada y prudente, que usando de los derechos de la Corona conserva los que pertenecen á la Iglesia" (note of February 25, 1761, Nunziat. di Port., 117 *loc. cit.*).

[6] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 16, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*, 182.

how industrious the Portuguese authorities were in putting the Roman Curia in the wrong and in unloading on to it the responsibility for the breach. As early as August 9th, 1760, Da Cunha had written at the end of a letter to Cardinal Corsini, "God alone can close the breach, which has now become clear and open, since His Majesty will have no more to do with the Roman Court, so long as its government is in the hands of Ministers who have induced the breach by so curious means." [1] A book which appeared at the end of the year 1760 or at the beginning of 1761 contained even the statement that the nuncio Acciaioli and the Cardinal Secretary of State Torrigiani, in agreement with the natural brothers of Joseph I., had hatched a second plot against the life of the king.[2]

It is scarcely surprising that in this atmosphere Spain approached the task of negotiating as an intermediary in only a tentative manner, for it was an undertaking that offered little hope of success. The Pope and his Secretary of State could hardly control their impatience and, through Choiseul and the nuncio in Madrid, Pallavicini, they pressed for more speedy action.[3] At last, on May 13th, Torrigiani was happy to be able to report to Paris that the Spanish Court had begun its mediation with Portugal; he asked that Choiseul be thanked for his support and that he be encouraged in his good intentions.[4] The ready acceptance in Lisbon of the

[1] [BIKER], I., 211. *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, October 23, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *loc. cit.*

[2] The book, bearing the false place and date of publication "Venezia 1760", was very probably Almada's work and was burned by the executioner in Rome. *Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 4, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*; *Tor igiani to Pallavicini, February 5, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, March 19, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *ibid.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 4 and 11, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 181A, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 1 and 28, March 4, 11, and 25, April 8 and 15, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *ibid.*

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, Cifre, *ibid.*

Spanish mediation caused great joy in Rome,[1] but it was overclouded only too soon by the realization that the Portuguese Cabinet was not in earnest: it was making demands that amounted to the complete submission of the Holy See to Pombal's dictates. Whereas Pombal sought to drag the Jesuit question into the negotiations [2] and to seize fresh advantages at Rome's expense, by means of a new Concordat on the presentation of benefices, in the manner of the Spanish Concordat of 1753,[3] the Curia demanded first and foremost the restoration of the violated rights of the Holy See. Pallavicini was instructed not to discuss any proposal until the Lisbon Court had made satisfaction for the violation of international law occasioned by the expulsion of the nuncio, had restored the exercise of Papal jurisdiction to its former extent, and had guaranteed the free recourse of Portuguese subjects to Rome. This was the object of the Pope's appeal to King Charles for support and mediation; it was the prerequisite for all further negotiations; and this method of procedure had already been approved by the Duc de Choiseul.[4] However, not only the efforts of the Spanish king but also those of the King of Sardinia [5] were frustrated by the obstinate resistance offered by Pombal, who was striving after the subjection of the Curia, not reconciliation with Rome. As against the Pope's ardent and sincere desire to reach an understanding with Portugal,[6] Pombal heaped insult on insult, and one violated right on another.

The execution of the aged Pater Malagrida revealed, to

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 6, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450 *ibid.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 24, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, September 8, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 432, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 5, 1767, *ibid.*, 433.

[6] "*Brama egli sommamente di ritornare in buona armonia col Portogallo" (Torrigiani to Pallavicini, August 18, 1763, *ibid.* 432).

anyone who wanted to see, the real intentions of the all-powerful Minister. Gabriel Malagrida [1] had worked for more than thirty years in the missions in Brazil and Maranhão, where he had acquired a reputation for extraordinary piety among both the natives and the Portuguese. At the request of the Queen Mother, who had come to know him when he was temporarily residing in Lisbon, and who held him in high regard, he had returned to Portugal in 1754, to be with her in her last hours. Even then he found the Court greatly changed as compared with former times.[2] On the occasion of the earthquake of November 1st, 1755, he had published, with ecclesiastical permission, a short work in which he described the terrible catastrophe as a judgment of God, while not denying its physical causes.[3] At Pombal's instigation, the booklet was condemned to be burned by the public executioner and its author was represented as a heresiarch whose only object was to induce the faithful to adopt the so-called spiritual exercises and by this means to increase the temporal wealth of the Society of Jesus. The only purpose of the exercises in the hands of the Jesuits, it was emphasized, was to confuse consciences and to obtain fresh partisans for the Society, whereby to stir up peoples against their lawful rulers. Under pressure from Pombal, the nuncio Acciaioli induced the Provincial to send Malagrida to Setubal, where he continued his pastoral activity to a restricted extent. On December 11th, 1758, he was recalled to the capital by Saldanha, and on the night of January 11th, 1759, he was taken to prison with nine of his colleagues. The next morning,

[1] Born at Menaggio on Lake Como on September 18, 1689, a Jesuit since September 27, 1711, missionary in Maranhão and Brazil in 1721–54. *Cf.* MURY, *Gabriel Malagrida*,[2] Strasbourg, 1899; [HOLZWARTH], *Malagrida und Pombal*, Regensburg, 1872; CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 71 *seqq.*; DUHR, *Pombal*, 73 *seqq.*; OLFERS, 311, and in many other places: MURR, 147 *seqq.* Further literature, *ibid.*, 159, n. 1.

[2] *Acciaioli to Benedict XIV., November 18, 1755, Nunziat. di Port., 196, *loc. cit.*

[3] MURY, 270 *seqq.*

although he had been neither examined nor formally charged, he was declared to be guilty of high treason as the leader and instigator of a conspiracy against the king. If what Saldanha wrote is true,[1] Malagrida brought this disaster on himself to some extent, seeing that at an audience with Pombal he had assured him that, fearing for the king's life, he had, before the attempt was made on it, informed certain persons that something was afoot, he himself having received supernatural revelations. Probably Malagrida was already mentally deranged when he made these statements. On that occasion Pombal had let him go home quite peacefully, informed Saldanha of what had happened, and remarked to Acciaioli that Malagrida was a fool. The nuncio retorted that if he was no worse than that the best punishment for him would be to be sent back to Italy.[2]

In spite of the judgment of January 12th, 1759, denouncing Malagrida as a traitor, no further penalty was inflicted on him until, after almost two and a half years' confinement at Belem, the seventy-two-year-old priest was transferred one day to the prison of the Inquisition. This tribunal, through the removal of certain honestly inclined members and the appointment as president of Pombal's brother, Paul Carvalho, had become a mere tool in the hands of the intemperate Minister. It found the aged missionary guilty of heresy, false prophecy, subversive doctrines, and pretended sanctity. With the plea, which by now had become a pure formality, that his life be spared, he was handed over to the secular court, which had him strangled and burnt as an incorrigible heretic on September 20th, 1761.[3] The spectacle was witnessed by the king, the whole of the Government, and the diplomatic corps.

[1] *On March 20, 1759, original in Nunziat. di Port., 204, *loc. cit.* Saldanha could not cease marvelling at Pombal's leniency in allowing the priest to go home a free man in spite of his rash and suspicious talk (*ibid.*).

[2] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, January 2, 1759, Nunziat. di Port., 199, *loc. cit.*

[3] MURY, 278 *seqq.*

The finding of the Inquisition was based principally on two written works which Malagrida was said to have composed during his confinement: the life of St. Anne and a tract on the life and reign of Anti-Christ.[1] The citations from these manuscripts in the argument for the finding seem so confused and senseless—St. Anne is supposed to have taken the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience when in her mother's womb, and the three Persons of the Holy Trinity to have disputed amongst themselves as to the honour to be paid her in heaven—that only two explanations are possible: either the utterances attributed to Malagrida were malicious inventions or the aged priest had been driven mad by his long and severe imprisonment. One thing is certain: no evidence of his treason, for which he was imprisoned, or of his heresies, for which he was executed, was ever produced.[2]

[1] The exact titles of the two works in SCHÄFER, V., 310, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* the works cited on p. 360 n. 1. Regarding the remarkable alteration in the charge, *cf.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, October 22 and 29, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.* Pombal is said to have declared to the English envoy Hay at about this time: "If Malagrida had not suffered for heresy, he would have been liable to examination for high treason" (SCHÄFER, V., 311 *seq.*). Pombal's prosecution of Malagrida is condemned also by HUBER (*Der Jesuitenorden*, Berlin, 1873, 507) and OLFERS (311). The free-thinking Abbate Galiani remarks in his letter to the Minister Tanucci, dated Paris, 1761, October 12: "Là nuova dell'essecuzione della sentenza di Malagrida giunta qui sabato ha eccitato più orrore e pietà che allegrezza, anche ne' più fieri giansenisti: qui s'odiano i gesuiti, ma assai più s'odia il S. Uffizio. Fa orrore il dirsi che un ecclesiastico reo di lesa maestà non trovi in Portogallo un laico che l'impicchi e che bisogni esser reo d'eresia per essere castigabile" (*Arch. stor. ital.*, XXII. [1875], 39). Tanucci praised Pombal's "wise attitude" in proceeding, as he supposed, with justice and sufficient evidence; the Minister, he thought, had thus cleverly extricated himself from the difficulty in which he had been involved through the disputes with Rome. (*Tanucci to Bottari, dated Portici, 1761, October 17, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5971; *Tanucci to Losada, dated Portici, 1761, October 20, *ibid.*). Even Voltaire found in the Malagrida case

Even the Jesuit Saints became the objects of Pombal's rage. At the time of the earthquake St. Francis Borgia had been chosen by the whole nation as its protector against this form of natural catastrophe. After the expulsion of the Society, the celebration of his feast and the devotion paid to him were forbidden by decree ; the feast of the founder of the Society was similarly suppressed ; and the public prayers to the sainted Popes Gregory VII. and Pius V. were abolished. The feast of the Sacred Heart, which had formerly been celebrated with a novena, was forbidden by the Minister under pain of the severest penalties.[1] It was not until after the Minister's downfall that these feasts were revived.

Not only the Jesuits but also the secular and other regular clergy fell victims to the Minister's revenge when they failed in complete submission to his absolutist ordinances. After the deposition of the Archbishop of Bahia [2] the same fate overtook the Benedictine Bishop of Grão Pará ; in 1764 he was brought to Portugal and relegated to a monastery of his

" un excès du ridicule et de l'absurdité joint à l'excès d'horreur " (*Siècle de Louis XV.*, in *Oeuvres*, XXII., 351 ; *cf.* D'ALEMBERT, *Sur la destruction des Jésuites*, Paris, 1765, 83). The sentence of the Inquisition appeared in print and was translated into French under the title *Arrêt des inquisiteurs, ordinaire et députés de la Ste Inquisition contre le P. Gabriel Malagrida Jésuite. Lu dans l'Acte public de Foi, célébré à Lisbonne le* 20 *Sept.* 1761. *Traduit sur l'imprimé portugais, Lisbonne* 1761. In Italy there appeared anonymously, with no place or date of publication, *Il Malagrida. Tragedia tradotta dal Francese.* An engraving which was widely circulated at the time depicted Malagrida in the ridiculous dress of a victim of the Inquisition, being led to the stake by a Dominican and a Capuchin. Their last exhortations to the condemned man consisted only of ridicule and scorn for the Jesuit doctrine of the *scientia media*, probabilism, and the like. Actually Malagrida was accompanied to the place of execution by two Benedictines (MURR, 157).

[1] Report of the Imperial ambassador Lebzeltern on May 21, 1777, in DUHR, *Pombal*, 119 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 343, report of the Austrian chargé d'affaires Keil on June 24, 1760, in DUHR, *Pombal*, 109.

Order near Oporto.[1] The Bishop of Coimbra, in a pastoral letter, had forbidden a number of immoral, anti-clerical, or anti-Christian books, such as Voltaire's *Henriade* and his poem on the Maid of Orleans, *La Pucelle*, the French *Encyclopédie*, and Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, also Dupin's book on the discipline of the early Church and the *Febronius*. As a punishment, the Bishop was confined in 1768 as a political criminal in St. Joseph's Tower, a gloomy dungeon several fathoms below water-level, while his pastoral letter was publicly burnt by the executioner. Thirty-three persons, both clerical and lay, who spoke out in the prelate's defence, were also imprisoned.[2]

Dispatches from the Imperial representatives contain innumerable reports on the arrest of clerics. Not only individuals but complete monastic communities had to go to prison for having incurred the Minister's displeasure. Welsperg, for instance, reports on April 16th, 1765: "Four Benedictines and two Carmelites, together with all the religious from a Servite convent, have been apprehended in the last few days. One of the Servites, however, who was so old and paralytic as to be unable to rise from his bed, was taken to hospital, where a sentry was ordered to guard him."[3] Even missionaries who put in at Lisbon on their way to their stations were either thrown into prison by Pombal or sent back to their home countries. This happened, for instance, to three Capuchins from Genoa, whose crime consisted of having come with letters of obedience from the General of their Order in Rome.[4]

Whereas those who had at heart the true interests of the Church were thus thwarted by Pombal, the deterioration of monastic discipline was deliberately encouraged. After his fall from power, when steps were being taken to correct the

[1] *Ibid.*, 110.

[2] *Ibid.*, 113 *seq.* See also [Biker], III., 299 *seqq.* For their release after Pombal's fall, see Weld, 368.

[3] Duhr, *Pombal*, 111.

Keil on February 4, 1766, *ibid.*, 112.

free-and-easy and scandalous life led by the monks, Lebzeltern was writing to Vienna, " Under the previous Government the Marquis, who wanted to exterminate them, could find no better way of doing so than by bringing them into contempt. He did this by abandoning them to the greatest indiscipline and by encouraging their disorder in everything that did not affect his authority." [1] According to a report of August 7th, 1764, written by the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, Keil, the reception of candidates for the priesthood and for membership of an Order was made very difficult. " For some time past," he writes, " as the result of a royal circular, the Bishops have been unable to ordain priests without the express assent of the Court, and, according to confidential information, the various Orders have received secret instructions not to accept any more novices." [2] Further, the activity of the Orders was in some cases restricted, in others entirely forbidden. Thus in 1768 the Lazarists received the order to suspend their missions in the capital and its immediate surroundings. On January 3rd, 1769, Lebzeltern reported that the Augustinians, Benedictines, Jacobites, and Lazarists in Lisbon had been forbidden to hear confessions or to preach until further notice, and that several of them had been taken into custody, presumably for having corresponded secretly with Rome.[3] Any free expression of opinion by the ecclesiastical authorities was made practically impossible. By a royal decree of March 28th, 1768, the Index of forbidden books and the Bull *In coena Domini* were banned ; a fresh ordinance, dated April

[1] November 18, 1777, *ibid.*, 120. *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Acciaioli, September 11, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.* Both reports throw a curious light on King Joseph I.'s letter to Clement XIII., of April 20, 1759, in which he maintains that the Jesuits, unlike all other religious, are completely degenerate and irreclaimable (" com differença de todas as outras Ordens regulares "). [BIKER], I., 100.

[2] DUHR, *Pombal*, 115. The same report was given by *Torrigiani to Pallavicini on November 17 and 24, 1763, Nunziat. di Spagna, 432, *loc. cit.*

[3] DUHR, *Pombal*, 115 *seq.*

5th of the same year, set up a royal censorship with the power to condemn all books, whether already published or not.[1]

Soon after the nuncio's expulsion [2] Pombal made strenuous efforts to set up a Portuguese national church which was to be as independent of Rome as possible, if not completely separated from it.[3] To create legal bases for his continual encroachments on ecclesiastical territory he tried to obtain ecclesiastical approval of the regalistic work of the Senator Ignatius Ferreira Souto on the unlimited authority of the king (*Tractatus de incircumscripta Regis potestate*). The Grand Inquisitor Dom José, however, a natural brother of the king, firmly refused to give his approval of a book full of false and misleading statements. After a vigorous argument with the Minister, in which they were said to come to blows, the prince had to pay for his defence of ecclesiastical principles by the loss of his office and by banishment to a remote convent.[4]

The Pope was subjected to great anxiety by the efforts made by Pombal and his clerical accomplices to extend episcopal authority at the expense of the Holy See.[5] At the time of the breach with Rome frequent difficulties arose about marriage dispensations within the degrees of relationship reserved for the decision of the Supreme Head of the Church. Some of the hierarchy, notably the Archbishop of Evora, disregarding the validity of the marriage bond, set themselves above the ordinances of the Church.[6] To shake the loyalty of the Bishops who were wavering, the Minister induced the

[1] *Ibid.*, 114. For Pombal's ecclesiastical policy, *cf. ibid.*, 106–142

[2] See p. 343 *seqq.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 16, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Port., 182, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, LXXXVI. (1880), 639, 644, and especially LXXXVII. (1881), 583 *seqq.*

[4] *Acciaioli to Torrigiani, dated Badajoz, 1760, August 15, Nunziat. di Port., 117, *loc. cit.*; Keil on February 3, 1761, in Duhr, *Pombal*, 78 *seq.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, September 4 and November 20, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 1, 1767, *ibid.* *Cf.* Keil's dispatch of November 11, 1766, in Duhr, *Pombal*, 116.

Court Canonist Pereira to compose a work entitled *Tentativa theologica*, in which the radical episcopal system was defended.[1] When, in 1765, Clement XIII., in view of the events in the French parliaments, issued his Bull in favour of the Society of Jesus,[2] it was described in a royal decree issued in Lisbon on May 6th, 1765, as "signed under a misunderstanding, falsely attributed, and of no effect," and its introduction into Portugal was forbidden.[3]

Despite these personal insults and anticlerical movements, the Pope, ever mindful of his august mission, preserved an immutable desire for peace. After the conclusion of the war between Spain and Portugal a favourable opportunity of renewing mediatory negotiations seemed to be presented to the Court of Madrid. In 1763 King Joseph had announced to the Pope, through the Paris nuncio Pamfili, the birth of his second son, the Prince of Brazil. In his letter of congratulation Clement XIII. had introduced some carefully chosen words expressing his desire for the cessation of the present conflict, since between so pious and dutiful a son and so loving a father only a feeling of mutual love should prevail.[4] To make sure that no

[1] *Cf. Kirchl. Handlexikon*, II., 1403. As opposed to Keil's report of March 17, 1767 (in DUHR, *Pombal*, 118 *seq.*), that the Bishop of Miranda had declared against Pereira's work, the Abbate Vincenti reports from Madrid: "Not only the Bishop of Miranda but also three other Portuguese Bishops have published pastoral letters in favour of Pereira's book" (*Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767). For the proposed condemnation of the book in Rome, *cf.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 12, 1767, *ibid.*; further, his *letters to the same person, of September 4, December 18 and 25, 1766, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[2] See below, p. 498.

[3] [BIKER], I., 213 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, dated Aranjuez, 1765, May 28, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 293, *loc. cit.*

[4] "*Ut quae ca amitatė quadam a Nobis regium animum tuum diremere dissidia, tandem sarciantur. Haec ad te scribimus fiducia tui tuaeque pietatis et religionis, fiducia etiam amoris erga Nos tui, hoc est obsequentissimi filii, quod praeferunt litterae

offence would be given, Pamfili had first shown the Papal letter to Louis XV. and Charles III. of Spain and had invited their opinion of it.[1] Nevertheless the only reply that Lisbon made was to return the Brief after some months with an observation by the Secretary of State Da Cunha, dated June 19th, 1764, that although the missive bore the Pope's signature its contents did not originate with him but were invented and signed by mistake; they were apocryphal and inflammatory and dictated by a raging spirit of tumult and dissension which ruled out any truth or justice.[2] Astonished and pained by this insult, Clement XIII. deemed that the matter would have to be decided by the everlasting Judge, to whom the king would one day have to render an account for having hindered the Vicar of Christ in the execution of his pastoral duty.[3]

On January 6th and 13th, 1767, the question of putting out peace feelers was reopened by the Madrid nuncio Pallavicini. The Pope was to write not only to the Portuguese king

tuae, in amantissimum patrem, inter quos aequum non est quemquam esse internuncium quam mutuum amorem" (November 30, 1763, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*). *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 5, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 19, 1764, *ibid.*, 432.

[2] *Da Cunha to Souza, the Portuguese envoy in Paris, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 5, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *ibid.* *Tanucci remarks very aptly in a letter to Centomani (dated Portici, 1763, October 15): "As long as Carvalho is alive, there is little hope for Rome in Lisbon, and Carvalho intends to live longer than the Pope, Torrigiani, and Ricci" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5987). The "spirit of tumult and dissension" was an allusion to the Cardinal Secretary of State, whose retirement, Tanucci is sure, would facilitate the reconciliation with Portugal (*to Cantillana, dated Portici, 1764, July 28, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5990).

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 8, 1764, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

and queen but also to Pombal.[1] Torrigiani replied that the Pope was certainly deterred from such a step by its apparent uselessness and by the likelihood of further insults, but he would gladly disregard these risks if only he could be certain that the letter would really reach the Minister's hands, for he had done everything to regain peace with Portugal.[2] Lest it might hinder the work of reconciliation,[3] the intended condemnation of Pereira's *Tentativa theologica* was temporarily suspended. Various schemes for ensuring the safe delivery of the Papal letters were discussed [4] but the Curia had little hope of their success. The whole political atmosphere was, as Torrigiani mournfully observed, filled with a spirit of animosity and antagonism towards the Holy See, the principles adopted by the temporal Powers were diametrically opposed to those of the Church, and their aims and ambitions had only one object: the diminution or the complete abolition of the rights of the Pope.[5] Acting on instructions from the Cardinal Secretary of State, the nuncio Lucini, Pallavicini's successor in Madrid, had drafted a letter to Pombal.[6] The Portuguese envoy in Madrid immediately expressed his readiness to transmit the letter to the Minister but at first definitely

[1] The Papal letters to the Queen and the Infante of Portugal, the Patriarch of Lisbon, and the Count of Oeyras (Pombal), dated 1767, August 31, in *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1356. The Pope's *Brief to King Joseph, which is not included in the *Bullarium*, is to be found under Expediente 1767 and Expediente Parma 1768 in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 5, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 2, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Torrigiani to the nuncio Lucini in Madrid, September 3, 1767, copy, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767; *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 22, 1767, copy, *ibid.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Lucini, October 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767; Nunziat. di Spagna, 412, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 22 and October 26, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

declined to forward the Brief to the king.[1] Finally, however, he undertook to send all the documents to Pombal, in whose hands they did in fact arrive, according to the assurance given by the nuncio.[2] As foreseen, this step brought no result. On December 22nd, 1767, Lucini had to report to the Cardinal Secretary of State, "Like the Bourbon Courts, Portugal makes reconciliation dependent on the complete suppression of the Society of Jesus."[3]

Clement XIII. was not to live to see the coming of peace. The break with Rome persisted for a whole decade despite the disapproval of the royal family and of the great majority of the Portuguese people.[4] It caused such confusion in ecclesiastical relations that the future could only be viewed with apprehension.

[1] *Lucini to Torrigiani, October 26, 1767, Archives of Simancas, *ibid.*

[2] *Lucini to Torrigiani, November 24, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cifre, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[4] PACCA, *Notizie sul Portogallo*, Modena, 1836, 11. *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 128 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

The Suppression of the Jesuits in France.

(1)

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal was the signal for a general outburst of animosity against them. They were ejected from France, Spain, and the Spanish dependencies, and pressure from Spain led to their suspension by the Pope.

The ultimate object of the campaign waged against the Jesuits in the eighteenth century was not the Society itself but the Papacy. The only reason why the attack was directed almost exclusively against the Society was because it was regarded as the bastion whose destruction would facilitate the combat with the enemy-in-chief.

The Papacy was detested at that time for a threefold reason. To the unbelievers of the eighteenth century it was the principal stronghold of Christianity. The Encyclopedists had little fear of Protestantism but a very considerable fear of the Catholic Church, with its firm and definite doctrine, its strict organization, and the self-sacrifice shown by its adherents. And as the Catholic Church is founded entirely on the Holy See, the Holy See becomes the object of a mortal hatred. Another cause of the enmity was Gallicanism, whose ideas had spread into Spain and Italy. According to the Gallicans, the Pope enjoys some honorary rights as honorary president of the Church, but fundamentally he is only a Bishop like any other. Any additional claim on his part is mere presumption, and it is for princes to restrict him to his original sphere of rights and duties. The third motive for implacable hatred was the conception that the Church, and consequently the Papacy in particular, was an obstacle to material progress in trade and industry. It was seen how Protestant England had become a World Power and how Protestant Prussia had won a place for itself among the

European Powers, while the Catholic countries of the South were dwindling more and more in power, prestige, and wealth. Wherefore Pombal,[1] and others with him, came to the conclusion that the Church, before all else, must be destroyed or at least kept within the narrowest possible bounds if they were to keep pace with the countries of Northern Europe. This conception was erroneous. Pombal did not transform his Portuguese into Britons and Prussians by oppressing the Church; on the contrary it was precisely through adopting this policy that Spain barred her own way to progress. Catholic France sank into squalor and dissension only because her monarchs refused to be guided by Catholic principles; and Austria's inability to summon enough strength to protect Silesia against little Prussia was due to other causes than ecclesiastical conditions. However, whatever the truth of the situation, appearances were against the Catholics, and the Pope had to suffer for them.

The reason why the Company of Jesus was regarded as the bodyguard of the Papacy is easily understood. The education of youth was largely in its hands, while its learning was a stout bulwark against Encyclopedism and it still influenced the upper classes. In its teaching it was a stronghold of "ultramontane principles", even in Gallican France, and still more so elsewhere. All the other religious Orders of any size in France had paid tribute to Gallicanism; the Jesuits had offered the most resistance, and their repeated promises, made after Damiens' attempted regicide, to teach the four Gallican articles[2] was but a stain on their honour. In any case it was now too late for them to redeem their promises, and everyone knew that they had not been made from a desire to uphold Gallicanism but as a desperate attempt to save themselves from destruction.

In their proclamations to the world the statesmen of the eighteenth century did not openly state the reasons for their intention to destroy the Company of Jesus. There it is always

[1] See above, p. 4.
[2] See below, p. 381.

talk of removing the abuses which had crept into the Society but for which there was no evidence in the utterances made by the Popes or the Bishops who remained loyal to the Church. From time to time the Voltairians glibly pose as the reformers whose object is to lead the degenerate sons back to the ways of SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier.[1] In letters not intended for the public eye they speak a different language. Tanucci especially speaks out most clearly in this respect [2] and his word has all the more weight since his influence was decisive in Madrid, and it was he who continually exhorted the enemies of the Society to renew their attack upon it. He it was who urged on the king of Spain, and it was Spain that brought about the final suspension of the Society. And the attack was soon extended against the other religious Congregations.[3]

Although the first impetus towards this result was given by Portugal, the Jesuit position was not seriously threatened until France took the field as an ally. It was on French soil especially that the pamphlets with which Pombal sought to excite public opinion against the Jesuits enjoyed a wide circulation and approval,[4] which was fatal for the Company of Jesus, for France set the tone for all Europe [5] and had long been the focus of hostility against religion in general and the Jesuits in particular.

Nowhere perhaps was Loyola's institution more liked by the people or more influential, even in the highest circles, than in the country where it had taken its rise.[6] But here, too, in certain quarters, there was a determined hostility. In the

[1] See above, p. 16.

[2] See our description, Vol. XXXVII., Ch. I.

[3] *Cf.* our description, Vol. XXXVII., Ch. III.

[4] *The nuncio Gualtieri to Torrigiani, February 5 and 19 and September 10 and 17, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 503, 504, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] BÖHMER, *Jesuiten*, III, 154.

[6] For what follows *cf.* FOUQUERAY, I., 253 *seqq.*; PRA, *Guillaume de Prat*, Riom, 1914, 134 *seq.*; BRUCKER, 147 *seqq.*; PRÉCLIN, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1929.

heart of the Parlements an anti-Jesuit spirit had arisen even in the founder's lifetime; it was inherited by succeeding generations, so that it became a matter of *esprit de corps* in the legal body to oppose the Company of Jesus, and the cleavage was widened still more by the fact that the Parlements were the chief centres of Gallicanism and Jansenism. The hostility of the Parlement was particularly dangerous because it had won popular favour by opposing the intolerable burden of taxation, which itself was the inevitable consequence of unsuccessful wars and the extravagance of the Court. Furthermore, among the adherents of Jansenism were many members of the lower ranks of the clergy and of the religious Orders who were invariably not merely opponents but enemies of the Jesuits.

Even worse was the enmity of the Encyclopedists. Inspired by English "enlightenment", the *Philosophes* at first waged war only on intolerance, the lust of the hierarchy for power, the imposition of dogmas on the faithful, and so forth, but finally they rejected all positive Christianity and all revealed religion. "So long as there are rogues and fools in the world," wrote Voltaire,[1] "there will always be religion. There can be no question but that ours is the most ridiculous, absurd, and bloodthirsty that ever infected this earth." Frederick II. of Prussia, he went on, would render an everlasting service to humanity by destroying this superstition. The hotbed and stronghold of superstition, wrote Frederick to Voltaire, much to the latter's satisfaction, were the monasteries; once these lairs of fanaticism had been destroyed, their main task was ended.[2] To "enlightened" eyes the most pernicious of all religious societies, "the chief bulwark of ultramontane principles," was the Company of Jesus, whose schools would have to be destroyed before the new spirit could reign supreme.

[1] To Frederick II., January 5, 1767, *Frédéric le Grand, Œuvres*, XXIII., 134.

[2] Frederick II. to Voltaire, March 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 146. *Cf.* Von Nostitz-Rieneck in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXIV. (1900), 498 *seq.*

Without openly attacking the Jesuits themselves, the *Philosophes* watched with evident satisfaction the battle waged so effectively against them by others, hoping that with the overthrow of the bulwark the way would be cleared for the destruction of the Church itself. In the correspondence between D'Alembert and Voltaire this hatred of the Jesuits and the hopes which they held of the Society's downfall are expressed without concealment. "So far as I am concerned," wrote D'Alembert in 1762,[1] "I see everything in the rosiest colours at the moment. I can see the Jansenists here dying a peaceful death next year, after having brought about the ruin of the Jesuits by a violent death this year. I see the coming of tolerance, the recall of the Protestants, the marriage of priests, the abolition of confession, and the unobtrusive extirpation of fanaticism." In 1761, he thought, "The time is probably approaching when philosophy will take its revenge on the Jesuits." [2] On hearing that Voltaire still retained some sympathy with the Jesuits, his former teachers, he wrote to him in 1762,[3] "Believe me, you must put away this human weakness. Let the Jansenist rabble rid us of the Jesuit rabble and don't stop these spiders eating each other up." Voltaire, for his part, wrote to the Marquis Villevieille,[4] regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain (1767), "With my brave knight I rejoice at the expulsion of the Jesuits . . . If only we could root out all the monks, who are no better than these ruffians of Loyola's!"

All this notwithstanding, the enemies of the Jesuits, numerous though they were, would hardly have won the day had they not had influential patrons in Court and Government circles. That the Duc de Choiseul played a part in the downfall of the Jesuits in France is much disputed, being as firmly

[1] May 4, 1762, VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres* (Kehl edition), LXVIII., 201.

[2] September 8, *ibid.*, 173.

[3] September 25, *ibid.*, 218.

[4] April 27, *ibid.*, LX., 180. *Cf.* HORTIG-DÖLLINGER, II., 2 (1828), 791, n. 1.

maintained [1] as hotly denied.[2] An actual agreement between the Minister and the Parlement may be impossible to prove, but the opinion was widespread among his contemporaries that he was playing a double game, posing officially as the saviour of the Jesuits, while tacitly encouraging and favouring the Parlements, if not actually goading them on.

Choiseul, the creature and admirer of Madame de Pompadour, had no religious convictions; outwardly he was a Catholic, inwardly he was much in sympathy with the contemporary philosophy of enlightenment.[3] He had been praised when ambassador in Rome by the Cardinal Secretary of State Archinto for having combined the service of his King with that of religion, the Church, and the Holy See,[4] but even early on in his career he was considered by the Curia to be an enemy of the Jesuits and to hold an unfavourable opinion of Rome.[5] The Curia fully understood his reluctance to irritate the Parlements by harsh measures at a time when an unsuccessful war was being waged, since the Court and the

[1] CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V³., 201 *seqq.*; SCHMIDT, *Geschichte*, IV., 794 *seq.*; RAVIGNAN, I., 109 *seq.*; II., 21 *seqq.*; BRUCKER, 800 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 28 *seqq.*, BÖHMER, III., 156 *seq.* RANKE partly agrees with Theiner, but with this qualification: "Even Montbarrey, who was one of his relations, would not go so far as to acquit him [Choiseul] of exerting an improper influence on the Parlements" (*Französ. Gesch.*, IV., 550, n. 1). *Cf.* LAVISSE-CARRÉ, VIII., 2, 236.

[3] Choiseul provided Voltaire's church at Ferney with relics from Rome. *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 22 and September 2, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450A, *loc. cit.*

[4] Archinto to Gualtieri, April 20, 1757, *ibid.*, 442.

[5] *Torrigiani to Gualtieri, November 29, 1758, *ibid.*, 450. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Choiseul had remarked that the monarch had the right to banish religious Orders from his States when they no longer seemed to be of any use to them. (*Torrigiani to Gualtieri, July 11, 1759, *ibid.*) Similar ways of thinking were *reported by Gualtieri to Torrigiani on August 20, 1759, Cifre, *ibid.*, 507.

Government were financially dependent on them, but it was realised also that the more these bodies were feared the stronger they grew.[1] When the Cardinal Secretary of State Torrigiani voiced his suspicion that the Paris Parlement had secret supporters at Court,[2] the nuncio Pamfili agreed but thought that the chief reason of its growing power lay rather in its popularity and, above all, in the feeble attitude of the Court. The King, he wrote,[3] could not bring himself to take any energetic step for fear lest the Parlement cease to function and thus deprive the Government of the funds necessary for the continuation of the war. A year later the nuncio was taking it for granted that " various powerful personages at Court " had contributed more to the Jesuit disaster than the power of the Parlements.[4] It appears from Tanucci's correspondence that also among the enemies of the Society it was commonly thought that the Court or the Ministry was aiding the Parlements only to bring about the downfall of the Jesuits.[5] Within the Society itself it was believed that there was good reason to suppose that there were secret enemies at Court [6] but it

[1] *Torrigiani to Gualtieri, April 11 and 18, 1759, *ibid.*, 450. *Cf.* also Torrigiani's *Letter of May 9, 1759, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 23 and October 7, 1761, *ibid.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 12, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*, 515.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 26, 1762, Cifre, *ibid.*, 516.

[5] " *Dunque non sono li Parlamenti li vindici del genere umano in Francia contro i Lestrigoni, che si dicevano Gesuiti ? Mi rallegro d'un sovrano, che per tale opera non ha bisogno di Parlamenti, che suggeriscano, ma per la sola esecuzione si vale di quelli " (Tanucci to Galiani, May 22, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5977). In a *letter to Cattolica of June 12, 1764, Tanucci extols the Duc de Choiseul as the " autore principale dei Gesuiti cacciati di Francia, e di tutte le più forti interprese del Parlamento " (*ibid.*, Estado 5989).

[6] " *Si disse che il Parlamento suonava secondo che toccava i tasti un Ministro di corte, e si credette che questi fosse il Duca di Choiseul " (Ricci, **Istoria dell' accaduto in Francia ai PP. della Compagnia di Gesù nel 1761 e 1762*, pp. 61 *seq.*, manuscript

was also realized that these were only subsidiary causes and that the chief reason for the persecution was religion itself and the Society's attachment to the Holy See.[1]

Louis XV. himself was not inimically inclined towards the Jesuits; in fact, like the rest of his family, he had always appointed one of them as his confessor, although for many years he had never given him the opportunity of exercising his chief function. But in the Jesuit affair as in all others he was unable to throw off his habitual indolence, and even on the occasions when he was stirred to action by the feeling that his personal dignity had been affronted, the steps he took were usually belated and half-hearted and they accelerated rather than checked the Society's ruin. Moreover, although endowed with many other gifts, he was not sufficiently self-confident to make himself independent of the opinions proffered by his leading Ministers. And once he was subject to the influence of men who owed their positions to Madame de Pompadour, there was little hope of his intervening with any real effect on behalf of the religious who had refused to adapt the moral law to suit the King's favourite.[2] The goodwill

in Jesuit possession). *Cf. ibid.*, 67, 84–6, 136, 149. After Choiseul, Berryer, the Keeper of the Great Seal, whose correspondence with Pombal was discovered among his literary remains, is named by Ricci as the chief intriguer against the Order (*ibid.*, 129 *seq.*, 135). Scarponio's statement (**Historia abolitionis Soc. Iesu*, 304[v] *seq.*, *ibid.*) that Pombal had bought the Pompadour's assistance in suppressing the Order, at any rate bears witness to the widespread belief that the Parlement had secret supporters at Court.

[1] *Ricci, *loc. cit.*, 161.

[2] Brucker, 800 *seq.*; Crétineau-Joly, V[3], 186 *seqq.* The Pompadour's first attempts at a reconciliation with the Church date from the time when she was appointed a lady in waiting at the Court. Gualtieri *wrote to Valenti under date February 9, 1756: "Corre voce, che oggi si dovesse dichiarare per dama di corte Mme di Pompadour" (Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 505, *loc. cit.*). From the copious correspondence on this affair, which stretches over a number of years and which usually breaks off

of a monarch who was despised for his excesses and failures and hated for his oppressive taxation was more of a liability than an asset to the Jesuits, as it gave the public an excuse for holding them partly responsible for the unpopular governmental measures.

The storm that was to break over the French Jesuits was heralded by many portents. Year after year Cardinal Noailles of Paris had persisted in the suspension of the Jesuits in his diocese. The condemnation of the books by Pichon and Berruyer and the *Bibliothèque Janséniste*,[1] though technically justified, had a truly disastrous effect on the critical situation in France. The unfavourable decision of the censors was hailed triumphantly as a victory for Jansenism.[2] Displaying the greatest indignation and absurdly exaggerating the

after the end of Eastertide, a single passage may be cited here: "*Il Direttore Gesuita [P. Sacy] non la vede con tanta frequenza, come faceva, correndo voce, che egli non l'ammetterà ai sagramenti, se prima non dà pubblici rimedi allo scandalo dato" (Gualtieri to Valenti, March 1, 1756, *ibid.*). Further *documents, *ibid.*, 505, 506, 507. D'Alembert considers the attitude of the Jesuits towards the Pompadour as a more remote cause of their downfall (*Sur la destruction des Jésuites*, 72). *Cf.* BERNIS, *Mémoires*, ch. 7, éd. Masson, II., 102: "Les confesseurs de S. Majesté . . . avaient toujours insisté, pour la réparation du scandale, sur le renvoi de la Marquise. Le P. de Sacy refusa la direction de cette dame, en sorte qu'elle ne devait pas regarder les Jésuites comme ses amis."

[1] See our description, Vol. XXXV., 351, 353, 359.

[2] *The decree of the Congregation of the Index "si e divulgato da Giansenisti in tutto il regno, parendo che ne trionfino, interpretandolo a loro favore per le parole generali, con cui è concepito" The nuncio was at great pains to justify the placing of the books on the Index, but the Bishop of Mirepoix and others persisted in their complaints that what was being built up with much toil in France was being destroyed in Rome. *Cf.* *Durini to Valenti, December 1, 1749 (see our description, XXXV., 351, n. 3), and *Durini to Valenti, November 24 and December 29, 1749, and January 5, 1750. Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 491, *loc. cit.*; *Valenti to Durini, December 17, 1749, *ibid.*, 442.

importance of the whole affair, the Parlements had the books condemned again [1] through the agency of their sympathisers in the Sorbonne [2] and the episcopacy.

The anti-Jesuit attitude of the Parlements was evinced even more clearly on the occasion of Damiens' attempted murder of Louis XV. on January 5th, 1757.[3] The rumour was deliberately spread that until his marriage nineteen years previously the culprit had been a servant in a Jesuit college. Nothing was said of his having had a similar occupation in the homes of members of the Parlement or, according to his admission made under torture, of his having heard and read much there that had incited him against princes.[4] Although there was no mention in the charge of any Jesuit being involved, the mob was so infuriated that several actual or presumed Jesuits were assaulted.[5] Attempts were made by means of pamphlets, partly produced in secret printing presses, to excite animosity against the Jesuits, as though they had been the moral instigators of the crime by their teachings on tyrannicide.[6] The moral theologies of Busenbaum and Lacroix were condemned by the Parlement of

[1] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, June 4, July 2 and 16, and August 6 and 27, 1759, *ibid.*, 504.

[2] *Torrigiani to Gualtieri, March 21, 1759, *ibid.*, 450; *Auditor Berardi to Torrigiani, January 21, 1760, *ibid.*, 513.

[3] See our description, Vol. XXXV., 285; *Gualtieri to Archinto, January 6, 1757, *ibid.*, 498.

[4] **Notizie biographiche sul Damiens* (not dated [January 17, 1757 ?]), *ibid.*; *Masones to Wall, January 6 and 12, 1757, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4531; *Gualtieri to Archinto, April 4, 1757, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 506, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Gualtieri to Archinto, January 17, 1757, *ibid.* A *letter of the same date, *ibid.*, 498.

[6] *Gualtieri to Archinto, March 14 and 21 and May 30, 1757, *ibid.*, 498; *Tanucci to S. Elisabetta, March 27, 1759, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5955. The Jansenist-minded Bishop Fitz-James of Soissons in a pastoral letter makes the Pope and the Church responsible for the murderous attempt. (*Archinto to Gualtieri, April 27, 1757, Nunziat. di Francia, 442, *loc. cit.*).

Toulouse,[1] and the threatened condemnation of these works by the Parlement of Paris [2] was forestalled only by the Jesuits declaring that they had had no part in their production and that they abhorred the passages on regicide. They even went further, undertaking to teach the complete independence of secular princes and the four Gallican articles of 1682.[3] The threatening storm was thus temporarily averted, but at the cost of the Society's principles.

[1] *Gualtieri to Archinto, September 26, 1757, *ibid.*, 499. In Busenbaum's case it was not a question of a reprint. The publisher had bought up the remainder of the Cologne edition of 1706 and had inserted a new title-page into each copy. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, I., 793; BROU, II., 135, n. 1 (there further literature). Busenbaum did not treat of tyrannicide at all, but of the right of self-defence, that holds good against the unjust aggressor, even when he is a prince, unless his death would cause a greater harm to the commonweal (DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*,[4] [1904], 713 *seq.*). It is highly probable that the indictments originated with the Jesuits themselves. *Gualtieri to Archinto, October 10, 1757, Nunziat. di Francia, 499, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Gualtieri to Archinto, October 24, 1757, *ibid.*

[3] Arrêt of the Parlement of Paris of December 5, 1757 (printed). *Gualtieri to Archinto, November 28 and December 5, 1757, Nunziat. di Francia, 499, *loc. cit.*; **Estratto di lettera del P. Gius. Martinez, confessore dell' ambasciatore di Spagna*, dated Paris, 1757, Nov. 12, in Jesuit possession, Suppressio 8, RICCI, II.; *Gualtieri to Archinto, December 19, 1757, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 506, *loc. cit.* The Spanish ambassador Masones mediated in the affair; see *Gualtieri to Archinto, December 12, 1757: The Jesuits "dicono d'esservi stati costretti per esimersi da maggiori vessazioni; vari di loro però in segreto reclamano, quasi che i loro Superiori abbiano dati simili dichiarazioni a nome di tutti, senza aver prima inteso ciascun di essi in particolare" (Nunziat. di Francia, 499, *loc. cit.*). See also *Gualtieri to Archinto, January 23, 1758, *ibid.*, 500. — The General's opinion was that they should have confined themselves to an undertaking not to contest the four Articles; the Parlements could not have asked for a more positive declaration in favour of Gallicanism than the one they had volunteered. "Questa debolezza ci tirerà

The storm-clouds, however, continued to gather more thickly than ever and partisanship increased to fever-heat. The anti-Jesuits in France not only kept up a lively correspondence with their Portuguese allies,[1] but also distributed their pamphlets far and wide.[2] Isolated sentences from sermons,[3] personal opinions on matters of conscience,[4] even schoolboys' exercises,[5] were cited for the purpose of making the Jesuits

addosso i castighi di Dio" (Ricci's *notes on the *Estratto di lettera del P. Martinez, of November 12, 1757; see p. 381). The Pope expressed his disapproval of this step in a very mild way (*Archinto to Gualtieri, January 4, 1758, Nunziat. di Francia, 447, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Ricci, **Istoria*, 19: "Il P. Giov. Antonio Timoni, allora Vicario Generale, riferì il fatto a Papa Benedetto XIV.; questi non se ne prese molto fastidio, come quello che in qualità di Sommo Pastore aveva autorità maggiore di quello che esso stesso credeva; e compiacendosi d'erudizione non era molto alieno dalle sentenze degli eruditi moderni; e non fu il più accorto a conoscere li errori e le frodi de' Giansenisti, nè il maggior nemico che questi avessero su la Sede di Pietro: certo è che nel governo di lui la setta fece progressi grandi. Tuttavolta perchè il grado lo costrinse a mostrarne pure qualche dispiacere, dal P. Timoni se ne fece un delicato lamento col P. Allanic: questi portò la solita scusa della necessità e del timore di essere costretto a sottoscrivere qualche cosa di peggio" (see below, p. 422). What Ricci wrote in his *notes on the *Estratto di lettera del P. Martinez (see above) is strangely prophetic: "Sfuggito questo impegno, ci metteranno in altri e chiameranno ad esame altri libri; ogni giorno saremo da capo, specialmente avendo veduta la nostra debolezza. Ci richiederanno simili dichiarazioni."

[1] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, June 25, 1759, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 507, *loc. cit.* See above, p. 377, n. 6.

[2] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, September 10 and 17, 1759, *loc. cit.*, 405. See also above, p. 373, n. 4, and p. 380, n. 6.

[3] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, March 12 and April 9, 1759, *loc. cit.*, 503; *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, July 2, 1759, *ibid.*, 504.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, March 26 and April 9 and 23, 1759, *ibid.*, 503; **Matière de vers donnée aux écoles de troisième par le P. Mamaqui le 1er Mars* (*cf.* Sommervogel, V., 447).

hated by the people and suspected by the Government and the Court. The severest measures were taken against the "culprits",[1] whereby the unsoundness of the evidence had very often to be concealed by the unmeasured phraseology of the sentences.

In any case, the language of this prologue was only too clear; in addition, the adversaries of the Jesuits expressed their aims quite unconcealedly. The Jansenist church-journal *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* openly demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits from France.[2] While one pamphlet attempted to produce evidence that the Jesuits had done more harm to the Church than Luther or Calvin,[3] another published the motives by which both spiritual and temporal authorities were bound in conscience to suppress the Society.[4] An opportunity of bringing the final goal within sight was soon to be offered by the commercial transactions in which the Jesuit Lavalette had involved himself on the island of Martinique.

(2)

Antoine Lavalette,[5] born on October 26th, 1708, at Martrin, in the former diocese of Vabres, entered the Society on December 10th, 1725, and at his own wish was sent to the mission of the Paris Province in the Lesser Antilles,[6] where he was

[1] The Parlement of Rouen declared Mamachi unfit to hold a teaching position anywhere in the kingdom. *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, April 9, 1759 (see previous note).

[2] "On ne s'étonnera jamais assez, que de tels hommes soient encore supportés en France et qu'on les y laisse jouir d'une impunité qui les enhardit toujours à de nouveaux forfaits" (quoted by Brou, II., 136).

[3] *Problème historique qui, des Jésuites ou de Luther et Calvin, ont plus nui à l'Eglise chrétienne.* The pamphlet was placed on the Index, May 17, 1759.

[4] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, July 30, 1759, *loc. cit.*, 504.

[5] His real name was Valette; to distinguish him from a fellow-Jesuit with the same name he was called Lavalette. *Cf.* Rochemonteix, *Le P. Antoine Lavalette à la Martinique*, Paris, 1907, 42.

[6] *Ibid.*, 40 *seqq.*

parish priest, first of Guadeloupe, then of Carbet in Martinique.[1] His pleasing disposition soon made him liked both by his superiors and his colleagues, and not the least of the ways in which he won the hearts of his parishioners was the lively interest he took in their business activities. By daily intercourse with the French colonists he soon acquired such a knowledge of the management of the plantations and of colonial trade that he could speak on these matters as an expert.[2] In consequence the appointment of this skilful man of business as the mission's procurator was welcomed by his fellow-Jesuits. At the end of 1746 he left Carbet and settled down in St-Pierre, the capital of Martinique.[3]

At the time when Lavalette took up his new duties the economic situation of the Antilles mission was definitely unfavourable. He found the workers' dwellings neglected, the estates badly cultivated, the farm-buildings practically in ruins. The mission's sources of income had shrunk to such an extent that every year saw a deficit. In addition there was a debt of 137,000 *livres*.[4] A scheme for the improvement of these conditions was submitted by Lavalette to Paris and Rome, where it was approved, but his superiors warned him not to involve himself in commercial transactions.[5] In his capacity of procurator, Lavalette first built twelve new tenement houses and then bought a large plantation on the island of Dominica, where he employed 400–500 negroes.[6] He had been prevented from acquiring a similar estate on Martinique by the laws of mortmain. The purchase was concluded without the previous knowledge of his superiors, but they assented to it after the event.[7] Lavalette's reputation as an energetic business-man having spread beyond the ocean, he had no difficulty in obtaining in Europe the considerable loans necessary for the working of his vast plantation.[8] Its produce he sent to France, where since 1752 he had had connections with the trading house of the brothers Lioncy

[1] *Ibid.*, 47 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 49 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 51.
[4] *Ibid.*, 60.
[5] *Ibid.*, 65.
[6] *Ibid.*, 69, 73.
[7] *Ibid.*, 71 *seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 75 *seq.*

and Gouffre in Marseilles.[1] The canonical prohibitions against trading by clerics were not infringed by these enterprises,[2] but he was blamed for having overstepped the bounds which were fitting for a member of a religious Order.[3]

These great successes were not obtained without provoking envy and jealousy. Lavalette, who since 1753 had occupied the office of the head of a mission and the Prefect Apostolic for all the Jesuit settlements in the Antilles,[4] was indicted before the Paris Government on the charge of having engaged in prohibited trade with a foreign country. On June 20th, 1753, the Minister of Marine, Rouillé, demanded Lavalette's return to France. In spite of repeated interventions on behalf of the accused by the Governor De Bompar and the Intendant Hurson, the Minister confirmed his order on January 11th, 1754.[5] On his arrival in France Lavalette drew up a written vindication of his conduct, which was transmitted to the Minister by the Jesuit Provincial, Forestier. Rouillé then admitted that he had been too hasty in giving credence to the charges, but said that he would have to ask the king about Lavalette's return to the mission ; in any case there was no ship sailing for Martinique before March or April of the following year.[6] Meanwhile, as the needs of the mission seemed to demand Lavalette's presence there, Forestier had representations made to Rouillé through the Jesuit Griffet, who was a *persona grata* at Court. On this occasion, however, the Minister repeated his former charges and in addition accused the Intendant Hurson of having participated in the prohibited trade. Griffet himself now asked the Minister to detain Lavalette in France.[7] But on July 28th, 1754, Rouillé was

[1] *Ibid.*, 83 *seqq.*

[2] For the principle of ecclesiastically forbidden transactions, see *ibid.*, 79 *seqq.* ; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*,[4] 648 *seq.*

[3] RICCI, **Istoria*, 2.

[4] ROCHEMONTEIX, 54, n. 1, 57.

[5] *Ibid.*, 86 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 91 *seqq.*

[7] " *Is [Rouillé] mihi clare demonstravit, Patrem istum [Lavalette] commercium non solum religiosis omnibus, sed

appointed Foreign Minister and was succeeded by the former Keeper of the Seal, Machault; and the latter, in January, 1755, gave permission for Lavalette's return to the mission, on condition that he abstained from any kind of commerce.[1]

Among the Jesuits there was a difference of opinion whether or not to allow Lavalette to continue as Superior and to send him back in that capacity. Finally they decided to do so. Forestier, whose sister had been freed by Lavalette from a financial embarrassment,[2] was able to cite two letters from Martinique vouching for his innocence.[3] And as a letter from the Intendant Hurson justifying his conduct had been received by the General of the Order, Visconti,[4] no difficulties were raised in that quarter either.

On his return to the mission Lavalette began with renewed energy to repair the damage done in his absence by three hurricanes.[5] But he also began to contract fresh debts,[6] and

ipsismet saecularibus sub poenis gravissimis prohibitum [exercuisse]" (*Griffet to Ricci, July 7, 1761, in Jesuit possession, Gallia, 114, I.); ROCHEMONTEIX, 103 *seq.*

[1] ROCHEMONTEIX, 107 *seqq.*

[2] "Soyez tranquille, je vais travailler pour vous faire compter à Paris les 30,000 dont Madame votre sœur a besoin" (*Lavalette to Forestier, dated Marseilles, 1754, October 29, in Jesuit possession). RICCI, **Istoria*, 3: "E credibile non pertanto, che il P. le Forestier si lasciasse anco sedurre da un dono di alcune migliaia di Lire fatto ad un suo congiunto dal P. Lavalette" (*ibid.*).

[3] ROCHEMONTEIX, 117 *seqq.*; RICCI, **Istoria*, 3.

[4] Text of the document, of September 29, 1753, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 96 *seqq.* Similar letters justifying Lavalette's conduct, from Hurson and the commissary De Brande were received by Forestier (*ibid.*, 101 *seq.*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 125 *seqq.*

[6] On January 1, 1755, Lavalette had been authorized by the General of the Order to raise, with the assent of the Provincial and before beginning his return-voyage, as much money as was necessary to settle the temporal affairs of his mission (text in ROCHEMONTEIX, 115). On his journey to Marseilles and Bordeaux he made full use of this permission, but he did not keep within

his undertakings, which had hitherto been attended by good fortune, were now to be wrecked by an event which he had not foreseen: war between England and France. At the end of 1755 he had dispatched two shiploads of sugar and coffee to the value of 600,000 *livres* for the repayment of his debts. Both cargoes were seized by the English just before they were about to be discharged in Bordeaux, although war had not yet been formally declared.[1] At the same time an epidemic carried off many of his negroes, so that work on the plantation and in the sugar refineries had to be seriously curtailed.[2] Fresh consignments of goods were sent off, but only one vessel managed to reach Cadiz; thirteen Dutch ships, containing the greater part of the goods, fell into English hands before they could put in at Amsterdam.[3]

Before the second consignment had left, the trading firm of Lioncy and Gouffre declared itself bankrupt, on February 19th, 1756. In the balance-sheet there appeared among other items unsecured bills of exchange to the amount of 1½ million *livres* in the name of the head of the mission in Martinique.[4] The Jesuit superiors immediately took drastic steps to prevent any further harm. Express instructions were sent to Lavalette to abandon all further undertakings, to cease issuing bills, to effect no more loans, and to render a full account of the mission's assets and liabilities. Whether the letters ever reached him cannot be ascertained.[5] Five Visitors with extraordinary powers were appointed in succession in order to examine the situation on the spot and to render assistance. But only the fifth of them reached his destination and by that time the

the bounds set nor did he obtain the agreement of the Provincial. (*Griffet to Ricci, July 7, 1761; ROCHEMONTEIX, 143, n. 3, 117; RICCI, **Istoria*, 10 *seq.*).

[1] ROCHEMONTEIX, 127 *seq.* War was not declared till May 17, 1756.

[2] ROCHEMONTEIX, 129.

[3] *Ibid.*, 130.

[4] *Ibid.*, 131.

[5] RICCI, **Istoria*, 14; ROCHEMONTEIX, 136 *seq.*

damage had become irreparable through the events which took place in France.[1]

Meanwhile the creditors were demanding, with threats, immediate payment. But whose was the duty of assuming the initial responsibility for the debts? Despite the disagreement of some important Jesuits, the superiors decided to take the onus of repayment on themselves. With great difficulty the mission procurator Sacy managed to meet nearly all the bills which had fallen due,[2] and in the meantime Lavalette too had been urged to make every effort to pay his debts. A few small remittances arrived, but soon afterwards, to everyone's dismay, they were followed by fresh bills amounting to even more than those held by Lioncy.[3]

Fresh, and more stringent, instructions were sent to Lavalette, but not only did he fail to follow them,[4] he slid further

[1] Ricci to Nectoux, April 20, 1761, in DUHR *Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 633, n. 2; RICCI, **Istoria*, 15 *seq.* (the undermentioned letters from and to Ricci, unless otherwise noted, are in Jesuit possession, under the signatures given); *Allanic to Ricci, March 25, 1760, Francia, 49; *Desmaretz to Ricci, November 24, 1760; *Salvat to Ricci, November 25, 1760; *De la Croix to Ricci, December 23, 1760, *ibid.*; *Ricci to Beauvais, January 14, 1761; *Ricci to Noirot, March 21, 1761, *ibid.*, *Epist. Gen. secretae*. The fifth Visitor was De la Marche. Further details in ROCHEMONTEIX, 133 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 137 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 140 *seq.*; RICCI, **Istoria*, 17.

[4] ROCHEMONTEIX, 141; RICCI, **Istoria*, 17. All the regulations and instructions, and also the orders "sub praecepto obedientiae", were useless in the face of his "irreligiosità" (*RICCI, 14). The following is an extract from Ricci's *letter to Lavalette, November 12, 1760: "Prae oculis habeat [Rev. V^a.] praecepta imposita anno 1758 et illud praecipue, ne alia contrahat debita nec accipiat isthic pecuniam solvendam in Gallia. Affirmavit mihi R^a V^a toto anno 1759 nullum a se susceptum debitum: at enim visa est in Gallia protestatio cambialis subscriptae mense Februario eius anni. Videat, ne quid fraudis aut erroris subrepat. Ceterum illud praeceptum confirmo et renovo." The General further remarks in the same letter: "Huius culpae nulla potest

and further down the slope on which he had set foot. Hitherto he could only have been reproached for embarking on over-daring enterprises and for overstepping the prescribed limits, but now he had recourse to regular trading such as was forbidden by canon law. According to information supplied by himself, the head of the mission had issued on Martinique also bills of exchange for considerable sums and had contracted capital debts to the amount of half a million *livres*. The export of colonial produce to France had been almost entirely stopped by the war, the goods piled up, and prices sank. The market value of the property had decreased so much that there was no question of selling it, and work was almost at a standstill owing to the scarcity of labour. To meet his obligations and to avoid bankruptcy, Lavalette had recourse to an illicit expedient. Through secret agents he bought colonial goods in the French islands, where their price was low, and sold them at a profit to Dutch merchants on St-Eustache and Curaçao. He also formed a business company with the governor and the Intendant of Martinique.[1]

For a long time Lavalette's fellow-Jesuits were ignorant of his illicit dealings. It was not till 1759 that vague rumours and insinuations came to their notice and at first they paid them little attention. But when the ominous signs increased and their confidential information took a more definite form, they reported the matter to their superiors in Paris and Rome. Their letters, however, never reached their destinations, being either intercepted by the English or suppressed by Lavalette.[2]

esse excusatio, quod aliis litteris fusius declaravi: nos vero lugemus damnum incredibile rei oeconomicae Missionum et famae totius Ordinis ab uno homine illatum." Lavalette was to remember that one day he would have to render an account before God's tribunal (*Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[1] ROCHEMONTEIX, 149 *seqq.*; *Salvat to Ricci, July 28, 1760, Francia, 49.

[2] ROCHEMONTEIX, 161 *seqq.* The suspicion that Lavalette intercepted letters to and from Superiors was expressed in a *letter from Allanic to Ricci, November 12, 1759; also in RICCI, **Istoria*, 14.

Meanwhile, two important changes had taken place in the administration of the Society. The General, Visconti, had died on May 4th, 1755, and had been succeeded on November 30th by Centurioni, and on April 16th, 1756, Pierre Claude Frey, a man of intelligence but of obstinate character, was appointed head of the Parisian Province.[1]

From now onwards the Martinique affair was handled differently. Coming to the conclusion that the scandal could not be hushed up, Frey, acting in conjunction with his Provincial consultors, decided not to take up any further loans and to refer all creditors to the head of the mission to the Lesser Antilles, who alone was responsible. They were to obtain payment out of the mission's estates, for it was only the estates which had been pledged as security.[2] The Jesuit authorities in Rome were highly perturbed by this decision. Forestier and the French Assistant were prepared to go to any lengths to avoid a scandal. At their suggestion the General of the Society gave permission for another 200,000 *livres* to be taken up, so that at least the most needy creditors might be satisfied.[3] Frey, however, was stubbornly opposed to any fresh commitment. The house at St-Pierre was solely responsible ; the houses in the Province were already overburdened with debts and could undertake no further charges. It was better for one mission to perish than for a whole Province to be dragged into the abyss.[4] With these arguments the Provincial prevailed on his advisers, and Rome let him have his way. Thenceforward (1757) all payments on the Martinique account were stopped.[5]

[1] Pierre Claude Frey de Neuville. To distinguish him from his brother Charles Frey de Neuville he was called simply Frey, and the other, Neuville. Ricci briefly portrayed his *character thus : " uomo di spirito, ma di passioni, di poca discernitiva delle persone, onde fu infelice nella elezione de' Superiori, e amante di comandare " (*Istoria*, 20).

[2] Rochemonteix, 142 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 145.

[4] *Ibid.*, 146 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 148.

The creditors, many of whom were themselves in financial difficulties owing to the war, now brought actions against the mission procurator Sacy, but their cases were dismissed and they were told to bring their claims against Lavalette. This was the ruling given by the courts until 1760,[1] when a change took place in the administration of the law. On November 19th, 1759, the firm of Veuve Grou et Fils having failed to obtain payment on a bill for 30,000 *livres*, which had fallen due on June 6th, 1759, brought their case before the consular court in Paris, with the plea that the French Jesuits as a body be held responsible for the payment.[2] On the ground that the administration of the Society's property was controlled by the General, the judges ordered Sacy on January 30th, 1760, to settle the debt on the bill, failing which the firm of Grou was entitled to be paid out of the Society's property situated in France.[3] The judgment was straightway circulated in printed form for the express purpose of lowering the Jesuits in the eyes of the public and to encourage the other creditors to take similar steps. The Society was now sued from all quarters and every case was decided against it.[4] Thus, at the request of the creditors of the firm of Lioncy, the consular court of Marseilles, which had hitherto proceeded against only Lavalette and, as his representative, Sacy, ordered, on May 29th, 1760, the General of the Society and in his person the whole of the Society to pay one and a half million *livres* due on bills of exchange.[5]

In legal circles this decision was looked on as an innovation. Eight of the foremost barristers of Paris declared after careful deliberation that the consular courts had exceeded their powers, since they were only competent to decide disputes between merchants, and, what was worse, the grounds for the judgment were untenable.[6] Every single religious house had

[1] *Ibid.*, 172.
[2] *Ibid.*, 173 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 176.
[4] *Ibid.*, 177 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 178 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 180 *seqq.*

the rights of a legal person; this was the law of the religious Orders, to which the Jesuits were subject together with all other such societies, this was the will of the founders, this was the confirmation of the royal patents. Up till 1760 the principle of non-joint liability *vis-à-vis* the secular power had been accepted without question. The General of the Society was and is not a proprietor, but the supreme administrator of the Society's property. In virtue of his office he appoints the subordinate superiors and invests them with the power of concluding valid contracts for the benefit of the various houses, which alone are and remain proprietors. The superiors' powers are restricted to the house in their care and its property, for which they have to render an account.[1] Lavalette was aware of this law; he had only the power and the intention of pledging the property and the houses of his mission. And in fact all his bills were drawn on his house's account.[2]

Viewed from the legal standpoint, therefore, the attitude adopted by the Paris Provincial was unassailable; but he might also have considered, in this exceptional case, in order to avert a catastrophe, whether prudence and charity did not demand a waiving of the principle of non-joint liability. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the houses of the five French Provinces were themselves so deeply in debt that they were apparently unable to undertake further obligations.[3]

Against the verdict of the consular court the Jesuits still had the right of appeal. But here they made another mistake.[4] Instead of appealing to the *Grand Conseil*, as they were at liberty to do, they had recourse to the Council of certain

[1] *Ibid.*, 183 *seqq.*; Constit. P. IX, c. 3 (Institutum Soc. Iesu, II., Florentiae, 1893, 130 *seqq.*); Constit. P. IV., c. 2 *seq.* (*ibid.*, 56 *seqq.*); Crétineau-Joly, V., 195, n. 1.

[2] Rochemonteix, 187 *seq.* *Cf.*, for example, the bill for Veuve Grou et Fils, dated St.-Pierre, May 11, 1757, in which it is said: "que vous passerez au compte de notre maison" (*ibid.*, 173).

[3] *Ibid.*, 188.

[4] "uno sbaglio di pessima conseguenza" (Ricci, **Istoria*, 18).

lawyers in the *Grand'Chambre* of the Parlement. By taking this step they delivered themselves into the hands of their most determined enemies and exposed the scandal to the public gaze.[1] Here again it was Frey with his paramount influence over the new Provincial Allanic who was the decisive factor. His opinion was that several members of the *Grand' Chambre* were former pupils of the Jesuits, that the Parlement would show its gratitude for the confidence placed in it, and that a favourable verdict from the court of the Parlement would obtain a greater degree of recognition from the people, it being regarded as the representative of public opinion.[2]

The decision of the Provincial and his counsellors was joyfully acclaimed by the Society's enemies, whereas for its friends and for almost all the Jesuits themselves it came as a painful surprise.[3] Serious reproaches were made against the Provincial Allanic and his consultors: they had made their decision without sounding the opinion of the other French Provincials, for whom also the affair was not a matter of indifference; they had presented the declared enemies of the Society with another weapon and had jeopardized not only the temporal possessions of the French Assistancy but its whole future. The general dissatisfaction was directed especially against Frey, the suspicion being voiced that he was actuated by separatist motives.[4] Both Frey and his brother Neuville firmly denied that there was any truth in this supposition, and De la Croix, who was afterwards Provincial,

[1] *Ibid.*; ROCHEMONTEIX, 189 *seqq.*

[2] ROCHEMONTEIX, 197 *seqq.*; *Allanic to Ricci, May 1, 1760, Francia, 49, printed text partly reproduced in ROCHEMONTEIX, 198, n. 1.

[3] RICCI, **Istoria*, 20; ROCHEMONTEIX, 199 *seq.*; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V., 196 *seq.*

[4] *Croust to Ricci, May 28, 1761, Gallia, 116; *Bieganski to Ricci, June 1, 1761, *ibid.*, partly printed in ROCHEMONTEIX, 200 *seq.*; *Salvat to Ricci, May 19, 1760, Francia, 49. *Cf.* also Salvat's *letters to Ricci, April 7, 14, 21, and 28, May 5 and 26, and September 15, 1760, *ibid.*

assured the General that a complete investigation afforded no evidence whatever for such an assertion.[1] Some thought that the reason for the inexplicable procedure might be that Frey and Neuville feared that the *Grand Conseil* would declare the mission procurator Sacy solely responsible for Lavalette's debts, which would mean that the whole burden of the debt would fall on the Paris Province. It being their desire that all the French Provinces should bear their share of it, they had thought to attain their object most expeditiously by an appeal to the Parlement, which, it was taken for granted, would bring in a verdict against the Society as a whole.[2] This surmise also was denied by the former Provincial Pierre Claude Neuville and his brother Charles, who was also implicated; nevertheless there were distinguished Jesuits who were of the opinion that after Lavalette, Frey was principally responsible for the disaster that overtook the French Assistancy.[3] The chief fault found by the General Ricci, who was elected on May 21st, 1758, was that the appeal to the Parlement had taken place without his knowledge, like so many other false steps in this unpleasant affair. But since what was done could not be undone, he confined himself to remonstrating with the Provincial in a considerate manner, especially as he also thought it dangerous to provoke him and other persons in Paris.[4]

While the Parlement was taking its time in examining the verdict of the consular court, the death took place on January 26th, 1761, of the Maréchal Belle-Isle, the most reliable

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 20; *Neuville to Ricci, August 3, 1761, Gallia, 116; *De la Croix to Ricci, May 12, 1761, *ibid.*; Rochemonteix, 201, n. 1.

[2] See the letters quoted on p. 393, n. 4.

[3] *Croust to Ricci, May 28, 1761, Gallia, 116, extract in Rochemonteix, 202; *Bieganski to Ricci, June 1, 1761, Gallia, 116; *Griffet to Ricci, July 7, 1761, *ibid.*, 114, I., extract in Rochemonteix, 202, n. 1.

[4] *Ricci to Croust, June 24, 1761, Gallia, 43; Ricci, **Istoria*, 18 *seq.*

supporter of the Jesuits at Court.[1] Two months previously the Provincial Allanic had died suddenly when on a visitation at Rennes. He was succeeded by Étienne de la Croix, for a long time novice master and finally rector of the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, an exemplary religious who stood in high repute both within and without the Society. Unfortunately his character was lacking in what was especially necessary in such times of inward and outward stress—decisiveness and firmness—so that from the very beginning of his term of office doubts were expressed of his ability to steer clear of all the reefs that lay ahead.[2]

At last, on May 8th, 1761, the judgment of the Paris Parlement, so long awaited by friend and foe, was published. The General of the Society and in his person the whole of the Society of Jesus was to pay to the creditors of the trading firm of Lioncy and Gouffre in Marseilles the sum of 1,502,000 *livres* and a further sum of 50,000 *livres* by way of interest and expenses; in case of refusal the plaintiffs were entitled to recoup themselves from the Society's property in France. The reasons for the judgment were that according to the statutes of the Society the General was the representative of

[1] Among his literary remains Choiseul is said to have found an adverse memorandum about himself addressed to the king, which he recognized as having been written and partly composed by Neuville; hence his alliance with the Pompadour and the Parlements. From the fact that Neuville twice (e.g. *on December 1, 1760, Gallia, 116) sought permission to withdraw from Paris, the General of the Society considered himself entitled to deduce that he really was involved in the affair (Ricci, **Istoria*, 85, 136). *Cf.* the other version in Rochemonteix, 202 *seqq.*

[2] *Neuville to Ricci, December 1, 1760; *Beauvais to Ricci, December 24, 1760, in the extract in Rochemonteix, 207, n. 1. Griffet drew the character of the new Provincial succinctly and laconically in his *letter to Ricci, July 7, 1761: "vir bonus ac pius, nec ingenio carens, multus est in deliberando, rarus in statuendo, admodum timidus in exequendo" (*ibid.*). Ricci, **Istoria*, 20.

the Society, and the supreme controller and the sole real proprietor of the Society's property; that all Lavalette's undertakings had taken place only with his assent and authorization; and that the trading in Martinique had been conducted on account of the Society as a whole.[1]

The case had already caused a considerable stir in Paris, and its termination gave rise to even greater excitement. The publication of the verdict was received by the populace with applause and manifestations of delight. "This dispute," said the nuncio Pamfili, "should have been settled amicably at any price and it would have been better to pay the whole sum than to bring the matter before the public in this manner, for most of the people are drawing conclusions from it which are far from favourable to the Jesuits and do little honour to the whole body of secular and regular clergy."[2] The Secretary of State Torrigiani agreed with him; in Rome too the case had caused a great clamour and excitement, but perhaps the amount of the sum involved had silenced the voice of prudence; worse than anything was that a whole society had been condemned to pay the debts of one particular house.[3]

The study of history shows us that grave external calamities often release internal dissensions and party quarrels. The judgment of the *Grand'Chambre* holding all Jesuit settlements in France jointly responsible for payment had hardly been published when there broke out for all to see, an internal

[1] ROCHEMONTEIX, 212.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 11, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 514, Papal Secret Archives, French translation in THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 27; *Salvat to Ricci, June 17, 1761, Francia, 49.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 27, 1761: "Riflette saviamente V. S. Illma che dovevasi col silenzio coprire una disputa tanto delicata e inopportuna nelle circostanze correnti, ma la somma di cui trattavasi, avrà forse superato lo scrupulo d'una più soda prudenza. È però osservabile la conseguenza d'una risoluzione, che obbliga tutta una Religione in solidum al pagamento d'un debito d'una casa o convento particolare." Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

quarrel that had been long fermenting.[1] To the grief of the General, the scandal of the Court and the people, and the delight of the Society's enemies, the procurators of four French Provinces asked the court of the Parlement to release them from payment of the debt and to make the Paris Province solely responsible, seeing that it controlled the mission in Martinique and that the other Provinces had never been consulted in the matter.[2] Ricci had been trying to settle the dispute for months past,[3] but he did not consider he was in a position to issue direct orders, owing to the complexity and the confusion of the situation. In the general excitement and disorder and owing to the mutual distrust of the Paris Jesuits his exhortations fell on deaf ears. "If my advice had been listened to," he wrote, "or, better still, if it had been asked for, before I was presented with accomplished facts, we should never have found ourselves in this doleful situation, which cannot be deplored too much and which it is now probably too late to alter."[4] As the General had foreseen, the efforts of the four procurators were of no avail; they only injured the reputation of the Society and the common cause, for the appeal presupposed the joint liability of the houses of a Province, which was not in accordance with the law of religious Orders and which until then had been

[1] *Salvat to Ricci, April 7 and 14 and May 5, 1760, Francia, 49; *Allanic to Ricci, May 1, 1760, *ibid.* On November 4, 1760, Ricci *asked the Court Confessor Desmaretz to use all his influence to prevent the dispute being brought before the secular court; it was to be left to his, the General's, decision (*Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[2] *Ricci to Salvat, May 20, 1761, *ibid.*; *Ricci to Nectoux, May 20, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[3] *Ricci to Nectoux, December 24, 1760, and April 29, 1761, *ibid.*; *Ricci to De la Croix (undated; February, 1761 ?), *Epist. Gen. secretae*; *Ricci to Salvat, March 18, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] *Ricci to Salvat, March 18, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* Ricci used almost the very same words in *writing to Noirot, March 21, 1761, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *Ricci to De la Croix, May 20, 1761, *ibid.*

consistently disputed. Important positions had been surrendered to no purpose.[1]

When the creditors saw that the Parlement of Paris was less eager to satisfy their claims than to ruin the Jesuits, they showed signs of being willing to come to an agreement. They declared their readiness to withdraw their summons on condition that the property of the whole of the French Assistancy was pledged to their credit. The General in Rome repeatedly advised the acceptance of these terms and the procurement of the necessary powers from the king, but again his advice was neglected. He judged it wise to refrain from any definite command, for fear of promoting certain separatist tendencies [2] and because several counter-arguments were brought forward, the soundness of which he was unable to verify at such a distance.[3]

A year's grace had been fixed by the court of the Parlement in which to settle the debts—long enough for the Jesuits, utilizing all their resources, to make a final effort to comply with the verdict, however unjust it was, and thus to avert complete disaster. As De la Croix was already heavily engaged in the administration of the Province, Ricci, at the suggestion of the most prominent Jesuits and Provincials, appointed Griffet on June 17th, 1761, to be his commissary general in the Martinique affair [4] and entrusted him with the

[1] "*Itaque rem vobis inutilem fecistis cum communis causae atque adeo vestro etiam detrimento et dissensiones vestras in publicum prodidistis cum offensione aulae et urbis. Demum consuli debui, cum res ita non urgeret, ut consuli non possem; verum nec de causa suscepta certior sum factus a vobis. Numquid ita agentibus aderit Deus?" (Ricci to Salvat, May 20, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae, loc. cit.*). *Cf.* *Ricci to Nectoux, May 20, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[2] See below, pp. 433, 434.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 21.

[4] *Desmaretz to Ricci, May 18, 1761, Francia, 49; *Croust to Ricci, May 28, 1761; Rochemonteix, 242, n. 1. *Bieganski to Ricci, June 1, 1761, *loc. cit.* *Ricci to Croust, June 24, 1761, Gallia, 43. Neither the General nor the French Assistant was

settlement of the debts. For this purpose he was to be responsible to the General alone. According to his instructions, he was first to consult with the five provincial procurators on the advisability of sending a plenipotentiary to Marseilles for the purpose of reaching an agreement with the creditors on favourable terms. To repay the debts he was first to pledge and, if necessary, sell the properties of the mission in Martinique and of the other mission-houses there, secondly to make use of the real estate held in common by the Provinces, and, if this was insufficient, the properties of the separate colleges and residences.[1]

The execution of the plan, however, was fraught with prodigious difficulties. The *Grand'Chambre* had only ordered the settlement of the claims made by the house of Lioncy, but it was only to be expected that the other creditors too would soon be presenting their bills for payment. And how were all these claims to be met? Lavalette's total debts amounted to four and a half million *livres*,[2] of which three million were

entirely satisfied with the proposal. Firstly, Griffet had been active only as a preacher and a writer and had had no experience in business matters (*cf.* Griffet to Ricci, July 7, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 243, n. 1); secondly, he was one of those persons who are very fit for rule provided they have not to rule themselves. He caused Ricci a good deal of difficulty by the blustering way in which he tried to carry through several proposals which were not quite in keeping with the Jesuit Institute. It was an appointment made in a time of crisis. Gatin was attached to him for seeing to the practical side of affairs (RICCI, **Istoria*, 22 *seqq.*).

[1] *Ricci "ad Procuratorem in re Martinicensi generalem", June 17, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; *Ricci to De la Croix and Salvat, June 17, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae, loc. cit.* The Procurator made his notarial declaration on August 18, 1761 (extract in ROCHEMONTEIX, 253, n. 2); *Ricci to De la Croix, July 8, 1761, Gallia, 43; *Ricci to Nectoux, December 2, 1761, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[2] CRÉTINEAU-JOLY (V., 204) asserts that Lavalette's liabilities really amounted to only 2·4 million *livres* and attributes the subsequent sum of 5 million *livres* to crooked dealings. He is

payable in France.[1] To realize these sums loans would have to be raised. But where were these to be obtained? For some time past the Paris Jesuits had maintained that the whole of the Society should accept responsibility for Lavalette's debts, but the General refused to consider this demand, which had no justification and would have harmful consequences.[2] The Society's financial situation, as depicted by Ricci on this occasion, was gloomy. The Provinces in Italy, with the exception of Sicily and Naples, were almost indigent. In the German Assistancy they were mostly in the same plight: Silesia had been sucked dry, Austria and Bohemia, which

wrong. Lavalette himself estimated his debts at 4 millions in a letter to Ricci of June 4, 1760, and at 5 millions in his *Mémoire justificatif* (1763). Gatin, Griffet's assistant, after a careful calculation, gave the sum of the debts as 4·5 million *livres*, the Visitor as rather over 5 million. Whereas in the royal patent of February 2, 1763, Lavalette's total debts were said to have amounted at the time to about 5 million *livres*, in the decree of June 3, 1763, the debt, which had appeared to exceed 5 millions, was said to have risen to twice that amount and was increasing every day. There is probably some question of fraud here unless we are to suppose that the last-mentioned sum includes the debts of the various colleges. ROCHEMONTEIX, 240 *seq.*; RICCI, **Istoria*, 104; *Lettres-Patentes du Roi*, Versailles le 2 Février and le 3 Juin 1763 (printed).

[1] *Salvat to Ricci, June 20, 1761.

[2] *Beauvais to Ricci, December 28, 1760, Francia, 49; *Salvat to Ricci, February 2, 1761, *ibid.*; Ricci to Griffet, November 4, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* To establish their claim the Parisian Fathers urged that the General Visconti had granted Lavalette licenses which were excessive. On the other hand, as Ricci retorted, no such document could be found in the whole of the Society's archives. Such agreements were never given orally. Father Fléchat's letter produced by the creditors (ROCHEMONTEIX, 115) proves nothing, for it merely says that the General granted the required authority; what the authority was is not stated, moreover it was made dependent on the assent of the Paris Provincial (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also RICCI, **Istoria*, 10 *seq.*

were in somewhat better state, had been forced to lend the Empress several hundred thousand *scudi* for the Silesian war, and Poland was exhausted by war, in addition to which money had decreased in value owing to the coinage manipulations of Frederick II. The maintenance of more than a thousand expelled Portuguese Jesuits necessitated a considerable outlay, to which all the Provinces had to contribute, except the French, which was well-nigh prostrated by its own debts.[1] France being completely exhausted by its war on land and sea, an internal loan, even if it had not been forbidden, had little prospect of success. A request addressed to the king was in fact answered by the Minister to the effect that a loan of three million *livres* might be raised anywhere except in the kingdom itself.[2] Faced with this embargo, the French Jesuits turned to their Spanish brethren, who expressed their readiness to help them. The General gave permission for money to be raised, but fearing that the Spanish Provinces would be involved in the ruin he made the proviso that the properties of the Spanish Assistancy were not to be pledged for this purpose. The business-houses, however, announced that they were prepared to lend their money only on internal securities.[3] But when Louis XV. pledged his royal word for the security of the Jesuit properties in France [4] and Clement XIII., on the intervention of the nuncio, had granted the necessary dispensations to the General Ricci,[5] the latter in his turn granted the required authority for the hypothecation of the Society's Spanish property, though with inward misgivings, unable to rid himself of the fear that he had opened a new wound

[1] *Ibid.*, 25; ROCHEMONTEIX, 244, n. 3; *Ricci to Griffet, November 4, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[2] ROCHEMONTEIX, 245 *seq.*

[3] RICCI, **Istoria*, 26; *Ricci to Griffet, October 6, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[4] RICCI, **Istoria*, 29; *Ricci to Cornejo, November 18, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 4, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450A, Papal Secret Archives.

without closing the old ones.[1] The negotiations were still in progress, the French ambassador in Madrid was still trying to obtain a licence from the Spanish Government for borrowing money for abroad, when the resolution of the Paris Parlement of April 23rd, 1762, sequestrating all Jesuit properties in France, rendered all further exertions purposeless. No time was lost by the General in withdrawing the permission he had given so reluctantly.[2]

While these events were taking place, De la Marche, until then Superior at Nantes, was appointed in March, 1761, Visitor and Superior General of the Lesser Antilles. His task was to acquaint himself with the mission's debts and sources of income and, in the event of his finding Lavalette guilty of illicit trading, to depose him and send him back to France.[3] After having to wait three months in Holland for a ship, the Visitor finally sailed from Texel on July 26th, 1761. After a voyage of sixty days the vessel was off the island of St-Eustache and was about to land her passengers when it was seized by the English. All the Frenchmen on board were taken prisoner and brought to Antigua. A few weeks later the English governor gave permission for the voyage to be continued to Guadeloupe, where the Visitor landed on October 28th, 1761,[4] and forthwith began to collect information about Lavalette from the Jesuits and merchants there.[5] On January 28th, 1762, he proceeded to the island of Dominica. From

[1] *Ricci to Griffet, November 4, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* *Ricci to Cornejo, November 18, 1761, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 4, 1761, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 27 *seqq.*; *De la Croix to Ricci, November 17, 1761, Gallia, 116.

[2] Ricci, **Istoria*, 59; Rochemonteix, 246.

[3] Already, *December 23, 1760, Beauvais had proposed his appointment to Ricci (Francia, 49); Ricci's *answer to Beauvais, January 14, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*; *Ricci to Noirot, March 21, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 16; Rochemonteix, 246 *seqq.*

[5] Rochemonteix, 252 *seqq.* He established incidentally the complicity of Moreau, the Superior of Guadeloupe (Ricci, **Istoria*, 74).

the commercial correspondence and the account books of a certain Constance and the Jew Isaac Juda, Lavalette's principal broker, he was satisfied that the head of the mission had, in fact, been guilty of trading as forbidden by canon law and the law of religious Orders.[1]

After establishing these important facts De la Marche continued on his journey. On March 23rd he arrived in Martinique, which in the meantime (February 13th, 1762) had fallen into the hands of the English. A meeting of the missionaries was called for the very next day. All present, except one missionary, who finally admitted the cogency of the proofs brought forward by the Visitor, were of the opinion that Lavalette had indulged in the forbidden trading.[2] The second question was more difficult to settle: whether it was necessary and expedient to send the former Superior back to France immediately. There was much to be said against this procedure.[3] On the other hand, his commercial dealings were so patent that a justification on his part was out of the question. Moreover, he had kept no account of receipts and expenditure, no explanations were to be expected of him, and his continued presence was more likely to confuse the issue still further.[4] In the presence of his fellow-Jesuits he admitted quite frankly that he had never obtained from his superiors permission to trade but he would not agree that he had deliberately been guilty of this offence. But when De la Marche read him the copies of his own letters and commercial agreements and asked him if he still persisted in denying his guilt, Lavalette replied three times, "I no longer deny it, it did happen." He signified his willingness to return to France, asking only that his departure be delayed three weeks, which request was granted.[5] This concession was soon shown

[1] Rochemonteix, 254 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 257 *seq.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 83.

[3] He was welcome neither in Paris nor in Toulouse, explicable by the excited state of public feeling (*Ricci, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Rochemonteix, 259 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 260 *seqq.*

to be a mistake, for while paying farewell visits to groups of his acquaintances, Lavalette posed as an innocent victim of persecution and tried to enlist them on his side. At their request, the English governor, Monckton, refused to allow the former Superior to leave until his debts in the colonies had been paid.[1] The situation called for drastic action. After another thorough consultation with the other missionaries the Visitor pronounced the final verdict on the convicted priest on April 25th, 1762. He deprived him of all temporal and spiritual powers, ordered him to return to Europe immediately, and awarded him the punishment—suspension—reserved for clerics who engage in trade.[2] Lavalette accepted the sentence without demur and in a letter to De la Marche, written on the same day, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence, freely admitted his transgression, declared that no Superior had authorized his business dealings or had been aware of them, and asked for the publication of the sentence awarded him, of his admission of guilt, and of his repentant disposition. He ended with the sworn assurance that he was making this statement of his own free will, that he had not been induced to do so by force, threats, trickery, or entreaties, but solely

[1] *Ibid.*, 263 *seq.*

[2] De la Marche to Ricci, May 25, 1762 (ROCHEMONTEIX, 265 *seqq.*, text of the verdict, *ibid.*, 267, n. 1); *De la Croix to Ricci, May 25, 1762, Gallia, 116. According to the Visitor's letter Lavalette had not only been guilty of trading, bad management, and the squandering of the mission's assets, he had also caused the death of some negro labourers through transgressing the law of correction (RICCI, **Istoria*, 84). In addition, he had allowed the discipline of the Order to fall into decay and had neglected the pastoral work. Father Cathala was also guilty. The causes of the enormous debts were ascribed by the Visitor to the risks of the naval warfare to which the goods were exposed, to the neglect of agriculture, to securities and loans granted to insolvent persons, extravagant gifts to the Governor and private persons, large loans of money raised at high interest, the employment of disreputable agents, inexperience in business, and lavish hospitality (*ibid.*, 104).

to give testimony to the truth and to refute the calumnies against the Society of Jesus.[1]

Justice being satisfied, the Visitor recommended the culprit to the benevolence of the General. On being informed of these proceedings the new Governor put no further obstacle in the way of the former Superior's departure, especially as De la Marche had taken on himself the payment of the debts.[2] Lavalette left Martinique on May 26th, 1762, and proceeded to Amsterdam, where he received from Ricci the requested dismissal from the Order.[3] After a passing stay in England [4] he went to Toulouse, where in 1764 he took the oath prescribed by the Parlement and here, on December 13th, 1767, his adventurous life was brought to a close.[5]

An arrangement was made by the Visitor [6] with Lavalette's creditors in the Antilles by which their claims were to be met within a year by the mission's procurator in Paris.

[1] Text in ROCHEMONTEIX, 268, n. 2. Unfortunately the document was not published in printed form at the time, as Ricci had advised in the interest of the Society (**Istoria*, 104).

[2] ROCHEMONTEIX, 272.

[3] *Ibid.*, 274.

[4] According to reports received by the General, Lavalette stayed for a time in London as the Chevalier du Clos. Here he frequented the house of the French ambassador, the Duc de Nivernais, and enjoyed the protection of high officials at the Paris Court. *Ricci to Dennet, the English Provincial, December 25, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*; RICCI, **Istoria*, 131, 138; *De la Croix to Ricci, June 1 and July 6, 1762, Francia, 49.

[5] ROCHEMONTEIX, 275 *seqq.* Even after his death various picturesque rumours were attached to his person, for instance, that he was in Peru waiting to lead an English Jesuit attack on the Spanish colonies (*Carvalho to Souza, June 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4564; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, September 28, 1767, *ibid.*). According to a report from *Ossun to Grimaldi, of September 25, 1767 (*ibid.*), Choiseul had ordered Lavalette's arrest, but it was not put into execution owing to his illness (*Fuentes to Grimaldi, October 9 and 12, 1767, *ibid.*).

[6] De la Marche was carried off by a violent fever on October 16, 1762 (RICCI, **Istoria*, 150).

Unfortunately, all agreements were wrecked by the Parlement's resolutions of April 23rd and August 6th, 1762.[1] By the peace treaty of 1763 the island of Dominica was ceded to the English, who took possession of the Society's estates and sold them at a handsome profit.[2] The property of the other mission-stations was sequestrated, like that in France itself.[3] Several royal patents and resolutions of the Parlement were issued, to accelerate the payment of Lavalette's creditors, who had by now coalesced in order effectively to press their claims, but the very number of the decrees[4] denote the difficulty of the problem, the Jesuits' estates barely sufficing to maintain their schools, seminaries, and other institutions.[5] It would appear, from all accounts, that the creditors received so small a proportion of their claims that they suffered serious losses, while the officials engaged in the distrainment enriched themselves.[6]

[1] Prestrel, De la Marche's successor, had sold the mission's estates on the island of Dominica for 880,000 *livres* to English merchants, who, however, withdrew from the bargain on finding that the farms were not worth so high a price (Ricci, **Istoria*, 167).

[2] Rochemonteix, 274.

[3] *Lettres-Patentes du Roi concernant la poursuite des biens de la Société et Compagnie des Jésuites, qui sont dans les colonies françoises*, June 3, 1763.

[4] *Lettres-Patentes du Roi*, of February 2, March 5, June 3 and 14, and November 21, 1763, March 30, 1764, etc.; *Extrait des registres du Parlement*, of August 5, 1763; *Arrêts de la Cour du Parlement*, of August 19, 1763, and January 24, 1764.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 401.

[6] Gatin to Ricci, March 10, 1765 (Rochemonteix, 246, n. 3, 272 *seqq.*); *Ricci to Nectoux, September 26, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666. After a law-suit involving the Jesuit property in Marseilles, which lasted three years, the creditors of Lioncy and Gouffre were awarded on December 20, 1765, the house St. Regis together with the ground belonging to it (Soullier, *Les Jésuites à Marseille*, Avignon-Marseille, 1899, 193).

(3)

In the dispute about Lavalette's debts both parties appealed to the Order's constitutions: the creditors in order to substantiate their claims, the Jesuits in order to refute them.[1] Alleging the desire to examine the grounds which had been brought forward, the Parlement, adopting the proposal made by the Abbé Chauvelin on April 17th, 1761, ordered the Jesuits to deliver to the court a copy of the latest edition of the Institute (Prague, 1757), so that it might satisfy itself that the principle of non-joint liability was stated therein.[2] Although three days' grace had been allowed, the required copy was brought to the chancery of the Parlement the very next morning by Père Montigny, acting on Frey's instructions.[3] The precipitate haste and absence of counsel and deliberation with which the order was obeyed astonished the members of the Society and their friends, especially as the Paris Provincial was expected back that same evening.[4] They were utterly dejected, for they had no illusions about the far-reaching importance of this false step. They had everything to fear from a corporation the majority of whose members were fundamentally hostile to the Society. It would not be surprising, said the nuncio Pamfili, if the Parlement allowed itself to be carried away and to take such extreme steps as would destroy the governmental system of the Order. Already there was talk of a separate Superior for the French Assistancy, who would be independent of the General. There was little hope of any help from the Court.[5] In Rome, too, there was

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 20, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 514, Papal Secret Archives. [2] *Ibid.*; *Recueil des discours d'un des Messieurs des enquêtes au Parlement, toutes les Chambres assemblées; prononcés le 17 Avril et le 8 Juillet, 1761*, Paris, 1761, 38 *seq.*

[3] On being informed of the order given by the Parlement, the king wanted to reserve the examination of the Institute to himself, but learnt to his astonishment that it had already been surrendered (ROCHEMONTEIX, 211). [4] *Ibid.*, 209 *seq.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 20, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 514, *loc. cit.*; Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 11, 1761, *ibid.*, French translation in THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 27.

no doubt about the meaning of the Parlement's order. The Cardinal Secretary of State was of the opinion that ultimately the step taken by the lay tribunal was directed also against the other Orders. The attempt would be made to make them independent of their central directorate on the ground that they ought not to be subject to a foreign power.[1]

Meanwhile, on May 30th, 1761, after receiving representations from the nuncio [2] and requests from the General,[3] the king had caused the copy of the Institute to be handed over to him and forbade the court to take any further steps in the matter, as he had appointed a special commission for the purpose.[4] Undeterred by the royal prohibition, the Parlement's commission,[5] which had managed to procure another copy, proceeded with the examination of the Institute with an energy that boded ill, especially if the Court failed to abide by its decisions.[6] While the Cardinal Secretary of State,

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 6 and 27, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 25, 1761, *ibid.*, 514; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 17, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[3] *Ricci to Desmaretz, May 6, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* The General's anxiety about the preservation of the Order's constitution had been increased by the rumour that certain of the Parisian Fathers were not averse to a separation of the French Assistancy from the rest of the Order (*Ricci to De la Croix, May 26, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 1, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 514, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 17, 1761, *ibid.*, 450. The Court Commission consisted of a rapporteur and six commissioners. Although two of these were hardly well-disposed towards the Jesuits, it was thought then that this step was in the Jesuit interest (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 22, 1761, *ibid.*, 515).

[5] "les abbés Chauvelin, Terray et Laverdy, Jansénistes furibonds, et, par suite, ennemis jurés des Jésuites" (THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 34). CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V., 204; ROCHEMONTEIX, 212.

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 1 and 8, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 17 and 24, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

having received comforting assurances from Louis XV.,[1] was still hoping that the Parlement's commission would content itself with the suppression of the Order's privileges, without altering the essence of the constitution,[2] the Advocate-General, Le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau, had laid before the Parlement the final results of the examination.[3] The Institute, he said, was opposed to the laws and liberties of the nation; it had never been confirmed by royal patents and had never been registered or recognized by the Parlement.[4] The existence of the Jesuits as a religious body was therefore illegal; the most one could say of it was that it had been tolerated. If they wanted to stay in the kingdom they would have to ask for new constitutions from the Holy See which would not be in opposition to the religious and political principles of the nation. These constitutions would then have to be confirmed by the king and registered by the Parlement. The French Jesuits should assemble in council to decide about the necessary alterations in their system of government. It was desirable that in future their Superior should be a native of the country, independent of the General in Rome. The vows

[1] "*In tanto posso significarle, che S. M. Chr^ma ha risposto alla lettera del Papa nella maniera più obbligante che si possa dare, e la più favorevole ai Gesuiti, dichiarandosi di stimarli e proteggerli, seguendo l'esempio dei Re suoi antenati, e promette loro nell' affare presente tutta l'assistenza della sua reale autorità. Dio faccia, che l'esito corrisponda al conseguimento di questo fine, e al termine d'un affare, che tanto potrebbe esser pregiudiziale e alla Chiesa in generale e a tutti i corpi religiosi in particolare" (Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 22, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 15, 1761, *ibid.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 13, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[4] The Jesuit Constitutions had been repeatedly discussed by the Parlements: on January 20, 1560; in 1561; on December 23, 1592; and in 1692. Charles IX. in July, 1565, Henri III. in May, 1580, and Henri IV. in 1603 had given the matter some attention (SMITH, *The suppression of the Society of Jesus*, in *Month*, IC. [1902], 355 *seq.*).

of the Order were a good example of despotism; according to the law, they were to be irrevocable and indissoluble immediately on the termination of the year of the noviciate. The Advocate-General then proceeded to inveigh against probabilism and the doctrine of tyrannicide.[1]

Although these expositions did not yet represent a formal decision against the Order's Institute, it was to be feared that this was how it would end, seeing the faintheartedness of the Court. Once the Parlement had pronounced against the Society, it would be too late for the Court to intervene.[2] Wherefore, under date June 2nd, 1761, Clement XIII. addressed an urgent letter to Louis XV., disclaiming any desire to undertake the defence of guilty individuals but requesting the king to use his authority to oppose any alteration in the constitution of the Order which might lead to its dissolution.[3] Louis XV., who wanted to reserve the exercise of his authority for the registration of fresh edicts relating to taxes, decided on half-measures. On August 2nd,[4]

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 13, 1761, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 35.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 29, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *Torniamo a ripetere, che Noi non vogliamo scusare, nè i fatti particolari, nè le persone colpevoli; ma raccomandiamo bensì con tutta l'efficacia possibile al potentissimo suo braccio la difesa dell' Ordine in genere, per qualsivoglia intrapresa, che alcuno di codesti tribunali, per istigazione e maneggio de' nemici dichiarati della Compagnia, tentasse di fare contro di essa. Ogni alterazione delle sue leggi e di que' vincoli, che tengono unite le membra fra loro e col comune lor capo, porterebbe la deformazione, e forse anche lo scioglimento di un corpo, che è stato ammesso a coltivare il campo della Chiesa con l'autorità della Sede Apost., ed è stato chiamato, accolto e stabilito ne' dominii della M. V. dall' insigne pietà de' gloriosissimi suoi progenitori " (*ibid.*, 453). Similar thoughts were expressed in Torrigiani's *letters to Pamfili, on June 3, July 8 and 15, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 20, 1761, *ibid.*, 515; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 5 and 12, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

1761, he sent the Parlement an edict by which he suspended any further measure against the Order for a year. But lest the gentlemen of the robe be too much irritated, he simultaneously ordered the Jesuits to present to the *Grand Conseil* for examination the letters of foundation for their various establishments in six months' time.[1] So much haste was taken in obeying this royal command that in many cases not even a copy was taken of the original documents.[3] The Parlement registered the royal edict on August 6th, 1761, but reserved to itself those cases in which the oath of office, loyalty to and love of the sacred person of the king, and solicitude for the preservation of public order did not permit of a lengthy postponement.[3] Thus the real object of the ordinance, to remove the matter from the jurisdiction of the Parlement and to put it in the hands of the *Grand Conseil*, was defeated.

On the same day (August 6th, 1761) the Parlement issued two further resolutions, which clearly apprised the Jesuits of the fate that was in store for them. At the instigation of the Abbé Chauvelin, who, on April 17th and on July 8th and 18th had stigmatized the Order's teaching and morals as inimical to the State and religion,[4] twenty-four works by Jesuit writers were condemned to be burnt by the executioner for having either defended the doctrine of tyrannicide or opposed the doctrines and liberties of the Gallican Church.[5] With its third decree, couched in scurrilous terms, the Parlement forbade entry or admission into the Society of Jesus, the taking of

[1] *Déclaration du roi, donnée à Versailles le 2 Août 1761* (printed).

[2] Ricci, **Istoria*, 34 *seq.*

[3] *Arrestés de la Cour de Parlement du 6 Août 1761* (printed); *Discours d'un des Messieurs des enquêtes au Parlement . . . sur la doctrine des Jésuites*, Paris, 1761, 88 *seq.*

[4] Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 38.

[5] Among the books condemned were works by Salmeron, Toledo, Lessius, Suarez, Bellarmine, Vasquez, Gretser, Becanus, Molina, and others. The sentence was carried out on August 7, 1761, at the foot of the great flight of steps leading to the Parlement building (*Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 6 Août 1761*; *Discours*, 89).

vows, and public or private teaching by Jesuits within its area of jurisdiction. In places where there were other schools the Society's colleges were to close by October 1st, elsewhere by April 1st of the following year. Henceforward, no Jesuit pupil might obtain a university degree or be appointed to a high official position.[1]

Although these resolutions, which were received with satisfaction in many circles, were only "provisional", they meant the death-sentence for the Order in France.[2] More than three weeks passed before the King could bestir himself to parry this blow against his authority. The project of annulling the resolution by a *lit de justice* was soon dropped for fear of exposing the royal authority to the recalcitrancy of the Parlement.[3] By a letter-patent of August 29th, 1761, Louis ordered the execution of the resolution to be postponed for a year.[4] After a show of some ill-will, the Parlement registered the order on September 7th but on its own authority it restricted the year's grace to April 1st of the following year.[5]

In Rome these events were followed with acute anxiety. Encouraged by the feeble and vacillating attitude of the Court, the Parlement grew ever more arrogant and perverse, and the lower the reputation of the Crown sank, the more

[1] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 6 Août, 1761*; *Discours*, 89.

[2] "*Le stampe che no sono state vendute, sono infinite. Non si parla presentemente che di un tal fatto, e comunemente si loda, e si gode dal pubblico di una tale decisione. Si spera però, che S.M. possa mostrare i suoi giusti risentimenti contro una condotta si strana e violenta tenuta del Parlamento, e che possa annullare i detti arresti, i quali, se sussistessero dentro un certo tempo, verrebbe affato ad estinguersi questa Religione in Francia" (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 10, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 5, 1761, *ibid.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 31, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] *Lettres-Patentes du Roi, pour suspendre . . . données à Versailles au mois d' Août 1761.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 7 and 14, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *loc. cit.*

the Parlement's power increased. The principles that found expression in the resolution of August 6th, 1761, not only threatened the existence of the Society of Jesus, but interfered with the rights of the Holy See, for a lay tribunal had presumed to condemn as godless and subversive a religious institution approved by the highest ecclesiastical authority.[1] In response to Ricci's remonstrations, the Pope agreed that it was time to act, but "the timorous silence that then reigned in Rome won the day".[2] Even in transmitting the Parlement's resolutions the nuncio had advised a provisional "dissimulation"; otherwise the Parlement in its exasperation might easily adopt extreme measures, and in the event of a conflict the Apostolic See would not only run the risk of being abandoned by the Government, it would have to be prepared to incur positive disfavour, for the Court had no desire to see France's countless internal difficulties increased by an outside party.[3] Influenced by these considerations and by the comforting words of the French envoy,[4] the Pope refrained for the time being from taking any serious step, lest he might give rise to further excitement and complications.[5] Also it

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 26 and September 2, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[2] Ricci, **Istoria*, 36.

[3] "*Su quelli punti per altro l'obbligo del mio ministero, ed il timore fondato di vedere accadere mali maggiori, mi sprona a dare il consiglio di dissimulare almeno per ora l'ingiuria ricevuta, mentre se si venisse in Roma a qualche esecuzione contro i detti arresti, il Parlamento si porterebbe senza dubbio a qualch' altro eccesso; verrebbe a farsi un conflitto tra la S. Sede, il Re e i magistrati secolari, e si correrebbe anche gran rischio di esser non solo abbandonati, ma d'incontrare una totale disapprovazione dalla corte, la quale non potendo pur troppo contenere li Parlamenti dentro certi limiti, e renderli pieghevoli a suoi voleri, non vuol soffrire, che altri diano occasione a' suoi, e maggiori disturbi, che la riducano nelle angustie le più terribili" (Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 10, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 2, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 26, 1761, *ibid.*

was still hoped that Choiseul's diplomatic skill would help to bring about a reconciliation between Rome and Portugal.[1]

Meanwhile, the Curia perceived that with the inactivity of the Court the evil was growing [2] and that the resolutions of the Parlement were aimed, not at a reform, but at the total destruction of the Order ; it was thought, therefore, that the time had come for the Pope to break silence in order to uphold the dignity of his office.[3] But again Pamfili advised him not to intervene ; effective aid could only come from the Court, any step in another quarter would not assist the Jesuits and was likely to aggravate hostilities and create fresh troubles.[4] So it was decided to mark time,[5] although it was realized that the brief suspension of the Parlement's resolutions was only a palliative [6] which would be of little or no help to the Order ; it might, indeed, be of harm, inasmuch as the resolutions were thereby recognized as being legally valid.[7]

There was also another matter which was causing equal anxiety. With the object of preventing the Parlement from pronouncing its verdict on the Jesuit Constitutions, the king had appointed a Court Commission to examine them. Ready though they were to look on this step as a lesser evil,[8] Curial circles were unable to rid themselves entirely of the fear that it, too, might have harmful consequences.[9] Torrigiani, therefore, pointed out firmly that the examination and still more the alteration of the Constitutions which had received Papal approbation, were the exclusive prerogative of the Holy See. The king might conceivably forbid the exercise of the Order's privileges but he was not entitled to declare them excessive

[1] See above, p. 355 *seq.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 9 and October 7, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 16 and October 28, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 28, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 23, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[6] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 28, 1761, *ibid.*

[7] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 7, 1761, *ibid.*

[8] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 1 and 8, 1761, *ibid.*

[9] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 21, 1761, *ibid.*

or unreasonable[1]; and still less could the Pope allow any interference with the Church's office of teaching.[2] To Choiseul's assurance that no essential alterations would be made in the Institute and that everything would be pre-arranged with Rome,[3] Torrigiani replied that after so many approbations by his predecessors Clement XIII. was certainly not prepared to make any alterations in the constitutional or governmental structure of the Order. No requests of this nature, therefore, should be submitted to Rome.[4] To meddle with the Constitutions meant turning the French Assistancy into an association without a head or overthrowing the whole Order.[5]

At the end of November the Court reverted to a plan which it had already considered,[6] namely, that the Bishops, who were to meet in Paris in December to discuss a voluntary grant of money,[7] should be invited to give their opinion of the Jesuit question. This step was viewed in Rome with apprehension. The Bishops being divided among themselves and being favourably disposed towards the Gallican principles, it was to be feared that the whole scheme would bring less advantage to the Jesuits than to the Parlement,[8] which at this juncture was displaying a remarkably accommodating attitude towards the financial demands of the Government.[9]

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 7, 1761, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 21, 1761, *ibid.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 9, 1761, *ibid.*, 515. See also *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 21, 1761, *ibid.*

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 2, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 18, 1761, *ibid.*

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 24, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[7] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 30, 1761, *ibid.*

[8] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 9 and November 25, 1761, *ibid.*, 450; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 2 and 23, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[9] The nuncio supposed that it desired to gain in this way the king's favour "*per essere poi in grado di farlo entrare più facilmente nelle sue mire o di resistergli con maggior apparenza di ragione nell' affare dei Gesuiti" (Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 7, 1761, *ibid.*).

The four points submitted for consideration by the Court to the president, Cardinal de Luynes, were: (i) the question whether the Jesuits were of benefit to France, and what advantages and disadvantages accrued to the country from their activities; (ii) their moral attitude and their teaching, especially regarding tyrannicide and the four Gallican articles; (iii) their subordination to the Bishops and their relations with the parish clergy; (iv) the question as to what restrictions were to be placed on the excessively extensive authority wielded in France by the General of the Society.[1] The second and fourth points especially were a cause of grave concern to Clement XIII. He let it be known through the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Bishops were not to enforce the Jesuits' adherence to the propositions of 1682, which had been condemned by Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. and abandoned by Louis XIV., for that would be an insult to the Holy See. Nor was the General's authority over the Jesuits to be disturbed; it was impossible to remove the French members of the Order from his jurisdiction without destroying the very essence of the Order's institution.[2] The Pope was altogether opposed to any constitutional reform, for if it was intended to apply to the whole of the Society it would be unjust to remodel it on French lines; if, on the other hand, it was intended only for France, it would create a new association, separate from the Order as a whole. The Holy See would never lend a hand to such a cleavage; he would rather see it brought about by an abuse of the secular power than that the lawful authority should confirm resolutions leading to the destruction of an Order which had been ecclesiastically approved.[3]

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 30, 1761, *ibid.*; De la Croix to Ricci, January 4, 1762, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 217, n. 2; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V., 210.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 16, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *Se le mutazioni che costì sovrastanno all' Istituto de' Gesuiti, non risguardassero che i privilegi che gode la Compagnia, o non vi sarebbe bisogno di appoggiarle all' autorità pontificia,

Complying with Torrigiani's request, Pamfili did all in his power to see that the Pope's demands were satisfied,[1] but he met with only partial success. The commission of prelates [2] finished its work on December 29th, 1761, and laid it before the assembly on the following day, and on December 31st, with the president at its head, submitted its report to the king.[3] It proved to be more favourable than Rome had dared to hope. Only the Jansenist-minded Bishop Fitz-James of Soissons had spoken definitely against the Jesuits and in favour of the suppression of the Order, although he had done full justice to the moral conduct of its members.[4] Cardinal Choiseul and four other prelates wanted the Jesuits to be

o, se bisognasse, niuna o poca difficoltà s'incontrerebbe in N. S. Ma la cosa non è così : Anche V. S. Illma conviene ne' suoi numeri de' 7 cadente, che la riforma de' Gesuiti, a cui mira il Parlamento, e la corte in parte non disapprova, si estenderà anche a parte dell' Istituto e de' suoi regolamenti. Questa riforma, o dovrà essere generale per tutta la Compagnia, e in ogni luogo ove la medesima è stabilita, e non è giusto mai, che tutto un Ordine soffra una riforma fatta a genio de' Francesi, oppure dovrà esser particolare per i stati di S. M. Chr^ma^, e si farà allora un nuovo Instituto diverso da quello ch'egli è presentemente e da quello che resterebbe da poi fuori della Francia, e a questa divisione N. S. non vuol mai prestare il suo assenso nè la sua autorità. Sarà meglio che costì tutto si faccia per un'abusiva potestà, piuttosto che la legitima venga a confermare quelle risoluzioni che distruggono un Ordine approvato dalla Sede Apost. Resta dunque soltanto che per parte nostra si stia in attenzione di ciò che succede, e di ciò che l'assemblea de' vescovi sarà per consultare, procurando bensì, come non mancherà certamente V. S. Illma secondo la sua nota attenzione, di suggerire ai medesimi i più sani moderati consigli " (Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 30, 1761, *ibid.*).

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 21, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[2] The assembly had set up a commission of twelve prelates as their representatives, with the choice of whom the Jesuits were satisfied (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 7, 1761, *ibid.*).

[3] ROCHEMONTEIX, 217, n. 2.

[4] *Avis de Monseigneur l'évêque de Soissons, Duc de Fitz-James, Pair de France, donnée dans l'Assemblée des évêques du mois de*

directly subject to the Bishops and referred in support of their plea to the occasion when the Jesuits were first admitted into France, at the time of the Colloquy of Poissy. As to their life and influence he too gave favourable testimony.[1] The vast majority of the assembly—forty-five Bishops and two Vicars General—supported the Jesuits unconditionally, testified emphatically to the profit they brought to Church and State, approved of their independence of the Bishops in their external activities, praised their doctrine and morals, and demanded the preservation of the Institute unimpaired. The existing authority of the General was beneficial and necessary for the good management of the Society and ought not, therefore, to be abolished or restricted. Any alteration of the Constitution was to be avoided. In any case it could only be done with the assent of the Holy See and the agreement of the other Catholic princes, unless they wanted to have as many Orders as there were countries.[2] In addition to the forty-five prelates,[3] twenty-nine other Bishops wrote in support of the Order to the King and the Chancellor between September 5th and November 24th, 1761.[4] The Cardinal Secretary

Décembre, 1761, et envoyé par ce Prélat au Roi, Paris, 1763. The publisher stated in the preface that this written opinion, which had fallen into his hands by accident, was published without the knowledge of Fitz-James. The only reason, he said, that it did not bear the signature of the Bishop was because it was accompanied by a letter to the king. One may therefore doubt if it is actually the authentic text. Extract in RAVIGNAN, II., 264 *seqq.*

[1] *Ibid.*, 259 *seqq.* The Bishops of Angers and Orleans, who had agreed at first with Cardinal Choiseul, sided with the majority in the course of the negotiations (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 4, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Parere manoscritto dell' Assemblea de' vescovi, *ibid.*, fo. 103–120; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 4, 1762, *ibid.*; De la Croix to Ricci, January 4, 1762, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 217, n. 2.

[3] The names in RAVIGNAN, I., 508 *seq.*

[4] Their names, *ibid.*, 510 *seqq.* Archbishop Beaumont of Paris *declared in a special letter to Louis XV. of January 1, 1762, his agreement with the opinion of the majority of the Bishops (Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*).

of State had good reason, therefore, to regard this overwhelming manifesto of the French episcopacy as a magnificent testimonial for the persecuted Order and a powerful defence against the attacks of the Parlement.[1] This triumph, however, had been bought at the price of admissions and declarations which impaired the dignity and prestige of the Holy See.[2]

Shortly after the publication of the Parlement's resolution of August 6th, 1761, the Paris Provincial, De la Croix, hoping to offer an effective counter to the accusations contained therein, had a letter sent to Archbishop Beaumont [3] and to the king,[4] in which, on behalf of the Province, he rejected not only the permissibility of tyrannicide but also the doctrine of the Pope's indirect authority in temporal affairs. Not content with this, the Jesuits published in mid-October a declaration signed before a notary by the Fathers of the three Paris houses, laying down (i) the inadmissibility of tyrannicide, (ii) the complete independence of princes in temporal matters, (iii) the limits of the authority wielded by the Superiors and the General, who could give no order contrary to the laws and principles of the realm, and (iv) the abstention from the exercise of the Order's privileges wherever they clashed with the rights of the Bishops, parish priests, universities, and other Orders.[5] The document was sent to

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 27, 1762, Cifre, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Dated Paris, August 13, 1761.

[4] Dated Paris, August 16, 1761. Both letters in ROCHEMONTEIX, 222 *seq.*

[5] The second paragraph of the declaration reads as follows: "que conformément à la déclaration de l'Assemblée du clergé de France tenue en 1682 ils tiennent et enseignent que Jésus-Christ ayant donnée à St. Pierre et à ses successeurs la puissance sur les choses spirituelles qui ont rapport au salut éternel, il ne leur a donné nulle ni directe ni indirecte sur les choses temporelles, et que conséquemment ni les Rois ne peuvent être déposés, ni leur sujets déliés du serment de fidélité." The text of the whole declaration is in RICCI, **Istoria*, 38 *seq.* *Cf.* De la Croix to Ricci, October 20, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 221, n. 3.

all the houses of the Paris Province and to the other Provincials, so that it might be subscribed to on oath by every French Jesuit. In several cases it met with opposition on account of the vagueness of many of its expressions, which, it was thought, might have evil effects. Consequently, it was hastily withdrawn and replaced by another declaration, which apparently was signed on all sides, many Jesuits having the impression that it had been set before them with the knowledge and desire of the General, which, in fact, was not the case.[1]

Ricci protested that the declaration was made entirely on their own responsibility,[2] while according to other accounts it was made under pressure exerted by De Flesselles in his capacity of *rapporteur* to the Court Commission.[3] A possible explanation of the apparent contradiction between the two accounts is that the Jesuits, who had been informed since the end of September that the Commission would demand a statement on the Gallican Articles, wanted to avoid a formal assent to all four articles by undertaking to teach (as in 1713 and 1757) only the first article, which expounded the complete independence of princes from ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters, and the irremovability of secular rulers.[4]

If the Paris Jesuits imagined that they had avoided the difficulty by means of their concessions, they were soon disillusioned. The Court Commission rejected their statement as inadequate [5] and presented them with a fresh formula for signature. This, among other things, contained a formal adherence to all four of the Gallican Articles.[6] After the

[1] " *Il Provinciale di Francia riconvenuto, diè per risposta la necessità, la strettezza del tempo e il pericolo di mali maggiori " (Ricci, **Istoria*, 39). The text of the amended declaration is not included in Ricci, *loc. cit.*

[2] " Dichiarazione offerta spontaneamente e sottoscritta, è rigettata come insufficiente " (Ricci, **Istoria*, 38).

[3] Rochemonteix, 221.

[4] Ravignan, I., 135 *seq.*

[5] Ricci, **Istoria*, 38 and 39.

[6] Text *ibid.*, 39–40, printed in Ravignan, II., 188 *seq.*

removal of certain difficulties in the phrasing of the text,[1] this declaration, too, was signed by the Jesuits.[2] At the urgent request of the same commission, which wanted to forestall its possible rejection by the Parlement,[3] the Provincial sent the document to the General, so that he might ratify it in one form or another.[4] On learning what had happened, Ricci sent De la Croix a letter in which he expressed his disapproval in unmistakable language. Such declarations, he maintained, were purposeless and dangerous in any case, as had been shown by past experience, and the present instance, which had taken place without his knowledge, was entirely harmful. As a defensive measure it would have been sufficient to have condemned tyrannicide and to have renewed the prohibition to treat of the indirect authority. By their over-hasty action the French Jesuits had jettisoned their reputation for especial obedience towards the Holy See and the good will of the Pope, and still they had failed to pacify their enemies, who, indeed, would never be satisfied until the Jesuits had given up their defence of religion and had embraced the errors

[1] *Cf.* RAVIGNAN, I., 137, n. 1., 516 *seqq.*

[2] So Ricci states in his **Istoria*, 39, 40, 43. The members of the Province of Aquitaine, suspecting the inadmissibility of the third formula, had drawn up and signed their own declaration (text in RAVIGNAN, II., 191). The Court Commission rejected it as insufficient and demanded the signature of the version fixed by themselves (RICCI, **Istoria*, 40; ROCHEMONTEIX, 230, n. 1; *Ricci to Salvat, January 12, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[3] It had been asserted in the Parlement that the declarations of the Jesuits were not to be given any credit unless they were ratified by their General (ROCHEMONTEIX, 226, n. 1).

[4] De la Croix to Ricci, November 10, 1761, a part printed in ROCHEMONTEIX, 226, n. 1. The formula of ratification put to the General reads as follows: "Ego Praepositus Generalis Societatis Iesu censeo aequum et rectum esse, ut haec declaratio, cui nostrae Societatis homines in Gallia degentes subscripsere, fideliter ab omnibus in praxi teneatur" (RICCI, **Istoria*, 41, printed in ROCHEMONTEIX, 126, where "quam" is given instead of "cui").

of their adversaries. The plea of necessity could not really be believed in Rome; in any case, they ought first to have consulted the nuncio and the Archbishop of Paris. Their request that he should confirm their declaration with his signature, he must indignantly reject. With the grace of God he would consent to nothing that might offend in the slightest degree the dignity of the Holy See and bring into disrepute the Church of Christ and the Society of Jesus. Those who had signed the declaration would one day have to answer for the unhappy consequences of their deed before the judgment-seat of the Almighty, who was more to be feared than all the courts of men.[1]

Similarly, Torrigiani observed in a dispatch to the nuncio that it would have sufficed to promise not to touch the question of the indirect authority in their lectures. By their declaration the French Jesuits had given the lie to their violently contested title of "well-deserving servants of the Church". Even though the use of indirect authority had fallen out of fashion, that was no reason for abandoning rightful principles. The General had disapproved of the step taken by his subordinates, who had acted with their national impetuosity, without reckoning the consequences or reflecting that with the loss of the support given by the Holy See practically everything was lost and that little was wanting for complete ruin. When a suitable opportunity offered, the nuncio might make known to the most respected of the Fathers, especially the king's confessor, the Pope's grief at what had happened, and give them to understand that the Holy Father was most assuredly disposed to maintain his goodwill towards the Society of Jesus, but only so long as it earned it by its loyalty to the Apostolic See.[2]

In a letter of November 24th, 1761, the Provincial tried to justify his line of conduct by referring to the Parlement, which would most certainly have deprived the Jesuits of their schools

[1] *Ricci to De la Croix, November 11, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 4, 1761, Nunziat. di Francia, 450A, *loc. cit.*

if they had refused to make their declaration, and to the indignation which would be aroused among most Catholics, including the Bishops, by the opposite doctrine. Further, they defended the Gallican Articles not as articles of faith but only as a theological opinion which might be held without prejudice to one's faith.[1] De la Croix returned to the subject a week later. It was not only the Parlement but also the Ministers, the commissioners, and the Bishops who had demanded the declaration. The only point he had been able to gain was that the General's ratification should not be absolutely insisted on. Let not the Pope be angry with them : they had undertaken the teaching of the Gallican articles not of their free will but as the result of pressure from outside. In his dealings with the commissioners he had pointed out from the very first that the General's ratification was hardly to be expected ; he had only undertaken to forward this request because one of his subordinates had already assured the commission's *rapporteur* that the confirmation would be obtained without difficulty if the demand for inward assent to the Gallican Articles was dropped.[2]

Before these missives reached their destination, the General had shown in an extremely grave letter that he had to persist in his refusal, since in his view it was not permissible to grant the requested confirmation. It would be better for the whole Order to perish than that he should save it by sinful means. And even if the whole of the Society separated itself from its head, the head of the Society would never separate himself from the centre of unity and the head of the Church. The Society had come into being to be of service to the Holy See—and in its service it would end its life. Those who had given rise to the disaster would have to answer for it before the judgment seat of God. In the General's opinion, the root cause of the present calamitous situation was the imprudence of his own people, which did more harm to the Order in

[1] De la Croix to Ricci, November 24, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 226, n. 1.

[2] De la Croix to Ricci, December 1, 1761, partly *ibid.*, 229, n. 1.

France than the malice of its enemies. It was not till the trouble had gone too far and it was too late for consultation that recourse was had to the General. Action was taken without any deliberation and merely in accordance with the opinion of a few individuals. Without his advice being sought, negotiations on the most vital matters, even when they affected his own person, had been carried so far forward that it was no longer possible to retreat without injuring the Society. He had given many admonishments and instructions but they had fallen on deaf ears.[1]

And this indeed was the truth. The Paris Jesuits had committed themselves too far by their previous statements and thought that in the prevailing circumstances it was impossible to withdraw. Ministers and commissioners pressed for their signatures, assuring them that the salvation of the Society in France depended thereon; without these signatures the king's support against the forcible measures of the Parliament was not to be relied on.[2] When the Bishops also made their support of the Order dependent on the signature of the formula which had been laid before them, the Paris

[1] " *Miror sane nihil videre apud vos in rebus gravissimis eos, qui haec proponunt, multa ignorare, quae si scirent, haec proponenda non credidissent; vix credam legisse, quae proponunt. At peribit non in Gallia solum, sed ubique Societas: at mihi christianus spiritus Deo adiuvante exercendus est; si servari Societas non potest sine meo scelere, praestat illam perire, quam ne levissima quidem culpa tueri christianus debet; lugebo eius ruinam, solabor me innocentia mea. Si avellatur a suo capite Societas, caput Societatis non incipiet avelli ab unitatis centro et capite Ecclesiae; in obsequium S. Sedis orta est Societas, in eiusdem obsequium peribit. Tanti mali rationem Deo iudici reddent, qui illi causam dederunt. Haec R^ae V^ae confidentius scribo, quae secreta quidem volo, sed ita, ut iis pro sua prudentia utatur " (Ricci to Routh, December 2, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*). The same ideas recur in a *letter from Ricci to Frey, December 30, 1761, *ibid.*

[2] De la Croix to Ricci, December 1, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 229, n. 1. *Cf. ibid.*, 227 *seqq.*, and the letter of Cardinal De Luynes to Salvat of 1761, printed in RAVIGNAN, II., 193 *seq.*

Jesuits signed on December 19th, 1761, for the fourth time a declaration, the purport of which was no more restrained than the preceding ones. In it they agreed to the doctrine of the complete independence of princes in temporal matters from every other power on earth, undertook to teach the four Gallican articles in public and private, subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bishops in accordance with the tenets and discipline of the Gallican Church, and renounced their claim to all existing and future privileges of the Order which conflicted with all this. Decrees issued by the General which ran contrary to this declaration they regarded as unlawful, null, and void, and consequently not binding.[1]

This declaration, like the Bishops' memorandum, was, the nuncio admitted, injurious to the dignity and rights of the Holy See, but at the same time, in his view, it was unavoidable. For, as he proceeded to point out, in spite of all the prohibitions of Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII., and of all the counter-edicts of Louis XIV., the Gallican articles were in fact taught throughout France. Nowhere was anyone allowed to teach the opposite. In this matter, he wrote, we have against us not only the Parlements and universities, but also the Court, the Bishops, and all the Orders. A man might think differently within himself but he would take care not to voice his opinion in public, or he would inevitably be punished. Certainly the Jesuits could have refused to sign the declaration, and with such a refusal (for which on so many other occasions they had not had the necessary courage) they would have shown their loyalty to the Holy See, but this much was certain: the Jesuits who

[1] Latin text in Ricci, **Istoria*, 40 *seq.*, French translation in Crétineau-Joly, V., 212 *seq.*; Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 40 *seq.*; Ravignan, II., 190 *seq.*; Rochemonteix, 224 *seq.* "... sicchè in poche settimane furono dai poveri Gesuiti in Francia accettate e sottoscritte quattro dichiarazioni. Ma essi sono portati a queste, persuasi vanamente di comporre ogni cosa con una dichiarazione, e frattanto debolmente cedendo a sentimenti dai quali dovrebbero esser lontani" (Ricci, **Istoria*, 40).

had dared to refuse could not have continued to live in France. Nor would their action have removed the evil, for all the other theologians would have gone on defending the Articles as before. His arguments against the Articles had made no impression at all on Cardinal Luynes, the president of the clerical assembly.[1]

Although Ricci had shown unyielding firmness in strictly

[1] "Il secondo quesito fatto all' Assemblea, principalmente dove si parla degli articoli del 1682, compromette certamente la dignità del a Sede Apost., e molto più poi la compromette la risposta de' vescovi e la precauzione da essi presa, ed accettata da questi Gesuiti; ma qual ostacolo o rimedio poteva darsi ad un sì grave inconveniente? Non ostante tutto ciò, che abbiano fatto Alessandro VIII. e Innocenzo XII. contro gli atti del clero gallicano del 1682, non ostanti gli ordini dati da Luigi XIV., è certissimo che questi articoli s'insegnano dappertutto in Francia o dove si trattano simili questioni, e che in niun' luogo, nè a veruna persona è permesso d'insegnare il contrario. Con chi farsi forte pertanto per impedire l'esame di tali delicate questioni ed una dichiarazione ingiuriosa? Se in questo incidente a differenza di tutti gli altri, che possono mai darsi, sono contro di noi non solo i magistrati e le università del regno, ma la corte, i vescovi ed anche le comunità religiose, e se vi è taluno, che internamente senta il contrario, si guarda bene di propalare il suo sentimento, mentre ciò non può farsi impunemente." The Parlement's attitude forced the Bishops to give an unequivocal answer. "I Gesuiti potevano certamente ricusare la segnatura della dichiarazione richiestagli, e con tal rifiuto, quale per altro non hanno mai avuto il coraggio di dare in tante altre occasioni, avrebbero somministrato alla S. Sede una riprova della loro fedeltà, ma i Gesuiti tenendo una tal condotta in Francia, erano certamente perduti in Francia, e più o meno l'inconveniente sarebbe rimasto sussistente in tutti gli altri teologi, che avrebbero continuato a difendere detti articoli." This was not said in defence of the Bishops and Jesuits, but to show that this was an old trouble which broke out from time to time. "Nelle circostanze presenti era impossibile di evitarsi, e che non si eviterà giammai in simili occasioni" (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 4, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*).

upholding ecclesiastical principles, he was sufficiently far-seeing and sympathetic to understand and appreciate the extremely difficult situation in which his subordinates were placed. He did not forget to bring to the attention of the Pope, among others, the exculpatory arguments which showed the attitude of his subjects, whose very existence was at stake, in a more favourable light.[1] Besides the considerations put forward by Pamfili, he himself had misgivings about certain matters of history. Alexander VIII.'s Bull against the four Gallican Articles was posted up in the Campo de' Fiori only just before the Pope's death and was taken away again as soon as he had died, so that in many quarters its publication was thought to be inadequate. In disregard of the Bull, the Gallican doctrine was taught in all the universities of France, even at Rheims, Bourges, Toulouse, and Montpellier, where the theological faculties were in Jesuit hands, the reason being that Louis XIV. demanded uniformity. No objection had been made by Rome ; in fact Benedict XIV., as a sign of his good-will, had presented his portrait to the Sorbonne, where the doctrine had been born and where it had never lacked adherents. To judge from the spirit prevailing in Rome, there was little hope of support from that quarter. If they had refused to accept the terms, said the French Jesuits, Rome would have left them in the lurch and would perhaps have blamed them for taking such a risk in defending tenets yet undefined, and it would have represented them as rash and unruly spirits.[2]

Ricci's representations were not without effect. Loth to worsen the situation of the French Jesuits, already sufficiently parlous, Rome refrained from making a counter-manifesto.[3] But extenuating circumstances notwithstanding, the declara-

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 46.

[2] *Ricci's observations (in a rough draft, hastily composed and undated), in Jesuit possession, *Suppressio*, 8, Ricci, II. ; Ricci, **Istoria*, 46.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 27, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

tion was, from the ecclesiastical angle, reprehensible, and from the purely human point of view it was not in accordance with the principles of either prudence or self-respect. It was an act of weakness and fear, only too likely to deprive its perpetrators of public respect.

Their declaration brought no advantage to the Jesuits. No sooner had they escaped from one predicament than they ran into another, and this time it was the Court Commission which caused the trouble. Set up with the object of protecting the Jesuits from the arbitrary measures of the Parlement, it developed more and more into a pliant tool which helped to accelerate the Order's ruin. On this occasion it embarrassed the Jesuits by demanding from them a declaration on the question of tyrannicide.[1]

As far back as the time when the attempt on the king's life had been made, the French Jesuits had been accused of having assisted in the crime by their teaching of the right of resistance and consequently of being morally responsible for the deed.[2] The matter had been quickly settled by the far-reaching declarations made by the Jesuits of Toulouse and Paris,[3] but since Pombal's revival of the old charge, it had been a never-ending subject of discussion. As soon as the attacks on the Order in France broke out, this favourite material for agitation had to do duty once again. It served a double purpose, inasmuch as it never failed to impress the broad masses and was calculated to render the whole Order an object of suspicion in the various Courts, the situation being easily interpreted as though the attempts at regicide originated in the doctrines and principles of the Society itself.[4] Among the twenty-four Jesuit works which, on August 6th, 1761, the Paris Parlement had condemned to

[1] ROCHEMONTEIX, 229 *seq.* For the doctrine of tyrannicide, *cf.* DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln* (1909[4]), 694. Further references are given there.

[2] See above, p. 380.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 381, and below, p. 432, n. 1.

[4] RICCI, **Istoria*, 41 *seqq.*

be burned were some in which the questionable doctrine was not even incidentally mentioned, for instance those by Bellarmine and Suarez. Moreover, with very doubtful logic, the speakers in the Parlement argued that the permissibility of tyrannicide necessarily followed from the doctrine of indirect authority.[1] To wrest this weapon from the hands of the Parlement the rapporteur to the Court Commission required the Jesuits to take their stand against the doctrine complained of by making a public declaration on the subject.

The formula drafted by the Court Commission[2] was objected to in the first place by the French Jesuits and underwent a revision at their hands.[3] At the beginning of October 1761, De la Croix sent it to Rome for signature, explaining that the accusations made by the Society's opponents necessitated a renewal of Aquaviva's decree against the doctrine of tyrannicide. The General, however, had several objections to make against the content and the form of the document. It was more of a schoolmaster's denunciation of the prohibited doctrine than a carefully composed statement in theological and legal terms. Further, it contained an unseemly censure of respected Jesuit theologians, and, finally, the Court Commission had insinuated into it a concealed condemnation of the doctrine of indirect authority. For these reasons Ricci, with the Pope's agreement, refused his signature,[4] but on October 28th, 1761, he sent a courteous letter to Louis XV., again condemning the obnoxious doctrine in the name of his

[1] *Ibid.*, 41 *seqq.*

[2] French text in RAVIGNAN, II., 182 *seq.*

[3] "Le lendemain, je reçus une lettre du Père Provinciale, par laquelle il me mandait que le projet du décret allait partir pour Rome, en m'observant cependant qu on avait retranché le mot sentire, parceque nul Général n'avait droit sur les pensées, et que ce droit était réservé à l'Église universelle, à qui seule appartenait le droit de commander les sentiments intérieurs." *Ibid.*, I., 517 *seq.*

[4] RICCI, **Istoria*, 44 *seqq.*; *Ricci to Routh, December 2, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*; *Ricci to Frey, December 30, 1761, *ibid.*

Society.[1] The king received it with satisfaction[2] and this might have been expected to conclude the matter.

But the Court Commission, realizing that the General was not to be induced to sign their form of declaration, tried to gain its end by indirect means. On the plea of having to satisfy the Parlement on some score or other, it renewed in December its former request that Ricci should sign the decree against the doctrine of tyrannicide. The Provincial's advisers were all of the opinion that the General could not continue to withhold his signature without giving the enemy cause for saying that the Jesuits were still defending this doctrine. In the event of a refusal, the Parlement, the Ministers, and the Court Commission would propose the appointment of an independent Vicar General for the French Assistancy.[3]

Meanwhile the king had entrusted some of the Bishops with the task of composing a fresh formula, which, it was thought, would be approved by the General after the deletion of a few phrases unacceptable to Rome.[4] To make Ricci more amenable, the Provincial drew his attention once again to the great dangers with which they were threatened, the worst being that, if the formula were rejected, the king might lend an ear to the suggestions about a Vicar General.[5] Discontent was being expressed more and more loudly with the supposed hesitation of the Jesuit directorate to declare themselves against a doctrine which had been condemned and forbidden by the Society more than a hundred years ago.[6] In spite of some misgivings Ricci decided to satisfy these tempestuous demands. His new decree was based largely on the text of Aquaviva's prohibition, from which he removed only an

[1] RAVIGNAN, II., 192 *seq.*

[2] *De la Croix to Ricci, December 1, 1761, Gallia, 116.

[3] *De la Croix to Ricci, December 29, 1761, *ibid.* The passage in question is printed in ROCHEMONTEIX, 231, n. 1.

[4] De la Croix to Ricci, January 5, 1762, *ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* also the two letters from De la Croix to Ricci, of January 12, 1762, *ibid.*

[6] De la Croix to Ricci, December 29, 1761, *ibid.*

alleged ambiguity caused by a misprint.[1] He protested vigorously against the charge of having refused to renew his predecessor's decree; on the contrary, he was ready, if need be, to repeat it in a still more severe form. His refusal concerned only the formula that had been put before him, by means of which an attempt had been made to wrest from him a declaration against the indirect authority.[2] By January 19th, 1762, the document was in the hands of the Paris Provincial, who passed it straight on to Cardinal De Luynes and the king's confessor, Desmaretz, for forwarding to the king.[3] Ricci's composition was not to the liking of the Court Commission,[4] but it took no further step in the matter.

Instead, it now gave its attention to another scheme. It laid before the monarch the proposal that the General of the Society be asked (most unreasonably) to appoint a special Vicar General for France. It is to Ricci's everlasting credit that by his determined and resolute attitude in this affair the Order was preserved from an inglorious end through self-disintegration.

The idea of appointing a special Vicar General for the French

[1] RICCI, **Istoria*, 45; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 27, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.* In the older editions of the Institute it is forbidden to teach: "licitum esse *cuique* personae, quocunque praetextu tyrannidis reges et principes occidere." The reading "cuique" is a misprint; the original text has "cuicumque", which reappears in the latest edition of the Institute (Vol. II., Florentiae, 1893, 573). Ricci instead of "cuique" wrote, more clearly: "ulli cuiuscunque conditionis aut status homini." For more detailed arguments see DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[4] (1904), 741, n. 3; *cf. ibid.*, 761, n. 1. For the origin of Aquaviva's decree, see *ibid.*, 722 *seqq.*

[2] *Ricci to De la Croix, January 20, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* It grieved the General most of all that even the Provincial should have made such unprincipled statements (*Ricci to Routh, January 27, 1762, *ibid.*).

[3] De la Croix to Ricci, January 19, 1762, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 235, n. 2.

[4] *De la Croix to Ricci, February 9, 1762, Gallia, 116.

Assistancy had been mentioned casually in 1757, without arousing much attention.[1] When the contest was renewed after the Lavalette affair, this plan cropped up again and not all the support it found was outside the Order. Among other demands made when the Institute was being examined by the Parlement was that France should have its own Vicar General, independent of the central authority in Rome, on the score that French subjects ought not to be subject to any foreign power.[2] On this occasion Clement XIII.[3] and Ricci[4] worked in conjunction to check such a project, which would have brought about a fundamental alteration in the constitutions of the Order, if not its utter downfall.

Up to this point the cry for the separation of the French Assistancy from Rome had come only from the Parlement, but in the course of the autumn rumours reached Rome that the Ministers and the commissioners also were not averse to

[1] On the occasion of the attempt on the king's life and the consequent condemnation of Busenbaum and Lacroix, the Jesuits made a declaration which questioned the rights of the Holy See. On the order of the Pope the then Vicar General, Timoni, complained to the Prov ncial Allanic. "Questi portò la solita scusa della necessità e del timore di essere costretto a sottoscrivere qualche cosa di peggio; ed ebbe la temerità di accennare che se Roma avesse fatto forza o recato molestia ai nostri Francesi, si sarebbero essi divisi dal resto della Religione eleggendo un Superiore generale distinto in Francia" (Ricci, **Istoria*, 19). *Cf.* above, p. 381, n. 3.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 20 and June 8, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 514 and 515, respectively, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 6, 1761, *ibid.*, 453.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 410, n. 3. "*Quello che almeno si vorrebbe salvo, sarebbe l'unione di tutto il corpo col suo Generale, e salva insieme la sostanza del loro Istituto; chechè poi ne sia dei maggiori o minori privilegi, che godono in Italia e in Ispagna, e che piuttosto contribuiscono ad un maggiore lustro e comodo della Compagnia, che al fondamento della sua Istituzione" (Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 15, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 450, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Ricci to Desmaretz, May 6, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

the scheme.[1] When it was known that the episcopal assembly was to discuss the question of limiting the authority of the General,[2] the nuncio was instructed to inform the Ministers and the Bishops in the clearest possible terms that the Holy Father's assent to an alteration in the government of the Order was not to be obtained; to separate the members from the jurisdiction of the head was tantamount to destroying the very essence of the Institute.[3] Pamfili's representations were well received by the French prelates, who, except for a dwindling minority, signified their approval of the retention of the central government.[4] But with the Ministers and the members of the Court Commission it was a different situation. Their principles, wrote the nuncio, are very different from ours. They may not agree with all the ideas of the Parlement but they certainly agree with more than one. Their intention is to pursue a course of compromise and pacify the Parlement on some points in order to induce it to yield on all the others. Were they to refuse all concessions, they fear that the courts of the Parlement would cease to function. The Court was undoubtedly in a highly precarious situation, aggravated by the costly and unsuccessful foreign war and by the many internal dissensions.[5]

While the plans of the Parlement and the Court Commission

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 18, 1762, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 30, 1761, *ibid.*, 515.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 18 and December 2 and 16, 1761, *ibid.*, 450. A personal intervention by the Pope seemed inadvisable in view of the great danger of the Holy See's becoming embroiled with the king and the government, to the injury of the Church and the Pope's prestige, and without any advantage accruing to the Jesuits; at all events it was thought desirable to await first the result of the episcopal assembly (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 453).

[4] See above, p. 417.

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 7, 1761, and January 18 and 25, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515 and 516, respectively, *loc. cit.*

were wholly influenced by Gallican-absolutist ideas, even certain Jesuits imagined that their last hope lay in conceding an alteration in their Constitution.[1] In the case of other Jesuits, especially in the professed house in Paris, certain considerations for the Court and possibly also a certain feeling of resentment against the Roman directorate of the Order, arising from the Lavalette affair, were probably not without their influence. It would be rash to state the numbers and names of those who were thought to be in favour of the alteration in the Constitution. So far as can be seen, their number was by no means large, and their attitude expressed itself more in vacillation due to a timid spirit of concurrence than in any positive demand.[2] The mutual ill-feeling of the five Provinces occasioned by the payment of Lavalette's debts had obscured the judgment of many Jesuits. Some who were reputed to hold innovatory views, Neuville among others,[3] afterwards came forward with written defences of the Order's Constitution. Neuville, nevertheless, was called on by the General to defend himself against the charge of having favoured the innovation. To his letter of self-vindication Ricci replied that rumours to this effect had reached him several weeks before, but that he had passed them over in silence, refusing on principle to attach any credit to

[1] *Ricci to Nectoux, September 30 and December 2, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666. " Ex ipsis litteris P. Nectoux intellexeram, ipsum a Vicariis non abhorrere ; ab hac cogitatione illum, ut spero, abducam " (*Ricci to Salvat, June 23, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[2] " *Fu scritto che piegerasso a questo partito anco i PP. Griffet, Beauvais confessore d'una Madama di Francia, Le Verger fatto venire a Parigi in riguardo al Duca di Choiseul primo Ministro, La Tour similmente molto amico del medesimo Duca, Gatin come unito al P. Griffet. Giunta però la risposta del Generale parve che tutti si unissero nel sentimento di rigettare il Vicario, almeno dissimulassero il sentimento contrario " (Ricci, **Istoria*, 58).

[3] See above, p. 393 ; *De la Croix to Ricci, June 16, 1761, Gallia, 116.

such serious accusations when unsupported by definite evidence.[1]

But the rumours were not entirely without foundation. On October 6th, 1761, Ricci was writing that it had been reported to him that on two or three occasions the proposal to alter the Order's Constitutions had been discussed in private. He conjured his subordinates by the eternal Judge, to whom they would one day have to render a strict account, not even in conversation to touch on a question which would bring in its train the certain ruin of the French Assistancy and even of the whole Order.[2] When subsequently the Paris Jesuits

[1] *Ricci to Neuville, August 19, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.* " *Rumor adeo iniuriosus P^i Carolo de Neuville ad me etiam pervenerat, sed cum de gravissimo crimine agatur, suspicionibus meris fidem habere nefas duxi et rem silentio pressi. Equidem doleo vehementer et arbitror dolere vos ipsos, quod aliqui in suspicionem vocentur, quod publice in foro dictum et peroratum sit, utilem fore separationem, id sentire eos etiam ex vobis, qui rectius sentiunt, ductam coniecturam ad id suadendum ex promptiori quam opus fuerit traditione Instituti. Ego vero nulli iniuriam hanc faciam, ut haec credam, nisi certis argumentis edoctus; cupio tamen omnes ita religiose ac modeste agere et loqui, ut nullum dent locum suspicioni " (*Ricci to De la Croix, May 26, 1761, *ibid.*). *Ricci to De la Croix, July 8, 1761, Gallia 43. *Cf.* also *Ricci to Croust, June 24, 1761, *ibid.*

[2] " *Unum addo momenti gravissimi; refertur in familiaribus sermonibus propositum bis ac ter esse id, quod ne uno quidem verbo innuendum est, de mutatione scilicet gubernationis, quae et vestram potiss mum et totius Societatis ruinam certissime traheret. Obtestor itaque vos per Deum, cui rationem reddituri estis, ut religiose vivatis, loquamini et negotium agatis; equidem non hominum, sed Dei iram metuo " (Ricci to Griffet, October 6, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*). " *Praeterea non paucis adstantibus, [Salvat] veritus non est dicere, nimis magnam esse Praepositi Generalis auctoritatem, quasi eam sibi arrogaret, non ab Instituto acciperet, Praepositos Generales ea abuti, quod cum nullos fecisse putem, minime ipse feci, qui nihil nisi diligenter auditis iis, quorum intererat, et communicatis consiliis susceperim. Haec fusius prosequi non est huius loci: quae personam respiciunt, nullius momenti sunt, maximi vero quae ad munus pertinent,

pressed him more than once to approve of their declaration, there entered even into the General's mind the suspicion that it was only a clever move to gain an excuse for breaking away from the Order in the event of his refusal.[1] To the king's confessor, Desmaretz, who appeared to be not entirely averse to the idea of a Vicar General,[2] he addressed with diplomatic

quod immeritus gero ; ab homine religioso et qui bono animo scriberet (quamquam homo religiosus haec non scriberet), tolerari possent, ab homine vero parum religioso fieri non debent. Sed illud me angit, quod cum de labefactando Instituto nostro Parisiis cogitatur, pessimum consilium dictis suis iuvare homo hic facile possit" (Ricci to Nectoux, August 5, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666). On January 12, 1762, however, Ricci *informed Salvat of the pleasure he had had in hearing that he was trying to protect the Institute from injury (*Epist. Gen. secretae*). *Cf.* also Dufaud to Ricci, October 16, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 233, n. 1.

[1] "*Postremis litteris non erubescitis, a me petere subscriptionem declarationis vestrae ; exhorrui, cum legerem. Cogitis me tandem libere loqui, sit verbis venia. An mihi fraudes nectitis et vim infertis ? An id unum studetis, in vestro negotio tractando, non ut vos expediatis, sed ut totum eius onus totamque invidiam in me reiciatis ? An causas quaeritis divisionis faciendae, dum illam impedire velle simulatis ? Cum videritis inanem fore vestram declarationem, nisi a me confirmetur, tamen rem adeo gravem facere ausi estis me inscio et inconsulto, nec timuistis me ad confirmandum quodammodo et quantum in vobis est cogere ? Nulla certe excusatione defendi potest factum vestrum. Ego vero nihil umquam faciam Deo dante, quod vel minimum laedat observantiam erga Summum Pontificem, quocumque periculo proposito nihil subscribam nisi Summo Pontifice approbante et iubente, nec scandalum gravissimum dabo Societati et Ecclesiae. Si quae consequantur damna, vobis incumbent omnia in iudicio divino, quod utinam timere magis discamus quam humanum" (Ricci to De la Croix, November 11, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[2] "*Non mancò per altro qualche debolezza in Parigi : il P. Desmaretz, confessore del Re, inclinava a condescendere nel Vicario, forse temeva di perdere il suo posto ; esso dichiarò il suo sentimento al P. Assistente [di Francia]" (RICCI, **Istoria*, 58).

skill the request that he should use all his influence with the monarch to prevent any alterations in the nature of the Institute. However great the danger, the General could never give his consent; besides, there was no decree in the Constitution which ran counter to the laws of the State, as had been sufficiently proved by the experience of two centuries, all the enemies' statements to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

The Court Commission's plans regarding the declaration and the decree on tyrannicide having been brought to nought by Ricci's firmness, it reverted, much to the dissatisfaction of the Bishops,[2] to its old plan of altering the Order's constitution.[3] The matter was discussed in two sessions of the *Grand Conseil*, on January 14th and 15th, 1762, in the presence of all the Ministers.[4] Two days later an express courier was sent to the French envoy in Rome, Cardinal Rochechouart, and on January 26th the Jesuit General was asked to attend at the embassy for an interview on the following morning.[5]

In accordance with his instructions[6] the envoy had to explain to the General that the king had asked the episcopal assembly for an opinion, not for a binding decision. The opinions that had come from the three parties had been passed by the king to the Court Commission. The latter had a twofold object: to end the serious Jesuit crisis in France, and to prevent the abuses which might arise from the Order's

[1] *Ricci to Desmaretz, September 30, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 25, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

[3] The project of reducing the status of the Jesuits to that of a Congregation of secular priests was abandoned as soon as it came to be seriously discussed (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 453; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 1, 1762, *ibid.*, 516).

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 18, 1762, *ibid.*

[5] Ricci, **Istoria*, 49.

[6] Signed by the Duc de Praslin, dated January 16, 1762, Text in Theiner, *Clementis XIV. Epistolae et Brevia*, 336 *seqq.*

Constitutions, by subjecting the Jesuits to the laws of the State and by setting bounds to the excessive authority of their General. The unbounded power exerted over French subjects by the foreign head of a religious Order seemed irreconcilable with the absolute authority of the king and the foundations of the realm. Most of the counter-measures which had been proposed were ineffectual or would mean the destruction of the Order. Only one course would accord with the king's views: that Ricci should appoint a French member of the Order as Vicar General, who would exercise the General's authority in France, undertake on oath to observe the laws of the State, and answer in person for the good behaviour of the Jesuits in France. This plan seemed specially suitable, since provision had been made in the Institute itself for the appointment of a Vicar General in certain cases, so that no alteration need be made in the Society's system of government.[1] The General's authority would remain as it was; he would exercise it, however, through the Vicar General appointed by himself. This deputy was to be changed every three years, or at the most every six years if he had been re-appointed. As a mark of special respect for the General, the Vicar's powers were to be suspended whenever the head

[1] The Institute makes provision for a "Vacarius Generalis" only for the period between the death of the General and the election of his successor, or when the General, through ill-health or decrepitude, is unable to see to his official duties. His authority is more or less the same as that of the General, but is restricted in several matters; see *Institutum Soc. Iesu., III., Florentiae*, 1893, 732 *seqq.*, under "Vicarius Generalis". What the Court Commission had in mind was the office of a "Commissarius". Commissioners with restricted powers were appointed in the early history of the Society for remote Provinces (in India) or, on account of special circumstances, for Europe as well. The first and second General Congregations had already decided that the office of commissioner was to be only temporary and extraordinary (Congreg. I., decr. 91, post elect.: *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, II., 176; Congreg. II., decr. 11, post elect.: *ibid.*, 196). For details, see *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, III., 579, under "Commissarii".

of the Order was himself in France. These were the principal features of the plan, which would have to be in the form of a declaration; it would contain several minor points; but, as time pressed, he would not enter into details then. If the plan was agreed to, the king offered to legitimize about eighty Jesuit establishments which lacked legal confirmation, to annul the resolutions of the Parlement, and to silence it for ever afterwards. On the other hand, if the General offered resistance, the envoy would have to tell him bluntly that the king knew of no other way of saving the Jesuits. In the critical circumstances that were then prevailing, the Court's chief aim was to maintain order within the realm. If no notice was taken of the acute resentment against the Jesuits felt by the Parlement and the people, and if no concession was made to them, especially on those points in which the justice of their representations could not be denied, dangerous disturbances would inevitably arise, which might be fatal for the Jesuits. To this declaration the monarch required the formal consent of the General of the Society and, what was more, a definite and categorical answer on the following morning.[1] Pointing out the great consideration shown by the king in first obtaining the General's consent before publishing his declaration, the envoy was to use all his influence to induce him to take the only road to safety. A refusal might involve the Society in the most dire consequences, for in that case the king would either publish his declaration without regard to opposition or would give the Parlements a free hand.

It was obvious what answer would be given by Ricci, who had already declared that he did not intend to be at the head of any other Order than the one that had been handed down to him by St. Ignatius and his successors.[2] After

[1] January 28, 1762.

[2] "*Nec fieri ulla Instituti mutatio potest aut licite aut valide in iis etiam, quae substantialia non sunt, nec admitti a vobis potest, nisi me consentiente et approbante, ad quem unice spectat Superiores Provinciarum aliosque consulere, cum opus fuerit. Mutationes, de quibus eat sermo, gravissimae sunt; ego vero alteri Religioni non praeero quam illi, quae ad me transmissa est

expressing his appreciation of the king's good intentions, he observed that he did not believe that he had the authority to make such an important alteration in the Order's constitution. In any case he would have to have the opinion of his counsellors; and the time given him—twenty-four hours—in which to decide on a question of such far-reaching importance was extremely short. The indefinite nature of the proposal which envisaged a Vicar General without defining his powers more closely seemed to him to conceal a stratagem, under cover of the complete dependence of the Vicar on the head of the Order. It was unjust also to single out the Society of Jesus from all the other Orders as the only one to have a Vicar General. The danger of further alterations in the constitution was only too clear; and it would not be long before the other princes would make similar demands.[1] The inevitable consequence would be dissensions and finally the separation of the head from the members. The appointment of a Vicar would only bring about the ruin of the Order without pacifying the Parlement, which would not allow itself to be satisfied with this measure alone.[2] Its resolutions against the Jesuit schools, the Sodalities, the Exercises, and so on, showed only too clearly the goal it had in view: the destruction of faith and piety. The Jesuits formed only a feeble barrier for the protection of the Bishops; once this had fallen, the fight would begin against the senior shepherds of the flock, who had already been made to suffer from the forcible measures of the Parlement. It was not obstinacy but his conscience and a sense of duty which forbade him to entertain the proposition.[3] The envoy, on hearing

a S. Ignatio aliisque decessoribus meis" (Ricci to Frey, December 30, 1761, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[1] *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 10, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 18, 1762 (see below, p. 443, n. 3), *ibid.*, 516.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 50 *seqq.* The same thoughts recur in Ricci's *letters to Routh of February 10, 1762, to Frey of February 20, 1762, and to Salvat of February 20, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

these arguments, acknowledged that personally he agreed with them but he considered that his position compelled him to carry out his instructions.[1]

On returning to his residence, Ricci summoned his Assistants with all haste and the utmost secrecy to a conference [2] and asked for their opinion. They were unanimous that the king's request was beyond the limits of the General's powers; and he was to give this as his answer, briefly and definitely, to forestall attacks and further questions.[3] After dinner Ricci repaired to the Pope, set before him the king's demand, with its obnoxious features and the answer that had been agreed upon with his Assistants, and asked him to prevent this ruinous innovation. Clement XIII., who up till then was unaware of the latest step taken by the Paris Court, assured the General of his cordial support, approved of the proposed reply, and promised to arrange the necessary steps with the Cardinal Secretary of State without delay.[4] That same

[1] " *Il discorso fu sì convincente che il sig. cardinale confessò al Generale che in cuore era con esso, ma che la sua rappresentanza lo constringeva a fare le parti che gli erano comandate " (Ricci, **Istoria*, 54).

[2] To keep the meeting secret, the General had the Assistants summoned by his secretary instead of by lay-brothers, and they were instructed to meet in the room of one of his Assistants instead of in his own. *Ibid.*, 55.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* It was on this occasion that the well-known phrase, *Sint ut sunt aut non sint*, is thought to have been uttered. Formerly it was frequently attributed to the Jesuit General, but it is more likely to have been spoken by Clement XIII. (*cf.* Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln* [4] [1904], 451 and 452, n. 1). The MS. used by Albertotti, *De suppressione Societatis Iesu*, also has the reading: " Haec privatim inter Patres iactata, Riccius ad Pontificem detulit, *qui* rebus omnibus pensatis, ad extremum praecise reiciendam Regis postulationem censuit, atque in illam erupit vocem: Aut sint ut sunt, aut non sint " (p. 86). Whether the thought was given this pregnant form by the Pope himself or by Cordara, is difficult to decide. Ricci makes no mention of it in his notes on his interview with the Pope, but he noted in the margin opposite the place where

evening Ricci composed his answer to the king [1] and a note to the envoy. After the two documents had been checked by the Assistants and the Secretary, Ricci dispatched them on the following morning (January 28th, 1762) to the embassy. Under the same date the Pope wrote to the king that the General did not possess the power to authorize the appointment of a Vicar General and that he, the Pope, was not willing to empower the General to make this vital alteration in the constitution of the Order which had been approved and ratified by his predecessors.[2] Rochechouart sent his secretary

he recounts his conversation with Rochechouart: "Il senato romano quando gli furono proposte condizioni inique di pace dopo la rotta di Canne, rispose: Idem sibi videri rempublicam romanam nullam esse ac non esse eam, quae esse deberet" (Ricci, **Istoria*, 54).

[1] The principal passage reads: "Verum cum Praepositus Generalis neque a suae Religionis Constitutionibus, neque ab Apostolicis Litteris, a quibus omnis in eum auctoritas derivatur, habeat facultatem mutandi formam gubernationis a Constitutionibus ipsis stabilitam, irritum foret ac nullum, si quid huiusmodi decerneret, uti citra dubitationem affirmarunt omnes illi, quos consuluit, praeter gravissimam certo inde sequuturam totius Religionis perturbationem. Rogat igitur Augustissimum Regem ut persuasum habere velit, Generalem excusare se ab eligendo Vicario, non ex defectu demississimi erga Suam Maiestatem obsequii, sed ex defectu legitimae potestatis" (Rome, January 28, 1762, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*). The letter is reproduced in full in Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 46, n. 2. The text of the letter to Louis XV. and of the *note to Cardinal Rochechouart in Ricci, **Istoria*, 56 *seq.*

[2] "*Abbiamo saputo, che il card. De la Rochechouart suo Ministro ha richiesto in nome della M. V. questo P. Generale de' Gesuiti di deputare un Vicario Generale per i Gesuiti in Francia, ciocchè egli non può fare colla sua autorità, e che Noi non potremmo autorizzarlo a fare colla Nostra. Sarebbe questo, Sire, un'alterazione così sostanziale nell' Istituto della Compagnia approvato per tante Costituzioni de' Nostri predecessori, e all' istesso sag. concilio di Trento, e tirerebbe questo esempio a sì funeste conseguenze, che nulla meno sarebbe da aspettare dalla

to the General in an endeavour to make him change his mind, but Ricci held fast to his decision and sent word to the envoy that as the hours went by he felt more and more at ease with his conscience, for if he had given way—which he could not validly have done—he would have caused the ruin of the Order and yet not have silenced the opposition.[1]

Reports that came in subsequently were such as to confirm Ricci in his conviction that he had acted rightly. Thus Cardinal Alessandro Albani declared that he too had his instruction from the Viennese Court in the event of a Vicar General being approved for France.[2] And according to the nuncio Pamfili's assurance, the Parlement had no intention whatever of resting content with the appointment of a Vicar General and the extorted agreement to teach the four Gallican Articles in the future ; it was highly probable that it would refuse to register the proposed royal patent for the Jesuits or at any rate would make additions to it which would leave the way open to carry into effect the resolution of August 6th, 1761, which spelt death to the Society.[3]

dissoluzione di un corpo, il quale già per due secoli è stato di tanto utile alla Chiesa, appunto per la sua unione, e per l'intera sua dipendenza dal capo " (Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*). French translation of the whole letter in RAVIGNAN, I., 103 *seq.* *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 28 and February 3, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.* ; RICCI, **Istoria*, 55 *seq.*

[1] RICCI, **Istoria*, 55 *seqq.*

[2] " *Et tanto più se ne trovò contento, quando il sig. card. Alessandro Albani Ministro per la corte di Vienna disse che aveva anch' esso i suoi ordini per il caso, che si accordasse il Vicario alla Francia " (*ibid.* 57, marginal note). " *A questi [Jesuits] la Francia la intrapreso di togliere li fondamenti con ridurli alle prime regole di S. Ignazio, e col separarsi Francia dal Generale per mezzo di un Vicario Generale francese, che non dependa da altri. Si riesce alla Francia, sarà degna di esser imitata da chi potrà farlo comodamente " (Tanucci to Wall, August 25, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6092).

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 411 *seq.* " *Per quanto il sentimento di deputare un Vicario Generale possa esser gradito al Parlamento, stimo, che

Information which afterwards reached the General from all sides showed that his suspicion that the details of the Commission's plan had been withheld for a particular purpose was not entirely unfounded. According to Routh, the General was to put forward three names, of which the king was to choose one. The person chosen was to be appointed by the General as Vicar for the whole French Assistancy, where he would exercise the same authority as that possessed by the General for the whole Order. After the lapse of three years the General was to appoint a new Vicar or re-appoint the former one, but his term of office was not to exceed six years. In the event of a serious misdemeanour or on any other just grounds the General could depose the Vicar, with the royal assent, but only by going personally to France and there proceeding against him, with the monarch's permission. Subordinates retained their right to appeal to the supreme head of the Order, who was at liberty to grant dispensations and licences, provided that the external government of the Vicar General was not thereby disturbed. Henceforward neither the General's decrees nor the resolutions of the General Congregations would be valid in France without the king's agreement. Otherwise the Institute would be left undisturbed, and the Vicar General was to govern his area in accordance with the existing statutes of the Order. Future Generals of the Order were also bound by these arrangements.[1]

sarà ben lontano dal contentarsi solamente di ciò e delle dichiarazioni estorte già da questi Gesuiti francesi di sostenere i quattro articoli del 1682 ; onde è assai verisimile, che ricusi di registrare le nuove Lettere Patenti, o che vi faccia almeno delle addizioni, colle quali si lascia la strada aperta di andare avanti nel giudizio di questa gran causa e nell' esecuzione degli arresti di 6 Agosto" (Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 18, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*).

[1] Routh to Ricci, January 18, 1762, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 233, n. 1. *Cf.* also the *reports of Salvat and Fiérard to Ricci, of January 18, 1762, Gallia, 116, also in *Frey to Ricci, January 25, 1762, *ibid.*

The Court, which had been almost certain of Ricci's agreement, were somewhat at a loss when its request was bluntly refused.[1] Displeased as it was, it was not prepared to go so far as directly to order the election of a Vicar General against the will of the Pope and the General.[2] Accordingly the commissioners met again on February 23rd, 1762, for further deliberations, in which four Jesuits were included.[3] A new plan was evolved. Instead of appointing a Vicar General, Ricci was to transfer his powers to the various Provincials. It was against the laws of the State for a foreigner to exercise direct jurisdiction over the king's subjects; foreign Bishops had to appoint a Vicar General for the French portion of their dioceses; even Papal edicts needed the royal *exequatur* to acquire legal validity in France.[4]

At last, about the middle of March, there appeared the long-announced [5] royal edict which was to settle the Jesuit question within the French Assistancy.[6] It was sent to all the Parlements. All of its eighteen articles contained objectionable

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 15 and 22, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 22, 1762, *ibid.*: *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 3, 1762, *ibid.*, 453. " *Il fatto sta però, che o la deputazione d'un Vicario Generale, o altra risoluzione che siasi presa, non avrà certamente l'assenso del P. Generale, perchè non può prestarlo, non avrà quello del Papa, perchè non vuol acconsentirvi " (Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 10, 1762, *ibid.*).

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 1, 1762, *ibid.*, 516; *De la Croix to Ricci, March 2, 1762, Gallia, 116.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 1 and 8, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 60. The five Provincials of France had assembled in Paris in the first half of March, 1762. The General had not desired this, fearing that they would allow themselves to be exploited by the Court Commission, but finally he gave his permission (Ricci, **Istoria*, 59; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 15, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*).

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 25 and February 1, 1762, *ibid.*

[6] Copy in Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; printed in Carayon, VIII., 304 *seqq.*

regulations, two of which were completely unacceptable: the General was to delegate his powers to each of the five Provincials and to adapt the Institute of the Order to the laws and customs of France, so as to give it more of a French flavour.[1] The Paris Parlement, however, raised objection after objection to the edict [2] and by an *arrêt* of March 26th, 1762, bluntly refused to register it.[3] At first it looked as if the Government would force the issue and compel the Parlement to register the edict by means of a *lit de justice*,[4] but the Court, depressed, weak, and financially embarrassed, made no further effort and left the Jesuits to their fate. This was soon to be fulfilled, for by April 1st, 1762, the period of deferment had elapsed, and the Parlement's resolution of August 6th, 1761, came automatically into force. Rome, despite its grief at the imminent suppression of the Order, had no regrets for the failure of the royal declaration, containing as it did many features to which the Pope would never have agreed. The nuncio, in fact, had been forbidden on any account to promote its execution.[5]

The firm attitude of the General had a strengthening effect on the French Jesuits. Many waverers now openly opposed the Court Commission's plan.[6] There arrived in Rome from all sides letters from professed Fathers and scholastics, expressing their love for the Institute, their opposition to any alteration in the constitution of the Order, and their desire to live always in obedience towards the head of the whole Order.[7]

[1] "vestirlo alla francese" (Ricci, **Istoria*, 65).

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 15, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 29, 1762, *ibid.* Copy of the Arrêt, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 14, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 29, 1762, *ibid.*, 516.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 21 and 28, 1762, *ibid.*

[6] Ricci, **Istoria*, 58.

[7] "Vix ullus est e scholasticis, cui certum non sit solutionem a votis petere, si Vicarius Generalis creetur" (*De la Croix to Ricci, February 2, 1762, Gallia, 116); *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 25, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; Ricci,

In contrast with this the General was pained to hear that in Paris opinions were still divided.[1] "I know," he remarked as if excusing those concerned, "how fear obscures the mind. I want the seniors not to look to their juniors for an example, but themselves to take the lead as models of fortitude and loyalty to their Order, their saintly founder, and their God."[2] Again and again Ricci points out that he has no power to alter the Institute, so that his agreement would be null and void. And even if he could validly have given his consent, the circumstances would have rendered it illicit, for the appointment of a Vicar General would have meant the beginning of the end of the Society. Their enemies had long been scheming to bring about the downfall of the Order, and if the debts of Martinique had never been incurred they would have sought some other occasion. Unfortunately the words and behaviour of certain Jesuits had helped to further this disastrous plan of a Vicar General and had even suggested it to those who were well disposed towards the Society. It was to be wished, he ended, alluding to the aged Eleazar of the time of the Machabees, that some of the elder Fathers should not disgrace their grey hairs but should bequeath to their juniors a great example.[3]

**Istoria*, 58, 70. *Cf.* also Dufaud to Ricci, October 17, 1761, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 233, n. 1; *Ansquer, *Montigny, *Griffet, and *Le Roux to Ricci, January 31, 1762, Gallia, 116; *Le Menoux to Ricci, February 9, 1762; *Grou to Ricci, February 16, 1762; *Dubreil to Ricci, March 3, 1762, *ibid.* Further *letters in the same place.

[1] *De la Croix to Ricci, January 26 and February 2, 1762; *Neuville to Ricci, March 17, 1762, Gallia, 116.

[2] "*Certum est et prorsus manifestum, consilio constituendi Vicarium Generalem dirui a fundamentis Societatem nostram in Gallia solum, sed ubique gentium. . . . Quare miror inter vos esse diversas sententias, sed intelligo, metu obscurari mentes. . . . Velim senes non petere a iuvenibus exemplum, sed illis dare fortitudinis et fidelitatis erga Institutum suum, s. Parentem ac Deum" (Ricci to Routh, February 10, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[3] "*Quae scribit binis litteris de Vicario Generali, quae publice peroravit, quae nonnulli typis vulgarunt, probantur mihi et

Looking back on these errors, Ricci wrote to Nectoux, "I regret not to be able to congratulate myself that, while the French Assistancy was being overwhelmed, all the members of your Province were so attached to the authority of the General that they shrank in horror from the very notion of a Vicar General, convinced that any diminution of the central authority was equivalent to the overthrow of the Institute. It turned out otherwise, but I forgive them." [1]

(4)

The action of the Paris Parlement was soon repeated in the provinces. The Parlements of Rennes (August 14th, 1761),[2]

manifeste evincunt, stare Institutum non posse aut Societatem constituto Vicario. Dolet non mones in hac eadem sententia esse; optandum, ne Patres graviores aliqui maculam senectuti suae conquirant et ut adolescentibus exemplum forte relinquant" (Ricci to Frey, February 10, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*). "*Nihil poterat cogitari, quod certiorem Societatis ruinam traheret, quam manu mea perfici voluerunt. . . . Si Societatem dissolvi Deo sic permittente necesse est aut externa vi aut corruptione Instituti, dissolvi malim externa vi, sed Instituto integro. Ceterum non infitiabor aliquorum verba et facta dedisse causam aliquam urgendi consilii nobis perniciossissimi illudque suadendi his, qui nos diligunt. Verum nobis iamdiu notum erat, hostes religionis propositum habuisse ruinam nostram quacumque tandem ratione consequendam, ut etiamsi nulla fuissent debita Martinicensia, alias causas quaesituri erant" (Ricci to Salvat, February 20, 1762, *ibid.*).

[1] "*Doleo quod in hac Assistentiae Galliae ruina gratulari mihi nequeam, Socios omnes provinciae vestrae ita fuisse Praepositi Generalis auctoritati addictos, ut eam imminui idem esse ac Institutum labefactare crediderint, proindeque vel solam Vicariae gubernationis umbram horruerint. Secus contigit, condono." (Ricci to Nectoux, May 5, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666).

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 17 and 24, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *loc. cit.* The Parlements' hostility to the Order was due in part to the condemnation of Mésenguy's Catechism, which the Jansenists ascribed to the machinations of the Jesuits

Toulouse (September 15th, 1761),[1] and Rouen (November 19th, 1761),[2] also began by examining the Institute of the Jesuits. To prevent the movement spreading, the Court sent to all the presidents its order of August 2nd, 1761,[3] but the Parlements were not to be diverted from their purpose. By April 13th, 1762, all the provincial chambers except Dijon, Douai, and Colmar had demanded copies of the Institute for examination.[4]

In the Paris Parlement opinions differed at first on what further measures were to be taken. Some wanted to follow Pombal's example and banish the Jesuits from the country, others hoped gradually to extinguish them by means of the prohibition of the acceptance of novices, and a third party advocated the appointment of a Vicar General, by which the union with the rest of the Order would be slackened and little by little totally abolished.[5]

To give its action the appearance of justice the Paris Parlement published at the beginning of March, 1762, a voluminous work entitled "Extracts from the dangerous and pernicious assertions of every kind persistently maintained at all times by the so-called Jesuits".[6] According to a decided

(*ibid.*, August 24, 1761). *Cf.* also *Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 29, May 6, June 10 and 17, July 12 and 22, 1761, *ibid.*, 450.

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 5, 1761, *ibid.*, 515; *Charron to Ricci, September 19, 1761, Gallia, 116. (Here also are to be found the undermentioned letters from Jesuits, if not otherwise stated.)

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 23 and 30, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di F ancia, 515, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 16, 1761, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 411.

[4] *De la Croix to Ricci, April 13, 1761.

[5] Ricci, **Istoria*, 60 *seq.*

[6] *Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses en tout genre, que les soi-disant Jésuites ont dans tous les temps et persévérament soutenues* (4°, 542 pp.), Paris, 1762. The full title in Brou, II., 140. Dom Clémencet and the Abbé Goujet were thought to be the principal authors (Collombet, I., 93 *seqq.*).

opponent of the Jesuits, it bristled with slanderous and malicious statements from start to finish.[1] There was not a crime which the Jesuits had not taught and with which they were not charged in this book on the evidence of their own writings. The author professed to base his charges on precise and literal extracts from the works of the most important theologians in the Society. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in proving that the compilation contained no less than 758 falsifications consisting of deliberate omissions of words and phrases, additions, alterations of punctuation, etc. By this means Jesuit authors were made to say things that had never even entered their minds ; in many cases they were even represented as maintaining what in fact they had rejected or refuted.[2] And this " cess-pool of lies ", as the same writer calls it,[3] was sent, in accordance with a resolution passed by the Parlement on March 5th, 1762, to all Bishops and provincial Parlements with the obvious purpose of inciting them against the Society.[4] Only three Bishops, however, reacted in the desired manner : Fitz-James of Soissons, De Beauteville of Alais, and De Grasse of Angers.[5] A number of other Bishops condemned and banned the fabrication.

After the rejection of the royal edict of March, 1762, the period of grace had not long to run. As had been feared, on April 1st, all the Jesuit schools in the district of the Paris Parlement were closed and the task of education was handed over to secular priests.[6] Until the question of their Constitutions had been finally decided the Jesuits were allowed to remain in their houses and to continue their pastoral

[1] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 47.

[2] BROU, II., 155 ; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V., 215. For Döllinger's judgment, see DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 465 *seq.* ; *cf.* also 463 *seq.*

[3] THEINER, *loc. cit.*

[4] *De la Croix to Ricci, March 9, 1762.

[5] RAVIGNAN, I., 128 ; *cf.* 509, n. 1.

[6] Acting in conjunction with the Sorbonne, the Parlement tried to exclude members of religious Orders from the schools (*Pamfili to Torrig ani, April 5 and 12, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.* ; RICCI, **Istoria*, 69).

work, but their novices had to be sent home.[1] The Jesuit estates were ordered to be sequestrated on April 23rd, 1762, and from April 26th to May 18th officials from the Parlement appeared at the Jesuit houses daily from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. to take inventories. They were not a little astonished, however, to find that, except for essential furniture, the various rooms contained nothing but books. Even the procurators' safes did not disclose the fabulous treasures which the widespread rumours had led them to expect.[2]

On August 6th, 1762, the Paris chambers met again to decide finally about the Institute. Except for a break of one hour the session lasted from 8 a.m. till well into the night. At 10.30 a decision was reached and was communicated to the Jesuits on August 11th.[3] It declared the "so-called" Society of Jesus to be incompatible with any well-ordered system of State government by its very nature and essence. It was contrary to the natural law, it offended every spiritual and temporal authority, and under the cloak of a religious institute it aimed at introducing into the Church and State, not an Order striving after evangelic perfection, but a political corporation. Using every means at its disposal, this body had as its object first the acquisition of complete independence and then the usurpation of power, undermining the lawful authority in the process and making a principle of fanaticism. Its rules and vows were obnoxious incursions into the temporal power and the freedom of the Gallican Church, and therefore null and void. Its doctrines, morals, and behaviour were corrupt, destructive of religion and natural morality, an insult to the moral law of Christianity, harmful to society,

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 5 and 12, and May 10, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

[2] *De la Croix to Ricci, May 11 and 18, 1762; Ricci, **Istoria*, 82. The total assets of the French Assistancy, including the unproductive buildings, libraries, and furniture, were estimated in 1760 at 56–60 million francs. The yearly cost of maintaining a Jesuit amounted to about 300 francs. For further details, see Crétineau-Joly, V², 226, n. 1.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 114; Mention, 161 *seqq.*

subversive of and injurious to the rights, the power, and security of the sacred person of the monarch, and calculated to give rise to disturbances in the State and to sustain the worst corruption. Wherefore the Society of Jesus was to be and remain irrevocably excluded from France and no one was to work for its restoration. The Jesuits were ordered to quit their houses and institutions within a week, to lay aside their distinctive dress, to abandon their communal life, to revoke their obedience to the Constitutions and the head of the Order, and to break off all relations with the General, the Superiors, and the members of the Order in other countries. It was finally decided that they were ineligible for benefices, university degrees, teaching posts, or civic offices, unless they had previously undertaken on oath to be good and loyal subjects of the king, to recognize and to teach the liberties of the Gallican Church and the four Articles of 1682, to cease living by the rules of the Order, to refrain from corresponding with their Superiors and foreign Jesuits, and to oppose on every occasion the obnoxious morality as described in the "Extracts", especially in so far as it affected the personal safety of the king and the independence of the crown. A second resolution passed on the same day ordered the confiscation of all Jesuit houses and institutional estates; they were to be used partly for the upkeep of the schools, partly for the payment of debts and the pensions of the professed priests; any residue was to be placed at the unrestricted disposal of the monarch.[1]

Certain Parlements in the provinces had anticipated that of Paris in passing similar judgments. The resolution passed on February 12th, 1762, by the Parlement of Rouen far surpassed all the others in its violence. Condemning the Jesuit Constitutions as being irreligious, wicked, and injurious to all spiritual and temporal authority, it sentenced them, along

[1] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 6 Août, 1762*, Paris, 1762; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 9 and 10, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 105; *De la Croix to Ricci, August 17, 1762.

with twenty-nine written works by Jesuits, to be torn to shreds and burned by the common executioner. It condemned the Papal Bulls and Briefs of ratification, forbade all subordinates to live in community by the rules of the Order, declared their vows, those of the professed Jesuits included, to be null and void, and ordered the Jesuits to quit their houses by July 1st and to live henceforward as secular priests under the jurisdiction of the Bishops. At the same time an order went out for the sequestration of the estates and incomes of the colleges.[1] By a second resolution, of June 21st, 1762, these regulations were made still more severe. An oath was imposed on all Jesuits whereby they were to renounce all communication with the General of the Order and all other Superiors, under penalty of losing their pensions and of becoming ineligible for any office or benefice.[2] When the professed Jesuits of Rouen declared the oath to be impossible of acceptance,[3] a resolution of July 20th, 1762, ordered the Jesuits either to take the prescribed oath or to leave the country within a fortnight.[4]

In their *Arrêts* of May 26th and 27th, 1762, respectively, the Parlements of Bordeaux [5] and Rennes [6] declared that the

[1] *Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen du Vendredi, 12 Février 1762*, Rouen (undated); *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 15 and 22, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; *De la Croix to Ricci, February 16, 1762; Ricci, **Istoria*, 59 *seq.*

[2] *Arrêt définitif du Parlement de Rouen du 21 Juin 1762*, Rouen; *De la Croix to Ricci, June 22, 1762. In an anonymous engraving (with no mention of date or place) the First President of the Parlement of Rouen is shown setting in motion a sieve suspended by cords held by the hand of God. While the Jacobins, Recollects, Oratorians, and Doctors of the Sorbonne remain in the sieve, the Jesuits with their writings fall through the meshes into the Seine.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 97.

[4] *Arrest de la Cour du Parlement séant à Rouen du Mardi 20 Juillet 1762*, Rouen, 1762, 29; Ricci, **Istoria*, 101.

[5] *Arrêté du Parlement de Bordeaux du Mercredi 26 Mai 1762.*

[6] *Arrêt du Parlement de Bretagne du 27 Mai 1762* (= Second Compte rendu, 1762), 96 *seqq.*

Papal Bulls confirming the Society of Jesus contained impermissible encroachments into State legality and the liberties of the Gallican Church. They described the vows as invalid, dissolved the Order within their areas of jurisdiction and ordered the Jesuits to quit their establishments before August 1st, 1762. They forbade them from that time on to live in community according to the Institute, to dwell in pairs or to withdraw into seminaries, to wear the dress of the Order or to bear its name. Individual Jesuits were granted a pension on condition that they forswore the Society of Jesus and its Superiors and recognized the lawfulness of the resolutions previously passed, especially those directed against the doctrines contained in the "Extracts".[1]

The language used in the resolution passed by the highest court of justice in Roussillon (June 12th, 1762) was no less violent than that of the other Parlements. It described the doctrine and morals of the Order as infamous and abominable, the power of the General as despotic, the vows as impious, vicious, and invalid, the Constitutions of the Order as an attack on every spiritual and temporal authority, opposed to the Gallican liberties and the foundations of the State, and in their innermost essence incapable of reform. The Fathers were obliged to quit their houses within a week and to cease teaching. Parents had to withdraw their children from the Society's schools under pain of becoming ineligible for all public appointments. The Jesuits were forbidden to live in accordance with their Institute or to have any connection with the General or other Superiors. Whoever refused to take the prescribed oath was to be ineligible for ecclesiastical functions,

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 31, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 28, 1762, *ibid.*, 453; *De la Croix to Ricci, June 1 and 8, 1762; Ricci, **Istoria*, 76, 88, 102, 108. On November 27, 1762, the Parlement of Rennes forbade parish priests to employ Jesuits in pastoral duties and threatened to prosecute all who attempted to restore the Order in France (*Arrêt du Parlement de Bretagne du 27 Novembre 1762*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 142).

benefices, and teaching or civil appointments. To propose the restoration of the Jesuit Order was a penal offence.[1]

It was only to be expected from the pre-eminent importance of the Paris Parlement that the resistance offered by the provincial chambers that were still recalcitrant would soon die down, thanks to the inactivity of the Court and the moral pressure brought to bear on these corporations by the chief Parlement. In Metz a provisional resolution was arrived at on May 28th, 1762, which seriously impaired the effectiveness and mobility of the Jesuits. It banned the sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the taking and the acceptance of vows, the transference of members to other houses, the reception of Jesuits from outside, the sale of the Order's property, etc.[2] In spite of a letter from the king to the First President disapproving of any further step in this direction, definitive resolutions were passed on September 20th and October 1st, 1762, which rendered impossible the existence of the Jesuit colleges in the district.[3] At the auctions which followed, reliquaries together with their relics were among the articles sold to Jews.[4]

The Parlement of Pau affords a significant instance of how the feeling in the provinces was influenced by the capital. In

[1] *Arrêt du Conseil Souverain de Roussillon du 12 Juin 1762*, Perpignan (undated); *De la Croix to Ricci, June 29, 1762; Ricci **Istoria*, 92 *seq.*

[2] *De la Croix to Ricci, June 16, 1762; Ricci, **Istoria*, 91.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 3, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*; *Demande . . . du Parlement de Metz et Arrêts du 20 Septembre et 1er Octobre, 1762*, Metz, 1762. According to Pamfili's report, it was thought that an influential person had written secret letters to the Metz Parlement whose purport was quite opposed to what the Chancellor had written (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 4 and November 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Viansson-Ponté, *Les Jésuites à Metz*, Strasbourg, 1897, 54 *seqq.*

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 6, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 22, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

1762 it still sided with the Jesuits, even declaring that the Order stood in no need of reform.[1] The First President made a special journey to the capital to plead for the retention of the college at Pau. In Paris, however, he was advised to follow the example of the other Chambers. Consequently a resolution was passed in Pau on April 28th, 1763, whose terms were copied from the resolutions passed by other Parlements.[2]

In Languedoc, where the opposing parties were of almost equal strength, the struggle was for a long time indecisive. Finally, on June 5th, 1762, a provisional resolution was passed by a majority of only two votes, by which the Order was forbidden to recruit new members or to continue its former activity.[3] On February 26th, 1763, the Parlement of Toulouse declared these ordinances to be definitive and added others taken from the Paris *Arrêt*.[4]

In Provence the battle was fought fiercely. By a "provisional" resolution of June 5th, 1762, the Chamber of Aix deprived the Jesuits of their property and their schools.[5] Immediately a strong movement arose to prevent its execution. The energetic President, D'Éguilles, travelled to the capital three times to represent the interests of the Jesuits at Court.[6] At first he met with a favourable reception. The *Grand Conseil* declared itself in favour of the Order, and the Chancellor sent a message in this sense to the Parlement of

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 66.

[2] *Ibid.*, 145, 165 *seqq.*; *Arrest de la Cour du Parlement de Navarre du 28 Avril 1763*, Pau, 1763.

[3] *Compte rendu des Constitutions de la Société dite des Jésuites*, Toulouse (undated); *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; *De la Croix to Ricci, June 16, 1762; Ricci, **Istoria*, 88, 91.

[4] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 26 Février 1763*, Toulouse (undated); Ricci, **Istoria*, 162.

[5] *Arrest du Parlement de Provence du 5 Juin 1762*, Aix, 1762; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 7, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[6] Ricci, **Istoria*, 129.

Aix.[1] The majority party, however, rejected the letter and excluded from the verdict on the Institute those councillors who were members of the sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[2] Then they in their turn sent a deputation to Paris to obtain permission to put into effect their anti-Jesuit resolutions.[3] Their leader, Gallifet, did his best to win the interest of the Paris Parlement by making out that, with his *aide-mémoire* against the chamber of Aix, the President D'Éguilles had insulted all the other Parlements that had proceeded against the Jesuits.[4] At Court, Gallifet was at first denied entrance and the nuncio was led to hope that a *lit de justice* would be held.[5] Finally Gallifet was victorious. A royal message stated that the king gave the Parlement a free hand.[6] The final decree issued at Aix on January 28th, 1763, almost surpassed the Parisian model in severity and harshness and did not even spare the Holy See its insulting expressions.[7] The fear that the fate of the Jesuits in the Papal county of Avignon would also be decided was not realized, but the *Arrêt* prohibited all subjects of the king from entering Papal territory in order to be received into the Order there.[8] The two *aide-mémoires*

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 20 and 27 and November 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 15, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Arrêts* of June 19 and October 6, 1762; see *Journal des arrêts et arrêtés du Parlement de Provence concernant l'affaire des soi-disans Jésuites*, 132; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 18 and November 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 24, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 517.

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 20, 1762, *ibid.*

[6] Ricci, **Istoria*, 147; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 27, 1762, and January 3, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Arrest du Parlement de Provence du 28 Janvier 1763*, Aix 1763; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 31 and February 21, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.* *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 21, 1763, *ibid.*, 518.

[8] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 12, 19, and 26 and February 16, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

addressed by President D'Éguilles to Louis XV. were condemned to the flames on May 17th, 1763; he himself was banished from the kingdom for life, and several other councillors of the Parlement were declared to have forfeited their membership and were called upon to resign their offices.[1] At the same time the spokesman in the Parlement expressed the wish that the State and the Church should combine to abolish the Order completely.[2]

As Torrigiani rightly remarked, the decision of the *Grand Conseil* regarding the Jesuits at Aix was the final blow that completed the destruction of the Order in France. The other Parlements, he surmised, would follow suit, for the enemies of the Jesuits need expect no resistance from the Court, and their friends no support.[3] As early as March 21st, 1763, the Parlement of the Dauphiné published a provisional resolution[4] that was made absolute on August 29th and closely resembled that of Paris.[5] Then the highest court of the Artois, which up till then had obstinately resisted the influence of the chief Parlement,[6] gave way. On April 5th, 1763, it ordered the examination of the Institute, and on the 14th the Jesuits were commanded to cease teaching in their schools, other, more suitable, persons to be entrusted with the task.[7]

[1] *Arrest de la Cour du Parlement de Provence du 17 Mai 1763*, Aix, 1763.

[2] *Ibid.*, 3; Ricci, **Istoria*, 160. The king annulled the Parlement's resolution. *Cf.* also Carayon, VIII.: *Mémoires du Président d'Éguilles sur le Parlement d'Aix et les Jésuites.* The two *Mémoires* were condemned to the flames by various Parlements, e.g. at Grenoble on February 12, 1763, and at Rouen on March 2 and 3, 1763.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 19 and 26, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Arrêt du Parlement de Dauphiné du 21 Mars 1763*, Grenoble (undated).

[5] Ricci, **Istoria*, 89; Pra, *Les Jésuites à Grenoble* (*1587–1763*), Lyon-Paris, 1901, 352 *seqq.*

[6] Ricci, **Istoria*, 69, 83.

[7] *Arrêt du Conseil Provincial et Supérieur d'Artois du 5 Avril 1763* (without place or date of publication).

In the Burgundian Parlement the pro-Jesuit party had long had the upper hand. Here too the President of the Chamber had made the journey to the capital in person to secure the maintenance of the Jesuits in Burgundy in their former condition. But no decision was to be obtained from the king, with whom the President spoke about the matter on three occasions. On appealing to Choiseul he was told that he could only advise him to return to Burgundy and fall in line with the other Parlements. In spite of this discouraging reply the Parlement councillors would gladly have decided in favour of the Society, but as most of the provinces had declared Jesuit pupils to be ineligible for public appointments, the public good seemed to demand the suspension of Jesuit teaching. An *Arrêt* of July 11th, 1763, ordered the Jesuit colleges to be closed by October 1st, on which day the Fathers were to vacate their houses and put aside their distinctive dress.[1]

Across the ocean, too, the example set by the motherland was followed, notably in Louisiana and Martinique.

By the end of 1763 the only establishments of the Order left were in Flanders, Alsace, and the Franche-Comté. In the Parlement of Douai the first voting went in favour of the Jesuits. When on the second occasion the voting was equal on both sides, the king decided that the first resolution was to hold good.[2] In Alsace Cardinal Rohan and President Klinglin were especially active in supporting the Jesuit schools, Rohan even soliciting the king for a written order that no change should be made in the prevailing state of affairs.[3] The greatest

[1] *Arrêt définitif de la Cour du Parlement de Dijon contre la Société des soi-disans Jésuites* (no place or date of publication); Ricci, **Istoria*, 167, 171; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 4 and 18, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 3, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 17, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Arrêt du Parlement de Flandre du 5 Janvier, 1763*, Douay (undated); Ricci, **Istoria*, 163.

[3] Letter of August 8, 1762, printed in Crétineau-Joly, V³, 223, n. 1; Ricci, **Istoria*, 113, 128.

determination was shown by the Parlement of Besançon,[1] which persisted to the last in its decision to retain the Jesuits in its area. There was no lack of opponents, but the majority party were not disposed to follow the prevailing fashion.[2] The Parlement not only refused to take any action against the Order,[3] it alone of all the Parlements had the courage to remonstrate against the royal patent dissolving the Order.[4]

The French Jesuits have been reproached for having looked on at their downfall in dumb resignation and for having persisted in inactive silence while placing unbounded confidence in the justice of their cause and in the assistance of the Court, the Paris Provincial even using the rule of obedience to forbid any work to be written in defence of the Society.[5] Prohibitions of this kind were probably aimed only at certain persons who could not be trusted to exercise the necessary circumspection and prudence, for cases of imprudence certainly occurred. When the Parlements, to lower the Jesuits in the public esteem and to delude the people into believing in their orthodoxy, attacked the writings of Berruyer, which had already been condemned by the highest ecclesiastical authority, a certain Jesuit felt himself called upon to take up his pen in Berruyer's defence. The Jesuit General expressly disapproved of this step. It was imprudent and harmful, he said, to defend an author whom Rome had condemned; the

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 172; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 14, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 26, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 14 and 28 and June 18, 1764, *ib d.*, 519.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 12 and October 24, 1764, *ibid.*, 453.

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 9, 1765, *ibid.* In the duchy of Lorraine-Bar the Jesuits managed to hold out until the death of King Stanislaus Leszczyński (1766). On the occupation of Avignon by the French in 1768 the Jesuits there, too, were dissolved. *Cf.* Chossat, *Les Jésuites à Avignon*, Avignon, 1896, 481 *seqq.*

[5] Crétineau-Joly, V³, 209.

work was to be suppressed immediately and burnt. He had heard with dismay, he continued, from another report that a second work on the same subject was in hand, in which, moreover, the life and morals of the Archbishop of Lyons were to be found fault with. He had not thought it possible that a Jesuit could be guilty of such imprudence and he forbade the continuation or publication of the work under pain of grievous sin.[1]

On the other hand, on receiving a report that an apology for the Institute and the Society's doctrine was in preparation in the province of Champagne, the General welcomed the undertaking with the greatest joy, though before it was printed the work would have to be submitted to the approval of persons noted for their prudence and moderation. Two errors especially were to be guarded against. Firstly, everything must be avoided which might offend persons to whom respect was due. This applied especially to the members of other religious Orders. "Moderation," said Ricci, "wins for our writings universal approval and belief; on the other hand, a harsh and caustic style does unbelievable harm. Whereas others are forgiven the grossest offences of this kind, even slight failings on our part arouse resentment and censure. However, it is not motives of prudence which are our criterion; what is crucial is that charity and patience require of the Christian, and still more of the religious, a gentle mode of expression." Secondly, such delicate questions as the indirect authority and the four Gallican Articles were to be touched on as little and as carefully as possible; otherwise a translation into another language would be out of the question.[2] These admonitions almost certainly refer to an apology published in 1762.[3] Its author was a young scholastic named Cerutti, who handled the French language with great elegance. He was supplied with the necessary material by the elder Jesuits

[1] *Ricci to De la Loye, December 5, 1763, *Epist. Gen. secretae.*

[2] *Ricci to Noirot, January 1, 1763, *ibid.*

[3] *Apologie générale de l'Institut et de la doctrine des Jésuites*, 1762, place of publication unknown.

Griffet and De Menoux. His linguistic skill earned applause but his tone was found too declamatory and too caustic and the praise of his own Order extravagant.[1] After the work had been revised under Noirot's direction, it appeared in the following year in an improved edition, which was followed by numerous impressions and translations.[2]

Cerutti's work was not the first nor the most thorough defence in writing with which the Jesuits stated their case in public. Hardly had the Parlement issued its first "provisional" condemnation of the doctrine and constitution of the Order (August 6th, 1761) when the defence came into action. In the course of the year four works appeared, some of which ran into several editions within a few months.[3] Particular interest was aroused by the apology written by the Abbé Caveirac with the assistance of the Jesuit Brotier.[4] Its fourth edition was published within a year and provoked the appearance of countless oppositional writings.[5] On November 18th, 1762, the Paris chamber condemned Caveirac's work to the flames and attached the severest penalties to its distribution.[6] Its

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 156.

[2] Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, II., 1003 *seqq.*

[3] Charles Neuville, *Observations sur l'Institut de la Société des Jésuites*, Avignon, 1761, [4]1762, [5]1771 (see Sommervogel, V., 1687 *seqq.*); Griffet, *Mémoire concernant l'Institut, la doctrine et l'établissement des Jésuites en France*, Avignon, 1761; *Coup d'oeil sur l'arrest du Parlement de Paris du six Aoust 1761*, Prague, 1761 (*ibid.*, III., 1814 *seqq.*); Lombard, *Réponse à un libelle intitulé: Idée générale des vices principaux de l'Institut des Jésuites*, Avignon, 1761 (*ibid.*, IV., 1921 *seqq.*); Berthier, *Réponse à quelques objections concernant l'Institut des Jésuites* (without date or place); *Recueil de lettres sur la doctrine et l'Institut des Jésuites* (without place or date) (*ibid.*, I., 1377 *seqq.*).

[4] *Appel à la raison*, Bruxelles, 1762.

[5] Sommervogel (I., 791 *seq.*) ascribes the work to Balbany; Ricci names Caveirac as the author, with Brotier as collaborator (**Istoria*, 182).

[6] *Sentence du Châtelet, qui condamne deux écrits . . . l'un Appel à la raison, l'autre: Nouvel appel à la raison . . . du 18 Novembre, 1762*, Lyon, 1762. The Parlement of Rennes banned the work

two authors fled to Rome.[1] Probably all such works were surpassed in intrinsic importance by the three-volumed defence of the Order's doctrine written at the Pope's desire [2] by Grou, assisted by Sauvage.[3] The Abbé Caveirac proposed the establishment in Rome of a college of writers devoted to the task of defending the Church and the Jesuits, but the General, much though he favoured the plan, considered it impracticable on account of the numerous opponents of the Society to be found in the heart of the Roman tribunals; with a change in the pontificate the work begun with so much toil might come to a sudden end.[4]

In other ways, too, the French Jesuits were not content to remain silent and allow themselves to be overtaken by events. As De Menoux wrote to Ricci, they wanted to be up and doing and to defend their case at the bar of justice. They intended to employ a barrister to speak for the Institute before the court of the Parlement at Metz,[5] and a similar request was made to the General by the Provincial of Toulouse in the case of Perpignan. Both applications had to be refused because the Parlements had been declared by both the Pope and the French Bishops to be incompetent to deal with ecclesiastical matters.[6] To Clement XIII.'s complaint that the Fathers had asked to be defended at Aix and had thus acknowledged the competence of the Parlement, Ricci could only reply that it had happened without his knowledge and that he had already rejected such requests on several previous occasions.[7]

on December 20, 1762 (*Arrêt du Parlement de Bretagne du Décembre 20, 1762*, without place or date).

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 155.

[2] *Ibid.*, 143.

[3] *Réponse au livre intitulé: Extrait des assertions dangereuses*, 3 vols., 4°, Paris, 1763–5, [2]1773 (Sommervogel, III., 1868 *seqq.*). For further works in defence of the Society, see the compendium *ibid.*, X., 1493 *seqq.*

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 156 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 92 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 119.

In any case, the Parlements had decided in advance to condemn the Jesuits, as was shown by the example of Aix, where the defence was only grudgingly heard and was then rejected.[1] It was no better at Toulouse, where the General, yielding to the pressure of well-meaning friends, agreed at last to the engagement of an advocate. The Parlement imposed silence on the Jesuits' representative, evidently having no desire to listen to any arguments.[2]

Also unjustified was the complaint made in the Society's circles that Papal support was inadequate. Repeated representations made by the Pope to the French Court had hitherto brought no result or had been totally disregarded. An appeal to the other Catholic Powers must have appeared purposeless in view of the political situation and the unfavourable disposition or anti-clerical policy of the most powerful Ministers. The confessors to the Viennese Court wrote to the General that they were entirely without influence.[3] Moreover, requests were often made of Ricci which he was unable to reconcile with his conscience.[4] Thus, the Provincial of the Champagne repeated his request that the General should allow the Institute to be defended by a lawyer before the Parlement of Metz; a necessary condition, however, was that the General should empower his subordinates to subscribe to the Gallican Articles of 1682, to renounce all the privileges of the Order, and to promise to see that their declaration regarding the articles of 1682 was accepted and confirmed, so far as France was concerned, by the next General Congregation. Ricci had no choice but to refuse such requests.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 91.

[2] *Ibid.*, 157. The colleges of Grenoble, Vienne, and Embrun had also applied to the Parlement of the Dauphiné to be heard by the court. The application was rejected by the Parlement, which invited the General of the Society to appear at the bar. PRA, *Les Jésuites à Grenoble*, 364 *seqq.*

[3] RICCI, **Istoria*, 80 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, 106.

The strong opposition encountered even in the Parlements by the anti-Jesuits [1] shows that in spite of Lavalette the Order still had a large following in the country and was by no means so "played out" as its enemies would have men believe.[2] The opinion of the nuncio proved only too true: had the Government displayed a little more energy in its dealings with the Parlements of Paris and Rouen, it was most unlikely that the other Parlements would have proceeded against the Jesuits.[3] Instead of taking strong measures, the Government either looked on idly at the work of destruction or gave way after a brief resistance.[4] It was only natural that contemporaries should suspect that the Government's passivity was due more to the secret designs of the leading Ministers than to the force of circumstances.[5] Its change of attitude towards the Parlements of Aix and Metz confirmed many in their surmise that along with the official messages, confidential instructions were sent to strengthen the enemy's resistance.[6] In this way the final surrender, intended all along, could be masked by the obstinacy and violence of the Parlements.[7]

Demonstrations in support of the Jesuits, coming from the most varied quarters, should have shown the Government that the Parlements were far from representative of public opinion in France. The law-court of the county of Foix combined with the magistracy and the Bishop of Pamiers in

[1] In many cases the anti-Jesuit majority was very small: Aix, 24 to 22; Bordeaux, 23 to 18; Perpignan, 5 to 4; Rennes, 32 to 29; Rouen, 20 to 13; Toulouse, 41 to 39. See CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V³, 222, n. 1.

[2] BÖHMER, 157; THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 27.

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 7, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 23, 1762, *ibid.*; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 18, 1762, *ibid.*, 517.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 7, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 4, 1762, *ibid.*

[7] RICCI, **Istoria*, 61 *seq.*, 86, 102.

petitioning the king for permission to retain the Jesuits.[1] Similar requests were made by the Government of Béarn [2] and the town of Embrun.[3] The Estates of Languedoc and Brittany sent a deputation to Paris to plead for the retention of the Jesuit schools.[4] Impelled by a false rumour that the Society of Jesus had been restored, pupils and people poured into the Jesuit church at Montpellier to announce the glad news by the pealing of bells.[5] The Bishop of Grenoble assured the General of the Society that the whole of the country was loud in its regrets that the Jesuits had been deprived of their schools.[6]

The most active support for the Jesuits was provided by the French episcopacy. Convinced that the Jesuit question was one of religion,[7] it firmly opposed by an overwhelming majority the forcible measures of the Parlements. On May 1st, 1762, an extraordinary meeting of the Bishops had been convened in Paris for the purpose of making a "free-will offering" (*don gratuit*) to the Government. Almost all the preliminary provincial synods evinced a lively interest in the preservation of the Order.[8] The central assembly approved

[1] *Ibid.*, 140.

[2] *Ibid.*, 83 ; *De la Croix to Ricci, May 25, 1762.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, 120, 129.

[5] *Ibid.*, 134.

[6] *Ibid.*, 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, 86.

[8] *Ibid.* ; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 3, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.* A resolution passed by the provincial synod of Lyons, not to enter into negotiations about the "*don gratuit*" until the Government had found a favourable solution to the ecclesiastical problems of the day, was quashed by the Government. A second assembly, however, upheld the resolution and empowered the Bishop of Autun to defend it against the Archbishop of Lyons. Again the Court intervened and removed the prelate from his post of almoner to the king, a clear sign that it was interested only in the clerical subsidies and in keeping the peace with the Parlements. The measure was ascribed to the

the gift but could not refrain from making serious remonstrances against the presumptuous behaviour of the Parlements. In a frankly worded message presented to the king on May 23rd, 1762, by the Archbishop of Narbonne at the head of a deputation, the hierarchy commended the Jesuits to the protection of the monarch and implored him not to allow a complete religious body to be abolished in his realm through no fault of its own and in contravention of the laws of justice, of the Church, and of the State.[1] The reply was evasive in its form and negative in effect: the circumstances of the time did not allow the king to take any really effective step on behalf of the Jesuits. At the same times the Bishops were asked to abandon any further steps, so as not to lessen the royal good-will towards the Order, as this might be of use to it at some other time. It was Choiseul who had inspired these words.[2]

Unfortunately, the demonstration of the French episcopacy was marred by an unpleasant incident connected with a Papal message. Clement XIII., who had hitherto maintained a remarkable restraint regarding the resolutions of the Parlements, which were so many incursions into ecclesiastical rights, now thought that the time had come for him to break his silence, and on June 9th, 1762, he addressed a Brief to the episcopal assembly.[3] He began by alluding to the persecution of the Church, whose defenders were not allowed to open their mouths, while its enemies were free to attack the ecclesiastical authority by the written or spoken word without restraint. The latter's servants were persecuted, banished, and thrown into gaol for having followed the Church's instructions in administering the sacraments. The

Archbishop of Lyons, who was more of a Government man than a prince of the Church. *Pamfili to Torrigiani on May 3 and 17, 1762, *ibid.*, 516; *Torrigiani to Pamfili on June 2, 1762, *ibid.*, 453; Ricci, **Istoria*, 72.

[1] Crétineau-Joly, V., 216 *seq.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 21 and July 5, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 98.

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 643 *seq.*

Pope then referred to the Society of Jesus, which was being forcibly suppressed and scattered by a certain party, to the detriment of the State and the faithful and to the accompaniment of insults offered to the Holy See and the episcopacy. In spite of its approval by so many Popes and in spite of the protection afforded it by Christian princes, its Constitutions had been branded as a disgrace to the Church of God and had been burned by the common executioner. Laymen were arrogating to themselves the right to pass judgment on matters reserved for the Church alone and were declaring vows to be invalid, to the delight of free-thinkers and unbelievers, who looked on with obvious satisfaction at the quarrel between the political and ecclesiastical authorities, hoping for the complete destruction of Christian morality. The assembled Bishops should look for ways and means of effectively checking these abuses and should boldly lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. This was demanded by their self-respect and by their love of their prince and their country, and it was their duty to the Church.

In another Brief of the same date the Pope besought the protection of the king, not so much for the Society of Jesus, as for religion in general, whose interests were closely linked with those of the Jesuits, seeing that the enemies of the Church regarded their destruction as a necessary preliminary to the gaining of their final ends. It was religion that was threatened when the secular power invaded the sanctuary and set itself up as the arbiter of ecclesiastical doctrine, vows, and the rules of a religious Order. This scandal to Christianity, this insult to the Church, the king was asked to prevent and in collaboration with the Bishops to support with a strong hand the tottering temple of God.[1]

Great was the disappointment in Rome when after a few weeks the Brief to the hierarchy was returned. Obeying his instructions,[2] the nuncio Pamfili had handed the missive to the Archbishop of Narbonne as the president of the assembly.

[1] *Nunziat. d Francia, 453, fo. 234 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.
[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 9, 1762, Cifre, *ibid.*

The Archbishop had accepted it but had observed that he could not publish it without the permission of the Court. Instead of leaving it to the Archbishop to obtain this permission, the nuncio had taken the task on himself.[1] Praslin, a relative of the First Minister, pretended to be indignant at the Pope's appealing to the episcopal assembly without the previous agreement of the Court; he would do better to refrain from such inflammatory Briefs, which could only cause unrest. Without a word, Pamfili put the document back in his pocket and returned it to Rome with the observation that he had had to put up with violent reproaches from Choiseul, who had told him quite bluntly that in France all Briefs to the Bishops had to pass through the hands of the king. Moreover, the Brief had come too late, for the prelates' representations to the monarch had already been made.[2]

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 14, 1762, *ibid.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, June 28 and July 5, 1762, *ibid.*, 516; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 2, 1762, *ibid.*, 517; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 14, 1762, *ibid.*, 453; Ricci, **Istoria*, 96, 99. It may be of interest to read what Ricci wrote of Pamfili's character on this occasion, although it must be borne in mind that his judgment may have been coloured by the latter's ill-success. He writes: "Monsignore Panfili [strictly 'Colonna'; he held a prelature of 'Pamphili'] era rispettabile per la famiglia e per la sua pietà, era ancora savio, ma non aveva uno spirito niente superiore al comune, era giovane di età; la sua prima uscita era stata alla Nunziatura di Francia in tempi scabrosissimi, era di naturale timido, la timidità accresciuta dal poco conto che si faceva di lui in quella corte, e non aveva Auditore nè alcuna persona savia che lo assistesse. Il Generale dovette con dolore offrire a Dio il suo abbandonamento" (p. 96). "Il Nunzio di Francia pochissimo informava Roma delle cose correnti, perchè pochissimo era egli stesso informato, o perchè non avesse attività nè ministri, o perchè fosse negletto dal Ministro di Francia, come significò chiaramente il Papa al Generale" (p. 87). "Da Parigi riseppe persona bene informata che il Re parlando con l'arcivescovo di Narbona si lodò molto della prudenza del Nunzio nell' affare de' Gesuiti (il Nunzio aveva ricevuto ed accolto M. Gallifet), e perciò diede per ora al sig. abbate Finatteri, segretario di monsignore,

Clement XIII. let the nuncio know of his disapproval of his over-careful procedure. It was not the nuncio's duty to obtain the agreement of the Court. With the publication of the Brief the Holy See had intended to proclaim its attitude to the whole world and to warn it against following the example set be France.[1] The Pope could not make his correspondence with Bishops dependent on the approval of the rulers of the country; the right to confirm his brethren was an essential duty of the successor of St. Peter, for the fulfilment of which he could not be dependent on any earthly power. And the Pope had never renounced this right by agreeing to conduct certain affairs by mutual agreement.[2] Pamfili was to tell the Minister quite openly that the Holy See would never agree to the oppressive servility which its enemies were now intending to impose upon it. The Brief to the Bishops had contained no more than that to the king, which had been accepted. Neither now nor at any time in the past had the Popes intended to stir up trouble in the States.[3] The ruin of the Society of Jesus was due, not to Rome, but to the Court, whose inactivity was ascribed by many not so much to the hard necessity of the times as to a secret understanding with the Parlements. The Holy See had never been able to agree to the appointment of one or several Vicars General, for this would bring about the downfall, not only of the Jesuits, but also of all the other Orders, which would disintegrate into as many brotherhoods as there were countries. He would rather see the Society completely destroyed than separated from its head and

1500 Lire di pensione. La prudenza era stata di operare con freddezza in cosa che senza paragone più riguardava l'autorità della Sede romana che l'interesse de' Gesuiti, come è palese ad evidenza. L'abbate Finatteri si spacciava per amico de' Gesuiti: Ognun vede che voglia dire, che il segretario di un Ministro del Papa in Francia sia pensionario del re di Francia stesso" (p. 152).

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 14 and 25, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 87.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 21, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 28, 1762, *ibid.*

shattered in its essential constitutional principles. It was not the Pope who had refused any kind of support to the French Jesuits but the Court, which, to say the least, had played the part of an idle spectator of their ruin.[1]

In the face of this forceful language Choiseul retreated to some extent by stating that the Government had no intention in principle of imposing restrictions on the Pope's intercourse with the Bishops, but in cases like the present he considered the previous agreement of the Court necessary for the better fulfilment of the wishes of the supreme head of the Church.[2] No reply was ever sent to the Pope's letter to the king, in spite of repeated requests made by the nuncio.[3]

Clement XIII. now bethought himself of another way to attain his object of condemning the unjustifiable procedure of the secular power.[4] He summoned a consistory for September 3rd, 1762,[5] and in his allocution he pronounced all the resolutions of the Parlements against the Society of Jesus to be null and void, the judgment of ecclesiastical institutes being the inalienable right of the Holy See. He also expressed his displeasure that a general demand was being made for the recognition of the four Gallican articles.[6] Choiseul then let

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 11, 1762, *ibid.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 23, 1762, *ibid.*, 517; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 8, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 4 and 18, 1762, *ibid.* The Minister explained that the king was in a quandary as to what answer he should make; he accordingly thought it better to do nothing in the matter than to give an answer that meant nothing. But if the Pope insisted on it, an answer would be sent (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 517). On this admission of weakness the nuncio was instructed not to press the matter (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 15, 1762, *ibid.*, 453).

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 26, 1762, *ibid.*

[5] Cardinal Prospero Sciarra Colonna, Protector of France, ostentatiously kept away from the Consistory (Ricci, *Istoria, 111).

[6] In view of the difficult situation in which the French Government was situated and the king's secret resentment against the Jesuits, the Pope refrained from making a pronouncement

it be known through Cardinal Colonna that the publication of the allocution was undesirable; it might lead to its condemnation to burning by the Parlement, which in the difficult political situation would greatly embarrass the Government.[1] Publication was consequently withheld,[2] and the effect of the allocution was thereby seriously impaired.[3] Torrigiani took care to point out that the Pope did not regret the step he had taken, come what might, for no consequence could be so bad as the silence of the Holy See when such grievous outrages were being perpetrated against religion and the Church.[4] But the painful impression created by this withdrawal of the Holy See's still persisted. In order to effect to some extent the object of his proclamation, Clement sent to each of the French Cardinals a letter apprising them of the gist of his allocution.[5]

Despite all the representations of the Pope and the Bishops, the Parlements proceeded with their measures against the Jesuits.[6] On Thursday, August 19th, 1762, their houses and churches situated in the jurisdictional area of the Paris Parlement were closed.[7] A resolution of September 7th

against the monarch (*Ricci, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 8 and October 27, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*). Text of the allocution in Ravignan, I., 520 *seqq.*

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 4, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 6, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, October 14 and 21, 1762, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, Papal Secret Archives; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 27, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *ibid.*

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 114, 117.

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 22, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*

[5] Dated September 8, 1762; text of the letters in the *Bull. Cont.*, III., 697 *seqq.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 111.

[6] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 27, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 23, 1762, *ibid.*, 517.

forbade the Bishops to employ Jesuits as auxiliaries.[1] A number of other Parlements which had hitherto held back in hesitation now joined the prevailing movement. A gleam of hope which seemed to appear in October, 1762, was only too soon obscured.[2] Changes in the ministry brought no improvement in the situation, for the Ministers succeeded each other too rapidly and with their politico-ecclesiastical leanings had neither the authority nor the inclination to oppose the onslaughts of the Parlements.[3]

In view of the faint-heartedness of the impecunious Court and the peculiar attitude of several Bishops and Cardinals who, in their desire to defend the Gallican liberties and in their misdirected corporative spirit, disapproved of Rome's action,[4] it is not difficult to appreciate how the political and ecclesiastical situation became more and more confused, to the great grief of the Pope.[5] The Parlements found themselves in open rebellion against the Government and the Church.[6] The

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 14, 1762, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 29, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 20, 1762, *ibid.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 2, 1762, and December 1, 1763, *ibid.* From time to time the Court threw aside its lethargy, as, for example, when it suspended the resolution of the Parlement of Rouen (March 3, 1763), which left the Jesuits with only the choice of forswearing their Society or of suffering banishment, and in spite of the Parlement's objection it forced it to register the edict (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 14 and April 4 and 18, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 515, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 30, 1763, *ibid.*, 453).

[4] See below, p. 475 *seqq.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 20, 1763, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* the description of the situation in Pamfili's *letter to Torrigiani, of April 29, 1763 (*ibid.*, 518), which made such an impression on the Pope that he wept unceasingly and was quite inconsolable (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 14, 1763, *ibid.*, 453).

[6] By a resolution passed on March 8, 1763, the Parlement of Navarre suppressed three "alleged" Papal Briefs to the king,

Parlement of Rouen not only forbade under pain of death the execution of a number of royal edicts,[1] in spite of their having been registered by a *lit de justice*, but also condemned a decree of the Inquisition,[2] following the example set by the Parlements of Paris,[3] Toulouse,[4] and Rennes.[5] Similar steps were taken against the pastoral letters of the Bishops of Pons, Lavaur, and Langres, which dealt with the *Extracts from the dangerous assertions*.[6] The language used by the Parlements against the Pope and the Curia was such as they would not have used against any other prince.[7] On the plea that the Papal frigate anchored in the harbour of Marseilles was about to carry off Jesuit valuables to Italy, the Parlement of Aix, at the request of the creditors of the firm of Liloncy, instructed an official to search the vessels in the harbour. After a few days, instead of frankly admitting that the search had been in vain, the Parlement had the harbour opened to traffic again on the ground that a continuation of the stoppage would injure trade. No satisfaction was ever obtained by the

the episcopal assembly (of July 9, 1762), and the French Cardinals (of September 8, 1762). The Parlement of Toulouse had anticipated it in this respect on February 2, 1763 (Ricci, **Istoria*, 160).

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 18 and 29, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 5, 1763, *ibid.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 23, 1763, *ibid.*

[4] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 3 Juin 1763, qui supprime un Décret de l'Inquisition de Rome du 13 Avril 1763.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 12, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 23, July 4, and September 6, 1763, *ibid.* Under the pretext of protecting the Bishop of Pons from the forcible measures of the Parlement of Toulouse, the king condemned the prelate to banishment in his own diocese and forbade him to leave it (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 28, 1763, *ibid.*, 453; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 26, 1763, *ibid.*, 518).

[7] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 21, 1763, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 6, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

Roman Court. Praslin declared that there was no legal basis for an action against the Parlement, since there was no mention in its resolution of a Papal frigate but of an Italian one.[1] A similarly illegal assault was made by the Parlement of Rouen. It confiscated a consignment of wool belonging to the Jesuits of Castile with which to satisfy Lavalette's creditors, the whole Order being held responsible for his debts. After lengthy diplomatic negotiations Choiseul informed the Spanish envoy Grimaldi on December 22nd, 1764, that the Government had revoked the confiscation.[2]

Far more disturbing was the condemnation by Bishop Fitz-James of Soissons in a special instruction of December 27th, 1762, of the tenets collected in the *Extracts* which were supposed to be found in various Jesuit works. The condemnation was accompanied by insulting remarks about the Order and it aroused keen resentment among the laity as well as the clergy.[3] At the end of his epistle the Bishop had informed his clergy that the four Gallican articles were sacred truths which every Christian ought to know. They formed part of the revelation imparted by Christ to His Apostles and had been handed down through the centuries from generation to generation.[4]

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 2, 16, and 23 and April 13, 1763, *ibid.*

[2] The diplomatic *correspondence on this affair between Grimaldi, Fuentes, Choiseul, and others, of August 20, 1764, to January 14, 1765, in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 4700.

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 10 and February 14, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 26, 1763, *ibid.*, 453. The step was all the more remarkable in that it brought the rift in the French episcopacy before the public. The *Extraits des assertions* had been condemned and banned by the Bishop of Lavaur on November 1, 1762 (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 2, 1763, *ibid.*).

[4] "Nous ne doutons pas de votre religieux attachement à la doctrine du clergé de France et en particulier aux IV célèbres articles renouvelés solennellement par l'Assemblée de 1682. Vous avez que ce ne sont pas simplement des loix de l'État et du

Under date April 13th, 1763, Clement XIII. addressed to Louis XV. and the French Cardinals a message in which he complained bitterly of the Bishop's behaviour. He was continually disturbing the unity of the French episcopacy and had written to Benedict XIV. about the Bull *Unigenitus* in such a way that his letter had been deemed unworthy of a reply. His temerity had now reached such a pitch that he not only sent the Pope his offensive pastoral letter but attached to it a highly improper message which did serious injury to the reputation and dignity of the Apostolic See. In consequence the Pope was no longer able to overlook the insult and had been forced, to his bitter grief, to submit the pastoral letter for examination to the Congregation of the Holy Office, which had condemned and banned it on April 13th.[1] In the accompanying instruction for the nuncio the Cardinal Secretary of State pointed out that the Decree of the Congregation did not contain any censure of the four Articles themselves but merely rejected the statement that they were articles of faith, to be known by every Christian. The nuncio was to demand satisfaction on these terms, and if it were not to be obtained —which was only too likely, in view of the Bishop's well-known way of thinking—he was to insist most emphatically that the king, the Ministers, and the Cardinals restrain the culprit, lest such innovations should lead finally to a schism.[2]

The public condemnation of the Jansenist-minded Bishop came at an extremely awkward time for the French Court,

gouvernement politique, mais des vérités saintes qui appartiennent à la révélation, qui font partie du dépôt sacré que Jésus-Christ a confié à ses apôtres, qui nous ont été transmises par la tradition de tous les siècles, et que pour cette raison vous ne devez pas laisser ignorer au fidèles" (*Ordonnance et instruction pastorale de Msgr. l'évêque de Soissons au sujet des Assertions extraites . . .*, Soissons, 1763, 38).

[1] The *text of the decree of the Inquisition and the Pope's *letters to the king and the Cardinals in Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[2] **Istruzione secreta per Msgr. Pamphili* of April 13, 1763, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 18, 1763, *ibid.*

which urgently needed the Parlement's registration of various fiscal edicts.[1] The king replied on June 6th, 1763, in a polite letter, couched in general terms, in which, after the customary assurances of respect and obedience, he made complaints about the way in which action had been taken against Bishop Fitz-James. A previous agreement, he protested, should have been made with the Court and the Ministers.[2] To this unsatisfactory reply, which was more of a reproach than an apology, the Pope retorted that he was not disposed to subject his intercourse with the Bishops to the control of the Court.[3] Meanwhile, the four prelates whom Louis XV. had entrusted with the examination of the decree of the Inquisition had completed their task. Rome had tried by counter-representations to influence the wording of the second letter,[4] but the instruction came too late and the nuncio was purposely kept away from the king.[5] The second answer [6] gave even less satisfaction in Rome than the first. Instead of apologizing to the Pope, the ill-advised monarch undertook the defence of the Bishop, declaring that from the information to hand he could find nothing blameworthy in the way in which the Bishop of Soissons had expounded the doctrine of the French clergy.[7]

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 9 and 16, 1763, *ibid.*, 518; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 1, 1763, *ibid.*, 453. De Luynes was the only Cardinal to inform the king of his approval of the condemnation of Fitz-James (*Luynes to Clement XIII., June 12, 1763, *ibid.*). De Gesvres, Choiseul, and Rochechouart, on the other hand, protested vigorously against Fitz-James's case being handed over to a tribunal which had never been recognized in France (*ibid.*). Cardinal Rohan appears to have made no answer at all (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 31, 1763, *ibid.*, 518).

[2] *Ibid.*, 453 and 518.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 22 and 29, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

[4] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 20 and 27, 1763, *ibid.*; **Istruzione per Msgr. arcivescovo di Colosso, Nunzio pontifico in Francia*, of July 20, 1763, *ibid.*

[5] *Finatteri to Torrigiani, July 30, 1763, *ibid.*, 510.

[6] *Dated Compiègne, July 25, 1763, *ibid.*, 518.

[7] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 10, 1763, *ibid.*, 453.

Fitz-James found a supporter in Bishop De Grasse of Angers, who in his pastoral instruction of April 19th, 1763,[1] also condemned the supposed Jesuit doctrines as contained in the *Extracts*. Though not going so far as to present the four Gallican Articles as of revealed faith, he outdid his colleague in demanding their unequivocal recognition as an indispensable condition of obtaining Holy Orders and jurisdictional faculties.[2] Furthermore, his instruction contained unworthy expressions of animosity against the Apostolic See.[3] Another confederate for the Bishop of Soissons appeared in the person of the Bishop of Alais, who, in spite of Fitz-James's condemnation, issued a similar pastoral letter on April 16th, 1764,[4] to the scandal of all good Catholics Lest the Government might interfere again, the Pope confined his expression of displeasure to the sending of a Brief to each prelate.[5] The Government immediately lodged a complaint through its envoy Aubeterre [6] and even had the audacity to accuse the Pope of wanting to provoke another war of religion in France. The Cardinal Secretary of State replied that the Papal letter had not been made public on the instructions of the Holy See nor with its previous knowledge, whereas the pastoral letter to which objection had been taken had been circulated

[1] *Ordonnance et instruction pastorale de Msgr. l'évêque d'Angers portant condamnation de la doctrine contenue dans les Extraits des assertions*, Angers, 1763.

[2] Pp. 23 *seq.*

[3] "Cette déclaration du clergé qui assure au Pape ses droits légitimes, en détruisant les prétensions abusives que la flatterie prodigue à sa dignité, est le soutien de nos maximes et des libertés de l'église gallicane" (p. 16).

[4] *Ordonnance et instruction pastorale de Msgr. l'évêque d'Alais au sujet des Assertions extraites des livres, thèses, cahiers des soi-disant Jésuites et dénoncées aux évêques par le Parlement*, Aix, 1764; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 6, 1764. Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 19 and October 31, 1764, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 21, 1764, *ibid.*

throughout France with the permission of the State authorities.[1] The Parlements did not omit to ban the Pope's Briefs to the two Bishops,[2] and Bishop Fitz-James on his death-bed published in a printed declaration his agreement with the manifesto of the Bishop of Alais.[3]

The Jesuits in their turn found a chivalrous defender in the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont,[4] who had already come forward to oppose the attacks of the Parlement. After much hesitation,[5] he published on October 28th, 1763, his famous pastoral instruction [6] justifying in a masterly fashion the Society of Jesus, its vows, doctrines, and activity,

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 2, 1765, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 6, 1765, *ibid.*

[3] *Acte d'adhésion de Msgr. l'évêque de Soissons à l'instruction pastorale de Msgr. l'évêque d'Alais, du 16 Avril 1764, Paris, 11 Juin 1764.* A few weeks later, on July 19, 1764, Bishop Fitz-James died.

[4] RÉGNAULT, *Christophe de Beaumont, archevêque de Paris*, 2 vols., Paris, 1882.

[5] In the winter of 1762 he had been thinking of openly declaring his attitude towards this burning question in a pastoral letter but had refrained from doing so on account of the episcopal conference which was then in session (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 20, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*). In the spring of 1763 the publication seemed to be imminent (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, April 20, 1763, *ibid.*, 453). On July 4, 1763, the nuncio *reported that Beaumont had his pastoral letter ready (*ibid.*, 518).

[6] *Instruction pastorale de Msgr. l'archevêque de Paris sur les atteintes données à l'autorité de l'Église par les jugemens des tribunaux séculiers dans l'affaire des Jésuites*, Paris, 1763. The composition was printed secretly, the Court having advised against its publication through intermediaries (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 19, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.*), and it appeared also in a German translation : *Beaumont, Die Kirche . . . und der Jesuitenorden*, German text by Castioli, Schaffhausen, 1844 ; extract in RÉGNAULT, II., 71–80, 442–510.

and exposing the disastrous effects on the Church and State which must ensue from the attacks made upon it. As was expected, the document created a great sensation. It was denounced at a session of the *Chambre des Pairs* on January 16th, 1764, when Beaumont openly acknowledged himself to be its author and defended his action in a lengthy speech.[1] The courageous champion of ecclesiastical rights and liberties had to pay for his outspokenness by banishment to La Trappe.[2] Two Jesuits who had distributed the pastoral letter were imprisoned.[3] The Jesuit Perrin, who had helped to compose the document, was placed in the Bastille on the king's orders to protect him from the wrath of the Parlements.[4] On January 21st, 1764, the Paris Parlement pronounced the instruction to be subversive and hostile to the authority of the State and condemned it to be burned by the executioner. At the same time it turned against the king for having used his absolute power to withdraw the person of the Archbishop from the jurisdiction of the customary judges.[5] The Bishops, who by a coincidence were met together in Paris, intended to assemble on January 31st in the palace of Cardinal Luynes with a view to making a joint proclamation of their agreement with the pastoral instruction, but on the previous day they received a notice from the Court forbidding them to meet. And this although the king had already given his permission for the meeting, on condition that his letter was not published.[6] The duty of the Bishops to reside in their dioceses had to be used

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 16, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 23, 1764, *ibid.* The Archbishop's friends welcomed this solution.

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 5, 1764, *ibid.*

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 177.

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 23, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 30 and February 13, 1764, *ibid.*; Brief to Cardinal de Luynes of February 8, 1764, in Régnault, II., 510 *seqq.*

as a pretext by the Parlement in enforcing their departure from Paris.[1]

Although this action of the Government had not been entirely unexpected by Rome,[2] the Pope felt it all the more keenly through his being prevented by Louis XV.'s weakness and the adversaries' malice from rendering any effective assistance to the persecuted Archbishop. He derived a little consolation, however, from hearing that both the people and the aristocracy had shown the Archbishop their sympathy in an affecting manner [3] and that several prelates, including the saintly Bishop of Amiens, now eighty-one years old, had openly proclaimed their agreement with him.[4] To offer the insulted prince of the Church a little consolation, Clement XIII. sent him a sympathetic letter and instructed the nuncio to pay him a visit.[5] When the Minister complained about this, the Pope's answer was that he was not subject to any rules of

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 5, 1764, *ibid.* The Parlement had houses searched for the pastoral letter, and the tutor of the Dauphin's sons had to retire from the Court in consequence of the persecutions, he having distributed some copies of the letter (Ricci, **Istoria*, 177).

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 18 and 25, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, February 8, 1764, *ibid.* Beaumont's carriage was surrounded by dense throngs, and on his way through Versailles he was asked for his blessing by the queen and her daughters (Ricci, **Istoria*, 177).

[4] The printed text of February 1, 1764, was condemned to be burnt by an *Arrêt* of February 22, 1764 (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 5 and 12, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*). Other Bishops were prevented by fear from following Beaumont's example (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 9, 1764, *ibid.*). In the following year the Bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Tours signified their approval in their *Instruction pastorale de Nosseigneurs les archevêques et évêques de la province ecclésiastique de Tours sur les atteintes données à la puissance spirituelle* (no date or place of publication).

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 24, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

the French Court and that the supreme head must be free to communicate with members of the Church. The Pope had not commended what the king had censured ; it was the king who had censured what the Pope had approved.[1] A resolution of June 1st, 1764, banned Clement XIII.'s Brief to Archbishop Beaumont and his Brief to King Stanislaus of Lorraine-Bar. There was also a general ban on the publication of Papal Bulls and Briefs without the previous assent of the king and their registration by the Parlement.[2]

With the gradual dissolution of the Jesuit establishments in France the Superiors were faced with a difficult problem. Where and how were so many religious to be accommodated ? At the end of the year 1761 there were 3,049 members of the Society in the five provinces of the French Assistancy.[3] When from this number were deducted the 142 Fathers who were in the foreign missions,[4] there were still a round 2,900 Jesuits to be cared for. The most obvious solution was to find a refuge outside France. Ricci had taken several steps in this direction [5] but they were brought to nought, partly by financial difficulties,[6] principally by the opposition of ill-disposed Ministers or of princes who were anxious to avoid complications with France.[7] Thus the King of Sardinia let it be known

[1] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 2, 1764, *ibid.*

[2] *Arrêt de la Cour de Parlement qui supprime . . . du premier Juin 1764*, Lyon, 1764 ; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, June 13 and 27, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[3] 1,585 priests, 826 scholastics, and 638 lay-brothers (VIVIER, *Status Assistentiae Galliae Soc. Jesu. 1762–68*, Paris, 1899, XIII.).

[4] *Ibid.*, 143.

[5] " Quod attinet ad iuvenes quosdam alio transmittendos, id et ego cogitavi et providi, quantum potui datis ad Provinciales tum Galliae tum aliarum Assistentiarum litteris, sed quae se obiciant gravissima impedimenta partim a vobis ignorari non miror, partim non videri vehementer miror " (*Ricci to Salvat, July 7, 1762, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[6] See above, p. 400 *seq.*

[7] " Per altro sa V.R. per esperienza nella sua provincia medesima che con la dispensa [to accept Mass stipends and alms

to the General that he would not receive any French Jesuits in his States.[1] In the neighbouring Belgium, which had entered into De la Croix's calculations, the Brussels Government forbade the Superiors of the Flandro-Belgic province to accommodate their brethren from France.[2] Any question of accommodation in the kingdom of Naples was ruled out by Tanucci's hostility.[3] Though the Minister dared not issue a direct prohibition in view of the prevailing attitude of the Spanish Court, he made reception practically impossible by insisting on each Jesuit obtaining a pass from the French Minister.[4] Some of the Catholic Princes of Germany, who were in many ways dependent on France, had issued vetoes against the reception of Jesuits.[5] The search for a refuge of any size in the Papal territory of Avignon was prevented by consideration for the Holy See, whose relations with France were already too difficult to be further endangered.[6] The proposal to

for the cure of souls] non si provederebbe che le altre provincie potessero ricevere i nuovi ospiti in qualche numero, trovandosi difficoltà universalmente per parte dei principi" (*Ricci to Garnier, Provincial of Lyons, April 9, 1763, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 78.

[2] *Ibid.*, 89.

[3] "Non intendo l'asilo, che li nemici e le pesti dello stato, quali sono li Gesuiti, trovano in Lorena, o nello Stanislao, tanto creatura dei Re di Francia. Bisogna dire error d'intelletto, che è peggiore di quello di volontà. Comanda più alla volontà l'intelletto, che quella a questo. Un asino è sempre asino." (*Tanucci to Galiani, [January] 22, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5983). "Son poi [gl'Inglesi] come li Gesuiti, dei quali si dice, che ogni privato è buono, è sceleratissima la Compagnia per le massime atroci contrarie alla religione, alla morale, alli stati, ai sovrani" (*Tanucci to Squillace, [January] 1, 1765, *ibid.*, 5991).

[4] *Tanucci to Galiani, February 23, 1765, *ibid.*, 5992.

[5] Ricci, **Istoria*, 88, 152.

[6] A large number of Jesuits probably lived for a time in Avignon and the Venaissin (Chossat, *Les Jésuites à Avignon*, 482 *seqq.*), but the list for 1768 shows only ninety-two members as resident there (Vivier, *Status Assistentiae Galliae*, 199).

concentrate the surplus Jesuits in a few houses in Italy or the Papal States was fraught with more than one misgiving.[1] Apart from the superfluity of clerics, to leave hundreds of religious for years on end without any regular occupation was not entirely without danger for religious discipline. But apart from all these considerations the plan would have broken down on financial grounds alone, for it was only with the greatest difficulty that the General could support the thousand Jesuits expelled from Portugal.[2] Another solution, to send as many Jesuits as possible to the foreign missions, was impossible on a large scale owing to the war and the confiscation of the mission funds.[3]

Ricci was also seriously embarrassed by the various proposals of a fantastic nature which were made to him at this time. Though apparently attractive, they would have effected nothing but confusion.[4] Thus the over-ardent De Menoux proposed that some of the prominent Jesuits should be promoted Bishops *in partibus* by the Pope, forgetting that

[1] *Desmaretz to Ricci, March 3, 1763; *Forest to Ricci, March 18, 1763; Ricci, **Istoria*, 158.

[2] Ricci, **Istoria*, 25, 158.

[3] *Ricci to Nectoux, June 9, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666. Large sums of money belonging to the missions were lost through the strange behaviour of the Paris procurators of the missions who, in spite of being warned, failed to deposit the money in a place of safety but calmly allowed it to be sequestrated by the Parlement (Ricci, **Istoria*, 132; *cf. ibid.*, 79 *seq.*). Individual Jesuits were sent to the missions by the General from time to time (*Ricci to Nectoux, June 23 and October 13, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; *Nectoux to Ricci, February 7, April 21, and July 7, 1766, *ibid.*, 690). As late as 1766 the General was asking the Provincial of Aquitaine to foster the missionary vocation among his subordinates (*Ricci to Nectoux, December 18, 1766, *ibid.*, 666) and was giving leave for Fathers to be sent to the missions administered by the French and Portuguese Jesuits, e.g. China and Malabar (*Ricci to Brassaud, February 28, 1770, *Epist. Gen. secretae*).

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 96.

a special vow had been taken against this.[1] Among the curious phenomena brought about by the upheaval may be mentioned the recommendation to the General by numerous persons of special prayers for delivery from great persecutions. In each case it had been revealed that the divine assistance was infallibly attached to the prayer recommended. To proposals of this kind Ricci paid but little attention, confining himself to the recommendation of prayer in general.[2]

In anticipation of the imminent dissolution of the Society in France, the General had imparted certain powers to the French Provincials on March 31st, 1762,[3] and he extended them on May 19th. Every member of the Order was allowed, among other things, to live in private houses in secular clerical dress, and to accept stipends, benefices, and pastoral duties. The Provincials could, on request, grant release to all scholastics and lay-brothers. A transfer to a non-French Province was allowed if the two Provincials concerned assented and there was no State prohibition against it. Permission for professed priests to transfer to another Order the General reserved to himself.[4]

The most sorely stricken Jesuits were the lay-brothers and the young scholastics. With the confiscation of the Society's property and the closing of the schools it became impossible to continue the education of the younger members. In Paris the novices had to be sent back to their relatives on April 1st, 1762.[5] On July 7th, 1762, Pamfili reported that in Paris three-quarters of the non-professed had left the Society.[6] The fear of being forced to forswear the Institute or of being excluded from ecclesiastical benefices if they delayed their

[1] *Ibid.*, 95.

[2] *Ibid.*, 82.

[3] *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*; *Ricci to Nectoux, March 31, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[4] *Ricci to Nectoux, May 19, 1762, *ibid.*

[5] *Fiérard to Ricci, April 5, 1762.

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, July 7, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 516, *loc. cit.*

decision, drove many to act precipitately. In some places so great was the haste that releases were granted without the prescribed legal formalities being observed.[1] The priests fared somewhat better. It did not need the recommendation of the Pope [2] to secure their hospitable reception by other Orders or by noble families.[3] Conturier, the Superior of the Sulpicians, offered to provide bed and board for fifteen Jesuits, the Benedictine Abbot of Poitiers asked for four of the Fathers, and the Carthusians accepted an equal number.[4] King Stanislaus provided a refuge for twenty Jesuits in his duchy of Lorraine.[5] Fifteen Fathers now resided at the Court of Versailles where formerly there had been only five.[6] The French Bishops proved most co-operative in providing as many as possible with occupation and sustenance as auxiliaries to parish priests.[7] Their good intentions, however, were thwarted by several of the Parlements, which made the presentation of benefices and finally every kind of work connected with the cure of souls dependent on the taking of the prescribed oath.[8] The Bishop of Soissons and the chapter of Rheims deprived the Jesuits of all pastoral faculties.[9] The situation grew more desperate every day. The Parlement of Rouen, which had already on July 20th, 1762, attached the penalty of

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 72, 100; *cf. ibid.*, 76.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, August 4 and September 8, 1762, Nunziat. di Francia, 452, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 23, 1762, *ibid.*, 517; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 8, 1762, *ibid.*, 452.

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 80.

[5] *Ibid.*, 127.

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 30 and September 20, 1762, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 30, 1762, *ibid.*, 517; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 8, 15, and 29, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[8] *Extrait des registres du Parlement du 7 Septembre 1762* (printed); *Pamfili to Torrigiani, September 14, 1762, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 18 and November 29, 1762, *ibid.*

banishment to the refusal of the oath, confirmed this resolution on March 3rd, 1763, but it was again suspended by a royal ordinance.[1] A year later, by way of answer to Archbishop Beaumont's pastoral instruction, the Parlements of Paris,[2] Rouen,[3] Pau,[4] and Toulouse [5] issued orders of banishment against all who had not forsworn the Society by the prescribed oath. At this point the Court Confessors tendered their resignation to the king,[6] which in spite of the opposition of the Dauphin and the great grief of the other members of the royal family, was accepted. Even the Dauphin's wife failed in her efforts to retain her confessor until her confinement, which was quite imminent. Only the queen's confessor was allowed to remain until the arrival of his successor.[7] The others either went to the few remaining provinces in France where the Jesuits were still allowed to exist or they sought

[1] *Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen du 3 Mars 1763*, Rouen, 1763; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 14, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 161. The afore-mentioned Arrêt contains the passage (p. 21): "Et sera le Roi très-humblement supplié en tous tems et en toute occasion, en sa qualité de Roi très-chrétien et de fils aîné de l'Église, de procurer à toute la chrétienté, par les voies que sa sagesse lui inspirera, l'extinction totale d'une Société pernicieuse, qui au moyen des précautions dont elle s'est armée contre sa destruction, ne seroit pas suffisamment détruite, si elle ne l'étoit par toute la terre."

[2] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 22 Février 1764*, Paris, 1764.

[3] *Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen du 22 Mars 1764*, Rouen, 1764.

[4] March 24, 1764; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 23, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 7, 1764, *ibid.*

[6] Crétineau-Joly, V³, 231 *seq.*

[7] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 27 and March 5, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 182. "La cacciata dei Gesuiti farà alla Francia grand' onore. Non intendo la compassione" (*Tanucci to Galiani, March 31, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5988). Desmaretz was granted a yearly pension of 12,000 *livres*, the other Court Confessors pensions of 6,000 *livres*. "Voglia Dio che si paghino," observed Ricci (**Istoria*, 180).

shelter as private persons in Flanders, Switzerland, and Germany.[1] There was bitter resentment amongst all classes, and in Rome especially, at the simultaneous admission into the country of German Protestant families who were to be settled in the French colonies.[2]

With the tacit consent of Charles III.[3] a large number of Jesuits had sought refuge in Spain,[4] where Loyola and other places had offered them shelter since 1762.[5] The Archbishop of Santiago and other Spanish Bishops also offered to maintain any of the exiles who might come into their dioceses.[6] A demand for the expulsion of the French Jesuits which was put forward by Campomanes and Valle y Salazar was rejected by the majority of the Council of Castile,[7] but it was resolved at the same time not to receive those who were unwilling to wear the dress of the Order and to live in the houses of the Order.[8] Lest the Spanish Jesuits, whose situation was already in danger,[9] should be drawn into the vortex, the General let it be known that he was against any further immigration.[10]

The aggressive measures of the Parlements not only

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 5 and 19, April 9 and 16, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 28, 1764, *ibid.*, 453. *Cf.* also Torrigiani's *letters to Pamfili of January 18, February 22, March 14 and 21, May 2, and August 29, 1764, *ibid.*

[3] *Idiaquez to Nectoux, May 1, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690.

[4] 64 in Guipúzcoa, about 57 in Castile, and 24 in Aragon (*Nectoux to Ricci, September 7, 1764, *ibid.*). A printed list of French Jesuits in Castile, *ibid.*, 688.

[5] *Ricci to Nectoux, October 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 666.

[6] *Idiaquez to Nectoux, June 5, 1764 (copy), *ibid.*, 690. The names of thirteen Spanish Archbishops and Bishops appear in a list of alms given to the French Fathers (*ibid.*, 688).

[7] *Tanucci to Galiani, February 23, 1765, *ibid.*, Estado 5992.

[8] **El Consejo en 23 de Agosto de 1764*, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 687; *Nectoux to Ricci, September 7, 1764 (copy), *ibid.*, 690.

[9] *Nectoux to Ricci, undated [April, 1765 ?], extract, *ibid.*, 666.

[10] *Idiaquez to Nectoux, July 14, 1764 (copy), *ibid.*, 690.

destroyed the material existence of the Order in France, but were also calculated to undermine its discipline and to shake the loyalty of its members to their vocation. Although the majority of the Assistants and the Roman theologians were of the opinion that in the prevailing circumstances the fear of banishment was a sufficient reason for young scholastics to apply for their release,[1] many of the latter displayed an heroic loyalty and preferred exile to the renunciation of their vocation.[2] Fifteen of them were received by the Polish Province.[3] One scholastic asked his father for 600 lire to enable him to move to Poland. The father, who had made every effort to keep him back, refused his request, and the son began to beg his way. Impressed by his determination, the father sent him the money to defray the cost of his journey.[4] The clergy of Dôle and Tournon sent a joint letter to Ricci asking him to find a home for the exiles outside France where they could continue their religious life. It cut the General to the heart to be prevented from responding to these desperate cries for help by the refusal of the rulers of other provinces to allow their subjects to follow the example of the Polish province.[5] Others continued their religious life in their own country without their Jesuit dress, so far as circumstances allowed.[6] Many of those who had already applied for release, or who had not been informed at the time of their release that they could retain their rank outside their religious house,

[1] All the Assistants, except the Polish one, answered in the affirmative, but only in the circumstances then prevailing, when no place of refuge and no means of subsistence were available. (Ricci, **Istoria*, 68 *seq.*)

[2] *Nectoux to Ricci, March 13, 1766 (copy), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690; *Ricci to Nectoux, May 1, 1766, *ibid.*, 666.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 152.

[4] *Ibid*, 116; *cf.* 152.

[5] *Ibid.*, 77.

[6] *Nectoux to Ricci [May 30, 1764 ?], Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690.

asked to be taken back again.[1] Others, on their departure, promised to return to the Society as soon as the situation in France improved.[2]

According to the reports received by Ricci from the Superiors [3] and from Bishops,[4] the behaviour of the scattered Jesuits was uniformly good. In spite of the most praiseworthy charity that was shown towards them in general,[5] many of them were in grave financial straits, and their patience was severely tried.[6] A long time passed before the pensions fixed by the Parlements were paid. In many places, Bordeaux among others, they were so niggardly as hardly to support life.[7] The value of the Jesuit property being far less than had been expected, the rates originally laid down could not be granted.[8] It was not till the beginning of 1764 that the annual pension

[1] *Ricci to Nectoux, May 24, 1764, *ibid.*, 666; *Nectoux to Ricci, June 4, 1764, *ibid.*, 690; *Fiérard to Ricci, September 13, 1762; *De Kergatté to Ricci, March 21, 1763; *De la Fontaine to Ricci, in March, 1763, in Jesuit possession, Gallia, 116; Ricci, **Istoria*, 118.

[2] *Ricci to Nectoux, April 20, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; *Nectoux to Ricci, May 3, 1764, *ibid.*, 690. [3] *Nectoux to Ricci, November 24, 1763, *ibid.*; *Dupays to Ricci, December 16, 1763, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[4] Ricci, **Istoria*, 154.

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 19, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*; *Nectoux to Ricci, February 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690.

[6] *Ricci to Nectoux, July 26 [1764 ?], *ibid.*, 666. Even Nectoux believed the rumour that countless millions were hoarded in the Jesuit missions of Spanish America while the French Jesuits were in distress. His General had to use every argument in his power to persuade him that the story was baseless. (*Nectoux to Ricci, November 16, 1765, *ibid.*, 690; *Ricci to Nectoux, December 26, 1765, *ibid.*, 666).

[7] The Jesuits of Grenoble received at first a daily pittance of 30 *sous*, those of Paris 20, of Toulouse 12, of Aubenas 8. (Gigord, *La Compagnie de Jésus à Aubenas*, IV., Privas, 1907, 76.)

[8] *Nectoux to Ricci, November 24. 1763 (copy), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690.

for professed Jesuits was fixed uniformly for France by royal ordinance at 400 lire.[1]

In these conditions it was understandable that among the three thousand Jesuits there were some who failed to stand the test. The professed Jesuits of Bordeaux, for example, appealed to the Cardinal Secretary of State to obtain from the Pope release from their vows, both for the easing of their conscience, the observance of the Institute having become impossible, and so that they might obtain the means of subsistence. Rome refused for the time being to grant the necessary dispensations, not wanting to further, either directly or indirectly, the hostile aims of the secular powers.[2] Other Jesuits moved from places where they could live according to their Rule unmolested, to provinces where they were affected by the secularizing measure of the State.[3] A depressing example of this procedure was offered by De Baleine, the head of the Province of Lyons. Instead of retiring to Avignon or Vienne, as his duty clearly indicated, and administering from there the remnant of his Province, he purposely remained in Lyons. Here, conforming to the order of the Paris Parlement, he changed his Jesuit dress for that of a secular priest and lived as a private individual. Sad to relate, such scandals as these, which Ricci attributed to the desire for comfort and independence, were not isolated instances.[4]

No slight difficulty and confusion was caused by the question of the permissibility of the oath which was made by the Parlements a condition of obtaining the promised pensions.[5]

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 2, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 7, 1762, *ibid.*, 453.

[3] Ricci, **Istoria*, 133.

[4] *Ibid.*, 112, 116, 118. Other examples, *ibid.*

[5] "Sunt quidem nonnulli, qui existiment illud iusiurandum dari posse, et daturi sint, si exigatur. Verum, etsi forte illaeso obedientiae voto dari absolute queat, tamen ea est omnium fere virorum erga Religionem optime affectorum opinio, idem iusiurandum sine dedecore et illaesa conscientia dari non posse, quippe cum in mente decreti Rotomagensis contineat Instituti

At first the Jesuits were so firmly against it that the Pope expressed his particular satisfaction with them.[1] Not one was willing to obtain his annuity at the price of an improper oath. Gradually, however, some began to waver, probably under the pressure of impoverishment. A decree of March 9th, 1764, contained the names of twenty-five Jesuits who had taken the oath in the jurisdictional area of the Paris Parlement.[2] To an inquiry of Torrigiani's about this decree, the nuncio reported that twenty-five had taken the oath in Paris and about five in Lyons; it was impossible to give exact figures, as the Parlements had ceased to publish names.[3] When Ricci asked for the lists they were no longer to be found,[4] but the deduction to be drawn from other documents is that the number of those who took the oath and who left the Society was larger than had been supposed.[5] "It was doubtless God's desire," observed the General, "to cleanse the Society in France in this way of many members who were hardly pious and who were,

et regiminis eiurationem, tacitamque consensionem in iudicium, quo vota impia et irreligiosa declarantur a senatu" (De la Croix to Ricci, August 3, 1762, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*).

[1] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, August 30, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 517, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 15, 1762, *ibid.*, 453; Ricci, **Istoria*, 112.

[2] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 9 Mars 1764.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, April 23, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Mihi quoque notos esse pervelim provinciae Aquitaniae socios tum professos tum non-professos, qui nefandum aliquod iuramentum interposuerunt, nec abs re sane fuerit, si inter dimissos eiusdem provinciae socios dignoverim illos, qui detestandae cuipiam iuramenti formulae subscripserunt" (*Ricci to Nectoux, December 18, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666).

[5] *De la Croix to Ricci, August 3, 1762, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*; *Nectoux to Ricci, May 14, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690; *Ricci to Nectoux, July 4, 1765, *ibid.*; *Ricci to Garnier, May 28, 1765 (excerpt), *ibid.*; Ricci, **Istoria*, 114, 127, 131, 134, 147, and in other places.

in fact, defective and harmful, just as He had cleansed the Portuguese Provinces." [1] Certain individuals regretted the step they had taken and made a public recantation.[2] When the circumstances are considered, the conduct of the French Jesuits may be judged a little less severely. In his reports to the Curia the nuncio Pamfili, who was personally on the scene of action, was at pains to do justice to the conduct of these unfortunates. "Everything shows that their situation is most lamentable. Should they subscribe to the oath, they run the risk of being suspended by the Archbishop of Paris and some other Bishops; moreover, they dishonour themselves in the public esteem and give their enemies the opportunity of accusing them of putting their own advantage before duty and conscience. Should they not sign, they are in danger of starving to death, and it is uncertain if they are to be allowed to live abroad. Consequently, the temptation is very great, and I fear that on the strength of the dispensations granted by the General for the period of the dissolution, or on the insidious excuse that the observance of the Constitutions and the vow of obedience has become impossible for them, or through ignorance, or on the authority of eminent persons, more than one will decide to accept the law imposed by the Parlement. Here, in Paris, De Noyer has already set this bad example, but I flatter myself that in this capital it will not prove infectious." [3]

Thenceforward the membership of the Society rapidly dwindled. The list of the Lyons Province, which still numbered 701 Jesuits in 1761,[4] showed only 472 in 1766.[5] In the Province of Champagne, where conditions were the most favourable, the membership dropped from 580 in the year 1761 [6] to 511 in the

[1] Ricci, **Istoria*, 61.

[2] *Ricci to Nectoux, February 16, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; Ricci, **Istoria*, 146, 152.

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 27, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[4] Vivier, *Status Assistentiae Galliae*, 171.

[5] *Ibid.*, 192.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36.

year 1762 [1]; the list for 1767 contains only 409 members,[2] and of these, sixty were dead.

The nuncio was already reporting to Rome on February 20th, 1764, that a royal proclamation confirming the annihilation of the Society of Jesus which had already been put into effect by the Parlements was expected to be made at Easter. This step would be justified, not by the errors and shortcomings of the Institute, but by the absolute will of the monarch, who was no longer prepared to tolerate in his realm religious who were not needed. In this way it was thought to anticipate all complaints of the king's overstepping his competence.[3] Torrigiani surmised [4] that the proclamation had been instigated by the Ministry and he expressed his fear to the nuncio that the argument of the Society's being superfluous in France might be viewed with strong approval in other countries at that time. However, Easter passed without the appearance of the dreaded proclamation. It was not till November 19th, 1764, that Pamfili returned to the subject. The decree, he wrote, which would shortly appear, would put an end to the Jesuit establishments still existing in Alsace, Flanders, and the Franche-Comté, the reason being that the dissolution of the colleges in some parts of the country and their preservation in others was bound to act as a perpetual ferment. To disguise the animosity behind this deed all French Jesuits would be allowed to reside in the country and Archbishop Beaumont would be given back his freedom.[5]

On December 1st, 1764, the fate of the Society of Jesus in France was finally sealed. At the plenary session of all the chambers of the Parlement which was held on that day, and

[1] *Ibid.*, 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, 116. For the other provinces there are no lists available after 1761.

[3] *Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 519, *loc. cit.*

[4] *March 14, 1764, *ibid.*, 453.

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, November 19, 1764, *ibid.*, 520. On December 4, 1764, Archbishop Beaumont received permission to return to Paris. (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 10, 1764, *ibid.*, 520.)

which all the dukes and peers had to attend, the decree [1] was read by which Louis XV. declared that in virtue of his supreme authority the Society of Jesus was henceforth to cease its existence in France.[2] Its individual members were allowed to live in the kingdom as private persons under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops. All legal proceedings against the constitution, the persons, and the writings of the Order were quashed. This declaration was registered on the same day by the Parlement, which added on its own account the restriction that the Jesuits were not to approach within ten miles of Paris; moreover, they were to present themselves to the magistrates of their place of residence every six months, and they were to be under the supervision of the civil authorities.[3] The Parlement of the Franche-Comté was alone in expressing its disagreement with the royal decree, by 26 votes to 23,[4] but, of course, without effect.[5]

In the instruction sent by the Duc de Praslin to Aubeterre, the French Ambassador to the Holy See, were set out the reasons which had induced the king to suppress the Society. Although the monarch did not consider the existence of the Jesuits necessary for the preservation of the Catholic religion

[1] Dated Versailles, November, 1764 (Lyon, 1764). The royal edicts did not as a rule mention the actual day on which they were issued.

[2] Torrigiani very rightly asked what would happen if every prince claimed the right to expel any Order he liked out of his realm, no matter how long it had been settled there (*to Pamfili, December 19, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Extrait des registres du Parlement, du premier Décembre, 1764*, Lyon, 1764; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 3 and 10, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 520; *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 6, 1765, *ibid.*, 521.

[4] *Très-humbles et très-respectueuses remonstrances présentées au Roi par le Parlement de Franche-Comté, au sujet de l'édit du mois de Novembre 1764, concernant les Jésuites. Arrêtées dans l'assemblée des Chambres, tenue le 12 Janvier 1765* (without place or date of publication): *Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 24, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 520, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 12, 1765, *ibid.*, 521.

in France—the Roman Catholic faith having already flourished there for eleven centuries before their arrival—he had nevertheless thought them to be useful to State and Church by reason of their edifying behaviour and their teaching. But reasons of a higher nature, care for the peace and tranquillity of the land, had led him to the decision which had been taken. The attempt to alter the Order's constitution, so as to adapt it to the laws and principles of the realm, had been frustrated by the unqualified resistance of the Holy See, so that at bottom it was the Pope himself who had brought about the destruction of the Order in France, albeit unintentionally. In the decree the monarch had refrained from any criticism of the Order's constitution, as this was not within his competence. Care for internal order and for public opinion, which was hostile to the Order, had not allowed the king to withhold his decision any longer. In the interest of religion as well as of the Society of Jesus, the Pope was asked to impose silence on himself, for any move against the monarch's intentions would be useless, if not perilous. Aubeterre was to convey this message to the Cardinal Secretary of State and, with the consent of the Cardinal Protector Sciarra Colonna, to the Pope also, and at the same time offer the assurance that the declaration had made no difference to the king's zeal for religion or to his devotion to the Holy See.[1] After consulting the Cardinal Protector, the ambassador decided to take no steps at all but to wait for a suitable occasion to explain the motives of the royal edict.[2] In the end, neither the Pope nor the Cardinal Secretary of State ever received any official communication.[3]

After what had gone before, Clement XIII.'s attitude

[1] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 53, *seqq*. The French envoy had been instructed to explain the king's motives to the Curia (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, December 10, 1764, January 24 and February 25, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 520 and 521, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Praslin to Aubeterre, January 8, 1765, in THEINER, *Clementis XIV Epistolae et Brevia*, 335 *seq.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, December 26, 1764, and February 6, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

towards the edict was never in any doubt. In his allocution of September 3rd, 1762, he had already declared the anti-Jesuit resolutions of the Parlements to be null and void; it was only motives of expediency which had restrained him from giving his protest a public and official character.[1] Meanwhile all hopes of a change of mind in France had gone; on the contrary, by his edict of December 1st, 1764, Louis XV. had, as it were, attached the royal seal to every anti-clerical measure. In the face of this deed of violence Praslin had wanted to impose silence on the supreme head of the Church. Clement XIII., who had already declared on several occasions that he would not allow any Court or any Minister to impose restrictions on the execution of his sacred mission, had no choice, in view of his dignity and his duty, but to reject this insulting demand by means of a definite action. Silence, he considered, would be a betrayal of his honour and his conscience, and likely to mislead the faithful.[2] Also, his personal reputation was at stake. To rebut the accusation that his previous attitude towards the Jesuit question bore too strongly the stamp of timorous weakness and complaisance,[3] he made up his mind to give public expression to his inner convictions by means of a solemn declaration. No one then could deduce from his silence any disagreement with his predecessors, who had consistently shown their approval of the Jesuit Order.[4] Thus, the re-endorsement of the Society of Jesus by the Bull *Apostolicum pascendi* was merely the natural result and the necessary consequence of the attitude he had held all along, and in his own eyes it was merely the simple fulfilment of a bounden duty.[5]

[1] See above, p. 472; Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Lodève, September 17, 1763, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 819.

[2] Clement XIII. to the Archbishop of Tarragona, March 13, 1765, *ibid.*, 942 *seq.*

[3] Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Sarlat, November 4, 1764, *ibid.*, 901.

[4] Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Michoacán (Mexico), June 23, 1766, *ibid.*, 1087 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* RAVIGNAN, I., 152 *seqq.*; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, I², 84 *seqq.*

The task of drafting the Bull was entrusted to Monsignor Giacomelli, who was to be provided with the necessary material by the Jesuit Le Forestier.[1] The latter's over-detailed expositions,[2] however, and Ricci's observations on them,[3] were not appreciated, it being thought that they would afford material for further attacks and would detract from the force of the manifesto.[4] Cardinal Castelli's draft also failed to satisfy Torrigiani.[5] Finally, Giacomelli's work, which was finished just as the news arrived of the imminent publication of the royal edict,[6] received the approval and the signature of the Pope.[7] By various alterations and additions everything

[1] " *Bullae conficiendae delineatio. Observatio. Monumenti spettanti alla Bolla di Clemente XIII 'Apostolicum pascendi' confermatoria dell' Istituto dei Gesuiti," in Jesuit possession.

[2] *Ibid.*, Monumenti, 1d.

[3] *Ibid.* 1b and 1c.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1a, marginal note, apparently in Giacomelli's hand.

[5] " *Il piano della Bolla che aveva fatto Msgr. mio Giacomelli, al primo colpo d'occhio mi piacque estremente, e seguita a piacere molto più che l'altro del card. Castelli " (Torrigiani to Giacomelli, December 2, 1764, *ibid.*, 10). The available documents lead us to conclude that it was not an independent draft of Castelli's but a *draft of G acomelli's, remodelled according to Castelli's additions and suggestions (*ibid.*, 6 and 7).

[6] After sealing the envelope Castelli received the news of the imminent publication of the royal edict of November or of December 1, 1764. Whereupon he inserted another note, undated but probably written on the same day, November 29, 1764, which ended with " Se tal notizia fosse sussistente, sopra di che Monsignore potrà meglio indigare che io, gli lascio a considerare, se converrà in un tale pericoloso frangente dar moto a quest' acqua " (*Monumenti, 9).

[7] This description of events, which is based on original documents, invalidates Theiner's assertions (*Histoire*, I., 157) that the College of Cardinals had no knowledge of the Pope's action and that even the Cardinal Secretary of State was ignorant of the existence of the Bull until the day on which it was signed.

which might have aroused justifiable resentment had been removed.[1]

The Holy See, it was stated in this Constitution of January 7th, 1765, which could not allow restrictions to be placed on the execution of its supreme pastoral duty by any human consideration, had at all times devoted its particular care to religious confraternities, among which the Society of Jesus occupied a prominent position. This Order, founded by a saint and approved by several Popes, had always shown itself to be a fit instrument for increasing the honour due to God and for advancing the salvation of souls, and on this account it had also enjoyed the protection of Christian princes. It had produced saints, and saints had praised it. Its Institute, which had been described as excellent by the Council of Trent, was now branded in speech and in writing as irreligious and ungodly. The Church was thereby accused of having erred in declaring it to be excellent and pleasing to God and, what was even worse, in having borne it in its bosom for the injury of souls for more than two hundred years. By way of answer to this grievous insult to the Church and to the equally unjust and pernicious calumniations of the Order, the Pope, in fulfilment of the justifiable requests of the Jesuits and in agreement with the Bishops throughout the world, declared, in the manner of his predecessors, that the constitution of the Society of Jesus was redolent in the highest degree of piety and holiness, both on account of its object, namely, the extension and the defence of the Catholic religion, and of the means employed. This Order had trained numerous men who had defended the true faith, had preached the word of God with fruitful results, had taken the light of the Gospel to the heathen, had instructed the youth, and by means of its

[1] On returning the manuscript to Giacomelli, Castelli added a note which ended : " Del resto volendosi fare la Bolla pare anche a me che difficilmente potrebbe concepirsi più raggionata e più decorosa di questa. Resterà solo a Sua Stà il determinare se abbia da pubblicarsi nelle presenti circostanze, che alla stessa Stà Sua saranno più note che a me " (*to Giacomelli, November 29, 1764, Monumenti, 7a).

Exercises and missions to the laity had led the faithful to a better way of life and to the more frequent reception of the Sacraments. Wherefore, the Pope again confirmed the Order, which had been called into life by Providence, he declared its vows to be pleasing to God and its Exercises to be promotive of Christian piety, and he recommended especially the sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In conclusion, Clement XIII. confirmed anew all the edicts of his predecessors in favour of the Society of Jesus.[1]

In the letter which he sent with the Bull to the Paris nuncio, Torrigiani made the following observations. The violent persecution of the Parisian Jesuits and the grievous accusations brought against their Institute had determined the Pope to come to their aid in the only way open to him and to bear witness to the truth. As the Constitution would doubtless provoke discussion he was sending Pamfili a copy in the first place, so that he could see from its text the circumspection with which it had been compiled and the due regard which had been paid to all points of view.[2] The nuncio, too, had no illusions about the reception which would be given to the Bull in France. Not a few would approve of it, including the majority of the Bishops and secular priests; on the other hand, many would resent it, especially the Ministry, the Parlements, the advocates, a good part of the regular clergy and certainly the whole of the Jansenist party. Its suppression was more than certain. Complaints from Ministers would follow and finally everything would end in profound silence.[3]

It fell out as Pamfili had foretold. Praslin complained of the insult offered to the king by the imprudent publication of the Constitution.[4] The nuncio retorted that after the king had published his declaration without any previous communication with the Roman Curia, it had been impossible for the Pope to

[1] Text of the Bull in *Bull. Cont. III.*, 918 *seq.*; RAVIGNAN, I., 534 *seqq.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 16, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 4, 1765, *ibid.*, 521.

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 11, 1765, *ibid.*

keep silent any longer, for the Holy See could not agree to the suppression of an Order it had ratified nor could it be an idle spectator.[1] The Parlements of Paris,[2] Aix,[3] and Rouen [4] banned the Bull with provocative expressions of contempt. The last-named went so far as to order the arrest of the originator of the Constitution,[5] but the Ministry intervened and with this the affair came to an end, so far as France was concerned.[6] At the hands of most of the other Catholic powers the declaration of the Holy See met with a reception that was more than cool. The leading Ministers who knew how to cover their anti-clerical feelings with political considerations for a friendly or allied France, succeeded in inducing their rulers to prohibit the publication of the Bull.[7]

The pain caused to the Pope by the negative attitude of the secular powers was somewhat alleviated by the favourable

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 11 Février 1765* (printed).

[3] March 5, 1765; Portuguese translation of the Parlement's resolution in [BIKER], I., 272 *seqq.*

[4] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 25, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 521, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 11, 1765, *ibid.*

[6] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 18 and April 22, 1765, *ibid.*

[7] Out of regard for France, Maria Theresa prohibited the publication of the Bull on March 8, 1765 (*Stimmen der Zeit*, CX., [1925–26], 212 *seqq.*). Tanucci seized the opportunity of casting the basest aspersions on the Pope. The following passage from a letter is typical: "Però non è gran cosa che la Bolla 'Apostolicum' passi per Maestà lesa, lodandovisi e approvandovisi coloro, che sono stati dichiarati nemici del Re e dello stato, quali per verità sono li Regolari tutti, e più li Gesuiti, perchè son più Frati di tutti gli altri. Il Papa è il Bruto universale o pure l'universale Catilina" (*Tanucci to Catanti, July 23, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5993). While the French Parlements were forcibly suppressing all the Papal and episcopal pronouncements upholding the rights of the Church, the legal faculty of the Sorbonne announced its approval of the Council of Utrecht and in a letter to the Jansenist Archbishop condemned in the most violent language the Jesuit writers Hardouin, Berruyer, and

judgment of his action by the Catholic episcopacy. Messages of approval arrived from France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Austria, Italy, and America, fifty-one of which are still preserved.[1] It was one clear, unanimous testimony to the integrity of the Order.[2] The greatest consolation that could have been offered to Clement XIII. came from the French Bishops.[3] The Bull had appeared on January 9th, 1765; at the end of May thirty-one Bishops met together in the Augustinian convent in Paris in a general assembly.[4] The reading of a Papal Brief empowering them to act valiantly [5] was hindered by the Minister Praslin,[6] but the Bishops did not

Pichon, and all modern casuists (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, February 18, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 521, *loc. cit.*). The *Avis doctrinal* of the law faculty was quashed by order of the *Grand Conseil* (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 4 and 11, 1765, *ibid.*).

[1] RAVIGNAN, I., 168, n. 1, 498 *seqq.*, 540 *seqq.*, II., 300 *seqq.* The letter from St. Alphonsus de' Liguori to Clement XIII., *ibid.*, I., 164 *seq.*

[2] Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Chiapas in America, June 26, 1766, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1089.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 25 and October 2, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*

[4] RAVIGNAN, II., 229, n. 1.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pamfili, May 8, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia 453, *loc. cit.* Text of the Brief of May 8, 1765, in *Bull. Cont.*, III., 952.

[6] *Cf.* *Pamfili to Torrigiani, May 27 and June 3, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 521, *loc. cit.* Torrigiani's reply to Praslin's complaints was that the Pope would not submit to any yoke nor allow himself to be deprived of the right to communicate with his brethren. With extreme complaisance he had brought the draft of the Brief to the knowledge of the French envoy and on his advice had made some alterations, with the intention of avoiding any possible offence. Now the Pope would make no more alterations nor would he suit his language to the principles adopted by the Court. The nuncio was to make the document known to each of the Bishops (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, July 3 and August 7, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.*). Aubeterre received essentially the same reply on making representations on behalf

allow themselves to be intimidated, and immediately raised their voices to the Head of the Church in support of the suppressed Society. In a message to the king the assembly gave expression to its grief at seeing a religious Order haled before the courts like a criminal and assailed with the gravest charges, in spite of the unfailing testimony to its innocence which had been given by the Church of France—it was an Order distinguished for its purity of faith, its blameless morals, and its strict religious discipline, which had performed innumerable services for the State and the Church with its unflagging energy in education and in the cure of souls. The dispersal of these religious left a great gap in the ranks of the pastors and teachers. Wherefore, the clergy of France would not cease to pray for their restoration to the fatherland.[1]

In the exposition of the rights of the spiritual authority [2] which was sent by the Archbishop of Rheims to all the Bishops in the country for publication in their dioceses,[3] the same principles of the standing of a religious Order and its vows were enunciated as had been laid down by the Pope in his Constitution. To this exposition ninety-five Bishops definitely declared their assent.[4] Clement XIII. therefore was justified in writing

of his Court to the Cardinal Secretary of State (*Aubeterre to Torrigiani, August 7, 1765, *ibid.*, 453, appendix; *Torrigiani to Aubeterre, August 7, 1765, *ibid.*).

[1] Extract in RAVIGNAN, I., 166 *seq.*

[2] *Exposition sur les droits dela puissance spirituelle in Actes de l'Assemblée générale du clergé de France sur la religion. Extraits du procès-verbal de ladite assemblée, tenue à Paris, par permission du Roi, au couvent des Grands-Augustins, en 1765*, Paris, 1765, 8 *seqq.* *Cf.* PICOT, IV., 180 *seqq.*

[3] August 27, 1765, *ibid.*, Introduction.

[4] RAVIGNAN, II., 329, n. 1; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 2 and November 6, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 453, *loc. cit.* The Parlements of Paris and Aix issued special prohibitions of the pastoral instruction of the Bishops (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, September 25 and November 27, 1765, *ibid.*), but the resolution of the Paris Parlement was quashed by the Grand Conseil (*Torrigiani to Pamfili, October 2 and 16, 1765, *ibid.*).

to a Bishop that the letters of congratulation constituted a unanimous testimony in support of the Society of Jesus.[1] Although outward success was denied to the Pope, he could rest at peace with his conscience in having performed his pastoral duty. In the steps he took he was not governed by blind prejudice in favour of the Jesuits nor by an obstinate clinging to outmoded claims to power. His ultimate aim in championing the persecuted Order was to defend and preserve the prestige and inalienable rights of the Church and the Apostolic See against the encroachments of the temporal power, as he himself [2] and the Cardinal Secretary of State had emphasized on many occasions.[3]

[1] Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Chiapas, June 26, 1766, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 1089.

[2] " . . . Our Constitution, by which, in praising and confirming the Institute of the Society of Jesus, We are defending not so much the Society itself as the judgment of the Apostolic See and the Universal Church." (" . . . Nostra Constitutio, qua laudando confirmandoque Societatis Iesu Instituto, non tam ipsam Societatem, quam Apostolicae Sedis et Ecclesiae universae iudicium defendimus.") Clement XIII. to the Bishop of Ortona, September 9, 1765, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1016.

[3] After the king's edict of December 1, 1764, a considerable number of Jesuits returned to their own country (*Pamfili to Torrigiani, January 14, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 521, *loc. cit.*) where they continued their activity as teachers, writers, and pastors so far as circumstances allowed (*Nectoux to Ricci, undated copy [end of 1764 or beginning of 1765], Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690 ; *Ricci to Nectoux, February 14, 1765, *ibid.*, 666). Others who had managed to earn a tolerable livelihood as private chaplains or tutors retained their employment. A third group continued their life in religion with their brethren abroad until they too were overtaken by the general suppression of the Order.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXVI.

ABBONDIO (senator), 178.
Acciaioli, Card. Filippo (Papal nuncio in Portugal), 13–14, 304–5, 318, 328–9, 335, 344 ff., 354–5, 358, 360–1.
Acciaioli, Count Giacinto, 348.
Albani, Cardinal Alessandro, 92, 107, 123, 143–5, 147, 150, 155, 180, 184, 186, 274, 443.
Albani, Cardinal Gianfrancesco, 147.
Alexander VIII., Pope, 425, 427.
Alexandre, John (Jesuit), 313, 315.
Allanic (Jesuit), 393–4.
Almada (Portuguese envoy), 14, 16, 18, 303–4, 326–8, 330–1, 338–343, 345, 349 ff.
Almesloe, Count von (Suffragan Bishop of Breslau), 68–70, 88.
Amato, Gaetano (Secretary of Briefs), 163.
Amort, Eusebius (Augustinian), 263.
Ancajani, Ludovico (Bishop of Spoleto), 138.
Andosilla, Rodesindo, 190.
Andrada, Gomes Freire de, 17.
Antonelli, Cardinal Niccolò (Secretary of Consistory) 125.
Archinto, Cardinal Alberico (Secretary of State), 13–15, 20, 55, 72, 81–2, 125, 150, 152, 162–3, 297–8, 302–3, 307, 318, 376.
Argenvilliers, Cardinal Clemente, 110, 125.
Arnim, 28.
Asseburg, Wilhelm Anton von der (Bishop of Paderborn), 269 n.
Assemani, Joseph Aloisius, 189.
Atalaya, Cardinal José Manuel d', 296, 299, 302, 304–5.
Attems, Karl von (Archbishop of Gorizia), 101, 105.
Aubeterre (French envoy), 478, 495–6.
Augustus II. (Elector of Saxony and King of Poland), 205.
Aveiro, Duke of, 309–10, 313–14.
Azevedo (Portuguese Secretary of State), 3.

BAHRCK, Karl Friedrich, 264.
Baleine, De (Jesuit), 491.
Ballerini, Pietro, 263.
Ballester (Jesuit), 9, 17.
Bandel, Joseph Anton von, 188.
Barbarigo, Cardinal Gregorio (Bishop of Padua), 159, 191.
Barbarigo, Vittoria (mother of Clement XIII.), 158.
Barcali, Adeodato, 167.
Bardi, Cardinal Girolamo, 145, 155.
Barthel, Johann Kaspar (Canonist), 264, 268.
Barziza, Gasperino, 193.
Bastiani, Abbé, 70 ff., 85–6, 88.
Batoli, Archbishop, 149.
Beaumont, Christophe de (Archbishop of Paris), 242, 419, 479–80, 487, 494.
Beauteville, De (Bishop of Alais), 450.
Beess, Count, 63.
Belle-Isle, Maréchal, 394.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 145.
Benedict XIV., Pope, *passim* 1–142, 159, 192, 194, 277, 294, 427.

Benoît (Prussian envoy in Poland), 213, 218–19.
Berardi, Abbé, 255.
Bergondi, Andrea (sculptor), 179.
Bernis, Abbé (later Cardinal), 119.
Berruyer, Isaac Joseph (Jesuit), 244, 379, 460, 501 n.
Berryer (Keeper of the Great Seal), 378 n.
Biel, De (Jesuit), 280, 284.
Blake, Anthony (Archbishop of Armagh), 317.
Blondel (French ambassador to Empire), 93, 95.
Boerhaave, Ludwig (scientist), 278.
Boisgelin de Cicé, Jean Raymond (Archbishop of Aix), 149 n.
Bolognini, Emmerich, 174.
Bompar, De (Governor of Martinique), 385.
Bonaccorsi, Cardinal, 175.
Bonamici, Filippo Maria, 130.
Borghese, Cardinal Francesco, 145.
Borghese, Cardinal Scipione, 163 n.
Borgo, Carlo, 300.
Boschi, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo, 163.
Botelho de Matos, José (Archbishop of Bahia), 8, 342–3.
Bracci, Pietro (sculptor), 132–3, 178–180.
Breidenbach, Emmerich Joseph von (Archbishop of Mainz), 266.
Brotier (Jesuit), 462.
Brunati (Imperial agent), 144.
Brunazzi, G. (historian), 190 n.
Bufalini, Giovanni Ottavio (Maggiordomo), 163.
Buseck, Amand von (Abbot of Fulda), 108.
Busenbaum (Jesuit), 380, 432 n.

Cabral (Jesuit, Portuguese envoy in Rome), 9.
Calvao, João, 347.
Campomanes, 488.
Canillac, De (French ambassador), 50.
Canisius, Peter (St.), 247.
Capello (Venetian ambassador), 100.
Caprara, G. B. (nuncio at Cologne), 274–5.
Carbone (Jesuit), 4.
Carpegna, Count Francesco, 90.
Cartier, Gallus (Benedictine), 247.
Carvalho, *see* Pombal.
Carvalho, Paul, 14, 361.
Casanova, Jacques, 190 n.
Castelli, Cardinal, 498.
Cathala (Jesuit), 404 n.
Catherine II. of Russia, 206 ff., 212, 218, 220, 230.
Cavalchini, Cardinal Carlo Alberto, 152–4, 156, 163, 340.
Cavalieri, Prince, 94, 96.
Caveirac, Abbé, 462–3.
Celestine I., Pope, 225.
Cenci, Cardinal Baldassare, 175.
Centurioni (Jesuit General), 10–11, 13, 299, 390.
Cerutti (Jesuit), 461–2.
Charles III. (King of Spain), 177, 259, 353–4, 357, 359, 368, 488.
Charles V. (Emperor), 249.
Charles VI. (Emperor), 99, 277.
Charles VII. (Emperor), 249.
Charles Emmanuel III. (King of Sardinia), 359, 483.
Charles Theodore (Elector Palatine), 111, 201.
Chauvelin, Abbé, 407, 411.
Choiseul, Cardinal, 417, 477 n.
Choiseul, Duke of, 144, 238, 331, 355–6, 358–9, 375–6, 414–15, 459, 467, 469–471, 475.
Christiani, Count, 144.
Clement XI., Pope, 159.
Clement XII., Pope, 90–1, 145, 159.

Clement XIII., Pope, 22, 117, 143 ff.
Clerici (Imperial ambassador), 195.
Cocceji, 28–30, 32, 34–5, 38–9, 63, 85.
Colbert (Jansenist), 8.
Colloredo (Viennese chancellor), 143.
Colonna, Cardinal Girolamo, 190.
Colonna, Cardinal Marcantonio (Maggiordomo), 132, 162.
Colonna di Sciarra, Cardinal Prospero, 145, 151, 472, 496.
Coltrolini (Prussian agent), 71, 73–4, 83–4.
Conti, Duke of, 240.
Conturier (Sulpician), 486.
Cordara (Jesuit historian), 162, 301.
Correr (Venetian envoy), 151.
Corsini, Cardinal Neri, 145–6, 150, 152, 154–5, 302, 349–352, 358.
Costa, Hyacinth da (Jesuit), 313.
Crescenzi, Cardinal Marcello, 150, 152, 154–5.
Cunha, Cardinal de Atay de Nuno da, 79.
Cunha, Cardinal Juan Cosme da (Bishop of Evora), 366.
Cunha, Luis da (Portuguese minister), 18, 328–330, 346–8, 358, 368.
Cunich, Raimondo (Jesuit), 189 n.
Czartoryski, Prince Joseph, 212, 213.

D'Alembert, 187, 375, 379 n.
Damiens, Robert François, 380.
Daun, Marshal, 3, 123, 195.
Delfino, Daniel (Patriarch of Aquileia), 100, 105–6, 147.
Desmaretz (Confessor to Louis XV.), 431, 436.
Diana, Antonino, 8.
Diderot, 187.
Durini, Cardinal Angelo Maria (nuncio to Poland), 230–234 n.
Durini, Cardinal Carlo Francesco (nuncio to France), 103 n., 379 n.

Eguilles, D' (President of Aix chamber), 456–8.
Ehrenwald, Johann van, 53.
Ehrle, Cardinal Franz, 186.
Elce, Cardinal Scipione d', 145, 149, 152.
Elisabeth, Duchess of Brunswick, 114.
Emaldi, Toma (Secretary of Briefs), 163.
Espen, Bernhard van, 251.
Esslinger (printer), 253, 261.

Farlati, Daniele (Jesuit), 189.
Faulhaber, Andreas, 89.
Febronius, *see* Hontheim.
Federspiel, Johann Anton (Bishop of Coire), 161.
Ferdinand II. (Emperor), 98.
Ferdinand VI. (King of Spain), 143.
Firmian, Cardinal Leopold Ernst von (Bishop of Passau), 293.
Fitz-James (Bishop of Soissons), 8, 417, 450, 475–9, 486.
Fléchat (Jesuit), 400 n.
Flesselles, De, 420.
Fleury, Cardinal André Hercule, 33, 40.
Fleury, Claude (historian), 192, 253, 258.
Florius, 21–2, 353 n.
Fonseca, Benedict da (Jesuit), 10, 17.
Fontanges, Jean Baptiste J. de (Bishop of Lavaur), 474, 475 n.
Forestier (Jesuit provincial), 385–6, 390, 498.

Foscarini, Marco (Venetian ambassador), 100.
Francis I. (Emperor), 90 ff., 199, 200, 204, 249.
Franckenberg, Canon, 70, 88.
Franz, Joseph (Jesuit), 280.
Frederick II. (King of Prussia), 24 ff., 62 ff., 68, 70 ff., 117–18, 121–2, 139, 195–6, 199, 207, 374, 401.
Frederick Augustus (Elector of Saxony and King of Poland), 205.
Frederick Christian (Crown Prince of Saxony), 205–6.
Frey de Neuville, Charles (Jesuit), 390 n., 393–4, 395 n., 434.
Frey de Neuville, Pierre Claude (Jesuit provincial), 390, 393–4.
Friedrich of Hessen-Kassel, 114–17.
Friedrich of Zweibrücken, Prince, 111.
Friedrich Wilhelm, Margrave of Bayreuth, 113.
Fumel, Jean F. (Bishop of Lodève), 240.
Furietti, Cardinal Giuseppe Alessandro, 183, 192–3.

GABRIELLI, Antonio, 90, 92, 94, 96.
Gabrielli, Laura, 90, 95, 96.
Galiani, Abbate Ferdinando, 362 n.
Galletti, Luigi (Benedictine), 189.
Gallifet (leader of the Parlement of Aix), 457.
Gandio, Francesco Maria (mathematician), 190.
Garampi, Cardinal Giuseppe, 191–2, 197 ff.
Gaspero da Incarnacão (Confessor to King of Portugal), 4.
Gatin (Jesuit), 399 n., 400 n.
Gazzaniga, Pietro M. (Dominican), 281.
George II. (King of England), 79, 114, 119.
Gerbert, Martin (Abbot of S. Blasien), 248.
Gesvres, Cardinal Étienne René de, 146.
Giacomelli, Michelangelo (Secretary of Briefs), 163, 190, 498.
Goethe, J. W. von, 160 n., 203.
Gotti, Cardinal Vincenzo Ludovico (Grand Penitentiary), 132.
Granata, Fr. (Bishop of Sessa), 189.
Grasse, Jacques de (Bishop of Angers), 450, 478.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 323.
Greiffenklau, Karl Philipp von (Bishop of Würzburg), 108, 110.
Griffet (Jesuit), 385, 398, 462.
Grimaldi (Spanish envoy), 475.
Grossi, Giovan Battista (sculptor), 180.
Grou (Jesuit), 463.
Grou, Veuve, et Fils, 391.
Guadagni, Cardinal Antonio, 145, 153.
Guenet, Paul A (Bishop of Saint-Pons), 474.
Gürtler, Canon, 287.
Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 122.

HARDOUIN (Jesuit), 244, 501 n.
Haugwitz, Count, 292.
Hay (English envoy in Lisbon), 362 n.
Henriquez, Fr. (Jesuit provincial), 11, 311, 313.
Hieronymo, Francesco de, 130.
Hontheim, Johann Nikolaus von (Suffragan Bishop of Treves), 191, 202, 248, 250 ff., 277–8, 287.
Hurson (Intendant), 385–6.
Hutten, Cardinal Franz Christoph von (Bishop of Speyer), 202 n.

IMPERIALI, Cardinal Cosmo, 155.
Innocent XIII., Pope, 145.
Isabella of Parma, 203.

JOHN V. (King of Portugal), 2–3.
José, Dom (Grand Inquisitor of Portugal), 366.
Joseph I. (Emperor), 277.
Joseph I. (King of Portugal), 3, 5, 11, 18, 79, 308–9, 321 ff., 330 ff., 367.
Joseph II. (King of Romans, later Emperor), 118, 199–204, 289–90.
Joseph of Hessen-Darmstadt (Prince Bishop of Augsburg), 268.
Juda, Isaac, 403.

KARL AUGUST, Prince of Zweibrücken, 112.
Karl Eugen (Duke of Württemberg), 112.
Karl Theodor, Elector, 111, 201.
Kauffmanns, Johann Gottfried (Dean of Cologne University), 275 n.
Kaunitz, Prince Wenzel Anton von (Imperial Chancellor), 98, 107 n., 118, 144, 145, 199, 205, 277–8, 289.
Keil (Austrian *chargé d'affaires*), 365.
Keyserlingk, Count, 208.
Khevenhüller, Count, 310.
Klein, Innocenz, Bishop, 185.
Kleiner, Joseph (Jesuit), 263.
Klemens August of Bavaria (Archbishop of Cologne), 112, 114.
Klemens Wenzeslaus of Saxony and Poland (Archbishop of Treves), 272–4.
Klinggräffen (Prussian ambassador), 59, 76.
Klinglin, 459.
Konarski, Stanislaus, 210.
Krasiński, 234.
Kresel, Baron, 282.
Krufft, Andreas Adolf von, 253, 270.

LACROIX (moralist), 380, 432 n.
La Croix, Etienne (Jesuit), 395, 398, 419, 421–3, 429–430, 483.
Lalande (astronomer), 174.
Lamberg, Cardinal von, 317.
Lante, Cardinal, 153, 155–6.
Laon (French envoy), 152, 155.
Lavalette, Antoine (Jesuit), 383 ff., 465, 475.
Lazzeri, Pietro (Jesuit), 193.
Lebzeltern, von (Imperial envoy) 336, 365.
Leclerc, Pierre, 243–4, 246–7.
Leopold, Archduke, 203.
Lessing, G. E. von, 264.
Lévis-Léran, Henri Gaston de (Bishop of Pamiers), 466.
Limburg-Styrum, August, Count of (Bishop of Speyer), 202 n., 252.
Lioncy and Gouffre, 384, 387, 391, 395.
Louis XIV. (King of France), 140, 427.
Louis XV. (King of France), 26, 152, 236–7, 368, 378–9, 401, 408, 410–12, 429 ff., 476–7, 495.
Lubieński (Archbishop of Gnesen), 205, 215–16, 221.
Lucini, Cesare Alberico (nuncio in Cologne, later in Madrid), 264–5, 267, 270, 369–370.
Luynes, Cardinal Paul d'Albert de, 146, 151–3, 416, 426, 431, 480.

MACHAULT (French minister), 386.
Malagrida, Gabriel (Jesuit), 313, 316, 359–362.

Mamachi, Cardinal Tommaso Maria, 353.
Marche, De la (Jesuit), 402 ff.
Marchionne, Carlo (sculptor), 180–1.
Marefoschi, (Secretary of Propaganda), 303.
Maria Antonia (Queen of Portugal), 9, 330 n.
Maria Antonia (Electress of Saxony), 205.
Maria Francesca (Princess of Brazil), 346.
Maria Theresa (Empress), 26, 45, 99, 102, 104, 194–5, 204, 273, 276 ff.
Marmontel, 8, 289.
Martini (jurist), 287.
Massow (Prussian Minister), 83, 85–6.
Mattos, John de (Jesuit), 313, 315.
Mecenati, Eugenio (Carmelite), 78.
Meindaerts (Jansenist bishop of Utrecht), 244, 247.
Meitz, Canon du, 270–1.
Mellini, Cardinal Mario, 102, 104–5.
Mendonca de Furtado, Francis Xavier de (Governor of Paraguay), 17.
Mendoza (Brigadier), 347.
Mengs, Raphael, 176–7, 182.
Menoux, De (Jesuit), 462–3, 484.
Merlino, Camillo (nuncio in Vienna), 25.
Mésenguy, 238–9, 289.
Michael of the Annunciation (Bishop of Coimbra), 8, 364.
Michaelis, Count, 10.
Migazzi, Cardinal Count Christoph Anton (Archbishop of Vienna), 118, 143–4, 279, 281–2, 287–9, 291.
Miranda, Guedes de (Portuguese Secretary of State), 4.
Miranda, Henriques A. de (Bishop of Miranda), 295, 367.
Monckton (Governor of Martinique), 404.
Montazet, Antoine de Malvin de (Archbishop of Lyons), 461, 467 n.
Montesquieu, 286.
Montigny (Jesuit), 407.
Moreau (Jesuit), 402 n.
Moreira, Joseph (Jesuit), 3, 313.
Morgagni, Giambattista, 189.
Mosca, Cardinal, 145.
Motta, Pedro da (Portuguese Secretary of State), 4.
Münchow (Prussian minister), 48–9, 54–5, 57–8, 68–70.

Napoleon I., 182.
Nectoux (Jesuit provincial), 490 n.
Negroni, Andrea (Uditore), 163.
Neller, Georg Christoph, 252.
Nerini, Francesco Maria (historian), 193.
Neuville, *see* Frey.
Niccolini, Antonio, 134.
Niewenhuylen, Walter Michael of (Jansenist Abp. of Utrecht), 247.
Nivernais, Duc de (French Ambassador), 101, 103, 405 n.
Noailles, Cardinal Louis Antoine de (Archbishop of Paris), 379.
Noirot (Jesuit), 462.
Norbert (Pierre Curel Parisot), 356.
Noris, Cardinal Enrico, 129.
Noyer, De, 493.

Oberhauser (Benedictine), 264.
Oddi, Niccolò (nuncio), 199 ff., 265–271.
Odescalchi, Cardinal Maria Erba, 162–3.
Oliveira, Timotheus d' (Jesuit), 313.

Orsi, Cardinal Giuseppe Agostino, 192.
Orsini, Cardinal Domenico, 150.
Ostein, Johann Friedrich Karl von (Archbishop of Mainz), 109, 200–1, 203.
Ottoboni, Cardinal Pietro, 159.

PAGLIARINI, Nicola (printer), 303, 353.
Pallavicini, Cardinal Lazaro Opizio (nuncio in Madrid), 358–9, 369–370.
Pamfili-Colonna, Cardinal Pietro (nuncio), 179, 356, 367–8, 377, 396, 407, 414, 417, 427, 433, 443, 468–470, 485, 493–4, 500.
Pannini, Giuseppe (architect), 179–180.
Paolucci, Cardinal Camillo, 154–5.
Passionei, Cardinal Domenico, 18, 20, 87, 112, 145, 185, 302.
Pedro (Infante of Portugal), 296, 312, 346.
Peggi, Pier Francesco (Canon), 135, 141.
Pepe (Jesuit), 326 n.
Pereira, Antonio (Portuguese canonist), 367, 369.
Perrin (Jesuit), 480.
Peter III. of Russia, 206–7.
Philip V., King of Spain, 19.
Pichon, Jean (Jesuit), 244, 379, 501 n.
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista (engraver), 176–8.
Pitt (English Minister), 134 n.
Pius V., St. (Pope), 2.
Platel, *see* Norbert.
Podewils (Prussian minister), 25–6, 29, 31, 47.
Podoski (Archbishop of Gnesen), 222, 224–5, 229.
Pombal, Marquis Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho y Mello, 3 ff., 162, 295, 298, 305 ff., 338 ff., 355, 372, 428.
Pompadour, Mme de, 119, 376, 378.
Poniatowski, Stanislaus, 207–11; *see also* Stanislaus.
Ponzio, Pietro (Papal physician), 126.
Portocarrero, Cardinal Joaquin Fernando (Spanish ambassador), 131, 142, 143, 146, 150, 152.
Pozzi, Stefano (painter), 183.
Prades, Abbé Jean Martin de, 87.
Praslin, Duc de, 469, 475, 495, 497, 500, 502.
Prestrel (Jesuit), 406 n.
Pretlack (Imperial envoy), 116–17.
Puisieux (French Minister), 95, 102.

QUIRINI, Cardinal Angelo Maria, 75, 79, 100–1, 103–4, 135, 139.

RADZIWILL Prince, 222, 226.
Reland, Adrian, 185.
Repnin (Russian statesman), 208, 212–14, 218, 221, 223, 225–6, 228–230, 234.
Rezzonico, Prince Abbondio (senator), 173, 178.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (*see also* Clement XIII.), 100, 102, 104–5, 107, 145, 147, 155–8.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (nephew of Clement XIII.), 178, 190.
Rezzonico, Giambattista (father of Clement XIII.), 158.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Giovanni Battista (Maggiordomo), 163.
Rezzonico, Giovan Battista (Prior of Malta), 178.
Ribeira, José da Costa, 323.
Ricchini, Tommaso Agostino (Dominican), 190.

Ricci, Lorenzo (Jesuit general), 149, 299 ff., 337–8, 394, 397–8, 400–2, 405, 413, 420–1, 426 ff., 461, 463–4, 483 ff., 489 ff.
Richer (advocate), 289 n.
Riegger, Paul Joseph, 283–4, 291.
Riva, Maria da, 134 n.
Rivera, Count (Torinese envoy), 21.
Rochechouart, Cardinal J. F. J. (French envoy), 437, 442.
Rodt, Cardinal, 152, 154–6.
Rohan de Soubise, Cardinal Armand Gaston de, 459.
Rolli, Antonio, 180.
Rota, Antonio (Secretary of Cipher), 125.
Roth, Karl (Jesuit), 188.
Rouillé, (French minister), 385.
Routh, 444.
Rovero, Cardinal Giambattista (Archbishop of Turin), 317.
Roxas, Simon de (Blessed), 170.
Rzewuski (Palatine of Cracow), 226–7.

Sacy (Jesuit), 388, 391, 394.
Sagripanti, Cardinal, 145, 155.
Saint-Fargeau, Le Pelletier de, 409.
Saldanha da Cama, Cardinal Francisco de, 18, 21–3, 79, 294–7, 302, 304–5, 312, 318–19, 321–2, 332, 334–5, 339, 341–2, 344, 354, 360–1
Salvi, Niccolò, 179.
Sampajo (Portuguese envoy), 8.
Sani, Angelo, 174.
Sant'Inez, Manoel de (Bishop of Angola), 342, 349 n.
São Lourenço, Count of, 347.
São e Queiroz, J. de (Bishop of Belem), 8.
Sauvage, 463.
Schaffgotsch, Count Philipp Gotthard von (Bishop of Breslau), 46 ff., 66 ff., 77, 80 ff.
Seinsheim, Adam Friedrich von (Bishop of Bamberg), 110, 268.
Serbelloni, Cardinal Fabrizio (nuncio), 92–3, 95.
Sibilla, Gaspare, 133.
Silva (Spanish envoy in Lisbon), 357.
Simon, Canon, 280, 287.
Sinzendorf, Cardinal (Bishop of Breslau), 25 ff., 47 ff., 62 ff., 68, 77–8.
Sinzendorf, Philipp August von (Imperial Chancellor), 27.
Soltyk (Bishop of Cracow), 215–17, 223–8.
Sonnenfels, Joseph von, 288, 290–1.
Sophie Wilhelmine (Margravine of Bayreuth), 113, 125.
Sotomayor, Duke of (Spanish ambassador in Lisbon), 6.
Souto, Ignaz Ferreira, 311, 366.
Spangenberg, Jacob Georg von, 252.
Spaur, Leopold von (Prince Bishop of Brixen), 286 n.
Spinelli, Cardinal Giuseppe, 145–6, 150, 155, 162, 166, 302.
Spinola, Cardinal Girolamo (nuncio in Spain), 120.
Stanislaus I. Leszczyński (King of Poland, Duke of Lorraine), 460 n., 486.
Stanislaus II. Poniatowski (King of Poland, Duke of Lorraine), 211 ff., 233 n., 235.
Stay, Benedetto, 190.
Stiphout, Van (Jansenist Bishop), 243.
Stock, Canon Simon Ambros, 280–1, 283, 287.
Storani, Innocenzo (Archdeacon of Ancona), 135.
Stosch, Philipp von, 185.
Swieten, Gerhard van, 278 ff., 291.
Szembek, Christoph A. (Archbishop of Gnesen), 61.

TAMBURINI, Cardinal Fortunato, 302.
Tanucci, 373, 377, 483.
Tavora, Marquis of, 310.
Tavora, Marchioness Teresa de, 309.
Tempi, Cardinal Luca Melchiorre, 155, 324 n.
Tencin, Cardinal Pierre Guérin, 40, 59, 60, 71, 80, 87, 93, 130, 135–8, 147.
Testa (Uditore), 348.
Texeira (valet to King of Portugal), 309.
Theodosius, Emperor, 225.
Thoman, Moritz (Jesuit), 336.
Thomasius, 288.
Timoni (Jesuit Vicar-General), 11–13, 432 n.
Torlonia, Prince, 180.
Torres (Jesuit), 299.
Torrigiani, Cardinal Luigi (Secretary of State), 163–7, 191, 265, 308, 319, 321, 327, 328, 331, 339, 355, 357–8, 369, 377, 396, 408, 414–15, 422, 458, 472, 478, 494, 498, 500.
Tossetti, Urbano (Piarist), 303.
Tournely (French theologian), 248.
Trautson, Cardinal Johannes Joseph (Archbishop of Vienna), 279–81.

UBALDINI, Conti, 96.
Urban VIII, Pope, 99.

VAILLANT (Jansenist), 243.
Valenti Gonzaga, Cardinal (Secretary of State), 25–6, 75, 98, 102, 125, 138.
Valle, Filippo della, 179.
Valle y Salazar, 488.
Venuti, Ridolfino, 180, 184.
Veterani (Promotor Fidei), 125.
Villevieille, Marquis, 375.
Vincenti, Ippolit' Antonio (Uditore, internuncio in Madrid), 367 n.
Visconti, Cardinal Antonio Eugenio (nuncio in Warsaw and Vienna), 206, 211–15, 218, 230.
Visconti, Giambattista, 184.
Visconti (Jesuit general), 386, 390.
Volpi, Giovanni Maria, 190.
Voltaire, 374–5.
Vosmeer, Sasbout, 244.

WALDERDORF, Johann Philipp von (Elector and Archbishop of Treves), 251, 267, 272.
Wall, Riccardo (Spanish premier), 355, 357.
Walpole, Horace, 134, 138.
Welsperg, 364.
Wilhelm VIII., Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, 114–17.
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim (art historian), 180, 183, 184.
Wolff, Christian, 283.

XAVER, Prince (Elector of Saxony), 206.

ZACCARIA (Jesuit), 262–3.
Zallwein, Gregor (Benedictine), 248.
Zaluski (Bishop of Kiev), 224, 227.
Zamoyski, Andrea (Chancellor of Poland), 228.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVII.

CLEMENT XIII., 1758–1769

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	xii
The Church Policy of Charles III. of Spain—The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain	1
The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples, Parma, and Malta. The Monitorium to Parma. Preparations for the Papal Suppression of the Society of Jesus. Death of Clement XIII.	214
Clement XIII.'s activities within the Church. The Creation of Cardinals. Canonizations. The Missions	362
Appendix of Unpublished Documents and Extracts from Archives	437
Index of Names	449

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVII.

CLEMENT XIII., 1758–1769.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH POLICY OF CHARLES III. OF SPAIN.—THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS FROM SPAIN.

A.D.		PAGE
	The reasons for the hostility towards the Jesuits in Spain	1
	The regular clergy annoyed with them. The effect of the disturbances in Paraguay	2
	Wall's policy	3
	Abusive writings against the Jesuits	4
	The character of Charles III.	6
	The influence on him of Wall and	8
	Tanucci	9
1759	Spinola on the ecclesiastical situation	16
	The dispute about the *Exequatur*; Mésenguy's Catechism	18
1762	The Pragmatic Sanction	25
1763	Its suspension	27
	Wall succeeded by Grimaldi	28
	Restrictions of the Church's freedom	29
	Tanucci and the Jesuits	31
	Their former influence	34
	The ground prepared for their expulsion	35
	Campomanes and	40
	Roda	41
	Signs of the coming expulsion	44
1766	The "Hat and Cloak Riots"	48
	Charles III. leaves Madrid	52
	Aranda President of the Council of Castile	54
	Withdrawal of the royal concessions	58
	Tanucci on Aranda's appointment	60
	The search for the originators of the rising	62
	The clergy's alleged connexion with it	64
	Tanucci's views	67
	The Extraordinary Council of Castile	72
	Campomanes' first and	73
	Second reports; his charge against the clergy	74
	The search for evidence against the Jesuits	77
	The disturbances at Azpeitia	81

A.D.		PAGE
	The violation of postal secrecy	84
	Tanucci's proposals	86
	The Augustinian General Vasquez's anti-Jesuitism	88
1767	The decisive session of the Extraordinary Council, its formal charge	91
	The decision of the special commission	97
	The decree of banishment	99
	The Jesuits' self-deception as to their fate	100
	The nuncio's apprehensions	103
	Aranda's instruction for the expulsion	105
	The Pragmatic Sanction	109
	The expulsion from South America	111
	The reception of the Pragmatic in the mother-country; the attitude of the hierarchy	119
	Anti-Jesuit rejoicings	124
	The attitude of the people	127
	The judgments of Pallavicini and	128
	Vincenti	132
	Foreign opinion	134
	Vienna surprised	135
	The Jesuit General Ricci's observation	136
	Charles III.'s letters to Tanucci of March 31st and	137
	June 23rd	138
	An English criticism of the Pragmatic Sanction	141
	Secret reasons for the expulsion?	143
	The story of the planted letter	144
	Charles III.'s explanation to the Pope	150
	Clement XIII.'s Brief in reply	152
	Its delivery and transmission to the Extraordinary Council	154
	The council's opinion	155
	Charles III.'s reply to the Pope	157
	Clement XIII.'s refusal to accept the Jesuits expelled from Spain	158
	Boycott of the Jesuits in Rome	159
	The Spanish Jesuits homeless	163
	Their entry into the Papal States refused	164
	They proceed to Corsica	168
	The situation there	170
	Malcontents and deserters	172
	New arrivals from oversea	173
1768	Transportation of the Jesuits to the Papal States	174
	The Spanish Government's attitude	176
	Jesuit secularizations	178
	The constancy of the novices	184
	Other examples of Jesuit fortitude	185
	Distribution of the exiles in Italy	187
	Their academic distinctions	188
	Jesuit correspondence still watched	189
	The Jesuits in Rome spied upon	191

A.D. PAGE
The hunt for the Jesuit treasure 192
The alleged anti-Spanish plots of the exiles . . 194
Suppression of pro-Jesuit manifestations . . . 197
Measures for the extirpation of Jesuitism . . 199
Campomanes' anti-clerical measures . . . 201
Decay of the ecclesiastical spirit in Spain . . 204
The hierarchy attacked 206
The disposal and administration of Jesuit property . 208
The king's servants rewarded 212

CHAPTER II.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS FROM NAPLES, PARMA, AND MALTA. THE MONITORIUM TO PARMA. PREPARATIONS FOR THE PAPAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. DEATH OF CLEMENT XIII.

Tanucci's attacks on ecclesiastical rights. . . . 214
His delight at the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain 218
His influence on Ferdinand IV. 220
His grounds for expelling the Jesuits from Naples . 221
Charles III.'s attitude 226
1767 His final assent 229
The expulsion commission 230
The expulsion postponed 233
The decrees of banishment 235
The first expulsion 237
Expulsion from Sicily 238
Secularizations 239
The people's reception of the expulsion . . . 242
The Pope's protest against the violation of his territory 243
Has little effect on the Courts. Tanucci and the nuncio 244
Tanucci's further anti-clerical efforts . . . 246
His tyranny over the royal family 248
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Parma planned . . 251
Charles III.'s advice 253
The expulsion postponed 254
1768 Ferdinand signs the decree of banishment . . 255
The execution of the decree and its effect on the outer world 257
Its effects in Parma 258
Downfall of Du Tillot. The expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta 259
Parma's attacks on the Church 266
Evoke a Papal monitorium 268
Its effect on the Bourbons 269

A.D.		PAGE
	Du Tillot's complaints against the Pope	271
	Choiseul's advice	275
	Torrigiani defends the Holy See	276
	The monitorium banned by the Catholic Governments	277
	Maria Theresa's attitude	280
	Pombal's attempts to exploit the situation	281
	Papal territories occupied by the Bourbons, who show signs of disharmony	283
	Du Tillot's enmity against the Pope	285
	The Bourbons increase their anti-Papal pressure	287
	No help from Austria	288
	Bourbon hatred of Torrigiani and	289
	Ricci	293
	The opposition party in the Sacred College	294
	The Pope's formal protests to the Bourbons	296
	Louis XV.'s reply, and Charles III.'s	297
	The Neapolitan reply	298
	The Bourbons' five demands	300
	The literary attack on the monitorium	302
	Clement XIII.'s reply	305
	The total suppression of the Jesuits long since planned	307
	The Papacy the real object of attack	310
	The reception of the Bull *Apostolicum Pascendi*	311
	Tanucci's propaganda against the Jesuits	312
	The steps taken by France	314
	Choiseul's supporters	318
1767	Louis XV.'s resistance broken	320
	Pombal and the union of the Powers	321
	The negotiations broken off	324
	Maria Theresa's attitude	325
	Literary attacks on the Jesuits	330
	Anti-Jesuits in the College of Cardinals	332
	The Maggiordomo Rezzonico, Clement XIII.'s nephew	333
	Aubeterre's advice	335
	Choiseul and Tanucci	336
	Choiseul advises forcible measures	337
	Osma's opinion	338
	Roda's	340
	Grimaldi's	341
	The Extraordinary Council's	342
	Torrigiani on the Governments' reasons	345
	The Jesuit suppression demanded unconditionally	347
	The request of the Powers	349
1769	Its delivery	351
	Its effect in Rome and on	354
	Clement XIII.	355
	His last days and	356
	Death	357
	His burial	358
	His monument in St. Peter's ; an estimation of his life	359

CHAPTER III.

CLEMENT XIII.'S ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE CHURCH. THE CREATION OF CARDINALS. CANONIZATIONS. THE MISSIONS.

A.D.		PAGE
1759	The main task of Clement XIII.'s pontificate as delineated by himself. His letter to the Bishops	362
	Clement XIII. and the censorship	365
	The cure of souls	367
	Learning	368
	Anxiety about secularization in Germany	370
1762	Difficulties with Venice,	371
1760	Genoa, and	374
1761	Lucca	377
	The Pope and the Bishops	378
1765	The petition of the twenty-eight Maurists	381
	Why the Orders were detested	383
	The commission of reform	386
1766	The suppression of a Papal Brief	390
	Spontaneous reforms within the Orders	391
	The cardinalitial promotion of 1758	393
1758	The promotion of Priuli and Bernis	394
	The promotion of 1759	395
	The promotion of 1761	398
	The promotions of 1763 and 1766	399
	The canonizations of 1767	401
	Beatifications	402
1765	The Feast of the Sacred Heart	404
	The canonization process of Palafox	409
	The destruction of the foreign missions	413
1767	The Franciscans in California and Mexico	416
	The missions in North America and	417
	South America	419
1756	Pottier in Sutchuen	421
	The missions in the Far East,	422
	India, and	425
	Africa	426
	The Polish missions to the Jews	427
	The Uniats in Poland and	428
	The Near East	429
	Some missionary Briefs of Clement XIII.	434

APPENDIX OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

PAGE

1. Aranda to Roda, April 9th, 1766, on the "Hat and Cloak" Riots 439
2. Diplomatic Documents on the Suppression of the Jesuits 440

CHAPTER I.

The Church Policy of Charles III. of Spain—The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain.

(1)

Even Catholic Spain had not been unaffected by the anti-clerical ideas of the age.[1] The upper ranks of the Spanish nobility, from which the diplomats and higher officials were drawn, travelled to London and Paris and formed connexions with the families of foreign aristocrats. They maintained relations with Diderot and D'Alembert, moved in the circles of Madame Geoffrin and Mademoiselle Lespinasse, and even went on pilgrimage to the patriarch of Ferney, where men accused their own nations of barbarity and fanaticism in the hope of being complimented by Voltaire on their enlightenment.[2] Complete unbelievers, however, like Count Aranda, were still rare in Spain. In many cases the philosophy of enlightenment was a question of fashion, a veneer which quickly wore off on the return to the fatherland. But there were others who brought back with them the desire to reform the land of their birth. Of these, one group was content to confine its efforts within the bounds set by religion and the monarchy. Others, on the other hand, had been impressed by the theory they had heard expounded abroad, that enlightenment was the real cause of national revival and of progress in general, and that conversely the backwardness of Southern Europe was attributable to the Church.[3] In this way a mental

[1] Morel Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne*, II., Paris, 1890, 9 *seqq.*; Danvila y Collado, II., 564 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 169 *seq.*; Fernan-Nuñez, *Vida*, I., Prólogo, xv; Brück, *Die geheimen Gesellschaften in Spanien*, Mainz, 1881, 1.

[2] Morel Fatio, II., 137; Coloma, *Retratos del antaño*, 42 *seqq.*

[3] Danvila y Collado, II., 565 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 371.

attitude arose, in which a dislike of religion and the Church, together with fashionable conceptions of God and the world, and with the new principles of the structure of the State and society, were welded into a formal system. This opposition to the existing order received reinforcements from among the Jansenists, who sought to justify their resistance to the ecclesiastical authority by exposing the numerous ecclesiastical abuses.

So far as the Jesuits were concerned, a strong opposition to them had developed among the regular clergy. The Augustinians bore them a grudge for their attacks on the greatest of their scholars of that time, Cardinal Noris.[1] The monks in general had been irritated by the humorous romance *Fray Gerundio*, in which the Jesuit José Francisco de Isla had ridiculed the baroque style of preaching then in vogue and had scored a huge success. Isla had not the least intention of slighting monasticism but the fact of his hero being a monk aroused among the older Orders a certain dislike of the Jesuits. In any case, the time at which the book appeared was inopportune: in the Voltairean era it might well have been used as a weapon by those who scoffed at all religion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the book found its way into the Spanish and then the Roman Index. For the Society of Jesus the winning of so thorough a success by one of its members at the expense of other religious was a calamity.[2]

Great harm was done to the Spanish Government's relations with the Jesuits by the disturbances in Paraguay, which were connected with the "Treaty of Limits" between Spain and Portugal.[3] The conflicts there also brought about a change in

[1] See our account, Vol. XXXV., 363 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* GAUDEAU, *Les prêcheurs burlesques en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle. Étude sur le P. Isla*, Paris, 1891; BAUMGARTNER in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXVIII. (1905), 82 *seqq.*, 182 *seqq.*; ROUSSEAU, I., 149 *seqq.*; ASTRÁIN, VII., 205 *seqq.*; *Cartas familiares del P. José Francisco de Isla*, León, 1903, 1 *seqq.*; MURR, *Journal*, XI. (1743), 231–89.

[3] See our account, Vol. XXXV., 416 *seqq.*

the policy of the Court. The Colonial Minister Ensenada [1] regarded the treaty as harmful to Spain; Queen Barbara, however, a Portuguese princess who still looked after the interests of her native land even when in another country, cherished it as her own work. Ensenada, who was also disliked by the English because of his anxiety to build a strong fleet for the protection of the colonies, was overthrown [2] and in his fall dragged down with him the king's confessor.[3] The man who now had the shaping of Spain's foreign policy was Richard Wall, who considered the Indians' resistance to the treaty to be an obstacle in the way of his Anglophile policy

[1] For Ensenada, see RODRIGUEZ VILLA, *Ensayo biográfico de D. Cenón de Somodevilla, Marqués de Ensenada* (1878); EGUIA RUIZ, *El Marqués de la Ensenada*, Madrid, 1922; LEONHARD, *Agrarpolitik*, 10.

[2] *Valenti to Enriquez, August 15, 1754, Registro di lettere, Nunziat. di Spagna, 428, Papal Secret Archives. ROUSSEAU (I., 155 *seq.*) states that the Court of Naples, as the result of secret information received from Ensenada, raised objections to the frontier treaty, whereupon the queen, enraged by the breach of secrecy, caused Ensenada to be dismissed. Tanucci, on the other hand, maintains (*to Yaci, January 6, 1756, Archives of Simancas) that King Charles had certainly never spoken to his brother Ferdinand about American affairs. The nuncio Spinola also rejects the protest made by Naples (*to Torrigiani, April 23, 1759, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.*) but ascribes Ensenada's downfall to the queen. Queen Maria Amalie (*to Tanucci on April 22 and June 3, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6040) and Charles III. say quite clearly that Ensenada was not to blame (*to Tanucci, July 8, 1760, *ibid.*, 6043). *Cf.* RODRIGUEZ VILLA, 194; EGUIA RUIZ, 56 *seqq.*

[3] The nuncio Spinola (*to Torrigiani, April 23, 1759, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.*) ascribes Rábago's dismissal also to the queen, who wanted to put an end to his influence on the king. Rábago *wrote to the Spanish Assistant Céspedes on December 2, 1755: "Solo diré que el confesionario nos ha perdido muchos buenos amigos, y nos ha sobstituido los falsos, que lo fingian para hazer sus negocios" (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7381).

and was accordingly angry with the Jesuits as the supposed authors of the insurrection. All the Jesuits' protestations of innocence were of no avail. On the other hand, great credit was attached to the reports of their enemies—and of Ibañez, who had twice been dismissed from the Order.[1] Confidential information about the Jesuits in Paraguay was forwarded, at Wall's instance, to the Cardinals Passionei and Spinelli in Rome.[2] When the General of the Order, Centurioni, offered to produce the complete correspondence of the missionaries in order to prove their innocence, he was met with the retort that, besides the letters he was prepared to produce, there were secret ones containing orders in the opposite sense.[3] The missionary Gervasoni, who came to Madrid to represent the views and wishes of his brethren in Paraguay, was abruptly ordered by Wall to leave the country.[4]

The conditions in Paraguay supplied material for a veritable flood of abusive writings against the Jesuits.[5] The reductions, which after all only formed a self-administered body [6] which had been held closely in check by the Spanish Government, were represented as a State within a State.[7] The

[1] *Cf.* **Razon de los Papeles*, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688, fo. 358.

[2] " *He estimado mucho lo que V.E. me dice en punto de su conducta sobre las cosas de los Jesuitas en el Paraguay para instruir a Passionei y Spinelli, como lo haré " (Roda to Wall, August 9, 1759, *ibid.*, Estado 4966).

[3] *Centurioni to Wall, April 7, 1756, *ibid.*, 7381 ; *Wall to Centurioni, May 11, 1756, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 39.

[4] *Wall to Portocarrero, February 24, 1756, *ibid.*

[5] E.g. " Republica de Paraguay ", " Verdad innegable contra la ambición declarada ", " Cartas de Palafox ", " Monedas del Re Nicola I." ; *Jos. Ign. Fr. de Córdova and the licentiate Manuel de Salvatierra to Charles III. on March 21, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[6] Fassbinder, 56 *seqq.*

[7] *El Reyno Jesuitico del Paraguay por siglo y medio negado y oculto, hoy demostrado y descubierto su autor D. Bernardo Ibañez de*

colonial prosperity resulting from years of industry, thrift, and skilful organization was attributed to the exploitation of secret gold, silver,[1] or diamond mines.[2] The existence of large depositories in the commercial towns and harbours, which were used for the sale of surplus products, prompted their enemies to accuse the Jesuits of illicit trading.[3] In addition, the missionaries had the bitter knowledge that these distortions of their self-sacrificing activity originated not only with Religious [4] but even with former members of their own Society [5] who did not shrink from spreading the rumour that the Pope would have liked the Bishops to forbid Jesuits to hear confessions ; in Rome, they alleged, the suppression of the Society was being considered in all seriousness.[6] Instructed by the Cardinal Secretary of State, the Madrid nuncio had to

Echavarri, Madrid, 1770 (according to p. 241, it was written in Paraguay in 1761). *Cf.* TESCHAUER, *Hist. do Rio Grande do Sul*, III., 14 *seq.*

[1] Neither gold nor silver is to be found in Paraguay. MOUSSY. 11, 18 *seq.* ; FASSBINDER, 83 *seq.*, 119.

[2] *Saez to the Rector of Vill[agarcia], December 7, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[3] MOUSSY, 11, 17 *seq.* ; FASSBINDER, 108 *seq.* ; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 621 *seqq.*

[4] " *Lo cierto es, que es cosa dura : los Jesuitas por servir a la monarquia y a Dios se ben aqui tan maltratados, pues hasta aora el pobre P. Unger está en su prisión en el Rio [de] Janeyro, su compañero murió, y todas estas cosas no bastan para defender nos contra las calumnias sembradas de los emisarios del Portogal" (Ladislaus Oros to Jos. Robles, dated Córdova, 1766, September 27, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690). The Dominican Mañalich had news, which he had himself invented or distorted, sent back from America and he then published it as news from Paraguay (*J.I. Fr. de Córdova and Salvatierra to Charles III., March 21, 1760, *ibid.*, 688). The authentic proofs are in fo. 316 *seqq.*

[5] *Rafael de Córdova to F. Montes, March 20, 1767, *ibid.*, 777. The letter mentions the " alemanes hombres pacientisimos todos del trabajo ".

[6] *Torrigiani to Spinola, February 22, 1759, Nunziat. di Spagna, 410, *loc. cit.*

protest against the dissemination of such rumours, and his representations to the Grand Inquisitor and the President of the Council of Castile brought about the condemnation of seven or eleven of such writings, much to Wall's annoyance.[1]

The atmosphere, therefore, was extremely tense, and no one could foresee the future.

On August 10th, 1759, shortly after Clement XIII. had ascended the throne, Ferdinand VI. of Spain died insane. How the relations between Church and State in the Iberian Peninsula would develop under the new pontificate depended entirely on the deceased monarch's successor, the former King of the Two Sicilies; as Charles III. he entered Madrid very quietly on December 9th, 1759.

From the time of his succession to the present day the impression given by the new king has been far from uniform. Just as his outward appearance is described by some writers as unprepossessing,[2] by others as knightly,[3] so also in the domain of the spirit the destroyer of the Jesuit Order is regarded by some as a highly-gifted standard-bearer and the creator of a new era,[4] by others as a man of limited intelligence.[5] A certain measure of sound judgment is not to be denied him; on the other hand, the personal expressions of opinion to be found in the hundreds of letters he wrote to his

[1] *Ibid.*; *Spinola to the Grand Inquisitor, March 21, 1759, Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 443; *Grand Inquisitor Quintano to Spinola, March 23, 1759, *ibid.*; *Spinola to Torrigiani, March 19, 1759, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.*; Torrigiani's *answer, of April 5, 1759, *ibid.*, 410; Decree of the Inquisition of May 13, 1759 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 443, and Nunziat. di Spagna, 262, *loc. cit.*

[2] Rousseau, I., 8; Tripodo, *L'espulsione dei Gesuiti dalle Sicilie*, Palermo, 1906, 19.

[3] Ferrer del Rio, I., 197.

[4] *Ibid.*, 194.

[5] "Era hombre de cortísimo entendimiento, más dado a la caza que a los negocios, y aunque terco y dudoso, bueno en el fondo y muy piadoso, pero con devoción poco ilustrada, que le hacía solicitar de Roma con necia y pueril insistencia la canonización

relatives, and especially in those he wrote to his confidant Tanucci, scarcely afford grounds for regarding him as having natural gifts above the normal. Apart from his poor handwriting, his mode of expression is awkward, almost as wooden as a schoolboy's, and, most noticeably, it is devoid of any flight of thought. As is typical of petty minds, Charles III. was self-willed and obstinate ; once he had formed an opinion, withdrawal from it was unthinkable. Along with this, he had a lofty conception of his dignity and duty as a ruler.[1] He reserved decision for himself in all matters of government, but in the process he involved himself so deeply in details that business was transacted with extreme slowness.

Charles III.'s private life was irreproachable.[2] He kept faith with his consort, Maria Amalie, a daughter of Augustus III. of Saxony, and even after her early death he did not cast about for mistresses. His mode of life was always simple, as also was his dress. He rose punctually every morning at 5.45. The pastime in which he indulged with a certain avidity was hunting, with which he hoped to counter the hereditary melancholy of his House and to steel himself against sexual sensitiveness.

In the matter of religion Charles had the reputation of being a convinced Christian. Apart from daily Mass he prayed every morning and evening for a quarter of an hour and was an

de un leguito llamado el hermano Sebastián, de quien era fanático devoto, al mismo tiempo que consentía y autorizaba todo género de atropellos contra cosas y personas eclesiásticas y de tentativas para descatolizar a su pueblo " (Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 130). " Undeservedly he appears in history, surrounded by a halo of glory, as the sole originator of the Spanish experiments in reform, which in fact were undertaken under, not by, him . . . His merit consists principally in his having selected a group of energetic and capable Ministers, whom he allowed to do the ruling, while he devoted his whole life to the chase " (Leonhard, *Agrarpolitik*, 8 *seq.*).

[1] Rousseau, I., *Introd.*, iv.

[2] *Ibid.*, 11 *seq.*, 21, 109 ; Fernan-Nuñez, II., 53 *seqq.* ; Ferrer del Rio, I., 193 *seqq.*

ardent promoter of devotion to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.[1] He was a firm adherent of the Catholic Church and disapproved of the doctrines put about by the French Encyclopedists. None of this, however, prevented him in his capacity of ruler from relying on counsellors who were admirers and apt pupils of French enlightenment. In them he found willing helpers in the defence or restoration of his supposed sovereign rights in the ecclesiastical domain. He continued along the lines of his predecessors Philip V. and Ferdinand VI., who in the fight against the so-called encroachments of Rome bullied the Church out of one right after the other.

Charles' Minister in the first years of his Spanish period was Richard Wall, an Irishman who after some not very successful efforts in the service of the Spanish fleet had turned his attention to diplomacy. Active as a Spanish secret agent, first at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, then in London, he obtained the post of ambassador to the English Government and returned to Madrid in 1764, with the rank of field-marshal, to take over the Ministry. In foreign affairs he favoured an Anglophile policy; with regard to religious questions he was thoroughly imbued with the principles of the all-powerful State, but made every effort to conceal these convictions. He had no respect for the rights of the Apostolic See and would gladly have meted out to the Spanish Jesuits the fate that had befallen their colleagues in Portugal.[2]

[1] *Cf.* below, p. 404.

[2] " *Eccomi per tanto in obbligo di informare in oggi più distintamente l'E. V. avvertendola colla maggior segretezza, qualmente esso Ministro [Wall] . . . non può soffrire i Padri della Compagnia, e senza ascoltar ragione o fare le necessarie distinzioni, vorrebbe, si potesse, scacciarli da Espagna, godendo per tanto assai apertamente di ciò che attualmente succede ne' domini del Portogallo. Il peggio è, che la di lui, non so se dica avversione o animosità, si estende ancora contra la nostra corte ed i più incontrastabili diritti della Sede Apost., sicome io ho purtroppo riconosciuto chiaramente in diverse occasioni fuori della presente, malgrado la sua grande dissimulazione ed artificio per darmi intendere il contrario . . . Dopo aver letto quanto sopra, sarebbe

The really dominating mind, however, which forced the suspicious but at bottom well-intentioned king into its way of thinking and kept him there, belonged to a person who resided not in Madrid, but in Naples. This was Charles' former tutor, his Neapolitan Minister, and his confidant, Marchese Bernardo Tanucci,[1] whom he had left behind in Naples as the mentor of his son and successor, Ferdinand IV., who was not yet of age. One looks in vain for original ideas among Tanucci's works ; the elegance with which he expressed himself had often to serve as a cloak for his poverty of thought,[2] but at the same time he possessed a goodly measure of knowledge. Choiseul thought but little of him. " Ministers of this type," he wrote,[3] " are not cut out for the handling of great affairs. One has to confine oneself to punishing them by contempt of the paltry methods of their base and cunning policies." On another

V. E. forse sorpresa, se potesse qui vedere l'aria apparente di personale amicizia e confidenza con cui viviamo il prefato Ministro ed io ; ma tale è il suo carattere, ed a me conviene di accomodarmi e pagare della stessa moneta . . . " [The letter was sent through an agent, Mgr. Boschi]. " Mi lusingo non disapproverà V. E. la precauzione non mai inutile o eccessiva, quando si ha da fare con gente scaltra e il di cui animo già naturalmente verso di noi ulcerato non bisogna irritare di vantaggio." (Spinola to Torrigiani, March 26, 1759, Cifra, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, Papal Secret Archives).

[1] Callà Ulloa, *Di Bernardo Tanucci e dei suoi tempi*, Naples, 1875 ; Ferrer del Rio, I., 212 *seqq.* ; Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 132 ; Danvila y Collado, II., 268 *seqq.* ; Colletta, *Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1734 sino al 1825*, Naples, 1861 ; Rousseau, I., 162 ; Croce, *Storia del regno di Napoli* (1926), *Uomini e cose di vecchia Italia* (1927) ; Onnis, *Bern. Tanucci nel moto anticurialista del settecento*, in *Nuova Riv. storica*, X., 328–365 ; Duhr in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LV. (1898), 292 *seqq.* ; Rinieri, *Della Rovina, Introduz.* ; Croce, *Studi sulla vita religiosa a Napoli nel settecento*, in *Critica Rivista di lett., storia e filosofia*, XXIV. (1926), 1–82.

[2] Chłędowski, *Neapolitanische Kulturbilder*, 460 ; Tripodo, *Espulsione*, 24.

[3] To Aubeterre, October 4, 1768, in Rousseau, I., 266.

occasion he brought a direct charge of deceitfulness against his colleague in Naples, who was himself never tired of robbing others of their reputation for honesty and truthfulness. "I confess," he wrote to Aubeterre, "I am astonished at the far too serious attention you pay to the barefaced swindles practised by Tanucci and Orsini and the stupid lies they tell at your expense." [1] The Papal Secretary of State, Torrigiani, also speaks of Tanucci's lies.[2]

Charles III. gave his former tutor his complete confidence. He addressed him as an intimate, told him of all his cares and business matters, made known to him all his plans and secrets, sought his advice, and did not change his attitude towards him even when Tanucci had fallen from power in Naples. Thus honoured, Tanucci repaid his ruler's friendship by devoting himself entirely to his service, incidentally achieving thereby his own promotion.[3] With his restless activity [4] he was the real and sole ruler of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. His despotism extended even to the family of his royal ward. Despite the tears of the young king and the anger of his wife he insisted on the removal of several trusted friends from the royal couple's entourage.[5] By invoking the name of King

[1] *Ibid.*, 267, n. 2.

[2] " *Ella sia pur certa, che tutto il discorso fatto dal Marchese Tanucci al Provinciale de' Gesuiti, che leggo nei suoi numeri de' 28 Settembre, è un imposto di bugie secondo il solito del medesimo sig. Marchese, che mai è costante ne' suoi detti e spaccia con estraordinaria franchezza cento falsità in un discorso" (to Pallavicini, October 21, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*); Losada, August 10, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5977.

[3] Onnis, *loc. cit.*, 356 *seqq.*; Cordara, *De suppressione*, 94 *seq.*, and in Döllinger, III., 31.

[4] Tanucci's *correspondence in the Archives of Simancas comprises thirty-nine quarto and eleven folio volumes (Onnis, 356, n. 2).

[5] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 1, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6006. For the removal of Queen Carolina's German confessor, *cf.* *Tanucci to Charles III., December 6, 1768 and February 7, 1767, *ibid.*, 6007.

Charles he broke down all resistance,[1] and he was clever enough to make his own thoughts and intentions known to his royal master in such a way that they came back to Naples from Madrid in the form of royal commands. He himself distributed all favours and, when it suited his purpose, took the reins of government from the young king's hands into his own.[2]

Like nearly all the Ministers of the European Great Powers at that period, Tanucci was pondering plans of reform. In particular, his object was to abolish the privileged positions of the feudal aristocracy and the clergy, so as to increase the power of the prince.[3] In the matter of religion he was no friend of the Jansenists as a party,[4] but he shared their dislike of Rome and the Church as it then was.[5] Unfortunately, his dissatisfaction with the worldly activities of many prelates was often only too well justified ; but the purpose of his censures was not to improve the Church but to drag its representatives, and thus the Church itself, into the mire and make it an object of contempt. His correspondence with trusted acquaintances shows some regular outbursts of rage in this respect. "Worse than Constantinople, where the Grand Turk rules," he wrote,[6] "is the dung-heap of Rome." For him Rome was

[1] Onnis, 346 *seqq.*, 351 *seqq.*

[2] Letter of Joseph II. to Maria Theresa, in Chłędowski, 460 ; Colletta, I., 83 *seq.* ; Duhr, *loc. cit.*, 293 *seq.*

[3] Colletta, I., 83 *seq.*

[4] "Io non trovo i Giansenisti migliori dei Gesuiti ; già li trovo egualmente bugiardi, calunniatori e sediziosi. Bisogna esser securo di non cader nei Giansenisti cacciando li Gesuiti" (*Tanucci to Galiani, August 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6001 ; Onnis, 334). Tanucci was a reader of the Jansenistic *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (*Tanucci to Catanti, April 9, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5993 ; Onnis, 335 *seq.*).

[5] "Tanucci was probably the most hostile Minister the Curia had every encountered in a Catholic State. This was the man who controlled the destiny of Naples for forty-three years" (Brosch, *Kirchenstaat*, II., 78). And yet he was not just an unbeliever (Onnis, 335 *seqq.*).

[6] *To Bottari, November 21, 1761, Bibl. Corsini in Rome, Cod. 1602.

a hotbed of atheism, where hypocrisy, the Inquisition, the Dataria, and the Jesuits held sway.[1] For more than ten centuries Rome had been the greatest enemy of the Christian, Apostolic, and universal religion and had always sacrificed it to Mammon and the passions.[2] According to him, in the Spanish Concordat Benedict XIV. had ceded the right of patronage in exchange for money.[3] Clement XIII. was a simpleton,[4] Archbishop Beaumont of Paris, with his manly defence of the Church, was a fool ;[5] the Cardinals were the most verminous creatures in the world ;[6] and there was no animal in the whole of the Apocalypse which could serve as a symbol for the Papacy as it was in his time, with that scoundrel Torrigiani and the anti-Christian Jesuits.[7] The Pope called himself the servant of the servants of God, but was as proud as Sardanapalus or the Shah of Persia.[8] Pombal's action against the Church met with Tanucci's full approval : for the first time in a century he had spoken the language of a Catholic prince. With jubilation Tanucci greeted the light that was now beginning to spread among the Catholic guardians of the State ; they knew now how to distinguish dogma and worship from jurisdiction and fees.[9]

For the religious Orders the Minister had a particular dislike.[10] The nobility, women, and monks were the plague of

[1] *To Centomani, October 2, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5978.

[2] *To Santa Elisabetta, November 30, 1762, *ibid.*

[3] *To Nefetti, March 27, 1753, *ibid.*, 5935.

[4] *To Charles III., September 20, 1763, *ibid.*, 5978.

[5] *To Galiani, December 15, 1764, *ibid.*, 5991 ; to the same, February 11, 1764, *ibid.*, 5988.

[6] *To Nefetti, December 17, 1753, *ibid.*, 5935.

[7] *To Bottari, August 11, 1761, Bibl. Corsini in Rome, Cod. 1602.

[8] *To Centomani, April 7, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5988.

[9] *To Centomani, December 1, 1759, *ibid.*, 5959.

[10] In Tanucci's opinion all monks were " un vero canchero del genere umano, presentemente, occupati d'avarizia e di ozio,

sovereigns. Wherever the monkish rabble settled, they sowed intrigue, unrest, and corruption.[1] There was no animal in the whole of Nature so ferocious as the monk, once he had broken his halter. Think of the bloodshed caused by St. Dominic ![2]

Tanucci was also in agreement with the consequences that followed from these principles. Certainly the primacy of the Pope was incontestable ; he was the supreme head and centre of the Church ; he had the right to summon a General Council, and he was infallible, but only when he made decisions in conjunction with the Bishops.[3] But the Papacy in the form it had assumed in his day would have to be abolished.[4] His ideal of a Church was based on the Jansenist conceptions of the original one, whose noble simplicity would have to be restored ; that is, there would be Bishops and parish priests, and that would be enough.[5] For him the so-called privileges of the Gallican Church were no more than the common law of the Church.[6] Consequently, he admired Febronius, the

principalmente, e di burlare li governi in tutto come se fossero stabiliti nelle repubbliche per disfarle, e opporsi alle lor leggi fondamentali " (to Bottari, April 5, 1760, in Onnis, 341). A few exceptions apart, the clergy, both secular and regular, were " feccia del genere umano, viziosi per lo più e ignoranti, che non si mescolano di teologia nè di altre opere d'ingegno " (to Bottari, March 18, 1760, *ibid.*, 350).

[1] *To Bottari, October 6, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602.

[2] *To Nefetti, May 28, 1754, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5935.

[3] To Galiani, March 19, 1768, to Bottari, March 4 and May 3, 1761, and July 13, 1762, in Onnis, 336 *seq.*

[4] " *Mancò [in Florence] il coraggio dopo aver presa senza esame la risoluzione di non ricevere il Nunzio, il quale in Firenze è quella cosa romana, che si deve cacciare qualche giorno dopo aver abolito il Papato, qual' è presentemente " (to Centomani, July 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6001). *Cf.* *Grimaldi to Tanucci, June 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[5] *To Centomani, April 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 6000.

[6] *To Galiani, September 19, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002.

" publisher of Du Pin ",[1] and he praised the good Catholics of Utrecht,[2] whose council he found quite regular and unobjectionable. In order to condemn it the Pope himself had had to fall back upon a heretical assertion.[3] In the course of time these utterances and principles were followed by deeds. Quite consciously and of set purpose Tanucci sought out opportunities of offending the Holy See.[4] As an inevitable consequence he was opposed to the Society of Jesus, and Torrigiani indeed declared that Tanucci was the greatest enemy the Jesuits had in Naples.[5]

[1] *To Centomani, April 27, 1765, *ibid.*, 5993. Febronius did not go far enough for the Spanish envoy in Rome, Roda, as he had only repeated what others had written before him (*Tanucci to Catanti, November 22, 1765, *ibid.*). On account of his father's services, the son of Pietro Giannone, who had refused to recognize the Church as an association with sovereign rights and had denied its right to make its own laws, was granted by Tanucci a pension of 300 ducats (Rinieri, *Rovina*, Introduz., XXXVII ; Brosch, *Kirchenstaat*, II., 3 *seq.*).

[2] *To Catanti, November 22, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5987.

[3] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, October 10, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.* " *Vedo il concilio d'Utrecht regolare e canonico, non so perchè Roma se ne offende. Della Roma Rezzonica e gesuitica non mi maraviglierei, ma maraviglio della Roma Lambertina, che fece la scomunica " (to Catanti, November 15, 1763. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5987). " *Il concilio d'Utrecht è stato condannato con una Bolla, la quale non vi ha trovato eresia ; per trovarvi da dire il Papa ha detto una eresia " (to Catanti, June 11, 1765, *ibid.*, 5993). " *Pero se ha notado, come la notará tambien V. E., que en el sinodo [of Utrecht] non se contiene cosa que se pueda condenar por eretica o que se pueda oler de eretico " (*Cardinal Orsini to Tanucci, May 7, 1765, *ibid.*, 4972).

[4] " *Costì si opera per dispetto e non solo non si lasciano, ma si cercano le ragioni per fare ingiuria alla S. Sede " (Torrigiani to Lucatelli, October 28, 1760, Nunziat. di Napoli, 259, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *To Pallavicini, October 21, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

In view of all this, it sounds incredible, although it is a fact, that Tanucci should have had a Jesuit as his confessor,[1] and have retained him until the very moment of the Society's expulsion. To the Minister Wall, who had heard of this strange practice from Charles III., Tanucci wrote [2] excusing himself on the ground that his teacher, an aged cleric, had insisted on his studying St. Thomas and confessing to the Jesuits. He had been confessing regularly to the same Jesuit for twenty years. His confessor was a saintly man, the least Jesuitical of all the Jesuits he knew, and Tanucci could not bring himself to cause the old priest pain by dismissing him. It is possible also that the Jesuit confessor served to conceal from the outside world Tanucci's dislike of the Society. Tanucci succeeded so well in masking his real feelings that on the confessor's recommendation the General of the Order, Visconti, extended to him the privilege of sharing in the spiritual merits of the Order! Tanucci's letter of thanks overflowed with expressions of appreciation: he regarded the favour as the greatest gift of God's grace he had ever received and a fresh encouragement to emulate the model piety and virtuous conduct of the Fathers of the Society! [3] To the Sicilian Provincial, Trigona, who had informed him of his arrival in Rome, he wrote that his mind and his heart had been enthralled by this gesture; he hoped that Trigona would make use of his services (which were entirely at his

[1] Similarly his wife and daughter (RINIERI, *Rovina*, Introduz. xliv).

[2] *On April 14, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092; *Tanucci to Yaci, May 26, 1761, *ibid.*, 5970.

[3] " *Sento e ho sempre nutrito nel cuore una stima singolare ed una rispettosissima divozione verso l'esemplarissima Compagnia . . . Considero questa grazia per la maggiore che la bontà divina mi abbia compartito in tutto il corso della mia vita. Mi sarà esta un nuovo stimolo per mirare fissamente e procurar di seguire i costumi illibati e gli esempi continui de' Padri della Compagnia . . . " (to Visconti, November 7, 1751, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5934). *Cf.* the *letter to the confessor Micco, June 22, 1751, *ibid.*

disposal) and so give him the opportunity of showing his gratitude.[1]

Shortly before Charles III.'s arrival in Madrid, Spinola, the retiring nuncio to Spain, had prophesied what the Church would have to suffer under the new régime, namely, attacks on the Jesuits and on ecclesiastical freedom. In the opinion of persons competent to judge, Wall would gain predominant influence, and then the banishment of the Jesuits from the missions, or at least from Paraguay, would soon follow. Wall was strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits and he had in his entourage a counsellor who was not only an outspoken anti-Jesuit but also a hater of Rome ; this man incited the Minister against the Curia on every possible occasion. The new king, continued Spinola, would be presented with plans for reform directed in particular against the power and privileges of officials and of both the secular and the regular clergy.[2] As had already been said, he wrote later, there were men in Wall's confidence who were filled with a thousand prejudices against the clearest rights of the Holy See. This he knew without a shadow of doubt. In the course of conversation Wall had

[1] " *V. R. per tutte le cagioni ha rapito il mio animo e il mio cuore. Son suoi l'uno e l'altro. Se ne vaglia V. R. con ogni arbitrio," etc. (on November 25, 1755, *ibid.*, 5937). Some of the letters written by Tanucci to the confessor Micco are still extant. In these we read of his boundless gratitude to him (*July 15, 1751, *ibid.*, 5934), of his pleasure at the appointment of the Jesuit Belgrado as confessor to the duke of Parma (*June 22, 1751, *ibid.*), of his sympathy with Micco in his ill-health (*undated [June 8 or 11, 1765], *ibid.*, 5993). Only a month before the Jesuits were driven out of Naples he is expressing his pleasure at seeing Micco's well-known writing again in a letter and is promising to pray for him (*October 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002). When Micco in his old age had to take to his bed, Tanucci was frequently asking how he was and sent him the customary gifts at Christmas and Easter (*Calcagnini to Torrigiani, April 21, 1767, Nunziat. di Napoli, 290, Papal Secret Archives ; Rinieri, *Rovina*, Introduz. xliv, note 1).

[2] *To Torrigiani, October 23, 1759, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.*

often let fall statements in accordance with these principles, either in Spinola's own hearing or in that of many reliable witnesses. If the king was sufficiently receptive, Wall would counsel him—after the Jesuits had been struck the blow on which he had set his heart—to restrict the immunity of the secular and regular clergy, to expand the concessions of the last Concordat, to curtail the jurisdiction of the nuncios, and, finally, to hinder petitions to Rome for dispensations and the like.[1] He hoped that the monarch's piety would prevent his (Spinola's) misgivings coming true but the worst was to be expected if the king listened to certain suggestions. Full of the prejudices which were almost inseparable from the manner of life he had led till his sixtieth year, Wall favoured innovations and treated the gravest matters in a most superficial way. He might not mean any harm but, feeling himself to be the restorer of Spain, he was liable to turn everything upside-down. If a storm broke, the Bishops were hardly to be relied on ; though for the most part well intentioned, they had not the moral strength to resist the royal authority.[2]

The nuncio Spinola wrote these reports for the benefit also of his not too capable successor, Pallavicini. Comparatively young and owing his appointment to this important post principally to his membership of an illustrious family, Pallavicini considered it his main duty to avoid collisions. Lest he might find himself in the awkward necessity of directly opposing the Government, he repeatedly urged the Jesuits

[1] *On November 6, 1759 (*ibid.*) : " So che quanto da lui [Wall] si ritrovi nel sovrano la necessaria disposizione sta preparato, dopo l'articolo de' Padri della Compagnia, che sopra tutto gli preme, a proporgli in oltre di ristringere le immunità, che in Spagna si godono dal clero secolare e regolare, di cercare ad estendere le concessioni dell' ultimo Concordato, di ristringere la giurisdizione de' Nunzi Apost. e per fine di difficoltare a' subditi il ricorso a Roma per dispense e per indulte di qualsivoglia genere."

[2] *Spinola to Torrigiani, December 11, 1759, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.* Spinola on the relinquishment of his appointment : *to Torrigiani, October 23, 1759, *ibid.* ; KARTTUNEN, 254.

to exercise circumspection and restraint.[1] He seems to have been quite incapable of judging human character. He wrote that Roda enjoyed the reputation of being highly religious,[2] and he provided the Spanish agent Azara, who was a Voltairean,[3] with a cordial letter of recommendation.[4]

Once Charles III. had chosen as his advisers members of the Young Spanish party, conditions were bound to develop as Spinola had foretold.

(2)

The first conflict between the Church and State after Charles's accession was concerned with the *Exequatur* or royal *placet*, the purpose of which, to use Tanucci's phrase, was to keep the Papacy in check.[5] An opportunity of introducing the *placet* into Spain was offered by the dispute about the French Jansenist Mésenguy, whose *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne*, commonly called the Catechism, had already been condemned by the Congregation of the Index under Benedict XIV.[6] In 1758–1760 an Italian translation [7] of the slightly

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, October 21, 1760, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 285, *loc. cit.*; *on September 13, 1763, *ibid.*, 290; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, October 13, 1763, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 432.

[2] *To Torrigiani, January 22, 1765, Cifre, *ibid.*, 293.

[3] According to Rousseau, I., 80, note 1, 195.

[4] *To Torrigiani, October 7, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 294, *loc. cit. Cf. El espíritu de D. José Nicolás de Azara descubierto en su correspondencia epistolar con D. Manuel de Roda*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1846.

[5] " *Non abbiamo altre armi, nè altra briglia del Papato che l'Exequatur " (to Bottari, April 4, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 289; Ferrer del Rio, I., 384 *seqq.*; Miguélez, 285 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 112 *seqq.*

[7] 5 vols., Naples. Each volume has a different title. Canon Domenico Cantagalli has been mentioned as the translator (Rosa, *Passionei*, 13). Another Italian translation appeared in Venice (*Tanucci to Bottari, June 13 and October 6, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602). *Cf.* Reusch, *Index*, II., 764.

improved second edition [1] was published in Naples with the approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop Sersale, and thousands of copies were distributed.[2] On the Pope's instructions this edition was carefully examined by a commission of twelve theologians, none of whom was a Jesuit.[3] Hardly had the proceedings been opened when Tanucci began to use every means available in the kingdom of Naples to prevent the banning of the book by the higher authorities in Rome.[4] Despite his assertion, made in other circumstances, that only the Church was competent to deal with matters of dogma, he left no expedient untried by which he might influence the free exercise of the Church's doctrinal authority. Violently abusing the Pope, the Secretary of State, and the Jesuits,[5] he assured his confidants Bottari and Centomani that in Naples they would know how to defend the new catechism; theologians would oppose its prohibition in speech and writing so as to convince the whole world of the iniquity and invalidity of the Roman censorship, and the Government would withhold its *Exequatur*.[6] Urged on by the Minister, Cardinal Sersale,

[1] 4 vols., Cologne, 1754.

[2] *Tanucci to Bottari, February 14, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602.

[3] CORDARA, *De Suppressione*, 97 *seq.*, and in DÖLLINGER, III., 32. Tanucci speaks constantly of ten theologians: "Dieci Frati non son Chiesa. Il Papa con dieci Frati non è Papa. Dunque quel che così decide, non è legge della Chiesa" (*to Bottari, April 4, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[4] *Cf.* his *correspondence with Bottari (*ibid.*) and Wall (Archives of Simancas, Estado 6092).

[5] "*Cino a suo tempo diceva: purus canonista, purus asinus. In avenire si dirà: puro cattolico romano, puro asino . . . Ognun sa, che la dottrina maggiore si trova appunto in quei libri, che Roma ha condannato e proibito, e che sol permett' ella alcuni libri di dottrina superficiale e favolosa venuta a galla dal fermento della furberia, dell' ambizione e rapacità della Curia . . ." (to Bottari, February 14, 1761, Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[6] "*Non mancheranno teologi, che predicheranno in contrario, e scriveranno ancora, e il mondo sempre più si persuaderà dell' iniquità e invalidità delle proibizioni romane dei libri. Qui

Archbishop of Naples, and his Vicar-General had to make an attempt at browbeating the nuncio,[1] but the result of this step was the reverse of what had been intended. Sersale yielded to the nuncio's arguments,[2] although the translation of the Catechism had been received with joy by all the Bishops and the whole Church in the Two Sicilies.[3] Tanucci now turned to

non si darà Exequatur alla proibizione " (to Bottari, February 7, 1761, *ibid.*). " *Vedo che la proibizione accenderà un gran fuoco, probabilmente sarà qui dalla camera di S. Chiara proibita la proibizione e sarà scritto in contrario " (to Centomani, March 7, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5969).

[1] *Tanucci to Bottari, February 14, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602. To Cardinal Orsini, the Neapolitan envoy to Rome, Tanucci wrote : " *Sento li scompigli, e il fuoco, che suscitano contro il santo e savio libro dell' 'Esposizione della dottrina cristiana' stampata qui coll'approvazione di questo card. arcivescovo. Questo ne è afflitto, perchè siamo in pericolo del fuoco, che la violenza dei Gesuiti va a suscitare nella chiesa delle Sicilie, la quale è riscaldata, e pronta a difendere la sua dottrina, che sostiene per infinitamente più cristiana di quella dei Gesuiti " (March 7, 1761). Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5969.

[2] " *Io sperava, che qualche cosa si potesse fare, perchè il card. arcivescovo rimanesse costante nella difesa della sua approvazione. Ma so, ch'egli già impaurito cede in vece di ricorrere alla potestà secolare, perchè sostenga la vera dottrina cristiana. Perciò manca il terreno sotto i piedi a chi intraprendesse di portare il consiglio a un contrasto con Roma, mancando la chiesa stessa delle Sicilie, che chieda la protezione del Re. Comparirebbono laici, che volessero giudicare dell' opinioni teologiche ; questo non è stato fatto nella chiesa neppur ai tempi della sua purità e disciplina migliore. Non mancheranno modi di punir la furberia e gli altri orrendi vizi dei Gesuiti. Ma questo è un lavoro lungo, e non è maturo per l'effetto che ora si vuole " (Tanucci to Bottari, March 7, 1761, Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[3] Mésenguy's work " è stato qui stampato con grande approvazione dello stesso cardinale, e avidamente ricevuto da tutti li vescovi, e da tutta la chiesa delle Sicilie, la quale bolle con Fragiani " (*Tanucci to Centomani, March 7, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5969).

the Minister Wall,[1] in the hope that the powerful aid of Spain would prevent the banning of the book. Wall had already been informed by Roda that neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State had read the translation and that the whole business was a machination of the Jesuits.[2] However, in spite of all efforts to the contrary,[3] the work was condemned by the Congregation on May 28th, 1761. By a decree of June 14th, Mésenguy's Catechism was forbidden in all languages and editions,[4] and in a Brief of the same day the Bishops were recommended to use the Roman Catechism in preference to all others.[5] To avoid signing the documents, Cardinal Passionei, Secretary of the Briefs, had fled to his hermitage at Camaldoli, near Frascati. The Pope, however, sent him the Brief with the order either to sign it or lay down his office. Consumed with rage, Passionei signed. An hour afterwards the seventy-nine-year-old Cardinal received a stroke which deprived him

[1] *On March 3, 1761, *ibid.*, 6092.

[2] " *Ya tenía noticia por nuestro Roda de la prohibicion del libro de que V. E. me habla, conseguida por los Jesuitas a fuerza de intrigas y artificios . . . Contra este libro se ha declamado en Roma en los pulpitos ; pero lo estraño es que preguntados los declamadores si lo habian leido respondieron que no, que predicaban contro él porque el Papa, que tampoco lo habia leido, decia que era un mal libro. Su Santitad se explicaba así porque se lo habia oído decir a Torrigiani, y éste que confesó tambien non haberlo leido hablaba de él por lo que habia oído al General de los Jesuitas " (Wall to Tanucci, March 24, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092).

[3] " *Non credo, che dispiacerà a V. E. ch'io trascriva le parole d'una lettera d'un teologo di un card. della Congregazione del S. Ufficio ad un teologo di questo card. arcivescovo : ' Tutti di proposito lavoriamo a favore del libro. Con noi è Venezia, Savoia, Spagna il di cui Ministro è senza pari, ed inimitabile nel difendere con coraggio la buona dottrina e la verità. Che bel trionfo della grazia di Gesù Cristo nell' unire tante nazioni per la sua difesa contro dei Semipelagiani dei nostri tempi ' " (Tanucci to Wall, April 28, 1761, *ibid.*).

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 521 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 522.

of his speech, and twenty days later, on July 5th, 1761, he died.[1]

Departing from the old tradition of announcing decisions on religious doctrine without reference to the State authority,[2] the nuncio Pallavicini confidentially acquainted the Minister Wall with the situation, adding that he would follow the customary procedure.[3] The decree of the Congregation he sent to the Grand Inquisitor, the Brief on the Roman Catechism to the Minister.[4] With the agreement of his council, the Grand

[1] " *Il povero Passionei morto di collera dopo aver contro sua voglia e per sola condescendenza verso li familiari, che gli mettevan davanti lo stato, nel quale lasciava i nipoti, firmato il Breve della proibizione del catechismo, non si potrà rimpiazzare. Ne pur si potrà rimpiazzare Tamburini, che era un grandissimo teologo ; e li Gesuiti, e Torrigiani, e tutti li nemici della grazia efficace di Gesù Cristo trionferanno per li peccati del genere umano. Li Francescani si son divisi : li Cappuccini son per la grazia, gli altri sono stati sedotti dai Gesuiti, che anno guadagnato Ganganelli colle solite arti, e con una delle loro cappellanie di San Ignazio, che come sa V. E. son quattro di mille scudi romani l'una di rendita col solo obbligo d'una Messa l'anno all' altare di S. Ignazio, e si danno dal Generale a quattro cardinali, che vogliono acquistare. Lambertini ne aveva una, ma la di lui sincerità finalmente cruttò, e messosi in libertà fece l'Enciclica, essendo Papa, e la Bolla della visita dei Gesuiti del Portogallo " (Tanucci to Wall, August 4, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092). *Cf.* the *letter to Bottari, of June 20, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602. " *Non dubito che li confessori faranno valere la proibizione brutale del catechismo. Il mio non mi burlerà, perchè leggerò, e non sarò tanto stolido di confessarmi di ciò che non è peccato " (Tanucci to Bottari, July 18, 1761, *ibid.*). *Cf.* Cordara in Döllinger, III., 32. Galetti says nothing about the cause of the apoplectic stroke.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, June 18 and August 6, 1761, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, August 18 and 24, 1761, Cifre, ' Esposizione di fatto," *ibid.*, 286.

[4] *Pallavicini to the Grand Inquisitor, July 10, 1761, *ibid.* ; *the Grand Inquisitor to the nuncio, July 12, 1761, *ibid.* ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 21, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*

Inquisitor Quintano Bonifaz gave orders for the Papal prohibition to be published.[1] Copies of it had already been dispatched when Bonifaz received instructions from Wall to postpone the publication of the edict.[2] The Grand Inquisitor excused himself by referring to the obedience he owed to the Holy See and added that it was impossible to recover in time the copies already dispatched. Moreover, he argued, the honour and reputation of the Inquisition would suffer and the people would form an unfavourable opinion of the king's religious zeal.[3] Although Charles III. had been prejudiced for some time past by Roda and Tanucci against the imminent decision of Rome,[4] he had made up his mind to permit its publication in due form.[5] But now, piqued by the resistance offered, he banished the Grand Inquisitor from within twelve miles of the capital and all the royal residences.[6]

[1] August 9, 1761.

[2] *Wall to Tanucci, August 11 and 18, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092.

[3] *The Grand Inquisitor to Wall, August 8, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, Papal Secret Archives; Ferrer del Rio, I., 388 *seq.* *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, August 18, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 286, *loc. cit.*

[4] " No sé qué hacen los Jesuitas con ir moviendo tales historias, pues con esto siempre se desacreditan más, y creo que tienen muy sobrado con lo que ya tienen " (Charles III. to Tanucci, March 17, 1761, in Ferrer del Rio, I, 380 *seq.*).

[5] " *S. M. por lo que mira a la publicacion del Breve y Enciclica en estos dominios . . . : el que siendo sobre asunto de dogma y puntos sustanciales de nuestra religion se le dará curso en la debida forma ; pero como el Nuncio ha caído enfermo y no lo ha presentado de oficio, no ha habido aun lugar de hacer formalmente lo que corresponde " (Wall to Tanucci, July 28, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092). What Wall meant by " due form " was the royal *Exequatur*, as Pallavicini wrote to the Secretary of State on August 24, 1761 (Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 286, *loc. cit.*).

[6] Decree of August 10, 1761. *Wall to the President of the Council of Castile, August 10, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*; *Wall to Roda, August 11, 1761, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 42.

Bonifaz retired without delay to the Benedictine monastery of Sopetrán, near Guadalajara,[1] whence, on August 31st, he wrote a humble letter begging the king's pardon.[2] As soon as he received this letter, Charles III. instructed the Council of Castile to retract the order of banishment.[3] On being thanked by the Council of the Inquisition for his act of grace,[4] he advised it not to forget this mark of his displeasure and never to allow itself even to dream of disobedience.[5]

This incident provided the Ministers with an opportunity of executing their designs against the liberty of the Church.[6]

[1] Miguélez, 286.

[2] *Quintano Bonifaz to Wall, August 31, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*; Miguélez, 286; Reusch, *Index*, II., 767.

[3] *Wall to the President of the Council of Castile, September 2, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*; *Wall to Tanucci, September 8, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092.

[4] *September 5, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*

[5] " *. . . pero que no se olvide este amago de mi enojo en soñando inovediencia " ([September 8, 1761], Nunziat. di Spagna, 286, *loc. cit.*); *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 8, 1761, *ibid.* The Pope had also intervened on behalf of the Grand Inquisitor (*Clement XIII. to Charles III., August 27, 1761, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*). The nuncio was also to be humiliated (*Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 15, 1761, *ibid.*; *Wall to Roda, September 22, 1761, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 42).

[6] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 22 and 29 and October 6, 1761, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 286, *loc. cit.* Tanucci wrote at that time: " *Non dubito, che il Consiglio di Castiglia esaminerà profondamente la materia di quella parte della Regalia del Re, che appartiene all' Exequatur e all' obbligo di mostrarsi prima e manifestarsi al Re qualunque stabilimento ecclesiastico, anche appartenente al solo spirituale e a domma, essendo il Re capo della casa e obbligato a guardarla da qualunque insidia e discordia, per comando di Dio indubitato, e deve rendergli conto immediato d'averlo eseguito. Questo conto non potrebbero li sovrani renderlo a Dio, se dopo aver dalla storia saputo, quante insidie sono state dai Papi e altri ecclesiastici tese ai sovrani e ai popoli, e quanto abuso per interessi loro profani abbiano fatto della loro autorità

The Council of Castile was instructed to give its opinion as to how further transgressions of the kind might be avoided in the future.[1] The result of these deliberations appeared on January 18th, 1762, in the form of a Pragmatic Sanction, by which all decrees from Rome, except Briefs and dispensations in matters of conscience, were thenceforward to be subject to the royal *Exequatur*. Before they were forwarded to their destinations, all instructions to ecclesiastical tribunals, prelates, corporations, etc., were to be examined by the Council of Castile to see if they contained anything prejudicial to the Concordat, the royal prerogatives, or the customs, morals, and peace of the realm.[2] At the same time the Grand Inquisitor was ordered not to publish any Briefs or Bulls from Rome without special permission from the king. If a book was banned, the Spanish Inquisition had also to examine the work in question and, if necessary, to condemn it on its own authority without mentioning the Roman prohibition. Before such decrees were issued the royal assent was to be obtained and the defence of the authors concerned was to be heard.[3]

spirituale, non curassero di vedere quel che da questi si fa nello stato. Non sono nuove alli Spagnuoli tali massime di stato. Li scrittori di Spagna le anno insegnate alle altre nazioni, le quali volentieri per ciò leggono li Salgado, Solorzan, Belluga, Bobadilla, Covarruvias, etc. Passa per un capo d'opera contro la rapacità della Dataria e Segreteria dei Brevi di Roma il famoso libretto di Cordova Giovanni Chumazzero, al quale non potè rispondere il cardinal Bellarmino . . . " (to Wall, October 13, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6092).

[1] **Consulta* of the Council of Castile, August 27 and October 31, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*

[2] Ferrer del Rio, I., 394 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 115 *seq.*; *Charles III. to the Council of Castile, November 27, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 286, *loc. cit.* The Pragmatic of January 18, 1762 (printed) in the Arch. general, Madrid, Estado, 2872.

[3] *Wall to the Grand Inquisitor, November 27, 1761, Nunziat. di Spagna, 287, *loc. cit.*; *Wall to Pallavicini, November 27, 1761 *ibid.*

To Clement XIII. an arrogant message was sent by Charles III. As the Pope had expressed his regret that the publication of the decree issued by the Congregation of the Index had been accompanied by certain incidents, and the nuncio had apologized, he, the king, was perfectly ready to forget what had happened. To spare the Holy See similar embarrassments in the future, and to ensure prompt obedience for its lawful commands, he had, after consulting his Council, drafted some regulations whose chief object was to uphold the respect due to the Holy See and to his Holiness.[1]

Tanucci welcomed this new Pragmatic Sanction with delight ; to him it was the sunrise heralding a day of happiness. From now on sovereign lords would acknowledge no superior but God alone.[2] Deeply distressed by this fresh step along the road of regalism, Clement XIII. appealed to the king,[3] protesting against the innovation and its fatal consequences. He appealed to his piety to annul, or at least to modify and correct, the decree. But all his protests were in vain. The king's reply [4] was a veiled negative, with complaints about the abuses which would occur without an *Exequatur*. To Tanucci he wrote [5] that Rome did not realize that times had changed ; but there was one man at least who knew what was due to the Pope and what to the king. In spite of all this, all hope was not yet abandoned in Rome. To give more force to his efforts the Pope sent Father Monsagrati to Madrid with letters to the Queen-Mother and other influential persons.[6] The king's confessor, the Franciscan Osma, was urgently

[1] *December 1, 1761, *ibid.*, 431, and Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 42.

[2] *To Wall, January 26, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6093 ; *to Orsini, February 13, 1762, *ibid.*, 5976 ; *Wall to Tanucci, January 5, 1762.

[3] *On January 28, 1762, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Of February 16, 1762, *ibid.*, 287.

[5] On November 2, 1762, in Ferrer del Rio, I., 396.

[6] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, November 11 and December 23, 1762, and January 6, 1763, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431 and 432 respectively, *loc. cit.*

requested [1] to do all in his power to bring about the withdrawal of an edict containing restrictions that cut so deeply into the freedom of the Church and the Apostolic See. These efforts were attended with success. By a decree of July 5th, 1763, Charles III. abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction on the ground that it contained many erroneous and strange interpretations that were not in accordance with his actual intentions.[2] On being informed that the Sanction had been suspended,[3] the Pope expressed his heartfelt thanks.[4]

[1] *On June 2, 1763, Arch. general, Madrid, Estado, 2854.

[2] **Ibid.*, 2872 ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 5 and 12, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 290, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Charles III. to Clement XIII., July 12, 1763, Nunziat. di Spagna, 290, *loc. cit.*

[4] *On July 28, 1763, *ibid.*, 432 ; *Charles III. to Clement XIII., August 16, 1763, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, July 23, 1763, Registro di cifre, *ibid.* In Naples the Papal prohibition and the Brief commanding preference to be given to the Roman Catechism did not receive the *Exequatur* ; moreover, at Tanucci's instigation, the Jesuit Sanchez de Luna, who had produced the fifteenth volume of *La verità difesa*, was banished, and the work was prohibited : " *Qui non si è dato l'Exequatur nè alla proibizione del Catechismo nè all' Enciclica, nè alla tradizione del Catechismo Romano, e forse non si darà. Abbiamo bensì proibito il libro dello sfrattato P. Sanchez " (Tanucci to Bottari, August 22, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602). Charles III. finally advised him to solve the difficulty by banning both the Brief and Mésenguy's Catechism on the score of their lacking the *Exequatur* (*to Tanucci, December 29, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6045). By a decree of the Spanish Inquisition of August 18, 1762, a sermon on probabilism preached by the Jesuit Neumayr in Augsburg was condemned and an order was given for the expurgation of the *Praxis confessarii* by Alphonsus Liguori (printed, Nunziat. di Spagna, 289, *loc. cit.*). Tanucci *wrote to Majo on April 8, 1760, " Le stampe di Lugano sono ristampe di libri contrari alla Compagnia. Fossombrone è finto. La stampa è di Venezia, ove è stato punito il revisore dei libri favorevoli alla Compagnia " (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5961). For Neumayr, see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.[2], 187.

While Rome rejoiced, bitter disappointment reigned in the camp of the regalists. Wall, who shortly before had written to Tanucci that the only way to treat the Pope was to follow Melchior Cano's advice—kiss his feet and bind his hands [1]—was deeply offended,[2] and on August 21st, 1763, he tendered his resignation on the grounds of ill-health, especially of his failing eyesight.[3] His resignation was accepted, and the regalists lost one of their chief supporters.[4] Tanucci remarked in disgust that the king had lost much ground on the way to glory.[5]

But whatever fears Tanucci may have had of an imminent change of policy soon proved to be unfounded. The king appointed as Wall's successor the Genoese Grimaldi, who was then ambassador in Paris. Grimaldi, if more pliant than his predecessor, was no less regalistically minded.[6] "On the day when princes open their eyes," he wrote to Tanucci,[7] "they will admit that it lies with them to force the Roman Court to give them back what it has wrested from them. . . . God grant that the happy day will soon come when the Catholic part of Europe will break the fetters with which ignorance has held it down so long." In the autumn of the same year he expressed himself even more pointedly.[8] After agreeing with Tanucci's views of the "Roman abuses and acts of usurpation

[1] *Wall to Tanucci, July 7, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6094.

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 12 and 26, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 290, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, August 23, 1763, *ibid.*; *Charles III. to Tanucci, October 18, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6049.

[4] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, August 30, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 290, *loc. cit.*

[5] To Losada, September 27, 1763, in Ferrer del Rio, I., 400, n. 1.

[6] *Grimaldi to Roda, October 18, 1763, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 38.

[7] On March 15, 1764, in Rousseau, I., 118, n. 3. *Cf.* Grimaldi to Tanucci, June 26, 1764, *ibid.*

[8] *On September 25, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6096.

which hold the Catholic peoples in bondage," he proceeded to say: "I have observed that the prosperity or penury of States is proportionate to their dependence on Rome. The reason is as clear as can be, and I am only surprised that the cause is not removed by the roots. My master the king sees this only too well; and he has often made me aware of the fact, the last time being when he heard your Excellency's letter being read." To Tanucci's repeated demands that he should undertake the reform of Church affairs in Spain, Grimaldi replied [1] that he had already made his plans but that he had to proceed gradually and unobtrusively. The trouble was not so much with the secular as with the regular clergy.

The Pope's joy at the withdrawal of the Pragmatic Sanction was not to last for long. In the following year the Fiscal Carrasco put forward a proposal in the Council of Castile to curtail the Church's powers of acquiring property by extending to the other parts of the country the so-called right of amortization held by the monarch in the kingdom of Valencia.[2] It was suggested to the king himself that he should restrict acquisitions in mortmain.[3] Although these efforts were not immediately successful they revealed the spirit of the Ministers, who vied with Tanucci in opposing the excessively large numbers of the clergy and the supposedly enormous possessions of the monasteries.[4] The *Treatise on the Royal Right of Amortization* which was published by the Fiscal Campomanes a year later purposed to discuss the Church's encroachments on the economic life of the community and to show how the wealth of the religious Orders could be held in check.[5]

A further attempt to restrict the Church's freedom was made by the Spanish Government in 1765, when a new nuncio was

[1] *On November 6, 1764, *ibid.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 10, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 292, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Representacion al Rey*, June 1, 1764, *ibid.*

[4] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, November 27, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6096.

[5] *Tratado de la regalia de amortizacion.* *Cf.* below, p. 41.

due to be appointed to Madrid. The nuncios had already been described by Roda in 1759 as the spies of a foreign power,[1] and Grimaldi had admitted that it had often been intended in Spain to shake off the yoke of the nunciature but that all attempts had been frustrated by the country's own weakness.[2] These views made little immediate headway but efforts were made to exert the greatest possible influence on the choice of a Papal envoy.

Towards the end of 1765, when the nuncio Pallavicini, who had proved unequal to his task, was about to be relieved, at the Pope's desire, Grimaldi took the liberty of indicating that one name on the list that had been sent [3] (that of Monsignore Lucini) would be acceptable.[4] The Pope objected to this impertinence,[5] observing that the list of possible nuncios was sent to princes, not that they should select the one most acceptable to them, but to give the Governments an opportunity of rejecting a *persona non grata*.[6] Grimaldi was so

[1] " *. . . los Nuncios, que en substancia no son mas que unos espias para el caracter de Ministros, y en lo demas unos jueces estrangeros, que es contra todas las leyes civiles y politicas." To Wall [1759 ?], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4966.

[2] *To Tanucci, July 31, 1764, *ibid.*, 6096. In 1764 the king demanded to be shown the list of candidates before the appointment of a new Auditor. *Roda to Grimaldi, May 17, 1764, *ibid.*, 5109; *Roda's **aide-mémoire* of May 24, 1764, Nunziat. di Spagna, 432, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Roda, May 24, 1764, *ibid.*; *Roda to Torrigiani, July 4, 1764, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Roda, July 18, 1764, *ibid.*; *Roda to Torrigiani, August 28, 1764, *ibid.*; **aide-mémoire*, August 28, 1764, *ibid.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, December 25, 1765, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 432, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, January 14, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 65/4.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 6 and 13, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, copies in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

[6] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, March 13, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

angered by the Pope's attitude that he threatened to close the nunciature.[1] But Rome stood firm; the negotiations came to nothing and Pallavicini remained at his post. Possibly the Government delayed the new appointment for fear lest another nuncio might not be so easy to handle in connection with the expulsion of the Jesuits, which was already under consideration.

(3)

The Spanish statesmen being determined to obstruct and exclude the Papacy as much as possible, they were inevitably committed to the task of securing for the Spanish Jesuits the fate that had befallen their brethren in Portugal and France. For in their eyes the Society was the chief champion of the Papal claims.

Charles III.'s adviser, Tanucci, gave splendid testimony in favour of individual Jesuits. "Every Jesuit," he wrote, "with whom I have come in contact has been, to my knowledge, an excellent priest, full of charity, prudence, and every Christian virtue."[2] "All, or at any rate most of them," he said on another occasion,[3] "are men of sound morals. The majority, at least nine-tenths of them, are good, blameless, well-behaved, and honest folk."[4] He saw, however, no contradiction in accusing these individually good men of holding as a body principles which were highly injurious to religion, morals, states, and princes.[5] The evil lay in the government of the Company and the spirit that drove the

[1] *To Azpuru, March 4, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 65/4.

[2] "Ottimi sacerdoti ho sempre conosciuto i particolari Gesuiti, che io ho trattato, pieni di carità, di prudenza e di tutte le virtù cristiane" (*to Majo, September 5, 1758, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5965). DUHR, *Tanucci*, 303.

[3] *To Losada, November 3, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5971.

[4] "Moltissimi di loro, e senza dubbio nove decimi, sono buone persone e innocenti" (*to Losada, September 23, 1760, *ibid.*, 5964; *to Yaci, May 26, 1761, *ibid.*, 5970).

[5] *To Squillace, January 1, 1765, *ibid.*, 5991.

governmental machine. This spirit had only one aim—wealth and power—and the Jesuits' desire was to be masters of the Church and the world, to weave intrigues at Court, and to procure pliant tools.[1] They were an intriguing *canaille*;[2] wherever they appeared, Court, State, and people were lost. Their conduct was devilish, their morals Machiavellian;[3] everything was arranged by them to satisfy their selfish desires and their arrogance. In order to become rich and powerful they made morality lax.

But Tanucci's chief charge against the Jesuits and what he feared most was their fourth vow: obedience to the Pope. In attacking the Jesuits he was striking at the Pope. According to him it was with the help of the Jesuits that the Popes were trying to disseminate, at Court and in the confessional, principles prejudicial to the rights of princes and States. Although Christ had given to all the Apostles the authority to bind and to loose in the realm of conscience, the Jesuit restricted this authority to the Pope and for his benefit extended it beyond the realm of conscience. The only object of their numerous sodalities for high-class ladies and gentlemen was to get to the bottom of every negotiation and secret, and to report everything to their General or the Pope.[4] According to Tanucci, the greatest crime of the Jesuits was not their lax morality or their false doctrine of grace—all that had existed before their time—but the creation by their Bellarmines and Pallavicinis of a hierarchic system

[1] "Il male sta in chi governa la Compagnia. Da questa stessa bontà universale dei loro sudditi traggono i loro superiori mille utilità pel corpo tutto, e questo corpo in capo loro ha da aver il dominio del mondo," etc. (*to Losada, September 23, 1760, *ibid.*, 5964); *to Yaci, May 26, 1761, *ibid.*, 5970.

[2] "canaglia intrigante" (*to Bottari, July 25, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[3] "Se entrano in essi [into matters of State], è perduta la corte, lo stato e il popolo. La lor condotta è diabolica, la morale il più velenoso macchiavellismo . . ." (*to Yaci, March 18, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5961).

[4] *To Losada, November 3, 1761, *ibid.* 5971.

of religion which was essentially worldly, political, ostentatious, and tyrannical, and which had released the supreme Bishop and his Court from the obligations of honour and holiness.[1] All who had mixed with Jesuits and knew them thoroughly could only describe them as ambitious, avaricious, and seditious betrayers and corrupters of princes. They were the emissaries of the Papacy, an institution which did not derive from Christ and St. Peter but which had been formed in the last thousand years principally out of atheism, piracy, cyclopism, and chaffering in religion.[2] Whoever did not speak of the Jesuits as he did had been either misinformed or hoodwinked [3]; their well-wishers must be either simpletons or corrupted rogues.[4]

Such being his sentiments, it stood to reason that Tanucci should try to direct his royal master's policy towards the Jesuits along the lines laid down by Pombal, though he disapproved of the barbarous features of Pombal's measures.[5]

[1] *To Bottari, August 4, 1764, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602.

[2] " *Chi li conosce a dentro, chi gli ha trattati, non può non caratterizarli per ambiziosi, rapaci, sediziosi, traditori dei sovrani et guastatori, ed emissari di quel Papato, che non è di Gesù Cristo, nè di s. Pietro, ma di quello che si è formato colla sostanza d'ateismo, di pirateria, di ciclopismo e mercatura di religione negli ultimi mille anni dell'era cristiana " (to Catanti, March 7, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5993).

[3] *To Losada, January 17, 1764, *ibid.*, 5988. Tanucci drew exhaustively from defamatory writings against the Order. *On November 28, 1761, he asked Galiani for the anti-Jesuit brochures which had appeared in France (*ibid.*, 5971) and on January 5, 1762, he asked Finocchietti to send him copies of Sarpi, Boccaccio, and Lucrezio, and Passionei's written opinion on Bellarmine (*ibid.*, 5976).

[4] *To Bottari, November 21, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602.

[5] " Quel mandare nello Stato ecclesiastico li Gesuiti che non vogliono [the Portuguese] ne' loro stati, è un altra stravaganza. Un sovrano può sfrattar dal suo stato una Religione, ma non portarla in un luogo determinato carcerata fuor del suo stato " (*to Wall, August 26, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6091).

But in Spain of all countries the destruction of the Society of Jesus was no easy matter. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the country which had given birth to the Society's founder had been regarded as its citadel. In the Provinces of Aragon, Castile, Toledo, and Andalusia there were roughly 120 establishments, with 2,792 members. In the oversea Provinces (Mexico, New Granada, Quito, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, and the Philippines) there were 2,652 members.[1] The education of youth was to a large extent in Jesuit hands. In the mother country there were over a hundred colleges, some of which were really magnificent buildings, containing pupils who were mostly scions of noble houses. The Colegio Imperial in Madrid was reserved exclusively for the aristocracy ; here the future grandees were trained in all the accomplishments expected of a perfect *caballero*. Overseas a chain of flourishing colleges stretched from the Argentine to Mexico and California. There were also at this time many Jesuits whose names were honoured in the scientific and literary world.[2] Large congregations were attracted by such popular preachers as Calatayud,[3] and year after year missionaries voyaged across the seas to win the Indians and the negroes for the Faith. Equally active, in a quieter way, especially among the educated and those of noble birth, were the confessors of the Society.[4] Both Philip V. and Ferdinand VI.

[1] The number of the establishments has been given as 120, 146, and 148 ; the estimates of the number of the members vary between 4,908 and 5,444. The number of the exiles who reached Corsica in 1767 is said to have amounted to 4,318.

[2] CIAN, *L'immigrazione dei Gesuiti spagnuoli letterati in Italia*, Torino, 1895 (from Accad. R. delle scienze di Torino, 1894–5) ; GALLERANI-MADARIAGA, *Jesuitas espulsos de España literatos en Italia*, Salamanca, 1897, 65 *seqq.* ; NAVARRETE, *De viris illustribus in Castella Veteri Soc. Iesu ingressis et in Italia extinctis*, Bologna, 1793 ; ROUSSEAU, I., 134 *seq.* ; *Civ. Catt.*, Series 16, vol. 5 (1896), 152 *seqq.*

[3] [RODELES], *Vida del P. Pedro Calatayud*, Madrid, 1882.

[4] DANVILA Y COLLADO, II., 581.

had placed themselves under the spiritual direction of Jesuits.[1] Charles III., being a member of the Third Order, had chosen a Franciscan as the keeper of his conscience,[2] but his mother, Elizabeth Farnese,[3] and his consort, Maria Amalie of Saxony,[4] confessed to Jesuits. Jesuits were employed by the king to instruct his sons: Ferdinand IV. of Naples, not yet of age, Prince Charles of the Asturias, and the other Infantes.[5] Since the opinions of the king's confessors on ecclesiastico-political affairs and on appointments to the higher ecclesiastical posts was of great influence, their nomination was regarded by the nuncios as a highly important matter of State.[6] Thus, Enrico Enriquez, before his departure from Madrid, recommended the Cardinal Secretary of State [7] to send his successor a special Brief for the royal confessor, whose power, especially in Church affairs, exceeded that of any other person.

The difficulty of abolishing a body that was so firmly rooted in the life of the nation was fully appreciated by Tanucci. He therefore began by preparing the ground for the execution of his plans. He had already sown doubt and suspicion in his master's heart in Naples,[8] so that afterwards

[1] Rousseau, I., 135.

[2] *Ibid.*; Ferrer del Rio, I., 397, II., 180.

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, June 8, 1762, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 288, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Ricci to Savastano, October 25, 1760, *Epist. Gen. secretae*, in Jesuit possession. The queen died on September 27, 1760.

[5] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 14, 1762, and April 5, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 289, 290, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Enriquez to Valenti, April 17, 1747, *ibid.*, 430; *Valenti to Spinola, November 6, 1755, *ibid.*, 428. *Cf.* *Valenti to Enriquez, August 15, September 5, 12, and 30, 1744, and July 13, 1747, *ibid.*, 430.

[7] *On January 1, 1764, *ibid.*, 256.

[8] "Allí [in Naples] el Marqués de Tanucci creyó pensión de su lealtad y su celo instruirle oportunamente sobre las máximas de estos Regulares... y quando vino a ocupar el trono de España los conocía perfectamente, acataba la vida ejemplar de los virtuosos y desaprobaba la ambición e inquietud de los intrigantes" (Ferrer del Rio, II., 180).

he was able to assert that King Charles knew the Jesuits through and through, that they would find it impossible to win him over, and that the king's confessor was not a Jesuit and never would be.[1] Tanucci then sought to spread dislike and distrust of the Society among the royal entourage. In his correspondence he utilized current events for this purpose. That many people in Portugal were irritated by the Jesuits, he wrote to Wall, was to be explained by certain of their principles, which really could not be accepted by royal Courts.[2] In its constitution and in the whole of its nature the Society was opposed to the rights of princes.[3] It sowed dissension everywhere, and at last men were beginning to see what they had never seen before and had not wanted to see.[4] The measures taken by the French Parlements against the Jesuits did them honour; he could not understand the sympathy which had been shown the Jesuits in many quarters.[5]

In a confidential letter to Wall, Tanucci recommended him to procure a copy of Chalotais' *Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jésuites*. It was a masterpiece in which the real features of the Society might be seen as in a bright mirror. In this work it was shown as clear as daylight how the doctrine of

[1] " *Le rendo tuttc le grazie pel nuovo libro contro li benemeriti della Chiesa... Il Re li conosce e non lo potranno mai conquistare " (to Bottari, April 29, 1760, Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, Cod., 1602). " *È probabile che vaglia sotto il nuovo governo la verità e la giustizia, che sono incompatibili co' Gesuiti. Il confessore del Re non è nè sarà Gesuita " (to Bottari, September 11, 1759, *ibid.*).

[2] " *Vedo il Portogallo molto inquieto e molto irritato co' Gesuiti. Veramente alcune massime, che si leggono nei loro libri, non possono essere accctte nelle corti de' sovrani " (to Wall, March 27, 1759, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6090).

[3] *To Bottari, December 6, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602.

[4] *To the same, September 11, 1759, *ibid.*

[5] " La cacciata dei Gesuiti farà a la Francia grand' onore. Non intendo la compassione " (*to Galiani, March 31, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5988).

regicide was a necessary consequence of the Constitutions. This part of the book was a revelation. He himself had already noted this deduction in the works of Bellarmine, which he had been given to read in his youth. The Minister was not only to read the book himself but also to ask the king to take cognizance of it. It was worthy of being read by a wise ruler who was striving after goodness and was the enemy of all falsity.[1] Wall was able to give Tanucci the reassuring information that he had already examined the book and that he also was convinced that the knowledge of its important contents ought not to be withheld from the king.[2] Further steps

[1] "*Io non ho veduta cosa più seria, più vera, più chiara, più sincera, più efficace. È un capo d'opera e lo specchio più lucido ove si veda la Compagnia... Vedrà V. E. la dottrina esecranda del regicidio, che nella Compagnia è una consequenza necessaria delle sue Costituzioni. Questa parte del libro è evangelo. Io ho veduto tutto quel processo nelle opere di Bellarmino, che mi furon fatte leggere nella mia adolescenza" (to Wall, March 30, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6093). "*Mi rallegro, che V. E. abbia letto il 'Conto reso delle Costituzioni dei Gesuiti' dal Procuratore generale del Parlamento di Bretagna. Il pregio, che io aveva trovato, era la brevità, la chiarezza, l'efficacia, la serietà colla quale aveva trattata quel Procuratore una materia con tanta fraude e industria dai Gesuiti intricata, ai quali è riuscito il coprire per tanto tempo, ed ascondere ai sovrani lo spirito di sedizione, di avarizia, di ambizione enorme, di un corpo insidioso, che stava e sta dentro lo stato unicamente per divorarlo e sovvertirlo, e per toglierne la religione e la disciplina. Gli estratti, che della dottrina dei Gesuiti ha il Parlamento di Parigi presentati al Re, son bastanti a disingannare ognuno" (to Wall, May 11, 1762, *ibid.*).

[2] "*He leído el librito del Procurador general intitulado 'Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jésuites'; a la verdad merece bien los epitetos con que lo califica el discernimiento y juicio de V. E., y es digno como V. E. me añade, de que no se oculte su lectura e importante contenido a la comprension del Rey. V. E. me encarga que yo lo lea, y puedo decirle que queda obedecido anticipadamente a su precepto, porque desde luego que se publicó me lo remitieron de Paris, y que formo

were proposed by Tanucci two months later in a letter to the major-domo Losada. The king had been appointed by God for great things and for the good of nations. Accordingly he hoped that God would also grant him the necessary time, opportunity, strength, and enlightenment to cleanse Spain and the Two Sicilies of the Jesuits and their collegians. He was well aware of the difficulties due to the deeply rooted prejudices of the Spanish people, but they could be removed. The best way of spreading enlightenment was to distribute small popular booklets in Spanish by good theologians of other Orders. In these little books the Jesuit doctrine, which was so utterly opposed to the Gospels and only pleasing to the morally lax, was to be compared with the true Christian doctrine.[1] "I should regret having to pass into the next world," Tanucci had written two years earlier to the Neapolitan envoy in Madrid, "with the knowledge that I was leaving behind me this [Jesuitical] poison in the house of my honoured lord." [2]

When, in spite of these tips and admonitions, Spain continued to delay in beginning the work of purification, Tanucci wrote that strong arms were still greatly lacking there. The first task was to drive all these devotees out of

(aunque con mucha menos erudicion y luces) el mismo concepto que V. E...." (Wall to Tanucci, April 20, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6093).

[1] "Spero, che [Dio] darà a S. M. il tempo... da purgar la Spagna e le Sicilie dai Collegiali e dai Gesuiti. Mi fo carico delle difficoltà e de pregiudizi radicati profondamente nella nazione spagnuola. La via d'illuminarla sono i piccoli libri fatti in lingua spagnuola da buoni teologi Domenicani, Cassinesi, Agostiniani, Filippini, colla vera dottrina cristiana comparata colla gesuitica, che è tutta contraria all' Evangelo e favorevole ai rilasciati" (*to Losada, June 22, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5977); Rousseau, I., 18, n. 1. Tanucci had a series of writings of this kind published under the title of *Inquietudini gesuitiche* (4 vols.; 1764–69), the place of publication and the name of the publisher being omitted. They were printed in the Royal Printing Office in Naples (*Tanucci to Grimaldi, August 8, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102).

[2] *To Yaci, March 18, 1760, *ibid.*, 5961.

their positions, and to clean out these Augean stables would take years ;[1] for the Court, the Ministry, and the clergy of Spain could not be transformed in a twinkling ; at least half of them would have to be changed before the work could be taken in hand. Former Governments were to blame. Once the king's sons were of age and his mother dead, there would be no more Jesuits in the palace. It would probably be another twenty-five years before the Ministry and its principles were changed.[2] He himself would most likely not live to see that joyful day, for the edifice was a large one, with deep and strong foundations ; but fall it would, if not in his lifetime. Meanwhile he was watching the Portuguese, the Parlements, and the Jansenists working hard to purge the old leaven out of the Christian people.[3] It is a matter of conjecture whether the Minister had a strict regard for historical truth or whether he intended merely to create an impression, when he wrote that a certain Power had raised the question in Naples of joining that State in driving the Jesuits out of both their countries.[4] In any case, Tanucci may claim

[1] " Vedrò volentieri Mons. Caraffa tanto studioso e desideroso della luce e del vero. Come tale, e come suo amico potrà di me far l' uso, che gli occorra. Pover' uomo ! Quanto Ulisse, e quanto Giobbe gli sovrasta, ove regnano i Gesuiti, e regneranno per tutto il secolo. Portogallo ha emendato, come voleva Marziale far alle poesie di colui una litura. Francia è stata più rituale, ne ha pagata qualche pena, e Dio sa, se altra resti a pagare. Spagna cunctatur ; manca ivi molto ancora in genere di braccia, ma medita. Non mi giungerebbe nuovo, se dura la pace, un concilio generale, che finisca l'abbozzo di Trento. Cacciar dalle cariche tutti li devoti, sarebbe per qualche anno in Spagna una pulitura della stalla d' Augia " (*to Bottari, February 26, 1763, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[2] *To Centomani, September 8, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5990.

[3] *To Bottari, May 14, 1763, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[4] " *Posso dirle, che da qualche sovranità siamo stati interrogati, se volessimo unirci con essa nel cacciare dai respettivi paesi li Gesuiti. Veramente ognuno è nauseato di loro dopo averli scoperti satelliti e guastatori della corte di Roma, e traditori di

the distinction of having helped more than anyone to steer the Spanish Government into the anti-Jesuit channel.[1]

The strong arms desired by Tanucci were soon available. To his great satisfaction the new Fiscal appointed to the Council of Castile in 1762 was Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes.[2] Beside his professional attainments Campomanes' historical and linguistic knowledge was not inconsiderable, and, following the prevailing current of the period, he devoted much of his time to political economy, whereby with a dilettantish trustfulness he, along with others, relied on the efficacy of theories. He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin and a correspondent of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, but above all he was a thoroughgoing regalist and anti-Jesuit.[3] When in 1764 some Jesuits from the French Provinces of the Society fled into Spain to avoid taking the oath prescribed by the Parlements, and the question of giving them asylum was discussed in the Council of Castile, Campomanes, in conjunction with Valle y Salazar, spoke in favour of their being barred from the country.[4] His motion, however, was

tutte le altre corti, e seduttori delle nazioni contro li sovrani e li magistrati, finalmente sostentori delle dottrine ereticali di Gregorio VII. e di altri tali nella materia giurisdizionale. Lascio la scandalosa morale, l'avarizia, l'ambizione, la cabala, che non manca mai, ove il Gesuita si possa ficcare" (to Centomani, August 11, 1764, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5990).

[1] "Au surplus la main de Tanucci se retrouve jusque dans l'affaire des Jésuites d'Espagne; et ce n'est pas à son insu que peu à peu le Conseil se peuple d'adversaires des Jésuites" (Rousseau, I., Introd. xi).

[2] "*Lo sapeva per buon giurisconsulto, ma non sapeva, che ei non fosse del partito dei Gesuiti. Per non esser di tal partito bisogna buona dottrina, e inclinazione forte alla verità e all'honestà. Ove son queste due qualità, nulla possono li Gesuiti" (to Losada, August 10, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5977).

[3] Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 134 *seqq.*

[4] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 10 and 24, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 292, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* our account, XXXVI., 488.

lost.[1] In the following year he published his *Treatise on the Royal Right of Amortization*, a juridical compilation having as its object the restriction of the acquisition of property in mortmain. The work was frequently reissued and it served as a textbook for subsequent amortization laws in Spain.[2] The Marchese Grimaldi was no less regalistically minded.[3]

But all the above were surpassed in their hatred of Rome and the Jesuits by Manuel de Roda y Arrieta.[4] Sent to Rome in 1758 as agent-general (*agente de preces*) and procurator for Spain,[5] he was provisionally appointed as the Spanish representative to the Holy See in 1760, on the death of Cardinal Portocarrero.[6] Here he fell completely under the influence of the Jansenist party and became a close friend of the Augustinian General Vasquez, an ardent opponent of the

[1] **El Consejo en el 23 de Agosto de 1764*, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 687; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, August 14, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 292, *loc. cit.*

[2] The complete title in MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, III., 136. In 1825 the book, which had received the approbation of five clerics, was forbidden in Rome (REUSCH, *Index*, II., 937). In 1767 an Italian translation was made at the order of the Venetian Senate (*ibid.*). LEONHARD (*Agrarpolitik*, 97 *seq.*) describes the treatise as the standard work of regalism, full of bombastic, sonorous, and meaningless rhetoric.

[3] *Charles III. to Tanucci, October 18, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6049: *Grimaldi to Roda, October 18, 1763, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 44.

[4] " *Roda era uomo probo, odiava li Gesuiti, sapeva Roma da dentro e da fuori. Sicchè era un buon ministro di giustizia e di Chiesa " (Tanucci to Catanti, September 30, 1782, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6039).

[5] *Wall to Portocarrero, February 28, 1758, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, Reales Ordenes, 40; *Aróstegui to Wall, May 25, 1758, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5011.

[6] *Charles III. to Clement XIII. and *Wall to Roda, July 8, 1760, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, *loc. cit.*, 41.

Jesuits. He kept up a frequent correspondence with Vasquez after his return to Spain.[1] Similarity of thought also brought him into close touch with Tanucci, who respected and valued him highly.[2] The visit which Roda paid the influential Minister before his departure from Rome gave Tanucci the greatest pleasure,[3] and it also occasioned the surmise that it was then that they agreed upon the plan for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain.[4] Under the influence of these friends Roda became, in Tanucci's words, "the bitter persecutor of the Roman fables and the Jesuits."[5] Azara, who shared his opinions, facetiously said of him that he wore a pair of spectacles through which he could see nothing but Jesuits and

[1] This *correspondence (1765–1775) in Madrid, Bibl. S. Isidro, Cartas de Vasquez, 3 vols. (probably incomplete). *Cf.* Jemolo, 117 *seq.*

[2] "Io lo amo, lo stimo, lo venero, ed era nella lusinga di ch'egli ne fusse persuaso" (*Tanucci to Bottari, April 5, 1763, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1602).

[3] "Fu qui il buon Roda; li momenti furon pieni di soavità; io gli versai nel seno tutto il più riposto della mia coscienza," etc. Roda was "costì persecutore agro delle favole Romanensi e dei Gesuiti" (*to Bottari, March 23, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5992).

[4] "*Nulla posson farle li Gesuiti di male. Fra li cardini della vita sua non ne è alcuno amico dei Gesuiti. Roda ha in Roma, essendo Ministro interino per sei anni di Spagna, esercitata un'aperta inimicizia colli Gesuiti, ed è stato fatto ultimamente dal Re Cattolico segretario della Giustizia, della Grazia e della Chiesa. Rida dunque, stia tranquillo..." (Tanucci to Catanti, March 16, 1765. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5992). "*Desidero alla Maestà Sua una ventina di Roda, e altrettanti Campomanes" (Tanucci to Losada, March 26, 1765, *ibid.*). "*Non tempo avverso, ma stanchezza e bisogno di riposo trattenne il buon Roda otto giorni in Genova, e la cortesia di Cornesor [Cornejo ?]. Il bene, che ei farà in Spagna, non sarà alla pubblica cognizione, che dopo qualche tempo. Quelli, che lo vogliono veder subito, non sanno la condotta d'un ministro con un Monarca" (Tanucci to Centomani, April 6, 1765, *ibid.*).

[5] See above, n. 3.

Colegiales mayores.[1] At the time when the Jesuits were being expelled from Portugal he is said to have told the Cardinals Passionei and Gian Francesco Albani that on the death of Queen Elizabeth Farnese the same thing would happen in Spain.[2]

Rome would have been glad to see this hostile Ambassador removed, for during the dispute about the Pragmatic Sanction [3] he had obtained possession of a secret Papal Brief addressed to the king's confessor, Osma, and had published it with the object of wrecking the negotiations.[4] Twice the nuncio Pallavicini was instructed by Torrigiani to ask discreetly for an envoy of high rank, which would have meant the removal of the obnoxious Roda,[5] but the attempt was unsuccessful. Then, on January 17th, 1765, the Minister of Justice, Muñiz, Count of Campo Villar, died, and on the same morning Charles III. appointed Roda as his successor; this choice, the king thought, would please Naples as much as it would displease Rome.[6] Both the friends and the enemies

[1] Roda, who in his schooldays was a *manteista* (a sort of charity-boy), nursed a grudge against the *Colegiales mayores* i.e. the favoured scholars of the upper classes. He accused them of unjustly monopolizing the higher posts in the civil service, of barring the way of capable officials of the middle classes, and, thinking only of preserving their privileges, of opposing every kind of progress (MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, III., 139). "Homo hic [Roda] . . . qui e tenui fortuna cum fuisset, in aulae lucem opera Iesuitarum productus, sese externe amicum eorum ferebat," etc. (CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 96 *seq.*). *Cf.* FERNAN-NUÑEZ, I., 206 *seq.*

[2] CORDARA, *loc. cit.*, 98; RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 2.

[3] See above, p. 25.

[4] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, November 11, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 16 and March 24, 1763, *ibid.*, 432.

[6] "No quiero dejar de decirte que aviendo muerto mi Segretario de Gracia y Justicia Muñiz (Colegial), he nombrado para tal empleo a Don Manuel de Roda, lo que creo que no te parecerà mal, y espero que me servirá bien, como lo ha hecho en Roma,

of the Jesuits regarded this step as a significant change of policy.[1] The Jesuit General, Ricci, unaware that the appointment had been made at the king's own desire despite numerous counter-efforts at Court, considered it expedient to apprise the Queen-Mother, who still wielded much influence, of the new Minister's way of thinking. He informed her, through her confessor Bramieri, that Roda was under the influence of enemies of the Church and of the Order and that these men, according to reliable evidence, were purposing to open a campaign in Spain against the Society of Jesus and would not desist until it was uprooted from the country. Immediately this object had been gained they would work for the suppression of the Society by the Pope.[2]

The nuncio Pallavicini's opinion in 1763, after Grimaldi's appointment, was that there were still no signs of a change of mind among persons of importance,[3] though Italian Jansenists had known in the previous year of anti-Jesuit movements in the kingdom of Charles III.[4] During the war with England this agitation subsided, only to rise again after the peace of Fontainebleau. It was not long before the Portuguese

a la que no sé si gustará tal elección " (*to Tanucci, January 22, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6049). *Grimaldi to Roda, January 22, 1765, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, Reales Ordenes, 45.

[1] " *Ha veduto [the Pope] finalmente dal Re, neglette tutte le altre premure della sua corte e ministero, farsi il Segretario della Giustizia e della Chiesa il più dichiarato disapprovatore dei Gesuiti, il quale neppure chiedeva, e certamente non desiderava un tal posto, eppur tuttavia il buon S. Padre si lascia lusingare dalla potenza gesuitica in Spagna " (Tanucci to Orsini, April 25, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5992). *Cf.* *Tanucci to Bottari, March 23, 1765 (see above, p. 42, n. 3).

[2] *Ricci to Bramieri, April 25, 1765, in Jesuit possession, *Ep. Gen. secretae.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 13, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 290, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Bandini to Foggini, June 22, 1762, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1607.

envoy in Madrid, Sa e Mello, received a secret instruction to make private inquiries as to how the Jesuits stood with the king, the princes, and the Ministers, and whether the project of driving them out of the whole peninsula was likely to succeed.[1] The demand that had been voiced in the Parlement of Rouen, that the Christian princes should join together and make a united appeal to the Pope to abolish the Society,[2] had not gone unheard in Spain.

The extent to which anti-Jesuit feeling had taken root in Spain was shown by the treatment accorded by the Council of Castile to the Papal Bull of January 7th, 1765, issued in support of the Jesuits. In the report rendered to Charles III. the result of the deliberations was so worded as to give the impression that the Jesuits had paid no attention to the royal *Exequatur* and were again distributing the present Bull throughout the country without permission. On this ground alone, without entering into a discussion of the contents of the Bull, its publication might well be prohibited.[3] As Pallavicini reported, the Papal manifesto was thought to be inopportune in Madrid; even those friendly to Rome and the Jesuits admitted that in the circumstances the Bull would do more harm than good, for, since it was attributed

[1] *§ 49. "Verá V. E. o que ahi sentem a respeito dos Jesuitas, e se poderá ou nâo conseguirse o intento que premeditamos de expulsarlos de toda esta península, sem que se presuma nunca o nosso empenho. § 50. Todos os Papeis que en este assumpto se remeterem a V. E. para el Rey, lhes dará V. E. em mâo propria, pois que para este fim hâo de hir ja vertidos em castelhano em razâo de nâo entenderem muito bem nosso idioma. § 51. Procurará V. E. saber tudo o que lhe for possivel dos mesmos Padres, e com especialidade o valimento ou favor que achâo em el Rey, Principes, Ministros, etc." (Instrucções para Ayres de Sa y Mello, embaixador extraordinario para la corte de Madrid, undated [November 1764 ?], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7291). The instruction consists of fifty-six articles.

[2] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 487, n. 1.

[3] *February 28, 1765, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3518.

to pressure exerted by the Jesuits, it was presumed that their influence in Rome was enormous; the Papal Curia had completely failed to appreciate the true state of affairs.[1] With the tacit assent of the authorities the most extravagant rumours about the power and wealth of the Jesuits in Paraguay were put about in newspapers and pamphlets.[2] All candidates for official appointments were faced with the question of where they had done their studies, and Jesuit pupils were barred in advance.[3] Personal records still extant show that attempts were made through secret inquiries to discover the attitude and the feeling of officials towards the Society.[4]

In view of what was happening both at home and abroad, clear-sighted Jesuits could not but see that the signs of the

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 19, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 293, *loc. cit.*, translation in THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 65 *seq.*

[2] *Fr. Saez to the Rector of Villagarcia, December 7, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666. Years before, Torrigiani had complained about anti-Jesuit polemical writings (*to Spinola, February 22, 1759, Regolari, Gesuiti, 48, Papal Secret Archives). The French Jesuits who had taken refuge in Spain received a warning emanating from the Court to return to their own country without delay. (*Ricci to Nectoux, March 21, 1765, *ibid.*).

[3] "Nell' anno precedente 1766 scrivevano al Generale i Superiori di Madrid, che chiunque chiedeva cariche, era interrogato, dove avesse fatti i studi, e rispondendo, che alle scuole de' Gesuiti, veniva escluso dalla carica apertamente ed espressamente per questo solo motivo; onde pensavano di fare ricorso a S. M., ciò che fu approvato, purchè si facesse senza offesa di alcuno". (RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 3 *seq.*).

[4] **Noticia de los Ministros que componen el Consejo Supremo de S.M. y de otros dentro y fuera de esta corte* (undated, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 590); **Estado actual de la Real Chancelleria de Valladolid*, of August 10, 1765, *ibid.*; **Estado actual del Consejo de Navarra* (undated), *ibid.*; **Audiencia real de Oviedo*, of August 12, 1765, *ibid.* The characterizations used were "*Jesuita*", "*de 4 voti*", "*Thomista*", "*Indifferente*". The list of the members of the Council of Castile with their qualifications is reproduced in RAZÓN Y FE, XXIX. (1911), 169.

times portended a storm. "What depresses me most," wrote the Jesuit Isidro Lopez,[1] on hearing of Roda's appointment as Minister of Justice, "is that Roda belongs to that infamous party which is selling the Church for a handful of silver on the pretext of reforming the Jesuits." A few weeks later (in April, 1765), Nectoux, the Jesuit Provincial of La Guienne, reported to his General that a prominent Minister had stated that in Spain, too, the Jesuit colleges would soon have to be suppressed; his was the universal opinion, held by every State and Court in Europe. Soon there would be no more Jesuits outside Italy. In Spain there was a large party ready to take hostile action against the Society, and soon they would have the personal support of that sworn enemy of the Order who was then on his way from Rome to Spain to take over an office which would provide him with excellent opportunities of expelling the Jesuits.[2] Ricci was probably expressing his wishes rather than his convictions when he replied that in Rome this mournful prophecy was held to be not merely doubtful but completely false. He trusted that with God's help things would never come to such a pass. "But should the Lord," he continued, "allow the Spanish or other brethren to be afflicted with the same sufferings as have befallen the French Fathers, it behoves us to accept the visitations that the Lord sends us with unconquerable patience and humble submission. Meanwhile we will beseech the divine Goodness to grant us all, together with our trials, a greater measure of virtue."[3]

[1] *To Fr. Idiaquez, February 27, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[2] *Nectoux to Ricci, April 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666, copy *ibid.*, 688.

[3] "*Quamquam ingeniosa adeo et in Societatis ruinam intenta sit furens supra modum malevolorum invidia, ut omnia, vel maxime tuta, timenda videantur, attamen tristia, quae praenuntiat R. V., non incerta modo, verum etiam falsa prorsus existimantur, atque fore confido, ut, iuvante Deo, nunquam eveniant. At si quibus probare socios gallos supremum numen voluit, iisdem exagitari infortuniis socios hispanos et quosvis alios

The trials were nearer than anyone imagined. The insurrections of the spring of 1766 alarmed the Spanish king and brought the slowly-growing crisis to a sudden head.

(4)

In his work entitled *The Good Government of a Catholic Monarchy*, Macañaz had warned the monarch in 1742 never to allow his Ministers and counsellors to order his subjects to change their national mode of dress for a foreign one. Decrees of this kind would be regarded by the people as tyrannical encroachments on their liberty, and might easily turn them against him and provoke a revolt, the quelling of which would cost the State many of its citizens and the monarch much of his prestige.[1] How justified this warning had been, Madrid was to learn by experience through the so-called "Hat and Cloak Riots".[2]

In spite of the misgivings of both the Fiscals,[3] a decree was issued on March 10th, 1766, forbidding the use of the flowing cloak (*capa*) and broad-brimmed *sombrero* in all royal residential towns, university towns, and provincial capitals and prescribing instead the French wig and three-cornered hat. The contravention of this order was to be punished by the infliction of a fine or a term of imprisonment, and a third offence would render the culprit liable to banishment for four

permittat, ab ipsis utique invicta cum patientia humilique animi demissione toleranda erunt mala, quae fecerit Dominus" (Ricci to Nectoux, March 21, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666).

[1] Macañaz, *Auxilios para bien gobernar una monarquía católica*, Auxilio 21, §§ 19 and 20; Ferrer del Rio, II., 41 *seq.*

[2] The first official report on the uprising in Madrid occurs in Aranda's *letter to Roda, dated Madrid 1766, April 9, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009, fos. 99–102. See below, p. 63 and Appx. 1.

[3] *Squillace to Roda, State Archives in Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 790; *Campomanes to [Roda ?], undated, *ibid.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 12, n. 1.

years.[1] The reasons given for this measure were that the cloak and sombrero were not a Spanish costume and that their only use was to enable criminals to hide their faces and thus go unpunished.[2]

Spanish national pride was deeply hurt, and the law was most ill-timed. The winter of 1765 had been so extraordinarily cold that the coastal waters of the Bay of Biscay had frozen, and since 1760 an unbroken series of summer droughts had badly affected the harvests, causing a considerable rise in the prices of the staple commodities of bread, oil, and wine.[3] The populace attributed the increased cost of living, not to the poor harvests, but to the machinations of the Finance Minister Squillace (Esquilache), who was detested as a foreigner and as the introducer of various unpopular measures of reform [4] and, moreover, was reputed to be enriching himself at the expense of the people.[5] Great excitement prevailed in the poorer quarters. During the night the Government notices vanished and in their place other placards were posted up, bearing this announcement: "Fifty men are ready to defend the cloak and *sombrero*. Every true Spaniard who joins this party will be provided with arms, ammunition, and all other essentials." [6]

The clumsy way in which the decree was enforced still further increased the popular indignation. Over-zealous officials hurried through the city, calling on the people to be obedient, only to be received with taunts and mockery. They

[1] *Bando* of March 10, 1766 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 790. *Cf.* "*Vando*" of January 19, 1760 (printed), Arch. general central in Madrid, Estado, 4900; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 12 *seqq.*; ROUSSEAU, I., 177.

[2] *Squillace to Roda, February 21, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 790.

[3] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, April 2, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 4557.

[4] FERRER DEL RIO, II., 9 *seqq.*

[5] Tanucci also accused him and his wife of cupidity (*to Losada, June 3, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5997; *to Cattolica, September 16, 1766, *ibid.*, 5998).

[6] ROUSSEAU, I., 178. FERRER DEL RIO (II., 14) speaks of 3,000.

then sent out commissaries accompanied by tailors who were to cut short offenders' cloaks in the open street and bend back their hats. The excitement rose to boiling point when a detachment of the Walloon Guard was called out to take action against recalcitrants. The Walloons had been disliked in Madrid since the firework display in honour of the marriage between the Princess Maria Luise and the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, the measures they took to preserve order on this occasion resulting in a score of persons being crushed to death.[1]

The pent-up rage of the populace broke out on the afternoon of Palm Sunday, March 23rd, 1766. Two men muffled in cloaks strode to and fro in a provocative manner outside the barracks. When challenged by the guards they made a defiant reply, and as they were about to be taken into custody one of them struck down a soldier with his sword. At a given signal a body of armed men rushed out from a neighbouring street, overpowered the guard, and disarmed them. Shouting "Long live the king! Down with Squillace!" the rioters poured through the streets, hurling insults at the Minister's rapacious wife.[2] Their number swollen by the curious, they now amounted to about 3,000. The king, who was just returning from the hunt, showed great perturbation. The Duke of Medinaceli, whose open-handedness had won him popular favour, was sent to calm the excited mob, but his appeal to them to return to their homes was only partly successful, as they now took it into their heads to go to Squillace's residence, with the intention of putting him to death. Squillace, however, had managed to escape in disguise to the royal palace, while his wife, immediately the first rumour of the tumult had reached her ears, had hurriedly gathered together her jewels and fled to the nunnery where her two daughters were being educated. The mob, having plundered Squillace's house and drunk freely of the wine they found

[1] Rousseau, I., 178.

[2] For her, *cf.* Rousseau, I., 17; Ferrer del Rio, I., 245 *seq.*; *Tanucci to Losada, June 3, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5997.

there, proceeded to Grimaldi's residence, for he, a Genoese, was equally unpopular, but here they contented themselves with smashing the windows. Finally, towards midnight, after showing their hatred of Squillace by shattering the street lamps he had had erected, and by burning his effigy in the Plaza Mayor, they dispersed.[1]

On the following day a crowd of men, women, and children approached the royal palace, where the Minister still lay in hiding, and tried to force their way in. The Walloon Guard fired some warning shots, killing one woman and wounding another. The infuriated crowd bore down on the soldiers, killed several of them, and with loud cries dragged their mangled bodies through the streets. Again the Dukes of Medinaceli and Arcos tried to pacify the insurgents, but in vain. Some monks who attempted with crucifix in hand to control the crowd were equally unsuccessful. This was no time for preaching, they were told by the insurgents; they were Christians and would listen to no one but the king. Whereupon Yecla, Prior of San Juan in La Mancha,[2] advised the crowd to present a petition to the king. With all speed one was drawn up in a tavern and was signed by all who wished to do so.[3] The following eight requests were made of the king "in the name of Almighty God, the most holy and undivided Trinity, and the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God": the banishment of Squillace and his family, the formation of a Ministry of Spaniards, the dissolution of the food commission, the withdrawal of the Walloons, the liberty to dress as they pleased, the cheapening of staple commodities, general pardon for all that had occurred, and the king's assent to this petition to be given in the Plaza Mayor. If these demands were refused, Madrid would be destroyed that very night.[4]

[1] Rousseau, I., 178 *seqq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 14 *seqq.*

[2] Rousseau (I., 183) calls him Fr. Cuenca.

[3] Ferrer del Rio, II., 18 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 180 *seq.*

[4] **Capitulaciones del pueblo de Madrid con el Rey el dia 24 de Marzo de 1766*, Arch. Prov. Tolet. in Madrid, Chamartin, P: Ferrer del Rio, II., 22 *seq.*; Rousseau, I., 182.

In the garb of a penitent, Yecla approached the king with this petition. Although the Prior stood guaranty for the monarch's safety with his own life, Charles did not dare to go among the people and dismissed the Prior with the instruction to assure the people of his good will. After briefly conferring with his entourage, the king gave orders for the crowd to be admitted into the palace yard, where Yecla again presented the petition to him and falling on his knees besought him to exercise his royal clemency and grant the requests. The king indicated his assent and the people, obedient to the Prior, retired, but only to return after a brief interval in procession, with palms in their hands and a statue of the Queen of the Rosary, borne by four Dominicans, in their midst. Songs of joy mingled with the muffled beats of the Basque drum.[1]

As some of his courtiers protested that his life was still in danger so long as he remained in the city, Charles III. left his palace during the night by means of underground passages and from St. Vincent's gate drove in a carriage to Aranjuez. The Queen-Mother alone opposed this departure, which had the appearance of a flight, but when she failed to persuade any of her hearers she refused, in spite of her parlous state of health, to leave her son.[2]

On the following morning, March 25th, while the people were making ready to demonstrate their gratitude to the king, the news spread that he had left the city during the night. All were seized with anger and alarm. Thinking that they had been tricked, they feared that troops would close in on Madrid, that the concessions would be withdrawn, and that the insurgents would be punished. They were already thinking of going to Aranjuez and bringing the monarch back to the capital, when the President of the Council of Castile, Bishop Diego de Rojas of Cartagena, offered to deliver a message from the people to the king. He had already reached the Toledo bridge when the mistrustful populace changed its

[1] Ferrer del Rio, II., 23 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 182 *seq.*

[2] Ferrer del Rio, II., 29 *seq.*; Rousseau, I., 183.

mind. The Bishop was made to return to his palace, where, weakly compliant, he composed a memorial in which, with violent expressions of abuse, he held the Minister Squillace responsible for all the sufferings and calamities of recent years. While the President was kept in the city as a hostage, the document was taken to Aranjuez by a certain Avendaño.[1]

Meanwhile Madrid was in the hands of the rebels. They seized the arms and ammunition depôts and opened the houses where the prostitutes were kept under surveillance. All this was done with a great deal of noise but was not accompanied by any serious acts of violence. At last the messenger returned from Aranjuez, and from the balcony of his palace the Bishop read to the silent multitude the monarch's reply. Charles III. affirmed on his royal word that he would keep the promises he had made the day before but that he expected the people to restore peace and order in return for these favours and that everyone would resume his normal occupation.[2] The Cardinal Archbishop was asked to use the services of the secular and regular clergy in calming the population.[3] The crowd received this message with satisfaction and immediately surrendered some of their weapons.[4]

The insurrection was not confined to Madrid. Other provinces and cities, such as Saragossa, Barcelona, Salamanca, Murcia, Corunna, and Ascoitia, were soon affected by the movement. Records show that in every case the disturbances were due to the increased cost of food; everywhere the cry went up for cheaper food and the punishment of the profiteers.[5]

[1] Rousseau, I., 183 *seq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 30 *seqq.*

[2] Rousseau, I., 184 *seq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 34 *seqq.*; Roda to the President of the Council of Castile, March 25, 1766 (printed), Arch. general, Madrid, Estado 4900, reproduced in Ferrer del Rio, II., 36 *seq.* A placard (*Cartel*) of March 25, 1766 (printed, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 4900) contains a list of the various concessions.

[3] *O'Reilly to Grimaldi, March 25, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Guerra moderna, 578.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Rousseau, I., 185 *seq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 56 *seqq.*

Charles III., who had played a rather ignoble part during the outbreak, was so upset by these bad tidings that it was feared that his health had been seriously affected. He was especially angry with the capital for having set the example in the rising. In spite of the pardon he had granted he refused to return to Madrid, and in Court circles there was already talk of changing the capital.[1] As for Squillace, the king had declared at first that so long as he had a slice of bread he would share it with him, but at the critical moment he forgot his promise. On March 27th the Minister left Aranjuez and travelled under military escort to Cartagena, whence on April 24th he took ship for Italy.[2] Although enjoying a generous pension of 19,000 ducats, he never ceased to demand his reinstatement. Finally, after six years, he was given the post of envoy to Venice.[3] In his place Miguel Muzquiz was appointed Finance Minister and Gregorio Muniain Minister of War.[4]

Another new appointment was of far greater consequence. Bishop Rojas' position had become untenable. He had shown a weakness towards the rebels that was unworthy of his episcopal dignity and of the high position he held in the State. The king appointed in his stead, as President of the Council of Castile, the energetic and competent Count Aranda, who until then had been Captain-General of Valencia.[5]

An Aragonese by birth, Aranda had at first undertaken

[1] Rousseau, I., 187; Ferrer del Rio, II., 83 *seq.*

[2] Rousseau, I., 185; Ferrer del Rio, II., 38 *seq.*

[3] *Squillace to Roda, April 5, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009. *Cf.* Ferrer del Rio, II., 39 *seq.*; *Tanucci to Catanti, May 13, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5997.

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 26, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 46; Ferrer del Rio, II., 52 *seq.*

[5] *Charles III. to Aranda, April 11, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Aranda to Roda, April 12, 1766, *ibid.* For Aranda, *cf.* Morel Fatio, II., 141 *seqq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 84 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 189 *seqq.*; Danvila y Collado, II., 566 *seqq.*

military service and in the wars in Italy had acquired the reputation of being a capable officer. Afterwards he embarked on a diplomatic career. As envoy to the Court of Lisbon he fell out with Pombal and was transferred to distant Poland. From here he attended the manœuvres conducted by Frederick II. in Silesia. Accustomed to strict military discipline, he combined with an iron character a somewhat rough sense of honour. Inclined on the one hand to forcible reforms, he nevertheless showed himself to be a fanatical defender of the royal authority, though this did not prevent him in the last years of his life from adopting a sympathetic attitude towards the French Revolution. In his long travels through Europe he had perfected his knowledge of military and civil administration, not omitting at the same time to form connections with the philosophers of "Enlightenment". Closely acquainted with D'Alembert, the Abbé Raynal, and Voltaire, he was celebrated by the last-named in poetry and prose as the Spanish Hercules who had cleaned the Augean stables, blunted the teeth and cut the claws of the Hydra, and plunged into the dark obscurity of the tomb the hellish power of the Inquisition.[1] Though completely estranged from the Faith, Aranda seems to have complied with the outward forms and precepts of the Church.[2] With certain clerics he was on good terms. His former tutor, the Jesuit Martinez, was a welcome visitor to his house[3] and two of his cousins were Jesuits.[4] This was probably the reason why Roda thought

[1] Morel Fatio, II., 148 *seq.*, 163; Rousseau, I., 195 *seqq.*; Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 140 *seq.*, 199 *seqq.*; Gallerani-Madariaga, *Jesuitas expulsos de España*, 131 *seqq.* (in which further literature on the subject is cited); Coloma, *Retratos de antaño*, 211 *seq.*; Leonhard, *Agrarpolitik*, 93.

[2] On being made a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost he made the customary profession of the Catholic Faith.

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, May 20, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, Papal Secret Archives, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

[4] José and Nicolás Pignatelli, brothers of Count Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in Paris.

him a fanatical supporter of the Jesuits.[1] Like many of his contemporaries of similar standing he was a *bon viveur* whose relations with womenfolk were only too notorious.[2] He was a great favourite with the people, who appreciated his exceptional powers and looked to him to administer justice without regard to persons.[3]

Charles III. had appointed Aranda on April 11th and had instructed him to begin his duties on the following day. The new President arrived in Madrid between five and six o'clock next morning, had himself apprised of current business by Bishop Rojas at seven, and by eight o'clock he was taking the official oath before the Council of Castile.[4] With soldierly courage he set to work. To restore order his first object was to clear the capital of the rabble which was streaming into it from all parts of the country and was increasing the number of the malcontents. The unemployed loafers were either expelled from Madrid or confined in workhouses.[5] He confirmed Squillace's order by which all clerics living in the city without any duty to perform were to return to their parishes.[6] A corporal who had shouted "Long live the king! Down with Squillace!" was condemned by him to run the gauntlet.[7]

[1] "Este [Fuentes] es aun más fanático que su primo Aranda" (*Roda to Azara, 15 (?) June, 1765, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, R.) "Yo espero mucho de Aranda en bien de la España, y non poco en bien de la Compañía a quien quisieron embolver en el alboroto de Madrid" (*Cabrera to Poyanos, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777).

[2] Morel Fatio, II., 170 *seqq.*

[3] *Aranda to Roda, April 12, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; Rousseau, I., 191 *seq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 85 *seq.*

[4] Ferrer del Rio, *ibid.*

[5] *Bando* of May 16, 1766 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Aranda to Roda, May 1, 2, 3, 1766, *ibid.*

[6] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, May 6, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

[7] Ferrer del Rio, II., 89.

A respected citizen of Murcia who had been so bold as to state that the revolution would continue until the blood of the Bourbons had been made to flow, he had hanged.[1]

One of the main causes of the insurrection was the rise in the cost of food. To obviate mismanagement in the distribution of food, the Council of Castile, at Aranda's instigation, passed the resolution that the people should be represented in the local administration. All places with 2,000 inhabitants were to have four deputies elected by the people, other places two; these deputies, together with the aldermen, were to have a controlling right.[2] The numerous pamphlets of a derisive, abusive, or threatening character, which had been stirring up the passions of the populace both before and after the revolt, were another cause of the general discontent. They were mainly directed against the Italian element in the Government and demanded delivery from the tyrannical yoke of the foreigners who were sucking the life-blood of the people and trampling down their freedom.[3] While confirming the general pardon granted by the king, the Council of Castile issued a ban against this type of publication.[4]

While the party led by the Duke of Alba was endeavouring to keep the king away from Madrid, Aranda and his supporters used every means in their power to bring the monarch back to the capital. Charles himself was the prey to conflicting emotions: on the one hand, his absolutist self-conceit rebelled against the notion of maintaining the concessions that had

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, July 1, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Auto acordado* of May 5, 1766 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 91 *seqq.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 22, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*; Ossun to Choiseul, April 10, 1766, in ROUSSEAU, I., 187, n. 2. Several of these lampoons and defamatory letters in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[4] April 14, 1766 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Guerra moderna, 578; *Aranda to Grimaldi, April 15, 1766, *ibid.*; *Roda to Aranda, April 16, 1766, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

been wrested from him[1]; on the other, his sense of justice recoiled from the breaking of his word. A way out of the dilemma was provided by Aranda. At his instigation, the nobility, the city council, and the five guilds presented a joint memorial to the king. While condemning the excesses that had occurred they protested against the favours that had been granted without their concurrence and which were therefore illegal, and they besought the king to return to the capital.[2] Lest he should appear to be judging his own cause, Charles referred the petitions to the Council of Castile, which, adopting the opinion of the Fiscals, declared the concessions to be null and void and decided on their withdrawal; the maintenance of the general pardon, however, they left to the judgment of the monarch.[3] In consequence an edict was issued on June 23rd, 1766, whereby, at the request of the nobility, the city council, the guilds, and the clergy, the Council of Castile declared the concessions granted to be against the Constitution and the law and therefore void and ineffectual.[4]

[1] "Puntos que quiere el Rey para su honor y seguridad del pueblo" (Roda's *autograph, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009). The king's reasons and decision: Roda's *autograph, undated, *ibid.*

[2] *Aranda to Roda, June 3 and 10, 1766, *ibid.*; *Roda to Aranda, June 13, 1766, *ibid.* Tanucci called them "artificiali rappresentanze" in a *letter to Losada, July 1, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 5997. *The nobility of Madrid to Aranda (undated), Italian translation in Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Respuesta fiscal* [June 9, 1766] (printed), Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 4900; **El Consejo pleno de 10 de Junio de 1766*, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[4] *Real Provision* (printed), *ibid.* On June 7 the clergy of Madrid delivered to Aranda an address in which they gave thanks for the favours granted, expressed their love for their ruler, and asked him to return to the capital. Highly content, Aranda forwarded the address to the Court (*Aranda to Roda, June 7, 1766, *ibid.*). Here, however, it was objected to, on the ground that it had assumed the concessions as of right instead of regarding them as null and void and asking for their suppression. The Count (without mentioning the royal instruction) was either to

With this recantation the king's prestige and sense of power were satisfied, at least externally. Aranda, however, was statesman enough to see that all eight points could not be cancelled without the risk of further disturbances. On July 6th the Walloon Guard returned to Madrid without any fresh incident.[1] No further attempt was made by Aranda to alter the national dress, but he urged the upper classes to adopt the French cocked hat of their own accord, so as to set an example to the common folk.[2] When the normal period of residence in Aranjuez was drawing to a close, Aranda asked the king to spend a few days in the capital before leaving for San Ildefonso. His return seemed imminent when the death of the Queen-Mother[3] provided the still unwilling monarch with a welcome excuse for avoiding Madrid. This death had a further significance: it removed from the Court the last support of the Jesuits and the last obstacle that had hindered the Ministers from carrying out their plans.

Aranda's appointment to the highest office under the Crown was of great importance in yet another respect. It signified the strengthening of Charles III.'s ecclesiastical policy. Already by April 16th, 1766, the nuncio Pallavicini was communicating to the Cardinal Secretary of State the apprehensions caused him by the promotion of Aranda, the violent critic of the clergy.[4] His gloomy forebodings were not unfounded. The previous day Grimaldi had informed Tanucci of the new appointment, and had expressed his expectation that the change in the leading personality in the Council of Castile undoubtedly meant that the handling of ecclesiastical affairs by this tribunal would now be very different. The

have the text amended or get rid of the petition altogether (*Grimaldi to Roda, 8 [June, 1766], autograph, *ibid.*; *Roda to Aranda, June 9, 1766, *ibid.*). By June 11 Aranda was able to forward the Court a petition from the clergy which was agreeable to it (*Aranda to Roda, June 11, 1766, *ibid.*).

[1] *Aranda to Roda, July 6, 1766 (autograph), *ibid.*

[2] Ferrer del Rio, II., 99 *seq.*; Rousseau, I., 194 *seq.*

[3] July 10, 1766.

[4] *Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

influence of the monks would no longer be so great and more attention would be paid to the interests of the king and his subjects. The Count was not a man to be influenced by the threats of hell with which the monks attempted to intimidate anyone who disagreed with them. The king in his great wisdom had at last done what had been so ardently desired in Spain for the last century : he had wrested from the hands of the clergy the direction of a tribunal entrusted with the protection of his royal rights.[1] Needless to say, the news evoked a joyful response from Tanucci. The change would encourage every patriot and every man of culture. The clergy were the enemies of the State and of the country with their sordid lust for money and their arrogant striving after independence. The heretical principles of the Jesuits and the Roman Court aimed at the usurpation of royal power, at insurrection, and at the undermining of national rights.[2] In another letter written on the same day Tanucci congratulated the monarch on his wisdom in putting an enlightened and honourable Captain-General in the place of the cleric, who had probably been but a doubtful protector of the royal rights. In striving after riches and power the clergy had abandoned the teachings of the Gospel and of the Apostles, which had enjoined on the servants of the Church obedience towards the prince, the civil authorities, and the laws of the State, and the observance of poverty.[3] In his reply the king assured him that these considerations had long been in his mind and that only the fear of being accused of wanting to change the whole system of his predecessors had held him back. But already he had deeply regretted his hesitation. And Tanucci was to keep this admission to himself.[4]

Charles' regalist advisers had every reason to be pleased

[1] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, April 15, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6099.

[2] *To Grimaldi, May 6, 1766. *ibid.*

[3] *To Charles III., May 6, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *to Charles III., June 10, 1766, *ibid.*

[4] *To Tanucci, May 27, 1766, in Ferrer del Rio, II., 56, n. 1.

with the appointment of Aranda. Like them, he deplored the predominance of the clergy at the expense of the royal prerogative. Under the pretext of religion they exerted an excessive influence on the masses. The patient and innocent lay folk were always the victims, while the exempt were ever more arrogant, as they always came off unpunished.[1]

Among the many nobles who hastened to the royal residence at the time of the uprising in Madrid was Ferdinand VI.'s former Minister, the Marquis de Ensenada, of whom Charles III. had personally testified that he had been the victim of his nationalistic policy.[2] On April 19th, Ensenada received instructions to return to his place of banishment. He obeyed the command immediately. Opinions differed as to the reasons for this order. Some thought that his having been cheered by the rioters had made him an object of suspicion ; others held him guilty of having urged on Squillace the fatal decree against the slouch-hats. The best-founded explanation was that Ensenada had been represented to the monarch as an ambitious person who was taking advantage of the opportunity to regain power and honours.[3] What is

[1] " *Observo con inexplicable sentimiento mio el predominio eclesiastico contra los respetos de la real jurisdiccion y contra los intereses de S. M. y de los vasallos, sin que sea menor el influxo con que a la multitud se persuade en supuestos de religion : viniendo la ultimo a ser la victima por todos los ramos, los pacientes e inocentes legos, y mas arrojados los esentos por lo impunes que en todo salen " (Aranda to Roda, June 8, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009, *loc. cit.*).

[2] See above, p. 3.

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 22, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072 ; **Nota di Garampi*, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* ; *Fernandez Angulo to Roda, April 26, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009 ; *Tanucci to Cattolica, May 13, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 5997 ; Ferrer del Rio, II., 49 *seqq.* Tanucci blamed the Marquis Ensenada for having filled the nation with that pernicious patriotism the effects of which the king was now having to suffer (*to Charles III., June 24, 1766, Archives of

certain is that those in Ministerial circles were convinced that his removal was a bitter blow to the Jesuit party.[1]

(5)

The "Hat and Cloak Riots" occasioned, or afforded the pretext for, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain.[2] The Fiscal Campomanes held them responsible for the disturbances,[3] and as the result of his memorandum the Society was expelled from every part of the kingdom.

The reports which adhere most closely to events and are still uninfluenced by party motives contain no hint of the Jesuits being responsible for the uprising. The circular note sent by the Government to its foreign representatives on March 26th, 1766, the day after the Madrid insurrection came to an end, gives as the sole cause of the trouble the banning of the cloaks and slouch-hats and emphasizes that no ring-leader could be found.[4] The historical value of this official notice may be questioned on the score that the account it contained was probably painted in bright colours so as to create a favourable impression, but there are other documents of the same period whose private and confidential character exclude any such

Simancas, Estado, 6099). Tanucci calls him "il più gran fomentatore" of the revolt in a *letter to Cattolica of June 24, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997.

[1] "Cierto es que los del partido de la Compañía han sentido mucho la salida" (*Angulo to Roda, April 26, 1766, *loc. cit.*). Eguía Ruiz, *El Marqués de la Ensenada*, 89 *seqq.*

[2] "El tumulto de Madrid, que se imitó con mas fuerza en Zaragoza, dió motivo y medios para echar de España una Sociedad que aunque habia hecho mucho bien al reino, tenía en él muchos enemigos, y entre ellos el Duque de Alba, que hacía años le tenía declarada la guerra, y sobre todo, el Ministro de Gracia y Justicia, Don Manuel de Roda, que le tenía una aversion grandisima" (Fernan-Nuñez, I., 206 *seq.*).

[3] Ferrer del Rio, II., 123 *seq.*

[4] **Minuta para las cartas de noticias que se escriben a las Cories*, March 26, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

objection. Charles III.'s first letters to his confidant Tanucci,[1] Roda's letters to Azara,[2] and the nuncio's reports to the Cardinal Secretary of State,[3] contain no hint as to the authors of the disturbances. In a detailed letter to Choiseul, Grimaldi stresses that only the worst of the rabble had taken part in the risings and proceeds to say: "The poor harvests of recent years, the high price of food, the hatred of Squillace, which was increased by the belief that the shortcomings in the provision of food were attributable to him, and the banning of a certain style of hats and cloaks—these were the causes of the tumult."[4] By dint of promises the *corregidor* of Madrid, Don Alonso Perez Delgado, had succeeded in gaining the confidence of three of the chief participants in the rising.[5] He was informed by them that only the lower classes were involved in the insurrection and that the lampoons and anonymous letters must have been written by idlers.[6]

The most important document in this respect is the detailed report submitted by Count Aranda to the Minister of Justice, Roda, on April 9th, 1766. As the result of the searching and secret inquiries into the origin, course, and actual state of the tumult which he was instituting on behalf of the Court, he repeatedly stresses that the original intention of the rioters had simply been to slaughter the Minister Squillace on Maundy Thursday and thus to rid the nation of a man who by his machinations was preventing the complaints and petitions of the people from reaching the ear of the king. In the course of the disturbances the hatred of the Walloon

[1] *March 26 and April 1, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 6054.

[2] March 26 and May 27, 1766, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 26, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, April 2, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4557.

[5] Portoles, Gomez, Molina.

[6] *Delgado to Roda, April 15, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Roda to Delgado, April 16, 1766, *ibid.*; Danvila y Collado, III., 7 *seqq.*

Guard had also played a part. In conclusion Aranda called attention to the extraordinarily large number of inflammatory placards by means of which another class of the population was trying to revive the discontent of the masses and to exploit their original actions for their own ends.[1]

Valle y Salazar also, who was instructed by Roda to make secret inquiries about the originators of the insurrection, says nothing in any of his three reports about the clergy's participation in the disorders.[2] In Saragossa, similarly, popular feeling was not directed against the king or the viceroy, the Marquis of Castelar, but against those who were generally thought to be enriching themselves at the expense of the poor, namely, the usurers. Among the Religious who were mentioned as having endeavoured to calm the excited mob were the Jesuits.[3] In none of these documents, which are the nearest in time and place to the actual events, are the clergy in general or the Jesuits in particular accused of having caused or encouraged the rising.

But already, according to the nuncio's reports, there were vague rumours afloat that tended to burden the clergy with the responsibility for the disturbances, although it was precisely the clergy, both secular and regular, who had tried so hard to settle them, whereas, when things were critical, the nobles and the members of the Council had been completely inactive.[4] The opinion of competent observers was that there was no conspiracy at all and that the whole tumult was purely an outburst of popular feeling and not the result of any premeditation [5]; nevertheless, it was sought to cast the whole

[1] See Appx. 1.

[2] *Valle y Salazar to Roda, April 3, 5, 6, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[3] Sebastian y Latre, *Relacion individual y veridica del suceso acontecido en la ciudad de Zaragoza el dia 6 de Abril de 1766 y de todos sus demas progresos, formada de orden de S.M....* p. 52.

[4] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 15, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 29, 1766, *ibid.*

odium on the Church, by representing the clergy in general or a particular Order as having provoked and protected the rebels. That individual clerics were observed among the rioters was doubtless correct, but it was probably curiosity that had drawn them into the streets. There was no cause to fear for the Jesuits, thought Pallavicini, for they must have wanted Squillace to continue in office, unless they wished to contradict themselves. Therefore, not the slightest shadow of suspicion that they had fomented or participated in the rising could fall on them, since its original purpose had been this Minister's overthrow.[1] The nuncio again expressed his misgivings on June 10th, 1766, remarking that an inquiry into Jesuit conduct was being instituted and that Pombal was trying to exploit the prevailing atmosphere by writing against Clement XIII.'s Bull in favour of the Jesuits, hoping that this would lead to their expulsion from every Catholic country.[2]

These messages naturally caused considerable apprehension in Rome. They were on the eve of a conflagration, wrote Torrigiani, which threatened to destroy an Order that was of great help to the Church and to the salvation of souls. Roda was one of those who nursed a hatred of the Jesuits. Wherefore

[1] " *Della sollevazione di Madrid si seguita a sentire da persone autorevoli che è stata accidentale, cioè senza capo o complotto determinato e positivo. Ma non per questo si lascia di farne ricadere in qualche special modo la odiosità sopra gli ecclesiastici... Che eglino [the Jesuits] dovesser desiderare e desiderassero la continuazione di Squillace nel suo ministero, per me è cosa innegabile, perchè senza supporli, diciam così, contrarii a se stessi, non si può lasciar di riconoscerli come esenti dal più rimoto sospetto di fomento o concorso in quella frenetica sollevazione, lo scopo originario della qual altro non fu che la caduta di Ministro " (Pallavicini to Torrigiani, May 27, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072). *Cf.* the anonymous *letter to the king, of July [7.?], 1766, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, May 6 and 20, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*, and the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, June 10, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*

the nuncio was to be on his guard and act vigorously in their defence. He was to lose no opportunity of speaking openly and clearly with the Ministers and, above all, with the king himself.[1]

The French envoy in Madrid, the Marquis Ossun, makes no mention in his letters of this period either of the Society of Jesus or of any particular Jesuit in connexion with the insurrection.[2] The secretary of the Portuguese embassy attributes Squillace's downfall to French influence, but he observes that others ascribe the disturbances to the "Reverendos", who were not being treated too well by the Government and feared that on the death of the queen-mother, which was imminent, they would be rooted out entirely.[3] In a letter of denunciation written by a certain Candano, monks and priests are held suspect of having been the spiritual instigation of the various outbreaks. Some satirical verses and letters against the king, Squillace, and the foreign Ministers were the work, he said, of the Cistercian monk Rozas of Madrid.[4] The Minister Du Tillot in Parma, who had not voiced any suspicion up to April 12th,[5] declared on the 28th that on hearing of the revolt his first thought had been that it was the priests, the monks, and the Papal hierarchy who had secretly blown on the flames of the rebellion.[6] Later still he said that when reading the verses written in fire and blood he had had the impression that they had been written after the riots in order to spur the

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, June 5 and 26, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.* Roda came to hear about the first letter and tried to exonerate himself in a *letter to Azara of August 5, 1766 (in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.).

[2] Rousseau, I., 207, citing in support documents from the Foreign Office in Paris.

[3] *Giov. Crisostomo to Pagliarini, May 16, 1766, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 215, I.

[4] *Candano to Angulo, Vitoria, April 22, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[5] *Du Tillot to Azara, April 12, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1766.

[6] *Du Tillot to Azara, April 28, 1766, *ibid.*

Government on against the Religious, who were no doubt mixed up in the disturbances.[1]

Tanucci's views regarding the originators of the revolt were subject to curious fluctuations. In his first letters to the king,[2] to his confidants Losada,[3] Cattolica,[4] and Catanti,[5] and to the Minister Grimaldi [6] he knows of no other culprits than the rabble of Madrid, this "low, barbaric mob, unworthy of belonging to the human race, only fit to be classed with the stupidest of animals." [7] Two weeks later he had formed the opinion that "the ignorant, lazy, and vicious priests and monks with their false doctrine of exemption had encouraged corruption and the disrespect of princes, authorities, and laws.". At the same time, Squillace was not without fault; when he was in Naples he had made an unfortunate choice of his subordinate officials and by his strictness and excessive zeal in the execution of the laws he had brought upon himself such hatred that, according to his own admission, it would have been impossble for him to stay much longer in Naples

[1] "*He leído los versos escritos con fuego y sangre. Pero si V. S. non me aseverase el contrario, los creeria compuestos despues de la sedicion, y quasi para animar mas el govierno contra los frayles, que sin duda han tenido parte en ella" (Du Tillot to Azara, July 11, 1766, *ibid.*). "*En Sevilla y en Cordova se ha hecho una sigilosa pesquisa sobre un papel que se publicó en Madrid, y decia: Impreso en la Casa profesa de Sevilla. Era, contro el Rey y sobre tumulto. Presto se descubrió la calumnia, y quedó mas asegurado el buen nombre y fidelidad debida a nuestro Rey. Toda la proyincia se porta con gran juicio en este y otros puntos" (Fr. Gamero a Fr. Montes, Cadiz, July 1, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777).

[2] *April 22 and 29, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 6099.

[3] *April 15 and 22, 1766, *ibid.*, 5996.

[4] *April 15 and 22, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] *April 15, 1766, *ibid.*

[6] *April 15 and 22, 1766, *ibid.*, 6099.

[7] *Tanucci to Cattolica, July 29, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997. *Cf.* *Tanucci to Orsini, April 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 5996. He would have liked the king to deprive Madrid of the royal presence for ever (*to Losada, May 27, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997).

after the departure of Charles III.[1] On May 3rd Tanucci was rejoicing that the king had come to the conclusion that the monks and priests had been the instigators of the rebellion, and that for this reason he had replaced the clerical President of the Council of Castile by a Captain-General.[2] Three days later he was promising the king to offer a special prayer to the Holy Ghost to disperse the residue of darkness that might be concealing some relics of malignity and sedition.[3] A week after this he writes to Catanti : " It is already agreed in Spain that the calamity has come and is still coming from the ecclesiastical *canaille*, and from the most intriguing element, the Jesuits, the most prominent of whom are a certain Lopez and Zito, satellites of the Don Zenone [Ensenada] who has been banished to Medina del Campo." [4] " The Jesuit Lopez is an enemy of the king ; I told His Majesty when he was leaving here. His comrade is Zito, to whom also I have drawn attention." [5] By June 3rd the diffuse suspicions had crystallized into the definite accusation : " Some of the satires show clear traces of the Churchmen, the Jesuits in particular." [6] According to

[1] *To Losada, April 29, 1766, *ibid.*, 5996 ; *to Catanti, May 13, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] *To Cantillana, May 3, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] " *Pieno della più viva umilissima riconoscenza per la pietà, ch'io leggo della M. V. per me, prego lo Spirito Santo che in questi suoi giorni illumini il resto delle tenebre, tra le quali possa esser involta tuttavia qualche maligna e sediziosa reliquia " (to Charles III., May 6, 1766, *ibid.*, 6099).

[4] " Già in Spagna si sono accorti, che il male è venuto e viene dalla canaglia ecclesiastica, e dalla più intrigante, che è quella dei gesuiti, tralli quali un certo P. Lopez e un P. Zito si sono segnalati, satelliti di Don Zenone, che come saprà, è stato esiliato a Medina di Campo " (to Catanti, May 13, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997). To Losada, June 17 and July 22, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] *To Cattolica, May 13, 1766, *ibid.* The same accusations were made in a *letter to Losada of the same date, *ibid.*

[6] " Alcune pasquinate mostran chiaramente la gente di Chiesa, e particularmente li Gesuiti " (*to Losada, June 3, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997).

another letter written about this time, Squillace's flight meant the victory of Spanish nationalism, which detested Italians and French alike.[1] Tanucci agrees with Squillace that he was driven out because he was a foreigner, an ardent regalist, and a reformer.[2] A fortnight later his anger was again directed against Lopez, who was not only an intriguer but a trouble-maker, an enemy and a rebel against the king. As proof of this he had had a document in his possession since 1759. It would not surprise him if Lopez had been the cause of what had happened to Ensenada, who during his term of office after the death of Philip V. had openly proclaimed his anti-foreign convictions.[3]

Tanucci's aims become clear in a letter to Centomani of July 12th, 1766. The " Spanish satires which appeared before the rising are Jesuit poison. For any other monarch that would have been sufficient cause to clear the Jesuits out of the country ". Only the Spanish sovereign lacked an enlightened and dutiful law-court, such as the kings of Portugal and France had at their disposal. Lisbon already had its Primate and was about to organize the election of Bishops and all the rest of the Church's discipline according to the system of the primitive Church.[4] From now on especially Tanucci is working for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain with the most tiresome frequence and varied phraseology in his correspondence. Thus, he writes to Losada[5] : " With the last letters from there a satire was sent me which shows such a criminal spirit that I wonder how Aranda can have the face to talk to the king about returning to Madrid. Your Excellency has no

[1] *To Centomani, June 7, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] *To Losada, June 10, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] " *Il P. Lopez non solamente è intrigante, ma è sedizioso, nemico e ribelle del Re, e io ne ho un documento 'n mano fin dal 1759. Non mi meraviglierei, che egli fosse stata la cagione di quel, che è avvenuto a Ensenada..." (to Losada, June 24, 1766, *ibid.*). Similarly *to Cattolica and Catanti on the same date, *ibid.*

[4] *To Centomani, July 12, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] *On July 15, 1766, *ibid.*

doubt seen it. It obviously comes from a Jesuit or one of their tertiaries. The Jesuits have been driven out of France and Portugal for less than this."

As already mentioned, Tanucci stated that he was in possession of evidence incriminating the Jesuit Lopez. This would have been of great importance in the inquiry which had been set up for the definite purpose of discovering the instigators of the rebellion ; but when he was asked to produce the document, he began to shift his ground. Prince Yaci, he said, had written to him in 1759 that he considered Lopez and Zito had little liking for the king ; in his opinion it was they who were spreading the mutinous ideas and prophecies that a king with an Italian upbringing had a poor chance of success in Spain. Another letter of Yaci's spoke of a plot of the Jesuits Rábago, Micco, and Altamirano, together with the President of the Council of Castile, to keep the monarch away as much as possible from State affairs. He had read all these letters to the king at the time. To find the required documents among three hundred odd letters would mean a long search and he was so busy with State affairs that he hardly had the time for this. In any case, he did not see what purpose such a confidential letter would serve.[1] Nevertheless, he did not cease to spur on Charles III.'s entourage to expel the Jesuits. France's example should be followed, and those Orders which it was desired to keep in the country should be reformed, while those it was intended to expel should be handed over for examination to the parliaments. "Regarding the Jesuits, France and Portugal will always be two shining examples. It if is ever intended to carry out the work, this is the most favourable moment, when the examples are still fresh in our memory. The Jesuits in Spain may be no worse than those in France and Portugal, but they are certainly no better. Their conduct is as inimical to religion and Christian morality as it is to the State. The history of Paraguay is enough to show that the Jesuits are more harmful to Spain than to France.

[1] *To Losada, August 5, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* the *letter to Losada of September 16, 1766, *ibid.*, 5998.

In Paraguay there is not a single Spanish Jesuit but only foreigners who control over three million subjects and thirty thousand soldiers." [1] Similar sentiments were expressed by Tanucci in a letter to the Spanish agent Azara. "I have done everything in my time to prove the truth of this [the wickedness of the Jesuits] to the king. The king knows them. I am sure that in his heart His Majesty has often applauded, if not actually envied, Portugal and France, which have done with the Jesuits. I am also convinced that his mother has frustrated many resolutions which the king would probably have carried out, and which he now will carry out." It was no good tackling the business piecemeal; the whole work should be done at once. "I know with what fanaticism the Spanish soul is animated in favour of the Jesuits; that is why I have no hope that the great work of expulsion, liberation, and salvation will be performed without help from outside." [2]

The verdict had been given before the inquiry had properly begun.

(6)

On receiving Grimaldi's accounts of the Madrid riots, Choiseul advised the discovery and punishment of the instigators; in this case forbearance was tantamount to weakness.[3] As early as April 12th—whether as the result of this suggestion or not is uncertain—Roda conveyed to Count Aranda the king's ardent desire to see the origin, the instruments, and the promoters of the uprising conclusively (*con fundamento*) established.[4]

Under date April 21st, 1766, the king imparted to the President of the Council of Castile the official order and authority to institute a secret inquiry into the excesses that had taken place in the capital. He was to discover the authors, distributors, and instigators of the rebellious pamphlets that had appeared after March 26th and which purposed by means

[1] *To Losada, August 26, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] *To Azara, August 30, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] *Choiseul to Grimaldi, April 7, 1766, *ibid.*, 6099.

[4] *Roda to Aranda, April 12, 1766, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

of distorted news to render the Government detested, to diminish the prestige of the Crown at home and abroad, and to imperil the peace of the realm. The witnesses were not only to have their names kept secret but were to enjoy the special favour of the king. To ensure that the proceedings were carried out in accordance with the law, the President was to avail himself of the services of the Fiscal Campomanes and another member of the Council.[1] Aranda chose for this purpose Miguel Maria de Nava.[2] An exceptional court of justice was thus set up and was given the misleading name of the "Extraordinary Council of Castile",[3] in order to qualify all the resolutions of this special court in the face of public opinion with the high moral reputation enjoyed by this supreme judicial, legislative, and administrative body.[4]

At the request of the Government [5] the secular clergy [6] were granted leave by the Vicar General of Toledo, and the regular clergy [7] by the nuncio Pallavicini, to give evidence before the lay judge. Both had thereby exceeded their powers, but the Pope made good the legal defect, with the qualification that the permit granted was to be valid only for one year and solely in respect of the *lèse-majesté* committed during the outbreak.[8] The Government's action had indicated

[1] *Charles III. to Aranda, April 21, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] *Aranda to Roda, April 22, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] *Consejo de Castilla en el extraordinario* was its official title.

[4] Rousseau, I., 203.

[5] *Aranda to the Vicar-General Varones, May 13, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Grimaldi to Pallavicini, May 15, 1766, *ibid.*, Estado, 4982.

[6] *May 14, 1766, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[7] *May 18, 1766, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, June 12 and July 10, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072. *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, May 20, June 24, July 1 and 8, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 301 and 302, *loc. cit.* Thereupon Pallavicini sent Grimaldi, with a *letter of July 1, 1766 (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4982), a new, valid *permission (Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.*).

that in the Ministries the clergy were thought to be involved in the insurrection, and this supposition became a certainty when the Fiscal Campomanes rendered his first report on June 8th, 1766.[1] After some introductory remarks about the importance and difficulty of his task, Campomanes made the following statement : The misleading of the simple people was a result of the preposterous ideas of the royal authority disseminated by the clergy and was a product of the fanaticism they had been propagating for centuries. The lampoons were the work of privileged persons or of those who had acted on their instructions. Even before the rising rumours about it were already circulating through the whole country and were passed on by the only people who had any knowledge of the secret, namely, the clergy. It was made a meritorious work to undermine respect for the lawfully constituted authority. It was clear, he continued, that this investigation and the action to be taken as the result of it could not take place with due speed in full council, firstly on account of the difficulty in assembling unobtrusively, and secondly on account of the variety of opinions, quite apart from the necessity of entrusting numerous subordinate officials with the drawing up of the protocol. They were compelled, therefore, to set up a special chamber which, furnished with the authority of the regular Council, was to meet in the residence of the President of the Council as and when secrecy demanded.[2]

[1] *Consejo extraordinario*, June 8, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009 ; see Danvila y Collado, III., 26 *seq.* ; Ferrer del Rio, II., 126 *seq.*

[2] " *Claro es que en el Consejo pleno no seria posible tratarse con la expedicion debida esta pesquisa y sus resultas por la dificultad de congregarse y la variedad de opinar, ademas de la precision de fiar a muchos subalternos la actuacion. Es por lo mismo necesario formar una sala que conozca de todas las providencias definitivas, o que tengan fuerza de tales, para que de esa suerte se proceda por la autoridad ordinaria del Consejo, y con la formalidad debida... Todo lo qual se podrá poner por el Presidente y Ministro de el Consejo que actuan en esta sigilosa pesquisa en la alta y soberana consideracion, a fin de que se

This was nothing more or less than a demand for a secret, exceptional court with secret judges, secret witnesses, and a secret procedure—a truly fitting creation of the absolutist age.[1] The nuncio's protest that it was a one-sided action against the clergy only was curtly rejected, with the remark that no complaints had been laid against laymen.[2]

The spirit in which the commission set to work was revealed still more clearly in the second report, which was rendered by Campomanes in the session of September 11th, 1766.[3] The inquiry, he stated, had already made such progress that some idea could be formed of how the people had been incited to revolt. Under the cloak of religion, virtue, even of martyrdom, a movement had been provoked which was particularly dangerous on account of the extraordinary secrecy that surrounded it and its apparent peace and order in the midst of the general disorder. In all the ramifications of these intricate incidents could be discerned the activity of a religious body which even during the present inquiry was seeking, by spreading rumours, to win over the clergy and other bodies and to encourage a general dislike of the Government and its principles of reform. By its crafty system of flattering every class in terms adapted to its particular interests and grievances, it paved the way for the uprising, inducing the devout to believe that the money for the "*provocateurs*" came from the

deputen los Ministros del Consejo necesarios para formar sala particular en la posada del presidente todas las veces a las horas, y en la forma que mas conveniente parezca, a fin de observar el exterior y reservado disimulo que por ahora requiere la dependencia, o acordaran lo que estimen por mas conveniente." *Ibid.*

[1] Danvila y Collado, III., 36.

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 23, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* Information had been laid against non-Jesuits also, but nothing is known of any proceedings being taken. *Cf.* the *denunciations of Fr. Blas de Madre de Dios sent to Muzquiz, July 17 and October 31, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009; *Candano to Angulo, April 22, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 11, 1766, *ibid.*

apartments of the queen-mother.[1] Nor was there any lack of fabrications intended to make the other members of the royal family detested or unpopular. All this was done with the purpose of encouraging the weak-willed and the fanatics to act as instruments of the rising and to conceal the head-quarters which made these exhaustive preparations and which issued these vast sums of money. Under the false appearance of piety these trickeries spread in all directions and produced such striking effects because they came from the mouths of persons consecrated to God. Once the people had been enlightened they would no longer be the plaything of so pernicious a credulity and the clerics would no longer devote themselves to the dissemination of such slanders. Deprived of these auxiliaries, this dangerous body, which sought to dominate the throne in every country and considered every means permissible whereby it might attain its ends, would be restricted to its own resources. At the moment the members of this body were proclaiming in their sermons the imminent destruction of the Society of Jesus, and in the provinces the rumour was abroad that Jesuits had been arrested. The object of this and similar talk was both to arouse men's tempers and to abuse the sympathy and the good nature of the people, so that they would make common cause with them in the defence of the Faith whose downfall was being prophesied. To frustrate the stratagems of these persons the monarch would do well to remind the Bishops and the heads of Orders that the secular and regular clergy were forbidden by the laws of Spain to speak against the king and Government.[2] As soon as the clergy knew that they were liable to be denounced they would give their sermons a form that was innocent and innocuous to the State. In this way the body would be isolated which was consistently opposing the laws

[1] *Cf.* *Aranda to Roda, November 22, 1767, *ibid.*, 582.

[2] An allusion to the laws of John I. and Henry III. The original text prohibited only speech against "*personas reales*". Roda added some words on his own account, so that the prohibition extended to the Government or the Ministers. Texts of the laws in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

and whose spirit, mode of government, and activities were sufficiently revealed by the documents of the present inquiry. Careful consideration would show that these people had been the sole originators of the past disorders and would continue to be such as long as this body existed within the State. With regard to this last point the Fiscal reserved the right to bring forward in legal form whatever motion he thought most expedient.[1]

On the strength of this report the Extraordinary Council asked for the promulgation of the proposed decree, with the object of informing the people of the dependence of the clergy on the monarch, of keeping the whole of the Spanish clergy in subjection, and of making the royal power ready for action ; for the Council was gaining from the secret inquiries an ever deeper impression that this power would be needed.[2] This resolution was presented by Aranda to the king on the same day. A decree of this nature was necessary, he submitted, so as to enlighten the king's subjects about his rights, to keep in check the countless host of clerics, and to expose their weakness to the people. It would also help to prepare the public for the results of the inquiry, which would then be accepted by the exempt with more moderation and by the laity with greater submissiveness.[3] By a royal ordinance of September 18th, 1766, all secular and regular clergy were warned against stirring up passions by their speeches, disturbing public order, and intervening in Government affairs, which were far removed both from their knowledge and their clerical duties.[4] In transmitting this announcement to Azpuru, Grimaldi summed up the result of the conference in a few words : in the opinion of Count Aranda the laity in the recent disorders

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 11, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* Ferrer del Rio, II., 128 *seqq.* ; Danvila y Collado, III., 27 *seqq.*

[2] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 11, 1766, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*, 1009, fo. 177–180.

[3] *Aranda to Roda, September 11, 1766, *ibid.*

[4] **Real Cedula* (printed), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 46. *Cf.* Danvila y Collado, III., 29.

had probably been seduced, and the seduction came from the clergy.[1]

On what grounds did the Fiscal base his charges against the Society of Jesus ? As already shown, in the official and private reports that were made in the first few weeks after the risings there was no reference to any Jesuit participation.[2] Inquiries made in this direction by the *Alcalde* Codallos produced no result.[3] Various denunciations were made in the course of the inquiries but apparently led to nothing. Some satirical verses, for instance, were sent by a Hieronymite of Cordova to the Grand Inquisitor, but they were judged by him to have come, not from the Jesuits, but most probably from their bitterest enemies.[4] We also know of a complaint brought against the Jesuit José Blas on account of a sermon he had preached at Lerida on the feast of St. Ignatius.[5] A certain Fray Marcos Sanchez claimed to know on hearsay evidence of a Jesuit who had said that an association, with the popular preacher Calatayud as its president, had been formed in Pamplona with the object of murdering the king.[6] An anonymous charge brought against various Jesuits ended with : " Unless the means are used now which have been used in France and which were recommended long ago by Palafox there will always be serious trouble in Spain ; nor will the end be attained except by a blow struck by a master hand." [7]

When inquiries made in this direction had failed to produce

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 23, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 46.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 62 *seqq.*

[3] Ricci, **Espulsione*, n. 63.

[4] *Isidro Lopez to Guerra (undated, [c. May 30, 1766]), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777 ; *Lopez to the Rector of Valladolid (undated), *ibid.*

[5] *Roda to Aranda, September 25, 1766, *ibid.*, 1009. The extract from the sermon had been forwarded by the French envoy Ossun.

[6] *Sanchez to Roda, September 22, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009. *Cf.* *Sanchez to Roda, June 13, 1767, *ibid.*, 688.

[7] Undated (printed by hand), *ibid.*

any really suitable grounds for a charge, the Fiscal exerted himself still more energetically to prove by indirect means that the Jesuits had originated the revolt. In one denunciation the Jesuits Martinez and Arnal were accused of having introduced and circulated French apologetic works in Spain without official permission. It is a known fact that at that period Spain was flooded with pamphlets, mostly from France and Portugal, directed not only against the honour of the Society but also against the honour of the king and the monarchy.[1] Not only were they brought across the frontier without let or hindrance but they were approved by more than one Minister.[2] The Spanish Jesuits, in their desire to obtain a hearing for the defence against these attacks,[3] had, in fact, been sending for a year past for apologetic works from abroad and had distributed them in Spanish territory, either in the original text or in Spanish translations.[4] By dint of rumours and ill-will the charge against the Jesuits was aggravated into one of maintaining secret printing presses by means of which the numerous lampoons against the Government had also been produced.[5] The matter was not only taken up by the Spanish

[1] *Isidro Lopez to Idiaquez, August 26, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] On November 23, 1766, Aranda *instructed the Minister Roda to send him Canon Perez' Spanish translation of Palafox's letter against the Jesuits, so that it might be given a proper printing licence (Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009). For the steps taken by Roda to prevent the *Febronius* being put on the Index, *cf.* *Roda to Azara, December 9, 1766, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I. See also Frias, *Los Jesuitas y el motín de Esquilache en la "Historia de España" por Rafael Altamirano*, in *Razón y Fe*, XXIX. (1911), 166.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, September 18, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* the following Jesuit letters: *Xav. Belicia to Meagher, July 9, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; *Salvador Portela to Alustiza, February 28, 1766, *ibid.*; *L. Medinilla to Alustiza, March 21, 1766, *ibid.*; *Escorza to Alustiza, March 15, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] The Jesuits had in their own houses private—but not secret—printing presses. *Cf.* *Lopez to the Rector of Villagarcia, June 11,

police and Inquisition but even high-ranking diplomats gave it their attention. The French printer Trebos of Bayonne, who had supplied the apologetic works, was put in prison and his stock of books was confiscated.[1] When certain houses were searched there was found in the room occupied by the Jesuit Poyanos, rector of the seminary at Calatayud, the Spanish translation of Grou's reply to the *Extraits des assertions*

1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777; *Lopez to Idiaquez, July 19, 1767, *ibid.* The accusation that the pamphlets against the king and the Government had been printed there was not proved by their opponents and was consistently denied by the Jesuits. One of the satires that appeared in Madrid bore the stamp: *Impreso en la Casa profesa de Sevilla.* Secret searches made in the colleges of Seville, Córdova, Villagarcia, and Burgos showed straightway the utter worthlessness of the charges. "Presto se descubrió la calumnia, y quedó mas asegurado el buen nombre y fidelidad debida a nuestro Rey. Toda la provincia se porta con gran juicio en este y otros puntos" (*Gamero to Montes, July 1, 1766, *ibid.*). *Cf.* *Medinilla to Alustiza, October 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 666; *Pallavicini to Soto, October 23, 1766, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, October 28, 1766, Cifre, *ibid.*

[1] **Extracto de carta del Duque de Choiseul al Marqués de Ossun*, of August 25 and 27 and September 15, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009. The principal works in question were the pastoral letter of the Archbishop Beaumont of Paris, the *Apologie des Jésuites*, the *Parecer de los obispos de Francia sobre la utilidad de la doctrina y gobierno de los Jesuitas*, the *Lettres critiques et historiques*, etc. (*ibid.*). "*Mons. Trebos impresor en Bayona imprime y envia libros españoles y traducidos de frances en español sobre los asuntos corrientes de Francia en materia de Jesuitas y de los Parlamentos. Estos se esparcen en España. Conviene saber con quicnes tiene su correspondencia, los que le encargan de España la impresion, y a quienes envia los exemplares, quantos, y que genero de libros y papeles ha impreso. Y que se le impida la continuacion de este comercio", (*autograph note from Roda, undated, *ibid.*). *Lopez to Idiaquez, September 15, 1766, *ibid.*, 688. After the banishment of the Jesuits Trebos applied to the Spanish Government for an indemnity (*Roda to Aranda, April 27, 1767, *ibid.*, 667).

dangéreuses; in Grou's work it was shown that more than seven hundred texts in this clumsy compilation had been falsified and also, incidentally, the accusation that Jesuits defended regicide and tyrannicide was refuted.[1] In the session of the Extraordinary Council of September 21st, 1766, Campomanes accused the Inquisition of partisanship. It suppressed, he said, the *Anales de los Jesuitas* and the *Cartas del Dr. de la Sapienza*, which were real masterpieces of history; they had not been banned in France or Spain and they were eminently suitable for studying the problem of the Jesuit Institute. On the other hand, in open opposition to the Council, the Inquisition allowed free play to the numerous Jesuit works which contested the royal authority, the sovereign rights of the Crown, and sound doctrine generally. And it persisted in trying to bring about the condemnation of the *Febronius*.[2]

Calatayud, an aged priest, had been giving missions to the people in forty-one dioceses during the previous forty years. In his book *Doctrinas prácticas* and in his sermons he had attacked a form of contract much in vogue among the merchants of Bilbao and had condemned it as usurious.[3] The merchants complained to Count Aranda, who, with the agreement of the Extraordinary Council, ordered the missionary to leave the Basque provinces at once.[4] Calatayud abandoned the mission he was giving and left the next day for Valladolid.[5] The General of the Order, through his Provincial Idiaquez,

[1] *Razón y Fe*, XXIX. (1911), 166, 280.

[2] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 21, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009. *Ibid.* Roda's *correspondence with the Grand Inquisitor.

[3] *Lopez to Idiaquez, September 13, 1766, *ibid.*, 668; Ricci, **Espulsione*, 7, in Jesuit possession.

[4] *Aranda to Comte de Fleignie, September 8, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[5] *Calatayud to Alustiza, September 16, 1766, *ibid.*; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 30, October 14, and November 11, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* [Rodeles], *Vida del P. Pedro Calatayud*, Madrid, 1882, 429 *seqq.*

instructed his subjects to exercise the greatest care in their sermons and private conversation and above all to refrain from any criticism of the Government. Any transgressors were to receive from their Superiors punishment proportionate to the gravity of their offences.[1]

At the same time as Calatayud was banished a prohibition was issued against any Jesuit's practising the Exercises or holding missions in the Basque provinces.[2] When the Madrid disturbances spread to the provinces the worst disorders took place in the small town of Azpeitia in the province of Guipúzcoa. At the first sign of trouble the Corregidor sent to Madrid exaggerated reports of the excesses committed by the rioters and asked for military support. Actually, the whole affair was quite unimportant; the misconduct of the rioters was due principally to drunkenness, under the influence of which, it is true, they uttered violent threats, but there was not a single case of bloodshed or incendiarism. When the measures taken were found to have been unnecessary, an attempt was made to put a different complexion on the affair. The Provincial Estates complained to Fr. Idiaquez that the Jesuits of Loyola had induced the stonemasons working on their church to be insubordinate.[3] When the rector had called on them to hasten to Azpeitia and help maintain order there, the workers had replied (so ran the complaint) that they would rather take up arms to attack the town than to defend it. The rector firmly denied that he had heard any such declaration. Only two of the workmen had replied, he said; he had not heard what one of them had said, as he had muttered something to himself; the other had said that they wanted the prices of wheat and

[1] *Idiaquez to the Rector of San Sebastián, November 29, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, October 23 and December 11, 1766, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Aranda to Comte de Fleignie, September 8, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666.

[3] May 16, 1766 (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.*; *Roda to Aranda, April 27, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

maize to be lowered. Seeing that they were not inclined to answer his appeal he sent them back to their work. The whole accusation was full of contradictions ; it was admitted that he had called on the workmen to maintain order, and at the same time he was accused, in making this appeal, of having incited them to disobedience. The object of the whole business, thought Fr. Idiaquez, was to involve the Fathers in the insurrection, although it was common knowledge that they had tried to calm the people. Another charge was that the Jesuits had tried to obstruct the discovery and apprehension of the rioters who had fled to Loyola by unlawfully extending the right of immunity. In reply to this, Fr. Mendizabal asserted that they had been captured without the Fathers knowing anything about it.[1] It was possible, however, that after the event they had declared that the officials had violated ecclesiastical immunity.[2] To keep the peace, the Provincial gave orders that none of the workers who had refused to help the civil authorities in Azpeitia should continue to be employed in building the church.[3] He also stated that he did not consider the church porch, which was the chief object of the dispute, to be within the area of immunity. His subordinate, Esterripa, whose manner of defending the immunity had been too impetuous, was transferred by him to the college of Logroño.[4] The Council of Castile was apparently satisfied with these measures,[5] but the Society's opponents continued to

[1] *To Lopez, May 23 and July 18, 1766, *ibid.*, 777.

[2] *Esterripa to Lopez, May 23, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Fr. Antonio del Valle to Mendizabal (undated [May 1766]), *ibid.* ; *Uriarte to Lopez, June 5, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] *Idiaquez to the Provincial Estates of Guipúzcoa, June 5 and July 21, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 666 ; the *Provincial Estates of Guipúzcoa to Idiaquez, June 22, 1766, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* ; *Lopez to Mendizabal, July 3, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777.

[4] *Lopez to Idiaquez, June 18, 1766, *ibid.* ; *Idiaquez to Aranda, June 28, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] *Lopez to Idiaquez, July 16, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777.

exploit the incident with the object of undermining its reputation and paving the way for its destruction.[1] On Lopez's advice, Fr. Idiaquez went to Court to express the devotion and respect of the Society of Jesus for the king's person and Government and to rectify by personal speech the distorted description of the incidents in Loyola and of the dissemination of the apologetic works.[2] A few weeks later the Provincial sent Grimaldi a letter in which he regretted the excesses committed by some of his subjects, described the disciplinary measures he had taken, and expressed the hope that the monarch would not cause the whole body to expiate the guilt of a few members who, in their eagerness to defend the honour of the Order, had gone too far.[3] The favourable reception accorded to Idiaquez by Charles III. gave grounds for supposing that the matter had been settled amicably,[4] but any such hopes were dashed by Grimaldi's reply. From this it became clear that the king's satisfaction was only in respect of the Provincial in person, who was a son of the Duke of Gandia, and that the matter was going to be pursued. The Prince made the laws but it was the right of the magistrates to see to their observance and to punish the guilty.[5]

[1] " *Se han disparado mil calumnias contra nosotros, y aun ha havido quien soltase la especie de echarnos de la provincia. Con esta ocasion Campomanes . . . tirandra hacernos causa del tumulto " (*Mata to Poyanos, July 5, 1766, *ibid.*).

[2] *Lopez to Idiaquez, August 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 688 ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 2, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* The nuncio took this occasion to send the Secretary of State the work of the Portuguese regalist Pereira, so that he might learn the principles forming the basis of the accusations against the Jesuits of Loyola (*ibid.*).

[3] September 20, 1766. The contents of the letter are known only from Grimaldi's reply (see below, n. 5).

[4] *Lopez to Idiaquez, August 30, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688. *Cf.* NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., Manresa, 1893, 150.

[5] " *Me refiere V. R. sucintamente el origen de sus mortificaciones : protexta que sin su permiso, y aun sin su noticia han cometido algunos subditos suyos los excesos que las causan :

On various occasions in the past a close watch had been kept on Jesuit correspondence, but now, with the object of discovering some grounds for a charge, the violation of postal secrecy was developed into a regular system.[1] Even the Papal

me asegura haber removido de su empleo al mas culpado, y tener resuelto proceder contra los demas transgresores a medida de su culpa : y finalmente me pide le comunique ordenes para la pronta correccion y castigo de ellos, y sobre todo que informe al Rey de la afliccion en que dexan a V. R. estos sucesos, templada unicamente con la esperanza de que su piedad ha de discernir entre la culpa que cometieron unos particulares, llevados acaso de imprudente celo por la reputacion, y defensa de su Instituto, y la inocencia del cuerpo y los que le mandan ; quienes, aunque podrán padecer la nota de descuidados, no la de complices, a lo menos por lo que toca a V. R." (Grimaldi to Idiaquez, October 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7911). Danvila y Collado (III., 23) and Rousseau (I., 209) conclude from this letter that Idiaquez admitted that his subjects were to some extent responsible for the uprising in Madrid. It is clear, however, from the words "impelled by an imprudent zeal for the reputation and defence of their Institute" that it is a question here of the importation and distribution of apologetic writings without permission of the civil authorities. *Cf. Razon y Fe,* XXIX. (1911), 164 *seq.*

[1] "*Luego que sucedió el tumulto por Marzo de 1766 se me dió la comision de orden de V. E. para interceptar la correspondencia de los Regulares de la Compañía en que entendí con la fidelidad que corresponde hasta que fueron expelidos de estos dominios por Abril 1769 ... El trabajo no solamente estaba reducido a interceptar las cartas que venian dirigidas a los Regulares que residian en Madrid, en el reyno, Indias, Italia y otros paises, sino a las que unos y otros respondian, sin reservar las de sus confidentes ya ecclesiasticos, ya seculares ..." Whereas others had been richly rewarded for services rendered in connexion with the expulsion, the writer had received nothing, so that he was almost forced to the conclusion that the Ministry had not thought too highly of his work. . . . "A la verdad que hoy en el dia me mantendr'a en este concepto, si la confianza de otro nuevo encargo que se me hizo el año de 1768, tambien de orden de V. E., para interceptar la correspondencia de todos los R^dos

nuncio's correspondence was not exempt. Already, in 1762, Torrigiani had advised the all-trusting Pallavicini to take more precautions in sending his dispatches,[1] and a year later he had to repeat his warning.[2] But the situation continued to deteriorate, especially after the Ministry had gained possession of the key to the cipher. On April 2nd, 1765, Tanucci thanked the Foreign Minister Grimaldi for communicating to him the contents of an intercepted letter of Torrigiani's.[3] By similar means Roda received a copy of the letter in which the Cardinal Secretary of State apprised the representative of the Holy See of the anti-Jesuit convictions of the new Minister of Justice.[4] When the Jesuit question in Spain became of prime importance the nunciature's correspondence was almost regularly broken open and deciphered, as is shown by the copies preserved in the archives of Simancas.[5]

In allotting to Tanucci some of the credit for the expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits, Roda was but stating the truth.[6] With questionable logic Tanucci argued with Losada, Charles III.'s

Obispos con motivo de las especies de impugnacion que se suscitaron contra el, Juicio Imparcial " de la 1ª edicion, no me huviera facilitado una de las mayores satisfacciones, con que templé mi recelo..." (*Itúrbide to Grimaldi, July 8, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 670). Itúrbide made a further *application to Roda (*ibid.*) on July 28, 1770, whereupon, at the royal command, he was granted 12,000 *reals*, and his two assistants 6,000 *reals* each, from the fund created from the confiscated Jesuit property (*Roda to Aranda, August 10, 1770, *ibid.*). *Cf.* also the *correspondence between Angulo and Roda, *ibid.*, 1009, fo. 529–586.

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 7, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 27, 1763, Cifre, *ibid.*, 290.

[3] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6097.

[4] *Roda to Azara, September 16, 1766, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[5] Most of the intercepted *dispatches are to be found there in Estado 5044 and 5072, and in Gracia y Justicia, 767 and 1009.

[6] *Cf.* *Tanucci to Roda, April 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000.

Lord High Chamberlain,[1] that if no grandee or important military officer or Minister could be found to have led the rebellious movement, then the originators must have been priests, monks, and Jesuits. A week later he advised the removal of the schools from the influence of the Jesuits and the employment of teachers from other countries. By pleading the supremacy of the Holy See the Jesuits were trying to make all Catholic peoples their slaves.[2] A month later he said that he could understand the king's being worried about the Jesuits ; if those people knew how to forgive and forget one might at least attempt to win them over ; but that would not be possible without great sacrifices, for they were insatiable in their demands, and were they to come to power again, Rome would rule in Spain, the royal prerogatives would be no more, the State would be impoverished, and both art and science would perish.[3] Another letter of Tanucci's to Charles III., of the same date, was wholly aimed at the king's suspicious nature. After asking him not to allow the future Queen of Naples to bring with her a Jesuit confessor from Vienna, he went on to say : " Your Majesty knows my many reasons for my pessimistic view. I humbly beg permission to say for the first and last time that I have still other serious reasons which Your Majesty does not know and will never need to know and which You would do best to have buried with Your old servant who has only a few days more to live. The moment is not yet come for Your Majesty to know of them, but the present time is fitting for You to guess at those reasons with advantage." [4]

The General of the Order's correspondence with certain of his subjects in Spain, writes Tanucci to Cattolica, offers sufficient grounds for the severest measures. If Cattolica expresses the wish for a decision to be made as soon as possible regarding the false, pernicious, and seditious principles that had

[1] *September 9, 1766, *ibid.*, 5998.

[2] *To Losada, September 16, 1766, *ibid.*

[3] *To Losada, October 14, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* also the *letters to Losada of September 30 and October 7 and 21, 1766, *ibid.*

[4] October 14, 1766, *ibid.*

come to light in these letters and endanger the sacred person of the monarch, then he may remind Cattolica that he had foretold years ago in Naples what was now seen to be happening in Spain. Alone, deceived by her Austrian ladies-in-waiting, Queen Amalie was protecting the Jesuits. Now men saw how well-founded were the writings of the learned French *parlementaires*, especially the two volumes of Chalotais' *Compte rendu*.[1]

Nor did Tanucci fail to make practical proposals. The cleansing of the country from Jesuits must be well thought out and must take place simultaneously throughout the realm. Every banished Jesuit was to be given enough for him to live on, not less than a hundred ducats a year, which could be

[1] " *Il carteggio legalizzato del Generale dei gesuiti con alcuni gesuiti, che stanno in Spagna, nel quale sono assunti bastanti a prendersi qualunque forte risoluzione. Vi compiacete d'aggiungere, che desiderate quella risoluzione presa il più presto, che si possa, per le massime false, perniciose e sediziose, che escono da quel carteggio, le quali mettono in pericolo la sacra persona del Sovrano. Ah, da quanti anni ho io predicato qui quello stesso che ora voi dite e vedete ! Io era, e sono stato tanto certo di tali sentimenti nutriti dai gesuiti. Io lo faceva con quello spirito di fedeltà e di zelo, che doveva al re, a per la certezza del vero, che io diceva, lo faceva alla presenza della santa anima della regina, la quale ingannata, al solito delle donne austriache, da quelle anime nere, che abitano nei corpi gesuiti, amava coloro, e li proteggeva. Voi sapete quanto forte fosse nelle sue opinioni, e nei suoi impegni quella G. Signora, e quanto pericoloso fosse l'opporsi, eppure io mi stimava obbligato a qualunque pericolo, perchè si evitassero li mali d'aver coloro nella corte, e si pensasse per tempo al modo di non gli aver nello stato. Una volta usciti, che sieno, presto finiscono le male semenze, se si pensi a favorire, e promuovere preti giovani secolari, e a situarli nelle parochie e nelle scuole. Ora voi vedete, con quanta ragione sieno scritti i libri francesi di tanti dotti parlamentari, e particolarmente li due tomi del , Conto renduto ' di Chalotais. Il fanatismo, che li gesuiti istillano ai loro penitenti e discepoli, è pericolosissimo..." (to Cattolica, November 19, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5988).

taken from the confiscated property. That was both just and expedient at the same time, for the Jesuits would then have to fear the loss of this pension, which they would not be able to replace from any other source. Nor would it be good to allow the non-professed to remain in the country as secular priests, as they had done in France; these men who had stayed behind were the cause of the disturbances that still went on there.[1] Tanucci's warnings did not fall on barren soil. On November 22nd, 1766, he was able to write to Azara that the work was under way and that the battle would be fought. "God give our Don Emanuel [Roda] the strength and endurance to bring the glorious work to a successful conclusion."[2]

The Augustinian General Vasquez also urged his friend Roda to bring about the banishment of the Jesuits. Their despotism, he wrote, had reached its zenith. They were unlimited potentates, they had a hand in everything, they worked with threats, promises, and other methods suggested to them by their arrogance. Palafox's letter was one of those documents which ought to be distributed in countless masses, so as to enlighten the blind Europeans and Americans and to render them disposed to accept as just any measure the Government

[1] "*La purga del paese dai Gesuiti deve ben maturarsi, ma una volta maturata deve eseguirsi tutto in uno stesso momento in tutto il regno. Bisogna dare a ciascun Gesuita fuor del regno tanto, che viva, che io non vorrei meno di 100 ducati l'anno, che si prendessero dai beni, che loro si sieno confiscati: questo oltro l'esser giusto è utile, perchè tiene la Compagnia in freno pel timore di perdere un denaro, al quale non potrebbe supplire altrimenti. Non sarebbe buono in Spagna quello che si è fatto in Francia, di permettere lo stare in Francia a quelli che non avendo fatto il quarto voto volessero rimanervi preti secolari; le reliquie d'inquietudine, che sono in Francia, vengono da questo; eppur sono in Francia circa 20.000 famiglie di gente di toga sparse per tutto il regno, che vegliano contra li Gesuiti, forza di vigilanza che manca alla Spagna" (to Losada, November 18, 1766, *ibid.*).

[2] *To Azara, November 22, 1766, *ibid.*, 5999.

might mete out to those who, under the mask of Christian piety, had hitherto transgressed all the laws of God and man. The good souls who had contributed towards the publication of this letter should lose no time in presenting the people with similar booklets which the common man could understand and read quickly. Thus, the light of truth would penetrate in every direction.[1] This suggestion was repeated by Vasquez the following month, with the passionate demand that the *Benemeriti*, their teaching, and their politics, incorporated in Ricci, Boscovich, and Forestier, be persecuted with vigour. He would recommend his subjects to avoid all intercourse with these dangerous people. Roda was to advise him about inserting in his circular letter something about the inquiry then being made in Spain.[2] At a meeting of Roman " Jansenists ", he wrote later, the plan was discussed of urging Portugal to call an episcopal conference with the object of solemnly prohibiting the doctrine of Molina. In the course of time this step would have a good effect on the Spaniards. Roda might try to get Mello, the Portuguese envoy in Madrid, to support the project. Why was one so patient with the Jesuits ? [3]

The suspicion aroused by certain allusions in these letters that Vasquez had been informed by Azara of the intentions of the Spanish Government becomes a certainty on reading others. " Yesterday," he says, " someone told me he had seen a letter from Madrid in which it was said that we should see things there in April, or May at the latest, of which no one may

[1] " *El despotismo de los Benemeritos ha llegado a tal estremo que son dueños absolutos de todo quanto se hace," etc. (Vasquez to Roda, January 15, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, Vol. I.).

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, February 12, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] " *En un congreso de Jansenistas se pensó aquí sugerir a Portugal que se procurase que los obispos hiciesen una asamblea, en que se prohibiese con proscripcion solenne la doctrina de Molina. Eso seria un hecho que con tiempo podria producir efecto util a nosotros " [Roda might speak] " a nostro Mello a fin de que insistiese en su corte para la execucion del proyecto " (Vasquez to Roda, March 12, 1767, *ibid.*)

speak." He adds the wish that the Lord may give Roda the strength of soul and body needed to complete the great work with which divine Providence has entrusted him, "so that I and all of us may have the joy of seeing our prince's realm freed of the plague which is ravaging it." [1] All the Jesuits ought to be sent to Fuerte Ventura, one of the Canary Isles, which was entirely surrounded by cliffs and therefore practically inaccessible.[2]

By the middle of October the secret inquiry was sufficiently advanced for the Fiscal to round off his charge and lay it before the Extraordinary Council. At Aranda's request [3] Charles III. granted the Council authority to accept the Fiscal's charge and proposals and to take whatever steps he thought suitable, though he was to obtain the king's decision before the final resolution was taken. To raise the Council's prestige the number of its members was increased by three.[4] In accordance with a further decree of October 31st, 1766, all the members of the Council were bound by oath to observe the strictest silence about the names of the witnesses and the whole proceedings; any infringement of this prohibition would be regarded as high treason.[5]

[1] "*O por prevision, o per noticia sugerida por los Terciarios aquí tienen alguna luz de que allí se medita algo contra los Benemeritos, y están con un gran temor y blasfeman contra los Jansenistas, especialmente V. E. que ha hecho tanto rumor allí contra el Breve de privilegios en virtud de una gran escritura que yo hice contra él y envié a V. E. Assi lo oyó Giorgi pocos dias ha en una conversacion. Ayer me dixo uno que habia visto una carta de Madrid en que se decia que por el Abril o Mayo a mas tardar se sabrian aqui cosas que non licet homini loqui... Reciba V. E. memorias del Lor de Jansenio" (Vasquez to Roda, March 25, 1767, *ibid.*).

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, April 9, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *Aranda to Roda, October 16, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[4] *Charles III. to Aranda, October 19, 1766, *ibid.*

[5] *Charles III. to Aranda, October 31, 1766, *ibid.* The *decree of October 31, 1766, *ibid.*, 667. *Cf.* Danvila y Collado, III., 36.

These long negotiations being at last concluded, the day of decision drew near which was to seal the fate of the Jesuits in the Spanish world. In the session of January 29th, 1767, the Extraordinary Council, adopting the opinion of the Fiscal Campomanes, decided on the banishment of the Jesuits from the realms under the Spanish Crown and on the confiscation of their property by the State. The relative document, which was submitted for the royal approval, was in two parts. The first consisted of a historical description of the facts and the legal grounds on which the court had arrived at its verdict, the second dealt with the measures by which the resolution was to be put into effect. Unfortunately, the first and more important part has been mislaid,[1] but the gap is filled by a document (*Exposición sumaria*) which, it is true, was compiled by

[1] When the question of the readmission of the Jesuit Order, which had been restored, came up for discussion in the Council of Castile in 1814–15, the Fiscal Francisco Gutierrez de la Huerta established the fact that the first and most valuable part of the *Consulta* of January 29, 1767, was missing. FERRER DEL RIO (II., 136, n. 2) maintains that this part was lost at the time on its way from the Ministry of Justice to the Fiscal's office. But in the document he cites, namely, the **Consulta* of October 24, 1815 (Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3517), we read: "En 14 del mismo mes de Enero se pidieron dichos documentos y antecedentes: se remitieron en 11 y 17 de Febrero siguientes por D. Pedro Cevallos y D. Tomas Moyano los unicos que existian en los archivos de las respectivas secretarias de su cargo, a saber: de la primera Secretaria de Estado un exemplar impreso de la Pragmatica Sancion sobre el extrañamiento de los Jesuitas; copia de uno de los capitulos de la Consulta del Consejo extraordinario de 29 de Enero de 1767... Por el Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia se remitieron (con la expression de no haberse hallado mas) la carpeta original de la Consulta del Consejo extraordinario fecha 29 de Enero de 1767, con una parte simple que parecia ser de ella." According to this the part of the *Consulta* of January 29, 1767, in question was already missing from the archives. ROUSSEAU (I., 216) suggests that the documents were deliberately destroyed by Charles III.'s Ministers. *Cf.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 39.

Moñino for Clement XIV. two years after the Jesuit expulsion, but which represents in the main an extract from the missing first part of the memorandum of January 29th, 1767.[1] The gist of it is as follows.

From the time of Charles III.'s accession to the throne of Spain the Jesuits had evinced a definite dislike for his person and his Government. Accustomed to the despotism which they had formerly enjoyed as Court confessors, they saw with bitterness that their creatures were no longer promoted to high offices because the king, in his enlightened wisdom, was no longer willing to tolerate the misuse they had made of their power for so many years. Among the various complaints which came to the ears of the monarch were two which grievously affected the body and the government of the Society of Jesus. The churches in India complained of the unheard-of violence with which the Jesuits had cheated them out of their tithes. Bitter complaints were also brought to the foot of the throne by the postulators for the canonization of Palafox; namely, that through the crafty machinations of the Jesuits during Ferdinand VI.'s period of decrepitude some of the works written by this venerable servant of God were burnt, to the scandal of the nation,[2] which writings were afterwards approved by the Congregation of Rites. By listening to these representations the king offended the honour and the self-interest which had always been the idols of this terrible Society. At the same time, by a happy chance, their usurpation of sovereignty in Paraguay was discovered, and also their rebellion and ingratitude, as was clear from the authentic, original documents, which brought to light the usurpation and the excesses which for a century and a half were a problem, or rather an impenetrable mystery, for the whole world. When, on the death of Rábago, his vacant post on the tribunal

[1] *Exposicion sumaria de los excesos cometidos por los Jesuitas, que se remitió a Roma para entregar al Papa*, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 686; see Ferrer del Rio, II., 137 *seqq.*; Danvila y Collado, III., 672 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 322, and below, p. 409.

of the Inquisition was conferred by the king on his confessor, the Society regarded this blow as an attack on its honour and as a loss of the means whereby to make itself respected and feared ; it realized at the same time what little prospect it had of ever regaining the position of Court confessor and, with it, its despotic power. This step of the king's, which had been taken in order to reduce to its proper proportion the fearful faction created by the Society in all classes of the State, aggrieved the Jesuits in the inmost depths of their souls ; for until then they had been accustomed to see only their creatures chosen for high positions in the spiritual and temporal hierarchy, creatures who had been brought up to venerate and be blindly subservient to their principles. That the monarch entrusted the instruction of his children to members of this body was a clear indication that he had no personal dislike of them. But as the Jesuits were not to be satisfied with anything less than the recovery of their former arbitrary power, they formed the plan of setting the whole kingdom in a state of turmoil, and it was only by the special protection of Providence that the realm was preserved from the terrors of a civil war and its disastrous consequences. For long past they had sown among the loyally Catholic Spanish people suspicion both of the king and his Ministers, as though they were heretics and as though religion had declined since the king's arrival and would be changed in Spain within a few years. They spread these and other terrible slanders at first in private conversation, later in their Exercises, giving their opinion of the Government and its measures in a depreciatory manner. At the same time they broadcast all kinds of mysterious prophecies about the length of the king's life and reign ; since 1760 they had been spreading the rumour that he would be dead within six years. For a long time past this rumour-mongering had been brought to the knowledge of the Ministers by completely reliable persons. Abusing the office of preaching they disseminated from the pulpit predictions of rebellions and calamities. With the connivance of the Order's controllers they translated and distributed throughout Spain secretly printed leaflets and pamphlets opposing their expulsion from

Portugal and France; they cast suspicion on the religion of the Ministers and officials of those States and sowed hatred and suspicion of the king's Ministry, as though it were not well disposed towards them. Similarly, they tried to stir up distrust and discontent among corporations and individuals of repute, so as to bring about a secret and dangerous association in which all were involved.[1]

After the Jesuits had prepared men's minds in this manner for some time, they, as ringleaders and plotters, held their secret meetings in the capital, and here that terrible revolt was hatched. At first, no doubt, it was directed against the Finance Minister, Squillace, and his ordinances, but the Jesuits were skilful enough to turn it into a war of religion, the rioters calling themselves soldiers of the Faith. The risings being represented not only as permissible but even as meritorious, fanaticism in some cases rose to such a pitch that certain wounded rioters refused to admit that they were guilty of sin and declared that they would die as martyrs. In Madrid, gross slanders were spread about the king's morality, and also rumours about the discord that prevailed between him and the heir to the throne. It was asserted that the queen-mother was on the side of the rebels. In short, no measures were too base whereby to instil the people with hatred of the monarch and his Government, to force him into the infamous humiliation of including in the Ministry someone completely devoted to, and controlled by, the Jesuits, and of appointing one of their men as royal confessor, which would prepare the way for their return to their old position of power. This is what the Jesuits were aiming at. But as the people saw no future for

[1] Together with the Jesuits a number of other persons were accused of having instigated and participated in the uprising in Madrid. The best known of them were Miguel Antonio de la Gandara, Luis Velasquez, Benito Navarro, Antonio Idiaquez, and Lorenzo Hermoso. A critical appreciation of the *proceedings brought against them (Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 582) brings to light nothing incriminating the Society. Some of the accused were even opponents of the Jesuits. *Cf.* Rousseau, I., 210 *seqq.*

themselves in these things, it ceased to make suitable requests, and so the plot failed and was buried (*depositado*) in the hearts of the leaders of the revolution. In speech and writing the Jesuits tried to excuse the excesses of the mob and to represent the tumult as a heroic undertaking. This is shown by their reports to the Dutch journal where the incidents are described with approval. Not only did they try to kindle the flames of revolt throughout the kingdom, but they also spread false news about the mother-country in the colonies and *vice versa*, hoping in this way to set everything ablaze. In their mission-sermons at Barbastro they foretold the fall of the House of Bourbon on account of its alleged sins ; in Gerona they said that the comet then visible betokened the imminent death of the king. It was this school of fanaticism and the regicidal and tyrannicidal principles defended by the Jesuits that produced the criminal who was sentenced to death for threatening the life of the king. They expressed great grief in their letters at the execution of this pupil and favourite of theirs.

After undermining the foundations of the monarchy they attacked the Court officials and Ministers in anonymous writings, threatening fresh insurrections and pressing for the dismissal of the Court confessor and the Ministers, so that in this way the Jesuit party could regain possession of the helm. To increase the Government's anxiety they informed the President Aranda through the heads of the colleges in Madrid that a fresh revolt had been planned for the beginning of November, which turned out to be quite uncertain. Directly something had leaked out of what had been discovered by the secret inquiry, the Jesuits showed signs of great perturbation and sent each other instructions to restrict their correspondence and to burn their letters. The disturbances in Spain were accompanied by news of increased unrest in America. In one of their letters to those realms they announced that either the king would be replaced by another or a certain member of their party would be appointed Colonial Minister. Their own writings showed that they had set up an absolute monarchy in Paraguay, or rather an unprecedented despotism hostile to all the laws of God and man. The revolts of the Indians against

Spain and Portugal owed their origin to the Jesuits and their leadership. In Chile, according to their own accounts, they encouraged heathen customs, known as Machitun. In all their American missions their unbounded supremacy in spiritual and temporal matters was established.[1] In Quito and New Spain they foretold and instigated unrest. In the Philippines they preached against the Government, and during the occupation of Manila their Provincial contravened the law and stood on good terms with the English General. To pass over further details, it was pointed out in conclusion that they wanted to subject a part of North America to a foreign power, as was seen from the documents which were found at the seizure of the Jesuit entrusted with the negotiations. From these general conditions in Spain and its colonies and from the dangers that threatened, it was clear that there was absolutely no other remedy for this mass of evils than for the nation to cast out from her bosom these ferocious enemies of her tranquillity and happiness. The king could doubtless have instituted legal proceedings against so many culprits and have imposed on them the penalty they deserved, but both his paternal benignity and the realization that the evil lay in the principles of this body induced His Majesty to proceed against the disturbers of the peace with administrative measures. He did not want to punish the transgressions of individuals but to protect himself against the onslaught of this Society which was on the point of ravaging the kingdom.

Any idea of reforming the Jesuits was not only useless but highly dangerous. What hope could there be of a reform when this incorrigible body, in spite of its expulsion from France and Portugal, not only did not humble and improve itself but plunged into still greater crimes ? The reform that had begun in Portugal at the king's request had brought about a dastardly attempt on his life. What Minister could advise his royal master to risk his valuable life while the reform was in progress ? And what monarch could abandon his own safety

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, December 31, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

and that of his realm during this period to the rage of the Jesuits? Moreover, a reform of this utterly depraved body would be tantamount to its destruction. With the Jesuits it was impossible and unnecessary to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. It was not that every member had been let into the secret of the conspiracy; on the contrary, many had acted in good faith; but these above all were the most dangerous enemies of the monarchy since by reason of their simplicity they were most easily used as tools by their superiors. Would it not be unheard-of foolishness to allow a madman the free use of his hands because he did not know he was doing wrong? [1]

On the strength of this indictment by the Fiscal the Extraordinary Council proposed the banishment of the Jesuits, the seizure of their property, and the absolute prohibition of any written correspondence with them.[2] On February 20th, 1767, a special commission (*Junta especial*) met to examine this resolution; it was composed of the Ministers Roda, Muniain, Muzquiz, and Grimaldi, together with the Duke of Alba, Masones, and the king's confessor, Osma. In view of the facts and weighty considerations which had been stated, also the integrity, experience, and erudition of the members of the Extraordinary Council, which ruled out any doubt of the thoroughness, justice, and legality of their proceedings, the special commission came to the conclusion that the king could and should make their verdict his own.[3] With regard to the

[1] The memorial, which had been edited by Moñino and corrected by Roda, was sent to Grimaldi that he might check it. He sent it back on November 19, 1769, with the note: "Debuelvo a V. S. el papel que me confió; le he leído, y me parece muy bien, y a proposito para dar una idea general y somaria qual se pide" (*Grimaldi to Roda, November 19, 1769, *ibid.*, 686).

[2] **Papeles remitidos por la Secretaria de Gracia y Justicia . . .*, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3517. The *Resolucion* or decree belonging to it, *ibid.*

[3] "*...estima la Junta, que en virtud de los muchos y diferentes hechos, que se refieren en dicha Consulta, y de los poderosos fundamentos, y urgentes motivos con que afianzan su dictamen

plan for carrying out this verdict the commission proposed seven amendments which amounted to a lessening of the severities attached to the law of banishment, such as that not every case of secret correspondence with the exiles was to be treated as one of high treason. To forestall any discussion about the motives for the banishment, the king was to include in the decree a statement that he was locking away in his royal breast the reasons for this decision, without entering into any judgment of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, or the morals and principles of its members. He might add, however, that his reasons were not only just and urgent but of such a nature that he felt himself bound in conscience to take this step, and that his decision was based on a thorough investigation and the advice of his Ministers and other persons of high repute.[1]

los Ministros del Consejo extraordinario... y en la justa satisfaccion, y confianza, que la Junta debe tener de la integridad, practica, y literatura de dichos Ministros para no poder dudar de la solemnidad, justificacion, y arreglo en el procedimiento, y substanciacion de esta causa, puede y debe V. M. conformarse con su sentencia y parecer, y le persuade a la urgencia, y necesidad de esta providencia sobre las razones de justicia la consideracion de no haverse hasta ahora dado satisfaccion alguna al decoro de la Majestad, y a la vindicta publica por las graves, y execrables ofensas cometidas en los insultos pasados" (Junta mandata formar por V. M., February 20, 1767, *ibid.*).

[1] "*La primera [advertencia] es relativa a la extension del decreto, que debe publicarse, en cuio asunto se conforma la Junta con el dictamen del Consejo extraordinario en quanto, a que se diga, que S. M. reserva en su real animo los motivos de esta providencia, sin introducirse en el juicio, o examen del Instituto de la Compañia, ni de las costumbres, o maximas de los Jesuitas. Y aunque tambien cree, que se salve con la expresion de la Consulta la justification, que debe suponerse de dichos motivos, entiende la Junta, que puede insinuarse con mas viveza haver sido estos non solo justos, y urgentes, sino tales que han obligado, y necesitado sin arbitrio a que se tornase esa providencia... La segunda es tambien relativa al mismo decreto. Cree la Junta por muy conveniente que se dé a entender haver procedido V. M. con acuerdo, examen y consejo. Pero en quanto

" Relying on the memorandum of the Extraordinary Council and of other highly placed persons, moved by weighty reasons, conscious of his duty to uphold obedience, tranquillity, and justice among his people, and for other urgent, just, and compelling causes, which he was locking away in his royal breast," Charles III. issued on February 27th, 1767, the decree whereby he banished from Spain and its possessions overseas all Jesuits who had taken their first vows and novices who refused to secede, and ordered the appropriation of their movable and immovable property. The execution of this order was entrusted to Count Aranda, who was vested with full and exclusive powers. All civil authorities and the Superiors of the Order were required to obey the ordinance promptly under pain of the royal displeasure. It was to be carried out with the greatest respect, attentiveness, humanity, and co-operation.[1]

The Jesuits knew, of course, that secret inquiries were afoot

a la formal expresion con que esto debe explicarse discurre la Junta, seria lo mas proprio decir ; que ha precedido el mas maduro examen, conocimiento y consulta de Ministros de mi Consejo, y otros sugetos del mas elevado caracter. Y quando V. M. no estimase suficiente esta expresion de Ministros en general, podria decirse a consulta de mi Consejo Real en Consejo extraordinario " (Junta of February 20, 1767, *ibid.*).

[1] " Coleccion general de las providencias hasta aquí tomadas por el gobierno sobre el estrañamiento y ocupacion de temporalidades de los Regolares de la Compañía..." I., Madrid, 1767, 1 *seq.* In this and other decrees it was stressed that the king was issuing these orders in virtue of his supreme administrative authority (" usando de la suprema autoridad economica "). The object of this phrase was to avoid conflicts with the ecclesiastical authorities on the score of competence, the Jesuits as clerics being subject to the *forum ecclesiasticum.* " Ygualmente combiene dar a entender en el [decreto] a los prelados diocesanos, ayuntamientos, cabildos eclesiasticos y demas estamentos, o cuerpos politicos del reyno, que en S. M. se reservan los justos motivos, que mueven su real animo a esta justa providencia : valiendose para ella unicamente de su económica potestad, sin proceder con otros rigores, como padre y protector de sus pueblos " (Consulta of January 29, 1767, second part : Papeles remitidos..., *ibid.*).

and that certain malignant persons intended to use every means to implicate them in the insurrections,[1] but strangely enough they placed their trust in the very persons who were to be the chief authors of their ruin, namely, Aranda and the king.[2] It was true that Aranda was a former pupil of theirs, that he had close relatives in the Order, and that his house was frequented by the Jesuit Martinez.[3] And Charles III. had recently shown them marks of favour. The Jesuits Zacanini and Wedlingen were still teaching the royal princes, and continued to do so, right to the very eve of banishment.[4] The Provincial and the heads of the Madrid houses had been received by the king with exceptional graciousness when they offered him their congratulations on the successful settlement of the disturbances.[5] Isidro Lopez, who, on July 25th, 1766,

[1] " *Aqui nos muelen los oídos con que en Madrid se hacen secretisimos procesos sobre aquella fatal sublevacion, y que los malignos hacen los maiores esfuerzos para embolver en ella a los Jesuitas. Dios quiera que la calumnia no halle en nuestra corte la acogida que halló en la de Portugal (Fr. Cabrera to Fr. Poyanos, dated Rome, 1766, July 2, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777). On June 28, 1766, Fr. De Torres wrote from Madrid to Fr. Undrés in Rome that he had heard that " estos dias pasados havia una conjuracion formada para probar que los Jesuitas fueron los autores del motin, que es la mayor calumnia " (*ibid.*).

[2] " *Yo espero mucho de Aranda en bien de la España, y no poco en bien de la Compañía a quien quisieron embolver en el alboroto de Madrid ; pero yo espero que el Rey nos hará justicia, y de facto recibió con mucha benignidad al Provincial y sus Padres de Madrid que fueron a congratularse con S. M. sobre la tranquilidad restituida a la España " (Cabrera to Poyanos, dated Rome, June 25, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777).

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 7, 1766, *ibid.* Estado, 5044.

[4] Nonell, *Pignatelli*, I., 150. " Il giorno che precedè alla notte della esecuzione, il P. Wedlingen, istruttore de' reali infanti, avea data loro la consueta lezione " (Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 42).

[5] See above, n. 2.

tendered the monarch the customary thanks for the foundation of the college of Salamanca, had been so delighted with his charming amiability that he wrote that, however much they tried, the Jesuits could never repay the prince's kindness.[1] At about the same time, at the request of the Royal Society of London,[2] the king had gladly given permission to the famous astronomer Boscovich to travel to California to observe the transit of Venus.[3] In December, 1766, leave had been granted to the professed house in Madrid to collect alms.[4] Even as late as January 11th, 1767, forty Jesuits sailed from Cadiz to the missions in Paraguay and Chile with the royal assent.[5]

In spite of all this, the fear persisted in Madrid and Rome that certain persons were trying to kindle in Spain the same conflagration that had destroyed the Order in France.[6] It was

[1] " *No le pagaremos lo mucho que nos honra, por mucho que nos esmeremos " (to Idiaquez, July 26, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777).

[2] *Masserano to Grimaldi, dated London, 1766, July 11, *ibid.* Estado, 6960.

[3] *Grimaldi to Masserano, July 28, 1766, *ibid.* On May 11, 1767, this permission was revoked (*Grimaldi to Masserano, *ibid.*, 6964) ; later, for fear of espionage, no foreigner was allowed to enter the country (*Masserano to Grimaldi, December 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 6965).

[4] *Resolution of the *Consejo*, of December 14 and 17, 1766, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Cf.* the *correspondence between the following Jesuits : I. de Torres to Andrés, March 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777 ; *Ignaz I. Gonsalez to Montes, March 14, 1767, *ibid.* ; *Rafael de Córdova to Montes, March 20, 1767, *ibid.* ; Ricci, **Espulsione*, 14 ; Peramás, *Annus patiens*, par. 21, pp. 38 *seqq.*, in Jesuit possession (see below, p. 113, n. 1). When the forty Jesuits landed in Montevideo on July 25, 1767, the decree of banishment was made known to them and their belongings were confiscated. They were later shipped to Europe along with the other Jesuits (*ibid.*).

[6] " *Per quel poi che riguarda i sospetti concepiti contro i gesuiti non per altra ragione si afflige S. S^tà^ se non che per il

observed with misgiving that the patrons and friends of the Society were gradually removed or were kept away from the king's entourage.[1] The well-informed Lopez wrote to Idiaquez on September 15th, 1766: "I must assure Your Reverence once for all that it is the intention of various persons to see the Society of Jesus mishandled and destroyed exactly as it was in Portugal and France and that they are trying to attain this end by every possible means. I know that Your Reverence has other views on this matter, but it is my official duty to report things as I see them." He was convinced, however, that with his love of justice the king would side with the accused if the true facts of the case were laid before him. The only practical way of doing this was through the royal confessor, Osma. The Provincial might appoint someone to provide the latter with accurate information. He himself was scarcely suitable for the purpose, as he was looked at askance owing to his friendship with Ensenada.[2] In Paraguay, too, at this juncture there was a recurrence of hostile feeling after the departure of General Cevallos.[3] His good treatment of the Jesuits seems to have embarrassed members of the Order in Spain, for they advised him very strongly not to make his entry into Madrid accompanied by the Jesuits Orbagozo and

timore che quel fanatismo che altrove regna contro la Compagnia, si propaghi anche nelle Spagna. Non mancano ne pure costà delle persone che accenderebbero lo stesso fuoco che ha consumato in Francia questo Instituto. E quantunque la moderazione del Re, le buone massime della maggior parte de' consiglieri possano rassicurare alquanto l'afflitto animo della Stà Sua, pur non può egli lasciar affatto di temere e abbandonare ogni pensiero di accorrere fin dal principio al pericolo di una minacciata ruina. A tal effetto furono dati a V. S. I. quelli ordini pressanti [June 12]" (Torrigiani to Pallavicini, July 10, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5072).

[1] *Fr. Poyanos to Fr. La Mata, July 7, 1766, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 777. *Cf.* NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 145 *seq.*

[2] *Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[3] *Fr. L. Oros to Fr. I. Robles, September 27, 1766, *ibid.*, 690.

Carrio, as this would only increase the jealousy of the envious.[1]

The nuncio's reports also provided grounds for serious apprehension. Lopez's banishment from Madrid with no reason given,[2] the ordering of the Jesuits to pay tithes in the mission countries with effect from the year 1662,[3] the ordering

[1] **Copias de cartas de Buenos Ayres de los años de 1765 y 1766* (a brief analysis in Roda's hand of various letters from Jesuits), *ibid.* The same Bishop of Buenos Ayres who had given the Jesuits such a good testimonial complained to Madrid about them and Cevallos (September 14, 1766), which complaints came up for discussion before the Extraordinary Council on February 5, 1767. In his speech the Fiscal Campomanes stressed that the greatest, or more precisely the only, crime committed by Cevallos was the persistently energetic protection he had afforded the Jesuits ; had it not been for this he would have been the greatest hero (*Consejo extraordinario*, February 5, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690). The subject dragged on till 1769. In spite of all the accusations brought against him the General lost nothing of the esteem in which he was held by the people nor any of his honours and offices. (Further *documents on the subject, *ibid.*) It was peculiarly characteristic of Roda that he made no scruple to hold the worthy General up to contempt and ridicule. " *Dicen que [Cevallos] viene hecho un santo, dedicado a la oracion, y al retiro, y que nada pretende. Ya sabe Vd que empezaron los Padres a convertirlo con cien mil cueros que le regalaron, y a ocho pesos, que vale cada uno, son ocho cientos mil pesos " (Roda to Azara, February 24, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.). The same slander had been uttered by Campomanes in his speech for the prosecution (*Consejo extraordinario*, February 5, 1767, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, October 28, 1766, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* Lopez was banished to Monforte de Lemus. (Ferrer del Rio, III., 105 ; Nonell, *Pignatelli*, I., 153.)

[3] *Real Cedula*, December 4, 1766 (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 302, *loc. cit.* ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 9 and 16, 1766, Cifre, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 8, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

of the Colegio Imperial to restore the usufruct it had derived from the freedom of the city of Arganda,[1] all pointed to a storm. Nevertheless, thought Pallavicini, the pious-minded king would not leave the path of justice and legality or take any unforeseen decision without the Pope's assent.[2] In the course of the following months he was increasingly troubled by the fear that some plot was being hatched against the Order. At his suggestion[3] Clement XIII. addressed a letter to Charles III.,[4] couched in a cordial, paternal tone, with which he hoped, without actually mentioning the Jesuits, to avert any arbitrary measure which it might be intended to take against them. It was left to the nuncio's discretion to choose the right moment for delivering the message.[5] A week later the nuncio's fears had disappeared,[6] only to recur more violently than ever at the beginning of February. He had, he said, the vague feeling that some blow was about to fall upon the Order. The French Parlements and the Court of Lisbon were trying to fan the flames; after the revolt had broken out Pombal had accused the Jesuits in the most decided and certain terms of having taken part in it. He personally was of the opinion that the investigation conducted by the Fiscals had demonstrated their innocence; on the other hand, private individuals were spreading the report in confidential conversations that the extirpation of the Society

[1] **Risoluzione del Consiglio*, December 3, 1766, *ibid.*, 302; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 23, 1766, Cifre, *ibid.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, October 28, December 16 and 23, 1766, and February 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 302 and 303.

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 30, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

[4] *On January 22, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 22, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*

[6] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, January 6 and 10 and February 17, 1767, Cifre, *ibid.*, 303; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 29, 1767, Reg. di cifre, *ibid.*, 433, copy in Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

in Spanish territory had already been decided on and that it would soon be put into effect.[1]

These rumours were well-founded. On March 1st, 1767, the decree of banishment of February 27th was handed to Aranda,[2] who straightway drew up an executive instruction,[3] which he had secretly reproduced, together with the decree [4] and a circular note,[5] in the royal printing press. Separate instructions were sent by the king to his officials, commanding them to carry out faithfully all the orders which Aranda would issue to them in the king's name and to address all correspondence on this matter to Aranda only.[6] To lull the Jesuits into a sense of security and to distract public attention Aranda suspended on March 4th and 5th respectively the prohibitions against the holding of popular missions by Fr. Calatayud and in the Basque provinces.[7] But the rumours persisted despite these attempts of his to mask his real intentions.[8] The

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, February 3, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*, copy in Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[2] *Coleccion general* (see above, p. 99, n. 1), I., 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 6 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, 3.

[6] *March 1, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2453.

[7] *Aranda to the Provincial Osorio, March 4, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.* ; *Aranda to the Comte de Fleignie, March 5, 1767 ; *Idiaquez to Ricci, March 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777 ; *Fr. Royo to Lopez, March 7, 1767, *ibid.* ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 17, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5044.

[8] " *Hace unos quantos dias que en la imprenta de la Gazeta se están imprimiendo unos papeles del gobierno con tropa de vista, sin permitir salir a los ofiziales aun para dormir. Sobre su contenido se habia mucho . . . " (an unknown writer to Fr. Abad, March 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777). *Cf.* *Royo to Lopez, March 7, 1767, *ibid.* " *Quel che mi tiene presentemente in pensiero è la impressione arcana della qual feci parola a V. Eminenza nel ordinario scorso. Si crede terminata, e si vuole, che il giorno in cui finì venisse a riceverla

nuncio's view of the situation changed so frequently that he could not bring himself to deliver the Papal Brief, though he gave the Government to understand that in questions of a mixed nature the Church authorities should also be heard.[1] In a conversation with the Court confessor, through whom he hoped to arrive at the truth, he was given reassuring replies.[2] On March 31st he made further inquiries of his cousin, the Minister Grimaldi, who also reassured him.[3] But the very next morning brought him the news that the banishment had already been put into effect.

Aranda, who had been informed by the political secret service of the rumours that were current, decided that any

e portarla al Pardo il sig. Roda. Nè con lui, nè col R^mo^ Padre Osma ho avuto opportunità nella settimana scorsa . . . quel discorso del qual a numero del mio ultimo dispaccio starà V. E. attendendo il ragguaglio. . . . Vorrei potermi persuadere che la materia dell' impressione occulta sia puramente politica, e di Stato, ma confesso a V. E. che non la suppongo tale. Per mia opinione si riferisce ad alcuni ecclesiastici, a quali, non saprei indovinarlo" (Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 17, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5044). *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 10, 1767, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 2, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 10, 1767, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, March 26, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 412, *loc. cit.*

[2] "*Mi sono abboccato col Padre confessore. . . . Mi parve di ricavarne [from the conversation] una moral sicurezza di che nemen egli, il P. Osma, sapesse qual sia il soggetto della ripetuta impressione. . . . Conobbi di più o parvemi di conoscere che il detto degnissimo Religioso, appunto perchè ne ignorava il soggetto, non sapeva persuadersi che nella medesima siano gli ecclesiastici per trovarsi notabilmente interessati. In fatto non è verisimile che rispetto al corpo delli ecclesiastici in generale o a un de loro rami, si prenda veruna risoluzione ipso inconsulto" (Pallavicini to Torrigiani, March 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044). *Cf.* also *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, February 3, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[3] Ferrer del Rio, II., 166, n. 1.

long delay would be dangerous. Accordingly, he proposed that the decree of banishment be postponed only until a time when the king was not residing in Madrid.[1] The king left it to the President's judgment to fix the final date for the carrying out of the decree, expressing only the wish that it be put forward one or two days.[2] Aranda therefore decided that the decree should come into effect on the night of April 2nd–3rd for the country as a whole [3] and the night of March 31st–April 1st for Madrid and its environs.[4]

(7)

Under date March 20th, 1767, a circular letter was sent to the various civil authorities with instructions not to open the accompanying sealed packet before Thursday, April 2nd, and then to carry out immediately the orders it contained. Before that date no mention was to be made to anyone of the receipt of the note or of the secret packet. Any transgression would be punished as a violation of official secrecy and as neglect of duty in the king's service.[5] The sealed packet contained a copy of the decree of banishment of February 27th, 1767,[6] and of Count Aranda's instruction.[7] The latter commanded the executive official to have all the approaches to the colleges occupied by the local militia during the night, to assemble all the Jesuits, to read them the decree of banishment, and to list their names and religious rank. He was then to proceed without delay to confiscate their archives, libraries, letters, written works, and business papers, to take possession of all moneys and articles of value, and to lock up the gold and silver vessels used in the churches so that an inventory

[1] *Aranda to Roda, March 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] *Roda to Aranda, March 17, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *Aranda to Roda, March 22, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Coleccion general*, I., 5, note.

[5] *Ibid.*, 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, 6 *seqq.*

of them could be made later. The novices were to be kept separate from the others in houses where they could decide in complete freedom whether they would follow the Fathers or not, but it was to be made clear to them that the banishment was irrevocable and that they would receive no pension. Within twenty-four hours of the proclamation of the order all Jesuits were to leave for their collecting points under military escort. They were allowed to take with them their clothes, linen, breviaries, prayer-books, tobacco, and chocolate. Those unfit to travel were to be taken to convents which did not subscribe to Jesuit principles; there they were to be cut off from all connection with the Religious and the outer world. In the schools the Jesuits were to be replaced immediately by secular priests who were not adherents of their teaching. In conclusion, precise particulars were given of the route to be followed by each college, of its first collecting-point, and its port of embarkation.[1] A supplementary instruction authorized the viceroys and governors of the colonies to take whatever measures were suitable for the arrest of the Jesuit missionaries and for their transport to Puerto de Santa Maria, near Cadiz. Their missions and other appointments were to be occupied by secular or regular priests.[2]

In a special order for Madrid the *alcaldes* were instructed to proceed at the head of military detachments to the Jesuit colleges half an hour before midnight on March 31st.[3] At

[1] In Madrid the inventory of the Jesuit churches was to be taken that very night. The Vicar General, however, who had been summoned in *writing by Aranda on March 31, 1767 (Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*), to appear before him at 10.30 p.m., excused himself on the score of not having the requisite authority (**Compendio substancial de lo passado anoche* [March 31, 1767], *ibid.*). The Archbishop instructed him to obey but to inform the nuncio, who granted him the authority (**Papel de orden dada por el cardenal a su vicario*, April 1, 1767, *ibid.*; *Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo to Clement XIII., April 4, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777).

[2] *Coleccion general*, I., 20 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 27 *seqq.*

eleven o'clock the various regimental detachments left their quarters and occupied the open spaces and streets around the six Jesuit houses. As midnight struck the *alcaldes* rang at the gates and demanded admittance in the name of the king. When all the inmates had been assembled the decree of banishment was read to them. Immediately afterwards they were told to pack their clothes, linen, breviaries, and other small belongings, and to return to the refectory. From here they went to the gate, where they had to enter the carriages which were waiting to take them to the port of Cartagena. The whole proceedings were over so quickly that all of the two hundred Jesuits were outside the capital two or three hours before daybreak. The novices who had decided to stay in Spain were taken to the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, whence they were eventually fetched by their relatives. A similar procedure was carried out in all the other houses in the kingdom. Nowhere did the officials meet with any resistance.[1]

On Thursday, April 2nd, 1767, the herald, accompanied by drummers and trumpeters, appeared outside the main gate of the royal palace and announced the Pragmatic Sanction regarding the banishment of the Jesuits. After the repetition of the decree of February 27th, the king made known to the other religious Orders his confidence, satisfaction, and esteem, which they had earned by their loyalty, sound doctrine, good discipline, zeal for studies, and non-interference in affairs of State. All Bishops, cathedral chapters, and political bodies were to be informed that the just and weighty motives which compelled the king to take action remained hid in his royal breast, while he in his royal clemency made use only of the supreme administrative authority, vested in him by God. All the Jesuit property would be combined into one solid block by which the encumbrances and bequests would be

[1] Rousseau, I., 222 *seq.*; Isla, *Memorial*, 11 *seqq.*; *Coleccion de los articulos de La Esperanza sobre la historia del reinado de Carlos III., escrita por D. A. Ferrer del Rio*[3], Madrid, 1859, 157 *seq.*; Galerani-Madariaga, 196 *seqq.*; *Month*, CI (1902), 645 *seqq.*

defrayed according to the founders' wishes and by which the exiles would be maintained for life. The priests would receive yearly 100 *pesos*, the lay-brothers 90, but foreigners and novices were excluded. These pensions would be paid half-yearly. All Jesuits without distinction were to leave the country. If any of them left the States of the Church, to which they were banished, or by speech, writing, or deed gave cause for complaint, they would forfeit their pension. If, contrary to expectation, any one of them should write against this ordinance with the approval or permission of the Society, under the pretext of a defence or apology, or in any way endanger the peace of the realm, the pensions would be withdrawn from all the exiles. A decision would be made about the expenditure of Jesuit funds for pious purposes after consultation with the Bishops. Any of the exiles who returned to Spain would be heavily punished, even if they left the Order; if they had obtained the royal permission to return, they were neither to preach, nor to teach, nor to hear confessions; they were to take the oath of allegiance and to promise to have no communication, either direct or indirect, with the General or with any member of the Society. No subject was allowed to ask the General of the Order for participation in the spiritual benefits of the Order;[1] those who already possessed it were to surrender it to the authorities, failing which they would be punished as traitors. No one was allowed to correspond in writing with the exiles. It was also made a matter of high treason to write, speak, or, without the royal permission, to print books for or against these ordinances under any pretext, since private persons had no right to judge or interpret royal commands.[2]

Ordinances similar to those for the mother-country were sent on March 6th, 1767, to the Spanish colonies in South America and to the Philippines.[3] In a supplementary instruc-

[1] *Carta de hermandad, Communicatio bonorum spiritualium.*

[2] *Coleccion general*, I., 36 *seqq.*

[3] *Aranda to Roda, March 16 and 22, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; *Roda to Azara, April 7,

tion of March 1st, 1767, the President of the Extraordinary Council invested the Viceroys, Governors, and Presidents overseas with all his own powers and ordered them to convey the missionaries to Puerto de Santa Maria, near Cadiz, where they would receive further instructions. The civil administration of mission districts was to be entrusted provisionally to men of proved integrity. The spiritual welfare of the missions, which in future would be under the direct control of the Bishops, was to be handed over to secular priests or to other Religious. Missionaries in very remote situations were to be recalled by their Provincial or his representative without further information. To forestall any underhand delays on the part of the Provincial the arrest of the Jesuits in the colleges was to be carried out first, so that the missionaries to the heathen would obey orders more readily on seeing that they had been deprived of these supports. While observing the necessary security measures, the executive officials were to treat the missionaries, who were expected to submit quite readily, in a respectful and kindly manner and to use force only if unavoidable.[1]

The expulsion decrees for overseas were sent first to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, the town which might be regarded as the key to the whole of Spanish South America. This important post was held at the time by Lieutenant-General Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua. The decrees reached his hands on June 7th, 1767, with instructions to forward them to the Governor of Chile, the President of the Audiencia of Charcas, and the Viceroy of Peru.[2]

Bucareli had never made any secret of his dislike of the Society of Jesus and, to some extent at least, he owed his high

1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I. The submission of these decisions for the approval of the tribunal for the Indies on April 5, 1767, was a mere formality. DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 138.

[1] *Coleccion general*, I., 20 *seqq.*

[2] HERNANDEZ, *Extrañamiento*, 58 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 138 *seq.*

position to the deliberate policy of the Madrid Cabinet of cleansing all influential positions of "Jesuit tertiaries" and of filling them with adherents of the new movements. Acting as if he had to deal with dangerous rebels, Bucareli used a military force which was unnecessarily large for the purpose of expelling the Jesuits, but which would not have been sufficient in a real emergency. On the night of July 2nd–3rd the Jesuit establishments in Buenos Ayres were cordoned off by troops. The assembled religious were informed of their banishment, the inhabitants of the city were forbidden to communicate with them, and any disparagement of the royal measures or concealment of Jesuit property was made a punishable offence.[1] When day broke, the population discovered to its astonishment and dismay that its spiritual ministers were under arrest. Eight citizens who gave vent to their feelings too freely were temporarily banished. Five others, who were alleged to have prophesied that the banished clerics would return in three years, or who were thought to have some connection with the lampoons and squibs directed against the Government, afterwards suffered the same punishment. One citizen was saved from execution only by the intercession of the Bishop.[2] The military were also called out July 6th, 1767, against the four Jesuits belonging to the small establishment at Montevideo.[3]

The arrest of the inmates of the large college at Córdoba in the province of Tucumán was effected in a quite dramatic manner. Between 3 and 4 a.m. on Sunday, July 12th, a man appeared at the gates, supposedly to call a priest to attend to someone who was dying. Immediately the door was opened, armed men rushed into the house and ordered the rector to

[1] *Bando de Bucareli sobre el extrañamiento a 3 de Julio de 1767*, in HERNANDEZ, 356 *seqq.* Saint-Priest (44), Huber (421), and Böhmer ([3]158) err in stating that the Jesuits were expelled from the whole of the Spanish Empire on the same day and at the same hour.

[2] HERNANDEZ, 58 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 138 *seqq.*

[3] CARLOS FERRÉS, *Epoca colonial. La Comp. de Jesús en Montevideo*, Barcelona, 1919, 79 *seqq.*; HERNANDEZ, 74.

leave his bed and assemble the community in the refectory. Here the royal decree was read out to them and their request to be allowed to hear Mass, it being a Sunday, was refused. A similar procedure was carried out in the other Jesuit establishments in the town.[1] Then, on the night of July 22nd the captives were put into carriages and were driven away. On August 18th they were put on board a ship in the gulf of Barragan and set sail on September 29th. Until they reached port they were given only one scanty meal daily.

Similar scenes were enacted at Santa Fe. On July 16th, 1767, the college was surrounded at 4 a.m., the rector was informed that he was wanted by a sick man, all the Jesuits were confined in the refectory until all the rooms were emptied, and in the afternoon they were driven out of the town without being allowed to take their leave of anyone.[2]

On July 26th, 1767, a party of Jesuits bound for the missions in South America put in at Montevideo. The Governor, with an armed escort, went on board immediately and informed them that they had to return to Europe.[3]

The colleges having been cleared, the next task was to arrest the missionaries to the Indians. The Jesuits from the Gran Chaco were taken to Buenos Ayres in comparatively tolerable conditions,[4] but the journey of the Chiquitos missionaries caused them great suffering. The ten Reductions of this area were occupied by a Lieutenant-Commander Martinez operating from Santa Cruz. As the journey to Buenos Ayres seemed too long, the missionaries were taken to Porto Bello

[1] HERNANDEZ, 77 *seqq.*; PERAMÁS, *Annus patiens s. Ephemerides, quibus continetur iter annuum Iesuitarum, qui Corduba Tucmaniæ egressi sunt, iussi a Rege Catholico Carolo III. regno excedere et in Corsicam navigare a. 1767,* in *Letters and Notices,* X.–XII., Roehampton, 1875–9 (private), translated in PATRIGNANI-BOERO, *Menologio,* II., Roma, 1859, 547 *seqq.*, extract in CARAYON, XVI., 183 *seqq.*

[2] HERNANDEZ, 75 *seqq.*; BRINGMANN, *Pater Florian Baucke,* Freiburg, 1908, 118.

[3] FERRÉS, 84 *seq.*; HERNANDEZ, 105 *seqq.*

[4] BRINGMANN, 119 *seqq.*

on the Peruvian coast. Three old men who were too weak to ride across the snow-covered Cordilleras were carried in hammocks by Indians but died on the way. The remainder of the party did not reach Italy until after a journey lasting three years, having had to wait six months at Cartagena and twelve at Puerto de Santa Maria.[1]

More than a year passed after the arrival of the royal decrees before Bucareli set about the task of rounding up the eighty priests and lay-brothers in Paraguay.[2] First, however, he sent an order to Balda, the head of the mission, to send the *corregidors* and chief *caciques* of the thirty Reductions to Buenos Ayres. Here they were kept for a whole year as hostages for the submissiveness of their fellow-tribesmen,[3] for a considerable unrest had developed among the Guaranis after they had heard of what had happened in the towns. That no actual revolt took place was due to the Jesuits, for the Provincial exhorted every missionary, when speaking or preaching to the newly-converted, to persuade them to be obedient.[4] The Governor was asked several times by the Mission Superior to effect the change with the utmost speed, as the Indians were momentarily calm but might easily change their mood if they were kept waiting much longer.[5] It was not until May 24th, 1768, that Bucareli finally set out from Buenos Ayres with 300 men. In mid-June he had the decree of banishment read by two officers in the frontier stations. On July 15th he himself sent an official from the vicinity of the Yapeyu station into the Reduction, with orders to carry out the royal commands. To the commissaries' surprise, all complied without protest.[6] By August 22nd, 1768, there

[1] HERNANDEZ, 162 *seqq.*

[2] For what follows, *cf.* PERAMÁS, *De vita et moribus sex sacerdotum Paraguaycorum*, Faventiæ, 1791; MONUSSY, 22 *seqq.*; HERNANDEZ, 184 *seqq.*; *idem, Organización social*, I., 32 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 141 *seqq.*; FASSBINDER, 142 *seqq.*

[3] PERAMÁS, 39, n. xcviii.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. xcvii.

[5] *Ibid.*, 40, n. ci.

[6] HERNANDEZ, 208 *seqq.*

was not a Jesuit left in the vast territory of Paraguay, save one decrepit old man, already nearly dead, who was left behind under a guard in Pueblo de Apóstoles.[1] Bucareli [2] and Latorre [3] had sent reports to Madrid with violent charges against the Jesuits, but these were refuted by the fact that, thanks to the influence of the missionaries, there was no further talk of resistance by the Guaranis beyond the naive petition made to the Governor by the Indians of San Luis, that he should leave them their pastors, in return for which they would work twice as much as before and pay more tribute.[4]

The expulsion of the Jesuits was carried out in a similar fashion in the other Spanish dependencies. In Chile, Bucareli's messenger bearing the decree of banishment arrived at Santiago on August 7th, 1767. The four Jesuit establishments there were surrounded during the night of August 25th, and the decree was announced at three o'clock in the morning. Taking with them the sympathy of the population, the Jesuits left the capital on October 22nd.[5] Similar proceedings were enacted in the other towns. In the colleges belonging to the Jesuit Province of Quito the decrees were carried out between

[1] *Ibid.*, 219 *seq.*; HUONDER, 66, 79 *seqq.*, 140.

[2] To Aranda, September 4 and 6, 1767; July 25, October 1 and 14, 1768, in BRABO, *Colección de documentos relativos á la expulsión de los Jesuitas de la República Argentina y del Paraguay*, Madrid, 1872.

[3] *To Charles III., August 9, 1767, Papal Secret Archives, Fondo gesuitico, 50 (Collezione Theiner); *Pastoral letter of the Bishop of Tucumán, August 16, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 230; to Aranda, September 5, 1767, in BRABO.

[4] On February 28, 1768, in HERNANDEZ, 364 *seqq.*, translation in Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690; MONUSSY, 23 *seq.*

[5] *Peter Weingartner to the Provincial Joseph Erhard, January 23, 1770, Archives of the German Province of the Order, VIII., A 3, translation in CARAYON, XVI., 307 *seqq.* *Cf.* ENRICH, *Historia de la Comp. de Jesús en Chile*, II., Barcelona, 1891, 305 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 144 *seqq.*

August 2nd and September 6th, 1767.[1] In the mission district of the Mainas on the Spanish Marañon the royal commissary, bringing with him some other priests as replacements for the Jesuits, did not arrive to carry out the expulsion till the end of April, 1768.[2] The Viceroy of Peru, Manuel de Amat y Junient, executed the royal commission on September 9th, 1767.[3] The Viceroy of Mexico, Marchese de Croix, received the banishment decrees on May 30th, 1767, and put them into effect on the night of June 24th.[4] In California, a new Governor, Jasper Portola, arrived at the harbour of San José on November 30th, 1767; with fifty soldiers he continued his journey for another 150 miles as far as the first station, Loreto. Here he made known his commission on December 26th to the Visitor, Benno Ducrue, who had been summoned to meet him. The sixteen Jesuits departed on February 5th, 1768.[5]

In all these districts the expulsion of the Jesuits was carried out without resistance. The only exception was Mexico. According to the Viceroy's report, the expulsion proceeded here, too, in complete calm for the most part. This must be due, he thought, to the special protection of Heaven, for throughout the country there was hardly anyone who was not blindly in favour of the Jesuits. The banished clerics having complied obediently with the royal orders, he had given instructions that they should be treated with

[1] Heredia, *La antigua provincia de Quito de la Comp. de Jesús 1566–1767*, Riobamba, 1924, 31.

[2] Chantre y Herrera, *Hist. de las Misiones de la Comp. de Jesús en el Marañon español 1637–1767*, Madrid, 1901, 669 *seqq.*

[3] Zarandona-Cappa, *Hist. de la extinción y restablecimiento de la Comp. de Jesús*, II., Madrid, 1890, 149; *Herrn Wolfgang Bayers, ehemaligen amerikanischen Glaubenspredigers der Gesellschaft Jesu, Reise nach Peru. Von ihm selbst beschrieben*, in Murr, *Journal*, III., 313 *seqq.*

[4] Danvila y Collado, III., 149 *seqq.*; Cuevas, IV, 412 *seqq.*

[5] Ducrue, *Relatio expulsionis Soc. Iesu ex provincia Mexicana et maxime e California a. 1767*, in Murr, *Journal*, XII., 217 *seqq.*; Baegert, *Nachrichten von der amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien*, Mannheim, 1771–3.

respect and attentiveness. It was only in the mining towns of San Luis de Potosí and San Luis de Paz that the officials had met with insubordination. But the miners' revolts in these places were due, he said, to something very different from love of religion and the Jesuits; their complaint was that the high dues they had to pay amounted to oppression.[1] The situation as described by the rector of the Jesuit college of Potosí to the General of the Society was rather different. According to him, owing to the oppressive taxation there had latterly been frequent disorders in the town and its neighbourhood, and on each occasion the Fathers had managed to pacify the rioters. But when it became known that the Society of Jesus was to be expelled, the fire that had been smouldering all along beneath the ashes flared up again. All attempts to calm the excited mob, which forcibly opposed the Jesuits' removal, were in vain, so that in the end the commandant had to send them back to their college. It was not until a month had passed that the expulsion could be carried out under the protection of 2,000 regular troops who had been especially brought to the scene for the purpose. The rebels were punished with terrible severity. The Visitor Galvez had about 500 men and women thrown into prison, many were publicly executed, and others were deported to Havana and Vera Cruz.[2] In spite of these Draconian measures, loyalty to the exiles still persisted. In a written complaint [3] to the Marchese de Croix the Archbishop of Mexico assured him that the people and many of the nuns regarded the Bishops and all who had co-operated in the banishment as heretics and excommunicates. In Madrid complaints were made about the indolence of the Mexican Inquisition, which allowed to go unpunished the

[1] *Croix to Aranda, July 6 and 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5062; *Noticias de Mexico, July 26, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 690.

[2] Ricci, **Espulsione*, n. 142; *Sentencia pronunciada y executada por Galvez en San Luis de la Paz y Potosí*, of July 18, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 690, text in Cuevas, IV., 447 *seq.*; **Consejo extraordinario*, February 8, 1768, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[3] *November 24, 1767, *ibid.*

numerous pamphlets full of insulting charges against the spiritual and temporal authorities.[1] By a decree of November 26th, 1767, the Viceroy declared all authors and distributors of lampoons of this kind to be guilty of high treason, and an edict of a similar purport was issued by the Spanish Inquisition.

In the East Indies the expulsion of the Jesuits gave rise to no disturbances.[2] A charge of slackness in carrying out the royal decrees was brought against the Governor, Raón, and others,[3] but they proved to be ill-founded. After Raón's death his successor was ordered to reverse the judgment passed on these men and to pay a fine of 6,000 pesos.[4]

The rigours and privations suffered by the banished Jesuits on their homeward journey are not to be put to the account of the Government, which had given orders that they should be treated with consideration,[5] but unfortunately many of the executive officials sought to enrich themselves by curtailing the food which should have been given to the exiles and allowed them barely enough to keep alive. As a result, seventy-eight Jesuits died on the voyage from overseas possessions to Corsica, and the condition of the sick was indescribable.[6] The total number of those who died at sea is estimated at 500.[7]

(8)

While the expulsion was gradually being carried out overseas, the situation had further developed in the mother-country. In accordance with the instructions it contained, the

[1] *The Viceroy to the Inquisitor, November 24, 1767, *ibid.*; *the Inquisitor to the Viceroy, November 25, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Charles III. to Tanucci, June 20, 1769, *ibid.*, Estado, 6060.

[3] *July 20, 1769, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 691.

[4] Danvila y Collado, III., 158 *seq.*

[5] See above, p. 111.

[6] *Manuel Ignacio de Alva to Cornejo, October 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5058.

[7] Hernandez, 219. The number has probably been over-estimated. For the sufferings of the exiles in Portuguese and Spanish prisons, *cf.* Duhr, *Geschichte*, IV., 2, 536 *seqq.*; Enrich, II., 326 *seqq.*, 338 *seqq.*; Cuevas, IV., 418 *seqq.*; Chantre y Herrera, 692 *seqq.*

Pragmatic Sanction was sent in the first few days of April to all Bishops, Cathedral Chapters, and Superiors of religious Orders, with the request that it be made known to their subordinates, together with appropriate admonitions, and that a report on its execution be rendered to the Council of Castile.[1] All the prelates and Superiors promised on behalf of themselves and their subordinates loyally to obey the royal Pragmatic Sanction,[2] with the sole exception of the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo,[3] who ventured to make a slight protest by way of the restrictive formula "in so far as the Church's freedom and immunity are not violated".

Besides these letters, which are more in the nature of acknowledgments of receipt, there are others from nine Bishops who, amid fulsome praises of the Government, express their entire approval of the expulsion of the Jesuits and indulge in violent invective against the Order's doctrine, mode of instruction, avarice, and lust for power, whereby it had become obnoxious to the Church of God.[4] The key to the understanding and appreciation of these charges is provided by the letter

[1] **Notificaciones a los arzobispos, obispos*, etc., of April 2, 3, 4, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3513.

[2] The written *replies, *ibid.*

[3] *To Igareda, April 23, 1767, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Vincenti, May 28, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433 *loc. cit.*

[4] "*V. I. se halla bien istruido del empeño con que los Jesuitas han defendido el probabilismo con todas sus consecuencias, sin excluir las mas barbaras e inhumanas, y de las crueles persecuciones que han mobido a los prelados y doctores, que se han opuesto a sus máximas abominables, y así no estrañará que un obispo, que por su oficio es depositario de la doctrina, y centinela para que no se introduzcan en el pueblo errores contrarios a la pureza de la fe, o a la regla de nuestras costumbres, lebante las manos al cielo, alabe a Dios, y bendiga sus misericordias, como lo egecuto, por que en estos tiempos resucitó un rey santo, que con el mas sabio y prudente consejo halló el modo mas justo de librar su pueblo tantos males, etc." (the Bishop of Ávila to Roda, April 25, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688). Here also the *letters of the other eight Bishops (March 31–July 2, 1767) to the king, to Roda, to Campomanes,

written on February 14th, 1767, by an unknown person to the Bishop of Barcelona,[1] openly requesting the prelate to protest to the king against the Jesuits. In such a protest, said the writer, no more was to be cited than had been said by Palafox in his letter to Innocent X.: that the Jesuits always had been, always were and always would be the same, namely, bad; that the Society was a body that by its constitution was harmful to religion, detrimental to the State, and essentially (*esencialmente*) incorrigible. The evidence was irrefutable. He thought his Excellency was convinced that the destruction of this Society, if not absolutely necessary, as it in fact was, would at least be very useful for the good of religion, for the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline, for the renovation of many universities, for the reform of doctrine and morals, and finally for the salvation of souls and the peace of nations. Was it not the specific duty of Bishops to put forward their demands? But even Athanasius and Palafox had found no support among their fellow Bishops. By their disgraceful silence the prelates had furthered the wickedness of this pernicious corporation. Yet there had always been some pastors who had protested against the abuses of this Society. The last Council of Utrecht was first-class evidence and a compelling proof of the corruption of this association. One should be guided not by what others did but by what it was their bounden duty to do. In Spain they were going a different way from that of France—the way of secret inquiry. Once the king had decided that the destruction of the Order in the country was justified, he, as the supreme commander in his realm, would strike the decisive blow, without conferrng with the Bishops. The writer would express himself more clearly. It appeared from the documents in the case that

etc. " *Los mas de los obispos de España han respondido celebrando la providencia y han empezado a publicar enciclicas y pastorales para su observancia. Los superiores de las religiones hacen lo mismo. Los pocos terciarios que hai callan y obedecen " (Roda to Azara, April 28, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, 1).

[1] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044.

certain Jesuits were guilty of causing the tumult, though it was not established that the whole body was guilty or that it had furthered the disorders. The crime of an individual could not be visited on the whole body, but the whole body deserved punishment if one considered not only the circumstantial evidence—which was admittedly not strong—but the evils which this Society had already brought and was still bringing into the world. Without it, the State and religion would be spared all the ills and injuries it was inflicting on them. The completion of the work which had already been brought to an advanced stage by the Minister would be considerably facilitated if the king were to hear from the mouths of the Bishops what he had already heard from the Ministers, especially as the prince was quite ready to follow the example of his two neighbours. In Portugal the Jesuits had been convicted of regicide. Was not this accursed attempt enough to justify their monarch in taking precautionary measures? Ought they not to attack this pest of religion and the State before an attempt was made on the life of their beloved monarch? It was indeed the most natural course of action for the Court to undertake the business of its own accord and to ask for the support of some of the Bishops. He would tell the Bishop in absolute confidence that the question of expulsion was being discussed. But the Court, also wishing to keep the matter a secret, would like those Bishops who were in its confidence to convey secretly to the king a call for help against the evils from which religion was suffering at the hands of this association. For the prince was now filled with suspicion of this body and would like to remove it from the lands he ruled.

According to a letter written by the Bishop of Salamanca in early May 1767 to Canon Perez Bayer, a friend of Roda's, he had been invited three months before by one of his fellow-Bishops to join the Bishops of Barcelona, Siguenza, Ávila, Tarazona, Valencia, and others belonging to the same school, in asking the king to drive out the Jesuits. On their expressing their misgivings that such a step might land them in an awkward situation in their relations with the Holy See, they

had been told that the Bishops were not being asked to come forward as the originators of the decision which was intended and had already been taken, but only to recognize it as just, important, and necessary for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, both in the mother-country and in the colonies. He was not so ignorant of the history of the Church and the Order as not to be able to bring forward many theological reasons showing the expediency of and the necessity for the expulsion and even the suppression of the Society. He had realized years ago that its morals were so lax, indeed so perverse, that they would shame even the Koran. The reputation of the Order had been attacked by learned, zealous, and holy men. Its reputation exposed, it was of no profit either to a country or to the Church as a whole. The Templars and the Humiliati had also been suppressed without any legal process. Luckily he had no need to fear the charge of inconsistency, as he had never written to Rome in defence of the Society.[1]

Not only the Bishops but also the heads of the various religious Orders sent circular letters to their subordinates inculcating strict adherence to the instructions contained in the Pragmatic Sanction.[2] Whereas some confined themselves

[1] " *Havrá como tres meses, que en sujeto de mi caracter me manifestó el pensamiento, que ahora se ha puesto en execucion, añadiendo, que para authorizar la resolucion se solicitaria, que algunos obispos la pidiesen y motivasen, contando entre ellos al de Barcelona, Siguenza, Ávila, Tarazona, auxiliar de Valencia, Salamanca y otros de la escuela de los referidos. Como algunos obispos hallaron en ello algunos inconvenientes, y temieron que semejante peticion los havia de poner en descubierto, y de mala fe con la Silla Apostolica, me escrivió el mismo sujeto, que ya no se pretendia que los obispos fuesen los authores de la resolucion que se meditava, y que esta estava tomada, bien que con el deseo y designio de que los obispos al calificasen de justificada, de importantisima, y aun necessaria para mantener la paz y tranquillidad de los reynos de uno y otro mundo . . . " ([May 5, 1767], Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688).

[2] The *replies of the Heads of the Orders to the Government in the Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3513. A number of

to a simple admonition, others went further, glorifying the measures which had been taken against the Jesuits and inveighing against their teachings.[1] The more this type of letter won the approval of the Ministers,[2] the less it enhanced the reputation of the Orders. "Campomanes," wrote the Uditore Vincenti to Torrigiani on May 12th, 1767, "looks on the religious Orders as a strong support, but he has declared that he will take care to make them weak by separating them from each other, and they themselves provide him with the means of doing so. They could and should have been a strong support for the Church, but Your Excellency may judge from the enclosed circular letters which they were moved to write how little they are to be counted on in these days, seeing how easily they agree to follow and defend the doctrine (of the *potestas oeconomica*), of which on other occasions they have disapproved."[3] Certain religious, deeming this opportunity of giving free rein to their dislike of their fallen rivals too good to be missed, wrote books and pamphlets in which they defended the measures taken by the authorities and violently attacked the Jesuit doctrines and conduct.[4]

these circular letters (printed) in Nunziat. di Spagna, 303 and 304, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, May 28, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

[2] "*Ai va otra enciclica de los Geronimos. Torrigiani rabiará de ver como se explican acá los Frailes y los Obispos" (Roda to Azara, May 18, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.). *Cf.* also Roda's *letter of April 28, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] **Cifre*, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[4] "*Dé Vd al P. Lutre gracias por los libritos que me ha embiado sobre la doctrina de Pallavicino. Yo haré que se traduzca, e imprima esta obra que es muy util" (Roda to Azara, May 12, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.). *Cf.* *Roda to Azara, May 18, 1767, *ibid.* A royal decree of May 23, 1767 (printed; Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*) approves and recommends a book written by a Dominican against the doctrines of probabilism, regicide, and tyrannicide.

As was only to be expected, the great event was hailed with joyful acclamations by the Society's opponents, who saw their long-cherished desires realized at last. Roda wrote sardonically to Azara in Rome: "Between Wednesday and Friday the whole of Spain underwent the Cæsarean operation (*operación cesárea*). Since March 6th similar orders have been issued to all the Indies, so that we shall shortly be making you a handsome present of half a million (!) Jesuits, the cost of whose passage and lifelong sustenance we are paying."[1] A week later Roda was harking back to the successful "Cæsarean operation", and informing Azara that the Jesuits were already on their way to the ports "whence we will ship you this precious cargo".[2]

Tanucci, who had also been informed by Roda of the joyful event, overflowed with fulsome congratulations. Roda had ascribed part of the credit to him but he had not done much more than bring the conversation round from time to time to the maxims and behaviour of the Jesuits when he had the ear of the king. He had immediately attributed the March incidents to them and had reported as much as he could and to whom he could, and had not omitted to produce reasons and instances. For there was a system behind the Madrid revolt. But no ringleader was to be seen, nor grandee, nor soldier, nor party-leader, nor association, nor assembly—therefore it must be the confessional and visits to high-born ladies and influential women! Besides, in spite of the diversity of the revolts, firmness, obstinacy, and unity had been observed. So it could not have been the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, or other Religious—these did not intrigue but at the most abused the Government from time to time—it was undoubtedly the Jesuits, with their strict privacy, their inquisitiveness, their ambition, their spying, and their intrigues. They penetrated into every class of society, openly declared themselves as enemies of the Government, served the Court of Rome, and for similar deeds were in bad odour

[1] *Roda to Azara, April 7, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Roda to Azara, April 14, 1767, *ibid.*

in every corner of the globe.[1] To Bottari Tanucci wrote: "We must congratulate Spain and our good friend Don Manuel [Roda] on having at last achieved the expulsion of the Jesuits, for which he has worked so hard." [2]

In a letter to Castromonte in Paris the Neapolitan Minister expressed himself in these words: "Though late indeed it has come at last, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain—of these myrmidons of the Pope, the emissaries of Rome, the incendiaries of the State, the agitators of the people, the instigators of treachery, robbery, and contraband, and the professional teachers of rebellion. The king's fame will be great; his successors will owe him their tranquillity, and the peoples their discipline, wealth, freedom, and a pure religion. I am glad that Your Excellency found it apt, the title I gave to Count Aranda—the 'Spanish Hercules'." [3]

The Augustinian General Vasquez wrote jubilantly to Roda: "Let us sing to the Lord, for He is gloriously magnified in Spain by its purification from the reptiles harmful to body and soul. God bless Your Excellency and all who have helped in this pious work, and may He assist you with His divine grace to finish it entirely and prevent the evils that may arise

[1] *To Roda, April 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000.

[2] "*E da congratularsi colla Spagna e col nostro buon amico Don Emanuel [Roda] per aver conseguita l'espulsione dei Gesuiti, sulla quale egli ha tanto lavorato . . . Di tutta questa storia mi è dispiaciuta l'inquietudine del buon Re di Spagna" (April 18, 1767, *ibid.*).

[3] "Tardi, ma finalmente è venuta l'espulsione dei gesuiti dalla Spagna, cioè delli sbirri del Papa, degli emissari di Roma, degl' incendiari dello stato, delli sollevatori dei popoli, degli artefici dei tradimenti, dei latrocini, dei contrabandi, dei professori perpetui della sedizione. La gloria del Re sarà grande: li successori saranno al Re debitori della loro tranquillità, li popoli della disciplina, dei patrimoni, della libertà e della pura religione. . . . Mi pregio di che V. E. abbia trovato giusta la denominazione data da me d' 'Ercole Ispanico' al conte d'Aranda" (April 18, 1767, *ibid.*).

in America. I always believed that a radical measure would be taken whereby the goal of annihilation would gradually be reached, but I never dreamt that such speedy action would be taken. I now see that unknowingly I was uttering a prophecy when, at the end of my circular letter, I wished my brethren a blessing in the words of St. Paul: 'The God of peace crush Satan under your feet speedily.' Some ingenious folk have pointed this out and it is a subject for merriment at Jansenist meetings. . . . Doubtless they will publish the history, or rather the proceedings, with the historical proofs, of the deeds by which the *Benemeriti* have brought their extermination on themselves." [1] He then enclosed a draft order for the diplomatic representatives, by which the king was to forbid all who were dependent on Spain to have any intercourse with the Jesuits.[2] On April 23rd Vasquez thanked Roda for the copies of the incomparable Pragmatic Sanction and the instruction, which in his judgment had been composed with the special enlightenment of God. Marefoschi too, he said, was highly delighted, calling it a success that would make the memory of Roda immortal.[3] The Augustinian General awaited

[1] " *Cantemus Domino: gloriose enim magnificatus est [Exod. xv, 1] en España con haberse purgado de unas sabandijas enemigos de las almas y los cuerpos. . . . Ni por sueño pensé que se pudiese obrar con tanta velocidad. Ahora veo que sin saber lo que me decia pronostiqué un suceso en la benedicion que di a mis frayles al fin de la enciclica con S. Pablo: Deus pacis conterat Satanam sub pedibus vestris velociter [Romans, xvi, 20]. Ya han hecho esta reflexion algunos de los combinadores de cosas, y sirve de divertimento a las asambleas giansenisticas. . . . Yo no dudo que se dará al publico una historia o per mejor decir el proceso historiado con que se han merecido los que fueran Benemeritos su exterminio " (Vasquez to Roda [April 16, 1767], Biblioteca S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.).

[2] This proposal was acted on; *cf.* below, p. 159, and above, p. 110.

[3] " *Doy a V.E. mil y mil gracias por los exemplares de la incomparable Pragmatica e instruccion, que juzgo hechas con particular ilustracion de Dios " (Vasquez to Roda, April 23, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.).

with impatience the arrival of the ships with the banished Jesuits, who would doubtless bring with them their overthrown Penates : that was to say, their avarice, their ambition, their love of slander, regicide, and all the rest of their vices, which up till then they had passed off as Christian principles. " God be praised for all eternity for having rid us of such a plague." [1]

According to Roda, the people accepted the expulsion of the Jesuits with calmness and approval ; [2] even in turbulent Madrid sensible persons were quite happy about it, while the Jesuit supporters were silent and kept their sadness concealed. There was no disturbance anywhere.[3] Any public demonstration in favour of the exiles had in fact been made impossible by the Pragmatic Sanction, which ruled that any protest against the royal decree was high treason. But the people were not unmoved by what had taken place. It appears from eyewitnesses' accounts that in many places the departing Jesuits were accompanied for miles by the sympathetic populace.[4]

These were the final words of the report made to the Pope by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo shortly after the events

[1] *Vasquez to Roda, May 7, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Roda to Azara, April 7, 1757, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] **Id.* to *id.*, April 14, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] " *En efecto, habia concurrido todo el pueblo [of Santiago] en grandes pelotones a ser testigo de ella [expulsion], mas no con ánimo de resistir a las reales disposiciones, sino precisamente para contestar con sus llantos y sollozos el amor que profesaban a los Jesuitas, y el sentimiento con que su ausencia los dejaba " (Isla, *Memorial*, 311). " *Scrive il P. Medina rettore del noviziato di Madrid da Cività Vecchia . . . che la commozione de' popoli in Spagna era stata grandissima e che non potevano imaginarsi tanto affetto che piangevano, s'inginocchiavano e chiedevano i ritagli delle lor vesti per reliquie " (Ricci, *Espulsione*, 44). *Cf.* *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767. After the restoration of the Order (1814) over forty towns and other bodies petitioned the Government to readmit it into Spain (**Nota de las representaciones*, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3517, pp. 26–59).

had taken place : " That is all, Holy Father, that has happened until now, and I report it to Your Holiness in all sincerity, with the frank admission that all I have seen in these Religious is the exact observance of their rules and a fervent zeal for the greater glory of God and the spiritual progress of the faithful." [1] In a letter to Count Mejorada a certain Marchese Valle demanded that the *Cortes* of the whole realm should assemble on some pretext or other, to correct the great evils that were then rampant. There was not a citizen's or noble's family, he declared, that was not affected by these scandalous proceedings. Virtue and learning were being driven out of Spain. " Though subjects of a just king, we are actually slaves to the tyrannical passions of his Ministers." [2]

The nuncio Pallavicini had been purposely kept in ignorance by the Government of the progress of the secret inquiry. [3]

[1] " *Esto es, SSmo Padre, lo que hasta ahora ha ocurrido, y quanto sincerisimamente hago presente a Va Sd con la mas fiel confesion, de que en estos Religiosos nunca he observado mas que una exacta aplicacion al cumplimiento de su Instituto, y un fervoroso celo para el maior culto de Dios y aprovechamiento espiritual de los fieles " (April 4, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777). On the *copy of the letter is a note : " N.B. En el pliego de Mons. Nuncio para el card. Torrigiani." *Cf.* *Azpuru to Roda, May 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 667 ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi [undated], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Sobre la expulsion de los PP. Jesuitas," 1767 ; *Roda to Azpuru, June 16, 1767, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 47.

[2] *Alcántara, April 14, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3513. In forwarding the letter to Aranda, De la Mejorada remarked that the name Valle was a pseudonym and that the letter did not come from Alcántara but from Andalusia (*April 22, 1767, *ibid.*).

[3] " Roda, De lo que debia decirse al Papa, en consulta del Consejo extraordinario de Enero 29 de 1767," in Danvila y Collado, III., 628. " *Non sarebbe nè difficile, nè strano che io venissi costà accusato, perchè non ho fatto uso della lettera di S. Stà dei 22 Gennaio. V. Eza e S. Sta sanno, perchè non l'ho fatto. Gli stessi principali interessati nel grande avvenimento non lo hanno scoperto, o non me hanno informato. Non ne ho avuto

It was not until everything was over that he was allowed to make his report to Rome.[1] His letters were more or less a reproduction of the charges brought against the Jesuits.[2] When he complained of the arbitrary treatment of a religious society by the secular power, he had been told by the Minister that in virtue of his sovereign authority the king had the right to take such an administrative measure. The royal confessor, Osma, from whom the nuncio had hoped to obtain an explanation of the current rumours, had misled him and had kept the truth from him, being bound by his oath of secrecy.[3] Everything had been done by the Government to deceive the Jesuits too about their actual situation. Even

sentore per veruna di quelle altre indagini che pratticavo. Quella unione de' consiglieri che seguiva in casa del sig. conte di Aranda, nel pubblico si chiamava giunta, e non consiglio, ed in questo supposto ni uno si figurava che ad una giunta si fosse per comettersi ed affidarsi interamente una risoluzione simile, ad esclusione del consiglio. . . . Quelli che la sapevano o la conducevano, hanno, come può credere, usato tutti gli artifici imaginabili per allontare da me ogni sospetto" (Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767).

[1] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 1, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 1 and 7, 1767, *ibid.* (the letter of April 7, 1767, is also in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767, and Estado, 5044).

[3] "*Il P. Confessore, come già le scrissi [April 21, *ibid.*], è in colpa di aver tenuto a bada l'Eminenza Vostra con le sue restrizioni mentali, e con la sua equivoca condotta" (Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 30, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767). On August 6, 1767, *Torrigiani instructed the new nuncio Lucini to make use of Osma's services, "sebbene potremo noi grandemente querelarci, e imputare a codesto Religioso l'aver addormentato il sig. card. Pallavicini nel grande affare della espulsione, e trattenerlo da quelli passi, che egli col suo zelo, e cogli impulsi, che ne avea da S.Sta, avrebbe fatti" (Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767).

in the final weeks Aranda had shown several signs of friendship towards certain Jesuits, Idiaquez and his former teacher Martinez, for example. In the Government's view, the Jesuits, embittered by the systematic exclusion of their pupils from public and ecclesiastical offices, had fostered discontent among high and low, probably by way of the confessional and by private conversation. Presumably this view was substantiated by the evidence collected by the Fiscal. He knew, of course, that no accused person was condemned merely as the result of information laid against him, without being heard or legally defended, but in the Pragmatic Sanction the expulsion was represented as an administrative measure, not as a judicial punishment. If the Pope was intending to refer to the matter, or to the doctrine of the Jesuits, which indirectly was declared to be very bad, extreme caution was advisable. The Fiscal's careful and meticulously accurate mode of procedure, the king's deep-rooted judgment, his extraordinary piety, and the number and unanimity of the considered opinions, all vouched for the monarch's having taken these steps in the conviction that they were absolutely necessary. He had taken exemplary proceedings against the whole body, and not against individual culprits, being of the opinion that to draw a distinction between the guilty and the innocent would only have caused a serious disturbance of his own and the public peace. Another consideration was that the banishment of the Jesuits had been advised by not a few theologians and at least two Bishops. The king was also convinced that some of his secular advisers who had given him the same counsel were former supporters of the Jesuits, Count Aranda, for example, who had been brought up by them and had consistently maintained friendly relations with his teacher Martinez. But in making these remarks he himself had no intention whatever of deciding whether or not the Jesuits were really guilty. He knew that the lack of any defence could be cited in their favour and that the opinions of the theologians, Bishops, and Ministers had only as much value as the evidence on which they were based. The obscurity and indefiniteness of the expressions used in the Pragmatic

Sanction were purposely chosen to avoid the objections which were raised against the documents composed by Pombal and the French Parlements, so that in this case the king's first word might, if possible, be his last.[1] The blow was all the more destructive for the Society of Jesus because it came from a monarch who was so just, religious, virtuous, and discerning. "For if it is true that members of the Order have meddled in State affairs, I know not how they can be exonerated from all guilt, or how one can condemn those who have them removed because they despair of their improvement." And so he again advised caution. In his reply the Pope might complain in a loving and tender fashion about the scanty confidence placed in him by the king, and ask him to relieve him of his distress and to tell him in confidence what had been discovered about the doings of the Jesuits, so that he could handle the matter and be of help with a full knowledge of the facts.

As can be seen from these words of the nuncio, in which one can hear the voice of his cousin Grimaldi, Pallavicini, despite his former assurances,[2] was inclining towards the view that the charges against the Jesuits were not entirely unfounded. In fact, in his first report on the expulsion (of April 1st) he went so far as to say that what he had heard led him to believe that the Jesuits had deserved their punishment, so that he could say nothing to the Government about it. Shortly after April 7th Pallavicini fell seriously ill[3] and the business

[1] "*Questa medesima oscurità, siccome i vaghi termini usati nella Pragmatica per evitare le contradizioni e le critiche che incontrarono gli scritti di Carvalho e quelli del Parlamento di Francia, è per fare che la prima parola di S. M. C. che suona nel pubblico su questa materia, sia, se è possibile, e la prima e la ultima" (*ibid.*).

[2] See above, pp. 64, 65.

[3] The copy of Vincenti's *letter to Torrigiani, of April 14, 1767 (Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767), is marked "Hipolito Vincenti por indisposicion del Nuncio al card. Torrigiani".. *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*

of the nunciature was taken over by his secretary, Count Vincenti. The Brief to Charles III., which the nuncio himself had asked for, was not delivered, since, as Vincenti reported, it would certainly have been rejected, for the Government already knew of it and the king was assured on all sides that the measure he had taken was not beyond his competency. The monarch's object was not to punish an individual but to ensure his own peace and that of his States, and there was overwhelming evidence that this was endangered or at least called in question by the Jesuits.[1] The other charges brought by the Secretary against the banished Jesuits, which seemed to him to leave no doubt about their guilt, originated, according to his own account, with someone in the confidence of the Fiscal Campomanes.[2] The Secretary thought it worth while repeating to the Cardinal Secretary of State such old wives' tales as that a casket had been found in the Colegio Imperial in Madrid, containing some chains, a powder, and a piece of paper with the words: "Chains and ashes from the eyes of Don John of Austria," the Jesuits, of course, having torn out his eyes. Then there were letters that had passed between Jesuits in Spain and America in which they had discussed a plan to stir up a revolt in America so as to obtain possession of part of the colonies.[3] Although these letters were used for the most part purely as references it is easy to

[1] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[2] "*Intorno a' gesuiti, persona confidente del sig. Campomanes ha riferito di aver inteso dal medesimo che i detti Padri erano convinti di complicità nel tumulto dell' anno scorso, anche per deposizione di sei di loro: dicesi che consti similmente dal processo che sieno stati i principali autori della sedizione di Saragozza, e che siensi incontrate in quelle lor case varie minute originali de' pasquini e notificazioni messe al publico" (Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, *ibid.*).

[3] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767. *Cf.* *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 30, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*

see in which direction the nuncio's opinions were tending. On August 25th, 1767, Lucini, Pallavicini's successor, reported that in Madrid the banishment of the Jesuits was accepted as an accomplished fact and was discussed either not at all or in the manner of Count Vincenti.[1] Both Pallavicini and Vincenti had to be told by the Cardinal Secretary of State that no credit was given to these rumours in Rome and that the guilt of the Jesuits was not considered to have been proved.[2] The blind obedience for which the Jesuits had hitherto been blamed was now commanded to be shown by subjects towards their sovereign.

Naturally the news of the banishment of the Jesuits from

[1] *Lucini to Torrigiani, August 25, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] " *Ieri sera ricevemmo il difuso dispaccio dell' Em^za V^a de' 7 stante, il quale in sostanza contiene un concetto ben differente di quello che qui si è concepito da S. St^à riguardo all' espulsione de' gesuiti dai domini di Spagna. Senza entrare a discutere la probabilità delle vane e vaghe presunzioni e congetture che si possono pensare sopra un fatto sì strepitoso, sarà sempre vero che i gesuiti sono ora condannati senza esser stati uditi, che per pochi o molti dei colpevoli vengono puniti tutti gli altri innocenti; che quando un solo innocente vi fosse, ingiustizia sarebbe il soggettarlo all' infamia e all' esilio, che in tanto il danno, che ne soffrono la religione ed il pubblico in codesti domini, specialmente nell' Indie, è grandissimo " (Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 23, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*). " *Nuovamente mi assecura il conte Vicenti che niuno ormai dubita più delle reità de' gesuiti, ma quali elleno sieno, e su quali fondamenti si appoggino, non lo esprime; tutto si riduce al 'si dice o si pretende', le voci sono varie, diverse e incostanti, come si rileva anche dalle pubbliche straniere gazette; costà tutto si suppone a disfavore de' gesuiti, perchè niuno è che possa difenderli, e forse niuno che si possa dispensare dallo discreditarli. . . . Si vuolo che i sudditi prestino al sovrano quella cieca ubbidienza che si è finora condannata nei gesuiti rispetto al loro generale. . . . Le lettere circolari che sonosi pubblicate da alcuni vescovi e superiori regolari, abbastanza manifestano un tale principio " (Torrigiani to Lucini, August 16, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*).

strictly Catholic Spain caused a great stir abroad. Its reception varied. Whereas in England voices were raised against the Draconian measures, in Lisbon and Paris the banishment was hailed as a great and noble deed.[1] On May 9th the Paris Parlement published the resolution proposed by the Abbé Chauvelin to print and distribute throughout the country the Spanish Pragmatic Sanction of April 2nd, 1767. As reported by the Secretary to the embassy, Magallon, more than 40,000 copies of the French translation had already been distributed by April 24th. According to Choiseul, Louis XV. is said to have remarked that the guilt of the Spanish Jesuits must certainly have been very great to have impelled the king to take such a decisive step.[3] But the French monarch did not express himself so definitely to his nephew, Duke Ferdinand of Parma. "I do not know," he wrote, but that he [the king] would not have done better first to punish the guilty severely, if there are any, for now there remains

[1] "*Solo los Ingleses han blasfemado y Carvalho hizo al consul ingles una amonestacion terrible. Los Ingleses y Romanos son del mismo sistema politico en el dia de hoi" (Roda to Azara, May 12, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.). "*De Paris y Lisboa escriben mil aplausos y de esta ultima corte dicen, que se han explicado contra nuestra providencia los Ingleses. Vea Ud que apoyo para Roma, que ha dado enfavorecer a Londres, y aliarse con los Protestantes" (Roda to Azara, April 28, 1767, *ibid.*). Masserano maintained that the news of the expulsion had been received with universal joy (*to Grimaldi, April 23, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6994).

[2] *To Roda, April 24, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet. Soc. Iesu, Madrid, Chamartin, P; *Roda to Azara, May 18, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*; *Vasquez to Roda, June 4, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, Vol. I.; *Azara to Grimaldi, June 4, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044. Chauvelin's speech in an Italian translation in the *Inquietudini de' Gesuiti*, III. (1767), Aggiunta alla Raccolta di Spagna. *Ibid.* the *Arrêt* of May 9.

[3] *Choiseul to Ossun, April 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667. *Cf.* Choiseul to Aubeterre, April 21, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 400 *seq.*

a certain obscurity which will give rise to objections, although he has strictly forbidden them." [1]

In Vienna the news caused no little surprise.[2] During the secret investigation the Court had made inquiries of the General of the Order, through the Jesuit Liesganig, as to the precise nature of the serious offences which had caused such an unprecedented action. The General could only assure him that no offence of any importance committed by a Spanish Jesuit had come to his ears. Apart from the banishment of Calatayud and Lopez, the ban on missions in the Basque country, and the distribution of apologetic works without the permission of the authorities, nothing of an incriminating nature had as yet been reported to him or to the Papal Curia. Their Majesties might judge for themselves if these things were of such a nature as to call for the heaviest punishment possible.[3] The Empress also had been little convinced of

[1] *Letter of April 27, 1767, Ducal Private Archives in Parma, Francia. The measures taken by the Spanish Government met with severe criticism even among the French freethinkers. D'Alembert wrote to Voltaire on May 4, 1767: "Ne pensez-vous pas qu'on devait permettre aux Jésuites de se justifier, surtout quand on doit être sûr qu'ils ne le peuvent pas? Ne pensez-vous point encore, qu'il serait très-injuste de les faire tous mourir de faim, si un seul frère coupe-chou s'avise d'écrire bien ou mal en leur faveur?" (CARAYON, XV., xlvi.).

[2] *Mahony to Grimaldi, April 30, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3518; *the Palatine envoy Von Ritter to the Minister of State Wachtendonk, May 16, 1767, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz, 26/3.

[3] *Ricci to Fr. Liesganig, January 10, 1767, *Epist. Gen. secretae*, in Jesuit possession. Ricci ends with the words: "Demum quid nobis in Hispania quid alibi futurum sit, Deus novit, tanta certe est adversariorum nostrorum violentia, fraudes tantae, ut non nisi Deo singulariter opitulante possimus evadere, cum optimos etiam et potentiores in fraudem et errorem inducant et a nobis aversos reddant. Caeterum Dei est potentia, Dei est regnum, ipse est super omnes gentes, ipse dabit pacem in diebus nostris, quia non est alius, qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi Deus noster" (*ibid.*).

the justice or expediency of the step by the vague wording of the Pragmatic Sanction or the explanations of the Spanish ambassador.[1]

On May 14th Ricci was informed by the Pope of the alleged reasons for the expulsion: serious abuses in the American missions, against which the General had taken no action, illicit trading, and provocation, by means of satirical writings, of the disorders in Saragossa.[2] In the matter of the last charge, however, in the account of the rising which was published by official authority the Jesuits were commended for having done their best, in co-operation with other Religious, to bring the disturbances to an end.[3] In reply to the first charge the General observed that no complaint about abuses of a grave or general character had ever been made to him or the Pope.[4] The vague accusation of forbidden trading was

[1] *December 26 [1767]. "Alla mezza dopo mezzo giorno, ricevo l'udienza dall'Imperatrice ... Io qui glieli [the Jesuits] raccomandai in nome del Papa .... ed Ella: non poter mai capire le ragioni che possan aver le altre corti, poter però ella dire di trovare ad esser di loro contenta; esser essi utili, e se anno come uomini anch' essi dei difetti, e quello di un po intriganti se si lascian fare, basta corregerli a tempo, ed han difetti che avrebbe ciascun d'altra Religione. Confessare d'esser Ella e la sua casa per così dire come da essi educati, per ciò anco un po prevenuta, ma esser altresì vero di aver ne meno con ciò scoperto quel male che loro si imputa. Non cangierà perciò d'esser loro favorevole fin che crederà continuare come fanno ora a meritarselo, nè si lascierà trasportar dalla piena loro contraria" (Diario del card. Visconti, Nunziat. di Germania, 394, fasc. C, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 37–9.

[3] Sebastian y Latre, *Relacion individual y veridica del suceso acontecido en la ciudad de Zaragoza* . . . p. 52. King Charles authorized the Archbishop to go to the Jesuit College and thank the Fathers. The prelate appeared in full ceremonial dress to execute his task (Ricci, **Espulsione*, 14).

[4] "Unicamente los Regulares de la Compañia de Jesús (merced a los hermanos que de continuo les iban de Europa, y a la facultad de expulsar de su seno a los que alteraban la armonia del Instituto)

rejected by Ricci as a calumny; isolated and exceptional cases had been dealt with by himself with all possible severity. Moreover, he asked with justice, why was it that the Government, which intervened in everything else, issued no prohibition against it? Why had the Bishops not opposed the trading? The evidence that had been produced was hardly sound. Even if it was true that three million *reales* in cash had been found in the Colegio Imperial in Madrid,[1] it was nothing extraordinary, seeing that it was the residence of the procurators of the four Spanish and seven American Provinces, who had to administer the funds of more than a hundred colleges and make purchases for the missions overseas. The existence of a fund of one million *reales* in the college of Salamanca could be explained just as simply. The Castilian Province having no fund for the maintenance of its scholastics, each house had to make an annual subscription. For years past sums of money had been set aside for the purpose of building up the desired capital fund.

The letter sent by Charles III. to Tanucci on the day of the expulsion [2] is couched in the same vague terms as his public edicts. That the ejection had proceeded without disturbance appeared to the king to be an obvious manifestation of the divine assistance. He therefore asked the Minister to join him in giving thanks to the Lord.[3] He spoke more clearly to his confidant on May 19th, when he wrote of how his personal safety and that of the whole royal family had

se singularizaban por la pureza de las costumbres, por el arte de atraer a la cultura a los Indios. Todos los autores catolicos y protestantes exceptúan a los Jesuitas cuando hablan de la conducta escandalosa de las comunidades monasticas en el Nuevo Mundo. Los autores de las 'Noticias secretas' los celebran mucho" (FERRER DEL RIO, I., 441). *Cf.* also *Fray Pedro Jos. Parras to J. Andrés on December 27, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777.

[1] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *March 31, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6056.

[3] *April 7, 1767, *ibid.*

been endangered by the Jesuits. Tanucci and the Court confessor Latilla had certainly not exaggerated the danger in their reports to the young king of Naples. From what he had seen and what he had never wished to see, they had, if anything, fallen short of the truth.[1]

A perusal of the king's letter to Tanucci of June 23rd, 1767, leaves the reader with the impression that he has struck a trail which might lead to the disclosure of the reasons the monarch had "locked away in his royal breast". He speaks here of confidential revelations made by the Minister to the young Ferdinand IV. on the strength of his letter of June 12th. From the words quoted he sees that he has been rightly understood. It would take too long to tell him everything; besides, he would also have to have the numerous documents in front of him. He has therefore instructed the Minister Roda to write and tell him of everything that has been discovered in Spain and that is still being discovered day by day.[2]

It was hoped that Roda's letter to Tanucci of the same date (June 23rd) would throw some light on the confidential information to which the king had alluded, but it proves to be nothing but a long speech for the prosecution. The Minister prefaces his remarks by stating that in spite of the strict silence that had been imposed he would relate, by order of his royal master, the causes of the expulsion and the way in which it was carried out. With princely clemency the monarch had pardoned those who had been guilty of the rebellion but, for his own justification and out of love for his subjects, he had given orders that the causes and the origin of these widespread disorders were to be definitely established. The investigations of the Privy Council had shown that the chief, indeed the only, originators of the conflagration were the Jesuits. They had aroused the passions of all classes

[1] *Letters of May 19 and June 2, 1767, *ibid.* *Cf.* *letter of August 4, 1767, *ibid.*, 6057.

[2] *Original, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6056; Danvila y Collado, III., 70.

of the people by printing and distributing rebellious pamphlets, by preaching sermons against Portugal and France, by inciting nuns, by casting doubts on the orthodoxy of the king and his Ministers, by threats and prophecies of disasters both before and after the rebellion, by complaints about the degradation of their partisans and their exclusion from public offices, and by their murmurings against all Government ordinances which ran contrary to their ideas and wishes. Their immorality, their slackness, their shady business-dealings, their intrigues—in short, all the charges which their foes had brought against them—had been confirmed by fresh, incontrovertible cases. Their hatred of the Bourbons, their dislike of the Family Compact, their attachment to the English, by whom they wished France to be suppressed, their trust in the Protestant princes, whom they preferred to the Catholic ones, and a whole host of other facts, abominable in themselves and contrary to religious discipline, had been established in an irrefutable manner. Adopting the proposal of the Extraordinary Council, in which to set his conscience at rest he had included ecclesiastical dignitaries, the monarch had decided on the banishment of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property. The proposal was based on motives of justice and the dictates of conscience, also on the unavoidable duty of the sovereign to maintain peace and order among his people and to destroy the seeds of disunion. In addition, there were the opinions of the learned and virtuous prelates and highly-placed persons who had examined this weighty matter with the utmost impartiality. Their unanimous opinion compelled the king to take the measure which had since been put into effect. Finally, Roda offered to send Tanucci the *Monita secreta* with which he might enlighten the young prince still further on the subject of the Jesuits.[1]

It seems therefore to be a fact that the king had been induced by Ministers or Court officials to believe that his life was threatened by a Jesuit conspiracy. The French ambassador Ossun reported to the Duc de Choiseul that the

[1] Danvila y Collado, III., 636 *seqq.*

king had told him that he had taken the decision because the Jesuits had plotted a murderous attack on him, intending to assassinate him and all his family when they were visiting the Holy Sepulchres on Maundy Thursday and that he owed his escape only to the lucky chance that the revolt broke out prematurely on Palm Sunday.[1] The same accusation was communicated by Charles III. through Prince Cattolica to Tanucci,[2] so that he in his turn could bring it to the knowledge of the young Ferdinand IV.

In order to refute this serious accusation, the Jesuit General Ricci pointed out that when Navarro, the Rector of the Colegio Imperial, received an anonymous letter requiring him under threats to take part in a fresh revolt, he had immediately passed the letter on to Count Aranda, who had consequently had the guards strengthened. The assumption that this was a trap laid for the Jesuits by the prime movers of the expulsion is not entirely unfounded.[3] In the protocols of the Extraordinary Council the accusation of a regicidal plot was not made in so blunt a form, and it is scarcely feasible that any of the Ministers really believed in its existence. At any rate, according to Aranda's admission, the expulsion of the Jesuits had not been caused by any dark and murderous conspiracies, but by the general conviction that the Order was ill-suited to the times.[4]

[1] Ferrer del Rio, II., 181 *seq.*, 182, n. 1. *Cf.* *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 23, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*; *Fuentes to Grimaldi, dated Paris, 1767, May 8 [13], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565; *Ayres Sa e Mello to Grimaldi, May 9, 1767, *ibid.*, 7280. *Cf.* Ricci, **Espulsione*, 46, 48.

[2] On May 5, 1767, in Ferrer del Rio, II., 182, n. 1; Danvila y Collado, III., 60.

[3] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 46.

[4] Aranda to Fr. Isidro Lopez, dated Paris, 1775, July 3, in *Razón y Fe*, XXIX. (1911), 177, n. 1. The Jesuit pupil Fernan-Nuñez writes in his biography of Charles III. (p. 209): "Toca á los soberanos y á sus Ministros decidir si el respeto á la religión y al trono se han aumentado ó disminuido desde entonces. Yo sólo debo decir, en honor de la verdad, que me crié con ellos,

Perhaps the most penetrating criticism to which the Pragmatic Sanction was subjected is to be found in a supposed extract from a London newspaper of May 6th, 1767. Every supporter of the natural and social law, we read here, must be outraged by so tyrannical a procedure. Even if the Jesuits were atheists, traitors, or devils in human form, as members of the body politic they ought not to have been detached from it without strict proof that they were so corrupt as fully to deserve this separation. If a prince can dispose of any particular body of persons just as he pleases, without giving any other reason than his own will, certain secret deliberations, and causes known only to himself, what is left of the security of the law? To demand a dumb and unprotesting acquiescence in such a secret procedure, under pain of being treated as guilty of high treason, and deliberately and arbitrarily to suspend all the laws opposing such a procedure—this is, in fact, to exercise a power which no nation that has not lost all sense of law, justice, and humanity can accept. The Almighty has never placed such a power in the hands of one of His creatures, for the whole purpose of the divine laws is the exercise of justice and mercy. With equal right the King of Spain might, by means of a similar secret and arbitrary act, banish any Order, or even any civic community, and confiscate their property. Everyone knows very well that the Spanish constitution, like our own, derives from the Gothic one. We also know that the father of the present king was preferred as successor to the throne on condition that he cared for the welfare of the nation and maintained the Spanish possessions undiminished. At that time, therefore, these peoples had the real and acknowledged right to think and to care for themselves; now, on the contrary, they are told

por orden y á expensas del Rey, como se ha visto en la introducción, y que cuantas máximas me enseñaron se fundan en uno y otro, y en verter por su defensa la última gota di mi sangre, si quiero vivir y morir con honor y gozar de gloria en este mundo y en el otro, sin que jamás les haya oído nada que directa ó indirectamente lo contradiga."

that it is not for subjects to judge or discuss the orders of the sovereign. In other words they are reduced to the status of miserable slaves. These Jesuits have fathers, brothers, and blood-relations among all classes and ranks in Spain who are forbidden to inquire into the reasons for their banishment and spoliation, and at the same time the order has gone forth that every natural feeling of affection for them is to be buried in silence and obscurity.[1] This article, which according to the assertions of the Spanish envoy Masserano was not to be found in a London newspaper,[2] made so deep an impression that the Extraordinary Council had itself to deal with the matter.[3] Every Spanish envoy was instructed to collect every copy he could lay his hands on. It was also resolved to publish anonymously a reasoned contradiction of it and together with France to work for the total suppression of the Jesuits, so as to put an end once for all to every kind of unrest and intrigue.[4]

An unintentional vindication of the Spanish Jesuits and an indication of the most fundamental cause of their expulsion are to be found in a letter from the free-thinking Minister Du Tillot to Azara. "I see," he wrote just before the impending expulsion, "that the philosophic spirit is steadily increasing. It is making headway in Spain as almost everywhere else in the Catholic world. It will make progress in Italy too, for it has already pushed forward in many places, such as Venice, Turin, Florence, Naples, and Genoa. But you will also see before a century has passed that, after it has first engaged itself in jurisdictional questions with Rome, it will extend to the civil and political domain of Governments. Men will try to bargain about their freedom and the limits of their obedience, and government will be more and more

[1] **Estratto delle Gazzette di Londra dei 6 Maggio 1767. Lettera indirizzata allo stampatore delle medesime.* Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] *Roda to Aranda, July 27 and October 27, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] **Consejo extraordinario*, August 23, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Roda to Grimaldi, September 3, 1767, *ibid.*

difficult. The present discussions in France are steps towards breaking one link of the chains and fetters. Mental enlightenment does not take place without an attempt to open the way to freedom. Already several books, such as the *Contrat social*, contain ideas and principles which in time will cause the Ministries disquiet and apprehension. Despotic governments will feel it keenly. I could say much more on this point." [1]

The reasons given by the king for the expulsion of the Jesuits were the maintenance of obedience, peace, and justice, and other motives "which he was locking away in his royal breast". We now know from archival documents that this obscure expression was purposely chosen in order to forestall any discussion about the soundness or emptiness of the charges, but at the time when it was uttered, taken in conjunction with the fixed resolve with which Charles III. was working for the suppression of the Order, it gave rise to the most varied conjectures. It was thought that only reasons of a personal nature could have impelled the king to assume such a harsh attitude.

[1] "*Veo, come V. S. dice, que el espiritu philosophico va haziendo progressos. Los haze tambien en España, en fin en todo el mundo catholico, quasi. Los hará despues en Italia, pues ya ha adelantado en la mayor parte de ella, Venezia, Turin, Florenzia, Napoles, Genova. Pero verá N. S. que antes de un siglo ese espiritu, despues de haverse exercitado sobre materias de jurisdiccion en la clase que ha relacion con Roma, se estenderá a lo civil y politico en los goviernos. Los hombres querrán tratar de su libertad y de los limites de su obediencia, el governo será mas arduo. Vea V. S. que lo que se discute en Francia, son pasos a romper algun pedazo de vinculos y cadenas. Las mentes no se iluminarán sin que se busque a abrir carrera a la libertad. Muchos escritos, como el 'Contrato social', van ya conteniendo maximas y principios, que con el tiempo alarmarán los ministerios. El govierno despotico se sentirá de ello. Avria mucho que decir sobre este punto" (March 8, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma" 1767). "Tous les livres si sévèrement défendus à Paris, entrent librement en Espagne," wrote Voltaire to Villevieille on May 1, 1768, *Œuvres*, LX., 470.

Every attempt to make him suspicious of the Jesuits and thus to bring about their expulsion, having been frustrated, it is said, by the king's unshakeable love of justice, the enemies of the Society had recourse to an underhand trick. One evening, while the community of the Colegio Imperial in Madrid were engaged as usual in reciting the litany, a man came to the gate with a message for the rector. Navarro, the rector, told the porter to put it on the table in his room. After the litany the community went into the refectory for supper. During the meal two members of the Council suddenly appeared in the house and in the name of the Court demanded the key of the rector's room, which they had orders to search. After a brief apparent search they lit on the letter, still unopened, and took it away with them. In the letter it was said that Charles III. was not a legitimate son of Philip V. but the issue of a criminal liaison between his mother Elizabeth Farnese and the Cardinal Minister Alberoni. Consequently he was not a legitimate prince and the throne belonged to his brother Don Luis. This letter was laid before the king. Deeply hurt in his personal honour and filial piety, the monarch was henceforward determined to eject every Jesuit from his realm. In order not to compromise his honour and his mother's he employed in his decree the ambiguous phrase already mentioned.[1]

[1] Anselm von Eckart in MURR, *Journal*, IX., 217–222. The substitution of the letters is described as a fact by CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, III.[3], 237 *seqq.*; COLOMBET, *Histoire de la suppression des Jésuites*, II., 5 *seqq.*; SCHOELL, *Cours d'histoire*, XXXIX., 163; CARAYON, XV., *Préface*, XVII, *seqq.*; RAVIGNAN, I., 185 *seqq.*, II., 337; *Colección de los artículos de La Esperanza*[3], Madrid, 1858, 438 *seq.*; LÉTOURVILLE, *Ravignan et ses contradicteurs*, 25 *seqq.*; MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, III., 143; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 158 *seq.*; GALLERANI-MADARIAGA, 163 *seqq.*; *Razón y Fe*, XIX. (1907), 505 *seqq.* Besides Murr the following also are cited as authorities: LAFUENTE, *Historia de España*, P. III., l.8, c.8; COXE, *España bajo el reinado de la casa de Borbon*, IV., 171; SISMONDI, *Histoire des Français*, XXIX., 370; *Ami de la religion*, XXXII., 159; ADAM, *Histoire d'Espagne*, IV., 271; CANTÙ,

Even at first sight the picaresque character of this story inspires little confidence, and when its historical background is examined it loses all trace of trustworthiness. Although the secret documents (*reservada*) in the archives of Simancas and Madrid have been well searched by historians of the most varied convictions, no trace has yet been found of the planted letter or any allusion to it.[1] The disappearance of the prosecutory part of the Consulta of January 29th, 1767, proves nothing to the contrary, as this can be explained in another way. Further, no historian has ever accused Elizabeth Farnese of marital infidelity. It was in fact the unspotted

Storia dei cent' anni 1750–1850, I., Firenze, 1851, 165; DÖLLINGER-HORTIG, II., 2 (1826), 798. The authenticity of the trick is not accepted by SAINT-PRIEST, 57; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 123, n. 1; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 82 *seq.*; SYDNEY SMITH, in *The Month*, C (1902), 26; ROUSSEAU, I., 218 *seq.*

[1] Even Charles III.'s letter to Tanucci of August 4, 1767, affords no conclusive proof of the authenticity of the story about the faked letter. Tanucci *wrote to Charles III. on July 14, 1767, (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100), that the Prince of San Nicandro had asked him: "se era vero, che la congiura era di lasciar intatto il solo signor infante Don Luigi, perchè in tal caso avrebbe concluso, che di V. M. e della sua real prole fossero li Gesuiti nemici, e si potrebbe trattare colle regole della giustizia, esaminate che fossero bene le prove di delitto si grande." The king replied: "*Y por lo que me dizes que el tal te preguntó si hera cierto lo que se decia de mi hermano, te diré que creo que huviera tenido la misma suerte que todos los demas, si Dios no huviese puesto su santa mano, y que han sido infinitas las calumnias que los mismos esparcieron, y levantaron despues de lo sucedido a mi pobre madre que goze de Dios, y a el tambien para poner cizania, y division entre nosotros, ya que no avian podido lograr lo que querian, pero por gracia de Dios tampoco lo lograron, y se puso en claro la verdad, la inocencia, y su maldad" (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6057). The calumnies against his mother which the king ascribed to the Jesuits probably originated in the talk that the Fathers were putting it about that the money for the uprising came from the Queen-Mother's apartments. *Cf.* above, p. 75.

family life of the first three Bourbons that helped to establish their dynasty in Spain.[1] The earliest reports of the mysterious story of the letter appear in 1780, that is to say, thirteen or fourteen years after the supposed incident, and there are various versions of it.[2] According to one account, the letter purported to have been written by the General of the Order, Ricci[3]; according to another version it was a manuscript for a book that was folded in letter-form and was accompanied by a letter.[4] The addressee is given alternatively as the rector of the Colegio Imperial and as the Provincial.[5] Two unnamed Dominicans are mentioned as the writers of the book and the letter.[6] The Duke of Alba is said to have admitted on his death-bed that he originated the supposed letter from Ricci.[7] Another account has it that Choiseul was the author.[8] Others assert that a Portuguese of the name of Perez composed the letter and that it was translated into Spanish by the Dominican Mañalich.[9]

There is still another version which is entirely different. Two Fathers from the Province of Quito on their way to a Congregation of Procurators in Rome had chosen the route through Madrid. When about to cross the Spanish-French frontier at Figueras they were stopped by a captain of the Swiss regiment (in March, 1767), their baggage was searched, and a packet was found bearing the seal of the nunciature and the inscription *Il Nunzio*. The letters were sent to Madrid

[1] Danvila y Collado, III., 82 *seq.*; Ferrer del Rio, II., 123, n. 1.

[2] In Murr, *loc. cit.* Cordara makes no mention of the letter-story.

[3] Crétineau-Joly (*loc. cit.*), Ravignan (*loc. cit.*), and others.

[4] Murr, *loc. cit.*; Nonell, *loc. cit.*

[5] Termanini, **Vita del R. P. Lorenzo Ricci*, in Jesuit possession, MS. No. 28. *Cf.* Luengo, *Diario*, XIX., 388, in Nonell, 159, n. 2; Crétineau-Joly, Coxe, Speranza, *loc. cit.*

[6] Murr, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Schoell, Coxe, Crétineau-Joly, *loc. cit.*

[9] Nonell, *loc. cit.*

and the Fathers were held under arrest in a convent at Gerona. One of them, Larrain, died here only six months later, and it was not until nine years had passed that the other, Recio, was allowed to take up his residence in Italy.[1] Up to this point the account is in accordance with the historical facts.

But the interpretation of these facts is quite another matter. After his release from arrest Recio had been in Rome some considerable time when one day a former fellow-Jesuit entered his room and asked him if he still remembered the incident at Figueras and the packet of letters inscribed *Il Nunzio*. On his replying in the affirmative the Father showed him a letter in which it was stated that Pombal had admitted in his trial that it had been he who had enclosed in a packet with the nunciature's seal the letter about Charles III.'s illegitimate birth and had had it handed to the two Procurators for delivery in Rome. Recio could no longer remember clearly who it was who had actually handed him the packet but he was inclined to think that he had received it from the Provincial Mourin, who had earnestly requested him to guard it carefully.

Nothing is known of any such admission on Pombal's part. On the other hand, it is a fact that the Spanish Government was at great pains to spy on all the nunciature's correspondence as is still shown by the numerous copies of letters in Simancas. Knowing that in spite of these precautions certain information about its measures against the Jesuits had leaked out, it

[1] CARAYON, XV., 23 *seqq.*; NONELL, I., 219 *seqq.* Although a travel permit had been granted them by the Spanish Government, the Fathers' baggage and persons were subjected to a rigorous examination. All their papers, including even their toilet-paper, were recorded. In Madrid the *canard* was circulated that they had had in their possession 1½ million pesos, which they were intending to transfer to a safe place abroad. Actually, they had with them only 60 doubloons as journey-money. *Fr. Larrain to the Father Rector of Barcelona, dated Figueras, 1767, March 13, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777; *Fr. Torres to Fr. Escorza, March 27, 1767, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 2, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, Papal Secret Archives.

feared that the carefully guarded secret might be known in Rome prematurely and that the Pope might remonstrate with the king before the deed had been done.[1] Hence, the searching of the baggage for correspondence. Recio's long term of detention is explained by the fear of the Spanish Ministers, either genuine or assumed for the purpose of imposing on the king, that the English were planning an attack on the American colonies. In his speech for the prosecution the Fiscal Campomanes had already accused the Jesuit missionaries of a secret agreement with the English. On this suspicion a not inconsiderable number of German missionaries had been detained in Spanish convents, lest they might betray the military secrets of the colonial territories to a foreign country.[2] In any case, the discovery of the packet could not have influenced Charles III.'s decision, as the decree of banishment was signed on February 27th, whereas the arrest of the two Fathers took place on March 7th, 1767.

[1] *Aranda to Roda, March 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] The Jesuit Johann Joseph Göbel, who had come to Madrid to transact some business affairs before the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico, had obtained a travel permit for his return to Germany from the Imperial *chargé d'affaires* Lebzeltern, but at Roda's instigation this was cancelled (*Roda to Aranda, May 20, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; *Roda to Grimaldi, May 24, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5062). On June 11, 1767, the Extraordinary Council gave its attention to the matter (**ibid.* Gracia y Justicia, 667). As the result of its ruling Roda informed the Foreign Minister Grimaldi, " *Que de qualquiera manera nunca puede ser conveniente permitirle [Göbel] el pasar per Italia, ni la ida a Alemania por las noticias que podia dar del estado de las cosas en Nueva España, de que se halla mui instruido, como lo ha observado el Consejo por las que ha dado, y que deverá permanecer en Madrid que llegue la noticia del arresto y transporte de los Jesuitas de la America " (Roda to Grimaldi, June 15, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5062). In Jesuit correspondence Göbel is referred to as a lay-brother; Roda calls him Father (HUONDER, 108). *Cf.* MUNDWILER, in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXVI. (1902), 621 *seqq.*

Similarly, the story of the letter may be easily and fully explained. During the Madrid revolt, as in every disturbance of any size, various unfounded rumours about the king were in circulation. The people, unable to understand how he could have any liking for a man of Squillace's type, ascribed to Charles illicit relations with Squillace's wife. Similarly, in the matter of the Jesuits. No reason being known for the king's hostility towards them—which attitude was the reverse of his predecessors'—the rumour spread that he was no real son of Philip V. So far as can be ascertained, however, this rumour did not arise until after the expulsion, when the Jesuits were already on their way to Italy, and it originated, not in Madrid or Spain, but in Rome. On July 4th, 1767, Du Tillot wrote to Azara : " Even in the Roman newspapers the report is being spread that the king is no son of Philip V. The Jesuits are capable of anything these days ; they go about with their heads held high, and if their insolence is not forcibly repressed, they will stir up trouble every day and become still more insolent." [1] Although the Jesuits are not directly accused here of having originated the rumour, the juxtaposition of the two sentences practically amounts to this. Three weeks later Du Tillot informed Azara that he is having a secular priest taken quite secretly to Piacenza under arrest with no reasons given. " This impudent fellow," he writes, " was talking about the same sort of things that are current in Rome about the sacred person of the king ; that is, about the queen and Alberoni. I should like to know who first began this talk in Piacenza. This town is full of ' oblates ' and fanatics, the vilest *canaille*, that have sent so much scribbling to Madrid, with and without their Bramieri. But I shall write nothing to Madrid about the arrest." [2]

[1] " *Hasta en los buletinos de Roma van esparziendo de que el Rey no es hijo de Felipe V. Los Jesuitas oi son capaces de todo : van la frente alta, y, si no se reprime su insolencia con algun acto de rigor, cada dia embrollerán mas y se harán mas insolentes." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1767.

[2] " *Hablarán presto en Roma de un otro sacerdote que he

In view of his open hostility towards the Society, Du Tillot's ascribing of the responsibility for the rumours to the Jesuits is nothing surprising, but he produces no evidence. On the other hand, there is some foundation for thinking that the insulting rumour was concocted by the Jansenist party in Rome, and was foisted on to the Jesuits, for the purpose of confirming the monarch in his dislike of the Order and in the resolution he had formed, especially as the secret inquiry was continued even after the Jesuits had been driven out.

(9)

At the suggestion of the Extraordinary Council,[1] Charles III. addressed a letter to the Pope on March 31st, 1767, in which he briefly informed him that for urgent reasons—the peace of the State, the honour of his Crown, and the tranquillity of his subjects—he found himself compelled to expel the Jesuits from his territories and to transfer them to the States of the Church, so as to place them under the direct tutelage, which was as wise as it was pious, of the Father and Teacher of all the faithful. In order not to burden the Apostolic Chamber with their upkeep, he had allotted each of the banished clerics a lifelong pension. The Pope was to regard this step as an unavoidable administrative measure on which he had decided after long and mature consideration.[2] In the accompanying

hecho prender y conducir en un calabozo en Placenzia, sin que se sepa el motivo, y he dado ordenes porque se tenga secreto. Es un temerario, que tenia el mismo discorso insolente que corria en Roma sobre la persona sacra del Rey, hablando de la Reyna y del Alberoni. Quiero saber si ha sido el primer autor en Placenzia, que es una ciudad de oblatos y fanaticos, la mas vil canalla, y que han hecho tanto papel en Madrid con su Bramieri y sin él. No escribo nada de este aresto a Madrid " (Du Tillot to Azara, July 25, 1767, *ibid.*).

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, January 29, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3517.

[2] *Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47.

letter for the ambassador, Grimaldi remarked that for just and cogent motives, as must be supposed, the king had formed the resolution to banish the Jesuits from his dominions.[1] In delivering the royal autograph Azpuru was to avoid discussing in any way the motives for the decision either with the Pope and his Ministers or with anyone else. He was to confine himself to stressing the monarch's magnanimity in allowing all the exiles a yearly pension of 100 or 90 pesos.

Immediately after the courier arrived, the ambassador obtained an audience of the Pope. According to his account, the Pope, as he read the letter, repeatedly expressed his displeasure. On his inquiring the reason for the measure the ambassador gave him the answer which had been dictated to him, whereupon the Holy Father put a second question: "What are we to do with all these people?" He did not know yet, he said, what answer to make to the king's letter. Immediately after the interview with Azpuru, Torrigiani had a long conversation with the Jesuit General, and in the course of the afternoon he was received in audience by the Pope, who showed signs of serious perturbation during this and the whole of the following day. Azpuru claims to have heard from a reliable person that the Pope, acceding to the arguments put forward by the Cardinal Secretary of State and Ricci, was determined not to receive the exiles into the States of the Church.[2]

When Clement XIII. had recovered to some extent from this unexpected blow, he decided to make a direct appeal to Charles III., if only to fulfil his duty as Chief Shepherd, even

[1] "*Ha tomado el Rey nuestro Señor con la justicia y solidos motivos, que debe suponerse, la resolucion de extrañar de sus dominios a los Jesuitas . . ." (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054).

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 16, 1767, *ibid.*, 5044. According to the Venetian envoy Erizzo, the Pope lapsed into complete silence and left unanswered Azpuru's twice-uttered question whether he had any reply to make to the king (Erizzo to the Doge, April 18, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286).

if he failed to repair the evil.[1] In a Brief to the monarch he implored him to revoke the measures which had been taken, or at least to suspend them long enough to enable a mixed commission to investigate the matter. "Of all the blows of fortune," wrote the Pope, "which have befallen Us in the nine unhappy years of Our pontificate none has pained Our fatherly heart more than Your Majesty's decision to banish the Jesuits from Your realm. Is it possible that You, too, my son, desire to distress Your Father? Can it be that the Catholic King so dear to Us will fill the cup of Our sorrows and with this fatal blow plunge Our old age, full of tears and grief, into the grave? Is it possible that the pious and kind-hearted King of Spain is lending the might of his arm, which God gave him for the protection of the Church and the good of souls, to the enemies of God and the Church, for the purpose of robbing his peoples for ever of an Order which owes its origin and its brilliance to those heroes of holiness whom God chose for the spreading of His greater glory from the Spanish nation? My strength fails me at the thought of the deplorable consequences. But what grieves my heart most deeply is the fear that the wise, kind, and conscientious Charles III., who would not do an injustice to the least of his subjects, is risking his eternal salvation by desiring to extirpate entirely, without investigation, without trial, without defence, a complete religious Society dedicated to the service of God and the people, and to deprive it of its good name, its native country, and its lawful property. If this terrible measure can never be justified before God, of what use to You will be the approval of Your Ministers, when You appear before the supreme Judge? If We are to understand from Your words 'for the peace and tranquillity of our peoples' that a member of the Order caused the disturbances in March, why are the guilty not punished and the innocent left in peace? We testify before God and man that the Society as a whole, its Institute, and its spirit are completely guiltless, and not merely not guilty, but pious,

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 16, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, Papal Secret Archives.

useful, and holy, both in its objects and in its rules and principles. In spite of all their efforts, its foes have never proved the contrary, but at the most have been able to broadcast lies and calumnies. True, the Order is composed of human beings capable of errors and shortcomings, but their offences find no support and no defence in the rules and the spirit of the Society. Can Your Majesty contemplate without dismay the consequences of this decree ? Apart from the gaps left behind in Spain by these Religious and the wholesome fruits they have brought forth there, in what a sorry plight the missions to the heathen will find themselves when they are robbed of their shepherds and their spiritual fathers ! If only one, or worse, if many, souls are lost thereby, what accusations will they make one day before the judgment-seat of God against those who robbed them of their means to salvation ! " As for the objection that this was a matter of a promulgated law, the Pope declared that what mattered was not what the world, but what Heaven would have to say to it, and cited the case of Ahasuerus, who, moved by the entreaties of Esther, took back his ordinance against the Jews and earned thereby the fame of a just king. " We will not recall the entreaties of Your departed consort, who from Heaven protests her love of the Society of Jesus, but the entreaties of the Bride of Christ, the Holy Church, who cannot behold without tears the ruin of an institution which has at all times produced such splendid fruits. To these We add Our own entreaties and those of the Roman Church, especially as Your Majesty and Your glorious ancestors have always attested a particular devotion to the See of Peter. By the sweet name of Jesus, which has always been the device of the sons of St. Ignatius, by the name of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, whose immaculate conception they have always defended, by the sufferings of Our old age, We beg and implore Your Majesty to take back the order, or at least to suspend it and subject the whole affair to a regular examination, and to hearken to the counsel of the Bishops in a matter affecting the State and the Church, the salvation of souls, and the conscience and the eternal happiness of Your Majesty. We are convinced Your

Majesty will realize at once that the punishment and annihilation of a whole body are neither just nor befitting the offence, if only a few are guilty." [1]

As the nuncio Pallavicini was still lying sick,[2] the delivery of the Brief was entrusted to Vincenti, who, however, had no hope of its having any success.[3] On his arrival in Aranjuez on the evening of April 28th his request for an audience was refused on the ground that the reception of an Uditore was contrary to Court etiquette.[4] At the same time, however, Grimaldi expressed his readiness to transmit the communication. After reading the Brief, the king handed it over to the Extraordinary Council, that it might deliberate on a reply to Rome. To the Uditore he let it be known that the request had come too late; the steps he had taken after mature and careful investigation were inalterable, especially as they were already in process of execution and a large part of the banished clerics were already on their way to the Papal States. This being the case, replied Vincenti, the Pope desired to inform the king that he would not receive the Spanish Jesuits. The monarch's answer to this was that he was surprised at the refusal and found it odd that the Holy Father was unwilling to have those whom he had always so strongly commended. He had received the Portuguese Jesuits but was rejecting their Spanish brethren, who were not a burden on the States of the Church, as they had a lifelong pension. The Pope, of course, was the master of his own domains and could accept whom he wished, but he was also the Head of the Church. All Europe would say that it beseemed the father to accept his sons. But it was all one whether the Holy Father admitted the Jesuits or not; the king would not alter his decision. All the ships would make for the harbours of the Papal States to show

[1] *Ibid.* and Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47; translation in Danvila y Collado, III., 633 *seqq.*; Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 77 *seqq.*

[2] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*

[3] Second *letter of Vincenti's to Torrigiani, April 27, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Vincenti, April 29, 1767, *ibid.*

the whole world that the king had done everything to accommodate the exiles in a fitting manner, so that the fault would not be on his side. The captains had orders to lodge a protest and to record it in a protocol. Meanwhile, the king would consider where to convey the exiles, for he was firmly resolved not to allow them to return to Spain on any consideration. For any untoward consequences the Pope would have only himself to blame.[1]

To Aranda instructions were given to see that the officials carried out their former orders in the prescribed manner. If the disembarkation was resisted, the captains were not to use force but to make a solemn protest and to land the exiles in Corsica, and only in harbours occupied by the rebels who were protected by the Roman Court. This order, however, was to be kept from the knowledge of the executive officials until they stood off the coast of the Papal States, lest the Roman Curia took counter measures. Only Azpuru was to be informed in confidence.[2]

Any hope of success which the Pope might have had was looked on as lost when the Brief was handed over to the Extraordinary Council. This body was of the opinion that the communication, whose cordial tone has been recognized by both friend and foe,[3] lacked the apostolic benignity and the courtesy and moderation due to the King of Spain. Strictly considered, it should have been rejected, as it treated of a purely secular affair of which no power on earth had the right to demand an account. But as it was the first communication on the subject it was just as well to accept it, so as to obviate

[1] *Roda to Aranda, April 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 2, 1767, *ibid.*; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 30, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47; *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 30, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Roda to Aranda, April 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; *Roda to Azara, May 12 and 18, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 77; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 172; ROUSSEAU, I., 232 *seq.*

any objection on the part of the Roman Court. The notice of the banishment was purely an act of courtesy. To argue with the Pope about the justification of the measure would compromise the sovereignty of the king. The praise which had been given to the Society of Jesus the Consulta tried to invalidate by alluding to the enemies it had in Spain both within and without its own ranks and by repeating all the old charges of arrogance, despotism, lax morality, scepticism, Molinism, tyrannicide, and continual bickerings with prelates, universities, and other religious Orders. That the constitution and principles of the Jesuits conflicted with the law of the State and the Church, the natural law, and the positive divine law had been demonstrated by the courts and the writers of France and Portugal. With the superabundance of secular and regular clergy, the Jesuits would not be missed either in Spain or in the missions, where they had tolerated heathen superstition, seized all property for themselves, treated the Spaniards as enemies, usurped sovereignty, incited the natives to rebellion, taught terrible doctrines about duty to the prince, and even appeared at the head of armies against the troops of the king. Finally, they had been trying in Spain itself to alter the Government to suit their own ideas by advancing the most objectionable principles and putting them into practice. The Jesuits were neither useful nor indispensable ; on the contrary, they were notoriously harmful ; to tolerate them was to bring the State to certain ruin. The admission or expulsion of an Order was solely the business of the Government, for the Orders had not been appointed by Christ, like the Bishops and parish priests, and so were not essentially necessary for the Church. If only one Jesuit or another had taken part in the insurrections and conspiracies, their banishment would certainly have been unjust, and there would have been no unanimity in favour of the measure. But in the Society of Jesus the individual member could do nothing ; all the actions of individuals were dependent on the Order's directorate, and this was utterly corrupt. Then again, the procedure adopted was not judicial but administrative, and ecclesiastical immunity had not been injured in the slightest. In the fresh

proceedings desired by the Pope he would like to have Bishops and Religious appointed judges because he could exert considerable influence on them. That would set the whole country ablaze. Furthermore, the Archbishop of Manila and the Bishop of Ávila, both of whom had risen from the ranks of religious Orders, had not only agreed to the banishment but declared it to be necessary. And it was a Religious, namely Fray Juan Marquez, who was advancing the doctrine that there was nothing a sovereign had to fear more than powerful corporations. And what was more powerful than the Jesuit Order? Participation in the insurrection was not the only reason for their expulsion; there was also the spirit of fanaticism, revolt, false doctrine, and insupportable arrogance which had taken root in this body. The prince who yielded here would be the first victim. The king was therefore advised to couch his reply briefly and tersely, so as to cut short any further argument and so as not to break the rule of silence which he himself had imposed. The ambassador in Rome was to be given to understand that the expulsion of the Jesuits was a matter that depended solely on the authority of the monarch and that he considered it as closed.[1]

In his letter of reply Charles III. asserted that he had the deepest sympathy with the Pope in his distress, respecting him both as the representative of Christ and for his own personal qualities. That the Holy Father considered his measure to be ill-founded caused him even greater sorrow. He could only declare that he had more than sufficient grounds for expelling the whole Society from Spain for ever, and not only individual members. With the grace of God he had never lost sight in this affair of the strict account he would one day have to render of the government of his subjects and their temporal and eternal welfare. Accordingly, he had taken steps also to ensure that the missions were not left without assistance.[2]

[1] **Consulta del Consejo extraordinario*, April 30, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47, and Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 174 *seqq.*

[2] Charles III. to Clement XIII., May 2, 1767, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 635 *seq.*; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 178 *seq.*

Meanwhile, on April 21st, 1767, the admission of the exiles was debated for two hours by an extraordinary Congregation of eight Cardinals in the presence of the Pope. Whereas Cardinals Rossi and Cavalchini were in favour of their admission, the other six were against it.[1] On the same day, therefore, Torrigiani informed the Madrid nuncio that Clement XIII. persisted in his refusal. It was against all custom for a prince to send so large a body of exiles into another's territory without first obtaining the latter's assent, or at least informing him in advance. The Pope could not possibly receive all the Jesuits from Spain and the Indies, however much it might offend his feelings of affection to have to reject the unfortunates. The Society had not sufficient houses to accommodate these thousands of exiles, and it was beyond its financial capacity to find so many suitable lodgings and to furnish them to any extent. Moreover, after his experience with the Portuguese, the Pope was loth to receive so many inactive and therefore useless Religious who, with feelings embittered by their sufferings and privations, would be easily prone to restiveness and desperate measures. Furthermore, owing to the poor harvest that year, it was feared that the rise in prices would lead to disturbances among the people. Above all, the insecurity of the pensions had to be considered. These could be withdrawn from all the Spaniards if any Jesuit in the world should say, do, or write anything against the measure which the king had taken. If this should happen, the whole burden of providing for the exiles would fall on the Holy See.[2]

Shortly after the Congregation had risen, Torrigiani informed the Spanish ambassador that the Spanish crews would be

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044, draft in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 106; **Resumen de las correspondencias de Roma por lo respectivo a haberse negado el Papa a la admision de los Jesuitas*, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, April 21, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*, and Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 106.

treated with proper respect and would be provided with the refreshments and comestibles that they needed. But the Pope, he said, stood by his refusal to receive the Spanish Jesuits. As the arrival of the first ships was near at hand, the ambassador should therefore make the necessary arrangements.[1] Azpuru retorted that that was not his duty and that he had had no instructions to act in this manner.[2]

As had been suggested by the Augustinian General, Vasquez,[3] Azpuru, following the instructions contained in the royal Pragmatic Sanction, sent a circular letter on April 22nd to all grandees and Spanish religious Orders, informing them of the Jesuit expulsion and referring them to the order forbidding any Spanish subject to communicate with the exiles either orally or in writing.[4] To the question put by some grandees, whether they, or at least their domestic staff, might continue to have intercourse with the Italian Jesuits, he sent the reply that they were to act as their prudence and their loyalty to the sovereign prompted them.[5] As most of them were financially dependent on the Spanish Court, they had no option but to conform with the instruction.[6] Azpuru himself, who until then had been in constant and intimate connexion with the Jesuits, no longer allowed himself to be seen in their company.[7] The greatest subservience was shown by Monsignor Zelada, who had obtained his benefices through the Jesuits' recommendation and who was in almost daily contact with the most highly placed Superiors.[8] Without waiting for the official

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044.

[2] **Resumen de las correspondencias, ibid.*

[3] See above, p. 126.

[4] *April 22, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 106. *Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044.

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 23, 1767, *ibid.*

[6] The *letters of submission in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 106.

[7] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 104.

[8] *Ibid.*

intimation he broke off all relations with the Jesuits on hearing of their banishment. He not only avoided their houses and forbade their admission to his residence, but he also shunned them in other people's houses, refused to give Communion to layfolk who practised their Exercises, chose a Franciscan instead of a Jesuit for his confessor, and appointed a Piarist as his theological consultor. So as not to have any dealings with the outlaws in his capacity of secretary to the Congregation of the Council, he instructed the officials to refer them directly to the Cardinal Prefect.[1] He had his prompt obedience brought to the notice of the Spanish Court, which rewarded him with the archdeaconry of the metropolitan church of Santiago.[2] Of the Roman nobility the most conspicuous for his zeal was the young Prince Doria. Although he had been a pupil of the Jesuits and had an uncle in the Society, he had a notice posted in the anteroom of his reception hall excluding them from his palace. He withdrew his two younger brothers from the Roman seminary without warning and cancelled a bequest of his mother's for Masses to be said in the Jesuit church.[3] Prince Piombino withdrew from the Jesuit General the carriage he had always placed at his disposal.[4] The Neapolitan envoy in Rome, Cardinal Orsini, who had received the Jesuit General after the announcement of the Pragmatic Sanction, received a reprimand from Tanucci for this " improper " conduct, whereupon he broke off all relations with the outcasts and also changed his confessor.[5] The

[1] *Zelada to Azpuru, April 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044 ; *Zelada to Grimaldi, May 27, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 17, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 106.

[3] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 104 ; *Andrea Doria to Roda, July 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667 ; *Roda to Doria, July 28, 1767, *ibid.* ; RICCI, **Espulsione*, 23.

[4] CORDARA, *loc. cit.* ; *TERMANINI, n. 32.

[5] *Tanucci to Orsini, June 20 and 27, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6001 ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 5044.

Dominican General, Boxadors, forbade his Spanish subordinates to celebrate Mass in the Jesuit church of the Gesù on the feast of St. Ignatius, as was their long-established custom. He had also given orders that if any Jesuits came to say Mass in S. Maria sopra Minerva on the feast of St. Dominic —which he could not prevent, it being an Italian convent— they were not to be brought to his room and no Spanish Dominican was to be there to greet them.[1] Similar instructions had been given by the General of the Camillians for their founder's feast.[2] Some Spanish Jesuits who had gone to the Church of the Spanish Trinitarians to say Mass there in honour of the newly-beatified Trinitarian Simon de Roxas, were ordered out of the sacristy, although the Trinitarians had previously entrusted the Jesuit Cordara with the writing of De Roxas' life.[3] When the Cardinal Secretary of State protested, through the Uditore Vincenti, against these interferences with the Pope's domestic authority,[4] Grimaldi defended Azpuru's procedure and commended his moderation.[5] The Foreign Minister was given the instruction to make known through the ambassador to all grandees and prelates the king's particular satisfaction with the proofs of their loyalty and attachment.[6] The intention had been, observed Grimaldi, to show how far the Spanish monarch's influence extended and at the same time to exert pressure on the Pope and Torrigiani

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 6, 1767, *ibid.*, 5045.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 104 *seq.* "Qui demumcumque ad aulam Matritensem quocumque titulo respiciebant, nobiles, plebeique, religiosi perinde ac laici, continuo se ab omni Iesuitarum consortio abstraxere, imo eos defugere tamquam peste contactos coepere" (*ibid.*).

[4] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, April 30, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, May 19, 1767, *ibid.*, 303.

[6] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 5, 12, and 19, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47; *Roda to Grimaldi, August 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045.

and to make it clear to all who had relations with Spain that the monarch's gratitude would depend on their behaviour.[1]

The Madrid Government not having reckoned with the Pope's resistance to the landing of the Jesuits, its representative was without instructions as to how to deal with this unexpected problem. Tanucci, to whom Azpuru had appealed in his embarrassment, advised the disembarkation of the clerics at any unguarded spot on the coast, on the island of Elba, or in Piombino, for the king's honour would not permit of their return to Spain.[2] The Spanish Court had Corsica in mind, and although Charles III.'s Ministers deemed it incompatible with the monarch's dignity to enter into negotiations with the Pope, they saw no difficulty in asking the Corsican insurgent leader Paoli to accept the deportees.[3] However, it was soon decided to abandon this plan and to fall back on it only in an emergency.[4] Through the consul Cornejo permission was asked by Grimaldi of the Genoese Senate,[5] and through Count Fuentes of the French Government, to land the Jesuits in the harbours of the Genoese obedience occupied by the French.[6] He also approached Paolucci, the Duke of

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 12, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47. The Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus of Trier also seems to have had pressure put upon him. The Palatine envoy in Vienna, Baron von Ritter, *wrote under date June 6, 1767, to the Minister of State Baron von Wachtendonk: "S.M. Catholique donnant une pension au Pr. Clément de Saxe, doit aussi avoir exigé de S.A.R. d'éloigner les Jésuites qui lui sont attachés et l'on ne doute pas que ce prince ne le fasse" (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 26/3). On *June 27, 1767, the envoy returned to the subject (*ibid.*).

[2] *Tanucci to Azpuru, April 20, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044; *Charles III. to Tanucci, May 5, 1767, *ibid.*, 6056.

[3] *Aranda to Roda, May 1, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[4] *Roda to Azara, May 5, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[5] *Grimaldi to Cornejo, May 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5651.

[6] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 2, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

Modena's Secretary of State, with the same request.[1] Azpuru received secret instructions to detain the transports off Civitavecchia until the permits arrived.[2] The Powers in question showed an accommodating attitude, though Choiseul did not refrain from pointing out the considerable obstacles: Madrid was clearly ignorant of conditions in Corsica; it was quite impossible to provide 3,000 foreigners with board and lodging there.[3]

The courier bringing the king's reply to Clement XIII. arrived in Rome on May 12th, and on the following day Azpuru was again received in audience.[4] After reading the letter the Pope observed that it gave him no consolation and only increased his grief; he had no other refuge now but the Father of Mercy and the God of all consolation. Nevertheless, he could not decide to accept the exiles, as he did not know where to accommodate so many people. To the ambassador's observation that the Spaniards, unlike the Portuguese, were not coming unprovided, the Pope replied that it was precisely the experience he had had in receiving the Portuguese which was one of the grounds of his refusal to accept the Spaniards.[5]

On the afternoon of the same day (May 13th) thirteen transports with 570 Jesuits from the province of Aragonia arrived in the roadstead of Civitavecchia.[6] Following his

[1] *Grimaldi to Paolucci, May 5, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5048.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 2, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47.

[3] *Choiseul to Ossun, May 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4686; *Cornejo to Grimaldi, May 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 5651.

[4] *Azpuru to Torrigiani, May 12, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044; *Torrigiani to Azpuru, May 13, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Fr. Berrio to Fr. Cornejo, February 5, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777.

[6] *Note to Torrigiani, May 13, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Sobre la expulsion de los Jesuitas," 1767; *Captain Barcelo to Azpuru, May 13, 1767, *ibid.*; *Enriquez to Azpuru, May 13, 1767, *ibid.*

instructions, the Papal commander of the port had reinforced the troops, provisioned the fort with powder, and mounted the cannon.[1] Actually, these precautions were sheer bluff, as secret orders had been sent him that even if it came to the worst he was not to make use of his weapons.[2] The captains and the ships' officers, whom he treated with studied courtesy, were permitted to land, but the Jesuits, except for some who were seriously ill, had to remain on board.[3] Azpuru again made an urgent request to the Cardinal Secretary of State for permission to land the exiles,[4] and again the Congregation of Cardinals was summoned to meet in the Pope's presence. Those present varied in their opinions. Apart from the reasons for rejection that had already been brought forward, it was argued that it was scarcely dignified for a Pope to make himself the executor of a judgment pronounced by a lay tribunal, as was the Extraordinary Council of Castile. It was to be feared, were this to happen, that such weakness would pave the way for other princes to take similar steps, which would mean that the States of the Church would be flooded with 20,000 Religious. After all, either the Spanish Jesuits were good, in which case the king ought not to expel them ; or they were bad, in which case the Pope did not want them either. Another group was of the opinion that the newcomers ought all to be secularized. The chief exponents of this view were the Cardinals Cavalchini and Stoppani, who argued that as the Society would have to be suppressed before long in any case,

[1] *Puccita to Azpuru, May 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045 ; Nonell, *Pignatelli*, I., 246.

[2] " *L'ordine a Civitavecchia fu di non permettere lo sbarco ad esclusione della violenza manifesta, perchè se i Spagnuoli l'avessero veramente fatta, non si voleva resistere. Il comandante de' sciabecchi cominciò a parlare alto ; ma veduti alcuni picchetti di soldati girare pel porto, abbassò la voce. L'eccezione della violenza era segreta, acciò non venissero a questa " (Ricci, *Espulsione*, 42).

[3] *Puccita to Azpuru, May 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045.

[4] *Azpuru to Torrigiani, May 14, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

it mattered little if this were to happen a few years earlier. They could not lead a regular religious life outside their houses, and this would throw the door open to all sorts of scandal. To this it was objected that one could not with justice deprive so large a number of Religious of their status against their will when no offence had been committed. Besides, in this way the Pope would himself be furthering the aims of the Church's enemies, and it was extremely doubtful if this measure would induce the king of Spain to let the Jesuits remain in his dominions.[1] Siding with the majority of the Cardinals, Clement XIII. decided to abide by his refusal, which was immediately communicated by Torrigiani to the ambassador and the Madrid Government.[2] Azpuru now sought by private channels to persuade the Pope to change his mind, appealing for this purpose to the Pope's nephew, the Maggiordomo Rezzonico. The latter assured him that he had succeeded in altering his uncle's mind,[3] but as the Angelus bell was sounding he received a note from the Cardinal

[1] For some time even Torrigiani seems to have entertained the idea of secularizing all the Spanish Jesuits, in the hope of thus preventing the flooding of the Papal States with the exiles (*Torrigiani to an unnamed Cardinal, April 18, 1767, Regolari, Gesuiti, 48, Papal Secret Archives). *Erizzo's report to the Doge of Venice (April 25, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286) that the Jesuit General himself had asked for the secularization of his Spanish brethren is not confirmed by any entry in his diary. The opuscule entitled *Parere dell' Eminentissino Sig. Cardinale Carlo Alberto Guidobono Cavalchini . . . esposto nelle* [!] *Congregazione de S. Officio* [!] *in occasione dell' espulsione de' Gesuiti dalla monarchia di Spagna* (Lucca, 1768) is only one of the many anti-Jesuit brochures of the time and is without any historical support. *Cf.* *Ricci, *Espulsione*, 35. " *Si sa però che i cardinali della Congregazione son risoluti ad escluderli, tolti i cardinali Cavalchini e Stoppani che hanno detto doversi già distruggere tra poco la Compagnia ed essere poco male che si distrugga qualche anno prima " (*ibid.*, n. 58).

[2] *To Azpuru, May 14, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; *to Vincenti, May 14, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*

[3] **Resumen*, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044.

Secretary of State which merely confirmed anew the negative decision.[1] Azpuru ascribed this change of attitude to the audiences with the Pope which Torrigiani and Ricci had had in the meantime.[2] On the other hand, the Jesuit General repeatedly stated in his journal,[3] and Torrigiani confirmed it in a letter,[4] that he had not influenced the Pope's decision in any way, and that in the conversation in question the subject was not even mentioned by the Pope.[5] Subsequent attempts by Cardinal Cavalchini[6] and the Maggiordomo[7] to move the Pope were brought to nothing by the obstinate adherence of

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 5045.

[2] *Ibid.*; **Resumen*, *ibid.*, 5044. The same assertion which Azpuru had already made on April 16 (*to Grimaldi, April 16, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5044) was repeated in the *dispatch of the Venetian envoy Erizzo of May 16, 1767 (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286), also in the *Reflexiones crítico-históricas*, V., Venice, 1767, 31, quoted in FERRER DEL RIO, II., 190. It was also insinuated by Aubeterre in his letter to Choiseul of May 20, 1767 (CARAYON, XV., 405). This presentation of the situation is to be found in several subsequent histories, e.g. BROSCH, *Kirchenstaat*, II., 122; HUBER, *Jesuitenorden*, 521. BÖHMER ([2]166) writes: "But when these luckless creatures tried to land in Civitavecchia they were received with cannon-shots, at the wish of their own General, who had already had enough of the exiled Portuguese." But even in the hostile sources there is no mention of cannon-shots. *Cf.* CARAYON, XV., XLI., n. 1; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 193, n. 1.

[3] RICCI, **Espulsione*, 33; *cf.* 40, 41, 52.

[4] On the same May 14 Torrigiani *assured an unnamed Cardinal that the Pope did not wish the Jesuit General to have anything to do with the matter (Regolari, Gesuiti, 48, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *Ibid.* *Cf.* TERMANINI, **Vita del R. P. Ricci*, n. 29.

[6] *To Azpuru, June 23, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp., 106; *Azpuru to Cavalchini, June 23, 1767, *ibid.*

[7] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 21, June 18 and 25, and July 30, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044 and 5045; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 14, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47. On account of his pro-Bourbon

the Spaniards to their conditions governing the payment of the pensions to the banished Jesuits.[1]

In spite of the tension between the Courts of Madrid and Rome caused by the non-acceptance of the Jesuits, there was no serious inclination on either side to allow it to come to a rupture, though Azpuru accused the Cardinal Secretary of State and the Jesuit General of working to this end.[2] In view of the lamentable consequences of the rupture of diplomatic relations with Portugal which had befallen the Church in that country, prudence demanded the avoidance by the Roman Curia of another breach with a second Catholic power, although it let it be known that the Pope had no intention of purchasing peace at any price.[3] In his conversation with the Uditore Vincenti[4] and in his letters to Azpuru,[5] Grimaldi had repeatedly let fall veiled threats, and the ambassador had not

attitude Rezzonico received the Cardinal's hat on the recommendation of France and Spain (*Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 21, 1767, *ibid.*; *Du Tillot to Azara, December 29, 1767, *ibid.* Exped. "Parma", 1767).

[1] *The nuncio Giraud assured Azpuru: "Que conoscia ser ventajoso al Papa y su estado recivirlos si se asegurase el asignamiento hecho para su subsistencia, reformando la condicion penal de perderle todos, si alguno escribiese contra la Pragmatica y si S. M. se ofreciese a mediar con el Rey de las dos Sicilias y el Infante Duque de Parma para contener el golpe de igual extrañamiento que en sus Estados amenazaba á los Jesuitas" (*Resumen*, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044). *Cf.* *Roda to Azara, July 14, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 1767; *Azara to Grimaldi, April 21, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Corresp. Azara–Grimaldi", 1767. Tanucci thought that Azpuru's fears were groundless; Rome wanted no rupture (*to Centomani and Azara, April 25, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000).

[3] *Torrigiani to Azpuru, May 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 5045.

[4] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, April 30 and June 16, 1767, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303 and 304, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 5, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 65/4.

omitted to pass them on ;[1] but they were mere bluff, uttered in the hope that they would induce Rome to give way and thus spare the king a humiliating defeat. Actually, out of consideration for public opinion and the religious character of Charles III., the leading statesmen had no desire that the matter should go to extremes.[2] Even the ardent anti-Jesuit Vasquez warned his friend Roda against a breach with the Curia, lest the eternally blind might be able to say that the nations which parted with the Jesuits also parted from the Church.[3]

At last the permission of the Genoese Signoria arrived in Rome[4] and on May 18th Azpuru sent instructions to the ships' captains to make a formal protest and then to proceed without delay to the port of Bastia, where further instructions awaited them.[5] On their arrival there on May 22nd the Jesuits met with a fresh setback. Despite his Government's agreement, the French commander-in-chief, Count Marbeuf, firmly refused to allow them to land[6]—on humane grounds. To Choiseul he pointed out the absolute impossibility of accommodating such a large body of Religious on the island. Everywhere the torches of war were aflame, and there was no lodging or sustenance for these thousands of strangers. The inhabitants themselves had hardly enough to keep themselves alive, and his soldiers had to draw their rations from France.[7]

[1] Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 21, May 14 and 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044 and 5045.

[2] *Roda to Azara, May 5, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Vasquez to Roda, April 23, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 21, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045.

[5] Azpuru's *circular letter to the ships' captains of May 18, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Sobre la espulsion de los Jesuitas", 1767 ; *Azpuru to Barcelo, May 14 and 16, 1767, *ibid.*

[6] *Barcelo to Azpuru, May 22, 1767, *ibid.*

[7] *Marbeuf to Choiseul, May 16 and 22, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565 ; *Cornejo to G. Gnecco, June 25. 1767, *ibid.*, 5057.

Even after the Spanish ships had been lying at anchor for a whole month the negotiations had still not been concluded. The Jesuits, who were undergoing unspeakable sufferings caused by the inclemency of the weather and the sea, were allowed to take exercise on the shore for a few hours daily.[1] It was not till June 30th that Grimaldi was able to inform the ambassador in Rome that Marbeuf had received the definite order to admit the exiles. This meant the defeat of Torrigiani and Ricci, he added triumphantly.[2]

The insurgent Corsicans for their part had vouched for the Jesuits' security and had granted them a safe-conduct,[3] and the Spanish Government had appointed commissaries [4] to see to the accommodation of the exiles in the towns of Bastia, Ajaccio, Calvi, and Algajola, purchase provisions for them in Genoa, and distribute them in Corsica,[5] but according to the descriptions of both friend and foe the situation of the Jesuits was far from enviable.[6] All available accommodation in the

[1] *Enriquez to Azpuru, June 21, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Espulsion de los Jesuitas ", 1767.

[2] *Ibid.* Reales Ordenes, 47.

[3] *Proclamation of the town of Calvi, July 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5650 ; *Convention of Calvi [September 2, 1767], *ibid.*, 5651 ; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 264.

[4] *Grimaldi to L. Gnecco, July 3, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054. The Spaniards Laforcada and Coronel were made responsible for " administration " and supervision, the Genoese Geronimo and Luigi di Gnecco for the commissariat (*Roda to Grimaldi, July 11, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667).

[5] **Instruccion de los comisionados de Genova y Corcega, ibid.*, Estado, 5054.

[6] CIAN writes : " Tutti gli storici imparziali s'accordano nel riconoscere che la violenza usata dal Borbone di Spagna contro queste schiere di inermi, che piegavano tranquilli il capo sotto il peso del loro destino, era ingenerosa e crudele " (*Accademia Reale delle scienze di Torino 1894 95*, Torino, 1895). Detailed description of their treatment in ISLA, *Memorial*, 160 *seqq.* ; BLASIUS LARRAZ, **De rebus Sociorum prov. Aragoniae Soc. Iesu ab indicto ipsis ex Hispania exsilio usque ad Societatis abolitionem*

coastal towns, which alone were held by the Genoese and French, having been occupied, the Jesuits from the Province of Toledo had to live for the most part at sea until finally, after five months, they found shelter of the barest description in Ajaccio.[1] Only a few of the exiles were billeted in dwelling-houses, where they had to live with the families day and night. The majority had to content themselves with a shake-down in old chapels, oil stores, barns, stables, and the like. Even the most essential household equipment, such as tables, chairs, bowls, and cutlery was lacking. The provisions were meagre, the food inferior and sometimes putrid, and prices were so high that the small pension barely sufficed. The scarcity of books was felt keenly. Philosophical and theological works were entirely lacking. The greatest distress was suffered by the priests in having to forgo the consolation of celebrating daily Mass, the supplies of wine, candles, vestments, and altar utensils being quite inadequate for so many. In addition to all this, their lives were constantly endangered by the skirmishes that took place almost daily between the insurgents and the occupying troops.[2] During the bombardment of the

commentarii tres, in Jesuit possession, Aragonia, 30; PARAMÁS, *Annus patiens*, translated in CARAYON, XVI., 259 *seqq.*; [RODELES], *Vida del P. Calatayud*, 448 *seqq.*; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 241 *seqq.*; CUEVAS, IV., 426 *seqq.*; ROUSSEAU, I., 238 *seqq.*

[1] RICCI, **Espulsione*, 69.

[2] "*Si trovarono i gesuiti in una miseria estrema; non avevano da mangiare, non da abitare, o pure solo magazzini d'olio, stalle, e simili; que' pochi che aveano abitazione nelle case del paese, per la piccolezza di quelle doveano giorno e notte coabitare con femine; il poco e cattivo vitto costava carissimo; doveano pagare per celebrare la santa Messa; nessuna disciplina religiosa, nessun' ordine, nessuna o poca communicazione co' Superiori, di più si trovavano tra due fuochi de' Corsi assalitori e de' Genovesi" (RICCI, *Espulsione*, 64). *Cf.* *Fr. Gaspar de Sola to the commissaries, dated Algajola, July 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Marina, 724; *Captain Enriquez to Cornejo, dated Calvi, July 21 [1767], *ibid.*, Estado, 5651; *G. Gnecco to Grimaldi, August 3 and 31, 1767, *ibid.*, 5057; *Fr. Osorio, S.J.,

fortified places, in which at one time or another about fifty of the Jesuits were lying ill, hunger, thirst, and death threatened, like phantoms, these strangers to the rough and tumble of war and thinned their ranks.[1] Within five months sixteen members of the Castilian Province were dead, including several who by reason of their ill-health or old age should never have been moved.[2]

In the course of time it was found possible to mitigate the worst hardships.[3] The commissaries tried to bring more regularity into the distribution of provisions, the living quarters were improved as far as possible, and the General of the Society sent money, books, and Mass appurtenances.[4] The exiles' relatives, especially those who were well-to-do, did their utmost to relieve their wants and sufferings by sending them money and food. A place of honour in the history of the Society is held by the venerable José Pignatelli who, supported by the generous gifts of his relatives, spent himself with untiring energy in mitigating the horrors of banishment and in making possible a semi-regular religious life, in so far as the turbulent conditions of war permitted.[5]

The shock of the arrest, the hardships of the journey by land and sea, the daily privations, the false rumours of the General's attitude,[6] and above all the constant threat of death, were

to G. Gnecco, April 19, 1768, *ibid.*; *Laforcada and Coronel to Aranda, December 5, 1768, *ibid.*, 5048.

[1] *Coronel to Aranda, April 4, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] Isla, *Memorial*, 184.

[3] " *Conozerá V.S. ser imposible subsistir con la pension que S.M. nos tiene conseñada, como ya hemos empezado a experimentar, no teniendo para poderse vestir muchos de los sugetos a quienes se les ha acabado la poca ropa que se les concedió traher " (Fr. Osorio, S.J., to G. Gnecco, dated Calvi, 1768, April 19, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5057).

[4] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 70.

[5] Nonell, *Pignatelli*, I., 275 *seqq.*

[6] " *I Gesuiti spagnuoli, cioè alcuni di essi, vedendosi in sì duro esilio, per trasporto di dolore pensarono che il Generale e i suoi di Roma gli avessero abbandonati alla loro cattiva sorte, special-

only too likely to provoke a feeling of irritation in naturally excitable temperaments. The lack of an ordered way of life, the tenuous connexion with their Superiors, and, worst of all, the complete inactivity to which the outcasts were condemned, naturally had a bad effect on religious discipline.[1] Complaints were voiced against the tyranny of their Superiors, whose instructions, however well intentioned, were regarded with suspicion by certain malcontents. For the sake of discipline and economy the order had been given that all were to surrender their pensions to enable the provisioning to be administered uniformly and to provide for the novices, who were not entitled to pensions. Some considered this to be an unlawful attack on their rights and appealed to the Spanish representatives for a ruling.[2] The discontent of certain individuals infected others. Many were obsessed by a single thought: to escape from this island of terror, to be released in Rome from their religious vows, and to make their way back to their own native land, for which they longed so ardently.[3] Here, they promised themselves, they would lead a more peaceful and less necessitous existence. This feeling was assiduously nursed and fomented by the Spanish commissaries,[4] who deceptively dangled before the eyes of the unruly members of the party the royal favour and rich benefices. The laments, advice, and entreaties of worldly-wise relatives did the rest. In view of the dangers already described the Superior of the Andalusian Province had advised his subjects to seek their own safety as best they could. On those who had lost heart the effect of this advice was as if the

mente per venire esclusi dallo Stato pontificio. Sopra di che scrisse il Generale al P. Eustachio Medina che di ciò lo avisava, giustificando con i fatti sopra raccontati la falsa apprensione" (Ricci, *Espulsione*, 74).

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 170, n. 2.

[2] *Letters from Frs. Losada and Vasquez to Azpuru, dated Rome, October 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5046.

[3] *Captain Enriquez to Cornejo, July 21 [1767], *ibid.*, 5651; *G. Gnecco to Grimaldi, August 3, 1767, *ibid.*, 5057.

[4] *Roda to Grimaldi, July 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 5048.

signal had been given for a general flight.[1] Assuming the most varied disguises they had themselves taken in fishing boats to the mainland. Thirty members of the Provinces of Toledo and Andalusia took to flight in this manner in a single day.[2]

The confusion was worse confounded in the late summer of 1767 and at the beginning of 1768 by the arrival of the banished Jesuits from the colonies oversea.[3] Choiseul, who was then negotiating with Genoa about the transfer of Corsica to France, raised objections at first to their reception, pointing out that for want of food and shelter the outcasts would die of hunger and misery or would take to flight at the first opportunity.[4] Eventually his misgivings were dispelled by Grimaldi, who argued that so long as the exiles did not return to Spain, Madrid would not regret their disappearance, as it would make room for those still to come. Moreover, conditions in Corsica could not be as bad as they were painted, otherwise the Superiors would be more likely to encourage the exodus and thus reduce the numbers than to hold them together by force.[5] Thus persuaded, Choiseul undertook to admit all the Jesuits from America and to facilitate their disappearance. Hitherto, he said, he feared that the presence of these Religious would have a bad effect on the islanders, but now this fear had

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 64.

[2] " *Me aseguraron ayer los referidos Andaluces, que en el dia de su fuga la hicieron como unos treinta de su provincia, y la de Toledo, y que los mas estaban inclinados a seguirlos " (Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 6, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056). **Consejo extraordinario*, August 15, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667 ; *Roda to Azara, September 1, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] An official *list gives the number of Jesuits transported from Spain to Italy as 2576, those from the colonies as 1812, a total of 4388 (1767–1772 : *Transportes a Italia desde Ferrol, Coruña, Cádiz, Málaga, Cartagena, Salou y Mallorca de los Regulares expulsos de España, Indias y Filipinas*, Archives of Simancas, Marina, 724).

[4] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, August 8, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 4565.

[5] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, October 31, 1767, *ibid.*

gone, for if they tried any tricks he would have them thrown into the sea.[1]

The transfer, by purchase, of Corsica to France on May 15th, 1768, brought with it a complete change in the conditions on the island. Those in power in France being hostile to the Jesuits, they were clearly unlikely to grant the right of asylum in their newly-acquired possession to those whom they had suppressed in their own country.[2] As the Corsicans were no more inclined to submit to their new masters than to their old ones, the French found themselves compelled to send fresh troops to the island. A large number of the buildings hitherto occupied by the Jesuits were requisitioned by the military, and the Jesuits were consequently in such sore straits that even the Spanish commissary admitted to his Government that he could not see how the Religious would be able to survive the summer, so great was the lack of food and shelter. It was unavoidably necessary, he reported, to remove them from the island.[3] To avoid complications with Rome it was thought undesirable to land them directly on the shores of the Papal States. Accordingly, the French commander, Lieutenant-General Chauvelin, fell back on a former plan.[4] He gave orders for the Jesuits to be taken to Sestri, trusting that from there they would gradually make their way in small groups via Parma and Modena to Papal territory.[5]

The plan was carried out at first with such haste and precipitation[6] that the first arrivals, 800 strong, in their

[1] *Choiseul to Grimaldi, November 12, 1767, *ibid.*, 4568.

[2] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, May 25, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565.

[3] *Laforcada to Aranda, dated Ajaccio 1768, May 31, Arch. Prov. Tolet. in Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[4] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, August 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

[5] *G. Gnecco to Grimaldi, August 27, 1768, *ibid.*, 5057; *Grimaldi to Gnecco, September 20, 1768, *ibid.*; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 20, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48.

[6] *Cornejo to Grimaldi, September 5, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5058.

tattered clothes, with no money and no definite destination, aroused the horror and the pity of the population of the Papal States.[1] Acting on reports from their representatives, who had been reviled by the populace on account of this inhuman treatment, the Spanish and French Governments decided to improve the travel arrangements for the succeeding Jesuits.[2] Every Jesuit who would allow himself to be secularized was allotted 40 *pesos*, and those who elected to stay in the Society received 20 *pesos*, as a special subsidy, the object being to encourage their departure from the Society by the difference between these sums and to enable those who had become seculars to procure themselves the correct dress.[3] Clement XIII., who inwardly had been most unwilling to refuse acceptance of the outcasts, now allowed his natural sympathy to outweigh all his misgivings. He granted to the twice deported clerics entry into the Papal States on condition that they would not come to Rome without special permission from the General of the Society.[4]

[1] " *Non debbo inoltre tacere d'esser medesimi così miserabili e laceri, che hanno bisogno di tutto : non potendo soccorrersi da questo collegio, che, secondo mi dice il P. Rettore, si trova gravato di altri 20 gesuiti di più di quelli, che sono venuti dalli stati di Parma " (Cardinal Spinola to Torrigiani, dated Ferrara, September 28, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5049). " *Frattanto venivano nello Stato ecclesiastico i miseri Spagnuoli, e i primi furono quei delle provincie d'America che erano stati condotti a Bastia in Corsica. Venivano laceri e sfiniti, avendo fatta gran parte di viaggio a piedi, senza quasi denaro, senza sapere che si fare nè dove andare, e facevano orrore e pietà ai popoli " (Ricci, *Espulsione*, 139). *Cf.* *Cornejo to Grimaldi, September 26, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5058 ; *Fr. de Alva to Cornejo, October 6, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Ricci, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, September 19, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565 ; *Grimaldi to Aranda, September 19, 1768, *ibid.*, 5058.

[4] *Cardinal Orsini to Tanucci, October 11, 1768, State Archives in Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{288}{1053}$.

Both the official and the private correspondence of the Spanish Ministers throws a strange light on their Government's attitude towards the fugitives. After a certain vacillation it was decided to encourage the flight from the island and the Society and to support those who wanted to throw off the Society's "yoke".[1] The purpose of this was to reduce the numbers of its adherents and at the same time to bring about its dissolution from within.[2] The ambassador Azpuru received instructions to support by circumspect and underhand methods the applications made by malcontents for permission to resign, but the dispensations were to be made by the Penitentiary, not by the General of the Society, who was no longer recognized by Spain.[3] Both in the instruction for the two commissaries Laforcada and Coronel and in the orders sent them by the President of the Council they were informed that one of their chief duties was to do their utmost to induce the exiles to leave the Society or, at any rate, the island. Their reports, however, show that they met with no slight resistance in the great loyalty to the Society of Jesus and to the fanatical *esprit de corps* instilled by the older members into the younger ones. The most intractable came from the Provinces of Aragon and Castile; less unanimity was shown by the Provinces of Toledo and Andalusia. One of the chief difficulties was that those who were willing made it a prime condition that they should return to their native land. In spite of this, the commissaries hoped that in view of the general dispiritedness a large part of the exiles would migrate to the Papal States with the coming of the spring.[4] In return for their successful efforts

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, November 1, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] "* . . . por la massima adoptada de ir minorando los secuaces del Instituto" (Grimaldi to Azpuru, February 9, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48).

[3] *Ibid. Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5046.

[4] *Laforcada and Coronel to Grimaldi, February 11, 1768, *ibid.*, 5048.

the king gave instructions that the two commissaries were to receive his gracious thanks.[1]

But it was Spain above all other countries that refused to receive the secularized outcasts, for fear lest "they spread their fanaticism still further", for not merely Jesuits but also "Jesuitism" was to be rooted out.[2] Had they not the whole of Italy in which to settle, except for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Tuscany?[3] The consuls who had issued passports to those who had quitted the Society were reprimanded and were ordered to grant them in future only to those who had received special permission from the king to re-enter Spain.[4] This permission was made dependent on precise information regarding the character and previous activity of each individual.[5] Without it both Jesuits and ex-Jesuits were strictly forbidden to set foot on Spanish soil. Laymen were threatened with capital punishment, ordained priests with lifelong imprisonment, and any accomplices were to be treated as if guilty of high treason.[6] A lay-brother who

[1] *Grimaldi to Laforcada and Coronel, March 1, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] "*Aunque se secularizaran, nunca seria yo de dictamen de que volviesen con la mala leche que han mamado. No basta extinguir los Jesuitas, es menester extinguir el Jesuitismo, y en los paises, donde han estado, hasta la memoria de su doctrina, politica y costumbres" (Roda to Azara, August 4, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, R).

[3] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 15, 1767, and February 9, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47 and 48; *Roda to Grimaldi, September 12, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; **Consejo extraordinario*, February 6, 1768, *ibid.*, Estado, 5045.

[4] **Consejo extraordinario*, August 15, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[5] **Resolucion del Rey* [September 20, 1767], *ibid.*, 688; *Aróstegui to Grimaldi, October 13, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5045.

[6] *Memorandum of the *Consejo extraordinario* of October 1, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667; **Real Cedula* of October 18, 1767, *ibid.*, 688, printed version in the *Coleccion general*, I., 149 *seqq.*; *Vando* of October 21, 1767 (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, Papal Secret Archives.

had dared to return to his homeland was sentenced to imprisonment for life.[1]

This systematic incitement to desertion was not without effect. The fortitude of the exiles had already been severely tried by the mental and physical hardships of the journey [2] and by the serious privations they had endured amid the vicissitudes of war in Corsica. In addition, the hopeless future that lay before them and, above all, the enticements, accusations, and promises of the Spanish officials must in many cases have played a decisive part in upsetting their equanimity. In the belief that by leaving the outlawed Society they would be able to return to their own country and to ordered conditions, they appealed to Rome to release them from their vows. Realizing their extraordinarily difficult situation, the Roman Curia dealt with their request in a sympathetic and generous spirit.[3] On January 5th, 1768, Grimaldi forwarded to Roda a list of twenty-two Andalusian Jesuits who had obtained secularization.[4] A second list, of January 7th,

[1] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 20, 1768, Cifre, *ibid.*, 305.

[2] The Government had given orders to the ships' commanders to treat the exiles well and to give them good food (**Arriaga* " a los Intendentes y Ministros " on April 3, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Marina, 724 ; **Instruccion que deberá observar el Oficial primero de Contaduria D.F^co^ Huidobro y Sarabia*, of June 6, 1768, *ibid.*). There are extant statements in which some of the Superiors apprised the commanders of their satisfaction with the treatment (*dated Calvi, July 15 and 16, 1767, *ibid.*), but there are also complaints. Thus, Fr. de Alva complained that his people suffered with hunger on the crossing from Corsica to Sestri (*to Cornejo, October 6, 1768, *ibid.*, Estado, 5058).

[3] " *Bravamente les van visitas de los expulsos a Ud. y ai parece que con franqueza los desfrailan aun a los de 4° voto sin pruebas, informes, ni conocimiento de causa, siendo tan frailes como los cartujos. Ojalá que todos dejasen la ropa, y se fuesen por el mundo, como no se nos vengan a España, ni vaian a las Indias " (Roda to Azara, September 1, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.).

[4] Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 668.

contained the names of ninety-two ex-members of the Society.[1] On February 11th Azpuru forwarded a list of thirty-one secularized Jesuits, of whom twenty were professed.[2] On April 25th Grimaldi sent to the Minister of Justice a list of twenty-six Jesuits who had applied from Corsica for their release.[3] On June 2nd, 1768, the Spanish ambassador requested the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to acknowledge the services of Pedro de Castro, who had successfully assisted many of the exiles to obtain their secularization. He reported at the same time that 138 banished Jesuits had fled from Corsica and had arrived in Rome.[4] Of the Spanish Provinces of the Society, Aragon and Castile were the most successful in withstanding the test.[5] Of the former a total of seventy-five members left the Society in the period ending with its suppression in 1773; of these, about forty, who had not taken solemn vows, entered the married state.[6] Less powers of resistance were shown by the Province of Toledo; of its 621 members 138 or 140 left the Society, including 17 professed.[7] An unnamed Jesuit of the Andalusian Province wrote to one of his brothers in religion that he was trying to avoid answering any questions on the number of the fugitives and ex-members, on account of the disgrace a truthful answer would bring on his Province.[8] With the arrival in Spain of the Jesuits from South America the efforts to obtain secularization assumed disquieting proportions. The cause of this lay in the mutual national antipathy of the Europeans and the Creoles, which was said to be the worst feature of the Jesuit missions.[9] In the past the

[1] **Razon de los ya secularizados, ibid.*, Estado, 5046.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 11, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* Gracia y Justicia, 668.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 2, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp., 107.

[5] *Laforcada and Coronel to Grimaldi, February 11, 1768 (see above, p. 176, n. 4).

[6] *MS. in Jesuit possession, Aragonia, 17.

[7] *Catalogus Prov. Baeticae 1767*, Madrid, 1896.

[8] Undated *letter, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5651.

[9] " . . . pues lo demas que se nota en la Compañia son las

Creoles thought that they had often been passed over when various offices were being filled and hitherto it had been possible to bridge the gap in a makeshift fashion only by the strict enforcement of religious discipline. In the present circumstances, where it was no longer possible to maintain discipline with the former strictness, and distress and want gave added impetus to already existing suspicions, a serious clash was almost inevitable. Already during the long and trying voyage the opposition between the Spaniards and the colonials, hitherto more or less latent, had broken out openly. The malcontents, or dissidents, as they are called in the reports, kept themselves apart from the Europeans and conferred as to how they could free themselves from their vows and return to their own country. True to its principle of encouraging the exiles' efforts to leave the Society, the Government, through its officials, held before the "Americans" the prospect of an immediate return to the New World and of obtaining there ecclesiastical positions of honour, if only they would abandon the Society. On landing, in accordance with their own request, the "Americans" were housed separately, away from the loyal Jesuits. On June 1st two royal decrees were read to them; in these the king called them his sons and promised them his protection and ecclesiastical dignities and positions of honour.[1] A list of July 14th, 1768, contains the names of 102 dissidents, including twenty-one professed Jesuits, who had applied for their release from Puerto de Santa Maria.[2] Not long afterwards the aforesaid Pedro de Castro was in receipt of twenty-three more applications for

divisiones que padecen los Europeos y Criollos, y los disgustos que de ello se les originan interiormente, sin que en todo lo demas de su gobierno se note cosa, que se haga reparable" (JORGE JUAN Y ANTONIO DE ULLOA, *Noticias secretas de America* [London, 1826, 532; *cf. ibid.*, 529, where the authors speak of the "pasion nacional que es incorregible y general en aquellos payses").

[1] CARAYON, XVI., 237 *seqq.*

[2] *Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. 107.

release coming from the same port.[1] On November 10th, 1768, forty-one American Jesuits were asking to be secularized ; all but one belonged to the Peruvian Province, and twenty-one had taken solemn vows.[2] The available information about the Mexican Province is more detailed. Of the 677 members who were living at the time of the expulsion, seventy-four, of whom fourteen were professed and three had once been rectors, left the Society in the period ending with the year of suppression ; these figures do not include novices.[3] An official list of the names of all Jesuits of the Spanish Assistancy secularized in the period ending November, 1771, gives their number at 719, of whom twenty had died.[4] The dissidents' request not to be sent to Italy, as they would be able to obtain their release

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 25, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5049 ; *Paolucci to Grimaldi, September 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 5048.

[2] *Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, *loc. cit.*

[3] ZELIS, *Catálogo de los sugetos de la Comp. de Jesús que formaban la Prov. de México el dia del arresto 25 de Junio del 1767*, México, 1871.

[4] **Catalogo de los secularizados hasta todo el mes de Noviembre 1771*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 1771/72. A statistical summary made by the commissary Coronel on January 8, 1772, contains the following particulars of the numbers of secessions (the numbers in brackets denote the sub-divisions of priests, scholastics, and lay-brothers) :—

Aragonia 55 (23, 13, 19)	Andalusia 125 (58, 22, 45)
Castile 66 (28, 6, 32)	Toledo 125 (46, 28, 51)
Mexico 70 (35, 12, 23)	Peru 179 (101, 41, 37)
Chile 5 (2, 1, 2)	Paraguay 28 (14, 7, 7)
Quito 18 (7, 4, 7)	Santa Fe 16 (7, 1, 8)
Philippines 3 (2, 1, 0)	

**Estado o Resumen del numero de los Regulares de la Compañia extrañados de los dominios de España y America, que arribaron a Corcega y a estos Estados pontificios . . . ,* Bologna, 1772, January 8, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Bolonia", 1767–1775.

from Spain, was not granted ;[1] they had to go along with the rest to Corsica, where their indiscipline was noted by the officials.[2]

That it was not exactly the best elements that deserted the banner of Loyola in the days of emergency and distress needs no elaborate demonstration. The Spanish Government, therefore, could have derived little joy or honour from their protégés. Suddenly rid of the protective discipline of their Order, with no serious occupation and with no mature knowledge of the world, which most of them had left between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, many succumbed to the attractions and seductions of the capital,[3] to the deep regret of their General[4] and their former brethren in religion who had kept faith[5] and who had to see to their bitter sorrow how

[1] Report by Peter Weingartner to Joseph Erhard, in CARAYON, XVI., 341.

[2] *G. Gnecco to Grimaldi, August 7 and November 13, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5057.

[3] " *Es cierto, que no pocos, y cuasi todos Andaluces viven licensiosa y aun escandalosamente lo que dias hace me consta por las personas destinadas a seguirles los passos . . ., asegurándome que la vida de no pocos es escandalosa, y algunos han contraído ya la enfermedad que es consiguiente a ella " (Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 16, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 107). " *En la carta adjunta da cuenta Don Thomas Azpuru de la vida licenciosa que hacen algunos Regulares de la Compañía extrañados de los dominios del Rey, que han obtenido la secularizacion y residen a Roma " (Grimaldi to Roda, July 4, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 668).

[4] " *La massima parte di questi dispersi era della provincia Betica. Il Generale non sapeva nè poteva sapere chi ottenesse dal Papa la soluzione de' voti. Questi scandali facevano il gran dolore del Generale " (RICCI, *Espulsione*, 77).

[5] " *It gives us the greatest pain to tell you what is happening here and what has been done and is still being done by those who do not want to stay. Recognizing no Superiors, they do whatever they like, to the great scandal not only to us but also to the laity. However, God has allowed it so that the Society

these deserters had lost, "together with the Society, their vocation, their honour, the respect of their fellow men—in fact, everything."[1] In Rome, where at first the exiles had been treated with great restraint in view of their being Spanish subjects, the Cardinal Vicar was finally compelled to take action against them on account of the scandal they were giving.[2] His admonitions seem to have borne fruit, for from that time onward no further complaints were made by the Spanish representative.

The darker the shadows cast on the Society's escutcheon by the inconstancy and scandalous conduct of many of its former members, the brighter shines the heroic firmness of the great majority, who remained true to their sacred oaths and vows amid the greatest material and spiritual sacrifices and privations. As opposed to the hundreds who were weak there were thousands who were strong; these, after experiencing danger and vicissitudes of every kind, eked out a miserable existence as poor exiles in obscurity and neglect, on the niggardly pension allowed them by the Government of the Catholic king. Their silent heroism has elicited the following admission from a modern opponent of the Society: "In the history of the Society of Jesus there are many pages redounding to its glory, but, to my mind, none are more illustrious than those that record its death-struggle and expiry. Of these glorious chapters none can compare with those that tell us of the exertions, sufferings, and heroic virtues which distinguished the Jesuits of the Spanish Assistancy from the days when they left the shores of Spain until the time when they settled in the cities of the Papal States."[3]

may be free of such people" (Benno Ducrue to Schwarz, January 14, 1769, Archives of the German Province of the Society of Jesus, III., 21, No. 1[3]).

[1] Weingartner to Erhard, quoted by MUNDWILER in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXVI. (1902), 645.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 21, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 107.

[3] MIR, *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús*, II., Madrid, 1913, 506.

Even many of the young novices, hardly out of their boyhood, displayed a courage and constancy that roused the admiration of their elders.[1] According to the instruction for the executive officials, they were to be kept separate from the Fathers, so as to be able to decide quite freely whether to follow the others into lifelong banishment, without a pension, or to go back to their parents. No one was to sway them in either direction.[2] Actually, they were urged for weeks on end by the executive officials by means of warnings and promises, threats and mental tortures of every kind, to abandon their vocation. In some cases they were forced to do so. Religious and seculars, whom they were forced to consult about their vocations, told them on occasions that they were guilty of a grave sin in obstinately clinging to the Society and that they were rebels against the authority set over them by God. Many of them were forcibly deprived of their religious dress and were sent home under an escort of military police. The seventy-nine novices of the Castilian Province had to undergo this mental torture seven times, so that it is a matter for surprise that in the end there were still twenty who preferred the hard fate of banishment with all its trials and privations to a life of honour and comfort.[3] Of the thirty-nine novices of the Province of Aragon nineteen (twenty-two) followed the Fathers into exile.[4] In a letter by an unknown writer there is mention of the extraordinary steadfastness of seven Spanish novices.[5] Of the thirty-six Mexican novices thirteen held out.[6]

[1] *Schaternichts to Schwarz, dated Puerto de S. Maria, 1768, November 16, Archives of the German Province of the Society of Jesus, III., 21, No. 1[2].

[2] *Coleccion general*, I., 8 *seq.*

[3] Navarrete, I., 110 *seqq.*, 133 *seqq.*, 239 *seqq.*; Isla, *Memorial*, 34 *seqq.*; Carayon, XV., 1–85; Cornely in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, VIII. (1875), 408 *seqq.*, 495 *seqq.*

[4] Larraz, **De rebus Sociorum Prov. Aragoniae Soc. Iesu*, c. 33, in Jesuit possession, Arag. 30; *cf.* Arag. 17.

[5] *To Fr. Schwarz, S.J., on September 23, 1767, Archives of the German Province, III., 21, No. 15.

[6] Zelis, *Catálogo* (see above, p. 181, n. 3).

Round about March 1769, after the death of Clement XIII., there arrived in Rome twenty-six novices from the Province of Quito who had remained true to their decision despite all the physical and mental trials they had undergone.[1]

The reports and memoirs of the exiles are full of examples of the heroic fortitude with which so many Jesuits kept faith with their Order.[2] When, on account of his great age and his impaired health, the seventy-eight-year-old Calatayud was given the choice by the *alcalde* of Madrid of remaining in Spain, the venerable priest replied that he would rather die in exile than be separated from his brethren.[3] On the day of departure, when the community was assembled in the refectory, partaking of some final refreshments, the sixty-four-year-old Isla received a stroke which partially deprived him of his speech. Although the doctors advised against it, he insisted on following the others in a litter. On the march, a second and third stroke made it impossible for him to continue the journey. After recovering to some extent under the loving care of the Benedictine monks of St. Martin in Santiago, he hurried after his brethren and reached the port of Ferrol in time to embark with them on the *Nepomuceno* for Italy.[4] A shining example of vocational fidelity was given by the brothers José and Nicolás Pignatelli. A third brother, the Count of Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, moved every possible lever to induce them to leave the Society.[5] Through his important connexions at Court he had received the king's assent to the

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 126 and 151.

[2] The Jesuits, Roda *reported to Azara on the strength of intercepted letters, " ponderan y aplauden la resolucion del Papa de no admitirlos, y sufren estos trabajos como un martirio por el bien de la Iglesia perseguida : Los Aragoneses son los mas fanaticos, y todos desean perder la vida por la Compañia " (July 28, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.).

[3] [Rodeles], *Calatayud*, 441.

[4] Isla, *Memorial*, 135 *seq.* ; Gaudeau, *Prêcheurs burlesques en Espagne*, 103 *seqq.*

[5] *Roda to Aranda, April 30, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

gates of the country being left open for them in the event of their leaving the Society.[1] He received the same reply from both, that they had no reason to turn their backs on the Order to which they were bound by their vows, and he was asked not to mention the subject again.[2] The French commander Marbeuf, following instructions from the Court of Paris, offered them the hospitality of his own house, but this invitation they politely refused, saying that they had no other wish but to share the lot of their brothers in religion.[3]

In a circular letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State it was impressed on every Papal legate that it was his duty to treat the exiles from Corsica in an affectionate manner. The simultaneous prohibition against keeping them permanently in the Italian houses of the Society was due to the fear lest their pensions be taken away from them and the colleges be burdened with the cost of their support.[4]

As soon as a survey could be made of the chaotic conditions created by the precipitate removal of the Jesuits from Corsica a systematic distribution of the exiles was taken in hand. The

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, May 11, 1767, *ibid.*; Count Fuentes to his brothers, dated Paris, 1767, in NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 259 *seq.*

[2] José and Nicolás Pignatelli to Joaquín Pignatelli, July 8, 1767, in NONELL, I., 260 *seq.* " *Los PP. Pignatelli han respondido a su hermano el conde de Fuentes, que no les escriba, si les ha de hablar de que dejen la ropa : que por ninguna de este mundo abandonarán la Religion, que han profesado. Fuentes, porque vuelvan sus hermanos a España, ha puesto a Choiseul en el empeño de la extincion de la Compañia " (Roda to Azara, August 4, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 230).

[3] " *En virtud de las ordenes, que se dieron de Paris a Marbeuf, para que distinguiese a los hermanos del conde de Fuentes, quando llegase aí la conducta de los Jesuitas, los ha querido hacer desembarcar Marbeuf, hospedarlos y cortejarlos ; pero ellos no han querido sino seguir la suerte de sus hermanos de orden. Vea V^m^, que traxa de dexar la sotana, como pretende el conde, que lo executen " (Roda to Azara, June 16, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*). NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 258).

[4] RICCI, **Espulsione*, 132.

Province of Castile and the greater part of the Mexican Province were accommodated in the legation of Bologna. The Provinces of Aragon and Peru and the rest of Mexico were allotted to Ferrara. The Province of Toledo found a home in Forlì, that of Andalusia in Rimini, that of Paraguay in Faenza. The Provinces of Santa Fe and Quito were ensconced in various towns in the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Urbino, such as Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Gubbio, and the members of the little Province of the Philippines settled at Bagnacavallo.[1] Although the conditions were necessarily very humble on account of the meagreness of the pensions, life in the Papal States was far more tolerable and orderly than it had been amid the strife in Corsica, as was reflected in the diminution of departures from the Society. Not that there was any lack of trials of every kind here too. One of the most easily borne was the denunciation of scholastics and lay-brothers in Bologna for seeking distraction in military exercises, the exercises in actual fact being of a spiritual nature.[2] The Madrid Government continued its work of persecution in a petty manner. On June 14th, 1769, the General of the Society was directly required to cancel the Spanish and American place-names which had been given to the Society's Provinces and houses and not to give them such names in the future. If this request was not complied with in thirty days the pensions of all the exiles would be permanently withdrawn.[3]

[1] NONELL, *Pignatelli*, I., 330 ; [RODELES], *Calatayud*, 546 *seqq.*

[2] *Zambeccari to Roda, December 31, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 668 ; GALLERANI-MADARIAGA, 57, n. 1.

[3] **Consejo extraordinario*, May 28, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49 ; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 30, 1769, *ibid.* ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 14 and 15, 1769, *ibid.*, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 108 ; *Letter from the notary Mariotti to Ricci, June 27, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{292}{1037}$; *Tanucci to Orsini, June 20, 1769, *ibid.* ; **Intima al P. Generale per non fare più Superiori con titulo delle provincie di Spagna*, June 14, 1769, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 186.

Naturally loath to expose the unfortunates to complete destitution, Ricci was obliged to submit to this interference with the internal affairs of the Society and to give different names to the Provinces and houses, such as the Province of the Most Holy Trinity.[1] A more serious trouble was that the pensions, which in any case were small enough, were paid with ever greater irregularity and delay. The Jesuit Idiaquez took the distress of his brethren so much to heart that he appealed to the king's confessor to help in this direction.[2]

Owing to the abundance of priests in Italy, activity in the care of souls was confined within narrow bounds, in consequence of which many of the exiles took to academic work. Some of them won for themselves a not inconsiderable reputation in the Italian literary movement of the day.[3] Perhaps the most distinguished of them was Juan Andrés, whose prose compositions were not inferior to those of his most esteemed Italian contemporaries. His writings were concerned with the most varied spheres of knowledge, including physics, numismatics, astronomy, archæology, the instruction of the deaf and dumb, and literature. After teaching philosophy in Ferrara for several years, he was called as Court Librarian, first to Parma and then to Naples, and was finally appointed by the Austrian Government in 1799 as Prefect of Studies and President of the *Accademia Ticinese.* His work in seven volumes on the world's literature was so much admired by scholars that while he was still living the Spanish Government set up a special chair in the College of San Isidro for the purpose of introducing young students to this work.[4] Of no less importance were Eximeno,[5] Thiulen,[6]

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione*, 160.

[2] *Idiaquez to Osma, dated Bologna, 1771, May 3, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[3] *Cf.* Cian in the *Accademia Reale delle scienze di Torino*, 1894/95, Torino, 1895 (where further works are mentioned); *Civ. Catt.*, 16, Series V. (1896), 152 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 16 *seqq.*; Gallerani-Madariaga, 68 *seqq.*

[5] Gallerani-Madariaga, 81.

[6] *Ibid.*, 79.

and Hervás y Panduro,[1] the last-named being, when he died in 1809, the Prefect of the Quirinal Library founded by Pius VII.

After the expulsion, the surveillance of Jesuit correspondence was continued on a still more extensive scale. The Spanish post-master in Rome, Juan de la Riva, received instructions from Azpuru on May 27th, 1767, to deliver either to himself or to the Foreign Minister Grimaldi all letters from Spain addressed to Jesuits.[2] This instruction was amended soon afterwards by Grimaldi, to the effect that the postal missives in question were to be handed only to Azpuru.[3] Letters to and from the kingdom of Naples destined for Jesuits were opened in the same way. Even the transmission of messages through private persons did not always secure their privacy, for the Fathers were sometimes betrayed by false friends.[4] When Count Rosenbergh, the Tuscan representative, firmly refused to surrender the Jesuit mail and designated such a procedure as unjust, Tanucci professed great astonishment and pretended to view this attitude as a hostile act towards the Catholic king.[5] Choiseul, on the other hand, immediately

[1] *Ibid.*, 84; PORTILLO, *Lorenzo Hervás. Su vida y sus escritos* (1735–1809), in *Razón y Fe*, XXV., 34 *seqq.* For his services to philology, see MAX MÜLLER, *Die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, I., Leipzig, 1892, 155 *seq.*

[2] " *Conveniendo al real servicio de S. M. que se remitan al Sr. Marques de Grimaldi o se me entreguen todas las cartas que por los ordinarios puedan venir de España a ese oficio para Jesuitas, lo prevengo a V^m para su govierno " (Azpuru to I. de la Riva, May 27, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 106). *Riva to Grimaldi, May 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5046.

[3] *Grimaldi to Riva, June 16, 1767, *ibid.*; *Riva to Grimaldi, October 29, 1767, *ibid.*, 5045.

[4] *Copy of a letter with no signature or name of addressee, dated Palermo, 1767, July 8, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[5] *To Azpuru, November 3, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Espulsion de los Jesuitas ", 1767.

fell in with the Spanish request.[1] Du Tillot not only had the Jesuits' letters intercepted but by every kind of chicanery had their manuscripts removed from their carriages as they were travelling to the Papal States by way of Parma.[2] For this service he was specially commended by the king.[3]

Interference with the mail was not confined to Jesuit correspondence. The disappearance of letters [4] and convenient "errors", such as the affixing of an incorrect seal,[5] showed the Papal representatives that communication between the Secretary of State in Rome and the nuncios was being closely watched; either the packets were being opened by Government agents or copies were being made for the Government by cipher clerks in the nunciature's chancery who had been bribed.[6] Even if the numerous copies in the State Archives of Simancas had not been preserved, the correspondence between

[1] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, November 9, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045; *Choiseul to Fuentes [November 20, 1767], *ibid.* "*Me ha dicho este Ministro que habia dada lo orden de abrir todas las cartas que se encontrasen en dichos oficios de correos para Italia, fuesen para quien fuesen . . ." (Fuentes to Grimaldi, December 7, 1767, *ibid.*, 4565).

[2] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, September, 28, 1768, *ibid.*, 5048.

[3] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, February 19, 1769, *ibid.* -

[4] "*Garampi le fa sapere, che quella lettera riservata, che ella in più dispacci ha scritto che sarebbe per altra mano pervenuta al sig. card. Torrigiani, non è per anche comparsa" (Garampi to Vincenti, September 14, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 412, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, May 19, 1768, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

[6] *Garampi to Lucini, November 26, 1767, Cifre, *ibid.*, 304, and Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767, Estado, 5072. It is worth noting that for some time Pallavicini withheld access to the archives of the nunciature from his successor Lucini (*Lucini to Torrigiani, August 11 and 18 and September 15, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Lucini, August 27, October 1 and 15, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, August 13, September 17 and 27, 1767, *ibid.*, 412; *Torrigiani to Pocobelli, October 8, 1767, *ibid.*).

the Ministers would have been a sufficient proof of the fact. Thus, on August 11th, 1767, Grimaldi forwarded Roda an intercepted letter from Torrigiani to Vincenti, with the remark that he would have a copy of the part relating to Naples sent to Tanucci.[1] The correspondence of the Spanish Bishops and such private persons as were thought to have relations with the Jesuits was subjected to similar interceptions.[2]

Not content with violating the secrecy of the post, the Spanish envoy in Rome employed spies to watch the Fathers in their colleges. An architectural student, Mariano Miner, who had two brothers in the Society, managed to worm his way into the house "al Gesu" on the pretext of wanting to know his relatives' addresses in Corsica, and he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Spanish procurator Andrés.[3] The discoveries he made were of no moment, though he managed to ferret out the channels by which the Roman Jesuits communicated with their brethren in Spain, Corsica, and Naples.[4] After Miner had been exposed in his true colours [5]

[1] *Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667. "*Despues de un prolijo reconocimiento de las cartas que van y vienen de Italia, no he conseguido mas fruto que el de las insipidas copias relativas a asuntos de los Regulares de la Compañia, y me es sensible el no poder conseguir otras correspondencias de los sujetos sospechosos que V. Exª se ha dignado indicarme : a ellas van aggregadas las demas que ha producido la tarea reservada . . ." (J. Fernandez de Alonso to Grimaldi, November 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777). *Nota [October 6, 1767 ?], autograph by Llaguno, *ibid.*, Estado, 5045.

[2] *Itúrbide to Grimaldi, July 8, 1770, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 670 ; undated *Nota from Llaguno [1767/68], *ibid.*, Estado, 5045.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 10 and 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045 and 5046.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, October 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 5045 ; *Tanucci to Azpuru, October 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002 ; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, November 3, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47.

[5] **Delacion contra el P. Andres*, November 9, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet. in Madrid, Chamartin, P.

various information was obtained by Azpuru from the professed house by means of other spies.[1] Whether their reports were due to misunderstanding or to pure invention is of minor importance, but they were not always in agreement with the facts.[2]

It would have been of considerable interest to the Spanish Minister to know where the Jesuits had hidden their "treasures", regarding the magnitude of which the most incredible rumours were afloat. Thus, Azara asserted in all seriousness that the Province of Paraguay alone contributed yearly, at a modest computation, four million *pesos* to the Society's funds.[3] The Venetian envoy Erizzo may have been drawing on the same source of information when he accused the General of the Society of having been swayed by selfish motives, with no regard for the demands of humanity, in using every means to prevent the exiles landing in Civitavecchia; he preferred, said Erizzo, to use the huge treasures which the Society had obtained from Paraguay and which it had accumulated in the Papal States, for his own secret plans rather than for the support of his destitute brethren.[4] Details about the wealth of the Jesuits eventually assumed fantastic proportions. The supplement of an unidentified journal [5] contained the report from Genoa of an inventory found by the Government commission in the college at Barcelona. In the

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 26 and December 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 25, 1768, *ibid.*, 5046.

[3] '*Hablemos solamente de Paraguay, adonde los Padres en vez de ir a padecer el martirio, van a reinar y en cambio de trabajos van a coger tesoros, conveniencias y regalos. Segun el calculo mas reducido, que yo he sacado de las memorias de un Jesuita que fue allí misionero, pasa el producto que da anualmente aquella provincia a la Compañia de quatro millones de pesos" (Azara to Grimaldi, February 5, 1767, *ibid.*, 5095).

[4] *Erizzo to the Doge, May 16, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286.

[5] *Gazzetta di Mantova*? *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 12, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*

cellars, besides a vast number of stamped pieces of gold and silver, large bags of diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones had been discovered, and on the country estates herds of cows, bulls, and sheep were to be counted by the thousand.[1] In response to an inquiry by Torrigiani [2] as to the facts, the nuncio Lucini assured him that neither in Madrid nor Barcelona was there any knowledge or talk of such a discovery, so that he had to assume that it was a pure slander.[3] It was possible, he added, that the Jesuits of Barcelona had possessed a rich church-treasure of silver or had had the custody of valuables belonging to the laity, as was the case in Madrid, where after the expulsion the owners had reclaimed and recovered their property.[4] In like manner, as the result of searching questions put by the envoy Masserano to the director of the Bank of England, the stories about the sixteen million pounds sterling which the Jesuits had deposited with the bank, and the fourteen million gulden which they had conveyed to a safe place in Holland, were shown to be sheer inventions.[5] The exaggerated descriptions of the Society's possessions were put abroad largely for the purpose of undermining its good name and to make it disliked by the people, whereas in fact its material condition was far from brilliant.[6] The difficulties

[1] Gold and silver pieces : 33,662 *pezze* ; diamonds, rubies, etc. : 56,441 *pezze* ; gold cross with diamonds and rubies : 18,000 *pezze* ; 4700 sheep, 1200 bullocks, 652 cows, etc. (Genoa [1767], August 20, **Nota*, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.).

[2] *Torrigiani to Lucini, September 3, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 22, 1767, Cifre, *ibid.*, 304.

[4] *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 29, 1767, *ibid.*

[5] *Masserano to Grimaldi, October 14 and November 18, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6969 ; *Grimaldi to Masserano, October 31, 1768, *ibid.* ; *Vincenti to Garampi, April 11, 1769, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[6] " *Entre otras cosas desearia yo mucho, que no fuesemos tantos en Madrid, en donde está la mitad de esta provincia. Esto nos hace daño, como otras cosas, singularmente en la calidad de las haciendas. Mas el ruido que nos daña y hace poco honor,

encountered in providing for the exiled Portuguese Jesuits were only too well known,[1] and even Tanucci admitted that the Society could not find the money necessary for the support of the thousands of banished Spaniards.[2]

Rumours which bore the stamp of invention but which were treated with all seriousness by the Ministers of the time, were current not only about the Society's wealth but also about its hostile intentions towards Spain and its colonies. The whole business might justly be regarded as a deliberate trick to confirm the king, who was in any case of a suspicious nature, in his antipathy towards the Society and to prepare him for plans of still greater import. Thus, Prince Masserano reported from London on April 30th, 1767, that the Portuguese envoy De Mello, when informed of the Jesuit expulsion, told him that these Religious were buying arms in England and intended to employ as soldiers and officers Slavs and Swiss, who would be shipped to Paraguay from Ancona and Civitavecchia. Masserano advised Grimaldi to see if Mello had some ulterior political motives in repeating such rumours.[3] Although thoroughgoing inquiries proved them to be groundless,[4] the envoy received instructions to probe still deeper into the matter[5]; he could only report, however, that there was no

que la substancia, que es bien miserable. Quisiera yo que los que nos aborrecen por ricos, fuesen Provinciales nuestros un par de años. Pero el ser pobres no nos daña; lo que nos perjudica, es parecer ricos" (Anton Mourin to Fr. Montes in Rome, dated Madrid, 1767, February 28, *ibid.*, 777).

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 337. "*Dissi [to Emperor Joseph II.] sapere l'angustia grande per i soli Portoghesi, ed i molti argenti delle loro chiese, già dati dal Generale per prevedere alla sussistenza di quelli" (*Diario del cardinal Visconti*, December 25, 1767, Nunziat. di Germania, 394, fasc. C, Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 88.

[3] *Masserano to Grimaldi, April 30, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6964.

[4] *Masserano to Grimaldi, May 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 5062.

[5] *Grimaldi to Masserano, May 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 6964.

cause for anxiety.[1] Similar messages about the machinations of the Jesuits came in from Rome,[2] Lucerne,[3] Venice,[4] Lisbon,[5] and Buenos Ayres.[6] At one time it was a plot against the king's life,[7] at another it was a question of the Jesuits going as parish priests to Florida, which the English Government intended to settle.[8] This was soon followed by the rumour of a joint incursion of the Jesuits and English into Paraguay or some other South American colony.[9] Maps with the names of places and fortresses in Portugal, which had been found in the noviciate of Villagarcia, and three treatises on military, educational, and financial administration, which had been brought to light in some other place, were sufficient confirmation for the Fiscal Moñino of the vast plans which had

[1] " *Haviendo continuado mis diligencias para averiguar, si los Jesuitas han hecho pasar armas de aqui para el Paraguay, como me havian dicho, hallo que tampoco consta en esta aduana que se hayan embarcado ningunas armas desde Agosto del año pasado hasta fin del año. Ya en otra ocasion he escrito a V. E. que no se hallaba que se huviesen embarcado sino 28 fusiles para Holanda en el curso del presente " (Masserano to Grimaldi, June 10, 1767, *ibid.*).

[2] *Lopez de la Barrera to Roda, June 4, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet. in Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[3] Conde del Asalto to Grimaldi, June 12, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5048.

[4] *Vignola to the Venetian Senate, dated London, 1767, July 14, *ibid.*, 5762. This letter was sent to his Government by the Spanish envoy, the Duca de Montealegre.

[5] *Pombal to Souza, June 16, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4564.

[6] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 5, 1768, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[7] *Lopez de la Barrera to Roda, June 4, 1767, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Vignola to the Venetian Senate, July 14, 1767, *loc. cit.*; **Consejo extraordinario*, September 8, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[9] *Pombal to Souza, June 16, 1767, *loc. cit.*; *Grimaldi to Roda, September 1, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 688; **Consejo extraordinario*, September 17, 1767, *ibid.*

been nursed by the exiles, especially with regard to the colonies.[1] Other town-plans and documents from the college in Barcelona were decisive proof for the Ministers that the revolt would certainly have broken out in that great seaport if timely measures had not been taken to prevent it.[2] Under date July 7th, 1767, a circular letter was sent by the Foreign Minister to the Spanish representatives at foreign Courts instructing them to acquire precise information about Jesuit intentions and activities.[3] Once again all investigations proved fruitless.[4] On December 9th, 1767, Roda forwarded to Count Aranda an anonymous letter which the French ambassador had brought to his attention. In this there was talk of another Sicilian Vespers having been planned for Christmas Eve in Madrid, at which the Protector of the Faith would appear with the flag of the Faith.[5]

Greater importance was attributed to the rumour that Lavalette, under the name of Duclos, was recruiting troops in Flanders and was buying munitions, with the intention of sailing in a man-of-war to Madeira and thence to Chile or Paraguay, in order to conquer these colonies for England.[6] On three occasions the Extraordinary Council of Castile gave its attention to this adventurous affair[7] and the Fiscal Campomanes expressed his settled conviction that the Britons

[1] *Valle y Salazar to Roda, January 18 and February 6, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Valle y Salazar to Roda, February 18, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Roda to Grimaldi, June 14, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 5062; Grimaldi's circular *note of July 1767, *ibid.*; *Grimaldi, on July 7, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47.

[4] *Mahony to Grimaldi, August 12, 1767, Arch. general central in Madrid, Estado, 3518; *Grimaldi to Roda, September 1, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[5] *Ibid.*, 667.

[6] *Masserano to Grimaldi, June 22, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 6964; *Roda to Azara, September 1, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[7] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 5, 8, and 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

and Jesuits were in close political relationship. The bogey vanished only with the news that the volatile ex-Jesuit had been arrested in Toulouse. It was only on account of his ill-health that he was not being taken to Paris, and the Spanish Government would be sent an abstract of the suit that would be brought against him.[1] Finally, Count Fuentes was able to report that Lavalette was dead. Choiseul, he wrote, had not been able to find anything of importance in the papers he had left but would submit them to him for inspection.[2] It was also fear for the colonies, either real or feigned, that caused the arrest of the two procurators of the Province of Quito and the retention for many years of German missionaries in Spanish convents.[3]

The Spanish Government not only set a watch on every step taken by the exiles abroad but tried to suppress every manifestation in favour of the Society that might be made at home. According to reports that reached Ricci, all festivals of the Jesuit Saints were forbidden.[4] A printed decree of the Fiscal Moñino [5] was directed against the prophecies of some

[1] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, September 28, 1767, *ibid.*, Estado, 4564 ; *Fuentes to Grimaldi, October 12, 1767, *ibid.* ; *Masserano to Grimaldi, October 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 6965.

[2] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, January 31, 1768, *ibid.*, 4566. Actually Lavalette was never in prison ; he died in his own apartments in Toulouse on December 13, 1767 ; see Rochemonteix, *Lavalette à Martinique*, 278. Further *reports by Masserano on the Lavalette affair are in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6994 and 6995.

[3] Mundwiler in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXVI. (1902), 621 *seqq.*

[4] Ricci, **Espulsione*, n. 161.

[5] *Carta circular a los Diocesanos y Superiores Regulares respecto a los Conventos de Monjas, dirigidos antes por los expulsos, y ahora por los secuaces de su fanatismo*, of October 23, 1767, in the *Coleccion general*, I., 154 *seqq.* ; *Suplemento a la circular de 23 Octubre de 1767, dirigida a los Diocesanos y Superiores Regulares. Instrumentos autenticos que prueban la obstinacion de los Regulares expulsos y sus secuaces, fingiendo supuestos milagros para comover y mantener el fanatismo sobre su regreso, ibid.*, II., 6–43.

nuns who announced the speedy restoration of the Society in Spain.[1] His colleague Campomanes urged Roda to take decisive action against twenty-seven recalcitrant Dominican nuns who refused to submit to the ordinances on this subject issued by the Government and by their Superiors.[2] Don José Agustín de Uriarte, by a resolution of the Extraordinary Council passed on November 17th, 1767,[3] was relieved of his post as Inquisitor in Saragossa for having written to the two procurators of Quito interned in Gerona and to his sister, a Dominican nun in Vitoria, disapproving of the action taken by the leading Spanish statesmen against the Jesuits.[4] In spite of the strict prohibition contained in the royal pragmatic, one satire after another in favour of the exiles appeared in print. Both the Inquisition [5] and the Government [6] found themselves forced to proceed against them. As late as 1772 Roda was urging President Aranda to take definite steps against these writings, which by their criticism of the expulsion of the Jesuits and their demand for their recall amounted to a reviling of the most just decisions of the Government.[7] A Carmelite who had had the temerity to send Aranda a lampoon against the king was locked up in the convent prison.[8] The Piarist General sent a long letter of apology to Roda because some appreciations of the Jesuits had found their way into the biography of the founder of the Order. It had

[1] *Roda to Aranda, July 12 and August 6, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] *Campomanes to Roda, November 30, 1767, *ibid.*, 688.

[3] **Consejo extraordinario*, November 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 582.

[4] *November 3, 1767, *ibid. Cf.* **Consejo extraordinario*, May 29, 1771, *ibid.*

[5] Decree of the Inquisition in Madrid, April, 1768 (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Real Cedula* of October 3, 1769 (printed), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[7] *Roda to Aranda, September 25, 1772, *ibid.*

[8] *The General of the Discalced Carmelites to Fr. Juan Evangelista de Jesús Maria, July 29, 1769, *ibid.*, 777.

happened, he pleaded, before the expulsion and had been done solely with a view to the forthcoming canonization of the founder. In the Spanish translation, he continued, the offending phrases had been omitted. He ended with the assurance that the spirit of his Order was utterly opposed to that of the Jesuits and to their doctrines and principles. All his brethren were devoted admirers of the Spanish monarch.[1]

No opportunity was neglected by the Madrid Government in its determination to rid the country of every trace of "Jesuitism". In the decree setting out the new system of education the Jesuit monopoly was held responsible for the neglect of Latin and the low standard of public instruction.[2] All universities and theological schools were forbidden to defend the doctrine of regicide and tyrannicide [3]; similarly all the professorial chairs of the so-called Jesuit school were abolished, and the use of Jesuit textbooks, especially the moral philosophy of Busenbaum, was forbidden.[4] A letter from the Provincial of the Calced Augustinians [5] bristling with grisly charges against the Jesuit missionaries, was forwarded with a covering note from the king to the Spanish ambassador

[1] *January 21, 1768, *ibid.*, 666.

[2] " . . . particularmente en lo tocante a las primeras letras, latinidad y retórica, que tubieron en sí como estancada los citados Regulares de la Compañia, de que nació la decadencia de las letras humanas . . . " (*Real Provision* of October 5, 1767, in the *Coleccion general*, I., 137).

[3] *Real Cedula* of May 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 144 *seqq.* On taking their degree candidates for doctorates had to make the following sworn promise: "Etiam iuro me nunquam promoturum, defensurum docturum directe neque indirecte quaestiones contra auctoritatem civilem, regiaque Regalia" (*Real Cedula* of January 22, 1771, cited in MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, III., 164).

[4] **Real Cedula* of August 12, 1768, Arch. general central in Madrid, Estado, 4900.

[5] *Fr. Juan Rodriguez to Charles III., dated Chao-King-Fu, 1766, Nov. 29, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48.

to the Holy See,[1] obviously in order that it might be used in the war against the Society. The press campaign against the banished clerics was both openly and secretly encouraged by the Ministers. Many of the Society's enemies would have had the Government publish the reasons for the banishment, supported by documents from the Society's archives,[2] but this, it was stated, was contrary to the king's desire and was to be done only as a last resource.[3] A certain Contini who had undertaken the defence in Italy of the measures adopted by the Extraordinary Council was led to believe that he would be recompensed for his trouble.[4] Similarly encouragement was given to the dissemination of the *Historia chronologica*, which had been published on Pombal's instructions.[5] The prelate Marefoschi, who had provided anti-Jesuit writers with material from the archives of the Propaganda, was given to understand that Charles III. would use his influence to obtain for him a Cardinal's hat.[6] The action taken by the Venetian Republic to put a stop to the spate of abusive writings met with Roda's disapproval, but he was at pains to protect from the disciplinary measures of the Cardinal Secretary of State a certain Farina who had reviled the Jesuits in the coarsest fashion.[7] The Madrid Gazette was allowed to announce unhindered the printing of the Bishop of Gerona's pastoral letter and the Spanish translation of an anti-Jesuit book in Portuguese.[8] A year later the Extraordinary Council gave permission for the sale of the book by the ex-Jesuit Ibañez

[1] *Charles III. to Azpuru, February 6, 1768, *ibid.*; *Thomas de Mello to Azpuru, February 6, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, July 9, 1769, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, Vol. I.

[3] *Roda to Azara, April 7 and September 22, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[4] *Roda to Azara, September 1, 1767, *ibid.*

[5] *Roda to Azara, September 22, 1767, *ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Roda to Azara, September 29, 1767, *ibid.*

[8] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 7, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, *loc. cit.*

on the Jesuit State in Paraguay [1] and other such works, on the ground that they were suitable for opening the eyes of the people to the despotism of the Society of Jesus in the missionary field.[2]

After the expulsion of the Jesuits the general tendency to repress the influence of the Church became still stronger in Spain. Only a few months had passed when Campomanes made his first attempts to restrict the jurisdiction of the nunciature,[3] and he succeeded in prejudicing the whole Council of Castile against it.[4] Already on February 20th, 1766, in his capacity of Fiscal, he had submitted a request both to the king and to Roda, the Minister of Justice, for the re-enforcement, to preserve the royal prerogative, of the pragmatic of January 18th, 1762, which had been suspended.[5] This would preclude Papal Bulls and other decrees being disseminated in the country without the royal endorsement. At the time of writing, he alleged, the Jesuits were putting into circulation the last Bull, of 1765, confirming their Institute, also Spanish translations of French apologetic works defending the Society, and Papal Briefs to the Bishops. If such controversial matters as these were disregarded, popular unrest might result, disunity and disorder would develop, and authority would be shaken. In his letter to Roda, Campomanes suggested also some alterations in the censorship regulations, for he had heard that the Inquisition was about to condemn certain books,

[1] *El Reyno Jesuitico del Paraguay por siglo y medio negado y oculto, hoy demostrado y descubierto su autor D. Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarri*, Madrid, 1770. The work forms the fourth volume of the *Coleccion general*. *Cf.* above, p. 4.

[2] **Consejo extraordinario*, July 18, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 669.

[3] *Lucini to Torrigiani, August 18 and September 1, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.* Even the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo was an opponent of the jurisdictional powers of the nunciature (*ibid.*). *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, May 21, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

[4] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, May 31, 1768, Cifre, *ibid.*, 305.

[5] See above, p. 25.

which would certainly not be to the advantage of public instruction and would injure the royal prerogative. The malpractice of printing Bulls and Papal decrees without the royal assent had recently been prohibited, he observed, in France, Portugal, Parma, and Naples.[1] Two years passed before Charles III. decided to yield to his Ministers' importunity. Finally, by the pragmatic sanction of June 16th, 1768, he decreed that all Bulls, Briefs, and edicts of the Roman Curia, in so far as they were not concerned with matters of conscience, were to be submitted to the Council of Castile before publication.[2] The grief inflicted on the Pope by this fresh encroachment on ecclesiastical freedom was rendered still more bitter by the fact that whereas formerly the Bishops had remonstrated with the monarch and had demanded the withdrawal of the measure, the present pragmatic had been drawn up with the approval and on the advice of five prelates.[3]

In 1766 a Spanish translation of the *Febronius* had appeared, and in the following year the Council of Castile, adopting a proposal by Campomanes, decided to have the original reprinted.[4] Lucini, on taking over the nunciature, hoped to have the work condemned,[5] but in June, 1768, Vincenti was sure that both Pereira and the *Febronius* would be circulated with impunity.[6] On all sides the demand was being made, sometimes with threats, that bounds be set to the power and influence of Rome.[7] The example set by the Imperial Lieutenant, Count Firmian, who had prohibited the Lombard

[1] *Campomanes to Charles III. and Roda, February 20, 1766, Arch. general central in Madrid, Estado, 2872.

[2] *Pragmatica Sancion* of June 16, 1768 (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, July 7, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222.

[4] Reusch, *Index*, II., 941 *seq.*

[5] *Lucini to Torrigiani, August 11, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*; *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 23, 1767, *ibid.*

[6] *Vincenti to Garampi, June 28, 1768, *ibid.*, 305.

[7] *Visconti to Torrigiani, September 24, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, Papal Secret Archives.

Bishops from proceeding with the publication of the Bull *In Coena Domini*,[1] was soon followed in Spain.[2] On the occasion of the dispute between Parma and Rome, Campomanes published a work entitled *Juicio imparcial* (Impartial Judgment) and had it sent to the Bishops and cathedral chapters.[3] It had received the approbation of the five prelates whom the Government had appointed to the Extraordinary Council to participate in the deliberation on the distribution of Jesuit property.[4] It was clear that the object of the work was to transplant into Spain the Gallican idea of canon law. However, the principles it put forward, many of which had been taken from the *Febronius* and torn from their historical context, caused such a stir and so much indignation that the king ordered the work to be withdrawn for revision.[5]

Soon after the expulsion of the Jesuits the Extraordinary Council, influenced by Tanucci,[6] turned its attention to their

[1] *Visconti to Torrigiani, October 10, 1768, *ibid.*, 388.

[2] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 20, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Juicio imparcial sobre las letras en forma de Breve que ha publicado la Curia Romana, en que se intentan derogar ciertos edictos del Serenísimo Señor Infante Duque de Parma y disputarle la soberanía temporal con este pretexto* (1768). The work was composed by Campomanes and edited by Moñino (Reusch, *Index*, II., 937). *Cf.* below, pp. 302 *seqq.*

[4] *Vincenti to Pallavicini, August 15 and 29, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[5] *D. I. Fermin de la Garde to the Bishop of Gerona, September 17, 1768, *ibid.*, 777 ; *the Bishop of Gerona to D. I. de la Garde, September 25 and 28, 1768, *ibid.* *Cf.* Ferrer del Rio, II., 235 *seqq.* ; Rousseau, I., 255 *seq.* ; Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 155 *seqq.* According to Menéndez y Pelayo (III., 156), among other statements appearing in the work is the following : "En los primeros siglos de la Iglesia . . . nada se hizo sin la inspección y consentimiento real aun en materias infalibles, dictadas por el Espíritu Santo."

[6] *Tanucci to Losada, March 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000 ; *Tanucci to Charles III., July 14 and 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

confraternities and their sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary,[1] which, according to the Fiscal Campomanes, had been nothing but secret societies and instruments for political intrigue under the cloak of religion.[2] Accepting his opinion, the Council asked for the dissolution of all confraternities attached to former Jesuit churches in Spain and its colonies. The proposal did not at the time meet with the king's approval; several more promptings were necessary [3] before he finally ordered, on September 7th, 1770, the abolition of all sodalities attached to the former Jesuit churches in Madrid.[4]

The extent to which the ecclesiastical spirit had atrophied is to be seen in a circular letter addressed by the Infante Don Gabriel to the Order of St. John of the Spanish tongue, in which he invoked the Jansenistic Council of Utrecht as an authority against the Jesuit doctrine of tyrannicide.[5] One Bishop went so far as to defend this schismatic Church.[6] In view of such incidents as this it is not surprising that the

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, September 26, 1767, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[2] *Ibid.*; **Consejo extraordinario*, February 8, 1768, *ibid.* 690.

[3] "Para la aplicacion de los bienes que pertenezcan a las ilegitimas Congregaciones clandestinas erigidas en las casas y colegios de los Regulares expulsos, cuia extincion es precisa, como en la mayor parte forman un cuerpo confederado de Terciarios, se tendrán presentes los Seminarios conciliares, Casas de hospitalidad, y otros fines piadosos, segun hubiere lugar, y pidan las circunstancias" (*Real Cedula* of August 14, 1768, in the *Coleccion general*, II., 90). "Sobre que cesen las Congregaciones erigidas en los colegios de los Regulares, miéntras no reciban nueva, y competente, auctoridad" (*ibid.*, 107).

[4] **Consejo extraordinario*, June 18, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 669. Here also is the note: "Como parece F^ho^ en 7 de 7bre de 1770."

[5] *Lucini to Torrigiani, January 12, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*

Uditore Vincenti should have said that the influence of Rome was decreasing at a frantic pace.[1]

By the strong pressure it exerted on the clergy and by the prohibition of any free expression of opinion on the supposed rights of the State, the Government gradually succeeded in reducing to silence the champions of ecclesiastical rights and freedom. About a week before the Jesuit expulsion the Vicar General Varrones of Madrid had lodged a written protest against the violation of ecclesiastical immunity, freedom, and dignity, and was particularly indignant about the wholesale and serious suspicion cast on the clergy in the royal decree of September 18th, 1766.[2] As a result he was closely watched from that time onward. During the taking of the inventory in the sacristy of the Colegio Imperial he removed the first volume of a French apology for the Society of Jesus and had it translated by a Brother of the Christian Schools. This action served the Ministers as a pretext for proceeding against him and other clerics in the Extraordinary Council, on the charge of having infringed the pragmatic sanction of April 2nd, 1767.[3] Varrones was also accused of being involved in the Madrid insurrection, a witness stating that he had heard that he had treated some rioters to wine in a tavern. Further, on the night of the expulsion, he had refused to assist in the

[1] " *Le nostre cose qui van a rotta di collo " (Vincenti to Garampi, June 28, 1768, *ibid.*). Lucini was sure that the Court was thinking of extending the episcopal jurisdiction to the detriment of the Papal; he had been openly told that it was intended to tear off the bridle with which Rome had been holding Spain and the other countries in check. " Los Frailes son aun nuestros enemigos, y nuestra ruina. Lo cierto es que estamos mal, y que iremos siempre peor, si no se toma una providencia general " (*to Garampi, December 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072).

[2] *Varrones to Olloqui, March 25, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777; *Roda to Azara, May 5 and 12, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] *Aranda to Roda, May 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

taking of the inventory, the excuse being that he had to get the Archbishop's permission, whereas his real intention was to inform the nuncio. Further, the favourable report on the Jesuits rendered to Rome at that time by the Cardinal Archbishop was to be attributed to the promptings of the Vicar General. Just as clerics were under more obligation than others to be gentle and peaceable, and were highly respected on account of their status, in the same way all their words, actions, and writings were all the more dangerous inasmuch as they made a deeper impression on the people and, under the appearance of religion, easily aroused their feelings. As a punishment Varrones was forbidden on May 24th, 1767, to live within forty miles of Madrid or to enter any royal place of residence.[1]

Some months later a similar fate befell the Cardinal Archbishop himself, a copy of whose report, mentioned above, had been sent by the ambassador Azpuru to the Ministers in Madrid.[2] Giving no reasons, Aranda sent him the laconic information that the Extraordinary Council found that the king's interest would be better served by his leaving Madrid as soon as possible and by his not showing himself in the capital or in any royal place of residence without the permission of the king and the council.[3] In compliance with the order the prelate left immediately for Toledo.[4]

A far more grievous punishment was suffered by the Bishop

[1] **Consejo extraordinario*, May 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 688; *Roda to Azara, June 16, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 230; *Vincenti to Torrigiani, June 16 and July 7, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, June 18, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Espulsion de los Jesuitas", 1767; *Azpuru to Roda, May 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667; *Roda to Azpuru, June 16, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47.

[3] *Aranda to the Cardinal Archbishop, October 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 667.

[4] *The Cardinal Archbishop to Aranda, October 24, 1767, *ibid.*

of Cuenca, Isidro de Carvajal y Lancaster, who had had the audacity to express his opinion about the ever greater oppression of the Church and its servants in an outspoken letter to the Court Confessor, Osma.[1] Osma, he wrote, would do well in his relations with his master to imitate the courageous conduct of Cardinal Baronius, who had told Pope Clement VIII. that if he would not free the French king from the ban that had been placed upon him he should find someone else to absolve him from his sins, for he could not do so. The pity of it was, wrote Carvajal, the truth never reached the king's ears. Charles III., on hearing of the letter, invited the prelate to declare the grounds of his complaints openly and fearlessly, for nothing grieved him more, he said, than to be reputed a persecutor of the Church.[2] Encouraged by the king's engaging tone, the Bishop in his reply cited all the violations and restrictions of ecclesiastical rights and liberties that had taken place since Charles had come to the throne. For this reason, he alleged, God had allowed Spain to be visited by such punishments as the conquest of Havana by the heretics, the loss of part of the colonies and of the large fleet, the exhaustion of the army without a battle being fought, the rising of the people, and the spreading of erroneous doctrines. Spain had become the plaything of its enemies. The monarch was offended by the bitter tone of the letter, his counsellors by its matter. Campomanes, who felt himself to be particularly affected, made no less a proposal than that the Bishop should be banished from the kingdom as a traitor.[3] Others, however, in their political prudence, were unwilling to make him a " martyr of fanaticism " but nevertheless were eager to call him to account. Carvajal was accordingly involved in a tedious suit conducted by the Council of Castile, in which a jurist of Moñino's skill had little

[1] Of April 15, 1766, in Rousseau, I., 197.

[2] May 9, 1766 (printed), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Espulsion de los Jesuitas ", 1767.

[3] *Lucini to Torrigiani, September 1, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*

difficulty in convicting the prelate of certain inaccuracies and, by reason of his criticism of the financial administration of the ex-Minister Squillace, in representing him to be a malcontent and fomenter of insurrection. On June 14th, 1768, in compliance with the Council's resolution,[1] Carvajal was compelled to make a most humiliating apology in the President Aranda's house.[2]

The regalistic principles of the Spanish Government were paramount also in the deliberations on the disposal of the confiscated property of the Jesuits.[3] In the taking of the inventory the participation of the nuncio had been avoided and now there was the definite intention to exclude the co-operation of Rome and its representatives. The Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, it is true, declined to take part in the business but complete uncertainty prevailed about the attitude of his fellow Bishops.[4] As soon as the question arose, the Holy See declared that the Bishops had no authority whatever to give their opinion as to the mode of disposing of the Jesuit property. The right to decide about the property of exempt Religious was reserved to the Pope alone.[5] No regard, however, was paid to this intervention, though the

[1] Judgment of October 6, 1767 (printed), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Espulsion de los Jesuitas ", 1767.

[2] *Cf.* Ferrer del Rio, II., 201 *seqq.*; Miguélez, 331 *seqq.*; Danvila y Collado, II., 365 *seqq.*; Rousseau, I., 197 *seqq.*; Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 152 *seqq.*

[3] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, May 26, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 303, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, May 26 and July 7, 1767, *ibid.*, 303 and 304.

[5] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, June 11, 1767, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433. At the expulsion the procurators of the Jesuit provinces and the various colleges had been kept back in Spain so that they might give information about the financial situation. The questions to be put to them, such as about capital abroad, were published in No. 26 of the *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Parma* of July 30, 1767.

project of allowing only laymen to control the disposal of Church property was dropped, for fear of popular indignation. Towards the end of 1767 the Archbishops of Burgos and Saragossa and the Bishops of Tarazona, Albarracín, and Orihuela were called to Madrid to deliberate in common with the Extraordinary Council on the future destiny of the Society's property.[1] In the nuncio's opinion these prelates and their theological advisers were completely imbued with Febronian principles.[2] At the audience given at their reception the king declared to the Bishops that he was asking nothing for himself and that their duty lay solely in giving their opinion as to how the Jesuit property was to be used in the service of God and to the profit of the Catholic religion.[3] Torrigiani instructed the nuncio to let the Bishops know that they had no authority to dispose of the property of exempt Religious, least of all when it was situated outside their dioceses.[4] Lucini, having no hope that this step would be successful, fulfilled the instruction with reluctance. His representations had no effect on the Ministers.[5] For a time indeed it looked as if the Bishops were alive to the Church's interests, it being reported that they had proposed communication with Rome,[6] but apparently the rumour was only put about with the object of pacifying Rome until the deed had been done.

Before the Extraordinary Council, thus enlarged, actually

[1] *Roda to Aranda, November 9, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009.

[2] *Lucini to Torrigiani, December 15, 1767, and January 5, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304 and 305, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Lucini to Garampi, December 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

[4] *Torrigiani to Lucini, January 7, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Lucini to Torrigiani, January 26 and February 2, 1768, Cifre, *ibid.*, 305.

[6] *Lucini to Torrigiani, February 9 and 16, 1768, Cifre, *ibid.*; *Torrigiani to Lucini, February 18, 1768, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

entered on its deliberations, the two fiscals, Campomanes and Moñino, expounded in a solemn declaration at the session held on January 13th, 1768, the royal rights and powers over the property of the banished Order. Appealing to history, they established that all the houses, colleges, possessions, and rights of the Jesuits were at the free disposal of the king and were directly subject to his patronage and his protection. After hearing the Bishops the monarch could decide as to what use they might be put. To appeal to another authority would be an innovation and would mean the overthrow of the royal prerogatives. Property belonging to a foundation was to be used in accordance with the founder's will, or, if necessary, diverted to another good purpose, this right belonging to the king as the supreme ruler of the country. If any property was encumbered with obligations of a pious nature, they were to be fulfilled as before or converted after consultation with the diocesan. The Society's property which had been acquired unconditionally could be used by the monarch for any pious object he pleased, including the missions and anything that furthered the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects. This opinion, in which the Extraordinary Council and the five prelates concurred at the session of January 20th, 1768, received the king's approval. At further conferences the Fiscals represented the expediency and necessity of setting aside part of the Jesuit property for the instruction of the young, and for the establishment of Tridentine and missionary seminaries, boys' boarding schools, girls' schools, hospitals, and poorhouses.[1] The administrators of the properties were

[1] All these documents were collected together in the *Real Cedula* of August 14, 1768, and are to be found in the *Coleccion general*, II., 52–111. The English, Scottish, and Irish colleges in Seville, Valladolid, and Madrid were allowed to continue under different administration (*Grimaldi to Masserano, June 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6964; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 8, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47). The Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, who had hitherto defended the ecclesiastical standpoint, now declared himself in favour of partitioning the Jesuit estates, to the

instructed in a circular letter to use the stores of goods and household articles in the colleges for charitable institutions and, above all, for the furtherance of agriculture.[1]

The acquisition of the Jesuit estates took place very opportunely for the Ministers with their schemes for encouraging immigration. They were used on a large scale in establishing the German colony in the Sierra Morena.[2] Either by coincidence or design, on the same April 2nd, 1767, on which the expulsion of several thousand Spanish Jesuits was put into effect, the royal decision was made to introduce 6,000 foreign settlers, mostly German or Flemish, which decision was notarially confirmed by royal decree (*Real Cedula*) on April 4th.[3] From the houses of the Society the settlers were supplied with hemp, wool, beds, clothing, household and culinary utensils, and every implement that could be used for agriculture. Their pastors were provided with vestments and other church requisites from the same

Ministers' surprise, and acknowledged the right of the Extraordinary Council, in conjunction with the Bishops, to decide on the disposal of these estates (*Vicenti to Torrigiani, July 5, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 266, *loc. cit.* ; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, July 21, 1768, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433).

[1] *Circular letter to the commissioners entrusted with the administration of the estates (July 29, 1767 ; *ibid.*, 304). At the suggestion of Raphael Mengs, Campomanes instructed the commissioners on May 2, 1769, not to sell the original paintings by Spanish and foreign Masters which were in the Jesuit colleges but to segregate them. They were also to cease from selling the libraries, which were to be transferred to the universities and other centres of study. The private correspondence of the Jesuits was to be deposited in the Archives of S. Isidro (*Orden a los Comisionados*, in the *Coleccion general*, II., 140 *seqq.*). For the ordinances dealing with the property of the various colleges, see the *Coleccion general*, III.

[2] Ferrer del Rio, III., 1–57 ; Rousseau, II., 44 *seqq.* ; Weiss, *Die deutsche Kolonie an der Sierra Morena und ihr Gründer Johann Kaspar v. Thürriegel*, Cologne, 1907.

[3] Weiss, 33.

source.[1] The future parish priests in the colony were to be allotted unoccupied chaplaincies which had been incorporated in the colleges.[2] On February 8th, 1768, the Government approved of the undertaking being supplied with goods to the value of 1½ million reals from the proceeds of the auction of the Jesuit estates.[3]

Nor did the king's faithful servants go unrewarded at the sharing of the booty. At Aranda's suggestion each of the two Fiscals Campomanes and Moñino received a pension of 2,000 ducats, Carrasco, the Fiscal to the board of revenue, one of 20,000 reals, and Campomanes' two daughters and the niece of the Archbishop of Burgos were each assigned an annuity of 500 ducats.[4] Tanucci's wife was appointed lady-in-waiting to the queen (*Dama de la Reina*), as a reward for the services rendered by her husband, as Charles III. expressly emphasized.[5] Grants of various amounts were made to subordinate officials in proportion to their co-operation.[6] After the Duke of Arcos had been lent 3 million reals from the Jesuit estate, the Extraordinary Council found it difficult, in view of his services, to refuse Alba's application for a loan of

[1] *Ibid.*, 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, 74; *Supplemento alla Gazzetta di Parma*, No. 34 (August 25, 1767), §XX.

[3] Weiss, 87.

[4] *Vincenti to Torrigiani, July 5, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 266, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Charles III. to Tanucci, October 6, 1767.

[6] Itúrbide, after enumerating the services he had rendered in connection with the interception of the Jesuit correspondence, went on to say: " *No bien se hizo la expulsion, quando desde luego se repartieron de los fondos de las mismas temporalidades premios, gratificaciones, sueldos y sobresueldos a todos los que avian trabajado en este negocio, como era justo, y aun a otros muchos que nada hicieron y estaban esperando a que mataran el gallo para desplumarlo. Nada me tocó de esta cucaña que me sirviera de satisfaccion sino enfermedad " (Joaquin de Itúrbide to Grimaldi, July 8, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 670).

$1\frac{1}{2}$ million at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest.[1] Similar demands were made by other grandees and by various municipalities.[2]

As in the case of so many other enactments, those dealing with the Jesuit property were either of no more value than so much paper or were carried out only partially and after much delay. To allay the popular discontent which was being voiced at the continued closing of the Jesuit churches, Charles III. ordained in 1769 that they were to be reopened and used for divine service as soon as possible, so that the existent bequests for Masses might be discharged.[3] A year later Roda again had cause to complain of the neglect and non-observance of numerous ordinances. The majority of the former Jesuit schools and churches had not been opened, he wrote; the Mass bequests, missions to the people, and other obligations which had been undertaken by the exiles, were not being fulfilled; and this negligence was giving rise to bad feeling among the people, was a cause of scandal to the faithful, and provided Jesuit supporters with material for calumny. Not only were the estates badly administered and maintained but they were being wasted, embezzled, or used for purposes entirely contrary to the piety and the just intentions of the king.[4]

[1] *Roda to Aranda, September 25, 1772, *ibid.*, 671; **Consejo extraordinario*, October 12, 1772, *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 672.

[3] *Roda to Aranda, January 9, 1769, *ibid.*, 669.

[4] Undated *note from Roda [1770/71], *ibid.*, 688.

CHAPTER II.

The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples, Parma, and Malta. The Monitorium to Parma. Preparations for the Papal Suppression of the Society of Jesus. Death of Clement XIII.

(1)

That Naples and Parma, the two States which passed by succession to the younger sons of the king of Spain, would follow the example set by the Court of Madrid, was a foregone conclusion. Politically both States were completely dependent on Spain [1] and in addition their leading Ministers had a deep dislike of the Society of Jesus.

When in 1759 Charles III. had entered on his Spanish inheritance and had waived his right to the crown of Naples in favour of his nine-year-old son Ferdinand, Tanucci, as the head of the regency council, was the supreme ruler. The ecclesiastical authority had already been assailed from time to time, but he now opened a systematic campaign on behalf of the sovereign rights of the prince, which in his view had been whittled away by the Church.

With his forcible measures against the Church and its institutions, with his arbitrary and unjust limitation of its property and the number of its priests, and with his really absurd extension of the royal *placet* to ecclesiastical edicts, whether old or new, he did all in his power to shake to the foundations the Church's liberty and independence.[2] Through the instrumentality of his compliant chaplain-in-chief he was

[1] Colletta, I., 90; *Aróstegui to Grimaldi, April 21 and 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5881; *Tanucci to Charles III., July 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100; *Roda to Tanucci, August 4, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 9.

constantly expanding the royal rights of patronage, countering all opposition on the part of the Bishops by withholding their stipends.[1]

Not only were the letters of the Cardinal Secretary of State Torrigiani to the Spanish nuncio [2] full of complaints about Tanucci's ruthless and insidious policy towards the Church ; the Prince of San Nicandro, the young king's steward and tutor, was continually complaining to Charles III. about the high-handed conduct of the First Minister, whose innovations were creating confusion and mischief.[3] The assaults on ecclesiastical jurisdiction were finally so numerous that Clement XIII. found himself compelled to invoke the intervention of the young king's father, to whom he sent a summary, under twenty-nine heads, of the complaints against Tanucci and his cat's-paw Fraggiani.[4] Charles III., in view of his renunciation of his royal rights in respect of Naples, refused to intervene in its governmental affairs,[5] but the Papal letter did at least have this effect : the Minister received instructions that during Ferdinand IV.'s minority he was to refrain from aggressive measures and to observe the agreements contained in the Concordat.[6] But Torrigiani was wrong

[1] *Tanucci to Caraccioli, May 1, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5977.

[2] *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, June 11, 1761, April 8, August 12 and 26, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, Papal Secret Archives ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 8, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*, 286.

[3] *August 10, September 21, and November 2, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6086 ; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, August 19, 1762, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[4] *August 26, 1762, Nunziat. di Spagna, *ibid.* Here also the contemporary **Compendio de' più recenti aggravi.*

[5] *To Clement XIII., November 16, 1762, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, September 16 and 30, December 9 and 23, 1762, Reg. di cifre, *ibid.* ; *Osma to Clement XIII., July 24, 1762, Cifre, *ibid.*, 289 ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 21, 1762, *ibid.*

[6] *Tanucci to Wall, October 12, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5978.

in thinking that Tanucci's influence would now begin to wane.[1] Anxious though he was to avoid any sort of public scandal, in his heart the Spanish king was on the side of the Minister.[2]

The very life-nerve of the religious Orders was attacked when Tanucci, acting through Fraggiani, forbade Superiors to carry out instructions received from their Generals in Rome without first obtaining the *exequatur* of the State.[3] Whenever the occasion offered he would inflict some injury on the Orders by an arbitrary interpretation of the law. Thus, overriding the objections of the jurists,[4] he declared the Jesuit College of Sora to be a professed house, since it accommodated neither novices nor scholastics, and was therefore unqualified to inherit any property.[5] Nor did he shrink from attacks on the teaching authority of the Church, as was exemplified by his attitude towards the condemnation of Mésenguy's Jansenistic Catechism.[6]

The decision taken after some hesitation, by Sersale, Archbishop of Naples, not to allow himself to be used by Tanucci as a mere tool, deprived the Minister of a weapon for indirect aggression, and at about this time the death took place of Cardinal Passionei, shortly preceded by that of

[1] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, November 18, 1762, Reg. di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Veo quanto me dizes tocante a Roma, pero te aseguro que yo tambien temo que no aprenda de mi respuesta, pues saves que la conozco " (Charles III. to Tanucci, January 23, 1763, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6048) ; *". . . es menester hir con mucho tiento, y manejando insensiblemente y sin ruido " (Charles III. to Tanucci, April 5, 1763, *ibid.*).

[3] *Pallavicini to Grimaldi, March 18, 1764, *ibid.*, 6096 ; **Memoria di Pallavicini* (undated), *ibid.* ; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, April 3, 1764, *ibid.*

[4] *Tanucci to Charles III., March 22, 1763, *ibid.*, 6094 ; *Charles III. to Tanucci, April 5, 1763, *ibid.*, 6048 ; *Tanucci to De Marco, October 14 and 15, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002.

[5] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, November 11, 1762, and January 6, 1763, Reg. di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431 and 432, *loc. cit.*

[6] See above, p. 18.

Cardinal Tamburini. Nevertheless the *exequatur* was obstinately refused for the prohibition of the Catechism, for the Papal Encyclical, and for the translation of the Roman Catechism.[1] A way out of the difficulty was suggested by Charles III. himself. To uphold the State's *exequatur* in all its stringency and at the same time to avoid any serious dispute, a royal ordinance should be issued, stating that the monarch had learnt that several copies of the Encyclical and of Mésenguy's Catechism had been circulated without the consent of the civil authorities, and ordering the confiscation of both.[2]

As if in revenge for the condemnation of the Catechism the Minister had the fifteenth volume of "The Defence of the Truth" (*La verità difesa*) prohibited, and he banished from the country its author, the Jesuit Sanchez de Luna, son of the Duke of Sant' Elpidio, on the charge of having had the book printed in Venice without permission.[3] The decree of banishment was published in the newspapers.[4] No attention was paid to De Luna's written defence,[5] and the appeals for clemency submitted by himself [6] and his sister [7] to the Spanish Minister Wall were equally ineffectual. It was not until petitions had been sent to Charles III. and to Wall by De Luna's eighty-year-old father [8] that Tanucci was advised by Madrid to lift the ban.

When the work *Opera di Ercolano*,[9] which was published under royal patronage, was ridiculed in the perodical *Frusta*

[1] *Tanucci to Bottari, August 26, 1761, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod., 1602.

[2] *To Tanucci, December 29, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6045.

[3] *Tanucci to Wall, June 23, 1761, *ibid.*, 6092.

[4] *Piccolo Diario*, No. 31, of July 28, 1761, *ibid.*, 5868; *Tanucci to Wall, August 4, 1761, *ibid.*, 6092.

[5] *San Pietro to Tanucci, June 19, 1761, *ibid.*

[6] *Sanchez to Wall, December 19, 1761, *ibid.*, 5868.

[7] *October 11, 1761, *ibid.*

[8] *March 2, 1762, *ibid.*, 5869.

[9] *Cf.* SCHIPA, II., 231 *seqq.*

Letteraria,[1] supposedly by the Jesuit Zaccaria, the only way the General of the Society could pacify the deeply-offended Tanucci, of whom the worst was to be expected, was to punish Zaccaria in an exemplary manner by depriving him of both active and passive electoral rights, prescribing for him a week's Exercises, and forbidding him to have anything more to do with the publication.[2] Not only was the Bull by which Clement XIII. had renewed approval of the Institute of the Society of Jesus [3] refused the *exequatur* in Naples [4] through Tanucci's influence, but he also forced the Marchese Fogliani, Viceroy of Sicily, to withdraw the *exequatur* which had already been given there.[5] Lest the Society might have any influence on the young King Ferdinand he saw to it that his Jesuit confessor was replaced by Bishop Latilla of Avellino,[6] whose conduct was afterwards the subject of serious charges brought by Tanucci himself.[7] His jealousy was such that more than once he complained to Charles III.[8] that the young king's tutor, Father Cardel, engaged him in conversation between lessons, as did also Goyzueta, who with his wife was completely in the power of the Jesuits.

Hardly had the news of the expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits reached Naples when Tanucci, beside himself with delight, reported to Azara that Grimaldi had written in his own hand to tell him of the tragi-comedy of the Loyolites. He preferred the Spanish method to the Portuguese, for the pension of 100

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 297, n. 5.

[2] *Ricci to Zaccaria, November 26, December 10 and 24, 1763, in Jesuit possession, Registro di lettere (Ricci).

[3] *Apostolicum pascendi*, of January 7, 1765 (see our account, Vol. XXXVI., 497).

[4] *Tanucci to Galiani, February 23, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5992 ; *Tanucci to Orsini, April 20, 1765, *ibid.*

[5] *Tanucci to Catanti, October 22, 1765, *ibid.*, 5995.

[6] *Tanucci to Portocarrero, November 17, 1759, *ibid.*, 5959.

[7] *Tanucci to Losada, March 29, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004. *Cf.* *San Nicandro to Charles III., October 28 and December 9, 1766, *ibid.*, 6087.

[8] *On June 4, 1765, and April 22, 1766, *ibid.*, 6096 and 6099.

pesos would hold these priests of Antichrist on the leash. For the benefit of his king and country he now looked forward to the cure of and the recovery from all the evils which had been introduced under the cloak of religion by the devilish spirit of pride, revolt, intrigue, and trickery.[1] As to the legality of the measure there could, in his opinion, be no question, for every private person had the right to order a priest out of his house if his presence was inconvenient, even if he had committed no fault.[2] His own share in striking the great blow Tanucci had never denied; to his intimates, indeed, he boasted of it. "The Catholic King," he wrote to Bottari, "has at last opened the eyes of many sceptical and credulous persons. Don Emmanuel (Roda) has had great good fortune; when he found himself without any queens he had no more resistance to overcome. His zeal and his dialectics have worked successfully, encountering open ears and open minds. The business had already been contrived here; I have not neglected to further the good work which had been begun. Don Emmanuel has congratulated me thereon." [3]

The joy caused by the successful outcome of the counsel he had given, he assured Losada,[4] had put new life into his dying system. He was eagerly desirous of freeing the kingdom of Naples too from "the poison and canker of the Jesuits." By indirect and circuitous methods he had long since prepared the ground, as he informed Losada on December 1st, 1767:

[1] *To Azara, April 18, 1767, *ibid.*, 6000; DUHR in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LV., 300 *seq.*

[2] *To Grimaldi, November 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[3] "*Il re cattolico ha finalmente disingannato molti increduli e leggieri. Gran fortuna ha avuto don Emanuel (Roda), quando si è trovato senza Regine, non ha avuto più resistenza; il di lui zelo, la di lui dialettica ha operato felicemente, e incontrato *patulas aures et mentem.* La cosa era incominciata qui; io non ho lasciato la coltivazione ben cominciata; don Emanuel me ne ha fatti scambievoli complimenti" (May 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000).

[4] *On July 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001; DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 302.

"For a long time past I have seen to it that the people were made aware of the Jesuits' wickedness, robberies, insolence, envy, and unruliness, announcing from time to time in our journal here misdemeanours which have been committed somewhere or other through the fault of the Jesuits. Your Excellency will have noticed this during the last few years. Also from time to time I have had a volume produced by the royal printing office, entitled *Inquietudini dei Gesuiti*, containing various tracts, reports, and findings as they appeared day by day in every country in Europe. No mention was made of the royal printing office, as during the regency period I had to be very discreet. . . . Everything was eagerly read, and so all classes were prepared for the expulsion and were in favour of it." The brochures and pamphlets were distributed to all guardrooms, offices, sacristies, shops, barbers, and coffee-houses.[1]

At the request of Charles III. the young king was fully informed by the Minister and the Court Confessor about the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. They explained to him their horrible maxims and how they had profaned the Christian religion. The Papacy, whose occupant was the primate of the Bishops, the successor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ—that Christ who wanted to be poor and disclaimed any kingdom on this earth, who obeyed the ruler of the country and paid taxes—this Papacy had been transformed by the Jesuits into a rich, proud, and gorgeous court. It claimed to be above all sovereigns and to have the power to depose them and to transfer kingdoms from one person to another and from one royal house to another. For this reason the Church allowed them to preach the doctrine of tyrannicide, by which the prince who would not allow the Pope and the Jesuits free scope committed injustices and gave scandal; he

[1] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003; DUHR, *loc. cit.* Almost the same purport is conveyed by Tanucci's *report to Grimaldi on December 1, 1767, *loc. cit.*, 6001. *Cf.* also Tanucci's *letters to Cattolica, Roda, Catanti, and Azara of December 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003.

might be killed by anybody, and his murderer had earned the right to enter Paradise. Tanucci ended by advising the monarch not to speak about this conversation to others, so as to perserve respect for the Pope as head of the Church and not to scandalise his entourage, for the former pupils of the Jesuits were incapable of distinguishing religion from jurisdiction.[1] The Marchese had also to enlighten his royal pupil as to the cause of the banishment. On May 5th, 1767, he wrote to Cattolica: "I will begin with the sad news which on behalf of our king and master you sent me in the strictest secrecy for our dear monarch—namely, the news about the fearful plot of the Jesuits which had as its object the sacrilegious attempt on the sacred person of the king and the whole royal family which was to have taken place on Maundy Thursday, for the purpose of utterly exterminating them. . . . I marvel at the king's gentleness and clemency, in being content merely to drive the brood of serpents out of their homes. I foretold it long ago but you all contradicted me, and the late queen especially would have none of it." [2] But however black he painted the picture, the Minister did not completely attain his object; the young king, still retaining a spark of affection for the Jesuits, remained undecided.[3]

Ardently eager though he was to follow Spain's example—already on April 28th he averred that they were ready in Naples to carry out the instructions of the king's father [4]—his situation was far from happy. For one thing there were no grounds for expelling the Jesuits, as he himself admitted in his letters to his confidants. Attempts on the lives of princes, riots, popular risings, which in Portugal, Spain, and France had had to serve as occasions for taking action against the

[1] *Tanucci to Charles III., April 21 and 28 and June 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[2] *Ibid.*, 6000; DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 302.

[3] *Tanucci to Charles III., June 9 and 23, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7100.

[4] "*Qui staremo agli ordini paterni." To Roda, April 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 6000.

Jesuits, were not to hand ; there was not a single instance of a misdemeanour against the State.[1] When he tried to sound the Prince of San Nicandro as to his attitude towards his plans, he had to hear him say that as in Naples there were neither reasons nor occasions such as there were in the states mentioned, he could not see how the expulsion could justifiably be undertaken.[2] Shortly after the banishment had been carried out he let fall the admission that most of the Jesuits were innocent and that their only fault was their blind obedience to their General, which was a source of crimes against the State and the Crown.[3] In his embarrassment Tanucci first lit on the plan of forbidding the Society in the kingdom of Naples to accept novices, hear confessions, hold missions, or manage schools or sodalities, and thus of condemning it to extinction. But this proposal failed to obtain the approval of the Government in Madrid, the king's view being that either the Jesuits must be left entirely in peace or they must be rooted out completely. Any other course

[1] " *Noi non abbiamo da far processi per vite sovrane attentate, per tumulti e sollevazioni, come si son fatti in Portogallo e Spagna e forse anche in Francia, contro gli Gesuiti. Non abbiamo fatti particolari che riguardino questo Stato " (Tanucci to Grimaldi, July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100). *To Charles III., July 7 and August 11, 1767, *ibid.* ; *to Roda, July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001.

[2] *Tanucci to Charles III., July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[3] " *Innocenti dico moltissimi nel caso della Compagnia sciolta ed estinta, li quali non lo sono, mentre il corpo sta unito, poichè in tale stato li gesuiti tutti hanno il peccato dell' obbedienza cieca al Generale, nella quale sta un fonte di scelleraggini contro li secolari, contro li stati, contro li sovrani. Quel Generale è un vero Belzebub . . . " (to Centomani, December 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003). After explaining to Losada how the Jesuit system culminated in a struggle with the idea of sovereignty, Tanucci continues : " Ma ho sempre circonscritto questa mia opinione sul politico ; era così semplice la mia maniera di pensare, che io credeva e diceva esser nella Compagnia tutta, nel suo corpo, nel suo totale uno spirito attivo perverso, che la faceva malvaggia, ma essere gli individui quasi tutti buoni, e mi valeva del detto

would merely provoke their vengeance.[1] Tanucci accordingly decided to adopt the method of the French Parlements and to base his actions on reasons of State; also, if needs be, he would use as a juristic trimming the fact that their Order's Constitutions lacked the *exequatur*, which was customary before their arrival in 1543.[2] "Here, as in Parma," he wrote to Charles III.,[3] "we must hang on to the Society's system of insurrection, to its perpetual insidious intrigues against the legitimate power of princes and the authority of officials, to their unashamed avarice, corruption of morals, and undermining of the Christian religion. The Parlements of France, the most learned and pious men of three centuries, have set forth all these sound reasons for hunting these noxious people out of the country. Besides, one need only glance at the procedures adopted by all alert Ministers to see what a pest they are to States." A week later (July 14th) Tanucci, using similar language, expounded his reasons for the expulsion of the Jesuits to the Minister Grimaldi[4]: "We have no individual misdemeanours against the State, but we have got their foul morality, their criminal maxims, their devilish

di quell' arcivescovo di Colonia che querelatosi del suo capitulo, a chi gli opponeva li particolari canonici che erano stimati buoni, replicava, sì canonici buoni, ma capitulo scellerato" (to Losada, July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001). DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 303.

[1] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, June 30, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, July 21, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *To Charles III., August 11, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *On July 7, 1767, *ibid.* A few days later the Minister wrote to Azara: "*Quanto più considero, tanto più mi pare che a noi bisogni una condotta mista. Di Spagna non potremo seguire altro, che un' inimicizia presuntiva dei Gesuiti contro tutta la casa del Re Cattolico regnante. Di Francia avrem qualche cosa di questo, ma assai poco, ed oscuro; ma avremo le dotte dissertazioni autenticate dalli consecutivi arresti dei Parlamenti sulle massime, sulla morale, sul sistema infernale della Compagnia, tutto incompatibile colla salute dei popoli, e dei sovrani, e colla religione cristiana" (July 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001).

[4] *On July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

system, their spirit of rapacity, ambition, insolence, revenge, and insurrection, and their continual conspiring against princes, authorities, and Bishops, all of which things were sufficient for the Parlements of France to suppress them and expel them. Moreover, we have their deadly hatred of the House of Bourbon which they have been nursing since their banishment. On the other side, their legal position is extremely weak. They have come into the country clad in sheep's clothing—of humility and brotherly love. They have never laid their Constitutions before the Government ; consequently they are unknown and unrecognized, for where there is no knowledge there can be no agreement. It is not the duty of the Government to show reason for their expulsion : it lies rather with them to show that they must be admitted and tolerated. These are briefly the reasons which convince my feeble brain and impel my honest will to press forward with their expulsion without any further delay."

In a longer letter to Roda of the same date (July 14th) the Minister brought together the five reasons by which he was more and more convinced as time went on of the necessity of the expulsion : (1) As their conduct is informed with one and the same spirit, the Jesuits of the Two Sicilies are ready to perform the same actions as their brethren in Spain. (2) If the Spanish Jesuits are hostile to the House of Bourbon the Neapolitan ones must also be regarded as such. (3) The Jesuits have never forgiven : vengeance is part of their system. They will therefore aim at taking vengeance on this branch of the House of Bourbon, and they will attempt this if left alone here. (4) They have no right to stay here, as they entered the country secretly without ever presenting their Constitutions to the Government. It is their business to show that they have been lawfully admitted ; it is not the Government's business to show reason why they should be expelled. (5) In consequence of the edicts of the French Parlements they must be held guilty of the most lax morals both in theory and practice, also of false doctrinal opinions opposed to Catholic dogma. It must further be held that their governmental system is contrary to the natural, divine, and civil laws. . . . "As

these five reasons alone are enough for me to expel them, they ought also to be enough for a half-a-dozen honest officials." [1] Roda was to put this before the king, so that this golden opportunity might not be lost in a maze of wearisome legal procedure. "For legal suits, such as are conducted there, are impossible here for want of material and form." Acts of high treason were not to hand, nor were there officials discreet and skilful enough to collect really decisive evidence.[2] The fourth reason, the absence of State recognition, had been described by Tanucci himself as mere trimming.[3] He betrayed his real thoughts about the fifth reason in a letter to Galiani in which he stressed the idea that daring doctrines on morals were to be found not only among the Jesuits but also among theologians of all periods.[4]

Another difficulty of Tanucci's was the lack of reliable assistants to support him in word and deed in his great under-

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "*Quei processi, che V. S. Illma dice fatti costì, qui sono impossibili per mancanza della materia e della forma. La materia dei delitti dei gesuiti contro la sovranità qui non apparisce ; non è avvenuto alcun delitto di lesa maestà, che abbia dato corpo, e fune, e principio certo all' inquisizione. Manca la forma, perchè non abbiamo un ministero subalterno, o urbano, o provinciale, sicuro pel segreto, per l'efficacia, per la costanza, che basti alla conquista di tante prove esterne, materiali, geometriche, quali un numero di togati superiori possano persuadere e convincere, e sia sicura la conclusione, che la politica, la salute dei popoli, la quiete, e incolumità della casa reale richiedono al primo, e più sublime, ed alto ministero del Re. Questo deve consultare la sua sola coscienza, e quella del Re, e non deve dar conto dei metodi della sua persuasione" (to Roda, July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001). *To Grimaldi, July 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[3] See above, p. 223, n. 2.

[4] "Li vostri Parlamenti mi saprebbe Ella dire il filo che hanno tenuto ? Opinioni strane circa la morale ; quis non di tutti li teologi di tutti li tempi ? Dipendenza di Roma ; son soli in questa stranezza li Gesuiti ? Prima delli Gesuiti era Roma la scellerata che sappiamo." To Galiani, August 8, 1767, in B. TANUCCI, *Lettere a Ferdinando Galiani*, II., 100.

taking. Nothing was to be expected from the State Council,[1] as it was full of Jesuit tertiaries; of its eight members he could count on only one, at the most, as being of the same mind as himself. A direct order to take action, which he could have cited as authority, would therefore have been very welcome to him. "We are waiting here for orders from the father. Vienna, Venice, and Turin will also probably bestir themselves in emulation of the great example. Everyone thinks that Sicily and Parma will do the same, and indeed that they must do it."[2] When by the end of May the order had still not come, the Marchese wrote to Catanti quite resignedly: "Everyone is shouting at me, 'Brutus, why are you asleep?' Outside Sicily everyone is crying out that action is not being taken in accordance with the great wisdom that has swept away the Jesuits. I have been assigned Vergil's rôle in Dante, namely that of making light by going ahead with a torch held behind my back. In front of me I have got Centola, San Giorgio, Sangro, San Nicandro, Reggio Michele, and Camporeale, that is to say darkness (mob), the rabble, and idolatry, not to use any harsher terms."[3]

Charles III. did not leave Tanucci in the dark about his inward feelings. He shared his fears, he assured him, that the Jesuits would cause disturbances, for he knew by personal experience better than all the rest that they were capable of anything. He also saw perfectly clearly that the present state of affairs could not last. For many reasons there was nothing good to be hoped for and everything bad to be dreaded. Not only prudence but also duty demanded that it be forestalled. He was telling him this in case King Ferdinand might want to know his views.[4] On hearing that the young ruler still had misgivings, Charles remarked angrily that his son had no cause to take the side of these people, "for I know what

[1] *To Azara, April 18, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000; *to Castromonte, May 9, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *To Roda, April 28, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *To Catanti, May 26, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *To Tanucci, June 9, 16, and 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 6056.

happened to me, and I attribute it solely to God's infinite mercy that he saved me and my family." He would never have believed it if he had not seen it with his own eyes. For the rest, he referred him to Grimaldi's and Roda's reports on this grave matter. The Minister should consult the Bishops; in Spain the prelates had proved to be Jesuits' bitterest foes.[1]

Unambiguous as this language was, Tanucci had expected something different from his royal master in Madrid. He was most unlikely, however, thought Roda, to give a positive order, ardently as he longed to see the Jesuits removed from Parma and Naples.[2] To his friend Galiani, who was continually spurring him on to action, he described his situation on June 20th, 1767, as follows:[3] "The Court has been formed by the late queen, who was more pro-Jesuit than the Dauphin's wife, entirely of her own adherents. Fogliani is more of a Jesuit than Ricci, De Marco a Jansenistic declaimer, who almost believes more in canon law than in the syllogism. Tell the Duke [Choiseul] that I am quite alone, that I have done all I can in Spain to get instructions but I have not received them." He complained in a similar manner to Losada:[4] "My deepest conviction is that there ought not to be any Jesuits where there are Bourbon princes or even only Christians . . . I gave the king (Ferdinand) my opinion quite frankly that the Jesuits had to be expelled, so that he could ask his father's advice, but I doubt if he has done it. In the closets there is still something of the Jesuit leaven which has its influence on the king. Before long the Austrian woman[5] will be here, full of Jesuitism . . . and God knows what secret instructions. . . . Your Excellency, I speak openly,

[1] *To Tanucci, June 30, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Roda to Azara, May 26, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 234, I.

[3] B. Tanucci, *Lettere a F. Galiani*, II., 85.

[4] *July 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6001.

[5] Archduchess Josepha, d. October 15, 1767 (Arneth, *Maria Theresia*, VII., 332 *seq.*).

for it is my duty, it being more than necessary, and I may do so because I am not swayed by any private interests, for I reckon that the advent of the new pole-star will mean my departure." The ground having been thus prepared, Tanucci exhibited the same apprehensions to his master. The princess and future queen, he said, was reputed to be very much in favour of the Jesuits, so that it was to be feared that the expulsion would never take place unless it was carried through before her arrival in November, for there was no one to be found who would dare to oppose the declared wish of the queen. [1]

On July 11th Tanucci again revealed his embarrassment in a letter to Galiani. "Of the Jesuits I have nothing to report. De Marco and the rest have no idea how to set about the business. They ask me for evidence and remind me that in France the king was wounded, in Portugal likewise, while in Spain they had an attempt on the king's life and an uprising. These events, they tell me, provided material for prosecutions leading to a judicial decision. But how are they to start the work in Naples? They must have some faint glimmer of administrative justice to maintain the appearance of legality in the eyes of the people. I have long lost patience with this juristic pedantry, which hinders good and pampers evil. I intend to take a shorter way in this affair." [2]

No means was left untried by the Minister in his efforts to induce the Spanish king, in spite of his reluctance, to issue a definite command. On one occasion he reported to him that in reply to a remark by Galiani to the effect that no action would be taken against the Jesuits in Naples, Choiseul had declared: "But think! The Jesuits are the enemies of the

[1] "*Questa principessa, per quanto la fama porta, verrà molto persuasa a favore dei Gesuiti, onde è da sospettare, che se l'opera dell' espulsione non sarà terminata prima del Novembre, non si potrà più terminare, poichè non si troverà qui chi ardisca di resistere ad una dichiarata protezione e volontà della Regina" (July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100).

[2] B. Tanucci, *Lettere a F. Galiani*, II., 93 *seq.*

House of Bourbon."[1] A fortnight later he was telling him that the young monarch would rather have an order or a decision from his father than set up an inquiry, especially as he had heard that with the king's approval his cousin in Parma would soon begin the work of expulsion.[2] Charles III., however, thought that he had made his will sufficiently clear in his previous letters. So long as the present situation in Naples persisted, he wrote, he was filled with extreme anxiety and perturbation,[3] for he had everything to fear from the Jesuits. He would tell him this also in the strictest confidence: what was being said about his nephew, the Duke of Parma, with regard to the Jesuits was founded on truth.[4] At last all doubts were dispelled by a letter from Azara, who reported under the seal of the greatest secrecy that Parma had sought permission from the two heads of the House of Bourbon to expel the Jesuits. With a certain reluctance this permission had been granted. Although it was said in the two replies that it was not intended to give the Infante any instructions, the assurance that the removal of the Jesuits from the Duke's territories would be viewed with pleasure could and must be interpreted as a positive approval.[5]

This information gave the Minister fresh courage and enabled him to see his way more clearly.[6] True to his principle

[1] *Tanucci to Charles III., June 23, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100. *Cf. Lettere a F. Galiani*, II., 85, n. 1.

[2] *July 7, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[3] The king had been made to fear for the life of his son. The Augustinian General Vasquez had told Roda that, knowing only too well the Jesuit doctrine of tyrannicide, he shuddered at the very thought of what might happen if an attempt was made on the life of the innocent prince, who had no successor. As soon as possible, therefore, the same thing ought to be done in Naples as had been carried out so successfully in Spain. *Vasquez to Roda, July 9, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, Vol. I.

[4] *To Tanucci, July 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6057.

[5] *Tanucci to Azara, July 18, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001.

[6] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, July 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

that secrecy was the soul of politics,[1] he proceeded with the greatest caution. To lull the Jesuits into a sense of security he avoided anything that might give them cause for suspicion. In the many audiences he gave to the Provincial he treated him with the utmost politeness and assured him that he saw no cause for expulsion since in Naples they had not been guilty of stirring up the people.[2]

Plans were now formed to set up an expulsion commission. The better to conceal its purpose Tanucci called it the "Commission on Abuses" (*Giunta degli abusi*), whose nominal object was the investigation of a criminal matter involving the people's bank. It was to meet, not in Naples, but in Procida.[3] Even now Charles III. let it be said officially that he could not bring himself to give advice. Everything was to be considered carefully in Naples itself and if the opinion was reached that the banishment of the Jesuits was for the good of the king, the people, and religion, then action should be taken quickly,

[1] *To Castromonte, May 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 6000.

[2] "*Signore, fui qui col principe di Jaci fin dai primi tempi dell' espulsione spagnuola nell' opinione di dover far credere ai Gesuiti, che forse di qua non sarebbero cacciati, allegando al Provinciale, e al Preposito del Gesù P. Matteis per ragion di sperare, ch' essi non erano qui rei di alcuna sollevazione; più volte su questo tenore parlai loro nelle occasioni di venir essi da me. . . . Ho fatto tanto questa figura dissimulante, e con tutta apparenza di cortesia per loro, che i loro nemici insofferenti e frettolosi mi hanno caricato di parzialità per essi. . . . So che lo hanno creduto, e lo hanno scritto ai loro corrispondenti in Roma, Genova, Milano, e allo stesso loro Generale; l' ho veduto con gli occhi propri nel Santufizio, nel quale ho disposte per li Gesuiti le ricerche più minute" (Tanucci to Charles III., July 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100). "*Qui van dicendo, che io gli ho assicurati, che non saranno espulsi, e la gente è tanto quanto rimasta ingannata per aver veduto più volte trattenersi meco nell' udienza il Provinciale, ed esser da me accompagnato secondo l'antico solito" (Tanucci to Charles III., July 28, 1767, *ibid.*). CORDARA, *De Suppressione*, 107 *seq.*

[3] *Tanucci to Roda, July 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6001.

before the arrival of the future queen.[1] The reply which the monarch sent through Roda was far more accommodating. He expressed his agreement with the principles expounded by Tanucci on July 14th and with the persons selected but would have liked the Cardinal Archbishop Sersale of Naples and the royal confessor Bishop Latilla to be included in the commission.[2] His inmost feelings were revealed in a letter of August 11, 1767. Nothing should be neglected, he wrote, nor any time be lost, for "I tell you again, they are capable of anything." He could not but approve of the resolutions taken by the conference, it being a question of preserving his son, whom he loved more than himself, and he hoped that God with His strong hand would complete the work there as successfully as He had done in Spain. He was glad to know that the members of the commission were of this opinion and he had no doubt that the Bishops were similarly inclined, for everyone who was still of sound judgment was bound to think in this way. "And I am confident that God will help you to decide on and carry out with all speed a work which will further God's service and honour." [3]

In appointing the members of the expulsion commission, Tanucci, for whom compliance was an essential qualification, was faced with many difficulties. The inclusion of Cardinal Sersale he rejected on the ground that participation in the expulsion of the Jesuits might subsequently bar his way to the tiara.[4] He rejected the Court Confessor, Bishop Latilla, and the other prelates because he had already given out that the matter under consideration was of a criminal nature, and the participation of the Bishops in such an affair would give rise to popular excitement and suspicion.[5] The Viceroy of Sicily,

[1] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, August 4, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[2] *Roda to Tanucci, August 4, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[3] *To Tanucci, August 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6057.

[4] *To Charles III., August 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[5] *To Roda, July 14 and August 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001 and 6002.

Marchese Fogliani, a declared admirer of the Jesuits, he would have liked to remove to Lombardy on some convenient and honourable excuse,[1] but Fogliani declined the offer and the Minister decided to exclude him entirely from the proceedings and not to send him the order of expulsion until the morning after it had been carried out in Naples.[2]

After preliminary conversations with De Marco and Prince Yaci, in which it was agreed that the commission was to decide in a single sitting whether, on the basis of the five principles put forward by Tanucci,[3] the expulsion of the Jesuits was expedient, the "Commission on Abuses" was inaugurated on September 16th, 1767, by a royal decree.[4] On October 3rd the Minister, at his own instigation, was instructed by King Ferdinand to make a thorough inquiry as to what measures should be taken against an Order which had been driven out of Portugal, France, and Spain on account of its unruly, undisciplined, and detestable behaviour, and whose impious, intriguing, covetous, ambitious, and rebellious system of government was incompatible with the well-being of religion and the State.[5] As for the result of the deliberation, all doubt was excluded in advance, the Minister having chosen as members only those of similar mind to his own.[6] In its opinion, delivered on October 25th, 1767, which was merely a summary of Tanucci's arguments,[7] the *Giunta* called

[1] *To Charles III., August 11, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[2] *To Charles III., October 13 and 20, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] See above, p. 224.

[4] Tripodo, *L'espulsione della Compagnia di Gesù dalla Sicilia*, 37; *Tanucci to Charles III., September 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[5] Tripodo, 36.

[6] *Tanucci to Charles III., September 8, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[7] *Ibid.*; *Extracto de la consulta dirigada a S.M. por la Junta de abusos referentes a la expulsion de los Jesuitas*, in Danvila y Collado, III., 119, n. 2. The considered opinion given by Vargas Machuca, a member of the commission, in Tripodo, 126 *seqq.*

upon the king to repeat the procedure adopted by his father, which had won the approval of all right-minded persons.[1] The Society's property would be deemed to be ownerless and would be placed at the unconditional disposal of the monarch.[2]

This skilfully-laid plan nearly miscarried at the last moment. On October 19th there occurred a violent eruption of Vesuvius which struck terror into the whole of the city. The shocks were so great that the young king was compelled to return from Procida to Naples.[3] At the same time a tremendous thunderstorm broke over the city, and a stroke of lightning penetrated the monarch's apartment. To complete the disaster news came through at this time of the death of the royal bride.[4] In view of the general excitement and confusion and the panicky state of the people, to whom these events appeared as God's punishment for the threatened expulsion of the Jesuits,[5] the Minister deemed it inadvisable to carry out the expulsion, which had been fixed for October 23rd.[6] In a note written in his own hand he assured his confessor Micco that the ships assembled in Naples harbour were not intended for the Jesuits. He sent his physician-in-ordinary Ventapane to the Superior of the professed house to deliver to him the reassuring statement that the rumour going about in the

[1] § 11. "En vista de todo lo dicho, use V.M. de todo su poder imitando la conducta de su augustissimo padre que ha merecido la aprobacion de todos los buenos." DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 119, n. 2.

[2] § 12, *ibid.* On August 25, 1767, Tanucci *wrote to Roda that the Jesuit estates could not be seized by the State by a confiscatory procedure as there was no question of treason, but that, on the strength of the missing *Exequatur* he would declare the Jesuit colleges to be illicit corporations and therefore unable to support themselves and that he would award their property to the Fiscal as ownerless. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6002.

[3] *Tanucci to Charles III., October 20, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100; *Tanucci to Losada, October 20, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002.

[4] See above, p. 227, n. 5. RICCI, **Espulsione*, n. 87.

[5] *Tanucci to Charles III., October 27, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[6] *Tanucci to Roda, November 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003.

city that the Jesuits were about to be expelled was false ; he had no intention of driving out the Jesuits, for there was no reason for it—in short, they had nothing to fear.[1] In reply to an inquiry by the Papal nuncio he said that he could not see in Naples the grounds that had caused the other States to expel the Society.[2] As is to be seen from Tanucci's excited letters in his own defence written to Losada and Galiani, the view was held even in high circles that with his assurances the Minister had well overstepped the permissible bounds in his concealment of the truth.[3]

When the excitement had somewhat subsided, Ferdinand

[1] " * . . . che il Marchese Tanucci spedito avea il suo medico, persona confidente al P. de Mattheis, ch'era ben visto al medesimo Marchese, assicurandolo, che quelle navi tutt' altro destino avevano, che quello della espulsione dei gesuiti ; anzi di più aveva il medesimo Marchese scritto un biglietto al P. de Micco stato suo confessore, affermando lo stesso : la qual sicura notizia, spezialmente del biglietto, che a parere anche di Ministri politici, veniva a togliere il dubbio prudente, servì a rassodare gli animi dei Superiori, che entravano malvolentieri nel dubbio " (*Historia dell' espulsione dei PP. della Compagnia di Gesù dalla Sicilia*, 1768, p. 31, in Jesuit possession, Sicil. 180). Ricci relates the same incidents in his *Diary, with this observation : " Su la parola di un primo Ministro così espressa si fidarono troppo i poveri Religiosi, che non sapevano che oggidì non si vogliono restrizioni mentali, ma non si ha difficoltà di dire menzogne aperte " (*Espulsione*, n. 84).

[2] " *Il Nunzio fu a viso aperto domandandomi, se si caccerebbono, come si sospettava, li Gesuiti. Caricai un poco la mano sulle ragioni di non doversi credere quello, che per altro io non sapeva, dicendogli, che da Portogallo e da Spagna il delitto di lesa maestà aveva cacciati li Gesuiti, da Francia li Parlamenti, tre cagioni, che io qui non vedeva. Il Santufizio mi ha scoperto che il Nunzio partì da me dubbioso. Ventapane, gran Gesuitaio, pur voleva sapere, gli dissi lo stesso ; mi si dice, che stan tranquilli li Gesuiti." Tanucci to Charles III., October 27, 1767. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[3] *To Losada, January 19, 1768, to Galiani, January 30, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003.

IV., by a decree of October 31st, 1767, ordered the expulsion of all Jesuits who had taken solemn vows and he charged the Captain-General of the army, the Prince of Campofiorito, with the execution of this order. At the same time he commanded the local and provincial Superiors to engage their subjects to comply unresistingly with the royal decree.[1] In a further edict, dated November 3rd, the monarch, for safety's sake and for the happiness of his subjects, ordered the lifelong banishment of all scholastics, lay-brothers, and novices of the Society who would not gainsay their vocation. All the banished, even if they left the Society or joined another Order, were forbidden to return to the country ; if they did so, they would be treated as traitors. All their property, movable or immovable, was confiscated and would be used for the public good. Only Jesuits who had taken solemn vows were granted a pension of 72 ducats, and this would cease immediately if any of the exiles or any other Jesuit dared to write against the royal ordinance. Whoever applied for a share in the common spiritual property (*Carta di fratellanza*) or did not surrender it within a month if he was already in possession of it, would be treated as a traitor.[2] The Viceroy of Sicily was sent the definite order to expel the Jesuits from the island.[3] In a covering letter Tanucci threatened to remove him from his post in the event of any opposition.[4]

[1] " Ordine del Re," in GUARDIONE, *L'espulsione dei Gesuiti dal regno delle due Sicilie nel 1767*, pp. 84 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 73 *seqq.*

[3] Ferdinand IV. to Fogliani, November 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003. The official covering letter from Tanucci, of the same date, *ibid.*, printed in GUARDIONE, 77 *seq.*

[4] " *Si sa, che il genio, la propensione, l'abituazione in V. E. contrasterà collo zelo, coll' onore, con quello che si deve al Re ; ma si tiene per fermo, che lo zelo, che l'onore, che il servizio del Re vincerà, e tutto sarà perfezionato colla maggiore efficacia, e rimarranno delusi quelli, che consigliavano diverso sistema, a principalmente un architetto, e un Agamennone meno dichiarato per quel corpo." Tanucci to Fogliani, November 13, 1767 (unofficial), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003.

The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was decided on by a lay commission of twelve members. To salve the royal conscience, the royal confessor Latilla was called in after the session to put his name to the document.[1] All the decrees and instructions for the executive officials had already been made out, when, only three days before the plan was to be put into force, the Minister decided to pay regard to Charles III.'s wishes and obtain the opinion of the Bishops and prelates, of whose agreement he was certain. Repeating the well-known accusations against the Society, they all spoke in favour of the expulsion.[2] The assent of the Cardinal Archbishop Sersale was not so easy to obtain. At first he refused to put his name to any document. It was not till lengthy efforts had been made to persuade him and the assurance given that his assent would be in no way to his disadvantage but would rather facilitate his advancement, for which the King of Spain had pledged his word,[3] that he agreed to sign a statement. This was to the effect that the Cardinal believed that the King of Spain, a just and God-fearing monarch, had had genuine grounds for expelling the Jesuits, and that it was not inexpedient to safeguard the life of his son, the King of the Two Sicilies.[4]

To induce the young king to append his signature was infinitely more difficult, for he was prepared to sign only when the resolution passed by the "Commission on Abuses" had been approved by the Council of State. It being explained to him that a majority in favour of the expulsion was not to be obtained in that body, he ordered a way out of the difficulty to be sought which would involve neither himself alone nor the State Council. Tanucci accordingly arranged for Prince Yaci, De Marco, Latilla, and himself to meet as if by chance

[1] *Cf.* the *Extracto* in Danvila y Collado, III., 119, n. 2.

[2] The **Vota* of Bishops Testa, Ciocchis, and Sanseverino, and of the Archpriest Andrisani in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[3] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 17 and 24, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *[November 17, 1767], *ibid.*

in the young king's apartment on the evening of October 31st. Here, behind closed doors, the final resolution was drawn up and furnished with the royal signature.[1]

Maria Magdalena Sterlich, a nun who was revered by the people as a saint, had sent a letter to Ferdinand IV., urging him to regard the three disasters of October as warnings from Heaven and to refrain from expelling the Jesuits. The Minister, on the other hand, informed the young ruler that revelation had ceased with Christ, that the contrary was heresy, and that only one way lay open to him : to follow the light of reason and the advice of his illustrious father.[2]

The time was now fast approaching for the execution of the plan. On November 18th the king's orders were communicated to the executive officials, and simultaneously the commissaries left for the provincial towns where there were Jesuit colleges. To avoid the suspicion which a concentration of the military in the capital would otherwise provoke, a mock manœuvre of four regiments was held in the afternoon of November 20th, 1767.[3] After the Angelus had rung, all the Jesuit establishments in Naples were surrounded by troops. Protected by the military, the officials went to the houses allotted to them, had the communities assembled by their Superiors, and announced to them the decree of banishment. They were then told to go to their rooms, pack their clothes, linen, breviaries, and other small articles, and prepare themselves for departure. Shortly afterwards the lay brothers and those scholastics who had not taken solemn vows were called together and informed that they could choose between following the Fathers into exile or leaving the Society and

[1] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 3, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 10, 1767, *ibid.* ; *Tanucci to Roda, November 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003 ; **Istoria dell'espulsione de' Nostri da Napoli*, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 230, fo. 89.

[3] Some historians, including Guardione (31), state erroneously that the expulsion took place on the night of November 3–4. Tanucci says in his *report of November 24, 1767, to Charles III. : " La notte del venerdì 20 al sabato 21 uscirono li Gesuiti da tutti i loro collegi e case." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

remaining in the country. If they desired to go they could expect no pension ; on the other hand, lay-brothers who put off their religious dress, took up a trade, and married would receive a pension of thirty-six ducats ; scholastics who quitted the Society would receive preferential treatment when appointments were made to offices and benefices. The novices were taken to the Theatine convent, where they had to decide within twenty-four hours whether they would follow the Fathers or not. According to one report, their religious dress was taken from them there and they were sent back to their respective homes in ordinary clothes.[1] Except for a few who were gravely ill or very old, the Fathers, together with the scholastics and lay-brothers who had remained loyal, were taken under military escort to Pozzuoli. Here the younger scholastics and lay-brothers were detached from the Fathers and urged once more to reconsider their decision and to consult their relatives. The exiles were put on board on November 24th and were landed on the 26th at Terracina in Papal territory. The expulsion of the inmates of the other colleges on the mainland was carried out in a similar manner, the only difference being that most of them were transferred to Papal territory by land.[2]

Like their brethren in Naples, the Jesuits in Sicily had lulled themselves into a sense of false security, knowing that most of the Bishops, and the Viceroy in particular, were entirely on their side. When the expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits was not immediately followed by the dreaded after-effect in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Provincial withdrew his instruction to put some money aside in case of expulsion and issued fresh instructions that not the slightest alteration was to be made in their normal mode of living.

[1] **Istoria dell' espulsione de' Nostri da Napoli, loc. cit.*, 91.

[2] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 24, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100 ; *report on the execution of the expulsion of November 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 5881 ; **Espulsione da Napoli, loc. cit.*, 90 *seq.* ; *Tanucci to Yaci, November 22, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003.

This attitude he maintained in the face of all arguments to the contrary. Reassuring and disquieting rumours followed one another in lively succession until on November 27th the decree of banishment arrived in Sicily. The Jesuits in Palermo were informed secretly on November 29th that the decree would be announced at ten o'clock (Italian time) that night. The inmates of the thirteen colleges in the vicinity were interned in the Retreat House in the capital, while those of the other houses were confined in the Basilian convent of San Salvatore in Messina. The Fathers from Reggio and the other establishments in Calabria were also sent to this convent. On December 21st, 1767, the Jesuits from Palermo, and on February 1st, 1768, those from Messina, were taken to various places on the mainland, whence they were transferred to the States of the Church.[1]

Of the 631 Jesuits who formed the Neapolitan Province at the beginning of the year 1767 [2] twenty-one had left the Society at intervals on hearing of the expulsion from Spain. For many of the young scholastics and lay-brothers the prospect of being thrown out of their own country must have been a severe trial of their vocation. If they followed the Fathers into exile a life of stress and want would be their certain lot, but if they quitted the Society an alluring future was assured them. In addition they were subjected to the threats and cajolery of the officials. It was in these circumstances, then, that either on the announcement of the decree or in Pozzuoli, 210 scholastics and lay-brothers renounced their religious status. Many may have despaired of the continued existence of the Society. Of the 388 Neapolitan Jesuits who went into exile, a further sixty-four left the Society before 1770. Of these there were forty-one professed, who immediately on landing in Terracina applied for secularization, though they knew

[1] **Istoria dell' espulsione dei PP. della Compagnia di Gesù dalla Sicilia nel 1767*, in Jesuit possession, Sicil. 180; *Catalog. 141, *ibid.*; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, n. 98.

[2] Of these, eleven belonged to the Roman Province and fifteen were living outside the Neapolitan Province.

that notwithstanding this step the way back to their country was barred.[1]

In the Sicilian Province the final result was even more lamentable. On hearing of the arrival of the expulsion order the Provincial summoned several prominent Fathers to confer on the situation. Many of them were of the opinion that the scholastics and lay-brothers should be given the assurance that the Fathers would share their pensions with them and see to their support. However, not only was this proposal not well received; the Superiors and spiritual Fathers were even urged to advise the scholastics not to follow the others into exile. Several lay-brothers were in fact advised by the Provincial to return to their parents.[2] In accordance with this policy, the novice-master Ferreri informed the rhetoricians and lay-brothers that in spite of their vows they were not obliged to remain in the Society and could apply for their release without misgiving.[3] The steadfastness of those who were still loyal was completely shaken when a commission of theologians and high ecclesiastical dignitaries declared by an overwhelming majority that the Jesuits were not bound by their vows to perform such acts of heroism as banishment involved.[4] Consequently, of the 786 members of the Sicilian

[1] **Espulsione da Napoli*, fo. 94; *Catalog. 1767, *ibid.*, Neap. 172 and 173; Ricci, **Espulsione, ibid. Suppressio*, II., 42 *seq.*; Carayon, XV., 152; *Orsini to Tanucci, December 27, 1767, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{283}{1028}$. There are some slight variations in the numerical particulars.

[2] **Espulsione dalla Sicilia 1767, loc. cit.*, 36 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 43 *seqq.*, 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, 62. " *Quello che fecero i giovani non sacerdoti ed Fi ratelli di Palermo e contorni, fecero similmente quei della parte di Messina, dove però non era stato in tempo il Provinciale di dare providenze, e come si ebbe per lettera di Messina, quasi tutti deposero l'abito. Di Palermo soli sette giovani e tre Fratelli lo ritennero. Le ragioni di questa scandalosa unione furono: 1. La tenerezza de' parenti, che nei Siciliani è singolare. . . . 2. Il parere unito degli arcivescovi di Palermo, Montreale e Messina e dei vescovi di Catania e Siracusa che si trovavano in Palermo,

Province only 352, including nine scholastics and fourteen lay-brothers, went into exile. By the year 1772 seventy-two of these exiles, including forty-one professed and five former Rectors, had left the Society.[1] The greatest pain and shame was caused to the loyal members by the secession of the seventy-nine-year-old Marcellus Tipa, who had twice been Provincial and on three occasions had taken part as an Elector in the General Congregation in Rome.[2]

The total revenues from all thirty-five establishments in the Sicilian Province amounted in round figures to 148,900 scudi. Incomes of any appreciable size were possessed only by the larger colleges in Palermo (30,000 scudi), Trapani (14,000), Catania (8,000), and Messina (7,000); the financial situation of the other houses was far less favourable.[3] The annual income of the Neapolitan Province has been estimated by a modern historian at 280,600 ducats[4]; that of the college at Naples is said to have amounted to 30,000 ducats.[5] Tanucci, who had formerly declaimed against the unbounded riches of the Jesuits, was so grievously disappointed by the outcome

e specialmente di Msgr. Castiglia, Vicario Generale di Palermo, de' teologi esteri e specialmente regolari d'ogni Ordine: questi dicevano essere lecito, anzi necessario lasciare l'abito e accusavano la fermezza anco di ostinazione peccaminosa. . . . 3. Le insinuazioni di alcuni nostri malcontenti Professi." *Ibid.*, 53 *seq.*, n. 116.

[1] **Espulsione dalla Sicilia, loc. cit.*, 381–541.

[2] *Ibid.*, 517 *seqq.* In a *letter to Fr. Schwarz of February 24, 1768, it was reported that only three lay-brothers and seven scholastics went into exile (Arch. Prov. Germ., III., 21). According to a summary in the *Catalogus Prov. Sic. tempore dispersionis 1769* the result would be somewhat more favourable, 272 being listed as having left the Society and 116 as doubtful.

[3] **Espulsione dalla Sicilia, loc. cit.*, 180.

[4] Schipa in Rinieri, *Rovina*, Introduz. li., n. 1.

[5] *Tanucci to Yaci, November 23, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003. *Cf.* on the other hand, the official **Nota* sent to Rome on December 9, 1767, by the nuncio Calcagnini. Nunziat. di Napoli, 290, in Rinieri, *loc. cit.*, xlix.

that he declared at first that they had conveyed their valuables to a place of safety in good time.[1] Subsequently, as a result of the investigations instituted by the "Commission on Abuses", he was forced to admit that in the kingdom of Naples the Fathers had not been so wealthy as in Spain, having in fact left a debt of 200,000 ducats.[2] After deduction of 130,000 ducats for the exiles' pensions, there was, he said, barely enough to maintain the schools and to fulfil the conditions of the pious bequests.[3]

According to the Minister, the Jesuit expulsion was accepted by the people with the greatest calm, even with joy, which fact he attributed to the years of preparatory work done by the pamphlets.[4] Six months later he was complaining that among the nobility the number of those who favoured the Jesuits was still large and that among the ladies it had probably increased.[5] On the strength of various letters he had received, the General, Ricci, noted in his diary that distress and grief had been widespread among all classes of the population as a result of the expulsion and that sympathy with the outcasts had been shown in every possible way.[6] The true feelings of the people may be gleaned even from the sardonic sketch drawn by the anti-Jesuit historian Colletta. "Opinions on the expulsion of the Jesuits," he writes, "were divided. The fools and hypocrites were grieved, the wise were satisfied, and the general mass were merely curious. With their traditional animosity, the other monks and clerics, who had regarded the former greatness of the Jesuits with envious eyes, were jubilant. The Minister Tanucci rejoiced, the king

[1] *To Cattolica, December 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003.

[2] *To Azara, January 19, 1768, *ibid.*; *to Centomani, February 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *To Cattolica, January 5, 1768, *ibid.*

[4] *To Grimaldi, December 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001; *to Losada, December 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 6003.

[5] *To Charles III., May 3, 1768, *ibid.*, 6001; *to Cattolica, May 3, 1767, *ibid.*, 6004.

[6] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, n. 43.

remained indifferent."[1] When the news of the expulsion reached Madrid, Charles III. lost no time in communicating to the Marchese Tanucci his satisfaction with the successful completion of the expulsion, "for which I never cease and never shall cease to give due thanks to God and our glorious St. Januarius, for he has saved the precious life of my dearly beloved son and has given me such peace of mind as I have never had before."[2] Although Tanucci wanted no reward,[3] Charles insisted on showing his royal gratitude to his faithful servant, who "had done three-quarters of the work," by making sumptuous gifts to the Marchese's only daughter.[4]

In the Roman Curia bitter resentment was felt on more than one score. Through his nuncios in Naples and Madrid and at the other Catholic Courts the Pope protested against the violation of international law and of his sovereignty.[5] In the midst of peace, he asserted, the Jesuits had been driven by force of arms into the States of the Church, against the will of the lawful and independent ruler. The Holy See could offer no resistance to such an act of force and would not even if it could, not wanting to violate the laws of humanity. But before God and the world he raised his voice in protest, for this was a violation of common law and the mutual trust between States which lived in peace and concord.[6] A separate

[1] COLLETTA, I., 99.

[2] *To Tanucci, December 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6057.

[3] *To Losada, April 12, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004; *to Charles III., August 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[4] *Tanucci to Losada, May 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 6005.

[5] *Torrigiani to Lucini, December 10, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* According to the *report of the Venetian envoy the Pope summoned each representative of the Powers separately to hear his protests against the ejection of the Jesuits from Naples and their disembarkation in the States of the Church. Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, December 5, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 287.

[6] **Memoria* of December 10, 1767, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

protest was made by the Pope against the confiscation of the endowed property of the Roman College in the territory of Naples, which infringed the agreements of the last Concordat.[1]

This protest of the Holy See aroused but a feeble echo in the European Courts.[2] The Empress Maria Theresa, who was then negotiating with Madrid the marriage of her daughter Caroline to the young King of Naples, expressed her sympathy to the Pope but regretted she could do no more than pray that the Church might suffer no harm.[3] The Emperor Joseph [4] and the Ministers Kaunitz and Colloredo [5] wrote in similarly polite but cool terms. Ferdinand IV. being now of age, the Court of Madrid declined to intervene in any way in his affairs of State.[6] At Naples the affair gave rise to a lively exchange of opinion between the nuncio and Tanucci, in the course of which Calcagnini accused the Minister of trickery, while the latter accused the Pope and his representative of hostility towards the young monarch.[7] As a retort to the Papal memorandum the Marchese composed a masterpiece of sophistry, well spiced with sarcasm. The young king, he wrote, was surprised and pained by the Holy Father's letter. His right of banishment was being disputed—an age-old custom of every nation, which had already been put into practice by three monarchs and which was as necessary for the peace and

[1] *Clement XIII. to Ferdinand IV. [December 12, 1767], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003; *Lucini to Grimaldi, December 28, 1767, *ibid.*, 5882.

[2] *Cf.* *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, December 19, 1767, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.*

[3] *To Clement XIII., January 9, 1768, Nunziat. di Germania, 388, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *January 11, 1768, *ibid.*

[5] *January 9 and 10, 1768, *ibid.*

[6] *Lucini to Torrigiani, December 22 and 29, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Lucini, January 21, 1768, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 433.

[7] *Tanucci to Orsini, December 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003; *Torrigiani to Lucini, January 21, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

security of princes and peoples as expectoration was for the human body. The whole of Christendom would be scandalized if the Pope, who during his glorious pontificate had favoured this Order before all others and had received the banished Portuguese Jesuits, were now to reject their Neapolitan brethren. As for the estates of the Roman College, they had become ownerless through the Society's expulsion from the kingdom of Naples and in accordance with the universal civil law they were now in the charge of the fiscal.[1] Tanucci's reply was not left unanswered. There appeared in Rome a forceful criticism, exposing all his contradictions, sophisms, and absurdities.[2] This set the Minister in such a rage that he went so far as to declare that, rather than the banishment of the Jesuits, the nepotism and sale of offices in the Papal Court were signs of atheism, just as they were evidence of the corrupt morals and doctrine that held sway there.[3] If, in spite of these violent outbursts, Tanucci was anxious to avoid a break with Rome at any price, it was due to considerations of political prudence, "the greatest part of the people always consisting of ignoramuses ready to be scandalized."[4]

The example set by Spain was followed once again and all Neapolitan subjects in Rome were told to break off all relations with the Jesuits. Some of them not obeying sufficiently

[1] **Risposta*, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003; *Tanucci to Orsini, December 15, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] **Analysis della Risposta data dal Sr Marchese Tanucci alla Protesta del Papa nell'affare dei PP. Gesuiti*, *ibid.*, 5882, translation in CARAYON, XVI., 444 *seqq.*; *Rivera to Lascaris, January 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[3] *To Centomani, January 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 6003; *to Grimaldi, March 8, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[4] *To Grimaldi, June 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100; *to Orsini, August 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002. It was also solely on account of political considerations that in spite of the strained relations and the occupation of Benevento that had taken place in the meantime the tribute of the "Chinea" was sent to Rome in June, 1768. *Orsini to Tanucci, June 28, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{286}{1031}$; *Pignatelli to Orsini, June 29, 1768, *ibid.*

quickly, Cardinal Orsini was instructed to furnish a list of those who still frequented the schools, churches, and sodalities of the Jesuits, confessed to them, received them in their houses, or had any dealings with them.[1] The chaplaincies at the Gesù founded by the Farnese family were withdrawn and the ambassador was ordered to admonish anyone dependent on the Court of Naples not to visit the Jesuits at night or in secret.[2]

Meanwhile the Minister continued his efforts to decrease the Church's sphere of influence. The Bishops were forbidden to use their influence in filling the pastoral offices in the Jesuit churches, which, after their conversion into school chapels and parish churches, were to come under the exclusive patronage of the sovereign. He also forbade the Church authorities to interfere in any way in the conversion of the pious foundations attached to these churches and chapels, these being at the disposal of the king in virtue of his supremacy.[3] Most of the vacated teaching posts in the Jesuit schools were filled with laymen. Only a third of the teaching staff might be seculars, and monks were entirely excluded.[4]

[1] *Tanucci to Orsini, December 22, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003.

[2] *Ibid.* and *letters of January 23 and 26, 1768, *ibid.*; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, pp. 46, 48.

[3] " che qui domina la massima, che il Re ha la potestà legislativa ancora nelle materie ecclesiastiche." Vincentini to Pallavicini, September 27, 1776, in Rinieri, *Rovina*, Introduz., LVII.

[4] " *Le scuole riaperte, come dice V. E., dovranno anch' esse ridursi al metodo che qui si tiene, e dovranno li maestri essere per la maggiore parte secolari laici, un terzo potranno esser preti secolari, ma niun Frate, o monaco, o altro Regolare. Vescovi non dovranno ingerirsi nelle scuole nè esercitare alcuna giurisdizione sulle chiese, le quali o capelle delle scuole, che divengano, o parochie hanno da esser patronato regio. In fieri nè giudice di monarchia nè arcivescovo devono mischiarsi in quella, che il Re colla sua suprema potestà sta facendo commutazione delle volontà, per le quali si composero e collegi e case professe. Già è preso il partito su questa commutazione, la quale deve essere una, unisona, uniforme, universale in tutti li Stati del Re."

Tanucci was mightily displeased with the Parmesan Minister, Du Tillot, who had handed back the schools of the duchy to the regulars.[1] If he had had his way it would have been the end of the religious Orders.[2] He would have liked to do away with their exemption.[3] Disregarding the objections of the State Councillors he insisted on the *exequatur* for the ordinances of the Roman heads of Orders in the most rigorous fashion. In his view the residence abroad of Superiors General was harmful to nations and princes and was one of the manifestations of Rome's insidious policy, for which the Church could show no precedent during the first twelve centuries.[4] He would have liked to restrict the entry into the religious Orders and to suppress a number of monasteries, but, as he complained to his confidant Galiani,[5] for the time being nothing could be done in this respect except on orders from Spain. Wearied by his efforts to overcome the obstacles offered to his plans of reform, he remarked resignedly that after all something ought to be left for succeeding generations to do against the " Frati ".[6]

Bishops Sanseverino and Ciocchis, who had been appointed by Tanucci to the " Commission on Abuses " some time after its inception, for the purpose of disposing of the Jesuit estate, had been forbidden by Rome to take any part in this commission, but disregarding this veto, the prelates continued to attend its sessions. Prompted by the Minister, they informed the nuncio that they could not comply with any Brief that

Tanucci to Fogliani, January 30, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003.

[1] *To Azara, March 8, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004.

[2] *To Galiani, February 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *To Grimaldi, April 19, 1768, *ibid.*

[4] " *Ah ! questo riseder in Roma i Generali degli Ordini regolari è un gran male delle nazioni e della sovranità, e una insidiosa al solito politica di Roma, della quale niun vestigio è nella Chiesa per tutti li primi dodici secoli." To Charles III., May 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[5] *On January 14, 1769, *ibid.*, 6007.

[6] *To Nefetti, April 19, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004.

had not received the royal *exequatur* ; in fact they would like to hand back to the Papal representative the Briefs addressed to them. " We have no need of Pereira," observed Tanucci, " to show us that Rome has little power over the Bishops." [1]

The all-powerful Minister's hatred of the Roman Curia increased from day to day. When dealing with Rome, he declared, the rule was " Brandish your stick ! Keep your mouth shut ! That's the way to tame the Roman tiger." [2] So far as he was concerned, the Pope was nothing more than a Bishop whose activity was to be wholly confined to the administration of the sacraments, to dogma, and to the liturgy.[3] In his view, the Pope's admonitory messages had fallen into discredit and excommunications in his day merely made the Roman Court an object of derision. By rejecting the proffered absolution in the course of its dispute with Paul V., Venice had demonstrated in the best way possible the ineffectiveness of the Papal censures.[4] The time was not yet ripe for the abolition of the nunciatures ; for the time being they could be left to pacify the masses, but they must be deprived of any influence on the State.[5] He inveighed against the celibacy of the priests [6] and thought it a splendid idea to bring the Huguenots back to France.[7]

Even his young master's family was not spared the despotic Minister's arbitrariness. The king's consort, the Archduchess

[1] *To Azara, January 26, 1768, *ibid.*, 6003 ; *to Charles III., June 12, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[2] *To Galiani, April 30, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004.

[3] *To Castromonte, December 3, 1768, *ibid.*, 6007.

[4] " *Le ortatorie sono screditate, e le scomuniche mettono in questi tempi in ridicolo cotesta corte. I Veneziani diedero a Paolo V. il grand' esempio della inefficacia delle censure col rigettarne anche l'offerta assoluzione." To Azara, October 4, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[5] " *Non era maturo abolir la Nunziatura ; dunque ritener l'Auditore, e per farlo lodarlo, e dichiararsene sodisfatto, e lasciarlo vedere ai popoli, come un indice di Nunziatura, mentre cessa l'amministrazione." To Grimaldi, April 19, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004.

[6] *To Catanti, November 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[7] *To Galiani, March 26, 1768, *ibid.*, 6004.

Maria Caroline, was inevitably suspected by him of Jesuitism, if only because she was an Austrian.[1] For the same reason her confessor, Canon Gürtler, was another unwelcome arrival.[2] On the charge of having disapproved of the Jesuit expulsion Tanucci sent him back to Vienna after a year and appointed in his place the compliant Bishop Ciocchis, who, he thought, had the right views on Jesuits and the royal prerogatives.[3] As time went on the behaviour of the Minister, who by now would brook no contradiction, became insufferable. On October 18th, 1768, he was complaining to Charles III. that a party in the palace was working for a separation of himself from the monarch, whose wife had already been won over to the plot. The Spanish Government, he alleged, was being spoken of in these quarters in a most slighting manner.[4] To break down opposition he drove away several trusted friends of the royal pair, which caused the king to weep and the queen to fly into a temper.[5] Eight more years were to pass before the influence of Maria Caroline finally brought about his downfall.[6]

(2)

In Parma the entry of the Bourbons brought with it the French "enlightenment" and an unbounded prodigality.[7]

[1] *To Charles III., July 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100. *Cf.* above, p. 228, n. 1.

[2] *To Charles III., February 2, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[3] *To Charles III., December 6, 1768, and February 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 6007.

[4] *To Charles III., October 18, 1767, Archives of Simancas, *ibid.*, 6006.

[5] *Tanucci to Charles III., November 1, 1768, *ibid.*

[6] October 26, 1776, According to COLLETTA (I., 121) and ULLOA (*Di Bernardo Tanucci e dei suoi tempi*, 128) Tanucci was almost destitute when he died. The Papal nuncio, on the other hand, reported that the Marchese left 300,000 ducats (Vincenti to Pallavicini, May 10, 1783, in RINIERI, *Rovina*, Introduz. lix.) and was in receipt of a life pension (*ibid.*).

[7] *Fr. Rábago to Portocarrero, November 2, 1751, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 65/1.

The situation grew still worse when, during the minority of Duke Ferdinand I., the post of First Minister was occupied by the Frenchman Guillaume Du Tillot.[1] The son of a valet, he succeeded first in gaining the confidence of the Duchess Luise Elisabeth and finally political power in Parma to such an extent that he was the real ruler of the country. In his outlook on life he favoured the Encyclopedists and he kept up a correspondence with Voltaire.[2] He was also on intimate terms with the Spanish ambassador and future Minister, Roda, who had regalistic leanings. In the matter of constitutional law his views coincided on the whole with those of Sarpi and Giannone, and his ideal Minister was Pombal, who alone was worthy of the imitation of all wise men.[3] His petty sensitiveness in questions of etiquette[4] was surpassed only by his hatred of Rome. In his attitude towards the Jesuits there is no evidence of his showing any dislike of them at first, but with the arrival in Parma of the Theatine Paciaudi in 1763

[1] Benassi, *Guglielmo Du Tillot, un Ministro riformatore del secolo XVIII.*, V., Parma, 1924, 2.

[2] " *Si V.S. quiere, juntaré todas las brochuras, que vienen quasi de semana en semana de Voltaire, y se las embiaré una o dos a la vez para recrearse un instante, y me las bolverá V.S. a votre aize " (Du Tillot to Azara, December 6, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1767). *Cf.* *Du Tillot to Azara, November 22, 1767, *ibid.*; Danvila y Collado, III., 174; Rousseau, I., 245.

[3] *Du Tillot to Azara [December, 1768] and [January] 27, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768/69.

[4] Although he had been oppressing the Church most grievously for years, he took offence when the newly appointed nuncio to Paris, Giraud, on his way to France, paid his respects to the Grand Duke of Tuscany but not to the sixteen-year-old Duke of Parma (*Du Tillot to Azara, August 8, 1767, *ibid.*, Exped., 1767). He left a letter from the Carmelite General unanswered because the word " *umillimo* " had been left out, although he admitted that the phrase with which the General had ended his letter had the same meaning (*to Azpuru, July 23 and August 6, 1768, *ibid.*, 1768).

his views underwent a radical change. The influence of this violent opponent of the Jesuits, the examples given by the Bourbon statesmen, together with their instigations, and the increasing bitterness of the struggle with Rome—all this gradually led him into the ranks of the declared enemies of the Society of Jesus.[1]

Almost as soon as the news of the banishment of the Jesuits from Spain reached Parma, Du Tillot took the firm resolve to make use of the favourable opportunity and to follow the example of the protector and head of the Spanish Bourbons. To his confidant Azara he declared that there were the same grounds in Parma for expelling the Jesuits as there were in Spain. As Charles III. had forbidden everyone who was in any way dependent on the Court of Madrid to have any intercourse with them, it would look strange if a nephew and a member of his House were to tolerate them in his country. It was his opinion that out of respect and love for the two heads of the family the sons and nephews would have to be guided by their attitude; to take the opposite course would be indecent, in view of the great obligations by which they were bound to them. The Jesuits themselves were awaiting their fate. Accordingly he would get his weapons ready and write to Grimaldi.[2]

On May 16th, 1767, the sixteen-year-old duke wrote an obviously dictated letter to Charles III., asking his consent to the intended blow against the Jesuits. Young as he was, he wrote, he had seen through their conduct and their principles. He regarded it as a matter of honour to follow throughout his life the shining example set by the two heads of his family. As these Religious had been found guilty in France and still more so in Spain, he believed that he ought not to wait until the occasion offered for them to prove themselves

[1] Benassi, V., 72 *seqq.* Du Tillot had already written to Roda in the spring of 1763: "Creo que algun día se hará algo tambien en España contra los Reverendos" (Danvila y Collado, III., 177).

[2] *Du Tillot to Azara, April 19 and May 2, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 1767.

guilty in Parma too. To keep them in his States would be a disgraceful and shameful thing for him to do. Their removal would make room for institutions which would benefit the State and do honour to him, the prince. Immediately he had received news of the measures taken in Spain he had deemed it his duty to give the Spanish king, his uncle, a proof of his love and respect. It would be easy to put the measure into effect in Parma. Du Tillot would let the Minister Grimaldi know the steps that would be taken, but first of all he needed the king's approval and permission.[1]

On the following day Du Tillot informed the Spanish Foreign Minister that Choiseul had caused an inquiry to be made, whether Parma was not thinking of coming to some decision about the Jesuits. What Choiseul had told him about their plots in Madrid had filled him with horror and rage.[2] On hearing of the expulsion of the Society from Spain the Infante had said that they would have to think of doing likewise in his duchy. But as it was not fitting to take such a step without the royal uncle's approval, the duke had asked him to inform the Spanish Minister that he held fast to his decision and that only one thing delayed its execution : he wanted to wait for the king's assent, and he hoped that in his goodness he would grant it. The same grounds that were present in France and especially in Spain were also present in his country. Since the crisis with Rome the Jesuits had made fanatical accusations against the Government both orally and in writing ; he had reliable information about this, though he had no actual evidence in his possession. Moreover, everyone expected Parma to follow Spain's example. There were about 170 Jesuits residing in the State, and of these only about ten were natives of the country. There were two ways by which expulsion might be carried out ; either the Jesuits could be told of the decision a few days in advance or they could be cleared out suddenly. The first method did not seem to him

[1] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055 ; Rousseau, I., 246 *seq.*

[2] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, May 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055.

to be in keeping with the ducal dignity; it would be more seemly to copy the severity and decisiveness of the king's uncle. Besides, in the first case there might easily be popular unrest. The Spanish procedure was therefore to be preferred and the decree of banishment was not to be made public until the morning after their departure. A life pension would be given to the ten native-born Jesuits of the 170 residing in the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the Jesuits Fumeron and Belgrado would continue to receive their salaries as tutors and confessors.[1] After the pensions and the cost of religious services had been deducted, the revenues of the Jesuit estates could be used for the advancement of the university and the support of destitute hospitals.[2]

These communications from Parma were put before the Extraordinary Council in Madrid, which also held the view that the second, severer method of expulsion was to be preferred.[3] In his written reply Charles III. appeared to give his nephew a free hand, but in a thorough discussion of the methods by which the banishment was to be carried out he left no doubt as to what he expected. He agreed with the Council in advocating an expulsion by surprise. This was to be designated an administrative measure (*providencia economica*), which would be more in keeping with the right of the prince and at the same time would be less likely to be contested by the ecclesiastics. As for the seizure and distribution of the Society's property, it would seem to be proper to keep strictly to the Spanish precedent, so that in defending his own case against the claims of Rome he, the king, would simultaneously be indirectly supporting his nephew's.[4]

[1] For these two, see BENASSI, V., 73.

[2] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, May 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; ROUSSEAU, I., 247 *seq.*; *Du Tillot to Azara, undated [May 16, 1767 ?], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1767.

[3] *Aranda to Roda, May 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055.

[4] " *A l'égard de l'affaire, je vous dirai par ordre de S. M. qu'après avoir mûrement examiné et fait examiner votre exposé,

The expulsion of the Jesuits from the duchies of Parma and Piacenza seemed to be imminent when, to Du Tillot's disgust, the instruction came from Choiseul to put it off for a while as discussions were taking place between Paris and Madrid regarding the entire suppression of the Order. The French proposal was that Naples and Venice should make a joint request to the Pope for the suppression of the Society, threatening, in the event of a refusal, to drive it out by force.[1] The plan, however, was frustrated by the firm opposition of both Naples and Spain, which were unwilling to risk a diplomatic defeat.[2] To prepare the public for the coming

le Roy laisse à la disposition de l'Infant et de son Conseil la détermination tout comme il croit que S. A. R. qui a demandé son avis au Roy son oncle, l'aura également demandé au Roy très chrétien son grand père . . . Au reste, sur les mesures à prendre, pour justifier l'expulsion, celle de fonder la résolution sur " una providencia economica " qui correspond au droit de tout souverain, paroit la meilleure et la moins sujette à contestation . . . pour ce qui est relatif à la saisie des biens, et leur distribution après, il paroit aussi qu'il conviendroit à l'Infant de se modeler exactement à ce qui s'est practiqué et practiquera en Espagne, que de cette façon sa cause avec Rome seroit unie à celle d'Espagne sans qu'on put trouver aucun coin pour l'en séparer, et que le Roy défendant la sienne, défendroit et soutiendroit implicitement celle de l'Infant son neveu, sans qu'il fut necessaire d'entrer dans des détails séparés " (Grimaldi to Du Tillot, June 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055). *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., June 7, 1767, *ibid.*; *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, June 14, 1767, *ibid.*; *Du Tillot to Azara, June 13, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1767.

[1] *Du Tillot to Azara, August 1 and September 13, 1767, *ibid.* " *Dio sa, se è un di tali raggiri la proposizione francese di domandarsi al Papa da Napoli e Venezia la soppressione dei Gesuiti colla minaccia di espellerli, se non saran soppressi. Nello stesso tempo si scrive da Francia a Parma, che sospenda la sua espulsione " (Tanucci to Roda, September 1, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6002). *Tanucci to Losada, September 1, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* below, pp. 336 *seq.*

blow, Du Tillot had the anti-Jesuit decrees of foreign Governments printed in the *Gazzetta di Parma* and French pamphlets against the Order translated into Italian and distributed. Spies in priests' clothing were on the look-out everywhere for a chance to attack and venal pens knew how to magnify the most trivial incidents into cases of national importance.[1]

On December 28th, 1767, Du Tillot was able to inform Spain that the preparations for the banishment had been concluded and that precautions had been taken against any interruption in the scholastic curriculum. All difficulties about entering and traversing neighbouring States had been overcome.[2] Instead of the expected commendation the Minister received a reprimand from the Court of Madrid, which did not agree with him on all points. It especially objected to inquiries being made of adjacent countries, for they might cause the plan to become known and in the event of a refusal political complications might ensue. In any case in the king's opinion it was superfluous to ask him now for his approval of the measures which had been taken, when Du Tillot had omitted to seek his advice when postponing the expulsion. It would have been better to bring the Jesuits to the frontier in small groups and thence to let them find their way home. In this way the neighbouring princes would have had no ground for complaint, for they could not have regarded such small numbers of emigrants as a violation of their territorial rights.[3] Deeply hurt, Du Tillot complained to Azara about this censure. He had only put off the execution of the banishment, he said, because he had been forced to do so, having to find replacements for the Jesuit professors from places outside Parma.[4]

On February 3rd, 1768, in the greatest secrecy, Duke Ferdinand signed the decree whereby, for expedient and urgent reasons which had been approved by the Council of

[1] Benassi, V., 209 *seqq.*

[2] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, December 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055.

[3] *Grimaldi to Du Tillot, January 12, 1768, *ibid.*

[4] *Du Tillot to Azara, January 25, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768.

State and eminent theologians, all Jesuits were banished for ever and irrevocably from his States. In the goodness of his heart he had given orders that the exiles were to be taken to the frontier at his expense and that here each of them was to be paid six sequins as journey-money. They would then be free to go where they pleased. If any Jesuit who was not a priest or professed would put aside his religious dress and deny his vocation he was immediately to be reckoned as a loyal subject. All natives of the country who chose to reside in Italy would receive a pension of 60 scudi if they were professed, and 40 scudi if they were of the rank of lay-brother. Surpluses from the revenues of the Jesuit estates were to be used for needy hospitals or other pious purposes. All correspondence with the exiles was forbidden, as was also the preservation of letters from Jesuits. The heaviest penalties would be inflicted on anyone who spoke or wrote about the expulsion, even in private, and even if he were to praise it or consent to it.[1]

At last, on February 7th, the Minister was able to report to Grimaldi that the expulsion would take place that night. By seven o'clock next morning there would not be a Jesuit left in the ducal States and an hour after their departure all the teaching posts would be filled again.[2] In a letter to his royal uncle which was sent at the same time the Infante added apologetically that he himself would have liked the "operation" to take place earlier, but the nature of the measures to be taken had not allowed of any greater acceleration.[3]

In faithful imitation of the Spanish model a ducal official

[1] Benassi, V., 213. The draft shows many corrections in Paciaudi's hand (*ibid.*, nn. 1 and 2).

[2] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055. Copy of the Pragmatic of February 3, 1768 (printed), *ibid.*; a reprint also in the *Inquietudini de' Gesuiti*, IV. (1769).

[3] "*Je compte que dans toute la journée de demain, tous les Jésuites seront hors de mes États: j'aurois bien désiré que cette opération eût pû se faire plutôt, mais la nature des arrangements à prendre, ne m'a permis de l'accélérer au gré de mes désirs." Ferdinand I. to Charles III., February 7, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055.

with a number of soldiers appeared in every Jesuit college on the night of February 7th–8th. After the inmates had packed up their clothes, linen, breviaries, crucifixes, and other small articles, they were assembled in one room. Here the decree of banishment was read to them, and then they were taken under military escort to the frontier, where each was handed the prescribed journey-money. Most of them made their way to Bologna, from where they were distributed among the various Jesuit establishments in the Papal States.[1] They were formally assured that their manuscripts, which were their only possessions, would be restored to them and forwarded to their new addresses, but, with a few exceptions, this promise was never kept.[2]

Those who were of like mind with the Government of Parma did not fail to signify their approval of its action. The self-complacent Minister was not a little flattered by the observation made by the Danish envoy in Paris, that the method of expulsion was improving every day.[3] In the Court of Madrid the news that the expulsion had been carried through aroused great joy; Charles III. let Du Tillot know that he was particularly satisfied with its smooth and successful issue.[4] The Duke's subjects were not so highly elated. Towards

[1] *Du Tillot to Roda, February 10, 1768, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 668; *Torrigiani to Giraud, February 18, 1768, Nunziata di Spagna, Carte sciolte, 412, *loc. cit.*; **Miscellanea de expulsione Societatis e statu Parmensi*, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 223, I., and 230, French translation in CARAYON, XV., 153 *seqq.*

[2] BENASSI, V., 217 *seqq.* "E il trattamento degli espulsi, se si toglie la pensione mantenuta, secondo l'editto, ai sudditi e a pochi eccettuati, fu ingiusto e crudele" (*ibid.*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 214.

[4] "*El Rey ha celebrado en sumo grado esta noticia, habiendole parecido muy bien los terminos en que está extendida la Pragmatica de extrañamiento, y muy prudentes y acertadas las medidas que se tomaron para el exito de aquella operacion" (Grimaldi to Du Tillot, February 23, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5055). *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., February 23, 1768, *ibid.*, 5220; *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, March 6, 1768, *ibid.*, 5055.

the end of the year the Minister wrote to the Spanish envoy Azpuru,[1] " if all the supporters of the Jesuits were to be sent out of the country the population would be reduced by at least a third."

The banishment was followed immediately by the seizure of the Society's property. Contrary to the Minister's apprehensions, it was found that nothing had been abstracted prior to the confiscation. The movable goods, except for those which had been allotted to the university and the hospital, were publicly auctioned and found their way, for the most part, into the hands of Jews, there being no other buyers. For the period March 1st to December 31st, 1768, the revenues from the confiscated estates amounted to 343,632 lire. One of the articles of the decree of expulsion provided that the Bishops of the duchy should be consulted with a view to filling the ecclesiastical posts formerly under Jesuit administration with learned and exemplary clerics. Actually the Bishops were presented with accomplished facts. The notices informing them of the perpetual banishment of the Jesuits bore the date February 6th but were not delivered until the morning after the event. The Jesuit churches came under the immediate protection of the ruler of the country, who controlled the arrangements for divine services without reference to the competent Church authority.[2]

The high hopes of the country's efflorescence which was expected to result from the expulsion of the Jesuits were not to be fulfilled. According to the confidential account contained in the letters written to Grimaldi by the Spanish envoy-extraordinary Llano, the situation soon became desperate. The tuition given to the young duke was such as would be tolerated only in the freethinking Courts of Berlin and London. The hospital, which had been endowed with the Jesuit property, was on the point of economic collapse. The university professors, mostly secularized Religious, had a bad

[1] *On December 24, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768.

[2] Benassi, V., 220 *seqq.*

reputation, and the moral laxity in the university was appalling. In the Collegio dei Nobili discipline had totally disappeared, and its debts amounted to 700,000 reals.[1]

As early as 1769 the young ruler's relations with the autocratic Minister had become so bad that the Kings of Spain and France had to admonish him not to despise the counsels of his old and faithful servant, especially as there was no one to replace him.[2] But as time went on the differences between the two became so great that any collaboration was impossible. With his over-hasty and anti-clerical reforms Du Tillot had made many enemies for himself and they were determined to dislodge him from his position no matter what the cost.[3] Dismissed by the duke without even a final audience, the Minister had to leave the country like a runaway in the middle of the night of November 19th, 1771. He betook himself to Paris, where he succumbed to an apoplectic stroke on December 13th, 1774.[4]

(3)

On the island of Malta, which Charles V. had handed over to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held in fee from Sicily, on March 24th, 1530, the Jesuits had been conducting a college since 1595, and a small parochial settlement on the neighbouring island of Gozo. Even in this little ecclesiastical State the Society had its enemies. After the catastrophe in Spain the Knights from that country had to part company with the Jesuits. The Grand Master, Emanuel Pinto da Fonseca, a Portuguese by birth, was still active in mind and body, in

[1] *Llano to Grimaldi, August 9 and 16, [1771 or 1772], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5204. On Du Tillot's dismissal Llano was appointed in his stead. *Cf.* Benassi, V., 250 *seqq.*

[2] *Louis XV. to Ferdinand I., May 22, 1769, Private Ducal Archives in Parma, Francia; *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., August 8, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5228. *Cf.* Pigorini, *La corte di Parma nel secolo XVIII.*, in the *Nuova Antologia*, 3rd series, XXXIX. (1892), 275 *seqq.*

[3] Benassi, V., 336 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 354.

spite of his eighty-seven years, but was indifferent to anything that was not to his own advantage. His countryman, the Bailli Guedes, had hitherto been active as a declared enemy of Rome and the Jesuits, and other Knights shared his dislike of the Society. The situation of the Jesuits, therefore, had become very insecure, and after the expulsion of their brethren from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies the question of their continued residence in Malta became very acute. The Order of St. John having, as a spiritual corporation, to pay heed to the Pope, and at the same time wanting to keep in favour with the King of Naples as it was a fee-holder of the Sicilian crown, a double game of a peculiar kind now began to be played. Whereas in Naples the Grand Master as good as offered to expel the Jesuits, in Rome he pretended to be morally compelled to take this step, and asked that it be tacitly condoned.[1]

As reported by Tanucci to Madrid on February 9th, 1768, Pinto had stated through his representative that, being obliged by his feudal status to expel from the island the king's subjects who had been found guilty of crimes against the State, he was prepared to meet his obligation if the king would assure him that the Jesuits had been guilty of such a crime. The Minister had replied that his master regarded these Religious as enemies of the State, so that by reason of the feudal treaty they could no longer remain in Malta. The Cardinal Secretary of State, on behalf of the Pope, had forbidden the expulsion of the Jesuits (continued Tanucci), but the Grand Master seriously intended to yield to the royal pressure. The Ricevitore Pignatelli, who was the source of this information, showed in this affair the greatest interest in the king's service, in return for which he would like to be placed on an equal footing with other envoys to the Court of Naples.[2] Madrid's attitude was most accommodating. It agreed to Pignatelli's promotion and desired the Knights of

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 57 *seqq.*

[2] *Tanucci to Charles III., February 9 and 16, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

St. John to be promised the king's support in their dealings with Rome.[1] To cover himself against any counter-measures that might be taken by the Holy See, Pinto, probably also at Portugal's instigation, asked the King of Naples for a letter urgently demanding the banishment of the Society of Jesus. Tanucci gladly agreed to this request.[2]

In Rome the Grand Master made out that his Order was in a position of constraint. The Neapolitan Government was threatening to sequestrate all Maltese commanderies in its State and to stop commercial traffic and the export of grain from the mainland, if he refused to eject the Jesuits. In these circumstances he asked that the expulsion be tacitly condoned.[3] The Holy See gave credence to these asseverations

[1] " *Alabando yo la idea de S. M. como de razon, atendida la solidez de sus fundamentos, añadí, que pudiera acaso el govierno Maltés querer se le ofreciese ser sostenido de esse monarca, y procurar que tambien S. M. le protegiese contra los rigores, y acaso vias de hecho de la Corte Romana, antes de determinarse a la expulsion de los Jesuitas, porque los estados pequeños miran mas que los grandes en lo que arriesgan " (Grimaldi to Tanucci [March 8, 1768], *ibid.*). *Charles III. to Tanucci, March 8 and April 19, 1768, *ibid.*, 6058.

[2] " *Il Gran Maestro di Malta nell' espulsione dei gesuiti, che dal Re si sollecita, mostra coraggio contro il furore minacciante di Torrigiani, forse è venuto il coraggio dalla patria, essendo Portoghese. Ha voluto ch' io gli scriva una lettera più pressante di real ordine ; la scrissi sabato " (Tanucci to Charles III., March 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6001). *Tanucci to Charles III., June 14, 1768, *ibid.* The Grand Master wanted " *una lettera del Re, colla quale gli si prescriva quell' espulsione, che già gli si era insinuata, dei Gesuiti. Si è fatta, ed egli spera, che questo gli abbia a servir di usbergo e scudo contro il furore e le convulsioni di Torrigiani " (Tanucci to Grimaldi, March 29, 1768, *ibid.*).

[3] " *Secondo alcune notizie Malta ha gettato sopra noi l'odio dell' espulsione dei Gesuiti, facendo credere al Papa, che se non si facesse, noi avressimo sequestrate tutte le commende di Malta, e sospeso il commercio, tanto che Torrigiani si lasciò persuadere a non far per una ventina di Gesuiti tanto danno alla religione, e alla popolazione di quell' isola " (Tanucci to Centomani, April 9,

and undertook to give the Knights a free hand on condition that the Fathers were removed in a fitting manner and without the use of military force. Further, every member of the Society must be given a pension. The Inquisitor was to take possession of the Jesuit property in the name of the Pope and was to employ it to the best advantage of the islanders.[1]

Thereupon on April 22nd, 1768, the Grand Master issued an edict in which he stated that the King of Naples had informed him that he had banished the Jesuits from his country on account of grave political offences and had at the same time requested him to effect their banishment from Malta in accordance with the existing treaties. He accordingly expelled these Religious from the island for ever. Each would receive a pension of 80 Roman scudi.[2]

On the very next day the Jesuits, about twenty in number, left Malta and were conveyed by a French ship to Civitavecchia.[3] In all other respects the prescribed conditions were disregarded by the Grand Master.[4] At Tanucci's behest [5] he had the immovable property of the Jesuits confiscated by his officers and some soldiers and he entrusted its administration to the procurators of the Maltese Order's common treasury, saying nothing to his Order's councillors about the arrangements made by the Holy See and the Maltese envoy.[6]

On this last matter serious differences arose between Pinto and the Inquisitor Mancinforte, who tried to protect the

1768, *ibid.*, 6004). *Tanucci to Charles III., April 12, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101 ; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, May 21, 1768, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, " Roma ", 287.

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 57 *seqq.*

[2] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101, translation in Carayon, XVI., 449 *seq.*

[3] *Tanucci to Charles III., May 10, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[4] *Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna, loc. cit.*

[5] *To Centomani, April 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6004.

[6] *Rivera to Lascaris, July 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101 ; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, May 7, 1768, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.*

rights of Rome. Again Tanucci intervened, declaring that as the sovereign rights over the island belonged, not to the Pope, but solely and exclusively to the King of the Two Sicilies, who was the feudal lord, the Grand Master, as the monarch's concessionaire, and under no other title, had the right to dispose of the Jesuit property for other pious purposes.[1]

The Inquisitor now appealed to Rome [2] and even within the Maltese Order the illegal measures met with opposition. Four Grand Crosses, having learnt the true state of affairs, lodged a protest against the Grand Master's procedure, in consequence of which the latter finally agreed to write a submissive letter to the Pope asking him to settle the matter as leniently as he could.[3] Thus appeased, Clement XIII. sought a solution whereby regard would be paid to Pinto's position of constraint and at the same time the rights of the Holy See would be at least formally upheld. Accordingly, after issuing a serious reprimand, he prescribed that the military were to be withdrawn from the Jesuit properties and that all inventories were to be handed to the Inquisitor ; on the other hand, he allowed the Grand Master to retain possession of the properties themselves as the Papal plenipotentiary, until the Holy See had decided how they were to be used for the advancement of religion and the common weal.[4]

Pinto earned little thanks from Naples for having given way. In the decree of expulsion which had been published the Grand Master referred to himself as being "invested with

[1] *Tanucci to Innocenzo Pignatelli, May 20, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5882 ; *to Charles III., May 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[2] *Bailli de Fleury to Fuentes, August 21, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565.

[3] *Ibid.* ; *Rivera to Lascaris, July 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101 ; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, July 9, 1768, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.* ; [Azpuru], **Informazione sulla destinazione dei beni gesuitici in Malta*, undated [July 7, 1768], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4976.

[4] Brief of Clement XIII. to the Grand Master of Malta, July 13, 1768, *Bull. Rom. Cont.* 1458 ; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge, July 16, 1768, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.*

sovereign rights." This was regarded by Tanucci as an infringement of the sovereign rights of the Sicilian crown over Malta and he demanded that the words be expunged. The Minister also urged that the Knights of Malta, contrary to their constitution, should make common cause with the House of Bourbon against the Pope.[1] In the course of the long and vexatious dispute the Marchese went so far as to prohibit the export of grain from Sicily to Malta, in order to render the Order subservient to his wishes.[2] Finally Spain intervened as mediator,[3] but the dissensions within the Order, which had begun with the expulsion of the Jesuits, continued for several years.[4]

(4)

Hitherto the Bourbon powers had conducted their campaigns against Rome and the Jesuits separately, but shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and Naples all the princes of the House made common cause against Rome and the Society. The occasion for this was offered by Parma.

The duchies of Parma and Piacenza had long ceased to acknowledge their feudal relations with the Holy See. With the death in 1731 of Duke Antonio Francesco the ducal family of Farnese was left without male issue, and the dispute which then arose between Austria and Spain over the succession ended with the recognition of the Spanish Infante Don Carlos as Duke of Parma. When Carlos ascended the throne of Naples in 1738, he was succeeded in Parma by his brother

[1] *Fleury to Fuentes, August 21 and 30, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565; *Choiseul to Fleury, August 29, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Fleury to Fuentes, January 10 and 12, 1769, *ibid.*, 6136.

[3] " *Me mandó S. M. enviar al Marqués de Tanucci un allanamiento que me presentó, y recomendarle su admision." Grimaldi to Fuentes, January 30, 1769, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 10, 1770, State Archives, Venice, Esteri-Roma $\frac{400}{1145}$; *El Recibidor di Malta a Grimaldi, April 14, 1770, *ibid.*

Don Felipe, whose long-disputed rights were finally recognized in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.[1]

The Pope had always objected to these diplomatic agreements. When the male line of Farnese became extinct the Holy See did not neglect to assert its ancient rights over the duchies, and it lodged a protest against the decisions which had been reached in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. From this time onward, year after year on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul a protest was read in St. Peter's after solemn vespers to obviate the Papal rights falling into desuetude, and no ruler had taken objection to this procedure.[2] When Duke Felipe, who died at the end of 1765, was succeeded by his fifteen-year-old son Ferdinand, Clement XIII. took the opportunity to re-affirm in an allocution the overlordship of the Holy See over Parma and Piacenza. Again no objection was raised in any quarter.[3]

As time went on, these territorial questions were accompanied by disputes of an ecclesiastico-legal character exacerbated by the intransigent attitude of the First Minister, Du Tillot, Marchese di Felino. Compared with him, Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma, was of little significance. The education of the young duke, bereft of his parents at an early age, had been entrusted by Du Tillot to the two philosophers Condillac and Keralio, whose instruction, however, was little suited to enlarge their pupil's mind. The result of their efforts was anything but brilliant.[4] The duke, as niggardly endowed by nature with physical as with intellectual gifts, remained dependent on others the whole of his life, requiring the guidance, first of Du Tillot, then of his wife Maria Amalie, the

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., pp. 126 *seqq.* For the antecedent period, see the Bull of Clement XI., of July 27, 1707, *Bull.* XXI., 295. *Cf.* Benassi, V., 261, n. 3, 262, n. 1.

[2] Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 114 *seq.*; Rousseau, I., 242 *seq.*

[3] *Allocution of December 12, 1765, Nunziat. di Spagna, 432, Papal Secret Archives; *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, December 12 and 26, 1765, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*

[4] *Llano to Grimaldi, August 9 and 16, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5204.

sixth daughter of Maria Theresa. Responsibility for the contest with the Holy See can hardly be ascribed to the duke, who was only seventeen years old and can hardly have grasped its significance.[1]

In his boundless ambition [2] the autocratic Minister attacked even the rights of the Church. Supported and urged on [3] by secular and regular clerics eager for reform, he invaded the liberty, jurisdiction, and immunity of the clergy by a series of edicts in a way which was bound to provoke the opposition of the Pope.[4] Not only did he claim for Parma the same concessions that had been granted by the Holy See to the Spanish Government by the Concordats of 1737 and 1753, but by various measures he strove to restrict possessions in mortmain, which, according to his allegations, covered two-thirds of the territory's surface. For this purpose he had already issued a law in the lifetime of Duke Felipe, on October 25th, 1765. By a decree of January 13th, 1765, without the agreement of the ecclesiastical authorities, he had imposed dues on ecclesiastical property.[5] Rome's complaints to the Court of Parma evoking no response, Clement XIII. had representations made through the Madrid nuncio to the duke's mother, Elizabeth Farnese, to the effect that the immoderate innovations in Parma might force the Holy See into the regrettable necessity of giving public utterance to its disapproval.[6] No help, however, was to be expected of Madrid, Du Tillot having secured in advance the Spanish king's consent to his offensive against Rome.[7] Thus unrestrained, the Minister proceeded

[1] Rousseau, I., 245.

[2] *Pignatelli to Grimaldi, July 28, 1765, Cifre, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5188.

[3] *Cf.* Benassi, V., 60 *seqq.*

[4] Benassi, vol. 5.

[5] *Pignatelli to Grimaldi, March 3, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5188.

[6] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, April 16, 1765, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 293, *loc. cit.*

[7] On December 15, 1765, Du Tillot asked Grimaldi for an official approval of his laws for the reform of ecclesiastical-political

further on his course.[1] On February 8th, 1766, he created a special law-court for the maintenance of the royal jurisdiction, its duties being to ensure the execution of the aforesaid decree and to penalize its infringements. The Pope's attempts to effect an improvement in relations by friendly negotiations were frustrated by an absence of good-will on Du Tillot's part. Just as an agreement was about to be concluded, relying on "the gracious assent of His Catholic Majesty",[2] he suddenly broke off the negotiations on some paltry excuse.[3] Unperturbed by the Curia's objection he proceeded with his ecclesiastical reforms until finally an incident trivial in itself changed the slowly-developing crisis into an open conflict.

A weak-minded man of the name of Descalonne alleged that his wife had been allowed to marry again although his marriage with her had been validly solemnized in the presence of the Bishop. The Bishop submitted all the necessary documents to the Holy See to show that these statements were untenable and in addition he produced evidence of the complainant's

relations, as it was required "de la prudence, et de ma sûreté, que notre cour ne prenne aucune résolution sur les affaires de Rome, sans qu'elle reçoive auparavant les volontez et l'intention de sa Majesté par une lettre d'office". Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5219.

[1] *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, January 24 and 31, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 268.

[2] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, January 5, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5220.

[3] "*V. S. Ill. è già ben informata quanto lungo trattato siasi avuto con quella corte per la revoca dei precedenti editti, quanta impegnata ella vi... fosse, quanto per parti di N. S. si fosse condisceso alle soddisfazioni della medesima, e quanto abbia poi ella stessa mancato alla buona fede e alle leggi della negoziazione, rompendo inaspettatamente, mediante un nuovo assurdo pretesto, la finale conclusione del trattato già quasi conchiuso" (Torrigiani to Giraud, March 9, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 455, Papal Secret Archives). Benassi, V., 111–171. As opposed to Torrigiani, Rousseau (I., 248) ascribes the blame to the Pope, asserting, without evidence, that the Holy See had disavowed its spokesmen and had rejected every offer of agreement.

insanity. The matter was now brought before the Roman courts despite the protest of the diocesan Bishop, who appealed to an indult granted by Paul III. and confirmed by Benedict XIV., which empowered the Bishop of Parma to decide on his own account all matters in dispute within his diocese in the last instance, without the possibility of appeal to Rome. A Congregation appointed by Clement XIII. to test the validity of this privilege came to the decision that Paul III.'s indult did not prohibit an appeal to the Holy See if one of the parties to the dispute desired it.[1]

Thereupon there appeared on January 16th, 1768, a governmental decree which, to the accompaniment of attacks on the higher ecclesiastical authority, forbade the reference of disputes to foreign tribunals, not excepting Rome. It was also forbidden to present foreigners to ecclesiastical benefices in the duchy without the duke's assent, and the ducal *exequatur* was prescribed for all decrees issued by ecclesiastical superiors.[2] A Congregation of Cardinals and prelates was immediately convened by the Pope to consider this fresh incident. As a result of their deliberations a Brief, dated January 30th, 1768, was posted up on the evening of February 1st in the traditional places in Rome where such announcements were made,[3] it being impossible, as was stated in the Brief, to publish it in the States of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. In it the territorial rights of the Holy See to the two duchies were upheld and the anti-clerical laws promulgated by Parma were enumerated and declared to be null and void because of their conflict with the rights of the Holy See and ecclesiastical immunity and the incompetence of their origin. All their originators and participants came under the censures set out in the Bull *In Coena Domini*, liberation from which the Pope reserved to himself. The Bishops, the regular and the secular clergy, and the laity were forbidden to

[1] Rousseau, I., 248 *seq.*

[2] *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, III., 1395 *seq.*; Benassi, V., 257 *seqq.*

[3] *Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 3, 1768 (copy), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565; Benassi, V., 275.

co-operate in the execution of the condemned decrees under pain of excommunication.[1]

In a covering letter which he sent along with this monitorium to the Paris nuncio, the Cardinal Secretary of State explained how the Pope, tired of the continual attacks on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Parma, had deemed it his unavoidable duty to make a public protest. The Brief, he said, was composed on the model of similar edicts of former Popes, such as Clement XI., who had had to deal with less serious infringements of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Whereas Venice and Vienna had remedied the complaints of the Holy See, no satisfaction had even been made by Parma. The last edict had gone beyond all bounds and therefore called for an emphatic condemnation. The text of the Brief contained ample material for refuting the malicious interpretations [2] of the Papal decision by ill-disposed parties.[3]

In the Bourbon Courts the monitorium had the effect of a declaration of war. The official and unofficial correspondence of the envoys and Ministers of this time show like a lightning flash the great revolution that had taken place in the world of religious and ecclesiastical ideas in France and southern Europe. The Spanish agent Azara immediately launched a furious onslaught on the Brief, which he described as an attack on the authority of the princes. According to this Brief, not only the Duke of Parma and his Ministers but also the Kings of France and Spain, together with their Ministers, came under the ban as accomplices and advisers, and their subjects were as good as released from their oath of obedience. Although Tanucci afterwards admitted that the Jesuits and their "tertiaries" had nothing to do with the matter,[4] these

[1] Printed, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5220; *Bull.*, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Si può dare una maggiore bestialità di quella commessa dalla Corte di Roma in questo affare?" Abbate Berta to Paciaudi, February 17, 1768, in Benassi, V., 260, n. 3.

[3] *Torrigiani to Giraud, February 3, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 455, *loc. cit.*

[4] At the time of the suppression of the Jesuit Order, when there was a question of returning the territories wrested from the Holy

unfortunate Religious were represented as being the originators of the Papal edict and had to suffer accordingly. It was they who had obtained the publication of the decree, it was alleged, by representing the King of Spain to the Pope as a good Christian who would fall on his knees at the mere mention of the word "excommunication" and would send his nephew from Parma to Rome with a rope round his neck. The monarch's eyes would be opened and he would realize the wickedness of Roda, who had seduced him into taking all these steps against the Jesuits. If the experiment succeeded in Parma, the same action would be taken against all the other States.[1] Tanucci indulged in his usual unbridled language. With a flood of insults against Clement XIII. he declared to his friend Galiani that there were only two ways of repairing Rome's crime against Parma: either to pass it over with contempt and silence or to strip the Pope of his secular power. As long as the Bourbon Courts failed to unite to depose the Pope and divide his territories among Venice, Tuscany, Modena, and Naples, they would have to maintain a contemptuous silence. The attitude of the Catholic Powers was incomprehensible to him. If a Bishop went a little beyond his powers, he was threatened with the withdrawal of his revenues. But although the Pope was the greatest, the most outrageous, and the craftiest enemy of all the princes, no one thought of depriving him of his worldly possessons, which were the cause of his having abandoned the law of Christ and

See, Tanucci refused to hand over Benevento on the ground that neither the Jesuits nor their "tertiaries" had been the originators of the monitorium. "*Prescindo tambien de que aora [Tanucci] clame sobre que los Jesuitas y sus terciarios no fueron los autores del monitorio de Parma, y que tenga escrupulos de que se usase del medio de la retencion de estos Estados para obtener la supresion, quando no los tiene para intentar quedarse con ellos de hecho." Moñino to Grimaldi, August 5, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Extincion", 1773.

[1] Azara to Roda, February 4, 1768, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., Madrid, 1846, 10.

the teaching of the Apostles.[1] His advice was to ignore the monitorium with contempt. One could just laugh at an unarmed Court like Rome, ignore it, and continue as before.[2] In his excitement on first hearing the news Choiseul forgot his usual diplomatic calm and called the monitorium an unheard-of stupidity. "The Pope," he exclaimed, "is a complete ninny, and his Minister is a first-class fool. The insult is aimed not only at the Duke of Parma: it applies to the whole House of Bourbon. It is an act of revenge, a reprisal against those monarchs who have driven out the Jesuits. If this first detestable step is tolerated, the Roman Court, led by a man that knows no bounds, will stop at nothing. The dignity of the monarchs and the Family Compact demand that we allow no prince of this House to be insulted with impunity." [3]

Du Tillot, who had been pressing for an open rupture for years past, now, in order to cover himself, began to work for the union of all the Bourbon Courts and their joint action against the Jesuits. According to his information, he assured the Spanish Foreign Minister, the passionate tone of the Brief, which was artificially induced, was due solely to the Jesuits' vengeful feelings against all the Bourbons. Rome's attack was directed not only against the Infante but against all princes who had turned out the Society of Jesus and whom it was now hoped to strike in the person of the youngest scion of the House—that was the underlying meaning of the monitorium. The expressions used in the Papal document were so insulting and uncalled-for as to arouse the interest of every monarch.[4] In Paris Du Tillot complained of the immoderate bitterness with which the Roman Curia opposed his ecclesiastico-

[1] Tanucci to Galiani, February 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6003; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 184.

[2] *Tanucci to Centomani, February 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[3] Choiseul to Grimaldi, February 19, 1768 (*ibid.*, 4565), in ROUSSEAU, I., 250. *Cf.* Fuentes to Grimaldi, February 19, 1768, *ibid.*

[4] *Du Tillot to Grimaldi, February 7, 1768, *ibid.*, 5220.

political measures, all of which had been taken in agreement with the Courts of Madrid and Versailles. On the other hand, he was sure that the old bogey of excommunication was a foolish and out-of-date threat that was not worth considering. But as some turbulent monk or other might take this opportunity of creating a disturbance, he was thinking of publishing a decree through the jurisdictional commission, in which the Papal constitution would be represented as apocryphal.[1] He would like Choiseul's view of the matter.[2] The young duke too, in his letters to the Kings of France and Spain, had to represent the Jesuits as the real authors of the monitorium.[3] On the Superiors of the religious Orders the Minister imposed prudence and silence, holding over them the threat that if a single Religious spoke or wrote against the edict he would clear the whole Order out of the country. To the two Inquisitors at Piacenza he had orders sent that as soon as the monitorium had been published they were to leave the duchy within two hours.[4] As a result of this intimidation no Bishop or cleric, whether regular or secular, dared to object to the Government's anti-clerical laws.[5]

At first the Minister had no great hope of success from a paper war, although he had been looking out in Venice for a theologian versed in canon law and Church history who might possibly write against Rome.[6] Soon, however, he abandoned his first opinion and had a manifesto circulated in which the Papal Brief was contested and the Government's

[1] Spedalieri had advised this method as causing less disturbance while preserving the duke's honour. BENASSI, V., 263, n. 4; Du Tillot to Roda, February 10, 1768, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 186.

[2] *Du Tillot to D'Argental, February 10, 1768, Parma Library, Correspondance de Mr. du Tillot avec Mr. d'Argental, 574.

[3] *Ferdinand I. to Charles III., February 10, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5220.

[4] *Du Tillot to Azara, February 13, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1768.

[5] *Du Tillot to Azara, February 21, 1768, *ibid.*

[6] *Du Tillot to Azara, February 13, 1768, *ibid*

reform laws were energetically defended.[1] Several writers offered him their services spontaneously, and a series of polemical works appeared in which, on the authority of Gerson, Sarpi, and Fleury, the sovereign rights of the prince were upheld against the pretensions of the Papacy.[2]

Although Du Tillot had declared that in his proceedings against ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity he had always acted in agreement with Versailles and Madrid, he was not entirely without misgivings as to the attitude these Cabinets would adopt. To the notice of his January edict which he had sent to Grimaldi, he had received an evasive reply. Assuredly, Grimaldi observed, the edict would greatly benefit the country but he would not like to say if it was consonant with Parma's privileges. He did not doubt, however, that it had been drawn up in accordance with the opinions of jurists and theologians. Piqued by this reply, the Minister declared that for an ordinance of this kind there was no need of privileges; it was justified by the natural right of self-defence.[3]

His troubles were soon to disappear. From all sides the representatives of the Bourbon Powers hastened to the aid of their like-minded colleague. "Let there be no mistake about it," wrote Aubeterre, "there is no question here of a personal matter of the Infante's but of a policy which has gradually been formed since the banishment of the Jesuits. A trial is being made with one of the less powerful princes, from whom, it is thought, there is nothing to fear; later, proceedings will be taken against the others. Apart from the demands of blood-relationship, this affair of the Infante's must become the common cause of all sovereigns. Their authority will be at stake if they let the Roman Court impose disobedience with impunity on the clergy and its subordinates

[1] *Manifesto o la Memoria della corte di Parma sulle lettere in forma di Breve pubblicate e affisse in Roma nel giorno primo Febbraio 1768*, in Benassi, V., 268 *seqq.* The manifesto met with Voltaire's heartiest approval; see *ibid.*, 269, n. 4.

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 274 *seqq.*

[3] *Du Tillot to Azara, February 13, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1768.

under pain of excommunication." [1] In Rome, where the Brief had been posted up at 11 p.m. on February 1st, 1768, all the notices had been torn down again by 1 a.m. the next morning.[2] In other quarters too the cries for help uttered by Du Tillot and, under his direction, Duke Ferdinand, did not go unheard. Charles III. assured the young monarch of his sympathy with him in the distress caused him by Rome and promised him his support in so far as his cause was just. He would have the matter examined by a commission of prelates and jurists and make their opinion known to the King of France, so that both Courts, in conjunction with Naples, could take the necessary steps in Rome.[3] In the letter in which the Spanish monarch demanded Tanucci's co-operation he observed, "We must act in unison, speak one and the same language, and continually give unending thanks to God that we no longer have in the lands of our family these pernicious and corrupt men who are against our holy religion and their rulers." [4] The Extraordinary Council of Castile, augmented by five Bishops, came to the conclusion under the leadership of the two Fiscals, Campomanes and Moñino, that it was not the Infante who had encroached on the rights of the Church, but that the Roman Curia with its monitorium had overstepped the boundaries of love, moderation, and reasonable consideration for the Duke of Parma. The excommunication was therefore null and void and the Roman Ministry was in duty bound to withdraw the Brief and to keep inside its barriers in the future.[5]

Tanucci's high-flown plans of despoiling the Pope of his worldly possessions [6] met with no approval from Choiseul with his sense of reality. The French Minister insisted above

[1] *Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 3, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., February 23, 1768, *ibid.*, 5220.

[4] Charles III. to Tanucci, February 23, 1768, in Danvila y Collado, III., 186.

[5] *Consulta* of February 23, 1768, *ibid.*, 187, n. 1.

[6] Tanucci to Galiani, February 6, 1768 (see above, p. 271, n. 1.)

everything on the necessity of the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples taking joint action against Clement XIII. In a memorandum to the Pope the representatives of these three Powers were to express their amazement that he should have published, without previous negotiation or warning, a decree against the Duke of Parma which was in itself both insulting and unjust, since it apparently inflicted excommunication on him for a purely secular matter. Family interest did not allow the rulers of the House of Bourbon to overlook this insult. They therefore found themselves compelled to demand, with the means placed in their hands by God, formal satisfaction for the insulted party. The Holy See must formally and publicly countermand the Brief. If the Pope did not comply with the request within a week, the three monarchs would recall their envoys from Rome and expel the Papal nuncios from their States. In the event of a refusal, which was anticipated, relations with Rome were to be broken off for the remainder of the pontificate. Business would be carried on, "but we will deal with the Court of Rome in such a way that we will be the masters of the next conclave, and the most pressing task of the next Pope will be to make good the stupidities of his predecessor." Should a rupture occur the House of Bourbon would have nothing worse to fear than the loss of a few Cardinal's hats, which was really rather a gain, for the Crown Cardinals allowed themselves to be entangled in intrigues as soon as they got to Rome, whereas it was easy to buy the votes of the Italian members of the Sacred College, and they would not let themselves be duped. If the Pope obstinately persisted in his refusal, they would make themselves masters of the possessions which the Holy See was holding unjustly, such as Avignon, Benevento, Pontecorvo, Castro, and Ronciglione. By these means the Bourbons would be able to dictate terms when a reconciliation was eventually made and obtain the suppression of the Jesuit Order.[1]

[1] Choiseul to Grimaldi, February 19, 1768, in ROUSSEAU, I., 251 *seqq.*

The Extraordinary Council of Castile, to which Charles III. submitted these proposals of Choiseul's for its consideration, expressed its agreement with them in essentials but thought that the occupation of the Papal States was a better method than breaking off relations. The Council was sure that this step would lead to a diplomatic rupture but it was in the interest of the Powers to be able to put the blame on Rome. In this way they would obtain both the breach and the occupation of part of the temporal possessions. "We shall thus be more the masters on the day of settlement and will be better able to attain what we have in view, namely the suppression of the Jesuit Order."[1]

As Choiseul, when communicating with the Papal nuncio, had brought the same accusations against the Holy See as when writing to Grimaldi, Torrigiani exposed their worthlessness in his reply to Giraud. For years past the Pope had looked on at Parma's activities with forbearance and long-suffering. His repeated attempts to settle the conflict had been frustrated by the First Minister's dishonesty and had been answered only by fresh encroachments. The Court of Parma had never made any representations to Rome before issuing its reforming edicts, so that no reproach should be brought against the Pope for observing the same procedure, especially as on previous occasions he had made it clear that he reserved to himself the right to make use of his supreme authority. After the unpleasant experiences he had had in years gone by, to have once more entered into negotiations would have meant exposing himself to fresh refusals and insults and would have tied his hands. To describe the Brief as a hostile act against the House of Bourbon was a worthless pretext for the obvious purpose of putting the Holy See in the wrong. In condemning and nullifying laws which were harmful to the Church the Pope was only performing the duties of his office, and he was not swayed by any personal motives. The protest against the Bull *In Coena Domini* might

[1] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, March 2, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

have had some justification in a Brief for France, where it was not allowed to be promulgated, but not in a decree for Parma, where the Bull had always been recognized and put into force. For centuries it had been accepted as the norm in similar cases ; the Pope had done no more than use the language of his predecessors.[1]

Almost all the Catholic Governments forbade the circulation of the monitorium in their States. Despite the nuncio's energetic efforts to persuade Louis XV. to have the Brief published, the Paris Parlement, instigated by Choiseul, banned it on February 26th, 1768. It was only the Minister's cool-headedness that prevented the order being given for its public burning by the executioner.[2] On March 13th the Parmesan Government, adopting the opinion given by the royal Giunta, issued a decree by which the failure to surrender the monitorium incurred the penalty suffered by rebels and traitors.[3] On March 16th, 1768, the Council of Castile published against the Pope's admonitory letter a royal ordinance to which were attached the opinions of the two Fiscals, Campomanes and Moñino, with their harsh invectives against Rome.[4] An edict of the King of Naples, of June 4th, 1768, ordered the surrender of the *papel de Roma*, as the Brief was contemptuously dubbed, and the Bull *In Coena Domini*, threatening anyone who retained them with the penalty for high treason.[5] Similarly, on April 30th, the Portuguese Government ordered the collection of every copy of the monitorium and declared that anyone who distributed, copied, or retained it was a traitor.[6]

[1] *Torrigiani to Giraud, March 9, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 455, *loc. cit.*

[2] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 122 ; BENASSI, V., 266.

[3] The publication of the edict did not follow until March 26, 1768, after the approval of the Courts of Spain and France had arrived (BENASSI, V., 268). A copy of the edict in the Arch. general central in Madrid, Estado, 4900.

[4] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 191 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 200.

[6] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 122.

Meanwhile, after the Bourbon Powers had agreed on the manner of their procedure,[1] the representatives of the three Courts had asked the Pope for a private audience. Clement XIII., who had been notified well in advance of the joint action that was about to be taken, was not only not disheartened but was firmly resolved not to depart from the decision he had taken. He was convinced that he must not fail in the obligations of his spiritual office in order to save the worldly possessions of the Holy See, and that he could make no concession inconsonant with his dignity as Head of the Church and guardian of the laws.[2] On April 15th and 16th the envoys presented their memoranda [3] in which they demanded in the name of their royal masters the recall of the monitorium and the unreserved recognition of the Infante Ferdinand's sovereignty over Parma and Piacenza. In the event of a refusal, they threatened reprisals ; if, on the other hand, the Holy See agreed to the request made by their Courts, the latter would be willing to act as intermediaries in the negotiations for a settlement. But the conditions for making satisfaction to the Infante must first be fulfilled before they could enter into further discussions, in which the Cardinals Torrigiani, Negroni, Boschi, Bonaccorsi, and Castelli were to take no part.[4]

The Pope skimmed through the memorial presented by the French representative, Aubeterre, and told him he would

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 5, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48 ; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, April 5, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[2] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, March 24 and 31 and April 14, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 24, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

[3] *Memoria di Spagna, of April 15, 1768, in Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* ; copies of the three *aides-mémoires* (April 15, 1768) in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

[4] In an **aide-mémoire* of June 9, 1768, the Republic of Venice approved of this step of the Bourbons. *Ibid.*

neither withdraw nor alter the Brief, for he could not do so with a good conscience. It was only at the prompting of his conscience that he had published the monitorium. The threat of reprisals he treated with contempt. The same reply was given by Clement XIII. to the Spanish envoy, with the observation that he would rather die than betray the rights of the Apostolic See and burden his conscience with a heavy load for which he would have to account at the judgment seat of God. He was not afraid of reprisals. The monarchs might take as many as they wished; they would meet with no resistance, for he had neither weapons nor soldiers with which to oppose them. Even if he did have them, he would not use them against Catholic princes and sons of the Church. The only weapons he had were prayer and the Cross of Christ, in which he put all his trust. The Pope's countenance, while he was making this reply, showed signs rather of joy than of grief.[1]

Whereas Clement confined himself to this dignified rejoinder to the representatives of France and Spain, he could not refrain from calling the attention of Cardinal Orsini, the representative of the Two Sicilies, to the unworthiness of his procedure. In the *aide-mémoire* which Orsini had to present in his king's name, the monitorium was described as an outrage against the person of the Duke of Parma and as an attack on his sovereignty.[2] "No one would dare," protested the aged Head of the Church, "to throw such an accusation in the face of any other monarch, without communicating with his Minister." He would never have believed that his own sons would declare war on him, the universal father; but with all their reprisals they would not obtain from him the recantation of the Brief. He condemned as a worthless subterfuge the envoy's excuse that the Courts were not satisfied

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 15, 1768, *ibid.*; BENASSI, V., 270 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Torrigiani to Vincenti, April 21, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 125 *seq.*

[2] *Copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

with the Minister and therefore had to deal directly with the Pope. To Clement's reproaches that he had not been true to his obligations as a Cardinal, Orsini replied that he did not consider that he had offended against his oath.[1]

Attempts were made to bring other Catholic Powers into the league against the Holy See. In the spring of 1768 Charles III. had hopes of Austria being drawn more closely towards the Bourbon policy through the marriages of the Duke of Parma and the French Dauphin with the two archduchesses.[2] On April 19th he wrote joyfully to Tanucci that, according to the reports that had come from Paris, Austria and Portugal had joined with the Bourbons.[3] This news, however, proved to be untrue. On May 12th Torrigiani had in his hands the assurance that the Imperial Court would take no step against the monitorium despite all the efforts of the Bourbon envoys.[4] The reason for this attitude was intimated to the Spanish representative as being the unwillingness of Austria to expose itself to a rebuff such as had been suffered by the Bourbons, especially as the latter had not waited for any German mediation.[5] In spite of Prince Kaunitz's marked predilection for France, the Empress maintained her negative position; in fact, according to the nuncio Visconti's report, she positively approved of the Pope's attitude towards Parma and the Bourbons.[6] Her view was shared by the King of Sardinia, who remarked that for three armed Powers to proceed in this

[1] *Orsini to Grimaldi, April 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Charles III. to Louis XV., March 2, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850; Danvila y Collado, III., 189 *seq.*

[3] *To Tanucci, April 19, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 6059; Danvila y Collado, III., 198.

[4] *Torrigiani to Vincenti, May 12, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Mahony to Grimaldi, May 21, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6504.

[6] *Visconti to Torrigiani, May 28, June 14 and 18, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, Papal Secret Archives.

way against the unarmed Roman Curia hardly redounded to their honour.[1]

Pombal, who had long desired closer relations with Spain, saw the dispute over Parma as a welcome opportunity of effecting this connection. On March 20th, 1768, he empowered the Portuguese envoy to conclude an agreement with the object of compelling the Pope to "fulfil his duty" and, if necessary, of occupying Papal territory. In a covering letter containing violent abuse of the Jesuits he proposed that the Head of the Church should be proceeded against with force of arms and that the Papal States should be divided among the neighbouring princes.[2] He was thinking also of sending the envoy Almada back to Rome so as to combine with the French and Spanish representatives in obtaining satisfaction for Parma.[3] However, much as the Bourbon Courts desired to strengthen the anti-Papal group by the admission of further Catholic Powers, they did not entirely trust the Portuguese Minister's intentions. Both Choiseul [4] and Tanucci [5] suspected that Pombal's over-eagerness concealed ulterior political

[1] *Tanucci to Cattolica, May 10, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6004; *Visconti to Torrigiani, June 4, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.*

[2] Copies of both documents in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7290.

[3] *Pombal to Ayres de Sa e Mello, April 9, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1768.

[4] "*M. d'Oeyras est tout feu quand il est question de Rome et des Jésuites, pour lesquels nous n'avons pas besoin de lui et où il n'est qu'incommode; mais lorsque nous traitons l'alliance contre Angleterre il me persiffle, comme on dit dans ce pays-ci; et je crois qu'il fait pire, car il négocie un nouveau traité de commerce avec Angleterre" (Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 3, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850). "*Il faut laisser faire ce que voudra M. d'Oeyras à Rome; quant à nous, l'affaire des représailles est en règle" (Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 27, 1768, *ibid.*). *Grimaldi to Choiseul, May 16, 1768, *ibid.*

[5] *To Azpuru, May 7 and 31, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1768.

motives and they feared that Portugal's accession would be more of a burden than a relief to the allies. Almada's efforts to secure the support of the French and Spanish ambassadors in his project of returning to Rome as envoy met with so cool a response that he finally abandoned it.[1]

Rome, being well aware of the possible consequences of the steps that had been taken, took pains to prevent a rupture of diplomatic relations. An attempt was made by the Pope to appease the Courts of Versailles and Madrid by assuring them that he had not the slightest intention of offending the two sovereigns but that in his procedure against Parma he had been led only by his conscience. But both Choiseul and the Spanish envoy Fuentes refused to accept the Papal memorandum.[2]

After Clement XIII.'s refusal to give way, reprisals were expected to follow immediately. Tanucci, however, entreated Charles III. to postpone them until the wedding of King Ferdinand and the Archduchess Carolina had taken place, since, if the Pope were to impose the penalty of excommunication on the invaders of the Papal States, this step, in view of the religious outlook of the Empress and her daughters, might throw the whole nuptial project into confusion.[3] The Madrid Government accordingly proposed the 10th of June, 1768, for the occupation of Benevento and Pontecorvo and the following day for the occupation of Avignon and Venaissin.[4] As a result of Choiseul's and Tanucci's representations it was finally agreed that the two States should take simultaneous

[1] *Cf.* *Correspondencia del Sr Com^dor^ Almada Mendoza a Mr Azpuru, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1760/69.

[2] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, May 30 and June 3, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

[3] *To Charles III., May 3, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[4] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, May 16, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850; *Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 27, 1768, *ibid.*; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 16, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

action on June 14th.[1] This plan was put into effect. On the appointed day the troops of the two Powers entered the Papal possessions; the legates and the Jesuits had to leave the occupied territories and the French and Neapolitan officials took over the civil administration.[2]

However hard the Bourbons strove to preserve the appearance of unanimity, the mutual relations of their representatives and Ministers were anything but harmonious. The French envoy Aubeterre especially had a strong dislike for the Spanish and Neapolitan agents, Azara and Centomani, who were bent on playing important parts no matter what the cost, meddled in everything, criticized every step taken by their own ambassadors, and tried to create the impression that it was they who had the confidence of their Courts.[3] Choiseul was equally exasperated by Tanucci's wily schemes. In his first plan the French Foreign Minister had included among the places to be occupied Castro and Ronciglione,[4] to which Naples had previously laid claim.[5] This step was favoured also by Azpuru on the ground that the Roman Curia, deriving as it did an annual revenue of 100,000 scudi from these districts, would be the more effectively assailed in a vital nerve.[6] But as Spain wished the occupation of Papal territory to be conceived as a reprisal and not as the deprivation of an illegitimate possession, exception was taken to the scheme, especially as France and Austria stood guarantee for Castro according to the peace treaty of 1738.[7] Nevertheless, to

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, May 25, 1768, *ibid.*; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, May 31, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[2] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, June 14, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] Aubeterre to Choiseul, August 18, 1768, in ROUSSEAU, I., 266.

[4] Choiseul to Grimaldi, February 19, 1768, *ibid.*, 251 *seqq.*

[5] *Tanucci to Azpuru, May 31, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1768.

[6] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 24, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

[7] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, July 26, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

increase the pressure, the occupation was to be used as a threat and was to be carried out if the Pope persisted in his obstinacy.[1] Tanucci thought this a good opportunity of obtaining for his royal master the triumph of a slight increase of territory. He declared that the retaliatory measures taken by the three Powers were insufficient: they must also possess themselves of Castro and Ronciglione, which lay practically outside the gates of Rome, especially as Naples had long had rights to them. When Ferdinand's troops appeared on the banks of the Tiber, before the Castel S. Angelo, the Roman populace would rise and force the Pope to grant every one of the Bourbons' demands. To lend more weight to his proposals he spread it abroad that Choiseul had persistently urged him to occupy the districts in question.[2] In Rome the Marchese had at first caused the rumour to be spread that regarding Castro and Ronciglione no decision had yet been reached.[3] In Madrid the step was held to be imprudent, it being desired to cow the Romans by the fear of further seizures of territory and to render them inclined to make greater concessions.[4] In consequence Tanucci instructed the envoy Orsini to circulate the report that Spain was now agreeable to the occupation of further portions of the Papal States and that France was insistent on it.[5] To Centomani he gave the feast of All Saints as the day fixed for the entry of the Neapolitan troops.[6] Orsini knew no rest until he had shared this information with

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, May 25, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565.

[2] *Choiseul to Ossun, September 20, 1768, *ibid.*, 5222. *Cf.* Rousseau, I., 267, n. 1.

[3] *Azpuru to Du Tillot, July 7, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768; *Tanucci to Azpuru, July 12, 1768, *ibid.*, Exped., 1768.

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 26, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, June 26, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[5] *Tanucci to Orsini, August 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 6005; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, August 16, 1768, *ibid.*

[6] *Tanucci to Centomani, August 20, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

Cardinal Cavalchini.[1] This aroused a storm of indignation in Vienna and Versailles. When asked for an explanation, Orsini denied everything and declared that Cavalchini, who was hard of hearing, had misunderstood him.[2] Tanucci in his turn disavowed the representative of Naples.[3]

The Curia was not alarmed by these manœuvres, having heard from the Viennese nuncio that the empress had let it be known at the Bourbon Courts that she could not view the occupation of Castro with indifference.[4] Choiseul gave vent to his anger in contemptuous language aimed at Tanucci and Orsini.[5] Indignant at the misuse of his name, he protested against Tanucci's dishonesty and trickery [6] and demanded that he be severely reprimanded by the King of Spain.[7] Thus exposed, the Marchese wrapped himself in a profound silence.[8] Later he complained that the French Foreign Minister, with all the fuss and bother he had made, had encouraged the Pope in his resistance.[9]

Du Tillot also thought that the time had come to increase

[1] *Negroni to Aubeterre, August 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 5222 ; *Aubeterre to Negroni, August 25, 1768, *ibid.*

[2] *Azpuru to Aubeterre, August 31, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Tanucci to Charles III., October 4, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[4] *Visconti to Torrigiani, August 26, 1768, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.* ; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, September 1, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 22, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222.

[5] Choiseul to Aubeterre, October 4, 1768, in ROUSSEAU, I., 266. *Cf.* p. 9, n. 3.

[6] *Choiseul to Vicomte Choiseul, envoy to Naples, September 20, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222 ; *Choiseul to Aubeterre, September 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[7] Grimaldi to Fuentes, September 19, 1768, in ROUSSEAU, I., 276, n. 2 ; Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 20, 1768, *ibid.* ; Choiseul to Aubeterre, October 4, 1768, *ibid.*

[8] *Tanucci to Galiani, October 8, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6006.

[9] *To Castromonte, October 29, 1768, *ibid.*

his master's territory—which was far too small—at the Pope's expense, but his attempts to sound the friendly Bourbon Courts and the Imperial House met with such strong opposition that he soon dropped the project.[1] Hopelessly he wrote to Argental that this was the most favourable occasion to show a manly spirit and to cut short all jurisdictional controversies. This was to be done by stripping the Pope of every vestige of temporal rule, confining him to his episcopal functions, and thus putting an end to the powers he had arrogated to himself and to all his usurpations. A vigorous war should be waged to reduce the Roman Court to the lowest level and to separate it from the person of the Pope, from his dignity, from public worship, and from religion. Unfortunately, however, he went on bitterly, there were only four persons at Versailles and Madrid who understood him ; the monarchs with their inherited prejudices could not apprehend such ideas and owing to an apparently childish attachment to religion they would order him to halt at the very first step he took.[2]

[1] Benassi, V., 278 *seqq.*

[2] " *Si, como V. S. dice, fuesemos para aprovechar de la occasion dichosa que hemos tenido y troncar de una vez con viril animo sobre todos los puntos de jurisdiczion, quitando hasta la mas minima especie de temporal al Papa y reduciendolo a lo que deve ser y a sus funciones de obispo, y que con constancia se bolviesen a llamar todas las autoridades que injustamente se han arrogado y destruir todas las usurpaciones de aquella corte, y seria de parecer quc se continuasse la guerra la mas sangrienta, reduciendo la corte de Roma al punto mas baxo, y separando esa corte iniqua de la persona del Papa, de su dignidad y del culto y de la religion. Pero aunque quatro personas lo entiendan asi en Madrid y en Versailles, los amos lo entenderán diversamente. Al primer paso nos pararemos, como ya se ha hecho una o dos vezes, y no haremos nada de lo que pudieramos y devriamos... Nuestros reyes que han nacido y viven escrupulosos y llenos de lo que interpretan ser amor filial de la religion... ". Du Tillot to Azara, August 21, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768–9.

The Bourbons were not content with territorial reprisals. On June 16th, 1768, by way of a manifesto against the monitorium, the Pragmatic of January 18th, 1762, which prescribed the royal *exequatur* for all Papal edicts and which had hitherto been in abeyance, was revived to its full extent. This gave the greatest pleasure to Tanucci, who regarded it as the only way of upholding the royal prerogatives together with the tranquillity of princes and nations, Christian morals, and even the Catholic religion itself. In his exuberance he went so far as to say that with the *exequatur* the defection of Germany and the whole of the North could have been prevented.[1]

This action of Spain's was a precedent for others to follow. On August 9th, 1768, Count Firmian, the Imperial Lieutenant, addressed a circular letter to all the Bishops in Lombardy, forbidding the publication in future of the Bull *In Coena Domini*.[2] This was followed on October 19th by a public edict banning the Bull and prohibiting its application in any way whatever.[3] A similar ban was issued in Naples on October 11th, 1768.[4] Du Tillot considered it his duty to exploit the breach with Rome. When banning the Bull on November 3rd of the same year, on the ground that it conflicted with the royal rights,[5] he expressed his lively regret that Count Firmian had forestalled him with his ban, so that it looked as if he were merely his imitator.[6] The Duke of Modena also tried to take advantage of the favourable situation and to seize the legation of Ferrara for himself. He was restrained from so doing only by the intervention of the Court of Vienna, for so

[1] *To Grimaldi, July 12, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6101.

[2] *Cardinal Borromei to Garampi, August 24, 1768, Nunziat. di Germania, 388, *loc. cit.*

[3] Benassi, V., 289; Danvila y Collado, III., 202 *seq.*

[4] Benassi, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 286 *seqq.*; *Du Tillot to Azpuru, November 6, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1768.

[6] *Du Tillot to Azara, October 30, 1768, *ibid.*

little did he fear excommunication that he even desired it.[1] Venice, which in 1767 had forbidden the mendicant Orders to accept any more novices until further notice,[2] went a step further in the following year, ordering the Bishops to visit all convents and churches belonging to Religious, whereby the exemption of the regular clergy was practically abolished.[3]

Soon after the occupation of Benevento and Avignon, Clement III. had turned for help to the Court of Vienna.[4] Maria Theresa expressed to the Pope her regret at the step taken by the Powers [5] and intimated her readiness to mediate if the Bourbon Courts were inclined to accept her services in this direction.[6] For a time it seemed as if Austria and Sardinia intended to take concerted action to settle the conflict, but their Ministers showed little inclination to give definite support to the Pope's cause.[7] By the beginning of September

[1] *Visconti to Torrigiani, August 15, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.* ; *Borromei to Garampi, August 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 388. On taking leave of Duke Francis III. of Modena, the Capuchin Turchi wished him as something desirable the same excommunication as had been pronounced by Rome against the Government of Parma. Benassi, V., 280, n. 2.

[2] *Montealegre to Grimaldi, October 17 and December 12, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5762.

[3] *Montealegre to Grimaldi, September 17 and 24 and December 5, 1768, *ibid.*, 5763.

[4] *Clement XIII. to Joseph II., June 29, 1768, Nunziat. di, Vienna, 661, Papal Secret Archives ; *Clement XIII. to Maria Theresa, June 29, 1768, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Visconti, June 11 and 29, 1768, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*

[5] *Visconti to Torrigiani, July 21, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Maria Theresa to Clement XIII., August 2, 1768, Nunziat. di Vienna, 661, *loc. cit.* ; *Joseph II. to Clement XIII., August 2, 1768, *ibid.* ; *Colloredo to Clement XIII., August 2, 1768, Nunziat. di Germania, 388, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Alessandro Albani, August 17, 1768, Nunziat. di Vienna, 661, *ibid.* ; *Torrigiani to Visconti, August 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[7] *Visconti to Torrigiani, August 13 and 16, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.*

it was known in Paris that no attempt at mediation would be made by the Court of Vienna.[1] Towards the end of the month the Empress admitted in an audience given to the nuncio that the Bourbon princes had given her to understand that they wished not to be delayed in their undertakings; to tell the truth, she was at the moment in the greatest embarrassment. The fact was that her anxiety not to endanger the marriage negotiations that were pending with France and Parma outweighed her willingness to help the Pope.[2]

The occupation of parts of the Papal States put into the hands of the three Powers a hostage which enabled them to exert strong pressure on the Holy See. As opposed to Tanucci's opinion, that the Pope should be left to fend for himself in the new conditions,[3] the two Great Powers had envisaged negotiations from the start. They had given their representatives advance instructions to avoid relations with the Curia as much as they could after the reprisals had been taken, to have no official correspondence whatever with the Cardinal Secretary of State, and to intimate, whenever the occasion offered, that in the event of any discussion Cardinals Torrigiani, Bonaccorsi, Boschi, Castelli, and Negroni [4] were to be excluded. Whether other Cardinals and prelates belonging to the Jesuit party were to be excluded was left to the envoys' discretion.[5]

The hatred of the Bourbon statesmen, however, was concentrated on Torrigiani, whom they regarded as being the moving spirit behind the resistance to their regalistic

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, September 9, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4566.

[2] *Visconti to Torrigiani, September 29, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *ibid.*

[3] *Tanucci to Azpuru, May 31, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1768; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, May 31, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

[4] See above, p. 278.

[5] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 5, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48; *Choiseul to Aubeterre, April 26, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

demands. The competent, industrious, and somewhat hot-tempered Florentine had been appointed Secretary of State by Clement XIII. in 1758, despite his unwillingness to accept the post, and with the agreement and approbation of the envoys.[1] But as the energetic Cardinal showed no sign of acceding to the wishes and demands of the civil Powers,[2] the Bourbon representatives had formed the plan in the autumn of 1767 of driving the adamant defender of the Church's rights and liberties out of office.[3] The Spanish Government tried to win over Paris and Vienna to this plan by representing to them that Torrigiani was completely under the spell of the

[1] " *. . . haviendolo comunicado primero Su Beatitud a los Ministros estrangeros y ninguno tuvimos dificultad sobre la eleccion, pues el sujeto es muy digno, y a proposito para un tal empleo " (Portocarrero to Wall, October 12, 1758, *ibid.*, 5131). In the accompanying note Cardinal Rezzonico is given the fourth place in the first class of Papabili (*dignissimi*) and Torrigiani is marked as suitable for the Secretaryship of State. " *Nombró ya Su S^{d} al card. Rezzonico por Vice Canciller, y al card. Torrigiani por Secretario de Estado, y empezó desde luego este E^{mo} a exercer su empleo. Se dice que se resistió fuertemente a aceptarle, y que el card. Cavalchini de orden de Su S^{d} le persuadió. Era a quien el Papa se havia inclinado mas, desde el principio, y se cree que convenieron los Ministros de las Cortes en su eleccion. Es Florentin y sugeto de talento, y expedicion, aunque algo fuerte de genio, y está versado en los negocios de esta Corte por la mano que tuvo en tiempo que era Secretario de Estado el card. Valenti Gonzaga, por que el Papa Benedicto XIV. le estimaba mucho y le hizo cardenale siendo Secretario de la Consulta " (Roda to Wall, October 12, 1758, *ibid.*, 4957). *Cf.* *Tanucci to Caraccioli, October 14, 1758, *ibid.*, 5957.

[2] *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, January 3, 1767, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 286 ; *Tanucci to Azara, January 17, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5999.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, October 8, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3915. *Cf.* " Cardenal de Torrigiani, relativo al proyecto que formaron los Ministros de las potencias catolicas cerca de S.S^{d} para remover al d^{ho} cardenal de la Secretaria de Estado ", *ibid.*

Jesuit General and that he was pressing the Pope to break with the House of Bourbon.[1] After some hesitation, however, the Court of Versailles rejected this impudent interference with the sovereign rights of a foreign ruler. The king, explained Choiseul,[2] did not find it quite in keeping with his own and his cousin's dignity to demand from the Pope the dismissal of one of his Ministers, which in any case would be useless unless his successor was nominated at the same time, otherwise there was the risk of Torrigiani's bringing someone even worse into the position and of guiding and directing the Pope through him. For this reason the Court of Madrid let its plan drop for the time being,[3] though complaints and accusations against their inflexible opponent were still made in the Ministers' and envoys' correspondence. In defiance of the facts they represented the Secretary of State as a pliant tool in the hands of his confessor, the Jesuit General Ricci,[4] although since Torrigiani's appointment to his new office Ricci had ceased to be his spiritual director. Hardly had the monitorium to Parma appeared when the Bourbon representatives described it as the work of Torrigiani and Ricci, who had forced the weak-willed Pope to take this step.[5] On account of the bad feeling which had thus been artificially engendered the Bourbon Government refused to have any further dealings with the Secretary of State and requested Clement XIII. to appoint another Cardinal as negotiator.[6] Whereupon Torrigiani tendered his resignation.[7] For God's

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, October 27, 1767, *ibid.*, 3915; *Grimaldi to Mahony, October 31, 1767, *ibid.*; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, October [31], 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4982.

[2] *To Fuentes, November, 16, 1767, *ibid.*, 4564.

[3] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, December 8, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Tanucci to Azara, January 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 5999.

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 24, 1768, *ibid.*, 5221. *Cf.* also above, p. 269, n. 4.

[6] *Aubeterre to Clement XIII. [June 15, 1768], *ibid.*, 5222.

[7] " *Ma secondo le mie notizie, la domanda che si farà da chi ha il carico di portar la parola degli altri, sarà l'esclusiva mia, e la positiva richiesta di un altro per trattar seco, ed agiustar le

sake and the sake of his own conscience, he said, he had fought with all his strength for the rights of the Church, but as he now saw that it was his person that had caused the storm to break he said, like the prophet Jonah, "Cast me in the sea!"[1] For a short time it seemed as if the Pope would accept his trusty servant's resignation; Cardinal Rossi had already been spoken of as his successor when at the last moment the efforts of the Cardinal—nephew Rezzonico to find a way out of the difficult situation succeeded. Torrigiani retained the secretaryship, but Craindal Negroni, the objections to whom had been withdrawn[2] as a result of Azpuru's representations,[3] was appointed as negotiator with the Bourbon envoys.[4]

cose di tutto il mondo. Quanto sarà facile ad accordarsi la prima petizione, ed io ne darò per parte mia tutta la mano, altrettanto veggo difficile la seconda, a nè sarò io solo ad oppormi. Mi dispiace di doverle dire, che anche la petizion secca non principia bene. Il Papa me ne uscì da sè medesimo ieri sera, e non lo vidi punto inclinato a secondarla" (Torrigiani to Erizzo, June 11, 1768, *ibid.*, 5764). *Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768, *ibid.*, 5222.

[1] "*El correo pasado avisé a V. S. la audiencia que tubo Mr d'Aubeterre para pedir el nuevo Ministro con quien tratar... Torrigiani declaró al nepote con la mayor resolucion que queria retirarse y dejar absolutamente el manejo de los negocios; que segun Dios y su conciencia habia peleado por la Iglesia con todas sus fuerzas, pero que viendo que la tempestad venia por su persona, decia con Jonas: Mittite me in mare." Azara to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Corresp. entre Azara y Grimaldi.

[2] *Aubeterre to Clement XIII. [June 15, 1768], *ibid.*, 5222; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 9, 1768, *ibid.*, 5221.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 24, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 23 and 30, 1768, *ibid.*, 5222; Azara to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1768; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, June 30, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

In spite of this important concession the Secretary of State and the Jesuit General were still the objects of attack and suspicion. Ricci, Aubeterre avowed, was the real ruler of the Vatican and the Quirinal ; it was he who in his frequent conferences with Cardinals Torrigiani, Rezzonico, Boschi, and Castelli determined the course of Papal policy.[1] Many of the reports which bear the stamp of invention would seem to be calculated to confirm the suspicious Charles III. in his dislike of the Jesuits and to induce him to take further steps against the Society. Thus the rumour was spread that on Ricci's advice the Pope had sent to Vienna an *aide-mémoire* showing that as a result of the occupation of Benevento the kingdom of the Two Sicilies had reverted to the Holy See, so that the Pope now had the right to enfeoff another prince with it. The Jesuit General, it was alleged, advocated the transference of the crown to the second son of the King of Sardinia or even to a son of the King of England, if he showed any desire to be converted. The General was incessantly pluming himself on the reputation he enjoyed in England and prophesied that the occupation of Papal territory would cause the outbreak of a general European war. Choiseul, however, thought that Ricci was incapable of such ridiculous exaggerations. There were enough genuine accusations to be brought against the Society and its head, without having to

[1] " *Tout est présentement tranquille dans l'intérieur du Palais. Il n'y est plus question d'aucun changement, et il paroit décidé que le card. Torrigiani restera Secrétaire d'État : le P. Ricci le veut ainsi, et rien ne résiste à ses volontés ; il trouve moyens de faire rester un Ministre en place, sans que celui-ci, ni son maître s'en soucient. Il va coucher, presque tous les soirs, au noviciat, pour être plus a portée de se rendre au palais, dès qu'il est nuit, sans être apperçu. Il n'y a presque pas de jour qu'il n'y aille, ou chez le card. Rezzonico, ou chez le card. Torrigiani, et souvent ils confèrent tous ensemble avec les cardinaux Boschi et Castelli," (Aubeterre to Choiseul, July 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4568). " *Si pretendeva anco dai Ministri della casa Borbone che il General facesse tutto col Papa e col detto cardinale

fall back on slanders in order to make them guiltier still.[1] To deprive these malicious rumours of any foundation, the Secretary of State had instructions sent to the General of the Society not to frequent the Papal palace any more.[2]

The struggle in which Clement XIII. found himself engaged in defence of the rights of the Holy See was desperate. The Bourbons knew that in the Roman Curia and even within the College of Cardinals there was an opposition party who disapproved of the step taken against Parma. Cardinal Ganganelli had agreed to condemn the monitorium in a secret memorandum of a theological-canonistic nature and had supplied the French envoy Aubeterre with the groundwork for his arguments against the Brief.[3] To recommend strongly Onorati,

[Torrigiani], di cui era amico. Esso causa di non essersi ricevuti i Spagnuoli [Gesuiti] e del Breve di Parma e di che no ? Questa presunzione inetta si metteva in ridicolo dai consapevoli degli affari. Il Generale in dieci anni mai aveva parlato di affari che non fossero della Religione, anzi mai di persone, nè promosso veruno etc. La sua indole non lo portava ad ingerirsi, aveva intrighi infiniti, non voleva pregiudicare agli affari suoi, sapeva che sarebbe dispiaciuto a Palazzo, non voleva farsi odioso nè nuocere a veruno e intendeva che non conviene ai religiosi. Tutti, cominciando da Sua S^tà^, gli erano testimoni di questo contegno ; è assai credibile che lo conoscessero anco quelli che dicevano il contrario, ma si servivano di questo pretesto per far del male." (Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 68). *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Vincenti, March 24, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[1] Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 133 ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 30, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222.

[2] " *Soleva il Generale andare da S. S^tà^ circa una volta il mese, ed occorrendo affari, più spesso. Questa frequenza era odiosa ai nemici de' Gesuiti ; si vede che fu fatta doglianza, perchè il card. Torrigiani, Segretario di Stato, avvisò il Generale a non frequentare Palazzo, ed ei con dolore dovette astenersene " (Ricci, *Espulsione della Spagna*, 68).

[3] " *Dias pasados acusó [Cardinal Rezzonico] . . . al card. Ganganelli tener trabajado un voto, o dictamen teologico reprobativo del Breve contra Parma, y suministrado al embaxador de Francia las especies, que dixo al Papa en su ultima audiencia

the former Venetian nuncio, for the Madrid nunciature, Montealegre informed his Government that Onorati had been very painfully impressed by the over-hasty Papal manifesto against Parma.[1] Even in his own family the Pope was faced with adversaries. His nephew, the Maggiordomo Rezzonico, is said to have advised Aubeterre, who was a close friend of his, to intimidate his uncle with threats and to force him to give way.[2] The persecution he was supposed to suffer at the hands of the Jesuits and his brother, the Cardinal nephew, on account of his siding with the Bourbons,[3] was, according to Azara,[4] merely feigned for the purpose of obtaining from Spain and France the recommendation for a Cardinal's hat. The pressure exerted on the Curia by the representatives of the three Courts increased as time went on. Not content with having excluded the Secretary of State from the negotiations, they alleged a few months later that it was useless to enter into discussions as long as Torrigiani conducted the correspondence with the nuncios to the Bourbon Courts.[5] So strong was his

acerca de la excomunion declarada en dicho Breve " (Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222). " *He presentado al Sr Infante la carta del E^mo card. Ganganelli. S. A. R. ha agradecido esta serie de las atenciones que constantemente ese Purpurado ha demostrado a S.A. Quedo atento en observar sobre este acto el silencio que me encarga V.S. Veo que es muy fundado que sea asi, y quedo en remitir a su tiempo a V. S. la respuesta de S. A. R. a ese E^mo." (Du Tillot to Azpuru, December 11, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., " Parma ", 1768.)

[1] *Montealegre to Grimaldi, March 19, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5763.

[2] *Tanucci to Orsini, November 8, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768, *ibid.*, 5222 ; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 12, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48.

[4] *To Grimaldi, August 4, 1768, *ibid.*, Exped. " Parma ", 1768.

[5] *Aubeterre to Azpuru [August 3], 1768, *ibid.*, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 107 (1768) ; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, August 30, 1768, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 48.

desire for peace that Clement XIII. thought that he ought to give way and entrusted the correspondence to Negroni.[1]

While the Pope was trying to obtain the support of the other Catholic Powers he had not omitted to protest to the Bourbon rulers against the violation of his territorial rights and to demand the return of the areas that had been wrested from him.[2] At the same time he appealed to the Cardinals of France and Spain [3] and to the Court confessor, Osma,[4] to use their influence at Court in the interests of peace. A long time passed before the princes agreed on their answer to the representative of Christ. Naples needed a special instruction from Madrid even to accept the Papal letter.[5] On September 20th and 21st the envoys handed their written replies to Cardinal Negroni,[6] who described them as fine words but ugly deeds.[7] Wrapped in courteous phrases and assurances of respect they contained a sharp criticism of the Papal action and an undisguised acknowledgment of regalistic

[1] *Negroni to Vincenti, September 1, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 412, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, September 1, 1768, *ibid.*, 433; *Orsini to Tanucci, August 29, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{287}{1032}$.

[2] *To Charles III., June 23, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222; *to Louis XV., June 23, 1768, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 50 (Collezione Theiner); *to Ferdinand IV., June 28, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1501.

[3] *To Cardinal De Solis, June 22, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, June 23, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221.

[4] *Clement XIII. to Osma, August 31, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2854; *Torrigiani to Vincenti, September 1, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, August 2, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101; THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 137.

[6] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 22, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222; *Orsini to Tanucci, September 22, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{288}{1033}$.

[7] *Negroni to Vincenti, September 22, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

currents of thought. In Versailles the remark was made that the Brief concealed beneath humble language the principles of Gregory VII.[1]

In defence of the young Infante, Louis XV. observed that although the temporal power which this prince, like all others, derived from God alone, gave him the right to abolish abuses in his country on his own authority, nevertheless, out of filial respect for the Holy See, he had been loath to issue any ordinance without the co-operation of Papal authority. "It was not until all his endeavours had spent themselves in vain against the unbending opposition of Your Holiness and he had no other hope that he made use of his authority, though with a moderation and righteousness that should have brought him praise from Your Holiness. Had You apprised me of the nature of Your grievances before the publication of the Brief, I should, in agreement with the other princes of my House, have laid before You the causes which would have restrained You from taking so unbecoming and arbitrary a step against a monarch who in every way deserved a more considerate treatment and who in this case has carried out, in the interest of his States, only a tithe of what other Catholic sovereigns have done long before him. It would be neither just nor reasonable to regard as unjust in Parma what elsewhere is just. I have too high an opinion of Your discernment and virtue not to be convinced that it was never Your intention to attack the independence of the secular power, over which the Church has no authority, either direct or indirect. It lies solely with Your Holiness to remove the ills which cause You pain and disquiet and to procure for Yourself the repose which I wish You with all my heart." [2]

Charles III. brought out in his letter that the present troubles were caused by the Pope's having been persuaded by

[1] *Aubeterre to Azpuru [August 3, 1768], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 107 (1768).

[2] *Louis XV. to Clement XIII., August 29, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1501.

evil counsellors to misuse the Church's weapons against a young prince, who with his ordinances had not overstepped the limits of the power given him by God, had not violated true immunity, and had in fact done no more than other Catholic princes had done before him. The unjust action taken against him, due more to political than other considerations, was an insult to all Catholic monarchs. The concessions made by former sovereigns did not give the Head of the Church unalterable rights, especially when in the course of time these concessions proved to be harmful to the people. If the Pope thought he had ground for seizing temporal possessions on the strength of claims that had long since become obsolete, he ought not to be surprised when others tried to recover their property. This was the opinion, not of a single individual, but of many persons, of every rank and class, who had distinguished themselves by their virtue, learning, and reverence for the Holy See. If the Pope had consulted him before issuing the monitorium he would have put these considerations before him. Unfortunately the suggestions of the universal mischief-makers who with sacrilegious perversity cast suspicion on the orthodoxy of the princes and their counsellors, had won the day. "It is my greatest pride and honour to be the most devoted son of the Church. In my love for the sacred person of Your Holiness I give place to no one, and no one desires more ardently than I that You may obtain the satisfaction You desire; but at the same time I perceive that You alone by Your own hand can obtain that repose which I wish You so heartily." [1]

Even sharper and more wounding was the language used in the Neapolitan reply, in which Tanucci's cast of mind was

[1] *On August 16, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.* The reply drawn up after the session of the Extraordinary Council was in a sharper tone. One of the king's remarks was that the Pope too before taking any action might call to mind the account (of which he reminded others) that would have to be rendered before the judgment-seat of God. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222.

discernible throughout.[1] The king expressed his regret at the grief suffered by the supreme Bishop, who was the head and centre of the Catholic Church; it pained him still more, however, to have to see that the Pope was still maintaining that the monitorium to Parma had given no occasion for the measures which the Bourbon Powers had felt themselves obliged to take. The Infante had neither set a hand on religion nor had he violated the sanctuary. Neither dogma nor sacraments, neither ritual nor the doctrine of Christ, as contained in Holy Scripture, nor even a single article of the Church's pastoral office, were touched on in the edict issued by the Ministry of Parma. It was to the concessions of the Catholic princes that the Church owed its possession of temporal goods. The monarchs were the origin of the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishops and of the exemption of Church property from taxes. The royal prerogatives and the protection of those institutions which were necessary for the welfare, the peace, and the security of peoples were inseparable from the princely power. Nothing was more natural than to reform a law which in the course of time had proved through abuse to be harmful and unjust. That the Pope had had his eyes dazzled by profane and monetary interests hiding under the veneer of religion was not the fault of the duke but of those who were known to be the enemies of the Church, of the sovereigns, and the whole human race. It was they whom the Pope must hold responsible for his grief, which he could have avoided if he had not proceeded with such gross insults against the Infante, who since the Treaty of London had been recognized by the whole of Europe as the lawful sovereign of those states. The contemptuous treatment of the requests made by the three crowned heads, to whom the greater part of the Catholic Church was subject, had brought their patience to an end. This result could easily have been foreseen. When, contrary to the commandments of Christ and St. Peter, the

[1] *Negroni to Vincenti, September 29, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; *Vincenti to Torrigiani, October 15, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 388, *ibid.*

sovereignty prescribed by God had been violated, insidiously attacked, and reviled, and by the institution whose duty it was, more than all others, to respect it, the princes were forced at last to bestir themselves and act in their own defence. The civil authorities found themselves compelled to protect the people from surprise-attacks and to remind them of the respect they owed to their rulers. God forbid that the peoples should ever come to realize that it was the counsellors and Ministers of the Holy See who were the cause of the trouble which it laid at the door of his officials and the virtuous and learned men who had stood by him in word and deed.[1]

At the end of their replies the three monarchs had referred the Pope for further negotiations to their representatives, who had been sent appropriate instructions. As a preliminary condition for the settlement of the conflict the envoys were to put forward five demands: the recall of the monitorium, the recognition of the complete independence and sovereignty of the Duke of Parma, the cession of the occupied areas to France and Naples, the removal of Torrigiani from Rome, and finally the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the banishment of its General, Ricci.[2] The princes' intention was that

[1] Ferdinand IV. to Clement XIII., September 7, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1501, printed in Danvila y Collado, III., 206, n. 5.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, August 16, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48; *Choiseul to Aubeterre, August 29, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1501; *Tanucci to Orsini, September 13, 1768, *ibid.* Choiseul's original instruction contained only the first four points (*Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 27, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850); the fifth article was inserted at the instigation of Charles III. or his advisers. On sending a copy of Choiseul's instruction to the Spanish ambassador *on July 26, 1768, Grimaldi added that if Portugal were to demand from the Pope the suppression of the Jesuits the Bourbon Powers would certainly support the request (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48). A week later he told Fuentes that in the king's opinion the three sovereigns ought to demand the

these conditions were to be presented only after proposals had first been made by the Holy See; otherwise the envoys were to maintain their previous silence, as it did not beseem the Courts, as the offended parties, to open the negotiations.[1] These conditions were necessary, Grimaldi remarked in a subsequent supplementary instruction, to arrive at a compromise which would do justice to the rights of both sides. Spain's principal demands were confined to two: the recall of the monitorium and the suppression of the Jesuits; the others were of minor importance. The former was a demand of justice, since no monarch could tolerate the Brief; the latter was indeed a favour, but of a kind that had to be demanded by the Bourbons in view of their situation and for the tranquillity of their States. It beseemed the Holy See to make this concession to the princes, who ruled four-fifths of the Catholic world. The Catholic religion would suffer no loss thereby, and it would save Portugal from schism. In return for the granting of both demands the envoy was to offer the suspension of the occupation of Castro. To facilitate the Pope's recantation of the Brief to Parma it was suggested that the following statement should be made by way of explanation: in the clause in which all the decrees of Rome that lacked an *exequatur* were declared to be null and void, the duke had

suppression as an indispensable condition (*condicio sine qua non*) for an understanding. "*El segundo es que se pida por condicion preliminar, precisa, ademas de las otras, la de extincion de la Orden jesuitica, porque piensa S.M. ser no solo conveniente, sino oportuno el tenerse firme sobre ello antes de ningun acomodo" (August 1, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565). Charles III. was confirmed in this opinion by that given by the Extraordinary Council. "*Aquel tribunal opina, que no se dé oídos a composicion con Roma sino bajo las condiciones que se pensaron en esa Corte, y la esencial de la extincion de Jesuitas, que añadió S.M. y en que se ha confirmado mas cada dia, contando con el beneplacito del Rey su primo" (Grimaldi to Fuentes, August 11, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1501).

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, August 16, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48.

not had in mind edicts dealing with faith and purely spiritual matters. Rome was to reply to this that as the Holy See had had principally this kind of edict in mind, the monitorium had been rendered pointless by the duke's statement and would be withdrawn. These proposals, however, were to be kept absolutely secret. Even Aubeterre and Orsini were not to know of them. Azpuru was to negotiate about them with Negroni only.[1]

While the negotiations were in full swing the Fiscal Campomanes undertook in the literary field the refutation of the principles laid down in the monitorium. His work, entitled *Impartial Judgment*,[2] acquired a certain repute in the controversial literature of the period. A liberal historian calls it an enduring monument of the true Spanish spirit and a mirror of the truth,[3] whereas a conservative historian describes it as an omnium-gatherum of regalistic doctrines culled haphazard from Febronius, Van Espen, Salgada, and others, devoid of system, style, or skill, and overladen with lengthy and, in many cases, inappropriate quotations from digests and collections of Council proceedings.[4] As many objections were made to the work on its first appearance, at the king's command it was laid before the five episcopal members of the Extraordinary Council for their examination. But they too found so many faults that the first edition was withdrawn

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 20 and October 13, 1768, *ibid.*, Exped., 1768. *Cf.* below, p. 349, n. 2. According to Grimaldi's instruction the five articles were to remain absolutely secret (*ibid.*) but Aubeterre did not keep the secret. *Grimaldi to Tanucci, October 4, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101; *Tanucci to Castromonte, October 15, 1768, *ibid.*, 6006.

[2] See above, p. 203, n. 3.

[3] Ferrer del Rio (II., 235).

[4] Menéndez y Pelayo (III., 155 *seq.*). *Cf.* Miguélez, 388; Rousseau, I., 255 *seq.*; Danvila y Collado, III., 212 *seqq.*; Reusch, *Index*, II., 937. According to Masson (*Le cardinal Bernis depuis son ministère*, Paris, 1884, 88), the real author of the work was the Abbé De Joubert, son of the president of the tax office in Montpellier; Campomanes only had it translated.

and the Fiscal José Moñino was given the task of producing a revised version.[1]

In the author's opinion the temporal power is completely independent ; the Church in its relations with it had only the right to counsel and admonish, it had no punitive authority. The true form of government for the Church was not monarchic but aristocratic-episcopal, in which all the Bishops had equal power and rank. The legitimate vehicles of infallibility were the General Councils. In the Pope's person the temporal prince should be distinguished from Christ's successor and the Visible Head of the Church. The Bishops had always acknowledged the incompatibility of the priesthood with the princely power. The clergy had its rights, exemptions, and immunities, not by any divine right, but thanks to the favour of pious princes. The work was especially bitter in its attacks on the " abuse " of referring disputes to Rome and above all on the doctrine of the indirect authority, which put the supreme rulership of the Christian world into the hands of the Roman Curia and gave the Pope the power to decide disputes between princes and to dispose of crowns and kingdoms. The champions of this theory were the Jesuits. It was through them that it had been disseminated in all the schools, until the day (May 27th, 1767) when the Extraordinary Council of Castile, in accordance with the Council of Florence, had banned the pernicious doctrine from the universities.

The second part of the work attempts to show that the Holy See had no right to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. Its claims had already been rejected in the Treaty of London (1718) and again at the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The decrees of the Duke of Parma to which exception had been taken had been issued by the legitimate authority, in the author's view, as they dealt with temporal matters affecting the welfare of the people and the State. Excommunications ought not to be dispensed with prodigality and

[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 156. In this second edition, of 1769, some of the matter was put in a milder form. Reusch, *Index*, II., 937.

they should be preceded by warnings, to give the accused time to justify himself. The penal regulations of the Bull *In Coena Domini* were inapplicable to the present case, which was of a purely temporal nature. The final chapter of the *Impartial Judgment* dealt with the right to resist the Roman Curia when it usurped royal prerogatives. One of the proofs cited in support of these assertions is a dictum of Melchior Cano's, according to which in such a case the Pope may be opposed by force of arms.[1] To bolster up the views put forward in the *Impartial Judgment* Juan Luis Lopez' history of the Bull *In Coena Domini*,[2] with a preface by Campomanes, was printed in the same year.

On September 19th and 21st, 1768, after the return of the Marquis d'Aubeterre from his summer sojourn in Frascati, the three Bourbon envoys handed the replies of their sovereigns to Cardinal Negroni, who was to forward them to the Pope. On Negroni remarking that the Curia had been hoping that the French ambassador would make proposals that would lead to peace, both Aubeterre and Orsini gave him to understand that they had no instructions of the kind ; it was Rome's business to open negotiations.[3] When the Cardinal stated in a private conversation that it was Clement XIII.'s most ardent desire to come to an understanding with the Bourbon monarchs, Azpuru told him that his personal opinion was that a settlement of the conflict was impossible unless he persuaded the Pope to withdraw the monitorium and to suppress the Society of Jesus completely. These were the indispensable preliminary conditions. Once they were fulfilled, an agreement would easily be reached on the other

[1] Danvila y Collado, III., 212 *seqq.* ; Rousseau, I., 255 *seqq.* Grimaldi had a copy sent to Prince Kaunitz through the Spanish ambassador. *Mahony to Grimaldi, September 24, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6504.

[2] *Historia legal de la Bula llamada In coena Domini . . .*, Madrid, 1768. *Cf.* Menéndez y Pelayo, III., 158, n. 3.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 22, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222 ; *Orsini to Tanucci, September 30 and October 4, 1768, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{288}{1033}$.

points in dispute.[1] In consequence of this, on October 19th, Clement XIII. sent the representatives of the three Powers an *aide-mémoire* in which he again explained that for him the Parma affair was not a question of power but of conscience. His sense of responsibility did not allow him to recall the monitorium and to abandon the rights of the Holy See to Parma, which had been so jealously guarded by his predecessors. Let the duke retract his edicts, and the Brief would automatically collapse.[2] All the envoys refused to pass the document on to their Governments, on the ground that instead of opening the door to further negotiations it merely confirmed the negative reply to the repeated requests of their masters. If Negroni attached any value to the memorandum he could present it through the representatives of the Holy See at their Courts.[3] The Cardinal, with a certain bitterness, drew attention to the inconsistency of the ambassadors' procedure: they had no scruples in delivering to the Pope memoranda full of gross insults, but they refused to accept his answer, although there was nothing in its form or contents that called for such treatment. It had given him the impression that their intention was to add to the affronts. The Courts were pursuing paths that ran entirely opposite to that of agreement and they were trying to lay down the law to the Holy See.[4] In spite of this unpleasant incident Negroni

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, October 13, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222.

[2] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5232; *Negroni to Azpuru, October 19, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Negroni, October 20, 1768, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Negroni, October 24, 1768, *ibid.* As Tanucci *informed Cardinal Orsini on November 29, 1768, the Bourbon monarchs approved their ambassadors' rejection of the *aide-mémoire* (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{288}{1033}$). The Pope's demand that the duke should first withdraw his edicts was called "frivolous" by Du Tillot (*to Azara, October 30, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 1768/69).

[4] *Negroni to Vincenti, October 27, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

decided to send the Papal message to the three Courts by way of the nuncios.[1] The only reply was a fresh rejection.[2]

The Pope's negative reply, accentuated by Negroni's memorandum,[3] was more than the Spanish national pride and the absolutism of the Bourbons could stomach. Charles III. and his advisers, ascribing, in disregard of the facts, Clement XIII.'s resistance to the influence of the Jesuits,[4] resolved to

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] **Consulta* of the Extraordinary Council, November 13, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5232; *Grimaldi to Aranda, November 18, 1768, *ibid.*; *Fuentes to Grimaldi, November 11, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, November 21, 1768; *ibid.*; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, November 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, November 22, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48; **Consejo extraordinario*, November 30, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036.

[3] When, at a subsequent interview, Azpuru referred to the two chief demands, Negroni's reply was that without a formal request the Pope would never bring himself to suppress the Society of Jesus, and his own influence was not great enough to induce him to take such a step. Azpuru concluded his report with the observation that little hope was to be placed in Negroni's influence and he feared that force would have to be used (*to Grimaldi, October 20, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5222). *Cf.* Almada to Azpuru, September 3 and November 5, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1760/69, Corresp. del Sr Com. Almada a Msgr. Azpuru, 1768. When Torrigiani fell seriously ill in November, 1768, it seemed for some time that he was about to retire. The Bourbon envoys urged the Pope in this event not to appoint as Secretary of State any of the Cardinals and prelates who had been excluded from the negotiations on the monitorium. Least of all would the Catholic King assent to the appointment of Antonelli or Garampi. *Almada to Azpuru, November 12, 1768, *ibid.*, Corresp. Almada; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 24, December 1, 8, and 29, 1768, *ibid.*, Registro de Corresp. oficial, 107.

[4] Negroni, who, according to Azpuru's assurance, was not well-disposed towards the Jesuits (*to Grimaldi, March 24, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5221), testified that the Pope had no dealings with the Jesuits and that neither the General nor any

make a formal request to the Holy See to abolish the Society entirely, its existence being a perpetual hindrance to a genuine reconciliation between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. This demand was to be put forward on its own merits as an indispensable condition for the settlement of the Parmesan affair, quite apart from the other conditions.[1] With this the relations between Rome and the Bourbons entered into an entirely new stage. The monitorium incident was completely relegated to the background and for the next few years the suppression of the Jesuits was the all-important aim of the Bourbon policy towards the Church.

(5)

Clement XIII.'s continued and determined refusal to withdraw the Brief to Parma suddenly brought to a head the plans which had been discussed for years past in anti-Jesuit circles and whose roots can be traced back to the first half of the eighteenth century.[2]

As early as May 2nd, 1739, Retz, the Jesuit General, wrote to the Imperial Court confessor, Tönnemann, that according to Father Kampmiller's reports, certain persons had formed a plot to destroy the Society, and he was urged to do his utmost, through the Emperor's intervention, to prevent so great an evil.[3] If we are to believe the assertions made by

other Jesuit had ever been consulted or listened to on ecclesiastical matters. But it was part of the enemies' tactics, he said, to make the public think the opposite, so as to cloak the injuries they were doing to the Holy See and to religion. *Negroni to Vincenti, November 24, 1768, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Charles III. to Tanucci, November 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6059; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, November 29, 1768, draft, *ibid.*, 6101; **Consejo extraordinario*, November 30, 1768, *ibid.*, 5036.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 79 *seq.*, and XXX., 207 *seqq.* (Palafox's letters).

[3] " *Istum (Fr. Campmiller) singulariter rogavi, ut R. V. informaret et etiam notitiam de inita ad extinguendam Societatem certorum hominum conspiratione cum R. V. communicaret.

Vasquez, the General of the Augustinians, there is a document in the archives of the Propaganda, among the papers dealing with the ritual dispute, in which the Pope is advised to suppress the Jesuit Order on account of its obstinate and repeated refusal to obey the instructions of the Congregation.[1] The Pro-Visitor Favre relates that when he was describing to a high Roman prelate the continued misdemeanours of the Jesuit missionaries in Cochin China the latter exclaimed, "Even the Templars did not commit such excesses as the Jesuits are guilty of! How is it that in this enlightened century of ours the princes don't open their eyes to such things?"[2] The well-known theologian and historian Zaccaria was told by Count Christiani that as far back as 1750 he had received a written invitation to join an association (*concerto*) for the destruction of the Jesuits, in return for which he was offered at the same time 20,000 scudi.[3] On a passing visit to Rome in 1760 or 1761 Alvise Mocenigo, afterwards Doge of Venice, informed Ricci, the Jesuit General, that the destruction of the Society had been resolved upon in France as early as Fleury's time, when he was ambassador there, and it would have been carried out had it not been for the intervention of the Cardinal, who wanted to avoid a disturbance and to keep the peace at home.[4]

Spero satis a . . . R. V., ut quidquid poterit ad impedienda tanta mala per Augustissimum conferre velit, id quod a R. V. enixissime petendum quidam ex praecipuis E^mis^ his diebus mihi commendavit. Epist. NN. ad diversos," in Jesuit possession. *Cf.* *Theresian. of May 2, 1739.

[1] *Vasquez to Roda, February 2, 1769, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.

[2] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses sur la visite Apostolique de M. de la Baume, évêque d'Halicarnasse à la Cochinchine en l'année 1740... pour servir de continuation aux Mémoires historiques du R. P. Norbert Capucin par M. Favre, prêtre suisse, Protonotaire Apostolique et Provisitateur de la même visite,* Venice, 1746, 239.

[3] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna,* 1. Ricci received this information in 1767 from two entirely different sources (*ibid.*).

[4] "*Il Sr Alvise Mocenigo, poi Doge di Venezia, essendo a Roma di passo nel 1760 o 1761, disse al generale, che l'esterminio

Though such reports are more or less isolated, the idea of suppression gained ground as the persecution increased in Portugal and France, and it was deliberately propagated.

A few months after the election of Clement XIII. an "academy" was held in the Roman Seminary in honour of the new Head of the Church, and on the following morning a madrigal was found affixed to the seminary gate, not only announcing the expulsion of the Fathers from Portugal, France, and Spain, but also prophesying the complete extinction of the Society.[1] A few weeks later the Cardinal Secretary of State, Torrigiani, felt himself compelled to issue a *démenti* of the rumour, which had probably originated in Portugal and was being disseminated in Spain, that the suppression of the Society was being seriously contemplated in Rome.[2]

To bring these ideas of suppression to the knowledge of the masses, the Society's adversaries made skilful use of the Press. On July 30th, 1759, the Paris nuncio, Gualtieri, sent the Secretary of State a broadsheet entitled "Urgent and

della Compagnia era concluso in Francia fino dai tempi del card. di Fleury, quando esso era ivi ambasciatore, e si sarebbe allora eseguita, se non l'impediva il cardinale, nemico del rumore." RICCI, *loc. cit.*, 2.

[1] O Volpi reverende — Non valgono accademie.
Queste a chi ben intende — Sono l' ultime nenie.
Son le voce ferali — De' vostri funerali.
L'Ispano e 'l Portoghese — Vi aborre e vi discaccia,
E 'l gallico paese — Spero che presto il faccia.
In Roma che sperate — O voi che il Papa vostro sì adulate ?
RICCI, *loc. cit.* These verses, whose author was thought to be one of Cardinal Passionei's friends, were cited, with unimportant variations, by other contemporaries, such as Cordara (DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 24) and Benvenuti (*Irriflessioni dell' autore d'un foglio intitolato Reflessioni delle Corti Borboniche sul Gesuitismo*). *Cf.* ROSA, *Gesuiti*, 359, n. 1.

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, February 22, 1759, Nunziat. di Spagna, 410, *loc. cit.*; CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 44.

compelling reasons binding the conscience of the spiritual and temporal authority to abolish the Society of Jesus." [1] A fortnight previously the same nuncio had enclosed in his mail a brochure entitled "Exposure of Molinism and materialism." [2] Hardly had the Order been expelled from Portugal when there was talk in Rome that the Pope and the Jesuits could do what they liked but the web that was to destroy the Society was spun so closely that it would be a miracle if it escaped.[3]

As was realized at the time in many quarters, the destruction of the Society was only the first objective; the grand assault would be against the Church and the Apostolic See, whose profuse jurisdiction was felt to be a restriction of their own rights by the Catholic temporal Powers. The struggle with the Society of Jesus was therefore a struggle with the Papacy. The rulers thought that their sovereignty was not completely effective unless they also had the full rights of supremacy in the ecclesiastical sphere (*ius circa sacra*). Hence the continually increasing encroachments on ecclesiastical administration and jurisdiction, the energetic dissemination of anti-clerical principles in speech and writing, the contemptuous and insulting treatment of the Vicar of Christ. The ruling principle in nearly every State was that all the externalities of ecclesiastical life, both property and persons, came under the control of the temporal sovereigns. For this reason the Bull *In Coena Domini* was banned in most Catholic countries as being an attack on the rights of princes.[4] According to an admission of a violent opponent of the Jesuits,

[1] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, July 30, 1759, Nunziat. di Francia, 504, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Gualtieri to Torrigiani, July 16, 1759, *ibid.* Four more pamphlets followed with the nunciature's despatches of September 10 and 17, 1759, *ibid.*

[3] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 2. Cordara (*De suppressione*, 41) maintains that he read this in a letter written by the Jansenist cleric Clément.

[4] *Ricci, *loc. cit.*, 14, 63 *seq.*

there was at this time hardly a single Catholic Power in which movements were not afoot "to shake off the yoke which in the centuries of barbarism had been imposed by the Court of Rome on the childish credulity of princes and peoples." [1]

The campaign against the Jesuits derived fresh impetus from the disputes about the continued existence of the Order in France. A resolution passed by the Parlement of Rouen on March 3rd, 1763, included an invitation to the whole Catholic world to make a united effort to destroy the Society of Jesus.[2] A year later the Paris Parlement called upon the king to combine with the other Catholic Powers to bring about the suppression of Loyola's institution.[3] A fierce light was thrown on the situation by the reception accorded to the Bull by which Clement XIII. reaffirmed and reapproved of the Society of Jesus. Most of the Parlements and Governments prohibited its publication.[4] It was about this time that Vasquez, the General of the Augustinians, expressed the wish that the Spanish king would press in Rome for the Pope to abolish the Order entirely, for it was a scourge and a scandal to Christianity.[5] Pombal published a work of his own against the Bull. It contained the usual invectives against the Jesuits and the Popes, repeated all the old charges that had been brought against the Order by Protestants, Jansenists, and

[1] "*Apenas hay potencia catolica en quien no se noten movimientos dirigidos a sacudir el yugo que en los siglos de barbarie impuso esta Corte a la inocente credulidad de los principes y de los pueblos." Azara to Grimaldi, March 12, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1767.

[2] *Pamfili to Torrigiani, March 14, 1763, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 518, *loc. cit.*; *Torrigiani to Pamfili, March 30, 1763, *ibid.*, 453 (see our account, Vol. XXXVI, 487, n. 1).

[3] *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, September 4, 1764, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 292, *loc. cit.*; Fr. Berrio to Fr. Cornejo, June 26, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 777.

[4] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 65 *seq.*

[5] *March 5, 1765, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.

Gallicans, and culminated in the desire that all Catholic States might compass its destruction.[1]

Of all the enemies of the Jesuits there was probably no one who worked for their destruction with more alacrity, ardour, and indefatigability than Tanucci, the trusted adviser and political trainer of Charles III.[2] Though externally he gave the impression of being a supporter and benevolent friend of the Society, in his numerous letters to those who shared his views he developed a lively propaganda against it, frequently contradicting himself in the process. As early as 1758, when the works of Cardinal Noris were removed from the Spanish Index, he prophesied that the Jesuits, who, he said, had secured their prohibition, would suffer the fate of the Templars, since they had stirred up every nation and Government against themselves. If only the princes would open their eyes to the situation, there would soon be an end of the matter.[3] Two years later he was speaking more freely.[4] The Jesuits deserved to be suppressed, for their despotism, avarice, pride, malice, and superstition had made them universally detested. But, he added, this was not a task for a Minister who was already sixty years old; however, "our sons will complete the work." In a similarly resigned tone he remarked to Bottari,[5] that the storm signals pointed to the downfall of the Society of Jesus, but just as Gregory the Great and the theologians of that period had erred in thinking

[1] *Terceira carta sobre a Bulla "Apostolicum pascendi"* (printed), Nunziat. di Spagna, 301, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, June 10, 1766, Cifre, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 9 *seqq.*

[3] *To Yaci, April 4, 1758. "Era risoluzione dovuta a quel gran cardinale e alla Santa Sede; e già era noto, che quelle opere erano state costì proibite per sorpresa e scelleraggine dei gesuiti, ai quali al fine, mi par, che sovrasti il fato dei Cavalieri templari, che avevano irritato tutte le nazioni e tutte le potenze. Se i principi apriranno gli occhi, la cosa non sarà molto lontana." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5947.

[4] *To Finocchetti, February 19, 1760, *ibid.*, 5960.

[5] *On April 5, 1760, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod., 1602.

that the world was coming to an end, the Jesuits too might last another century. On the one hand there was a lack of informative writing and competent Fiscals, on the other the royal Courts were dominated by women who encouraged the Order in every possible way. Moreover, other public evils, equally vast and obvious as the existence of the Jesuits, were tolerated with listless indifference. But all these evils could be got rid of more easily if there were no Jesuits and no monks of any kind in the world, for they were a veritable canker for the human race, their chief occupations being greed, idleness, and bringing Governments into contempt. Tanucci's chief grudge against them was their defence of the Papal rights at the expense of the sovereign rights of princes.[1] As an absolutist he regarded the powerful position which the Jesuits were alleged to have won for themselves in Paraguay as a sufficient reason for demanding their suppression throughout the world.[2] The dissolution of the Jesuit establishments in France was not at all to his liking ; either, he thought, the Order must be suppressed entirely or these gentlemen would have to be properly flattered, otherwise they would grow stronger and more dangerous every day, for they would certainly learn a lesson from their setbacks and redouble their alertness.[3]

The greatest determination in working for the complete destruction of the Order was shown by that Great Power that was the last to rise against it. The band of anti-Jesuits in Spain was considerably strengthened by the appointment to the Ministry of Justice of Roda, who, according to a rumour emanating from his embassy at Rome, had vowed that he

[1] *To Losada, November 3, 1761, Archives of Simancas Estado, 5971.

[2] " *Del Paraguay vorrei una relazione di Cevallos governatore di Buenos Ayres, che tiene piede al Sagramento ; tutt' altro può ingannare o col poco. Non la dispero. L'America spagnuola divien domestica. Saranno sempre un'aristocrazia indiana tutte le forze dei Gesuiti del Paraguay, e giusta cagione di pretendersi l'estinzione della Compagnia in tutto il mondo." To Catanti, July 30, 1765, *ibid.*, 5994.

[3] To Galiani, April 24, 1762, *ibid.*, 5977.

would never rest till he had accomplished the total abolition of the Order.[1] These apprehensions were certainly not unfounded. Roda's friends and admirers extolled the banishment of the Spanish Jesuits as a stroke of his master-hand which would immortalize his memory, and they expressed the hope that he would soon complete the work he had begun.[2]

When sending his congratulations on his master-stroke to the Minister of Justice, on April 24th, 1767, Magallon, secretary to the Spanish embassy in Paris, reported that Choiseul had written to the French representative in Rome that the Pope would do well to secularize the Jesuits, as their continued existence was not in the interest of either the Church or the State. The Minister, he said, had again expressed this opinion in the course of a conversation with the Uditore of the Paris nunciature, who, being a man of judgment and impartiality, held much the same view.[3] Choiseul had in fact instructed Aubeterre on April 21st, 1767, to take every opportunity of

[1] *Ricci to Fr. Bramieri, April 25, 1765, Registro di lettere segrete, in Jesuit possession ; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 2. *Cf.* above, p. 44.

[2] " *Declaran todos los sujetos de capacidad y mucho mas los Terciarios que el golpe les ha llegado de la mano maestra de V. S., y por apendice esperan el mismo en Napoles y Parma " (Lopez de Barrera to Roda, April 16, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P). " *Así como no puedo explicar el gran gusto y alegria que tengo por veer libre España de una tal peste, así no sé con quales terminos pueda congratularme con V. S. Ill. por la gloria inmortal, que se ha adquerido en una empresa digna de su talento, y propia de su constancia y corage " (Barrera to Roda, April 30, 1767, *ibid.*). *Vasquez to Roda, April 16 and 23 and June 4, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.

[3] " *Sé que ha escrito este Ministro a Mr. d'Aubeterre que le parecia que haria bien el Papa en tomar ahora el partido de secularizar la Orden, pues ni para la Iglesia, ni para los Estados podia convenir el mantenerla ; y así se lo ha dicho tambien al Auditor que hay aqui, el qual no está muy distante de este modo de pensar, porque es un hombre juicioso y bastante imparcial." To Roda, April 24, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

making it known that the King of France thoroughly approved of the measures taken against the Jesuits by his Spanish cousin. "If the Pope," Choiseul continued in his letter, "were prudent, enlightened, and strong, he could come to only one decision, to suppress this Society entirely by a Bull, so that there would no longer be a Jesuit Order." He knew, of course, that Clement XIII. would never agree to this and that Cardinal Torrigiani would gnash his teeth with rage at the very thought of destroying the Order. The Secretary of State cherished it for more than one reason, seeing that he drew a considerable income from it, for which he was not unappreciative. But if he had any idea of politics and had at heart the honour and the reputation of the Holy See, he must see that the suppression was necessary. Things would come to such a pass that Governments would identify the cause of these Religious with the very nature of the Roman Court and would send the Pope back not only the Jesuits but also his nuncios, inquisitors, Bulls, and everything else. That would be vastly unpleasant for the Holy See, the common centre of Christendom. It would be felt in Rome soon enough then what grievous harm this stubbornness and interest in an ephemeral side-issue had done to religion and the true welfare of the Roman Court. Aubeterre was to pass this on to the Maggiordomo.[1] The Minister did not flatter himself that such considerations would make any real impression on the Roman Court in its present attitude, nevertheless it was as well to let Rezzonico know that certain unpleasant happenings were foreseen.[2]

To this letter, which may be regarded as the first link in the long chain of negotiations leading to the suppression, the envoy replied that the Pope's nephew was fully in agreement with the Minister but did not believe that the Roman Court could be persuaded, for Torrigiani's truly fanatic attachment to the Jesuits was not based on any financial interest. Apart from the greatest selflessness he had shown the whole of his

[1] Rezzonico, Clement XIII.'s nephew.

[2] CARAYON, XVI., 400 *seq.*

life and his very generous almsgiving every year, he derived an annual income of over 80,000 scudi from his father's estate. Having no heirs and demanding little for himself, he had no interest in increasing his wealth, which was more than enough for his own needs. Although he, Aubeterre, personally thought that Torrigiani's mode of government was entirely wrong, he could not but give him credit for acting according to his convictions.[1]

Meanwhile, either of its own accord or as the result of secret instructions, the Paris Parlement had been studying the Spanish pragmatic authorizing the Jesuit expulsion, and on May 9th, 1767, it presented a request to Louis XV. that he, as the eldest son and protector of the Church, should join the other Catholic rulers in urging the Holy See to abolish entirely the Society of Jesus, which was generally harmful and was especially dangerous to princes and States.[2] In forwarding this request to Aubeterre, Choiseul repeated his former proposal, adding that it seemed to him to be proved with mathematical precision that the dissolution of the Jesuit Order was necessary for the good of religion, the Holy See, the Catholic States, and even the individual members of the Order.[3] The duke had developed these ideas at greater length

[1] Aubeterre to Choiseul, May 13, 1767, *ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[2] "Sera le Roi supplié, en qualité de Fils Aîné de Protecteur de l'Église, d'interposer ses offices auprès du Pape, même de joindre, s'il le juge à propos, ses instances à celles des princes catholiques, à l'effet d'obtenir l'extinction totale d'une Société pernicieuse à la chrétienté toute entière, et particulièrement redoutable aux Souverains et à la traquillité de leurs États. Arrest de la Cour du Parlement du 9 mai 1767," often reprinted, e.g. in *Inquietudini de' gesuiti*, III. (1767), *Aggiunta alla Raccolta di Spagna*, 38.

[3] Choiseul to Aubeterre, May 12, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 402 *seq.* *Cf.* Choiseul to Aubeterre, June 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 409; *Vasquez to Roda, June 4, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.; *Azara to Grimaldi, June 4, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044; *Tanucci to Losada, June 9, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001; *Galiani to Orsini, August 31, 1767, State Archives,

the day before, in a dispatch to Ossun, the French envoy in Madrid. As he had already told the king when reporting on the expulsion of the Spanish Fathers, it would be best, in his opinion, if the monarchs of France, Spain, Austria, and Portugal were to unite in inducing the Holy See to abolish the Jesuit Order entirely. If the Pope paid attention to this demand of the Catholic Powers and decided to take this prudent step, he would convey a great benefit on religion, promote closer relations with the Holy See, and confirm the unity necessary for the preservation of sound doctrine. On the other hand, this unity would be bound to crumble away in the course of time if he persisted in protecting an Order which had been rejected by the Catholic Governments. Protectors and protégés would be easily confused one with the other, and ill-feeling would vent itself as much on the Holy See as on the Jesuits, who would soon cease to exist except in Rome. The Catholic princes, on account of their humane inclinations, were inwardly loath to take action, either directly or through their tribunals, against their subjects, who were certainly not all guilty, and if the Society were dissolved they would be able to receive the exiles back into their States. The individual members of the Society would be happy to return, free from all their fetters, to the bosom of their families and their country. The logical conclusion, therefore, was that the Pope, the sovereigns, and even the Jesuits ought to agree to the proposed measure. But the thought must have a vehicle. The king's reply to his arguments was that such a step required careful consideration. Ossun, therefore, was not to discuss the matter with Grimaldi officially but was to put forward these ideas as his own personal view and that of the envoy Fuentes, so that they might be considered by Charles III. and his Ministers.[1]

Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{281}{1036}$. On August 1, 1767, the Parlement of Toulouse put forward the same request, almost word for word, as that of the Paris Parlement: Arrêt de la Cour de Parlement du 1er Août 1767, Toulouse, 1767, 21.

[1] *Choiseul to Ossun, May 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4686. Two weeks later Choiseul suggested that the king

Choiseul found a zealous supporter in the Spanish ambassador Fuentes, whose dispatch of May 13th throws more light on the indecisive phrases with which the Minister had concluded his letter. On the previous day, he wrote, Choiseul had informed him of the address he had delivered to the royal council in the king's presence on the expediency and necessity of abolishing the Jesuit Order entirely. He, Fuentes, agreed with the duke: the Society of Jesus would have to be abolished, even though it were composed of absolute angels, if only to avoid the harmful effects that might result from men taking sides for or against the Order. Of his own accord, without any encouragement from the Spanish king, Louis XV. would never decide on such a step. Wherefore he suggested that Grimaldi should urge the king to slip some reference to the suppression into the letter of thanks for the Infante's investiture with the Order of the Holy Ghost.[1]

Further support was given to Choiseul by the Neapolitan Minister. He had never had any doubt, wrote Tanucci to Castromonte,[2] that it was the duty of the Catholic monarchs

of Spain should put forward in Rome the demand for the suppression and that the king of France should support his request. *Choiseul to Ossun, May 25, 1767, *ibid.*

[1] " * . . . y a lo que por si solo y sin ser impelido por el Rey N.S., de quien tiene tanto concepto, no se determinará jamas " (to Grimaldi, May 13, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3518). Actually Louis XV. resisted his Minister's suggestions for a long time. " *Non intendo la difficoltà, per la quale il Re Chr^mo resiste all' eloquenza di Choiseul; e fu necessaria ai machinanti la lettera del Re Cattolico N.S. al Re Chr^mo, animandolo ad agire col Papa per la soppressione " (Tanucci to Azara, August 29, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 2002). According to Roda it was Fuentes who was continually spurring on Choiseul to work for the suppression, hoping in this way to bring back his two brothers, the Pignatelli, to Spain, they having told him that they would never leave the Order of their own accord (*cf.* above, pp. 171, 185). *Roda to Azara, August 4, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, R.

[2] *On May 30, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6000. In the same letter Tanucci, contradicting his former statements,

to clear their States of these seducers of the people and declared enemies of every temporal ruler, as all monks were, and the Jesuits in particular. If the French king were to listen to the requests of the Parlements and to combine with all the other Christian princes in obtaining their complete suppression, the assent or dissent of the various Courts would be a touchstone showing whether they possessed statecraft or the ability and knowledge that government required. To Azara he acknowledged that he had no news of how the Paris Court had received the proposal of the Parlement but that one might well believe that the King of Spain was firmer and more determined on this point. Kaunitz and his wife, on the other hand, were both Jesuitic, and consequently he was not in the least surprised by the Court of Vienna's reluctance to take part in the scheme.[1]

wrote : " *Non creda V. E., che il maggior numero sia dei gesuiti innocenti. Tutto Gesuita è un vaso di massime contrarie allo Stato, alla sovranità, alla nazione. L'ignoranza forse molti ne salverà dall'inferno."—" *È la parte più considerabile di questo arresto [May 9, 1767] il dichiarare li Gesuiti nemici delli Stati, e delle sovranità tutte, e la preghiera fatta al Re e a tutta la casa Reale d'allontanare dal servigio loro qualunque pubblico o segreto addetto ai Gesuiti, e di pregare il Papa ad estinguere in tutto il mondo la Compagnia. Vedremo ora, se il Re comincerà dal far la legge, della quale è pregato. Il Papa è così stolido, che è capace di resister ferreamente alle domande di sopprimere la Compagnia. Questa resistenza porterà senza dubbio, che li Gesuiti sieno cacciati dalle Sicilie, da Parma, e da Venezia " (to Galiani, May 30, 1767, *ibid.*).

[1] " *Mi ricordo d'aver letto qualche cosa di questa istanza da farsi dal Chr^mo^ al Papa in alcuna di quelle tante stampe del 1763 e 1764. È più credibile, che il Re Cattolico sia in ciò determinato, e fermo. . . . Kaunitz marito e moglie, sono due Gesuiti, onde non mi maraviglio di quella repugnanza nella corte di Vienna, che han detta costì, dall' entrare nel complotto " (to Azara, May 30, 1767, *ibid.*). It was probably only a diplomatic move of Tanucci's to write to Azara again a week later : " *Non so perchè Aranjuez repugna all' unione di procurar l'abolizione

Towards the end of May, Choiseul put forward this proposition for the third time in Madrid. He knew which note to strike to make the desired impression on Charles III. "Both in France and Spain," he wrote, "a host of intolerable and highly dangerous situations will arise from day to day if these two countries have not enough prestige to force the dissolution of the Jesuit Order through the Roman Court. It would be of great importance if the King of Spain, in conjunction with the Courts of Naples and Parma, which would be joined by France, were to unfold a plan. The whole of our rulers' family must urge and force the Pope to this suppression. It might be possible also to induce the Republic of Venice to support our request. Hemmed in by the King of Naples on the one side and the Republic on the other, the Pope would give ear to the requests of the Kings of Spain and France. It would be well for you to speak about this matter to the Marquis Grimaldi, who will probably discern the whole advantage of the plan, but your reply to me on this matter must be confined to private correspondence." [1]

The missive that was to break the resistance of Louis XV. came at last. On June 19th, 1767, Charles III., while thanking the French king for investing the Infante Don Antonio with the Order of the Holy Ghost, sent him the Golden Fleece for the Dauphin and the Count of Provence. He took this opportunity of remarking that he had been compelled to remove the Jesuits from his realm as their Order had degenerated from its original constitution and was no longer suitable for his domains. He considered indeed it would be beneficial if the Pope were to abolish it entirely. These were questions that needed to be examined. If Louis XV. considered it expedient they could exchange ideas and settle the ways and means by which they would undertake negotiations, in which, the present Ministry in Rome being what it was, they

della Compagnia, che Aranjuez stessa ha cacciata e abolita. Non vedo li timori dell' intentarla, nè le speranze del tralasciarla" (June 6, 1767, *ibid.*, 6001).

[1] *To Ossun, May 31, 1767, *ibid.*, 4686.

would certainly meet with great resistance.[1] A month later the French king stated that he was in agreement with the plan but that he considered it imperative to study the matter very thoroughly, in view of the many difficulties with which it was encompassed, and to settle the steps that would have to be taken to initiate the negotiations. On this, as on all other occasions, he was ready to take common action with the Spanish monarch.[2]

Almost simultaneously with this step of Choiseul's began Pombal's efforts at the Court of Madrid to bring about a union of the Catholic Powers for the purpose of abolishing the Society of Jesus. In an interview with the Spanish ambassador Almodovar, both Joseph I. and Pombal referred to the necessity of forming a union or alliance of the Courts of Madrid, Lisbon, and Versailles with the object of destroying the Jesuits and removing Torrigiani from the Secretaryship of State. With these just aims the Court of Vienna must also associate itself.[3] Simultaneously Pombal was making the same proposal to the Spanish Government through the medium of the Portuguese envoy.[4] But here the bitterness

[1] " *Mon ambassadeur eut ordre dans le tems, d'informer V. M. de la résolution que je fus forcé de prendre d'éloigner de mes États, les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus ; cet Ordre, qui a dégénéré des principes de son Institut, ne convenait pas dans mes royaumes ; je pense même qu'il serait très utile, que le Pape voulût le dissoudre totalement ; c'est un objet à examiner, et si V. M. le jugeait ainsi, on pourrait en raisonner, et se concerter pour en entamer la négociation, laquelle rencontrera pourtant de grandes difficultés avec le présent Ministère de Rome." Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850.

[2] " *Je pense de même que V. M. sur les motifs d'utilité qui pourraient engager le Pape à dissoudre entièrement la Société, mais comme cette affaire, ainsi que V. M. l'observe elle-même, éprouvera de grandes difficultés, il convient de penser mûrement " (July 19, 1767, *ibid.*). *Grimaldi to Fuentes, July 31, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

[3] *Almodovar to Grimaldi, May 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 7290.

[4] " *Considera Sua Magestade Fidelissima a expulsão dos Jezuitas de Espanha, não come huã providencia necessaria e a

caused by the last war was still alive and a bare letter of acknowledgment was considered an adequate reply.[1] Two months later Pombal returned to the subject, and bringing all sorts of fantastic accusations against the Jesuits made out that their suppression was unavoidably necessary and more urgent than was thought ; for the good of the Church and the safety of princes one ought not to shrink from extraordinary measures.[2] Grimaldi answered guardedly that his master was ready to co-operate but that everything must be well thought out beforehand, including, above all, what one intended to do if Rome refused to listen to their requests, as was only to be expected.[3] The Portuguese Minister agreed that this point was so important that for its sake alone all differences should be laid aside, even though the two Courts were not on friendly terms. He himself would prepare a memorandum and the king's proctor would present a request to the king on this subject. He would see to it that both documents were sent to the Spanish Cabinet.[4]

Under date August 27th Pombal addressed to the Portuguese envoy in Madrid a lengthy document in which, under

mais acertada para a tranquilidade e segurança das preciosas vidas de el Rey Catholico, e da sua augusta familia, que tão de perto, e por tantas razões interessão aos Reyes Fidelissimos, meus amos ; não só como huã epoca de prosperidades para toda a Monarchia espanhola, mas tamben como hũ successo de importantissimas consequencias para a Corte de Roma, aonde he de esperar, que extinga e dezarme tantas imposturas, hipocrezias, e estratagemas, quantas são, e tem sido as com que aquella relaxadissima e soberbissima Companhia pretende artificiosamente sorprender, e fazer inuteis as rectissimas, e piissimas intenções do Santissimo Padre Clemente XIII." Ayres de Sa e Mello to Grimaldi, May 9, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7280.

[1] *May 21, 1767, *ibid.*, 7290. *Cf.* *Almodovar to Grimaldi, May 8, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Almodovar to Grimaldi, July 7, 1767, *ibid.*, 5054.

[3] *Grimaldi to Almodovar, June 17, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Almodovar to Grimaldi, July 28, 1767, *ibid.*

thirty-seven heads, he brought up all the old charges against the Jesuits, beginning with Arianism and Pelagianism and ending with the attempts at assassination and rebellion of recent years. To destroy the common enemy it appeared to be necessary for the King of Portugal to ally himself with the rulers of Spain and France, so as to bring the Roman Curia to its senses by joint action of a forcible nature. For this purpose the Papal territory was to be occupied without any further declaration of war and was not to be restored until the Pope had abolished the Order and had severely punished the monarchs' enemies, such as Torrigiani and Ricci.[1] In the covering note, which was handed over with the main document by the Portuguese envoy, he observed that his master considered that the Society of Jesus was so degenerate that there was no hope of its improvement and that he had therefore been instructed to enter into negotiations about its suppression.[2] The Portuguese queen, Mariana Victoria, probably not uninfluenced by Pombal, also tried to persuade her brother, Charles III., to take common action in this matter of the suppression, for, if he did not, both their lives would be in danger.[3] Charles assured his sister [4] that the three monarchs were all entirely of the same opinion and that every possible and permissible means must be used to effect the suppression of the Society of Jesus ; but for many reasons

[1] *Pombal to Ayres de Sa e Mello, August 27, 1767, *ibid.* The dispatch, which was accompanied by the *Petição do recurso* of the attorney-general and the *Compendio chronologico analytico*, does not appear to have been sent off till the beginning of September. *Cf.* *Almodovar to Grimaldi, September 1 and 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 7288 and 7289 ; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, October 12, 1767, *ibid.*, 4565. *Cf.* pp. 337 *seqq.*

[2] *Ayres de Sa e Mello to Grimaldi, September 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 5054. *Cf.* DUHR in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII. (1898), 433 *seq.*

[3] *To Charles III., September 12, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7290.

[4] *On October 21, 1767, *ibid.*

the matter was extremely difficult and still required careful consideration and deliberation.

Pombal's memorandum was submitted by the king to the Extraordinary Council and the confessor Osma for their opinions.[1] Clearly Madrid was in no great hurry, suspecting Pombal, not without reason, of having secret additional motives, seeing that while talking of an alliance with the Bourbons he was negotiating a commercial treaty with England.[2] Choiseul was just as little pleased with his fantastic war plans against the Pope. "Pombal," he remarked,[3] "loses his head whenever there is talk of Jesuits. But with skill and discretion some profit may be derived from the negotiations, if we draw Portugal into our alliance." But the Portuguese Minister would not hear of a political alliance with the Bourbons, as his Government, he said, could not give up the centuries-old friendship with England without injury to themselves; he had never had any other intention than to bring about a peaceful settlement of the frontier disputes in America.[4] Moreover, with his desire for forcible measures, the Minister was far from satisfied [5] with Spain's proposal [6] regarding the manner of procedure in the matter of the suppression. Finally, therefore, Madrid and Paris decided to break off the negotiations, since they had no need

[1] *Grimaldi to the members of the Extraordinary Council, October 19, 1767, *ibid.*, 5054.

[2] *Cabello to Grimaldi, September 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 7291. *Cf.* *Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 3, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850; *Grimaldi to Masserano, September 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6965.

[3] *To Ossun, November 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 7290; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, December 8, 1767, *ibid.*

[4] *Pombal to Ayres de Sa e Mello, March 15, 1768, *ibid.*; *Almodovar to Grimaldi, April 3, 1768, *ibid.*; *Mariana Victoria to Charles III., March 23, 1768, *ibid.*

[5] *Almodovar to Grimaldi, April 7, 1768, *ibid.*, 5220.

[6] **Proyecto de Memoria en respuesta a Portugal*, March 30, 1768, *ibid.*, 5054.

of Portugal and in view of Pombal's notorious untrustworthiness it would be rather a burden to them.[1]

The efforts of the Bourbons to induce the Court of Vienna to join the alliance were far more in earnest. At first they had cherished the hope of bringing about the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Austrian hereditary lands and, as a necessary consequence, from the whole of the German Empire,[2] but all their exertions were of no avail against the sense of justice felt by the Empress Maria Theresa. As early as May, 1767, Choiseul had pointed out to the French envoy in Madrid the necessity for all the Catholic Powers to form themselves into a league.[3] It was also Aubeterre's opinion that the secularization of the Order would never be obtained from the Pope by amicable means; it would have to be wrested from him. The most certain, and probably the only, way of attaining their object was a union of France, Austria, and Spain, the last-named drawing Naples and Parma in its train. The other States would join them immediately or at any rate would not dare to take action against so imposing a union.[4] When the Extraordinary Council was asked by Charles III. to give its opinion on Pombal's propositions, most of the Councillors stated that every effort should be made to bring the Viennese Cabinet into the alliance or, if it was unwilling to take part

[1] *Choiseul to Grimaldi, May 3 and 27, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2850; *Grimaldi to Choiseul, May 16, 1768, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, pp. 281, 282; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 16 and June 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7290.

[2] *Roda to Azara, June 16, 1767, in Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 230; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, August 4, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100; *Baron Ritter to Baron Beckers, dated Vienna, 1767, December 9, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 26/3; *Baron Ritter to Baron Wachtendonk, March 26, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Choiseul to Ossun, May 11, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4686.

[4] To Choiseul, June 15 and 24, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 411 *seqq.*; *to Choiseul, July 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

in it, to see that it made no objection to the procedure of the Bourbons.[1] Grimaldi accordingly informed the Spanish envoy Fuentes and Choiseul that his master considered the co-operation of the Viennese Court to be indispensable; they should try, therefore, to induce it to make the demand for the suppression along with the other Powers. Austria's support was essential, for otherwise Rome could retort that it was not in a position to abolish an Order which other Governments wanted to be preserved. If France agreed, he was empowered to take the necessary steps with the Empress.[2] The negotiations that were going on at that time between Madrid and Vienna regarding the marriage of Ferdinand of Naples to another archduchess in place of the deceased Maria Josepha, were to serve as a means of obtaining Austria's collaboration.[3]

At the audience which the Spanish envoy in Vienna, Mahony, obtained for this purpose on the instructions of the Foreign Minister,[4] the reply he received was evasive. Maria Theresa, who had already declared that the Jesuits in her country had given her no grounds for complaint,[5] now told the ambassador that she could not come to any decision about his request until she had consulted her Ministers. Mahony did gather this much from the conversation, that the empress had no desire either to join the union or to hinder in any way whatever steps the Bourbons might take in Rome. This also,

[1] The considered *opinions of Masones (November 13, 1767), Roda and Alba (January, 1768), Muniain (January 11, 1768), Osma (January 13, 1768), and Grimaldi (undated) in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054. *Cf.* pp. 338 *seqq.*

[2] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, December 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 4568. Two *letters from Grimaldi to Fuentes, of December 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 7290.

[3] *Lucini to Torrigiani, December 8, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 239.

[4] *Grimaldi to Mahony, December 8, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3518; *Fuentes to Mahony, December 17, 1767, *ibid.*; *Mahony to Fuentes, December 26 (28), 1767, *ibid.*

[5] *Mahony to Grimaldi, December 12, 1767, *ibid.*, 6503.

he thought, would be the result of the ministerial conference, namely a declaration of neutrality.[1] To Rome the empress and her nearest advisers sent messages of reassurance.[2] This attitude was maintained by the empress in the period that followed, but in the outer circles of her entourage the undermining work of the Bourbons was not entirely without effect. According to the reports of the nuncio Visconti, the imperial physician-in-ordinary, Van Swieten, and the prelate of St. Dorothea's, the empress's confessor, were consistently hostile to the Jesuits. Further, the Bourbon representatives had invited Cardinal Migazzi to join the " conspiracy ".[3]

[1] " *[Maria Teresa] concluyó la audiencia con el punto de los Jesuitas, y despues de varias y dilatadas reflexiones sobre esta Sociedad, dijo S. M. I. que en este asunto, que ya no era casero, no podia determinarse ni decirme su ultima resolucion sin haberlo consultado antes muy despacio con su Ministerio. Pude comprender de sus discursos que no vendria bien en unirse con las Cortes interesadas para la solicitud en Roma de la extincion de esta Sociedad, pero que tampoco haria ninguna oposicion a nuestras instancias, y juzgo de antemano que esta indiferencia será la resulta de las conferencias ministeriales. El embaxador de Francia y yo hemos quedado en explicarnos juntos sobre esta dependencia con los principes de Colloredo y de Kaunitz." Mahony to Grimaldi, December 28, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6503.

[2] *Maria Theresa to Clement XIII., January 9, 1768, Nunziat. di Germania, 388, Papal Secret Archives ; *Joseph II. to Clement XIII., January 11, 1768, *ibid.* ; *Kaunitz to Clement XIII., January 9, 1768, *ibid.* ; *Colloredo to Clement XIII., January 11, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Visconti to Torrigiani, January 21 and March 3, 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.* " *Quanto ai Gesuiti dei Stati austriaci, so che le Corti di Lisboa, Madrid e Napoli danno impulso alla Imperatrice Regina, acció anch' ella gli sopprima e discacci. Ella però con sua lettera dei 9 scorso ha assicurato N. S. di proteggere tutti i sacri ministri, ' si ipsi sacri sui instituti ac muneris, ad quod vocati sunt, rationes rite sequantur, et a suis erga Ecclesiam, principes et populum officiis minime declinent. Hoc si Regulares Societatis Iesu, qui in

In her final reply Maria Theresa declared that she had not been informed, either officially or confidentially, of the grounds of the expulsion. Though she was willing to suppose that the other Catholic Powers had good grounds (though they had not been made known to her) for the expulsion and complete dissolution of the Jesuits, she could take no action against these Religious, seeing that they were guilty of no crime in her domains. If the interested States succeeded in obtaining the suppression from the Court of Rome, she would take no action on behalf of the Jesuits nor would she withhold her assent to the Holy See's decision. The statement made by Prince Kaunitz was more explicit. Neither the publications made by Portugal nor the indefinite phrases of the Spanish decrees had satisfied him or provided the required explanation. The Jesuits had caused no disturbance in Austria, and the reprehensible principles they were now accused of holding had been ascribed to them more than a hundred years before, when they were still held in honour and respect in Spain, France, and Portugal. Moreover, the Austrian Jesuits were simple and peaceful folk, so that there was nothing to fear from them. The emperor thought otherwise. Mahony was certain that he would gladly lend a hand with the suppression of the Society. When he came to power, one of the first steps he would take—in the opinion of most people—would be to reduce the numbers and the revenues of the Religious. Summing up, the ambassador observed that at the moment neither the empress nor her Ministers were inclined to join the league, because they could see no reason for abolishing the Society. The Bourbons, therefore, would have to be satisfied with the offer not to oppose the scheme.[1] Neverthe-

ditione mea sunt, semper, ut sperare oportet, agent, non est quod sibi metuant'; e in simili termini si è espresso anche l'Imperatore." Torrigiani to Giraud, February 17, 1768, Nunziat. di Spagna, 412, *loc. cit.*

[1] "*Respondióme la Emp^z Reyna que deseava firmemente ir acorde en todo con Potencias tan amigas, pero que no la habian comunicado estas, poco ni mucho, los motivos particulares en que habian fundado la expulsion de los Jesuitas; que comprendia,

less, Mahony did not give up all hope of securing Austria's co-operation in the course of time.[1] Before the letter

no obstante de no hallarse informada ni de oficio ni confidencialmente, que Potencias tan catolicas, tan politicas, y tan amantes de la quietud y bien de sus pueblos no hubieran tomado el partido de excluir de sus dominios todos los Jesuitas y de desear ahora la extincion general de la Orden, si para efectuar este pensamiento no hubiesen concurrido las mas solidas y eficaces razones. Que no podia proceder directamente en sus dominios ni en el Estado Eclesiastico contra Religiosos, que no eran reos en su país, aunque lo serán en otros, de delitos que no se publicaban, pero que siempre que las Cortes interesadas pudiesen lograr su extincion en la Corte de Roma, no daría S. M. I. paso alguno en su favor y que consentiria en ver extinguida esta Sociedad (que para con ella no era delincuente) en los mismos terminos que lo consiguiesen las Potencias y conociendola rea solicitasen su extincion. . . . El Principe de Kaunitz se extendió mas que la Emp^z sobre este asunto, dijo que si se han fundado en gran parte todas las Cortes que los han expelido en la inquietud que causaba esta Compañía en sus reynos, no tiene la Emp^z Reina la misma razon para echarlos fuera dominios, en los quales esta Sociedad no ha sido inquieta : que extrajudicialmente habia visto algunos papeles de Portugal que no satisfacian su deseo de aclararse mas sobre esta materia ; que los cargos que hacia la Corte de España en sus Edictos eran generales, y no daban la luz particular que buscaba ; que las maximas que se atribuian a los Jesuitas, aunque tan perversas, eran las mismas ahora que las que se les habian atribuido mas de un siglo ha, quando florecian tanto en España, Francia y Portugal ; y por fin que los Jesuitas de los países hereditarios eran mas simples que cabilosos, y apoyó mucho en esta pretendida simpleza para persuadir que non eran temibles en Viena como en otras Cortes. . . . Casi no dudo que el Emperador daria gustoso la mano a la expulsion e igualmente a la extincion de esta Compañia, como también creen los mas que si reinase seria una de sus primeras operaciones el disminuir las rentas y el numero de individuos de otras Ordenes religiosas de lor países hereditarios " (Mahony to Grimaldi, February 9, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6504). *Cf.* *Grimaldi to Mahony, March 8, 1768, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3518.

[1] *Mahony to Grimaldi, April 12, 1768, *ibid.*

containing these observations had reached Madrid, Charles III. had declared that if the empress was unwilling to join the Bourbons he would be content with her offering no opposition to the efforts made by the other princes.[1] Maria Theresa held fast to her decision despite all the attempts made to move her,[2] whereas Joseph II. maintained his neutrality solely out of regard for his mother. He had told his confessor, the Jesuit Parhamer, by way of advice, that it would be best if the Jesuits themselves were to bring about the dissolution of their Order, for in this way they would anticipate in a worthy manner what was eventually bound to happen.[3]

While the Bourbon Powers were casting around for allies, the French envoy in Rome, instructed by Choiseul, had already taken preliminary steps. He did not find the ground here entirely unprepared. Since the time of the persecution in Portugal an anti-Jesuit party had been working for the downfall of the Society by both speech and writing. The anti-Jesuit meetings in S. Agostino and near the Chiesa Nuova had produced a crop of lampoons, broadsheets, and books, whereby inventions and calumnies against the Society were spread as far as the Indies and America.[4] In the work entitled "The Wolves Unmasked" the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and Naples was already being demanded in 1760.[5] The most disgraceful collection of these broadsheets

[1] *To Tanucci, February 9, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6058.

[2] The Neapolitan envoy, the duke of S. Elisabetta, also received instructions to concur in the steps taken at the Imperial Court by France and Spain. *Tanucci to Charles III., 22 March, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

[3] *Visconti to Torrigiani, January 2, 1769, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 392, *loc. cit.*

[4] See our description, Vol. XXXV., 390 *seq.*

[5] *I lupi smascherati*[2], Aletopoli, 1764, Plirothopanorthosis (see *Orsini to Tanucci, November 28, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4954). On p. 226 is the following passage: "Revelabo pudenda tua in facie tua [Nahum, III., 5], sino a tanto, che con Bolla pontificia non si extingua questa Società di christiani postici, religiosi di corteccia, lupi mascherati." *Cf. ibid.*, 245.

appeared in a resplendent form in Lugano. Week after week journalists from Rome broadcast the most fabulous stories in the pages of the Lugano Gazette. With the help of "good friends" the enemies of the Jesuits insinuated themselves into Jesuit houses in the hope of picking up a careless word. To misrepresent quite harmless affairs, recourse was had to distortion and exaggeration.[1] The old charges of tyrannicide, covetousness, laxity of morals, probabilism, rebellion, and the rest reappeared in the travesty of a hymn [2] ending with an appeal to the Most Holy Trinity to bring about the downfall of the Jesuit Order.[3] For the same purpose a *Dies Iræ* was composed in a similar tone and with similar ideas.[4] The Spanish agent Azara, who was not a stranger to anti-Jesuit circles, scarcely ever omitted in his letters and reports to urge the Minister Grimaldi to strive for the destruction of the Jesuits.[5] On the non-Italian side of the Alps the anti-Jesuits were not blind to the difficulties arising from the Pope's refusal to co-operate and the determined resistance shown by Torrigiani; however, said Fuentes, every problem had its solution; with cleverness, firmness, and money anything was to be had in Rome, where, as the old joke had it, it was not the *Dio Trino* but *quattrino* that was all-powerful.[6] The opinion was voiced that an attempt should be made to win over the Cardinal Secretary of State, whose energy and firmness compelled the respect even of his enemies,[7] but all who had

[1] Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 14, 63 *seq.*; Rosa, 365.

[2] "Aeterne Rex altissime."

[3] "*Praesta Beata Trinitas | Ut ad quietem publicam | Veramque tui gloriam | Haec pereat Societas. Amen." MS. in Jesuit possession, *Miscellanea*, 37.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "*Azara me dice con el viejo Caton: delenda est Carthago, y en realidad esto mismo parece debieran decir todas las Potencias catolicas." Grimaldi to Tanucci, October 27, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6100.

[6] *To Roda, July 10, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[7] Choiseul to Aubeterre, April 21, 1767, in Carayon, XVI.,

intimate knowledge of his noble, irreproachable, unbribable character [1] knew that he would never abandon his principles for opportunist reasons or for personal interests.[2] This sense of justice would not allow him, out of consideration for the Courts, to sacrifice an Order which had rendered great services to the Church and had not been guilty of any crime. But not all the Cardinals shared his view. At the session of the Congregation which had deliberated on the admission of the Spanish Jesuits into the Papal States, Cavalchini and Stoppani had said that as the Society would have to be suppressed in any case before long, no great harm would be done if it was made away with a few years earlier.[3] Cavalchini intimated to a trusted friend that he was not the only member of the Sacred College to hold this opinion.[4] When the Jesuits were expelled from Naples the suppression of the Society was again discussed. According to a confidential report of Cardinal Calini's, of the eight Cardinals who were present Stoppani, Giovanni Francesco Albani, Fantuzzi, and Cavalchini spoke in favour of it. They acknowledged that the Society had been of service to religion and had not decayed but as the princes no longer wanted it in their States its preservation exposed the Church to great dangers.[5] The Paris nuncio Pamfili was also convinced

400 *seq.* (see above, pp. 314 *seqq.*) ; *Dictamen del Consejo extraordinario, March 21, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054 ; *Du Tillot to Azara, August 21, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768/69.

[1] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 146.

[2] Aubeterre to Choiseul, May 13, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 404.

[3] RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 25. See above, p. 164.

[4] *Lopez de Barrera to Roda, April 30, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[5] " *In una delle congregazioni tenute per tale affare che furono varie, fu proposta l'abolizione della Compagnia di Gesù. Furono per questa opinione i cardinali Stoppani, Gio. Franc. Albani, Fantuzzi e Cavalchini ; vero è che premisero, che la Compagnia era assai benemerita della Chiesa e che non era guasta, ma il solo motivo che gli determinava era che i principi oggidì non la volevano e che il sostenerla era porre in maggiori pericoli

of the necessity of the suppression and had promised to work out a considered opinion on the subject and submit it to Rome.[1]

Among the Society's opponents was a nephew of Clement XIII., the Maggiordomo Rezzonico. In contrast to his brother, the pious Cardinal Rezzonico, he made no secret of his dislike of the Jesuits, believing that they had effectively opposed his promotion. He had remarked to a confidant that the affairs of the Society were approaching the end they had deserved ; he and his friends would like the Pope to be compelled by the Courts to give the Order its *coup-de-grâce* ; they would gladly and joyfully play their part.[2] Choiseul had splendid promises made to this prelate : if he succeeded in persuading his uncle to abolish the Jesuits, the French king would pay him 100,000 scudi ; and as much again might be expected from Spain, for both Courts had every intention of rewarding their followers generously. Further, he gave him grounds for thinking that he would obtain the protectorate over France as soon as he was made a Cardinal. Aubeterre was to make this offer in a delicate and careful manner and was to apprise the duke of Rezzonico's response in private letters only.[3] That the number of the Bourbon adherents in the Sacred College might be increased, the French ambassador continually pressed the Pope to raise his nephew to the purple. His candidature was supported also by Azpuru, for the Maggiordomo was the only member of the Apostolic household to speak out openly in his uncle's presence in favour of the Catholic monarchs, stoutly defending the

la Chiesa. La raccontò al Generale come saputo di certo il card. Calini, e lo affermava una sorda ma comune voce di Roma." Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 44.

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, June 10, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4566. *Cf.* *Fuentes to Grimaldi, June 27, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565; *Grimaldi to Roda, July 6, 1768, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 668.

[2] *Lopez de Barrera to Roda, April 30, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4982 ; Aubeterre to Choiseul, May 27 and June 17, 1767, in Carayon, XVI., 407, 410.

[3] Choiseul to Aubeterre, June 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 409.

measures taken by the Spanish king, and extolling his justice, piety, and religious zeal.[1] This step of Azpuru's won scanty applause from Madrid, but for good or ill, out of consideration for France, it was decided to favour the nephew's ambitious schemes.[2]

The Maggiordomo's first attempt to change his uncle's mind had a poor reception, news having just been received from the nuncio in Vienna of the empress's statement that she was satisfied with the Jesuits in her domains and that they had nothing to fear so far as she was concerned.[3] An unofficial step taken by Aubeterre himself was equally unsuccessful. In the course of an audience the anti-Jesuit resolution passed by the Parlement of Aix was mentioned, and the ambassador said that he could not conceal his fear that the lively interest taken in the Jesuits by the Pope would bring trouble to the Holy See. He did not wish to enter into the question of guilt but he could not deny that in the public estimation the Order was doomed, and the effects of a deep-rooted opinion were the same as those of a clearly demonstrated truth. These religious could do no good nowadays and were therefore of no more use to religion. But if they were secularized all dissensions would be removed, a benefit would be conferred on the Society and its individual members and a great favour would be done to the monarchs who had expelled them. There was no other way of escaping the unpleasant results that would undoubtedly accrue from the affair. He had no authority to speak in this

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4982.

[2] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, July 20, 1767, *ibid.*, 4976. Some thought that the Maggiordomo's opposition to the Jesuits was merely a clever move to obtain from the Bourbon Courts a recommendation for a Cardinal's hat. *Azara to Grimaldi, August 4, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Parma ", 1768 ; *Du Tillot to Azara, October 30, 1768, *ibid.*, Exped., 1768/69 ; *Tanucci to Orsini, November 8, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6006.

[3] Aubeterre to Choiseul, May 27 and June 24, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 407, 412. *Cf.* above, p. 327 *seq.*

way but was certain that these ideas merely expressed the general opinion of every country. The Pope, who had followed the envoy's statements with the closest attention and had vigorously objected to them from time to time, remarked drily at the end that such matters were not to be considered for a moment; if the Jesuits could do no more good in the countries from which they had been expelled, they would do so elsewhere.[1] Spain was definitely annoyed by this over-hasty step of the French ambassador's.[2] To smooth things over, Choiseul observed that though Aubeterre's procedure was not entirely laudable, an expression of his private opinion would not prejudice the sovereigns' plans, as it could only prepare the Court of Rome for the steps that would soon be taken by the princes.[3]

In his report on the audience Aubeterre remarked that in the opinion of the maggiordomo nothing less than a combined effort of all the Catholic Powers could induce the Pope to suppress the Order.[4] His personal conviction was that it was an illusion to think that Clement XIII. could be persuaded by any friendly means to take this step; it would have to be wrested from him by force. The King of France was therefore faced with the necessity of occupying Avignon and Venaissin, which would otherwise always remain a hotbed of unrest for his country. The Apostolic Camera derived no profit from these possessions, and the Romans regarded them with indifference, if not with dislike, on account of the Popes having once resided there. Afterwards the monarch could offer the Holy See an indemnity of three or four million scudi and (secretly)

[1] Aubeterre to Choiseul, June 24, 1767, *ibid.*, 413; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 2, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5044; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 26.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, August 4, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 47; *Grimaldi to Llaguno [August 4, 1767], Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5045.

[3] *To Fuentes, August 9, 1767, *ibid.*, 4565.

[4] To Choiseul, June 24 and July 8, 1767, in Carayon, XVI., 413 *seqq.*; *to Choiseul, July 15, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

the Pope's family a substantial reward. At first the offer would certainly be refused but in the end it would be found to be acceptable.[1]

In July, 1767, Choiseul had expressed to the Spanish ambassador his desire that Naples should take the lead in the matter by being the first to request Rome to suppress the Society, for firstly they would forestall the retort that those Powers which had expelled the Jesuits had nothing more to fear from them, and secondly Rome would be more careful in its dealings with Naples, lest it provoke Tanucci to banish them from his territory. Naturally the other Courts would immediately have to support the step taken by Naples.[2] But neither Madrid nor Naples was inclined to fall in with this scheme. As a result of the continued suspicions that were cast on the Jesuits, Charles III. feared for his son's safety; the enemies, he said, must first be cleared out of the house before he could make representations in Rome or join others in doing so.[3] Tanucci objected to the request more vigorously still. Choiseul, he wrote excitedly, should think rather of the coming conclave than of the suppression of the Jesuits under the present Pope,[4] who was as stupid and incapable as a man without intelligence or education could be. The best thing the Courts could do was not to be drawn into any dealings with Rome.[5] It was waste of time in this pontificate, and possibly in many future pontificates, to discuss the secularization of the Jesuits, for three-quarters of the Cardinals and prelates had been their pupils. Whoever made such a proposal either had a poor knowledge of the Curia or did not mind

[1] To Choiseul, July 8 and 15, 1767, in CARAYON, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Fuentes to Roda, July 10, 1767, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, P.

[3] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, July 31, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, August 4 and September 15, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100.

[4] *To Charles III., August 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 6100; *to Roda, August 25, 1767, *ibid.*, 6002.

[5] *To Castromonte, August 29, 1767, *ibid.*

a rupture.[1] In his view, secular Ministers ought to ignore Rome as much as possible ; the less Rome, the more peace, more honesty, and more religion.[2]

On account of the resistance offered by Madrid and Naples the duke let his plan drop [3]; he could do this all the easier as Aubeterre thought that a threat to expel the Jesuits from Naples would have little effect on the Papal Court, as it had long been expected. The only correct way was for the three Courts to act together with the fixed resolve to drive the matter to extremes ; then Rome would have to yield in the end. If it refused at first, the monarchs had means enough in their hands to make their resentment felt in such a way that in time resistance would be impossible. In the next pontificate everything could be set to rights again.[4]

Through the ambassador Ossun, Choiseul informed Madrid that though his master regarded the suppression of the Jesuit Order as a matter of the highest importance and awaited with the greatest eagerness his cousin's proposals for the joint measures, they must not flatter themselves that their object could be attained under the reigning Pope. Their chief attention should be directed to finding a suitable successor to the aged and sickly Clement XIII.[5] Even then it was doubtful if the Bourbons would attain their aims so long as the Jesuits were protected by other Catholic and even Protestant Powers.[6] The only useful course was to make a well-reasoned demand for the suppression of the Society of Jesus and for the surrender of its General to Spain, where he would have to answer for his actions ; at least one could always threaten to arrest him in

[1] *To Castromonte, October 10, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *To Azara, August 29, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *Choiseul to Fuentes, October 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 4564.

[4] Aubeterre to Choiseul, September 16, 1767, in CARAYON, XVI., 418.

[5] *To Ossun, October 15 and November 3, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4686; *Ossun to Grimaldi, October 17, 1767, *ibid.*

[6] *Choiseul to Ossun, November 10, 1767, Appx. 2*b*.

Rome. Ricci would certainly not go to Madrid, but his fear and that of Rome would hasten the secularization of the Order, especially if the demand of the Courts was backed by some companies of Neapolitan grenadiers. Every means other than force led to nothing.[1]

Madrid, however, shrank from employing force. The Foreign Minister would not give his final opinion as to the method to be followed before hearing the opinion of the Extraordinary Council. His Government would no longer insist on Torrigiani's dismissal. It was realized that Clement XIII. would not allow himself to be persuaded by any friendly means to suppress the Society, but there was a middle way between softness and severity. A real war, such as Pombal suggested, was too brutal a measure. What was essential was to obtain the co-operation of the Court of Vienna.[2]

In the course of January, 1768, the opinions on Pombal's memorandum which Grimaldi had requested [3] came to hand; they were to serve also as an answer to Choiseul's proposals. In his introduction the royal confessor Osma stressed that the position held by the Jesuits in Rome was so strong that their suppression was a sheer impossibility; but, notwithstanding this, confidence must be placed in the assistance of divine providence. His expositions on the threefold question, whether the suppression of the Society of Jesus was just, whether it was expedient, and what means were to be taken to effect it, were summarized in the following principles. The justice of the demand was to be seen in the writings of many learned and saintly men and in the reasons which had moved the four monarchs to expel the Jesuits, such as the relaxation of the Society's discipline, the falling away from their original rules, their political system of government, their commercial dealings, their lax morality, and the consequent decay of the

[1] *Choiseul to Grimaldi, November 12/16, 1767, *ibid.*

[2] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, December 8, 1767, *ibid.*

[3] *Aranda to Grimaldi, December 14, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4568; *Grimaldi to Osma, December 22, 1767, *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 324.

virtues and morals of Christendom. The princes whom God had set up as rulers over the world must either submit themselves slavishly to their maxims or they would not be safe at their hands. How could the abolition of so harmful and corrupt a corporation ever be anything but just ? And if it was just, then it was also the duty of princes who had perceived its harmfulness to demand its complete suppression. As this Order was the same everywhere, it was equally harmful on every side. Now as ever the Jesuits were against the Catholic Church, against its true doctrine, and against the spirit of the Gospel. It was therefore the duty of the four kings, as the first-born of the Church, to free the children of our Holy Mother Church from the infectious disease which they had discovered in their lands. In so doing, the ends they must have in view were the honour of God, the welfare of the Church, and the preservation of the purity of religion. To reach this goal the gentlest and at the same time the most effective means must always be used. Consequently Osma's advice was first to win over the other princes to their cause, especially the emperor and empress. Then Torrigiani, who personified the might of Rome and the powers of resistance of the Society of Jesus, was to be removed from the Secretaryship of State. Further, the Bishops and cathedral chapters of all four kingdoms were to be prevailed upon to present petitions to the Holy See for the abolition of the Order. On the strength of these documents the formal, well-argued request for the suppression was to be submitted to the Pope. If Torrigiani's retirement was successfully effected, a favourable outcome was to be expected, otherwise the ambassadors were to obtain an audience and present their request with the declaration that they refused to deal with the Secretary of State in the affair and that the Pope was to transmit his answer through another, impartial Cardinal. The language used on all occasions was to be respectful but emphatic. Once begun, this affair was not to be abandoned until the goal had been attained. The worst possible results would ensue if the business was begun and afterwards abandoned, for the Jesuit Order was a terrible body and it would be even more terrible if it were

to emerge triumphant from an engagement with four sovereigns.[1]

Roda's opinion [2] lacked, of course, the Court Confessor's religious embroidery, but otherwise expressed similar trains of thought. He stressed especially the Order's incapacity to be of any more use in the Christian world. It was a scandal for the faithful to see the Jesuits, after they had been expelled by the noblest of the Catholic Courts, protected in other countries and in Rome. This might well give rise to doubts about the justice of their banishment. Besides, these Religious would leave no means untried of obtaining their return, so that a fresh disturbance of minds would constantly be threatening. Therefore the only practical means of preserving peace and quiet was their complete suppression. It would be very useful if all the Bishops and prelates, by referring to the incidents that had taken place in their dioceses, were to show the Pope the advantage and necessity of the suppression and to present a formal request for it, which request, however, they must first submit to the Government for examination. So as not to allow the Jesuits any time for a counter-move, speedy action was essential, especially as in view of Clement XIII.'s advanced age and ill-health one would have to reckon with his early demise. It would be of great value to present the request in the lifetime of the present Pope, so that it would be known in the next conclave, when the demands must be repeated and a protest made against any and every Pope who might be chosen without the suppression being made a condition of his election. They must also press for Torrigiani's removal, at any rate from this affair, since he was the most fanatical opponent of the rulers' royal prerogatives. The request must be agreed on by the princes and then presented as simultaneously as possible. While showing all due respect, they must not refrain from a display of energy and must let it

[1] **Dictamen del P. Confesor*, of January 13, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054.

[2] **Dictamen del Señor Roda*, of January 1767, *ibid.*; see Appx. 2*a*.

be understood that the monarchs would defend themselves at all costs, if necessary by force of arms. Since no impression could be made in Rome except by fear or a prospect of advantage, the Cardinals should be dealt with singly, with the object of winning them over. Their chief care, however, should be the future conclave, to ensure the election of a Pope who was well-disposed towards the Courts and was not prejudiced in favour of the Jesuits.

Grimaldi's opinion too [1] would have nothing to do with Pombal's plans of war and the occupation of the States of the Church. Apart from other considerations, he did not think such a procedure to be just. If the suppression was regarded as a spiritual matter, the princes had no right to compel the Pope by force to take a step that was repugnant to him. If it was regarded as a secular affair, then again the four monarchs had just as little right to demand from Rome a measure which at present concerned only other States, since the Order no longer existed in their own countries. As suitable methods Grimaldi indicated the winning over of the Court of Vienna, the formation of a special Congregation of Cardinals and prelates to deal with the affair, and the skilful handling of the members of the Congregation, partly by arguments as to facts, partly " by those methods which are customarily used to advantage everywhere, and especially in Rome ". In matters in which temporal interests were involved reprisals might be hinted at, such as the abolition of the law-court attached to the nunciature in Spain. But so far as respect for and obedience to the Vicar of Christ on earth and the spiritual sphere in general were concerned, the world must be made to realize that the allied monarchs were not to be outdone by anyone.

Before it was handed to the Portuguese ambassador [2] the *aide-mémoire* which had been prepared by Grimaldi from the individual opinions was again submitted for approval to the

[1] Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054 ; see Appx. 2*c*.

[2] *Grimaldi to Aranda, February 26, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054.

Extraordinary Council and the Bishops who had been included in it. The Bishops were of the opinion that it was unavoidably necessary to demand from Rome the complete suppression of the Society. The summoning of a Council for this purpose was not expedient ; what was advisable was to urge the Bishops and Superiors of Orders to make the request in Rome together with the Government. It might be useful to instruct some men of learning and repute to produce some written works in support of the princes' demand. The co-operation or acquiescence of the other Catholic sovereigns was well worth striving for. On the other hand it did not seem consonant with the dignity of three powerful monarchs to make war against the Pope, a weak secular ruler and the common father of the faithful. But at the time of the conclave it ought to be made known to the college of Cardinals what a risk they would be taking in electing a Pope who would not co-operate honourably in the suppression of the Jesuits. The project of punishing the General of the Order and his Assistants as partners in the crime would have to be dropped. To ask for Torrigiani's dismissal and his exclusion from this affair was of doubtful value, for his successor might easily be a secret and cleverer adherent of the Jesuits ; it would be better to see if the Secretary of State could not be won over. Naturally in this case he would have to be indemnified for the loss of the revenues brought him by his protection of the Society. Even if they had to spend a considerable sum for this purpose, it would be more profitable and cheaper than an armed incursion into the States of the Church. On no account were they to discuss proposals for reform or any kind of palliative measure.[1]

In the *aide-mémoire* which was handed on March 30th, 1768, to the Portuguese envoy Ayres de Sa e Mello as a reply to Pombal's proposals, the prefatory statement was made that the complete suppression of the Society of Jesus would be extremely useful to the Church and was indispensable for

[1] **Dictamen del Consejo extraordinario* [March 21, 1768], *ibid.* ; see Appx. 2*d*.

the safety of the Courts. Wherefore the five monarchs who had banished the Jesuits must bring about the complete suppression of this terrible and harmful body without delay and with the utmost energy and were not to take half-measures to effect their purpose. The method of negotiation was to be preferred to all others, though the threat to occupy the Papal States could be used as a last resort. It was also unavoidably necessary to assure themselves in advance of the co-operation, or at least the neutrality, of the other Catholic Powers, especially Austria. In making their proposal to the Pope the weighty and just grounds for their request (contained in the *Deducção cronologica* in the case of Portugal, in the decrees of banishment in the case of Spain) should be set out with all due respect but with energy and firmness. It would be useful if the Bishops, prelates, universities, and other representative bodies in the five states petitioned their rulers to ask the Pope for the complete abolition of the Jesuit Order, for which purpose they might be provided with the relevant intimations. It was advisable to act quickly, firstly to prevent the Jesuits making any counter-move, secondly because it was very important that the proposal should be made before Clement XIII.'s death. For if the demand of the Courts was already known in the next conclave, the Sacred College would be more likely to pay heed to the princes' request, to avoid the risk to which it might otherwise expose itself in electing a Pope. In the official proposal the Pope was to be urged to suppress the Society of Jesus by a fatherly measure of administration, without engaging in a formal legal process, just as Clement V. had proceeded against the Templars and subsequent Popes had proceeded against the Humiliati, the Jesuati, and other Orders. The notoriety of the offences, the assurances of such respected monarchs, and the peace of the Church and State demanded, in the case in point, that the method taken to suppress the Society be the speedy one of decree. It must be insisted that this method be adopted, and at all costs Rome must be prevented from handling the affair according to the rules of a suit for suppression. This latter procedure would greatly impede the attainment of the object for which they

were striving, for by various machinations delay could easily be caused, and, even worse, it would jeopardize the honour of the princes, it being inconsonant with their dignity to appear as accusers before a court or to bring a case against a Jesuit General.[1] Any Congregation that was formed for the purpose of providing the Pope with information should be composed exclusively of impartial Cardinals and prelates. To gain their votes every appropriate means should be used, for in matters of this kind only fear or a prospect of advantage was effective with the Curia. Further, it must be stressed in Rome that the monarchs would use every means permissible, even if they were prejudicial to the interests of the Roman Court, such as the suppression of the court attached to the nunciature in Spain, the restoration of the full original authority of the Bishops, and the stoppage of appeals to Rome, except in cases which had already been reserved to the Holy See in the old ecclesiastical discipline. Other States had at their disposal other means of intimidating the Papal Curia, but all must let it be known that in the event of obstinate resistance they would have recourse to serious and effective measures.

During the negotiations between the Courts, broad hints were given to the nuncios that the monarchs were prepared to go to any lengths to secure the suppression of the Society of Jesus. When Lucini complained about the secret landings of the Neapolitan Jesuits in the States of the Church, Charles III.'s confessor retorted that the Pope had the means in his hands of escaping from the difficulty and of satisfying the orthodox princes, by suppressing the Jesuit Order. Grimaldi spoke more bluntly still. The Courts had laid down the principle that the Jesuit body must be done away with. If Clement XIII. would not agree to this decision with a good grace, the sovereigns would continue on their course and temporal losses in the States of the Church would be inevitable. If,

[1] **Proyecto de Memoria en respuesta a Portugal, según se envió al Consejo extraordinario* (definitive text of March 30, 1768), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054; see Appx. 2*e*.

on the other hand, the Curia satisfied the Catholic monarchs, the losses would be made good and fresh ones would be avoided.

The Portuguese envoy also informed the Madrid nuncio that his Court made the resumption of relations with Rome dependent on the suppression of the Jesuit Order. All the Governments, he said, had now resolved to leave no means untried of inducing the Pope to take this step.[1] The great secret of the time, wrote Lucini to Garampi in January, 1768, was the conspiracy formed by Spain and the other European Courts against the Roman Curia, with the object of peremptorily demanding the suppression of the Jesuits and of rendering the Papal authority superfluous in every State. The Bishops who were true to Rome were humiliated and abased; their greatest enemies were the Frati. King Charles III.'s hatred of the Jesuits and consequently of Rome too was unbelievable.[2]

In his reply Torrigiani remarked that there was a great difference between the Templars, with whom the Portuguese representative had drawn comparisons, and the Jesuits. The Templars' offence was notorious, whereas the Jesuits had hitherto been notorious only for the great good they had done and were still doing. And now they were suddenly to be condemned on charges of a general nature, with no proofs and no details about their crimes. Moreover, there was a plain contradiction in the charges. In Portugal their crime consisted in not observing their Order's regulations, in France in following

[1] *Lucini to Torrigiani, December 22, 1767, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304, Papal Secret Archives, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.

[2] "*Il grand arcano, che esiste ora, è la congiura combinata con le altre corti dell' Europa contro la corte di Roma, mentre si vuole assolutamente la suppressione de' Gesuiti, e ridurre inutile l'autorità pontificia in tutti i regni" (Lucini to Garampi, January [12 ?], 1768, Cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 305, *loc. cit.*). *Di Rivera, Sardinian ambassador to Rome, to Lascaris, January 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101.

them too closely. Only children would be frightened by the talk that these Religious were a danger to the monarchs. All the laws of humanity had been violated when they were expelled from Portugal, and they had been driven out of France, Spain, and Naples like scabby sheep. Not one had protested; no one except the Pope had stood up for them, and these were the giants who were supposed to dominate the rulers! Equally ridiculous was the theory that they dominated the Holy See. Let the proofs be produced and they would be the first to remove the Jesuits from occupations which were inconsonant with their vocation. Ever since the great persecution began they had taken special care not to employ them in such business, even when they could have been of good service to them. If their domination of the Pope was deduced from the protection extended to them by the Holy See, this was a false deduction, for the Pope's duty was to protect them just as he would any other Order in similar circumstances. The whole conflagration was solely the result of the plot concocted by the Courts. The attempt to induce the Pope to lend a hand to these intrigues and to set his seal upon them would never succeed. Grimaldi had declared that the Holy See would be buried beneath the ruins of the Jesuit Order, that it would forfeit more and more of its spiritual and temporal rights, and that it was a question of its saving any of its temporal possessions. He would like to put the question, what the Jesuits had to do with the present encroachments of the rulers on the privileges of the Holy See, with the indirect attacks on religion itself. Why was not attention directed rather to the pernicious principles of that century? Why did the rulers lend so willing an ear to the flattery of politicians? What had the Jesuits to do with the temporal supremacy of the Holy See, if it was to lose it on their account? Neither the present nor any future Pope could destroy an Order which, on the testimony of Bishops and princes throughout the world, had been helpful to religion and the State, when there was no evidence that as a whole it had departed from its rules, that it had committed colossal crimes, and that it was obviously incorrigible. These were the views of the Holy

Father, which the nuncio was to express with force at every opportunity.[1]

The memoranda of the Courts and the *aide-mémoire* were ready [2] when, on January 30th, 1768, the issue of the monitorium to Parma altered the whole situation and led to the occupation of Avignon and Benevento. As an indispensable preliminary condition for the settlement of the dispute the suppression of the Jesuit Order was demanded by Spain,[3] and the first step, which, it was hoped, could be supported by the other Powers, was to come from the Bourbons.[4] Convinced that to deal with the Jesuit affair in conjunction with the complication with Parma could only do harm, Choiseul made no mention of the suppression as a condition of peace in his

[1] " *V. S. save quales son, y quales deven ser las maximas de la Sta Sede ; las del Papa no son, ni pueden ser diversas, con que no podrá nunca ni el Papa presente, ni el que venga despues de el destruir una Orden religiosa que por authoridad de los obispos de todas las partes del mundo, y por confesion de los mismos principes del siglo, ha sido hasta aora util al servicio de Dios, y al del Estado, sino se prueba que haia degenerado de lo que era, y que estos hijos haian cometido enormes delitos : estos son los sentimientos de Su Santidad, y estos son aquellos a los quales V. S. deve dar siempre toda la eficacia con su celo." Torrigiani to Lucini, January 7, 1768 (translation), *ibid.* 5072.

[2] " *No omito advertir a V. E. aqui que, quando recibimos la noticia del Monitorio del Papa contra la corte de Parma, estaba ya formada la Memoria y que esta se dispuso segun las circumstancias anteriores en que nos hallabamos con Roma." Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 5054.

[3] " * . . . y no temas que la composicion con Roma sea segun ella lo piensa, pues por mi parte no se hará así, y antes bien a de ser con la total extincion de los Jesuitas " Charles III. to Tanucci, May 10, 1768, *ibid.*, 6058. " * . . . es S. M. de dictamen, que tambien se pida por las tres cortes, como articulo sin el qual no tendra efecto la composicion con Roma. Este articulo le propone S. M. como dictamen, y no como resolucion, si le aceptasen en Francia, lo avisaré a V. E." (Grimaldi to Tanucci, July 26, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101).

[1] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565.

instruction to Aubeterre, merely remarking that if Portugal put forward this demand it might rely on the help of the Bourbon Governments.[1] In fact he urged the Cabinet in Madrid to withhold the request until the coming conclave or the election of the next Pope, since all requests of this nature were hopeless at the present time and might lead Clement XIII. to take a step which his successor might be unable to undo.[2] A different view was taken in Spain. Both the king and the Extraordinary Council insisted on the suppression of the Society of Jesus being the first condition of an understanding, and until this was fulfilled all other negotiations were purposeless.[3] Grimaldi had to inform Choiseul that his Court could not confine itself to the support of Portugal and regarded the suppression as the most essential condition. The prelates and jurists were incessantly reminding the king that as long as this Order existed in any corner of the world real peace was

[1] " Quant au Portugal, il demande l'extinction totale de la Société des Jésuites, et je ne doute pas que les trois cours n'appuient cette demande " (Choiseul to Aubeterre, undated [July 11, 1768 ?], in CARAYON, XVI., 433). *Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 26, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48.

[2] " *Nous pensons entièrement comme le cour dc Madrid sur la nécessité et l'utilité de l'extinction absolue de la Société des Jésuites, mais nous sommes persuadés que toute réquisition que nous ferions à cet égard dans les circonstances actuelles seroit très inutile. Le Pape qui s'est si opiniâtrément réfusé à la révocation du Bref du 30 Janvier, à laquelle on lui avoit fourni un moyen de se déterminer sans compromettre sa dignité ni son amour-propre, se prêteroit encore moins à l'abolition et à la sécularisation de l'Ordre jésuitique et se porteroit peut-être au parti extrême de faire prendre au St-Siège et à l'autorité pontificale des engagements si forts sur cet objet, que les successeurs de Clément XIII. pourroient se croire dans l'impossibilité d'y déroger " (Choiseul to Ossun, July 19, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4568). *Ossun to Grimaldi, July 28, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, August 1 and 11, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565, 4566 ; Giraud to Torrigiani, November 28, 1768, in CARAYON, XVII., 138 *seq.*

impossible. However tenuous the prospect of success, Rome's need of peace might shake the obstinacy of the Pope and his Minister.[1] In accordance with this attitude the Spanish ambassador was instructed unofficially that the recall of the Brief to Parma and the suppression of the Jesuit Order formed the nucleus of the Spanish demands.[2]

The firm stand taken by Clement XIII. confirmed Charles III. in his resolve to let drop for the moment the settlement of the Parmesan dispute and to concentrate on the suppression of the Society of Jesus as his first objective.[3] Following on the approval of the plan by the Extraordinary Council on November 30th, 1768,[4] the official memorial proposing to the Pope the complete suppression of the Society of Jesus was sent to Azpuru on December 6th, 1768. The disturbances, it was argued, caused by the Jesuits in Spanish lands, the

[1] *Grimaldi to Choiseul, August 2, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, September 20, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1768 ; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, October 4, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101 ; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge of Venice, October 1, 1768, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 287.

[3] " * . . . me remito a lo que Grimaldi te escrive sobre la domanda que yo he juzgado que devemos azer de su total extincion, separandola totalmente de los otros puntos y negocios pendientes con Roma " (Charles III. to Tanucci, November 29, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6059). " *Des de que intentaron entregar a nuestras gentes su negativa rotunda, no han vuelto a desplegar los labios, aunque se les nota alguna turbacion por las apariencias que ven acia Castro y Ronciglione. El Rey por su parte quiere aumentarles el sobresalto, pidiendo absoluta y positivamente la extincion total de la Compañia, como articulo separado de los negocios de Parma, y que nada tenga que ver con ellos ni con las demas condiciones que deben preceder a su ajuste " (Grimaldi to Tanucci, November 29, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101).

[4] **Consejo extraordinario*, November 30, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48. *Cf.* *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036.

outrages they had systematically committed against the Government and the common weal since their foundation, had caused the Catholic King to remove this centre of unrest from his dominions. This was required of him by his duty to his subjects. As the son and protector of the Church, of religion, and pure doctrine, he now found himself compelled to take a further step. The moral corruption of these Religious in their teaching and behaviour, the manifold insurrections and assassinations of which they were accused on all sides, the relaxation of discipline within the Order, the departure from the spirit of their founder, their secularized system of government, their absolute dependence on the will of a single individual, their hostility towards every kind of authority established by God, the advancement of the doctrine of tyrannicide, the persecution of prelates and holy men, their attacks on the Apostolic See when it opposed their views, the incidents in the Eastern missions, in Portugal, and in other countries—all this evidence went to show that not only were they of no more use to Catholic countries but that they were positively harmful, since they were more likely to scandalize than edify. Similarly they were a hindrance to the union of the unorthodox with the Church, for these too must fear the same dangers. The Catholic King, moved by these notorious reasons and as a dutiful son of the Church, filled with longing for its greater glory, for the good, the honour, and the preservation of the rightful authority of the Holy See, for the peace of Catholic States, whose happiness, he was firmly convinced, was irreconcilable with the existence of the Order, in fulfilment of his duties to religion, the Holy Father, himself, and his subjects, begged His Holiness most urgently for the absolute and complete suppression of the Order of the so-called Society of Jesus and the secularization of all its members, without the permission to exist as a community or congregation or under any title of reform or of a new Order, or to have any other head than their local Bishop.[1]

[1] *Memoria en solicitud de que el Papa extinga el Instituto de la Compañia de Jesus*, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome,

Copies of this memorial went to the friendly Courts of Paris and Naples, which were expected to supply their representatives in Rome with similar demands within a short time. Until their arrival Azpuru was to observe strict silence and then in conjunction with Aubeterre and Orsini to take the necessary steps for the official delivery of the documents.[1]

On December 27th, 1768, at the instigation of the King of Spain, Choiseul sent to the French ambassador Aubeterre the memorial from France,[2] which contained the categorical demand for the immediate and unconditional suppression of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, the secularization of its members, and the express prohibition of its continued existence in any form whatever. To avoid a revival of the old controversies, not a word was written in this document about the Jesuit doctrine or morals, but the ambassador was instructed to assure the Pope that his master fully agreed with the Spanish memorial.[3]

Tanucci, whose opinion of the Spanish memorial had been invited by Grimaldi,[4] was not in favour of negotiation and recommended rather a policy of silence. Rome, he said, would insist on a suit at law but it did not beseem the kings to appear as prosecutors. Moreover, there was a world of difference between the Jesuits and the Templars, whose licence was notorious. If the guilt of the Order was not made clear

Reales Ordenes, 48. Text in Ferrer del Rio, II., 250 *seqq.* Ricci's removal from Rome was dropped. Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 73 *seq.*

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, December 6, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 48; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, December 6, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6101; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, December 5, 1768, *ibid.*, 4565; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, December 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 5036.

[2] Text in Carayon, XVII., 140; Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 142 *seq.*

[3] Choiseul to Aubeterre, December 27, 1768, in Carayon, XVII., 139 *seq.*; *Choiseul to Fuentes, December 27, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, January 9, 1769, *ibid.*, 6102.

[4] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, November 22, 1768, *ibid.*, 6101.

and manifest in the suit and a verdict unfavourable to the Powers resulted, the consequences would be inconceivably disastrous.[1] As the Court of Madrid stood fast by its decision, the Minister gave way to the pressure of Spain,[2] though inwardly unable to overcome his misgivings.[3] On December 31st, 1768, he sent Cardinal Orsini a memorandum essentially similar to the Spanish one,[4] in which the Pope was asked, in view of the sorry plight of the Church, not to delay the suppression of the Jesuit Order any longer, as its continuance was a perpetual menace to the peace and unity of Catholics and to the honour of the first episcopal see of Christendom.

The last memorandum, that of the French, arrived in Rome on January 12th, 1769, and almost immediately the three ambassadors met to discuss their method of procedure.[5] At an audience which took place on Monday, January 16th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, Azpuru handed the Pope his Government's memorial, saying nothing of its contents. Clement, asking no question about the purpose of the document, began to read it but soon broke off and laid it on his desk, saying that he would examine it later and give his reply. The ambassador having no further business to discuss, the Pope dismissed him with his blessing. The grief which showed itself in Clement's features as he read the document and the deep silence into which he fell revealed his inward emotion and the pain which this action of the Courts had caused him. All audiences were cancelled for this and the following day.[6] At the audience on January 20th, when

[1] *To Grimaldi, December 13, 1768, *ibid.*, 6102.

[2] *To the same, December 20, 1768, *ibid.*

[3] *To the same, January 17, 1769, *ibid.*; see Appx. 2*h*.

[4] Translation in Danvila y Collado, II., 274 *seq.* Translations of the three memoranda in the *Gazette de France* [January], 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036.

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 12, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036; *Orsini to Tanucci, January 13, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{290}{1035}$.

[6] " *Lunes una hora antes del medio dia, me presenté a Su Santidad y entregué dicha Memoria, sin decirle lo que contenia,

Cardinal Orsini performed his Government's commission, the Pope, who was suffering from heart-trouble, broke down and began to weep [1] but soon regained his composure. When Aubeterre delivered the document from his Court on Tuesday, January 24th, 1769, he too was told that he would receive his answer later, whereupon a conversation upon matters of indifference ensued.[2]

porque así me encargó el embaxador de Francia que lo practicase, dudando yo que la quisiese recivir, y haviendola tomado en la mano, sin preguntarme el fin a que se dirigia, empezó a leerla, pero lo sospendió muy luego y poniendola sobre el bufete, me dijo que la veria: me preguntó si se me ofrecia otra cosa y haviendole respondido que no, tocó la campanilla y me dió su benedicion. La suspension del Papa en leer dicha Memoria luego que por el principio de ella pudo penetrar el objeto que tenia, su melancolico semblante y profundo silencio en dicha audiencia, me persuadieron a creer que lo havia cogido desprevenido de la instancia de dicha memoria, lo que me confirmó el cardenal Negroni, pues haviendo pasado imediatamente a referirle dicha audiencia, entendi por su conversacion, que en la que havia tenido aquella mañana de Su Santidad le havia preguntado si savia el asunto de la mia, y sé ciertamente que de resultas de ella estubo el Papa de muy mal humor en aquel dia, y que en siguiente la negó a quantos se la pidieron" (Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 19, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036). "*Era già stato prevenuto il Papa delle richieste e del loro ordine da Mons. Giraud Nunzio di Francia" (Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 74). Theiner errs in giving January 18 instead of the 16th as the day of the audience, also the 22nd instead of the 24th as Aubeterre's day of audience (*Histoire*, I., 142). *Orsini to Tanucci, January 17, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{290}{1035}$; *Negroni to Vincenti, January 19, 1769, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, Papal Secret Archives; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge of Venice, January 21, 1769, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 288.

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 20, 1769, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{282}{1035}$.

[2] Aubeterre to Choiseul, January 25, 1769, in Theiner, *Histoire*, I., 144; *Orsini to Tanucci, January 24 and 28, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{282}{1027}$ and $\frac{290}{1035}$; *Azpuru

The greatest satisfaction with the step taken by the Powers was shown by Charles III., who indeed had been the driving force behind the undertaking.[1] He did not conceal from himself that the Pope's reply would be in the negative but it would be enough to begin with, he thought, that the request for the suppression had been made, and that it would remain tabled for some time to come.[2] The more he thought about it the gladder he was that he had carried out his decision.[3] Tanucci, who had followed Spain's procedure with inward reluctance and on instructions from above, made no secret of his discontent. Not only was he annoyed by Aubeterre's premature disclosure of the secret but he was greatly displeased with the French memorandum, by reason of its cool tone and because in its very preamble the whole odium of the business had been shifted onto the King of Spain.[4] If the Pope called a consistory, two-thirds of the votes would certainly be cast in favour of the Jesuits unless through motives of worldly prudence some of the Cardinals deemed it advisable to be indisposed on the appointed day.[5]

The request for the suppression caused a great stir amid the population of Rome [6] and naturally it plunged the members

to Grimaldi, January 26, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036; *Negroni to Vincenti, January 26, 1769, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge of Venice, January 28, 1769, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 288.

[1] *Negroni to Vincenti, February 2, 1769, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 433, *loc. cit.*

[2] *To Tanucci, January 31, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6060.

[3] *Charles III. to Tanucci, February 18, 1769, *ibid.*

[4] *To Azara, January 24, 1769, *ibid.*, 6007; *Erizzo (II.) to the Doge of Venice, January 28, 1769, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 288.

[5] *To Orsini, January 31, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6007; *to Azara, January 31, 1769, *ibid.*

[6] Aubeterre to Choiseul, January 25, 1769, in THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 144.

of the Society itself into the utmost consternation.[1] In order not to appear indifferent in a matter affecting the very existence of the Order, Ricci summoned his Assistants to an extraordinary council. Among the many proposals made the one that seemed to promise most success was an appeal to the other Catholic rulers for their support. Since important interests affecting the whole Church were involved in the affair, the General intended to consult the Pope before making a final decision, but the latter sent him word that he was not to seek an audience as his appearance in the palace would be misinterpreted and the Pope could very well surmise what he had to say. He also advised him not to appeal to the other princes as they were bound to have been informed of what had happened and not one of them would openly espouse the cause of the Society of Jesus.[2]

The man most deeply affected by the blow was the aged Clement XIII., so long dogged by misfortune. "His Holiness," so ran the letter he caused to be written to the nuncios accredited to the Bourbon Courts, "cannot understand how these Courts could find the dire courage to add yet another sorrow to all the sufferings which are already afflicting the

[1] "*È facile imaginare la costernazione de' Gesuiti, sostenuta però dalla sicurezza di loro innocenza, dalla fiducia nella giustizia del Papa e sopra tutto nell' assistenza divina. Onde proseguirono i loro ministeri nella consueta forma, e per divina misericordia non nacque turbazione alcuna, anzi universalmente si viddero anco i giovani sempre più fermi nella vocazione." Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 74.

[2] "*Il Generale consultò che cosa dovesse farsi, determinato però a non far passo senza li consenso di S. S^tà^. Conveniva in primo luogo presentarsi a S. S^tà^ sì per rispetto e sì per non mostrarsi indifferente in affare di tanto rilievo per la sua Religione. Si pensò poi di fare ricorso ad altri principi. Ne scrisse al Cardinale Segretario di stato, che, avendo sentito il Papa, rispose che S. S^tà^ lo dispensava di andare da Lui, perchè la comparsa a Palazzo si sarebbe malignata ; e poi S. S^à^ s'imaginava ciò che poteva dirgli. Dissuase anco il fare parte co' principi che doveano credersi prevenuti e tra quali non vi sarebbe stato chi prendesse scoperto impegno." Ricci, *loc. cit.*

Church, with no other purpose but to torture still more the conscience and sorely distressed heart of His Holiness. Disinterested posterity will be the judge of it. Posterity will determine whether such actions can be regarded as fresh proofs of the filial love for His Holiness which these sovereigns pride themselves on cherishing, or as pledges of their professed devotion to the Holy See." [1] But great as was the Pope's grief, his courage remained unbroken. It was said by Cardinal Calini that he had heard him say in the course of the last few days that he would rather have his hands cut off than sign the Brief of suppression.[2] As the Bourbon representatives had correctly foretold,[3] his answer to the three memorials was a repeated refusal. His predecessors, it was stated in a drafted reply, had been definitely favourable towards the Jesuit Order. Therefore, were he to accede to the king's request, he would be departing from the principles held by those whose example he considered it an honour to follow, whereas the princes with their endeavour to destroy the Society of Jesus were abandoning the trail blazed by their ancestors. His conscience did not allow him to take a hand in such a work.[4]

[1] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 145.

[2] " *Ripeto a V. E. che il Papa defonto non era già inchinato per la soppressione dei Gesuiti ; e presentemente dice il card. Calino aver inteso negl' ultimi giorni dal Papa, che si sarebbe fatto tagliar le mani più tosto, che sottoscrivere il Breve per detta abolizione " (Centomani to Tanucci, February 14, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 126). " *El santo hombre estaba tan tenazmente determinado a dar la negativa redonda a las Cortes sobre la extincion pedida, que se habria dexado primero martirizar que dar el sì " (Vasquez to Roda, February 9, 1769, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.).

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 2, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 108 ; *Centomani to Tanucci, February 10 and 14, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1216 ; *Orsini to Tanucci, February 14 and 28, 1769, *ibid.*, Carte Farnesiane, 1473.

[4] **Risposta di Clemente XIII. alle tre Memorie*, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 48 ; *Torrigiani to an unknown Cardinal, February 1, 1769, *ibid.*

Unwilling, nevertheless, to act independently in a matter of such importance which affected the whole Church, the Pope had appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to meet on February 3rd, 1769, to consider the Jesuit affair,[1] when at eleven o'clock on the night of February 2nd a heart-attack brought his life to an end.

(6)

For years past the Pope's state of health had given cause for serious anxiety.[2] His physical strength, never very great, had been undermined by the exhausting resistance he had offered to the importunate demands of the political Powers. He had attended all the Christmas ceremonies of 1768,[3] and on Candlemas Day he had celebrated Holy Mass with the deepest reverence and piety, as was ever his wont, and had even performed the customary blessing of the candles. In the afternoon he had left his apartment to pray before the Blessed Sacrament, which had been exposed for the Forty Hours' Prayer. He returned in apparent good health and spirits,[4] but a few hours later, during the night, he died of heart failure.[5]

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 3, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; *Centomani to Tanucci, February 14, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1216.

[2] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 168.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, December 29, 1768, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[4] Cordara in CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 514.

[5] According to the *Vita di Clemente XIII.* (101) he passed away, without the servants being aware of it, "inginocchiato dinanzi ad un Crocifisso." *Cf.*, however, NOVAES, XV., 145 *seq.*, and Azpuru: "Ayer jueves por la noche a las cuatro horas de este relox asaltó al Papa un accidente, que en poco tiempo le quitó la vida. Por la mañana estuvo en la capilla y asistió a toda la funcion del dia de la Purificacion de Nuestra Señora e hizo la bendicion de los cirios con la solemnidad acostumbrada; por la tarde recivió al bezo de pie a quantos fueron a presentarle las velas, con que cada comunidad eclesiastica le obsequia en dicho dia; por la noche cenó y estuvo en conversacion con su sobrino

The news of his death was received with universal surprise. Of the seventy-six years of his life, over ten and a half had been spent as Head of the Church. He was a gentle and devout Father of all Christians, inexorable only when the rights of the Church and justice were in question. Very little money was found in his estate, but there was evidence in plenty of the bountiful alms he had given with the utmost liberality.[1]

On February 4th the Pope's corpse was brought to the Vatican and its burial in St. Peter's took place on the 7th.[2] The sumptuous monument which now marks its resting-place

el senador, hasta que se retiró a la cama, y a poco tiempo de estar en ella, empezó a sentir los efectos del accidente, y no pudiendo hablar, alargó el brazo a un camerero para que lo sangrase ; hizolo imediamente con dictamen del medico en uno y otro brazo, y al abrirle la segunda vez la venu, arrojó de la boca porcion de sangre y quedó muerto. Esta improvisa novedad, que aqui ha sorprendido a todos, he creido ser digna de la expedicion del extraordinario " (to Grimaldi, February 3, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012). *Gentili to Colloredo, February 4, 1769, printed supplement, State Archives, Vienna ; *Tanucci to Castromonte, February 11, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6007. The rumour that the Pope had been poisoned by the Jesuits was relegated by Tanucci to the world of fables. " *Il veleno supposto dato al Papa per opera dei Gesuiti è riuscito una delle solite favole romane. Il corpo del Papa era fatto per una tal morte " (to Azara, February 26, 1769, *ibid.*). *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 9, 1769, *ibid.*, 5012.

[1] *Vita*, 104.

[2] Novaes, XV., 146. *Cf. Ragguaglio della morte del S. P. PP. Clemente XIII., delle funzioni e trasporto del corpo al Vaticano*, Roma, 1769 ; *Relazione delle funzioni e di quanto più notabile si prattica dopo la morte del Sommo Pontefice sino all' ingresso dell'em. e rev. sig. cardinali nel conclave*, Roma, 1769 ; *Relazione del magnifico catafalco eretto nella basilica di S. Pietro per le solenni esequie di PP. Clemente XIII.*, Roma, 1769 ; *Relazione o sia proseguimento delle funzioni e cerimonie fattesi nella ss. basilica di S. Pietro dopo la morte del S. P. Clemente XIII.*, Roma, 1769. *Relazione del solenne funerale fattosi nella ducale basilica di S. Marco in Venezia il dì Febr. d.* 18 1769 *per la morte del S. P. Clemente XIII.*, Venezia e Roma, undated (1769).

was erected twenty-three years later by three of his relatives, two of whom were Cardinals bearing his name. It was unveiled in the Holy Week of 1792.[1] It is a masterpiece of the Venetian sculptor Antonio Canova, who had already made a name for himself five years previously with his monument of Clement XIV. In the figure of the Pope, writes a contemporary critic,[2] the artist has succeeded in showing most happily how all the virtues enjoyed by this successor of St. Peter had their deepest roots in his piety: his figure, assuredly one of the artist's best portraits, is shown kneeling, wrapt in prayer, his features expressing calm joy and benignity, just as he might have looked when he was overtaken by death. On one side of his sarcophagus sits the mourning genius of Death with lowered torch, while on the other stands the allegory of Faith, upright and vigorous, crowned with rays and holding a gigantic cross. On the front of the sarcophagus are figures in relief of Love and Hope.[3] The base is guarded by a pair of sturdy lions, symbolic of the watchful power and strength of a deeply pious man who here awaits the Resurrection.

In less troublous times the pontificate of this true father of Christendom would have been far happier.[4] However strongly they may have condemned his attitude in ecclesiastico-political affairs, even his opponents could not refrain from

[1] It cost 22,000 scudi. *Cf.* the *letter to Capello, of April 7, 1792: [This tomb] "fa tacere persino l'invidia, e per generale opinione è il più bel ornamento in tal genere che decori la chiesa di S. Pietro." State Archives, Venice.

[2] [G. Gh. de Rossi], *Lettera sul deposito di Clemente XIII. nella basilica Vaticana*, Bassano, 1792, xiv. *seqq.* *Cf.* Lücke in Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler des 19. Jahrhunderts*, I. (1886), 10 *seq.*; Missirini, *Canova*, Porto, 1824, 61 *seq.*; Malamani, *Canova*, Milano, 1920, 31 *seqq.*; Cechelli, 28; Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 389; but especially A. G. Meyer, *Canova*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1898, 21 *seq.*

[3] See Meyer, 21 *seqq.*, illus. 7–9.

[4] Cordara's opinion in Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 514. *Cf.* also **Poesie e satire circolanti in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente XIII.*, Add. 8382 in the British Museum, London.

paying tribute to his personal qualities.[1] Genuine piety, purity of morals, active love of his fellow-men, humility and meekness were his to a high degree. In the face of the many adversities with which he was beset in his pontificate he showed a greatness of soul and a confidence in God that bordered on the heroic. Granted that he did not always estimate correctly the personalities of his entourage, whom in his innate charity he often judged too favourably, just as he was not always successful in his selection of his assistants; granted, too, that with his gentle disposition he was too easily inclined to give way and to accept the judgment of others; but this leniency of his was not unlimited: when his duty and his conscience were in question he displayed a firmness which was not to be shaken by any threats or dangers[2] and which earned for him the title of "the Gregory VII. of the eighteenth century".[3] Mundane interests had no influence on his conduct. Even the loss of his States failed to make him recall his Brief to Parma. To sacrifice the rights of the Church for the sake of temporal advantages seemed to him to be a betrayal of his lofty office, a misuse of the hereditary estate of the Church of Christ which had been entrusted to his hands.[4] That Clement XIII., in spite of his good nature, came frequently into violent conflict with the temporal Powers was due, not to differences of personal opinion, but to the clash of philosophic conceptions and principles of justice, which even a greater than he could hardly have avoided if the lofty traditions of his predecessors

[1] "* . . . no se puede negar que el S^to^ Padre estaba adornado de virtudes, y poseia en alto grado la de la humildad" (Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 9, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012). "Le règne de Clément XIII. n'a que trop démontré que la piété la plus sincère, les mœurs les plus pures et les intentions les plus droites ne suffissent pas pour faire un bon Pape" (Instruction for Cardinals De Luynes and Bernis, of February 19, 1769, in CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV.*, 210).

[2] RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 75 *seq.*

[3] Choiseul to Aubeterre, July 18, 1768, in CARAYON, XVI., 435.

[4] *Torrigiani to Lucini, January 7, 1769 (translation), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5072.

were to be upheld. Thus it was that his pontificate of eleven years was one unbroken sequence of suffering and oppression for the Church and of grievous humiliation for the rights of the Holy See. His character, which was based on ecclesiastical principles, and the misgivings of his conscience met with no appreciation from the politicians of his time.[1] His best intentions were met by the princes with obstinate resistance or a cold-hearted rejection—they scarcely condescended to answer his letters or they did so in terms of acrid bitterness which grieved him to the heart and slighted the dignity of his sacred office. Since the brutal battles for power which had been waged against the Papacy in the Middle Ages by the German emperors and the French kings, a Pope had seldom been treated with so little consideration as was Clement XIII. Christendom had to witness the doleful spectacle of the Pope's messages being prohibited or even burnt in public by the executioner, if not at the command, then with the cowardly connivance, of Catholic rulers.[2] But one thing was beyond the power of his adversaries: they could not tarnish the serene and clear-cut portrait of the Pope's character for the impartial eye of posterity, which will honour in his person the noble champion of the Church's rights and liberty against the demands of unlimited absolutism. It had not been blind prejudice but the profound conviction that in defending the Jesuit Order he was ultimately defending the Church itself that had confirmed Clement XIII. in his determination to oppose the demands of the Bourbons with a definite refusal, when the sudden intervention of the darkness of death forced his assailants to break off the engagement for the moment.

[1] Tanucci distinguished himself by continuing to revile the Pope after he had died (to Losada, February 7, 1769, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 285, n. 1).

[2] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 146, *seq.*

CHAPTER III.

Clement XIII.'s Activities within the Church. The Creation of Cardinals. Canonizations. The Missions.

(1)

In his first allocution to the Cardinals [1] Clement XIII. delineated as the main task of his pontificate the preservation of the deposit of faith entrusted to his care, the protection from assault of the Church's governmental authority at the centre of its unity, and the fostering and the valiant defence of everything, either spiritual or temporal, which lay within the duty of the Holy See. In pursuance of these aims, he said, he did not count his life more precious than himself [2] and he put his confidence in the divine protection.

The allusion to the danger to which the faith was exposed by the teachings of the Jansenists and Encyclopedists and to the threatened encroachment on the spiritual domain by the temporal Powers was expressed here as unmistakably as the Pope's conviction that the only protection the Church could expect was from God's providence. All over the world it was threatened with dangers, injuries, and daily-recurring tribulations. He spoke in a similar sense at the proclamation of the customary jubilee on his accession to the throne [3]: the Church's weapons wherewith to ward off all these ills were prayer, fasting, and good works, which would draw down God's mercy on the world.

In the circular letter sent by the Pope to the Bishops on his

[1] On July 19, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 2.

[2] Acts, XX., 24.

[3] Address to the Cardinals on September 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 26; announcement of the Jubilee for the whole of Christendom, of the same date, *ibid.*, 27.

entering office [1] he spoke of the struggle against the powers of hell which the Church would have to undergo, but he had nothing to say of any trust that could be put in earthly powers; everything depended rather on the Church's fortifying and sanctifying itself and thus making itself worthy of the divine protection. Apart from the customary exhortations to procure good priests, and to observe the obligations of residence and visitation, the letter was entirely an ascetic instruction on episcopal duties. They were to close their ranks with a strong spirit of internal unity and were to cast aside pride, envy, and all that was contrary to unifying charity. Prelates should not regard their positions of honour merely as a means of playing the *grand seigneur*. "Let us live in the belief that we are come, not to lord it over the Church, but to serve it"; "there is no poison so nauseous and dangerous as the love of power"; "vainglory is a hidden reef for Bishops." They occupied Church property not as proprietors but as stewards. Preaching, especially preaching the crucified Christ, was the chief duty of a Bishop, who was not to consider it beneath his dignity to take his share in the work of an ordinary priest. Clearly alluding to the conditions of the time, he finished his letter with an appeal for fortitude: "Let us not be like dumb dogs, not able to bark,[2] and let us not allow our flock to be preyed upon and ravaged. Nothing must deter us from exposing ourselves to every manner of conflict for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. Let us think of Him who suffered such violent contradiction at the hands of sinners. If we allow ourselves to be intimidated by the boldness of iniquitous men, it will mean the end of the energy of the episcopal dignity, of the exalted and divine power of ecclesiastical government. We can no longer be Christians when we have come to fear threats and persecution. Let us not rely on ourselves but on God, who raises from the dead."

The guiding principle marked out by Clement XIII. for his pontificate is here clearly stated. And he was to abide by it

[1] On September 14, 1758, *ibid.*, 30–37.

[2] Isaias, LVI., 10.

except when he was hindered by timorous or disingenuous advisers. For him no good would come of continual yielding. He would raise his voice against injustice and take on himself the easily forseeable consequences, confident that the Church would triumph in the end.

Clement XIII. sought to inspire not only the Bishops but the clergy in general with the loftiness of their task. No sooner had he ascended the throne, he said,[1] than he had received from zealous pastors and missioners the unanimous complaint that in many clerics they had encountered an excessive striving after money and possessions. This produced indifference to the obligations of the clerical calling, quarrels arose for the sake of some paltry profit, services unworthy of clerics were performed, and as a result the laity conceived a contempt for the culprits which was soon extended over the whole of the clerical profession. Procurators of religious Orders, too, often allowed themselves to transgress the bounds of ecclesiastical moderation. The Pope therefore renewed his predecessors' prohibition of trading by clerics. Apart from what had been expressly forbidden in this respect, the clergy were to avoid every appearance of worldliness in the administration of their properties and were not to make themselves the lackeys of the laity, even when splendid titles were invented for such positions. Bishops were not to consecrate anyone not provided with a decent sustenance.

An address given to the parish priests of Rome in 1764 [2] was of a similar character. He exhorted them to be watchful, for Christ's flock was being threatened not only by open enemies but still more by hidden ones. "Oh, how true it is, that everywhere and only too often, even in this holy city—We say this with infinite sorrow—ravenous wolves are disguised in

[1] To all Bishops on September 17, 1759, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 248 *seq.*

[2] *Allocuzione finora inedita di Papa Clemente XIII. ai parrochi di Roma l'anno 1764*, Venezia, 1874. *Cf. Due allocuzioni inedite di S. S. Clemente XIII. P. M. tenute l'una ai parrochi l'anno 1764, l'altra ai predicatori di Roma l'anno 1765*, Venezia, 1874.

lambs' clothing and have no mercy on the flock."[1] "Only too often wickedness endeavours to cloak errors with an appearance of zeal, to propagate them under the placard of virtue, and thus to poison simple and unheeding Christians more easily, but with all the greater deception."

Apart from the Jansenists, to whose activity, even in Rome, these words may have alluded, the poisoning was mostly done at that time by the Encyclopedists. The chief works of this movement were not passed over in silence by Clement XIII. On January 31st, 1759, he condemned Helvetius's book *De l'esprit* and on June 26th he commended the theological academy of Paris for having proceeded against this clumsy piece of work.[2] This was followed on September 3rd by a Brief against the *Encyclopédie*,[3] which had been put on the Index on March 5th. On October 26th, 1763, he opposed Rousseau's *Émile* in a laudatory Brief for the Sorbonne, which had condemned both Berruyer and Rousseau.[4] To prohibit one after the other all the works that formed the huge corpus of anti-Christian writing was both impossible and purposeless; instead, a circular letter was sent to all Bishops on November 25th, 1766,[5] identifying and condemning all writings of this nature. The authors of these works, said the letter, denied God, or at least His providence, the spirituality and immortality of the human soul, and everything supersensual and supernatural. Morally they were wading in filth, and in the ecclesiastical sphere they contested the authority of the Holy See. The Bishops therefore were to warn the faithful and to summon the assistance of the civil power, so that priest and king could unite in fighting the evil.

The appeal to the civil power, however, was hardly likely to

[1] "Oh quanto è vero che da per tutto e pur troppo... anche in questa santa cività, sotto mentite spoglie di agnelli si nascondono lupi rapaci!". *Ibid.*, 8.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 96, 155.

[3] *Ibid.*, 243.

[4] *Ibid.*, 827.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1119 *seq.*

succeed. On February 6th, 1759, it is true, the Paris Parlement had condemned some anti-Christian writings, including the work by Helvetius and the *Encyclopédie* [1]; and on March 19th, 1765, fresh Parliamentary edicts were issued against Voltaire.[2] But these steps were not taken in real earnest, in fact favour was shown to irreligious writings on the plea that if they were not printed at home they would be printed abroad and thus the French book trade would suffer. Malesherbes, who controlled the publication of books from 1750 to 1768, earned the praise of the Encyclopedists for curbing the zeal of the censors and for showing men of letters how to circumvent the law.[3] The Pope's judgment was all the firmer. In a laudatory Brief to the Bishop of Freising and Regensburg,[4] who had spoken against the dissemination of evil literature, he said quite bluntly that nothing was more corrupting than the reading of impious books,[5] and he confirmed [6] the declaration of the Bishop of Langres : the principles of the new philosophy destroyed the conceptions of duty and right, led to the dissolution of marriage, of relations between parents and children, and of loyalty to king and country ; if self-interest was to be the only motive of human conduct, the citizens in a State would finally confront each other like the members of a robber-band.[7]

The danger to the Holy See caused by the attacks of the Encyclopedists was further increased by Febronius's book, against which the Pope took action.[8] He again banned

[1] Picot, IV., 1 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, 4. *Cf.* Baumgartner in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXVII. (1904), 72–85 ; Faguet in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5th Period, I. (1901), 794–824.

[4] Of September 17, 1766, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1114.

[5] "Nihil profecto exitialius dominico gregi impiorum lectione librorum."

[6] Brief of May 6, 1767, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1157 *seq.*

[7] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 187 *seq.*

[8] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 265.

Berruyer's writings [1] and firmly denounced the Jansenistic catechism compiled by Mésenguy.[2]

But the Pope's solicitude was not confined to defence; if it had rested with him, he would have intervened constructively in all directions. It was his ardent desire, he wrote,[3] to be told how he could put into effect in the various bishoprics the zeal he owed to God and Jesus Christ. The occasion for this utterance was given him by a letter written by the Archbishop of Vienne on the project of merging the Order of Canons Regular of St. Rufus into the military Order of St. Lazarus, and it is typical of the period that this design was already well advanced before it occurred to the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Valence even to bring it to the knowledge of the Pope.[4] Clement XIII. commended the two prelates[5] for not approving of the plan. Other admonitions of the Pope show that pastoral questions were especially dear to his heart. In Alsace a movement was afoot to declare mixed

[1] Prohibition of the 3rd part of the *Histoire du peuple de Dieu* and renewal of the prohibition by a Brief of December 2, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 67; praise of the Spanish Inquisitor for having prohibited Berruyer, Helvetius' *De l'esprit*, and slanderous writings against the Jesuits: Brief of July 17, 1759, *ibid.*, 229.

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 18 *seqq.*

[3] On December 30, 1760, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 427.

[4] "Qua de re nihil adhuc, ut id quod est fateamur, ad aures Nostras pervenerat" (*ibid.*, 428). There are many allusions to the secularization of S. Ruffo in the Nunziat. di Francia, 450, 512–14, 519: *Torrigiani to Pamfili, November 29 and December 9, 1761; on April 22, 1761 (list of eleven secularized convents in France of the period 1735–1759); July 11, 1761 (application by the king for the secularization of the abbeys of Murbach and Lure). *Ibid.*, 451: *Torrigiani to Aubeterre, January 26, 1767: Torrigiani had handed to the Pope the application for the association of S. Ruffo with S. Lazaro. *Ibid.*, 452: *Torrigiani to Pamfili, January 27, 1762: "Ecco la risposta definitiva della Consistoriale: Constare de causis saecularisationis et unionis delle badie di Murbach e Lure. Così, perchè la Corte è tanto impegnata." Papal Secret Archives.

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 427 *seq.*

marriages permissible, on the ground that they were bound to turn out to the advantage of the Church if the Catholic education of the children was insisted on. In a letter to the Bishop of Strasbourg, Cardinal Rohan, Clement explained at length [1] that no reliance could be placed on the education of the children of such marriages and that they were more likely to pave the way for the dissemination of false doctrine and, what was worse, for the reign of religious indifference. An arch-confraternity had been formed for the teaching of the catechism and endowments had been made for presenting a marriage dowry to young women who undertook the Christian instruction of female youth. In confirming and reorganizing [2] this fraternity, the Pope was able to say of himself that he had taken every opportunity of showing his zeal for the Christian instruction of the people. Regarding colleges and seminaries, he wrote to the famous Bishop of Coimbra, Michael of the Annunciation,[3] that he more than others had been taught by long experience of what abundant use and profit for the Church these institutions were. On another occasion, after praising the Tridentine decree on seminaries, he said [4] that in the spirit of the Council he gladly acceded to the requests for the erection and equipment of seminaries. The hospice for converted Jews also received Papal protection.[5]

Nor was ecclesiastical learning forgotten by the Rezzonico Pope. Bishop Michael of Coimbra had founded an academy for liturgy and Church history in the reign of Benedict XIV. and now sought the ratification of its statutes. The Pope wrote to him [6] that he knew of no greater joy than to be asked to lend the prestige of his name for the protection and advance-

[1] On November 16, 1763, *ibid.*, 834 *seq.*

[2] On September 26, 1759, *ibid.*, 275 *seq.*

[3] On September 20, 1759, *ibid.*, 256. Statutes of another college and their Papal confirmation, of July 21, 1760, *ibid.*, 559–568.

[4] In a message for the seminary of Forlimpopoli, on October 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 1372 ; *cf.* 1384, 1403.

[5] Brief of October 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 1116.

[6] On September 20, 1759, *ibid.*, 257.

ment of the sacred sciences, for the permanent establishment of the academies, and the exact observance of their statutes. As for the works written by the academicians, it was laid down in the statutes [1] that each one of them was free to defend the view that he considered to be more probable and that there was no need for him to follow his predecessors slavishly [2]; but in confuting others he should take care to do so in generous terms. In the Bulls confirming the universities of Lemberg [3] and Cagliari [4] Clement spoke with high praise of the usefulness of such institutions. To the Archbishop of Valencia, Andrés Mayoral, who had founded a library, he wrote [5] that it should be known to everyone that nothing was more ardently desired by the Holy See or more energetically promoted than the cultivation, first of the sacred, then of the other sciences.

A Brief on the general monthly communion in Capuchin churches [6] and a circular letter on the value of fasting [7] were devoted entirely to the inner life of the Church. For the West Indies in particular Benedict XIV.'s ordinances on fasting were renewed.[8] Like his predecessor, Clement XIII. had to deal with the question of either permitting work on holidays [9] or of abolishing the festivals.[10]

Clement XIII. had also to express his mind on the burning questions of the right of sanctuary and ecclesiastical immunity.[11] The Pope's problem-child in this respect was Germany. Frequent and serious complaints, he wrote, had

[1] n. 26, *ibid.*, 260.

[2] "pecudum more."

[3] Of April 1, 1759, *ibid.*, 122 *seqq.*

[4] Of July 12, 1763, *ibid.*, 789 *seq.*

[5] On March 12, 1760, *ibid.*, 324.

[6] Of July 28, 1751, *ibid.*, 572.

[7] Of December 20, 1759, *ibid.*, 294.

[8] On August 19, 1765, *ibid.*, 1019 *seqq.*

[9] On February 10, 1764 (for Mallorca), *ibid.*, 853; on August 30, 1763 (for Piacenza), *ibid.*, 803; on June 27, 1767 (for Burgos), *ibid.*, 1163.

[10] On October 2, 1767 (for Sardinia), *ibid.*, 1376–1392.

[11] On September 30, 1758 (for the Palatinate), on March 21, 1759, and September 3, 1763 (for Sardinia), *ibid.*, 46, 116, 808.

long been coming in almost daily about the decline, or rather the headlong downfall, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and from nowhere did he receive more doleful news than from Germany. This was all the more painful to him because in former times no nation had surpassed the German in obedience to the Church and in respect for ecclesiastical legislation.[1] He complained that even clerics were helping to increase the weight of the yoke which already had been as good as laid on the Church's neck.[2]

(2)

Scanty as the prospect was that the princes of the eighteenth century would listen to the Pope, Clement XIII. was convinced that his position as guardian of justice did not allow him to keep silence.[3] Germany caused him much anxiety on account of the threatened secularization of the ecclesiastical foundations. It is true that he did not regard the terrible struggle between the leading Catholic Powers of Austria and France on the one hand and the Protestant protagonists, Prussia and England, on the other, as a war of religion.[4] The occasion of this war, he wrote to Louis XV.,[5] lay in the temporal sphere ; but the non-Catholic princes were using their battles and victories to trample underfoot everything Catholic and to bring Protestantism to the top. For this reason they were bent on destroying the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany. At the conclusion of peace they would do all in their power to restrict still more the freedom that still remained to Catholics as the result of treaties made even in the most unhappy times. He therefore asked for the intervention of the king who called himself the first-born of the Church. A few days later he made

[1] To Bishop Hutten of Speyer, December 18, 1762, *ibid.*, 724 *seq.*

[2] To the Archbishop of Mainz, December 18, 1762, *ibid.*, 724. *Cf.* DENGEL, 60 *seqq.*

[3] See above, p. 364.

[4] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 194, 195.

[5] On November 15, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 61 *seq.*

a similar appeal to the Emperor Francis I.[1] The Pope's anxiety was renewed when on March 26th, 1761, Frederick II.'s adversaries proposed a peace congress to be held at Augsburg, and Prussia with its allies agreed. When in 1761 the rumours of the imminent injury with which the ecclesiastical principalities were threatened grew louder than ever, Clement wrote again to the Kings of France and Poland, to the Emperor,[2] to Maria Theresa,[3] to the Elector of Bavaria,[4] and to the King of Spain.[5] The peace congress at Augsburg did not take place but the Pope's anxiety persisted and caused him to address further letters of admonition and appeal in October, 1762, to Paris and Madrid,[6] to Warsaw, and to the Emperor and Empress in Vienna.[7] The danger of secularization was threatening for Osnabrück, which according to the Peace of Westphalia was to have in turn a Catholic and a Protestant Bishop. As Clement wrote to the canons there,[8] on this matter too he appealed for mediation to the French king as the upholder of the Peace of Westphalia.

A cause of great concern to the Pope was his native city of Venice. At the very beginning of his pontificate he had settled the old disputes by means of a friendly letter written in his own hand,[9] he had sent the Golden Rose to the City of the Lagoons in 1759, and he had imparted to it the right for all time to nominate an Auditor of the Rota.[10] He gave it its Cardinal, like the other great Powers,[11] and invested with special privileges the church in Venice in which he had been

[1] On November 18, 1758, *ibid.*, 62 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter to Klemens August of Cologne of January 10, 1759, *ibid.*, 107.

[2] On May 13, 1761, *ibid.*, 504–6.

[3] On May 17, 1761, *ibid.*, 507.

[4] On June 13, 1761, *ibid.*, 518.

[5] On June 17, 1761, *ibid.*, 528.

[6] On October 6 and 7, *ibid.*, 712 *seq.*

[7] On October 9, *ibid.*, 714–16.

[8] On March 26, 1763, *ibid.*, 748.

[9] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 158.

[10] Novaes, XV., 17 *seq.*

[11] See below, p. 404.

baptized.[1] Nevertheless he was not to be spared serious conflicts with the city of his birth. Leo X. had given the Greeks in Venice permission to build themselves a church for Catholic services, which was to be directly subject to the Pope. This privilege was re-confirmed by Paul III., and the civil assent was granted by ordinances issued by the State Council in 1534 and 1542 and by the senate in 1720 and 1721. Under Clement XIII., however, the Greeks chose for their church of St. George in Venice a certain George Facea, a schismatic priest who had himself consecrated bishop by schismatics. Schism thus threatened to set its foot firmly in Venice. The Pope immediately protested,[2] but the senate answered evasively with the general statements that it would never diverge from the faith of its fathers and that Facea had not yet exercised any episcopal jurisdiction. Clement retorted that Facea had solemnly proceeded to the church in episcopal vestments, had sat on the episcopal throne, and had held a service. He therefore repeated his request to the Senate to intervene and he threatened ecclesiastical penalties,[3] but he did not even obtain a reply from the Republic. When Pius VII. was elected Pope in Venice the Greek clergy were still there in schism and refused to be present at the new Pope's pontifical proceedings.[4]

Even more serious complaints had to be made by the Pope in a letter to the Venetian Bishops of October 1st, 1768.[5] The many sorrows of his pontificate had been increased by a law of the Signoria which on the pretext of reforming the religious Orders aimed at their complete destruction.

That monastic life in Venetia was in need of reform was not denied by the Pope. But the occurrence of the abuses and the

[1] On February 10, 1759, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 101.

[2] On February 27, 1762, *ibid.*, 618.

[3] On January 22 and December 31, 1763, *ibid.*, 736, 842.

[4] Gius. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia*, IX., Venezia, 1853, 366. For Facea, *cf.* Picot, IV., 259; Bart. Cecchetti, *La repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*, II., Venezia, 1874, 350–368; Moroni, XCII., 590, 592.

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1472 *seq.*

impossibility of removing them were attributed by him to the interference of the civil power in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Republic, in fact, was too jealous of its own prestige to tolerate the co-existence of priests and Religious who were respected by the people, and for this reason it frustrated the attempts at reform undertaken by the ecclesiastical authority.[1] Consequently, said the Pope, the abuses had gone from bad to worse. But the law that had just been promulgated was more likely to destroy the Orders than heal them.

By a decree of the Senate of November 20th, 1767, all Orders were in fact forbidden until further notice to receive novices. Another ordinance, of September 7th, 1768, abolished the authority of the heads of the Orders in the territory of the Republic and subordinated their members to the Bishops ; the prohibition of the reception of novices was to continue for the mendicant Orders, while in the other Orders no one was to be clothed before his twenty-first year. The clothing ceremony, the taking of vows, and the scholastic training were to take place only within Republican territory. Religious could take over parishes or perform pastoral duties only in places where they had convents. Finally they were forbidden to send money out of the country. An ordinance of the Great Council, encroaching on the rights of the Orders, forbade notaries and public officials to accept officially notifications of gifts to churches, Orders, or confraternities.[2]

In respect of these laws Clement first exhorted the Venetian Bishops to respect the exemption of the Orders and thus not

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXV, 114.

[2] PICOT, IV., 260 *seq.* A memorandum of August 27, 1768, in which the motives of the law are manifest, in CECCHETTI, II., 79–99. The State "reform" was a defiance of Rome. In the decay of the Orders, it is said on p. 80, "il pontificato Romano trovava il suo conto." The many new statutes in the Orders (p. 85) withdrew them from the jurisdiction of the Bishops "e li concatenarono con vincoli indissolubili nella dipendenza e negli interessi della Corte Romana", etc. In CECCHETTI, II., 113–19, is a memorandum of December 29, 1766, "sul numero e sullo stato patrimoniale dei Conventi." *Cf.* BALAN, VIII., 217.

to make use of the authority which had been unjustly granted to them by the State, otherwise they would be rebelling against the Apostolic See, from which the exemption derived.[1] On October 8th, 1768, he reminded the Senate that the Orders' independence of the Bishops had been ordained by canon law, especially by the Council of Trent, which the Republic had been the first of all States to accept. The reform of religious societies was not the business of the temporal power; for this purpose recourse should be had to the Pope.[2]

The Papal Brief arriving in the vacation, no reply came from the Senate until November 19th. It began by protesting its outstanding devotion to the Holy See and then rebutted the Pope's remonstrances by citing the powers invested in the civil authority. In a further Brief, of December 17th, the Pope declared that these powers were based only on a civil law avid for reform and were unknown in the early stages of the Church's history and to the predecessors of the present wielders of authority in Venice. The Senate's reply to this Brief on December 31st was precisely the same as before.[3] The Bishops Marcantonio Lombardi of Crema and Cardinal Molino of Brescia refused to carry out the visitation imposed on them by the State, whereupon Molino had to leave Republican territory and his revenues were confiscated. The Venetian envoy in Rome was instructed not to have any communication with the Cardinal if he showed himself in that city.[4]

As much trouble was caused to the Pope by the Republic of Genoa as by that of Venice.[5] Unwillingly and full of grief, he wrote on May 17th, 1760,[6] he raised his voice in complaint,

[1] *Bull., loc. cit.*

[2] Al. Guerra, *Pontificiarum constitutionum in Bullario Magno et Romano et aliunde desumptarum epitome*, III., Venetiis, 1772, 347.

[3] The Brief of December 17, 1768, and the Senate's replies of November 19 and December 31, *ibid.* *Cf.* Novaes, XV., 141–5.

[4] Picot, IV., 261.

[5] *Ibid.*, 30–4; Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, IX., Paris, 1832, 337–358; Novaes, XV., 51–53.

[6] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 353.

but his pastoral office did not allow him to hide in his heart for ever the sorrow caused him by the Genoese edict against the Bishop of Segni, whom he had sent as Apostolic Visitor to Corsica.

Since the fourteenth century Corsica had been subjected to the rule of Genoa, but since about 1730 the Corsicans had broken out into open revolt against their oppressors on the mainland, and this revolt had increased in violence as the years passed by. The rule of Baron Neuhof, who declared himself king of the island in 1736, had no permanence, but since 1755 General Pasquale Paoli had been fighting successfully against the Genoese and he continued to do so until they sold the island to France in 1768.

Amid these conflicts religious life suffered most severely. The Bishops were driven off the island as adherents of Genoa, there was a serious scarcity of priests, morals deteriorated, and superstition took the place of religion. Benedict XIV. tried to be of help by appointing on one day, May 29th, 1741, three new Bishops, to the dioceses of Aleria, Sagona, and Nebbio, and another to Ajaccio on November 27th.[1] From May 1744, onwards, at the Papal suggestion, the great Franciscan missionary Leonardo da Porto Maurizio had been successfully fighting the moral degeneration with his sermons [2] until the effects of an unlucky fall brought his activity to an end.

The Genoese Government had already asked for an Apostolic Visitor to Corsica in 1733. Clement XIII. intended to appoint one but on his giving notice of this to the Republic he received a disdainful and offensive reply. Nevertheless he thought that only a Visitor who was on the spot could decide what methods should be employed to remedy the appalling situation and he nominated as such the Bishop of Segni, Cesare Crescenzio de Angelis.[3]

By Paoli the Visitor was given an honourable reception, but not by the Republic. On August 14th, 1760, almost as

[1] Gams, *Series*, 764 *seqq*.

[2] Picot, IV., 31 *seq*.

[3] On September 18, 1759, *Bull. Cont.*, 254.

soon as it was learnt in Genoa that De Angelis had embarked in Civitavecchia for Corsica, it offered a reward of 6,000 *scudi* for his capture. He was to be taken first to one of the strongholds on the island which were still in Genoese hands and was thence to be conveyed to Genoa.

The Pope informed the Cardinals of these events in a consistory held on May 7th, 1760.[1] On the 15th he declared the Republic's edict null and void [2] and on the 17th he complained about it in a Brief addressed to the Doge and Governatori.[3] The king of Naples offered, through Orsini, to act as mediator. The Pope's reply to the conditions proposed was that if Genoa withdrew the insulting edict which it had issued against him he would recall the Visitor in an unobtrusive fashion.[4] The dispute came to an end with the cessation of the Genoese rule over the island. The Visitor's honourable reception by Paoli and the Republic's hostility towards him might lead one to suppose that he was regarded in Genoa as a party-man. Actually he had been expressly instructed by Clement XIII. to attend only to spiritual matters and to keep off politics.[5] De Angelis stayed four years in Corsica, returning to Rome in 1764.[6]

It was not long before the Pope had further occasion to complain in the strongest terms of a fresh act of violence on the part of the Genoese. "Is it possible," he wrote,[7] "that they have so utterly forgotten the piety so zealously displayed by their forebears? Have they really departed so far from

[1] *Ibid.*, 350 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 355 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 353 *seqq.*

[4] Novaes, XV., 52; Botta, *loc. cit.*, 354 *seq.*

[5] "Ea Visitatori mandata dedimus, quae ad spiritualem tantum illarum aut perditarum aut periclitantium ovium salutem pertinerent, nihil praeterea curaret, immo se abstineret ab iis, quae motus turbasque illuc iamdudum exortas respicerent." *Bull. Cont.*, III., 351.

[6] Botta, 358.

[7] To the Archbishop of Genoa, October 22, 1763, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 826.

their devotion to the Church and the Pope of Rome that no jest or pastime seems to them so diverting as to suppress the authority given by God to the Church and to cause the Apostolic See ever sorer grief ? "

There was just cause for so open and so bitter complaints. The Servite General had sent one of his subjects to Corsica to visit the Order's convents there. This did not please Genoa, where it was thought, as the Pope said,[1] that the Corsicans would be rendered more submissive if all spiritual support were withheld from them. The General recalled the Visitor but his immediate departure was prevented by circumstances beyond his control. Although, therefore, neither the Visitor nor the General nor least of all the Servite Order was to blame, the Republic expelled all the Servites from its territory and handed their convents over to other Religious.

In the face of this act of brute force the Pope was, of course, quite powerless, but his reason for not preserving silence on this as on other occasions he explained in a letter to the Archbishop of Genoa,[2] in which he called on the Bishops of the Republic to do their duty in the face of these acts of violence. " For if we whom God has appointed as guardians and shepherds of His Church become so despondent through vain fear as not to be able to speak like priests and to let the voice of zeal and truth be heard by princes and the secular power, where are we to find that man who will speak in our place and come forward as the advocate of the house of the Lord ? " It certainly redounded to the credit of the Holy See that he, and he alone in the whole of Europe, raised his voice in the defence of violated justice, heedless of the anger of the mighty which he was now drawing down upon himself more than ever.

Another dispute arose with Lucca. On May 26th, 1754, Benedict XIV. had conceded to the Republic the right to nominate three candidates when the archiepiscopal see fell vacant, the Pope to choose one of them as the new incumbent. In 1761, on the death of Archbishop Palma, Clement XIII.

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 5. *Cf.* Picot, IV., 33 ; Balan, VIII., 191 *seqq.*

appointed a cleric of the name of Torre to succeed him, at the same time requesting him to set aside part of his revenues for a pension. Lucca, however, maintained that in granting the Republic the right of nomination to the see the Pope had simultaneously granted it the right to dispose of its revenues. The dispute was settled by concessions on both sides, but from 1761 until 1764, when it was filled by the celebrated scholar, Mansi, the archbishopric of Lucca was left unoccupied.[1]

(3)

When the occasion demanded it, Clement XIII. did not shrink from addressing grave words of reproval to the Bishops as well as to secular potentates. On the death of the Elector of Cologne, Klemens August, his brother, the "Cardinal of Bavaria", Johann Theodor, demanded to be raised to the sees of Cologne and Münster, in addition to his three bishoprics of Freising, Regensburg, and Liége, but this request the Pope flatly rejected.[2] The words he used when speaking of the departed Elector of Cologne were seemingly intended to remind the Cardinal of the grave responsibility attaching to the episcopal office and grave language was certainly applicable to the Cardinal of Bavaria, for the threefold Bishop had been leading a highly scandalous life. At the very beginning of his pontificate, and again in 1762, the Pope addressed urgent admonitions to him, but to no effect. He then thought of inflicting canonical punishments upon the culprit but decided first to try, through the mediation of the Elector of Bavaria, to remove the scandal by a change in the Cardinal's entourage. Garampi, however, who was to enlist the aid of the Elector, advised severe measures, even to the extent of suspending the threefold Bishop. The Cardinal's death on January 27th, 1763, rendered all further steps superfluous.[3]

[1] Sforza in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XIX. (1887), 230 *seq.*; Gams, *Series*, 741.

[2] On March 18, 1761, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 466.

[3] Dengel, 67–71.

Clement XIII. had not satisfied the Cardinal of Bavaria's demand for new dignities, but the death of the Elector Klemens August, which had occasioned this demand, compelled the Pope to give his permission once again for the union of several dioceses under the control of one person. The Westphalian bishoprics were in danger of secularization during the Seven Years' War. England and Brunswick had impeded an episcopal election in Hildesheim for two years,[1] and had succeeded in preventing any member of a powerful princely house from becoming Bishop. It is understandable, therefore, that in these circumstances the Pope offered no objection when Klemens Wenzeslaus, the fifth son of the Polish king Augustus, was simultaneously invited by Münster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim to be their Bishop.[2] He confined himself to urging him to devote himself with energy to the study of the sacred sciences.[3]

Further difficulties were caused in Germany by the ever increasing jealousy of the ecclesiastical Electors, who begrudged the Papal nuncio his rights. Clement XIII. did not withhold his blame from the Elector of Trier, Johann Philipp von Walderdorff,[4] and he reprimanded him some years later[5] for having, as an ecclesiastical prince, abolished the legal privilege of the clergy, thus setting a bad example to the secular rulers. A week later, however, the Pope was able to express his pleasure at the Elector's withdrawal of his ordinance.[6]

A severe reprimand was administered also to Bishop Philip Felician Volodkovicz of Vladimir,[7] on whom the Polish nuncio had reported: "From time to time the Metropolitan makes

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 196, and the Briefs of April 18, May 16, and October 19, 1761, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 491, 506, 604.

[2] To Augustus of Poland, August 1, 1761, *ibid.*, 586.

[3] October 13, 1761, *ibid.*, 603. *Cf.* DENGEL, 57 *seq.*

[4] Briefs of April 18 and September 16, 1761, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 491, 600.

[5] On January 29, 1766, *ibid.*, 1054.

[6] Brief of February 5, 1766, *ibid.*, 1055.

[7] On April 21, 1762, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 629.

a show of firm resolution but he has neither the talent nor the mode of living necessary for the successful furtherance of religion and there is no one here who would show him any affection or respect."[1] Even the otherwise excellent Bishop of Eichstätt, Raimund Anton von Strassoldo, while receiving generous praise from the Pope for other reasons, was reproached by him for having shown too much compliance with the increasing desire of the Bavarian Court for secularization.[2]

The principles enunciated by the Pope from time to time in these deprecatory Briefs on the administration of the episcopal office throw light also on his own conduct during his pontificate. "If," he writes, "the compliance shown by the Bishop of Eichstätt arises from the desire to enjoy at last a rest from incessant worries, he should reflect that there is no rest and freedom from care in the episcopal office and that it must not be said of Bishops that through fear of conflict and through cowardice they have fallen short of their duty."[3]

The censure administered to the Bishop of Angers, Jacques Grasse,[4] was comparatively mild. In 1761 Grasse had signed the memorandum of the forty-five Bishops in support of the Jesuits but had then taken the liberty of commending in a pastoral letter the *Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses*,[5] which had served as an excuse for persecuting the French Jesuits. The Pope instructed him that it was the business of the Church, not of temporal princes, to decide on the truth or falsity of theological theses and that very many of the theses which had been unfavourably criticized were quite blameless. Moreover, the extracts had been compiled by persons who had long shown themselves to be the enemies of

[1] Pelesz, II., 505.

[2] September 26, 1766, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1115.

[3] "in episcopatu nullum esse quietis et tranquillitatis locum cavendumque maxime, ne nimia otii cupiditate per animi mollitiam officium nostrum prodidisse insimulemur" (*ibid.*).

[4] On September 19, 1764, *ibid.*, 896.

[5] See our account, Vol. XXXVI., 449, 450.

the Church.[1] That the reference here was to the Jansenists was directly stated in a letter to the Bishop of Sarlat.[2] The *Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses* were in fact the work of the Jansenists Goujet, Minard, and Roussel de la Tour.[3] The Jansenists played an important part in every way in the expulsion of the French Jesuits. The Order's Constitutions were denounced to the Parlement by the Abbé De Chauvelin, an ardent Jansenist.[4] In drawing up his memorandum on the Constitutions he had the support of the Abbé Terray and the vehement Jansenist Laverdy,[5] on whose proposal twenty-four works of the Jesuits were condemned to be burnt.[6]

(4)

Jansenism contributed to the corruption of many a member of the other Orders in an entirely different way, namely by causing the disappearance of the original spirit of the Order. The greatest stir was caused by the public exposure of the decay which had been taking place within the most famous of the religious bodies of that time, the French Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur. On June 15th, 1765, twenty-eight

[1] The French Bishops had found fault with the "Extracts" for containing "nonnullas opiniones in scholis communes, quasdam etiam quas fere innumeri sequuntur theologi et iuris utriusque consulti, tum, quod deterrimum est, quasdam in erroribus numerari, quas inter theologos omnes constat esse verissimas" (*Bull. Cont.*, III., 896, n. 3). Grasse came round again to the opinion of the other Bishops; *cf.* Picot, IV., 137, 190.

[2] Brief of November 4, 1764, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 902, n. 7: "Nos praeterea inhorruimus, perditissimam sectam nullum ad animarum perniciem, quam ille liber afferre potest, habuisse respectum. . . . Magnum enim scandalum simplicioribus hominibus offert notitia, fuisse in Ecclesia doctores, qui pravas huiusmodi doctrinas tradiderint. Sed non animarum salutem Ianseniani curant . . ."

[3] Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, VIII., 2, 323.

[4] "ardent Janséniste," *ibid.*, 321.

[5] "Janséniste passioné," *ibid.*, 322.

[6] *Ibid.*

monks of the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés in Paris addressed a petition to the king in which they sought the relaxation of their religious discipline. They no longer wished to wear the customary dress of their Order, and the austerity of their daily life and their night-prayers in choir had become distasteful to them. Those who were continuing the *Gallia Christiana* and the edition of the French historical sources of the middle ages were among those who signed the petition, which through its being printed became publicly known and was sent to every house in the Congregation.[1]

In other respects too the Maurists had fallen away sadly since the great days of Mabillon and Montfaucon. To a large extent their literary activity had deviated from the cultivation of ecclesiastical learning; such worldly matters as the construction of chimney-pieces and organs, rhetoric, and grammar,[2] were the subjects of their writing, and the many attempts to stifle the Jansenistic spirit in the Congregation were only partially successful.[3]

The petition put forward by the twenty-eight monks, however, not only displeased the king, the Archbishop, and the assembly of the clergy but also met with keen opposition in the Congregation itself, especially on the part of the Blancs-Manteaux. The General and the governing body of the Order, with over 1,700 subjects, were also against the would-be reformers. After making various tortuous statements the twenty-eight signed a recantation placed before them by the Archbishop of Paris, but the Congregation never regained its old spirit. An extraordinary General Chapter held at St-Denis in April, 1766, declared in favour of upholding the Order's observance, but at the ordinary General Chapter in September it was only the royal vetoes that kept the innovators in check. Nevertheless the General and his assistants were taken from

[1] Picot, IV., 172–180; Braunmüller, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.[2], 1077 *seq.*; L. Deries, in the *Rev. Mabillon*, 1930, 50 *seqq.*

[2] Braunmüller, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 57, 282 *seq.*, 455 *seq.*

the representatives of the old order of things, though there was also a committee formed for the promotion of studies. At the Chapter held at Marmoutiers in 1769 the malcontents were prevented from having their way by the authority of the king, and the new Constitutions, whose composition had been decided on at the Chapter at St-Germain, were accepted. Although entirely Gallican, in externals they were still strict.[1] But it was no longer possible to stem the advance of decay by means of laws. The French Revolution brought the famous Congregation to an end, though its last days were illumined by a gleam of glory ; forty-two Maurists refused to take the oath, and with their General at their head, they sealed their devotion to duty by dying by the hand of the executioner.[2]

It might be presumed from the Government's attitude towards the Maurists that they were favourably disposed towards the Orders but, in general, this was not the case. The spirit of the age, to which the Governments acted as servants, had as its object not only the annihilation of the Jesuits but also the destruction of all the other Orders, for the simple reason that the monasteries formed important strongholds of religion. Frederick II. of Prussia wrote to Voltaire [3] that he

[1] Braunmüller, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 1079.

[3] On March 24, 1767, *Œuvres*, ed. Preuss, XXIII., 129 : " Il n'est point réservé aux armes de détruire l'infâme ; elle périra par le bras de la vérité et par la séduction de l'intérêt. Si vous voulez que je développe cette idée, voici ce que j'entends : J'ai remarqué et d'autres comme moi, que les endroits où il y a les plus de couvents de moines sont ceux où le peuple est le plus aveuglément livré à la superstitition ; il n'est pas douteux que, si l'on parvient à détruire ces asiles du fanatisme, le peuple ne devienne un peu indifférent et tiède sur ces objets, qui sont actuellement ceux de sa vénération. Il s'agirait donc de détruire les cloîtres, au moins de commencer à diminuer leur nombre. Ce moment est venu, parce que le gouvernement français et celui d'Autriche sont endettés, qu'ils ont épuisé les ressources de l'industrie pour acquitter les dettes, sans y parvenir. L'appât de riches abbayes et de couvents bien rentés est tentant. En leur

and others had remarked that where there were many monasteries the people were more than usually addicted to religion or, as he put it, superstition. Accordingly the campaign against the *Infame* would have to begin with the destruction or, for the time being, with the curtailment, of the monasteries. This would bring about a decrease in religion among the common folk and then they could proceed against the Bishops, for whom the time had not yet come to be attacked. The statesmen had yet another good reason for attacking the monasteries; as Frederick II. also said, France and Austria especially were heavily in debt, so that the confiscation of the monastic revenues might come in useful. Voltaire thought that this plan of campaign against Christian "superstition" worthy of a great general.[1]

The idea was also developed by the king in his correspondence with D'Alembert,[2] who four years previously had celebrated the expulsion of the Jesuits from France as the prelude to the destruction of all the other Orders.[3] He approved of De Chalotais' dictum that the monastic spirit spelt disaster for the State. Of all who were animated by this spirit the Jesuits were the most powerful, so that a beginning

représentant le mal que les cénobites font à la population de leurs États . . . en même temps la facilité de payer en partie leurs dettes en y appliquant les trésors de ces communautés qui n'on point de successeurs, je crois qu'on les déterminerait à commencer cette réforme; et il est à présumer que, après avoir joui de la sécularisation de quelques bénéfices, leur avidité engloutira le reste . . . Voilà un petit projet que je soumets à l'examen du Patriarche de Ferney . . . Le Patriarche m'objectera peut-être ce que l'on fera des évêques; je lui réponds qu'il n'est pas temps d'y toucher encore . . . Dès que le peuple sera refroidi, les évêques deviendront de petits garçons . . . La puissance des ecclésiastiques n'est que d'opinion, elle se fonde sur la crédulité des peuples."

[1] To Frederick II., April 5, 1767, *ibid.*, 132: "Votre idée de l'attaquer [la superstition christicole] par les moines est d'un grand capitaine."

[2] On July 2, 1769, *ibid.*, XXIV., 456 *seq.*

[3] *Sur la destruction des Jésuites en France. Par un auteur désintéressé*, no place of publication, 1765.

would have to be made with them in the effort to throw off the yoke of the pernicious tribe.[1] D'Alembert also proffered an infallible means whereby to ruin the Orders without creating a stir: all that was necessary was to forbid the taking of religious vows by anyone younger than twenty-five.[2] And this method was in fact employed. He has also disclosed with unmistakable clearness the spirit that animated the work of destruction, of which, in his view, the expulsion of the Jesuits was but the introduction. It was really, he said, philosophy—Encyclopedism—which through the mouth of the Parlements pronounced the verdict against the Jesuits. Jansenism was merely the prosecutor.[3] The Parlements, he told Voltaire,[4] think they are serving religion but actually they are serving "Reason", though they have not the slightest inkling of the fact. Though they are unaware of it, they receive their instructions from philosophy, and the Jesuits might well say to St. Ignatius, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The expulsion of the Jesuits he definitely describes as the introduction to the destruction of the Church. Frederick II. called his plan of destruction a "reform" and the same word was used at the same time by the French Government when ordering the destruction of several monasteries.[5]

[1] "L'esprit monastique, a-t-il dit, est le fléau des États, de tous ceux que cet esprit anime, les Jésuites sont les plus nuisibles, parce qu'ils sont les plus puissans; c'est donc par eux qu'il faut commencer à secouer le joug de cette nation pernicieuse" (*ibid.*, 87). "La guerre qu'il [Chalotais] a faite avec tant de succès à la Société n'est que le signal de l'examen auquel il paraît désirer qu'on soumette les Constitutions des autres ordres" (*ibid.*, 88).

[2] To Voltaire, May 4, 1762: VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, LXVIII. (1784), 201.

[3] "C'est proprement la philosophie, qui par la bouche des magistrats, a porté l'arrêt contre les Jésuites, le Jansénisme n'en a été que le solliciteur" (*Sur la destruction des Jésuites*, 105).

[4] On May 4, 1762, *loc. cit.*, 200.

[5] PICOT, IV., 190, 213 *seqq.*; PRAT, 148 *seqq.*; GÉRIN in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XVIII. (1875), 76–135, XIX. (1876), 449–512.

After the ejection of the Jesuits the clerical assembly of 1765, fearing that the same fate would overtake the other Orders, sought to avert it by removing the abuses within them. Accordingly it commissioned the Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, to report on conditions in the religious communities and it considered that the Pope should be asked to appoint some of the Bishops as commissioners to carry out appropriate reforms.[1] These steps the king was asked by the assembly to support in Rome. But the Government wanted no reform by the Pope. The Parlement, on inquiry, replied bluntly that his co-operation was unnecessary.[2] The assembly's message to the Pope was never dispatched.[3] The assembly itself was dissolved and when it met again it received a message from the Royal Council, dated May 23rd, 1766,[4] in which the king undertook to set up on his own authority a commission which was to acquaint itself more closely with the abuses in the monasteries, and this without any regard for privileges and exemptions, including therefore those which had the Papal guarantee. Again the assembly asked the king to obtain the co-operation of the Holy See. Louis XV. promised to do so but failed to keep his word.[5]

The commission was duly appointed on July 31st. Instead

[1] The assembly's message to the Pope in PRAT, *Pièces justif.*, p. vii. It stated that religious discipline was gradually declining; "discordia denique, ultimum malorum . . . cum profanarum vocum novitate [Jansenism and Encyclopedism] in pacis ac caritatis domicilia non sine gravi bonorum omnium luctu palam et ante omnium oculos ita perperam irrupsit, ut mutuis odiis distracti ac depugnantes ad civilium magistratuum potestatem confugere non erubescant religiosi homines."

[2] " . . . que l'intervention du Saint-Siège n'était pas nécessaire pour opérer la réforme qu'on désirait." Loménie to Bernis in June, 1769, in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, XVIII., 81.

[3] The dispatch of the communication was made dependent by the assembly on the king's decision. " Cette lettre n'a pas été envoyée " (Lomenie, *ibid.*). *Cf.* PICOT, IV., 215.

[4] Reprint in PRAT, 154–6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 156 *seq.*

of confining itself to the task for which it was destined, namely the ascertainment of abuses, it gave orders on its own authority for various measures to be taken which furthered its idea of reform, without even informing the Pope. Not a single representative of the Orders was invited to its sessions; the commission's secretary was an advocate; the four secular priests appointed as theologians to the commission were confronted by four advocates, the five prelates by seven Councillors of State. In addition the commission had the right to co-opt any number of advocates or members of the lower ranks of the clergy. The President was the Archbishop of Rheims, Charles Antoine de la Roche-Aymon, but everything was under the control of the *rapporteur*, Loménie de Brienne, afterwards Minister of Finance.[1] Loménie was a friend of the Encyclopedists; later, when he was proposed as Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVI. rejected him, on the ground that he needed for the post someone who at least believed in God.[2]

As soon as the commission had been set up it was easy to foresee what would come of it: not the reform but the destruction of the Orders. Its establishment was quickly followed by a crop of written works, some advocating the abolition of the monasteries, others defending them.[3] Their supporters maintained that the Orders were being attacked because the destruction of Christianity was the final object, and that to oppose the Orders was to lend a hand to the enemies of religion. These, they said, would not be content with the overthrow of the Orders if the secular clergy was left in peace, and religion was still in possession of its worship, its ceremonies, and its dogmas, and rejoiced in its rule over the hearts and souls of the faithful.[4] But the ruin of religion would bring along with it the downfall of the State.

These considerations, however, did not prevent the commission, under Loménie's influence, issuing its decrees of

[1] Picot, IV., 213, 305.
[2] Weiss, *Weltgeschichte*, XIV., 485. *Cf.* Prat, 158–160.
[3] Prat, 164–178.
[4] *Ibid.*, 172.

reform. On April 3rd, 1767, a resolution of the Council ordered every Order to hold a General Chapter for the purpose of comparing the constitutions in force with the original ones and of thus providing every community with a clear and unalterable statute-book; it was added that the king would apply to the Holy See for its consent to the alterations.[1] On March 25th, 1768, the edict of reform was issued.[2] Just as the French anti-Papal decrees of this time began with asseverations of obedience to the Holy See, this edict on the monasteries opened with high praise of the religious life. This was followed by twelve regulations which gravely impaired the life of the religious communities. Firstly no one was allowed to take vows before the age of twenty-one years in the case of men, and eighteen years in that of women. Vows taken by persons below these ages were invalid. Persons who were not French, or who were French but who had taken vows abroad, were not to be admitted into French monasteries. From the date of publication of the decree no Order was to have more than two houses in Paris, and only one in other towns. Communities for men which were combined into a Congregation had to have at least fifteen members, besides the head and the lay-brothers, otherwise they were not allowed to admit postulants to their vows. For monasteries outside Congregations eight members sufficed.

With this the fate of the Orders was sealed. Several communities had to be dissolved forthwith and the vows already taken by very many Religious were immediately declared invalid. The complete destruction of the Orders which followed in the French Revolution was thus begun. The commission, which had applied itself so thoroughly to the "reform" lasted until 1779.[3] When it began its work there were 26,674 Religious in France, distributed among 2,966 houses[4]; in ten years the number of Carmelites dropped from

[1] Extract *ibid.* *Pièces justif.*, pp. xiv–xvi.

[2] Reprint in Prat, 182–196.

[3] *Ibid.*, 219.

[4] Gérin, XVIII., 88–90. *Cf.* Prat, 203 *seqq.*; Jager, *Hist. de l'Eglise cath. en France*, XVIII., Paris, 1870, 432 *seqq.*

1349 to 1097, the Dominicans from 1610 to 1236 (in the year 1775). The Capuchins were reduced by 859.[1]

Clement XIII. lived to see only the beginning of the work of destruction. On closer examination of the Benedictine Congregation of Saint-Vanne it was found that its constitutions had not been sanctioned by the State ; consequently they had to be altered to obtain the approval of the commission. In the course of the year 1768 the Minims, Benedictines, and Franciscan Tertiaries received instructions to have their constitutions altered by General Chapters in the presence of royal plenipotentiaries. Other communities did not receive this order till the following year, in the pontificate of Clement XIV.[2] Small establishments belonging to many different communities had to be suppressed even in Clement XIII.'s time ; the suppression of a whole Order, that of Grandmont, was begun in his pontificate but was not completed till February 24th, 1769, a few weeks after his death.[3]

All this took place even though the records of the reform commission itself showed that the alleged decay of the Orders was far from universal. The Bishops, when asked, gave many of the communities excellent testimonials. The great majority of them spoke decisively in favour of the Franciscans, stating that they were either useful or essential ; only a few of them wanted the suppression of a house here and there and had complaints to make. The most favourable opinions were won by the Recollects and the Capuchins.[4] Fault was found with most of the twenty-three houses of the Cluniacs, it is true, but not a few of them were praised for the observance of their rule.[5] Of the 288 Cistercian houses and the 49 houses belonging to the Congregation of St-Vanne not one was suppressed.[6]

[1] PRAT, 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, 206.

[3] *Ibid.*, 209.

[4] HOLZAPFEL, 363. The opinion of each Bishop in GÉRIN, XVIII, 90–102.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIX., 463.

[6] *Ibid.*, 471, 491.

The abbey of Trois-Rois in the Franche-Comté could plead that the mere rumour of suppression had set the workers and the poor in a turmoil of fear, lest they might lose their place of refuge and assistance.[1] Of the 162 monks belonging to the twenty-four houses of the Feuillants it was said that they were certainly not numerous but that their way of living was edifying.[2] One reason for the decay of many Benedictine abbeys was the system of commendaries, namely the encroachment of the civil power; Saint-Bertin had to pay 92,000, Saint-Amand in Flanders 80,000, francs every year to their commendatory abbots, leaving the monks with insufficient money for their necessities.[3]

All these lawless acts of the reform commission the Pope was again unable to prevent. On December 24th, 1766, he addressed a Brief to the president of the commission, Archbishop De la Roche-Aymon.[4] In former times, he wrote, when such reforms were contemplated, application was first made to the Apostolic See, but on this occasion he had not even been consulted; worse still, he had been left in complete ignorance of what was afoot. The spirit of the times, on whose inspiration the civil power reckoned as a gain every injury done to the reputation of the Apostolic See and to the authority and jurisdiction of the Church, seemed to be at work here again.[5] But the Commission should take care not to interfere in matters which appertained to the rights of the Holy See. Above all, they were not to make any alterations on their own account in the laws and regulations of the Orders. In any case this would not further their reform, which could

[1] *Ibid.*, 471 *seq.*

[2] Loménie in his report of March 26, 1770, *ibid.*, 475.

[3] *Ibid.*, 451 *seq.*

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1121 *seq.*

[5] "[ut] Nobis non modo inconsultis, sed plane insciis institui coepta sit reformatio." He feared "ne qui per laicorum mentes haud ita pridem se infudit, in hanc quoque rem spiritus quidam se insinuaverit, quo saecularis potestas iure sibi recuperatum existimat quidquid de Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate et Ecclesiae potestate et iurisdictione detraxerit" (*ibid.*, n. 3).

only consist in bringing these communities back to their original purity.[1]

The president probably never brought this Brief to the knowledge of the commission ; at any rate it had no effect. Venice followed the example set by the French.[2] In Modena also the duke had suppressed some small communities without Papal permission. When the Pope complained, permission was sought and was finally granted. Among the houses suppressed was the famous Cistercian abbey of Nonantola.[3]

Whereas in France and Venice an alleged reform was working to destroy the Orders, elsewhere strenuous attempts were made within these bodies to perfect religious discipline. At the suggestion of the General Chapter of Murcia, the Discalced Franciscans of the combined Provinces of Spain, Portugal, and Naples provided themselves with new statutes, which were confirmed by the Pope on July 15th, 1761.[4] The Franciscan Tertiaries living in community sought the Pope's assistance in eliminating all ambitious striving for positions of honour within the Order.[5] The flourishing condition of the Capuchins in their Province of Milan is shown in the survey of the number of their convents there as contained in a Papal Constitution of April 27th, 1759, which sought to satisfy the claims of the various custodians and nations there and to set bounds to their respective rights.[6]

The Italian Carmelites were prominent in providing for the spiritual and academic training of their younger members, particular houses being set aside for this purpose.[7] The

[1] " Nulla enim corpora ab interitu retrahi aliter possunt, quam ea ad suum quaeque revocando principium " (*ibid.*, n. 5). Clement had laid down the same principle for the Jesuit question (see our account, Vol. XXXVI., 441).

[2] See above, p. 373.

[3] Novaes, XV., 140 *seq.*

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 561.

[5] Brief of September 29, 1760, *ibid.*, 416. [6] *Ibid.*, 134 *seqq.*

[7] Brief of September 24, 1759, *ibid.*, 265 *seqq.* To remove abuses, ten Lithuanian convents were separated from the Polish Province and made independent (May 17, 1766, *ibid.*, 1074 *seqq.*).

Benedictine Congregation of Vallombrosa also sought to raise the standard of its studies, stressing the importance of theology at a time when natural science and history were pushing all else into the background.[1] The Benedictine Congregation of Bursfeld asked the Pope to confirm anew the reforming statutes of Clement XI.[2] To encourage the desire for learning the Pope granted the newly-established Cistercian college of St. Bernard in Rome the right to confer the degree of doctor.[3] Evidence of the desire for reform among the Basilians is provided by a Brief by which the Abbot-General, at his own request, was granted special powers for a visitation such as he had already completed in Italy.[4] Decrees of reform were issued also for the Celestines,[5] the Piarists,[6] the Benedictines of Monte Vergine,[7] and the Trinitarians.[8] More than once the Pope devoted his attention to the youthful and struggling Order of Bethlehemites in the West Indies.[9] He also encouraged[10] the Dominican practice of holding annual retreats of forty days to commemorate Christ's sojourn in the desert and to revive the spirit of the Order. To many other Orders he accorded high praise and entrusted them with special offices. Thus a permanent professorship of moral theology at the Sapienza was reserved for the Carmelites,[11] and the two-hundred-year-old custom of the Servites of providing a confessor to the Papal family was converted into a right.[12] The Franciscans were honoured by the appointment

[1] Brief of July 21, 1760, *ibid.*, 380.
[2] Brief of March 18, 1767, *ibid.*, 1143 *seq.*
[3] On July 28, 1764, *ibid.*, 881 *seqq.*
[4] January 22, 1761, *ibid.*, 442.
[5] *Ibid.*, 622, 1414.
[6] *Ibid.*, 648.
[7] *Ibid.*, 740.
[8] *Ibid.*, 588, 606, 616.
[9] *Ibid.*, 487, 770, 891, 956, 1112.
[10] On November 18, 1765, *ibid.*, 1034.
[11] On June 13, 1759, *ibid.*, 152.
[12] On January 19, 1762, *ibid.*, 614 *seq.*

of Cardinal Crivelli as president of their General Chapter at Mantua.[1]

A society of women teachers of girls (*Maestre pie*) had been founded by Cardinal Marcantonio Barbarigo (d. 1706) in his capacity of Bishop of Montefiascone. This society, which imposed no vows on its members, had been summoned to Rome by Clement XI., and in the reign of Clement XIII. it was conducting eight schools there. Its statutes, which had been drawn up in 1717 by the clerical members of the Congregation of Pious Workmen, were reduced in number and broadened by the Pope.[2]

(5)

Clement XIII.'s first creation of a Cardinal took place as early as September 11th, 1758, when he raised to the purple *in petto* his nephew Carlo Rezzonico. At the publication of the appointment on October 2nd the Pope seemed to consider it necessary to justify this step, for he said that he had to call on persons in his immediate surroundings who in his opinion would be most serviceable in his government and it would be understood, therefore, that in the circumstances then prevailing he was looking for men in whom he could place his absolute confidence. Moreover, his nephew had already attained high rank as a prelate under Benedict XIV. It must be said, on the other hand, that it was not until he had attained a ripe age that Rezzonico had devoted himself to the service of the Church and had obtained his ordination at the hands of his uncle.[3] However, in the matter of piety the nephew had the reputation of being a second Charles Borromeo.[4] In a description of the Cardinals which appeared on Clement XIII.'s death it was said of Cardinal Rezzonico that he was of angelic purity of morals, that he was selfless, that he had not mixed himself up in state affairs, that he had formed no

[1] On February 16, 1762, *ibid.*, 617.

[2] On September 6, 1760, *ibid.*, 407–414.

[3] Consistory of October 2, 1758, *ibid.*, 49.

[4] Novaes, XV., 16.

factions, and he had not abused the Pope's favour.[1] Rezzonico died in 1799 as Bishop of Porto and Archpriest of the Lateran.

While the first Cardinal to be created by the new Pope was a member of his family, the second came from his native city. At the last promotion of Benedict XIV.'s, in 1756, Venice had been passed over on account of an anti-clerical ordinance which had been issued there in 1754.[2] Negotiations and mediations to restore peace were unsuccessful at first and then the new Pope tried the effect of a private letter ; this succeeded, the Signoria giving way to a fellow-countryman. Clement XIII. now no longer delayed in giving the Republic its Cardinal in the person of the Venetian Antonio Marino Priuli, at that time Bishop of Vicenza, afterwards Bishop of Padua.[3]

A simultaneous recipient of the purple was the French Minister François Joachim de Pierre de Bernis.[4] Like Richelieu, Mazarin, and Dubois, Bernis was of the type of statesman who regarded the cardinalate solely as a means of enhancing his prestige. Bernis began his career as a young Abbé whose life was completely worldly and whose debts amounting to 12,000 *livres* were settled by a patroness of high rank, one of the Rohans. Poems now forgotten secured him membership of the Academy in 1744, and his praises of the almighty Pompadour the post of envoy to Venice. He was then selected to set in order the treaty of alliance of May 1st, 1756, between France and Austria against Prussia, and the plan for the partition of Prussia of May 1st, 1757. On Bernis'

[1] " *Em. Rezzonico : Veramente questo Porporato è un angelo di costumi ed ha assai dimostrato nel pontificato passato, che non è interessato ; non s'ingerisce negli affari, non ama di far fazioni e partiti, e non si prevalse dell'autorità di nepote padrone, essendo pure stato teneramente amato dal defonto Pontefice suo zio." *Nota sopra gli em. cardinali.* Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 346..

[3] Consistorial address of October 1, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 53.

[4] His *Mémoires et lettres* were published by F. Masson (Paris, 1878) ; biography *ibid.*, xxi.–cxxiv. ; Fréd. Masson, *Le cardinal De Bernis depuis son ministère 1758 à 1794*, Paris, 1884.

appointment as Foreign Minister, Clement XIII. could no longer withhold from him the Cardinal's hat, for which Choiseul had already applied on his behalf to Benedict XIV. But all these honours were followed immediately by the failure of the French policy and, for Bernis, the displeasure of the Pompadour and his precipitate downfall: in 1758 he was banished from Court and had to retire to one of his three abbeys. He now became more serious, was ordained priest, and received the archbishopric of Albi in 1764 and the post of envoy to Rome in 1769. Here he worked for the suppression of the Society of Jesus and died in 1794, after the Revolution had shattered everything for which he had worked the whole of his life.

These first appointments to the Cardinalate made by Clement XIII. were not immediately followed by any more, although there were twenty-two vacancies in the Sacred College. The reason for the delay was that Naples was claiming as much right to a Crown Cardinal as the great States of Europe.[1] Finally the Pope decided to complete the Sacred College without paying any regard to the wishes of the various Governments.[2] Among those promoted on September 24th, 1759, were four ex-nuncios. Ignazio Crivelli had held this office in Vienna, Filippo Acciaioli in Lisbon,[3] Ludovico Gualterio de' Gualtieri in Naples and Paris, Girolamo Spinola in Madrid. Of the other new creations Giuseppe Maria Castelli was noted especially for his scholarly knowledge of all matters ecclesiastical, for his protection of scholars, for his noble character, and for his complete devotion to the Holy See.[4] Likewise Giuseppe Alessandro Furietti, an untiring

[1] *Albani to Kaunitz, July 25, 1759, State Archives, Vienna, Röm. Korrespondenz.

[2] Consistorial address of September 24, 1759, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 273 *seqq.*; NOVAES, XV., 21. The Governments were decidedly dissatisfied with this: "più di tutti sono disgustati i Ministri esteri, che non hanno avuto alcuna influenza in questa promozione." The French envoy was particularly displeased. SFORZA, 21.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 344. [4] NOVAES, XV., 27.

worker, a great student of law, a scholarly writer and a zealous cleric of unassailable morality.[1] Marcantonio Colonna was a scholar, of benevolent disposition and of tried virtue.[2] Of the creations of 1759 the best-known scholar was the Dominican Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, Secretary of the Index and Maestro di Palazzo, who tried to produce a dogmatically incontestable counterpart to Fleury's history of the Church. Of his other works the most outstanding were those on Papal infallibility (in opposition to Bossuet) and on the authority of the Pope in relation to the Councils.[3]

Just as he had conferred a distinction on his native city of Venice at the first public promotion to the rank of Cardinal, Clement XIII. intended to honour his episcopal city of Padua when he bestowed the purple on his successor there, Sante Veronese, and on the latter's early death (1763) again entrusted a Cardinal and a fellow-countryman, Priuli, with the direction of his former bishopric.[4] Two other Bishops received the Cardinal's hat: that of Sabina, Andrea Corsini, Prefect of the Segnatura di Giustizia, and the Bishop Elect of Rimini, Ludovico Valenti. Of the remainder who were raised to the purple in 1759 two more died as Bishops, both having been entrusted with the direction of the suburbican bishopric of

[1] *Ibid.*, 31; G. B. Galligioli, *Memorie per la vita del card. Furietti*, Lucca, 1790. Furietti wrote a work on mosaics which was highly valued. Moroni, XXVIII., 75; Hurter, V³, 200. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 192.

[2] Novaes, XV., 32. Brunati, it is true, made the following comment on his appointment as Prefect of the Propaganda: *he is thought to be stubborn "e per troppo parziale de' Gesuiti; si teme che possa uscire del sistema del defonto cardinale suo predecessore in pregiudizio delle missioni e dell' apostolato". To Colloredo (?) on April 27, 1763, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rom. t. 88.

[3] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 1087; Hurter, IV.³, 1506, 1572. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 192. His red hat was obtained for him by Cardinal Corsini. Sforza, 20.

[4] He paid a special honour to the Canons of the cathedral of Padua. Brief of April 16, 1763, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 749.

Palestrina: Girolamo Spinola, who became Bishop there in 1775, and Marcantonio Colonna (d. 1793), who succeeded Spinola on his death in 1784. The four nuncios among the new Cardinals were all titular Archbishops, as were also Ludovico Merlini, president of the duchy of Urbino, and the Maestro di Camera Antonio Maria Erba Odescalchi, who were also promoted on this occasion. The Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Ferdinando Maria de Rossi, whose name headed the list of the new promotions, bore the title of a Patriarch of Constantinople.[1]

All the rest had held high offices in Rome. Pietro Francesco Bussi was Dean of the Rota, Gaetano Fantuzzi,[2] Auditor in the same tribunal, Giovanni Constanzio Caracciolo Auditor of the Camera, Niccolò Perelli its treasurer. Others were secretaries to Congregations: Pietro Antonio Guglielmi to the Congregation of the Bishops and Regular Clergy, Niccolò Antonelli to the Propaganda; and Conti was Secretary to the Buongoverno. Antonelli was highly praised as an indefatigable worker.[3] But the most famous of the Cardinals of 1759 was Lorenzo Ganganelli, afterwards Clement XIV. Many of those promoted on that occasion did not survive the Pope. Orsi, Gualtieri, and Odescalchi died in 1761, Merlini in 1762, Valenti in 1763, Furietti in 1764, Bussi in 1765, Acciaioli in 1766, Veronese and Antonelli in 1767, Crivelli in 1768.

[1] A character-sketch of Rossi, probably not too reliable, making him out to be a worldly and pretty insincere courtier, in the *notes on the Cardinals of Clement XIII., Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rome.

[2] C. Brancadoro, *Elogio funebre del card. G. Fantuzzi*, Fermo, 1781.

[3] " *Indefesso nel suo impiego, zelante, sufficientemente dotto, specialmente delle materie ecclesiastiche. Ha scritto sopra Parma, Piacenza e Comacchio " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rome). For Antonelli's scholarship, *cf.* Hurter, V.[3], 112 *seq.*; *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, III., 840. He especially distinguished himself by being the first to publish the discourses of the earliest of the Syrian Church Fathers, Aphraates (under the name of James of Nisibis).

Hitherto, with the exception of Bernis, all those promoted were Italians. At the next promotion, on November 23rd, 1761,[1] regard was paid to the other Catholic nations. Portugal had inevitably to be passed over, but Spain received its representative in the Patriarch of the West Indies, Bonaventura de Córdova Spinola de la Cerda. Germany was honoured by red hats being given to the Bishop of Speier, Franz Christoph von Hutten, and to Christoph Anton Migazzi. Hutten "was one of the ecclesiastical princes of Germany who were most loyal to Rome and who took the administration of his diocese very seriously," even if he did begrudge the nuncios their jurisdiction.[2] Migazzi,[3] Lord of Waal and Sonnenthurn, born in 1714, was a pupil of the German College in Rome, became Auditor of the Rota for the German Nation and Austrian envoy to Spain in 1745, Bishop of Waitzen in 1756, Archbishop of Vienna in 1757. He died in 1803. France received three red hats, for the Archbishop of Besançon, Antoine Clairad de Choiseul Beaupré, for Jean François Joseph de Rochechouart de Faudoas, envoy to Rome and Bishop of Laon, and for the Bishop of Strasbourg, Charles Louis Constantin de Rohan Guemenée (d. 1779), who, in Garampi's opinion, conducted his extensive diocese with supreme skill.[4] Four gaps in the College of Cardinals were filled by Italians: the Dominican Enrichetto Virginio Natta, Bishop of Alba; Giovanni Molino, Bishop of Brescia; Baldassarre Cenci, Secretary of the Consulta; and Cornelio Monti Caprara, Governor of Rome. Cenci (1763), Caprara (1765), and Natta (1768) died in Clement XIII.'s lifetime. Cenci died suddenly while he was superintending the draining of the Pontine Marshes.[5]

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 604.

[2] DENGEL, 53; F. X. REMLING, *Gesch. der Bischöfe zu Speier*, II., Mainz, 1854, 674 *seqq.*

[3] Biography by Wolfsgruber ([2]1897).

[4] DENGEL, 48.

[5] *Brunati to Colloredo, March 5, 1763, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rome, t. 88.

The next promotion, of July 18th, 1763, provided the Church with only two Cardinals: the Secretary of the Congregation of the Bishops and Regular Clergy, Bonaccorsi, and the Auditor to the Pope, Andrea Negroni.[1]

It is hardly surprising, in view of the world situation then prevailing, that at his last two promotions to the Cardinalate in the year 1766, Clement XIII. again paid no attention to the foreign Courts.[2] On July 21st Bufalini and Boschi, on September 26th twelve others, were promoted; all fourteen were Italians. Of Boschi, from Faenza, fifty-two years old, Brunati wrote that he had won the hearts of all Romans. Bufalini, from Città di Castello, fifty-eight years old, had been Governor of Loreto during the passage of the Austrian troops and afterwards Swiss nuncio. He was said to have a hard and inflexible character and to have been one of Torrigiani's chief supports.[3] Among the Cardinals promoted on September 26th special praise was given to Filippo Maria Pirelli, titular Archbishop of Damascus and Secretary to the Congregation of the Council. He was distinguished for his knowledge of jurisprudence and of Latin and Italian literature and was in high repute as a strong character of unblemished morals. Similarly Giuseppe Simonetti, titular Archbishop of Petra and Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regular Clergy, was universally mourned when he died in 1767, short of his fifty-eighth year. When Nicolò Oddi died in the same year, 1767, only fifty-one years old, he took with him into the grave many hopes that had been held of his erudition, sagacity, and morality. He had been the Roman nuncio at the Diet of

[1] NOVAES, XV., 77. "*Il card. Buonaccorsi fu segretario de' vescovi e regolari, d'anni 55 e d'un esteriore piutosto ributtante, parzialissimo de' gesuiti, piutosto ignorante, pieno di buona intentione..., poco accetto alla Francia, per averne in più occasioni parlato con poco rispetto." Brunati to Colloredo (?), July 20, 1763, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rome, t. 88.

[2] NOVAES, XV., 109.

[3] *To Colloredo, July 23, 1766, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, Rome, Varia.

Frankfurt which elected Joseph II.[1] and he died as a Jesuit, having taken the solemn vows of the Society at Arezzo a few days before his death.[2] The following had also served the Church as nuncios: Opizio Pallavicini (d. 1785), in Madrid; Vitaliano Borromei (d. 1793), in Vienna; and Pietro Pamfili Colonna, in Paris. Antonio Colonna Branciforte (d. 1786) was the nuncio extraordinary who conveyed the consecrated swaddling clothes to Paris.

Besides Oddi and Simonetti there was yet another Cardinal among those created in 1766 who failed to live through the following year. This was Niccolò Serra, titular Archbishop of Metelino and Auditor General. In 1768 this group suffered a further loss in the person of the Governatore of Rome, Enea Silvio Piccolomini Rustichini. On the other hand, besides those already mentioned, the following members of the group outlived the Pope: Saverio Canale, Treasurer General of the Camera (d. 1773); the Archbishop of Fermo, Urbano Paracciani (d. 1777); Benedetto Veterani, who at the time of his death (1779) was Prefect of the Index, and Ludovico Calini, Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics (d. 1782).[3]

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI., 199.

[2] "Argomento di piacevoli discorsi è stata la professione solenne di Gesuita che fece in Arezzo nella casa de' Gesuiti poco prima di morire il sig. card. Oddi." SFORZA, 50 (under date June 6, 1767).

[3] We give some extracts (possibly not entirely accurate) from *character sketches prepared for the Viennese Court of the fourteen Cardinals created in 1766. *Calini*: 70 years old, from Brescia. He was brought out of obscurity by his old friend, the Pope. "Se i Rezzonici e i gesuiti non contano sulla di lui abilità, contano sul di lui cuore e il buon costume." *Oddi*: 51 years old. "Non ha gran corredo di letteratura," but is very skilful and knows the European Courts. "Il suo spirito, le maniere soavi ed insinuanti, la moderazione, l'onoratezza lo rendono gratissimo a chi lo tratta." *Paracciani*: 52 years old; highly talented. "Il solo interesse proprio può far tacere le sue massime e rovesciare i suoi pregiudizi." *Simonetti*: 57 years old. "Una somma probità, onoratezza e pietà formano la base del suo carattere . . . Scarso

The Patriarchate of Lisbon had carried with it the expectation of a Cardinal's hat.[1] This was confirmed as a prerogative by Clement XIII.,[2] who ruled that whoever was appointed Patriarch at one consistory was to be Cardinal at the next.

(6)

Only one solemn canonization ceremony was carried out under Clement XIII. Amid the ever-increasing sufferings and afflictions of the Church, he said,[3] it was a consolation to him to direct the attention of the faithful to the great members of the Church who had gone their way firmly attached to Christ and undistracted by the fallacies of human wisdom. Four of the six chosen for canonization, Joseph of Calasanza, Joseph of

talento, lento, minuto e attaccato soverchiamente alle pretensioni di questa Corte." *Pirelli*: "Uomo di gran talento"; changes sides with every puff of wind; most conceited; not liked. *Borromei*: 45 years old; nunzio in Vienna. *Pietro Colonna*, known as Pamfili: 41 years old; the French Court was not too pleased with him as a nunzio; "gran pietà e illibatezza." *Serra*: Genoese, 60 years old, nunzio in Poland. "Non è uomo di strepito..., gode il favore della stima comune..., probità, dolcezza, onestà." *Canale*: 70 years old; "povero di talento, di cognizioni e di sostanze, ha egli saputo conseguire onori e accumulare ricchezze"; was first an intimate friend of Cardinal Fini's, then Auditor in Madrid; "tesoriere della Camera, dalla quale esce cardinale per costumanza e per non rovinare di più le rendite camerali; ha sempre mostrato un genio basso e popolare"; pro-Spanish. *Colonna Branciforte*: 55 years old, nuncio in Venice, splendour-loving, extravagant. *Veterani*: 62 years old; "talento, abilità, applicazione e onoratezza"; dislikes important business; favourite of the Albani. *Piccolomini*: 60 years old; "uomo di gran talento e penetrazione"; not liked; played his cards well with the Corsini and Rezzonico nephews. *Brunati (to Colloredo or Kaunitz), September 27, 1766, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 341.

[2] On December 17, 1766, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 1046.

[3] Consistory of April 27, 1767, *ibid.*, 1152.

Copertino, Girolamo Miani, and Jeanne Françoise de Chantal, had been beatified shortly before by his predecessor.[1] At Clement's command they were joined in canonization by the professor of Cracow University, John of Kenty (John Cantius, d. 1473),[2] and the Capuchin lay-brother Serafino of Monte Granario or of Ascoli (d. 1604).[3] The day appointed by the Pope for the canonization was August 16th, 1767, the anniversary of his coronation and the beginning of the tenth year of his reign.[4]

In 1761, on the anniversary of his coronation, Clement XIII. also decreed that the beatification might be undertaken of a Bishop and Cardinal who was especially dear to him as a relative and as a previous occupier of the episcopal see of Padua: Gregorio Barbarigo. On September 20th, 1761, Clement XIII. was able to grant him with all due solemnity the honour of being raised to the altars.[5] On two further occasions he undertook a solemn beatification; on May 19th, 1766, he paid this honour to the Trinitarian Simon Roxas (d. 1624),[6] and on April 29th, 1768, to the Capuchin lay-brother Bernardo da Corleone (d. 1667).[7] Simon Roxas was closely connected with the Court of Madrid; Bernardo, who was at first a shoemaker and anything but a saint, being in fact a rowdy, afterwards succeeded with some difficulty in inducing the Capuchins to accept him, whereupon he made up for everything by the terrible austerity of his life.

On the recommendation of the Congregation of Rites,

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 314.

[2] *Acta Sanct. Oct.*, VIII., 1042 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, VI., 128 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 131. Clement XIII. spoke of his veneration of Barbarigo in the decree of September 11, 1761, of June 1, *ibid.*, 1160.

[5] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXI., 131. Clement XIII. spoke of his veneration of Barbarigo in the decree of September 11, 1761, which fixed September 20 for the beatification (*Bull. Cont.*, III., 594), and on April 16, 1763 (*ibid.*, 750).

[6] *Ibid.*, 1072 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 1426.

Clement XIII. beatified many others who had been held in veneration since time immemorial. Among these were the five Augustinian hermits Agostino Novello (d. 1309), Antonio Turriani, Antonio della Mondola (d. 1350), Andrea di Montreale in the diocese of Rieti (d. 1479), and Filippo of Piacenza (d. 1306).[1] Agostino Novello, previously known in the world as Matteo of Tarano, was a famous jurist, the chancellor of King Manfred. As an Augustinian, in the pontificate of Nicholas IV., he composed with Clement of Osimo new Constitutions for his Order; under Boniface VIII. he was legate in Siena, and in 1298–1300 General of the Order.[2] The most noteworthy of the women who were beatified was Angela Merici, the foundress of the Ursulines, whose veneration was sanctioned on April 30th, 1763; then, along with the Dominican Benvenuta de Bojanis (d. 1292) [3] and the Clarissine Mattia de Nazariis (d. 1513), Elisabeth of Reute (d. 1386), who under the name of "the good Beth" had long won a place in the hearts of the faithful in Upper Swabia; her life was written by her spiritual director, Kügelin.[4] Elisabeth belonged to the Third Order of St. Francis. Clement XIII. confirmed the cult, already long practised, of two other sons of St. Francis: the Observant Matteo of Gimmara, Bishop of Girgenti in 1442–4,[5] and the preacher of penitence and miracle-worker Pietro da Moliano (d. 1490). The same distinction was accorded to two Dominicans—the preacher of penitence and miracle-worker Sebastiano Maggi (d. 1494) [6] and Antonio Neyrot of Rivoli, martyred in Tunis in 1460 [7]

[1] The first three by a decree of July 11, 1759, the last two by the decrees of February 18, 1764, and August 27, 1766.

[2] *Acta Sanct. Maii*, IV., 614 *seqq.*; *Analecta Augustiniana*, IV., 326 *seqq.*, VI., 120.

[3] *Acta Sanct. Oct.*, XIII., 145 *seq.*

[4] Published in the periodical *Alemannia*, IX. (1881), 275 *seqq.*, X. (1882), 81 *seqq.*, 128 *seqq.*

[5] Pirrus-Mongitore, *Sicilia Sacra*, I., Panormi, 1733, 914 *seqq.*

[6] *Monum. Ord. Praed. hist.*, XIV., 315.

[7] *Acta Sanct. Aug.*, VI., 510 *seqq.*; *Analecta Bolland.*, XXIV., 157.

—also to the Carmelite Angelo Agostino Mazzinghi (d. in Florence in 1438) and to two Servites, the priest Giacomo Filippo Bertoni (d. 1483) [1] and the lay-brother Tommaso Cursin of Orvieto (d. 1343). Of a later period was the Theatine Giovanni Marignoni (d. 1562), companion of St. Gaetano of Tiene and confessor of St. Andrea Avellino.

The feast of the Patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani, was extended to the whole Church by a decree of September 12th, 1759.[2] The clergy of Vergara in Guipúzcoa received permission [3] to honour with special ceremonies their fellow-countryman and Franciscan, Martin Aguirre, one of the twenty-six who were martyred in Japan in 1597; the clergy of Navarra obtained a similar privilege for the feast of the sainted abbots Raimund and Veremundus.[4] At the request of Charles III. of Spain, Clement XIII. granted permission [5] for the extraordinarily solemn celebration throughout the Spanish dominions of the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The Immaculate Mother of God was to be regarded as the supreme patroness of the whole realm and was to be invoked especially on Saturdays.[6]

The Papal licence for the celebration of a special feast of the Heart of Jesus was fraught with consequences. The veneration of the Heart of Jesus was already in existence in the Middle Ages [7]; the physical heart of the incarnate God

[1] *Acta Sanct. Maii*, VI., 165; *Monum. Ord. Serv. B.M.V.*, IV. (1901), 63.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 245 *seq.*

[3] April 16, 1762, *ibid.*, 625 *seq.*

[4] On May 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 1159 *seq.*

[5] On November 8, 1760, *ibid.*, 419 *seq.*

[6] Decrees of December 22, 1760, January 27, 1761, March 14, 1767, *ibid.*, 425, 437, 1141.

[7] K. Richstätter, *Die Herz-Jesu-Verehrung im deutschen Mittelalter*, München, 1924; *Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart by Carthusian Monks of the 14–17th centuries*, London, 1896; G. Kanters, *La dévotion au S. Cœur de Jésus dans les anciens États des Pays-Bas du XIIe au XIIIe siècle*, Bruxelles, 1928, with Supplément 1929. For the devotion in general *cf.* N. Nilles,

was indeed just as worthy of adoration as, for example, the five revered wounds, and to do honour to the love of Christ, which is symbolized by the heart and involves the heart in its compassion, was only natural, seeing that it was precisely the love of God and man that impelled Christ to perform the actions of His life and to undergo the sufferings by which we were redeemed. In the seventeenth century the veneration of the Heart of Jesus became particularly widespread: incipient disbelief called for a new way of worshipping Christ and, as opposed to Jansenism, which taught that Christ did not die for all men and which frightened the faithful away from the sacraments, there was need for a devotion which stressed the love of Christ and encouraged a return of this love by means of frequent Communion. The impetus that caused the devotion to the Sacred Heart to spread throughout the Church came from a simple cloistered nun, Margaret Mary Alacoque, a member of St. Francis de Sales' Institute of the Visitation. Her revelations of 1674 and 1675 are not the foundation of this devotion but it is certainly remarkable that a nun in her cell should give the impetus to a movement that after two centuries was to have spread all over the world. The devotion was promoted especially by the Institute of the Visitation and the Society of Jesus; the Jansenists bitterly opposed it.

For a long time efforts to obtain Papal approval of a special feast of the Sacred Heart were unsuccessful. The missionary Jean Eudes introduced it in 1672 into the Congregation he had founded, but only with episcopal permission.[1] In 1726 Benedict XIV., as Prospero Lambertini, had to deal with requests for the introduction of the feast put forward by the Kings of Poland and Spain and the Bishops of Cracow and

De rationibus festorum SS. Cordis Iesu et purissimi Cordis Mariae[5], Oeniponte, 1885; BAINVEL in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 271–351.

[1] BAINVEL, *loc. cit.*, 317; H. JOLY, *Le bienheureux Père Eudes*[3], Paris, 1909, 162–187; DORÉ, *Le P. Eudes, premier apôtre des SS. Cœurs de Jésus et de Marie*, Paris, 1870.

Marseilles.[1] The Jesuit Gallifet, Benedict XIV. wrote later,[2] went to great pains in the matter but effected nothing. As he was making this statement another petition was put before him, in which the Mother General of the French Discalced Carmelites sought permission to introduce the devotion into her Order. But the Pope was not in favour of new devotions.[3] Two years later the French Carmelites renewed their request,[4] this time through the mediation of Queen Maria Leszczyńska, at whose instigation the Assembly of the Clergy of 1765 invited the French Bishops to adopt the devotion.[5] Benedict, however, refused the request, referring the petitioners to his work on canonization.[6]

His successor Clement XIII. had himself founded an arch-confraternity in honour of the Most Sacred Heart.[7] Amid the ruin of their country the Bishops of Poland turned to him in their distress and sought permission to introduce the feast. This time the application was successful: on January 26th, 1765, the request was granted by the Congregation of Rites and on February 6th its decree was confirmed by the Pope.[8] The adoration of the Heart of Jesus, it was stated in the Bull, had spread, with episcopal approval, into nearly every part of the Catholic world, and times without number it had been confirmed by letters of indulgence granted to the confrater-

[1] BAINVEL, *loc. cit.*, 337; *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, V.², 1923.

[2] To Tencin, June 26, 1754, in HEECKEREN, II., 347; BENEDICT. XIV., *De canonizat.*, IV., P. 2, c. 31, c. 20–5.

[3] "Nous ne sommes guère disposé à favoriser les nouvelles dévotions." To Tencin, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Gualtieri to Valenti, July 26, 1756, Nunziat. di Francia, 496, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* undated *letter of the nuns.

[5] RÉGNAULT, *Beaumont*, II., 141 *seq.*

[6] The undated *reply (August 8, 1756) in Nunziat. di Francia, *loc. cit.*; *letter from the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites to the Secretary of State, of August 9, 1756, *ibid.*

[7] *Roda to Grimaldi, January 31, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5034; see RÉGNAULT, II., 93. For the first of this type of confraternity in Rome, *cf. Civ. Catt.*, 1929, III., 228.

[8] *Bull. Cont.*, III., 933.

nities of the Sacred Heart; the sanction of a special feast merely meant the encouragement of a devotion already in existence and refreshed the memory of the divine love with which the only-begotten Son of God had adopted human nature and had set the example of obedience, meekness, and humility.

In 1763 and 1764 twenty-one Spanish Bishops and twelve cathedral chapters had sought the Pope's permission for the feast [1]; similar requests were made by nine Bishops and chapters in Spanish America and seventeen Bishops in Sicily; in all there were 148 petitioners of high clerical rank.[2] In the final Papal decree, however, Spain was not mentioned. On May 10th, 1727, Philip V. of Spain had asked for the feast to be introduced [3] and on June 12th, 1747, Aróstegui received instructions to renew the request in the king's name.[4] For this reason the Spanish king was included in the petitioners named in the decree issued by the Congregation of Rites.[5] At this point, however, Roda, backed by Cardinal Ganganelli,[6] objected, on the score that his king's name had been mentioned without his knowledge. At the same time he appealed to Madrid to protest from that quarter too,[7] and Azpuru, Roda's

[1] '*Lista de los Prelados y Cabildos que han escrito al Papa suplicandole concediese el Oficio y Misa del Corazón de Jesús' (undated), Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 791. List of the Bishops and Chapters in NILLES, I., 91 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 91–6.

[3] *Ibid.*, 36 *seq.*; POU Y MARTI, *Archivo de la Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede*, III., Roma, 1921, 19. Negotiations had been going on since 1725: *ibid.*, under "Corazón de Jesús"; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 983 *seq.*

[4] *Carvajal to Aróstegui, June 12, 1747, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5034.

[5] NILLES, I., 5.

[6] "*V.E. se acordará muy bien de lo que trabajó entonces, y quien me dió noticia de lo que pasaba fué el card. Ganganelli y me ayudó en el empeño." Roda to Azpuru, May 28, 1771, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid, Chamartin, R.

[7] *Roda to Grimaldi, January 31, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5034.

successor, instructed by Grimaldi,[1] had to object to the sanctioning of the feast for Spain without the royal assent.[2] All the prelates who had taken part in the petition were sharply reprimanded in the king's name and at the same time the Spanish Bishops were forbidden to write to Rome on a matter of general import.[3] After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain all representations of the Sacred Heart were removed from their churches.[4]

A considered opinion given by the royal confessor Osma [5] typifies the current feeling in Madrid. His eyes had filled with tears, he wrote, as he had read the envoy's report on the introduction of the new feast. What would the critics say about it in London, Berlin, Holland, and Denmark? Still less would he care to hear the opinions that would be passed on it in Rome, France, and the whole Catholic world. What grieved him most, however, was the scanty respect that was shown to the king in this affair. Was there then no longer a king in Spain? Were the Jesuits the rulers of Spain? This handful of Bishops and cathedral chapters were not the country's representatives and their request ought not to have been made without the royal assent. But it was the all too powerful Jesuits alone who were responsible for the tiresome business, in asking the prelates to write their letters. It was only these people, these *viri potentes a saeculo, viri famosi* [6], who could have perpetrated such enormities. He would not

[1] *To Azpuru, March 5, 1765, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 45.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 21 and April 4, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5034; *to Torrigiani, April 15, 1765, Nunziat. di Spagna, 296, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Grimaldi to Roda, November 9, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 791.

[4] *Roda to Azpuru, May 28, 1771, Arch. Prov. Tolet. Madrid, Chamartin, R.

[5] *To Grimaldi, February 22, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5034; *Lopez to Idiaquez, February 27, 1765, *ibid.*, Gracia y Justicia, 688.

[6] "the mighty men of old, men of renown" (Gen., VI., 4).

venture to suggest to the Minister the measures that should be taken to abolish such serious abuses, since in his overwhelming grief he would probably not hit on the right one.[1] The French Jansenists spoke equally bitterly against the new feast.[2]

Another sign of the times was a request for a canonization which was put forward on this occasion by a powerful party. Up to the death of Ferdinand VI. of Spain the Spanish Government had shown a rather indifferent attitude towards the beatification of the anti-Jesuit Palafox. In fact the Inquisition in a decree of May 13th, 1759, had ordered Palafox's two anti-Jesuit works to be burned by the executioner along with other scurrilous writings against the Jesuits.[3] With Charles III.'s accession to the throne the situation altered. Under date August 12th, 1760, the king petitioned Clement XIII. for Palafox's beatification; the two anti-Jesuit letters, he said, had not been burnt on account of their

[1] The motive of the hostility towards the Feast was given by Rábago on August 28, 1747 (Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*): "*La razón verdadera, segun se dijo y dice, es que en este empeño para el Corazón de Jesús a entrado la Compañía y esto basta para conciliar todas las contradiciones del mundo. Pero al fin, aunque a mucha costa, Dios bolverá por el Corazón de su SS. Hijo." Tanucci (to Bottari, March 23, 1765, *ibid.*, Estado, 5992) confirms it: "*Tralle cose che Roda mi disse, fu l'inganno fatto dai Gesuiti alla regina Barbara di Spagna per la festa del Cuor di Gesù di quella visionaria bugiarda, che aveva visto in paradiso chi non aveva mai amato Dio, tanto disapprovata costì dal Papa passato. Io me rallegrai, Roda si formalizzò di vedermi congratulato con una risoluzione di questo Papa favorevole a quella furberia; ma si serenò quando io spiegai, che io rideva del nuovo argomento dell' infallibilità del Papa, poiche Papa era Lambertino, che detestò e abrogò la cosa, Papa, Rezzonico, che l'approva e l'abbraccia, e l'uno e l'altro operava collo Spirito Santo della Corte di Roma, il quale è più simile a Proteo che al fato ineluttabile dell' Eterna Sapienza, qui locutus est per prophetas."

[2] RÉGNAULT, *Beaumont*, II., 144 *seqq.*

[3] Printed, Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 443, and Nunziat. di Spagna, 262, Papal Secret Archives.

contents but because permission to print them had not been obtained.[1] Passionei, the so-called "*Ponens*" in the case, whose business it was to initiate the process of beatification, and who had applied himself to the task with great zeal, lost no time in publishing the king's letter.[2] Further, against all tradition and custom, he had printed, together with earlier documents in the case, the unanimous resolution of December 9th, 1760, by which Palafox's writings were declared to be free of any offence against the Apostolic decrees.[3] He also urged the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Quintano Bonifaz,[4] to concur with the Roman decision, stating that the Apostolic decree deprived the Jesuits of any excuse for further intrigues. Roda too tried to influence the Inquisitor in the same direction. He assured him that the steps he had taken in the matter, which he had always urged forward without insulting the Society and with proper regard for its honour, had been guided, not by hatred for the Jesuits, but by his zeal for the glorification of Bishop Palafox, for the honour of the king, and the good of the Church.[5] But what Roda really thought

[1] *Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 41; *Wall to Portocarrero, June 17, 1760, *ibid.*

[2] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, November 6 and 20, 1760, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, December 9, 1760, Cifre, *ibid.*, 285.

[3] *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 1, 1761, Registro di cifre, *ibid.*, 431; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, January 20, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*, 285.

[4] *Passionei to the Grand Inquisitor, December 24, 1760, Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 443.

[5] *To Quintano Bonifaz, December 25, 1760, *ibid.*, Estado, 4966. In January 1761, Palafox's letters were released by the Inquisition (*Decree of the Grand Inquisitor, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro di corresp. 101; *Quintano Bonifaz to Passionei, January 20, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, 443; *Wall to Tanucci, April 28, 1761, *ibid.*, Estado, 6092). The release of the letters was instigated by Roda; *cf.* *Roda to Wall, January 29 [1761] (*ibid.*, 4966): "He visto carta de España en que se refiere una proposicion de los Jesuitas, que dicen: Que mas daño les hace Roda en Roma, que Carvalho en

about Palafox and the Jesuits appears in his correspondence with Wall.[1] The most useful part of Palafox's writings were, in his opinion, his animadversions on the Jesuits, and it was a triumph for them when his letters against them were condemned to be burnt. The king would have to be informed about such things, he continued, so that he could secure his kingdom and colonies against the Jesuits. Roda thought that his own life too was in danger from these "regicides". In Rome, he wrote, he was regarded by the Jesuits as their enemy. He had been warned to be on his guard by several Religious and persons distinguished for their virtue and sagacity and thoroughly conversant with Jesuit doctrines and practices. "However, my life is of little moment to me. It is my honour and my conscience that I want to protect; for the rest, let it come to pass according to the will of God and the king." [2]

Meanwhile, in Rome, Palafox's friends rejoiced in the good progress that was being made in the process of canonization and in the discomfiture of the "ravens".[3] Some of their false

Portugal. Si ahora viesen alzada la prohibicion, y reimpressas las obras de Palafox, y que a mi me lo debian, que dirian? Pero digan lo que dixeren."

[1] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4966.

[2] "*Es conveniente que el Rey se halle enterado. Mientras S. M. no las conozca, no puede asegurar sus reynos y menos las Indias. Io al Inquisidor no le hablo de los Jesuitas, sino por lo respectivo a esta causa Palafox, pues temo que se escandalice, y no me crea en nada. Io entiendo que lo mas util que escribió el Venerable son las obras contra los Jesuitas, donde los define... Ahora todo lloverá sobre mi. En Roma ya me tienen por su contrario los Jesuitas. De España escriben, que les hago yo mas daño en Roma que Carvalho en Portugal. El Inquisidor y su tribunal estaran rabiando conmigo porque los desacredito y obligo a que, contra su honor reformen el edicto. Aqui muchos Religiosos... me amonestan que me guarde..." To Wall, February 12, 1761, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4966.

[3] *Bandini to Foggini, December 16, 1760, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod., 1607.

rumours, such as that the Jesuits had called King Charles and Wall Jansenists and that they were trying to win over Dominicans and Carmelites against Palafox,[1] Ricci had no difficulty in refuting.[2] After Passionei's death on July 5th, 1761, the impetuosity with which the process had been pressed forward somewhat slackened.[3] To such an extent was the cause regarded as a party matter that the mere fact that the Cardinals York and Giovanni Francesco Albani had abstained from voting was interpreted as ingratitude and enmity towards the Spanish king. It was not until James III. (the Pretender) had interceded on his behalf that York was readmitted into Charles' favour.[4] After Passionei, Cardinal Galli was entrusted with Palafox's cause and on his death Ganganelli, who was

[1] *[Centomani ?] to Tanucci, March 27, 1761, *ibid.*, 6092.

[2] *Ricci to Orsini, December 8, 1760, *Epist. Gen. secretae*, in Jesuit possession ; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 78 *seq.*

[3] " *I gesuiti venuti dal Mexico portarono certa lettera stampata di Msgr. Azpuru scritta ad Angelopoli in cui si faceva trionfo grande per esser passato in Congregazione de' Riti certo articolo nella causa di Msgr. Palafox, e si diceva che i gesuiti avevano procurato d'impedirne il buon esito con le solite ingiurie contro di essi. Ma è falso, ed i gesuiti non se n'erano ingeriti niente affatto. Il sig. card. Terroni prefetto della Congregazione di p. m. aveva fatto dell' opposizione non per opera de' gesuiti, nè per far loro favore, ma perchè si procedeva irregolarmente, non avendo Msgr. Pisani allora Promotore fatto le animadversioni, se non per pura apparenza, non rilevando le vere difficoltà. E veramente questa causa si portava avanti con impegni, con frodi, con violenze, con danari, che non sono certo le maniere di promuovere i servi di Dio all' onore degli altari, dovendo in cosa si santa avere luogo la semplice verità " (Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 78 *seq.*). *Cf.* *Torrigiani to Pallavicini, January 1, February 12, and March 26, 1761, Registro di cifre, Nunziat. di Spagna, 431, *loc. cit.* ; *Pallavicini to Torrigiani, January 20, 1761, Cifre, *ibid.*, 285.

[4] *Roda to Wall, [January 22] and February 12, 1761, and March 25, 1762, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4966 ; *Charles III. to Tanucci, January 6, 1761, *ibid.*, 6044 ; *Wall to Tanucci, February 17 and March 31, 1761, *ibid.*, 6092.

expected to bring it to a favourable and speedy conclusion.[1] Ganganelli continued to conduct the cause even after he was Pope. Under Pius VI. it had to be finally abandoned as impracticable, the last session taking place on February 28th, 1777.[2]

(7)

In the domain of the foreign missions there began under Clement XIII. the work of violent destruction. The same temporal powers which in past centuries had contributed so much to their construction had now lost all appreciation of their predecessors' great ideals and they destroyed one of the chief instruments which they had previously used for preference to spread Christianity : the Society of Jesus.

To get an idea of the yawning gap torn in the work of the missions by the step taken by Portugal, France, and Spain, one need only recall that in 1760 no less than 3,276 Jesuits were working as missioners abroad.[3] By that time Pombal had already begun his work of destruction. Ship after ship arrived in Lisbon, packed with Jesuits who had suddenly been torn away from their pastoral work in missionary countries. In May, 1759, ten or twelve came from Angola ; in

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, February 17 and April 28, 1767, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 1767 ; Ricci, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 79.

[2] Reusch, *Index*, II., 496. For subsequent Spanish efforts to obtain Palafox's beatification, *cf.* *Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " El Ve Señor Don Juan de Palafox ", No. 27, 1785/89.

[3] A. Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1899, 30. In 1749, of the seven Provinces forming the Portuguese Assistancy, that of the mother country contained 861 Jesuits, the Province of Japan 57, Goa 150, Malabar 47, China 49, Brazil 445, Maranhão 145. The French Assistancy had 54 missionaries in Central America, 50 in North America, 25 in Greece, 17 in Syria, 7 in Persia, 22 in the East Indies, 23 in China, a total of 198 Jesuits in 36 missions. [Wernz-Schmitt], *Synopsis*, 321.

June, 1760, 230 from Brazil; in September of that year sixty-one from Madeira and the other islands; in December 115 from Pará. In May of the following year the first 119 Jesuits were brought in from the East Indies and, as most of them were ill, they were transferred to the hospital for criminals; twenty-three had died on the voyage, which had lasted five months. Even the years 1764 and 1769 brought a gleaning of Jesuits whom it had not been possible to lay hands on immediately.[1]

From 1767 onwards the fate of the Portuguese Jesuits was visited also on their Spanish brethren. They too were suddenly arrested and were brought to Cadiz. In 1767–9 there were in all 2,273 Jesuit missionaries who were landed there from Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Mexico, from the Philippines, and from Quito and New Granada.[2]

Most of these missionaries were re-embarked in Spain and Portugal, landed on the coast of the Papal States and left to their fate. Thus there arrived in Civitavecchia, from Portugal, 255 in October and November 1759, and 375 in February and October 1760 (from Brazil 265); from Maranhão 92, from Goa and India 59, in January and July 1761; then 29 more from various provinces in 1767.[3] By the middle of June 1768, about 1,000 Jesuits from Spanish Provinces had been transported to Italy, and about 1,000 more were yet to arrive from America and the Philippines;[4] in 1767 there were 1,091 expelled Jesuits in Italy.[5] Clement XIII. showed the refugees all possible affection but in the end

[1] DUHR, *Pombal*, 143.

[2] I. B. MUNDWILER in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXVI. (1902), 639. Huonder (*loc. cit.*, 31) gives the total number of deported Jesuits as 2,617.

[3] [WERNZ-SCHMITT], 337.

[4] MUNDWILER, *loc. cit.*, 643; HERNANDEZ, *El extrañamiento de los Jesuitas del Rio de la Plata y de las misiones del Paraguay por decreto de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1908; extract from Paramás' diary dealing with the expulsion in *Kath. Missionen*, XXVIII. (1899 *seq.*), 8 *seqq.*

[5] [WERNZ-SCHMITT], 337.

he was unable to accept so many.[1] The Mexican Jesuits, 678 in all, tried to re-form themselves into a Province of their own in Bologna and Ferrara but in 1773 it had to be dissolved.

A worse fate was in store for those who were kept back in Portugal and Spain. Some, it is true, were given permission to return home and others were distributed for a time among the houses of various Orders. But the fate of the remainder was mostly very hard. As a result of their bad treatment several hundred had died already on their passage to Spain,[2] envied by those who at the will of the authorities had to undergo perpetual imprisonment without ever knowing the reason for their punishment. The sufferings of those who were locked away from the light and air in the damp, fetid, underground dungeons of St. Julian, at the mouth of the Tagus, were indescribable. After 1772 some were liberated at the intervention of Maria Theresa, Maria Leszczyńska, and other royal persons ; others had to wait till they were released by death or Pombal's fall from power in 1777.[3] Of the Spanish Provinces of the Order, shortly before their expulsion, the Province of Chile was caring for 7,718 Indians, Quito for 7,586, Peru for 55,000, New Granada for 6,594, Mexico for 122,001 ; on the Marianas and among the Tagalogs 156,052 new converts had been registered.[4]

From the French missions the Jesuits were not dragged away by force. Missions were maintained in Canada and Louisiana, in Martinique and Guadeloupe, in San Domingo and Cayenne, in Greece, Syria, and Egypt, in the East Indies and China.[5] In all, 152 French Jesuits, including 113 priests, had devoted themselves to missionary work ; from now on they gradually died out and were replaced to only a small extent.

[1] Crétineau-Joly, V., 251. *Cf.* our account, Vols. XXXVI., 337, XXXVII., 158.

[2] See above, p. 118.

[3] Duhr, *Gesch.*, IV., 2, 536–556.

[4] [Wernz-Schmitt], 353, 361.

[5] A list made for the Propaganda between 1762 and 1764 gives the names of the stations and missionaries ; reprinted in Hughes, II., 599 *seq.*

The twentieth century has collected enough evidence already of the result of European youth growing up without a Christian education and without divine service. It is not surprising, therefore, that for newly-converted peoples the loss of the missionaries meant the decline of Christianity and of a nascent culture.

But the disappearance of the Jesuits from the missions was not everywhere synonymous with decay. In California their places were taken by missionaries of first-class quality. Immediately after the Jesuits' expulsion in 1767 the Viceroy of Mexico handed over the Indian settlements to Franciscans from the missionary college of St. Ferdinand, who up till then had established five missions in the Sierra Gorda. On Good Friday, April 1st, 1768, headed by one of the most meritorious of the heralds of Christianity, the famous Juniper Serra, fourteen Franciscans arrived in Lower California. When preaching on Easter Sunday, Serra announced that the missions would be carried on in the old way, and he then distributed his companions and himself among the fifteen stations, to which a new settlement was added. The splendid progress that was subsequently made falls outside the pontificate of Clement XIII.[1]

In Mexico too the Jesuits were replaced mostly by Franciscans, notably in the Nayarit Mountains [2] and what was then Pimeria, the present Sonora and Arizona, where they took over from the Jesuits fifty-two missions, with more than three hundred villages. On August 5th, 1767, the first fourteen missionaries were sent off from the missionary college of Querétaro, and the Franciscan Province of Jalisco also took its share in caring for the Indians.[3] Excellent progress was made by the Franciscans in New Mexico; after serious devastations at the end of the seventeenth century, fifty

[1] LEMMENS, 251 *seq.*; ENGELHARDT, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, 1908–1913, I., 270, II., 18.

[2] LEMMENS, 240 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 249.

years of work in twenty-five missions resulted in the rebuilding of churches and chapels which, according to a traveller's account, could vie with those of Europe, while in point of religion the Indians were not behind their Spanish neighbours.[1] In other missions, however, the results of the Jesuit expulsion were not so satisfactory. The Mexican secular priests to whom they were handed over proved to be unequal to their task; in six years eleven Indian villages in the Parras lagoon were in ruins [2] and by 1780 only three of the twenty-two parishes in Tarahumara were still in existence.[3]

Not only the expulsion of the Jesuits but also the political events of the period had a disturbing influence on the missions. Canada, hitherto a French possession, was seized by the English in 1759 and was finally awarded to them by the Peace of Paris in 1763. At the surrender of Quebec on September 18th, 1759, the Bishop of that city was assured that the Catholics would be able to practise their religion freely, and during the peace negotiations in Paris the French ambassador in London was served with a memorial demanding for Quebec the continuance of the episcopal see and chapter. But the intention of the English Government was to set up a Protestant clergy in place of the Catholic. In its official documents the Bishop of Quebec, Oliver Briand (1766–84), was never accorded the episcopal title, which was reserved for the Anglican dignitary. Several members of the clergy returned to France in 1759 and 1763; this was viewed with approval by the new Government, which even placed English ships at their disposal. The Franciscans, Jesuits, and Sulpicians were forbidden to accept novices or to obtain reinforcements from abroad. The Catholic missionaries to the Indians were to be gradually removed and replaced by Protestants. The property of the Jesuits and Franciscans was declared to be State property in 1774,[4] and the payment of 14,000 *livres*

[1] *Ibid.*, 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, 242.

[3] *Ibid.*, 249.

[4] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III., 234, X., 380, 381; LAUNAY, 20 *seq.*

which had been made to the Jesuits by the French king for the Canadian missions to the Indians ceased after the English conquest.[1] Clement XIII. had cause to foretell [2] even more difficulties and acerbities for the Bishop-elect of Quebec than those which were inevitably associated with the episcopal office. The burden which awaited the prelate in Quebec, he said, was more than a man could ordinarily bear. However, in spite of all the vexations to which both clergy and laity were subjected, the Catholics of Canada remained true to their faith, so that the Government gradually deemed it better to mitigate its harshness. As early as 1768 it had been announced by the King's Privy Council that the English penal laws against the Catholics were not to be extended to Canada.[3]

Of the Franciscan missionaries to the Indians in Canada the most distinguished was Emanuel Crespel (d. 1775),[4] of the Jesuits Jean Baptiste La Brosse (d. 1782), who devoted thirty-five years of his life to this exacting work.[5] From about 1750 onwards these older Orders were joined by the Sulpicians. One of these, François Picquet, established a reduction in Ogdensburg and in four years collected 3,000 Indians there. He also set up four stations on the St. Lawrence and made many other converts on his missionary travels.

Of the thirty Sulpicians working in Canada in 1759 there were still two surviving in 1793, when the Government relaxed its severity, so that the Congregation was enabled to recover. From 1773 onwards the Sulpicians replaced the Jesuits in Canada, who were dying out.[6]

When Florida was transferred from Spanish to English hands in 1763, the Catholics were promised their religious freedom in an ambiguous article of the Anglo-Spanish treaty,

[1] HUGHES, II., 350.

[2] On April 9, 1766, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 125.

[3] T. O'GORMAN, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, New York, 1895, 204.

[4] LEMMENS, 266.

[5] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X., 380.

[6] *Ibid.*

but in St. Augustine the Bishop's house was taken for the Anglicans, and the Franciscan convent, which had the best wells in the town, was requisitioned for the English troops, while the Indians' church was used as a hospital. Weary of these persecutions, almost the whole of the Spanish population betook itself elsewhere.[1]

Other parts of what is now the United States, then under French or Spanish rule, had to bear their share of what was happening in the mother countries. In Spanish Arizona the churches were closed and the Indians were robbed of their priests.[2] In French Louisiana the Supreme Council, following the example of the Paris Parlement, condemned the Institute of the Jesuits as a danger to the authority of the king and the Bishops and to peace and security, declared the Jesuit vows to be null and void, forbade the name or dress of the Society of Jesus to be used, and had its property sold by auction, its chapels razed to the ground, and the Jesuits themselves transported to France. Only nine or ten Capuchins were left in the country, and they were too few to carry out all the pastoral duties that were necessary.[3] On Martinique the law-court at Bourg-St-Pierre issued a resolution by which the Jesuits had to quit their houses and forgo the use of their dress and the name of their Order. On taking an oath, which was found permissible by the ecclesiastical authorities, they were allowed to continue their pastoral work in the parishes.[4]

In South America the Franciscans, operating from their college at Ocopa, sacrificed themselves without stint in bringing the faith to the natives of Peru. The college, situated east of the Cordilleras, near the Indian territories, had been planned as a preparatory establishment for newly-arrived missionaries, as a centre whence they would be distributed among the

[1] SHEA, *Carroll*, 90 *seq.*

[2] SHEA, *Colonial Days*, 532.

[3] *Ibid.*, 587; ROCHEMONTEIX, *Nouv. France*, I., 397 *seqq.*; C. L. VOGEL, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana*, New York, 1928.

[4] *Extrait des Registres du Conseil Supérieur de la Martinique du 18 Oct. 1763* (no place or date of publication); RICCI, **Istoria*, 170.

various stations, and as a refuge for the sick and weary. Strict discipline was to be kept in the college, the missionaries having to be ready, either to shed their blood for Christ, which often happened, or at least to forgo all the achievements of refined society while penetrating into wild country where there was often no other food than that offered by the untilled earth and the night's rest was taken where darkness overtook the traveller. All this the Franciscans put before the Spanish king, Ferdinand VI., in order to obtain his confirmation of their institute. This was granted them on March 17th, 1751, and again on October 2nd, 1757. The royal letter of safe-conduct was stamped by Clement XIII. with the seal of the Papal authority.[1]

What the Franciscans had said about the difficulties of the missionary life was no exaggeration. They had their successes among the Indians, but revolts were frequent and on each occasion everything was destroyed. In a few decades their missionary labour had cost about thirty of them their lives.[2] From Ocopa the missionary college of Tarija in Bolivia was founded in 1754 and that of Chillán in Chile in 1756.[3] In 1765, with his headquarters at Tarija, the Franciscan Franciscus del Pilar (d. 1803) began his work among the Chiriguanos, a tribe that had hitherto offered an invincible resistance to all the efforts at conversion made by various missionary Orders. By prodigious patience and self-sacrifice he finally succeeded in winning them over to Christianity.[4]

After the banishment of the Jesuits in 1767 the Franciscans in Peru were given the missions in Lamas but shortly afterwards they passed to secular priests.[5] It was also the Franciscans who filled the chairs at the university of Quito, formerly

[1] On August 18, 1758, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 5. The royal letter of confirmation is wholly contained in the Brief.

[2] Lemmens, 295 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 297; Rob. Lagos, *Hist. de las Misiones del Colegio de Chillán*, Barcelona, 1908.

[4] Lemmens, 319.

[5] *Ibid.*, 301.

occupied by the Jesuits.[1] In Paraguay in 1767 the civil authority passed into the hands of Spanish officials, while the spiritual authority was taken over by Franciscans and Dominicans. The fifty-seven reductions containing 113,716 Indians fell into decay.[2]

In Guiana in 1762 the French tried to colonize the natives without the co-operation of missionaries. The undertaking was a miserable failure, and later, when it was decided to call in three Jesuits banished from Brazil, they were received by the savages as the messengers of God.[3]

The removal of the missionaries from the more highly educated peoples of Eastern Asia was not so disastrous as it was from the half- or wholly savage tribes of South America. So far as China was concerned, in Macao the Jesuits were arrested and shipped off to Europe,[4] but the power of the Portuguese extended no further. In the Far Eastern Empire there were still forty Jesuits, eight Franciscans (including one Chinese), and one Carmelite in 1768.[5] The south-western provinces (Sutchen, Yünnan, and Kwei-chou) had been entrusted to the Paris seminary for foreign missions. Sutchen even took a turn for the better, thanks to the circumspect and energetic leadership of Pottier (1756–92), appointed Vicar Apostolic by a decree of Propaganda, which, however, did not reach Macao till 1769. When Pottier arrived in 1756 the number of Christians in Sutchen was about 3,000; in

[1] *Ibid.*, 287.

[2] MOUSSY, *Mém. hist. sur la décadence et la ruine des Missions des Jésuites dans le bassin de la Plata*, Paris, 1864.

[3] HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV., 164.

[4] " *Ut nuper ex literis P. Sigismundi a s. Nicolao didici (quod mihi summo dolori ac moerori fuit), omnes Patres Soc. Iesu, iussu regis Lusitaniae Macai capti, in carcerem coniecti inque Europam conducendi erunt. Porro cuncti missionarii s. Congregationis prohibentur Macai commorari." Letter from a missionary from Canton, of January 18, 1763, Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, *Ind. Or. e Cina* 1758–1760, Scritt. rif. nella Congr. 30, n. 14.

[5] SCHLUND in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswiss.*, IV., 12.

1769 it was 10–12,000, and when he died in 1792 it was over 25,000.[1] The five missions in south-east China, which had been founded by Spanish Franciscans from the Philippines, were also able to develop still further at first, as until 1768 the persecutions raged more fiercely in the interior. In 1767 there were 2,471 Christians in Shan-tung, 2,738 in Kiang-Si, 6,083 in Fu-Kien, 2,692 in Kwang-Tung.[2] Nevertheless, even in Suchuen the missionaries could work only in disguise; in an urgent request for reinforcements from the Paris seminary [3] the Vicar Apostolic, Pottier, asked to be sent men who were slightly built, of pale complexion, and with black hair and eyes; such men, he said, were more likely to remain undiscovered. Pottier was fortunate in being able to replace some of the European missionaries by native priests; in 1767 he was able to give the four European priests four native ones as assistants [4]; the latter, however, complained that they were not treated as equals by the Europeans.[5] In Peking the Jesuits, by exercising a certain caution, could go about their work almost unhindered.

The Franciscan Province in the Philippines felt the lack of missionaries even more, since scarcely any native could live the hard life led by the Franciscans in these parts and the Province was thus entirely dependent on Europe for reinforcements. Lest their missions in the Philippines themselves, where

[1] L. Guiot, *La Mission du Su-Tschuen au XVIIIe siècle. Vie et apostolat de Msgr. Pottier, son fondateur, évêque d'Agathopolis*, Paris, 1892. For Suchuen, *cf.* Picot, IV., 325. That the number of Christians in Suchuen amounted to 25,000 is queried in A. Thomas, *Mission de Pékin*, 402, n. 1. Pottier's coadjutor is said to have estimated them at 3,000 in 1785. A visitation report on Yünnan in 1766 lists 18 catechumens, 566 baptisms of adults, 1,112 baptisms of children born of Christian parents, 1,314 Easter Confessions. In 1767 there were entries of 2,056 confessions, 106 adult baptisms, and 65 instructed catechumens. Guiot, 181.

[2] Lemmens, 146 *seq.*

[3] Of October 8, 1759, in Guiot, 140.

[4] *Ibid.*, 173.

[5] *Ibid.*, 167.

there were still large numbers of savages in the mountains, and the missions in China and Cochin-China might suffer further losses in man-power, they asked for a Papal prohibition against any of their men transferring to another religious Province without special permission. The request was granted by Clement XIII.[1] The removal of the 160 Jesuit missionaries was not felt so keenly at Luzon, where other Orders were working, as at Mindanao, where they had been conducting sixteen colleges.[2] The secular native clergy, who were to replace them after 1768 by a decree of Charles III., proved unequal to their task.[3] The natives on the Marianas fared better, receiving Augustinian Recollects as their pastors in place of the departed Jesuits.[4]

Much anxiety was caused to the Pope by the mission of Tong-King. Disputes had broken out there between the various missionary societies, in which the faithful had joined and which had even led to blows.[5] To allay the dissension, recourse was had to a procedure which had been employed in other parts lying too far beyond the scope of the Roman authorities and which had been used, among other such occasions, in the controversies with Palafox :[6] a so-called Conservator was elected to settle the trouble. The choice fell on the Jesuit Superior, Campos, who excommunicated the Pro-Vicar, the Augustinian

[1] On November 15, 1762, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 87.

[2] *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI., 693 ; *Die kath. Missionen*, 1880, 224. Francisco Maria Zen, of the Naples seminary, *wrote from Manila on January 15, 1770, that in a few days the Jesuits from the Philippines, ninety in all, would be embarked in three ships ; about twenty old and sick Jesuits would be allowed to remain behind. Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Ind. Or. e Cina 1758–1760, Scritt. rif. nella Congr. 32, n. 20.

[3] SCHMIDLIN, 395.

[4] CLEMENTE A TERZORIO, *Manuale*, 434, 441.

[5] *Letter from the Vicar Apostolic of West Tong-King, Louis Néez, Bishop of Ceomania, of June 20, 1759, Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Ind. Or. e Cina 1758–1760, Scritt. rif. nella Congr. 29, n. 8.

[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXX., 208.

Adrian of St. Thecla. The Propaganda ruled that Superiors of Orders who were only temporarily in office were not allowed to be Conservators at all, that all Campos's ordinances were invalid, and that the Orders were not to quarrel about their privileges, otherwise they would have to be withdrawn. In particular they were not to use the privilege of appointing a Conservator. Clement XIII. confirmed this ruling.[1] In the civil wars that ravaged Tong-King at this period the Christians were often cited as the originators of the trouble, and from 1765 to 1774 they were savagely persecuted.[2] The difficulties this caused the Europeans explains why most of the priests in Tong-King at this time were natives.[3]

In Cambodia the persecution continued, and only a few Franciscans managed to steal back into the country.[4] The Burmese incursions into Siam resulted in the Christian population dropping from 12,000 to 1,000. Mergui with its 800–1,000 Christians was destroyed in 1765 and the same fate overtook the capital, Ayuthia, in 1767. During the siege of Ayuthia many heathens took refuge in the Christian quarter, its occupants having saved the town once already by their courage. The Vicar Apostolic, Brigot, from the Paris seminary, used this opportunity to baptize several children. When the town was taken, Brigot fled to Pondicherry, where the general seminary was having considerable difficulty in maintaining its existence.[5]

In Pegu the Burmese took Siriam, the Vicar Apostolic, Nerini, losing his life as a result, in 1756, on the suspicion of having called in the help of the French against the king. Of the Barnabite missionaries who arrived in the next few years,

[1] On April 23, 1762, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 74; *cf.* 62. The decrees avoid mentioning Campos or the Jesuits by name; they are to be found in GISPERT, 247 *seq.*

[2] WALZ, 374.

[3] West Tong-King had twenty native priests in 1763, thirty-four in 1770 (LAUNAY, 67); in 1750 only one of the eight Dominican missionaries was a European (GISPERT, 239).

[4] LEMMENS, 115 *seq.*

[5] LAUNAY, 50, 92; PICOT, IV., 245 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 388.

the sole survivor by 1762 was Giambattista Maria Percoto, who was appointed Vicar Apostolic in 1767 and carried out his task successfully until 1776. It was not long before the mission comprised ten churches and as many schools.[1]

In 1759 the Indian missions were reckoned to be among the most flourishing in the world, but they were largely ruined by Pombal's action in 1760. On his orders 123 of the 220 Jesuit missionaries, along with seven companions in distress from East Africa, were cooped up on the third floor of the Jesuit college at Goa, whence they were transported to Portugal, 104 of them reaching that country alive.[2] No interest was taken by the Portuguese Government in obtaining replacements. "Even in Goa no provision has been made for the five former colleges of the Jesuits," wrote a missionary in 1765, "although it is the residence of the Viceroy and is in yearly communication with Lisbon."[3] Nevertheless there were still some Jesuits holding on in several places, on the Fishers' Coast among others,[4] and in Pondicherry they only

[1] DURAND, *Les Missions cath. françaises*, 380; **Hist. succincte de la dévastation du royaume de Siam par les Birmans de Pegu pendant près de deux ans depuis Janvier 1765 jusqu'en Avril 1767* (including an account of the siege of the town, which had three churches, and the taking of the town in March–April, 1767), Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Ind. Or. e Cina 1765–8, Scritt. rif. nella Congr. 31, n. 26. The dispatch of two Barnabites to Ava, who had been recommended on February 14, 1760, to the Bishop of Meliapur: *Bull. Cont.*, III., 317.

[2] HUONDER, *Jesuitenmissionäre*, 30; PIOLET, II., 192; SCHMIDLIN, 387.

[3] *Emiliano Palladino, dated Macao, December 28, 1765 (Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, *loc. cit.*, n. 12): "Le cose della corte di Portogallo camminano tanto lentamente, che neppur in Goa si sono fin' ora provisti i cinque collegii che furono de' Gesuiti."

[4] "*Patres Soc. Iesu provinciae Malabaricae," wrote the Bishop of Cochin, José Collaço Leitao, on December 15, 1766, "quamvis inopia laborent atque a perturbationibus et periculis non omnino liberi, discedere tamen ab ora Piscariae neque

had to change their name.[1] Elsewhere they were at least unmolested.[2] But their reports tell the story of their gradual extinction.[3]

Of the African missions there is little to be said. The political changes in Europe took effect here too. In 1760 the seven Jesuits on the East African coast were taken to Goa and thence to Portugal.[4] The Dominicans did their best to fill the gap.[5] In the Dark Continent as elsewhere harm was done by the Peace of Paris in 1763, the colony of Senegal and the island of St. Louis passing from French to Protestant English hands; France retained only Gorée and a few unimportant factories on the coast. In Gorée in 1763 the French secular priest Demanet attempted to open a mission and met with some success but, broken in health, he had to return to France the same year. It fared no better with the three priests of the Paris seminary, in 1766, and two others, in 1768, who dared the murderous climate at Loango and Kakongo on the West

coguntur neque cogitant. Si forte aliquando discesserint vel, quod facile eveniet, decrescente suorum numero, non potuerint omnes illas ecclesias, ut antea, administrare perlibenter accersam religiosos Carmelitas Excalceatos" (*ibid.*, 1765–8, n. 24). *Cf.* HENRION, II., 462; SCHMIDLIN, 387; HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV.[6], 161.

[1] "*Iesuitae Pondicherii non turbati usque ad 12 Sept. 1768; 13 Sept. inventarium factum, Patres iussi induere habitum cleri saecularis et appellari 'Messieurs des Missions Malabares'" Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, *Hist succincte* (see above, p. 425, n. 1), 1769–1771, Congr. 32, n. 3.

[2] See the next note.

[3] The Carmelite Carlo di S. Corrado *wrote to Propaganda on November 2, 1767 (*loc. cit.*, 1765–8, Congr. 31, n. 41) that the Jesuit Bishops of the Fishers' Coast and Cochin were still alive and that in the latter diocese two deceased Jesuits had been replaced by a Franciscan and a native priest; "i pochi Gesuiti che ancora si trovano in quelle parti, non sono più molestati dal Travancor."

[4] See above, p. 425, n. 2.

[5] KÜLB, *Missionsreisen nach Afrika*, 133.

African coast.[1] Two priests from the Paris seminary who settled in Socotra in 1759 were murdered by the Arabs in the following year.[2] The Capuchins were more successful, managing to maintain their stations in the east (Mozambique or Quiloa) and still more on the west coast (Congo, Angola, Benguela, Kakongo, and Loanda).

Whereas many of the most fertile fields of missionary endeavour seemed likely to run wild, several successes were reaped in Eastern Europe, an area which up till then had been considered to be fairly hopeless. A priest named Stephan Turczynovicz, parochial administrator in Vilna, devoted himself to the conversion of the Jews, and as his first attempts to gain his object by gathering together abandoned Jewish children failed, he founded for his purpose a kind of monastic society of pious maidens, known as the Society of the Life of Mary or Mariavitines. Under its first Superior, Aniela Potemkin, it flourished rapidly and withstood the storm that raged about the legality of the new foundation, though it was not, however, until after Turczynovicz's death that its lawful existence was recognized by a Brief of Clement XIV.'s. Amid the chaos brought about by the partitions of Poland the society was broken up, after having been the means of bringing 2,000 Jews into the Christian fold. The conversion of the Jews was encouraged by Stanislaus Poniatowski, who in 1762 and 1765 ennobled fifty-two Jews who had embraced the Faith.[3]

The activity of the Jewish pseudo-mystic, Jakob Frank,[4] under whose influence many Jews accepted baptism, may be said to have profited the Church inasmuch as many of these

[1] Picot, IV., 219 *seqq.*; Launay, II., 38 *seq.*; Schmidlin, 373 *seq.*

[2] Launay, II., 30 *seq.*

[3] Cavalier in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswiss.*, IX. (1919), 176 *seqq.*

[4] For Jakob Frank (Jankiew Leibowicz), *cf. ibid.*, 179–184; Kaulen in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV.², 1690–9; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, V., New York and London, 1903, 475–8.

converts or their descendants gradually became sincere Catholics.[1]

Otherwise, owing to the overwhelming influence of Russia, the religious situation in Poland was very unfavourable. Zealous missionaries, it is true, had saved the greater part of the Ukraine from schism and had led it towards the Ruthenian Union of Brest. Count Salesius Potocki built over a hundred churches for them on his estates in the Palatinate of Kiev, at his own expense. But the incompetent Metropolitan, Philip Felician Volodkovicz, deemed the endowment to be too small and refused his sanction. The Propaganda commissioned the zealous Bishop Maximilian Rylo of Chelm, who had been trained in Rome, to examine the affair. Rylo reported on August 16th, 1764, that he had established canonically nearly fifty Catholic parish churches but that there was need for as many more.[2]

Owing to a number of circumstances, such as the expansion of the Union of Brest, the counter-measures taken against the Russian schism, and the numerous difficulties that had arisen in carrying out the synodal decrees of Zamość, it seemed advisable to hold another Provincial Synod. On January 15th, 1765, Volodkovicz received permission to do so,[3] and on April 3rd Antonio Eugenio Visconti, titular Bishop of Ephesus, was appointed president.[4] But King Stanislaus Poniatowski made his permission for the opening of the assembly dependent on conditions which would have given him Papal prerogatives. The subject of the deliberations and the validity of the resolutions were to be subject to his sanction. In consequence of this the synod was never held.[5] In any case Bishop Volodkovicz's authority over his metropolitan diocese of Kiev as

[1] The Frankists scattered in Poland and Bohemia were gradually transformed from feigned to real Catholics and their descendants merged into the surrounding Christian population." *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, V., 477.

[2] Pelesz, II., 529 *seq.*, 704.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 117.

[4] Theiner, *Neueste Zustände*, Dok. 256.

[5] Pelesz, II., 502 *seqq.*

well as over the bishoprics of Vladimir and Brest was suspended by Rome and he was given representatives, which led to disputes lasting to 1773.

Some years before, the Archbishop of Gnesen had applied for a new synod, among other things, but had received the reply from Clement XIII.[1] that he first wished to read the Polish nuncios' reports.

The progress made by the Union of Brest in the early sixties of this century was followed by its destruction when, under Stanislaus Poniatowski, Poland was dominated by the Russian influence. In the resolution of the Diet of 1768, by which religious conditions were regulated in favour of the dissidents, the rights of the ecclesiastical Province of Ruthenia with its eight bishoprics were not even found worthy of mention. The standard year for the claims of the schismatics was to be 1686, and as the bishoprics of Lemberg, Przemyśl, and Lutzk had not joined the Union until after this year they were delivered into the hands of the schismatics.[2] The work of destruction was completed by the predatory bands of Haidamaks. Wherever they appeared the Catholic priests and churches, especially the Uniats, were their victims; corpses and ashes marked their trail. The Ukraine contained about 1,900 parishes, only 15–20 being schismatic. A large number of parish priests were slaughtered or driven out, and the schismatic Bishop of Pereyaslavl used the opportunity to install his people in their stead. When peace had been restored and the fugitives were able to return they found strangers ensconced around their hearths, who denied them entrance. All Uniats were treated as enemies; they were beaten, gagged, imprisoned, and cast out of their own homes.[3]

With regard to the Near East, Benedict XIV.'s fundamental prohibition against changing from one rite to the other was renewed in the reign of his successor.[4] An instruction for

[1] On May 31, 1760, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 47.

[2] Pelesz, II., 518 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 525 *seqq.*

[4] Propaganda decree of March 12, 1759, *Collectanea*, 264, n. 414.

the missionaries of Nicopolis and Sofia [1] condemned the superstitious custom called the Kurban, a relic of Jewish animal-sacrifice. For Serbia a prohibition had to be issued against a common practice among the Christians of assuming Turkish names and living outwardly as Turks.[2]

Like his predecessor, Clement XIII. had frequently to intervene in the confused conditions that prevailed in the Eastern patriarchates. The religious situation of the Melchites —the Christians in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem who were true to Rome—was still vitally influenced by the dispute between the Catholic Patriarch Cyril Tanas and his Greek Orthodox opponent Sylvester, who enjoyed the protection of the Sultan. Cyril had to flee before Sylvester to the Lebanon, where the Emir was well-disposed towards the Catholics and was to some extent independent of the Sultan. Even nowadays, generally speaking, the country to the north of Beirut is wholly Catholic, that to the south wholly schismatic, with the notable exception of Aleppo, which in the conflicts between the patriarchs adhered to the Catholic one with heroic steadfastness.[3] Throughout the eighteenth century the Catholics derived their strength from the Basilian Congregation of the Kourites and the Salvatorians.

Cyril died in 1760, after having resigned in 1759 and having nominated his nephew Jauhar to succeed him under the name of Athanasius.[4] Seven Bishops protested against this violation of their electoral rights, and when four of them appealed to Rome, Clement XIII. pronounced Jauhar's election to be invalid, on the grounds that Cyril had been unable to resign without the Pope's assent and that his twenty-seven-year-old nephew had not yet reached episcopal age. In virtue of the

[1] On February 9, 1760, *ibid.*, 271, n. 424.

[2] To the Bishop of Skupi, Matthäus Massarich, *ibid.*, 282, n. 443.

[3] C. Karalevskij in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, III., Paris, 1924, 647.

[4] For what follows *cf.* P. Bacel in *Échos d'Orient*, XIV. (1911), 340–351, XV. (1912), 49–60.

right of devolution, Clement himself appointed as the new patriarch Bishop Maximus Hakim of Hierapolis, to whom he sent the profession of faith he had to make.[1] Maximus died in November, 1761, and was succeeded by Athanasius Dahan, Metropolitan of Beirut, who was elected by the Bishops and took the name of Theodosius V. Jauhar, acknowledging neither Maximus nor Theodosius as patriarchs, went in person to Rome, to which his opponents also had appealed. The Pope recognized Theodosius,[2] and Jauhar was dismissed, receiving for his maintenance the bishopric of Sidon. In 1765 he returned to Syria and again had himself elected patriarch. After Clement XIII. had excommunicated him, as he had already done on the first occasion when he had taken the law into his own hands,[3] he submitted to Rome in 1768.[4] In the same year two of Jauhar's adherents attempted to provoke a schism, even among the so-called Syrians, the converted Jacobites, by consecrating as Bishop, in rivalry to the lawful Bishop Gregory, a monk named Michael from the Ephraim convent near Damascus. Clement XIII. again intervened with the ban of excommunication.[5]

For the Catholics of the Latin rite, both Europeans and Easterns, in the former territories of the patriarchates of

[1] Two documents of August 1, 1760: Pronouncement of the invalidity of the election and appointment of Maximus, in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 49 *seq.*, 51 *seqq.* A letter to the Melchite brethren and to two Druse chieftains friendly to Christianity, of August 1, 1760, *ibid.*, 57. Another letter, to an Emir, of November 15, 1760, *ibid.*, 51 n. *Cf.* below, p. 433. To put things in order, comprehensive powers were delegated to the Dominican De Lanceis. (*ibid.*, 57).

[2] On July 7, 1764, *ibid.*, 101. Theodosius received the Pallium (*ibid.*, n.).

[3] On September 11, 1765, *ibid.*, 119; letters to Emirs of the same date, *ibid.*, n.

[4] *Cf.* Karalevskij, *loc. cit.* Many documents relating to the incidents mentioned in the continuation of Mansi's Collection of Councils, vol. XLVI., 459–576.

[5] On April 30, 1768, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 152.

Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, the Pope appointed as Vicar Apostolic the Lazarist Bossu.[1] The missionaries, including the Jesuits, were also made subject to him and were unable to exercise their authority without his ratification. The Pope also devoted his attention to the Greek-Melchite nunnery at Kesraouan.[2]

The Maronite Church repeatedly claimed the Pope's attention. In the Consistory of April 6th, 1767, he gladly welcomed the election of the Bishop of Beirut, Joseph Estephan, as the successor of the deceased Patriarch Tobias El-Khazen.[3] Estephan fulfilled his expectations by displaying great zeal. With the Pope's encouragement [4] he held an episcopal assembly in the presence of the Apostolic legate Ludovico da Bastia to execute the decisions of the Lebanon Synod of 1735. With a few modifications his rulings were ratified by the Propaganda on September 4th, 1769.[5] The establishment of a clerical seminary proved to be uncommonly successful, subsequently producing a series of capable priests and Bishops.[6]

The visionary Anna Agemi [7] had still a part to play in affairs. The attitude towards her of the late Patriarch Tobias had been one of reserve, but the indulgences granted by Clement XIII. to her, her nuns, and the visitors to her convent, increased to fever pitch the enthusiastic support of her by the common folk. The new Patriarch Estephan espoused her cause, it pleasing him to have in his patriarchate her Congregation, self-styled "of the Sacred Heart", whose feast he had raised to the first class, on a level with Easter and the Ascension. His eagerness for reform, however, and his support

[1] On June 27, 1762, *ibid.*, 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, 148; on pp. 147 *seq.* the letters to the newly elected Patriarch and to the Maronites, of June 29, 1767.

[4] On August 2, 1767, *ibid.*, 149 *seq.*

[5] Dib in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 91.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 398 *seq.*; Karalevskij in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, I., 1276–9.

of Agemi were to have fateful consequences for him in succeeding pontificates.[1]

The over-rapid development of the Congregation of the Monks of Mount Lebanon gave rise to dissensions which led to a cleavage. Benedict XIV. tried to preserve unity and Clement XIII. exerted himself in the same direction, but eventually Clement XIV. had to acquiesce in the partition.[2]

Otherwise the situation for the Christians in Syria was not unfavourable. The Emir Molham (1732–61) was well disposed towards them ; when a Franciscan convent and church were plundered by Greek corsairs, he had two of the ringleaders hanged. Several of Molham's children went over to Christianity. The Emir of Ghazir died a Catholic in 1768, and his son Bachir II. afterwards openly professed himself a Christian. Thanks to the exertions of the missionaries and the relations with the West, the Christians of the Lebanon were the leading body in Syria in point of numbers, activity, and education.[3]

Under Clement XIII. the Chaldean Catholics elected as patriarch the Archbishop of Diarbekir, Timotheus, to whom the Pope sent the pallium.[4] The Chaldeans of Mosul on the Tigris were successfully cared for by the Dominicans who had been sent here in 1750 under the leadership of Francesco Turriani (d. 1767) and Domenico Codeleoncius.[5]

An event of importance for the Coptic Church was the ratification by Clement XIII.[6] of the Constitutions which the monks of S. Stefano in Rome had composed not only for themselves but also for their brethren in the East.

In other parts too Clement XIII. did all in his power to encourage the missions and confirm them in their vocation. To the Franciscans in Albania and Macedonia, who usually

[1] Dib, *loc. cit.*, 92 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 134 ; *Ius pontif.*, III., 686 *seqq.*, IV., 27 *seq.*, 164 *seqq.*

[3] H. Lammens, *La Syrie*, II., Beyrouth, 1921, 99, 101.

[4] On March 24, 1760 (ann. incarn. 1759), *ibid.*, 23. *Cf.* Gams, *Series*, 457.

[5] Walz, 369 ; Hergenröther-Kirsch, IV.[6], 147 ; Lübeck, *Die kath. Orientmission*, Köln, 1917, 142.

[6] On December 19, 1762, *ibid.*, 69.

spent twelve years on the mission, he granted special privileges on the extension of this term to twenty years.[1] The 150 Franciscan missionaries on Turkish territory, with their three convents, six residences, and thirty parishes providing for 150,000 Christians, had been separated from the Bosnian Province by Benedict XIV. on June 15th, 1757, but formed only a *custodia*. Clement XIII. gave them all the privileges of a religious Province.[2] He renewed [3] the spiritual favours granted to the Jesuit missionaries by Benedict XIV. In response to requests made by the Jesuit General, Ricci, he sought to attract laymen in missionary countries towards apostolic work by dispensing, in a Brief of September 10th, 1766, spiritual favours to all who had brought the knowledge of the true God to an infidel or idolater [4]; to the Order's priests in these parts he granted generous favours and powers. For the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri in Guadalajara, who included among their activities the care of the newly converted, but who had only four priests who were physically fit, the rules governing the reception of the sacrament of ordination were relaxed,[5] to enable them to increase their number. The missionary colleges were furthered by the Pope in every way possible. Benedict XIII. had given the Franciscans permission to set up one of these institutions in each of their Provinces [6]; under Clement XIII. marks of the Papal favour were given to their missionary college in Ocopa,[7] the Ephraim College in Rome,[8] the Pacheco College in Mexico,[9] and, in general, all their missionary colleges in the West Indies.[10] The missionary

[1] September 11, 1761, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 68.
[2] On December 15, 1758, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 83 *seqq.*
[3] On July 9, 1762, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 81. *Cf. ibid.*, III., 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV., 125 *seqq.*
[5] On June 1, 1767, *ibid.*, 145.
[6] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 191.
[7] *Cf.* above, p. 420.
[8] Visitation Brief of March 6, 1762, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 72 *seq.*
[9] Brief of December 20, 1762, *ibid.*, 88.
[10] Brief of February 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 143.

college of the Trinitarians [1] and the Chinese College in Naples [2] were similarly honoured.

The aforesaid Brief for the Jesuits, of September 10th, 1766, was not without a sequel. Although it was no more than a renewal of privileges which, in accordance with the custom established since Pius IV., were granted for only twenty years, and although they consisted only of indulgences and powers to be used in connection with confession, it was used to stir up hatred of the Jesuits. In Rome Zelada managed to procure a copy of the Brief from the printers and immediately passed it to the Spanish envoy. The Spanish agent Azara spread the report that the Brief had been decided on in a secret Consistory and had been printed with the greatest secrecy.[3] The Augustinian General, Vasquez, appealed to Roda in Madrid,[4] where a storm of indignation arose. A lengthy investigation held in Madrid [5] ended with the king forbidding the publication of the Brief.[6]

The word-for-word renewal of the equally innocuous Brief for the Jesuits of July 9th, 1762, was to provoke further violent outbursts in the pontificate of Clement XIV.

[1] Brief of September 17, 1759, *ibid.*, 33.

[2] Briefs of April 24 and May 1, 1760, and August 13, 1764, *ibid.*, 43, 107, *Bull. Cont.*, III., 339. For the founding of the Chinese College, *cf.* GHERARDO DE VINCENTIIS, *Documenti e titoli sul . . . fundatore M. Ripa*, Napoli, 1904.

[3] RICCI, **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, 3, 86.

[4] *The Roman Jesuits "blasfeman contra los Jansenistas, especialmente V.E., que ha hecho tanto rumor allí contra el Breve de privilegios en virtud de una gran escritura que yo hice contra él y envié a V.E." Vasquez to Roda, March 25, 1767, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. I.

[5] *Roda to Azara, January 27, 1767, in Jesuit possession; *Azara to Roda, February 5, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5095.

[6] *Roda to the Marchese de San Juan, February 10, 1767, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 2630.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

1. Aranda to Roda, April 9th, 1766, on the "Hat and Cloak" Riots [1]

Haviendo procurado no perder tiempo en instruirme, no solo de la Narrativa actual de los sucesos pasados, sino tambien de los discursos presentes sobre lo sucedido y venidero, he recogido por lo mas exacto lo siguiente. Que el animo primero de la revolucion non se dirigió a otro fin que a libertar la Nación, segun se pretextaba, del manexo del Sr. Marques de Squillace; en la comprension de que por la gracia en que estaba de S. M., los apoyos que tenia, y las grandes precauciones de que a la Real noticia no llegasen los lamentos, y en caso desfigurados, era ya desesperado conseguirlo de otra manera. Que valiendose de la indisposicion de animos que ocasionaban las providencias de las capas, se fueron sembrando especies conducientes a preparar el corage con tiempo, para que todo suceso fuese mas bien recivido: y por suscitar las especies, y desfigurar tambien el golpe principal proyectado, se dispuso que los dos embozados, que algunos dias antes fueron provocando por las calles, sin que la Justicia ordinaria, ni tropa de Imbalidos se atreviese a su seguridad, lo continuasen para incitar con su exemplo a muchos otros, que abultasen con su exceso al desorden de la desobediencia, e hiciesen menos conocido el numero de los motores. Era el animo, de que el Jueves Santo al entrar o salir de los oficios del dia en San Cayetano el Sr. Squillace, por ser alli los del Consejo de Hacienda, se le tirase con bocas de fuego a matarlo, sin transcender a otro alguno, y despues de dejarlo al Vulgo colerico, que indispuesto contra su Persona cometiese succesivamente las inhumanidades, que le satisfaciesen. [There follows a detailed account of the incidents, mentioning the hatred felt for the Walloon Guard.] . . . Assí se prometía el fin a los excesos, y huvo aparencia de haverse fenecido, hasta que la mañana del Martes noticioso el Pueblo de la ausencia de la Real familia en aquella noche, tomó con extraordinario desorden el capricho de atribuir la partida de S. M. a desconfianza de su fidelidad, y como medio que no subsistiese la

[1] Cf. p. 48.

gracia de la separacion del Sr. Squillace, usando para ello de las sumas facultades faciles a un Soberano tan poderoso. Considero a la Plebe resfriada ya en su primer impulso, tanto por la verificada separacion del Sr. Squillace, objeto unico en su principio.

Tambien el no haver cometido hurtos, violencias, asasinamientos, incendios, frutos consiguientes a un desarreglo, y a una multitud de que se componia el tumulto : haviendome assegurado varios Confesores, que han oido posteriormente a muchos de los tumultuados, que ni uno se ha acusado de otro intento, que el de libertar la Nacion de un Ministro, que suponian contrario a ella, y negado a proporcionar con el Soberano, sino desconcepto de la Nacion el mas baxo ; en inteligencia de que la Magestad ignorase quanto no dudaban, que por uno, u otro conducto anteriormente se le huviese representado. . . . Hacese en el dia principalmente digna de no despreciable cuidado la varia produccion de Papeles incitativos, que se comunican dirigidos a renovar la indiscreta indisposicion de la Plebe, bien que en esta es natural prefiera su no merecida tranquilidad a los impulsos de otra clase, que se descubra haver preocupado las primeras acciones populares para complemento de sus ideas. . . . Estos son los conceptos que he formado, procurando indagar el origen, curso y estado actual de los tumultuados, en virtud de la Real aprobacion, con que me transferí a esta Villa para ello : y como succesivamente deviera yo exponerlos a S. M. en mi regreso al Sitio, me ha parecido mejor por su pluralidad el sugetarlos a esta relacion, por no aventurar su olvido, ni equivocacion, pareciendome propio de lo arduo de estos asuntos el no omitir circunstancias que no me toca graduar, sino reservar al discernimiento de S. M. para apreciarlas o desestimarlas. . . .

[Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 1009. Cf. also Angulo to Roda, April 15th, 1766, *ibid.*]

2. Diplomatic Documents on the Suppression of the Jesuits [1]

(*a*) Dictamen del Señor Roda (January, 1767)

Para la paz y quietud de la Iglesia universal, y la buena armonia de los Principes Catolicos entre sí y con la Santa

[1] Cf. pp. 337 *seqq.*

Sede, conviene sin duda la disolucion de este cuerpo, ofendido y quejoso. . . . Para demonstrar en Roma, que no son fines puramente politicos y temporales, los que mueven a los Soberanos, seria mui conveniente que los Obispos y Prelados Ecl^os escribiesen, y probasen la utilidad, y necesidad de extinguir la Compañia, por el bien de la Iglesia, fundandolo en el conocimiento practico de la conducta de los Jesuitas, que cada Prelado haia observado en su Diocesi, y hiciesen formal instancia al Papa, comunicandola primero a la Corte, para examinarla. . . . Todo obliga a que no se pierda tiempo en hacer la instancia, y convendria infinito se hallase introducida, viviendo el Papa, para que constase en el Conclave, y se le repitiese durante este al Sacro Colegio, protestando la eleccion, si se hiciese de nuevo Pontifice, sin la condicion de extinguir la Compañia. . . . Todos son interesados en su (des Torrigiani) separacion, por ser el mas fanatico enemigo de las Regalias de los Soberanos. . . . Es necessario mostrar vigor y aun insinuar . . . que se deben defender a toda costa, y en caso necesario con las armas [la religion catolica, Estado, la societad y el bien comun de sus reynos]. . . . Nada se conseguirá sino por interes, o por miedo. . . . Para valerse de los dos medios, convendrá hablar separadamente a los Cardenales en nombre de las Cortes, ganando a los que se pueda, y manifestandoles las razones y fundamentos, en que se afianza la justicia de esta instancia. . . . Tambien debe pensarse en el futuro Conclave, y unirse las Cortes en la solicitud de que sea elegido Papa un Cardinal afecto a los Soberanos, y nada apasionado a los Jesuitas.

[Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054.]

(*b*) Choiseul's Opinion

Vous savés, Monsieur, que nous regardons ici l'extinction de l'Ordre des Jésuites comme un évenement qui seroit non seulement utile pour le bien et la tranquilité de l'Eglise et des Etats, mais également avantageux aux membres qui composent cette Société ; ainsi le Roi adoptera volontiers le plan que Sa Majesté Catholique se propose sur cet objet important, et se concertera avec elle sur les mesures à prendre pour en faciliter et en accélerer l'exécution. Sa Majesté pense comme le Roi, son cousin, que le succès de ce projet serait impracticable sous le Pontificat du Pape régnant. Il est au

moins fort douteux que les Souverains Pontifes qui remplaceront Clement XIII soient plus disposés que lui à se prêter a cet égard aux vues des Cours qui demanderont l'anéantissement des Jésuites. . . . Quoiqu'il en soit, ce n'est que du tems et des circonstances, qu'on doit attendre les moyens de parvenir au but que les trois Cours se proposent, et qu'il ne sera gueres possible d'obtenir, tandis qu'il n'y aura que la France, l'Espagne et le Portugal, qui se réuniront pour cet éffet, et que toutes les autres Puissances Catholiques et des Souverains même Protestants, continueront tolérer dans leurs Etats et de protéger ces Religieux.

[To Ossun, November 10th, 1767, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4568.]

Quant aux Jésuites je lui [the Portuguese ambassador, Souza] ay répeté que le Roi feroit toutes les démarches que le Roi d'Espagne désireroit de Sa Majesté pour l'extinction de cette Société ; mais que [je] le prévenois que l'on n'obtiendroit cette extinction que par la force, le raisonnement ne faisant aucun éffet sur l'esprit du Card. Torrigiani. Le Comte de Fuentes m'a écrit pour proposer que l'on demandât à Rome le renvoy de ce Ministre [Torrigiani] ; je ne sçay pas s'il seroit de la dignité des Couronnes de faire une pareille demande. . . . C'est une déclaration motivée des trois Couronnes qui demande l'anéantissement de l'Ordre, et de la part d'Espagne l'envoy du Général à Madrid pour répondre aux accusations que l'on y fait contre son Ordre ; en faisant cette demande, l'on pourroit faire entendre que si le Pape n'envoyoit pas le Général l'on le feroit enlever dans Rome. Certainement le Général n'ira pas à Madrid, mais la peur que lui et Rome auroient, produiront la secularisation de l'Ordre : des compagnies de Grenadiers Napolitains appuyeroient les instances des trois Cours et l'Ordre des Jésuites seroit détruit ; vous verrés, mon cher confrère, que tout autre moyen que ceux de force, ne mèneront à rien.

[To Grimaldi, November 12th–16th, 1767, *ibid.*[1]]

Je vous dirai pourtant, en gros, que je prévois qu'on conviendra avec vous de ne pas demander la séparation de Torrigiani, qu'on sent que par la voie de la douceur on ne

[1] Cf. Choiseul to Aubeterre, 25 October and 2 November, 1767, Carayon, XVI, 425 *seq.*

determinera pas le Pape à procéder à cette extinction, mais qu'il y a un entre-deux entre la douceur et la force ; que la force de la guerre effective, que voudrait M^r^ d'Oeyras pour occuper le temporel du Pape, paroit un moyen un peu trop violent ; que l'on seroit ici d'avis qu'on commençat par persuader la Cour de Vienne de se joindre à nous autres pour faire à la Cour de Rome cette demande, et puis que chacune des Cours y joignit les menaces que sa situation lui fournit.

[Grimaldi to Choiseul, December 8th, 1767, *ibid.*]

(*c*) Dictamen de Grimaldi s. d. (February 26th, 1768)

Los medios que propone son : 1. de solicitar que otras Cortes, y con especialidad la de Viena se una a estas 4 para pedir al Papa la extinction de la Compañia. 2. Que unidos los Ministros de dichas Cortes procuren, que se forme una Congregacion de Card^les^ y Prelados a examinar, y tratar este negocio, para separarlo de Torrigiani. 3. Que se manejen, para persuadir a los Vocales de dicha Junta, con las razones que subministra la materia, y con los medios que suelen emplearse utilmente en todas partes, pero con especialidad en Roma. 4. Que empleen las amenazas temporales que la Constitucion de cada govierno puede subministrar, y que siendo arbitrarias de los Soberanos, se pueden suspender, o cortar, sin ofensa directa ; por exemplo en España, el quitar el Tribunal de la Nunciatura, en los otros Reynos havrá otros puntos de esta naturaleza, que se podran cortar. 5. Que hagan sospechar en sus discursos cosas mayores, aunque siempre unidas al temporal ; pues por lo que toca al respeto, veneracion, y obediencia al Vicario de Cristo en tierra, por todo lo que es espiritual, deven al contrario esmerarse en hacer conozer que nadie yguala a los Monarcas de España, Francia, Napoles y Portugal.

[Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5054.]

(*d*) Dictamen del Consejo extraordinario (March 21st, 1768)

Que es indispensable solicitar la Extincion total de la C^la^. Que no conviene la Congregacion de un Concilio, que en su lugar seria muy propio mandase el Rey exhortar indirectamente a los Obispos a efecto de que uniesen sus representaciones para la Extincion ; que este medio es mas eficaz, que

convendria hiciesen tambien las suyas los Superiores de las Ordenes, como los Obispos, Superiores y Universidades de Portugal y Francia. Que conduciria mucho que algunos Varones doctos y bien reputados escribiesen y promoviesen por escrito las Causas de la Extincion, subministrandoles el Gobierno los hechos convenientes . . . Que se procure la concurrencia de los demas Principes Catolicos, y a lo menos su consentimiento, disponiendo todos grangearse el Cuerpo de los Obispos . . . Que las vias de hecho anticipadas contra el Papa como Principe temporal podrian atraher una guerra á Italia : que no parece tampoco de la dignidad de tres grandes Monarcas combatir á un Principe debil, y principalmente al Padre comun de los Fieles ; y así que por ahora no juzga a proposito se le obligue con armas á la Extincion. Que la avanzada edad del Papa ofrece un camino que conduce mas facilmente al logro, que es intimar a su tiempo al Consistorio de Card[les] el riesgo á que se expone la eleccion de nuevo Pontifice, no concurriendo de buena fe á la Extincion de la C[ia]. — Que debe desecharse la idea de castigar al General de la C[ia] y á sus Assistentes y complices. — Que es dudoso si se ha de solicitar la deposicion de Torrigiani. . . . Que recusado Torrigiani acaso se echaria mano de algun Cardenal parcial oculto de los Jesuitas, el qual siendo persona mas prudente podria frustrar con seguridad por sus mejores modos la negociacion. Que quizá el mismo Torrigiani visto el riesgo que le amenaza, lo avanzado de la edad del Papa, y los poderosos enemigos que tiene en los tres grandes Principes ofendidos, se prestase a la negociacion, en cuyo caso deberia siempre indemnizarsele de los intereses que la proteccion de los Jesuitas le proporciona : que esto seria mas util y mas barato, aunque se expendiesen algunas sumas, que hazer dispendios en una invasion de armas, pareciendo mas a proposito ganar a Torrigiani y demas parciales . . . Que se huya de dar oidos a especie que se aparte de la total extincion, ni a nada que toque en reforma, o remedio paliativo.

[*Ibid.*]

(*e*) Proyecto de memoria en respuesta a Portugal (March 30th, 1768)

Que en la instancia formal que por escrito se ha de dirigir al Papa, se pida a Su Beatitud extinga la Orden de la Compañia

por via de providencia gubernativa, economica y paterna, sin entrar en discusiones formales, como lo hizo Clemente V. con los Templarios, San Pio V y otros Papas con los Humillados, Jesuatos y otros : pues por la notoriedad de las Causas y por la asercion de tan grandes Principes se convence que atendidas las circunstancias, requiere y obliga en el caso presente la tranquilidad comun de la Iglesia y de los Soberanos á que se proceda á la Extincion por aquella via pronta y provisional. Que se debe insistir en que se adopte este método, evitando en todo lo posible intente Roma tratar el asunto por las reglas de un Processo de Extincion, el qual perjudicaria mucho al objeto propuesto, por las dilaciones y manejos á que se daba campo, ademas de que se comprometeria el decoro de los Monarcas, á quienes no corresponde hacerse acusadores judiciales, ni litigar un pleito con el General de la Compañia : y ni aun este deberia ser consentido en Roma, para que en el futuro Conclave careciese de partido e influxo . . . Se valgan de todos los conductos a proposito para grangear los Votos de los Cardenales y Prelados, y en particular de los Vocales de la Congregacion que a caso sea preciso nombrar, usando de los poderosos estimulos del interes y del temor, unicos mobiles de una negociacion de esta naturaleza en Roma. Que sobre todo manifiesten la firma resolucion en que estan los cinco Potentados, y los demas que se les unan, de poner en practica cada uno en sus Dominios los medios temporales que los derechos de su propia Soberania les facilitan sin ofensa de la Religion ; aquellos medios que al paso que son licitos a los Principes, serian mas perjudiciales á los intereses de la Curia Romana, como por exemplo en España el de suprimir el Tribunal de la Nunciatura, y tratar de restituir toda la autoridad nativa á los Obispos, y de impedir los recursos á Roma sino en casos legitima y absolutamente reservados á la Santa Sede por la disciplina mas antigua de la Iglesias, y mas immediata á su pureza primitiva : visto ya que las extensiones posteriores solo sirven para apoyar y sostener partidos e intereses puramente temporales. Los demas Monarcas tendrán amenazas con que intimidar á la Corte de Roma ; y todos deben dar á entender que se procederá en caso de obstinacion y negativa á las medidas mas serias y eficaces.

[*Ibid.*]

(*f*) Lucini to Torrigiani (December 22nd, 1767)

Io non posso far altro, che riferire a V^ra^ Em^za^ le precise parole che mi sono stato dette dai respettivi Ministri. Il P. Confessore con cui tenni subito discorso, mostrò da principio d'ignorare lo sbarco de' Gesuiti sulle spiagge Pontificie, ma poi di buona fede convenendo, mi disse che sapeva che S. M. C. dopo aver dato un Re alle due Sicilie non si mischiava più degli affari di quel Regno . . . che il male si era che i Gesuiti non si volevano più ricevere da verun Principe Cattolico, ma che S. S^tà^ aveva il mezzo di sortir d'imbarazzo, e contentare i Principi Ortodossi, suprimendo la detta Compagnia. Il Sig. Marchese Grimaldi mi rispose anche più apertamente, dicendo che la Corte di Napoli, ferma nella risoluzione di non volere i Gesuiti ne' suoi Regni, istruita da quanto era succeduto a questa di Spagna, non voleva trovarsi nello stesso imbarazzo . . . Infine mi soggiunse: Monsignor, il fuoco è accercato; le Corti hanno preso questa massima di voler supressa questa Società; se il S^to^ Padre non piglia questa risoluzione, assicuri pure la sua Corte che si andra più avanti, e le perdite nel temporale dello Stato Pontificio saranno inevitabili. Se S. S^tà^ contentasse le Corti Cattoliche colla suppressione de' Gesuiti potrà riparare le perdite fatte ed impedire nuove perdite . . . Già ebbi l'onore di riferire a V. Em^za^ che il Sr Amb^tor^ di Portogallo mi aveva detto che soppressa la C^ia^ di Gesù, la sua Corte sarebbe ritornata in corrispondenza colla Sta Sede. Essendo ora tutte queste Corti di accordo nella massima d'impiegare ogni mezzo per indurre il Papa ad un tal passo, è troppo naturale, che adesso il Portogallo non verrà ad un tale accomodamento, se prima non precede suppressione, e senza il consentimento delle altri Corti che fanno corpo contro la Compagnia.

[Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Spagna, 304. Copy in the Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 767.]

(*g*) Grimaldi to Choiseul (August 2nd, 1768)

Quant aux conditions pour un accommodement, nous regardons ici comme la plus essentielle celle de l'extinction de la Compagnie. Prélats et jurisconsults, tous, unanimement, ne cessent de représenter au Roi qu'on n'aura jamais la paix dans la Religion et dans l'Etat, tant que cet Ordre subsistera

dans quelque coin du monde, parce que les sectateurs de leurs maximes animés par l'espérance de les voir rentrer dans le pays d'où ils ont été expulsés, remueront toujours les esprits et exciteront des dissensions préjudiciables à l'Eglise et au gouvernement. Partant de ce principe, nous pensons qu'il ne suffit pas de se borner à seconder la demande du Portugal à ce sujet, mais qu'il convient de l'avoir en vue pour première condition de notre accommodement avec Rome. Il est vrai qu'il y a peu d'espérance de l'obtenir du Pape présent, mais d'un autre côté, l'envie qu'on a à Rome, et qu'on doit avoir, de terminer toutes les disputes non seulement avec les trois Cours de notre Famille, mais même avec le Portugal pourraient ébranler le Pape et son Ministre.

[Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565.]

(*h*) Tanucci to Grimaldi (December 20th, 1768)

Leggendo nella stimatissima lettera la resoluzione del Re di chiedere al Papa indipendentemente dall'affare di Parma l'estinzione della Compagnia, mi trovo pentito, e confuso per quello, che scrissi a V. E. in esecuzione del commando di dir francamente il mio parere sulla Consulta del Consiglio Straordinario, e generalmente su tutta la condotta da tenersi colla Corte di Roma su tutta la materia in questione. Vedo che non ho incontrato, e non ho avuta la sorte di pensare uniformemente al pensare del Re, e resto con rammarico, benchè speri perdono d'un errore d'intelletto essendo pronto a persuadermi di quelle ragioni, colle quali il Consiglio confuti queimiei timori sulla domanda dell'estinzione della Compagnia.

[Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102]

(January 17th, 1769)

Questi dominanti potranno facilmente persuadere al Papa, che all'istanza delle tre Corone per loro estinzione risponda, che gli si esibiscano le prove dei loro delitti. Se non si esibiranno, risulterà in Roma l'ardire di esclamare, che anche l'espulsione sia stata fatta senza prove. Se si vorranno esibire quelle, che si avessero, non mancheranno le arti e della Compagnia, e del Foro per intorbidare, e ridurre ad inconcludente quanto si potrà esibire. L'esito è pericoloso, ed incertissimo.

[*Ibid.*]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL XXXVII.

Acciaioli, Cardinal Filippo (nuncio in Lisbon), 395, 397.
Adrian of St. Thecla (Augustinian), 424.
Agemi, Anna (Lebanese visionary), 432–3.
Aguirre, Martin (Franciscan martyr), 404.
Alacoque, Margaret Mary [St.], 405.
Alba, Duke of, 57, 97, 146, 212.
Albani, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco, 43, 332, 412.
Alberoni, Cardinal Giulio, 144, 149.
Almada (Portuguese envoy), 281–2.
Almodovar (Spanish ambassador at Lisbon), 321.
Altamirano (Jesuit), 70.
Amat y Junient, Manuel de (Viceroy of Peru), 116.
Andrés, Juan (Jesuit), 188, 191.
Angela Merici, Blessed [St.], *see* Merici.
Angelis, Cesare Crescenzio de (Bishop of Segni), 375–6.
Antonelli, Cardinal Niccolò (Secretary of Propaganda), 306 n., 397.
Antonio, Infante Don, 320.
Antonio Francesco (Farnese), (Duke of Parma), 264.
Aranda, Count (President of Council of Castile), 1, 54 ff., 69, 71–2, 76, 80, 90, 95, 99, 100, 105–7, 125, 130, 140, 155, 196, 198, 206, 208, 212.
Arcos, Duke of, 51, 212.
Arellano, Rodrigo de (Archbishop of Burgos), 209, 212.
Argental, 286.
Arnal (Jesuit), 78.
Aróstegui, 407.
Athanasius Dahan (patriarch), 431.
Athanasius Jauhar (patriarch), 430–1.
Aubeterre, Marquis d' (French envoy at Rome), 273, 278, 283, 293–5, 302, 304, 314–16, 325, 333–5, 337, 348, 351, 353–4.
Avendaño, 53.
Azara, José Nicolas de (Spanish agent in Rome), 18, 42, 63, 71, 88–9, 124, 142, 149, 192, 229, 251, 269, 283, 319, 331, 435.
Azpuru (Spanish envoy in Rome), 76, 151, 155, 159, 161 ff, 176, 179, 189, 206, 258, 283, 292, 302, 304, 333–4, 349, 351–2, 407.

Bachir II., 433.
Balda (Jesuit), 114.
Barbara, Queen of Spain, 3.
Barbarigo, Gregorio, Blessed, 402.
Barbarigo, Cardinal Marcantonio, 393.
Baronius, Cardinal, 207.
Bastia, Ludovico da (Apostolic Legate to the Maronites), 432.
Bayer, Canon Perez, 78, 121.
Beaumont, Christophe de (Archbishop of Paris), 12, 382.
Beaupré, Antoine Clairad de Choiseul (Archbishop of Besançon), 398.
Belgrado (Jesuit), 16 n., 253.

Beltran, Philip (Bishop of Salamanca), 121
Benedict XIV., Pope, 12, 375, 377, 393–4, 405–6, 433–4.
Bernis, François Joachim de Pierre de, Cardinal, 394–5.
Berruyer, Isaac Joseph (Jesuit), 365, 367.
Bertoni, Giacomo Filippo, Blessed, 404.
Blas, José (Jesuit), 77.
Bojanis, Benvenuta de, 403.
Bonaccorsi, Cardinal, 278, 289, 399.
Bonifaz, Quintano (Grand Inquisitor), 23–4, 410.
Borromei, Cardinal Vitaliano, 400, 401 n.
Boschi, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo, 278, 289, 293, 399.
Boscovich, Ruggero I. (Jesuit scientist), 89, 101.
Bossu (Vicar Apostolic of Antioch, etc.), 432.
Bottari, 19, 125, 219, 312.
Boxadors (Dominican General), 161.
Bramieri (Confessor to Queen Elizabeth Farnese), 44, 149.
Branciforte, Cardinal Antonio Colonna, 400, 401 n.
Briand, Oliver (Bishop of Quebec), 417.
Brigot (Vicar Apostolic in Siam), 424.
Brosse, Jean Baptiste La Jesuit missionary), 418
Bucareli y Ursua, Lieut.-Gen. Francisco de Paula (Governor of Buenos Ayres), 111–15.
Bufalini, Cardinal, 399.
Bussi, Cardinal Pietro Francesco (Dean of Rota), 397.

Calatayud, Pedro (Jesuit), 34, 77, 80–1, 105, 135, 185.
Calcagnini, Cardinal (nuncio to Naples), 244.
Calini, Cardinal Ludovico, 332, 356, 400.
Campofiorito, Prince of, 235.
Campomanes, Pedro Rodriguez (Fiscal), 29, 40, 62, 72 ff., 90, 123, 132, 148, 196, 198, 201–4, 207, 210, 212, 274, 277, 302, 304.
Camporeale, 226.
Campos (Jesuit superior in Tong-King), 423–4.
Canale, Cardinal Saverio, 400, 401 n.
Candano, 66.
Canova, Antonio (sculptor), 359.
Cantagalli, Canon Domenico, 18 n.
Caprara, Cardinal Cornelio Monti (Governor of Rome), 398.
Caracciolo, Cardinal Giovanni Constanzio, 397.
Cardel (tutor of Ferdinand IV. of Naples), 218.
Carlos, Duke of Parma, 264.
Caroline, Queen of the Two Sicilies, 10, 244.
Carrasco (Fiscal), 29, 212.
Carrio (Jesuit), 103.
Carvajal y Lancaster, Isidro de (Bishop of Cuenca), 207–8.
Castelar, Marquis of, 64.
Castelli, Cardinal Giuseppe Maria, 278, 289, 293, 395.
Castro, Pedro de, 179–180.
Castromonte, 125, 318.
Catanti, 67–8, 226.
Cattolica, Prince, 67, 86–7, 140, 221.
Cavalchini, Cardinal, 158, 164, 166, 285, 332.
Cenci, Cardinal Baldassare (Secretary of Consulta), 398.
Centola, 226.
Centomani (Neapolitan agent in Rome), 19, 283–4.
Centurioni (Jesuit General), 4.
Cerda, Cardinal Bonaventura de Cordova Spinola de la (Patriarch of West Indies), 398.
Cevallos, General, 102.

Chalotais, de, 36, 87, 384.
Chantal, Jeanne Françoise de, St., 402.
Charles III. (King of Spain), 6 ff., 10, 23–4, 26–7, 35–6, 45, 52–4, 56–8, 60–1, 63, 71, 83, 86, 90, 99, 104, 137–8, 140, 143–4, 150 ff., 158, 202, 207, 209, 214–15, 217, 220, 226, 228, 229, 230, 243, 249, 251, 253, 257, 274, 280, 293, 298, 306, 317, 320, 323, 325, 330, 336, 345, 349, 354, 409.
Charles, Prince of the Asturias, 35.
Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, 280.
Chauvelin, Abbé de (Jansenist), 134, 381.
Chauvelin, Lieut.-General, 174.
Choiseul, Duke of (French foreign minister), 9, 71, 134, 139, 146, 163, 168, 173, 189, 197, 227–8, 252, 254, 271–2, 274–7, 281–6, 291, 293, 314, 316, 318, 320–1, 324–6, 330, 333, 335–7, 347–8, 351, 395.
Christiani, Count, 308.
Ciocchis, Bishop, 247, 249.
Clement VIII., Pope, 207.
Clement XI., Pope, 269, 393.
Clement XIII., Pope, *passim*.
Climent, J. (Bishop of Barcelona), 120, 121.
Codallos (Alcalde), 77.
Codeleoncius, Domenico, 433.
Colletta, 242, 249 n.
Colloredo, Joseph Maria (Imperial Chancellor), 244.
Colonna, Cardinal Marcantonio, 396–7.
Colonna, Cardinal Pietro Pamfili (nuncio in Paris), 332, 400, 401 n.
Colonna Branciforte, *see* Branciforte.
Condillac, 265.
Conti, Cardinal, 397.
Contini, 200.
Copertino, Joseph of, St., 402.
Cordara (Jesuit), 161.
Cordova, Luis Fernandez de (Archbishop of Toledo), 119, 127, 201, 208, 210 n.
Corleone, Bernardo da, 402.
Cornejo (consul), 162.
Coronel, 169 n., 176, 181 n.
Corsini, Cardinal Andrea (Bishop of Sabina), 396.
Corsini, Cardinal Neri, 396 n., 401 n.
Crespel, Emanuel (Franciscan missionary), 418.
Crivelli, Cardinal Ignazio, 393, 395, 397.
Croix, Marchese de (Viceroy of Mexico), 116–17.
Cursin, Tommaso, Blessed, 404.
Cyril Tanas (Patriarch), 430.

DAHAN, *see* Athanasius Dahan.
D'Alembert, 1, 55, 384–5.
Delgado, Alonso Perez (Corregidor of Madrid), 63.
Demanet (missionary), 426.
Descalonne, 267.
Diderot, 1.
Doria, Prince, 160.
Duclos, *see* Lavalette.
Ducrue, Benno (Jesuit Visitor to California), 116.

ELISABETH OF REUTE, Blessed, 403.
Elizabeth Farnese, *see* Farnese.
El-Khazen, Tobias (Maronite patriarch), 432.
Enriquez, Enrico (nuncio to Spain), 35.
Ensenada, Marqués de (Spanish Colonial minister), 3, 61, 69, 102.
Erizzo (Venetian envoy), 192.
Esquilache, *see* Squillace.
Estephan, Joseph (Bishop of Beirut), 432.
Esterripa (Jesuit), 82.
Eudes, Jean [St.], 405.
Eximeno (Jesuit), 188.

Facea, George, 372.
Fantuzzi, Cardinal Gaetano (Auditor of Rota), 332, 397.
Farina, 200.
Farnese, Antonio Francesco, *see* Antonio Francesco.
Farnese, Elizabeth (mother of Charles III.), 35, 43–4, 52, 59, 144–5, 266.
Favre, 308.
Febronius (Hontheim), 13, 366.
Felipe (Duke of Parma), 265 ff.
Ferdinand IV. (King of Two Sicilies), 9, 35, 138, 140, 214, 220, 226–7, 229, 232 ff., 282, 299, 326.
Ferdinand VI. (King of Spain), 6, 8, 34, 420.
Ferdinand I., Duke of Parma, 134, 229, 250–1, 255–6, 265 ff.
Ferreri (Jesuit), 240.
Finocchietti, Cardinal, 33 n.
Firmian, Count (Imperial lieutenant), 202, 287.
Fleury, Cardinal André Hercule, 308.
Fogliani, Marchese (Viceroy of Sicily), 218, 227, 232, 235.
Fonseca, Emanuel Pinto da (Grand Master of Knights of St. John), 259 ff.
Forestier, 89.
Fraggiani, 215–16.
Francis I., Emperor, 371.
Francis III., Duke of Modena, 287, 288 n.
Franciscus del Pilar (Franciscan missionary in Chile), 420.
Frank, Jakob, 427.
Franklin, Benjamin, 40.
Frederick II. of Prussia, 383–5.
Fuentes, Count (Spanish ambassador at Paris and Rome), 162, 185, 197, 282, 317–18, 326, 331.
Fumeron (Jesuit), 253.
Furietti, Cardinal Giuseppe Alessandro, 396–70.
Gabriel, Infante Don, 204.
Galiani, 33 n., 227–8, 247, 269.
Galli, Cardinal Antonio Andrea, 412.
Gallifet (Jesuit), 406.
Galvez, José de, 117.
Gandara, Miguel Antonio de la, 94 ff.
Ganganelli, Cardinal Lorenzo (later Clement XIV.), 294, 397, 407, 412–13.
Garampi, Cardinal, 306 n., 378.
Geoffrin, Mme., 1.
Gervasoni (Jesuit missionary), 4.
Giraud, Bernardino (nuncio in Paris), 250, 276.
Girolamo Miani, St., 402.
Gnecco, G. and L., 169 n.
Göbel, Johann Joseph, 148 n.
Goujet (Jansenist), 381.
Goyzueta, 218.
Grasse, Jacques (Bishop of Angers), 380.
Gregorio Barbarigo, Blessed, *see* Barbarigo.
Gregory (Syrian bishop), 431.
Grimaldi, Marchese (Spanish minister), 28–9, 30, 41, 44, 51, 59, 63, 67, 71, 76, 83, 85, 97, 106, 131, 151, 154, 161–2, 167, 169, 173, 178–9, 189, 191, 194, 218, 222, 227, 252, 256, 273, 301, 317–18, 320, 322, 326, 331, 338, 341, 344, 346, 348, 351, 408.
Grou, I. N. (Jesuit), 79–80.
Gualtieri, Cardinal Ludovico Gualterio de, 309, 395, 397.
Guedes, 260.
Guglielmi, Cardinal Pietro Antonio, 397.
Gürtler, Canon, 249.

Hakim, Maximus, *see* Maximus.
Helvetius, 365–6.
Hermoso, Lorenzo, 94 n.
Hervás y Panduro (Jesuit), 189.

Hontheim, *see* Febronius.
Hugues, Guillaume d' (Archbishop of Vienne), 367.
Hutten, Cardinal Franz Christoph von (Bishop of Speyer), 398.

Ibañez, Bernardo (ex-Jesuit), 4, 201.
Idiaquez (Jesuit Provincial), 80–3, 102, 130, 188.
Idiaquez, Antonio, 94 n.
Innocent X., Pope, 120.
Isla, José Francisco de (Jesuit), 2, 185.
Iturbide, 212 n.

James III. (English Pretender), 412.
Jauhar, *see* Athanasius Jauhar.
Jean Eudes [St.], 405.
Jeanne Françoise de Chantal, St., 402.
Johann Theodor, Cardinal Bishop of Freising, 378.
Joseph II., Emperor, 244, 329–330.
Joseph I., King of Portugal, 321.
Josepha, Archduchess, 227–8, 233.
Joubert, De, 302 n.

Kampmiller (Jesuit), 307.
Karolina, *see* Maria Karolina.
Kaunitz, Prince Wenzel Anton von, 244, 280, 319, 328.
Kenty, John of, St., 402.
Keralio, 265.
Klemens August, Elector of Cologne, 378–9.
Klemens Wenzeslaus, Elector of Trier, 162 n., 379.
Kügelin, 403.

Laforcada, 169 n., 176.
Lanceis, De (Dominican), 431 n.
Larrain (Jesuit), 147.
Latilla (Bishop of Avellino), 218, 231, 236.
Latilla, (Spanish Court confessor), 138.
Latorre, Emanuel de (Bishop of Buenos Ayres), 103 n., 112, 115.
Lavalette, Antoine (ex-Jesuit), 196–7.
Laverdy (Jansenist), 381.
Leo X., Pope, 372.
Leonardo da Porto Maurizio [St.], 375.
Leopold (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 50.
Lespinasse, Mlle, 1.
Leszczynska, *see* Maria Leszczynska.
Liesganig (Jesuit), 135.
Llano (Spanish envoy at Parma), 258.
Locatelli, Giuseppe (nuncio in Naples), 20.
Lombardi, Marcantonio (Bishop of Crema), 374.
Loménie de Brienne (Archbishop of Toulouse), 386–7.
Lopez, Isidro (Jesuit), 47, 68–70, 100, 102–3, 135.
Lopez, Juan Luis, 304.
Lorenzana, F. A. (Archbishop of Mexico), 117.
Lorenzo Giustiniani, St., 404.
Losada (Lord High Chancellor of Charles III.), 38, 67, 69, 85, 219, 227.
Louis XV., King of France, 134, 277, 297, 316, 320–1, 370, 386.
Louis XVI., King of France, 387.
Lucini, Cesare Alberico (nuncio to Spain), 30, 133, 193, 202, 209, 344–5.
Luis, Infante Don, 144.
Luise Elisabeth, Duchess of Parma, 250.
Luna, Sanchez de (Jesuit), 27 n., 217.

Macañaz, 48.
Magallon (Secretary to Spanish Embassy in Paris), 134, 314.

Maggi, Sebastiano, Blessed 403.
Mahony (Spanish envoy in Vienna), 326, 328–9.
Malesherbes, 366.
Mañalich (Spanish Dominican), 5 n., 146.
Mancinforte (Inquisitor), 262.
Mañero, Luis (Archbishop of Saragossa), 136 n.
Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (Archbishop of Lucca), 378.
Marbeuf, Count, 168–9,186.
Marco, De, 227–8, 232, 236.
Marefoschi, 126, 200.
Margaret Mary Alacoque [St.], 405.
Maria Amalie (Queen of Spain), 7, 35, 87.
Maria Amalie (Duchess of Parma), 265.
Maria Josepha, Archduchess, wife of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, 86, 227, 326.
Maria Karolina (Queen of Naples), 244, 249, 282.
Maria Leszczynska (Queen of Poland), 406, 415.
Maria Luise, Princess, 50.
Maria Theresa, Empress, 244, 285, 288–9, 325–8, 330, 334, 415.
Mariana Victoria (Queen of Portugal), 323.
Marignoni, Giovanni, Blessed, 404.
Marquez, Juan, 157.
Martinez, Lieut.-Commander, 113.
Martinez (Jesuit), 55, 78, 100, 130.
Masones, 97.
Masserano, Prince (Spanish envoy in London), 134 n., 142, 193–4.
Matteo of Gimmara, Blessed, 403.
Maximus Hakim (patriarch), 431.
Mayoral, Andrés (Archbishop of Valencia), 369.
Mazzinghi, Angelo Agostino, Blessed, 404.
Medinaceli, Duke of, 50.
Mejorada, Count, 128.
Mello, *see* Sa e Mello.
Mendizabal (Jesuit), 82.
Mengs, Raphael, 211 n.
Merici, Angela, Blessed [St.], 403.
Merino, M. F. (Bishop of Ávila), 157.
Merlini, Ludovico, Cardinal, 397.
Mésenguy (French Jansenist), 18, 216, 367.
Miani, Girolamo [St.], 402.
Micco (Jesuit, Tanucci's confessor), 15–16, 70, 233.
Michael (monk of Ephraim convent), 431.
Michael of the Annunciation (Bishop of Coimbra), 368.
Michele, Reggio, 226.
Migazzi, Cardinal Christoph Anton (Archbishop of Vienna), 327, 398.
Millo, De (Portuguese envoy in London), 194.
Milou, Alexandre (Bishop of Valence), 367.
Minard (Jansenist), 381.
Miner, Mariano, 191.
Mocenigo, Alvise (Doge of Venice), 308.
Molham, Emir, 433.
Moliano, Pietro da, Blessed, 403.
Molino, Cardinal Giovanni (Bishop of Brescia), 374, 398.
Mondola, Antonio della, Blessed, 403.
Moñino, José (Fiscal), 92, 195, 197, 207, 210, 212, 274, 277, 303.
Monsagrati, Michelangelo, 26.
Montealegre, Duca de, 195 n., 295.

Montmorin de Herém, Gilbert (Bishop of Langres), 366.
Montreale, Andrea di, Blessed, 403.
Mourin (Jesuit Provincial), 147.
Müller, Ignaz (Augustinian Canon), 327.
Muniain, Gregorio (Spanish minister of War), 54, 97.
Muñiz, Count of Campo Villar (Spanish minister of Justice), 43.
Muzquiz, Miguel (Spanish Finance minister), 54, 97.

NATTA, Cardinal Enrichetto Virginio (Bishop of Alba), 398.
Nava, Miguel Maria de, 72.
Navarro, Benito (Rector of Colegio Imperial), 94 n., 140, 144.
Nazariis, Mattia de, Blessed, 403.
Nectoux (Jesuit, Provincial of Guyenne), 47.
Negroni, Cardinal Andrea, 278, 289, 292, 296, 302, 304–6, 399.
Nerini (Vicar Apostolic in Pegu), 424.
Neuhof, Baron, 375.
Neumayr (Jesuit), 27 n.
Neyrot, Antonio, Blessed, 403.
Noris, Cardinal Enrico, 2, 312.
Novello, Agostino, Blessed, 403.
Nuñez, Fernan, 140 n.

ODDI, Cardinal Nicolò, 399, 400 n.
Odescalchi, Cardinal Antonio Maria Erba, 397.
Onorati (nuncio at Venice), 295.
Orbagozo (Jesuit), 103.
Orsi, Cardinal Giuseppe Agostino, 396–7.
Orsini, Cardinal Domenico (Neapolitan envoy in Rome), 10, 160, 246, 279–280, 284–5, 302, 304, 351–3, 376.
Osimo, Clement of, 403.
Osma (Franciscan, Confessor of Charles III.), 26, 43, 97, 102, 129, 207, 296, 324, 338–9, 344, 408.
Ossun, Marquis (French envoy in Madrid), 66, 139, 317, 325, 337.

PACIAUDI (Theatine), 250, 256 n.
Palafox, 92, 120, 409 ff.
Pallavicini, Cardinal Opizio (nuncio in Madrid), 17–18, 22, 30–1, 43–5, 59, 63, 65, 72, 85, 104, 128–131, 154, 400.
Palma (Archbishop of Genoa), 377.
Panfili, *see* Colonna, Cardinal Pietro.
Paoli, Pasquale (Corsican insurgent leader), 162, 375–6.
Paolucci (Secretary of State at Modena), 162.
Paracciani, Cardinal Urbano (Archbishop of Fermo), 400.
Parhamer (Jesuit), 330.
Passionei, Cardinal Domenico (Secretary of Briefs), 4, 21–2, 43, 217, 410, 412.
Paul III., Pope, 268, 372.
Percoto, Giambattista Maria (Vicar Apostolic in Pegu), 425.
Perelli, Cardinal Niccolò, 397.
Perez, 146.
Philip V. (King of Spain), 8, 34, 149, 407.
Piacenza, Filippo of, Blessed, 403.
Piccolomini, *see* Rustichini.
Picquet, François (Sulpician missionary in Canada,) 418.
Pignatelli, José [Blessed], 55 n., 171, 185, 318 n.
Pignatelli, Nicolás (Jesuit), 55 n., 185, 318 n.
Pignatelli (Recevitore of Malta at Naples), 260.
Pinto da Fonseca, *see* Fonseca.

Piombino, Prince, 160.
Pirelli, Cardinal Filippo Maria, 399, 401 n.
Pius VI., Pope, 413.
Pius VII., Pope, 372.
Podorski (Archbishop of Gnesen), 429.
Pombal, Sebastian Joseph de Carvallo y Mello, Marquis of, 12, 33, 55, 65, 104, 147, 281, 311, 321–5, 338, 342, 413, 415, 425.
Pompadour, Madame de, 394, 395.
Poniatowski, *see* Stanislas.
Portocarrero, Cardinal, 41.
Portola, Jasper (Governor of California), 116.
Potemkin, Aniela, 427.
Potocki, Count Salesius, 428.
Pottier (Vicar Apostolic in China), 421–2.
Poyanos (Jesuit), 79.
Priuli, Cardinal Antonio Marino (Bishop of Vicenza and Padua), 394, 396.

Rábago (Jesuit), 3 n., 70, 92, 409 n.
Raón (Governor of East Indies), 118.
Raynal, Abbé, 55.
Recio (Jesuit), 147–8.
Retz (Jesuit General), 307.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (Secretary of the Memorials), 293, 295, 333, 393.
Rezzonico, Giovanni Battista (Maggiordomo), 165–6, 292, 295, 315, 333–4.
Ricci, Lorenzo (Jesuit General), 44, 47, 89, 136–7, 140, 146, 151, 166–7, 169, 188, 242, 291, 293–4, 300, 308, 323, 338, 355, 412, 434.
Riva, Juan de la (Spanish postmaster in Rome), 189.
Roche-Aymon, Charles Antoine de la (Archbishop of Rheims), 387, 390.
Rochechouart de Faudoas, Cardinal Jean François Joseph (Bishop of Laon), 398.
Roda y Arrieta, Manuel de (Spanish Minister of Justice), 18, 21, 23, 30, 41–4, 47, 55, 63–5, 71, 85, 88–90, 97, 124–7, 138–9, 168, 178, 191, 196, 198, 200–1, 213, 219, 222–3, 227, 231, 250, 269, 313–14, 340, 407, 410–11, 435.
Rohan Guémenée, Cardinal Charles Louis Constantin de (Bishop of Strasbourg), 368, 398.
Rojas, Diego de (Bishop of Cartagena), 52–4, 56.
Rosenbergh, Count, 189.
Rossi, Cardinal Ferdinando Maria de (Cardinal Vicar), 158, 292, 297.
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 365.
Roussel de la Tour (Jansenist), 381.
Roxas, Simon, Blessed, 402.
Rozas (Cistercian), 66.
Rustichini, Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Governor of Rome), 400, 401 n.
Rylo, Maximilian (Bishop of Chelm), 428.

Se a Mello, Ayres de (Portuguese envoy in Madrid), 45, 89, 194, 323, 342.
Sanchez, Marcos, 77.
San Giorgio, 226.
Sangro, 226.
San Nicandro, Prince of, 215, 222, 226.
Sanseverino, Francesco, Bishop, 247.
Sant' Elisabetta, Duke of (Neapolitan envoy at Vienna), 330 n.
Sant' Elpidio, Duke of, 217.
Santa Justa y Rufina, B. Sancho de (Archbishop of Manila), 157.

Serafino of Monte Granario, St., 402.
Serra, Juniperus, 416.
Serra, Cardinal Niccolò (Auditor General), 400, 401 n.
Sersale, Cardinal Antonio (Archbishop of Naples), 19–20, 216, 231, 236.
Simonetti, Cardinal Giuseppe, 399, 400 n.
Spedalieri, 272 n.
Spinelli, Cardinal Giuseppe, 4.
Spinola, Cardinal Girolamo (nuncio in Spain), 16–17, 395, 397.
Spinola de la Cerda, *see* Cerda.
Squillace (Spanish Finance minister), 49–51, 53–4, 56, 61, 63, 65–7, 69, 94, 149, 208.
Stanislaus II. Poniatowski (King of Poland), 427–9
Sterlich, Maria Magdalena, 237.
Stoppani, Cardinal, 164, 332.
Strassoldo, Raimund Anton von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 380.
Swieten, Gerhard van, 327.
Sylvester (Orthodox Patriarch), 430.

Tamburini, Cardinal Fortunato, 217.
Tanas, Cyril, *see* Cyril.
Tanucci, Marchese Bernardo, 7, 9 ff., 18 ff., 26, 28–9, 31 ff., 35 ff., 42, 59–60, 67–71, 85–8, 124–5, 137–140, 161–2, 189, 194, 203, 212, 214 ff., 260 ff., 269–270, 274, 280–1, 283–5, 287, 289, 298, 312–13, 318, 336, 351, 354.
Tarano, Matteo of, 403.
Terray, Abbé, 381.
Theodosius V. (Patriarch), *see* Athanasius Dahan.
Thiulen (Jesuit), 188.
Tillot, Guillaume du, Marchese di Felino (Minister at Parma), 66, 142, 149–150, 190, 247, 250 ff., 265 ff., 285, 287.
Timotheus (Chaldean patriarch), 433.
Tipa, Marcellus (Jesuit), 241.
Tönnemann (Imperial Court Confessor), 307.
Torre (nominee to Archbishopric of Genoa), 378.
Torrigiani, Cardinal Luigi (Secretary of State), 10, 12, 14, 43, 65, 85, 133, 151, 158, 161, 165–7, 169, 191, 193, 209, 215, 269, 276, 278, 280, 289 ff., 294–5, 300, 309, 315–16, 321, 323, 331–2, 338–340, 342, 345.
Trebos (printer of Bayonne), 79.
Trigona (Jesuit provincial in Sicily), 15.
Turchi (Capuchin), 288.
Turczynovicz, Stephan, 427.
Turriani, Antonio, Blessed, 403.
Turriani, Francesco (Dominican), 433.

Uriarte, José Agustin de (Inquisitor), 198.

Valenti, Cardinal Ludovico, 396–7.
Valle, Marchese, 128.
Valle y Salazar, 40, 64.
Varrones (Vicar-general of Madrid), 205–6.
Vasquez (General of Augustinians), 41–2, 88–9, 125–6, 159, 168, 229, 308, 311, 435.
Velasquez, Luis, 94 n.
Ventapane (physician to Tanucci), 233.
Veronese, Cardinal Sante, 396–7.
Veterani, Cardinal Benedetto (Prefect of Index), 400, 401 n.

Vincenti, Ippolit' Antonio (Uditore), 123, 132, 133, 154–5, 161, 167, 191, 202, 205.
Visconti (Jesuit General), 15.
Visconti (nuncio at Vienna), 280, 327, 428.
Volodkovicz, Philip Felician (Archbishop of Vladimir), 379, 428.
Voltaire, 1, 55, 250, 366, 383–4.

Walderdorff, Johann Philipp von (Elector of Trier), 379.
Wall, Richard (Spanish Minister), 3, 4, 6, 8, 15–17, 21–3, 28, 37, 217, 411.
Wedlingen (Jesuit), 101.

Yaci, Prince, 70, 232, 236.
Yecla (Prior of San Juan in La Mancha), 51–2.
York, Henry, Cardinal Duke of, 412.

Zacanini (Jesuit), 101.
Zaccaria, Francesco Maria, 218, 318.
Zelada, Cardinal Francesco Saverio (Secretary to Congregation of Council), 159–60, 435.
Zen, Francisco Maria, 423 n.
Zito (Jesuit), 68, 70.

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E. F. PEELER

VOLUME XXXVIII

CLEMENT XIV. (1769–1774)

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"Il papa sta afflittissimo per le traversie che passa con Sardegna, Spagna, Napoli e specialmente con Venezia. Stava ancora col timore della morte. . . . Io non so altro che dire: povero Papa! povero Papa! afflitto da tutte le parti! . . . E così non è maraviglia che non isbriga niun negozio, e non ne vuole esser neppure parlato. . . ."

ALPHONSUS DE' LIGUORI,
July 23rd, 1774 (*Lettere*, II., 283).

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVIII

CLEMENT XIV. 1769–1774

	PAGES
The Conclave of 1769	1–82
Clement XIV.'s Previous Career and Personality—His Policy of Peace and Concessions—The Settlement with Portugal	83–134
The Bourbons' Demand for the Total Abolition of the Society of Jesus and Clement XIV.'s Resistance in the First Years of his Pontificate	135–215
The Suppression of the Society of Jesus—The Origin and the Issue of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, of July 21st, 1773	216–292
The Restitution of the Papal Territories of Avignon and Benevento—The Execution of the Papal Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus	293–378
The First Partition of Poland and the Fate of the Catholics in the Annexed Territories—Febronianism in Germany	379–416
The Survival of the Jesuits in Prussia	417–438
Clement XIV.'s Activity within the Church—The Missions	439–507
Clement XIV. as Patron of Learning and Art—His Government of the Papal States—His Illness and Death	508–553
Appendix of Unpublished Documents and Extracts from Archives	556
Index of Names	591

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVIII

CLEMENT XIV. 1769–1774

CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF 1769.

A.D.		PAGE
	The diplomats' fear of the Jesuits	1
1765	Open declaration of France and Naples	2
	Diplomatic apprehensions	3
1766	Choiseul's view of the situation	4
	Steps taken in Vienna	5
	Further fears and activities of the diplomats	6
1769	The conclave opens with insufficient numbers	9
	Enforced inactivity	12
	Joseph II.'s arrival in Rome	14
	His visit to the conclave	16
	His statement on the Jesuits	17
	His statement to Sersale	19
	The Bourbon view of the Papal election	20
	Vienna's	22
	Sardinia's and Portugal's	24
	The aim of the Bourbons and the difficulties that stood in their way	27
	Spain the decisive factor	29
	Grimaldi's list of candidates and	31
	Choiseul's observations on it	32
	Other objections and a fresh instruction from Madrid	33
	The final list	34
	Bernis' misgivings	35
	The diplomats on the Jesuit question	37
	The solution of the Jesuit question all-important in the Papal election. Disagreement among the diplomats	38
	The various candidates: Chigi	46
	Fantuzzi	47
	Colonna	49
	Pozzobonelli	51
	Stoppani	55
	Sersale	58
	Cavalchini	59
	Ganganelli	61
	The arrival of the Spaniards	64

A.D. PAGE
1769 Their view of the Jesuit question 65
The conclave still confused 67
The Spaniards support Ganganelli 69
Ganganelli on the questions at issue 71
The last days of the conclave 72
The election of Ganganelli (Clement XIV.) . . . 73
Various opinions on it 74
Cardinal Ganganelli and the Jesuit question . . 77
No formal promise to suppress the Society . . 78
The contradictoriness of Ganganelli's statements . 81

CHAPTER II.

CLEMENT XIV.'S PREVIOUS CAREER AND PERSONALITY—HIS POLICY OF PEACE AND CONCESSIONS—THE SETTLEMENT WITH PORTUGAL.

Ganganelli's previous career 83
His ambition to be Pope 88
His relations with Clement XIII. 90
Opinions of Ganganelli's character 91
His timidity 94
The Pope's treatment of the Cardinals 96
His confidants 97
Bontempi and 98
Other intimates 100
The Pope's excursions on horseback 101
The Pope and the Bourbons 103
Settlement with Portugal 107
1769 Conti appointed nuncio in Portugal 109
Prospects of further concessions 110
1770 Attempted assassination of the King of Portugal. Pombal's letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State (February 4th) 111
Da Cunha made Cardinal 112
Conti's entry into Lisbon; non-publication of the Bull *In Cœna Domini* 114
Conti in Lisbon 116
Rejoicings in Rome 119
The Pope's success of no real importance . . . 121
Cunha's character 122
Further Papal concessions, but 123
None of any moment from Pombal 126
Pombal's attitude towards the religious Orders . 127
1771 Continued hostility towards the Church . . . 128
The *Real mesa censoria* 129
1772 Reform of the university of Coimbra 130
Anti-clerical spirit in Portugal 132
Muti appointed nuncio 133

CHAPTER III.

THE BOURBONS' DEMAND FOR THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND CLEMENT XIV.'S RESISTANCE IN THE FIRST YEARS OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

A.D.		PAGE
	The Pope's initial attitude	135
	The diplomats united in their objective, the complete destruction of the Society of Jesus, but differing as to the means	138
1769	Choiseul's instruction	140
	The necessity to proceed in secret	141
	Bernis' apprehensions	142
	The Brief encouraging the Jesuit missionaries	143
	Bernis' memorial	145
	His report on his interview with the Pope	147
	The Pope's reasons for delay	149
	Azpuru's audience ; Tanucci and Azpuru convinced of the sincerity of the Papal promises	150
	Choiseul resorts to threats and	152
	Extreme measures	153
	The Pope's apprehensions	154
	Bernis' audience of August 29th	156
	Choiseul's insistence and	157
	Bernis' reply	158
	Another assault on the Pope	159
	The Papal letter to Louis XV.	160
	Tanucci's suspicion of Bernis	161
	A memorandum against the Jesuits demanded	164
	Clement XIV.'s despondency and morbid fear of the Jesuits	166
	Bernis advocates that the Pope be urged on step by step	168
	The Papal letter to Charles III. of Spain	170
	Attempted assassination of the King of Portugal	172
1770	Another memorial against the Jesuits	173
	Delay in publishing the *Motu proprio*	175
	Choiseul's impatience	176
	Further delays and the Pope's explanation of them	178
	Bernis, suspected, justifies himself	182
	Signs of a Papal decision at last	184
	Choiseul's dismissal	186
	His successor	187
	Madrid still distrustful of Clement XIV.	188
1771	The Pope takes steps against the Jesuits and	191
	Presses on with the Palafox process	196
	The restoration of Avignon	199
	The suppression of the Jesuits delayed again	200
	The Palafox affair once more	201
	Fresh instructions for Bernis	203

A.D. PAGE
1772 Azpuru's retirement 204
Bernis' view of Clement XIV.'s hesitation . . 205
Further steps against the Jesuits 207
The Pisani case 209
Cordara's judgment 211
Clement's concessions of no avail 215

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS—THE ORIGIN AND THE ISSUE OF THE BRIEF *Dominus ac Redemptor*, OF 21ST JULY, 1773.

1772 Moñino's appointment as ambassador . . . 216
His instruction 217
His reputation as the most determined anti-Jesuit in Spain 218
Anxiety in Rome 219
Anti-Spanish satires 220
Engraving of the Last Judgment 221
Moñino's arrival in Rome 225
His conversations with Bernis and 228
Vasquez. His first audience with the Pope . . 229
Moñino and Bernis 230
Moñino's method of procedure 232
The Pope's morbid apprehension. Moñino's further audiences and 233
Threats 235
His proposals for the Bull of suppression . . . 236
A provincial council in Mexico declares against the Jesuits 239
Two more steps taken against them . . . 240
Madrid's impatience 242
Moñino's mistrust and 243
Threats 245
Bontempi won over 248
Further steps against the Jesuits taken by the Pope, thus committing himself still further . . . 249
Frederick the Great's letter 251
1773 The Brief of suppression drafted 252
Maria Theresa's attitude 257
Her assent 258
Her decision of supreme importance . . . 262
Plan to suppress the Jesuits without a Brief . . 265
The steps taken by Malvezzi 266
Meet with resistance and 268
Fail to satisfy Moñino 274
Moñino's requests on behalf of Zelada and Bontempi 275
The restitution of the Papal territories . . . 277

A.D. PAGE
More Briefs of visitation 278
A Congregation for the suppression . . . 279
Ricci still quite confident 284
The contents of the Brief of suppression . . . 286
Its executive instructions 289
Possible culpability of the Jesuits 290
Clement XIV.'s personal position 291

CHAPTER V.

THE RESTITUTION OF THE PAPAL TERRITORIES OF AVIGNON AND BENEVENTO—THE EXECUTION OF THE PAPAL BRIEF SUPPRESSING THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

The reception of the decree of suppression . . 293
The negotiations over the restitutions . . . 297
Letters of thanks to the princes 302
1774 The celebrations of the restitution 304
The surrender of Benevento and 306
Avignon 308
The opinions of the outside world 310
The execution of the suppression 311
The letter attached to the Brief of suppression . 312
Illusory prophecies regarding the Jesuits . . . 315
Severe measures taken against individual Jesuits . 316
Proceedings against Ricci 319
His confinement in the Castel S. Angelo . . . 320
The replacement of the Jesuits in the teaching institutions 324
The difficulties of providing for the Jesuits . . 326
The proceedings against Ricci 327
His interrogation 330
1775 His last days 331
The fate of his companions 334
The carrying out of the suppression in France . . 337
The principles on which the suppression was carried out in Austria 341
Special instructions for the suppression . . . 343
Their execution 345
The execution of the Brief of suppression in Switzerland 347
Bavaria 352
The Palatinate 356
Jülich-Berg 357
Mainz 359
Cologne 361
Saxony 364
Poland, and 366
Belgium 372
The Bollandists 377

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND AND THE FATE OF THE CATHOLICS IN THE ANNEXED TERRITORIES—FEBRONIANISM IN GERMANY.

A.D.		PAGE
	Political chaos in Poland	379
	The state of religion	380
1770	The Confederation of Bar declares against the king	384
	The origin of the First Partition of Poland	386
1771	Clement XIV.'s attempt to mediate	388
	An appeal for help to the Pope, and its result	390
1773	The Extraordinary Diet	391
	The First Partition of Poland	394
	The solution of ecclesiastical questions	395
	The Uniate Ruthenians in Galicia	398
	The situation of the Uniates in Russia	399
	The Catholics in White Russia	401
	Steps taken by the Roman Curia	404
	The fight against Febronianism	407
1769	The conference of Coblenz	412
	Anti-clerical tendencies in Germany	415

CHAPTER VII.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE JESUITS IN PRUSSIA.

	Frederick the Great's initial attitude towards the Society of Jesus	417
	Its change	419
	The reasons for Frederick's friendliness towards the Jesuits	421
	The Jesuits' grounds for hope	424
1773	Prove illusory	427
	The awkward situation of the Administrator of Breslau	428
	Garampi's attitude	429
	The attitude of the Silesian Jesuits	433
1774	The more conciliatory attitude of the Roman Curia	435
	The steps taken in Rome	436

CHAPTER VIII.

CLEMENT XIV.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—THE MISSIONS.

Jubilees	439
The spread of unbelief	441
New bishoprics	443

A.D. PAGE

Beatifications 444
New cardinals 445
The campaign against the Orders in France . . 449
The measures taken against them 452
The Capuchins in Savoy; the division of Capuchin Provinces 455
1770 Madame Louise's entry into the Carmelite Order . 456
Paul of the Cross and the Order of Passionists . . 458
The condition of the Church in Naples . . . 462
The Venetian Government's treatment of the Church 465
The situation of the Church in Tuscany . . . 469
Lombardy, and Corsica 470
Jansenism 472
The fate of the Jesuit missions 474
The suppression of the Jesuits and its effect on the missions 477
The suppression in Holland 480
In England 481
Scotland 483
North America and Canada, and 486
The Northern Missions 487
The Chaldeans and Melchites 489
The Maronites 490
The missions to the Levant 492
Aleppo 493
The missions in the Far East 494
India 495
Cochin-China 497
Tongking 501
The ritual dispute 502
Africa 503
Mexico 505
California 506

CHAPTER IX.

CLEMENT XIV. AS PATRON OF LEARNING AND ART—HIS GOVERNMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

Mengs and Mozart in Rome 510
The Museum Clementinum 512
The rebuilding of places in the Papal States . . 516
The Pope's ill-health 517
1774 Grows worse in spite of 521
Remedies. The Pope's depression 524
The approach of death 529
Death of Clement XIV. Rumours of poisoning . 533

A.D. PAGE

The medical report 535
Accusations against the Jesuits 537
Bontempi's retirement 539
The inscriptions on Clement XIV.'s catafalque . 542
Estimations of the departed Pope 543
The pæans of praise 547
Masson's opinion 549
Clement XIV.'s tomb 550

APPENDIX OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

PAGE

1. The Conclave of 1769—
   (*a*) *Plan de Conduite approuvé par les Cardinaux de Luynes, Orsini et de Bernis* 557
   (*b*) Orsini to Tanucci, May 5th, 1769 559
2. Moñino to Grimaldi, August 25th, 1774 . . . 562
3. Centomani to Tanucci on Clement XIV., 1771 and 1774 563
4. Brunati's report to Vienna, October 2nd, 1774 . . 582
5. Notes on the biographies of Clement XIV. . . . 587

CHAPTER I.

The Conclave of 1769.

(1)

Even while Clement XIII. was still alive, the secular Powers had devoted more frequent and earnest attention to the next Papal election than was usual when a conclave was thought to be approaching. This was caused by the Pope's frequent illnesses, and the keenness of the envoys and Ministers was especially sharpened by the fear of another Cardinal of Jesuit leanings ascending the throne of St. Peter.

As soon as Clement XIII. knew himself to be in serious danger of death, in August 1765, Azpuru, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, asked his Minister, Grimaldi, for instructions for the next conclave.[1] As a basis for the requested instructions, Grimaldi called for reports on the various Cardinals from the ambassador himself and from Tanucci.[2] Whereas Tanucci included several Cardinals friendly to the Jesuits among those he mentioned with approval and for further details referred Grimaldi to the ex-ambassador, Roda, as being better informed,[3] in Azpuru's report the attitude of the various Cardinals towards the Society of Jesus was of decisive importance in his appreciation of them.[4] Similarly, in a contemporary "Plan for the Conclave", which very probably originated with the Spanish agent Azara[5] and

[1] *On August 22, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4973.

[2] *To Azpuru, September 10, 1765, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 45; *to Tanucci, September 10, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6017.

[3] *To Grimaldi, October 1, 1765, *ibid.*, 5994. *Cf.* *Tanucci to Grimaldi, November 12 and December 24, 1765, *ibid.*, 6097 and 6099.

[4] **Ibid.*, 5012, and Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro de la Corresp. oficial, 104.

[5] *Azara to Grimaldi, September 11, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; *Tanucci to Centomani, June 7, 1766, *ibid.*, 5997.

contained descriptions of nineteen *Papabili*, it was stated in every instance whether or not the Cardinal in question was a supporter of the Jesuits.[1]

On the French side, the secretary to the embassy, De la Houze, had transmitted as early as February 24th, 1764, a list of the Cardinals showing those to be favoured.[2] The same thing was done by the French envoy, Aubeterre, in August 1765, after the Pope had again fallen ill.[3] According to Aubeterre, Cardinals Rezzonico, Castelli, De Rossi, Antonelli, and Bonaccorsi were definitely to be excluded, whereas Galli, Conti, Durini, and Ganganelli were worth considering, from France's point of view.[4] Some weeks later, Aubeterre [5] and the Neapolitan envoy Orsini deemed it advisable, to create the necessary impression, to have a common plan of action and to make an open declaration to the conclave. In this way, they thought, they could gather a number of Cardinals around themselves and influence the voting. Aubeterre's suggestion was that there was to be no talk of the Jesuits in this declaration and that it was to contain an assurance that the Powers were concerned only with the good of the Church. They had no intention of forcing a Pope on the Church ; all they wanted was that a Pope should not be set up without reference to them. The joint action of the three Bourbon Powers and the strictest secrecy in which their dealings were to be wrapped had been agreed upon in advance at a meeting of the ambassadors.

Rumours of plans being formed by the Zealots caused them considerable agitation. To ensure one of their men obtaining

[1] *Piano per il Conclave, October 14, 1765, State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnesiane, 1554. It is said here of Cardinal Ferroni : " Trasportato per li Gesuiti non potra esser accetto alle corone." Cardinal Stoppani is characterized thus : " Non è affezionato nè contrario ai Gesuiti." " Sommamente è attacato ai Gesuiti " is the accusation levelled against Cardinal Serbelloni.

[2] THEINER, *Histoire*, I., 167 *seq.*

[3] To Praslin, August 28, 1765, *ibid.*, 169 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] To Praslin, September 18, 1765, *ibid.*, 170.

the triple crown, the rumour ran, they intended to bring about an election in the conclave before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals. Aubeterre apprised Orsini of the rumour and wanted to lodge a protest with the conclave, signed by all the Bourbon envoys, to the effect that neither France nor Spain would recognize a Pope elected before the arrival of their Cardinals. Orsini's way of thinking was less severe ; the mere promise, he thought, to await the coming of the foreign electors would be enough, at any rate for the moment ; this had satisfied Rochechouart when Benedict XIV. had died. But Aubeterre was not to be appeased so easily. It mattered little, he explained, if the person chosen was friendly to the Jesuits so long as he did not, like Clement XIII., value the Jesuit interest higher than that of the Courts. He did not want to make the Pope ; all that was needed was to form a party strong enough to exclude every Pope that was not agreeable to them. A hint of the possibility of financial loss would discourage several members of the opposite party, such as the younger Albani, who held an abbey in Sicily bringing him an income of 1,000 sequins.[1]

Madrid, too, was disturbed by the supposed danger. Grimaldi instructed Azpuru to make every effort, in conjunction with Orsini and Aubeterre, to prevent a decision being taken before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals and to hold up the election of a member of the Rezzonico party, namely a defender of the fullest Papal powers in temporal as well as spiritual matters.[2] The Spanish ambassadors in Vienna [3] and

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, December 20, 1765, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012. Tanucci ascribed this plan to the Jesuits (*to Orsini, December 28, 1765, *ibid.*, 5995).

[2] *To Azpuru, January 21, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 46 ; *to Orsini, January 21, 1766, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1035 ; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 6, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012 ; *Orsini to Grimaldi, February 6, 1766, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Grimaldi to Mahony, January 19, 1766, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3915.

Paris[1] were instructed to apprise the Governments there of the danger that was threatening. Tanucci also was informed by Grimaldi that his king desired a Pope who was independent of the Rezzonico party and was able to govern on his own, free from the direction of those who in their obstinacy and with their doctrines of the supremacy of Rome in temporal as well as spiritual matters were sowing discord between the visible head of the Church and the most pious and conscientious princes.[2] Tanucci, who had always encouraged the idea of the Bourbon Courts taking joint action,[3] now ordered the Neapolitan envoy, in conjunction with the Spanish and French representatives, to work for the election of a candidate who was not an adherent of the Jesuit party.[4]

Choiseul, in Paris, took a definitely calmer view of the situation than the statesmen in Madrid and Naples. On February 12th, 1766, Aubeterre had written to tell him of his plan to prevent a precipitate election on the death of Clement XIII. by lodging a protest with the Camerlengo and with the heads of the three orders of Cardinals; if this proved inadequate, a formal protest would have to be made, which would be published in Rome as well as elsewhere.[5] On the previous day, however, Choiseul had written to the Spanish envoy Magallon that he considered that the fear of a precipitate election before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals was groundless, since any attempt to bring this about would be defeated by the objections that would be made by the opposing party. To issue a formal declaration against such an election would be to threaten the Church with schism, and neither the French

[1] *Grimaldi to Magallon, January 20, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4563.

[2] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, January 22, 1766, *ibid.*, 6099.

[3] *To Centomani, August 24 and December 27, 1765, January 4 and 18, 1766, *ibid.*, 5994, 5995, 5996; *to Orsini, September 7 and 14, 1765, and January 4, 1766, *ibid.*; *to Charles III., December 24, 1765, *ibid.*, 5995.

[4] *To Orsini, February 8 and 15, 1766, *ibid.*, 5996.

[5] Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 12, 1766, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 173, *seq.*

nor the Spanish king could desire that. France would favour whatever candidate was thought to be most worthy by Charles III.[1] A letter of similar purport was sent by Choiseul to Aubeterre,[2] and on the latter attempting to raise further objections [3] he repeated his former instruction, that on no account was any protest to be made without the king's assent.[4]

In his letter to Magallon Choiseul had declared his readiness to win over the Viennese Cabinet to the league of the Bourbon princes,[5] which, in view of Austria's prestige in the Catholic world and its influence in the College of Cardinals,[6] would thus have been greatly strengthened. Steps towards this end were accordingly taken by the French representatives in Vienna.[7] Grimaldi, acting through Mahony, had already made representations of a similar purport at the Imperial Court. There was no fear in Vienna of a precipitate election,[8] nevertheless it was not averse from joining forces with the Bourbon Courts, for the disharmony between Versailles and Vienna at the previous conclave had resulted in an undesirable candidate ascending the Papal throne.[9] Torrigiani above all was to be excluded, not only from the Papacy but also from the Secretaryship of State. Doubts arose as to who was to be Austria's confidential agent in the conclave. Choiseul suggested Alessandro Albani,[10] but Tanucci and Aubeterre as well as the

[1] *To Magallon, February 11, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4563; *to Ossun, January 14, 1766, *ibid.*, 4686.

[2] On March 4, 1766, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 174 *seq.*

[3] To Choiseul, March 19, 1766, *ibid.*, 176.

[4] To Aubeterre, April 8, 1766, *ibid.*, 177.

[5] See n. 1.

[6] *Grimaldi to Magallon, January 20, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4563.

[7] Choiseul to Aubeterre, March 4, 1766, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 176.

[8] *Mahony to Grimaldi, February 22, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6502.

[9] **Idem* to *idem*, February 26, 1766, *ibid.*, 5012.

[10] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 176; *Choiseul to Ossun, March 4, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

Spanish Court were strongly prejudiced against him. Cardinal Rodt or Cardinal Migazzi would have been more welcome.[1]

During Clement XIII.'s illness in 1765 the question of bringing influence to bear on the next Papal election was frequently discussed. It was thought that a sufficient number of votes to exclude an undesirable Cardinal would be obtainable.[2] To "make the Pope", however, to ensure the success of a desirable personality, a skilful and energetic member of the conclave was needed, and a person of this character was wanting.[3] On the other hand, the opposing party was in a similar plight, for Carlo Rezzonico was no natural leader, while the Maggiordomo had had too little experience and did not enjoy the reputation of irreproachable morals.[4] Cardinal Bernis had strongly disapproved of employing the unpopular method of formal exclusion, though Tanucci and the Spanish agent Azara warmly recommended it. Moreover, argued Azara, it was inexpedient to restrict exclusion to cases of extreme urgency, since a standing right of the Crowns ought not to be allowed to fall into disuse, and by its use the Cardinals could be kept in subjection. Cardinal Cavalchini, for example, had been particularly well disposed towards France since his exclusion by that Power in the last conclave. They must agree among themselves as to which Cardinals were to be excluded; according to Aubeterre's intimations, Antonelli, Castelli, and De Rossi were particularly undesirable in French eyes.[5] To prevent an undesired election, Azara proposed another measure, which was approved by Tanucci [6] and Grimaldi [7]: the Crown Cardinals were to lodge the objection

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 177; *Grimaldi to Mahony, April 21, 1766, *ibid.*; *Mahony to Grimaldi, April 21, 1766, *ibid.*; *Mahony to Grimaldi, May 21, 1766, *ibid.*, 6502.

[2] *Cf.* *Piano per il Conclave (see above, p. 2, n. 1).

[3] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, July 22, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6099.

[4] *Azara to Grimaldi, September 11, 1766, *ibid.*, 5012.

[5] *Azara to Grimaldi, June 5, 1766, *ibid.*

[6] *To Orsini, January 18, 1766, *ibid.*, 5996.

[7] *Grimaldi to Azara, September 30, 1766, *ibid.*, 5012.

that before an election took place the moneys taken from the treasure of Sixtus V. at the time of the famine in 1764 must be restored.[1]

All these deliberations were without immediate importance, since the Pope recovered his health. To satisfy Grimaldi [2] Azara subsequently reported from Rome on every incident, occasion for suspicion, and topic of conversation ; in so doing he gave the freest expression to his distrust, which smelt out hidden Jesuit supporters everywhere, even in the person of Aubeterre himself.[3] Full reports on the Cardinals created in 1766 were rendered by Azara and Centomani, with notes on each Cardinal's attitude towards the Jesuits.[4] To Tanucci Grimaldi wrote [5] that the future Papal election was not of importance for Spain, but that it certainly was for Naples and Parma. His king, therefore, would do all he could to ensure that the choice fell on a friendly Cardinal, who was hardly likely to be found in the Rezzonico party. The envoy in Paris, Fuentes, was instructed by Grimaldi to urge Choiseul to press for the speedy appointment of Crown Cardinals, so as to ensure the success in the conclave of the righteous projects of the Courts of Vienna, Paris, and Madrid.[6]

When, on the death of Clement XIII., the conclave became

[1] *Azara to Grimaldi, September 11, 1766, *ibid.* *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI, 175. In a *list drawn up by Azara at this time the Cardinals, with their ages, are sorted into classes : very good, good, bad, very bad, negative, doubtful. The only one to be marked " very good " was Sersale of Naples ; Ganganelli appears among the " good " ones (Cardinales actuales, undated, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 781). Azara's *report and Grimaldi's *letter to Roda, September 30, 1766, *ibid.*

[2] *To Azara, July 29, 1766, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Corresp. Azara-Grimaldi ", 1766.

[3] *To Grimaldi, October 2 and December 4, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4981, 5012.

[4] *Informazioni sopra i 13 cardinali promossi li 26 Sett., State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1410.

[5] *On September 30, 1766, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6099.

[6] *Ibid.*, 4976.

a matter of the most immediate concern, the representatives of the three Bourbon Powers met the very next evening and agreed to act in the closest concert pending the arrival of instructions from their Governments. Azpuru and Aubeterre were to visit the Cardinals to frighten them off the idea of holding the election before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals; if it did come to that, the ambassadors would be forced to leave Rome. They also agreed not to make any definite pronouncement against an election which had been carried through, for in this way the Courts could make their recognition dependent on concessions.[1]

In reporting these proposals to Choiseul, Aubeterre advised [2] the exclusion from the pontificate of Cardinals Rezzonico, Torrigiani, Castelli, and Boschi as being representatives of the governmental principles of Clement XIII., Chigi and Bufalini on account of their relations with the Jesuits, and perhaps Fantuzzi also. One could not be quite certain of the other Cardinals either, as it was very difficult to discover their true opinion of the Society; besides, once a Cardinal had become Pope he could change his way of thinking. Tanucci should send a strongly worded note to the Neapolitan Cardinals, and threats might be used against Lante, as he drew some revenue from France. To strengthen the party of the Courts, as many French Cardinals as possible should be sent to the conclave; a precipitate election could then be prevented and perhaps a capitulation could be imposed on the candidate elected. The

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, February 3, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473. The dates mentioned in the rest of this chapter refer to the year 1769, unless otherwise stated.

[2] On February 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 179 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADA, III., 291 *seq.* *Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi [February 4], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Cartas confidenciales del Confesor del Rey", 1769; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 6, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*; *Orsini to Grimaldi, February 6, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, February 7, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{290}{1085}$.

only condition necessary would be the suppression of the Jesuits; all other points could easily be added.

Aubeterre and Azpuru then visited all the Cardinals except the four who had been excluded. All declared their willingness to wait for the foreigners, some, in fact, stating that in the circumstances it was their duty to do so.[1] The Jesuit General Ricci also visited the Cardinals. According to Aubeterre's report he begged them with tears and sighs to hasten the election so as to secure a Pope favourable to the Jesuits.[2] Choiseul, however, remarked in his reply that Ricci's action had been kept within such bounds as to deserve neither complaint nor blame. Besides, since Clement's death the prestige of the Jesuits was no longer so important.[3] Nevertheless, the ambassadors' fear of the Jesuits was so great that as soon as the Pope was dead they strengthened the guards at the embassies.[4] The Roman people, on the other hand, remained much calmer during this interregnum than was usual on such occasions.[5]

(2)

On the afternoon of February 15th twenty-eight Cardinals went into conclave in the Vatican.[6] Among them were Neri

[1] Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 9, DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 292 *seq.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, February 10, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, February 11, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288; *Brunati to Colloredo, February 11, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 15, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 183 *seq.*

[3] To Aubeterre, March 14, CARAYON, XVII., 146.

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, February 3, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; **idem* to *idem*, February 14, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, 1216; *Vettori to Sigismondo, February 9, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1473.

[5] *Brunati to Colloredo, February 11, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] Buonamici, the agent for Lucca, estimated the cost of the installation of the conclave and the nine-days' obsequies at 70,000 scudi, the daily outlay for the conclave at more than 20,000 scudi. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX. (1897), 291.

Corsini and Stoppani, who despite their eighty-four and seventy-four years, wanted to play their parts in preventing the Jesuit party carrying through too speedy an election.[1] The rest of the Italian electors appeared during the next few weeks. The three German Cardinals had excused themselves from participating in the election on the score of old age or indisposition [2]; according to a report of the Spanish envoy in Vienna, Migazzi's indisposition was due to the appointment of Pozzobonelli instead of himself as the Austrian Government's confidential representative in the conclave.[3]

The promise to await the foreign Cardinals was to involve the conclave in severe trials. Only two of the six French Cardinals arrived, namely Bernis and De Luynes. On February 15th the banker Laborde had remitted Bernis two letters of credit for 130,000 *livres* to defray the cost of the journey,[4] but five weeks went by before Bernis arrived in Rome and finally entered the conclave on March 25th.[5] A far longer time was to pass before the Spaniards appeared.

Azpuru had announced [6] their arrival for the end of March

[1] *Brunati to Colloredo, February 15, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Mahony to Grimaldi, March 22, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6505.

[3] The empress did not credit Migazzi with the necessary prudence and the indifference towards the Jesuits which he had promised to display (THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 186 *seq.*). The whole "secret" which the confidential agent was supposed to keep consisted in the general instruction that a pious, learned, non-party man was to be elected (*Mahony to Grimaldi, March 22, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6505).

[4] *Laborde to Bernis, February 15, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, March 24, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[6] To Almada, March 25, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Corresp. Almada-Azpuru", 1760–9; *Centomani to Tanucci, March 31, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.* Aubeterre asserted even then that the two Cardinals were not to be expected before the latter half of April (*to Orsini, March 11, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{291}{1036}$).

or the beginning of April, but March went by without his even receiving word of their setting out. The courier bearing the news of Clement XIII.'s death had not reached Madrid till February 19th, and it was not till the 21st that Grimaldi informed Tanucci and Azpuru that the king deemed it expedient for the Spanish Cardinals to take part in the conclave. They were three in number, all of the bluest blood but of little talent or learning. One of them, the Archbishop of Toledo, was so decrepit that he could not be expected to live much longer, but the other two, the Patriarch of the Indies, La Cerda, and Solis, the Archbishop of Seville, could at any rate cast their votes in the balance.[1] On February 23rd Charles III. sent word to the two prelates to take the shorter route, by sea. Solis accordingly set off from Seville on March 1st and reached the port of Alicante on the 15th, where he embarked with his colleague on the 18th.[2] But alarmed by the storms that were blowing they turned back, preferring to travel to Rome by the less perilous route by land, which choice received the king's assent.[3]

Meanwhile, the conclavists were growing highly impatient,[4] and when on April 13th there came, instead of the Cardinals themselves, the news that on March 30th they had resumed their journey by land, some of the electors were determined not to wait any longer. The French, however, declared that they would have to apply the exclusion to every candidate

[1] *To Tanucci, February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102; **idem* to Azpuru, February 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 293 *seq.*

[2] *Solis to Grimaldi, March 1, 15, 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[3] *Solis and La Cerda to Grimaldi, March 23; *Grimaldi to Solis, March 25, *ibid.*

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 13, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Bernis to Choiseul, March 30, and to Aubeterre, April 13, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

who was chosen before the arrival of the Spaniards.[1] An assurance being given by the Spanish ambassador that the absentees would be present on May 1st or 2nd at the latest,[2] it was decided to wait still longer. La Cerda did, in fact, reach Rome on April 25th and entered the conclave on the afternoon of the 27th, to be followed on the 30th by Solis, who had arrived two days later.[3]

While the Spaniards were performing their journey the conclavists were consumed with boredom and impatience. More thought was applied to the problem of killing time, wrote Azpuru on February 25th, than to the election of a Pope, which was necessarily postponed indefinitely.[4] It fell hard on the aged electors, wrote Bernis on April 19th,[5] and perhaps even harder on the younger ones, to be cooped up so long in enforced idleness. The heat was beginning to make itself felt and it would be difficult to postpone the election for yet another month. Even if that did happen and an unlimited number of candidates were excluded, many of those friendly to the Governments might finally go over to the opposite party from sheer fatigue and set up a Pope who might be very unwelcome to the Courts. There had been conclaves which had lasted a half or a whole year, but then the parties were incessantly struggling for victory, whereas now they found themselves

[1] Buonamici, April 15, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX. (1897), 309: "On s'y est rendu sans beaucoup de murmure. Cette docilité prouve combien le sacré Collège craint de se compromettre avec les Couronnes." *Bernis to Choiseul, April 26, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[2] Buonamici, April 19, *loc. cit.*, 309.

[3] *La Cerda and Solis to Grimaldi, April 27 and 30, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; *Azpuru to the same, April 27, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; **idem* to Tanucci, April 28, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{400}{1145}$; *Pozzobonelli to Colloredo, April 29, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *To Almada, February 25, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, "Corresp. Almada–Azpuru," 1760–9.

[5] *To Choiseul, April 19, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

condemned to inactivity and on top of all the other troubles there was the tedium of idleness. There was general apprehension that the Courts wanted to restrict the freedom of the conclave too much, but this freedom was prized very jealously. The Spanish ambassador oscillated constantly between hope and fear.[1] On March 18th he thought that the news of the Spanish Cardinals' departure had banished all danger of an unforeseen election [2]; a month later his confidence was sadly diminished.[3] In spite of all their difficulties, however, Bernis, Orsini, and Pozzobonelli came to an agreement on April 19th, by which the Lombard Cardinals were to be informed, through Alessandro Albani, that on no account was an election to take place before the arrival of the Spaniards.[4] In the conclave, too, especially at its outset, there was a lively fear lest the Zealots might exclude the participation of the foreign Cardinals by a precipitate election. The Neapolitan representative, Orsini, who had been entrusted also with the representation of Spain and France pending the arrival of the foreigners,[5] declared that there was no need to fear anything of the kind,[6] and Azpuru considered that there was a sufficient number of

[1] *To Grimaldi, February 23 and March 2, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[2] *To Mahony, March 18, Arch. general central, Madrid, Estado, 3903; *Montealegre, March 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765. "Quedó acordado por todo el colegio esperarlos: más dócil para esto nunca se habrá visto el conclave, ni nunca con más miedo" (Azara to Roda, March 30, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 249).

[3] *To Grimaldi, April 20, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[4] *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 19, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

[5] *Brunati to Colloredo, February 18, State Archives, Vienna; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 9, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[6] *To Azpuru, February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; to Tanucci, February 21, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{290}{1035}$; *to Almada, February 25, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1504.

votes to frustrate any such attempt, which indeed might involve the whole Church in unforeseeable consequences. Nevertheless, until the middle of May complaints continued to be made that through their friends in the conclave the Jesuits were preparing a surprise.

To create a favourable atmosphere for Spain Orsini was empowered to inform the Sacred College that the Spanish king had suggested to Naples the postponement of the threatened occupation of Castro and Ronciglione and that the Cardinals and the future Pope were expected to appreciate this step and to meet the king's wishes by giving satisfaction to Parma and by suppressing the Jesuit Order.[1] Nor was there an absence of threats. Spain and France let it be understood that no election without the participation of the foreign Cardinals would be recognized by them, and if such an election were carried through the ambassadors would have to leave Rome.[2] The postponement of the election would also give them time to learn the attitudes of the various Cardinals.

(3)

The monotony and inactivity to which the Sacred College found itself condemned was broken by an event which Rome had not experienced for two and a half centuries. On the morning of March 15th, 1769, the Emperor Joseph II. made an unexpected entry into the city[3] and was thus the first

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, February 21, Archives of the Spanish in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49; *Tanucci to Orsini, March 11, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma $\frac{291}{1036}$.

[2] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, February 17, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4570; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, March 6, *ibid.*; **idem* to Tanucci, February 28, *ibid.*, Estado, 6102; *Aubeterre to Orsini, March 8, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* "Instrumentum de introitu in Conclave", in THEINER, *Epistolae*, 340 *seqq.*; CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 123; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV.*, 216 *seqq.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 203 *seqq.*; [BOERO] *Osservazioni*, II., 236; FERRER DEL RIO, II., 267 *seqq.*; MASSON, *Bernis*, 92; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 307 *seqq.*;

German Emperor to visit Rome since Charles V. He took up his quarters in the Villa Medici, where his brother, Leopold of Tuscany, had been residing since March 6th.[1] In spite of his incognito, the monarch, who travelled as the Count of Falkenstein and wore only the simple uniform of an officer with no decorations to indicate his exalted rank, was recognized immediately, and wherever he showed himself was acclaimed with rousing cheers by the populace. Accompanied by his brother, he visited the churches and chief sights in the city of the Apostles, showed a keen interest in the monuments of art, and gave generous alms to charitable institutions, the organization of which he had explained to him in detail.[2] His reverent attitude at divine service aroused the admiration of the Romans, especially when on Maundy Thursday he received Easter Communion in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the parish church of his residence, along with the common people.[3] The prince not only edified the people with his piety and condescension but delighted the great ones and those in superior positions with his refined amiability. The races and sumptuous entertainments organized by the Roman aristocracy and the ambassadors in honour of the royal guests, the illumination of St. Peter's at Eastertide, the Girandola,

ROUSSEAU, I., 281 *seqq.*; DEL PINTO, in *Rivista d'Italia*, XII., 2, Roma, 1909, 911 *seqq.*; DENGEL, in *Jahrbuch der österr. Leo-Gesellschaft*, 1926, 36 *seqq.*; C. MARIANI, *Il viaggio di Giuseppe II. a Roma*, Lanciani, 1908; *Ragguaglio o sia giornale della venuta e permanenza in Roma della S. M. Cesarea Giuseppe II. nel mese di marzo 1769*, Roma, 1769; *Per l'arrivo felicissimo in Roma di due principi illustri. Componimenti poetici* [Roma, 1769]; O. HARNACK, *Kunstleben*, 4.

[1] *Brunati to Colloredo, March 8, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] **Idem* to *idem*, March 11 and 15, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, March 15, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, March 24, *ibid.*; *Foglio di nuove*, March 24, 1769, *ibid.*; *Albani to Colloredo, March 25, State Archives, Vienna; Buonamici, on March 25, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, *loc. cit.*, 300; Joseph II. to Maria Theresa, March 25, 1769, in ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, I., 248.

and so forth, engaged the attention of the Romans to such an extent that even their interest in the Papal election receded completely into the background.[1]

On the day after his arrival the emperor, attended by his brother, visited the conclave, where he was received by all the Cardinals present. When, on entering, he was about to lay aside his sword, Stoppani invited him to retain it in his capacity of the Church's protector. Conducted by some of the prelates, the two brothers visited the Pauline and Sistine Chapels and made close inquiries into the electoral procedure and the manner of proclaiming the new Pope.[2] In the conversation that ensued Joseph II. treated the Cardinals with exquisite politeness and asked how long they expected to remain in conclave. On being told that the previous one had lasted two months and the one before that six months, he remarked that if another Benedict XIV. were elected, even a year would not be too long. On being asked by some of the Cardinals if he would take the Church and its future Head under his protection he replied, "You can see to that better than I, by choosing a man who understands the saying '*Ne quid nimis*' and doesn't carry things to extremes." The Pope, who in the spiritual sphere was infallible and wielded absolute power, was not to strive after its extension into the temporary sphere of other States; especially when dealing

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 24, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504. A pen-and-ink drawing in the Galleria Doria in Rome shows the courtyard of the Palazzo Doria converted into a ballroom by the architect Nicoletto in Joseph II.'s honour. The Pope had a copy made of Batoni's portrait of the two princes (*Kaunitz to Colloredo, July 14, 1769, State Archives, Vienna).

[2] "Instrumentum", in THEINER, *Epist.*, 340 *seqq.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, March 17, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 204 *seq.*; *Foglio di nuove*, March 17, *loc. cit.*; *Brunati to Colloredo, March 18, State Archives, Vienna; *Albani to Colloredo, March 15 and 18, *ibid.*; Buonamici, March 18, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 298.

with princes ought he to use it with due consideration and in a befitting manner.[1]

Of far greater moment was the conversation between Joseph II. and the French ambassador Aubeterre. The chief topics dealt with were the alliance with France, and Rome and the Jesuits. Regarding the Jesuits, the monarch said that his mother was very pious and would consequently take no step to bring about their suppression but would leave everything to the decision of the Church ; on the other hand, she would do nothing to oppose it, rather would she greet it with joy. He himself had no other thoughts on the matter. Of the treasonable activities of these Religious, especially in Spain, he seemed to be fully convinced.[2] Aubeterre claimed to have heard from the emperor himself that when visiting the church " al Gesù " he put the question to Ricci, " When will you lay aside this dress ? " To which the General, clearly confused, replied that the times were bad indeed but that he trusted in God's mercy and—he is said to have added—in the infallibility of the Pope, who, if the Society were destroyed, would be destroyed along with it—an allusion to the ratifications which the Institute had received from so many Popes. When viewing the statue of St. Ignatius, which was of solid silver and adorned with precious stones, the Emperor spoke regretfully of its cost, whereupon Ricci remarked that they had good friends to thank for it. " You mean the profits from the Indies," suggested the emperor.[3]

[1] Orsini to Tanucci, March 17, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 205 ; Azara to Roda, March 23, 1769, *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 242 *seqq.*

[2] The emperor's opinion of the Jesuits as expressed to Count Papini and Mgr Garampi make it unlikely that he spoke about them in this way. *Cf.* DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 43, 77 *seq.*

[3] Aubeterre to Choiseul, March 31, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 206 *seqq.* Aubeterre's report to Bernis, of March 28 [1769], in CARAYON, XVII., 147, is shorter and less coloured. The emperor's conversation with Aubeterre is reproduced by the Spanish agent Azara in a similar fashion, but there is no mention of the story of the silver statue (*Azara to Grimaldi, March 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Cartas confid. del

In a conversation with the Spanish ambassador Azpuru, Joseph II. expressed his contempt for the Cardinals in conclave. There was so little to choose between them that the election might just as well be made by drawing lots. A reference being made to the suppression of the Jesuits, Azpuru, speaking of them as the "Blacks", defended the action of his Court, whereupon the emperor assured him that doubtless the king had good reason for the expulsion and he indulged in praises of his honesty and piety. From the two conversations Azpuru gained the conviction that the emperor would welcome the suppression, although the Jesuits set high hopes on him and his mother.[1]

One of the persons who saw and heard what happened at the Gesù was Giulio Cordara. According to his report, which, it is true, was composed many years after the event, the Jesuit General, when the altar of St. Ignatius was being inspected, earnestly begged the monarch for his protection of the Society, so that it might be saved from the destruction with which it was being threatened on every side. The monarch is said to have answered half-ironically, half-accusingly, "There is no need for your request. See to it yourselves that a Pope is chosen who is well disposed towards you and all will be well. On the other hand, if one is elected who is ill-disposed towards you, and intends to destroy you, what can I do to stop it? Don't you teach and preach to all

Confessor del Rey"; Azara to Roda, March 30, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 247 *seqq.*). *Cf.* DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 65. According to hearsay, Zambeccari reported from Bologna to Madrid that in Rome the emperor's support had been enlisted on behalf of the Jesuits, who, to win his favour, had given him two million sequins (!) and his brother Leopold another large sum of money. According to the same report the emperor told Count Papini that as the Jesuits in Germany were decent people they were not thinking of any reform. *Zambeccari to Grimaldi, March 25, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4734.

[1] Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

the world that the Pope is infallible and wields the highest power on earth ? "[1]

When revisiting St. Peter's on Easter Monday, March 27th, the emperor expressed the wish to see some of the Cardinals who had just arrived, especially Bernis and Sersale. The former he complimented as the author of the happy alliance between Austria and France.[2] To the latter, of whom he had already spoken favourably in Bologna,[3] he is said to have remarked, with reference to his intended election, that he thought he saw in his face a ray of grace from the Holy Spirit.[4] According to another version he expressed himself far more prosaically : " I am now going to Naples, where I shall bring the news that Your Eminence will not be returning there." [5]

An indication of the young monarch's attitude towards the situation is the statement he made to his confessor on taking leave of him before setting out for Italy—that the new Pope would dissolve the Society of Jesus and that he himself was neutral in the matter.[6] The nuncio Visconti had already reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State on January 2nd, 1769, that the emperor seemed not too well disposed towards the Jesuits and that he had given the following advice to the Jesuit Parhamer : " It would be far better, Father, if you

[1] *I. C. Cordarae di profectione Pii VII. ad aulam Vindobonensem eiusque causis atque exitu*, ed. Boero (1855). The passage is also reprinted in [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II.[2], 236 *seq.*

[2] *Bernis to Choiseul, March 30 (draft), in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[3] *Zambeccari to Grimaldi, March 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4734.

[4] " . . . a Sersale, con gracia le decia, que veia en su semblante un no sé qué de gracia del Espíritu Santo." Azara to Roda, March 30, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 249.

[5] Buonamici on March 29, *loc. cit.*, 303. " *Al Card. Sersale augurò di non dover tornare in Napoli " (Orsini to Tanucci, March 28, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504).

[6] ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 38 ; *Silva to Garampi, March 27, Nunziat. di Germania, 389, Papal Secret Archives.

Jesuits were to consider the dissolution of your Order yourselves in good time, for you will certainly not survive the next conclave and you will be forced to take this step, which you could now anticipate in a manner profitable and honourable to yourselves." [1]

Highly gratified by the honourable reception which had been given to her sons in Rome, Maria Theresa expressed her thanks to the Cardinals through the nuncio,[2] and afterwards renewed them in a letter from herself to the conclave.[3]

(4)

While the delayed arrival of the Spanish Cardinals was making it impossible for the conclave to elect a Pope, the Bourbon Courts exerted themselves all the more eagerly to obtain one that suited their demands. In this matter France abstained from any policy of its own. Choiseul was bent on preserving and strengthening the alliance with Spain, and joint action with Charles III. in the matter of the Jesuits seemed likely to draw the bonds still closer.[4] On February 21st, 1769, Choiseul empowered his envoy in Madrid to make the appropriate statements that the instruction had been sent to Luynes and Bernis in Rome to act in complete conformity with the Spanish and Neapolitan prelates so as to procure the tiara for the candidate considered most worthy by the Catholic king.[5] There could be no doubt about the attitude Tanucci

[1] *Visconti to Torrigiani, January 2, Cifra, *ibid.*, 392.

[2] *Visconti to Garampi, March 25, *ibid.*, 389.

[3] THEINER, *Epistolae*, 342 *seq.*; *Mahony to Grimaldi, April 12, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6505.

[4] MASSON, 81.

[5] *To Ossun, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49. " *Aunque considero sumamente importante el encargo que S.M.C. hace a sus dos Cardenales que pueden asistir al Conclave, me parece aun más importante y sin duda más apreciabile el que a su Embajador y Cardenales los someta tan absolutamente a la voluntad de nuestro Rey" (Osma to Grimaldi, March 7, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012).

would adopt[1]; the Neapolitan envoy in Rome, Cardinal Orsini, was instructed to co-operate with Azpuru and the Bourbon ambassadors.[2]

Once again the Bourbons laid great weight on Austria's entry into their league.[3] As for the burning question of the Jesuits, Maria Theresa and Joseph II. had stated more than once that they had no grounds for complaint against them.[4] In a memorandum of March 1768 the young emperor had observed that in Austria there was no cause for desiring their suppression nor any reason for championing their preservation.[5] On the other hand, the view was often held in Governmental circles in Vienna that Aranda's sole purpose in driving out the Jesuits was to free the State from ecclesiastical oppression,[6] and the curtailment of ecclesiastical power was desirable.[7] In addition, the empress considered herself to be under an obligation to the Bourbons. Her second son, Leopold of Tuscany, had married a daughter of Charles III., her daughters Maria Karoline and Maria Amalia were betrothed to the young King of Naples and the Duke of Parma in 1768 and 1769, and it was hoped to open negotiations for the betrothal of her

*Choiseul to Fuentes, March 4, *ibid.*, 4570; to the same, March 14, in CARAYON, XVII., 144; *to Ossun, March 21, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[1] *Order to Orsini, of March 7, to follow the instructions of the Spanish king; Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6008; to *Castromonte, March 11, *ibid.*

[2] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, February 14, *ibid.*, 6007; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 294.

[3] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 297.

[4] *Report by Cardinal Borromeo, of May 9, Nunziat. di Germania, Papal Secret Archives; *Visconti to Torrigiani, January 21 and March 3, 1768, and January 2, 1769, Cifre, *ibid.*

[5] ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 28.

[6] *Silva to Garampi, April 20, Nunziat. di Germania, 389, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, April 4, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102. *Cf.* DUHR, in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, CX. (1925), 213, n. 4.

youngest daughter, Maria Antonia (Marie Antoinette), with the French Dauphin.

The ground was thus prepared in Vienna for the fulfilment of the Bourbon desires. On February 23rd Mahony, the Spanish envoy in Vienna, had to inform the Government there that Charles III. desired as Pope a man with a veneer of piety and learning but no inclination to extend the power of the Curia at the expense of the legitimate powers of princes. Above all, the person in question was not to allow himself to be ruled by the Jesuits but to deal justly and impartially with the monarchs who had driven them away. It was to be assumed, he added, that the Austrian Court had the same desires, either for the sake of pleasing the other Courts or because of its indifference towards the Jesuits. Accordingly, it was the king's desire that each Court should forthwith send as many Cardinals as possible to the conclave to ensure a majority there. Further, corresponding instructions should be sent to the envoys in Rome to prevent an over-hasty election and to give the Church a pacific Pope.[1]

The Court of Vienna replied through its ambassadors in Madrid and Paris that it had no particular person in view as the future Pope. Its only desire was that he should be a man of "good principles" and not an immunist. Regarding the Jesuits, their Majesties were indifferent. None of the three German Cardinals would be going to Rome.[2] Pallavicini had been selected as envoy to the conclave, but he was soon replaced by the Neapolitan ambassador, Ernst von Kaunitz-Rittberg, the eldest son of the chancellor.[3] Azpuru had

[1] *Grimaldi to Mahony, February 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 14, *ibid.* *Fuentes to Grimaldi, March 17, *ibid.*; *Du Tillot to Azara, in March, Exped. "Parma", *ibid.*; *Tanucci to Centomani, March 14, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{291}{1036}$.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, I., 245. Documents and letters from this embassy in the Fürstl. Metternichsches Familienarchiv in Pless, III., 4, fascicule

received instructions to sound the envoy on his attitude to the Jesuits and then to treat him with confidence or caution as the case required.[1] A letter of Mahony's to Grimaldi provides further information about the neutrality of the Viennese Court in the Jesuit affair. There were good grounds, he writes, for supposing that the suppression would be welcomed by the emperor and his Ministers, but that the empress had not yet entirely rid herself of her hereditary attachment to the Order. For some months, however, she had been firmly convinced that the Catholic Courts had not ejected these Religious without weighty reasons. The policy of neutrality towards them had its advantages: if Rome refused to suppress them, one spared oneself the mortification of a rejected request; if they were suppressed, one reaped the fruits of the labour of others without exerting oneself.[2] The empress's opinion of Clement XIII. was that with all his piety he had been too rigid and scrupulous. Out of consideration for the Bourbon Courts she would like a Pope who had not been taken from the Jesuit party, who had a knowledge of the world, and was conversant with conditions outside Italy. However, they would make no conditions in advance for the election but would urge their just claims after the event.[3]

In accordance with these declarations of the Court of Vienna its confidential representative at the conclave, Cardinal Pozzobonelli,[4] and Kaunitz,[5] its envoy, received only a general instruction not to recommend anyone's election and not to

22, No. 95. *Relazione delle udienze pubbliche che le mattine de' 27 e 30 d'Aprile 1769 ebbe dal s. Collegio in conclave S. E. il Sign. C. del S. R. I. Ernesto de Kaunitz-Rittberg*, Roma, 1769.

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 14, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[2] *On March 22, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6505; DUHR, in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theologie*, XXII. (1898), 443.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 187.

[4] *Azara to Grimaldi, April 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4977.

[5] *Tanucci to Orsini, April 4, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

exclude anyone openly but to co-operate throughout with the Bourbon party. Choiseul and Fuentes had already forwarded the imperial envoy their list of candidates for the tiara.[1]

Sardinia also adopted a neutral attitude in the Jesuit question, which information was conveyed by the Abbate Montagnini, the Sardinian *chargé d'affaires* in Vienna, to the nuncio there.[2]

There could be no doubt about Portugal's attitude in the matter.[3] When the courier Uslenghi reached Lisbon with the news of the death of Clement XIII. he was kept in Pombal's palace for two days without being allowed to speak to anyone; the reason for this, it was explained to him, was that the king, who happened to be away in the country, had to be the first to announce the news.[4] In a letter of condolence to the conclave Joseph I. spoke of his longing to see St. Peter's chair occupied by one who with his piety would put an end to the troubles which had been apparent for some years past and which were sorely grieving his royal heart.[5] An explanation of these indefinite phrases may be found in a letter from the Portuguese queen, Mariana Victoria, to her brother, Charles III. of Spain, who had informed her of the Pope's death and had added his views on the conclave. The sister replied [6] that the court of Lisbon shared his wish that the choice should not

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, March 17. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 188.

[3] *Cf.* Aubeterre to Bernis, April 9, in CARAYON, XVII., 153.

[4] Buonamici's report in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 307. Saldanha excused his absence on health grounds.

[5] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 302 *seq.* *Orsini to Almada, April 8, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[6] *On March 5: "Y yo tonta y ignorantemente digo, que me acuso, que no la consiento en nadie, si no se diere palavra de estinguir la Compañía, porque sin eso puede parecer que no es jesuita o fingirlo, y después serlo y quedamos como antes." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 303. *Cf.* the queen's *letters to Charles III., of February 20 and 26 and March 14, 23, and 28. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 7297.

fall on a " Jesuit " ; if it did, as he rightly observed, all was lost. Under a Jesuit Pope the arrogance and ferocity of the Order would grow so great that the Church would suffer grievous injury and no prince's life would be safe. The *esclusiva* was hardly a safeguard against this danger, since in the last conclave Cavalchini had been excluded and in his stead Rezzonico had been kept, who was a creature of the Jesuits and a professed member of their Order. Her husband had had a secret instruction drawn up for all his envoys, so as to acquaint them with the spirit of the Roman Court. She enclosed a copy of it, asking him not to let it leave his hands. In the opinion of the Spanish king a war with one of the great European Powers would be less harmful than a Papal election that would bring an open or secret Jesuit to the throne of St. Peter. As it was desired that this interest of the three Courts should become the common cause of all the Catholic Powers, Almada was to leave Venice for Rome, where he was to occupy himself with the election in conjunction with the Bourbon envoys. She herself would not bestow her approval on any candidate who would not pledge his word to abolish the Society of Jesus. Without this promise a secret Jesuit might come to power and then the Catholic Powers would be in the same situation as before.[1]

The secret instruction of which the queen speaks betrays clearly in its twenty points the hand of Pombal. After bombastic declamations against the corruption of the Jesuits, which had existed from the start, and against the pride and boundless tyranny of the Roman Court, the demand was made that the future Pope was not to be taken from the College of Cardinals, as this was largely composed of Jesuit tertiaries. The first condition to be imposed upon him was the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The Portuguese envoy brought the gist of this instruction to the knowledge of Tanucci, but

[1] " *Instrucçâo sobre la morte do Papa Clemente XIII. que se deve participar a todos os ministros de S. M. Fidelissima nas Cortes de Europa," March [5], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49. Cf. *Azpuru to Grimaldi on May 4, *ibid.*, Registro 108.

received only the reply that Naples would co-operate with the other two Bourbon Courts.[1]

In the strictest confidence Grimaldi forwarded the secret instruction and the queen's letter to Azpuru, with the observation that the extravagant proposals might be turned to profit if something of them was quietly brought to the knowledge of the Cardinals, so as to intimidate them.

After the break between Lisbon and Rome, Almada, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome, had finally come to rest in Venice. He now made inquiries of Orsini if he could come to Rome,[2] for without definite instructions from his Court he dared not leave Venice.[3] It was intimated to him that for this purpose he needed a letter of credence.[4] The ambassadors were clearly apprehensive lest the turbulent behaviour of this unruly character might involve them in fresh complications,[5] but finally the prospect of having him as an ally gained the day.[6] On April 30th, 1769, he arrived in Rome and presented his credentials to Cardinal Corsini. His instructions were to take his cue from the Spanish and French ambassadors and to work with them to obtain satisfaction for Parma and the suppression of the Jesuits.[7] Aubeterre expected little help from him.[8]

[1] *Tanucci to Charles III., March 14, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 23, *ibid.*, Registro, 108.

[3] *Almada to Azpuru, February 25, Exped. " Corresp. Almada–Azpuru " 1760–9, *ibid.*

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 23, *ibid.*, Registro, 108.

[5] " *Almada non è soggetto da conciliarsi l'altrui stima." Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, August 19, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288.

[6] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[7] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, April 24, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4570; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; *Azpuru to Solis, May 5, Exped. " Conclave 1769 ", *ibid.*

[8] In CARAYON, XVII., 182.

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For the Bourbon Powers the coming election was not primarily a question of personalities. What was desired was not the election of this or that Cardinal but a complete change in the policy of the Holy See, no matter who was chosen. "It would be a danger to religion and the centre of unity," wrote Choiseul to Bernis on April 10th, 1769,[1] "if the throne of St. Peter was occupied by a Pope with the principles of Clement XIII. and with a Minister such as Torrigiani. It is not everyone who thinks as I do on this matter, and the fanatical opponents of the Roman Curia, who in my opinion are as much to be feared as the Jesuits, regret Torrigiani's departure and would have liked Clement XIII. to have reigned another ten years, for, had this happened, a schism or even the destruction of the temporal supremacy of the Pope would have been more than likely. There is no question but that the Pope must be a man who understands the spirit of the Courts and of our age, which is entirely different from that of last century. He must be a man who while maintaining the dignity and the appearance of power tries to adapt himself to circumstances. . . . One is entitled to expect that the rule of the next Pope will inaugurate a memorable epoch in Catholicism. But if he follows the old Roman principles there is no hope for it."

The task in hand, therefore, was to find a man of the requisite pliability, but this was not so easy. The statement made in a broadsheet of the time that every one of the Cardinals was either openly or secretly smeared with Jesuit blacking[2] may have been an exaggeration, but it was true that the Society of Jesus had many ardent admirers and very few enemies in the Sacred College.[3] "There is hardly a single wearer of the purple who is not attached to them, if not actually dependent on them," was the opinion of the former

[1] MASSON, 96.

[2] **Foglio di nuove*, March 21, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 153.

ambassador Roda.[1] Bernis wrote, a week after he had entered the conclave, "It is easy to foresee the difficulties of our negotiations on a stage where three-quarters of the players are not on our side."[2] Of the forty-three Cardinals sitting in conclave on April 25th, Aubeterre designated twenty-five who either openly or circuitously would have to be excluded on account of their excessive liking for the Jesuits.[3]

The Governments' awareness of these difficulties is to be seen from the instructions they sent to their Roman envoys on how to influence the conclave. Paris thought it best to allow Spain to take the lead in this matter, as was expressly stated by Choiseul through his envoy in Madrid.[4] In the instruction sent to Cardinals Luynes and Bernis they were told to adhere firmly to the former standpoint regarding Parma; France's immediate concern was to secure its possession of Avignon and Venaissin. For the coming election the guiding principle was: on no account another Clement XIII., wherefore Torrigiani, Boschi, Bonaccorsi, and Castelli were to be excluded. The bark of Peter must have a steersman who was enlightened enough to see that he must proceed in complete agreement with the Catholic princes, wise enough to avoid unpremeditated actions arising from imprudent zeal, and intelligent enough to regulate his conduct by the principles of moderation, prudence, and benignity. As Spain wanted as Pope the Archbishop of Naples, Sersale, the King of France also desired to use all his prestige for the fulfilment of this aim, and the Cardinals were to exert themselves to the utmost to see that this election took place.[5]

Everything therefore depended on Spain. In his instruction

[1] *To Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[2] Ravignan, I., 240.

[3] *Ibid.* "*Me dicen que se han descubierto en el Conclave 33 Cardenales jesuitas: si es así, è por qual milagro escaparemos a que sea uno de ellos Papa?" Du Tillot to Azara, April 15, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma".

[4] *Choiseul to Ossun, February 21, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[5] Ravignan, II., 363 *seqq.*

of March 7th, 1769, Grimaldi renewed the demand for satisfaction for Parma, which, however, might be moderated now that Clement XIII. was dead, and the further demand for the suppression of the Jesuits, which must be insisted on at all costs. It might be advisable for the conclave to pass a resolution binding the future Pope to grant these two demands, but in view of the strength of the opposing party, it was left to the envoys of the three Powers to decide as to the expediency of such a proposal.[1]

That the proposal was to be adopted only in favourable conditions was stressed by Choiseul on March 21st, when he forwarded the Spanish instruction to Aubeterre as a guide for the French Cardinals. He was principally concerned with Avignon and Venaissin.[2] Grimaldi also wrote to Tanucci that his royal master would be pleased if the suppression of the Society of Jesus were to come from the conclave, but he was not blind to the difficulty of such an undertaking, as all Rome was flooded with creatures of the Jesuits. Conditions could be made after the formation of a party sufficiently strong to use the *esclusiva*, but this was just where the difficulty lay. Apart from this, Charles III. was definitely resolved to treat about the suppression only and to drop the Parma affair for the moment, as it was impossible to press both matters simultaneously with the necessary vigour. To supplement his former instruction Grimaldi informed Azpuru also of the royal command.[3]

Further correspondence of the Spanish statesmen throws more light on their instructions. The demand for the suppression of the Jesuits, wrote Grimaldi on February 23rd, was

[1] *To Azpuru, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 23, *ibid.*, Registro, 108; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 217 *seqq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 304 *seq.*

[2] *To Aubeterre, March 21, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 219; *Choiseul to Ossun, March 21, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[3] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 14, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 49.

rightly timed for the last days of Clement XIII. The new Pope would find that the matter had already been broached, so that he would have to attend to it at once.[1] A memorandum from Roda recommended Sersale as the future Pope, but admitted that his attitude of indifference towards the Jesuits and the far from friendly feelings towards Rome that he had displayed on certain occasions rendered him unsuitable to the majority. What they wanted, he said, was a Pope who would protect the alleged rights and the unlimited power of the Roman Court and simultaneously, of course, the Society of Jesus. Ganganelli was ranked third by Roda.[2] No less than ten Cardinals were named by him to be excluded.[3] In his view the only enlightened Pope of recent times was Benedict XIV.

Roda wanted the future Pope to be "learned, prudent, moderate, experienced in affairs, and non-party", while Grimaldi demanded one who possessed "equanimity, learning, prudence, and virtue".[4] Similar expressions are to be found in all the edicts issued by the Courts at this period, it being always understood that a Pope possessing these qualities would be ready to fall in with the wishes of the Governments.

The possibility of rumours about the Governments' plans leaking out beyond the circles of the initiated had to be taken into account. Orsini wrote to Aubeterre on February 19th that his answer to all questions on this topic was that the princes did not want to make the Pope but that he was not to be made without them or in spite of them. On the subject of Sersale (whose candidature, according to hearsay, was eagerly promoted by Orsini himself) he answered all inquiries with a laugh, without further explanation. He would speak

[1] *To Fuentes, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4570; Danvila y Collado, III., 296 *seq.*

[2] Reprinted in Danvila y Collado, III., 297.

[3] Lante, Serbelloni, De Rossi, Torrigiani, Colonna, Bufalini, Castelli, Bonaccorsi, Chigi, Boschi.

[4] *To Fuentes, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4570; Danvila y Collado, III., 296 *seq.*

out in his own time, he said, if a candidate was nominated to whom he could give his assent.[1]

(6)

The assurance that they had no desire to make the Pope was continually recurring in the statements of the Governments and ambassadors of this epoch. How much was meant by it may be discovered in the lists in which they voiced their opinions of the various Cardinals. One such list, of a provisional nature, was sent to Paris by Grimaldi on February 23rd [2]; an amended version, based on more recent reports, was sent to Fuentes and the allied Courts on February 27th,[3] and to Azpuru on the 28th,[4] reaching his hands on March 15th. The Cardinals were divided into four classes, Azpuru's list having five. The first of these five divisions contained eleven "good" Cardinals, headed by the "very good" Sersale. The second and third divisions were composed of six "very bad" and fifteen "bad"; the very bad, namely Torrigiani, Castelli, Bonaccorsi, Chigi, Boschi, and Rezzonico, were to be disposed of, if necessary, by the open as well as the silent *esclusiva*, the bad ones by the silent *esclusiva* only. The fourth class contained three "doubtful" Cardinals, the fifth eight "negative" or "indifferent" ones. Three of the eleven good ones were withdrawn by Tanucci, who described Caracciolo and Pirelli as bad, while Ganganelli, he said, had been described in several letters as a Jesuit. On February 28th Grimaldi sent together with his list six forms for the exclusion of the "very bad", on April 4th he sent three more for Fantuzzi, Bufalini,

[1] CARAYON, XVII., 143 *seq.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 190; *Orsini to Azpuru, February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[2] *To Fuentes, *ibid.*, Estado, 4570; *to Azpuru, February 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[3] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012. Vienna also received the list. *Fuentes to Grimaldi, March 17, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[4] *Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013. Text of the list, *ibid.*, 5012; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

and Paracciani, and on May 9th another one for Stoppani. On April 11th he had forwarded some blank forms for all whom the Bourbon representatives wanted to exclude.[1]

Choiseul had several observations to make on Grimaldi's list.[2] Of the eleven names in the first class he deleted the three Cardinals who were over eighty years old—Cavalchini, Neri Corsini, and Conti—and those whom he considered to be too young—Negroni, Andrea Corsini, and Caracciolo—although he designated the last-mentioned as very good, apart from his age. Branciforte also would have had his approval, but he had no prospects. To Durini objections were raised by France. Of the eleven names, therefore, only three were left: Sersale, Ganganelli, noted by Choiseul as "very good", and Pirelli, noted as "good". And as the Cardinals in the conclave refused to have Sersale or Pirelli, the only possible candidate left was Ganganelli. In the third class of "doubtfuls" Choiseul noted against the names of Stoppani and Serbelloni that if either of them became Pope he would have to have Pallavicini as his Secretary of State. In the fourth class Choiseul gave Cardinal Perelli the note "good", whereas Tanucci had described him as "bad".

In his correspondence with the ambassadors Choiseul expressed still more of his opinion on some of the Cardinals. Ganganelli, he wrote to Fuentes, was neither a Jesuit, as he had been called, nor a friend of the Jesuits; French opinion was firmly convinced on this point. Tanucci had designated all the Neapolitan Cardinals with the exception of Sersale as "bad", but in France there were other views on the subject.[3] To Aubeterre also Choiseul [4] expressed his disagreement with Tanucci's judgment on Ganganelli and Caracciolo. Of all the

[1] *To Azpuru, February 28 and April 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *to Azpuru, May 9, *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 49; on April 11, *ibid.*

[2] Danvila y Collado, III., 210.

[3] Carayon, XVII., 144; Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 200 *seq.*; Danvila y Collado, III., 209 *seq.*

[4] On March 14, Carayon, XVII., 145 *seq.*; Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 201 *seq.*

members of the Sacred College Ganganelli was the least favourably inclined towards the Jesuits and during the last pontificate had had to endure what amounted to a series of persecutions. Even now he was opposed by a very strong party, and the Jesuits would certainly make great efforts to thwart his election if ever there was any question of it.

Not only Choiseul but also the French and Spanish representatives in Rome raised objections to Grimaldi's list. The number of "good" Cardinals was too small; after those who stood no chance on practical grounds had been removed there were only two or three left; it was suggested that Perelli, Pozzobonelli, Malvezzi, and Stoppani be added to them. They did not agree with the objection to Ganganelli and Caracciolo. Apart from Chigi there was little danger of any of the six excluded Cardinals being elected; but Bufalini, Paracciani, and Fantuzzi ought to be added to them. Moreover, after the arrival of the foreign Cardinals there would be no need to use the open *esclusiva*, but if it was necessary there should be no shrinking from using it repeatedly. If in spite of this one of the excluded candidates was elected or if an elevation to the Papacy took place before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals, the ambassadors would leave Rome without acknowledging the chosen candidate.[1] Before entering the conclave Bernis had had a talk with Orsini, in the course of which he too had said that the number of eligible candidates in Grimaldi's list was too small.[2] Tanucci was of the same opinion.[3]

As a result of these representations a fresh instruction was issued by Madrid on the attitude to be adopted by the Spanish envoy in the matter of the election. The ambassadors'

[1] *Aubeterre to Choiseul, March 15, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 16 and 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; *Azpuru to Orsini, March 18, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[2] The only "soggetti riuscibili" left were Ganganelli, Perelli, Sersale, Canale, Pozzobonelli, Stoppani, and Serbelloni.

[3] *To Grimaldi, May 2, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102.

proposals regarding the list of Cardinals were accepted ; after mutual agreement they might even transfer other Cardinals to the " good " class, especially if there was any prospect of their pledging themselves to bring about the suppression of the Jesuits and were ready to grant the other demands of the Courts. The king left it to the ambassadors to select Cardinals for the Secretaryship of State and the other important posts, on condition that they were " good " or " indifferent " and that the pro-Jesuits were avoided as far as possible. France was wholly in agreement with the Spanish policy, but wanted to retain Avignon in return for a monetary compensation. Similarly, Benevento and Pontecorvo were to pass to Naples in accordance with the king's wish, but with no compensation. It had not yet been decided whether all three conditions were to be presented simultaneously or whether the suppression of the Jesuits was first to be demanded separately ; in the former case satisfaction for Parma was to be added as a fourth condition.[1]

The drawing up of a final list on the basis of this instruction gave rise to a lively exchange of opinions among the envoys. A list transmitted by Aubeterre to Azpuru on April 19th [2] contained twenty-one *Papabili*. At a meeting at the French ambassador's on April 22nd, attended by Centomani as the representative of Naples, another list was agreed on and this was forwarded as the definitive one by Aubeterre to the French Cardinals on the following day. In this only eleven Cardinals were named as *Papabili* and they included the six who had formerly been marked as too old or too young ; the others were Sersale, Malvezzi, Ganganelli, Perelli, and Branciforte, of whom the first and the last mentioned had formerly been considered to have had no prospects. As a reserve for the eleven Stoppani was awarded twelfth place. If none of

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Conclave 1769 ".

[2] *Azpuru to Aubeterre, April 20, *ibid.* The list itself, *ibid.* The copy at Simancas (5013) does not contain the remarks added subsequently.

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the *Papabili* won through, recourse was to be had to the second class of five "indifferents". The third division contained fifteen Cardinals whose election was to be prevented by adverse voting. If the number of votes necessary for this purpose proved to be unobtainable, the envoys were to resort to the expedient of stating that the monarchs would not recognize a Pope who was elected against their will and that they (the envoys) would leave Rome. If necessary, the open *esclusiva* also was to be used against those in the fourth division of the list.[1] In effect, therefore, no less than twenty-six Cardinals were excluded from the Papacy, and Aubeterre had some difficulty in including Malvezzi and Stoppani in the first class against the wishes of Azpuru.[2]

In the draft of a letter to Aubeterre, Bernis gave expression to his misgivings about the list. After the arrival of the Spaniards, he wrote, the conclave would have forty-six members, and twenty-three of these would have to be excluded if the combined lists of France and Spain were taken into account. Of the remainder, Cavalchini, Neri Corsini, Lante, two Spaniards, two Frenchmen, and Orsini were also to be deleted as non-Papabili. In these circumstances, how was a Pope to be found? Azpuru's reply would be that there was still Sersale. But Sersale was not wanted in Rome, nor Stoppani, and Malvezzi had been regarded with horror since he had spoken in favour of the Courts. On account of their youth there would be few votes for the Neapolitans Perelli and Pirelli. Ganganelli was feared and little respected. Azpuru's probable answer to all this, Bernis continued, was that fatigue would finally compel the electors to fall back on Sersale. But fatigue, combined with rumours about the tyranny of the Courts, would end in destroying the system of the *esclusiva* which had hitherto been liked well enough. Votes would be lost, and a Pope would be chosen in opposition

[1] *Aubeterre to Luynes, April 23, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 224 *seq.*

[2] *Aubeterre to Bernis, April 22 and 23, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, g.

to the Courts. If, contrary to expectation, a Pope was chosen from among the doubtfuls or indifferents, was he to be given the *esclusiva* in the Chapel of the Scrutiny? The idea of making such a scene as this now seemed to be viewed with no apprehension, but afterwards it would cause dissatisfaction. Besides, it had never been the intention of the Courts to make the Pope by excluding more than half the Sacred College; it was unprecedented. He himself was not lacking in courage or patience, but one had to be reasonable and not force the Cardinals in conclave to break off their deliberations as a protest against oppression. It was impossible to base a plan of action on an *esclusiva* which left barely four or five Cardinals, of which some again were too young. What was there to fasten on to, if the "doubtfuls" and "indifferents" were to be treated the same as the "bads"? In these conditions, the Pope would have to be elected in the Ministries of the three Courts, for, so far as he could see, it was doubtful what any of the Cardinals would do, once they were Pope.[1]

Bernis stopped short at dispatching this communication,[2] but on receiving the final list of candidates he wrote to Aubeterre in similar terms.[3] Aubeterre excused himself by ascribing the responsibility to the will of his Government. He had succeeded with some difficulty in having Malvezzi transferred to the "good" class, but his efforts on behalf of Stoppani and De Rossi had been ineffectual. De Rossi allowed himself to be governed solely by motives of self-interest.[4] Bernis retorted that Spain was too far away from the conclave to give an accurate opinion on the Cardinals. Many of those who had been banned were better than some of the chosen;

[1] *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 22, *ibid.*; partly in CARAYON, XVII., 164 *seq.*

[2] The draft is marked "Ce billet n'a pas été envoyé".

[3] *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 24 [1769], in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f; partly in CARAYON, XVII., 165 *seq.*

[4] *Aubeterre to Bernis, April 25, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*; CARAYON, XVII., 166 *seq.*

Spanish stringency might have unpleasant consequences.[1] He expressed the same misgivings to Choiseul,[2] and Orsini also raised objections.[3] Azpuru dropped the demand that the ambassadors should leave Rome in the event of an unfavourable election.[4]

A considerable proportion of the ambassadors' deliberations was devoted to the fate of the Society of Jesus. What was by this time the conviction of wide ecclesiastical circles, the fear of many Jesuits, and the hope of the Spanish Court, was expressed by the Spanish agent Zambeccari when he wrote from Bologna to Grimaldi on February 18th, 1769, that with the death of Clement XIII. the Jesuits had received Extreme Unction.[5] A Pope was wanted, he thought, who was a friend of the Courts, for preference the Cardinal Archbishop Malvezzi, who was free from the prejudices of the Roman Curia, for now all were agreed that the abolition of the Order would be carried out.[6] A written work of the period tried to show that the Pope was bound in conscience to yield to the majority of the Catholic princes of Europe and to suppress the Society of Jesus without legal process or the adjudgment of evidence, solely on account of the evil repute into which it had fallen as the result of its perverse doctrines, its commercial dealings,

[1] *To Aubeterre, April 26, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[2] *On April 26, *ibid.*, d. On May 10 Bernis *wrote to Choiseul: "On ne veut . . . ni des vieillards, ni des jeunes gens, ni des ministres des Couronnes; on s'oppose, a Stoppani et a Malvezzi, il ne reste aucun sujet véritablement capable. La proscription a esté trop forte. . . . On s'arrêtera sur un partisan secret des jesuites, ou sur un homme faible, à qui les amis de la Société, dominans dans le S. Collège, fairont peur . . . ."

[3] *To Azpuru [April 26], State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[4] *Azpuru to Orsini, April 28, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 27, *ibid.*, Registro, 108.

[5] "Muerto el Papa, los Jesuitas han recibido la Extrema Uncion." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4734.

[6] *Zambeccari to Grimaldi, February 11, *ibid.*

its boundless ambition, and its infamous attacks on the lives of princes and the public safety. The work was originally addressed to Clement XIII., after whose death there was added a section appealing to the Cardinals in conclave.[1] At Centomani's suggestion Tanucci had it printed secretly in Naples and saw to its distribution among the Cardinals.[2]

(7)

Immediately after the death of Clement XIII. the ambassadors of the Bourbon Powers agreed that in the restoration of peace with the Pope all other complaints were to be put on one side and that the suppression of the Jesuit Order was to be their only demand, but that this was to be insisted on with vigour.[3] In this connection Choiseul advised caution, for too hasty a step might jeopardize the honour of the Crowns.

[1] **Parere di un illustre Ecclesiastico sulla necessità di abolirsi la Compagnia detta di Gesù* (in the *Inquietudini de' Gesuiti*, IV., [Naples], 1769, [31 pages]) ; *Brunati to Colloredo, April 1, State Archives, Vienna. The work was written by Mgr. Bortolo, assisted by Marefoschi, Conti, and Carafa di Columbrano, in the convent near the Chiesa Nuova (Ricci, *Espulsione dalla Spagna*, n. 162).

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, February 10, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{471}{1218}$; *Tanucci to Centomani, February 21, *ibid.*, $\frac{290}{1035}$. On February 28 Tanucci sent *two copies to Charles III (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102) and twelve copies to Orsini (State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*), on March 7 twenty more (*ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1504), and on April 12 twenty-five more (*Tanucci to Centomani, *ibid.* ; *Tanucci to Orsini, *ibid.*). Azpuru (*to Grimaldi, March 2, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036) and Grimaldi (*to Azpuru, March 21, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49) considered the work to be conclusive, others thought it weak (*Orsini to Tanucci, March 10 and 14, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504 and 1473). According to Kaunitz, the work was not left unanswered (*to Colloredo, April 26, State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012 , Carayon, XVII., 141.

He himself did not ascribe so much importance to the suppression as did Aubeterre. By adopting a rigid attitude in this affair they might close the door against further negotiations.[1]

Madrid, on the other hand, agreed with Aubeterre's view that the suppression was the first and only condition of peace. This was the sole matter for negotiation, wrote Charles III. to Tanucci on February 28th, 1769,[2] and instructions in this sense were sent to Azpuru.[3] The only differences of opinion were about the methods of attaining this object. A Monsignore d'Angiò proposed to Tanucci that a layman of determined presence should be sent to Rome, where, after consulting Centomani and the ambassadors, he was to get all the Cardinals to sign a written promise to fulfil all the lawful wishes of the king.[4] Aubeterre thought that a verbal promise given by the candidates for the Papacy would be enough, while Orsini condemned this proposal too as dishonourable and unworthy of a man of rank and culture,[5] and even Tanucci could not reconcile himself to it.[6] His view was that the matter would certainly have to be thrashed out during the conclave, for while the election was still in progress the candidate would be anxious to attain his object as quickly as possible. After his elevation, however, he would not be so eager to handle this thorny problem, and then they would have to foot the bill at the cost of the true and genuine principles of sovereignty; they might even have to return Avignon and Benevento. While the conclave was on, however, the matter was to be handled with propriety and dignity. They should distribute the written opinion which held that the Pope could and must

[1] To Aubeterre, CARAYON, XVII., 142; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 185.

[2] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 298.

[3] *Grimaldi on March 14, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[4] *G. G. d'Angiò to Tanucci, February 3, *loc. cit.*, C. Farnes., 1473.

[5] *To Tanucci, February 7, 14, and 21, *ibid.*,

[6] *Ibid.*

order the suppression without any proceedings, and in conversation with the Cardinals they must ascertain their views and take steps accordingly.[1]

Both Aubeterre and Tanucci became more and more convinced that the suppression of the Jesuits was impossible of attainment by means of negotiations with the Sacred College as a whole.[2] Orsini and the French Cardinals, Aubeterre wrote to Paris, would not hear of the matter being discussed in the conclave. Consequently, he thought that they ought to try to obtain from the candidate, before his final election, a written promise, or, failing that, an oral one made before witnesses.[3] Spain, he said, was adamant on this point; King Charles and his confessor insisted on it unconditionally, also Portugal, which would only seek a *rapprochement* with Rome on this condition.[4] Azpuru urged Orsini to adopt the same attitude.[5] He was to consult the French Cardinals as to whether and how the question of the suppression was to be raised in the conclave itself, or whether at any rate the three

[1] A written promise "aborrisce e ripugna il cardinale Orsini per coscienza, per onore e per le conseguenze inquiete [inique ?] che ne avverrebono quando la cosa si scoprisse e finalmente perchè fatte le riflessioni sulli cardinali papabili niuno per temperamento, per massime e per costume apparisce capace di condiscendere a far tal biglietto. Stimo, che nel tempo del conclave si deva preparar la cosa con onestà". For "un Papa già fatto senza tal preparazione . . . non avrà gran premura di trattar un affare spinoso". *Tanucci to Charles III., February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102; **Id.* to Azara, February 14, *ibid.*, 6007; Azara to Roda, February 16, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 222; *Orsini to Tanucci, February 23, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[2] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, April 4, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[3] To Bernis, April 8, partly in CARAYON, XVII., 153.

[4] Aubeterre to Bernis, April 9, *ibid.*

[5] *On April 9, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

or four Cardinals who had the best prospects of success were each to be urged to give an assurance that the suppression would be carried out.

The deliberations with the French prelates resulted in their firm rejection of the proposals ; a formal promise of suppression, made with the object of obtaining the tiara, would, they held, be nothing but simony. Orsini's reply to Azpuru was that they could do no more than elect a Cardinal whom the princes might confidently expect to fulfil their demand. The conclave had no authority to discuss any other matter but the election. To solve the difficulty by treating with each of the Cardinals in turn seemed equally impracticable. The outcome of the voting was quite uncertain and both Colonna and Serbelloni would rather forego the tiara than make such a promise. And if the Courts with their request were rebuffed, the envoys would emerge with nothing but disgrace.[1] To Bernis Orsini wrote, " I stand fast by our previous agreements. You are an archbishop, I a priest. We cannot abet the election of a simoniacal Pope. I have no doubt that Cardinal De Luynes, who is also an archbishop, is of the same opinion." [2]

But Aubeterre would not yet admit defeat. So far as the Italian Cardinals were concerned, he wrote, not one would be troubled in his conscience about making the required promise.[3] He himself saw nothing unlawful in it ; the point at issue was the secularization of an Order whose continued existence would undeniably perpetuate the cleavage and confusion in the Church. He asked Bernis to open his mind in confidence to Cardinal Ganganelli, one of the most celebrated theologians in the country, who had never been in disrepute as a lax moralist. His view must closely approach his own. It was not a temporal but a spiritual matter that was in question, and nothing was more uncertain than what a Pope

[1] *Orsini to Azpuru, April 10, *ibid.*, Registro 108 ; *Azpuru to Orsini, April 20, *ibid.*, Exped. " Conclave 1769 " ; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, April 11 and 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102.

[2] [April 10 ?] CARAYON, XVII., 173.

[3] *Ibid.*, 153 *seq.*

would do after his election, if he had not been bound down in advance.[1] To Choiseul Aubeterre wrote in the same strain.

To protect his rear, Bernis also wrote to the Minister. One had only to read the electoral Bulls, he wrote, to whose observance every Cardinal bound himself by oath, to know that the Cardinals in conclave had no authority whatever even to discuss such matters as had been proposed. To demand from a Papal candidate a promise to suppress an Order was to violate all the canonical laws and to expose the honour of the Crowns to an obvious danger. A Cardinal capable of taking such a step would also be capable of breaking his word. The conclave could do no more than bring about the election of an enlightened Pope who felt the necessity of making due satisfaction to the Courts and of living in harmony with them. The three Courts had demanded the suppression of the Jesuits in a memorial addressed to Clement XIII. It now lay with them to pursue with tenacity the path on which they had set out. The Court of Vienna was putting no obstacle in their way, and the whole world was of the opinion that the Church and its well-being must take precedence over consideration for a religious Order.[2]

But the controversy between the Bourbon Cardinals and the ambassadors still went on. Aubeterre disputed the simoniacal character of the proposed bargain,[3] but Orsini [4] and the French Cardinals [5] would not agree with his arguments. Bernis summed up his objections in a letter of April 19th. The Bourbon Cardinals agreed, he added, that the secularization of the Jesuits was of great advantage—nay, of necessity—for the tranquillity of the Catholic States and the Holy See; policy demanded, in fact, that the tree which up till then had

[1] MASSON, 99.

[2] MASSON, 100; CARAYON, XVI., 152 *seq.* (partly).

[3] *To Orsini, April 15, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{291}{1636}$.

[4] *To Aubeterre, April 17, *ibid.*

[5] Bernis to Aubeterre, April 14 and 18, in CARAYON, XVII., 155, 161, 170.

only had its branches lopped, should be pulled up by the roots. The only trouble was to find a Pope strong enough to deal the blow and bold enough to destroy an Order which was especially devoted to the Holy See. In enumerating the Cardinals most talked of, he observed, "There are many indications that lead me to believe that Ganganelli has intelligence, knowledge, and even a resolute character, but he is frightened of his own shadow. He fears the slightest suspicion of any alliance with the French and keeps to himself in his cell. This may have been successful in his convent, but since his elevation to the purple he should have behaved differently, for he gives cause for thinking that he is more ambitious than he probably is. On the whole, he is more feared than loved." [1]

In Versailles Bernis' representations met with complete success. Choiseul brought Aubeterre's efforts to an end by stating on May 2nd that neither France nor Spain wished to have any unprofitable dealings with the College of Cardinals likely to jeopardize the dignity of the three monarchs. It would be precisely the worthiest of the Cardinals who would refuse the tiara when asked to comply with the required condition.[2]

Even before this decision arrived in Rome Aubeterre had told Bernis [3] that he regarded the matter of the required promise as closed but that the opinion of one of the most reputable Roman theologians (which he attached to this letter) might show that his view was not so unreasonable after all. Bernis replied [4] that the opinion was based on the principle that the suppression of the Society of Jesus was the greatest possible benefit to the Church. This principle, however, was contested by at least half the clergy and by numerous Cardinals, Bishops, and laymen of every nationality and rank. It was

[1] To Choiseul, partly in CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV.*, 234 *seq.*; CARAYON, XVII., 162; MASSON, 100 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 223 *seq.*; MASSON, 101. Carayon gives April 25 as the date of the letter.

[3] On April 25, in CARAYON, XVII., 166 *seq.*

[4] On April 26, *ibid.*, 168.

therefore an unfounded assumption. The envoy retorted [1] that complete unanimity was an unattainable ideal. No one who studied the matter dispassionately could deny that the continued existence of the Jesuit Order would provoke confusion and dissension and would result in losses being suffered by the Holy See.

Azpuru's arguments [2] had no more success with Orsini than Aubeterre's with the French Cardinals. Orsini's reply [3] was that according even to the Spanish lists twenty of the forty-six Cardinals held opposing views and three were doubtful, so that there was no prospect of certain success, as Azpuru had assumed.

In spite of the opposition of the Bourbon Cardinals, Charles III. kept returning to his old demand that the candidate for the Papacy must not be an immunist and must bind himself to decree the suppression of the Jesuits. The French and Neapolitan Cardinals were to make the proposal while the conclave was still in progress and whenever the opportunity offered. If that proved impracticable, the request which had already been put to the late Pope must be put again to the future one.[4]

On April 20th the Cardinals of the three Crowns agreed on certain guiding principles for their conduct in the conclave. Their intention was to win votes, not for the advancement of

[1] On April 27, *ibid.*, 169.

[2] *Azpuru to Orsini, April 20, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 20, *ibid.*, Registro, 108. Undated *discussion (Inc.: Il Papa Capo visibile . . .), *ibid.*, Exped. "Sobre la supresion de la Comp. de Jesus 1767–1774", *ibid.*; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 13 and 20, *ibid.*; *Azpuru to Orsini, April 20, *ibid.*; Buonamici in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th Series, XX., 309 *seq.*

[3] *To Azpuru, April 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 27, *ibid.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 25, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769". Grimaldi too refused to see anything simoniacal in such a bargain; *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, 49.

particular candidates but only for their exclusion. Nor did they intend to make any detailed announcement about the Cardinals who were not *personae gratae* with the Courts. They were to have recourse to the formal exclusion only in a case of extreme necessity, when more lenient methods had failed. If there was a danger of losing votes they were to take part in the voting for less suitable persons, provided that they could nominate a Secretary of State of their own choice.[1] This line of action, Bernis maintained,[2] would not be altered in any way either by Azpuru or an instruction from the Spanish Court, for in Madrid and elsewhere quite faulty notions were held about what was practicable or impracticable in the conclave. If the Spanish instructions were followed blindly, the conclave would end in an uproar.

(8)

Just as Bernis was in constant correspondence with Aubeterre, Azpuru, and Choiseul, Orsini also sent the envoys and Ministers reports on the most secret incidents in the conclave and on the daily results of the voting.[3] Azpuru, to avoid suspicion, never came to the door of the conclave [4] and he assured Orsini [5] that he showed his letters to no one except the French ambassador. Nevertheless, he received daily news about the voting from Orsini [6] and forwarded his letters to the Spanish Cabinet.[7] There being but scanty evidence extant of

[1] *V. infra.*

[2] *To Aubeterre, April 22, *to Choiseul, April 26, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

[3] *To Tanucci, February 21, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *to Azpuru, February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012. C. Farnes. (1504) contains the cipher-key to the conclave correspondence and the election results, from February 21 to May 19 inclusive.

[4] *Azpuru to Orsini, March 8, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[5] **Ibid.*

[6] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 23, *ibid.*

[7] **Idem* to *idem*, March 9, *ibid.*, Registro, 108.

the opposing side's opinion, the historian is at the disadvantage of being entirely dependent on the one-sided reports of the Bourbon party.

As the regulations regarding the secrecy of the conclave and its isolation from the outer world were not observed by Bernis and Orsini, the Governments had no difficulty in ascertaining and influencing the casting of the votes. In the first few weeks of the conclave this was of little importance, as no final election was practicable before the arrival of the Spaniards at the end of April. Until then the Cardinals had to content themselves with pretended voting in order to discover the prospects of the various candidates. This preliminary work begun before the arrival of the Spaniards could be completed afterwards.

Even before the conclave had assembled, the Neapolitan agent Centomani thought that the choice might fall on Cardinal Flavio Chigi, who with the whole of his family was a "tertiary" of the Jesuits.[1] By the middle of February the rumour was rife that the Rezzonico party intended to push through his election before the arrival of the foreign Cardinals and that the people expected to see him Pope on the Saturday or Sunday, February 19th or 20th.[2] Chigi was a worthy prelate of exemplary conduct and of great charity towards the poor. In the last conclave he had not voted for Clement XIII. Less to his credit, however, was that a large number of his relatives belonged to the families of Sora, Albani, and Bracciano. The Bourbon party disliked him on the score that he was imbued with the principles of the Roman Curia and was strongly attached to the Jesuits. Orsini, too, thought that he was on intimate terms with the Order.[3] Roda had marked him

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, February 7, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, 1216.

[2] *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, February 18, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288.

[3] *Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012; *cf.* THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 180; *Orsini to Grimaldi, February 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

as unsuitable,[1] and the French envoy was strongly prejudiced against him.[2] There could be no question, therefore, of his escaping the veto of the Court of Madrid. For a long time, however, the Bourbon party could not rid itself of the fear that a secret supporter of the Jesuits might be elected.[3]

A candidature far more serious than Chigi's was that of Gaetano Fantuzzi. He had been proposed by the Rezzonico party, but he also had supporters in the other camp,[4] where the two Corsinis championed him on account of an old-standing friendship.[5] In the plan of the conclave of 1765 he was commended for his private life and the unremitting diligence with which he had earned the highest respect as Auditor of the Rota. As Prefect of the Immunity Congregation, and as commissary in the monastic question in the duchy of Parma he had given no offence, he had shown no particular love for the Jesuits, and he had not approved of all of Clement XIII.'s measures.[6] Even Roda accorded him recognition of a similar nature, opining that he would make a good Pope because he did not nurse the usual prejudices on the subject of ecclesiastical immunity.[7] In Roda's list he is accordingly promoted to the "good" class.

In spite of all this, however, Fantuzzi encountered insuperable opposition. In a marginal note on Roda's list Grimaldi

[1] *To Grimaldi, February 23, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* n. 1.

[3] *Azpuru to Almada, March 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Corresp. Almada–Azpuru, 1760–69; *Azpuru to Orsini, March 4, *ibid.* Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 4, *ibid.*; *Montealegre to Grimaldi, March 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765.

[4] Buonamici on February 18, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 294; **Notizie segretissime del Conclave*, February 20, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[5] *Bernis to Choiseul, March 30, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[6] **Piano per il Conclave* (see above, p. 2, n. 1).

[7] *To Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

put him in the "bad" class.[1] The representatives of the Bourbon Courts agreed that in certain respects he was worthy of commendation and went so far as to say that he would have brought the negotiations with Parma to a favourable conclusion, had not Torrigiani ruined the whole affair. Besides, he was more of a foe than a friend of the Jesuits. On the other hand, they blamed him for acquiring a bad reputation through his behaviour in certain private matters, and he was a fanatical champion of immunity. Orsini deemed him to be pro-Jesuit and wondered whether he ought to be vetoed.[2] When questioned about him he replied evasively,[3] then brought the movement in his favour to an end provisionally, by hinting that they ought to wait for the arrival of the Spanish Cardinals. After Bernis had entered the conclave he agreed with them that Fantuzzi was to be excluded at all costs.[4]

Meanwhile, the votes in his favour were increasing, so that Azpuru had to apply for his formal exclusion,[5] which Grimaldi had already sent off on April 4th.[6] When it reached his hands safely Bernis uttered a sigh of relief.[7] Fantuzzi, who doubtless wanted to avoid being openly excluded,[8] now asked Rezzonico to desist from having him elected, as he would not accept the honour.[9] This renunciation, however, had the effect of

[1] See above, p. 31.

[2] *To Grimaldi, February 6, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*

[3] *To Tanucci, March 24, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 28, *ibid.*

[5] *To Grimaldi, April 6, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[6] *To Azpuru, April 4, *ibid.* Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[7] *To Aubeterre, April 23, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[8] *Bernis to Aubeterre, *ibid.*; *cf.* CARAYON, XVII., 180.

[9] *Garcia to Azpuru, May 7, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Solis to Azpuru, May 14 and 18, *ibid.*; *Kaunitz-Rittberg to Colloredo, May 13, State Archives, Vienna.

increasing the votes cast in his favour, so that in Rome his election was expected to take place on the evening of May 3rd.[1] At this point Luynes and Bernis threatened certain of the electors with the departure of the ambassadors and this brought about Fantuzzi's downfall.[2] Later, Bernis himself was seriously thinking of putting up Fantuzzi as a Bourbon candidate against Ganganelli, but by this time it was too late.[3]

Fantuzzi's success having been made impossible, the *Zelanti* thought of proposing the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Marcantonio Colonna, who was only forty-five years old but was highly esteemed on account of his irreproachable morals and his sagacity. Orsini had no objection, as Colonna was a Neapolitan subject, his house was in favour with the Spanish king, and his brother, Cardinal Pamfili, had been universally liked as French nuncio. Although a pupil of the Jesuits, he had never shown them any preference but had striven to bring the seculars to the fore, and for the last eighteen months, under his, Orsini's, influence he had drawn further and further away from them.[4]

Although the votes for Colonna steadily increased,[5] he had no real prospect of success. Roda had marked him as unsuitable,[6] and all along his name had appeared in the lists among the "bad" men.[7] Bernis judged him to be more

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 5, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[2] *Bernis to Choiseul, May 10, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[3] **Idem* to *idem*, May 17, *ibid.*

[4] *To Tanucci, February 28, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504; *Orsini to Aubeterre, March 3, *ibid.*, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{291}{1038}$.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, April 4, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1216; *Orsini to Tanucci, April 4, *ibid.*, 1504.

[6] *To Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[7] *Grimaldi to Fuentes, February 27, *ibid.* Orsini had to work against Colonna against his will: *Orsini to Tanucci, April 7, C. Farnes., 1504, *loc. cit.*

suitable as the superior of a seminary than as Pope [1] and did not believe that his candidature was intended seriously,[2] though he had to admit that it had been proposed.[3] When asked about him by Pozzobonelli he said that he thought that his youth and his friendship with the Jesuits would stand in his way.[4] The same two points were brought against him when he wrote to Choiseul. He and his friends would bring about his failure in the gentlest manner possible.[5]

Accordingly, on May 12th the Crown Cardinals met to decide on a reply which would not offend Colonna or his family. Attention was to be drawn to his youth and his inexperience in dealing with the Governments.[6] But when this decision was made known to Rezzonico, the leader of the *Zelanti*, it provoked a brisk exchange of opinions. Rezzonico declared that in spite of the misgivings which had been expressed he would propose Colonna if there were a sufficient number of votes in his favour. It was not the Courts, he maintained, but the views of the Cardinals and his own conscience that had to be considered first in such a matter. On his refusal to transmit the decision to his partisans Bernis replied that he would inform the Dean and Sub-Dean of the Sacred College. Rezzonico's retort to this was that his followers were free to do as they wished and he as his conscience dictated.[7] "A word to Gianfrancesco Albani, who in his heart was against Colonna's election, brought the whole plot to an end," Bernis boasted afterwards.[8] The Cardinal

[1] *To Aubeterre, May 7, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

[2] *Solis to Azpuru and *Azpuru to Solis, May 12, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[3] *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 6, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 6, *ibid.*

[5] *To Choiseul, May 10, *ibid.*

[6] *Garcia and Aguirre to Azpuru [May 12], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Solis to Azpuru, May 14, *ibid.*

[7] Bernis to Aubeterre, May 13, in CARAYON, XVII., 183. *Cf.* *Azpuru to Solis, May 13, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[8] *To Choiseul, May 17, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

Vicar's prospect of becoming Pope was, in fact, destroyed therewith, but the number of votes he received up to the penultimate scrutiny [1] was tantamount to a protest against the improper interference of the Courts.

Further eloquent evidence of the ruthless pressure exerted on the conclave by the Bourbon envoys is furnished by the fate of the Milanese Archbishop Pozzobonelli. Illness prevented him from entering the conclave until April 15th,[2] but he had been preceded by a good reputation. In the plan for the conclave of 1765, he figured among the *Papabili*, and it was thought that he would make his mark in the coming conclave, as he had no reason to fear any objection on the part of the Powers.[3] Roda placed him fifth among the *Papabili*, with the note that he was remarkable for his calm judgment, sagacity, and administrative ability.[4] In the lists [5] he began by being among the "indifferents", being scarcely known in Roman diplomatic circles, but as a result of the complaints about the restricted number of eligible candidates he was promoted to the "good" class.[6] He was also well thought of by the *Zelanti*, having taken a firm stand against the prohibition of the Bull *In cœna Domini*. His name appeared in the list for scrutiny early on in the conclave, and remained there.[7] Even Bernis took the view that he could be the head of the strongest and most respected party, as much could be done in Rome under the ægis of the

[1] "*L'affaire du card. Colonna est finie, quoiqu'il eût hier matin 13 et le soir 12 voix" (Bernis to Aubeterre, May 14, *ibid.*).

[2] *Albani to Colloredo, March 25, State Archives, Vienna; *Bernis to Choiseul, April 19, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Piano per il Conclave* (see above, p. 2, n. 1).

[4] *To Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[5] See above, pp. 31 *seqq.*

[6] Choiseul to Aubeterre, March 14, in CARAYON, XVII., 145; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 16, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[7] *Azpuru to Orsini, February 25, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{290}{1035}$; *Centomani to Tanucci, April 4, *ibid.*, $\frac{471}{1318}$.

Emperor [1]; he contradicted himself, however, by saying that Pozzobonelli would collect a large number of votes for himself if only he were not the Viennese Cabinet's confidential representative in the conclave.[2]

Pozzobonelli had informed Bernis that he had received an instruction from Vienna to act in conjunction with the Bourbon envoys, but that he had acquainted Alessandro Albani with only a part of this instruction. Pozzobonelli may well have thought it his duty to apprise Austria's official representative with the view taken by the Court of Vienna, but his association with the two Albanis, who were distrusted in Vienna as well as in Paris, was to prove disastrous for him. Bernis and Aubeterre presumed that he was playing a double game. Aubeterre tried at first to defend him [3] and sent him a warning through the Austrian envoy extraordinary, Kaunitz, against associating with the Albani.[4] Bernis, on the other hand, worked against him: he had, he said, the clumsy cunning of a Lombard country-priest; his attitude towards the Bull *In cœna Domini* was suspicious; and his behaviour in the conclave could only be explained by his stupidity and egotism.[5] When, in addition, adverse reports came in from

[1] *To Choiseul, April 5 and 12, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*

[2] *To Aubeterre, April 16, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* *Aubeterre to Orsini, April 16, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{291}{1036}$; Orsini to Aubeterre, April 18, *ibid.*, CARAYON, XVII., 162; ARNETH, *M. Theresia*, IX., 40. According to the assurance of the Viennese Court Councillors, Pozzobonelli afterwards helped to dissolve the Benedictine foundation of St. Peter's in Milan and the Cistercian convent of Morimondo "come agente e consenziente" and "come promotore della soppressione". *Visconti to Pallavicini, March 26 and July 23, 1772, Nunziat. di Germ., 390, fo. 87^{v}. 199^{v}, Papal Secret Archives; *Histor.-polit. Bl.*, CXLV. (1910), 39.

[4] *Aubeterre to Bernis, April 21, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, g; *Kaunitz-Rittberg to Colloredo, April 26, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 23 and 24, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*, f.

the Neapolitan envoy, Centomani, Pozzobonelli's fate was sealed. Azpuru and Aubeterre condemned him to a silent exclusion [1] and held to this decision in face of the more favourable opinions which were now being passed on him by Bernis and Orsini.[2] Aubeterre declared that he would make even a worse Pope than the one who had just died.[3]

Nothing now remained to be done but to pacify the Court of Vienna regarding the treatment meted out to its confidential agent. Bernis' opinion was that the emperor himself had given Pozzobonelli the *esclusiva* by appointing him his agent, for according to the principles held by both the conclave and temporal rulers, it was not customary for such a man to be elected Pope. If Pozzobonelli had more sense he would withdraw of his own accord.[4]

Aubeterre acquainted the imperial envoys Rosenbergh and Kaunitz [5] with this view, and added the threat that to stop the election he would, if necessary, leave Rome, as he considered Pozzobonelli to be a most dangerous scoundrel.[6] In reply to this the imperial envoys declared that they had no interest in his election.[7] The emperor wrote to say that when he was in Viterbo he had warned the Archbishop of Milan against the two Albani.[8]

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 25, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*; *Bernis to Choiseul, April 26, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Azpuru, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[3] *Aubeterre to Bernis, April 25, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*, g (*cf.* CARAYON, XVII., 167); *Azpuru to Grimaldi, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108.

[4] *To Aubeterre, April 28 and 30, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*, f; *Solis to Azpuru, May 10, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[5] *Aubeterre to Bernis, April 29 and 30, in Jesuit possession, *loc. cit.*, g.

[6] **Idem* to *idem*, May 2, *ibid.*

[7] *Arbeterre to Orsini, May 3, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{292}{1087}$; *Tanucci to Orsini, May 9, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, May 5, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1554. *Cf.* CARAYON, XVII., 175.

[8] *Aubeterre to Bernis, May 8 and 10, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, g.

In spite of everything, however, the votes for Pozzobonelli increased to such an extent that the Crown Cardinals took precautionary steps to prevent the formation of a party in his support, the possibility of which filled them with alarm, for it would have included almost all the old and the new members of the College.[1] They went so far as to say that there was a danger of Pozzobonelli's election not being acknowledged by the envoys of the Courts.[2] After Luynes had remonstrated with the Milanese Archbishop, Bernis and Aubeterre, their fears allayed, were able to write to Paris about his candidature with a certain calm.[3] But even in the penultimate counting of the votes twelve were cast in his favour.

A candidate who from the beginning of the conclave seemed to have an excellent chance of success was Gianfrancesco

[1] *Aguirre to Azpuru [on May 11], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769". An intrigue against Pozzobonelli is contained in the following letter (*Garcia to Azpuru, May 11, *ibid.*): "De resultas de haver conferenziado tres quartos de hora Pozzobonelli con el Emperador, parece que este Em. reveló a Albani haberle encargado S. M. no se diese parte de esta conferenzia a la Reina de Ungheria. Parece que Albani se lo dixo a Bernis e este despachó un correo a Florenzia con una carta á su Embaxador de Francia pare que diese parte á S. M. Imperial de la falsedad que tuvo Pozzobonelli de confidenziar un secreto de esta naturaleza al encargado de los negocios de la Reina de Ungheria. Esta notizia trascenderá a la Corte de Viena, y por consiguiente el Emperador se malquistará con Pozzobonelli, y funda Bernis la esperanza de la exclusiva de este Cardinal en su desgracia con el Emperador".

[2] *Solis to Azpuru, May 15, *ibid.*; *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 15, in Jesuit possession, *De suppress.*, f. The steps taken against Pozzobonelli were approved by Charles III. in a dispatch which did not arrive till the conclave had closed. *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 16, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[3] Bernis to Choiseul, May 17, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 237 *seq.*; *Orsini to Azpuru, May 18, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; *Aubeterre to Bernis, May 16, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, g.

Stoppani.[1] The *Zelanti* were on his side, also the French.[2] Bernis described him at the end of March as a man of recognized merit and the most competent person to fill the post of Secretary of State.[3] In May he and Aubeterre were actively supporting his candidature, and in France his election was regarded in any case as tolerably certain.[4] Less friendliness was felt towards him in Spain, where he was numbered among the "doubtfuls"[5]; notwithstanding the continual complaints about the paucity of the candidates, Azpuru's misgivings caused him to be ranked only as a reserve in the "good" class.[6] Nevertheless, by the end of April his prospects had increased to such an extent that conjectures were already being made about his future Minister.[7] "As for Stoppani himself," wrote Bernis, "I do not know whether he ever gives a thought to the Papal throne when in his cell. Men

[1] Buonamici in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 293.

[2] **Notizie segretissime venute dal Conclave*, February 20 and March 22, State Archives, Vienna; *Brunati to Colloredo, February 25, March 1 and 4, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, March 3, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *Orsini to Aubeterre, March 3, and *Centomani to Tanucci, April 4, *ibid.*, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{291}{1036}$ and 1216.

[3] To Choiseul, March 30 and April 12, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[4] *Bernis to Choiseul, March 30 and April 12, *loc. cit.*; P. A. Kirsch, in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVI. (1905), 52, 59; **Piano per il Conclave* (see above, p. 2, n. 1); *Orsini to Tanucci, February 28, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. *Cf.* above, p. 32.

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi [on February 4], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Grimaldi to Fuentes, February 27, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[6] See above, p. 34.

[7] Buonamici on April 26 and 29, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 310 *seq.*; **Foglio di nuove*, April 28, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504; *Kaunitz to Colloredo, April 29, State Archives, Vienna; *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, April 29, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288. *Cf.* *Garcia to Azpuru, May 7, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Solis to Azpuru, May 2, *ibid.*

who have observed him for a long time agree with me that no one can see into the bottom of his heart. However, public opinion is all for him, it is only the Jesuit partisans who won't have him."

The question of the Jesuits was to decide his fate. For himself Stoppani was neither for them nor against them. The party of the princes took it as a good sign that he had excused himself from the meeting of the extraordinary Congregation on February 3rd, 1769, which was to decide on the request made by the Bourbon Powers for the suppression of the Jesuits. Moreover, he had not agreed with all of the other steps taken by Clement XIII. Grimaldi now informed Azpuru that the Spanish Cardinals could give him their votes if he engaged himself to suppress the Jesuits.[1] "I do not know," wrote Bernis, "whether he has enough courage for so bold an undertaking."[2] His prospects were so favourable, however, that after the Spanish Cardinals had entered the conclave, Azpuru advised Cardinal Solis to sound Stoppani on his attitude towards the required condition, adding, however, that if he refused to make the promise and there was no other Cardinal to take his place, and Stoppani's election was assured in any case, Solis too could give him his vote. But Azpuru still felt uncomfortable about Stoppani, and Grimaldi, writing to him on May 9th, found fault with him inasmuch as Stoppani had been ranked among the "good" Cardinals on the ambassador's recommendations, and now he was making him out to be a Jesuit partisan in disguise. If Orsini and the French considered him to be a suitable man to carry out the wishes of the Courts, it lay with Stoppani to prove this by engaging himself by a definite contract to bring about the suppression of the Jesuits.[3]

But Stoppani proving immovable on this point, Azpuru advised the Spaniards to withhold their votes from him for

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 11, *ibid.*

[2] *To Choiseul, April 19, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[3] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 9, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

the time being and not to pay him any attention until it was found impossible to effect the success of Sersale or Cavalchini. He personally had failed to rid Aubeterre and his Court of their like of Stoppani, whom they preferred to everyone except Sersale. The Cardinals might try now and see if they were more successful.[1]

But Stoppani's day was nearly over. On May 13th Azpuru wrote to Solis that Aubeterre was now thinking of Ganganelli,[2] and after the news had spread that Stoppani was the only Cardinal who pleased the Courts, the *Zelanti* turned away from him.[3] The Crown Cardinals' answer to this was that Stoppani did in fact suit them, but not he alone; if the choice of the College were to fall on him they too would give him their votes.[4]

To help Stoppani to succeed, the French now decided to support him as inconspicuously as possible for the time being,[5] and at the next voting to put Ganganelli in the foreground.[6] But the distrust of the *Zelanti* was not to be allayed,[7] and to the Spaniards he was still an object of suspicion. After the middle of May he was not seriously thought of again.[8]

From the very beginning the real candidate of the Powers

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 11, *ibid.*, Registro, 108.

[2] **Ibid.*, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[3] *Aguirre to Azpuru, May 13 and 14, *ibid.*

[4] *Solis to Azpuru, May 14, *ibid.*

[5] *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 15, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f. Besides the Spanish Cardinals Rezzonico and the Venetians were against Stoppani. *Solis to Azpuru, May 15, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[6] *Solis to Azpuru, May 15, 16, and 17, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; *Azpuru to Solis, May 16, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Concl. 1769"; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 18, *ibid.*, Registro, 108; *Orsini to Aubeterre, May 16, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{292}{1037}$; *Orsini to Tanucci, May 16, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1473.

[7] *Solis to Azpuru, May 18, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[8] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May [17?], State Archives, Vienna.

was Antonio Sersale, Archbishop of Naples. His irreproachable morality, his good nature, and his ability to please all parties had earned him a good reputation.[1] The princes turned their attention to him more because on several occasions he had showed but little love for Rome and was no friend of the Jesuits. Clement XIII. had not valued him highly.[2] But, as Roda wrote, the very qualities which especially commended him to the Courts rendered him anything but attractive to the majority of the Cardinals. They, according to Roda, wanted a Pope who would defend with all possible vigour the imagined rights and the excessive authority of the Roman Court, and at the same time would protect and further the Society of Jesus.[3]

Moreover, Sersale's cause was not advanced by the excessive zeal with which it was championed by his well-wishers after his entry into the conclave on March 21st. Tanucci had advised silence,[4] but the rumours that the Courts desired his elevation made themselves heard, and the Cardinals, seeing here a danger to their electoral freedom, took fright. Orsini tried to make light of the rumour,[5] but with so little success that even by February 28th he had written to Tanucci that Sersale was finished already.[6] In any case he was held in no

[1] **Piano per il Conclave* (see above, p. 2, n. 1.).

[2] ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 554.

[3] " *Su indiferencia y ninguna adhesion a los Jesuitas y el no haver deferido a favor de Roma en algunas causas, en que aquella Corte con poca razon se ha empeñado y enardecido le haran menos acepto a las ideas nada justas del maior numero de los votos del Conclave, cuia mira sera hacer un Papa, que defienda con teson los imaginarios derechos y excesiva autoridad de la Corte de Roma y que al mismo tiempo defienda y ensalze a la Compañia ". Roda to Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[4] *To Charles III., February 21, *ibid.*, 6007.

[5] To Aubeterre, February 19, in CARAYON, XVII., 143 *seq.*; *to Azpuru, February 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[6] State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *Centomani to Tanucci, March 3, *ibid.*, Esteri–Roma, 1216.

esteem in the conclave. The rumour that the Powers wanted only him to be considered for election,[1] Charles III.'s and Tanucci's support of him,[2] and Azpuru's continual recommendations of him [3] were of no more effect in the conclave that the marks of favour shown him by the Emperor.[4] Precisely because he was wanted by the Courts he was not wanted by the Cardinals.[5] Bernis, who had written on March 30th that it was no secret in France that the three Bourbon Courts were making special efforts on Sersale's behalf, was saying on April 12th that the only way of ensuring his success was to persist in formally excluding the other Cardinals; then the Cardinals would probably fall back on Sersale through sheer fatigue. On 26th April, Bernis admitted that there had not yet been any serious question of his election. The Spanish Cardinals also gave him up as hopeless.[6]

After Sersale's the second name on the Spanish list was Cavalchini's. This Cardinal, now eighty-six years old, had

[1] "*Circa il card. Sersale, oltre il numero de' poveri parenti, e l'esclusiva de' Rezzonici mi ha spaventato il poco anzi niun credito che ha tra i cardinali e la voce sparsa che le Corone vogliono coarctare l'elezione del detto Sersale" (Orsini to Tanucci, March 14, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1473); *Sonetto contro il card. Sersale in varii sonetti e composizioni uscite dopo la morte di Clemente XIII. e precisamente nel Conclave dell'anno 1769, p. 8, Pastor Library.

[2] Choiseul to Fuentes, March 14, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4570; CARAYON, XVII., 144; *Charles III. to Tanucci, April 4, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6060.

[3] *To Grimaldi, March 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; *to Orsini, April 7, State Archives, Naples, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[4] See above, p. 19.

[5] *Tanucci to Orsini, March 21, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6008; *Tanucci to Losada, April 4, *ibid.*

[6] *Azpuru to Tanucci, May 5, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{400}{1145}$; *Orsini to Tanucci, May 16, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1473; *Azpuru to Solis, May 16, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769". The *documents of March 30 to April 26 in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

come near to being elected Pope in the previous conclave.[1] On that occasion the French had given him the *esclusiva* on account of his alleged leaning towards the Jesuits. Subsequently, however, he had shown marked impartiality in the Congregations and had ardently supported the beatification of Palafox.[2] He was now once more in Charles III.'s favour,[3] and France withdrew its *esclusiva*, a sign of grace which moved the old man to tears.[4]

Bernis, however, intended to use Cavalchini's candidature as a means of attaining other ends. It was hardly likely, he thought, that the Cardinals would elect a man of eighty-six suffering from a weak chest, but he might be the means of depriving the Rezzonico party of a few votes.[5] The Spanish representatives thought differently. They seriously intended to procure the tiara for Cavalchini in the hope that he would fall in with their wishes when appointing a Secretary of State and new Cardinals.[6] Solis's opinion was that he was still mentally active and capable of devising means whereby to restore peace to the Catholic countries. He could do more in one month than others in ten years.[7] Nevertheless, all the efforts made on his behalf came to nothing. It had to be acknowledged that neither Sersale nor Cavalchini had any hopes of success.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVI, 152.

[2] *Roda to Grimaldi, February 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012. A satirical sonnet **Per la esclusiva data al card. Cavalchini dalla Francia 1769* in the Campello Archives at Campello. *Ibid.* **Sonetto contro li satirici del conclave 1769* and **Dies irae contro i Gesuiti 1769.*

[3] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, February 23, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[4] CARAYON, XVII., 145; *Bernis to Aubeterre, April 13, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[5] *To Choiseul, April 12, *ibid.*

[6] *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 6, *ibid.*; *Erizzo to the Doge, April 29, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288; *Garcia and Aguirre to Azpuru, May 7 and 8, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[7] *Solis to Azpuru, May 7, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 11 and 12, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

Finally, therefore, on Azpuru's advice, it was decided to back Ganganelli, and he it was who was ultimately successful.

Ganganelli had long been an object of study for those who were interested in the future Papal elections. In the survey of the Cardinals made in 1765, he was ranked only nineteenth among the *Papabili*, and was thought to have no hope of gaining the tiara.[1] The Jansenist Dufour painted him in the blackest colours, possibly because he had spoken against Mésenguy's Catechism.[2] The secretary to the French embassy, De la Houze, found that he trimmed his sails to the wind and that his chief endeavour was to please everybody; he always sided with whomever he happened to be speaking to. De la Houze admitted, however, that Ganganelli had considerable influence with the Pope, and that his opinion carried decisive weight with the Holy Office. But on account of his intrigues his reputation in the College of Cardinals had sunk very low and he had no chance of becoming Pope.[3] According to the Venetian envoy, Gangenelli's character was a mystery to everyone,[4] while the Austrian ambassador considered him to be an unreliable and dangerous person.[5] Tanucci had nothing but bad to say of him. In 1761 he was saying that he deserved the same fate as Malagrida; he was trying to sit on two stools at once, and it would serve him right if both slipped from under him.[6] There were other ways, too, in which the Minister expressed his contempt of the Cardinal, though he conceded that perhaps he could be used against the Jesuits.[7]

[1] **Piano per il Conclave* (see above, p. 2, n. 1).

[2] CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV.*, 254.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 186 *seq.*; CARAYON, XVII., 196.

[4] *Erizzo to the Doge, May 20, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288. [5] ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 551.

[6] *"Ganganelli forse merita altretanto [quanto Malagrida], che tiene li piedi sulle due staffe. Merita almeno, che tutte due gli fuggano, e manchino sotto i piedi." *To Bottari, October 24, Archives of Simancas, Estado, Ley. 5971; see below, p. 89.

[7] *To Centomani, June 4 and 11, *ibid.* 5986; *to Grimaldi, April 25, *ibid.* 6102.

Far less harsh than those cited above, all of which laid stress on the vacillatory side of Ganganelli's character, was the opinion held by the Jesuit Cordara. After pointing out that the opinions held of Ganganelli were contradictory, so that it was hardly possible to form a clear-cut picture of his character, Cordara gives it as his own opinion that he deserved neither the high-flown praises of his friends nor the destructive criticisms of his enemies. Endowed with more than ordinary intellectual gifts, scholarliness, and virtues, he also possessed wonderfully good sense, humility, moderation, charitableness, charm, contentedness, and the power of careful reflection. Though he was not the saint that over-zealous partisans maintained him to be, he might well be regarded as a good and God-fearing Religious. His irreproachable conduct and his great zeal for study were plain for all to see, and in his own Order he was esteemed as a scholar. Towards the Jesuits he had been well-disposed at first, but on becoming a Cardinal and seeing that this friendship would be an obstacle to his further advancement, he had turned away from them.[1] The former Spanish envoy Roda, with whom he had been on intimate terms, put him third among the *Papabili* and wrote of him that in his opinion Ganganelli would make a hard-working Pope who would meet the wishes of the sovereigns and would not oppose the rights of royalty or the principles of the age. What told against him was that he belonged to an Order and was sixty-four years old.[2] Even before the opening of the conclave the Papal Privy Chamberlain, Roselli, wrote to Tanucci that Sersale and Ganganelli were the two most reasonable candidates for the tiara, and that Ganganelli was the only one who could bring about the suppression of the Jesuits.[3] A visit lasting four and a half hours which Azpuru paid him before the conclave aroused so much attention

[1] *De suppressione*, 121 *seqq.*, 152 *seqq.*; DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 42 *seq.*

[2] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 297.

[3] *To Tanucci, February 7, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

that he was already regarded by some of the people as the future Pope.[1]

In the Spanish lists Ganganelli appeared consistently in the "good" class, but to be treated with caution. Choiseul in fact marked him "very good",[2] both he and Aubeterre defending him against the charge of being friendly to the Jesuits.[3] Azpuru too described him as the best candidate after Sersale.[4]

In the opening days of the conclave Ganganelli received one or two votes, which rose to seven or eight in the first half of April, and then dropped again.[5] In the second half of March a party seemed to be forming in his support,[6] rumours were already afloat in the city that he was the candidate of the Bourbons, the French especially,[7] and some already regarded him as the future Pope.[8] At that time his personal attitude was quite obscure; he assured Bernis that he placed his vote at his disposal, but then avoided any semblance of being Francophile, so that Bernis knew not what to make of him.[9]

[1] Azara to Roda, February 16, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 222.

[2] See above, p. 32.

[3] CARAYON, XVII., 144; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 202.

[4] *To Orsini, April 7, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[5] Scrutiny list of February 21 to May 19, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[6] *Azpuru to Orsini, March 20, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, *loc. cit.*; *Orsini to Azpuru, March 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5012.

[7] *Brunati to Colloredo, March 18 and 22, State Archives, Vienna.

[8] According to Azpuru (*to Orsini on April 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"; *to Grimaldi on April 6, *ibid.*, Registro, 108) and Orsini (*to Azpuru on April 6, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013) this was an intrigue of his opponents, especially the younger Albani, devised for his downfall.

[9] CARAYON, XVII., 152, 155, 164.

(9)

It was not until the Spanish Cardinals Solis and La Cerda had entered the conclave at the end of April that the election of a new Pope could be undertaken in earnest. Up till then the voting had only shown that certain Cardinals who had been proposed stood no chance of success; from now onwards a positive decision might be expected. The leadership of the princes' party now passed to Solis, the confidential agent of the Spanish crown. When apprised by Azpuru of his Government's plans, the two prelates placed themselves entirely at their king's disposal,[1] and on their visits to the Cardinals made no secret of his object of bringing about the suppression of the Jesuits,[2] although four years previously Solis had expressed to the Pope the joy and satisfaction caused him by the fresh ratification of the Society of Jesus.[3]

As the end of the voting was now within measurable distance

[1] "*Yo non daré paso que no sea arreglado á las instrucciones de nuestro Soberano." Solis to Grimaldi, May 4, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[2] Buonamici, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 310; *Kaunitz to Colloredo, April 29, State Archives, Vienna. A **Foglio di nuove*, of May 2 (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1503) reports as follows: "Avere inoltre i Spagnuoli molti fogli segnati con Real Sigillo da esporsi a tutto il Collegio, coi quali fogli giustificavasi il suo operato, massime circa la giusta espulsione dai suoi regni della proscritta Società, opera della quale era stato lo spargere per tutta la Spagna l'orrenda impostura della Real Successione al Regno, e contro la memoria della Regina Elisabeth, che in fin la penna ha ribrezzo di esprimere."

[3] *Letter of thanks from Clement XIII. to Solis, of May 22, 1765, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 12. In it the Pope commends the Archbishop's joy that "iniuriam a maledicentissimis hominibus et religioni infensis S. huic B. Petri Cathedrae atque etiam Ecclesiae universae oblatam ea Constitutione Nos depulisse." The Pope rejoiced to hear that in the Jesuits the Archbishop had zealous fellow-workers in the care of souls and that they "verbo denique et suarum virtutum odore et exemplo fideles ad studia pietatis excitando, Instituti sui praeceptis abunde satisfacere".

the representatives of the Governments deemed it advisable to restate their attitude in vigorous language. Aubeterre thought that they ought to repeat their threat to leave Rome if anyone was elected of whom they disapproved.[1] But no such statement was made, Bernis arguing that this would leave their opponents free to fill all the influential posts.[2] Choiseul let it be known in Madrid that he entirely disapproved of such an odious step,[3] whereupon Grimaldi gave way.[4] Of greater moment was the statement made for the second time, on May 1st, by the Bourbon Cardinals to the Dean of the Sacred College, also to Lante, Pozzobonelli, and Rezzonico, that the Courts had no intention of making the Pope, but that he was not to be made without them, and that a surprise election would not be recognized by the envoys.

On the arrival of the Spaniards it again became a burning question whether negotiations about the suppression of the Society of Jesus were to be opened in the conclave and whether a promise to suppress the Society might be exacted from the chosen candidate. Cardinal Solis was astounded by there being any doubt of the legitimacy of such a step; he for his part could not reconcile it with his conscience to give his vote to a Cardinal who would not in this respect pledge himself to the king in the required manner.[5] To save one's arm, he

[1] Aubeterre to Orsini, April 29, in CARAYON, XVII.,170; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; *Centomani to Orsini, May 6, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{292}{1037}$; Kaunitz *reported to Colloredo on May 3 (State Archives, Vienna) that Solis intended to leave Rome immediately, together with the embassy and his fellow-countrymen, if an unacceptable Pope were elected.

[2] *To Aubeterre, April 29, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f.

[3] *To Ossun, May 16, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 30, *ibid.*

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 4, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

said to Centomani, one had to sacrifice one's finger ; he could not be satisfied with an oral promise, as his instructions demanded one in writing.[1] Solis was supported in his attitude by Azpuru.[2] Bernis' view was different. Solis's demand would estrange many of the Cardinals whose votes were needed for the silent exclusion which the Bourbon party intended to exercise, and their opponents would then have the upper hand. To Aubeterre's arguments Bernis retorted that the Spaniards would soon see for themselves the impossibility of the plan they had devised.[3]

On May 3rd those of the Cardinals who represented the Courts deliberated for several hours on the question still at issue. They soon agreed that to negotiate in the conclave on the Jesuit affair was impossible. Cardinal Solis then tried to justify his demand for a written promise of suppression ; for safety's sake this would have to be demanded from every Cardinal except Sersale, who was the right man to fulfil the royal wishes. Luynes and Bernis spoke against him. Luynes held that such a promise was simony, the spiritual being pledged for the temporal. He would rather leave the conclave than stain his conscience. Besides, the plan was impracticable. What would happen if the candidate were to reject the request as being simoniacal, and were to publish it in the conclave ? The future Pope might also refuse to fulfil what he had promised as a Cardinal, and if his promise was to be published the Pope, it is true, would be exposed, but so would also the three Courts. Apart from all this he too thought that the future Pope would have to suppress the Society of Jesus, even if it were guiltless, for it was of more profit to the Church to

[1] " * . . . Restrinse [Solis] il suo discorso, che non era venuto al Conclave, nè dalla M. S. Catholica era stato mandato per la semplice elezione d'un Papa, ma per eliggere un tal Papa, che voglia estinguere la Compagnia. . . ." Centomani to Tanucci, May 2, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1216.

[2] *Azpuru to Solis, May 2, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Conclave 1769 ".

[3] CARAYON, XVII., 172–4.

satisfy the three monarchs than to preserve a religious Order. Bernis and Orsini expressed similar views. Solis could think of no other reply but that he would consult further on the matter with La Cerda and Azpuru.[1] The Venetian envoy wrote at the beginning of May that he knew for sure that attempts had been made to persuade certain Cardinals to support this project of obtaining a promise, but with no success. Consequently all hope in this direction had been given up.[2]

Even after the Spaniards' entry into the conclave the former confusion persisted. Rezzonico and Bernis were in lively disagreement as to the order in which the candidates for the Papacy were to be proposed, and this dispute was followed by others.[3] The Bourbon Cardinals repeated their threat that a precipitate election would not be recognized by the foreign envoys.[4] With the arrival of the Portuguese envoy

[1] *Solis to Azpuru, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769" (translation); Solis and La Cerda to Grimaldi, May 4, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 320; *Orsini to Tanucci, May 5, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504. *Cf.* CARAYON, XVII., 176. The **Notizie segretissime* (see above, p. 47, n. 4) maintain falsely that Bernis, too, was in favour of a written promise.

[2] *Erizzo to the Doge, May 6, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288.

[3] *Bernis to Aubeterre, May 5 and 7, in Jesuit possession; *Solis to Azpuru, on May 4–7, and *Azpuru to Garcia, on May 7, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[4] "*Il paroît nécessaire que M. les cardinaux de Solis, de Luynes et Orsini se rendent chés le Doyen du S. Collège pour lui déclarer ainsi qu'au Sous-Doyen et au card. Pozzobonelli, le quel sera prié d'en instruire le cardinal Rezzonico, qu'en conséquence de la dernière déclaration, les cardinaux des Couronnes déclarent de nouveau que dans le cas où il se ferait une élection . . . sans qu'on se fût concerté auparavant avec les cardinaux des trois Couronnes sur le sujet élu, cette élection courroit grand risque de n'estre pas reconnue par les ministres des trois Cours. . . . " (May 5, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, f; Spanish text in the

Almada on April 30th the fear arose that his turbulent spirit would confuse the situation still more.[1] Further, the Court party began to have misgivings about the durability of its *esclusiva* when it lost Lante's vote through his leaving the conclave on account of illness and when Conti's health became so precarious that the validity of his vote was open to doubt.[2] So little progress was made with the voting that Aubeterre began to fear that Madrid would complain about his lack of zeal. Bernis, however, set his doubts at rest by writing him out a testimonial.[3] Then Roda complained about Bernis and his intrigues.[4] Bernis retaliated by repeating his protest against the tyranny of the Spaniards, whose vetoes left only mediocre intellects to be elected. Rossi and Ganganelli, he said, had already signified their unwillingness to be proposed for election.[5] Aubeterre, on the other hand, did not take Ganganelli's plans for withdrawal so seriously. They arose, he thought, more from the fear that his proposal was not honourably intended. However that might be, Ganganelli was one of those who were most likely to fit in with the wishes of the Courts. Choiseul wanted him, and though Azpuru showed little confidence in him he could be made to change his mind.[6]

Azpuru was in fact won over as the result of a long conversation which the conclavist Aguirre had with Ganganelli

Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769"). *Aubeterre to Orsini, May 7, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504.

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 4 and 11, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; *Centomani to Tanucci, May 5, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., *ibid.* *Cf.* above, p. 26.

[2] *Garcia to Azpuru, May 6, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769". *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 306, 314.

[3] Carayon, XVII., 178 *seqq.* *Aubeterre to Azpuru, May 8, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Cartas confidenciales del Confesor del Rey 1769.

[4] To Azara, in Carayon, XVII., 180.

[5] *To Choiseul, May 10, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[6] *To Bernis, May 11, *ibid.*, g. *Cf.* Carayon, XVII., 182.

on the evening of May 12th. On this occasion he spoke so freely against the Society of Jesus as to give grounds for hoping that on becoming Pope he would suppress it.[1] The next morning Azpuru wrote Solis a letter setting out the lines on which the two Spaniards were to proceed. If Sersale's or Cavalchini's election proved impossible they might not only vote for Ganganelli, but further his cause in every other way.[2] The two prelates accepted this instruction obediently.

Solis was surprised to learn from conversations with the French Cardinals that they were far from agreeing to Ganganelli's candidature.[3] On the following day, however, Azpuru forwarded to Solis the correspondence that had passed between Choiseul and Fuentes, from which Solis could see that Ganganelli was *persona grata* to the Court of Versailles, and that Aubeterre, too, no longer had any doubts about his suitability. Solis was to find out tactfully why it was that Orsini and the French Cardinals did not speak out their minds, and above all he was to bring about a conversation with Ganganelli, who would doubtless make some statements which would gratify the Court of Madrid.[4]

On the same day, May 15th, Solis was able to report that the French Cardinals had now received instructions to press for Ganganelli's election with all their power. The outcome of the conclave could no longer be in doubt. In a report of June 28th, 1769, Solis gave the reasons which had led him to decide in favour of Ganganelli. In view of the impossibility of Sersale's or Cavalchini's election, of Fantuzzi's and Colonna's exclusion, of the resistance offered to the French candidate Stoppani by Rezzonico and Albani, he had proposed Ganganelli

[1] " * . . . se explicó con bastante franqueza contra la Compañía, de suerte que pudiera esperarse su extincion, si este Señor lograse la tiara, lo que referí al Em. Solis, que lo celebró . . ." Aguirre to Azpuru, May 13, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Conclave 1769 ".

[2] Danvila y Collado, III., 323.

[3] *To Azpuru, May 14, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[4] *To Solis, May 15, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome Exped. " Conclave 1769 ".

at a conference. This Cardinal was worthy of the triple crown in virtue of the qualities which graced him and because he surely conformed with the wishes of the monarchs and would fulfil his Court's requirements of the new Pope. He was positive of this as the result of his talks with Ganganelli.[1]

As Solis proceeded to relate, the only difficulties that now stood in the way of bringing the election to a speedy end came from Bernis. In numerous letters he raised objections to the Franciscan Cardinal, either because he really mistrusted him or out of injured pride because Ganganelli had not been proposed by himself. Nobody really knew, he protested, what to make of him. Of all the *Papabili* he presented the greatest problem when it came to prophesying what he would do as Pope. Moreover, he was much in the company of the Albani, from which it was to be supposed that he was well disposed towards the Jesuits. These objections made Solis all the more insistent. He knew Ganganelli's character, he said. If they let slip this opportunity they ran the risk of having a Pope who offered no security to the Courts.[2] Finally Bernis acquiesced in the representations made to him by Aubeterre on May 17th. Ganganelli's election, explained the envoy, was approved by the Courts, so that their representatives could not be blamed if his pontificate subsequently proved unsatisfactory. It was all a gamble in the long run. Ganganelli was as good as the others, the others were no better than he, and none of them was to be trusted. Either the Albani had been won over by large bribes or they had come to an understanding with Ganganelli and were betraying the Spaniards. It was only the future that would reveal the truth. In any case, no blame could be attached to the French Cardinals or to himself.[3]

On the evening of May 17th one of Bernis' conclavists,

[1] Danvila y Collado, III., 337.

[2] *To Azpuru, May 16, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; *Garcia to Azpuru [on May 16], Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769".

[3] Carayon, XVII., 190, 194 *seq.*; Crétineau-Joly, *Clément XIV.*, 265 *seq.*

named Deshaises, paid a visit to Ganganelli, and was highly pleased with his expressions of opinion on the French wishes in the matter of Avignon, on the Jesuits, on Bernis himself.[1] At a morning conference on May 18th, Bernis now came out in keen support of the Franciscan Cardinal.[2] The statements made to him by Ganganelli, he wrote, enabled him to put pressure on him in respect of those matters which the king had especially at heart.[3] He had worked out instructions which contained all his obligations and all demands.[4] In the memorandum which Deshaises took with him to Ganganelli on the evening of May 18th, Bernis maintained that the future Pope would owe his elevation to France and he set out the salient points of the French interests. The secretary was instructed to write down in the margin in Ganganelli's presence the Cardinal's replies to each article, but he was not to let the memorandum out of his hands. In its place he was to hand over another one containing recommendations for Aubeterre's and Bernis' protégés.[5] Success now being within reach, it was time to think of rewards and punishments. Without any question the Secretaryship of State must be asked for Pallavicini; Branciforte, whom Tanucci wanted, was too weak for this position. Antonelli and Garampi must be removed from Rome because they had behaved in the most hot-headed fashion during the troubles of the last few years. These two bad characters must be made to feel the Courts' displeasure, if only for the impression which their disfavour would make on others.[6]

Aubeterre again had to deal with Bernis' suspicions in the small hours of May 19th. What would Ganganelli stand to

[1] CARAYON, XVII., 192.

[2] *Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769" (May 18).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] To Aubeterre, May 18 (afternoon), in CARAYON, XVII., 193 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Aubeterre to Bernis, May 18 and 19, *ibid.*, 199; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *loc. cit.*, 270 *seq.*

gain, he argued, from a secret compact with the Jesuits, but to lose his good name for nothing? It was no longer possible for the Pope to save the Order despite the Powers, who would finally press him so hard that he would no longer be able to refuse its secularization. Ganganelli might have promised his services in general terms, but he could hardly have gone any further, as a definite pledge would involve him in embarrassing situations. In other respects he satisfied the Courts; it was the Spaniards who had come to terms with him, France had played only a secondary part in the affair.[1]

The last days of the election were described by Orsini in a letter to Tanucci.[2] On the evening of Tuesday, May 16th, everything was still undecided. On Wednesday it transpired that almost all the members of the Court party and even some of the Cardinals created by Clement XIII., among them De Rossi, Paracciani, Negroni, and Calini, were inclined to support Ganganelli's election. The opposition began seriously to think of Pozzobonelli, to whom they intended to divert the votes previously given to Colonna. On Wednesday and on Thursday morning Cardinal Calini reported after the scrutiny that the other two Venetian Cardinals, Priuli and Molino, had decided to support Ganganelli, it being impossible for Pozzobonelli to win through. When Boschi saw that Pozzobonelli stood no chance he persuaded Rezzonico to support Ganganelli. Bonaccorsi also went over to him. Thereupon a meeting was arranged for Thursday evening between Rezzonico and Bernis as the delegate of the three Courts. They met in Pozzobonelli's cell, as the latter represented the emperor. Pozzobonelli behaved very nobly, asking Rezzonico to support his competitor Ganganelli and thus help to accelerate the election. As Bernis agreed to vote for the candidate put forward by the others, Rezzonico also announced that he would support him and promised to go the round of his followers the

[1] Aubeterre to Bernis, May 19, in CARAYON, XVII., 195 *seq.*

[2] *On May 23, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1554; *Solis to Azpuru, May 18 (evening), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013; PETRUCELLI, IV., 193 *seq.*

next morning, so as to secure their votes. When Bernis brought this reply to Orsini and the Spanish Cardinals, Orsini was anxious for the round to be made at once, so as to finish off the election the next morning, for any delay might be fatal. Rezzonico and Cavalchini complied with this request. On hearing the rumour that everyone was voting for Ganganelli, the two Albani and their friends also decided to support him, so that by 2.30 a.m. he had secured about thirty-five votes. Accordingly first Rezzonico, then the Cardinals of the Bourbon Courts went to Ganganelli for the ceremonial kissing of his hand. After 3 a.m. they were followed by all the others, and thus the agreement was concluded. On Friday morning, May 19th, followed the unanimous election, Ganganelli voting for Rezzonico.[1] On Sunday, May 28th, Ganganelli, taking the name of Clement XIV., was consecrated Bishop, and on June 4th he was crowned Pope with due solemnity.[2]

Definite candidates had been envisaged by the Bourbon Courts not only for the Papal throne but also for the most important posts in the Curia.[3] Azpuru instructed Solis to make the Courts' wishes known before he left the conclave.[4]

When the new Pope, after his election, proceeded to

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 19, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[2] Danvila y Collado, III., 329: "Relazione di tutte le cerimonie fatte per la consecrazione in vescovo della S^tà di N. S. PP. Clemente XIV. il dì 28 maggio 1769 e susseguentemente della di lui coronazione seguita il giorno 4 giugno," Roma, 1769; *Ragguaglio delle funzioni e cerimonie che si sono praticate nella basilica di S. Pietro per la coronazione seguita il giorno 4 giugno 1769 del nuovo S. P. Clemente XIV.*, Roma, 1769.

[3] See above, pp. 34, 55, 71.

[4] "*Me veo precisado a avisar V. E. antes que salga del Conclave, que el ambaxador de Francia me dixo anoche, que sus ordenes eran como las que yo tenia para pedir a Palavicini por Sec. de Estado, y no tenia facultades para pedir por otro: y pues V. E. ve que en esto estamos conformes, espero que proponga al nuevo Papa el referido card. Palavicini para dicha Secretaria." Azpuru to Solis, May 19, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

St. Peter's he was cheered by an enormous concourse of people.[1] According to Orsini they expected the princes' gratification with Clement XIV. to result in a happy pontificate and the return of peace and tranquillity. Many hoped that he would be another Sixtus V.[2] The atrabilious Azara, on the other hand, reported that on the whole the Romans had shown but little joy, that the only difference between the new Pope and his predecessor was his number, that the satirists were saying that instead of a dove a raven had come down from heaven, and whereas war was being declared on the monks in every other part of the world, the Cardinals had chosen the only Frate among them.[3] The Jesuit General Ricci, on the contrary, saw it as the working of Providence that in spite of the universal hatred of the Orders a Religious should be chosen, and, what was more, a man distinguished for his rectitude, knowledge, talents, and circumspection.[4] Similarly Alessandro Albani reported to Vienna that the election had been carried out with such accord that even doubters must recognize it as the work of the Holy Ghost.[5] The Jesuit Cordara, however, wrote of the election that the people rejoiced, the nobility were astonished, the educated reserved their opinion, the conventuals were jubilant, and only the Jesuits grieved in gloomy foreboding, knowing that the Pope was heart and soul in agreement with Spain.[6]

Of the statesmen, Tanucci, who had been no friend of Ganganelli's, sent only a cool reply of acknowledgment to

[1] A. Tosi, *Lo stato presente della Corte di Roma*, I., Roma, 1774, 75.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 19, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 25, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108; Buonamici, in *Arch stor. ital.*, 5th series, XX., 315.

[3] To Roda, May 25, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 283 *seq.*

[4] **Espulsione dalla Spagna*, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, 7, fasc. II., n. 154.

[5] *To Colloredo, May 19, State Archives, Vienna.

[6] In Döllinger, *Beiträge*, III., 42 *seq.*

Orsini's first detailed report on the election.[1] In confidential letters the young king of Naples openly expressed his annoyance at Sersale's defeat [2] and he acknowledged the nuncio's announcement of the election in icy language. According to Azpuru, however, the Bourbons had every reason for satisfaction.[3] In sending Bernis, Aubeterre's successor, his letters of credence, Choiseul congratulated him on the result of the election, which, he said, did him great honour.[4] To Ossun, the French ambassador in Madrid, he described the new Pope as one of the men they had most wanted to succeed.[5] In Spain, Ganganelli's elevation was received by the leading personalities and by the whole of the capital with unalloyed rejoicing. As related by Azpuru in an audience with the new Pope, Charles III. saw it as a miracle performed by St. Francis and the venerable Palafox [6]; the man who had been chosen, the king had said, was one of the few of whom he could have hopes of their fulfilling his rightful wishes.[7] The royal confessor Osma wrote to Solis that he kissed the feet of the chosen one with the lips of his heart.[8] Roda, who waited on

[1] *To Orsini, May 20, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{292}{1037}$.

[2] " *Nelle prime istruzioni di Spagna era Ganganelli tralli sospetti di Gesuitismo. Certamente li Gesuiti lo promossero già, si sà amico degli Albani, si sà incostante e pronto a quante bandiere gli bisognino per far quel camino che ha destinato " (Tanucci to Losada, May 23, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6008). *Tanucci to Centomani, June 3, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Tanucci, May 19, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{400}{1145}$.

[4] *May 30, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

[5] *On May 30, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4571.

[6] *Azpuru told Clement XIV. " che S.M. in quel primo momento di giubilo s'era spiegato che riconosceva esser questo un visible miracolo di S. Francesco e del venerabile Palafox." Erizzo to the Doge, June 17, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288.

[7] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, May 30, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 49.

[8] *To Solis, May 29, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

events, framed his comment in more sober language.[1] Orders were given for a *Te Deum* to be sung in the royal chapel, and for three days buildings were to be illuminated and officials were to wear full-dress uniform.[2] The two Spanish Cardinals were commended and each received 2,000 doubloons more to defray the cost of their journey.[3] Solis received an additional 1,000 doubloons,[4] Azpuru the archbishopric of Valencia,[5] and Malvezzi the expectation of the Dataria [6] as a reward for his support of Spain in the conclave.[7]

Bernis took advantage of the occasion to free himself of a debt of 207,000 *livres*. Now that the king had granted him the title of Minister of State, he thought that it would be only consonant with the royal bounty to restore his pension, especially as it was universal knowledge that it was principally due to him that Ganganelli had been raised to the throne. Without this mark of favour he would never be happy. If he could also obtain a company for his nephew he would be eternally grateful to Choiseul.[8] The Minister granted his request, but in return asked Bernis to free him from the importunate demands of the Spaniards, who with less sense than Pombal, were persistently pressing him to instruct his envoy in Rome to demand the suppression of the Jesuits.[9]

[1] To Azara, June 13, in CARAYON, XVII., 200 *seq.*

[2] *Grimaldi to Roda, May 31, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[3] *Grimaldi to Solis, June 13, *ibid.*; *Solis to Grimaldi, June 29, *ibid.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Solis and Muzquiz, September 17, *ibid.*

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 16, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes.

[6] *Malvezzi to Charles III., July 5, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5885.

[7] *Azpuru to Solis, May 19, 1769, *ibid.*, 5013.

[8] To Choiseul, June 7, in CARAYON, XVII., 200.

[9] *To Bernis, July 10, in Jesuit possession, *De suppressione*, d.

(10)

EVEN before Clement XIV. had ascended the throne the diplomats were discussing the question of the suppression of the Society of Jesus. Although the new Pope, reported Centomani, owed his initial success to the Jesuits he had not much liking for them. Like the rest of the world he too had had his eyes opened by the events of recent years, especially those connected with the beatification of Palafox.[1] At his first audience with the Pope Centomani gained the impression from what he said that the Powers would have no difficulty in obtaining from him the suppression of the Order.[2] Cardinal Solis drew the same conclusion from the way in which the offices were filled and from the Pope's repeated admission that he owed his position to the King of Spain and had no other desire but to live in harmony with the three Courts.[3] The well-informed Venetian envoy reported to the Doge that the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Portugal thought that the suppression would undoubtedly take place and that the time, manner, and means might safely be left to the Pope.[4] Cardinal Malvezzi stated quite bluntly in Bologna that the abolition of the so-called Company of Jesus was definitely a preliminary condition of any understanding between the Holy See and the temporal Powers, especially Portugal.[5] Azpuru saw some significance in the inscription on the first medal struck by the Pope: *Fiat pax in virtute*

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 19, State Archives, Naples, Esteri–Roma, $\frac{471}{1216}$.

[2] *To Tanucci, June 16, *ibid.*

[3] *To Grimaldi, May 25, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[4] *Erizzo, May 25, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 288.

[5] " *[Malvezzi] ha dicho sin la menor reserva, que tiene por cierto la proxima total abolicion de la llamada Compañía de Jesús, añadiendo, que es una expresa preliminar condicion del acomodamiento de las Coronas, y particularmente de la de Portugal, con la S. Sede." Zambeccari to Grimaldi, July 1, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4734.

tua. Moreover, Clement XIV. had said that he intended to follow the same policy as Benedict XIV. He held different —or, rather, opposite—views from those of his predecessor; he was filled with the desire to gratify the Spanish king, to whom he felt himself deeply indebted. Before his election, Clement XIV. had neither refused (like Stoppani) nor agreed to make any promise about the suppression, but he had used such terms as to leave Solis in no doubt that he would set to work about it after his elevation. Aspuru did not attach much weight to the coldness with which Clement XIV. had received the Jesuit General at the ceremonial kissing of his foot (as the latter commended his Order to the Pope he had dismissed him immediately by giving him his blessing). The Romans, it is true, looked on this as an omen, especially as the Pope had given a cordial reception to the heads of the other Orders, and the Jesuits themselves thought it to be a bad sign.[1] A far more convincing piece of evidence, in Azpuru's opinion, was Clement's retention of the conduct of the process of beatification of Bishop Palafox; at the audience the Pope had spoken of the suppression in such a way that it was clear that he intended to conform with the desires of the Spanish king.[2]

At one time it was a much disputed question whether or not Clement XIV. had bound himself before his election to abolish the Society of Jesus.[3] Tanucci appears to have maintained

[1] When Ricci presented himself for an audience with the Pope, he was left to wait in the ante-room for a long time and was finally not received at all. *Brunati to Colloredo, July 29, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Danvila y Collado, III., 330 *seq.*

[3] Masson (p. 105, n. 2) and Saint-Priest (p. 77) leave the question open. With the exception of Crétineau-Joly modern historians deny the existence of a simoniacal pact. Ravignan (II., 368) shows that the Jesuits or ex-Jesuits were foremost in opposing this calumny, the sole exception being Georgel (*Mém.*, I., 123; Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 265 *seq.*), who left the Society in 1762, viz. before the expulsion from France. According to Masson (*loc. cit.*) Carayon also maintained the existence of the simoniacal

that he had done so.[1] But Tanucci was in Naples, far away from the conclave, and those who were nearest to the scene of action knew nothing of any such simoniacal bargain. Azpuru's definite denial of anything of the sort has already been cited and on the eve of the election he was writing to Grimaldi that Orsini and the French Cardinals had obstinately refused to make any such proposals to their fellow-prelates; he himself had opposed their view but without success.[2] Solis, it is true, was speaking at the end of June 1769, of special negotiations that were being conducted with Ganganelli before his election, from which he was assured that the demands which the Spanish Court wanted to lay before the new Pope would be met by him.[3] But the nature of these secret negotiations is revealed in statements made by Bernis: there was no question of any formal promise to suppress the Order. In a report of July 26th, 1769, Bernis says of an audience with Clement XIV., "The Pope stated his attitude towards the suppression of the Jesuits in the same terms as he had used to me at the time of the election. He added in confidence that then the proposal had been made to him to commit to writing his view of the suppression, but he had confined himself to saying that provided the canonical regulations were not infringed, he considered it possible and even profitable.[4] Two days later, Bernis, writing of the two Spanish Cardinals, said, "The document which they got the Pope to sign is in no way binding. The Pope himself gave me the wording of it."[5] When the Spaniards accused Bernis of not really trying to work for the suppression, he again referred them, on

pact, but Carayon writes in *Documents inédits* (Introduction, p. xxiv): "Les fils de la s. Église n'accepteront jamais la gratuite hypothèse d'un Pape simoniaque."

[1] "*Il Papa promette l'estinzione nel conclave a nei primi giorni del sul pontificato." Tanucci to Grimaldi, October 31, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102.

[2] Azpuru, in Danvila y Collado, III., 327.

[3] *Ibid.*, 337, n. 1.

[4] *To Choiseul, July 26, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5036.

[5] To the same, July 28, in Carayon, XVII., 202; Masson, 107.

November 20th, 1769, to the part he had played in the conclave. Again he said that the Spaniards had done nothing more than obtain a document which was in no way binding; in it Ganganelli had merely stated as a theologian that in his opinion the Pope could dissolve the Society of Jesus with a good conscience, provided the precepts of canon law and the principles of prudence and justice were observed. He, on the other hand, in the matter of the suppression, had, in the conclave, tied the knots with which the Pope was now bound fast. He it was who had laid the foundation-stone of the building, since his last dispatch from the conclave contained real promises and showed the way which the Holy Father was disposed to take in that delicate matter.[1] But the so-called promises were the same that Deshaises had obtained in his talk with Ganganelli and also went no further than phrases of a general nature. Bernis himself had to admit later: "I have discovered, to my great surprise, that the Pope has not bound himself either to Spain or to us and that we have no other hold on him than the general assurances he gave me in the conclave." [2]

Nor did Charles III. know of any formal promise made by Ganganelli. He wrote to Tanucci that he too grieved that Sersale had not been chosen, but that to form a just opinion of the new Pope they must allow some time to pass; he, the king, was confident that the just God would help him and support him.[3] In a dispatch of the same day Grimaldi wrote of the indefinite hopes that were being held.[4] He would

[1] Rousseau, I., 296 *seq.*

[2] Masson, 108 *seq.*

[3] To Tanucci, June 13, in Danvila y Collado, III., 335.

[4] "*Nos cuentan todo cuanto ha ejecutado y cuanto ha dicho, y de todo sacan esperanzas, aunque indecisas" (Grimaldi to Tanucci, June 13, *ibid.*). The note to which Crétineau-Joly appeals does not represent any simoniacal pact in the canonical sense. "Dans ce billet, Ganganelli déclare, 'qu'il reconnaît au Souverain Pontife le droit de pouvoir éteindre en conscience la Compagnie de Jésus, en observant les règles canoniques, et qu'il est à souhaiter que le futur Pape fasse tous ses efforts pour

not have written in this way if definite assurances had been given that the suppression would take place.

On the other hand it is difficult to deny that in the conclave Ganganelli had let drop remarks which were sometimes in favour of the Jesuits, sometimes to their disadvantage, so that both parties could appeal to him. The Augustinian General Vasquez reported that after the conclave one of his subjects had had a conversation with a Jesuit, who told him that Cardinal Pirelli had read him a passage from his diary, according to which, as the conclave was drawing to an end, Ganganelli had sent a note to Borromei, assuring him that the Jesuits would not be suppressed.[1] Whereas on one occasion he had said of the Bourbons, "They have long arms, stretching beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees," he had given the Cardinals who did not want to sacrifice the Jesuits merely on account of fantastic accusations, the following assurance, uttered in a tone of conviction: "There ought to be no more thought of abolishing the Society of Jesus than of overthrowing St. Peter's."[2] One day in the conclave Ganganelli was asked by chance if he would vote for Stoppani. "On no account," was his reply, "for once he is Pope he would certainly suppress the Jesuits." The reply came so promptly and decisively that it gave the impression of coming from his heart and it did much to influence the Cardinals in his favour.[3]

accomplir le voeu des Couronnes'." (*Clément XIV.*, 260). The note is the reply in which Ganganelli signified his agreement with the written work which appeared during the conclave: "Se N. S. Clemente XIII. . . . debba in coscienza condiscendere alle istanze . . . per la Soppressione," etc. (see above, p. 38, n. 1). *Cf.* RAVIGNAN, II., 370 *seq.*

[1] *To Roda, January 30, 1772, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, vol. II.; ROUSSEAU, I., 298. Pirelli's diary was not accessible to the author, as the department of the Vatican Archives where it was formerly kept was being rearranged when this chapter was written.

[2] CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Clément XIV.*, 256.

[3] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 121; DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 41.

One evening, the story is told by Azara, Cardinal Rezzonico was going through the conclave collecting votes for a certain candidate. Ganganelli, being under an obligation to Rezzonico, placed his vote at his disposal, but observed at the same time that this meant a great sacrifice for him, as the Cardinal in question would suppress the Jesuits the day after his election. Rezzonico took fright and dropped the candidate—as Ganganelli intended he should.[1]

To represent Ganganelli as a liar on account of this two-faced policy, as is done by a modern historian,[2] would, we think, be going too far. We should probably be nearer the truth in regarding him as a weak and ambitious character who aspired to the triple tiara. Confronted by a friend or a foe of the Jesuits, he merely echoed the opinion expressed, himself a complete prey to uncertainty.

The key to the understanding of the policy and the tribulations of Clement XIV. lies in the conclave of 1769.

[1] Azara to Roda, June 22, in *El espíritu de Azara*, I., 296.

[2] Rousseau, I., 298. *Cf.* Cordara as discussed by Duhr in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, CX. (1926), 211, n. 2.

CHAPTER II

Clement XIV.'s Previous Career and Personality—His Policy of Peace and Concessions—The Settlement with Portugal.

(1)

The new Pope was born on October 31st, 1705, at Sant' Arcangelo, a town near Rimini, in the Legation of Ravenna.[1] His father, Lorenzo Ganganelli, was in medical practice there ; his mother, Angela Serafina, was a member of the noble family of Mazza in Pesaro. The real home of the Ganganelli was Sant' Angelo in Vado, in the duchy of Urbino, whence they moved to Borgopace, a hamlet in the diocese of Urbania. According to the baptismal register of the church of S. Agata in Arcangelo, Lorenzo's son was baptized on November 2nd, 1705, and was christened Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio.[2]

[1] Ruggeri, *Memorie riguardanti la terra di S. Arcangelo in Romagna*, Cesena, 1817 ; Marini, *Mem. stor. di S. Arcangelo*, Roma, 1843. The triumphal arch erected in honour of Clement XIV. at Sant' Arcangelo, next to the Palazzo Municipale, is reproduced in the *Dizionario corografico dell'Italia*, VII., 2, 1073.

[2] "A.D. 1705 die 2 Nov. Ego Alex. Gualterius rector baptizavi infantem natum ex perill. et excell. dom. Laurentio Ganganello physico meritissimo huius terrae ac perill. dom. Angela Seraphina de Maciis coniugibus huius parochiae S. Agathae Archangeli, cui impositum est nomen Iohannis Vincentii Antonii." (P. Galletti, *Notizie della famiglia Ganganelli con molti Brevi di Clemente XIV., Cod. Vat., 7983, Vatican Library, where there are a number of notes on the Ganganelli and Mazza families and some Briefs to his home-town). *Cf.* P. T. Salvetti, *De patria Clementis XIV.*, Romae, 1822 ; Marini, *loc. cit.*, 113 ; Ugolini, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, N.S., III., 1, 40, 57 *seqq.* (correction by Theiner), IV, 1, 185 *seq.*, 188 *seq.* (family tree) ; Pasini Frassoni, *La famiglia di Clemente XIV.*, in the *Riv. arald.*, IX. (1911), 482 *seqq.*, and Casali, *Gli antenati di Clemente XIV.*, *ibid.*, XI. (1913), 401 *seq.* In 1769 the inhabitants of Urbania erected a statue to the Pope in the main street ; its inscription in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, N.S., IV., 1, 149. *Ibid.*, 187, the inscription of the statue at Sant' Arcangelo in Vado, of the year 1769.

Losing his father in his early youth, the orphaned Giovanni found a protector in one of his mother's relatives, and on the latter's death he had the good fortune to find at Rimini, where he had been sent by his mother, who had moved to Veruchio, another well-to-do protector, who saw to his education.[1] At Rimini the young Ganganelli was much in the company of a Franciscan Conventual who was a relative of his. Strongly influenced by this connection, he decided when still short of his eighteenth year, in May 1723, to enter the Franciscan Order at Mondaino, on which occasion he changed his baptismal name for that of his father. Having completed his noviciate at Urbino,[2] Fra Lorenzo took his solemn vows on May 18th, 1724. Outstandingly successful as a student of philosophy and theology in the Order's convents at Pesaro, Recanati, and Fano, from 1728 onwards he completed his studies during nearly three years' residence in the College of St. Bonaventure in Rome, under the direction of Antonio Lucci, afterwards Bishop of Bovino. After he had taken his doctor's degree in 1731 his superiors employed him for nine continuous years as a teacher of philosophy and theology in the convents of Ascoli, Bologna, Milan, and again in Bologna. In these places Fra Lorenzo was on so friendly terms with the Jesuits that he was regarded as one of their family.[3] When engaged in Milan in the public defence of certain theological theses he dedicated them to St. Ignatius and used the opportunity of having printed at the head of his theses a brilliant

[1] Besides the *Ragguaglio della vita di Clemente XIV.*, Firenze, 1775, 2 *seqq.*, and the *Storia della vita di Clemente XIV.*, Napoli, 1778, 5 *seq.*, *cf.* **Sincere notizie concernenti la persona del nuovo S. Pontefice P. Clemente XIV.* in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, No. 579. In his *Brief to Rimini, of July 15, 1769, Clement XIV. said that he regarded that town as "tanquam alteram Nostram patriam". Cod. Vat., 7983, Vatican Library.

[2] Recalling these times in his Brief to Urbino of June 24, 1769, Clement XIV. wrote "civitatem istam quam patriam ac parentem Nostram nuncupare iure possumus". THEINER, *Epist.*, 5.

[3] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 154.

speech in praise of the Society of Jesus.[1] It was owing to his recommendation by a Jesuit named Urbani to Cardinal Annibale Albani, the patron of the College of St. Bonaventure, that Fra Lorenzo was appointed Rector of the college in May 1740.[2]

In the following year there took place the General Chapter of the Franciscans, at which Benedict XIV. presided and at which Ganganelli had the honour of welcoming him with an eloquent address.[3] With the patrons of the College of St. Bonaventure, the two Cardinals Albani, Ganganelli had so violent and protracted disputes that relations between them were constantly strained.[4] When the post of a First Consultor to the Inquisition, which was at the disposal of the Franciscans, fell vacant, the talented Ganganelli, who had hitherto acquitted himself most creditably in all his tasks, was proposed by his Superiors, and at Easter, 1746, he was appointed to this office by Benedict XIV. It was a post which was likely to be a step to the cardinalate, as it had been in fact for his two predecessors Centini and Brancati, provided that he was not appointed to higher positions within his Order. For this reason he twice, in 1753 and 1759, declined to accept his election as Franciscan General.[5]

As Fra Lorenzo performed his task in the Inquisition very well,[6] was also theologian to Cardinals Tanara, Gentili, and

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* (the date given is in accordance with the **Sincere notizie* mentioned on p. 84, n. 1). In 1740 Ganganelli lost his mother ; *v. Riv. arald.*, XI. (1913), 402.

[3] Reprinted in FREDIANI, *Lettere*, 416 *seq.*

[4] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 20, 1769, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] MASSON, *Bernis*, 141. *Cf.* FÖRSTER, *Papstwahl*, 22.

[6] Evidence of this is provided by his *Censura del libro " Fra P. Sarpi giustificato col finto nome di Giusto Nave ", allegedly published in Cologne in 1752 (*v.* REUSCH, II., 325) but actually, as Ganganelli surmised, printed in Italy and written by a Tuscan. The work claims to exculpate Sarpi from the charge of heresy and even portrays him as a saint, who has worked miracles after his death. Ganganelli's verdict was " *Io reputo questo libro più

Bolognetti, and took an active interest in the missionary college of S. Antonio dei Monti, which at his instigation was moved from Assisi to Rome,[1] his prospects of becoming Cardinal increased. Clement XIII. wishing to include a Religious in the promotion of autumn 1759, his choice fell on the Franciscan who was so intimate with the Jesuits as almost to be one himself,[2] and it was chiefly due to this circumstance that the pro-Jesuit Pope admitted Ganganelli to the Sacred College on September 24th, 1759. The titular church assigned to him was S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, which he afterwards changed for SS. Apostoli.[3] His conventual dwelling near the

pernicioso di quello sarebbe, se impegnasse sfacciatamente qualche dogma cattolico ". Regarding Sarpi's heresy he refers to Bossuet's verdict and cites the nuncio's report that Sarpi died unreconciled with the Church (*cf.* our account, Vol. XXV, 215, n. 1). Even if Sarpi was not a heretic, Ganganelli continues, he was certainly no saint, and his books had been banned by the Church. To represent Pallavicini as Sarpi's calumniator, as Giusto Nave does, was absurd. " Censeo itaque hunc librum damnandum esse tanquam continentem propositiones alias a S. Sede damnatas, S. Sedis iuribus iniuriosas, seditiosas, catholicis scriptoribus contumeliosas, piarum aurium offensivas et respective schismaticas. D. ex S. Apost. 14 Apr. 1753. Ego fr. Laurentius Ganganelli, S. Uffic. consultor." Cod. Vat., 8379, p. 32 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

[1] **Sincere notizie, loc. cit.*

[2] Reumont (*Ganganelli*, 39) and Masson (*Bernis*, 141) state, without giving any authority, that Ganganelli was recommended to the Pope by the Jesuit General Ricci. There is no confirmation of this in Ricci's *diary (in Jesuit possession). As against this, Kaunitz reported in a *letter to Colloredo, of May 20, 1769: " Avendo in più occasioni manifestato il sul contragenio al Gesuitismo, fu per opera del card. Spinelli e del card. Erba promosso alla porpora " (State Archives, Vienna). It would seem from this that Ganganelli had begun his double-dealing even before it has been generally supposed.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. xxxvii, 397. According to an *Avviso of September 23, 1759, Ganganelli, foreseeing his promotion, had appointed as his auditor the excellent Abbé Ferri. (Cod. Barb., LXXIII., 36, Vatican Library). On October 27, 1759, the town

latter church he occupied until his election to the Papacy—a period of over nine years—living there in the same strict poverty as when he had been a simple Religious.

Both as a Cardinal and previously, when Rector of the College of St. Bonaventure, Ganganelli engaged in extensive correspondence with the most diverse personalities, both clerical and lay. One of his correspondents was Giovanni Lami, a learned Florentine, involved in numerous controversies, who was librarian of the Riccardiana and professor of church history at the Florence *liceo*. After Ganganelli's death Lami conceived the project of publishing his correspondence, but unfortunately he handed over this task to the Marchese Luigi Antonio Caraccioli, a prolific writer who could offer no personal guarantee for the authenticity of the letters. In 1776 Caraccioli published in Paris a collection of Ganganelli's letters in two volumes,[1] supplements appearing later. The publication caused a great stir, but the greater the interest taken in it the more outspoken were the doubts about the genuineness of its contents. Though not all the letters are fabrications, even those who uphold the authenticity of the publication admit that Caraccioli's interpolations greatly altered very many of the letters and that quite a number are sheer inventions of his own. Consequently, one shrinks from drawing on so suspicious a source.[2]

of Rimini included the new Cardinal among its patricians; *v. Riv. arald.*, IX. (1911), 483.

[1] *Lettere interessanti di Clemente XIV.*, Parigi, 1776 (French translation, Amsterdam, 1776, German trans., Frankfurt, 1776); latest edition by Frediani, Firenze, 1845 and 1847.

[2] As Bernis and others (POTTER, *Ricci*, I., 328) claimed to have seen the originals of the letters which THEINER (*Klemens XIV.*, German ed., I., xiv.) condemns *en bloc* as fictitious, RANKE (III., 139, n. 1; Eng. ed., II., 449 n.) considers them to be essentially authentic. He holds that "the living man is to be seen in them" and that they could not have come from the pen of Caraccioli, the insignificant biographer of Clement XIV.; he cannot deny, however, that the letters were interpolated. REUMONT, who

After he had attained the rank of Cardinal, Fra Lorenzo, like so many others, was possessed by the ambition to become Pope.[1] Why should not the lot that fell to the fourth and fifth Sixtus be his too? It was said by an Austrian diplomat that Ganganelli was created a Cardinal on account of his success as a theologian and canonist, which always carried great weight in Rome, also on account of his great charm of manner, the concealment of his real views, and the skill with which he emerged successfully from awkward situations. Even when he had been a simple friar, no one had been able

discusses the matter clearly in his *Ganganelli* (1847, pp. 40 *seqq.*), was on the whole in agreement with Ranke, but admits that "doubtless much is spurious" and, what is worse, that Caraccioli, "an indefatigable scribbler, could offer little personal guarantee." Accordingly, in his translation, Reumont omits altogether some of the letters which are obvious inventions and also admits that "many of the letters are spurious in places" and that "many of the rather daring and ambiguous expressions must be attributed to the editor". Later, Reumont was of the opinion that the interpolations were far more numerous than he had supposed in 1847 (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, V., 636). *Cf.* also REUMONT, *Bibliografia*, 218. A most glaring falsification occurs in the letter to an anonymous Count of December 31, 1741, in which Ganganelli is supposed to have recommended Giannone's *Storia di Napoli*. (Compare this with Ganganelli's *'Censura' of the book on Sarpi; see above, p. 85, n. 6.) I have lately discovered a piece of evidence against the authenticity of the letters which should settle the question. A ciphered *letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State to Bellisomi, the nuncio at Cologne, of December 27, 1776, contains this passage: "Fra le diverse produzioni specialmente epistolari attribuite fantasticamente al defunto Pontefice non erano a mia notizia i Dialoghi costì divulgati col titolo 'Entrevues'," which is a scandalous book (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, Papal Secret Archives). The work by DE LA TOUCHE, *Clément XIV. et Carlo Bertinazzi. Corresp. inédite*, Paris, 1827 (German trans. by Rüder, Leipzig, 1830), is quite fantastic.

[1] "At cardinalatum adeptus respectare etiam coepit pontificatum. Haec omnes ferme cardinales perurit urtica." CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 154.

to form a definite opinion on what he really thought.[1] As time passed, however, and the Jesuit question caused an ever deeper cleavage in the minds of men, it became impossible for him to please both parties. How bitter was the feeling against him in anti-Jesuit circles can be seen from a letter of Tanucci's, written in the autumn of 1761. This Cardinal, wrote Tanucci, was such a double-dealer that he really deserved, like Malagrida, to be executed as a traitor; in any case, he certainly deserved to be dropped by both parties.[2] As the years went by and the Jesuits were assailed with ever greater violence, Ganganelli realized that he was not likely to attain to the supreme office if he stayed on their side. He therefore drew away from them, turned towards their enemies, and formed a friendship with the anti-Jesuit Spanish ambassador, Roda. Cordara, who relates this, thinks that he acted thus for the sake of appearances only and that it was not a question of Lorenzo's thoughts and wishes.[3] This view was held by others, too. In the State Archives in Naples is a collection of character sketches of the Cardinals, dated October 14th, 1765, in which Ganganelli appears among the *Papabili*. This is his description: "He adheres to the scholastics, but has sufficient knowledge and is much addicted to intrigue. He often gives the appearance of being against the Jesuits, but actually he is much attached to them and did his utmost to promote the Papal prohibition of Mésenguy's Jansenistic Catechism. Since becoming Cardinal he has lost the esteem of even his own Religious, who on Sciarra's death wanted Chigi as their protector, to the exclusion of Ganganelli."[4] The Cardinal's attitude towards the question of Mésenguy's Catechism was

[1] *Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] See above, p. 61.

[3] CORDARA, *loc. cit.*, 154 *seq.*

[4] "È puro scolastico di sufficiente dottrina e molto intricante. Dopo il cappello ha persa ogni stima anche presso de' suoi religiosi . . . Affetta alle volte di parlare contro i gesuiti, ma gli è addettissimo e fu gran censore e promotore per la proibizione del catechismo di Mesangui. [*Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVII, 18 *seqq.*] Non sarà dunque in minima considerazione." Piano per il

a great disappointment to the anti-Jesuit Cardinal Spinelli, who had supported Fra Lorenzo's promotion, having been led to suppose from his utterances that he was of like mind with himself. Spinelli suffered another disappointment when the beatification of the anti-Jesuit Palafox, which Spain was promoting with all its power, was under consideration. In the course of the negotiations Ganganelli managed to secure for himself the office of a *ponens* but did nothing to advance the cause. On the contrary he raised so many formal difficulties that no progress was made.[1]

On the other hand, Clement XIII. too, could not but see that he had been mistaken in thinking that in the person of Ganganelli he had summoned to the Sacred College a Jesuit in Franciscan clothing,[2] for Ganganelli obstructed his ecclesiastical policy whenever he could. He directly censured as noxious the Secretary of State's, Torrigiani's, attitude towards the Courts and he alone opposed the taking of money from the treasure of Sixtus V.[3] It must have sorely grieved the Pope to learn that Ganganelli sided with the Duke of Parma and had sent the French ambassador a defence he had written on the duke's behalf against the Papal monitorium.[4]

Conclave, dated October 14, 1765, State Archives, Naples, Pot. Est., 1554.

[1] *Letter from Centomani to Tanucci, May 7, 1771, State Archives, Naples. *Cf.* our account, XXXVII, 413.

[2] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 154.

[3] " *Egli si è mostrato sempre contrario al passato governo biasimando la nociva condotta del card. Torrigiani nelle brighe prese colle corti cattoliche e fu egli l' unico che si oppose all' estrazione di denaro fatta dal tesoro di Sisto V. in occasione di carestia e di altre emergenze." Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 20, 1769, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 23, 1768 (Archives of Simancas, Est., Ley. 5222); " Dias pasados [the Cardinal nephew] acusó a su hermano Msgr. Mayordomo de traidor a la S. Sede; al card. Negroni de coligado con las Cortes, especialmente con esa, atribuiendo a esta causa, y su oficiosidad, el haverse retractado su acusacion; al card. Ganganelli tener trabajado un voto,

Clement XIII. may never have discovered that Ganganelli had secret connexions with the Duke of Parma,[1] but the Cardinal's general behaviour was such that he was forced to exclude so untrustworthy a man from participation in affairs.[2]

The character sketches of the Cardinals made in connexion with the conclave of 1769 and preserved in the archives of the Austrian embassy to the Vatican show how firmly the reputation of untrustworthiness was attached to Ganganelli. He is portrayed here as double-faced and dangerous; at the condemnation of Mésenguy's Catechism he had sold his vote to both parties.[3] In another memorandum belonging to the same archives and dated February 8th, 1769, he is described thus: "He is a proper Frate. In theological controversies, in order to win over both parties, he has compromised himself with each and has thus grievously exposed himself. Since his deceitfulness has been discovered he has been detested by everyone and nobody trusts him any longer. These and several other insincerities have cast a stain on the Cardinal from which he will not succeed in cleansing himself. He is

o dictamen theologico reprobativo del Breve contra Parma, y suministrado al embaxador de Francia las especies, que dixo al Papa, en su ultima audiencia acerca de la excomunion declarada en dicho Breve."

[1] This is clear from a *letter of Du Tillot's to Azpuru, of December 11, 1768, in which he says, "He presentado al Sor Infante la carta del em. card. Ganganelli. S. A. R. ha agradecido esta serie de las atenciones que costantemente ese purpurado a demostrado a S. A. — Quedo attento en observar sobre esto acto el silencio que me encarga V. S. — Veo que es muy fundado que sea assí, y quedo en remitir a su tiempo a V. S. la respuesta de S. A. R. a ese Em^o^." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Parma", 1768.

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 17, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{471}{1216}$.

[3] "La sua neutralità lo fa passare per un' uomo doppio, pericoloso e venduto agli uni e agli altri suo voto in occasione delle condanne del catechismo di Mesanguie." "Osservazioni per il prossimo Conclave", Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, No. 579.

reckoned to be a supporter of France and in the conclave may pass himself off as belonging to the *Zelanti*." [1]

Ganganelli's connexion with the Spaniards was far more intimate than with the French. In 1767 an Austrian diplomat called him their " dragoman ".[2] It was, in fact, the influence of Spain and France, to which he had consistently rendered valuable services as a Cardinal in the Congregations,[3] which gained him the ardently desired goal of many years of striving, the tiara. Writing to Tanucci on the day of the election, the Neapolitan agent Gaetano Centomani said that of all the candidates he was the most acceptable to the Bourbon Courts. He would proceed on different principles from those of Clement XIII., he added, and it was thought that he was not favourably disposed towards the Jesuits, in spite of his being indebted to them for his initial success.[4] Tanucci himself, like

[1] " Dotato di talento fratesco. Nelle controversie teologiche di questi tempi per guadagnarsi ambi i partiti, si è impegnato e compromesso con tutte due, e scopertasi la di lui doppiezza è rimasto odioso all'uno e all'altro e nessuno si fida più di lui. Tratto che unito a molt'altri ha finito di spargere sopra di questo cardinale una vernice di discredito, dalla quale non si saprà purgare : passa per attaccato alla Francia e sarà fra' finti zelanti " (" Giudizii e caratteri di cardinali papabili, " dated February 8, 1769, written by an opponent of the Jesuits; *ibid.*). Kaunitz *wrote to Colloredo on May 20, 1769, that Ganganelli was at first in favour with Clement XIII. " ma volendo poscia nelle controversie teologiche seguite poco dopo tener l'equilibrio fra i due partiti, cadde in disgrazia, come si coll' avvenire è in discredito dell'uno e dell'altro, fu abbandonato da tutti, disistimato fin dagli stessi suoi promotori e da' propri frati, anche a tacciarlo da ignorante ". State Archives, Vienna.

[2] " *turcimano della Spagna " (May 1767) ; " *molto in grazia de' Spagnuoli " (May 26, 1767). Character sketch in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] See the *letter from Kaunitz mentioned at n. 1.

[4] " *Si crede non molto propenso alla Compagnia, quantunque il principio delle sue fortune riconoscesse dalla medesima." Centomani to Tanucci, May 19, 1769, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*

many others, thought that in his heart of hearts the new Pope was not hostile to the Jesuits. He was, he wrote to Centomani, half Jesuit, half Spaniard, and wholly Frate.[1] To understand this expression fully one must remember that the "enlightened" men of the period, of whom Tanucci was one, ascribed the worst qualities to the "Frati" and classed them all indiscriminately as utterly degenerate monks.

Ganganelli had certainly never been a Frate of this kind. In point of morals he had always kept himself unsullied; his piety was shown by his marked devotion to Our Lady.[2] His appointments as teacher in the convents of his Order and as Consultor to the Inquisition gave him ample scope for putting his knowledge of theology and canon law to good purpose. He was gravely handicapped, however, by never having been out of Italy or ever having held a diplomatic post. This was why it was said of him in a character-sketch probably drawn by Brunati that he was as clever and keen-witted as a Religious could be who had never moved about the world and who therefore lacked a wide vision; he knew little about the princes' interests and his knowledge of the Courts was far from perfect.[3] The same witness, agreeing with Cordara,[4] emphasized the many good qualities that swayed the heart of Clement XIV., as indicated by the benevolent expression of his features. "Already as a Frate and a Cardinal he showed his desire to be friendly and affable and used his influence to do good to everyone. He is glad to recommend others, he shows his gratitude, and is a loyal friend; he loves the good and hates the corrupt, the wicked, and the turbulent. Good-natured, kind, and at bottom genuinely humble, he did not at first allow himself to be dazzled by his possession of the tiara. He has no love for malicious gossip and being above many prejudices he has sympathy with human frailties.

[1] *Tanucci, July 11, 1769 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Cf.* *"Sincere" notizie (see above, p. 84, n. 1), Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] Text *ibid.*

[4] *De suppressione*, 152 *seqq.*

He is filled with the best intentions for the good of the Church and the State. He calls those men foolish who oppose the princes and the true interests of the Holy See. His unexampled selflessness is likely to save the Curia from the charge of base cupidity. So far is he removed from nepotism of any sort that to him only the genuine poor are his relations. Moderate and simple in his choice of food, an enemy of comfort in any form, he likes to take his recreation in the company of his trusted friends and to divert himself by jesting with them. Gentle and charming by nature and pleasant in his discourse, he is distinguished for the refinement and the courtesy of his intercourse with others. His natural tendency is to dispense favours, but he is easily dissuaded from so doing by any little hint that may be whispered in his ear." [1]

The writer touches here on one of the most fatal characteristics of the new Pope: his lack of will-power and his timidity, which were the inevitable cause of his unreliability and dilatoriness.

"Clement XIV.," we read in the notes probably made by Brunati, "lacks courage and stability; he is unbelievably slow in taking any decision. He takes people in with fine words and promises, weaves his web around them and enchants them. He begins by promising them the world, but then makes difficulties and in true Roman fashion withholds a decision, so finally to remain as the victor. At first, therefore, everyone falls into his trap. He is a past-master at evading any kind of decision in his replies to the envoys; he sends them away with fine words and hopes which are never realized.

[1] *Memoranda in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican. Kaunitz *reported to Colloredo on May 20, 1769: When the Postmaster General presented himself to Clement XIV. and offered to send the news of his election by couriers to his relatives, the Pope replied: "che fin dal momento che si fece frate non riconosceva più parenti." (State Archives, Vienna). As to the way in which Clement XIV. showed his detestation of any form of nepotism, see also the Lucchese report of January 9, 1771, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 382 *seq.* See also BOURGOING, I., 188 *seq.*

Anyone who seeks a favour should endeavour to obtain it at his first audience. One may add that as he is very fond of talking, an observant envoy can detect his double dealing." [1]

This information, from an Austrian source, tallies in essentials with Bernis' reports, the chief difference being that the latter, with his French vivacity, lays on the colours much more thickly and that the splashes of light retreat before the shadows. "Clement XIV.'s desire," Bernis wrote to Choiseul as early as November 30th, 1769,[2] "is to be another Sixtus V. and to be compared with him. It is true that both were of the same Order, and both had equal luck, but Clement XIV. has neither the bad qualities nor the talents of a Sixtus V. The latter was a great genius and exercised a great skill in political matters; moreover he had great courage and pursued his aim, which was kept an absolute secret, with a firm determination. Clement XIV. is intelligent, but his knowledge is confined to theology, church history, and a few anecdotes of Court life. He is a stranger to politics, and his love of secrecy is more than his mastery of it; he takes a delight in friendly intercourse and in the process he lays bare his inmost thoughts.[3] He has a pleasant manner. He wants to please and is in mortal fear of displeasing. In vain he arms himself with courage; timidity is the fundamental feature of his character.[4] In his government he will show more kindness than firmness; to the finances he will bring order and thrift. He is frugal and active, though not a quick worker. He is cheerful and he wants to be at peace with everyone and to live long."

Clement XIV.'s great timidity produced another characteristic, his desire to do everything on his own, as secretly as

[1] *Memoranda, *loc. cit.*

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 262 *seqq.*

[3] "Sa Sainteté est assez maîtresse de ses paroles, mais nullement de son visage," Bernis wrote on December 20, 1769, *ibid.*, 205.

[4] "La timidité fait le fond de son caractère." *Ibid.*, 263.

possible and with no help from strangers.[1] This was due not so much, as was supposed, to his wanting to keep the credit for any success to himself, as to his fear of being influenced by others. He feared the envoys, the nobility, the Jesuits, the Press, and, above all, the Cardinals.[2] Even his Secretary of State, Pallavicini, he trusted so little that he kept him in the greatest possible ignorance of secret affairs; it was only externally therefore that the Cardinal fulfilled his functions.[3] The other Cardinals, too, were seldom, if ever, asked for their opinions and in fact were treated with disrespect. More than once an allocution contained passages that were offensive to them. The following incident was probably even more wounding to their dignity. At a consistory Clement made as if to produce the manuscript of a speech and everyone expected an announcement to be made. To the Cardinals' surprise, however, not a manuscript but a snuff-box appeared, and on returning to his apartments he waxed merry at their discomfiture.[4] It was supposed by many persons that in so behaving he was taking revenge for the slight esteem in which he had been held in the College of Cardinals in Clement XIII.'s reign.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Cardinals appealed to the Dean of the Sacred College, Cavalchini, to remonstrate

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, December 10, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{472}{1217}$; *Orsini to Tanucci, November 20, 1770, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1476. *Cf.* *Tanucci to Catanti, July 11, 1769 (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6009); *Gentili to Colloredo, August 19, 1772, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Masson, *Bernis*, 141. *Cf.* Orsini's *letter, n. 1.

[3] *Evidence of the Austrian diplomat, *loc. cit.*, confirmed by Bernis (Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 387, II., 129, 346). Centomani *reported to Tanucci on February 23, 1773: "Il segretario di Stato non è ne pure inteso, anzi trattato con disprezzo e non gli si dà arbitrio alcuno di esser dal Papa, come non li ha potuto parlare per parteciparli a nome dell'arcivescovo di Malta la nuova elezione del Granmaestro prima che si propalasse per Roma." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{477}{1222}$.

[4] Centomani's *report to Tanucci, March 19, 1771, *ibid.*, $\frac{473}{1218}$.

with the Pope on the manner of his behaviour towards them. Cavalchini acknowledged that these complaints were justified, but as his own relations with the Pope were so strained that he had ceased to ask for an audience of him, he declined at his age of eighty-eight years to expose himself to a certain snub.[1]

The Cardinals finally paid the Pope back in his own coin. At ceremonies they appeared so late that the Pope, already vested, had to wait for them. Sometimes they failed to appear at all, as, for instance, at the Vespers of Epiphany, when the Pope had to enter the chapel accompanied by a single deacon. Many members of the Sacred College were absent from the Good Friday procession of 1770. Normally many of the Cardinals attended the annual distribution of dowries to poor girls which took place on the feast of the Annunciation in the Minerva. In 1772, however, only two Cardinals, Negroni and Corsini, took part in the procession to the church. This was doubly mortifying to the Pope, as on this occasion he had wanted the ceremony to be more than usually impressive, owing to the presence of the Duke of Gloucester.[2] The Pope's relations with the Roman nobility too were so bad that the master of ceremonies was informed by Gian Francesco Albani and Marcantonio Colonna that they refused to assist at the Papal throne or in fact to serve in any capacity.[3] These circles deeply resented the Pope's surrounding himself with persons of the lowest standing instead of consulting the Cardinals. Among these men of low degree was one who immediately[4]

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, March 12, 1771 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, March 31, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{472}{1220}$.

[3] *Loc. cit.* "Si Vd oyera lo que aqui se dice de el a la oreja, se moriria de risa: ha tenido la habilidad, en menos de cuatro meses, de disgustar a toda clase de gentes, no solo terciarios, sino aun sus enemigos los mas austeros, cardenales, pretes, frailes, nobleza y plebe, todos estan que rechinan, y si los primeros tuvieran apoyo en alguna corona, esta era la hora que teniamos un cisma infaliblemente." Azara, September 21, 1769, in *El espiritu de Azara*, I., 331.

[4] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 24, 1769, State Archives, Vienna.

played the leading part as the Pope's confidant: the Franciscan Bontempi, the son of a cook in Pesaro. A former pupil of Ganganelli's, he had been made his secretary when his teacher became a Cardinal. In this capacity he won his master's confidence to such a degree that he was used by him as a go-between in his dealings with the envoys. Immediately he was elected Pope, Clement called him to the Vatican and employed him as his private secretary. On the death of the aged Papal confessor, Bontempi took his place, though there was no official appointment.[1]

Immediately he engaged Bontempi as his private secretary Clement XIV. forbade him to have any dealings with the envoys, Cardinals, or nobles, and employed him for the conveyance of information to the representatives of Spain only. Bontempi obeyed this order so strictly that he declined an invitation sent him by Cardinals Bernis and Orsini. Orsini wrote of him to Tanucci in September 1772: "He is about fifty years of age. He has no relatives, he is sly, and he has never declared himself either for or against the Jesuits. He speaks very little, and when there is talk about important affairs of the Holy See he is either silent or he says that he knows nothing about them. Actually, however, no one is so deeply versed in the Pope's secrets as this Friar." [2]

Bontempi, being thoroughly conversant with the Pope's character, knew how to make himself indispensable to him. He kept himself as far as possible in the background and humbly went about everywhere on foot. To maintain his position he tried to keep his master away from every other influence but his own,[3] which increased as time went on. In November 1771, it was Bernis' opinion that to enjoy the goodwill of

[1] *Cf.* the "*Ritratto del Padre Bontempi" which was sent by Orsini to Tanucci on September 15, 1772, and of which the Cardinal said: "è mia dettatura, e tutto vero." State Archives, Naples.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Memoranda in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

the Pope for long one had to win the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of this favourite.[1] In the spring of 1773 the Neapolitan agent Centomani was saying that Bontempi could get the Pope to do anything. It was thought, he went on, that he would get the red hat, unless he preferred it to be given to his friend Martinelli, who had become Consultor to the Inquisition in place of Paskovich.[2] Everyone in Rome was amazed when in October 1773, he suddenly fell into disgrace; but it lasted only till the following year.[3]

So influential a man as this naturally had his enemies. There was talk of his morals not being entirely irreproachable, but there is no evidence in this direction. It is certain, however, that he was wide open to bribery, which the Spanish representatives especially made good use of. Financial interests also were the chief cause of his close friendship with Niccolò Bischi, who had married a near relation of Clement XIV.'s and, being entrusted by the Pope with the provisioning of Rome, had regular access to his Holiness.[4]

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 128.

[2] " *P. Buontempi è prepotente presso il Papa non solo per farli qualche grazia in affare non discussa, ma per far anche rivocare qualunque risoluzione che la S.S. avea già esaminata e concertata con suoi Ministri per farla poi eseguire " (Centomani to Tanucci, February 23, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{477}{1222}$). *Cf.* *Centomani to Tanucci, March 23, 1773 (see above, p. 96, n. 4), and Moñino's *letter of January 7, 1773, State Archives, Naples. In the *memoranda in the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican also it is said of Bontempi: " onnipotente appresso S.S." and of Cardinal Colonna: " Non può niente nel vicariato contro gli impegni di Buontempi."

[3] *Memoranda, *ibid.*; *Tiepolo, on December 11, 1773: " Buontempi in disgrazia presso al Papa, che ha preso altro confessore: Buontempi promise pensioni gesuitiche a nome d'Almada e pensioni non vengono." State Archives, Venice.

[4] " *[Bontempi] Passa per galante, ma cautelato; vi è chi pretende che abbia amica una delle fanciulle Lovati. Gira sempre solo a piede. Cordone tirato con Bischi e altri negozianti di campagna " (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). It is noteworthy that Centomani, who was always willing to

Besides Bischi, the following persons also formed part of Clement XIV.'s intimate entourage: a Neapolitan prelate of the name of Macedonio, who was looked on as his Holiness's Benjamin[1]; Marefoschi, who was entirely submissive to the French and the Spaniards and had been brought into the College of Cardinals in September 1770, through their influence; and finally Brother Francesco of the Franciscan Conventuals, who controlled the Pope's kitchen and private disbursements but was also used by him to negotiate with the Portuguese envoy, Almada.[2] Brother Francesco, in Bernis' opinion, did not play the lead, but he pleased the Pope without displeasing Bontempi and the others.[3] Macedonio, who became Secretary of the Memorials, was thought to have a large hand in the negotiations with Portugal, where his brother was representing Naples.[4] It was in the company of these men that Clement

repeat scandals, says nothing of this kind about Bontempi in his *letter to Tanucci of July 26, 1772. He says only: "Per morte del primo confessore molti riguardevoli soggetti furono posti in vista, ma il Papa non volle per allora scegliere alcuno, e volendovi seriamente pensare, destinò interinalmente il P. Buontempi suo intimo confidente, del quale li stessi Padri conventuali non sono punto contenti, e per Roma non ha tutto il buon nome" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{476}{1221}$). For his bribery by the Spaniards, see below, Chap. IV.

[1] "*Macedonio, segretario de' Memoriali dei Riti, Beniamino del Papa, buono cristiano, benevolo e umano: molti lo credono Gesuita, ma falsamente; ha havuto parte alla di lui promozione. Mediatore con Almada ne' affari; tutto di Bernis guadagnato e di Orsini." Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[2] For Marefoschi, see below. A pungent note in the *Memoranda, *loc. cit.*, which shows that Fra Francesco had a part to play even before the Papal election, says of Marefoschi: "Quando era segretario di Propaganda persecuzione fatta al card. Ganganelli per la resa de'conti delle missioni intaccati da S. Efrem per 3,000 scudi, Fra Francesco lo salvò trovando varie carte disperse con cui rese conto."

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 127.

[4] *The nuncio Conti to Pallavicini, Lisbon, 1772, April 14, Nunziat. di Portog., 119, Papal Secret Archives.

XIV. took his recreation, regularly playing billiards with them or, in fine weather, bowls (*boccia*; much played in Italy at that time) in the garden of the Quirinal or at the Villa Patrizi.[1] Other forms of recreation favoured by the Pope, who was inclined to corpulence, were energetic walking and regular horse-riding.[2] He indulged in this latter form of exercise to a marked degree in the autumn of 1769, when he went into residence at Castel Gandolfo. He had made for himself a short white overcoat, white boots, and a round red hat, and thus attired he rode about the beautiful environs, greeted everywhere with pleasure by the country folk, whom he had relieved of one of their taxes.[3] While on these rides he frequently spurred on his horse and left his companions behind. His close friends warned him of the great risk he was running, and at first this warning took effect: on October 21st, 1769, it was mentioned in a report on the Pope's residence at Castel Gandolfo that he was visiting the Castelli Romani only on foot or by carriage and that he was also amusing himself in bird-snaring.[4] How justified was the warning against careless riding was shown as soon afterwards as November 26th, at the ceremonial taking possession of the Lateran. In the imposing procession, which attracted the whole population of Rome, the Pope was attended on horseback by civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries and the Cardinals. Although, for safety's sake, a particularly placid mount had been chosen for him from Prince Borghese's stables, and he had ridden it two days before, the animal was so frightened by the lusty cheering of the crowd that on the ride down from the Capitol to the Forum, near the Arch of Septimius Severus, it reared and unseated its rider. The

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 272.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 20 and October 5, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. An account in *Collecção*, III., 221, says of the Pope, who had a "sonora e gagliarda voce", that his step was as brisk as a youth's.

[3] Cardinal Bernis, October 4, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 273.

[4] Report of the Lucchese envoy, of October 21, 1769, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 382.

Pope fell to the ground and was lucky to escape any serious hurt. He drank a glass of water, went a short way on foot, and covered the rest of the route in an open carriage.[1]

In spite of this mishap Clement XIV., in the autumn of 1771, at Castel Gandolfo, could not resist his desire to put his equestrian skill to the test again. But after he had fallen twice and had injured his shoulder he confined himself to making his excursions on foot or by carriage.[2] In a room leading off the billiard-room in Castel Gandolfo there are two frescoes showing the Pope with his companions; in one he is seen on horseback, wearing his white riding-coat, on the point of leaving Castel Gandolfo with his retinue; in the other he is taking a stroll in the garden.[3]

Clement XIV. was of so cheerful a disposition that he himself made light of his fall at the "Possesso", which the superstitious Romans looked on as a bad omen. He is reported to have said that on his ride up to the Capitol he looked like St. Peter and that he hoped to goodness he looked like St. Paul when

[1] For the "Possesso" on November 26, 1769, *cf.* besides CANCELLIERI, 406 *seqq.*, and AZARA, I., 368 *seq.*, Cardinal Bernis' letter of November 26, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 253 *seq.*, and Azpuru's *report to Grimaldi of November 30, 1769 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), according to which Clement XIV.'s arm was bruised but quickly healed. It is typical of SILVAGNI'S inaccuracy that in his *La Corte e la società Romana* (I., 1884, 9 *seqq.*) he has Moñino take part in the procession although he did not come to Rome till July 1772. For Clement XIV.'s consecration as Bishop, coronation, and "Possesso" see *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 1 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), and *to Tanucci on June 9, 1769 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{400}{1145}$. *Cf.* above, p. 73.

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, October 1, 1771, *ibid.*, $\frac{474}{1219}$. *Cf.* AZARA, II., 218.

[3] At Castel Gandolfo, at the beginning of the road to Albano, is a stone inscribed: "Clemens XIV. P.M. Arduam antea ac difficilem ad oppidum viam latiorem ac molliorem ponte constructo reddidit, in oppido pene disiectam lapide stravit, portam hanc restituit ornavit Anno MDCCLXXIII. Pontificatus sui V." The gateway and bridge no longer exist.

he fell.[1] Many other such witty sayings were reported of him. When Clement was in a good mood, his intimates also might indulge in decidedly curious jokes and pranks, which gossip coarsened in such a way as inevitably to tarnish the reputation of the Supreme Pontiff.[2] Equally damaging was the amount of talk there was about the suspicion, jealousy, and petty cloister-intrigues that went on among the Pope's intimate associates,[3] though he himself never disclosed his real feelings even to this narrow circle.[4]

(2)

In view of Clement XIV.'s weakness of character, his desire to meet the demands of the Bourbon Courts as far as possible and thus to restore peace was only to be expected. How far he was prepared to go in this direction was seen as soon as he took up the reins of government.

The most important post at his disposal, that of Secretary of State, was transferred on the very evening of the election

[1] NOVAES, XV., 161.

[2] The *Memoranda (*loc. cit.*) allude to "trastulli per far ridere" without explaining their nature. In his *letter to Tanucci of February 16, 1773, Centomani mentions a complaint to Macedonio about the bad condition to which Rome had been brought by Bontempi and Bischi; nevertheless, he says, "S.S. se ne va ogni giorno a trastullarsi nella villa Patrizi, a giocare alle boccette ed a fare mille ragazzate indegne di qualunque persona sessagenaria non che in un principe ed in un Papa." He then relates that Clement XIV. took no steps to punish the two servants who beat the Maestro di Camera Potenziani for not seeing to the removal of the stinging nettles from the Quirinal garden (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{477}{1222}$). But Centomani's story of the "burla del P. Buontempi" with the Abbé Rusca, which resulted in the latter's death, is quite incredible (*to Tanucci, November 10, 1772, *ibid.*, $\frac{476}{1221}$). This incident seems actually to have happened, as it is mentioned in the *Memoranda of the Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] Cardinal Bernis' report, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 127.

[4] *Memoranda (see above, p. 98, n. 3), *loc. cit.*

day to one who was completely devoted to Spain, Cardinal Pallavicini, who had been the nuncio in Madrid from 1760 to 1767.[1] That the appointment was an acknowledgment of the support the Pope had received in the conclave from the secular Powers is clear from his words to Cardinals Orsini and Luynes: "Are you satisfied?"[2] The former Secretary, Torrigiani, continued in office for three more days, and then Pallavicini took his place on May 22nd.[3] With what sentiments he was animated may be gauged from the words he addressed to the King of Spain: he owed his office to him, he put himself under his protection, and he would prove his devotion to "the exemplary Catholic Charles III."[4]

In one of the first audiences given to Cardinal Orsini the Pope emphasized his desire to have all the princes in full accord with the Holy See. His opinions were not the same as his predecessor's and he intended to deal with all the envoys directly.[5] The Neapolitan agent, Centomani, reported joyfully that His Holiness had not taken the name of Sixtus VI., and did not talk in the manner of Sixtus V., but paid the

[1] "*Due hore dopo mezzogiorno ha destinato per segretario di Stato il sig. card. Pallavicini" (Orsini to Tanucci, May 19, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{292}{1037}$). In his *report of May 20, 1769 (State Archives, Vienna), Kaunitz stresses that Pallavicini's attitude was one of submissiveness to Spain and afterwards also of hostility to the Jesuits. Pallavicini had proposed to the Spanish Government that Spinola should be pushed forward as a candidate for the Secretaryship of State, but Spinola was not trusted to handle the Jesuit affair in the right manner and they would only accept him if the promise to suppress the Jesuit Order were given. They would rather that Branciforte were given the post (*Grimaldi to Azpuru, Aranjuez, May 30, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013).

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 19, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 23, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[4] *Pallavicini to Charles III., Rome, June 22, 1769. Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[5] *Orsini, May 23, 1759, *loc. cit.*

sovereigns the greatest respect and attention.[1] Another indication of his attitude was his announcement that he did not intend to use the customary forms in bringing his election to the knowledge of the princes; he would open his heart to them in messages written in his own hand.[2]

Clement XIV. had already expressed his gratitude to Cardinal Orsini, after his second "adoration", for the support given him in his election by Charles III.[3] Within the next few days he repeated this expression of gratitude to Cardinal Solis, who was thus able to report to Madrid that the Pope would fulfil all the king's wishes.[4] After his coronation Clement XIV. told Cardinal York that he intended to restore friendship with the sovereigns, no matter what the Curiali might have to say on the subject.[5]

This was not merely talk. Among the most important offices was the Secretaryship of the Latin Briefs; this was taken away from Michelangelo Giacomelli and given to his adversary, Monsignore Stay, who was completely subservient to the French and Spanish envoys. Giuseppe Garampi was also expected to lose his post as Secretary of the Ciphers, seeing that he had been repeatedly commended by Clement XIII. and had been on intimate terms with Cardinals Torrigiani and Boschi.[6] The next Secretary of the Memorials was to be Archinto, the nuncio to Florence.[7]

Clement XIV.'s confirmation in their offices of certain high

[1] "*Il nuovo Papa non si è posto il nome di Sisto VI., non parla colli termini di Sisto V., ma dimostra tulla la maggiore venerazione ed attenzione per li sovrani." Centomani to Tanucci, Rome, May 23, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{471}{1218}$.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 23, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 1, 1759, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Cardinal Solis to Grimaldi, May 25, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5013.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, June 6, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[6] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 30, 1769, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{471}{1218}$.

[7] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 20, 1769, State Archives, Vienna

officials who had been appointed by his predecessor—such as Cardinal Cavalchini as Prodatarius, De Simone, of Benevento, as his Auditor, Giovanni Battista Rezzonico as Maggiordomo, and Scipione Borghese as Maestro di Camera—was due solely to his unwillingness to make too obvious a break with his predecessor, to whom he owed his cardinalate.[1] That a totally different course would now be taken was no longer doubted by the ambassadors. Formerly their opinion of Cardinal Ganganelli had been quite sharply divided, but it now underwent a complete change: they were thoroughly satisfied with him, whereas Cardinal Torrigiani, the two Cardinals Albani, and Cardinal Rezzonico were hard put to it to hide their grief in silence.[2] The opinion of the Spanish ambassador Azpuru was that the new pontificate would bring the peace to the Church that the Bourbon Courts desired. Even as Cardinal, he said, Clement XIV. had regretted the unyielding attitude that his predecessor had shown towards the princes. Now he would show how different was his opinion and he would make many concessions, especially to the Catholic king. This was also the interpretation put upon the inscription round the first medal struck by the Pope: *Fiat pax in virtute tua.* Azpuru was convinced that Clement XIV. would pursue the same policy as Benedict XIV., which opinion he expressed most definitely on several occasions.[3] The Neapolitan Minister Tanucci was particularly pleased to learn that the Pope, who was so generous with his audiences,[4] dealt with all his

[1] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 24, 1769, *ibid.*

[2] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 20, 1769, *ibid.*; *Centomani to Tanucci, May 23 and 30, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 21, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* above, p. 78.

[4] Centomani *reported to Tanucci on July 11, 1769, that Clement XIV. gave audiences from the morning till two hours after the evening Angelus, so that he only had time for Mass and meals and very little for business (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{471}{1216}$). The Pope worked day and night, gave audiences to everyone, and was at his desk at night, but made no use of Pallavicini (Azara, I., 302, 305; but see above, p. 103, n. 2).

business as secretly as possible, without consulting anyone.[1] Although, said Kaunitz, there were still many adherents of the old policy in the Pope's entourage, especially in the College of Cardinals, the new Pope, whom no difficulty deterred, went to great lengths to please the princes. His guiding principle was to agree to everything if it was at all possible, and as to how far he could go in this direction, His Holiness reserved judgment to himself.[2]

If the enlightened Ministers in the Catholic Courts had really desired an honourable peace with the Holy See they could have been quite certain of meeting with the utmost agreement on the Pope's side. In their messages of congratulation the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples protested their loyalty to the Holy See in the strongest terms; they were resolved, they said, to remain its devoted sons.[3]

While it still remained to be seen if these fine words would be followed by corresponding deeds, the Portuguese Government had already entered into serious negotiations on a settlement of its disputes with Rome. For ten long years the feud had persisted, causing grief and anger to the royal family, the grandees, and the Catholic people of Portugal. The necessity for Pombal, the leading Minister, to change his policy was rendered all the more inevitable by the daily increase of the difficulties and complications caused by the break with Rome. Moreover, he had no desire to remain in disagreement with the Curia while the other Catholic Powers were seeking a settlement.[4]

While the conclave was still in progress, Almada, the former Portuguese envoy, arrived in Rome with instructions to co-operate with France and Spain in refusing to recognize the elevation to the Papacy of a pro-Jesuit Cardinal.[5] On

[1] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, Naples, July 11, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6102.

[2] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, July 6, 1769, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 319 *seqq.*, 335 *seq.*, 344 *seqq.*

[4] Report of the Austrian envoy Lebzeltern, in DUHR, *Pombal*, 129. *Cf.* GOMEZ, 242 *seq.*

[5] *Collecção dos negocios de Roma*, III., 54.

the negotiations that led to the election of Clement XIV. he was unable to bring any influence to bear.[1] The highly accommodating attitude of the new Pope, who at first, strangely enough, was thought in Lisbon to be a friend of the Jesuits and was regarded with suspicion,[2] showed itself, among other ways, in his receiving Almada in audience on May 25th, although his letters of credence had not yet arrived. Almada was highly satisfied with this, his first, meeting with the Pope. After he had spoken with him, he told the Spanish ambassador, Azpuru, he had had no doubts about the suppression of the Jesuit Order, and this would result in a complete settlement of the dispute between Portugal and the Holy See. This latter task was reserved for the future nuncio to Lisbon, Monsignore Innocenzo Conti.[3]

In June Cardinal Orsini learnt that Almada had already come forward with requests concerning the occupation of eight Portuguese episcopal sees that had fallen vacant.[4] At the end of the month it was reported that after his audience with the Pope Almada had wept for joy ; he had embraced everyone he met, whether he knew him or not, and had declared that an agreement had already been reached. This announce-

[1] GOMEZ, 230. *Cf.* above, p. 26.

[2] *V. Macedonio (brother of the Roman prelate, see above, p. 100) to Orsini, Lisbon, July 18, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{293}{1038}$; *V. Macedonio to Orsini, August 22, 1769 (little trust was placed in the new Pope) and September 12 (there was no talk of the Government effecting a reconciliation with Rome), *ibid.*, $\frac{294}{1039}$.

[3] Orsini's *letter to Tanucci, Rome, May 26, 1769 (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4877), and Azpuru's *report to Grimaldi, Rome, June 1, 1769 ("no duda de la extincion de la Compañia despues vió y oyó el Papa en d. audiencia que me referió el otro dia con gran complacencia confirmandome la noticia que dì el correo passado de que irá Nuncio Mgr. Conti luego que se ajustasen las diferencias entre su corte y esta"). Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, June 25, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1474.

ment was premature, as it happened, as even the Pope spoke of a misunderstanding.[1] But there was no doubt that things were moving in a peaceful direction ; one indication was that on August 14th, the day after he had presented his letters of credence, Almada had the Papal arms exhibited at his residence alongside the Portuguese.[2]

Clement XIV. conducted the negotiations directly and in the greatest secrecy with the King and with Pombal. It was agreed that in return for the readmission of a nuncio to Lisbon the red hat was to be bestowed on Paulo Carvalho, the brother of the all-powerful Minister and president of the tribunal of the Inquisition, which was completely dependent on the Government.[3] Of the four proposed candidates for the nunciature Pombal had given his preference to the Auditor of the Rota, Innocenzo Conti,[4] clearly because, as Azpuru rightly surmised, this prelate had the " merit " of being in the Jesuits' bad books.[5] For this reason too, even during the conclave, Conti had been marked down by the French ambassador, Aubeterre, for the Secretaryship of State.[6]

Conti received his appointment as nuncio on November 26th and at the same time the Pope sent his portrait to Pombal by Almada.[7]

November 26th, 1769, had been chosen for the publication of Conti's appointment because this was the day on which the Pope solemnly took possession of the Lateran and, as was correctly anticipated, the joyful spirit of the Romans was bound to be increased by the news of the restoration of peace

[1] *Rivera to Lascaris, June 30, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5885.

[2] NOVAES, XV., 167, *cf.* 172 *seqq.*

[3] SCHÄFER, V., 456.

[4] *Collecção*, III., 71.

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 29, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. On November 30 Azpuru *reported to Fr. Joachin that Conti had been accused of Jesuitism. *Ibid.*

[6] *Aubeterre to Azpuru, Rome, May 21 and 22, 1769, *ibid.*

[7] *Collecção*, III., 71 *seqq.*

with Portugal.[1] Everyone was very happy, reported Cardinal Orsini on November 30th, and regarded the renewal of diplomatic relations with Portugal as evidence of the Pope's desire to be on good terms with the Courts. Almada, he said, had played some part in the turn of affairs, but the chief merit was due to His Holiness.[2]

The event came as a complete surprise to everyone.[3] Owing to the strict secrecy with which the negotiations had been conducted, it was some time before it became known how it had been brought about. Even the Spanish ambassador, Azpuru, who usually was excellently informed by his spies, reported on November 30th, 1769, that he had not yet been able to lift the veil.[4] It was not till the secret consistory of December 18th, 1769, that a little more light was thrown on the subject, when the Pope appointed a Cardinal *in petto*,[5] the person chosen being Pombal's brother, Paulo Carvalho. How high a price this was to pay for peace may be seen from Cardinal Pacca's opinion, according to which the newly appointed Cardinal was even worse than his brother; he had allowed himself to be used by the Minister for any and every purpose, including even the judicial murder of Malagrida.[6] Prospects of further concessions were held out to the Portuguese Government. The Brief in which Clement XIV. thanked the king for accepting Conti as nuncio contained the assurance that he, the Pope, would give him the same proofs of his co-operation in the matter known to him (namely that of the Jesuits) as he would to the Spanish king. A similar hint appeared in the Pope's letter of thanks to Pombal, of the same date. In this the Minister is described as the originator

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 30, 1769, *loc. cit.*, and *Orsini to V. Macedonio on the same day, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{295}{1040}$.

[2] *Orsini to Viviani, November 30, 1769, *ibid.*

[3] Azara, I., 369 *seqq.*

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 30, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[5] Novaes, XV., 176.

[6] Pacca, *Notizie*, 68; Duhr, *Pombal*, 131.

of the peace which had been restored and which, it was hoped, would be a lasting one.[1]

By the time these words were written, events in Lisbon had almost endangered the reconciliation. On December 3rd, 1769, an attempt was made on the king's life. Immediately the Jesuits were accused, on no evidence whatever, of being the originators of the outrage. The opportunity was taken by Almada of joining, along with the Bourbon envoys,[2] the enemies of the Jesuits by submitting a memorial in which he demanded the suppression of so dangerous an Order.[3]

Clement XIV. visited S. Antonio, the national church of the Portuguese, on January 15th, to thank God for the preservation of the king's life, sent him a special message of congratulation, and on January 18th, the feast of the Chair of St. Peter, caused a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung in St. Peter's. On the 29th in an allocution delivered in a Consistory before the assembled Cardinals he expressed his horror at the attempted assassination and his joy at the preservation of the king's precious life. At the same Consistory Paulo Carvalho's cardinalitial appointment was made public.[4]

The Jubilee Bull of September 11th and the Papal letter of December 12th, the latter addressed to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops throughout the Christian world,[5] had already been sent, on January 4th, 1770, by the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Prime Minister, so that he could make them known to the Portuguese Bishops. Pombal replied on February 4th, 1770, that he had immediately laid them before the king, in whom they had aroused so strong feelings of filial tenderness, edification, and pious gratitude that it was

[1] Text of both documents, dated December 10, 1769, in *Collecção*, III., 72 *seq.*

[2] GOMEZ, 239 *seq.* *Cf.* below, Chap. III.

[3] Azpuru's *reports of January 11 and 18, 1770; a copy of Almada's memorial is attached to the latter. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Collecção*, III., 142, 145; *Bull. Cont.*, V., 144. *Cf.* the king's autograph letter of thanks in *Collecção*, III., 146.

[5] Text in THEINER, *Epist.*, 39 *seqq.*

impossible for him to put them into words. "I am in whole-hearted agreement," continued Pombal, who had suddenly become a pious believer, "in the most sacred truths which the Holy Father has set out with such firmness—truths in which we must believe and in accordance with which we must act, truths which are again being defended so brilliantly by the Holy See of St. Peter against those pernicious and rebellious opinions which are so numerous and which invoke the spirit of disunity in order to destroy the Catholic piety of recent centuries. Now that men's minds are being set at rest by the Church's love of peace, we will trustfully throw ourselves into the arms of God's omnipotence which has decided to give Christ's flock so holy and enlightened a shepherd, and we will hope that he will also succeed in bringing back the strayed sheep to the one and only flock." [1]

On February 25th Pombal addressed another letter of thanks to the Pope, with similarly pious phrases about the Encyclicals. On this occasion he referred to the goodwill which Clement XIV. had promised to show in the question of the Jesuits, "the most important matter with which the Catholic world has been occupied since the revolutionary appearance of Calvin and Luther." The king, he added, was in no doubt about the fulfilment of the "sacred promise" given by the Pope.[2] At the same time Almada was instructed to go on pressing for the abolition of the Jesuit Order.[3]

When the news reached Lisbon on February 18th, 1770, that Paulo Carvalho's cardinalitial appointment had been made public, the recipient of the honour was no longer alive.[4] His place in the Sacred College was to be taken by another favourite of Pombal's, João Cosme da Cunha, Bishop of Evora.[5] Pombal first succeeded in securing Cunha's appointment on March 31st, 1770, as Grand Inquisitor, the former

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 502 n. *Cf.* also *Collecçao*, III. 254 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, 149.

[4] Lebzeltern's report in DUHR, *Pombal*, 131.

[5] In Lisbon Carvalho's replacement by Cunha had been envisaged as early as January 18, 1770; *v. Collecção*, III., 238.

holder of the office having been banished to a convent (where he was still living) for defending the rights of the Church.[1] This appointment was communicated by the Pope to the Portuguese king and his Minister on April 5th.[2] At the same time the Lisbon Government requested that other creatures of Pombal's be rewarded with episcopal sees and that a number of monasteries be suppressed.[3] A particularly difficult problem was presented by the see of Coimbra, whose excellent Bishop, Miguel d'Annunciação, had been deposed by Pombal in 1768 for having condemned works by Voltaire, Rousseau, and "Febronius" and had been thrown into prison as a traitor to his country.[4] The Minister refusing under any conditions to agree to the Bishop's reinstatement, Clement XIV. asked the prisoner to resign "for the sake of peace", which he refused to do, since "he could not with a good conscience abandon his diocese, which Pombal had ravaged".[5]

The negotiations on this affair and, still more, Almada's fresh demands concerning the Lisbon nunciature, delayed Conti's departure. He finally set out on February 3rd, 1770, after having been honoured with the title of Archbishop of Tarsus.[6] The negotiations being still in progress, he made no attempt to hurry, and chose the overland route, reaching Turin in the middle of March.[7] While crossing the Pyrenees he caught a feverish cold which necessitated his staying at

[1] *Cf.* our account, XXXVI, 366.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 241 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*; THEINER, *Epist.*, 74 *seqq.*

[3] *Collecção*, III., 256 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*

[4] Lebzeltern's reports in DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 113. *Cf.* our account, XXXVI, 364. The pastoral letter in the *Life of Pombal*, trans. Jagemann, II., Dessau, 1782, 270 *seq.*

[5] "*se tuta conscientia sponsae suae valedicere non posse, eo quod magis magisque a despota Carvalho fuisset dilaniata."

[6] Cherubini (Portuguese nuncio 1817–1823), *Nunziat. di Portog., 148, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] Conti's *letters to Pallavicini, Florence, February 2, 1770 (Nunziat. di Portog., 118, *ibid.*), and Turin, March 4, 1770 (*ibid.*, 119).

Gerona from April 22nd till May 5th.[1] On May 22nd he reported from Barcelona, and on June 5th from the Spanish capital, which he had reached on the eve of Whit Sunday.[2] After spending five days at Aranjuez as the guest of the Spanish king[3] he finally made his entry into Lisbon on June 28th. The Pope had remitted him 60,000 *scudi* to enable him to make an imposing appearance.[4] In Lisbon there was great jubilation over the attitude of the new Pope, who was lauded to the skies, the news having arrived that he had not had the Bull *In Coena Domini* read on Maundy Thursday.[5] This had been done by all the Popes until then, as the document contained a summary of the censures reserved to the Head of the Church.[6] Philip II. and Rudolf II., labouring under the delusion that the excommunications caused unrest and discontent, had forbidden their publication in their domains, and when, on January 30th, 1768, Clement XIII. had used the Bull for solemnly excommunicating the Duke of Parma for having trampled on ecclesiastical liberty, a regular onslaught was launched against it. Pombal immediately caused the printing and the sale of the document, or the appeal to it in a court of law, to be prohibited, as an act of rebellion. Besides Parma, Naples, Genoa, Venice, and even the Empress Maria Theresa joined in the fight against the Bull. A scurrilous pamphlet produced by the anti-Roman writer Le Bret[7] depicted in lurid colours the "fearful consequences for the State and the Church of the infamous Bull *In Coena*". Clement XIV. had already

[1] *Letters to Pallavicini, Gerona, April 22, and May 5, 1770, *ibid.*, 119.

[2] *Conti to Pallavicini, Barcelona, May 22, 1770, and Madrid, June 5, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] *Conti to Pallavicini, Madrid, June 11, 1770. *ibid.*

[4] *Cherubini, *loc. cit.*

[5] DUHR, *Pombal*, 137.

[6] For what follows, *cf. Hist.-polit. Bl.*, VII., 78 *seqq.*; HAUSMANN, *Reservatfälle*, 384 *seq.*; DIENDORFER, in the *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, II.², 1475 *seqq.*

[7] Published in 1769, the name of the place where it was printed not being given.

failed to make any mention of the Bull in his announcement of the jubilee of 1769.[1] On April 5th, 1770, the Spanish ambassador, Azpuru, was able to report that he had learnt from a reliable source that it would not be published on Maundy Thursday. A week later he confirmed this news.[2] The Pope had yielded to the pressure put on him by the enlightened Ministers of the Courts. Many regarded this policy as a false one and as a heavy blow to the prestige of the Holy See. Dissatisfaction was shown by the Cardinals, who had not been consulted, joy by the "enlighteners", who, as, for instance, the Voltairian Azara, declared it a triumph of good sense to do away with "this monstrous Bull, a work of darkness and a treaty with the Devil".[3] But men of Azara's type were still not satisfied, for, they held, even though the Bull was not published, the excommunications still went on; it must be formally revoked once for all.[4] In the following years too the reading of the Bull was omitted. The Pope told Cardinal Orsini that he had never understood how, in contrast with the discipline of the first centuries of Christianity, such a custom could have taken shape, and on Maundy Thursday of all days[5]—a view which was hardly the result of deep study.[6] In 1774 he ordained that it was no longer to be cited.[7]

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, September 12, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1474.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 5 and 12, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] AZARA, II., 43 *seq.*, 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, 62.

[5] *Orsini to V. Macedonio, March 27, 1771 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{301}{1046}$), and *Orsini to Tanucci, March 29, 1771: "In questo tempo di riconciliazione de' fedeli con Dio, non avea mai capito perchè in questi giorni si era introdotto il costume di fare alcuni passi totalmente contrari a questa vera massima ed alla disciplina de' primi secoli della Chiesa" (*ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1478).

[6] For the manifold reasons why Maundy Thursday seemed particularly suitable for the exclusion of certain persons from the Christian community, see BINTERIM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, V., 3, 197.

[7] *Brunati to Colloredo, July 18, 1774, State Archives, Vienna.

As if by way of reward for Clement XIV.'s highly conciliatory attitude, Conti was to be received in as grand a manner as possible. The nuncio described in a self-satisfied way the great marks of honour with which he was welcomed. On crossing the frontier he was met, not by a small detachment of troops, as was his predecessor, but by a complete regiment. The king had placed his own galley at his disposal for the crossing of the Tagus, and his state coach was waiting for him on the other side.[1]

On July 4th, 1770, Conti, on entering office, was received in audience by the king and queen ; his Briefs of authority for the exercise of his jurisdiction he had first to lay before the Ministry. "They will be returned to me," he reported on July 10th, "with a covering letter containing certain restrictions mutually determined in accordance with an old formula. This has not been done yet, but it soon will be, and then I shall be able to present to the Court and to the Ministers the persons appointed to exercise the jurisdiction and to manage the affairs of the nunciature's tribunal. To-morrow I am to have a formal audience of Pombal, who has been prevented by indisposition from receiving me on previous days. Everything is being done here with the greatest propriety and in the most harmonious spirit, so that I hope that in future we shall settle all affairs quickly and satisfactorily."[2] In a second dispatch of the same day Conti reported that he had been specially commissioned by the king to bring to the knowledge of the Holy Father his urgent desire to display openly to the whole world his filial devotion to the Holy See. The same commission had been given him by the queen.[3] Conti was highly pleased with the first official audience he had with Pombal, which took place at last on July 11th. For two hours, he reported, he had discussed current business with the Minister, whose disposition he found most favourable for the restoration of

[1] Conti to Pallavicini, from Lisbon, July 3, 1770, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 510 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 511.

[3] *Ibid.*, 511 *seq.*

complete harmony with the Holy See. He had also been assured that his Briefs of authority would be returned to him shortly. They had been passed for perusal to the tribunal of the Embargo (dispatch). On returning the visit on the following day Pombal informed the nuncio that now only the royal assent was needed for the opening of the nunciature, but Pombal was prevented by indisposition from obtaining it immediately.[1] In spite of these complications Conti reported on July 24th that he was perfectly content and he laid stress on Pombal's honesty.[2] On July 31st he submitted a report on the good intentions of the king and queen ; the queen had implored her husband to make an honourable peace with the Holy See at last.[3] Thus encouraged, Conti, on August 1st, represented to the Minister the inconveniences that had arisen since the prohibition in 1760 of communication with Rome. Many Bishops had granted all manner of dispensations for marriage between different degrees of relationship, with the added clause : " since the prevention of free recourse to the Holy See still continues." Several of them, including the Cardinal Patriarch himself, continued to exercise this self-conferred right, even in the presence of the Papal nuncio, being too ready to comply with the civil authority, which had not yet revoked the edict of 1760. Conti asked Pombal to put an end to the situation as soon as possible. When the nuncio made further urgent representations Pombal offered the excuse that he had been prevented by eye-trouble from settling the matter immediately and promised to satisfy Conti with the least possible delay.[4] He repeated this assurance on August 14th and succeeded in pacifying the nuncio.[5]

Conti's patience was tested still further until finally, on August 23rd, Pombal informed him that the king assented to

[1] *Ibid.*, 512.

[2] *Conti to Pallavicini, July 24, 1770, Nunziat. di Portog., 119A, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cifra from Conti to Pallavicini, July 31, 1770, *ibid.*, 118.

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 517.

[5] *Conti to Pallavicini, August 14, 1770, *loc. cit.*, 119A.

the tribunal of the nunciature being opened without prejudice to the laws and rights of the kingdom. The relative edict, however, provided only for the suspension of the ordinance of August 4th, 1760,[1] announcing the break with Rome, but in such a way, it is true, as to leave the duration of the suspension undetermined. The term "suspension" could not well be avoided, Conti observed apologetically in his report of August 25th, 1770, to the Cardinal Secretary of State, "because the word 'revocation' was too likely to impair the honour of the ruler, who himself issued the ordinance of 1760 against Rome."[2]

In his eagerness to show the world some success as the result of his pacific policy, Clement XIV. had not waited for the opening of the nunciature, but on receiving the first reports of Conti's honourable reception had expressed to the Cardinals in a secret Consistory of August 6th, 1770, his "unbelievable joy" at the attitude of the Portuguese Government. The king, he said, had "suddenly and of his own accord offered him his love" and with fresh and important proofs of his filial feelings he had increased respect for the Holy See, that excellent heritage of his ancestors. He was sure that in the future, too, he would be able to give the whole Church cause for rejoicing. To show the king his goodwill and his respect, the Pope, at the same Consistory, raised to the purple the Archbishop of Evora, João da Cunha, the Foreign Minister's brother. The red hat was to be taken to him by Cesare Lambertini, a grand-nephew of Benedict XIV.[3] At the same

[1] *Collecção*, III., 107 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 519. *G. Antonini to Pallavicini, from Lisbon, August 25, 1770: "Oggi doppo aperta la Nunziatura è stato presentato [the nunciature staff of officials] al Re da Monsignor Nunzio." Nunziat. di Portog., *loc. cit.*

[3] THEINER, *Epist.*, 100 *seq.* *Ibid.*, the Briefs of thanks to the King of Portugal and to Pombal, and on pp. 105 *seq.* the letter dealing with Lambertini's mission. Pallavicini's *letter to Almada about Cunha's promotion, of August 6, 1770, in Nunziat. di Portog., 144, *loc. cit.*

time new Bishops were installed in six Portuguese sees, two of which were new erections.[1]

The negotiations between Clement XIV. and Pombal having been conducted with the strictest secrecy, the announcement on September 14th, 1770, of the opening of the Portuguese nunciature[2] was received in Rome with the most joyful surprise and raised the highest hopes.[3] Cardinals Bernis and Orsini sent flattering letters of congratulation to Almada.[4] The Pope displayed the greatest satisfaction. Avid of success, he accepted the proposal, even before the negotiations on the Portuguese nunciature had been concluded, to have a medal struck for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul with the inscription *Post tenebras lucem.* Objections were raised to this immediately, and the Pope suspended the stamping of the medal, reserving to himself the composition of the final legend.[5] On Almada's advice[6] he chose at length the motto *Sol refulsit*, which Azara regarded as a sign of unparalleled conceit.[7] Another supposed inscription was straightway circulated by the satirists: *Sol refulsit et nos in tenebris ambulamus.*[8] The celebration of the success was, in fact, decidedly premature, for Conti, it was true, had made his triumphal entry into Lisbon, but Pombal was still holding back the revocation of the ordinance of 1760. It was being said by the Romans that he was embracing Rome with one hand and boxing its ears with the other.[9] Nevertheless the Pope decided to celebrate the occasion with more than ordinary pomp—more as if a victory like that of Lepanto had

[1] Azara, II., 88.

[2] *Azpuru to Tanucci, September 14, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{400}{1145}$.

[3] *Cf.* Cardinal Albani's *letter of September 15, 1770, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican, and Azara, II., 104.

[4] *Collecção*, III., 114 *seq.*

[5] Azara, II., 68 (June 7, 1770).

[6] *Ibid.*, 77.

[7] *Ibid.*, 72 (June 21, 1770); *cf.* 77.

[8] *Ibid.*, 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, 75 (June 28, 1770).

been won, remarked Azara[1]—and what was more, immediately. Foot-trouble, however, necessitated the Pope's postponement of the festival and it was not until September 24th, 1770,[2] that a Consistory was held in which Clement XIV. announced his success to the Cardinals. He had chosen September 24th, he said, because on that day thirty years before he had come to Rome and on the same day in 1759 he had been received into the Sacred College. In the further course of his speech Clement went to excessive lengths in expressing his extraordinary joy and his admiration of the king and queen. Generous compliments were lavished also on Almada and Pombal. The latter, he asserted, had now given glorious proofs of his zeal and his respect for the Pope and of his loyalty to the king. The Cardinals were asked to express their gratitude and their devotion to the Portuguese rulers by open manifestations of joy.[3] Immediately after the Consistory the Pope, who told those who congratulated him that it was the happiest day of his life, proceeded to the church of SS. Apostoli, where a *Te Deum* was sung. In the afternoon he went in solemn procession to S. Antonio, the national church of the Portuguese, attended Benediction there and presented the church with the Golden Rose. For the evening the illumination of the whole city was ordered.[4] Full of self-confidence, the Pope remarked to Cardinal Bernis, "Do you see now how I am ruling alone, as I told you I would as we left the conclave?" His Holiness, the Cardinal reported to Choiseul on September 25th, "is at the height of his joy and glory."[5] More thoughtful persons, including many of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 105.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 112.

[3] THEINER, *Epist.*, 109 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 107, the Briefs of thanks to the King of Portugal and to Pombal, dated September 20, 1770. Almada's *letter of thanks to Pallavicini, Rome, September 26, 1770, for the Pope's "eccellente allocuzione", in Nunziat. di Portog., 144, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Azpuru to Tanucci, September 28, 1770, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 525 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 526.

Cardinals, doubted on very good grounds the justification for these feelings, having seen no sign of any reparation for the insults which Portugal had offered to the Holy See and being well aware of the price at which peace had been bought.[1]

Directly the settlement had been made known, Azara, with the keen perception of an enemy of Rome, remarked to those who upheld the settlement that perhaps they might tell him what Pombal meant by the rights of the Crown which were to suffer no prejudice. Until they saw that the nunciature was reopened they had no cause to rejoice as they were doing. Rome expected the ordinances against the Holy See to be revoked, but he could see no sign of it. On the contrary, only the prohibition of communication with the Curia had been revoked, certainly not everything that had happened in the last ten years to the advantage of the royal rights, and that, forsooth, was no trifle. In fact, since the Pope, in making the settlement, renounced any counterclaims, it amounted to a ratification of what had happened since 1760.[2]

This view was completely justified. Clement XIV.'s victory over Portugal was a Pyrrhic one, a serious defeat and a weakening of the Church in Portugal.[3] Similarly, the bestowal of the purple on Cunha as on Paulo Carvalho cannot be described otherwise than as an accommodating gesture of doubtful value.

Pombal, whose success had won for him a special distinction from the king,[4] observed in the fulsome letter he sent the Pope

[1] CHERUBINI, *Nunziat. Lusit., II., in Nunziat. di Portog., 148, *loc. cit.*

[2] AZARA, II., 104.

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, *Pombal*, 129 *seqq.*, based on Lebzeltern's reports.

[4] On September 27, 1770, the Minister, formerly Count of Oeyras, received the title "Count of Pombal" (*v.* *CHERUBINI, *loc. cit.*), under which name he is known in history. Conti, who *reported this on September 28, 1770, to Pallavicini, remarked, "Credo che il premio al conte d'Oeyras sia relativo alle cose nostre. Il Re ha molto gradito la straordinaria premura del Ministro nel conciliare gli affari con me." Nunziat. di Portog., 119A, Papal Secret Archives.

to thank him for Cunha's appointment, that the man who had been promoted was closely bound to his deceased brother Paulo by ties of veneration, respect, and true friendship.[1] This praise was very understandable. The Austrian envoy Lebzeltern described Cunha as a man devoid of talent or any particular merit, who from being a mere monk had raised himself in a few years to such a high position by his blind subjection to Pombal's will and his complete devotion to his person. On account of his relationship with the most powerful and illustrious families in the kingdom, Pombal considered him a likely person to act as a support for his family one day in the future. With this object in view he had tried to attach him to his person by conferring great distinctions on him and by showing a complete confidence in him. Cunha was also the only person to whom the Minister opened his mind and who seemed to some extent to enjoy his esteem.[2]

Cunha's submissiveness to the Government was shown during the break with Rome, when he had taken it on himself to issue dispensations within the degrees of relationship reserved to the Pope, and in the face of all Pombal's forcible measures he maintained a cowardly silence, when, indeed, he was not eagerly supporting him.[3] A signal proof of this was his acceptance of the presidency of the royal censor's office (*Real mesa censoria*),[4] which performed its duties in an anti-clerical spirit.[5] In this he was supported by the Oratorian Antonio Pereira, who was said by Cardinal Pacca to have exalted the episcopal authority in his works with Jansenistic cunning, so as to abase the primacy of the Pope and to reduce it to a mere title of honour.[6]

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 520.

[2] DUHR, *Pombal*, 132.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* below, p. 129.

[5] SCHÄFER, V., 453 *seq.*, and, in addition, DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 65 *seq.* For character sketches of the *mesa censoria*, *cf.* the *letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State Pallavicini to the Portuguese nuncio Muti, of May 15, 1777, Nunziat. di Portog., 187, *loc. cit.*

[6] PACCA, *Notizie*, 70.

A courtier through and through, the Archbishop of Evora preferred to take up his residence in the capital rather than in his diocese. Later (in 1771) he obtained the Pope's permission to do so on condition that he showed himself to his flock at least from time to time, but it was six years before this happened, when it was a question of receiving the king there. Afterwards Cunha repaid Pombal's many benefactions by leaving the sinking ship in good time.[1]

Cunha's admission into the College of Cardinals was by no means the only concession that Clement XIV. had to make. Pombal had many other demands to make. Sorely in need of money, he aimed at incorporating the revenues of rich monasteries in the State treasury. From April 1770 onwards Almada was instructed to press for the dissolution of nine Augustinian convents whose estates had been destined for the Franciscan convent at Mafra. The Franciscans there were to be distributed among other convents of their Order, the convent itself was to be taken away from them and placed under royal patronage, which meant that the prior, the vicar, and four counsellors would be appointed by the king. In Almada's instruction it was said that these measures, necessary "for the service of God", could be taken by the king himself, with the assent of the Bishops, but he preferred, "out of filial respect for His Holiness," to seek his consent. The alleged reason for the whole attack was the necessary reform of the Religious, whose decay Pombal was otherwise encouraging. Actually it was a question of gaining an annual revenue of 80,000 guilders for the State treasury.[2] The result of the lengthy negotiations was that Clement XIV. gave his assent to the extraordinary measures in a Bull of July 4th, 1770.[3] He also gave way when Pombal asked for a free pardon for Pagliarini, who had been excommunicated and hanged in effigy for the letters he had written not only against the Jesuits but also the Curia. In May 1771 Conti was able to

[1] DUHR, *Pombal*, 132, 134.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 275 *seqq*. *Cf*. DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 43, 120.

[3] *Collecção*, III., 281 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, V., 201 *seq.*

hand over to the king a Brief in which Pagliarini was absolved from all blame and was decorated with the distinguished Order of the Golden Spur ![1]

Far more serious were the concessions which the Pope deemed fitting to be made in regard to the occupation of the Portuguese sees. Pombal's intention was to reward the prelates who were servants of the Government, and for this reason he pressed for the erection of new sees. The towns selected for this purpose were Beja in the archdiocese of Evora, Penafiel in the diocese of Oporto, and Braganza in the diocese of Miranda. In this case, too, the alleged reason for the measure was the need of religion, whereby an impudent reference was made to Cunha's pastoral solicitude as Archbishop of Evora.[2] The actual purpose of these episcopal appointments is disclosed by a glance at the Government nominees. Four of them had signed the "outrageously unjust verdict"[3] passed by the royal censoring authority on the pastoral letter of the excellent Bishop of Coimbra merely because he had condemned some writings of the Encyclopedists.[4] The first of these four, Manoel de Vasconcellos Pereira, who also had rendered good service to Pombal as Inquisitor in Lisbon, became Bishop of Miranda; the second, Frey Manoel de Cenaculo, according to Lebzeltern a man of learning but still more an intriguer and a creature of Pombal's, received the see of Beja; the third, Frey Ignacio de S. Cayetano, received that of Penafiel; and the fourth, Lemos de Faria, was earmarked for Coimbra.[5] In the autumn of 1770 Pombal had the triumph of witnessing the arrival of the Papal Bulls which fulfilled his desires and confirmed the appointment of the eight new Bishops nominated by the king.[6] For three dioceses no nomination had yet been

[1] Lebzeltern's report, in DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 24. *Cf.* also the derision in AZARA, I., 196.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 256 *seqq.*

[3] The expression used in DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[4] *Collecção*, III., 300 *seq.* *Cf.* our account, XXXVI, 364.

[5] *Ibid.*, 257 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 262; *Bull. Cont.*, V., 203, 207, 210. The Bulls are dated July 10, 1770. The see of Pinhel was erected on the same

made, and Pombal was in no hurry to see to the matter.[1] Faria's nomination to Coimbra presented a special difficulty. The then Bishop, Miguel d'Annunciação, had been deposed—though only by Pombal—and condemned to lifelong imprisonment,[2] but this deposition had no ecclesiastical validity and the admirable Bishop was standing on his rights. Though urged by Conti to release him, Pombal refused,[3] and it was not till July 1771 that the Bishop's secretary and his Vicar General could leave the gaol in which they had languished for three years.[4] Nor was there any talk of releasing the other priests and Religious whom Pombal had thrown into horrible gaols.[5] Finally, even in this important question of the bishopric of Coimbra, Clement XIV. gave way. On April 12th, 1774, Lemos de Faria, who had been appointed by the Government as Vicar Capitular of Coimbra in December 1768,[6] was appointed at the Pope's instigation Bishop Miguel's coadjutor and successor.[7] The imposition of this man on the diocese was all the worse for his having taken the place of the rightful Bishop, under the Government's protection, and for his having exercised his powers in a Jansenistic direction.[8]

Probably none of these things could have happened had not Conti, the Lisbon nuncio, allowed himself to be deluded so grievously by Pombal. As it was, this weak man attributed far too much importance to the Minister's eloquent assurances and to the honours paid him by Pombal both in the capital

day (*ibid.*, 213), that of Castelbranco on June 7, 1770 (*ibid.*, 189). *V. Macedonio to Orsini, Lisbon, October 22, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{304}{1049}$; DUHR, *Pombal*, 134 *seq.*

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, November 9, 1771, and April 21, 1772. Nunziat. di Portog., 119, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 299 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 313 *seqq.*

[4] *V. Macedonio to Orsini, from Lisbon, July 9, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{303}{1048}$.

[5] PACCA, *Notizie*, 68; DUHR, *Pombal*, 134.

[6] *Collecção*, III., 312.

[7] *Ibid.*, 318 *seqq.*

[8] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 134 *seq.*

and at his country seat. Conti reported gleefully on September 25th, 1770, that at the first dinner he had given to the diplomatic corps Pombal had been present from the very start, contrary to his custom, which was not to appear at such functions until the coffee was served.[1] The king also giving repeated assurances in the strongest terms of his devotion to the Holy See, Conti indulged in the most extravagant hopes of the restoration of concord between Lisbon and Rome.[2] Even later he failed to discern the aims pursued by the Portuguese Government. "The attention shown me by Pombal," he wrote in his report of July 28th, 1772, "is unbelievable. His cordiality compels my sincerest gratitude."[3] But of positive results of the Minister's affection for the nuncio there was little to show. Nevertheless, a step in the right direction had been made a year before: the king, in a circular letter, had requested all the Bishops in the realm to resume in their ordinances the former phrase "Bishop by the grace of the Apostolic See" (*et Sedis Apostolicae gratia*) and to pay, as before, the fees for dispensations to the tribunal of the nunciature, these fees having in the meantime been received by the episcopal curias.[4] In return for this the Pope was all the more willing to meet the wishes of the Government respecting the translations of Bishops,[5] in which it was nearly always a question of rewarding courtiers. The nuncio was won over by the appointment to bishoprics of two of his officials who were Portuguese.[6] In Rome, from time to time, Conti's intimacy with Pombal aroused suspicion,[7] but it was allayed by the consideration that Pombal was after all the most authoritative man in Lisbon and was continuing to be such in spite of the visible deterioration of his health which set in at

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, September 4 and 25, 1770, Nunziat. di Portog., 119A and 119, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Conti to Pallavicini, November 27, 1770, *ibid.*, 119.

[3] *Conti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1772, *ibid.*, 119A.

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 83.

[5] *Conti to Pallavicini, January 14, 1772, *loc. cit.*, 118.

[6] *Conti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1772, *ibid.*, 119A.

[7] CHERUBINI, *Nunziat. Lusit., II., *ibid.*, 148.

the beginning of 1772.[1] He had talked the well-meaning but weak king into believing that it was the Jesuits who had formerly prevented harmonious relations with the Holy See and that he alone was in a position to maintain them now that they had been restored.[2] Clement XIV., having led a cloistered existence and with no knowledge of the world, was no match at all for the crafty Pombal. He still went on hoping for an honourable peace, whereas the cunning statesman was concerned only with creating the appearance of one, his real purpose being to obtain as many concessions as he could. Among these was the Papal renewal in the autumn of 1771 of the ratification of the Crusade Bull, which brought in two million guilders for the Government, of which sum the Roman Curia received only 18,000 guilders.[3] Other Papal Bulls, observed the historian of the Portuguese nunciature, had no interest for Pombal, since, as he himself used to say, they brought in nothing.[4]

Nowhere else is the spirit of Pombal's ecclesiastical policy so clearly visible as in its effect on the religious Orders. After the Jesuits had been driven out, the other Orders were to be brought into complete dependence on the Government, since by this means their further decay would be promoted and the Government could lay its hands on their rich estates.[5] To Conti fell the almost impossible task of upholding the rights of the Orders "without declaring war on the Government".[6] Already in December 1770 he had to report on Pombal's astounding plans in regard to the Capuchins.[7] When it was evident that the Minister's aim was to nullify any influence that the Generals resident abroad might bring to bear on their Orders, the Pope commanded Conti to work for the retention

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, February 3, 1772, *ibid.*, 119.

[2] *Cherubini, *loc. cit.*

[3] Duhr, *Pombal*, 141.

[4] *Cherubini, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*

[6] *Conti to Pallavicini, December 25, 1770, Nunziat. di Portog., *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ibid.*

of the conditions prevailing hitherto, but at the same time to use the greatest prudence.[1] Conti did his utmost to save "what was left of the rights still possessed by the Holy See" and to circumvent the great difficulties caused by the attitude of the Government.[2] But the more he conceded—which, as he himself admitted, was a great deal—the more he was confronted with fresh demands. From time to time they were too much, even for him, and he rejected them.[3] He neither could nor would have anything to do with the complete exclusion of the foreign Generals from the government of the Orders in Portugal.[4] It was but a slight consolation for him that the royal couple were repeatedly giving assurances of their devotion to the Holy See, that all the Ministers vied with one another in paying him honour and, as he thought, showing him unprecedented helpfulness in the affairs of the nunciature.[5] But as for the Orders, he had to acknowledge in the summer of 1772 that under the cover of reform the Government was working for their destruction.[6]

Equally unpleasant experiences had to be undergone by Conti in all other ecclesiastical matters. In May, 1771, there appeared a collection of all the laws affecting the ecclesiastical sphere which had been issued in the previous decade.[7] Among them were regulations appreciably restricting the Church's acquisition of property, pious requests, even for Masses for the dead, and the admission of novices into the Orders. By a royal decree even the ordination of a priest was made dependent on the Government's permission.[8] The collection of laws, Conti had to report to Rome, contained all the

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, September 10, 1771, *ibid.*

[2] *Conti to Pallavicini, February 26 and April 22, 1772, *ibid.*

[3] *Conti to Pallavicini, May 26, 1772, *ibid.*, 119A.

[4] *Conti to Pallavicini, June 16, 1772, *ibid.*

[5] *Conti to Pallavicini, July 10, 1772, *ibid.*, from which I took the date, whereas the text is printed without the date in the *Vita di Clemente XIV.*, Venezia, 1775, 52 *seq.*

[6] *Conti to Pallavicini, July 21, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Conti to Pallavicini, May 11, 1771, *ibid.*

[8] Schäfer, V., 458 *seq.*; Duhr, *Pombal*, 115 *seq.*

regulations which had led to the serious injury of the Church's rights in Portugal.[1] From Rome warnings were sent to Conti to be vigilant ; he replied that he would not fail in this respect but that success did not depend on him and that perhaps no one could effect a change in such circumstances.[2]

Besides the laws proper, many ordinances, either written or verbal, had been issued which were harming the Church and which did not escape Conti's attention, but no authentic information about them was obtainable. Thus, in 1760 all Orders for men or women were forbidden to admit novices. Although it was thought that this prohibition was to last only ten years, in 1770 the royal assent had still to be sought for the admission of every monk or nun.[3]

Outstanding among the innovations made during the breach with Rome was the royal board of censors (*Real mesa censoria*), which was set up on April 5th, 1768, and of which mention has already been made. It was preceded by a decree which suppressed the Bull *In coena Domini* and all Bulls relating to the Index which had been issued subsequently without the royal *Placet*, ordered their surrender within three months, and forbade their reprinting and sale. The *Real mesa censoria* had its headquarters in the Court in Lisbon, it had at its head a president, and it had its own specific jurisdiction in everything that concerned the examination, approval, or condemnation of books and writings printed in or imported into Portugal.[4] This authority was to be used to prohibit all works which defended the rights of the Holy See and opposed the nationalization of the Portuguese Church.[5] Conti's representation of the authority as being as harmless as possible [6] was not in accordance with the facts, for even after the restoration of

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, March 22, 1772, *loc. cit.*, 119A.

[2] *Conti to Pallavicini, September 1, 1772, *ibid.*

[3] *Conti to Pallavicini, March 22, 1772, *ibid.*

[4] SCHÄFER, V., 453 ; DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 114.

[5] *Cf.* the French ambassador's report, of April 19, 1768, in SANTAREM, VII., 328.

[6] Report of January 29, 1771, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 76 *seqq.*

peace with the Holy See the censorship was exercised in an anti-Roman direction just as much as before,[1] which even Conti could not gloss over.[2] The Inquisition, which had become a purely State institution, exerting its powers in the same direction, the books of innovating authors could be distributed in Portugal without hindrance, whereas the importation and printing of Catholic writings met with the greatest difficulties. The means employed to spread anti-clerical doctrines are shown by an instance cited by Cardinal Pacca. An application to read forbidden books received the answer from the royal board of censors that it was permissible to read a work so notoriously anti-Christian as Bayle's Encyclopædia, but that other works, especially those by Bellarmine, were forbidden ![3]

An even more effective means of propagating his principles was found by Pombal in the complete reformation of the university of Coimbra. As a precursor of the "reform" a voluminous work was put into circulation by Pombal, ascribing the decay of studies at Coimbra to the bad influence of the Jesuits, though, in the opinion of the Austrian envoy, Lebzeltern, the charges brought against them were merely an endless repetition of spiteful accusations and contradictory absurdities.[4]

After Pombal had had himself proclaimed Visitor of the university in August 1772 the new statutes were solemnly

[1] CHERUBINI, *Nunziat. Lusit., II., *loc. cit.*

[2] On January 14, 1771, he *reported, "Assai spesso [la Mesa censoria] proibisce l'uso di quelle opere che non incontrano la fortuna del clima." As many were doubting that the licences of the *Mesa* were permitted, he was issuing them. On November 10, 1771, he *reported that the *Mesa* had approved the theses of certain clerics which he would not have been able to approve. Nunziat. di Portog., 119A, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the important *report from Pacca to Consalvi, dated Lisbon, September 18, 1800, and partly in cipher, which provides a most instructive survey of the development of ecclesiastical affairs in Portugal resulting from Pombal's efforts. *Ibid.*, 134.

[4] DUHR, *Pombal*, 98, 99 *seqq.*

announced on September 29th.[1] This was followed by the opening, with great pomp—Conti being among those present at the ceremony—of the "new" university. The king's satisfaction was not shared by the students. After the reading of the statutes there was an uproar which was not easily quelled. At first only a hundred of the former two thousand students stayed on, and even by December the number of those who came back amounted only to four hundred. As the university could not continue its existence in these conditions a fresh tax was imposed for its benefit, creating a very bad impression.[2] Taking no notice of this, Conti reported to Rome on December 22nd, 1772, on the earnest endeavour with which the completion of the great work of the new university was being taken in hand; Pombal was indefatigable and was making every effort to ensure the success of the institution.[3] The nuncio seems to have been totally unaware of the Minister's intention in "reforming" the university, though the character of the persons chosen for the purpose should have aroused his suspicion. After Cardinal Cunha the most noteworthy person whose services were enlisted was the new Bishop of Beja, Manoel de Cenaculo, who in conjunction with Antonio Pereira revised on anti-Roman lines the statutes for the theological faculty.[4] The appointment of the professors followed on the same lines.[5] The "reform" was also eagerly promoted by Lemos de Faria, who did his best to influence education in the diocese of Coimbra in a Jansenist and Febronianist spirit. Like Cunha in the diocese of Evora, he introduced Montpellier's Catechism, which had been rejected by the Holy See.[6] Pacca said of this man, who had been entrusted with the supervision of Coimbra University, that he might be described without any misgiving as an open heretic,

[1] GOMEZ, 300.

[2] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 100 *seq.*, in accordance with Lebzeltern's reports.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 191.

[4] SCHÄFER, V., 439.

[5] *CHERUBINI, *loc. cit.*

[6] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 134 *seqq.*; *cf.* 114.

by reason both of his anti-Catholic principles and his implacable hatred of the Apostolic See. All officials and advocates and Church dignitaries underwent their training at this university and Faria took advantage of this to imbue them with his principles. Thus it was, according to Pacca, that almost all who had studied here were filled with innovatory views and a dislike of the Holy See and its representatives that verged on hatred.[1]

These consequences did not develop to their full effect until later, but they originated in the time of Conti's nunciature. The nuncio's attitude of optimism persisted too long, but in the end even he was forced to reckon with the impossibility of the nunciature tribunal attaining any importance. Under the influence of the views taught at Coimbra, the public abandoned the nunciature and had recourse to the royal Ministers. In consequence, the nunciature tribunal found itself with insufficient revenue, and Portuguese priests or insignificant advocates had to be employed to co-operate with the Papally appointed Auditor.[2] In addition to this, things developed badly in another direction. After its reopening the nunciature was assailed by the Ministry with royal requests that increased as time went on. These Conti thought that he had to consider, to avoid worse ills. This gave rise to the opinion that the nuncio was in duty bound to pay attention to such representations and that any resistance to them was a crime. But the royal proposals affected such important matters of church discipline as the suspension of Chapters of Orders and the appointment of Provincials, whereby the nuncio was not allowed to choose freely the worthiest and fittest men for the post. By degrees the Government took upon itself the appointment not only of the Superiors of Orders but also their procurators and even doorkeepers. Still worse,

[1] See Pacca's *report of September 18, 1800, *loc. cit.*, mentioned at p. 130, n. 3. *Cf.* also *CHERUBINI, *loc. cit.*

[2] Pacca's *report of September 18, 1800, *ibid.* Conti also had to complain of the paucity of the fees coming into the nunciature tribunal; see his *report of March 19, 1771, *ibid.*, 119.

it demanded, and obtained, the authority to appoint Apostolic Visitors with extraordinary powers. This led inevitably to the complete disintegration of monastic life, the monks now striving solely to win the favour of the Ministers and even the ladies of the Court, since by this means the nuncio would be forced to fulfil their wishes.[1]

Conti suffered under these conditions as much as his successors. In a report of March 22nd, 1772, he poured out vehement complaints about the decay of the nunciature tribunal.[2] On Pombal's recommendation Clement XIV. had already created him a Cardinal *in petto* at a secret Consistory held on September 23rd, 1771. His friends in Lisbon waited for the publication with growing impatience.[3] Conti must have sighed with relief when it ensued on April 19th, 1773,[4] announcing, as it did, the approaching end of his difficult nunciature. His successor, Bernardino Muti,[5] was appointed on December 2nd, 1773. Conti remained at his post until Muti arrived in Lisbon in the spring of 1774,[6] when he advised

[1] Pacca's *report of September 18, 1800, *ibid.*

[2] " *Da tali e tante novità non è cosa strana che ne derivi la decadenza del tribunale di questa Nunziatura. Una volta che i luoghi pii non possono acquistare e colla scusa delle mani morte tutto resta in mano ai secolari o al fisco, le cause ecclesiastiche devono mancare per necessità. Tutte le questioni di legati pii, di enfiteusi, di testamenti, di donazioni, di fondazioni, di cento altri articoli privativi al foro ecclesiastico sono andate in fumo, e a dir la verità, ora nella Nunziatura il numero e la qualità delle cause si riduce alla sola materia de' sponsali. Di più tutte le grazie che faceva il Nunzio a frati e monache sono ridotte al niente, perchè quando non si moltiplica il numero de' soggetti le grazie antiche non si rinovano e niuna se ne concede di nuova." Conti to Pallavicini, March 22, 1772, *ibid.*

[3] V. Macedonio's *letters to Orsini, of May 15, June 18 and 25, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma.

[4] Novaes, XV., 191.

[5] Karttunen, 251.

[6] Conti's *report of January 25, 1774 (" Si prepara a partire senz' altro avviso coll' espressa condizione di consumare tutto l'occorrente di sua commissione e dopo aver posto Msgr. Muti in

him to exercise the greatest caution in his dealings with "the highly jealous and suspicious Portuguese Government". How justified this warning was, Muti very quickly realized. "Here," he reported on August 11th, 1774, "all letters are opened."[1] It was for this reason that Conti had already had the cipher code of the nunciature changed in his day.[2]

In spite of all the signs shown by Clement XIV. of his conciliatory attitude, Almada continued his demands for the abolition of the Jesuit Order.[3] It was remarkable, on the other hand, that the interest of the Portuguese Government in this affair, which it itself had initiated, suddenly seemed to flag. There being no question of Pombal's animosity against the Jesuits cooling off, this attitude was inexplicable.[4] But undoubtedly the chief driving force behind the demand for the suppression was not Portugal but Spain.

corrente esercizio"), and April 28. One of Muti's first official duties was to forward an **Editto della Reale Mesa Censoria* of April 28, 1774, which condemned a written work dealing with Malagrida's innocence. Nunziat. di Portog., 120, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Muti to Pallavicini, August 11, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] Conti's *report from Lisbon, June 2, 1772, *ibid.*, 119A.

[3] Gomez, 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, 248.

CHAPTER III.

The Bourbons' Demand for the Total Abolition of the Society of Jesus and Clement XIV.'s Resistance in the First Years of His Pontificate.

As in the case with Portugal, Clement XIV., as soon as he was elected, strove to obtain peace with Spain, France, and Naples by showing them the utmost goodwill. Here, however, he was faced with far more serious obstacles, the three closely united Bourbon Courts being determined to make a settlement dependent on the granting of very great demands. According to the ultimatum drawn up by Choiseul while the conclave was still in progress, the new Pope was to be compelled, by force if necessary, to make the following concessions: (1) Satisfaction for the duke of Parma; (2) the surrender of Benevento and Pontecorvo to Naples, which, in return, was to waive its claim to Castro and Ronciglione; (3) the surrender of Avignon and Venaissin to France in return for a monetary compensation; (4) the total abolition of the Jesuit Order.[1]

With regard to the last point it was long thought that Cardinal Ganganelli had given a definite promise during the conclave and that his election had resulted from it. The authentic history of Ganganelli's elevation to the Papacy, however, shows that those who imputed to him a simoniacal transaction were doing him a grievous injustice. It has been proved, on the contrary, that the Cardinal refused to enter into any such pact and that there is no question of his having given a formal promise before his election.[2] It is equally certain, however, that the ambiguous position towards the Jesuit question which he had adopted as a Cardinal was maintained by him in the conclave.

Inexperienced in the ways of the world, the Cardinal did not realize what a lever this attitude of his was giving to the enemies of the Jesuits; now that he was Pope they could

[1] Masson, 119. [2] *Cf.* above, p. 78.

exert pressure on him. If the utterances he had made, they calculated, were a true reflection of his inward conviction, he must, now that he had acquired the power, as Head of the Church, to suppress the Society, put them into execution. At first, however, this calculation showed no sign of coming true, though there was some evidence to indicate that Clement XIV. was moved by anti-Jesuit feelings. When the Generals of the religious Orders presented themselves, as usual, to do homage to the new Pope, they were all received with affection except the Jesuit General Ricci, who was given an icy welcome by Clement XIV. When Ricci commended his Order to the Pope, the latter said not a word in reply but straightway imparted his blessing, which, of course, was the sign of dismissal.[1] No less interest was aroused by the Pope's retention of the office of *ponens* for the process of beatification of the anti-Jesuit Palafox, which was so eagerly espoused by Charles III. Clement told the Spanish ambassador Azpuru that he would take a particular interest in the matter on account of his veneration of Bishop Palafox and his regard for the king's desire. As for the suppression of the Jesuit Order, Azpuru obtained no very clear statement from the Pope, it is true, but he thought that there were grounds for hoping that his king's wish in this matter, too, would receive favourable attention, seeing that the Pope himself had told him that he would remove the obstacles.[2] The French

[1] On May 25, 1769, Azpuru *reported to Grimaldi on the "frialdad con que [Clement XIV] recivió al beso del pie al General de la Compañia a quien dijo pocas palabras, y cuando le recomendó su Religion, lo despidió immediatamente, dandole Su Sª benedicion, singularidad que hasido generalmente notada, y se tiene por un pronostico de la extincion, mayormente comparada esta sequedad con el amor y benevolencia con que recivió a los demas generales"; which the Jesuits also admitted to be "muy funesto pronostico". Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] "*Se quitarian las espinas" (Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 25, 1769, *ibid.*). Orsini had already *reported to Tanucci on May 23, 1769, that the Pope would continue to be the "Ponente della

ambassador Aubeterre was assured by Clement XIV. at an audience on May 31st, 1769, that he would arrange everything to the satisfaction of the House of Bourbon; as for the Jesuits, he must be given a little time, as he could not do everything at once; but he could assure him that the Courts would have cause to be satisfied.[1]

Like Aubeterre, Azpuru, at another audience on June 3rd, made no official request for the suppression of the Jesuits but merely stressed his king's great interest in the matter, arising from "Catholic zeal for the good of the Church", he being her obedient son and protector. Azpuru received the same answer as Aubeterre; he also learnt at this time that the Pope had spoken disapprovingly to Cardinal Orsini and the Maltese envoy of the Jesuits' attitude during the pontificate of Clement XIII.[2] On June 15th Azpuru reported to Madrid that not a day passed without the Pope's showing signs of his goodwill regarding the suppression, so that there could be no doubt about it. In the audience he had granted him the day before he had spoken in exactly the same way as on June 3rd and he had asked confidentially for information about the property of the Spanish Jesuits in Rome. The Secretary of the Propaganda, Marefoschi, was collecting in the archives all the documents relating to the Jesuits, and Palafox's process was to be accelerated. Azpuru concluded: "I have no doubt that the Pope will satisfy our king in everything."[3] Tanucci's friend, the Neapolitan agent Centomani, gave it as his opinion on June 20th, 1769, that the suppression of the hated Order was imminent or at any rate was no longer remote.[4]

causa Palafoxiana"; on May 26 the Cardinal *wrote that he thought that the Pope would undertake the suppression of the Jesuits. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1473.

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I, 353. *Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 1, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 8, 1769, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 15, 1769, *ibid.*

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, June 20, 1769, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, 1216.

This conception was erroneous if only because the Bourbon envoys had still refrained from taking any official step. This was certainly not due to any lack of zeal, for it is hard to say who nursed the greatest hatred of Loyola's Order—Tanucci in Naples, Choiseul in Paris, or Charles III. in Madrid. The same feelings animated the envoys in Rome, the main topic of whose reports were now the "extincion de los Jesuitas".[1] Azpuru was determined to do everything in his power to bring this about, as he considered that the destruction of the Order was necessary for the good of Christianity.[2] The same view was held by Cardinal Orsini, who had once been a supporter of the Order when the Courts had been more favourably disposed towards it.[3] Cardinal Bernis, too, who succeeded Aubeterre as the French ambassador on June 27th, 1769, was filled with the conviction that now that the main branch of the tree had been lopped off, the axe must be laid to the trunk, for this was demanded by the political situation and the peace of the Catholic States and the Holy See.[4] The underlying reason for the eagerness shown by the Bourbon statesmen was undoubtedly the fact that nothing short of the complete destruction of the Jesuit Order could sanction the forcible measures they had taken in their respective countries.

But despite the unanimity regarding their goal, the means of attaining it were far from clear.[5] Charles III. was of the opinion that the new Pope should be dealt with as firmly as

[1] "Extincion" or "extinction" was the standing expression used in the reports; "suppression" or "abolition" occurs only occasionally. In a *letter to Tanucci of August 1, 1769 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{293}{1038}$), Orsini rejected "ogni espediente medio" and demanded "la totale, intera abolizione" in accordance with Charles III.'s intention.

[2] *Azpuru to Roda, September 12, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 13, 1771, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1477.

[4] Masson, 120. Aubeterre, *reported Orsini to Tanucci on June 27, 1769, was leaving highly dissatisfied with both Bernis and Choiseul. *Ibid.*, 1473.

[5] Masson, 147.

Clement XIII. had been, seeing that he was compromised both by his attitude when he was a Cardinal and by his election, which appeared to be the work of the Bourbons. This view was shared by Azpuru and Aubeterre. But Cardinal Bernis, the experienced diplomat, considered it more advisable to work for their desired object by gentle methods than by blustering and forceful ones. This immediately earned for him the mistrust of the Spanish king, who was burning with desire to see the Jesuit Order completely annihilated. The partisanship left behind by Loyola's disciples, even in the countries from which they had been driven out, he wrote to Louis XV. on June 7th, 1769, was undoubtedly harmful both to religion and to national tranquillity. He considered the appointment of a Cardinal as ambassador endangered the attainment of their common goal to such an extent that Choiseul had some difficulty in setting his mind at rest on the score of Bernis' reliability.[1] Inevitably the view held by the Spanish king affected the relations between Azpuru and Bernis. Even before the Cardinal had taken up his post as ambassador, a serious disagreement arose between them on account of Bernis' unwillingness to put the suppression of the Jesuits before all other demands.[2] Soon their differences grew so many that Azpuru wrote complaining to Madrid that Bernis was trying to postpone the settlement of the Jesuit question as long as possible. This was correct inasmuch as the Cardinal wanted to obtain the extinction of the Order by gradually crippling it, without using force and provoking a stir. The complaints made by Madrid to Paris about Bernis' attitude were so frequent that Choiseul had to defend his ambassador every week.[3]

Madrid was firmly convinced that Bernis was a friend of the Jesuits. Charles III. accused the Cardinal of falsely asserting that he, the king, was trying to conduct the affair by indirect and secret methods. Everything was in the balance, he

[1] MASSON, 122.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 6, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy to Rome.

[3] MASSON, 145 *seq.*

averred, because the Cardinal was not following the instructions of his Court. This charge was quite unfounded, for actually Bernis had no instructions, Versailles not being in so feverish a hurry as Madrid. Choiseul was primarily concerned with the acquisition of Avignon and he feared, not without cause, that Clement XIV. wanted to combine the two affairs. On June 19th, 1769, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, De Fuentes, was instructed to see to it that strict orders were sent through Choiseul to Bernis to work for the suppression with energy and in conjunction with the other Bourbon envoys.[1]

Choiseul took umbrage at the suspicion of the Madrid Cabinet and he disapproved of their haste. "Our feelings about the Jesuits," he wrote to Bernis on July 4th, 1769, "are no less sincere than those of the Courts of Madrid and Naples, and nothing could be more unjust than to try to sow suspicion about our alleged lukewarmness. We have no other desire than to speak and act in conjunction with these two Powers and we shall never refuse to march along with them, step by step. I also notice with regret that our attitude towards their Ministers is far more open and sincere than theirs towards us. However, for prudence sake, we must overlook this and continue to strive as effectively as we possibly can after our worthy object by methods that are gentle, honourable, and creditable to the three Crowns. The way in which the Pope has already expressed his opinion of the Jesuits on various occasions is enough to set our minds at rest, both as regards the issue and his definite wish to be given time to fulfil the demands of the three rulers. The mere fact that he is inclined in this direction entitles him to consideration. Cardinal Solis and Azpuru agree with Your Eminence in this and they would be contradicting themselves were they to complain of a delay the necessity and propriety of which they appeared to acknowledge. But if Azpuru were to make Your Eminence the proposal which has already been submitted to Aubeterre, namely that you should hand the

[1] *Ibid.*, 146.

Pope a copy of the memorandum made for Clement XIII. on the general and complete suppression of the Jesuits, there is nothing against Your Eminence taking this step." "I am entirely of your opinion; in the handling of the matter in question gentleness and firmness must be used simultaneously with skill and intelligence. Success is often delayed by trying to rush things; the only result is to weary and upset the persons who have the say in the matter, and instead of progressing one loses ground. Your Eminence's wise power of discretion is a certain security for your conduct and it is much to be desired that the envoys of Spain and Naples should imitate you in this respect."[1]

This instruction did not reach Rome till July 9th, 1769. On the 5th Bernis had reported from there to Choiseul that two days previously he had had a conversation with Cardinal Orsini and another with Azpuru, with the object of bringing some order and agreement into the proceeding which was occupying the attention of the three Courts. Azpuru had assured him that he would show "the same willingness to follow my advice" as he would Aubeterre's; he had shown him a dispatch which prescribed this line of action. If, as was expected, Cardinal Solis was not entrusted with the affairs of Spain, he, Bernis, would command the greatest influence in all matters of common interest to the three Courts. The Portuguese envoy had spoken in the same sense. He could also reckon on Cardinal Orsini, who, it was true, had the bad habit of reporting to Tanucci the most trivial details that were brought to his attention and of laying too great weight on whatever came to his ears from any quarter.

Bernis reported further that he, Orsini, and Azpuru had had a talk with Almada, who seemed to see the necessity of conducting the affair with great circumspection and absolute secrecy. "We will consult together as to how to find various excuses for seeing the Pope alone. The simplest way, in my opinion, would be to make it appear that the affairs of Parma, Benevento, and Avignon were the subjects of our conversation

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 355 *seq.*

with the Pope."[1] On July 13th, 1769, Bernis reported on a talk he had had with the General of the Augustinians, a Spaniard who had been let into the secrets of the Madrid Cabinet. This enemy of the Jesuits was also convinced that the matter of the suppression must be handled with extreme care and in the greatest secrecy and that it must not be allowed to pass through several persons' hands. The General thought that the carelessness and incompetence of the Portuguese envoy Almada, the imprudent vivacity of Cardinal Orsini, and the limited knowledge possessed by Azpuru resulted in his, Bernis', being badly supported. The General had also called his attention to the presence of Jesuit emissaries among his entourage. In the further course of the conversation the Cardinal managed to shake the General's belief that secret negotiations were being carried on between the Pope and the Spanish Court through the medium of Manuel de Roda and Charles III.'s confessor.[2]

There were two persons whom Cardinal Bernis suspected of working in secret for the Jesuits. He had discovered by clandestine means, he reported, that Cardinal Delle Lanze had been consulted on the Brief to Parma and that he had warmly approved of it. Formerly this Cardinal was reputed to be a Jansenist, but since the expulsion of the Order from France he had become an out-and-out Jesuit. Secret inquiries had also brought to his knowledge that at a recent audience with the Pope this Cardinal had stated in the name of his prince, the King of Sardinia, that even if the Jesuit Order was suppressed he would still keep it in his dominions.

Bernis also viewed with great distrust the offer made by the Polish *chargé d'affaires*, the Marchese Antici, who declared his readiness to subscribe to France's request for the suppression of the Jesuits. Bernis advised Cardinal Orsini to ask the Marchese if he was making the offer in the name of the king and the republic, or merely in the king's name, or of his own accord. "In the first and second cases we would inform our Courts, in the third case we should make no reply." Finally,

[1] *Ibid.*, 354. [2] *Ibid.*, 356.

Bernis reported that probably the Augustinian Georgi, a plain, accommodating, and learned man, of whom the Pope thought very highly, would be given the task of drafting the Bull for the suppression of the Jesuits.[1]

In a private letter bearing the same date, July 13th, Bernis had another, unpleasant, piece of news to impart to Choiseul. Grimaldi had written to Azpuru that an order had been sent to Bernis to renew the request for the suppression, and Azpuru showed the French ambassador Grimaldi's letter on the subject. "This," considered Bernis, "was sadly out of tune with a secret negotiation; and apart from that I am amazed that the Spanish ambassador is not instructed how to handle a case that must be well prepared before it is presented to the Pope. So far as I am concerned I have constantly declared that I would not hold back when Spain had made up its mind to take the Jesuit question in hand; but it must first be decided whether it is to be conducted with the Pope in secret or with a noise and a publicity that would endanger the success of the affair and are bound to create many obstacles." [2]

After Bernis had received on July 19th, 1769, the instruction of the 4th he had no other course but to carry it out. In this he was aided by an unexpected incident.

By a Brief of July 12th, 1769, Clement XIV., following an old custom, had granted indulgences to the missionaries of the Jesuit Order and their charges. In this document it was stated that the Pope was complying with the request of the Jesuit General because he wished to foster and increase the piety and activity of the missionaries in question and the devotion of those to whom they were sent.[3]

The impression made by this Brief, which was perfectly harmless in itself and was couched in the usual chancery style, was unexpectedly great. After all that had gone before it was only natural that the Brief should give rise to much rejoicing among the friends of the Jesuits and the Jesuits themselves, but it was tactless to have it copied and circulated in Rome and elsewhere as a proof that Clement was a friend of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 357 *seqq.* [2] MASSON, 147.
[3] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 30; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 159.

Jesuits and that with the same steadfastness as his predecessor he would reject every request of the Courts for their suppression.[1]

The excitement it aroused in the opposite camp was equally great. Was this mark of favour a prelude to the hoped-for suppression? "What a catastrophe!" Azpuru wrote immediately to Bernis, "A Brief in favour of the Jesuits!" He personally was of the opinion that remonstrances must be made to the Pope. What did His Eminence think about it?[2] This question was easily answered. It was a most opportune moment for the Cardinal to demonstrate to Spain his readiness to co-operate in the Jesuit affair. He invited Azpuru and Orsini to a conference on July 18th, 1769, in the Palazzo Sciarra, which he was occupying until October.[3] All three agreed that the time had come to take official steps. Bernis was charged with the composition of a memorial in which not only was a protest to be made against the Brief but also the suppression of the Jesuit Order was to be demanded.[4] He set about his task without delay. On July 21st Orsini and Azpuru approved the memorial, which Bernis was to present at his next audience.

Clement XIV. was extremely upset by the unexpected effect of the Brief. Cardinal Negroni, who had signed it and who acknowledged that he was in favour of the suppression, protested that it was quite harmless.[5] The Pope was at especial

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 20, 1769, and *Fernando Coronel to Aranda, Rimini, July 28, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Azpuru to Bernis, July 17, 1769, *ibid.*

[3] In October, 1769, Bernis moved into the palazzo built for the De Carolis family by Alessandro Specchi, a pupil of Carlo Fontana's; it faces S. Marcello and belonged to the Jesuits. Later, the house was acquired by the Marchese Simonetti, and in 1833 by the Boncompagni. It is now occupied by the Banco di Roma.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 20, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, July 21, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{293}{1033}$.

pains to pacify Azpuru, through the agency of Bontempi. He assured him that he had approved of the Brief, along with other petitions, without looking into it closely, but he had now forbidden it to be reprinted and he was ready to grant all Spanish missionaries the privileges held by the Jesuits before their expulsion. Azpuru replied that he would report the matter to his king; in any case, it affected not only Spain but also the other Courts which were agreed about the suppression. At the consultation with Bernis and Orsini it was recognized that the Pope was not to blame for the Brief and that he could not withdraw it. In spite of his reassuring them through Bontempi that he had not changed his view and that the Jesuits were triumphing too soon, the ambassadors held to their decision that the memorial must be presented to him.[1] This was done by Cardinal Bernis on July 22nd, at a secret audience which lasted several hours.

The memorial read as follows: "The ambassadors of France, Spain, and Naples have the honour to represent to Your Holiness that in accordance with the instructions of their Courts and at the same time to give the Holy Father a proof of their respect, they have delayed until to-day the renewal of the petition which has already been submitted by their sovereigns to Clement XIII. on the subject of the complete suppression of the Jesuit Order. It seemed fitting to the three Courts not to interrupt Your Holiness's occupation during the first days of Your government and equally to allow Your Holiness the time asked for by Your exalted Self in which to formulate a scheme in a matter the settlement of which is absolutely necessary for the peace of the Church, the tranquillity of the Catholic States, and the preservation of the harmony that must prevail between the State and the Church. Your Holiness has expressed Yourself so clearly and has deigned to enter into the details Yourself of the measures to be taken in this matter, that it would have been a lack of confidence in the virtues of Your Holiness

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 20, 1769, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, July 8, 1769, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1474.

to show impatience regarding the unanimous wishes of the rulers of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal and the secret wishes of all other Catholic princes, who, though they do not openly declare themselves, are awaiting the event.

"As much as a month ago the ambassadors of Spain and Naples received orders from their Governments to resume proceedings against the Jesuits. Cardinal Bernis also received instructions to join in these proceedings, but at the same time to pay every consideration due to the Head of the Church, the ruler of the Pontifical States, and still more to the great merit which Your Holiness above all men possesses.

"The three ambassadors mentioned above would not be presenting again the petition already addressed to Clement XIII. were it not that the Brief of July 12th makes further silence impossible. The Jesuits and their adherents are exploiting this Brief, they are drawing from it conclusions which mislead the weak, foster fanaticism, and encourage the protectors of a degenerate Order. The most virtuous and learned persons have always held its morality to be lax and dangerous, its theology to be anything but strict in matters of importance. Disobeying ecclesiastical ordinances it has taken part in commercial transactions, intrigues, and plots. After careful consideration the four renowned rulers were compelled to drive it out of their dominions, not only for reasons of State but also because of their devotion to religion and their filial respect for the Holy See. Though they have no wish to repeat here the serious charges against the Jesuits, what reply can be made to the following? An Order which at all times and in all countries has made a terrifying impression on other Religious, on the secular clergy, the nobility, the royalty, the Bishops, and even on the Popes, on whom it is wholly dependent, even now, when it is almost destroyed, still inspires terror. The aforesaid Brief, which in other circumstances could only appear as a formality, is in these days, owing to the advantage which the Jesuits are trying to gain from it, capable of stirring up suspicion and uneasiness between the Holy See and the Governments.

"The aforesaid ambassadors were therefore of the

unanimous opinion that it was their duty to carry out the orders of their Governments regarding the suppression of the Jesuit Order. They assure Your Holiness that the three rulers deem this destruction to be profitable and necessary, without thereby violating the secrecy which appears to Your Holiness to be needful in this weighty and difficult matter. They accordingly apply to Your Holiness to-day, asking only that You give the matter Your earnest attention and then issue a favourable reply.

"Your Holiness is too enlightened not to know that the Jesuit Order has always held in honour the principle 'He who is not for us is against us'. Consideration for those who demand absolute devotion is needless. In affairs of this kind time is so precious that the loss of it jeopardizes everything and one runs into danger oneself. Fanaticism is never lulled to sleep, it always has its eyes open and its weapons in its hand; if one pays regard to it one only strengthens it still more. It can only be anticipated and overcome by courage and swift action. Your Holiness knows full well what disastrous consequences can follow for the man who allows time to an adversary who thinks that all is lost. Your Holiness's perspicacity and experience see through everything. May Your Holiness therefore communicate Your thoughts and plans to the rulers who have always formed the support and ornament of the Papal throne; then Your Holiness will find a sure solace and aid in their devotion and power." [1]

Clement XIV. accepted the memorial most reluctantly, regarding it as premature and as a sign of mistrust.[2] He justified the Brief of July 12th, on which the Jesuits had had the impertinence to preen themselves. He had reprimanded

[1] This memorial of the three ambassadors, dated July 22, 1769, in the Archives of Simancas (Est. 5036), the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, and the State Archives, Naples (Esteri-Roma $\frac{290}{1035}$); printed, with no indication of its origin, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 363 *seq.*

[2] For what follows, *cf.* Bernis' report of July 26, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 363 *seq.*

Cardinal Negroni for not having supplied the envoys with advance information of the Brief and would shortly lower the Jesuits' pride by two other Briefs. As for the suppression of the Order, he must pay regard to his conscience and his honour: to his conscience by observing the rules of the Church and following the example set by his predecessors in similar cases; to his honour by not lightly disregarding the consideration he owed to the princes and States which were not asking for the suppression, namely the emperor and empress, the Polish republic, the King of Sardinia, the Venetians, the Genoese, and even the King of Prussia. Although he had been threatened and even made to fear for his life, fear would not prevent him from accommodating the Bourbons immediately. But he also knew the regulations and his obligations, and no human consideration would induce him to renounce them. He promised the three rulers of the House of Bourbon to confirm all the measures they had taken against the Jesuits in their States and he was willing to prevent their return for all time, but he wished to have the considered opinion of the clergy of these kingdoms. "We came to an agreement," added Bernis, "by which the Pope was not to take any step in the matter without giving me time to inform the king about it." Supported by the opinions of the clergy of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, Clement asseverated, he could act on good grounds and with honour. These opinions were sure to be favourable and would be the signal for the other Catholic States to follow suit. All the princes, or at any rate the greater part of them, would petition for the suppression of the Jesuit Order. Meanwhile, he would work towards this goal himself, step by step, and every day he would give greater proof of his sincerity, but prudently and systematically. If the General of the Jesuits were to die he would delay the election of his successor. But he must be given time, and regard must be paid to his position.

When Bernis broached the question of the suspected dealings with Spain, Clement assured him that they had never existed. "He gave me a sufficiently strong proof," continued the Cardinal, in his report to Choiseul, "by asking me earnestly

to suggest to our king (he calls His Majesty 'our king') on his behalf that he petition Charles III. to issue all commands respecting the suppression of the Jesuits through you, Monsieur le Duc, and to direct these instructions exclusively to me, so that these negotiations may continue to be conducted by the Holy Father and myself." Bernis observed that it might be suspected that this proposal originated with him, whereupon the Pope replied with considerable warmth: "Refer everything to me, quote me all the time, write in my name and at my request, for it would be impossible for Cardinal Orsini, careless as he is, to keep such a secret." Finally, Clement promised Bernis to indicate to him another way of communicating with him in safety without increasing the number of audiences. He explained that he was surrounded by adherents of the Jesuits, who were the real masters of the Pontifical States, and that his life was threatened. Nevertheless, his life was in God's hands and he would never be moved by revenge or complaisance, still less by fear, to destroy an Order that had been confirmed by his predecessors. His inmost desire was to please the king and to win his friendship and the benevolence of the other princes. But he was not only the Pope of the Bourbons but also the Pope of the empress, the emperor, and the other Catholic princes. He must also consult the clergy, so as to provide his plans with a respectable basis; the world must not believe that conditions had been imposed upon him in the conclave. At the end of the audience the Pope embraced Bernis several times and told him that he wanted him to be a friend of Brother Lorenzo's and to trust him. "From all this," said Bernis, "we must conclude that time alone will show how much of what I am reporting on the Pope's way of thinking is true. For although I judge him to be very subtle and I have little trust in Italians in general, least of all the Frati, nevertheless it seems to me it would be carrying suspicion too far to imagine that the Pope is only intending to deceive the Courts in order to gain time. As each day passes his actions will throw more light on his character, which I find to be composed of much intelligence, a fairly wide knowledge of foreign

countries, a gift of easy communicativeness, a good memory, no vanity, and extraordinary cheerfulness." [1]

Four days later Azpuru, too, was received in audience by the Pope, who told him what he had told Bernis. He also complained bitterly about the mistrust he was encountering and authorized Azpuru to write to Grimaldi that the king would do well to trust him and let Fra Lorenzo Ganganelli handle the matter. If he was prevented from carrying on with the scheme he had formed he would hand the Jesuit affair over to a Congregation, as Clement XIII. had done. In the face of this threat Azpuru replied that his royal master was far from distrusting His Holiness; on the contrary, he set so much store by the Pope's wisdom, talent, and love of all Catholic princes that he considered it unnecessary to consult anyone else. Clement's reponse to this was that secrecy was an important part of every negotiation, and of this one especially. It was for this reason that he had not consulted even his Secretary of State.[2]

These binding statements of the Pope's, who only asked for time, made a deep impression not only on Bernis and Azpuru but also on Orsini and even Tanucci. It was no slight thing that so violent an anticleric as the Neapolitan Minister should now give it as his opinion that after the fourfold statements made to the Bourbon envoys there could no longer be any doubt about the sincerity of the Pope's promises. He must be given time, for the extinction of the Company was a far more difficult business for the Pope than its expulsion was for the princes. The expulsion had given and was still giving much trouble, and after two years was still incomplete.[3]

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 364 *seq.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 27, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Tanucci to Losada, August 8, 1769, from Naples: "non pare che si deva dubitare della promessa del Papa circa l'estinzione della Compagnia. S. Stà la ha finora ripetuta quattro volte ai tre Ministri Borboni. Vuol tempo; non credo che gli si possa negare. Per il Papa è affare più scabroso di quel che sia stata ai sovrani

As a result of the audiences he had had in the first half of August Azpuru decided to fall in more than ever with Bernis' view that the Pope ought not to be pressed too closely and that he must be allowed to act on his own. There was no doubt that he was seriously contemplating the dissolution of the Order which, as he said, both in the time of Clement XIII. and now was disturbing the peace of the Church and was breeding discord among the princes.[1] On August 12th Azpuru was able to express his thanks for the removal of the Jesuit employed in the Spanish foundation at Loreto. In this connexion Clement remarked that he was happy to meet all the king's wishes; only let him be trusted and given time. It was also on this occasion that the Pope told Azpuru as a secret that in agreement with Bernis he had decided to withdraw from the Jesuits the direction of the Greek College in Rome.[2]

Flattering as was the commission of July 22nd, Bernis saw clearly from the beginning that in view of the persistent distrust of the Madrid Cabinet its execution would prove to be very difficult. He wrote to Choiseul that unless a change took place he could relieve him of his post and entrust the matter entirely to Azpuru. He could only undertake the task if his advice was followed and the path of moderation and prudence was taken. "I am an opponent of all party spirit and I abominate the intrigues, despotism, and fanaticism of the Jesuits. On the other hand, I am fully convinced of the danger that would arise with the triumph of the Jansenists."[3]

Choiseul's chief interest at that time was not the Jesuit question but the acquisition of Avignon. Bernis, however, warned him against combining the two affairs, since success could be obtained only by giving way on one of the two demands. It would be better, he thought, to let the Spaniards

secolari l'espulsione, la quale ha esatta molta cura, la quale dura ancora, e dopo due anni non è finita." Archives of Simancas.

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 10, 1769, *ibid.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 17, 1769, *ibid.*

[3] Masson, 148 *seq.*

handle the Jesuit question, for they had nothing to lose, and Charles III.'s confessor, filled with monkish spite, would have nothing more to say.[1]

It is strange how Madrid persisted in the fixed idea that Bernis was playing a crooked game in the Jesuit affair. Charles III.'s dissatisfaction finally came to such a pitch that Choiseul feared that the political alliance with Spain was endangered. It was for this reason that the matter now assumed for him, the frivolous free-thinker, an importance that he had hitherto failed to ascribe to it. He accordingly decided to disregard every other consideration and on August 7th, 1769, he peremptorily ordered Bernis to address a note to the Pope, threatening to break off diplomatic relations in the event of further delay. Two months would be the limit of his patience.[2] The extent of the Foreign Minister's annoyance can be seen from a confidential letter written in cipher, in his own hand, which he attached to Bernis' instruction. He would not be in the least surprised, he wrote, if in the present circumstances the Pope, who still retained much of the character of the Frati, driven by the cowardly fear of being poisoned, had entered into secret negotiations with the monkish confessor of the Spanish king. Nor would he be surprised if he had offered him the prospect of a red cap. "However that may be," continued Choiseul, "our requests will put a stop to the dealings of the *fratacci*. We shall be free of the squabbles between the Courts which are being stirred up on account of this wretched business—squabbles which might become very serious if we do not cut through the knots. Best of all, we shall counter the intrigues of Monsieur Tanucci. We shall remove for good and all any possible grounds for the insults and suspicions about our indifference towards the suppression of the Jesuits which are being voiced in Madrid, Naples, and even in Lisbon. We shall give the Pope other causes for fear, to set against those he already has. We shall put a stop to the petty Roman tricks and find out what we are to make of the Pope's way of thinking. I have

[1] *Ibid.*, 149 *seq.* [2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 370 *seq.*

no trust in him at all, for it is difficult for a Frate not to be always a Frate, and more difficult still for an Italian Frate to handle matters openly and honestly. Work together with Azpuru, who enjoys Grimaldi's complete confidence. As for the Spanish Cardinals, they are insignificant apes."[1] In another private letter Choiseul complained that the Jesuits had been persecuting him now for ten years. In France, he said, everyone was sure that he had caused their expulsion, in Spain it was thought that he was supporting them. Neither was true, that he would swear before the whole world. In the whole of his life nothing had been so indifferent to him as the Jesuits, but now he had had enough of them, for they had become so much the bugbear of Governments that the people in Madrid forgot England, Pitt, and the most vital interests so as to think only of Loyola's disciples and "to pester me. The deuce take the Jesuits, and the Pope too, if he doesn't rid me of them".[2]

In his anxiety to satisfy Spain Choiseul went to extremes. The aforesaid instruction for Bernis was not enough; on August 3rd, 1769, he uttered the bitterest reproaches to the unsuspecting nuncio, Giraud, about the Brief of July 12th. The king, he declared, was tired of waiting; if the Order was not dissolved within six weeks he would recall Bernis, and France would break with the Holy See. The Spanish envoy De Fuentes, who had appeared in the meantime, also made the most bitter complaints about the Brief, and he and Choiseul decided to inform the Spanish king of the instruction sent to Bernis.[3] In this way Choiseul hoped to put an end to Charles III.'s suspicion and Clement XIV.'s "intrigues".

Bernis had not expected this new instruction and had asked the Pope in a confidential note on August 11th, 1769, to name a day each week on which he could speak to His Holiness;

[1] Choiseul to Bernis, August 2, 1769, partly in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 372, supplemented in MASSON, 151, n. 2.

[2] MASSON, 150 *seq.*

[3] See Giraud's report, in cipher, of August 7, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 369 *seq.*

this would be better, he said, than secret meetings arranged by indirect means. As Clement, to repair the offence given by his Brief of July 12th, had informed the Cardinal that two other Briefs would shortly be published, which would lower the pride of the Jesuits, Bernis thought Madrid would rest content with that and remember that the Pope had to pay regard to those princes who had entrusted their universities, seminaries, and missions to the Jesuits. He was strengthened in this view by Azpuru's having informed him of a dispatch stating that his Government would allow the Pope time. As Choiseul also wrote that Charles III. was pleased with him (Bernis), the latter thought that the two months' grace laid down in the instruction of August 7th was not meant seriously. He believed that in the end he would be able to satisfy Spain without resorting to extreme measures.[1]

Meanwhile, the luckless Clement XIV. was harassed by a thousand apprehensions. His fear of the Jesuits and their friends was so great that he took precautions against being poisoned. Azpuru reported that the Jesuit General Ricci concluded from this fear of the Pope's that it would not come to a suppression.[2] His fear of poisoning, which recurred later, was a source of amusement to Choiseul and Frederick II. The former wrote to Bernis: "The Society of Jesus may be a danger to the State and a collection of intriguers, but it does not consist of poisoners."[3] The Pope was also perturbed by the question of the suppression being discussed in numerous written works, in which curious views were frequently expressed. Two Jesuits in Pesaro went so far as to assert in a highly polemical work entitled "Thoughts on the Behaviour of the Bourbon Courts towards the Jesuits" that the Pope had not the authority to dissolve the Society. This could only irritate Clement XIV., and one can understand his prohibition of the work.[4] It was a great embarrassment to him that not

[1] *Ibid.*, 367 *seq.*; MASSON, 152.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 24, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 554. *Cf.* DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 73.

[4] See, along with THEINER (*Hist.*, I., 382), Bernis' *letter to Azpuru, of August 19, 1769 (he was to inform the Pope of the

only Austria and Sardinia but also Prussia and Russia would have nothing to do with the suppression of the Order.

The Pope also made great difficulties for himself through wanting to do everything on his own and in trusting nobody.[1] He had not even confided in the nuncio Giraud, thinking that he was in connexion with Torrigiani and Ricci,[2] but the whole plan of the suppression had been revealed to the nuncio by Choiseul and through a breach of secrecy on the part of the secretary of the ciphers everything had come to the knowledge of the Jesuits.[3] Clement XIV. was seriously intimidated by Choiseul's threat to break off diplomatic relations. "Why," he complained to the Abbé Deshaises, whom the careful Bernis had sent to him in advance of himself, "should the new Pope be blamed for his predecessors' mistaken attitude towards the Bourbons, especially as he has definitely promised to do everything in his power to repair these errors and commit them to oblivion? Why doubt his sincerity in the Jesuit affair, when he asks only for time, which is absolutely necessary to do justice to the canonical regulations and to the duty, the decency, and the consideration he owes to the clergy and the Catholic princes who have entrusted the Jesuits with their seminaries, missions, colleges, and universities? That cannot be done in two months, which are barely enough for the preparation of a well-reasoned Bull." The Pope expressed his astonishment especially at being threatened with a diplomatic rupture if he did not carry out the complete dissolution of the Jesuit Order within two months. He considered that as Head of the Church and as

work produced by the Jesuits Franchini and Stefanucci at Pesaro), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, also Azpuru's *letter to Grimaldi, of August 24, 1769, *ibid.*

[1] On August 29, 1769, Tanucci *wrote to Losada about the Pope: "Volendo fare tutto da sè, o non volendo aver di chi fidarsi, è naturale che si trovi imbarazzato per tante disposizioni e providenze delle quali ha da esser composta l'Opera Grande." Archives of Simancas.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 375.

[3] Bernis to Choiseul, August 30, 1769, in MASSON, 153.

a secular prince more consideration should be paid to him and that he ought not to be treated as an open enemy when in the three months of his reign he had shown his unalterable determination to satisfy the Bourbons.[1]

Clement XIV. referred to these complaints when Bernis appeared in audience on August 29th, 1769.[2] As evidence of his anti-Jesuit attitude he cited his procedure in the matter of Loreto and Frascati and, still more, his recent forbidding of the Jesuits in Rome to preach in their churches during the jubilee. At the moment, he said, he was working on the condemnation of some of their books and on the closing or restriction of several of their houses. This would give the clergy an opportunity to declare themselves against the Order, and the other Catholic princes to join the Bourbons. France and Spain must support him in this in Germany, Poland, Genoa, and Venice. To doubt his promises regarding the Jesuits was nothing less than to doubt his honesty. Violence and over-hastiness were incompatible with his principles; nothing would be gained by force and threats; but he would always respect the will of "our" king—as he again called Louis XV.—as long as he did not ask him for anything which offended his dignity as Pope and common father of all the faithful. Later on in the conversation the Pope remarked that although many Jesuits had rendered good service to the Church and to learning in the past, the Society itself had always provoked unrest. But he refused to hasten its suppression, as this conflicted with the canonical regulations, common fairness, and a sound and reasonable policy.

Bernis replied that he knew the Jesuits well enough already. It was not a question of convincing him but the Kings of France and Spain. "What am I to do, then?" asked the Pope impatiently. "Am I to go to Versailles and Madrid myself? Shall I commit to writing my honest opinion and send it to our king and the King of Spain? I will do that and hand you the letter together with a copy for Choiseul."

[1] Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 375.

[2] Bernis' report of August 29, 1769, *ibid.*, 376 *seq.*

Nothing could have been more welcome to Bernis than such an offer. Content with this success, he refused under any consideration to take a step further and force an immediate decision. "If the Pope is not given time," he wrote to Choiseul, "and a rupture is brought about, I must ask the king to recall me, for as priest, Bishop, and Cardinal, I will not make the first move leading to the separation of France from the Holy See." [1]

Choiseul, burning with desire to be finished with the Jesuit question, which was proving such a nuisance to him, had sent Bernis on August 26th, 1769, more stringent instructions, at the same time accusing the Pope of ambiguity and dishonesty, particularly for having spoken of obtaining the opinions of the Bishops and the princes who still tolerated the Jesuits. Incidentally, he admitted quite openly that he had not meant his former threats to be taken seriously and had intended them only as a means whereby to spur on the Pope to come to a decision.[2]

How deeply the director of French policy was disgusted with the whole affair can be seen from the letter he sent to Bernis on August 26th. "I do not know," he wrote, "if it was a good thing to drive the Jesuits out of France and Spain. They have been expelled from all the States of the House of Bourbon. I think it was even worse, once these monks had been expelled, to take steps in Rome in a sensational manner to bring about the suppression of the Order and thus call the attention of Europe to the matter. But this has been done, and the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples are at open war with the Jesuits and their adherents. Will it come to a suppression or not? Who will be the victors—the kings or the Jesuits? This is the question which is agitating all the Cabinets and is the source of the intrigues, the annoyance, and the embarrassment of every Catholic Court. Truly one cannot regard this spectacle in cold blood without also perceiving its indecency, and were I ambassador in Rome I should be ashamed of

[1] MASSON, 153 *seqq.*

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 377.

seeing in Father Ricci a worthy opponent of my sovereign." [1] Thus the matter was regarded as purely one of power, not of right. Bernis' reply, of September 9th, was on the same lines: as matters now stood, for the sake of their honour, the Kings of France and Spain would have to win the battle they had begun against the General of the Jesuits. "Only the Pope can win the victory for us and it only remains for us to induce him to do so. He is a Bishop and must follow the canonical forms and must look after the clergy and his own prestige. Being a secular prince, he is obliged to pay considerable regard to the Courts of Vienna and Turin, also Poland. The reply he gave me when I renewed the request can appear suspicious if one really considers him to be too weak or a deceitful character. A poor Religious, the son of a village doctor, with no relations, and no friends in the Sacred College, his strength must be in his spirit, which is not predominant in him as in Sixtus V. but which one cannot deny altogether, seeing that he has openly declared himself against the Jesuits in his public actions and has definitely promised the Ministers of the three Crowns to extinguish this Order in due course. He will even renew this promise to the King of France and the King of Spain under his own hand. That is not a sign of either weakness or deceit. Time will unveil his intentions more and more, and if they are bad there will always be ways of employing threats and the appearance of force, which would now be both unjust and inopportune. The whole art of the negotiations must therefore consist now in inducing the Pope to take some steps every day which will involve him in a net from which he cannot free himself without causing a great stir. No other procedure is applicable to his character, for in this affair he wants to avoid the appearance of obeying the princes more than the canonical regulations." [2]

Clement XIV. acted in accordance with this principle when in southern Italy Tanucci confiscated the properties of the Roman College of the Greeks, so as to force the removal of

[1] *Ibid.*, 378. [2] *Ibid.*, 378 *seq.*

the direction of this institution from the Jesuits. The Pope made this dependent on the previous restoration of the properties, lest he give the impression of yielding to the power of the princes.[1]

Whereas Bernis and even Orsini gave credence to Clement XIV.'s assurances,[2] in Azpuru there was a reawakening of the old mistrust. He complained that the Pope's behaviour was shifty and vacillating: his promises were always of a general, never of a definite nature.[3] Accordingly, another assault seemed necessary. In agreement not only with Azpuru but also with Bernis and Orsini, the Portuguese envoy Almada presented a note from his Government, dated September 15th, demanding the complete extirpation of a Company which was notorious for its disturbance of public order, was hostile to the Popes, and was destructive of Catholic dogma and sound morality.[4] Bernis also presented a fresh memorandum from the Bourbon ambassadors, dated September 18th, which demanded the promise, not only to approve of the measures taken hitherto against the Jesuits in France, Spain, and Naples in a Brief *motu proprio* but also to make known a plan for the complete suppression of the Order.[5] The Pope replied that he was resolved to carry out his promises, but that to satisfy his conscience he wanted the Bourbon Courts to provide him first with a memorandum setting out the reasons for the expulsion

[1] *Ibid.*, 381.

[2] *Orsini to V. Macedonio, September 14, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{294}{1039}$.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 14, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. The letter was in answer to one of Grimaldi's, of August 29, 1769, dealing with the excitement caused by the Brief of July 12, 1769.

[4] *Almada to Clement XIV., September 15, 1769, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, September 12, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1474. Azpuru had instigated Almada to take the step in a *letter of September 10. Archives of Simancas.

[5] *Copies of the *Mémoire* of September 18, 1769, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome and in the State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{290}{1035}$.

of the Jesuits, together with some testimonies from Bishops and theologians ; then no future Pope would be able to declare his Brief invalid.[1]

Eight days later, to confirm his statements, the Pope composed a letter to Louis XV. Out of consideration for the king he chose the French language for the purpose, but as his command of it was none too good and as, for secrecy's sake, he did not wish to speak quite openly, the resulting composition was a curiosity [2] which Bernis thought would make the king laugh. It did, however, succeed in making it clear that the Pope was still resolved to approve whatever steps were taken by the Bourbons in the Jesuit affair and then to dissolve the whole Order as quickly as possible.[3]

When Bernis appeared in audience on September 25th the Pope handed him this letter unsealed and repeated the

[1] Bernis' *letter to Azpuru, of September 19, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, and to Choiseul, of September 20, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 384 ; it is, however, dated September 18 in the copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 4571. See also *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 21, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] According to the *original in the Archives of Foreign Affairs in Paris, the Brief reads as follows : "Clemens P. P. XIV. Charissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Ludovico Francorum Regi. Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem ! Le dernier projet nous manifesté au nom de Votre Royale Majesté par le Cardinal Bernis touchant le commun connu affaire, a été par nous avec agréement accueilli : nous semblant beaucoup à propos pour le bien conduire à sa fin avec satisfaction réciproque. Cependant nous serons en attention de recevoir par le même Cardinal les mémoires qui sont nécessaires pour cela, afin de pouvoir après examiner l'affaire : ce qui ayant été accompli, nous donnerons une marque constante de notre paternelle affection avec laquelle donnons à Votre Majesté et à la Royale sa famille l'apostolique notre bénédiction. Datum apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem pridie calendas octobris 1769, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." *Cf.* MASSON, 154 *seq.* ; THEINER, *Epist.*, 31.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 385 *seq.*

assurances it contained. On Bernis' remarking that it could have been more positive he received the reply that he, the Cardinal, could explain his views in greater detail. The accusation of delay was made light of by the Pope. "Events," he said, "will justify us, both you and me. You are a Bishop and I am the Pope; we have our rules to obey and our honour to preserve; but the sovereigns will be satisfied. If only I could betake myself to the rulers of France and Spain for just an hour! They would do justice to me, and in fact they will do so! As for you, you are my friend, my consolation, and my support. All would be lost if ever you left your post in Rome."

Later on, the Pope informed the Cardinal that an attempt had been made to persuade him that France wanted only a reform of the Jesuits, not their suppression; but he had refused to believe it. With the object of destroying the good relationship between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles he had been advised to give credence to this view, as the alliance was a danger to the Holy See. To this he had replied that Providence had raised him to his exalted position so that he might strengthen the Papal throne by concord with the great sovereigns, and he would always find his glory, his security, and his tranquillity in the preservation of this concord. "In a word," concluded Bernis, "God alone knows the thoughts of men, but it is impossible to express them in a more unexceptionable way than is done by the Pope." [1]

The Papal letter to Louis XV., with its unconditional promise of suppression, provided evidence of both the Pope's and Bernis' straightforward conduct in the whole affair. It was high time that Bernis procured such evidence, for the animosity against him in Madrid, which Choiseul thought he had silenced, had risen to extreme heights. On September 9th, 1769, De Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, had handed Choiseul a dispatch from Grimaldi, of August 28th, which stated in the most severe terms that the Cardinal's conduct was threatening to destroy the good relations between

[1] Report of September 27, 1769, *ibid.*, 386.

Madrid and Paris. "This Cardinal," it said, "is full of ignorance or malice blended with some secret interest. Personally I consider it would be better for His Eminence were we to presume that he is acting in this matter like a dolt." [1]

Choiseul lost no time in justifying the Cardinal's conduct through the medium of the French envoy in Madrid, the Marquis Ossun. Bernis, he said, was co-operating most closely with Azpuru and he could only presume that the accusations came from a personal enemy. If the good relations between Louis XV. and Charles III. were to be preserved, the source of the accusations must be discovered. Ossun, who through his long residence in Madrid had become more Spanish than French, was unable to procure the required information. He knew only of a direct correspondence between Clement XIV. and Charles III.'s confessor, dealing principally with the beatification of Maria of Ágreda and the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.[2]

Bernis had better luck in his investigations. He discovered that the accusation originated with Tanucci, who wanted the kingdom of Naples to be separated from Rome, not only politically but ecclesiastically. For this purpose Benevento was to be wrested from the Pope, the abbeys were to be confiscated and their revenues were to fill the State treasury, and the Bishops were to be nominated by the king. Tanucci feared that if Bernis solved the Jesuit question successfully he would no longer be able to fish in troubled waters.[3] Consequently he was untiring in his intrigues, not only against the

[1] Masson, 155 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 156. Grimaldi, *writing from S. Ildefonso on September 19, 1769, had sent Azpuru Charles III.'s letter about Maria of Ágreda and the Immaculate Conception (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). On September 7, 1769, Clement XIV. had *written to the King of Spain about the progress of the Causa Palafox and at the same time had recommended a letter of the Bishop of Barcelona to be examined by the ecclesiastical judges. (Archives of Simancas, Est. 4977.)

[3] Masson, 157.

Pope but also against Bernis and Azpuru, endeavouring by sowing suspicion to bring their honour into disrepute and contempt.[1] In Rome he used for this purpose his agent Centomani, who acted as *chargé d'affaires* during Cardinal Orsini's *villeggiatura*. "My accusers," Bernis reported to Paris on September 27th, "are Tanucci, Centomani, and Azara. The last-named hoped to grab the sole direction of the Jesuit affair and thereby to open up a diplomatic career for

[1] On September 14, 1769, Tanucci *wrote to Catanti: "E vien Macchiavelli che dice tutt' uomo composto di bene e di male. Probabilmente piacerà anche a Ganganelli il passare sotto questo aforismo, sapendo o dovendo sapere, che in quel suo nuovo mestiere il bene non è stato neppure l'uno per cento." On September 19, 1769, Tanucci *complained to Catanti that the Pope "non mantiene le promesse ai Ghibellini, non le disdice. Laonde e Guelfi e Ghibellini non lo qualificano che per disertore e fanfarone". *Writing to Orsini on September 23, 1769, Tanucci asks: "Why does the Pope want the Bishops' opinions on the suppression? Why does he want to be informed how the Jesuit properties are to be used? And with what right?" On September 26, 1769, Tanucci was *writing to Cattolica: "Le notizie di Roma minacciano burla, e tricare e intrigare e fare addietro quei passi, che si voglion far credere progressi. Tre preti, Ministri dei Borboni in Roma, non mi fanno sperare, e mi fanno temere che stiamo in un castello, che doviamo difendere dalla parte di dentro e dalla parte di fuora." On the same day he *wrote to Losada: "Comincio a sospettare che il Papa ci burli. Dio voglia che non sia vero il sospetto. Certamente ora mette alla sua promessa dell'estinzione dei Gesuiti una condizione, ora una altra, e va anche pescando da noi qualche condiscendenza per la via." He repeats his complaint in another *letter to Losada on October 3: "Non vedo come finirà l'affare di Roma. Finora non sono sicuro di qualche burla dell'accorto Papa. Continua il pascere di promesse, ma in ogni udienza il card. di Bernis trova qualche nuova cosa che il Papa vuole e colorisce in maniera che persuade Bernis e Azpuru. Orsini, se devo credere alle di lui lettere, ascolta e avvisa e non si dichiara." In a *letter to Catanti of October 17, 1769, Tanucci uses stronger language with reference to Clement XIV.'s autumn holiday in the Alban Hills: "Il Papa cavalca, e ride in Castel Gandolfo di chi lo ha fatto, e sperato, e creduto." Writing

himself." Bernis made it clear to Tanucci as well as Choiseul that he would not put up with this behaviour any longer.[1]

The effect the intrigues had in Madrid is seen from a letter of Grimaldi's to Azpuru, dated October 17th, 1769, which described Cardinal Bernis' report of his audience at the end of August as misleading and inaccurate and the procedure proposed by him as offensive to the king. Copies of this letter were dispatched to and received by Bernis besides Choiseul.[2]

In these circumstances it was difficult for Bernis to obtain the required memorandum on the motives of the Bourbons' expulsion of the Jesuits, especially as Choiseul showed little desire for such an exposition but feared rather another delay. The same view was held by De Fuentes, who pointed out that Charles III. had already rejected a similar request made by Clement XIII. Choiseul asserted that it was for the Spanish king to decide this question. "I should be very glad," he wrote on October 9th, 1769, "if there were no such persons as Jesuits, but what interests me much more is that the Spanish

to Roda on the same day, Tanucci says: "Tempo continua a dirci il Papa dopo sei mesi. Intanto dice altre cose, che pur son tempo! I nostri di Roma sperano tuttavia, ma il tempo è lo stratagemma, sul quale Roma suol confidare, e spesso felicemente. Compatisco il Papa che sta circondato da Terziari e da persuasi che i Gesuiti sono lo strumento più efficace ora della machina Romana. Un Papa dotto, che avesse buona intenzione per eseguirla, dovrebbe uscir da Roma." To Losada Tanucci *wrote on October 24, 1769: "How easy it would be for the Pope to copy the Bull against the Jesuati! And the business 'che lo aveva fatto Papa' has been dragging on for six months. But the three Ministers either cannot or will not see through the Roman trickery. Her Imperial Majesty does not hate the Jesuits." . . . "On October 31, 1769, Tanucci was *complaining to Cattolica that Bernis and Azpuru had an interest in supporting the Roman cabals against the suppression. How can there be any fear of the next Pope revoking the suppression! The monkish confessor will have scruples about it." All these letters in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 6009 and 6010.

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 397; MASSON, 157.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 387 *seq.*

king should have no cause to complain about France. Our interest demands that every consideration be paid to Charles III.'s ardent desire for the suppression of the Jesuits." [1]

Choiseul as well as Bernis must have been relieved when it slowly dawned on the Spanish monarch's limited intelligence that Bernis had been suspected unjustly. But this did not by any means put an end to all the discrepancies.[2] Madrid set to work on the memorial required by the Pope, for which the Bishops were invited to state their views,[3] whereas Paris would not hear of any such step.[4] In Rome Bernis, assisted by Azpuru and Orsini, and ignoring Azara's intrigues and agitations,[5] entered on another confidential discussion, in which Almada, the Portuguese representative, also joined. The written work, entitled *Réflexions*, which resulted from their labours, endeavoured to show the impossibility of acceding to the Pope's request for a memorial and put forward the counter request that all the proceedings which had been taken in the Bourbon States against the Jesuits and their property should be approved unconditionally in a Brief *motu proprio* and that finally the sovereigns should be informed of the plan whereby the Order was to be completely suppressed.[6]

[1] MASSON, 157 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 158 *seq.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 398.

[3] The minute of the *circular to the Bishops, dated S. Lorenzo, October 22, 1769, in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 686, which contain also the Bishops' replies; sixteen of them take refuge in an eloquent silence.

[4] MASSON, 159.

[5] In a *letter to Grimaldi of November 2, 1769, Azara declared that Bernis was on bad terms with Azpuru, Orsini with Centomani. Fra Lorenzo (i.e. the Pope): "da oydos á uno y á otro y se rie de entrambos, ganando entretanto tiempo que es el fuerte de su sistema. No piensa hacer nada sino por fuerza y se saldrá con ello." Azpuru, he says, was pretending to be ill so as not to have to execute the business with the Pope that had been entrusted to him. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] "Réflexions à communiquer confidentiellement à S.S. par le card. de Bernis," *ibid.* The conference on the *Réflexions*, to

It was soon seen how difficult it was to give effect to these demands, for the nearer the time approached for a decision the more Clement lapsed into complete despondency. Not only did he fear the Catholic States which had not joined the Bourbons but he was also apprehensive lest England, Prussia, and Russia might stand up for the Jesuits and threaten the Papal States, where his own subjects would rise against him were he really to proceed with the complete suppression of the Order. He was also alarmed by the prophecies of his imminent death which were rife in Rome at this time. When he handed the Pope the *Réflexions* on November 13th, 1769, Bernis tried in vain to persuade him that his fears were exaggerated and were merely bogies conjured up by Jesuit supporters to intimidate him. The Pope retorted that His Eminence did not know the intrigues of the Jesuits well enough ; they were his sworn enemies, they would never forgive the humiliations he had already made them suffer, and he hoped that the Bourbons would appreciate his perilous situation. He only asked for time, to enable him to see to the suppression at a favourable opportunity and in accordance with the canonical regulations. " His Holiness," reported Bernis, " has renewed in the most definite fashion his former promises regarding the *Motu proprio* and the communication of his plan and he has charged me to bring this positive assurance to the attention of the Ministers at the Courts of Paris, Madrid, Naples, and Portugal." " I still maintain, therefore," the Cardinal concluded his report, " that the Pope is honestly working against the Jesuits but that he is full of fears, since he, being a Religious himself, knows far better than anyone else what unruly monks are capable of, when driven to extremes." [1]

Azpuru, too, when he was received in audience the following evening, found the Pope melancholy, worried, and full of fear of Jesuit intrigues, which were robbing him of his sleep. He

which Almada also was invited, took place on November 11, 1769, in Bernis' residence ; *vid.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 16, 1769, *ibid.*

[1] Report of November 15, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 399 *seq.*

had, he said, to apprehend disturbances in the States of the Church, the putting in of Russian ships at Ancona, the appearance of Greeks at Loreto ; and the King of Prussia was favouring the Jesuits. Azpuru tried to calm him by telling him that he could rely on the troops of the Spanish king for his protection. Clement assured him that he would resign the tiara rather than not keep his word with Charles III. Cardinal Orsini was given similar assurances on November 15th.[1]

The extent to which the Pope was dominated at this time by morbid fear of the Jesuits would hardly be believed had we not authentic evidence, especially that of Azpuru [2] and Bernis, to testify to the fact. Wherever he looked he saw the Jesuits plotting against his person and his State : they had bribed his officials ; Antici had sold himself to them, as well as Cardinal Albani ; they were in touch with the Russian fleet which was wintering off Tuscany, and with the Greeks, and they were planning an insurrection in the Papal States. If he was to keep his promise, France must afford him security. "The Pope," thought Bernis, "has looked too long on the deep gap he has to cross." [3]

It is curious how often with Clement XIV. deep depression was succeeded by the opposite emotion ; he had only to think of Sixtus V. to regain courage, which, however, soon disappeared again.[4]

Meanwhile, Louis XV.'s reply, of October 29th, 1769, to the Pope's letter in French, had arrived in Rome. The king

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 16, 1769 (*loc. cit.*) and *Orsini to Tanucci, November 17, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{295}{1040}$.

[2] *Azpuru to Fray Joaquín (De Osma), November 16, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. In a *letter to Grimaldi of November 21 Azpuru draws the following conclusion : "Quanto inescusable y urgente es la entera aniquilacion de una Sociedad que origina tan graves temores a su mismo Gefe." *Ibid.*

[3] See Bernis' reports in MASSON, 159.

[4] "C'est la fièvre tierce, un jour bon, un jour mauvais," says Bernis (*ibid.*, 160). Azpuru, *writing on November 21 (see above, n. 2), mentions that the Pope was quiet and free from fear.

expressed his thanks and his hope that His Holiness would delay no longer in a matter which did not touch on dogma and which lay entirely in his hands. He could assure him that the French clergy would accept the Brief of suppression with submissiveness and gratitude. It lay with the Pope to decide on the most suitable form, but the longer he delayed the greater would be the abuses and difficulties.[1]

On handing this letter to the Pope on November 20th, Bernis supported his king's desire for the speediest possible suppression of the Jesuit Order. The Pope told him that he would carry out his former promises irrevocably, as soon as circumstances permitted. As he had always said, he must also obtain the assent of the Viennese Government and the other princes, for without their counsel and their petition he could not suppress an Order which was being protected by them and which was maintaining so many necessary and useful institutions in their States. The Pope insisted at this audience that he had not promised to suppress the Jesuit Order immediately, but only when circumstances permitted. "I deduced from this clearly enough," said Bernis, "that the Pope fears that his admissions and the promises he has given will be used to force him to do on the spur of the moment what he believes can be done wisely and without loss of his prestige only after a certain lapse of time. I have often remarked that too firm language and too terse arguments displease the Pope and cast down his spirits. Accordingly, as my audience drew to an end, I did my best to encourage him and to persuade him to take at least the first few steps. At the same time I coaxed him into thinking that the difficulties and obstacles which he

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 393 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 394 *seq.*, for the apocryphal letter from Clement XIV. to Louis XV., which first appeared in the *Gazzetta di Florencia* of October 21, 1769. According to Azpuru's *report to Grimaldi, of November 30, 1769 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope was so incensed that he was thinking of making representations to the Florentine Government. Like many others, Clement ascribed this forgery to the Jesuits or their friends. He remarked to Bernis that it was just as well that the Jesuits were always doing something stupid. THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 396.

foresees and which hitherto have occupied too much of his attention will disappear. We shall have our way with the Pope only by persuading him without his noticing it. His gentle and conciliatory character often leads him to make promises without realizing at once their full consequences. Since this last discussion with His Holiness I have realized far more clearly that he must be led on, step by step, whereby one should be generous with coaxings but sparing with threats. As for the *Réflexions* which have just been handed to him the Pope said quite openly that in his *Motu proprio* he would never be able to ratify the dissolution of the Order on the authority of the Parlements, nor the appropriation of the Jesuit estates without knowing precisely how it was carried out. He hoped, however, to formulate his Brief in such a way and to base it on such grounds as would satisfy the sovereigns, without incurring the reasoned reproaches of the Catholic world or the clergy. The material for this Brief had already been prepared and its arrangement was nearly complete. On this point too he would explain himself quite clearly in a letter which he will send to the King of Spain to-morrow. But in view of the publication of this Brief he will describe to his Catholic Majesty his present situation, together with his fears for his own safety and that of his States. He will tell him that he looks to the friendship of the three monarchs, not only for counsel but also for effective means whereby to secure himself against the intrigues and the cunning plots of the Jesuits and their protectors." . . . "The Pope," Bernis added, "says indeed that he has only one fear—not to be true to his duties—but he fears dangers, great and small. He fears to offend certain Powers by complying with the wishes of others. He fears that he will be accused of having accepted the Papacy on condition that he dissolves the Jesuit Order. Above all he fears the revengeful and angry spirit of the Fathers and the intrigues of the old Cardinal Albani, their protector." [1]

For ten days more Clement XIV. put off the dispatch of the

[1] Bernis' report of November 23, 1769, *ibid.*, 400. Bernis had informed Azpuru of his audience in a *letter of November 21, 1769 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). He mentions

promised letter to Charles III., then finally signed it on November 30th. "We conceive it Our special duty," he wrote in his own hand, "to inform your Royal Majesty about Our intentions, which aim always at providing you with visible proofs of the fulfilment of Our obligations. We have made it Our business to collect the documents which We must use in composing the *Motu proprio* agreed upon, by which We will justify to the whole world Your Majesty's wise conduct in expelling the restive and rebellious Jesuits. As We must work at this alone and are burdened with so many other cares, it is not a question of neglect but only of delay, which has become necessary to bring so important a matter to a successful end. We ask Your Majesty not to conceive any distrust of Us, for We are firmly resolved to act, and We are occupied in giving the public irrefutable proofs of Our righteousness. We shall submit to the wise consideration of Your Majesty a plan, which Your Majesty will receive shortly, for the complete dissolution of this Society. We shall also conclude other matters which have been entrusted to the care of Our dear son, Monsignor Azpuru, Your Majesty's plenipotentiary envoy. In short, We shall not cease to provide your Majesty with sincere proofs of Our good-will." [1]

With this formal, written, and unconditional promise Clement XIV. departed from the course he had previously followed, of oral and indefinite assurances. Herewith, in

here also that Almada was supporting him in every step he took. *Cf.* *Orsini to V. Macedonio, November 16, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{295}{1040}$. On November 21 Orsini *reported to Tanucci: "Sabbato Almada fu dal Papa, ma finora tace con noi. Nondimeno è stato invitato al congresso d'oggi" (*ibid.*). On November 30, 1769, Azpuru *reported to Grimaldi once again that the Pope was contemplating the suppression more definitely than ever; to Bernis he was repeating "sus promesas y que haria más de lo que havia ofrecido" (*loc. cit.*).

[1] THEINER, *Epist.*, 37. MASSON (160, n. 3) reproduces from the Archives of Foreign Affairs in Paris the French translation of the Italian original, in which "benevolenza" towards the king has become "zèle et attachement".

regard to the Jesuit question, he took a decisive step forward along the road on which he had set out. In December it was known that he was having preparations made for the suppression by such professed enemies of the Jesuits as Marefoschi, Jacobini, Bishop of Veroli, and the Augustinian Georgi. Marefoschi was to collect the necessary documents, for which task the archives of the Spanish Embassy were placed at his disposal in absolute secrecy.[1] Also at the Pope's instigation the process of Palafox's beatification was resumed.[2] Further assurances were given to Bernis and Azpuru, the Pope asking only for time and giving as one of his reasons the continuing obscurity of the attitude of the Empress Maria Theresa.[3]

Choiseul attributed the greatest importance to the letter written to Charles III. The Pope, he said, could now no longer retreat, for it was highly dangerous to go back on one's word, once it had been given to such a prince as the Spanish monarch.[4]

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, December 5, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{295}{1040}$, and C. Farnes, 1474; *Centomani to Tanucci, December 10, 1769, and *Orsini to Tanucci, December 12 and 15, 1769, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 30 and December 14, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. In a *letter to Losada of January 23, 1770, Tanucci rejoices at Marefoschi's appointment, describing him as "prelato dotto, onesto, savio e conoscitore della cabala Gesuitica e di altri ordini frateschi". (Archives of Simancas, Estado 6011.)

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, December 12, 1769 (there is mention here of Charles III.'s sending the Pope tobacco, cocoa, and vanilla), and Tanucci's *reply of December 16, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, December 14, 1769, and *Grimaldi's letter of thanks, of January 2, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, December 21 and 28, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[4] MASSON, 161. In a *letter to Tanucci of December 9, 1769, Grimaldi asserts that "il papa ha promesso al re l'estinzione in iscritto, finora era stato di palabra" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 6102). Charles III.'s letter of thanks to the Pope, of December 26, 1769, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 540 *seq.*; *cf.* also Grimaldi's *letter to Fuentes, of January 1, 1770, *loc. cit.*, Estado 5088.

And yet from now on the matter was protracted more than ever. Bernis, who had been principally responsible for the promise made to the Spanish king, was not apprised of its text till two months had passed. At the same time he had to suffer the mortification of the whole business being taken out of his hands by Louis XV. and Choiseul and placed entirely in Azpuru's. He thus found himself relegated to the rôle of an idle spectator when, in early January, 1770, Azpuru informed the Pope on behalf of his Government that the required documents could not be supplied until the *Motu proprio* had been drawn up and the plan for the suppression had been made known to them.[1]

Azpuru, for whom Charles III. had obtained the wealthy archbishopric of Valencia as a mark of his satisfaction,[2] had already been unwell in December,[3] and his health did not improve as time went on. Meanwhile great excitement was caused in Rome by the news that an attempt had been made on the life of the King of Portugal.[4] The hot-blooded Almada immediately ascribed the murderous attack to the Jesuits and used this wholly arbitrary supposition as the basis of a memorandum in which he peremptorily demanded the suppression of the Order.[5] This he handed to the Pope in a private audience

[1] Bernis' reports in Masson, 161 *seq.*; *cf.* the *letter sent by Bernis to the sick Azpuru on December 11, 1769 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] *Roda to Azpuru, December 26, 1769 (announcement of the nomination to Valencia), *ibid.*; *cf.* *Fray Joaquín de Osma (Charles III.'s confessor) to Azpuru, December 26, 1769, and *Grimaldi to Azpuru, December 27, 1769, *ibid.* On December 7, 1769, Azpuru had told the king's confessor that the Pope would preconize him as Archbishop of Thebes *i.p.* at the consistory of December 18, "haviendo escogido el papa este titulo"; *cf.* *Azpuru to Fray Joaquin, December 21, 1769, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Fray Joaquin on the same day (his "salud" was "poco menos que arruinada"), *ibid.*

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 9, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1475.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 111.

on January 7th.[1] After reading the document, which was framed in the most violent language, Clement, without making any pronouncement on it, returned it to Almada, who could produce no authority from his Government to take any such step.[2] But the incident had seriously alarmed the Pope, who now renewed his former promises to Azpuru.[3] The opinion of the Augustinian General Vasquez was that though the Pope asked for time he was determined on the suppression.[4]

Nevertheless, and although it was still quite unknown whether the Jesuits had played any part in the crime,[5] Bernis and Orsini made common cause with Almada and decided to remind the Pope of his promise by means of another memorial. It was to be presented by Bernis. Two days before he was received in audience Azpuru had an apoplectic stroke.[6]

The memorial presented by Bernis on January 22nd [7] was such that not even the most outright enemies of the Jesuits have dared to publish it.[8]

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 11, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 512.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 18, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[4] Vasquez to Roda, January 18, 1770, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez I.

[5] Even Almada admitted this (THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 543).

[6] *Bernis to Orsini, January 19, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$, and *Orsini to Tanucci on the same day, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1475.

[7] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 22, 1770, *loc. cit.*, and *Orsini to Tanucci, January 23, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1475.

[8] " Il est vraiment douloureux," even THEINER wrote (*loc. cit.*, 543), " que ce prince de l'Église (Bernis) se soit fait, en cette occasion, l'instrument aveugle de cette intrigue portugaise ; d'autant plus que de tout temps il avait exhorté toujours les cours à la modération et à des conciliantes mesures. Son mémoire, présenté le 20 de ce mois au Saint-Père, est un fidèle écho de la fureur aveugle du Portugal contre la Société de Jésus. Nous le laisserons pour cette raison, ainsi que celui d'Almada, s'éteindre dans l'oubli (pour ne rien dire de plus) qu'il mérite, et nous ne les

Clement's reply was that he gladly accepted it, as Azpuru assured him that it did not contain a single word of distrust of his intentions. He would read it, he said, but he would answer it, not with words but with deeds.[1]

The memorial was approved by Madrid,[2] but no order was issued for any further action. It was content with Choiseul's assent to Spain's taking the lead in the Jesuit affair and with Bernis' compliance.[3] It was now resolved to send Azpuru the written opinions of thirty-four Bishops who had declared in favour of the suppression of the Jesuits, together with a short report on the cause of their expulsion from Spain. These documents, however, were not to be submitted to the

eussions pas même mentionnés, si ce n'eût été nécessaire pour faire connaître au lecteur quelle était, en ces tristes temps, la position du pape . . ."

[1] On January 25, 1770, Orsini *reported on his talk with Bernis on the 23rd, when the latter told him about his audience on the 22nd (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). On January 30, 1770, Orsini *reported to Tanucci: Yesterday the Pope told Bernis that he would answer the memorandum with deeds, not words, as he knew that the Holy See would know no peace with the princes until the Jesuits were suppressed. Bernis calmed him by saying that the King of Spain had a written promise and was satisfied with that. Bernis, who is extremely pleased with the confidence shown by the King of Spain, keeps the said Archbishop of Valencia [Azpuru] informed about everything (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$). Bernis' *letter to Azpuru, of January 30, 1770, refers to the accompanying report of Orsini's, of January 25, 1770 (see above), and adds: "Sa S^té^ a confirmé dans l'audience hier au soir la même réponse: elle a ajouté qu'elle étoit convaincue de la nécessité de supprimer la Société des Jésuites pour le bien et la tranquillité des États catholiques et l' 'avantage du S. Siège'. Elle s'est expliquée par ce point avec plus de franchise et d'ouverture que jamais. Du reste en désirant satisfaire les cours, Sa S^té^ veut agir avec prudence et éviter autant qu'il sera possible les inconvéniens sans chercher cependant de vains prétextes pour différer." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, January 30, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 544.

Pope officially, but only confidentially, as France and probably also Naples were disinclined to take a similar step.[1]

Azpuru, who had recovered his health to some extent but was still ailing,[2] kept the Madrid Cabinet informed about the audiences given to Cardinal Bernis. It was gathered from his reports and the accompanying notes of the Cardinal that the Pope was renewing his promises to produce the *Motu proprio*, was continuously occupied with its composition, and was asking for an Italian translation of the Bishops' opinions.[3] Although this tedious task considerably delayed the matter,[4] it had to be undertaken. On March 6th, 1770, Bernis reported that Marefoschi had been instructed to prepare the *Motu proprio*, the draft of which would be notified to the ambassadors.

[1] With his *letter of January 23, 1770, Roda forwarded the Bishops' reply "sobre la extincion de los Jesuitas para entregarla confidencialmente al papa"; he sent also "una pequeña apuntacion de los motivos que determinaron el extrañamiento" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5078). On the same day Grimaldi sent on the *documents to Azpuru with instructions to show them to Bernis and Orsini (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). On January 27 Grimaldi *authorized Fuentes to show the documents to Choiseul (Archives of Simancas, Estado 4572). The replies of the sixteen Bishops who were against the suppression were not forwarded (**ibid.*, Estado 686).

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 23, 1770: "Azpuru sta malissimo." **Id.* on January 26, 1770: "Martedì il S. Viatico a Azpuru. Oggi sta un po meglio." **Id.* on January 30: "Azpuru sta sempre meglio." **Id.* on February 9th: Azpuru has left his bed (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1475).

[3] *Bernis to Azpuru, March 6, 1770, and *Azpuru's reply on February 7, 1770; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 15, 1770, enclosing Bernis' note of the 13th; **Id.* on February 22, 1770, enclosing Bernis' note of the 20th and Orsini's of the 19th; **Id.* on March 1, 1770, enclosing the Secretary of the Propaganda's request for the translation of the Bishops' opinions. The translator was "Andres Catani, hombre de bien fiado y de secreto" (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 13, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1475.

Although the Pope was seriously occupied with the scheme for the total suppression, the report went on, he was so timorous that he would only advance slowly, step by step.[1] On March 16th the Pope told Bernis that the *Motu proprio* was nearing its end [2]; on the 19th he again assured him of his readiness to fulfil the promises he had made in his letter to Charles III.[3] The same assurance was given to Orsini. "We are working Ourself and having others to work for Us," said the Pope. "The matter is making progress but it must be done well, with the assent of the whole of Europe, such as was given to Our Encyclical." [4]

But little was known of any serious steps being taken against the Jesuits in accordance with these assurances. Bernis and Azpuru could only report that they had been forbidden to hold their Lenten missions and catechizings in S. Ignazio [5] and that they had been relieved of the direction of the seminary in Frascati.[6]

Choiseul, meanwhile, had lost all patience. "This is absolute mockery," he wrote in the margin of the dispatch in which Bernis had reported for the tenth time the work that was being done on the *Motu proprio*.[7] "These alternations of

[1] *Bernis to Azpuru, March 6, 1770, and *Bernis to Choiseul, March 7, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, March 6, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$.

[2] "Touchoit à sa fin." *Bernis to Azpuru, March 17, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[3] Bernis to Azpuru, March 20, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5037.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 20, 1770, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$; *cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, March 22, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, February 2, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1475.

[6] *Centomani to Tanucci, February 16 and 23, 1770, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$, and C. Farnes, 1475; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, February 15, 1770, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, V., 147, and S. Cambo, *Il Tusculo e Frascati*, 43 *seq.*, with a reproduction of the bust of Cardinal York.

[7] Masson, 163.

courage and fear with which the Pope is afflicted *à propos* of the Jesuits," he complained to Bernis on March 27th, 1770, "give us no promise of the speedy or thorough decision which must come about." "It is now almost a year since he has occupied the chair of St. Peter and we have had nothing from him but the promise to produce the *Motu proprio* and the scheme for the suppression of the Order. But we have handed over the direction of the matter to Spain, and it is reported from Madrid that Charles III. is so firmly convinced of the Pope's good intentions and sincerity that he has no fear at all." [1] This was perfectly correct. The only thing that was repeatedly said by Madrid was that Bernis was to keep strictly to Charles III.'s instructions [2] as passed to him by Azpuru.

On March 26th Clement wrote to Azpuru that the material for the *Motu proprio* had been prepared and that he was now waiting for a model for it from a distant country, but he asked that the strictest silence be kept about the whole affair.[3] Although the *Motu proprio* thus lost all its value, no objection was made by Madrid to this request.[4]

When in April Azpuru had to retire to the coast to recuperate, the negotiations were left almost entirely to Orsini and Bernis.[5] On April 3rd Bernis reported to Azpuru that the Pope was working with Marefoschi on the *Motu proprio* and on the scheme for the suppression; his motives were sincere and he had learnt to his joy that no objection would be raised by Vienna. The Pope had also asked him for a copy of Clement XI 's Brief on the suppression of Port Royal.[6] On April 7th

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 548.

[2] *Bernis to Azpuru, February 6, 1770: Every courier from Paris brought him orders to obey every instruction coming from Charles III. (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, February 6 and 13, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{296}{1041}$.

[3] *Copy in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; *cf.* *Bernis to Azpuru, March 28, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 17, 1770, from Madrid, *ibid.*

[5] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 5, 1770, *ibid.*

[6] *Bernis to Azpuru, April 3, 1770, *ibid.*

Orsini informed Azpuru and Bernis, on the Pope's authority, that the *Motu proprio* was being revised, and that the scheme for the suppression would be communicated to Charles III., to whom France and Naples had handed over the further conduct of the matter.[1] On April 9th Orsini wrote to Tanucci that the Pope had almost finished correcting the *Motu proprio* and that in a few days Marefoschi would submit it to him in draft form.[2] But instead of this there was another delay. Succumbing once again to fear and despondency,[3] the Pope suddenly announced on April 23rd that he was not yet able to communicate the draft as he had been unable to discuss certain points with Azpuru, who was indisposed; also he was so dissatisfied with its style that it seemed necessary to reshape the whole document.[4]

Bernis, as well as Orsini and Azpuru, was grievously disappointed by this fresh setback. The French Cardinal, who was suffering from a chill, gave expression to his feelings in a letter to the Pope of April 27th, hinting at the calamitous effects that were likely to ensue.[5] Azpuru wrote a similar letter from Palo, where he was convalescing, and offered to come to Rome to inquire further into the matter.[6] The Pope was seriously put out by this renewed pressure. When Bernis appeared in audience on April 30th he gave vent to the most bitter complaints about Tanucci's ecclesiastical reforms in Naples, which grievously contravened the Spanish concordat of Benedict XIV.'s. In spite of his trying to repair the mistakes made by Clement XIII., he protested, he was being more

[1] *Orsini to Azpuru, April 7, 1770, *ibid.*

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, April 10, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{297}{1042}$. A similar *report was made by Azpuru to Grimaldi on April 12, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Bernis to Choiseul, April 11, 1770, *ibid.*

[4] *Bernis to Azpuru, April 24, 1770, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci on the same day, Esteri-Roma $\frac{297}{1042}$, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Bernis to Clement XIV., April 27, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] *Azpuru to Clement XIV., April 28, 1770, *ibid.*

violently opposed than his predecessor. Nevertheless he would keep his promises to Charles III. and would shortly have the *Motu proprio* ready. But Bernis could not ascertain any precise date for this.[1] Azpuru's comment was that the Pope was frightened of the Jesuits and their friends and that he would have to be encouraged.[2]

At the audiences which were granted to Bernis on every Monday in May he was always given the same assurances.[3] Clement even informed him that in further support of his promises he intended to add another *Motu proprio* to the one which was now almost ready,[4] but the document in question was not to be obtained from him. On May 21st Clement authorized Bernis to pacify Azpuru by referring to this second Brief.[5] At the end of May he told Orsini that the Courts ought to be pleased with the delay, as good use would be made of the time.[6]

What Paris thought of the situation is shown by the comment made by Choiseul to Bernis, that there was a world of difference between going slow and not going at all and that hitherto, as far as he could see, the Pope had not taken a single step to bring about the suppression of the Jesuit Order, which was absolutely necessary.[7] But before this letter arrived in Rome, Bernis, on June 9th, 1770, had again described, and

[1] *Bernis to Azpuru, May 1, 1770, *ibid.*, and *Bernis to Choiseul, May 7, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4571. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, May 1, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{297}{1042}$.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, May 1, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Bernis to Azpuru, May 9 and 16, 1770, *ibid.*; also Archives of Simancas, Estado 5087.

[4] *Bernis to Azpuru, May 22, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.* and *Bernis to Choiseul, May 23, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4571.

[6] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 29, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{297}{1042}$. *Cf.* *Bernis to Azpuru, May 29, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5087.

[7] Choiseul to Bernis, May 20, 1770, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 548.

more urgently than before, the serious consequences of delay.[1] Clement took this insistence very badly; he was neither timorous, nor weak, nor insincere, he told Bernis in audience on June 11th, and it was insulting to mistrust him after the letter he had written to Charles III., and all his other solemn promises. He could give only an hour a day to the *Motu proprio*, but in spite of that it was nearly finished. But he must be given time for the companion document; it was an unheard-of thing to try to bind a Pope down to a time-limit.[2] He expressed himself in similar terms at an audience he granted Bernis on June 18th: in the covering document he intended to throw light on the Jesuit morality, which could not be done so quickly. If he was thought to be honourable he must be trusted; if not, any kind of negotiation was a waste of time.[3]

On June 19th the Pope tried to persuade Azpuru, who was now recovered, of the necessity for the delay in publishing the *Motu proprio*; the king, he said, would see that he would do even more than he had promised; he intended to write to him shortly, but it would have to be kept secret.[4] On June 25th he reassured the French Cardinal that he would keep his promise, but he did not want his scheme to fail for want of deliberation.[5] On July 3rd Bernis reported that the Pope had not gone more deeply into the Jesuit question on the previous day, but had merely remarked that he was still at work and that the delay would not be so long as expected.[6] After the declarations made on July 9th, Bernis wrote on the 11th, it was only a question of time, but he had not been able to obtain

[1] *Bernis au Pape, June 9, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Bernis to Azpuru, June 12, 1770, *ibid.* The Pope's anger was vented wholly on Bernis; his manner towards Orsini and Azpuru was less severe; *vid.* Orsini's *letter about his audience of June 10, dated June 12, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] Bernis to Choiseul, June 20, 1770, in THEINER, *Hist.*, 549. *Cf.* *Bernis to Azpuru, June 19, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 21, 1770, *ibid.*

[5] *Bernis to Azpuru, June 26, 1770, *ibid.*

[6] *Bernis to Azpuru, July 3, 1770, *ibid.*

any clear statement as to how long this would be.[1] Orsini was told by the Pope that he would not be able to give the reason for delaying the *Motu proprio* until later; he wanted the lightning to precede the thunder by only a brief interval and to have its devastating effect only where he directed it.[2]

However dissatisfied he was with the delay, Choiseul firmly refused to allow Bernis to abandon his rôle of passivity.[3] On July 3rd he sent him the most definite instructions not to write or say anything before receiving the order to do so from the Spanish king.[4] Bernis finally received clear information about Madrid's views in mid-July. He discovered that Charles III. had been induced by his confessor, Osma, to grant the Pope the time he had asked for. Osma hoped in this way to obtain the canonization of Maria de Ágreda and the definition as a dogma of the Immaculate Conception. However little sympathy Choiseul had for these aims of the confessor, on July 30th he repeated the order he had given at the beginning of the month.[5] Bernis had no other course but to obey. One must arm oneself with patience, he had written on July 27th,

[1] *Bernis to Azpuru, July 11, 1770, *ibid.*

[2] " *Che il lampo di poco preceda il tuono ed il fulmine danneggi solo dove noi lo indirizzeremo e non altrove." Orsini to Tanucci, July 3, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{295}{1043}$. On July 6, 1770, *Orsini informed Tanucci of the "misteriosi detti e passi del Papa che ha già sul tavolino un minutissimo dettaglio di tutti gli effetti e somministrazioni che hanno i Gesuiti nello Stato pontificio". *Ibid.*

[3] Orsini *reported to Tanucci on June 5, 1770, that at the meeting of the ambassadors Bernis had informed them of a dispatch from Versailles that had come the day before, "sulla dilazione veramente eccessiva della, soppressione dei Gesuiti." State Archives, Naples, Estero-Roma $\frac{297}{1012}$. Orsini himself, as he *wrote to Tanucci on June 12, 1770, thought that Clement XIV. should be given time, as "sovrano" and "Papa". On the 19th he *wrote again to Tanucci, "Il Papa sa bene cio che promise in iscritto al Re Cattolico, inutile di dimandare; Marefoschi dice che seguirà la soppressione." *Ibid.*

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 550.

[5] MASSON, 164 *seqq.*

and not alarm a nervous soul who had been a Religious for more than forty years and did not know how to be a ruler.[1] But Bernis soon grew restive again owing to the report in Rome that Charles, his scruples confirmed by his confessor, would not strike the final blow against the Jesuits. The Pope, it was said, agreed with the confessor, and it would end with the Spanish king withdrawing his request for the suppression of the Jesuit Order. In these circumstances Bernis advanced the view that if nothing happened after the expiration of the time allowed by Spain a firm attitude must be adopted. If this was not done by Spain, France could do so, with the object of acquiring Avignon.[2]

The frivolous Choiseul passed on these confidential messages to Ossun, the French envoy in Madrid, who submitted them to Grimaldi. As a result Bernis was suspected by Charles and his Ministers of wanting to alienate Spain from France and thus to bring about the downfall of Choiseul. Actually, however, Bernis had merely done his duty as reporter and otherwise had kept strictly to the instructions of the Spanish Cabinet as passed to him by Azpuru.[3] When finally Madrid became seriously disturbed [4] and instructed Azpuru at the end of July and again in August to give the Pope an emphatic reminder about his promises,[5] Bernis, at the end of August, lent Azpuru his support. In reply to their representations both received the calming assurances they had heard so often before.[6]

In a long report of September 5th Bernis sought to justify his conduct up to date. It had not been his fault that the affair

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 552.

[2] Report of August 1, 1770, in MASSON, 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, 166 *seq.*

[4] On June 5, 1770, Grimaldi *wrote to Azpuru that the long delay was beginning to cause Charles III. "desconfianza"; *on July 8, 1770: France, too, was beginning to lose confidence. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, July 31, 1770, also on August 6, 14, and 28, 1770, *ibid.*

[6] *Bernis to Azpuru, August 28 and September 4, 1770, and *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 30, 1770, *ibid.*

had not progressed more rapidly. For two months the text of the Papal letter to Charles III., of November 30th, 1769, had been withheld from him. He had been subordinated to an ambassador who wanted to play the lead in spite of his ill-health but who had been unable to provide any means of solving the problem. Bernis then repeated his opinion that the question of the possession of Avignon must be linked with the suppression of the Jesuits, but to this proposition Choiseul again refused to listen.[1] Bernis had to bow to Choiseul's decision on this question as on the continued relinquishment of the entire direction of the Jesuit question into the hands of Spain. Meanwhile Azpuru's insistent pleadings merely elicited from Clement XIV. correspondingly lively renewals of his promises. When the anti-Jesuit Marefoschi, who had been created Cardinal *in petto* on January 29th, was proclaimed as such on September 10th, 1770, the Pope pointed to this as a clear proof of the sincerity of his motives.[2] The resumption of the process of Palafox's beatification at the end of August had the same end in view.[3]

[1] MASSON, 167 *seq.*

[2] Bernis to Azpuru, September 12, 1770, *loc. cit.* Madrid also took this view of Marefoschi's appointment; *vid.* *Grimaldi to Azpuru, October 2, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 21 and 31 and September 21 (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1476): [Copia di lettera scritta dal card. Orsini al sig. marchese Tanucci in data del 21 agosto 1770.] "Fui venerdì alla udienza del Papa e parlando a Sua S^tà^ sul punto della soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù, con buona maniera gli dissi la bella riflessione che V. E. mi scrisse colla sua confidenziale degl' 11, che poteva credersi che l'idea di Sua S^tà^ fosse di fermare sul punto nel quale ora si trovano le cose, e trattenere tutte le potenze, che vogliono l'estinzione de' Gesuiti, nell'espettazione, e nella inazione; e gli feci questo discorso, perchè nel congresso tenutosi oggi fa otto giorni 14. del corrente tanto il card. de Bernis, che msgr. arcivescovo di Valenza mi dissero, che venendo l'opportunità lo dicessi al Papa in aria, che il Ministero de' tre sovrani Borbonici poteva ciò dubitare. Sua S^tà^ mi rispose: Di questo non vi è dubio, per sopprimere la Compagnia di Gesù hò impegnato la mia riputazione,

Cardinal Orsini was assured by the Pope that he was working at the suppression, which would come about when it was least expected. As to any steps taken by England in favour of the Jesuits the Pope knew nothing, and to King Frederick II. of Prussia's communication, which was a mere recommendation, he had made no reply.[1] Bernis, at the end of September, confined himself to asking the Pope to make good use of the time allowed him; to which request Clement smilingly assented.[2]

At this juncture Clement was in the best of spirits, thanks to the settlement with Portugal, and he took up his usual autumn residence in Castel Gandolfo.[3] At the end of October he made reasurring statements to Bernardo del Campo, who had been sent from Madrid to Rome on a secret mission.[4] On October 16th Charles III. had written to the Pope that as he had never doubted the sincerity of His Holiness he had not hitherto

sono costante, farò vedere la mia fedeltà, et avendo la direzione dell'affare Sua M^tà Cattolica, quel sovrano in questa dipendenza è il mio oroscopio. Hò avuto bisogno, e l'hò tuttavia, di qualche poco di tempo; li motivi non posso dirli. A suo tempo li sapranno non solo i sovrani, ma anche loro signori i Ministri qui residenti, e quando li sapranno mi daranno ragione. Poi m'insinuai a dire de' Gesuiti quale era stata la loro condotta passata negli intrighi, nella ambizione, nella morale e nella disubidienza alla Santa Sede quando questa non conveniva colle loro massime. Non mi lasciò finire il Papa e m'interruppe, dicendomi: Di questo sono persuasissimo, e ne hò letto, e studiato assai, specialmente da che sto in questa Sede, avendo riassunto i fatti della condotta de' Gesuiti a tempo de' miei antecessori, e per fine conchiudo che mi riporto a come Io penso della Compagnia di Gesù ai termini, co' quali ho scritto su di essa alle mie lettere di pugno a Sua M^tà Cattolica."

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, September 12, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Bernis to Azpuru, September 25, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, October 12, 1770, C. Farnes, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, October 23, *ibid.* *Cf.* MASSON, 168. Clement XIV. sent Charles III., through B. del Campo, a picture of the Saviour by Guido Reni; *vid.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 1, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

directly reminded him of his promises, but now a speedy settlement was wanted and he offered every possible help to bring this about.[1] On his return from Castel Gandolfo the Pope at first put off seeing Azpuru and Bernis,[2] but when they were finally received they heard such good news that Azpuru gave it as his opinion on November 8th that the end of the Jesuits was quite near.[3] On November 14th the Pope wrote to Charles III. that if he would wait just a little his wishes would be fully satisfied.[4] But it was just then that the attention of the Spanish Cabinet was diverted by the danger of war with England,[5] which made it all the easier for the Pope to hold off the ambassadors. He pointed out to them that he had a tedious sort of mosaic work to do [6] and at the same time he took

[1] *Charles III. to Clement XIV., from S. Lorenzo, October 16, 1770, *ibid.* On November 8, 1770, Azpuru *reported that the letter had been handed to the Pope (*ibid.*). Charles had been exerting pressure through his ambassador. On September 4, 1770, Grimaldi *instructed Azpuru to press for the conclusion of the *Motu proprio* and the scheme for the suppression, as there not a few who thought " que el Rey se ha entibiado en el empeño que manifestó al principio en lo que toca a la extincion ". That was not so, and he was to go on pressing. On the other hand, *on September 12 he reminded Azpuru that the Pope was not to be forced ; threats would only make the situation worse. *Ibid.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 1, 1770, *ibid.*

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 8, 1770, *ibid.* Orsini, who was pressing the Pope at the time, was told that he could not apprise him of the obstacles he was encountering. *Orsini to Tanucci, November 13, 1770, *ibid.*

[4] *Clemente XIV. a Carlo III., November 14, 1770, *ibid.*

[5] Masson, 168 *seq.*

[6] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 21, 1770 (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5087) : " Fui alla udienza ieri mattina e non lasciai di opportunamente insistere per la soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù. Il Papa mi rispose : Noi manterremo quel che abbiamo promesso, dobbiamo far il quadro, ma essendo lavoro di mosaico, uniamo tutte le pietre per comporlo, ed a questo ci applichiamo e continueremo ad applicarci ; e senza altro dirmi sul proposito, cangiò discorso."

measures calculated to show his anti-Jesuit attitude. Thus he had a secret instruction conveyed to the Jesuits expelled from Naples to retire from the frontier into the interior of the Papal States and gave a negative reply to the question of the Bishops, whether the unfortunate clerics were to be employed on pastoral duties. Soon, he said, to Bernis he would do still more.[1]

While the enemies of the Jesuits were working for the dissolution of the Order one of their most frivolous opponents was overtaken by his fate. On December 25th, 1770, Choiseul succumbed to the intrigues of Louis XV.'s mistress, the Comtesse Du Barry. The Minister who had ruled France for ten years was banished as a traitor. The hopes, however, of the Jesuits' friends and the Jesuits themselves which were raised by this event were not to be realized. France's close connexion with Spain in the Jesuit affair continued unimpaired,[2] and of this the Pope was expressly informed on January 21st, 1771.[3]

As in Madrid the suppression of the Jesuits was closely connected with the beatification of Palafox and at the same

[1] *Bernis to Azpuru, December 18, 1770: "Le Pape a dit hier soir au card. de Bernis qu'il avait donné ordre à tous les Jésuites renvoyés du royaume de Naples et qui étoient restés sur les confins de ce royaume ou dans les villes maritimes, de rentrer dans l'intérieur de l'État Ecclésiastique. Les évêques qui ont écrit à Sa S^té^ pour savoir s'ils pouvaient employer les susdits religieux dans le s^t^ Ministère ont reçu de sa part une réponse négative. Le Pape a ajouté au card. de Bernis que dans quelque tems il se feroit autre chose de plus marqué par rapport à ces mêmes religieux, et qu'il ne perdroit pas de vue ce qu'il avait promis" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, December 18 and 25, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{299}{1044}$ and C. Farnes. 1476; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, December 27, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Another anti-Jesuit step was Marefoschi's appointment as Corsini's successor in the Congregation to which the Collegium Germanicum was subordinated. This was *reported by Orsini to Tanucci on December 21, 1770 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 106; MASSON, 169 *seq.*, 176.

[3] *Bernis to Azpuru, January 22, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

time far-reaching concessions were being sought in regard to the tribunal of the nunciature, no great difficulty was experienced by Clement XIV. in postponing the decision still further. Wrapping everything in an even greater secrecy than before,[1] he quietly assured Azpuru through his confidant Macedonio that the canonization of Palafox would be followed immediately by the death of the Jesuit Order.[2]

Cardinal Bernis, who still had to follow the instructions of the Spanish Cabinet just as closely as ever,[3] had returned in January, 1771, to his old plan of attaining the suppression of the Jesuits (and thus satisfying Spain) by the surrender of Avignon. But Choiseul's successor, La Vrillière, would not agree to this. The fact that the Paris nuncio Giraud had demanded the return of Avignon on February 11th, 1771, and again on March 3rd, was not known to the Cardinal. In accordance with his orders he pressed for the preparation of the *Motu proprio* and confined himself to that. Clement, however, now declared that an observation on the dissolution of the vows of the French Jesuits must be inserted. Bernis acquiesced, but Paris regarded it as prejudicial to the royal power and therefore intolerable. The *Motu proprio* which the Cardinal had been demanding for two years now had to be rejected by him, and the only result of his renewed insistence on the subject of Avignon was his being informed on March 9th, 1771, of the steps taken by Giraud, with the observation that the king would settle the question when he knew Charles III.'s opinion on it.[4]

[1] *Orsini to V. Macedonio, January 24, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{300}{1045}$.

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, January 31, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5088. As he *reported to Grimaldi on January 17, 1771, Azpuru had previously informed the Pope through Bontempi "que no havia tenido particular gusto S.M. quando riciviò su carta, viendo defraudado la esperanza que tenia de que se explicase il S. Padre en términos más claros y menos indiferentes y equívocos." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] THEINER, *loc. cit.*

[4] MASSON, 179–181.

The Spanish Cabinet at this time obtained from the Pope, after long and secret [1] negotiations, a very important concession of an ecclesiastico-political nature. By a Brief of March 26th, 1771, the jurisdiction of the Auditor to the nunciature was superseded by a tribunal called the "Rota of the Apostolic Nunciature", to which the investigation and settlement of ecclesiastical lawsuits was to be transferred. The Brief thus secured for the monarch the most important influence in the appointment of the judges who were to exercise the Papal jurisdiction in the name of the nuncio.[2] Despite this important concession Madrid's old distrust of Clement XIV. persisted. No matter how reassuring were the statements made by the Pope to Orsini, Bernis, and Azpuru,[3] he was not believed; as he gave no definite time-limit,[4] it

[1] The Brief on the reform of the nunciature was to be issued before the departure of the new nuncio to Spain; *vid.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 26, 1770, *loc. cit.* Azpuru *dispatched the Brief on September 27, 1771 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Erizzo to the Doge of Venice, November 21 and December 22, 1770, State Archives, Venice.

[2] HERGENRÖTHER in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht,* XI. (1864), 375 *seq.*, 395 *seq.* The Brief, by which the nunciature tribunal became practically a royal ecclesiastical authority, was not published by the Spanish Government until after the suppression of the Jesuit Order, on October 26, 1773, the excuse given being the late arrival of the new nuncio, Valenti Gonzaga, who was prevented by illness from entering on his duties until the end of the year (see THEINER, II., 318; on p. 66 Theiner gives, in error, the beginning of 1773).

[3] *Orsini to Azpuru, March 4, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; *Bernis to Azpuru, March 5, 1771, *ibid.*; *Azpuru to Orsini, March 5, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{301}{1046}$.

[4] *Bernis to Orsini, March 12, 1771, *ibid.* On March 19, 1771, Bernis *reported to Orsini that the Pope had told him on the previous day that he would satisfy the Bourbons, but that he must observe the rules; "qu'on me laisse faire et tout ira bien" (*ibid.*). Orsini *wrote to Macedonio to the same effect on March 21, 1771 (*ibid.*). Tanucci fed Grimaldi's distrust, *writing to him on March 28, 1771: "Il Papa è pastore; ma N.S. cacciò subito

was argued, he was only using the Palafox affair to postpone the suppression of the Jesuits.[1] But its final settlement, as Grimaldi wrote to Azpuru on April 9th, 1771, was most urgently desired by the king.[2] Distrust also was at the back of Grimaldi's opinion that if Louis XV. agreed to the restoration of Avignon to the Papacy it should be delayed until the Pope had suppressed the Jesuits in accordance with his promises.[3] Orsini was as confident as Bernis that Clement would keep his

i venditori dal tempio. Eppure quei contrattori di bestie non eran più rei dei Gesuiti. Perchè tarderebbe il Papa ? " Archives of Simancas, Estado 6104.

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 26, 1771, *ibid.*, Estado 5038. On April 3, 1771, Roda *wrote to Marefoschi from Aranjuez that Charles III. was very much afraid that the Palafox affair would be protracted, and that therewith " el efécto que más anhela, que es el de la extincion de la Compañía, por contemplarlo mui urgente y necesario, y creer que insta su execucion al bien de la Iglesia universal, a la tranquilidad de los soberanos y a la quietud y seguridad de S. S^d misma. No ignora S. M. el arte y manejo de estos Regulares y la astucia con que han burlado siempre las resoluciones que en diferentes tiempos se han querido tomar por los Sumos Pontifices y Principes católicos contra su perniciosa conducta, su mala doctrina, sus intrigas politicas y sus excesos y desórdenes ". " How much more so now that the Holy See has approved so many of the venerable Palafox's writings in which the Society of Jesus is so violently attacked," etc. Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez II.—When Azpuru asked the Pope, who had given as a date the *Antipreparatoria della causa Palafox*, when this Congregation would assemble, the Pope shifted the date to the day of the recognition of Palafox's " virtù eroiche ". *v.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 11, 1771. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] " *Ha servido de gusto a S.M. que el S. Padre continue en su primer propósito : pero desea vivamente ver el fin de un asunto en que si hay dificultades, tambien ha pasado much tiempo para vencerlas." He was to continue " sus oficios " at a suitable time. Grimaldi to Azpuru, April 9, 1771, *ibid.*

[3] *Grimaldi to Ossun, April 22, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233. *Cf.* MASSON, 184.

word,[1] but nevertheless thought it necessary to acquaint him with the feeling in Madrid. The Pope replied to him on April 19th that he was keeping to his word and that his letter to Charles III. and the latter's reply formed the basis of the matter, to settle which he was constantly at work. If he was still hesitating it was only because he wanted to settle the business properly. After all, His Majesty had handled the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in a similar way, although he had more power than the Pope.[2]

As time went on Clement had to admit to himself that he

[1] *Orsini to Grimaldi, April 4, 1771: "Certamente il Papa ritarda molto l'adempimento delle sue promesse, dice averne forti ragioni, quali non comunica; io credo lo adempirà, ateso è stato sempre uomo di parola ed accortissimo; onde non puote non prevedere le funestissime conseguenze alla S. Sede ed al proprio credito, se ci mancasse; questo raziocinio, dando al Papa il solo attributo di uomo che ragiona, non mi fa dubitare, e che in ogni udienza fo il mio dovere, prego l'E. V. esserne certa." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5088. On April 11, 1771, Orsini repeated to Macedonio his view of the Pope's intentions: "Io non dubito." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{301}{1048}$; *Bernis to Azpuru, April 9, 1771: "Le Pape en parlant de l'affaire des Jésuites a dit hier au soir ces propres paroles au card. de Bernis: 'J'ai bonne mémoire et bonne volonté'; ensuite Sa Sainteté m'a parlé avec reconnaissance de la réponse que lui ont faite leurs Majestés très Chrétiennes et Catholiques touchant le Bref qu'Elle a écrit à ces deux monarques au sujet de l'accommodement des cours de Madrid et de Londres: le Saint Père, après Dieu, met toute sa confiance dans l'amitié des souverains de la maison de France. Le Card. de Bernis a l'honneur de renouveler à Msgr. l'archevêque de Valence les assurances de son sincère et respectueux attachement." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. On April 16, 1771, Bernis *reported to Azpuru: "A l'égard de l'affaire des Jésuites Sa S^té^ a dit au card. Bernis qu'elle ne la perdoit pas de vue, mais qu'Elle vouloit la faire bien et qu'elle en étoit sérieusement occupée" (*ibid.*). Similarly *Bernis to Orsini on the same day. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1478.

[2] *Orsini to Azpuru, April 22, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

must give Charles III. more obvious proofs of his good intentions than mere words. He therefore decided to strike some telling blows at the Jesuits, even though some considerable time would have to pass before they could take effect. On March 6th he had authorized Marefoschi to visit a Jesuit institution, the Irish College,[1] which duty, as was only to be expected of a man of Marefoschi's type, was performed in an anti-Jesuit manner.[2] What was far more wounding to the Jesuits was the subsequent issue of a similar ordinance in respect of one of their chief teaching institutions in Rome. On May 8th a Brief was published, entrusting the Cardinals York, Marefoschi, and Colonna with the visitation of the Roman Seminary.[3] The Cardinals, the first two of whom, like the secretary to the visitation, Carafa di Colombrano, were professed enemies of the Jesuits,[4] were given the most extensive powers of investigation into the temporal and spiritual conditions of this college. This measure, the execution of which began on May 16th, caused the greatest stir in Rome.[5] The enemies of the Society were already proclaiming in

[1] *Brief to Marefoschi, March 6, 1771, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{301}{1046}$.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 19, 1771 (*ibid*, C. Farnes, 1478), also on the 10th (alteration of the oath, Jesuit confessor removed) and 28 May, 1771 (Marefoschi ordered the pupils henceforward to attend lectures at the Propaganda), *ibid.* On June 13, 1771, Azpuru *reported to Grimaldi : " Entre las novedades que han resultado de la Visita Apostolica del Colegio de Iberneses cometida al card. Marefoschi " one was " la absolucion á los alumnos de qualquier juramento, que hasta ahora huviesen dado, y que desde hoy en adelante le presten del modo que lo hacen los alumnos de Propaganda Fide, como informará a V. E. la adjunta copia del Decreto dado para este efecto por el referido card. Marefoschi ". There followed the decree of April 27, 1771. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. It was not till September that Marefoschi presented the Pope with the final report on the visitation of the Irish College. *Vid.* *Orsini to Tanucci, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1477. It appeared in printed form.

[3] *Orsini to V. Macedonio, May 9, 1771, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{301}{1046}$.

[4] Bernis, in MASSON, 185.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, May 17, 1771, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$.

triumph that the suppression would take place at once.[1] Even the Pope expressed himself in this sense to Bernis on May 13th: "You see, My Lord Cardinal, that when I am trusted and allowed to act, all goes well. I am a man of my word; but impatience and precipitation do more harm than good."[2]

With these two blows were associated a number of other measures calculated to inspire confidence in Clement's repeated asseverations of his fixed resolve.[3] Already under Clement XIII., when the approval of the veneration of the Sacred Heart was under consideration, he had, as Cardinal Ganganelli, declared his opposition to this favourite devotion of the Jesuits,[4] and he now came out again on the side of the opponents. At the end of May the Abbé Collet was banished from Rome for having set up an image of the Sacred Heart in the Coliseum.[5] The punishment must have seemed all the stranger

[1] "*Si va all' estinzione" (Centomani to Tanucci, May 10, 1771). Tanucci *wrote exultingly about this fresh stroke to Orsini on May 18, 1771. On the same day Orsini *wrote to V. Macedonio, "siamo sicuri," and again on June 7, 1771, "sono sicuro della soppressione." *Ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$.

[2] "*Le Pape, en parlant hier soir au card. de Bernis de la visite qui va se faire du Séminaire Romain, par les ordres de Sa S^té^, lui a dit ces propres paroles: 'Vous voyez, M. le Cardinal, que quand on se fie à moi et qu'on me laisse agir, les choses se font mieux et dans toutes les règles: je suis homme de parole; croiés que l'impatience et la précipitation gâtent plus les affaires qu'elles ne les arrangent.' Le cardinal de Bernis n'a pas manqué de louer le Pape sur la pureté de ses intentions et de l'assurer que nos Cours en étoient bien persuadées." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5038. *Cf.* *Bernis to Orsini on the same day. State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Bernis to Azpuru, April 28, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5038; *Bernis to Orsini and Tanucci, April 28, 1771, also to Orsini on May 7, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$; *Bernis to Aspuru, May 7, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Cf.* our account, vol. xxxvii, 407.

[5] *Vid.* besides Bernis' reports in MASSON, 184, n. 1 *seq.*, Vasquez's *account of the "escandaloso suceso del Coliseo!" sent to Roda

in view of the fact that permission to hold the feast in the Coliseum [1] had been given by Clement XIV. to Cardinal Rossi, who was known to be a friend of the Jesuits.[2] In the following month another step was taken by the Pope. Up till then it had been customary for the Jesuits to use for their procession from the Gesù on the last day of the octave of Corpus Christi the canvas sun-screens that had been used previously for the celebration of the feast in the Piazza di S. Pietro. This favour

on May 16, 1771. An eye-witness said that "el objecto de la adoracion (mejor diria : supersticion), practicada en dicho Coliseo era una imagen de Jesu Christo, que abierto el pecho mostraba su corazon como vaso que contenia partículas consagradas ; y Jesu Christo con una partícula en la mano comunicándola a una muger, que los prudentes interpretes juzgan que sea imagen de la famosa Alacoc, ya que al mismo tiempo se publicó la relacion que incluyo a Don Juan, enque verá V. Ex. citada una vision de esa profetisa jesuitica ! — Blasi ha compuesto una obra contra la supersticion del corazon separado del sacrosanto cuerpo del nuestro Redentor, la qual la ha pulido Giorgi, corrigiendo algunas cosas y haciendo algunas notillas ! " Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez, II. For Collet's banishment, see *Orsini to Tanucci, May 31, 1771, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1478. In Spain the devotion to the Sacred Heart was prohibited by Charles III. (*vid.* *Roda to Azpuru, from Aranjuez, May 28, 1771), for which *Roda extolled him as a "principe illuminato" in a letter to Marefoschi of the same day (*loc. cit.*). For the advocate Camillo Blasi's written attack on the devotion to the Sacred Heart, see HURTER, *Nomenclator*, V³, 79, 496.

[1] MASSON, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, June 20, 1771 : At first the Pope had approved of "el escandaloso suceso del Coliseo !" Cardinal Rossi had been betimes in obtaining the Pope's permission, to Marefoschi's indignation. "Lo que nos aflige sumamente y debe afligir a quien ama la religion, es que vemos casi imposible el remedio, bien considerado el caracter del Papa. Si Dios no toma alguna providencia extraordinaria, esta supersticion, como otra qualquiera que quieran inventar los Jesuitas y sus Terciarios, sussistirán sin que haya quien los disipe ! " Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

was now refused them, as were also the loan of the Papal musicians and the escort of the Swiss Guards. "This is further evidence of the Pope's firm intention to keep the promises he gave the king," reported Azpuru to Madrid on June 18th, 1771.[1] A few days previously Clement had again excused himself, first to Orsini and then to Bernis, for having delayed matters up till then, but he could not tell them the reasons for it. If only, he said, he could have a quarter of an hour with Charles III.![2] To dispel the mistrust of him that still persisted in Madrid,[3] he agreed in June, 1771, to stand as godfather to the child that was expected by the Princess of Asturias, the King of Spain's daughter-in-law.[4] He knew well how much Spain's attitude counted in the recovery of Avignon. Bernis advised its return in the first dispatch he sent, on June 26th, 1771, to Choiseul's

[1] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 13, 1771: "En el último dia de la octava del Corpus Domini los Jesuitas de la Casa Profesa han hecho siempre por la mañana la procesion de esta solemnidad con las mismas tiendas, que por motivo del sol y más decencia se ponen en la que se hace en la basílica de San Pedro, y están á cargo del Mayordomo del Papa, pero se han visto precisados en esta ocasion á hacerla por la tarde, pues haviendo pedido las referidas tiendas, se las han negado de orden de S. B^d con la circunstancia, que no asistió á la funcion, como era costumbre, la musica de la capilla del Papa, en lo que parece ha manifestado mayormente su constante ánimo de cumplir quanto ha ofrecido á S.M. relativo á la extincion." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, June 7, 1771, *loc. cit.*, C. Farnes.

[2] *Orsini to Azpuru, June 16, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, and *Bernis to Orsini, June 25, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$.

[3] On May 14, 1771, Grimaldi *wrote to Azpuru that it was clear from what the Pope said that he was trying to put off the suppression, so that a settlement was further off every day. Procrastination was tantamount to a breach of promise. The king suspected that the Palafox affair was being dragged out so as to postpone the suppression. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5088.

[4] *Charles III. to Clement XIV., from Madrid, June 9, 1771, and *Clement XIV. to Charles III., June 20, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

second successor, the Duc d'Aiguillon. The Paris nuncio Giraud, who had pressed for the settlement of this matter on May 14th and 28th, renewed his request in a very urgent manner on August 25th. Grimaldi, however, had already informed the French Cabinet on July 21st that Charles III. did not approve of the premature return to Avignon ; no such step must be made until the Papal promises had been fulfilled. The return of Avignon, Charles insisted, must take place simultaneously with that of Benevento and Pontecorvo, as they were also closely connected with the suppression on the Jesuit Order, no matter whether the latter preceded or followed the return. In the latter case there must be a clause providing against the Pope's failure to keep his promise.[1]

The Spanish Cabinet was also concerned about an ordinance of Louis XV.'s of June 15th, 1771, whereby all priests who had been banished from France since 1756 were allowed to return to the country.[2] Grimaldi demanded that at least the Jesuits be excluded from this amnesty, but this was rejected by Paris as an interference in France's internal affairs, for the king had no cause to complain about the secularized Jesuits, and their toleration in France had no connection with the demand for their suppression.[3] In the end, however, Bernis received the same instruction as before, namely to support whatever steps were taken by Spain. With this demand the Cardinal complied.[4] Azpuru, however, had another stroke in July while resting at Frascati[5] and was hampered in taking any energetic steps not only by his poor health but also because he flattered

[1] Masson, 185 *seq.*, 187.

[2] Misgivings were immediately expressed by Fuentes, who sent Grimaldi the royal ordinance with his *letter from Paris of June 24, 1771. Archives of Simancas, Estado 4579.

[3] Masson, 190.

[4] " *Bernis e Azpuru hanno parlato al Papa per la soppressione con calore sommo " (Orsini to Tanucci, July 16, 1771, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1477).

[5] On July 9, 1771, Orsini *reported to Tanucci that Azpuru had retired to Frascati on medical advice ; on July 16 he *reported that he had had a stroke. *Ibid.*

himself that he had prospects of becoming a Cardinal.[1] With regard to his promise Clement consistently expressed himself in such a way as to leave no doubts as to his sincerity in the minds of Bernis and Orsini. They were confirmed in this impression by the ardour with which the Pope pressed on in two matters which he described as being an important part of his scheme for the suppression, namely the visitation of the Roman Seminary and the Palafox process.[2] The spirit in

[1] On July 27, 1771, Tanucci *complained to Orsini about Azpuru "che pretendendo al cardinalato inacquava l'affare dei Gesuiti. Ma l'estinzione dee marciare sola come il sole per cielo". Archives of Simancas, Estado 6104.

[2] *Bernis to Azpuru, July 2, 1771: "La Pape s'est entretenu assez longtems avec le card. de Bernis, dans l'audience de hier au soir, de l'affaire de Palafox. Sa St^é^ est contente de la dernière écriture qui vient d'être finie: Elle fit l'histoire abrégée de cette affaire et se plut à raconter toutes les intrigues qui en ont successivement embarrassé la marche. Il est aisé de conclure de cette narration que notre St^t^ Père est toujours dans les mêmes sentimens, et que son projet est de finir l'affaire des Jésuites à la satisfaction de nos Cours, en observant les règles canoniques." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Bernis to Orsini, July 2, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{305}{1048}$; *Orsini to V. Macedonio, July 3, 1771: "What an honour for Pagliarini! The two copies of Blasi's book, for you and Conti, have been dispatched to Genoa. The visitation of the Irish College is practically over; only the Rector is staying there for a short time. The visitation of the seminary is making progress, with some modifications." *Ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$. *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 4, 1771 (the Pope wants to settle the Jesuit affair "a satisfaccion de las cortes interesadas y sin faltar a la observancia de las reglas canónicas"), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; *Bernis to Orsini, July 9, 1771 (yesterday evening the Pope spoke [on the Jesuit affair] as theologian, father, and judge; he has a systematic plan, of which the visitation and Palafox form essential parts), State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*; *Orsini to V. Macedonio, on July 9 (visitation of the Roman Seminary) and 11, 1771 (we have no doubts about the suppression), *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477; *Orsini to Tanucci, July 16, 1771 (on Sunday morning the seminarists went to the Lazarists, in accordance

which the latter was conducted is shown by the exclusion, at the Pope's command, of the Jesuit Acquasciolti from all participation in the proceedings and by the prohibition of any attack on Palafox's writings, on the score that they had

with Marefoschi's decree), *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1744; *Orsini to V. Macedonio, July 25, 1771 (the "soppressione" is certain), *ibid.*; *Azpuru to Grimaldi, July 25, 1771 (measures affecting the Seminario Romano and the Congregazione Antipreparatoria), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; *Orsini to Tanucci, July 23, 1771 (in a few days an extensive summary will be distributed for the Congregazione Antipreparatoria), State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*; *Orsini to Azpuru, July 30, 1771 (yesterday morning the Pope repeated his well-known assurances, adding that the *Motu proprio* was ready and that the princes would be pleased with it. Next September the Palafox case would be dealt with; this would herald the fulfilment of the promises. The Pope praised all the princes), Archives of Simancas, Estado 5038. On the same day he *wrote in a similar vein to Tanucci, adding that despite the "impenetrabilità dei consigli del Santo Padre conta sempre sulle promesse de S.S^{tà}" (*loc. cit.*), C. Farnes, 1477; *Bernis to Orsini, August 6, 1771 (the Pope spoke in such a way that it was impossible to doubt his motives), State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{303}{1048}$. The same view was expressed by Orsini in a *letter to Tanucci of August 6, 1771, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477. *Bernis to Orsini, August 13, 1771 (yesterday the Pope showed himself "invariable dans ses maximes" regarding the Jesuits), *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{303}{1048}$; *Bernis to Orsini, August 27, 1771 (continuation of the visitation of the Roman Seminary), *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477; *Bernis to Orsini, September 3, 1771 (the Pope held fast), *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{304}{1049}$; *Orsini to V. Macedonio, September 4, 1771 ("Sempre più si assicura la soppressione"), *ibid.* On September 10, 1771, Bernis *reported to Azpuru that the Pope was aware of all the intrigues against the "causa Palafox" and despised them. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. The same *report was made on the same date by Bernis to Orsini, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{304}{1049}$. Also on the same date Orsini *replied to Tanucci's complaint about the Pope's postponement of the decision by referring to the Palafox affair, "preparatoria all' estinzione" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 6104).

already been approved.[1] Two events that took place at this juncture were very opportune: on Chigi's death Marefoschi was appointed in July as Prefect of the Congregation of Rites,[2] and a written work imputed to the deceased Bishop of Utrecht, declaring Palafox to be a Jansenist, proved to be a forgery by a Belgian Jesuit.[3] Amid general excitement the so-called preparatory commission which was customary in canonization processes met, under the Pope's presidency, on September 17th, 1771. In spite of the secrecy to which its members were bound, Azpuru was able to report to Madrid on September 26th that not a single vote had been cast against Palafox, that twenty-four had been cast in his favour, and that ten members had asked for a postponement of the decision.[4] The pleasure

[1] *Il P. Postulatore to Azpuru, September 11, 1771, and *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 12, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Orsini reported on September 12, 1771, to V. Macedonio that before Marefoschi received the considered opinions he caused a Papal decree to be read out, which forbade everyone except the Postulator of the Faith to say anything against Palafox's teaching. *Loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{303}{1048}$. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, September 13, 1771, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, July 19, 1771, *ibid.*

[3] This work, attributed to the Bishop of Utrecht, which had already appeared in Italian in 1760 and was now distributed in a French edition, caused an enormous sensation, as it was calculated to damage the Palafox process. *Azpuru (to Grimaldi, August 1, 1770; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome) and *Orsini (to Tanucci, August 2, 1771; State Archives, Naples) immediately denounced it as spurious. Azpuru's secretary, Igareda, in his *letter to Mahony of August 3, 1771, ascribed it to the "Jesuitas o sus Terciarios". Grimaldi was apprised of Charles III.'s vexation by a *letter written from S. Ildefonso on August 20, 1771 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Ibid.*, the *protest of the Jansenist Bishops of Holland, addressed from Utrecht, August 12, 1771. Tanucci rejoiced at the profit it brought to the Palafox case; cf. his *letter to Orsini, September 3, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{304}{1049}$.

[4] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, September 26, 1771; he also reported that the vote of the Jesuit consultor "nada concluye en substancia

with which Charles III. received this news [1] was impaired by the report from Rome that even Marefoschi thought that Clement was making use of the Palafox process to delay the suppression ; moreover, not ten but eighteen members of the commission had voted for the postponement.[2] The apprehension already expressed by Tanucci a few months previously now became more widespread : the visitation of the seminary and the Palafox process might drag on so long that the Pope would die before they were over.[3]

The Spanish Cabinet was also constantly worried by France's attitude towards both the Jesuit question and the return of Avignon. In mid-September Grimaldi stated in energetic terms that the restitution of the Papal territories was a matter that was of equal interest to all three Bourbon Courts and one that took time to settle. He also complained bitterly about Giraud, the nuncio to Paris, especially on account of his statement that it was only Spain that wanted the suppression.[4]

y lo ha despreciado S.S." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, from S. Lorenzo, October 7, 1771, *ibid.*

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, October 31, 1771, *loc. cit.* As Roda *wrote to Azpuru on July 16, 1771, Charles III. regarded the Palafox affair as a pledge of the suppression of the Jesuits. *Ibid.*

[3] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, July 9, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6104.

[4] Grimaldi's *letter to Ossun, the French envoy in Madrid, cited by Masson (191) with no mention of date or source, bears the date September 16, 1771 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome and Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233). Grimaldi *dispatched it on the same day to Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, stressing how displeased Charles was with Giraud's note to Aiguillon about the restitution of the Papal territories (*ibid.*). On September 17, 1771, Grimaldi complained in a *letter to Azpuru of the "indecencias escandalosas del Nuncio en Paris", who, apparently at the Pope's request, was associating with the Du Barry (*loc. cit.*, Estado 5233). *Cf.* Fuentes' *report from Paris to Grimaldi, of September 5, 1771, confirming Mme du Duffand's statement (*Correspondance*, éd. Lescure, II., 186) that Fuentes avoided all contact with the Du Barry.

The Duc d'Aiguillon replied that in regard to Avignon no steps would be taken except in agreement with Spain, and in the Jesuit question France would adhere to the instructions already given to Bernis. Charles III. took no further step in the matter, but noted with growing annoyance that Aiguillon was not only tolerating but even protecting the Jesuits in France.[1]

Fresh instructions were sent to Azpuru, who was lying ill at Frascati, to bring pressure to bear on the Pope (through Orsini and Bernis) to suppress the Jesuits.[2] The two Cardinals, however, were unable to perform this task, as the Pope was busily occupied with the Palafox affair [3] and made use of his customary autumn residence at Castel Gandolfo to avoid listening to any further representations by the envoys.[4]

[1] MASSON, 191 *seq.* On September 15, 1771, Grimaldi *authorized Fuentes to raise objections to the Jesuits preaching in certain Paris churches ; such conduct was intolerable at a time when the sovereigns were demanding their suppression. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5088. Aiguillon's defence was that in France only the Institute of the Jesuits was proscribed, not the separate individuals as in Spain. *Vid.* *Fuentes to Grimaldi, October 4, 1771, *ibid.*, Estado 5088. *Cf.* *Aiguillon to Ossun, October 7, 1771, *ibid.*, Estado 4580.

[2] *Azpuru to Orsini, from Frascati, September 13, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Tanucci to Orsini, September 21, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{304}{1049}$.

[4] On September 20, 1771, Orsini *reported to Tanucci : Monday, Consistory and Thursday or Friday departure to Castel Gandolfo, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477. Before the departure Orsini, at an audience on September 23, 1771, renewed in the name of the King of Naples " l'istanza per la sollecita soppressione della Compagnia de Gesù ". He received the following reply from Clement XIV. : " *Di quest' affare, non accade più parlare. Sono memore di quanto hò promesso, lo adempirò, non posso dimenticarmene, vi penso, e ci travaglio continuamente, lascino fare a me ; ed indi interrogò lo scrivente se avea veduto il decreto del Venerabile Palafox, col quale si vieta di oppugnarsi la dottrina del servo di Dio ; lo scrivente rispose, che lo avea ammirato ; il Papa replicò : Ne godo, lascino fare a me, e poi passò ad altri affari." Orsini

Clement, however, did not neglect, during his *villeggiatura*, to celebrate the birth of a grandson to Charles III.[1] by all manner of festivities [2] and directed the consecrated swaddling clothes to be sent to the prince.[3] In a secret Consistory on November 11th he informed the Cardinals of the joyful news that had come from Madrid and of the entry of Louis XV.'s daughter into the Carmelite Order.[4] On November 14th, 1771, he had a cordial message of congratulation sent to Charles III.[5]

Meanwhile fresh expressions of misgiving were coming from the Spanish capital. At the end of October, Vasquez, full of apprehension, wrote to Roda that the Pope was in good spirits but was doing nothing to keep his word. It was to be feared, he continued, that he was hoping to satisfy Charles III. with the Brief confirming the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, and Marefoschi too was still of the opinion that the Palafox affair was merely to serve as a means of postponing the suppression.[6] The process of beatification had indeed developed in an increasingly mysterious manner. On October 10th Azpuru had reported that the decree on Palafox's heroic virtues would appear shortly,[7] but when on November 17th, Orsini, acting for the sick Azpuru, urged that the matter be brought to a conclusion, the Pope pointed out that they were waiting for certain documents from Spain. He also complained about the incompetence of the postulators, which was the

to Bernis, September 24, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] Charles III. informed the Pope of the birth and baptism of the Infante Carlos Clemente in a *letter written from S. Lorenzo on September 19, 1771 ; he had represented the Holy Father at the christening. *Ibid.*

[2] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, October 3, 1771, *ibid.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Azpuru, November 3, 1771, *ibid.*

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 12, 1771, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1477, and Azpuru to Grimaldi, November 14, 1771, *loc. cit.* ; the Pope's speech in THEINER, *Epist.*, 188.

[5] THEINER, *Epist.*, 190.

[6] Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez, II.

[7] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, October 10, 1771, *loc. cit.*

cause of the fresh delay.[1] Tanucci wrote to a friend at this time, "As I have always feared, the Pope, Frate and Romagnolo that he is, will fool us."[2] Centomani, Tanucci's agent in Rome, complained that the last Consistory had been as fruitless as all the thirty-one months of Clement XIV.'s pontificate. The orders given so far in respect of the Roman Seminary were only half-measures.[3] Orsini, on the other hand, thought that the forthcoming publication of the report of the visitation provided safe grounds for presuming that the suppression would take place.[4] Soon afterwards, however, he had to admit that the Pope had never said the suppression would follow the conclusion of the Palafox process.[5]

While Clement was repeating to the Bourbon envoys the assurances he had made so often before and was waiting for the arrival of the Palafox documents,[6] Bernis' attention was

[1] *Orsini to Azpuru, November 18, 1771, *ibid.* *Cf.* Orsini to V. Macedonio, November 5, 1771 (Orsini had no doubt about the suppression), State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{304}{1049}$.

[2] *Tanucci to Nefetti, from Caserta, November 19, 1771: "Il Papa frate e Romagnolo burlerà, come io ho sempre creduto." Archives of Simancas.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, November 19, 1771, State Archives, Naples.

[4] *Orsini to Macedonio, December 12, 1771, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{305}{1050}$.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, December 31, 1771, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477. *Cf.* **id.* on December 29, 1771 (*ibid.*), on the banishment of the Trinitarian Perez from Rome to Spain; this measure, in which Clement XIV. fully concurred, was taken by Charles III. because Perez had voted against Palafox. *Cf.* Roda to Azara, December 24, 1771, in CRÉTINEAU, 345.

[6] *Orsini to Macedonio, January 2, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{306}{1051}$; *Bernis to Azpuru, January 7, 1772 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), also on January 14, February 4 and 11, 1772, *ibid.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado 5038; *Orsini to Azpuru, January 28, 1772 (the Pope said, "Mantenemo ciò che abbiamo promesso a S.M.C."), *ibid.*; *Bernis to Azpuru, February 18, 1772: "Il a paru au card. de Bernis que le Pape est toujours sérieusement occupé de la cause du vén. D. Jean de

distracted from the Jesuit question by new commissions from his Government. The most important one was the conferment of the purple on Giraud, the ambitious nuncio to Paris, who was doing all in his power to achieve this honour, and on the Archbishop of Rheims, De la Roche Aymon. Clement XIV., very rightly, had but a poor opinion of both these men, who were favourites of the Comtesse Du Barry, but on December 16th, 1771, he was forced to give way, so far as the incompetent Archbishop was concerned. Before attaining his end, Giraud had to wait till April 19th, 1773.[1] Besides these two, Bernis had many other affairs to deal with.[2]

Palafox et de l'affaire des Jésuites ; il veut terminer l'une et l'autre en observant les règles canoniques et celles de la justice et de la prudence, comme l'exigent le devoir et la gloire des trois monarques et la sienne propre. Le card. de Bernis a saisi cette occasion d'assurer le Pape que S. M^té^ Très-Chrétienne, toujours fidèle au système d'union des trois couronnes, vouloit que son ministre à Rome appuiât et secondât constamment les ordres et les instructions qui lui seroient communiqués par le ministre de Sa M^té^ Catholique. Sa S^té^ étoit déjà persuadée de cette vérité, sur laquelle elle n'a jamais eu lieu de former aucun doute." **Id.*, on February 25, 1772 : " Il ne fut question dont l'audience d'hier au soir que des sentimens du Pape en faveur des cours catholiques et principalement de celles de la maison de France. Le Pape assura le card. de Bernis qu'incapable de manquer à ses promesses, il chercheroit toujours avec empressement les occasions de prouver son amitié et son attachement aux trois couronnes." (*Ibid.*) On November 4, 1771, Aiguillon had written to Ossun : " M. le cardinal de Bernis s'est conformé aux ordres que Sa M^té^ Catholique a adressés à M. l'archevêque de Valence par rapport aux nouvelles instances à faire pour la suppression des Jésuites, et continuera d'agir avec ce prélat et avec M. le cardinal Orsini dans un parfait concert sur cet objet." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5200.

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 122 *seq.* ; MASSON, 192 *seq.*, who treats here also of Clement XIV.'s *letter to Louis XV. (omitted by Theiner ; Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris), the bulk of it being written by Bontempi, the Pope being responsible for the beginning and end only. According to NOVAES (XV., 185) Giraud had already been appointed *in petto* on June 17, 1771.

[2] MASSON, 196 *seq.*, where there are further details about the

Azpuru had long been too ill to do full justice to his duties and when the cardinalitial appointment of the Archbishop of Rheims brought home to him the futility of his own aspirations for the purple he vented his ill-temper on the Pope, and there was a violent scene with Father Bontempi.[1] He had previously tendered his resignation as ambassador, which must have greatly embarrassed Clement XIV., but this time Charles III. accepted it [2] and in January, 1772, entrusted the temporary direction of the Spanish embassy to the Count de Lavaña,[3] who had hitherto been his representative in Naples. Lavaña, in concert with Bernis and Orsini, was to press the Pope with every possible means and with the greatest energy to suppress the Society of Jesus.[4]

The change in the Spanish ambassadors was viewed with apprehension by Clement XIV., who expected that the representations made by a layman, as Lavaña was, would be

rumour that Louis XV.'s daughter was trying to bring about the dissolution of the Du Barry's marriage, so that she could marry the king. *Cf.* GRANDMAISON, *Madame Louise de France,*[8] Paris, 1922, 138.

[1] *Cf.* *Centomani to Tanucci, January 14, 1772, State Archives, Naples. Orsini *wrote to Tanucci on December 31, 1771, that the Pope had never said either to him or Bernis "che volesse far Azpuru cardinale", *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1477, and again *on January 28, 1772, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1479. That Azpuru's dismissal was not the result of his illness but "per disgusto di noi e vergogna di non venir promosso cardinale" is brought out in Vincenti's *letter to Pallavicini, February 4, 1772, Nunziat. di Spagna 268A, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, January 21, 1772: Azpuru and Igareda were to inform Lavaña of all current affairs, "particularmente del de la extincion de los Jesuitas" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5103).

[3] *Charles III. to Clement XIV., El Pardo, January 21, 1772, *ibid.*

[4] "*Solicitar por todos los medios y con toda la eficacia posible estimular al papa a la extincion de la Compañia" (Grimaldi to Lavaña, January 21, 1772, *ibid.*).

even more urgent than those he had already had to deal with.[1] Bernis, in reporting this to Paris on January 17th, 1772, gave a most interesting explanation of the Pope's position in the Jesuit affair.[2] "The Pope's private letters to the King of Spain and the good offices of the confessor Osma have had no other object up to now than to gain time while the essential documents for the process of the Jesuits are being searched for and collected. I have grounds for thinking that the real subject of the matter has never been discussed either by the Pope or the king, nor put into proper order. The Pope has always asked for time and up to now it has been granted to him. The Palafox process was represented as the introduction to that of the Jesuits, but even this affair is not yet finished with and will take another year or two, after which the Pope presumably will have to express himself more clearly.[3] The complete suppression of the Jesuits, which hitherto has been demanded only by the Courts of Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon, will be difficult to carry out unless it is also demanded or expressly acquiesced in by the other Catholic Courts, such as Vienna, Turin, Florence, Milan, and Genoa. But a demand will never be made by these other Courts, and their definite assent will be difficult to obtain. The Pope has stated that as judge of the affair it does not become him to invite it. On account of this difficulty alone I have always regarded the complete suppression of the Jesuit Order as a well-nigh impossible undertaking."

[1] Bernis on January 1 and 17, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 200, 202.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 202.

[3] On January 21, 1772, Bernis *wrote to Azpuru, "Sa Sainteté s'est informée des intrigues et des moyens qui sont employés pour mettre les plus forts obstacles à la canonisation de cet évêque, contre lequel de touts tems les Jésuites et leurs partisants fanatiques se sont élevés. Sa Sainteté veut procéder dans cette affaire selon toutes les règles : mais comme Elle est persuadée de la bonté de la cause, Elle ne doute pas que la justice et la vérité ne triomphent de tous les efforts de la passion et de l'intrigue." (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5038.)

Bernis gives the following reasons for this conclusion. The Pope cannot be expected to fall out with half of the Catholic sovereigns for the sake of satisfying the others on so vexed a question, in which the Pope, unless he is to fail in justice and honour, cannot act otherwise than in accordance with the canonical rules and forms and on the strength of reliable documents which clearly show that the Jesuit Order is quite corrupt and absolutely incapable of improvement. "So far as I have been able to see into the Pope's mind," Bernis continued, "I have grounds for supposing that the Pope wanted to go slowly, firstly to obviate any suspicion that the suppression of the Jesuits was a condition of his election. Secondly, because at the beginning of his reign he found that tempers were very heated, and doubtless he wanted by his hesitation to give them time to cool. The Brief *Motu proprio* was rejected by Portugal and was declared to be inadmissible by France, but for some time it engaged the attention of the Court of Madrid. At the present time the Pope could put in its stead the beatification of Palafox, a matter with which he is fully conversant but which will take a fairly long time to bring to a final conclusion. Lampoons against Palafox's teaching are being circulated daily, although it was approved by the Congregation of Rites under three different Popes. If Lavaña agrees with the suppression of the Jesuits not being taken seriously in hand until after Palafox's beatification, the Pope would still have plenty of time, but eventually the moment for a definite statement would draw near and then the Holy Father would probably be able to explain to the Spaniards the impossibility of making away with the Jesuits in the States in which they are protected, especially if the utter corruption of the Order cannot be established." [1]

This being the situation one can readily understand Lavaña's doubts of his ability to execute his difficult task.[2] As it

[1] For the pain caused to the Pope by the writings against Palafox which were continually appearing, see also *Orsini to Tanucci, January 28, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Lavaña to Grimaldi, February 19, 1772, from Turin ("muchisimo miedo"), *loc. cit.*, Estado 5103.

happened, he was never able to assume his new position; his death on February 23rd meant another gain of time for the Pope. Previous to this the Jesuits had been dealt further blows calculated to dispel the distrust of the Pope's intentions which had been conceived for years past by Tanucci in Naples and his agent Centomani.[1] After the visitation of the Roman

[1] *Tanucci to Losada, June 5, 1770: "La condotta del Papa è quale io ho sempre aspettato. Verrà l'approvazione dell'espulsione dei Gesuiti fatta dai Borboni e l'impiego dei loro beni, perchè il farla è interesse di Roma. L'estinzione si differirà tanto che si muti tutto l'aspetto delle cose presenti; e forse finirà il Papato Regnante prima di sopirsi le difficoltà che nasceranno parte naturalmente, parte per industria." *On August 7, 1770: "Di Roma non parlo; mi dispiacerà che si verifichi quel che ho pensato fin da principio, cioè che il Papa confiderà nel tempo, e intanto pascerà di promesse." *On January 8, 1771: "Di Roma da qualche settimana nulla! Son cessate anche le promesse benchè vane, che si ripetevano tutte le settimane." *Loc. cit.*, Estado 6012, 6014. *Centomani to Tanucci, January 11, 1771: "Si proibiscono i ministeri ai soli Gesuiti espulsi: non si proibisce la vestizione dei novizi. Quindi non si va all'estinzione . . . dopo 20 mesi di Pontificato. Il P. Zaccaria fa portare qua la sua biblioteca: quindi crede che la C^ia^ vivrà" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1218). *Tanucci to Grimaldi, March 12, 1771: "La scusa settimanale del Papa è che non può mandar via dal suo Stato li Gesuiti, come han potuto fare li Sovrani Borboni e il Portogallo, laonde ha bisogno di tempo. Questo suonerebbe tempo lungo, qual sarebbe quello della morte di tutti o della maggior parte de' Gesuiti che stanno nel paese ecclesiastico, e involverebbe la vita dello stesso Papa, e neppur basterebbe, sapendosi ch'Ei permette ai Gesuiti il vestir novizi clandestinamente" (*loc. cit.*, Estado 6014). *Tanucci to Orsini, June 22, 1771: Always the same old policy of the Roman Court, to spin things out and make use of the time thus gained. A proof of this was "la Bolla 28 mesi sono; la Bolla de' Gesuiti era distesa e mancava solo il tradurla dallo stil forense in Gregoriano, opera di poche ore: questo fu scritto a tutti li Borboni" (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Centomani to Tanucci, June 28, 1771: "Da 25 mesi aspettiamo la soppressione. Chi può vedere chiaro?" State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma

Seminary had been brought to a conclusion in January, 1772,[1] Clement relieved the Jesuits of its administration and closed the students' hostel (*Convitto*) that had been run in connexion with it.[2] Both in this case and that of the Irish College he

1218). *Centomani to Tanucci, August 6, 1771, enumerating the Pope's measures against the Jesuits and pointing out that the admission of novices had never been forbidden, whence Centomani concludes: "che solo il timore può sforzare S. S. al passo definitivo" (*ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1219). *Tanucci to Orsini, October 21, 1771: "Benchè Spagna e Francia insistano e rinnovino anche le istanze, bisogna tolerar le dimore del Papa quanto si possa riguardo all'estinzione dei gesuiti, dei quali è ormai nauseante il discorso e poco decoroso" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 6104). *Du Tillot to Azara, February, 1771 (no day given), casting suspicion on Bernis as a (Jesuit) Tertiary (State Archives, Parma). *V. Macedonio to Orsini, Lisbon, January 15, 1771, admitting that "la soppressione è un passo un po' duro per la S. Sede" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{300}{1045}$), but he wrote on June 25, 1771, to Orsini: "Perchè tante tergiversazioni quando si vuole estinguere? E se le scuole Gesuitiche sono cattive, perchè non si finisce tutto d'un colpo?" (*ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{302}{1047}$).

[1] On January 17, 1772, Orsini *reported to Tanucci that Carafa di Colombrano had handed the Pope the "Relazione della visita del Seminario Romano" (*loc. cit.*, C. Farnes, 1479).

[2] CORDARA, 138, who relates how Marefoschi, in his hatred of the Jesuits, entrusted the investigation of the economical administration to the expert accountant Smuraglia, who had been initiated into Marefoschi's schemes. Smuraglia, after examining the seminary's account-books for two centuries, declared that 5,000,000 gold *scudi* were missing and that they had been embezzled by the Jesuits. Although the Jesuits laughed at this accusation, as the seminary was groaning under heavy debts and they were hard put to it to maintain the *convittori*, Marefoschi asseverated that there could be no doubt about his allegation. Clement XIV. accordingly deprived the Jesuits not only of the administration of the seminary but also of the *Convitto* for noble students, which was managed in connexion with it, and had proved to be of great benefit; the house was closed and was finally put up for sale. Smuraglia was richly rewarded, but Marefoschi never

gave unqualified credence to the impassioned reports of Marefoschi. The direction of this latter institution too was taken away from the Jesuits and handed over to secular priests.[1] Almost simultaneously a Papal circular letter was sent to all Bishops in the Papal States ordering them to forbid the Jesuits expelled from Spain, Parma, and Naples to hear confessions, preach, or even catechize. To Azpuru this was a sure sign that the Pope was determined on the suppression.[2] A similar interpretation was put upon a most severe measure that was taken against the Jesuit General, Ricci. The *Promotore della Fede*, Monsignore Pisani, had made a will appointing his brother as his heir, but on his death-bed, as his brother was living in Malta, he handed over the administration of his estate, pending the heir's arrival in Rome, to another brother, who was a Jesuit. The last-mentioned, having no experience of business, entrusted the affair to the Jesuit Casali. Although Casali fulfilled his duty most conscientiously, Pisani's other brother, when he finally arrived in Rome, dreaming of untold wealth, accused him of embezzlement and, to the general dismay of the Romans, brought an action against his own brother, the Jesuit. Clement XIV. intervened by appointing as judge Monsignor Alfani, whose reputation was bad but who happened, conveniently, to be a bitter enemy of the Jesuits. Without hearing his defence Alfani condemned Father Pisani to restore 7,000 gold *scudi* which were alleged found the 5,000,000 *scudi*. Even Centomani spoke of Smuraglia's "conti e composti fantastici" in his *letter to Tanucci of May 26, 1772 (*ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1220).

[1] *Orsini to Macedonio, January 30, 1772, according to which the administration was handed over to Marefoschi (*ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{306}{1501}$).

[2] *Azpuru to the king's confessor, January 31, 1772: "Estos dias ha expedido Su S^{d} una carta circular a todos los Obispos de este su Estado, encargándoles que a los Jesuitas expulsos de esos Reynos, del de Napoli y Parma no permitan el administrar el s^{to} sacramento de la penitencia, predicar, ni explicar el catequismo, y esta parece ser una neuva prueba de la determinada voluntad del S^{o} Padre en punto de la extincion de la Compañía." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

to have been embezzled, and the Pope ordered the Jesuit General to pay out this sum. Disregarding Ricci's reasoned remonstrances, Clement XIV. caused, through Alfani, the sum demanded to be subtracted from the funds of the Roman College.[1]

In spite of the Pisani case, Tanucci's agent in Rome, Centomani, had frequently repeated, with reference to the suppression of the Jesuits, the words uttered by the doubting Thomas. Orsini, on the contrary, saw the case as another "Lavalette affair".[2] In Rome, where, shortly before, the postponement of the suppression had been made fun of in the comedies acted during the Carnival, so radical a change took place in public opinion[3] that the Pope was now generally regarded as a

[1] CORDARA, 129 *seq.* *Centomani also, when writing to Tanucci on July 19, 1771, referred to Alfani as "perpetuo Anti-Jesuita" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1219). He *reported to Tanucci on December 27, 1771: "Il P. Generale Ricci condannato proprio motu e pubblicamente dal Papa medesimo a pagare nella causa Pisani. — Così gli ha detto Alfani sub secreto: l'esecuzione sta rimessa a' 8 o 10 gennaio prossimo." *On February 14, 1772: "Alfani ha sequestrati mille e più luoghi di Monte del Collegio Romano, che vuol dire presso a 130^{m} scudi: quindi minaccierà lunedì il Procuratore Generale, se non pagherà gli 8^{m} scudi dovuti, e prontamente, di fare subastare o aggiudicare detti luoghi sequestrati. — Così si farà se non verrà da palazzo qualche ordine di sospendere." *On February 25, 1772, Centomani informed Tanucci that the Father General would not agree to pay money which was not owed. Consequently Mgr. Alfani had ordered, on Saturday morning, "secondo le facoltà comunicategli dalla S^{tà} Sua, la traslazione di luoghi 54 del Coll^{io} R^{no} a favore dell'erede del fratello del defonto, e costituiscono la somma di scudi 7 mila." Another reason why the Father General refused payment was that "la sua Compagnia non ha data veruna causa e non è stata ne pur udita". On March 3, 1772, Centomani forwarded the "*Decreto di Msgr. Alfani nella causa Pisana", dated March 1. State Archives, Naples.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 6, 1772, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1479.

[3] "*Comedie che potranno finire in tragedie," wrote Centomani to Tanucci on February 11, 1772, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1220.

serious persecutor of the Jesuits.[1] Even the Jesuit Cordara, who had known the Pope of old, now began to waver in his opinion that Clement XIV. was no personal enemy of the Order and had only allowed one injustice after another to be done to it in order to save it from the worst disaster, namely suppression, which was so ardently desired by the Spanish king.[2] Even this witness, who was the last person to pronounce an unfavourable judgment on Clement XIV., had to admit that the Pope had made a fatal mistake in not openly and frankly rejecting the first demand of the Bourbon envoys by the firm declaration that although he was no friend of the Jesuits he could not and would not suppress their Order.[3] And indeed, what reply could Charles III. have made to a Pope whom he esteemed as a learned and holy man who was wholly devoted to him and whom he took to be an enemy of the Jesuits, if he had refused to intervene in a matter concerning the whole Church, on the ground that the Bourbons, who had driven the Jesuits out of their realms, had not the slightest right to demand that the same thing be done in the other realms where the Order was still existing ? [4] But Clement XIV., weak and fearful, never open and straightforward, had not the courage to utter a decisive "No". Instead, he took the course of dissimulation and delay.[5] Priestly sincerity and firmness of speech would have befitted no Pope more than him, is Cordara's judgment, for he was a Religious by profession and had no *nepoti*, and so had nothing to fear. "However," continues Cordara, "he trusted too much to his

[1] CORDARA, 130.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 125, 260.

[4] When Cordara visited the sick King Carlo Emanuele, in Turin, and recommended his Order to him, the king said : "For my part, I cannot see why the King of Spain, after he has driven the Jesuits out of his own country, wants them to be destroyed in every other one." This, he added, had placed the Pope in great difficulties and he would hardly be able to resist the force the Bourbon princes were bringing against him.

[5] "Simulandi ac tergiversandi consilium cepit" (*ibid.*, 160).

keen wits, and consulting no one he preferred crafty plans to sound ones and thus, as we say, cut his own throat. In a torrent of words he mingled ambiguous statements to the envoys, actually promising nothing but giving the impression that he wanted to satisfy their demands, so that when they left him they were full of hope." [1]

Cordara is by no means blind to the failings of his fellow-Jesuits. He laments, with just cause, the trust put by elderly Fathers, some of them even highly cultured and serious men, in prophecies which dispelled all fear of a suppression. He refers especially to a woman in Spain, pious perhaps but certainly simple and uneducated, who foretold that the Pope would never disband the Jesuit Order. In Sicily the Jesuits took this as a heavenly oracle, gave it the widest circulation, and reported it to the highest authorities of their Order. "To tell the truth," admits Cordara, "I too have never feared the worst, not on the strength of prophecies but on rational grounds. I had a high opinion of the Pope's good-will and prudence. Besides, whatever he thought, and even if he were regarded as our greatest enemy, I could not persuade myself that to please the King of Spain he would rob himself of his picked troops and hamstring himself, so to speak. For all religious Orders serve the Pope, it is true, but the Society of Jesus is reputed to be his bravest and most loyal legion. This reason alone weighed so much with me that it seemed certain that Clement XIV. would never consider for a moment the dissolution of the fighting body which has always done service on behalf of the Apostolic See with such ardour." [2] Cordara, therefore, was exceedingly surprised when Clement XIV., concealing his plans in a mysterious obscurity, showed his hostility towards the Jesuits so openly as not even to grant an audience to their General.[3] "The Pope's attitude was such,"

[1] *Ibid.*, 125.

[2] *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 124. The Lucchese envoy reported on July 29, 1769, that on the Thursday the Jesuit General Ricci intended to invite the Pope to attend the Feast of St. Ignatius in the Gesù, but after being kept waiting in the Anticamera for two hours he was

explained Cordara, "as hardly to be distinguishable from that of a really embittered enemy. He did not even consider the Fathers to be worthy of his blessing. When he was out driving and saw them kneeling in the street and thus showing their reverence for him, he turned his eyes away. He also forbade his friends and everyone in the Papal palace to have any dealings with the Jesuits. Not satisfied with this he openly showed his dislike of their adherents and protégés. The opinion thus took root that whoever sided with the Jesuits would fare badly with the Pope and if he were applying for a post he would certainly stand less chance than others." To show that this was not mere talk Cordara cites a case that was known only to a few. When Garampi was appointed nuncio to Poland in April, 1772, Clement forced him to dismiss his secretary, Franciscus Cancellarius, who was as competent as he was learned, on the score that in the circumstances then prevailing men attached to the Jesuits could not be employed in public positions.[1]

But in spite of all his efforts Clement did not succeed in misleading Charles III. about his plans. "No amount of dissimulation availed him in a city such as Rome," says Cordara, "where there were so many who saw through him. These men sent word to Madrid that the king must not allow himself to be hoodwinked. The Pope's anti-Jesuit attitude, they said, was not genuine; he was playing a crafty game so as to gain time and meanwhile to find out other ways of leaving the Jesuits undisturbed." [2]

Cordara thinks that the harsh measures taken by the Pope against the Jesuits were intended to remove Madrid's firmly rooted suspicion that his conduct was deceptive and that he wanted to be an apparent rather than an actual opponent of the Jesuits. All the wounding blows that he struck against the Order, even the appointment of the extortioner Alfani as judge, appear to Cordara as merely means whereby to put

not admitted into the Pope's presence. *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 380.

[1] CORDARA, 128 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 124.

the King of Spain under an obligation to him by this humiliation of the Jesuits and thus to save the Order after all. Cordara's chief reason for taking this view was that even when three years of his pontificate had gone by, the Pope was still holding out against the ceaseless insistence of the Bourbons. "He kept on putting off the fulfilment of their demands," he wrote, "and played with them, as it were. This is all the more remarkable seeing that by putting the suppression into effect he could have regained Avignon and Benevento with a stroke of the pen. He preferred the diminution of his power to the destruction of the Order." "And would a Pope have done that," he asks, "who was really an enemy? He seems to have feared only one thing, to show the Jesuits any sign of his benevolence, as that might have given offence to the King of Spain's representative. This was why he returned the Jesuits' petitions unread, but when the description "Jesuit" was left out he gave his approval without ado, even when he knew the petitioner very well."[1]

Cordara's view of Clement's attitude towards the Jesuits was confirmed by the Procurator General of the Hieronymites, Felice Nerini, who was a particular favourite of the Pope's. Nerini informed Cordara that he was quite sure that Clement loved the Order and that he was trying every means of saving it. If he possibly could, he would leave it untouched, but he was obviously very hard pressed and he was setting his hopes on procrastination and some unexpected happening. In 1772, when the Franciscan Conventual, Giovanni Carlo Vipera, an old and intimate friend of the Pope's, came to preach in Rome, Cordara learnt from him that the Pope had said that he had no intention of suppressing the Order, but that it still had much to suffer for the sake of its preservation. For this reason Cordara likens Clement XIV. to Pilate, who had Christ scourged so as to save him from death.[2] The unwearying defender of the Pope, who attributes even his worst actions to his good intentions, cites many other instances of how Clement XIV. neglected no opportunity of appearing inimical to the

[1] *Ibid.*, 129 *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 131 *seqq.*

Jesuits. Thus the Jesuit Antonio Lecchi, although he had rendered splendid service in draining the marshes near Bologna, got the worst of his dispute with the Vice-Legate Ignazio Boncompagni, despite the view taken by the Congregation of Cardinals, because the Pope sided with the Vice-Legate. To show that anyone who had business dealings with the Jesuits got the best of it by favour of the Pope, even when the right was not on his side, Cordara recalls the instance when Clement XIV., disregarding a judicial verdict, compelled the Jesuits to hand over their General's summer residence near Castel Gandolfo, although they had bought it lawfully from the Irish College, and, to please Cardinal York, he deprived them of their college and church at Frascati.[1]

Cordara relates further, that however much the Jesuits were pained by all this, they accepted it patiently, in the hope of escaping their doom. But the more Clement tried to pacify the Order's enemies by insulting it, the more urgently the Bourbon envoys demanded its complete suppression.[2] To justify their attitude—and this was unknown to Cordara—they could always invoke the fatal promise contained in Clement's letter to Charles III., of November 30th, 1769.

The urgings and baitings of the Bourbon Courts, which had been going on now for three whole years, were to reach their climax when the sickly Azpuru was replaced by a diplomat of the first rank who, keeping his object in view with inexorable consistency, used every weakness and every concession of the Pope's to force a victory over his timid but ever-struggling opponent.[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, 139 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 140.
[3] DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 446.

CHAPTER IV.

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus—The Origin and the Issue of the brief 'dominus ac redemptor', of July 21st, 1773.

(1)

The much-coveted post of ambassador to the Holy See [1] was entrusted on March 24th, 1772, to one of Spain's leading advocates and keenest supporters of the royal prerogatives, José Moñino, fiscal to the law-court of Castile.[2] Charles III. and Grimaldi had agreed on the selection of this man in the

[1] High hopes of obtaining the post had been held especially by Roda's ambitious spy, the Caballero de Azara, who had already been intriguing with Tanucci against Azpuru and Bernis with the object of becoming the ambassador in Rome himself. (*v.* Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 544 *seq.*). Consequently Lavaña's appointment was a "colpo inaspettato e sensibile" for him (*Vincenti to Pallavicini, from Madrid, January 28, 1772, Nunziat. di Spagna, 268 A, Papal Secret Archives). Pallavicini was "contentissimo" with Azara's failure, Bernis and Orsini were satisfied with Lavaña for other reasons. *Centomani to Tanucci, March 11, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1220. *Cf.* also Vincenti's report of February 25, 1772, in Theiner, *Hist.*, II., 201. Vincenti *reported Lavaña's death to Pallavicini on March 10, 1772 (referring to Lavaña as "creatura di Grimaldi"), and mentioned as likely candidates for the post in Rome Carvellos who, however, was "notato con carbone negro per spacciato Gesuita", and Fuentes (Nunziat. di Spagna, *loc. cit.*). Aiguillon *wrote from Versailles to Ossun on March 10, 1772, that henceforward the French and Portuguese representatives would bear the title of "ambasciadori" (Archives of Simancas, Estado 4582).

[2] Moñino, b. 1738, d. 1819, lived to see the restoration of the Jesuit Order; *v.* Coxe, *Hist. d'Espagne*, V., 153; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, III., 159; Nonell, *Pignatelli*, I., 376; Pacheco y de Leyva, 39 *seqq.*, where further special literature is mentioned.

greatest secrecy; on the day of its publication[1] it came as a surprise to the whole world.[2] It greatly displeased the Count of Aranda and the king's confessor, the Franciscan Osma, who feared, not without cause, a diminution of their influence, which had hitherto been very great.[3] It also caused much grief to the Auditor of the Madrid nunciature, who painted a most sinister picture of the new ambassador in his report to the Cardinal Secretary of State on March 24th, 1772; in his opinion the appointment was bound to appear to the world as a declaration of war. "I know the man," he wrote, "and the spirit that animates him. I know how averse he is to Rome, and that with his suave, courteous, and temperate behaviour he gives the appearance of being deeply religious, although his attitude towards Rome, the Papal authority, and clerical jurisdiction is one of hostility." In support of this statement the nuncio referred to a number of Moñino's considered opinions, which show that he had been exceedingly crafty, clever, a past master in the art of deception, and outstandingly active in working for the destruction of the Jesuits; at the same time, it could not be said with certainty whether he was actuated by principle, or animosity, or self-interest.[4] That the chief object of Moñino's mission was the suppression of the Jesuit Order, the Auditor learnt from Grimaldi himself.[5] It was also stated by Charles III. when writing to Tanucci.[6]

Moñino's instruction, dated May 5th, 1772, and issued at Aranjuez, was drawn up by Grimaldi, who had lost all trust in

[1] *Grimaldi to Azpuru, from El Pardo, March 24, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Vincenti, writing from Madrid to Pallavicini on March 17, 1772, said of the candidates for the post in Rome: "Ceballo sarà ripudiato per la consaputa razione, Squillace anche, non si parla più di Moñino." (Nunziat. di Spagna, 268, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Vincenti to Pallavicini, March 24, 1772 (Roda also was dissatisfied). On March 31 he *wrote that Moñino was hated by his colleagues (*ibid.*).

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 209.

[5] *Vincenti to Pallavicini, March 24, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[6] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 40.

Clement XIV.'s sincerity.[1] Moñino was instructed to press on with four demands: (1) The suppression of the Jesuit Order, (2) the conclusion of the process of Palafox's beatification, (3) the final regulation of the Madrid nunciature, (4) the restriction of the right of asylum. The first point was the most difficult one, said the instruction, but in the king's eyes the most important. In this connexion the ambassador was to act in concert with the other Bourbon envoys.[2] This last item was added although even according to his own admission Grimaldi distrusted both Bernis and Orsini, as being clerics.[3]

Moñino's appointment filled all the enemies of the Jesuits with hope, for he had the reputation of being the most determined opponent the Society of Jesus had in Spain.[4] Orsini's comment was that this diplomat might well succeed in taking the fortress that had been besieged for three years in vain.[5] Tanucci's agent, Centomani, wrote that even if Clement XIV. received the new representative of Spain with greater craftiness than ever he would not succeed in diverting this man from the right path.[6] It was Moñino's task to win the victory, which, however, in view of the Pope's extremely

[1] On April 28, 1772, Grimaldi *wrote to Fuentes that in spite of his numerous promises the Pope did not really want the suppression; the Palafox process was merely a blind; after that was finished with, the assent of all the princes would be asked for and then it would be merely a question of a reform and the diminution of the Jesuits' privileges. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] "*Instrucción para Don Joseph Moñino," given at Aranjuez, May 5, 1772, *ibid.*

[3] On the first page of the *draft of Moñino's instruction (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5108) there is an observation which throws suspicion on Bernis' and Orsini's loyalty to their princes by reason of their being clerics.

[4] Aiguillon in Masson, 200.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, April 14, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1479.

[6] "*Non mai lo potrà fare prevaricare ne pure intepidire come con altri è seguito." Centomani to Tanucci, May 5, 1772, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1220.

timorous nature, could be obtained only by vigorous language.[1] The Queen of Portugal wrote to Charles III. that King Joseph I. had accorded Moñino the highest praise and had sent Almada formal instructions to support him.[2] Similar instructions were sent to Bernis by the Duc d'Aiguillon, Louis XV. having completely relinquished the conduct of the Jesuit question to the King of Spain.[3]

In Rome, Moñino's arrival, naturally enough, was awaited with anxiety, it being very doubtful if this hard-headed jurist, who, as a layman, had no favours to seek from Clement XIV., would allow himself to be put off as long as his predecessor Azpuru had been.[4] Bernis, who in his latest reports had spared neither Azpuru nor the Spanish Cabinet,[5] was equally perturbed. The Pope himself was unable to conceal his disquiet; he is said to have ejaculated to the Portuguese envoy Almada, "May God forgive the Catholic king for sending Moñino!"[6] Not only Clement, who up till now had retained control of the Jesuit situation,[7] but the whole of Rome felt

[1] "*Sicuramente si stima da tutti che ad un tal passo (suppression of the Order) non sarà mai per venirvi se son forzato e condotto da un giusto timore." Centomani to Tanucci, May 19, 1772, *ibid.* **Id.* on May 26, 1772: It was thought that the Pope "per natura timidissimo" would not have the "coraggio di resistere quando con efficacia gli venga parlato resolutamente". *Ibid.*

[2] *Letter of April 20, 1772, *loc. cit.*, Estado 7297.

[3] MASSON, 203. *Cf.* *Bernis to Azpuru, March 31, and June 2, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, June 2, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1220; *Orsini to Tanucci, June 2 and 9, 1772, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1480.

[5] MASSON, 202 *seq.*

[6] Bernis' reports in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 211, 219, and Moñino's in DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 446. "*Il n'a été question dans l'audience d'hier au soir que de la prochaine arrivée du nouveau ministre de S.M. Cath." and of the Queen of Naples. Bernis to Azpuru, June 16, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[7] Bernis' report of January 1, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 200. With reference to Azpuru's apoplectic stroke the Augustinian General Vasquez had *written on January 25, 1770, that the

that the decisive moment was approaching.[1] The excitement that gripped everyone found expression in numerous written articles, satires, and illustrated broadsheets. In the words of a contemporary, it rained such productions.[2] Most of them were concerned with the Palafox process, which was still being promoted by the Pope.[3] A publication which came to Rome from France and which attacked Palafox's loyalty as a subject was suppressed by order of the Pope, who had it refuted by the learned Dominican Mamachi.[4]

Pope was frightened of losing this envoy, as he helped him to put up a resistance. If Azpuru died, Vasquez hoped that a different, vigorous, non-clerical envoy would be sent in his place. (Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez, I.). Vasquez repeated this warning on April 18, 1771, for he held Azpuru responsible for the perpetual delay. If only Roda could come to Rome for a month or two! For "no será cosa estraña, que S.M. aun teniendo aqui Su Ministro, se sirva de V.E. en un negocio de tanta importancia, que seria menos glorioso sujetar toda la Europa a su dominio, que extirpar una Sociedad que emposesada de todo el Mundo Catolico, se ha hecho ley el atentar contra lo mas sagrado que hay en cielo y tierra" (*ibid.*, Vasquez II.).

[1] "*Qui niente si fa, aspettiamo Moñino." Orsini to Pignatelli, June 17, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{308}{1053}$.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, June 26, 1772, *ibid.*

[3] *Orsini to Azpuru, January 8 and 28, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Lettres de Philarète sur l'orthodoxie de Palafox*, Rome, 1772–3. For the *Epître en réponse à un ami sur l'esprit de sédition de Palafox*, *v.* *Orsini to Tanucci, April 14, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1479, also **id.* to Igareda, April 14, 1772, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{307}{1052}$, according to which Orsini was immediately informing Grimaldi also of this step, and **id.* to V. Macedonio on April 16, 1772, *ibid.* Centomani also *reported to Tanucci on April 14, 1772, on the "due foglietti stampati credesi nella privata stamperia del Collegio Romano contro il decreto ultimo (of September) del papa nella causa Palafox—è una orrenda satira—vi si attacca anche il Passionei", *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1220. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, April 21, 1772, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1479. On April 16, 1773, Azpuru *sent Grimaldi, as evidence of the way in which Palafox's enemies went to work, two writings which the

An enormous stir was caused by an engraving of the Last Judgment, with Charles III. among the damned, which found its way everywhere, even into Spain. Azara condemned it with alacrity, thinking that this would be an excellent means of restoring his diminished reputation in Madrid.[1] Clement XIV. also lost no time in taking steps to stop the picture being circulated in Rome. All concerned in its distribution were arrested, the shop owned by the Tyrolese bookseller who had offered the picture for sale was closed, and the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo was severely reprimanded for his lack of vigilance.[2] Bontempi saw to it that these measures were

members of the Congregation of Rites had had sent to them from Milan. They were (1) " Note di falsità che dimostrano apocrifo un cotal decreto spacciato come pontificio in certa carta spagnola, la quale dicesi stampata ' Madrid en la imprenta de Josef Doblado ' senza data ne anno ne mese tradotto dal francese in italiano " ; (2) seventeen theses published in Lucca. Dedicated " all' honore della immacolata Sede Cattolica ", they brought the most serious charges against Palafox, of having favoured Jansenism (which the author tried to prove by numerous examples), for which reason the Jansenists had glorified him after his death and had defended him in their writings until 1769. (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.) Orsini, *writing to Tanucci on December 18, 1772, before the appearance of Mamachi's three small volumes defending Palafox's doctrine, described them as " capo d'opera ". (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1480.) Centomani *announced the forthcoming appearance of this work on December 29, 1772 (*ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1221). Bontempi *wrote to Roda on April 23, 1772, that the Pope had caused the suppression in Venice of a work against Palafox. (Archives of Simancas, Estado 688.)

[1] *Azara to Grimaldi, April 23, 1772, *ibid.*, Estado 5068.

[2] Along with THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 205 *seq.*, see *Azara to Grimaldi, April 23, 1772, *ibid.*, and *Orsini to Grimaldi on the same day, *ibid.*, Estado 5038. Bernis *wrote to Azpuru on April 28, 1772 : " . . . Sa Sainteté s'est étendue ensuite davantage sur la punition décernée contre le distributeur d'une estampe abominable qui a été répandue à Rome, pendant quelques jours, et qu'on croit avoir été gravée dans la province du Bassan de l'Etat de Venise. Sa Sainteté gémit profondément des excès auxquels le fanatisme

reported to Madrid.[1] Needless to say, the Jesuits were immediately accused of being the originators of the satire, which they denied.[2] Even so vehement an enemy as Centomani pitied the poor Jesuits, those who had been expelled from Spain and Naples being threatened with the loss of their pensions.[3]

Grimaldi, with undue haste, denounced the Jesuits as being the undoubted authors of the satire, which made the suppression of the Order more necessary than ever.[4] As the result of investigations made by order of the Pope, it appeared that the engraving had been made by a speculative bookseller of the name of Remondini at Bassano in Venetian territory and that it was a reproduction of one which had appeared as early as 1606, with the crest of Cardinal Arrigoni, and again in Paris in 1765, when the Cardinal's crest was replaced by that of the

se porte dans ces tems malheureux; elle met toute sa confiance en Dieu, dans la Religion et dans l'amitié des Augustes Monarques de la Maison de France" (*ibid.*). *Igareda to Grimaldi, April 30, 1772 (arrest of the distributor), *ibid.*

[1] *Bontempi to Roda, April 23, 1772, *ibid.*, Estado 688.

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, April 28, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1220.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 5, 1772, *ibid.*

[4] "*Los autores de esta sacrilega satira sin duda son los Jesuitas" (Grimaldi to Muzquiz, May 16, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5068). Similarly, *Grimaldi to Arriaga on May 11, 1772: "Se ha vendido publicamente y esparcido en Roma la estampa de que incluyo un exemplar; y por la carta adjunta de Don Nicolas de Azara (que me devolverá V.S. y lo que le ha escrito el Sr D^n Manuel de Roda) se enterarà de lo que ha pasado con motivo de su publicacion. No pudiendo dudarse que es obra de los Jesuitas quiere S. M. que en llegando a Roma, dé a entender al Papa y sus Ministros, que S. M. ha recivido una injurìa muy grave con esta sacrilega satira, la cual manifesta el odio que tienen sus autores a su sagrada persona, valiendose V. S. de este acontecimiento como de una nueva razon de la urgente necesidad en que nos hallamos de que S. B^d cumpla sin mas dilaciones lo que tiene ofrecido, y de que S. M. lo solicite por todos medios hasta lograrlo." In Grimaldi's *letter to Azara of May 12, 1772, praising

Spanish crown.[1] Further steps were taken by Venice as well as by the Pope, principally for the purpose of discovering the real author and of making every possible satisfaction to the Spanish Government.[2] Although from first to last nothing

him for his ardent condemnation of the engraving, he calls it a "sacrilego insulto de los Jesuitas", who are thus displaying "toda la maldad de que son capaces" (*ibid.*). Roda, too, *writing on May 11, 1772, to thank Bontempi for what he had done in the matter of the engraving, said that the hatred thus shown by the Spanish Jesuits for Charles III. demonstrated the necessity for their suppression. (Archives of Simancas, Estado 688.) Vincenti also *reported to Pallavicini on May 9, 1772, that Grimaldi ascribed the authorship of the engraving to the Jesuits (Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Spagna 268 A). On June 2 and 16, 1772, Vincenti *reported that this view still persisted (*ibid.*), although Isidro Martin had *reported from Venice on May 9, 1772, that it was clear that the name of the originator was Remondini (*loc. cit.*, Estado 5068).

[1] *Azara to Grimaldi, April 20, 1772: "En el negocio de la satira que remiti á V. E. par el Correo pasado he sabido que el Papa haciendo continuar el proceso, ha averiguado haver sido impresa aquella infame estampa en Basano en la imprenta de un tal Remondini, noble Veneto; por lo cual piensa el Papa usar algun oficio de quexa con la Republica para vendicar la injuria hecha à nuestro Amo. Yo que he observado que se ponía mucho ahinco en averiguar los vendedores y estampadores de esta obra de tinieblas, he insinuado que me parecia mas necesario buscar quien es el autor o autores de ella, porque esto es lo principal que importa saber, conocer y castigar; y me parece la cosa tan clara que supongo se hará assi . . ." (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.) The step taken by the Pope through the nuncio and the Venetian envoy, to enable Venice to clear the matter up, was *reported by Isidro Martin to Grimaldi from Venice on May 9, 1772, *loc. cit.*, Estado 5068. *Ibid.* *Igareda to Grimaldi on June 4, 1772, also *numerous relative documents. *Orsini to Tanucci on June 23, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{308}{1053}$.

[2] *Mgr. Onorati to Isidro Martin, May 7, 1772 (efforts were being made to discover the author), Archives of Simancas. *Igareda to Grimaldi, May 21, 1772 (the nuncio and the Venetian envoys in Rome and Madrid have caused the Senate to take

prejudicial to the Jesuits came to light, their enemies persisted in maintaining that the satire could only have originated with them.[1]

This was followed shortly afterwards by another publication which greatly displeased the Spanish Government. This was a written work, entitled "The truth, revealed to our lord the king by Fra Francisco de Alba", in which the Gallican, Jansenist, and anti-Jesuit innovations in Spain were sharply attacked. Naturally this too was suppressed by the Spanish Government,[2] but it was as helpless as the Pope to prevent the continuance of satirical publications in Rome. One of the most acrid manifestations of the time was a broadsheet circulated in Rome in which the Jesuit General was shown with his hands bound, facing the Pope, with the Bourbons on his left and the Emperor and the Kings of Sardinia and Prussia on his right. Beneath the portrait of the Pope was the legend, "What shall I do with this man?" "Crucify him, crucify him!" reply the Bourbons. "What evil hath he done?" asks Clement XIV. "I find no cause of death in him," declares the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor protests, "I am

vigorous steps), *ibid.* The *resolution of the Pregadi, dated May 29 (*ibid.*, Estado 5782) reads as follows: "Ha deliberato il Senato che si dichiari innocente il Remondini, e che per giustificazione della Repubblica verso la corte di Spagna sia formata una circolare, la quale dichiari le buone ragioni che ha avute il Governo per supporlo innocente nelle accuse addossategli, tra le quali principalmente quella: Che la stampa gira Roma sin' da otto anni a questa parte, senza che questa abbia spiacciuto o sia stata rilevata dalla Santa Sede." On July 9, 1772, Grimaldi *wrote to Azpuru that he trusted that Venice would do what was necessary to punish those who were guilty in the affair. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, June 28, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6105. *Ibid.* 688, a severe *edict of the Spanish Inquisition of October 13, 1772, against "estampas satiricas alusivas a las providencias tomadas con los regulares expulsos".

[2] *Vincenti to Pallavicini, June 16, 1772, Nunziat. di Spagna 268 A, Papal Secret Archives.

innocent of the blood of this just man." Into the mouth of Frederick II. of Prussia, however, are put the words, "What will you give me and I will deliver him unto you?" The concluding words of the broadsheet admirably interpreted the prevalent feeling in Rome: "They consulted together that by subtilty they might apprehend him and put him to death."[1]

On Moñino's departure from the Spanish capital on May 18th, 1772,[2] Grimaldi wrote to Tanucci that he had no extravagant hopes of success, as Rome often had recourse to extraordinary methods of seduction.[3]

Moñino reached Rome on July 4th, when the Eternal City was sweltering in the summer heat. His advent was expected to clear the situation, for unlike Bernis and Orsini, he was not the man to be satisfied with the fine assurances that had been

[1] MASSON, 203. In his *reports to Tanucci of June 16, 19, and 23, 1772, Centomani speaks of other satires against the Pope, not only on account of his attitude in the Jesuit question but also because of the suppression of the Congregation of S. Rufo, which Clement XIV. was thought to have ascribed to the Jesuits. He accordingly caused investigations to be made through Cardinal York in Monte Porcio, where the Jesuits were alleged to have printed the writings, but nothing compromising was found (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1220). Igareda *reported to Azpuru on June 25, 1772: ". . . Remito a V. E. los acostumbrados Chracas y manuscritos de los demas avisos diarios de esta Capital, que acompañan otros dos que han salido con titulo de testamento y codicilio de Jesuitas. No he podido lograr el folio de las observaciones contra el Breve del Papa relativo a la supresion de la Orden de Sn Rufo y su incorporacion a la Militar de Sn Lazaro, ni tampoco la carta del Prelado que escribe a un amigo de Turin, porque algunos cardenales y otros que las han rasgado." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] Aiguillon to Bernis, in MASSON, 203. When in Barcelona Moñino received Roda's letters of May 19, 1772, with the engraving of the Last Judgment. See *Monino to Roda on July 9, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Grimaldi to Tanucci, from Aranjuez, May 19, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6105.

repeated so often by Clement XIV.[1] The time was past for putting off Charles III. by means of such compliments as the

[1] On April 7, 1772, Bernis *wrote to Azpuru that on the previous day he had again reminded the Pope of his promises: "Sa S^té a répondu à ces nouvelles insinuations avec cordialité; elle paroît véritablement occupée de préparer les moyens de satisfaire à ce qu'elle a promis." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, April 28, 1772: "Non dubiti della soppressione dei Gesuiti quantunque ritardata." (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1479.) On May 5, 1772, Bernis *wrote to Azpuru: "Le pape dans l'audience de hier au soir n'a parlé qu'indirectement des Jésuites, mais il a paru au card. de Bernis plus serein et plus satisfait qu'à l'ordinaire; il a même laissé échapper cette parole: J'espère qu'avec l'aide de Dieu tout ira bien. Il n'a pas été possible au dit cardinal de faire expliquer d'avantage Sa S^té, laquelle paroît toujours de plus en plus dans le dessein de mériter l'amitié et la confiance des trois couronnes." On May 12, 1772, Bernis *wrote: "Le Pape dans l'audience de hier au soir n'a dit rien de particulier ni de remarquable au card. de Bernis sur l'affaire des Jésuites; il a parlé en général de l'intérêt que les princes catholiques ont de proscrire les livres impies et dangereux qui attaquent ouvertement les fondemens de notre religion. Les sentimens de Sa S^té envers les trois couronnes sont toujours les mêmes; elle se plaît à en démontrer la vivacité et la sincérité." *On May 19: "La conversation a roulé hier au soir à l'audience du Pape pendant assez longtemps sur les Jésuites. Sa S^té s'est montrée toujours dans les mêmes sentimens à leur égard et le card. de Bernis n'a pas manqué de lui rappeler que l'union de Sa M^té Très Chrétienne avec leurs Majestés Catholique et Sicilienne sur le point de la suppression comme sur tous les autres seroit inaltérable. Le S. Père n'en a jamais douté et le card. de Bernis a toujours été autorisé à convaincre le pape de cette vérité." *On May 26, 1772: "Le Pape dans l'audience d'hier au soir n'est entré dans aucun détail sur l'affaire des Jésuites; il s'est entretenu seulement de la prochaine arrivée de Don Joseph Moñino nouveau ministre de Sa M^té Cath. Il est plus vraisemblable que jusqu'à cette époque Sa S^té ne s'ouvrira qu'imparfaitement sur l'objet de la suppression étant bien informée que la commission du card. de Bernis est d'exécuter les ordres de Sa M^té Cath. qui lui seront communiqués sur cette

Pope's agreeing to be godfather to the child expected by the Princess of Asturias.[1] The idea that England's influence might save the Order also faded out.[2] A sign of the importance attributed to the new ambassador was that, contrary to the usual ceremonial, Cardinals Orsini and Bernis visited him first, on the day following his arrival.[3] On July 7th, instructed by the Pope, the Franciscan Bontempi presented himself to Moñino to explain that the audience which the Pope would normally have granted him would have to be postponed. After Bontempi had made the most fine-sounding assurances about the Pope's disposition and had laid stress on his desire for peace, Moñino replied in his dry manner that that depended entirely on His Holiness.[4]

négociation et de seconder efficacement les démarches." *On June 23, 1772: At yesterday's audience we spoke about the engraving of the Last Judgment. "Il n'a été question des Jésuites que par occasion." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] MASSON, 204. Regarding the medal with the circumscription "Deus nova foedera iunxit" Centomani *reported to Tanucci on July 8, 1772, that it had been developed into an elegiac couplet: "Cum Rege Hispano Clemens nova foedera iunxit, Cum Loyolitis foedera prisca tenet." (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1221.) In a *letter to the Spanish king of August 1, 1772, Clement XIV. expressed his joy at being the godfather to the child expected by the Princess of Asturias. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1479. *Cf.* above, p. 194.

[2] At the French Court, as reported by Giraud, Caprara's mission to London was ascribed to the Pope's intention of inducing England to favour the Jesuits. See THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, 212 *seq.* On the same day, July 5, Moñino visited Pallavicini and saw Almada. *Centomani to Tanucci, July 7, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1221.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 8, 1772. Moñino's *original reports in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 5039 *seqq.*, have been used and reproduced in part by ST. PRIEST (1846, App. n. VI.), LAFUENTE (*Hist.*, XIV., 249), FERRER DEL RIO (II., 359 *seqq.*), DANVILA Y COLLADO (III., 462 *seqq.*), DUHR (*Aufhebung*, 446 *seqq.*), PACHECO Y DE LEYVA (41 *seqq.*). THEINER (*loc. cit.*, II., 215 *seqq.*) thinks

It was impossible for Moñino to speak to his predecessor, Azpuru, as the latter died a tragic death on July 7th, 1772.[1] But he had a long talk with Bernis, which gave him, however, very little satisfaction, though the Cardinal was by no means remiss either in showing the new ambassador every attention or in justifying his own past conduct. When Moñino asked him what the Pope really wanted and whether he was hesitating from weakness or had changed his mind, Bernis could give but a meaningless reply. Moñino gave him to understand with the utmost distinctness that Charles III. would never alter his opinion of the Jesuits, and in the general interest the business must now be finished with at last. For three years they had been following the wrong course in aiming at the complete destruction of the Order while combining it with other things.

that little faith is to be placed in Moñino's genuine reports, as with his pride he would certainly magnify things, and it was in his interest from the first to give his Court a favourable impression of what he had achieved. For this reason THEINER relied for the most part on Bernis' reports, which agreed with Moñino's in essentials and did not bear the stamp of Spanish pride and braggadocio. DUHR (*Aufhebung*, 447) also touches on the question whether everything that Moñino reported as having been said by the Pope was true, and remarks appropriately: "Moñino's despatches, which describe the course of the audiences in an almost dramatic fashion, give an impression of truth, though we must remember that their tone was probably influenced by the thoughts and feelings of the ambassador and his employers. On the other hand, it would be rash to take every saying of the Pope's as reported by Moñino as unconditionally guaranteed and certain, on the sole testimony of this diplomat."

[1] Since March 26, 1772, most, and since April 30 all, the *reports had been prepared by Igareda. On May 21, 1772, he *described Azpuru's condition as hopeless; *on July 6 Azpuru received the Last Sacraments; *on July 7 he died in agony, his legs, which had been poulticed with spirits of wine, having caught fire. Moñino saw to it that he had a magnificent funeral in S. Mario in Monserrato. *Cf.* besides Igareda's *report of July 9, 1772 (*loc. cit.*), Centomani's *letters to Tanucci of July 7 and 10, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1221.

The *Motu proprio* and the Palafox process were therefore to be put on one side, the Pope was not to be allowed any further evasion, and they were to march straight towards their goal.[1]

With this plan the Augustinian General Vasquez, with whom Moñino had a long talk soon after his arrival, was in complete agreement. To Vasquez's suggestion that the Pope be handled with gentleness and kindness, like a wax model, and be forced to drink the bitter chalice Moñino replied that he entirely agreed. Nevertheless the General went on urging the ambassador to do his utmost to free the Church with the greatest energy from the pest which had been weakening it for two centuries.[2]

From the start Moñino kept the whole business so much in his own hands that he did not apprise Bernis or Orsini of everything. On July 12th he finally obtained his first audience, which had been postponed until then owing to the Pope's having a cold. Clement used all his skill to win over the ambassador. Leaving the main point untouched, he professed his love for Charles III. and enlarged on his aversion to the Jesuits. This encouraged Moñino to say outright that the suppression of the Jesuit Order was not difficult, and that it would benefit the Church and content the Catholic princes.

[1] Bernis' report of July 8, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 216 *seq.*, and *Moñino's to Grimaldi of June 9, 1772, Archives of Simancas. *Cf.* MASSON, 205 *seq.*

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, July 9, 1772: Moñino's arrival on the 4th "a las nueve y media de la noche". Visit to Vasquez and practical information. The result of the "Arrenguilla" was: "Pero tras la suavidad y dulzura es necesario hacerle ver al Papa como en bosquejo, y a lo lexos el caliz de amargura que se le hará probar infaliblemente." And Moñino replied, "Esto mismo estaba yo actualmente pensando." Vasquez insisted that everything be done with the greatest energy "para purgar la Iglesia de la peste que por dos siglos la tiene enferma". Both were in the fullest possible agreement as to the undertaking that had been planned . . . Moñino knew Zelada as "hombre el mas pernicioso al bien de España . . ." Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez, II.

The Pope held that the matter required time, secrecy, and trust. "My king," replied Moñino, "is a very pious prince. He honours the Pope and loves Your Holiness personally, but after carefully considering the matter in question he is firmly resolved to carry it out. He is a man of honour and an enemy of any kind of deception; if mistrust were to creep into his heart, all would be lost." Moñino also hinted that a continued refusal on the part of His Holiness might result in the suppression of *all* the Orders in Spain.

In spite of this unmistakable language Clement, throughout this conversation, which lasted an hour and a half, avoided making any definite statement that he would suppress the Jesuit Order, adhering to his general request for time. Moñino asked for an audience on a fixed day every week, to avoid the attention that would be aroused by special audiences. Clement promised to meet this request, but regretted that for the present he was unable to do so owing to the necessity of taking a course of Turkish baths to cure a herpetic rash. To convince the insistent ambassador of the truth of this statement he bared his arm and showed it to him.[1]

The time which the Pope had thus gained once more—his cure, during which all audiences were cancelled, being stretched over three weeks [2]—was not left unused by Moñino. He saw clearly that the chief cause of the delay which had occurred hitherto was the weakness and the disunity of the envoys.[3] He therefore decided to remedy this trouble first. Knowing that Bernis' prime concern was to retain his post as ambassador, he pointed out to him that this depended on his attitude

[1] Moñino to Grimaldi, July 15, 1772, in St. Priest, 317, and Bernis' report of the same day, in Masson, 206; *cf.* Danvila y Collado, 464. Theiner (*Hist.*, II., 219) errs in dating the audience July 13, 1772.

[2] *Gentile to Colloredo, August 26, 1772. The treatment, remarks Gentile, was undergone "per curare la sua salsedine, che molto le molesta". (State Archives, Vienna.)

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 30, 1772, Archives of Simancas, *loc. cit.*

towards the Jesuit question.[1] And in fact the Cardinal changed his attitude before any further pressure was put upon him by Madrid. The extent to which he did this is seen in the report he sent Aiguillon on July 21st. "I wish very much," he wrote, "that for his own honour and probably also for his peace of mind in the future that the Pope would alter his procedure regarding the Jesuits. The oracular attitude has its uses, but after three years' delay one must speak openly, and that is the only way for the Pope to escape with honour from this embarrassment. For a long time it has been possible to believe that the Holy Father had an understanding with the Court of Spain, which would have explained his mysterious behaviour, but to-day it is quite clear that the King of Spain contained himself in patience only out of respect for the Head of the Church and preferred to let suspicion fall on his Ministers and those negotiating the matter rather than doubt the honesty of the Pope. As he is keeping to his resolution to make His Holiness fulfill his promise, the Pope will find himself in a greater embarrassment than ever if he goes on procrastinating. Moñino will not agree to be satisfied so easily as the Archbishop of Valencia (Azpuru)." "To get to the root of the matter, Moñino said to me, the Pope's former promises were either sincere or equivocal. If he gave his word sincerely, for three years he has failed to keep it; but if he wanted to gain time, he has been merely playing with the King of Spain and the other rulers of the House of Bourbon. Whereas formerly it was only a question of the Jesuits, it is now a question of the Pope, who has given His Catholic Majesty a promise in writing." "It is a matter of a very serious nature for the Pope," commented Bernis, "if Spain is determined to view it in this light, especially if, as Moñino made me realize, the settlement of all the other matters which are so important for

[1] MASSON, 206 *seq.* On August 11, 1772, Grimaldi *wrote to Moñino that the king was very pleased with Bernis, and Fuentes would see that Bernis was made to realize "que del buen exito del negocio de la extincion depende su permanencia en esta corte". Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

the Holy See are to depend on the outcome of the Jesuit question." [1]

The seriousness of the situation was realized in Versailles too. Bernis was repeatedly instructed that the part he had to play was to be an active one only when Moñino thought fit, as the matter must remain under the sole direction of the Spanish king.[2] Another success for Moñino was that he restored the good relations between Bernis and Almada that had been disturbed.[3]

Having to wait some time for his second audience, owing to the extension of the Pope's cure, Moñino used the opportunity to explore the ground. He carefully examined the previous course of the negotiations, the Pope's character, and the personalities with whom he would have to deal in the pursuit of his aims. From the Secretary of the Memorials, Macedonio, he learnt how easily the Pope made promises and how prone he was to delay their execution. The same source supplied him with particulars about the poor capabilities of Orsini and Almada.[4] For his purposes, therefore, Bernis was still the chief personality. Although he still distrusted him he revealed much of his plans to him. He intended, he said, to send the Pope a memorandum which would compel him at last to come to a decision on the Jesuit question; he would represent to him that any further delay would be regarded as perfidy and would be bound to create the danger of an open breach between Madrid and Rome. Spain could not rest content with a reform of the Order; it insisted on its complete suppression. If the Pope continued to evade the obligations he had entered into he was running a very grave risk.[5]

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 221 *seq.*

[2] MASSON, 207; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 223 *seq.*

[3] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 44.

[4] Ibid., 45.

[5] He was confirmed in this by Grimaldi; *v.* his *letter of July 7, 1772, in which Bernis was judged very unfavourably: he had used every guile to avoid the suppression or at least to delay it; he thought only of his personal interests; but now he would receive definite instructions. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5108.

The longer Moñino's audience was postponed the more impatient he became. The Pope's illness was the subject of the most diverse rumours. Many surmised that it was merely an excuse for withdrawing himself from public affairs and doubted that he was really ill. This was not correct. It was known on good authority that both his illness and his excessive nervousness, which made him frightened of every fly he saw, were reducing him to a state of melancholy. The Augustinian General Vasquez and Cardinal Marefoschi, both enemies of the Jesuits, declared that Clement XIV.'s state of health was such that he would either go out of his mind or would soon die.[1] Moñino had little sympathy with the invalid. He wrote to Grimaldi that he was more convinced every day that the Pope needed to be driven forward with firmness and a certain vehemence, coupled sometimes with courteousness.[2] Nor was he impressed by Clement's solemn announcement to him on August 20th that he would shortly bless the consecrated swaddling-clothes for the new-born Spanish prince.[3]

What was to prove of the greatest importance was that Moñino succeeded first in intimidating the Pope's most influential confidant, the Franciscan Bontempi, then in corrupting him with promises. Finally Bontempi was ready to render any service to the ambassador, making only one condition: the preservation of the utmost secrecy.[4]

It was thanks to him that Moñino secured his second audience with the Pope on August 23rd. Six whole weeks had passed since his first one. This time the Pope was the first to broach the great question by revealing to Moñino a plan which without actually suppressing the Order would inevitably bring it to an end. As Innocent XIII. had planned in his day, the Jesuits were to be forbidden to admit novices, hear confessions, or preach; the General's powers were to be

[1] *Vasquez to Roda, August 20, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[2] Letter of August 20, 1772, in DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 447.

[3] *Clement XIV. to Moñino, August 20, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5039.

[4] Bernis' report of August 6, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 232, and Moñino's of August 20, 1772, in MASSON, 207 *seq.*

transferred to the Provincials. Clement XIV. was not allowed to develop this idea, as Moñino rejected any such palliative, insisting that the evil must be removed by the roots. To the Pope's misgivings of the great difficulties that would arise in the countries where the Order still existed, Moñino remained deaf.[1] As in the same audience he had put forward the restriction of the right of asylum in Spain, the Pope communicated to him the draft of the Brief on this subject at a third audience on August 30th. To the suppression of the Jesuits Clement renewed his former objections, namely that the Jesuits were still active in a large part of Germany, in Bohemia, Tuscany, Venice, Modena, and even in the Papal States. Moñino, who had received instructions to hasten a decision and who had been informed by Macedonio of the Pope's vacillating character, countered this by saying that his misgivings existed more in his imagination than in reality. That His Holiness might inform himself on this point he would like, he said, to submit to him a plan by which, while preserving his honour, he could put an end to the embarrassing situation in which he found himself with regard to the Bourbons. "So saying," reported Moñino to Madrid, "I drew forth a paper on which were written my intentions and views and I was about to read it when the Holy Father gently signed to me to desist. I put my paper away again but showed by my demeanour my displeasure with this refusal. The Pope then said that he intended to undertake something which the other princes would be unable to oppose and with which His Majesty would be highly satisfied, but it would take time. My reply was that such a delay would expose him to many dangers and that only the complete suppression of the Jesuit Order would satisfy the king. I had to tell him clearly that if the delay was at all long a big fire might spring up, bigger than one thought—I meant the suppression of all the Orders.

[1] Bernis' report of August 23, 1772, and Moñino's of August 27, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 234 *seq.*, MASSON, 208 (here the audience is wrongly dated the 28th); DANVILA Y COLLADO, 417 *seq.*; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 49.

When the Pope said that he would throw some water on the fire I rejoined that unfortunately the water was four hundred hours away from the fire and therefore could not be strong enough to quench it, and who knew what might happen in the meantime? The Pope objected that if great care was not taken with the quenching the Jesuits would be all the more terrible, being driven to desperation. But if they were allowed to hover between fear and hope, they would keep quiet. 'No, most Holy Father,' I replied, 'the pain from a diseased tooth can only be removed by pulling it out by the roots. I ask Your Holiness in Christ's name to believe me and to look on me as a man who is filled through and through with the love of peace.'" But the Pope was not to be moved from his refusal to listen to Moñino's scheme yet awhile.[1]

True to his principle that what could not be got by kindness must be taken by force, Moñino, not content with threatening the Pope himself, used Bernis also to intimidate the unhappy Clement still more until he promised to consider the acceptance of Moñino's plan.[2] This "miracle" having been worked,[3] Moñino urged on his victim still further. At another audience, lasting an hour and a half, on September 6th, he made an emphatic reference to the stringent demands contained in his instructions, to the dangers of any long delay, and to the decisive measures which would be taken by the Courts if the Pope broke his word. First and foremost, Bernis had said, the Pope must be stripped of his false hopes and made to realize the dangers that threatened.[4] Noticing the agitation caused by his threats, Moñino did not fail to point out that the suppression of the Jesuits was in the interest of the peace of the whole Church, the authority of the Holy See, good

[1] Moñino's report of September 3, 1772; *v.* FERRER, II., 387 *seq.*; ST. PRIEST, 325 *seq.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, 473.

[2] MASSON, 209; DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 447; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 51.

[3] Moñino to Grimaldi, September 3, 1772, *v.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, 474.

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 243.

relations with the Catholic States, and the tranquillity and the reputation of the Holy Father. Regarding this last point, he allowed himself to remark that as soon as the Jesuit question had been settled to the Bourbons' satisfaction they in return would pave the way for the restoration of Avignon and Benevento and the settlement of all other matters touching the Holy See. Though the Pope rejected this last observation, remarking that he did not drive bargains like a merchant, Moñino gained his main point: the Pope accepted detailed proposals for the drawing up of the Bull of suppression.[1]

This document,[2] which had been worked out with careful regard for the Pope's apprehensions and was to form the basis of the Brief of July 21st, 1773, contained in eighteen articles the main points of the eventual Brief of suppression. According to this document it was to be explained that the suppression was the result of weighty and urgent reasons which affected the good government of the Church but which the Pope must keep within his inmost heart. The Pope was to forbid the whole clergy, including the Jesuits, to attack the suppression or its reasons or without special permission to disparage anyone in the matter, either in writing or by word of mouth, publicly or privately, under pain of major excommunication, which was reserved to the Pope alone. All princes, spiritual

[1] For the important audience of September 6, 1772, see Moñino's report of September 10, 1772, largely reproduced in FERRER, II., 391, and Bernis' of September 9, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 241 *seq.*; *cf.* PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 52 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*

[2] Its history, based on the original documents, is told in detail by PACHECO Y DE LEYVA (70 *seqq.*). On p. 70 he gives the "Facsimile del primer Apunte o Nota latina", though only the first page; on pp. 70–81 the "Primer borrador de la minuta razonada traducida al castellano del Apunte o Nota latina"; on pp. 82–9 the "Copia del borrador latino del Apunte o Nota para el breve de Sopresion", presented on September 6, 1772; all three pieces from the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. On pp. 90–99 is a *Spanish translation from the Archives of Simancas; on both documents Moñino had made marginal notes justifying the various points.

and temporal, were called upon to execute the Bull of suppression conscientiously. The Pope was to admonish all the faithful to remember that they were children of the one mother, the Church, and that therefore they were to love one another and were to abhor divisions and disunity, envy, enmity, and insidious persecution. The novices in the Society were to be dismissed and sent back to their families. Those who had taken simple but not yet solemn vows were to be released from every obligation and might choose another profession. Those who had taken solemn vows were also to be discharged and could either enter another Order or remain as secular priests under the obedience of the Bishops of their place of residence. Priests who did not wish to leave the houses of the Society for want of employment or a decent dwelling might remain in their houses for the time being, provided that they dressed as secular priests and obediently subjected themselves in every way to the local Bishop. Each Bishop was to authorize two or three reliable ecclesiastics in his diocese to make an exact account of the properties, revenues, and charges of all the Jesuit houses, colleges, and hospices; they were to use the revenues partly for the good of the bishopric, partly for the maintenance of the members of the suppressed Society of Jesus, especially those who could find no employment or had remained in their Order's houses for the reasons already stated. The Jesuit houses were to be used as they thought fit, but only for religious purposes; their previous names were to be altered and they were to be called after some saint. The new object to which these houses were to be devoted was to be decided on as far as possible with the agreement of the Government and the Pope. The Bishops could grant or refuse permission to the members of the suppressed Society to hear confessions or perform other ecclesiastical duties, but in so doing they were to exercise caution and were first to examine the Religious carefully to see if they were fit for these duties. The more competent Jesuits might be employed in instructing the young, either religious or lay, but they were not to direct the establishments.

The Jesuits who stayed on in their houses were not to be

replaced by others when they died or left the Society; the houses could thus be used for their new purpose as quickly as possible and it would be plain to all that the Society really had been suppressed. With regard to the Society's houses in Rome the execution of the aforesaid regulations was to be entrusted to a Congregation of Cardinals, which might be identical with the visitation commission of the Roman Seminary. The same Congregation might also be empowered to investigate and settle all doubtful points which might arise when the regulations were being carried out; but in all difficult matters the Holy Father was to be consulted and his permission obtained. The Congregation of Propaganda was to decide on the missions, but without departing from the regulations laid down in the Bull of suppression. The powers of the General, the Provincial, the Rectors, and of all other Superiors of the Order were to be annulled in their entirety and for ever. The princes were to be invited to support with their power the execution of this constitution of suppression. Simultaneously with the publication of this constitution it would be urgently necessary to order the General and his Assistants, the Rectors, and the Procurators General to leave Rome at once and to allot them separate destinations where they were to remain until further orders and to enjoy their complete freedom.

This plan was not communicated to Bernis, it being known that the nuncio in Paris was informed of everything. In any case the French Cardinal had no need to know the details, as his duty consisted merely in inspiring the Pope with confidence in Moñino and in convincing him that Charles III. could only be satisfied with the suppression of the Jesuit Order and that the dangers this would incur were only imagined.[1] Orsini's task was similar.[2] The leading rôle Moñino retained for himself; keeping in close touch with the ambitious Azara,[3] he was in constant connexion not only with the two

[1] Masson, 209.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, September 8, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1480; Pacheco y de Leyva, 55.

[3] *Vincenti to Pallavicini, September 22, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Spagna 268 A.

Cardinals but also with Almada and with Bontempi, Macedonio, Alfani, and Carafa de Colombrano, all four of whom had been bought with Spanish gold.[1]

At an audience on September 9th Orsini reminded the Pope of his promise, and the Pope complained of this to Moñino when he presented himself on the 13th. On this occasion the Spanish ambassador tried to hand over to the Holy Father the records of a Provincial Council held in Mexico in October, 1771, and a message from this assembly to Charles III.; in both cases the complete suppression of the Jesuit Order was demanded. The Council's memorial to Charles III. was a formal indictment of the Jesuits and a request for their abolition. The Pope, it was argued, had the power not only to found new Orders but also to suppress existing ones. In support, reference was made to the fate of the Templars, the Humiliati, the so-called Jesuitesses, the Barnabites and Ambrosians *ad Nemus*, the Armenian Basilians, the Canons Regular of S. Giorgio in Alga in Venice, the Jesuati, the Hieronymites of Fiesole, and two other societies. Then all the charges brought against the Jesuits by their enemies were repeated: their wealth, their ambition, their false doctrines, their commercial dealings, their attitude in the ritual question, their secretiveness, their intrigues, political and otherwise, their participation in attempted assassinations and their consequent expulsion. Hence followed the necessity for their suppression, for which so favourable an opportunity would never occur again.[2] The Pope refused to accept this voluminous document, though agreeing to look into it later, if necessary.

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 19, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. For the pensions for Macedonio, Carafa di Trajetto, Carafa di Colombrano, and Alfani, *v.* *Orsini to Tanucci, September 11, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1480. For Spanish pensions for Cardinals and other persons, see also *Centomani to Tanucci, April 28, 1772, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1220. [2] The *exposition of the Council, written from Mexico and dated October 26, 1771, was signed by four Bishops and two procurators and covers 69 pages. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., n. 9.

When Moñino opened the subject of Avignon, Clement again retorted that he was making no bargains in matters of this kind.[1]

Even less satisfactory was Moñino's two-hours' audience on September 20th. The Pope complained of the measures taken by the Tuscan Government against the Franciscans, which seemed to him to be reprisals for his measures against the Jesuits in Rome. Moñino repeated that the longer the Pope hesitated the greater the risk he was running. At this the Pope, after some resistance, accepted an abstract of the documents of the Mexican Provincial Council and used very strong language about the Jesuits, but refused to discuss the scheme for their suppression ; he would study the matter, he said, during his residence at Castel Gandolfo.[2]

Before the Pope left Rome for his *villeggiatura* two more blows were struck against the Jesuits. Despite the objection of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Colonna, a visitation decree of September 17th ordered the provisional closing of the Roman Seminary and its *Convitto*, the transference of its administration to the Visitors, the removal of the Jesuits there, and the distribution of the seminarists among other institutions.[3]

[1] Moñino's report of September 17, 1772, in PACHECO Y DE LEYCA, 55 *seq.* ; *cf.* MASSON, 209, who makes the following comment on Clement's negative reply, " Néanmoins, on s'était entendu."

[2] Moñino to Grimaldi, September 24, 1772, in FERRER, II., 404 ; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 57 *seq.*

[3] On the strength of a Papal *rescript " ex audientia S." of September 11, 1772 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1221), the Visitors issued on September 17, 1772, a *decree which ordered the closing of the Seminary " per modum suspensionis " (*ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1480). On the same day Azara *reported to Grimaldi : " Hoy por la mañana se esté haciendo la clausura del Seminario Romano. Van los visitadores en publico (menos el Card[l] Colona que no ha querido concurrir, y se ha declarado siempre por los Jesuitas) y echarán de la Casa al Rector y demas Jesuitas, y distribuirán los Seminaristas por varios estudios de Roma, mientras se toma otra providencia." (Archives of the Spanish

The Pope had evidently accepted the figures put before him by Smuraglia, who on Marefoschi's behalf had examined the books of the institution.[1] The same thing happened when Marefoschi presented the report on the visitation of the Irish College, in which the Jesuits were accused of having secretly appropriated certain sums from the college revenues and of having trained their pupils badly. This institution too was taken from the Jesuits and placed under the direction of Cardinal Marefoschi as the Protector of Ireland.[2] As had been feared, the Jesuits found it impossible to maintain themselves in Rome once they had been condemned to pay the enormous sum they were alleged to have embezzled during their administration of the Roman Seminary.[3] No wonder that at first the measure taken was regarded as the forerunner of the suppression.[4] But the general opinion soon veered round again. As Orsini wrote to the ever-suspicious Tanucci, such paltry measures satisfied neither friend nor foe.[5]

Embassy in Rome.) Similarly *Moñino to Grimaldi on September 17, 1772, *ibid.* For Colonna's opposition *v.* *Centomani to Tanucci, September 22, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1221. According to *Orsini's letter to Tanucci on September 1, 1772, Marefoschi was against the seminary, Colonna for it, York midway between the two. (C. Farnes, 1480, *ibid.*)

[1] CORDARA, 138, and above, p. 208, n. 2. A *refutation of Smuraglia's calculations in Cod. 288 in the Bibl. Estense at Modena, where also there are other relative *documents. The Jesuits' reply is mentioned by Orsini in his *letter to Tanucci of September 22, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1480.

[2] CORDARA, 139. The *decree concerning the Irish College, of September 23, 1772, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*

[3] " *La perizia obligando i Gesuiti a pagare in Roma 374,000 scudi rovina la Compagnia " (*loc. cit.*).

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, September 18, 1772, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma 1222.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, September 29, 1772 : " L'affare ora conchiuso del Seminario Romano fu eccitato dal Clero fin dal principio del presente Pontificato, per questione di spese. Quindi non vi è questione della soppressione Gesuitica, come neppure nella chiusura del Collegio Ibernese . . . La detta soppressione non

Pleased as Madrid was with Moñino's activity and even with Bernis',[1] it was still worried by the Pope's attitude. It was thought that he must be reckoning on French support. Wherefore Charles III. wrote on September 21st to Louis XV., asking him to send Bernis the most stringent instructions to press for the suppression by all possible means. Louis' reply was that he still agreed that Bernis was to conform to Moñino's direction in all respects.[2] In Madrid the greatest impatience persisted. On October 6th Moñino was again instructed to leave nothing untried and again to offer as a bait the return of Avignon.[3] When Clement had assented to the diminution of the right of asylum,[4] Charles III. used the opportunity on October 13th, when writing his letter of thanks, to recommend once more the speediest possible suppression of the Jesuit Order "in the interest of public security and the peace of the Church."[5]

All negotiations being suspended[6] during the Pope's

appare come conseguenza di nessuna provvidenza del Papa. Al contrario vi sono segni di protezione" (*ibid.* 1221). *Orsini to Tanucci, on the same day: "Si, si, piccole misure, che 'neque amicos parant, neque inimicos tollunt'" (*ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1480). For Tanucci's mistrust, *v.* his letter to Grimaldi and Losada, of September 29, 1772, in Danvila y Collado, 484.

[1] *Grimaldi to Moñino, September 8 and 22, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, and *on the same day to Magallon (Spain's representative in Paris), Archives of Simancas, Estado 5089.

[2] Charles III.'s letters of September 21, 1772, and Louis XV.'s reply of October 3, 1772, in Masson, 210.

[3] *Grimaldi to Moñino, October 6, 1772 (*loc. cit.*): The king was very pleased with the Brief dealing with the restriction of asylum but was impatient about the "extincion", wherefore Moñino was to press the matter again. Although the Pope said "que no hacía comercio de la extincion", Moñino was to point out that if the "extincion" were secured the restoration of Avignon would be secured also.

[4] Brief of September 12, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 499 *seq.*

[5] Theiner, *Hist.*, II., 254 *seqq.*

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 1, 1772, *ibid.*

residence in the country, to which he had retired on September 21st,[1] Moñino went to Naples on October 9th, but very soon returned, as in his absence the Duke of Arcos, with a brilliant retinue of Spanish nobles, had unexpectedly arrived in Rome.

The Pope invited the duke to Castel Gandolfo, where a splendid banquet was held in his honour. When Arcos, obeying Charles III.'s instructions, began to touch on the Jesuit question, the Pope broke in with the words, "His Majesty will be satisfied; only let him rely on me. His ambassador has no doubt already informed him of the happy state of affairs that has been reached."[2]

This view was not shared by Moñino, who was still affected by the impression he had derived from the interview of September 20th, following which he had written to Grimaldi that all was lost. Nor was his mistrust dispelled by the news of the fresh steps which had been taken against the Jesuits in Rome and Loreto.[3] It had been confirmed, in fact, by a fresh difficulty raised by the Pope: he could not hold a Consistory for the suppression because, except for York, Marefoschi, and one other, all the Cardinals were against such a measure or were, at any rate, not certainly in favour of it.[4]

After Clement had returned to Rome at the end of October, Moñino wrote to Grimaldi that although His Holiness certainly had no love for the Jesuits, someone was holding him back

[1] *Azara to Grimaldi, September 24, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 247 *seqq.*; *Orsini to Moñino, October 5, 1772, and *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 22 and 29, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, October 2, 1772: More threats against the Society, especially in Loreto . . . It was said that the reports on the Irish College and the Roman Seminary would be printed "con tutte le licenze ed approvazioni", in other words as so many official documents against the Society . . . Corsini and Alfani would be entrusted with another visitation. State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{309}{1054}$.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 20, 1772, Archives of Simancas; *cf.* DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 448.

from taking the last step, either Bontempi or the friends of the Jesuits. Notwithstanding the assurance given to Arcos, if the Pope went on hesitating throughout November, the Neapolitan Government would have to exert decisive pressure by occupying Castro and Ronciglione.[1] How greatly Moñino distrusted Bontempi is seen from a report to Grimaldi of November 5th, in which he says that he has prevailed upon Almada to threaten Bontempi. "Two things must always be kept before the eyes of such a man: gratitude or punishment. He deserves the latter rather and so we must close our eyes until we see whether he will help us out of our difficulty or not." [2]

What Moñino learnt from Macedonio also confirmed him in his mistrust that Clement would keep his word. "But I am not losing heart," he wrote to Grimaldi, "the Pope has bound himself." [3]

Tanucci's opinion at that time was that Moñino was the only Spaniard who knew how to manage affairs in Rome.[4] Moñino indeed shrank from no method of achieving his purpose, whether it was bribery of the Pope's confidants or threats against the Head of the Church himself. On November 8th he went to an audience, which he almost had to obtain by force, determined to stick at nothing. He first presented Charles III.'s letter of October 13th, with an Italian

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 29, 1772, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 488. In his *letter to Grimaldi of October 20, 1772 (see p. 243, n. 4), Moñino said that everything had been arranged with Naples in the event of the Pope's deceiving them. Fuentes had already proposed in the summer to compel the Pope to agree to the suppression by occupying Castro and publishing his letters to Charles III. See *Grimaldi to Fuentes, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5039.

[2] DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 451.

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 5, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] "*Moñino per me finora è l'unico spagnuolo che sia capace di trattar negozi in Roma." Tanucci to Fogliano, October 21, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6019.

translation, and he also took with him Grimaldi's instruction of September 29th, according to which he was to work for the suppression by every possible means. He hoped in this way to intimidate the Pope, but unexpectedly Clement offered resistance and pointed out the necessity of obtaining before the suppression the assent, not only of the Court of Vienna but also of the Italian princes and States. Only when that had been done could he unfold to the Spanish king the scheme which was to be followed. Moñino, stifling the annoyance caused him by this announcement, asked for speedy information, if possible within a month. Although the Pope at this audience had insisted on the strictest secrecy, Moñino paid not the slightest attention to this request. He communicated the gist of his interview to Bernis, and his report to Grimaldi ended with "Now Castro must be occupied".[1] This was entirely in accord with Tanucci's way of thinking; on November 10th he wrote to Grimaldi that as all Rome was for the Jesuits force would have to be used with the Pope and he would have to be threatened with a complete rupture with Spain, Naples, France, and Portugal.[2]

Although Bernis urgently represented to the Pope the danger threatened by the Bourbons,[3] and Almada presented a violent letter from Pombal,[4] Clement still held out. His reply to Charles III.'s letter, which reply he communicated to the Spanish ambassador through Bontempi, was couched throughout in general terms, the Jesuits not being even mentioned.[5] As against this, what signified a Brief that allotted the property of the Jesuits in Frascati to Cardinal

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 12, 1772, *ibid.*; *cf.* DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 448; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 59; Bernis' report of November 11, 1772, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 256 *seqq.*

[2] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, November 10, 1772, *loc. cit.*, Estado 6105.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 259.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 10, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1480.

[5] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 260; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 489.

York's seminary and spoke of still further steps, in particular a visitation of the Jesuits' chief teaching establishment in Rome, the Roman College ?[1] Moñino told Bontempi that if the Pope went on delaying a decision and concealed his thoughts in ambiguous and artificial language, the Spanish Government would cast aside nice feelings and Bontempi would be the first to suffer.[2] In spite of this threat Clement told Moñino at an audience on November 15th that he needed more time to study the matter, firstly for reasons of conscience, secondly not to give rise to the belief that the suppression of the Jesuit Order was a condition of his election. "At this," reported Moñino, "I could no longer contain myself and with a vehemence I had never used before I told him how surprised and bewildered I was by this new manner of speech." The ambassador then tried to show the Pope that he could salve his conscience with the declaration of more than thirty Spanish Bishops and the request of the Mexican Provincial Council. As for his other misgiving Moñino observed with a smile that after three and a half years no one could well accuse the Pope of having bound himself in the conclave to bring about the suppression. Moñino then explained at length how unnecessary it was, and how little consonant with the dignity of the Holy See, to seek the agreement of every Catholic prince, whether great or small, in a matter which depended solely on His Holiness. When the Pope admitted that no Government, but only the nuncios in Vienna and Paris, had interceded on the Jesuits' behalf, Moñino suggested that the silence of the other Governments might be taken as consent. He then painted in lively colours the renown the Pope would win by the restoration of peace and even suggested that the Jesuits themselves would be glad to be rid of the

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 4, 10, and 17, 1772, and *to Giancane on November 19, 1772, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{309}{1054}$. *Cf.* Clement XIV.'s *Brief to Cardinal York of November 10, 1772, and *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 19, 1772, both in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] THEINER, *loc. cit.*

continual suspense and dread. The interview came to an end with Moñino still urging the Pope.[1]

At the next audience, on November 22nd, Moñino repeated the threat of a rupture. The effect of this on the Pope was to make him speak more clearly. After complaining about Marefoschi's poor observance of the bond of secrecy, he declared that he could trust no one and for this reason he had to compose the draft of the Brief of suppression himself. He also spoke of how he intended to shape the preamble to the document.[2] But as the Pope spoke rather less decisively to Bernis,[3] Moñino was still distrustful.[4]

Meanwhile every courier from Madrid brought further urgent and insistent instructions.[5] Moñino could think of no other course but to bribe the Pope's associates and in particular to bind Bontempi to himself with Spanish gold.[6] Through the Pope's confidants, in conjunction with threats, the goal was to be reached at last. According to Orsini's report of November 24th, Clement expostulated to the importunate envoy, "Have a care for my death! You are trying to force me to ride at post-haste speed, but now that I have laid my scheme I will not alter it."[7] Highly agitated, he complained

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 17, 1772, *loc. cit.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 491 *seq.*; Bernis in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 261 *seq.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 26, 1772, *loc. cit.*; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 493; Bernis on November 24, 1772, *v.* MASSON, 212.

[3] MASSON, *ibid.*

[4] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 493.

[5] *Ibid.*, 494.

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 26 and December 3, 1772, *loc. cit.*, DANVILA Y COLLADO (493) quotes this report of November 26, in which it is stated that Bontempi was to receive 40,000 *scudi*. The passage runs: "Solo me falta dar el ultimo asalto de interes al influxo del P. Buontempi, de quien me hay revelado, que tiene ya impuestos cerca de 40^{m} escudos; sin varias alhajas que recibe. Si este ataque no da lumbre, no ay que esperar. Estoi en el concepto de que no la dará." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5039.

[7] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 24, 1772: "Temete la mia

bitterly to Almada about the pressure to which Spain was subjecting him.[1] But this pressure together with the influence of his confidants finally brought him to the decisive turning-point.

On November 26th Moñino wrote in confidence to Grimaldi in his own hand, "I have nothing more to do now than make the final assault on Father Bontempi, who, I have been told confidentially, apart from his acceptance of sundry jewels, has already incurred obligations to the tune of 40,000 *scudi*. If this attack does not open a breach, the prospect is hopeless."[2] The attack launched on November 27th was so successful that on the following day the Father was able to report to Moñino that the final victory was close at hand.[3] Moñino found this news confirmed at his audience on the 29th.[4] Using the strongest terms, Clement repeated his promise to suppress the Jesuit Order, adding that he wished to bring the matter to a speedy end. Moñino would see that he would keep his word. To Bernis also he spoke in a similar sense. "It is true," he said, "that three and a half years of my pontificate have passed, but I have been continually active and I have already succeeded in destroying the Jesuits' prestige in Rome with the nobility, the prelates, the Curia, and the people. It was necessary to open the road towards our goal in this manner. When the suppression has come to pass, I will explain to Your Eminence the reasons for the delay and then you will acknowledge that I was right." "The Pope,"

morte," exclaimed the Pope in response to the Ministers' importunity, adding, "Mi volete far caminare con cavalli di Posta, ma io non voglio cangiare l'idea del progetto fissato." But he confirmed all his promises. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1480.

[1] *Moñino's second report to Grimaldi, of December 3, 1772, *loc. cit.*

[2] DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 451 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 247, n. 6.

[3] *Vid.* Moñino's *report mentioned above, at n. 1.

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 263. According to Bernis' report of December 2, 1772, which is quoted here, Cardinal Colonna, who was formerly favourably inclined towards the Jesuits, is said to have used his influence with the Pope in the contrary direction.

Bernis said to Orsini, " has never spoken about the suppression so calmly and firmly before." [1] In the middle of December Clement deprived the luckless Jesuits expelled from Portugal of the pension granted to them by Clement XIII., which he had already reduced from 12,000 to 9,000 *scudi*.[2] At the same time, following on further threats by Moñino,[3] he took another step in the deepest secrecy, which committed him still more. He commissioned the prelate Zelada, titular Bishop of Petra, who was born in Rome but had remained a Spaniard, to work out a Bull of the suppression together with Moñino, on the lines of the draft presented by the Spanish ambassador on

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, December 1, 1772 : " Mi disse il Ministro di Spagna, che il Papa nell'udienza di domenica 29 del passato avevagli ratificato la promessa della soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù con termini fortissimi, soggiungendo che desiderava uscire presto da questo affare, che presto ne sarebbe uscito mantenendo la parola e Lei signore cavaliere lo vedrà ; che trovò il Papa allegro e gli sembra risoluto. Il card. de Bernis poi mi riferì avergli il Papa detto, dalla cui udienza allora tornava : ' Ripeto la promessa fatta alli tre sovrani Borboni di sopprimere la Compagnia di Gesù, è vero che sono passati tre anni e mezzo del mio pontificato e vi ò sempre pensato e travagliato e già sono riuscito a far perdere il credito, che la Compagnia aveva in Roma presso la nobiltà, la prelatura, la Curia ed il popolo, conveniva aprirmi una strada, già me la sono aperta. Si compiaccia scrivere a S.M^{tà} Christ. che mi favorisca d'assicurare e d'entrare garante con S.M. Cattolica, che mantengo la parola data di sopprimerla ; quando ciò sarà seguito dirò a Lei signor cardinale i motivi, che ò avuto, per differirla e Mi darà ragione o almeno compatimento.' E mi narrò il cardinale in fine, che il Papa era allegro e mai gli aveva parlato sull'assunto con eguale ilarità e fermezza." State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1480.

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, December 18, 1772, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma 1221 ; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, December 19, 1772, State Archives, Venice ; *Orsini to Tanucci, December 22, 1772, adding that the General Ricci had been forbidden " di domandar licenze di far debiti, di alienare capitali ". State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1480.

[3] Danvila y Collado, III., 498.

September 6th.[1] "This seems to be the end," was Grimaldi's comment. "Bontempi shall have his jingling reward, but not until the deed is done."[2] Clement had exacted from Zelada an oath not to inform anyone of the commission he had received.[3] "This secretiveness of the Pope's," said Moñino, "is all of a piece with his character. He likes surprises. He is timid and suspicious. I fall in with his ways as far as I can, so as to forestall any excuse. The reliability of his man of confidence (Zelada) is not above suspicion, but he is so ambitious that he is always ready to change sides. However, his duty is confined merely to formal alterations; the main business is settled, unless these priests are deceiving us."[4] Moñino soon saw that he had nothing to fear from Zelada. In a joyful letter to Grimaldi dated on the last day of this eventful year, 1772, he reported the "good progress" that had been made: "Zelada has examined my draft for the Bull of suppression, has approved of it, and praises it beyond all measure. He suggested only four unimportant alterations, to which I immediately assented." At the end of this letter Moñino observed that although all seemed to be going well he would be apprehensive until the suppression had actually been carried out. All depended now on preserving secrecy in every direction, especially that of Paris, to prevent any intrigues by the nuncio there.[5] The latter, however, like many others in Paris, soon discovered everything, although Bernis observed complete silence in his official dispatches, and had

[1] Bernis' report of December 16, 1772, produced by MASSON (212, n. 4) from the private archives of the Bernis family. Masson observes that the accounts to be found there "détruisent absolument le récit de Theiner".

[2] *Grimaldi to Moñino, December 22, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] MASSON, 214 n.

[4] Tanucci's letter of December 23, 1772, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 61; *cf.* Moñino's report of December 17, 1772, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 498 *seq.*

[5] The letter is reproduced in full in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 121 *seq.*

asked Aiguillon to inform no one but the king. The text of the draft was not communicated even to Bernis, who, as he wrote, left Spain the honour, or rather the responsibility, for the whole affair. The Pope was left in no doubt that until it was all settled there was to be no question of the return of Avignon.[1]

The failure to preserve the secret resulted in it becoming generally supposed that the Jesuit cause was lost. This was accentuated when the strange opinion that Frederick II. would intervene on the Order's behalf proved to be false. At the end of 1772 a letter of December 4th from the Prussian king to D'Alembert became known. It contained the following passage: "Amid all these various movements the Order of the Jesuits is to be destroyed at last and the Pope, after wriggling for a long time, has yielded at last, so it is said, to the importunities of the first-born sons of his Church. I have received an emissary of the General of the Ignatians, who urges me to proclaim myself as the protector of this Order. My answer to him was that when Louis XV. deemed it advisable to disband the Fitz-James regiment I did not consider myself entitled to intercede on its behalf, and that the Pope was sufficiently master in his own house to undertake any reform that he found to be right and fitting, without any heretics meddling in the business." [2]

The enemies of the Jesuits saw at once what a weapon the Prussian king's letter had placed in their hands.[3] Pombal sent the Pope a copy of it,[4] as did also Charles III. In his covering letter to Moñino Charles said that the letter would convince the Pope of the open rebelliousness of the Jesuits against the Catholic princes and the Holy See and their

[1] MASSON, 213 *seq.* In a *letter to Grimaldi of December 24, 1772, Moñino reports on Zelada's work and complains "del poco secreto que guarda el Ministro de Francia en estos asuntos, y las malas resultas que puede esto tener". Archives of Simancas.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 267 *seq.*; *Corresp. de Frédéric II.*, IX. (*Œuvres*, XXIV.), 587, here dated December 4.

[3] DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 14 *seq.*

[4] Letter of December 21, 1772, in *Collecção*, III., 164 *seq.*

intrigues with the non-Catholic Powers. He spoke in a similar fashion to the Auditor of the Apostolic nunciature in Madrid, who added to his secret report of January 5th, 1773, the remark, "It is generally thought here that the fate of the Jesuits will be decided very shortly."[1] And this surmise was correct.

On December 28th, 1772, Zelada had reported to the Pope on the execution of his task. Clement expressed his satisfaction and bade him proceed with the composition of the Bull, on which he was to report progress every Monday. By January 6th, 1773, the draft of the Bull had been prepared by Zelada, approved by Moñino, and handed to the Pope. The document, a copy of which was sent by Moñino to Madrid on January 7th, was similar in all essentials to the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* which decreed the dissolution of the Order. The alterations made in Zelada's draft were of a purely formal nature.[2] News of the decisive step was sent by Moñino to the King of Spain and his confidants, and shortly afterwards to Tanucci in Naples. No wonder that it occasioned much joy[3]; at the beginning of 1773 the Neapolitan troops were withdrawn from

[1] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 268. The *copy of Frederick's letter is in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 5039. *Cf.* also *Nunziat. di Spagna 268 A, fo. 438, Papal Secret Archives. In Rome Frederick II.'s letter was generally known by the beginning of 1773; *Orsini to Tanucci, January 12, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[2] Bernis' private reports of December 30, 1772, and January 6, 1773, in MASSON, 215 *seq.* (where, however, the day on which Zelada made his report is given erroneously as December 30); Moñino's reports of December 31, 1772, and January 7, 1773 (by which the copy of Zelada's draft was sent to Madrid), in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 121 *seq.*, 134 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, the reproduction of this copy; *ibid.*, 102 *seq.*, the "segunda minuta modificada que sirvió para la formal expedicion del breve de extincion", according to Moñino's autograph, and 123 *seq.*, the Italian translation of this piece. *Cf. ibid.*, 62 *seq.*

[3] *Tanucci to Moñino, December 26, 1772, and January 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6020.

the frontier of the Papal States.[1] But there was still some doubt that the affair would continue to make good progress. This was the case especially with the keen-sighted Moñino,[2] who was well aware of Clement's indecisiveness and timidity and, in particular, his fear of being accused of having bound himself in the conclave by a formal promise. "I hover between fear and hope," Moñino wrote to Grimaldi on January 7th, 1773. "I fear that something unforeseen may intervene and I realize that any incident, however trivial, may give rise to difficulties. However hard we tried to soothe the Pope he would harbour misgivings about the agreement of the Viennese and Florentine Governments."[3] This being the situation, every possible influence was brought to bear on the unhappy Pope, especially through his confidants, Zelada and Bontempi in particular, who, with others, had been corrupted.[4] By January 7th Moñino was already suggesting how Zelada was to be completely won over, but the important man, he emphasized, was Bontempi and Bontempi only. Of Zelada he remarked that he hoped to make his fortune by the whole affair; in any case everything would be kept secret.[5] Nevertheless the Venetian envoy Tiepolo discovered the close relations between Moñino and the Pope's most trusted counsellors; he thought that Bontempi would probably get the red hat.[6]

[1] Tanucci had already stated in his *letter of December 26, 1772 (see p. 253, n. 3), that the occupation of Castro was unnecessary. The withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops was *reported by Tiepolo to the Doge on January 9, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

[2] He had already given expression to this anxiety in his *report of December 22, 1772. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5040.

[3] Pacheco y de Leyva, 136.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 247, n. 6.

[5] *Grimaldi to Moñino, January 5, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Moñino also tried to influence the Pope by sending him the translation of an opinion advocating the suppression written by a member of the Sorbonne. *Ibid.*

[6] *Tiepolo to the Doge on January 13, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

In his audiences of January 10th and 17th Moñino had the impression that though the Pope still wanted to withhold his assent he was resolved as in honour bound to announce the suppression. At the audience of January 17th Clement definitely informed the ambassador that he had only two or three points to set out in the draft and that they did not affect the substance of it.[1] Nevertheless Moñino did not feel certain of the final result. Although Bontempi tried to reassure him, and Zelada was showing the greatest zeal, he thought that the Pope would get caught up in the formalities of the document.[2] At an audience on January 31st he noted that the Pope apprehended the resistance of the Florentine Government. From Zelada he learnt that he had put before the Pope a fair copy of the Brief of suppression[3]; after Clement had read it it would be passed to the secretariate for execution.[4] Simultaneously it became known that the Pope had lapsed into melancholy because a prediction had been found in the palace that he would die during the Carnival.[5]

When Moñino heard of this fresh indecision of the Pope's, he expressed his impatience in strong language at an audience on February 6th, 1773, whereupon Clement rejoined that soon, very soon, the Bourbons would be satisfied. Nevertheless on the 7th the Spanish ambassador induced Cardinals Orsini and Bernis to press the Pope again, although the former had not been initiated into the secret.[6] As the result of this pressure, on February 11th the Pope had a copy of the Brief of suppression sent through Bontempi to Moñino, to be

[1] Pacheco y de Leyva, 64; Danvila y Collado, 504 *seq.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, January 28, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* Danvila y Collado, 506 *seq.* Grimaldi expressed his confidence in a *letter to Tanucci of February 23, 1773. Archives of Simancas, Estado 6106.

[3] "Minuta en limpio."

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, February 4, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, February 2, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1222.

[6] Danvila y Collado, III., 507; Pacheco y de Leyva, 156.

forwarded to Charles III., as he wished this matter to be dealt with as between sovereigns.[1] Bontempi now considered that everything had been settled. The document was dispatched by courier to Madrid on the same day. "To get this far," added Moñino, "it needed a discussion with the Pope which was pretty sharp and irritating."[2]

In Madrid,[3] where the draft arrived at the beginning of March, Charles III. was highly satisfied with the fulfilment hitherto of all his wishes.[4] The draft, according to his judgment, was in accord with the principles of justice and fairness and was calculated to put an end for ever to the disturbances caused by the influence of the Jesuits in every Catholic State. By this act the Pope would win honour and glory. The king offered to write in his own hand to the Kings of France, Naples, and Portugal and to the Empress Maria Theresa and to send them a copy of the draft. Moñino was instructed to express to the Pope his acknowledgment of this fresh proof of his paternal love and to assure him that all his conditions, especially that of secrecy, would be conscientiously observed.[5] Tanucci also received news immediately of the event which was "desired with such uncommon ardour and was so important for our holy religion and our whole family." As the copies of the draft to be conveyed by the couriers had yet to be made

[1] Bernis, in MASSON, 216, and *Moñino on February 11, 1773.

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, February 11, 1773, *ibid.*, DANVILA Y COLLADO, 507 *seq.*; DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 448; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 156 *seq.*, where the whole report is reproduced.

[3] Grimaldi had already *written to Tanucci on February 23, 1773, that according to the report rendered by Moñino (who, it must be said, was still not entirely certain of success) the future might be faced with confidence; Pombal, too, was pressing very hard. State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1801. For Pombal, *v.* his *letter to Almada of December 21, 1772, in *Collecção*, III., 153 *seqq.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Moñino, March 2, 1773, *loc. cit.*; *Grimaldi to Magallon on March 5, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5040.

[5] DANVILA Y COLLADO, 509. The **Resumen del breve* in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

out, he was sending him in the meantime an extract through Grimaldi. "We must give thanks to God," he wrote, "for the peace of Our realms and the safety of Our person could not be guaranteed in any other way." [1]

On March 5th Charles III. wrote in his own hand to Louis XV. and Maria Theresa, on the 6th to King Joseph I. of Portugal, from whom, as also from the French monarch, he could confidently expect a reply of assent, since Pombal was in command in Lisbon, and from Versailles Aiguillon had already written on January 25th, "If Spain approves of the draft, we shall do likewise, without even reading it." On March 9th Charles wrote to King Ferdinand of Naples.[2]

In his letter to Maria Theresa the Spanish king reminded

[1] *Charles III. to Tanucci on March 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6067; DANVILA Y COLLADO, 509. Tanucci had already, on February 20, 1773, *expressed his pleasure at the victory, for which both the victor and the Pope deserved praise (*loc. cit.*, Estado 6020). On reading the draft, Tanucci could not refrain from making some critical remarks, of which, however, he said nothing to the king. See *Tanucci to Charles III. on March 30, 1773, *ibid.*, Estado 3720.

[2] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 65; MASSON, 216 *seq.*, where the letters sent and received by Louis XV. and also Aiguillon's are reproduced. Joseph I. of Portugal's letter in *Collecção*, III., 165 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 177 *seq.*, his letter of assent, of March 13, 1773. Joseph's letter met with Grimaldi's complete approval, but in Louis XV.'s letter he was not pleased with the expression "condescendencia del Christ^mo" and thought that it must have come from Aiguillon. His advice, therefore, was to show only the first letter and to make only a verbal reference to Louis XV.'s. See *Grimaldi to Moñino, March 23, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Ibid.*, in the second letter of the same date, further laments about the unfortunate wording of Louis XV.'s letter. Moñino *replied on April 8, 1773, that he could not show the Pope Joseph I.'s letter only; it would be better not to show either. Even if Louis XV.'s letter did seem strange, Bernis had his instructions to insist on the suppression (*ibid.*). Joseph I.'s great joy was brought out also in the Queen of Portugal's *letter to Charles III. of May 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7297.

her of the statement she had made in 1770, that she would not oppose an eventual suppression by the Pope.[1] Attached to this letter was the original draft of the Brief which had been sent to Moñino by way of Bontempi.[2] In Clement XIII.'s pontificate Maria Theresa had been inclined to give positive support to the Jesuits, but by February, 1768, she had already decided not to offer any opposition to the Bourbons.[3] In March, 1769, she had definitely declined formally to take sides against the Order, remarking that this was also the attitude of her son, Joseph II.[4] This latter assertion was afterwards falsified, for on January 15th, 1770, Joseph wrote to Choiseul that his view of the suppression was the same as the French Minister's, as he knew of Jesuit plans for a tyrannical autocracy. Kaunitz, who was all-powerful with the Empress, was, he alleged, also in agreement with Choiseul and Pombal.[5]

[1] ARNETH, IX., 564 *seq.*

[2] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 65 *seq.*

[3] DUHR, *Maria Theresia*, 208 *seq.* Duhr was the first to make clear the empress's position regarding the Jesuit Order, after he had previously disposed of the tale that a general confession made by the empress had been revealed by the Jesuits (*Jesuitenfabeln* [4] [1904], 40 *seqq.*), a tale which was still being served up to his readers by LEA in 1896 (*History of auricular confession*, II., 455 (Philadelphia).

[4] *Aubeterre to Bernis, March 28, 1773, in Jesuit possession, *Suppr.* 9.

[5] *Joseph II. to Choiseul, January 15, 1770, copy in MSS. 3518/1389, fo. 40, of the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. *Cf.* MASSON, 218. Mgr. Siva had *reported to Garampi on March 25, 1769, that the emperor himself had told his confessor that the Order would be suppressed by the new Pope and that he himself would be indifferent (Nunziat. di Germania, 389, Papal Secret Archives). On September 23, 1769, Vincenti *wrote to Pallavicini that the emperor remained cool and indifferent, even in the face of Prussian pressure. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Regarding a spurious letter from Joseph to Choiseul, of January, 1770, *v. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXXIII. (1904), 787 *seqq.* Joseph II. was afterwards not hostile to the ex-Jesuits.

The Spaniards were not unaware how much depended on the decision to be taken by Austria, the most important of the Catholic Powers. If the Court of Vienna, Azpuru had said at the beginning of 1770, refrained from protecting the Jesuits, it would mean " a big step towards the suppression." [1]

The " big step " was taken as a result of the empress's ardent wish to see her daughter Marie Antoinette married to the Dauphin, the future Louis XVI. On March 16th, 1770, Fuentes was able to report to Madrid that the Imperial envoy, Mercy, had informed Choiseul that although the empress, so far as her States were concerned, had no grounds for the suppression such as had been cited by the Bourbons, she would not oppose whatever the Pope thought necessary in the matter for the good of the Church, provided that he gave previous notice of it to the imperial Court.[2] When the French interpreted this as a request of the empress's, she made it clear to the nuncio that she had merely stated that, neither urging nor objecting, she awaited the Holy Father's decision on the fate of the Jesuits. Should His Holiness deem it expedient to reform them or suppress them, she had no objection to raise.[3] Madrid realized at once how powerful an encouragement this " indifference " offered to anti-Jesuit opinion. Maria Theresa's statement, Grimaldi wrote to Azpuru, was of the greatest importance ; the Pope must be given

[1] *Azpuru to Bernis, 7 February, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, March 16, 1770 : Count Mercy had told Choiseul that with regard to the suppression the empress had stated to him " que aunque no tenia ella, por lo que miraba a los de sus Estados, los motivos que los Principes de la Casa de Borbon, para solicitar la abolicion de la Orden, no se opondria a lo que el Papa creyese deber hacer en este asunto por el bien de la Iglesia ".—But, continued Fuentes, Her Imperial Majesty had asked to be informed of the Pope's decision. Mercy, speaking for the empress, had brought this also to his knowledge, so that the interested parties [especially the Pope] should be quite clear as to the situation. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] DUHR, *Maria Theresia*, 209 *seqq.*

exact information of it, for every excuse now fell to the ground.[1]

At the end of March, 1770, news of the empress's attitude reached Rome. Azpuru had it conveyed to the Pope by means of Orsini.[2] The Bourbon envoys were already hoping that the Pope would induce the Court of Vienna to ask for the suppression, but Clement's reply was that this was inconsonant with his dignity and that it was the business of the Bourbons to take such a step.[3] From these words alone, apart from other reports, it may be deduced that the Pope would have welcomed positive opposition from the empress in spite of his constant allusions to the great difficulties caused by those countries from which the Jesuits had not yet been expelled. Worried and threatened as he was, Clement XIV. knew only too well what an important weapon it would have been for him in his struggle with the Bourbons if he could have pleaded the opposition of the empress. In view of the anti-Jesuit attitude of the other Catholic Powers, it could only be a question of Austria when he objected again and again that he could decree the suppression only with the agreement of all the Catholic States of Europe.[4] After the empress's statement in the spring of 1770 the appeal to Austria had lost much of its force, Maria Theresa having bound her hands, though not yet entirely, but in 1773 the arrival in Vienna of Charles III.'s letter gave her another opportunity of making a decisive intervention, and her attitude was awaited with universal excitement.[5] But the empress failed again. Her reply to Charles III. was already prepared for her signature by April 4th, 1773. The draft had been composed by Kaunitz, but at the last moment

[1] " *Este paso es esencialisimo," Grimaldi to Azpuru, March 27, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Bernis to Azpuru, March 28, 1770, and *Azpuru to Grimaldi, April 19, 1770, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Orsini to Tanucci, April 17, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1475.

[3] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, August 23, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5087.

[4] DUHR, *Maria Theresia*, 208.

[5] *Magallon to Grimaldi, March 16, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado 6106.

the empress gave it a less formal tone and inserted a passage favourable to the Jesuits. Despite the high esteem, she declared, in which she had always held the Society of Jesus, which indeed it had merited by its zeal and its good conduct in Austrian territory, she would put no obstacle in the way of its suppression if the Pope considered it expedient and profitable for the unity of their holy religion. But she must state confidentially that she did not accept the clause dealing with the Jesuit properties, as she could not recognize the Pope's right to dispose of the Orders' estates and persons.[1]

In Madrid, Grimaldi found the answer better than had been expected. The one condition made by the empress would have to be fulfilled, whatever difficulties were raised in Rome.[2]

Charles III. immediately declared his readiness to support this " just demand ",[3] for his main purpose had been achieved : the Pope's last defensive weapon had been struck from his

[1] ARNETH, IX., 93 *seq.*, 565 *seq.* ; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA (66) errs in giving the date of the letter as April 7, FERRER (II., 454) as April 2. Tanucci did the empress an injustice when he *wrote to Grimaldi on March 9, 1773, that she would give way about the acquisition of the Jesuit property. *Loc. cit.*, Estado 6106.

[2] *Grimaldi to Moñino, April 27, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] See the corresponding instruction issued to Moñino in Grimaldi's *letter of April 27, 1773, which also speaks of Charles III.'s great joy at the empress's reply. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5040. *Cf. ibid.* 6106, *Grimaldi to Tanucci on April 27, 1773. Moñino found the empress's request perfectly justified and promised to support it (*letter to Grimaldi of May 13, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), but he was worried about what Maria Theresa meant by " the persons of the Order ". Could it be, perhaps, that the empress wanted to send the " good " Jesuits to Lombardy ? (Second *letter of the same day, *ibid.*) Grimaldi *replied on June 1, 1773, that the expression puzzled him too, but that the Pope would clearly not put any difficulty in the way of fulfilling the condition. Moñino was to proceed in such a way that " cada uno pueda entenderlo en el sentido que mas le acomode " ; the king relied entirely on his proved acumen. *Ibid.*

hand. Clement XIV. had hoped in vain that the sincerely pious empress who had inherited from her forbears a liking for the Jesuits, who had entrusted to the Jesuits the education of her sons and daughters, and who in all other respects too was very well disposed towards them, would never agree to their suppression. With Maria Theresa high policy, the desire for good relations with the Bourbons in Paris, Madrid, Naples, and Parma, had proved superior to all other considerations. The welfare of her daughters weighed very heavily with her. Moreover, anti-clerical counsellors, such as the Voltairian Kaunitz, pro-Febronian Catholic "enlighteners", such as the Provost of the Augustinian canonry of St. Dorothea in Vienna, Ignaz Müller, the empress's confessor, and the Jansenist Van Swieten, all sworn enemies of the Jesuits, exerted a powerful influence on the great sovereign, who in this case "played the part of a weak woman and a fond and anxious mother." [1] She succumbed to the stronger will of those around her and to political and family considerations. That she was acting against her convictions was admitted by one in her confidence, the Lord High Steward Khevenhüller, who thought that she would rue this step till her dying day but would never be able to repair it.[2] She was not spared the regret. Cardinal Migazzi relates that after the suppression, a few months before her death, he was to hear her say, "If only I had taken your advice and listened to your remonstrances!" [3] Her regret would have been greater still had she known the fate that awaited her daughter in France, for the sake of whose marriage she had sacrificed the Jesuits.[4]

[1] The foregoing is based on DUHR's excellent treatment of the subject (*Maria Theresia*, 211, 216 *seq.*). Visconti had *reported to Pallavicini on September 23, 1769, that the enemies of the Society were the theologian and imperial confessor (Provost Müller ?) and the principal physician, Van Swieten. Nunziat. di Germania, 387, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] KHEVENHÜLLER-METSCH, *Tagebuch 1770–1773*, 183 *seq.*

[3] WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 186.

[4] DUHR, *Maria Theresia*, 221.

Authentic documents show how much importance at this last stage of the proceedings was attributed to the attitude of the Viennese Government. On January 26th, 1773, Grimaldi wrote to Moñino that the Viennese Court must be worked on.[1] The question put by the Minister to Moñino on March 9th, "What will be the answer of the Courts?"[2] could refer only to Vienna. Austria's agreement, Grimaldi emphasized, was absolutely necessary.[3] The Pope was worried by the empress's failure to reply, Moñino reported to Grimaldi on March 25th.[4] Charles III.[5] and Tanucci[6] feared that the empress would have conscientious scruples. On April 22nd Moñino summed up the situation thus: "If Vienna resists, the Pope will do nothing," and on the 29th he wrote of the intense interest with which Maria Theresa's answer was awaited, which answer would also decide the attitude of the Florentine Government.[7] A modern historian was perfectly correct in saying that Maria Theresa's act of friendship towards the Spanish king, chiefly motivated by the love of her children, meant the death-blow to the Society of Jesus which she valued so highly.[8]

In Piedmont, in the meantime, King Carlo Emanuele, who was friendly to the Jesuits,[9] had been succeeded by Vittorio Amadeo, who was closely related to the Bourbons and was

[1] *Grimaldi to Moñino, January 26, 1773, in forwarding him the copy of the Brief of suppression in draft form, "que he podido, digamoslo assi, robarla." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5040.

[2] *Grimaldi to Moñino, March 9, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] *Grimaldi's second letter to Moñino, of March 9, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado 5040.

[4] In the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, April 6, 1773, *ibid.*

[6] *Tanucci to Charles III., April 20, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 3720.

[7] *Moñino to Grimaldi, April 22 and 29, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[8] DUHR, *Maria Theresia*, 210 *seq.*

[9] The news of his death was known in Rome, as Orsini *wrote to Tanucci on February 26, 1773, "mercoledì sera." *Loc. cit.*, Estado 4987.

always ready to comply with their desires.[1] Tuscany's attitude was decided by that of Vienna. Consequently the only States left on the Jesuit side were a few small ones in Italy and Germany, which, being of little importance, could not influence the decision,[2] but when inconvenient opinions were voiced even there they were kept hidden from the Pope. The zeal of his entourage in this respect is shown by the fact that Bontempi simply suppressed the letters from German Bishops recommending the Jesuits and surrendered them to Moñino.[3] And when the Catholic world was thus apparently united, what signified it that a few non-Catholic Powers, such as Prussia, Russia, and England seemed to be well-disposed towards the Jesuits? In any case, so far as Prussia was concerned, the hope cherished by the Jesuits' supporters had already been destroyed by Frederick II.'s letter to D'Alembert, which had become generally known.[4]

Although Clement XIV. disdained the advice of the Cardinals, the antipathy of the majority of them towards the suppression of the Jesuit Order was nevertheless a serious obstacle in the way of such a measure. This was attested by no less a personage than Moñino, who as early as October, 1772, advised the Pope to create Cardinals of other ways of thinking.[5] But it was some time before the next promotion

[1] CORDARA, 137. In a *letter to Grimaldi of April 1, 1773, Moñino expressed his joy at the change that had occurred in Turin. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Neither Vienna nor Turin will make any difficulties about the suppression, and Genoa need not be considered, wrote Tanucci to Orsini on July 31, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021.

[3] *Cf.* the letter from Moñino mentioned above, n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 251.

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 1, 1772, *loc. cit.* By attending the New Year Eve's service in the Gesù in 1770 eight Cardinals openly showed their sympathy with the Jesuits. *Cf.* *Azpuru to Grimaldi on January 10, 1771, *ibid.* In his *letter to Tanucci of February 3, 1772, Orsini stated with satisfaction that "Martedì sera" only five Cardinals appeared in the Gesù (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1479).

took place. It was not till April 19th, 1773, that Zelada received the red hat, along with Francesco Carafa. On March 15th Simone also was invited to join the senate of the Church ; of the thirteen new Cardinals chosen by the Pope on April 26th only Braschi and Delci were proclaimed as such.[1]

The skill with which Moñino acted led Bernis to remark that if Spain had sent an ambassador of that kind four years earlier the thorny problem would not have dragged on so long.[2] Moñino was indeed untiringly active in all directions. He calmed Tanucci's ever growing impatience,[3] and, to keep the Pope complacent, he put forward a proposal in mid-April 1773, shortly before Zelada's cardinalitial appointment, regarding the return of Avignon and Benevento, whereby due attention was paid to the Pope's aversion to using the Jesuits for bargaining purposes. Clement was to offer to mediate between the Duke of Parma and Charles III., and the settlement of the dispute was to be followed by the return of the two territories. Charles, who had the same misgivings as the Pope, approved the plan, but Louis XV. and the Duke of Parma would have none of it. But while Paris was still objecting, Clement had already undertaken the task of mediation, insisting that the return of Avignon and Benevento should precede the publication of the Brief of suppression.[4] By May there was no one in Rome who doubted that he was resolved to sacrifice the Jesuits,[5] but the conjectures as to the causes of the delay were widely divergent. According to Cordara, the Pope would rather have yielded to the Bourbons' pressure by

[1] Novaes, XV., 206 *seq.*

[2] Danvila y Collado, 513.

[3] *Ibid.*, 514.

[4] Masson, 219. Vincenti, who *communicated to Grimaldi "in the deepest secrecy" the plan elaborated by Moñino, said that its object was to save "il decoro delle corti Borboniche ed insieme della S. Sede e di N. Sg. per non dare a divinare che motivi temporali mosso avessero il S. Padre alla convenuta estinzione de' Gesuiti". Report to Pallavicini, of June 18, 1773, from Aranjuez, Nunziat. di Spagna 268 A., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Danvila y Collado, 518 *seq.*

some other means than the Brief of suppression, as he feared that this would provoke discontent and open unrest, would scandalize the pious, and give the heretics cause for triumph and contempt. Moreover, solicitude for the reputation of the Holy See made him hesitate to decree the dissolution of an Order which his predecessor had confirmed only a short time previously. Thus it was that again a plan was formed which would bring the Jesuit Order to an end without it being possible for anyone to say that it had actually been suppressed. Under cover of an Apostolic visitation the Bishops in the Papal States were to close the noviciates in their dioceses, discharge the scholastics, forbid those Jesuits who were priests to indulge in any spiritual activity, and subject them to episcopal authority like any other clerics. It has been thought by some that the Pope intended by these measures to prepare the people for the imminent suppression of the Jesuit Order.[1] But Clement XIV.'s apologist, Cordara, who went on steadily searching for excuses for the Pope, interpreted his motive in the sense indicated above. He thought that if the affair were allowed to develop slowly on a long roundabout course something might intervene to prevent its consummation.[2]

The first attempt to put this strange plan into practice was made in Bologna, where Cardinal Malvezzi, an ardent opponent of the Jesuits, was Archbishop.

On January 13th, 1773, the Pope ordered the visitation of the Fuccioli College, which was under the direct control of the Jesuit General, and entrusted this duty to Marefoschi and Alfani.[3] This and other measures, such as the refusal of the

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 326; DANVILA, 506 *seq.*

[2] CORDARA, 140.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, January 1 and 19, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1222. *Orsini to Tanucci, January 15, 23, and 26, 1773, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1481, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987, and State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$. In 1646 Giovannantonio Fuccioli had founded a small college in Rome, called after himself, whose pupils (of whom

Camera Apostolica to sanction the sale of silver articles to the amount of 10,000 *scudi* for the maintenance of the Jesuits expelled from Portugal, showed quite clearly what was to be expected in the future.[1] When the Jesuits of Bologna, fearing that they would be reduced to beggary like their Portuguese brethren, attempted to sell some valuables, Malvezzi reported them to Rome. Clement thereupon gave the Cardinal permission, in a secret Brief, to visit all the Jesuit houses in the diocese of Bologna and to secularize those Fathers who made such a request.[2] Malvezzi, who belonged to the diplomatic school of Benedict XIV.,[3] would, with all his animosity against the Jesuits, have preferred another method of procedure.[4] He feared difficulties with the Legate, inadequate support from the Pope, and opposition from the strongly pro-Jesuit Bolognese.[5] It was not till March that Malvezzi acted on a fresh summons by the Pope, who furnished him with greater powers.[6] He began his visitation at Cento, where, in accordance with his instructions, he did not show the Papal

there were six in 1785) attended lectures at the Roman College. *Cf.* Pius VI. on April 6, 1785, *Bull. Rom. Cont.*, VI., 2, pp. 1473 *seq.*

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 12, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, February 9, 1773, *ibid.* *Cf.* Bernis in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 326.

[3] This was the opinion given by *Kaunitz to Colloredo on May 20, 1769 (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] Malvezzi and Marefoschi, Vasquez surmised in a *letter to Roda, were the men who " moverán la barca que está parada por falta de remeros ". Vasquez 1, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, February 26, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987, and *on March 2 and 5, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1481 ; *Tiepolo to the Doge on February 27, 1773, also reporting on the " dispiacere del papa per la violazione del segreto sul breve " (State Archives, Venice).

[6] *Tiepolo to the Doge, March 6, 1773, *ibid.* *Malvezzi to Macedonio and to Clement XIV., March 6, 1773, in Jesuit possession ; *Orsini to Tanucci on March 12, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

Brief,[1] since, as Orsini surmised,[2] it contained matters that could not be made public. Malvezzi himself regarded the Papal order to keep the Brief secret as something quite extraordinary and would have liked to have another Brief; he would also have liked to know if the resolution to suppress the Society was definite, so that he could be on safe ground when carrying out the visitation.[3] In this duty he showed no lack of zeal. At Cento he ordered the Jesuit schools to be closed. As it was intended to do the same thing in Bologna,[4]

[1] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., March 10, 1773 (here Malvezzi asks why the Brief contains the words "si mihi videbitur"; it was for the Pope to issue commands), and *March 13, 1773, which contains the following: The Brief orders me "ricercare della vita, costumi e riti loro", but Chinese or Malabar rites are not in usage here. As far as their life and customs go, "apparentemente sono buoni. — Della dottrina e morale precisamente non parla il Breve." But "Va Stà m'insegna che la dottrina è molinistica e la morale un vero schietto probabilismo! Prima di tutto che V.S. dia facoltà di separarli dal loro Generale e d'obbligarli ad aprirsi". In Jesuit possession.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 23, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987. *Cf.* also *Conte G. Zambeccari to Orsini on March 17, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$.

[3] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., March 24, 1773: He (Malvezzi) had that day summoned the four Jesuit Rectors to tell them about the visitation. "Se la Stà Va non me l'ordina, mi astengo dal produrre il Breve di Commissione, benche regolarmente si dovrebbe produrre sulle prime."—He asks for another Brief, "che sia totalmente conforme alle sue determinazioni."—He asks the Pope to give him "ulteriore schiarimento sulla determinata soppressione", so that the visitation may be carried out on sure ground. In Jesuit possession.

[4] *Malvezzi to Macedonio, March 31, 1773: The schools in Cento have been closed, and the same thing will happen in Bologna. "Se le rispettive Diocesi lasceranno Noviziati, Scuole, Seminari, Collegi di Convittori, non potrà Va Stà venire al suo fine. Lasciare nelle mani di tal gente l'educazione della gioventù, questa se gli affeziona . . . e prende i loro pregiudizi e gli dissemina . . . ad eternare le massime gesuitiche." *Ibid.*

a disturbance arose among the people which soon grew more serious.[1] But the Cardinal was no more intimidated by this [2] than by the great difficulties he encountered in his dealings with the Jesuit novices and scholastics. In a letter to the Pope he asserted that the Jesuits were real seducers, both in the pulpit and in the confessional. The withholding of the Brief, he now thought, was in the interest both of the Pope and the Visitor.[3] In April an order was issued to the novices in the Jesuit college in Bologna to return to their families within three days. With the exception of two *Convitti*, all the Jesuit schools were closed, and their sodalities were disbanded.[4] No provision for the education of the young was made by Malvezzi,[5] whereupon the Bolognese Senate complained to the Pope and demanded a substitute for the lost schools and sodalities.[6]

There can be no doubt that Malvezzi intended to drive out

[1] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV. on April 3, 1773 (the attachment of the Bolognese tertiaries still persisted, if only out of sympathy), *ibid.*, and Bernis on April 14, 1773, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 327.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 30, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1487.

[3] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., April 3, 1773: Have obeyed the Pope; the novices were discharged. Report on the execution of the task. The Jesuits are real seducers, both in the pulpit and in the confessional. To keep silent about the Brief is of advantage to the Visitor as well as to the Pope. "Poichè in tal modo rimane nel pieno arbitrio di V^a S^tà il restringere, rivocare ed ampliare le facoltà, e all'Esecutore quelle maniere usare che sono più adattate alle circostanze e conformi alle intenzioni di V^a S^tà. Poi in fine stabilir il mio operato . . . coll'Ap^lica Sua Approvazione." In Jesuit possession.

[4] *Letter from the Provost of the archiepiscopal chancery, Natali, to the Rector of the Jesuit College of S. Lucia in Bologna, Jacopo Belgrado, April 5, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] *Zambeccari to Orsini, April 14, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$.

[6] Undated *copy of the petition, which shows that the sodality had a membership of 2,000. In Jesuit possession.

the Jesuits entirely from Bologna and his diocese. That he still concealed this object was due solely to the regard he had to pay to the local population.[1]

In such a difficult situation the Bolognese Jesuits decided to seek the advice of their Superiors. Jacopo Belgrado, the Rector of the Jesuit College of S. Lucia, appealed first to his Provincial at Modena, who encouraged him to resist and demanded to be shown Malvezzi's powers in writing.[2] Through the Provincial, Belgrado also received the General Ricci's instructions of April 3rd. According to these, he was to resist if Malvezzi tried to deprive the Fathers of their name, their dress, and their dependence on the General. If they were refused an insight into the Brief, the Rector was to have recourse to the Pope. Supplementary instructions were issued on April 7th, the principal one being that the dissolution of the vows and the destruction of the noviciate was not to be allowed.[3] In a further instruction the General's Assistant made

[1] On April 7, 1773, *Malvezzi justified his mode of action to Macedonio, who acted as intermediary with the Pope. Its object, he said, was not only not to betray "quello che si vuole tener celato" but also "avvezzare il popolo a stare senza di loro". A fresh Brief had not yet been found necessary, "sembrandomi che se non altro le lettere di Lei che presso di me ritengo abbastanza mi garantischino." In Jesuit possession.

[2] *Provincial Angelo Melchiori to Belgrado, from Modena, April 6, 1773: We for our part cannot alter what the Church decided two centuries ago. Caprice lacking any sure basis must be resisted. P.S. in the evening: If His Eminence insists, he should be asked for his written orders. The duke here will receive as many Jesuits in his lands as can live there. But how can one live there? *Ibid.*

[3] *Ricci to Belgrado, April 3, 1773: Istruzione: 1. Are the name of Jesus, the dress, the dependence on the General to be abolished? No, and again no! 2. If orders are given, he is to show the Brief, and if he does not show it: recourse to the Pope (*ibid.*). *On April 7, 1773, Ricci added the following instructions: 1. To the dispensation from the vows the answer is: No. In this connexion the Brief is always shown. 2. Equal resistance must

it clear that Ricci desired Belgrado not only to demand an inspection of the Brief but also to insist on Malvezzi giving his orders in writing. If force was used, Belgrado was to make a formal protest.[1]

The resistance offered by the Jesuits and the Senators caused Malvezzi great annoyance. He sneered at the Senators' anxiety to have a proper system of education,[2] and the Jesuits' counter-representations he left unanswered.[3] In the midst of the storm the Fathers remained calm.[4] Although the people were on their side, Malvezzi continued to take steps against them. On April 22nd he forbade them to engage in any spiritual activity, including even the teaching of the catechism and the care of prisoners,[5] and he also had an inventory taken of their property.[6] All this failed to shake the Fathers' equanimity.[7] Malvezzi showed less self-control; when the Jesuits submitted to him a written defence of their

be offered when the noviciate was disbanded (*ibid.*). Melchiori's *letter of April 9, 1773, forwarding the General's instructions (*ibid.*).

[1] *Melchiori to Belgrado, April 16, 1773: Fr. Gorgo explains the General's will as follows: 1. The Cardinal is to show his Brief. 2. The orders are to be given in writing. 3. If force is used, a legalized protest must be made. Fr. Rusca has acted very well in the matter of the novices and up to now has been successful. *Ibid.*

[2] *Malvezzi to Macedonio, April 17, 1773: How ridiculous these pro-Jesuit Senators are! They think their efforts "possano se no altro ritardare le sovrane determinazioni!" and they want "pur far credere, che il non lasciare le scuole a' Gesuiti faccia mancanza nella Città". *Ibid.*

[3] *D. Luis de Gnecco to Grimaldi, April 20, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5042.

[4] "*Sereni in mezzo a si critiche vicende." Zambeccari to Orsini, April 21, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$.

[5] *Malvezzi to Belgrado, April 22, 1773, in Jesuit possession.

[6] *Orsini to Tanucci, April 27, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1481.

[7] They were still setting their hopes on Maria Theresa's resistance, *reported Zambeccari to Orsini on April 28, 1773, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$. Fr. Gorgo, Ricci's Assistant, also *wrote to Belgrado as late as May 29, 1773, that it was reported

position, he straightway tore it up.[1] To make his position more secure, the Cardinal sought an extension of his powers, which Clement XIV. granted him by a further Brief on May 15th.[2] On the strength of this Malvezzi, on May 25th, declared the scholastics to be absolved from their vows and forbade them to wear the dress of their Order.[3] To demonstrate the invalidity of these steps Belgrado, with the agreement of the Provincial and the General,[4] composed a treatise, which, so far as is known, never reached the Pope's hands.[5] With regard

from Vienna " che presto vedremo gl'effetti della protezione di Casa d'Austria ". In Jesuit possession.

[1] *Belgrado to Melchiori, April 28, 1773, Bibl. Corsini, Rome, Cod. 1550.

[2] Extract from the *Brief *Concedimus speciali* of May 15, 1773 : " Queste sono le facoltà concesse all' Arcivescovo di Bologna nel Breve." Comprehensive powers relating to the novices, the students of philosophy and theology, who are to be released, and to all the other Jesuits of the diocese, whom the Cardinal may secularize if they request it. Authority also to prohibit all pastoral activity and to take charge of goods, archives, sacred vessels, etc. (in Jesuit possession). Malvezzi thanked the Pope in a *letter to Macedonio of May 22, 1773 : Thanks for the two Briefs ! But why " concedimus " and not " iniungimus " ? . . . What would the Jesuits say about the said authority ? In the accompanying letter I am asking you to give the Pope a list of the " facoltà del secondo Breve " with my observations, so that he " per di lei mezzo mi significhi il suo volere " (*ibid.*). Gnecco to Grimaldi, June 1 and 8, 1773, in DANVILA Y COLLADO, 521.

[3] *Malvezzi to Belgrado, May 25, 1773 : " D'ordine della S^tà di N.S. ed in virtù di s. Ubbidienza si comanda al padre Rettore : *a*) di dimettere nel tempo discreto i due carissimi e tutti i filosofi ; *b*) di dichiarar a suddetti studenti che il Cardinale ' li dispensa da qualunque voto da essi fatto secondo l'Istituto della Compagnia ', *c*) di intimar a' medesimi il divieto di riprender l'abito senza ' la licenza della stessa S^tà di N.S.' ; *d*) di ricevere nella sua casa altri Gesuiti che vorrebbero stanziarvi ; *e*) di relevare ne' conti il risparmio che nascerà dalla partenza." *Ibid.*

[4] *Gorgo to Belgrado, May 29, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] The **Memoriale al Papa*, drawn up after Malvezzi had ordered the secularization of the scholastics, who were real Religious,

to the dissolution of the scholastics' vows, the Rector insisted with great firmness that he be made acquainted not merely with a portion of the Papal Brief but the whole of it.[1] Malvezzi's view was that this might be asked of a simple prelate but not of a Cardinal and Archbishop of a Papal State.[2] On June 2nd he repeated his ordinances of May 25th.[3] As his threat to remove Belgrado from his post in the event of further disobedience [4] had no effect, he proceeded to use force. On June 5th he had Belgrado and his procurator arrested and taken across the frontier under military escort.[5] Macedonio informed Malvezzi that the Pope approved of his procedure against Belgrado and desired him to continue to act on these lines.[6] The Pope's withholding of the final blow, he wrote, was to make certain of its effect; the Cardinal's execution of his orders would put courage into Clement XIV.[1] Malvezzi also received a letter from the Augustinian Giorgi in Rome complimenting him on his "admirable attitude" towards the Bolognese Jesuits.[8]

After succeeding in making the novices return to their homes Malvezzi hoped to intimidate the fourteen scholastics, but they persisted in maintaining that they could only obey

on May 25, *ibid.* It quoted the words used by Malvezzi to the Rector of the two Jesuit colleges of S. Lucia and S. Ignazio in Bologna: "Voi non avete ne delitti ne accuse." For Malvezzi's irregular proceeding, see also *Belgrado to the Provost Natali on May 29, 1773, when Belgrado invoked the Bull *Superna* of Clement X (*ibid.*). Against the ban on preaching the Jesuits appealed also to the Congregazione de' Vescovi e Regolari (*v.* *Melchiori to Belgrado, June 1, 1773, *ibid.*).

[1] *Belgrado to Natali, June 1, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., May 12, 1773, *ibid.*

[3] *Malvezzi to Belgrado, June 2, 1773, *ibid.*

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 330.

[5] *Zambeccari to Orsini, June 5, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$.

[6] *Macedonio to Malvezzi, June 11, 1773, in Jesuit possession.

[7] **Id.*, June 10, 1773, *ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

if their consciences were set at rest by seeing the Papal ordinance. Malvezzi refused to show it to them, saying that a Cardinal had to be believed when he gave an assurance about the Pope's will. He then put an end to the dispute by having the scholastics brought under guard to the villa of the seminary, depriving them there of their religious dress, and sending them home.[1] Some, to his annoyance, entered Modenese territory, where, however, the duke forbade them to resume their dress ; others went to Ferrara. These Malvezzi requested the Legate of Ferrara to imprison.[2]

The Fathers who had stayed on in Bologna and who were unanimously resolved to continue their resistance were at first kept under guard. On June 15th their church was closed, their goods were confiscated, and administrators were put in charge of their colleges.[3] The Cardinal found little money with the Jesuits but many debts.[4] The riches attributed to them by their enemies, therefore, proved to be illusory. To escape further persecution, Scotti, the Rector of the Collegio dei Nobili, and soon afterwards some of his colleagues, fled from

[1] *Zambeccari to Orsini, June 5, 1773, *loc. cit.* ; *Zambeccari to Grimaldi, June 8, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4737 ; *Orsini to Tanucci, June 8, *ibid.* 4987 ; *Gnecco to Grimaldi, June 8, 1773, *ibid.*, 5042 ; *Malvezzi to Macedonio, June 5, 1773, in Jesuit possession ; *Centomani to Tanucci, June 11, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1222 ; *Orsini to Tanucci, June 11 and 15, 1773, *ibid.*, C. Farnes, 1481.

[2] *Zambeccari to Orsini, June 9 and 16, 1773, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$; *Gnecco to Grimaldi, June 15, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5656 ; *Orsini to Tanucci, June 15, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Zambeccari to Orsini, June 5 and 16, 1773, *loc. cit.*, and to Grimaldi on June 22, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado 4737 ; *Malvezzi to Macedonio, June 19, 1773, in Jesuit possession. *Macedonio to Malvezzi, June 26, 1773 (the Pope's approval), *ibid.* ; *Tiepolo to the Doge, June 26, 1773, State Archives, Venice. According to Orsini's *letter to Tanucci of June 22, 1773, the Pope considered that " il card. Malvezzi ha eseguito esattamente il nostri ordini in Bologna ", State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[4] *Gnecco to Grimaldi, July 6, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5656.

Bologna, where any usefulness on their part had been made impossible. Hunger would reduce the others to subjection, Malvezzi wrote to the Pope.[1]

The news of these events, which violently incensed the Bolognese,[2] spread through the whole of Italy and gave great offence. Even Bernis spoke of the unusual severity which had been used.[3] The Pope, unable to ignore the general feeling, was more perturbed than ever.[4] His embarrassment was increased by Moñino's having openly asserted from the beginning that the Bolognese visitation, of which he had not been told in advance,[5] was merely another way of putting off the final settlement.[6] The appearance in Rome of the intriguing Giraud and the restitution problem caused Moñino the greatest anxiety at the beginning of June.[7] To prevent another retreat, as he himself reported on June 3rd, he launched out into further threats and reproaches against the Pope, who, deeply depressed, asked him not to worry and frighten him so much. Though it lasted two hours, the interview had no result. Moñino went away grievously

[1] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV. and to Macedonio on June 30, 1773, in Jesuit possession. On August 4, 1773, Malvezzi *reported to Macedonio : These Jesuits are gradually leaving . . . are being fêted in Modena (*ibid.*). On August 14, 1773, Tiepolo *reported to the Doge that almost all the Jesuits had left Bologna (State Archives, Venice). On the same day Malvezzi complained in a *letter to the Pope that the Duke of Modena was giving a cordial welcome to all Jesuits (*ibid.*).

[2] *Zambeccari to Orsini, June 23, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$; CORDARA, 141.

[3] MASSON, 221.

[4] CORDARA, 141 ; MASSON, 211, n. 3.

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, February 22, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 226 ; MASSON, 216 ; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 157. Centomani also spoke sceptically of the proceedings in Bologna in his *letter to Tanucci of February 23, 1773. State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{477}{1222}$.

[7] DANVILA, III., 521.

troubled and discouraged and immediately called Zelada and Bontempi into consultation. All were agreed that Giraud must have been intriguing and that now the Pope must be spoken to in the most threatening manner possible.[1] But it is improbable that Moñino would ever have reached the goal unaided. Clement XIV.'s confidants, Zelada and Bontempi, had to be induced by fresh promises of money to lend their aid,[2] for, as Moñino reported on June 29th, "they alone can save us."[3]

In a confidential report to Grimaldi on April 29th, 1773, Moñino had already remarked that Zelada had admitted to him that he was heavily in debt; in view of the good service this man had rendered and was still able to render—and not only in the matter of the suppression of the Jesuits—6–7,000 *scudi* would be appropriate, and an equal or greater sum was proposed for Bontempi.[4] On June 3rd Moñino acknowledged the receipt of a royal order in respect of 8,000 *scudi* for Zelada, and asked also for a generous benefice for him.[5] On May 18th Charles III. had sent Moñino 8,000 *scudi* "for secret expenses in the royal service"; Bontempi was to have his reward later.[6] That both men had rendered good service to Spain was again attested by Moñino in a letter of May 20th, 1773.[7] From a letter written from Aranjuez on June 1st, 1773, to the Franciscan Archbishop Osma, the Spanish king's confessor, we learn that immediately after Zelada had been made a Cardinal he had been presented by Louis XV. with an abbey bringing in 2,000 Roman *scudi* annually and that Charles III., following his example, had decided to present him with benefices

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 448.

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, June 3, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] DUHR, *Aufhebung*, 452; DANVILA, 515.

[5] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 453.

[6] *Grimaldi to Muzquiz, May 17, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5040; *Grimaldi to Moñino, May 18, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; DANVILA, *loc. cit.*

[7] In the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

amounting annually to 3,000 Roman *scudi*.[1] In accordance with the advice given him by the Pope's confidants, Moñino, as he reported on June 10th, was not sparing of strong expressions and threats at his next audience. He reported at the same time that the Pope intended to announce the Brief of suppression at a Consistory in the manner of a peace treaty. But when, he asked, would the Brief be signed and printed ?[2] Incidentally Moñino did not trust Bontempi ; this is clear from his suggestion that the 10,000 *scudi* destined for this cleric should be accompanied by an instruction that they were not to be paid until the Brief of suppression had been published.[3]

Charles III. continued to satisfy without delay all Moñino's requests on behalf of the Pope's confidants. By a royal ordinance of June 14th Zelada was presented to two canonries in Seville and Cordova which had an annual value of 60,000 *reales*.[4] A great sigh of relief was breathed in Madrid on the

[1] DANVILA, III., 516. Grimaldi had already *informed Moñino on May 25, 1773, that Charles III. would do more for Zelada than Louis XV. (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Moñino's second *letter of June 10, 1773, *ibid.*, DANVILA, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, June 24, 1773, *loc. cit.* The 10,000 *scudi* were remitted on July 13, 1773, DANVILA, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Moñino, June 15, 1773 : " Al Card. de Celada ha presentado el Rey para dos Canongias que se hallan vacantes en las Santas Iglesias de Sevilla y Cordova, cuyo valor anual se regula en treinta mil reales poco mas o menos cada una de ellas. Por la carta adjunta le doy esta noticia ; y si V. S. gusta, podrá anticiparsela por sí mismo antes de hacerle entregar la carta." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Roda *wrote on the same day to Moñino that Zelada was rewarded solely on account of " el zelo, trabajo y desempeño en la grande obra que tanto nos interesa " (*ibid.*). The thanks of " His extremely useful Eminence " was conveyed by *Moñino to Grimaldi on July 1, 1773 (*ibid.*). In Zelada's *letter of thanks to Grimaldi, of July 1, 1773, he said that with all the will in the world he was not capable of serving the king as his magnanimity deserved, but he would do his level best. Archives of Simancas, Estado 5048.

arrival of Moñino's report of June 17th that Clement XIV. had succumbed to the latest assault; he had signed the Brief of suppression at last and had handed it over to him to be printed, as he could not trust the Camera Apostolica.[1] But immediately a fresh delay occurred, for Clement was unwilling to have the Brief published until after the restitution of the Papal territories; he feared that otherwise Tanucci would retain Benevento and Ponte Corvo.[2]

Madrid was constantly consumed with the greatest impatience. "We thought we had reached harbour," Grimaldi wrote to Moñino on June 22nd, "and it hardly redounds to the honour of the Pope and the sovereigns if their word is open to doubt." He presumed that Giraud had reopened the question of restitution, as the Pope refused to bargain and knew the intentions of the Kings of France and Spain. He also suspected the influence of the English envoy.[3]

As Louis XV. obstinately refused to agree to Moñino's plan of solving the restitution problem by Papal intervention in Parma, Charles III. gave way.[4] He promised to ensure the

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, June 17, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. It is not possible to say with certainty on which day the decision was made. Bernis wrote on June 16, 1773, to Aiguillon, "Le Pape a signé le bref d'extinction des Jésuites." Masson (221) thinks that the signature took place as early as June 8, as Bernis wrote on the 9th, "Le Pape a promis à M. Moñino de signer hier le bref de la suppression des Jésuites." Pacheco y de Leyva (67) takes it to be June 9.

[2] Masson, 221.

[3] *Grimaldi to Moñino, June 22, 1773: "Es sensible, que quando nos creiamos al puerto de nuestra negociacion, salgan ahi con una pretension contraria a la inteligencia en que estabamos de acuerdo con ellos; que es poco decorosa para el Papa mismo, para los Reyes, y que ofende a dos Soberanos, dudando que puedan faltar a su palabra. V. S. verá lo que dize de oficio y lo que se han respondido de Francia a la idea de la mediacion del Papa para el ajuste del Infante: me remito pues a la de oficio, y no me dilato mas, por no replicar aqui lo mismo, y por falta de tiempo." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Grimaldi to Magallon, June 28, 1773, *ibid.*

removal of the Pope's doubt about Tanucci's honesty by writing to his son, the King of Naples.[1] Meanwhile Moñino had been as active as ever. Through Bontempi he went to extremes in pressing the Pope and threatened to inform the Portuguese envoy, Almada, of everything if there was any further delay.[2] He was disturbed by the thought that the forcible steps taken by the Pope against the Jesuits in Bologna were only a way of gaining time,[3] especially as further visitations similar to that in Bologna had been ordered for Ravenna and Ferrara.[4] In Rome itself the Pope had caused the notorious Alfani to have the archives of the Jesuit noviciate sealed up for the purpose of a visitation [5] and at the same time he had issued an order, by a Brief to Cardinal Acquaviva, Legate of Urbino and Pesaro, for the confiscation of all Jesuit

[1] *Grimaldi to Moñino, June 29, 1773: "No tengo que decir sobre el negocio principal, pues avrà ya visto V. S. que no quieren en Francia la mediacion del Papa para reconciliacion con el Infante, y si persisten en que preceda la restitucion á la extincion, veo el negocio mal parado; embio a V. S. copia de lo que escrivi ayer en mi confidencial a Magallon [see the preceding note] sobre el asunto para que quede V. S. enterado de todo, y sola añadiré que si el temor de ahi nace de que desconfian de Tanucci, pueden deponerle, pues el Rey está resuelto a escrivir al Rey su hijo que deve absolutamente restituir Benevento, y lo executará S. M. por el Correo proximo." *Ibid.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, June 24, 1773, *ibid.*

[3] Bernis to Aiguillon, June 16, 1773, in MASSON, 222, n. 2. The impetuous Centomani had already objected *on January 12, 1773, to the resumption of these petty visitations, "che poco meno diventano eterne e questo dopo tre anni e mezzo di pontificato e sei di promessa estinzione". Letter to Tanucci, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1222. *Cf. ibid.*, a second *letter of Centomani's to Tanucci of January 19, 1773.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, June 24, 1773, *loc. cit.*; CORDARA, 141.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, June 25 and July 2, 1773, also *Centomani to Tanucci, June 25, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$ and 1222. According to Tiepolo's *letter to the Doge, of June 26, 1773 (*loc. cit.*), Cardinals Pamfili and Corsini had refused to become Visitors to the noviciate.

property in those places. The Bishop of Montalto received a similar order on June 25th.[1] There could be no doubt that the Pope's intention was to extend the measures taken in Bologna to the whole of the Papal States. But to this Moñino objected so violently that the dispatch of further Briefs of visitation was suspended and it was resolved to set up a Congregation of Cardinals to determine the measures to be taken after the suppression of the Jesuit Order.[2] The establishment of this Congregation, which wielded even greater powers than the Inquisition, was literally forced on the Pope by Moñino, as the latter himself admitted. "It costs me unbelievable efforts," he wrote on July 1st, "to induce the Holy Father to move with the speed the affair demands."[3] But there was still the question of the restitution of Avignon and Benevento to be settled. Moñino urgently desired a decision to be taken and complained of the embarrassing situation in which he was placed by the contradictory attitude of the Courts, especially Tanucci's endeavour to retain Benevento.[4] He was worried also by the dispatch of the Brief of visitation, in spite of his objection, to Cardinal Borghese, Legate of

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 613 *seq.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 1, 1773, *loc. cit.* The names of the Cardinals as given by MASSON (222 *seq.*) are not entirely correct. I have adopted the particulars given by *Tiepolo in his letter to the Doge on July 17, 1773, *loc. cit.*, and those of Clement XIV. (in THEINER, *Epist.*, 259).

[3] *Letter of July 1, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 1 and 8, 1773, *loc. cit.*; *Tanucci to Charles III., April 27, 1773, *loc. cit.* In his *letter of July 6, 1773, Charles III. urged his son Ferdinand IV. most strongly to restore Benevento to the Pope (Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233; DANVILA, 525). Tanucci, however, was absolutely opposed to it. On July 13, 1773, he *wrote to Grimaldi: "Il Breve è già in Firenze: Erizzo ne ebbe comunicazione dal Granduca. Sappia che se non si tratta la conservazione di Benevento adesso, tutto sarà finito; Dio sà quando si darà una altra occasione . . . Poi, 'non debbono esser patti per l'estinzione.'" Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

Ferrara.[1] On July 7th Malvezzi wrote to Clement that he would do well to turn a courageous front against the Society, not that of St. Ignatius but of Lainez and Acquaviva.[2] While Alfani was still at work on the archives of the noviciate, Cardinal Orsini, on the Pope's authority, sealed up the archives of the English College. Further Briefs of visitation were sent to Cardinal Acquaviva in Urbino and to the Bishop of Montalto.[3] The Venetian ambassador regarded all these measures as a confirmation of the coming suppression, but apart from the Bourbon envoys no one had any certain knowledge of the time or manner in which the Brief of suppression would be published.[4]

On forwarding to Charles III. Maria Theresa's answer, the Pope had written on July 8th that he would not delay much longer in "bringing to an end the most thorny problem which we have in hand"; he tendered his thanks for the marks of favour bestowed on the new Cardinal, Zelada.[5] The publication of the Brief of suppression was still withheld, however, though on July 15th Moñino was able to report that the Brief relating to the commission of Cardinals had been made out at last but he was still far from satisfied with Clement XIV.'s demeanour.[6] And indeed the Pope's behaviour seemed to be

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 8, 1773, *ibid.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, July 6, 1773: "Sabbato sera partì il breve per Borghese." Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987.

[2] The *letter discusses in detail the manner of utilizing the various Jesuit properties in general and those in the Papal States in particular. In Jesuit possession.

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, July 9, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[4] *Tiepolo to the Doge, July 10, 1773, State Archives, Venice. On the Pope's orders Malvezzi had arrested on July 8 and 9, 1773, three Spanish Jesuits who had written in defence of their Order and against Palafox. They were afterwards banished. Zambeccari to Orsini, July 10 and 13, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$; *Gnecco to Grimaldi, July 13, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5456.

[5] DANVILA, 527.

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 15, 1773, *loc. cit.*

more mysterious than ever. "The Brief of suppression would have to be issued either before or at the same time as the appointment of the commission of Cardinals," was Tiepolo's opinion, "but perhaps the suppression will take place without a Brief, as the Sacred College has not been consulted at all in this affair."[1] Tanucci was already doubting whether at his age he would live to see the annihilation of the Jesuits.[2]

That the intended suppression had meanwhile ceased to be a secret no longer troubled Clement XIV., who thought that in this way the world would get used to what would happen. Instead of taking any action, he ordered prayers to be said, performed spiritual exercises,[3] and had investigations made about the Jesuit property in the States of the Church.[4]

Moñino was finally so exasperated that on July 22nd he wrote in very strong language to Grimaldi about the postponement of the suppression until after the feast of St. Ignatius and advised him not to admit the nuncio to Madrid.[5] On the same day he wrote a threatening letter to Bontempi. The Brief, he said, was still without a date and the signature, and His Holiness intended to take his course of baths as usual. The nuncio in Madrid would not be accepted and the restitution of the Papal territories would not take place until the suppression had been carried out.[6] This "extreme step" was not without effect. Bontempi went to Moñino with the information that he could send to Madrid or wherever else he

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge, July 17, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Tanucci to Charles III., July 20, 1773. To arouse King Ferdinand's anger, Tanucci relates in this letter that a sailor with an iron-tipped stick had been caught in the royal garden. This man pretended to be mad, but it had come to light that at the instigation of the Jesuits he had come from Terracina to murder the king. Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021.

[3] For the Pope's visit to Paul of the Cross (CORDARA, 142), see below, Chapter VIII.

[4] MASSON, 222 *seqq.*

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 22, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] *Moñino to Bontempi, July 22, 1773, *ibid.*

pleased the copies of the Brief of suppression which had been printed in the greatest secrecy and were dated July 21st.[1] The opinion in Madrid was that the Pope, who owing to his bathing cure was not receiving visitors,[2] had taken such a decisive step that retreat was now impossible. It was decided in Madrid not to publish the Brief for the time being but to wait until it was published in Rome, so that it would be clear in Spain that the measure originated in Rome.[3]

While the Brief of suppression was being sent off in packets to Versailles, Naples, Lisbon, and Vienna, the visitations of the Jesuit colleges in the Papal States were continued [4] and the commissaries were appointed for the execution of the Brief in Rome.[5] The aforesaid Congregation of Cardinals met on August 6th; Marefoschi was its president, and Corsini, Zelada, Casali, and Carafa were also members. Macedonio,[6] who was in the closest touch with Moñino,

[1] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 29, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] " *Alfani è senza lavoro essendo il papa in retiro " (Centomani to Tanucci, July 30, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1222). *Cf.* *Tanucci to Orsini, July 31, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021.

[3] *Grimaldi to Moñino, August 17, 1773, in reply to Moñino's letter of July 29, 1773. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Tanucci to Moñino, July 21, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021. *Orsini to Tanucci, August 8, 1773, on the visitation of Sinigaglia and Ferrara, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1481. *Malvezzi to Macedonio, August 4, 1773, in Jesuit possession.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 10, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[6] Casali, who was not trusted by Moñino, was dropped (Danvila, 526). Other alterations were made; *v.* *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 15, 1773: " Añado a V. E. que hay alguna variacion en los Prelados que deben asistir a la Congregacion, pues en lugar de Pallota concurrirá Macedonio como Secretario y me alegro, porque es persona de mi intima confianza. Este me ha confiado la correspondencia del Card. Malvezzi Arzobispo de Bolonia, que es excelente, y en ella ha hecho al Papa grandes y solidas reconvenciones. Tenga V. E. paciencia, pues con ella iremos, si Dios quiere, arrivando al termino . . ." *Loc. cit.*

functioned as secretary, Alfani as assessor, the Dominican Mamachi and the Franciscan Observant Carlo Cristoforo da Casale as consultors.[1] The first session of the Congregation took place on August 9th. "At the moment of writing," reported Bernis on August 11th, "it is not yet known on what day the Brief of suppression will be published, but it is not far off now and it may be expected at any moment."[2] A Papal constitution of August 13th imparted to the Congregation the powers which had already been made out, enabling it to deal with any matter still affecting the Society of Jesus suppressed by the Brief of July 21st. It also bound the members of the Congregation to the strictest secrecy on pain of excommunication, which would take effect immediately and which, except in danger of death, could be remitted only by the Pope.[3]

Meanwhile all the Jesuit churches in Rome were filled with the faithful, and the Fathers performed all their usual functions as though there was nothing to fear.[4]

At the first session of the Congregation on August 9th the Pope had announced that the suppression would take place on the 16th.[5] This time there was no more delay. On the evening of the appointed day the secretary of the Congregation of Cardinals, Macedonio, an intimate of Moñino's, accompanied

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 13, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$. *Cf.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 337 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 337. "*La soppressione è più affare d'ore che di giorni," Macedonio informed Cardinal Malvezzi on August 14, 1773, in order to pacify the man, "che più d'ogni altro si è immortalato nello zelo l'assecondar le idee del S. Padre, che sono di togliere dal campo evangelico il seme di discordia." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] THEINER, *Epist.*, 259 *seq.* The document is not among the **Epist. Clementis XIV.* in the Papal Secret Archives. Theiner does not mention where he found it.

[4] *All the Jesuit churches are crowded and the Jesuits are carrying on with their usual functions, academies, etc. (Tiepolo to the Doge, August 14, 1773, State Archives, Venice.)

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, August 12, 1773, *loc. cit.*

by soldiers and police officers, presented himself at the professed house "al Gesu" and announced to the General Ricci and his Assistants the Brief by which the Order of St. Ignatius was dissolved.[1]

Ricci, a gentle and peace-loving character, had never thought of using any other defence against the growing storm than prayer and still more prayer. With his "almost naive sense of justice" he could not imagine his Order being suppressed by the Pope, especially as he had formed a very good opinion of Clement XIV., even at the time of his election.[2] Even after Clement had struck some very severe blows at him personally as well as at his Order, it seemed to him incredible, as Cordara explains, "that the Vicar of Christ will burden his conscience with so blatant an injustice as the destruction of a society which has deserved well of the Holy See and the whole Church, and this without a court of inquiry and without revealing the charges that have been raised. Surely the Pope agrees—and to think otherwise is impossible—that before an accused person can be condemned his guilt must be evident and that he must be given the opportunity of proving his innocence? All this is demanded by natural justice, which no monarch and no Pope can violate, and failing which any finding of a court of justice would be null and void. And is it also to be believed that a Vicar of Christ would contradict

[1] Along with Bernis' *report of August 18, 1773 (Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris), *v.* Moñino to Grimaldi, to Mahony, to the Conte de Aguilar (in Turin), to Laforcada, Coronel e Gnecco (in Bologna), all on August 19, 1773 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). Azara refers to these reports in his *letter to Grimaldi of August 19, 1773, in which he congratulates him on the "triunfo" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Llano to Grimaldi, August 19, 1773: congratulations on the victory to Grimaldi, the sole leader in the struggle, to Moñino, and to the king, "otro Hercules verdaderamente en la circunstancia para descargar el golpe de gracia sobre la Hydra . . ." The Dominican Ferrari, he adds, claims to have assisted in the reconciliation of the duke with the Infante. Archives of Simancas.

[2] In Jesuit possession.

what was said by his predecessor eight years ago in the Bull *Apostolicum*, in which two hundred Bishops concurred? In this Bull the Pope approved of our Institute and took it under his protection, he praised the members of this Society, and stated that it was persecuted only by heretics, unbelievers, and free-thinkers, that it was only they who desired its destruction and for no other reason than because this Order had defended the rights of the Holy See so vigorously and had opposed the errors of the time. Was the present Pope to contradict this because he has not the apostolic courage to oppose the libertines and infidels? And is it to be believed that the Head of the Catholic Church, an enlightened theologian, like the present Pope, will suddenly tear this great breach throughout the whole of Christendom by depriving it at a single blow of so many instructors of Christian youth in almost every Catholic city, of so many spiritual advisers, of so many heralds of the divine message in the pulpit, in the oratories, in the retreat houses, and by drying up the source of so many missionaries to the heretics, infidels, and savages? In this year alone they have converted a thousand Arians and other heretics in Transylvania. Is it not an outrageous injustice to a Vicar of Christ even to think him capable of creating such havoc in Catholic Christendom and of helping the enemies of the Church of Rome to gain such a triumph?" [1]

On July 31st, the feast of the founder of the Order, Ricci had written to Cordara, "To-day, with God's help, we have celebrated the Feast of our holy father Ignatius with less pomp and ceremony but with the unusually large participation of the people. It was said that this would be the last time, but St. Peter was freed from his chains just as Herod was about to bring him forth to the people for execution." [2]

[1] P. Termanini, **Vita del P. Lorenzo Ricci*, 84 *seq.* (*ibid.*). *Cf.* Duhr, *Ricci*, 85 *seq.*; Carayon, *Ricci* (Paris, 1869), 79 *seq.* Many Jesuits hoped that the Order would be saved by the opposition of the Empress Maria Theresa and the other sovereigns attached to her; *v.* the *letter of the Assistant Gorgo to Belgrado, of May 5, 1773, in Jesuit possession.

[2] *Civiltà catt.*, 1927, III., 547.

No wonder that on reading the Brief Ricci was amazed; but he retained full control of himself and when asked, on the Pope's orders, if he accepted the Brief, he replied that whatever the Pope decided must be sacred to everyone; it did not need his concurrence.[1]

At the same hour the Brief of suppression was made known to the Rectors of all the other colleges and houses of the Jesuits in Rome by prelates accompanied by armed escorts, and at the same time the archives, account offices, and sacristies of the Jesuits were sealed up by notaries. The Jesuits were forbidden to perform any ecclesiastical functions or to leave their houses until further notice. On August 17th the General Ricci was taken to the English College.[2]

The Brief of suppression, dated July 21st, which was not posted up in the usual places and of which it was impossible to obtain a printed copy in Rome as late as August 18th,[3] opens with the following considerations: "Our Lord and Redeemer (*Dominus ac Redemptor*) Jesus Christ, who was preannounced and revealed as the Prince of Peace, committed his office of atonement to the care of the Apostles and conveyed to them the power of the word, so that they, as emissaries of Christ, who is the God of peace and love, not of dissension, might proclaim this peace to the whole world and that all begot in Christ might form one body and one soul. Thus it is above all the duty of the Pope, who administers Christ's office of atonement, to secure the peace of the Church and in this cause to sacrifice even those things which are personally dear to him. Assuredly the religious Orders are the best means of ensuring the welfare of the Church, but if an Order ceases to fulfil the mission entrusted to it, the Pope must revive it, reform it, or dissolve it."[4]

This preface is followed by the body of the Brief composed

[1] Another phrasing, but of the same purport, is found in Ruhr, *Ricci*, 87.

[2] See Moñino's *report mentioned above, p.284, n. 1.

[3] Theiner, *Hist.*, II., 340. Duhr, *Ricci*, 87.

[4] We found the *original of the Brief of suppression in Sec. Brev. 3801, Clementis XIV. Divers., I., III., 1773, p. 130*b* *seqq.*,

of three main parts: the first two are of a historical character intended to provide the grounds for the last one, which contains the actual enactments and the provisions made for their execution.

The first part, then, is a survey of the actions taken by the Popes in regard to the reform or extinction of religious Orders. To effect this purpose Clement XIV. goes back to the time of Innocent III. and then cites in chronological order the suppression of the Templars in 1312, of the Humiliati, of the Reformed Conventuals in 1626, the Order of SS. Ambrose and Barnabas *ad Nemus* in 1643, then the reform of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools in 1645, the suppression of the Order of St. Basil of Armenia in 1650, of the Priests of the Buon Gesù in 1651, of the Canons of St. George in Alga in Venice, of the Hieronymites of Fiesole, and of the Jesuati of St. John Colombino—these last three in 1668. On all these occasions the Pope had not adopted any regular judicial procedure, which would only have provoked further dissension, but had acted on his own authority "according to the dictates of prudence", decreeing the suppression at a single stroke without leave of appeal or defence. With the same care (these words introduce the second part of the Brief), he too, Clement XIV., has informed himself about the origin, existence, and present state of the Society of Jesus.

At this point the Brief refers at length to the history of this Order, sketching it in broad strokes and treating it in a highly

Archives of the Briefs, Rome. It was frequently reproduced, on several occasions in Rome in 1773. The Papal ordinance was first drawn up as a Bull; for its conversion into a Brief, *v.* Sec. Brev. 3801, *loc. cit.*, p. 119: "*Die 18 Mai 1773: Sanctissimus mihi consignavit minutam Bullae suppressionis Societatis Jesu et iussit, ut ea mutanda esset iuxta stylum literarum in forma Brevis.—Die 7 Junii 1773: Facta huiusmodi mutatione eidem Sanctitati Suae consignavi minutam non solum dictae Bullae sed etiam Brevis. — Die 12 Augusti 1773: Sanctitas Sua mihi restituit minutam tantum dicti Brevis a se subscriptam et mandavit ut in ea apponenda esset data diei 21 Iulii proximi praeteriti."

one-sided manner. Everything good and favourable which should certainly have been said about the Order has been carefully passed over in silence, whereas the shady side has been proportionately accentuated. The assertion is made and an attempt made to prove it by evidence that "at the very birth of this Society there germinated manifold seeds of dissension and jealousy, and that not merely within itself but also against other Orders, against the secular priesthood, against academies, universities, public schools, and even against the princes in whose States the Jesuits had been received." [1]

Thus it is, the Brief proceeds to relate, that steps against the Order have been taken in Rome by individual princes from the earliest times. The inquiry undertaken by Sixtus V. at the urgent request of Philip II. of Spain unfortunately had to be left unfinished owing to his death. In spite of all the subsequent Papal decrees and privileges the accusations and disputes increased. The prohibition against Jesuits taking part in State affairs was of no more avail than the most recent confirmation of the Order—extorted rather than petitioned—by the Pope's predecessor, Clement XIII. Those princes "whose piety and magnanimity towards the Society of Jesus, inherited from their forefathers, is universally renowned" have indeed decreed the expulsion of the Society's members from their lands to preserve the unity of the Church, but for the sake of the lasting pacification of the whole Church they have insisted on the general suppression of the Order.

And so in the last part of the Brief Clement XIV. disposes of the Society in the following manner: "Since it can no longer bring forth the abundant fruits or be of the usefulness for which it was founded," also because "it is hardly, if at all, possible to restore a true and lasting peace to the Church as long as it remains in existence", and finally for other reasons "suggested to Us by the principles of prudence and which We retain concealed in Our breast", "after mature deliberation, with certain knowledge, and in the fulness of Our

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, 363.

apostolic power, We dissolve, suppress, extinguish, and abolish the said Society." [1]

The various executive instructions which follow correspond entirely with the eighteen points of the draft which the Pope accepted from Moñino's hands on September 6th, 1772.[2] The novices were to be released, the members of the Order who had taken simple but not solemn vows were to choose another occupation within a year, those who had taken solemn vows were to leave their houses and either enter another Order or place themselves under the direction of a Bishop as secular clerics; only when the first of these two alternatives was impossible might they reside in their houses as secular clerics until the premises were finally used for charitable purposes. Next come instructions concerning the hearing of confessions and preaching by the ex-Jesuits, with episcopal licence, their exclusion from schools and missions, their release from the vow of poverty, whereby they had been forbidden to accept benefices and Mass stipends, also the revocation of all the privileges and liberties which had been granted to them. Finally any attempt to lodge an appeal which would have a delaying effect, or to defend the Order by word or writing, was forbidden. The princes were asked to issue the necessary laws for the execution of the Brief, and the faithful were admonished to preserve peace and concord.

This Brief of July 21st, 1773, represented the most obvious victory of "enlightenment" and royal absolutism over the Church and its head, and for this reason, naturally enough, the most diverse judgments have been passed upon it. In the camp of the "enlighteners" and in the Bourbon Courts it was received with sheer joy, while the enemies of the Society praised it to the skies. A calmer and more sober judgment was reserved for recent times.

Of the Pope's authority to suppress the Order there can be no doubt, but whether the measure was justified, that is to say whether the motivation which was imposed on the Pope was sound enough and whether he personally was convinced

[1] *Ibid.*, 368 *seq.* [2] For particulars, see above, p. 236.

of its justice, is another question. That the text of the Brief itself was conclusive evidence against the Society of Jesus must be firmly contested, for the signature on the document which was practically appended under duress is of no value for establishing the truth. The decisive step had already been taken by Clement XIV. on November 29th, 1772, when he gave his word to the King of Spain.[1] All former statements might have been considered as private expressions of opinion having no binding force, but this was in answer to an official request. Previously it might have been possible for him to utter a *non possumus* (which he never had the strength to do), but from that moment onwards his hands were tied. If any fact can be established by documentary evidence it is that the Pope was subjected to enormous moral pressure.

This, of course, does not answer the question, to what extent the Order was responsible for its fate and whether the mischief it caused really called for its reform or suppression. This is not the place to speak of the great services rendered by the disciples of St. Ignatius in the cause of the Catholic restoration and the missions. On the other hand, that there were many instances of individual failings cannot be denied: pronounced exclusiveness, for instance, and interference in political matters. There may well have been other discrepancies, such as those of a financial nature in the various houses, though these were of a purely local and personal character. But the Pope did not dissolve the Order on account of its immorality or its false doctrines or its relaxed discipline, but solely to preserve the peace of the Church.[2] It was tragic that precisely those princes who had gained most power, both internally and externally, through the work of the Jesuits and the Catholic restoration should have been misled by evil counsellors to use that power to wreck the Society. But that it aroused so much hostility among the "enlightened" was due, not to its lapses and failings, which might occur in any human undertaking, but to the realization that this was the

[1] See above, p. 248.

[2] I. B. Weiss, *Weltgeschichte*, XIII.[4], 78.

strongest bulwark of the Roman Church and that it had to be destroyed.[1]

There still remains to be considered Clement XIV.'s personal attitude towards the Society of Jesus. The complaint was often raised by those who were in frequent contact with him that no one knew what the Pope really thought about the Order. In this respect his actions were no true guide. If he was convinced of the Jesuits' guilt and was sincerely opposed to them he would hardly have resisted for three years. If he thought them innocent he should have taken the part of the persecuted and harassed Order in a more energetic fashion. Cordara, who knew the Pope well and consistently tried to justify his conduct, was of the opinion [2] that at first Clement was a friend of the Jesuits. When he was promoted to Cardinal, he says, Clement XIII. called him a "Jesuit in Franciscan clothing". But in order to gain the Papacy Ganganelli thought it expedient to throw in his lot with the other side and he entered the conclave as an enemy of the Order. His behaviour there confirmed his adherents in their belief that as Pope he would certainly and quickly decree the suppression, but what actually happened was very different.

Was it that as Pope he felt a heavier responsibility in the matter than as an ambitious Cardinal? However that may be, he took care not to let his temporizing attitude, which became more and more suspicious as the affair approached its climax, appear too noticeable, and in his efforts to convince the importunate Bourbons of his zeal he overstretched himself. He still hoped to escape from the net that he himself had woven, but beginning with trifling concessions he allowed himself to be driven from one weakness to another, and the crowning tragedy was that the few counsellors to whom he lent an ear had been corrupted. He hesitated long before inflicting this deep wound on the Church; but there was no other way left. Why was it too that he dealt only with the

[1] BLUNTSCHLI (*Memoiren*, III., 249): "The attack on the Jesuit Order was a blow struck at the heart of Papal absolutism."

[2] CORDARA, 154 *seq.* *Cf.* above, pp. 84, 90.

princes, never with the dignitaries of the Church, never with the Bishops? Why too in a matter so important for the Church did he allow the decision to rest with the temporal Powers?[1] And even after the Brief had been issued and he thought that it could not be revoked, Clement XIV. still continued his enigmatic attitude, showing remarkably little interest in the fate of the victims.

[1] "*Non vi è esempio d'un pontificato più grazioso per i principi e più umiliante per il sagro collegio del presente." Brunati to Colloredo, August 13, 1774, State Archives, Vienna.

CHAPTER V.

The Restitution of the Papal Territories of Avignon and Benevento—The Execution of the Papal Brief Suppressing the Society of Jesus.

(1)

All the enemies of the Jesuit Order were filled with an indescribable joy when, after using every possible means to attain this end, they finally obtained its complete suppression. The greatest jubilation was in Portugal, where Pombal had initiated the persecution of the Jesuits and had set the example to France, Spain, and Naples. A special courier dispatched by Almada arrived in Lisbon with the Brief of suppression on September 6th, 1773, but its publication was postponed by King Joseph I. until he had received the nuncio, Cardinal Conti, on the following day.[1] The document was then announced to all Portuguese dominions by an order (*Carta de Lei*) of September 9th, signed by the king and all his Ministers. This order contained "the whole gamut of possible and impossible fables about the Jesuits": the Society of Jesus had given rise to nothing but revolutions, tumults, and dangerous scandal; no fewer than twenty-four Popes had tried to reform it; care should be taken lest there were still remnants and conventicles of it in existence, and lest there were people going about in Jesuit garb. Information about all

[1] "*Ieri al momento che comparve il corriere sospese il Re di palesarne al publico l'importanza, perchè si riserbò di riceverne prima da me officio. In fatti questa mattina nel presentarmi alla corte ho havuto su tale assunto colla M^{tà} Sua lunga sessione in dettaglio e si è poi resa publica l'autorevole decisione del S. Padre a contentamento di tutti i buoni." Conti to Pallavicini, Lisbon, September 7, 1773, Nunziat. di Portog. 119 A, Papal Secret Archives.

such things was to be laid with the law-court in Lisbon. A royal letter of the same date addressed to the Cardinal Patriarch and the Portuguese Bishops contained a request to execute the Brief and to organize demonstrations of delight.[1] The nuncio also commanded the Bishops to observe the regulations of the Brief with the utmost exactitude.[2]

The Government imparted a definitely ecclesiastical character to the celebrations.[3] Although Pombal was confined by ill-health to his country seat at Oeyras he insisted on making the arrangements himself, down to the last detail [4]; after all, as the English envoy Robert Walpole wrote, was it not he who had been the first of his century openly to attack an Order which in Portugal as elsewhere, until Joseph I. ascended the throne, had wielded so great an influence? [5] On Pombal's instructions a finely printed translation in Portuguese of the Brief of suppression was prepared and sent off along with the decree of September 9th.[6]

On September 29th and 30th and on October 1st a solemn service with *Te Deum* was held first in the patriarchal church, then in all the other churches of Lisbon. Out of regard for the Protestant envoys the diplomatic corps was not invited to the celebrations. The nuncio Conti, however, always ready to be

[1] *Collecção dos negocios de Roma*, III., 115 *seq.*, 217. *Cf.* DUHR, *Charakteristik Pombals*, 447. With the sub-title "Impress. na Impressão Regia em Latim e Portuguez; e anda ordinariamente junta a todas as Collecções das Leis Estravagantes" the Brief of suppression was admitted into the body of Portuguese law (*Collecção da legislação Portuguesa*, ed. Ant. Delgado da Silva, III., 684.) The royal placet for the Brief, of September 9, 1773, *ibid.*, 709.

[2] *Collecção dos negocios*, 219. *Cf.* *Conti to Pallavicini, November 2, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Conti, October 28, 1773, *ibid.*

[4] *Almodovar to Grimaldi, September 28, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7303.

[5] SMITH, *Memoirs*, II., 154.

[6] *Conti to Pallavicini, September 21, 1773. Nunziat. di Portog., 116, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* DUHR, *loc. cit.*

of service, took part in them, to the great satisfaction of the Government. For the evenings of the said three days orders were given for the illumination of the whole city.[1]

On September 14th Pombal authorized Almada to express to the Pope the king's thanks for the destruction of so pernicious an Order.[2] Besides this, on September 30th, Joseph I. addressed a special letter to Clement XIV., praising in emphatic phrases "the most highly enlightened, the exceedingly wise and decisive Brief".[3] Charles III. too, in his letter of thanks, extolled the glory the Pope had gained and the service he had rendered not only to the Church but also to the State.[4] On reading this message Clement XIV. was moved to tears.[5] Similar messages were sent by Louis XV. of France and the King of Naples.[6] Tanucci emphasized the merits of Charles III. and Moñino.[7] The Spanish envoy in Venice, Squillace, wrote that it was due to Moñino that the janissaries of the Holy See, as Benedict XIV. had called the

[1] *Conti to Pallavicini, October 5, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 119 A; *Almodovar to Grimaldi on the same day, *loc. cit.*, Estado 7303.

[2] *Collecção*, III., 218.

[3] *Ibid.*, 219.

[4] *Charles III. to Clement XIV., from S. Ildefonso, September 7, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] "*Il Papa piangeva leggendo la lettera di S.M^tà Catt." (Bontempi to Moñino, September 22, 1773, from Castel Gandolfo, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043.) *Cf.* DANVILA, III., 540 *seq.*, where Clement XIV.'s letter to Charles III., of September 30, 1773, is also reproduced.

[6] Louis XV.'s letter in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 386 (presented by Bernis on September 20, 1773; *v.* *Orsini to Tanucci, September 21, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado 4987); the *letter from King Ferdinand of Naples, of September 12, 1773, in the State Archives, Venice. In the *Regolari Gesuiti in the Papal Secret Archives the letter bears the date September 13, which is wrong, as it was sent by Tanucci to Orsini on the 12th; *v.* C. Farnes. 1481, State Archives, Naples.

[7] *Tanucci to Azara, August 21, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021.

Jesuits, had been vanquished, destroyed, and annihilated.[1] This was also Grimaldi's view; in a letter to Moñino of August 31st, 1773, he credited him with the whole glory of having suppressed the Jesuit Order.[2] Roda considered that Moñino had celebrated a greater triumph than any of the ancient Romans, for he had founded a new epoch, had given peace both to the Church and to the State, and had justified the Governments which had expelled the Jesuits.[3] Moñino's accomplices, Azara and Bischi,[4] and, above all, Bontempi, were duly rewarded. Instead of the 10,000 *scudi* that had been reserved for him,[5] the Franciscan received a life pension of 1,500 *scudi*, which was to be kept secret and was to be debited to extraordinary expenses with no mention of any names.[6]

[1] *Squillace to Moñino, Venice, August 28, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] **Ibid.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043. Grimaldi's *letter to Moñino, of September 7, 1773 (*ibid.*), was also full of praise.

[3] *Roda to Moñino, September 7, 1773: "No es razon, que guarde silencio en una ocasion en que tanto se interesa su honor y gloria de V. S. I. y es justamente aclamado. Ha conseguido V. S. I. un triunfo mayor que todos los que se conservan en las reliquias de los antiguos Romanos. Ha dado V. S. I. una epoca a la historia, que no se borrará jamas en los siglos venideros, y no se podia esperar en los tiempos pasados. V. S. I. se puede decir que ha dado la paz a la Iglesia y al Estado, y el honor a los cortes que expelieron los Jesuitas. El Rey está sumamente agradecido y lo ha explicado haciendole a V. S. I. Camarista de Castilla. Doy a V. S. I. mil enhorabuenas y al mismo tiempo gracias par lo que V. S. I. ha hecho a favor de n^ro^ Azara volviendo por su estimacion y decoro, para desagraviarlo de lo que ha padecido." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] Danvila, III., 545; *Grimaldi to Moñino, September 7, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[5] See above, pp. 248, 276, also *Grimaldi to Moñino, July 13, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] On August 26, 1773, Moñino *reported to Grimaldi that Bontempi had refused the 10,000 *scudi*, which were accordingly returned by Moñino on September 10 (*letter from Muzquiz,

As a mark of his gratitude King Charles III. assigned to his ambassador an important post in the law-court of Castile and conferred on him one of the noblest titles in the realm, the Count of Florida-Blanca.[1]

Clement XIV. received many other acknowledgments of his work. A letter from Cardinal Malvezzi contained the following passage: "After all the toil, the sleepless nights, and the tears which the Brief has cost him, may the Pope now enjoy the glory and the universal approval."[2]

This wish, however, was not to be fulfilled. The restitution of the occupied Papal territories was to cause the Pope all kinds of trouble and painful insults.

His desire that the return of the Papal possessions precede the suppression had finally to be abandoned in face of the opposition of the Bourbon Courts. They pointed out that such a procedure was capable of an interpretation which would be most injurious to the Holy See and it would give rise to the suspicion that the Jesuits had been sacrificed for material interests.[3] Moñino's project of avoiding the appearance of a barter by the Pope's acting as intermediary in the

Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043); *on September 7, 1773, Grimaldi agreed that he should have instead a secret pension of 1,500 *scudi* per annum; *v.* *Moñino's *letters of this date and of September 23, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] *Grimaldi to Moñino, September 5 and October 12, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 391; DANVILA, III., 544 *seq.* Grimaldi *wrote, *inter alia*, to Roda on September 5, 1773: "El Rey ha venido a conceder Plaza del Consejo de la Camara a Don Joseph Moñino, Ministro del Consejo, y interino de S. M. cerca la Santa Sede, en atencion a sus meritos y servicios, y particularmente a los que ha hecho desde que exerce al Ministerio de Roma: lo que de orden de S. M. participo a V. E. para que par su medio se expeda el decreto correspondiente." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043. *Cf.* *Moñino to Grimaldi, on September 28, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., September 1, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti.

[3] ARNETH, IX., 95.

dispute between the Infante Ferdinando, Duke of Parma, and Charles III., was frustrated by the opposition offered by Louis XV.[1] Nevertheless, if such an impression was not to be given, Parma would have to supply the pretext, it being Clement XIII.'s quarrel with the Duke of Parma which had led to the occupation of Avignon by French troops and of Benevento by Neapolitan ones.[2]

As before, the greatest difficulties were presented by Tanucci's attitude, he being bent on retaining Benevento at all costs. His manœuvrings irritated even Moñino.[3] Having failed to persuade the French to retain Avignon, Tanucci now tried to spread the idea that it was Spain which objected to the restitution of the Papal territories.[4]

This was entirely contrary to the facts. Actually Charles III. wrote so firmly to the King of Naples on the subject of Benevento that Naples had to yield. Tanucci then tried to procure special advantages for Naples, especially in regard to the rights to Castro.[5] On August 23rd Cardinal Orsini read the Pope a letter from Tanucci which said that to show his gratitude for the suppression of the Jesuit Order the King of Naples was ready to surrender Benevento and Pontecorvo while reserving his rights to these territories as well as to Castro and Ronciglione. This came as a painful surprise to the Pope, who said that the question of restitution would first have to be settled in agreement with France and Spain. He stressed at the same time that it must not appear to be the price paid for

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 277.

[2] Masson, 231.

[3] In his *letter to Grimaldi of August 5, 1773, Moñino stressed Tanucci's contradictory attitude. Tanucci wanted to retain Benevento, but he, Moñino, had his doubts "de que se usasse del medio de la retencion . . . para obtener la supresion." In another *letter written to Grimaldi on the same day Moñino deplored Tanucci's persistent equivocation in the restitution question. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Tanucci to Caracciolo, August 7, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] *Tanucci to Moñino, July 31 and August 14, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021; Masson, 231. *Cf.* above, p. 278, n. 1.

the suppression of the Jesuits.[1] When Orsini, speaking for Tanucci, said on this occasion that Moñino was in agreement, he was not telling the truth. Moñino, like Grimaldi,[2] no more approved of Tanucci's clumsy manœuvre [3] than he did of the French Cabinet's demand for the prior settlement of all differences of a material nature affecting Avignon.[4] Convinced of the necessity of avoiding everything that might lead the outside world to suppose that the restitution was by way of compensation for the suppression, he proposed on August 25th to the French king that he agree to the unconditional return of the territory. Louis XV.'s inability to adopt this proposal was due solely to his reluctance to be a party to the untruth that Clement XIII.'s procedure had been caused by the Jesuits. But he was in complete agreement with Spain that any suspicion of chaffering must be avoided by the Duke of Parma's providing some excuse for the restitution.[5] He therefor approved of the proposal submitted by the Spanish Cabinet that the duke should ask the three Bourbon kings to agree to the restitution, which seemed to be facilitated by the letter written in his own hand by Ferdinand of Naples on September 12th, thanking the Pope for the suppression and offering the

[1] *Tanucci to Orsini, August 21, 1773, *to Grimaldi, August 24, *to Charles III., also on August 24, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021, 6106 ; Masson, 232.

[2] In a *letter to Moñino of August 31, 1773, Grimaldi stressed that it must not appear to the world as if the restitution was a reward for the suppression. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. *Cf.* also *Grimaldi to Aranda on September 27, 1773, where he says that after the suppression the restitution must also take place ; but it was necessary " que no parezca ser un medio de pagar la providencia de la extincion o que el Santo Padre la haya exijido como condicion precisa : pues de ello resultaria poco honor a Su Santidad y a los mismos soberanos ". Archives of Simancas, Estado 4590.

[3] *Moñino to Tanucci, August 17 and 18, 1773, *ibid.*, Estado 5233.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, December 30, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] Masson, 233.

immediate and unconditional return of Benevento and Pontecorvo.[1] To make things easier, Aiguillon suggested that Clement XIV. should send the Duchess of Parma the Golden Rose, whereupon the Duke was to ask for the restitution. The Pope, however, would not adopt this proposal, being unwilling to recognize the Infante as the Duke of Parma until he had asked for his enfeoffment by the Holy See.[2] When the Infante was finally reconciled with Charles III. the Pope sent cordial letters of congratulation to the Spanish and French monarchs.[3] Tanucci now began to beat a retreat, and tried to excuse himself to Charles III.[4] On October 23rd the Infante wrote an encouraging letter to Clement XIV. on the subject of the restitution.[5] On November 6th he asked the kings of Spain, France, and Naples to restore the occupied territories to the Pope.[6] On the Pope's return from Castel Gandolfo the King of Naples, obeying the instructions of his father, Charles III., repeated his offer of September to surrender Benevento and Pontecorvo. Cardinal Bernis, who had still not received any direct instruction from his Government to

[1] See Ferdinand's letter of September 12, 1773 (mentioned above, on p. 295, n. 6), to which Clement XIV. did not reply till December 28.

[2] Masson, *loc. cit.* In his *letter from Fontainebleau, of October 22, 1773, Aranda pointed out to Grimaldi that such presentations as the Golden Rose were made, according to custom, only to independent sovereigns. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] Theiner, *Epist.*, 268 *seq.* Charles III.'s *acknowledgment, of October 5, 1773, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Tanucci to Charles III., October 5, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021. *Ibid.*, another *letter of Tanucci's to Charles III., of October 12, 1773, in which he made much of his intention to prevent the whole odium of the suppression falling on Spain.

[5] *The Duke of Parma to Clement XIV., October 23, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5208.

[6] *Letter from the Duke of Parma to Charles III., Colorno, November 6, 1773, *ibid.* *Ibid.*, Charles III.'s *reply, of December 7, 1773.

offer the return of Avignon, was all the more embarrassed by Clement's showing his displeasure at this silence.[1] The Pope responded to the Infante's overture by sending him a letter of thanks on December 2nd, but avoided using the ducal title.[2] On December 7th Aiguillon instructed Bernis to negotiate with the Pope on the return of Avignon in concert with the Spanish ambassador. The Cardinal, without waiting for any further instructions from Paris, arranged with the Spanish and Neapolitan envoys that they should inform the Pope verbally that His Most Christian Majesty, by reason of his attachment to and his filial respect for the Holy Father and the Holy See, and out of regard for the mediation of the Infante Ferdinando, was resolved from that moment to transfer the occupation of Avignon and the county of Venaissin to a delegate appointed by the Pope. In the future the Pope was to possess the States as his predecessors had done, without prejudice to the rights of the French crown.[3]

When Cardinals Bernis and Orsini communicated this statement to the Pope on December 20th, he showed great satisfaction with it, but made it clear that this act of pure magnanimity and duty on the part of the king ought no longer to have the appearance of a negotiation and that he accordingly already regarded the Franco-Spanish proposal as a definite declaration and as a matter that was settled.[4]

Meanwhile, however, a dispatch from Paris had arrived in Rome making the restoration of Avignon dependent on the settlement of certain awkward points of dispute, such as the free passage of goods destined for the Dauphiné. This greatly embarrassed Bernis, and Moñino too saw that it was impossible now to make any such terms. The Pope in fact informed Bernis that the surrender must take place quite simply and without any conditions and must not be postponed any longer

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 418; MASSON, 234.

[2] THEINER, *Epist.*, 271.

[3] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 419.

[4] *Ibid.*, 420. *Orsini to Tanucci, December 21, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

on any pretext. He intended, he said, to entrust the administration of the legation of Avignon to the former nuncio to Poland, Angelo Maria Durini, who was *persona grata* to Louis XV., and to instruct him to fulfil every reasonable wish of the king's, to put down every kind of contraband, and to compensate with pensions the officials who would lose their employment as a result of the transfer.[1]

Contrary to his wont, Clement XIV. now acted with the greatest celerity. By Briefs of December 28th, 29th, and 30th, he conveyed to the kings of Naples, France, and Spain his joy and gratitude for their assurance of the speedy return of his States.[2] At the same time he thanked the Infante Ferdinando for his mediation.[3] And he went still further. In his Brief to the Infante he spoke of the surrender as if it had already taken place and he decided to announce it in the most solemn manner and to celebrate it with the greatest pomp. In his eagerness to bring about an accomplished fact he quite overlooked how little the affair had redounded so far to the honour of the Holy See. Diplomats such as the Venetian ambassador, who had had no part in the affair, did not conceal their opinion of such a procedure. "Just as the suppression of the Jesuit Order is generally considered to be of little advantage to the Holy See, it having been carried through by

[1] MASSON, 235 *seq.* On September 30, 1773, Orsini had *reported to Tanucci that now not a Vice-Legate, but a President, was to be sent to Avignon, as to Urbino, and that a Neapolitan would be sent to Benevento as Governor. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1481.

[2] THEINER, *Epist.*, 277 *seq.*, 279 *seq.*, 281 *seq.* *Orsini to Tanucci, December 28 and 31, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$.

[3] The Brief of December 30, 1773, which is missing from Theiner, is in the Archives of Simancas, Estado 5208. *Cf. Vita di Clemente XIV.*, Venezia, 1775, 129 *seq.* In the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome it bears the date September 28. Ferdinand *wrote on January 6, 1774, to Clement XIV.: "Quando era per scrivere al Papa annunziando che i tre sovrani Borboni fanno di buon cuore le restituzioni, viene il secondo Breve che anticipa i ringraziamenti." *Loc. cit.*, Estado 5208.

the Bourbons," Tiepolo wrote to the Doge on January 15th, 1774, "it is not to be expected that the Pope will gain much from the restitution, but he persists in celebrating it." [1] Nor would he be diverted from his purpose even when France raised such obstacles as to disconcert Grimaldi.[2]

On January 17th, 1774, a Consistory was held for the sole purpose of considering the question of the restitution. In a verbose address Clement announced to the Cardinals the great event. "Of their own free will," he told them, "Our beloved sons Louis of France and Ferdinand of Naples prevail upon Us to re-enter into Our former possessions of Avignon, Venaissin, Benevento, and Pontecorvo, and they conduct Us back there again with their own hands, in the most loving fashion. In no man has the desire to increase his possessions been so great as their joy and generosity in handing back to Us the rights and the property of the Church." Their decisions were supported, he said, by King Charles of Spain, who, together with the Infante of Parma, was covered with the most fulsome praise. And it was not only the princes who were accorded the highest praise imaginable for their piety and wisdom but also the envoys. The second part of the address announced the thanksgivings which the Pope had ordered to be made to God.[3]

If Clement expected his speech to make a deep impression he was greatly mistaken. All the reports agree that, apart

[1] *State Archives, Venice.

[2] *Grimaldi to Aranda, January 17, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233.

[3] The text of the speech in THEINER, *Epist.*, 283 *seqq.*, corresponds to a contemporary printed version. *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, V., 678. What Conti *wrote about the allocution to Pallavicini on February 22, 1774, was characteristic: "Niente si potrebbe immaginare di più eroico che l'espressivo ritratto fatto da N. S. della pietà dei sovrani, niente di più glorioso può augurarsi al trono pontificio che l'affettuosa concorrenza di tutti a celebrare il nome del Sommo Pastore dopo una epoca bastantemente equivoca sul punto della reciproca tranquillità." Nunziat. di Portogallo 120, Papal Secret Archives.

from Cardinals Corsini and Marefoschi, the members of the Sacred College received it in a "chilly silence".[1] This was yet another matter in which their advice had not been sought and they now observed that the restitution had only been promised and had not yet taken place; they scented also secret agreements that were prejudicial to the Holy See.[2]

When the Consistory had concluded the Pope went in solemn procession to the church of SS. Apostoli, where the *Te Deum* was intoned. Two pompous inscriptions in praise of Clement XIV. had been affixed to the façade of the basilica,[3]

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, January 18 and 21, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223; *Brunati to Colloredo, January 22, 1774, State Archives, Vienna. Moñino also brings out in his *report to Grimaldi of January 20, 1774, the "insensibilidad" both of the Sacred College and the people towards the restitution. Archives of Simancas, Estado 4986. Tanucci *wrote to Losada on January 25, 1774, "Fu notabile il silenzio e il niuno applauso dei cardinali infetti dalla scabbia Gesuitica eccettuati Corsini e Marefoschi." *Ibid.*, Estado 6022.

[2] See Centomani's *letter of January 21, 1774, mentioned in the foregoing note.

[3] The inscriptions on the basilica of the Twelve Apostles ran as follows: "Clemens XIV. P. O. M. omnium virtutum exemplar et praemium; scientiarum amplificator et custos; Regum conservator et vindex; Ecclesiasticorum patronus et iudex; Dilectae Christi Sponsae iura disciplinam candorem integritatem inter maxima temporum morum legum discrimina ita servat atque tuetur ut nulli Pontificum Regum Principum secundus ubique locorum fulgeat sapientia pietate prudentia. — Clemens XIV. P. M. ex inclita divi Francisci ordinis Minorum Conventualium familia nullo humano favore sed peculiari divino consilio ad regendam et gubernandam Petri navim in medio mari aquarum impetu diu concussam, cunctis suffragiis evectus pietate doctrina prudentia dexteritate ab imminenti periculo liberavit ac solus super frementes undas suis ipsis manibus salvam et incolumem in portum veritatis et unitatis reduxit fluctuum inde ventorumque ingentem vim ita composuit ut facta sit tranquillitas magna perpetuo duratura." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223.

and these, like his exuberant allocution, were sharply criticized.[1] On the following day, the Feast of St. Peter's Chair, the *Te Deum* was sung again in St. Peter's, whence the Pope drove back in his carriage with Cardinals Bernis and Orsini.[2] On these two evenings the city was brilliantly illuminated,[3] but there was no sign of any genuine rejoicing on the part of the people. In his progress through the city the Pope had not been cheered by the onlookers[4]; the only cries that were heard were rather of a threatening nature, attributable to the bad material conditions that prevailed. It was only the taking of timely and stringent measures that prevented a rising of the bakers, which was to break out on January 18th, when the Pope was proceeding to St. Peter's.[5] Naturally all this greatly distressed the Pope, but he was not to be deterred from his course of action. On January 19th he communicated his allocution, accompanying it with still more praises, to the Bourbons and to the Empress Maria Theresa and Joseph II.[6] At the same time he authorized the Archbishops of Avignon

[1] See Centomani's *letter of January 21, 1774, mentioned above in n. 1, p. 304.

[2] Centomani commented on the incident in his *letter of January 18, 1774 (see above, p. 304, n. 1): "Il Papa volle associarvi Orsini e Bernis umiliandoli più tosto che dando loro onori."

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 18 and 19, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{313}{1658}$; *Moñino to Grimaldi, January 20, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233; *Azara to Grimaldi, January 20, 1774, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, January 22, 1774: "Ne nel Sacro Collegio si sa esservi stata alcuna dichiarazione di compiacenza, ne nel popolo . . . si sentì alcuna voce di acclamazione." State Archives, Venice. Brunati also *reported to Colloredo on January 22, 1774: "Pare incredibile l'indifferenza di quasi tutta Roma nelle pubbliche dimostrazioni fatte dal Papa per la recupera di Avignone, Benevento e Ponte Corvo. Si fosse intesa una sola voce di Eviva e di publico applauso!" State Archives, Vienna.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, January 25, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223.

[6] THEINER, *Epist.*, 287 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 354, Joseph II.'s reply.

and Benevento to take possession in his name of the surrendered lands.[1]

It was soon apparent that all these arrangements were sadly premature, for the actual surrender of the territories was delayed to an extent which no one thought to be possible. Where the obstacles lay was known only to those immediately concerned. The Venetian ambassador Tiepolo described the behaviour of the Bourbons in this question of the restitution as absolutely enigmatic.[2] As no precise information was available it was thought that the affair was developing pretty badly for the Holy See.[3] Always prone to satire, the Romans now observed that the Pope seemed to have been swindled even over the price to be paid for the suppression of the Jesuits.[4]

The surrender of Avignon was hindered by the French Government's refusal to revoke the changes in the administration it had introduced during the occupation. The chief trouble was that the Parlement of Avignon, like all the other Parlements in France, had been suspended, and its restoration would have meant a serious reverse for Aiguillon. No definite statement on this question could be extracted from the Pope.[5] To no one was this *contretemps* more welcome than to the old enemy of France, the artful Tanucci, who in his turn delayed the surrender of Benevento. On January 25th, 1774, he had given orders for this to take place,[6] for which he had

[1] *Pallavicini to Doria, January 19, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Francia 461; *Orsini to Tanucci, February 1, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{313}{1058}$. *Cf.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 467.

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, January 29, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Brunati to Colloredo, January 22, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[4] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 468.

[5] MASSON, 237. For Clement XIV.'s attempts to recover Avignon in the same way as Alexander VIII. had recovered it in 1689, *v.* *Cifra al Nunzio Doria, of January 26, 1774, Nunziat. di Francia 461, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] Tanucci *reported to Charles III. on January 25, 1774, that the relevant orders were being issued that evening. Archives of Simancas, Estado 6107.

been duly thanked by the Pope, who then issued his instructions for the taking over [1]; but two days later Tanucci made it dependent on the surrender of Avignon.[2] A Papal commissary had already taken possession of Pontecorvo, but this had not yet happened at Benevento owing to the absence of the Archbishop Francesco Pacca, who had been authorized to take possession and who died on February 13th, 1774.[3]

Paris was extremely angry with the Neapolitan minister. Louis XV. and Aiguillon described Tanucci as the most mischievous, mendacious caviller that had ever walked the earth.[4] The Spanish king also was highly annoyed by the delay in the handing over of Benevento [5] and absolutely refused to hear of any conditions being attached to the surrender of Avignon. Whatever was necessary to put things into order there, said Grimaldi, could be settled later.[6]

The firmness with which Charles III. insisted on the return of Benevento and his dissatisfaction with Tanucci's conduct, of which Tanucci was made aware, were such that the latter

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, January 28, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{318}{1055}$.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 467. The date given here, January 17, is wrong; the right one is given in the German edition, II., 465.

[3] GAMS, *Series*, 673; ZIGARELLI, *Storia di Benevento*, Napoli, 1860, 165. Joannes de Vita, Bishop of Rieti, was nominated as Pacca's successor. If he, commented Centomani in a *letter to Tanucci on February 22, 1774, "non si fosse mostrato terziario [pro-Jesuit], al pari di Mgr. di Liguori vescovo di S. Agata, sarebbe degno soggetto per dottrina e costume." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223.

[4] MASSON, 238. Tanucci accused Aiguillon as well as Bernis of trickery in the matter of the restitution; see *Moñino to Grimaldi, February 17, 1774. Archives of Simancas, Estado 4986.

[5] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 468; DANVILA, III., 550.

[6] At Grimaldi's request Aranda *wrote to Aiguillon on February 2, 1774, that the restitution of Avignon must take place "sans y mettre aucune condition ni restriction laissant pour après les arrangements que l'on prétend". Archives of Simancas, Estado 5233.

had to give way. He admitted that he had misled the King of Naples with his advice and begged Charles's pardon;[1] on March 23rd, 1774, he had the city and district of Benevento evacuated.[2]

The return of Avignon and the Venaissin was decided on at the same time, but the Pope had to allow the administration introduced by France to remain unchanged. The commandant of the county, the Marquis Rochechouart, released the inhabitants from their oath of loyalty to Louis XV. on April 25th, replaced the arms of France by the Papal ones, and then departed with his troops.[3] When the news of this reached Rome on May 3rd, Bernis and Durini hurried to the Pope,[4] who sent a letter of thanks to Louis XV. on the next day.[5] Clement XIV.'s joy was so great that he decided to send the Spanish king a valuable cameo depicting Moses' brazen serpent in the desert.[6] But the hapless Pope was to have even this joy embittered. Hardly had the French troops withdrawn when the newly-appointed Vice-President of the county, the

[1] *Tanucci to Charles III., March 15, 1774, *ibid.*, Estado 6107.

[2] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 25, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{313}{1058}$; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice on March 26, 1774 (it is thought here that Tanucci has delayed so much with Benevento because he did not want to make restitution before France), State Archives, Venice; *Tanucci to Azara, March 26, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6022; *communication of March 26, 1774, *ibid.*, Estado 5784. In a *letter to Tanucci of April 12 Charles III. expressed his satisfaction with the restitution of Benevento by the King of Naples (*ibid.*, Estado 6069).

[3] Masson, 238. The *Lettres patentes* for the restoration of Avignon were issued from Versailles on April 10, 1774. Copy in the State Archives, Venice. The letter of thanks to Aiguillon, dated April 20, 1774, in Theiner, *Epist.*, 303 *seq.*

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, May 3, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1224. [5] Theiner, *Epist.*, 304 *seq.*

[6] Masson, *loc. cit.* Moñino was already reporting to Grimaldi on April 28, 1774, that the Pope "muestra un reconocimiento bivissimo a los officios del Rey que supone con razon ser la causa verdadera del buen efecto". Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

Archbishop of Avignon, Francesco Maria de' Manzi, abolished all the offices set up during the occupation and restored the administration to the condition in which it was on June 11th, 1768. This Aiguillon refused to tolerate. He demanded the nullification of Manzi's ordinances and the deposition of Manzi himself as Vice-President. In vain Bernis advised him to rest content with the fulfilment of the first of these demands. Aiguillon insisted on both of them and by means of threats forced Clement to give way entirely. The Pope had to acquiesce not only in Manzi's banishment but also in the reconversion of the whole administration by Doria, the nuncio to Paris, to the state it was in before the surrender.[1] The matter was not finally settled until well after the death of Louis XV. on May 10th, 1774.[2] It had cost Clement XIV. so much anxiety

[1] MASSON, 238 *seqq.* In his *report to Grimaldi of May 12, 1774, Moñino attributed the blame to Manzi (*ibid.*). Grimaldi *replied on May 31, 1774, that he approved of Manzi's action being repudiated, but why had the Pope not made things clear to him in advance (" prevenido claramente ") ? (*ibid.*). Tiepolo *reported on May 28, 1774, that the Archbishop of Avignon had not been made acquainted with the secret articles (State Archives, Venice). Doria took his auditor with him to Avignon, in consequence of which there is a big gap in the *nunciature reports, extending to August 17, 1774 ; *v.* Nunziat. di Francia 461, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Clement XIV.'s anxiety about Avignon was *reported by Tiepolo on July 2, 1774. On July 9 he *reported on the difficult situation that had been brought about in Avignon by the nuncio Doria, who could not leave the nunciature without offending to some extent the royal family and the King of Spain. On August 6 he *wrote of the extraordinarily confused state of affairs in Avignon (State Archives, Venice). The matter was settled by Aiguillon's successor, Vergennes, in August, 1774 ; *v.* MASSON, 239. Clement XIV. sent a letter of condolence to Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette on June 1, 1774 (THEINER, *Epist.*, 309 *seqq.*), announced the death of Louis XV at a consistory on the 6th (allocution in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 315 *seq.* ; *cf.* *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, June 11, 1774, State Archives, Venice), and at the exequies had a funeral oration delivered by Lelio Falconieri in

that even in February, 1774, fears were entertained of his health. What particularly distressed him was the many rumours and conjectures on the question of the restitution, whereby nearly always the accusation was made that he had allowed himself to be betrayed by his egotism and the cunning of the envoys. It was said quite openly in Rome that the Society of Jesus had been sold in exchange for Avignon and Benevento.[1] The conditions imposed by France were universally thought to be severe.[2] Fault was found too with the far-reaching concessions made by Clement XIV. to the Spanish king with regard to the tribunal of the Madrid nunciature. Further complaints were made about the economic conditions in Rome.[3] The feeling of the Romans was shown on the occasion of the Pope's procession to the Minerva in the spring of 1774: almost the whole of the aristocracy and all the Cardinals absented themselves on the plea of rainy weather.[4] Later the Pope's uneasiness was enhanced by the attitude of the Spanish Government towards the new nuncio to Madrid, Aloisio Valenti Gonzaga,[5] and the difficulties encountered in putting into effect the Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus.[6]

the Quirinal (*v.* *Tiepolo to the Doge, July 9, 1774, *ibid.*). The exequies, organized by Bernis with great pomp, took place on July 28 in S. Luigi dei Francesi. MASSON, 269 *seq.*

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 468 *seq.*

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, March 30 and May 7, 1774, State Archives, Venice.

[3] **Id.*, February 2, 1774, *ibid.*

[4] **Id.*, April 16, 1774, *ibid.*

[5] **Id.*, June 16, *ibid.* For the Spanish nunciature, see above, p. 188. A Valenti Gonzaga, formerly nuncio to Switzerland, who had been appointed to Madrid as far back as August 28, 1773 (THEINER, *Epist.*, 263), arrived there on December 17, 1773 (THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 318), but Tiepolo was still reporting on the "cose imbarazzatissime della nunziatura in Hispania" on August 6, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). It was only in one of his last Briefs, of September 8, 1774, that Clement XIV. was in a position to thank Charles III. for settling the matter of the Spanish nunciature. THEINER, *Epist.*, 325.

[6] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, April 16, 1774, *loc. cit.*

(2)

These difficulties were not anticipated by Clement XIV., especially after the Jesuit General Ricci and his Assistants, to his surprise, had submitted to the order of dissolution immediately and without protest, and the sudden and energetic measures taken had been accepted without disturbance by the people of Rome in spite of their affection for the Jesuits.[1] The Congregation of Cardinals constituted for the purpose of executing the suppression had made careful and precise preparations [2] and in carrying out the decision taken both Alfani and Macedonio showed the most creditable zeal.[3] By the morning of August 17th not a single Jesuit was able to function in any of the churches of his Order. All of these churches remained closed except the Gesù, S. Ignazio, and S. Apollinare, where the ecclesiastical duties were taken over respectively by the Capuchins, the Minorites, and a secular priest. The office of the Penitentiaries of St. Peter's, which the Augustinians had striven with the greatest energy to secure for themselves, was transferred to the Franciscan Conventuals.[4]

On August 17th the commissaries of the Congregation of Cardinals reported on their activities in the Roman Seminary, in the German, Greek, and Scots Colleges, and in the Casa di Trastevere, where the Jesuits expelled from Portugal were

[1] **Id.*, August 21, 1773, *ibid.*; *Centomani to Tanucci, August 20, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223. Even so ardent an opponent of the Jesuits as the Augustinian General Vasquez acknowledged in his *letter to Roda, of August 19, 1773, that Ricci " y todo su sinedrio se sujetaron a la intimacion con toda resignacion a la voluntad de Su Santidad y de Dios ". Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez III.

[2] **Giornale dell' esecuzione del Breve*, compiled by Fr. Rhomberg, in t. VI., Regolari, Gesuiti, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] For Alfani, see *Centomani to Tanucci, August 20, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223. For Macedonio, see " Almada " in *Collecção*, III., 182; *cf. ibid.*, 183.

[4] Brief of August 10, 1774, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 775; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, August 21, 1773, *loc. cit.*

accommodated. These and all the other Jesuit establishments were occupied in the name of the Holy See, and the valuables and papers found there were sequestrated.[1] No resistance was offered anywhere ; in every case the Fathers complied with the orders given.[2] In the Germanicum the pupils were admonished to obey the will of the Vicar of Christ, to refrain from any expression lacking respect, either among themselves or in their letters home, and to behave as submissive sons of the Holy See.[3] The powers of the Cardinal Protectors had been suspended by the Pope and had been transferred to the aforesaid Congregation.[4]

All the Jesuits in Rome were confined to their houses, which were occupied by soldiers, for eight days, while the secular dress they now had to wear was being got ready for them.[5]

On August 18th the Congregation of Cardinals, when transmitting the Brief of suppression to all the Bishops in the world, attached to it a special circular letter containing instructions for carrying it out. According to one of its clauses the various properties of the Jesuits were to be seized in the name of the Holy See and held at its disposal.[6] Naturally this exasperated the representatives of the States which had seized the properties of the Jesuits at the time of their expulsion. Moñino was especially offended, as this regulation of the Congregation of Cardinals directly contradicted the previous arrangement which Maria Theresa had made with the Pope through the mediation of the King of Spain.[7] Through Zelada he complained bitterly to the Pope. Alarmed by Almada's indignant attitude,[8]

[1] See the **Giornale* mentioned above in n. 2, p. 311.

[2] *Pallavicini to Caprara, August 21, 1773, Nunziat. di Colonia, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] STEINHUBER, II., 180.

[4] *Macedonio to Borgia, August 16, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda in Rome.

[5] See the **Giornale* mentioned above in n. 2, p. 311.

[6] Text in *Collecção*, III., 186 *seq.*

[7] ARNETH, IX., 101.

[8] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, August 27, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

Clement now explained that it was only a question of the Jesuit properties in the States of the Church, excused the offending clause on the plea that it was of a purely formal nature, without prejudice to the rights of the sovereigns, and ordered the Congregation to withdraw the circular letter.[1] Another factor which necessitated this was that in Turin and Milan the clause had caused a suspension of the execution of the Brief. The *contretemps*, which was not easily smoothed over, left a most unpleasant impression, the Spanish agent Azara regarding it as another instance of "Rome's bad faith".[2]

Another difficulty arose from the dispatch by the Congregation of Cardinals on August 22nd to the Propaganda of a case of sealed instructions for missionaries throughout the world, with the order to forward it immediately to its destination. Zelada drew the attention of Propaganda to this procedure being contrary to the Brief of suppression, in which the Pope had expressly reserved to himself the right of sending instructions to the missions.[3] Clement, however, waived his right on this occasion and committed to Propaganda the charge of making out the necessary instructions.[4]

There was a second point in which a departure was made from the stipulations of the Brief of suppression. The Brief left it to the judgment of the Bishops to grant or refuse the Jesuits powers to hear confessions and to preach. On September 1st, however, the Pope, acting through the Congregation of the Bishops and Regular Clergy, forbade all the Bishops of the States of the Church to employ the Jesuits on such

[1] *Moñino to Almada, August 25, 1773, *Collecção*, III., 187; *Moñino to Grimaldi, August 26, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. See also *Moñino to Mahony, August 21, 1773, *ibid.* For Moñino's exertions, see also *Grimaldi to Almodovar, September 9, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 7308; *Orsini to Tanucci, August 30/31, 1773, *ibid.*, Estado 4987.

[2] *Azara*, II., 440 *seq.*

[3] *Letter from the Propaganda to Zelada, August 22, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda in Rome.

[4] *Macedonio to Borgia, August 24, 1773, *ibid.*

pastoral duties or for educational purposes, unless they had first obtained his permission.[1]

Before the Brief of suppression had been published the Augustinian General Vasquez had written to Roda that it was above all necessary to proceed against the ex-General and to render him incapable of having any communication with his adherents.[2] And in fact action was taken on these lines. Whereas from August 24th onwards the other Fathers were allowed out again in secular dress, the General and his Assistants were kept back in the English College.[3] This was all the more remarkable seeing that Ricci had submitted himself unreservedly to an authoritative decision, which had been carried out without an inquiry, interrogation, or the concurrence of an advocate.

This heroic bearing of the former General was not imitated, it must be said, by all the Jesuits. In their indignation at the decree of suppression, they so far forgot themselves as to utter insults and imprecations not only against the Spanish

[1] Text of the letter in the *Vita di Clemente XIV.*, Venezia, 1775, 115 *seqq.*; *Orsini to Tanucci, August 31, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$; *Orsini to Moñino, August 26, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043, and *on September 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 4987; *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 2, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. According to Tanucci's *report to Orsini, of September 7, 1773, King Ferdinand of Naples thought that the order ought to be enforced all over the world. State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes, 1481. For Germany, see below, pp. 352 *seqq.*

[2] It was necessary, above all, he *wrote in his letter of July 22, 1773, " de asegurar el P. Ricci de modo que viva gozando de todos los bienes de este mundo, pero incapaz de comunicacion alguna con Jesuitas de sotana, de capilla y de spada." Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez III.

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 24, 1772, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987, and another *letter to the same person on the same date, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$. On September 2, 1773, Moñino *reported to Grimaldi that all the Roman Jesuits were now dressed as abbés and that many had left their houses. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

king as being the author of the measure but even against the Pope.[1] Although these Fathers were not distinguished for their knowledge or their virtue they were readily listened to by both the nobles and the common folk.[2] This was equally the case with the prophecies then in circulation, according to which the Jesuits would shortly rise again. Prominent in this connection was the Dominican nun Maria Teresa Poli of Valentano, who, though she had formerly foretold that the Pope would never suppress the Order, still found many credulous listeners, among them the ex-Jesuits of Turin.[3] When Teresa Poli foretold the early death of the Pope [4] and her prophecies were circulated in the course of time throughout Italy, the Pope was compelled to cause the Inquisition to take proceedings against her.[5] The ex-Jesuits and their friends who had allowed themselves to be deluded by a woman's fantasies did no good service to their cause,

[1] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 159.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 149.

[4] MASSON, 290.

[5] The process was instituted by Clement XIV., in July, 1774 (*v.* *Alfani to Macedonio, June 8, 1774, Regolari, Gesuiti II., Papal Secret Archives, and *Biglietti all' Abate Pacifici, *ibid.*), and continued and concluded under Pius VI.; *v.* *Grimaldi to Roda, March 25, 1776, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5061, with the attached decree of the Cardinals of the Inquisition Torrigiani, Castelli, Rezzonico, Colonna, Boschi, and Antonelli. Involved in the process were some ex-Jesuits, Mayoli, Poli's confessor, and Azzaloni, the confessor of the peasant woman Bernardina Renzi, the second chief prophetess, and Antonio Venizza and Coltraro, who were in correspondence with Mayoli and Azzaloni; *v.* BOERO, II., 111. The Inquisition found the accused guilty of "grande imprudencia, temeridad y soberbia y un espiritu refractario a las constituciones de la Sede Apostolica y sedicioso contra los principes". The accused women were given spiritual punishments, likewise the Jesuits; Mayoli was prohibited for life from exercising pastoral duties. *Cf.* DANVILA, III., 569 *seqq.* Many *documents relating to the process are preserved also in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

for Moñino naturally did not fail to draw attention to these excesses and to complain of the over-lenient treatment of the ex-Jesuits.[1] As the result of his representations the Pope not only issued the said ban on hearing confessions and preaching but also took such harsh measures against the wholly innocent Ricci that even Cardinal Bernis could not withhold his disapproval.[2]

On August 26th Ricci underwent his first interrogation.[3] Two days before, the ex-Jesuit Orazio Stefanucci, a most learned canonist, who had been accused quite groundlessly of having written a work on the simoniacal election of Clement XIV., had been confined in the Castel S. Angelo.[4] Soon afterwards two other Fathers shared his fate.[5] At the end of the month they were joined by a lay-brother who was alleged to have helped Stefanucci burn some correspondence in the German College.[6] Connected with these measures was an edict of the Congregation of Cardinals, dated August 26th, forbidding anyone under pain of excommunication which would come into effect *ipso facto* to conceal or remove letters of credit, moneys, valuables, or documents belonging to the suppressed Order.[7] By way of precaution, the Pope, on September 7th,

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, August 28, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

[2] MASSON, 229.

[3] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 27, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$; *Tiepolo to the Doge, August 28, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 24, 1773, *loc. cit.*; *Tiepolo, in the report cited in n. 3; *Moñino to Grimaldi, August 26, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5043. The written work on Clement XIV.'s simoniacal election never existed; see below, p. 317, n. 3.

[5] Moñino's second *letter to Grimaldi, August 26, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[6] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 30/31, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987.

[7] *Regolari, Gesuiti III., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the letter of Orsini's cited in the preceding note.

granted the Congregation of Cardinals, at its request, the most far-reaching powers.[1] Members of the high aristocracy, such as the Duchessa Lante, had already been subjected to police investigations,[2] and now, under Alfani's direction, the investigations assumed quite grotesque forms. Alfani himself reported how he had searched the privies of the German College for forbidden writings in the hope of getting on the scent of the treatise on Clement XIV.'s simoniacal election.[3] But apart from this he thought he already had enough material to deal with Stefanucci and Rhomberg, the Assistant for Germany, without going into the formalities of extra-judicial proceedings.[4] In spite of the perseverance with which Alfani performed his unappetizing task he failed to find the treatise on Clement XIV.'s simoniacal election for the simple reason that, according to Macedonio's testimony, no such writing ever existed.[5] All the other charges against Stefanucci having been proved to be baseless, the Congregation of Cardinals wanted to release him, but this was

[1] The Congregation's *application bears on the reverse the note : " N.S. nell' udienza del 7 Settembre ha dato le necessarie facoltà." Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti I.

[2] " *Il guidice Andreotti " to Macedonio, September 4, 1773, in which he wrote that the duchess asserted that she possessed neither writings nor anything else belonging to the Jesuits. *Ibid.*

[3] In his *letter to Macedonio, of September 6, 1773, Alfani said that he would explore his " finds " " a dispetto d'un enormissimo fetore. Dopo aver combattuto con i Gesuiti, mi restava a combattere con i loro escrementi, ma tutto si faccia in servizio e per la gloria del S. Padre." Macedonio was to convey this information to the Pope. *Ibid.* According to Caballero, there was a dissertation of Stefanucci's entitled *De electione simoniaca*, but this had been written in 1768 at the instance of Cardinal York, so that it could not have treated of Clement XIV.'s election as having already happened. *Cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VII., 1527.

[4] " *Senza le fredde formalità degl' estragiudiciali." Alfani to Macedonio, September 8, 1773, Regolari, Gesuiti II., Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Macedonio's testimony, in his report to Pius VI., in BOERO, II.[2], 77 n.

prevented by Alfani. Stefanucci remained a prisoner and died as such in February, 1775.[1] The false rumour of the existence of a written work on the election of Clement XIV. served to instil into the Pope the fear of a schism and to set him against the Jesuits more than ever.[2] In other ways, too, the most evil reports about the Society were put in circulation by its enemies. The Augustinian General Vasquez talked wildly about the discovery of a Jesuit plot against the House of Austria.[3] As was only to be expected, the greatest zeal in spreading evil rumours was shown by Moñino, who reported to Madrid that every day brought fresh discoveries of Jesuit machinations, some of which were extraordinarily incriminating.[4] On September 10th Alfani issued an order prohibiting ex-Jesuits entering a nunnery or corresponding with nuns. On the same day the Archpriest of S. Eustachio, Catrani, was taken to the Castel S. Angelo.[5]

The manner in which Alfani extended his investigations was finally too much even for the Pope. He had him informed by Macedonio that what had been written or spoken before the suppression was not to be followed up. Alfani was not to let himself be distracted by purposeless investigations from his main preoccupation, namely the danger of a schism, which would certainly have occurred if the ex-General or others, under cover of specious pretexts, had tried to preserve the substance of the suppressed Order.[6] For this purpose, therefore, the police investigations and arrests were continued.[7] The Congregation of Cardinals was also busying itself in the same direction when the Pope retired to Castel Gandolfo

[1] *Ibid.*, 109.

[2] *Ibid.*, 77, n. 7.

[3] Danvila, III., 559.

[4] *Ibid.*, 558.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, September 10, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 4987.

[6] *Macedonio to Alfani, September 11, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti IV.

[7] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, September 11 and 18, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

in the latter half of September.[1] The prime movers in the business were Moñino and Almada; the Venetian ambassador thought that these two would never rest content until there was not a Jesuit left in Rome.[2]

Moñino's and Almada's persistency in demanding the most stringent measures [3] was entirely to the liking of Charles III. and Pombal. When congratulating Tanucci on his part in obtaining the suppression at last the Spanish king declared that vigilance was more than ever necessary.[4]

Spain was chiefly interested in energetic proceedings being taken against Ricci, so that the public might be led to believe that the Bourbons' demand for the suppression of the Order was justified by reason of the serious misconduct of its head.[5] Ricci was charged with having abstracted large sums of money and valuables.[6] In mid-September the general opinion in Rome was that the unfortunate ex-General would never regain his freedom so long as Clement XIV. was alive.[7] Meanwhile a beginning was made with the distribution of the precious objects and paintings owned by the Jesuits, in which,

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, September 21, 1773, according to which the Cardinals' deliberations took place at Marefoschi's or Carafa's residence. State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma 1223.

[2] Tiepolo's *report, communicated to the Pregadi on September 16, 1773. State Archives, Venice.

[3] *Tiepolo to the Doge, September 18, 1773, *ibid.*

[4] *Charles III. to Tanucci, September 7, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6068; *Grimaldi to Moñino, September 14, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] CARAYON, *Ricci*, 100 *seq.*

[6] *Pallavicini to Mancinforte, September 15, 1773: "Senti che nel banco di uno di codesti commercianti trovinsi 100,000 zecchini fattivi passare da questo abbate Ricci, durante il suo generalato, ed anche una cassetta di medaglie d'oro e di altre insigni qualità del Museo Chircheriano: quando sussista l'esistenza dei primi, grato mi sarebbe il sapere di quale spettanza appariscano." **Id.* on September 25, 1773: Thanks for the news of the frequent transfers of Jesuit funds to Florence. Nunziat. di Firenze, Papal Secret Archives.

[7] *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 16, 1773, Archives ofSimancas, Estado 5048.

besides the Museo Sacro in the Vatican and the Vatican itself, the Cardinals of the Congregations were not forgotten.[1] Even Ricci's Tokay, in which Zelada and Corsini took a particular interest, was divided among these gentlemen, Alfani keeping back a share for the Secretary, Macedonio.[2] The Venetian ambassador Tiepolo reported that these presentations were made at the express command of the Pope, to stimulate the Cardinals of the Congregation to still further efforts.[3] This was unnecessary, as it happened, as on September 23rd the Congregation had decided to imprison Ricci in the Castel S. Angelo for safety's sake.[4] The order was carried out late in the evening of the same day, Ricci being transferred to the Castel S. Angelo from the English College, where he had been treated with consideration.[5] The same

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, September 18, 1773, *loc. cit.*; *Alfani to Macedonio, September 24, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti I.

[2] *Alfani to Macedonio, September 25, 1773 (*ibid.*): Fr. Ricci's good Tokay, which Corsini and Zelada were looking for, was found and distributed "a tutti gl' E^mi^ componenti la S.C. e ne ò conservata la rata pel degnissimo Segretario: che ne dice Monsignore Ven^mo^? O fatto male or bene? Certa cosa è che tutti ne anno marcato in voce ed in scritto un singolarissimo gradimento". "La rarissima serie delle posizioni di canonizati, che era nella casa di S. Andrea" had been handed over to the Prefect of Rites, Marefoschi, but everything referring to the Palafox process had been put aside for the Pope.

[3] "*Onde animarle sempre più alla continuazione di un' opera che sommamente interessa le sue [the Pope's] cure e sollecitudini." Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, September 23, 1773, *loc. cit.* *Macedonio's instruction to Alfani, of September 14, authorized by the Pope, regarding the distribution of Jesuit belongings, *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti IV.

[4] "*Per motivo di più gran sicurezza," Alfani wrote to Macedonio on September 24, 1773, *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti I.

[5] *Centomani to Tanucci, September 24, 1773, *loc. cit.* The removal took place "alle cinque della notte", *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti I. For Ricci's treatment in the English College, *v. Collecção*, III., 186.

lot was meted out to his secretary, Gabriello Comolli, and the five Assistants: the Italian Antonio Gorgo, the Pole, Carlo Korycki, the Spaniard, Francisco Montes, the Portuguese, João de Gusmão, and the German, Ignaz Rhomberg—the Sanhedrim, as Moñino called them. Alfani hoped that now Ricci's interrogation would also be conducted with more energy.[1] He wrote gleefully to Macedonio on September 25th: "Ricci and his five Assistants are in the Castel S. Angelo; all the arrangements were carried out with precision and without a hitch."[2]

Alfani insisted on the prisoners being treated with the utmost severity. Ricci and Stefanucci were prohibited from writing; Rhomberg's request for clothing was refused. When the others asked permission to take a little exercise they were told that security measures would first have to be taken by the Congregation.[3]

On September 24th the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo were joined by four others, so that there were now thirteen of them, apart from the Archpriest Catrani. Precautions were taken to prevent their communicating with one another,[4] and, not content with that, Alfani personally saw to the boarding up of their windows, so that they should not communicate with the outer world.[5] At the beginning of October

[1] See Alfani's letter to Macedonio, mentioned on p. 320, n. 2.

[2] *Alfani to Macedonio, September 25, 1773. The letter (Regolari, Gesuiti, I., *loc. cit.*) begins with "Cantemus Domino". *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 20, 1773: ". . . los dias pasados por precaucion trasportaron del Colegio llamado de los Ingleses al Castillo de S. Angel, al Abate Don Lorenzo Ricci, que fué General de la Compañia extinguida, y tambien a los asistentes de Italia, Polonia, España y Portugal." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[3] The ex-Jesuits' *petition and the Congregation's *reply in Regolari, Gesuiti IV., *loc. cit.*

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, September 28, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223.

[5] On September 1, 1773, Alfani sent Macedonio for forwarding to the Pope his "*Regolamento da osservarsi in questo

the inexorable gaoler had the permission to say Mass withdrawn from Ricci and his companions; on Sundays and holidays they were taken to divine service one by one, under military escort.[1] Alfani also induced the Pope to have orders given to the governor of the castle, Mgr. Salviati, to reduce by half the money spent on the prisoners' food.[2] When Giovanni Battista Faure, who had also been brought to the castle, was found with utensils with which he might have throttled himself, all the prisoners' cells were searched again with the greatest care. The governor still being thought to be too humane, he had attached to him a Major Pescatore, who was ordered to use the utmost severity.[3] A report on the prisoners' demeanour had to be made to Alfani every evening.[4]

The avaricious Alfani was also engaged at this time in sequestrating the valuables of the Jesuits kept at the Gesù and at S. Andrea; he, who had accused the Jesuits of removing their treasures, now had to admit his surprise that this had not been the case in these two places.[5] "By the mercy of God,"

seriosissimo emergente", adding that even after a day's strenuous labour he was not tired, "tanto ardente" was "il suo zelo per la gloria de S.Stà". Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti III.

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, October 5, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223.

[2] *Alfani to Macedonio, October 7 and 11, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti II.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, October 12, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma 1223. Faure, who had written against Palafox, was arrested because he might have continued to do so! (*v.* Boero, II.², 109 *seq.*) A drop of oil found on Faure's bed was taken for ink, in consequence of which a soldier was posted in his cell day and night to guard him (*ibid.*, 111).

[4] On October 9, 1773, Alfani *reported to Macedonio that on the previous day he had arranged with Mgr. Salviati, the Governor, and Pescatore: "in ogni sera mi si faccia tenere un preciso detaglio degl' avvenimenti che possono occorrere alla giornata, onde il Santo Padre sia in giorno del tutto, anche le più minute cose di questo emergente." (Long report on the security measures taken, *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti II.).

[5] *Alfani to Macedonio, October 13, 1773, *ibid.*

he wrote to Macedonio on October 16th, "all instructions are most exactly performed in the castle; but I, the author of them, am the object of the most bitter hatred. The interrogation of Ricci and Faure is to be accelerated."[1] On October 26th Alfani reported to Macedonio that for the better surveillance of the prisoners Pescatore was employing sixty soldiers; all of them were Germans and therefore more exact in the performance of their duties.[2] Macedonio replied on the following day that the Pope, distrusting the governor as being friendly to the Jesuits, also insisted on the greatest vigilance.[3] Alfani was delighted to hear this and that the Maestro di Palazzo, the Dominican Mamachi, who was as fiery as he was learned, was preparing a work against the Jesuits with feverish haste.[4] On the other hand, he was far from satisfied with the attitude of the commission of Cardinals,[5] in which, as opposed to the fury of Cardinals Casali and Corsini, Cardinals Zelada, Trajetto, and Marefoschi were all for the humane treatment of the prisoners.[6] Another bone of contention among the members of the commission was the use to which

[1] **Id.*, October 16, 1773, *ibid.*, III.

[2] **Id.*, October 26, 1773, *ibid.*, II. The letter contains the names of the soldiers and their instructions.

[3] *Macedonio to Alfani, October 27, 1773, *ibid.*, IV. *Cf.* also Tiepolo's *report to the Doge of Venice, of October 30, 1773, in which Alfani is described as the strict gaoler of the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo and the Governor as being lenient. State Archives, Venice.

[4] See Alfani's letter cited in n. 1, also *Mamachi to Alfani on January 19, 1774, and *Mamachi to Macedonio on March 28, 1774 (about his great work *"quasi tutto fondato sulle carte dell' estinta società e il restante su d'incontrastabili documenti"), Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti VI. and II.

[5] "*Sia poi ringraziato Iddio che sino a giovedì non si radunerà più questa benedetta assemblea." Alfani to Macedonio, October 25, 1773, *ibid.*, II.

[6] *Vasquez to Roda, October 7, 1773, saying that without "el miedo que le tienen al Ministro de España" Jesuitism would triumph, since Corsini always gave way to the other three Cardinals. Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Vasquez III.

the Jesuit valuables were to be put,[1] which led Tanucci to remark that the Congregation was more eager to track down the ex-Jesuits' money than their offences.[2]

Widely divergent views were also held on the problem of replacing the teaching staff in the former Jesuit establishments. How great a loss was inflicted on the schools by the suppression of the Order is seen from the fact that at the beginning of October many Bishops in the Papal States were asking for ex-Jesuits to be employed in the schools and sodalities in their dioceses. The commission of Cardinals found the question rather too difficult for them to deal with.[3]

The filling of the vacant posts in the teaching establishments in Rome that were formerly managed by the Jesuits presented particularly grave difficulties, although the Franciscans and Dominicans offered their services in this connexion.[4] The Congregation of Cardinals held long sessions to discuss the matter. Alfani was sorely embarrassed by there being no suitable teachers for the lower schools [5] and by the failure of many of those who had been licensed by the Pope.[6] By the middle of October the Congregation found itself compelled to enlist the services of quite a number of ex-Jesuits [7]; to Tanucci's horror this took place, not only in many towns in Italy, but even in Rome itself, in the Roman College, to which the Roman Seminary had been transferred after the removal of the Jesuits. At the beginning of November Zelada and

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge, October 2, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Tanucci to Azara, October 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 6021.

[3] *Alfani to Macedonio, October 16, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti II.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] In his *letter to Macedonio, of October 14, 1773, Alfani calls those proposed for the lower schools " scarsi atti a destar la risa, non il rispetto de' fanciulli ". *Ibid.*, II.

[6] See the complaints in Alfani's *letter to Macedonio, of October 16, 1773, *ibid.*

[7] *Tiepolo to the Doge, October 16, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

Alfani had to employ five ex-Jesuits there despite the objections of two members of the Congregation.[1] The Jansenist party in Rome now spread the fearful news that henceforward the teaching at the Roman College would be entirely on Jesuit principles. Cardinal Zelada especially was subjected to contempt and suspicion, but Moñino's confidence in him remained unshaken.[2] The rigid anti-Jesuits in the Congregation succeeded in having the teaching of the students in the German College itself, entrusted solely to the Dominicans.[3] The Venetian ambassador Tiepolo reported on November 13th that the disunity in the Congregation was such that some of its members no longer attended and that it now met only once a week. In fact there was talk of its being dissolved altogether.[4]

Clement XIV. wanted Marefoschi to undertake the direction of the Gesù, where Alfani with inhuman harshness had dragged the old and sick ex-Jesuits,[5] but as he was to have the assistance of Alfani, he firmly refused to accept the appointment. As he wrote to Bernis, he did not want to have anything to do with a man who was universally detested in Rome.[6] By the end of the year Marefoschi, who had gradually

[1] *Orsini to Giansante, November 4, 1773, and *Orsini to Tanucci, November 5, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$; *Centomani to Tanucci, November 5, 1773, *ibid.*, 1223; *Tiepolo to the Doge, November 6 and 13, 1773, *loc. cit.*; *Moñino to Grimaldi, December 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5048.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 383.

[3] See Orsini's letter to Giansante cited above, n. 1. *Cf.* STEINHUBER, II., 183 *seq.*

[4] *Tiepolo to the Doge, November 13, 1773 (*loc. cit.*): he thought that Moñino would not put his hand in the wasps' nest ("vespaio").

[5] BOERO, II.[2], 64.

[6] *Marefoschi to Bernis, November 14, 1773 (with Bernis' *reply of the 15th) and November 19, 1773. In this second letter Marefoschi says of Alfani, "ha l'odio di tutti i sassi a Roma." In Jesuit possession. *Tiepolo to the Doge on December 4, 18, and 25, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

changed from an enemy to a friend of the Jesuits, also ceased to attend the meetings of the Congregation.[1] This was now dominated by Corsini and Zelada, whom Moñino designated as being most capable of completely extirpating Jesuitism.[2] Charles III. was also highly pleased with Zelada, who was known in Rome as the "Cardinal à la mode" (*el cardenal a la moda*).[3]

The Congregation of Cardinals was grievously embarrassed by the refusal of the Portuguese Government to make any payment towards the maintenance of the expelled Portuguese Jesuits in the Papal States. There were still 700 of them,[4] and their upkeep cost the Camera Apostolica 60,000 francs a year,[5] which was all the more distressing in that the reorganization of studies was also involving it in a heavy outlay.[6] While Alfani was spying out the Jesuit properties in England,[7] the Congregation was trying to lay its hands on their properties in Italy. With the Pope's approval it ruled that the revenues therefrom were not to be used for public charities until the Italian and Portuguese ex-Jesuits were dead.[8] In many cases the ruling came too late, as the

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge, December 25, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, January 6, 1774: the Jesuits would give the world no peace "mientras existan sus cenizas". (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome) Moñino expressed himself in a similar fashion in a *letter to Grimaldi on June 6, 1774, referring to Zelada and Corsini as "los mas fuertes para desarraigar el tronco del arbol en todas partes". Archives of Simancas, Estado 4986.

[3] Danvila y Collado, III., 560.

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, October 19, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223; *Tiepolo to the Doge, December 18, 1773, and April 2, 1774, State Archives, Venice; *Orsini to Tanucci, January 21, 1774, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma $\frac{313}{1058}$.

[5] Theiner, *Hist.*, II., 382.

[6] *Tiepolo to the Doge, December 4, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Alfani to Macedonio, October 1, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti II.

[8] Congregational *decrees of December 9, 1773, *ibid.*, and of December 19, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1481.

superintendents of the Camera Apostolica had already leased a number of the best properties to their favourites.[1] In addition, disputes arose with the Governments of Tuscany, Genoa, and Ragusa.[2]

Through the commissary Coronel, who was dispatched to Rome for the purpose, the Spanish Government came to an understanding with Clement XIV. about the pensions for the Spanish ex-Jesuits in the Papal States [3]; but it kept a very watchful eye on their behaviour [4] and saw to it that they were kept scattered and separated.[5] Still fearing a revival of the Society, they insisted on the banishment being prolonged.[6] The Neapolitan Government took up a very similar position.[7]

It was this fear of a resurrected Order that caused the Congregation of Cardinals in November, 1773, to prohibit groups of more than four ex-Jesuits [8]; it was also the chief motive that actuated the proceedings against the incarcerated leaders of the Society, of whom it was said by Cardinal Orsini in early November, 1773, that they would never regain

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, December 24, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge, January 29, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[3] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 537.

[4] *Moñino to Laforcada, November 18, 1773, and his *reply of December 11, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[5] *Report of the three commissaries to Moñino, Faenza, January 15, 1774, *ibid.*

[6] *Grimaldi to Moñino, October 19, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5208. On October 19, 1773, Charles III. *wrote to Tanucci that although he had to thank God for the suppression of the Jesuits, nevertheless they must never cease to "vigilar siempre mas sobre los que lo fueron". *Ibid.*, Estado, 6068.

[7] *Orsini to Tanucci, August 24, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{310}{1055}$. For the punctual payment of the pension, *v.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 577. On August 28 Tanucci *wrote to Caracciolo: "Il Breve gesuitico fu pubblicato nel di 19. Insinui V.E. costì l'esaminarlo bene prima d'accordargli l'exequatur. Non vi mancano insidie. Qui faremo il nostro dovere." Archives of Simancas.

[8] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 2, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{310}{1055}$

their freedom.[1] They were as carefully guarded as ever in the Castel S. Angelo and were treated very strictly.[2] They were completely cut off from the outer world, knew nothing of what was going on, and were not even given such harmless news as the deaths of their acquaintances. During the winter not even the aged ex-General was allowed a little fire.[3] The Marchese Giani, a relative of Ricci's, tried in vain to induce the Pope to relax the treatment of the prisoner in a few particulars.[4]

The interrogation of the prisoners, about which the strictest silence was observed,[5] was conducted by Andreotti, a judge from the law-court on Montecitorio, assisted by the notary Mariani. Alfani hoped at first that the proceedings would be carried out quickly and successfully,[6] but when they showed signs of being protracted he tried every means of influencing the prisoners, even by making them presents of chocolate and coffee.[7] But Ricci and Faure were impervious to his blandish-

[1] "*A mio credere non recuperanno la libertà." Orsini to Giansante on November 4, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] See the letter of Orsini's cited on p. 327, n. 8.

[3] See the *Processo* 274 mentioned below, on p. 330, n. 2.

[4] *Tiepolo to the Doge, November 13, 1773, State Archives, Venice.

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, November 19, 1773: The proceedings against the former General and his colleagues, the former Assistants of the suppressed Society, were wrapt in silence. They were still being very closely guarded in the Castel S. Angelo. Archives of Simancas.

[6] *Alfani to Macedonio, October 7, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti II.

[7] *Alfani to Macedonio, December 8, 1773: "Mi sto divertendo cogl'abbati Ricci e Faure; quotidianamente mi godo i criminali, e procuro di infiammarli colle parole, colle cioccolate e con i caffè: ma la materia esce dalla loro sfera: l'E^mo Casali non per anco si è prestato al bramato congresso: ma io sono sempre pronto," *ibid.* Regarding the taking over of S. Andrea by the Lazarists and the transfer of the Passionists to SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Alfani writes (*ibid.*): "Per verità il chaos della soppressione gesuitica non mi è stato tanto incommodo e affannoso

ments. "I am almost bursting with impatience at the slow progress of the case," wrote Alfani, "but I am doing my utmost."[1] He complained of Andreotti to the Pope, apparently successfully.[2] No less energy was displayed by Alfani's closest ally, Moñino, whose influence in Rome was decisive at this period,[3] and who was also effective in having Cardinal Malvezzi rewarded with the appointment of Datarius.[4] It was also Moñino's agitations which were held responsible for the search by military police of the palace of the widowed Duchess Faustina Capranica Lante, who was a friend of the Jesuits; as she protested too loudly she was shut up in a convent.[5] Her sons' tutor, the ex-Jesuit Benincasa, afterwards Bishop of Carpi, had already been taken to the Castel

quanto mi è stato quest'affare con divoti e servi di Dio Signori." *Ibid.*

[1] *Alfani to Macedonio, November 26, 1773 (*ibid.*): "Mi sento crepare nella lentezza del giudice criminale: io a cacciarle in corpo un poco di fuoco lo chiamai ieri l'altro al congresso. Per dimani gliene ho intimato un altro: in somma faccio colle mani e co' piedi ecc."

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge, June 11, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[3] The firm cohesion of the Bourbon Courts was described as "admirable" in Brunati's *report to Colloredo on January 22, 1774: "danno qui il tuono, tengono tutti in soggezione e rispetto." State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* *Tiepolo to the Doge, July 9, 1774, State Archives, Venice.

[4] *Tiepolo to the Doge, March 26, 1774, *ibid.* In his *report to Grimaldi of April 14, 1774, Moñino speaks himself of his "rigorosos oficios" for Malvezzi (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). On April 16 Malvezzi wrote Moñino a fulsome *letter of thanks, declaring "che niuna cosa terrà mai si presente all'animo suo quanto la somma bontà di Sua M^tà^ Catt." (*ibid.*). Malvezzi cut a poor figure in Rome. Centomani represented him in his *report to Tanucci of June 21, 1774, as "malatto, perseguitato da tutti, inodiato da molti, odioso ai Terziari, poco ben visto dal Papa." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1224. On July 5, 1774, *Centomani informed Tanucci that "Malvezzi continua a far qui nessuna figura". *Ibid.*

[5] *Orsini to Tanucci, March 25, 1774: Apologies for the search made of the duchess's palace in spite of its bearing the royal arms of

S. Angelo at Christmas, 1773.[1] The interrogations came to an end in the middle of January, 1774. Why the result of them was kept secret is easily understood when one reads the questions and answers which were carefully noted down by Ricci,[2] not for his own justification, which he left to divine providence, but to restore the honour of his suppressed Society.

Ricci readily and fully supplied all the information required of him. When asked whether he considered that the suppression meant the end of his own authority, he gave a vigorous reply in the affirmative. To the further question, what authority he thought he would have had if the Pope had acted differently, he gave this answer: "Only the authority which the Pope would have allowed me in such a case." He pointed out that such questions were irrelevant to the case in hand and that they ought to keep to the investigation of his conduct. This was admitted to be correct by the examining judge.

From the beginning the questions put to Ricci about his conduct were concerned largely with the charge of having concealed or sent abroad moneys or property belonging to the Society. Andreotti spoke first of fifty, then of twenty-five, millions. Ricci replied, "I have concealed neither money nor goods; and nobody has done so with my knowledge and consent. When it was suggested to me recently that I should conceal certain things, I disapproved of it and strongly advised against it. It is true that a sum of money was sent to Genoa recently for an oversea mission. The amount will be found entered in the Procurator-General's books. The money was remitted to Genoa, not to be kept there, but to be

Naples, but they had to act "presto e segretamente". *Ibid.* Esteri-Roma $\frac{313}{1058}$; *Tiepolo to the Doge, March 26 and April 2, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[1] Boero, II.[2], 190.

[2] "Processo fatto al sacerdote D. Lorenzo Ricci già Generale delle Comp. di Gesù," in Murr, *Journal*, IX., 254 *seqq.*, and in Boero, II.[2], 80 *seqq.*; French translation in Carayon, XVII., 105 *seqq.* For Moñino's preliminary work in the proceedings, *v.* Boero, II.[2], 79.

forwarded to the missions. Neither I nor anyone else, to my knowledge, sent anything out of the country to be kept aside or to be deposited in a bank. The rumour that we are in possession of millions, which we have hidden or invested, is just a lie, the baseless chatter of the common folk, which our enemies, no doubt, have bruited abroad with great delight and which, at best, had its foundation in the beauty, the richness, and the orderliness of our churches. The wealth ascribed to us is a fantasy, a stupidity, complete madness. I was amazed that men of repute and intelligence could give any credence to such fairy-stories. They ought to be convinced of the falsity of such rumours now that the minute and exceptional investigations made inside and outside Rome with the object of discovering at last these imagined treasures have proved fruitless." [1]

When it became known at the end of 1773 that the interrogations in the Castel S. Angelo were coming to an end, the verdict was awaited with general impatience. But as the interrogations had elicited nothing detrimental to the Society,[2] no verdict was given. Ricci accordingly requested Andreotti to inform him of the cause of his imprisonment. When Andreotti replied that it was not any offence that was the cause, Ricci decided to compose a petition to the Congregation of Cardinals. He was not allowed to write this down himself, but only to dictate it.[3] In it he drew attention to his innocence, which had been fully established by the inquiry, to his age of seventy-two years, to his poor state of health, and to the injustice of keeping him in prison on the suspicion of wanting to restore the Order. This suspicion was completely baseless, as he had never attempted anything against the supreme

[1] This full reply of Ricci's to question 19 of his interrogation in MURR, *loc. cit.*, 268 *seq.* *Cf.* CARAYON, 114 *seqq.*

[2] This was not known till long afterwards. Albani *reports it to Colloredo on May 4, 1775. State Archives, Vienna.

[3] The precise text of this *petition, which is quoted only from memory in MURR (*loc. cit.*, 268 *seq.*), is in Regolari, Gesuiti VI., Papal Secret Archives.

authority and any attempt at a restoration was both impossible and hopeless: impossible because all the property of the Society had been sequestrated and all the princes had accepted the Brief of suppression; hopeless because the Pope was against it. His only desire was to end his days in peace. The only ruling on this petition was: "*Si prende provvidenza.*" Nothing more was done in the matter before Clement XIV. died in September.[1] In October Ricci presented another petition to the Congregation of Cardinals.[2] The new Pope wanted to release Ricci but Moñino opposed this with all his might. He roundly stated that if the ex-General were openly declared to be innocent and were to be set free, it would be tantamount to pronouncing a verdict of nullification on the Brief of suppression. Moñino succeeded in having the interrogations continued. But as these merely established the innocence of the Assistants Montes and Gusmão, they were released, in view of their advanced age; but they had to swear to maintain complete silence about their imprisonment.[3] Moñino was unable to prevent this release or the granting of some slight alleviations to Ricci by Pius VI. But the harrowing imprisonment, which must have gradually worn down the old man's strength, still went on.[4] When Pius VI. proposed to intern Ricci in his birthplace, Charles III. advised caution and alluded to a letter from the Queen of Portugal, according to which there was a fear in her country of a restoration of the Order. And of this, declared Pius VI., there must be no question.[5]

When eleven months had passed since the death of Clement XIV. Ricci appealed to the Pope with a petition in which he described his situation in words whose simplicity made them

[1] Murr, 268. On December 4, 1773, Tiepolo had *reported to the Doge: "I detenuti in Castel S. Angelo hanno presentato supplica, finora senza effetto." State Archives, Venice.

[2] *Ricci to the Congregation of Cardinals in October 1774, Regolari, Gesuiti, VI., *loc. cit.*

[3] Danvila, III., 566.

[4] Duhr, *Ricci*, 87.

[5] Danvila, *loc. cit.*

all the more moving. For fifteen years, he wrote, he had directed the Society of Jesus without a single complaint being made against him; nevertheless he had now been kept for two years in the closest custody. His examination, which could have been finished in a few weeks, had been dragged out on flimsy excuses. Although his complete innocence had been established, he could ascertain no reason for his arrest, as the Congregation of Cardinals persisted in their decision of "*si prende provvidenza*". He had been granted some alleviations by the favour of His Holiness, it was true, but the sentence was still suspended and his incarceration still went on. He was still forbidden to speak to anyone but Major Pescatore and occasionally the Vice-Governor; even the consultations with his physician had to be conducted in the presence of others. Ricci concluded by saying that if the mercy of the Pope did not release him from that slow and painful death, there was nothing left to him but to beg the Lord to summon him from his misery quickly and to prolong the life of His Holiness for many years, to the great advantage of His Church.[1] To this appeal to his compassion Pius VI. was not entirely deaf; in May Ricci and his companions received permission to move about freely in the Castel S. Angelo. But their actual release was successfully opposed by Moñino.[2] He even obtained the resumption of the interrogations, but before they could be completed death released the General from his sufferings on November 24th, 1775. At the command of Pius VI., his obsequies were held in a fitting manner, at the expense of the Camera Apostolica, in S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini. He was buried, not, as his Spanish gaolers would have liked it, in the Castel S. Angelo, but in the Gesù.[3]

After Ricci's death the proceedings against his companions

[1] "Memoriale alla S^tà^ di P. Pio VI. del abbate L. Ricci," in MURR, *loc. cit.*, 272 *seqq.*

[2] MASSON, 323 *seq.* *Cf.* *Moñino to Pius VI. on May 31, 1775, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] BOERO, II.², 103; DUHR, *Ricci*, 89, with the observation "Ricci lies there by the side of the departed Generals, as worthy as the worthiest of his predecessors".

were suspended; in any case, there was no more evidence of guilt to be brought against them than against their General.[1] Even Moñino had to give way now.[2] Fathers Le Forestier and Gualtier were released on July 29th, 1775, Faure and Benincasa in August,[3] and finally the remaining Assistants in February, 1776.[4]

One of these, the eighty-two-year-old Rhomberg, almost a complete cripple, could hardly be moved out of the castle. He declared that he would rather remain there, for there at least he had two fellow-prisoners who took compassion on him and carried him every morning to the chapel, where he could hear Mass and receive Holy Communion.[5] Ricci's secretary, the seventy-year-old Gabriello Comolli, had already succumbed to the rigours of imprisonment on January 13th, 1774. Alfani kept his death a secret and had him buried at night without any religious ceremony.[6] Two Jesuits and two secular priests who were detained in the Castel S. Angelo and who seemed to be compromised in the affair of the prophetesses of Valentano, were brought before the Inquisition but were soon absolved and had only to perform some spiritual penances.[7] Stefanucci had already succumbed to the sufferings of his two years' imprisonment.[8]

[1] The interrogations are reproduced in Boero, II.², 105 *seq.* See also the "*Relazione delle cause de' carcerati in Castel S. Angelo (1. Il Generale e gl' assistenti. — 2. Faure. — 3. Catrani. — 4. Benincasa. — 5. Le Forestier. — 6. Sante Zazzera), 1773–1775". Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Danvila y Collado, III., 569.

[3] Boero, II.², 120, and Moñino's *autograph (1774–5) in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] Masson, 326. According to Boero (II.², 120) Le Forestier, Gualtier, and his brother were released on July 29, 1775, Faure and Benincasa in August.

[5] Boero, II.², 120 *seq.* [6] *Ibid.*, 105 *seq.*; *cf.* 119.

[7] Bernis' *report of March 6, 1776, in the Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris, cited by Masson (327), and the letter from Fr. Coltraro, who was arrested in Orvieto in May 1774 and was treated in a really barbarous way; *v.* Boero, II.², 112–6.

[8] See above, p. 316, and Steinhuber, II.², 181.

Apart from the absence of evidence against the accused,[1] it must be remembered that it was priests who remained priests, and some of them over seventy years old, who were subjected to this severity by Moñino and Alfani. That they succeeded in keeping such men in prison as though they were criminals is less to be wondered at, perhaps, than that Clement XIV. gave way to them on this point as on so many others. That many hard measures were taken against the prisoners without the Pope's knowledge and against his will is clear from the account given by Louis Gualtier, who was taken to the horrible prison of San Leo in September, 1774.[2] Nevertheless, of the many tragedies that have taken place in the dungeons of the Castel S. Angelo, the confinement of Ricci and his companions is one of the most appalling. Besides, even if only to preserve the appearance of justice, the proceedings that were brought against them should have preceded the suppression of the Order. The Christian resignation with which all this was borne by the prisoners will be admired for ever.[3]

(3)

In Portugal, Spain, and Naples, from which the Jesuits had already been banished in the pontificate of Clement XIII., the promulgation of the Brief of suppression merely meant that

[1] The interrogating judge, Andreotti, admitted himself that a more innocent person than Ricci had never been prosecuted. See CORDARA (*De suppressione*, 159), who, as ever, is at pains to excuse Clement XIV. and harks back to Boniface VIII.'s proceedings against Celestine V. Cordara says here that there were many Jesuits who wanted to remain such, just as before, and that if Ricci had been free they would have regarded him as their head, just as some Fathers had asserted that the Rector of the college in Breslau was to be regarded as the General because Frederick II. had not had the Bull of suppression published. The Papal authority might thus have suffered grave injury. Cordara also ascribes the severity of the imprisonment to Alfani's baseness and brutality. Incidentally, he seems to be repeating hearsay, for the most part.

[2] BOERO, II.[2], 11 *seq.*, 116–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 119.

their return to their native country continued to be impossible.[1]

Though watched with Argus-eyes by the Spanish diplomats, the execution of the Brief in Italy met with only minor difficulties, which were soon overcome.[2] This was not the

[1] The publication of the Brief of suppression in all Spanish territories was ordered on September 16, 1773; *v.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 537. *Grimaldi to Moñino, September 28, 1773, and the latter's *reply of October 14, 1773, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] In BOLOGNA the Brief of suppression was published by Archbishop Malvezzi as early as August 25, 1773, in Ferrara on the 28th, and then in Ravenna; *v.* *Gnecco to Grimaldi, August 31, 1773, from Bologna, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5042; *Zambeccari to Orsini, from Bologna, August 26, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$. Typical of Malvezzi's severity was his refusal to allow an ex-Jesuit to attend Marshal Pallavicini on his death-bed. Malvezzi *reported this himself to Clement XIV. on September 25, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti I. Sympathy for the Jesuits persisted for some time in Bologna, some of the nobles there now sending their sons to Modena; *v.* *Malvezzi to Clement XIV., October 27, 1773 (*ibid.*, II.); on November 3, 1773, he *reported (*ibid.*) that the schools had reopened "con altri soggetti di merito non inferiore ai Soci". — In FLORENCE, with the archduke's permission, the Brief was communicated on August 28, 1773, by the nuncio to all the Bishops (*Viviani to Moñino, Florence, August 28, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome). At first the regulation dealing with the Jesuit property raised difficulties (*Viviani to Moñino, September 4, 1773, *ibid.*), whose solution was made dependent by the archduke on the decision of Vienna (*Zambeccari to Orsini, September 1, 1773, State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* REUMONT, *Toskana*, II., 167.—In GENOA the Government came to an understanding with the Archbishop, the Spanish Consul Juan Cornejo doing his utmost to bring about the speedy execution of the Brief; *v.* his *reports to Moñino on September 21 and October 4, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome and Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5658.—In MODENA the execution went off smoothly. The State Archives there possess numerous relevant documents. *Cf.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III.,

case in France, where the Order was dissolved, but where its members had not been driven from the country.

No royal letters patent were attached to the Brief of

553.—The difficulties that arose in PARMA were soon overcome (*ibid.*, 546 *seq.*).—This was not the case in PIEDMONT-SARDINIA (*ibid.*, 552 ; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, September 11 and 18, 1773, State Archives, Venice) ; but the Spanish envoy Aguilar, supported by the Papal *chargé d'affaires*, managed to have a beginning made with the execution of the Brief by the end of September (*Aguilar to Moñino, August 27, September 22 and 29, October 1 and 6, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome ; *Moñino to Aguilar on October 2, 1773, *ibid.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5345). On October 7, 1773, Moñino was able to report to Grimaldi that in Turin " *va todo ya felizmente " (*ibid.*).—The behaviour of VENICE, which was reported in detail by the Spanish envoy Squillace, was characteristic. At first the publication of the Brief in Rome had no effect there (*Squillace to Moñino, August 28, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), the Senate waiting for the official communication (**id.*, September 4, 1773, *ibid.*, and *to Grimaldi on the same date, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5783), so that the Jesuits in Venice went on performing their usual functions as before (*Zambeccari to Orsini, September 9, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{312}{1057}$). " If Venice proceeds to give effect to the Brief," *wrote Squillace to Moñino on September 11, 1773 (*loc. cit.*), " it will not be for Rome's sake but for its own." On hearing this, Moñino bestirred himself to see that Rome sent the Brief officially, and in this he succeeded (*Moñino to Squillace, September 11, 1773, *ibid.*). The Brief was handed by the nuncio to the Venetian authorities in mid-September (*Squillace to Grimaldi, September 18, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado, 5783). Thereupon orders were given for the publication of the Brief, the Jesuits in the meantime continuing their activities undisturbed (*Squillace to Moñino, September 25, 1773, *loc. cit.*, and *to Grimaldi on the same day, *loc. cit.*, Estado, 5783). Finally, towards the end of the month, a decree authorizing the execution of the Brief was published, providing for all contingencies (*cf.* " In Pregadi " of September 29, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5783, and State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{290}{1035}$), and the execution was duly carried through

suppression which had been transmitted by Bernis, nor was it registered in any of the Parlements of the kingdom, the Jesuit Order being regarded as non-existent since the royal edict of 1764. The document was, however, communicated by the Government to all the Bishops.[1] Whereas in Spain several of the Bishops dependent on the Court had acclaimed a measure which their king had wrested from the Pope,[2] the situation was different in France. The sympathy which the French clergy had shown with the Jesuits since 1764 was now increased. No one thought that the Pope could have been so weak as to destroy his most loyal supporters, and the joy this caused the unbelieving philosophers and the Jansenists was viewed with horror.[3]

In the first flush of indignation there was talk of making a protest, even of summoning a Council. Aiguillon sought to prevent this by putting all the blame on Spain, while emphasizing the necessity of keeping on good terms with this Power for reasons of foreign policy, and by declaring that Bernis had had no part in composing the Brief of suppression.[4] The Minister succeeded in restraining the French Bishops from remonstrating with the Pope,[5] but he could not stifle the

(*Squillace to Grimaldi, October 2, 1773, *loc. cit.*, Estado, 5783, and *Centomani to Tanucci on October 8, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223). In the middle of October the Jesuits were officially informed of the Brief and were ordered to dress as secular priests and to refrain from hearing confessions and preaching (*Squillace to Grimaldi, October 16, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5783). In the middle of November a proclamation was made by the Doge, supported by one from the Archbishop (*both *ibid.*, Estado, 5656), whereby everyone in possession of property originally belonging to the Jesuits was obliged, under pain of heavy penalties, to report it and to return it, compensation being paid at the rate of 20 per cent.

[1] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 385.

[2] *Ibid.*, 391 *seq.*

[3] RÉGNAULT, *Christophe de Beaumont*, II., 228; MASSON, 241.

[4] MASSON, 242.

[5] *Ibid.* The letter from the Archbishop Beaumont of Paris to Clement XIV., published by CRÉTINEAU-JOLY (*Clément XIV.*,

sympathy which was felt with the Order. Some of the Bishops thought of taking advantage of the permission granted in the Brief to continue employing Jesuits in the cure of souls by stretching the meaning of this activity.

Many laymen also sided with the Jesuits, and popular opinion swung round in their favour.[1] Louis XV. himself made no secret of his regret that the poor Jesuits were now being treated like criminals.[2] Magallon, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, found that his attempts to pacify the king—a difficult task in any case—were rendered ineffectual[3] by the warm sympathy felt with the victims by the king's Carmelite sister, Louise.[4]

For the Bishops to use the Jesuits in their dioceses a royal decree was necessary. The Government, however, chiefly because of its fear of offending Spain, thought that it could not take this step before it was quite certain that the Jesuits had completely submitted to the suppression and had no intention of continuing as an Order. It was at this juncture that Bernis intimated that he had heard from the Pope himself that there was evidence of the existence of extremely compromising documents, the principal one being a circular letter of Ricci's in which he had demanded that novices should still be admitted.[5] The result of this was that Louis XV. put off signing the decree and requested Bernis to produce authentic evidence for his assertions. But this was more than Bernis or Clement XIV. was able to do. The Pope asked the king to withhold his signature until the result of Ricci's examination was known; he himself, he said, had nothing

334), is rejected by MASSON, and its genuineness is justifiably contested by THEINER (*Hist.*, II., 475). SICARD also denies its authenticity (*Les évêques*, Paris, 1905, 451, n. 1).

[1] MASSON, 241.

[2] "*Pauvres Jésuites, on traite les particuliers comme s'ils avaient commis de grands crimes." Magallon to Grimaldi, Paris, September 3, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4589.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] MASSON, 214, 243.

[5] *Ibid.*, 243.

against the individual ex-Jesuits and their employment by the Bishops, but rather against their coalescing into a Congregation.[1] But this was precisely what the Archbishop of Paris and the king's daughter, Louise, had in mind. In these circumstances Aiguillon pressed all the more vigorously for the divulgence of Ricci's letter. But, as before, Bernis was unable to produce the slightest evidence of its existence.[2]

Meanwhile the Archbishop of Paris had worked out a detailed scheme for the union of the French Jesuits into a Congregation under its own head, which plan was forwarded by Aiguillon to Bernis. Both these men were extremely perturbed, for the restoration of the Order in France was bound to lead to a conflict with Spain. Bernis tried to induce the Pope to declare his disapproval. Clement objected at first, but then allowed himself to be persuaded by Moñino and Bernis. Cardinal Zelada was instructed to prepare a Brief definitely condemning the conduct of the Jesuits in Silesia and the scheme for a French Congregation. When the document was ready Clement suddenly said that he could not issue it as it would only lead to complications; instead he promised to give his views to Bernis in a special letter.[3] This was finally prepared on March 9th, 1774; it said that the Pope insisted on the Brief of suppression being put into effect and authorized Bernis to inform the French Bishops that they were not to tolerate anything in their dioceses that ran contrary to the Brief.[4] Bernis accordingly composed a comprehensive circular letter to the Bishops, but the French Government forbade its despatch. Keenly as the Princess Louise fought for the reunion of the French Jesuits, Aiguillon insisted, as before, on the Pope condemning this plan in a fresh Brief.[5] Meanwhile,

[1] *Ibid.*, 244 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 254 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 251 *seqq.*, 254 *seq.* *Cf.* Doria's *report to Pallavicini, March 21, 1774, Nunziat. di Francia, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] THEINER, *Epist.*, 297 *seq.* It was this Brief of which Brunati received confidential information from Bernis. See ARNETH, IX., 123.

[5] *Tiepolo to the Doge, May 28, 1774, State Archives, Venice.

on May 10th, 1774, Louis XV. died. His successor, Louis XVI., was thought to be favourably inclined towards the Jesuits. The solicitude of their enemies increased when the Brief of suppression met with serious opposition in Germany, Prussia in particular, and in Russia.[1]

(4)

Hardly had the draft of the Brief of suppression been brought to the Hofburg in Vienna, by way of Madrid, at the end of March, 1773, for the approval of the empress,[2] than Maria Theresa, acting in concert with Joseph II., placed before Prince Kaunitz a number of questions about the measures to be taken. At the Minister's suggestion [3] the empress instructed the state councillor Kressl on May 17th to set up a commission to deliberate, in the event of the suppression, on the educational, financial, and personal aspects of the situation.[4] In its memorandum of June 9th the commission laid down the principle that the Jesuits should be subject spiritually (*quoad spiritualia*) to the diocesan Bishops, financially to the local authorities (*Länderstellen*), and scholastically to the commission of studies. The management of the aristocratic academies, the hostels (*Konvikte*), and the charitable institutions could be left to the ex-Jesuits, though not exclusively. Since the Brief accused them of laxity they were to be removed from the chairs of theology, ethics, and metaphysics, but might usefully be retained for the other faculties, especially as they were unrivalled in the mathematical sciences and their maintenance would cost less than that of lay teachers. As the "common folk" were more attached to the Jesuit churches

[1] *Doria to Pallavicini, April 25, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 257; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 61; *id.* in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, XXII. (1898), 441 *seq.*, and the *Stimmen der Zeit*, CX. (1925), 207 *seqq.* Part of what follows in our account overlaps the pontificate of Clement XIV.

[3] *April 8, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, K[aiser] F[ranz] A[kten] 75a, No. 5.

[4] **Ibid.*; copy and additions, *ibid.*, Staatsakten 1773 ad No. 2953.

than was "desirable" and were not so easily to be rid of their prejudices, in places where there were schools the teachers could also hold divine services, elsewhere other Religious were to be employed, after consultation with the Bishops. In connexion with the proposed methods of appropriating and utilizing the Jesuit properties the assertion was made without any evidence that "the exportation and concealment of their famous wealth had begun" about the year 1760.[1]

In her reply to Charles III. of Spain Maria Theresa had stated that she could never recognize the right claimed by the Pope in the Brief to dispose of the Order's property, but that it was her intention to provide for every member of the Order in her realm.[2] After an initial resistance [3] Clement XIV. gave way to Spanish pressure on this point.[4] At the beginning of July he informed the empress that, relying on her sense of duty, he had struck out the offending passage from the Brief and asked her to utilize the houses and properties for the good of religion and the State.[5]

On August 30th, 1773, the Brief arrived in Vienna in its final form.[6] The special Congregation charged with the execution of the suppression had a circular letter attached to it,[7] addressed to all the Bishops in the world, which was to give rise to many unedifying disputes. In this letter the Bishops were ordered to take possession of the Jesuit properties in

[1] **Ibid.*, K.F.A. 75a, No. 10.

[2] ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, IX., 93.

[3] Mercy to Kaunitz, Paris, June 16, 1773; Kaunitz to Mercy, July 1, 1773; ARNETH, *loc. cit.*, 94 *seq.*

[4] *Grimaldi to Magallon, April 26, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b, B.

[5] ARNETH, IX., 566 *seq.* The Pope's letter, which also went by way of Madrid, was not to be presented to the empress until the Brief of suppression had been put into effect; *Clement XIV. to Charles III., July 8, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b, B; *Grimaldi to Magallon, July 26, 1773, *ibid.*

[6] Maria Theresia to Grand Duke Ferdinand, August 30, 1773, in ARNETH, *Briefe*, I., 228.

[7] On August 18, 1773, *Institutum S.J.*, I., 331.

the name of the Holy See and to hold them at the disposal of the Pope. On the remonstrances of the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, Herzan, the letter was withdrawn so far as Austria was concerned,[1] but in that and other countries it caused considerable ill-feeling towards Rome,[2] so that the nuncio Visconti found it advisable to have other copies of it printed,[3] from which the passage in question was omitted.[4]

After the empress, who deeply regretted the fate which had overtaken the Jesuits,[5] had taken counsel with Cardinal Migazzi and Baron Binder,[6] the instruction was issued to all local authorities on September 10th to affix the *exequatur* to the Brief of suppression and to carry it out in conjunction with the episcopal commissaries, to promise the former

[1] *Herzan to Kaunitz, August 23, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b, B.

[2] *Visconti to Macedonio, September 9, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti 52; *Visconti to Pallavicini, September 16, 1773, Nunziat. di Germania, 387, *ibid.* The Pope told the Austrian envoy Herzan that the letter had been issued without his knowledge (*Herzan to Kaunitz, August 23, 1773, *loc. cit.*). Macedonio *wrote to Visconti: "Sebbene la Stà di N. S. abbia fatto spedire una lettera circolare a tutti i vescovi, con cui si ordina di prendere possesso nomine Sanctae Sedis dei beni generalmente dell'estinta Compagnia gesuitica, e ciò per serbare l'uniformità di quelle lettere spedite per lo Stato pontificio e per gli altri Stati, giusta lo stile e regola della S. Congregazione de' Vescovi e Regolari, nondimeno . . .". State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b, B.

[3] There is a copy in the Vienna State Archives, Staatsratsvorträge, 170 (1773), IX. *Cf.* DIENDORFER, *Die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens im Bistum Passau* (1891), 29 *seqq.*

[4] *Maria Theresa to Kaunitz, September 1, 1773, State Archives Vienna, Staatsratsvorträge, 170 (1773), IX.; *Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, September 16, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* Maria Theresa to Archduke Ferdinand, August 30, 1773, in ARNETH, *Briefe*, I., 228; to Baron von Neny, September 10, 1773, *ibid.*, IV., 315 *seq.*; to Countess Enzenberg, October 16, 1773, *ibid.*, 568.

[6] *Binder to Maria Theresa, September 6 and 8, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsvorträge, 170 (1773), IX.

Jesuits protection and favour in the name of the sovereign, on condition that they comported themselves as loyal servants of the Church and the State, but to take possession of their properties for the good of the educational establishments. The church inventory was to be made by the commissaries of the regional authorities, who were to hand a copy to the representatives of the ecclesiastical authority. In general the notification was to be made "with every discretion, indulgence, and courtesy, and neither now nor in the future were the former Jesuits to be treated with discourtesy".[1] According to the executive regulations laid down by the commission of suppression on September 19th the ecclesiastical commissary had only to read out the Brief of suppression and the covering letter, whereas the two Government representatives had to take possession in the name of the State of the entire property of the colleges and the churches, without allowing the ecclesiastical commissary to have any say in the matter. There was no longer any mention of a copy of the church inventory.[2] The elderly and feeble Jesuits were to be collected together in one house. Each Jesuit was to receive 100 florins for the purchase of secular clerical dress. Those who were not to be employed in the schools or in the cure of souls were to receive a monthly pension of sixteen florins.[3] As, according

[1] *Decree of September 10, 1773, *ibid.*, Staatsratsakten, 1773, No. 1986.

[2] Count Firmian gave effect to the civil claims in Lombardy with particular severity, putting an unduly wide interpretation on the arrangements made between the Pope and the empress. The State commissaries took possession not only of the collegiate properties but also of the churches, the sacred vessels, the vestments, and even the tabernacles. The only function left to the ecclesiastical authority was the reading of the Brief (*Pozzobonelli to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 52).

[3] *State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b, B. In the following year the pension was raised to 25 fl. for a number of aged Jesuits (*decree of the Court treasurer, of February 22, 1774, State Archives, Innsbruck, Kattan, 494).

to the instructions in the Brief, those Jesuits who continued to live in community were forbidden to perform any ecclesiastical function except the celebration of Mass, it was suggested to the Bishops that they should cause those ex-Jesuits who were destined for the cure of souls to leave their colleges without delay and that they should confer jurisdiction on them anew, to obviate interruption in the services in the Jesuit churches.[1] The supplementary regulation issued by the Congregation of Cardinals on September 1st, 1773,[2] which forbade the Bishops to employ ex-Jesuits in the schools or in the cure of souls without obtaining permission from Rome in each separate case, was treated as a dead letter in Austria as in the whole of the German Empire.[3]

After the Brief of suppression had been published in Vienna on September 10th,[4] its execution proceeded in the rest of the country in the course of the following months.[5] For the classes in mathematics and physics as well as in the humanities the Jesuits were retained, but they were excluded from the chairs of philosophy and theology, in spite of Migazzi's remonstrances.[6] Maria Theresa still bestowed marks of her favour on the former Jesuits. Not a few of them were installed in ecclesiastical posts of honour by her and her son. The best-known of them was Count Hohenwart, who was entrusted with the superintendence of the education of the sons of Grand

[1] *September 18, 1773, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75c; **ibid.*, Archives of the Ministry of Education, Abt. 92, No. 107.

[2] A copy in the State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 694.

[3] *Cf.* *State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1773, Nos. 2037 and 2042; *ibid.*, K.F.A. No. 31.

[4] *Letter of the Church Councillor D'Effner, Vienna, October 23, 1773, Kreisarchiv, Munich, Gen.-Reg. 728/29.

[5] The Austrian Province of the Order, which included Hungary, numbered no less than 1,806 members in 1767, 1,899 in the following year, and there were still 1,819 in 1773. DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 1, 347.

[6] *Migazzi to Tioli, September 13, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 52.

Duke Leopold of Tuscany [1] and who afterwards became Prince Bishop of Trieste [2] and finally Archbishop of Vienna.[3]

When the investigation into the wealth of the Jesuits failed to produce the results expected,[4] it was only natural that soon the most extravagant stories of their defalcations were being bandied about. In consequence of talk about the Bohemian Jesuits having made away with a million florins and of having been guilty of various other frauds, the Government commissaries were instructed to examine all the account-books from 1760 onwards.[5] More rigorous measures proposed by the commission for the ex-Jesuits were rejected by the empress on the score that so far only suspicions, but no proofs, of Jesuit misappropriations had been brought to her notice.[6]

[1] *Crivelli to Pallavicini, February 22, 1777, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Firenze, 165.

[2] *Herzan to Zelada, May 20, 1791, Nunziat. di Vienna, 692, *ibid.*

[3] METZLER, in the *Linzer theol. Quartalschrift*, LXIV. (1911), 276 *seqq.* Under Joseph II. the two ex-Jesuits Kalatay and Splenyi were made Bishops of Grosswardein and Waitzen respectively. *Cf.* Caprara to Buoncompagni, August 23 and 27, 1787, January 7 and February 7, 1788, Nunziat. di Germania, 436 and 431 respectively, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 9, 1776, *ibid.*, 423; *report of the Councillor to the Legation, Von Mühl, October 23, 1773, State Archives, Osnabrück, 340b, No. 27.

[5] **Ibid.* Bags of gold and chests of silver were said to have been buried or walled up in Millstatt. Thorough investigations on the spot showed that the assertion was quite baseless (*Statement of Count Kollowrat, of March 9, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1774, No. 628). *Cf.* *Referendum of August 3, 1774, *ibid.*, No. 2028.

[6] In the protocol of the ex-Jesuit commission of February 31, 1774, is the following marginal *note in the empress's hand: "Up to *dato* all *asserta* were mere *assumptionen*, which have been found to be false. Thank God I have not allowed myself to be led astray by all the letters from abroad. As soon as anything *reel* is put before me I shall look into the matter sharply enough. M." State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1774, No. 1135.

Out of consideration for popular feeling [1] the Government at first left everything much as it was; it was only with the passage of the years that more considerable changes took place.

As a large part of the revenues from the Jesuit estates was swallowed up by the cost of the civil administration [2] and the State Bank lowered its rate of interest, it became necessary to close altogether a number of smaller establishments. This was begun under Maria Theresa and was continued to a wider extent under Joseph II.; schools and hostels for the less wealthy students of the middle and peasant classes were shut down and their endowments in many cases were transferred to the Theresianum, whose revenues in 1781 amounted roughly to 60,000 florins.[3] Under the influence of the freethinking members of the State Council the buildings and finances of the Order were partly alienated from their original object and were used for purely State, mostly military, purposes. Thus in 1776 the War Office was moved to the Professed House in Vienna.[4] The conversion into barracks of the Professed House and the College of St. Nicholas in Prague provoked considerable discontent.[5]

Owing to the poverty of the country Switzerland was seriously embarrassed by the abolition of the Jesuit Order. The Brief of suppression, together with the news of its execution in Rome, reached Lucerne on the evening of September

[1] *Cf.* DIENDORFER, *loc. cit.*, 5 *seqq.*; DUHR in the *Jesuitenfabeln* 437 *seqq.*, and in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI. (1885), 413 *seqq.*

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 9, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania, 423, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 13, 1781, May 16 and August 23, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 411, 412, *loc. cit.*

[4] EBERLE, *Das Kriegskanzleihaus Am Hof*, Vienna, 1913, 36, 50.

[5] *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 9, 1776, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 423, *loc. cit.* On August 1, 1776, Maria Theresa gave her consent to the removal of the barracks at Linz to the Jesuit College there (KOLB, *Mitteilungen über das Wirken der PP. Jesuiten in Linz*, Linz, 1908, 180).

1st, 1773.[1] On the 3rd the Council of Lucerne, which had been receiving information about the intentions of the Bourbons for some time past,[2] sent word of what had happened to the friendly Catholic cantons and to the Abbot of St. Gall.[3] The next day the nuncio Valenti sent the official documents to the Swiss Bishops, requesting them to make preparations for their prompt execution and to take possession of the properties of the Society of Jesus in the name of the Pope.[4]

The whole of Catholic Switzerland was gravely perturbed.[5] The people were seized with grief and indignation and gave vent to their feelings with a frankness characteristic of Swiss confederacy.[6] The Jesuits themselves accepted their fate with resignation and submissiveness.[7] In general, the local authorities, though not all of the same way of thinking, showed much indulgence in the performance of their duties,[8] although they

[1] The agent Fargna had already informed the council of Lucerne, from Rome, on August 18, 1773. State Archives, Lucerne, Jesuiten, Fascicle I. (provisional label).

[2] *Cf.* *protocol of August 27, 1773, *ibid.*, *Ratsprotokolle, V., 62.

[3] *Circular letter, *ibid.*, Jesuiten, Fascicle I.

[4] *Valenti to the Bishops on September 4, 1773, Nunziat. di Svizzera, 222, Papal Secret Archives. *Valenti to Corsini, September 11, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] " * . . . tutta l'Elvezia è in grandissimo fermento " (Valenti to Pallavicini, September 25, 1773, Nunziat. di Svizzera, 191, *ibid.*).

[6] *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 4, 1773, *ibid.*

[7] " *I religiosi poi a quel che sento, hanno anche qui presa questa prima notizia con rassegnazione e sommissione " (*ibid.*). " *Quod Friburgenses et Soloduranos [Jesuitas] attinet, omni encomio sunt digni : submissionem perfectam, mores inculpatos, laborem assiduum et doctrinam insignem in eis laudo et diligo " (Prince Bishop Joseph Nikolaus von Montenach of Lausanne to the nunciature secretary Castorno, April 24, 1774, Episcopal Archives, Fribourg, Case 30, Colleg. Soc. Iesu, IV., 6). There were 110 Jesuits (including 82 priests) working in Switzerland, distributed over six colleges.

[8] *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 4, 1774, *loc. cit.*

were greatly embarrassed as to how they were to carry on the schools in view of the notorious poverty of the colleges.[1] According to the regulations of the Brief the Jesuits lost all authority to teach or to minister to the faithful if they continued to live a communal life in their colleges. But as the endowments were insufficient to maintain the ex-Jesuits and to pay other teachers—of whom it was almost impossible to obtain an adequate number of a suitable quality [2]—both the Bishops and the cantonal authorities appealed to Rome to relax the regulations to some extent.[3] The nuncio himself advised against a blunt refusal of their proposals, lest the Swiss authorities be driven to desperate measures, such as laying hands on the estates of the churches and convents.[4] In the event Rome granted the dispensation which had been sought, though for one year only,[5] but either explicitly or tacitly it must have been renewed, for everywhere the ex-Jesuits continued, as secular priests, to live in community and to perform their previous functions in the churches and the schools.[6]

The Council of Lucerne, which had already, since 1769, been

[1] KRATZ, *Die wirtschaftliche Lage der deutschen Jesuitenniederlassungen am Vorabend der Aufhebung*, in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. (1919), 527, 547 *seqq.*

[2] *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 4, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Protocols of September 24, November 5 and 17, 1773, State Archives, Lucerne, Staatsprotokolle V., 65–9; *Valenti to Montenach on September 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Svizzera, 222, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 25, 1773, *ibid.*, 191.

[5] *Pallavicini to Auditor Servanzi, February 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 285.

[6] The well-known convert N. J. Albert von Diesbach, formerly an officer in the service of the King of Sardinia, who became a Jesuit in 1759, was seriously considered by the Pope in 1782 as the prospective Bishop of Lausanne. *Cf.* *Cardinal delle Lanze to Caprara on June 11, 1782, Nunziat. di Svizzera, 226, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Uditore Zampirolo on July 6, 1782, *ibid.*, 196; *Pallavicini to Garampi, August 17, 1782, Nunziat. di Vienna, 682, *ibid.*; *Caprara to Boncompagni, July 17 and October 2, 1788, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 435, *ibid.*

receiving from the college an inventory of its possessions and all its titles to property, intended at first to act entirely on its own account in the manner of the princes of the Empire.[1] After lengthy negotiations with Cardinal Rodt in his capacity of Bishop of Constance [2] an agreement was reached by which the college was to be closed, and its possessions were to come under civil administration, but the ex-Jesuits were to resume their former activities as members of a community of secular priests headed by one chosen by themselves and subject to episcopal jurisdiction.[3] After the Bishop and the Council had come to an agreement about the disposal of the Jesuit property,[4] the official announcement of the Papal Brief took place, after several postponements, on January 17th, 1774. At nine o'clock in the morning a "deputation of honour" from the Council, accompanied by the episcopal commissary, Hartmann, arrived at the college, where "all the 'Herren Jesuiten', still wearing their Jesuit dress and cloaks, stood quite sad and distressed". After a solemn speech expressing the universal grief of Catholic Switzerland, but also recalling the obedience due to the Holy See, the Bishop's representative read the main dispositions of the Brief. The outgoing Rector, Segesser, then handed to Governor Mohr a silver plate on which were the keys of the college and the church. Thereupon both commissaries and Jesuits left the building. On the following day, the ex-Jesuits, clothed as seculars, being reassembled in the Xaverian House, as the college was now

[1] *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 4, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Protocol of September 17, 1773, State Archives, Lucerne, Staatsprotokolle V., 64 *seq.*; *Valenti to Pallavicini, September 25, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Servanzi to Pallavicini, December 4, 1773, Nunziat. di Svizzera, 191, *loc. cit.*; SEGESSER, *Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt und Republik Luzern*, IV., Lucerne, 1858, 70 *seqq.*; STÄHELIN, *Der Jesuitenorden und die Schweiz*, Basel, 1923, 94 *seqq.*; FLEISCHLIN, *Aus den Annalen des Gymnasiums zu Luzern*, in *Monatsrosen*, XXX. (1885–6), 410 *seqq.*

[4] *Servanzi to Pallavicini, December 25, 1773, January 1 and 8, 1774, *loc. cit.*

called, the commissary Hartmann accepted their pledge of loyalty to the diocesan Bishop and granted them the necessary spiritual faculties, while the president of the "deputation of honour" handed them back their keys and authorized them to continue with the direction of the *lycée* on the same footing as before.[1]

The dissolution of the Order took place in Porrentruy (October 13th)[2] and in Fribourg (October 15th, 1773)[3] earlier than in Lucerne. Solothurn followed in the spring of 1774.[4] The Valaisans found it hardest to bow to the inevitable; it was not till May, 1774, that the Prince Bishop of Sion could proceed to execute the Brief in Sion[5] and Brigue.[6]

In the course of time large gaps were created in the ranks of the ex-Jesuits by death or transfer to parishes. Their places were gradually filled by secular priests. In Brigue and Sion the schools were taken over by Piarists; they were followed by the Fathers of the Faith of Jesus, who paved the way for the return of the resurrected Society of Jesus.

[1] *Protocol of January 17, 1774, State Archives, Lucerne, Protokoll der Räte und Hundert, II., 168–170; *Castorno to Montenach, February 7, 1774, Episcopal Archives, Fribourg, Case 30, V., 3.

[2] In Porrentruy, which belonged politically to the prince-bishopric of Basel, ecclesiastically to the archbishopric of Besançon, the Vicar General was the suffragan Bishop Gobel who made a name for himself in the French Revolution. See VAUTREY, *Hist. du Collège de Porrentruy* (1886), 148.

[3] "*Diarium Ministri Colleg. Friburg. Helv.", Arch. Prov. Germ, VI, 27.

[4] *State Archives, Solothurn, Ratsprotokolle 1774, pp. 281 *seqq.*; FIALA, *Geschichtliches über die Schule von Solothurn*, V. (1881), 24.

[5] *Resolution of the ordinary Maien-Landrat at Sion (May 9 to 18, 1774), State Archives, Sion, L 2 (Resolutions, 1771–5); JÉRÔME ZIMMERMANN, *Essai sur l'hist. du Collège de Sion* (1914); 83 *seqq.*

[6] IMESCH, *Zur Gesch. des Kollegiums zu Brig* (1912), 47; PFÜLF, *Anfänge der deutschen Provinz*, Fribourg, 1922, 56 *seqq.*

Even prior to the Brief of suppression the Jesuits in Bavaria had been hard hit by a State measure. In 1769 the Electorate of Bavaria, following the current mode of thought, issued a number of ordinances aimed at the restriction of monastic life. Among these was one, issued on December 30th, obliging all Orders having more than three houses in the territory to form an independent religious Province with a Bavarian Provincial, whose election or appointment needed the sanction of the civil Government.[1] The Jesuit Provincial, Joseph Erhard, tried every possible means of averting the blow, which affected the Upper German Province particularly severely as all its seminaries lay in Bavaria. But in vain. On November 1st, 1770, the separation was effected. The Upper German Province was left with twenty-one colleges and 471 members of the Society, while the new Bavarian Province had eleven colleges and 542 [2] or 546 members.[3]

When, towards the end of August, 1773, news of the suppression that had taken place in Rome reached the Court of Munich,[4] the Elector Max Joseph appointed a commission, with Count Seinsheim as its president, to make the necessary provisions for the forthcoming dissolution of the Order in Bavaria.[5] Any hopes the Jesuits may have had of being allowed to go on living together as secular clerics [6] were soon dispelled.[7] Adopting the proposal of the commission, the

[1] DÖBERL, *Entwicklungsgesch. Bayerns, II.* (1912), 275.

[2] Including the Regensburg College in the prince-bishopric of that name.

[3] DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 1, 222 *seqq.* In 1773 the Bavarian Province numbered 514 members, the Upper German Province 509 members; the scholastics and novices of the latter Province, however, were still in Bavaria.

[4] *Max Joseph to Seinsheim (undated), State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 696.

[5] **Ibid.* *Cf. Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 417 *seqq.*

[6] Erhard to the Prince Bishop Ferdinand Christoph of Chiemsee, September 4, 1773, in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 421, n. 2.

[7] According to a *conference minute of September 7, 1773, the Elector refused the application. State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 694.

prince, " moved by hereditary devotion to the See of Rome," decided to " publish the Brief and to have it put into effect in every point that does not touch on *temporalia* ".[1] Even before the arrival of the Brief electoral officials appeared at the various establishments to set their seals to the safes, account books, and church treasuries.[2] Like Maria Theresa, the Elector, as ruler of the country, was given permission by Rome to dispose freely of the Jesuit property to the common good of the Church and the State.[3] After the practical details concerned with the suppression had been worked out with the diocesan Courts, the publication of the Brief took place in Bavaria in the first days of October, 1773,[4] the collaboration of the ecclesiastical authorities being confined to the reading out of the Papal document, while their representatives received inventories of the church treasuries.[5] The Jesuits had to pledge their word orally and in writing to submit to the Holy See and to obey the ruler of the country.[6] All foreigners had to leave the country. Novices and scholastics of Bavarian origin were allowed to continue their theological studies at Ingolstadt. The old and feeble were allotted the former noviciate at Landsberg " for their sustenance ". Those of the rest who were not given employment in churches or schools received twenty florins a month. Those who were entrusted

[1] *Max Joseph to Baron von Prugglach and Church Councillor Eichberger on September 4, 1773, *ibid.*, Iesuitica, 695 ; *Macedonio to Alfani, October 15, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 55.

[2] *Cf.* *protocol on Ingolstadt of August 30 to September 1, 1773, State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 1539.

[3] *Max Joseph to Baron von Prugglach, September 4, 1773, *ibid.*, 695.

[4] *Abbate Israldi to R. Padre . . . [?], Munich, October 5, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53.

[5] *The Prince Bishop of Freising to the Congregation for the suppression, October 19, 1773, *ibid.* ; *commission protocol of Ingolstadt, State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 1539.

[6] The *formula of obedience with the signatures of the Ingolstadt Jesuits, *ibid.*

with pastoral duties had to reside outside the colleges. At Ingolstadt two-thirds of the teachers were retained, the other third were replaced by seculars or Religious, the object being to effect a breach in the monopoly and the spirit of the Society.[1] According to the reports made by the commission the suppression was carried out without any disturbance, the Jesuits adapting themselves with a good grace to their new mode of life.[2]

The assets of the Order, the total value of which was estimated at 7,382,000 florins, passed under State administration and were used principally for educational purposes.[3] When in 1780, the Elector Karl Theodor instituted the Bavarian *langue* of the Maltese Order by way of providing for his illegitimate son, the Prince of Bretzenheim, it was intended at first to include some convents in the endowment. But when they objected, the Jesuit assets were allotted to the Knights of Malta, at the instigation of the nuncio to Cologne, Bellisomi, with the charge of being responsible for the pensions for the ex-Jesuits, while the abbeys had to supply the teaching staff.[4] As a result, some of the *Gymnasia*, such as Mindelheim [5] and Landsberg,[6] went entirely out of existence, while the others lost more and more of their former character.

[1] Undated **aide-mémoire*, State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 695; *Kreisarchiv G.L. 1489/1521, No. 9; Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 98, No. 2.

[2] *Cf.* *Ickstadt and Prugger to Elector Max Joseph, November 1, 1773, State Archives, Munich, Iesuitica, 1539. In protest against the Brief of suppression Benedikt Stattler published his *Amica defensio Societatis Iesu* anonymously (Berolini et Vratislaviae, 1773). *Cf.* [Le Bret], *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Schriften*, Frankfurt, 1773 *seq.*

[3] Döberl, II., 275.

[4] *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, November 1, 1780, and July 31, 1781, Nunziat. di Colonia, 196 and 197, Papal Secret Archives; *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 437.

[5] Zoepfl, *Das Mindelheimer Jesuitenkolleg*, in the *Archiv für die Gesch. des Hochstifts Augsburg*, VI. (1921), 53.

[6] *Landsberger Geschichtsblätter*, XVIII. (1919), 77.

In the free imperial city of Augsburg the first news of the suppression of the Jesuit Order caused such consternation and excitement that there was a fear of popular risings.[1] The magistrate of the Catholic confession left nothing undone in his efforts to effect the preservation of the Jesuits in some form or other, protesting against the Brief of suppression to the Pope and Emperor,[2] Cardinals, and Princes of the Empire. When it was realized after some weeks that no concession would be made, the college's two endowed estates, Kissingen and Mergenthau, were appropriated by Bavaria, in whose territory they lay. In reply to the summons of the Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus, the Bishop of Augsburg, not to hinder the execution of the Brief any longer, the deputies of the Catholic magistrate pointed out the impossibility of providing for the upkeep of the ex-Jesuits so long as the endowed estates were retained by Bavaria and the college funds by Austria.[3] After tedious negotiations, protests lodged in Vienna were finally successful. In accordance with the *conclusum* of the Imperial Court Council of May 14th, 1776, Bavaria finally surrendered the sequestrated districts. The proclamation of the Brief followed a few days later, on the 20th. The outgoing Rector, Joseph Mangold, was appointed episcopal director of the College of St. Salvator.[4] The Jesuits submitted without protest to the Papal ordinance and, with the permission of the ecclesiastical authority, continued with their educational and pastoral duties, and with their communal life.[5] When death and disease thinned their ranks the gaps

[1] *Church Councillor Nigg to Konferenzminister von Hornstein on September 9, 1773, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 98, Aufhebungsakten, 1773.

[2] DUHR in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 428, n. 1.

[3] *Provost von Ungelter to Count Lagnasco, August 24, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 52.

[4] *Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 80, t. II., No. 159.

[5] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Pius VI., November 9, 1775, *ibid.*, No. 163; copy in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Germania, 395.

were filled first by ex-Jesuits, then by secular priests. In face of the dangers presented to the Church in Germany by the forces of "enlightenment" the ex-Jesuits of St. Salvator provided a valuable support to the representatives of the Holy See.[1] When Augsburg fell to Bavaria in 1806 they were forced not only to abandon their college but to leave the city.[2] The Catholic *lycée* was closed and in its place the Protestant St. Anna-Gymnasium was declared to be an unsectarian institution for both confessions[3]; the buildings of the Jesuit college were thenceforward used as barracks.

In the little imperial city of Rottweil on the Neckar, as in Augsburg, legal disputes about the Jesuit assets hindered the execution of the Brief of suppression until February 28th, 1776.[4]

The Elector Karl Theodor of the Palatinate refused at first to have the Brief put into effect in his lands so long as he had not been officially notified.[5] Accordingly, at the request of Canon Robertz,[6] the nuncio to Cologne sent a copy of the Brief to the Minister Oberndorff,[7] who promptly replied that

[1] *Nuncio Odescalchi to Nuncio Ziucci, January 29, 1799, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Colonia, CXCII. (192); *Annibale della Genga to Antonelli, June 2, 1799, *ibid.*, 208.

[2] *Royal decree of July 10, 1807. The ex-Jesuits were placed under police observation.

[3] PLAZIDUS BRAUN, *Gesch. des Kollegiums der Jesuiten in Augsburg*, Munich, 1822, 93 *seqq.*

[4] GREINER, *Gesch. der Schule in Rottweil*, Stuttgart, 1915, 82.

[5] *Karl Theodor to Bishop Damian August von Limburg-Styrum of Speyer, September 11, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti; *Karl Theodor to the Neuburg Government, September 13, 1773, City Archives, Augsburg, Akten des Jesuitenkollegs 55.

[6] *Robertz to Caprara, September 18, 1773, Regolari, Gesuiti, 58, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Caprara to Oberndorff, September 21, 1773, *ibid.*; Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, Akten: Pfalz, Generalia, 6263.

his master would give effect to the Papal ordinance.[1] Meanwhile the Palatine Government instructed its agent Antici to obtain from the Holy See permission to dispose freely of the persons and property of the Jesuit Order in the electoral domains.[2] On October 20th, 1773, the nuncio Caprara informed the Minister, on behalf of the Pope, that his prince might regard as non-existent the passage in the opposite sense in the circular letter of August 18th.[3] The necessary arrangements having been made with the diocesan Courts, the Brief was proclaimed in Neustadt an der Haardt on October 23rd,[4] in Mannheim on November 15th, and in Heidelberg on November 16th.[5] In Neuburg an der Donau the proclamation was delayed until March 15th, 1774.[6] Those Jesuits who were suitable and were so inclined were allowed to continue their work in church and school and to live together as secular priests.

The procedure adopted in the lands of Jülich-Berg was even more lenient. On the conclusion of negotiations with the ecclesiastical authorities the Jesuits in the colleges of Düsseldorf, Düren, Jülich, Münstereifel, and Ravenstein[7] were

[1] *Oberndorff to Caprara, September 25, 1774, *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 58; *Caprara to Pallavicini, September 30, 1773, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Colonia, 180.

[2] *September . ., 1773, Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, Akten: Pfalz, Generalia, 8684.

[3] *To Oberndorff, October 20, 1773, *ibid.*, 6263.

[4] **Ibid.*, Kopialbuch, 455, pp. 131 *seqq.*

[5] *Fiscal Heimes to Elector Emmerich Joseph, November 17, 1773, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 107; *Cathedral Archives, Mainz, Case 111, Ex-Jesuiten No. 2.

[6] *Church Councillor Steiner to Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus, March 16, 1774, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 107.

[7] *Cf.* Kniffler, *Das Jesuitengymnasium zu Düsseldorf* (1892), 34 *seqq.*; Harnisch, *Der bergische Schulfonds in Düsseldorf*, in *Jahrbuch für den Regierungsbezirk Düsseldorf*, XIV. (1909), 198 *seqq.*; Van Laak, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums in Düren* (1926), 120 *seqq.*; Kuhl, *Gesch. der Stadt Jülich*, III. (1894), 153 *seqq.*; Katzfey, *Gesch. der Stadt Münstereifel* (1854), 237 *seqq.*;

secularized in January and February, 1774, and subordinated to episcopal jurisdiction, but they were left in their houses as a Congregation of secular priests charged with the duty of conducting the institutions on the same lines as before.[1] Although the Roman Congregation for the suppression and the nuncio to Cologne made repeated requests for the complete execution of the Brief and threatened the Jesuits with the withdrawal of their spiritual faculties,[2] they never prevailed upon Karl Theodor.[3] The five colleges kept going for twenty more years until the occupation of the Rhineland by the French and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property gradually reduced the institutions, which had already lost much of their old prosperity, to the point of extinction. Some schools closed down altogether and were not revived in an altered form until after the wars of liberation.

In general, in both the ecclesiastical and secular States of Germany the Brief of suppression was carried out in a considerate manner. The sole exception was the Electorate of Mainz. Here harsh measures were used which aroused the indignation of contemporaries [4] and which were probably due

Verzameling van Charters en geschiedenkundige bescheiden betrekkelijk het Land van Ravenstein, II., s' Hertogenbosch, 1850, 633, 640 *seqq.*; VAN MIERT, *De Jezuiten te Grave en het Land van Ravenstein* (separate impression), Ravenstein, 1914, 21 *seqq.*

[1] *Notarial deed relating to the suppression in Düsseldorf, of January 31, 1774, in the Archdiocesan Archives, Cologne, Jesuitenakten, Aufhebung 293 i; protocol in the State Archives, Düsseldorf, Julich-Berg; Geistl. Sachen, *Specialia*, 136; *Copia di lettera alla S. Congreg. Deputata, of February 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Colonia, 180, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Corsini to Caprara, March 2, 1774, *ibid.*, 275; *Caprara to Belderbusch, April 14, 1774, *ibid.*, 181; *Caprara to Count Goldstein, August 19, 1774, *ibid.*; *Pallavicini to Caprara, September 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 275.

[3] *Caprara to Corsini, August 18, 1774, *ibid.*, 181.

[4] *Cf.* VOGT, *Rheinische Geschichten und Sagen*, IV, Frankfurt, 1836, 210; SCHROHE, *Zur Gesch. der oberrhein. Ordensprovinz*, in the *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv* N.F., XXVII, 250 *seqq.*

to the Archbishop's aversion to the central authority of the Church and to its defenders.[1] Already in 1771 the Government had demanded from every religious house in the Electorate an exact account of its financial state, under pain of confiscation. By a decree of August 21st, 1773, special commissaries were again appointed to take stock in the course of the following few days of the property owned by the Jesuit colleges. Both the officials and the heads of the various houses were strictly enjoined to preserve silence on the matter.[2] On September 2nd, 1773, as soon as the news of the suppression of the Society of Jesus arrived in Mainz, the Elector Emmerich Joseph appointed a commission to put the suppression into effect.[3] In the capital this was done in a sensational manner. On the evening of September 6th the cannon on the ramparts were turned against the city and five hundred men from the garrison occupied the principal squares and the streets leading to the Jesuit college and noviciate.[4] Meanwhile the commissaries disclosed the Electoral orders to the assembled community. They were to cease their communal life, they were all allotted another place of residence, where they were to exchange their Jesuit clothing for the dress of secular clerics, and the officials were to take possession of the Order's property in the name of the Elector.[5] This announcement was received

[1] At the suppression of the Mannheim College, Fiscal Heimes made the following *statement on behalf of the Elector of Mainz, who was also Prince Bishop of Worms: "The aforesaid Breve Apostolicum has come into the hands of the Elector, who after due examination of it did not wish to oppose the Roman See in this request." (Heimes to Emmerich Joseph, November 17, 1773, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 107).

[2] *City Library, Mainz, Iesuitica B, Lad. 12 H; *ibid.*, Exjesuiten-Schulfonds A X I, 1a.

[3] **Ibid.*

[4] Vogt, *loc. cit.*; *Baron von Hochstetten to the king [of Prussia], September 14, 1773, Secret State Archives, Berlin, R.7, 68, No. 5, reproduced in *Katholik*, LXXXIV, 1 (1904), 79 *seq.*

[5] *Instruction (undated; September 2, 1773) in the City Library, Mainz, Exjesuiten-Schulfonds A X I, 1a. According to

submissively by all the members of the Order. After they had provided themselves with a minimum of clothing they were taken in carriages to neighbouring convents, where they were provisionally confined.[1] The worst blow to them was the order given on September 18th, forbidding them to perform any spiritual function except the celebration of Mass in a private chapel.[2] After a few weeks they were gradually released with the threat that if they rebelled in word or deed against the measures taken they would not only lose their pensions but would be imprisoned for several years, if not for life.[3] Some of them found employment as teachers or as pastors. The old and infirm were accommodated in the noviciate, now destined to be a priests' seminary. The scholastics were given the choice of entering the ecclesiastical seminary or the training college for teachers.[4] All the rest were given a yearly pension of

the documents the Brief itself was never published. The nuncio to Cologne seemed to be hinting at this when he wrote: "*Il Sig. Elettore di Magonza ha visitati e sciolti i gesuiti; si è servito delle Bolle in certo modo come di modello, per mostrare al pubblico d'averli soppressi con potestà ordinaria." Caprara to Pallavicini, September 23, 1773, Nunziat. di Colonia 180, *loc. cit.*

[1] The Superiors of the convents where the Jesuit lay-brothers were accommodated had to employ them in manual labour, dressed as laymen, "especially as the vows taken in their Order have been dissolved by *Eminentissimo* as their supreme Archbishop and *Ordinario*" (Protocollum archiepiscopalis Commissionis Regularium, of September 6, 1773, Decretum secundum, City Library, Mainz, Exjesuiten-Akten A I, 1).

[2] **Ibid.* (deputation protocols). *Cf.* VOGT, *loc. cit.*; *Katholik, loc. cit.* Several incidents were passed over in silence by the *Mainzische privilegierte Zeitung* No. 108, of September 8, 1773. WERNER (*Der Dom zu Mainz*, III, [1836] 207 *seqq.*) blames the Court Chancellor Benzel for the various instances of harsh treatment.

[3] "*Extractus Protocolli Commissionis electoralis Moguntinae," of September 11, 1773, City Library, Mainz, *loc. cit.*, A X I, 1.

[4] "The revenues of the Jesuits and their college are being applied to the extension of the splendid school established so

170 rix-dollars. The suppression was carried out in a similar manner in the other colleges of the archdiocese, except that in Eichsfeld, apparently, no recourse was had to the military.[1]

The desire of the Jesuits of Cologne to continue their existence in the guise of a Congregation of secular priests [2] seemed to have been realized when, on Christmas Eve, the Vicar-General, Von Horn-Goldschmidt, announced in the Collegium Tricoronatum that, with reference to the Brief of suppression, the Elector Maximilian Friedrich would secularize the Jesuits and would convert the college into a seminary for clerics and priests living in common, whose duty it would be to continue the celebration of divine service and the instruction of youth in the accustomed manner. According to this same Electoral command, the new institution was declared to be an episcopal seminary, under the direction of Praeses Sorgnit.[3] It was

gloriously by the Elector some years back. For the most part the school-books from the Heckersche Realschule in Berlin have been introduced and, so far as possible, only such teachers are being employed as are free from all religious *Préjuges* " (*Katholik, loc. cit.*)

[1] *Cf.* SPIRINGER, *Zur Gesch. des Aschaffenburger höheren Unterrichtswesens* (1901), 41 *seqq.*; GRIMME, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Heiligenstadt* (1875), 20 *seqq.*

[2] *Idea oblata R^mo D. Vic. Generali [praesent. in Vicariatu 25 Oct., 1773], Archdiocesan Archives, Cologne, Jesuitenakten 293c; **aide-mémoire* on the necessity of retaining the Gymnasium of the Tricoronatum (undated), City Archives, Cologne, Stadtkölnische Sachen, Geistl. Abteilung, Jesuiten, 7; SCHRÖRS, *Ein Bericht über die Aufhebung des Jesuitenkollegiums zu Köln*, in the annals of the *Hist. Verein für den Niederrhein*, CIX, 68 *seqq.*

[3] *Decree of December 22, 1772, Archdiocesan Archives, Cologne, Jesuitenakten, Aufhebung 293a; *Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti 58; *Copia di lettera scritta al card. Corsini, December 30, 1773, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Colonia, 180; *Caprara to Pallavicini, January 6, 1774, *ibid.* The suppression was carried out in Bonn, Neuss, and the colleges of Jülich-Berg in a similar manner (State Archives, Düsseldorf, Jülich-Berg. Geistl. Sachen, Generalia, 147, Vol. I, 4).

clearly the Elector's intention to convert the College of the Three Kings, where not only the classics but also philosophy and theology were taught, into a Tridentine seminary and to use its considerable property to relieve the constant financial embarrassments of the diocesan seminary. As opposed to this, the city council insisted that the Tricoronatum was a municipal institution whose character had not been affected by the council having entrusted its direction to the Jesuits almost two centuries before. It would, however, gladly recognize the Archbishop's rulings in the spiritual sphere. As a settlement of the differences could not be reached, the council took possession of the college properties on January 4th, 1774, while still leaving their administration to the Jesuits. After a temporary period of agreement relations became so bad that on June 20th, 1774, the Elector had the Brief of suppression and the circular letter published, together with a decree depriving all Jesuits of their spiritual faculties and ordering them, with the exception of the teachers, to leave the college.[1] In justification of his procedure the Archbishop could plead that he was being incessantly pressed by Rome to fulfil the Brief to the letter.[2]

In these circumstances the council's seizure of the Jesuit properties proved to be fruitless, as they lay for the most part outside the city's territory and had been sequestrated by the Electorates of Cologne and the Palatinate. While Maximilian Friedrich was trying to induce Rome to agree to the transfer of the Jesuit properties to the diocesan seminary,[3] the Cologne Council appealed to the Imperial Court Council in Vienna,[4]

[1] The electoral *decree is dated June 18, 1774. Authentic copy in the Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 58 ; official report in the City Archives, Cologne, Stadtköln. Sachen, Geistl. Abt., Jesuiten 2, No. 34. *Ibid.* *Ratsprotokolle 221, fo. 102, U, VI., 161, p. 654 ; *Copia di lettera scritta al card. Corsini, June 23, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Caprara, January 13, 1774, *ibid.*, 275 ; *Corsini to Caprara, January 22 and 29 and April 17, 1774, *ibid.*

[3] *Caprara to Corsini, September 8, *ibid.*, 181.

[4] *Caprara to Corsini, July 17, 1774, *ibid.*

which recognized it as the "secular authority of the Jesuit College" by a *conclusum* of October 20th, 1774.[1] But the vague ruling that the Archbishop was to further the work of teaching and training in conjunction with the City Council gave the former an excuse to drag out the execution of the decision year after year [2] until finally, by a *conclusum* of the Imperial Court Council of January 27th, 1777, the Elector was threatened with a "Realexekution".[3] On February 11th, 1777, a compromise was reached, by which the bulk of the possessions owned by the Tricoronatum was awarded to the city of Cologne, thus assuring the former of a material foundation.[4] In November, 1777, after long negotiations and only in return for considerable gifts of money, Karl Theodor assented to the release of the collegiate estates in Jülich-Berg.[5]

Hardly had this dispute been settled when another one was started by the cathedral chapter, whose dignity was offended by not having been invited to take part in the settlement. Led by the Vicar-General and supported by the nuncio Bellisomi,[6] it questioned the validity of the spiritual faculties with which the Archbishop had reinvested the ex-Jesuits.[7] The result was that those who wanted to engage in pastoral work

[1] Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln*, I., 396 *seqq.*

[2] *Caprara to the Conclave, December 22, 1774, Nunziat. di Colonia, 181, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Archdiocesan Archives, Cologne, Jesuitenakten, Aufhebung, 293e.

[4] Kuckhoff, *Gesch. des Tricoronatum*, Cologne, 1931, 634 *seq.*

[5] Karl Theodor received 2000 carl d'or, Lieutenant-General Belderbusch 2000 rix-dollars, Privy State Counsellor Castell 1000 rix-dollars ("*Nota des Herrn Secretarii Wirtz fürgebracht in Commissione d. Apr. 7, 1783," City Archives, Cologne, Stadtköln. Sachen, Geistl. Abt., Jesuiten, 13, No. 9).

[6] *Bellisomi to Belderbusch, April 10, 1779, State Archives, Düsseldorf, Kurköln IX., Stadtköln, 36 G.

[7] *Letter from the Cologne cathedral chapter to Pius VI. and Pallavicini, March 2, 1777, Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, *loc. cit.*; *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, February 27, 1777, *ibid.*

had to live outside the college.[1] Better times returned for them with the nunciature of Pacca, to whom they were of welcome assistance in his struggle with the innovating tendencies of the University of Bonn.[2]

With the suppression of the Jesuit Order the brilliance of the old school gradually faded. Hindered in its peaceful development by the constant chicaneries of the Electorate of Cologne, it could never really flourish again, despite its munificent subsidies. The decree issued by Elector Max Franz on August 10th, 1789, excluding from all ecclesiastical and civil posts in the Electorate those who studied at Cologne University, marked the beginning of an inevitable decay.[3] The French army of the Revolution merely completed the work of destruction when in 1794 it removed to Paris,[4] where to some extent they still remain to this day,[5] the most valuable items of the collections of art and science. The Tricoronatum survived the occupation for a few years more until the central administration at Aix-la-Chapelle decreed the suppression of all three Gymnasia in Cologne on October 3rd, 1798, and set up in their stead a central school on the French model.[6]

The situation of the Jesuits in Saxony was peculiar inasmuch as they were the only clerics active there, and the confessor to the Electoral Court was also the Vicar Apostolic.[7] On receiving

[1] "**Diarium* in Betreff der Approbation einiger Herren Exjesuiten," *ibid.*

[2] *Pacca to Zollio, July 14, 1786, March 13, 1788, and July 7, 1789, Nunziat. di Monaco, 35, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Kuckhoff, 652 *seqq.*

[4] Richartz, *Ausgewählte Schriften von Ferdinand Wallraf* (1861), 199 *seqq.*

[5] A volume of autograph letters from Leibniz to B. des Bosses, S.J., in the Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10,355.

[6] Kuckhoff, 658.

[7] The Saxon mission, which was subordinate to the Bohemian mission, numbered eighteen members at the time of the suppression: fourteen in Dresden, three in Leipzig, one in Hubertsburg (Catal. pers., 1772).

news of the suppression the Elector Friedrich Augustus III. gave the missionaries to understand that he would retain in their former offices all who wished to remain.[1] But as the ecclesiastical faculties became extinct with the announcement of the Brief, the Elector proposed in Rome that the Electoral confessor, Franz Herz, after he had laid aside the dress and name of his Order, should be confirmed in his vicarial administration so that he could straightway impart the necessary approbation to the other Jesuits for their ecclesiastical offices.[2] The Roman Curia was at a loss, for nothing was known there of the "alleged" Vicar Apostolic in Saxony.[3] On January 18th, 1774, Clement XIV. asked the prince to have patience for a while, as the Saxon Vicariate was quite unknown in Rome and despite the researches that had been made no document on the subject had yet been found.[4] Even when, on May 5th, 1774, the Saxon agent Bianconi presented an authenticated copy of the Papal letter of confirmation,[5] the Curia still had its doubts.[6] It was not till after the election of Pius VI. that the required Brief was sent to the Saxon Elector. When Herz died on December 8th, 1800, he was succeeded by the Court Preacher Alois Schneider, who had likewise

[1] *The Palatine *chargé d'affaires* Posch to Count Seinsheim, September 10, 1773, State Secret Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 57/3.

[2] *Posch to Seinsheim, September 17, 1773, *ibid.*

[3] *Zelada to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53.

[4] THEINER, *Epist.*, 289 *seq.* The Spanish ambassador Moñino had first been asked to state his view of the matter.

[5] *Torrigiani to Franz Herz, S.J., January 25, 1769, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53, *loc. cit.*; *Bianconi to Macedonio, May 5, 1774, *ibid.*

[6] *Pallavicini to Caprara, May 7, 1774, Nunziat. di Colonia, 275, *loc. cit.* Actually the Spanish party was bent on ruining the project. For this reason Zelada advised the ambassador Moñino to procure copies of the Elector's letter and the Pope's reply, so that he could pass them on to Charles III., who had great influence in the Saxon Court. *Zelada to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *loc. cit.*

belonged to the Jesuit Order and was the first of the Vicars Apostolic of Saxony to be raised to the episcopal status, by Pius VII.[1]

The abolition of the Jesuit schools in Poland caused greater confusion than in Germany. When the Brief of suppression arrived in Warsaw in mid-September, 1773,[2] the country, already riven and distracted internally for years past, and threatened externally as to its very existence, was still in a violent ferment owing to the first partition, which had only recently taken place and whose ratification was still awaiting execution. With the exception of the pro-Russian party, the overwhelming majority of the nation saw itself endangered not only in its political independence but also in its religion. As recently as September 13th, in the course of a debate on the treaty with Prussia and the free practice of religion in the ceded territories, the Castellan Gurowski had proposed that the continued existence of the Jesuits in these parts be guaranteed, as they alone were maintaining the schools that were necessary for the preservation of religion.[3]

To the Government the suppression came as an unwelcome surprise.[4] The nuncio Garampi affirmed that the guarantee by treaty of the free exercise of religion in the territories newly acquired by Prussia and Russia had brought him little consolation, as simultaneously with this had come the suppression of the Jesuit Order, which had disturbed him more than

[1] **Liber Memorabilium*, Dresden, Kath. Pfarramt; *copy in the Arch. Prov. Germ.

[2] Addressed, strangely enough, only to the Ruthenian Bishops, although the Jesuits were all Latins and were not in any way subject to Ruthenian jurisdiction. "*Se dassi loro corso, non solo non avrebbero effetto, ma cagionerebbero una irritazione grandissima, non solo nei vescovi latini, ma anche nella Repubblica, gelosissima di non lasciar avanzar in qualunque minima cosa i Ruteni" (Garampi to Pallavicini, September 15, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] **Ibid.*

[4] *High Chancellor Mlodziejowski to Garampi, May 27, 1774, *ibid.*, 118.

anything else. Opinions on the subject swayed this way and that. The circular letter issued by the Congregation for the suppression, with its regulation about the appropriation of the Jesuit properties in the name of the Holy See, had caused particular annoyance, which Garampi had managed to remove only by pointing to the concessions made to Austria. In view of the critical situation the nuncio and the Bishops thought it expedient to postpone the publication of the Brief until the dissolution of the Diet, to avoid an undesirable ("*strana*") resolution of Parliament.[1] Popular feeling was at first so hostile that the Court and the Bishops were apprehensive of disturbances.[2] A proposal of Garampi's to ban two works written against the suppression was rejected by the king on the ground that his authority was not strong enough for him to risk so arbitrary an act with a nation that jealously guarded the freedom of the Press and was deeply embittered by the suppression of the Society of Jesus.[3] The Jesuits themselves were completely crushed at first, but on reflection they resigned themselves to their lot.[4] Their partisans, foreseeing the harm that would ensue to religion and education, resolved in the first flush of their indignation openly to reject the Papal communication. The Bishops, on the other hand, fondly hoped that they would be able to use the schools and properties of

[1] *Garampi to Pallavicini, September 15, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 12, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[3] The King "tennesi sempre fermo nel suo proposito, cioè di non avere tanta autorità da fare un coup d'éclat in faccia a una nazione, gelosissima della libertà delle stampe, e amareggiatissima della estinzione dei gesuiti". Garampi to Pallavicini, November 24, 1773, *ibid.*

[4] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, *loc. cit.* In their first excitement the Jesuits had the announcement made to the Diet, through the well-known Jesuit Wirwicz, that they were ready to surrender their property to the republic and to continue with their educational work for nothing, on one condition: that the king and Diet should not permit the execution of the Brief of suppression. ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 50.

the Jesuits for their own seminaries; they were, moreover, not unduly downcast by the decease of an exempt society whose great reputation with the nation detracted from their authority.[1] The general discontent, however, persisted for a long time, and it is an interesting fact that devotees and freethinkers, Catholics and heterodox, friends and enemies of the Society, all in their own way were unanimous that the suppression of the Jesuit Order would bring in its train great harm or at least grave dangers to religion.[2] Severe and precipitate measures were advocated only by those magnates who wanted to exploit the national exasperation so as to

[1] The Bishops " *nè sono per altra parte malcontenti, che cessi un corpo di esenti, che per il credito universale, che otteneva in tutta la nazione, era anche ad essi formidabile ". Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Nunziatura di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Non le parlo nè delle mormorazioni che qui si fanno nè dei gravi danni, o almeno pericoli, che l'operazione attuale può cagionare non solo alla pietà, ma anche alla religione in questo regno. Cosa singolare! E i devoti, e i libertini, e gli amici della Società e i nemici, anzi e i cattolici e molti dei dissidenti si riuniscono negli stessi sentimenti " (Garampi to Pallavicini, November 3, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 113). In 1775, when there was a question of extending to Poland the diminution of Church holidays which had been conceded to Austria, Garampi advised against hasty action, lest the reputation of the Holy See, which had already been damaged by the suppression, should be still further discredited. " *Ora un Indulto che si dasse così subito sulla forma dell' austriaco . . . screditerebbe moltissimo la Sede Apostolica. Pur troppo, a dirle in confidenza, ne abbiamo sofferto colla soppressione dei Gesuiti. Ognuno vede la dilapidazione e rapina, che si è fatta dei loro beni. Ognuno vede, che l'istruzione e la educazione della gioventù, hanno ricevuto un gravissimo colpo, e che la religione stessa, nonchè la pietà, ne soffriranno con l'introduzione di professori o dissidenti o cattolici di nuova moda, sicchè, eccetto quelli che hanno partecipato delle spoglie gesuitiche, niuno è che non riguardi la soppressione come una nuova calamità per il morale della nazione." Garampi to Pallavicini, May 9, 1775, Cifre, *ibid.*, 316.

introduce the *exequatur* and to restrict or entirely abolish the jurisdiction of the nunciature.[1]

Gradually all who were in any way acquainted with the course of the negotiations that were going on in Rome were of the opinion that it was impossible to refuse to publish the Brief of Suppression. The chief difficulty lay in the appropriation and utilization of the Order's assets. If Garampi had had his way, the Bishops would have taken the matter in hand. But they intimated to him that they had not the power to ward off the clutching hands of the laity without the aid of the civil authority, wherefore it would be better to summon the support of the secular arm in advance.[2] The Austrian and Russian envoys saw in the suppression a welcome means of coming to the help of the exhausted Treasury.[3] Under the influence of Count Stackelberg the pro-Russian party tried to exclude the co-operation of the ecclesiastical authorities altogether and to transfer the assets to the State.[4] After lengthy arguments this way and that, the resolution was formed on October 6th to accept the Brief and to assign to the king the right to dispose of the Jesuit property, on condition that a pension was provided for the members of the extinct Order [5] and that the education of the young should be promoted.[6] For this latter purpose a second resolution

[1] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Proggetto concertato coi vescovi ", of September 20, [1773], *ibid.*, 118.

[3] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Stackelberg to Panin, October 2/13, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, Affaires étrangères III., Warsaw, October 1773, Réception.

[5] In 1772–3 the Polish Assistancy consisted of four Provinces numbering 2,359 members. After the first partition of Poland 1,769 remained in the republic, 213 passed to Prussia, 196 to Russia, 162 to Austria. *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Risoluzione della Dieta polacca, of October 6, [1773], Nunziata di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.* According to ZALENSKI-VIVIER (I., 50) the Brief was first discussed on October 7.

was passed on October 20th, by which a commission was set up and sworn commissaries were appointed to take possession of the properties with the co-operation of the Jesuits. The Bishops were left free in their turn to dispatch representatives to proclaim the Brief and to make inventories of the church furniture and vessels. To make it possible for the schools to continue, a provisional allocation of 300,000 florins in Polish currency was made for the maintenance of the ex-Jesuits for two months.[1]

When the Diet resumed its sessions on November 17th, 1773, the Society of Jesus had ceased to exist in Poland. On November 3rd the suppression had been carried out in Warsaw, Posen, and other bishoprics.[2] The confederation had forbidden private persons to take possession of the Jesuit property, but this prohibition was largely ignored. Even before the Brief was published the laity was trying to lay its hands on Jesuit property.[3] Even worse, most of the commissaries appointed to carry out the suppression took part in the plundering themselves.[4] Two admonitory letters written by Garampi to the Primate Podoski [5] had little effect. The Chancellor, Bishop Mlodziejowski of Posen, replied [6] to the nuncio's protest by accusing the ex-Jesuits of various offences and referring to similar occurrences in Rome. The nuncio's letters draw a most melancholy picture of the situation: the

[1] "*Stabilimento della commissione letteraria di educazione. Istruzione ai lustratori per i beni gesuitici," October 20, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.*; "*Projet de l'établissement de la commission pour l'éducation nationale et des lustrateurs," October 14, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.*, October 1773, Réception. For further particulars, *cf.* ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 60, 85.

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 3, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*; *Garampi to Macedonio, November 3, 1773, *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 81 *seq.*

[3] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22 and October 27, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 24, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] On *October 28 and December 9, 1773, *ibid.*, 80.

[6] On *May 17, 1774, *ibid.*, 118.

former members of the Order were wandering about in distress,[1] many of the churches and mission-stations were abandoned, the pious foundations were not being maintained, the profanation of church furniture was even a scandal to the dissidents. The selling price of the Jesuit possessions was raised or lowered according to the good pleasure of the commissaries. One thing was certain: the curse of the whole nation would rest for ever on all who had taken part in these outrageous injustices. The worst mischief was that the Bishops of Posen and Vilna, who headed the commission, actually abetted the transgressions. It was this that was doing immense damage to the whole of the clerical profession and was making everyone detest it.[2] At Garampi's suggestion,[3] Clement XIV. sent Briefs on September 14th, 1774, to the king, the senate, the two Bishops mentioned above, and to the nobility, calling on them to oppose the squandering of the Jesuit assets and to provide the ex-Jesuits with a decent existence.[4] It was not till 1776 that the Diet, goaded into activity by complaints coming from all over the country, abolished the two commissions which had been set up in Poland and Lithuania to dispose of the Jesuit property and transferred their powers to the school commission, which succeeded in rescuing the residue of the property for educational purposes.[5]

Shortly before the official publication of the Brief the nuncio had written to the Cardinal Secretary of State that the thought of the religious indifference and scepticism that were rife in the capital and among the aristocracy made him fear and

[1] Their petition to the king (ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 76 *seqq.*) discloses the utter hopelessness of their plight.

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 18, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 314, *loc. cit.*; **id.* to *id.*, May 18 and July 13, 1774, *ibid.*, 58; *Garampi to Macedonio, May 18, June 8, and July 13, 1774, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Corsini to Garampi, June 22, 1774, *ibid.*, 45; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 502 *seq.*

[3] *Garampi to Macedonio, June 8, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Copies in the Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.*

[5] ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 105 *seqq.*

tremble for the future training of youth.[1] His apprehensions may have been somewhat exaggerated, but it is undeniable that at first the sudden suppression of the Jesuits threw the school system into disorder and confusion.[2] The decay of the academy at Vilna in particular was deplored by Garampi. The endowments having been squandered, the professors were obliged to look elsewhere for a bare living. By 1775 the teaching staff was on the point of extinction, so that the theological candidates had no means of continuing their studies in Vilna.[3] About 270 ex-Jesuits were re-employed in their former educational institutions, others found posts as tutors to the families of magnates.[4] At their own request, several Bishops were given permission to employ on pastoral work not only those ex-Jesuits who were living alone, but also those who were living in community in their former colleges.[5] Even in Clement XIV.'s time some of them were regarded as likely candidates for bishoprics,[6] and others were actually raised to this dignity by his successor.[7]

The execution of the Brief of suppression in Belgium was entrusted on September 2nd, 1773, by Maria Theresa to Duke Charles of Lorraine, the stadholder of the Austrian Nether-

[1] *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 27, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 9, 1775, Cifre, *ibid.*, 316; Zalenski-Vivier, I., 75, 442 *seq.*

[3] *Garampi to Castelli, July 12, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia, 75, *loc. cit.* For the decay of studies and discipline in the Papal school at Vilna which had been transferred to the Basilians, *cf.* *Archetti to the Proto-Archimandrite Joseph Morgula, of August 1, 1781, *ibid.*, 85.

[4] Zalenski-Vivier, I., 442 *seq.*

[5] *Macedonio to Garampi, February 19, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 45, *loc. cit.*; *Corsini to Garampi, May 21, 1774, *ibid.*; *Garampi to the Bishops of Cracow, Vilna, Plock, etc., July 2, 1774, *ibid.*, 81.

[6] *Garampi to Macedonio, September 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 59.

[7] *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 60.

lands, who left it to the Minister Plenipotentiary, Prince Starhemberg, to arrange the "Detail".[1] As the feeling in Government circles was anything but pro-Jesuit,[2] it is not surprising that the suppression in Belgium was carried out so harshly that even Kaunitz and the empress were not in agreement with all the orders issued.[3]

According to the *Lettres patentes* of September 13th, 1773, at 7 a.m. on the 20th the executive officials had to go to the colleges allotted to them, announce the empress's orders and the Papal Brief to the assembled community, close the churches and schools, and set seals to the archives, libraries, and other articles of value.[4] In accordance with the declaration of the letters patent, that the execution of the Brief was the exclusive duty of the civil power, the majority of the *Comité jésuitique* wanted at first to keep the Bishops right out of the affair, not even notifying them of the measures to be taken. Starhemberg, however, who had first consulted Prince Kaunitz on the matter, found this to be "improper". The Bishops were therefore permitted to send a representative to attend the deed of execution, by which the ex-Jesuits were to be forbidden to hear confessions, preach, celebrate Mass in

[1] BONENFANT, *La suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (1773), Bruxelles, 1925, 49 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 40 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 4, 64. In the "*Resolutio Caes. Regia" on the protocol of the Viennese ex-Jesuit commission of October 9, 1773, we read: "I approve the measures taken in the Low Countries and Italy, though the former went too far with the closing of churches, etc. What a commotion it would have caused here!" State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A., 75 c.

[4] BONENFANT, 56 *seq.* There were two Provinces of the Order in the Austrian Netherlands: the Flandro-Belgian with 468 members, the Gallo-Belgian with 387 (PONCELET, *Nécrologe des Jésuites de la province Flandro-Belge*, Wetteren, 1931, xlvii). At the dissolution of the Order in France in 1762 the former Province lost four colleges with fifty members, the latter ten houses with 230 members. Their reception into Belgian colleges had been forbidden by the Austrian Netherlands Government (*ibid.*, p. cxxxi).

public, or wear the dress of their Order.[1] The commission's attitude was already shown clearly enough in the decree of September 13th, 1773; the subsequent proceedings threw a still brighter light upon it. The novices were sent home at once, while the other Jesuits were confined to their houses and were cut off from all communication with the world outside. The Flemish Provincial, Clé, was taken to the Charterhouse, the Walloon Provincial, Richard, to the abbey of Caudenberg in Brussels.[2] In the course of October all, except the Superiors and the Procurators, were given their freedom. By December 7th all the ex-Jesuits were out of their houses.[3] But it was not till December 8th, 1775, that Starhemberg ordered the release of the four last Jesuits still imprisoned.[4] Meanwhile all the former members of the Order were kept under special observation,[5] which was not relaxed until the rebellion of Brabant.[6]

The justification put forward for these stringent measures was the suspicion that the Jesuits might secrete and embezzle some of their assets. Ever since their expulsion from Spain rumours about the surreptitious transfer of capital had been floating round the whole of Europe. The commission prided itself on recovering for the Treasury half a million florins which had been hidden away by the Jesuits.[7] But even a superficial reading of the relative documents discloses any number of frivolous charges, distortion of facts, exaggerations, and malicious insinuations.[8] After the ex-Provincial Clé had

[1] Bonenfant, 58 *seq.* *Cf.* *Nuncio Ghilini to Macedonio, September 10, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 52.

[2] Bonenfant, 56 *seq.*

[3] *Ghilini to Macedonio, October 8 and 26 and December 7, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 53.

[4] Bonenfant, 87.

[5] "Les Jésuites furent traités en ennemis publics." *Ibid.*, 88.

[6] *Ibid.*, 109.

[7] *Ibid.*, 76. In his reports to Rome the nuncio Ghilini associated himself with the accusations of the *Comité jésuitique*. *Cf.* *Ghilini to Macedonio, October 8 and 26, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[8] Bonenfant, 75.

been kept in custody two whole years and had been represented to the central Government in Vienna as a dangerous criminal, Starhemberg had to admit that all that could be brought against him was conjectures that would not justify a regular action at law.[1] In this he was merely repeating the judgment passed a year before by several State Councillors in Vienna on the protocol drawn up by the *Comité jésuitique*: that it consisted solely of assertions and conjectures, with no proofs.[2]

The Bishops were provisionally prohibited from restoring their spiritual faculties to the ex-Jesuits.[3] The commission would have liked to make this prohibition permanent, but it was not allowed to have its way. In response to a protest made by Cardinal Franckenberg of Malines [4] the empress, by a decree of September 6th, 1775, allowed the Bishops to employ the ex-Jesuits in pastoral work, with the proviso that in every case the civil authority was to be asked a month in advance if there was any impediment. This condition enabled the Government to render the empress's permission valueless for all practical purposes. Having been rebuffed on two or three occasions, the Bishops made no further use of this humiliating concession.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*; PONCELET, p. cxxxv.

[2] *Protocol of the Viennese ex-Jesuit commission of November 6, 1773, April 7 and 18, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1773, No. 2465, and 1774, No. 1135. In his considered *opinion of May 12, 1774, State Councillor Stupan explained that he could not advise that all Belgian Jesuits be deprived of the right of inheritance and be excluded from school and church, "since all the information that has been laid as to *facts* lacks legally valid proof; so that at present it all consists still of *assertions* and *presumptions*, which also was the most enlightened view taken by Your Majesty of the previous protocol of the commission of February 11 of this year [1774]." *Ibid.*

[3] *Ghilini to Macedonio, October 26, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[4] BONENFANT, 89.

[5] *Ibid.*, 88 *seq.*; *Ghilini to Macedonio, December 7, 1773, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Cardinal Franckenberg's *aide-memoire in *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 7, 1779, enclosure 1, Nunziat. di Germania, 426, Papal Secret Archives.

As the *Comité jésuitique* refused to sanction the ex-Jesuits as teachers they were excluded from educational as well as pastoral work. In the programme drawn up by the schools commission instituted in 1776 it was contemplated that the professors, who would be appointed by competitive examination, should be laymen or secular clerics. All colleges were subjected to State surveillance. This abolition of the freedom of education met with the mute opposition of the clergy. On the whole, the reform produced little fruit, as it left untouched the primary and higher schools, and the State could not obtain a sufficient number of teachers.[1] Towards the end of the Austrian rule education in the Low Countries was worse than before the suppression of the Jesuits.[2]

The suppression of the Society of Jesus was not in accord with the wishes of the people. It gave satisfaction to only a strictly limited circle composed almost exclusively of the leading personalities in the Government who, like Nény and the members of the *Comité jésuitique*, were under the spell of the "enlightenment". The majority of the Bishops were favourably disposed towards the Order. To certain regulars and seculars, who regarded the Jesuits as rivals, the event brought a measure of satisfaction. The people did not fail to show the Fathers that they had their sympathy. The *Comité jésuitique* found it difficult to recruit enough agents to carry out their orders; but nowhere was there any actual rebellion.[3]

[1] Bonenfant, 162 *seqq.*

[2] "A la fin de l'ancien régime l'enseignement belge, privé des Jésuites, était plus pitoyable qu'avant leur chute: le prestige de la Compagnie de Jésus s'en trouva fortifié dans bien des esprits." Bonenfant, 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, 165 *seqq.* "Le 19 de ce mois, lorsque l'on sçut, à n'en pouvoir plus douter, que le lendemain il n'y auroit plus de Jésuites, on alloit en foule à leur église; jamais n'avoit-elle été plus remplie, nombre de personnes devoient rester sur la rue; on voulut entendre leurs dernière voix sur la chaire de la vérité; on voulut avoir leur dernier salut; c'était précisément qu'on le faisoit pour les agonisans, on plaignoit ou pleuroit les pauvres

The revenues from the Jesuit properties were estimated at 220,000 florins. At first the commission thought of providing every member of the Order with the not inconsiderable pension of 500 florins, but Kaunitz refused to agree to anything more than the absolute minimum, so that it was reduced to 200–450 florins, according to the age of the recipient.[1] The value of the productive Jesuit properties was estimated by the committee at ten and a half million florins.[2] The sale by auction of the furniture realized 920,198 florins.[3] The church plate, valued at 478,689 florins, was partly presented to other churches (to the value of 42,333 florins), but most of it was sold (for 389,150 florins).[4] The paintings were valued at 118,008 florins. About thirty of the most valuable ones, including masterpieces by Rubens, Van Dyck, Breughel, and De Crayer, found their way to Vienna, mostly to the imperial galleries.[5] The total number of books in the Jesuit libraries amounted to *c.* 500,000 volumes. Three-quarters of them were classed as theological rubbish and sold for the value of their paper.[6] Whereas the administration was still presenting a surplus of 8,000 florins in 1780, there was found to be a deficit of 83,000 florins in 1792. The Jesuit funds disappeared with the Austrian rule on the invasion of the French army of the Revolution.[7]

With the suppression of the Order the work of the Bollandists seemed also to be endangered. The *Comité jésuitique's* first intention was to have the great undertaking carried on by laymen from the Academy, but Kaunitz decided that the

Pères ; on se plaignoit encore plus hautement du Pape." Report of the commissary Luytgens of September 23, 1773, on the suppression in Roermond, in BONENFANT, 67, n. 1.

[1] *Ibid.*, 111 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 134.

[3] *Ibid.*, 143.

[4] Except in the archdiocese of Malines the relics were not removed from the reliquaries before they were sold (*ibid.*, 138 *seq.*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 139 *seqq.*

[6] "Rapport de Gérard à Charles de Lorraine," of January 17, 1779, *ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 145 *seq.*

services of the former collaborators were to be re-enlisted.[1] At first they were left in their old home, the Professed House in Antwerp, but in 1775 they were told to vacate the premises as they were wanted for a military academy. Through the efforts of the learned nuncio Garampi [2] a new arrangement was made in 1778. The empress assigned the Bollandists the abbey of Caudenberg in Brussels as a residence and paid every assistant a salary of 800 florins, with the result that the fifty-first volume of the work appeared in 1780. When the abbey fell a victim to Joseph II.'s assault on the monasteries in 1786 the Theresianum in Brussels, the old Jesuit college, was designated as the next headquarters of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Here the fifty-second volume appeared in the same year. But when the condition imposed by Joseph II., that a fresh volume must be produced every year, was found impossible to fulfil, the emperor stopped the work in 1788, observing that in any case it was "of little interest to really educated men". The whole organization was sold to the abbey of Tongerloo, where the fifty-third volume was published in 1794. It was not long, however, before the work was brought to a standstill by the invasion of the French troops, followed by the confiscation of the monastic properties and the persecution of the Religious. It was not till 1837 that the great enterprise was resumed.[3]

The further course of Jesuit history was vitally affected by that of the kingdom of Poland.

[1] *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 11, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania, 395, *loc. cit.*; further relevant *documents *ibid.* Rome was very happy to hear that the continuation of the work had finally been assured. *Pallavicini to Garampi, December 27, 1776, Nunziat. di Vienna, 665, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Garampi, June 22, July 27, and September 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 665, 666; *Archbishop Beaumont to an unknown correspondent, June 28, 1778, Nunziat. di Colonia, 194.

[3] DELEHAYE, *L'œuvre des Bollandistes 1615–1915*, Bruxelles, 1920, 162 *seqq.*; PONCELET, *Nécrologe*, cxii *seqq.*

CHAPTER VI.

The First Partition of Poland and the Fate of the Catholics in the Annexed Territories—Febronianism in Germany.

(1)

In north-eastern Europe the Polish-Lithuanian elective monarchy was rapidly approaching its downfall. The civil war between the pro-Russian Government troops and the patriotic Confederation of Bar, the incursion of the Haidamaks, and the Russo-Turkish war brought death and destruction to almost every region of the realm.

All attempts to restore peace were frustrated by the inactivity of the other European Powers and the obduracy of the Muscovites. Stanislaus Poniatowski already felt that his throne was tottering and in his helplessness he became more and more subservient to the will of Russia, which was represented in Warsaw with brutal determination first by Wolkonski, Repnin's successor, and then, after 1771, by Saldern.

In spite of all this, fresh confederations of the Polish nobility were being formed on a small scale in all directions, and this, together with the constant feuds that were being waged, led to incalculable confusion. Declarations and protests flew hither and thither [1]; a summons to peace issued by the king [2] was completely disregarded. The nuncio Durini sent full accounts to Rome [3] of the skirmishes that were fought with varying results in the different theatres of war, stressing especially the victories of the Confederates and the Turks. Even in Prussian Poland there were clashes with the Lutherans,[4] and fresh leagues of nobles were formed there

[1] E.g. the manifestoes of June 20 and 29, 1769, in Theiner, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 286 *seqq.*

[2] On July 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 290.

[3] See his reports of June 28, 1769, *ibid.*, 291 *seqq.*

[4] Durini's report of August 2, 1769, *ibid.*, 299.

in the name of freedom and the Catholic faith.[1] Between times the hope was again expressed that things would soon change for the better,[2] there was a threat of a confederation that would declare invalid all the resolutions taken by the Diet since 1763 and would even dethrone the king,[3] and diplomatic correspondence was falsified and thrown in the form of pamphlets among the contending parties.[4]

What was still worse, the religious spirit in Poland had been largely undermined by the ideas propagated by West European "enlightenment". This was shown most clearly when the Papal nuncio was instructed to visit the Piarist establishment in Warsaw.[5] The Provincial of the Order himself, Konarski, was regarded as the chief representative of anti-ecclesiastical thought; although one of his works had been put on the Index and several ecclesiastical warnings had been given him, he still continued to disseminate "enlightened" writings in Poland. When the nuncio tried to begin his visitation the documents of the previous one were withheld from him and an appeal was made to Rome.[6] Bishop Mlodziejowski of Posen, a faithful partisan of the king and the Russians, even tried to justify the Piarists to the nuncio,[7] while Bishop Turski of Chelm revealed to him that it was Konarski who had urged the king to close the nunciature in 1767.[8] Finally the king too forbade the visitation, whereupon Clement XIV. declared this edict to be of no effect and

[1] *Id.*, August 16, 1769, *ibid.*, 302 *seq.*

[2] "Anche un mese, e viva Dio, la Polonia tornerà nello stato pristino di cattolicismo e di libertà; l'uno e l'altra sono così strettamente legati in questo regno, che l'uno non può fare senza dell' altra." Durini's report of July 8, 1769, *ibid.*, 295.

[3] This was one of the resolutions of the Confederation of Brest (Durini's report of August 2, 1769, *ibid.*, 299).

[4] Durini's second report of October 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 313.

[5] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 297 *seqq.*

[6] Durini's report of October 14, 1769, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 314.

[7] Durini's second report of October 28, 1769, *ibid.*, 315 *seq.*

[8] Durini's second report of December 9, 1769, *ibid.*, 320.

informed Durini that the matter would be referred to the Congregation in Rome.[1]

Shortly after this there occurred another incident that showed quite clearly the spirit that animated the Bishop of Posen. On December 23rd, 1769, the Pope sent the nuncio the circular letter announcing the jubilee year, also a covering letter instructing Durini to have the Polish Bishops make this announcement and to discuss with them the best means of maintaining the rights of the Church and of saving the Catholic faith.[2] At the same time Clement XIV. informed the king of this communication.[3] When the circular letter was published it was found that Mlodziejowski had distorted the text outrageously, interpolating as one of the conditions for gaining the jubilee indulgence unconditional obedience to the king, thus turning an ecclesiastical document into a political party cry against the Confederation of Bar.[4] The Confederates replied with a flaming protest [5] before God and the world, Church, and fatherland, against an episcopal edict which only prolonged the political distress and was of service only to the enemies of Poland. They renewed their oath to defend with all their might the freedom of the nation, the Constitution, and the Catholic faith of their fathers. They also protested [6] against the sacrilegious and vandalic conduct of some Russian auxiliary troops in a Franciscan convent in Poland, when even the Blessed Sacrament had been outraged. Later there were further arguments between the nuncio and the Bishop

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 299.

[2] *Ibid.*, 323, also THEINER, *Epist.*, 47.

[3] THEINER, *Epist.*, 47 *seq.* Presented by Durini at the audience of January 21, 1770; *v.* his report of January 27, 1770, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 341 *seq.*

[4] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 431; Durini's second report of April 7 and his first report of April 14, 1770, *loc. cit.*, 347 *seqq.* On June 16, 1770 (*ibid.*, 361 *seq.*) Durini reported that there was not a copy to be had, as the notices had been torn down from the church doors; a refutation of the pastoral letter had also been published.

[5] On April 18, 1770, *ibid.*, 324 *seqq.*

[6] On April 21, 1770, *ibid.*, 326 *seqq.*

of Posen, whom Durini described as a disaster for the whole Church in Poland.[1]

Like Mlodziejowski, the rest of the Polish episcopacy was sadly deficient in loyalty to Rome and the Church. Of the twenty-seven Bishops, wrote Durini in April, 1770, only five could be regarded as being true Bishops of the Catholic Church, and two of these were prisoners of the Russians.[2] The most unworthy of them all was, as ever, the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Podoski of Gnesen. In July, 1771, he arranged with the Russian ambassador that he, Podoski, should be carried off by force and that the crime should be attributed to the Confederates. This plan had to be abandoned, but in its stead another farce was acted: he was taken into what appeared to be Russian custody and was thus represented to his people as a political martyr.[3] This failing to produce the desired effect, in the course of the year he followed his mistress, with whom he had formerly been living in Warsaw, to Elbing.[4] In the years that followed he continued to look on idly at his people's ruin, refusing to leave his Prussian retreat.

In November, 1771, a mysterious attempt on the life of King Stanislaus was made in Warsaw, the responsibility for which was again foisted on the Confederates. But this too failed of its desired effect; in spite of the legal proceedings that were instituted the general public soon regarded the whole affair as but another trick of the Government party.[5]

[1] E.g. by reason of the ordination of two clerics (Durini's first report of April 7, 1770, *ibid.*, 346) and a censorship opinion on Marmontel's romance *Bélisaire* (second report of April 14, 1770, *ibid.*, 349).

[2] Durini's second report of April 14, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[3] JANSSEN, 115; Durini's report of August 17, 1771, *loc. cit.*, 402 *seq.*

[4] Durini's report of September 7, 1771, *ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Durini's reports of November 6, 16, 23, and 30, 1771, *ibid.*, 409 *seqq.*, also the report forwarded by Durini, *ibid.*, 381. *Cf.* JANSSEN, 119 *seqq.*; HERRMANN, V., 502 *seqq.* The manifesto of protest issued by the Confederation of Bar on December 4,

Formal messages of congratulation were sent to the king by the foreign Courts and by Clement XIV.[1]

In the complete confusion that prevailed in public life the enemies of the Church had an easy task. The Russian-sponsored schismatic party worked eagerly for the secularization of monastic property, and the Primate had forbidden all appeals to Rome. Further, the schismatization of Poland had begun in earnest, making especial headway in the Ukraine, under the pressure of the Russian occupation.[2] In the gloomy picture of the ecclesiastical situation in Poland as painted by Durini,[3] only the Orders—and no longer all of them—stand out as the last props of the Church. No one hesitated any longer to express his anti-clerical views quite openly. The most flagrant example of this was the grand festival of the freemasons held on St. John's Day, 1770, in Warsaw, "this new Babylon," as Durini called it.[4] The whole city knew about it three weeks before, but no one made any move to stop it, least of all the competent diocesan Bishop Mlodziejowski of Posen. It was common talk that the king had contributed towards the cost of the sumptuous banquet that was held in the evening and that the Bishop had attended it in disguise.

By this time the Confederates were preparing to deliver

1771, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 384. *Cf.* Durini's report of December 25, 1771, *ibid.*, 412 *seq.*, and THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 36. The solemn celebration of the anniversary was reported by Garampi under date November 3, 1772, *ibid.*, 461. For the subsequent judicial proceedings, *v.* HERRMANN, V., 540, and Garampi's second report of September 1, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 548 *seq.*

[1] The Pope's letter, of December 24, 1771, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 197 *seq.* Prince Kaunitz's letter of sympathy in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 382. The ceremonies held in connexion with the solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the king's life were described by Durini on January 4, 1772, *ibid.*, 438.

[2] JANSSEN, 115 *seqq.*; THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 436.

[3] JANSSEN, 117 *seq.*, where further details are given.

[4] Durini's first report of July 7, 1770, *loc. cit.*, 364 *seq.*; THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 346 *seq.*

their final blow against the wielder of the royal power, the unworthy protégé of Russia. In spite of all its efforts the Government failed to form a counter-confederation subservient to itself.[1] As the king refused to join the Confederates of Bar, they published in August, 1770, a manifesto which had been drawn up some time before and which had been approved by the Ottoman Porte. In this they held the king responsible for all the misfortunes that had happened since the death of his predecessor and declared that he had forfeited his royal status on account of the unconstitutional and forcible methods by which he had been elevated to the throne. He was guilty, they asserted, of the blood of his countrymen and of the universal despair; himself a tyrant, he had delivered and betrayed his country to the enemy. Consequently all the decrees that had been passed since the death of Augustus III. were of no effect. The present state of Poland was that of an interregnum and the whole nation must rally against the enemy and the usurper.[2] For Lithuania the interregnum was declared by the Marshal of the Confederation Pac, on the strength of the ancient Polish principle, "We are the electors of the kings and the destroyers of tyrants."[3]

In the following year, 1771, the Confederates of Bar tried to give effect to this manifesto. There was talk of an imminent convocation of the Diet to elect a new king, various candidatures were discussed, and a time-limit was fixed for the recognition of all acts of the State affecting individuals which had been put into effect since 1763.[4] But the long

[1] These efforts of Wolkonski's were reported by Durini on December 2, 1769, *loc. cit.*, 318 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 333 *seqq.*, the manifesto of August 9, 1770. For its subsequent fate, *cf.* the report of September 1, 1770, *ibid.*, 337.

[3] Declaration of October 22, 1770, *ibid.*, 338. *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 438.

[4] *Cf.* the circular of the Bar Confederates of December 4, 1771, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 383, and Durini's reports of May 13, July 6, October 19 and 26, 1771, *ibid.*, 393, 399 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*

struggle wore down the strength of the Confederation and the enormous pressure exerted by the foreign Powers rendered the realization of its aims impossible.

In these complicated conditions it was difficult for the nuncio to maintain a non-party attitude. In any case, it was known that he favoured the Bar Confederates. In his report to Rome of January 11th, 1772, he approved also of the interregnum,[1] as the maintenance of Poniatowski's kingship would be of the greatest harm to the freedom and Catholicity of Poland, each of which was closely bound up with the other.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Polish Government viewed Durini's presence and activity as a check on their aspirations. Attempts were made in various ways to undermine his position.[2] This could best be done through the Polish representative in Rome, Antici, whose continuous reports on Poland naturally differed on many points from those of the nunciature.[3] Antici finally succeeded in obtaining Durini's recall; he was succeeded by Garampi, who had proved his diplomatic worth in Germany. Durini was painfully surprised when the news of this change was made known in Poland by Antici before he himself had been informed of it.[4] On May 30th he made a formal complaint to the Curia that the nuncio was always the last to hear of the decisions taken by his own Court.[5] Government circles in Warsaw looked forward to having in Garampi a man favourably inclined towards their way of thinking and they made no secret of their satisfaction with the change. All the greater courtesy, therefore, was used

[1] *Ibid.*, 438 *seq.*

[2] Durini's report of January 19, 1771, *ibid.*, 386.

[3] *Id.*, September 28, 1771, *ibid.*, 406 *seq.*

[4] "Durinio magni itidem cultique ingenii, sed fervidioris naturae viro, qui apud regem nescio quibus de causis offenderat" is how Cordara's *Commentarii* account for his recall (Ciampi, I., 114). A rumour to this effect had already been spread by Antici on a previous occasion. *Cf.* Durini's report of March 16, 1771, *loc. cit.*, 387.

[5] *Ibid.*, 447 *seq.*

in bidding farewell to Durini and in furnishing him with the necessary safe-conducts.[1]

Durini's departure, however, did not take place immediately. Although Garampi left the Eternal City in May it was not till September that he entered into his new sphere of activity. He had been commissioned to make a lengthy stay in Vienna and discuss there with the Imperial Government the questions directly affecting the fate of Poland, in particular the plan, which was now the chief political problem occupying the attention of her neighbours, of reducing the boundaries of the Polish kingdom for the benefit of the adjacent Powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

This so-called First Partition of Poland originated in the aim of Prussian policy to throw a bridge across the Polish corridor on the lower Vistula to the East Prussian possession of the monarchy.[2] Frederick the Great found that the execution of this plan was seriously impeded at the Russian Court, which, chiefly owing to Panin's influence, was not so interested in the acquisition of various Polish territories as in gradually reducing Poland to a state of complete dependence on the Russian Empire. Catherine expressed her agreement with the Prussian plan at first almost jocularly when conversing with the Prussian Prince Heinrich on January 8th, 1771, then quite definitely on June 1st in the following year.[3] Austria

[1] Durini's report of September 7, 1772, *ibid.*, 449.

[2] For the previous history of the Partition, cf. Ad. Beer, II., 37 *seq.*; Arneth, *Maria Theresia*, VIII., 293 *seqq.*; Janssen, 122 *seqq.*; Forst-Battaglia, 168 *seqq.*; Ssolowjoff, 131 *seqq.*; Koser, II., 463 *seqq.*

[3] Janssen, 134–141; Forst-Battaglia, 172 *seq.* The importance of Prince Heinrich's journey to St. Petersburg and Frederick's careful attitude towards the other Powers, which in 1770 were not yet disposed to agree to the partition, is shown most clearly in two letters written at this time by Frederick to his brother. They were published by Koser in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1908, I., 286 *seqq.* See also in particular R. Krauel, *Briefwechsel zwischen Prinz Heinrich von Preussen und Katharina II. von Russland*, Berlin, 1903.

had given a certain impetus to this agreement by its incursion into the Polish Zips for the purpose of enforcing ancient Crown rights. In spite of this, Vienna still went on working at pacificatory plans for Poland, until they were finally frustrated by the almost complete inertia of the French.[1] It is now known that Maria Theresa was practically forced against her will and conscience to give her assent to Austria's participation in the Partition by the pressure brought to bear on her by Joseph II. and Kaunitz.[2] The Prussian Government was officially informed of Austria's acquiescence on February 28th, 1772. The following summer brought the constitution of the triple alliance of the partitioning Powers, and on September 18th their representatives in Warsaw presented one note for all three Powers stating the absolute necessity of a suitable readjustment of the frontiers at Poland's expense.[3] The sole purpose of this step was to legalize the state of affairs already existing, for in the preceding months the three Powers had occupied with their military forces, without bloodshed, the territories to which they laid claim.[4] One of the rare instances of any resistance being offered, and then only for a short time, was at Elbing.[5]

King Stanislaus must now have seen with a horrifying clarity the results of his fatal policy, and in his political

[1] Broglie, *Le secret du roi*, II., 359 *seqq.*; Janssen, 149; Ssolowjoff, 131.

[2] Arneth, VIII., 358 *seqq.*; Beer, II., 140 *seqq.*; Forst-Battaglia, 178; Janssen, 157; Smolka, 14 *seqq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, LXXXII., 149.

[3] Beer, II., 204 *seqq.*; Janssen, 158–164; Garampi's second report of September 19, 1772, in Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 457. Stackelberg was the new Russian ambassador, Reviczky the Austrian; Prussia continued to be represented by Benoît.

[4] Austrian statements on the occupation, of June 10 and 17 and July 6, 1771, in Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 418 *seq.*, 420; the Russian statement, under date September 5, 1772, *ibid.*, 421. *Cf.* Garampi's two reports of July 6, 1772, *ibid.*, 451 *seq.*; Forst-Battaglia, 179.

[5] Garampi's second report of September 19, 1772, in Theiner, *loc. cit.*, 457.

isolation he sent last-minute appeals for help to all the Courts of Europe.[1] To his dismay not a single hand was stretched out to save him.[2] Only one Power made any serious intervention on his behalf, the one whose friendship he had made the least attempt to gain: the Papal Curia.

As soon as it seemed likely that the partition project would be realized, Clement XIV. tried to stop it through the mediation of the Catholic Courts. At the end of February 1771 the fear was already expressed in an instruction to the Paris nuncio that it would come to a partition.[3] In March the nuncios to Vienna, Paris, and Madrid received instructions containing an impressive exposure of these "horrible" aims.[4] When Austria's participation seemed probable, the nuncio Visconti was asked to make vigorous counter-representations to the Government.[5] One of the reasons why Garampi was required to spend some time in Vienna on his way to Warsaw was to discuss the Polish question.[6] In various letters to their imperial majesties the Pope begged them to use their influence

[1] *Ibid.*, 432 *seq.*, of October 27, 1772. The king even turned to the Doge of Venice for help; *v.* No. 244 in EHRENBERG, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der in der heutigen Provinz Posen vereinigten ehemals polnischen Landesteile*, Leipzig, 1892. *Cf.* also DAM. PERRERO, *La diplomazia piemontese nel primo smembramento della Polonia, studio su documenti inediti*, Torino, 1894.

[2] For the refusal of the English and the French, *cf.* Garampi's report of December 14, 1772, *loc. cit.*, 464. Braniski's mission, the last hope, also failed; *v.* Garampi on December 19, 1772, *ibid.*, 464 *seq.*

[3] *Cifre of February 27, 1771, Nunziat. di Francia, 461, also the *Cifre of April 3, 1771, *ibid.*, 455B, Papal Secret Archives; BEER, II., 315.

[4] JANSSEN, 168 *seq.*

[5] Clement XIV. to the nuncio to Vienna, March 30, 1772. *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 171.

[6] His letters of recommendation to the emperor and the empress, of April 15, 1772, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 222 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Gesch.* II., 171 *seq.* In his letter of March 4, 1772, the Pope notified the empress of Garampi's arrival in Vienna (THEINER, *Epist.*, 211 *seq.*).

on behalf of the Polish Catholics.[1] Numerous instructions were issued to the Paris nunciature in 1772 and 1773 with the object of securing the intervention of the French with the partitioning Powers.[2]

[1] See the letters of March 4, April 15, October 24, and December 5, 1772, and March 20, 1773, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 211 *seq.*, 222 *seq.*, 231 *seqq.*, 233 *seqq.*, 247 *seqq.*

[2] " *L'esposizione di quei passi che sono venuti preparando la prossima catastrofe della tragedia polacca, scommoda assai e pregiudiciale alla maggior parte di quelli attori palliati, che non sono mai comparsi effettivamente sulla scena, si è, come Ella ha ben previsto, gradita assai da Nostro Signore ; ma la di Lui avvedutezza non gli ha permesso di reputare giustificato abbastanza il contegno a cui si appigliò cotesto gabinetto, quando il re di Prussia dimandò, se la Francia si sarebbe doluta del di lui ingresso in Polonia, quando l'avesse eseguito per esercitarvi i suoi diritti. Egli è così avvezzo a cavar profitto da quelle anticipazioni di misure che sa procurarsi, che nella sola impossibilità di attraversargli la rinnovazione degli esempi già datine può trovarsi di che giustificare il languor della risposta e della inazione francese corrispondente al sovraccennato punto della da Lei riferita negoziazione." Cifra of June 17, 1772, Nunziat. di Francia, 455 B, fo. 401, Papal Secret Archives. " *Nel colmo dei mali, che affliggono attualmente la Polonia sarebbe stato molto opportuno che da cotesta corte si mandassero le occorrenti commissioni ai ministri residenti in Vienna e in Pietroburgo per mitigare la sorte del cattolicismo e della religione, esposta a gravissimi pericoli . . . Quanto alla S^tà^ Sua, non ha egli trascurato di far prima d'ora direttamente colle Loro M^tà^ Imperiali tutte quelle parti che incombevano all'apostolico suo ministero e che poteva meritare un oggetto di tanta importanza ; ma per fare altrettanto con quei sovrani, che non sono nella nostra santa comunione, egli non può valersi di altro mezzo che della efficace interposizione dei principi cattolici et principalmente di Sua M^tà^ Christ^ma^, a cui, come a primogenito della Chiesa, non può non esser grata ed accettata qualunque occasione che gli si presenti di segnalarsi in di lei sostegno e difesa." Cifra al Ab. Riva in Paris, of June 9, 1773, *ibid.*, 461, fo. 308 *seq.* *Cf.* *Cifre of July 8, 1772, *ibid.*, 455B, and September 27 and March 17, 1773, also that to Riva of April 28, 1773, *ibid.*, 461.

Time after time the Polish Government asked Durini to report to the Curia on the lawless conduct of the foreign troops in Polish territory and to bring about the intervention of the neutral Powers.[1] After the presentation of the note of partition in Warsaw King Stanislaus sent a personal appeal for help to the Pope on September 23rd [2]; a few days later he expressed his gratitude for the Papal autograph handed to him by Garampi.[3]

Garampi had conducted negotiations in Vienna with the imperial couple and with Kaunitz, but was unable to prevent the incursion into Poland of Austrian troops on the pretext of restoring order and of asserting the ancient rights of occupation claimed by the Hungarian Crown.[4] With no tangible success to his credit, he left Vienna and was received with great cordiality at the Polish Court, where he presented urgent letters of exhortation and recommendation from the Pope to the king, the Bishops, and the magnates of the realm.[5] On Durini's quitting his post in Warsaw the king recommended him to the Pope for promotion to Cardinal,[6] a tardy compensation for the disagreeable experiences he had had in Poland.

The passage of time brought no succour to the Polish king.

[1] E.g. under date June 4 and 19, and July 18, 1772, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 418, 419, 420.

[2] *Ibid.*, 424, also THEINER, *Epist.*, 344 *seq.*

[3] On September 26, 1772, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 425 *seqq.*, and *Epist.*, 346 *seq.* He also wrote on the same day to the Secretary of State (THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 426).

[4] See his report of June 15, 1772, *ibid.*, 449 *seq.* For Hungary's 'crown rights to the kingdom of Galicia" *v.* SMOLKA, 19 *seq.*

[5] At his first audience on September 6, 1772. *Cf.* his report of September 9, 1772, *loc. cit.*, 455 *seq.* The Briefs, dated April 15, 1772, are reproduced in THEINER, *Epist.*, 218 *seqq.* *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 173.—In Warsaw too Garampi indulged his literary propensities; he first worked at a history of the Polish nuncios from early times until his own day and then principally at a history of the Polish bishoprics. See the evidence in CIAMPI, I., 114 *seq.*, II., 109.

[6] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 177. The king's letter of September 26, 1772, in the *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 425.

In October, 1772, he again approached the European Courts,[1] including the Curia. The Pope made another attempt to induce the French to intervene at the Russian Court, several such exhortations being sent to the nuncio in Paris, but they were all ineffectual.[2] In February, 1773, Stanislaus wrote once more to the European Powers,[3] but all his pleadings were in vain ; no one lifted a finger to stop the territorial robbery that was being perpetrated by the three Great Powers.

To ratify the partition treaties with Poland an extraordinary Diet had to be convoked. On March 6th, 1773, the Pope wrote to the king, the senate, the Bishops, and the nobles,[4] exhorting them to support the rights of the Church unyieldingly in spite of every tribulation. The foreign Powers having fixed April 19th as the latest date for the opening of the Diet,[5] the provincial elections were held at the end of

[1] Under date October 27, *ibid.*, 432, and THEINER, *Epist.*, 347 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 177. *Ibid.*, the release of the four Polish nobles who had been taken prisoner (see our account, vol. XXXVI., 227, 228) ; the relevant requests of the Polish Ministry, of October 17, and Garampi's, of October 20, 1772, with Stackelberg's reply, of October 18, 1772, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 429 *seqq.* The Pope's letters of congratulation to Soltyk and Rzewuski, of March 6, 1773, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 243–5.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 389, n. 2. On November 28, 1772, the Pope *wrote again to the king about the sufferings of the Catholics (Epist. Clem. XIV. ad princ. 171, p. 179, Papal Secret Archives). The letter is missing from Theiner's *Monumenta.* Under date December 2, 1772, the Pope *wrote to the Basilian monk Porphyreus Starbek Wazinski, praising his zeal (Epist. Clem. XIV., a° IV., p. 184, *loc. cit.*).

[3] On February 17, 1773, THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 465 *seqq.*

[4] THEINER, *Epist.*, 239–243. *Ibid.*, 246, a similar letter from the Pope to the nuncio, of March 16, 1773. Under date March 20 he also exhorted the emperor and empress to fulfil their duty of protecting the Church in Poland (*ibid.*, 247 *seqq.*) ; similarly to the kings of France (*on August 24) and Spain (*on March 25 ; Epist. Clem. XIV. a° IV., p. 335, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] Garampi's report of February 3, 1773, in THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 516 ; JANSSEN, 173.

March.[1] The terrorism that prevailed on this occasion was greater than ever. The Russian ambassador tried to gain influence by enticements of every kind or by the threat of employing military force.[2] Here and there the assemblies were interrupted and fresh dates for their termination had to be appointed. Numerous protests were made against the forthcoming Diet and the projects for partition. After the election of the president of the provincial diet at Lublin the nobles left the meeting-place, one after the other, so that finally there were only three men left who were entitled to vote and no election of deputies could take place.[3] The forthcoming Diet therefore was expected to be only thinly attended.

In these circumstances there was no prospect of the treaty being accepted unanimously and without opposition, which condition was stipulated by the Constitution. To ensure success without violating the Constitution it was necessary to form a new confederation which would dominate the Diet. But this would have to be done with skill and circumspection, as in recent years all attempts to form a confederation devoted to the Government had ended in failure. The Russian ambassador Stackelberg now set about the task by the free distribution of the necessary bribes and by the appointment of the two Marshals—Poninski for Poland and Radziwill for Lithuania—before the opening of the Diet.[4] With the deceptive watchword "for religion, monarchy, and freedom!" a programme was drawn up, which, from April 15th onwards, was signed by some of the deputies. On the 19th, after the usual church ceremonies, the Diet opened immediately with the proclamation of the confederation. This was contrary to the Constitution and aroused the most violent opposition.

[1] Garampi's report of February 24, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 519.

[2] Garampi's first report of April 7, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 251. *Cf.* BEER, II., 215 *seq.*

[3] The situation as a whole is described in Garampi's second report of April 7, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 521 *seq.* Further instances in BEER, II., 218.

[4] Garampi's reports of March 3 and April 14, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 519, 522 *seq.*

A group of the opponents, led by the Lithuanian Reitan, a member of the Bar Confederation, tried to break up the new union, but their intention was frustrated by the other side simply seizing the reins of government without more ado and presenting the Bar Confederates with accomplished facts.[1]

For a few days more the Diet discussed the validity of the new confederation but finally had to yield to the armed pressure of the Russians.[2] To deal with the treaties the old and well-tried procedure was adopted of appointing a delegation furnished with full powers of deliberation and settlement. This time the king revolted against the stupidity of such a procedure, but had to declare that the circumstances forced him to accept it. But so as not to repel the patriotic opposition he demanded in his speech the unconditional preservation of the Catholic religion and its prerogatives and, abandoning his former attitude, he spoke in favour of the privilege of the Catholics of occupying the highest political positions in the State. He also demanded the retention of the old laws against apostasy, and the abolition of the mixed tribunal. These points were included in the instruction for the negotiating committee,[3] which, after fresh reprisals on the part of the Russians, was appointed by a narrow majority.[4]

This attitude of the king's won for him the hearts of all his patriotically-minded subjects, who had formerly opposed him. At the last moment the instinct of unity and self-preservation seemed to be reawakening in the Polish nation and to be triumphing over all its adversities. At the same time the genuineness of the king's change of heart was not above

[1] FORST-BATTAGLIA, 182; BEER, II., 220 *seqq.*; Garampi's third report of April 21, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 525 *seqq.* The sessions of the Diet were guarded by 4,000 Russians; *v.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 280.

[2] Garampi's reports of April 28, May 5 and 12 (second report), 1773, *loc. cit.*, 527–537. *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 283 *seqq.*

[3] Garampi's two reports of May 12, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 532 *seqq.*

[4] Garampi's report of May 15 and the first report of May 19, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 535 *seq.*; JANSSEN, 176; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 183 *seqq.*

suspicion, even the nuncio Garampi describing it as highly dangerous.[1]

While the new confederation was trying to maintain itself against the Confederation of Bar by means of circular letters and edicts,[2] negotiations began on June 2nd, 1773, between the delegation and the foreign representatives.[3] At the beginning of July the treaties, which had been presented in more or less the same wording by all the partitioning Powers, were discussed separately, first the one with Austria, then the Russian one, and finally that with Prussia. Garampi sent precise reports to Rome on every detail and forwarded copies of the notes and replies that passed between the parties.[4] The discussions were conducted under the constant threat of armed interference by the Russians, while the spectre of complete partition was already looming on the horizon.[5] When the Diet reassembled at the end of September the foreign representatives demanded unconditional acceptance of the proposals.[6] Again there was violent opposition, which was quelled only by further threats of punitive measures.[7] In early October it was resolved to authorize the king to ratify the treaties,[8] which was done on November 24th in the Bishop of Posen's palace.[9] The foreign troops were to evacuate the territory that was still Polish in a fortnight's time. Austria was the first to begin this operation.[10]

Poland thus lost almost a third of its territory. Prussia

[1] Garampi's first report of May 12, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 532 *seqq.*

[2] Garampi's reports of June 23 and 30, 1773, *ibid.*, 539 *seqq.*

[3] Garampi's report of June 9, 1773, *ibid.*, 539; BEER, II., 225 *seqq.*

[4] THEINER, *Monumenta, loc. cit.*, 470–515; also Garampi's reports, especially those of August 18 and September 1, 1773, *ibid.*, 546, 548 *seq.*

[5] Garampi's report of July 28, 1773, *ibid.*, 544.

[6] Garampi's report of September 22, 1773, *ibid.*, 550.

[7] *Ibid.*, also the reports of September 29, 1773, *ibid.*, 550 *seqq.*

[8] Garampi's reports of October 6, 1773, *ibid.*, 552.

[9] Garampi's report of November 24, 1773, *ibid.*, 555 *seq.*

[10] Garampi's reports of November 3 and 17, 1773, *ibid.*, 554 *seq.*

acquired the region about the lower Vistula, the province of West Prussia; Austria obtained Galicia, Russia an elongated sector on the north-east border of Poland, constituting the White Russian districts extending to the Dnieper-Dvina line. Subsequently the frontier-posts were shifted, without previous agreement, further and further into Polish territory from the Austrian and still more from the Prussian side. The delegation was already complaining of this to the representatives of the two other partitioning Powers in February 1774.[1] In the summer of that year Russia was induced to check this unlawful procedure by issuing an official declaration on the matter.[2]

(2)

The work of the delegation appointed by the Diet was not finished with the settlement of the treaties of partition. Russia had evolved for Poland a new Constitution, which was to restrict the royal powers by the introduction of a "Permanent Committee."[3] The negotiations made but slow progress; the Diet had to be adjourned a few more times[4] before a settlement was reached in 1775.

In the negotiations conducted by the delegation the solution of ecclesiastical questions was given special attention. The claims of the Dissidents, of which nothing had been heard for a long time, suddenly cropped up again in 1774 in the form of a proposal put to the delegation by Poninski. The discussion

[1] Garampi's reports of March 23, April 13 and 20, 1774, *ibid.*, 284, 286; in addition, the complaints of March 16, April 7, 12, and 14, 1774, *ibid.*, 569 *seqq.* *Cf.* JANSSEN, 180 *seq.*; KOSER, *Friedrich II.*, II., 475 *seq.*

[2] On August 22, 1774, THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 579 *seq.*

[3] HERRMANN, V., 542 *seqq.*; Garampi's reports of July 7 and December 8, 1773, April 27 (first report), May 4, August 27, and September 17, 1774, *loc. cit.*, 541 *seq.*, 557 *seq.*, 586 *seq.*, 587, 596, 598 *seq.*

[4] Garampi's reports of January 26, February 2, May 11 (second report) and 15, September 24, and October 1 (second report), 1774, *ibid.*, 581 *seq.*, 588 *seq.*, 599 *seq.*

of the matter was left to a sub-committee under the chairmanship of a Bishop.[1] Some differences of opinion were expressed, but it was finally agreed to uphold the laws against apostasy in a mitigated form and that 1717 should be the standard year for deciding conflicting claims to the possession of expropriated churches.[2] The Dissidents were to be excluded from the highest political posts and they were not to send more than three deputies to the Diet.[3] It is to be seen from this decision what a subordinate rôle the Dissident question had played in the aims of the non-Catholic Powers in respect of Poland.

Another important matter was the regulation of ecclesiastical conditions in the territories to be ceded. The nuncio Durini urged the members of the delegation to insist on the maintenance of the *status quo*; he himself drew up two memoranda, which he handed in.[4] Together with Poland's insistence Austria's firm attitude in this matter was of great advantage. The imperial ambassador Reviczky affirmed [5] that no special article was necessary in the treaty to be made with his Government, as the Catholic principles of his sovereigns would be valid also in Galicia, but he agreed to the inclusion of such a clause in the treaties with the other Powers if Poland granted equality of rights to the Dissidents in its own territories. Clement XIV. had made a special appeal to Maria Theresa to safeguard the rights of the Church.[6] The Russian representative at first wanted to restrict himself to

[1] Garampi's report of February 23, 1774, *ibid.*, 583.

[2] Garampi's first report of March 2, 1774, *ibid.*

[3] The latter point was not definitely settled until 1775; *v.* LIKOWSKI, I., 131, 162; PELESZ, II., 563; BEER, II., 310 *seqq.* *Cf.* THEINER, *Zustände*, 266 *seq.*; JANSSEN, 184.

[4] Garampi's second report of August 18, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 547.

[5] *Ibid.*, 485.

[6] On March 20, 1773, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 249 *seq.* Emperor Joseph II. replied under date April 25, 1773, that nothing had been neglected by the participating Powers in this connection (*ibid.*, 349).

an assurance of the principles of toleration held by his sovereign,[1] but then accepted an article in the treaty by which the Catholics of both rites in the new territories were to enjoy complete freedom of religion and the security of their possessions. Similarly in the treaty with Prussia the *status quo* in the religious conditions in West Prussia was guaranteed and the Catholics were promised the same toleration as existed in the other Prussian provinces.[2]

How necessary these precautions were, especially in the case of Russia, was to be seen very soon. In spite of a fresh edict of toleration issued by the Czarina, the ecclesiastical rights of the Russian Catholics were gravely endangered. In the ecclesiastical sphere the fatal consequence of the disintegration of the Piast Empire, which began with this first partition of Poland, was the gradual and systematic destruction of the Greek Uniate Church in the Ukraine and in White Russia.

Since the Union of Brest in 1596 those portions of the Russian people over whom the double empire of Poland and Lithuania had maintained its rule on its eastern borders, had gradually ranged themselves under the primacy of Rome, with the exception of a small minority gathered round the Orthodox bishopric of Mohilev. The internal conditions of this Uniate Church were not exactly exemplary, with the possible exception of the Basilian Order, which also supplied the Bishops. The root trouble was the inadequate training of the secular clergy, who were unable to grasp in the proper manner the dogmatic differences between the Church of Rome and that of Byzantium. Moreover, the Uniates were not considered as their equals by the Latin Catholic Poles, and complete equality of political rights was obstinately refused them. It is understandable, therefore, that these peoples, who in any case were more closely connected with the Russians

[1] THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 491.

[2] THEINER, *Zustände*, 258. For the new administration of West Prussia, *cf.* KOSER, II., 481 *seqq.*; for ecclesiastical questions, p. 496 in particular.

of the Czarist Empire by reason of their religious rites and racial ties, felt little loyalty towards the Polish Crown.[1]

As the result of the first partition of Poland this Uniate Church, all of which had formerly been in Polish territory, was split into three politically separate portions. Only a small portion remained in Poland, that of the Western Ukraine, under the Metropolitan of the Union, Archbishop Wolodkowicz of Kiev, whose moral conduct and fulfilment of his pastoral duties were hardly laudable.[2] The western portion of the Uniates, in Galicia, fell to Austria, the northern portion, in White Russia, to the empire of the Czars.

Of the 2·7 million Polish subjects who passed under the rule of Maria Theresa about two-thirds were Ukrainian Uniates (Ruthenians), concentrated for the most part in the dioceses of Lemberg and Przemysl. Important as were the efforts made to bring about a reform, especially those made by Bishop Leo Szeptycki of Lemberg, and however flourishing the spiritual and economic activity of the Basilians, the religious state of the people and the secular clergy was bad.[3] As the imperial Government made it one of its chief tasks to improve these conditions, the Galicians adapted themselves to the new regime with joy and inward relief.[4] An imperial edict of

[1] Further details in LEHTONEN, 115–133; LIKOWSKI, I., 136 *seqq.*

[2] LIKOWSKI, I., 165–177; PELESZ, II., 499 *seq.*, 529 *seqq.* For the ecclesiastical disciplinary proceedings against him, *cf.* also in particular THEINER, *Zustände*, 262.

[3] PELESZ, II., 598 *seqq.*; KORCZOK, 10 *seqq.*

[4] KORCZOK, 24 *seq.*; ARNETH, *Maria Theresia*, VIII., 420; L. CHOTKOWSKI, *Histoire politique de l'Église en Galicie sous le gouvernement de Marie-Thérèse*, in the gazette of the Academy of Sciences in Cracow, Cracow, 1910, 25 *seqq.* An important change that afterwards took place was the withdrawal of the privilege enjoyed by the Basilians of being the only Order to occupy the cathedral chapters and the episcopal sees (PELESZ, II., 614–627). For the cultural and colonizing activity of the Germans after 1772, *cf.* R. F. KAINDL, *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenändern*, III., Gotha, 1911, 3 *seqq.*

July 28th, 1774, assured the Uniates of an effective equality of rights and changed the mutual attitude of the Catholics of the two rites, which had frequently been hostile, to one of successful co-operation.[1] The empress provided for the training of the clergy by setting up the Barbaræum in Vienna and a seminary for priests in Lemberg in 1783. Subsequently the Ukrainian standard of education also was raised and the Uniates were even given their own Metropolitan constitution.[2]

The fate of the Uniates in the eastern districts was just the reverse. As most of the nobility in these parts had attached themselves to the Latin rite for the sake of political privileges, the Union had gained ground only among the uneducated country-folk and even here it had been undermined by the self-seeking and simoniacal practices of its priests.[3] The Ukrainian Uniates had had a hard time of it even before the first partition of Poland, and the subsequent period was not to bring with it any lasting improvement. Since the incursions of the Russians and the Haidamaks in 1768 the Greek Catholics had been made to become schismatics by force of Russian arms and measures of violence,[4] in addition to which there were a number of voluntary apostasies. In 1764 there were

[1] PELESZ, II., 647; KORSZOK, 28; SCHIRMER in the *Revue internationale de théologie*, X. (1902), 348, XII. (1904), 292.

[2] KORCZOK, 29 *seqq.*, 45 *seq.*, 71; PELESZ, II., 635 *seqq.*, 655 *seqq.*; P. WERHUN in *Ukraine und die kirchliche Union*, 31.

[3] A. J. BRAWER, *Galizien, wie es an Österreich kam*, Leipzig-Wien, 1910, 17 *seqq.*; for the internal situation of the Church, *ibid.*, 98 *seqq.*; *cf.* also LEHTONEN, 130 *seqq.*; LIKOWSKI, I., 284–304.

[4] THEINER, *Zustände*, 259; PELESZ, II., 535 *seqq.*; LIKOWSKI, I., 139–159, especially also for the propaganda made by the schismatic clergy. Foi the persecution of the priests, *cf.* Garampi's report of March 10, 1773, *loc. cit.*, 519 *seq.* *Ibid.*, Garampi's gift of money for the priests held in captivity, which was to be distributed by a suitable Basilian. Also the collection of documents which Garampi sent to Rome (*ibid.*, 512 *seqq.*) and his own full report (*ibid.*, 562 *seqq.*, and THEINER, *Epist.*, 359 *seqq.*).

1,900 Uniate parishes in the Ukraine and only twenty Orthodox ones; by 1775 in only two districts of the province the Uniates had been robbed of 1,300 churches.[1] In Volhynia the Uniate priests were the victims of atrocities, being imprisoned in the most barbarous fashion or tortured to death if they refused to forswear the Union or to hand over their churches to the schismatics.[2] The Polish Government, the delegation of the Diet in particular, made several protests against this persecution of the Catholics and declared to be baseless the Russian accusation that the Uniates had interfered with the Russian occupation and had committed deeds of violence.[3] On February 18th, 1774, after Stackelberg's conciliatory assurances had proved to be ineffectual, he was handed a memorandum in which the most recent incidents were enumerated[4]; in March another official complaint was lodged.[5] In spite of this the measures taken by the Russians, especially their popes, against the Uniate priests showed a marked increase and assumed barbaric forms. On June 5th the delegation handed in a third protest, which the Polish king, at Garampi's instigation, supported with a note of his own addressed to St. Petersburg.[6] He also appealed to the

[1] LEHTONEN, 135. After the restitution of the churches in 1775 there were still 186 of them remaining in Orthodox hands in these districts alone, whereas formerly there were only twenty Orthodox churches in the whole of the Polish Ukraine. Moreover, by 1773, in the diocese of Kiev, for instance, the Russians had deprived the Uniates of twenty-three deaneries and left them only nine; *v. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CIV., 551.

[2] THEINER, *Zustände*, 263.

[3] PELESZ, II., 542 *seqq.*; THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 512 *seqq.*

[4] THEINER, *ibid.*, 561 *seq.*; *id.*, *Zustände*, 264.

[5] *Id.*, *Zustände*, 265.

[6] *Ibid.*, 266. For Garampi's energetic support, *v.* PELESZ, II., 537 *seqq.* In general, *cf.* LIKOWSKI, I., 159 *seqq.* In a letter of July 24, 1773, the Pope exhorted the king to fulfil his royal duty of protecting his country's Church (THEINER, *Epist.*, 256 *seqq.*). Garampi's reports of May 4 and 25, 1774 (first report), deal with the maltreatment of Bishop Rylo of Chelm, who was sent by

foreign Powers to use their good offices on his behalf at the Czarist Court. Garampi was continually sending the most precise reports on the subject to Rome and as early as March, 1773, he forwarded a memorandum for Maria Theresa, requesting her intervention with Catherine II. Shortly before, an instruction with the same purport had been sent from Rome to Visconti.[1] On April 25th Maria Theresa and Joseph II. did indeed promise the Pope to support the harassed Uniates and when in 1774 Clement XIV. forwarded Maria Theresa a description of the situation as given by Garampi the empress sent it straight to the Czarina, with a personal letter from herself.[2]

Finally the Czarina concluded a formal religious peace with Poland in 1775 [3] and ordered the release of the imprisoned priests and the return of the misappropriated churches. Nevertheless only a fraction of what had been confiscated was returned and many a priest was given his freedom only after signing a statement that he voluntarily renounced his own Church in favour of the schismatics.[4]

Another method of gradually detaching the Catholics from their faith was adopted in those districts of White Russia which had been annexed in perpetuity by Russia in 1772, and where the transfer to Russian administration had been carried through with scarcely any resistance.[5] The population consisted roughly of 100,000 Roman Catholics, 800,000 Greek Uniates, and 300,000 Russian schismatics. Catherine's main object here was to keep the Uniates, who in any case were more in sympathy with the Orthodox Russians than with the Catholic Poles, as a separate entity and then gradually to

Garampi on a secret visitation of the Ukraine; THEINER, *Monumenta*, IV., 2, 587 *seq.*, 589, also LIKOWSKI, I., 178; PELESZ, II., 539.

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 286, 288, 297.

[2] *Ibid.*, 437 *seqq.*

[3] The chief concession she made here was her renunciation of the "iudicium mixtum". LIKOWSKI, I., 162.

[4] LEHTONEN, 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, 271.

loosen their ties with Rome and incorporate them into the Russian State Church.[1] And this plan succeeded. For the Latin Catholics a similar plan had been prepared.

It was only in recent years that the number of Latin Catholics in Russia had increased to such an extent that a special regulation of their religious conditions seemed to be necessary. This was attended to by Catherine II. in the spirit of toleration and State religion by means of a manifesto of July 22nd, 1763.[2] According to this, the Catholics of the Latin rite—there were no longer any of the Greek rite—were to enjoy freedom in the practice of their religion, in the building of churches, and in the selection of their priests, but they did not receive permission to propagate their faith or to establish monasteries. In legal and administrative matters the churches were subject to the authority of the State.

For the time being this piece of legislation was sufficient, but when in 1772 a hundred thousand White Russian Catholics were annexed to the Russian Empire the need arose to regulate their hierarchy, which was to be built into the rigid structure of the absolutist State. For on no account would St. Petersburg agree to these communities being left under their former Bishops still resident in Poland, as was at first proposed by the ecclesiastical authorities. On the contrary, White Russia, in the same way as it had been incorporated into the Czarist empire as a separate political province, was at least to be raised to the dignity of a separate ecclesiastical province. The systematic concentration of the Uniates in this province was also contemplated, for on the one hand this was a new confession for the great empire and on the other its connexion with the Latin Catholics, already loose enough, was to be severed altogether if possible.[3]

[1] For the secret attempts made by Koniski, the schismatic Bishop of Mohilev, to stir up trouble among these Uniates, *v.* LIKOWSKI, I., 198 *seqq.*

[2] LEHTONEN, 543.

[3] Nevertheless numerous Uniates preferred to go over to the Latin rite (LIKOWSKI, I., 203 *seqq.*), although Clement XIV.

The task of preparing a plan for the ecclesiastical constitution of White Russia was entrusted to the Russian ambassador to Warsaw, Count Saldern, as being the most reliable person with a knowledge of the situation. His opinion, dated November 9th, 1772, was substantially approved by the Russian *Conseil* at the end of the month, Count Czerniszew making a few additions to it before presenting it to the Czarina.[1] The gist of it was that the Uniates with their former hierarchy were to be put under the Archbishop of Polotsk, while the adherents of the Latin rite were to be included in a new bishopric embracing the whole of Russia. As the most suitable holder of this new office the convert Siestrzencewicz, a member of the Lithuanian Calvinist nobility, was proposed. This plan was borne out in the main, though not in every particular, in the imperial ukase on the ecclesiastical organization of the Russian Catholics [2] which appeared on December 14th, 1772. A new " Bishopric of White Russia ", administering the whole of Russia, was erected for the Roman Catholics, while the Uniates remained subject to Archbishop Smogorzewski of Polotsk.[3] Both dignitaries received for their support a consistory, not a cathedral chapter ; in disciplinary and administrative questions appeals might be made to the superior civil authority ; the latter was to see that no propaganda was made by the Catholics among the Orthodox ; Papal Bulls and Briefs were subject to the imperial exequatur.

This decree, issued a few weeks after the announcement of the partition, was irregular on two counts : Poland's assent by treaty to the territorial annexations had not yet been

renewed, under date April 16, 1774, the prohibition of this practice originally issued by Urban VIII. on February 7, 1624. See P. WERHUN, *loc. cit.*, 25.

[1] LEHTONEN, I., 546–552 ; MACIEJ LORET, *Kościól Katolicki a Katarzyna*, II., 32–6.

[2] LORET, 38 *seq.* ; LEHTONEN, 557 *seqq.* ; P. PIERLING, *Caterina II. e i cattolici della Russia*, in *Civ. catt.*, 1909, II., 456 *seqq.* Catherine had previously been handed a counter-memorial.

[3] For Smogorzewski, see LIKOWSKI, I., 192 *seqq.* ; PELESZ, II., 549 *seqq.*

given and, what was far worse, the ecclesiastical sanction had not been obtained. Naturally this arbitrary interference of the schismatic empress aroused Rome's indignation. The Congregation of Propaganda lost no time in drawing up a protest and submitting it to the Pope. This was done on March 17th, 1773.[1] No further trace of this document can be found; evidently it was not sent on to St. Petersburg.

Meanwhile the Czarina proceeded along her course unchecked. Her next task was the nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishop. Saldern had proposed Stanislaus Bohusz Siestrzencewicz, a lively *bel esprit* of wide interests, whose mental energy was dissipated in too many directions. After a stormy past he was now tutor to the House of Radziwill.[2] In April, 1773, at the request of his Russophil Bishop, he was nominated by the Pope as Bishop of Mallo *in partibus infidelium* and as Coadjutor-designate in Vilna. Being on good terms with the Russophil party, he was appointed the first Bishop of White Russia by a ukase of the Czarina's on November 22nd (December 3rd), 1773.[3] Siestrzencewicz had to conform to Catherine's will in many respects, but he sometimes took the liberty of disregarding it. He refused, for instance, to take over his new post without first obtaining Papal confirmation.[4] The Czarina allowing him to apply to the Curia, he wrote to the Pope,[5] asking him to recognize his nomination, and basing his request on the great interest and solicitude felt by his sovereign in the welfare of the Catholics.

Rome now found itself constrained to declare its attitude towards the illegal proceedings that had been taken in Russia. The ensuing negotiations, which went on for most of the

[1] PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 459.

[2] *Ibid.*, 460 *seqq.*; LEHTONEN, 573 *seqq.*; LORET, *loc. cit.*, 43–51; also Garampi's letter to Castelli, of April 6, 1774, in LORET, 214. His correspondence in the Papal Secret Archives (Nunziat. di Polonia) was edited by Parczewski Szantyr (*v. ibid.*).

[3] PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 468; LORET, 55; *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, X. (1919), 65 *seqq.*, 308 *seqq.*

[4] LEHTONEN, 579 *seqq.*, 575.

[5] On February 10, 1774; *v.* PIERLING, 469.

following year, were conducted by the nuncio Garampi.[1] He, having already great confidence in Siestrzencewicz, defended his protégé on all points to the Propaganda, but stressed at the same time that in spite of her principles of toleration the Czarina was opposed to any close connexion between her Catholics and the Holy See or the rest of the world.[2] In these circumstances it was impossible for the Pope to recognize the arbitrary erection of the new bishopric, but the Propaganda, reluctant to jeopardize any kind of ecclesiastical organization and sacred ministry for the Russian Catholics, agreed to nominate Siestrzencewicz as Apostolic Delegate for the former Polish, now Russian, territories. The relevant decree, of January 31st, 1774, received Papal confirmation on February 20th.[3]

In addition, Rome applied to the Court of Vienna for support, and the Propaganda transmitted a copy of Garampi's instruction to the nuncio to Vienna, Visconti.[4] In its declarations and memoranda the Curia emphasized the glaring contrast between the Czarina's quite unprecedented and arbitrary action and her repeated assurances of toleration and the retention of the *status quo* in ecclesiastical matters ; they declared the ecclesiastical constitution of Russia as ordained by St. Petersburg to be invalid, since it lacked Papal confirmation,

[1] See the correspondence between Rome, Garampi, and Siestrzencewicz in LORET, 59 *seqq.*, 209 *seqq.*

[2] Garampi to the Propaganda on March 9, 1774, *ibid.*, 211 *seq.* For Garampi's confidence, *cf.* LEHTONEN, 462, 465. Rome's reply was full of misgivings ; *v.* Castelli to Garampi on March 5 and 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 212 *seqq.* Garampi praised and recommended Siestrzencewicz again under date April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 214 *seq.* He also consoled Siestrzencewicz and encouraged him at any rate to show a keen activity in the meantime in those spheres in which he had jurisdiction as Coadjutor of Vilna ; *v.* his letter to him of August 1, 1774, *ibid.*, 215 *seq.*

[3] PIERLING, 470 ; LORET, 59–63.

[4] LORET, 87, 218 *seqq.* ; memorandum from the Propaganda to Visconti in Vienna, with two enclosures (memoranda on the regulation of the Russian ecclesiastical constitution).

and expressed the fear of a schism. In particular the Propaganda considered it monstrous that the Catholics in White Russia and those scattered over the whole empire should have only one Bishop, which made the satisfactory fulfilment of pastoral duties impossible. Without question two dioceses must be erected for the territory newly acquired from Poland, while the Catholics in the Russian diaspora would be cared for, as before, by the missionaries of the Propaganda. For the Uniates too the single archbishopric of Polotsk was insufficient; at any rate a larger territory should be allotted to the Archbishop of Smolensk, who had become a Russian subject. But that all appeals in ecclesiastical questions must be directed to Rome and not to St. Petersburg was in accordance with a fundamental principle, the observance of which was demanded by Rome without exception from every Catholic Christian community throughout the world.[1] The nuncio Visconti, while acknowledging to the full the good will of the empress, raised some doubts about the reliability of the Viennese Court.[2] It did in fact make some conditions about the Uniates in Galicia, but on receiving a favourable reply from the Pope [3] Maria Theresa entered on a correspondence with the Czarina on the question raised by Rome.[4]

Nevertheless all the Curia's attempts to obtain some concession from the Czarina seemed to be doomed to failure, so that it became necessary to communicate with her by direct means, in so far as that was compatible with the dignity of the Curia. A good opportunity for this was offered by the mission undertaken by the Knight of Malta, Sagramoso, who, at the request of Pallavicini, the Secretary of State, was

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 224 *seq.*, his letter to Pallavicini of February 24, 1774; *cf. ibid.*, 88.

[3] Maria Theresa wanted the Church government in Galicia to be "as if there were no country in Europe that went by the name of Poland" (*ibid.*, 89). The Pope replied under date March 5, 1774, that he would instruct the nuncios to Vienna and Warsaw to make further inquiries and conditions (THEINER, *Epist.*, 296 *seq.*).

[4] LORET, 89–92.

to be sent by his Grand Master to the Russian Court.[1] While there, he was instructed by Pallavicini,[2] he was to have a personal talk with Catherine about the situation of the Catholics in her empire. She was to guarantee for Russia the effective union between the head and members of the Church and to sanction an adequate number of Catholic parish priests and Bishops for these districts, as circumstances warranted. Not one of the least favours His Holiness expected to receive in virtue of her magnanimity and justice was the re-establishment of religious peace and well-being among the Uniates of the Ukraine. On the same day, May 28th, 1774, Clement XIV. addressed a personal letter to Sagramoso on the subject of his mission.[3]

Clement XIV. did not live to see the execution of this scheme. It was interrupted by his death, but was resumed by his successor.[4]

(3)

Clement XIV., engrossed as he was with the Jesuit question, could give only half his mind to the development of the ecclesiastical situation in Poland, and he devoted still less time to the anti-clerical movements in Germany.[5] In consequence, not only was Febronianism able to spread almost undisturbed in the latter country, but the first attempts were made to put its principles into practice.

In the autumn of 1769 the information reached Rome that the book of Justinus Febronius was being printed in Frankfurt in a new and considerably enlarged edition. The Pope thought the matter so serious that on October 14th he wrote a strongly

[1] For Sagramoso, *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*

[2] By letter of May 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 225 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 97.

[5] SCHMID, *Geschichte der kath. Kirche Deutschlands*, 10; STÜMPER, 158. For the sections dealing with Febronius, Pastor had collected a number of sources from the Vatican which are here developed by others.

worded letter of admonition to the Archbishop of Trier.[1] To avert fresh injuries to the Church Klemens Wenzeslaus was urged to use every effort and care "to stifle that poisonous and pestilential abortion before it sees the light of day". As an additional precaution the Pope had his Secretary of State inform Maria Theresa, under date November 18th,[2] that in view of the unheard-of audacity of the author it was also the duty of the Empress to intervene, especially as the publication was taking place without mention of where it was being printed or the real name of the author, which was a patent violation of the imperial laws. She was asked, therefore, to instruct the imperial censor in Frankfurt to impound this new edition immediately.

But in imagining that anything could be done by imperial intervention in the predominantly Protestant free city on the Main the Pope was indulging in vain hopes, and in Trier also his Brief failed to have the desired effect. In fact the first step taken by the Elector there was to entrust the drafting of a reply to Rome to no other than his suffragan Bishop Hontheim. Hontheim's draft consisted of a flat refusal to interfere with the printing on the score that Frankfurt was a free city of the empire; but some prospect was offered of the book being banned by Trier. The Elector, deeming this reply to be too brusque, rejected Hontheim's draft and used more courteous terms, though the effect of his letter was hardly more favourable.

Actually there appeared in the February of the following year not a new edition but a second volume of Febronius's work, purporting to be published at "Frankfurt and Leipzig".[3] It was not a continuation of the first volume, but a full discussion of all the refutations that had hitherto

[1] In Epist. ad princ., 165, p. 298, Papal Secret Archives, reproduced in THEINER, *Epist.*, 32; *Bull. Cont.*, V., 98 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 273 *seq.*; STÜMPER, 158.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 274.

[3] The title, exactly the same as in 1763, was followed by the explanation: "tomus secundus, ulteriores operis vindicias continens."

appeared. Hontheim went on with his trick of giving the author a false name by introducing pseudonyms for the writer of each one of the objections. In addition, he invented a new editor,[1] the pseudonym "Febronius" appearing only as the writer of the final section on the obedience due to the Holy See.

Hontheim's presumable intention in publishing this new volume under the protection of his Elector and with only a feeble intervention on the part of the reigning Pope was to reawaken public interest in his work and to set going again the arguments it contained. In this he was completely successful. In a few weeks the Bishop of Mainz and Worms was writing to Visconti, the nuncio to Vienna, that Febronius's work was much in demand and was selling well in spite of its high price. It was to be feared, he said, that the secular Governments would extend their jurisdiction more and more at the expense of the spiritual authority. In this respect, he added, the Court of Mannheim was already showing its willingness to follow the example of other Catholic princes.[2]

In May, 1771, the Roman Congregation of the Index banned this second volume as it had done the first.[3] In August, when the nuncio to Cologne was asked to make careful inquiries as to how Trier really stood towards Hontheim,[4] it was already believed in Rome that the Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus had forbidden the author of "Febronius" to publish a third volume.[5]

[1] Caprara, the nuncio to Cologne, suspected the editor to be the Canon and Professor Hillesheim (SCHNÜTGEN, *loc. cit.*, 753).

[2] *Letter of March 24, 1770, from Worms, Nunziat. di Germania, 652, Papal Secret Archives. It contains the following passage: "Dicunt ultro aperteque quod, si liceat ecclesiasticis contra potestatem papalem scribere eamque coarctare, ipsis in malam partem non possit verti, si et ipsi vigiles sint."

[3] *Cf.* the *communication of the Secretary of the Index of February 21, 1777, Nunziat. di Germania, 189A, *loc. cit.*, which gives May 24, whereas REUSCH (*Index*, II., 942) gives May 14.

[4] *Cifre to Caprara of August 10, 1771, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Thus *Orsini to Tanucci on August 9, 1771, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1477.

Meanwhile the literary warfare was resumed with renewed vigour. The most important work on the orthodox side was the *Antifebronius vindicatus* of the Italian Jesuit Zaccaria, which appeared in four volumes in 1772–73.[1] When the Dominican Mamachi personally presented the Pope with his refutation of the "Febronius" in July, 1771, he was highly praised.[2] The Dean of Cologne University, Johann Gottfried Kaufmanns, was also thanked by the Pope in a Brief of August 17th, 1771,[3] for sending him his work against the "Febronius". Similarly the nuncio Caprara was instructed in May, 1773, to convey the Pope's thanks to the Jesuit Carrich for his refutation.[4]

Hontheim was not by any means disposed to suffer these attacks in silence. He was already preparing to launch another general assault by means of two further volumes written in his own defence. The third volume duly appeared in 1772, the fourth in 1773–74, the latter being in two parts. The former consisted chiefly of a discussion with Walch, the author

[1] In Rome and Cesena. A reprint of the first two volumes, probably sponsored by German Jesuits, appeared in Frankfurt in 1772. Hontheim attacked the work in the fourth volume of the "Febronius". For details, *cf.* O. MEJER, *Febronius*, 91 *seqq.* Even Brunati said that Zaccaria was one of Febronius's most competent opponents (*letter to Colloredo, February 2, 1774, State Archives, Vienna). It is significant that the two anti-Febronian works were on the Viennese Index of 1780 (REUSCH, II., 942).

[2] *Vasquez to Roda, August 15, 1771, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez.

[3] In *Epist. ad princ., 169, p. 65, Papal Secret Archives. THEINER, *Epist.*, 173. J. G. KAUFFMANNS, *Pro statu Ecclesiae catholicae et legitima potestate Rom. Pontificis contra J. Febronii librum*, Cologne, 1770. For Kauffmanns, *cf.* WESSELMANN, Kempen, 1881; *Annalen des Hist. Ver. f. d. Niederrhein*, XLIII. (1885), 210.

[4] *Cifre to Caprara, of May 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, *loc. cit.* For the literary history of the "Febronius" in the reign of Clement XIV., see also WALCH, *Neueste Kirchengesch.*, VI. (1777), 189 *seqq.*

of the *Neueste Kirchengeschichte*[1]; Hontheim himself had supplied him with an article on the origin of his work, but in it he had drawn a clear dividing line between the Protestant idea and the "purified" ecclesiastical system of Febronius. As opposed to Walch, Hontheim defended the doctrinal infallibility of the Church without the slightest qualification. The most notable feature of the fourth volume is the highly conceited preface,[2] where allusion was made to the obvious success of the work among Catholic Government circles and it was again emphasized that the object of the book was the reunion of the Churches. It was the author's duty, it was said here, to "denounce those execrable and obnoxious superfluities which deter the Protestants especially from returning to the Church". And it was not only the clergy that were to judge of the matter, but the whole Christian world. But in its first phase at any rate the attainment of his object rested with the action and the good will of the politicians. The most recent ecclesiastical reforms carried out by several Catholic princes were to be welcomed as the first steps along the road, likewise the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the abolition of the Bull *In coena Domini*, Portugal's breach with Rome, and other such measures. All this, for Febronius, helped to purify religion.

In March, 1773, the third volume of Febronius was condemned by the Congregation of the Index without any specific censures.[3] At the same time it instructed its secretary to apply to the Pope for another solemn condemnation of the pernicious work. The secretary fulfilled his commission, but

[1] Vol. III., pp. 313 *seq.*

[2] Dated "V Idus Martii 1773". According to Krufft (Mejer, 174) Hontheim intended to close his "career" with this double volume and to retire to his property of Montquintin in Luxemburg, but found himself unable to do so either on this occasion or two years later.

[3] *Communication of the Secretary of the Index, of February 21, 1777, Nunziat. di Germania, 189 A, *loc. cit.*, which gives the date as March 29, whereas Reusch (II., 942) gives it as March 3. Volume IV. is not on the Index.

without effect [1]; the ideas contained in the book had already gained admittance into the ecclesiastical policy of the German princes and had in fact, to some extent at least, been derived by the author from ecclesiastico-political practice.[2]

The doubtful honour of being the first to take steps in this direction in a notable manner is due to the three Rhenish Archbishops. In 1769 the Courts of Mainz and Cologne had already issued invitations [3] to the Archbishop of Trier and afterwards probably to one or two other Bishops, to attend a conference on the removal of various abuses. In the December of that year Van Deel, the deputy from Mainz, Hillesheim, Canon and Professor of Cologne, and Hontheim, suffragan Bishop of Trier, met at Coblenz as the plenipotentiaries of their spiritual lords. Hontheim presided [4] over the proceedings, the protocol of which may be regarded as the prologue to the notorious Punctation of Ems of 1786.

The very preamble to the document,[5] which was signed on December 13th and contains thirty articles, is pervaded with the Febronian spirit. The agreements begin with a general denunciation of the Roman Curia, whose abuses and exaggerated claims had been steadily increasing since the fifteenth century. So far from wanting to loosen the bond with the Holy See, the three Electors were intent on strengthening it anew by removing all excrescences. This could be done by restoring the episcopal authority to its original condition and by freeing their subjects from the oppressive taxes levied by Rome. The emperor himself, with his powerful protection of the German Church, was asked to obtain from the Pope the restoration of its ancient freedom and to help clear away all the scandals and abuses.

[1] *Cf.* the *communication mentioned in the previous note.

[2] These territorial roots of the "Febronius" have been brought to light by Leo Just in *Das Erzbistum Trier und die luxemburgische Kirchenpolitik* (*Die Reichskirche, I.*), Leipzig, 1931.

[3] Mejer, *Febronius*, 76 *seqq.*

[4] Schnütgen, *loc. cit.*, 745; Schmid, *Geschichte der kath. Kirche Deutschlands*, 10.

[5] Printed for the first time in Lebret, *Magazin*, VIII., 1 *seqq.*

The desires of these Rhenish ecclesiastics, which they set out one by one, were of a varied nature, some of them merely borrowings from the usual *gravamina*, but most of them demands for reform of a Febronian and "enlightened" character. Thus complaints were raised against the excessive number of new Apostolic Constitutions, whose publication in future would need episcopal assent before they were legally valid; the same condition would have to be applied to all Papal rescripts and the granting of favours. The informatory process for the purpose of confirming an episcopal election would have to be opened not only with the nunciature but also with the competent or the nearest Ordinary. The payment of annates and other moneys not only meant that a free nation and the first of the Catholic peoples was subjected to a formal tribute, but they were an appreciable drain on the economic resources of the ecclesiastical principalities and set them at a disadvantage compared with the Protestant principalities. Then come the usual complaints about the system of appeals and the other powers of the nuncios that evaded the episcopacy. This was followed by the demand for the Apostolic faculty of dispensation for every Bishop. To restore the episcopal authority to its former condition, exemptions were to disappear and the regular clergy and the administration, reform, or suppression of the religious houses were to be subject to the local Bishop.

These agreements made at Coblenz were approved by the three Electors, who on February 1st, 1770, sent similarly worded notes containing their demands to the imperial Government, with the request that they be put before the Pope.[1] In Vienna, where the empress especially, with her respect for religious authority, jibbed at the overweening demand,[2] the matter was shelved until the autumn, when a reply was sent in which the Electors' comprehensive pro-

[1] MEJER, 81 *seq.* According to Krufft (*ibid.*, 271) the Bishop of Würzburg, who had also been invited to Coblenz, shortly afterwards sent his communication too.

[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 413 *seq.*

gramme was picked to pieces, all the points within the competence of the imperial diet and those which did not seem to be too urgent being separated from the rest. For the remainder, which needed to be discussed, further evidence was requested. But it was due also to the Elector of Trier that the affair turned out otherwise than was desired. It was only owing to Hontheim's insistence and after a long delay that Klemens Wenzeslaus put his name to the reply proposed by Mainz and Cologne, and then he did not allow it to be dispatched. He also rejected the further proposal to send a personal plenipotentiary to Vienna, having precise information from that quarter, as he said, "that the favourable moment had not yet presented itself." Finally the Coblenz protocol was sent also to the French Government, whereupon Cardinal Rohan, who was asked to act as intermediary, expressed his disapproval of the document and was praised by the Pope for so doing.[1] So it came about that these agreements of the ecclesiastical Electors had no immediate results, but they merit attention in so far as most of the points reappeared ten years later in the Josephine programme of reform.

But the Febronian-minded Archbishop of Mainz, Emmerich Joseph von Breidenbach, was not to be diverted by this failure from continuing his efforts to make good his pretensions.[2] The very next year the Cardinal Secretary of State was complaining that force was being used in Mainz to obstruct inconvenient appeals.[3] The Elector was also said to be making fresh efforts at the imperial Court to win favour for his aspirations,[4] despite the counter-efforts of the nuncio

[1] THEINER, *Epist.*, 106.

[2] For the episcopalist influence of the Archbishop of Mainz on the Archbishop of Trier, *v.* SCHNÜTGEN, *loc. cit.*, 752 ; *cf. ibid.*, 744.

[3] *Cifra to Nuncio Giraud in Paris, of July 24, 1771 : "ed ora con minaccie, ora con forza, hanno trattenuto gli appellanti a desistere da ogni ulteriore ricorso." Nunziat. di Francia, 461, fo. 137, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Among other ways, by sending another memorandum. *Cf.* *Cifra to Nuncio Giraud of July 24, 1771, *loc. cit.*, fo. 140, and THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 3.

Visconti,[1] and to be soliciting the interest of the other German Bishops in his aims.[2] Consequently the nuncios to Vienna and Cologne were advised repeatedly to keep a special watch on his whole line of conduct.[3]

Anti-clerical tendencies gradually made their way also into the ecclesiastical policy of the secular princes. The Elector Palatine, Karl Theodor, who was also Duke of Jülich and Berg, issued various decrees against the religious Orders through the leader of his Government in Düsseldorf, Count Goldstein, a friend of Hontheim's.[4] It was only the protest made by Caprara, the nuncio to Cologne, that prevented them being put into effect.[5] Similar tendencies developed at the Court of the Bavarian Elector, Max III. Joseph, so that here too Caprara had to intervene, this time in the project to use the revenues of the religious houses for the training colleges of the clergy.[6] Since 1768 there had been enacted a number of reforming decrees affecting the relations between the Church and State,[7] which could not be allowed to go uncontested by the ecclesiastical authorities. The necessity of erecting a barrier against these encroachments gave rise to certain unifying tendencies among the Bishops of the Bavarian Electorate,[8] which after numerous opinions had been given

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 3.

[2] *Cifra to Nuncio Giraud (undated ; between September 4 and 11, 1771), *loc. cit.*

[3] Among other occasions, on August 22, 1772 (in THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 143 *seq.*), and on August 28, 1773 (*ibid.*, 274 *seqq.*).

[4] Knowledge of Goldstein and his ecclesiastical policy is best obtained from the oft-quoted work by SCHNÜTGEN (*loc. cit.*, 743 *seqq.*).

[5] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 411 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 413.

[7] *Cf.* G. PFEILSCHIFTER-BAUMEISTER, *Der Salzburger Kongress und seine Auswirkung 1770–1777* (Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissensch., Heft 52), Paderborn, 1929, 119 *seqq.*, and 168–174 in particular. All the original sources are also collected together in this volume (pp. xviii–xlii).

[8] *Ibid.*, 184 *seqq.*

led to the calling of an episcopal congress.[1] Invitations to this were also issued at the end of June 1770 by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Sigmund Christoph von Schrattenbach.[2] The conferences began at the end of July and went on, under the chairmanship of Dean Truchsess of Zeil, until February 1771. At the twenty-seven sessions the general subject of discussion, after the preparation of a Bavarian concordat, was the various measures of reform. The conferences were continued as a congress of delegates until the end of 1772.[3] In spite of the high hopes that were justified by such an enterprise, it failed for personal and tactical reasons.[4] The only direct effect it had was a certain moderation in the Electoral policy towards the Church. When the congress opened Clement XIV. encouraged Archbishop Schrattenbach by sending him a special laudatory Brief [5] and he afterwards thanked him for informing him of the lampoons that had been launched against him.[6] Nor did Clement XIV. disdain to appeal directly to Max III. Joseph and to advise him most earnestly not to associate himself with the aims of the Rhenish Electors.[7] But the greatest joy was shown by the Pope on hearing that under the influence of the Duke of Württemberg, Karl Eugen, Klemens Wenzeslaus had withdrawn from the conspiracy formed by the Elector of Mainz.[8] And finally the latter too expressed his regret to the Pope for his former conduct in a memorial of October 21st, 1773, and received in return, a few months before he died, a letter of thanks from Clement XIV.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 191 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 220 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 402–423.

[4] *Ibid.*, 431 *seqq.*, 658 *seqq.*

[5] THEINER, *Epist.*, 121 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 91. *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 419 *seqq.*

[7] Already on March 10, 1770 (THEINER, *Epist.*, 69 *seq.*), also on January 19 and March 14, 1771 (*Hist.*, II., 3 *seq.*).

[8] *Cifre to the Auditor Rion in Paris, of July 14, 1773, Nunziat. di Francia, 461, Papal Secret Archives, also the Papal letter to the Duke of Württemberg, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 290 *seq.*

[9] Of February 5, 1774, *ibid.*, 292.

CHAPTER VII.

The Survival of the Jesuits in Prussia.

The conquest of Silesia and the partition of Poland brought under Prussian rule vast areas in which, in 1773, there were twenty-six Jesuit establishments of varying size and importance, containing about 350 members of the Order.[1] Frederick the Great's attitude towards the Jesuits has often been the subject of historical study.[2] His distaste for the Catholic Church, which had been implanted in him in his youth, continued to have its effect long afterwards, in spite of his proclivity to free thought; inwardly he never overcame it, though later on in life, for political reasons, he allowed it to recede more and more into the background.[3] During the first Silesian war he assured the nuncio to Warsaw that he would leave the Silesian Catholics in full possession of their rights and liberties, with no exception, not even the Jesuits,[4] but in

[1] When the Silesian Province of the Order was erected on January 1, 1755, it numbered 225 members, in 1770 only 144. In Jesuit possession, Bohemia 202. *Cf.* Duhr, *Gesch.*, IV., 1, 404 *seqq.* In the former Polish territories there were about 213 Jesuits. *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia 58. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Peter Phil. Wolff, *Allg. Gesch. der Jesuiten*, IV., 54 *seq.*; Menzel, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, IV.[2] (1855), 62 *seqq.*; Reinkens, *Die Universität zu Breslau* (1861), 110 *seqq.*; Zeller, *Friedrich d. Gr. als Philosoph* (1886), 152 *seqq.*; Grünhagen, *Schlesien unter Friedrich d. Gr.*, II. (1892), 449 *seqq.*; Witte, *Friedrich d. Gr. und die Jesuiten* (1892); Pigge, *Die religiöse Toleranz Friedrichs d. Gr.* (1899), 285 *seqq.*; Koser, *König Friedrich d. Gr.* (1903), 550 *seqq.*; Thoemes, *Friedrichs d. Gr. Bündnis mit der Gesellschaft Jesu* (1901). *Cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXI. (1901), 91 *seqq.*; Löffler, *Friedrich d. Gr. und die Jesuiten*, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXIV. (1909), 257 *seqq.*

[3] Duhr, IV., 1, 417.

[4] Witte, 40

the Seven Years' War he was guilty of baseless suspicions and excessively severe measures.[1] It was during this period of political and confessional animosity that the king uttered those contemptuous opinions of the Order that clearly show the influence of the polemical literature emanating from Portugal and France. "It would be a good thing," he wrote, "to abolish this Order altogether and let it share the same fate that was meted out to the Templars with less justice. There is any amount of the breed in Silesia. I should like to do away with them as the Catholics have done. Perhaps I shall take courage and follow their example."[2] A month before the signing of the preliminaries to the Peace of Hubertusburg, Schlabrendorf, his Minister of State for Silesia, submitted to him the memorandum he had ordered, setting out in full the measures to be taken for "the removal of the Jesuits". According to this memorandum, the 194 Jesuits in Silesia possessed a yearly income of 45,731 rix-dollars, 21,436 of which they had to pay away in taxes and other State dues.[3] It may have been the meagre results of this inquiry and, more probably still, political considerations that caused the king to shelve his plans for the expulsion of the Jesuits. With the far-seeing vision of the true statesman he saw that his military conquests would be jeopardized if they were not followed by the moral conquest of his new subjects.[4] Moreover, in the desperate situation of the State finances, he was not likely to forget that he would never obtain another teaching body at so low a price for the necessary work of reconstruction. But his antipathy to the Order still persisted. He refused to give his *placet* to the Bull of confirmation of 1765, "not for any love of Calvin, but so as not to give any further encouragement to the existence in the country of the noxious vermin that sooner or later will suffer the same fate as that dealt out to it by France and Portugal".[5] In 1767, in his letters to Voltaire and

[1] Duhr, IV., 1, 412 *seqq.*

[2] Koser, II., 550.

[3] March 7, 1763. Lehmann, IV. (1883), 105 *seqq.*, No. 106.

[4] *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVIII. (1910), 471.

[5] Koser, II., 550.

D'Alembert, he was still expressing his sincere joy at the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain.[1]

The earliest evidence of Frederick's change of attitude and language is found in his letter to D'Alembert of January 7th, 1768. After saying that the Jesuits had been driven out of half of Europe and that he could not guarantee what would happen to them in Austria when Maria Theresa was dead, he made the following declaration: "As for myself, I shall tolerate them as long as they keep quiet and don't attempt to strangle anyone." A few weeks later he remarked that however much of a heretic he was he had no desire to copy the example of the Catholic Powers, which, to pass the time, waged war on the poor Jesuits. "I shall leave this Order alone as long as it doesn't try to interfere with the secular power or murder me or mine. Lions and tigers," he added sarcastically, "are kept for the wild-beast fights in the circus, then why not tolerate the Jesuits too?" And he remained true to this attitude,[2] for in the course of the same year, 1768, he had the offer made, of his own accord, to the Jesuit General to provide a refuge near Potsdam for the expelled missionaries, on condition that they applied themselves there principally to the advancement of mathematics and natural science.[3]

When in the conclave of 1769 the Bourbon Powers were exerting themselves to the utmost to secure in advance the destruction of the Society of Jesus and only a few voices were raised in its defence, Ricci preferred not to wait for the outcome

[1] "Vivent les philosophes!" wrote Frederick to D'Alembert on May 5, 1767. "Voilà les jésuites chassés de l'Espagne. Le trône de la superstition est sapé, il s'écroulera dans le siècle futur" (*Œuvres*, éd. Preuss, XXIV., 422). It is interesting to note that Frederick referred to the expulsion from Spain in a letter to Voltaire of February 10, 1767 (*ibid.*, XXIII., 122), although it was prepared in the deepest secrecy and was not put into effect until April 2, 1767.

[2] KOSER, II., 550 *seq.*

[3] Ricci to Dobroslau, September 3, 1768. In Jesuit possession, Epp. Gen. ad Externos. *Cf. Stimmen der Zeit*, XCIII. (1917), 350 *seqq.*

of the conclave before thanking the king for having spoken so often in favour of the persecuted Order, asking him at the same time for his further protection.[1] His letter could hardly have arrived in Berlin when Frederick was again referring to the Jesuit question in his correspondence with D'Alembert. He thought that the forthcoming Papal election would depend, more than on anything else, on the total abolition of the Jesuit Order. "So far as I am concerned, I consider it will redound to my honour to preserve its fragments in Silesia and not to aggravate its misery, heretic as I am. In future, anyone who wants to see an Ignatian will have to go to Silesia, the only province where he can find a relic of the Order which only a short time ago was ruling the Courts of Europe with an almost despotic power. One day you in France will repent of having turned out this Order, and in the next few years the instruction of youth will suffer for it."[2] The Jesuit General was thanked by the king in courteous terms. "Talent and learning," he wrote, "have always had a right to my benevolence." Ricci, he said, could depend on his giving proofs of this at the opportune moment.[3] He repeated this assurance to the General in a letter of September 13th, 1770.[4] Such statements coming from a Protestant Power and from a monarch whose exceptional personal qualities and successes had made a deep impression on public opinion were not without their effect in Rome, and for the Society of Jesus, whose very existence was already being threatened, they were of high moral value.[5]

[1] Ricci to Frederick II., April 8, 1769. Stimmen aus Maria-*Laach*, LXXVIII. (1910), 472.

[2] Written on *April 22, 1769. LEHMANN, IV., 360; *Œuvres*, XXIV., 451; WITTE, 81 *seq.*

[3] *April or May, 1769. Italian translation in Mamachi's *letter to Alfani, January 19, [1774], Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti 57.

[4] *Original in Jesuit possession, Suppr., Assist. Germ.

[5] HEINRICH STÜMCKE, *Hohenzollern-Fürsten im Drama*, Leipzig, 1903. *Cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXV. (1903), 593 *seqq.*; *Grimaldi to Tanucci, August 27, 1765, Archives of Simancas,

A short time before, Frederick had in fact taken a step that was intended to benefit the persecuted Order. In 1770, when the Pope's acquiescence in the suppression seemed to be imminent, the Minister Finckenstein, at His Majesty's express command, had to write to Ciofani, the Prussian agent in Rome, that as a Protestant his royal master could not interfere with the internal affairs of the Catholic Church, but as he was entirely satisfied with the conduct of the Jesuits in his own territories, especially Silesia, his desire was that in the event of a suppression they were not to be included and that they should be allowed to continue their activities as before.[1] On Ciofani venturing to doubt the advisability of making representations on the strength of mere rumours Frederick insisted on his taking the necessary steps without delay and on his informing the Pope himself as quickly as possible of the king's satisfaction with the Jesuits and of his wish to keep them in his States no matter what happened.[2]

There were some who suspected that the overriding motive of Frederick's attitude towards the Jesuits was financial,[3] but although after the suppression had taken place he did in fact lay claim either directly or indirectly to some portions of

Estado, 6097; *Tanucci to Grimaldi, September 17, 1765, *ibid.*; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVIII., 471 *seq.*

[1] Finckenstein to Ciofani, June 30, 1770, in LEHMANN, IV., 403 *seq.*, No. 382.

[2] Finckenstein to Ciofani, September 22, 1770, *ibid.*, 406 *seq.*, No. 386. How great was the sensation caused by the letter of June 30 is indicated by Tanucci's inability to believe it. *Tanucci to Grimaldi, September 4, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6103.

[3] *Lacy to Grimaldi, November 19, 1773, *ibid.*, Estado, 6637; *Grimaldi to Moñino, January 4, 1774, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped., 1774: "... e mi creda, che essendo una forte raggione l'interesse e la speranza di tirar persone, che portin denari, non vedendo comparire nè questi nè quelle, forse si straccarà." *Prince Bishop Schaffgotsch to Garampi, Troppau, February 16, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives.

the Jesuit estate [1] it must still be remembered that his change of attitude had already occurred when the suppression was by no means certain. As an outspoken free-thinker the royal philosopher had certainly no cause for any predilection for an Order whose view of life was directly opposed to his own; nor was a practical statesman of his calibre likely to intervene from purely chivalrous motives. It is all the more plausible, therefore, that as a man of intelligence and foresight he rose superior to common prejudices and that as a ruler of statesmanlike ability and power, whose life-task it was to strengthen his kingdom, he did not neglect the opportunity of laying his Catholic subjects under an obligation of gratitude and devotion.[2] Although in view of the anti-Jesuit exertions of the Bourbons his attitude was not entirely devoid of mischievousness, it would be wrong to suppose that his protection of the Jesuits was merely a means of obtaining the recognition of his royal title by the Curia. This question was of more concern to his Ministers than to himself.[3] Practical considerations were what told with Frederick. A year before he had intervened in Rome on the Jesuits' behalf he had obtained from the Augustinian Abbot Felbiger a detailed report on the school system in Silesia.[4] In spite of the gloomy picture he painted of the state of the Jesuit schools the Abbot concluded his report with recommending that education be left in Jesuit hands, owing to the scarcity of other teachers and still more to the lack of funds, as the Fathers taught for nothing. The University of Breslau, at that time the only training institute for theologians in Prussia, would present an

[1] *Wilhelm Classen, Vice-Rector of the college at Emmerich, to the archiepiscopal commission, May 31, 1774, Archdiocesan Archives, Cologne, Jesuitenakten, Aufhebung 293 i; *Elector Maximilian Friedrich to Vicar General Von Horn-Goldstein, September, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVIII., 469 *seqq.*

[3] Koser, II., 552.

[4] Felbiger's report of January 5, 1769, in Lehmann, IV., 447 *seqq.*, No. 331.

even greater problem if it lost the Jesuits.[1] From time to time Frederick scoffingly referred to the promise he had given in the peace treaties to leave the Catholic religion *in statu quo*,[2] especially as his Silesian Ignatians had had no part in Malagrida's plot nor in Lavalette's bankruptcy; besides, Ganganelli had cut off their tails, so that they could not, like Samson's foxes of old, set fire to the harvest of the Philistines[3]—but the decisive motive for this "enlightened" sovereign was his interest in education and the training of the Catholic youth, for which, in his judgment, the Jesuits were irreplaceable. It was with this argument that he countered the urgent remonstrances of his French friends and justified the steps he took at the Court of Rome.[4] In Rome, however, the word of the petty Protestant Prussian could have little weight with the Great Catholic Powers, especially when Austria persisted in its strict neutrality, which in this case amounted to support of the Jesuits' adversaries and was appraised by them as such. It was for this reason that Frederick bluntly refused to intervene directly to save the Order as a whole, as he was urged to do by the Sardinian Jesuit Pintus, excusing himself on the ground that the Pope was master in his own house and that as a heretic it was not for him to interfere.[5]

[1] KOSER, II., 551; DUHR, *Gesch.*, IV., 1, 410 *seq.*

[2] Frederick II. to the Electress Maria Antonia of Saxony, September 8, 1773, and January 8, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 530 *seq.*, No. 518, and 580, No. 558.

[3] Frederick II. to Voltaire, December 10, 1773, *ibid.*, 575, No. 551.

[4] *Id.* to *id.*, October 24 and December 10, 1773, and November 18, 1777, *ibid.*, 566, No. 540; 575, No. 551; V., 240, No. 318; Frederick to Electress Maria Antonia of Saxony, January 8, 1774, *ibid.*, IV., 588, No. 558; Frederick to D'Alembert, January 7, March 11, and May 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 579, No. 557; 593, No. 573; 603, No. 588; *Frederick to Ciofani, August 17 and September 10, 1774, in Jesuit possession, Suppr., Assist. Germ.; *Nuncio Doria to Pallavicini, April 4, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 561, Papal Secret Archives.

[5] Frederick to D'Alembert, December 4, 1772, in LEHMANN,

Frederick was staying in Breslau when the news crossed the Alps that the suppression of the Society of Jesus had taken place in Rome. On August 29th, 1773, he intimated to Strachwitz, the suffragan Bishop and Apostolic Administrator, that the Brief was not to be published in his States.[1] By a Cabinet instruction of August 31st the Department of Religious Affairs was requested to issue an immediate order for the suppression of the "Papal Bull".[2] Under date September 6th a formal instruction was issued to all Government offices to take the necessary measures to see that this was done.[3] The Silesian Provincial, Franz Gleixner, was informed by the king that he had forbidden the publication of the "Bull of suppression". He felt all the more impelled to take this measure, he said, as he had promised the maintenance of the *status quo* in the peace treaty. His royal word was far

IV., 478, No. 472. The king was wrong, however, in calling Pintus a delegate of the Jesuit General. *Cf.* Ricci to Pintus, January 30, 1773, in DUHR, IV., 1, 14 *seq.*; Pintus to Zelada, January 10, 1774, in [BOERO,] *Osservazioni*, II.[2], 124 *seq.* *"Io viddi la lettera scrittale(!) da un soggetto del Collegio Romano, che l'esortava a tal passo con aggiungere 'non si meravigli ch'io scriva, mentre qui sono tutti smarriti, e il Generale più di tutti'." Schaffgotsch to Garampi, February 16, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* above, p. 251.

[1] *Diarium Sem. Glac., of August 20, 1773, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz; Carmer to Frederick II., August 30, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 525, No. 512; *Frederick to Strachwitz, September 19, 1773, Latin translation, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53; *Strachwitz to the Congregation for the suppression, September 27, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] LEHMANN, IV., 528, No. 515; *Latin translation in the Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53.

[3] LEHMANN, IV., 529, No. 516; Latin translation, *loc. cit.* The corresponding *decree of the West Prussian Government is dated September 14, 1773 (*ibid.*, Nunziat. di Polonia, 36). The circular issued by the Government of Cleves bears the date September 16, 1773 (printed copy in private ownership). *Cf.* *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives.

too sacred to be withdrawn in consequence of something happening abroad. The Provincial was asked to lose no time in obtaining the views of the Silesian Fathers and of the other Superiors and then to make some practical proposals. In return for this favour the sovereign expected the Jesuits to continue to devote themselves with all possible industry to the training of youth and the advancement of studies.[1] Karl von Reinach, the Superior of Wartenberg, who enjoyed Frederick's particular confidence, was earnestly requested by the Minister Carmer to interest himself in the matter and to set out in a provisional opinion the difficulties that might arise from the Order's Constitution and how they could be overcome. As the Society, Carmer continued, was empowered by the Bull *Iniunctum nobis* (1543) to alter its Constitutions according to the circumstances of time and place, fresh orders could be issued without infringing the fundamental rules. The vow of obedience to the Pope offered no obstacle, as his true feelings on the step that had been forced on him were well known and, besides, it was stipulated in the vow that it was only to serve the good of souls and the spreading of the faith. If the General of the Order was thinking of taking up his residence in Prussia he would receive "a very gracious welcome" from the king. Reinach was asked to attend to the matter with care and assiduity, as his sovereign was disposed to extend his protection, if need be, to the most remote settlements of the Society of Jesus.[2]

The Government's plan of having the Jesuit headquarters in Prussia being frustrated by the arrest of Ricci and his Assistants, the Provincial Gleixner, at Carmer's instigation, summoned the Rectors of the Silesian colleges to a conference

[1] Carmer to Gleixner, August 30, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 525 *seq.*, No. 513. *Cf.* *Reiffenauer, Rector at Breslau, to Schorn, the Rector of Braunsberg, on September 8, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Carmer to Reinach, August 30, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 527 *seq.*, No. 514. *Cf.* *Carmer to the Rector of Glatz, September 11, 1773, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

at Neisse to deliberate on the problem of giving effect to the Government's intentions in the situation then existing. It was agreed to invite the Jesuits of the other Prussian provinces and those abroad to combine with the Silesian Province of the Order and to elect a Vicar General as soon as possible.[1] On October 3rd and again on October 14th, 1773, the king gave his permission for the calling of a General Congregation and at the same time indicated the Superior Reinach as the most suitable man for the post of Vicar General.[2]

The benevolent attitude of the Protestant king of Prussia towards the persecuted Order gave great joy to the Jesuits in other countries, especially the astronomers Hell[3] and Mayer. It was hoped that the Court of the Palatinate would keep the Jesuits in its dominions and incorporate them in the Silesian Province. Similarly the Jesuit missionaries in Holland, England, and non-European countries were to be attached to the Silesian Province and be governed from Breslau.[4]

[1] Carmer to the Cabinet, September 29, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 552 *seq.*, No. 527. Corresponding letters were sent to the Jesuits in England, Holland, and East and West Prussia. *Cf.* *Gleixner to Schorn, October 2, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 494 *seq.*

[2] LEHMANN, IV., 553, No. 527; Carmer to the Cabinet, October 10, 1773, *ibid.*; Cabinet letter to Gleixner, October 21, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 561, No. 538. Garampi on the other hand *wrote to Pallavicini on October 6, 1773, that the Jesuits had refused to hold the election on conscientious grounds. Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Letter from Hell, September 17, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 576[4].

[4] Carmer to the Cabinet, November 17, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 571, No. 546. In a letter from Rome of September 1, 1773, signed "The Jesuits", the king was asked to provide a retreat in his dominions. Frederick was ready to grant the favour on condition that they kept quiet. *Frederick to the Jesuits in Rome, September 28, 1773, in Jesuit possession, Suppr., Assist. Germ.; *Frederick to Ciofani on the same day, *ibid.* Ciofani thought it inadvisable to present this letter, and Frederick assented (November 26, 1773, *ibid.*).

These far-reaching hopes soon proved to be illusory. On November 1st, 1773, the former English Provincial, Henry More, while thanking the king for his great favour, reported that the English Province was already extinct and that its members had been secularized.[1] The replies from the other countries were probably to the same effect. In many cases confidence in Frederick was shaken by the widespread rumour that his sole intention was to attract to his dominions the Jesuit funds and then to withdraw his protection from the Order.[2]

The Jesuits of Ermeland and West Prussia were not so responsive to the king's wishes.[3] Both the Rector of the college at Braunsberg and the headmaster of the Papal school there informed the nuncio to Warsaw, in the name of their colleagues, that they were willing to submit to the Brief of suppression. Through Prince Bishop Krasizki of Ermeland they would petition the monarch to allow them to comply with the Papal ordinances. If the reply was unfavourable, they would leave the country immediately, so as to avoid the appearance of wanting to frustrate the commands of Rome.[4] On the same day the episcopal Official, Szczepanski, wrote to Garampi that the Jesuits would follow the instructions of the Holy See as soon as this could be done without injury to religion, which would probably suffer if they left against the wish of the sovereign.[5] The Government, which had received information of this correspondence, administered a reprimand

[1] LEHMANN, IV., 577[2]. The Provincial's Christian name was Henry, not Thomas, as Lehmann gives it.

[2] Carmer's report of January 2, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 576 *seqq.*, No. 555. *Cf.* *Senzinnen (?) to Caprara, Düsseldorf, September 22, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 58.

[3] By the end of October the nuncio had not yet made the Brief available to the Bishops of Kulm and Ermeland. *Garampi to Macedonio, October 27, 1773, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58.

[4] *Laszki to Garampi, November 22, 1773, *ibid.*, 7; DUHR, IV., 1, 460.

[5] *Szczepanski to Garampi, November 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 7, Papal Secret Archives.

to the two Superiors and forbade them to have any connexion with " the clergy in Poland ".[1] It was only when they protested that the school at Braunsberg was financially dependent on the nuncio [2] that the king withdrew his prohibition.[3]

Strachwitz, the Apostolic Administrator of the Prince-Bishopric of Breslau,[4] found himself in a most awkward position. Frederick had told him orally on August 29th, 1773, that he was resolved to keep the Jesuits in his kingdom, and when, in spite of this, on the arrival of the Brief he applied for permission to publish it,[5] he met with a refusal.[6] To publish any Papal edict without the royal *placet* was more than he dared to undertake and so, to avoid still greater trouble, he had to desist from his request for the time being.[7]

Macedonio was in full agreement with Strachwitz's zealous

[1] Cabinet order to Domhardt of January 13, 1774, in LEHMANN. IV., 581, No. 560 ; *Latin translation [Marienwerder, January 19, 1774], Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* ; Domhardt to Laszki, January 26, 1774 ; *Latin translation, *ibid.*

[2] Braunsberg, January 26, 1774 ; *Zeitschrift für Geschichts- und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, XII. (1897), 137 *seqq.* Szczepanski to Garampi, March 1, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cabinet order to the West Prussian Government, of March 10, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 592 *seq.*, No. 572 ; *Frederick II. to Krasizki, March 10, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* ; Garampi to Pallavicini, March 23, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[4] Prince Bishop Schaffgotsch had been excluded from the administration of the diocese and interned in Oppeln by Frederick II. on account of his attitude during the Seven Years' War. *Cf.* Schlabrendorf to Schaffgotsch, March 11, 1763, in LEHMANN, IV., 107.

[5] Hoym to the Cabinet on September 12, 1773, *ibid.*, 531 *seq.*, No. 520.

[6] Cabinet order of September 16, 1773, *ibid.*, 532 ; *Government of Glogau to Strachwitz, September 17, 1773 ; Latin translation in the Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53 ; *Frederick II. to Strachwitz, September 19, 1773 (Latin translation), *ibid.*,

[7] *Strachwitz to the Congregation for the suppression, September 27, 1773, *ibid.*

and prudent conduct, which had saved him from useless and dangerous dealings with the king. But he asked the Administrator to make it clear to the Jesuits that it was their strict duty in conscience to put no obstacle in the way of the Brief and to ask the king to put it into effect. Strachwitz was also asked to remind them that their faculties had come to an end and that they could no longer make use of them without giving scandal to the Church and doing harm to souls.[1]

Garampi's advice was that, in view of the king's character and the attitude he had adopted hitherto, it was better to wait and to dissemble, for any hasty step might be fraught with grave dangers. Above all, the Jesuits, who were not without their hotheads and fawners on royalty, were not to be forced into submission by the threat of canonical penalties or to be branded as rebels, as that might easily lead to furious polemics. The support of the Bishops could not be relied on for the moment. It would be more advisable to leave the Jesuits to the pricking of their conscience. In time those of them who were conscientious would either leave Prussia or join the Bishops in begging the monarch to give way, and this he was sure to do, once his first ardour had cooled.[2] After consulting the Spanish ambassador [3] Corsini wrote to Garampi that as there was no hope of obtaining the king's consent to the publication of the Brief he would do well to impress on the Jesuits in Prussia that it was their bounden duty to submit voluntarily to the Pope, otherwise they were rebels and excommunicates. He might also bring forward other motives

[1] November 13, 1773. The letter itself has not been found. Its contents are deducible from Zelada's *letter to Macedonio of November 13, 1773 (*ibid.*), the date from Strachwitz's *reply to Macedonio of December 5, 1773 (Latin translation in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5043).

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 3, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 408 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *Garampi to Macedonio, October 27, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*, 74.

[3] *Moñino to Macedonio, November 24, 1773, *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53.

which would help to detach them of their own free will from the Power which was maintaining them in existence.[1] The Cardinal Secretary of State's reply was considerably milder. He found Garampi's explanations convincing. He had not yet spoken on the matter to the Pope as he had taken no immediate part in the Jesuit affair and knew in any case that Clement XIV. was opposed to any harsh measures. Perhaps the nuncio could persuade the king through the Prince Bishop of Ermeland to abandon his opposition. Whatever course he took he was on no account to let it be known that he was acting on the authority of Rome.[2]

While these messages were still on the way Strachwitz was again expounding to the Congregation for the suppression—officially entitled the *Sacra Congregatio deputata pro exequendo Brevi Suppressionis Societatis Iesu*—the difficulties that impeded the execution of the Brief. There was no lack of willingness on his part, but he was hindered by his opponents. The Jesuits were continuing their activity in the churches and schools on the ground that they had not yet been officially informed of the Brief. The person chiefly to blame was the Superior Reinach, who stood in the king's favour. Many of the laity were still confessing themselves to the Jesuits, others were keeping away from them. He himself had been the subject of complaints brought by them to the Minister because he had refused to allow their scholastics to take their priestly vows and had allotted other, special, confessors to some of the women's convents. He was thus between Scylla

[1] *Corsini to Garampi, December 4, 1773, *ibid.*, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118.

[2] " *Ad ogni modo non ne ho io tenuto un discorso opportuno con N^ro^ Sig^re^ per i due seguenti motivi : uno il mio, non aver parte diretta nell'affare gesuitico ; l'altro il sapere, che il Papa è assai alieno dal procedere *in subiecta materia* a quelle rimbombanti e positive dichiarazioni ch'Ella saviamente sconsiglia. In punto di uffici poi dirò, che se ne pratticano, compariranno sotto altro nome." Pallavicini to Garampi, December 4, 1773, Cifre, *ibid.*, 44.

and Charybdis. On the one hand his conscience forbade him to go against the Brief, on the other heavy penalties and injuries to religion were to be expected if he went against the orders of the sovereign. Rome, therefore, might consider it advisable for the Pope to set aside etiquette and apply to the king to allow the Brief to take its course. One might also commend the matter to Bishop Krasizki, who was very influential in Berlin. From Prague the Provincial in Glatz could be ordered not to offer any further obstacles to the execution; and possibly the Congregation might admonish the Provincial directly, under pain of heavy penalties, to submit to the Brief at last, together with his brethren.[1]

After launching some diatribes against "the sons of mistrust" and praising the zeal of the suffragan Bishop, to whom the Pope would show his gratitude at a favourable opportunity, Macedonio exhorted him to be firm, to go slowly ("*cunctando*"), not to ordain any Jesuit, and to keep them away from the schools and the sacred ministry, as the regulations of the Brief must be maintained unaltered.[2] Instructions of a similarly vigorous nature were issued a few days later to Archbishop Prichowsky of Prague.[3]

At the turn of the year the rumour was abroad in Rome that at Frederick's instigation the Jesuits had elected a Vicar General pending Ricci's release from imprisonment.[4] Frederick

[1] *Strachwitz to Macedonio, December 5, 1773; Latin translation in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5043.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 496 *seq.*, *Epistolae*, 350 *seq.*, No. 296; *Corsini or Macedonio to Strachwitz, January 15, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 45, Papal Secret Archives, in LEHMANN, IV., 582 *seq.*, No. 565.

[3] On January 19, 1774. THEINER, *Epist.*, 352 *seq.*; LEHMANN, IV., 585 *seqq.*, No. 565. This *letter, with a covering letter from Garampi, of February 12, 1774, in the State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75b B.

[4] Bernis to D'Aiguillon, January 5, 1774, in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 497. Garampi, when asked for an explanation, could only say that he knew nothing about it; *to Macedonio, February 2, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives.

had in fact thrown out the suggestion a good time before,[1] but the man selected by him, Father Reinach, begged to be excused on account of his failing physical and mental powers.[2] Pintus, on whom Carmer had cast his eye, neatly evaded the Minister's offer by pleading that he was no longer a Jesuit as he had already been officially informed of the ecclesiastical decree. If the king obtained permission from the Pope for the Jesuits to continue to exist in Prussia and for him to govern them, he would accept the office, otherwise it was impossible.[3] Later, Karl von Troilo und Roveredo, the former Provincial, was reported in foreign journals as having been elected, but this aged Father, who had been living in retirement in the college at Glatz, had already passed away on January 30th, 1774.[4]

Acting on instructions from the Congregation for the suppression, Garampi had asked the various diocesan Bishops for information about the mode of life and the intentions of the Jesuits in Prussia. The Primate of Poland reported that in his territory they were still wearing the dress of their Order and were living in accordance with their old rules. He had ascertained from conversation with several of the Fathers that the Prussian Government intended to preserve their

[1] *Reiffenauer to Schorn, September 8, 1773, *ibid.*, 119; Carmer to the Cabinet, September 29, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 552, No. 527; Cabinet orders of October 3 and December 8, 1773, *ibid.*, 553, No. 573.

[2] Report of Minister Zedlitz, of January 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 581 *seq.*, No. 561.

[3] Pintus to Zelada, January 10, 1774, in [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II.[2], 125 *seq.*; *Schaffgotsch to Garampi, February 16, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives; *Garampi to Macedonio, March 2, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[4] *Schaffgotsch to Garampi, February 16, 1774, *ibid.*; *Garampi to Macedonio, February 23, 1774, *loc. cit.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53. By their representations to Frederick the Silesian Jesuits had succeeded in having the matter deferred. *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 2, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.* *Cf. Gazeta Warszawska* of March 5, 1774. Theiner's account (*Gesch.*, II., 498 *seq.*) is criticized by ZALENSKI-VIVIER (I., 178 *seq.*).

Order even against the will of Rome, but they all assured him nevertheless that they had no desire to detach themselves from the obedience they owed to the Head of the Church. The sincerity with which these assertions were made confirmed the Primate in his conviction that the Jesuits were far from harbouring the rebellious sentiments that were imputed to them.[1] Bishop Bajer of Kulm was sure that the few Jesuits there were in his diocese would long since have laid aside their religious dress if they knew how they were going to keep themselves alive. He could not support them and they could expect no pension from the Government if they acted on their own initiative; besides, it was to be feared that any such step on their part would have disastrous results for the rest of the clergy. He was very worried about the ex-Jesuits who were streaming into his diocese from Poland, where the Brief had already been published; they had no pension and no employment and were eking out a precarious existence as beggars.[2]

The Silesian Jesuits also were loath to continue their life as Religious, in revolt against the Holy See, however much they hoped that the necessary permission would be obtained from the Pope by their sovereign. In the middle of December, 1773, the Provincial Gleixner had asked the Bishop of Ermeland through his brother to try to obtain Rome's consent. Gleixner had repeatedly explained to the Minister in Breslau that if the Jesuits were to be kept in existence the assent of the Holy See was indispensable. The reply he received was an exhortation to be calm and patient; the wound was still too fresh to expect the request to be granted immediately, but the future was not without hope. According to reliable reports the king was in negotiation with Rome. "One thing is certain," said Gleixner, "we are not rebels; on the contrary, we are ready to obey as soon as the king has lifted the ban and the Pope's will is made known to us by the ecclesiastical

[1] *Podoski to Garampi, January 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Bajer to Garampi, February 18, 1774, *ibid.*

authority." He was sure, he said, that it was not their duty to press for the announcement of the Brief and to reject the favour freely offered by the king, for many Catholics would suffer in consequence. So let their consciences be at rest and let them go on with their pastoral work.[1] But in Garampi's view this was merely lip-service,[2] and in his reports to the Congregation for the suppression he continued to condemn the Silesian Jesuits as recalcitrants.[3]

As time went on the situation became more difficult. Strachwitz, continually pressed by the nuncio to execute the Brief, refused to consecrate the Jesuit scholastics. He had maintained a passive attitude up to the present, not wishing to disobey the king's command, but he could not positively participate in the preservation of the Jesuits by ordaining them, without making himself liable to the ecclesiastical penalties prescribed in the Brief.[4] The Jesuit Provincial, in his turn, complained to the king that by refusing to ordain his brethren and by excluding them from processions the Bishop was depriving them of the confidence of the faithful and was treating them as open rebels, although it was well known that they had not taken a single step towards the preservation of their Order and although up till then no official communication had been made to them which would release them from their religious vows. And they had no right to release themselves from obligations which they had undertaken before God. In the firm hope that by the mediation of the king the difficulties with the Curia would be removed, it was suggested that the Bishop be earnestly requested to leave the Jesuits in the peaceful possession of their spiritual faculties until the matter had been completely settled.[5] When in reply to an admonitory

[1] *Gleixner to Schorn, February 19, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] *Garampi to Strachwitz, February 19, 1774, *ibid.*, 81.

[3] *Garampi to Macedonio, March 23, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[4] Strachwitz to Zedlitz, March 15, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 593 *seqq.*, No. 574. *Cf.* also *Bajer to Garampi, June 21, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*

[5] Gleixner's letter of April 3, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 596, No. 576; Latin translation in the Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

letter from Berlin [1] Strachwitz again expounded his standpoint,[2] he was told to behave towards the Jesuits as though the Brief of suppression had never appeared. "And you will be guided by this most strictly." [3]

Similar difficulties arose in West Prussia, where the Jesuits complained to the king that by refusing ordination and approbation the Bishops were putting the Brief into effect without its being published.[4] When Bishop Bajer expressed his displeasure to Garampi at this change of attitude on the part of the Jesuits,[5] he was advised to exercise patience. He too, said the nuncio, had imposed moderation on himself. Though he was not to approve of the insubordination, he was recommended to refrain from any authoritative step which might offend the secular power.[6]

The moderate tone of this letter of the nuncio's may well have been a reflection of the more conciliatory attitude of the Roman Curia, which in March, 1774, in response to a representation made by the Bishop of Ermeland, had given permission to the Bishops to employ the ex-Jesuits in pastoral duties even if they were still living in community.[7] Within

[1] Cabinet letter to Strachwitz of April 6, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 596 *seq.*, No. 577. *Cf.* Carmer to Strachwitz of April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 598, No. 581.

[2] LEHMANN, IV., 598, Nos. 582, 583, 584.

[3] Cabinet letter of April 21, 1774, *ibid.*, 602, No. 585.

[4] Letter from the West Prussian Jesuits of June 8, 1774, *ibid.*, 606, No. 592; Cabinet order to Zedlitz of June 19, 1774, *ibid.*, 607, No. 594. The letter from the Jesuits is subscribed "Your Majesty's most loyal and humble *Provincia Prussiae occidentalis Societatis Iesu*". There was in fact no Province of this name. The title is explained to some extent by Garampi's *letter to Macedonio, in which he speaks of "Il Provinciale di Polonia Maggiore [Orlowski], prima della formale promulgazione dei Brevi ritirosi in Prussia, dove vive e governa come Provinciale i collegi prussiani." (March 23, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *Bajer to Garampi, June 21 and July 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 119.

[6] *Garampi to Bajer, June 30, 1774, *ibid.*, 81.

[7] *Garampi to Canon Olekowski, March 19, 1774, *ibid.*

the next few months the nuncio imparted this authority to the Bishops who had applied for it, stipulating, however, that the Jesuits were to accept the Brief and from then on were to regard themselves in their own consciences as secular priests. Prudence demanded, he added, that this news should not appear in the public journals and that the Religious themselves should not talk about it.[1] Without mentioning a word about the aforesaid conditions Garampi also made this favour known to Krasizki, the Prince Bishop of Ermeland.[2] This communication may have given rise to the rumour that Clement XIV. had approved of the continued existence of the Society by means of a secret Brief.[3]

To put an end to the continual difficulties with the episcopal authorities the Superior Reinach suggested to the king on August 16th, 1774, that through Bishop Strachwitz he inform the Pope of his unalterable decision to maintain the Jesuits in existence and to obtain his consent to this.[4] On the very next day Frederick authorized the Bishop [5] and his agent Ciofani [6] to explain to the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church that the Jesuits were indispensable for the upbringing of the youth of Silesia, wherefore he was asked to dispense

[1] *Garampi to Strachwitz, April 20, 1774; *to Bajer, July 19, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] "*P. S. La Santità di N. Signore si è degnata di accordarmi facoltà di abilitare all' effetto di amministrare i Sagramenti e le parole di Dio, nonchè di esercitar le Scuole, quei Socii dell' estinto Istituto, che gli Ordinari dei Luoghi giudicheranno necessari al servizio delle chiese o scuole, ancorchè continuino a vivere in convitto comune nei collegi già di detto Istituto." June 27, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 295, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf.* Father Michael Orlowski's letter of July, 1779, in [Boero], *Osservazioni*, II.², 247; Zalenski-Vivier, I., 224 *seqq.*

[4] *Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[5] August 17 and 28, 1774, *ibid.*; Lehmann, IV., 611, Nos. 600 and 601.

[6] *August 17 and September 10, 1774, in Jesuit possession, Suppr., Assist. Germ.; *Frederick II. to Reinach, August 17, 1774, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

them from the "Bull". Although the words used in his letter to his agent meant that Frederick was asking for the total preservation of the Order in his States, he was at that moment prepared to make concessions which in his eyes were mere details but which in fact struck at the very heart of the Society. When on December 23rd, 1773, Garampi asked Krasizki to obtain for him the king's permission to execute the Brief, he hinted that in return the Curia was ready to make certain concessions in order to satisfy the king's wishes and his honour.[1] The Prince Bishop, after taking ample time in which to study the ground,[2] sent his cousin, Count Rzewuski, to Warsaw on June 19th, 1774, to put the king's views before the nuncio and to discover Rome's attitude towards them.[3] Highly delighted, Garampi replied that there was no obstacle at all to the reconciliation of the just desires of the king with the demands of the Church. When next the Prince Bishop was in Warsaw detailed arrangements could be made. Meanwhile complete secrecy was to be observed so as not to spoil the negotiations.[4]

The secret was not so strictly kept by the other side. At the audience which Frederick gave to the Rector Hertle at Glatz on August 19th, he let it be understood that if it was not possible to keep the name and the dress of the Order the Institute must be left untouched in every other respect.[5] A few days later he informed the Apostolic Administrator that he would be satisfied if the Brief of suppression were modified in such a way that the Jesuits laid aside their name and dress but continued to conduct their schools under another title.[6]

[1] Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Polonia, 80.

[2] *Krasizki to Garampi, May 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 142.

[3] *Krasizki to Garampi, June 19, 1774, *ibid.*

[4] *June 27, 1774, *ibid.*, 295.

[5] *Diarium Sem. Glac., of August 19, 1774, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

[6] *Strachwitz to Garampi, August 29, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*, 119. *Cf.* *Schaffgotsch to Count Hatzfeldt on October 30 and November 4, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1774, No. 2718.

The nuncio to Vienna, too, Cardinal Visconti, in a conversation with the Abbot Felbiger held out some prospect of Rome's coming to terms. Felbiger reminded the nuncio that the preservation of the ex-Jesuits as a corporate body necessitated the admission of novices, ordination at the end of the course of studies, and definite rules for the new Institute. He added on his own initiative that the only hope of success was for the Holy See to recognize his sovereign's royal title. The abbot concluded from the nuncio's reply that this would not meet with any insuperable obstacles.[1] The way had thus been prepared for an agreement [2] when the death of the Pope interrupted the negotiations.[3]

[1] Felbiger to Carmer, September 14, 1774, in LEHMANN, IV., 615 *seq.*, No. 608.

[2] *Corsini to Garampi, September 17, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*, 118. *Cf.* Caraffa to Pallavicini, undated [1779–1780], *ibid.*, 242. Printed version in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summarium, 116 *seqq.*

[3] *Garampi to Schaffgotsch, October 22, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, Staatsratsakten, 1774, No. 2718; *Schaffgotsch to Hatzfeldt on November 28, 1774, *ibid.*; *Strachwitz to Garampi on December 3, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*, 119.

CHAPTER VIII.

Clement XIV.'s Activity within the Church—The Missions.

(1)

Not many of Clement XIV.'s decrees were concerned with the inner life of the Church. At the opening of his pontificate he proclaimed the usual jubilee for the invocation of the divine protection. He first issued a Brief on this subject to the city of Rome on September 11th, 1769,[1] and then, on December 12th of the same year he issued the same Brief, with modifications suited to its wider destination, to the whole world.[2] An introduction on his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter was followed only by the arrangements made for the celebration of the jubilee. It was symptomatic of the new Pope's desire for peace that the accompanying Encyclical, also of December 12th, addressed to all Bishops,[3] should contain a prolix exhortation to them to keep their flocks obedient to the secular princes.[4] The only other reference in the Encyclical to the conditions of the time was an exhortation to make a stand against the ever-spreading disbelief and to oppose it by preaching Christ crucified.[5] In Rome the jubilee, which was to last two weeks, was opened by the Pope in person; accompanied by twenty-three Cardinals, the nobles of his Court, and an immense crowd, he took part on foot in the procession from S. Maria degli Angeli to S. Maria Maggiore.[6]

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 70 *seq.*

[4] "omnem solicitudinem vestram ad populum regum obedientia ac obsequio rite imbuendum convertatis" (*ibid.*, no. 5, p. 72).

[5] *Ibid.*, no. 3, p. 71.

[6] Novaes, XV., 167.

As usual, the proclamation of the jubilee met with difficulties in France. In a special Brief to Louis XV.[1] the Pope explained why he had made no mention of the Bull *Unigenitus* in his proclamation: whoever objected to it was by that very fact incapable of obtaining the indulgence. The Pope succeeded in arranging for the jubilee Bull to be published without the authorization of the Parlement.[2] If we are to accept the testimony of the Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal Luynes, the jubilee made a great impression in France.[3] The Archbishop of Aix petitioned the Pope to extend the time during which the indulgence could be gained, on account of the lack of priests in his diocese, and this request was granted by a Brief of May 30th, 1770.[4]

A second extraordinary jubilee was proclaimed by Clement XIV. on March 16th, 1771.[5] It was to last from Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday, but was to apply only to the Papal States. According to the ancient custom a jubilee year was celebrated every quarter of a century, and the next one was due in 1775. Clement XIV. made a preliminary announcement of this to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory on April 18th, 1774,[6] and asked them to restore and decorate in a befitting manner the churches whose titles they bore or which had been placed under their protection; he himself would attend to St. Peter's and to his former titular church of the Twelve Apostles and would also try to improve the main roads. In the Consistory of May 9th he spoke of the general announcement which would soon take place, on the feast of the Ascension (May 12th); missions would be held in Rome to prepare

[1] Of January 3, 1770, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 50.

[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 441. For the Bishops' protest in 1770 against the Parlement's *placet* introduced in 1768 for Papal concessions, *cf.* PICOT, IV., 363. The decree of 1768 was somewhat attenuated by Louis XV. (*ibid.*, 365).

[3] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 442.

[4] THEINER, *Epist.*, 88.

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 290.

[6] THEINER, *Epist.*, 302.

the faithful for the jubilee.[1] He sent a special invitation to Emperor Joseph II. to visit him in Rome,[2] but Clement XIV. was not to live long enough to celebrate the jubilee year of 1775.

The summons to fight against the disbelief of the time which Clement XIV. issued in his Encyclical to the Bishops was repeated by him later. On March 1st, 1770, the Inquisition condemned a so-called extract from Fleury's *Histoire ecclésiastique,* which purported to have been printed in Berne but which was actually printed in Berlin. The preface was written by Frederick the Great, and the book itself was thought to have been written, at Frederick's instigation, by the Abbé de Prades.[3] Two other decrees were issued against works by Lamettrie and Voltaire, and further works by the latter were banned on December 3rd, 1770, and November 29th, 1771.[4] Prior to the assembly of the clergy the Pope wrote to Louis XV. on March 21st, 1770,[5] asking him to support the clergy's efforts to stem the flood of anti-religious and immoral productions of the Press. In support of this plea the Archbishop of Toulouse, assisted by the theologian Bergier, drew up, in the name of the assembly, a petition to the king in which nine pernicious writings were singled out for special censure. A warning from the assembly against the dangers threatening from unbelief was distributed in all the dioceses.[6] The Pope expressed his gratitude for this in a Brief of September 26th, 1770.[7] When the clergy met again in 1772 the Pope instructed the nuncio on February 12th to convey the same exhortation to the assembly and to send to Rome all the

[1] *Ibid.*, 305. The Bull by which the jubilee was proclaimed to the whole of Christendom was dated April 30 (*Bull. Cont.*, V., 716 *seq.*).

[2] On June 29, 1774, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 317.

[3] REUSCH, 590; PICOT, IV., 328.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 158.

[6] PICOT, IV., 333 *seqq.*

[7] To the king, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 112; to the Archbishop of Rheims as President of the Assembly, *ibid.*, 113.

works written for or against religion since 1770, so that they might be appraised in a special periodical.[1]

The clerical assemblies of 1772 and 1775 also spoke against the encouragement and propagation of disbelief by means of the written word[2]; and the same was done by the most highly esteemed of the Bishops.[3] Both the Pope and the clergy pointed out that the undermining of religion also undermined the foundations of the State. Piety and the fear of God, the Pope wrote to the king,[4] were the foundation and life-force of civil society; so long as the people were subject to God they could easily be kept obedient to the civil power; the welfare of the State depended not so much on armed might as on the sincere respect for God and loyalty to revealed doctrine. The clerical assembly of 1770 attacked especially Holbach's *Système de la Nature*, which held that all the king's authority was conferred on him by the people, which could limit or withdraw it; the end of such doctrines, said the assembly, was the abyss of complete lawlessness.[5] But the Government refused to listen to these warnings. They did, it is true, condemn some pernicious books,[6] but they were not really in earnest[7]; a book such as Holbach's could be sold with impunity.[8] The king acknowledged to the assembly that amid the mental ferment the clergy alone maintained its principles with calm and steadfastness,[9] but he would not listen to the clergy's advice and allowed the revolution to develop undisturbed.

Among the measures taken by the Pope to facilitate the cure

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 181.

[2] PICOT, IV., 370; ROCQUAIN, 338.

[3] PICOT, IV., 347 *seq.*

[4] On March 21, 1770, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 159.

[5] PICOT, IV., 334.

[6] *Ibid.*, 341, 370.

[7] *Ibid.*, 370.

[8] *Ibid.*, 335.

[9] "qu'il n'oublierait jamais, qu'au milieu de la plus violente fermentation des esprits le clergé était seul resté calme et immuable dans ses principes" (*ibid.*, 370).

of souls, as distinct from those taken to ward off dangers from outside the Church, some of his directions for the reorganization and administration of the bishoprics should be recorded. At the suggestion of the King of Sardinia, Carlo Emmanuele, he separated Biella from Vercelli and elevated it to the rank of an independent bishopric [1] and gave the little town of Susa, "the ancient gateway of Italy," a Bishop of its own in place of the abbot who had formerly enjoyed episcopal authority.[2] As Spello lay too far from the diocese of Spoleto, to which it had belonged hitherto, it was joined to that of Foligno.[3] The Bishops of Tortona and Acqui were empowered to appoint a Vicar General for those parts of their dioceses which lay in Genoese territory.[4] The same arrangement was made for the towns of Mentone and Roccabruna (Roquebrune), over which the Bishop of Ventimiglia recovered his spiritual supremacy.[5] In the East, Clement combined the bishoprics of Sirmium and Diakovar.[6] The Vicar Apostolic of the Uniate Greek Ruthenians, who had his seat at Munkacs, was promoted Bishop of that town,[7] whereby strong misgivings against removing Munkacs entirely from the supervision of the Bishop of Erlau or of some Latin prelate had to be overcome.[8] In accordance with the previous concordat the kings of France did not have the right of nominating Bishops to those sees whose territory was subsequently added to the French crown; each king had to be invested with this right. Clement XIV. conveyed it to Louis XVI. on July 20th, 1774, in respect of Besançon, Orange, Brittany, and Burgundy.[9]

[1] On June 1, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 442; GAMS, *Series*, 813.

[2] On August 3, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 481; GAMS, 823.

[3] On April 29, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 433.

[4] On March 5, 1773, *ibid.*, 557.

[5] Briefs of January 29 and March 30, 1772, *ibid.*, 414, 420.

[6] On July 9, 1773, *ibid.*, 616; THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 270.

[7] On September 19, 1771, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 382.

[8] Clement XIV. to Maria Theresa on October 10 and November 17 and 24, 1770, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 115, 128 *seq.*; THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 393 *seqq.*, II., 19 *seqq.*; ARNETH, IX., 83 *seqq.*

[9] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 754, 756, 761, 763. *Cf.* PICOT, IV., 417 *seqq.*

It was a joy for Clement on September 9th, 1769, to be able to congratulate the Elector Palatine, Wilhelm, on his conversion and to thank Duke Karl Theodor of Sulzbach, whose influence had been chiefly instrumental in bringing the Elector back to the old Church. Following the example of his father Eberhard, Count Xavier of Solms in Lusatia also joined the Catholic community.[1] As a consequence the Saxon Ministers contested his right to the fee of Sonnenwalde; he appealed to the Pope, who wrote to the Empress Maria Theresa on August 26th, 1769, asking her to mediate on the Count's behalf.[2]

(2)

No canonization was performed by Clement XIV., but within a few weeks of his elevation to the throne, on June 4th, 1769, he solemnly proclaimed as *beatus* Francesco Caracciolo, and three years later, on May 13th, 1772, he honoured in the same way Paolo Burali of Arezzo.[3] Caracciolo, in conjunction with the priests Giovanni Adorno and Fabricio Caracciolo, had founded an Order of minor clerks regular for the purpose of performing pastoral duties; it had been confirmed by Sixtus V. in 1588. Caracciolo died in 1608 at the age of only forty-five.[4] Paolo of Arezzo, who has been likened to Charles Borromeo, belonged to the Theatine Order; he was raised to the Cardinalate by Pius V.[5] The liturgical veneration of some other distinguished men and women was sanctioned by a declaration of the Congregation of Rites confirmed by the Pope, though not by a solemn beatification. Among these was one who was close to the Pope in time, his fellow-Franciscan Bonaventura of Potenza (d. 1711); Giuliana of Busto Arsizio, of the Order of St. Ambrose (d. 1540), was more or less a contemporary of Paolo of Arezzo. The Sylvestrine

[1] THEINER, *Epist.*, 23 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*
[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 276.
[3] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 7 *seq.* and 438 *seq.*
[4] *Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, IV.², 1821.
[5] *Cf.* our account, vol. xvii, 165.

Giovanni di Bestone lived in the thirteenth century. The others were all of the fourteenth or fifteenth century: the Augustinian Hermit Gregorio Celli of Rimini (d. 1343); the lay-brother with the Franciscan Observants, Sanctes of Montefabro (d. 1390); Caterina of Pallanza (*c.* 1478), also of the Order of St. Ambrose; Tommaso Bellacci (d. 1447), a lay-brother of the Order of Franciscan Conventuals; and Giovanna Scopelli (d. 1491), a Discalced Carmelite. Germany was represented by Margrave Bernhard of Baden (d. 1458 at the age of about thirty). Prominent among these beatifications was that of Antonio Primaldi and no less than 840 companions, all of whom were executed by the Turks in 1480 at the taking of Otranto for refusing to deny their Christian faith.[1]

(3)

Having no high opinion of the counsel that the College of Cardinals might have to offer him, Clement XIV. showed little eagerness to fill its gaps; on the twelve occasions when promotion to this rank was made only seventeen persons, besides eleven whose rank was never published, were raised to the purple; of these seventeen sixteen survived the Pope.

On June 22nd, 1769, he solemnly presented the red hat to the French ambassador, Cardinal de Bernis, who had been created by his predecessor.[2] The first Cardinal of his own choice was announced to the Consistory of December 18th, 1769. The man thus honoured was Paulo de Carvalho e Mendoza, prelate of the patriarchal church in Lisbon, president of the queen's council and of the senate, Grand

[1] For all the above, *cf.* NOVAES, XV., 169, 178, 184, 189, 208, and GUÉRIN, *Les petits Bollandistes*. For the martyrs of Otranto, *v. Freiburger Kirchenlex.*, IX.², 1150 *seq.* In the *Analecta iuris Pont.*, XX., 12, the decrees relating to the degrees of heroic virtue attained by the Oratorians G. B. Villani and Antonio Grassi, the Augustinian Hermit John of St. William, Peter of Bethencourt (founder of the Bethlehemites), and Charles of Sezze.

[2] MASSON, 136.

Inquisitor, and Grand Prior of Guimarães. His admission to the supreme council of the Church was probably due not so much to his possession of all these titles as to the fact that he was Pombal's brother. Unfortunately he also had his brother's anti-clerical disposition ; indeed Cardinal Pacca thought that he was even worse than the Minister.[1] Carvalho was created *in petto* and he died, on January 17th, 1770,[2] three days before his promotion was published.

In 1770 four promotions to cardinalitial rank were made.[3] Mario Marefoschi (d. 1780), the Secretary of the Propaganda and afterwards Prefect of the Rites, was created *in petto* on January 29th, the publication not taking place until September 10th. He was followed on August 6th by Cosme da Cunha, Archbishop of Evora (d. 1783),[4] and on September 10th by the Maestro di Camera, Scipione Borghese (d. 1782), and Giambattista Rezzonico, Clement XIII.'s nephew.[5] Rezzonico died in 1783, universally mourned as a highly gifted, generous, and charitable prelate. On December 12th two more Cardinals

[1] " del fratello ministro assai peggiore." *Notizie*, 68.

[2] Novaes, XV., 171.

[3] *Ibid.*, XV., 179 *seq.* Conveyance of the Cardinals' biretta to Acquaviva, with *Brief of April 13, 1773, *Epist.* a° IV., p. 361, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Cf.* above, pp. 110–112.

[5] The *allocution on the occasion of their appointment and the publication of Marefoschi's appointment in *Epist.* a° II., p. 126, and State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473. Orsini, writing to Tanucci from Rome on September 11, 1770 (*ibid.*, 17, $\frac{298}{1043}$), speaks of the opposition encountered by Marefoschi in the Jesuit party. Spain and France had recommended him and had thanked the Pope for his elevation. Du Tillot *wrote at that time to Azara (from Parma, on December [23], 1770 ; Exp. " Parma ") : " No sé tan poco qué gran fabor será para España, Portugal y Francia el nombramiento de todos sus nuncios a cardinales, ni qué vanidad o utilidad puedemos sacar de toutes ces petites attrapes-là, qui devroient [être] bien usées. Mais nous vieillissons et l'expérience ne nous rajeunit pas." For Rezzonico's promotion the Pope was thanked by his brother Abondio. His *reply of September 22, 1770, in *Epist.* a° II., p. 141, *loc. cit.*

were created *in petto*: the Governor of Rome, Antonio Casali (d. 1787), and the President of Urbino, Pasquale Acquaviva di Aragona, a native of Naples (d. 1788). The publication of these two promotions followed on March 15th, 1773.

The three promotions of the following year, 1771, filled only four of the vacancies in the Sacred College.[1] On June 17th the nuncios to Vienna and Paris, Antonio Eugenio Visconti (d. 1788) and Bernardo Giraud (d. 1782), were created Cardinals *in petto*, and on September 23rd the nuncio to Lisbon, Innocenzo Conti (d. 1785). These three nuncios had to wait till April 19th, 1773, before their promotions were published. The last promotion of 1771, on December 16th, and the only one of the following year, on December 14th, 1772,[2] brought honour to two foreigners: Charles Antoine de la Roche Aymon, Archbishop of Rheims (d. 1777), and Leopold Ernst von Firmian, Bishop of Passau.[3]

The last three promotions followed in 1773.[4] On March 15th Clement XIV. raised to the purple the Uditore Santissimo,

[1] Novaes, XV., 185. Conveyance of the biretta to Conti with *Brief of April 24, 1773, and recommendation of the bringer by a *Brief of April 29, *Epist.* a° IV., p. 371, *loc. cit.* Conveyance of the biretta to Giraud with *Brief of May 1, *ibid.*, to Visconti with *Brief of May 15, *ibid.*, 396. Casali's and Acquaviva's publication was announced by *Orsini to Tanucci on March 13, 1773 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{310}{1055}$). "Casale, fratello del P. gesuita Casale, si considera come un protettore della Compagnia: così i Terziari sono contenti. . . . Ma che scontezza nella prelatura!" (*Centomani to Tanucci, Rome, March 16, 1773, *ibid.*, 1222)

[2] Novaes, XV., 185, 191.

[3] For Giraud, see above, p. 187. Conveyance of the biretta for La Roche Aymon by *Brief to Louis XV. of December 16, 1771, and *Brief to Firmian of January 10, 1773, *Epist.* a° III., p. 193, a° IV., p. 228, Papal Secret Archives. *Orsini to Tanucci, December 15, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{309}{1054}$. *Cf.* Arneth-Geoffroy, *Briefwechsel Maria Theresias mit dem Grafen Mercy*, I., 270, 289.

[4] Novaes, XV., 206 *seq.*

Gennaro Antonio de Simone (d. 1780), on April 19th the Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regular Clergy, Francesco Carafa di Trajetto (d. 1818), and Francesco Saverio Zelada (d. 1801), born in Rome of Spanish parents. At the twelfth and last promotion on April 26th, the third in 1773, thirteen Cardinals were created, though only two of them were made known: Giannangelo Braschi, Clement XIV.'s successor, and Francesco Delci (d. 1787).[1] The remaining eleven were created *in petto* only and strongly as the dying Pope was urged to publish their appointments he refused to give his consent.[2]

These final cardinalitial appointments excited general interest, as it was thought to be the Pope's intention to form a strong party in the Sacred College which would confirm the decisions he had taken, especially the one that concerned the Jesuits.[3] Centomani seemed to be disappointed with the choice made by Clement XIV.; according to him, all those promoted or ear-marked for promotion were friendly to the Jesuits.[4]

[1] *Orsini to Tanucci, April 27, 1773, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1481.

[2] See below, p. 531 *seq.*

[3] "*Si crede che il Papa si prepara . . . un buon numero di cardinali, che col credito e con la voce sostengano le sue determinazioni, quali esse siano, particolarmente sul punto dei gesuiti." *Tiepolo to the Doge, March 27 and April 3, 1773, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma 291. "Este metodo nuevo de tenerlo todo secreto y suspenso, mortifica de modo toda esta prelatura, que no me admirara que rebienten dos docenas de ellos, porque todos esperan y todos desesperan, y estan en tan fuerte agitacion que no se puede concebir. Para Pascua, o antes, hay apparencias de que sera hecho el resto de la promocion, y puede Vd. considerar la barahunda que aqui andara, pues sabe Vd. que una promocion interesa mas a Roma que todo cuanto hay en el mundo." *El espíritu de Azara*, II., 397.

[4] "*Tutti i promossi o promovendi sono Terziari, come dice bene V.E." Centomani to Tanucci, Rome, March 30, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1222.

(4)

In Clement XIV.'s time there were few signs of progress in the inner life of the Church in any of the Catholic nations of Europe; on the contrary, almost everywhere the Church was losing ground as the result of powerful attacks from without. The most important feature of this latter aspect, apart from the abolition of the Society of Jesus, was the gradual destruction of the religious Orders. In this the leading part, which was copied by other countries, was played by France.[1] In 1768 several Orders had been required to amend their Constitutions, and in the following year similar instructions were sent to the various branches of the Franciscan Order—the Strict Observance, the Recollects, the Conventuals, and the Capuchins—also to the Dominicans, the Calced and Discalced Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Cistercians, the Antonians, the Premonstratensians, and the Canons Regular of the French Congregation.[2]

The fate of the French Franciscans had already been under discussion in the pontificate of Clement XIII. The documents of the commission for the reform of the Orders provide a splendid testimonial for them; most of the Bishops, when asked for their opinion, spoke decisively in their favour, saying that they were useful and necessary for their dioceses; only a few of them wanted the suppression of this or that house and brought forward complaints.[3] The most favourable judgment was passed on the Recollects and the Capuchins.

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. xxxvii., 386 *seqq.* Statistics of the French Orders in 1770 and 1790 in GÉRIN, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XVIII. (1875), 88–90.

[2] PRAT, 206.

[3] HOLZAPFEL, 363. Extracts from the episcopal opinions in GÉRIN, *loc. cit.*, 91–103. The Bishop of Angers was "very content" with his five Franciscan convents; according to the Archbishop of Rheims they were of great benefit to the country parishes; the Bishop of Noyon praised their zeal and usefulness; the Bishop of Séez found them useful and very necessary; the Bishop of Evreux was "extrêmement satisfait du zèle et de la régularité" of the convents at Evreux and Verneuil. *Ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

No complaint whatever was made against either of these Orders by the Bishops, parish priests, or municipalities.[1] Nevertheless the commission thought that the Capuchin Constitutions needed alteration as being over-strict and suppressed twenty-two of their 421 houses.[2] It also strongly recommended the amalgamation of the Observants and the Conventuals. As long ago as 1745 Benedict XIV. had granted the French Observants the right to own real property and to draw permanent revenues, which brought them near to the Conventuals.[3] The reform commission now gave way entirely to the will of the Government. By a Papal Brief of August 9th, 1771,[4] the eight Provinces of the Observants with their 287 convents and 2,000 members were incorporated with the three Provinces of the Conventuals. The Observants thereby ceased to exist in France and they no longer wore the dress of their Order or bore its name. Instead of the eleven Provinces that formerly existed there were now only eight, with 278 convents.[5] The Brief authorizing this union was written by Clement XIV. in his own hand.[6]

Several Orders were completely abolished. A royal edict of March 25th, 1770, forbade the Benedictine Congregation of the so-called Exempts to admit novices.[7] Archbishop Loménie appeared at the chapter of the Antonians and announced that all further negotiation was useless and that any resistance would be dangerous ; all houses with less than twenty inmates would have to be closed. The Order sought to save itself by uniting with that of Malta.[8]

In the first years of his pontificate Clement XIV. wrote to

[1] *Ibid.*, 127, 132.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Holzapfel, 360.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 265 *seq.*

[5] Enumeration of the Provinces with their convents in the Brief of December 23, 1771, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 401 *seqq.* *Cf.* Heimbucher, II., 417.

[6] Novaes, XV., 183.

[7] Prat, 209.

[8] *Ibid.*, 210.

the Bishops and the nuncio to Paris to protest against the high-handed proceedings of the commission, which had even violated the rights of the Holy See by suppressing exempt convents without consulting the Pope and by prescribing in the new Constitutions given to the Orders the teaching of the Gallican propositions of 1682.[1] On December 3rd, 1770, a Brief to the same effect was sent to the king,[2] which was answered on the 12th by Choiseul in non-committal phrases. Practically nothing was gained by all these Papal messages. From 1772 onwards the Pope agreed to confirm the new Constitutions which had been submitted to him by certain Orders. He did so, for instance, for the Carmelites,[3] the Augustinians,[4] the Franciscan Recollects,[5] and the Theatine convent in Paris.[6] The French Trinitarians devoted to the redemption of imprisoned Christian slaves had, since 1629, embraced a more rigorous rule within the Order and had formed their own Congregation, but they now numbered only sixty members distributed over eight houses; with Papal approval they were compelled to abandon their former separation from the main body of the Order. Even in 1767, though, they had restored to freedom 200 prisoners in the Barbary States of North Africa.[7] The abuses affecting the religious poverty of the French Benedictines, especially the Cluniacs, were checked by the Pope.[8] After lengthy negotiations the Congregation of St. Rufus was also suppressed by Papal decree in 1773.[9]

A definite decay had set in in the religious life of the

[1] Letters of July 26 and December 20, 1769, in THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 309; to the nuncio of March 14 and June 20, 1770, *ibid.*, 452, 454.

[2] *Ibid.*, 461.

[3] On May 30, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 441.

[4] On July 4, 1772, *ibid.*, 455.

[5] On April 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 570.

[6] On July 29, 1774, *ibid.*, 766.

[7] Brief of August 13, 1771, *ibid.*, 371. *Cf.* PRAT, 205.

[8] On July 13, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 474 *seqq.*

[9] PRAT, 211. *Cf.* JAGER, 432; MASSON, *Bernis*, 274.

Celestines. At the chapter which they were ordered to hold at Limay-les-Mantes those in favour of a relaxation in the rules were in the ascendency and elected one of themselves as Vicar General. He in a petition to the Pope expressed the desire for the suppression of the Order. The General also wrote to the Pope, but in the opposite sense. Clement XIV. chose a middle course between the two opposing requests, and authorized the Bishops to visit the Celestine convents in their dioceses and to report to Rome on their condition. The opinions submitted were not favourable, and the Pope ordered the suppression of various houses.[1] What was left of the Order was allotted the house at Marcoussy as a retreat by a decree of the Conseil of July 4th, 1778.[2] With this the Order was as good as extinct.

The famous Dominican convent of St-Jacques in Paris having fallen away from its former high level, Clement XIV., on February 15th, 1773, appointed the Bishops of Arles and Meaux as Visitors and placed the convent under the immediate direction of the Dominican General.[3]

The same year saw the issue of another edict of reform [4] for the religious Orders ; some of its regulations were beneficial, but its prohibition of exemptions was an encroachment on the rights of the Holy See. This was brought to the Pope's notice and he succeeded in having some of the regulations in the original draft removed.[5]

Naturally the continual interference of the State with the religious life had a discouraging effect on vocations. Between 1768 and 1771 250 French Capuchin priests had died and had

[1] Fourteen of them are enumerated in PRAT, 215. Briefs with permission to dissolve Celestine houses : to Cardinal Luynes, of March 28, 1764, for the house at Sens (*Bull. Cont.*, V., 701) ; to the Bishop of Metz, of May 4, 1774, for the house there (*ibid.*, 723). There were only four Religious left in either house.

[2] PRAT, 215.

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 553 *seq.*

[4] PRAT, *Pièces just.*, n. V., pp. xvi.–xxvii.

[5] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 312.

been replaced by only twenty. In 1770–1790 they lost 1,700 of their 4,400 members.[1] In the same period the four Franciscan Orders on French soil had lost a total of 3,756 professed members.[2] Any encouragement from Clement XIV. was not to be expected by the Orders; he confirmed the various modifications in the Constitutions submitted to him, but for the most part the question of the Jesuits forced him to fall in as far as possible with the wishes of the Governments.

The French Government's treatment of the religious Orders was an inducement to the other Powers to follow suit. When the preparatory steps were being taken for the suppression of the Jesuits the other Orders realized that they too might be threatened with the same fate; many of their members who had formerly opposed the Jesuits now began to draw closer to them.[3] In 1773 the Spanish Government did in fact begin to take steps in Rome to obtain the enactment of measures which would limit the number of Religious; a request was also to be made to raise the age at which vows could be taken. An additional reason for presenting these demands was to exert pressure on the Pope, who was still hesitating about the suppression of the Jesuits.[4] Moñino wrote[5] that plans prejudicial to the Orders were being discussed all over Europe; the whole question was being

[1] GÉRIN, 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, 135.

[3] "Invece di diminuire, cresce sempre più il numero dei Terziari e quasi in tutte le Religioni, ed in quelle le quali erano positivamente opposti alli Gesuiti." Why? Because the Jesuits had persuaded them that it was a question of a common danger. Centomani to Tanucci, Rome, April 14, 1772, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1220.

[4] "*Para poner al Papa en cuidado y moverle a la extincion que tenia ofrecida, pareció conveniente que asi en Napoles como aqui se diese tal qual movimiento a algunos asuntos interesantes a la Corte de Roma," among others "la reduccion de numero de los Regulares". Grimaldi to Moñino, February 3, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordenes, 53.

[5] *To Grimaldi, September 13, 1773, *ibid.*, Exped. "Roma".

studied by Zelada; and vows were not to be taken before the twenty-first year. One newspaper[1] took it on itself to report that the Pope was thinking of allowing only four classes of Religious, and Aranda, writing to Roda, much approved of it.[2] Zelada had already drafted a Bull on the taking of vows, and Moñino had a few alterations to propose[3]: vows were not to be solemn at first and were automatically to lose their binding force if the recipient left the Order. What had hitherto been peculiar to the Jesuits, he maintained, would thus apply to all the Orders. Apparently Clement XIV. was inclined to consider these proposals,[4] and Zelada went on working with Moñino at the projected Bull, which was to apply to the women's Orders also.[5] Moñino sent the draft to the King of Spain, observing that similar projects were being considered in Vienna and Paris.[6] One drawback to the universal introduction of simple vows was that it looked as if a page was being taken from the Jesuits' book.[7] Moñino was in favour of it nevertheless, but Zelada thought that it would be inconsonant with their honour to pursue this plan after the Society of Jesus had been suppressed.[8] Charles III. and Grimaldi would not hear of a General of an Order who was not a Spaniard, and similar views were held in Portugal.[9]

[1] *Courrier du Bas-Rhin*, No. 77.

[2] *On October 2, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia 778.

[3] *To Grimaldi, October 2, 1773, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. " Roma ".

[4] " *Tengo buenas esperanzas de que hemos de lograr la Bula para la edad de las profesiones." Moñino to Grimaldi, October (4?), 1773, *ibid.*

[5] *Moñino to Grimaldi, October 21, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4986. *Grimaldi to Moñino, from San Lorenzo, November 9, 1773. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reales Ordines, 53.

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 25, 1773, *ibid.*, Exped. " Roma ".

[7] *Moñino to Zelada, December 19, 1773, *ibid.*

[8] *Grimaldi to Moñino, December 14, 1773, *ibid.*

[9] " *Los Portugueses pareze que no quieren que ninguno de sus

Otherwise, even in Clement XIV.'s time, the state of the Orders was not wholly unsatisfactory. The Capuchins of Savoy received an excellent testimonial on the whole from the Archbishop of Turin, Francesco Lucerna Rorengus de Rora, who in the capacity of Visitor had inquired into the condition of their houses. His admonitions and instructions, confirmed by the Pope,[1] were directed principally against the penetration of the spirit of nationalism, "that pernicious invention introduced some years ago," which was capable of devastating or upsetting in a very short time the whole Province, however good it might be and however large its number of holy men. No concessions were to be made to it in the choice of their Superiors.[2] As for their studies, the same professor was not to be asked to lecture on philosophy and on moral and dogmatic theology; it would be best to appoint a special professor for each of these subjects.[3]

The Capuchin Province of Cologne as hitherto existing Clement XIV. divided into the Provinces of Cologne and Westphalia.[4] The antipathy between the Flemings and the Walloons, which also made itself felt among the Capuchins, necessitated the taking of a similar step in Belgium.[5] Separate Provinces of the Franciscan Observants were erected in Estremadura [6] and in Bavaria,[7] of the Minims of St. Francis of Paula in Tuscany,[8] and of the Camaldolese in the kingdom

frailes ni estos de S. Francisco ni de otra ninguna Religion dependan de General extranjero: no sé como lo componen con Roma." Grimaldi to Moñino, November 30, 1773, *ibid.*

[1] July 4, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 456–473.

[2] "Spiritum, ut vocant, nationum . . . perniciosum inventum, paucis tantum abhinc lustris invectum quod brevi totam provinciam, etsi optimam sanctisque viris foecundam vastari queat aut perturbare." *Ibid.*, § 12, 463.

[3] *Ibid.*, § 19, 469.

[4] January 22, 1770, *ibid.*, 140.

[5] February 25, 1773, *ibid.*, 555.

[6] April 10, 1770, *ibid.*, 169.

[7] June 25, 1772, *ibid.*, 452.

[8] May 18, 1771, *ibid.*, 339.

of Naples.[1] Of the German Benedictine monasteries Ettal received the Cassinese privileges,[2] St. Maximinus near Trier the confirmation of its Constitutions.[3] From now on the Portuguese Province of the Carmelites was to form a Congregation of its own.[4]

It was in the pontificate of Clement XIV. that the Carmelite Order attracted universal attention through the entry, as a simple Sister, into their convent at Saint-Denis, on April 11th, 1770, of a royal princess, Madame Louise, a daughter of Louis XV.[5] Educated at first with the king's three youngest daughters at the convent at Fontevrault, Princess Louise from the age of thirteen was under the care of her pious mother, Maria Leszczynska, and took it deeply to heart that her father should be wallowing in the depths of vice, destined apparently for eternal damnation. She resolved to devote herself to a life of penance and atonement and finally received her father's permission to enter Saint-Denis. Without taking leave of the royal family, she drove there on April 11th, 1770, and announced to her astonished retinue that she intended to stay in the convent for ever. On September 10th, 1770, she was solemnly clothed in the presence of twenty-four Bishops, the nuncio, and the whole Court. It was an impressive scene when the princess, surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting, and clothed in a jewel-studded gown, knelt before the nuncio and prayed in the customary form for "the mercy of God, the poverty of the Order, and the company of the Sisters"; she then retired to an adjoining room and reappeared in the chapel wearing the coarse habit of the Carmelites. Afterwards she held in all earnestness to her resolve that with her entry into the Order Madame Louise should die and that she would live

[1] May 13, 1771, *ibid.*, 321.

[2] On January 27, 1770, *ibid.*, 146.

[3] On July 10, 1771, *ibid.*, 353.

[4] Brief of April 28, 1773, *ibid.*, 575.

[5] GILLET, *La vénérable Louise de France*, Paris, 1880; GEOFFROY DE GRANDMAISON, *Madame Louise de France, la vénérable Thérèse de Saint-Augustin* (1737–1787), Paris, 1922.

as a simple Sister like any other under the name of Thérèse de St-Augustin.[1] Joseph II, when visiting her in 1777, told her that he would rather be hanged than live a life like hers.[2] Louis XV.'s opinion was not much different.[3] It should be mentioned that she had already begun to mortify her body when she was still a princess.[4] On several occasions she was elected Prioress of the convent. Her influence at Court she used for the furtherance of religious aims, such as the provision of a refuge for those of her Sisters in religion who had been expelled, the canonization of prominent Carmelite nuns, a community life for the French Jesuits after the suppression of their Order in France, and relief for the extreme poverty of her convent.[5] These causes necessitated her entering into an extensive correspondence, in consequence of which she was accused of being an intriguer, and various contemptuous observations were passed upon her.[6] "The world despises me and I it; so we are quits" was her view of the situation.[7] Clement XIV. came into touch with her on several occasions. On hearing of her entry into religion he wrote to congratulate her [8] and empowered her confessor to dispense her from the strict rule if the need arose. But she would not accept this favour; as long as she was well, she said, she did not want the dispensation, and if she was ill she would have no need of it.[9] The nuncio to Paris was authorized by Clement XIV. to preside at her clothing and the taking of the vows, in the

[1] GRANDMAISON, 76, 95, 99, 120, 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, 156.

[3] *Ibid.*, 104.

[4] *Ibid.*, 69.

[5] *Ibid.*, 119 *seqq.*, 132 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 140; MASSON, 276. For her efforts in support of the Jesuits, *cf.* MASSON, 240 *seqq.* For the assertion that Louise tried to get Rome to declare the Du Barry's marriage null, so that she could marry the king, *v.* GRANDMAISON, 138; MASSON, 197.

[7] GRANDMAISON, 82.

[8] On May 9, 1770, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 83.

[9] GRANDMAISON, 86.

Pope's name.[1] On other occasions he thanked her for sending him her portrait [2] and supported her efforts to reform the Carmelites at Charenton.[3] His attempt to use her influence with Louis XVI. to obtain the retention of Cardinal Bernis in his ambassadorial post in Rome was not a happy move.[4] He allotted her convent at Saint-Denis an annual income from the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[5] At her request he permitted the veneration of relics she had received from the Roman Catacombs [6]; and it was also at her request that he sent her the crucifix and the candlesticks which had belonged to the Jesuits of the Roman College and which afterwards, during the Revolution, found their way into the mint.[7] The horrors of the Revolution were spared her, as she died at the age of fifty on December 21, 1787. "I could not have believed it was so sweet to die," she had said shortly before.[8]

Further evidence that the love of a religious life in community was not yet extinct in the eighteenth century was the springing up of new Congregations. In Genoa, for instance, a number of secular priests formed themselves into a community devoted to the cure of souls and taking Francis de Sales as their model.[9]

Clement XIV. had intimate relations with the recently founded Order of the Passionists and its founder, Paolo Danei, known in religion as Paul of the Cross (b. 1694).[10] As the names

[1] Briefs of July 18, 1770, to the king and the nuncio, of August 14, 1771, to Louise herself and the king, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 96, 97, 170, 171.

[2] On February 26, 1772, *ibid.*, 208.

[3] Briefs of April 15, 1772, *ibid.*, 217; *Bull. Cont.*, V., 432. According to MASSON (256), the reform had little success.

[4] By Brief of August 10, 1774, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 323. *Cf.* MASSON, 271.

[5] Brief of October 5, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 511.

[6] On September 8, 1773, *ibid.*, 658.

[7] GRANDMAISON, 126; MASSON, 249 *seq.*

[8] MASSON, 82.

[9] Brief of confirmation of November 8, 1771, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 388 *seq.*

[10] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 311. Biography by STRAMBI,

of the Order and its founder indicate, the object of the new society was the veneration of Christ's passion by means of contemplation and penance and by the preaching of penance and the love of Christ. The thoughts that form the *leit-motif* of his Order had been developing in Paul's mind from his early youth. The memory of Christ's passion had been implanted in him by his mother and even as a small child he took no interest in games but sought solitude in order to devote himself undisturbed to prayer and mortification. With the passage of the years this tendency grew stronger. Preferring to live in complete poverty for God alone, he refused to accept the legacy left him by an uncle nor would he avail himself of the offer made by a pious, childless couple to adopt him. But with all this Paul was not simply a recluse ; at every stage of his life he exerted an important influence on those with whom he came in contact. Even in his youth he was the centre of a select circle of companions, and he constantly emerged from his solitude to instruct the people and to preach penance. He soon formed the plan of finding others who would live as he did and of founding a society of the " Poor of Jesus ". At the age of twenty-four he had himself clothed by his spiritual director, the Bishop of Alessandria, Arboreo di Gattinara, in the habit which was afterwards to be that of his Order and he straightway set about the task of drafting the Rule of his future community.[1]

At first he was not successful in obtaining Papal sanction for his new foundation. In beggar's clothes he presented himself for an audience with Innocent XIII. but failed to gain admittance. He retired in 1722 to the rocky caves in the peninsula of Argentaro on the Tuscan coast, thence to Gaeta and to Troia in Apulia, everywhere combining preaching with the life of a hermit. In 1725, taking with him a letter of recommendation from the Bishop of Troia, he went to Rome again and this time he was more successful. As he knelt in St. Peter's with his brother, who shared his way of life, he

Rome, 1786, revised by VALENTIN LEHNERD, Innsbruck, 1926 ; HEIMBUCHER, III., 309 *seqq.*

[1] LEHNERD, 1–27.

attracted the attention of the future Cardinal Crescenzi, the friend of Leonardo di Porto Maurizio.[1] The pious Crescenzi and Cardinal Corradini saw to it that the two brothers were well received by Benedict XIII., who gave them oral permission to recruit more companions.[2] On Whitsun Eve, 7th June, 1727, Benedict XIII. ordained them priests.

The new Order now began to take its rise. After 1742 the first convent at Ortebello was followed by others. Benedict XIV. confirmed the Rule by Briefs of May 15th, 1741, and March 28th, 1746; and on April 10th, 1747, the founder was chosen as the first General of the new Congregation.[3] In the jubilee year of 1750 he preached in Rome with Leonardo di Porto Maurizio, and did so again in 1769.[4]

With Clement XIV. Paul of the Cross stood in high repute. He had prophesied that Cardinal Ganganelli would receive the tiara,[5] and when he came to Rome soon after the Pope's accession to the throne Clement XIV. sent a carriage to fetch him.[6] He reconfirmed the rules of the Congregation in their altered form by a Brief of November 15th, 1769,[7] and on the next day he granted the undertaking several privileges by means of a solemn Bull.[8] On April 21st, 1770, he sent the founder and his Congregation a Brief of appreciation.[9] When, after the suppression of the Jesuits, their noviciate on the Quirinal came into the possession of the Lazarists, the Pope presented the church and residence formerly used by the Lazarists to the Passionists.[10] It was the Pope's wish that Paul of the Cross should visit him as often as possible; he was to be admitted even when no audience was granted to anyone

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. xxxv., 324, 335.
[2] LEHNERD, 39.
[3] *Ibid.*, 60, 62, 64.
[4] *Ibid.*, 79, 100.
[5] *Ibid.*, 98, 252.
[6] *Ibid.*, 99.
[7] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 105–126.
[8] *Ibid.* (arranged in the wrong order), 75–79.
[9] THEINER, *Epist.*, 80.
[10] Brief of September 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 781–8.

else.[1] On January 26th, 1774, when Paul had been ill for a long time and was in danger of death, Clement XIV. visited him and conversed with him alone.[2] The same honour was paid to the dying man by Pius VI. on the first Sunday in Lent, in 1775, a few days after his accession to the throne.[3] Shortly before Paul's death on October 18th, 1775, the Constitutions, which had again been altered, were confirmed anew by Pius VI.[4]

A female, purely contemplative, branch of the Congregation came into existence on May 3rd, 1771, with the foundation of the convent of Corneto.[5] Its first Superior was the Duchess Anna Maria Colonna Barberini, widow of Sforza Cesarini, who on the death of her husband had devoted herself to a life of religion and had retired entirely from the world. Her appointment was made by Clement XIV., who had also approved of the rules for the Passionist nuns.[6]

Contemporaneously with the Passionists the Congregation

[1] LEHNERD, 106.

[2] According to LEHNERD (116) this was the last meeting between Clement XIV. and Paul of the Cross, but Centomani reported a visit paid by Clement in August (Appx. 3, i). *Cf.* below, p. 523, n. 1. Cordara (in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 52) relates that Clement asked for Paul's opinion on his intention of suppressing the Society of Jesus and that Paul dispelled his doubts on this score: "nisi aliter sua reddi possit Ecclesiae quies, dignitas et libertas, quam societate suppressa, eam supprimere ne vereretur." But this is merely Cordara's conjecture, as the two men conferred in private. Besides, after the expulsion from Spain, Paul thought that the Order would rise again with even greater splendour. Letters to Reali of September 22, 1767, *Lettere*, ed. by Amadeo della Madre del Buon Pastore, IV. (1924), 21; BOERO, *Osservazioni*, II., 239; *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1926, 462. Once Paul referred to Ignatius of Loyola as his friend (LEHNERD, 225) and he often used the Exercises (*ibid.*, 66, 70, 85, 240, etc.).

[3] *Ibid.*, 116.

[4] On September 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 117.

[5] *Ibid.*, 93, 109.

[6] Brief of February 9, 1771, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 137 *seqq.*

of the Redemptorists was also assuming its final shape, in the very place where it seemed impossible for a religious society to make any progress—Naples, the paradise of regalism.

(5)

Tanucci's spirit had not yet lost its hold on the southern half of the Italian peninsula. When Paris was considering the appointment of an envoy to Naples, Aiguillon was informed in the name of the King of the Two Sicilies [1] that the envoy would have to be anti-Jesuit and anti-Roman. On the occasion of Clement XIV.'s taking possession of the Lateran, Tanucci had instructed his agent Centomani to see to the triumphal arch which it was the custom of the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza to erect for the ceremony, but in the inscription to refer to them also as the Dukes of Castro and Ronciglione. This slight on the Pope's rights of enfeoffment was obviated only by the Pope's being satisfied with an arch without an inscription.[2] It was made difficult for the Bishops and the clergy to communicate with Rome and even with the nuncio [3]; and it was forbidden to pay taxes to Rome.[4] The anti-Papal works of Giannone and Sarpi were reprinted.[5] The religious Orders were to come under the sole supervision of the State, and the Camaldolese and the Brothers of Mercy, who had allowed themselves to be won over to this point of view, had to be threatened by the Pope with excommunication.[6] Long negotiations were started about the so-called regulations of the chancery, whose reservations and evocations in favour of Rome Tanucci refused to recognize for Naples. He called the whole Dataria an Augean stable [7]; in his view the chancery

[1] *Fuentes to Grimaldi, Fontainebleau, October 26, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4580.

[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 328 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 188.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 517.

[5] *Ibid.*, 518.

[6] *Ibid.*, 329, 517.

[7] *To Orsini, May 18, 1771, State Archives, Naples.

regulations cut across the rights both of the princes and the Bishops.[1]

The episcopal authority, as it happened, was restricted by Tanucci as much as the Papal one. No pastoral letter or episcopal decree could be published without the royal *placet*.[2] The Government tried to curtail the Archbishop of Capua's right, fixed by concordat, to the presentation of benefices. The Archbishop, the Theatine Michele Galeota, would not give way and was praised by the Pope for his conduct. If there were more prelates of his character, wrote the Secretary of State on June 18th, 1771, the Church would be in a better situation.[3] The Government had to cede finally to the Archbishop's demands, but for a time, in 1772, he was expelled from his diocese.[4] Similar difficulties were created by Tanucci for the Bishop of Troia, Marco di Simone. The nuncio to Naples was instructed by letter from the Secretary of State, dated July 16th, 1771, to defend the Bishop's rights on the basis of the concordats.[5] The intention formed by several Bishops in the Neapolitan kingdom to appeal to the king against the Government's encroachments on their rights met with the Pope's approval and encouragement.[6] Tanucci's dislike of the clergy included the priests' schools. "Better not to study at all," he said, "than to take poison with one's studies."[7] For the monks he had a supreme contempt.[8]

The Jesuits were still a bugbear for Tanucci. He feared

[1] *To Orsini, May 12, 1770, *ibid.*

[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 517.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, 83, 188.

[5] *Ibid.*, 83 *seq.*

[6] Letter from the Secretary of State, September 3, 1771, *ibid.*, 85.

[7] "*Meglio che non si studi, che studiando si beva il veleno." Tanucci to Fogliano, July 1, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6009.

[8] "*Il fratume però è getto e cloaca della gente stolta e pericolosa." To Nefetti, Portici, May 13, 1773, *ibid.*, Estado, 3023, 803.

their return, he tried to forestall such an unpleasant contingency,[1] and he calculated the amount of money that was leaving the country in the form of pensions for the exiles.[2] For the Pope, on the other hand, the Jesuit question was a means of defence against the encroachments of the Government. These constant violations of the concordats, he complained to Orsini, hindered him in the execution of the important resolutions he had formed to satisfy the importunities of the kings of Spain and France ; they were making his life such a misery that he felt like abdicating and shutting himself up for good in the Castel Sant'Angelo.[3] Even Orsini protested [4] against Tanucci's desire to nationalize the Church and told him straight out that together with the Italian and Spanish Bishops he considered the Pope to be above even the Ecumenical Councils.

Without first obtaining the Government's approval, the nuncio, acting in the name of the Pope, was to proceed against the priests and Religious who were spending their time in Naples for no better object than to amuse themselves.[5] In a secret memorial [6] Tanucci was advised not to enter into

[1] *Tanucci to Grimaldi, June 4, 1771, *ibid.*, Estado, 6104.

[2] *To Orsini, August 11, 1770, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 109.

[3] *These encroachments, the Pope is said to have complained, were "una specie di fraporre ostacolo alle cose grandi, che meditiamo, e siamo disposti a fare a premure di S. M^tà Cattolica e Christianissima". He was ready "per il bene delle Chiesa ad andarsi a rinchiudere in Castel S. Angelo" (Orsini to Tanucci, Rome, May 8, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 1475). *Azpuru and the Pope were continually saying that the innovations in Naples were delaying the suppression (Centomani to Tanucci, Rome, January 22, 1771, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, 1218).

[4] *On May 29, 1770, *ibid.*, C. Farnes. 1475

[5] November 8, 1771, THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 86. "La maggior parte dei vescovi" was reprehensible, *wrote Tanucci to Centomani on March 24, 1770 (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6011). "Vogliono ozio non residenza."

[6] "*Secreta memoria," State Archives, Naples, Raccolta da vari Archivii Napoletani, 676.

negotiations with the Roman Curia, as they always resulted in profiting the Curia and damaging the Catholic States. Without more ado and with no further preparation a regiment should be put into Castro to occupy the territory; the *chinea*[1] tribute should not be paid, and the revenues that Rome drew from the Bulls, Briefs, reservations, etc., should be withheld. By this means the Bishops would recover their powers of dispensation. Had not Christ Himself commended His Church to the Apostles and the temporal rulers? The *Monarchia Sicula* was a strong support for the Government. All Neapolitans resident in the Papal States must be recalled and all Papal subjects who owned property in Neapolitan territory must be compelled to reside there or pay a huge tax. Even the expelled Jesuits might be brought back and confined in two fortresses, so that their pensions should not go to the benefit of foreigners. The writer explained that the principle on which he based his proposals was that the internal discipline of the Church was the business of the Bishops, the external that of the rulers. He failed to understand, he said, why his king did not make up his mind not to be bothered with the Roman Curia any more. It was only in the domain of dogma that a few concessions were made to the Pope. As a model for the Minister to copy, the memorial cited the behaviour of Venice towards the Holy See.

In Clement XIV.'s pontificate the Signoria did indeed issue a number of decrees that trespassed on ecclesiastical ground. The Bishops were forbidden to leave their dioceses without permission.[2] The faculty of releasing Bulls, for which hitherto the parish priests had to apply to the nuncio and pay him the appropriate fee, was transferred to the Patriarch.[3] To Papal Briefs concerned with the assignment to benefices the Republic refused to give its exequatur.[4] The object of these measures

[1] The annual tribute paid to the Pope by the kings of Naples since the time of Charles of Anjou.

[2] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, Venice, June 10, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765. [3] *Id.* to *id.*, March 31, 1770, *ibid.*, 5780.

[4] *Orsini to Tanucci, Rome, January 8, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{310}{1055}$.

was to prevent money leaving the country, and in pursuance of this policy the Signoria even prohibited pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Francis at Assisi. As the number of pilgrims was assessed at 15,000 it was hoped in this way to prevent the expenditure of three million reals.[1] Another regulation was that no cleric was to be in possession of two canonries, abbotships, priorships, or simple prebends; he was to have only that one where he had his residence.[2]

The most serious interferences on the part of the State had to be suffered by the monasteries and convents. As early as September 7th, 1768, a law had been passed by which the Religious were made immediately subject to the Bishops.[3] As this ordinance failed to meet with universal acceptance, on April 29th of the following year all who had not submitted within six months were threatened with immediate banishment.[4] All communication with foreign Superiors was forbidden.[5] On June 10th, 1769, the Spanish envoy to Venice reported that seventy-four Franciscan convents had been closed by the Republic and that measures had been taken to restrict the number of vocations to the priesthood, whether secular or regular.[6] On June 17th he wrote that every week some decree or other against the Orders was passed by the Senate, but that at the time of writing only the Franciscans had been affected.[7] But it was not long before the Dominicans were also subjected to the State's zeal for reform.[8] By the middle of August, 1770, eighteen Dominican, twelve Carmelite, and three Augustinian convents had been suppressed. This

[1] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, Venice, June 8, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5781.

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, Venice, March 31, 1770, *ibid.*, 5780.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. xxxvii., 373.

[4] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, Venice, May 6, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765.

[5] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 329.

[6] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, *loc. cit*,. Estado, 5765.

[7] **Ibid.*

[8] *Finocchietti to Orsini, Venice, December 2, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{295}{1040}$.

was paving the way, thought the Spanish envoy, for the seizure of the Benedictine monasteries, whose riches and power were well known.[1] And in fact, on December 5th, 1770, four of the twelve Benedictine establishments of the Cassinese Congregation were swept away[2]; they were not allowed to accept any more novices until the number of Religious had dropped from 300 to 160, which number they were not to exceed in future; the priests and lay-brothers received an annual pension of 220 and 190 ducats respectively.[3] Between April 7th, 1770, and August 26th, 1771, the Republic made 387,389 ducats by the sale of fifty-two religious houses.[4] But the "work of reform" did not finish here; on September 12th, 1771, it was extended to twenty-one houses belonging to the four Orders of the Camaldolese, the Olivetans, the Canons of the Holy Redeemer, and the Canons of the Lateran.[5] A year later it was the turn of four other Orders. The Augustinians of the Venetian Province lost nine of their thirteen convents, their fellow-Religious of the Lombard-Venetian Province six of their ten convents, the Congregation of Monte Ortone three of their six monasteries. The Servites fared no better; in their Province of Venice they were left with only six of their thirteen convents, in the March of Treviso with three of their six establishments. The Minims were treated more leniently; of their seven houses they lost only two; whereas the Hieronymites kept only five of their nine convents.[6]

The Jesuits were told to elect their Provincial in Chapter

[1] "*Pregadi," August 2, 1770, *ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{298}{1043}$; *Orsini to Tanucci, August 14, 1770, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473; *Montalegre to Grimaldi, August 11, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5780.

[2] CECCHETTI, I., 224.

[3] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, Venice, December 15, 1770, *loc. cit.*

[4] CECCHETTI, *loc. cit.*

[5] *J. Martin to Grimaldi, Venice, September 28, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5781.

[6] CECCHETTI, II., 161. A *collection of Venetian decrees on "proprietà et jurisdict. ecclesiastica, ordini regolari et luoghi pii 1769–1775" in the Vatican Library, Vat., 9469–9470.

in future, in the manner of the Theatines.[1] Permission to do so had arrived from Rome, it was stated.[2] Tanucci made out that the Jesuits' reply to the Senate's demand was ambiguous,[3] but the Senate advised them that if they wanted to remain within the frontiers of the Republic they would have to throw off all dependence on their General and cease from all communication with him, and in future they would not be allowed to receive any more novices.[4]

Clement XIV. did not receive these invasions of the ecclesiastical domain in silence. Time and again he protested against them in his Briefs, he sent Martorelli to Venice to remonstrate, and he instructed the nuncios to invoke the mediation of the Catholic Courts.[5]

The Bishop of Brescia, Cardinal Molino, having refused to obey the Senate's summons to undertake on his own episcopal authority the visitation of the religious houses in his diocese, had to leave Republican territory.[6] Clement solved the difficulty by appointing Molino Apostolic Delegate and instructing him in this capacity to perform the visitation in his name. Molino was allowed to return and was reinstated in the possession of the property that had been confiscated from him.[7] For this favour the Republic received Clement's commendation.[8] Perhaps the most arbitrary act of the

[1] "*Pregadi," on May 6, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765.

[2] *Finocchietti to Orsini, July 22, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{293}{1038}$.

[3] *To Orsini, August 1, 1769, *ibid.*

[4] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, September 30, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765.

[5] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 330.

[6] *Cf.* our account, vol. xxxvii., 374; *Orsini to Tanucci, June 16, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1473.

[7] *Azpuru to Grimaldi, June 15, 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 108. *Orsini to Tanucci, June 30, 1769, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1474.

[8] *Montalegre to Grimaldi, June 24, 1769, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5765.

Senate was the order it gave to the Bishop of Udine to compose a catechism recommending obedience to the sovereign.[1]

In Tuscany, Duke Leopold II., who in ecclesiastical matters shared the views of his brother, Emperor Joseph II., began his reforms in the spiritual sphere in the year of Clement XIV.'s accession to the throne, though they did not reach their climax till the reign of Pius VI. The exequatur had to be affixed to the decrees of all foreign Superiors ; no applications to Rome for dispensations might be made without permission of the secretary for affairs of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The right of asylum was abolished. The only notice Rome took of this decree was to publish it. The monastic prisons were brought under the control of the State. Nothing is known of any protest raised by Clement XIV. against all this.[2] In 1769 there was promulgated a law, based on an ordinance of 1751, restricting the amounts of property in mortmain. The law was framed in general terms, but it was aimed at the diminution of ecclesiastical property. Estates held in mortmain had to be given in copyhold, so that the original owners were left with only the annual rent as a fixed income ; actually this meant that Church property passed into the hands of laymen.[3]

Leopold II. was especially anxious to reduce the number of religious houses. On taking over the Government he had complained of the large number of nunneries ; in 1767 the religious houses had to render an account of the state of their revenues ; in 1777 he requested his Finance Minister Rucellai to submit him detailed measures which would reduce the number of houses and Religious. Rucellai's answer was that no religious clothing should take place without the Grand Duke's assent and that no vows should be taken before the

[1] *Finocchietti to Orsini, Venice, December 9, 1769, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{295}{1046}$.

[2] REUMONT, II., 158.

[3] HERMANN BÜCHI, *Ein Menschenalter Reformen der Toten Hand in Toskana* (1751–1790), Berlin, 1912, 88 *seqq.* Text of the law, *ibid.*, 79 *seqq.* For the real purpose of this legislation, *v. ibid.*, 43, 71, 109.

age of twenty-one.[1] In the early seventies a beginning was made with the suppression of unimportant establishments.[2] The suppression of the ten Jesuit establishments was carried out in 1773 without difficulty.[3]

Regardless of the dangers to law and order that were likely to arise from lack of religious unity, the Austrian Government in the Milanese contemplated settling a hundred Protestant families from Germany with the object of stimulating trade and industry. The Papal Secretary of State protested against this in a letter to the nuncio to Vienna of September 28th, 1771, and in the event Maria Theresa withheld her assent to her Ministers' project.[4] The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan was also asked to give his support to the plans of the Austrian statesmen, and on November 16th, 1771, the Secretary of State again warned the nuncio to be on his guard.[5]

To reduce the number of religious houses was the policy of almost every Government. In Lombardy the Imperial Government proposed to amalgamate some of the smaller houses, particularly those of the Olivetans and Hieronymites, and accommodate their inmates in one or two larger establishments, with the object of raising the standard of discipline and studies. The revenues that would thus become redundant were to be used for other religious purposes. "To avoid worse harm,"[6] Clement XIV. sent the necessary powers to the nuncio in Vienna, with instructions to obtain from the Bishops precise information about the condition and the effectiveness of the houses in question.[7]

When the possession of Corsica passed from Genoa to France

[1] *Ibid.*, 111.

[2] Reumont, 166.

[3] *Ibid.*, 167.

[4] Theiner, *Gesch.*, II., 87.

[5] *Ibid.*, 89 *seq.*

[6] Pallavicini to the nuncio in Vienna, November 25, 1772, *ibid.*, 192.

[7] The Pope to the nuncio, October 17, 1772, in Theiner, *Epist.*, 230; to the empress, October 24, 1772, *ibid.*, 231.

in 1768 various difficulties were created for the Holy See.[1] In the temporal sphere the Papal Government claimed the overlordship of the island on the strength of the donation of Pepin and the precedent created by Innocent II. and Honorius III. In so far as spiritual matters were concerned, the Pope could not acquiesce in silence in the French king's desire to treat Corsica as if it were one of the French dioceses, in accordance with which he introduced in October, 1769, the administration of Church revenues according to the French system and the obligation to observe the four Gallican propositions of 1682.[2] By a Brief of March 14th, 1770,[3] Clement XIV. acknowledged the French king's right to nominate the Corsican Bishops. As for the temporal supremacy over the island, it was said in the Brief that the Holy See did not renounce its claim to its temporal rights in Corsica; the French Government had at first rejected the Papal claims,[4] but had finally admitted a reservation in general terms.[5] In spiritual matters the Brief stated that the Pope reserved to himself all the rights which he had exercised in Corsica since time immemorable. In August, 1769, Clement XIV. had sent the Bishop of Tiana as Visitor to the island to restore order to the disorganized ecclesiastical conditions.[6]

The only State in the whole of Italy with which the Pope was on really friendly terms was the kingdom of Sardinia, and that only during the lifetime of its ruler, Carlo Emmanuele III. The king obtained from the Pope the extension of certain Spanish privileges on the island of Sardinia,[7] also certain restrictions of the right of asylum[8] and the erection of the

[1] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 312 *seqq.*, 464 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 313.

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 152 *seqq.*

[4] The nuncio in Paris to Pallavicini, in THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 312 *seq.*

[5] Covering letter to the Brief of March 14, *ibid.*, 469.

[6] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 314.

[7] Brief of November 29, 1769, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 130 *seq.*; THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 332.

[8] THEINER, *Gesch.*, I., 520.

bishopric of Biella for the needs of the mountaineers in northern Piedmont.[1] On March 8th, 1772, the Pope had to inform the Cardinals in Consistory of the king's death.[2]

(6)

Clement XIV.'s accession to the throne inspired the former Controller-General Laverdy with the idea of making an attempt to obtain some sort of ecclesiastical recognition for the French Jansenists. Charles III. of Spain was to use his influence with the Pope on their behalf, while from the Jansenist side a dogmatic statement was to be presented in Rome ; if this met with approval, the French Government was to lay it before an assembly of prelates, " who were already peacefully inclined or who could be induced to become so by the Court." Naturally the project came to nothing.[3] In any case the party was no longer interested in doctrinal strife ; until 1773 the principal aim of its leading men was the destruction of the Society of Jesus.[4]

The Jansenists in Holland also took fresh heart under Clement XIV. The archbishop of Utrecht wrote immediately to the Pope,[5] telling him of his longing for union and reconciliation and speaking of love and forbearance, of the pure faith of the Church of Utrecht, of Bossuet, and the freedom there should be in matters of doubt. The men of Utrecht had been the victims of calumny, and their arguments ought to be heard by Rome. Furnished with recommendations from the

[1] Brief of June 1, 1772, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 442.

[2] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 315.

[3] PRÉCLIN, 306 *seq.*

[4] Until 1773 " la destruction de la Compagnie de Jésus demeure l'objectif principal que poursuivent les chefs du jansénisme " (*ibid.*, 305).

[5] *On May 9, 1770, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 254–9. F. DE VRIES, *Vredespogingen tusschen de oud-bisschoppelijke Cleresie van Utrecht en Rome*, Groningen, 1930 ; *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, 1931, 151 *seqq.*

Empress Maria Theresa,[1] an envoy from the Church of Utrecht came to Rome. The steps taken by the Dutch Jansenists were supported by the Spanish Court. Roda wrote from the Escorial to the Archbishop of Utrecht [2] that Charles III. was convinced that the pastoral letter ascribed to the Archbishop's predecessor, Meindaerts, three years after his death, was a calumnious falsification intended to besmirch the reputation of the venerable Palafox and by means of false imputations to vilify the doctrine and the faith of an illustrious Church which had been founded by the king's most glorious ancestors. The king had been moved to hear of the conditions in Utrecht, of the great devotion to the Holy See, of the great purity of faith, of the intense longing for reconciliation; he was extremely glad to hear that Jansen's five propositions had been rejected by Utrecht and he would take steps at the Court of Rome to promote concord, peace, and love.

Azpuru did in fact hand the Pope, in his king's name, a memorial recommending the requests made by the Archbishop of Utrecht.[3] The Pope replied verbally that a plenipotentiary might be sent to negotiate on the question of reunion, but that first and foremost the appeal to a ecumenical council must be withdrawn. The request for reunion must be made in the name of the Church of Utrecht, not in the name of the present Bishops, who were not recognized by Rome. If these conditions were fulfilled, the Pope, out of regard for the king's intervention, would gladly put out his hand in the cause of

[1] Mozzi, II., 450 *seq.* *Orsini to Tanucci, Rome, July 20, 1770, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{298}{1043}$ (on the agent employed by Utrecht, Fernandi).

[2] *San Lorenzo (Escorial), September 30, 1771, Archives of Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, 589.

[3] In this memorial Charles III. asked the Pope to protect the men of Utrecht "contra las calumnias que se les levantan, los admita en su gremio . . . asegurándose de la fé y católica creencia que deben tener y ofrecen observar" (*Azpuru to Roda, October 31, 1771, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 110).

reunion, so far as the purity of the faith allowed.[1] In the following year too Roda wanted Moñino to take up the matter and persuade the Pope to send a competent nuncio to Brussels to initiate negotiations.[2]

Later on the Dutch Jansenists tried again to get Maria Theresa to recommend them in Rome, but this time the empress would have nothing more to do with them.[3]

(7)

In general, as we have said, the internal life of the Church in the time of Clement XIV. presents anything but a cheerful picture, and a particularly gloomy feature of it is the mission field. It is now generally acknowledged that the destruction of the missionary Orders, the Society of Jesus in particular, at the close of the eighteenth century was bound to have the most disastrous effects in the mission field. The geographer Wappäus wrote in 1865 on the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay[4]: "It is no longer a very bold statement to make that these measures were as much an injustice towards the missionaries as they were harmful for the Indians and consequently for the countries themselves. . . . A century has passed since then and they have not been replaced, but even to-day their memory is still treasured by the Indians, who speak with eagerness of the Fathers' regime as of a golden age." Duflot de Mofras,[5] who explored America in 1840–42, speaks of the "brilliant results" obtained by the Jesuits in New France and by the Spanish Franciscan missionaries in California when working among the Indians, but he also says that everything had been destroyed. "To his astonishment

[1] *Macedonio to Azpuru, December 3, 1771, *ibid.*, 110. *Cf.* THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 51 *seq.*

[2] *Roda to Moñino, El Pardo, February 22, 1774, Exped. "Roma".

[3] MOZZI, II., 450.

[4] *Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik*, I., 3, 1013.

[5] *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon*, II., Paris, 1844, 384.

the traveller in the most remote districts of America comes across quite heavy crosses set up by the Indians. From the very earliest times of the conquest the natives had a feeling of reverence for the missionaries, as men who, in contrast with all the other whites, did nothing but good to them and always protected them. A nation that is not bent on destroying the Indians . . . should send out missionaries before anyone else, to continue the work of civilization begun in so admirable a way by the Jesuits and Franciscans. . . . The wooden crosses of a few poor Religious have won more provinces for Spain and France than the swords of their best military commanders." Alexander von Humboldt wrote of the Atures Indians on the Orinoco [1]: "The Jesuits of old set them to work and they never lacked a livelihood. The Fathers grew maize, beans, and other European vegetables; they even planted sweet oranges and tamarinds round about the villages; and on the prairies of Atures and Carichana they had 20–30,000 horses and heads of cattle. . . . Now nothing is grown but a little manioc and bananas . . . the cultivation of maize is entirely neglected, the horses and cows have disappeared. . . . During an interregnum of eighteen years [after the expulsion of the Jesuits] the missions were visited only occasionally, by Capuchins. The *hatos*, the villages established by the Jesuits, were administered by Government officials calling themselves "royal commissioners", in a disgracefully slovenly fashion. . . . Since 1795 the cattle bred by the Jesuits has entirely disappeared." Gothein [2] also states as a fact that on the downfall of the Order the Spaniards "broke into the territory that had been protected from them for so long, like a pack of ravenous wolves, and in a short time they reduced it to ruins. . . . In a few years the country's stock of cattle was practically demolished and the population had

[1] *Reisen in die Äquatorialgegenden des Neuen Kontinents, in deutscher Bearbeitung von H. Hauff*, III., Stuttgart, 1860, 186.

[2] *Der christlich-soziale Staat der Jesuiten in Paraguay*, Leipzig, 1883, 15, 61.

shrunk by more than half." [1] Of Ecuador an eye-witness,[2] after speaking of the amazing monumental buildings of the early period in the towns, goes on to say, "To-day, then, we look in vain for those flourishing Indian colonies in the evergreen forests between the Cordilleras and the Amazon. The towns and villages built there by the missionaries . . . have either disappeared without a trace or are mere ruins overgrown with vegetation or, most rarely of all, have degenerated into miserable settlements. The Indians themselves have not merely reverted to their former wildness but through their temporary contact with unscrupulous and greedy merchants have become even more depraved than they were before the missions."

Baluffi,[3] the future Cardinal, goes so far as to say that

[1] *Cf.* HÄBLER, in HELMOLT, *Weltgeschichte*, I., 409: "Those who entered into their [the Jesuits'] inheritance managed in a few years to turn the Indians away from all the cultural progress that had been made under the Jesuits," etc.

[2] LUDWIG DRESSEL, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XVII. (1879), 474.

[3] He calls the suppression "un avvenimento che mutò l'aspetto d'America. Se la caduta della Compagnia produsse quasi ovunque rimarchevoli effetti, sono tali in America da contraddistinguere il secolo, da fargli prendere il nome dal discacciamento di lei". *L'America in tempo spagnuolo riguardata sotto l'aspetto religioso dall'epoca del suo discoprimento sino al 1843* (Ancona, 1844), II., 256. The Araucans, says Baluffi, were so exasperated by the expulsion of the Jesuits that in their blind rage they destroyed everything that reminded them of Spain (*ibid.*, 256). Mgr. Ranjel, the first Bishop to visit the old missions of the Marañon, in 1807, found them almost deserted, and they never revived (*ibid.*, 259). "As for New Granada, I wept when I read the reports written in their own hand by the Viceroys Espeleta and Mendineta, lamenting the decay of the missions, which began on the day the sons of St. Ignatius were parted from them" (*ibid.*). *Ibid.*, 260, the decay in instruction. *Cf.* *Nuncio Caleppi to the Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, February 23, 1816 (Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Brasile): The Government protests against the restoration of the Society of Jesus, as

the destruction of the Society of Jesus has changed the face of America. The downfall of the Order, he says, had remarkable effects almost everywhere, but in America it marked the beginning of a new era, that of the expelled Society of Jesus.

Public opinion had been prepared for the destruction of the missions many years before by the flood of writings aimed at the destruction of the Society of Jesus and pretending to justify themselves by the alleged conditions of the Jesuit missions.[1] It had already been initiated, before Clement XIV.

it has taken place without previous agreement. The nuncio will continue to refrain from speaking about the matter to the Minister, "non essendo questo certamente il momento da potersi sperare un cambiamento di opinione rispetto ai gesuiti, che però non lasciano di avere anche qui ed a Lisbona un partito ben grande, confessando pur anche li loro contrari, che la civilizzazione degli Indiani disgraziatamente è così ritardata nel Brasile per la espulsione de' predetti religiosi, che avevano maniere ammirabili per attrarli, e toglierli dalla barbarie."

[1] "About the middle of the eighteenth century," writes Robert Streit, the bibliographer of the missions (*Bibliotheca Missionum*, III., Aachen, 1927, vii.), "there appears a genus of missionary literature which shows unmistakable signs of being a sham. It is work done to order. The superficiality with which it was written, the haste with which it was published, the unscrupulousness with which it was thrown at the public, are unparalleled in the history of literature. It culminates in a regular flood and overflows into every civilized country and colony in a torrent of editions and translations. It was a literary onslaught on the Society of Jesus, its missionary activity in particular.—We are not concerned here with the investigation of the grounds and facts which gave rise to this disgraceful campaign of lies and brute force, nor is it our duty at the moment to state what grounds there were for the accusations brought against the missionary work of the Jesuits. What we must expose on the evidence of the literary material to hand is the unscrupulous means, the reprehensible method, the brutal execution, and the disastrous consequences. We have spared no pains to name this genus of missionary literature and to determine it bibliographically. Its very bulk is repugnant and gives the impression of a list

ascended the throne, by the measures taken by the Portuguese and Spanish Governments. The Papal Brief of suppression seemed merely to set the seal to their procedure, but before Clement XIV.'s death it had hardly been announced in the outlying mission fields [1] and until it had been officially promulgated the missionaries did not cease to be Jesuits. For the most part, therefore, evidence of the effects of the suppression can only be expected in the pontificate of Clement XIV.'s successor.

Only a few days elapsed, however, between the publication of the Brief of suppression and the issue of the order for its application to the missions. On August 21st, 1773, a case full of sealed letter-packets was brought to Propaganda by a messenger who told a subordinate official of the secretariate to send them off without delay to all the missionary Bishops. Borgia, the Secretary of the Propaganda, protested to Cardinal

of goods which have been ordered and paid for. The tragic and serious part of this affair, however, is that this literature was a mighty weapon in the hands of those who were bitterly opposed to the universal mission of the Catholic Church, that far and wide and for a long time it influenced public opinion, that it crippled the life of the missions at home, and inflicted dire wounds on the life of the missions abroad, and finally that it contributed not a little to the destruction of the Jesuit Order, one of the greatest of the missionary Orders. The evidence with which this literature operated, hawked about from door to door in every country, can be narrowed down on closer inspection to a few assertions. But for many a long year afterwards, right into the nineteenth century, we find it cropping up again in various books and pamphlets, dragged out like a rusty weapon to be used against the Catholic Church and its missionary activity. Now at last they have been relegated to their proper places as some of the lies of history, but this missionary literature and the persons who wrote it, and the spirit that inspired it were of so preponderating influence that it was they who gave the eighteenth century its characteristic stamp. . . ."

[1] The relevant documents are listed under Pius VI. (vol. xxxix., chap. 7).

Zelada [1] against this informal procedure, which was contrary to all the rules of the chancery, and he reminded him that in the Brief of suppression the Pope had reserved to himself the settlement of missionary affairs in view of their importance. If the special circumstances of each mission field were not taken into account, it would lead to nothing but disorganization and confusion. If the Vicars Apostolic were not empowered to allow the Jesuit missionaries to continue their work for the time being the 23,000 Catholics in the North American colonies would suddenly be without their pastors, for it was only Jesuits who were working there. In England a third of the mission-priests, with more than 100,000 souls under their care, were members of the suppressed Order. In the Scottish mission, where there was a lack of priests, the removal of ten of them would be a sad loss for the 22,000 Catholics who had steadfastly kept the Faith in spite of every persecution. If the ex-Jesuits were to be allowed to continue their educational and pastoral work in Catholic countries, the same permission should be granted them in the missions. In view of the multiformity of missionary work and of the hundreds of thousands of persons who had hitherto been entrusted to the care of the Jesuits, mature deliberation and adaptation to the prevailing local conditions were absolutely necessary.

After consulting the commission for the suppression and the Pope, the Secretary of the Memorials replied [2] that the postal packets had been delivered on the Pope's instructions and that Propaganda was to attach to them an instruction which enjoined the immediate execution of the Brief, but which also empowered the missionary Bishops to employ ex-Jesuits as secular priests until further orders, on condition that they willingly complied with the Papal provisions. On

[1] "*Memoria per l'Em. de Zelada," of August 22, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V. In the packet for the nuncio in Brussels there were Briefs for Bishops in Albania and Red Russia, whereas several for Ireland and Scotland were missing. *Ghilini to Borgia, September 21, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] *On August 24, 1773, *ibid.*

the following day a circular to this effect was addressed by Cardinal Castelli to the Papal nuncios and the missionary Bishops. According to this the missionaries had to signify their submission by personal signature.[1]

On receipt of these official documents the nuncio to Brussels lost no time in having the Papal order carried out in the mission fields in his jurisdictional area, namely Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland.[2] Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century the Jesuits of the Flandro-Belgian Province had conducted more than forty mission-stations in Holland, but they had subsequently lost a considerable number of them as a result of Calvinist intolerance and Jansenist intrigues. By 1773 there were only thirty-two Jesuits left in the territory of the States General, who were looking after twenty-one parishes in eighteen places.[3] There being no Bishop in the country who was in communion with Rome, the nuncio Ghilini instructed the seven archpriests to execute the Brief under the above-mentioned conditions.[4] As early as September 27th, 1773, the archpriest of Amsterdam reported the willing submission of the two Jesuits there and urgently asked for their retention in their posts, as they were gifted, respected, and exemplary priests.[5] Similar reports followed shortly afterwards from the other archpriests.[6] On returning the authenticated formulas of submission the nuncio remarked that the whole business had gone off without the missionaries

[1] Castelli to Challoner, August 25, 1773, in HUGHES, *Documents*, 602.

[2] *Ghilini to Castelli, September 21, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V.

[3] PONCELET, *La Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique. Aperçu historique*, Bruxelles, 1907, 33; *id.*, *Nécrologe*, cii. *seq*; VAN HOECK, *De Jezuïeten te Nijmegen*, 's Hertogenbosch, 1921, 143 *seqq*.

[4] *Ghilini to Castelli, September 21, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ghilini to Borgia, October 1, 1773, *ibid.*; H. J. ALLARD, *De Sint Franciscus Xaverius-Kerk op den Krijtberg te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1904, 105 *seq*.

[6] *Ghilini to Castelli, October 8, 12, and 19, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V.

offering any difficulty.[1] On requesting the Secretary of the Propaganda to convey to Ghilini the gratitude and esteem of the commission for the suppression, Cardinal Corsini, with prudent foresight, also had the recommendation conveyed to the nuncio to remove the ex-Jesuits from their stations one by one in some tactful manner, so far as this could be done without prejudice to the Dutch mission.[2] As the Government of the Austrian Netherlands refused to allot the mission priests from Holland a pension from the Belgian Jesuit fund, the nuncio himself took care of some of the most needy. Those of the ex-Jesuits who lived long enough were still at their posts when their Order was restored.[3]

The English Province of the Order numbered about 285 members in 1773; about 140 of them were active in the kingdom itself, the remainder were in the English colleges on the Continent and the North American colonies.[4] According to the instruction of Propaganda the Bishops had to send a copy of the Brief of suppression to each individual Jesuit. Challoner, however, the Vicar Apostolic in London, thought this a dangerous procedure, as the publication of Papal decrees in England was still a punishable offence, and he

[1] *Ghilini to Castelli, November 2 and December 21, 1773, *ibid.*; *Borgia to Ghilini, January 18, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] *April 16, 1774, *ibid.*

[3] *Soc. Iesu in Neerlandia Historiae Compendium*, 's Hertogenbosch, 1860; PONCELET, *loc. cit.*, 33; *id.*, *Nécrologe*, civ.; BONENFANT, 175.

[4] FOLEY, *Records of the English Province*, VII., 1, Analytical Catalogue, 1696 to 1773. The Records (XII., 214) give the total number as 274.—The Florence journal published the news that the original correspondence on the Gunpowder Plot had been discovered in the archives of the Jesuit noviciate in S. Andrea in Rome. In answer to the Pope's request for more information on the subject Mgr. Alfani replied that he had found nothing that had any bearing on it, either direct or indirect, though he had found a report of the execution of five Jesuits in the year 1679. *Cf.* *Macedonio to Alfani, December 6, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 55. *Alfani to Macedonio, December 8, 1773, *ibid.*, 53.

decided instead to convey the chief provisions of the Brief to each Jesuit by word of mouth when next he met him and to send the formula of submission for signature to those living far away.[1] The Provincial and twelve Fathers of the London district signed on October 1st.[2] The signatures from the other three districts came in one by one.[3] By January 15th, 1774, all the sixty Jesuits of the Northern District had signified their voluntary submission.[4] The whole proceeding had taken place peacefully and quietly, without any difficulty being made by the Jesuits.[5] The announcement of the Brief to the seventeen Jesuits in Ireland [6] and the ten in Scotland [7]

[1] Challoner to Stonor, September 24, 1773, in HUGHES, *Documents*, I., 2, 604. Challoner to Hornyold, October 1, 1773, in BURTON, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, II., London, 1909, 167.

[2] BURTON, II., 167.

[3] *Challoner to Castelli, October [5], 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V. *Ghilini to Macedonio, October 8, 1773, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53, Papal Secret Archives. Challoner to the Coadjutor Bishop Walton, October 21, 1773, in BURTON, II., 168. *Ghilini to Castelli, November 16, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, *loc. cit.* On December 2, 1773, Bishop Hornyold *reported to the Prefect of Propaganda the submission of all the Jesuits in the Midland District (*ibid.*).

[4] *Walton to Castelli, January 15, 1774, *ibid.* *Ibid.* the names of the signatories.

[5] *Ghilini to Castelli, November 2, 1773, *ibid.* " . . . ut proinde illis hoc testimonium promptae suae obedientiae possimus exhibere." *Walton to Castelli, January 15, 1774, *ibid.*

[6] For the number of Jesuits in Ireland, *v.* *Ghilini to Castelli, October 8 and November 19, 1773, *ibid.* The deed of submission signed on February 7, 1774, was sent by the Primate Carpenter from Dublin on April 20, 1774, to the nuncio Ghilini, *ibid.* For the execution of the Brief in the diocese of Cork, *cf.* *Marefoschi to Macedonio, March 24, 1774, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53. BRACKEN, *Memoirs of the suppression and restoration of the Society of Jesus in Ireland*, in *Memorials of the Irish Province S.J.*, I., Dublin, 1900 (privately printed), 133 *seqq.*

[7] *Bishop Grant and his Coadjutor Hay to Castelli, November 10, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V. *Macdonald to Castelli, November 20, 1773, *ibid.*

went off equally smoothly. The Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District asked the nuncio in Brussels to have the Scottish ex-Jesuits living on the Continent return to their own country to relieve the pressing need for priests.[1] All the reports to Propaganda stressed the calm and humble obedience with which the Jesuits took this hard blow.[2] The continuation of their missionary labours was facilitated by the absence of any noticeable change in their outward mode of life. The transitional period was made easier for them to bear by Bishop Challoner's chivalrous gesture of appointing their former Provincial, Henry More, as the Vicar General for the ex-Jesuits in his district.[3]

The missionary seminaries in Lisbon, Seville, Valladolid, and Madrid had already been removed from the control of the Society of Jesus when the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and Spain.[4] When the Society was suppressed in Rome the direction of the English College was at first entrusted to Italian secular priests.[5] The Irish College had already been closed in 1771.[6] When the Order was suppressed in France the Jesuits moved their flourishing college at St-Omer to Bruges.[7] On their being overtaken by the general suppression eleven years later most of their teachers and pupils retired to Liége, where their institute of philosophy and theology had

[1] *Grant and Hay to Ghilini, October 14, 1773, *ibid.* *Ghilini to Castelli, November 16, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 482, n. 4. TAUNTON, *The History of the Jesuits in England*, London, 1901, 473

[3] BURTON, II., 168.

[4] *Ibid.*, 100 *seqq.* FOLEY, *Records*, VII., 1, Introduction, xxi. *seqq.*; TAUNTON, 472 *seq.*

[5] GASQUET, *History of the Venerable English College, Rome*, London, 1920, 177 *seqq.* Stonor reported to Challoner as early as August 10, 1773, that the Cardinal Protector Corsini was no longer willing to allow the Jesuits to administer the college. BURTON, II., 163.

[6] DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 440 *seqq.*

[7] BURTON, II., 39 *seqq.*

a happier existence.[1] The Prince Bishop Francis Charles of Welbruck had had the Brief of suppression published forthwith, but he allowed the English ex-Jesuits to continue to manage their college as secular priests.[2] The last Rector, John Holm (*alias* Howard), he appointed as the first President of the institute, which had now been raised to the status of an academy. In 1778, by declaring it to be a Papal seminary and giving his approval to its form of administration, Pius VI. rendered it secure against all attacks of its enemies.[3] The invasion of the Netherlands by the French Revolutionary army compelled the teachers to take refuge in their own country, in a mansion at Stonyhurst in Lancashire which had been placed at their disposal by one of their former pupils.[4]

[1] *Ghilini to Macedonio, October 26, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53. TAUNTON, 472 *seq.*; BONENFANT, 125; GERARD, *Stonyhurst*, Belfast, 1894, 8 *seqq.* An attempt was made to continue the college under the direction of English Dominicans, but it was frustrated by the resistance of the students (*ibid.*). The noviciate and tertianship at Ghent were also suppressed (FOLEY, *Records*, VII., 1, Introduction, liii. *seqq.*).

[2] *Caprara to Pallavicini, October 24, 1773, Nunziat. di Colonia, 180, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] For Challoner's efforts to convert the English college at Liége into a seminary for secular priests, *v.* *Challoner to Castelli, October [5], 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V. "*Memoriale del Vicario Apostolico di Londra a Sua Santità 1774" (*ibid.*). *Challoner to Castelli, June 7, 1774 (*ibid.*). *Challoner to Stonor, June 14, 1774 (*ibid.*). BURTON, II., 165 *seqq.* On March 4, 1774, Gallus Leith, Abbot of the Scottish convent of St. James in Regensburg, *asked Elector Max Joseph of Bavaria to assign to the boys' seminary of his convent the foundation instituted in 1626 by Maximilian I. for the English college in Liége (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 405/15). On March 28, 1781, Elector Karl Theodor ordered the foundation to remain with the college at Liége (printed). In Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.*, 226, fo. 25 *seq.*

[4] GERARD, *Stonyhurst*, 21 *seqq.*; FOLEY, *Records*, V., 188 *seqq.*, VII., 1, Introduction xlviii. *seqq.*; GUILDAY, *The English Catholic*

In Scotland the disposal of the Jesuit property gave rise to differences of opinion between the Vicars Apostolic and the ex-Jesuits.[1] In 1773 the direction of the Scots College in Rome was transferred to a Congregation of five Cardinals. For forty years the Rector of the institute had been an Italian, to the great dissatisfaction of the Scottish Bishops, and on July 8th, 1793, the three Scottish prelates declared that for the last twenty years the Scots College in Rome had been more of a nuisance than a benefit to the Scottish mission.[2] In Madrid the missionary college for Scotland had lost its revenues in 1767 with the expulsion of its former directors. By agreement with the Spanish ambassador in London the Visitors of the Scottish mission delegated the priest John Geddes as their spokesman to make representations to the Spanish king. Cardinal York supported this move with a memorial which Azpuru, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, was to send to the king.[3] In effect, Charles III. did not extend the law dealing with Jesuit property to the real estates, which had only been administered by the Society. To compensate the Scots for the loss of the suppressed college in Madrid he allotted them the magnificent college formerly belonging to the Jesuits in Valladolid.[4]

The area under the Vicar Apostolic in London included the

Refugees on the Continent 1558–1794, I., London, 1914, 151 *seqq.*, 343. For the destruction of the colleges at Bruges, *v.* PLOWDEN in FOLEY, *Records*, V., 173–183. For the suppression of the college at St-Omer, *ibid.*, 168–173; BURTON, II., 39–81. On March 8, 1773, Cardinal Corsini became Protector of England, and all the English colleges were made subordinate to him (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 183 *seqq.*).

[1] BELLESHEIM, *Schottland*, II., 376.

[2] *Ibid.*, 376, 390, 394.

[3] *York to Azpuru, Frascati, April 24, 1770, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Registro, 109.

[4] BELLESHEIM, 389. JAMES WALSH, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1874, 511. On August 18, 1773, Fr. Geddes, Rector of the college in Valladolid, was empowered to admit his students to vows (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 195).

English colonies in North America,[1] where twenty-three Jesuits were taking care of the 23,000 Catholics of English, Irish, and German descent.[2] After some hesitation as to how to proceed,[3] Challoner decided to send the missionaries the forms of submission with the request that they should sign them and return them to him for forwarding to Propaganda.[4] This was done by all the Jesuits without any objection.[5] Under their former Superior, John Lewis, whom Challoner appointed as his Vicar General for the colonies,[6] they cheerfully continued their labours, in which they were assisted by reinforcements of their brethren from Germany and England. Among the latter was John Carroll, who was afterwards the first Bishop of Baltimore.[7]

The mission to Canada ("New France"), which at one time had been so flourishing, had suffered a set-back.[8] After the surrender of Montreal all the professors in the college there had gone back to France,[9] so that in 1766 there were only thirteen Jesuits still working there.[10] As soon as the Brief

[1] BURTON, II., 123 *seqq.*

[2] *Borgia to Zelada, August 22, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V. The numerical statistics of the missionaries vary.

[3] *Challoner to Castelli, October [5], 1773, *ibid.*

[4] Challoner to Fr. Lewis, October 6, 1773, in HUGHES, *Documents*, I., 2, 606. GUILDAY, *Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore*, New York, 1922, 51.

[5] BURTON, II., 147. That the Prefect of the Propaganda was unable to send the nuncio Ghilini a receipt for the signatures before July 8, 1775, was probably due to the war of American independence which had broken out in the meantime. HUGHES, *Documents*, I., 2, 607.

[6] GUILDAY, *Carroll*, 56.

[7] *Ibid.*, 51 *seqq.*; A. BAUMGARTNER in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI., 18 *seqq.*; XXXVII., 329 *seqq.* Leonard Neale, Carroll's immediate successor, also belonged to the Society of Jesus.

[8] At times it had numbered forty and more members. THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896 *seqq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, LXXI. (1901), 394, n. 24.

[10] ROCHEMONTEIX, *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle France*, II., Paris, 1896, 204.

of suppression arrived in Quebec in 1774 Bishop Briand conferred with the English Governor, Carleton, on how it was to be carried out. Although Carleton was not a Catholic, he advised Briand to do everything as quietly as possible and to avoid making any outward change, so as not to provoke any hostile demonstration on the part of the non-Catholics and give Lord Amherst, the conqueror of Canada, an opportunity of renewing his claim to the Jesuit property.[1] The Bishop was all the more willing to fall in with the wish of the civil authority as he had no one to replace the Jesuits, especially in the Indian missions. It was accordingly in complete secrecy that he informed the Jesuits of their suppression; no one except himself, his secretary, and the Governor knew that there were no longer any Jesuits in Canada, as they had to retain their name, their dress, and their pastoral duties. All submitted to the Brief with a willing obedience and, in their new status of secular priests, placed themselves entirely at the Bishop's disposal.[2]

The permission given by Propaganda to leave the ex-Jesuits at their missionary posts was a great relief to the Vicar Apostolic of the Northern missions, Count Gondola, who had been informed by the Danish envoy in Vienna that his king wanted no other missionaries than the ones he had at present, having had several years' experience of their zeal and peaceableness.[3] On sending to Propaganda on December 19th, 1773, the statements of submission signed by the eighteen ex-Jesuits, Gondola attached an honourable testimonial to their obedience,[4] but pointed out at the same time that their future ought to be provided for, so as not to compel them to

[1] THWAITES, LXXI,, 392, n. 23.

[2] Briand to Castelli, November 8, 1774, in ROCHEMONTEIX, 214 *seq.* Pius VI. renewed the indulgences and privileges attached to their churches (*ibid.*, 216).

[3] Count Gondola, Bishop of Tempe i.p., to Castelli, Vienna, September 20, 1773, Archives of the Propaganda, Miss. Miscell., V.

[4] *"Nemo erat, qui non plena cum resignatione, etsi non sine intimi animi sensu et dolore, obedientissime se submitteret." *Gondola to Castelli, December 19, 1773, *ibid.*

fend for themselves after they had given the best years of their lives to the service of the mission. The ex-Jesuit Weckbecker, who had already been notified of the Brief at Aachen, was attached to the ecclesiastical department of the imperial embassy in Copenhagen.[1]

In the Northern missions the effects of the suppression were not immediately palpable, as the ex-Jesuits, true to their ideals, held on to their arduous outposts in the North. But as they gradually fell out through illness and old age it was difficult to find replacements.[2] From the end of the eighteenth century onwards the number of souls cared for by most of the missions steadily sank.[3] In Norway, after the suppression, the Catholics were left completely orphaned.[4] Even after the destruction of the Order the Northern seminary at Linz on the Danube remained under the direction of the ex-Jesuits until it was suppressed by Joseph II. in 1787.[5] The suppression of the Jesuit Order, followed by the measures taken by Joseph II., caused most serious injury to the German College in Rome.[6]

As regarded Sweden, the friendliness shown by the successor to the throne to the nuncio in Paris when visiting that city [7] promised greater toleration for the Catholics.

In a Consistory on June 17th, 1771, the Pope was able to announce the good news that the Patriarch of the Nestorians in Persia and Kurdistan, Simeon VI., had professed the Catholic faith and had submitted to the Pope.[8] The union with Rome of the Nestorians in Persia and Kurdistan had

[1] *Gondola to Visconti, December 20, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] METZLER, 172.

[3] *Ibid.*, 184.

[4] *Ibid.*, 225.

[5] METZLER in the *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift*, LXIV. (1911), 276 *seq.*

[6] STEINHUBER, II., 179 *seqq.*

[7] THEINER, *Gesch.*, II., 48 *seq.*

[8] THEINER, *Epist.*, 155 *seq.*; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 173 *seq.*; SAM. GIAMIL, *Genuinae relationes inter Sedem apostolicam et Syrorum Orientalium s. Chaldaeorum ecclesiam*, Romae, 1902, 386.

taken place already in 1551, but in 1670 it was in danger of being broken ; this was a renewal of the bond. In a letter of December 12th, 1772, the Pope commended the Patriarch on his efforts to bring about the return of his subjects also to the one true Church.[1] On the same day he conveyed his joy at their return to the Church to the Chaldean Patriarch Elias in Mesopotamia and the Chaldean Bishop Josue.[2] As these two Patriarchs were now in union with Rome and the third head of the former Nestorians, the Patriarch of Diarbekir, Joseph IV. Lazarus Hindi, a pupil of Propaganda, had always been so,[3] it came about that in 1772 all three Patriarchs of the East Syrians were in obedience to Rome.

A decree of Propaganda issued at this time[4] was of importance to the Melchites, the Arabic-speaking Catholics in the Levant, as it subordinated also the Melchites in the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria to the Patriarch of Antioch. Some Briefs in reply to the Melchite Patriarch Theodosius[5] and Bishop Demetrius of Gibel[6] show that the ecclesiastical union with Rome was still being maintained. The beneficial activity of the Melchite Basilian monks was acknowledged by the Pope ; petitions on their behalf submitted by their Abbot General and the Patriarch Theodosius he referred to Propaganda.[7] The chief of the Druses was thanked by him[8] for having supported, especially through his brother Mansur, the decrees of the Apostolic See in the internal disputes among the Melchites.

An Armenian Bishop, John, appeared in Rome in person,

[1] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 173, n. 1.

[2] *Epist. 171 ad Princ. 193 ; *Epist. a° IV., 189. Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Reply of August 24, 1771, to the Patriarch's congratulations on the Pope's accession, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 174.

[4] On July 13, 1772, MANSI, *Coll. Concil.*, XLVI., 575–582. *Cf.* KARALEVSKIJ in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, III., 650.

[5] Of January 20, 1770, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 55.

[6] Of September 7, 1771, *ibid.*, 180.

[7] Briefs of February 1, 1772, *ibid.*, 204, 205.

[8] On December 9, 1769, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 38.

having been put to flight by his opponents. He brought with him a letter of recommendation, of March 25th, 1771, from the Patriarch of Cilicia and Syria, Michael Peter; the Pope replied to it on May 25th, promising to take a nephew of the Patriarch's into the Propaganda.[1] In the same year news came from Armenia that the jubilee in honour of the Pope's accession to the throne had borne fruit. Clement XIV. replied by granting spiritual privileges to the Armenian Catholics of Ancyra.[2] A more important step was his nomination of Joseph Balit, a pupil of Propaganda and at that time a mission priest in Aleppo, as successor to John Tasbas, Archbishop of Mardin, who had resigned.[3]

A Maronite Bishop also appeared in Rome to seek justice at the Pope's hands. The opponents of the Patriarch Joseph Estephan and his measures of reform had not held their peace during the new pontificate. At first they held a meeting and addressed a written appeal to the people, and then kept quiet for a time. Soon afterwards, however, on November 29th, 1769, they wrote complaining again to Propaganda, but were turned away with a reprimand. Finally on September 25th, 1771, they laid their complaints before the Pope himself. Clement XIV. exhorted them to keep the peace and referred their cause to Propaganda. He repeated these instructions in a special Brief addressed to some members of the El-Khazen family who had written to him separately.[4] The Papal

[1] *Ibid.*, 154.

[2] To Malachias Jeniserchis on December 18, 1771, *ibid.*, 193; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 179.

[3] On March 20, 1771, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 168.

[4] Dib in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 93 *seq.*; Briefs of May 23, 1772, *Ius pontif.*, VII., 206 *seq.*, 207. Further Briefs arising from the dispute were issued on October 10, 1770, to the Patriarch, with a recommendation of the Capuchin Cesario of Neustadt (in Theiner, *Epist.*, 118), and to Archbishop Arsenius of Aleppo on July 20, 1771 (*ibid.*, 165). On April 15, 1773, Clement *replied to complaints made by the Maronite Bishops that Propaganda would instruct the Patriarch to treat the monks more gently. Similarly the Bishops were recommended to induce the Patriarch

admonitions, however, bore no fruit; on the contrary, the embitterment increased. The Patriarch was held responsible for the excesses of the visionary Anna Agemi and his resignation was demanded. Complaint after complaint was made against him to the Roman authorities. A Papal delegate, the *Custos* of the Holy Sepulchre, Valeriano di Prato, who held an inquiry into the affair from July 20th to September 10th, 1773, was inclined to favour the Patriarch's opponents, but came to no final decision. Then in August, 1774, the Patriarch Estephan appointed the Archbishop of Damascus to represent his cause in Rome. But on arriving there the Archbishop found that Propaganda had already come to a decision, on July 8th, several points of which were altered in Pius VI.'s pontificate. Estephan took Agemi's part. He had raised the feast of the Sacred Heart to a holiday of obligation and he was glad to have in his patriarchate Agemi's religious community, dedicated to the Sacred Heart.[1] Clement XIV. also put an end to the long-standing quarrel between the Aleppines and Lebanese who were Maronite monks of St. Anthony, by confirming their separation and the division of their property.[2]

Bad news came in about the Maronites in Cyprus: the clergy was in want and had to earn its living by tilling the fields and similar work. Christian doctrine was consequently neglected, many were going over to the schismatics or the Mohammedans, and Christian children were being brought up in the ways of Islam. The Pope tried to encourage the Maronite Patriarch to better these conditions.[3]

The Capuchin mission in Georgia, which had been destroyed,

to exercise gentleness and to exhort the monks to be obedient. *Epist.*, a° IV., fo. 364, Papal Secret Archives. Faculty given to the Maronite Bishops on April 6, 1770, to impart the Papal blessing twice yearly, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 163 *seq.*; THEINER, *Epist.*, 144. For Agemi, *cf.* our account, vol. xxxv., 398.

[1] DIB, *loc. cit.*

[2] On July 19, 1770, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 164. *Cf.* DIB, *loc. cit.*, 135; KARALEVSKIJ in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, III., 865.

[3] Brief of August 11, 1773, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 258.

fared better when King Heraclius came to the throne in 1761. The mission was able to reopen in Tiflis and Gori in 1767, though on their return the Capuchins did not receive their churches back again.[1] Clement XIV. thanked the king for the good-will he was showing the Catholics and the missionaries and asked him to continue with his protection.[2] In Persia, on the other hand, the ban which had been placed on missionary activity in 1770 had still not been lifted.[3]

The effect on the Maronites of the suppression of the Society of Jesus was the transference of their seminary in Rome to secular priests and its confiscation and sale by the French in 1808. It was not revived till the time of Leo XIII.[4] When the Jesuits were driven out of France the French Government laid its hands on the funds set aside for the Maronite seminary in Antura in the Lebanon.[5] In general the events in Europe involved the missions to the Levant in serious losses. The Jesuits there were not paid the pensions allotted to their brethren in France. In their distress the Jesuits in Syria and Egypt appealed to the Bishop of Orleans [6] to plead for them with the king. To this they received no reply. From Constantinople the Jesuit missionaries had previously sent an appeal for help to the Minister for Naval Affairs,[7] pointing out that not only had their funds been confiscated but that a fire had broken out in Smyrna, in consequence of which their mission was on the brink of ruin. The appeal was made in vain. After the Papal suppression the French consul in Aleppo, Deperdriau, wrote to the Naval Minister, De Boynes,[8] that the missionaries were in the deepest distress. They found an intercessor in the person of the French ambassador, De

[1] Terzorio, VII., 277.

[2] On August 23, 1769, in Theiner, *Epist.*, 22.

[3] Terzorio, VI., 178.

[4] Dib, 62.

[5] Rabbath, I., 139.

[6] The Superior of the mission, Périgord, on August 18, 1766. *ibid.*, 138.

[7] On June 3, 1764, *ibid.*, II., 597.

[8] On August 10, 1773, *ibid.*, I., 137.

Saint-Priest, who wrote [1] to Choiseul's successor, Aiguillon, probably with some exaggeration, that in the Levant none of the monks had given any attention to the mission itself and that for a long time the Jesuits had been the only Religious to put their heart into the work. This justice, he went on, ought not to be denied to them, as it was not suspect now that they had ceased to exist. The progress that the Catholic religion had made among the Armenians and Syrians was largely due to them. And as the ex-Jesuits enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan's subjects they must be kept at their missionary work. As soon as the Brief of suppression became known he wrote to Aiguillon [2] that the Brief forbade the Jesuits to undertake the cure of souls, but in the Levant to restrain them from administering the sacraments and to seize their property meant that the missions there, especially in Constantinople, would be thrown into utter confusion. For his part he had instructed his subordinates to allow no one to confiscate Jesuit property.

Subsequently Cardinal Bernis reported to the ambassador [3] that the Pope agreed with his instructions and that the strict execution of the Brief would indeed spell the ruin of the missions to the Levant. Nevertheless the Brief was officially notified to the Jesuits by the Franciscan Massimo di Merlino on March 24th, 1774.[4] The question who was to empower them to continue with their pastoral duties was solved by a letter from the Prefect of the Propaganda, Castelli.[5] In Smyrna the Jesuits were replaced in 1774 by the Capuchins, under whose direction the mission flourished until its extinction in the Napoleonic wars.[6]

The activity of the Jesuits in Aleppo was crowned with a brilliant success. With few exceptions the Jacobites there,

[1] On November 10, 1773, *ibid.*, II., 597. But that other Orders had also done great work for the mission, *v. ibid.*, n. 1.

[2] On September 2, 1773, *ibid.*, 593.

[3] On January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 594.

[4] *Ibid.*, 602.

[5] *Ibid.*, 605.

[6] Terzorio, IV., 38.

together with their clergy, went over to the Catholic Church. Even their Bishop sent his profession of faith to Rome. But at this point the Jacobite Patriarch hurried over from Mardin and threatened to start a persecution by bribing the Turkish officials. He was induced, however, to agree to a compromise: the Catholics promised him an increase in his revenues and he entrusted the administration of the church in Aleppo to the former Jacobite Bishop Géroué, who had become a Catholic. But fresh difficulties arose immediately. The Franciscans doubted the sincerity of Géroué's conversion and appealed to Propaganda, which nominated as arbitrator Kodsi, the Syrian Catholic Bishop of Jerusalem. Kodsi found against Géroué, but others supported him. After the French consul Deperdriau had intervened in the dispute it was settled by a Papal Brief of June 22nd, 1776.[1]

Needless to say, Clement XIV. renewed the decrees affecting the Holy Land which had been enacted by his predecessors.[2]

In Eastern Europe there was a danger of the Catholic Ruthenians in Hungary being separated from Rome; in 1751–61 the connexion had in fact been broken. Consequently Maria Theresa was anxious for their Vicar Apostolic to be elevated to the status of a regular Bishop of the Greek rite with his seat in Munkács. Clement XIV. gratified her wish by a Bull of September 19th 1771.[3] Differences between the Ruthenian Metropolitan Wolodkowicz and his Coadjutors were settled through the mediation of the nuncio to Poland, and the conclusion of peace between them was confirmed and ratified by a Papal Brief.[4]

Several Briefs of Clement XIV.'s were concerned with the missions in the Far East. Francesco Maria Zen of the Chinese

[1] Letter from Deperdriau of November 13, 1772, in RABBATH, II., 591, with note, and 592.

[2] On July 12, 1769, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 158. Faculty for the Custos to confirm, *ibid.*, 180.

[3] *Ibid.*, 176, with the letters to the empress of November 17, 1770, and to the Bishop of Erlau of October 10, 1770, *ibid.*, n.

[4] Of March 20, 1773, *ibid.*, 185.

College in Naples reported from Manila on January 15th, 1770, on the departure of the ninety Jesuits from the Philippines and added that the Archbishop was thinking of setting up a Tridentine seminary for clerics from India and China in their empty College of St. Joseph in Manila. A project of Cardinal Tournon's would thus be realized and it was just the time to establish such a seminary as there were several endowments for the missions in Manila which could then be easily acquired.[1] Propaganda sent out two newly ordained priests, Simonetti and Timoni, from the Chinese College in Naples, and Clement XIV. recommended them to the Archbishop of Manila,[2] exhorting him to show his zeal for the projected college by helping Propaganda to obtain possession of the copious funds bequeathed by Cardinal Tournon. But by 1799 the new seminary was still only mentioned as a project.[3]

From China two documents were sent in by the Bishop of Nanking, Godfrey of Laimbeckhoven.[4] The first is noteworthy as showing that even if rarely there were still some upper-class Chinese who were Christians. The document dealt with the case of a Tartar mandarin, Ma Joseph, who had been condemned on account of his religion but whose sentence had finally been commuted to banishment. The second document testified to the Jesuits' obedience towards the Papal decrees.[5]

A lay official in the kingdom of Ava was praised by the Pope for having used his influence with the king to further the mission, and for this service he was created a knight of

[1] *Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina, Scritt. rif. nella Congr. 32, no. 20.

[2] On June 21, 1770, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 164; THEINER, *Epist.*, 93.

[3] *Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina 1788–1799, Scritt. rif. Congr. 39, no. 25.

[4] *On June 1, 1771, *ibid.*, 32, no. 38.

[5] " *Misere ad me omnium S. Congregationis missionariorum testimonia de absolutissima Patrum Societatis erga decreta apostolica obedientia; quod si ne ista quidem S. Congregationi sufficiant, nescio qua altera spongia tam nigras cavillationes " (the rest of the text is damaged), *ibid.*

the Golden Spur.[1] Similarly the king of Travancore was thanked by Clement XIV. in a special Brief for the goodwill he had shown towards the Carmelite missionaries in his country.[2] The same honour was paid [3] to a Dutch Governor in Malabar who had extended his protection to the Catholics. Otherwise the mission in Malabar was in many respects in a definitely unfavourable situation. The Vicar Apostolic, the Carmelite Florentius of Jesus of Nazareth, Bishop of Areopolis and founder of a seminary in Verapoly, wrote on December 31st, 1770,[4] that neither the Archbishop of Cranganore nor the Bishop of Cochin had a permanent residence; the Archbishop had been expelled by the king of Travancore and was now living in a lonely hut, the Bishop had experienced the same treatment at the hands of the English and was now staying near the church at Quillon. As both were Jesuits they had received no payment from the Portuguese Government since 1759 and were living on what they had saved before then. The few other Jesuits had already begun to sell the church decorations in order to live. On the Fishing Coast and in Madura, on the other hand, the Vicar Apostolic had heard say, there were still twelve Jesuits, each of whom had up to twelve churches in his care. In spite of his straitened circumstances the Archbishop of Cranganore, Salvator dos Reys, still seemed to be in good heart. In his ignorance of conditions in Rome he asked the Pope when congratulating him on his elevation to the Papacy [5] to send him more missionaries, especially those from the Society of Jesus. On October 10th, 1772, the Archbishop was again asking Propaganda and the Pope himself for more missionaries; he himself, he said, had not the men to send out nor any means of maintaining

[1] *To Peter Millard, March 4, 1772, *Epist. ad princ.* a° III., no. 281, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] On July 2, 1774, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 318.

[3] On July 23, 1772, **Epist. ad princ.* a° IV., p. 84, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Archives of the Propaganda, Indie Or. e Cina 1769–1771, Scritt. rif. Congr. 32, no. 36.

[5] *On October 26, 1770, *ibid.*, no. 27.

them, as he was living in utter penury. Formerly Christianity had made a great advance in his diocese through the work of the missionaries, but for years past he had not had enough of them.[1] Soon after the suppression of the Jesuits the Pope tried to improve the situation by transferring, on September 5th, 1773, the former Jesuit missions in Madura, the Carnatic, Mysore, and neighbouring districts to the Discalced Carmelites.[2]

It was also the task of the Carmelites to cope with the difficult conditions that existed in the empire of the Grand Mogul. The Jesuit mission there had been completely destroyed, and there were no native priests for the "countless Christians" in the country, since, except in Malabar, the Jesuits had been chary of conferring Holy Orders on Indians. It is understandable, therefore, that a thorough reorganization of the Carmelite mission seemed to be necessary.[3]

In Cochin-China disputes among the different missionary bodies in the time of Benedict XIV. had necessitated the sending of a Visitor to mark off the different missionary areas. But this did not put a stop to all further disputes. Another Visitor, the Franciscan Julian of the Mother of God, again admonished the missionaries not to trespass on each other's areas.[4] Under Clement XIV. the disturbances grew worse.

[1] **Ibid.*, 1772–73, Scritt. rif. Congr. 33, no. 19.

[2] *The Secretary of the Propaganda to the General of the Carmelites, September 9, 1773, *ibid.*, no. 27.

[3] *Ildephonsus of the Presentation of the Virgin to the Secretary of the Propaganda, Vienna, March 28, 1771, *ibid.*, 1769–1771, Scritt. rif. Congr. 32. The Jesuit mission in Agra "si può dire finita, stante che era sostenuta dai PP. Gesuiti di Goa". *The Prefect of the Tibetan mission, Giuseppe da Rovato, Patna, December 29, 1769, *ibid.*

[4] *Decree "datum in oratorio S. Francisci Raygon" on October 15, 1769, *ibid.*, no. 28. *Pastoral letter of November 2, 1769, *ibid.*, no. 30. *Letter to Denis Boiret about the disputes with the seminary priests, November 19, 1769, *ibid.*, no. 31. *Letter to Propaganda, Macao, November 29, 1770, *ibid.*, no. 32.

According to the account of the Vicar Apostolic, William Piguel, Bishop of Canatha,[1] the missionaries there consisted of three Jesuits, four Franciscans (including a missionary from Propaganda), and five missionary priests from the Paris Seminary. Two of the Jesuits had positions at Court, the Superior Loureiro as an astronomer, the other, Perroni, as a physician ; both of these could appear in public, the others had to live in hiding for fear of persecution. There was a cleavage between the French and the other missionaries. Loureiro wrote to Propaganda, asking it not to appoint any more Frenchmen as Vicar Apostolic or Provicar, otherwise the purity of doctrine would be endangered ; it was universal knowledge, he said, that in France the Parlement and a large part of the clergy contradicted the decisions of the Church ; and he went so far as to call the French missionaries arch-Jansenists. The Vicar General Halbout inflicted a censure on Loureiro as a calumniator. Loureiro appealed on December 31st, 1772, and on August 19th, 1773, the Vicar Apostolic of East Tongking, Bishop Fernandez of Hierocæsarea, decided in his favour. The Vicar Apostolic, who lived in Cambodia, far away from Cochin-China, was exceedingly embarrassed by the quarrel between his Vicar General and Loureiro ; according to the Vicar General's letters he ought to condemn Loureiro, and according to Loureiro's letters he ought to condemn the Vicar General. Both were priests, but which was speaking the truth ? Piguel suggested the appointment of a secret Visitor and the division of the Vicariate of Cochin-China into two parts, one for the Jesuits and the Franciscans, the other for the seminary priests.

The troubles were not confined to jurisdictional disputes. The letters of the Vicar Apostolic, Piguel,[2] are full of the most serious charges against the Franciscans and Jesuits in his Vicariate, the worst charge being one of immorality brought against the Jesuit Marquez. But apparently it was

[1] *To Propaganda, June 19, 1770, *ibid.*, nos. 18, 22.

[2] **Ibid.*, nos. 18, 22, 49 (to the Pope on June 10, 1771), and 50 (to Propaganda, June 14, 1771).

based entirely on hearsay. It was a point against Marquez that he had been dismissed from his Society, but it was in his favour that he had then been accepted by the Franciscans, in 1775.[1] On July 26th, 1772, a defence addressed to Propaganda "against the monstrous calumnies listened to by the Bishop of Canatha"[2] was signed by the Franciscan Camillus Zeller, the Jesuit Loureiro, "for thirty years missionary in Cochin-China and Superior of the Mission," and Francisco Juan Salguero, who signed as Provincial Commissary of the Franciscan missionaries. Again, on August 18th, 1773, these same missionaries made bitter complaints to Propaganda about the Vicars Apostolic from the Paris Seminary, who, they said, were avowed enemies of the Religious. The most notorious of these enemies, they alleged, were Marinus Thien, a pupil of the Frenchmen, and the Vicar General, Pierre Halbout.[3] Previous to this, Julian of the Mother of God had testified that the Jesuits had had no part in the crimes which had been committed, as asserted by the French and the deceased Bishop.[4] The Franciscan Camillus Zeller praised the Jesuits Loureiro and Perroni very highly: they devoted themselves with the greatest zeal, he wrote, to the cure of souls and through their influence at Court they had brought about a mitigation of the persecutions, so that the Christians

[1] **Ibid.*, 1776–78, Scritt. rif. Congr. 35, no. 15.

[2] "*Apologia contra immanes calumnias quas audiverat Vicarius Apostolicus episcopus Canathensis" (*ibid.*, no. 54). Even a French seminary priest, Fr. J. de Marion, speaks of "*Conincinensium maledica et calumniosa lingua" on December 27, 1771, *ibid.*, no. 55.

[3] **Ibid.*, 1772–73, Scritt. rif. Congr. 33.

[4] *"non hanno parte nei delitti commessi, come dicono nel processo li sign. Francesi ed il defonto Vescovo" (Piguel died on June 21, 1771), *ibid.*, no. 5. *On December 6, 1770, Piguel denied the charges brought against the French by Julian and Marquez (*ibid.*, no. 12). *Diego de Jumilla, on the other hand, wrote again on June 26, 1771, to Julian "de dominis Gallis calumnias contra Regulares foventibus et districtus eorum invadentibus" (*ibid.*).

enjoyed complete tranquillity.[1] The Frenchman Boiret, on the other hand, spoke [2] of the lamentable state of affairs in Cochin-China ; he was thinking of coming to Rome to describe them there and thus put an end to so many scandals. Loureiro wrote [3] of the " infamous " calumnies committed by the Frenchmen against the Franciscan Ferdinand and the Jesuit Luis Marquez. The Frenchmen, he asserted, were bent on driving the Religious out of the country and in this aim they derived particularly strong encouragement from the efforts made by the Bourbon Courts to destroy the Society of Jesus. A letter from the Franciscan Camillus Zeller shows us one of the effects of this work of destruction. Zeller had a position at Court as an oculist and worked there " in conjunction with the Jesuits " for the best interests and the peace of the mission, though without much success. He asked Propaganda to send him some more money besides his 100 pataccas, as in his position he was continually having to make presents. But if in the meantime the venerable Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Pope he would leave the Court at once, for if the Jesuits were no more he would have such a burden to bear that a thousand pataccas would not be enough. For he knew how much it cost the Jesuits to make the king and the mandarins, if not favourable, at any rate less

[1] " *Ipsi enim iam a multis annis totum onus soli portarunt inexplicabili zelo sacramenta administrando christianis undequaque confluentibus, et mathesi et medicina animos magnatum infidelium lucrando, ne in christianos sanctamque legem acrius saevirent. Illorum enim opera multae persecutiones contra christianos fuere sopita, et quod missio haec magna fruatur pace et tranquillitate, ipsorum apostolicae sollicitudini in acceptis post Deum habemus. Unde non immerito columnae et sustentaculum huius missionis ab omnibus salutantur. Nec invidia unius aut alterius missionarii Galli eorundem integerrimam famam quam tum apud regem et magnates infideles quam alios missionarios habent, vel in minimo labefactare poterit." To Propaganda, July 16, 1772, *ibid.*, no. 14.

[2] *On August 16, 1772, *ibid.*, no. 18.

[3] *On August 18, 1772, *ibid.*, no. 22.

severe towards the Christians, and it would be difficult to find others who would or could take these expenses on themselves. Wherefore it would be better for him to leave the Court and devote himself in obscurity to the cure of souls.[1]

Needless to say, the reports on the conditions in Cochin-China were used to accelerate the suppression of the Jesuit Order.

The missions in Cochin-China and Tongking also played a certain part in the diplomatic negotiations under Clement XIV. It was Moñino's endeavour to ensure that the Vicar Apostolic of East Tongking was always a Spanish Dominican.[2] After the suppression of the Jesuits, Moñino and Bernis renewed their request that conditions in Cochin-China and Tongking be set to rights, in particular that some provision be made concerning the missions formerly conducted by the Jesuits. They accompanied their request with a draft of the required Brief.[3] The Pope wanted the Vicars Apostolic to divide the territories among themselves, while Propaganda would gladly have retained the Jesuits for the missions.[4] At the instigation of Spain and France Clement XIV. ultimately issued a Brief on the Vicariates in Indo-China.[5] First

[1] "*Si vero interea venerabilis Societas Jesu auctoritate Apostolica fuisset extincta iuxta desiderium familiae Borbonicae, absque ulla mora aulam sponte relinquam, cum in defectu PP. Jesuitarum totum onus mihi imponeretur, ad quod portandum nec mille pataccae sufficerent. Scio enim, Em. Domine, quantum impenderint PP. Jesuitae, ut animum regis et mandarinorum benignum et favorabilem vel saltem mitiorem redderent erga christianos, et difficile erit, alios invenire, qui easdem expensas in se suscipere possint vel velint. Unde melius erit, hanc aulam Cocincinae omnino relinquere, et in occulto munus Apostolicum obire." August 4, 1773, *ibid.*, no. 22 a.

[2] *Memorial of December 27, 1771, *loc. cit.*, no. 4. Several *memorials for the freedom of the Holy See in the nomination of the Vicars (*ibid.*, nos. 1–3).

[3] *Cardinal Negroni to Macedonio, October 2, 1773, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 53.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 25, 1773, Rome, Reg. 111.

[5] On November 20, 1773, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 198. On December

and foremost it was stated herein that the missionaries of the former Society of Jesus were no longer in possession of the privileges peculiar to their Order. If, however, the suppression of the Jesuits necessitated alterations in the conditions of the Vicariates, the Vicars Apostolic were to confer together and make their decisions on the subject, always bearing in mind the wishes of the kings of France and Spain.

Replying to John, Bishop of Ceramus, Coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic, who had written from West Tongking, Clement XIV. wrote on January 29th, 1772, that the Bishop should be more and more convinced that nothing concerned the Pope more nearly than the progress of the French missions in Eastern India ; he would do all in his power to help them forward ; further details would be supplied by the Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

In Tongking as in China the ritual question was still a live one. By the Papal decisions it had been forbidden to kotow before the coffin of a deceased person. The missionaries in East Tongking now asked if, presuming that there was no question of superstition, it was permissible to make this obeisance to the crucifix at the side of the bier or which had been placed at the head or in the hands of the deceased, at any rate when it was clear to everyone that the reverence was being paid only to the cross. The Holy Office replied in the negative.[2] The Chinese New Year might fall in the Christian Lent. In that event, came the question from Fu-kien, were the Christians bound to fast ? The " old missionaries " had inserted a more lenient ruling in the calendars. In this case, too, Rome refused the request [3] and ordered the observation to be removed from the calendars. Next came a query from

28, 1773, Grimaldi *reported to Moñino the receipt of the Brief " by which the Pope assigns the former Jesuit missions in China, Tongking, and Cochin China to the Spanish and French missionaries " (Papal Secret Archives, Orden, 53).

[1] THEINER, *Epist.*, 203.

[2] On February 25, 1773, " Collectanea " of the Propaganda, I., 306, no. 494.

[3] On July 16, 1770, *ibid.*, 302, no. 479.

Su-tchuen: what was to be done when the order went forth to subscribe money for the restoration of a temple or for sacrifices to idols? Whoever refused would be punished with a thrashing or, if he were a Christian, he would be forced to apostatize. One Vicar Apostolic had ruled that the subscription might be made, not to abet superstition but to show obedience to the mandarin. Or if the request was made by the elders of the community the old missionaries thought that the declaration made by the Christians that their contribution was not for the purpose of helping idolatry was sufficient to safeguard them from sin. The Holy Office again gave a negative reply.[1] Nor might the Christian wives of heathen husbands use their culinary skill for the preparation of sacrificial offerings to the idols or to deceased persons, not even when their refusal meant that they would be soundly beaten.[2] A less strict ruling [3] was given by the Congregation on the obligation of the Chinese Christians to observe the Sunday rest and the Christian feasts. It was no doubt owing to the peculiar difficulties of the Chinese mission that it was forbidden [4] to print religious works there without the permission of Propaganda.

Difficulties of another kind were encountered by the missionaries in the West African districts of Loango and Kacongo. The incredible dullness of the negroes sometimes made them wonder if they were capable of receiving the sacrament of baptism.[5] However that may be, the mission of secular priests in these parts provides evidence that even in the eighteenth century the spirit of heroic self-sacrifice was not yet extinct. The mission was opened in 1766 by the priest Belgarde, who had come to the Loango coast as a cabin-boy. But the first three missionaries soon fell victims to disease, which carried one off altogether and forced the other two to

[1] On November 16, 1769, *ibid.*, 300, no. 474.

[2] Decree of December 15, 1769, *ibid.*, 301, no. 476.

[3] On July 13, 1769, *ibid.*, 299, no. 473.

[4] On December 28, 1770, *ibid.*, 303, no. 482.

[5] Decisions of the Holy Office of May 10 and November 8, 1770, in "Collectanea", I., 301, 302, nos. 477, 480.

return home. Two more priests who settled in Kacongo in 1768 fared no better. Nevertheless recruiting for this dangerous mission still went on in the home country; the assembly of the clergy of 1772 made it a grant of 6,000 *livres* and the Pope gave it every faculty. On June 28th, 1773, there was a fresh landing of five priests and six laymen at Jomba, but one priest and one layman died on the cross-country journey from there to Kacongo. The remainder were given a friendly reception in Kacongo, in the neighbouring Sogno, where the natives still retained some memories of Christianity implanted in them by former missionaries, and in a colony of Sogno beyond the Zaire. But soon there were only three of these missionaries left; then two of them died and the third returned to France in ill health.[1]

In Upper Guinea, Coste, the "Apostle of Joal", worked among the Serers.[2] Off the east coast of Africa the islands of Réunion and Mauritius had been led back to Christianity by the Lazarists.[3] In North Africa it was the Lazarists again who cared for the Christians under the supremacy of Islam. On January 1st, 1771, the General of the Congregation, Jacquier, testified to the constancy with which the missionaries had tried to alleviate the lot of the Christian slaves. When Algiers was in obvious danger of being bombarded by Danish ships the Lazarists were the only Religious who remained at their posts.[4] On the retirement of the Vicar Apostolic, Philippe-Joseph le Roy, a member of this Congregation, the Pope appointed in his place another Lazarist, Pierre-François Viguier,[5] who was placed in charge not only of Algeria, as his predecessor had been, but also of Tunisia, though, on account of the vast distances that had to be covered, he was

[1] PROYART, *Histoire du Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique rédigée d'après les mémoires des Préfets Apostoliques de la mission française*, Paris, 1776, extract in PICOT, IV., 219–223.

[2] HENRION, II., 346; PIOLET, V., 130.

[3] KILGER in the *Zeitschr. für Missionswissensch.*, VII., 104 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 375.

[4] *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, IX., 353.

[5] On December 12, 1772, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 181.

to assign his powers to the Prefect of the Capuchin mission in the latter country.

In Mexico, after the departure of the Jesuits, the work of converting the Indians lay almost entirely in the hands of the Franciscans. The Mexican secular priests were incapable of so arduous an undertaking as the missions; repeated attempts to use them in place of the Religious failed. More than once the Franciscans had to be asked to take over missions which had gone to pieces; instances of this in the time of Clement XIV. were the missions in the Laguna de Parras and in the Paso del Norte on the borders of New Mexico.[1]

Most of the work among the heathen Indians of Mexico was done from the missionary colleges, and it was at the end of the eighteenth century that "the Franciscan missionary colleges in Mexico were in full flower".[2] Four of them, Querétaro, Guatemala, Zacatecas, and Mexico, belonged to the Franciscan Observants, one, that at Pachuca, was conducted by the Discalced. Clement XIV. had on more than one occasion to intervene in the affairs of these important institutions. The four colleges of the Observants represented the advisability of combining the offices of Commissary Apostolic of the Missions and the Prefect of these same missions and of choosing the Prefect from each of the four colleges in turn. The Pope granted their wish on November 22nd, 1769.[3] Originally these missionary colleges were independent of the Provincial and were immediately subject to the General of the Order. This regulation had been changed by Benedict

[1] LEMMENS, 242.—Pius IV. had laid it down on March 24, 1562, that parishes and stations in the missions were to be staffed only by Regular priests. King Ferdinand VI. of Spain, however, made out that the secular clergy were numerous and competent in respect of their virtue and knowledge and that the Archbishops and Bishops had often complained that they were being neglected. Benedict XIV. accordingly made a change here by Briefs of November 8, 1751, and July 10, 1753. *Ius pontif.*, III., 467, 539.

[2] STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, III., Aachen, 1927, vii.

[3] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 162.

XIII., but as the result of painful experience the original arrangement was restored under Benedict XIV. so far as the four colleges of the Observants were concerned. There was now a fifth college, that of the Discalced at Pachuca, which from the outset had been controlled by the Superior of the Province of San Diego, in consequence of which it had drifted further and further away from its purpose of serving only the missions. At the request of the Commissary General for the Indies, Clement XIV. placed this college also under the direct control of the General of the Order. After ten years' work among the Indians, however, the missionaries were to be allowed to join the Province of San Diego.[1]

In Lower California, where they arrived in 1768, the Franciscans departed in one respect from the custom of their predecessors, the Jesuits: they took over only the spiritual, but not the temporal, administration of the Indian villages; the latter was transferred to State officials. But on his arrival in June the Inspector General, José de Galvez, discovered that the civil officials were squandering the mission funds and for this reason he placed the civil administration also in the hands of the missionaries. Between April, 1768, and September, 1771, the Franciscans had baptized 1731 persons, all, with few exceptions, Indians. But they increased the former Jesuit stations by only one; the project of immediately establishing five others was frustrated by the Governor Barri, and soon afterwards the Franciscans retired altogether from Lower California. The reason for this was that on April 8th, 1770, Juan Pedro de Iriarte, the Vicar General of the Dominicans, had obtained the royal permission to open a mission in Lower California. To the Franciscans of the College of San Fernando in Mexico two Orders seemed too much for the sparse population of this region and so by an agreement signed on April 7th, 1772, and ratified by the Viceroy Bucareli on May 12th, they left Lower California to

[1] Brief of July 9, 1771, *ibid.*, 170 *seqq.* The amalgamation of the two offices in question was extended by Pius VI. to all Franciscan missions (*ibid.*, 426, no. 23).

the care of the Dominicans. Nine of these, with a lay-brother, landed there on October 14th, 1772. The ship carrying the Dominican Superior, however, was wrecked and he was drowned, so that the formal handing over of the mission to the Dominicans could not take place till May, 1773. By 1800 there were seventy Dominicans at work in seven stations in Lower California. In 1834 the mission was again entrusted to lay officials, under whose administration everything went to rack and ruin and the Indians took to flight.

After relinquishing Lower California the Franciscans moved to Upper California, where their achievements were among the most splendid in the whole history of the missions. But the full development of their activity here belongs to the succeeding pontificate.[1]

A decree of Propaganda dated May 5th, 1774, contained a general instruction affecting all the missions; it prescribed for the missionaries the study of the languages used by the natives committed to their charge.[2]

[1] Z. Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, 1908; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, III., 179 *seq.*; Lemmens, 252.

[2] "Collectanea," 312, no. 504. *Cf. ibid.*, 325, no. 527 (decrees of May 5, 1774, and March 7, 1778).

CHAPTER IX.

Clement XIV. as Patron of Learning and Art—His Government of the Papal States—His Illness and Death.

Clement XIV.'s efforts to preserve the traditional primacy of the Holy See in its encouragement of learning and art were more successful than his financial and economic undertakings. Highly cultured and an ardent bibliophile,[1] he aimed at enriching the Vatican Library with the latest works of literature, especially those from France[2]; possessed also of artistic taste, he bestowed his favour on scholars and artists. Doubtless his achievements in this direction would have been still greater had he not been forced to devote most of his attention to the harassing problems arising from the disturbed relations between the Church and State. Nevertheless he was able to encourage a number of *literati*.[3] He extended his

[1] "Sa Sainteté aime les livres de préférence à tout." Bernis to Vergennes; *v. Corresp. d. direct de l'Acad. de France*, XIII., No. 653, p. 29.

[2] Masson, 275 *seq.*

[3] In 1771 Stefano Borgia, in the name of Propaganda, dedicated to the Pope the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasi* of the Italian philologist I. C. Amadutius. Then Fattorini dedicated his history of the university of Bologna to him as a mark of his gratitude for favours received (*v. Riv. stor.*, 1897, 25), similarly Renazzi his *Elementi di diritto criminale* (*cf. ibid.*, 1909, 489; Baumgartner, *Weltliteratur*, VI., 553 *seq.*) and his *De Academia Ferrariensi a Clemente XIV. P.M.O. restituta*, Ferrariae, 1772. The Pope took a personal interest in the edition of the ninety-first book of Livy's Histories discovered by the German scholar P. J. Bruns (*v. Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, III., 450 *seqq.*); *v. Azara*, II., 403, for the stop that was put to the printing as the result of Assemani's doubts. *Cf.* *Albani to Colloredo, July 10, 1773, State Archives, Vienna.—Many letters of thanks were sent by the Pope to scholars who had presented him with their works, e.g. to *G. C. Trombelli on July 29, 1769, for the dedication to him of his *Dissertationes liturgicae et polemicae* (Epist. Clem. XIV., A° I^b, 165, Papal Secret Archives);

Note 3 continued from page 508.

on October 6, 1770, to *Appiano Buonafede for the presentation of his four volumes on Emanuele de Cardona, also approving his decision to devote himself in future to church history (*ibid.*, A° II., 156); on November 24, 1770, *to Angelo Maria Bandini, approving his plans for the future and accepting with pleasure the dedication of his edition of *S. Epiphanii Opera* (*ibid.*, 207); *on January 9, 1771, to Canon Pey of Toulon (*ibid.*, 258); on June 2, 1772, *to Bishop Arnaldo Speroni Alvarotti, O.S.B., of Adria for the tenth volume of his translations of the history of the Church which he had dedicated to him (*ibid.*, A° IV., 27); on October 27, 1772, *to F. Nonnotte for the presentation of his valuable *Dictionarium philosophicum religionis* (*ibid.*, 157); on May 21, 1773, *to Gabrieli Lancelotto Castelli principe de Turre Muzza for his book *De Siciliae et adiacentium insularum inscriptionibus* (*ibid.*, A° V. and VI., 3); on May 24, 1774, *to Raffaele Riano for his *Dissertatio de infantium Bethlehemiticorum caede* (*ibid.*, 155[b]); *to the Franciscan G. B. Martini, "the European oracle in musical matters," for the presentation of his history of music (A° II., 284, Papal Secret Archives). Many examples of this type of letter have been reproduced by THEINER in his *Epist. Clementis XIV*. Thus on December 20, 1769, Gabriel Gauchat and on January 6, 1770, the Dominican Antonio Valsecchi were thanked for their apologetic works (*ibid.*, 46, 51); similarly M. Gerbert on January 6, 1770, for his *Opuscula theologica* (*ibid.*, 52), and Bonelli for the *Prodromus* to his new edition of Bonaventura (*ibid.*); Trombelli on May 26, 1770, for the second volume of his liturgical studies (*ibid.*, 88); Bishop N. A. Giustiniani of Verona on July 20, 1770, for the edition of opuscules written by his predecessor Cardinal Valerio (*ibid.*, 98); Bandini on July 28, 1770, for his catalogue of the MSS. in the Laurenziana in Florence (*ibid.*, 99); Archbishop Lorenzana on December 19, 1770, for his work on the Mozarabic rite (*ibid.*, 195); the Bavarian Elector on March 28, 1772, for the presentation of eleven volumes of *Monumenta Boica* (*ibid.*, 298 *seq.*; *cf.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 428); Joh. Gottfried Kaufmanns on August 17, 1771, and the Franciscan L. Sappel on December 14, 1771, for their anti-Febronian works (*ibid.*, 173, 193); and the Capuchin Vittore de Coccaglio on February 8, 1772, for seven volumes of theological works (*ibid.*, 207).—Foundation Bull for the University of Münster, of May 28, 1773, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 582 *seqq.*

protection in particular to the aged Pompeo Batoni [1] and the German painter Raffael Mengs, who returned to Rome in February, 1771, was received with great honour by the artistic world, and was elected "Principe" of the Academy of St. Luke.[2] Piranesi, the unrivalled engraver, dedicated to Clement XIV. his plan of Rome [3] and his work on Trajan's Column.[4] When Mozart came to Rome with his father in April, 1770, the Pope bestowed the Order of the Golden Spur on the infant prodigy, who after only one hearing was able to transcribe from memory with hardly a mistake Allegri's *Miserere* for nine voices.[5]

Clement XIV.'s chief interest was in increasing the treasures housed in the Vatican Palace. For the library he acquired in 1770 several valuable papyri from the Vettori collection. In 1774 he ordered a special room to be set aside for the Latin papyri.[6] The ceiling of this room he had painted with brightly coloured frescoes by Raffael Mengs, which were highly admired by his contemporaries. In the central picture, made famous by Cunego's engraving, a beautiful female figure, "History," is writing on the back of an old, winged man representing "Time", the events of the past, which are indicated to her by the two-headed Janus on her right. On the left a Genius is bringing scrolls. Fame, sounding a trumpet, descends from on high, pointing to the Museum Clementinum in the background. Over the two doors Mengs painted the seated figures of Moses as the earliest historian and St. Peter as the guardian of the New Testament, both between two

[1] Reports of the Lucchese envoy, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 379, 380; AZARA, I., 295; *L'Arte*, XIII. (1910), 454 *seq.*

[2] NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 85 *seq.*

[3] *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVIII., Frankfurt, 1897, 222.

[4] FOCILLON, *Piranesi*, 119.

[5] *Ibid.*, 105, 415; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XXII., 423; O. JAHN, *Mozart*, I.², Leipzig, 1867, 119. It was at this time that Batoni painted the young composer's portrait. Mozart, unlike Gluck, made no use of the title of nobility granted him by the Pope.

[6] FORCELLA, VI., 185; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 122.

youthful Genii. The figures are framed in a decoration consisting of Egyptian and classical components intertwined with Renaissance ornaments and naturalistic figures and garlands; this was the work of Christoph Unterberger from South Tyrol, who also did some allegorical paintings relating to Portugal and Avignon for Clement XIV. in Castel Gandolfo.[1]

The Papal collection of coins was increased by the Pope through the purchase of Greek and Roman coins and 1,261 medals, including a series of bronze medals of Roman emperors of the largest size.[2] Great pleasure was caused to the Pope by the presentation to the museum of a large collection of ancient coins by Mgr. Passionei [3] and of 126 gold medals by Louis XV.[4]

[1] PLATNER, II., 2, 330 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone*, II., 926 *seq.*; WOERMANN in the *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, V. (1894), 288. *Cf.* also O. HARNACK, *Deutsches Kunstleben*, 9 *seqq.*; HAUTECŒUR, 150 ("L'œuvre est supérieure au Parnasse"); TIETZE in the *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen*, 1912, 117. These authors failed to make use of COZZA-LUZI's treatise, which is important as giving details of the cost of the decoration of this room: *L'aula di papiri nella Bibl. Vatic.*, which appears as an appendix to *Monumenta papyracea Bib. Vatic. recensuit et digessit O. Marucchi*, Roma, 1895, 35 *seqq.* The decoration, which was not completed till the pontificate of Pius VI., is dated by the inscription over the entrance-door: Clemens XIV. P.M. A° IV. *Cf.* also VOSS, *Malerei*, 657; RENAZZI, IV., 282 *seq.*

[2] CARINI, 121; SERAFINI, I., xxxii. *seq.* *Cf.* GNECCHI in the *Riv. ital. di numism.*, XVIII. (1905), 11 *seqq.*

[3] Report of the Lucchese envoy of June 15, 1771, *loc. cit.*, 383.

[4] Clement XIV. thanked Louis XV. in a *letter of March 4, 1772 (Epist. ad princ., 169, p. 213, Papal Secret Archives). *Orsini to Tanucci, March 6, 1772, State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1479. In MASSON, 204, n. 2, the inscription which Clement XIV. had placed on the case containing these coins. The Pope had occasion to write several other letters of thanks to donors of coins, e.g. on February 16, 1771, to Conrado Ferretti ("nummorum argenteorum ad Romanas familias spectantium series"), Epist. ad princ., 167, p. 304, *loc. cit.*; on November 18, 1772, to Duke Karl Theodor of Sulzbach (gold coins which had been taken into the Vatican Museum), Epist. Clementis XIV.,

The finest monument of Clement XIV.'s love of art is the museum of antiquities in the Vatican, whose name still perpetuates his memory. He saw to his sorrow that in spite of the prohibitions issued by his predecessors dealers such as Jenkins were still removing valuable antiquities from Rome and taking them abroad. Rome also lost the famous Niobids, which were removed from the Palazzo Medici to Florence in 1770,[1] and at the same time the King of Naples ordered the removal of the treasures of the Palazzo Farnese to his own capital.[2] In these circumstances Clement XIV., despite the deplorable condition of his finances, considered it his duty to save as far as possible the precious store of antiquities possessed by the Eternal City.[3] In March, 1770, he bought from the sculptor Cavaceppi two magnificent examples of decorative art dating from the time of Hadrian, the famous Barberini candelabra.[4] In April of the same year he paid 6,000 *scudi* for the statue of Meleager, of the Imperial period, copied from a work of Scopas or his school; it had once belonged to Paul III.'s physician, Francesco Fusconi, and was still in his house, which was afterwards the Palazzo Pighini.[5] An important purchase of antiquities was effected in September,

a° IV., p. 168, *ibid.*; on June 4, 1772, to the Empress Maria Theresa (another donation to the museum), Epist. ad princ. 171, p. 17, *ibid.*; on August 11, 1773, to Giovanni Bianchi, Epist., a° V., 173, p. 23, *ibid.*

[1] Justi, *Winckelmann*, II.[2], 19.

[2] Masson, 289.

[3] Hautecœur in the *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXX., 59 *seq.* On December 19, 1773, the Pope wrote a *letter of thanks to the conservators of the town of Velletri for presenting him with the funerary urn of Varius Marcellus which had been found there; *v.* Epist. Clementis XIV., a° IV., p. 207, *loc. cit.*

[4] Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatik. Museums*, III., 627 *seq.*, 633.

[5] Amaduzzi, *Novelle letterarie di Firenze*, 1770, 231; *Corresp. d. direct. de l'Acad. de France*, XII., No. 6148; Helbig, I.[3], 79 *seq.*; Amelung, II., 33 *seq.*, 37 *seq.* The museum acquired some other antiquities along with the Meleager, such as a seated dog (*ibid.*, 163). *Cf. Cracas* for November 17, 1770.

1770, on the advice of the Abate Giovan Battista Visconti, who was assisted by his son Ennio Quirino. For 4,300 *scudi* thirty-four statues, busts, bas-reliefs, and funerary urns were acquired from the villa of Giuseppe Mattei, who was heavily in debt. Among these were the beautiful Amazon, the so-called "Pudicitia", the Serapis, the Pan pulling a thorn from a satyr's foot, the colossal bust of Trajan's wife, Plotina, the funerary relief of a Roman married couple, so much prized by Niebuhr, and numerous figures of animals.[1] This purchase, on which occasion Clement XIV. expressly forbade Mattei to part with the famous bust of Cicero, decided the Pope to found the superb museum of antiquities in the Vatican. In the early part of 1771 the architect Michelangelo Simonetti began the conversion into a statue gallery of a portion of the former summer-house of Innocent VIII. near the Belvedere.[2] This he joined to the octangular courtyard which Bramante had built on to the summer-house. Simonetti encircled it with sixteen Ionic columns of Oriental granite with pilasters of coral breccia.[3] An inscription records that this work was completed in 1773.[4] Worthy rooms were thus created both for the antiquities which had already been in the possession of the Popes since the time of Julius II. and for Clement XIV.'s acquisitions, which were very numerous. No sooner were antiquities discovered than they were bought.[5] The Pope also

[1] HAUTECŒUR in the *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXX., 57 *seq.*, where, on p. 69 *seq.*, there is a reproduction of Braschi's Chirografo relating to the sale, dated September 12, 1770. *Cf.* HELBIG, I.[3], 9, 151, 200, 221; AMELUNG, II., 87 *seq.*, 93, 255, 354, 453 *seq.*, 463, 475, 497, 573, 615.

[2] *Corresp. d. direct. de l'Acad. de France*, XII., No. 6234; FORCELLA, VI., 184. SINGER (*Künstlerlex.*, IV., 283) has almost nothing to say about Simonetti, who deserves more ample treatment. Above the door leading to the Sala de' Busti are the arms of Clement XIV.

[3] JUSTI, *Winckelmann*, II.[2], 36; PLATNER, II., 2, 126; MICHAELIS in the *Jahrbuch*, I. (1890), 5 *seqq.*; CECCHELLI, 100.

[4] FORCELLA, VI., 185.

[5] AMELUNG, II., 158, 378, 507.

acquired many objects from sculptors and dealers,[1] such as the colossal herma personifying a part of the sea, and the so-called Eros of Centocelle (Amore Vaticano), from the Scottish painter Gavin Hamilton.[2] Another brilliant acquisition was the statue of a Roman offering sacrifice, the finest togaed figure then known, once belonging to the Giustiniani estate.[3] In December, 1771, the seated figure of Jupiter, from the Palazzo Verospi, was bought for 1,500 *scudi* [4]; it now occupies the central niche in the Sala dei Busti. Among the objects moved from the Palazzo Barberini to the Vatican were the Orestes sarcophagus and the delightful figure of a girl running a race. [5] The obelisk of Antinous, now on the Monte Pincio, and, in November, 1772, the colossal statue of Hera passed from the possession of the Barberini to that of the Pope.[6] The Pope's agent in nearly all these purchases was his treasurer, Braschi.[7] Some pieces were given to the Vatican,[8] among them the Ara named after its donor, the Governor of Rome, A. Casali, with reliefs depicting the fall of Troy and the origin of Rome. The antiquary Orazio Orlandi provided an explanation of the reliefs supported by illustrations.[9] Some Etruscan antiquities were also transferred to the

[1] *Ibid.*, 473, 498, 549, 591.

[2] HELBIG, I.[3], 117 *seq.*, 197; AMELUNG, II., 408 *seq.*

[3] HELBIG, I.[3], 212.

[4] *Ibid.*, 156; AMELUNG, II., 519. Amelung is incorrect in saying that Clement XIV. began his collection with this purchase.

[5] HELBIG, I.[3], 222, 234 *seq.*

[6] *Novelle letterarie di Firenze* (1772), 711; HELBIG, I.[2], 195.

[7] AMELUNG, II., 520; HAUTECŒUR, *loc. cit.*, 67.

[8] AMELUNG, I., 109; II., 83, 484, 554, 614. Mgr. Carrara's gift of an Etruscan statue is mentioned by Azara in his report of June 27, 1777. AZARA, II., 195.

[9] Amelung's statement that the Ara Casali was acquired by Pius VI. is incorrect (II., 241). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of August 18, 1772: "Nei scorsi giorni fu umiliata un ara antica alla S[tà] di N.S. per parte di Msgr. Casali, gov. di Roma, e fu accompagnata da una elegantissima edizione con rami spiegati dal Sig. Orazio Orlando, noto antiquario." State Archives, Vienna. The bas-reliefs represent scenes from the Iliad and the history of Rome.

museum [1] and the foundations were laid of the Vatican collection of inscriptions.[2]

In February, 1773, Clement XIV. visited the Museum Clementinum,[3] which brought the Vatican on a level with the Capitol as a collection of antiquities. Its establishment was due more to the Pope's adoption of another man's ideas than to any resolution of his own. According to Pasquale Massi [4] and Giovan Battista Visconti, the idea of creating a separate museum of antiquities was the aforesaid treasurer's.[5] It must, however, be placed to the credit of Clement XIV. that he entered into the project of his artistically minded subordinate with enthusiasm and understanding and that he saw to the collection and display of the antiquities with care and competence.[6] The tragic part of the affair was that for spending so much money on the museum he was violently attacked by the citizens of Rome.[7]

The Pope having done comparatively little for the embellishment of the Eternal City,[8] great discontent was caused by

[1] Report of the Lucchese envoy, *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 383; G. B. Passeri, *De tribus vasculis etruscis encaustice pictis a Clemente XIIII. in Museum Vaticanum inlatis dissertatio*, Florentiae, 1772. The ancient seal of the Garfagna which had been explained by Garampi (Roma, 1759) and which had been presented to the Pope by the future Cardinal Borgia was also added to the museum by Clement XIV. (*v.* Barbier, II., 224).

[2] Amelung, I., 161; Reumont, 779.

[3] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, February 27, 1773, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291.

[4] P. Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria del Museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano*, Roma, 1792, 2. The roman numerals refer to Clement XIV.'s acquisitions.

[5] G. B. Visconti, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino*, I., Roma, 1782, preface, p. 4, also Hautecœur, *loc. cit.*, 67.

[6] O. Harnack, *Deutsches Kunstleben*, 5. *Cf.* Vogel, *Goethes römische Tage*, 154–9.

[7] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, February 20, 1772, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.*

[8] On a pretty fountain in the Via Ripetta is the inscription: "Munificentia Clementis XIIII. P.M. Aqua Virgo A° 1774." For

the erection in his honour of an expensive triumphal arch in his native town of S. Arcangelo.[1] The town of Servigliano, which had been laid in ruins by a landslide, was rebuilt by Clement XIV. in 1771 and given the new name of Castel Clementino.[2] When the village of S. Lorenzo Vecchio was in danger of being flooded by an overflow from the lake of Bolsena he built a new home for the inhabitants, S. Lorenzo Nuovo, on a hill about a mile away.[3] To meet the heavy expenditure involved Clement made personal sacrifices [4] and tried to save money by leaving unoccupied or combining various posts in the State administration, a measure which aroused the lively discontent of the officials. But all this was of no use. While expenditure increased the revenues decreased in an alarming fashion, chiefly owing to the cessation of payments from Portugal and the Bourbon States. The budget fell into ever greater confusion ; the annual deficit, which at the beginning of the pontificate was 150,000 *scudi*, by the fourth year had amounted to 500,000 *scudi*.[5]

Far greater than Clement XIV.'s material cares were those caused him by the suppression of the Jesuit Order and the

the work he did for S. Spirito *cf.* the inscription in FORCELLA, XIII., 491. Outside Rome the Pope's arms are to be found on one large and two smaller fountains in Genzano (*v.* TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 256) and on a tower which he built at Fiumicino. A barracks at Civitavecchia was begun in his reign and completed in Pius VI.'s. To the cathedral at Macerata he presented a damaged mosaic (" S. Sebastiano ") which Guido Reni had made for St. Peter's.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 83, n. 1 ; MARINI, 73.

[2] *Dizionario corografico dell'Italia*, VII., 1, 568.

[3] Clement XIV.'s beneficence towards the inhabitants is recalled by two large inscriptions there. This act of kindness did not deserve the depreciation it has received at the hands of BROSCH (II., 136 *seqq.*).

[4] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 31, 1769 : the Pope was trying to improve the financial situation by surrendering his income from the Dataria ; the prices of meat and oil were being reduced. State Archives, Vienna.

[5] BROSCH, II., 137 *seqq.*

deterioration of ecclesiastico-political conditions in the Catholic countries.

He had to admit to himself more and more that he had made a fatal error in thinking that in sacrificing the Jesuits he could restore peace with the Catholic States. Then came the realization of the evil consequences of the suppression of this important Order, which needed time to reach their full extent but which were already alarmingly great, especially in the missions. All this had the worst effect on the Pope's health, which at first had been perfectly satisfactory. In spite of his sixty-four years Clement XIV. on becoming Pope had still seemed a very vigorous man. He owed this to his very simple way of living and to his placid temperament.[1] The maintenance of his good health was due largely to his annual vacation at Castel Gandolfo, during which the trying audiences with the ambassadors were suspended. Accompanied only by his intimate friends the Pope roamed the lovely countryside on horseback or on foot. The afternoons he spent playing billiards. In 1770 he prolonged his residence at Castel Gandolfo from September 26th to the beginning of November.[2]

The only affection troubling Clement XIV. was a skin disease, an herpetic eruption which he successfully kept in check by taking a month's cure every summer with the acidulous water of the *Acqua acetosa*, which was already highly reputed in his day.[3] In July, 1771, the trouble was particularly bad, the pimples and pustules being so malignant that one reporter referred to it as a kind of leprosy. Attempts were made to relieve it by giving the patient a rub-down before retiring. At this period there were also abdominal disorders. As Cardinal Stoppani fell dangerously ill at the same time with a similar complaint and there was a recrudescence of the prophecies that the Pope would have only a short reign, Clement XIV. was so upset that for several nights he was unable to sleep. His companions tried to distract him with

[1] *Kaunitz to Colloredo, May 20, 1769, *loc. cit.*

[2] MASSON, 290.

[3] RICHARD, *Description de l'Italie*, VI., Paris, 1770, 243.

amusements which, if we are to believe Centomani, were hardly consonant with the gravity and the sacredness of so high an office.[1] More good was done on this occasion also with the *Acqua acetosa*.[2] In the following summer, of 1772, the trouble again occurred in an acute form. The customary water-cure,[3] regular exercise in the Villa Patrizi,[4] the temporary restriction and then the complete cessation of the audiences [5] had a beneficial effect. But the Pope's spirits were at a constantly low ebb ; it was already being reported in May that he was deeply depressed by the prophecy that he would not live to see the opening of the jubilee year.[6] Still worse must have been the effect of Moñino's continual insistence, coupled with threats, on the suppression of the Jesuits.[7] By the latter half of August Clement's apprehensions and

[1] " *Il Papa sta alquanto malinconico e varie notti di questa e della passata settimana non ha potuto dormire ; se ne attribuisce la causa al non stare bene essendogli uscito fuori per tutta la vita molto umor salso facendogli delle pustole, che formano una specie di lepra ; per lo passato ha sofferto simile incomodo, ma non a tal segno e con tanto prurito, per cui è obbligato nell'andare a letto di farsi fare replicate strofinazioni, ed in queste ultime settimane vi si è aggiunto il nuovo incomodo per la difficoltà di orinare, onde il Papa, entrato in maggiore apprensione, anche a riflesso dello stato pericoloso del card. Stoppani per un simigliante incomodo, non ha potuto dormire in alcune notti. Quindi risorgono le varie fantastiche profezie del breve suo pontificato da non dover oltrepassare il terzo o quarto anno. Si procura dai Palatini di sollevarlo con vari divertimenti ed invenzioni forsi non convenienti alla serietà e santità di così supreme dignità." Centomani to Tanucci, July 12, 1771, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 474–1219. *Cf. ibid.* **id.* to *id.*, July 22, 1771.

[2] " *S. S^tà sta benone dopo la cura delle acque." Orsini to Tanucci, August 6, 1771, *ibid.*, C. Farnes., 1477.

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 23, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[4] **Id.*, August 13, 1772, *ibid.*

[5] **Id.*, July 30 and August 6, 1772 (" Non da audiencia a los Ministros estranjeros ni aun a alguno de los suyos "), *ibid.*

[6] AZARA, II., 304. [7] *MASSON, 290. *Cf.* above, pp. 229, 230.

bodily sufferings had reduced him to such a state of melancholy that Vasquez and Marefoschi were certain that he would either lose his sanity or suddenly expire.[1] In September his physical condition improved, and at the end of the month he went to Castel Gandolfo and stayed there till October 28th.[2] The rest and the abstention from the agitating negotiations with the Bourbon ambassadors had a very good effect on his health.[3] During the first half of 1773 Moñino had nothing but good to report on the Pope's condition,[4] and at the end of July Clement began his customary water-cure,[5] which was again successful.[6] Highly relieved by the lack of resistance offered in Rome to the suppression of the Jesuits,[7] he retired again to Castel Gandolfo on September 21st and enjoyed his afternoon rides in a carriage or on horseback in the beautiful environs.[8] But at the same time it was noticed that he was more nervous now than at any time since his accession,[9] the reason being that he feared that his adversaries had designs on his life. In consequence he took the most extensive safeguards; his food was brought to him daily from Rome in two specially guarded wagons; the guards of the palace were doubled; and whenever he left the palace he was attended by a military escort.[10]

[1] *Vasquez to Roda, August 20, 1772, Bibl. S. Isidro, Madrid, Cartas de Vasquez, II.; HERGENRÖTHER, *K.-G.*, IV.[6], 185, n. 2. *Cf.* below, p. 525, n. 2.

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 17 and 24, 1772, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. MASSON, 290.

[3] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 10, 1772, *ibid.*

[4] **Id.*, January 28, April 15 and 29, June 3, 10, 17, and 24, July 1, 15, and 22, 1773, *ibid.*

[5] **Id.*, July 29 and August 5, 1773, *ibid.*, AZARA, II., 431.

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, August 12, 19, and 26, September 2, 9, and 16, 1773, *loc. cit.*

[7] **Id.*, September 2, 1773, *ibid.*

[8] **Id.*, September 23 and 30, October 7, 14, 22, and 28, 1773, *ibid.* Also *Pallavicini to Conti, October 28, 1773, Nunziat. di Portog. 183, Papal Secret Archives.

[9] *Cf.* above, p. 154.

[10] *Reports from Tiepolo to the Venetian Senate, October 2 and

He was also frightened and upset by the popular disturbances that broke out on Christmas Day, 1773, and lasted till the New Year.[1] He ascribed them to the Jesuits, but what really caused them was the discontent with his government. At that time the dissatisfaction was general; only the Bourbon ambassadors were happy. Although order was restored by making an example of some of the malcontents, Clement XIV. had now entirely lost his nerve and imagined that his life was in serious danger.[2] His agitation was increased by the continual prophecies about his death,[3] the disunity in the Congregation of Cardinals,[4] the French attitude towards the Jesuit question, and the protection that was being afforded to the Jesuits in Prussia and Russia.[5]

In addition to these factors, which had a very bad effect on the old man's state of health, Bernis stresses the delay in the

16, 1773, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291, copy in the Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5783, confirmed by Centomani's *report to Tanucci of October 1, 1773, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223, and the report of the Lucchese envoy of October 9, 1773, Arch. stor. ital., 4th series, XX., 385. In his *report to Conti of October 28, 1773, Pallavicini speaks only of the Pope being physically well. Nunziat. di Portog., 183, *loc. cit.* Moñino did likewise in his *reports to Grimaldi of October 28, November 4, 11, and 25, December 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1773. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] Masson, 291.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] On March 5, 1774, Moñino sent Grimaldi an *abstract of these "falsas profecias que han esparcido los Terciarios Jesuitas". Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5048. On July 24, 1774, Brunati *reported that the prophets of evil and visionaries had become a perfect pest in Rome; they were being arrested and confined in large numbers. "Poco manca che non risorgano le sibille e gli antichi oracoli." State Archives, Vienna.

[4] Moñino to Grimaldi, February 17, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4986; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, February 19, 1774, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291.

[5] This annoyed Tanucci very much also; *v.* *Tanucci to Azara, March 26, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6022.

return of Avignon, which was published prematurely, and the attitude of Naples regarding Benevento; the annoyance caused him thereby, said Bernis, was all the more harmful because he tried to conceal it.[1] He did this so successfully that it was generally thought that his health was satisfactory. To confirm the Romans in this supposition he went to the church of the Minerva on April 10th, 1774, to take part in the customary distribution of dowries to poor girls. On reaching the Piazza Venezia he was overtaken by a sudden downpour of rain; seven Cardinals and most of his other attendants took to flight, but the Pope continued on his way and although wet through and without changing his clothes he took part in the ceremony. The result of this was a chill,[2] but far worse was the reappearance of the skin-disease,[3] which now spread to his throat and mouth. At the Easter ceremonies, it was noticed that his formerly resonant voice had grown quite hoarse.[4] To remove the trouble the water-cure was begun in June.[5] Once again the Pope was worried by the attitude of Prussia and Russia towards the Jesuits, the sympathy shown

[1] Masson, 286.

[2] Report in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 385, and the reports in Masson, 291, where, however, as in Theiner (*Hist.*, II., 508), the incident is said incorrectly to have happened on March 25. *Brunati to Colloredo, April 13, 1774, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, April 12, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1223. *Cf.* Azara, III., 29. Brunati *reported to Colloredo on April 2, 1774, that the Pope had a bladder complaint. *Loc. cit.*

[4] "Relazione" (*Colleçcão*, III., 221) sent by Charles III. to the Queen of Portugal; it is mentioned also by Danvila y Collado (III., 589) and Lebret (VI., 139 *seqq.*). The "Relazione" was reproduced in a lengthier form in *Colleçcão*, III., 225. According to Bernis the Pope's health had already began to deteriorate in February, 1774 (Theiner, *Hist.*, II., 510; Masson, 286).

[5] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, June 18, 1774 (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291).

with the suppressed Order in France, the gloomy prognostications, and Spain's demeanour in the question of the nunciature.[1] Besides all this the cardinalitial Congregation for the suppression of the Jesuits was unable to find suitable missionaries or to raise the necessary pensions for the ex-Jesuits.[2] Centomani reported on June 21st that the Pope was most uneasy, he was having novena after novena said, he maintained complete silence, and was more than ever solicitous about his health.[3] This last was hardly surprising, as the skin-disease of his throat and mouth were causing him the greatest irritation.[4] At the ceremonial payment of the quitrent for Naples on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul it was noticed how severely he was being tried by his physical and mental torture.[5] From the shortness of his temper it was thought that he was afflicted by some organic trouble ; he easily flew into a rage and when in this condition often used improper expressions.[6] In July the preoccupations already mentioned were still worrying him.[7] The founder of the Passionists, Paul of the Cross, whose

[1] **Id.*, April 16 and June 16, 1774 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Centomani to Tanucci, April 3, 1774 : " Il Papa sta male, egli teme le profezie delle monache terziarie e dell' astrologo Casauria." (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1224). Tiepolo *wrote to the Doge of Venice on June 18, 1774 : " Si sà che lo preoccupano l'affare degli Ex-Gesuiti, la reapertura del Seminario Romano, i vescovati nuovi di Polonia." (*Loc. cit.*)

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, April 16, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Centomani to Tanucci, June 21, 1774, reporting the rumour " essersi sul dominio di Moscovia aperto il noviziato dei Gesuiti con esservi già 40 novizi " (*loc. cit.*).

[4] " *Il Papa seguita nella sua malinconia e nell' incomodo della sfogazione dei sali, che dal basso ventre li serpeggia per il viso, onde si riconosce l'emaciazione e la malinconia " (Centomani to Tanucci, July 28, 1774, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Bernis in Masson, 287.

[5] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, July 2, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] See in the Appendix (3b) Centomani's *report to Tanucci of July 12, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, July 23, 1774 (anxiety caused by the failure to execute the Brief of suppression in various

conversation was very welcome to him, advised him to ignore the prophecies,[1] but this had no lasting effect ; an attempt on the life of the King of Naples brought on another access of fear.[2]

The reports issued about the Pope's good health were not really believed, as the remarks let fall by his intimate circle were invariably disquieting. It was said that he often left his bed at night, that he had the windows of the gallery closed, and that he paced there restlessly to and fro. The only time the Romans saw him was when he went for a ride in the afternoon ; no one could gain access to him except the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Briefs, and Macedonio.[3] Another bad sign was that he did not attend the exequies for Louis XV. at the end of July.[4] On August 9th Centomani reported the continuance of the skin-disease, which he again

countries), *loc. cit.*, and *Centomani to Tanucci, July 26, 1774, *loc. cit.* (anxiety about the trend of events in Avignon)

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci, July 5, 1774, *ibid.* : " (Il P. Paolo de' Passionisti) assicurò il Papa quando lo vidde nella sua cella, stando egli infermo, che detta donna (Bernardina) era una semplice e di buoni costumi, ma gl'altri facevano dirla cose che ne pure s'era insognata di dire ; sicchè le di lei profezie sono da disprezzarsi, da non tenersene conto ; ed in tal modo il Papa si tranquillizò."

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, July 7 and 14, 1774, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. For the attempted murder, *cf.* the " *Relazione officiale " of May 11, 1774 (*ibid.*), and Tanucci's *report to Charles III. of May 24, 1774, in which he ascribed it to the Jesuits of Terracina (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6107).

[3] " *L'aspetto del Papa dimostra essersi perfettamente ristabilito e pure non mancano quei che lo pongono in dubio quantunque siano Palatini, perchè dicono che più delle volte si alza intempestivamente nella notte e serrando le fenestre della galleria si pone a spasseggiare violentemente. Nel giorno esce di buonora per le 21 e ritorna alle 23. Poche volte ha chiamato li due Segretari di Stato e de' Brevi ed anche Msgr. Macedonio e niun altro." Centomani to Tanucci, July 26, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1224.

[4] MASSON, 291.

referred to as a kind of leprosy.[1] Formerly the pimples were discharging their watery fluid outwards, but now it was working into the body, so that blood-poisoning was feared. All the attempts of the physicians to bring the fluid to the surface were unsuccessful. Heated objects were brought into contact with the body and by means of lighted stoves the Pope's living room was made as hot as the blazing summer heat outside—as hot as a bathing cubicle at Ischia, it was said by some. But all to no purpose.[2] No wonder that the patient fell into the darkest of moods. He would neither listen to the advice of his physician Adinolfi nor hear of other physicians being called into consultation. Occasional audiences were granted only to Cardinal Negroni, the Tesoriere, and once only to Monsignor Macedonio. Everyone else had to make their business known through Bontempi, who was now more influential than ever. Macedonio, on the other hand, on account of a faithless servant, was in danger of disgrace. Another of Clement's former confidants, the layman Ronca, was forbidden to enter the Papal palace for having spoken ill of Bontempi and Bischi. Carlo Giorgi and the Abbé Buonanno, who had formerly been invited to join in the private discussions, were under a cloud for the same reason.[3] On August 16th Centomani reported that if the Pope had not sweated or if everything had not gone as he desired he was angry beyond measure.[4]

[1] See the Appendix (3c) for Centomani's *letter of August 9, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] *Cf.* Cordara (*De suppressione*, 152), Centomani's *letter of August 9, 1774 (*loc. cit.*; Appx. 3c), and *Moñino's *report to Grimaldi on August 18, 1774 (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4986).

[3] Centomani's *letter of August 9, 1774 (*loc. cit.*) in the Appendix 3c.

[4] See Centomani's *letter of August 16, 1774 (*loc. cit.*) in the Appendix 3d. *Cf.* also *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice on August 13, 1774 (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291). *Writing to Centomani on August 20, 1774, Tanucci deduced a "fisica alterazione" from the Pope's continual "irritazioni" (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6023).

Francesco Sanseverino, Bishop of Alife, said that the Pope's behaviour was becoming unbearable to those around him and that this was due possibly to mental as well as physical suffering.[1] There can be no doubt that Clement XIV.'s deep-seated mental and spiritual depression was connected with the reproaches he brought against himself for having suppressed the Society of Jesus. A classic witness in support of this is the well-informed Cordara, whose evidence is all the more important inasmuch as he always did his best to justify every act of the Pope's. "The Pope," he said, "was haunted by the ghost of the dead Society of Jesus, again and again he remembered the damage its suppression had wrought on the Church, the dishonour this unfortunate decision had brought to his name, the hatred it had engendered. He pondered on the loss to the Apostolic See of a safeguard and support, on how Christ's field had lost a picked band of workers; he thought of the scandal caused to the faithful, of the triumphant joy of the heretics, and of the great bewilderment of Christians throughout the world. This distressing thought so racked him day and night that sometimes he would babble in sheer grief and seemed to be beside himself. Often in the night he thought he heard the bronze bell of the Jesuits, though no one had rung it." [2]

[1] "*Era solito nella primavera, e gli andava crescendo nell' eta, di patire come un erpete per la vita. Codeste sfogazioni non sono cominciate a comparire che in questi ultimi giorni, sicchè è stato ed è tuttavia in molta agitazione, stranisce volentieri e si rende insoffribile a tutti coloro che lo servono. Oltre questa cagione fisica del male possono esservene delle morali." F. Sanseverino to Tanucci, Rome, August 23, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma $\frac{392}{1137}$.

[2] CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 151 *seq.* For the Pope's mental disturbance towards the end of his life, *cf.* as a criticism of Theiner, *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XXXIII. (1854), 752, n. 2. Vasquez feared "foggia" as far back as 1770 (see above, p. 233) [BOERO] (*Osservazioni*, II.[2], 73) also speaks of "alienazione di mente" and relates: "Aggiungerò solamente accennando di fuga che molti cardinali temendo che l'alienazione del Papa procedesse

That Clement XIV. repented of the Brief of suppression and declared that it had been forced on him is not said by Cordara. Nor is there evidence of this elsewhere. On the contrary, once the measures had been decided on the Pope insisted on their execution, although the harm they were causing could not have been unknown to him, but even if he had wanted to withdraw them he could not have done so, for this the Bourbons would never have permitted. Now that he had become their tool and victim the Bourbon representatives kept him firmly on the path they had marked out for him; they inspired him with such a fear of the Jesuits, with whom many members of the College of Cardinals were indeed in sympathy, that his only way of safety seemed to him to be the complete execution of the Brief of suppression.

And so the Pope's melancholy and excitability continued, also his seclusion from the outer world, which provoked the greatest curiosity and the most fantastic rumours. As only the Tesoriere and the Secretaries of Congregations were admitted into his presence for the transaction of urgent business and Zelada could only gain admittance in secret with the help of Bontempi,[1] all other business was at a standstill.[2] Finally even Moñino, hitherto so optimistic, began to fear that Spain was about to lose a very good friend.[3] Both he and

troppo oltre, si adunarono insieme, e commisero al card. Fantuzzi l'incarico di stendere una scrittura e proporre ciò che si dovesse fare nel caso proposito: e quegli la fece e presentolla al cardinale Decano." It seems fairly certain that the contents of this passage were taken from the "Memorie" of the Conte Marco Fantuzzi (the Cardinal's nephew), III.: "Della Compagnia di Gesù e sua abolizione." Original in the possession of the Contessa M. Torricelli; copy in the archives of the *Civiltà Cattolicà*.

[1] See Centomani's *letter of August 9, 1774 (*loc. cit.*), in the Appendix 3c.

[2] *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, saying that the Pope would have no rest till the Spanish nunciature was really ("di fatto") opened (*loc. cit.*).

[3] "*Me seria sensibilisimo que perdiesemos tan buen amigo" (Moñino to Grimaldi, August 18, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4986).

Bernis had their fears confirmed when they were finally admitted to an audience after the middle of August. They noticed no mental derangement in Clement XIV. such as was attributed to him by the current rumour, but they found him very thin and physically weak. "The Pope's former liveliness and high spirits had almost entirely disappeared," wrote Moñino. "He complained to me about his physical sufferings, but in the course of the one-and-a-quarter hour's audience I managed to enliven him a little, so that he even made some jokes." [1]

Moñino and Bernis agreed in saying that the Pope's mental suffering was principally due to his constant fear of an attempt on his life. He tried to conceal this fear and to play the part of the brave man, but it showed itself clearly enough when Moñino in his audience referred to the recently attempted assassination of the King of Naples, which, together with the prophecies, had deeply affected the Pope. Both ambassadors say quite openly that the poison which was being administered to the Pope by his enemies was the fear of being poisoned, which they were subtly increasing. The ambassadors accordingly tried to persuade the Pope that the best way to protect himself against this sort of poison was to take no notice of the suggestions whispered in his ear.[2] But the Pope's nervousness was so great that so far from taking this advice he ordered still more stringent measures of precaution to be taken. No one was allowed to enter the Papal palace with a stick; it was strictly forbidden to stand about in the courtyards; the Swiss Guards were doubled; and the two *Palafrenieri* of the night watch were picked out by the Pope himself. As Bontempi was in sole control of all communication with the outer world, many thought that he was holding

[1] Reports from Bernis, who was still seeing the Pope, in MASSON, 286 *seq.*, and Moñino's *report of August 25, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, Estado, 4986), largely reproduced in DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 580 *seq.*

[2] See Moñino's *report of August 25, 1774 (*loc. cit.*), in the Appendix 2.

the Pope prisoner, others that Clement XIV.'s state of health was hopeless. Francesco Sanseverino thought this was saying too much, though he too agreed that the situation was serious.[1] Moñino took the view that if the contemplated visit to Castel Gandolfo failed to be of benefit the worst was to be feared.[2]

Besides Moñino and Bernis, Almada was also granted an audience on two occasions, but in every case the condition was laid down that no business matters were to be mentioned. Pallavicini and Zelada were each admitted once, Negroni, the Secretary of the Briefs, three or four times. The Grand Penitentiary Boschi and the Prodatarius Malvezzi were given the necessary faculties to deal with matters which would normally have had to be reported specially to the Pope. In very urgent cases Malvezzi was to make use of Bontempi as an intermediary.[3] Cardinals Negroni and Simone, however, had so little trust in the decisions conveyed by Bontempi that they demanded their confirmation by the Pope, which delayed still further the settlement of business.[4] The Pope still went out for his daily drives; on August 25th, the feast of St. Louis, he appeared at S. Luigi dei Francesi in the afternoon, after the Te Deum, in spite of the heat, to pray there,[5] but by the end of the month he who had once been so sprightly was unable to leave his carriage, as walking had become more and more of a trial. The change that was taking place in his outward appearance too was becoming more and more marked: one could hardly recognize the Pope of old in this emaciated man with the colourless visage, distracted

[1] *F. Sanseverino to Tanucci, August 30, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{392}{1137}$.

[2] See the report cited on p. 527.

[3] Report of the envoy from Lucca, of September 3, 1774, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 386. *Cf.* the letter of August 23, 1774, cited on p. 525, n. 1.

[4] *Centomani to Tanucci, August 30, 1774, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{479}{1224}$, *loc. cit.*

[5] Masson, 292 Theiner (*Hist.*, II., 512) wrote absentmindedly that the Pope visited S. Luigi on July 25, "the feast of St. Louis," which error is repeated by Danvila y Collado (II., 388).

eye, and open, slavering mouth.[1] It was now hoped to improve his condition by altering his way of living. The senseless heating of his apartments was completely abandoned and, instead, the windows were opened wide. He had to give up his evening coffee, instead of which he was served with strengthening chicken-soup several times in the morning.[2] But above all it was hoped that a change of air would have some beneficial effect. In spite of the Pope's weakness [3] everything was made ready for the move to Castel Gandolfo on September 12th.[4] But this was not to be.

The decisive day for Clement XIV. was September 8th, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, on which day were dated the announcement of the universal jubilee in 1775 [5] and a letter of thanks to Charles III. for finally settling the question of the Spanish nunciature.[6] Anxious to silence the rumours

[1] " *D'aspetto dimagrato, smunto di colore, rilasciato di corpo, estatico nell' esterior volto, bocca aperta e bavosa " (Centomani to Tanucci, August 30, 1774, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Centomani to Tanucci, September 6, 1774 (*ibid.*) : Mgr. Stay found the Pope exhausted, but he is still hopeful. The Ministers were being admitted again. " È stato cambiato metodo della cura ; e già si veggono aperte le finestre, e non sono diventate fornaci le stanze che si tenevano riscaldate con suffomigi ; gli si è tolto l'uso del caffè nella sera, e gli si danno replicati brodi di pollame per la mattina ; in breve andrà alla villeggiatura di Castello " ecc.

[3] *The Pope " continua con alguna mejoria, pero siempre con debilidad que nos mantiene el temor " (Moñino to Grimaldi, September 8, 1774, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] *F. Sanseverino to Tanucci, September 9, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{392}{1437}$; report of the envoy from Lucca, September 10, 1774, *loc. cit.*, 387 ; *Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, September 10, 1774, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291.

[5] *Cf.* allocutions of April 18 and May 6, 1774, in THEINER, *Epist.*, 302, 305, and the Brief of May 14, 1774, *Bull. Cont.*, V., 724 *seq.*

[6] *Moñino to Grimaldi, September 8, 1774 (*loc. cit.*) ; THEINER, *Epist.*, 325.

about the unfavourable state of his health, he drove in the company of Cardinals Pallavicini and Marefoschi to S. Maria del Popolo to attend the ceremonies there. But on his arrival he was so weak that he was unable to mount the steps of the throne unaided. The service had to be shortened and the Pope returned to the Quirinal quite listless with exhaustion. Nevertheless he insisted on the following day on driving to the Villa Patrizi, but on the way he was unable to impart his blessing in a proper manner. On the morning of September 10th he went to S. Maria della Vittoria, where he could only make the responses to the Litany in an unsteady voice. Another excursion in the afternoon to the Villa Patrizi was even worse for him than that of the previous day, for on the return journey he fainted. In the courtyard of the Quirinal a large number of curious spectators saw him lifted out of his carriage in a senseless condition and placed on a litter ; in this he was carried to his bedroom, which he was never to leave again. As a fever set in in the evening,[1] Adinolfi, his medical attendant,[2] ordered a vein to be opened. Meanwhile Cardinal Pallavicini had hurried to the scene and although the Pope would hear of no such thing he ordered Adinolfi to call in another physician, Saliceti, who was very highly reputed. In the morning, after a bout of sweating during the night had afforded the patient some relief, Adinolfi brought Saliceti to the bedside, and the Pope, now almost entirely free of fever, answered calmly all the questions put to him by the new doctor. Saliceti found nothing seriously wrong with him and thought that there was good hope of a recovery, but the patient would have to do his part by banishing all fear from his mind. This suited Clement admirably and he said he would like to see Saliceti again. Although the fever had

[1] Centomani's *report of September 13, 1774, in Appendix 3f. Tiepolo *reported on September 10, 1774 : " Il Papa è caduto in deliquio in villa Patrizi " (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291).

[2] According to the *Lettres contenant le journal d'un voyage fait à Rome en 1773* (Genève, 1783 ; II., 56) Adinolfi was thought to be one of the " plus ignares de Rome ".

gone the Pope was still kept strictly segregated. None of the Cardinals who had hurried to the palace nor anyone else was allowed to see the patient, except his old associates Bontempi, Fra Francesco, and Niccolò Bischi, the valet Benedetti, and the two doctors. From the last-mentioned it was learnt that on the evening of the 11th there was again a slight fever and on the 12th the Pope was allowed to get up for a little to see for himself that there was no question of his being seriously ill. Mass was said daily in the sick-room and a bulletin was published that the improvement was still going on. Not much trust was put in this, however, as it was heard that the move to Castel Gandolfo had been abandoned and that Bontempi was utterly dejected.[1] But no other information than what had been published could be gleaned from him or the other men in the Pope's confidence. It was not till after the Pope's death that it was learnt that an Englishman of the name of Menghin had been to see him secretly and that he had sold him a powerful elixir as an antidote for more than 2,000 *scudi*.[2] Niccolò Bischi managed to obtain from the Pope a general absolution for his administration of the corn supplies. Moñino and Bernis, also Malvezzi, were foremost in callously pressing the Pope, gravely ill though he was, to publish the names of the Cardinals who had been reserved *in petto*, whereby Bontempi was also to be awarded with the red hat.[3] They feared that at the next conclave their party

[1] See *Centomani's report of September 13, 1774, in Appendix 3f.

[2] On September 30, 1774, Centomani *reported to Tanucci on the nightly visits paid by the Englishman Menghin, "per mezzo del quale fece venire una specie di elisir contro il veleno con avervi speso due mila a più scudi; e si sono ritrovate innumerabili bevette" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1224). The *Ragguaglio d. vita di Clemente XIV.* (Firenze, 1775), p. 69, says that after the Pope's death there were found "nelle tasche alquante pillole alessifarmache antisettiche", which he had often used.

[3] *Centomani on September 13, 1774, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Tiepolo to the Doge, July 18, 1774, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 291.

would be too small,[1] the majority of the Cardinals being on the side of the Jesuits.[2] Although by now the Pope was very weak, his memory was failing, and with open mouth and terror-stricken eyes he was constantly staring at some unseen object, he managed to summon enough strength to refuse the demand. The only instructions he gave were for the settlement of business that it was impossible to postpone. Those about him spread all manner of encouraging reports about the state of his health, but they were not believed.[3]

No further attempt to disguise the gravity of the situation was made after the morning of September 20th, when the prayers of the whole Church were asked for the dying man and the order was given for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.[4] On the same day the Pope, who was now in a high fever and was suffering also from an abdominal inflammation, received the Viaticum. When Malvezzi made another attempt to induce him to publish the cardinalitial appointments Clement reminded him in excited tones of his benefactor Benedict XIV., who had also refused to undertake a promotion on his death-bed, although the vacancies in the Sacred College were more then than at that time. According to another account Clement said that in his condition he could only look to the safety of his soul, which he had no desire to endanger still more.[5] He also refused to make any testamentary disposi-

[1] Moñino reported on September 1, 1774, to Grimaldi on his and Bernis' efforts, "pues la baraja con que nos hallamos tiene pocas cartas buenas en que jugar." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[2] Bernis in THEINER, *Gesch. Klemens' XIV.*, German ed., II., 511. This passage was omitted from the French edition (II., 511).

[3] See Centomani's *reports of September 16 and 23, 1774, in the Appendix 3g, 3h.

[4] Centomani's *report to Tanucci, of September 23, 1774 (*loc. cit.*); reports from the Lucchese envoy of September 21 and 24, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 388 *seq.*).

[5] See Centomani's *report of September 23, 1774 (Appendix 3h). *Cf.* *Tiepolo to the Doge, September 22 and 24, 1774 (State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.*), and Bernis in THEINER, *Hist.*,

tion of his property. He received Extreme Unction late in the evening of September 21st and on the following morning between 7 and 8 o'clock he breathed his last.[1]

The only person who was with him at the end was the Franciscan General Marzoni.[2] The corpse, which had immediately assumed a black-and-bluish hue, was embalmed and taken to the Vatican on the evening of the 24th, to be exposed in St. Peter's according to custom, but it was already so badly decomposed that the face had to be covered with a mask. After the ceremonial identification had taken place in the Cappella Paolina the authorities were forced by the terrible smell emitted by the corpse to enclose it in a cypress coffin, which was exposed in St. Peter's on September 25th–26th, the burial taking place on the latter day.[3]

Naturally there were rumours of his being poisoned,[4] but

II., 513 *seq.* In the Lucchese report of September 24, 1774, his reply was to this effect: "Che nelle circostanze in cui trovavasi aveva da attendere agli affari della sua anima, la quale non voleva maggiormente aggravare." *Loc. cit.*, 389.

[1] *Acta consist.* in THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 516.

[2] "*Il Generale Marzoni assistette S. Stà fino alla morte, però solo" (Tiepolo in the report cited in n. 5, p. 532). For the (entirely spiritual) presence of St. Alphonsus Liguori, *cf.* PICHLER, *Alphons*, 292.

[3] See Centomani's *report of September 26, 1774 (Appendix 3i). "*La sera di 24 [settembre] verso un'ora di notte furono le di lui [Clemente XIV.] interiora poste già in una vettina portate in una carrozza alla portinaia di SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio a Trevi ed ivi consegnate al parocho vestito in cotta e stola; che ricevette con quattro torcie di libre 5 l'una mandate prima da Palazzo e fatte le debite anotazioni furono riposte nel consueto luogo." *Liber in quo adnotantur obitus Summorum Pontif.*, Archives of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, Rome.

[4] *Macedonio to Almada, September 26, 1774: On the day after the Pope died and for some time afterwards there was much talk of his having been poisoned (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5076). During his illness there was only casual mention of any suspicion of poisoning. The first trace I found of it was in a *letter written by a friend of Tanucci's, Francesco Sanseverino,

this was definitely contradicted by the physicians and surgeons who carried out the autopsy. Their verdict was that the rapid decomposition was the natural result of the malignant fluids brought about by the cutaneous eruption.[1] The talk of

on August 30, 1774 (see above, p. 528, n. 1). This is his explanation of why the Pope's condition deteriorated after a stay in the Vatican: "In questo tempo non si usavano le precauzioni che si usano in Montecavallo circa il pranzo o altro che resta di suo uso. Sicchè il sospetto di una acquetta o di qualche specie di veneno non resta irragionevole o mal fondato. Si aggiungono li presagi che da quel tempo si cominciarono a spargere con più di furore e la storia ci mostra che così siasi sempre usato dalli Neri quando vollero commettere o avevano già commesso simili eccessi." The last remark shows how much value is to be attached to Sanseverino's suspicion. He also *wrote to Tanucci on September 9, 1774, that he thought that the poisoning had probably been done with "acquetta di Perugia". What he then goes on to write is typical: "L'esercito degli Ex-Soci e dei loro partitanti che tempo indietro si vedea umiliato ed avvilito, già comincia ad alzar la testa e con intolerabile impertinenza marcia baldanzoso e pieno di ardimento e di brio che l'incontrattarli fa rabbia." State Archives, Naples, *loc. cit.* Tanucci was as much obsessed with the fear of the Jesuits as Sanseverino, but not to the extent of believing the rumour of a poisoning (see p. 538, n. 2). For these rumours, see above, p. 154.

[1] On September 23, 1774, Centomani *wrote to Tanucci (*loc. cit.*) that the post-mortem had taken place in the morning. The Abbé Fioravanti had been informed by a physician who was an expert in anatomy and who happened to be present that the intestines were healthy and that the stomach was sound; the latter contained a black substance that was recognized as chocolate. There was a lesion of the pericardium and the lungs were destroyed; this removed all suspicion of poisoning such as the "Frati" were spreading abroad. *Cf.* Appendix 3h, i, k. *Centomani to Tanucci on September 26 and again on September 30, 1774 (*ibid.*): "Non ostante tutto ciò, li più savi però costantemente escludono tal veleno dato; ed il Papa se lo figurò da se e da se dopo lo produsse." When the Pope described all his symptoms to the physician Bianchi of Rimini he received the reply "che rasserenasse la sua mente, che quei effetti non

poisoning dwindled considerably when it became known that Clement XIV. had taken a potent elixir supplied to him by the Englishman Menghin. To put an end once for all to the rumours and conjectures the Cardinal Camerlengo Rezzonico had a detailed report on the Pope's illness and death prepared by the two doctors who had attended the Pope during his illness and the surgeon who had been present at the autopsy.[1] This medical certificate, which was confirmed on oath, stated that no poisoning had taken place and that the cause of the Pope's death was internal, not external or extraneous.[2] When, several years later, a celebrated toxicologist was shown Saliceti's opinion and the post-mortem report he gave his professional opinion as follows :—

1. Owing to the extreme scantiness of the data and the complete absence of scientific principles in the statements made by the medical attendants relative to the course of the illness and the post-mortem examination, it is impossible to give a definite opinion on the cause of the said Pope's death.

2. The fact that Ganganelli had suffered for a long time from extremely obstinate cutaneous eruptions, ulcers in the mouth, hoarseness, and scorbutic loosening of the gums, gives ground for thinking that he was subject to a chronic complaint, that to remedy these conditions he took an

procedeano dal veleno ; per gli altri incomodi della sfogazione col sudore si sarebbe liberato ".

[1] *Centomani to Tanucci on October 4, 1774 : The talk about the late Pope's having been poisoned has much decreased " dopo che si è reso certo dell'abuso da lui fatto delli potenti elisir fatti venire da Inghilterra ". Some of the Cardinals had instructed Saliceti to render a precise report " per smentire totalmente detta falsa voce ". *Ibid.*, Esteri-Roma, 1225.

[2] The report in Italian and German in LEBRET, V., 305 *seqq.* *Cf.* GINZEL, *Kirchenhist. Schriften*, II., 271 *seq.* On October 25, 1774, Centomani forwarded the *' Relazione ufficiale sulla morte del Papa ' with the observation " Niente veleno, affermano i due chirurgi di Palazzo e Saliceti ". *Loc. cit.*, Esteri-Roma, 1225. There are also *copies of the brief and full reports in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

excessive amount of mercury, as was often done in those days, and that chiefly through this last practice he induced the aforesaid symptoms in the mouth.

3. It is possible that he was suffering at the same time from a cancer of the stomach, and it is very probable that in the final stages this was accompanied by ascites and inflammation of the lungs.

4. It is impossible to determine whether or not poisoning took place, owing to the complete absence of evidence on which a judgment could be based. Although such a thing is not impossible it does not appear to be very probable, as diseased conditions were present, such as dropsy and inflammation of the lungs, which in themselves were capable of producing death.

5. All the symptoms which were observed on the outside of the corpse after death were merely the symptoms of decomposition, which set in rapidly owing to the dropsical condition of the corpse and the high temperature of the atmosphere at the time. They offer no evidence on which to determine the cause of death and it is entirely incorrect to connect them with any previous poisoning.[1]

Many contemporaries, including even Cardinal Bernis, did indeed persist in maintaining that the Pope had been poisoned, but they were unable to produce a shred of evidence in support of their opinion.[2] A report ascribed to Moñino, in which, on

[1] GINZEL, *loc. cit.*, 249. There was already talk of cancer in the Lucchese report of September 21, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 388), and in the "Relazione" in *Colleçcão*, III., 222.

[2] MASSON, 393 *seqq.* If those who held the poisoning theory relied on the evidence given by the Franciscan General, Marzoni, who was alone with Clement XIV. when he died, it should be known that on July 27, 1775, Marzoni stated on oath that in no manner and at no time had Clement XIV. told him that he had been poisoned or that he had noticed any sign of poisoning. See the text of the statement in CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, V.[3], 329. Marzoni's printed circular letter on the Pope's death was forwarded by *Centomani to Tanucci on October 7, 1774 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1225).

the strength of the symptoms described in a medical work by Paolo Zacchia, it was asserted that there had been poisoning, was never written by the ambassador.[1] Moñino's real opinion is to be found in the letter he wrote to the Marquis Grimaldi, the Spanish Secretary of State, on September 29th. In this he said, "The rumours and the general suspicion of the people that the death was not due to natural causes were increased by the various signs visible on the corpse and by other inductive evidence." Moñino, who found the report on the autopsy too short, did all he could to discover the truth, but he could find no definite evidence.[2] In none of the contemporary reports in which it was maintained that a poisoning had taken place was any sound evidence produced. Those in which the opposite view was held were very numerous and included some that were written by anti-Jesuits.[3] Thus Tanucci wrote on October 11th, 1774, to King Charles III. of Spain that Moñino had doubtless reported on the conjectures and the rumour of a poisoning by the Jesuits, but after examining precise and detailed reports from Rome he (Tanucci) had arrived at the opinion that the only poison the Jesuits had given the Pope was to make him believe that he was poisoned, and the antidotes he took in consequence caused his death. Tanucci wrote in a similar vein to Grimaldi on November 1st, 1774.[4] Then in December, 1774, the news was

[1] FERRER DEL RIO, II., 504; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 585 *seq.*; GINZEL, 245 *seq.*; DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*[4], 71. The report in question was the "Relazione" cited above in n. 1, p. 536.

[2] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 72; MASSON, 294.

[3] DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 73.

[4] *Ibid.*, 75. *Cf.* DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 597 *seq.* Tanucci says in a letter to Nefetti of October 4, 1774: "Non crediate ucciso il Papa da altri che dal suo pensar fratescho; bon uomo ma non filosofo; ha sospettato un male, che ha voluto curare, lo ha curato troppo e male, ond' è venuto il male vero. Non è nuovo che si muori per mala medicina. Lasciamo maturare il suo successore . . . Fanfaronata delle solite è la vendetta di sant' Ignazio, che dicon cotesti o furbi, o fanatici, o delusi." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6025. To Catanti *Tanucci wrote

published in the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, the Jansenist organ in Utrecht, that the Pope had been poisoned by the Jesuits.[1] But this made no impression on those who had been close to events. Tanucci wrote to a friend in August of the following year, "Ganganelli was a good man who did not deserve to die so quickly. In the pell-mell of the Jesuit question there were and still are many criminal characters and many fanatics capable of administering poison, but I adhere to my opinion that the Jesuits themselves are the authors of the poisoning story, for it serves their purpose of making people afraid of them and of displaying their power, just as women are not displeased by being thought to be of easy virtue, for this shows that men like them and it entices them to compete for their favours." [2]

Tanucci is here repeating the opinion held by the Neapolitan agent Centomani shortly after Clement XIV.'s death, that the pro-Jesuits had floated the rumour about the poisoning so as to realize their "diabolical plans" of making princes fearful of their lives.[3]

Cordara thinks that Bontempi originated the rumour about

on October 11, 1774: "Non col veneno hanno li gesuiti ucciso il Papa, ma con farglielo credere. Egli è morto di medicina." *Ibid.*, Estado, 6024. He *wrote in the same sense to Centomani on October 8 and to Viviani *on the 11th, adding: "Li stolidi che lo credono [poisoning by the Jesuits] sono di tutti li generi." *Ibid.*

[1] The article which appeared in the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* for December 19, 1774, is reproduced in *Colleçcão*, III., 230 *seq.*

[2] *Tanucci to Nefetti, August 8, 1775: "Ganganelli fu un buon uomo; non meritava di morir tanto presto. Nel guazzabuglio gesuitico erano e sono molti scellerati e molti fanatici, laonde quel veleno può essere; io però persisto nel credere che li stessi gesuiti siano autori della fama del veleno, anche non vero: serve l'opinione ad atterrire e a mostrar potenza, come non dispiace alle femine l'esser credute p. . ., perchè indica che piacciono agli uomini e gli alletta a concorrere." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6025.

[3] *Letters to Tanucci of October 4 and 11, 1774 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1225).

Clement XIV. being poisoned by the Jesuits. "The Superiors of the Jesuit Order," he says, "had already been imprisoned in the Castel S. Angelo for over a year, and the rest of them, even supposing that they were capable of so heinous a crime, would not have been so silly as to commit such a deed when everything was lost. But the authority of this one friar was not so great that he could persuade anyone to believe so incredible a story. Consequently the Cardinals treated the rumour as an utterly ridiculous calumny." [1] Modern research also has very rightly condemned the talk about Clement XIV.'s poisoning as a calumnious fable.[2]

The death of his exalted protector brought Bontempi's career to an end. Knowing full well how hated he had made himself in Rome he left the Papal palace as speedily as he could, taking with him, it was said, some important documents. Moñino, who sent his carriage to fetch him, afforded his

[1] CORDARA, 152. Even the compiler of the violently anti-Jesuit *Ragguaglio della vita, azioni e virtù di Clemente XIV.* (Firenze, 1775) says on p. 80 that it could not be maintained with any certainty that poisoning had taken place. Not so Caracciolo (DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 78 *seq.*).

[2] SCHOELL, *Cours d'hist. des États européens*, XLIV., 85; LAFUENTE, *Hist. de España*, XIV., Barcelona, 1889, 259; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 518; UGOLINI in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, N. S. IV., 1, 183; REUMONT, *Ganganelli*, 70; DANVILA Y COLLADO, III., 588 *seq.*; of more recent writers, most convincingly, MASSON, 297 *seqq.* *Cf.* GENDRY in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, LI. (1892), 429. The poisoning theory is rejected also by CAPPELLETTI in his *Il conclave del 1774 e la satira a Roma* (separately reprinted from *Bilychnis*, VII., Roma, 1918, 3). RANKE (*Päpste*, III.[3], 201 *seqq.*) disdains even to mention the fable. Criticisms of the few writers who clung to the story, such as HUBER (*Jesuitenorden*, 552) and USCHNER (*Klemens XIV.*, Berlin, 1866), are in GINZEL (*loc. cit.*, 250) and DUHR (*loc. cit.*, 78 *seq.*). We are not surprised to find that such a writer as D. SILVAGNI still maintains the truth of the rumour in his *La Corte e la Società Romana nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Roma, 1884, I., 221). Even LEWIN (*Gifte in der Weltgeschichte*, 516–520) rejects the poisoning theory and supports that of a chronic, cancerous disease of the internal organs.

protection also to Niccolò Bischi, who was no less detested on account of his administration of the corn supplies.[1] To the Dean of the Sacred College, Giovanni Francesco Albani, the Spanish ambassador addressed a solemnly worded letter saying that Bontempi and Bischi were under his king's protection and that he, the ambassador, hoped, the wisdom of the Sacred College being what it was, that no change had taken place regarding the suppression of the Jesuits and that a Pope would be elected who would prove to be a universal father. Otherwise the Spanish Government would renew its claims to Castro and Ronciglione and would have the Papal States invaded by Neapolitan troops. Albani replied that the College of Cardinals was not contemplating any change with regard to the Jesuit Order and the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo; it had not the right to revoke the dispositions taken by the late Pope. At the next election the Cardinals would procure a Supreme Head who would be approved by every Catholic country. As for Bontempi, he could not be called to account as he had not held any official position. The same applied to Bischi; an account of the administration of the corn supplies had to be rendered by the President of the administration. On receiving this reply Moñino regretted having acted so brusquely. He sought an interview with Albani and informed him that it was Spain's intention to act in concert with France in the conclave and that Bernis would

[1] *Tiepolo to the Doge, September 24, 1774, State Archives, Venice, *loc. cit.* "*Queda entregado al P. Maestro Buontempi el titulo de Predicador, que V. E. se sirve remitirme con su carta de 22 de este mes. Este religioso ha tenido grandisimo consuelo y me pide que V. E. le ponga á los pies del Rey . . . Ya no tendrá que hacer uso alguno de esta gracia, porque Roma, segun su costumbre, empieza á olvidar enteramente á este hombre, y vendrá dia en que le hecherá menos. El se halla indispuesto, segun todas las apariencias padece la misma enfermedad que el Papa. Se trata la curacion con toda reserva, hasta que Dios quiere descubrir al mundo, si verdaderamente ha avido algun misterio de iniquidad." Moñino to Grimaldi, December 15, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5043.

be empowered to represent both Courts. As Moñino showed no interest in Macedonio and Alfani, although they had been accused of serious offences, the Neapolitan agent Centomani took up their case without being commissioned to do so by his Government. Albani assured him that no steps would be taken against Macedonio, but as for Alfani, many of the Cardinal's colleagues were for suspending him from the office of Uditore to the conclave, which office was joined with that of Uditore to the Segnatura. The General Congregation of the Cardinals, however, went no further in the matter.[1]

Bontempi, keeping in close touch with Moñino, had taken refuge in the house of the General of his Order at SS. Apostoli. Here he showed the General Marzoni two Briefs written by Clement XIV. The first relieved him of all dependence on his Superior and gave him permission to choose whatever convent he liked. The second gave him the faculty to secularize himself as often as he wished. Bontempi then produced a third Brief confirming him in the possession of all his belongings. The General responded curtly that all he needed now was a fourth Brief to set his conscience at rest and save his soul.[2] Tanucci approved of Centomani's action and said that Bischi would do best to retire to some country under Bourbon supremacy.[3] Bontempi, realizing that Rome was no place for him, made use of his Brief of secularization and left for Monte Porzio in the Alban Hills, where, consumed with remorse and quaking with fear, he eked out a miserable existence.[4]

It was the custom at Papal exequies to affix to the

[1] See Centomani's *report of September 26, 1774, *loc. cit.*, Appendix 3k.

[2] See Centomani's report cited above (n. 1).

[3] *Tanucci to Centomani, October 8, 1774, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6024.

[4] *"Sta sospettoso rimordendogli la coscienza, giacchè prende timore degli alberi prendendogli per tanti uomini posti in aguato per trucidarlo, onde prima della calata del sole ritorna alla sua abitazione," Centomani reported to Tanucci on October 18, 1774, State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1225.

catafalque inscriptions setting out the principal deeds performed by the deceased. Those chosen for Clement XIV.'s catafalque were connected with the foundation of the Museum Clementinum, the enrichment of the Vatican Library, the recovery of Avignon and Benevento, the beatification of Francesco Caracciolo and the Franciscan Conventual Bonaventura of Potenza, and the return to union with Rome of the Nestorian Patriarch Simeon and other schismatics.[1] The suppression of the Jesuits was passed over in an eloquent silence. Nor was there any mention of it in the panegyric. Whereas usually there were any number of applicants for the honour of pronouncing the funeral oration, on this occasion it was only with difficulty that a suitable personage—Francesco Bonamici, Secretary of the Latin Briefs—was found to accept the duty. This silence with regard to the suppression greatly disturbed Tanucci [2]; it had been expressly enjoined by the Camerlengo, who, like most of the other Cardinals, had not been consulted by the late Pope on this highly important step and now gave public expression to his disapproval.[3]

[1] *Ragguaglio della vita di Clemente XIV.*, 85 *seqq.*

[2] *Tanucci to Centomani, October 8, 1774, *loc. cit.*

[3] Centomani says in his *letter to Tanucci of October 18, 1774 (*loc. cit.*) that the College of Cardinals did not allow the suppression of the Jesuit Order to be mentioned in the inscriptions on the catafalque or in the funeral oration. There was also a personal incident that occurred in connexion with the exequies. The return of Avignon was represented by an emissary kneeling before Clement XIV., and on the emissary's cloak were visible the lilies of France. Bernis and the other Bourbon representatives refused to allow this. See Masson, 302, n. 2. A *report of Centomani's to Tanucci, of October 11, 1774 (*loc. cit.*), contains the following passage: "I tre Ministri borbonici con identico biglietto fecero togliere dal catafalco le insegne Reali e i gigli del mantello. Nessuna menzione della Soppressione nè intorno al corpo del Pontefice, nè nella Orazione funebre, che non sarà stampata forse per diminuire la vergogna di una tale preterizione." Moñino's *note to the Camerlengo Rezzonico, of October 1, 1774, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. In spite of this the panegyric did appear in printed form.

During the vacancy of the Papal See Rome was flooded with an unusually large number of satires, which were aimed not only at Bontempi and Bischi, but even quite directly against the late Pope. Clement XIV. was attacked and insulted in the most violent and malicious fashion.[1] In one pamphlet the following pictures appeared in the form of a pyramid: the Bull *In Coena Domini* thrown on the ground, encircled with the words "Destroyer of the Sacred Canons"; an altar with the statue of Jupiter Verospi, with a Jew and an Anglican in front, and the legend below, "Worshipper of Idols." Below a picture of the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo were the words "Persecutor of the clergy", while the last picture showed a number of Religious stripped of their habits, with the legend, "Devastator of monasteries." At the base of the whole design was the name of the physician Adinolfi, with the title "Liberator of the City and the World".[2] In a sonnet entitled "Clement XIV. reproved by St. Peter" the Pope was accused of having surrendered the rights of the Church, of having surrounded himself with persons of the lowest degree, who had plundered the treasure, and in his efforts to save the bark of St. Peter, of having handed it over to its enemies. In another sonnet it was said that only the Jansenists of Utrecht could say Mass for Fra Lorenzo Ganganelli, surnamed Clement XIV.[3] Naturally there was no lack of scornful observations on the "peace", for which so heavy a price in the way of appeasement had been paid, having

[1] See Appendix 4 for Brunati's *report of October 2, 1774, State Archives, Florence. *Cf.* *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 15, 1774, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Besides the satires cited in the notes that follow, *cf.* also the long "*Iscrizione satirica contro i cardinali, ministri, prelati, frati, autori, fautori ed agenti della soppressione della Compagnia". State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1481. This satire of 1774 is reminiscent of earlier ones: "Venit ut vulpes (mendax). Regnavit ut lupus (false), Mortuus est ut canis (impie)." See L. MORANDI, *I sonetti romaneschi di G. G. Belli* (Città di Castello, 1889), CLXXXIX.

[2] THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 523 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 524 *seqq.*

brought nothing but the recovery of two portions of the Papal States. Even Clement's morals, which were really far above suspicion, were dragged in the slime, the late Pope being designated as " worse than Pharaoh and Beelzebub ".[1] This plague of satires went on even after the opening of the conclave; one dramatic composition that appeared in the course of the conclave was of such a nature that the Cardinals had to have it publicly burned by the executioner along with other satires and malicious pamphlets.[2] The Bourbon representatives made no move whatever to protect the memory of the Pope who had been so complaisant with them.

The causes of the odium which Clement XIV. had incurred and the confusion in which he left the affairs of the Holy See were discussed by the Imperial agent Brunati in his report of October 2nd. He ascribed the confusion to the Pope's inertia—he had not written two hundred lines in the whole of his pontificate and had not read fifty—and to the misdoings of his incompetent and dishonest favourites, who were allowed to rule with despotic power.[3] This complaint in general terms about Clement XIV.'s inertia is completely unjustified[4] and the satirists were outrageously unjust in doubting the sincerity of his motives and in representing his interest in the Vatican Museum as the encouragement of paganism. But there were good grounds for the complaint

[1] *Ibid.*, 324 *seq.*

[2] MASSON, 307 *seq.* See also SILVAGNI, I., 246–267, and CAPPELLETTI, *loc. cit.*, 5 *seqq.*, for the play by the Abbé Gaetano Sertor of Florence, entitled " Il Conclave ", which was particularly hostile towards Bernis, Zelada, Negroni, and Giraud.

[3] See Brunati's *report in the Appendix 4.

[4] For Clement XIV.'s activity, especially in the first years of his pontificate, see Chapter II. It was only during his water-cure and his residence at Castel Gandolfo that the Pope refrained from business as far as possible, and then again during his last illness. The complaints voiced by Brunati and others were due partly to Clement XIV.'s failure to publish the Cardinals reserved *in petto*. Brunati was already *complaining about this on January 26, 1774 (State Archives, Vienna).

raised by many other contemporaries, including even Bernis, about Clement XIV.'s mode of government. Brunati says of this that the Ministers had great difficulty in obtaining an audience and when they did present themselves the Pope gave them no time to speak ; they had to leave their requests behind in writing, which were then passed to Bontempi. In such a system of government, said Brunati, there was all the more need of competent Ministers whom the Pope could trust and to whom he could leave the settlement of affairs. But the opposite was the case. The Secretary of State, Pallavicini, was so insignificant that the Pope paid him no attention, and there was no other Minister in whom the Pope confided ; in fact the whole College of Cardinals was completely ignored. All decisions were left to the all-powerful and despotic Bontempi. So that he could rule undisturbed the practice was introduced of having every matter decided by rescripts from the Secretary of the Memorials, even when it should have gone to the Congregation of the Council or to that of the Bishops, or to the Vicariate, or to the Penitentiary.[1]

The equally sorry picture which Brunati sketched of the government of the Papal States was also true to fact. A friend of Bontempi's, Niccolò Bischi, had unrestricted control of the provisioning of Rome and the grain trade. The directors of the various departments were simply figureheads.[2] It was calculated that a million *scudi* passed through Bischi's hands, and the only account he had to render of them was a general one, for which he had the Pope's authorization written in his own hand. According to Brunati, Bischi prevented certain

[1] Brunati's complaints about Bontempi's segregation of the Pope in his *reports of August 6, 13, and 20, 1774 (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] There were popular disturbances at Marino and other places on account of Bischi's maladministration of the corn supplies. *Cf.* *Centomani to Tanucci on October 6 and 9, 1772 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1221), and *Moñino to Grimaldi on October 22, 1772 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). For the lowering of the taxes, *cf.* the *report of May 31, 1769 (State Archives, Vienna).

clerics from being made Cardinals, the most notable instance being De Vecchis, who was thought to be certain of the honour but who Bischi feared would expose his fraudulent administration. Along with other witnesses Brunati held Alfani responsible for the harsh treatment of the Jesuits locked up in the Castel S. Angelo; his influence with the Pope was so great, said Brunati, that it was he and not the Congregation of Cardinals who had taken the decision.[1]

In Brunati's gloomy picture there was only one bright spot: the improved relations with the Courts, of whose displeasure Clement, according to Brunati, was in the greatest dread. In general, these relations were in the skilful hands of Cardinal Zelada, though even he was not entirely trusted by the Pope, who not infrequently, though with the greatest secrecy, took counsel of Cardinals Negroni and Simone. It is not surprising, therefore, that Clement XIV. was not remembered with affection or respect by any class of Roman citizen and that even those who had been in his confidence spoke ill of him.[2]

Brunati is not alone in his judgment; the Polish envoy Antici also gives as the reasons for the poor reputation Clement XIV. left behind him in Rome his scanty respect for the Cardinals, his blind confidence in persons of the type of Bontempi and Bischi, and the suppression of the Jesuits.[3]

[1] Appendix 4. Bischi, who subsequently received from Spain a monthly allowance of 125 *scudi* (*Grimaldi to Nicola Bischi, October 14, 1778, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), was found guilty of embezzlement under Pius VI. (BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 94). *Cf.* MASSON, 197, n. 5, and 290; also *Centomani to Tanucci on October 6, 1772, and December 3, 1773 (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1221 and 1223). *Ibid.*, 1224, his *report of September 20, 1774, on the financial situation: "Un cardinale mi disse che in Camera Apostolica non vi è un quattrino per le spese del conclave, ne anche vi è grano sufficiente per Roma, e pur quel poco è di cattiva qualità. Per tutto lo Stato vi è positiva penuria di grano, legumi ed anche d'olio."

[2] Appendix 4.

[3] Garampi made the following note on October 7, 1774, on the receipt from the King of Poland of Antici's report on the death

This one act was enough for the enemies of the Order and the representatives of an anti-clerical enlightenment to laud the Pope to the skies. Even in the course of 1774 there appeared on both sides of the Alps panegyrical biographies of Clement XIV. in which the tastelessness of the encomia was surpassed only by their falsity. They extolled him as a "*grand esprit*" and placed him on a level with the most famous rulers of the age—Maria Theresa, Catherine the Great, and Frederick the Great—for having accomplished a work which would make his name immortal: the suppression of the powerful and firmly established Order of the Jesuits.[1] This unbridled glorification could only harm the memory of Clement XIV. When the enemies of the Jesuits were imprudent enough to ascribe even the working of miracles to the late Pope[2] and

of Clement XIV.: "*Dice Antici che niun papa è morto a' giorni nostri con tanta esecrazione che questo pel disprezzo che mostrava che avea per i cardinali, per le promozioni si eccessivamente segrete, per il predominio che ne avea Buontempi, per il cieco favore accordato a Bischi, che credesi aver defraudato l'Annona, e per la soppressione fatta de' Gesuiti." *Diario di Garampi.* Fondo Garampi, 73, p. 1059, Papal Secret Archives. Outside Rome, too, the judgment was anything but favourable. "*Povero Ganganelli," wrote Vincenzo Segneri from Bologna to a friend on September 28, 1774, "obiit ingloriosus. Niente ha fatto, ma ha fatto solamente disfatto." State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, $\frac{313}{1058}$.

[1] *Leben Klemens' XIV.* I., Berlin and Leipzig, 1774, 3, 5, *cf.* II., 129 *seq.*

[2] *Moñino reported on this to Grimaldi on July 20, 1775 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome): Rome was flooded with miracle-stories now instead of satires. *Ibid.* a *letter from Grimaldi to Moñino, of August 8, 1775, saying how Charles III. laughed at the stories of miracles. *Cf.* the acrid criticism of these tendencies in a *letter from A. Muzzarelli to a "Signora Ferrarese", undated (1774–5), in Regolari, Gesuiti, II., Papal Secret Archives. A work appearing in Germany (*De miraculis Clementis XIV. commodisque mendicantium ex abolita Societate Jesu,* Francoforti, undated) was countered by the *Notizie interessanti la sacra persona del gran pontefice O. M. Clemente XIV. con*

to talk of his canonization, the other side pointed bluntly to his great weaknesses and his timidity.[1] Some attacks on him, such as that of the Spanish ex-Jesuit Bruno Marti, were so violent that Pius VI. had to prohibit their production in the Papal States.[2] The prophecy made in a work of 1775 that Clement XIV. would be known in history as "the Great"[3] has not been fulfilled. With the opening of the archives the glorification of Clement XIV. came to an end. The more the authentic sources came to light the less favourable was the judgment passed on him. When we look back on his pontificate as revealed by an examination of the archives, we must agree

l'aggiunta in fine di alcune lettere dello stesso non più stampate. Opera d'un teologo italiano. Lugano, 1778. On pp. 64–173 are reproduced the *Notizie più sicure relative a varie prodigiose guarigioni seguite in varie parti a intercessione della S. M. di Clemente XIV.*

[1] "*Processo per introduzione della causa di canonizzazione di Fra Lorenzo Ganganelli detto Clemente XIV.," a MS. of 58 pages, which I saw in Luzietti's bookshop in Rome in 1902. It denied the virtues ascribed to Ganganelli. The author treated: "(1) della fede di Fra Lorenzo" (or his "credulità" with regard to the prophecies about his death); (2) "Della speranza; (3) and (4) Della carità; (5) Della prudenza; (6) Della giustizia; (7) Della fortezza; (8) Della temperanza; (9) Della saviezza; (10) Della estimazione del s. Collegio; (11) his lack of respect for his Court."

[2] The work was entitled *Lettere del vescovo N. in Francia al cardinale N. in Roma.* The author was arrested in Ferrara. For this and the prohibition of the work as being "ingiuriosa a Clemente XIV.", see Pallavicini's *letter to the nuncio in Vienna, of March 29, 1777, Nunziat. di Germania, 667, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Uriarte, *Obras anónimas y seudónimas*, I., Madrid, 1914, 396–8, n. 1169; Sommervogel, V., 617; Rivière, n. 1690; Masson, 339.

[3] *Der Geist Klemens' XIV. . . . als Anhang zum Leben Klemens' XIV.*, London, 1775, 21, where it is said, "He was great as a friar, great as a consultor and cardinal, great as the supreme head of the Church and as sovereign, great as a genius and as a scholar, and great as a man and a Christian."

in essentials with the biographer of Cardinal Bernis when he writes, "A weak character and of only mediocre intellect, Lorenzo Ganganelli was given a position to which he was incapable of doing justice. Ambition led him into taking compromising steps which affected his whole attitude. The responsibility he undertook crushed him and the doubts to which he fell a prey exhausted an organism already weakened by old age and monastic discipline. Accustomed to the secluded, peaceful, simple life of a Franciscan, he found himself suddenly transported to a scene in which he imagined he could win all parties to himself with the artifices of the convent. But all his little ruses failed him when confronted with the immovable will of the princes; he had to deal with finished diplomats who led him imperceptibly, step by step, into a position where it was impossible for him to break the golden chains with which he had been bound. And when he thought that he had at least gained time with his promises there appeared the stern, arid, frigid Moñino, to carry the day by force. If Clement XIV. now flattered himself that he had at least recovered Avignon for the Holy See, it was to cost him a great deal of trouble. His position as friar was too low, as Pope too high, for him to be at home in the Roman milieu. A grim hostility was reserved for the son of a country doctor who was thought to be oppressing the Romans for the benefit of foreigners. This universal dislike of himself, which was displayed even at religious ceremonies by the absence of the Cardinals and prelates, he had to face alone, alone with Bontempi, who had been bought by Spanish gold, Fra Francesco, who was in the pay of Portugal, and Bischi, who was open to bribes from any quarter. He had all the virtues of a Religious: purity of morals, piety, modesty, probity, and thrift, but he was incapable of forming an entourage that was worthy of his dignity as Pope and would loyally support him. In destroying the Jesuits, the Church's trusty bodyguard, he seemed to ignore the fact that as Pope he ought to have respected them and that as a man he would have to fear them. He was assailed by pangs of conscience and a racking fear, but there was no one to give him comfort and

courage but his hireling confidants and the diplomats. His enemies battened on his fear and spread abroad false prophecies in which his death, which he feared so much, was daily predicted. The people of Rome, whom he loved and who, he hoped, would love him for his good intentions towards them, turned away from him like all the rest. He suspected poison everywhere and found it. His spirits exhausted, his soul robbed of its energy, his body diseased, death found him an easy victim."[1] This then was Clement XIV., one of the weakest and most unhappy of the long line of Popes, and yet one most deserving of sympathy, for though filled with the best intentions he failed in almost everything, being quite unfitted to deal with the extraordinarily difficult situation.[2] A contemporary criticism of him still holds good: "Clement XIV. lacked the qualities necessary for the good government of either Church or State. His great weaknesses, ambition and timidity, made him the laughing-stock and the slave of others. He will be known only for the serious wound he inflicted on the Church by the suppression of the Jesuits."[3] Few Popes had been so yielding to the princes and so hard towards the Cardinals. Thus it was that he displeased everybody, except the Bourbons, who were already doomed to destruction.

For a long time it looked as if Clement XIV. was to have no monument for his tomb. He had left the worst impression on the Cardinals, and he would not hear of any "nephews",[4]

[1] MASSON, 297 *seqq.*

[2] After his election Clement XIV. is said to have summed up this situation with the words "The Church of Rome is on its Calvary." (*v.* CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 404).

[3] "*Egli non avea talenti per buon governo, nè nella Chiesa, nè nelli Stati. I suoi difetti erano assai grandi e fra questi la sua ambizione e la sua timidezza lo resero ridicolo e schiavo degli altrui voleri. Sarà questo Papa per non altro celebre che per aver fatto magna piaga alla Chiesa colla distruzione dei gesuiti." These were the concluding words of the "Processo" cited on p. 548, n. 1.

[4] According to the *Ragguaglio della vita di Clemente XIV.*, Firenze, 1775, 90, Clement XIV.'s estate consisted of "Patenti

which indeed was a creditable idiosyncrasy. He had not been on good terms with the other members of his Order, and the Bontempi and the Bischi wanted all the money they had amassed for themselves. That a monument was finally erected to his memory was due to the devotion of Carlo Giorgi, a "mercante di campagna" who through Clement's favour had become a wealthy man and was the only person to remain loyal to him after his death. Giorgi put down 12,000 *scudi* for a monument to be set up in SS. Apostoli [1] and in 1783 commissioned the young Canova with the work. Canova had come to Rome in the same year, 1779, in which death had deprived the city of the most celebrated artist of his time, Anton Raffael Mengs. Canova had already won renown with his "Theseus overcoming the Minotaur" and

di 538 luoghi di Monte, scudi 1500 incirca in cedole, contanti, e medaglie d'oro e d'argento, moltissimi rari quadri acquistati da S. S^tà^ per regali fattigli da' principi e da privati personaggi, 3000 oncie incirca d'argento lavorato, 4 casse di squisito tabacco di Spagna, un gran numero di porcellane di varie fabbriche e specialmente i bellissimi candelieri e statue della fabbrica di Sassonia regalatili dalla Reale Elettrice vedova. Vi furono inoltre ritrovate trenta fra pianete e tonacelle d'un grandissimo valore, una gran quantità di biancheria finissima tanto in pezze che in opera ed un prezioso anello con zaffiro contornato di grossi brillanti per non parlare della copia d'altri generi con molti altri preziosissimi che furono trovati e descritti colla prefata assistenza [the Maggiordomo was assisted by some other officials] nel Palazzo Pontificio del Quirinale. Tutta questa ricca eredità venne in possesso del predetto sgr. abbate Fabbri sebbene, considerato quel molto di più che avrebbe potuto, sì esso che la di lui casa, acquistare quando il gran Clemente non fosse stato sempre contrario al nepotismo, era certamente una scarsa porzione di ricchezza." So Tanucci had reason to *write to Centomani on October 8, 1774: "L'eredità di 70.000 scudi fa onore al papa." Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6024. The Abbé Geronimo Fabbri was the "unico sobrino que ha dejado Clemente XIV. en la carrera eclesiastica", Moñino wrote to Grimaldi on August 17, 1775 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[1] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 404; NOVAES, XV., 218.

he confirmed it with his monument of Clement XIV., which took him four years to complete.[1]

The monument was erected at the end of the left aisle of the said basilica, over the entrance to the sacristy, where unfortunately, owing to the poor light, it cannot be fully appreciated. It is in two parts. Over one side of a sarcophagus in the antique style is bowed the figure of "Temperance"; at the other side is the seated figure of "Benevolence" in an attitude of grief. Behind the sarcophagus rises a pedestal inscribed simply "Clemens XIIII. Pont. Max." and bearing the over-life-size figure of the Pope. Clothed in the Papal robes and wearing the triple tiara, Clement sits enthroned, his right hand far outstretched, not in the act of blessing but as a gesture of command, in the style of a Roman emperor. The impression of energy is strengthened by the position of the left hand, which rests securely on the arm of the throne. Although the statue fails to reproduce the character of the deceased[2] this first monumental creation of classicism in Rome possesses values which are universally recognized: noble simplicity, clear composition, perfect harmony of architecture and sculpture. Art-historians are agreed that with his first Papal monument Canova had blazed a new trail for funereal sculpture.[3]

[1] MISSIRINI, *Vita di A. Canova*, Prato, 1824, 51 *seqq.*; LÜCKE in DOHME, *Kunst und Künstler des* 19. *Jahrhunderts* (1886), 7 *seqq.*; A. G. MEYER, *Canova*, Bielefeld, 1898, 18 *seq.*; MALAMANI, *Canova*, Milano, 1920, 27 *seqq.*; MACKOWSKY, *J. G. Schadows Jugend und Aufstieg*, Berlin, 1927, 105 *seqq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 404; ESCHER, 172; SANTILLI, *La basilica de' SS. Apostoli*, Roma, 1925, 86–91.

[2] GREGOROVIUS, *Grabmäler*, 93.

[3] Mayer's judgment in MACKOWSKY (*loc. cit.*). In a letter of April 17, 1787, Francesco Milizia expresses the admiration of the younger school as opposed to the elder one of the Michelangelists, Berninists, and Borrominists. "In their design, expression, and drapery, these three statues would seem to have been chiselled in the best periods of Greek art. And all the accessories, the symbols, the architecture, are of the same noble simplicity. . . . No sinuosities

The monument was completed and set up in SS. Apostoli by the end of April, 1787,[1] but it was not till January, 1802, that the body of Clement XIV. was moved very quietly from St. Peter's to this basilica.[2] This was in the reign of Pius VII., who with his Constitution of August 7th, 1814, revoked the Brief of July 21st, 1773, and ordained the complete restoration of the Society of Jesus, since "as it seemed to him, it would be a serious offence in the eyes of God to withhold any longer in such troublous times these powerful and experienced oarsmen from the bark of the Church." [3] If these words of Pius VII., a son of the Benedictine Order, were an indirect condemnation of Clement XIV.'s principal act, on the ground that the well-being of the whole Church had been gravely injured by the suppression of the famous Order, some Protestant historians concur in such a judgment when they describe the destruction of the Jesuit Order, extorted by Spain, as "directly contrary to the interests of the Papacy".[4]

and projections, no fretwork or volutes, no asperities or extravagances, not even flowers, festoons, and gilding, and certainly no variegated marbles. Of all the many monuments that I know, both to Popes and to others, there is not one that is superior either in whole or in part, in invention or in execution. . . . And this time my eyes do not deceive me, for apart from the general praise lavished on Canova by the whole people, who wish him health, wealth, and honour, I hear also the judgment of most intelligent artists, that of all modern works this is the nearest to antiquity." See MISSIRINI, *loc. cit.*, 59 *seq.*

[1] Report of the envoy from Lucca, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 424.

[2] NOVAES, XV., 217.

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, VII., 1097.

[4] Thus G. KRÜGER, *Das Papsttum, seine Idee und ihre Träger*, Tübingen, 1907, 125. Others hold far stronger views.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

1. THE CONCLAVE OF 1769

(*a*) Plan de Conduite approuvé par les Cardinaux de Luynes, Orsini et de Bernis

1. On s'occupera essentiellement et journellement à assurer et à augmenter s'il est possible le nombre des voix nécessaires pour former l'exclusive, et pour cela on verra frequemment les Cardinaux dont les voix sont promises pour cet objet. 2. On ne gênera personne sur l'inclusive et l'on ne sollicitera aucun suffrage à cet egard, que dans le cas où l'on verroit qu'elle est presque déjà formée en faveur d'un sujèt agréable aux Cours. De cette manière la conscience est en repos. 3. On ne declarera l'opposition franche des Cours à l'election d'un sujet que lorsqu'on verra qu'il pourroit réussir et nous enlever quelques voix necessaires pour l'exclure par la voie du scrutin. Hors de ce cas on se contentera d'affaiblir son parti en laissant entendre qu'il pourroit trouver des obstacles de la part des Couronnes. 4. C'est au Card. Doyen que les Ministres des Couronnes s'adresseront pour faire connoître avec plus ou moins d'étendue (selon l'exigence des cas) l'opposition des Couronnes à l'élection des sujèts papables. Ceux des Cardinaux qui demanderont des explications sur cet objet seront renvoyés au Card. Doyen pour les recevoir. La prudence du Card. Cavalchini saura adoucir l'amertume inévitable dans ces sortes d'explications. On n'instruira des sentiments des Cours le Card. Lante que dans le cas où le Card. Cavalchini seroit hors d'éstat d'estre le centre de reunion, il faudra cependant faire à ce premier quelques confidences peu importantes pour qu'il soit content de nos procédés à son egard. On insistera fortement avec luy sur sa voix qu'il a promise. 5. On ne demandera aux Cardinaux Florentins que leur voix pour l'exclusive, et on leur faira entendre que nous nous unirons à eux pour le Card. Stoppani s'ils peuvent luy gagner assés de voix pour faire réussir son élection, en y joignant les nostres. 6. Nous declarerons

simplement au Card. Rezzonico que par estime pour ses vertus, nous entrerons dans ses vues autant que nos ordres et nos instructions pourroient nous le permettre! s'il demande des explications sur les sujets desagréables, nous le renverrons au doyen, qui nous rendra compte des questions du Card. Rezzonico, de Torrigiani, des Albani ou de Borromeo etc. et nous mettrons le doyen en estat de repondre à ces questions. On pourra faire entendre au Card. Rezzonico qu'il y a plusieurs creatures du dernier pape auxquelles les Cours ne sont point opposées; et qu'il ne tient qu'à lui de jouer un beau rosle et d'effacer les impressions facheuses. 7. On evitera soigneusement dans les conversations et dans les entretiens particuliers d'entrer en explication sur l'opposition des Cours à certains sujets, toute parole à cet egard est au moins inutile et presque toujours dangereuse. 8. Dans les moments de crise, nous affecterons toujours de n'avoir aucune crainte, nous eviterons les allées et les venues et tout ce qui annonce l'embarras. Tous les jours après le scrutin du matin nous nous assemblerons chés M. le Card. Orsini. Le conclave s'accoutumera à cette conference; au bout de quelques jours, elle ne faira plus d'effet. 9. Si le parti qui nous est opposé vouloit entrer en negotiation, le rendés-vous seroit chés le doyen, et nous y fairions entrer à egal nombre que nos adversaires les personnes que nous jugerions les plus capables de leur resister par la force des raisons et les plus propres à démêler les pièges qu'on pourroit nous tendre. 10. L'Ambassadeur de France et Mr Aspuru tiendront prestes les lettres d'autorisation sur chaque demarche d'éclat que la nécessité pourroit nous obliger à faire: il seroit bon pour éviter les surprises, que nous eussions bientôt une lettre par laquelle M. l'Ambassadeur nous autoriseroit à déclarer que si le Sacré Collège s'obstinoit à choisir pour Pape tels et tels sujèts qui seroient nommés dans cette lettre, les ministres respectifs sortiroient de Rome sans reconnoître le nouveau Pape. 11. Si l'exclusive de nos voix est bien assurée nous n'avons que faire d'employer des moyens de rigueur, et il faut s'occuper sérieusement du projet de n'en mettre aucun en usage: cela est possible au moyen de l'exclusive du scrutin. 12. Enfin si nous avions à craindre la desertion de quelques-unes de nos voix, et qu'on proposat un sujet qui ne fut pas absolument agréable aux Cours et avec lequel on put esperer de faire le Secretaire d'estat à notre

choix, nous conviendrions de nous joindre à luy (avec l'agrément de l'Ambassadeur du Roy et du Ministre d'Espagne) lesquels nous voyant tous les trois de la même opinion, nous autoriseroient formellement à l'élection du sujet en question.

Au reste nous menagerons tous nos amis et nous les cultiverons avec soin. On ne temoignera au Card. Pozzobonelli de la confiance, que dans le cas seulement où il changeroit de conduite avec nous et agiroit avec plus de concert. S'il demandoit d'estre mediateur, on ne refuseroit point ses offres, mais on s'ouvriroit à luy avec beaucoup de précaution.

Si la maladie du Card. Cavalchini a des suites facheuses, comme il n'est que trop à craindre, on s'adress[er]a au Card. Lante pour toutes les declarations d'un certain éclat, que nous aurons à faire. Le Card. André Corsini seroit notre négotiateur vis-à-vis du Card. Rezzonico, le Card. Malvezzi vis-à-vis des gens les plus sages, le Card. Pozzobonelli vis-à-vis des Cardinaux Milanois et Florentins.

In Jesuit possession, De suppressione f.[1]

(*b*) Orsini to Tanucci

May 5th, 1769.

. . . Prima d'ogni altro a tenore del dispaccio del Sig^r Marchese de Grimaldi del 7 Marzo, fu esaminato se facendosi l'istanza al Sacro Collegio per la soppressione, puoteva sperarsene un buon esito, e se conveniva farsi, e ponderate tutte le circostanze, concordemente fu risoluto, che non v'era luogo a proporsi ad effetto di non andare incontro ad una negativa, che sicuramente avrebbe data il Sacro Collegio, fondata sulla mancanza di facoltà. Indi si passò a discorrere della promessa in scritto di fare detta soppressione da ottenersi dalli Cardinali Marc Antonio Colonna, Serbelloni e Stoppani, dai due primi in virtù del dispaccio dei 21 Marzo, e dal terzo in seguito all'altro dispaccio degli 11 Aprile del Sig^r Marchese de Grimaldi. Su tal proposito, ambedue li Signori Cardinali Spagnoli, e particolarmente il Signor Cardinale de Solis dissero che aveano ordine di non concorrere in alcuno senza questa

[1] Bernis sent the plan to Choiseul on April 26 (*ibid.*, d.), and to Aubeterre on the 27th (Bernis to Aubeterre, April 26, 1769, *ibid.*, f.).

promessa in scritto, et avend' io interrogato detto Cardinale de Solis, se quest' ordine riguardava anche il Cardinale Sersale nel caso, mi disse di no ; l'interpellai se il Cardinale Sersale era l'unico eccettuato, o vi erano altri, rispose, che ve n'è qualche altro, ma non era ora il tempo di dirlo ; non andò più oltre il discorso sopra questo incidente ; e riassumendo il principale assunto il Signor Cardinale de Solis fece una longa, e dotta perorazione ad ogetto di dimostrare esser lecita questa promessa.

Successivamente prese la parola il Signor Cardinale de Luines, e dottamente perorò, provando che lui la credeva illecita, e simoniaca, mentre si prometteva il Triregno, e la Sovranità dello Stato Ecclesiastico, purchè promettesse una cosa spirituale, cioè la soppressione d'una religione, soggiungendo, che egli non intendeva farsi giudice sul sentimento del Sig^r Cardinale de Solis, ma che egualmente neppur egli puotea pretendere di dar giudizio sulla maniera di pensare di due Arcivescovi. Che se li Signori Cardinali Spagnoli vuoleano azzardare il passo, egli non gli avrebbe fatto minimo ostacolo, ed avrebbe osservato un alto segreto, senza però mai mescolarcisi. Che avendogli su di ciò motivato qualche cosa il Signore Ambasciatore di Francia, mandandogli anco una scrittura, tanto egli, che il Signor Cardinale de Bernis gli aveano risposto coi medesimi sentimenti, interrogandolo anche se aveane preciso ordine dalla Corte, al che il Signore Ambasciatore gli avea risposto, che ordine positivo non l'aveva, ma era stato un suo particolare pensiero. Che ciò non ostante, lungamente aveano scritto su quest' assunti li loro sentimenti al Signor Duca di Choiseul, e quand' anco gli fosse venuto detto ordine, non l'avrebbono eseguito ad ogetto di non macchiare la loro coscienza, e terminò il discorso colle stesse espressioni colle quali avea chiuso il biglietto del Sig^r Ambasciatore, che io preventivamente avevo letto, cioè, che se questo parlare lo rendeva sospetto puoteva il Re comandargli di uscire dal Conclave, essendo pronto a sortirne immediatamente, ed a tornarsene al suo Arcivescovato.

Il Sig^r Cardinale de Bernis, più brevemente disse lo stesso, dichiarandosi, che parlava come Arcivescovo d'Albi, e perciò nella gerarchia ecclesiastica era uguale al Cardinale de Luines. Indi parlai Jo, unendomi al sentimento dei Signori Cardinali Francesi, e riportandomi a quello che avevo scritto nei due

miei biglietti a Monsignore Azpuru, che il Cardinale de Solis confessò aver letto, e conchiusi che non avevo avuto ordine alcuno dalla mia Corte d'insistere su questo, anzi speravo, che Sua Maestà mai me l'avrebbe dato.

Dimostrato con ciò che l'istanza era illecita, riassunse il discorso il Signor Cardinale de Luines ad effetto di provare che neppure era eseguibile, mentre progettandosi ad un Cardinale di farlo Papa, purchè sottoscriva un foglio colla divisata promessa, se ricuserà, vorrà farsene merito cogli altri Cardinali, e fargli nota l'istanza, dal che ne seguirà, che perderemo quasi tutto il nostro partito. Puoteva anco domandare, se avevamo trentadue voti per farlo Papa, e allora avrebbe risposto: conveniva dirgli, che non ne abbiamo altro che 18 o 20 per l'esclusiva.

Finalmente se si fosse trovato un Cardinale che avesse sottosegnato, e poscia fosse anco stato eletto Papa, richiese cosa avrebbono fatto le Corti, se assunto al Pontificato avesse ricusato di mantenere la promessa. Forse avrebbon pubblicata la precedente convenzione, ma non per questo ottenuto l'intento, se non che di screditare un Papa, e di scandalizzare tutto il mondo cattolico, ed acattolico, il quale non solo avrebbe conosciuto un Papa simoniaco, ma anche con quali mezzi li Monarchi di Spagna, Francia, e delle Sicilie lo avevano elevato al Pontificato servendosi dell' opera dei loro Ministri tutti e cinque Cardinali, e fra questi, tre Arcivescovi, un Patriarca, ed un Sacerdote, onde era meglio di convenire nell'elezione d'un sogetto prudente, saggio ed imparziale, e scegliere di ugual calibro li Ministri, che devono servirlo, mentre allora puotea sperarsi la soddisfazione dei Sovrani, e la tranquillità della Chiesa.

A questi sentimenti ci unimmo il Signor Cardinale de Bernis, ed Jo, talchè il Cardinale de Solis, vedendosi convinto, uscì d'impegno con riservarsi di far riflessione sulle ragioni adottegli, e di conferire col Signor Cardinale de la Cerda, e forse anco con Monsignore Azpuru, mentre quella non era stata una conferenza formale, ma solo una confidenziale apertura.

Non volle il Signor Cardinale de Luines stringerlo d'avantaggio, bensì colla stessa facondia si espresse esser lui di sentimento, che il nuovo Papa dovea per tutti i titoli sopprimere li Gesuiti, non solo attesi li loro delitti, ma anco se fossero innocenti, mentre per quanto avea studiato,

conosceva che giovava più alla Chiesa il sodisfare li tre Sovrani, che conservare un ordine regolare, e che intanto così spiegavasi perchè era sicuro di non puoter esser Papa. Nelli stessi termini si spiegò il Signor Cardinale de Bernis, ed io aggiunsi, che siccome avevo avvanzata l'istanza al defonto Papa per la soppressione della Compagnia, così ero pronto rinnovarla presso il nuovo seguita l'elezione, qualora Sua Maestà me lo avesse ordinato. Con che, dopo due ore e mezzo si sciolse il Congresso, nè dopo il suddetto giorno il Sig^r Cardinale de Solis ci ha parlato di questo assunto . . .

State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 1504 [1].

2. MOÑINO TO GRIMALDI

Rome, August 25th, 1774.

. . . Con este motivo no puedo dejar de hablar á V. E. de lo que observé en el Papa la noche del Domingo 21, que me recibió por la primera vez despues del paso de las aguas. Suponga V. E. que esta Audiencia me costó trabajo, por que el animo del S^to P^e era de no darlas hasta que lloviese, y entonces pensaba irse á la Villeggiatura de Castelgandolfo para repararse. Asi, pues, el Papa me recibió por una especie de particular demostracion y gratitud, con motivo de lo que el Rey acaba de hacer sobre los negocios de Nunciatura.

Hallé al Papa flaco, torpe, y sin la vivacidad y alegria que le es genial: se me quexó de un dolor en las rodillas; y en su semblante noté una suspension extraordinaria. Me dijo que en estos ultimos dias le avia venido la acostumbrada esfogacion al cuerpo y pecho; que tenia algunas evacuaciones de sangre á las Hemorroidas; y que tomaba los caldos de polla negra. En el discurso de la conversacion que duró poco mas de hora y quarto, se alegró el S^o P^re y recobró parte de su alegria, contando con gracia algunos chistes: me encargó que digese á Bernis si queria ir la noche siguiente de secreto y sin

[1] *Cf.* Bernis to Aubeterre, May 4, 1769, in CARAYON, XVII., 176.—Contrary to the facts, it is stated in the "*Notizie segretissime del Conclave" (May [?], 1769, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave 1769") that Bernis tried to obtain a written promise, but failed.

ceremonia; y asi lo hizo, hallandole en la misma situacion que yo. Uno y otro hemos creido que Su B^d^ padece en el fisico algo que le debilita, y en el moral concebimos que le ha entrado el terror y la aprehension de que le puedan asesinar, por mas que lo disimule, y haga el papel de hombre fuerte. Yo mismo observé, quando le dí cuenta del suceso del pescador de Napoles, que le avia hecho una impresion extraordinaria; y acaso aquella noticia unida á las demas profecias y libelos le han herido la imaginacion, y causado alguna ruina. Hemos procurado por todos caminos fortificarle y consolarle, haciendole ver que el veneno que le han dado y dan sus enemigos es él de la aprehension que le procuran introducir con arte; y que es demasiado feliz en tener en su mano el preservativo deste veneno, que consiste en al desprecio. Sirva todo de luz para lo que tengo escrito relativamante á Conclave. Si la villeggiatura y diversion de la compaña no restablece á Su Sant^d^, temo una desgracia. No la permita Dios; pues ciertamente seria gran perdida en la circunstancias presentes, y no veo sucesor que nos pueda llenar de mil leguas: hablo de los que tendran proporcion para ser elegidos.

Verá V. E. de oficio lo que me avisan de Parma sobre la historia de la Bula de la Cena. Revilla lo ha hecho bien; y me confia el vigotismo y debilidad de los que, en vez de cuidar de las Regalías del Soberano, son por ignorancia y escrupulo ridiculo sus mayores contrarios.

Tambien respondo sobre lo de Viena á que no tengo que añadir: y quedo de V. E. como su mayor mas rend^o^ y oblig^do^ serv^or^.

Roma, 25 de Ag^o^ de 1774.

Joseph Moñino.

Archives of Simancas, Estado 4986

3. CENTOMANI TO TANUCCI ON CLEMENT XIV.

(*a*)

Rome, March 12th, 1771.

Nulla ho che aggiungere rispetto alla copia del Breve per l'erezione dell'Università de Studi in Malta. Devo per altro riservatamente riferire tre fatti, che qui con molta secretezza

si dicono. Il primo si è, che per la vacanza della carica di Bidello nella Sapienza il Sig^{r} Card^{le} Rezzonico Camerlengo credette doverla egli conferire senza punto attendere la sopravivenza concessa dal Card^{le} Valenti al Figlio dell'ultimo Bidello, ancorchè per la caggionevole salute del padre avesse il figlio per più anni esercitata la carica in nome del padre: indi il d^{o} Card^{le} stimò temperare tal esclusione con dividere l'emolumento della carica per metà al d^{o} figlio sostituto, e per l'altra metà dandola ad un suo cameriere. Il suddetto Fglio del defonto trovò modo di far presentare al Papa per mezzo del P^{re} Mae^{o} Buontempi un memor^{le} su cui il Papa gli fece favorevole rescritto raccomandandolo al detto Em^{o} Camerlengo, e glielo mandò per l'istesso P. Mae^{o} Buontempi: di che offeso il Card^{le} chiese ed ottenne udienza dal Papa, e con esso lagnandosi altamente venne a riconvenirlo in sostanza, che avendoli sotto il Pontificato di zuo Zio usata tutta l'attenzione per la quale si era fatto la strada a così eccelsa dignità, veniva egli, e gli altri di sua Casa diversamente corrisposto: e l'esser di Porp^{o} non era di rimaner libero dai doveri di gratitudine. Fu così vivo il trasporto del Card^{le}, che restò attonito il Papa, e solamente li rispose di non aver inteso altro, se non di puramente raccomandargli quel memor^{le}; del rimanente facesse pure il Card^{le} quello li pareva: mà il Card^{le} replicò, che averebbe fatto quanto avea desiderato il Papa di comandargli, rimanea però sensibile del modo usatogli. Appena ritornato in sua casa il Card^{le}, che volle il Confessore per confessarsi, giacchè entrò in scrupolo di aver mancato di rispetto al Papa.

Il 2° fatto è, che il Card^{le} Vicario per riclami avuti contro il Paroco dell'Apollinare, ordinò che gli si facesse il processo: ricorse il Paroco con memor^{le} al Papa, il quale commise al Card^{le} Marefoschi un tal affare: risaputosi ciò dal Card^{le} Colonna Vicario mandò Monsr Viceg^{te} dal Papa con dirli in suo nome; che non una, mà più volte fu premuto dal defonto Pontefice di accettare il Vicariato, quale in niun modo volea; ed ora vedendo di non poterlo liberamente per giustizia esercitare, dandoglisi un sopraintendente in quanto facea, lo rinunciava assolutamente, e pensasse il Papa far un altro Card^{le} per Vicario di Roma. Il Papa li fece dire, che a Marefoschi non avea data altra commissione, se non quella di riconciliare il Paroco colli suoi denuncianti inimici, e mai

d'impedire il libero esercizio della giurisdizione del Card^le^ Vicario: La cosa rimane ancora in sospeso.

Il 3° fatto meno credibile si allega, che molti Cardinali si siano uniti di parere di ricorrere al Card^le^ Cavalchini come decano del Sacro Collegio per rappresentare al Papa il grave dispiacere del Sacro Collegio nel riconoscersi cotanto negletto dal Papa, e quasi vilipeso, non essendo partecipe di verun delle infinite cose, che riguardano la Religione, e la S. Sede; ed in tale avvilimento così pubblico, ed universale di tutti li Cardinali non è mai stato il Sacro Collegio rispettabilissimo in se per essere consultore del Sommo Pontefice, senza qual prerogativa ed esercizio ricadeva in disprezzo di tutti. Il Card^le^ Cavalchini lodò il zelo, e conobbe la necessità d'una tale rappresentanza, e come decano ben vedeva, che spettava a lui di farla; all'incontro era ben noto in qual discredito era tenuto dal Papa, talchè più non andava all'udienza: niente più facile, che non producendo la sua rappresentanza alcun profitto gli avrebbe cagionato danno maggiore con essere egli ripreso, e cacciato via da Palazzo, si ritrovava inoltre nell'età di 88 anni, e non doveano abbreviarli la vita per li pochi giorni, ed ore che li restavano da vivere senza dover più sollecitam^te^ morire accusato, e presso molti redarguito d'imprudenza. Ed in questa maniera si sottrasse dall' impegno di fare la detta scabrosissima rappresentanza. Questa notizia mi è stata riferita da un Em^o^, mà io davo fatiga a crederla, vedendo avviliti e di niun spirito li Cardinali a doverla fare: la scrivo però a V. Ecc^a^, almeno per rimaner certa, che qui gli animi sono esasperati, e le cose pubbliche non vanno bene. Prontissimo intanto ad ogni veneratissimo comando di V. Ecc^a^ umilmente mi rassegno con profondissime riverenze.

State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 473/1218

(*b*)

Rome, July 12th, 1774.

Non vi è dubbio, che il Papa stia meglio, e di buon umore, siccome si degna V. Ecc. a contestarmi nella veneratissima sua; non si vede però un tal fisico, e morale miglioramento fermo, e continuato, essendo a vicenda il star bene ed allegro, e star prostrato e malinconico: questa istessa variaz^e^ dimostra

esservi male organico, che produce vari effetti maggiori o minori secondo gli accidenti, che cadono. E. V. Ecc^a mi dia il permesso, che le riferisca una non polita espressione d'un intimo prelato confidente del Papa: stava il med^o giorni addietro in anticamera di Palazzo, e discorrendosi sul male del Papa, vi fù chi disse che due medici altercavano se patisse il Papa la pietra per la difficoltà nell'orinare: rispose il laico Fra Francesco, che avendo servito da 34 anni non avea mai saputo o veduto, che il Papa difficoltasse nell'orinare, ed avesse la pietra: il d^o Prelato impose silenzio, e decise, che veramente il Papa avea una gran pietra non già nella vescica, ma nel petto, e cosi finì il discorso. La variazione del suo sistema di vivere, la faciltà colla quale và in collera, e le libere indecenti espressioni, che più non reprime, sono li forti argomenti dell'alterata sua machina, e del commosso suo animo.

Ibid., 479/1224

(*c*)

Rome, August 9th, 1774.

Incomincia la veneratissima di V. Ecc^a con ringraziare Iddio benedetto per la restituita salute al S. Padre: ed io di cuore desidero, che così sia: mà mi veggo soprafatto da tante contradittorie voci, che non so più che mi credere, e riferire. Sento essere perseverante l'incommodo della sfogazione per tutta la vita, e si rende cattiva come una specie di lepra: Crede il Papa, che con sudare può farla dileguare; mà non aggiutandogli la natura ad un salutifero sudore, come per lo passato: egli procura a promoverlo in stato violento: La sua stanza con suffumiggi di zuccaro la rende così calda, che la paragonano alle stufe d'Ischia: con tutto ciò è poco il sudore, per cui esce tutto l'umore più sottile, e rimanendo il sangue più condensato rende più pertinace la sfogazione. Qualora non suda, si mette in malissimo umore con qualche trasporto: Esce di buonora nel dopo pranzo, e ritorna alle 23: e forsi prima. Il Medico Adinolfi non può persuaderlo a porsi in una miglior regola, e sentire il sentimento di altri professori, o di Roma, o di altri paesi. Si disse, che per Mercordì averebbe principiato a dar udienza a propri Ministri; e non si verificò:

si dice ora che la darà dopo l'Assunta ; lo che vedremo se si verificarà. Si sà peraltro, che anticiperà la villeggiatura, e forsi prima della metà di Settembre ; giacchè in Castel Gandolfo si sollecitano li lavori col gesso, invece della calce. Pochissime volte hà ammesso all'udienza il Cardinale Negroni, come chiamato, e dicesi per alcuni brevi in Polonia, e Germania contro dei refrattari Gesuiti, che non han voluto obbedire al Breve della soppressione ; ed altri che siano brevi per Portogallo, o per Spagna riguardo alla Religione Domenicana. Non sono mai stati all'udienza li Cardinali Segretario di Stato, il Prodatario, il Prouditore, e il Progovernatore : ma questi, se han bisogno di supplicare il Papa trasmettono le istanze e suppliche in un plico colla direzione al P. Buontempi, e per l'istesso messo ricevon le Pontificie determinazioni. Rarissime volte vi è stato di sera Monsr Tesoriere ; e nel principio una sola volta Monsr Macedonio ; contro del quale si è suscitato una gran tempesta coll'idea di farlo rimovere dalla carica ; e par ora è caduta la tempesta sopra d'un servidore del med^o^, che ha dovuto licenziare per ordine del Papa con allegarsi varie cause, che denigrano la stima del Prelato ; resta la speranza, che possa ed abbia modo di giustificarsi ; e si vedrà nelle prime udienze, che avrà ; viene per altro assistito da tutti li Ministri, e quasi da tutta Roma, essendo amato per la buona maniera, avendo fatto servizi a tutti : se poi il servitore lo hà tradito con profittare delli graziosi rescritti, soffrirà la pena della negligenza per essere più oculato. Un altro di piena confidenza del Papa, che è secolare nominato Ronca, hà ricevuto ordine da un Palafreniere di più non accostarsi a Palazzo : e il delitto dicesi essere per aver sparlato del governo, del P. Buontempi, e della Casa Bischi : Vi è però qualche voce, che già placato Buontempi possa restare in Roma con andar di raro a Palazzo in questi principi. Ancora si vocifera che Carlo Giorgi e l'Abb^e^ Buonanno Marcheggiano, che in ogni sera erano della privata conversazione del Papa, abbiano avuto ordine di non accostarsi, e il delitto dei medesimi è uniforme a quello di Ronca. Tutte queste cose hanno arrecato dell confusione a Palazzo e per la città ; e da pertutto dicesi confirmata la suprema autorità del d^o^ P. Buontempi.

Ibid.

(*d*)

Rome, August 16th, 1774.

In risposta della veneratissima di V. Ecc^a 13 corrente ho l'onore di dirle che ieri mattina il Papa fece miglior figura in Cappella, siccome l'hà fatto in questa mattina per la Congregazione dei Riti, dimostrandosi allegro e disinvolto: il male stà nel giorno, e nelle sere perchè quando non avrà sudato, o quando si presenta minimo contrario accidente si adira soprammodo; cosa che non può essere prodotta da altro, se non da male fisico, che gli abbia sconcertata la macchina: e la disgrazia porta che tali accidenti seguano spesso, siccome, nei giorni passati, in una volta si ruppe l'arganello alla carrozza presso Porta Pia, e stando sudato non potè montarvi: altra volta non si trovò pronto lo sgabello per discendere dall'alta carrozza; ed altra volta non si trovò pronta la biancheria da mutarsi come desiderava nella metà del camino, essendo stato portato tutto nel casino Patrizi: queste cose sono state patenti al publico, mille altre seguono in Palazzo, in modo che la famiglia sbigottita, quanto più pensa a star diligente, tanto più si confonde. Dimani si vedrà se farà aprire l'anticamera per le udienze, non essendo stato dato alcun ordine per tutto ieri. In questi passati giorni hà dato segreta udienza a Monsr Tesoriere per firmare alcuni chirografi, che non ammettevano dilazione: e furono anche chiamati li due Segretari del Concistoro e dei Riti, per le cause dei Santi. Si è per altro scoperto che il Card^e Zelada vi sia stato in ogni Martedì sera: questo si portava in abito corto a Palazzo col pretesto di visitare Monsr Archinto infermo; e di là in determinata ora saliva alle stanze del P. Buontempi, e poi per la secreta scaletta calava dal Papa: onde non vedendosi andare in abito cardinalizio, come conveniva, nè per l'anticamera solita, si è creduto di non aver mai avuto udienza. Nella scorsa settimana vi fu ancora Mognino, chiamato dal Papa; mà poi non si sà altro. Hà anche tentato d'esservi Almada, e forsi qualche altro Ministro estero, e niuno è stato ammesso. Par calmata, ma non estinta la tempesta per Macedonio, a cui suffraga il tempo per giustificarsi, dicendo il medesimo essere innocente di quanto gli si imputa.

Ibid.

(*e*)

Rome, August 23rd, 1774.

L'irritazione nel Papa, quantunque sia prodotta da natura, e non da morbo, nè da mutazione, come V. Ecc^a^ nella veneratissima sua delli 20 corrente; è però certo che vi concorra una forte apprensione, ch'egli ha di prossima morte: se ne ebbe nella scorsa settimana apertissimo argomento. Tiene il Papa un cagnolino, che li fà delle carezze: mattine sono la S. S. da tavola le buttò un pezzetto di pollo: il cagnolino nè pure l'odorò e restò immobile: lo che osservando il Papa si accese in volto, e sgridò che immediatamente buttassero dalla finestra quel cagnolino; e lo ripetè più volte, e con stizza: li familiari presero il cagnolino e lo portaron fuor della stanza, fingendo averlo di già buttato dalla finestra; in tal modo si calmò il Papa; e dopo essersi rasserenato disse, che si ricordava del fatto di una tal Principessa, la quale avendo dato da mangiare un pezzo di pollo ad un cane domestico, questo non volle mangiarlo; e la detta Principessa di li a pochi giorni se ne morì. Mà li familiari replicarono al Papa, che il suo cagnolino non l'avea mangiato per esser satollo per alcune ciambellette, mangiate prima. Allora il Papa soggiunse, che se ciò avesse saputo, non l'avrebbe fatto buttar dalla finestra; al che dissero li medesimi tenerlo ristretto in altra stanza per buttarlo molto lontano dalle finestre del Papa per non farli sentire gli urli; onde il Papa se lo fece di nuovo portare, e fu la fortuna, che il cagnolino li fece molte feste; e così restò tranquillo l'animo dal mal concepito sinistro augurio. Si degni V. Ecc^a^ argomentare su questo qual sia la vera causa del suo ritiro e della sua profonda malinconia. Domenica mattina fù la prima volta, che chiamò ad udienza il Card. Simone Prouditore; e fù molto breve; nella sera vi fù Mognino, e jeri sera l'Em̃o de Bernis; si resta a vedere se chiamerà il Commendatore Almada ministro di Portogallo, essendovi qualche sospetto per Roma di non essere nell'antica grazia per non essersi avuto da quella Corte favorevole risposta per l'assegnamento alli Ex-Gesuiti Portoghesi. Mi ricordo aver scritto a V. Ecc^a^, che in Parma fossero stati di nuovo affissi li casi riservati nella bolla Cena, senza che questa fosse stata nominata: ora soggiungo, che sono quà venute le copie stampate, dalle quali apparisce essere stato

espressamente riferiti i casi riservati in dª bolla in Cena, e gli altri riservati da Benedetto XIV. e da Clemente XIII.; unicamente non vi è stata posta la data di detta stampa: lo che poco importa essendo certo il tempo di detta nuova affissione. Qualche Terziario hà anche spacciato, che il Ser^mo di Parma abbia voluto che si ristampasse, ed a suo tempo si pubblicasse la detta bolla non volendo aver scrupolo di coscienza, ch'abbia dato causa alle passate controversie con impedire la solita pubblicazione. Nulla dico dell'orazione funebre in Parigi, riferita nelli foglietti di Firenze; dovendone V. Eccª rimanere pienamente informata della verità. Soggiungo per altro che l'Ex-Gesuita Benvenuti, già fuggito da Roma, si ritrova in Polonia, ben accolto da quel Sovrano, e tenuto anche a tavola, ha composto due libri, uno preferendo la presente Chiesa greca alla Romana con averlo dedicato alla Czara: e l'altro che ogni Sovrano è padrone nei suoi dominii per non ammettere la bolla della soppressione della Compagnia.

Vengo ora a Castro ed alla Farnesina: è ben lodevole il pensiero di V. Eccª di cedere alle raggioni di Castro con ricevere a favore della Real Corona di Napoli Benevento e Terracina: ma se questo affare non si concluderà presto in questo Pontificato vi è molto da temere in appresso. Ed io dubito, che nè pure si concluderà presentemente, se non si darà fermo sistema sopra la controversia delle regole di Cancellaria: V. Eccª è più d'ogni altro illuminato per ben disporre le cose. Rispetto poi al giardino e casamento presso la Farnesina, ho dato l'acclusami all'Abbate Roselli, che fù quello appunto, che mi parlò sull'affare, venne a vedere il giardino coll'Emo Malvezzi, e ricevè da mè la risposta, che V. Eccª mi diede; gli ho detto che ripassasse da me per distendere li fogli sù l'enfiteusi perpetua, che accluderò a V. Eccª per dare la legge, che stimerà conveniente. E riguardo al Console, a me basta aver umiliato a V. Eccª li miei sentimenti, non dovendo aver io altra parte, che d'una pronta obbedienza ai suppremi suoi comandi. Devo poi rammentare a V. Eccª, che questa Farnesina, quantunque sia celebratissima, non è però opera fatta fare dai Serenissimi Farnesi, mà fù l'autore primiero Agostino Ghigi, siccome costa dall'iscrizione in alcuni luoghi, e dall'arma ancora esistente nella prima celebre loggia delle nozze di Psica. Sicchè siccome detti Serenissimi la comprarono dai Ghigi, così non vi sarà incoerenza di alienarla a differenza

del Real Palazzo Farnese fatto di pianta dal Cardinale Farnese, e costantemente ritenuto in dominio dei Farnesi. Pieno in tanto di ossequiosissimo rispetto fò a V. Eccª profondissime riverenze.

Ibid.

(*f*)

Rome, September 13th, 1774.

Ho sommo dispiacere nel non potere in risposta della Veneratissima di V. Eccª delli 10 corr. continuare a darle buone notizie della salute del Papa. Il medesimo per dimostrare al pubblico d'essere guarito volle giovedì mattina portarsi in forma pubblica a tener cappella nella Chiesa del Popolo ; vi si condusse in carrozza servito dagli Eminentissimi Pallavicini, e Marefoschi : nell'andare fece mediocre comparsa, non ostante la sua magrezza : in Chiesa non fece buona figura, perchè tale apparve la debolezza, che da sè non potè ascendere al Trono ; fu bisogno di far accelerare la funzione ; e nel ritorno si vidde molto più prostrato di forze, ed avvilito d'animo, talchè Marefoschi dubitò esserli sopragiunto altro incommodo, e Pallavicini tenendo vago discorso per sollevarlo, non ricevea risposta, onde restaron ambi sbigottiti al par del Papa. Nel giorno di dº Giovedì, e nel Venerdì dopo pranzo volle in ogni modo uscir il Papa in carrozza ; e molto più parve esinanito da non poter dare compitamente la benedizione. Più cattivo fù l'esito nel Sabato a giorno, perchè il S. Padre fù preso da un parossismo, foriere della febbre, nella Chiesa della Vittoria a Termine, e si vidde obbligato a ritornare a Palazzo ; e molta gente, che l'osservò in quello stato, gli si pose appresso ; onde riempì il cortile di Palazzo con 400 e più persone ; le quali furon presenti, quando da due persone fu preso di peso dalla carrozza, e posto in sedia con condurlo sopra, non essendo in grado di alzar un braccio non che di dar un passo : A prima sera gli fu fatto cavar sangue, dal che il pubblico argomenta d'essere stato un forte svenimento prossimo all'accidente. Fu chiamato un altro medico Saliceti, che qui fà la prima figura, ed alla presenza dell'Eminentissimo Pallavicini, che trovandosi a Palazzo vi era accorso, disse che se non vedea il Papa infermo, non ardiva dire il suo sentimento, e molto meno di ordinare minima cosa. All'incontro si asseriva,

che il Papa non avea mai voluto, che Saliceti o altro medico venisse chiamato; ma detto Eminentissimo Pallavicini, rivolto al medico Adinolfi seriamente lo riprese, che non era questa la maniera di adulare il Papa con tener lontano altri medici, e non riferire a lui, che dopo il S. Padre faceva la prima figura, il vero stato della salute del medesimo, della quale a suo tempo gli averebbe reso esatto conto. Nella notte il Papa stiede molto meglio con aver sudato una camicia: nella mattina furono in anticamera col d° Eminentissimo Pallavicini gli altri Cardinali Palatini, e qualche altro; fù mandato a prendere Saliceti, che venne introdotto al improvviso dal detto Adinolfi nella stanza del Papa; onde ebbe effetto la seria ammonizione di Pallavicini. L'infermo non si perturbò, e rispose a tutte le interrogazioni fattegli da Saliceti, il quale disse, che non rinveniva alcun dubbio non che cattivo sintomo, e forte sarebbe la guariggione, se la Santità Sua vi cooperirà con rasserenarsi d'animo, deponendo ogni pensiero di molesta cura: piacque tal parlare al Papa, e li disse, che fusse ritornato a vederlo. Fù dunque ritrovato, che la febbre era in declinazione; mà che conveniva osservare, se ritornando si ponea a tipo di terzana. Con tutto che stessero in anticamera quei Cardinali, niuno fù ammesso a vedere il Papa, nè verun altra persona a riserva di soli sei, cioè il P. Buontempi, Fra Francesco, Nicola Bischi, il Cameriere Benedetti, e li due medici Saliceti, ed Adinolfi; e perciò non essendo visibile ad altri, si stà alla loro fede di quello che riferiscono. Nella sera di Domenica ritornò piccola febbre in modo che altri negano, che vi sia stata: ad ora di pranzo si levò il Papa per brevissimo tempo ieri mattina, e ciò fù per assicurarlo di non aver grave infermità; ed in ogni mattina hà inteso la S. Messa fatta celebrare nella sua stanza: Per oggi dicesi, che seguitava la miglioria. Tanto è in mia notizia: del rimanente dagli atti esterni si rileva, che Sabato a notte fù rivocato l'ordine per la Villegiatura di Castello, destinata per Lunedì mattina. Il P. Buontempi fin da Mercordì fù ritrovato in una profonda mestizia per la periclitante vita del Papa. Nicolò Bischi fece tutto lo sforzo, e ci riuscì aver dal Papa un saldo generale della sua frumentaria amministrazione. Vari impegni sono stati fatti presso l'Eminentissimo de Bernis, e il Conte Monnino per indurre il Papa a dichiarare li Cardinali in petto, ed ad includervi d° Buontempi. Altri Cardinali

fortemente si oppongono a tal dichiarazione ; e non mancano di far delle sessioni secrete, e si additano tre case, quella della Signora Principessa Altieri per la fazione Albani, e nelle sere passate vi furono 44 Cardinali ; altra della Principessa Giustiniani, concorrendovi l'Eminentissimo Orsini e Zelada con altri : e l'ultima quella della Duchessa di Bracciano, frequentata di Pallavicini, Carafa, Simoni, Calini, ed altri. Onde all' esteriore si vede tutto animato per un non lontano Conclave. Migliori notizie potrà darle a V. Ecc^a l'Eminentissimo Orsini, che tiene le mani in pasta. In una di queste mattine anderò da Monsignor Stay, e gli comunicarò quanto V. Eccellenza si degna dirmi ; non fidandomi ora di scrivere, essendo sette ore da che tengo la penna in lavoro. E con profondissime riverenze umilmente mi rassegno . . .

Ibid.

(*g*)

Rome, September 16th, 1774.

Non tralascio di partecipare a V. Ecc^a il proseguimento dell'istoria per la salute del Papa, che tanto deve interessare ogni savia persona. Le voci di Palazzo sono costanti, che seguita a star meglio, anzi benissimo, in modo che Monsignor Maggiordomo di Camera hà ringraziato tutti coloro, che mattina e giorno si portavano a sentirne le nove. Ad ogni modo fin ora niuno di Cardinali e Prelati è stato ammesso a vederlo in stanza, non entrandovi se non sei persone, cioè li due medici, li due Frati, e due Camerieri, non ammettendosi più Nicola Bischi. Si aggiunge che il Papa ha sottoscritto vari chirografi, uno dando tutte le facoltà all'Emo Malvezzi di sottoscrivere le bolle e suppliche in suo nome ; altri tre alli Cardinali Carafa per lo disbrigo delle materie della Congregazione dei Vescovi ; Zelada per l'altra del Concilio, e Simone per quelle della sua carica d'Uditore del Papa. Cosa, che non hà fatto nelli due precedenti mesi di ritiro per passar l'acqua ; e cosa che potea anche differirsi per esservi pochissimi giorni dal principiare le ferie autunnali. Questo procedere fà dubitare, che non stia bene nel fisico e nel morale ; altrimenti non si sarebbe tralasciato, che col Segretario di Stato entrassero detti quattro Cardinali per palesarli la pontificia sua volontà colla tradizione di d^i chirografi. Quindi

il sospetto maggiore è cresciuto, che molti giorni prima abbia sofferto qualche tocco d'accidente; per cui è stato impedito in molte operazioni; fù detta la flussione agli occhi, quale ora differentemente si caratterizza: debolezza nei ginocchi come effetto del patito insulto; dissipata ogni sua naturale vivacità, per stare continamente colla bocca aperta, e con gli occhi come spaventati, tenendoli fissi in qualche oggetto: e per fine debilitata la memoria. Simili difetti precederono la giornata di Sabato 10 corrente, e perdurano tuttavia doppo cessata la febre del Sabato; e sia ciò causa, che non si permette l'accesso ad alcuno per non rendersi certo quanto si sospetta. Si è fatta uscir voce in Palazzo, che il Papa spasseggia per la stanza, dando anche da mangiare alli passeri, stritolandoli una mollica di pagnotta su la finestra della sua stanza, come prima era solito: ma li testimoni che l'asseriscono, non sono idonei come vili servitori; quando che più di chiunque averebbe devuto vederlo Monsr Maestro di Camera, avendo le sue stanze dirimpetto a quelle del Papa. Per la villegiatura sono ancora varie le voci sparse di dover partire anche domani, o lunedì, o nella fine dell'entrante settimana; ma chi è nell'obbligo di saperlo, costantemente dice di non parlarsene. Apparentemente pare cessato il moto dei Cardinali; mà si crede, che con più secretezza si comunicano: e non manca chi studia sul punto dei Cardinali in petto: se non pubblicandoli il Papa, e ritrovandosi il loro nome scritto in foglio sottoscritto dal Papa, possino essere riconosciuti come veri Cardinali da poter entrare in Conclave; e sento esservi un voto contrario ai medesimi, scritto a mano da un Teologo fin dal 1727. Tutto ciò fà vedere, che seriamente quì si pensa ad un non lontano Conclave. Per il cattivo tempo di due orride giornate non avendo veduto Monsignor Stay, nulla posso dire a V. Ecc^a su quanto si degnò scrivermi nella passata.

Ibid.

(*h*)

Rome, September 23rd, 1774.

Nella mattina di giovedì 22 corr^e, verso le 13 ore rese l'anima al Sig^re il Papa, siccome distintamente vien riferito a V^a Ecc^a dall'E^mo Orsini: qualche particolarità mi dò l'onore di dire. Nel martedì sera il V. Card^le Pallavicini come Seg^io di Stato

scrisse biglietto all'E^{mo} Decano d'essersi il Papa communicato per Viatico, ed avea desiderio di vederlo, onde per la mattina seguente d^{o} Em^{o} Decano intimando, il S^{o} Collegio potea riunirsi alle 16 ore. Questo biglietto incontrò varie interpretazioni, poiche il solito era di darsi unicamente parte al Decano d'essersi il Papa communicato per Viatico, restando a carico del d^{o} decano di convocare gli altri Card^{li}; quindi per essersi aggiunta l'espressione nel biglietto di dover avvisare gli altri E^{mi} colla determinata ora di ritrovarsi a Palazzo, fu creduto doversi tenere Concistoro per la pubblicazione de' Card^{li} riservati in petto, tanto più, che si era divulgata la voce, che in quella istessa notte di Martedì, dopo dato il SS^{mo} Viatico alla presenza delli quattro Card^{li} Palatini e delli tre prelati, cioè Magiordomo, Mae^{o} di Camera, e Seg^{rio} dei Memoriali, era restato il Card^{le} Malvezzi in tutta la notte per persuadere il Papa a far o intieramente la promozione di tutti li 11 Capelli riservati, o almeno di quell ch'erano a Palazzo cogniti nell'attuale suo servizio, includendo con ciò il P. Ma^{o} Buontempi. Giunti li Card^{li} nel mercordì mattina si tratennero in Anticamera senza che alcuno entrasse dal Papa: da li ad un'ora il Card^{le} Decano vedendo ritirarsi qualche Card^{le} Palatino, parlò al Card^{le} Seg^{rio} di Stato alla presenza del Card^{le} Malvezzi, che vedendo scomparire alcuno, e non sentendo parlare di alcuna cosa, desiderava sapere quel che dovea far il S^{o} Coll^{io} nel trattenersi più lungamente: rispose con intralciate ed in conseguenza inconcludenti parole d^{o} Pallavicini: ma Malvezzi soggiunse, che non conveniva far mistero, e disse che il Papa era risoluto di pubblicare li Card^{li} riservati, ma volea ciò fare alla presenza delli soli Card^{li} Palatini non bramando di veder gli altri, e perciò poteano andarsene: replicò il decano con tuono alquanto alto, che la S. S. era padrone di fare li nuovi Card^{li} alla presenza di soli tre; era per altro cosa scandalosa, che dopo essere stato convocato il S^{o} Coll^{io}, e dopo che si ritrovava tutto unito, si avesse dovuto disciogliere per fare tal dichiarazione alla presenza delli soli 4 Card^{li} Palatini. Volle dire Malvezzi che l'E^{mo} Decano si placasse senza far rumore; ma questo replicò, che il Sacro Coll^{io} non era un'unione di Frati, e ciascuno ben sapea il riguardo, ch'era dovuto alla propria dignità, senza essere fin all'ultimo così vilipeso, come lo è stato nelli scorsi anni: rivoltato indi il Card^{le} Decano ad un Ma^{o} di Cerimonie

li disse, che l'incaricava di assistere per riferirli se il Papa facea tal promozione veramente alla presenza di Card^{li}, e quanti, e chi questi saranno ; e così col Decano partiron tutti gl'altri Card^{li} malamente soddisfatti. Immediatamente Malvezzi richiamando gl'altri tre Card^{li} Palatini rientrò con essi nella stanza del Papa e portò la parola con dire, che giacchè la S^{tà} Sua si era dimostrata propensa a fare la promozione almeno di quei, che in Palazzo stavano all'attuale suo servizio, si degnasse consolarli con dar argumento al pubblico dell'ultimo atto di sua beneficenza. Interruppe il Papa con commosso spirito, che mai si era dimostrato propenso a farla, ne farla volea ; e dovea d^{o} Malvezzi ricordarsi del suo insigne Benefattore Benedetto XIV che nell'ultimo di sua vita non volle neppur farla lasciando maggior numero dei Cappelli vacanti. Onde tutti confusi se ne uscirono : ed il Papa con aggravarsi il male non volle ne pur fare alcuna disposizione delli 200 luoghi di monte acquistati in testa sua nel suo Pontificato oltre 36 ^{m} scudi lasciati in contanti. Sicche, dicesi, che fin all'ultimo si è mantenuto nel non voler far nulla.

Defonto dunque il Papa, bolle nell'animo de' Card^{li} l'idea di rescindere quanto più possono, le cose fatte dal med^{o}. Hanno prevenuto il Card^{le} de Bernis e il Cav^{e} Moñino con parlare al Card^{le} Decano, che rispetto all'estinzione della C^{ia} speravano nella saviezza di ciascun Card^{le}, che non si sarebbe fatta alcuna novità : altrimenti li loro Sovrani si sarebbero dimenticati di Roma, con unicamente badare alli proprj Stati : ed un simile parlare farà l'E^{mo} Orsini. Con tutto ciò la tempesta di questi E^{mi} caderà sopra li due nostri Nazionali Mgr Macedonio e Mgr Alfani, come due principali Prelati, che hanno operato nella Cong^{one} degli affari de' Gesuiti : di che molto temendo d^{o} Alfani è in determinazione di partirsene da Roma, e mi ha richiesto segretamente il passaporto, che glie l'ho procurato con ugual segretezza ; se verrà costà, V^{a} Ecc^{a} sentirà dalla viva voce mille circostanze. Gli d^{i} due Ministri dimostrano tutta la premura di proteggere Buontempi e Bischi, e nulla più curano di tutti gli altri. Per ora non si è data esecuzione alle ultime sopravivenze fatte dal defonto ; e secondo porta l'occasione dell'esercizio degli impieghi, si veggono esclusi li nuovi Coadjutori. Meglio si scoprirà l'animo esasperato di quegli Em^{i} nelle future Cong^{ni} novemdiali. Per ora Nicolò Bischi ha posto l'uniforme della

Corte di Spagna, e croce, e chiave di acciaro di Francia; e 'l P. Buontempi servito da Carissimo di Moñino è andato nel Convento della sua Religione in SS. Ap^li ed il Generale di già è stato parlato dal d^o Moñino.

In questa mattina è seguita la sezione del Cadavere, e da un medico perito di anatomia, che per suo piacere si è ritrovato presente, è stato riferito all'Abb^e Fioravante, che si sono ritrovate sane le viscere, e pulito il ventricolo, che nel esteriore avea della materia nera riconosciuta per ciocolata: il pericardio si è ritrovato dissecato, ed i pulmoni tutti guasti; e con ciò rimane dileguato ogni sospetto di veleno, che sono andati divulgando li Frati.

Ibid.

(*i*)

Rome, September 26th, 1774.

Li vari accidenti occorsi nella morte di Clemente XIV. meritano, che io faccia a V. Ecc^a una distinta relazione. Il Pubblico è persuaso che nella Settimana Santa, dimorando il Papa nel Palazzo Vaticano, li sia stato dato il veleno di tal specie, che lentamente operando gli avesse arrecata la morte. Si adducono vari argomenti, che per ordine dei tempi riferisco. Appena estinta la Compagnia si ritrovò presso Monte Cavallo alle mura del Noviziato una Croce nera, come si dipinge sulle casse dei morti; e vi erano segnati due numeri cioè il 5 e il 4: significando il primo gli anni del Pontificato, e l'altro i mesi: come per appunto sono scorsi anni 5 e mesi 4 e tre giorni, allegando per fondamento, che tanto visse Sisto V. morto avvelenato; e che Clemente V. sopravisse poco più d'un anno dopo l'abolizione dei Templari. Si tralasciono li prognostici o sieno Profezie delle Bizzoche di non dover giungere ad aprire le Porte Sante per il giubileo. Sono però rimarchevoli due lettere scritte da un esemplare Vescovo di Boemia al Padre Generale dei Conventuali, la prima del mese di Gennaio del corrente anno, di avvertire il Papa a star cautelato, machinandosi di dargli il veleno: quella lettera dal medesimo P. Generale letta al P. Buontempi, fù intesa con disprezzo. La seconda lettera venne scritta dopo la S. Pasqua, e diceva, che con sommo dolore avea inteso, essersi già fatto il colpo; e queste tali lettere si affatiga il d^o P. Generale di

ritrovarle. Si aggiunge, che il Papa, portatosi in S. Pietro per le funzioni della Settimana Santa, in una di quelle mattine soffrì del vomito, e dolor di denti, e testa, ed in quel giorno dopo pranzo non potè intervenire alle sacre funzioni. Nel dì poi di Pasqua, celebrando stiede contro il suo costume così strano sull'altare, che arrecò ammirazione, e scandalo: di che se ne avvide poi, e disse, che gli era sopravenuto un doloroso ratto in testa. Per li 14 Luglio si ritirò col motivo di passar l'acqua; ed allora, dicesi, aver scritto in Romagna ad un medico suo conoscente, partecipandogli sotto alto secreto il sospetto, che avea di veleno; e devonsi ritrovare le lettere risponsive; dispiacendo al medico d'essere trascorso molto tempo, l'insinuava a procurar di sudar molto, potendo esser questo l'unico rimedio di liberarsene, se pure giungeva in tempo. Quindi nacque la costanza del Papa di volere in ogni modo artificiale promovere il sudore. In Agosto si portò il Papa dal P. Paolo Passionista decrepito, e di vita esemplare; li manifestò tal suo timore, e li richiese informazione della Bizzoca di Valentano: il detto Padre confirmò il Papa nel buon concetto della Bizzoca come donna semplice; e rispetto al d° timore soggiunse, che li soprastava un gran fosso ben difficile a superare: perturbato il Papa, interruppe ogni altro discorso e ne partì. Altre lettere nell'istesso mese pervennero da Germania agli Aggenti di sollecitare le spedizioni, dovendosi dubbitare della morte del Papa in Settembre. Tutto ciò è preceduto alla di lui morte: seguono ora gli altri posteriori argomenti. Nell'ultima notte di Mercordì, stando in perfettissimi sentimenti, pure dal suo corpo esalava intolerabile fetore in modo, che molti non poterono restarvi, e solamente persistè il P. Generale dei Conventuali a raccomandargli l'anima. Nel Venerdì mattina fu fatta l'apertura del cadavere, e si ritrovò dallo esofago fino alle parti inferiori una incrostatura nera, che radevasi lasciandovi una superficie biancastra, il solo ventricolo si rinvenne intiero, e putrefatti li polmoni. Per la puzza molti se ne partirono, e li Professori non poterono con diligenza eseguire l'operazione, poichè le carni appena toccate cadevano a pezzi e le giunture tutte si slogavano; furon poste in una vettina inverniciata le viscere; da li a poche ore crepò d^a^ vettina: e quantunque imbalsamato il cadavere, anche si putrafece in modo, che l'incassarono. Ne fu dato l'avviso alli Card^i^ Capi d'Ordini, li quali per non

esservi stato verun esempio, che non rimanesse il cadavere del Papa esposto alla vista del popolo, ordinarono, che con nuovi balsami si procurasse di conservarlo per lo trasporto in S. Pietro. Così fù eseguito, e nel rimbalsamarlo restavano tra le mani non solo li capelli, ed ugne, ma le dita e parte della carne putrefatta. Fù fatta la maschera nel volto, e tutto il resto dello scomposto corpo restò ricoperto dagli abiti sacri stando ben infasciato per non andarsi disseminando ; lasciò per altro nella strada intollerabile puzza nel Sabato sera, che fu trasportato, e giunto nella cappella Paolina furon subito fatti gli atti della ricognizione, e immediatamente per necessità incassato ; e così nella sequente mattina di Domenica fù esposto in Chiesa, ed in questa sera sarà seppellito. Altro fatto si addita che il sottocredenziere, a cui toccano gli avvanzi della tavola del Papa, per averli mangiato in quei giorni della Settimana Santa in S. Pietro, principiò dal detto tempo a patire una emaciazione, la quale crescendo l'avea ridotto un puro scheletro, e soffrendo quasi li medesimi sintomi del Papa, domenica sera dicesi defonto. Da tutto ciò il Popolo si hà indotto a credere, che ambi siano morti di veleno. Li più savi, anche tra Professori negano esservi stato veleno artificiale ; e tutti gli accennati segni han ben potuto seguire dalla violenza del male, che causò un generale immediato sflacelo ; altrimenti li Professori, che fecero l'apertura del cadavere, se avessero veduti sicuri segni di veleno, non avrebbero mancato di riferir tutto agli Eminentissimi del Sacro Collegio ; nè questi avrebbero trascurato di far fare dagli altri più opportune osservazioni, ed anche di ordinare l'apertura del Cadavere del sottocredenziere, morto domenica sera dopo divulgata la voce del veleno, tranguggiato da ambi due. La dilucidazione, e conciliazione dei tanti accidenti convien attendere per dare sicuro giudizio. Ed intanto a V. Ecc^{a} umilmente mi inchino.

Ibid.

(*k*)

Rome, September 26th, 1774.

In foglio separato mi son dato l'onore di riferire a V^{a} Ecc^{a} l'istoria dell'infermità, e morte del Papa ; in questo vengo a rispondere alla veneratissima di V^{a} Ecc^{za} delli 24 corr^{e},

con soggiungere quel di più, che riguarda le cose accadute dopo la morte. Il Cav. Moñino scrisse biglietto al Card^le^ Decano per esser a parlargli, come fece, ed in aria molto patetica li disse, che sperava nella saviezza del Sacro Collegio di non innovarsi cosa veruna rispetto all'abolizione dei Gesuiti, e che verrà ad eliggere un Papa, che sia accetto alla Chiesa universale come Padre Commune: altrimenti dandosi grave disgusto a S. M. C. si dimenticherà della Corte di Roma con pensare alli suoi soli Stati; e farà risorgere le ragioni sopra Castro e Ronciglione con farvi andare le truppe di Napoli cotanto vicino: siccome ancora significava, che il P. Buontempi, e 'l d^o^ Nicola Bischi erano sotto la Reale protezione. Il Card^le^ Decano con ilarità di volto rispose, che per l'affare della Compagnia, e delli Religiosi carcerati in Castello non sarebbe seguita veruna novità; ne certamente sarebbe potuto seguire, non avendo autorità il Sacro Collegio di rivocare, o mutare quanto con Breve è stato disposto dal defonto Pontefice. Rispetto poi all'elezione del nuovo Successore certamente il Sacro Collegio averà in mira di prescegliere degno soggetto, che sia applaudito da tutte le Corti Sovrane, ed in consequenza da tutte le Chiese Cattoliche; e così cesserà ogni motivo di rissentimento di S. M. C. In riguardo poi al P. Bontempi, il Sacro Collegio non sà chi sia, non avendo avuto alcuna carica, da potergli domandar conto. Siccome ne pur rispetto a Niccola Bischi; ma il conto rispetto all'Annona lo domanderà a Mgr Presidente della med^ma^, il quale se dirà che il danaro dell'erario l'ha dato per ordine del defonto Papa al d^o^ Bischi, il medesimo Mgr Presidente ne domanderà conto all' istesso Bischi: ne su questo si viene ad infringere la Reale protezione di S. M. C., la di cui nota giustizia non l'impedirà. Questo tal dialogo mi fu riferito originalmente, giacchè il Card^le^ Decano restò amareggiato da una simile minaccia, senza esservi motivo, ed all'incontro Moñino sentendo quella ponderata risposta restò pentito d'averla fatta; e perciò ambi sono stati ritenuti in palesarla; e per Roma si è propalata in diversi termini con lode della moderata proposta di Moñino e della compita risposta del Card^le^ Decano. Seguì un secondo abboccamento tra li med^i^, e si spiegò Moñino che la sua Corte andando unita con quella di Francia, avrebbe il d^o^ Card^le^ di Bernis trattato in Conclave per ambedue le Corti, per sempre più dimostrare la costante

unione tra di loro. Detto Moñino è stato a visitare Buontempi, siccome quello è stato più volte da lui; e l'istesso è seguito con Bernis. Non fu vero che Niccolò Bischi avesse presa l'uniforme di Spagna, e la corte [croce?] di Francia, poiche dalla risposta fatta dal Card^le^ Decano vedendosi lontana ogni violenza, consigliarono detti Ministri Regj di non assumere d^e^ insegne. Rispetto alla Spagna, si dice essersi dispaccio dichiarandolo Gentiluomo di bocca, corrispondente a Gentiluomo della Chiave di ferro; ed altri dicono essere qualche cosa di più, e la Croce di Francia esser quella di S. Lazzaro, che richiede alcune prove di nobiltà; e perciò senza dispensare in apparenza a far tali prove, in sostanza è lo stesso della dispensa la facoltà datagli di portar la croce anche prima di far le prove. Pervenuta a mia notizia la prima parlata di Moñino mi rincrebbe, che colla minaccia di mandarsi le truppe Napoletane sopra Castro e Ronciglione si voleano garantire li divisati due personaggi cotanto invisi al pubblico, cioè Buontempi, e Bischi; e lasciarsi al bersaglio due Napoletani, Macedonio, ed Alfani, le di cui fatighe erano note a Moñino: onde segretamente feci intendere al Card^le^ Decano, che sebbene io non abbia avuto alcun Real Ordine, ad ogni modo trattandosi di due sudditi ben affetti alla M^tà^ del mio Sovrano, non si sarebbe veduto con indifferenza salvati quei due riputati universalmente Rei enormi; e solamente sacrificati questi due Prelati Nazionali. Mi fece rispondere d^o^ Card^le^ Decano, che per Macedonio stasse pur quieto d'animo, che non avrebbe avuto alcun affronto; ma che anzi si pensava a ritrovar qualche nicchia per situarlo ora; e col futuro Papa non si sarebbe mancato di farlo promuovere; rispetto ad Alfani sentiva esservi moltissimi Card^li^ per sospenderlo almeno dalla carica di Uditore del Conclave, qual carica sta annessa all'Uditorato della Segnatura. Stimai con ringraziarlo della buona volontà per Macedonio, di replicare per Alfani, che non potea essere sospeso da quella di Uditore del Conclave, senza rimaner sospeso dall'altra, che esercita, di Uditore della Segnatura; e questa sospensione non può il Sacro Collegio fare essendovi una Bolla. A tal mia replica il Card^le^ Decano disse, che quanto a se avrebbe usato tutto lo studio, perche non si venisse a tal'atto. Ed in effetto jeri mattina nella Cong^one^ G^rale^ dei Card^li^ furono confermati tutti gl'Ufficiali, e Prelati, senza punto nominarsi Alfani, e proporsi l'eccezione

sopra la sua Persona. Il Card^le^ Zelada subito ne diede parte ad Alfani; onde credo, che d^o^ Card^le^ Zelada fosse stato parlato da Moñino. Ed io mi ritrovai in S. Pietro, ove mi fece sapere il Card^le^ Decano, ch'ero stato servito. Ritornai in casa per darne parte ad Alfani, ma ritrovai l'annesso suo biglietto, che accludo a V. Ecc^za^. La tempesta non è calmata, e se ne parlerà in Conclave per prevenire il futuro Papa; si difenderà nei termini di giustizia, e non con soverchiaria. Vede bene V^a^ Ecc^za^, che Jo non mi sono abusato del nome di S. M., ma semplicemente ho difeso la nazione, ed ho detto, ch'erano due sudditi ben affetti alla M^tà^ Sua; spero che V. Ecc^za^ sia per approvare, e tanto più lo spero per la postilla aggiuntami nella sua veneratissima: Longas Regibus esse manus. Rispetto al P. Buontempi devo soggiungere, che portatosi dal suo Padre Generale li presentò due Brevi; in uno veniva esentato da ogni soggezione de' Superiori, colla permissione di eliggere un convento a suo arbitrio: e l'altro di potersi secolarizzare tutte le volte che volea: indi esibì il terzo con cui veniva abilitato a posedere, ed a disporre di quanto avea. Rispose finalmente il P. Generale, che avrebbe desiderato d'esservi un altro Breve, per quietare la sua coscienza e salvarsi l'anima.

Se non seguirà l'elezione del Papa, e non si vedrà chi sarà l'Uditore, non si potrà trattare per la provista del P. Rupilo; essendo pero ferma la Reale protezione della Regina per così degno soggetto, vi è molto da sperare, niente da temere. Per l'enfiteusi mi regulerò secondo che V^a^ Ecc^za^ si è degnato significarmi. E pieno di profondo rispetto fo a V^a^ Ecc^za^ umilissime riverenze.

Ibid.

4. BRUNATI'S REPORT TO VIENNA

Rome, October 2nd, 1774.

Alla morte di Clemente XIV Ganganelli sono rimaste le cose della S. Sede in una confusione totale; effetto necessario della nessuna applicazione di detto Papa agli affari, e della inconseguenza, e capriccio di pochi suoi inetti, ed inonesti, favoriti, che hanno il tutto regolato.

L'inapplicazione del defunto Pontefice era giunta a tal

segno, che può dirsi di lui senza iperbole, che in tempo del suo Pontificato non abbia scritto ducento righe, e lettone nepure cinquanta. A questa inapplicazione deve attribuirsi l'aver egli lasciato vacare da molto tempo trenta, e più cariche importanti, senza mai provederle; e conferitene alcune altre con tanta inconsiderazione, che il caso vi avrebbe forse proveduto meglio.

I Ministri interni dello Stato appena potevano avere da lui udienza, ed avendola, ordinariamente non gli dava tempo, ne li permetteva parlare; dovevano lasciare le carte, che poi si facevano leggere dal Padre Buontempi Frate Conventuale, che era presso del Papa, in qualità di di lui Confessore; o anche senza leggersi si rimettevano poi a chi si credeva opportuno, accio si facesse quello si volesse.

In tale sistema vi sarebbe stato bisogno almeno di Ministri idonei, ed onorati, de' quali il Papa si fosse fidato, e chi avesse lasciato operare con attività; ma era tutto il contrario. Del Segretario di Stato, uomo veramente di piccolissimo talento, Sua Santità non ne aveva la menoma stima. Nè degl'altri Ministri idonei, o non idonei si fidava: come ancora non ha mai dimostrato un'ombra di considerazione di tutto il Sagro Collegio de' Cardinali.

Il suddetto Padre Maestro Buontempi era l'arbitro, l'onnipotente, il dispotico del Pontificato, e perchè reggesse questo dispotismo: erasi introdotto di far risolvere tutti gli affari anche appartenenti alle Sagre Congregazioni del Concilio, Vescovi, del Vicariato, e della Penitenziaria, senza esame, e senza giudizio coi rescritti per mezzo della Segretaria de Memoriali, la quale unicamente averebbe dovuto rimettere le suppliche alla decisione de' rispettivi dipartimenti.

Mons. Presidente della Grascia non è stato mai inteso, per quanto egli abbia parlato; e tanto meno Mons. de Vecchi Senese Presidente dell'Annona, cui erasi lasciato appena il nome della sua carica.

Il Sig. Nicola Bischi strettissimo amico del P. Buontempi, che ha sempre frequentato la di lui casa, ha tutto disposto a suo arbitrio si nell'uno come nell'altro di questi dipartimenti. Si fa conto, che per mano di detto Bischi sia girato un milione di scudi circa di quelli, che presi da Castel S. Angelo in tempo di Clemente XIII per provedere l'Annona negli anni calamitosi, vi si dovevano riporsi, e che ora per buona parte non

si sà dove siano andati. Il Papa defonto fece un chirografo, col quale abilitò esso Bischi a renderne conto all'ingrosso, come dicesi essere stato fatto per lo passato in gran parte, ed in parte si prepara di fare anche adesso.

Questo modo singolare di rendere conto del denaro pubblico invece di giustificarlo, anzi lo accusa.

Poteva consolar Roma, ed essergli di solievo colla pubblicazione degli undici Cardinali riservatisi in petto fino dal di 26 Aprile dell'anno passato. Ma la solita inapplicazione del Papa, il timore del P. Buontempi di non esservi compreso, e lo scrupolo di Sua Santità in comprendervi questo conosciuto immeritevole Religioso, l'hanno fatto procrastinare tanto, che è morto con lasciare quindici Cappelli vacanti con grande pregiudizio di quelli che erano già Cardinali riserbati in petto, e specialmente di Mons. de Vecchi sudetto, e di Mons. Salviati, i quali per esserne stati espressamente avvisati, avevano fatte molte spese necessarie per il Cardinalato, ed ora restano totalmente esposti all'arbitrio di chi succederà. Esso P. Buontempi si è vantato con qualche suo confidente d'aver sempre impedito l'esaltazione principalmente di Mons. de Vecchi perchè fatto Cardinale non avendo più riguardi e misure da osservare, non manifestasse al Papa la fraudolente amministrazione del Bischi sopra l'Annona.

In quanto alle cose della soppressa Compagnia di Gesù ed alle Persone degli Ex-Gesuiti rinchiusi in Castel S. Angelo, il Papa fin dal principio le aveva rimesse ad una Congregazione composta da cinque Cardinali, da Mons. Macedonio Segretario de' memoriali, e della sudetta Congregazione particolare, e da Mons. Alfani, Uditore della Segnatura, ed Assessore della Congregazione medesima. Ma quest'ultimo Prelato dotato di molto talento, e di maggior franchezza, ed inimico giurato della probità, acquistò tal credito sull'animo del Papa, e spacciavane [?] cosi francamente la di lui parola, che era giunto a regolare egli a modo suo il più delle cose, che si dovevano esaminare, e risolvere nell' accennata Congregazione. Ordinariamente le di lui determinazioni si risentivano dal dispotismo, che le dettava, e di un massimo rigore contro la persona [sic] degli ex-Gesuiti, che sembrava odio, ni va esente della taccia di espilazione della roba de' predetti.

Gli affari delle Corti estere nel Pontificato passato hanno havuto più corso, perche il Papa temeva moltissimo di

disgustare le medesime. Questi però ordinariamente si trattavano per mezzo del Cardinal de Zelada, uomo destro, ed attivo, che per questo appunto era divenuto più di ogni altro Cardinale potente presso del Papa, perche lo sgravava del peso di pensare a detti affari. Ma neppure egli godeva un'intiera confidenza, onde il Santo Padre alle volte si prevaleva del Cardinale Negroni, Segretario de' Brevi, o del Cardinale di Simone Prouditore ; mai del Segretario di Stato ; e sempre con somma segretezza.

Dopo un Pontificato regolato con tale sistema per cinque anni, e quattro mesi è morto Clemente XIV. Egli aveva supposto alli suoi intimi familiari di aver fatto Testamento ; ma nessun foglio finora si è ritrovato, che lo contenga : la sua privata eredità si crede, che ascenda a scudi ducento mila, e più in contanti, luoghi di Monti, e mobili preziosi.

Questa, se non si ritrova il sopposto Testamento, n'aspetta a due suoi pronipoti per parte di sorelle poveri, e che egli vivente non ha voluto mai vedere.

Oltre di ciò in Camera Apostolica ha lasciato depositati gli avanzi del Gioco del Lotto, ed alcuni altri provenienti dai vacabili della Datteria, che insieme ascendono a quasi duecentomila altri scudi.

Del rimanente la di lui memoria in Roma è rimasta odiosa presso ogni ceto di persone. Tutti ne hanno detto e ne dicono male, anche quelli, che sono stati suoi intimi familiari. Segno evidente o che egli non abbia fatto bene ad alcuno ; o che l'abbia fatto meschinamente, e con mala grazia, onde nessuno gli sia rimasto obbligato. Per fargli orazione funebre non vi è stato nessuno, che siasi presentato da sè, quando in ogni altra occasione simili molti vi sono concorsi : il Sagro Collegio ha dovuto egli destinare Mons. Buonamici Lucchese, Segretario delle lettere latine a' Principi, che farà detta orazione Martedì 4 Ottobre.

Una quantità di piccole satire contro la memoria del defonto Pontefice, e contro i favoriti sopradetti inonda Roma liberamente. Forse la soppressione fatta de' Gesuiti, il rigore usato contro di essi, non meno che l'avvilimento, e dispregio con cui ha tenuto i Cardinali, la Nobiltà, il Fratismo stesso contribuisce assai a tanta odiosità.

Mons. Alfani e Bischi divenuti il bersaglio principale dell'odio commune sarebbero stati, il primo processato,

e sospeso di carica, e gli altri processati ed arrestati: ed ancora si è pensato di liberare gli ex-Gesuiti ritenuti in Castel S. Angelo. Ma il Cardinale de Bernis, Ministro di Francia, ed il Conte Monnino, Ministro di Spagna, hanno parlato in favore degli uni [?], e impedito ogni altra risoluzione rapporto alli suddetti ex-Gesuiti, il primo con buone maniere, il secondo anche minacciando. Molti hanno preso ciò per prepotenza, ed oppressione.

Alfani has been relieved of the task of taking care of the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo, and Mons. Potenziani di Rieti has been appointed Governor of Rome. . . . The latter was one of the eleven Cardinals reserved *in petto* . . .

Una circostanza assai rilevante ha accompagnato la morte di Clemente XIV., che forma l'oggetto de discorsi di tutta Roma. Egli temeva d'essere avvelenato, onde stava timido, e circospetto, specialmente dopo la soppressione de' Gesuiti: Nella Settimana Santa dell'anno corrente trasferito ad alloggiare nel Palazzo Vaticano secondo il solito, dubitò di esserli stato dato il veleno nell'insalata.

Prima, e più dopo d'allora comminciarono a scapar fuori, e spargervi per Roma, e per tutto lo Stato Ecclesiastico molte Profezzie di Bizocche, e di Pittonesse, e di certo Fra Giorgio Laico Cappuccino, morto pochi anni sono, in Roma in concetto di santità, ed insieme ancora vari calcoli cabbalistici, che tutti predicevano la morte del Papa dentro il mese di Settembre. Intanto Sua Santità è andato deteriorando a poco a poco, fino a che caduto in una estrema debolezza, e languore li sopravenne la febre, e la morte.

The corpse putrefied immediately. The two vessels in which the *praecordia* were preserved burst owing to the fermentation of their contents. . . . In Roma si crede communemente, che veramente sia stato avvelenato: I Ministri delle Corti Borboniche dimostrano di crederlo. All'incontro tutti quelli, che sono stati affezionati alli Gesuiti, insieme col medico Saliceti, che lo ha curato negli ultimi giorni, lo negano ed attribuiscono quegli effetti al continuo timore, nel quale viveva il Papa. . . .

This is a very unpleasant matter for the pro-Jesuits. Bernis and Moñino have already taken steps to guard against any surprise at the next Papal election.

State Archives, Florence, Reggenza, 347.

5. NOTES ON THE BIOGRAPHIES OF CLEMENT XIV.[1]

Clement XIV.'s policy of giving way to the secular Powers, which culminated in the suppression of the Jesuits, won him the warm support of all the "enlightened". Hardly was he dead than he was credited with immortal fame and was extolled as a second Sixtus V. and even as the greatest of all Popes. The suppression of the Jesuits in particular was described as a heroic deed, although it was anything but that.[2] The *Ragguaglio della vita, azioni e virtù di Clemente XIV.* (Firenze, 1775), the work of an anonymous Florentine, is wholly panegyrical. The author admires everything about his hero; on the very first page he holds him up as a model of firmness! The biographical data are scanty, but there is no stint of words to describe the Pope's virtues: the "giustizia incorrotta nel suo pontificato", exemplified by the suppression of the Jesuits (pp. 9 *seqq.*); his "temperanza eroica" (pp. 34 *seqq.*), "sua eroica prudenza" (pp. 53 *seq.*). The work is interspersed with invectives against the Jesuits in spite of the author's assertion on p. 80, "noi non siamo nemici dei Gesuiti."

The *Vita di Clemente XIV. P.M. arrichita di memorie storiche in seguito alla Storia delle Vite di Pontefici* (Venezia, 1775) is another glorification of "the great Pope", but it provides some authentic facts.

Caraccioli's *Vie du Pape Clément XIV.* (Paris, 1775; in Italian, Firenze, 1776; in German, Frankfurt, 1776) is merely a collection of anecdotes whose only value is that they include a number of character sketches drawn by a contemporary; a whole mass of facts, however, which would be taken for granted in the life of a Pope or are part and parcel of the status of any ruler, are represented grandiloquently as acts peculiar to Clement XIV. From this book an extract has been made in German (*Clemens XIV., ein Lebens- und*

[1] Among Pastor's papers were found some disconnected notes on the biographies of Clement XIV. which were to be combined into a comprehensive criticism. As Pastor's opinion is always worth knowing, they are reproduced here, in spite of their incompleteness, with the addition of a few quotations.

[2] *Cf.* above, pp. 548 *seq.*

Charakterbild, Leipzig, 1847) by an anonymous editor [Uschner], who is obviously ignorant of things Roman and who reproduces all the banalities of the original. For Ranke's unfavourable opinion of Caraccioli, see his *Popes*, II., 449 n. For Caraccioli's edition of Clement XIV.'s letters, see above, p. 87.

The ex-Jesuit Cordara is a consistent defender of Clement XIV.[1]

Naturally opinions of an entirely different kind have also been expressed, and many of these, too, have been unjust. The controversy was revived by the writings of Gioberti and his opponent CRÉTINEAU-JOLY.[2] In pleasant contrast with

[1] *Cf.* above, pp. 264, 525. A similar line was taken by the ex-Jesuit Simon Mattzell in the funeral oration on Clement XIV. he delivered on November 15, 1774, at Fribourg, in Switzerland. According to him the deceased was "among the most excellent of Supreme Pontiffs who richly deserve an immortal fame". The second part of his oration was a defence of the Pope against those who blamed him for having decreed the suppression: "It was not malice but zeal for the peace of the Church that provided his paternal arm with the lightning-stroke with which he struck us. . . . If peace—and by this I mean real peace—and the unity of the Church of God were not to be obtained but by our public execution, well then, we do not struggle against such a stroke. . . . And whoever of the former Jesuits may have thought, spoken, or written otherwise bore the name and the dress of the Society but he had none of its spirit." *Trauerrede auf den verstorbenen Papst Klemens XIV. von Mr. l'Abbé Simon Mattzell* (no date or place of publication), 5, 32, 34.

[2] The Jesuit General Roothaan tried to dissuade Crétineau from publishing his impassioned work (MAYNARD, *Crétineau*, Paris, 1875, 261; KREITEN in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI, [1876], 314 *seq.*), and on December 24, 1852, before the book appeared, he stated publicly that it had not the backing of the Jesuits as a whole. *Cf. Ami de la Religion*, t. 259 (1853), 63 *seq.*: "Je proteste hautement, dans toute la sincérité de ma conscience, en mon propre nom et au nom de tous les miens, contre tout ce qui, dans les écrits de M. Crétineau-Joly, pourrait blesser l'honneur et le respect dus au Saint Siège apostolique, et je déclare qu'il n'existe aucune solidarité entre cet auteur et les membres de la

their impassioned arguments is the cool research of a German historian, ALFRED REUMONT (*Ganganelli*, Berlin, 1847).

THEINER'S long work, arranged according to the years of Clement XIV.'s reign, is childishly ingenuous in its conception, is of little literary worth, and is quite unscientific, if only because he never quotes his sources (*cf.*, for instance, Tanucci's letter, II., 321). He has the merit of reproducing Bernis' dispatches, but he has no idea what to make of them. He is quite incapable of discerning the thought that lies behind his material. He is the apologist who finds everything "touching", even official documents. *Cf.* MASSON, 223: "Il ne reste absolument rien de son récit." (*Hist.*, II., 334) and (*ibid.*, 139) "Cette dépêche (on Bernis' first audience) a été publiée par Theiner I., 325, qui n'a omis que ce passage le plus important".

Ranke's glorification of Clement XIV. (*Popes*, II., 449) provoked the comment from E. GUGLIA (*L. v. Ranke, Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1898, 221): "Ranke seems to have a spiritual affinity with Ganganelli; in justifying him he is answering his own critics."

Compagnie de Jésus." *Cf.* also Roothaan's biography by PIETRO PIRRI (Rome, 1930, 371). For Crétineau, see also *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LII. (1884), 30 *seq.*

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXVIII

Acquasciolti (Jesuit), 197.
Acquaviva di Aragona, Pasquale (Cardinal Legate of Urbino), 278, 280, 447.
Adinolfi (Papal physician), 524, 530, 543.
Adorno, Giovanni, 444.
Agemi, Anna (Lebanese visionary), 491.
Agreda, Maria of, 162, 181.
Aguilar (Spanish envoy in Savoy), 337.
Aguirre (conclavist), 68.
Aiguillon, Duc d' (French minister), 195, 199, 200, 219, 251, 256, 300, 301, 307, 309, 338, 340, 493.
Alba, Fra Francisco de, 224.
Albani, Cardinal Alessandro, 5, 13, 52, 69, 70, 73, 74, 85, 106, 167, 169.
Albani, Cardinal Annibale, 85.
Albani, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco, 3, 50, 52, 70, 73, 85, 97, 106, 540–1.
Alfani, Mgr., 209–210, 213, 239, 265, 278, 280, 283, 311, 317–18, 320–6, 328–9, 334, 541, 546.
Almada (Portuguese ambassador in Rome), 25, 26, 68, 100, 107–113, 119–120, 123, 134, 141–2, 159, 165, 172–3, 232, 239, 244–5, 278, 293, 295, 312, 319, 528.
Amherst, Lord, 487.
Andreotti, 328–331, 335.
Antici, Marchese (Polish envoy in Rome), 142, 167, 385, 546.
Antici (Palatine government agent), 357.
Antonelli, Cardinal Niccolò, 2, 6, 71.
Aranda, Count (President of Council of Castile), 21, 217, 454.
Archinto, Cardinal Giovanni (nuncio to Florence), 105.
Arcos, Duke of, 243.
Aubeterre, Marquis d' (French envoy at Rome), 36, 39–43, 52–5, 57, 63, 65–6, 68–9, 71, 109, 137–9, 141.
Aymon, Charles Antoine de la Roche (Archbishop of Rheims), 203, 447.
Azara, José Nicolas de (Spanish agent in Rome), 1, 6, 7, 74, 115, 119–121, 163, 165, 216, 221, 238, 296, 313.
Azpuru (Spanish ambassador in Rome), 1, 3, 8–13, 18, 21, 22, 31, 35, 37, 39–40, 44–5, 48, 53, 55–7, 59, 62–4, 66, 68–9, 73, 75–9, 106, 110, 115, 136–145, 150–1, 153–4, 159, 162–3, 165–7, 170–180, 182–3, 185, 187, 194–5, 198, 200–1, 204, 209, 215, 219, 228, 258–9, 473.
Azzaloni (Jesuit), 315.

Bajer, Andreas (Bishop of Kulm), 433, 435.
Balit, Joseph (Archbishop of Mardin), 490.
Baluffi, Cardinal, 476–7.
Barberini, Anna Maria Colonna, Duchess, 461.
Barri (Governor of Lower California), 506.
Batoni, Pompeo, 510.
Beaumont, Christophe de (Archbishop of Paris), 340.
Belgarde (missionary in Africa), 503.

Belgrado, Jacopo (Jesuit), 269–272.
Bellacci, Tommaso, Blessed, 445.
Bellisomi, Carlo (nuncio to Cologne), 354, 363.
Benedetti (valet), 531.
Benedict XIII., Pope, 460, 506.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 3, 85, 106, 266, 460, 505.
Benincasa, Franceso (Jesuit, later Bishop of Capri), 330, 334.
Benoît (Prussian ambassador to Warsaw), 387 n.
Bergier (theologian), 441.
Bernhard of Baden, Blessed, 445.
Bernis, François Joachim de Pierre de, Cardinal (French ambassador), 6, 10, 12–13, 19, 21, 28, 33, 35–6, 41–3, 45–6, 48–56, 59–60, 63, 65–8, 70–3, 76, 79–80, 95, 119–120, 138–146, 148–159, 171–185, 187, 194–6, 200, 202–3, 205–6, 218–19, 227–232, 235, 238, 242, 245, 249–251, 254, 264, 274, 283, 300, 301, 305, 308–9, 339–340, 445, 458, 493, 501, 520–1, 527, 531, 536, 540, 545.
Bestone, Giovanni de, 445.
Bianchi (physician), 534.
Bianconi (Saxon agent in Rome), 365.
Binder, Baron, 343.
Bischi, Niccolò, 99–100, 296, 524, 531, 540–1, 545–6, 549.
Blasi, Camillo, 193 n.
Boiret, 500.
Bolognetti, Cardinal, 86.
Bonaccorsi, Cardinal, 2, 28, 31, 72.
Bonamici, Francesco (Secretary of Latin Briefs), 542.
Bonaventura of Potenza, Blessed, 444, 542.
Boncompagni, Ignazio (Vice-legate), 215.
Bontempi (Secretary to Clement XIV.), 98–9, 145, 204, 221, 227, 233, 239, 244, 246–8, 250, 253–5, 263, 275–6, 278, 281, 296, 524, 526–7, 531, 538–9.
Borghese, Scipione, Cardinal (Maestro di Camera), 106, 279, 446.
Borgia (Secretary of Propaganda), 478.
Boschi, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo, 8, 28, 31, 72, 528.
Boynes, de (French Naval Minister), 492.
Brancas, Jean Antoine (Archbishop of Aix), 440.
Branciforte, Cardinal Antonio Colonna, 31, 32, 71.
Braschi, Cardinal Gianangelo (afterwards Pius VI.), 264, 448, 514.
Breidenbach, Emmerich Joseph von (Elector of Mainz), 359, 414, 416.
Bretzenheim, Prince of, 354.
Briand, Olivier (Bishop of Quebec), 487.
Brunati, 93–4, 544–6.
Bucareli (Viceroy in Lower California), 506.
Bufalini, Cardinal Giovanni Ottavio, 8, 31, 33.
Buonanno, Abbé, 524.
Burali, Paolo, Blessed, 444.

Calini, Cardinal Ludovico, 72.
Campo, Bernardo del, 184.
Cancellarius, Franciscus, 213.
Canova, Antonio (sculptor), 551–2.
Caprara, Cardinal Giovanni Battista (nuncio to Cologne), 357, 410, 415.
Caraccioli, Marchese Luigi Antonio, 87.
Caracciolo, Fabricio, 444.

Caracciolo, Francesco, St., 444, 542.
Caracciolo, Cardinal Giovanni Costanzio, 31–3.
Carafa di Colombrano, Cardinal, 38 n., 191, 208 n., 239, 282.
Carafa di Trajetto, Cardinal Francesco, 239 n., 264, 448.
Carleton (Governor of Canada), 487.
Carlo Cristoforo da Casale (Franciscan), 283.
Carlo Emanuele III. (King of Sardinia), 211, 262, 443, 471.
Carlos Clemente (Infante of Spain), 194, 201 n., 227, 233.
Carmer (Prussian minister), 425, 432.
Carrich (Jesuit), 410.
Carroll, John (First Bishop of Baltimore), 486.
Carvalho e Mendoza, Paulo de, Cardinal, 109–112, 445.
Carvellos, 216 n.
Casale, Carlo Cristofero da (Franciscan), 283.
Casali, Cardinal Antonio (Governor of Rome), 282, 323, 447, 514.
Casali (Jesuit), 209.
Castelli, Cardinal Giuseppe Maria, 2, 6, 8, 28, 31, 480, 493.
Catherine II. (Empress of Russia), 386, 401–2, 405–6.
Catrani (Archpriest of S. Eustachio), 318, 321.
Cavaceppi (sculptor), 512.
Cavalchini, Cardinal, 6, 25, 32, 35, 57, 59–61, 69, 73, 96–7, 106.
Celli, Gregorio, Blessed, 445.
Cenaculo, Frey Manoel de (Bishop of Beja), 124, 131.
Centomani (Neapolitan agent in Rome), 7, 34, 38, 39, 46, 53, 77, 92, 104, 137, 163, 202, 207, 210, 218, 222, 448, 462, 522–4, 538, 541.
Challoner, Richard (Vicar Apostolic in London), 481–3, 486.
Charles III. (King of Spain), 11, 20, 22, 24, 29, 39–40, 44, 59–60, 75, 80, 104–5, 136, 138–9, 149, 152, 154, 164–5, 170–1, 177, 178, 180–2, 184–5, 190, 195, 199, 200–1, 204, 211, 213, 216, 228, 231, 242, 251, 255–6, 259–260, 262, 264, 275–7, 295, 297–8, 300, 303, 307, 319, 326, 332, 454, 472–3, 485.
Charles of Lorraine (Duke), 372.
Charles of Sezze [Blessed], 445.
Chigi, Cardinal Flavio, 8, 31, 33, 46, 89, 198.
Choiseul, Duke of (French foreign minister), 4, 5, 7, 9, 20, 24, 27–9, 32, 38–9, 43, 63, 65, 68, 75–6, 135, 138–141, 151–5, 157, 162, 164–5, 171–2, 174, 176–7, 179, 181–3, 186, 451.
Ciofani (Prussian agent in Rome), 421, 436.
Clé (Jesuit Provincial), 374.
Clement XI., Pope, 177.
Clement XIII., Pope, 1, 23, 27, 58, 90–1, 114, 178, 192, 249, 288, 291, 449.
Clement XIV., Pope, 73 ff.; *see also* Ganganelli.
Collet, Abbé, 192.
Colonna, Cardinal Marcantonio, 41, 49–51, 69, 97, 191, 240, 248.
Coltraro (ex-Jesuit), 315 n., 334 n.
Comolli, Gabriello, 321, 334
Conti, Cardinal Innocenzo, 2, 32, 68, 108–9, 113, 114, 116–19, 124–33, 293–4, 447.

Cordara, Giulio (Jesuit), 18, 62, 74, 89, 93, 211–15, 265–6, 284, 291, 335, 525, 538.
Cordova, Cardinal Luis Fernandez de (Archbishop of Toledo), 11, 117.
Coronel, 327.
Corradini, Cardinal Pietro, 460.
Corsini, Cardinal Andrea, 32, 47, 97, 280, 282, 304, 320, 323, 326, 429, 481, 483 n., 485 n.
Corsini, Cardinal Neri, 9–10, 32, 35, 47.
Coste (missionary in Africa), 504.
Crescenzi, Cardinal, 460.
Cunha, João Cosme da (Cardinal, Bishop of Evora), 112, 118, 122–4, 131, 446.
Czerniszew, Count, 403.

D'Alembert, 251, 263, 419.
Danei, Paolo, *see* Paul of the Cross, St.
D'Angiò, Mgr., 39.
De la Houze (Secretary to French Embassy), 2, 61.
Delci, Cardinal Francesco, 264, 448.
Demetrius (Melchite Bishop of Gebel), 489.
Deperdriau (French consul at Aleppo), 493–4.
Deshaises (conclavist), 71, 80, 155.
Diesbach, N. J. Albert von (Jesuit), 349.
Doria Pamfili, Giuseppe (nuncio in Paris), 309.
Dressel, Ludwig, 476.
Du Barry, Comtesse, 186, 203, 457.
Duflot de Mofras (explorer), 474.
Dufour (Jansenist), 61.
Durini, Cardinal Angelo Maria, 302, 308, 379, 381–3, 385–6, 390, 396.
Durini, Cardinal Carlo Francesco (nuncio to France), 2, 32.

Elias (Chaldean patriarch), 489.
Emmerich Joseph (Elector of Mainz), *see* Breidenbach.
Erhard, Joseph (Jesuit Provincial), 352.
Estephan, *see* Joseph Estephan.

Fantuzzi, Cardinal Gaetano, 8, 31, 33, 47–9, 69.
Faria, Lemos de (Bishop Coadjutor of Coimbra), 124–5, 131–2.
Faure, Giovanni Battista, 322, 334.
Febronius, 407 ff.; *see also* Hontheim.
Felbiger (Augustinian abbot), 422, 438.
Ferdinand (King of the Two Sicilies), 256, 278, 295, 299, 527.
Ferdinand VI. (King of Spain), 505.
Ferdinand (missionary), 500.
Ferdinando (Duke of Parma), 298–303.
Fernandez (Vicar Apostolic of East Tongking), 498.
Ferri, Abbé, 86 n.
Ferroni, Cardinal, 2.
Finckenstein (Prussian minister), 421.
Fioravanti, Abbé, 534.
Firmian, Count, 344 n.
Firmian, Cardinal Leopold Ernst von (Bishop of Passau), 447.
Fleury, Claude (historian), 441.
Florentius of Jesus of Nazareth (Vicar Apostolic of Malabar), 496.
Forestier, Le (Jesuit Provincial), 334.

Francesco, Brother, 100, 531, 549.
Franchini (Jesuit), 155 n.
Franckenberg, Cardinal (Archbishop of Malines), 375.
Frederick II. (King of Prussia), 154, 184, 251, 263, 335, 386, 417–26, 436–7, 441.
Friedrich Augustus III. (Elector of Saxony), 365.
Fuccioli, Giovannantonio, 265.
Fuentes, Count (Spanish envoy in France), 7, 24, 140, 153, 161, 164, 244, 258.
Fusconi, Francesco (physician to Paul III.), 512

Galeota, Michele (Archbishop of Capua), 463.
Galli, Cardinal Antonio Andrea, 2.
Galvez, José de (Inspector-General in Lower California), 506.
Ganganelli, Angela Serafina (mother of Clement XIV.), 83.
Ganganelli, Cardinal Lorenzo, 2, 7, 30–5, 41–2, 49, 57, 61–3, 68–73, 83 ff.; *see also* Clement XIV.
Ganganelli, Lorenzo (father of Clement XIV.), 83.
Garampi, Giuseppe (Secretary of Ciphers), 71, 105.
Garampi, Cardinal Giuseppe (nuncio to Poland), 213, 366–7, 369–372, 378, 385–6, 388, 390, 394, 400–1, 405, 429, 432, 434–7.
Gattinara, Arboreo di (Bishop of Alessandria), 459.
Geddes, John, 485.
Gentili, Cardinal, 85.
Georgi (Augustinian), 143, 171.
Géroué (ex-Jacobite Bishop), 491.
Ghilini, Cardinal (nuncio), 374 n., 480.
Giacomelli, Michelangelo (Secretary of Latin Briefs), 105.
Giani, Marchese, 328.
Giorgi, Carlo (merchant), 551.
Giorgi, Mgr. Carlo, 524.
Giorgi, Domenico da (Augustinian), 272.
Giraud, Bernardino (nuncio in France), 153, 155, 187, 195, 199, 203, 274–5, 277, 447.
Giuliana of Busto Arsizio, Blessed, 444.
Gleixner, Franz (Jesuit Provincial in Silesia), 424–5, 433.
Gloucester, Duke of, 97.
Gobel (Vicar-General of Porrentruy; Archbishop of Paris), 351.
Godfrey of Laimbeckhoven (Bishop of Nanking), 495.
Goldstein, Count, 415.
Gondola, Count (Vicar Apostolic of Northern Missions), 487.
Gonzaga, Valenti, *see* Valenti.
Gorgo, Antonio (Jesuit), 321.
Gothein, 475.
Grassi, Antonio [Blessed], 445 n.
Grimaldi, Marchese (Spanish Minister), 1, 3–7, 11, 26, 29, 31, 47–8, 56, 65, 80, 143, 153, 161, 164, 189, 195, 199, 216–18, 222, 225, 245, 250, 258, 260, 262, 277, 296, 299, 303, 307, 454.
Gualtier, Louis (Jesuit), 334–5.
Gurowski, 366.
Gusmão, João de (Jesuit), 321–2.

Halbout, Pierre (Vicar-General of Cochinchina), 498–9.
Hamilton, Gavin (painter), 514.
Hartmann, 350–1.
Heinrich (Prussian prince), 386.
Hell (Jesuit astronomer), 426.

Heraclius (King of Georgia), 492.
Hertle (Jesuit), 437.
Herz, Franz (Confessor to Elector of Saxony), 365.
Herzan, Cardinal (Austrian chargé d'affaires), 343.
Hillesheim (Canon of Cologne), 409 n., 412.
Hohenwart, Count (Jesuit, Archbishop of Vienna), 345.
Holbach, 442.
Holm, John (ex-Jesuit), 484.
Honorius III., Pope, 471.
Hontheim (Suffragan Bishop of Trier), 408–412, 414.
Horn-Goldschmidt, von (Vicar-General of Cologne), 361.
Howard, John (ex-Jesuit), 484.
Humboldt, Alexander von, 475.

Ignacio de San Cayetano (Bishop of Penafiel), 124.
Innocent II., Pope, 471.
Innocent XIII., Pope, 233, 459
Iriarte, Juan Pedro de (Dominican), 506.

Jacobini, Giovanni Battista (Bishop of Veroli), 171.
Jacquier (Lazarist General), 504.
Jenkins (art dealer), 512.
John (Armenian bishop), 489.
John (Bishop of Ceramus, Coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic of West Tongking), 502.
John of St. William, 445.
Joseph I. (King of Portugal), 24, 111, 172, 219, 256, 293, 295.
Joseph II. (Emperor), 14–21, 257, 305, 341, 347, 378, 387, 401, 441, 457, 488.
Joseph IV. Lazarus Hindi (Nestorian Patriarch of Diarbekir), 489.
Joseph Estephan (Maronite Patriarch), 490–1.
Josue (Chaldean Bishop), 489.
Julian of the Mother of God (Franciscan), 497, 499.

Kalatay (Jesuit, Bishop of Grosswardein), 346.
Karl Eugen (Duke of Württemberg), 416.
Karl Theodor (Elector Palatine), 354, 356, 358, 363, 415.
Karl Theodor (Duke of Sulzbach), 444.
Kaufmanns, Johann Gottfried (Dean of Cologne University), 410.
Kaunitz-Rittberg, Prince Ernst von (Neapolitan ambassador), 22, 23, 52, 53, 61, 86 n.
Kaunitz, Prince Wenzel Anton von, 107, 257, 259, 260, 341, 373, 377, 387, 390.
Khevenhüller, Count (Lord High Steward), 261.
Klemens Wenzeslaus (Elector of Trier), 355, 408–9, 414.
Kodsi (Syrian Bishop in Jerusalem), 494.
Konarski (Piarist Provincial), 380.
Koniski, (schismatic) Bishop of Mohilev, 402 n.
Korycki, Carlo (Jesuit), 321.
Krasizki (Prince-Bishop of Ermeland), 427, 431, 436–7.
Kressl (Imperial State councillor), 341.

Laborde (banker), 10.
La Cerda (Cardinal, Patriarch of the Indies), 11–12, 64, 67, 76, 79.
Laimbeckhoven (Bishop of Nanking), 495.
Lambertini, Cesare, 118.
Lamettrie, 441.
Lami, Giovanni, 87.

Lante, Cardinal, 8, 30 n., 35, 65, 68.
Lante, Duchessa Faustina Capranica, 317, 329.
Lanze, Cardinal delle, 142.
Lavaña, Count de (Spanish ambassador in Naples), 204, 206–7, 216.
Laverdy (Controller-General), 472.
La Vrillière, 187.
Le Bret, 114.
Lebzeltern (Austrian envoy), 122, 130.
Lecchi, Antonio (Jesuit), 215.
Leith, Gallus, 484.
Leonardo di Porto Maurizio, St., 460.
Leopold II., Duke of Tuscany, 15, 21, 469.
Le Roy, Philippe-Joseph (Vicar-Apostolic of Algiers), 504.
Lewis, John (Jesuit), 486.
Loménie de Brienne, Cardinal-Archbishop, 441, 450.
Louis XV., King of France, 139, 156, 160, 167–8, 172, 195, 242, 251, 256, 264, 277, 295, 298–9, 307, 339, 341, 440, 441, 456–7, 511, 523.
Louis XVI., King of France, 341, 443.
Louise, Princess (Carmelite), 201, 339–340, 456–8.
Loureiro (Jesuit missionary), 498–500.
Lucci, Antonio (Bishop of Bovino), 84.
Luynes, Cardinal de (Archbishop of Sens), 10, 21, 28, 41, 49, 54, 66, 440.

Macedonio (Neapolitan prelate, Secretary of Memorials), 100, 187, 232, 234, 239, 244, 272, 282–3, 311, 317–18, 320, 323, 428–9, 431, 523–4, 541.
Magallon (Spanish envoy in Paris), 4, 5, 339.
Mahony (Spanish envoy in Vienna), 5, 22–3.
Ma Joseph (mandarin), 495.
Malvezzi, Cardinal (Archbishop of Bologna), 33–7, 76–7, 265–273, 280, 297, 329, 336, 528, 531–2.
Mamachi, Cardinal, 220, 283, 323, 410.
Mangold, Joseph (Jesuit rector), 355.
Mansur (brother of chief of Druses), 489.
Manzi, Francesco Maria de' (Archbishop of Avignon), 309.
Marefoschi, Cardinal (Secretary of Propaganda), 100, 137, 171, 175, 177–8, 183, 191, 198–9, 201, 208–9, 233, 241, 243, 247, 265, 282, 304, 323, 325, 446, 519, 530.
Maria Amalia (daughter of Maria Theresa), 21.
Maria Karoline (daughter of Maria Theresa), 21.
Maria Leszczynska (Queen of France), 456.
Maria Theresa (Empress), 17, 20–1, 114, 171, 255–261, 305, 312, 341–3, 345–7, 372, 378, 387, 399, 401, 406, 413, 473–4, 494.
Mariana Victoria (Queen of Portugal), 24, 219.
Mariani (notary), 328.
Marie Antoinette (Princess, afterwards Queen of France), 22, 258, 261.
Marquez, Luis (Jesuit), 498–500.
Marti, Bruno (Jesuit), 548.
Martinelli, 99.
Martorelli, 468.
Marzoni (Franciscan General), 533, 535–6, 541.
Massalski, Bishop of Vilna, 371.

Massi, Pasquale, 515
Mattei, Giuseppe, 513.
Max Franz (Elector of Cologne), 364.
Max III. Joseph (Elector of Bavaria), 352, 415–16.
Maximilian Friedrich (Elector of Cologne), 361–2.
Mayer, Christian (Jesuit astronomer), 426.
Mayoli (Jesuit), 315.
Mazza, Angela Serafina (mother of Clement XIV.), 83.
Meindaerts (Archbishop of Utrecht), 473.
Melchiori, Angelo (Jesuit Provincial), 269 n.
Menghin, 531, 535.
Mengs, Raffael (painter), 510, 551.
Mercy, Count (Imperial envoy), 258.
Merlino, Massimo di (Franciscan), 493.
Michael Peter (Patriarch of Cilicia and Syria), 490.
Migazzi, Cardinal Christoph Anton, 6, 10, 261, 343, 345.
Miguel d'Annunciação (Bishop of Coimbra), 113, 124–5.
Mlodziejowski (Bishop of Posen), 370, 380–3.
Mohr (Governor of Lucerne), 350.
Molino, Cardinal Giovanni, 72, 468.
Moñino, José (Spanish ambassador to Rome), 216–19, 225–236, 238–240, 242–255, 262–4, 274–283, 295–9, 301, 312, 316, 318–19, 326, 329, 332–3, 453–4, 501, 518–19, 526–8, 531, 536–7, 539–541, 549.
Montagnini, Abbé (Sardinian chargé d'affaires in Vienna), 24.
Montefabro, Sanctes of, 445.
Montes, Francisco (Jesuit), 321, 332.
More, Henry (Jesuit Provincial), 427, 483.
Mozart, 510.
Müller, Ignaz (Confessor to Maria Theresa), 261.
Muti, Bernardino (nuncio in Lisbon), 133–4.

Neale, Leonard (Jesuit), 486.
Negroni, Cardinal Andrea, 32, 72, 97, 144, 148, 524, 528, 546.
Nény, 376.
Nerini, Felice (Hieronymite Procurator-General), 214.

Oberndorff, 356.
Orlandi, Orazio (antiquary), 514.
Orsini, Cardinal (Neapolitan envoy), 2, 3, 13, 14, 21, 30, 35, 37, 39–42, 44–6, 48, 53, 58, 67, 69, 72–4, 98, 104–5, 108, 110, 119, 138, 141–2, 144–5, 149–150, 159, 165, 167, 173, 177, 178, 181, 184, 189, 194, 196, 200–2, 210, 218, 227, 229, 238–9, 241, 247, 254, 259, 280, 298–9, 301, 305, 327, 464.
Osma (Confessor of Charles III. of Spain), 75, 181–2, 205, 217, 275.
Ossun, Marquis (French envoy to Madrid), 162, 182.

Pac (Polish marshal), 384.
Pacca, Bartolommeo (nuncio to Cologne), 364.
Pacca, Cardinal Francesco (Archbishop of Benevento), 110, 122, 130–2, 307, 446.
Pagliarini, Nicola, 123–4.
Palafox, Bishop, 136, 171, 183, 186–7, 197–9, 201, 206, 220, 473.
Pallanza, Caterina of, Bl., 445.

Pallavicini, Cardinal Opizio (Secretary of State), 22, 32, 71, 96, 104, 406–7, 528, 530, 545.
Pamfili-Colonna, Cardinal Pietro, 49.
Panin (Russian Minister), 386.
Paracciani, Cardinal Urbano, 32–3, 72.
Parhamer, Ignatius (Jesuit), 19.
Paskovich, 99.
Passionei, Cardinal Domenico, 511.
Paul of the Cross, St., 458–61, 522–3.
Pereira, Antonio (Oratorian), 122, 131.
Pereira, Manuel de Vasconcellos (Bishop of Miranda), 124.
Perelli, Cardinal Niccolò, 32–5.
Perez (Trinitarian), 202 n.
Perroni (Jesuit), 498–9.
Pescatore, Major, 322, 333.
Peter of Bethencourt, 445.
Philip II., 114.
Piguel, William (Vicar Apostolic in Cochin-China), 498.
Pintus (Sardinian Jesuit), 423, 432.
Piranesi (engraver), 510.
Pirelli, Cardinal Filippo Maria, 31, 32, 35, 81.
Pisani, Mgr. (Promotore della Fede), 209.
Pisani (Jesuit), 209.
Pius V., Pope, 444.
Pius VI., Pope, 332–3, 461, 484, 548; *see also* Braschi.
Pius VII., Pope, 366, 553.
Podoski (Primate of Poland), 370, 382, 432–3.
Poli, Maria Teresa (Dominican nun), 315.
Pombal, Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho y Melho, Marquis of, 25, 107–134, 245, 251, 256, 293–5, 319.
Poninski (Polish marshal), 392, 395.
Potenziani (Maestro di Camera), 103 n.
Pozzobonelli, Cardinal (Archbishop of Milan), 10, 13, 23, 33, 50–4, 72.
Prades, Abbé de, 441.
Prichowsky (Archbishop of Prague), 431.
Primaldi, Antonio, Blessed, 445.
Priuli, Cardinal Antonio, 72.

Radziwill (Polish marshal) 392.
Ranjel, Bishop, 476 n.
Reinach, Karl von (Jesuit Superior), 425–6, 430, 432, 436.
Reitan, 393.
Remondini (bookseller), 222.
Reviczky (Austrian ambassador in Poland), 387 n., 396.
Reys, Salvator dos (Archbishop of Cranganore), 496.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (nephew of Clement XIII., Secretary of Memorials), 2, 6, 8, 25, 31, 48, 50, 67, 69, 72, 73, 82, 106, 535.
Rezzonico, Giovanni Battista (Maggiordomo), 6, 106, 446.
Rhomberg, Ignaz (Jesuit Assistant), 317, 321, 334.
Ricci, Lorenzo (Jesuit General), 9, 17, 74, 78, 136, 154–5, 209, 210, 212, 269–70, 284–6, 311, 314, 316, 319–23, 330–5, 339, 419–20, 434.
Richard (Jesuit Provincial), 374.
Robertz, Canon, 356.
Rochechouart, Marquis, 308.
Rochechouart, Cardinal Jean, 3.
Roda y Arrieta, Manuel de (Spanish minister), 1, 28, 30, 46–7, 49, 51, 58, 62, 68, 75, 89, 142, 296, 473–4.

Rodt, Cardinal (Bishop of Constance), 6, 350.
Rohan Soubise, Cardinal de, 414.
Ronca, 524.
Rora, Francesco Lucerna Rorengus de (Archbishop of Turin), 455.
Roselli (Papal Privy Chamberlain), 62.
Rosenbergh (Imperial envoy), 53.
Rossi, Cardinal Ferdinando Maria de, 2, 6, 36, 68, 72, 193.
Rucellai, Giulio (Tuscan Finance Minister), 469.
Rudolf II., Emp., 114.
Rusca, Abbé, 103 n.
Rylo, Maximilian (Bishop of Chelm), 400 n.
Rzewuski, Count, 437.

Sagramoso (Knight of Malta), 406–7.
Saint-Priest, de (French Ambassador in Syria), 493.
Saldern, Count (Russian ambassador in Poland), 379, 403.
Salguero, Francisco Juan (Franciscan missionary), 499.
Saliceti (physician), 530, 535.
Salviati, Mgr. (Governor of Castel Sant' Angelo), 322.
San Cayetano, *see* Ignacio.
Sanseverino, Francesco (Bishop of Alife), 525, 528.
Sarpi, 85 n.
Schaffgotsch (Prince Bishop), 428.
Schlabrendorf (Prussian Minister), 418.
Schneider, Alois (Vicar Apostolic in Saxony), 365.
Schrattenbach, Sigmund Christoph von (Archbishop of Salzburg), 416.
Scopelli, Giovanna, Blessed, 445.
Scotti (Jesuit Rector), 273.
Segesser (Jesuit), 350.
Seinsheim, Count, 352.
Seinsheim, Adam Friedrich von (Prince-Bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg), 413 n.
Serbelloni, Cardinal, 2, 32, 41.
Sersale, Cardinal Antonio (Archbishop of Naples), 7, 19, 28, 30–2, 34–5, 57–9, 61–3, 69, 80.
Sertor(i), Gaetano, 544 n.
Sezze, Charles of, 445 n.
Siestrzencewicz, Stanislaus Bohusz, Archbishop, 403–5.
Simeon VI. (Nestorian Patriarch), 488, 542.
Simone, Cardinal Gennaro Antonio de, 106, 264, 448, 528, 546.
Simone, Marco di (Bishop of Troia), 463.
Simonetti (missionary), 495.
Simonetti, Michelangelo (architect), 513.
Sixtus V. (Pope), 95, 167, 288, 444.
Smogorzewski, Jason (Archbishop of Polotsk), 403.
Smuraglia (accountant), 208, 241.
Solis, Cardinal (Archbishop of Seville), 11–12, 56, 60, 64–7, 69–70, 76–9, 105, 140–1.
Solms, Xavier, Count of, 444.
Sorgnit, 361.
Spinelli, Cardinal Giuseppe, 90.
Spinola, Cardinal Girolamo, 104.
Splenyi (Jesuit, later Bishop of Waitzen), 346.
Squillace (Spanish envoy in Venice), 295, 337.
Stackelberg, Count, 369, 392, 400.
Stanislaus Poniatowski (King of Poland), 379–80, 382–4, 387–91, 393.

Starhemberg, Prince, 373–5.
Stay, Mgr. Benedetto, 105, 529 n.
Stefanucci, Orazio (Jesuit), 155 n., 316–18, 321, 334.
Stoppani, Cardinal Gianfrancesco, 2, 10, 16, 32–6, 55–7, 69, 78, 81, 517.
Strachwitz, Bishop (Apostolic Administrator of Breslau), 424, 428–430, 434–5.
Streit, Robert, 477–8.
Szczepanski, 427.
Szeptycki, Leo (Uniate Bishop of Lemberg), 398.

TANARA, Cardinal, 85.
Tanucci, Marchese Bernardo (Neapolitan minister), 1, 4–8, 11, 21, 25, 31–3, 38–40, 58–9, 61, 74, 78–9, 89, 92–3, 106, 138, 141, 150, 152, 158, 162–4, 178, 199, 202, 207, 244–5, 252, 255, 262, 264, 277–8, 281, 295, 298–300, 306–7, 324, 462–4, 468, 537–8, 541–2.
Tasbas, John (Archbishop of Mardin), 490.
Theodosius (Melchite Patriarch), 489.
Thien, Marinus (Vicar-Apostolic in Indochina), 499.
Tiepolo (Venetian envoy), 253, 281, 303, 306, 320, 325.
Timoni (missionary), 495.
Torrigiani, Cardinal Luigi (Secretary of State), 5, 8, 27–8, 31, 48, 90, 104, 106, 155.
Tournon, Cardinal, 495.
Troilo und Roveredo, Karl von (Jesuit), 432.
Truchsess of Zeil, Dean, 416.
Turski (Bishop of Chelm), 380.

UNTERBERGER, Christoph (painter), 511.
Urbani (Jesuit), 85.
Uslenghi (courier), 24.

VALENTI Gonzaga, Cardinal Aloisio (nuncio in Madrid), 188, 310, 348–9.
Valeriano di Prato (Custos of Holy Sepulchre), 491.
Van Deel, 412.
Van Swieten (Jansenist), 261.
Vasquez, F. X. (Augustinian General), 81, 142, 173, 201, 219–20, 229, 233, 314, 318, 519.
Vecchis, Niccolò de, 546.
Venizza, Antonio, 315 n.
Vergennes (French Foreign Minister), 309 n.
Viguier, Pierre-François (Vicar-Apostolic of Algeria), 504.
Villani, G. B., 445.
Vincenti, Ippolit' Antonio (Auditor, Internuncio in Madrid), 216 n., 217, 252, 264 n.
Vipera, Giovanni Carlo (Franciscan Conventual), 214.
Visconti, Antonio Eugenio, Cardinal (nuncio in Vienna), 19, 343, 388, 405–6, 415, 438, 447.
Visconti, Giovan Battista, Abate, 513, 515.
Vita, Joannes de (Bishop of Rieti, later Archbishop of Benevento), 307 n.
Vittorio Amadeo III. (King of Sardinia), 262.
Voltaire, 419 n., 441.

WALCH, 410–11.
Walpole, Robert (British envoy in Portugal), 294.
Wappäus (geographer), 474.
Weckbecker (Jesuit), 488.
Welbruck, Francis Charles of (Prince-Bishop of Liége), 484.
Wilhelm (Elector Palatine), 444.

Wodzynski, Gabriel (Archbishop of Smolensk), 406.
Wolkonski (Russian agent in Poland), 379.
Wolodkowicz (Metropolitan of Kiev), 398, 494.

York, Henry, Cardinal, Duke of, 105, 191, 215, 225, 243, 245–6, 317 n., 485.

Zaccaria, Francesco Maria (Jesuit), 410.
Zacchia, Paolo, 537.
Zambeccari (Spanish agent), 18 n., 37.
Zelada, Cardinal Francesco Saverio (Secretary of State), 249–50, 252–4, 275–6, 280, 282, 313, 320, 323–6, 340, 448, 454, 479, 526, 528, 546.
Zeller, Camillus (Franciscan) 499–500.
Zen, Francesco Maria, 494.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED BY

E. F. PEELER

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" Privilegia, inquam, istius sedis vel Ecclesiae perpetua sunt; divinitus radicata atque plantata sunt; impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt."

NICOLAI PAPAE I., *Ep.* 86 *ad Michaelem imperatorem*, a. 865; Migne, Patrologia Latina, 119, 948*c*.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIX.

PIUS VI., 1775–1799.

	PAGES
The Election of Pius VI.—His Previous Life and Personality—His Government of the States of the Church—His Encouragement of Learning.	1–59
Pius VI. as Patron of the Arts—The Influx of Foreigners into Rome	60–110
The Attempted Establishment of State Churches in Naples, Venice, and Tuscany—The Situation in Portugal	111–161
The Vicissitudes of the Catholics in Poland and Russia	162–176
The Survival of the Society of Jesus in Prussia and Russia—The Attempts at its Restoration . .	177–329
Activity within the Church—Alphonsus of Liguori and the End of the Moral Controversy . .	330–379
The Missions under Pius VI.	380–420
Joseph II.'s Ecclesiastical Legislation in Austria—Pius VI.'s Journey to Vienna and Joseph II.'s to Rome	421–481
Index of Names	483

70962

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXIX.

PIUS VI. 1775–1799.

CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF PIUS VI.—HIS PREVIOUS LIFE AND PERSONALITY—HIS GOVERNMENT OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING.

A.D.		PAGE
1774	The unity of the Courts	1
	Endangered	5
	The *Papabili*. Migazzi in the conclave	7
	The small number of the electors	8
	The postponement of the election	9
	Gives rise to Pasquinades	10
	Differences of opinion among the Courts	12
1775	Attempts at reconciliation	15
	Braschi's election as Pope Pius VI.	21
	His previous career and	22
	Outward appearance	25
	His coronation	27
	His address to the Cardinals	28
	His illnesses	30
	His independence	32
	The Secretaries of State: Pallavicini	33
1785	Boncompagni	34
1789	Zelada	35
	Nepotism	36
	Drainage of the Pontine Marshes	38
	Road building	41
	Internal administration of the Papal States	42
	Encouragement of learning	45
	The Roman University	50
	The poet Vincenzo Monti	51
	The scholars: Cardinal Borgia	53
	Zoëga	54
	Gerdil	55
	Garampi and Zelada	56
	The Vatican Library	57

CHAPTER II.

PIUS VI. AS PATRON OF THE ARTS—THE INFLUX OF FOREIGNERS INTO ROME.

The Pope's interest in Subiaco	60
The sacristy of St. Peter's	62
Utilitarian buildings	65

A.D. PAGE

The art of engraving 67
The erection of obelisks 68
The Vatican Museum of Antiquities . . . 69
Antique finds 70
The museum described 73
Visconti's description 79
Criticisms of the museum 80
Fresh acquisitions 82
Massi's guide 83
Foreign visitors to Rome 84
Learned guides 85
The antiques by torchlight. Hotels . . . 86
Raffael Mengs 87
German artists in Rome 88
Jacques Louis David 89
Antonio Canova 90
Goethe in Rome 93
F. J. L. Meyer on the Corpus Christi procession and . 95
The illumination of St. Peter's 96
Royal visitors to Rome 97
Visitors from Sweden, Germany, and . . . 99
France 100
The English and travellers of fashion . . . 101
Grand Duke Paul of Russia 102
Gustavus III. of Sweden 104
1784–87 Other distinguished guests 108
Duchess Amalie of Weimar 109
Other visitors 110

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTED ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CHURCHES IN NAPLES, VENICE, AND TUSCANY—THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL.

1776 Tanucci's last acts 112
Tanucci's successors ; continuation of the troubles . 115
Disagreement about presentation to bishoprics . 116
Fresh proposals for a concordat 117
The feudal tribute 121
1788 The break with the Holy See 123
1792 Final understanding 124
Erastianism in Venice and 125
Tuscany 127
Scipione de' Ricci 129
Measures against the religious Orders and introduction of Jansenistic literature 133
Attacks on the Holy See 134
1783 Dissolution of the confraternities 135

A.D. PAGE
1786 The Tuscan Government's plan for reform . . 136
The opinions of the Tuscan Bishops: Archbishop Martini of Florence, Bishop Mancini of Fiesole . 138
Archbishops Franceschi of Pisa and Borghesi of Siena 139
Further opinions, including Bishop Pecci's . . 140
The Synod of Pistoia 141
1787 The 'Madonna Riots' 145
Preparations for condemning the synod . . . 147
1791 Ricci's resignation 149
1794 The condemnation of the synod 151
The Bull *Auctorem Fidei* 152
1805 Ricci's submission 154
Parma's rapprochement with the Holy See . . 156
1777 Portugal after Pombal's dismissal 159

CHAPTER IV.

THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CATHOLICS IN POLAND AND RUSSIA.

Clement XIV.'s instructions to Sagramoso . . 162
1775 Sagramoso's mission 163
The archbishopric of Mohilev 165
1782 Archetti's instruction 166
1783 Siestrzencewicz Archbishop 167
1791 Political and ecclesiastical reform in Poland . . 169
Catherine II.'s attitude. The situation after the second and third partitions of Poland . . . 171
Paul I. of Russia 174

CHAPTER V.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA—THE ATTEMPTS AT ITS RESTORATION.

Frederick the Great's support of the Jesuits; Pius VI.'s attitude towards them 177
1775 Permission to continue their work, but as individuals 182
1776 The suppression carried out in Silesia . . . 183
The financial situation 186
Reorganization of studies 189
Its reception 193
The execution of the suppression in West Prussia . 195
Deplorable situation of the ex-Jesuits there . . 200
1781 New regulations for them 202
1796 Their situation under Frederick William II. . . 205
The Russian situation under Clement XIV. Catherine II. and Czerniszew favourable to the Jesuits . . 206
1772 The oath of allegiance 207
Czerniewicz the leading Jesuit; the legal aspect . 208

A.D.		PAGE
1773	Czerniewicz's letter to Garampi on the subject	212
	The Jesuits' fruitless request for their suppression	213
	Their uncertainty about the legal position	216
	Garampi's attitude, and	218
	Siestrzencewicz's	223
1775	The situation under Pius VI.	227
	Czerniewicz's petition	229
	Pius VI.'s non-committal reply	230
	Czerniewicz Provincial	232
	Further ordinations prohibited by the nuncio Archetti; his action not endorsed by Rome	236
1777	The opinion of the canonist Monsagrati	237
	Czerniewicz's desire for a noviciate	240
	Granted by Catherine	241
	The excitement caused by the new noviciate	242
1778	Siestrzencewicz, granted authority over all the religious Orders	244
1779	Gives his approval to the Jesuit noviciate	246
	The attitudes taken by Archetti	247
	Pius VI., and	249
	The Secretary of State, Pallavicini	250
	The rumour that the survival of the Jesuits had been approved by Clement XIV.	252
	Siestrzencewicz's contradictory behaviour and	253
	His correspondence with Archetti on the question of the noviciate	254
	Catherine's intervention	257
	The Bourbons and the noviciate	258
	Archetti's embarrassment	261
1780	Pius VI.'s verbal observations	263
	Pallavicini's efforts	265
	Catherine's final declaration, to which	267
	The Bourbons have to assent	268
	The noviciate opened and	270
	Visited by Catherine. Joseph II.'s visit to Russia of no help to Archetti	271
	The Jesuit affair and the archbishopric of Polotsk	272
	On account of the noviciate the Archbishop required to withdraw	274
1781	Archetti, despite the Secretary of State, in favour of the Jesuit Province being transformed into a school institute	275
1782	Catherine's appointment of Siestrzencewicz as Archbishop of Mohilev	277
	Pius VI.'s dilemma	278
	Archetti advises the sending of a Papal legate to Russia	281
	Czerniewicz elected Vicar General	282
	The Bourbons' anger	283

A.D. PAGE
1783 Pius VI.'s letter to Catherine 284
Archetti chosen as legate ; the secret Brief to France and Spain 285
Benislawski Russian agent in Rome 286
Pius VI. does not object to the Vicar General's election 288
The Pope's '*approbo*' for the Russian Jesuits and . 290
Korycki's opinion of it 294
Catherine agrees to receive the legate 296
Archetti at St. Petersburg, with no mention of the Jesuits in his official instructions, though probably with injunctions from Pallavicini 297
The publication of the Brief of suppression found impossible to obtain 300
Inside history of the Russian Jesuits : the readmission of former Jesuits 305
1785 The election of another Vicar General 306
Mission to the German colonies on the Volga . . 307
1796 The accession of the Emperor Paul I. 308
More difficulties created by Siestrzencewicz . . 309
The Society's constitution left unchanged . . 310
Efforts to restore the Society of Jesus : in France, by Madame Louise 311
In the Austrian Netherlands 314
In Poland 315
In Germany 317
In Parma 319
1794 Substitute foundations : Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Society of the Faith of Jesus 323
The projected restoration of the Jesuits brought to the attention of the Emperor Francis and . . 325
1798 The Pope. Litta legate to Russia 326
1801 The Society in Russia confirmed by Pius VII. . . 329

CHAPTER VI.

ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—ALPHONSUS OF LIGUORI AND THE END OF THE MORAL CONTROVERSY.

1775 The Jubilee of 1775 330
Encyclical on the dangers of unbelief 331
Announcements of other jubilees. The Pope's care for seminaries and universities 332
Special Briefs against particular errors 333
The calm and assurance of the Papal edicts. Popular missions and retreats 335
Beatifications 336
Pius VI. on the importance of the saints in his days.
1777 The Palafox cause abandoned 340
Cardinalitial nominations : of 1775 and 1777 (Gerdil) 343
Of 1785 346

A.D. PAGE

Of 1789 347
Of 1791 and 1792 (Ruffo and Caprara) . . . 348
Of 1794 (Maury) 349
New bishoprics : Austria 350
Corvey and Italy 353
Amcrica. Diminution of feast-days . . . 354
The situation of the religious Orders in France . 355
In Austria, Tuscany, and Naples 356
In Portugal and Spain 357
New Congregations 358
The Jansenists in France and 359
Holland 360
Their financial resources and their influence . . 361
French Jansenism prepares the way for the Civil Constitution of the Clergy 363
Jansenism in Italy. Rigorism and its champion . 364
Concina 365
Jansenism and rigorism opposed by Alphonsus of Liguori 368
His previous life and vocation 370
1732 Foundation of the male and female Redemptorists . 371
1762 Alphonsus a Bishop. The external and internal difficulties in founding the Congregation . . 372
Alphonsus as writer and moral theologian . . . 373
Influence of his moral theology 374
His moral system 375
His ascetic writings and 377
Their influence. The sufferings of his last years . 378

CHAPTER VII.

THE MISSIONS UNDER PIUS VI.

The Near East : Georgia, the Syrian Jacobites . 380
The Chaldeans of Mesopotamia 381
Armenia, the Greek Melchites, the Maronite Patriarch Estephan and the visionary Agemi . . . 382
Catholics of the Eastern rite in Europe. The destruction of the Latin missions in E. Europe : Turkey and 385
The Greek Islands 386
The Lazarists in the Levant and in . . . 387
North Africa 388
The missions there destroyed by the Revolution . 389
Madagascar and Abyssinia 390
The Copts. The Congo. The Franciscans in Central America 391
Mexico 392
Upper California. The ruin wrought by the Revolution 393

A.D. PAGE

South America: Chile 394
Peru 395
Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil 396
Southern India: Tippoo's persecution. The state of Christianity in India 397
Quarrels between the Portuguese and the Paris seminarists. The decay of the Indian missions . 399
Travancore, Further India 402
The Philippines 403
1775 China: the withering of the former Jesuit mission; the sorry state of the mission at Nanking . . 404
Discord in Peking 405
Two Vicars General. Cleavage between the ex-Jesuits and the Propaganda missionaries and between the Portuguese and French ex-Jesuits . . . 406
The quarrel over the former Jesuit property . . 407
1776 Louis XVI.'s decree; further discord . . . 408
The French Government's attempt to train fresh missionaries for China 409
1780 Salusti appointed Bishop of Peking; dispute about the legitimacy of his consecration 410
The quarrels composed by the new Bishop, Alexander de Govea 411
1785 The mission handed over to the Lazarists. Recrudescence of the ritual question 412
The Sze-ch'wan mission under Pottier . . . 413
The Shan-si and Shen-si missions 414
Jansenistic tendencies in China 415
Korea. The English possessions in North America.
1774 Religious freedom granted to the Catholics by the new constitution 416
Carroll first Bishop of Baltimore. Gustavus III. asks for a Prefect Apostolic for the Catholics in Sweden . 418
1798 Propaganda suppressed by the revolutionaries . . 419

CHAPTER VIII.

JOSEPH II.'S ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION IN AUSTRIA—PIUS VI.'S JOURNEY TO VIENNA AND JOSEPH II.'S TO ROME.

Pius VI.'s accommodating attitude towards Maria Theresa. The Greek Catholic festivals. Migazzi's position 421
The leading personalities: Martini and his 'natural law'. 422
Rautenstrauch and his 423
1774 Reorganization of theological studies . . . 424
Eybel 427

A.D. PAGE

Joseph II., his training, his 428
Zeal for reform, and his urge to be 'different'. The consequent friction with Maria Theresa . . . 430
The principle of Josephism 433
Its far-reaching effect 434
Jansenistic influences; Gerhard van Swieten and Von Stock; the Bull *Unigenitus*. 435
1781 The Blarer affair. Reform of the University . . 436
Gottfried van Swieten; the theological faculty . . 437
Dannenmayer 438
Pehem. The years of reform, 1780–84. A centralized ecclesiastical organization 439
Heinke's opinion. Readjustment of the relations between the State and the Pope, and . . . 440
The Pope and the Orders 441
1781 Fresh surprises for Pius VI.: the occupation of the Milanese bishoprics; dispensation from impediments to marriage without reference to the Pope; toleration of dissidents. The first indication of the Pope's intended visit to Vienna 442
Proposed suppression of the monasteries . . . 443
The Pope's visit to Vienna takes more definite shape 444
The Austrian censorship 445
Many Austrian Bishops favourable to 'enlightenment' 446
The Milanese bishoprics the chief cause of the Pope's journey 447
Not all the Cardinals in favour of the journey . . 448
1782 The Pope's departure from Rome 450
On Austrian territory 451
The jubilation of the people 452
Eybel's *Was ist der Papst?* 453
The Pope's discussions with the Emperor in Vienna . 454
Holy Week celebrations 457
Conferment of Cardinals' hats. The departure from Vienna 458
Visit to Munich 459
Visit to Augsburg 461
The return to Rome 463
The Emperor and the Lombard bishoprics. The *Giunta Economale* of Milan and the Ecclesiastical Court Commission in Vienna 465
Pius VI.'s letter on the Lombard bishoprics and Joseph II.'s reply. The administration of ecclesiastical property in Austria placed under the superintendence of the State 466
The edict of toleration restricted. The 'Preachers' Critics' in Vienna. Further legislative encroachments on ecclesiastical life 467

A.D. PAGE

1783 Reorganization of the cure of souls and rearrangement of dioceses 469
The Archbishop of Milan appointed by the Emperor . 470
The Pope's protest returned to him 471
The Emperor's visit to the Pope 472
1784 Agreement on the Milanese benefices. The Austrian Government's measures regarding parishes and bishoprics 473
Suppression of religious houses and 474
Its effect 475
Government interference in the election of religious superiors and in the training of the clergy. Abolition of religious houses of studies 477
New dioceses 478
Bishops nominated by the State 479

CHAPTER I.

The Election of Pius VI.—His Previous Life and Personality—His Government of the States of the Church—His Encouragement of Learning.

(1)

As was only to be expected, when writing of the lately deceased Pope, the representatives of the political Powers were all but unanimous in their praise of his good sense and his love of peace.[1] The only exception was the Imperial agent Brunati. Although no friend of the Jesuits and completely under the influence of the current modes of thought in his conception of ecclesiastical problems, he wrote these hard words: "At the death of Clement XIV. the affairs of the Holy See were in complete confusion—the inevitable result of the Pope's neglect of business and the fickleness and caprice of his little band of incompetent and unscrupulous favourites, who had control of everything." [2]

Naturally, the Powers were eagerly desirous of another Pope of the same kind as Clement XIV. When he died the European Cabinets followed the electoral negotiations in Rome [3] with the same lively interest as they had done five years previously, at the elevation of Ganganelli. Whereas

[1] *Cf.*, *inter alia*, Roda's letters to Moñino of October 4 and 18, Grimaldi's letter to Tanucci of the 11th, and, in particular, those from Roda and Grimaldi to Moñino, also of October 11, 1774, in Pacheco y de Leyva, 59 *seqq.*, 107, 79 *seqq.*, 82 *seqq.*, 84 *seq.*

[2] Brunati's *report to Vienna, of October 2, 1774, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

[3] The latest and fullest description of the conclave is Pacheco y de Leyva's *El conclave de* 1774 *a* 1775 (Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones cientificas, Escuela Española en Roma, Obras 2), Madrid, 1915, consisting of an account (213 pp.) and the reproduction of all the Spanish documents of interest (565 pp.). Ernst Harder's dissertation, *Der Einfluss Portugals*

then they were bent on securing a Pope who would offer them good prospects of suppressing the Society of Jesus or would allow himself to make some binding promises, it was now their task to maintain and confirm what they had gained in the last pontificate against the attacks of the pro-Jesuits.[1]

Their task was made more difficult by the dissatisfaction felt by certain members of the Sacred College with the yielding attitude of the late Pope and their desire for more freedom from political influences. Ganganelli's friends were also at a disadvantage through his refusal to nominate before his death the eleven Cardinals he had reserved *in petto* on April 16th, 1773, which meant that his creatures were outnumbered by the other members of the College.[2] Their one hope was that in view of the small number of electors—no fewer than fifteen Cardinals' hats were to be disposed of, and some of the Cardinals still living were seriously ill—the numerically weak group of Crown Cardinals would carry a proportionately greater weight.

This being the situation, in order to preserve what they had won, the Bourbon Courts were intent on ensuring that those

bei der Wahl Pius' VI. (Königsberg, 1882), has little solid substance and is noteworthy only for the documents it cites. The conclave is discussed from the French angle by GENDRY in his *Le conclave de 1774–1775*, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, LI. (1892), 424 *seqq.*, which is reproduced word for word in his *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 65 *seqq.*; *cf.* also MASSON, *Bernis*, 300 *seqq.* Austria's position is mentioned in ARNETH, IX., 125, and WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 224 *seqq.* *Cf.* also PETRUCELLI, IV., 211–244; EISLER, 145, 206. Further works are mentioned in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, CCXV *seqq.*

[1] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lvi. Charles III. *wrote to Tanucci on September 20, 1774, that they must pray for the Pope in his serious illness, "porque me parece que seria imposible hallar otro igual y que nos quiera como el nos quiere" (State Archives, Naples).

[2] Brunati's *report to Vienna of October 2, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Cf.* GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 66, and our account, vol. XXXVIII., 531 *seq.*

Cardinals who were dependent on political Courts should agree on a uniform method of procedure. Weeks before the Pope had died Moñino, in his report of August 17th, 1774,[1] had made the request for an unconditional union of the Crowns at the conclave which was likely to take place in the near future. In the following weeks he tried to effect agreements with Cardinals Bernis and Orsini as the representatives of France and Naples.[2] Successful steps in this direction were also taken by Madrid in Paris [3] and Vienna.[4] Similarly, it was important to have a close understanding with Portugal. An autograph letter from the Spanish king Charles III. to his sister, the wife of Joseph I. of Portugal, elicited a reply from Pombal on October 19th,[5] enclosing the instruction of the Portuguese Government for their Roman representative Almada.[6] This

[1] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 16 *seqq.* On September 6, Grimaldi asked for a full report on the Papabili, which was sent on the 15th (*v. ibid.*, 24, 32 *seqq.*). A further report on the characters of the Cardinals was sent by Brunati on September 28, 1774, to the Court of Vienna (*' Considerazioni sopra il prossimo conclave ', Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[2] Moñino to Grimaldi on September 15 (first report) and 22 (both reports), 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 29, 45 *seq.*, 47 ; *cf. ibid.*, lxi–lxvi. On September 22, 1774, Moñino *wrote to Tanucci that he had instructed Orsini to work in unison with France and Spain, so that the new Pope "non destruggerà quanto sta fatto" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1136).

[3] Vergennes' report to Ossun, October 1, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 74 *seq.*

[4] Grimaldi to Moñino, October 1, 1774, *ibid.*, 58. The French Government also sent couriers to Vienna and Madrid for the purpose of ensuring that the Courts should act in concert at the conclave (*v.* Alessandro Albani's *report to the Imperial Chancery in Vienna, of October 15, 1774, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[5] HARDER, 42, 60.

[6] Text of the instruction and that of the interesting enclosure, "Papel dos motivos," which purported to substantiate the historic right of the Portuguese Crown to a formal exclusion, in HARDER, 43 *seqq.*, 56 *seqq.* Pombal followed this up by sending

was taken to Rome by a Spanish courier.[1] At the same time Charles III. had come to a similar understanding with his son Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

The agreement of all the Courts was thus effected. According to their instructions the representatives of the Powers were to try to bring about the election of a suitable Pope in complete agreement with each other and with absolute mutual confidence.[2] Even the Viennese Government joined the union unconditionally; although it had taken no immediate part in the suppression of the Society of Jesus it had no desire to upset the decision once it had been taken; on the contrary, it would agree to any measure, even an extreme one, being taken against a candidate who was not prepared to abide by the *status quo*.[3] Pombal's instruction[4] went so far as to suggest that all the Courts should make a common declaration to the Sacred College that the election of anyone friendly to the suppressed Society of Jesus would seriously endanger the peace and security of the Church as well as the States and that the Courts would exercise the official general exclusion against such a candidate. If this declaration failed of the desired effect, the conclave would be suspended on account of the notorious incompetency and the violent dissension of the electors.

Thus it was that Moñino, who, although not a member of

Almada an Italian translation to facilitate the negotiations, especially those with Moñino (*v.* Pombal's letter of November 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 63 *seq.*).

[1] The courier reached Rome on November 9 (*ibid.*, 72). It was soon known that Portugal would act in concert with Spain (*cf.* Brunati's *report to Vienna of November 12, 1774, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Cf.* Grimaldi to Moñino on October 15, 1774, in Pacheco y de Leyva, 98.

[2] Thus Bernis' instruction from Paris. *Cf.* Petrucelli, IV., 217; similarly Orsini to Tanucci, *ibid.*, 213.

[3] Wolfsgruber, 229 *seqq.*; similarly the *instruction for Vienna's envoy extraordinary, Prince Corsini (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[4] Harder, 72.

the conclave, was the actual leader of the Crown Cardinals,[1] was able to inform the Cardinal Dean, Gianfrancesco Albani,[2] in an interview, of the fundamental views of the Catholic Cabinets on the forthcoming Papal election. The messages of condolence from the princes which were subsequently received by the College of Cardinals were of a similar tenor.[3] With this the Crowns seemed to have attained the most complete union possible and yet the interests of the various countries differed so greatly that it was not long before certain dissensions within as without the conclave threatened to terminate the union.[4]

The position of the Crown Cardinals in the conclave was made more difficult still by the formation of a united front of their co-electors, who with a like determination opposed any sort of influence of the political Powers on the Papal election and on the whole government of the Church. Their objection to the aims of the Courts was so strong that all their other differences paled before it. Thus, Cardinals created by Clement XIII., led by the Camerlengo Carlo Rezzonico, came into close contact with some of the last pontificate, headed by the weak and unattractive Marefoschi,[5] and there was even a union with Gianfrancesco Albani's group of *Zelanti*.[6] Their

[1] Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of October 1, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Brunati to Colloredo on the same day (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] Moñino to Grimaldi, September 29, 1774 (first report), in Pacheco y de Leyva, 50 *seqq.*; Harder, 78. On Almada's instructions, Orsini handed in a similar communication on Portugal's behalf on November 17 (Harder, 74 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.*). Moñino's intervention annoyed the opposite side " per il tuono alto " (Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Portugal's in Harder, 77; for Spain's *cf.* Brunati's *report of November 12, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " to Vienna of December 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[5] Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[6] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 23, 1774 (*ibid.*).

aim was to preserve the immunity of the Church, to rescue the Papacy from the enthralment of the Catholic princes, and to restore the Bull *In Cœna Domini* to its former effectiveness [1]; naturally, also, many of these Cardinals were moved by their desire to see the Society of Jesus restored.[2]

Both this group of independents and that of the Crown Cardinals could reckon on eighteen to twenty supporters if they canvassed them energetically. There was also a small number of neutrals whom Cardinal Alessandro Albani estimated at seven in one of his reports.[3]

This being the division of the parties it was commonly thought that the late Pope would be succeeded neither by one of his outspoken opponents nor by one of his wholehearted supporters.[4] Thus, many people in Rome thought that of Rezzonico's group Boschi had the best prospects of success.[5] Of the other members of the union of independents the best

[1] " *Che la Chiesa è in schiavitù de' principi cattolici, che conviene liberarla da questa tirannia, rimettere in vigore la Bolla 'In Coena Domini' e riparare alle passate devastazioni." Brunati's report to the Tuscan Court of October 12, 1774 (State Archives, Florence, Reggenza 347; similarly to Vienna, *cf.* Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[2] Pacheco y de Leyva, xxvii. *Cf.* *Moñino to Grimaldi on December 15, 1774, and *to Figueroa on January 5, 1775 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reg. 112; not mentioned in Pacheco y de Leyva).

[3] Alessandro Albani's *report of November 26, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). At that time there were already forty-three Cardinals in conclave and only Solis was expected. *Cf.* the " *Memoria presentata a di lui richiesta all' em. Card. Migazzi " of November 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[4] Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (*ibid.*). Brunati had forecast the outcome of the conclave very well: most of the Cardinals would join with the *Zelanti* " *ad eliggere persona non aliena alle suddette corti, ma anche non troppo addetta alle medesime ". (Arneth, IX., 126.)

[5] Moñino to Grimaldi, October 13, 1774, in Pacheco y de Leyva, 85 *seqq.* Brunati's *report to the Tuscan Government, October 8, 1774, *loc. cit.* (similarly to Vienna, *cf. loc. cit.*).

chances seemed to be held by Marcantonio and Pamfili Colonna, Bufalini, Braschi, and, not to mention Gianfrancesco Albani, Fantuzzi in particular.[1] The Crown parties had not agreed on any particular exclusions[2] or any particular *Papabili*, though their various Courts had their different favourites. Thus, the Viennese Government used its influence to support Visconti in particular, while that of Madrid did the same for Pallavicini, a relative of Grimaldi's. Besides Negroni, Simone, and Casali, Marefoschi, Malvezzi, Zelada, Corsini, and Caracciolo were also considered to be Crown candidates.[3]

Within the conclave the most important Courts were represented by their Crown Cardinals: France by Bernis, Spain by Solis,[4] Naples by Orsini, Portugal to some extent by Conti.[5] It was not so easy to find a suitable representative for Vienna, as the Crown Protector Alessandro Albani did not enjoy the complete confidence of the Bourbon party. Accordingly, Maria Theresa selected Migazzi, the Archbishop of Vienna, as the confidential promoter of her desires, but as this choice was not particularly welcome either to Emperor Joseph II. or Prince Kaunitz, Migazzi received precise instructions binding him to a definite line of procedure and was especially to co-operate loyally with Albani.[6] Migazzi,

[1] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lxxv *seq.*; Moñino to Grimaldi, September 15, 1774 (second report), *ibid.*, 32 *seqq.*

[2] Only general exclusions were agreed on. *Cf.* Grimaldi to Tanucci, October 11, 1774, *ibid.*, 79 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, lxxix; WOLFSGRUBER, 235.

[3] PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lxxiv, and Moñino's second report to Grimaldi, September 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 32 *seqq.*

[4] Solis was the only Spaniard in the conclave. Grimaldi's request to him to set out on his journey in his two letters of October 10, 1774 (*ibid.*, 76 *seq.*).

[5] Brunati's "*Considerazioni" of September 28, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). Conti was the nuncio to Lisbon and hoped to be given the protectorate which had been vacant since the death of Neri Corsini.

[6] WOLFSGRUBER, 229 *seqq.*, 234 *seq.*; ARNETH, IX., 126 *seq.*

the only German Cardinal in the conclave, justified the trust that had been reposed in him in such full measure that Albani often made mention in his dispatches of the considerate treatment he was receiving at the hands of the Viennese Archbishop.[1]

The solemn nine-days' exequies for the late Pope began on September 26th, and on October 5th the Cardinals entered into conclave. In the morning the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Cardinal Dean, Gianfrancesco Albani, after which the customary address on the Papal election was given by Mgr. Stay. In the evening the doors of the conclave were closed on twenty-eight Cardinals and their attendants.[2] The place of election on this occasion was the Appartamenti Borgia, as the rooms hitherto used for this purpose had been rendered unhealthy by a granary which had been set up there by Clement XIV.[3] In the weeks that followed many other Cardinals entered the conclave. Ill-health prevented the attendance of Cardinals Rossi, Colonna, and Stoppani on October 5th.[4] The last-named died on November 18th, 1774,[5] Rossi on February 4th, 1775.[6]

Only forty-four Cardinals took part eventually in the electoral proceedings, although on the death of Clement XIV. there were fifty-five members of the Sacred College. Of these, one had been created by Innocent XIII., fourteen by Benedict

[1] Alessandro Albani's *reports to the Imperial chancery of December 3, 1774, January 25 and February 15, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[2] This number is vouched for in Moñino's letter to Grimaldi of October 6, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 65 *seqq.*) and in Brunati's *report of October 5, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). GENDRY erred in giving the number as twenty-nine (*Revue des questions hist., loc. cit.* 434).

[3] GENDRY, I., 431.

[4] Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Brunati's report of October 5, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[5] Alessandro Albani's *report to Colloredo of November 19, 1774 (State Archives, Vienna).

[6] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 4, 1775 (*ibid.*).

XIV., twenty-four by Clement XIII., and sixteen only by the late Pope.[1]

As on so many previous occasions, the Crown Cardinals feared during the first few days of the conclave that the opposing side would take advantage of their temporary numerical superiority to rush through the election of one of themselves, and in fact in the first scrutinies several votes were cast for Cardinals Marcantonio and Pamfili Colonna, but probably only for the purpose of forcing the political Powers to exercise a formal exclusion.[2] Bernis and Orsini now wrote a joint letter to the Dean of the College urgently requesting him to postpone any serious electoral procedure until the arrival of the other foreign Cardinals.[3] Moñino had insisted on this [4] and the King of France afterwards commended the action of his Cardinal Minister.[5]

In spite of considerable opposition this request was met.[6] The inactivity to which the Sacred College thus condemned itself [7] lasted throughout October. It was not till November 4th that Luynes entered the conclave,[8] and Migazzi and Solis

[1] Brunati's "*Considerazioni" of September 27, 1774, and "*Memoria presentata per il card. Migazzi", of November 21, 1774, *ibid.*; PETRUCELLI, IV., 211.

[2] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on October 8, 1774, and Brunati's *report of October 12 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Text in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 94 *seqq.* *Cf.* Moñino to Orsini, October 13, 1774 (*ibid.*, 93 *seq.*). For the justification of this declaration, *cf.* Moñino to Grimaldi on October 20, 1774 (*ibid.*, 109 *seqq.*).

[4] Moñino to Cardinal Solis, undated (*ibid.*, 120 *seq.*).

[5] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on October 15, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] For the memorandum of a Zelante to the Dean, protesting against the demand on the score of its illegality, *v.* EISLER, 206; GENDRY, I., 67.

[7] Albani's *letters to the Imperial chancery of October 20, 22, 26, and 29, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, October 22, 1774, printed in *Nozze Buttaro-Barbaro*, Venezia, 1896, 9 *seqq.*

[8] *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 5, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

kept it waiting even longer. In the first weeks of November a certain dissatisfaction with the postponement of the election made itself felt,[1] and on the 12th the Cardinal Ministers found it necessary to repeat their urgent request to the Dean.[2] Little good, therefore, had been done by offering Mass on All Souls' Day in the conclave for a speedy election instead of for the repose of the faithful departed.[3]

As week after week went by without any serious attempt being made to elect a Pope, the Cardinals naturally became the object of ridicule. Of the usual crop of pasquinades the one to attract most notice was a parody in the form of a play, *Il conclave dell' anno 1774*, which was written in the melodramatic style of Metastasio and seemed to include that author as an object of derision.[4] The Cardinals, especially Bernis,

[1] *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 5 and 9, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[2] Pacheco y de Leyva, 148. On the same day Almada, on Portugal's behalf, signified his adherence to the two declarations (*ibid.*, 149).

[3] Gendry, I., 71.

[4] " Il conclave dell' anno 1774, dramma per musica da recitarsi nel teatro delle Dame nel carnevale del 1775 e dedicato alle medesime dame," MS. in *Cod. Vat. 9646 of the Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.*, " *Memoriale a Pio VI., attribuito al Mg. G. Sertor supposto autore." For further MSS. *cf. Rivista delle biblioteche*, XXV., 581. Subject-matter and judgment in R. Giannelli, *Un conclave in operetta*, in *Rivista d'Italia*, VI. (1903), 60 *seqq.*; L. Cappelletti, *Il conclave del 1774 e la satira a Roma*, in *Bilychnis*, XI. (1918), 159–166; M. Foresi, *Del dramma satirico " Il Conclave " bruciato a Roma per mano del boia*, in *Il Piemonte*, III., 34–35; Silvagni, *La corte e la Società romana nei secoli XVIII. e XIX.*, vol. I., Roma, 1884, 246–267; further, Tavanti, *Fasti di Pio VI.*, I., 53; Beccatini, I., 94 *seqq.*; Petrucelli, IV., 224; Gendry, I., 71 *seq.*; Pacheco y de Leyva, xci *seqq.*; finally Moñino to Grimaldi, November 24, 1774, in Pacheco y de Leyva, 159 *seq.*, and Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 19, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). A quantity of other *satires of the most varied literary forms is preserved in the Campello Archives at Spoleto.

Zelada, and Negroni, were portrayed with biting sarcasm and the whole proceedings of the conclave were made a laughing-stock. The satire, which first appeared only in manuscript, had a vast success when it was printed, according to the title, by *Cracas*. The ecclesiastical authorities were compelled by the foreign ambassadors to intervene and the Holy Office confiscated the publication. The Governor of Rome offered a large reward for the discovery of the author and was soon successful in identifying him as the Florentine priest Gaetano Sertor.[1] Sertor denied the charge but he was sentenced to banishment.[2] The composition having found its way into the conclave itself, the Cardinals ordered it to be publicly burnt, which was done in the Piazza Colonna on November 19th.[3] Its sale was forbidden in Rome, and the Spanish Inquisition followed suit by condemning the work and stopping its distribution.[4]

Meanwhile, the Imperial Government had appointed an envoy extraordinary to the conclave in the person of the Roman prince Bartolommeo Corsini,[5] who on November 16th thanked the Imperial Court for this distinction and promised it his best services. Yet it was not till December 15th that Corsini was granted an audience with the conclave as the emperor's representative and three days later as that of the empress Maria Theresa.[6] When the Elector Palatine was visiting Rome at the end of November he was paid the rare

[1] Corsini's " *Dispacci " of November 23 and 26, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). In the sources there occur also the variants " Sertori " and " Sartori ".

[2] Corsini's " *Dispacci " of November 3 and 14, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 19, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[4] Pacheco y de Leyva, 306 *seq.*, xciii.

[5] Moñino to Grimaldi, November 17, 1774 (*ibid.*, 153 *seqq.*). *Albani expressed his pleasure in a letter to the Imperial chancery of November 16, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, " *Instructio " for the " oratorem extraord. ad conclave 1774 ", *s.d.*

[6] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 19, 1774, with the printed report as an enclosure (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

honour of being allowed to converse with the Cardinals. His stay in Rome was the cause of tedious negotiations in the matter of ceremonial.[1]

Before Archbishop Migazzi entered the conclave on November 23rd [2] he was handed a detailed memorandum on the state of the College of Cardinals by the Imperial agent Brunati.[3] Brunati had long conversations with Moñino, too, both men promising to act in concert.[4] Migazzi made the same arrangement with Bernis. Bernis offered Migazzi the leadership of the Crown parties and asked him to try to mediate with the *Zelanti*.[5] The Viennese Cardinal straightway got into touch with the Camerlengo Rezzonico but at first the only reward of his efforts was to have to listen to a definite allusion to the exaggerated claims of the Courts.[6]

In mid-December Cardinal Solis finally occupied his cell.[7] Meanwhile the various groups and parties had been carefully sounding each other on their views, whereby it transpired that in spite of all their promised concord there were differences of opinion among the Catholic Cabinets.[8] Thus, according to the Viennese instruction the election of the two Genoese, Spinola and Pallavicini, was to be definitely avoided,[9] but after various

[1] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of November 30, 1774 (*ibid.*); GENDRY, I., 74.

[2] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on November 26, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] "*Memoria presentata per il card. Migazzi," November 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[4] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of November 26, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[5] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of December 3, 1774 (*ibid.*); WOLFSGRUBER, 236.

[6] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of December 7, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 10 and 14, 1774 (*ibid.*). How impatiently Migazzi was awaited is seen from Albani's *reports of November 26 and 30, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[8] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of December 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[9] WOLFSGRUBER, 237, 239. *Cf.* also Colloredo's further *letter to Albani on December 23, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

conversations with Moñino Prince Corsini was convinced that Spain also rejected Spinola but would prefer Pallavicini to anyone else in the chair of St. Peter or at least in his old position of Secretary of State.[1] Moñino was not to be deflected from his plan by an allusion to possible objections on the part of the Court of Vienna, so that the latter had to be asked for fresh instructions on this point.[2]

But all efforts were bound to end in failure so long as the two chief parties failed to find a middle course. At Christmas it was thought that this object was on the point of achievement. It was hoped that the canvassing for Braschi would bring some tangible result within their grasp.[3] This candidate's friend, Cardinal Giraud, was prominent in espousing his cause with all his strength and sought to win over the Crown parties. In several talks with the Spanish Cardinal Minister he pointed out how useful Braschi would be to the Catholic Courts, being in complete agreement with them and having as high an opinion as they of the late Pope's work.[4] Solis at first persisted in supporting the Spanish manœuvres in favour of Pallavicini [5] but he soon realized the hopelessness of his endeavours and engaged in fresh negotiations with Giraud and Gianfrancesco Albani on Braschi's candidature.[6] Braschi's chief supporters on the opposite side were the Dean and the Camerlengo ; they thought that they had already secured twenty-six votes for him and hoped to obtain the other four in the *accessus*.[7] The

[1] Corsini's " *Dispacci " of December 7 and 10, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 3, 1774 (*ibid.*) ; Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 10, 1774 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 28 and 31, 1774, and January 4, 1775, also Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 28, 1774 (*ibid.*). PETRUCELLI (229) errs in giving the date of the latter dispatch as December 18.

[4] Moñino to Solis on December 23, 1774, and Solis to Moñino on December 24, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 210 *seqq.*, 217 *seqq.*

[5] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 28, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Solis to Moñino on December 25, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 223 *seqq.*).

[7] PETRUCELLI, IV, 228.

question caused a visible excitement in the conclave which leaked out into the city. It then became known that serious objections to Braschi had been raised by the Austrian envoy Corsini [1] and, most prominently among others, the Portuguese representative, Almada.[2] The latter's objection was clearly of a personal nature, due to an unfavourable decision given by Braschi some time back on some Portuguese affair.[3] Moñino still tried to reach an agreement by personal negotiation but his efforts met with no success [4] and to preserve the unity of their group the Crown Cardinals were forced to give way. Consequently, as the year drew to an end, Solis and Bernis decided to abandon Braschi.[5]

In spite of the Austrian objection to Pallavicini's candidature Moñino and the Spanish group, which was soon joined by Bernis, again tried to push it,[6] the Spanish ambassador even complaining to Corsini about the obstruction offered by the Viennese Cabinet.[7] To avoid a painful decision the Austrian representatives, in accordance with their instruction, diverted the attention of the conclave to Visconti, the former nuncio to Vienna.[8] This candidature was taken so seriously that the Governments in Madrid and Paris agreed on the

[1] Moñino had negotiated with him but with no success (*v.* Moñino's second report to Solis of December 26, 1774, *loc. cit.*, 231 *seq.*).

[2] Roda to Moñino on January 17, 1775 (*ibid.*, 349 *seq.*).

[3] HARDER, 104.

[4] Moñino to Solis on December 27, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 239 *seqq.*); Corsini's "*Dispacci" of December 28 and 31, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Aguirre and Solis to Moñino on December 27, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 236 *seqq.*

[6] Solis to Moñino on December 27, 1774, and January 2, 1775 (*ibid.*, 237 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*); *Corsini to Kaunitz on January 4, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[7] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of January 7, 1775 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* Solis to Moñino and Moñino to Solis on January 2, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 262 *seqq.*).

[8] Solis to Moñino on January 2, 1775 (*ibid.*); Corsini's "*Dispacci" of January 7, 11, and 14, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

attitude they would adopt towards it [1] and Grimaldi wrote to Moñino at the beginning of January that if things became serious Spain would accept Visconti if there was no more suitable candidate who was likely to succeed.[2] Fresh difficulties were encountered by Migazzi when he tried to win over the *Zelanti*, as this party rejected Visconti out of hand on account of his conciliatory attitude towards the Jansenists of Utrecht.[3] Another reason was that at that moment this set was working hard for Caracciolo, who, however, was anything but acceptable to the Spaniards.[4]

It thus became clear to all that in this state of affairs the two chief parties would continue to balance the scales against each other and that only some agreement between them could pave the way for a definite result. The *Zelanti* therefore proposed as mediator Zelada, who had connexions with both sides.[5] Bernis and Moñino agreed to the proposal [6] and Zelada had a most cordial reception from Gianfrancesco Albani, Carlo Rezzonico, and Migazzi on presenting himself to them as a go-between.[7] On January 10th Zelada proposed that each of the two chief parties should nominate say three Papabili whose prospects were to be ascertained by the secret questioning of the whole College ; it was hoped in this way to make certain of a majority for one or other of the candidates. At first the Camerlengo asked for time in which to consider

[1] Ossun to Grimaldi on December 31, 1774, and Grimaldi to Ossun in Paris, January 1, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 253 *seq.*, 261.

[2] Grimaldi to Moñino, January 3, 1775 (both reports), *ibid.*, 269, 270.

[3] *Corsini to Colloredo, January 14, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[4] Moñino to Solis on January 3 and 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 271 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*) ; Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of January 7, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Solis to Moñino and to Grimaldi, January 5, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 280 *seq.*, 283 *seq.*) ; *Albani to the Imperial chancery on January 11 and 18, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Moñino to Solis on January 5, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 282).

[7] Zelada to Moñino, January 7, 1775 (*ibid.*, 293).

whether he and his party would agree to the proposal.[1] Finally, the first discussion took place on the night of January 19th in Torrigiani's cell, at which there were present, besides Zelada and the Dean, the two Rezzonicos and Castelli.[2] Six candidates were agreed on and their prospects were to be investigated by the Dean, the Camerlengo, and a representative from the political groups; later on Cardinal York was chosen for this duty.[3] Zelada was particularly pleased with the friendly and moderate atmosphere in which this talk was held.[4]

In nine days' time this same group compared the final results of their investigations only to find, to their great disappointment, that not one of their nominees had managed to muster a sufficient number of votes. Twenty-two votes were promised for Carlo Antonio Colonna, twenty for Pamfili Colonna, fifteen for Simone, nineteen for Torrigiani, sixteen for Negroni, and fourteen for Casali. Notwithstanding this setback it was decided to try the same method again and a second list of *Papabili* was agreed on; it consisted of Serbelloni, Malvezzi, Bufalini, Marefoschi, Conti, and Fantuzzi.[5]

But this second investigation proved no more successful than the first. At the end of the allotted period, on February

[1] Solis and Zelada to Moñino on January 10 and Zelada to Moñino on January 13, 1775 (*ibid.*, 308 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, 332 *seqq.*); *Albani to the Imperial chancery on January 25, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Aguirre, Solis, and Zelada to Moñino on January 20, 1775, also Solis' second report to Grimaldi of January 26, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 362 *seqq.*, 364 *seqq.*, 366 *seqq.*, 392 *seqq.*).

[3] The result of his activity was reported by Solis to Moñino in his second letter of January 28, 1775 (*ibid.*, 401 *seq.*).

[4] Zelada to Moñino, January 20, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Solis to Moñino on January 29, 1775, and Solis to Moñino (second report) to Grimaldi on February 2, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 403 *seq.*, 419 *seqq.*, 432 *seq.*; Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of February 1, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). PETRUCELLI (IV., 232), while giving a correct account of the proceedings, cites as his source the dispatch of February 23, in which there is no mention of the business.

3rd, Bufalini had secured twenty votes and Fantuzzi sixteen, the others still less. The hopelessness of this systematic method of procedure was now acknowledged [1] and Zelada agreed with Bernis and Solis that it was no use trying it any longer.[2]

Meanwhile, independently of this investigatory method, negotiations in favour of individual *Papabili* were continued. Curiously enough, the most important of these were conducted on behalf of candidates who had already been considered, in particular Pallavicini, whose cause was promoted by the Spanish party, and Braschi, for whom the *Zelanti* were again trying to win supporters.[3] Thus, on January 21st, 1775, Cardinal Alessandro Albani wrote a letter to the Imperial Chancellor Colloredo with the object of rendering Braschi's candidature acceptable to him and the Viennese Government, emphasizing his probity and competency.[4] The great pains which the writer took with this composition is shown by its numerous corrections and the fact that there are several drafts of it. He also informed the Chancellor that he and Migazzi had been asked by Bernis as to their attitude towards this candidate and that they had had to answer evasively that they had had no instructions formally to exclude him.[5] In his subsequent letters also the Austrian Cardinal Protector returned again and again to the question of Braschi and even apologized for his former attitude in so far as it might have created any trouble in Vienna.[6]

[1] Solis to Moñino, February 3, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 425 *seqq.*); *Albani to the Imperial chancery, February 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Zelada to Moñino, February 3, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 429 *seqq.*).

[3] The Dean Gianfrancesco Albani and the two Rezzonicos were also very active on his behalf. *Cf.* Aguirre and Solis to Moñino on January 18 and Aguirre to Moñino on January 30, 1775 (*ibid.* 351 *seq.*, 353 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*).

[4] *Albani to Colloredo on January 21, 1775 (*loc. cit.*); *cf.* **id.* on January 28, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[5] Moñino transmitted this information to Solis on January 29, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 405 *seq.*).

[6] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on February 4, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

While the Spanish ambassador held firm to Pallavicini,[1] Bartolommeo Corsini revived the memory of Visconti, who in the event of the Spanish candidate's success was to be requited with the Secretaryship of State.[2] In spite of the unity which the Crown Cardinals strove to maintain among themselves there seemed to be no way out of the deadlock, and finally Pallavicini himself offered to stand down.[3] Migazzi was thinking it possible to awaken greater interest in Visconti's cause [4] when it appeared that for some time past Braschi's candidature had won an influential adherent in the Crown Cardinals' camp, Solis to wit. As far back as February 1st Solis had imparted to the Spanish ambassador his conviction that in view of the difficulties that obstructed Pallavicini's election the only hope was that of Braschi.[5] Moñino was not inclined to give way so easily and he had almost succeeded in changing the Cardinal's mind for the second time [6] when

[1] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 4, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[2] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 8, 1775 (*ibid.*). In a letter to Alessandro Albani of January 23 Prince Kaunitz had been very insistent on this course. Colloredo in his *letter of February 20 still pressed for Visconti, so that in the event of his election Pallavicini could become Secretary of State ; similarly *Kaunitz to Albani again on February 20, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[3] Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 11, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[4] *Albani to the Imperial chancery on the 11th and his second *report of February 15, 1775 (*ibid.*). Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 11, 1775 (*ibid.*). Visconti himself offered to retire when he saw that his chances were hopeless (*v.* Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 20, 1775, *ibid.*).

[5] " Después el unico recurso es el de Braschi." (Solis to Moñino, February 1, 1775 ; Pacheco y de Leyva, 414 *seqq.*). *Cf.* Solis to Moñino on the 2nd and 5th, also his letter to Grimaldi on February 2, 1775 (*ibid.* 417 *seqq.*, 419 *seqq.*, 443).

[6] Moñino expressed his misgivings to Solis on February 7 and even on the 9th he was still recommending Pallavicini (*ibid.* 452 *seqq.*, 462). *Cf.* Moñino to Grimaldi on February 9, 1775 (*ibid.* 465 *seqq.*). Solis had another talk with Bernis and Zelada about Pallavicini (Solis to Moñino on February 8, 1775 ; *ibid.* 459 *seq.*), and on the next day there was another talk with Migazzi (the

the *Zelanti* protested against the former Secretary of State [1] and he himself renounced his candidature.[2] Moreover, it became known that already twenty-five votes had been secured for Braschi.[3] Solis and Bernis now joined in his support [4] and Migazzi realized that the Viennese desires were unattainable. The Crown Cardinals conferred together as to the execution of their plan, their chief problems being the removal of the objections that would be made outside the conclave, particularly by Corsini and Almada, and the procurement of assurances from Braschi in favour of their Courts. For these reasons the final election was delayed a few days more.

Braschi's friend Giraud, as active as ever, was only too pleased to pass on a declaration from Braschi that he would only govern in harmony with the Courts and that he would never think of restoring the Society of Jesus.[5] To persuade the two envoys was more difficult. Everything was done to remove this last obstruction with a combined effort. First Migazzi wrote a friendly but firmly worded letter to Corsini on February 13th.[6] It was the duty of the Crown Cardinals,

Spanish conclavist Pontero to Moñino on February 9, 1775, *ibid.* 462).

[1] Solis' second report to Moñino, February 9, 1775 (*ibid.* 463 *seq.*).

[2] On February 10 ; *cf. ibid.* clxvi.

[3] *Albani to Colloredo on February 25, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

[4] Solis to Moñino on February 7, Moñino and Solis to Grimaldi on February 9, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 455 *seqq.*, 465 *seqq.*, 467 *seqq.*) ; *Albani to Colloredo on February 25, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Solis to Moñino on February 10, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 475 *seq.* ; on February 12 Solis also reported to Moñino that he had had a satisfactory talk with Braschi (*ibid.* 485 *seqq.*).

[6] Migazzi to Prince Corsini on February 13, 1775 (*ibid.* 489 *seqq.*) ; *cf.* Corsini's " *Dispaccio " on February 15, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). Migazzi had already written to Kaunitz in Braschi's support on February 11 (WOLFSGRUBER, 246).

he said, to bring about the election of a Pope who would be acceptable to the Catholic Courts, and Braschi fulfilled this condition. Moñino, who had also changed his attitude after Pallavicini's withdrawal,[1] had a talk with the prince [2] and afterwards a still more important one with Almada,[3] who was also written to by Cardinal Conti.[4] Finally, both envoys sent their Cardinals statements of agreement,[5] justifying themselves by referring to the express orders of their Governments to act in concert with the other Courts. Bartolommeo Corsini afterwards defended his change of mind in a long letter to the Austrian Cabinet,[6] the gist of it being that only an official veto could have stopped the election.[7] By the time a fresh instruction, dated February 13th, arrived from Vienna, by which, so far as the Empire was concerned, Braschi's election was to be prevented by every means except the veto, the decisive vote had already been taken, and neither Austria's nor Spain's favourite had won.

On the evening of February 14th, 1775, after the last difficulties had been cleared away, the Cardinals assembled in

[1] Pontero to Moñino on February 10, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 474 *seq.*). On the same day Moñino wrote to Solis that he well understood the difficulties that stood in Pallavicini's way (*ibid.* 473 *seq.*).

[2] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of February 15, 1775 (*loc. cit.*). Moñino reported the result to Solis on February 14, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 498 *seq.*).

[3] Moñino's two reports to Solis on February 13, 1775 (*ibid.* 494, 496 *seq.*); Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of February 15, 1775 (*loc. cit.*); Almada to Pombal on February 15, 1775, in HARDER, 105 *seqq.*

[4] HARDER, 107 *seq.*

[5] For Corsini: Solis' second report to Moñino on February 13, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 492 *seq.*); for Migazzi's assent: Solis in his first report to Moñino of February 14, 1775 (*ibid.* 498); for Almada: *v.* HARDER, 106 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*

[6] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of March 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] Thus also *Albani to the Imperial chancery on March 1, 1775 (*ibid.*).

Braschi's cell to pay him the first homage by kissing his hand.[1] The morning scrutiny of the next day, the 265th of this conclave, resulted in Braschi's unanimous election, Braschi himself giving his vote, in accordance with custom, to the Dean.[2] In response to the question whether he accepted his election he delivered an address in Latin, ending in a prayer to the Princes of the Apostles, and then uttered his "*accepto*". Alessandro Albani announced from the loggias the election that had taken place and the name taken by the new Supreme Pontiff: Pius VI. The joy of the people was immense and was expressed in a general merry-making, with the pealing of bells, salutes of guns, and the illumination of buildings.[3]

In the course of the next few days the ambassadors were received in audience. Moñino was the first to offer his congratulations, followed by Bernis on February 17th and by Prince Corsini on the 19th.[4] It was on this occasion that the Pope declined to accede to Corsini's request that Visconti be appointed Datarius, on the ground that he possessed but a scanty knowledge of canon law.[5]

On February 22nd Pius VI. was solemnly crowned.[6] On the

[1] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of 15 February, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Ibid.*; also Aguirre to Moñino, and Solis and Moñino to Grimaldi on February 15, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 501 *seqq.*, 504 *seqq.*, 506 *seq.* The *'Acta scrutiniorum conclavis habiti 1774 et 1775, copia autografa del card. Borghese', Cod. Borghese 222 (2 vols.), Vatican Library, record all the results of the scrutinies from October 31, 1774, to February 15, 1775. WAHRMUND (145) made no use of them.

[3] GENDRY, I., 79–83. *Cf.* an eye-witness's account in **Origine e memorie della famiglia Prosperi in Roma, scritta da Gioacchino Prosperi nel 1820*, fo. 159 *seqq.*, Archives of the Prosperi Family, Rome.

[4] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of February 18, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Corsini's "*Dispaccio" of February 22, 1775 (*ibid.*).

[6] *Ibid.* '*Diario di Pio VI.' on February 22, 1775. (Campello Archives at Spoleto.) *Relazione di tutte le ceremonie fatte per la consacrazione in vescovo e solemne coronazione della Stà di N. S. Papa Pio VI. il dì Febr. 22, 1775*, Roma, 1775. For the "Possesso" *v.* CANCELLIERI, 417 *seqq.*

following Sunday he opened the Holy Door[1] to mark the beginning of the jubilee year in honour of his pontificate.

(2)

Gianangelo Braschi, the eldest of the eight children of Count Marcantonio Braschi and Anna Teresa Bandi, was born on December 25th, 1717, in the little town of Cesena in the Romagna.[2] The Braschi family, which had probably come to Italy from Sweden,[3] had long been ennobled but was far from wealthy. Gianangelo, who was destined for the bar, underwent his first stage of education at the hands of the Jesuits. Intelligent and studious, he became a *Doctor juris utriusque* when he was barely seventeen. To pursue his legal studies at a university he went to Ferrara, where his uncle Giovan Carlo Bandi was Auditor to the Cardinal legate Ruffo. The Cardinal took a great interest in the gifted young man and appointed him his secretary,[4] in which capacity he attended the long conclave of 1740 which resulted in the election of Benedict XIV. Shortly afterwards Ruffo became Dean of the Sacred College and Bishop of Ostia and Velletri. He appointed Braschi to represent him as Auditor in these dioceses, and this task was very well performed. The confusion of war made conditions extremely difficult in the States of the Church at this time but Braschi showed himself capable of meeting any

[1] *Ragguaglio della solenne funzione e ceremonie usate dal regnante Sommo Pontefice Papa Pio VI. nell'apertura della Porta Santa di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, etc., Roma, 1775.

[2] The date December 27 which hitherto has been given as the birthday is that of the baptism; *v.* the baptismal certificate in Gendry, I, 2, n. 1.

[3] Gendry, *Recherches historiques et généalogiques sur la famille Braschi*, in *Compte rendu du Congrès scientif. internat. des catholiques à Bruxelles 1894*, Bruxelles, 1895, 448 *seqq.*, which supplies information about the arms of the Braschi of Sweden and Cesena and those of Pius VI. as Pope. *Cf.* Pasini Frassoni, *Armorial*, 49. The information given by Masson (*Bernis*, 320) is incorrect.

[4] Beccatini, I., 4 *seqq.*, 9 *seqq.*

contingency. When the Austrians occupied Velletri in August, 1744, he rescued the military records of King Charles of Naples which were preserved in the archiepiscopal palace, and for this service the king assured him that he would never forget him. Braschi's services as an intermediary were then used successfully by Pope Benedict during his disputes with the Neapolitan Court [1] and on Ruffo's death in 1753 he made him his secretary and offered him a canonry in St. Peter's. Braschi hesitated to accept it as he was thinking of marrying, but he now abandoned this intention and with the agreement of his fiancée, who took the veil, he decided to enter the Church.[2] He had thus arrived at a mature age before he was ordained. Besides fulfilling his official duties he devoted himself to the study of literature, a choice library being the chief adornment of his apartments in the Rione Campo Marzo.[3] In September, 1758, Benedict XIV. appointed him Referendary of the Segnatura. A year later he became the Camerlengo's Uditore Civile.[4] Under Clement XIII. he rose to still higher positions; the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Rezzonico, selected him as his Auditor in 1759 and in the autumn of 1766 he obtained for him the important position of treasurer. These offices, like his previous ones, Braschi fulfilled with industry and probity.[5] However conscientiously he tried he could not set the finances in order, as they were in complete confusion, and there were clashes with other personalities, notably

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 57.

[2] Thus Beccatini, I., 19. According to another account, cited by Wolf (I, 297), Braschi's marriage failed to come about owing to his poverty. A third version has it that the fiancée died; thus Fr. Fortunato in the *Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library. The grounds on which Gendry (I., 3) rejects the account of Braschi's marital intention are not convincing. The conferment of the canonry of St. Peter's took place on January 17, 1775; *v.* the entry in the archives of St. Peter's reproduced by Gendry (I., 12, n. 1).

[3] Report of the envoy from Lucca in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 404.

[4] Cancellieri, *Possessi*, 417, n. 1.

[5] [Bourgoing-Azara,] *Mémoires*, I., 120.

Cardinal Albani and Prince Corsini.[1] The office of treasurer usually led to the cardinalate. That Braschi was paid this honour on April 26th, 1773, was due more to the recommendation of the Bourbon Courts, which had not forgotten the service he had rendered in 1744, than to the good graces of Clement XIV., for Braschi inclined more towards the firmness of Clement XIII., whom he held in the greatest respect.[2] Clement XIV.'s policy of appeasement, especially in the Jesuit question, met with his complete disapproval and he forfeited still more of the Pope's esteem by resisting the high-handed conduct of his favourites.[3] Thus it was that in spite of his insufficient means he received at first only the abbacy of Subiaco with its meagre revenues. He repaired thither in the middle of September, 1773, to make an immediate beginning, with apostolic zeal, with the visitation of the various churches and convents. This necessitated his visiting the most remote parishes in the mountains and he did not return to Subiaco till Christmas, when the snow made it too difficult to travel in the mountains. At Subiaco he was ceaselessly at work, devoting himself especially to the obtaining of better justice for the poor.[4] When the abbey of S. Gregorio in Rome was also committed to his charge he administered this too in an exemplary fashion.

Whenever he was in Rome he never failed to call on Cardinals Rezzonico and Torrigiani. He had the deepest sympathy with the Society of Jesus and its General Ricci in their hard lot, and for this reason he incurred the suspicion of the ambassadors of the Catholic Courts. Before the opening of the conclave an Austrian diplomat gave it as his opinion that Braschi's zeal for the Holy See was inordinately great and he also found fault with his severe and uneven temperament, and his easily inflammable imagination, while acknowledging that his morals were irreproachable. Many other

[1] *Cf.* the enclosure, written in French, to Migazzi's *report to Colloredo, of January 28, 1775, which describes Pius VI.'s previous life very favourably (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] See the report cited in the previous note. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Jannucelli, *Memorie di Subiaco*, 304; Gendry, I., 42 *seqq.*

contemporaries bore witness to the perfect conduct and the sincere piety of Pius VI.[1]

His outward appearance matched his noble spirit.[2] Tall in

[1] The most weighty evidence is perhaps that of BOURGOING-AZARA (*Mémoires hist.*, I., 119), where Pius VI.'s weaknesses are pitilessly exposed and often exaggerated : " Ses ennemis mêmes, à moins d'être tout-à-fait injustes, conviennent que, quant à la pureté des mœurs, il a toujours été irréprochable." To Gorani's charges the following reply is made : " Nous devons à la vérité assurer que ceux qui l'ont connu depuis très longtemps et de très près, n'ont rien remarqué qui pût élever le plus léger doute sur la pureté de ses mœurs, du moins depuis l'époque à laquelle il fut porté à la place de trésorier jusqu'à la fin de son pontificat." *Cf.* also the letter from Cardinals Luynes and Bernis, in MASSON, *Bernis*, 314.

[2] *Cf.* above all the busts in the magnificent engravings by Marco Carlone (1782) and Alessandro Mochetti (1790 *seq.*), which adorn Visconti's "Museo Pio-Clementino". For Carlone, *v.* THIEME, VI., 8. Also very successful are the engravings by Fr. Piranesi (BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Marken i Roma*, Stockholm, 1900, 232 ; *cf.* GIESEKE, *Piranesi*, 121) and I. Elias Haid, reproduced in CHLEDOWSKI, 360. A full-length figure of the Pope holding a scroll in his hand was engraved by Camillo Tinti from a drawing by I. D. Porta (reproduced in VOGEL, 82). Other portraits, including medals, are listed, with the places where they were copied, in the *Portrait Index* ed. by W. COOLIDGE LANE and N. S. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1162. For the engraving by the Englishman Marchant, see NOVAES, XVI., 2, 196. *Cf.* TAVANTI, I., 95. The scenes from the life of Pius VI. engraved by the painter G. Beys from his own sketches (*v.* THIEME, III., 572) are only of factual interest. The best known of the portraits in oils is that by Batoni (*v.* THIEME, III, 35). In response to the request of the Sorbonne Pius VI. sent it his portrait with a *Brief of August 13, 1777 (Papal Secret Archives, *Epist.* 176). There are busts of Pius VI. in the Etruscan Museum, where Cardinal Zelada had his lodgings, and in the entrance to the sacristy of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. A medallion in relief on the steps of Via Sistina 47–48 bears the inscription : " Pio VI. Pontifici Maximo cuius liberalitate ingenia artes in spem veteris gloriae floruerunt Franciscus Piranesius architect. cum concordissimis Patribus

figure, fresh-complexioned, his face lit up with benignity and mildness, he appeared, in spite of his white hair, which contrasted with his dark eyes, younger than he really was. His dignified bearing—he seemed to be a born ruler, said a contemporary [1]—combined with his amiability and an exceptional fluency of speech, left an impression which was as pleasant as it was deep. Even men who were as remote from the spirit of the Catholic Church as Goethe fell under the spell of such a personality.[2] The Anglican John Moore

Domino indulgentissimo quod musei domestici nomen et novorum operum fama aditu eius et laude nobilitata sint mense oct. A° 1782." Outside Rome there are marble busts of the Pope in the sacristy of the cathedral at Subiaco (GENDRY, I., 501), at Terracina (Museo), Fermo (Biblioteca), and Treja (by Ant. Calamanti, 1785), in the crypt of the cathedral at Ancona, with an inscription commemorating the visit on " VII. Id. Iunii 1782 ", and in the town hall of Viterbo. A statue at Ancona was destroyed in 1798 (*v.* RICCI, *Mem. delle arti e degli artisti della Marca d'Ancona*, II, Macerata, 1834, 409). The bronze statue at Cesena made by Franc. Maria Calligari of that town is still preserved (*cf.* Arch. Comunale Congreg. per la statua di Pio VI. 1780–1795). An over-lifesize statue on the left of the entrance to the abbey-church at Casamari is inscribed : " D. O. M. Pio VI. Pont. Max. benefactori eximio monachi Casaemarienses hanc statuam in grati animi obsequium dicarunt an. MDCCLXXVI." A colossal statue stands at the entrance to the sacristy of St. Peter's ; it is by Agostino Penna and is excellently reproduced in *Cosmos cath.*, I. (1899), No. 3. The most impressive representation of Pius VI. is that made by Canova, on Cardinal Braschi's instructions, for the Confessio of St. Peter's ; it was modelled in 1818 and executed in marble in 1822 (*v.* AGNOLETTO, *Canova e l'arte sacra*, Roma, 1922, 10 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*). Plate 4 in this book shows Pius VI.'s head copied from the model in the Gipsoteca at Possagno. Trippel's statuette of Pius VI. blessing is known only from a description (*v.* VOGEL, 117). Professor Steinmann in Rome has a delightful statue in porcelain, possibly by Volpato.

[1] Francesco Fortunati in his " *Note " in the Cod. Vat. 10730 (Vatican Library).

[2] Goethe saw the Pope soon after his arrival, on All Souls' Day, 1786. Pius VI. was saying Mass in the Cappella Paolina of

admitted that in spite of all the prejudices with which he had been imbued he was tempted to pay this Pope a greater tribute of respect than seemed to be consonant with his religious convictions.[1] When Lessing was presented to the Pope in the autumn of 1775, in the company of Prince Leopold of Brunswick, he was so moved by his dignified and venerable appearance that he was on the point of kissing his foot, although the two Protestants had been excused this customary act of homage ; His Holiness prevented him from so doing by retreating with a smile.[2] "I know of no sovereign," said Prince Heinrich of Reuss, "with more noble a bearing than Pius VI. He has a commanding figure and in all his gestures there is something majestic and noble that harmonizes beautifully with his gentle character. His manners captivate everyone." [3]

The Romans thought it of evil omen that the new Pope called himself Pius the Sixth, as Tarquin, the sixth king, and Nero, the sixth emperor, had brought nothing but misery to Rome. But on February 22nd, when the new Pope appeared for the first time in the radiant splendour of his office, for his coronation and his consecration as Bishop,[4] the people were carried away by his beauty. The Pope himself was far from being indifferent to his personal appearance and in order to heighten its effect he paid particular attention to the snow-white hair that framed his countenance. Some went so far as

the Quirinal, which at that time was open to the public. Goethe spoke of him as being "the most handsome, dignified, figure of a man". (SCHUCHARDT, *Goethes ital. Reise*, I., Stuttgart, 1862, 169.)

[1] [BOURGOING-AZARA,] *Mémoires*, I., 105.

[2] DANZEL-GUHRAUER, *Lessing*, II.², 540 *seq.*

[3] *Lebens- und Regierungsgesch. Pius' VI.*, Cesena, 1782, 328 *seq.* An *Italian translation of this book in the Cod. Vat. 9718, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, II., 312.

[4] "*Relazione di tutte le ceremonie fatte per la consacrazione in vescovo e solenne coronazione della Stà di N. S. Pio VI.," Roma, 1775. Cardinal York's allocution in GENDRY, I., 486 *seq.* For the "Possesso", which did not take place till November 30, 1775, *v.* CANCELLIERI, 422 *seqq.*

to say that he elegantly raised his long robe to one side so as to show his shapely foot. This betokened a serious flaw in his character, which fitted in with his desire for fame. These weaknesses were severely criticized, exaggerated, and wrongly interpreted by the satiric Romans and still more so by such free-thinkers as Azara.[1]

Whatever the interest Pius VI. took in the dignity and splendour of his appearance [2] and however much he wanted to make his pontificate famous and his name to be coupled with great deeds, he was also moved by the desire to restore the Holy See, threatened as it was, to its former reputation. The gravity with which he regarded his exalted position was manifested in the address he delivered with great solemnity to the Cardinals after his election. Quite unexpectedly, he said, and in spite of his unworthiness, he had been raised from the lowest place to the highest. He was filled with sadness, for in so difficult times, when the enemies of religion were striving to delude the peoples with false doctrines, who would occupy the chair of Peter without a sigh ? But recalling the words of Gregory the Great, that to fly from the dispensation of God was merely pride, he intended, in spite of his weakness, to obey, like Moses. He hoped that God, who had taken David from the herds and Peter from the fishermen, would send him the Holy Ghost to direct the Church aright, and he asked the Cardinals to support him with their counsel. He intended to act in the manner demanded of a Bishop by St. Bernard : with neither haste nor violence, with neither over-severity nor negligence. " Do thou, Prince of the Apostles," he concluded, " armed with such miraculous power, heal the infirmities of thine heir, as thou didst heal the sick, and protect me in my labours and my cares." [3]

The Pope spoke in a similar vein at his first Consistory on March 13th, 1775 : the greatness of his burden made him realize his weakness ; but trusting to God's protection he

[1] [Bourgoing-Azara,] I., 102 *seqq.*

[2] Brunati's *report of October 16, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] **Epist.* 175, p. 488[b], Papal Secret Archives.

submitted to His decree, for he knew that God chose the weak. The Cardinals were to help him with their prayers and their counsel.[1]

It was in accordance with these noble sentiments that he held in particular veneration the sainted Pope Pius V., whose name he had assumed.[2]

Even Pius VI.'s enemies acknowledged the seriousness with which he devoted his whole life to the duties of his office.[3] With exceptional activity he was engaged from early morning onwards in the settlement of spiritual and secular affairs, the granting of audiences, and the attendance at religious ceremonies.[4] Unlike most of his predecessors he disdained to retire to the attractive Castel Gandolfo in spring and autumn. In the first three years of his pontificate the only rest he took was in October, when the Cardinals, like everyone else, went into the country; he then ceased to hold any audiences and devoted himself to pious practices, especially visits to the sanctuaries and gardens in the Roman environs; and he usually went on foot.[5] Later he occasionally went fowling in the autumn.[6] He spent the summer in the Quirinal, the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 14.

[2] As Pius VI. had the veneration of Pius V. very much at heart, Cardinal Chigi gave him the holy Pope's stole; *v.* '*Diario di Pio VI.' on March 29, 1775; *cf.* for May, 1776, the Campello Archives at Spoleto. *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 100. On April 29, 1775, Pius VI. *thanked the Marchese Francesco Pio Ghislieri of Bologna for a fine picture of Pius V., saying that he put especial trust in the protection of this Pope. *Cf.* also the *Brief to the Spanish Infante Fernando of August 4, 1775, *Epist.* 175, *loc. cit.*

[3] [BOURGOING-AZARA,] I., 121 *seqq.*

[4] GENDRY, I., 121.

[5] *Report by the Conde de Floridablanca to Grimaldi, October 12, 1775 (Archives of Simancas); '*Diario di Pio VI.' on October 12, 1776, October 8 and 15, 1777 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Thus Cardinal Herzan *reported to Colloredo on November 1, 1783, that the Pope had gone with his nephews to Cechignolo, where larks were caught with nets "ad imitazione di Papa Leone X." Similarly *Brunati to Colloredo on October 13, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

winter in the Vatican ; he ate little and was constantly on the move. In the morning he usually visited some fine villa, in the evening he took part in the Forty Hours' Prayer. His health was very good.[1] Relying on his vigorous and robust physique [2] he sometimes worked too hard but he was careful always to take some physical exercise. In the October of 1778 he had taken his usual walks in the Villa Borghese on the Pincio, in the Villa Giulia, and in the Villa Pamfili [3] but on November 4th he fell sick and it was feared that he would have an apoplectic stroke. A careful mode of living, however, soon removed the danger. Although he kept indoors some time he did not have to suspend his audiences and was able to manage the affairs of State. At the beginning of December he had to stay away from the first service in Advent but on the 8th he appeared in the Sistina for the feast of the Immaculate Conception and on the 14th he held another Consistory.[4]

Far more serious and prolonged was the illness that afflicted the Pope in the middle of March, 1779. A rheumatism of the joints caused him severe pain and defied every sort of treatment—in one night alone he was bled four times.[5] Although the physicians Saliceti [6] and De Rossi did not

[1] Floridablanca's *reports of April 15, May 11, 18, 25, June 1, 8, 22, July 6, 13, 20, August 10 and 31, September 14 and 21, October 12, 19, 26, November 2 and 16, December 7, 1775, January 4, April 4, May 23, October 7, 24, 31, 1776 ("El viernes de la semana anterior pasó a pie por el Corso y esta plaza de Espana"), Archives of Simancas. '*Diario di Pio VI.' on November 18, 1778 (Campello Archives, Spoleto).

[2] Brunati *wrote to Colloredo on February 15, 1775, that Pius VI. was "d'un temperamento atletico, di 57 anni d'età promette un lungo pontificato". (State Archives, Vienna.)

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on October 24, 1778 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Grimaldi's *reports of November 5, 12, 16, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 31, 1778 (Archives of Simancas).

[5] Grimaldi's *reports of March 18 and 25, 1779 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* '*Diario di Pio VI.' on March 17, 24, 31, 1779 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also *Correspond des Directeurs*, XIII., 414 ; Masson, *Bernis*, 351.

[6] For Natale Saliceti (d. 1789, buried in S. Luigi de' Francesi) *v.* Pasqualoni, *Delle lodi di sommo N.S.*, Roma, 1789 ;

consider him to be in danger the representatives of the Catholic Great Powers entered into deliberations on the subject of another conclave.[1] The illness became protracted. The physicians succeeded with their treatment in so far as the Pope was able to move his arms again and sit up in bed without assistance but there now set in a disturbing weakness of the stomach and total sleeplessness. The patient, his strength already tried by frequent bleedings, became still weaker.[2] The fine upstanding man with his fresh complexion was now hardly recognizable, so pale and haggard had he become. At last at the end of April there was a marked improvement in his condition. He was unable to sign his name as he still could not move his fingers but he dealt with the most urgent matters, first with his secretaries and soon afterwards with the Cardinals as well.[3] Although he was no longer in danger of his life it was thought that his reign would not be a long one.[4] This surmise was confirmed when at the beginning of the warm season his health, instead of improving, as had been hoped, deteriorated. He now had attacks of faintness and intestinal trouble. Moreover, the rheumatism

LOMBARDI, III., 259 *seqq.*; ZAPPOLI, *Illustr. ai busti di medici celebri*, Roma, 1868, 123; *Rivista d'Italia*, 1899, I., 324 *seq.*

[1] Grimaldi's *report of March 25, 1779, containing the advice that the Spanish Cardinals should prepare themselves for the journey. The twelve Cardinals who could be relied on might not be in agreement among themselves. "Por estos motivos hemos (he himself, Bernis, the Portuguese and Neapolitan ambassadors, and Azara) creido que en las circumstancias presentes, en que más que nunca reina il fanatismo (!) seria no solo util y conveniente, sino tambian necesario engrosar nuestro partido con los sufragios de los cardenales que tenemos." The Portuguese ambassador, he said, had already written to his Government in this sense; Bernis and Negroni and the Neapolitan ambassador would do likewise. Archives of Simancas. *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 133; MASSON, 352.

[2] Grimaldi's *reports on April 1, 15, 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] **Id.*, April 29, 1779 (*ibid.*).

[4] **Id.*, May 6, 1779 (*ibid.*).

was still there and the patient could leave his bed for only a few hours.[1] On Whit Sunday, May 23rd, he insisted on attending Mass in his private chapel and from that day his condition noticeably improved, though the physicians were still perturbed. The June Consistory was postponed but all business was attended to.[2] On June 29th the Pope accepted in person in St. Peter's the feudal tribute from Naples. It was noticed how pale he looked and how difficult he found it to move his fingers in imparting his blessing. On the following day he drove amid the cheers of the populace to take up his summer residence in the Quirinal. By the middle of July he was again receiving the ambassadors of the Great Powers and thanking them for the sympathy expressed by their sovereigns. He warned them, however, that he would still have to take care of himself for some time.[3] At the Consistory of July 12th his hoarseness was noted. It was still difficult for him to walk and he was still suffering from sleeplessness and indigestion. The mineral baths of the Acqua Santa had a beneficial effect at first but then had to be stopped. In August he was able to celebrate Mass again,[4] and he resumed his walks and his visits to the villas and gardens.[5] By October he was quite well again. On the 9th, when he visited the Lateran, he returned to the Quirinal on foot. As the result of this regular exercise and his great abstemiousness his health was re-established and a long reign was expected after all.

The course of business was affected by this lingering illness of 1779 all the more by the fact that Pius VI. had determined from the very start to keep the control of affairs in his own

[1] **Id.*, May 13 and 20, 1779 (*ibid.*).

[2] **Id.*, May 17, June 3, 10, 17, 24, 1779 (*ibid.*); '*Diario di Pio VI.' on May 26, 1779 (Campello Archives at Spoleto). *Cf. Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIII., 446.

[3] Grimaldi's *reports of June 1 and 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*); *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIII., 448, 452.

[4] *Cf. Correspond.*, *ibid.* 453, 454, and the information, probably taken from the "Avvisi", in the *Lebensgeschichte Pius VI.*, II., Cesena, 1782, 198 *seqq.*

[5] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on October 9 and 13, 1779 (*loc. cit.*).

hands. Consequently his Secretaries of State could only play a very modest rôle. This was a disappointment for the Great Powers,[1] which had exercised their influence very strongly at the first distribution of the highest offices. Thus, despite his modest talents Cardinal Pallavicini was retained as Secretary of State chiefly out of regard for the very influential Cardinal Bernis.[2] For the same reason Cardinal Negroni was given the remunerative post of Pro-datary.[3] Carlo Luti, a man of worth, became Sub-datary, and great hopes were attached to this appointment.[4] The Secretaryship of the Briefs, which had been held by Negroni, was transferred to Cardinal Conti, to the satisfaction of the French and Spanish representatives.[5] The Maggiordomo, Giovanni Archinto, retained his office.[6]

When Cardinal Pallavicini died on February 23rd, 1785, Brunati wrote to Vienna that the Pope had held him of little account owing to his meagre ability and his feeble memory.

[1] [Bourgoing-Azara,] II., 145 *seqq.*

[2] Albani's *report to Joseph II. of February 15, 1775 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Corsini's *report to Colloredo, February 25, 1775 (*ibid.*). On Negroni's death in 1789 Filippo Campanelli became Pro-datary. He was succeeded on his death, February 18, 1795, by Cardinal Aurelio Roverella. Moroni, XIX., 140.

[4] Corsini's *report to Colloredo of February 18, 1775 (State Archives, Vienna).

[5] Moroni, VI., 122 ; [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 36 *seq.* Benedetto Stay remained as Segretario de' Brevi a' principi (Moroni, LXIII., 273 ; *cf.* Renazzi, IV., 270), Buonamici as Segretario delle lettere latini. The **Pii VI. Epist.* 175 (a° I.) to 193 (a° XXII./XXIII.) were edited by Stay, the **Epist.* 194 *seqq.* (a° XXIV./XXV.) by the Secretarius Iosephus Marotti. Papal Secret Archives.

[6] Archinto having been raised to the purple on April 5, 1776, his place was taken in May, 1776, by Giov. Ant. Mancinforte Sperelli, who was succeeded in September, 1780, by Romoaldo Onesti-Braschi. When the last-named became a Cardinal, Filippo Lancelotti was made Maggiordomo. In 1794 he too became a Cardinal and was succeeded by Giuseppe Simone F. Vinci who died in September, 1795. His place was taken by Marino Carafa de' Principi di Belvedere (*v.* Moroni, XLI., 272 *seqq.*).

Pius VI., he said, was in any case very independent, regarding his Ministers as mere reporters instead of counsellors.[1] No new appointment to the Secretaryship of State was made until June. Pius deliberated long on the question, especially with Bernis, as he wanted to pay every possible consideration to the desires of France and Spain. The most various candidates were mentioned, including Garampi, against whom it was objected that his health was weak and that as a friend of the Jesuits he would not be acceptable to Spain. Finally, the Pope wavered between Doria, who had been the nuncio in Paris, Archetti, who had done well as the nuncio to Poland, and Ignazio Boncompagni, the legate in Bologna, a man of varied accomplishments. The post was finally entrusted to the last-named, who was on good terms with Bernis and the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, Azara, and was most acceptable to Emperor Joseph II.[2] His talents and knowledge were adequate but not his political experience.[3] Unfortunately, he gave himself no time to acquire this last, as he plunged into a round of pleasure and turned night into day.[4] Still worse, he led a life of immorality.[5] Naturally, the Pope lost all the confidence

[1] " *Pio VI. che presume tutto di sè non soffre ne vuò dottori intorno. Riguarda i suoi ministri come referendari, ma non per consiglieri." (Brunati to Colloredo, February 26, 1785; State Archives, Vienna).

[2] In his *report to Colloredo on June 29, 1785, Herzan says straight out that Boncompagni was appointed on Joseph II.'s recommendation (*ibid.*). *Cf.* (Bourgoing-Azara,) II., 146 *seqq.*; Beccatini, II., 180. Of Garampi's candidature Brunati *wrote on April 6, 1785, that he was regarded as "intendente de' libri principalmente diplomatici" . . . "uno di quei letterati che sapiunt per indices". (State Archives, Vienna.)

[3] " *È dotato di molto talento e non manca di cognizioni in teorica, ma non ha veruna pratica delle corti." (Brunati to Colloredo, June 29, 1785; *ibid.*).

[4] *Brunati on November 5, 1785 (*ibid.*).

[5] Testified to by Bourgoing-Azara (II., 163), who defend Boncompagni against other charges raised by the slanderous Gorani. *Cf.* also Vogel, 83; Wolf (II., 160 *seq.*) follows Gorani

he had formerly had in him[1] and the ambitious Secretary soon realized that the Treasurer, Fabrizio Ruffo, was wielding a far greater influence than he was. This annoyed him so much that he was continually threatening to resign. In September 1789, although Bernis and Azara tried to dissuade him, he renewed his offer of resignation after a dispute with the *nepote* and the Pope accepted it, appointing in his stead the seventy-two-year-old Cardinal Zelada.[2]

On the death of the Secretary of the Briefs, Cardinal Conti, on November 15th, 1785, his post was administered by Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli in his capacity of Prosegretario until 1787, when Pius VI. entrusted it to his nephew, Romoaldo Onesti-Braschi, who had been made a Cardinal the year before.[3]

Giulia Francesca Braschi, the Pope's sister, who was married to Girolamo Onesti, had another son, Luigi, who was also called to Rome from Cesena in December 1779, and was given the second name of Braschi.[4] As the elder son, he was to keep the family name in existence by marrying some well-born and wealthy lady. Pius VI., as Auditor, had had much to do with the Falconieri family, and his choice now fell on Costanza. The wedding took place in June 1781 in the Cappella Sistina, the Pope himself performing the nuptial ceremony. Along with other costly gifts he handed the young couple a casket containing 10,000 gold doubloons. In spite of the precarious state of the Papal finances this was soon followed by still more expensive gifts. For an insignificant rent Luigi Braschi was

unquestioningly. RINIERI (228 *seq.*) contests Boncompagni's immorality on very weak grounds. *Cf.* Brunati's *reports of August 12 and 16 and November 4, 1786 (*loc. cit.*).

[1] Brunati's *report of August 31, 1785 (*ibid.*).

[2] (BOURGOING-AZARA,) II., 161 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 114; BECCATINI, III., 12 *seq.*; TAVANTI., II., 55; RINIERI, 340, 538 *seq.*

[3] MORONI, VI., 123.

[4] Report of the Lucchese envoy in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 405; *cf. ibid.*, 400, for Romoaldo's arrival in May 1778. It was therefore quite wrong of CHLEDOWSKI (345) to write that Pius VI. brought the two nephews to Rome "immediately after his election".

permitted to acquire the Jesuit estates in Tivoli which were valued at 85,000 *scudi*, and he was also put in the way of buying for 94,000 *scudi* the duchy of Nemi, which had once belonged to the Frangipani.[1]

Perhaps even greater scandal was given by Pius VI. allowing himself to be appointed the sole heir, for the benefit of his nephew, of the priest of the Maltese Order, Amanzio Lepri. Lepri's estate was valued at a million and a half *scudi*. This gift to the Pope was by way of reparation for the misdeeds of his father, who had dishonestly enriched himself as the farmer of the Papal dues. But a niece of Lepri's, Marianne, raised her claim to the estate. A lawsuit followed, and Pius vainly attempted to compromise. The Rota finally decided against him, to the great satisfaction of public opinion. On Amanzio's death at Christmas, 1785, a new will was found which upset all former ones. Pius, convinced of his rightful title, contested it. The case came before the Rota again and in 1789 it was settled by a compromise, the estate being divided between the Pope's nephew and Marianne Lepri.[2]

This painful incident did much damage not only to the nephew's reputation but also to that of the Pope, but Pius took no account of it. The old evil of nepotism came to life once more. Dini, the docile Papal Master of Ceremonies, ingratiated himself with his employer by reintroducing the ceremonial of the nepotes. Luigi and his wife lived in grand style, granting formal audiences to Cardinals and prelates.[3] Foreign princes joined with the newly created Cardinals in conferring gifts and

[1] Reports of the Lucchese envoy, *loc. cit.*, 406 *seqq.*; [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 198 *seq.*; Tomassetti, II., 277; Gendry, I., 163. For the wedding, *v.* Vicchi, *Un matrimonio di cento anni fa* (no place of publication; 1881).

[2] For the Lepri case, *v.* the Lucchese reports, *loc. cit.*, 407 *seqq.*; Brunati's *letters to Colloredo on January 4, 8, 11, 15, 22, 25, February 12, 1783, January 23, March 23, June 4, 6, 15, December 28 and 31, 1785, January 4, 7, 11, 1786, March 10, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna); [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 203 *seq.*; Beccatini, II., 166 *seqq.*; Tavanti, I., 165, 175, 206, II., 15, 58.

[3] Brunati's *report of February 23, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

decorations on the influential nephew, who was now Duke of Nemi. The Emperor made him a Prince of the Empire, the King of Spain raised him to the dignity of a grandee, the King of France sent him the Order of the Holy Ghost with brilliants, the King of Sardinia presented him with the Grand Cross of the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, with revenues amounting to 2,000 *scudi*.[1] The pomp and splendour with which Luigi Braschi rode to the hunt [2] took one back to the times of the Renaissance. The "*nepote*", whose marriage was for long unblessed with children,[3] behaved in the most overbearing fashion, whereas his brother, the Cardinal, with his gentle, friendly, and benevolent attitude, was liked by everyone.[4] Luigi, who had also come into violent conflict with the Governor of Rome, was detested by the people.[5] The most opprobrious stories were told about the dullness of intellect, the avarice, and the bad manners of this upstart from the provinces, and he was the butt of the most venomous satires.[6] The huge palace which Luigi Braschi built for himself in Rome is a monument of nepotism. In 1791–2 the Palazzo Santobono,

[1] GENDRY, I., 169 *seqq.*

[2] Brunati's *report of October 15, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] The first boy, born in November, 1787, died the following month (Brunati's *report of December 5, 1787, *loc. cit.*); another son and a daughter were born later. MORONI, VI., 99.

[4] "*La dolce indole di questo porporato accoppiata colla maggior bontà e le più obbliganti maniere gli conciliano l'animo di tutti. Non pare sicuramente fratello del sig. duca Don Luigi Braschi" (Brunati to Colloredo, November 10, 1787, *ibid.*). *Cf. Correspond. des Directeurs*, XV., 122; MORONI, VI., 100. How unfair WOLF was in his *Gesch. der kath. Kirche unter Pius VI.* (II., 566) is shown by his going clean contrary to Brunati, who was normally unsparing with his censures, and stigmatizing Cardinal Braschi as being extremely ignorant, proud, and dissolute. On this as on many occasions Wolf accepted Gorani's calumnies.

[5] Brunati's *reports of February 8 and 15, 1787 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Fr. Fortunato's "*Note" in the Cod. Vat. 10730 for August 15 and December 3 and 19, 1786 (Vatican Library), where there is mention of a "lettera anonima al Duca Braschi Grande di Spagna, Piccolo di Cesena e Duca di Nemini".

formerly belonging to the Orsini and situated near the Pasquino, was pulled down, together with the surrounding houses, and on the site there arose the imposing Palazzo Braschi. It was designed by Cosimo Morelli and possessed the finest staircase in Rome. The cost of the building was estimated at 150,000 *scudi*.[1]

Nepotism also cast its shadow on what was one of the most praiseworthy undertakings of Pius VI. As Cardinal Ruffo's Auditor at Velletri, he had gained a close acquaintance with the district around the Pontine Marshes and had taken a keen interest in the drainage plans which were again being considered. Soon after becoming Pope he consulted experts on the possibility of draining the swampy and malaria-infested area stretching between Cisterna and Terracina. At the beginning of 1777 he decided to carry out this vast undertaking, which was of extreme economic importance.[2] The scheme drawn up by the Bolognese engineer Gaetano Rappini was approved by two other engineers, and in the autumn the work began.[3] The water coming from the hills was to be carried along a canal, to be known as the Linea Pia, which was to run parallel with the Via Appia, and was to be finally discharged into the sea at Terracina. At first the work was so successful that a considerable portion of the area was dried and ready for cultivation by October 1778.[4] To avoid burdening the Camera Apostolica or imposing fresh taxes a joint-stock company was formed with a capital of 120,000 *scudi*. But as early as May

[1] Report of the Luccese envoy of March 20, 1790 (*loc. cit.* 437), where it is said expressly that Pius VI. contributed 42,000 *scudi*, whereas Moroni (VI., 99) states that the whole cost was borne by L. Braschi. *Cf.* Tavanti, II., 138; Novaes, XVI., 2, 202; Lanciani, *Scavi*, I., 54. For the staircase, *ibid.*, 826, and Brinckmann, *Baukunst*, 135.

[2] N. M. Nicolai, *De' bonificamenti delle terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 155 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*; reports of the Lucchese envoy, *loc. cit.*, 396; Gendry, I., 114.

[4] Report of the Lucchese envoy (*loc. cit.*, 398). [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 137, estimates the area at 80 *rubbi*.

1779 it was found that far greater expenditure would be necessary.[1] The undertaking was consequently opposed in many quarters,[2] but Pius VI. would not abandon it and was encouraged in his resolve by the dry summer of 1779, which rendered the work easier.[3] At the end of November, however, heavy rainfall did much damage, which hearsay exaggerated.[4] To discover the true state of things, Pius, in spite of the risk of catching malaria, decided to visit the marshes himself. On April 6th, 1780, with only a small retinue, he began the journey to Terracina, where he took up his quarters in the Palazzo Vitelli. As no Pope since Benedict XIII. had journeyed further from his residence than Castel Gandolfo, the people came flocking from every direction to do honour to their exalted visitor. The original course of the canal had to be diverted but the result was satisfactory, as 1,475 hectares were reclaimed. Rejoicing at this success the Pope returned to Rome.[5] He repeated his inspection in April, 1781, but was prevented from doing so in the following year by his visit to Vienna. At the end of April, 1783, however, he undertook the journey again,[6] and returned to Rome on May 8th satisfied with the progress made: the damage done by the floods had been exaggerated.[7] But again the costly enterprise, in which about 3,500 workmen were employed, was adversely criticized.[8] Under no consideration, however, would Pius abandon a project which was to bring him as much honour as profit—

[1] Fr. Alberti's dispatches in Brosch, II., 150.

[2] [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 137.

[3] Dispatch of the Lucchese envoy of May 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*, 402).

[4] *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

[5] Gendry, I., 115 *seqq.*; De Cupis, 346. The *description of the journey in the Cod. Vat. 8887 of the Vatican Library.

[6] Both journeys are described in the *Cod. Vat. 8888 and 8889 (*ibid.*).

[7] *Brunati to Colloredo on May 10, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna); Tavanti, I., 164; [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 147.

[8] Characteristic of this is Brunati's *report of April 6, 1783 (*loc. cit.*). For the provision of the money, *v.* Moroni, XL., 158 *seq.*

and profit not only for him but also for his nephew Luigi Braschi, to whom he had rented on favourable terms a considerable portion of the reclaimed estates.[1]

The Pope regarded his annual expedition to the Pontine Marshes as his spring holiday. From 1784 to 1796 inclusive, except for 1791-3, he made an annual inspection of the drainage works, which were time and again obstructed by floods.[2] The total outlay amounted to over a million and a half *scudi*,[3] but all that was gained was the reduction of the marshy area [4]; the transformation of the whole district into arable land remained a pious hope. Even now, with all the aids of modern engineering and the vast resources of the Italian State, it has not been possible to carry out the scheme completely.[5] Pius VI.'s achievements, which his enemies tried to minimize as much as possible or entirely to deny,[6] are judged by recent and impartial critics to have been considerable.[7]

[1] Brunati's *reports of May 3, 1783, and July 20, 1785 (*loc. cit.*); NICOLAI, 293 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, *Storia degli Italiani*, VI., Torino, 1856, 128.

[2] GENDRY, I., 119.

[3] In exact figures, 1,621,983 *scudi*, which included the cost of the reconstruction of the Via Appia and the structures; *v.* NICOLAI, 325.

[4] *Cf.* the maps in NICOLAI, which give a good idea of the conditions before and after the work done under Pius VI.

[5] Another drainage scheme was initiated by the Italian Government in 1917.

[6] Brunati asserted in his *report of April 28, 1787 (*loc. cit.*) that after ten years' work not so much as a handsbreadth of ground had been reclaimed. An English traveller said: "Après dix ans de travaux il n'y a pas encore autant de terrains désechés qu'il y en avait du temps d'Auguste et l'air est devenu encore plus malsain" ([BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 148). Brunati said that the deforestation had made the exhalations still more pernicious (*report of July 4, 1787, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* P. ORLANDUS, *De exsiccandarum paludum Pontinensium utilitate deque infirmitatibus, quae ab aquis stagnantibus exoriuntur. Cui altera accedit de morbis ab a.* 1778 *ad* 1782 *Romae observatis*, Romae, 1783.

[7] DE CUPIS, 347; NICOLAI, 327.

Another enterprise, which was closely connected with the draining of the Pontine Marshes, was universally applauded, even by ill-disposed contemporaries.[1] This was the construction of a first-class highway from Velletri to Terracina. This new artery of traffic, which utilized the ancient Roman road, the Via Appia, was completed in 1786, and in the following year it was planted with two rows of elms. It provided a communication with Naples which was shorter and easier than the old route over the mountains *via* Sezze and Piperno. Pius VI. had a large granary and a customs-house erected at Terracina, and a Capuchin church and convent at Tre Ponti, the first post-stage, to meet the spiritual needs of the neighbourhood.[2] Another fine road owed its inception to Pius VI., that which runs boldly through wild mountain scenery, either close alongside or high above the Anio, from Subiaco to Tivoli. Numerous ordinances show the interest taken by the Pope in the roads of the Papal States.[3] He improved the road to Viterbo and on his instructions drainage-works were undertaken at Città della Pieve, Perugia, Spoleto, Trevi,[4] and Cassino.[5] An

[1] [Bourgoing-Azara], I., 137, 154 *seq.*

[2] Nicolai, 326, 362 *seqq.*, 372 *seqq.* For the former state of the road, *cf.* Justi, II.[2], 153. The pope is commemorated by two inscriptions on the road between Velletri and Civita Lavinia: "Pius VI. P.M. | Viam Piam | antea designatam et fieri iussam | stravit absolvit perfecit | et ponte ornavit | Io. B. de Praetis praef. viar. | fiendam curavit | A° 1780." — "Ex auctoritate | Io. Franc. Albani | episc. Ostien. | ordo populusque Veliternus | ut viam Appiam Traianam | providentia Pii VI. P. M. | post immemorabil. aevi spatia restitutam | consensu opt. principis | municipio coniungeret | utque iter in urbem finitimis etiam facillimum patefaceret | viam Veliternam quae vetustate interciderat | subacto iugo pontibusque constructis | ad Appiae milliarium XXII. muniendam curavit | A° 1779."

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 403 *seq.*, 745, VI., 2, 2015; Tavanti, I., 71, 87.

[4] Novaes, XVI., 1, 106, for Canino.

[5] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on May 15, 1778 (Campello Archives at Spoleto); Beccatini, II., 119 *seqq.*

inscription near Anguillara commemorates the construction of the channel which makes an outlet for the Lago di Bracciano. With a machine invented by Natale Marini the Tiber was dredged near the Casa di Rienzi.[1] Attilio Arnolfini was employed by him in hydraulic works in the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna.[2] He also paid particular attention to the harbours of Ancona [3] and Civitavecchia.[4] He had still further plans for economic improvement: the canalization of the Anio, the connexion of the Tiber with Lake Trasimene, the construction of a canal between Faenza and the Adriatic.[5] But the times were not propitious for the execution either of these plans or of those for altering the course of the road from Rome to Terni and the provision of a better route to Tuscany.[6]

As regards the internal administration of the Papal States, even hostile observers admit that honest efforts were made by Pius VI. to improve the financial situation by raising the productive forces of his State and reforming the fiscal system. The success that attended these endeavours, however, did not

[1] Novaes, XVI., 1, 106.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 196; Lombardi, II., 279 *seqq.* The works were directed by Cardinal Boncompagni as Legate. By a *Brief of August 26, 1785, the Pope authorized him to continue the work even after his appointment as Cardinal Secretary of State. *Epist.* 181, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on January 22, 1775 (*loc. cit.*), and Brunati's *letter of June 6, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 231, 316; Novaes, XVI., 1, 45.

[4] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on January 22, 1775, and March 26, 1777 (*loc. cit.*); Novaes, XVI., 1, 26, 48.

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 244, 484, 646, VI., 2, 1966, VI., 3, 2432.

[6] Novaes, XVI., 124 *seqq.*; Brosch, II., 156; Gendry, I., 119. *Cf.* Silvestrelli, *Città, castelli e terre della regione Romana*, I., Città di Castello, 1914, 182. For the project of conducting the water from Lake Trasimene to the Chiana and thence into the Arno, *v.* Novaes, XVI., 1, 25 *seq.*, and the '*Diario di Pio VI.' for April 12, September 4, November 20, December 22, 1779, and October 13, 1780 (*loc. cit.*).

come up to expectations, owing to some extent perhaps to Pius VI.'s unfortunate choice of officials.[1] The abolition, decreed in 1777, of all customs-dues within the States of the Church, with the exception of the Legation of Bologna, was undoubtedly a beneficial measure, though its effect was gravely impaired by the inability to refrain from fixing the market-prices officially in order to prevent a scarcity of goods. The attempt to increase the revenue by reforming the fiscal system failed, as did also the efforts made to abolish the financial privileges enjoyed by Bologna.[2] Nor did the introduction of manufactures and new industries[3] produce the desired results. To improve the agriculture of the Campagna, Pius, in 1783, after the completion of the cadastral survey, which was a vast undertaking, ordered a fifth of the estates

[1] Brunati's *report of October 27, 1784, where the opinion is held that Pius VI thought more of a man's appearance than of his qualifications (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Brosch, II., 158–166. Regarding Bologna, *v.* the rare memorial of the future Cardinal Erskine : " Scrittura in forma di supplica coll' intero Sommario de' Documenti stata umiliata nell' anno 1781, alla Santità del Regnante Sommo Pontefice Pio VI. dall' ambasciatore di Bologna in Roma a favore delle Ragioni della di lui patria e Senato sul nuovo piano economico di quella provincia " (no place of publication ; 1784). *Cf.* also Ungarelli, *Il periodo prenapoleonico in Bologna*, in *Nuova Antologia*, November, 1909, 100 *seqq.* ; Moroni, LXXIV., 316 *seq.* ; Hergenröther, *Kirchenstaat*, 54 ; Benigni, 99 *seqq.* ; *Civ. Catt.*, Quad. 1354 (1906), 437 *seqq.*

[3] *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX. 416, 418, 420, 427–9, 433, 474 *seq.* ; *Bull. Cont.* VI., 3, 2420 ; Novaes, XVI., 1, 37, 55, 155, 167, 168, XVI., 2, 218 ; ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on May 10, 1775 (inspection of " edificio per la fabrica di tele " in the Piazza Termini), February 2 and May 24, 1777 (*loc. cit.*). For the foundation of the " Conservatorio Pio per le manifatture di lino, canape e lane " instituted by Pius VI. " alle falde del Gianicolo " and subsequently supported by him, *v.** *ibid.*, on December 14, 1776, October 29, 1777, March 14 and December 26, 1778, July 28, 1779, July 5, 1780, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Novaes, XVI., 1, 26.

to be put under cultivation.[1] He also occupied himself with the advancement of the fisheries in the Papal States.[2] He did the best with the resources at his disposal to mitigate the effects of such acts of God as thunderstorms, earthquakes, famine, and the flooding of the Tiber in 1777 and 1785.[3] The lunatic asylum, the German College in Rome, the Accademia Ecclesiastica, the Collegio Clementino, and the poor-house near the Forum also benefited from his boundless generosity.[4] All these outgoings gravely affected the Papal finances, which were precarious enough when Pius assumed office, but in the long run they were of benefit to the State.[5]

Numerous instances are cited by Pius VI.'s biographers of the great care he took in the administration of justice.[6] Severe as he was in the punishment of crime—he retained the death penalty in spite of Beccaria—he took into consideration the humanitarian views of the time in regard to the prison system. Clement XI. had already given expression to the corrective aspect of the infliction of punishment by establishing the boys' prison of S. Michele in Rome.[7] Pius VI. saw to the complete rebuilding of the State prison in the fortress of San Leo, near Rimini, where the prisoners languished away in horrible dungeons, and gave orders for their more humane

[1] Tavanti, II., 12. For the Catasto Piano, *v.* Nicolai, I., 1 *seqq.*; Tomassetti, I., 228 *seq.*

[2] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on February 23 and September 2, 1780 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Novaes, XVI., 1, 44, 48, 63, 95, 124 *seq.*, 154 *seq.* For the help given at the flooding of the Tiber, *v.* '*Diario di Pio VI.' on December 31, 1777, and January 7, 1778 (*loc. cit.*). For the earthquake of October, 1785, *cf.* Gendry, II., 68.

[4] Novaes, XVI., 1, 200 *seq.*

[5] Reumont's judgment (III., 2, 661).

[6] Novaes, XVI., 1, 27, 58, XVI., 2, 191. *Cf.* Tavanti, I., 51; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 391.

[7] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII., 499. An entry for April 6, 1776, in the '*Diario di Pio VI.' notes the project of adding a wing to the Ospizio di S. Michele as a boys' reformatory. *Loc. cit.*

treatment and better nourishment.[1] At the end of 1785 he vigorously promoted the revision of the penal code.[2] The disturbances accompanying the outbreak of the Revolution, however, put a stop to his beneficial activity as also to his efforts to advance the cause of learning and art.

(3)

Though not a man of letters, Pius VI. was a great lover of books; he possessed a choice library of his own, which was to be left to his native town of Cesena.[3] The foreign representatives, especially the Spanish, Austrian, and French ambassadors, took good care to gratify him with presents of printed works, engravings, and medals.[4] His predilections in this respect were so well known that one scholar, when offering him his congratulations on his election, presented him with a literary work, thinking that this was the best way of finding

[1] *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 433; TAVANTI, II., 13; NOVAES, XVI., 1, 155.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1529 *seq.* Brunati *reported to Colloredo on November 30, 1785, that this project was meeting with difficulties on the part of the Romans: "Questo nuovo codice farà sempre onore agli autori del medesimo non meno che alle umanissime e rette intenzioni del S. Padre" (State Archives, Vienna). The "invenzione del Cavalletto" for the punishment of delinquents was noted by *Fr. Fortunati on December 27, 1784 (Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library).

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on November 19 and December 27, 1777 (*loc. cit.*); NOVAES, XVI., 1, 33. Neither this donation nor the building of a library ever came about (TAVANTI, I., 63), as during the French occupation the Pope's library was scattered in all directions (Catal. Palat. lat., I., cxxvi; E. MÜNTZ in *Mélanges Havet*, 583 *seq.*). Various volumes from the Pope's library are still to be found in bookshops; I myself bought several in the '90's. Pius VI. also defrayed the cost of printing and publishing Muccioli's catalogue of the Biblioteca Malatestiana at Cesena (BLUME, *Iter*, II., 166).

[4] *Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 10, 24, 33, 40, 42 *seq.*, 79.

favour with him.[1] The Pope was delighted when the Benedictines of Subiaco gratified a wish of his and presented him with one of the three copies of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* printed by Schweinheim and Pannartz in the reign of Paul II.[2] A glance at the register of Briefs shows how many were the literary works presented to the Pope. Acting on the principle that everyone who was working for the advancement of knowledge was deserving of his praise and good wishes,[3] he had so many encouraging and appreciative letters sent to scholars of every nation that he brought to mind the times of Benedict XIV. It gave him a special pleasure to thank the donors of books written in defence of the Church and the Holy See, in view of the spate of anti-religious works.[4] But there are also extant letters of thanks for works dealing with geography,[5]

[1] *Brief of thanks to Dominicus de Iovio of May 9, 1775, *Epist.* 175 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] '*Memorie del monasterio di S. Scolastica di Subiaco', in the archives of this monastery.

[3] *Brief of thanks to Vincentius Arianus, of May 19, 1775, for his *Commentarius de claris iurisconsultis Neapolitanis* (*Epist.* 175, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Briefs to Hier. Besange (Benedict. Cremifan.), September 9, 1775; to Canonico Du Creux, September 27, 1775; Alf. de' Liguori, November 14, 1775; Luigi de Poix (Capua), December 13, 1775; Ladislaus Sappel ord. s. Franc. recoll., December 23, 1775; Claudius Franc. Nonnotte, January 23, 1776; Chaudon, Benedict. Congreg. Cluniacensis, May 11, 1776; Lucas Nicolaus de Luca, May 24, 1776; Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo, June 20, 1776. In his *Brief to Charles Albert, Prince of Hohenlohe, of January 21, 1786, the Pope expressed his regret that owing to their being in German, he was unable to read the works the prince had written for the confirmation of the faith (*Epist.*, 175, 176, 181, *loc. cit.*). For Camillo Zampieri, who opposed Rousseau's *Émile* with his metrical paraphrases from the Book of Tobias, *v.* LOMBARDI, V., 47.

[5] *Briefs to Georg, Baron de Pflacher, of August 26, 1775, and February 7, 1776 (thanking him for the three volumes of his *Topographica descriptio*; *Epist.*, 175, *loc. cit.*).

archæology,[1] history,[2] canon law,[3] and the history of music.[4] Brief after Brief was written in praise of the fertile literary activity of the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, who had edited the Mozarabic breviary, the Spanish Councils, the works of the Archbishops of Toledo, and those of St. Isidore of Seville.[5] A German historian whom the Pope held in particularly high esteem was the learned Prince Abbot of St. Blasien, Martin Gerbert, whose personal acquaintance he had made in Rome and whom he met again when visiting Vienna.[6] He was on intimate terms with the Italian scholars Francesco Antonio Zaccharia, the ex-Jesuit, and the Dominican Tommaso Maria Mamachi; the former he appointed Professor of Church History at the Roman

[1] In his *Brief to the King of Naples of April 19, 1776, Pius VI. thanked him for sending the "septem antiquitatum Herculanensium volumina" and praised the king's efforts to promote learning ("opportunissime accidisse iudicavimus, ut iam interea obruti ac latentes illi thesauri vestro tempore detegerentur"), which was now enjoying a revival (*Epist.*, 176, *loc. cit.*). Here also is the *Brief of March 6, 1776, to the "abbas de Lubersiaco" for his work *De publicis a prima origine mundi ad nostram usque aetatem monumentis.*

[2] *Brief of February 21, 1778, to Abbot Froben of St. Emmeram's, at Regensburg, for his edition of Alcuin's works (Ratisbonae, 1777). *Epist.*, 177, *ibid.* For Mozzi's *Storia delle rivoluzioni della chiesa d'Utrecht*, see Lombardi, I., 168.

[3] *Brief to Vinc. Lupoli, of May 17, 1777, *Epist.*, 176 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] *Brief to Martin Gerbert, of September 18, 1775, thanking him for his important work on the history of music, *De cantu et musica sacra* (two vols.), *Epist.*, 175 (*ibid.*).

[5] *Briefs of June 20, 1776, and December 1, 1785, *Epist.*, 175 and 181 (*ibid.*).

[6] Besides that cited at n. 4, *Briefs were sent to Gerbert on May 3, 1776 (thanking him for the dedication of his *Vetus liturgia alemannica*, two vols., 1776), on September 1, 1784 (thanking him for the *Historia Nigrae Silvae*), on March 1, 1786 (thanking him for the three-volumed *Script. eccles. de musica sacra*, 1784), and on July 24, 1790 (thanking him for the *Ecclesia militans regnum Christi in terra*), *ibid.*

University, the latter, in 1782, Maestro del Sacro Palazzo, in which capacity Mamachi directed the *Giornale Ecclesiastico*, which made its first appearance in 1785. Both these scholars were faithful defenders of the Papal rights, Mamachi producing a work on the authority of the Pope in which he opposed the tendencies of Febronianism.[1] It was at the Pope's suggestion that Antonio Serassi wrote a history of Cesena.[2] He commissioned Gaetano Marini with the edition of the inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales which were found during the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's,[3] and the antiquary Georg Zoëga with the classification of all the available information about obelisks. It is to the lasting honour of Pius VI. that by granting an annuity to this great and conscientious archæologist he enabled him to complete his pioneering studies,[4] which are still being discussed at the present day.

Pius VI. was highly interested in the complete edition of the works of St. Maximus, Bishop of Turin. The editor, Bruni, received extensive subsidies, and instructions were sent to the nuncios to have a search made by scholars in all the libraries for the manuscripts of this Church Father, to take copies of them, to collate them, and to collect the important variants.[5] The Pope saw to it personally that a valuable manuscript from the convent of S. Scolastica, at Subiaco, was placed at Bruni's disposal.[6] When the work appeared in 1784, the cost of the

[1] Moroni, XLII., 97 ; Lombardi, I., 225 *seqq.*, 229 *seq.*

[2] Gendry, I., 96. Serassi was also commissioned by Pius VI. to write a life of the painter I. Mazzoni (*v.* Lombardi, IV., 184). He also co-operated in the edition of the *Divina Commedia* annotated by the Franciscan Conventual Bartolommeo Lombardi in 1791.

[3] Marini, *Atti e monumenti dei fratelli Arvali*, Roma, 1795.

[4] Michaelis in the *Allg. Deutschen Biogr.*, XLV., 392 *seqq.* For the part played by Zoëga, in conjunction with Winckelmann and E. Q. Visconti, in founding the science of archæology, *v.* Kékulé, *Leben F. G. Welckers*, 81.

[5] *Lebensgeschichte Pius' VI.*, II., 330.

[6] The Brief to the Abbot in Gendry, I., 497. The Abbot noted in his *reply that in spite of his (the Pope's) cares and the demands

printing having been borne by himself, he had copies sent to such outstanding scholars as the Abbot Martin Gerbert [1] and Lorenzana, the Archbishop of Toledo.[2]

Two most industrious Roman scholars, Pier Luigi Galletti and Francesco Cancellieri, were frequently assisted by the Pope. Galletti was the model of a hard-working Benedictine; his memory is perpetuated not only by his writings but still more by the manuscripts which, as its Keeper, he collected for the Vatican Library. These, as is well known, are an inexhaustible mine of information for the historical investigator. Pius VI. rewarded him by creating him a Bishop and by consecrating him with his own hands in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, attached to which church was the monastery where Galletti lived.[3] Cancellieri dedicated all his works, which likewise contained a wealth of information, to the Pope. His four-volumed work on the "Secretaria",[4] both pagan and Christian, especially those of the Vatican

of business "studia praesertim sacra, quae ab ineunte aetate excoluisti et unice dilexisti, provehere ac tueri non cesses". Archives of S. Scolastica at Subiaco.

[1] *Brief to Gerbert of July 23, 1785, *Epist.*, 181, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] In the *Brief of December 1, 1785, the following comment was made on the edition of the works of St. Maximus: "Visum fuit Nobis esse operae pretium, ut, si quas de universa Ecclesia gerimus curas, etiam ad tam egregii ac tam vetusti Doctoris monumenta extenderemus, unde maior adhuc perspectiorque fieri posset ad eamdem Ecclesiam iuvandam illustrandamque accessio. Proinde contendendum duximus, ut ea multo quam antea emendatiora auctioraque prodirent in publicum." *Epist.*, 176, 181, *ibid.*

[3] *Notizie spettanti alla vita del P. abbate Pierluigi Galletti*, Roma, 1793; Renazzi, IV., 371; *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 187.

[4] In ancient Roman times the *Secretarium* was where the judges sat in council and heard witnesses and contending parties. In the Church, according to Paulinus (*Epist.*, 12, n. 16), it was the sacristy or a place where one could study Holy Scripture, also a subsidiary building attached to the church, etc.

Basilica, were printed at the Pope's expense.[1] Paolo Antonio Paoli, the historian of the Order of St. John, was appointed by Pius president of the Accademia Ecclesiastica, which he had reorganized.[2]

Notable services were rendered by Pius VI. to the Roman University, where he set up chairs of obstetrics and surgery; the former was given to Francesco Asdrubali, who had been trained in France, the latter to the Corsican, Giuseppe Sisco.[3] The new order of studies evolved by the Rector, Costantini, and ratified by the Pope in 1788 amounted to a reform of higher education. It fixed the number of professors at forty-one: five each for languages and literature, philosophy, mathematics, and physics, six each for theology and jurisprudence, nine for medicine and surgery.[4]

Belles-lettres did not flourish under Pius VI.; scholarly works predominated, especially those dealing with ecclesiastical matters.[5] The poet Alfieri wished to dedicate his *Saul* to the

[1] CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 421; G. BARALDI, *Notizie biogr. del Ab. Fr. Cancellieri*, in *Memorie di religione*, XIII., Modena, 1828, 373 *seqq.*, 391 *seq.*, 394, 451 *seqq.*; ADEMOLLO, *L'abbate Cancellieri*, in *Rivista Europea*, 1877, II., 1 *seqq.*; A. MORONI, *Catalogo delle opere del Cancellieri*, Roma, 1881.

[2] RENAZZI, IV., 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, 383 *seqq.*; E. CURATOLO, *L'arte di Juno Lucina in Roma*, Roma, 1901, 182 *seqq.* For Sisco *cf.* also *Bibliografia Romana*, I. (1880), 223 *seqq.*

[4] RENAZZI, IV., 386 *seqq.*, 389 *seqq.*

[5] During his stay in Vienna in 1782 Pius imparted the Apostolic blessing to the dying Metastasio through his nuncio there (BAUMGARTNER, *Weltliteratur*, VI., 515). Many other works were dedicated to the Pope, e.g. the first volume of the *Storia naturale dell'Agro Romano* by the naturalist Filippo Luigi Gilii (b. 1756, d. 1821). *Cf.* G. LAIS in the *Mem. di. pontif. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, VI. (1890), 7, where there is a list of Gilii's works, both printed and unprinted. Comolli's *Bibliografia storico-artistica dell' architettura civile ed arti subalterne*, Roma, 1788–1792, 4 vols., was also dedicated to Pius VI. This was the first real bibliography of art, planned on broad lines, but the turmoil of the Revolution prevented its completion (*v.* SCHLOSSER, *Kunstlit.*, 3–4).

Pope but Pius VI. declined to accept this or any other work intended for the stage.[1] Piqued by this refusal, Alfieri composed a sonnet satirizing the Papacy before leaving Rome the following year. A sharp answer to this attack was supplied by the poet Vincenzo Monti, who came to live in Rome in 1778. Monti was the Papal nephew's secretary, and the verses he wrote to celebrate his master's wedding won him the special favour of the Pope.[2] A great writer of occasional poetry, Monti composed a verse on the bust of Pericles which had been set up in the Museo Clementino. He wrote, with allusion to Pius VI.: "Even in the Greek Elysium, that despised kingdom, there is one exalted spirit fit to pay you homage." In his *Feroniade* he celebrated the great civilizing work of the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes.[3] The subject of one of his sonnets was the recantation of Febronius.[4] One of his best poems was the *Pellegrino apostolico*, which was written on the occasion of the Pope's journey to Vienna, where he was to visit Joseph II. The hopes the poet entertained of the monarch's filial love of the Head of the Church were, however, not destined to be realized.[5] In 1783 Monti had all his sacred poems, together with the *Pellegrino apostolico*, printed in Siena and dedicated them to the Pope; his profane poetry he dedicated to Luigi Braschi.[6]

[1] VICCHI, *V. Monti, le lettere e la politica 1781–1790*, Faenza, 1883, 154.

[2] VICCHI, *loc. cit.*, 25 *seqq.*, 44 *seqq.*, 191. Through L. Braschi Monti was given the post of Roman agent for Rieti; *v.* A. SACCHETTI-SASSETTI, *V. Monti, agente in Roma del comune di Rieti 1773–1797*, Rieti, 1903. For Monti's intimate relations with Braschi's wife, *v.* BANDINI in *La Lettura*, 1924, No. 8.

[3] VICCHI, 248 *seqq.*; *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1898, 399.

[4] VICCHI, 400.

[5] *Ibid.*, 144 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 223. Pius VI. suffered some annoyance on more than one occasion as the result of a dispute which arose in the "Arcadia" about the crowning as poetess of the ambitious Maria Maddalena Morelli-Fernandez, who was known by the Arcadian name of Corilla Olympica. An improvisor who accompanied her verses on the violin, she found protectors in the

Prominent among the works the Pope allowed to be dedicated to himself were two editions de luxe of the largest format: Visconti's description of the Museo Pio-Clementino,[1] of which both the text and the execution of the plates are of the first order, and Zoëga's work on the obelisks, in the dedication of which Marini hails Pius VI. as the protector of Egyptology, which was then in the first stages of efflorescence.[2] Georg Zoëga, who returned to the Church in Rome in 1783,[3] was the

eccentric Principe Luigi di Castiglione, the last of the Gonzagas, and the "Custode" of the "Arcadia", the Abate Gioacchino Pizzi, who, after her coronation in the "Arcadia" pressed for her coronation on the Capitol. All the anti-Jesuits were on her side, but there was also an opposing party, the most prominent member of which was Fr. Cancellieri. As not only Cardinal Negroni but also the Secretary of State, Pallavicini, was in favour of Corilla's crowning, Pius VI. reluctantly gave permission for it in July, 1776, while doing his best to lessen its importance. The crowning took place on August 31, 1776, attended, however, by not a single Cardinal and by only a few members of the public. On her homeward journey the "poetess" had to be protected from insults and on the same day she had to leave Rome. *Cf.* Ademollo, *Corilla Olympica*, Firenze, 1887, and *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, X., 449 *seqq.*, XX., 311 *seqq.* A passage from a letter written by the Count di Rivera to Cardinal Della Lanze and published by Cibrario (*Lettere*, 515) shows how irritated the Pope was by the whole affair: "Continua il Papa a mostrarsi stranito sempre ed irritato per gli accidenti occorsi nella ridicola scena dell' incoronata poetessa Corilla. Risponde negativamente a tutte le domande che se gli fanno e non dà che brevissime udienze; 10 minuti ha trattenuto ultimamente il card. Segretario di Stato che vorrebbe che ne andasse a villeggiare, e non più di 4 minuti il card. Castelli che è quegli veramente che tra i zelanti più ha declamato contro la permessa incoronazione della diffamata improvvisatrice."

[1] Starck, *Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1880, 243. *Cf.* below, p. 79.

[2] Hautecœur, 107; Starck, *loc. cit.*, 247.

[3] Raess, *Konvertiten*, X., 361 *seqq.*; A. D. Jorgensen, *Georg Zoëga*, in *Et Mindenskrift*, Kobenhavn, 1881; F. G. Welcker, *Zoëgas Leben*, Stuttgart–Tübingen, 1819.

especial protégé of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who was distinguished not only for his encouragement of scholars[1] but also for his own writings. His three-volumed work on the medieval history of Benevento, which appeared in 1763, was followed in Pius VI.'s pontificate by several works on ecclesiastical antiquities and a study of the Confessio in St. Peter's. He was awarded the purple for a work that appeared in 1788, a documented defence of the feudal rights of the Holy See over the kingdom of Naples, which were contested by the Bourbon Government.[2]

Cardinal Borgia was an ardent collector of pagan and Christian antiquities, coins, and manuscripts. As secretary and then as head of the Propaganda he availed himself of its far-reaching connexions to establish collections which were as varied as they were valuable and which were kept in his ancestral palace at Velletri.[3] Goethe, who saw the collections in 1787, considered it unpardonable not to pay more frequent visits to these treasures which were so near Rome. The Cardinal, with considerable means at his disposal, had his

[1] The variety and extent of Borgia's connexions with other scholars can be gauged from the *correspondence collected together in Arm. XXXIII., t. 15, of the Archives of the Propaganda. These letters are mostly on intellectual subjects and unfortunately they cover only two years. Among the Italian scholars that figure here are S. Assemani, Rossini, G. Tiraboschi, A. M. Bandini, Ir. Affò, G. Andres, G. Marini, I. Morelli, D. Testa, and Leop. Camilla Volta.

[2] Fr. Cancellieri, *Elogio del card. Stef. Borgia*, Roma, 1806; Cost. Borgia, *Notizie biografiche del card. Stef. Borgia*, Roma, 1843; G. Baraldi, *Notizia biografica sul card. Stefano Borgia di Velletri*, Modena, 1830; Fr. Münter, *Kardinal Stephan Borgia*, Kobenhavn, 1805. There is an excellent portrait in oils of Borgiano in the Propaganda in Rome.

[3] *Documenti per i Musei d'Italia*, III., 395 *seqq.*; Blume, *Iter*, II., 246; E. Borson, *Lettre sur le cabinet de S.E.M. le card. Borgia à Velletri*, Roma, 1796. In Murat's time the Museo Borgiano, which also included many Etruscan and Faliscan antiquities, was absorbed partly by the Museo Borbonico in Naples, partly by the Propaganda or Vaticana.

treasures elucidated by scholars of the first rank, making no objection to several of them being of the Protestant faith. In 1782 there was published in Rome a description of the coins and Cufic inscriptions in the Borgia collection at Velletri by the Protestant theologian and orientalist Jakob Adler.[1] Another Protestant theologian, Friedrich Münter, who afterwards became Bishop of Zeeland and made a name for himself as an ecclesiastical historian, formed a lasting friendship with Borgia when in Rome in 1784.[2] The Cardinal could hardly have found anyone more competent than Zoëga to describe his numismatic collection. In procuring for him an annuity from the Pope, in return for which Zoëga was to act as interpreter to the Propaganda, he saved this great scholar for Rome and the general cause of learning.[3] Zoëga justified Borgia's confidence in him by producing a description of the Egypto-Roman coins in his collection [4] which won the admiration of all the experts by its exactness, its searching judgment, and its astonishing knowledge. Zoëga also wrote a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in his patron's possession.[5] Through Zoëga the Cardinal came so closely in touch with all the Danish visitors to Rome that he was regarded as their protector, and on January 19, 1786, he joined with them in celebrating the feast of St. Canute. The Cardinal also formed connexions with such German scholars and writers as Heeren, Siebenkees, Hirt, von Murr, Fernow, and Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg,

[1] Iac. G. Ch. Adler, *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris*, Romae, 1782; continuation, 1792. *Cf.* Blume, *Iter*, II., 246; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, I., 85 *seq.*

[2] *Writing to the Cardinal on January 30, 1795, Münter sent him his New Year greetings and referred to their friendship as a "grande delizia della sua vita". (Original in the codex of the Archives of the Propaganda mentioned on p. 53, n. 1.)

[3] Michaelis in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XLV., 392 *seq.*

[4] *Numi Aegyptii imperatorii prostantes in Museo Borgiano Velitris*, Romae, 1787.

[5] The *Catalogus codic. coptic. manuscript. qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, printed by the Propaganda, did not appear till after Zoëga's death in 1810.

with the result that the Göttingen Academy rewarded his services by electing him an honorary member.[1] Stolberg could find no words good enough to describe the cordial reception given by the Cardinal to every traveller, especially if he came from the North.[2]

As Zoëga had already paid some attention to obelisks in his description of Borgia's numismatic collection, the Pope, at the beginning of 1788, entrusted him with the compilation of the vast work already mentioned, which was to include for the first time everything that was worth knowing about these monuments. During nine laborious years Zoëga collected meticulously every reference to obelisks in ancient and modern literature and in monuments ; he confuted the false views that had been held on the purpose of obelisks, he clearly distinguished their epochs, explained at length the Egyptian worship of the dead, and produced all available information about hieroglyphic writing viewed externally, while prudently refraining, in view of the inadequate information then available, from venturing an interpretation of the symbols. Nevertheless, he rightly distinguished hieroglyphs from purely pictorial representations and imparted a high degree of probability to Barthélemy's conjecture (subsequently of vital importance in the deciphering of the hieroglyphs) that the so-called cartouches enclosed the titles of kings.[3]

Besides Borgia, several other scholars were raised to the purple by Pius VI. Mention has been made elsewhere of the Archbishop of Toledo, Lorenzana ; similar creations were those of Garampi and Gerdil.

The Barnabite, Giacinto Gerdil, had already made a great

[1] Michaelis, *loc. cit.*, 394. *Cf.* the collection of letters cited on p. 53, n. 1.

[2] *Letter to Borgia, dated from Eutin, July 24, 1794, Cod. cit. of the Archives of the Propaganda. *Ibid.*, a *letter from Münter to the Cardinal, dated from Lübeck, September 17, 1794, conveying greetings from Stolberg, " vive ora nelle rimembranze delle bellezze della felice Italia." O. G. Tychsen also sent the Cardinal his " respetti " through Münter.

[3] Michaelis, *loc. cit.*, 395 ; Starck, *Systematik*, 247.

reputation for himself with his philosophical and theological works in the time of Benedict XIV. Pius VI. called him to Rome and made him Consultor to the Inquisition. Gerdil did so well in this position that a cardinalate was conferred on him as early as June 27th, 1777. This was soon followed by his appointment as the Prefect of the Propaganda and as member of many Congregations. In spite of his heavy burden of official duties he managed to continue his literary activity. Just as in the past he had defended the Catholic position against Locke and Rousseau, he now came forward with several works distinguished for their scholarliness and sound principles to counter the anti-papal aims of the Josephist Eybel, Febronius, and the Synod of Pistoia. A dissertation written by him on the statement made by Febronius on the occasion of his recantation elicited a laudatory Brief from the Pope.[1]

Giuseppe Garampi, who had once been Prefect of the Papal Secret Archives but had not been able to pursue his studies since the days of Clement XIII., continued with his diplomatic duties so successfully under Pius VI. that he gained his admission to the Sacred College in February 1785. The remaining few years of his life he spent either in his diocese of Montefiascone or in the German College in Rome, of which he was the Protector. In 1792 he published a historical and legal defence of the rights of the Holy See to Avignon.[2] He died in May of that year and was buried in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where the inscription on his tomb rightly praises the merits of the man who had made the first attempt to compile a systematic catalogue of the treasures of the Papal Secret Archives.[3]

[1] On March 3, 1793. G. Piantoni, *Vita del card. Giac. A. Gerdil e analisi delle sue opere*, Roma, 1851; Hergenröther in the *Freib. Kirchenlesc.*, V.[3], 361 *seqq.*

[2] Garampi, *Allegazione ist.-crit.-diplom.-legale in risposta all'Aut. delle ricerche istoriche concernenti i diritti incontrastabili del Papa sulla città e stato di Avignone, munita delle opportune giustificazioni, accresciuta di nuove ragioni e documenti*, Roma, 1792.

[3] Forcella, X., 12. For Garampi, see our account, vol. XXXV., 224, n. 2; XXXVI., 191, 192, 197 *seqq.*

Another friend of learning was Cardinal Zelada, who formed a choice library and a celebrated collection of antiquities, especial y coins.[1] He wrote a work on numismatics [2] and was interested also in the progress of medicine, physics, and astronomy ; the observatory of the Roman College owes its origin to him.[3] On the death of Cardinal Albani at the end of 1779, the Pope appointed Zelada to succeed him as Librarian of the Holy Roman Church.[4] He was allotted the apartments near the Tor de' Venti which had once been occupied by Benedict XIV.[5] The administration of the Vaticana, which had been neglected under Zelada's two predecessors, was in urgent need of reform. Garampi made some far-seeing proposals in this direction and offered excellent suggestions for new undertakings in the field of scholarship. Zelada fell in with these ideas at first and a step was taken in the right direction in 1781, when facilities for the pursuance of his labours were granted to the research scholar from the north, Jakob Georg Christian Adler, of Copenhagen,[6] notwithstanding the veto issued under Clement XIII. But in 1782, when the first Keeper, Stefano Evodio Assemani, died, and his place was taken by the wholly unsuitable Giuseppe Antonio Reggi, the reforming work was held up again. After 1789, when Zelada assumed the Secretaryship of State, he was too heavily engaged with the duties attached to that office to be able to remedy the situation.[7]

[1] MORONI, CIII., 463 ; BLUME, *Iter*, III., 74, 226, 229 *seq.* Zelada bequeathed only his books, of which there were a significantly large number of encyclopedic works, to the Vaticana, whereas his manuscripts went to the Chapter Library at Toledo, thence partly to the National Library in Madrid.

[2] *De nummis aliquot aereis uncialibus*, Romae, 1778, translated in MEUSEL's *Hist. Lit.*, VI. (1781).

[3] DENZA, *Pubblic. d. Specola Vatic.*, I., Roma, 1891, 18. *Cf.* also CURATOLO, *loc. cit.*, 207 *seqq.*

[4] DENGEL in the *Mitteil. des Österr. Hist. Instituts*, XXV., 295.

[5] '*Diario di Pio VI.' on January 12, 1780 (Campello Archives, Spoleto).

[6] *Cf.* I. G. CH. ADLER, *Reisebemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Rom*, Altona, 1784.

[7] DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 308 *seq.*

Even before the Vatican Library had been put under the direction of Cardinal Zelada it had been enriched by Pius VI. with valuable manuscripts from the convent of S. Basilio, in Rome, and the Salviati Library.[1] The purchase of the *Codex Marchalianus* in 1785 was an acquisition of the first importance, for this manuscript, originating in Egypt certainly not later than the sixth century, has been of inestimable value for the critical appreciation of the text of the Septuagint.[2]

The Vatican collection of coins received handsome donations from Pius VI., who also took steps to improve its arrangement.[3] The collection of seals and the Museo Profano, attached to the library, owe their inception to the Pope. In the latter institution cameos, glass, works in gold, silver, ivory, and bronze were displayed in magnificent cases,[4] and here also was Christian Dehn's series of copies of gems, purchased in 1777.[5]

[1] Forcella, VI., 197; Carini, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 123 *seq.* In 1797, in accordance with the peace treaty, five hundred MSS. had to be handed over to the French (Blume, *Iter*, III., 74). They and the other surrendered antiquities are listed in E. Müntz, *La bibliothèque du Vatican pendant la révolution française*, in *Mélanges Havet*, 588 *seqq.*

[2] Tischendorf, *Nova Coll.*, IX. (1870), 227 *seqq.*; complete photographic reproduction by Cozza-Luzi, with commentary by Ceriani, Roma, 1890 *seqq.*

[3] Blume, *Iter*, III., 82, 114; Tavanti, I., 87; Carini, 124 *seq.*; Hautecœur, 218. *Cf.* also '*Diario di Pio VI.' on June 15, 1776, *loc. cit.*

[4] Novaes, XVI., 1, 44; Carini, *loc. cit.*; '*Diario di Pio VI.' on May 31, 1780 (*loc. cit.*): "La Sta di N. S. si è determinata di far collocare il Museo delle Medaglie, statuette di bronzo, crogniole e altre pietre preziose nella contigua stanza dei papiri, che resta nella Libreria Vaticana. Pertanto sotto la direzione e disegno del Signore Cavalier Luigi Valadier si formeranno quattro nobilissimi armari di legno del Brasile a più colori contornati di metalli dorati con li suoi cristalli alli sportelli, entro li quali in buona simetria resteranno esposti alla pubblica vista li sudetti pregievoli antichi monumenti."

[5] Noack, 406.

For the Sala Sistina in the library Pius VI. gave two large tables with slabs of Egyptian granite, on the gilt borders of which were depicted events of his pontificate.[1] Frescoes with similar subjects adorned the library gallery [2] and the entrance to the rooms occupied by Zelada, which afterwards contained the Etruscan Museum.[3] The observatory established by Gregory XIII. was put in the charge of the library administration and was reconditioned by Pius VI., so that it was now as efficient as that of the Roman College.[4] Numerous documents from Avignon were added to the Papal Secret Archives.[5] Another development carried out at Pius VI.'s command was the extension of the Museo Kircheriano.[6]

[1] Described in BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 167 *seq.* *Cf.* NOVAES, XVI., 1, 208.

[2] FORCELLA, VI., 192 *seq.*, 198 *seqq.*

[3] " *Dall' em. de Zelada si fa riattare e nobilmente depingere il passeto che resta sopra il grand' ovalo del Giardino della Pigna al Vaticano che conduce nel suo appartamento, determinato di trasportare in esso il più pregevole del suo Museo " (' Diario di Pio VI.', on August 19, 1780, *loc. cit.*). For the frescoes, *cf.* BARBIER, II., 129 *seq.*; FORCELLA, *loc. cit.* The frescoes have recently been taken down and moved to the residence of the director of the Museum.

[4] DENZA, *loc. cit.*, I., 19 *seqq.*

[5] MARINI, *Degli archivi della S. Sede*, Roma, 1825, 17. At that time the use of the Papal Secret Archives was allowed in certain cases; *v.* Du Theil in *Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 178 *seq.*

[6] NOVAES, XVI., 1, 49.

CHAPTER II.

Pius VI. as Patron of the Arts—The Influx of Foreigners into Rome.

Pius VI., following the noble tradition of his predecessors, encouraged not only scholarship but also art. Outside Rome this principle was put into practice most notably at Subiaco, where he had been commendatory abbot since 1773.[1] Hardly

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 24. At Macerata Pius VI. promoted the building of the new cathedral (*v.* '*Diario di Pio VI.', February 5, 1777, Campello Archives at Spoleto). An inscription in the cathedral at Spoleto (Pius VI. Pont. Max. | opus probavit | dato marmore | munifice adiuvit | anno MDCCLXXXVI.) records a consignment of marble from the Pope. In memory of the support he gave to these churches, the arms of Pius VI. have been set up in the porch of the cathedral of S. Maria at Civita Castellana and in the church at Polidoro. For his support of the cathedrals at Fermo and Orvieto, *v. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 794, VI., 2, 1351. At Ancona he had the beautiful Porta Pia built. This is also crowned with his arms and until it was destroyed by the French in 1798 it bore the inscription: "Pio Sexto P.O.M. | magnanimo munifico providentissimo | Anconæ Patri et Instauratori | Aloysius Gazzoli Delegatus | et novemviri | nomini eius devotissimi plaudunt | anno sal. MDCCLXXXIX. Pont. XV." Orphanages were founded by Pius VI. at Città di Castello and Fabriano (*v.* Novaes, XVI., 1, 55, 125). *Ibid.*, 44, for his interest in the university and hospital of Ferrara. *Cf.* Tavanti, I., 67; 'De Summa Pii Sexti P.O.M. in Pontificiam Ferrariensem Academiam beneficentia Oratio habita prid. Non. Novem. anno 1779 a Hier. Ferrio Longianensi eloquentiae professore', Romae, typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1780. On the first landing of the grand staircase of the university is an inscription dedicated to Pius VI.: "Pio VI. P.O.M. | ob academiae dignitatem | aucto censu | praeside designato | praefectura studior. instit. | novis litteris ludis

had he been elected Pope than he informed his Vicar General there that even in this supreme position he intended to retain the administration of the abbey in his own hands, and throughout his pontificate he never wearied of conferring favours, both spiritual and temporal, on the local inhabitants. With no stinting hand he saw to the restoration of the town hall and the residence of the Vicar General, to the improvement of the gaols, and to the building of mills and factories.[1] What he had especially in mind was the erection of a new cathedral, as the edifice then standing was not large enough to accommodate the growing population. Laid out on a rock above the Anio, the new building required large substructures ; begun in 1776, it was not completed till 1788, and on May 18th, 1789, the Pope went to Subiaco in person to conduct the consecration, which took place on the 22nd.[2] On this occasion he also opened the new bridge over the Anio and visited the Sacro Speco and the highly situated Civitella, which, like the other mountain villages, had already benefited from his generosity.[3] The cathedral of S. Andrea, a spacious structure in the classicist style, holding 5,000 persons,[4] was designed by Pietro Camporese and his sons ; the decorative painting was done by Coccetti. The Pope was very generous in providing for its internal equipment. He had the high altar faced with costly marble

apertis | aedibus amplificatis | restitutam | Praeses et VIvir. Col. | privilegiis denuo ornatum | fautori indulgentiss. | H.M.PP. | Kal. Nov. a CIↃ.IↃ.CC.LXXX." For his support of the hospitals at Fermo and Imola, *v. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 798, VI., 2, 1363, 1716, 1821 ; *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1775, 1800, for the girls' homes at Assisi and Ascoli, and VI., 2, 1779, for the orphanage at Terni.

[1] GENDRY, I., 138 *seqq.*, 141 *seqq.*

[2] C. BRANCADORO, *Pio Sesto Pontifice Massimo in Subiaco*, Roma, 1789. Further literature in P. EGIDI, *Abbazia Subiac.*, Roma, 1904; 31.

[3] GENDRY, I., 142.

[4] L. IELLA, *Per il primo centenario della morte di Pio VI.*, Subiaco, 1899, 7 *seqq.* The inscription in the interior of the cathedral is of 1789, that on the facade of 1795, Ann. XX.

and the church plate made by the goldsmith Valadier. In addition, the church received a sumptuous reliquary, altar-pieces, and suitable revenues.[1] Next to the cathedral was built the seminary, to which the Pope presented his private library.[2] He also provided for the rebuilding of the castle, in which there were still many reminiscences of Alexander VI., supplied it with a clock-tower, had it decorated with frescoes, and fitted it out with well-made furniture.[3] Subiaco was raised to the status of a town and its coat-of-arms was joined by that of the Pope. As an expression of their gratitude the townsfolk had a triumphal arch erected by Camporese, with an inscription recording the Pope's benefactions.[4]

In Rome one of the first works taken in hand by Pius VI. was ecclesiastical. St. Peter's was in need of a spacious sacristy, a shortcoming which Pius VI. had appreciated when he had been a canon of the basilica. What Alexander VII., Clement XI., and Clement XII. had intended to do [5] was put into effect by Pius VI. Not for self-glorification, as the Pope's enemies put it about, but in honour of St. Peter, a splendid building worthy of the greatest church in Christendom was now to be erected.[6]

In April, 1776, Pius VI. began to examine the plans and models made in the days of his predecessors. The design that won his final approval was that of the Roman, Carlo Marchionne, the builder of the Villa Albani.[7] In July already

[1] *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 427, 435; GENDRY, I., 145 *seqq.*

[2] It comprises 7,000 vols. and is still in existence.

[3] The clock-tower is of 1779. The chimney-piece on the Piano cortile bears the inscription "Pio VI. Anno III." The frescoes for the most part depict the places dependent on the abbey of Subiaco.

[4] This and all the other inscriptions at Subiaco commemorating Pius VI. in GENDRY, I., 498–501.

[5] MIGNANTI, II., 236 *seq.* *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV, 509, n. 5.

[6] '*Diario di Pio VI.', January 17, 1776, *loc. cit.*

[7] GENDRY, I., 131. *Cf.* '*Diario di Pio VI.', April 27, June 1, and July 31, 1776, according to which a plan of Bernini's sacristy

the little church of S. Stefano degli Ungari, belonging to the German College, and the neighbouring houses had been bought to make room for the new sacristy.[1] On September 22nd, 1776, the Pope himself laid the foundation stone [2] and afterwards paid frequent visits to the building site, where time and again finds of antiquities were made.[3] In the summer of 1777 the old sacristy was demolished, and in December, 1779, the Porta Fabbrica and numerous houses were also taken down ; the gate, however, was re-erected on another site and was renamed the Porta S. Pietro.[4]

It was soon seen that the building costs would prove to be much higher than the first estimate of 100,000 *scudi*,[5] so the original plan had to be curtailed. Even then, the available funds were insufficient and a part of the profit from the lottery was appropriated, and when this, too, was found to be inadequate bonds were issued, and in 1781 paper money was increased.[6] The work went on till 1784 and involved a total expenditure of one and a half million *scudi*.[7] In June 1784 the

was found in the Chigi Archives. There is an entry on *December 7 that a monthly payment of 100 *scudi* was being made to Marchionne. *Loc. cit.*

[1] **Ibid.*, on June 5 and July 6, 1776.

[2] **Ibid.*, on September 21 and 25, 1776.

[3] **Ibid.*, on August 28, 1776, is recorded that during the demolition of a wall near the Campo Santo dei Tedeschi there was found a small gold coin inscribed " Karolus Dei gratia Francorum rex ", and on the reverse side " Deus regnat, Deus imperat ". On December 7, 1776, is *recorded the discovery of Roman coins, on *March 12, 1777, that of two antique heads, which were taken to the Museo Pio-Clementino. The most famous find was that of the inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales. These and the other inscriptions immured in the connecting corridor in CANCELLIERI, *De Secret.*, IV., 2031 *seqq.* *Cf.* also G. HENZEN, *Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Berolini, 1874.

[4] ' *Diario di Pio VI.', May 28, 1777, December 18, 1779, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* MIGNANTI, II., 239.

[5] Letter of September 21, 1776, in L. CIBRARIO, *Lettere*, 515.

[6] BROSCH, II., 153.

[7] BECCATINI, I., 147.

altar of the new sacristy was consecrated and the sacristy itself was put into use.[1] Hitherto it had been the heavy expenditure which had been severely criticized, especially in regard to the sumptuous furnishing of the interior [2]; now it was condemned also from the æsthetic point of view, and the new sacristy had to undergo the criticism which Apelles is said to have made of a painting of Venus: even if it was not beautiful it was certainly plentiful.[3] Francesco Cancellieri, who wrote a full description of the building, denounced this judgment as unjust; in his eyes the building had but one defect: it stood next to the vast and wondrous structure of Bramante and Michelangelo.[4]

The sacristy is joined to St. Peter's by two raised passages which issue in the choir chapel and the left aisle of the basilica. It is also approached from the street by a broad double flight of steps, at the upper end of which is a statue of the builder, by Agostino Penna. In the centre of the sacristy is the "Sagrestia Comune", an octagonal, domed room, embellished with eight fluted columns of *bigio* marble from Hadrian's Villa. The capitals and the bronze cock standing on the clock were taken from the clock-tower of the old basilica. On the east of this central room lies the canons' sacristy, which leads to the chapter room. On the west side of the central room is the beneficiaries' sacristy, and the room corresponding to the chapter room is the "Guardaroba", which is used as the

[1] Reports of the Lucchese envoy in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 412; the inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 191, 194 *seq.*

[2] Even the wood which was used is precious. Pius VI. had it brought from Brazil (*v.* *Diario di Pio VI., August 28, 1779, *loc. cit.*).

[3] BECCATINI, I., 148, and the caustic remarks in [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 93 *seqq.* In a *letter to Colloredo of June 12, 1784, Brunati describes the sacristy as "grand' opera di così mal intesa architettura che assomiglia a un seraglio di fiere!" (State Archives, Vienna). Unfavourable and unfair opinions also in VOGEL, 88. Of later writers GURLITT (536) is critical, HARNACK (17) moderate.

[4] CANCELLIERI, *Descrizione della Sacrestia Vaticana*, Roma, 1784. *Cf. id.*, *De Secret.*, IV., 1980; MIGNANTI, II., 240 *seqq.*

treasury. Connected with the sacristy on the south side are the canons' lodgings; on the upper floor are the archives of St. Peter's.

The basilica of St. Peter's was presented by the Pope with a bell weighing 28,000 lb.[1] and the two clocks at the ends of the attica of the vestibule; these are in mosaic and are surmounted with the tiara and crossed keys.[2] For the interior of the church the Pope provided mosaic frontals for twenty-five altars,[3] new windows in the dome,[4] and regilding for the ceiling of the nave, whereby the arms of Paul V. had to give place to those of the Braschi Pope.[5] The magnificent ceiling of the Lateran Basilica, which had been completed by Pius V., also underwent repair, this being commemorated by Pius VI.'s name and crest.

The buildings of a utilitarian nature erected by Pius VI. were the orphanage on the slope of the Janiculum,[6] a similar institute for the education of poor boys in the Piazza S. Salvatore in Lauro,[7] the extension of the hospital of

[1] FORCELLA, VI., 195 *seq.* The consecration was performed by the Pope himself in June, 1786 (*v.* Brunati's *report of June 10, 1786). In his *report of July 12, 1786, Brunati criticized the installation of the bells, the large one being placed in the small dome (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] Brunati's *account of October 25, 1786, *ibid.* On the reverse side of the clocks, visible only from the roof of St. Peter's, is the inscription "Pio VI. A.XIV." FORCELLA, VI., 197; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 418, 419, 428; MIGNANTI, II., 121.

[3] FORCELLA, VI., 188; MIGNANTI, II., 122.

[4] According to Fr. Fortunati's *notes (Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library) a beginning was made on December 25, 1782, with the installation of the antependia (*cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 198; TAVANTI, I., 94; MIGNANTI, II., 122). *Ibid.*, 172 *seq.*, for other gifts made by Pius VI. For the new choir-stalls in S. Giovanni in Laterano, *v.* TAVANTI, I., 94.

[5] NOVAES, XIV., 1, 108.

[6] FORCELLA, XIII., 194 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 43, n. 3.

[7] Now No. 10. It bears the inscription (not mentioned by FORCELLA) "Pius VI. P.M. Pauperum Pater" and (above the entrance) "Adolescentibus egenis instituen."

S. Spirito [1] and of the lunatic asylum,[2] barracks for the Papal bodyguard,[3] and a timber yard on the Tiber, near the Porta del Popolo.[4] The Papal mosaic factory was given better premises in 1782, and the Zecca and the house of the Arch-priests of St. Peter's were restored.[5] The Papal printing press was given its own building near the Fontana Trevi, and

[1] Inscription of 1789 in FORCELLA, VI., 459. *Ibid.*, 458, the inscription referring to the dispensary. But he omits to mention the second inscription on the façade of the hospital in the Borgo S. Spirito : " Pius sextus Pont. Max. | horreo ab Innocentio XII. aedificato | hanc aedium accessionem | nosocomio S. Spiritus | adiunxit | an. dom. MDCCLXXXIX. | pontif. XV. | curante Francisco de Albitiis praeceptore." Another inscription of 1789 is on the façade of the hospital in the Borgo Vecchio (Nos. 121–2). Pius VI. also presented the hospital with surgical instruments and anatomical preparations from London (*v. Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 122 ; FORCELLA, VI., 455 *seq.* ; TAVANTI, I., 53).

[2] NOVAES, XVI., 1, 55.

[3] FORCELLA, VI., 195.

[4] The site in the Lungo Tevere Flaminio is indicated by a large Papal coat of arms (removed at the end of 1906 to the right side of the Porta del Popolo) with the following inscription : " Pius sextus P.M. | Ne quid lignis periculi sit | A latronibus ab incendiis | Ab impervio aeris meatu | Precibus mercatorum et fabrum lignariorum | Benignissime indulgens | Ex adverso veteris areae lignis | Exponendis a Clemente XII. excitatae | Novam empta ad id vinea | Muro circumseptam instrui iussit | Guillelmus S.R.E. card. Pallotta | Propraef. aerarii apost. | F.C. | A. MDCCLXXX." The inscription referring to the restoration of the walls of the Vatican Garden in FORCELLA, XIII., 43 ; *ibid.*, 116, that of the little fountain in the Borgo. The '*Diario di Pio VI.' (November 2, 1776) records the demolition of the wooden fence at the Castel S. Angelo and its replacement by a fine iron railing (Campello Archives at Spoleto). An inscription of 1787 in the Via Collatina records the restoration of the Acqua Vergine. The proposed rebuilding of the Ponte Rotto was prevented by the outbreak of the Revolution (CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 67).

[5] FORCELLA, VI., 188, 190 ; *L'Arte*, XIII. (1910), 456.

afterwards the engraving works where so many splendid drawings were produced were also moved to this site.[1] It was at this time that the standard of engraving was appreciably raised by the two Piranesi, Domenico Cunego, Giovanni Volpato, and Raffaello Morghen. Giambattista Piranesi, the incomparable master of architectural drawing and the classic portrayer of the imposing grandeur and the overpowering impressiveness of the ruined world of ancient Rome, died on November 9th, 1778. His son and pupil, Francesco, gave a monumental form to his father's works of genius by making a systematic collection of them in more than twenty volumes and dedicated to Pius VI. the first volume of his *Tempii antichi*.[2] Francesco Piranesi, excellent artist though he was, was surpassed by Giovanni Volpato. On his presenting the Pope at the beginning of 1779 with his engravings of the "School of Athens" and the "Disputa", Pius VI. gave him in return a complete collection of the medals which had been struck during his pontificate and a cameo of Pius V. set in brilliants. In the following year the exponent of Raphael was honoured by the Pope's presenting him with a ring of brilliants.[3] In other ways, too, the Pope conferred distinctions on artists and frequently visited their studios. In the workshop of the goldsmith Luigi Valadier, in the Piazza di Spagna, he admired an

[1] FORCELLA, XIII., 195; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 399; *Emporium*, 1922, Gennaio. "*Si può dire a gloria di Roma," wrote Brunati on October 27, 1787, "che da poco tempo a questa parte cominciano a risorgere e incaminarsi verso la perfezione la scoltura e le incisioni in rame." Brunati bestows especial praise in this connexion on Angelo Campanella, whom he had commissioned to make a copper engraving of two figures of Venus in a loggia painted by Raphael (State Archives, Vienna). Curiously there is no mention here of so great and original an artist as Piranesi.

[2] HARNACK, 20; FOCILLON, *Piranesi*, 132; GIESEKE, *Piranesi*, 121.

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.', January 27, 1779, and December 30, 1780, *loc. cit.*

artistic reproduction of Trajan's Column and invested its maker with the Order of the Golden Spur.[1]

Adopting the suggestion of the learned Francesco Cancellieri [2] Pius VI. imparted a new feature to the appearance of the city by re-erecting three obelisks which had been brought to Rome from Egypt in the time of the Emperors. One of these monoliths, formerly belonging to the mausoleum of Augustus, made its appearance in 1781, unfortunately broken, near the church of S. Rocco. The Pope decided to erect it in the piazza outside the Quirinal, where it was to be placed between the statues of the horse-tamers and could be seen from the Quattro Fontane. The horse-tamers were too near to each other, and since the time of Sixtus V. had been facing the Porta Pia. In 1783 and 1784 Pius VI. had them moved to their present position by the architect Giovanni Antinori.[3] The erection of the obelisk, which had been pieced together, followed in 1786.[4] The addition of the antique fountain-basin from the temple of the Dioscuri, in the Forum, was also planned at this time [5] but it was not carried out till the reign of Pius VII. The re-erection of the obelisk is recorded by four inscriptions on its granite base. On the marble pedestal on which the three monuments are placed a Latin epigram has been affixed, in which the obelisk relates its history and praises the solicitude of the Pope who had awakened it to a new life.[6] This new adornment of the Quirinal met with great approval,[7] and encouraged the Pope to embark on fresh enterprises of the kind. A second obelisk that once stood in the gardens of Sallust was set up in the piazza outside the Trinità dei Monti, also by the architect Antinori, in such a way as to be visible from the Via Sistina

[1] '*Diario di Pio VI.'

[2] CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 164.

[3] Lucchese reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, *loc. cit.*, 407 *seq.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 411, 464, and Brunati's *letters of August 20 and 30 and September 3, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] Lucchese reports, *loc. cit.*, 415, 419.

[5] *Ibid.*, 420; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 167.

[6] FORCELLA, XIII., 135 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 168 *seq.*

[7] HAUTECŒUR, 106.

and the Via Condotti. Goethe was a witness of the works, which began in 1787 and were completed in 1789.[1] A third obelisk, which had been used by Augustus as the pointer of a sun-dial and which had been found in 1748, broken into three pieces, in the Campo Marzo, was intended for the Piazza di Monte Citorio, whence the base of the Antinous column had been removed to the Vatican. The work was begun by Antinori in 1788 and was finished, after his death, by Francesco Belli in 1792.[2] Besides its hieroglyphic signs the obelisk bears at its foot an inscription recording its dedication to the sun by Augustus after the subjection of Egypt. To its tip was affixed a metal ball such as it had borne in ancient times, according to Pliny. In conformity with Sixtus V.'s idea of using the ancient monuments to perpetuate the victory of Christianity over paganism,[3] Pius VI. had the two other obelisks tipped with metal crosses. Very effectively sited, the obelisks set up by Pius VI. are still regarded as an embellishment of the general aspect of the city which no one now would like to lose. They carry the imagination back to the first beginnings of human civilization in the Nile valley and as the witnesses of a splendour long since passed away they are eloquent preachers of the vanity of all human things, which nowhere forces itself on the attention so powerfully as in the Eternal City.

The grandest work which Rome owes to Pius VI.'s love of art and his generosity is the extension of the Vatican museum of antiquities. Even in the previous pontificate, as Clement XIV.'s treasurer, he was the moving spirit at the outset of this undertaking.[4] As Pope, supported by his treasurer, Guglielmo Pallotta, the two Viscontis, commissioners of antiquities, and the sculptors Sibilla, Pierantoni, and Franzoni, he shrank from no effort or expenditure in his

[1] *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 419, 422, 423, 425, 429, 431; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 329 *seqq.*, 334 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 165.

[2] *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 425, 427, 432, 433, 435, 437, 440; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 171; HAUTECŒUR, 107; FORCELLA, XIII., 136.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXII., 239.

[4] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVIII, 514.

determination to increase the collection as far as possible. He took the greatest interest in the relics of antiquity. In March, 1776, he spent two hours examining illustrations of newly discovered paintings from the baths of Titus.[1] When, in the autumn of 1777, a house of the imperial period with splendidly preserved pictorial decoration was discovered in the Villa Montalto, the Pope immediately thought of making it accessible to the public, which was done by the architect Camillo Buti.[2] Everything then in the way of antiquities which could be moved was to be assembled in the Vatican, and not merely statues, reliefs, sarcophagi, pillars, and mosaics, but also smaller objects such as coins, tomb-finds, and the like.[3] He had taken to the Vatican the statues of Melpomene and Ceres from the Cancelleria, from the Castel S. Angelo the busts of Hadrian and Minerva, from S. Costanza the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantine the Great's daughter, from the Lateran that of St. Helena.[4]

In view of the Pope's zeal as a collector it was fortunate that several excavations were being undertaken at this time. Lest anything should escape him he secured the right of pre-emption and thus obtained the finds at first hand and at tolerable prices, evading the extortions of the dealers.[5] But he employed the services of such agents as Albacini, Pacilli, Cavaceppi, Pocetti, Hamilton, and Jenkins. From Hamilton he acquired the Apollo Sauroktonos, which had been found on the Palatine, and busts of Homer and Hannibal.[6] Through

[1] '*Diario di Pio VI.', March 20, 1776, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 314; O. HARNACK, 21 *seqq.*

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.', January 10, 1778, *loc. cit.*, where it is related that the body of a Roman woman with "capigliatura intrecciata", which had been found in the Vigna Pieri outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, was taken to the Papal museum. *Cf.* also PLATNER, II., 2, 133.

[4] HAUTECŒUR, 67.

[5] [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 96; F. I. L. MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, Berlin, 1792, 117.

[6] '*Diario di Pio VI.', December 19, 1778, *loc. cit.* For Hamilton and Jenkins, *cf. Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, 1879, 106 *seqq.*;

Jenkins' agency he obtained from the Villa Montalto the portrait-statues set up there by Sixtus V., which were known under the names of the Greek actors, Menander and Poseidippus. For these and other antique statues from this villa he paid 13,000 *scudi*.[1]

The Pope's agents were untiring in their search for bargains, not only in Rome but outside it, as far afield as Naples.[2] Pius VI.'s interest in antiques being common knowledge, town councils, heads of monasteries, Cardinals, and Canons hastened to present him with valuable pieces.[3]

Most of the finds which came to light by chance in Rome, notably during the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's [4] and of the poor-house by the Forum,[5] and in the course of

A. MICHAELIS, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, 73 *seqq.*, 75 *seqq.* *Cf.* also MICHAELIS, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Lansdowne House*, London, 1889, 51 *seqq.*; *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXIV. (1903), 153 *seq.*, XXVI. (1905), 182 *seqq.* Gavin Hamilton (1730–1797) was the regular agent for Charles Towneley, who was then forming his important collection of marbles, now in the British Museum. William, 2nd Earl of Shelbourne, purchased largely from Hamilton's excavations made in 1770–1780. Thomas Jenkins (d. 1798) was the principal English banker in Rome, and the profits from his business enabled him to take an active part in the excavations there. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[1] MASSIMO, *Notizie ist. d. villa Massimo*, Roma, 1836, 221 *seq.*

[2] HAUTECŒUR, 67.

[3] ARCKENHOLTZ, II., 52; TAVANTI, I., 94. The '*Diario di Pio VI.', *loc. cit.*, records the following donations: on November 19, 1777, antiquities ("urna di porfirio, due sedie e un herme di baratto") from the Canons of the Lateran; November 22, 1777, the Endymion and the Niobid, from Cardinal Casali; January 24, 1778, two very valuable urns found in the Vigna of S. Cesareo, from the Somaschi; and on February 18, 1778, a "larga urna" with the "Pastor bonus" in relief, from Pio Lazzarani.

[4] CANCELLIERI, *De secret.*, IV., 1617 *seqq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 777.

[5] '*Diario di Pio VI.', June 30, July 10 and 28, 1779, *loc. cit.*

other building operations at the Lateran [1] and S. Maria Maggiore,[2] and on the Campo Marzo, were taken to the Vatican museum. Not content with this, the Pope, like other art-lovers of the time,[3] had excavations made on his own account, near Civitavecchia, in 1777,[4] in the March of Ancona,[5] in Otricoli, from 1778 onwards, with particularly fruitful results,[6] and at Palestrina [7] and Subiaco [8] in 1779. Various finds were made also in the course of the works in the Pontine Marshes.[9]

In the seventies an astounding number of statues were brought to light by the excavations at Tivoli, on the slopes of Monte Ripoli, in the ruins of the so-called Villa of Cassius, which, without doubt, belonged to some great personage of the time of Augustus, probably Maecenas. Here were found the Apollo Citharoedus, seven statues of Muses, and numerous busts of celebrated Greeks, which Pius VI. obtained, along with other pieces, for the small sum of 5,000 *scudi*. The only object to elude him was a statue of Bacchus, which was bought by Jenkins for 600 *scudi* and was resold to an English collector for 4,000 *scudi*.[10]

[1] **Ibid.*, July 17, August 11, and October 16, 1779, and May 3, 1780.

[2] **Ibid.*, April 15, 1778.

[3] HAUTECŒUR, 73 *seqq.* *Cf.* also C. v. BILDT, *Die Ausgrabungen C. F. v. Fredenheims auf dem Forum Romanum 1788–9*, Rom, 1901, in which use is made of Fredenheim's travel-diary, now in the archives of the National Museum in Stockholm.

[4] '*Diario di Pio VI.', April 19, 1777, March 28, and May 13, 1778, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*, November 5, 1777.

[6] **Ibid.*, January 3, February 21, and May 23, 1778, March 25 and May 20, 1780.

[7] **Ibid.*, July 11 and August 13, 1778.

[8] **Ibid.*, August 15, 1778.

[9] **Ibid.*, November 11, 1778, and April 28, 1779.

[10] LANCIANI, *Gli scavi di Pio VI. nella Villa detta di Cassio* (Docum. inediti), in *Atti e memorie d. soc. Tiburt. di storia e d'arte*, II., Tivoli, 1922, 3 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 67 *seqq.*, for the excavations undertaken at Pius VI.'s orders in other places in the neighbourhood of

Great interest was aroused by the discovery in 1780 in the Via Appia of the family tomb of the Scipios, which was of great historical interest as well as artistic importance. Thanks to the efforts of the Pope the peperino sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of the Samnites in 301 B.C., whose inscription in Saturnian metre is one of the earliest linguistic monuments of Rome, finally found its way to the Vatican museum, together with the portrait-bust adorned with laurels which surmounted the tomb, and the inscriptions of other members of the family.[1] Even by 1782 it was reckoned that the number of antique objects in the museum had been more than doubled.[2] In the years that followed they were still further increased, especially in 1783, by the finds from Anzio.[3] Fresh acquisitions by the Pope, which now ran into hundreds, were continually being reported in the Roman newspaper *Cracas*.

The rooms of the museum, which had been fitted up by Michelangelo Simonetti under Clement XIV., were no longer sufficient to contain such an abundance of treasures. Pius VI. had already decided in May, 1776, to extend them on a grand scale.[4] The Galleria delle Statue was enlarged, and with the inclusion of the Belvedere as far as the Vatican Library a new museum was created that had no rival anywhere.[5] The outward

Tivoli. For all these works, *cf.* also the '*Diario di Pio VI.', March 22, 1775, February 9, May 15 and 29, 1779, *loc. cit.*

[1] Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 413; HELBIG, I.[3], 77 *seqq.*; HAUTECŒUR, 68.

[2] MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, 117.

[3] Brunati says in his *report of April 12, 1783, that "una miniera per così dire di statue de' più insigni scultori" had been found there. "Questa fortunata scoperta accrescerà più pregio al museo Clementino," which was now to be called the Museo Pio (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] '*Diario di Pio VI.', May 10, 1776, *loc. cit.*

[5] LETAROUILLY, *Le Vatican éd. Simil*, II., Paris, 1882, plates 1–25. The decoration of Clement XIV.'s Galleria delle Statue by Pius VI. was carried out in 1775 (*ibid.*, 14 *seqq.*) and 1778 (FORCELLA, VI., 188), its completion in 1780 (LETAROUILLY, pl. 12).

simplicity of the buildings is in striking contrast to the marble decoration within, which is unusually rich, even for Rome. Composed for the most part of ancient remains, it provides an harmonious setting for the treasures exhibited and offers no impediment whatever to their careful examination and appreciation.[1]

In the middle of the eighties the entrance was moved to the end of the ramp [2] which rises gently between the Papal garden and the side wing of the Vatican library. From the vestibule a pillared staircase leads to the left to the Sala a Croce Greca, so called from its having been built by Simonetti in the form of a Greek cross. At the entrance are two sphinxes of Egyptian granite, from the villa of Julius III. The floor is inlaid with a mosaic of wonderfully harmonious colours, found in a Roman villa between the ancient Tusculum and the present Villa Rufinella.[3] Here Pius VI. had the huge porphyry sarcophagus of St. Helena and Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great, tastefully imposed on lions of white marble.[4]

The same year saw the building of the Sala a Croce Greca and the Sala Rotonda (*ibid.*, 6, 8). According to the inscription the Sala delle Muse was built in the seventh year of the pontificate, 1782 (*ibid.*, 10), as was also the Sala degli Animali (*ibid.*, 11). The entrance to the museum is dated 1784 (Forcella, VI., 193). The upper corridor was also fitted up for museum purposes (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 413); the Cancello of the Galleria dei Candelabri dates from 1788 (Forcella, VI., 196). The Sala della Biga was still incomplete in 1792 (Pasquale Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria del Pontificio Museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano*, Roma, 1792, 129). During the building of the museum many of the statues were removed from their former places, as related by Tischbein (*Aus meinem Leben*, ed. Brieger, 138).

[1] Platner, I., 263; Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano*, IV., Roma, 1829, 159; Blume, *Iter*, III., 118. For the museum buildings, see also Hautecœur, 130.

[2] J. Vasi, *Itinéraire de Rome*, II., éd. par M. Vasi, Roma, 1786, 570.

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 249; Helbig, I.[3], 207.

[4] Lucchese reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 416, 438; *Bollett. d'archeol. crist.*, XXVII. (1922), 24 *seqq.*

The visitor is now faced with a large door, the jambs of which are composed of fragments of red granite from the baths of Nero. This leads to a room where an inscription on the frieze, "Museum Pium," indicates that this is the collection proper of the antiquities acquired by the Braschi Pope. On either side are representations in the Egyptian style of Antinous, from the Tiburtine villa of Hadrian, presented by the town of Tivoli.[1] We then enter the monumental Sala Rotonda, also built by the talented Simonetti on the model of the Pantheon and intended for the exhibition of the colossal figures and large busts. Here, too, the floor is covered with ancient mosaics, including those found in the baths at Otricoli in 1780; the famous bust of Zeus was found there, too, at the same time.[2] Next to this brilliant work of ancient sculpture in the Sala Rotonda were displayed the imposing busts of the emperor Hadrian from the Castel S. Angelo and those of the emperor Claudius, Antinous, Jupiter Serapis, the elder Faustina, Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, and Trajan's wife, Plotina.[3] In February 1792 there was placed in the middle of the room the huge ornamental basin, made of a single piece of porphyry, brought to the Vatican by Clement XI. from the villa of Julius III.[4] In large niches are the colossal statues of Ceres, from the Cancelleria, the Barberini Juno, the Juno Sospita, from the Palazzo Paganica, and the emperor Nerva.[5] The capitals of the marble pilasters between the niches show parts of the arms of Pius VI.

From the Sala Rotonda an anteroom, by the entrance door of which stand antique busts of Tragoedia and Comoedia, leads to another domed rotunda, the Sala delle Muse, whose floor is also inlaid with antique mosaics. The octagonal ceiling is borne by eighteen columns of Carrara marble, most of them from Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. Next to the busts of Zeno,

[1] '*Diario di Pio VI.', December 25, 1779, *loc. cit.*; HELBIG, I.[3], 202.

[2] HELBIG, I.[3], 187 *seqq.*

[3] MASSI, 118 *seqq.*, 181 *seq.*

[4] Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 438.

[5] MASSI, 120 *seqq.*

Socrates, Epicurus, Æschines, Demosthenes, Alcibiades, Sophocles, Pericles, and Aspasia, the chief attraction is a series of statues of the muses, led by Apollo in the festive garb of a Citharœdus.[1] To these Muses refer the frescoes in the dome, painted by Tommaso Conca at the request of Pius VI.[2] The Apollo and seven of the Muses come from the so-called Villa of Cassius, to the south-east of Tivoli. To complete the number of the nine sisters two female statues were added to them; these had been presented to the Pope by Prince Lancelotti and were given the attributes of Muses.[3]

Connexion with Clement XIV.'s statue gallery and the Belvedere is afforded by the Sala degli Animali, divided into three sections by granite columns and filled with statues, reliefs, sarcophagi, marble tables, and numerous life-like figures of animals. In the middle section are two colossal groups of the Ptolemaic period, representing the Nile and the Tiber; by the back wall of the right section, facing south, is the statue of Meleager, bought by Clement XIV., with a pedestal decorated with the arms of Pius VI.[4]

From the left (north) section of the Sala degli Animali a door leads to Clement XIV.'s statue gallery, which Pius considerably prolonged with the rooms for the busts and had decorated with frescoes by Christoph Unterberger, a pupil of Raffael Mengs, who died in 1779.[5] These pictures in the lunettes are scenes

[1] *Ibid.*, 106 *seqq.*, 182 *seq.* The mosaics which were to embellish the floor of the museum were selected at the end of 1780 (*v.* '*Diario di Pio VI.', December 2, 1780, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Massi, 107 *seqq.*; Thieme, VII., 288 *seq.*

[3] Helbig, I.[3], 167 *seqq.*, 169, 171 *seq.* The statue of Meleager (*ibid.*, 79 *seqq.*), which was afterwards taken to one of the ante-rooms of the Belvedere, has been returned to its original position.

[4] Massi, 189–199. The Nile was taken to the Braccio Nuovo, the Tiber to the Louvre in Paris.

[5] Chr. Unterberger was also prominently active in the renovation of the Villa Borghese. He painted the altar-screen in the chapel of the Madonna del Buon Consiglio (completed in 1790), in S. Nicola da Tolentino, and in May, 1793, commissioned by some Roman citizens, he designed a monument for Pius VI. but this was never

from the life of Pius VI.[1] The decoration is completed by the arms of Clement XIV. and Pius VI., by Franzoni, with putti by Sibilla.[2] The statue gallery contained some of the best-known antiquities, such as the so-called Eros of Praxiteles, the magnificent marine centaur, the Amazon from the Villa Mattei, the Paris from the Palazzo Altemps, the portrait statues of Poseidippus and another Greek playwright, and the statue of Lucius Verus. The figure of the sleeping Ariadne, known as Cleopatra, was placed here by Pius VI. on account of the better light. A recess at the end of the gallery of the busts was allotted to the Jupiter enthroned from the Palazzo Verospi, the acquisition of which by Braschi, under Clement XIV., had supplied the stimulus for the creation of the new museum.[3]

Adjacent to the statue gallery is the Gabinetto delle Maschere, built by Pius VI. and so called from the mosaic floor found in 1780 in Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. Embellished with eight columns of alabaster, it contains some splendid antiques acquired by Pius VI. : the Venus cowering in the bath, which was found in the Via Prenestina in 1760, and the statue of a nymph, which was described as a dancer and was brought to Rome in 1788. Goethe thought of buying the latter piece but was dissuaded by Angelica Kauffmann. The second statue of Venus here, the satyr of *rosso antico*, and the statue of Apollo found at Centocelle, were also acquired by Pius VI.[4] The oil-paintings by Domenico de Angelis on the ceilings are related to the figures of Venus exhibited here ; the central picture shows the finding of Ariadne by Bacchus.[5] Numerous antiques

executed. The invasion of the French reduced him to beggary. He died on January 25, 1798. NOACK, 422 ; *Allg. deutsche Biogr.*, XXXXII, 317 *seqq.*

[1] MASSI, 44 ; *ibid.*, 53, for Unterberger's chiaroscuri in the Gallery of Busts.

[2] *Ibid.*, 98.

[3] *Ibid.*, 62.

[4] *Ibid.*, 88 *seqq.* ; HELBIG, I.[3], 158 *seqq.*

[5] MASSI, 87.

and inscriptions were placed in the adjoining Loggia Scoperta,[1] which affords a glorious view of the Roman environs.

Returning to the Sala degli Animali, the visitor now enters the Cortile del Belvedere, which was given its present appearance by Simonetti. He added the inner colonnade, decorated the arcades with colossal masks and reliefs, set up a fountain in the centre, and placed in the recesses the pieces famous in the first period of enthusiasm for the antique: the Apollo, the Laocoon, and the Hermes, then known as Antinous. Place was found here also for the Niobid and the Endymion sarcophagus which Cardinal Casali had presented to the Pope.[2] The ceilings were decorated by Christoph Unterberger.[3] In the anteroom, divided by arcades into three atria, were placed the torso of Hercules which had been so much admired by Michelangelo and the massive sarcophagus of the Scipios.[4]

To accommodate the fresh acquisitions that were continually being made further museum-rooms had to be made on the upper floor. One of these was a domed room, approached by a fine double flight of stairs designed by Simonetti and embellished with twenty columns from Preneste and Tivoli.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 68 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 22 *seqq.*, 199 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 21, 34. 'Diario di Pio VI.', March 29, 1780, *loc. cit.*

[4] Massi, 14 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 16, for Unterberger's work in the Vestibolo quadrato (*cf.* Letarouilly, 21), and Massi, 18 *seq.*, for the chiaroscuro in the Vestibolo Rotondo. *Cf.* Noack, 87, 363.

[5] 'Diario di Pio VI.', August 16, 1779, *loc. cit.*: "Ne' scorsi giorni si portò dalla Santità di Nostro Signore il Signore Michelangelo Simonetti Architetto del Museo Clementino al Vaticano, ad umiliarli il modello della scala, che dovrà servire d'ingresso in quell' edificio; come altresì nell' adiacente Biblioteca che del tutto fu approvato dalla Santità Sua. In seguito per render maggiormente ornata essa scala si stabilì fare l'acquisto in Tivoli delli due pregievoli colossali idoli Egiziani di ragione de quella Communità per collocarli all' ingresso della medesima." On October 20, 1779, the 'Diario' *records the arrival of these "idoli" and the granite columns from Praeneste, and on October 30 the transportation of the remaining granite columns from Praeneste and six more from Tivoli.

The domed room, which was built by Giuseppe Cremonese,[1] took its name, Sala della Biga, from the marble chariot-seat which was used as a bishop's throne in the basilica of S. Marco and was restored by Franzoni in 1788. Four recesses in the room were intended to receive antique statues; some of Pius VI.'s later acquisitions were placed here: the chariot-driver from the Villa Montalto and the two discoboli, both based on famous Greek originals; one, in the style of Myron, was found in 1781 in the Villa Adriana, the other in 1792 by Hamilton beneath the ruins of an antique villa on the Via Appia.[2]

Leaving the Sala della Biga we turn to the right along a passage 90 yards long, which was once open on both sides and which Simonetti, at Pius VI.'s request, enclosed, provided with windows, and divided into five sections in 1785.[3] Sculptures of the most various kinds were exhibited here, whence came the subsequent name, Galleria delle Miscellanee. The next three rooms are called after their contents, the Galleria de' Vasi e Candelabri.[4] The name refers to the decorative pieces of applied art published by the younger Francesco Piranesi in 1785. In this gallery one could admire not only the famous Barberini candelabrum but also the town goddess of Antioch and the Ganymede of Leochares.[5]

The highest credit is due to Pius VI. for making his collection accessible to the world of learning. At his instigation the commissioner of antiquities, Giambattista Visconti, began the compilation of a sumptuous work in which the antiquities of

[1] Massi, 188 *seqq*. For Giuseppe Cremonese, who also executed the Atrio of the museum and the magnificent doors leading to the Sala Rotonda, in which room he superintended the setting up of the porphyry basin, *v*. Fr. Gasparoni, *Prose*, Roma, 1841, 25 *seqq*.

[2] Helbig, I.[3], 210, 213 *seq*., 215, 216.

[3] Lucchese report in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 413; Platner, II., 2, 245.

[4] Platner, II., 2, 278.

[5] Massi, 139 *seqq*. For Piranesi's album, *v*. Hautecœur, 77.

the Vatican museum were illustrated and described in detail.[1] The first volume, published in 1782, was dedicated to the sixth Pius, " the patron of art," and contained a splendid portrait of the Pope by Marco Carlone. On Giambattista Visconti's death in the autumn of 1784 he was succeeded as commissioner of antiquities and as the editor of the aforesaid work by his son Ennio Quirini. To this latter task Ennio devoted himself untiringly, publishing the second volume in 1784, the third in 1788, the fourth in 1790, the fifth in 1792, and the sixth in 1796. The success of this *édition de luxe* was well deserved, spreading the fame of the Vatican collection throughout Europe. The museum seemed to contemporaries to be an ideal one and gave rise to the plan of inaugurating a similar collection in Paris.[2]

The treasures of the Museum Pio-Clementinum were praised by many writers,[3] but like all great undertakings Pius VI.'s collection of antiquities had its unintelligent critics. One can hardly believe one's eyes when one reads in a report of September 27th, 1786, from the Austrian agent Brunati to Colloredo that the hundreds of thousands of *scudi* which had been spent on the collection were so much money thrown away. Brunati strongly disapproved of the building, with its many superfluous and ugly galleries, rotundas, and cabinets, with their jumble of antique monuments and statues, and he sneered at Pius VI.'s persistence in adding to them, while the best pieces were leaving the country. Why another new building, concluded this art-connoisseur, when there must be any number of long galleries in such a great building as the Vatican ?[4] But such judgments as this were exceptional ;

[1] VISCONTI, *Descrizione del Museo Pio-Clementino*, Roma, 1784–1796, in 6 folio vols.

[2] Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 413. In March, 1790, E. Q. Visconti was also made a director of the Capitoline Museum (*v. ibid.*, 436).

[3] HAUTECŒUR, 69.

[4] " *Il Museo Clementino nel palazzo Vaticano per l' aggiunta di tante superflue e deformi gallerie, rotonde e cameroni, ne' quali sono confusamente ammonticati ogni sorta di monumenti e statue antiche, che Pio VI. va ogni giorno acquistando (cioè tutti

even Pius VI.'s enemies acknowledge the services he had rendered in forming the museum.[1] In actual fact the city of Rome owes to him its preservation of many glorious monuments of antiquity which would otherwise have been sold to foreigners.[2] The Pope deserved not blame but great praise for having followed the trail blazed by his predecessors, Clement XII., Benedict XIV., Clement XIII., and Clement XIV., and for having insisted on saving the masterpieces of ancient art from falling into private hands, which might have hidden them away or ruined them. Instead of this he made them accessible to everyone. To appreciate his services to the full we must remember that the famous philosopher of Sanssouci never thought that his works of art might be of importance to his fellow countrymen. Frederick II. used the rich collections he acquired to beautify his retreat at Sanssouci, and as late as 1770 he had the antique treasures in the Cabinet of Art in Berlin brought to the so-called Temple of Antiquity, the little garden pavilion in the park by the New Palace in Potsdam. This pavilion had been built especially for this purpose, but here the objects were ne ther well nor safely kept, they were almost entirely invisible, and there was no possibility of putting them to good use.[3]

Pius VI. was also blamed for being so vainglorious as to have affixed to most of the statues he had bought the inscription "*ex munificentia Pii VI.*"[4] But this had been done by his predecessors, including the modest Benedict XIV. There

scarti, permettendo che il meglio si compri e si trasporti dai forestieri) forma un' altra partita di centinaia di migliaja di scudi buttati principalmente in fabriche." State Archives, Vienna.

[1] [Bourgoing-Azara], I, 96.

[2] Platner, II., 2, 118; Michaelis in the *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1879, 105.

[3] It was not till 1798 that the old Cabinet of Art in Berlin was set to rights again. *Cf.* Michaelis, *Gesch. der archäol. Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1906, 11.

[4] [Bourgoing-Azara], 96 *seq.* This inscription is to be seen on many statues in the Vatican Museum, including the "Venere al bagno"!

was more apparent justification for another charge brought against him: that he paid too little attention to the precarious state of his finances. If the Papal expenditure on cultural objects was to be dependent on these considerations St. Peter's itself and Raphael's Stanze and Logge would probably never have been built.[1] Pius VI. did not allow himself to be deterred by such charges, which really might have been brought against the artistic patronage of any Pope. He was as eager as ever to extend his museum.

The number of natives as well as foreigners who thronged to see the treasures assembled here was said by the representative of the republic of Lucca, at Easter, 1786, to be something quite extraordinary. On this occasion he listed the antiques that had recently been rearranged for exhibition by Giovanni Pierantoni.[2] In autumn the envoy reported the purchase of a slab of *rosso antico*, from which tables were to be made for the library and museum.[3] The Pope was still giving orders for new excavations to be made, such as in the garden of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni, whence in March, 1787, the busts of Lucius Verus, an Isis, and a Hercules were brought to the museum. About this time the contents of the museum were being increased by the acquisition of many objects from other quarters. Prince Doria, for instance, presented a Diana, and the diggings in the Villa Montalto produced a bust of Diocletian.[4] In April already the envoy was writing of still further increases. In November 1788 he wrote of the energetic labours of Pierantoni as a restorer of antiques. Alongside him the sculptor Franzoni was engaged in a similar work. The Pope often visited Piranesi, Pacetti, and other artists in their studios,[5] and when paying one of these visits to Franzoni in

[1] Vogel, 85. The income of the "Lotto" was used extensively to defray the expenditure on the museum. The relevant *documents kept in the State Archives in Rome are to be published by Mgr. Legrelle.

[2] *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 416 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 419.

[4] *Ibid.*, 423.

[5] Brunati's *report of October 27, 1784, State Archives, Vienna.

November 1789 he presented him with a gold snuff-box. It was at this time that the decision was made to move to the Vatican museum the base of the column of Antoninus Pius that was still standing on Monte Citorio.[1] In 1790 Pierantoni made the Pope's portrait in relief for the museum, the metal decoration being left to Valadier.[2] The excavations which were continued at Tivoli in Count Fede's villa yielded further additions to the museum in November, 1790, among them being fine busts of Antinous and Marcus Aurelius. At the beginning of 1792 Pierantoni completed the restoration of the massive porphyry basin destined for the Sala Rotonda.[3]

Visconti's sumptuous publication on the Museum Pio-Clementinum was intended for scholars, and its arrangement according to materials and its bulky format made it unsuitable as a handbook. The want was made good in 1792 by a fellow-countryman of Pius VI.'s, Pasquale Massi, the keeper of the museum. With this work in front of us we can follow exactly the arrangement of the exhibits as it was at that time, and as it supplies details of the acquisition of every object the guide is also a history of the museum. Only a dozen or so antiques were acquired by Julius II. and his successors, a hundred odd by Clement XIV., and nearly six hundred by Pius VI. Massi therefore had good right to state in his preface that to Pius was due the honour of being the real creator of the museum.[4] It was one of Rome's greatest attractions and was famous throughout Europe. As stated by Tischbein,[5] the artist could learn more here than anywhere else. No foreigner coming to the Eternal City omitted to visit the museum, which was open to all without distinction [6] and where at last the antiques were

[1] *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 423 *seq.*, 428, 434.

[2] *Ibid.*, 437.

[3] *Ibid.*, 438, 439.

[4] Massi, 2. The exact figures are 141 from Clement XIV. and (until 1782) 588 from Pius VI. The figure 300 given by Hautecœur (67) is far too low.

[5] Tischbein, *Aus meinem Leben*, 126.

[6] According to Tavanti, II., 15, the museum was opened to the general public in 1787.

no longer used merely for the embellishment of private grounds but were there for their own sake and for the satisfaction of all who wanted to enjoy and study them.

The peace that reigned in Italy and the growing interest in antiquity resulted in the number of visitors to Rome increasing year by year. Almost all over Europe, among the educated and upper classes, it became more and more the fashion to travel in Italy, and above all to Rome, the heart of antiquity and the nursery of true art. Those coming from the cramped conditions of the frigid North seemed to be entering an earthly paradise. What other capital had so many attractions ? The mild climate, combined with the natural charms of the South, the vast ruins of a mighty past, the incomparable treasures of art in the churches and palaces, the theatres and concerts, the unsophisticated popular amusements, especially in carnival time—all this drew countless numbers of visitors. Another magnet was the grand church festivals that culminated in the impressive solemnities of Easter week. In addition, there were such special ceremonies as the cardinalitial nominations and the state entries of the ambassadors. The great freedom of movement was keenly appreciated by every stranger ; even towards those of other faiths, provided that they offered no scandal to religion and kept away from politics, the Papal Government showed a tolerance that surprised the northern Protestants all the more because it contrasted so sharply with the narrowmindedness of their own countries. A Protestant cleric of so high a rank as Herder was given a friendly welcome in 1788–9 not only by such a man of the world as Cardinal Bernis but also by the Cardinal Secretary of State. Monsignor Borgia, who was made a Cardinal in March, 1789, even called on Herder in his " red stockings " and entertained him in the most hospitable manner at his family seat at Velletri, which housed the famous Egyptian collection.[1]

Strangers to Rome could also enjoy the society of the

[1] *Herders Reise nach Italien*, ed. by H. Düntzer, Giessen, 1859, 116 *seqq.*, 159, 175. For the Museo Borgiano, see above, p. 53, and *Kunstblatt*, 1822, no. 36, and *Doc. p. i Musei d'Italia*, II., Roma, 1879, 395 *seqq.*

leading circles without much difficulty, either as guests of the poetic academy "Arcadia" or at the receptions given by the aristocratic families, the so-called *Conversazioni*.[1] Most visitors, however, had little time for such distractions. The ruins, churches, and collections offered an inexhaustible wealth of interesting and beautiful objects. At this period, however, Rome lost two of its collections: in 1775 the precious antiques in the Villa Medici were taken to Florence and in 1787 the art-treasures of the Palazzo Farnese went to Naples, despite the Pope's displeasure.[2] But what was this loss as against the wealth of antiques proffered by the palaces of the Altieri, Chigi, Colonna, and Spada, the villas of the Ludovisi, Borghese, Pamfili, and Albani, and the Capitol? And to all this was added Pius VI.'s museum in the Vatican.

There now appeared better and more practical publications in the principal European languages to introduce visitors to the art-treasures of the city.[3] Formerly also there had been a great lack of guides, but there were now so many strangers that it was possible to earn a living in showing them the sights, though the tourist traffic died off in the summer. Among the large number of *ciceroni* there were some who could claim to be scholars. Of these there were two Germans who came into contact with Goethe: Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein and Alois Hirt. Reiffenstein, a pupil of Winckelmann's, was in especially good repute with the Russian visitors to Rome. Hirt, who was afterwards professor of archæology at Berlin University, organized conducted tours; each course, which included visits to studios and art-dealers, lasted a month and occupied five hours a day, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.[4]

[1] NOACK, 60 *seq.*, 123.

[2] DE NAVENNE, *Palais Farnèse*, II., 83 *seqq.* How much the Pope regretted the removal of the statues to Naples is related in Brunati's *report of July 8, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] HAUTECŒUR, 225. For the German works, see NOACK, 90 *seqq.*, for the Dutch, see *h. Nederlandsch Hist. Instituut te Rome*, Den Haag, 1924, 270 *seqq.*

[4] VOGEL, 237 *seqq.*, 318. For Reiffenstein, *cf.* HAGEN in the *Altpreuss. Monatsschrift*, II. (1865), 506–536.

In Pius VI.'s time there was formed the custom of inspecting the antique statues in the Museum Pio-Clementinum and the Capitol by the light of wax torches. In this way each piece could be examined separately, cut off from all the others, down to the last detail. Another advantage of this method of examination was that the pieces occupying less favourable positions now came into their own. "The Laocoon, for instance, in the recess where it stood, could only be seen properly by torchlight, as ordinarily it had no direct light but only a reflection from the small round colonnaded court of the Belvedere. It was the same with the Apollo and the so-called Antinous. Torchlight was more necessary still to appreciate the merits of the Nile and the Meleager. No other antique is seen to such advantage by torchlight as the so-called Phocion, for it is only thus that one can see the wonderfully delicate members shining through the simple drapery. Beautiful, too, is the excellent torso of a seated Bacchus, also the upper part of a statue of Bacchus with a lovely head" (the writer is speaking of a youthful Dionysus, now in the Sala della Biga, which had already excited the admiration of Raffael Mengs); then "the half-length figure of a Triton" (which had formerly been associated with Scopas, in the Galleria delle Statue) "and above all, that miracle of art, the famous torso, that can never be praised enough".[1]

There was now better provision also for the physical needs of the visitors. Almost all the hotels, *trattorie*, and cafés were in or around the Piazza di Spagna, which had already become the centre of the strangers' quarter. In the streets running thence to the Corso, the Via Condotti and the Via della Croce, lay most of the hotels and restaurants, among them the famous restaurant "Alla Bascaccia" (Via Condotti 9–10). The Via della Croce then consisted almost entirely of hotels, the most fashionable being the Locanda Damont (Nos. 68–9).[2] The

[1] Heinrich Meyer in Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (ed. Schuchardt, I., 477).

[2] Noack, 52 *seqq.*, 365, 370. For the hotels in Rome at this period, *cf.* also Silvagni, 218, and Ceresoli in *Studi e docum.*,

cafés, too, which had formerly been of a very modest character, and many of the shops, could now vie with those of Paris; they were embellished with windows and mirrors from Bohemia.[1] The Caffé Inglese, at the corner of the Piazza di Spagna and the Via delle Carrozze, on the site now occupied by Spithoever's bookshop, had wall-paintings in the Egyptian style, from designs by Piranesi. The clientèle here was predominantly English, whereas the Caffé Greco in the Via Condotti was the rendezvous of the German colony of artists, who, like the Flemish *Bentvögel* of former times, played an important rôle in the artistic life of the Eternal City.[2] The German artists were wholly under the influence of Winckelmann and Mengs, whose passionate love of Rome had drawn them over the Alps. Consequently, their studies were centred exclusively on the antique, Raphael, and Mengs.[3]

On Mengs' return from Spain in 1777 the Pope honoured him with a commission which would have been eagerly accepted by the greatest artists of former times—the painting of a large altarpiece for St. Peter's, depicting the handing of the keys to the Prince of the Apostles. Mengs expended all his energy on this commission, but only the cartoon was completed. The artist's days were numbered; he died on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1779, at the age of only fifty-one. The Spanish ambassador, Azara, and the Auditor Riminaldi, the latter acting on instructions from Pius VI., took charge of his estate, his children, and the perpetuation of his memory. Azara, who had held the artist in high esteem, published his works and had his bust set up in the Pantheon, while Riminaldi saw to the erection of a monument over his tomb in the Frisian

XIV., 399 *seq.* The practice, complained of by Ceresoli, of distinguishing the rooms by names instead of numbers, I found to be still in force at Terracina, in the Albergo Reale, in 1903.

[1] Report of April, 1788, in the *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88.

[2] Noack, 95 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 366 for the rather high prices. Paris, however, was even dearer than Rome (*v. Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 151).

[3] Noack, 98 *seqq.*

church of SS. Michele e Magno in Sassia.[1] An Annunciation which Mengs had painted for the royal chapel at Aranjuez was taken by the Pope to the Quirinal before it was sent to Spain.[2]

The decoration of the Vatican Museum was not the only employment given by the Pope to Mengs' pupil, Christoph Unterberger; he entrusted him also with the restoration of the then most famous painting of antiquity, the Aldobrandini Nuptials.[3]

The Viennese Anton Maron, Mengs' brother-in-law and pupil, resident in Rome since 1773, was director of the imperial art-school and occupied important positions in the Accademia di S. Luca. Besides portraits Maron painted altar-pieces, one of them for the Chiesa dell' Anima.[4]

Philipp Hackert, the founder of the German school of landscape-painting in Rome, had settled there as early as 1768 and by his industry and skill had risen to a position of repute. He won the favourable attention of Pius VI. with a drawing of his home-town, Cesena, which the Pope had done in oils. Hackert's brother made a copper engraving of the picture and was allowed to dispose of it on his own account. Among Hackert's patrons were Duke Braschi's mother-in-law, the Princess Falconieri, and the Cardinal Secretary of State, Pallavicini.[5]

The following survey shows how the influx of German artists to Rome increased during the pontificate of Pius VI. The painters Füger and Mechau came in 1775, the sculptors

[1] *Ibid.*, 87 *seqq.*, 363 *seqq.* *Cf.* GRÄVENITZ, 219, 221. The epitaph in FORCELLA, IV., 275.

[2] '*Diario di Pio VI.', August 14, 1797 (Campello Archives, Spoleto). As the picture was unfinished, it did not go to Spain but remained in Rome, where it was acquired in 1816 for the Imperial Gallery in the Belvedere in Vienna; *v.* WOERMANN in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, V. (1894), 290 *seqq.*

[3] HARNACK, 25.

[4] NOACK, 413 *seq.*

[5] Goethe's book on Phil. Hackert (1811); NOACK, 102; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, X., 295 *seqq.*; HARNACK, 27.

Trippel and Zauner and the painter Bergler in 1776, the painters Rehberg and Bach in 1777, the painter and writer Friedrich Müller in 1778, the sculptor Schäffer in 1779, the painter Tischbein, widely known for his marvellous portrait of Goethe, and the sculptor Scheffhauer in 1780, Angelica Kauffmann in 1782, the painters Bury and Lips in 1783, the painters Johann Georg Schütz and Johann Heinrich Meyer in 1784, the sculptors Dannecker and Schadow and the painters Hetsch, Köck, and the two Genelli in 1785, and the painters Gessner and Gmelin in 1787.[1]

The stipendiaries of the French academy of art, founded by Louis XIV., with its premises in the Palazzo Mancini, in the Corso, were more fortunately situated than the German artists, who received only very modest allowances from their Courts and academies.[2] The directors of the French institute were in the position to cut quite a figure in the social world and to entertain Cardinals and ambassadors in their apartments. The French artists enjoyed the uncommon advantage of having in their king's ambassador, Cardinal Bernis, a man of refinement who gave them appreciative support.[3]

The brilliant rise of French art at this period is connected with the activity of Jacques Louis David. David came to Rome in 1775 at the same time as his teacher, Vien, who had just been made the director of the Roman academy of art and who became its reorganizer.[4] David remained five years in Rome. The change that came over him as the result of his study of the antique masterpieces was so complete that he compared it to a successful operation for cataract ; it did not reach its full expression, however, till his return to Rome in the autumn of 1784. It was then that he produced a painting that immediately made him famous : "The Oath of the

[1] See the carefully compiled information in Noack, 405 *seqq.* *Cf.* also *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VIII., 566, XII., 320.

[2] Noack, 98, 366.

[3] Hautecœur, 46.

[4] A. Lapauze, *Hist. de l'Acad. de France à Rome*, I., Paris, 1924, 348 *seqq.*

Horatii." [1] Seldom has a master enjoyed so striking a success. According to Tischbein's account there were regular processions to his studio near the Trinità dei Monti: princes and princesses, Cardinals and prelates, even simple citizens and workmen; even in the *osterie* the merit of the picture was disputed, and so hotly that sometimes knives were used to drive home the various opinions. The majority supported David, declaring that he had surpassed even Raphael. The aged Batoni, the learned Visconti, the art-connoisseur Azara, and all Winckelmann's pupils expressed their praise of David in the most enthusiastic terms.[2]

Wieland was right in calling "The Oath of the Horatii" the picture of the century, for it meant a complete break with all the traditions of the rococo and the decisive victory of classicism. The enthusiasm was equally great in Paris. From now on it was taken for granted that masterpieces of art could only be produced on Roman soil. The French bursars of the Roman academy also followed the course marked out by David.[3] As Ménageot, the director of the academy, reported to Paris at the beginning of 1788, they could make the fullest possible use of the treasures in the Museum Pio-Clementinum as it was open to them at any time.[4] The Pope was also very generous in giving permission for the taking of plaster casts.[5]

What David had done for painting was done for sculpture by a contemporary of his, the young Italian Antonio Canova, who freed it from unnatural formalism and gave it a classicist direction.

Canova had come to Rome in 1779, at the age of twenty-two, to study the masterpieces of antiquity. The Venetian ambassador Zulian provided him with a studio in the Palazzo di

[1] SAUNIER, *L. David*, Paris, no date, 28 *seqq.*; L. ROSENTHAL, *L. David*, Paris, no date, 32 *seqq.*; HILDEBRANDT, *Die Malerei und Plastik des 18. Jahrh. in Frankreich*, 185.

[2] TISCHBEIN, *Aus meinem Leben*, 212 *seq.* *Cf.* VOGEL, 92 *seqq.*

[3] HARNACK, 34 *seq.*, 74 *seq.*

[4] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88, 223.

[5] *Ibid.*, XIV., 46, 182, 233, 238, XV., 238, XVI., 69.

Venezia. Thanks to the devotedness of Monsignor Carlo Giorgi and the friendship of the engraver Giovanni Volpato, he was only twenty-five years old when he received his first important commission : Clement XIV.'s tomb in SS. Apostoli.[1] As the monument was a break-away from the rococo style it naturally aroused much opposition. Even before it was completed Pompeo Batoni, the aged and highly honoured portraitist, had said that Canova had plenty of talent but was on the wrong track. But there was far more approval than censure. Writers extolled Canova as sculpture's resuscitator. The opinion of Milizia, who was then highly esteemed as an art-critic, told greatly in his favour ; he thought that no one else had come so near to the antique. The monument acquired an importance in the art of sculpture similar to David's " Horatii " in that of painting.[2]

This, the young artist's first great achievement, which was undeniably a most harmonious composition, immediately

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVIII., 551. *Memorie di A. Canova scritte da Antonio d'Este e pubblic. p. c. di Aless. d'Este,* Firenze, 1864, 27 *seqq.* ; HAUTECŒUR, 196 *seq.* Fr. Fortunati *reports on August 1, 1786 : " *Si diede principio a mettere sopra il deposito di Clemente XIV." (Cod. Vat. 10, 730, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also AGNOLETTO, *Canova e l'arte sacra,* 8 *seqq.*, 33 *seqq.* V. MALAMANI, *A. Canova,* Milano, no date, 27 *seqq.* *Brunati on March 14, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). It was reported in the Diario ordinario (*Cracas*) for January 30, 1802 (No. 113) that on the Thursday evening, on instructions issued by Cardinal York, Clement XIV.'s corpse was conveyed to the Church of the Apostles by the Minister General of the Conventuals, Bonaventura Bartoli, and that this was done " privamente " to " evitare la spesa che occorre secondo il consueto nei trasporti dei Corpi dei Sommi Pontefici ".

[2] *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este,* 51 *seqq.*, 363 ; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 424. MILIZIA, *Opere,* IX., 220 ; HARNACK, 37 ; HAUTECŒUR, 197 ; MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca,* 401 *seqq.* Brunati *writes in his letter to Colloredo of April 18, 1787 (*loc. cit.*) that the monument was admired by all the art-connoisseurs. Batoni died in February, 1787 ; " *ha lasciato molto comoda la sua famiglia," wrote Brunati on February 7, 1787 (*ibid.*).

brought him another commission which was an even greater honour. Abbondio Rezzonico and his brothers, the Cardinals Carlo and Gian Battista, entrusted him with the erection of a splendid tomb for Clement XIII. in St. Peter's.[1] Canova again produced a magnificent monument for a niche: the Pope, draped in a capacious *manto corale*, is shown sunk in prayer above the sarcophagus; near him, on the ground, is the triple crown.[2] The erection of the monument began in July, 1791.[3] All Rome flocked to St. Peter's for its unveiling at the beginning of Holy Week, 1792.[4] When Pius VI. inspected it he openly expressed his great satisfaction with it. A particularly pleasant surprise for him was the great likeness of the figure to the Clement he had known so well.[5] On Maundy Thursday, when the basilica was lit by the famous fiery cross, the crowd was particularly large. Canova is said to have mingled with it in order to hear its opinion, for although

[1] Brunati's *letter of April 18, 1787, in which Canova is already mentioned as a "celebre scultore", "il quale sta ora interprendendo un' altra più suntuosa e magnifica tomba nel tempio Vaticano di Clemente XIII. per la spesa di 27 mila scudi" (*ibid.*). For Clement XIII.'s tomb Canova received 22,000 *scudi* (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 440). For both monuments, *cf.* REUMONT, *Ganganelli*, 54. For Bracci's design for Clement XIII.'s tomb, *v.* DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 63 *seq.*

[2] See our account, vol. XXXVII, 359; MALAMANI, 36 *seqq.*, 38 *seqq.*; HAUTECŒUR, 199; ESCHER, 172; KNAPP, *Ital. Plastik* (1923), 130. A colossal plaster bust of Clement XIII., by Canova, with a melancholy expression, is in the Accademia di S. Luca.

[3] "*Si dette principio al deposito di Clemente XIII." Fr. Fortunati on July 9, 1791, in Cod. Vat. 10, 730, of the Vatican Library.

[4] Account in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 439 *seqq.*, according to which Clement XIII.'s mortal remains were transferred to the tomb in April.

[5] *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este*, 59 *seqq.*; MALAMANI, 36. Clement XIII.'s bust, executed with wonderful delicacy and reproduced in this work, together with the sketch for the angel of death, are now in the Museo di S. Pietro.

the writers extolled him as a second Phidias [1] he did not imagine that his work was faultless. One might indeed have wished for a more harmonious composition and for a less richly embellished angel of death, but nothing could be done about the poor light that falls on the figure of Religion, which could only stand on the Pope's right.[2] Its stiffness, however, was certainly intended.[3] Notwithstanding these imperfections Canova's tomb of Clement XIII. was a masterpiece ; it shows fine qualities, not only of technique but also of character. No finer lions have been produced by modern art, and the figure of Clement XIII. is unsurpassable, for as Cardinal Durini wrote in one of his poems,[4] it reproduces the Pope's soul as well as his outward form in the most masterly fashion. No more characteristic attitude could have been found to describe the deep faith of this most pious man, who in the midst of a world in turmoil seeks consolation for his afflictions in prayer.

While the art-life of Rome was under the dominating influence of an Italian, Canova, and a Frenchman, David, the most celebrated German poet of the modern era, Goethe, also made his appearance there, without, however, attracting the attention of the Romans during his two lengthy visits. Already crowned with the poet's laurels, he was not entirely successful in preserving his incognito as a plain merchant, Philippo Möller of Leipzig, but he kept to it as strictly as he could, wanting to be quite free to follow his own bent. He avoided like the plague the *grand monde* and all its distractions. Even when the Cardinal Secretary of State intimated that he would like to make his acquaintance he sheered off. The only persons with whom he associated were the like-minded German artists Tischbein, Trippel, Hackert, and Angelica Kauffmann ; apart from this he devoted all his time to studying the relics of ancient Rome and the art-collections. Few have inspected

[1] MALAMANI, 36.

[2] HARNACK, 113.

[3] *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este*, 378, 381 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 379.

so thoroughly and described in such glowing terms the Capitoline museum and Pius VI.'s collection of antiquities in the Vatican—" the museum " as he called it—which was then at the height of its development. In later years (1814, 1816, and 1829) the gifted author drew with the greatest care a picture of his time in Rome that was incomparable in many respects and still delights its readers. He penetrated more deeply than countless other writers into the soul of the city in which nothing is petty and everything seems to be great; many of his descriptions are among the gems of German literature.[1] But it must not be overlooked that Goethe's views on art were strongly biased and were overshadowed by his dislike of positive Christianity. *Roma sacra* remained as unattractive to the completely agnostic humanist and enthusiastic admirer of the antique as it did to Gibbon, who was here inspired to write his thoroughly un-Christian history of the decline of the Roman empire. Goethe admitted himself that " the original sin of Protestantism " was alive within him and that he was subject to its influence when he was passing judgment on the external manifestations of the Church. But as time passed, so great a genius could not entirely persist in his preconceptions. To a certain degree he underwent a change of attitude.[2] He admitted when writing afterwards of the Papal services in the Sistine Chapel, the majesty of which was heightened by the unequalled beauty of the setting and by the music: " The whole ceremony was extraordinarily grand and yet simple, and I am not surprised that strangers who come here in Easter Week, on which everything converges, can hardly contain

[1] *Cf.* Camillo v. Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the last two centuries*, Chicago, 1907, esp. 65 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.* For Goethe's relations with Italian writers *v.* Locella, *Goethe und Italien*, in the report of the Freies Hochstift at Frankfurt, Neue Serie, VII., 28* *seqq.*

[2] This was noted by W. Rothes in his *Goethe in Italien*, in the Wissenschaftl. Beilage of *Germania* (1904, No. 36). For Goethe's admission into the " Arcadia ", *cf.* Noack in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1904, 196–207, and Alfr. Monaci, *Memorie dell' elogio di Goethe in Arcadia*, in *Giorn. Arcadico*, Maggio, 1911, 129–133.

themselves." "The moment when the Pope, stripped of all his grandeur, steps down from his throne to adore the Cross, everyone else remaining in his place, when all are still and the choir intones '*Popule meus, quid feci tibi?*', is one of the finest of all the notable functions" . . . "in which everything is done with great good taste and perfect dignity." [1]

A similar impression was recorded by a Protestant canon, Friedrich Johann Lorenz Meyer, who visited Rome in 1783: "I was present at the Papal ceremonies on Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, and SS. Peter and Paul, and I confess that prepared as I was for what I saw they stirred me more than I had expected." [2] He was particularly impressed by the Corpus Christi procession in the Piazza of St. Peter's. "The stone pavement was covered with white sand and was strewn with sprigs of laurel and myrtle, leaves, and flowers. The houses were hung with gaily coloured carpets. After the procession had begun to move, slowly and silently, the ringing of all the bells and the thunder of the cannon at the Castel S. Angelo suddenly announced the appearance of the Head of the Church, who at this moment was borne out through the great door of St. Peter's. It is impossible to imagine the beauty of this group and the effect it has, even on the most disinterested spectator. The venerable and handsome old man was borne forward on a large litter covered with a rich cloth and resting on the shoulders of his halberdiers, while a canopy was held over him by a nobleman. The pace of the bearers was so slow and even that the Pope seemed to be floating through the air. He was leaning forward on an altar on which stood the Sacrament elevated in a case profusely framed in brilliants. Actually, the Pope is seated, but in this position, entirely enveloped as he is in a broad, white satin robe, embroidered

[1] *Italienische Reise*, ed. by Schuchardt, I., 556, 562 (written in 1829). Compare this with his earlier opinion, still prejudiced, given in his letter to Duke Karl August of Weimar, of April 2, 1788 (*Goethes Briefe*, II., 324, in Cotta's *Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*, 1902); SULGER-GEBING, *Das Stadtbild Roms zur Zeit Goethes*, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVIII., Frankfurt, 1897, 218, 255.

[2] F. I. L. MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, Berlin, 1792, 201.

with golden crowns, that falls from his shoulders in undulating folds as far as the bearers and enfolds the whole of the bier and even the altar, he appears to be kneeling. All that one saw of him was his folded hands resting on the altar and his bared grey head. His lips moved in silent prayer and his eyes, directed upwards, seemed to be swimming in tears. His face expressed sublime and fervent prayer." Meyer considered it impossible to depict without emotion the universal and moving impression received by the people on this occasion. As soon as the cannon and the bells announced the appearance of the Pope and he was seen in the distance floating out of the great door, they fell to the ground as though struck by lightning and beat their breasts and then timidly raising their tear-filled eyes to the Pope approaching with the Sacrament, they followed him with looks of entrancement, as though he were a god, until he disappeared.[1]

A still more powerful impression was made on Meyer by the illumination of Michelangelo's dome on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a sight which even Goethe extolled as unique and glorious, like some fantastic fairy-tale.[2] Meyer described it as the finest spectacle of the kind in the world, far exceeding the liveliest expectation and completely beggaring all description. "Michelangelo's majestic fane is best seen in all its glory from the moderate distance of the Ponte S. Angelo. Against the night sky a luminous temple floats into view. The whole front of the dome down to the church proper is hung with thousands of lamps in oiled paper. This illumination displays distinctly the architectural structure of the dome. The huge, magnificent structure appears in the air in luminous outline. This is the first scene of the glorious spectacle." The transition to the second stage of the illumination, which is on a larger scale and more dazzling, is rightly said by Meyer to be indescribably surprising. "It consists of large pitch-pans and torches fixed to the dome. The signal for the transformation is given by a bell, and at this moment

[1] *Loc. cit.*, 204 *seqq.*

[2] Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, ed. by Schuchardt, 392 *seq.*

a stream of fire pours over the dome. Hundreds of pitch-pans and torches begin to glow and their reflection encircles the dome like a halo. To effect this prodigious transformation some hundreds of workmen are waiting behind the closed windows of the dome for the signal of the bell. Directly they hear it they open the windows and set light to the pitch-pans. The amazing sight acts like a spell on the watching crowds in the vicinity and in the Piazza of St. Peter." [1]

Visitors of high and indeed the highest degree were drawn to Rome by its imposing church ceremonies and its choice treasures of art. The Eternal City, still maintaining its position as the centre of international culture, had probably never seen so many illustrious personages within its walls as in this pontificate. All felt themselves compensated for the hardships of the journey by the sights of Rome, by the reception that awaited them at the most imposing and most dignified court in the world, and by the brilliant festivities organized by the Roman aristocracy.

In the very first year of his reign Pius VI. was able to welcome a number of princes. On June 27th, 1775, Joseph II.'s brother, the Archduke Maximilian, arrived for a long stay; assuming the name of the Count of Burgau, he took up his residence in the Palazzo Cesarini with Count Herzan, who was Auditor of the Rota and the imperial *chargé d'affaires* for ecclesiastical matters. The Pope went to meet the archduke in the anteroom and assigned him a seat on the left of his throne. Cardinal Bernis gave a ball for Maximilian that went on till break of day. The most splendid of the festivities with which the Roman princes honoured their exalted guest was the one arranged by Prince Chigi. It began on the evening of July 16th with a firework display in the Piazza Colonna, which had been transformed into an amphitheatre lit with wax torches. Bands of musicians were stationed at the four corners of the square. This entertainment was followed by a reception, with a ball and supper, in the ancestral palace, which was brilliantly decorated. The painter Anton Maron

[1] MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 209 *seqq.*

acted as guide to the archduke. On July 10th the Pope had the dome and front of St. Peter's illuminated for him. Before he left on August 7th the Pope sent him a rosary embellished with brilliants and a cameo, also relics, an Agnus Dei, a gobelin, a mosaic picture, and a collection of engravings of ancient and modern buildings in Rome. The archduke in return presented the Papal dignitaries with diamond rings and valuable watches and snuff-boxes.[1] In the autumn of 1775 there was the visit of Prince Leopold of Brunswick, who was accompanied by Lessing when he was received in audience by the Pope.[2] In November the Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the heir to the throne of Brunswick, and several French nobles were staying in the Eternal City.[3] On December 11th the brother of King George III. of England, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, came for a long visit with his beautiful wife.[4] On March 18th, 1776, the Archduchess Christine, Joseph II.'s sister, came with her husband, Duke Albrecht of Sachsen-Teschen. This art-loving couple were accompanied by Reiffenstein on their inspection of the sights of Rome but preserved their strict incognito even on their visit to the Vatican, though they accepted an invitation to a *soirée* at Cardinal Bernis'. On their way home they paid a second visit to the Pope, who decorated the archduchess with the Golden Rose.[5]

As etiquette was observed strictly at the Papal Court—Herder remarked that Rome was the university for this subject [6]—these royal visits put the ambassadors to considerable trouble. No little embarrassment was caused to the representative of France, Cardinal Bernis, by the appearance of one of the king's nieces, the Duchess of Chartres, who

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 99, 108; *notes by Fr. Fortunati in Cod. Vat. 10, 730, of the Vatican Library; NOACK, 87.

[2] See above, p. 27.

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 166.

[4] *Ibid.*, 150; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 150 *seq.*, 229 *seqq.*

[5] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 198, 205 *seqq.*; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 230 *seq.*; NOACK, 87.

[6] Herder's *Reise nach Italien*, Giessen, 1859, 164.

arrived in Rome at the beginning of June, 1776, and stayed at the Palazzo Sciarra as the Countess of Joinville. Notwithstanding her strict incognito the Cardinal paid her the respect due to royalty. She could not be accorded a reception at the Vatican similar to that given to their Austrian Highnesses as there was not time enough to arrange the ceremonial due to a princess of the blood royal.[1] To the astonishment of the Romans, she showed no interest whatever in the wonders of the city.[2] Cardinal Bernis, whose duty it was to protect the interests of the Swedes in Rome, was also most attentive to the king of Sweden's brother, the Duke of Ost Gothland, who likewise came to Rome incognito in October 1776. Through the Cardinal he obtained an audience of the Pope, who, to his supreme satisfaction, paid him the same honour as he had done to the Duke of Gloucester.[3]

In January 1777 the Landgrave Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel and the Duchess of Kingston arrived in Rome. The landgrave being an ardent convert, the Pope was particularly generous in presenting him with relics.[4] At the end of the year the city saw within its walls Prince August of Saxe-Gotha, the brother of the reigning duke, and the Duke and Duchess of Chabot.[5] Prince Heinrich of Reuss received a most favourable impression of the Pope on his visit to Rome in 1779.[6] It being announced at this time that the Governor-General of Milan, the Archduke Ferdinand, and his wife, Beatrice d' Este, would arrive in the coming Lent, Bernis remarked that it would be no easy matter to entertain their Highnesses at such a time ; he would do his best but these visits involved ambassadors in both trouble and

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 213 *seqq.*, 216, 221.

[2] " *Tutti le rarità di Roma erano per Lei mucchi di sassi," says Fr. Fortunati (Cod. Vat. 10,730, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 247, 249, 255, 259 *seq.*, 280 *seq.* ; *notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 299 *seqq.* ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 274, 277.

[5] *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 302 ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 378, 388.

[6] See above, p. 27.

expense.[1] The archducal pair, who travelled as the Count and Countess of Mellenburg and stayed in the Villa Medici, made two visits to Rome in 1780, the first in January, the second in Lent. On this occasion, too, the incognito they assumed was no impediment to the holding of splendid festivities. On January 16th the Cardinal Secretary of State gave a dinner for sixty guests which was attended by the ambassadors. Among these the representatives of France, Malta, and Venice were particularly prominent in the lavishness of their entertainments. According to the account of an eye-witness, the public carnival that took place in the Palazzo di Venezia was probably the most brilliant that had ever been held in Europe. The Pope, who received the archduke on both his visits, paid him all the more attention as he hoped that his stay in Naples would have a favourable effect on his disputes with that Court.[2]

In the eighties the number of visitors to Rome grew so large that Bernis wrote that for eight months the Eternal City was the rendezvous of all Europe. Whereas hitherto the Germans and Austrians had preponderated, it was now the French who came in shoals, although only ten years before they had taken little interest in Rome.[3] Bernis was continually complaining of the annoyance and expense caused him by this mania for travel. Nevertheless, as a perfect man of the world, he " kept open house in Europe's *rendez-vous* in France's name ", as he put it.[4]

The practical Romans welcomed every traveller so long as he had money in his pocket. On the whole they preferred the placid German to the Frenchman, showing no hostility to the many German Protestants but rather pitying them in their

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 461.

[2] *Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.* ; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, II., 231 *seqq.* ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 2 *seq.* ; DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 133.

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88 ; HAUTECŒUR, 226.

[4] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV, 275, 277 *seq.*, 279, 284, 297, XV., 88 ; MASSON, 375 *seqq.*

lack of the true faith.[1] The Englishman they respected chiefly for his great wealth, which enabled the sons of Albion to purchase antiques on an extensive scale. Particularly large purchases were made by Lord Bristol, a fabulously wealthy eccentric about whom the strangest stories were told. Bristol, who, like the Scottish Bishop of Derry, chose Rome as his permanent place of residence, favoured artists among others, one of them being the Savoyard painter Giacomo Berger.[2] The English art-dealer Jenkins, whose hospitality Goethe enjoyed at Castel Gandolfo, had made his fortune as a money-changer and agent for his countrymen and he was now increasing it by trading in objects of art. Several of the English artists living in Rome made a name for themselves. Gavin Hamilton was well known for his excavations in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, the finds from which were moved either to the Museo Pio-Clementino or to England. Among the others were the sculptor John Flaxman, James Durno, who settled in Rome in 1774, and the sculptor Hewetson, who made a simple but attractive tomb in S. Nicolò in Carcere for Cardinal Rezzonico, Clement XIII.'s brother.[3] The great majority of the English travellers, incidentally, cared little for art. If Dupaty is to be believed, their chief occupation was to travel around, drink tea and punch, and decry every nation but their own, which they extolled incessantly.[4]

According to Cardinal Bernis, most of the foreigners who flooded Rome at this time were lacking in artistic sense. These travellers, he said, who were such a nuisance to the ambassadors, were drawn to Italy by the fashion, not the desire, for self-instruction ; but the Romans, he continued, were well pleased to see a large part of Europe spending its money here every year.[5] These travellers of fashion, many of whom evinced an admiration of the antique which was in inverse proportion to their knowledge, were industrious in buying

[1] NOACK, 104.
[2] HARNACK, 47 ; HAUTECŒUR, 226 *seq.*
[3] HARNACK, 79 *seq.*
[4] HAUTECŒUR, 231.
[5] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 272.

medals, cameos, and other antiquities and thus helped to spread a taste for the artistic productions of antiquity and the Renaissance over the whole of Europe.[1] Almost all of them took away as souvenirs the splendid engravings by Piranesi and Volpato, and the more wealthy of them also had copies made of the more famous works of art. The outstanding example of this is the encaustic copies of Raphael's Logge made by Unterberger for the Hermitage at St. Petersburg at the order of Catherine the Great, which were personally inspected by Pius VI.[2] The empress also had purchases made of mosaics, paintings, and drawings by famous artists, such as Mengs,[3] and had a large wooden model made of St. Peter's.

A similar interest in art was shown by the wife of the Russian Grand Duke Paul, Sophie Dorothea of Brunswick, who was an artist herself. She and her husband, travelling in Italy as the Countess and Count of Norden, reached Rome on February 5th, 1782. Their longing to see the marvels of art there was so great that they went straight to St. Peter's and then to the Pantheon and the Fontana Trevi before repairing to their hotel, the "Città di Londra", in the Piazza di Spagna. The next morning they went first to the Museo-Pio-Clementino, then to St. Peter's again. It being Pius VI.'s habit to pray at the tomb of the Apostles in the afternoon, an apparently fortuitous meeting was arranged between the exalted couple and the supreme head of the Church, to the great satisfaction of both parties. So soon as February 7th the Grand Duke and his wife, who were attended on their travels by a very large retinue, left for a fortnight's stay in Naples; on their return from there on February 23rd the Count and Countess of Norden, as they still styled themselves, were overloaded with attentions from the Pope and the

[1] HAUTECŒUR, 232. For the English travellers of the eighteenth century, *cf.* MICHAELIS in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, 1879, 66 *seq.*

[2] '*Diario di Pio VI.', February 27, 1779, and August 30, 1780, Campello Archives, Spoleto; HARNACK, 25, 108.

[3] '*Diario di Pio VI.', August 23, September 20, and October 21, 1780, *loc. cit.*

Roman aristocracy. The Papal nephew Luigi Braschi and Cardinal Bernis offered them the most splendid entertainments that their resources could afford, but the greater part of their time was spent not in social activities but in visiting the monuments, churches, villas, libraries, and studios. It was then that Batoni's "Holy Family" was bought for 1,500 ducats. The Pope, choosing his gifts to suit the artistic proclivities of the noble visitors, presented them each with two mosaic pictures and gobelins and a collection of Piranesi's engravings, so that they could see Rome romantically transfigured. The Grand Duke, who had been received in audience several times by the Pope, was present in person at the latter's departure for Vienna on February 27th and helped His Holiness into his carriage, while the Grand Duchess covered his shoulders with a costly fur sent by the Empress Catherine.[1]

The end of the year 1782 saw the arrival in Rome of the Duc de Chartres, Louis Philippe d'Orleans, whose wife had already visited the city in 1776. He travelled as the Comte de Joinville and stayed in Rome from December 7th to the 26th, making another short stay in the middle of January 1783. Thanks to Cardinal Bernis' dexterity and the Pope's complaisance all difficulties of ceremonial were overcome. The duke was granted a private audience of three-quarters of an hour by Pius VI., who received him with the utmost cordiality and for his benefit had the fiery cross lit in the basilica of St. Peter's, which was usually done only on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Cardinal Bernis, who had to keep open house for the prince and his retinue throughout his visit, was relieved when it came to an end. The craze for travelling had involved him in enormous expenses in 1782 and he was filled with anxiety for the future.[2]

[1] *Notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 179, 185, 193; BECCATINI, II., 12 *seq.*; RINIERI in *Civ. catt.*, 1903, Quad. 1280, 150 *seqq.*; PIERLING, *La Russie*, V., 183 *seqq.* The inscription recording the visit to the dome of St. Peter's in FORCELLA, VI., 190.

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 278, 288 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, 297; MASSON, *Bernis*, 378.

Several other visits of highly placed personages took place in 1783 and aroused much interest. In February the Archduke Maximilian made another appearance incognito ; short as his visit was he had time to call twice on the Pope. Bernis remarked bitterly that although the emperor treated the Roman Curia unkindly its attachment to the ancient house of Austria was so strong that its princes were always well received here, especially as they lavishly distributed their courtesies and attentions on all and sundry.[1] The Elector Palatine Karl Theodor, who arrived in May and put up at the house of his agent, the Marchese Antici, in the Piazza Navona, made another stay in Rome on his way back from Naples, as did also Duke Maximilian.[2]

For Christmas, 1783, the Pope was expecting the King of Sweden, Gustavus III. This monarch, who displayed unusual talent, had shown so much goodwill towards the Catholics in Sweden, who until then had been hardly pressed, that on March 25th, 1780, the Pope sent him a cordial letter of thanks.[3] In 1781 Gustavus issued an edict of tolerance for his kingdom, on the strength of which Pius VI., by a Brief of September 30th, 1783, erected a Vicariate Apostolic for the Swedish Catholics under the superintendence of Propaganda ; it was entrusted to a French secular cleric of the name of Oster.[4]

One can understand, therefore, the particular interest taken by the Pope in the arrival of the Swedish monarch when in the autumn of 1783 he undertook a journey to Italy for reasons of health. Vincenzo Catenacci was sent as a courier by the Pope to meet the king, who was travelling as the Count of Haga, at the frontier. The story is often told how Catenacci mistook for Gustavus III. the Emperor Joseph II., who was hurrying to Rome in secret under the name of the

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 312 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 328 ; *notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

[3] **Epist.*, 179, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Bull. de Prop. Fide*, IV., 192 ; Moroni, LXXI., 294 ; Tavanti, I., 169 ; Gendry, II., 2 ; Metzler, 199. Brief of recommendation for Easter, March 22, 1783, in Theiner, *Clementis XIV. Epistolae*, 382.

Count of Falkenstein. This misunderstanding made it easier for the emperor to carry out his intention of taking the Pope by surprise. Pius, awaiting the arrival of the King of Sweden, suddenly found himself faced on the evening of December 23rd with the emperor, who had been accompanied to the Vatican by Cardinal Herzan and Count Kinsky.[1] The negotiations that took place between the two led to the conclusion of a concordat.

Gustavus III. arrived in Rome a half-hour before midnight and put up at the Palazzo Correa, near the mausoleum of Augustus.[2] Like the emperor, he attended in the strictest incognito the ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel on Christmas Eve and the Papal High Mass in St. Peter's on the following morning. Afterwards he paid his visit to the Pope, attended by his Grand Master of Ceremonies and two adjutants, both French Catholics. The Pope invested him with the Order of the Golden Spur. On the day after Christmas Gustavus accepted an invitation to visit Cardinal Bernis and shortly before he left he was joined at the Cardinal's house by the emperor who, however, retained his strict incognito. The king, related Bernis, would have done likewise had he not wished to show his attachment to France. "The two monarchs have exchanged visits and given marks of their friendly attitude towards each other, but God alone can see into the hearts of men, especially those of princes."[3]

It was only the incognito of the Swedish king that prevented Pius VI. from returning his visit in person. Gustavus III. was perfectly content with the situation as it was, for he wanted

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 393 *seqq.*; BECCATINI, II., 125; SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 77. For the concordat, *cf.* below, p. 473.

[2] For Gustavus III.'s stay in Rome, *cf.* the information in MORONI, LXXI., 274 *seqq.*, mostly taken from *Cracas*; TAVANTI, I., 168 *seq.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 393 *seqq.*, 396 *seqq.*; v. BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Marken i Roma*, 205 *seqq.*, 224 *seqq.*, 238 *seqq.*, 256 *seqq.*, 261 *seqq.* There are a bust and an inscription in memory of Gustavus in the Accademia di S. Luca.

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 397.

to damp the ardour of the Lutheran zealots in Sweden without provoking them unnecessarily.[1] He stayed on in Rome when the emperor left on December 29th to visit his sister Carolina in Naples. Without infringing the king's incognito the Pope arranged for him to have a special seat where he could watch the ecclesiastical ceremonies of the New Year, Epiphany, and the feast of St. Peter's Chair. The Pope, like everyone else, was charmed with the king's dignified and natural bearing and had another conversation with him lasting two hours.[2] The king also accepted an invitation to dine with the Cardinal Secretary of State, on which occasion the ceremonial was regulated by Bernis.[3]

On January 5th, 1784, another royal personage had arrived in Rome, the Duchess Maria Amalia of Parma, a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa. On the following day she was received in audience by the Pope, who afterwards sent her the Golden Rose. Gustavus III. was among the guests who attended the entertainments given in her honour by the *nepote* Braschi and Cardinal Bernis. When the emperor returned from Naples on January 18th to spend three more days in Rome he intended to honour the King of Sweden with a visit before his audience with the Pope, but he failed to meet him, Gustavus having the same experience on returning his visit two hours later.[4]

Highly pleased with his reception in Rome,[5] Gustavus left the city for Naples on January 28th. Returning on March 10th, he resided this time at the Palazzo Giraud and immediately after his arrival he obtained an audience from the Pope. He remained in Rome until April 19th. The management of State affairs did not prevent him from giving his attention to all the principal monuments of pagan and Christian Rome. Many of his visits, such as those to the dome

[1] *Ibid.*, 398.
[2] *Ibid.*, 402.
[3] GENDRY, II., 3.
[4] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 403 *seqq.*, 408.
[5] *Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

of St. Peter's and to the Capitol, were recorded in inscriptions.[1] Cardinal Bernis, at whose house the king dined every evening, lays stress on the king's abnormal interest in architecture and sculpture.[2] In the Museo Pio-Clementino the Pope himself acted as guide, an incident which was perpetuated in a fresco in the gallery of the Vatican Library.[3] A painting by Jean Louis Desprez in the Stockholm Museum also depicts this meeting of the king and the Pope in the museum, apparently a fortuitous one but, in fact, prearranged. In another painting the king is seen attending Mass on Christmas morning in St. Peter's.[4] The painter Gagnereaux, who was one of Bernis' special *protégés*, painted a picture of Gustavus III.'s visit to the Vatican, and a copy of it was ordered by the Pope.[5] Few royal personages have inspected Rome so thoroughly as Gustavus III. He visited the principal palazzi, villas, churches, and monasteries, nor did he overlook the little church of S. Brigida, the national church of the Swedes. To the Pantheon and St. Peter's especially he paid frequent visits. At the Propaganda, where he took great interest in the library and printing works, he was presented by Cardinal Antonelli with a quatrain composed by Francesco Cancellieri and translated into forty-four languages. The *Arcadia* admitted him to membership under the name of Anessandro Cheronea. Outside the city he made excursions to the Alban Hills and to Tivoli.[6]

Cardinal Bernis related that Gustavus III. showed the deepest interest in all the church ceremonies and attended them in Holy Week with greater reverence than many Catholics. "The Pope's Low Mass, shorn of all pomp," wrote the Cardinal, "edified the king, and he was impressed by the majesty of the Papal blessing at Easter. He agreed with me

[1] Bildt, 238 *seq.*; Forcella, VI., 198.
[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 429.
[3] Forcella, VI., 192.
[4] Thieme, IX., 147.
[5] *Ibid.*, XIII, 66 *seq.* The replica is now in the Prague Museum.
[6] Moroni, XIV., 240, LXXI, 276.

that the grandeur displayed on that occasion, which the Protestants decry, is necessary to some extent to maintain religious feeling." The king kept his Easter according to the Protestant rite quite quietly in the Palazzo Giraud.[1]

Before his departure Gustavus was able, through the Pope's courtesy, to admire the illumination of the dome of St. Peter's, a spectacle unique in Europe that always attracted numerous strangers.[2] Normally, it took place only on June 29th. As a present Gustavus sent the Pope a very valuable collection of all the Swedish coins, which gave great pleasure to the recipient. In return, Pius VI. gave him some gobelins and pictures in mosaic. On parting they embraced each other.[3] The king left behind as his agent, principally for the purchase of antiquities for the Stockholm Museum, Francesco Piranesi, whose acquaintance he had made when visiting his studio.[4]

The Holy Week ceremonies of 1784 drew a greater number of strangers of every nationality [5] to Rome than Bernis had known in the course of his fifteen years' residence there.[6] There was another great concourse in 1785, when the Duke of Courland came with his wife to spend six months in the city. He was received by the Pope without any unusual ceremony.[7] On reporting the arrival of Princess Lubomirski with several Polish aristocrats in November 1785, Bernis observed that this year there seemed to be no end to the number of visitors.[8] From the autumn of 1785 to the spring of 1786 and again at the end of the year the city was visited by a natural son of

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 430; Beccatini, II., 135 *seq.*

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 432.

[3] *Ibid.*, 430; Beccatini, II., 136 *seq.*

[4] Bildt, *Die Ausgrabungen Fredenheims*, 5; Focillon, *Piranesi*, 133. For Gustavus III.'s stay in Venice, *v.* the work by G. dalla Santa, Venezia, 1902 (Nozze publication).

[5] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, XIV., 425.

[7] *Ibid.*, XV., 7, 13. Brunati's *report of March 19, 1785 (State Archives, Vienna).

[8] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 58.

Louis XV., the Abbé de Bourbon, whose irreproachable conduct caused the Pope much pleasure.[1]

At Easter 1786 the number of visitors to Rome was greater than ever.[2] Among them were the Duc de Choiseul and the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland.[3] As the King of England's brother the duke was fêted with particular brilliance.[4] In the summer the presence of a fabulously wealthy Armenian attracted much attention,[5] and in November the Duke of Gloucester appeared for the third time.[6] At Easter 1787 Rome was again the goal of thousands of strangers, including several English noblemen ; families from Holland and Sweden, and indeed from almost every country in Europe were also noted.[7]

A notable event for the German colony of artists was the visit of the Dowager Duchess Amalie of Weimar, who spent the last three months of 1788 in Rome. She, like other non-Catholic sovereigns, was received by the Pope with every courtesy and was presented by him with a costly mosaic representation of the Arch of Constantine. By the Princess Santa Croce the duchess was also introduced to the Cardinal Secretary of State Boncompagni and Cardinal Braschi. In February 1789 she came to Rome again, residing in the Villa Malta. The Roman aristocracy and the hospitable Cardinal Bernis in particular were most lavish in paying their attentions to this distinguished lady round whom was grouped almost the whole of Goethe's circle. Her presence in Rome caused the creation of some well-known works of art. Angelica Kauffmann painted her portrait and Trippel made a bust of Herder which was a worthy companion-piece to his bust of Goethe. Perhaps the most delightful memento of the time is the

[1] MASSON, *Bernis*, 381 *seqq.* The Abbé de Bourbon died of the smallpox in Naples on February 27, 1787.

[2] Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 84 *seq.*

[4] Further details in Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*

[6] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 117.

[7] *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*

water-colour in Tiefurt, in which Herder is seen beneath the cypresses of the Villa d' Este, reading to the duchess scenes from Goethe's *Tasso*.[1]

In the early nineties the Duke of Sussex, a son of King George III. of England, paid frequent visits to Rome.[2] Another visitor, in April 1791, was King Ferdinand of Naples, who was on his way to Vienna with his wife. On their return they again broke their journey in Rome.[3] The king received every honour at the hands of the Pope [4] and on both occasions had lengthy conversations with him on their ecclesiastico-political differences, the settlement of which had long been exercising the mind of the peace-loving Pius VI.

In view of the large numbers of non-Catholic visitors to Rome the visit of the King of Sweden may be said to have heralded a new era. In spite of all their prejudices the Protestant rulers now began to recognize the greatness of the Papacy, while the "enlightened" Catholic absolutists, blind to the signs of the times, were seeking to debase the Holy See to a mere Italian bishopric.

[1] HARNACK, 103 *seqq.*; NOACK, 123 *seqq.*, 371. Here are notes on the Villa Malta, so called after the envoy of the Maltese Order, Bailly de Breteuil, who lived here in 1774. From 1781 to 1788 it was the residence of Cardinal Acquaviva.

[2] NOACK, 404.

[3] Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

[4] RINIERI, 351.

CHAPTER III.

The Attempted Establishment of State Churches in Naples, Venice, and Tuscany—The Situation in Portugal.

(1)

In Naples King Ferdinand's all-powerful Minister, Tanucci, continued during the pontificate of Pius VI. to trample underfoot the rights of the Pope and to usurp to himself the settlement of ecclesiastical questions. All the Government decrees, reported the nuncio Vincentini on September 27th, 1776, were violations of the Church's authority; here the principle prevailed that the king had the right to legislate in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil sphere.[1] Thus, the subjects of Ferdinand IV. were forbidden to go on pilgrimage to Rome to gain the jubilee indulgence of 1775 and it was decided arbitrarily that visits to the four chief churches in Naples would suffice instead. In a similarly arbitrary fashion the excessively large number of monasteries in Naples was diminished,[2] seventy-eight monasteries were dissolved in Sicily, and four bishoprics were combined into one.[3] Hardly had an agreement been reached with the Pope about the reoccupation of the vacant archbishopric of Naples when the Government saw to it that the new Archbishop, Serafino Filingeri, omitted from his title the words "Bishop by the grace of the Apostolic See" ("*et Apostolicae Sedis gratia*"). A further rift was caused by the Government's demand that Filingeri be made a Cardinal. When Pius VI. refused to agree

[1] Rinieri, *Rovina di una Monarchia*, lvii. *Cf. Arch. stor. p. Salerno*, III. (1923), 3 *seqq.*

[2] Schipa, *Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*, 626 *seqq.*

[3] *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 145 *seqq.*; Sentis, 194. Even Bourgoing-Azara (II., 32) call the order concerning the indulgence a ridiculous usurpation on the part of the civil power.

to this, Tanucci voiced the threat that the king himself would bestow the purple on distinguished prelates.[1] The offering of the customary feudal tribute of 7,000 ducats and a caparisoned palfrey by the Grand Constable, Prince Lorenzo Colonna, on SS. Peter and Paul, 1776, was the occasion for a quarrel about precedence between the Constable's pages and those of the Roman Governatore, Cornaro. This gave Tanucci the opportunity to offer still another insult to the Holy See. A letter from the king, of July 9th, 1776, stated that, while no legal consequences were involved, in future the discharge of the interest would be effected in private only, through his ambassador or an accredited agent.[2]

This was one of the aged Tanucci's last acts, for in October 1776 he received his discharge. Queen Carolina had brought about his departure in order to free herself of the Spanish tutelage. In Rome there was rejoicing at the ultimate fall of one of the most violent enemies of the Holy See,[3] but the hope that his successor, the Marchese della Sambuca, would assume a different policy soon vanished. The disagreements continued. The delivery of the palfrey took place in due course in 1777, but the satisfaction this caused [4] was lessened by the statement that it was merely to be regarded as a mark of respect paid to the Princes of the Apostles.[5] So far as ecclesiastical policy was concerned, Tanucci's spirit lived on in his pupils. The Minister of Justice, Carlo Demarco, was prominent among those who saw to it that the former anti-Roman course was adhered to. As early as February 1778 the nuncio was reporting that there was hardly an article of the concordat of 1741 that was not being infringed by the Government.[6] The rights of the Pope were ruthlessly violated by the civil legislation ; impediments to marriage could be confirmed by Rome only with the royal permission and even

[1] [Bourgoing-Azara], II., 32 *seqq.*

[2] Rinieri, 256 *seqq.* ; Masson, *Bernis*, 333.

[3] A. Renier's report of November 2, 1776, Brosch, II., 168.

[4] Azara's *report of June 26, 1777, Archives of Simancas.

[5] Rinieri, 260 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, lxi.

relaxations of the enclosure of nuns were to be sought from the king instead of the Pope. The Franciscans were forbidden by the Government to accept novices during the following ten years.[1] By 1779 things had come to such a pass that the exequatur was withheld without exception from all Papal Briefs and dispensations unless the royal permission to have recourse to Rome, with a statement of the reasons therefor, had been previously obtained. The penalty for transgressing this regulation was banishment from the realm. On very many matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature recourse to the Pope was universally and unconditionally prohibited. This affected especially all those cases where the right of surveillance and the supreme jurisdictional authority of the Pope should have been exercised.[2] A tax of 50,000 ducats was arbitrarily levied on the Carthusian monasteries to defray the cost of the royal navy.[3] The Papal right of presentation to canonries and parochial benefices was also abolished, on the ground that according to the canons it belonged to the Bishops, even in the Papal months. But as the Bishops declined to exercise this right, a large number of benefices were left unoccupied.[4] Towards the end of 1781 negotiations were begun with a view to settling these troubles but they brought no relief; on the contrary, the encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain increased.[5] The most galling of them was the ever greater extension of the royal claim to the right of presentation to

[1] *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 286 *seqq.*, II., 183 *seqq.*; RINIERI, lix *seqq.*

[2] SENTIS, 194.

[3] RINIERI, lxvi. *Cf.* the complaints made by the Secretary of State in the *Cifra to the Paris nuncio Doria, of September 8, 1779, Nunziat. di Francia 641A, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] SENTIS, 195.

[5] *Cifre to the nuncio to Madrid, of December 27, 1781, and April 19, 1782 ("Guai sopra guai: a quelli di Napoli non solo non si è trovato il riparo, ma sono essi crescendo nel lungo tempo decorso dalla prima implorazione del real padrocinio di S.M. Catt. alla buona causa di S. Stà"), Nunziat. di Spagna 436, Papal Secret Archives.

episcopal sees.[1] And the Bishops themselves were to be mere tools in the hands of the Government, for by a law of December 2nd, 1783, they were forbidden to issue monitoria or to inflict the penalty of excommunication; when they contravened this prohibition the royal authorities pronounced their ordinances null and void.[2] The Church's jurisdiction over the laity in matters of faith was abolished and in March 1783 the ecclesiastical inquisition in Sicily was suppressed, allegedly because His Majesty wished to do away with any form of compulsion in the matter of religion. Well-informed contemporaries, however, stated that the real reason was the Fiscal's desire to appropriate the rich revenues of this tribunal.[3] In May 1783 the customary annual contribution of 2,050 ducats to St. Peter's in Rome was discontinued, the reason being, according to the nuncio's report, that the Government was seizing on every means of swelling the State funds.[4] The great earthquake that ravaged Calabria in 1783 provided a welcome opportunity to suppress there a far larger number of religious houses than had been sanctioned by the Pope. In January 1784, at the royal command, this lot befell thirty-four Olivetan houses in Sicily, allegedly because of detected abuses; their revenues, amounting to 36,000 ducats per annum, accrued to the State.[5] At the beginning of 1784 Neapolitan subjects were forbidden every form of recourse to Rome; the penalty prescribed for Bishops who contravened this decree was the sequestration of their incomes; for the laity, banishment.[6]

It was no exaggeration to say that in the kingdom of Naples the fundamental rights of the Church, the primacy of the Pope, and his supreme right of jurisdiction and surveillance were in practice denied, intercourse with the head of the

[1] Sentis, 195.

[2] *Ibid.*, 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, 196; Wolf, IV., 41 *seqq.*; Helfert in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 290 *seqq.*

[4] Rinieri, lxvii.

[5] Helfert, 291; [Bourgoing-Azara], II., 65 *seqq.*

[6] Brunati's *report of February 4, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

Church was severed, the essential rights of the Bishops to exercise their pastoral office were secularized, ecclesiastical freedom and immunity were destroyed, and whatever external rights and powers were possessed by the Church were declared to be the sovereign rights of princes.[1]

The heaviest blow to be struck at the ecclesiastical polity was the claim put forward by the Crown to the right of presentation to all the episcopal sees. The Pope had no option but to suspend their occupation, so that in 1784 in the kingdom of Naples alone there were thirty vacant sees. Negotiations for a settlement of this question, into which Pius VI. was willing to enter, were inevitably ruined by Sambuca's demand, as a preliminary condition, for the recognition of all the royal investitures made up to 1785.[2] Far-seeing contemporaries were already prophesying that the undermining of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority would also bring about the downfall of the royal throne.[3]

The Marchese della Sambuca was not only a worthy successor to Tanucci in his dealings with the Church but was also the master of the king, who was weak-willed and had no taste for business. It was not till the early part of 1786 that the energetic Queen Carolina succeeded in deposing this despotic Minister as well and thus crippled the influence of the Spanish party in Naples.[4] Sambuca, who during his term of office had enriched himself with the Jesuit properties in Palermo,[5] was replaced by Domenico Caracciolo, who until then had been viceroy of Sicily. More far-seeing than the Minister for the Interior, Demarco, who rejected all negotiations for a settlement, Caracciolo frankly recognized that the State would also profit by the cessation of religious anarchy in the Neapolitan kingdom. He therefore adopted the proposal of the Bishop of Caserta, Domenico Pignatelli, and

[1] SENTIS, 198 *seq.*

[2] RINIERI, 13.

[3] *Lamenti delle vedove ovvero rimostranze delle vacanti chiese di Napoli*, Filadelfia, 1784, 92.

[4] HELFERT, 296 *seqq.*

[5] RINIERI, lxxiii.

opened negotiations with the internuncio Severino Servanzi, who had been administering the nunciature in Naples since the death of Vincentini. At the same time he openly asserted that his king did not consider himself inferior to the rulers of France and Spain and therefore claimed the same right of presentation to all bishoprics as they possessed.[1] Though this pronouncement was anything but encouraging, the Pope indicated his willingness to take part in discussions and sent Mgr. Lorenzo Caleppi to Naples in June 1786.[2] At precisely this juncture a furious onslaught was being launched there against the religious houses. A decree signed by Caracciolo on June 28th, 1786, severed connexion between the Neapolitan houses and the foreign Generals and Chapters and subjected them in ecclesiastical matters to the Bishops of the country. When the Pope complained of these measures he was referred by the Neapolitan Government to the thousands of petitions submitted to the king for the secularization of the monasteries or at any rate for their separation from foreign authorities.[3] In answer to this challenge it was Pius VI.'s intention to recall Caleppi but this was prevented by the Secretary of State Boncompagni.

There was another matter that threatened to wreck the negotiations for a settlement at their very outset. After the Archbishop of Naples had pronounced in the court of first instance the marriage between the Duke of Maddoloni and Giuseppa de Cardenas to be null and void, the duke appealed to the Pope, who wanted to delegate a Neapolitan Bishop to decide the case in the second instance. The king, however, claimed this right for the Capellano Maggiore, who was to be supported by two clerical and civil judges. It was only with the greatest difficulty that Caleppi succeeded in having the case suspended in September 1786.[4]

Caleppi's negotiations were concerned with the appointment of Bishops, the dependence of the Orders on their Generals in

[1] *Ibid.*, 18 *seqq.*

[2] His instruction *ibid.*, lxxiv *seqq.*

[3] Helfert, 316; Rinieri, 27.

[4] Rinieri, 29 *seqq.*, 36, 277 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.*

Rome, the jurisdiction of the nuncio, and lastly the collation of benefices, abbeys, and commanderies. On all these points exorbitant claims were raised by the Government. It became clear that the driving force behind them were Queen Carolina and her confidential adviser, Sir John Acton.[1] Ambitious and tyrannical, Carolina showed that her principles were those of her brother, Emperor Joseph II. With an amazing duplicity she assured Caleppi of her desire to come to an equitable arrangement with the Holy See, while actually she was collaborating with the party in Naples that was aiming not at an honourable peace but at the spoliation and suppression of the Church.[2] She was supported in her conduct by Joseph II., who in March 1787 advised her to spin out the negotiations while he was making ready to deal Rome another blow, the dismissal of the nuncio from Brussels.[3]

Nevertheless, after nine months of fruitless negotiations there suddenly appeared another ray of hope. At Easter, 1787, Caracciolo submitted a fresh proposal for a concordat, with which Caleppi left for Rome on April 13th. By the end of the month he was back in Naples, but the negotiations made no progress whatever, as Naples was making impossible demands in the matter of the Orders and the nuncio. On August 8th Caracciolo declared that it was impossible to abate them without infringing the sovereign rights of his king, and he threatened to break off the negotiations if his Government's wishes were not complied with. At the same time the country was flooded with anti-Papal broadsheets.[4] While Caleppi

[1] John Francis Edward Acton, 6th Baronet of the name, b. 1736, d. at Palermo, 1811. Since 1779 engaged in the reorganization of the Neapolitan navy.

[2] *Ibid.*, 103, 109 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 121, 133, 136, 161 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 160.

[4] *Ibid.*, 175, 189. Brunati had already foretold the unsuccessful issue of the negotiations for the concordat in his *report of April 21, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). For the projects for a concordat formed from 1786 onwards, *cf.* also B. Peluso, *Documenti intorno alla relaz. fra Stato e Chiesa nelle due Sicilie*, III., Napoli, 1898.

despaired of coming to any satisfactory conclusion the Secretary of State, Boncompagni, thought that something might still be done by personal conversations. Caleppi advised against any such attempt, but Pius VI., in his desire for peace and his solicitude for the forty vacant sees,[1] gave his consent. Accordingly, Cardinal Boncompagni, ostensibly for the purpose of enjoying a *villeggiatura*, repaired to Portici, which he reached on October 17th. The negotiations began on the 19th and lasted till November 4th. Boncompagni first discussed matters thoroughly with Caracciolo and Acton, who was then all-powerful at the Court, and was later received by the king and queen. He made a full report to Rome but could only announce the complete failure of his extraordinary mission.[2] The Neapolitan demands went even further than the former ones: the right of nomination and presentation to all benefices and abbeys to be ceded to the king, eight rich abbeys to be secularized *in commendam* for Knights of the Order of Constantine; the right to secularize benefices in the gift of a patron and to charge benefices with pensions. Further, a royal *Giunta*, to be set up in Naples, was to have full authority to suppress convents and to supervise and administer justice to Regulars. Finally, the Orders in both realms were to be almost entirely severed from connexion with their Generals.[3]

By the end of the year Caleppi was no longer in any doubt that Naples was working for a complete break with the Holy See.[4] And his prognostication was soon to prove correct. On

[1] This is the figure given by Brunati in his *report of August 22, 1787 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Boncompagni's reports of November 1 and 2, 1787, were first published by SENTIS (200 *seqq.*) from the original text in the Papal Secret Archives, then by SCHIPA (*Un ministro napolit. D. Caracciolo 1786–9*, Napoli, 1897, Doc. xx) from a copy in the Neapolitan National Library. RINIERI (195–201 and 203–8) published the report from the original in the Papal Secret Archives, which alone contains the postscript of November 4 (Rinieri, 208–211), which is missing from the copies.

[3] SENTIS, 201.

[4] RINIERI, 222.

January 4th, 1788, he was handed another proposal for a concordat which aimed at nothing less than the exclusion of the supreme Papal right of control and the jurisdictional primacy of the Holy See, the debasement of the Bishops to the status of civil servants, and the secularization of church property. If the Pope did not comply with these demands, whose ultimate object was the severance of the Church in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the centre of unity and the setting up of a national Church, no further negotiations would be entered into.[1] Pius VI. was prepared to grant some of these demands but to accede to all of them was more than his conscience would allow. To the threat of greater evils he replied that he was resigned to whatever might happen but that he had not deserved such a fate.[2] To this restrained statement, fraught with the deepest distress, Caracciolo retorted with the threat of schism. With Rome, it was stated in his letter of February 26th, 1788, it was impossible to come to terms. To reach an agreement one had to take common sense as a basis of argument, not maxims, possession, privileges, or the practice of the Curia ; otherwise one got nowhere. The old Roman way of bargaining was no good for the eighteenth century. The whole world had freed itself from the old prejudices and fetters. Rome might bewail the misery and suffering of the Pope but it should be remembered that the king, too, had much to endure from the crafty and tortuous method (" *tortuosa maniera* ") with which Rome had gone to work in these negotiations. The Pope should consider the matters in dispute not merely from a Christian but also from a philosophical standpoint and finally come to a decision, for the supreme religious conscience of the king could not tolerate much longer the vacancy of so many sees and the desertion of so many posts. The latter needed Bishops, who after all were appointed by Christ to govern the Church. His Majesty was bound to consider the dictates of his conscience and the spiritual needs of his subjects.[3]

[1] SENTIS, 201 *seqq.* [2] *Ibid.*, 204 ; RINIERI, 242 *seqq.*
[3] SENTIS, 205 ; RINIERI, 238.

How this solicitude would be expressed was already being indicated by writers in the pay of the Government who were saying that the consecration of the Bishops should be undertaken by the civil authority. In a writing of 1789 the king was directly invited to convoke a National Council and through this body to fill the vacant sees.[1] The calm and dignified reply that was made at the Pope's request was that as he perceived from Caracciolo's communication that the king was firmly determined not to accept any further letters on the subjects under dispute he declined to continue the negotiations.[2]

Meanwhile, further encroachments on ecclesiastical rights were being committed in Naples; it was even declared that the right of presentation to the archbishopric of Benevento, although it lay in Papal territory, belonged to the king of the Two Sicilies. This assertion was countered by the Secretary of the Propaganda, Stefano Borgia, who expounded the right of the Holy See. In spite of all that had happened, Rome would still not abandon all hope of arriving at a settlement.[3]

Subsequently, the tension was increased by two incidents, the first being the formal rejection by Naples of its feudal dependence on the Holy See that had subsisted for 800 years.

Hitherto the feudal question had been handled in such a

[1] Sentis, 205.

[2] Boncompagni's letter of March 4, 1788, in Sentis, 205.

[3] Boncompagni's *Cifra to the Paris nuncio of June 4, 1788 (Nunziat. di Francia 458B, Papal Secret Archives): "... Desidero che Ella informi il degnissimo Sig^r Conte di Montmarin, che noi non abbiamo ancora commesso nè pensato a commettere alcun Manifesto contro la Corte di Napoli, essendo assai illanguidite, ma non del tutto ancora spente, le nostre speranze; nè forse sarebbe Mgr. Borgia che dovrebbe stenderlo. Un incendiario scrittore per nome Cestri (il medesimo che ora scrive un'opera, di cui ho già alcuni fogli stampati sopra l'istituzione e consacrazione de' Vescovi), il Cestri, dissi, ha stampato un'opera contro i diritti della Sede Apostolica circa Benevento. Mgr. Borgia stampa una risposta a questo articolo solamente ..."

way that the downright denial of an obligation which in any case had been guaranteed by the most definite treaties and documented in the most solemn records and numerous deeds, had been held over the Pope's head like the sword of Damocles, in the hope of forcing him to yield completely in the ecclesiastico-political matters in dispute.[1] This hope was now abandoned and it was resolved to take the final, decisive step of absolutely refusing to pay the feudal tribute. Again the driving force was Queen Carolina, the worthy sister of Joseph II., Caracciolo and Acton rendering her willing assistance, the former openly, the latter in a more concealed manner.[2]

Even the enemies of the Papacy had to acknowledge that Pius VI. bore with all these fresh insults with admirable dignity.[3] His allocution to the Cardinals was couched throughout in terms of moderation.[4] The refusal to offer the tribute he ascribed to the king's advisers and he protested that in these ecclesiastico-political disputes he had had only one object in mind : the preservation of the dignity and the rights of the Church. The solemn protest made by the Papal fiscal after the Mass in St. Peter's on June 29th was likewise framed in conventional terms, as was also the Papal confirmation of it. The king, acting through Ricciardelli, his representative in Rome, made a private offer of 7,000 ducats in token of his respect but this naturally had to be refused by the Secretary of State. Thereupon Ricciardelli deposited the money with the Monte di Pietà, to be held at the Pope's disposal.[5]

On July 9th Pius VI. made a personal, written appeal to

[1] Brunati's *report to Colloredo of April 30, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna) ; Wolf, IV., 82.

[2] Rinieri, 275 ; Lioy, *L'abolizione dell' omaggio della Chinea*, in the *Arch. stor. Napol.*, VII. (1882), 263 *seqq.* ; Weil, *Le St-Siège et la cour de Naples en 1788*, in the *Revue hist. de la révolution franç.*, Juillet–Sept., 1912.

[3] Brosch, II., 167.

[4] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 464.

[5] Sentis, 206 ; Rinieri, 267 *seqq.*, 269 *seqq.* The text of the protest and Pius VI.'s reply to it in Borgia, *Istoria*, ix *seqq.*, xiii *seqq.*

King Ferdinand on the subject of the feudal tribute. He described his right in the same moderate language as before and stressed how earnestly he had striven for a settlement of the differences between the Church and State.[1] It is clear from the king's reply [2] that this appeal had no effect on his views, and equally little impression was made by Stefano Borgia's learned disquisitions on the Holy See's undoubted right in the matter.[3] This right was also acknowledged by the Cabinets in Madrid and Paris, which disapproved of the policy of Naples but lacked the energy to support the Pope.[4]

The refusal to pay the tribute was only the prologue to an invasion of the purely ecclesiastical domain which was of far-reaching importance and had the most harmful results.

The appeal lodged by the Duke of Maddaloni against the dissolution of his marriage was still pending. Although the Pope was willing to delegate as judge a Neapolitan Bishop suitable to the king, Ferdinand usurped this right to himself and transferred it to the Bishop of Mottola, Stefano Ortiz Cortés. Ortiz, departing widely from the principles of law, confirmed the judgment of the court of first instance. This decision was published by the king on August 9th, 1788.[5]

In the face of this encroachment on his rights it was impossible for the Pope to hold his peace and he duly protested in two Briefs. In one of them he informed the duke's wife that her marriage was not dissolved by any such invalid measure; in the other he sharply rebuked the Bishop of Mottola for his utterly illegal procedure. When Servanzi, the Uditore to the nunciature, called on the duchess she, making various excuses, refused to receive him, and the Bishop of

[1] Tavanti, II., 34 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 35 *seqq.* According to the *records in the Neapolitan State Archives (Pol. Est.-Roma) Ferdinand's reply was approved on July 14, signed on the 20th, and dispatched on the 22nd.

[3] See above, p. 53.

[4] Rinieri, 570 *seqq.*

[5] Rinieri, 284 *seqq.*; L. Conforti, *Una contesa giurisdizionale tra il re Ferdinando IV. e il pontefice Pio VI.*, no place of publication, 1883.

Mottola told the Papal representative that without the royal exequatur he could not accept a Papal Brief. When Servanzi reminded him that this was a purely ecclesiastical affair the Bishop defended himself on the plea that Christ had appointed the Bishops as the rightful administrators of the Church. To which Servanzi retorted that Jesus Christ had placed this right in the hands of St. Peter and his successors. To cut short this altercation with the highly incensed Ortiz, Servanzi then withdrew. His attempt to enlist the support of the benevolent but weak-willed Archbishop of Naples was unsuccessful.[1]

The Neapolitan Government made use of this incident to break openly with the Holy See. On September 26th Servanzi was ordered to leave the country immediately for having tried to present two Papal Briefs without the royal exequatur. All remonstrances were in vain, and on the 28th he had to leave Naples.[2] Pius VI. lodged complaints about this action with all the Catholic Courts and at the same time appealed to the king himself,[3] but Ferdinand, following the advice of his anti-Roman Minister Demarco, was deaf to all arguments and continued on the course he had chosen. On his own authority he handed over the administration of the numerous vacant sees to the neighbouring Bishops and committed such acts of despotism and made such inroads into purely ecclesiastical territory as, in the opinion of a contemporary, would not have happened even in Protestant England.[4] Even before this the Government's reckless assumption of the Church's authority had been viewed with resentment by a large part of the population and the clergy.[5] To convert public opinion numerous pamphlets were put into circulation in which the Pope alone was blamed for the conflict, his authority as supreme Shepherd was ridiculed, and anti-clerical principles

[1] Rinieri, 291 *seqq.*, 297 *seqq.*, 300 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 302 *seqq.* *Cf.* Fr. Fortunati's *notes for September 29, 1788, in the Cod. Vat. 10,730, of the Vatican Library.

[3] Rinieri, 307. *Cf.* Lioy in the *Arch. stor. Napol.*, VII., 718.

[4] Rinieri, 317 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 165.

were upheld. Even celibacy itself was attacked. The confusion that reigned in the Church was increased by the marked weakness that was shown by many members of the episcopate. The Bishop of Sora and the Archbishop of Manfredonia were alone in their manly defence of the rights of the Church and its supreme Head.[1]

In spite of all the insults he had to endure Pius VI. was untiring in his efforts to effect a settlement. But his attempts to change the king's mind by means of private letters were completely unsuccessful. Spinelli's negotiations met with the same fate, his friendship with Acton notwithstanding.[2] The last hope of coming to terms was offered by the arrival in Rome on April 20th, 1791, of their Neapolitan majesties on their way back from Vienna. Pius VI. showed them every mark of respect [3] and signified his readiness to make important concessions, especially in the matter of the vacant sees, whose number had now risen to sixty-two. But as the Government adhered to all its pretensions the same sad state of affairs persisted.[4] Finally, however, the events in France gave the badly advised king more and more to think. Demarco was dismissed, the king on this occasion being said to have told Corradini, who was now entrusted with the handling of ecclesiastical affairs, "Do not forget that the Pope is my friend and that the priests and monks are my subjects." [5] In this way the two parties came to an understanding about the episcopal appointments, in accordance with which the prelates nominated by the king were preconized at a secret consistory held on February 27th, 1792. The Pope considered that the harm that was arising from the vacancy of nearly half the bishoprics was too great to allow him to withhold any

[1] *Ibid.*, 322 *seqq.*, 332 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 338 *seqq.*

[3] See above, p. 110.

[4] Pius VI.'s letter to the Cardinal Pro-datarius of April 23, 1791, in Rinieri, 353.

[5] Thus reported by Carlo Astorri to Baldovinetti on September 16, 1791 (*v.* Rodolico, *Amici e i tempi di Scip. dei Ricci. Saggio sul Giansenismo italiano*, Florence, 1920, 118).

longer this great act of concession. But it was to be for this occasion only.[1] For the settlement of the other points in dispute he still hoped to bring about a concordat, but the negotiations conducted at Castellone by Cardinal Campanelli and Acton on July 24th to 31st, 1792, were ruined, in spite of the Pope's conciliatory attitude, by the Neapolitans' absolute refusal to give way in the matter of the feudal tribute and the jurisdiction of the nuncio.[2] On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1795, Pius VI. had to renew his protest for the eighth time against the withholding of the tribute.[3]

While the Neapolitan Government was engaged in draining away the vital sources of the Church's organism, in cutting off communication with the centre of unity, and in founding a national Church, there were other forces at work, whose object was to overthrow the monarchy. Encouraged by Queen Carolina,[4] freemasonry had been making steady progress in Naples and when, in November 1789, perceiving at last the danger of the secret society, she renewed the edicts against it of 1751 and 1775,[5] it was too late. The unfortunate king and queen were subsequently made to realize that the enemies of the Holy See were, whenever circumstances permitted it, theirs too, and the rights of the Head of the State were contested on the same principles as those which had been preferred against the Head of the Church.[6]

(2)

Pius VI. was also most conciliatory in his relations with the Republic of Venice. Abbeys and livings founded there by the

[1] Rinieri, 357 *seqq.*, 599 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*, according to which Beccatini (III., 90) needs correcting.

[3] **Epist.*, 192, p. 45 ; *ibid.*, 190, p. 33, for the *protest of 1793. Papal Secret Archives.

[4] Rinieri, 382, 393, 396 *seq.*, 407, 423 *seq.*, 426.

[5] *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

[6] Döllinger's view (*Kirchengesch.*, 748).

Venetian aristocracy had been secularized at the very outset of his pontificate. In his displeasure [1] Pius VI. refused to ratify the appointment of the new Patriarch, Federigo Maria Giovanelli, until this decree had been withdrawn, but he gave way when Venice threatened to sever diplomatic relations.[2] His hope that the Signoria would now refrain from issuing further arbitrary enactments in ecclesiastical matters was not fulfilled. In 1780 it suppressed six Benedictine monasteries and the abbey of S. Stefano at Polefine, near Rovigo.[3] In a consistory held in the December of this year the Pope protested against these encroachments, saying that on this account he was unable to bestow the purple on so deserving a man as Francesco Carrara, who had been born in Venetian territory.[4]

At the beginning of 1781 the Venetian envoy complained to the Pope about some frontier disputes which had taken place at Rovigo, and Pius VI. promised to obtain information on the subject. As a result of the investigation it was established that the trouble was started by the Venetians, who had pierced the dykes to protect themselves from being flooded. The inhabitants of the Papal States arrived on the scene with the militia and some Venetians were injured.[5] Fortunately this conflict was very quickly composed by mutual agreement,[6] but later there were a number of disputes of an ecclesiastical nature. Thus, in November 1782 the encouragement given to the schismatic Greeks in Venice caused the Pope to make a serious complaint in writing to the Republic.[7] Pius VI. was no more

[1] Gendry, I., 158.

[2] Wolf, I., 381 *seqq.*, 439 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 507.

[4] *Allocutio in consistorio secreto 1780 Decemb. 11, *Epist.*, 178, p. 436, *loc. cit.*

[5] Herzan's *report to Colloredo, of January 14, 1781 (State Archives, Vienna), very different from Wolf's account (II., 507 *seqq.*), with its spiteful attack on Pius VI.

[6] Herzan's *report of January 21, 1781, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1396.

[7] *Brief of November 7, 1782, *Epist.*, 179, *loc. cit.*

successful in maintaining good relations with the Signoria than the pacific Benedict XIV. and the Venetian Clement XIII. He is said on one occasion to have told the Venetian ambassador that it was time the Republic made up its mind whether or not it wanted to stay in Peter's bark.[1] Meanwhile, more serious conflicts were avoided.

This was not to the liking of those who wanted the Church to be under State control. They complained that the Signoria, content with having been the first to break the ice, was stopping half-way. They also viewed with displeasure the negotiations for a settlement that were going on between Rome and Naples. Their ideal government was that of Tuscany, which they praised for the way in which it advanced slowly but surely and consistently towards its goal.[2]

And this was indeed the case. As Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Giulio Rucellai was succeeded in 1778 by a man of similar convictions, Stefano Bertolini. Under the influence of his advice, Grand Duke Leopold, whose ideas were entirely those of his brother, Emperor Joseph II., was intent on ordering the relations between the Church and State in an arbitrary fashion. He differed from the emperor only in so far as he was more skilful in concealing his real object, the severance of the Church in Tuscany from the Holy See.[3]

In the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, as elsewhere, manifold abuses had developed, especially in the life of the Orders. It would not have been difficult to come to an arrangement with the Holy See for their removal, for the Papal nuncios

[1] Beccatini, II., 181 *seq.*

[2] " *La corte di Napoli non ha sistema fisso, ora ricorre a Roma e ora fa da sè ; quella di Toscana ha passo lento, ma fermo e ben fondata va costantemente al suo fine. Venezia, contenta del vanto d'aver una delle prime rotto il ghiaccio, si è addormentata a mezza strada e sta unicamente ora alla vedetta e nella più attenta osservazione per poi chiedere a Roma o regolarsi sull' altrui esempio." Brunati to Colloredo, October 30, 1784, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] Wolf, II., 402, III., 510 *seq.*

were working towards this end,[1] and Pius VI. was far from rejecting such an idea off-hand, as he had already subscribed to an agreement about benefices in 1775.[2] When Leopold introduced the first of the ecclesiastical innovations that encroached on his rights [3] the Pope couched his admonitions in the form of affectionate requests,[4] but the Grand Duke completely ignored them. His adviser Bertolini reminded him that he had obtained a considerable proportion of his sovereign rights in the ecclesiastical sphere by acting on his own authority and he urged him to use the same procedure in capturing the rest. Negotiations for a concordat, he alleged, stood no chance of success and endangered what had already been won.[5] Consequently, Leopold confined himself to governmental measures, and laws were made which showed the influence of all the anti-clerical movements of Jansenism, Gallicanism, and the philosophy of "enlightenment".[6] From the early eighties onwards the rights of the Holy See were infringed by one measure after another. In 1782 the payment to Rome of all the dues for spoils, vacancies, *quindennia*, etc.,

[1] GENDRY, I., 455. Pius VI. appointed Carlo Crivelli nuncio to Florence (*v.* the *Brief to Leopold I. of December 7, 1775, *Epist.*, 175, *loc. cit.*).

[2] REUMONT, *Toskana*, II., 158.

[3] ZOBI, *Storia civile*, II., 222 *seqq.*

[4] *Brief to the Grand Duke Leopold of February 22, 1778 (*Epist.*, 177, *loc. cit.*, with the note: "Hoc breve subscripsit Phil. Bonamicius aegrotante B. Stay"), with urgent requests "in view of our friendship and our being neighbours" to refrain from making laws directed against the freedom of the Church, and with the hope of hearing, "in view of your indulgence and piety," of commendable resolutions. "Meminisceris, fili, Austriacae pietatis esse, imperium non tam armis quam religione tueri." ZOBI (II., 224) admits his ignorance of the contents of the Brief but does not scruple to condemn it.

[5] ZOBI, II., 230 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 159.

[6] BROSCH's opinion (II., 170). SCADUTO (*Stato e Chiesa sotto Leopoldo I di Toscana*, Firenze, 1885) has nothing but praise for the Leopoldine legislation.

that had been the custom hitherto, was refused, and the abolition of the Tuscan Inquisition was decreed, to quote the words of the edict, "out of the fullness of Our supreme and absolute authority." In 1784 the jurisdiction of the Bishops was restricted and the appointment of the Vicars General was made dependent on the approval of the Government.[1] Measures for the reform of the secular clergy had already been taken to a considerable extent. It is not denied that it was genuinely intended to remove the undoubted abuses, but the method adopted was absurd. Not only did the Government deal with these matters in the same stereotyped fashion as it dealt with economic and administrative reforms but it arrogated to itself rights which did not belong to it, and to such an extent that the ecclesiastical authority was left with nothing but its name.[2]

Leopold's policy of severing the Tuscan Church from the centre of unity is most clearly demonstrated by the harsh measures he took against the Orders, which he rightly perceived to be firm supports of the Holy See. In 1783 the suppression of the monasteries was assuming such proportions as to presage the total abolition of the religious Orders in Tuscany. This was borne out by the remark made by the man who next to Bertolini had become the Grand Duke's chief adviser, Scipione de' Ricci. On being asked by the Government in 1784 which of the monasteries in his diocese were superfluous, he replied that he could not call them superfluous and unprofitable as he considered them to be downright pernicious.[3]

Ricci, born in Florence in 1741, although a nephew of the Jesuit General, had already conceived a dislike of the Jesuits in his student days. In Rome, where he attended for a time the Roman College, he had once thought of entering the Society but he soon abandoned the idea. The germs of very different notions were planted in his mind by his association with the erudite Bottari, Antonio Niccolini, notorious for his

[1] Reumont, II., 159 *seqq.*; Zobi, II., 305 *seqq.*, 320 *seqq.*

[2] Reumont, II., 172 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 165 *seqq.*

biting sarcasm, Foggini, the curator of the Corsini Library, and Cardinal Andrea Corsini, all well known as friends of the Jansenists.[1] Having returned to his native city he was a wholehearted supporter of the movement which regarded the Jansenists and appellants as enlightened Catholics and innocent victims of persecution.[2] Only a year after he had taken the sacerdotal vows he was expounding in a letter the Jansenist doctrine of grace.[3] In 1773 he was recommending Van Espen's Jansenist-cum-Gallican views to the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Florence.[4] From 1775 onwards he was ardently engaged in correspondence with French Jansenists, Canon Bellegarde in particular,[5] who had taken refuge with the schismatics of Utrecht. Soon it became his ambition to reform the Church in his homeland on Jansenist-Gallican lines. He applauded the first of the innovations introduced by Grand Duke Leopold in 1769 and on his appointment as Vicar General in 1775 he persuaded the senile Archbishop of Florence, Incontri, to sanction a catechism which surreptitiously expounded the Jansenistic heresy. For the discontent this aroused among the loyally-minded Catholics the Vicar General consoled himself with the Grand Duke's approval of his conduct. Leopold was already thinking in 1778 of procuring for so useful a person the archbishopric of Pisa.[6] This project came to nothing, but in the spring of 1780 Ricci was proposed by the Government for the see of Pistoia and after some hesitation his nomination was approved by

[1] N. Rodolico, *Gli amici e i tempi di Scipione dei Ricci. Saggio sul Giansenismo italiano*, Firenze, 1920, 3 *seqq. Cf. Difesa contro la falsa dottrina che si contiene nella Vita di Scip. d. Ricci data in luce dal sig. de Potter, opera del sacerdote Bartol. Guidetti*, Lucca, 1826.

[2] Rodolico, 47 ; Venturi, *Leopoldo I.*, 85.

[3] The *letter, dated October 19, 1767, and addressed to Canon Ricasoli, is in the Ricasoli Archives at Brolio, in Chianti, Tuscany ; it is quoted by Rodolico (201, nn. 1 and 37).

[4] The letter to Baldovinetti is in Rodolico, 41.

[5] Venturi, *loc. cit.*, 58.

[6] Ricci, *Memorie*, ed. A. Gelli, I., Firenze, 1865, xvii.

Pius VI.[1] Cardinal Corsini had managed to allay the Pope's misgivings.[2]

In the diocese of Pistoia and Prato Bishop Federigo Alamanni (d. 1776) had already caused confusion with his campaign against the so-called Jesuit morality, and his successor, the aged Giuseppe Ippoliti, had been ensnared by the Jansenistic literature.[3] Ricci went far beyond his predecessors on the fatal road that they had taken. In the very first year of his episcopate he appeared among the opponents of the veneration of the Sacred Heart, which was cultivated by the Jesuits in particular. Heedless of the approval and encouragement given by Clement XIII. as well as by Pius VI. to this devotion, which had proved so beneficial and was theologically established,[4] Ricci issued a pastoral letter against it on June 3rd, 1781. In this he emphasized that the true religion was far removed from all " fetishism " and " Sadduceeism " and described the devotion as " cardiolatry ".[5]

One can well understand the Pope's astonishment at this behaviour, seeing that the Holy See had forestalled any misunderstanding by issuing an explanation of the devotion.[6] This incident was followed by another that threatened to bring Ricci into conflict with the Holy See.

Seduced by the heresy of quietism, some of the Dominican nuns of Prato had been guilty of serious immorality. For the purpose of their correction Ricci applied not to the Holy See but to the civil authority. At the same time he had all the Dominicans forbidden to communicate with the female

[1] Zobi, II., 279 ; G. A. Venturi, *Il vescovo de' Ricci e la Corte Romana fino alla sinodo di Pistoia*, Firenze, 1885, 7.

[2] Zobi, II., 278 ; Rodolico, 11 *seq.*

[3] Reumont, II., 173.

[4] *Cf.* our account, XXXVII, 404 *seqq.*

[5] The pastoral letter, printed as an appendix to the *Atti e decreti del concilio dioc. di Pistoia*, Paris, 1788, was republished in the *Riv. Cristiana*, 1875 (Florence), 332 *seqq.*

[6] Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 109.

religious of their Order and the Provincial threatened with expulsion in the event of non-compliance.[1]

Pius VI., to whom Ricci had rendered a report, sternly rebuked the Bishop in a Brief of May 30th, 1781, for having excluded the Holy See from his proceedings against the nuns and he demanded that the culprits be committed for trial by the Inquisition.[2] But when the Grand Duke made an energetic intervention the Pope allowed the case to be dealt with by the Tuscan courts and deprived the priests of the Order of any influence over the nunneries, which were placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop. In a special Brief for Ricci he acknowledged his good intention and merely repeated his desire that so scandalous a matter should not be made known outside the convent walls. At the same time he emphasized that it had never been his intention to interfere in the proper exercise of episcopal jurisdiction.[3] With this the matter seems to have closed [4] but the great leniency shown by Pius VI.[5] met with no response. On the contrary, Ricci seems to have actually sought for opportunities of coming into conflict with the Holy See.

Remarkable zeal was shown by the Bishop in depriving the Orders of facilities for performing their chief duties, namely teaching and preaching. In an official letter to the Government he described the religious as a pernicious and poisonous sect that rebelled against every just and Christian interference.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*; Zobi, II., Docum. 118 *seqq.* Records of legal proceedings in De Potter, *Vie de Ricci*, I., Bruxelles, 1825, 339. The most recent accounts in Reumont, II., 173 *seqq.*, and Beani, 73 *seqq.* *Cf.* also Corsi, 69 *seqq.* (opposing Potter), 114 *seqq.*

[2] Briefs of May 30, 1781, in Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 106 *seqq.*

[3] Zobi, II., 295. The second Brief to Ricci, dated 1781, Quarto Cal. Sept., in Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 129 *seqq.* For the Grand Duke's intervention, *v.* Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 67 *seqq.*

[4] Grimaldi's *report of September 6, 1781 (Archives of Simancas), to which was attached a letter from Pius VI. to Cardinal Corsini, of August 10, 1781.

[5] Reumont, II., 175.

[6] *Ibid.*, 175 *seq.*

Ricci's campaign against the Orders, whose connexion with the Holy See [1] was a thorn in his side, was accompanied by his propagation of Jansenistic views by means of popular writings [2] and the inculcation of these views into the younger members of the clergy.[3] Working in close conjunction with his friend Bellegarde, he used every means of flooding his diocese with "good", namely Jansenistic, literature. The number of these writings went into thousands, their value being estimated at 10,000 *scudi*.[4]

Prominent among these works were those of Quesnel. That his *Refléxions*, the Jansenist *Summa*, had been expressly condemned in the Bull *Unigenitus* was not of the least concern to Ricci. He praised the work for its profundity and edification and had it reprinted in Pistoia along with a crypto-Jansenist catechism. He ordered the doctrine of grace to be taught on Jansenistic principles in his seminary [5] and he founded a periodical called the *Annali ecclesiastici* which was run on same lines as the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* of Paris. By means of this and other periodicals he made propaganda for all opponents of the Holy See. The same object was served by a series of popular religious pamphlets started in 1785. The spirit in which this literature, intended for every class of reader, was produced may be gathered from the inclusion of a scurrilous work by Eybel, the canonist at the Court of Vienna, entitled "What is the Pope?". Ricci also put into circulation pictures of prominent Jansenists under the innocent title of "Portraits of Famous Men".[6]

How far the Bishop of Pistoia had gone astray is shown by

[1] VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 86 n. In 1782 a friend of Ricci's went so far as to say that the "frati" had done nothing but harm to the Church and to Christianity and that these janissaries of the Pope had ruined everything with their ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism (RODOLICO, 133).

[2] RODOLICO, 44 *seq.*

[3] BEANI, 79, 138 *seq.*

[4] RODOLICO, 56 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 67, 80, 83 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 87, 89, 92 *seqq.*, 97 *seqq.*, 107.

contemporary letters even more clearly than by his subsequent memoirs. Writing to the Grand Duke Leopold on January 13th, 1783, he complained of the attacks of the Romanists, in the face of which he would not have felt secure were he not in possession of the truth. The Bull *Unigenitus* was the masterpiece of Rome—that Babylon!—that was trying to destroy the essential features of their religion: God's dominion over the hearts of men and the dutiful obedience of the subject. In another letter, of July 18th, he exhorted the Grand Duke to suppress this Bull, for this was the propitious time, when a religious and enlightened prince was on the throne.[1]

The appellation "Babylon" as applied to the Holy See occurs in other letters of Ricci's, such as that written to the Neapolitan Serrao, whose activity as Bishop of Potenza was encountering obstacles in Rome despite the exertions of the Government on his behalf. "Take courage, dearest friend!" he exhorted him, "we are exposed to a furious persecution by the first of our brothers (the Pope). Surrounded by irreligious 'religious', he neglects no opportunity of fanning the flames of schism against the lawful shepherds. May God stir up great-hearted champions from among our princes who will stand by our Bishops!" In another letter of Ricci's to Serrao the religious were held to be more dangerous than heretics and he hoped that God would destroy all such antichrists. In Ricci's opinion Serrao did not go far enough; he especially regretted that his Neapolitan friend was not acquainted with all of Quesnel's works. Quesnel's case was not unlike that of St. Athanasius; to depart from him was to betray the sacred principles which had been damned in the Bull *Unigenitus*.[2]

Leopold's ecclesiastico-political innovations met with Ricci's full approval. Some of them, such as the dissolution in 1783, in spite of their popularity, of the lay societies and

[1] VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 79 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 80 n., "Athanasius" is probably a mistake for "Augustine".

confraternities in Pistoia, were carried out at his instigation. Two years later this measure was extended by the Government to the whole of Tuscany. It is true that some of these associations seemed no longer to be serving any useful purpose and that others were in need of reform, but all were dissolved in spite of the fact that many were still discharging their religious and charitable functions as fully as ever and were in great favour with the people. In Florence only nine, including the famous *Misericordia*, were saved by the Archbishop, Martini. The lay societies were replaced by welfare associations devoid of any religious character ; they were expressly forbidden to have their own chapels. All the altars in the oratories of the dissolved confraternities were destroyed by order of the Government. It was forbidden to celebrate divine service in private chapels or to pay honour to the numerous street-shrines of the Madonna and the saints, where the people used to sing their lovely evening-hymns (*laudi*). When they tried to keep up their old custom of seeking consolation at these shrines in times of distress the police came to disperse them. The police also forced their way into the churches and interferred with the relics and the images of the Madonna and the saints that had been venerated for ages.[1] Both this ordinance [2] and the suppression of the religious houses deeply embittered the people ; already by the beginning of 1783 there was an actual insurrection when the convent at Fojano was suppressed.[3]

Such disturbances as these did not deter Ricci in the least. On the contrary, he showed the pride he took in these innovations by having his villa at Igno, which was restored in 1783, decorated with paintings which were rightly described by Consalvi as " scandalous ". They were a glorification of the suppression of the Inquisition and the Dominican convents.

[1] Zobi, II., 390 *seqq.* ; Reumont, II., 170 *seqq.* For the confraternities, *cf.* our account, vol. V, 35 *seqq.*

[2] Arneth, *Joseph II. und Leopold I.*, 188.

[3] Brunati's *report to Colloredo, of February 5, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna).

In the main room were portraits of Quesnel, Arnauld, and other Jansenists, along with Joseph II., who was depicted in the act of tearing into pieces a painting of the Sacred Heart! There were also other pictures attacking the devotion to the Sacred Heart and one disparaging Pius VI.[1]

It was evident that the Grand Duke, advised by Ricci, was determined to complete the ecclesiastical revolution in Tuscany that had been begun. There thus arose the plan of abolishing the rights—or "usurpations", as they were called—of the Holy See and of inducing the other Bishops to sanction the ecclesiastical innovations.[2] Although in 1786 most of the Tuscan Bishops had clearly signified their adherence to the Holy See and to their oaths of loyalty, Leopold I. still hoped to persuade them that complete independence of Rome was worth striving for and was in conformity with the true ecclesiastical constitution. If he succeeded, schism would be attained and the Church in Tuscany could be transformed in doctrine and worship also into a Jansenist State Church, which could be presented to the faithful Catholics as having been approved by their Bishops.[3] The danger that was threatening in Tuscany was fully appreciated in Rome but every effort was made to avoid an open conflict with the Grand Duke. For the time, only Ricci's innovations were opposed in the Papally-sponsored *Giornale ecclesiastico*.[4]

The Government, after addressing a circular letter, dated August 2nd, 1785, to all the Bishops of Tuscany, inviting them to hold diocesan synods,[5] sent them on January 26th, 1786, a plan for reform, consisting of fifty-seven articles, and

[1] Beani, 85, 135 *seq.*

[2] As opposed to Zobi (II., 396 *seq.*), Venturi (*Leopoldo*, 241 *seq.*) shows that the plan originated with the Grand Duke. Ricci was deeply involved in it but was not, as Gendry thinks (I., 462), the actual instigator. In 1786 Leopold recommended the project to his brother Joseph II. (*v. Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 451 *seqq.*).

[3] That these were the aims of the synod is admitted also by Scaduto (*Stato e Chiesa sotto Leopoldo I.*, p. 201).

[4] Brunati's *report to Colloredo, August 3, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Zobi, II., 398.

asked them for their opinions on it.[1] Along with much that was good and unexceptionable this programme included numerous proposals that were open to criticism, for example the arbitrary reform of the breviary and the missal, the administration of the sacraments in the vernacular, the removal of all images and votive tablets from the churches, which in rural parishes were to have only one altar, the restriction of processions, the prohibition of all panegyrics of the saints, the pettifogging regulation of the number of candles to be used for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and the like. Far more serious was the proposal that every cleric should be obliged to propound the teaching of St. Augustine. That by this was meant the Jansenist doctrine of grace is quite clear from the additional proposal that the parish priests should be supplied with such books as Quesnel's *Refléxions morales* and the *Morale* of the Jansenist Tamburini. Not only heretical but also schismatical tendencies were pursued in this programme for reform. It was stated in the introduction that as it was of supreme importance for the episcopate to recover its rights as against the usurpations of Rome, the Bishops were to consider which of the dispensations at present reserved by the Roman Curia were to be deemed to have been wrested from the lawful episcopal jurisdiction and were to be restored to it.

The replies of the Tuscan Bishops [2] turned out to be very different from what Leopold I. had expected. Ricci, who already on his own authority had put into practice in his diocese much of what had been proposed,[3] naturally agreed with everything most heartily. In fact, he wanted even more, such as the prohibition of the feast of the Sacred Heart, which stank of the Nestorian heresy, and the closing of all conventual

[1] *Ibid.*, Docum. 141 *seqq.*

[2] "Punti ecclesiastici compilati e trasmessi da S. Altezza Reale a tutti gli arcivescovi e vescovi della Toscana e loro rispettive risposte" (*v.* the first volume of the *Atti e Decreti del concilio dioc. di Pistoja*, 46 *seqq.*, German translation in Wolf, V., 47 *seqq.*). The *originals in the State Archives, Florence. Zobi, II., 400, n. 6.

[3] Zobi, II., 401.

churches on feast days—a measure which he had already effected at Pistoia and Prato. At the beginning of 1786 some religious houses in Prato were closed, and in July, on Ricci's orders, a number of altars in the cathedrals of Pistoia and Prato were taken down.[1] The only Bishops to associate themselves with Ricci were those of Colle and Chiusi-Pienza, who on some points went even further in their demands than the Grand Duke. All the other Bishops of Tuscany rejected a plan which clearly had been conceived almost entirely in the school of the Jansenists.[2]

Archbishop Martini of Florence, the first to hand in his opinion to the Grand Duke, observed that a diocesan synod might not arrogate to itself the right to make alterations in the missal; when some French Bishops had altered the breviary there had been disturbances in the churches. The holding of services in the vernacular he rejected absolutely, not only because it was a departure from the consistent and universal usage of the Western Church but also because in translation from a dead to a living language the meaning of the original words might easily suffer a change. Moreover every living language was subject to arbitrary changes, not to speak of the difficulties offered by the various dialects. Martini also objected to the removal of altars from village churches; it would cause a dangerous disturbance and would disfigure the churches. As for the number of candles to be used, the poor village-churches were not likely to use too many in any case, and it would be absurd to limit in niggardly fashion the number of candles to be lit on the altars of a fine city like Florence. Equally sound objections were brought against many other proposals and lastly the Archbishop expressed his strong disapproval of the action taken against the religious houses which, it was clear, were to be done away with one by one.

The opinion submitted by Bishop Mancini of Fiesole was

[1] Gendry, I., 459, 461.

[2] This is Wolf's opinion (V., 45 *seq.*). On the question of the Bishops of Colle and Chiusi-Pienza holding similar views to Ricci's, *cf.* Gendry, I., 459 *seqq.*

remarkable for its clearly enunciated principles. One must be careful, he wrote, to distinguish between the abuse of a thing and the thing itself; whatever was observed by the whole Church could not be an abuse. In his defence of the rights of the Holy See the Bishop observed prophetically that those writers who contested the authority of the Pope also aimed at destroying that of the princes. While fully acknowledging the excellence of the teaching of St. Augustine Mancini pointed out that in the writings of this Church Father there were a number of passages which were either his purely private opinions or the ephemeral notions of his time. As the Church had never made any pronouncement as to the true significance of these sayings, it was wrong to present them as dogmas. Besides, Augustine had written so much on the most diverse subjects that even the heretics had cited him as an authority. If therefore young priests were to be made acquainted with Augustine's writings without a careful selection being made, it was to be feared that the same scandals and cleavages would come about as were even now rending part of the French Church. Many other proposals, too, were declared by Mancini to be unwise, unnecessary, or superfluous.

The same line was taken by Archbishops Angelo Franceschi of Pisa and Tiberio Borghesi of Siena. The latter recalled the attempt to reform the Church that had been made in the sixteenth century, resulting only in schism and heresies. He remarked with justifiable acerbity that how a Bishop could even contemplate the alteration of the breviary or missal was beyond his comprehension, as this right had been expressly reserved to the Pope by the Council of Trent. The list of books which the Government proposed to distribute among the parochial clergy also underwent his stringent criticism. Most of them, he said, had been forbidden by the Pope or the Roman Congregations, so that no Bishop could recommend them without being a traitor to the truth or his own conscience. This applied, above all, to Quesnel's *Réflexions*, which had been condemned by the Pope, after long deliberation, in several decrees and constitutions, especially, with the agreement of the whole Church, in the Bull *Unigenitus*. The

introduction into Tuscany of Quesnel's work would produce the same disorder as had come about in France.

The Bishops of Soana and Cortona expressed themselves more timorously, and harsh words were avoided also by the Bishops of Arezzo, Pescia, and Volterra, though they, too, betrayed their strong misgivings. A similar attitude was taken by the Bishops of San Sepolcro and San Miniato. The replies of the Bishops of Grosseto and Massa showed great decisiveness and criticism; by them the monarchic character of the Church's constitution was displayed in bold relief. This was also done by Bishop Pecci of Montalcino, who pointed out that most of the books proposed as suitable for reading by the parochial clergy ought not to be recommended, as they had been rejected by the whole Church. This was especially true, he held, of Quesnel's *Réflexions*. The real aims pursued by Leopold and Ricci were fearlessly exposed by this Bishop, and his opinion contained some pointed observations. He alluded, for instance, to the trick of referring only to the Roman Curia instead of to the Holy See. In a letter to the Grand Duke which he sent him in advance of his considered opinion, Pecci said quite fearlessly and frankly that His Royal Highness, overburdened with other business, had unfortunately been caught in the toils of those who were working for a rupture with Mother Church, the Holy Roman See, the representative of Christ. Though Ricci was not mentioned by name, so searching a light was thrown on his activities that it was obvious that Pecci regarded him as the chief instigator of the attacks on the authority of the Holy See. The danger, he said, was great and was more and more threatening every day, for heresies which had been condemned by the Church were being defended in print with unbelievable insolence in Tuscany and were being pressed on the faithful in the guise of truths. Writers condemned by the Church as disseminators of heresy were extolled as pious men and their works were presented as sound doctrine. It was sought to bring the Holy See into contempt by describing it as the usurper of the sacred rights of the Bishops and princes. The language used thereby was frequently spiteful and malicious, and the facts were so

falsified as easily to mislead the simple-minded. This was the object of the popular religious brochures that were being distributed all over Tuscany, and of the new Jansenistic catechism. Ricci's journalistic creation, the *Annali ecclesiastici*, was taken to task by Pecci with particular severity. " I must declare that these annals are an outrage to Catholic thought and a scandal to the whole Church. Every decent person must be seriously disturbed when he sees distributed with impunity in a Catholic country a periodical in which piety, the Catholic truth, and God's religion are openly mocked and heretical religion and doctrine are extolled. On the pretext of reforming the Church and under the cloak of a sound doctrine and strict morality, on which every heretical sect, in its wild fanaticism, has always prided itself, every divine and human right, however sacred, is being trampled underfoot and the Church of Christ is being outraged. Your Royal Highness ! The Catholic religion, the Church of Christ, suppressed and humiliated in Tuscany in the most dangerous manner, lies a suppliant at the foot of the throne of one of her beloved sons and implores the protection of Your Royal Highness, lest she be utterly prostrated under the blows of her enemies."

Pecci's eloquent appeal had no effect. Although there was not the slightest doubt that the grand ducal plan of reform was firmly opposed by the majority of the Tuscan Bishops, it was not abandoned.[1] Encouraged and supported by the Grand Duke, Ricci issued a pastoral letter on July 31st, 1786, summoning a diocesan synod for September 18th. His statement in the letter that he was issuing the summons in compliance with a request made of him by the Pope two years previously could have deceived no one, for from his episcopal title at the head of the letter he had omitted the universally adopted phrase, " by the grace of the Apostolic See ".[2]

[1] Even Zobi (II., 402) remarks that this would have been the wisest course.

[2] Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 490 ; Zobi, II., 404 ; Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 247. The original printed text of the pastoral letter in Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 6, of the Vatican Library.

The opening of the synod, which was awaited in Rome with the utmost anxiety,[1] took place on the appointed day, under Ricci's presidency, in the church of S. Leopoldo.[2] There were 234 participants, of whom 171 were parish priests and thirteen were religious.[3] Among those who took part in the deliberations were some who did not belong to the diocese of Pistoia or to Tuscany. These included three theologians from Pavia who were inclined towards Josephism. One of them, Tamburini, well known for his Jansenistic views, was appointed "Promotor" of the synod.[4] He, as Ricci remarked in his memoirs, was to be the leading spirit of this enterprise against "the old machine of Papal monarchy".[5]

The opening speech showed quite clearly what was afoot, and the resolutions passed at the third session, on grace, predestination, and moral principles, removed all doubts, for they were framed entirely in the spirit of the Jansenists. The Gallican articles of 1682 were also adopted at this session. The same spirit prevailed during the rest of the proceedings. All the innovations in the grand ducal plan of reform were approved, and on many points the synod went even further in this direction. To ensure uniformity in religious instruction Gourlin's *General Catechism*, which had been banned by the Apostolic See, and the Jansenist Montazet's *Little Catechism* were prescribed, and the clergy were recommended to read Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*. As for the religious Orders, the synod proposed that in future only one monastic Order should be allowed in the Church and this could be made to conform to the Rule of St. Benedict modified in accordance with the spirit of the times. No town was to have more than one

[1] Brunati's *reports to Colloredo, August 30 and September 9, 1786 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] An engraving of the session, by C. Lasinio, is in Cod. Vat. 8467 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Zobi, II., 405.

[4] Beani, 95; B. Ricci, *Il maggior teologo giansenista d'Italia P. Tamburini*, in the *Scuola catt.*, 1921, 226 *seqq.*; Jemolo, 268 *seqq.*

[5] Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 490 *seq.*

religious house, which was always to be in the loneliest and remotest situation. Perpetual vows were no longer to be demanded or accepted. All these proposals were to be confirmed by a national council.[1]

A supporter of these reforming aims remarks that the almost unanimous passing of such resolutions by a gathering of over two hundred Catholic priests and the making of such proposals for the further improvement of the Church are among the most amazing things that have ever happened.[2] The miracle, however, is easily explained: the Grand Duke in his villa at Castello took good care that all dissentients were kept away from the synod. Further, police measures were taken to prevent any kind of disturbance. Leopold had the course of the proceedings reported to him daily, and on their conclusion he congratulated Ricci on the result and invited him and Tamburini to dine at his table.[3] A letter of his to Ricci shows how firmly he believed that the desired goal had now been reached. At the national synod their opponents would confess the error of their ways and would agree to the measures to be taken against Rome, especially if the meeting was held in Florence, where it would be under his supervision. He also hoped that the holding of a national synod would prevent the holding of diocesan ones where the feeling would be hostile to his plans.[4]

The actual situation was appraised by Ricci with far more acumen than by his master. The enlightened priests, he explained to him in a memorandum, were still in a minority everywhere, and most of the Tuscan Bishops were by no means inclined to throw off the yoke of Rome. Unwilling though he was to reject the plan of a national assembly, he deemed it

[1] *Atti e Decreti del conc. dioc. di Pistoia*, 2 vols. *Cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X., 35 *seqq.* The proposal about the Orders is dismissed by Döllinger (*Kirchengeschichte*, II., 2, 843) as quite absurd.

[2] Wolf, V., 258.

[3] Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 493 *seqq.*: Reumont, II., 179; Venturi, *Leopoldo*, I., 247 *seq.*

[4] Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 501.

necessary first to have diocesan synods held by the Bishops who were in favour of reform. Similar assemblies that might he held by Bishops who had other views should be forcibly prevented by the Government. Meanwhile, the whole country was to be flooded with " good ", namely anti-Roman, literature, such as the *Synodus Florentina*, in which Sixtus IV. was described as the Vicar of the Devil, and the proceedings of the Synod of Pistoia were to be promulgated by means of printed copies. Besides preparing public opinion in this manner, Ricci devised other means of ensuring the success of the national synod. Florence did not seem to him to be the right place for it, if only because the Papal nuncio was there to ruin everything.[1] Meanwhile, Ricci went on with his innovations, the suppression of religious houses, the demolition of altars, and the distribution of translations of French books that had been put on the Index.[2]

In spite of the misgivings voiced by Senator Gianni about the advisability of holding a national council, Leopold could not bring himself to abandon the idea. He paid heed to the warnings only to the extent of calling a preparatory meeting of the Tuscan episcopate in March 1787.[3] This was attended by three Archbishops and fourteen Bishops, all accompanied by their consultors. The meeting opened on April 23rd, 1787, in the Palazzo Pitti. The deliberations showed unmistakably that the Grand Duke had been courting disappointment. Except for the Bishops of Pistoia, Colle, and Chiusi, all the prelates rejected the Jansenist and Gallican innovations of the Synod of Pistoia. A deep impression was created by the firm stand taken against them by the prominent canonist and teacher of constitutional law, Giovan Maria Lampredi, a professor at Pisa and consultor to the Archbishop there.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 502–512 ; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 87, 250. For the Synodus Florentina, *cf.* our account, vol. IV., 319.

[2] Brunati's *report to Colloredo, February 14, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] ZOBI, II., 413, and Docum. 170 *seqq.*

[4] *Atti dell' Assemblea degli arcivescovi e vescovi tenuta in Firenze 1787*, 7 vols. Firenze, 1788. Vol. 7 of the *Atti*, the " Storia

During the deliberations an incident occurred that should have shown even the blindest of Ricci's adherents to what his reckless anticlerical policy was leading. It was an outburst of popular exasperation that had long been brewing.

In Pistoia the celebration of Mass in Italian had already provoked expressions of real Tuscan scorn, but it was Ricci's burning of doubtful relics and his demolishing of altars that really excited the fury of the people.[1] In the afternoon of May 18th, 1787, it was rumoured in Prato that Ricci was about to remove a relic that had been venerated for centuries: the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, preserved in the Cappella della Cintola, a chapel in the cathedral that had been richly decorated by artists of the early Renaissance. The rumour was not without foundation, for Ricci had been thinking of having the relic removed by the Grand Duke. The inhabitants of Prato had already had to witness the profanation of the church of S. Maria in Castello, where the town council used to assemble in the thirteenth century and from which a painting by Fra Bartolommeo had been taken and sold for a few *scudi*. A similar fate now seemed to be threatening the girdle of the Blessed Virgin; to prevent the profanation and to protect the altar from being taken down a large crowd poured into the cathedral. On Sunday, May 20th, they were reinforced by the peasants of the neighbourhood, who came bearing weapons. At eleven o'clock that evening the alarm-bell was rung and the riot began. Ricci's episcopal throne and his armorial bearings were smashed to pieces, his palace was wrecked, and the missals, breviaries, and prayers that he had composed were burned. The Grand Duke had the rising suppressed by the military, the participants severely punished, and a search made for the ringleaders.[2] The latter, it was suspected,

dell' Assemblea de' vescovi della Toscana" was written by the Jansenist R. Tanzini, who, however, retracted under Pius VII. (*v. Civ. catt.*, 1858, Nos. 193 and 207). ZOBI, II., 416 *seqq.*, 429; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 251.

[1] CORSI, 108, 150 *seqq.*; ZONI, II., 409 *seqq.*; FR. HIRSCH in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 458.

[2] For the "Madonna riots" see BECCATINI, II., 207; TAVANTI,

would be found in the Franciscan and the Capuchin convents, and although there was not the slightest evidence for this, both convents were suppressed. In letters to his brother, Leopold maintained that the rising had been instigated by the Pope and his Court, but again no evidence of this was ever furnished.[1]

In spite of the extreme annoyance caused him by this incident, Ricci showed considerable prudence in advocating lenient measures to be taken against the agitators. But the hope he had of imposing his ideas on the episcopal assembly was utterly frustrated. On taking the part of the Bishop of Chiusi, who had been sharply rebuked by Pius VI. on account of his innovations,[2] he found that he was almost alone in his attitude. Only two Bishops supported him, whereas fourteen opposed him.[3]

It was at this juncture at last that Leopold realized that the hopes he had placed in a national council were futile. He had the episcopal assembly, which had sat again on June 5th, dissolved and for his own justification he had all the relevant records printed. But from now on, in spite of all the former talk of the necessity of the council, there was no mention of a national synod.[4] Without the Pope having to speak a word the Tuscan episcopate had frustrated the

II., 11 *seqq.*; Zobi, II., 417 *seqq.*; Reumont, II., 183 *seqq.*; Guasti, *G. Silvestri*, 28; Corsi, *Fogli volanti*, Venezia, 1888, 150 *seqq.*; Gendry, I., 471 *seq.*; Beani, 99 *seqq.*, 101, 145.

[1] This is also admitted by Brosch (II., 171). Leopold's assertions in Wolf, *Leopold II. und Maria Christine*, 25 *seq.*

[2] The Briefs to the Bishop of Chiusi in the *Atti dell' Assemblea*, II., 74 *seqq.*, 80 *seqq.* In Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 301, is a *letter from Bishop L. Bonamici of Volterra to the Grand Duke, dated May 23, 1787, protesting against the accusation of having assisted in the disturbances.

[3] Zobi, II., 424 *seqq.*, 427.

[4] *Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 300, *loc. cit.*; Reumont, II., 185; Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 252. Scaduto in his *Stato e Chiesa* (201) says that the episcopal assembly was the worst blunder made by Leopold I. in his dealings with the Church.

attempt to set the country in confusion by means of heresy and schism.

Ricci's relations with Leopold I. were no longer so harmonious as before but his reputation was still sufficiently great for his ruler to commission him in November, 1787, with the drafting of a law for a new ecclesiastical constitution in Tuscany,[1] whereby in ecclesiastical affairs the Grand Ducal Government was to take the place of the Pope.[2] It was not till October 2nd, 1788, that the Grand Duke consented to ratify the Pistoian resolutions, and even then he made the reservation that he was not approving the doctrine they expressed but was merely permitting the execution of the disciplinary regulations. This measure, which came far too late for Ricci, could only strengthen the Pope in his determination to take action against so open a challenge.[3] Preparatory steps were taken by Rome in the autumn of 1787 in the form of prohibiting the *Gazzetta* and the *Annali di Firenze*.[4] This coincided with a quarrel with the Grand Duke about the occupation of the bishopric of Pontremoli.[5] In the following autumn the tension was increased [6] by the Grand Duke's abolition of the jurisdiction of the nunciature in Florence and his transference to the episcopal curias of the right to decide cases which had hitherto been reserved to the nunciature. Henceforward, the nuncio was to be nothing more than a diplomat. Pius VI., who had borne the former measures in silence, now had energetic protests made in Florence through his Secretary of State, Boncompagni. The Tuscan Government was in a quandary as to what reply to make. One was drawn up but was never dispatched. The nuncio Ruffo also protested,

[1] Reprinted in Ricci, *Memorie*, II., 310 *seqq*.

[2] Corsi, 99 *seqq*.

[3] Reumont, II., 180.

[4] Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 258, n. 2. Brunati's *report to Colloredo, November 3, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

[5] Pius VI. opposed the nomination of the Grand Duke's man, Mgr. Bernardini (*v.* Brunati's *report of November 24, 1787, *ibid.*).

[6] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 287.

without effect, against the Government's confiscation of the records of the tribunal attached to the Florentine nunciature.[1] Pius VI. forbade the Dataria to issue dispensations that had not been legalized by the nuncio, whereupon Leopold ordered the Bishops to grant dispensations without referring to Rome.[2] The situation was further worsened by the fact that the Pope's forbearance with Ricci was now coming to an end.

At the beginning of 1789, while Leopold I. was still extending his protection to Ricci and was banishing a priest who had written against him,[3] a Congregation of Cardinals was meeting to examine the resolutions of Pistoia. Ricci immediately besought the Grand Duke not to relax his "habitual and edifying firmness" and to lodge protests against the interference of a foreign and incompetent Court.[4] Leopold granted this request to the extent of demanding an explanation in a note of September 30th, 1789. Pius VI. replied that nothing would be done in a hurry and that the verdict of the Congregation would be communicated to the Grand Duke. At the same time the Pope justified the step he was taking by pointing out that as the Supreme Pastor of the Church and the principal guardian of the Faith he deemed it his duty to have a close examination made of the Pistoian resolutions.[5]

So radical a change came over the situation on the death of Joseph II. on February 20th, 1790, and Leopold's departure for Vienna shortly afterwards to take over the Government, that it was decided in Rome to withhold action against Ricci until conditions in Tuscany presented a more definite picture.

Before his departure Leopold set up a regency to which he imparted strict and precise instructions regarding the conduct of ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. No concession was to be made to Rome in jurisdictional matters, the exequatur was to be insisted on unconditionally for all Papal Briefs, the abolition of the nunciature tribunal was confirmed, and he spoke of the danger that went with property in mortmain.[6]

[1] Zobi, II., 449 *seqq.*
[2] Tavanti, II., 52.
[3] Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 259, *cf.* 262.
[4] *Ibid.*, 266.
[5] Zobi, III., Docum. 26–8.
[6] Reumont, II., 215.

On his way to Vienna he had a long talk with Ricci at S. Marcello, in the course of which he assured him once more of his protection and solemnly declared that no retrograde step would be taken in ecclesiastical matters.[1] But this was easier said than done. With his innovations Ricci had outraged the most sacred sentiments of the people. As soon as Leopold had left they gave full vent to their fury, firstly at Pistoia on April 24th, where it did not subside until Ricci had taken to flight, and then in the whole diocese. There were disturbances also in Leghorn and Florence; in the latter town the causes were not only ecclesiastical.[2]

Ricci was hoping to govern his diocese from without but this was made impossible by the dislike of him felt by most of the members of the regency.[3] Nor was the Emperor Leopold able to protect him as before. The times had changed completely; they now demanded imperiously greater consideration, not only for popular feeling but also for the Holy See. In May 1791 the new Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., when passing through Pistoia and other places, could see for himself how hostile the people still were towards Ricci, for he had to witness there popular demonstrations against the absent Bishop.[4] When the chapter of Pistoia and Prato also declared its opposition to him, Ricci had no choice but to tender his resignation to the Pope, which he did on June 3rd. Pius VI. accepted it calmly and wrote to the Grand Duke on June 13th that he hoped that Ricci's example would be followed by those who shared his views, namely the Bishops of Colle and Chiusi.[5]

In his letter of thanks to the Pope for accepting his resignation Ricci was impudent enough to assure him that "from his earliest years he had been filled with feelings of

[1] VENTURI, 268.

[2] ZOBI, II., 520 *seqq.*, 525 *seqq.*; TAVANTI, II., 84 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 216; BEANI, 103, 147 *seq.*; VENTURI, 271 *seq.*

[3] VENTURI, 269, 275; BEANI, 125 *seq.*; CORSI, 122 *seqq.*, 148.

[4] REUMONT, II., 251; BEANI, 193 *seqq.*

[5] BECCATINI, III., 78 *seqq.*; ZOBI, II., 25 *seqq.*, Docum. 1 *seqq.*

respect and devotion to the Holy See ".[1] But Rome was not to be put off by such empty words from proceeding with the investigation into Ricci's doctrines and innovations. There was no doubt about its resulting in a severe condemnation. An historian of notably moderate views writes that the resolutions of the Synod of Pistoia " contained a denial of the authority of the Holy See, revived the Jansenistic and Gallican controversies contrary to the decisions of the Church, set themselves in opposition to the Church's doctrines in regard to the teaching about indulgences, etc., aimed at the complete transformation of monastic life by the retention of one Order only and the abolition of binding vows, prescribed arbitrary innovations in respect of discipline, divine service, the veneration of relics, religious practices, and church equipment, recommended the distribution of written works that had long been condemned by the Church, and proclaimed the most doubtful principles in the sphere of canon law and in regard to the powers of the sovereign in ecclesiastical matters. By means of this synod Scipione de' Ricci threw down the gauntlet to the Church of Rome. The Church would have had no right to the name if it had failed to call the Bishop to account ".[2]

For this the way was clear when death had removed the Emperor Leopold, and the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., acceding to the request of the Archbishops of Florence, Pisa, and Siena, had made a beginning with the revocation of some of the worst innovations.[3] On April 9th, 1794, Pius VI.

[1] GELLI, *Appendice alle Memorie del Ricci*, II., 284 *seqq.*, and Docum. 361 *seqq.* ; BEANI, 105 *seq.*

[2] REUMONT, II., 179. *Cf.* also ZEISSBERG'S opinion in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XVIII., 325, and F. HIRSCH'S in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 453.

[3] ZOBI, III., 33 *seqq.* In a *Brief of October 19, 1792, Pius VI. had thanked the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. for having revoked many of the innovations, especially those that concerned the Orders, and for having prohibited harmful literature. He expressed his hope that this policy would be continued. *Epist.*, 189, Papal Secret Archives. This improvement in the Tuscan situation

informed the Grand Duke that as a result of a lengthy examination and deliberation with Bishops, theologians, and Cardinals a formal condemnation of the Pistoian resolutions as they appeared in print along with one of Ricci's pastoral letters was unavoidable. It was only out of consideration for the Grand Duke and Ricci's episcopal character that he was still withholding the verdict until he had ascertained if Ricci was willing to come and defend himself in Rome, where he would give him a kindly reception and hearing.[1]

Ricci excused himself on the score of ill health. The Grand Duke, in a letter of May 16th, 1794, argued that Ricci's successor, Francesco Falchi Picchinesi, had made away with the innovations and that from the very beginning of his reign the Bishops in the other parts of the Grand Duchy had received his support. As Falchi had indirectly condemned the proceedings of Pistoia in his pastoral letter of May 12th, 1792, it would suffice to ban them through the Index, whereas a formal condemnation would inflame old sores and might disturb the peace, whose preservation was more than ever desirable in such times of stress.[2]

Pius replied in a long letter of August 8th, 1794, that he had reconsidered the matter but could not share the Grand Duke's view. The duke himself had admitted, he wrote, that the whole trouble had arisen from the innovations which Ricci had introduced into his diocese and that they had only ceased with his resignation. A condemnation, therefore, would only confirm the peaceful conditions that had been restored; as the duke had said, Falchi's pastoral letter had been received with joy. Moreover, the Pistoian resolutions had appeared in Pavia in a Latin translation, they had been circulated in other countries, and the professors of Pavia were eagerly working for the triumph of the errors of Baius, Jansenius, and Quesnel,

rendered possible a settlement of the frontier disputes between the two States (Brief of February 9, 1793, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2580 *seq.*).

[1] Ricci, *Memorie*, ed. Gelli, II., Docum. 388 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 389 *seqq.*

so that the Pope had to make a definite pronouncement. In this respect Falchi's pastoral letter was lacking in clarity. The importance of the matter did not allow of a condemnation through the Index. It was the Pope's duty to proclaim the true doctrine; were he to keep silent now it would be said that after a long examination of the documents in the case nothing harmful had been found in them.[1]

And so, on August 28th, there appeared the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*,[2] the text of which had probably been composed by the learned Cardinal Gerdil.[3] In the preamble the complaint was made that the Pope had been visited with a fresh distress coming from a quarter where more than anywhere he expected to find support. Not in distant lands but in the heart of Italy, almost under his very eyes, Ricci, once Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, who at his consecration had promised on his solemn oath to be loyal and obedient to the Holy See, had allowed himself to be misled into introducing a number of dangerous innovations which, together with numerous errors, had been raised to the status of resolutions by the Synod of Pistoia. As Ricci, offering as excuse his delicate health, had declined to vindicate himself in Rome, the Pope would now have to fulfil his apostolic and pastoral duty, for it was not this or that diocese which was in danger; every innovation affected the whole Church. The judgment of the Holy See on this affair was not only awaited on all sides: it had been repeatedly and urgently requested. Eighty-five tenets were then cited from the records and decrees of the synod, each one being censured

[1] *Ibid.*, II., 391–8. Zobi, who is rightly accused by REUMONT (II., 605) of "tendentiousness", shows this propensity most markedly in his account of Ricci's condemnation. He dared not reproduce this letter of Pius VI.'s, as this would have been incompatible with his appointment as official historian. How right the Pope was in pointing to the harm that was being done in other countries by the effects of the Pistoian resolutions is shown by his reference to the French translation done by the constitutional Abbé Clément (*v.* RODOLICO, 157).

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2704–2726.

[3] GENDRY, I., 481.

separately to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The epithet "heretical" was applied to the tenet taken from the synodal decree on grace, that of late a general obscuration had spread over several important religious truths which formed the foundations of faith and morals, also to the assertions that the Pope derived his authority from the Church and not from Christ, and that in issuing ordinances about external discipline the Church was abusing its authority. Another assertion condemned as heretical was that the Church had no legislative or penal authority and could only demand obedience by dint of persuasion. In regard to a number of other tenets it was laid down that they were in agreement with or were closely related to assertions made by Baius and Quesnel that had already been condemned by the Church. The Bull declared to be false or equivocal the doctrines of the synod referring to the Holy Sacraments and divine services and the new regulations for ecclesiastical customs and prayers that conflicted with the consistent practice of the Church. The new proposals and ordinances for the religious Orders were also rightly condemned. Finally, the approval of the Gallican articles of 1682 and their surreptitious insertion into the decree on faith was found to be utterly wrong and the judgments on these articles given by Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. were confirmed.

The importance of the Bull, which the Spanish nuncio regarded as a remarkably clear and precise annihilation of the innovators,[1] was not lessened by the ban on it issued in Naples, Venice, Spain, and the German Empire as well as in Tuscany.[2] The attacks made on it by Bishop Solaro of Noli and the canonist Le Plat of Louvain were effectively countered by Cardinal Gerdil and the Dominican Filippo Anfossi.[3] Ricci

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Ricci, *Memorie*, ed. Gelli, II., App. 296.

[3] Gerdil, *Esame dei motivi dell' opposizione di Mgr. Vescovo di Noli*, in *Opere, XIV.*, and *Osservazione sopra la risposta data da Mgr. Vescovo di Noli, ibid.*, XV. *Cf.* Gendry, I., 482; Anfossi, O.S.D., *Risposta alle lettere del Sig. Le Plat*, Roma, 1805, 2 vols. *Cf.* Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Italia*, XIII., 520 *seq.* In 1797 Solaro wrote to the assembly of the constitutional Bishops in Paris that

persisted in his errors despite the strenuous efforts made by Martini, the Archbishop of Florence, to make him change his mind.[1] How far he was from doing this is shown by his correspondence with the constitutional clergy in France, Grégoire in particular. Ricci and his friends hoped that the Revolution would bring the Church back to the simplicity of its first centuries. For this reason they desired the decay of the temporal power of the Pope, for, as Ricci wrote in October 1796, the triumph of the faith was impossible so long as the successor of the poor fisherman Peter remained the successor of the greatness of the Cæsars. It was not till 1805 that the various attempts to induce Ricci to submit resulted in his signing a statement that he submitted to the judgment contained in the Bull of 1794. On sending it to Pius VII. Ricci wrote in typically Jansenistic fashion that he was sure that he had not held any opinions other than those defined in the Bull of Pius VI., and for the sake of the truth he felt himself obliged to declare that he had never believed or stated the propositions of the synod in the sense that had rightly been condemned by the Bull. He was ready at any time to withdraw any word or words which might have caused misunderstanding.[2] Unfortunately, Ricci's letters to Grégoire and others and, above all, his memoirs, show that this theologically uncertain and disingenuous man was even at this point still clinging to his Jansenistic *arrière-pensées*.[3]

Of consistently strict morality so far as he himself was concerned but a proud and unruly spirit, like Savonarola, Ricci was deserving of the judgment passed by Cardinal Newman on the fiery Dominican: "He presumed; he

the Pope "contra fas moremque maiorum Pistojensis concilii acta et decreta damnavit", etc. (*ibid.*, 521). Even in 1810 he was suppressing the Mass and breviary of Gregory VII. (*ibid.*, 522).

[1] Reumont, II., 253.

[2] Rodolico, 129 *seqq.*, 135 *seqq.*, 139 *seqq.*, 141 *seq.* *Cf. Studi dedic. a P.C. Falletti*, Bologna, 1915, 198 *seqq.* The letters to Grégoire in De Potter, III., 119 *seqq.*

[3] Reumont, II., 254 *seq.*; De Potter, III., 33 *seqq.*; Hergenröther, IV.[6], 206; Rodolico, 148.

exalted himself against a power which none can assail without misfortune. . . . Reform is not wrought out by disobedience." [1] But whereas Savonarola retained his faith in all its purity the Bishop of Pistoia departed widely from the doctrines of the Catholic Church,[2] which rendered his attempts to remove abuses utterly hopeless. His activity, so far from being constructive, was everywhere the opposite. That he and his protector, Leopold I., nevertheless believed, or tried to make others believe, that they were Catholics, merely showed the confusion of their ideas. Leopold's religion differed in essentials from that of the Supreme Head of the Church,[3] though it should be said in extenuation of his conduct that he had grown up under the influence of Febronian canonists and the freemason Van Swieten.[4] That Leopold, who lived an immoral life,[5] was a strange sort of person to reform the

[1] *Sermons on Various Occasions* (The Mission of St. Philip Neri). See our account, vol. VI, 53. *Cf.* also CANTÙ, *Eretici*, III., 484.

[2] BEANI, 79 *seqq.*, 82 *seqq.*

[3] CORSI, 93 *seqq.* This is also admitted by VENTURI (*Leopoldo*, 45) when discussing the "confession of faith" made by Leopold in a letter to Maria Christine (WOLF, 84) on January 25, 1790, when, in view of the Revolution, it seriously behoved the Grand Duke to make a show of correctness in Church affairs. He promised in this letter to "uphold the Catholic and Apostolic Roman religion, and to live and die in it". "The Synod of Pistoia," he continued, "contains only the recognition of the Gallican articles of which there has never been any suspicion of Jansenism." The further observation that the Roman Curia had been examining the resolutions of the Synod for the past two years but had found nothing adverse to say about them was (as is brought out by REUMONT, II., 179) hardly honest, "as he must have known how the matter stood, seeing that there had been some correspondence about the synod a year before, leaving no doubt that the condemnation was merely a matter of time." *Cf.* F. HIRSCH's verdict in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 453.

[4] *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XVIII., 322; REUMONT, II., 76; VENTURI, 44.

[5] REUMONT, II., 369; *Lettere di Pietro e Aless. Verri*, p.p. Casati, IV., Milano, 1879–1881, 384.

Church, was overlooked by Ricci, who was usually so strict; even an ally of this kind was welcome to him in his fight against "Babylon" and the "Papal monarchy".

(3)

While, on the one hand, Pius VI. had to suffer the most galling incursions into the purely ecclesiastical sphere on the part of the northern and southern neighbours of the Papal States and for some time had to fear a similar injustice in Poland,[1] he was also able to rejoice in the successful development of the rapprochement with the Holy See that had been initiated in the duchy of Parma by Duke Ferdinand in the pontificate of Clement XIV. This had led to a complete understanding, to the restoration of the Inquisition, and to the suppression of Jansenism.[2] A similarly retroactive movement took place in Portugal, where the Church had been most ruthlessly ravaged under Pombal's despotic sway. Here a

[1] The nuncio Garampi had already reason to fear for the rights of the Church (THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 612 *seqq.*), still more so his successor Giovanni Archetti, in autumn, 1775. Archetti had been nominated in a *Brief to the King of Poland dated October 31, 1775 (*Epist.*, 175, Papal Secret Archives). On *July 27, 1776, Pius VI. recommended the Catholic interests to the Archbishop of Gnesen (*Epist.*, 176, *ibid.*), on *September 5, 1778, to all the Polish Bishops and to the king (*Epist.*, 177, *ibid.*), and once again to the aforesaid on *September 23, 1780 (*Epist.*, 178, *ibid.*). On *September 20, 1780, Pius VI. was able to express his satisfaction and his thanks to the king (*ibid.*) that the Diet had rejected the new statute-book elaborated by Andreas Zamoisky. This would have meant the abolition of the jurisdiction of the Papal nuncio and of all appeals to Rome, the restriction of the immunity of the clergy, hindrances placed in the way of the taking of solemn vows by religious, and finally the ordinance that all clerical litigation be decided in the last instance by mixed lay and spiritual courts and that all Papal Bulls be subject to the royal *placet* before publication (WOLF, II., 403).

[2] G. DREI, in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. C. Falletti*, Bologna, 1915, 596 *seqq.*, with passages from Pius VI.'s *letter of thanks to the Duke, dated July 5, 1780 (State Archives, Parma).

happier era opened for the Church with the succession to the throne of the pious Queen Maria (February 24th, 1777) and her consort Pedro, who shared her views. Pombal, now an old man, had to accept his dismissal and lived long enough to see the reparation of the wrong he had done to the faithful representatives of the Church. The excellent Bishop of Coimbra, Miguel da Annunciação, had been pardoned by King Joseph I. three days before the latter's death. On February 25th, 1777, the venerable confessor, the very picture of misery, was able to leave the fearful prison where he had languished for eleven years. A letter from the queen, which was widely circulated, informed him of his complete rehabilitation, and his diocese welcomed him back with enthusiasm.[1]

At a consistory on May 12th, 1777, the Pope informed the Cardinals that on his death-bed King Joseph had repented and had decided to free the men who had been unjustly imprisoned, among them the Bishop of Coimbra. The Pope gave voice to his feelings in the words of St. Bernard : " Our gloom has changed to joy, for the shepherd on whom they dared to lay unholy hands returns in honour." At the same time he praised Queen Maria, who had dismissed Pombal and was trying to expiate his wrongdoing. He hoped that Portugal would now be closely joined with the Holy See and would ban the anti-Roman writings that had been spread throughout the country. He would pray for the departed king, that the punishments he had incurred might be mitigated.[2] Many of the ecclesiastical innovations were indeed revoked. The law-court set up by Pombal to restrict the jurisdiction of the nunciature tribunal was completely abolished,[3] and provision was made at last for the Jesuits who had been driven into exile and had been deprived of all their means.[4] As for the occupation of benefices, a concordat was drawn up as early

[1] F. DE ALMEIDA, *Hist. da Igreja em Portugal*, III., 2, 785 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 330 ; ALMEIDA, III., 2, 789 *seqq.*, where also will be found Pius VI.'s letter to the Bishop of Coimbra.

[3] SCHÄFER, *Gesch. Portugals*, V., 571 *seqq.*, 574.

[4] ALMEIDA, IV., 1, 206 *seq.*

as July 20th, 1778, and was ratified by the Pope on September 8th.[1] Among other matters in dispute which were solved to the satisfaction of both parties were the censorship of books and the organization of the tribunal for ecclesiastical affairs.[2] The greatest willingness was shown by the Pope in meeting the wishes of the pious queen, especially with regard to the veneration of the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, and in allowing the military Order of Christ to reassume its former organization.[3] The very difficult task of removing the abuses which had crept into the religious houses during Pombal's regime had to be left unfulfilled by the nuncio Muti, who died on August 31st, 1781. His successor, Ranuzzi, had also to attend to the repayment of the expenses in which the Pope had been involved through the deportation of the Jesuits to the States of the Church. This matter he settled to Pius VI.'s satisfaction. On his becoming Cardinal in 1785 he was succeeded by Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, with the rank of pro-nuncio. Bellisomi was followed in 1795 by Bartolommeo Pacca.[4]

Pacca has left us a gloomy picture of ecclesiastical conditions in Portugal. In his view the change that set in after Pombal's downfall was neither fundamental nor far-reaching. As late as 1794 the Patriarch of Lisbon, Mendoza, and the pro-nuncio Bellisomi were still failing to obtain permission to publish the Bull against the Jansenistic Council of Pistoia, whereas the Council's proceedings, which had been condemned, were allowed free entry into the country.[5] There was no competent leader. The queen meant well, but she had been kept away from State affairs until her accession to the throne and in 1792 she had become demented.[6] Of a timorous nature in any case,

[1] *Bull., loc. cit.*, 509 *seqq.*

[2] *Bull., loc. cit.*, 761 ; GENDRY, II., 69 *seqq.*

[3] GENDRY, II., 71 *seq.* ; SCHÄFER, V., 605 *seqq.* ; ALMEIDA, IV., 1, 456 *seqq.*

[4] GENDRY, II., 74 *seqq.* ; ALMEIDA, IV., 3, 273 *seqq.*, 293, 352 *seqq.* ; *cf. ibid.*, IV., 1, 206 *seqq.*

[5] PACCA, *Notizie*, xiv.

[6] *Ibid.*, 17 *seqq.*

she had had as confessor a young Oratorian of Jansenistic convictions, Mello by name, had become obsessed with the idea of divine predestination, and was convinced that God had cast her aside for ever. Her consort, Pedro III., was intellectually a cipher [1]; the royal edicts were signed by his son João,[2] who had not been trained as a ruler and was incapable of becoming one.[3] Similarly, among the Ministers there was no outstanding intellect, and the Bishops, though of irreproachable conduct and sufficiently well equipped with knowledge, had been accustomed in Pombal's time to shudder at the very mention of his name. Even apart from this they had not been able to do much good on account of the protection afforded by the civil courts to every transgressor of the Church's laws.[4] The source of all the evil in the ecclesiastical sphere was the university of Coimbra. The Bishop of Coimbra, Miguel da Annunciação, had been put into prison for having banned books inimical to the Faith without obtaining Pombal's permission. The chapter had then been given the order, on December 9th, 1768, to elect a vicar capitular, as the Bishop was to be looked upon as dead. The chapter obeyed and elected, in accordance with Pombal's desire, Francisco de Lemos Faria, who promptly played the part of Bishop, introduced the Catechism of Montpellier, which had been condemned in Rome, placed in the hands of the university students' textbooks which had also incurred the condemnation of the Apostolic See, and commanded that public lectures be given on Febronius's book. When Portugal was reconciled with Rome Lemos was not only not removed but was appointed by Clement XIV. as the Bishop's coadjutor, with the right of succession.

These conditions had fatal results for the whole country. All the higher clerics and all officials were trained at Coimbra and were imbued there with Jansenist and Febronian principles.[5] Pacca thought the situation was even worse than

[1] *Ibid.*, 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19, 31.
[5] *Ibid.*, 61.

in Germany, to which country also he had been the nuncio. There, too, he said, the students left the universities with their heads full of anti-clerical ideas, but written works defending religion and the Holy See were still appearing there.[1] In Portugal, on the other hand, not a single work in favour of the Papal rights had appeared in the seven years of his nunciature. The entry of foreign books was blocked by the censor,[2] and the Grand Inquisitor, Mello, passed no work that favoured the Holy See.[3] The Catholic doctrine was taught only in some of the religious houses, where the studies were independent of the university. Thanks to their blood-relationships the religious here were maintaining the principles of the Faith and respect for the Church among the leading families of the country.[4] The "enlightenment" had also failed to take root among the common folk but with their lack of training and education they were very liable to be seduced.[5] It also had to be said that even among the secular and regular clergy attachment to the Holy See had grown very slack.[6] This dated back, according to Pacca, to the time when Portugal resumed relations with the Holy See. He allowed that Clement XIV. had exerted himself on behalf of the numerous victims of the Government's injustice, but no results of his efforts had appeared on the surface. On the contrary, whereas men like Lemos Faria and Pombal's brother, Paulo, had been promoted, no one had moved a finger to release Bishop Miguel of Coimbra and many another worthy priest from prison. Rome's silence in public had had a discouraging effect on the lower ranks of the clergy and had weakened their confidence in the Apostolic See. During his time as nuncio, wrote Pacca, this wound was still unhealed.[7]

Things being thus, the nuncio's activities had to be confined to the issuing of marriage dispensations and the like.[8] Pacca's

[1] *Ibid.*, 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 40.
[4] *Ibid.*, 64.
[5] *Ibid.*, 65.
[6] *Ibid.*, 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 68.
[8] *Ibid.*, 44.

effectiveness was of benefit chiefly to the Orders, the anti-clerical opposition to which consisted mainly in the acceleration of their internal decay and disorder. Pombal had severed the connexion between the Orders and their Generals in Rome, and the authority of the Superiors in Portugal had been sapped by the facility with which insubordinate subjects had been able to appeal to the civil courts and obtain favourable judgments. Another bad feature of the Portuguese situation was that the election of Superiors was no longer free, being subject to the influence exerted on behalf of certain candidates by the high and mighty. And needless to say, it was not the best type of religious which courted such influence.[1] Further, in 1789 Queen Maria had been urged to apply to the Holy See for the erection of a tribunal in Lisbon for the examination and improvement of the economic state of the religious houses. The request was granted by Pius VI. and the tribunal was thus enabled to meddle in the internal affairs of the various establishments. In Pacca's time it was keeping within bounds but his successor attributed the decay of the monasteries to the tribunal's interference.[2] The nuncio's hands had been tied by the recommendations of the leading nobles.[3] At the reconciliation with the Holy See the Government had indeed allowed the religious to appeal to the nuncio in Lisbon instead of directly to Rome, but as the nuncio was not free to nominate the Superiors of his choice this concession worked out more to the detriment than to the benefit of the Orders.[4]

When in 1798 Pius VI. was made a prisoner and it became impossible to apply to Rome for full powers, urgent representations were made to the Portuguese prelates that now was the favourable time to recover the rights which the Pope was alleged to be withholding from them. Pacca forestalled these moves by asking and obtaining from Pius VI. quite extraordinary powers. He also managed to avoid having to show the Brief to the Government, which, owing to the unusual scope of the powers, would certainly have objected.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 44, 56.
[4] *Ibid.*, 39.
[5] *Ibid.*, 71–6.

CHAPTER IV.

The Vicissitudes of the Catholics in Poland and Russia.

Catherine II.'s two-faced policy towards her Catholic subjects was continued during the pontificate of Pius VI. Towards the adherents of the Latin rite she exercised, outwardly, a so-called "tolerance", especially after the elevation of her favourite Siestrzencewicz to the episcopal see of White Russia, as this placed the ecclesiastical control of this portion of her empire in what seemed to her to be completely reliable hands.[1] Empress and Bishop were agreed on the principle of excluding foreign influence as far as possible, and by ukases of July 19th, 1779, and January 2nd, 1780, non-Russian priests of the Latin rite were forbidden to enter the country without the Bishop's permission.[2]

This continuity of policy was true also of Catherine's treatment of the Uniat adherents of the Greek rite, who were suppressed as firmly as ever. The conditions that Rome considered to be indispensable for the fruitful development of the Union can be seen in the instruction for the carrying out of the mission which had already been entrusted to Sagramoso by Clement XIV.[3] There were four main points to be discussed: the prohibition of Catholics going over to the schismatics; the erection of two dioceses each for the Uniats and the Latins of White Russia; the guaranteeing of the unrestricted possession and unrestricted administration of all church property and the restitution of all the churches schismatized in the Ukraine since 1768, together with all

[1] See our account, XXXVIII, 403; Gendry, I., 333 *seqq.*

[2] [Theiner], *Zustände*, 440.

[3] "Memoria per il s. cav. Sagramoso incaricato di segrete commissioni della Santità di N.S. presso la corte di Moscovia", from Nunziat. di Polon., 316, fo. 167–187 (Papal Secret Archives), reprinted in Loret, 227 *seqq.*

former property.[1] To the detailed reasons adduced in support of these demands were attached complaints about fresh Russian attempts at schismatization by dint of encouraging mixed marriages and other infringements of the agreement, also about the unfavourable legal status of the Uniat Bishop of Polotsk as compared with that of Siestrzencewicz, the Bishop of the Latin rite. Finally, there were a number of minor desiderata and grievances: that the use of the words "mission" and "missionaries" in Russia were forbidden, that by "Catholic" often only the Latins were understood, and not the Uniats too, and that the Russian Court, like other Governments, ought to recognize an unofficial *chargé d'affaires* in Rome.[2]

Unfortunately, the misgivings felt by Castelli, the Prefect of the Propaganda, about the success of Sagramoso's mission [3] proved to be justified. The negotiations between the emissary of Rome and the Czarina were conducted by the Russian Minister Panin in the most friendly manner [4]; Sagramoso presented two memoranda on the matter in question and was received in audience by the Czarina [5]; but the official decision of the empress which was conveyed to him under date December 24th, 1775, meant the failure of his mission.[6] In this communication Catherine posed, as she always had done in similar situations, as the great champion of the systematic toleration of all the confessions to which her subjects belonged and she offered her own person as guarantee that this guiding principle of her policy would be strictly observed. It was then stated in the document that she was persuaded that in view of the paucity of Catholics one bishopric for each rite was ample; in any case, both were to enjoy complete freedom in ecclesiastical affairs. As for the restitutions in the Ukraine,

[1] *Ibid.*, 230. *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 335.

[2] LORET, 243 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 98.

[4] Garampi to the Secretary of State, October 4, 1775, *ibid.*, 249 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 109.

[5] *Ibid.*, 110 *seqq.*, 252 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 340.

[6] Panin to Sagramoso, December 24, 1775, in LORET, 254 *seq.*

arrangements were being made with Poland and would be carried out by a mixed commission which would see that the parties concerned received their just deserts; Sagramoso could depend on this.

At the beginning of 1776 Sagramoso left St. Petersburg with this evasive reply, which amounted to a rejection of his demands, and he reached Warsaw after a fatiguing journey of two months.[1] By now Rome was convinced that nothing could be obtained from the Czarina by diplomatic means,[2] but only a few years were to pass before the opportunity was offered of coming to a close understanding.

In 1779 the Metropolitan of the Uniats, Leo Szeptycki, resident in Poland, died, and Smogorzewski, Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk in White Russia, was called to succeed him. With his acceptance of the nomination [3] the Uniats under Russian rule lost their chief pastor. When Rylo, who was to succeed Smogorzewski at Polotsk, declined the honour [4] the empress was given the welcome opportunity of prolonging indefinitely the vacancy of this see which was so important for the fate of the Russian Uniats.[5] Her object on this occasion was similar to that which she had pursued with other means when it was a question of filling Uniat parochial vacancies: the gradual transference of the Uniats to the control of the schismatics. In accordance with a ukase of September, 1773, on the death of a Uniat priest his parish was to be asked to which rite his successor was to belong.[6] But the Uniats being excluded from positions on the local board on which the vote depended, by this apparently legal means many pastoral offices were

[1] Garampi to the Secretary of State, March 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 255 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 115.

[3] [Theiner], 295; Likowski, I., 194 *seqq.*; Gendry, I., 353.

[4] [Theiner], *loc. cit.* At the same time Rylo answered a call to the episcopal see of Przemysl (Likowski, I., 197).

[5] By a ukase of July 13, 1780, Catherine set up a consistory of three members as administrators (Loret, 162–7). For Catherine's visit to Polotsk, *v.* Gendry, I., 355.

[6] [Theiner], 294.

transferred to schismatics, and very frequently the parishes as well.

During the four years' vacancy of the see of Polotsk over a hundred thousand adherents of the Greek rite were detached in this way from the Church of Rome.[1] There was even talk of the empress filling the vacant see with a schismatic Bishop.[2] Pius VI., intervening at the right moment, managed to prevent this by a polite but firmly worded note of September 16th, 1780, whereat the Czarina again talked a great deal about the ecclesiastical *status quo* being guaranteed by treaty.[3] Nor did she neglect this opportunity of expressing, as if by way of a counter-demand, a desire of her own which she had been cherishing for a long time : Siestrzencewicz was to be an Archbishop, his see of Mohilev was to be raised to an archbishopric, and he himself was to be invested with the pallium. It looked as if the Czarina was making the occupation of the see of Polotsk dependent on the fulfilment of this wish.[4]

An important factor in the situation was that the new nuncio to Warsaw, Archetti, who had come into close connexion with Siestrzencewicz at the beginning of 1781, when the question of the Jesuits in Russia was being settled, supported the empress's request in an exhaustive argument submitted to the Cardinal Secretary of State. He deemed it inadvisable to appoint Siestrzencewicz as an Archbishop *in partibus* only, as the separation of the Russian Uniats from the Polish Metropolitan was to be welcomed in any case.[5] However, a Papal communication of October 27th, 1781, did not bring the empress the complete fulfilment of all her wishes,[6] whereupon, at the end of January 1782, with characteristic ruthlessness, she issued on her own account a

[1] *Ibid.*, 296.

[2] LORET, 169.

[3] The Pope's letter in [THEINER], 296 *seqq.*, the Czarina's reply of December 31, 1780, *ibid.*, 299 *seqq.* *Cf.* LORET, 170 *seq.*; GENDRY, I., 359 *seq.*, 366 *seqq.*

[4] Pallavicini to Archetti, February 17, 1781, in LORET, 287 *seq.*

[5] Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, *ibid.*, 291 *seqq.*

[6] GENDRY, I., 387 *seqq.*

ukase setting up the archbishopric of Mohilev.[1] The Pope was merely informed of the accomplished fact, in a letter of February 10th.[2]

This arbitrary action of the Russian despot naturally aroused indignation in Rome and in the autumn of 1782 Archetti was provided with a detailed instruction which entrusted him again with the negotiations on the subject. These were to be conducted through Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador to Warsaw, as the Pope considered it purposeless and undignified to make a personal appeal to the empress for the third time.[3]

The main object of all the discussions, Archetti was informed in his instruction, was the occupation of the see of Polotsk by a Uniat. In the erection of a Latin archbishopric at Mohilev, in the heart of a schismatic empire, Rome acquiesced, though it had its doubts about the limitless extent of the diocese, stretching as it did from the Baltic to China, which was most unusual. Further, in the existing circumstances, the person of the Archbishop-elect would be under suspicion until he had made satisfaction for his former errors, in particular his pastoral letter of June 29th, 1779. The question of satisfaction, therefore, would have to be discussed in detail with Stackelberg. Perhaps, in spite of all the difficulties that would probably arise, another personality, Benislawski, who had been designated as the suffragan of Mohilev, would be more suitable as the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Russian Catholics of the Latin rite. But, lest the issue be endangered, not too obstinate a resistance was to be offered to the empress, nor was Siestrzencewicz to be forced to make such compensations as would overtax his strength. Things were not to be allowed to come to such a pass that the

[1] Ukase of January 26, 1782, in [THEINER], Docum. 233 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, Text, 443 *seqq.*; LORET, 175 *seq.*, dates the ukase January 28.

[2] LORET, 174; [THEINER], Docum, 446.

[3] Pallavicini to Archetti, October 19, 1782, in LORET, 196 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 178 *seqq.*

latter would feel himself to be the Pope of the Russians and threaten the authority of the Holy See.[1]

As the Imperial Diet was just about to open, Archetti put off the negotiations for a time and only opened them after he had invited the support of the King of Poland. But even then the discussions showed no sign of producing any satisfactory settlement.[2] Ultimately, indeed, Stackelberg received an official letter in which, in a tone of finality, the direst threats were uttered against the Papal authority.[3] Archetti's reports to the Cardinal Secretary of State were full of expressions of disappointment and ill-humour.[4] Accordingly, Pius VI. decided after all to send a personal letter to the empress, offering to send a special negotiator.[5] Catherine accepted Archetti as such, but before the Pope's proposal had reached St. Petersburg she had dispatched Benislawski to Rome as the Russian negotiator. In the two audiences he was granted by the Pope he set before him the Czarina's wishes and Pius finally came to terms and agreed to Siestrzencewicz's elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Mohilev that was now to be erected.[6]

Archetti was again entrusted with the execution of the Papal decisions and was recommended to the Czarina as His

[1] *Ibid.*, 296–306. "Per il buon esito dell' affare non bisogna urtare di fronte contro la volontà di quella sovrana, nè bisogna costringere il vescovo di Mallo (Siestrzencewicz) a far quello che versimilmente è superiore alle sue forze, le quali già per indole sua sono deboli e languide." *Ibid.*, 303.

[2] Archetti to Pallavicini, November 13, 1782, *ibid.*, 306–311.

[3] *Ibid.*, 181.

[4] *Ibid.*, 182.

[5] January 11, 1783, *ibid.* *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 401 *seqq.* The Pope's reluctance to compromise, which he did only to avoid a greater evil, and his very low opinion of Siestrzencewicz's arrogance, are best seen in his *Brief to the "Regina fidelissima", Mary of France, of February 20, 1783 (*Epist.*, IX.–X., fo. 5, Papal Secret Archives).

[6] Pallavicini to Archetti, March 8 and 15, 1783, in LORET, 311 *seqq.*, 313. *Cf. ibid.*, 185 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 405 *seqq.*

Holiness's representative in a Papal letter of April 26th, 1783.[1] The full powers had been dated from April 15th and proclaimed that Mohilev was now the seat of an Archbishop with a coadjutor. This document was executed by Archetti in the Pope's name in a letter of December 8th, 1783.[2] Siestrzencewicz, hitherto only a Bishop *in partibus*, was appointed the holder of this new dignity, he was granted the use of the pallium, and the jurisdiction and the right of visitation over all Russia were conferred upon him. The cathedral chapter was established a few days later, and on January 18th, 1784, the Archbishop took the oath and was invested with the pallium in the Catholic church in St. Petersburg. A little later still the coadjutor Benislawski was consecrated Bishop.[3] In May a Papal letter of congratulation was sent to the Russian prelate,[4] and at the end of the year Archetti was recalled to Rome and was admitted to the Senate of the Church.[5]

Meanwhile, in 1783, the Uniat Lisowski had been installed in the episcopal see of Polotsk, which appointment was approved by the Czarina. Lisowski declared his readiness to allow the usual prayers for the empress and her successors to be said in the churches of his rite but not the prayers for the Russian Synod.[6] Finally, even this last difficulty was amicably settled, and for the next ten years the existence of the Catholic Church of both rites was satisfactorily secured, at any rate externally.[7] This situation remained unchanged until the

[1] [THEINER], *Zustände*, Docum. 81 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, Text, 449 *seqq.*; LORET, 195 *seq.*; GENDRY, I., 423 *seqq.*, and in the *Compte rendu* of the *Freiburger Gelehrtenkongress* of 1897, V., 301 *seqq.*; PIERLING, V., 135 *seqq.*

[2] [THEINER], Docum. 86–90.

[3] *Ibid.*, Text, 453 *seqq.*; LORET, 195 *seq.* Archetti's address after the conferment of the pallium, in [THEINER], Docum. 245 *seqq.*

[4] On May 19, 1784, *ibid.*, 249 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 456; GENDRY, I., 443 *seqq.*

[6] [THEINER], Docum. 302; GENDRY, I., 437.

[7] See [THEINER], 305, for Siestrzencewicz's incessant attempts to

second and third "partitions" of Poland brought with them a fresh threat to the existence of the Russian Catholics and once again they were subjected to persecution.

The severe loss suffered by Poland through the detachment of considerable portions of her territory in 1773 was not without its beneficial effects on the spiritual and political life of the remnant. Under the influence of Western European currents of thought and the encouragement given in many directions by King Stanislaus Poniatowski there took shape a serious renascence which might be regarded as evidence of the reawakened life-force of a ravished nation had it not been confined so closely to a thin layer of intellectuals.[1] Within the bounds of this extensive intellectual movement there took place also the long-desired reform of internal political conditions, in particular the constitution. It came to fruition in the labours of the so-called Four Years' Diet which produced the May Constitution of 1791.[2] This had rid itself of all the weaknesses of the old constitution, such as the *Liberum veto*, the necessity for unanimity in the national Diet, and the formation of confederations. The electoral monarchy was to be converted into an hereditary one, confined to the House of Wettin. There were also to be numerous alterations in the social sphere and in the demarcation of political competences.

But in this rebirth of spiritual life the Uniat Church seemed

bring Uniats over to the Latin rite, even by dint of liturgical enormities due to ignorance of Latin.

[1] *Cf.* the chapter "Ein Königreich auf dem Parnass", in FORST-BATTAGLIA, 208–294.

[2] *Ibid.*, 323 *seqq.*; HANISCH, 260. *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLVIII., 49 *seq.*; KALINKA, *Der vierjährige polnische Reichstag 1788–1791*, Berlin, 1896; DEMBINSKI, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire du 2e et 3e partage de la Pologne*, I. (1788–1791), Cracow, 1902. On October 4, 1778, Archetti asked Pallavicini for Briefs for the Marshals and Bishops attending this Diet (*v.* H. EHRENBERG, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der in der heutigen Provinz Posen vereinigten ehemals polnischen Landesteile*, Leipzig, 1892, 589 *seqq.*). *Ibid.*, 639 *seqq.*, a report by Archetti on a synod held by the Polish dissidents.

to take no part. Certainly in the brief reign of the Metropolitan Leo Szeptycki (1778–79) its fortunes lay in the hands of a far-seeing and energetic leader whose work in Rome was directed chiefly towards the reform of the Basilian Order, which was actuated to a great extent by selfish and short-sighted motives.[1] But as this Order no longer seemed to be capable of the responsible leadership of the Uniat Church, and the Uniat nobles had gone over to the Latin rite almost to a man, the future of the Union was gloomy indeed. Thus it was that on Szeptycki's death Archbishop Smogorzewski had to be called from Polotsk to succeed him, although he was far more sorely needed in Russia. The better to deal with the affairs of his province he took up his residence in Warsaw, while the episcopal see of Lemberg, in spite of the counter-efforts of the Basilians, was handed over to a secular priest.[2] As Metropolitan of the whole Union, Smogorzewski was fully recognized by Austria but in Russia his work was obstructed. The efforts made under the leadership of the new Metropolitan to preserve the Union were rewarded by Pius VI. in the form of numerous distinctions bestowed on deserving clerics of the Ruthenian rite.[3]

Through the Four Years' Diet the Uniat episcopate had at last attained political equality with its Latin counterpart in the Polish senate.[4] The Catholic religion of both rites was again declared to be the dominant State religion, while the dissidents were assured of their religious freedom. When this memorable Diet was assembling the king and the Bishops were exhorted by Pius VI. to guard the rights of religion.[5] For a long time now Rome had once again been able to view with satisfaction Poland's ecclesiastical legislation.

There was, however, another Power that could not declare itself in agreement with the proposed reform of the kingdom's

[1] Pelesz, 569 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 572.

[3] *Ibid.*, 572 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 580 *seqq.*; Hanisch, 260.

[5] *Briefs to the king and the Bishops of Poland, of September 5, 1778 (*Epist.*, IV., fos. 185, 197, Papal Secret Archives).

constitution, and on this power everything ultimately depended. It was high time for the Russian empress to intervene if Poland was not to develop on its own lines, free of her control. Consequently, every means was used by her to maintain her influence in Poland, with the result that, although forbidden by the new constitution, a confederation of Russian representatives and adherents was formed at Targowice in May 1792 with the declared object of overthrowing the constitution.[1] At the same time Catherine proclaimed her numerous misgivings and desires by means of a long manifesto.[2] These demands were given a special emphasis by the usual occupation of Polish territory, contrary to treaty, first by Russian and soon afterwards by Prussian troops. The king was forced to join the confederation,[3] while the two foreign Powers agreed at the convention of St. Petersburg to inflict a disciplinary punishment on the "rebellious" country by robbing it of further portions of its territory. At this second partition of Poland even the pretence of citing history in support of their claims was abandoned by the two Powers. Once again after an interval of twenty years the tragic spectacle of the Russo-Prussian dictatorship of force was re-enacted, the demands of the two Powers receiving the "silent" assent of the representatives of the nobles at the Diet of Grodno.[4]

Again, an ardent patriotic movement rallied round the banner of Polish freedom; in Warsaw it was joined even by the Government troops. The national hatred of the Russians was manifested in the storming of the Russian embassy, the Polish Bastille. The national armies, now really deserving

[1] HANISCH, 261; SSOLOWJOFF, 281.

[2] Dated May 18, 1792 (*v.* FORST-BATTAGLIA, 337).

[3] HANISCH, 261; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 344, 346.

[4] The convention dealing with this so-called "Second Partition" of Poland was signed at St. Petersburg on January 23, 1793 (FORST-BATTAGLIA, 347 *seqq.*). *Cf.* R. H. LORD, *The Second Partition of Poland*, London, 1916; E. HERRMANN, *Die österr.-preuss. Allianz vom 7. Februar 1792 und die zweite Teilung Polens*, Gotha, 1861.

the name, composed as they were of men from every class, fought their Russian oppressors with unyielding heroism in Poland and Lithuania until the fate of their leader Tadeusz Kosciuszko [1] and his adherents was sealed by their crushing defeat at Maciejowice in October 1794.[2] In the sharing of the booty, the so-called "Third Partition", which took place in the following year, Russia and Prussia were joined by Austria. The lion's share went to Russia, which thus gained possession of two-thirds of the former Polish kingdom. This, after an existence of over eight centuries, now disappeared entirely from the map of Europe. In October 1795 the document recording the total abolition of the State was signed; Stanislaus Poniatowski was deposed and he left Warsaw to spend the evening of his life as a private gentleman in St. Petersburg.[3] He died in 1798.

In 1793, when by the treaty of Grodno five Latin and almost all the Uniat bishoprics in Poland came under Russian rule, the Czarina expressly repeated her assurance that the ecclesiastical *status quo* would be preserved.[4] The sincerity of this promise may be gauged by the question she put to her Councillor of State in the same year: "What is the easiest way of bringing the Uniats back to schism?" [5] A schismatic missionary institute was then set up under Government auspices, with numerous cells in the districts populated by Catholics. The work of schismatization was facilitated and encouraged by a number of Government decrees and soon had some important successes to record. Forcible measures, including the cruellest physical tortures, resulted in the Catholics of the Uniat rite suffering enormous losses.[6] Pius VI.

[1] Hanisch, 262; Forst-Battaglia, 357 *seqq.*, 361.

[2] Forst-Battaglia, 368 *seq.*; Ssolowjoff, 356 *seqq.*

[3] The convention was signed at St. Petersburg on October 24 (Forst-Battaglia, 371 *seqq.*; Hanisch, 262; Zivier, *Polen*, 233 *seq.*).

[4] Pelesz, 583 *seq.*; [Theiner], 306, 460; Likowski, I., 265.

[5] Pelesz, 584; [Theiner], *Zustände*, 307.

[6] Pelesz, 595 *seqq.*; [Theiner], 308 *seqq.*

did not neglect to apprise the Czarina in writing [1] of his grave anxiety about the fate of the Union in the newly acquired territories. Describing at length the persecutions and spoliations of the clergy, he earnestly besought the empress to alleviate their misery. The clergy, he said, were so terrified by the threats that had been uttered against them that they dared not even warn the faithful against apostasy, having been accused unjustly of exerting moral pressure on the non-Uniats. The Pope ended his letter with the offer to send a legate to the Court of the Czars to settle the trouble, adding that he was not at a loss for a suitable person but that he would first await the agreement of the empress, although he considered such a mission to be extremely necessary.

The situation of the Catholics became even more deplorable after the dismemberment of Poland in 1795, as now almost all the Uniats came under Russian rule. The dioceses of Lemberg and Przemysl in Austrian Galicia continued to receive the most helpful encouragement from the Government in Vienna,[2] while for the few Uniats that fell to Prussia a special bishopric was set up at Suprasl and was validified by Pius VI. in a Bull of March 4th, 1798.[3]

But the fears expressed by Pius VI. to Emperor Joseph II. about the continued existence of the Catholic Church in the areas that would pass to Russia in the event of a final partition of Poland proved to be only too well grounded. After the conclusion of the treaties of partition the representative of Christ, using the most earnest language, placed the whole care of this into the hands of the competent protector of the Church,[4] but to no purpose. Catherine II., the destruction of Poland accomplished, prepared to deal the death-blow to the Greek Union, this being the second object of her Polish policy and one which she had pursued all along. At a single stroke

[1] *On September 12, 1795, *Epist.*, A° XXI., p. 57 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] PELESZ, 628 *seqq.*, 634 *seqq.*, 650 *seqq.*

[3] [THEINER], 282–296; PELESZ, 595 *seq.*

[4] *Pius VI. to the emperor, March 14, 1794 (*Epist.*, A° XXI., p. 4, *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*).

all the Uniat bishoprics were abolished, the Bishops were removed and pensioned off, and four eparchies were created in their stead. Almost all the Basilian monasteries were secularized, their property was nationalized, and the monastic and parish churches were handed over to the schismatics.[1] Many of the priests emigrated to Galicia. Archbishop Lisowski, the only ecclesiastical dignitary still tolerated, had to exhort his subjects in a pastoral letter not to reprove those who had reverted to schism and not to make things hard for them on this account. This persecution, it has been estimated,[2] left the Uniats with barely 200 of the 5,000 churches they formerly possessed.

The Latin Catholics suffered in a similar manner at the hands of the Czarina, for they, too, lost all their bishoprics with the sole exception of Livonia. For the sake of appearances, however, two new sees were erected, at Pinsk and Latitchev, where there were practically no Catholics.[3] As might have been expected, Archbishop Siestrzencewicz was left unscathed by the persecution but did not lift a finger to mitigate the lot of those entrusted to his care.[4]

This was the Russian despot's last attack on the Catholic Church. The following year brought her decease and the end of a long period of suffering for the Church.[5] Catherine's son and successor, Paul I., whose reign lasted only three years, did his best to repair the damage. He stopped the persecution of the Catholics of both rites and invited the Pope to enter into negotiations.[6] Litta, the nuncio to Warsaw, went as legate to St. Petersburg with instructions from Rome. The

[1] Pelesz, 588 *seq.*

[2] [Theiner], 314 *seq.*; Likowski, I., 278 *seq.*

[3] [Theiner], 460.

[4] For Catherine's ineffectual attempts to obtain the Cardinal's hat for her favourite, *v.* Godlewski in *Kwartalnik Litewski*, 1910, II., 13–22, III., 51–8, IV., 13–24.

[5] Lescœur, *L'Eglise cath. et le gouvernement Russe*, Paris, 1903, 37.

[6] [Theiner], 316. *Cf.* Karl Walcker in *Raumers Hist. Taschenbuch*, ed. W. H. Riehl, N.F. VI. (1876), 243 *seqq.*

memorandum he presented on his arrival at the Russian capital in May 1797 contained a detailed exposition of the Roman demands [1]: the complete restoration of the bishoprics of both rites, the return of all the schismatized churches and confiscated monasteries, and the assurance of religious liberty and unimpeded religious jurisdiction.

The Synod of St. Petersburg protested against these demands, and, what was worse, Siestrzencewicz, fearing that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction would be curtailed, also tried to prevent their acceptance.[2] Nevertheless, in a very short time a number of the old Uniat bishoprics were restored and most of the other terms were complied with. These agreements were ratified by a Papal Bull issued from the Certosa at Florence on November 18th, 1798.[3] This stated that, besides Archbishop Lisowski of Polotsk and his coadjutor, the Uniat Catholics were to have bishoprics at Lutzk, for Volhynia and Podolia, and at Brest, for Lithuania, Grodno, Minsk, and Courland.[4] The Church of the Latin rite was restored in similar fashion. The two mock-bishoprics set up in 1795 were abolished and nearly all the old ones were restored. The diocese of Kiev was replaced by a new one centred in Minsk. Compensation was paid by the State for the church properties that could not be restored in their entirety.[5] This arrangement was also ratified by the said Bull.[6]

Thus, through the goodwill of the Czar Paul I., the Catholic Church of both rites was reborn in Russia. In other ways, too, the Czar showed great friendliness towards Rome and on hearing of the plan to deport the Pope to France he offered him a refuge in his own country.[7] Further evidence of his

[1] [THEINER], 461. For Litta's mission, *cf.* also PIERLING, V., 202 *seqq.*, 219 *seqq.*

[2] [THEINER], 317; LESCOEUR, *loc. cit.*

[3] [THEINER], 318 *seq.*; LIKOWSKI, II., 9.

[4] PELESZ, 592.

[5] [THEINER], 462.

[6] *Ibid.*, 463 *seqq.*; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 538–559.

[7] [THEINER], 361. *Czar Paul to Pius VI. on December 14, 1798, original in Nunziat. Pol. Russia, 344, Papal Secret Archives.

sympathy was his support of the Order of the Knights of Malta, which had been broken up by Napoleon. In October 1798 its representatives even elected him Grand Master, schismatic though he was. Naturally there was no question of this election ever winning Papal recognition, and by Pius VII. also it was regarded as never having happened.[1]

Although Siestrzencewicz went on with his intrigues, being determined to exclude the Russian Catholics from foreign influence and to prevent the flourishing of any other ecclesiastical authority beside his own,[2] the Catholics continued for some time yet to enjoy an unrestricted existence in the empire of the Czars. But it was only the lull before the final storm which, some decades later, after a glorious but unavailing resistance offered by the Catholics, led to the absolute supremacy of schism in Russia.

[1] [THEINER], 465–473. The election was severely condemned by the Pope, though with all possible prudence and benevolence, in the *Cifra al Litta Nunzio di Pietroburgo, of March 16, 1799, dated from Florence (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343A, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 179 *seqq.* At the same time the Pope dispatched a *Bull permitting the use of the purple by Archbishop Siestrzencewicz, and a *Brief to the emperor (*loc. cit.*). This desire of the ambitious prelate was recommended by Litta in a *Cifra of August 20–31, 1798: "è malincontento di veder mancar la sua speranza del cardinalato. Perciò è necessario di evitar qualsivoglia maggior disgusto di tal persona che per suo carattere, talento e situazione può nuocere moltissimo." *Ibid.*, 344.

[2] Siestrzencewicz was arrogant enough to assume the title of "Legatus natus Sanctae Sedis", which was complained of by Rome in the *Cifre al Litta of February 9 and March 16, 1799, from Florence, Nunziat. di Polonia 343A, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 401. For Rome's absolute demand for the maintenance of the Uniats' privileges, *cf.* *Odescalchi to Litta on "5 del 1799" (*loc. cit.*). A scandalous letter from Siestrzencewicz is mentioned in Benvenuti's *letter from St. Petersburg of July 4, 1799 (Nunziat. Pol. Russia, 344, *ibid.*).

CHAPTER V.

The Survival of the Society of Jesus in Prussia and Russia—The Attempts at its Restoration.

(1)

On hearing of the vacancy of the Papal See in 1774, Frederick II. instructed Ciofani, his agent in Rome, to congratulate the new Pope in his name as soon as possible after his election and to explain to him that the preservation of the Society of Jesus was essential for the welfare of the Catholic subjects in the Prussian States. He left it to the newly-elected Pope to adopt whatever course he thought compatible with the action taken by his predecessor. The name and habit were matters of indifference to him.[1] On the king repeating this request more urgently [2] Ciofani promised to do all he could to bring about the fulfilment of his wishes, though opposition was to be expected from Spain, with which it was a point of honour to keep the Jesuits suppressed.[3]

However well disposed he was at heart towards the Jesuits [4] Pius VI. was helpless in the face of the overwhelming influence of the Bourbons, quite apart from his having stated in the conclave that he had no intention of annulling what had been done by his predecessor.[5] In his position, he protested,

[1] Ministerial decree of November 5, 1774, addressed to Ciofani, in Lehmann, IV., 625, No. 622. *Cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX (1885), 104. *Strachwitz to Garampi, December 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives. *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 296.

[2] Cabinet order of December 23, 1774, to Ciofani, in Lehmann, IV., 638, No. 632.

[3] Ciofani's report of January 28, 1775, *ibid.*, V., 12, No. 14.

[4] *Cf.* Cabinet order of March 21, 1775, to Carmer, *ibid.*, V., 22, No. 30; Masson, *Bernis*, 324.

[5] *Solis to Grimaldi, February 15, 1775, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5076; printed in Pacheco y Leyva, *El conclave de 1774 a 1775*, Madrid, 1915, 504 *seqq.*

Frederick II. would also be at a loss. The Roman Curia was too dependent on the Catholic Courts, and they wanted what had happened to remain as it was and demanded that the Jesuits should not continue to exist anywhere as a body recognized by the Church. Before the business had been settled some modification might have been possible but there was no going back now.[1] Frederick's reply to this was that evidently the Pope had not grasped his idea properly. He had not asked for anything that might offend the Pope or detract from his dignity. In asking for the preservation of the Jesuits he had only one object in view, the training of youth, in which they excelled. In a lengthy postscript the king again stressed the opinion that Pius VI. would be doing a service to religion by giving another title to a society devoted to the instruction of youth and the training of Catholic priests.[2] The same suggestion was repeated by the king on May 31st. If circumstances compelled the Pope to defer his approval, he might instruct the Bishops to cease disturbing the Jesuits in the exercise of their functions until the final constitution of the new corporation.[3]

Cardinal Rezzonico, who was conducting the negotiations on the Pope's behalf, was informed by Frederick that the opposition of the Bourbons would not reduce him to silence. He did not meddle in the domestic affairs of their States and he would not allow anyone to contest his right to maintain the Jesuits in his States, as he considered them useful for the well-being of his subjects, especially the young ones. The origin of their institute was worthy of all praise. Nothing had contributed more to the good of mankind than the establishment of an Order that had produced the persons best fitted to train and educate the young. Instead of obstructing the preservation of such an institute, the Popes and all who had the welfare of youth at heart ought to applaud his efforts.

[1] Ciofani's report of May 3, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 26, No. 40.

[2] Cabinet order of May 22, 1775, to Ciofani and Finckenstein, *ibid.*, 31, Nos. 45 and 46.

[3] To Ciofani, *ibid.*, 33, No. 49.

Other princes, contrary to all the principles of justice and decency, had laid hands on the property of the Jesuits, but he was firmly resolved to use it for the purpose for which it was intended, namely the schools.[1]

Apparently the chief difficulty in satisfying the king's desires was his request for the continuance of the Jesuits as a society. To meet this objection Frederick argued that there were several million Catholic subjects in his territories who had to be prepared for the duties of their state. There were no other Orders available which were capable of taking over the schools. He could not allow public instruction to be interrupted, especially in theology, and he wished it to be continued by men who had chosen the teaching profession as their life-task and who had behind them the experience of more than two centuries. Jesuitism in itself was a matter of indifference to him. It was solely the motives of good order and thrift that induced him to combine the members into a new corporation whose laws and subordination could be determined by the Pope as he thought fit. If his just representations found no hearing, he would be satisfied with the Bishops being urged not to interfere with the Jesuits in their professional duties.[2]

Pius VI. replied through Ciofani that he feared the anger of the Bourbon Courts too much to dare give his express approval to the continued existence of the Jesuits. If the king could find ways and means of preserving them he would not object nor would he pass sentence of irregularity on them.[3] This

[1] Cabinet order of July 14, 1775, to Ciofani, *ibid.*, 41, No. 61.

[2] *Copy of an extract from a memorial to the Pope, undated [*c.* August/September 1775 ; *cf.* Sebastiani to Reinach, August 30, 1775], Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz. *Cf.* also correspondence between Hertzberg and the Cabinet in LEHMANN, V., 51 *seq.*, No. 74.

[3] The dispatch was noted by LEHMANN (V., 51, n. 3) as being unavailable. Its content may be gleaned from a *letter in cipher from Garampi to Pallavicini, of December 27, 1775 : " Intanto per compimento della materia, aggiungo qui quel, che recentemente è stato qui scritto da Berlino : Paragrafo di lettera scritta da Berlino e concernente la risposta data dal Papa all' istanze fatte

reply did not quite fulfil Frederick's expectations [1] nor did it satisfy the Bishops, who had misgivings about disregarding the positive instructions of the Brief of suppression on the strength of this statement couched in general terms.[2] At the discussion between the Prussian envoy Benoît, acting for his royal master, and Garampi, which was held in the hope that an arrangement could be made with the Bishops through Garampi's mediation, the nuncio remarked that he had anticipated the king's wishes by advising the Breslau administrator on December 13th, 1773, to accept the Jesuit candidates for ordination. He was against the election of a Jesuit General for Prussia—surely the king was too enlightened to endanger the peace of the Church by such a step nor would he want to embroil the Pope with the Catholic Courts. Moreover, although the person elected might well wield an outward authority he would have no spiritual power, as the Jesuits would be directly subject to the Bishops.

in nome del Re di Prussia dal Sig. Abbate Cioffani. Ciofanius Serenissimo significavit, Papam lecta Serenissimi declaratione respondisse, in sua iam potestate non esse factum sui decessoris Ganganelli penes hanc infelicem Societatem revocare ob potentissimas aularum Catholicarum protestationes. Interim sperare se, quod Maiestas Sua Regia modum et viam sponte inventura sit finem assequendi suum ; illud sancte se polliceri, quod Societatem Borussicam numquam ceu irregularem declarabit." Nunziat. di Polonia 59, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] Hertzberg to the Cabinet, September 14, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 51 *seqq.*, No. 74 ; Cabinet order of September 15, 1775, *ibid.* ; Cabinet order of September 27, 1775, to the Bishops of Kulm, Ermeland, and Kujavia, *ibid.*, 54 *seq.*, No. 77.

[2] *Strachwitz to Garampi in September, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 119, Papal Secret Archives ; Strachwitz to Frederick II., October 7 and 21, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 58 *seq.*, No. 83, 64 *seq.*, No. 92 ; Bishop Ostrowski of Kujavia to the Cabinet before October 24, 1775, *ibid.*, V., 66, No. 95 ; Bajer to Frederick II., October 17, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 59, *loc. cit.* ; *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 18, 1775, *ibid.* Only Prince Bishop Krasizki of Ermeland complied with the king's instructions readily. Cabinet letter of October 19, 1775, to Krasizki, in LEHMANN, V., 64, No. 90.

To meet the needs of the Catholics and to please the king Rome had allowed the Bishops to employ the Jesuits in the cure of souls, even when they continued to live in community. The Fathers should be content with this and it also served the king's purposes. The whole difference between his plan and the king's was that the latter regarded the Society as still existing while he regarded it as abolished. Frederick wanted the clerics to take their vows and this he had allowed, but under a different title. He might therefore explain to his sovereign that in essentials he had gained his purpose; all else was mere formality.[1]

Besides the Bishops the Superior Von Reinach had been informed by the king of the concession that the Pope had made him through the agent Ciofani.[2] A breach of confidence [3] or careless talk resulted in a Latin translation of the Papal letter making its way to Rome, where naturally enough it aroused considerable indignation in Bourbon diplomatic circles and caused the Pope no little embarrassment.[4] To extricate

[1] *Diario di Garampi, December 22, 1775, Diario 1775–6, Papal Secret Archives, Fondo Garampi Arm. XV., 191; *Garampi to Strachwitz, December 23, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 306, *ibid.*; *Garampi to the Bishops of Ermeland, Kujavia, and Kulm, December 30, 1775, *ibid.*; *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 27, 1775, Cifre, *ibid.*, 59.

[2] *September 27, 1775, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

[3] *Cf.* *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 18, December 13 and 27, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 59, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 16, 1775, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4987; *Marchese Antici to Baron Schlipp, November 22, 1775, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 528/13; *Frederick II. to Reinach, December 9 and 11, 1775, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz; LEHMANN, V., 76, No. 114; *Herzan to Firmian, December 20, 1775, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A.75[b] B. As the affair had wide repercussions, a circular *letter was sent by the Congregation for the Suppression to all the nuncios, reminding them that nothing was to be said or written for or against the suppression, as it would scandalize the Church and the faithful; January 23, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 46, *loc. cit.*

him from this awkward position Cardinal Bernis proposed a middle course which, while upholding the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, went a long way towards satisfying Frederick's desires.[1] Under date December 2nd, 1775, Cardinal Rezzonico, acting on behalf of Pius VI. and with his approval, informed the suffragan Bishop Strachwitz that so as not to deprive the Catholics in Prussia of the spiritual succour they had received hitherto from the Fathers of the suppressed Society of Jesus, these priests were not to be forbidden to continue their activities in the churches and schools. Nevertheless, the Pope regarded them solely as individuals subject to episcopal jurisdiction, not as members of a religious association. With this proviso the Bishop could admit them to holy orders.[2] Ciofani added by way of explanation that at his last audience the Pope had asserted that with regard to the Jesuits he disowned everything that had happened or was still happening in Prussia. The methods which the monarch was using to preserve them were protected by the seal of the royal, not the Papal, authority. As the king's concern was with the religious and scholastic training of his Catholic subjects, the royal desire would be satisfied by Rome instructing the Bishops not to hinder this activity in any way. Nevertheless, the Pope gave the aforesaid permission only to the individual members of the legally suppressed Society and he denied their continued existence in Prussia. He could not approve of this existence either under the name of the Society of Jesus or of any other religious association. This was all that could be obtained in the circumstances.[3]

Deeming that he had obtained in effect all that he could

[1] *Piano di lettera formato dal Card. Bernis, 19 [Nov. 1775], Regolari, Gesuiti 16, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Nunziat. di Polonia 45, 46, and 119, *ibid.*; LEHMANN, V., 73, No. 109. *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Garampi, December 6, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 45, *ibid.*; *Corsini to Garampi, December 9, 1775, *ibid.*

[3] December 9, 1775; LEHMANN, V., 75, No. 112. Antici's *report, Diario di Garampi, December 16, 1775, Diario 1775/76, Papal Secret Archives, Fondo Garampi Arm. XV, 191.

reasonably demand from the Pope, Frederick rested content with these concessions, especially as they seemed to suffice for the execution of his plans as the father of his people. That the Pope's decision had deprived the Silesian Jesuits of their character as members of an Order was more than he could understand.[1] On January 3rd, 1776, he had orders sent to the suffragan Bishop of Breslau and to the Jesuits to take the necessary measures for the execution of the Papal edict.[2] What seemed to be a mere formality to the monarch, however, was a matter of vital importance to the Jesuits. The Cabinet instruction of January 3rd, that "the Order and the whole institute was from now onwards completely suppressed in the royal lands as elsewhere", filled them with horror and bewilderment. But when the first excitement had died down they took a calmer view of the future.[3] After a while even Fr. Zeplichal, whose tactless utterances [4] were often used against the Order, recovered his equanimity, though he never succeeded in conquering his inward dislike of the suffragan Bishop Strachwitz, who was intellectually his inferior.

On the strength of Rezzonico's letter and the Cabinet order of January 3rd, 1776, Strachwitz, on January 23rd, issued an instruction for the episcopal commissaries for the suppression. In every college the community was to be assembled and informed that the Society of Jesus had ceased to exist in Silesia, that the authority of the Superiors had expired, and

[1] After the suppression had been carried out the monarch caused a denial to be issued by his agent Ciofani that the Society had been suppressed in his realm. This, he said, was a false report and a misunderstanding. He was adhering to the arrangements made with the Pope and he would maintain these religious in existence, apart from a few external changes. Ministerial decree of April 9, 1776, to Ciofani, in LEHMANN, V., 120, No. 173.

[2] Cabinet order of January 3, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 81, No. 121; *Frederick II. to Reinach, January 3, 1776, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

[3] Extract from the Cabinet conference of January 15, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 120, No. 88[1].

[4] Zeplichal to Carmer, January 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 81[3].

that the former members of the Society now belonged to the secular clergy. The rector was to be replaced by a secular priest who would act as house superintendent.[1] The professors, preachers, and teachers were confirmed in their offices until further notice. An inventory of the church furniture and pious foundations was to be prepared. The commissaries were not to participate in the valuation of the estate, as the king had reserved this task for the Government.[2] The commissaries were to perform their duty unobtrusively, considerately, and with the avoidance of harshness, remembering that they were the representatives of the Bishop, who embraced in fatherly love the members of an Order which had trained so many men to be of service to the Church and the State and who wanted to alleviate as much as possible their ill-fortune, which he was unable to prevent.[3] In Breslau the suppression took place on February 5th, 1776. The reading of the Papal Brief was omitted, as all present declared that they knew it already and submitted to it.[4] On February 9th the suffragan Bishop was able to report to the nuncio that the Papal ruling had been carried out in the diocese of Breslau. All had submitted without hesitation, except the ex-Provincial Gleixner and the professor Zeplichal. As the former was domiciled in Prague his competent authority was the Archbishop there.[5] Zeplichal

[1] This regulation was cancelled by the king for reasons of economy. Hoym to the Foreign Department, April 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 121 *seq.*, No. 174.

[2] The Suffragan's attempt to take a hand in determining the amount of the Jesuit property and in its administration (January 10, 1776, *ibid.*, 84, No. 125) was rejected by the king with the remark: "As for what concerns their money, the clergy have nothing to do with it." January 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 92, No. 136.

[3] *In Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.* 226.

[4] "*Estratto di una lettera di Breslavia circa la soppressione dei Gesuiti ivi seguita ai 5 febr° 1776," *ibid.* In August 1776 Pius VI. renewed all the ecclesiastical privileges possessed by the ex-Jesuits before their secularization. Ciofani's report of August 21, 1776 (LEHMANN, V., 154, No. 205).

[5] In Glatz, which belonged to the archdiocese of Prague, the suppression took place on Ash Wednesday, February 21, 1776.

considered that as a native of Moravia he could submit to any Ordinary in Prussia of his choice. When summoned to the Bishop's presence he excused himself on the plea that he had to undertake a journey for his minister, which, in fact, he had done.[1]

In accordance with the agreement between the Curia and the Court of Berlin, the Minister Hoym, on February 8th, 1776, issued more detailed regulations for the Jesuits' future mode of life. They were to lay aside their distinctive dress and submit themselves to episcopal jurisdiction. Provided that they possessed the necessary qualities they were to be allowed to accept spiritual dignities and benefices. All the schools and the institutes and foundations connected with them were to remain in existence. The necessary teachers were to be drawn from the members of the extinct Society, and those already employed were retained. The rest were to be employed in the cure of souls or were to be provided for from Jesuit funds as pensioners or lay-brothers. The management of the estates devolved upon the sovereign.[2]

With the assistance of the former Provincial Gleixner and the regent Hertle,[3] Hoym drew up a statement of account for

BACH, *Urkundliche Kirchengeschichte der Grafschaft Glatz*, Breslau, 1841, 373; JOSEPH MÜLLER, *Nachrichten über die Gründung und allmähliche Ausbildung des K. kathol. Gymnasiums zu Glatz*, Glatz, 1842, 24.

[1] *Strachwitz to Garampi, February 9, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 119, Papal Secret Archives; *Garampi to the Congregation for the Suppression, March 13, 1776, *ibid.*, 59; *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 127. Extract from the report of the Suffragan Strachwitz, before February 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 102, No. 145.

[2] Hoym to the War and Crown Lands Office at Breslau and Glogau, February 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 99 *seqq.*, No. 144; WITTE, 102.

[3] The Superior Reinach, who was first selected for the post, had to refuse it on account of persistent illness. Cabinet letter to Hoym and Reinach, January 15, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 87 *seq.*, Nos. 129 and 130; correspondence between Reinach and the Cabinet on January 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 91 *seq.*, No. 134.

all the Jesuit establishments in Silesia, the receipts and expenditure balancing at 46,366 rix-dollars, 12 groschen, and 10 pfennigs. The number of the properties was sixty-four,[1] of the personnel 101.[2] The Minister found the Jesuits' accountancy inadequate.[3] He hoped that under the more accurate management of the Treasury the receipts would be considerably increased.[4] At his instigation the total estate of the former Silesian Province was placed under the control of the War and Crown Lands Office.[5] But as the management by this office failed to produce the results expected by the king, he restored it to the Jesuits in 1783, entrusting Reinach with the superintendence of the estates in Wartenberg and Glogau, and Strobel with that of Glatz. The accounts were to be rendered in the presence of the Superior Reinach, to relieve the Society of any doubt about the funds not having been administered in a correct and honest manner.[6] An

[1] In 1763 there were still seventy-two, *v.* WITTE, 103.

[2] Eighty-three professors, seven students, eleven invalids.

[3] Report of the Minister Hoym, March 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 110 *seq.*, No. 159.

[4] Hoym's report of February 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 95, No. 138.

[5] Cabinet order of May 19, 1776, to the governments of Breslau and Glogau, *ibid.*, 126 *seq.*, No. 182; "Instruction zur Administration derer Jesuiter Güter in Schlesien," May 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 127 *seqq.*, No. 183. *Garampi to Pallavicini, Dresden, May 24, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 127, Papal Secret Archives; **id.* to *id.*, October 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania 397, *ibid.* The Prince of Carolath now took the opportunity of renewing his claims to the college of Glogau, but Frederick curtly rejected them with the ruling that the business with the Jesuits was settled, so that nothing more could be done. Besides, the Jesuits had nothing to spare; in fact they hardly had enough to pay their debts. April 4, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 118, No. 170.

[6] Cabinet letter of August 28, 1783, to Reinach and Strobel, *ibid.*, 571 *seq.*, No. 737; instruction for Director Hellwig, September 13, 1783, *ibid.*, 573 *seqq.*, No. 741. According to this instruction the debts amounted to 169,084 rix-dollars, the revenues to 65,055 rix-dollars, as against which there were outgoings of 38,363 rix-dollars (24,344 of which were for ex-Jesuits and

application in 1785 for permission to sell the real estate and to dissolve the existing management was rejected by the king for the sake of the greater security of the landed property.[1]

Almost as soon as Frederick the Great had passed away the Minister Hoym put the plan for the sale before his successor. On the basis of their yield he valued the Jesuit estates in Silesia at 945,200 rix-dollars, which when put out at 5 per cent interest would produce 47,000 dollars,[2] so that after all the expenses for the schools institute had been met there would be a surplus of 8,000 rix-dollars for the support of other institutions. The Jesuits, he maintained, could not object to the application of this sum to the Protestant universities of Königsberg, Frankfurt an der Oder, and Halle since, on the basis of this plan, the receipts would be increased from 28,000 to 47,000 rix-dollars without any assistance from them and not a pfennig could be taken from the allocation made to the schools institute.[3] Frederick William II. had already sanctioned the sale and had ordered an annual payment of 10,000 rix-dollars to the said universities,[4] when he had misgivings and called for opinions of the possibility of obtaining the surplus of 10,000 rix-dollars without selling the properties. For a long time there was disagreement between the Ministers Hoym and Danckelmann. The latter admitted that the surplus was unobtainable under the existing management but maintained that it would be still less possible if the properties were sold. His chief misgivings, however, were of a juridical and moral character. Frederick II., he said, had

churches, 8,222 for the payment of interest). The yearly surplus was reckoned at 26,692 rix-dollars.

[1] Cabinet order of August 27, 1785, to "The Commission of the Catholic Schools Institute in Silesia", *ibid.*, 666, No. 861.

[2] The main fund for the Catholic schools in Silesia had an income of 176,970 marks in 1877–8; in 1896–7 the revenues amounted to 131,160 marks. RUDOLPHI, *Zur Kirchenpolitik Preussens*, Paderborn, 1907, 64.

[3] Hoym's report of December 30, 1786, in LEHMANN, VI., 19 *seqq.*, No. 27.

[4] Cabinet order of January 3, 1787, *ibid.*, 21, No. 28.

assured the members of the schools institute of the undiminished possession of their estates, which had been destined for this and no other purpose. The properties could not be sold without the previous knowledge and consent of the owners. The ex-Jesuit colleges were the only means by which Catholics could provide their children with a higher education.[1] Hoym's reply was that the schools institute lost absolutely nothing by the sale; nor would the 10,000 rix-dollars be diverted from the ultimate object since, the theologians apart, the Catholics were free to study at the universities in question.[2] The argument was ended by the king's release of Danckelmann from the management of the Jesuit estates and its restoration to the crown lands office.[3] Six months later the Wartenberg estates, which were the largest and most productive, were sold to the Duke of Courland for 300,000 rix-dollars.[4] The leasing of the remaining, scattered, properties took place on the 15th and 16th November, 1787, in the presence of the "Jesuit Superiors", this precaution being taken to remove from their minds any suspicion of unfair dealing. Moreover the highest bidders had to accept the properties from the Jesuits themselves as the owners.[5] Replying to a representation made by the superiors of the Catholic schools institute on August 24th, 1788, the king observed that he had noted

[1] Danckelmann to Hoym, February 8, 1787, *ibid.*, 40 *seqq.*, No. 47.

[2] Hoym to Danckelmann, February 10, 1787, *ibid.*, 43 *seqq.*, No. 47.

[3] Cabinet order, February 27, 1787, to Hoym, *ibid.*, 73, No. 73.

[4] Hoym to the Cabinet, September 12, 1787, *ibid.*, 158 *seq.*, No. 148; RUDOLPHI, 64; HOFFMANN, *Die Jesuiten in Deutsch-Wartenberg* (1931), 106 *seqq.*

[5] Hoym to the Cabinet, October 31, 1787, in LEHMANN, VI., 169, No. 158; Hoym's report of November 27, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 181, No. 170; RUDOLPHI, 64; HOFFMANN, *Das Vermögen der schlesischen Jesuiten*, in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Gesch. Schlesiens*, LXV. (1931), 430 *seqq.*; ALBERT, *Der Verkauf der Glatzer Jesuitengüter*, in *Glatzer Heimatblätter*, XVI. (1930), 22 *seqq.*, 168 *seqq.*

with pleasure that they were satisfied with the new arrangement and in the future, too, he would protect their interests. As for the time being the Protestant universities could not do without the contribution and as members of all confessions could study law and medicine there, even they would understand that " it was not yet necessary to provide the university of Breslau with teachers of these faculties ".[1]

At the same time as the administration of the Jesuit estates was put on a new basis under Frederick II. (1776) a reorganization of studies took place. It was not the first time that the Prussian authorities had devoted their attention to a reform of the Catholic school system. Shortly after the publication of the Brief of suppression it seemed to them that the time had come to resurrect Felbiger's plans for reform, which had been brought to a standstill by Schlabrendorf's death. With the co-operation of Professor Zeplichal, Carmer, the Minister of Justice, drew up the new " *Schul-Reglement* ", which was highly thought of at the time.[2] To the former philosophical subjects were now added history, philosophical æsthetics, the theory of agriculture, and the history of philosophy and literature. " In metaphysics all scholastic whimsicalities and sophistries are to be dropped " ; on the other hand, the students were to be trained to a rational consideration of things. The object of theological teaching was the formation of a straightforward clergy instructed in the truths a knowledge of which was necessary in their profession. Instead of indulging in scholastic speculations and useless polemics the teachers were to provide their pupils with the weapons with which to

[1] Cabinet letter of September 10, 1788, in LEHMANN, VI., 311, No. 261. REINKENS (116) and WITTE (105, n. 1) should be revised accordingly. *Cf.* GRÜNHAGEN, *Schlesien unter Friedrich d. Gr.*, II. (1892), 501. HOFFMANN (*Handbuch der brandenburgisch-preussischen Gesch.* [1889], 350 *seq.*), GRANIER (*Preussen und die kathol. Kirche seit 1640*, VII. [1902], 236), and *Realenzyklopädie für protest. Theol.* (XV. [1904], 443) are wrong in connecting the suppression of the Schools Institute with the sale of the properties in 1787.

[2] *Cf. Augsburgisches Extrablatt* No. 106, of May 4, 1775.

combat the modern enemies of religion. For ordination a degree in theology would be required. The most radical change was in the relations between the Jesuit schools and the Government. Formerly they had been practically independent of it, but now all the higher forms of Catholic education, including the university, was subject to the general supervision of the Silesian Minister of Justice. This official was empowered to confirm the appointment of teachers and, after consultation with the "Grand School Board" to alter the method of teaching and to choose the textbooks. A member of the Society was to be appointed director of all the Catholic schools; he was to be subordinate to the Minister and was to visit all the schools at least once a year. Normally his term of office was for life. The teachers were to further the training not only of the intellect but also of the heart. To enable them to devote themselves undisturbed to their professional duties they were not to be employed too much in the cure of souls or in domestic affairs; nor were they to suffer from any serious lack of the books or instruments they needed for the subjects they were teaching.[1]

In this educational system, which presupposed the existence in Silesia of the Society of Jesus, a place on the School Board was reserved for the Provincial, who was given the right of proposing teachers for the various posts. When the suppression was put into execution, in 1776, the question arose whether the Bishop's right of supervision was to be confined to the purely spiritual functions of the ex-Jesuits or was to cover their activities in general, their educational work included. Strachwitz naturally wanted the matter to be decided in the latter sense,[2] while the Government and several of the ex-Jesuits—the former for political, the latter for personal reasons—preferred his co-operation to be confined to what was absolutely essential.[3] On March 13th, 1776, the suffragan

[1] LEHMANN, IV., 630 *seqq.*, No. 630; GRÜNHAGEN, 501 *seqq.*

[2] Letters of January 10 and before February 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 84, No. 125, and 102, No. 145.

[3] Zeplichal to Carmer, January 19, 1776, *ibid.*, V., 81, n. 3. Before February 18 Zeplichal, who had been director of schools

Bishop presented his plan, which he had drawn up in consultation with Gleixner and Hertle. His principal demands were that a secular cleric was to be appointed by the Ordinary as head of every educational establishment and that a special commission for the superintendence of the schools should be formed of the administrator and " the most eminent professors ".[1] The plan drawn up at the same time by the Minister of Justice, Carmer, with the assistance of the Rector of the University, Zeplichal, and Professor Langer, excluded the Bishops and the secular clergy from any participation in educational affairs. The teachers and prefects were to continue living in community. Every " Gymnasium " was to have seven teachers, the university fourteen. A fund was to be created for the maintenance of twelve young men who were to be trained as teachers at the university. To encourage the teachers and to distinguish them from the rest of the secular clergy they should be permitted to assume the title of *Presbyteri instituti regii scholastici*.[2] In effect, Frederick II. rejected the suffragan Bishop's proposals[3] by deciding in favour of Carmer's plan, which restricted the Ordinary to the purely ecclesiastical sphere and reserved to the State wide powers of intervention in educational matters, on the model of the Catholic Powers.[4] To elude the further objections raised

since 1775 (*ibid.*, 48, No. 69), submitted to the Cabinet through Reinach a scheme for the reform of studies (*ibid.*, 103, No. 147). This may have been the *aide-mémoire* directed against episcopal superintendence, the gist of which is reproduced by Reimann in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Gesch. und Altertum Schlesiens* (XXI. [1887], 23 *seq.*). Zeplichal regarded the Suffragan as his opponent but he stated in a letter to Carmer of January 19, 1776 (*loc. cit.*) : " In ecclesiastical matters we shall not refuse to subordinate ourselves to the Bishops."

[1] Extract from Strachwitz's letter in LEHMANN, V., 111 *seq.*, No. 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, 112 *seq.*, No. 161.

[3] Cabinet letter of March 17, 1776, to Strachwitz, *ibid.*, 115 *seq.* No. 165.

[4] Conference protocol of June 5, 1776, *ibid.*, 130 *seqq.*, No. 186 ; GRÜNHAGEN, II., 505 *seq.*

by Strachwitz [1] the king ruled that the Bishop "might be taken into consultation in the setting up of the Jesuit teaching system, but only as a matter of form".[2] Carmer and Hoym now wrote a joint letter to the Bishop defining his sphere of influence, which was limited to purely spiritual matters and theology; he was to refrain from any interference in the teaching of secular subjects.[3] The Administrator again demanded the extension of his sphere of influence on the ground that the "Gymnasium" and philosophy were preliminary stages of theology [4] but his request was not successful.[5]

On the basis of the above-mentioned principles and a section on organization contributed by Zeplichal, the well-known jurist Svarez elaborated an instruction which was published on August 25th, 1776, and was to serve as a supplement to the School Order of December 11th, 1774.[6] According to this the ex-Jesuits were to stay combined as a body, under the name of "Priests of the Royal Schools Institute". They could accept new members and train them as professors. They were assured of the undisturbed possession of the former estates of the Society. The schools commission was to be dependent on the king alone, and the curator of the university was *ex officio* its president. To ensure that due respect was paid to the rights of the Bishop, his co-operation in all matters appertaining to religion was precisely defined in the new

[1] On March 27, 1776 (*Garampi to Pallavicini, Dresden, May 24, 1776, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia 127, Papal Secret Archives) and on June 19, 1776 (LEHMANN, V., 141 *seq.*, No. 191).

[2] Cabinet order of June 26, 1776, to Carmer and Hoym, in LEHMANN, V., 143, No. 194.

[3] July 2, 1776, *ibid.*, 143 *seq.*, No. 195.

[4] Correspondence between Carmer and Hoym on August 14, 1776, *ibid.*, 149 *seqq.*, No. 200.

[5] Strachwitz to Carmer, August 1, 1776, *ibid.*, 147, No. 199.

[6] "Instruction für die Priester des königlichen Schulen-Institutes in Schlesien, als ein Anhang zu dem allerhöchsten Schulen-Reglement d.d. 11. Dezember 1774," *ibid.*, 156 *seqq.*, No. 208.

instruction.[1] His right to supervise religious instruction and the theological faculty was recognized, and he was given the right to complain to the schools commission in the event of a member grossly offending against faith or morals. The dean and professors of theology were to obtain the advice and instruction of the Bishop concerning methods, textbooks, time-table, and the like. The annual lists of lectures and written works of a theological nature were also to be submitted for his approval. On the other hand, he was not to intervene in the management of the lay faculties. In their occupation of ecclesiastical offices the ex-Jesuits were subject to the Ordinary, like the rest of the secular clergy. Priests about to be employed in the cure of souls were to be presented to the Ordinary [2] and he could apply to the commission for their transfer.[3] The schools institute was obliged to maintain twelve candidates for the teaching profession at the university of Breslau. The rectors of the university and the Gymnasia were to be appointed by the royal commissary. The directors of the Gymnasia were responsible for the maintenance of discipline and the supervision of the instruction.[4]

Letters written at this time by unknown ex-Jesuits testify to their satisfaction with the new system, which they ascribed to the king's clemency and his Ministers' sense of justice.[5] Bishop Strachwitz was not so content.[6] His relations with

[1] Carmer to the Cabinet, August 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 156, No. 207.

[2] The right of presentation was transferred to the Schools Commission as the legal successor of the Society of Jesus. Cabinet order of July 27, 1777, *ibid.*, 220 *seq.*, No. 285.

[3] Garampi admitted in a report to Strachwitz that he had accomplished a great deal but that there was still much to be settled. The majority of the ex-Jesuits, he said, were on his side against Zeplichal, who had withheld the obedience due to him (probably by entering another diocese). *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 2, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania 423, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Latin translation, *ibid.* *Cf.* GRÜNHAGEN, II., 506 *seq.*

[5] Wratislaviae, July 15 and 28, October 18, 1776, in Jesuit possession, Bohem. 203, *Hist. Soc.*, 226.

[6] *Cf.* *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 2, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania, Papal Secret Archives.

Carmer, the Minister of Justice, continued to be strained, Carmer jealously guarding the rights of the State,[1] and the latter was not content until Entzendorffer, the chancellor of the university, who took the prelate's part, was removed to the parish of Krenzendorf.[2] On the other hand, the Minister was careful not to give the ecclesiastical authorities cause for complaint. When in 1778 Zedlitz applied for the transfer from Mainz to the university of Breslau of Professor Isenbiehl, who was suspected of heterodoxy, Carmer made it a condition that Isenbiehl became a member of the schools institute and gave guarantees of his orthodoxy to the suffragan Bishop. By this means he caused the project to collapse.[3] Rome appeared to accommodate itself to the new system, once its main object, the secularization of the Jesuits, had been attained.[4]

The corporation of the "Priests of the Royal Schools Institute" remained in existence for twenty-four years. By the law of July 26th, 1800, made by Frederick William III., it was dissolved,[5] the teachers became paid servants of the State, the teacherships were thrown open to Catholic laymen, the Catholic school board was formed for the control of the Catholic schools in Silesia, and the funds of the institute were transferred in perpetuity to the Roman Catholic Silesian School Fund, the management of which was entrusted to the State Provincial Administration.[6]

[1] *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 24, 1776, *ibid.*

[2] Carmer to Strachwitz, November 12, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 173 *seq.*, No. 222.

[3] Correspondence between Zedlitz and Carmer, February 24–March 8, 1778, *ibid.*, 255 *seqq.*, No. 338; GRÜNHAGEN, II., 507.

[4] *Cf.* *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania, 397, *loc. cit.*

[5] THEINER'S *Gesch. der geistl. Bildungsanstalten* (291) and the works mentioned on p. 189, n. 1, should be amended accordingly.

[6] KORN, *Neue Sammlung aller in Schlesien und Glatz ergangenen und publizierten Verordnungen, Edikte* . . . VIII., Breslau, 1804, 90 *seqq.*; WITTE, 104 *seqq.*; PORSCH, *Die Unterdrückung des Jesuitenordens in Schlesien*, in the *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, 74 (1895), 177; RUDOLPHI, 63 *seq.*

Frederick II.'s hope of winning the Jesuits' gratitude by extending his protection to them in the hour of their persecution was duly fulfilled. Many among their ranks in Prussia supported him and ardently admired him, and for so doing they have been censured more than once by zealous Catholics of our own time.[1] Though it cannot be recorded of them that they broke new ground in the realms of knowledge [2] they were not deficient in a genuine proficiency in the humanities. "With the university and their Gymnasia they provided the Catholic population of Silesia with an education which stood the test of Frederick the Great's acute observation. Though the specifically Christian life was something he could not understand, he would have regarded it as the greatest of misfortunes if the originators of this education had left the country. The Leopoldina has become a pillar of the Church in Silesia—and this is saying a great deal." [3]

Up to the year 1776 the Jesuits in the various parts of Prussia had shared a common lot, but with the execution of the Brief of suppression in Silesia their ways divided.

On receiving the instruction from Frederick II. to obtain for the Bishops in West Prussia the same powers as those enjoyed by the Administrator Strachwitz, the agent Ciofani replied that the Pope had already anticipated the prince's wish by instructing the nuncio to Warsaw to advise these Bishops to transform the Jesuit colleges in their dioceses in the manner of Breslau.[4] Together with the notice of the execution of the Brief in Silesia the agent received the news that in the kingdom of Prussia and the duchy of Cleves no

[1] GRÜNHAGEN, II., 499.

[2] In spite of their difficult financial situation the Silesian Jesuits were not quite so unproductive as Grünhagen (II., 508), probably relying on Reinkens (103 *seqq.*), would have them appear. *Cf.* PELZEL, *Böhmische, mährische und schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Orden der Jesuiten*, Prague, 1786.

[3] REIKENS, 117; MENZEL, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, VI., 70 *seq.*; THEINER, *Gesch. der geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, 51.

[4] Ciofani's report of February 3, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 96., No. 139.

alteration as yet had been made in the Society's dress and that the Jesuits were in possession of their properties just as they were before.[1] This state of affairs was to endure for four years more. The chief reason for this anomaly seems to have been the fear that in the event of suppression the neighbouring States would confiscate the properties of the Prussian Jesuits situated in their territories. As Frederick had sequestrated the properties of foreign colleges in his States and had assigned them to his own board of revenue,[2] the other States, such as Austria and the Prince-Bishopric of Münster, had exercised their right of reprisal.[3]

Meanwhile, Giovanni Andrea Archetti had arrived in Warsaw as Garampi's successor, with strict instructions from the Cardinal Secretary of State, who was completely under the influence of Spain, to see that there was no more delay in putting the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* into execution. Archetti duly played his part by spurring on the Bishops and the Jesuits in turn. The latter replied that they were ready to submit but that the difficulty lay with the Bishops, not

[1] Ministerial decree of April 27, 1776, to Ciofani, *ibid.*, 122 *seq.*, No. 176. Assuming that the Vicar Apostolic of Breslau wielded jurisdiction over all the Prussian States, the nuncio Bellisomi had not approached the Archbishop of Cologne. *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, April 4, 1776, Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] Royal ordinance of October 8 and December 8, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 556, No. 532 and 572, No. 547. *Cf.* Zedlitz to the Cabinet on May 3, 1774, together with the Cabinet order of May 5, 1774, *ibid.*, IV., 602, No. 586.

[3] *Rector Classen of Emmerich to the nuncio Busca on May 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Fiandra 135, Papal Secret Archives ; DIETRICH, *Die Ausführung des Breve "* Dominus ac Redemptor *" vom 21. Juli 1773 in Westpreussen und Ermland*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, XII. (1897), 167 *seqq.* According to the report of the Procurator Hübner the possessions of the West Prussian Jesuits (excluding Ermeland) in Poland were worth 43,333 rix-dollars, those of the Polish colleges in West Prussia, 123,838 rix-dollars. LEHMANN, V., 19, No. 25.

with them. The Bishop of Ermeland, they alleged, had commanded them to retain their dress and their religious status so as not to provoke the king's displeasure.[1] The Cardinal Secretary of State's instructions grew more urgent the more the Bourbon ambassadors insisted with the utmost vehemence that the events in Russia were not to be repeated in Prussia.[2] When it became known that a noviciate had been opened in Polotsk the permission which had formerly been granted for the Jesuits living in community to be employed according to their capabilities [3] was withdrawn and Bishop Bajer was instructed not to allow them to teach or to undertake the cure of souls until they had been secularized. He was to endeavour to persuade the king to have the Brief of suppression executed in the same way as in Silesia.[4] Whereas the Bishops of Ermeland and Kujavia persisted in their passivity [5] the Bishop of Kulm appealed to the king.[6] Before the petition put forward by the Jesuits of Graudenz for permission to retain their status had been dispatched to Berlin [7] the monarch had made his decision: he was willing

[1] *Fr. Willich to Archetti, May 25 and October 5, 1778, January 24, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 105, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* below, pp. 205 *seqq.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Archetti, August 24, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Pallavicini to Archetti, September 11 and 18, October 9, 1779, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Bajer, October 3, 1779, *ibid.*, 84; *Archetti to Krasizki, October 10, 1779, *ibid.* The report in the *Gazette de Cologne* that Garampi, authorized by Clement XIV., had allowed the Bishop of Kulm to leave the Jesuits in his diocese in their former conditions, was denied in the Roman *Cracas* and in the *Gazette de France.* *Doria to Pallavicini, November 8 and 15, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 569, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Pallavicini to Archetti, December 11, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *ibid.*

[6] On December 4, 1779, LEHMANN, V., 323 *seq.*, No. 421. DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, XII., 147 *seqq.*

[7] On December 15, 1779, LEHMANN, V., 331, No. 427: DIETRICH, 148.

to refer the question of dress and title to the will of the Pope but the essence of the Institute must be preserved as in Silesia.[1] On January 17th, 1780, Bishop Bajer had the suppression carried out in Graudenz and Marienburg in accordance with the king's intentions, and he reported that with this everyone was satisfied.[2] Shortly afterwards the Jesuits in West Prussia appealed to Frederick to have them organized in the Silesian manner, otherwise the divergences between the bishoprics would make a uniform system of education impossible.[3] The Coadjutor Bishop of Kulm, Count Hohenzollern, who was to make the necessary arrangements,[4] was willing to undertake the task but could not conceal the difficulties of a financial and personal nature that obstructed the execution of the plan.[5] The Bishops of Ermeland and Kujavia, Krasizki and Rybinski, showed no inclination to effect any change.[6] Archetti's attempts to move the Bishop

[1] Cabinet letter to Bajer, December 12, 1779, in LEHMANN, V., 326, No. 421; Cabinet letters to the Coadjutor Bishop Hohenzollern, December 5 and 12, 1779, *ibid.*, 326 *seq.*, Nos. 422 and 423; Cabinet letter to Zedlitz, December 21, 1779, *ibid.*, 340, No. 430.

[2] Bajer to the Cabinet, January 27, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 437.

[3] Before January 27, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 438.

[4] On January 27, 1780, *ibid.*

[5] Hohenzollern's letter of February 5, 1780, *ibid.*, 345 *seq.*, No. 439.

[6] Hohenzollern to Domhardt, March 29, 1780, *ibid.*, 364, No. 461. Hohenzollern had made these same *complaints to the nuncio Archetti on March 6, pointing out that in return for his protection of the Catholic Church Frederick II. deserved to have his royal title recognized by the Pope; Nunziat. di Polonia, 324, *loc. cit.*; DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*; EHRENBERG, *Italianische Beiträge*, 144; further *correspondence with Garampi on the subject of the royal title in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Germania, 401, 411. When dealing with the nuncio, Hohenzollern posed as the zealous champion of the Church's interests, in his relations with the king he tried to appear as a promoter of education and Germanism. Hohenzollern to Frederick II., September 5,

of Ermeland were without effect.[1] His correspondence shows that his delay was not due entirely to indifference and jealousy but partly also to solicitude for the future of Catholic higher education, since there were many cases of Jesuits declining to continue, as secular priests, the exhausting work of teaching unless they were assured of a competence.[2] Similar misgivings were expressed by Bishop Rybinski, of Kujavia. He cited the examples of Graudenz and Marienburg, where it was necessary to have recourse to compulsory measures to keep the teachers in the schools. If the king withdrew the prohibition against the publication of the Brief which had been issued to his predecessor he would conform, but he would not put up with any encroachment on his jurisdictional territory by Count Hohenzollern.[3] If it was intended to set up a schools institute on the Silesian model it was imperative to have at least a uniform method of procedure. Accordingly, a Cabinet decree of May 1st, 1780, ordained that the Government of West Prussia was to refrain from any intervention in the Jesuit affair, as it had been committed to the exclusive care of Bishop Hohenzollern and Oberpräsident Domhardt.[4] When the Coadjutor again brought to the king's notice the difficulties with which he was faced [5] Frederick instructed the authorities by a Cabinet order of May 20th to inform the recalcitrant Bishops that in the matter of their name and dress the Jesuits of West Prussia were to be placed on the same footing as those in Silesia.[6] Thereupon, in the course of June and July, the Official Karl von Zehmen published the Brief of suppression in

1785, and May 5, 1786, in LEHMANN, V., 668, No. 864, and 689, No. 890; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, May 16 and July 4, 1789, Nunziat. di Polonia, 71, *loc. cit.*

[1] Archetti to Pallavicini, April 26, 1780, in EHRENBERG, 149 *seqq.*

[2] DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.*

[3] Rybinski to Frederick II., before May 15, 1780, in LEHMANN, V., 369; DIETRICH, 156.

[4] LEHMANN, V., 367, No. 466.

[5] On May 13, 1780, *ibid.*, 368, No. 468.

[6] *Ibid.*, 371, No. 473.

the Jesuit establishments in the diocese of Ermeland.[1] This was also done by the Bishops of Gnesen and Kujavia in their dioceses.[2]

For the ex-Jesuits in West Prussia the situation after the suppression developed less favourably than for those in Silesia. On returning to his bishopric at the end of July Prince-Bishop Krasizki found the Jesuits already secularized but in a deplorable condition. Except for thirty who had secured employment as teachers on a barely adequate salary they were quite abandoned and were without means of support. "This is what my neighbours' zeal has done," wrote the Bishop to Canon Ghiotti in Warsaw.[3] The confiscation of their properties in foreign territories had shattered the material foundations of their existence.[4] Oberpräsident Domhardt reported on June 5th, 1780, that the revenues of all eight colleges in West Prussia and Ermeland amounted to 8,000 rix-dollars, of which 6,493 were secure. For the eighty-seven members, however, it was calculated that 15,755 rix-dollars would be necessary, wherefore the Coadjutor Count Hohenzollern "made so bold" as to suggest that the Government should make good the deficit with an annual grant.[5] Archetti,

[1] DIETRICH, 159; LÜHR, *Die Rektoren des Jesuitenkollegs zu Rössel*, in the *Ermländ. Zeitschr.*, XVIII. (1913), 46; POSCHMANN, *Das Jesuitenkolleg in Rössel* (1932), 148 *seqq.*

[2] In the duchy of Cleves the Brief seems never to have been promulgated. As late as May 18, 1784, the head of the college at Emmerich signed a *receipt: "Wilhelmus Classen S.J. p.t. Minister Collegii," State Archives, Düsseldorf, Emmerich, Klöster, Jesuiten, Akten 34.—In 1788 the school was transferred to the Crociati, as all the Fathers but three had died. KÖHLER, *Rückblick auf die Entwicklung des höheren Schulwesens in Emmerich* (1892), 63.

[3] DIETRICH, 162.

[4] *Ibid.*, 167 *seq.*

[5] Domhardt to the Cabinet, June 5, 1780, in LEHMANN, V., 373 *seqq.*, No. 478; Hohenzollern's letter of June 6, 1780, *ibid.*, 378, No. 480. In a statement drawn up in 1773 the receipts of the eight Prussian colleges are given as 5,572 rix-dollars, but it must be remembered that these colleges, like all ecclesiastical properties,

who had been apprised of Krasizki's letter, thought that his description of the situation was exaggerated,[1] but the report he received from Laszki, the Rector at Braunsberg, made him change his opinion. It was to be feared, said Laszki, that the Literary Institute would be dissolved before it had been properly constituted. No provision had been made for the sick or the aged; the teachers had been *promised* 170 rix-dollars. Some of the ex-Jesuits had already left Prussia and had taken up employment as teachers or with noble families in Poland in order to gain their livelihood. Count Hohenzollern was asking for seven teachers for each of the large colleges at Braunsberg and Altschottland (near Danzig) and for three teachers for each of the other six, but few of those who had stayed behind were fit to teach the humanities, and there were still fewer who could teach philosophy and theology in a worthy manner.[2] For the moment the nuncio could think of nothing better than to recommend the ex-Jesuits to the Coadjutor in the hope that he would obtain for them a decent stipend.[3] In December 1780 came the joyful news that the payment of the teachers' salaries had been decreed and that provision was also being made for the sick and aged [4] but by July 1781 nothing had materialized.[5] It appears that on the Government taking over the Jesuit estate the economic situation gradually improved.

To effect this a two-fold object had to be attained by Hohenzollern and the Government: the creation of a material basis by the reorganization of the finances and the internal organization of the Institute. Nearly eighteen months went by before the constitution of the *Institutum litterarium* had

were charged with contributions to the amount of 50 per cent of their income. *Ibid.*, V., 563, No. 539. *Cf.* RUDOLPHI, 64.

[1] Archetti to Pallavicini, August 9, 1780, in EHRENBERG, 182.

[2] *Laszki to Archetti, August 26, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 9, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] Archetti to Pallavicini, September 13, 1780, in EHRENBERG, 184.

[4] EHRENBERG, 188.

[5] *Laszki to Archetti, July 2, 1781, *loc. cit.*

been worked out in its main outlines. The "General Regulation for the Catholic Gymnasia established in West Prussia in place of the former Jesuit Colleges" [1] was expressly modelled on the Silesian school system though it could not be applied without alteration owing to the insufficient revenues and the ignorance of the German language. After the dissolution of the union within the Order which had existed hitherto the Gymnasia would be combined into a common schools institute, the general superintendence of which would be entrusted to the Coadjutor Bishop Count Hohenzollern. As there had been no Catholic university in West Prussia and the available resources did not allow of a new foundation, the schools of Braunsberg and Altschottland would be raised to the status of academic Gymnasia at which theological students could complete their studies with a three-year course in philosophy and a four-year course in theology. Among the new branches of study to be introduced were history, geography, and theological encyclopædics. The teachers were especially enjoined to promote the study of German and Latin and, if possible, Greek too. To improve the salaries of the professors a moderate fee should be exacted from the non-theologians, as was done by the Protestants. No cleric was to receive a parochial appointment until he had completed the prescribed course at Braunsberg or Schottland, with the exception of Kulm, where there was a training college. At the head of the institute, for whose members a life in community was prescribed, there was to be a director, as in Silesia, who was to superintend the eight establishments, propose alterations in the regulations, and recommend capable candidates for any vacancies that might occur. The Minister Zedlitz rightly pointed out that so many subjects could hardly be mastered by so few persons and that the 300 rix-dollars earmarked for the five persons in Graudenz were not sufficient.[2] In spite of these objections the draft received the king's approval on

[1] Dietrich, 164.

[2] Marienwerder, June 1, 1781, in Lehmann, V., 433 *seqq.*, No. 571.

March 5th, 1781.[1] Count Hohenzollern would have liked to have one of the Silesian ex-Jesuits as director, deeming them to be more patriotic than the Poles,[2] but his request was not granted and the post was given to the Rector of the Papal College at Braunsberg, Peter Laszki.[3] If the Bishop's reports are to be believed, the Literary Institute flourished so lustily that it supplied as good candidates for "military, civil, and ecclesiastical careers" as the Fatherland could wish for. At Schottland German, French, Polish, history, and geography were taught as well as theology, philosophy, and the humanistic subjects.[4] Thanks to the energetic co-operation of the director, Raffalski, the scholars had made great progress in German, although four years before they had not had the slightest knowledge of the language.[5] Nevertheless, the Bishop did not succeed in inducing the authorities to support the schools financially. His complaints about the poor pay of the teachers [6] elicited the reply that it was a mistake to distribute 8,000 rix-dollars among seven Gymnasia, as this meant that none of them received an adequate income. It was better to have one well-endowed Gymnasium with a sufficient number of capable teachers than seven poorly-endowed establishments with barely adequate staffs. Hohenzollern's comment, not entirely unjustified, was that this would mean leaving five-sixths of the population without any place of higher education in order to give the remaining sixth an exemplary one.[7]

[1] Zedlitz to the Cabinet, January 18, 1781, *ibid.*, 408, No. 533.

[2] Cabinet order, March 5, 1781, to Finckenstein and Korckwitz, *ibid.*, 425 *seq.*, No. 559.

[3] Letter of February 5, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 438.

[4] The Literary Institute had three directors in the course of its existence: Laszki (1780–6), Raffalski (1786–1804), Malewski (1804–1810). BRAUN, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Braunsberg* (1865), 61.

[5] Hohenzollern's letter of September 5, 1785, in LEHMANN, V., 668, No. 864.

[6] Hohenzollern's letter of May 5, 1786, *ibid.*, 869, No. 890.

[7] *Aide-mémoire* of Hohenzollern's, January 30, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 35 *seq.*, No. 42.

Like other bodies, the Schools Institute had to suffer from the maladministration of the finances under Frederick's successor. Frederick II.'s assurance that he would see to the maintenance of the buildings, for which the funds of the institute were insufficient, was afterwards ignored. At Deutsch-Krone (Valcz), where Major von Kleist was educated, a wing had already collapsed, and at Konitz part of the buildings had been taken away from the Gymnasium and had been allotted as lodgings to General Arnaud.[1] Hohenzollern's request for the order to be given to the Bishops not to admit members of the Schools Institute to the diocesan clergy without their formal discharge and to allow competent young clerics to join the Institute, points clearly enough to its decline.[2] Under the rectorship of the ageing Laszki the Papal College also fell away, the discipline and economy leaving much to be desired,[3] and it was feared that the Government would either take it over or close it altogether.[4] The Rector had repeatedly offered to resign [5] but Rome was unwilling to part so easily with this well-deserving priest,[6] who for years had been the confidential agent of Garampi and Archetti, so he was given an assistant [7] to relieve him of the bulk of the administrative business. However, the negotiations went on so long [8] that

[1] Hohenzollern to the Oberschulkollegium, September 12, 1788, *ibid.*, 312 *seqq.*, No. 264.

[2] *Ibid.*, 313.

[3] Hohenzollern to the Oberschulkollegium, September 22, 1789, *ibid.*, 426 *seqq.*, No. 362. In 1810 the *Institutum Litterarium* was closed down. BRAUN, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, March 12, 1788, Nunziat. di Polonia, 78, *loc. cit.*; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, April 12, 1788, *ibid.*, 71.

[5] *Antonelli to Saluzzo, April 26, 1788, *ibid.*

[6] *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, June 11, 1788, *ibid.*, 78. Further reports of Saluzzo's of 1788–9, *ibid.*

[7] In the person of Canon Lewicki. BENDER, *Gesch. der philos. u. theol. Studien in Ermland* (1868), 117.

[8] *Cf.* *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, April 2, 1788, *loc. cit.*; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, May 13 and July 12, 1788, May 16, 1789,

Laszki, much to the annoyance of the nuncio, finally went off unexpectedly to take charge of a parish.[1] Two years later a final settlement was arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.[2]

Between 1794 and 1797 the Protestant Consistory requested the Government to use the South Prussian Jesuit funds for the erection of a training college for teachers, two Gymnasia, and a Protestant school. The application was turned down by the Minister Hoym before it could reach the king.[3] When, in 1796, a fund was formed in South Prussia by the sale of the Jesuit properties, Frederick William II. ruled that it should be increased by half of the amount that had hitherto been paid out of the Silesian Jesuit fund to the Protestant universities.[4]

(2)

In Russia, as in Prussia, the Jesuits survived.

Bohemian Jesuits had founded a Catholic community in St. Petersburg in 1715, but since 1719, when Peter the Great, in his rage with Leopold I., had expelled the missionaries, the Society had had no establishment in Russia.[5] With the annexation of the right bank of the Düna at the partition of Poland in 1772 twenty Jesuit houses, with 201 members of the Society, suddenly found themselves under Russian rule,[6] with no idea of their future.

ibid., 71. It was also feared in Rome that Bishop Hohenzollern would lay hands on the college at Braunsberg or at any rate completely Germanize it (*Antonelli to Saluzzo, July 4, 1789; *ibid.*).

[1] *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, October 13, 1790, and September 14, 1791, *ibid.*, 78.

[2] *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, September 19, 1792, *ibid.*

[3] RUDOLPHI, 16.

[4] *Ibid.* By 1805 there were only eighteen philosophers and sixteen theologians in Braunsberg. BENDER, 121.

[5] PIERLING, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, IV., 292 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII, 370.

[6] PIERLING, V., 40. *ROZAVEN, *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, p. 2, original in the Archives of the Galician Province,

Seven years before, Catherine II. had written to Voltaire [1] that all confessions were free to practise their religions in Russia, with the sole exception of the Jesuits, who were not tolerated. Now, when strictly orthodox Catholic monarchs were driving these religious out of their countries as if they were carriers of the plague, what was to be expected of the studious pupil of the Encyclopedists who had imbibed along with their philosophical ideas their bitter prejudices against the outlawed Society? At first she viewed these "crafty people", as she called them, with complete dislike and distrust and advised the authorities to keep a secret watch on them,[2] but thanks to her abnormal perspicacity she soon lost these prejudices. In emulation of the other "enlightened" rulers her ambition was to raise Russia to the status of a cultured nation by means of widespread education. This new acquisition presented her with a unique opportunity of achieving her object and of thus winning the gratitude and admiration of the masses. Opportunist as she was she had no hesitation in reversing her attitude and in suppressing her distaste for the sake of practical politics. In this she had the support of the men of her circle, in particular Count Zacharias Czerniszew, whom she had just appointed Governor General of White Russia. A "*grand seigneur*" of broad views and large ideas, having at heart the welfare of the population placed under his control, he devoted his chief attention to the instruction and training of the young. It was this that brought him into touch with the Jesuits. After he had made their closer acquaintance on a visit to their principal college at Polotsk, he became their most ardent protector and truest friend. Against manifold opposition he secured their survival,

now Polonia Minor. The pages referred to below are those of a copy placed at our disposal. GAGARIN, *Récit d'un Jésuite de la Russie-Blanche*, 2. *Cf.* *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] On August 22, 1765. Catherine II.'s correspondence with Voltaire, History of Russia, F 14, No. 294, State Library, St. Petersburg.

[2] PIERLING, V., 42.

as they themselves acknowledged in their annals, where they invariably write of him in terms of praise.[1]

The first occasion on which the Jesuits were brought into contact with their new civil Government was when they were faced with the alternative of taking or withholding the oath of allegiance. In the autumn of 1772 they, along with the other inhabitants of the annexed provinces, had either to swear allegiance to the Czarina or emigrate to Poland: a momentous question which had to be answered at once. Religious and patriotic feelings struggled for supremacy with material cares and fears for the future. There was nothing the Government feared so much as a demonstrative mass-emigration, which would have solidified opposition to the civil authorities of White Russia. To retain as many of the inhabitants as possible reassuring proclamations were made, with promises of religious freedom; these, it was hoped, would appeal especially to the nobility and the clergy. Nevertheless, Bishop Towianski, who as the Suffragan of Vilna was in charge at Polotsk, decided, along with several Canons, to return to Poland to demonstrate his patriotism and to protest against the forcible separation of this territory from the rest of Poland. The Jesuits, on the other hand, could not bring themselves to abandon their posts, leaving their schools without teachers and the people without pastors. They preferred to expose themselves to the reproaches of over-excited patriots rather than leave the faithful to face unsupported the dangers that threatened. Their example was followed by numerous members of the clergy and nobility, and the Russian Government's mistrust vanished forthwith.[2] Shortly after the oath of allegiance had been taken delegates of the various classes of the people had to go to St. Petersburg to do homage to the empress. The Uniats were represented by Archbishop

[1] *Ibid.*, 43 *seq.*

[2] *Rozaven, 4; Gagarin, 5 *seq.*; Zalenski-Vivier, *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, I., 241 *seqq.*; Loret, *Kosciół Katolicki a Katarzyna II.*, Cracow and Warsaw, 1910, 21 *seqq.*; Pierling, V., 43 *seq.*

Smogorzewski of Polotsk, the Latins, there being no Latin Bishop in the country, by the Rector of the Jesuit college at Polotsk, Stanislaus Czerniewicz,[1] a man of providential importance for his Society. The character of this commanding personality was made up of sharply contrasting qualities: bustling activity and interior recollection, self-confidence and condescension, firmness and courtesy. His most characteristic quality was his great self-control, which enabled him to retain his composure in difficult situations. In spite of his delicate constitution he had an extraordinary capacity for work. An easy, polished presence was combined with a judicious sense of proportion which he had acquired during his stay of several years with the curia of his Society in Rome.[2] Accompanied by Fathers Lenkiewicz and Katerbring[3] he arrived in St. Petersburg in the late autumn of 1772 and was accorded a very gracious reception by the empress. Through the Senator Teplow they learnt that Catherine, rejecting the request of the Senate, had declared her intention of keeping the Jesuits.[4] They obtained without difficulty the assurance that the institute would remain intact and that the authority of their General would suffer no detriment as long as it did not conflict with the laws of the State.[5] This secured the existence of the Society so far as the civil law was concerned, but a danger threatened from another quarter—the Brief of Clement XIV.'s, suppressing the Society.

For a better appreciation of the ensuing events we offer first a brief explanation of their legal aspect. Before a law has binding force it must be officially announced. According to the canon law of the time the promulgation could take place in one of two ways. The law was either posted up in the usual

[1] His patent of nomination is dated August 12, 1769. In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. I.

[2] PIERLING, 41 *seq.*

[3] He is called Katembring by Rozaven and Zalenski-Vivier, Katenbring by Gagarin.

[4] GAGARIN, 3 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 6 *seq.*; PIERLING, V., 46.

[5] *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz [December 1772 to January 1773], Nunziat di Polonia, 37, *loc. cit.* PIERLING, V., 46.

places in Rome, whereby it came into force for the whole Church, or it was made known locally and personally. Clement XIII., for example, chose the first method for the promulgation of his monitorium to Parma, to counter any obstruction that might have been made by the Government there.[1] The second method was used for the publication of the decree of the Council of Trent on clandestine marriages. It had to be published in every parish. Where for any reason the official announcement was not made, these marriages continued to be valid. This method of local announcement was chosen by Clement XIV. for the execution of the Brief of suppression. Its regulations did not come into force until they had been officially announced by the Ordinary or his plenipotentiaries in the Society's establishments that lay in his diocese. This was clearly implied in the Brief itself [2] and was expressly ordered in the Encyclical of August 18th, 1773,[3] which was sent with the Brief by the Congregation for the Suppression to all Archbishops and Bishops. No such official publication ever took place in the Jesuit establishments in White Russia. Repeated attempts to have it done were frustrated by the stubborn will of the autocratic empress. There can be no

[1] *Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 3, 1768, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4565. *Cf* our account, vol. XXXVII, 268.

[2] "Vetamus, ne postquam praesentes Nostrae litterae promulgatae fuerint ac notae redditae, ullus audeat earum executionem suspendere." Brief of suppression, *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I., Florence, 1892, 326; THEINER, *Epist.*, 400, § 34.

[3] "... eadem Congregatio particularis, de mandato Sanctissimi, praesentes litteras ad Amplitudinem Tuam dandas esse praecepit ad hoc, ut A.T. in singulis Domibus, seu Collegiis, et ubicumque in sua dioecesi reperiantur dictae suppressae Societatis Iesu individui, illis in unum congregatis, in qualibet Domo easdem litteras apostolicas suppressionis, et respective deputationis particularis Congregationis rite denuntiet, publicet et intimet ..." Frequently reprinted. *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 331. SANGUINETI, *La Compagnia di Gesù e sua legale esistenza nella Chiesa*, Roma, 1882. Appendice dei documenti, XL.; *Razón y Fe*, 39 (1914), 211 *seq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 183 *seq.*

question, therefore, about the canonical position of the Jesuits in Russia,[1] though it may not have seemed so clear at the time, even to those who were most nearly concerned in it.

The Brief of suppression arrived in Poland about the middle of September 1773. At the end of October, after its acceptance by the Polish Diet, it looked as if it would soon be put into execution.[2] A few days previously Sobolewski, the Provincial of the Masovian Province, had written to Czerniewicz that as the Brief would presumably be published shortly he would probably not be able to go to White Russia. Czerniewicz, therefore, as the Rector of the largest college, was, he told him, automatically the Vice-Provincial of the Russian part of the Province. It was his duty, with prudence and zeal for the Faith, to maintain the existing order. He prayed that God would give him ample grace to preserve what was left of the Catholic religion and the Society in those parts.[3] These last words seem to indicate that the Jesuits in Russia had some hope that there the Society would escape

[1] Canonically noteworthy is the reply given by Mgr. Macedonio on behalf of the Congregation for the Suppression to the nuncio Garampi, when the latter informed him *on November 3, 1773 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*), that the canonist in the college at Dünaburg, where the Brief had not yet been promulgated, was uneasy in his conscience and asked for secularization and release from the vows. In response to the request for rules for guidance in similar cases Macedonio wrote : " Intorno allo sciogliere dai voti de' Gesuiti, che a Lei facessero ricorso, e ai quali non fosse per anco stato intimato il Breve di soppressione, come ha fatto quello dei Domini Russi Professore di Canoni, impartisce il S. Padre all' E. V. tutte le facoltà necessarie e opportune (non però dai voti sostanziali solenni), anche di abilitarli a poter conseguire benefizi ecclesiastici, secondo ch' Ella giudicherà espediente ed opportuno." *Macedonio to Garampi, December 14, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 44, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also below, p. 237.

[2] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVIII, 366 *seq.*

[3] Sobolewski to Czerniewicz, October 25, 1773, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. I., printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summarium additionale, 101. *Cf.* ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 252.

the general destruction. On January 18th/29th, 1773, General Kachowski, the Governor of Mohilev, had issued a decree forbidding under pain of heavy penalties the publication of Papal Bulls or any other ordinances of the Roman authorities,[1] and on October 3rd (September 22nd) he had an instruction sent to General Browne, Governor of Livonia, to maintain and protect the Jesuits.[2] Similar instructions had been given to the authorities of the other provinces.[3] At the beginning of October Czerniewicz was informed by Kretchetnikow, Governor of Pskov, that he had been authorized by the empress to assure the Jesuits of her unfailing protection. Her view was that she could hardly rely on the loyalty of her new subjects if she herself did not keep her word and preserve the Society of Jesus, which was so necessary and useful in those parts. Simultaneously, the Governor, who had already forbidden the announcement of Roman decrees, ordered that all copies of the Brief of suppression that had found their way into Russia were to be handed in to him at once.[4] Also at

[1] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, Papal Secret Archives. The decree was based on the imperial ukase of December 14/25, 1772. PIERLING, V., 54; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 246.

[2] *Browne to Catherine II., September 29 and October 3, 1773, State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178. *Cf.* Lacy to Grimaldi, October 29 and November 9, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6637; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 96. "*Il est défendu ici de publier la bulle de la cassation des Jésuites." Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, December 31, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.* LORET, 209.—Count George de Browne (1698–1792), Irish soldier of fortune, entered the service of Russia in 1730, was appointed Governor of Livonia by Peter III., was confirmed in the office by Catherine II., and for thirty years to the close of his life administered its affairs with remarkable practical sagacity. (D.N.B.)

[3] *Canon Folkmann of Mitau to Garampi, October 18, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Kononowicz, Rector of the college at Dünaburg, to Prince Bishop Giedroyc of Samogitia, November 11, 1773, *ibid.*; **id.* to Garampi, December 15, 1773, *ibid.* *Cf.* GAGARIN, 9 *seqq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 249. That the Government intended the

about this time Bishop Massalski of Vilna, in whose diocese the college of Polotsk was situated, sent a circular letter to all the Jesuit superiors in this diocese, asking them not to leave their posts or to sell any of their property, to maintain the discipline of the Society, and to fulfil conscientiously all the duties of their offices and charitable foundations until further instructions arrived from the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.[1] The empress firmly refused to give her *exequatur* to Clement XIV.'s Brief, which had been forwarded on October 2nd (September 21st) by Count Stackelberg,[2] the ambassador to Warsaw, and she treated it as non-existent.

On October 26th, 1773, Czerniewicz, while trying to see his way through the general confusion, received from Kretchetnikow an official summons to St. Petersburg, ostensibly for the purpose of settling some questions of property belonging to the college at Polotsk but actually to discuss the new situation which the Brief had created for the Jesuits.[3] From Riga the Rector wrote to Garampi, informing him of what had happened and adding that as the empress had publicly promised her protection to the Jesuits he found himself in a serious dilemma.

prohibition to be taken seriously is seen from the cases of the Provost Przeclawski of Orsza and the parish priest Voyna of Vitebsk, who had received the Brief of suppression from the Consistory of Vilna, with the instruction to publish it in the colleges where they were. As after a few days they had not forwarded the Brief to the authorities, they were immediately expelled from the country. *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.*; *Voyna to Smogorzewski, June 28, 1774, *ibid.*; *Spiridowicz to Smogorzewski and Garampi, June 24, *ibid.*; *Przeclawski to Garampi, May 27, 1775, *ibid.*

[1] Warsaw, September 29, 1773. Notarially certified copy in Jesuit possession, Russia I., fasc. II., printed in ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 451 *seq.* *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 88; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 212 *seq.*

[2] *Stackelberg to Panin, September 21/October 2, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III, Warsaw, Réception de Stackelberg.

[3] GAGARIN, 18 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 11 *seq.*

To oppose the Government's order would incur the displeasure of the empress; failure to obey the Brief would amount to opposition to the supreme head of the Church. He accordingly asked the nuncio for advice and instructions.[1] The nuncio, however, preferred not to answer.[2] Czerniewicz and his companions arrived in the capital on December 16th, 1773, and were informed almost immediately by Czerniszew that the Czarina had taken the Jesuits under her special protection and wanted them to remain in their present condition. On the rector's explaining that this was impossible without falling foul of the Holy See, the Count asked him to consider the matter carefully and to put his wishes in writing before the empress.[3] The Jesuits, however, would not abandon their position. Towards the end of the year they presented a petition to the empress, through Czerniszew, pointing out that they would be burdening their conscience with serious guilt if they failed to acquiesce in the Papal Brief or impeded its execution through the medium of a foreign Power. Moreover, they were now a Congregation without a head. The empress was therefore asked to allow them to put aside their name and dress and to obtain permission from the Pope to continue their life in community and their previous labours in the church and school.[4] A month passed before an answer came. Not that the delay was due to any vacillation on Catherine's part; her mind had been made up long before. She had already declared quite clearly on November 8th that it was her unalterable will to preserve the Society and its possessions

[1] Dec. 1, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 313, Papal Archives.

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 15, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *ibid.*; *Rozaven, 13; Pierling, V., 50.

[3] Gagarin, 20 *seqq.*; *Rozaven, 14 *seq.*; Pierling, V., 50.

[4] Latin translation (undated) in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. II.; Italian translation ("Esemplare del cardinale de Bernis"), *ibid.*, fasc. V., and in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 89; *Razón y Fe, loc. cit.*, 212; supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 7, 1774. The translation of the Polish and Russian texts were undertaken by Eugen Otrebski, S.J., to whom my indebtedness is hereby acknowledged.

on Russian soil. Accordingly, the ecclesiastical authorities were forbidden to oppose it in any way or to promulgate the Brief. Senator Teplow was told to convey this order to Bishop Siestrzencewicz by word of mouth, and Czerniszew was to obtain his personal signature as a pledge of his obedience.[1] The compliant Bishop bowed to the imperial will without hesitation.[2] Through Czerniszew Catherine informed the Jesuits that as she had promised to maintain the *status quo* when taking possession of the new provinces it was her firm intention to preserve the Society in the state it was in at the taking of the oath of allegiance. For this reason she had ordered the Governors not to allow the publication of the Brief.[3] The Rector Czerniewicz had utilized the four weeks' interval to write a second letter to the nuncio, on January 16th, 1774, to keep him informed of the course of the negotiations, and he enclosed a copy of the petition to the Czarina and a digest of her reply.[4] Again no answer came from Garampi.[5] Instead, an imperial ukase appeared on January 13th/24th regulating the status of the Jesuits in White Russia: they were to remain as they had been before and instruct the young, and they were exempted from paying ground-rent.[6]

[1] Both *documents in the State Archives in St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 166, French trans. in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, X. (1909), 333 *seq.* Czerniszew's letter is dated Nov. 22, 1773. *Cf.* PIERLING, V., 51, n. 2; MOROCHKIN, *Die Jesuiten in Russland seit Katharina II.*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1867, 1870 (Russian).

[2] *Rev. d'hist. ecclés., loc. cit.*, X., 335. *Cf.* GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta ecclesiastica Petropolitana*, I., 38 *seq.* The "Lettre du ci-devant Secrétaire du Métropolitain" reproduced there was written in his own defence by Siestrzencewicz. *Ibid.*, I., 37, n. 1.

[3] GAGARIN, 34 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 17 *seq.*

[4] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives; GAGARIN, 38 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 10 *seq.*; PIERLING, V., 52.

[5] *Garampi to Macedonio, February 9, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[6] SBORNIK, I (1867), 426; *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, January 18/29, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, January 7/18, 1774, *ibid.*; *Lacy to Grimaldi, January 24/February 4, 1774, Cifre, Archives of

Siestrzencewicz had been informed by the Rector of the petition to the empress and of her reply and he now advised him to make further representations. But as the Bishop himself had not dared to take this step the Rector also held himself excused, especially as he knew that the advice had not been given in earnest. The Bishop had not only made a verbal promise to the empress to obey her alone and had pledged himself in writing to execute her orders but he had also promised the Court and the Jesuits to plead with the Pope to keep the latter in existence.[1]

In accordance with this promise the Bishop reported to the nuncio in Warsaw on January 7th/18th: "Yesterday I received an order from the Czarina to leave the Jesuits as they are. Please, therefore, ask the Pope to relieve their conscience by allowing them to bear the name and dress of the Society of Jesus, to continue living in community, and to minister to the faithful, in short, to do whatever Your Excellency deems suitable in the circumstances." The writer then proceeded to contradict this by saying: "The obligation involved in their vow of obedience to their own Superiors has already ceased, as has also their exemption. In future they will be subject to me. Their representatives, who are here for the moment, are passive in their attitude. I have read myself the memorial to the empress in which they explained their obligations."[2] The Jesuits' conduct at this period was also

Simancas, Estado, 6638; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 99; *Gazeta Warszawska*, March 5, 1774.

[1] "*Motivi generali e particolari, per li quali si ritengono i Gesuiti nella Russia Bianca," of March 17, 1774, translated from the Polish, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, June 24, 1774, translation, *ibid.*; GAGARIN, 37 *seq.*; supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 7, 1774.

[2] "J'ai reçu hier l'ordre de la part de Sa Majesté Impériale de laisser les Jésuites comme ils sont, et il faut qu'Elle soit obéie. Suppliez, Msgr., Sa Sainteté qu'Elle daigne soulager leur conscience et accorder la dispense de porter le nom et l'habit des Jésuites, d'administrer le service spirituel aux étrangers, et de demeurer en commun; en un mot, en ce que V. E. croit à propos

rather contradictory, which is psychologically understandable, considering their extraordinary situation, deprived of their head and with no guidance by the ecclesiastical authorities. On February 1st, 1774, the Bishop and the Rector came to an arrangement by which their mutual relations were to be defined by means of questions and answers. Their exemption notwithstanding, the Jesuits recognized the Bishop's jurisdiction, so that on this point at least they could comply with Clement XIV.'s Brief with the empress's approval; they submitted to their Bishop on matters of internal discipline, even in the selection of their Superiors. The arrangement was a true product of the obscurity of the situation. The mutual rights and obligations were not only imprecisely defined but they were capable of divergent interpretations by the two contracting parties. The contradictions are obvious. On the one hand, the Bishop guaranteed the integrity of the Institute and declined to accept the direction of the Society, on the other he transferred his plenary powers to the Rector Czerniewicz for the period of three months, also the duty of maintaining discipline, and he called on him to render a precise report on the personnel, the condition of the colleges, and the promotion of studies. He rejected the proposed appointment of a Vice-Provincial.[1] This agreement appears to be not so much a formal renunciation of the rights of the Society as a provisional measure which, according to the wording, was to have validity only so long as the Brief remained unpromulgated. Even apart from this restriction it can hardly be justified from the theoretical standpoint. Embarrassing misunderstandings were the inevitable result. The more the Jesuits became aware

selon les circonstances. Ils cessent déjà d'être obligés des vœus d'obéissance à leurs Supérieurs homogènes et d'être exemts, et ils dépendront de moi. Leurs députés se trouvent actuellement ici. Ils se sont conduits passivement, et j'ai lu leur mémoire qu'ils ont présenté, et dans lequel ils ont expliqué leurs obligations. La mienne est d'informer V. E., et de lui en donner les nouvelles." Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 90 *seq.*; PIERLING, V., 53 *seq.*

[1] "Quinque inter episcopum Mallensem et P. Czerniewicz

of their legal position the more they insisted on the inviolability of their constitutions and the preservation of their exemption. Naturally, this led to complications. When the Bishop attempted to exercise his rights and to dispose of the members

pacta conventa." 1. The Bishop grants the usual spiritual faculties. 2. "Si quidem abolita Societate avulsoque ipsius Capite, Bulla ipsius abolitiva Socios auctoritati Episcoporum subiectos esse voluit, atque Augustissima Imperatrix totius Russiae, quamvis promulgationem eiusdem Bullae nolle in Suis statibus permittere declaraverit, neque nostro supplici libello Suae Maiestati eum in finem porrecto, ut ab eiusmodi proposito recedere dignaretur, ne alioquin discrimini offensae Summi Pontificis obiiceremur, se flecti siverit; nihilominus circa id quod attinet ad iurisdictionem E. Vae super Sociis, qui in Collegiis ac Domiciliis Albae Russiae versantur, nihil impedimenti ex parte sua afferendum censuit. Nos itaque, quotquot fines dioeceseos V. Eiae continebimur, eo lubentius potestati ac iurisdictioni E. Vae subiicimus, quo nobis nihil est antiquius ac mandatis S. Sedis in omnibus, quae in nostra potestate sita sunt, sancte obedire, et quo maiora inde in nos emolumenta et solatia profectura promittunt tua, Antistes Illustrissime, doctrina, prudentia et bonitas, quae omnia in te sane sunt eximia. Quare cum iam in te potestatem Praepositi Generalis, cui hactenus parebamus, eminenter vigentem veneremur, rogamus suppliciter, ut nobis mentem suam declarare et constituere velit circa ea, quae tantisper, quamdiu Augustissimae Imperatrici placuerit persistere in sententia impediendae promulgationis Bullae, pro veteri consuetudine ac Instituto agenda nobis sunt, ac imprimis quidnam E. Vae constituendum videtur de Rectoribus ac Superioribus Domiciliorum, qui actu praesunt, num velit ipsos pergere in suo munere, an alios ipsis substituere eum eadem, qua hactenus pollebant, potestate." R.: "Habetis litteras confirmatorias Celsissimi Reverendissimi Principis Episcopi Vilnensis circa mensem Octobrem anno praeterito datas." 3. The request for the nomination of a Provincial dependent on the Bishop was refused, on the score of the imperial order to leave everything in its former condition; "nova officia . . . creare non audeo, omnibusque Collegiis cum pastorali potestate ipse praesidebo." 4. As the Bishop would probably have to stay longer in St. Petersburg, he nominated the Rector Czerniewicz as his representative for three months. He

of the Society as he wished[1] he encountered opposition. Czerniewicz complained to the Governor General about the Bishop's interference with the direction of the Society,[2] and on November 7th, 1775, Czerniszew reminded Siestrzencewicz that the empress had made the unalterable decision that the Jesuits were not to be molested and were to be left in the state in which they were when White Russia was annexed.[3]

Finally, we may cast a glance at the behaviour of the nuncio to Warsaw. Garampi must certainly be credited with having made every effort to have the Brief of suppression put into execution in the countries in his jurisdictional area. He lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Brief to the Russian ambassador, Stackelberg,[4] and he had thoughts of using Sagramoso, a Knight of Malta who had to negotiate with the Court of St. Petersburg on matters connected with the property of his Order, not only to obtain the preservation of the Uniat Church and the regulation of ecclesiastical conditions but also, unofficially, to induce Catherine II. to agree to the suppression of the Jesuits.[5] We may anticipate events here

was to visit the various colleges and to render a report on the necessary changes of staff and the improvement of studies. 5. The Bishop could not permit the transfer from one diocese to another outside Russia. Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.*; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 92–5; PIERLING, V., 54 *seq.*

[1] Siestrzencewicz afterwards told the nuncio himself that on this occasion he had declined to take over the direction of the Society. *December 20, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 61, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, October 31, 1775. *Cf.* *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz in November 1775. Translation in Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 7, 1775. Translation, *ibid.*, printed in LORET, 262; MOROCHKIN, I., 123.

[4] *Stackelberg to Panin, September 21/October 2, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, Réception, September 1773.

[5] *Garampi to Pallavicini, September 29, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 292, Papal Secret Archives. In the instruction, which was made out when Clement XIV. was still alive, no mention

by saying that Sagramoso's mission did not take place till 1775 and, so far as the Jesuit question was concerned, was completely unsuccessful.[1] Nor was the nuncio more successful with the Russian ambassador. Stackelberg refused to talk, having presumably been forbidden by his Court to discuss the matter.[2] Because of the serious difficulties that beset the execution of the Brief in Russia and Prussia, Garampi was against compelling the Jesuits to submit by means of canonical penalties or public pronouncements,[3] and Pallavicini was able to reassure him on this point.[4] On November 11th, 1773, the Rector of the Jesuit College at Dünaburg had asked the Bishop of Livonia, Stephan Giedroyc, for instructions.[5] As the Bishop persisted in maintaining silence, the Rector, on December 15th, turned to the nuncio. All his subjects, he told him, were ready to obey the Papal edicts but the Governor Kretchetnikow had forbidden the publication of the Brief and had promised them the empress's protection. He asked to be told the course he was to pursue in this conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. They were resolved to emigrate, if necessary.[6] Through the Bishop, Garampi commended the questioner on his good intentions but told him that the Jesuits could not rest with an easy conscience if they did not comply with the orders of the ecclesiastical authority. Wherefore they

was made of the Jesuit question, for motives of prudence. *Pallavicini to Garampi, May 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 45 ; *Clement XIV. to Sagramoso, *ibid.*, 37 ; Pallavicini to Sagramoso, *ibid.*, 316, printed in LORET, 227–249. In No. 18 (LORET, 234) the toleration of the *exequatur* was conceded (" la S. Sede non lo riprova ").

[1] *Cf.* PIERLING, V., 64–80 ; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 333 *seqq.*

[2] *Garampi to Macedonio, October 27, 1773, and January 12, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[3] Garampi to Macedonio, November 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 53 ; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 408 *seqq.*

[4] " *Il Papa è assai alieno dal procedere in subiecta materia a quelle rimbombanti e positive dichiarazioni ch'Ella saviamente sconsiglia " (December 4, 1773), Nunziat. di Polonia, 44, *loc. cit.*

[5] **Ibid.*, 119.

[6] **Ibid.*, 119.

must press the civil power with all earnestness for the liberty to submit themselves to the Pope's commands and to don secular dress. Meanwhile, however, they were not to neglect the schools and their cure of souls. In the hope that the Government's opposition would soon cease he imparted to them all the necessary faculties for the offices of preaching and confessing, under direction of his Vicar-General. He considered he was justified in interpreting the intention of the Holy See in a lenient fashion until it came to his knowledge that in spite of the special local difficulties the Pope insisted on his prohibition being carried out to the letter—which he did not think likely. As for the schools, there was nothing further to be said, for the Pope had stated clearly enough that they were not to be left without teachers.[1]

A similarly reassuring reply was sent by the nuncio, through Bishop Hilzen of Smolensk, to the Jesuit Wierbicki of Grodno. The Brief was common knowledge and consequently binding in conscience, but as a positive law did not oblige one to attempt the impossible, its execution might be delayed as long as the situation demanded it and there were no other means of subsistence. For necessity knew no law, and the Church was a loving mother. But there must always be the firm resolve to comply with the Brief as soon as the emergency had passed; in fact, they must work with energy for its removal and avoid everything that might be regarded as approval of its non-execution. Further, he advised them gradually to assimilate their dress to that of the secular clergy.[2]

The same spirit of compliance as the Rector of Dünaburg's had already been shown in October 1773 by the professor of canon law there, Szadurski, in a letter to the nuncio.[3] Later

[1] *Garampi to Giedroyc, for the Rector Kononowicz, December 27, 1773, *ibid.*, 290. Similarly, *Garampi to Kononowicz, January 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 81. *Cf.* *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[2] "*Minuta secondo la quale Mgr. Hilzen ha risposto al P. Vierbicki S.J.," September 1774, *ibid.*, 119.

[3] *Garampi to Macedonio, November 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 53.

he wrote that when the Rector of Polotsk had been summoned to St. Petersburg he had implored him to obtain permission from the empress to submit to the Brief of suppression. He had continually brought this obligation to the attention of his brethren but he could not deny that it would go hard with them to be released in that country as there was a grievous lack of suitable replacements for the teachers in the Gymnasia and the theological faculty. Perhaps Rome might be asked to take a lenient view of the question, for the dangers that now threatened the faith baffled the imagination. There was even a rumour that schismatic professors would be called from Kiev and St. Petersburg.[1] In the summer of 1774 Szadurski left Livonia and the Society. In Warsaw he assured Garampi that the Jesuits in Dünaburg were sorely troubled in their conscience, being sincerely desirous of obeying the Papal ordinances. If they had any hope of gaining their livelihood elsewhere they would leave secretly, as he had done. Twice the Rector of Polotsk had earnestly besought the Court to allow the Brief to take its course but it was of no use.[2]

Although the nuncio, for fear of offending the two non-Catholic powers, advised against the taking of compulsory measures against the Jesuits by the ecclesiastical authorities, he also followed very faithfully, as is borne out by the foregoing and ensuing statements, the advice given him by Macedonio, to represent to the Jesuits of Prussia and Russia, through third parties, that they were burdening themselves with the guilt of insubordination and were

[1] *Szadurski to Garampi, December 13, 1773, *ibid.*, 119; *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[2] " *L'Exgesuita Szadurski venuto di Livonia mi assicura, che ivi quei Gesuiti sono angustiatissimi, desiderando sinceramente di poter eseguire la disposizione del Papa; e se avessero modo di sostenersi altrove, scomparebbero, come ha fatto egli. Dice che il P. Rettore di Polosco ha due volte fatte efficaci rappresentanze alla Corte per essere lasciato in libertà. Che ultimamente è venuto ordine che si ammettano e vestano Novizi." Diario Garampi, July 21, 1774, p. 719 *seq.*; *Fondo Garampi, 78, Papal Secret Archives.

rendering themselves liable to excommunication if they did not willingly obey the Pope, that is to say if they did not renounce their Society's dress and communal life of their own accord.[1] Neither prelate seems to have weighed sufficiently the practical possibility of such an action nor the effects it would have had on the practice of religion. In time the nuncio might have arrived at a more just appreciation of the situation had not the Greek Uniat Archbishop Smogorzewski of Polotsk, a determined opponent of the Society,[2] continually thrown suspicion on the Jesuits in his secret reports. He alleged that the only object of their declarations and petitions was to mislead the public, and there was reason for supposing that they themselves had secretly instigated the Government's decrees and prohibitions.[3] On December 27th, 1773, Garampi had stated to Bishop Siestrzencewicz that even though the publication of the Brief had not been permitted by the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, the Jesuits were bound in conscience to obey the Brief, as a law that was common knowledge was obligatory without its promulgation. Admittedly the empress would not withdraw her ordinances of her own accord but she might well do so when asked by those in whose favour they had been issued. It was the Jesuits'

[1] *Macedonio to Garampi, December 4, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.*; *Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, December 27, 1773, *ibid.*, 80; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, November 29, 1773, *ibid.*

[2] *Smogorzewski to Clement XIV., December 14, 1773, *ibid.*, 141.

[3] *Smogorzewski to Garampi, October 5, 12, 19, 1773, *ibid.*, 141; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, November 29, 1773, *ibid.*, 80; *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58; *Corsini to Garampi, March 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 118. On Garampi's advice the Archbishop prevailed on the young scholastic Spiridowicz, who wanted to leave the Society, to stay on for a time in the college at Polotsk so as to provide the prelate with some secret information about what took place in the house and in the Vice-Province. *Garampi to Macedonio, April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 141.

duty to obtain the empress's permission to publish the Brief, and in this undertaking the Bishop would do well to support them in word and deed. Under the immediate direction of the Ordinaries they could continue their ministry and teaching in the manner of the Oratorians.[1]

It was not long before the nuncio, who had supposed that Siestrzencewicz was a man of honour and good intentions, discovered that he had been only too ready to meet the wishes of the Court.[2] In reply to his remonstrances the Bishop defended his conduct by pleading the pressure to which he was subjected by the Government, which, had it been opposed, would, he feared, have taken forcible measures against the Catholics. He went so far as to offer to retire,[3] with the result that the nuncio, who knew only too well the inflexibility of the Court of St. Petersburg, sympathized with him and suppressed the impulse to vent his anger on the prelate. He was also aware that Siestrzencewicz enjoyed the favour of the Court to a high degree and that consequently on him more than anyone depended the fate of the Catholics in the Russian empire.[4] From Archbishop Smogorzewski the nuncio learned that Siestrzencewicz had pledged himself in writing to maintain the Jesuits in their previous condition and to obtain Rome's consent to this.[5] It was only on the strength of this that the Rector of Polotsk had undertaken to carry on the schools. When the Bishop realized the serious difficulties that stood in the way of his project he tried to induce the Jesuits to renounce their religious state without his knowledge. To their statement that they were ready to do this at his command he replied that he could give them no such order as his hands were tied. When he contended that in spite of the non-publication of the

[1] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 88, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Garampi to Macedonio, February 9 and March 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58 ; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, February 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 81.

[3] *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, February 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 136.

[4] *Garampi to Macedonio, March 9 and April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

[5] *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15 and June 24, 1774, *ibid.*, 141 and 119.

Brief it was the duty of the Jesuits to submit to its regulations, they retorted that they had not hindered its publication and that they would never have thought of retaining their religious dress had not the Bishop undertaken to maintain them in their present state. The Court would have been more co-operative towards them if the Bishop had not asserted that he would intercede for them with the Holy See. When he asked what they would do after the period of grace laid down in the Brief had expired and no dispensation had been granted by the Pope, he was told that they would then assume secular dress and each fend for himself, as the obligation to carry on the schools rested on the supposition that they would be allowed to continue their life in religion. To the further question whether, after laying aside their dress, they wished to remain in his diocese, they could give him no definite assurance as they knew that many of the younger members preferred to live as simple secular priests in Poland than as prelates in Russia.[1]

[1] " *Il Vescovo si obligò *in scriptis* alla Corte per sostenere li gesuiti secondo l'anteriore loro stato, e il Rettore poi su fondamento di tal condizione promise al Ministero di somministrare tali soggetti ; ma siccome pare potersi incontrare non poca difficoltà per una sì strana condizione, onde il Vescovo persuade, che abbandonino li nostri l'Instituto *inscio ipso*. Rispondono li nostri volerlo abbandonare subito, purchè ciò sia loro comandato dal Vescovo ; questi poi asserisce di non poterlo fare, ed aver le mani legate. — Procurò il Vescovo dimostrarci, che quantunque la Bolla non sia in queste parti giuridicamente pubblicata, nulladimeno ci obbliga in foro interno ; mentre non s'ignora da veruno dei nostri esser pubblicata essa in altri Dominii, e vedersi dappertutto travestiti i nostri consocii della stessa Provincia. A ciò risposero i nostri non aver nulla procurato, nè mai esser stati intenzionati di perseverare nell' abito antico, se non allora, quando il Vescovo s'impegnò a volerli sostenere, anzi la Corte stessa sarebbe in ciò per noi più facile, qualora il vescovo non l'avesse assicurata del proprio operato presso l'Apostolica Sede su tal particolare . . ." March 18, 1774 ; translation in Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.* The document bears a note in the nuncio's hand, " Polocen. Mohilovien." All the evidence seems to show

Although Garampi tried every possible way of inducing Siestrzencewicz to execute the Brief, sometimes using gentle terms, sometimes strong ones, and even offered to allow the Jesuits to continue their life in community if only they would put on secular dress,[1] he always shrank from adopting abrupt measures. Cardinal Corsini advised him to represent to the Jesuits that their administration of the sacraments was illicit and invalid, that obedience to the Church should be considered before the prohibition of the Government, and that they should give up their colleges and their country rather than persist in their present situation,[2] but this advice the nuncio rejected as dangerous and little likely to succeed. The better plan, he thought, would be to persuade the Russian Govern-

that these pieces of information were conveyed by the scholastic Spiridowicz to Smogorzewski, who passed them on to the Warsaw nunciature.

[1] "Vengo di ricevere dal N. Sig^re una speciale facoltà, che in nome di Msgr. Vescovo di Vilna gli avevo già chiesta, di poter cioè abilitare alla divina parola e alle confessioni *quoad extraneos* gl'individui della estinta Società, che in abito di preti secolari continuano a vivere nelle case della soppressa Compagnia della diocesi di Vilna e dei quali mi consta la sincera ubbidienza alle disposizioni Pontificie. Mi son molto rallegrato nel poter dare questa spirituale consolazione ai detti Religiosi, che tanto la desideravano, e così supplire insieme ai bisogni spirituali dei popoli." The Jesuits of White Russia could enjoy the same privilege, "se assumeranno lo stato di preti secolari e si conformeranno alle disposizioni pontificie." Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 81, *loc. cit.* "La plume à la main qui venait à peine de mettre la date à la Bulle et était encore mouillée, le Pape Clément XIV. accepta les représentations que l'évêque fidèle dans l'accomplissement de son devoir fit par le nonce, et Sa Sainteté capitula, pour ainsi dire, avec lui. Elle permit que l'évêque se servit des individus des Jésuites, pourvu qu'ils ne fassent [!] nulle part et aucune mention de leurs communautés." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta eccl. Petropolitana*, I., 39.

[2] Corsini to Garampi, March 16, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 500 *seq.*

ment to be more accommodating, so that it would pay more consideration to Catholic principles, though experience told him that this would be very difficult.[1] Shortly after this he was able to report to Propaganda that Siestrzencewicz was trying to make good his tractability, which had been due partly to his over-eagerness to please, partly to compulsion.[2] He had hinted obscurely at his intention to execute the Brief by bringing about the gradual extinction of the Jesuits. They had no noviciate, he would not consecrate their scholastics, he had induced twelve of them already to leave the Society, and others would follow. The difficulty was that the Jesuits were working in the parishes. He could hardly reconcile his conscience to leaving them without pastors. On the other hand, to authorize them to undertake the cure of souls was as good as recognizing their continued existence. In the long run it would be better for him to return to Vilna than to hold out in that predicament.[3] On hearing this Corsini advised

[1] Garampi *assured Corsini that in the past he had done all he could to bring about the suppression in Russia, and in the future, too, he would keep on bringing the will of the Congregation for Suppression to the knowledge of the Bishop. "Opus sane videtur plenum aleae et periculi. Namque adhibenda diligens opera est, ut molliter ac suaviter retrahatur episcopus Mal ensis ex immodicis concessionibus, quibus incaute et inconsiderate subscripsit." Wherefore he had not yet said anything to him about the jurisdiction over all the Catholics in Russia. "Oportet etiam, ut ad faciliora consilia, et catholicis nostris principiis accommodatoria Aula Russiaca reducatur, quod difficillimum fore animadverto." Garampi to Corsini, April 13, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

[2] Garampi to Castelli, May 21, 1774, *ibid.*, 75; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 502.

[3] "*Je viens à mes brebis galeuses. L'abbé Cerniewicz en a congedié de mon avis plus de douze du Collège de Polock. Il s'y est prêté par ménage. Moi j'en ai eu bien d'autres vues. J'en ai démasqué nouvellement un moi-même, et je l'ai habillé. J'ai donné une dispensation des bannes à un autre. Mais on m'y a fait faire halte. Si l'on est fin d'un côté, on est clairvoyant de l'autre. Ils peuvent bien mourir sur la plante avec le tems. Ils n'ont point

Garampi to keep on urging the Bishop to publish the Brief. For the sake of the validity of the sacraments and the ministering to the faithful the Pope allowed Siestrzencewicz to grant the Jesuits the necessary faculties for parochial work.[1]

With the election of Pius VI. on February 15th, 1775, the Jesuits had reason to hope for better times,[2] as Pius was

de novitiat. Je n'en ordonnerai aucun, dusse-je n'ordonner personne pendant bien de tems. Mais c'est le temps présent qui m'embarasse. Ils ont quelque part la charge d'âmes. Y être passif par rapport à leurs fonctions spirituelles, c'est abandonner les paroissiens. Les autoriser à desservir les ouailles, c'est autoriser leur existence. On me demande, si je suis bien avancé dans l'arrangement de leurs écoles conformément à l'ordre du 18 Janvier, et je ne l'ai pas encore commencé . . . Vous sentez bien, Monseigneur, qu'à la longue il me sera plus facile de repasser à Vilna que de temporiser." Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* April 4, *ibid.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 501 *seq.*; LORET, 257 *seq.*

[1] " *De parochis vero, qui sunt in illis regionibus ex individuis suppressae Societatis ut validitati Sacramentorum et fidelium saluti consulatur, clementissime indulget SS. D. N., ut illis necessarias facultates dictus episcopus concedere valeat, sed eum moneat Ampl. Tua, ut singulos ad breve tempus approbet, et crebris prorogationibus suppleat diuturnitatem concessionis." Corsini to Garampi, June 22, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 503 *seq.* The much-discussed question whether Clement XIV. approved the continued existence of the Jesuits by means of a special Brief can only be answered in the negative after DUHR's thorough investigation (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII. [1913–14], 458–469). Further evidence, however, may result from another investigation.

[2] *TERMANINI, 150; *Gazeta Warszawska* of December 27, 1775; " *Memorie del Conte Marco Fantuzzi" (Parte III., Della Compagnia di Gesù e sua abolizione): " Ma tornando a Pio VI. ne' primi tempi, li Gesuiti sperarono tutto da lui, e di fatti finirono le persecuzioni personali, e si sospesero tutti gli atti incominciati da Clemente XIV. Fece anche liberare li detenuti, ma non così subito. Aveva promessa la liberazione del Generale, ma andò tanto differendo, che se ne mori in Castello." (MS. with unnumbered pages belonging to the Countess Torricelli.) Popular feeling

indebted in many ways to them and their well-wishers in the College of Cardinals. But there was no question of his restoring the Society. Apart from his having determined his position by the statement he had made to the Crown Cardinals in the conclave, that he would not disturb the rulings made in this connexion by his predecessor,[1] the opposition of the Bourbon Courts was too strong and the confusion that would have been caused in the Church by the restoration would have been

supported the Jesuits. In the State Library in St. Petersburg (Mss. Ital. Lit. Q.) there is a collection of satires which were published in Rome during the conclave that elected Pius VI. It cannot be mere chance that only two of the eighty-seven pieces take the side of the Bourbons, whereas quite a number defend the Society and violently attack its suppression or at least the manner of its execution.

[1] *Cardinal Braschi's secret visit to Cardinal Solis on the previous night. "Después de los cumplimientos, el mismo [Braschi] ha tomado la palabra, y después de repetirme lo que ya se le avía oido en punto de Jesuitas, que ni aun pidiendolo todos los Bórbónicos, debian en su dictamen resuscitarse; me ha hablado con un respecto tal de las máximas de su criador, relativamente a los principes, que debe creerse le imitará en ellas." Solis to Moñino, February 12, 1775, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave" 1774–5. "*Le principal, qui sont le maximes, ne souffrit aucune difficulté . . . La Bulle *In Coena* ne sera pas publiée. On n'innovera rien sur les Jésuites, et tout ce qui se faira à cet égard, se faira de concert avec nous. Nous serons consultés sur toutes choses . . ." Bernis to Moñino, February 13 [1775], fragment, *ibid.* "P. S. Quando iba a firmar esta, llegó la noticia de la elección del Cardenal Braschi para al Sumo Pontificado. Corri al istante al quarto del Rey, que ya se iba a acostar, y habiendole leido la carta de V. E., queda sumamente contento y satisfecho de todo lo que en ella se refiere, y particularmente de las promesas del nuevo Papa sobre no innovar en asuntos de Jesuitas, que es el punto principalisimo en las actuales circumstáncias." Grimaldi to Solis, February 28, 1775, *ibid.*; Pacheco y de Leyva, *El conclave de 1774 a 1775*, Madrid, 1915, 470 *seqq.* *Cf.* March, *Pourquoi Pie VI. n'a-t-il pas voulu rétablir les Jésuites*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, CII. (1925), 364 *seqq.*

incalculable. However, the little alleviations which Pius had granted to the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo, the few marks of affection and justice he had shown them, had already aroused far-reaching hopes among the supporters and former members of the Society. And now the rumour was spreading in Rome and thence over almost the whole of Europe that the restoration of the Society was to be expected in the near future.[1]

Among the Jesuits of White Russia too the hope arose that now a brighter future was about to open for them.[2] When the first excitement had died down Czerniewicz addressed a petition to Pius VI. on October 15th, 1775. As the Brief of suppression had not been officially announced in Russia, he wrote, the Jesuits there had held themselves to be bound in conscience to continue the observance of their vows and to retain their name, their dress, and their Society's constitution. But several of them, mostly younger members, uneasy in their conscience, had laid aside their dress and had left the community. Would the Pope in the goodness of his heart, which was known to all, be so gracious as to give them some sign from which they might presume that their conduct did not displease him ? In making this appeal he had no other motive than God's honour, the good of the Church, and the freeing of the younger members from their misgivings. In the absence of a noviciate might permission be given to employ ex-Jesuits from other countries in the works of the Society and enrol them in its ranks ? [3] Cardinal Rezzonico, who had presented

[1] *Cf.* *Bernis to Vergennes, May 31, 1775, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Garampi to Carafa, November 30, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 59, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Sinat igitur Sanctitas Sua, . . . ut ad eximendum reliquis, qui nobiscum sunt iuvenibus scrupulum, haberi a nobis possit indicium aliquod, ex quo intelligatur, saltem non displicere Sanctitati Suae, quod nostri in his regionibus . . . pristinum Societatis Iesu statum retineant." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 107–112.

the petition,[1] replied on January 13th, 1776, "*Precum tuarum exitus, ut auguro, et exoptas, felix*"[2] ("The result of your prayers is, as I foresee and you desire, a happy one"). These few and enigmatic words were interpreted by some as a kind of approval, by others as merely good wishes for the future. In the covering letter to Benvenuti, who after his flight from Rome was staying with Prince Czartoryski in Warsaw and was acting as go-between, Felici, the Cardinal's Uditore, remarked that the Pope had accepted the letter in a friendly spirit but for obvious reasons the petitioner could hardly hope for any other reply than the rather non-committal ("*ben sterile*") one which was now enclosed. The course taken by the new pontificate did not come up to the hopes that had been had of it. Outwardly much had changed and one could breathe freely again. At heart the Pope had the best intentions, but the methods employed were just the same as ever, and these unfortunately were all too human. It could only be hoped that experience together with devotion would bring about a change.[3] Though the Cardinal's reply, taken in

Cf. GAGARIN, 47 *seqq.*; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II², 162 *seq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 300 *seqq.*; RAVIGNAN, *Clément XIII.*, II., 458 *seq.*

[1] *Czerniewicz to Giovan Battista Rezzonico, October 15, 1775, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 112 *seq.*

[2] "Libellum tuum pro munere meo SS. D. N. Pontifici Pio VI. ostendi et perlegi. Precum tuarum exitus, ut auguro, et exoptas, felix." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 114; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 217; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II², 163.

[3] "Non incontrò Sua Eminenza alcuna difficoltà di presentarlo, come ha fatto, a N. S., essendo che era concepito molto bene, e con proprietà; ed io so, che fu accolto con somma clemenza. Ciò non ostante, il supplicante non potrà sperare di avere altro rincontro, che quello ben sterile, che riceverà dalla qui unita risposta del Signore; ed Ella senza che gliel dica, ne capirà la ragione. Le nuove certamente non sono tali, quali si presagivano dal presente governo. Tuttavia si respira, ed è mutata la faccia delle cose.

conjunction with the Uditore's, could not be interpreted as a positive approval, it contained no condemnation of the Jesuits in Russia. One would perhaps be nearest the truth in describing Pius VI.'s attitude as " turning the blind eye ".

Forced to the conclusion that all attempts to alter the determined will of the empress were useless, the Rector Czerniewicz decided to take the course indicated by the situation and to draw from the non-publication of the Brief of suppression the inferences to which he was entitled by the principles of canon law. He had promised Count Czerniszew to keep the Catholic higher schools in a flourishing condition and to supply them with suitable teachers. To do this, however, he had first to organize the remnant of the Masovian Province of the Society in White Russia. In his first negotiations with Siestrzencewicz he had pointed out that if discipline was to be preserved someone must be in supreme control, that as before there must be a Provincial to direct the local Superiors and to see to the suitable occupation of the various posts. But this idea met with opposition from the Bishop. Siestrzencewicz would only go so far as to authorize Czerniewicz to represent him for three months, which meant that he appointed him Provincial in fact if not in name.[1] On the expiry of this period he wanted to dissolve the connexion between the colleges and he forbade the Rector to continue the conduct of affairs,[2] whereupon the latter appealed with his arguments to the Governor Kretchetnikow. To carry on

Il fondo, e l'intenzione sono ottime, ma le vie sono le stesse di prima, cioè troppo umane, le quali quante volte sono state battute, altrettanto sono riuscite o inutili, o perniciose. *Intelligenti pauca.* Ma la sperienza unita alla propria virtù e divozione, suggerirà un giorno o l'altro, per quanto è da sperarsi, migliori consigli." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 115; *Razón y Fe, loc. cit.*; Sas, *W sprawie Jezuitow na Bialej Russi*, in *Przeglad Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 371 *seq.*

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 216.

[2] *Smogorzewski to Garampi, August 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.*

the schools, he said, it was absolutely essential to ensure the supply of new blood by means of a noviciate, to promote the scholastics to the priesthood, and to appoint a Provincial Superior who would see to a fruitful co-operation, which was endangered when the various Rectors acted independently of each other.[1] At first Siestrzencewicz tried to evade these requests,[2] but when the Governor General apprised him orally and in writing of the empress's desire, that Czerniewicz be appointed Provincial,[3] he complied by prolonging, on December 1st–12th, 1774, his plenipotentiary powers for the period of the current school-year.[4] In the summer of 1775, after further pressure,[5] the Bishop ordained some of the Jesuit scholastics, though not under the title of poverty but of a definite parish church. When he also interfered in the filling of offices [6] Czerniewicz complained to Count Czerniszew,[7]

[1] *Undated memorandum [September–October 1774], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. VIII.

[2] *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, October 30, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.*; LORET, 258 *seqq.*; **id.* to *id.*, February 1/12, 1775, *loc. cit.*; *Garampi to Carafa, December 21, 1774, *ibid.*, 59.

[3] *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 19/30, 1774, translation in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. V. The letter from the Governor-General is contained in its entirety in the episcopal decree. See the following note.

[4] After citing the text of the letter the Bishop continued: "*Maior Ecclesiae utilitas postulat gratiam Generalis Albae Russiae Praefecti non demereri. Nihil ergo nobis superest quam praesentatum hoc modo R. Rectorem Czerniewicz acceptare, et in qualitate Provincialis eum declarare, prout declaramus. Praesentibus ad decursum anni scholastici id est ad festum Sancti Ignatii Loyolae anni futuri valituris. Mandatum Episcopi Mallensis," December 1/12, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, December 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 141 (information from the scholastic Spiridowicz); *Garampi to Carafa, December 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 59.

[5] Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, July 2, 1775, *ibid.*, 136; LORET, 262. [6] *Id.* to *id.*, September 18, 1775, *ibid.*; LORET, 262 *seq.*

[7] On October 31, 1775. The date is ascertainable from the

who on November 7th, 1775, reminded the prelate of the former agreements. It being the firm resolve of the empress to leave the Jesuits in possession of all their former rights and privileges, the Bishop had no right, he wrote, to limit the Provincial's term of office on his own responsibility, still less was he to interfere in the filling of offices. The ordination of the scholastics in the manner of secular priests and without the knowledge of the Provincial was contrary to the rights of the Society. He hoped that in future the Bishop would obey the empress's orders better and not give the Jesuits any cause for complaint.[1] Angrily, Siestrzencewicz wrote to the nuncio at Warsaw that Czerniewicz was ruling the remnant of the Society like a Superior General or, rather, a despot.[2]

Before this letter had reached him Garampi had forwarded to the Bishop some instructions how to deal with those Jesuits who under pressure from their Governments had been forced to retain their dress and communal life. On principle, these instructions ran, the Pope regards the Society of Jesus as dissolved and abolished. Its vows, privileges, and faculties no longer existed. Since, according to the regulations in the Brief, those members who retained their dress and communal life were incompetent to perform their ecclesiastical functions and were irregular, the Holy See, to assuage the conscience of the Bishops and the faithful, allowed the Ordinaries to approve of individual members exercising their ecclesiastical functions as long as they were under pressure. But this facility was to be granted to them only as individuals, not as members of a Congregation, wherefore they were subject to the same laws as secular priests.[3] The Cardinals of the Congregation for the

Count's reply to the Provincial of . . . November 1775. Translation in Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.*

[1] Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 7, 1775, translation, *ibid.*, 141 ; LORET, 262. This translation differs somewhat from the Russian text cited by MOROCHKIN (I., 123).

[2] *January 28, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*

[3] " Le acchiuse, che le trasmetto, serviranno a tranquillizarle la coscienza nelle ulteriori direzioni da prendere con questi

Suppression had signified their doubts about this and had expressed their desire that this act of favour should be made dependent on the abandonment of the Jesuit dress and a written submission to the Brief,[1] but this proposal was not accepted by the Pope.[2]

exgesuiti. Quel che ho scritto ai vescovi degli Stati Prussiani, potrà servire di norma e legittima facoltà anche a Lei. La sostanza si è, che il Papa considera la Società come affatto sciolta e annientata. Non più voti, non più privilegi, non più facoltà competenti al Corpo. Ma siccome in vigore del Breve di Clemente XIV. quegli Individui, che seguitano a vivere nei Collegi, e a ritenere l'antico abito (costretti dai rispettivi Sovrani) non possono abbandonare nè questo, nè quegli, e perciò sarebbero inabili all' ecclesiastiche funzioni e irregolari, e con ciò angustiate rimanevano le coscienze e dei vescovi e dei fedeli, perciò durante la detta necessità (cioè fino a tanto, che i Sovrani non si lascieranno piegare alla totale esecuzione del Breve di Clemente XIV.) il Papa permette che gli Ordinari non sieno inabilitati ad approvare all' ecclesiastiche funzioni or l'uno, or l'altro degl' individui suddetti, sempre però come individui, non più componenti un corpo ; e che perciò soggiaciano a tutte quelle leggi, alle quali soggiaciono tutti gli altri preti secolari non legati a Instituto o Corpo veruno." Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, January 8, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83, *loc. cit.* The draft of this rescript seems to have been made by Bernis. *Cf.* " Piano di Lettera dal Card. de Bernis " [November–December 1775]; *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 16.

[1] *Cf.* *Corsini to Garampi, Septmber 17, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *ibid.*

[2] " *Memoria per Sua Santità " [November–December 1775], *ibid.* In their memorial the Cardinals accused the Jesuits of obstinate disobedience in trying to prevent the execution of the Brief on the pretext (" sotto il mentito colore ") that their abandonment of the schools and the parishes would cause great harm to the Church in those States. This accusation showed that the Cardinals had little knowledge of the religious situation in the north. On November 10, 1774, Canon Folkmann, the parish priest at Mitau, *wrote to Garampi : " The Jesuit school at Mitau having been suppressed, some of the Catholics are already sending

In the summer of 1776 Siestrzencewicz was in trouble again. "The Rector of the principal college," he complained to the nuncio, "who has taken on himself the dignity of a General of religious, is controlling the remnants of the Society without any reference to me. even in respect of faculties for hearing confessions. In spite of this independence, however, this supposed Superior worries me incessantly to ordain his scholastics under the title of poverty. Deaf to my excuses and exhortations, he takes his complaints to the Crown. I will regulate my conduct by your decision." [1]

By the time this letter reached Warsaw Garampi was no longer there. His place had been taken by Giovanni Andrea Archetti,[2] Archbishop of Corinth, who, in accordance with his instructions, immediately adopted a severer tone. Siestrzencewicz waited till November 16th, then administered the solemn vows to twenty Jesuit clerics. To avoid giving them his direct recognition as religious he ordained them under the newly invented title of the "Imperial Provision".[3] There were still

their sons to Protestant schools. Some are execrating the Polish Bishops, others come to me for help, with tears in their eyes. For the moment I am paying the lay teachers, but I cannot continue indefinitely to defray these expenses. Owing to the lack of missioners Easter confessions [presumably of the peasants in outlying districts] had to be abandoned this year. The Jesuits' residence and their revenues were confiscated by the Protestant Duke of Courland." Nunziat. di Polonia, 39.

[1] August 5, 1776, *ibid.*, 318; LORET, 264.

[2] *Cf.* GABRIELE ROSA, *Notizie del Cardinale Andrea Archetti, Nunzio in Polonia,* in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3. ser., t. I., P. I. (Florence, 1865), pp. 63–89.

[3] *ROZAVEN, 12 *seq.* This circumstantial account shows that the Bishop's letters to the nuncio should be regarded with a critical eye. After several years' experience Garampi had formed a very poor opinion of the Bishop's canonistic knowledge. *Garampi to Pallavicini, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 397, Papal Secret Archives. "*Ha egli del talento e dello spirito ed è forse sufficientemente istruito, ma non già nelle materie ecclesiastiche, di cui è quasi affatto digiuno";

two candidates for ordination when on November 17th he received the reply from the new nuncio which had been sent off from Warsaw on August 28th, 1776, and had taken nearly three months to reach Mohilev. Numerous finger-prints and the way in which it had been sealed showed only too clearly that it had been intercepted and examined.[1] Its contents were as remarkable as its exterior. Archetti congratulated the Bishop on his firmness and encouraged him to have no scruples in refusing ordination. Until the recalcitrants had submitted to the Brief of suppression they were not competent to hold an ecclesiastical office or to administer the sacraments.[2] Intimidated by this letter, Siestrzencewicz broke off the ordinations but did not dare to exclude the Jesuits from pastoral work. Many of their churches were used as parish churches. Could he take the responsibility of leaving thousands of the faithful without shepherds ? was the question he put to Archetti in his reply. Was he to go back on his agreements and thereby draw down on himself and his whole flock the imperial displeasure ? He was in the desperate position of being forced to embroil himself with either the ecclesiastical or the civil power. He had long been thinking of secretly departing and of leaving his seventy parishes to the mercy of God and his representative. It was only the thought of the poor flock and the ravenous wolves that would come after him that had held him back.[3] Archetti, startled by the effect of his letter, turned to Pallavicini for instructions.[4] Archetti's report gave rise to grave anxiety in Rome. Was it certain that the ordinations in Mohilev were illicit ? Before dispatching his reply the Cardinal Secretary

" *Relation finale d'Arezzo " ; Rouët de Journel, *Nonciature d'Arezzo*, II., Rome, 1927, 433.

[1] Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, November 18, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *loc. cit.* : Loret, 265 *seq.*

[2] Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, August 28, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83.

[3] Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, November 18, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323 ; Loret, 265 *seq.*

[4] Archetti to Pallavicini, January 1 and February 19, 1777, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 319 ; Loret, 266 *seq.*

of State submitted it to the expert opinion of Michel Angelo Monsagrati, the most highly reputed canonist in Rome. His verdict was: "The Brief suppressing the Society is not one of those that acquire obligatory force by their publication in Rome alone." It was the clear intention of the Brief and it was expressly ruled in the note that accompanied it, that it was to be officially announced in every one of the Society's houses. As it had not been published in the Czarina's dominions, the Jesuits living there could not be called refractory in the proper sense of the word and consequently could not be excluded from ordination so long as it was not proved juridically that they themselves had instigated the opposition of the Court. Further, their Institute had been approved by all former Popes, and Clement had not suppressed them because their Institute was bad but for quite different reasons.[1] In his final reply Pallavicini tried to do justice both

[1] "*La minuta di risposta, che l'Eminenza Vostra si è degnata di communicarmi, a me sembra, che vada ottimamente. Il Breve di soppressione della Compagnia non è di quei Brevi, che *afficiunt* colla sola pubblicazione fatta in Roma. Avendolo riletto non vi ho trovata questa clausola. Anzi alla pag. xv di detto Breve Clemente XIV. dice così: 'Vetamus, ne postquam praesentes Nostrae literae promulgatae fuerint, ac notae redditae ullus audeat earum executionem suspendere' etc. . . . Di più nella lettera del 18 agosto 1773, che la Congregazione Deputata, d'ordine del Papa, scrisse a tutti i Vescovi nell'inviarle [sic] il Breve di soppressione, leggonsi queste parole: 'praesentes literas ad Amplitudinem Tuam dandas esse (il Papa) praecepit ad hoc, ut Amplitudo Tua in singulis domibus, seu Collegiis, et ubicumque in tua Dioecesi reperiuntur dictae suppressae Societatis Iesu individui, illis in unum congregatis in qualibet domo easdem Literas Apostolicas suppressionis rite denunciet, publicet et intimet.' Sicchè ne' Dominj della Czarina non essendosi pubblicato il Breve, i gesuiti ivi esistenti non si possono a tutto rigore chiamar pubblici Refrattarj, e in conseguenza tali da non potersi per gravissima pubblica causa come nel caso presente ammettersi all' ordinazione. — Comprendo benissimo, che dai loro maneggi proverrà l'opposizione che fa la Corte alla pubblicazione suddetta. Ma per l' effetto di repellerli dall' ordinazione, converrebbe, che ciò

to the clear principles of canon law and the prudent considerations of diplomacy, which counselled him to satisfy the

giuridicamente costasse al Vescovo ; e questo ben vede V. E. quanto sia difficile a provarsi. E questo quando si provasse dei Capi, non si proverà poi di quelli che si presentano per ordinarsi. — Oltre di che, quando anche tutto il fin qui detto non reggesse, sarà sempre minor male, nelli Stati della Czarina si ammettano a' Sagri Ordini de' nuovi gesuiti, e in conseguenza non se eseguisca il Breve di Clemente XIV., di quel che per mancanza di Ministri si vada a perder o diminuire la Religion Cattolica, come avverrebbe nel caso. Al qual proposito è necessario aver presente, che Clemente XIV. non ha soppressa la Compagnia, perchè l'Istituto fosse cattivo, perverso, scelerato ; ma per altri motivi ben diversi ; e che, trattandosi dell' abolimento di un Istituto riconosciuto per buono da tutti i Papi, che sono stati avanti Clemente XIV., non è questo cosa da eseguirsi in un istante, ma suscettibile di dilazione, e da eseguirsi a poco, a poco, e a bell' agio ne' luoghi specialmente ove per parte de' Sovrani s' incontrano dell' opposizioni. E mi ricordo aver letto che avendo S. Pio V. soppresso l' Ordine degli Umiliati, durar[o]no ciò nonostante per molto tempo due Conventi di detto Ordine in Toscana, anche dopo S. Pio.

"Solo nella minuta alla facciata quarta, ove dicesi, 'si rende necessarissimo ed indispensabile, che egli ne' modi più efficaci etc.' . . . mitigherei un poco questa espressione, tanto più che trattasi di un Vescovo, che dal fatto stesso vedesi fornito di bastante zelo per far eseguire il Breve di Clemente XIV., e direi : 'non tralasci all' opportunità, e ne' modi che stimerà più adatti, di procurare la resipiscenza etc.' . . . Così se si potesse ottenere che ne' registri della sua Cancelleria, ove probabilmente si noterà il titolo per cui questi tali gesuiti vengono ordinati, non si mentovasse detto titolo, io lo suggerirei. E parimente suggerirei, conforme l' avertì ancor V. E. di non farsi da Monsignor Nunzio, nella risposta, che darà al Vescovo, menzione d' ordine, o oracolo della Santità di Nostro Signore, e questo per togliere ai maligni l'occasion di malignare, per qualunque evento accada. Che è quanto ho creduto dover avvertire, rimettendo il tutto al savissimo discernimento dell' Eminenza Vostra a cui col più profondo rispetto bacio la Sacra Porpora, rassegnandomi . . ." Monsagrati to Pallavicini, February 11, 1777. Nunziat. di Polonia, 242, autograph, *loc. cit.* ; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 119–121.

Bourbon ambassadors without offending the despotic Czarina. The flight of the Bishop and the desertion of so many parishes would be a worse evil, he wrote, than the toleration of a few deluded visionaries. Wherefore the nuncio was asked, as if on his own responsibility, to encourage the prelate to lay aside his fears and anxiety about the ordinations that had taken place. In view of the highly critical situation and the great scarcity of priests his past conduct was not disapproved. His future action must be governed by necessity and the apparent benefit to the Catholic population. Nevertheless, he should strive to make the Jesuits understand that they were bound under pain of grievous sin to submit to the Brief, even though it had not been published in Russia. They were to regard themselves not as members of the suppressed Society but only as secular priests, and it was in this capacity that their candidates for ordination were to be entered in the chancery register.[1]

[1] "Il S. P. nel leggere la lettera del Vescovo di Mallo trasmessami in copia da V. S. Ill. col dispaccio del primo scaduto è stato sommamente sensibile alla costernazione e angustia di quel Prelato ridotto in così duro frangente o di slontanarsi dal proprio gregge con lasciare di più buon numero di parocchie sprovviste, e ciò per non incorrere l'indignazione della Czara, o d'imporre le mani a chi resiste pertinacemente alle disposizioni della Prima Sede." The absence of the Bishop and the desertion of many parishes was a worse evil than the toleration "di pochi allucinati. Potrà ella dunque, scrivendo, come da sè al ridetto Prelato confortarlo a deporre l'angustia e la sollecitudine per la incominciata e sospesa ordinazione di alcuni individui del soppresso Istituto, giacchè per la estremamente critica di lui situazione, e per la somma penuria di soggetti capaci e idonei alla cura, e governo spirituale di quel Cattolicismo, non se ne disapprova il passato contegno." Similarly for ordinations in the future "si tollererà ancora che ad essa si presti, ma colla misura soltanto della necessità e utilità evidente delle chiese, e della popolazione cattolica." Pallavicini to Archetti, March 22, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 46, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 121 *seqq.*; LORET, 268 *seq.* *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, April 28, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83. *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Vienna, 669, *ibid.*

With this the ordination question was settled to some extent but there was still that of the new entrants into the Society, and this was growing more and more pressing with the passage of time. What with the deaths among the older members and the numerous departures among the younger ones, their ranks had been sadly thinned. No relief was afforded by the addition in August 1774 of the college of Dünaburg, which formerly belonged to the Lithuanian Province.[1] By February 17th, 1777, the number of members had sunk from 201 to 150.[2] The Rector Czerniewicz had given the Russian authorities good warning that soon the Jesuits would no longer be in a position to fulfil their obligations in respect of the schools unless some provision was made for replacements.[3] A noviciate could be set up in one of the existing colleges without any great difficulty and without any new foundation if only the empress would deign to find some way of obtaining permission from Rome.[4] Czerniszew took up the suggestion all the more readily as both he and the empress were all in favour of keeping the schools in existence.[5] All he wanted to know, he wrote to Czerniewicz,[6] was whether a command from the empress was sufficient or whether the ecclesiastical permission was also necessary and, if so, by what means it was to be

[1] *Rozaven, 31.

[2] " *Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum Viceprovinciae Albae Russiae Soc. Iesu " [February 17, 1777], Nunziat. di Polonia, 319, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Memorandum from Vice-Provincial Czerniewicz to the Governor Kretschetnikow [September/October 1774], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. VIII. ; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, December 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.* On July 12, 1774, a supplement of the *Gazeta Warszawska* published the report, presumably from Cologne, that the empress had ordered the building of a wing for the college at Polotsk and preparations for the erection of a noviciate at Dünaburg.

[4] *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, September 29/October 10, 1776, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178.

[5] *Czerniszew to Catherine II., October 26, 1776, *ibid.*

[6] *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz, October 26, 1776, *ibid.* ; Latin translation in Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, Papal Secret Archives.

obtained. Czerniewicz straightway advised him to inform the nuncio in Warsaw, through the ambassador Stackelberg, that the empress hoped that in return for the great goodwill she was showing towards the Catholics in her States Rome would permit the Jesuits in White Russia to establish a noviciate without delay. Unless this indult was obtained from Rome, added Czerniewicz, they, as religious, could make no use of the empress's permission.[1] Through Czerniszew, Catherine instructed the Vice-Provincial to begin the building of the noviciate pending the arrival of a reply to her representation, the success of which, she thought, could hardly be open to doubt.[2]

The untimely publication in the newspapers[3] of Czerniszew's letter to Czerniewicz, of October 26th, 1776,

[1] *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, November 21, 1776, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178.

[2] *Czerniszew to Catherine II., December 13, 1776, *ibid.* *Catherine II. to Czerniszew, February 16/27, 1777, *ibid.* *Ibid.*, the autograph of the imperial rescript (undated). This is printed in the body of laws entitled "Polnoé Sobranié Zakonov Rossijskoï Imperii", XX., St. Petersburg, 1830, 500, No. 14,582. *Cf.* PIERLING, V., 94 *seqq.*; MASSON, *Bernis*, 340 *seqq.*

[3] *Gazette de Cologne*, January 24, 1777. The editor of this newspaper was the French ex-Jesuit Jeaurinvilliers, whom the nuncio Oddi had called to Cologne in 1764. Jeaurinvilliers had received the letter from Count Kossakowski, private secretary to the King of Poland. *Cf.* *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, March 23, 1777, Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, *loc. cit.*—THEINER's assault on the ex-Jesuit Feller (*Hist.*, II., 394 *seqq.*) is therefore quite unwarranted. [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II., 18 *seqq.* It must be admitted, however, that more harm than good was done to the Jesuit cause by the excessive zeal with which the editor and other hotspurs trumpeted abroad, over-hast ly and often inaccurately, every piece of news that favoured their late Society. Bellisomi, who admired the courage with which the editor forwarded the interests of the Church, had to confess: "*ma ove si tratta di cosa che riguarda la soppressa Società, non sa tacersi, nè riceve consiglio." To Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 195, *loc. cit.*

had aroused much suspicion in the Bourbon Courts and in Rome.[1] Pallavicini referred the matter to Archetti, and Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, who proffered the assurance, "The Jesuits are not accepting any novices and are not building a noviciate." Of these two statements only the first was correct. The Bishop then made the enigmatic observation, "What the future will bring is more than I can tell." [2] The Cardinal Secretary of State assured Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, that Rome was convinced that the letter was a forgery, since up till then Archetti, with whom Stackelberg was to negotiate, according to the letter, had not even hinted at the matter.[3] Soon afterwards Pallavicini's repose was again disturbed. On May 21st the nuncio at Warsaw reported that the Polish ex-Jesuits had received information from Russia that the Czarina intended to set up a noviciate. According to the Lower Rhenish Gazette, said the nuncio, Stackelberg was to negotiate with him on the matter. He had therefore invited the Bishop to tell him the whole truth.[4] On August 20th the nuncio was able to forward the Cardinal Secretary of State a confidential note of July 11th, 1777, containing the laconic information that on the instigation of the Jesuits the Russian Government had written to a Roman Cardinal for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope the authorization to open a noviciate in Dünaburg or Polotsk.[5] Towards the end of 1777 Siestrzencewicz had undertaken a pastoral visitation

[1] *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, March 1, 1777, Cifre, *ibid.*, 272; *Doria to Pallavicini, March 17, 1777, Cired, Nunziat. di Francia 565, *ibid.*

[2] " *Non illi tyrones sibi adscribunt, non tyrocinium, quod hic loci nullum unquam erat, erigunt, non vota solita, quantum mihi liquet, renovant. Futurorum tamen scientia mihi data non est." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, February 17, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 319, *ibid.*; *Pal avicini to Archetti, April 12, 1777, *ibid.*, 46.

[3] *May 24, 1777, Nunziat. di Colonia, 279, *ibid.*

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, May 21, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 61, *ibid.*

[5] " *Soli. Sedulo perscrutatus sum et erui, toleratos innuisse

of Polotsk and had seen with his own eyes the walls of the wing that was to be the noviciate. On January 21st, 1778, Archetti sent the following extract from the Bishop's account (dated December 20th, 1777) : The Government has called on the Superior to build the noviciate and on its own responsibility has given permission for the acceptance of candidates. On his doubting that this would be permissible without the assent of the Holy See, it had undertaken to pursue the matter in Rome. The Bishop pays the highest tribute to the discipline of the Jesuits and adds that if they were to perish in the course of time serious harm would ensue for the Catholics of Russia. It was therefore the desire of the empress and himself that the preservation of the Society in this country should be brought about in some way or another. The expressions of opinion in the enclosed confidential letter are typical of the prelate's character. When the publication of the "Bull Jesus Christus" (*sic*) was forbidden, the Rector of Polotsk repeatedly asked the Bishop to take over the direction of the Society, but the latter declined. Thereupon the Superior, otherwise a prudent, pious man, highly thought of by the Governor, assumed the direction of all the houses here, in the manner of the General of the Order, so that the people began to wonder if the Society had cut itself off from the Holy See. It rests with the nuncio to decide if the Holy See is to be advised to allow the Jesuits to continue to exist, retaining their dress and their life in community, but at the same time to make them entirely dependent on the Ordinary or some other prelate.[1] Archetti was not averse to granting the Bishop the

et regimen temporale ad Urbem (Purpurati nomen percontari non potui) scripsisse, ut Sanctissimus iis Dunaburgii vel Polocii tyrocinium religiosum aperire concedat." Nunziat. di Polonia, 320 and 61.

[1] "*Auctoritas civilis Superiorem palam invitaverat, ut aedes pro Novitiatu pararet, ultro non petenti obtulerat facultatem recipiendi et aggregandi. Quin etiam negotium facessenti ac absque Apostolicae Sedis consensu id ibi illicitum asseveranti diserte promiserat, ibi etiam causae promotionem non intermittendam . . ." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, December 20, 1777,

right to supervise the Jesuits, as this, in his opinion, would have the double advantage of putting an end to the "illegitimate" situation without offending the Court of St. Petersburg.[1] But his proposal met with no approval in Rome. Pallavicini answered curtly that it would be impermissible to cancel the rulings of the Brief of suppression. Sympathetic as he was, the Pope could not decide to depart from the instructions imparted the previous year in connexion with the question of the ordinations. They were quite adequate for the needs of the Russian Catholics. The Bishop was to use every possible means to prevent the Society increasing.[2]

Siestrzencewicz, when informed by the nuncio of Rome's decision,[3] was not disheartened by this setback. On his visitation travels he had noticed in various Orders regrettable conditions that urgently required redress. In his view the cause of the trouble was that since the separation from Poland the religious houses had no higher Superior and were precluded also from appealing to the nuncio. Accordingly he now offered to take on the general direction of all the regular clergy in White Russia. This project, which was eagerly supported by Archetti,[4] met with the Pope's approval. With the latter's authorization (August 9th, 1778) the Bishop was appointed by Propaganda as Apostolic Delegate and Visitor for three years and was thus invested by the ecclesiastical authority with the jurisdiction over all the religious Congregations in his diocese, which had already been conferred upon him by the civil power.[5] On transmitting to him the decree

contained in Archetti's letter to Pallavicini of January 21, 1778, Nunziat. di Polonia, 61 and 321 ; LORET, 270 *seqq.*

[1] *To Pallavicini, January 21, 1778, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Archetti, February 28, 1778, *ibid.*, 47 ; LORET, 274 *seq.* *Cf.* *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Vienna, 669, *ibid.*

[3] *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, April 15 and August 28, 1778, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *ibid.*

[4] *Archetti to the Propaganda, June 3, 1778, *ibid.*, 323 ; *Archetti to Castelli, June 3, 1778, *ibid.*, 339.

[5] *Letter from the Propaganda to Archetti, August 15, 1778,

of Propaganda on September 17th, 1778, the nuncio congratulated the prelate on this special mark of confidence.[1] To make completely sure of his ground Siestrzencewicz repeatedly induced Archetti to confirm that on the strength of this communication he wielded unrestricted authority over the secular and regular clergy of White Russia.[2] In return, he was able to assure the nuncio that apparently Count Czerniszew had changed his mind about the noviciate.[3] Highly pleased with this success, Archetti set to with redoubled energy to procure for the Bishop admission to the Polish Order of the White Eagle, which was avidly desired by the ambitious man.[4] And on a note of triumph the nuncio reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State that even without the support of the Spanish ambassador Lacy the Pope had succeeded on his own authority in putting an end to the noviciate that had already been begun.[5]

This was certainly the intention. The Secretary of the Propaganda, Stefano Borgia, is said to have remarked that in the decree was contained the death-blow to the Jesuits in

ibid., 69. The decree of Propaganda is reproduced verbatim in the Bishop's decree of June 30, 1779. See below, p. 247, n. 1. It is also printed in MURR, *Journal*, IX. (1780), 315. *Cf.* ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 475 *seq.*

[1] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *loc. cit.*

[2] " *Videtur quod rigorosioribus potestatis saecularis interrogationibus Illma D.V^a^ satisfacere possit affirmando in tota regione russiaca clerum latinum tam regularem quam saecularem sibi in omnibus obtemperare atque a suo nutu imperioque pendere." Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, *ibid.*, 340.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1779, *ibid.*, 63.

[4] *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, January 14 and June 5, 1779, *ibid.*, 340.

[5] *Archetti to Pallavicini, December 9, 1778, *ibid.*, Add. XIX. Whereas Grimaldi had always pressed in Rome for stringent measures to be taken against the Jesuits in White Russia, Archetti learnt that the new Spanish ambassador, Lacy, had no instruction to urge the Czarina to carry out the Brief of suppression. This was on account of the critical political situation. *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 31, 1777, *ibid.*, 46.

Russia.[1] On November 20th, 1778, Siestrzencewicz, in compliance with the State regulations, sent the decree of Propaganda to Potemkin, the Minister for Church affairs, in order to obtain the *exequatur*.[2] When Catherine affixed her *placet* to the decree on March 13th [3] she had already formed her plans.[4] The document which had been evolved for the destruction of the Society was to be its salvation. The Bishop was ordered either to make use of the decree to the Jesuits' advantage or to declare that his powers were insufficient.[5] His behaviour in the past left no doubt of the choice he would make.[6] Several months went by and then there suddenly appeared a pastoral letter from the Bishop of Mallo permitting the Jesuits to open a noviciate and to accept applicants for entry into the Society. The Bishop observed by way of introduction that out of regard for the illustrious ruler of Russia Clement XIV. had refrained from executing the Brief of suppression in that country. Similarly, Pius VI. had

[1] GAGARIN, 63 ; *ROZAVEN, 49 *seqq.*

[2] *Siestrzencewicz to Potemkin, November 20, 1778, *Sbornik*, I. (1867), 424.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] " *Placet Clementissimae Imperatrici persistere in gratiosissimo suo proposito, ut Societas Iesu, quam Maiestas Sua hactenus in Albae Russiae Guberniis protegere dignatur, in suo pristino statu ad futura etiam tempora servetur, et ut in iisdem Guberniis Tyrocinium Societatis haberi possit . . ." These words, taken from a letter from Count Czerniszew to Czerniewicz, were reported by the latter to an unknown rector on March 1, 1779. In Jesuit possession, Russia, Epist. Generalium, I. (1778–1798).

[5] *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *loc. cit.* ; LORET, 279 *seq.*

[6] Siestrzencewicz's own version of the business was that when the " Bull " was presented to her the empress conceived the notion " de perpétuer l'ordre de Jésus dans son empire ". She ordered the Bishop to open a Jesuit noviciate in Polotsk " en vertu du pouvoir si ample qu'il venait de recevoir du Pape . . . L'évêque n'hésita pas d'obéir à sa Majesté Impériale et d'exécuter cet ordre." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta ecclesiastica Petropolitana*, I., 40 *seq.*

shown his goodwill towards the sovereign by not issuing any ban on the Jesuits retaining the vows, name, and dress of their Society. The empress had repeatedly charged the Bishop orally and in writing to show favour to these religious and to provide for their survival. And as the Jesuits had no noviciate and their numbers were dwindling to such an extent that they could no longer perform their professional duties, the Bishop after assiduous prayer and thorough consultation with his Chapter, had come to a decision on the effectiveness of the Papal decree. In virtue of the powers conferred upon him he granted for cogent reasons the Clerks of the Society of Jesus permission to open a noviciate and admit novices, and he imparted to them his episcopal blessing. Endorsed with the imperial confirmation, the pastoral letter was to be affixed to the doors of the churches, it was to be read from the pulpit on three Sundays, and it was to be explained to the faithful in the vernacular.[1]

For the Jesuits this episcopal ordinance came just in time. Between 1773 and 1780 they had lost eighty-six members, thirty-three by death, the remainder by secession. Five mission stations in Livonia had had to be abandoned for lack of staff. In one or two years more the fate of the schools, for whose sake alone the Society had been kept alive by the Russian Government, would have been sealed for ever.[2]

In an official letter of July 12th, 1779, to the nuncio in Warsaw, Siestrzencewicz remarked towards the end of it that he was enclosing his recently published pastoral letter, the

[1] Printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 124–7. *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen* [2], Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1786, 51–6; THEINER, *Die neueste Zustände*, 127, No. XXXIII.; CARAYON, XX., 274 *seqq.*; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX., 217 *seqq.*; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Histoire*, V. (1851), 397 *seqq.*; *Gazeta Warszawska* of July 31, 1779. *Cf.* the same paper of August 7, 1779, supplement; *Sbornik*, I., No. II., pp. 462 *seqq.* This first volume (pp. 421–539) contains numerous documents of Russian provenance dealing with the noviciate of Polotsk.

[2] GAGARIN, 64; *ROZAVEN, 48.

introduction to which contained the reasons for the step, so that he would not repeat them on the present occasion.[1] This was all there was in the letter, which was an unpleasant surprise for Archetti. In conjunction with Stackelberg he had just obtained for the Bishop the insignia of the Order of the White Eagle [2] and now, instead of thanks, there was this open act of defiance! On September 1st of the previous year the prelate had told him that as a result of his pleading Czerniszew had apparently changed his intentions regarding the Jesuit noviciate, and now there was this unfortunate proclamation, which was an insult to the memory of Clement XIV. and cast doubts on the loyalty and trustworthiness of Pius VI. In his imagination the nuncio could already hear the repercussions of the pastoral letter in the Polish, Prussian, German, and Netherlandish journals. A memorandum for the Russian ambassador seemed to him to be the most prudent and effective counter. For weighty reasons, he would tell him, the Holy See had entrusted the Bishop with the general superintendence of the regular clergy in White Russia. In clear contradiction to the Papal letter the prelate in his edict had assumed the power of restoring the suppressed Society or at any rate of recognizing as members of an Order clerics whose Institute had been suppressed. As a result of this step the nuncio felt himself obliged to inform the ambassador that the Pope was not disposed to alter the rulings laid down by his predecessor in the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* and he asked him to apprise his sovereign of the real views of Pius VI. The new friendly relations between Russia and the Bourbons seemed to Archetti to guarantee the success of this step.[3]

As the nuncio had rightly foreseen, the publication of the pastoral letter aroused enormous interest. The noviciate at Polotsk seemed suddenly to have become the centre of European politics. From Lisbon to St. Petersburg the journals and diplomatic dispatches were full of indignation at the

[1] *Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, June 5, 1779, *ibid.*, 340.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1779, *ibid.*, 36 and Add. XIX.

scandal.[1] The opening of the noviciate was too rough a blow against the originators of the suppression. If the noviciate remained in existence, the fallen adversary was not dead; one day he might be able to celebrate his resurrection. No wonder that the Bourbon Ministers left no means untried to parry this deadly blow. But their efforts were wasted. None of their counter-moves had any effect on the rigid will of the Russian empress.

In Rome the news came like a bolt from the blue.[2] The Vatican was in a most awkward situation. The Pope had repeatedly assured the representatives of the Bourbons that he would do nothing against the Brief of Clement XIV.[3] The step taken by the Bishop of Mallo might be taken as evidence of a secret understanding, of double-dealing. Pius VI. himself demanded a report on the matter from Borgia, the Secretary of the Propaganda, and the reasons for investing the Bishop with so far-reaching powers.[4] On the following day he sent the Spanish ambassador Grimaldi a letter of justification. On the basis of the events that had led up to the decree and the correspondence between Archetti and Siestrzencewicz that had preceded it, he explained that the Bishop had not been justified in the inference he had drawn in his pastoral letter. He informed the ambassador that the nuncio in Warsaw had been instructed to take energetic counter-measures and he asked the Catholic king in his turn to work, through his representatives at the Court of St. Petersburg, for the cessation of the policy of maintaining the Jesuits in their former condition, since the chief cause of the Bishop's edict had been

[1] *Caleppi to Pallavicini, August 30, 1779 (confidential), Nunziat. di Germania, 400, *loc. cit.*; PIERLING, V., 105 *seq.*; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, II., 84 *seqq.*

[2] MASSON, *Bernis*, 343 *seq.*, 346.

[3] PIERLING, V., 105.

[4] *Borgia to Pius VI., August 23, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *loc. cit.* According to a Roman satire of the time, "Sanctus Ignatius de Loyola Societatem instituit, Sanctus Franciscus Borgia ampliavit, Dominus Stephanus Borgia restauravit." NONELL, *Pignatelli*, II., 86, n. 1.

the favour shown them by the empress.[1] Bernis' opinion was that the Pope was not displeased to see that a grain of the Society's seed had been preserved in those distant parts.[2] Moreover, the fate of the Church in Russia was too deeply involved for Pius to dare excite the anger of the almighty empress. Instead of taking a firm attitude towards Siestrzencewicz and of annulling his edict, as Bernis demanded, he contented himself with protests and with the demand for a recantation. But not so the Cardinal Secretary of State. Highly enraged and violently inveighing against the Bishop of Mallo, he wrote to Archetti on August 21st that it was disgraceful to maintain that Rome had authorized the erection of a Jesuit noviciate. The nuncio was to present the Russian ambassador with an *aide-mémoire* explaining that the prelate had been wrong in deducing from the decree of Propaganda the authority to take the step he had done. Neither Clement XIV. nor Pius VI. had willingly had any part in the omission to publish the Brief. Orally, through Stackelberg, he was to ask the Czarina, seeing that she had promised the Catholics her protection, not to allow anything to be done in her dominions against the Papal ordinances.[3] A week later, showing no appreciation of the limits of what was attainable,

[1] *Pius VI. to Grimaldi, August 24, 1779, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5056.

[2] "Il n'était point fâché qu'on conservât de la graine des Jésuites dans les pays éloignés." Bernis to Vergennes, September 1, 1779, Masson, *Bernis*, 358. "*Mais quant à la façon de penser de Pie VI., nous pouvons assurer, qu'il était très content de la chose en elle-même, et dans la suite il voulut être instruit régulièrement et en détails de tout ce qui faisaient les Jésuites de la Russie Blanche, et le fut exactement par une personne qui avait autrefois appartenue à la Société, et il ne manqua pas de leur accorder des grâces particulières toutes les fois qu'il le pouvait faire sans se compromettre vis-à-vis des ministres puissants dont il etait entouré." Rozaven, 65.

[3] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *loc. cit.* There was no mention in the pastoral letter of any positive co-operation on the part of the Pope.

he demanded that the Bishop retract his pastoral letter and publicly beg the Pope's pardon for the scandal he had given the Catholic world.[1] On September 1st, in the name of the Pope, a memorandum was handed to the representatives of the Powers accredited to the Holy See, stating that Siestrzencewicz's edict was in contradiction to the decree of Propaganda and that the Holy See regarded the Society of Jesus as abolished and was resolved not to make any alteration in the ordinances issued by the late Pope.[2] Similarly in the early part of September the Cardinal Secretary of State sent all the nuncios a circular letter in which he set forth the whole course of events in detail, condemned the Bishop's procedure in the strongest terms ("*scandalosa impostura, e calunnia*"), and enumerated the steps that had been taken to repair the disaster.[3] On September 11th, 1779, yielding to Bernis'

[1] *Pallavicini to Archetti, August 28, 1779, *ibid.*

[2] "*Per particolari e giuste cause rappresentate alla Santa Sede dal Vescovo di Mallo in Bianca Russia, essendosi conceduta al medesimo la soprintendenza sopra i Regolari, che vi dimorano, quel Prelato con una contradizione manifesta a ciò [che] si legge nel Rescritto della S. Congr. di Propaganda, ha annunziato, e pubblicato a tutto quel gregge Cattolico Romano che vive sotto il di lui spirituale Governo, che le proprie ecclesiastiche facoltà si stendano a ripristinare ordini Regolari già estinti dalla S. Sede, o ad approvare de' nuovi, come altresì a riconoscere per Regolari di certo soppresso Instituto, coloro che per costituzione pontificia più non lo sono, nè altri in avvenire possono esserlo. I veri sentimenti invece fissi e costanti del Sommo regnante Pontefice sono stati, e sono di non immutar quel che dal suo antecessore Clemente XIV. si stabilì e decretò nel di lui Breve che comincia *Dominus ac Redemptor* Laonde tutto quel che si è fatto dal Vescovo di Mallo in questo proposito, è contrario, nonchè alieno dalle facoltà che gli si erano attribuite." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5056. This statement is identical with that addressed by *Pallavicini to Bernis and Grimaldi on August 25 and 26, 1779. In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. V. (from Bernis' papers).

[3] *Pallavicini to Caleppi, September 4, 1779, Nunziat. di Vienna, 678, *loc. cit.*; *here, too, Pallavicini launches forth in

pressure, Pallavicini had the rumour about the restoration of the Jesuits officially denied in the Roman journal *Cracas*. Here it was stated that not only had the Pope not given any permission for the erection of the noviciate but that the contrary was known to the Bishop.[1] The *Gazette de Cologne* printed the correction at Bellisomi's instigation [2] but also published in a supplement the assertion that through the instrumentality of the former nuncio in Warsaw Clement XIV. had approved of the survival of the Jesuits in Russia and Prussia.[3] Pallavicini had a strong denial of this printed in *Cracas* [4] and by means of the nuncio in Cologne compelled the editor to retract.[5]

the most violent diatribes against the pastoral letter issued by the Bishop : " con cui autorizza la erezione di un preteso Noviziato dagli estinti Soci, e con una scandalosa impostura, e calunnia ne ripete la legitimità dallo stesso Breve di soppressione della Santa memoria di Clemente XIV., e da un successivo rescritto della Congregazione della Propaganda." *Cf. ibid.*, another letter to the same person, September 11, 1779.

[1] " Diario ordinario," 490. Grimaldi, having fallen out with Bernis, took no part in this step and even refused to support Bernis until he had received instructions from Madrid. MASSON, *Bernis*, 357.

[2] *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, September 11, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, Papal Secret Archives ; *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, Cifre, *ibid.*, 195.

[3] Issue No. 78 of September 28, 1779. *Cf.* *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives ; *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, September 30, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 195, *ibid.* Duhr's statement, therefore, that there was no news of Clement XIV.'s alleged Brief until 1786 needs amending (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII. [1914], 466 ; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 346 *seq.*).

[4] On October 16 and 23, 1779. *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, October 13, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, *loc. cit.* ; *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *ibid.*

[5] " Supplément à la Gazette de Cologne du mardi 19 8bre 1779." *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, October 21, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 195, *loc. cit.* ; *Caleppi to Pallavicini, October 11 and 28,

But as the rumour still persisted,[1] Garampi placed all his correspondence with the Bishops of Prussia and Russia at Pallavicini's disposal.[2]

Two of Garampi's letters throw some light on the Bishop of Mallo's contradictory behaviour in the matter of the Jesuits. As nuncio to Warsaw he had given the prelate to understand that his accommodating attitude towards these religious might be frowned on in Rome and prove to be an obstacle in the way of his promotion. The Bishop's attempts, therefore, both before and after this, to execute the Brief by devious means may well be due to his desire for rapid promotion.[3] On the other hand, his yielding to the civil power at every check and his readiness to fulfil its wishes are ascribable to financial considerations and the despotism of the empress.[4] His alleged intentions of retiring were probably never meant to be taken seriously and were more likely means of exerting pressure on Rome.

Archetti let almost a month pass before answering the Bishop's fatal letter. His powers, he explained, related only to the lawfully existing Orders in Russia, whereas the Jesuits

and November 1, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 400, *ibid.* The Austrian newspapers were not allowed to publish the *démenti*, the reason given being that it was forbidden to write either for or against the suppression. Only the Italian journal was able to speak out, having been founded after the publication of the veto. *Caleppi to Pallavicini, November 4, 1779, *ibid.*

[1] *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, October 20, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1780, Nunziat. de Germania, 401, *ibid.*

[3] *Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 81, *ibid.* *Cf.* *Archetti to Castelli, March 20 and April 30, 1777, *ibid.*, 339.

[4] " *In sostanza egli paventa di perdere i 10 mila rubli che gli rende quel putativo vescovado, e vive in una nazione dove legislativo e coattivo diviene ogni desiderio e ogni cenno della Sovrana." Garampi to Pallavicini, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 397, *loc. cit.*

were not recognized as such by Rome. Nor did the decree of Propaganda contain the authority to cause the resurrection of an Order that had been suppressed. Finally he demanded the withdrawal of the pastoral letter in some circumspect but definite manner.[1] Siestrzencewicz tried to avoid adopting any definite position. In his pastoral letter, he protested, he had certainly mentioned the Brief of suppression but not the rules and privileges of the Order. He had not intended to approbate the Society of Jesus but solely to provide for the increase of recruits, after the authorities had rejected his proposal to erect a seminary for the training of clerics to take the place of the Jesuits, who were dying out. When the Uniats wanted to open a seminary they had been refused permission by the Government on the grounds that a seminary was shortly to be erected for the Greeks (schismatics) in Polotsk and that the Uniats could attend it, as their rite was very similar. Finally he had received the order either to open a noviciate or to declare that he was unable to do so on the strength of the decree. Was he to wait, then, till the Catholic schools had been entrusted to Voltairians and the churches to non-Catholics ? If only he could describe the true situation of his Church quite openly to the nuncio, he would certainly be praised instead of blamed for the step he had taken.[2] Archetti replied with a solemn protest against the erection of the noviciate. In a confidential letter accompanying it he tried to persuade the Bishop by every possible means to publish another pastoral letter in the Press, withdrawing and annulling the licence he had granted.[3] On the day before (October 6th)

[1] *On August 19, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *ibid.*

[2] *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *ibid.*; LORET, 279 *seq.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 128 *seq.*

[3] " *La Santità Sua giudica necessario, che V.S. Illma e R^{ma} pubblichi per mezzo delle stampe un'altra Pastorale in disapprovazione ed abolizione della precedente, dichiarando i propri abbagli e ritrattandogli, annullando in seguito l'erezione del preteso Noviziato." October 7, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *loc. cit.* Russian translation in *Sbornik*, I., 469.

he had handed the Russian ambassador the *aide-mémoire* that had been agreed with Pallavicini. In this he pointed out that Siestrzencewicz had knowingly exceeded his powers, wherefore he considered it necessary to make remonstrances against him, so as to leave no room for doubt about the real views of the Head of the Church regarding the members of the former Society of Jesus.[1] Stackelberg forwarded the *exposé*,[2] but the artful diplomat, while holding out hopes of a successful issue to the nuncio,[3] informed Siestrzencewicz of the steps that Archetti had had to take against the pastoral letter at the behest of the Vatican and asked for instructions as to what answer to make to the continual questions with which he was being plied by the nunciature.[4]

In his remarkable reply the Bishop, after a terse description

[1] **Exposé*, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1779, *Réception*, Sept.–Décbre.; *Sbornik*, I., 469 *seq.*

[2] *Stackelberg to Panin, September 25/October 6, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, *ibid.*; *Sbornik*, I., 468.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Archetti to Pallavicini, September 29, 1779, *ibid.*, 323; LORET, 277 *seqq.*

[4] *Stackelberg to Siestrzencewicz, October 2/13, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a; *Sbornik*, I., 471; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., p. 130. "Le comte Stackelberg, qui lui envoya la copie [of Pallavicini's circular], lui découvrit cette politique de la Cour de Rome, ci-dessus indiquée, quelle était cachée dans cette pasquinade, comme il appelait cette lettre circulaire, et rassura l'Evêque de ne s'en point chagriner, d'être persuadé, que le Pape savait qu'il n'était que l'instrument de la volonté de sa Souveraine, et qu'il ne devait pas douter de la continuation de la bienveillance de Sa Sainteté envers lui. En effet l'Évêque fidèle à ses maximes et constant dans sa manière d'agir demeura tranquille. En réponse à la réception de la proclamation le Nonce de Varsovie écrivit à l'Évêque une lettre qui tient le milieu entre des plaintes et des reproches, qui naturellement était l'écho de la trompette romaine, et il continua la correspondance avec l'Évêque." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta*, I., 41 *seq.*

of the development of the ecclesiastical situation, threw all the responsibility for his actions on the sovereign. Towards the end of 1773, he said, the empress had given him the verbal command not to publish the Brief of suppression and to maintain the Jesuits in their existing condition in perpetuity. Though frequently pressed to open a noviciate he had always excused himself on the plea of having insufficient authority. On the strength of the decree of Propaganda he had been instructed by a ministerial order to empower the Jesuits to set up a noviciate. With his pastoral letter he had complied with the imperial command. Let them therefore leave the Bishop, who had been nothing more than an instrument, out of the question entirely and deal with the sovereign, who, as she always had done, treated the Jesuits as religious. Even if he personally had held other views the result would have been the same; the empress's will was decisive; any opposition was useless. In these matters the same language was used on the Neva as on the Seine and the Manzanares: "This is my will," to which the answer was, "Your Majesty's will shall be obeyed." He had never intended any restoration of the Society, as every detail of his conduct had shown well enough. The harm he had done consisted solely in his having prevented heterodox professors occupying vacancies and in his having prolonged for a space the death-throes of the Society. One nod from the empress and all would be destroyed in a flash. If Rome thought otherwise, he would gladly lay down his office. He would be followed by a Bishop of greater skill and piety, but perhaps by none. It was not self-interest but solicitude for the welfare of the Church that had been the mainspring of his actions. It would go hard with him to have to leave the vineyard that had just been planted but he was ready to make the sacrifice.[1]

Whether it was a clever counter-move by the Russian

[1] *Siestrzencewicz to Stackelberg, October 21/November 1, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a; *Sbornik*, I., No. VI.; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add., p. 131 *seqq.*

Government or was merely the ambitiousness of the Bishop cannot now be ascertained, but just at this time Galitzin, the Russian ambassador to Austria, presented a demand to the nunciature in Vienna that the Bishop of Mallo be admitted to the College of Cardinals.[1] In January, 1780, when the ambassador had raised the matter for the fourth time, Garampi objected that the conferment of such an honour at that particular juncture would be bound to give great offence to the Bourbons. At the end of his report the nuncio added the advice that if a refusal were to result in disastrous consequences for the Catholics in Russia the request should be granted.[2] From General Browne Garampi had learned that Siestrzencewicz, who with his brilliant gifts of conversation had won the favour of Court circles, was continually suggesting new projects, allegedly to enhance the glory of the sovereign but in reality to further his own importance. At one moment he was proposing the erection of a Catholic primatial see, at another he was opening up vistas of the brilliant rôle that the Russian Court would play in the Roman Church if it had a representative in the Sacred College, for through him it could exert an influence on the Papal election.[3]

Meanwhile in St. Petersburg the die had been cast. Catherine was more determined than ever to protect the Bishop, who had only carried out her will. She instructed her Foreign Minister, Count Panin, to send a courteous letter to the Holy See in reply to the nuncio's protest, but at the same time to defend Siestrzencewicz in vigorous terms. Since her view was that the noviciate would benefit the schools in White Russia, she would never permit any alteration. She had once given her word to preserve Catholicism unimpaired in Russia so long as the Catholics were her loyal subjects. She was now proving

[1] *Caleppi to Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 400, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Garampi to Pallavicini, January 20, 1780, *ibid.*, 401.

[3] **Id.* to *id.*, April 25, 1780, *ibid.* Rome would not listen to these suggestions because of the Bishop's attitude towards the question of the noviciate. *Pallavicini to Garampi, February 19, 1780, Cifre, Nunziat. di Vienna, 678, *loc. cit.*

that she kept her word. Besides, everyone was master in his own house and she had no doubt that what had happened was in accordance with the Pope's will. It was purely a matter of internal policy which had no concern with anyone else in the world. She was not disposed to take lessons from anyone nor did she recognize anyone's right to give them. Wherefore she asked the Pope to protect the loyal and zealous Bishop from every kind of persecution.[1] On the very same day Panin addressed to Stackelberg a dispatch in which he had clothed the contents of the imperial autograph letter in diplomatic phrases.[2] In accordance with his superior's intention, the ambassador in his turn informed Archetti that his sovereign regarded the matter of the noviciate as exclusively one of internal and secular politics. Siestrzencewicz in his obedience had merely performed his plain duty as a subject. There had thus been avoided, on the one hand, any violation of ecclesiastical privilege, and, on the other, any interference with the rights of a sovereign on the part of a foreign potentate, to the detriment of a Power which was little used to sharing its authority with others. Besides, the affair in question was obviously and exclusively for the benefit of the Catholic subjects, seeing that his Court was striving to keep this Society in existence solely to promote the education of Catholic youth.[3]

From the Polish envoy Antici Stackelberg had learned that it was the Bourbon Ministers who had caused the Pope to send the circular letter to the nuncios and that they were pressing him to take further steps, on the pretext that the Bishop's edict was due, not to the wish of the empress, but solely to the intrigues of the Jesuits.[4] Whereas France showed signs of

[1] Catherine II. to Panin, October 22/November 2, 1779, in *Sbornik*, I., 475 ; PIERLING, V., 408 *seq.*

[2] *Sbornik*, I., 476.

[3] *Stackelberg to Archetti, November 23, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.* ; *Sbornik*, I., 481.

[4] *September 22, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a.

being fairly well content with the statement made by Rome,[1] the Spanish Minister Moñino, now Count Floridablanca, was highly incensed, seeing his life-work endangered. Indignantly he demanded that the Pope should declare the Bishop's edict to be null and void and should threaten to depose him. The ambassador in Rome was to insist that through its weakness the Curia was to blame for the affair, that it was exposing its reputation to contempt, and that Spain had every right to complain about the manifest and universally notorious propensity of the present pontificate towards Jesuitism, which was now likely to show still more temerity. He would also take the necessary steps with the Russian Government.[2] And indeed, on September 27th, 1779, Normandez, the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, was instructed to make every effort to induce the empress to declare the pastoral letter invalid and to command the prelate to keep to the former instructions of the nuncio in Warsaw. Further, the empress was to allow the Brief of suppression to be carried out to the letter in her dominions, as his sovereign regarded this as an essential condition for the peace of the States, especially his own.[3] Moñino also tried to intimidate the empress by representing to Zinoviev, the Russian ambassador in Madrid, that the Jesuits were a danger to the State. His sovereign had been painfully affected by the business and hoped that the empress would give a definite order to the prelate, after he had been reprimanded by the Pope, to revoke the permission he had

[1] *Doria to Pallavicini, September 27, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 569, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] " *. . . es menester estrechar en Roma sobre que las condescendencias de aquella Corte tienen la culpa de lo que pasa, dejando despreciar su propia autoridad y que de nadie podemos quexarnos con mas razón que de ella en todo el progreso de este Pontificado, cuya afección decidida al Jesuitismo y pública en toda Europa, da motivo a que se crea que ha de tolerar qualquier paso atrevido." Draft of a letter in Floridablanca's own hand, dated September 14, 1779, on the back of Grimaldi's letter to him of August 26, 1779. (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.)

[3] *Moñino to Normandez, September 27, 1779, *ibid.*

granted, to execute the Brief of suppression, and for the future to check the cunning intrigues of the ex-Jesuits, whose object was to establish afresh an independent and terrible monarchy like their former one, a monarchy that hatched conspiracies even against the princes who had protected and encouraged them all their lives. The advantages of a good education could be obtained by means of a sound and systematic scheme, without the assistance of religious Orders. Besides, if the Jesuits were allowed to continue, the Catholic merchants would be forced to leave Russia on grounds of conscience, which misfortune should be avoided by an enlightened Government.[1] At Moñino's instigation, Corberon, the French representative at St. Petersburg, was instructed to support the steps taken by the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*.[2]

The Foreign Minister was soon made to understand that his peremptory manner did not produce the same effects on the Neva as on the Tiber. Normandez had to inform him that the Czarina was inexplicably prejudiced in favour of the Jesuits and staked her honour on retaining their schools without regard for the discipline of the Catholic Church. In reply to his remonstrances the Ministers had told him that the subject was complicated by the empress having her own views on education, that she was determined to be absolute mistress in her own domains, and that she would never have thought of interfering in the affairs of the Spanish king. For Moñino this was a diplomatic defeat.[3]

[1] *October 7, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1779, *Réception*.

[2] *Zinoviev to Panin, October 31/November 11, 1779, Cifre, *ibid.*

[3] " *El Vice-Canciller [Ostermann] me ha dicho que la intención de la Emperatriz no habia sido de mezclar en el negocio del Rey nuestro Señor; lo que éste quiere decir en modo de tratar las negocios de aquel Ministro está aclarado por lo que llevo espuesto a V. E. Cuento unicamente con lo que me dice el Sr Conde de Panin, quien se ha explicado conmigo con toda atención, sin ocultarme no obstante que para el mismo es embarazoso el negocio, visto lo

Meanwhile Archetti was trying to appease the excitement in Rome—naturally so, as his reputation was involved and he had been accused of allowing himself to be drawn into a trap. Certainly, he wrote in a letter of self-defence to Cardinal Antonelli, every effort must be made to obtain the revocation of the episcopal edict but at the same time anything that might affront the Russian Government must be avoided, for on this depended not only the fate of the Russian Catholics but also that of Poland—let there be no illusions on that score. If the steps that had been taken up till then continued unavailing they could still try the effect of a public disapprobation.[1] Pallavicini he tried to appease by reporting to him that the novices had not been streaming in in such numbers as had been put about. According to the information gathered by the Basilians, only one ex-Jesuit had applied for admission up till then.[2] On receiving the Russian reply to his letter of protest Archetti sent Cardinal Antonelli all the correspondence he had had with Russia. After describing again the Czarina's standpoint, he proceeded to say that Stackelberg was very willing to enter into negotiations in the hope of settling the matter to the satisfaction of both Powers, that is to say the Pope was to grant the Jesuits some sort of right to an ecclesiastical existence. The pros and cons of this proposal were then carefully weighed by the nuncio. That the Bishop had had no authority to take the step he had taken was covertly admitted

absoluta que quiere ser la Emperatriz en cosas de lo interior de sus Estados, y sus ideas sobre la enseñanza." Normandez to Floridablanca, November 26/December 6, 1779, Cifre, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056. Catherine's letter to Charles III., which has been used so much by previous writers, is apocryphal. *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, December 26, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 188A, Papal Secret Archives. (Linguet had already mentioned the supposed letter in his *Annales politiques*, VII., No. 52.)

[1] *Archetti to Antonelli, October 27, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 3, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *ibid.* The noviciate was opened on February 2, 1780, with eight candidates. GAGARIN, 68.

by him and the empress but what was the use of beginning long negotiations? They would only involve themselves in unpleasant disputes and expose themselves to indignity. And there was always the danger of finally annoying Moscow and thereby doing harm to the Catholics of that enormous empire and also to the ecclesiastical situation in Poland. It was his last remark especially that showed in which direction Archetti inclined, despite his efforts to repress his own opinion. Schismatic Russia admitted that on the whole the training of youth could not rest in better hands than in those of a religious congregation which had vowed itself to God and the task of education, whereas so many Catholics were sending their sons to Geneva, Berne, and London, to heretical and secular universities, or were procuring so-called philosophers of their enlightened age in order to entrust them with the training of their own children.[1]

As Stackelberg learned from Antici, the Pope was taking a calmer view of the case than the official pronouncements led one to suppose. Satisfied that he had justified himself sufficiently to the Bourbon Powers, he decided not to make any further pronouncements in public but to confine himself to the negotiations which Spain and France intended to support by direct representations at the Court of St. Petersburg.[2]

[1] "*. . . Finirò con una riflessione affatto estranea. Ha da venire la Moscovia a confessare, che l'educazione della gioventù non può stare in genere in miglior mani che di un corpo religioso, e consagrato a Dio a questo fine di giovare alla educazione del prossimo, mentre tanti Cattolici mandano i loro figli a Genevra, a Berna, a Londra, alle università eretiche e secolari, o si procacciano dei pretesi filosofi del secolo illuminato per confidar ad essi la propria prole." Archetti to Antonelli, December 1, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*

[2] Stackelberg to Panin, December 4/15, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1779, September–December, *Réception*; *Sbornik*, I., No. XIV. Several private letters written at this time from Rome also mention that Pius VI. did not take so tragic a view of the matter as Pallavicini's official pronouncements led one to suppose. *Borgia to Archetti, September 30, 1779,

In a long discussion on the Russian situation held by the Pope and Cardinal Bernis in August 1780, the former said that he noted with regret that the Czarina with her sound common sense was the only person to see quite clearly the advantage she had gained for herself by gathering together and preserving the men whom other countries had expelled. It can be seen from this, remarks the narrator, how intrinsically different the Pope's way of thinking is from the declarations made in the letters of the Cardinal Secretary of State. The States interested must think of some remedy quickly, otherwise the Society will soon come to life again.[1]

While Pius VI. was striving to maintain an attitude of prudent moderation, the Spanish Government was feverishly active in trying to extinguish the tiny remnant of the Society of Jesus. In the autumn of 1779 some Russian ships had been detained at Cadiz on the charge of carrying contraband.[2]

Nunziat. di Polonia, 59, *loc. cit.*; *Ex-Assistant Korycki to Czerniewicz, November 6 and December 4, 1779, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III. In his first letter Korycki warned Czerniewicz to collect all the documents which could testify to the complete innocence and obedience of the Jesuits in White Russia; without this evidence it would be impossible to write the true history of the Society.

[1] " *. . . soggiunse il Santo Padre, che avea il rammarico di vedere, che la Czara si fosse l'unica, che fosse dotata di un ottimo discernimento e di una perfetta cognizione del merito avendo raccolti e conservati gli espulsi dagli altri Stati . . . Si scorge intanto, quanto sia intrinsecamente diverso il modo di pensare del Papa dalle intenzioni fatte manifestare dal Segretario di Stato al S. Marchese Antici nel biglietto del 25 febbraio, di cui si è spedita copia; e siccome queste contraddizioni non possono che involgere il Papa in qualche grave impiccio, Egli che lo prevede, si ne trova così inquietato, che la salute ne va soffrendo sempre più . . ." Carlo Mazin to Sambuca, undated [August 22, 1780], State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1086.

[2] *Floridablanca to Zinoviev, October 26, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1779, *Réception*. During the American War of Independence (1776–1783) France and Spain had allied themselves with the United States against

In the discussions that ensued the Foreign Minister proposed to the Russian ambassador a most favourable commercial treaty in return for the complete extinction of the Society, an object desired by his king more ardently than any other.[1] Although this offer was unmistakably refused, the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* had to pursue this same object in conjunction with the French and Portuguese representatives.[2] Through his ambassador Grimaldi Moñino kept on pressing the Curia for an official Papal annulment of the Bishop of Mohilev's pastoral letter. By this means, he urged, the Pope would wreck the empress's plans, for the Jesuits would immediately become schismatics and would certainly be rejected by the Catholic Poles.[3]

England (1778), while the other European Powers, under Russian leadership, maintained an armed neutrality.

[1] *Zinoviev to Panin, January 13/24, 1780, Cifre, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1780, *Réception.* " *Je dois à présent ajouter à V. E., que la Comte Floridablanca dans cette dernière conversation insista, on ne peut plus, sur l'affaire des Jésuites. Il est certain, que le Roi d'Espagne n'a rien plus au cœur, que l'extinction entière de ces religieux. Ce n'est pas seulement par entêtement qu'Elle (!) s'est proposé de détruire cet Ordre jusqu'au moindre vestige, mais aussi par une haine implacable contre ces Pères, qui [*sic*] lui a inspiré son confesseur, comme Franciscain et par conséquence ennemi juré de cet Ordre. Des principes pareils m'engagent à croire, que c'est peut-être le moment favorable de tirer quelque avantage ou du moins un agrément quelconque pour le commerce de Russie avec l'Espagne, comme une espèce d'équivalent de la condescendance, qu'on pourroit avoir chez nous à l'égard du Roi d'Espagne, en étouffant le reste des débris de l'Ordre des Jésuites. Il se peut bien, que cette idée paroîtra peu fondée a V. E., mais je l'envisage ainsi, et l'attachement au service de ma Cour m'oblige de la lui communiquer." Zinoviev to Panin, January 16/27, 1780, Cifre, *ibid.*

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, October 31/November 11, 1779, Cifre, *ibid.* Normandez to Floridablanca, December 10, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Floridablanca to Grimaldi, January 18, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; *Grimaldi to Pallavicini, February 4,

When the King of Poland attempted to negotiate through Antici, his envoy to Rome,[1] Floridablanca abruptly intervened. Grimaldi was to recall the solemn promise given by the Pope not to make the slightest alteration in the enactments of the Brief of suppression. In the interest of the dignity of the Holy See, the personal honour of the Pope, and, above all, religion, his master considered it expedient, to avoid any misunderstanding, for the Secretary of State to reply as follows. The mediation of the Polish king would be welcome to the Roman Curia if any sort of negotiation were possible. The affair was quite clear and definite. By postponing the punishment of the Bishop till the present time the Pope had shown his goodwill towards the Czarina quite sufficiently. Now it was necessary for the prelate to admit his guilt. If he did so he would be assured of lenient treatment. The honour of the Holy See demanded the complete fulfilment of the promises that the Pope had made quite clearly and in all solemnity. This reply, which had been prepared at the command of the Spanish king, was to be presented to the Pope by Cardinal Bernis, to ensure its being put into execution.[2]

Pallavicini, who was in the pay of the Spanish Government and was its willing tool, urged the nuncio in Warsaw time and again to prevail on Siestrzencewicz to withdraw his edict

1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*; *Floridablanca to Grimaldi, September 21, 1779; *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, October 7, 1779; **id.* to *id.*, November 25, 1779, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 116.

[1] Stackelberg to Panin, December 1, 1779, *Sbornik*, I., No. XIII; *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives; Antici to the King of Poland, January 26, 1780, *Sbornik*, I., 486. Antici's plan was to suppress the Jesuits in White Russia and reorganize them into a School Institute on the Silesian model.

[2] " *Memoria, Progetto di risposta," which Pallavicini was to give the Marchese Antici, of February 11, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* the final form in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 116.

and to make satisfaction.[1] Archetti, knowing how much his future depended on the issue, tried his hardest to achieve success. He had learned from a newspaper that the empress had commended the Bishop on his conduct and had intimated to the Jesuits [2] that she would visit the noviciate at Polotsk. He had also been reminded by various persons of the sovereign's obduracy.[3] If, nevertheless, he imagined, on the strength of information supplied by Grimaldi,[4] that the Court of St. Petersburg would follow the example of Berlin, which had just permitted the publication of the Brief in West Prussia, he was soon to be disillusioned. Directly Catherine

[1] *Pallavicini to Archetti, January 8 and February 5, 14, and 25, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48 and 242A, *loc. cit.*

[2] *On January 16, 1780, *ibid.*, 48.

[3] " *Soggiunse inoltre il Protonotario [Ghigiotti], che io non dovessi lusingarmi della pubblicazione del Breve in Bianca Russia, ma che al più la Czara avrebbe forse tollerato cangiamento nel abito di quei Refrattari. Al che replicai, *che la pubblicazione del Breve, o sia intimazione formale della seguita soppressione, era onninamente indispensabile e necessaria*; e siccome l'abito non faceva, così non disfaceva il Monaco, e molto meno il Gesuita." Archetti to Pallavicini, March 8, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *loc. cit.* In February, 1780, the Provost Benislawski had brought the nuncio a letter from Bishop Siestrzencewicz, of September 16, 1779, in which the prelate, after reviewing the past, had assured the nuncio that it was not from any real liking for the Jesuits but for fear of the Government that after a long struggle he had given way to avoid a greater evil. The Czarina would have her way because she considered these religious useful; but they were foreigners and if the order was carried out they would emigrate to Poland. *Archetti to Pallavicini, February 16, 1780. Confidential. Nunziat. di Polonia, *ibid.* Archetti's suspicion that the Bishop had antedated his letter so as not to have to deal with the letter of October 7, 1779, from the nunciature, was groundless. *Cf.* *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, June 8/19, 1780, *ibid.*, 325; *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 5, 1780, Cifre, *ibid.*, 324; **id.* to *id.*, July 26, 1780. Confidential. *Ibid.*, 64.

[4] *Archetti to Normandez, March 4, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84. Papal Secret Archives.

heard from Stackelberg of the Polish attempt at mediation [1] she sent him a sharply-worded note putting a stop to any further discussion on the subject of the noviciate either then or in the future. Recapitulating the reasons for her former attitude, she declared that as she did not meddle in the internal affairs of other Powers, she forbade them to interfere in hers. Foreigners were not entitled to demand an account of their actions from subjects who were obeying the commands of their empress. This reply was to serve him as a principle in dealing with any representation made by the Bourbon or any other Court. She considered any further explanation superfluous. The question was always to be treated as one of domestic policy, especially where the Papal Curia was concerned. When the latter saw how immovable she was it would desist from its demands and resist the pressure of the Bourbons, so as not to lose what little influence she still allowed it to exercise over the Catholics of Russia.[2] At the empress's command the same reply was conveyed by Panin to all the Russian ambassadors to the Bourbon Courts, Madrid in particular,[3] to enable Zinoviev to frame his reply to Moñino's letter.

[1] " *J'avois engagé le Roi, de charger le susdit Marquis, d'empêcher quelque incartade de la Cour de Rome à l'égard de l'évêque Siestrzencewicz ; le Pape a pris cette demande pour une offre de médiation de la part de S.M. Polonoise. Ce nouvel incident mérite trop d'attention de ma part, pour que je ne prie V. Exc. de me faire parvenir les ordres de l'Impératrice sur cette supposition, et la manière de la réaliser." Stackelberg to Panin, January 22/February 2, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1780, *Réception*, *Sbornik*, I., 487, No. XV. The account given here by Stackelberg of the steps he had taken differs from that of the nuncio, who had consistently reported on a Polish mediation.

[2] Catherine II. to Stackelberg, February 14/25, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.* ; *Sbornik*, I., 488, No. XVI.

[3] *Bezborodko to Panin, February 14/25, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.* ; *Panin to Zinoviev, February 29, 1780, *ibid.*, Madrid, 1780, *Expédition*.

This way of speaking had the desired effect. It was feared that the empress would abandon her position of neutrality and would ally herself with the English against the Bourbons. The French envoy, Corberon, strongly advised his Government to abstain from pursuing the matter any further. Panin, too, he said, though not of the same opinion as his mistress, warned him to desist. After all, why take so much trouble about so trivial a matter? [1] Consequently Bernis was instructed to moderate his requests to the Curia and to persuade Grimaldi to do likewise.[2] Stackelberg gave the Papal nuncio to understand that the Holy See should renounce any further attempt to expand its ecclesiastical authority at the expense of the sovereign's rights, or else it would meet with the firm resistance of the empress, against which the fulminations of the Vatican would be of no avail.[3]

Archetti did his best to hide his failure from Rome, asserting that the Russian envoy, who until then had had every hope of a successful outcome, had received an order from the empress not to speak of the matter any more. He had divulged to him in absolute confidence that the ultimate and fundamental cause of the unfortunate turn the negotiations had taken was the detention of the Russian ships in the harbour of Cadiz. The incident had made the empress very angry with Spain, as she regarded it as an act of spite in retaliation for the support she was giving to the Jesuits. The Russian Government's manifesto to the Powers about the violation of international law was a clear proof of this.[4] The Cardinal Secretary of State and, according to his accounts, the Pope

[1] *Corberon to Vergennes, March 10, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6645.

[2] Vergennes to Bernis, April 4, 1780, in Masson, *Bernis*, 360.

[3] Stackelberg to Catherine II., March 2/13 and 17/28, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1780, *Réception, Sbornik*, I., 491, No. XVIII. *Cf.* *Azara to Floridablanca, April 6 and 13, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 6, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 22, 1780, *ibid.*, 63.

too, were sorely disappointed by the turn of events [1]; still more so Grimaldi, who had been nursing the hope that, if the Bishop continued to resist, Rome would issue an official decree declaring his pastoral letter invalid. Pallavicini had to use all his eloquence to convince the ambassador of the impracticability of such a step.[2]

Further developments brought about the retirement of the Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk, Smogorzewski, who had fallen out of favour with the Court. The explanation offered to the public was that the prelate had resigned of his own accord and had applied for the Uniat Metropolitan see in Poland, which had fallen vacant.[3] The real reason was that Smogorzewski had passed on to Siestrzencewicz several letters from the nuncio asking for the suppression of the noviciate. Unused to opposition, Catherine sent an order to the prelate to betake himself to his new see without waiting to nominate his successor.[4] Pallavicini, in his letter to the nuncio, asked him to cancel some of his latest instructions, as the unyielding attitude maintained by the empress demanded the utmost circumspection.[5] France and probably Spain too, he continued, now saw that to slight the proud Czarina would only benefit the Jesuits.[6] Moreover, they were ceasing to press the Pope to make an official announcement.[7] To insist any further was not the business of the Holy See; that must be

[1] *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 15 and 22, 1780, *ibid.*, 48.

[2] *Pallavicini to Pius VI., April 24, 1780, *ibid.*, 324.

[3] Catherine II. to Pius VI., January, 1781, *Sbornik*, I., 506 *seq.*, No. XXXI. *Cf.* Stackelberg to Panin, June 30 and July 15, 1779; Panin to Stackelberg, July 22, 1779, *ibid.*, Nos. XIX, XX, XXI.

[4] "*Consistorium Polocense Administratori Metropolitano," of August 30, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 145, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 19 and August 30, 1780, *ibid.*, 335; LORET, 281 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 5, 1780, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 324. *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 283 *seq.*

[5] *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 13, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48.

[6] **Id.* to *id.*, June 3, 1780, *ibid.*

[7] **Id.* to *id.*, April 29, 1780, *ibid.*

left to the Bourbons, who were equally interested in finding a successful solution to the problem.[1] As the Catholic world had been sufficiently informed of the true state of affairs, further steps must be postponed, lest the representative of the Holy See be exposed to another rebuff and the Russian Court be given an excuse for oppressing the Catholics.[2]

During this diplomatic campaign the Jesuits had striven to strengthen their position. The noviciate had been opened on February 2nd, 1780, with eight candidates ; it was impossible to accept any more, owing to the Jesuits' poverty and the paucity of colleges.[3] On July 15th of this year there took place the customary renewal of their vows by the scholastics, the first since the catastrophe of 1773, while the professed and the trained coadjutors ratified theirs in private.[4] The former Polish Assistant Korycki had even held out hopes to them of the Society being restored in the near future throughout the world.[5]

Archetti, after Stackelberg had firmly resisted another attempt of his to reopen negotiations, set his hopes on an intervention by the Emperor Joseph II., who was to meet the Czarina in June, 1780.[6] According to Garampi's report, the monarch had promised his mother before setting out not to enter any Jesuit college or church or to have any converse with Jesuits. His court chaplain, too, the ex-Jesuit Kalatay, had been given episcopal instructions to avoid any dealings with the so-called Jesuits of Russia.[7] But events turned out

[1] **Id.* to *id.*, May 20, 1780, *ibid.*

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, June 24, 1780, *ibid.*

[3] *Czerniewicz [to Ex-Assistant Rhomberg ?], July 15, 1780, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. I.

[4] *Czerniewicz to Kareu, June 26, 1780, *ibid.*

[5] *Korycki to Czerniewicz, November 6 and December 4, 1779, *ibid.*, fasc. III. ; *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 21, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, Papal Secret Archives.

[6] *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 26, 1780, *ibid.*, 63.

[7] *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 31, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania, 401, *loc. cit.* " *Anche l'Imperatore, il quale scherzava qui spesso al suo solito sopra il ripullulamento de' Gesuiti, ha promesso alla

contrary to the nuncio's expectation. On her way to Mohilev, where the two sovereigns were to meet, Catherine paid a visit to the Jesuit noviciate at Polotsk, the significance of which gesture, after the diplomatic negotiations that had preceded it, was unmistakable.[1] The emperor cleverly adapted himself to his hostess's way of thinking, twice attending the service in the Jesuit church and chatting pleasantly afterwards with the Vice-Provincial, to whom he offered his best wishes for the future. Bishop Siestrzencewicz, he told him, had only done his duty in forwarding a work which was of equal benefit to religion and the State.[2]

Meanwhile the Bishop's reply to the nuncio's letter of October 7th, 1779, had arrived at last in Warsaw. The prelate assured Archetti that it was not until the morning of June 19th, 1780, that his letter had been handed to him by Count Czerniszew. The route that had to be taken by the nuncio's letters as well as his own, and the empress's letters to Stackelberg might serve as an answer and explanation. In all the steps he had taken he had been moved solely by his zeal for the real interests of religion and his devotion to the Holy See.[3]

Imperatrice Madre, che in Mohilovia ne schiverà ogni discorso e che ricuserà di conversar con loro, ed anche di entrare nella loro casa e chiesa." *Ibid.*

[1] *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 21 and July 5, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, *loc. cit.* " *Ubique illa [Catherine II.] manifestis benignitatis suae indiciis propitiam se nobis exhibere dignata est, ac demum per Illum Dñum Com. Vicarium Albae Russiae de Czerniszew certiores nos fieri voluit de sua in nos perenni clementia hisce omnino verbis : 'Nunc demum Societas nostra (nostram dixit, ut indicaret se illam diligere aeque ac si ipsa esset de Societate) tam firmiter est stabilita quam si inniteretur ipsi Petrae Apostolicae.' " Czerniewicz [to Rhomberg ?], July 15, 1780, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. I ; *Rozaven, 66 *seq.*

[2] *Czerniewicz [to Rhomberg ?], *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 26, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, Papal Secret Archives ; *Rozaven, 68. *Cf. Gazeta Warszawska*, July 5, 1780, Supplement.

[3] *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, June 8/19, 1780, received July 2 (*N.S.*), Nunziat. di Polonia, 64 and 325, *loc. cit.*

While Pallavicini refrained [1] from sending another letter of protest [2] only because of the nuncio's representations, Archetti was assuring the Bishop of his constant friendship.[3] And now fresh complications were afoot, the issue of which was unpredictable. Not only had the Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk been relieved of his office, still without the nomination of a successor, but there seemed a definite likelihood of a schismatic Bishop being appointed, or at least it was intended to force the Uniats to accept the Latin rite and to subject all the Catholics to Bishop Siestrzencewicz.[4] In any case everything depended on his goodwill and anything that might estrange him from Rome had to be avoided at all costs.

In these perilous circumstances Pius VI. appealed in person to the Czarina to give the Uniats another Archbishop.[5] Without discussing the Pope's request the empress replied that the satisfaction with her attitude by the supreme head of the Roman Church encouraged her to ask for the *pallium* for Archbishop Siestrzencewicz of Mohilev and for the appointment of a coadjutor.[6] This project seems to have originated with the said prelate. In the second half of January 1780, Provost Benislawski had come to St. Petersburg for the purpose of securing, through the favourite Potemkin, the

[1] *Pallavicini to Archetti, September 16, 1780, *ibid.*

[2] " *Minuta di lettera da inoltrarsi al Vescovo di Mallo da Mgr. Archetti, August 12, 1780," *ibid.*, 48.

[3] *On November 14, 1780, *ibid.*, 340.

[4] As Bishop Ryło, the candidate first thought of for Polotsk, preferred an episcopal see in Galicia (Stackelberg to Panin, February 12/23, 1780; Panin to Stackelberg, February 28, 1780; *Sbornik*, I., Nos. XXII and XXIII.), the Czarina ordered the Governor-General Czerniszew on July 13, 1780, to entrust the direction of the archdiocese to a consistory of three to four members. *Ibid.*, No. XXV.

[5] On September 16, 1780, *ibid.*, 501 *seq.*, No. XXIX. Stackelberg had been approached on the same subject by Archetti on August 1 and by the King of Poland on August 3. *Ibid.*, Nos. XXVI. and XXVII.; Masson, *Bernis*, 362.

[6] *Sbornik*, I., 505 *seq.*, No. XXXI. The letter of December 31, 1780, was handed to the nuncio in January, 1781.

elevation of Siestrzencewicz to the Uniat archiepiscopal see of Polotsk and to cardinalitial rank, together with his own preferment to the coadjutorship. The ambitious prelate could see no reason why Rome should object to a Latin and Greek bishopric being amalgamated and governed by one person, seeing that Pius VI. in his letter to Catherine had spoken of only one Roman Catholic prelate. They were fortunate not to have the post filled by a schismatic. There could be no objection to him personally, on account of the Jesuit noviciate, as he had only acted at the behest of the empress, for the purpose of preserving the religious who were indispensable for the education of the young. Canonically the decree of Propaganda authorized him to take this action, as the Jesuits of White Russia were regarded as legitimate religious not only by the Court and the people but also by the Catholic clergy. If his edict were revoked the consequences would not be advantageous either to himself or the Catholics. Further, his elevation to the archbishopric would not be regarded as a reward for his pastoral letter but as an act of goodwill shown by the Curia to the empress.[1] In order to induce the nuncio to favour his designs Siestrzencewicz secretly offered, in the event of the Pope assenting to his elevation, to transform the Jesuit Province into a school institute, to abolish the connexion between the colleges, and to place the various houses under the immediate control of the Ordinary.[2]

Actually Siestrzencewicz was aiming at more than the amalgamation of two bishoprics under one head ; his ultimate

[1] " *Instruction à Mr le Chanoine Benislawski," of January 20, 1781, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 11, 192 ; *Sbornik*, I., No. XXXIV.

[2] " *Soli, solissimo Exmo Nuntio Apostolico . . . Si Sanctissimus pro his oris Societatem Institutricem, abolita mutua Collegiorum secum communicatione immediate ab Episcopo loci Ordinario rectam et pendentem approbaret, hanc ordinationem, licet anceps eventus, auderem Serenissimae proponere." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, January 22, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, Papal Secret Archives ; LORET, 288.

purpose was to bring the Uniats over to the Latin rite.[1] Rome was sorely perplexed about the answer that was to be made to the Czarina, for her proposal seemed not merely inadvisable but positively dangerous.[2] As Archetti learned from Antonelli, the Pope was thinking of asking the Czarina directly to give the Uniats an Archbishop of their own rite. So far as his personal characteristics were concerned there was no objection to Siestrzencewicz becoming a Latin Archbishop but the Bourbon Courts had magnified the importance of the incident of the Jesuit noviciate to such a degree that Pius VI., for good or for ill, had to pay regard to it. Any preferment of the Bishop would be taken by them to be a mark of favour towards the suppressed Society.[3] Another cause of anxiety for Rome was the information that on his return to Vienna Joseph II. had told the nuncio Garampi that Catherine was flattering herself that the Society would flourish anew and would spread from Russia over the whole of Europe.[4] A similar story was being circulated by the Marchese Antici among his intimates in Rome.[5]

Archetti warned Rome not to link the Jesuit question with that of the Uniats. The empress, he said, made it a point of honour not to take instructions from anyone and she refused to have the subject mentioned ; to broach it would ruin everything. In his dealings with her the Papal representative must

[1] *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1781, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 403, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 24, 1781, *ibid.*, 679.

[3] *Antonelli to Archetti, March 3, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 69, *loc. cit.*

[4] *The emperor had heard from the empress that there was a prospect of negotiations between her and the Pope. "Ma per quanto mi dimostrò, ne ignorava egli l'oggetto, supponendo anzi che si agirasse intorno all' esistenza dei sedicenti gesuiti, per i quali egli sa quanto impegno abbia la detta Sovrana, quasi nella lusinga che abbia una volta a ripullulare dai suoi paesi l'estinta Società e diramarsi nuovamente nell' Europa." Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1781, *ibid.*

[5] *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 24, 1781, Nunziat. di Vienna, 679, *loc. cit.*

act as if there were no thought of the Jesuits. The only person to deal with on this matter was Siestrzencewicz, who now saw that his action was obstructing his promotion. He should be encouraged to carry out his latest proposal. In their own interest the Bourbons would have to acquiesce in this solution of the Jesuit question.[1] Pallavicini, however, was not inclined to pay much heed to these considerations. He sent the nuncio in Warsaw a letter for the Bishop, demanding as an indispensable condition for his elevation to archiepiscopal rank the official proclamation of the Brief of suppression.[2] But Archetti thought it wiser not to forward the letter.[3] The Bourbon envoys to St. Petersburg, he wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda, had imposed silence on themselves for political reasons; were they to be so foolhardy as to jeopardize the interests of religion and at the same time utterly to spoil the Jesuit affair? And this would be the result if the settlement of this dispute were made an indispensable condition of

[1] *The legate to Russia "neppur per ombra facciasi menzione all' Imperatrice degli ex-gesuiti. Conviene anzi mostrar che non vi si pensi. Quello che è seguito, è cosa certissima, che seguì per puntiglio dell' Imperatrice per far mostra di non prender legge da niuno, e darsi il vanto di proteggere e sostenere coloro, che avean saputo ingannar la sua mente con rappresentanze di eccessiva persecuzione. Se si toccherà questa corda, temo assai, che in vece di bene ne verrà tutto il male alla Religione degli Uniti, e de' Latini, e si renderà sempre più irreparabile lo scandalo, che danno quei refrattari . . . Il Mallense è ambizioso, e ligio alla volontà Sovrana al maggior segno, ma internamente nol credo nè fanatico nè invaso da spirito di partito. Prevede, che i fatti accaduti possono metter dell' impedimento alla bramata sua esaltazione. Io sono pertanto d' avviso, ch' egli abbia fatto il progetto, che V. E. sa, di proprio movimento, e per il fine sopraccennato." Archetti to Antonelli, March 31, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 77 and Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives; *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, *ibid.*, 64; LORET, 291–6.

[2] *Pallavicini to Archetti, March 24, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, *loc. cit.*; "*Lettera da farsi dal Nunzio al Vescovo di Mallo," *ibid.*, 344, Add. V.

[3] *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 12, 1781, *ibid.*, 48.

negotiation.[1] To these energetic representations Pallavicini gave way and on May 26th, 1781, he sent a draft letter couched in more moderate terms.[2]

Archetti now urged Siestrzencewicz to carry out his plan of severing the connexion between the colleges, placing them under the immediate jurisdiction of the Ordinary, and of putting a secular priest in charge of each house, mention to be made in the decree of installation that he was to direct the community on the lines of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. If this seemed too dangerous, it must at least be said in the decree that the president was to administer the college according to the sacred canons and the Papal ordinances. If the Bishop acted on this proposal he could rely on the Pope's benevolence.[3] But Archetti's high-flown hopes were not to be fulfilled. A few months later he received a note informing him in confidence that the plan had leaked out. The Governor General had not only put difficulties in its way but had actually demanded the promotion of the Provincial to General, which demand the writer had refused.[4]

It was not till December, 1781, that the Pope's impatiently awaited reply [5] to the Czarina's letter of the previous January arrived in St. Petersburg. Pius VI. began by expressing his pleasure at the forthcoming visit of the Grand Duke Paul and his wife, to whom he would accord an honourable welcome. He then asked again for a Uniat Bishop for Polotsk, in return

[1] *Archetti to Antonelli and Pallavicini, April 18, 1781, *ibid.*, Add. XIX. and 64 ; LORET, 288 *seqq.*

[2] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, *loc. cit.*

[3] Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, June 19, 1781, *ibid.*, 64. *Cf.* *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 18 and June 27, 1781, *ibid.*; *Normandez to Floridablanca, June 14, 1781, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6648.

[4] Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, August 19, 1781, "Soli," Nunziat. di Polonia, 326, Papal Secret Archives ; *Archetti to Pallavicini, September 12, 1781, *ibid.*, 64 ; *Pallavicini to Archetti, October 6, 1781, *ibid.*, 48.

[5] *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 27, 1781, *ibid.*, 64. *Cf.* above, p. 272, n. 6.

for which he would grant all the Czarina's wishes, on the sole condition that Siestrzencewicz first revoked his decree.[1] This was too much for the self-willed empress. On January 17/28th, 1782, in spite of the opposition of the Holy See, she appointed her protégé Archbishop of Mohilev and furnished him with quite extraordinary powers over the secular and regular clergy.[2] Replying to the Pope, she said that she could not understand why he should be dissatisfied with a Bishop who had done nothing more than obey his spiritual and temporal superior. The pallium was due to him as the appointed Archbishop and Benislawski would be his coadjutor.[3] At the same time she informed her representative in Warsaw that she had appointed Siestrzencewicz Archbishop of Mohilev in return for his services and Benislawski his coadjutor. The Holy See was to approve of these appointments. If Archetti reverted to the Jesuit affair he was to give him a clear and definite answer.[4] On handing the imperial autograph to the nuncio, Stackelberg intimated to him that if the Roman Curia tried to impose conditions on the empress or even demanded satisfaction from the Archbishop of Mohilev, any further negotiations would be pointless, as the Czarina, who had personally ordered the opening of the noviciate, would find them incompatible with her dignity. The Pope's refusal might have prejudicial effects for the Catholics of Russia.[5] As no objections had been made to Benislawski, Stackelberg engaged

[1] October 27, 1781, *Sbornik*, I., 507 *seq.*, No. XXXII. In a confidential *letter to Siestrzencewicz, of December 10, 1781, Archetti told the Bishop that the Pope felt that his honour had been impugned by the pastoral letter and hoped that he would make him adequate satisfaction. *Nunziat. di Polonia, 85.

[2] PIERLING, V., 120.

[3] Catherine II. to Pius VI., January 30/February 9, 1782, *Sbornik*, I., Nos. XXXVa (Russian) and b (French).

[4] Catherine II. to Stackelberg, February 10, 1782, *ibid.*, 521 *seq.*, No. XXVI.

[5] " *. . . J'ai fait sentir au Représentant du Pape tout le préjudice qui pourroit résulter à la Cour de Rome du peu de cas qu'elle ferait des dispositions de Votre Majesté Impériale en

the prelate Ghiotti, who was to greet Pius VI. in Vienna on behalf of the Polish king, to prevail on the Pope and the nuncio Garampi not to make any further difficulties about the conferment of the pallium on Siestrzencewicz.[1] On being pressed by Prince Galitzin [2] Garampi replied that the Pope would do his utmost to satisfy the Court of St. Petersburg but that definite limits were set to his goodwill by the consideration he had to pay to the Catholic Powers. On his return to the Holy City the Pope would have the documents put before him and would convey his decision to the empress through the nuncio in Warsaw.[3]

Pius VI. was in a serious dilemma. On the one hand Bernis and Grimaldi wanted him to make the fulfilment of the demands dependent on the publication of the Brief of suppression,[4] on the other he was assailed by anxiety about the fate of the numerous Catholics in White Russia, whom the tyrannical empress threatened to deprive of the religious freedom that had been granted them.[5] As Joseph II. had assured him in Vienna, there was no question of her making any concession.[6] Taking advantage of this vacillating attitude of the Pope's,

faveur de l'Archevêque de Mohilew, de la Coadjutorie, et pour le bien en général de la religion catholique dans Son vaste Empire." Stackelberg to Catherine II., February 24/March 7, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1782, *Réception*; *Sbornik*, I., 522 *seq.*, No. XXXVII.

[1] Stackelberg to Ostermann, March 16/27, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.*; *Sbornik*, I., 523 *seq.*; *Galitzin to Catherine II., April 13/24, *ibid.*, Vienna, 1782, *Réception*.

[2] *Galitzin to Catherine II., June 22/July 3, 1782, *ibid.*

[3] *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 4, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 407, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, *ibid.*; *Antonelli to Archetti, April 21, 1781, *ibid.*, 69; Masson, *Bernis*, 364; Gendry, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 582.

[5] *Antonelli to Grimaldi, August 1, 1782, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782–3); Catherine II. to Grimm, September 30, 1782, in Pierling, V., 123.

[6] *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, August 1, 1782, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.

Grimaldi demanded that no decision be taken by him that could give the slightest offence to the King of Spain and that he notify his intentions in advance to the Bourbon Courts, on whose friendship he was dependent in the present critical position of the Holy See.[1] Consequently Pallavicini wrote to the Spanish ambassador that all the efforts of the Holy See to induce the Bishop to make satisfaction for his pastoral letter had been frustrated by the inflexible will of the empress. So as not to leave the church of Polotsk any longer without a pastor the Pope had decided to bestow the pallium on Siestrzencewicz on condition that Polotsk was given a Greek Uniat Bishop and that Siestrzencewicz made a statement that the enactment in his pastoral letter did not derive from the decree of Propaganda but resulted from a positive order of the Court of St. Petersburg. Archetti, he said, had been instructed to renew the protests of the Holy See and to assure the empress that Rome would never acknowledge the restoration of the Jesuits in White Russia.[2]

The Cardinal Secretary of State added in justification of these conditions that the Pope found himself compelled to make this demand, as otherwise it would be thought by the whole Catholic Church that he was approving of the arbitrary and false interpretation of the letter from Propaganda and was giving his consent to a step which contravened the ordinances of the Holy See.[3] In a supplementary instruction of some

[1] **Id.* to *id.*, August 15, 1782, *ibid.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Grimaldi, August 28, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XXI., Papal Secret Archives; *Pallavicini to Garampi, September 18, 1782, Nunziat. di Vienna, 680, *ibid.*

[3] "Non può dunque il S. Padre senza carico della dignità, che sostiene, e senza macchia permanente della propria estimazione dissimulare questa doppia offesa, avendo pur troppo scandalizzato già tutto il mondo cattolico la da tanto tempo obliata corrispondente soddisfazione . . . Regoli intanto ogni suo discorso col ridetto Ministro in guisa da convincerlo della impossibilità in cui trovasi il Santo Padre di tollerare, non che di concorrere alla resurrezione degli Exgesuiti dell' Alba Russia . . ." Pallavicini to Archetti, September 7, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*;

length Pallavicini gave Archetti to understand that Pius VI. would be content with a less formal recantation, such as a skilfully worded phrase in the oath taken by the Bishop on the assumption of office. But the Bishop must carry out his promise to dissolve the connexion between the colleges, appoint secular clergy as superiors, forbid the reception of novices, and insist on the others putting aside the dress of the Society—in fine, he was to oppose everything that might further the restoration of the Society. It was to be pointed out to the Czarina that her object, the encouragement of education, could be better attained by the execution of the Brief, as was exemplified by the many universities and academies conducted by secular priests.[1]

Catherine II. was not disposed to put up any longer with these refusals, even though they were enveloped in a cloud of compliments and excuses. On September 30th, on receiving an invitation from Rome, she had written ill-humouredly to Grimm, "I have no wish to be admitted to the membership of the Arcadia, having no talent whatever for versification and still more because it would give some pleasure to the Pope, who refuses to give me any, withholding even such trifling favours as the pallium for my Archbishop of Mohilev and the consecration of his coadjutor. To rid myself of these hindrances I am being forced by the Pope to have recourse to methods I am reluctant to employ. I am tired of all these wretched delaying tactics." [2]

Signs of a coming storm duly made their appearance. Accustomed to the unconditional fulfilment of her wishes, the Czarina began to threaten in Vienna and Warsaw. On November 4–15th, 1782, she wrote to Count Stackelberg that if the Pope did not send her a satisfactory reply soon he

Archetti's **Memoria* for Stackelberg [October, 1782], *ibid.*, 344V.; *Archetti to Antonelli, November 16, 1782, *ibid.*, Add. XIX.

[1] Pallavicini to Archetti, October 19, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, Papal Secret Archives; LORET, 296 *seqq.*

[2] PIERLING, V., 123.

would lose all his power in Russia, as she would abolish religious freedom and convert White Russia to Orthodoxy.[1] For the nuncio the ambassador painted the situation in the blackest colours. His sovereign, he said, had ordered him to apprise him that if Rome did not fulfil all the requests immediately and unconditionally she would forbid the Catholic religion to be practised in any part of the realm.[2] These words had the desired effect. Although Archetti made a show of doubting the advisability of passing on these threats, actually he advised Rome the same day to make concessions. In his opinion the best, and indeed the only, course was to send a Papal legate to Russia to clear up the confusion by verbal negotiations.[3] He had written to Rome in this sense, not entirely disinterestedly, on a previous occasion.

The situation, difficult enough already, was rendered more so by another incident. During the diplomatic duel between Rome and St. Petersburg the first General Congregation of the Jesuits of White Russia had been held at Polotsk, resulting in the election, on October 17th, 1782, of Stanislaus

[1] Catherine II. to Stackelberg, November 4/15, 1782, *Sbornik*, I., 525, No. XL. ; Galitzin to Catherine, November 26/December 7, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1782, *Réception*.

[2] Stackelberg to Catherine II., November 19/30, 1782 ; *Sbornik*, I., 527, No. XLI. On December 6 Galitzin handed Garampi a copy of the empress's threatening letter to Stackelberg, of November 4. " Visto il tenore minaccioso dello scritto . . . ero quasi in procinto di ricusarlo, ma per non dar presa a nuove querele, dissi di sperare tuttavia, che fossero fuor di tempo e di proposito le allegate minaccie." Garampi had told Galitzin that it would be better not to forward the threatening letter, lest the success of the affair be endangered. " Non fu veramente contento il Principe di tale mio divisamento, prenunciandomi che, qualora non venga soddisfatta all' istante e senza condizione alcuna la Sua Sovrana, si procederà senza meno all' esecuzione delle minaccie . . ." *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 9, 1782, and January 9, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 407 and 410, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 30, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.* , *id.* to *id.*, December 11, 1782, *ibid.*

Czerniewicz, hitherto Vice-Provincial, as Vicar General.[1] The election had been held with the permission of the empress, who had taken this opportunity of re-confirming the exemption of the Jesuits from episcopal jurisdiction.[2] They had previously submitted the affair, with all their difficulties and misgivings, to the judgment of the former Polish Assistant Korycki in Rome. After consulting with the ex-Assistants Rhomberg and Montes and a theologian of the suppressed Society, Korycki had advised them to act as quickly and as unobtrusively as possible, so as to get the structure which had been begun, under shelter, not in virtue of imperial sovereignty but of the rights and privileges of the Society which had survived undamaged in Russia.[3] To make a good impression on the nuncio [4] Siestrzencewicz had tried to stop the election at the last minute by getting the Senate to issue an ukase whereby the Jesuits were to acknowledge him not only as their Bishop but also as their Superior-General, and were not permitted to consider themselves as exempt.[5] He also tried by means of intimidation to prevent the General Congregation from electing the Vice-Provincial in particular.[6] This interference the electors politely but firmly rejected, stating that in their infinite gratitude to the empress they felt bound to give their votes only to a man who would be a loyal subject of his sovereign and at the same time a devoted servant of his

[1] *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II. (1893), 450 *seqq.*; GAGARIN, 87 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 89.

[2] *June 25 and July 4, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 464.

[3] *Korycki to Czerniewicz, August 3 and September 21, 1782, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III. and IV.

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 15, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*

[5] September 12, 1782, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.; Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX. (with the date September 22), *loc. cit.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 465.

[6] *Siestrzencewicz to the General Congregation at Polotsk, September 28, 1782, in Jesuit possession.

Bishop and pastor.[1] After receiving a reassuring reply [2] from Potemkin to the request for an explanation of the contradictions in the two edicts [3] they elected on October 6/17th, 1782, as Vicar General, with all the rights and powers of a General, the man who was indisputably the most capable member of their group, the Vice-Provincial.[4] On the very next day he was assured quite openly by Potemkin of the Czarina's protection,[5] to the discomfiture of Siestrzencewicz, who shortly before had boasted to Archetti of having succeeded in obtaining permission to change the highest Jesuit Superior and to present him with a successor subject to the Ordinary.[6]

On hearing of the election of the Vicar General the Bourbon representatives demanded that the Pope break his silence and put an end to the scandal by formally declaring the election to be null and void. The Pope's reply was that it would be useless. All that they could obtain was a *démenti* in the *Giornale di Roma*.[7] The Courts now assumed the offensive.

[1] *September 30, 1782, *ibid.* This was an indirect way of saying that the Jesuits did not regard the Bishop as their General.

[2] *Cf.* the *letter from an unknown Jesuit in Polotsk, of May 30, 1782, according to which Potemkin and Czerniszew had given Canon Benislawski the assurance that the Jesuits were not affected by the law which subjected the religious to the Bishop. *Ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. VIII.

[3] September/October, 1782, *ibid.*

[4] *The General Congregation to Siestrzencewicz, [October 6/17, 1782,] *ibid.*, fasc. IV.; *Czerniewicz to Siestrzencewicz, October 6/17, 1782, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 30, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, and Add. XIX, *loc. cit.*

[5] GAGARIN, 90; *ROZAVEN, 90. For the course of events, *cf. ibid.*, 83 *seqq.*

[6] The Bishop's letter is contained in Archetti's *letter to Pallavicini, of October 15, 1782, *loc. cit.*; "Schedola del Mallense" (undated), Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX.; Archives of Simancas, 5056; *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 6 and 16, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 463 *seq.*

[7] Bernis to Vergennes, November 13 and 26, 1782, in MASSON, *Bernis*, 365; *Bernis to Pallavicini, December 2 and 10, 1782,

At the instigation of Count Floridablanca[1] Bernis and Grimaldi sent a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State on December 30th, 1782, demanding in the name of their sovereigns that the Pope, in view of his repeated promises, should issue a Brief or decree, declaring null and improper all that had taken place in Russia in contravention of the text of the Brief of suppression. A Brief addressed to their sovereigns would suffice.[2] As luck would have it, it was just at this time that the Czarina's harsh letter to Stackelberg with its threats, arrived in Rome.[3] To pay regard to these conflicting interests without damaging the cause of religion, Cardinal Antonelli advised that concessions be made to both parties.[4] Accordingly, on January 11th, 1783, Pius VI. sent Catherine a letter in which, with many apologies, he assured her that he intended to satisfy all her demands and, out of regard for her exalted person, to forgive the insult that had been offered him by the Bishop. He would be content with the Bishop's making satisfaction by showing his sincerity to the whole Catholic world, thus upholding the honour of the Church and his respect for its decrees. At the same time he repeated his request for the appointment of a Greek Uniat Archbishop for Polotsk. If the empress gave her consent, he would consider sending a Papal legate to St. Petersburg to settle outstanding

Nunziat. di Francia, 529, Papal Secret Archives; "Articolo inspirato dal Papa Pio VI." [1782], Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*

[1] "Capitulo de Carta particular del Sr Conde de Floridablanca," December 13, 1782, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782–3): *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, December 26, 1782, *ibid.*; Vergennes to Bernis, December 3 and 24, 1782, in Masson, 365.

[2] Draft (in French and Spanish), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.

[3] *Pallavicini to Garampi, December 21, 1782, Nunziat. di Vienna, 680, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Gagarin, *Un Nonce du Pape à la Cour de Catherine II.*, Paris, 1872, 47 *seqq.*

[4] *[Undated memorandum, January 1783], Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., *loc. cit.*

questions.[1] There was no mention of the Jesuits. Archetti was chosen as the legate.[2] After a long resistance the Pope also agreed, on January 29th, 1783, to send a secret Brief to the Kings of Spain and France. In this he declared that everything that had taken place in Russia regarding the Jesuits was null and void and he promised to adhere to the Brief of suppression.[3] On forwarding the Brief Grimaldi called attention to the points in it which contradicted the letter to the Czarina. If all this became common knowledge, he surmised, the Pope's behaviour would be subject to bitter criticism. So far as we are concerned, he added consolingly, we now have his promise not to alter anything in the Brief of suppression and to regard the Jesuits in White Russia as non-existent.[4] Lest the forthcoming negotiations with Russia be prejudiced, Pallavicini had demanded absolute silence on

[1] Pius VI. to Catherine II., January 11, 1783, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178; *Sbornik*, I., 528, No. XLII.; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 401 *seqq.*; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 49 *seqq.*

[2] *Pallavicini to Archetti, January 11, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, February 1, 1783, *ibid.*, 65.

[3] The principal statements are: "... perspicueque ipsis sensus nostros aperuimus plane ... plane abnuentes improbantesque illa Mallensis acta, quae apostolicis fel. rec. Clementis XIV. praedecessoris nostri in forma Brevis litteris die 21 julii 1773 datis adversarentur ... iisque [litteris] expresse profitemur, haberi a nobis tamquam abusus atque illegitima ac nulla prorsus reputari, quaecumque vel in Alba Russia, vel alibi acta esse feruntur illis contraria, quas superius memoravimus, Clementis XIV. litteris." GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 404, n. 1. *To Charles III., January 29, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997; to Louis XVI., January 29, 1783, THEINER, *Clementis XIV. Epistolae et Brevia*, 378 *seqq.*; to Queen Maria of Portugal, February 20, 1783, *ibid.*, 380 *seq.* The same Brief was sent off on April 11, 1783, to King Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

[4] *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, January 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997. *Cf.* Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1783, Collezione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives; MASSON, 366.

the matter of the Briefs.[1] The Bourbons were ready to agree to this as it was to their political advantage at the moment not to antagonize the Russians. The Spanish representative in fact received the instruction not to press the Jesuit question any further, as it was Rome's affair to protect its own interests.[2]

Before Pius's letter to Catherine had been dispatched the authorities in St. Petersburg had formed the plan of sending an agent to Rome to negotiate directly with the Pope. This method, it was thought, would be more likely to produce a satisfactory settlement of the outstanding questions. The person selected for this mission was the Coadjutor Bishop Benislawski, who was summoned to Court with the Vicar General Czerniewicz in November, 1782.[3] In early January, 1783, Benislawski left for Vienna, having been told to avoid Warsaw. He was provided with a letter from the empress to the Russian ambassador in Vienna and another from the Cabinet to Santini, the Russian consul in Rome. Through Galitzin he obtained letters of recommendation from Garampi to Pallavicini, Antonelli, and Borgia.[4] In the two conversations he had with the nuncio he assured him that though he was

[1] *Pallavicini to Colonna, January 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 152 *seq.*

[2] Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1783, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Archetti, March 1, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Doria, March 12 and 19, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *ibid.* "*En mi audiencia de esta noche manifestaré al Sto Padre la gratitud de S.M. asegurandole que por nuestra parte se guardará inviolable secreto de este asunto." Grimaldi to Floridablanca, March 13, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 29, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*, 85; *Rozaven, 90 *seq.*

[4] *Galitzin to Catherine II., January 18/27, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1783, *Réception*; *Garampi to Pallavicini and Antonelli, January 27, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410.

not empowered to make any official promise, the Basilian Archimandrite was earmarked for the Uniat Archbishopric of Polotsk. His sovereign felt herself slighted by the difficulties and delays created by Rome and she considered it incompatible with her dignity to enter into further negotiations. But if her wishes were met she would not let herself be outdone in magnanimity. When reminded that the official channel of communications was through the nuncio in Warsaw and that therefore the Pope could treat with him only as a private person, Benislawski replied that his commission covered everything he was entitled to demand. As for the much-discussed pastoral letter he gave the following explanation. When the decree of Propaganda was presented for the purpose of obtaining the *placet* Czerniszew suggested to the Court the decree be made use of for the benefit of the Jesuits. The draft of the pastoral letter was sent to the Bishop, who, though he inwardly objected, gave way to the representations of the local Catholics and complied with the Czarina's order lest greater harm befall the Church in White Russia. The King of Spain, who was trying to turn the empress against the Jesuits, received an answer that caused him, for the sake of his own dignity, to desist from all further negotiations on the subject. As for the suggestion that Siestrzencewicz could make satisfaction privately to the Pope, like the French Bishops who took part in the assembly of 1682, Benislawski declared that this was impossible, as his mistress was unyielding and inexorable regarding anything that rendered doubtful the restoration of the Jesuits, on which she had set her heart.[1]

Benislawski arrived in Rome at the beginning of March [2]

[1] *Garampi to Pallavicini, January 30, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Garampi, February 15, 1783, Nunziat. di Vienna, 681, *ibid.*

[2] Zulian, the Venetian ambassador, *wrote to the Doge on March 1: "Benislawski has arrived" (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 298); Benislawski's memory must have been at fault when he wrote to Potemkin that he had arrived in Rome on February 21 (probably "Old Style"; undated, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.).

and was immediately granted a lengthy audience by Pius VI.[1] No objections were made to the Provost's preferment to the rank of Coadjutor, and the Pope, on being assured by Benislawski that everything had been done at the empress's command, promised to forget the injustice done him by Siestrzencewicz. But he would not agree to grant the *pallium* until he had received a reply to his last letter to the Czarina. After making many inquiries about the Jesuits the Pope asked if the election of the Vicar General had taken place at the express command of the empress, and when the envoy replied that this was so, Pius said, "I do not object" ("*Je n'en disconviens pas*"). Benislawski was given a friendly welcome by Cardinals Antonelli and Herzan but met with a chilly reception at the hands of Pallavicini, who immediately asked him for his letter of credence. The Provost replied that he was neither ambassador nor envoy but that he had come to Rome on behalf of the empress to settle certain matters which had already been brought to the knowledge of the Pope.[2] The less

[1] *On March 3, 1783. *Cf.* Bernis to Vergennes, March 4, 1783, in Masson, 367.

[2] *Benislawski to Potemkin (undated; after March 3, 1783): "Celui-ci [the Pope] me recevant avec la plus grande bonté se mit sur le champ à faire éloges de Sa Majesté Impériale; puis il me demanda sur le sujet de mon arrivée. Je lui répondis que c'est pour prier Votre Sainteté de faire ce que Sa Majesté ma Souveraine lui a écrit en deux de ses lettres. Eh bien! me dit-il, je n'ai rien contre vous; vous serez évêque; mais Mr Siestrzencewicz m'a fait une injure en faisant à mon insçu l'ouverture du noviciat aux Jésuites. A cela je lui dis que cette ouverture a été faite par ordre de S. M. Imp. S'il est ainsi, repartit le Pape, j'oublie mon injure; mais pour le Pallium, je ne sçaurois l'accorder avant que je reçoive une réponse à la lettre que j'ai écrite à S. Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies à cause de l'Évêché du rit Grec-uni a Polock. Enfin il me fit beaucoup de questions sur les Jésuites, sur leur Général, sur son élection, si elle est faite par un ordre exprès de S. M. Quand je lui eus répondu qu'ouy, il me dit: je n'en disconviens pas. Nous parlâmes ensemble près de deux heures . . ." In Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.

cordial manner in which Benislawski was received by the Pope at a subsequent audience was ascribed by him to the intervention of Bernis and Grimaldi, who had dispatched couriers to their Courts as soon as he had arrived in Rome. The Pope was unwilling to make a final decision until he had received a reply from the empress to his letter of January 11th. He also wanted a written assurance that Siestrzencewicz had not failed in his duty towards the Roman Curia. In answer to his numerous questions about the Jesuits the Provost informed him that the empress was protecting them and wanted to preserve them and that the Pope's confirmation of their existence would give her pleasure.[1] In accordance with the Pope's desire Benislawski drew up a memorandum containing three demands with their reasons: the *pallium* for Siestrzencewicz, the promotion to Coadjutor for himself, and the confirmation of the Society of Jesus, with the approbation of every step that had been taken by the Jesuits of White Russia at the express commands of the Czarina.[2] On March 12th the

[1] "*Sa Sainteté a souhaité que je l'assurasse par écrit, que Mr. Siestrzencewicz n'a aucunement manqué envers la Cour de Rome. Elle fit beaucoup de questions sur les Jésuites. Je lui dis que Sa Majesté Impériale les protège, les veut conserver et que le Saint Père lui feroit du plaisir, s'il les confirmoit. Je lui donnai par écrit ce qu'il exigeoit. Il ne doit me donner résolution qu'après qu'il a reçu réponse à Sa lettre écrite à Sa Majesté l'Impératrice, ce qui prolongera à ce que je vois contre toute mon attente le séjour que je fais ici." Benislawski to Potemkin, undated [March 1783], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV. *Cf.* Pallavicini to Archetti, March 8 and 15, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; LORET, 311 *seqq.*; *Pallavicini to Doria, March 19, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 22, 1783, Nunziat. di Vienna, 681, *ibid.* In parts these three dispatches are word for word the same.

[2] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 344 V, *ibid.* The document is annotated: "Copia della memoria lasciata dal Prevosto Benislawski a Sua Santità, ma con gran cautela e riserva." Printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 137–145. "Tertium postulatum est, Beatissime Pater, approbatio factorum ex mandato expresso Augustissimae

Coadjutor-designate was granted still another audience, at which the Pope approved of the continued existence of the Jesuits and the election of the General by a thrice-uttered "*Approbo*".

Even by his contemporaries the result of Benislawski's mission was variously appraised. Whereas Pallavicini asserted that the Provost had gained nothing by his visit to Rome, he himself and his former fellow-religious maintained that he had gained everything, namely the recognition of the Society in Russia. On July 13/24th, 1785, at the second General Congregation at Polotsk, Benislawski delivered the written statement, with his episcopal seal and his own signature, that on March 1st/12th Pius VI. had confirmed the Society with a thrice-uttered "*Approbo*".[1] The Bishop's solemn declaration, however, is contradicted by the equally definite testimony of Pallavicini, that in spite of his threats Benislawski did not obtain the Pope's recognition of the Russian ex-Jesuits as genuine and legitimate Jesuits, as he erroneously supposed. If there was any talk of such a thing the nuncio was to deny it.[2] The Cardinal Secretary of State also tried to cast

Imperatricis a Iesuitis in Alba Russia, et eorum confirmatio a Sua Sanctitate, tamquam Vicario Christi, et Primo ac Supremo totius gregis catholici Pastore." *Ibid.*, 141.

[1] "Ex audientia SSm̃i Dñi Nostri Pii PP. VI. habita A° 1783 die 1/12 Mensis Martii . . . Quibus auditus SSm̃us Dñs Noster, et statum illorum, et electionem Praepositi Generalis factam benigne confirmavit, repetitis ter vicibus dicendo: Approbo, approbo, approbo. De hoc vivae vocis oraculo fidem plenissimam facio, manumque meam et sigillum appono. Datt. Policiae, mensis Iulii die 13/24 A° 1785. Ioannes Benislawski Episcopus Gadarensis Coadiutor Archi-Episcopatus Mohiloviensis Eques Ordinis S. Stanislai. mpp." Original with seal in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. VII. Frequently printed: *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 146; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 219; *Przegląd Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 379, n. 1; *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II. (1893), 452; Ravignan, II., 461.

[2] "Nè è inverosimile, che per lo stesso canale [Antonelli] abbia Ella saputo altresì il grave sbaglio, che prese al bel principio [Benislawski], o mostrò di aver preso sul risultato della prima

doubts on the official character of the whole mission.[1] Archetti had described the Provost as a good cleric at the outset of his journey to Rome [2] but afterwards he found it more expedient to side with his superior. He represented the whole mission as a Jesuit intrigue and the future Bishop as an unbalanced individual who with his fanatical friendship for the Jesuits was incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood.[3] Possibly, however, the nuncio's opinion may have been

udienza, alla quale era stato ammesso dalla Santità Sua, la propria risoluzione che ne facea discendere di partire all' istante in aria minacciosa, la frequenza de' di lui accessi al Pontefice, anche senza perchè ; e l' ultroneo spargimento abbondante, ch' egli non ometteva di fare, con ben molti, di aver tutto ottenuto, compreso ciò, di che non v' era, anzi non vi è nemmen per Lei occasione, o debito immediato di discorrere : ciò di che discorrendone, dispensarsi non potrà Ella di discorrere in contrario, a quel che il Benislawski supponeva di aver esseguito, vale a dire il Pontificio riconoscimento degli Exgesuiti dimoranti nell' Alba Russia, o in qualsivoglia altro luogo del Dominio Russo per Gesuiti veri e legitimi, quali eran prima della soppressione della Compagnia." Pallavicini to Archetti, April 26, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.* ; LORET, 314 ; *Pallavicini to Garampi, May 28, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 681, *loc. cit.*

[1] *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 3, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XVII., *ibid.* ; *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 9, 1783, *ibid.* 65 ; *Archetti to Antonelli, April 9 and May 7, 1783, *ibid.*, Add. XIX.

[2] " *. . . il quale è buono Ecclesiastico et bonum opus desiderat." Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*, 85.

[3] " *non per altro motivo proseguì il suo viaggio, che per promuovere la 3ª istanza dello ristabilimento dei Gesuiti. Vorrei, che nonostante tutto il suo fanatismo, e quello che gli hanno inspirato i suoi antichi compagni, fosse restato convinto della impossibilità della cosa, e si fosse accorto, che egli deve attribuire il successo infelice della sua pretesa legazione alle false idee che hanno in capo gli Exgesuiti, ed alla propria imprudenza d'aver intrapresa una Missione di tanto strepito senza carattere." Archetti to Antonelli, May 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *ibid.* " Non mi meraviglio della condotta tenuta dal Benislawski, nè ci voleva meno, che il fanatismo de' Refrattari, e del partito loro

influenced by the fear that Benislawski's mission might diminish the importance of his own, to St. Petersburg.[1] According to the statements of Garampi and Galitzin there was no doubt about the official character of the Provost's mission.[2] Nor could there be any question about the fulfilment of his third request. The news that the Society in Russia had been confirmed quickly spread through the whole of Rome, that is the Rome of the diplomats and prelates. Even Pallavicini reported to Archetti that Benislawski was completely satisfied with the result of his visit and that the Pope had made him an unusually fine present.[3] A similar assurance was made by

si accoppiano col genio, o coll' indole naturale di questi Settentrionali per formare insieme un composto assai singolare. Questi popoli hanno delle buone qualità, ma se si mettono in testa qualche disegno, non sanno ancor distinguere la più grossolana impostura dalla più coperta, e più fina, e si servono costantemente dell' una come dell' altra." Archetti to Pallavicini, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *ibid.* *Cf.* **Id.* to *id.*, June 4, 1783, *ibid.*

[1] *Cf.* *Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*

[2] Galitzin *reported to the Czarina on February 18/27: "The day before yesterday Benislawski delivered to me the imperial order about his commission. I presented him to Garampi, so that he might be fittingly received in Rome and that a hearing might be given to his proposals. Garampi gave him three letters of recommendation, to Pallavicini, Antonelli, and Borgia." (Russian) State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1783, *Réception.* "*Ma non per questo però potrei credere, che la di lui spedizione fosse stata autorizzata meno dalla sua Sovrana . . ." Garampi to Archetti, May 5, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*, and Germania, 422, *ibid.* "*Oggi il Principe Gallizin mi ha presentato l'Ab. Benislawski, che la *sua Corte* spedisce costà per procurarsi la conferma della Coadiutoria ch'ella gli destina a Mgr. Siestrzencewicz." Garampi to Pallavicini and Antonelli, January 27, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410, *ibid.* In the same way later on Prince Yussupof was sent to the Court of Rome as "*chargé d'une commission spéciale auprès du Souverain du pays, mais nullement en qualité de ministre caracterisé." GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 238. *Cf.* below, p. 303, n. 3.

[3] *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *ibid.*

the envoy on his return journey to Garampi, the nuncio to Vienna.[1] Both the Venetian envoy [2] and Bernis [3] informed their Governments of the current rumour. The former had been told by the Provost at a reception that he had great hopes of obtaining extensive missionary faculties for the new

[1] " *Mi assicurò di essere soddisfattissimo delle direzioni prese dal S. Padre, e inoltre sensibile alle attenzioni, che ha ricevute per la propria persona. Questo stesso ha egli confermato al Principe Gallizin." Garampi to Pallavicini, May 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 411, *ibid.*

[2] " *Ora tutte le osservazioni sono rivolte ad indagare, se il Pontefice sia, o no, per concedere l'approvazione del nuovo Vicario Generale dei Gesuiti, ed a riconoscere come leggittimo il loro risorgimento." Zulian to the Doge, March 15, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma 298. " Nell' ultima udienza poi, per quanto Msgre va spargendo, il Pontefice ha accolto un di lui progetto, ch'è di assicurare, in voce soltanto, la Imperatrice Czarina, che atteso l'impedimento all pubblicazione del Breve, che sopprimeva la Compagnia di Gesù, giudica innocenti quei Gesuiti, che avevano ne' suoi Domini riassunto l'esercizio del loro Instituto." *Id.* to *id.*, March 22, 1783, *ibid.* The Bourbon ambassadors " sospettano a questa ora il favore deciso della Santa Sede all rinascente Compagnia di Gesù." *Id.* to *id.*, March 29, 1783, *ibid.*

[3] " J'ai appris que Catherine II. dans les instructions signées de sa main, qu'elle a réunies à l'Exjésuite Benislawski, le charge expressément de demander à son nom au Pape non seulement le Pallium pour l'évêque de Mallo et la nomination d'un coadjuteur, mais encore la reconnaissance formelle et l'approbation de l'existence des Jésuites en Russie, en outre les pouvoirs les plus étendus pour lesdits Jésuites employés dans le ministère ou dans les Missions, avec les mêmes facultés que les propres évêques. Benislawski a dejà osé faire ces demandes extraordinaires au Souverain Pontife . . . ; il est de soupçonner que la Congrégation de Propagande par quelque rescrit équivoque pourrait bien en termes ambigus accorder sur la demande de la Russie une espèce d'approbation tacite ou du moins de vraie tolérance." Representations made by Grimaldi and Bernis to Pallavicini, with the threat of publishing the secret letters to their monarchs and thus exposing the Pope. Bernis to Vergennes, March 25, 1783. " Collezione di

Jesuits.[1] What was more important was the letter written by the former Polish Assistant Korycki to the new Vicar General Czerniewicz on April 13th, 1783. "Benislawski," he wrote, "has not only obtained the recognition of the Pope but also that of the Cardinals and prelates with whom he had to treat. In the opinion of the ex-Jesuits here he has gained everything that could be gained in the present unfavourable circumstances. More than once the Holy Father poured out his heart to him and expressed his deepest regret at the very grave harm that has come upon the Church in consequence of the ruin of our Society. He bemoaned the bondage in which he was held by certain Courts and he authorized the Coadjutor to ask the Czarina to prevail upon the King of France, who was not personally antagonistic, and through him upon the King of Spain, to desist from his obdurate opposition. It was for this reason that at the present juncture the Pope could not make any statement in writing in favour of the Society in White Russia, but at various audiences he has repeatedly praised by word of mouth ('*vivae vocis oraculo*') its activity in the past and the present and he had even approved of them in the presence of the Coadjutor, as he himself will report to the empress and yourself. I feel indescribably happy about

documenti francesi sulla Compagnia (THEINER)." Papal Secret Archives. "Au reste le Card. Antonelli m'a promis de faire tout ce qu'il pourroit auprès du Pape pour le déterminer . . . à déclarer dans le consistoire, que le Bref de Clément XIV. subsiste dans toute sa force, affin de ne laisser rien d'équivoque ni de louche sur les sentiments du Saint-Père à cet égard. Cette Eminence ne m'a caché la difficulté d'amener le Pape à cette déclaration solennelle, surtout si l'Exjésuite Benislawski a des conférences fréquentes avec le Saint-Père, que la hardiesse de cet Exjésuite embarasse et éblouit. Le Card. Antonelli au surplus m'a assuré, que Sa Sainteté ne fairoit rien ni n'accorderoit rien, dont les Exjésuites de Russie puissent se prévaloir avec fondement pour prouver [la] prétendue existence de leur Institut." *Id.* to *id.*, March 26, 1783, *ibid.*

[1] *Zulian to the Doge, April 5, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 298.

this and I thank Providence with all my heart. Thanks be to the Lord that I was allowed to see the day when the name of Jesus shines with renewed splendour in one corner of my Province!"[1] A month later, in order completely to reassure the Vicar General and his subjects, Korycki sent him a brief canonical disquisition, by Vincenz Sanz, on the value of a verbal Papal decision.[2] As recently as the beginning of July Czerniewicz had ordered prayers to be said generally to avert the danger that seemed to be threatening the Society in consequence of the nuncio's journey to St. Petersburg but his mind was now entirely set at rest.[3] In a circular letter to all his fellow-religious he announced the joyful news that the Vicar of Christ had thrice expressly approved of all that had been done until then to strengthen the Society of Jesus in White Russia.[4]

While Benislawski was still in Rome the Czarina's reply arrived there.[5] To make the self-willed empress a little more inclined to receive a Papal legate, Stackelberg had resorted to

[1] *Korycki to Czerniewicz, April 13, 1783 (Polish), in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III.

[2] *Korycki to Czerniewicz, May 14, 1783 (Polish), *ibid.*

[3] *Czerniewicz to the Provincial Kareu, July 6, 1783, in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epist. Gen., I.

[4] August 13, 1783, *ibid.*, Russia, I., fasc. VII. Several private letters and fragments of letters in the Society's archives contain the same news. *Cf.* GAGARIN, *Récit*, 92 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 95 *seqq.*; *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 21, 1783, and supplement of August 13, 1785. GENDRY (*Pie VI.*, vol. I., 406–416) and LORET (*Kosciól katolicki a Katarzyna II.*, 187 *seqq.*), relying on Pallavicini's and Archetti's one-sided reports, have queried the official character and result of Benislawski's mission. Loret's statements were contradicted by Joseph Sas, S.J., in the periodical *Przegląd Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 189 *seqq.*, and CXI. (1911), 69 *seqq.* Loret's retort (*Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XXVI. [1912], 54–83; also published separately, 35 pp.) was dealt with by Sas in *Przegląd Powszechny*, CXV. (1912), 33 *seqq.*

[5] *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Zulian to the Doge, April 12, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 298.

a diplomatic ruse. In the covering letter he forwarded with the Papal Brief he represented the legate's mission as one of reparation; its ostensible purpose was the execution of the sovereign's wishes, its actual one was to beg pardon, in the Pope's name, of the injured sovereign and to make satisfaction. The diplomat discovered a striking resemblance between the government of the Empress of all the Russias and the glorious episodes of the reign of Louis XIV, eloquent evidence of the homage owed by the whole world of humanity, moderation, and tolerance to the royal philosopher. As the nuncio had given him to understand how fortunate he would count himself were his person to be not unpleasing to the empress, he could not refrain from asking for his reception, especially as this prelate was doing his utmost in his reports to oppose the traditional fear felt by the Popes for the Catholic King and even in the question of the dissidents was maintaining a more moderate attitude than his predecessors.[1] Her vanity flattered, Catherine immediately replied that she would receive the legate with every honour, in testimony of the freedom enjoyed by the Catholics in her States and her esteem of the present Pope. Her concluding phrase, that all who worshipped the Almighty should be united, was clearly intended to have a favourable effect in Rome and, in fact, it did not fail to arouse considerable hopes in certain circles.[2]

Archetti, knowing full well how much his future career

[1] Stackelberg to Catherine II., January 22/February 2, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1783, *Réception; Sbornik*, I., 533, No. XLIII.; LORET, 311.

[2] Catherine II. to Pius VI., March 1/12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX.; Stackelberg to Catherine II., March 13/24, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1783, *Réception; Sbornik*, I., No. XLIV. For Archetti's mission *cf.* GAGARIN, *Un Nonce du Pape à la cour de Catherine II. Mémoires d'Archetti.* Paris, 1872. (According to Gagarin [p. xviii] Archetti himself was the author of these memoirs; PIERLING [V., 136, n. 2] ascribes them to Mgr. Tosi.) GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 423 *seqq.*; PIERLING, V., 81 *seqq.* Further literature here.

depended on the successful issue of his mission and how seriously the inclusion of the Jesuit affair would endanger it, had endeavoured all along to show in his dispatches that the matter must be entirely excluded from his official instructions.[1] Now that his mission was about to take place he was indefatigable in arguing how wrong it would be to jeopardize the vital interests of the Catholic Church in Russia for the sake of this comparatively unimportant question. Rather than that he would prefer someone else to be sent to St. Petersburg. If he did achieve the impossible it would settle a troublesome affair, it was true, but it would involve the Church in Russia in the loss of her best and most skilful workers. A month after the publication of the Brief of suppression there would not be a Jesuit left on Russian soil, as it was only their fanaticism that made this country, this climate, and this government tolerable to them. The few secular priests that there were were badly instructed and the other religious had no prestige and were always longing to get back to Poland. The main point must be kept in view. Perhaps something could be done later in the secondary matter by working on the Jesuits' conscience.[2] To make some concession to Pallavicini's way of thinking the nuncio hinted that he was hoping to attain his object indirectly, by inducing the future Archbishop to deprive the Jesuits of their spiritual faculties.[3] Archetti had his way, at least to some extent. Neither in his letter of credence nor in the official instructions from the Pope and the Prefect of the Propaganda was there a word about the Jesuits.[4]

[1] *Cf.* *Archetti to Antonelli, March 31, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Archetti to Antonelli, May 7, 1783, *ibid.* *Cf.* also *Archetti to Antonelli, April 9 and May 10, 1783, *ibid.*

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 9 and June 4, 1783, *ibid.*, 65.

[4] *Pius VI. to Catherine II., April 26, 1783, *ibid.*, 338 ; *Sbornik*, I., 536, No. XLVII. ; *Pius VI. to Archetti, April 23, 1783, authentic copy of the instruction, Regolari, Gesuiti 44, *loc. cit.* ; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 210 *seqq.* (April 15?) ; Antonelli's *instruction for Archetti [May 10, 1783], Regolari, Gesuiti, 44, *loc. cit.*

But Pallavicini, pressed by Bernis[1] and Grimaldi,[2] advised the legate, besides attending to his principal tasks, to work hard for the dissolution of the Jesuits in Russia. Apparently, he wrote, the Russian Ministers were divided on this point. Some wanted to preserve the Jesuit Institute unimpaired, others were in favour of the Brief of suppression being announced to the Jesuits and of their then being allowed to continue living in communities on the Prussian model. Archetti therefore was to obtain the Ministers' opinions and at a favourable opportunity to try to get the same procedure adopted as had been carried out in Silesia.[3] Citing the ukase issued by the Senate on September 12th, 1782, by which the Jesuits were subordinated to the Archbishop of Mohilev, not only as their Ordinary but also as their General, he was to make them completely subject to episcopal jurisdiction. It was far more important to destroy the seed by which the Jesuits might spring up again than to maintain the privileges of the other religious.[4] Thus, another danger was threatening. The Vicar General Czerniewicz, foreseeing it, appealed in good time to Prince Bezborodko, the Czarina's secretary, to secure for the future the exemption of the Jesuits from episcopal jurisdiction which they had enjoyed from their foundation, it always having been the empress's desire to keep the Institute unimpaired.[5] Actually, the Vicar General had no cause for anxiety as Archetti had no intention

[1] *Bernis to Pallavicini, May 6, 1783, *ibid.*

[2] Pallavicini to Doria, May 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XVII., *ibid.*

[4] " *Una sola cosa per suo regolamento gli si può suggerire ed è, che è meno male che i privilegi dei Regolari siano violati di quello sia di dare il più piccolo motivo a sottrarre gl'indocili Exgesuiti dalla giurisdizione dell' Ordinario. Questo solo colpo fiacca e distrugge uno dei principali cardini del loro Istituto, quale era l'independenza totale da ogni estranea potestà, e la soggezione pienissima alla despotica del loro Generale." Instruction of May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *ibid.*

[5] June 2, 1783, in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epist. Gen., I.

of endangering the success of his mission and his future career by taking serious steps against the Jesuits.[1]

When Archetti arrived at St. Petersburg on July 4th, 1783,[2] he found that neither Siestrzencewicz nor Benislawski, for whose sake he had come, were there to meet him. They did not arrive till the middle of September,[3] and the all-powerful favourite, Potemkin, kept the legate waiting till the empress's birthday [4]—a little revenge, perhaps, for the Curia's delaying tactics. The legate, showing no sign of having come for any other reason than to bring the *pallium*, to nominate a Ruthenian Archbishop, and to consecrate Benislawski,[5] made discreet inquiries of the Bourbon ambassadors regarding the state of the Jesuit affair. He was soon made to realize that no more unfavourable opportunity for action on his part could be imagined. According to the information he received from the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, Azanza, the Czarina had just confirmed her approval of the Bishop's procedure. Convinced of the usefulness of the Jesuits for the education of youth, she was more determined than ever to encourage them. Prince Potemkin was quite openly their protector. Archetti, Azazna reported further, was relying on the dissension between the Jesuits and Siestrzencewicz and hoped to bring about the suppression with the latter's assistance. But Rome was not likely to endanger the success of its other plans for the sake

[1] *Cf.* *Archetti to Antonelli, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX. "No se atreve [Archetti] de entrar con vigor en esta empresa, porque juzga como imposible que esta Corte permita la publicación de la Bula, haviendose negado a ello tan obstinadamente hasta ahora." Azanza to Floridablanca, January 18, 1784, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6653.

[2] GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 425.

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 11 and 18, 1783, Nunziat. d Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; GENDRY, I., 426, 431.

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 24/December 6, 1783 *loc. cit.*

[5] *Archetti to Antonelli, August 27 and December 7, 1783, Cifre, *ibid.*

of a handful of Jesuits. It would seek a way of satisfying the empress without annoying the Bourbons. Verac, the French ambassador, had been instructed not to meddle in Archetti's business and in the matter of the Jesuits to conform to the instructions of the Spanish representative.[1]

If Pallavicini and Grimaldi had set any serious hopes on the success of Archetti's mission [2] they were soon to be disappointed. After carefully sounding the ground for two months he reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State that both Azanza and Vérac were convinced that it was impossible to obtain the publication of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* ; a formal request would be brusquely rejected. In any case, both men had their heads full of more important matters at the moment and the empress was not in the mood to do them a favour. The Spanish *chargé d'affaires* had to admit that the memorandum presented by his predecessor Normandez had done more harm than good. To his suggestion that the Jesuits were a danger to every Power the Czarina had retorted that she was able to keep her subjects and the Orthodox clergy under control, and still more so the other tolerated confessions. If the Catholic King's progenitors had not made the Jesuits proud and intriguing, his sovereign would have no fear now and would not be worrying on other people's account. The Portuguese envoy had confirmed this as a fact. In his farewell audience the empress had praised the Society of Jesus. White Russia, she had said, was the most fortunate province in her empire, as the youths there were brought up by the Jesuits. It seemed to the legate that the most influential members of the Cabinet viewed the matter with indifference,

[1] " *El asunto de los Jesuitas ofrecerá mas embarazas y dificultades. La Emperatriz se ha mostrado hasta ahora muy empeñada en sostenerlos ; están aqui generalmente persuadidos a que son muy útiles a la educación de la juventud." Azanza to Floridablanca, July 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6652.

[2] *Grimaldi to Pallavicini, September 10, 1783, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782–3) ; *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, September 11, 1783, *ibid.*

at any rate none of them dared to disillusion their sovereign.[1] No particular acumen was needed to see the object of these arguments. Almost at the same time as Archetti was writing his reports for the Curia, the Spanish Foreign Minister was instructing his Government's representative in St. Petersburg not to concern himself with the legate's chief commission or the Jesuit affair. With regard to the latter the king had made his views sufficiently known and he intended to deal only with the Roman Curia. He would regard any weakness in this question with great displeasure and if necessary he would protest in Rome.[2] Archetti's last hope was Siestrzencewicz. After his first few talks with him he assured Azanza that the prelate was now willing to play a serious part in executing the suppression. He could assure his Court that the Archbishop was more unfortunate than culpable, meaning thereby that the prelate had been forced by the Government to take the steps for which he had been blamed.[3]

The Papal legate let it be seen that it was not through lack of goodwill that he was failing to fulfil the wishes of Spain. In his conversation with Vice-Chancellor Ostermann and Potemkin he had touched on the Jesuit affair but in both cases he had clearly been rebuffed. Every time he brought the matter up the Vice-Chancellor refused on official grounds even to discuss it, as it was not among the agreed subjects for negotiation.[4] Archetti was no more successful with

[1] "*Mr. d'Azanza, ed il Marchese de Verac riconoscono, che è impossibile ottenere la pubblicazione del Breve, e che, se facessi una formale istanza, sarebbe aspramente rigettata." Archetti to Pallavicini, August 27 and September 7, 1783, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 430 *seq.* *Archetti to Antonelli, September 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, *ibid.*

[2] *Floridablanca to Azanza, September 9, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6652.

[3] *Azanza to Floridablanca, September 19, 1783, Cifre, *ibid.*

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 5 and 26, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Antonelli, March 8, 1784, Carte sciolte, *ibid.*

Potemkin. On his proposing a solution on the Silesian model the Prince broke in on him to warn him not to spoil the effects of his mission, which hitherto had been successful. The empress would be most deeply offended by the proposal. She was aware of the accusations brought against the Jesuits; a repetition of them, however skilfully done, would only estrange her as she was firmly resolved not to speak of the matter again and not to let anyone else mention it to her, and she would be vastly surprised if anyone tried to stop her being mistress in her own house. He therefore honestly advised him to pass over this point in silence as this would be the best way of serving the interests of the Roman Court.[1] In his letter to Antonelli Archetti observed that it was hardly worth while making so much fuss about a few novices. Mutual dissatisfaction would soon follow. They must bide their time and for the moment have regard for the empress's caprice. He intended the contents of this letter and the one to Pallavicini to become known in Rome.[2] The legate, however, had scored one success against the Jesuits: he had stopped their being invited to work the Catholic parishes in St. Petersburg and Moscow,[3] and in the decree by which he prolonged the Archbishop's powers in relation to the regular clergy he had had inserted the qualification that by "regular" was meant only those religious who were recognized as such by the Holy See. With this he thought that he had dealt the Society a nasty blow.[4]

[1] *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 26, 1784, *ibid.*; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 231 *seqq.*; THEINER, *Clementis XIV. Epist.*, 383 *seqq.*; *Azanza to Floridablanca, April 4, 1784, *loc. cit.*, Estado, 6653.

[2] *Archetti to Antonelli, March 26, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 5, 1784, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Antonelli, March 8, 1784, Carte sciolte, *ibid.*; *Azanza to Floridablanca, April 4, 1784, Archives of Simaneas, Estado, 6653.

[4] *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 23 and March 8, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; "*Decretum prorogationis facultatum super Regulares," of April 14, 1784, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. X.; *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 17 and 24,

The extreme vexation of the Bourbons was increased by Joseph II.'s behaviour on his second visit to Rome. In the presence of the Pope and at a reception given by Princess Doria he openly disapproved of the suppression of the Society and declared that he was glad to employ its former members in useful offices.[1] Bernis now tried to maintain that he had foretold all along that this was how the business would end.[2] Every time Archetti had tried to open the subject of the Jesuits he was told to keep quiet. This, then, he remarked sardonically, was all that had come of the mission that had been staged with so much *éclat*. Eventually the Archbishop would be given the red hat for his improper restoration of the Jesuits.[3] One thing was certain: Pius VI. would never ask Russia to publish the Brief of suppression, as he knew that this request would be in vain, and as Spain, too, was no longer displaying its former firmness the Pope was content to express his opinion without enforcing it, it being his constant care not to irritate unnecessarily a party which he thought he had to treat well on account of obligations he had incurred towards it in the past—a party he knew well enough to fear its vengeance. "Let us, therefore, rest content with things

1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX.; Bernis to Vergennes, April 28, 1784, Collezione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] "*Ce monarque [Joseph II.] a affecté au Pape et en public, chez Madame la Princesse Doria, l'éloge des Jésuites, en blâmant tout haut la suppression de cette Société, dont il emploie, dit-il, bien volontiers les membres à des choses utiles." Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1784, *ibid.*

[2] *Bernis to Vergennes, February 10, 1784, *ibid.*

[3] *Bernis to Vergennes, March 10, 1784. It was, in fact, not long before the request was made for Siestrzencewicz to be promoted to cardinalitial rank. *Cf.* Catherine II. to Pius VI., November 7/18, 1784. The empress's instruction for Prince Yussupof, November 10/21, 1784; decree issued by the empress to Yussupof on February 25/March 9, 1785, in GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 236 *seqq.*; *Boncompagni to Archetti, January 21, 1786, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XX.; PIERLING, V., 159 *seqq.* Archetti had promised his assistance (*ibid.*, V., 158).

as they are," he concluded resignedly.[1] The French Foreign Minister, Vergennes, agreed. "Yes, we must rest content," he replied. "The publication of the Brief was not to be obtained. Had we presented a demand we should only have exposed ourselves to a rebuff and increased the prestige of the Jesuits. Let us leave things as they are during the Czarina's lifetime. Perhaps there will be a better prospect of success under her successor or under a future Pope." [2]

On the evening of June 13th, 1784, Archetti left St. Petersburg, poor in real successes, rich in presents and the promise of cardinalitial rank to be obtained by imperial favour.[3] On hearing of the verbal recognition of the Society of Jesus by the supreme Head of the Church, many former Jesuits

[1] "*. . . mais dans tous les cas il est très certain que Pie VI. n'exigera jamais de la Russie la publication du Bref de Clément XIV. Il sait bien que cette demande seroit inutile, et qu'elle le compromettrait sans aucun fruit avec le parti des Jésuites qu'il craint et qu'il ménage." Bernis to Vergennes, April 14, 1784, Collezione Theiner, *loc. cit.* "Je crois vous avoir déjà marqué que Mr. Archetti avoit fait inutilement aux ministres de la Russie quelques ouvertures relatives aux Jésuites, mais on lui avoit déclaré que l'Impératrice avait pris son parti à cet égard, et qu'elle seroit fort surprise qu'on prétendit l'empêcher d'être maîtresse chez elle. Après une déclaration si formelle, ce Nonce n'étoit pas autorisé à insister plus fortement, mais il a su établir d'une manière claire quoique prudente dans le décret, dont le Card. Pallavicini vient de me communiquer la substance, que la Cour de Rome ne compte plus les Exjésuites de Russie parmi les Ordres réguliers, et qu'elle n'approuve point la nouvelle Institution que l'archevêque de Mohilew a prétendu leur donner. L'Espagne ayant cessé de montrer au Pape son ancienne fermeté sur tout ce qui a rapport à la Société éteinte, le Saint-Père s'est contenté de marquer son opinion sans y mettre la force nécessaire, ayant grand soin en toute occasion de ne pas irriter un parti, avec lequel il a eu autrefois des grandes liaisons, et qu'il connoît assés pour en craindre la vengeance. Contentons-nous . . ." Bernis to Vergennes, April 28, 1784, Collezione Theiner, *ibid.*

[2] *Vergennes to Bernis, May 25, 1784, *ibid.*

[3] GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 443; PIERLING, V., 156 *seqq.*

hastened to seek readmission into the Society, which they had left only by compulsion and with a heavy heart. All were informed by the Vicar General that for the present it was not within his power to incorporate in the Society of Jesus with external legal validity ("*in foro externo*") anyone outside Russia; but to all who sought it he and his successors gladly granted the admission that was valid in conscience ("*in foro interno*").[1] In their eagerness to belong to the Society externally many ex-Jesuits were more than willing to endure the rigorous climate but only a limited number of them could be accepted after Potemkin had expressed the wish (which after all was quite reasonable) that only those foreigners who were at the height of their vigour should be accepted; elderly men, he held, would not readily learn the difficult language, which was necessary for their work.[2] Besides, the field of activity, with only 100,000 Latin Catholics, was too narrowly restricted.[3] More than once the Russian Government held out hopes of some of the Fathers going as missionaries to China [4]

[1] *Czerniewicz to John Howard, director of the academy at Louvain, October, 1783, Arch. Prov. Angliae; *Czerniewicz to Franz Huberti, ex-Jesuit at Würzburg, February 18, 1784, in Jesuit possession, *Epist. Gen.*, I.; *Czerniewicz to Laurence Kaulen in Lisbon, March 23, 1785, *ibid.* *Cf.* ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 466 *seqq.*

[2] *Czerniewicz to Kareu, January 5, 1784, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.; *Czerniewicz to the ex-Jesuit Matthew Thein in Baden, March 7, 1785, *ibid.*; *Czerniewicz to Andrea Avogado in Verona, July 15, 1784, *ibid.*

[3] In 1787 the roughly 100,000 Latin Catholics were served by 102 parish churches, 36 churches with, and 24 churches without the cure of souls (including 23 outside White Russia). The clergy, of every kind, consisted of 1 archbishop, 3 suffragans, 92 secular, and over 300 regular priests. "Succincta relatio de utroque clero, eiusdemque ecclesiis ritus Latini, quae sunt in toto Imperio Russico desumpta ex Ordinario Archidioecesis Mohiloviensis," 1787, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. XI.

[4] *Governor-General Passek to Czerniewicz, April 5/16, 1785, *ibid.*, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.; *Czerniewicz to Rector Mangold

but after several false starts the project was abandoned. After holding office for not quite three years the Vicar General Czerniewicz, still an active man, died on July 7/18th, 1785, at the age of fifty-seven, at Stayki, near Polotsk.[1]

After his death, Siestrzencewicz, who had never ceased from making trouble,[2] again tried to force himself on the Jesuits as their General[3] but by an imperial ukase of July 23rd (old style), which had been sought by the Jesuits staying in St. Petersburg on account of the mission to China, they were permitted to have a free election in accordance with the laws and spirit of their Institute.[4] On September 27th, 1785, the former Assistant Gabriel Lenkiewicz was elected Vicar General at the first ballot.[5] On being apprised of the result Catherine gave her approval.[6]

in Augsburg, June 17, 1785, *ibid.*; the Vicar General's *instruction for the Fathers destined for the mission to China [1785], *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. X.

[1] "Elogium Adm. Rev. P. N. Stanislai Czerniewicz Vicarii Generalis S.J.," in the *Arch. Prov. Galiciae*, III., Vitae PP. et FF.S.J. def. in Alba Russia"; *Gazeta Warszawska*, August 13, 1785, and supplement.

[2] "*Ante omnia necesse esset, persuasum facere [Principem Potemkin], Iesuitas in Alba Russia praepotenti licet Imperatoria protectione fultos, debere omnino aliquando succumbere machinis adhibitis ab Archiepiscopo, nisi efficaciter a Sua Maiestate impeditus fuerit atque coercitus." Instruction for the missionaries to China, *loc. cit.*

[3] Benislawski to Potemkin, July 13/24, 1785, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.

[4] *Fr. Kolumban Pfeiffer to the ex-Assistant Rhomberg, Polotsk, October 2/13, 1785, *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. VII.

[5] *Ibid. Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 453 *seqq.*; *Nuncio Saluzzo to the Secretary of State Boncompagni, October 5 and November 23, 1785, Nunziat. di Polonia, 66, *loc. cit.*; *Gazeta Warszawska*, November 2, 1785.

[6] By ukase of December 18, 1785, supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of February 4, 1786, French translation in *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 372 *seq.*; *Lenkiewicz to Passek, January 5, 1786, in Jesuit possession,

The membership of the Society of Jesus, which between the years 1773 and 1779 had sunk to 115, gradually began to rise again as the result of the noviciate. In 1784–85, according to the official list, there were 172 members, 95 of whom were priests.[1] Among those who hastened to Russia to rejoin the colours of Loyola were several Germans, not a few of them coming from the Salvator College at Augsburg, which was conducted by ex-Jesuits.[2] The gradual growth of their membership aroused in the Jesuits the desire to extend the field of their pastoral activity. A slight ray of hope appeared in 1792 when Archbishop Siestrzencewicz asked the nuncio Saluzzo for four priests for the German colonies in the Government of Saratov on the Volga. Until then all the efforts of the nuncio to obtain priests for the Germans had been fruitless; few knew the German language well enough to preach in it, no priest and no Order offered their services,[3] and no one dared to ask the Jesuits for their help. It was not, however, till 1803 that the Vicar General Gruber was able to send the Bavarian Aloys Landes with eight other Fathers to the German settlers on the Volga.[4] In 1798 the door to China seemed to be opening again. Twice Fr. Gruber hurried to St. Petersburg to receive the necessary instructions and to prepare the expedition [5] but the political jealousy between

Epist. Gen., I.; *Lenkiewicz to Siestrzencewicz, January 15, 1786, *ibid.*

[1] GAGARIN, *Récit*, 184; *Magnani to Romei, April 15/26, 1786, *ibid.*, Russia, I., fasc. IX.

[2] *Lenkiewicz to Rector Mangold, June 30 and July 30, 1786, September 25, 1788, *ibid.*, *Epist. Gen.*, I. They included the well-known Jesuit missionary Alois Moritz; *Lenkiewicz to Mangold, July 30, 1786, *loc. cit.*; HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, 191 *seq.*; *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXI. (1931), 176 *seqq.*

[3] *Saluzzo to Antonelli, July 11, 1792, Nunziat. di Polonia, 78, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf. Die katholischen Missionen*, 1880, 115 *seqq.*; *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1904, Nos. 25 *seqq.*, supplement; A. ZOTTMANN, *Franz X. v. Zottmann, Bischof der Diözese Tiraspol*, Munich, 1904.

[5] *Lenkiewicz to Governor-General Passek, May 8 and 18, 1792, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.

England and Russia killed the enterprise at birth, and their old patrons Czerniszew and Potemkin, who on previous such occasions had represented the Society's interests at Court, were no longer alive.[1]

It was not long before the Jesuits were made to feel the loss of their old protectors. While they were quietly at work in their schools and churches another storm blew up. Through the second and third partitions of Poland parts of the same diocese had fallen to different rulers, which rendered administration very difficult. A reorganization seemed to be urgently necessary. To put the ecclesiastical situation in order Pius VI. was thinking of sending a legate to St. Petersburg in the person of Litta, the nuncio to Warsaw.[2] In the interests of the Church the Pope would even have been willing to put aside all his misgivings and satisfy the empress's desire by presenting Siestrzencewicz with the Cardinal's hat he so eagerly desired.[3] The empress's death on November 17th, 1796, put an end to these plans for the time being. And then the solemn coronation of Paul I. offered a favourable opportunity of putting Litta's mission into effect. As before, the Archbishop thought of realizing his ambitious plans at the expense of the Society of Jesus. The main supports of the Society were no longer on the scene. Once he had succeeded in winning over the new ruler in favour of the suppression the greatest obstacle in the way of his promotion would have been removed. The General of the Society received the instruction

[1] *Lenkiewicz to Rhomberg, August 2, 1793, *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. II. Immediately after Czerniszew's death (1784) there appeared a lampoon against the Jesuits, in which the old accusations were repeated. It was suppressed at the order of the Empress. Her autograph note (in Russian, undated) in the *Bibliothèque Russe* in Paris. *Cf.* Morochkin, *Die Jesuiten in Russland seit Katharina II.*, I., 218; *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 365.

[2] *Zelada to Litta, May 28, 1796, Nunziat. di Polonia, 54, CC., *loc. cit.*; *Pius VI. to Catherine II., June 29, 1796, *ibid.* For Litta's mission, *cf.* Pierling, V., 202 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

not to send a deputation to render homage to the emperor at the coronation ceremony.[1] In his dealings with the Jesuits Siestrzencewicz allowed them to surmise that their existence was being threatened by the legate, with the result that they asked him to speak on their behalf;[2] meanwhile, he was endeavouring to persuade the Ministers to subject them to his immediate jurisdiction. An opportunity of bringing this about was afforded by the death of the Vicar General Lenkiewicz on November 10th, 1798. As the stringent police regulations and the latent hostility of the Archbishop called for caution on their part, the Jesuits decided to apply for powers from the emperor as well as from the Archbishop, as in 1785. When the provisional Vicar General Kareu applied to the Archbishop for permission to hold a General Congregation for the purpose of an election[3] he received a message on December 3rd/14th from the archiepiscopal chancery ordering the amalgamation of the office of General with that of Provincial, who thenceforward was to be appointed by the diocesan Bishops.[4] Fortunately the Jesuits had simultaneously put their request directly to the emperor,[5] who gave them the required permission on December 7/18th.[6] In forwarding this permission, however, the bench of justices enclosed a copy of the episcopal order. There was a clear contradiction between the two documents, the one sanctioning the election of a Vicar General, the other abolishing the Generalship. The favourable decision was adhered to and the Congregation was

[1] *Lenkiewicz to Moritz, January 14, 1797, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.; *Lenkiewicz to Archielowicz, January 26, 1797, *ibid.*

[2] *Lenkiewicz to Siestrzencewicz, February 23, 1797, *ibid.*

[3] November 14, 1798, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, II.

[4] *Kareu to Siestrzencewicz, December 16, 1798, *ibid.*, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, II.; *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 456.

[5] *Kareu to Paul I., November 14, 1798, *ibid.*

[6] Kareu's *circular letter to the Superiors, of December 18, 1798, *ibid.*; *Kareu to Bishop Odyniec, undated [end of January, 1799], *ibid.*

fixed to start on January 27th.[1] On February 1st, 1799, Kareu was elected Vicar General and the Congregation wrote to the Archbishop asking him to leave the Institute of the Society undisturbed.[2] In addition it sent the Assistant Gruber to St. Petersburg to obtain by direct negotiation from Paul I. the preservation of the Society's constitutions. Returning on June 23rd, 1799, he brought back the joyful news that the emperor's will was that the constitutions should remain unchanged.[3] This secured the Society's existence in Russia, at any rate for the time being.

(3)

When writing his memoirs in 1778 Cordara gave it as his firm conviction that sooner or later the Society of Jesus would rise again from its ashes, as its restoration would be to the equal advantage of the Church and the State.[4] Efforts to set the Society on its feet again or at any rate to keep it alive in some form or other did, in fact, begin, as a French historian pointedly remarks, on the very morrow of the publication of the Brief of suppression.[5] In Germany it was the Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst who was especially active in warding off the fatal blow at the very last moment.[6] In France Madame

[1] *Circular letter of December 29, 1798, *ibid.*

[2] *Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., *loc. cit.*; *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 457.

[3] *Ibid.*, 458. *Cf.* for these events, *Rozaven, 149 *seqq.*; Zalenski-Vivier, II., 65 *seqq.*

[4] "Ego sane restituendam aliquando Societatem spero. Hanc mihi voluptatem frustra invideant malevoli, nemo, licet potentissimus, unquam eximat. Non spero tamen ob aniles illas, quae circumferuntur, praedictionum fabulas, sed quia interesse puto reipublicae, ut Societas in statum pristinum restituatur, atque iterum in Ecclesia floreat." Cordara, *De suppressione*, 180.

[5] Masson, *Bernis*, 241.

[6] Duhr, *Ungedruckte Briefe und Relationen über die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu in Deutschland*, in *Histor. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, VI. (1885), 413–437; F. A. Sinnacher,

Louise, Louis XV.'s daughter, who had become a Carmelite in 1771, used every influence she had to bring the French members of the extinguished Society together in the form of a Congregation of secular priests. The king's attitude towards the project was favourable, and there was a considerable number of adherents to the Jesuit cause among the higher ranks of the clergy.[1] A word coming from such high quarters would certainly have had great weight with Clement XIV. but the Foreign Minister Aiguillon and Cardinal Bernis quietly but effectively opposed the scheme. In her foreign policy France was too dependent on the help of Spain, which regarded the suppression as peculiarly its own work.[2] The first result

Beyträge zur Gesch. der bischöfl. Kirche Säben und Brixen in Tirol, IX., 2, Brixen, 1835, 684 *seq.*; DIENDORFER, *Die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens im Bistum Passau* (1891), 7 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVIII., 338 *seqq.* "*Tra le altre cose, che penso di dire al sudetto Sig^r Duca, farò risaltare, che il Santo Padre in ogni incontro ha favorito e favorisce le istanze di questa Corte; che i Vescovi e gli aderenti dei Gesuiti per ripicco del Breve di soppressione, per la quale pretendevano di esser avanti consultati, tentano tutte le strade per apportar danno all Santa Sede; che la soppressione essendosi voluta dalle Corti Borboniche, non deve essere di disturbo al Santo Padre; che, si il Clero e i Vescovi venissero a causa, si rinnoverebbero le antiche dispute con pregiudizio della religione." Doria to Pallavicini, April 25, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 561, Papal Secret Archives. Lebzeltern *reported that the new Portuguese ambassador had postponed his departure for Vienna for a week. "The Portuguese Court claims to be in possession of information that a strong party supporting the former Jesuits is being formed under the leadership of some French Bishops, Cardinal Migazzi, and a Count Pichler. The alleged object of this party is to use every means, in an underhand way, to induce our supreme Court and the French one to allow the Jesuits to live in community until the times are more favourable to them. This, in the course of time, might have the most important consequences." Report by Prince Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, July 23, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, *Staatsratsvorträge*, 173 (1774), VII.

[2] "*En el Breve de extinción de la Compañía habra visto

of the combined efforts of the two statesmen was the postponement of the royal decree allowing the unconditional return of the Jesuits. They then obtained from the Pope the statement that he adhered to the ordinances of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* as firmly as ever [1] and that he expected the French hierarchy to obey him in this as they would their king in similar cases. All further negotiations were terminated by the death of Louis XV. (May 10th, 1774).[2]

The Jesuits and their admirers had great hopes of benefiting from the election of Pius VI., who had always shown himself favourably inclined towards them. He did not disappoint them. Some of those who were distinguished for their literary or scientific knowledge he employed in his own service, and whenever he could show them a favour without having to fear the opposition of the Bourbons, he gladly did so, in his natural, kind-hearted way.[3] He was prevented from going any further

V.S. lo que el Rey se ha interesado en ella, de modo que la podemos llamar obra suya." Grimaldi to Onnis, October 18, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5043.

[1] *Doria to Pallavicini, March 21, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also the *letter of February 14, 1774, *ibid.*

[2] Masson, *Bernis*, 240–266.

[3] " *Il y a déjà quelque temps, Monsieur, que la bruit du rétablissement des Jésuites sous une forme différente s'est répandu à Rome, et de là a gagné presque toute l'Europe. Quelques adoucissements procurés aux prisonniers détenus au Château St-Ange, quelque acte de charité ou de justice exercée à leur égard ont épouvanté leurs adversaires et ont rempli d'espérance et de confiance leurs adhérents et leurs protecteurs. On ne peut nier qu'un grand nombre des Cardinaux n'ayent fortement insisté auprès du Pape pour donner la liberté aux prisonniers, et pour employer un grand nombre de leurs confrères à l'enseignement de la jeunesse, aux fonctions du ministère, en un mot, à les rendre utiles à la société . . ." The Pope had informed Moñino of everything . . . " Le Ministre d'Espagne a promis au Pape de lui communiquer ses réflexions, dont on [dans un] écrit confidential, après quoy s'il ne reste que des soupçons contre les prisonniers du Château St-Ange, le Pape s'occupera du soin de concerter les

in this direction by the delicate situation in which the Holy See was placed by the jealous or inimical attitude of most of the Catholic countries.[1]

The Jesuit question remained dormant for several years until the flames of the French Revolution sprang up on the European horizon and illumined with a lurid glow the chasm into which human society was threatening to fall. Many now sensed that what was needed more than anything for a

précautions, sous lesquelles la liberté leur soit rendue et l'on communiquera toute cette négotiation. Tel est le plan, dont le Pape s'entretint avec moy hier matin et dont j'ay rendu compte au ministre espagnol. Il ne convient à aucun Souverain de priver éternellement des hommes et des ecclésiastiques de la liberté pour des soupçons, mais il est bon que l'ancien Général des Jésuites soit astreint à certaines règles de conduite, pour ne pas favoriser la désobéissance de ses confrères d'Allemagne, de Silésie et de Pologne . . . Mais le St. Père croit qu'il luy sera permis, sans se rendre suspect, de traiter les Exjésuites avec charité, justice et prudence." Bernis to Vergennes, May 31, 1775, Collezione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] " *Au reste le St. Père m'a renouvelé les assurances, qu'il m'a si souvent données, ainsi qu'au comte de Floride Blanche, qu'il ne se presteroit jamais sous aucune forme au rétablissement de la Société éteinte ; il le juge impossible et il est trop éclairé pour ne pas sentir qu'il n'en résulteroit que du trouble et un désordre universel dans le monde Catholique, sans compter les ressentiments de plusieurs Cours, auquels le Pape, en se prestant à ce projet insensé, exposeroit le St-Siège . . . La seule chose qu'on pourroit craindre, ce seroit les conseils passionnés de quelques Cardinaux, auxquels le Pape a de grandes obligations et qu'il croit devoir menager ; mais le St.-Père, quelque sensible qu'il puisse estre au sort des Exjésuites, quelque déférence qu'il ait pour plusieurs de leurs protecteurs, conçoit très bien qu'il se fairoit des affaires sérieuses avec les Cours, s'il laissoit d'agir avec prudence. D'ailleurs les ministres ont les yeux ouverts." *Ibid.* Austria had also voiced its opposition to the restoration, in the interests of public order. *Instruction for Migazzi with regard to the conclave, of October 20, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, *Staatsratsvorträge*, 174 (1774), X.

counter-revolution was popular teachers and instructors [1] and that the religious and ecclesiastical restoration must take its rise where the anti-Christian forces had begun their work of destruction.[2]

This idea first took shape in the Austrian Netherlands, where Joseph II.'s attacks on the Belgian Church had inflicted serious wounds. With the passage of time the absence of the Jesuits was felt more and more sorely. Every day the Bishops and the people regretted more and more that the Jesuits were no longer there to preach and write against the innovations. In 1787 the Estates of Brabant informed the Government that all the Bishops of the Belgian Provinces wanted the ex-Jesuits to be allowed to return to their pastoral work and thus to benefit the State. The failure of the educational reform showed with unmistakable clarity the great gap created by their suppression. The idea that only the Fathers could set up good colleges was more than ever confirmed. Even zealous partisans of Joseph II. were of the opinion that the greatest service one could render the coming generation in the way of education would be the restoration of the Jesuits. After the outbreak of the revolution in the Low Countries the party of liberation, regarding the ex-Jesuits as companions in distress, was anxious to fall in with popular feeling. The ex-Jesuit Feller, who with his former fellow-religious Brosius had led a vigorous campaign of propaganda against the emperor's innovations, and for this reason had been banished, was allowed to return to the country; the Dutch missions were granted a yearly subsidy, which they had sought in vain under the Austrian supremacy; and Fr. Klugman was appointed chaplain to the Belgian troops. In 1790 Villegas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Brabant, by arrangement with the Archbishop, laid a memorial concerning the restoration of the Jesuits before the States General, but the temporary

[1] Kosch, *Das katholische Deutschland seit Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, "Der Aar," III., 1, 336 *seq.*

[2] Hergenröther-Kirsch, IV[6]., 360.

restoration of the Austrian rule prevented the realization of the plan.[1]

Of more importance was the movement to restore the Society of Jesus in Poland. In several provincial diets a resolution was passed whereby the deputies were to introduce a motion at the national diet in favour of the restoration of the Jesuits, who by their teaching activity would stem the advances of free thought and the unlicensed immorality of the young.[2] To blunt the edge of any opposition to the plan the Polish ex-Jesuits offered to resume their work in the churches and schools without reclaiming the endowments of the colleges or any stipends, relying solely on Providence and the charity of their fellow-citizens.[3] In conjunction with the Spanish ambassador the nuncio Saluzzo did his utmost to suppress the

[1] BONENFANT, *La suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (1925), 169 *seqq.*

[2] " *In moltissime istruzioni son incaricati i Nunci [deputies] di dimandare il ritorno dei Gesuiti ; ho l' onore d' accludere l' articolo dell' intruzione della Dietina di Varsavia, a cui somigliano le altre tutte, unitamente al progetto presentato dagli stessi Exgesuiti alla Dieta." Saluzzo to Zelada [November 24, 1790], Nunziat. di Polonia, 67, Papal Secret Archives ; **id.* to *id.*, September 12, 1791, *ibid.* *Cf.* ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 129–147 ; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 397 *seqq.* Every Catholic country was feeling the serious losses among the teachers caused by the suppression of the Society of Jesus. " Il est certain que, depuis l'expulsion, les collèges sont dans un état déplorable ; que tout le monde reconnaît l'impossibilité de les soutenir sans de nouveaux moyens ; que l'administration de l'enseignement par les parlementaires a donné les plus piteux résultats. On n'a nul besoin d'être partisan des Jésuites pour se plaindre de la direction donnée aux enfants." MASSON, *Bernis*, 257. *Cf.* Aiguillon to Bernis, February 12, 1774, *ibid.* For Belgium, *cf.* BONENFANT, 164 *seq.*

[3] " *Offre faite à la République par les Exjésuites en l'année 1790 de leurs personnes " (translation), Nunziat. di Polonia, 25, Papal Secret Archives. Polish text in the supplement of the *Gazeta Warszawska* of November 10, 1790. *Fr. Messerati to an unknown correspondent on December 1, 1790, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. II.

movement.[1] When in the session of the diet of July 16th, 1791, the Castellan Lipski moved the reintroduction of the Society into the territory of the Republic, after the Papal sanction had been obtained, he was opposed by the king in a cleverly constructed speech which appealed exclusively to the peculiarities of the Polish temperament. He would yield to no Pole, he said, in affection and respect for the Jesuits, and no one deplored more than he the severe loss incurred by the State as a result of their suppression. But he would also allow no one to surpass him in his love of the Church and devotion to its Head. The restoration of the Society would greatly embarrass the Holy See in its relations with the States which had demanded its suppression and it would thus disturb the peace and unity of Christendom. As a good Catholic and a faithful son of the Church he could not burden his conscience with such results as these. On his motion the diet then proceeded to the order of the day.[2] Rome thought that with this the matter was settled once for all,[3] but it was not so easily disposed of. Shortly afterwards the Jesuit supporters tried to enlist the support of the Empress Catherine of Russia [4] and then they thought of sending a deputation to Rome under the leadership of Bishop Kossakowski of Vilna, to obtain the Pope's agreement.[5] But owing to the political disturbances caused by the second partition of Poland the plan failed to mature.[6]

[1] *Saluzzo to Zelada [November 24, 1790], *loc. cit.* ; *Zelada to Saluzzo, February 5, 1791, Nunziat. di Polonia, 53, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Saluzzo to Zelada [June 18, 1791], *ibid.* 67 ; *Gazeta Narodowa y Obča*, No. 49, of June 18, 1791 ; " *Responsum Regiae Maiestatis Poloniarum in Comitiis Regni," Nunziat. di Polonia, 25, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Zelada to Saluzzo, July 9 and 30, 1791, *ibid.*, 53.

[4] *Saluzzo to Zelada, September 12 and November 14, 1791, *ibid.*, 67.

[5] *Saluzzo to Zelada, September 15, October 6, and [November 12], 1791, *ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* *Zelada to Saluzzo, September 17 and 24, 1791, April 7, October 6, December 8 and 15, 1792, *ibid.*, 53.

The more violently the waves of the French Revolution beat against the frontiers of the old German Empire the louder and more frequent were the voices that were raised there, demanding the restoration of the Society of Jesus as a rampart against the threatening upheaval. They came chiefly from those classes which were in a position to realize in alarm the confusion of ideas and morals among the younger members of the population caused by the growing " enlightenment " and free thought. In the Austrian Empire the Swiss ex-Jesuit Albert von Diessbach, zealous for the cure of souls, was prominent in this respect. In 1790, with apostolic courage, he addressed to the newly-crowned emperor, Leopold I., a memorial setting forth all the infirmities in the Church and the State brought about by the unhappy reforms of the late Government, and proposing, among other remedies, the restoration of the Jesuits.[1] At the same time the demand for the return of the Jesuits was heard in Tirol,[2] and the next year the same request was made in an anonymous pamphlet in Bavaria.[3] More and more the Catholics were filled with the desire to counter the revolutionary propaganda by means of the Jesuits with their emphasis on the principle of authority. In reporting to the Holy See on October 28th, 1793, Cardinal Archbishop Frankenberg of Malines asked for the restoration of the Society of Jesus and its colleges to check the steady decrease in vocations.[4] In December of the same year Cardinal

[1] **Historia Soc. Jesu*, 226, fol. 66–87, in Jesuit possession. PFÜLF, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu erstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg, 1922, 7 *seqq.*

[2] " Proposal of a citizen of Innsbruck that the Society of Jesus be brought back " (probably written by Franz v. Zallinger at the time of the public provincial diet of 1790), MS., 76 sheets; Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, Dipaul., 978, XII.

[3] " *A writing concerned with the Jesuit Order, which was made over to the Town Council of Munich by the deputy of Rosenheim, 1791." Chief State Archives, Munich, Jes. in genere, 699; *Cherambault to an unnamed correspondent, November 2, 1791, Secret State Archives, Munich, Kasten blau 427/4; *reply to Cherambault, November 13, 1791, *ibid.*

[4] BONENFANT, 171

Migazzi of Vienna took the lead in asking Emperor Francis II. for the restoration of the suppressed Society. "The restoration of the Society of Jesus," he wrote, "seems to me to be the best and most effective way" of checking the increasing decay of religion and morality.[1] To heighten the effect of his representations he appealed to the Belgian hierarchy for their support. They signified their agreement with the utmost readiness and were joined therein by Metternich, the Minister Plenipotentiary.[2] Like Migazzi in the Austrian hereditary States, Minister Duminique of the Electorate of Trier tried to propagate the idea of restoring the Society of Jesus among the ecclesiastical Estates of the Empire. It met with scant sympathy from the Elector Maximilian of Königseck, to whom he had appealed [3]; his answer showed how deep were the prejudices that had taken root in many minds.[4] Duminique had perhaps been moved to take this step by the hope that the imperial Court of Vienna would be more likely to listen to his proposal if it were supported by the archducal Elector. But in this quarter, for the time being, the question aroused no interest. Trautmannsdorf, when asked to use his influence with the emperor in support of the plan, promised to co-operate but could not pretend that there was much hope of success for the moment.[5] Undaunted by this setback, Duminique a year later addressed a memorandum to Francis II. by the favour of Count Lehrbach.[6] In this document, after

[1] *Ibid.*, 172; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII. (1890), 487 *seqq.*

[2] Bonenfant, 172.

[3] On November 27, 1773. Vogt and Weitzel, *Rheinisches Archiv für Geschichte und Literatur*, X. (Wiesbaden, 1813), 256 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 257 *seqq.* As the old stories about the Jesuit assassinations had been brought up again in the Elector's reply, Duminique considered himself bound to refute them in a serious and effective manner. This was on December 3, 1793. *Ibid.*, 263 *seqq.*

[5] Bonenfant, 172.

[6] Lehrbach had belonged to the suppressed Society. Schwind, *Damian Hugo Philipp Graf von und zu Lehrbach* (extract from the *Rheinisches Volksblatt*, 1915), Speyer, 1915.

expounding the abuses that were prevalent, he asked the emperor to support the intentions of the Elector of Trier and other princes of the empire or at least to state that he would not oppose these aims.[1] Also about this time the nuncio Della Genga, fleeing from Cologne before the French, addressed from Augsburg a petition to Pius VI., with the object of inducing him to give ear to the wishes of Klemens Wenzeslaus.[2] The nuncio also made inquiries as to how the question was viewed by Karl Theodor of Bavaria and Zoglio, the nuncio to Munich.[3] But the Cabinets were so much occupied by the military events of the time and by the second and third partitions of Poland that they had no leisure to spare for the Jesuit affair.

A temporary revival of Loyola's institution took place in a little State where it was least to be expected: the Duchy of Parma.[4] The expulsion of the Jesuits had been decreed in 1768 by Duke Ferdinand, orphaned at an early age and still almost a boy, a helpless tool in the hands of his Minister, Du Tillot.[5] As the Minister became more and more unpopular the young ruler's liking for the Jesuits increased, even before the Society was officially dissolved.[6] In view of the great load of debt under which Parma was groaning, Ferdinand conceived the idea as early as 1787 of entrusting the schools in his dominions to the ex-Jesuits resident in the country, who in any case were drawing a pension. The plan, however, failed to fructify owing to the obdurate opposition of Charles III.,

[1] **Aide-mémoire* from Duminique, Minister of the Electorate of Trier, to Count von Lehrbach, the imperially authorized envoy. Augsburg, November 5, 1794, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 89.

[2] On November 9, 1794; [Boero], *Osservazioni*, II², 263 *seq.*

[3] " *Responsum ad duas quaestiones ab Illmo D.D. Nuntio Apostolico de[lla] Gengtia (!) mihi propositas," Dompfarrarchiv, Speyer, 3. Briefe von Jesuiten an Grafen Lehrbach.

[4] *Rozaven, 127 *seqq.*; Nonell, *Pignatelli*, II., 187 *seqq.*; Zalenski-Vivier, II., 46 *seqq.*

[5] See our account, vol. XXXVII., 249 *seqq.*

[6] *Louis XV. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, February 2, 1772, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, " Francia."

on whom the duke, as a Spanish Infante, was financially dependent.[1] But a few years later, after the king's decease, the duke, actively assisted by the ex-Jesuit Borgo,[2] gradually put his plans into effect and entrusted the conduct of various schools to former members of the Society who were still in the country. On May 1st, 1793, he sought and obtained the Pope's secret assent to his action.[3] The duke's aims went further than this: he thought of restoring the Society within his realm. With this object he appealed some weeks later to Catherine II. of Russia [4] and the Vicar General Lenkiewicz [5] for the transfer of some real Jesuits to take over the direction and internal construction of the nascent Province and to ensure its existence by the establishment of a noviciate. Flattered by this request, the Czarina readily assented.[6] As soon as the roads were rendered passable by the cold of winter, the Vicar General sent off three Jesuits of Italian origin [7] and granted former and future Jesuits working in

[1] *Duke Ferdinand I. to Charles III., January 26 and April 2, 1787, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5253; *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., February 20 and May 8, 1787, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, section "Carlo III."

[2] *Ferdinand I. to Fr. Borgo, October 1 and November 11, 1791, May 25, June 10, and July 13, 1792, April 30, 1793, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. I. and II.

[3] Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, May 23, 1793, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Pio VI."; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 1 *seq.*

[4] *Ferdinand I. to Catherine II., July 23, 1793, in Jesuit possession, Italia, III., fasc. III.; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 8 *seqq.*

[5] *On July 23, 1793, *ibid.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 11 *seqq.*; Zalenski-Vivier, II., 373 *seq.*

[6] *Catherine II. to Bogdanowicz, November 12, 1793, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 211; *Catherine II. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, November 12, 1793, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Ferdinando I."; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add., 3.

[7] *Lenkiewicz to Governor-General Passek, November 24, 1793,

Parma membership of the Society existing in Russia.[1] For fear of Spain, Pius VI. could go no further than give his silent consent to what had happened, hoping that Charles IV. would take a more favourable view as time went on and thus allow him to make greater concessions.[2] But all the efforts of

in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epp. Gen., I.; **id.* to Fr. Borgo, December 6, 1793, *ibid.*

[1] *Lenkiewicz to Ferdinand I. of Parma, December 22, 1793, *ibid.*; Bibl. Corsiniana, Rome, 37, H. 33; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 16 *seqq.*

[2] *Ferdinand I. of Parma to Pius VI., January 20, 1794, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. V.; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 21 *seqq.*; Pius VI.'s *reply to Ferdinand I., of February 15, 1794: "L' affare di cui V. A. R. ci parla nelle due ultime sue, quanto ha in se un rettissimo fine, ha però altrettanto illodevole principio, perchè attaccato ad una unione di Refrattari, che mai hanno potuto fare corpo legittimo, ed accolti da una Potenza estranea dalla Nostra comunione, con l' appoggio della quale si sono sostenuti, non ostante la contraria disposizione della Pontificia autorità. Non mai abbiamo pensato, nè detto, che siasi fatto bene, a sciogliere un corpo, che per l' educazione, e per l' istruzione rendevasi molto utile alla Chiesa, la quale ne rilevava nella pubblica Liturgia il merito dell' Istitutore, ed ora pur troppo si sperimentano gl' effetti ruinosi della mancanza. Se poi consideriamo il metodo tenuto, e le viste di coloro, che v' ebbero le prime parti, neppure ci ha mai adequato. Ciò non ostante essendo vegliante la Legge fatta, conviene osservarla. Noi però non ci daremo per inteso, come non ci siamo dato coi refugiati nel Settentrione, ma se qualcuno dei Grandi Principi Cattolici, ce ne facesse risentimento, come sarà facile, per l' eccitamento degl' altri Regolari, che gli furono emuli, e per l' impeto di certi Filosofanti, che mossero la machina, saremo costretto riprovare la risoluzione presa da V. A. R. che ora sapendola, ci contentiamo di dissimularla." Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Pio VI."; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 4 *seq.* The duke objected to the Jesuits in White Russia being called "*refrattari*". "*Observo nel principio della Lettera suddetta, che la S. V. chiama Refrattari i Gesuiti Russi; ma come questo, Beatissimo Padre? Mentre colà esiste (*sub sigillo*) l' attestato giurato dell' *Approbo* replicatamente dalla S. V. proferito, così volendo quella Imperatrice, senza nominare altri

Ferdinand I. to change his cousin's mind were in vain.[1] Equally unsuccessful were the indirect steps taken by the Pope to influence the Spanish king.[2] The invasion of northern Italy by the French and the political convulsions attendant on it compelled the Jesuits to disperse and to abandon the work which they had only just begun.

To compensate as far as possible for the great loss of teachers and pastors caused by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, attempts were made almost simultaneously in Belgium and Italy to found new societies which were to work according to the rules and the spirit of St. Ignatius and to pave the way for the restoration of his foundation. In the Austrian Netherlands, in the spring of 1794, the Abbé Leonor Franz de Tournely, a French *émigré*, founded, with the

autentici Monumenti." Ferdinand I. of Parma to Pius VI., undated [March 21, 1794], *ibid.* Summ. add. 7 *seqq.* " *. . . ora l'A. V. R. ha preso il verso giusto in procurare di persuadere il cognato [Charles IV.] alla reintegrazione. La ragione adotta in contrario di non fare torto al Promotore del scempio fatto, la stimiamo troppo infelice, e quindi avendoci V. A. R. prevenuto, sappiamo qual risposta dare, se saremo interrogato. Presentemente trovandosi balzati dall' influenza, che avevano i due osti più infensi della ripristinazione suddetta dovrebbesi la medesima rendersi tanto meno difficile. Onde l' A. V. R. non deve lasciare d' insistere. Tanto poi falsa, e calunniosa, è al solito, la diceria, che non vogliamo essere interrogato sulla materia, quanto si è vero, che intimamente lo desideriamo, e perciò ad ogni richiesta ci prestaremo quanto mai potiamo. Bisogna però non esternare questo nostro sentimento, perchè comparendo in stato d' indifferenza, potremo essere tanto più utile." Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, August 9, 1774, *ibid.*, Sum. add. 12.

[1] *Ferdinand I. of Parma to Charles IV. of Spain, May 23, July 25, October 10 [November–December], 1794, January 30, 1795, September 14 and November 14, 1800, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, " Carlo IV." ; *Charles IV. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, June 17, September 2 and 9, November 11, December 30, 1794 ; October 15, 1800, *ibid.*

[2] *Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, September 17, 1797, *ibid.*, " Pio VI.'

assistance of Charles de Broglie, the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which was soon joined by some men of parts.[1] On the advance of the French revolutionary army the members of the society retired first to Schloss Leitershofen in Swabia, then to Göggingen, near Augsburg. At last they found a safe asylum in Vienna and a generous benefactress and zealous protectress in the person of the Archduchess Maria Anna. When Vienna was threatened with a siege and all foreigners had to leave the city, they were given a refuge in the neighbouring castle of Hagenbrunn. When Tournely, after a saintly life of only thirty years, died there on July 9th, 1797, the Society elected as his successor, at the wish of the deceased, Joseph Varin.[2] In 1798 the new Superior not only succeeded in laying the foundations of another establishment, at Prague, but he also obtained the provisional approval of the Society by Pius VI.,[3] at the intercession of Cardinal Migazzi and several French *émigré* Bishops. But the very next year, on April 18th, 1799, the amalgamation with another society founded for the same purpose, the Regularized Clerks of the Faith of Jesus, brought the zealous Congregation to an end.

At about the same time as Tournely had started his foundation, Nicolò Paccanari, from the Valsugana, near Trent, had formed, in conjunction with several other priests, the Society of the Faith of Jesus (*Societas Fidei Jesu*), also known as Fideists or Paccanarists.[4] After Paccanari, who in the meantime had taken the tonsure, had been chosen as Superior on August 14th, 1797, the formal constitution of the new

[1] HILLENGASS, *Die Gesellschaft vom Heiligsten Herzen Jesu* (Société du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus), Stuttgart, 1917 [*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, ed. Ulrich Stutz, Part 89]; PFÜLF, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz*, 10 *seqq.*; further literature there; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 31 *seqq.*; HEIMBUCHER, *Orden u. Kongregationen*, III.², 87 *seqq.*

[2] GUIDÉE, *Vie du R. P. Jos. Varin*, Paris, 1860; HILLENGASS, 20 *seqq.*

[3] PFÜLF, 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, 14 *seqq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 35 *seqq.*; HEIMBUCHER, III.², 88 *seqq.*

society took place on the following day, the Assumption of Our Lady, in the Oratory of the Caravita in Rome. At the beginning of January 1798, the founder, with eight companions, all in Jesuit dress, entered into the occupation of a villa near Spoleto, which was to serve as a noviciate. At the hands of Pius VI., whom he visited in his captivity in Siena, Paccanari received several spiritual favours. When the students at the Propaganda were driven out of their college by the Revolution the Pope entrusted them to his care. Paccanari made three journeys to Rome on their account and was shut up in the Castel S. Angelo by the mistrustful Republican Government. He was soon released, but he and his companions had to leave the territory of the Roman Republic.[1] Most of his comrades retired to Parma, while Paccanari went to Hagenbrunn, where he succeeded in effecting the union with the Fathers of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.[2] This society, which soon numbered 110 members, threw out branches in rapid succession in Italy, Austria, Germany, Belgium, England, France, and Switzerland.[3] The subsequent history of the society lies outside the scope of this work. This much may be said, however, that it was not long before internal dissensions came to the surface. As Paccanari opposed the desire of the majority to coalesce with the Jesuits

[1] Pfülf, 18 *seq.*

[2] Paccanari's *petition to Emp. Francis II. [July 12, 1799], State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A., 75*c*; *petition of the Fathers of Hagenbrunn to Francis II. for permission to combine the two institutions, of July 13, 1799, *ibid.*; *opinion of the Court Chancery of Bohemian Austria, July 16, 1799, *ibid.*; *Promemoria in dichiarazione dell' Istituto della Compagnia della Fede di Gesù [August 25, 1799], handed in by Paccanari, *ibid.*; Court Councillor von Fechtig's *opinion, of December 7, 1797, *ibid.*; *report by the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancery on the requests submitted by Fr. Paccanari, of November 28, 1799, *ibid.*

[3] Pfülf, 21 *seqq.*; Specht, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen* (1922), 587 *seqq.*; *id.*, *Das Projekt der Überlassung der Universität Dillingen an den Orden der Benediktiner und Fideisten*, in *Jahrb. des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, XI.

in Russia and would have preferred to take them under his obedience, the young society gradually began to dissolve. The formation of a female branch (known as the *Società delle Dilette di Gesù*) proved fatal to the headstrong enthusiast. Either individually or by communities the members joined forces with the Jesuits in Russia. Paccanari, against whom more and more serious accusations were being brought, was summoned before an ecclesiastical court on account of his scandalous conduct, and in August 1808 was sentenced by the Holy Office to two years' confinement, but he was set at liberty in 1809 at the second invasion of the French. He then passed into obscurity. Most of the remaining members of the society joined the Society of Jesus (revived in 1814).[1]

In spite of the failure to enlist the support of the Court of Vienna in 1794, the efforts to restore the Society of Jesus never entirely ceased. Like Cardinal Gianfrancesco Albani and the Patriarch Giovanelli in Italy[2], Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus and his Minister Duminique strove earnestly in Germany to prevent the project dying of inanition.[3] In 1797 the Elector, through the good offices of the Cardinal Primate Batthyány, invited the Hungarian hierarchy to act in concert [4] and in 1799 he utilized his stay in Vienna to interest the Emperor Francis in the project.[5] Though the Austrian Government

[1] PFÜLF, 29 *seqq.*

[2] *Albani to Giovanelli, December 31, 1776, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. VI.

[3] The prime movers were the brothers Obwexer, the Augsburg bankers, whose brother was a member of the community of ex-Jesuits in the college of St. Salvator, in Augsburg. *Cf.* *Obwexer to the Vicar-General Nigg, March 24, 1797, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K. 89.

[4] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Batthyány, February 1, 1797, *ibid.*; *Duminique to Nigg, on the same day, *ibid.*; *Batthyány to Klemens Wenzeslaus, February 19, 1797, *ibid.*; *Duminique to Nigg, March 16, 1797, *ibid.*

[5] " *Further . . . I have to inform Your Reverence and Honour that the matter of the restoration of the Jesuit Order, already reported in detail by me from Vienna to His Electoral Highness,

was in no doubt about the grievous harm that had been caused, especially to the younger generation, by the abolition of the Society of Jesus and its schools, nor of the necessity to repair the evil, opinions as to the best means of doing this differed widely.[1] In Duminique's view Pius VI. would have been willing to accede to a request put forward by the emperor[2] but he dared not defy the Spanish opposition without the support of a great Catholic Power. Charles IV. not only rejected all appeals but even tried to hold the Jesuits responsible for the atrocities and political upheavals that followed in the wake of the French Revolution.[3] In view of these facts the vacillating attitude shown by the Pope towards the Jesuit question throughout his pontificate is not surprising.

When in December, 1798, Mgr. Litta, writing from St. Petersburg, where he was staying as Papal legate, raised the question of restoring the Society he received the reply from

is fully confirmed, that His Imperial Majesty is completely in favour of the project and has submitted the matter for the consideration of the Bohemian Austrian Court Chancery, which has answered the *quaestio* in the affirmative, and that it is only the *quaestio quomodo* that presents any difficulty, on account of the *Fundi*; and I hope on returning to Vienna to obtain the *consensum caesareum* for our colleges, so as to be free thenceforward to proceed towards this pious goal, for the iron must be struck when it is hot." Duminique to Rigg, June 29, 1799, *ibid.*

[1] " *Discussions de la question, savoir: s'il convient de rétablir la Société de Jésus, ou de lui subroger une autre Congrégation." Vienna, September 8, 1799, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75*c*. Further relevant documents of the year 1800, *ibid.*

[2] **Aide-mémoire* from Duminique to Lehrbach, November 5, 1794, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K. 89.

[3] " *Me atreveré a decir mas a V. N. y es que hallo muy expuesto el hacer siquiera la proposición de este restablecimiento en medio de la crisis fatal en que el mundo se encuentra; en medio de las agitaciones que ha padecido la S. Sede, y finalmente en medio de los temores de revoluciones políticas y religiosas, que si bien se examina, deben su origen a las opiniones Jesuíticas y a sus manejos impuros." Charles IV. to Pius VII., October 15, 1800, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 158.

Mgr. Marotti,[1] who had followed the aged Pope into captivity, that this was a delicate and difficult question, as Pius VI. did not dare to oppose the openly expressed will of Spain, fearing to cause still greater harm. Moreover, his present state of health did not allow him to deal with so important a matter. But if the Russian Government could find a way of removing the Spanish opposition the Pope would gladly take up the suggestion, as no one deplored more than he the evil caused to the Church and State by the abolition of the Society.[2] When the Pope had recovered sufficiently to resume the conduct of affairs Marotti hastened to convey to the legate the provisional information that the Pope's decision was in harmony with his desires and suggestions, but he was to refrain from making any stir, lest opposition be aroused.[3] On March 2nd, 1799, the Secretary was able to inform the legate officially that he might forward the request of the Russian Government and the Bishops and everything he deemed suitable ; meanwhile, however, his attitude was to conform to the wishes of the Court and the Bishops. He was telling him this at the definite command of His Holiness.[4] In a confidential covering note Marotti said that to make certain he had laid the official

[1] Marotti had been a member of the Society of Jesus.

[2] *Marotti to Litta, Certosa di Firenze, February 2, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344V, Papal Secret Archives ; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 20 *seq.*

[3] *Marotti to Litta, February 23, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.* ; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 22 ; *Spina to Antonelli, February 23, 1799, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, "Monumenti storici," Z., No. 12.

[4] " *Nostro Signore mi ha incaricato di precisamente risponderle : Che V. E. R. mandi pure la richiesta della Corte e dei Vescovi, e tutto quello inoltre che stimerà opportuno per parte di cotesti Gesuiti medesimi ; e che frattanto si contenga con essi in quella maniera che Ella conoscerà essere conforme al desiderio di cotesta Corte e di cotesti Vescovi. Tanto ho l'onore di significarle in esecuzione dei precisi comandi di Sua Santità . . ." Marotti to Litta, March 2, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344V, *loc. cit.* ; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 23 *seqq.*

letter before the Pope before sending it off and that the Pope had said that he could not have expressed his mind more exactly. He had also read the whole of the legate's letter to His Holiness to convince him of the authenticity of the commission and of the cogency of its reasoning. The Pope, however, was already more than convinced of the necessity for the restoration.[1] Marotti's letter could hardly have arrived in St. Petersburg when Litta was expelled from Russia by the fickle and incalculable Czar.[2] The Jesuit question had to be postponed till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Meanwhile the invalid Pope had been separated from his assistants and, accompanied only by his confessor, a chaplain, and a valet, had been taken to Valence, in France. During the night of August 28th to 29th, 1799, death released him from his sufferings.

At the Court of St. Petersburg in the meantime the Jesuit Gruber, who was highly thought of by the emperor, was

[1] "*Ella vedrà che nelle brevi parole di Sua Santità le si concede moltissimo, anzi tutto quello che desideravasi. Io per maggior cautela, prima di spedirla, ho fatto presente a Nostro Signore la lettera suddetta e la Santità Sua si è degnata di dirmi, che non si poteva esprimere più esattamente la pontificia sua mente. Scrivo, questo, acciò le serva di regola. Al medesimo Santo Padre ho letto tutta la lettera da V. E. direttami (la quale per tutte le parti è un capo d'opera), sì per farli conoscere l' autenticità della mia commissione, sì ancora per persuaderlo con la forza delle sue ragioni. Ho trovato però il Santo Padre più che persuaso per se medesimo. Tocca adesso alla Divina Provvidenza il conservarcelo in istato da potere operare liberamente." Marotti to Litta, March 2, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* *Litta to Antonelli, Vienna, August 17, 1799, *ibid.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, Summ. add., 155. Neither Cardinal Antonelli nor Mgr. Spina were against the restoration of the Society on principle, but they thought it untimely and dangerous, on account of the opposition of the Catholic Powers. If Russia wanted the restoration it would have to put the Pope in a position to act freely and without fear of complaints. *Antonelli to Spina, March 17, 1799, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome, Monumenti storici, Z, No. 12.

[2] PIERLING, V., 283.

diligently and prudently at work in the interest of his Society.[1] His efforts resulted in Paul I. writing to the newly elected Pope to ask him for the formal recognition of the Jesuits.[2] Pius VII. acceded to his request to the extent of imparting his official confirmation of the Society in Russia by means of the Brief *Catholicæ fidei* of March 7th, 1801.[3] At the desire and request of the King of Naples, Pius VII. issued a special Brief on July 30th, 1804, sanctioning the restoration of the Society in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.[4] This was followed on August 7th, 1814, by the official restoration of the Society of Jesus throughout the world.[5]

[1] Benvenuti to Litta, July 29, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, Papal Secret Archives; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 154 *seq.*

[2] On August 11, 1800, Nunziat. di Polonia, 155, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 47.

[3] *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I., 332–5; RAVIGNAN, *Clément XIII.*, vol. II., 480 *seqq.*

[4] "Per alias." *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 335–7; RAVIGNAN, II., 485 *seqq.*

[5] "Sollicitudo omnium." *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 337–341; RAVIGNAN, I., 564–570. *Cf. Il ristabilimento della Compagnia di Gesù narrato dal Cardinale Pacca* in the *Civiltà cattolica*, ser. 16, vol. V. (1896), 564 *seqq.*

CHAPTER VI.

Activity within the Church—Alphonsus of Liguori and the End of the Moral Controversy.

(1)

On the feast of the Ascension, 1774, Clement XIV. had announced the jubilee year, which, according to the custom of the Church, was celebrated every twenty-five years. In preparation for it he had missions held in four places in Rome from July 31st to August 15th.[1] Death, however, prevented him from following the ancient custom of opening the Holy Door in St. Peter's on Christmas Eve and thus inaugurating the Holy Year. Nevertheless, before it began, special faculties were imparted to the confessors by the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Boschi, and the Vicar of Rome. It was not till February 26th that the new Pope could open the Holy Door and on the same day announce the Holy Year by a solemn Bull for Rome and publish the usual faculties.[2] On December 25th, 1775, he prolonged the jubilee to the following year for the whole Catholic world.[3]

As was testified by the Pope in the document authorizing this extension, the year of grace had been spent with great devotion. The streets of Rome, as he said, had been crowded with the devout, the citizens of the Holy City had vied with one another in welcoming the pilgrims, and the strangers from abroad had given expression to their faith by their whole demeanour.[4] The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity instituted for the reception of pilgrims gave shelter to

[1] F. A. Zaccaria, *Dell' Anno Santo*, Roma, 1775, 136.
[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 8 *seqq.*, 12 *seqq.*, 13 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*
[4] *Ibid.*

130,390 persons for three days each and served 333,390 meals.[1] Prominent among the pilgrims of note were the Archduke Maximilian, the emperor's brother, and the Elector Palatine, Karl Theodor. The Duke of Gloucester, the King of England's brother, also visited Rome in the course of the year.

At the same time as the jubilee was extended there was sent to all the Bishops of the world [2] an Encyclical which was further evidence that Rome was fully cognisant of the chief danger of the time, the growing unbelief. Pius had no illusions about the importance of the new movement. "The new ideas," he wrote, "are creeping into the universities, the houses of the upper classes, the palaces of kings, and though it appals Us to say so, they are even making their way into the sanctuary." [3] And while the secular rulers either did not recognize the danger that threatened themselves and the civil order as a result of the philosophy of unbelief or could not summon up the courage to offer an energetic opposition, the Pope clearly stated that revolution in the secular as well as the spiritual sphere was the inevitable consequence of denying the existence of God or His Providence.[4] It was also hinted pretty clearly that the clergy might be facing a time of martyrdom. It was therefore the Pope's desire that the Bishops should offer a bold front to the enemy. A silence that left in error those that could still be taught was out of place; the Church would stand more firmly on the truth the more it was fought for for the sake of truth. "Fear not the power or the prestige of the enemy," he exhorted the pastors of the Church. "Let fear be far away from the Bishop who is strengthened by the anointing of the Holy Ghost; let it be far from the pastor whom the prince of pastors has taught by his example to despise even life itself for the safety of the flock." [5]

Pius spoke still more sternly when prescribing a jubilee

[1] Novaes, XVI., 1, 10.

[2] On December 25, 1775; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 181 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 184, §7.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 185, §8.

dispensation for the States of the Church on the eve of his departure for Vienna.[1] The approach of Holy Week occasioned him to remind the Bishops of the sufferings of Christ. The only way a Bishop could repay Christ for the blessing of His sacrificial death was to make himself like his model, be crucified with Him, die with Him. Pius was to have ample opportunity of fulfilling his demands in his own person. By reason of the continuing afflictions of the Church the Pope again, in 1790 and 1792, prescribed an eight-days' jubilee for the city of Rome, the first of which was extended in 1792 to all the States of the Church.[2] In all these Briefs the Pope offered as weapons against the new dangers those that had stood the test during the Church's struggle of a thousand years: prayer and the loyal fulfilment of their duty by the Bishops and priests. In particular he asked that the coming generation be provided with good priests, wherefore the Bishops were to apply their zeal especially to the seminaries.

The Pope himself often had occasion to show favour to institutions of this kind,[3] which called for his special attention after the disappearance of the Jesuit colleges. In many cases he transferred to them the revenues of extinct monastic houses. He also did much to improve the Roman University; the new statutes it received praised his services highly. As Leo X. was regarded as its restorer and Benedict XIV. as its reformer, Pius VI. was regarded as its perfector. Undying

[1] On February 26, 1782, *ibid.*, 943 *seq.*

[2] Briefs of June 8, 1790, and November 24, 1792, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 2180 *seq.*, 2562 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. ibid.*, VI., 1, 610 (§13, Seminary at Chambéry), 796 (Comacchio), 797 (Bagnorea); VI., 2, 1207 (Orvieto), 1309 (Salamanca), 1547 (Pesaro), 1551 and 1558 (Avignon), 1752 (Gubbio), 1761 and 1903 (Gnesen), 1772 and 1825 (Città di Castello), 1860 (Forum Fulvii, Valenza in Piedmont), 1862 (Belem in North Brazil), 1908 (Lamego in Portugal), 2002 (Sardinia); VI., 3, 2194 (Faenza), 2398 (Sernache do Bom Jardim), 2931 (Subiaco), 3062 (Guarda). A seminary for the Ruthenian Uniats was founded by their Bishop Maximilian Ryło; *v.* Brief of January 19, 1780, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 644.

thanks were due to him for a new syllabus of lectures, the encouragement of chemical and physical experiments, of anatomic and botanic exhibitions, and the erection of three new chairs for research into theological sources of evidence, for midwifery, and surgery.[1] The universities of Ferrara and Mainz were supported by the transfer of revenues,[2] nor was the unfortunate foundation of Coimbra denied this advantage.[3] Even the endeavour to present the Canary Islands with a university of their own met with his encouragement.[4] Papal approval was given to the statutes of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.[5]

Pius VI. had ample opportunity not only of promoting the acquisition of beneficial knowledge but also the combating of errors. A definite warning against the flood of writings attacking Christianity itself was unnecessary for the faithful—on one occasion only was a pamphlet of this kind condemned by him.[6] He had more often to raise his voice against enemies who professed to be taking their stand on Catholic ground, notably against the Synod of Pistoia [7] and Febronius,[8] also against Eybel's works on confession [9] and more sternly still against his attack on the primacy of the Pope. Eybel's intention was to damp the ardour that the Pope's journey to Vienna was expected to enkindle. During his stay in Germany Pius VI. could do nothing in self-defence; it was not till a

[1] Ratification of the new statutes on July 15, 1788, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1950–1965.

[2] On October 23, 1772, and August 24, 1781; *ibid.*, VI., 1, 420, 826.

[3] Briefs of May 2, 1775; *ibid.*, 60, 63.

[4] Brief of May 25, 1792; *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2525. Cologne and Bonn universities closed down in 1796 and 1797; *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CLIII., 459. For the university of Münster, *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII².., 1998.

[5] On June 2, 1786; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1718.

[6] On November 17, 1784, *ibid.*, 1411.

[7] See above, pp. 152 *seq.*

[8] See our account, vol. XL., ch. i.

[9] On November 21, 1784; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1419.

second edition of the work appeared and was translated into modern Greek that he issued a comprehensive Brief against it.[1]

Another decree condemned [2] the work by Professor Isenbiehl of Mainz on the prophecy of Isaiah about the virgin birth of the Saviour. Other decrees were more concerned with certain practices. The priests in France who had found it convenient to take an oath of loyalty to the civil constitution had no episcopal permission to exercise the cure of souls. A manifesto, apparently issued in the name of French Generals, informed them that in this dilemma they could obtain the necessary faculties from a certain Bishop of Agra. The manifesto was denounced by Pius VI.[3] A hot-headed ex-Jesuit, Carlo Borgo, had gone so far as to address to the Pope a memorial in which he tried to show that the Brief of suppression had been brought about by fraud, had been signed under duress and was invalid. This conjecture was commended in another work, the authorship of which was veiled in obscurity. Both these writings were severely condemned by Pius in special Briefs.[4]

More dangerous than these productions was the flood of writings that were attacking the foundations of Christianity. It was these that prepared the way for the onslaught on the Church, the Orders, and the Papacy in particular, and then the throne. "Rest assured," Voltaire was writing as early as 1768,[5] "that the revolution in men's minds that has been going on for twelve years or so has contributed not a little to the expulsion of the Jesuits from so many States and has encouraged the princes to strike some blows at the idol in Rome." Frederick II. was of a similar opinion [6]: "The

[1] *Super soliditate*, of November 28, 1786, *ibid.*, 1746–1752.

[2] On September 20, 1779, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 621.

[3] On July 31, 1793, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2642.

[4] On June 13, 1781, and November 18, 1788; *ibid.*, VI., 1, 807, VI., 3, 2013. For the two works, *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, s.v. "Borgo", I., 1797; s.v. "Dolmi", III., 122; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 925 *seq.*

[5] To Villevieille on October 20, 1768, *Œuvres*, LX., 593.

[6] To Voltaire, February 10, 1767, *Œuvres*, ed. Preuss, XXIII., 122, *cf. ibid.*, to Voltaire, May 5, 1767, pp. 135 *seq.*

philosophers are clearly undermining the foundations of the Apostolic throne. The wizard's book of magic is being laughed at, the founders of the sects are being dragged in the dirt, tolerance is being preached. The game is up, it would need a miracle to set the Church on its feet again."

In contrast to these triumphant fanfares the calm and assurance with which the Popes regarded the raging storm as they stood at the helm of the Church presented a noble spectacle. In none of the many Papal edicts dealing with the contemporary situation is there the least trace of despair. They quietly admonish the faithful to make use of the seemingly powerless weapon of prayer and the Bishops to trust in the means put in their hands by the supernatural structure of the Church. Though tottering, as it were, on the verge of the abyss, the Pope, undaunted, deals with current business on the old-established principles and when at last Pius VI. is forced into exile he remembers that Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, has also suffered imprisonment [1] and that he is not the first Pope to be dragged away from Rome with the prospect of ending his life in exile.

In the stress of the time it was a consolation to Pius VI. to try to confirm the faithful too in their trust in God by means of popular missions and penitential processions.[2] In 1792, when the outlawing of the Jesuits was at its height, he also recommended the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and in 1796 he arranged for the clergy of Rome to perform them for ten days in the two Jesuit churches and that of the Apostles.[3] He imparted spiritual favours to the retreat house established by the Oratorians in Seville.[4] He was also glad to know that the sense of charity had not died out among the faithful. He was able to give his Papal approval to several charitable institutions,[5] such as those for the insane [6] and for orphans,[7]

[1] Novaes, XVI., 2, 126. [2] Novaes, XVI., 2, 26, 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, XVI., 1, 232, XVI., 2, 57.
[4] On February 5, 1793, *ibid.*, XVI., 3, 2579.
[5] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 256, 666, 834, VI., 3, 2971.
[6] *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1181, 1874.
[7] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 834, VI., 3, 2971.

and others intended to check the excesses of young vagabonds.[1] And, as he often said himself,[2] it cheered him to think of the Saints of the Church and to be able to confer distinction on some of them by granting them the Church's recognition of their services.

(2)

Like his predecessor, Pius VI. did not undertake any canonization but he carried out quite a number of beatifications. A notable proportion of the persons thus honoured had lived quite recently, or at least their lives had extended into the eighteenth century—clear testimony that even in so godless an age holiness in the Church was not extinct. Niccolò di Longobardi, a lay-brother of the Order of Minims of St. Francis of Paula, lived until 1709,[3] Bonaventura of Potenza and Pacificus of S. Severino, Franciscans of the branch Orders of Conventuals and Reformati, died in 1711 and 1721 respectively.[4] Other Franciscans were the Observant Thomas of Cora (d. 1729) and the Alcantarine Giovanni Giuseppe of the Cross (d. 1734).[5] The great Franciscan missionary Leonardo di Porto Maurizio, who died in 1751, approached quite close to the time of Pius VI. A large number of Italians, so ran the decree of beatification,[6] could still see him in their mind's eye and could still hear the thunder of his impassioned words echoing in their ears. In August, 1795, the Pope went to the Franciscan Convent in Rome and announced the decree in the

[1] *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 307, 547.

[2] E.g. *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2546, 2959, 3126.

[3] Brief of beatification, September 17, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3126.

[4] Briefs of November 16, 1775, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 175, and August 4, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3119.

[5] Briefs of September 3, 1786, and May 15, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3122 and 2038.

[6] Of June 14, 1796, *ibid.*, 2947 *seq.* "Cum florentiori essemus aetate, Dei servum novimus quod certe animo repetentes ingenti afficimur laetitia," says Pius VI. on this occasion, and on August 30, 1796 (*ibid.*, 2959), "quo dum adhuc in minoribus essemus familiariter usi sumus."

room where the great preacher had died. The solemn ceremony of beatification took place on June 19th, 1796.[1]

Besides these Franciscans of the eighteenth century other members of the Order were similarly honoured by the Pope. Among them were the Spanish Observant Nicholas Fattor (d. 1582) [2] and his contemporary, Andrew Hibernon, an Alcantarine lay-brother.[3] Sebastián of Apparitio, the son of a Galician peasant, was particularly remarkable. Travelling to Mexico, he became there what is now known as an *entrepreneur*. He erected buildings and cut roads through impenetrable forests, the most notable of which was that from Mexico to Zacatecas. His profit he spent on good works. He married twice but in both cases his marital relations were as those of St. Joseph. When he was already past his seventieth year he thought that he ought to devote the rest of his life to God and he entered the Franciscan Order. The " rest of his life " lasted twenty-eight years and he was nearly a hundred when he died in 1600. He had richly deserved the title of " Blessed " conferred upon him by Pius VI. on March 27th, 1789.[4]

The youngest of the large branches of the Franciscan Order, the Capuchins, received two new *beati* at the hands of Pius VI. : the lay-brother Bernard of Offida [5] (d. 1694), in whose honour Joseph Haydn composed his famous " Mass of All Saints ", and the Capuchin General, Lorenzo of Brindisi (d. 1619), the founder of many convents of his Order in Germany and the diplomat who worked successfully for the League of Princes against the Turks and in its battles with them spurred on by word and deed the Christian host to victory.[6]

Two more Spanish religious were raised to the altars by Pius VI. The Trinitarian, Michael de Sanctis, was only thirty-four years old when he died in 1625 with the reputation

[1] Novaes, XVI., 2, 41.

[2] Brief of August 18, 1786, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3120, *cf.*, VI., 2, 1745.

[3] Brief of May 13, 1791, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3143, *cf.* 2419.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2033.

[5] Brief of May 19, 1795, *ibid.*, 2772.

[6] Brief of May 23, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1221.

of perfect virtue.[1] Gaspar de Bono had already led a spotless life in the world, as a merchant and a soldier, and he continued this in a more perfect way from the time he entered the Order of St. Francis of Paula until his death in 1604.[2] Some women also were beatified by Pius VI. Two daughters of the Portuguese king, Sancho I. (d. 1211), had already been declared by Clement XI. to be worthy of the veneration of the faithful[3]; through Pius VI. they were joined by a third sister and royal daughter, Mafalda (d. 1257).[4] After her marriage had been declared invalid, Mafalda became a Cistercian. The related Order of Benedictine nuns also received a new Saint by the Papal beatification of Giovanna Maria Bonomo (d. 1670) on June 2nd, 1783.[5] The Augustinian Order claimed Catalina Tomas, who had died at Palma on the island of Mallorca in 1574 and was beatified on August 12th, 1792.[6] Mary of the Incarnation, a Discalced Carmelite who had died in 1618, was declared by the Church to be worthy of veneration on June 5th, 1791.[7] Maria Anna of Jesus (d. 1624), from Madrid, was the founder of a Third Order of Discalced Mercedarian nuns.[8]

All the above were surpassed in noble parentage and ecclesiastical rank by Juan de Ribera, son of the Viceroy of Naples and Archbishop of Valencia, who remained a shining

[1] Brief of May 2, 1779, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 564.

[2] Brief of August 22, 1786, *ibid.*, VI, 3, 3124.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII., 344.

[4] On July 27, 1792, and January 10, 1794, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2544 and 2652; *cf. Acta SS. Maii*, I., 170; *Fortunato de S. Bonaventura*, Coimbra, 1814; *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIX. (1906), 276.

[5] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1224; biography by Fridolin Segmüller (1922).

[6] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2545; canonized June 22, 1930.

[7] Novaes, XVI., 1, 216; Brief of May 24, 1791, in Barruel, *Journal eccl.*, III., September 1791, 3.

[8] Brief of beatification, May 13, 1783, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1210. Extension of the cult to all Spanish countries, *ibid.*, 1362.

example for his clergy until his death in 1611.[1] Another Bishop, Antonio Fatati (d. 1484), who occupied in succession the sees of Siena and Ancona, was honoured in a less solemn manner by the permission to celebrate his Mass.[2]

Similarly, either by the conferment of ecclesiastical honours or by the ratification of a long existing cult, many others were singled out for distinction by Pius VI. Thus several more Franciscans, such as Brother Giles,[3] the founder's companion, Giovanni Buralli of Parma, who was General of the Order from 1247 to 1257 and died in 1289[4], and the able preacher of the Marches, Pietro di Treja (d. 1304).[5] Also Gundisalvo of Lagos, an Augustinian of the fifteenth century,[6] the Servite Giro'amo Ranuzzi (d. 1455),[7] and some others.[8]

The cult of Christ's foster-father, which had shown a marked increase since the fifteenth century, received further encouragement from Pius VI.,[9] as did also that of Our Lady of Sorrows [10] and the Feast of the Rosary.[11] Two Feasts of Our Lord, namely those of the Holy Redeemer and of the Precious Blood, also became more widely known.[12]

Through many of his beatifications Pius VI. showed that he was utterly opposed to the tendency of the age. The aristocratic world of that time was down on its knees before Voltaire and Rousseau, and the Pope was bold enough, as if by way of a challenge, to hold up as models, in opposition to these

[1] Brief of August 30, 1796, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2959. Extension of the cult, *ibid.*, 3041.

[2] Novaes, XVI., 2, 41; "Life" by Giac. Cantalamessa, Ancona, 1851.

[3] Novaes, XVI., 1, 34.

[4] *Cf.* Lemmens in *Buchbergers Kirchl. Handlexikon*, II., 130.

[5] Novaes, XVI., 2, 20.

[6] *Ibid.*, XVI., 1, 34.

[7] *Ibid.*, 19.

[8] *Ibid.*, 23, and XVI., 2, 89; *cf. Anal. Iuris Pont.*, XX., 12.

[9] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 407, 473, VI., 2, 1353, 1424, 1516, 1525, 1724, 1736, 1737, VI., 3, 2152, 2626, 2672.

[10] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 439, VI., 2, 1479, VI., 3, 2771, 2929.

[11] *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1974, 2024, VI., 3, 2318.

[12] *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1778, VI., 3, 2875, 3047.

venerated names, figures clothed in the Franciscan cowl. He said repeatedly in the Briefs of beatification that the increasing worldliness and hedonism of the age made it more than ever necessary for him to call attention to the eternal and world-preserving principles of Christianity, to humility, chastity, and the sacerdotal zeal for souls. He said, for instance, in the Brief on Catalina Tomas [1] that waves of error, revolt, and dissension were beating against the bark of Peter with greater force than ever and were it not for the divine promise that the gates of hell were unable to overcome it, they could not but fear that finally it would be completely swamped. Heresies long since condemned were reappearing and the ideals of Christianity were being dragged in the dust. It was providential, therefore, that an example of chastity should again be held before their eyes. He drew attention to the humility and charity of the simple Capuchin lay-brother, Bernardo of Offida, precisely because of the corruption of the age "in which a proud and self-willed philosophy was ravaging unchecked everywhere." [2] At a time "when many false prophets are approaching us" [3] the Pope held aloft as guiding beacons such great figures as Giovanni Giuseppe of the Cross [4] and Juan Ribera,[5] who despised all the advantages of noble birth for the sake of the Gospel.

It was also under Pius VI. that the discussions about the beatification of Bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza finally came to an end.[6] Under Clement XIII. it had been stated by the Congregation of Rites that in Palafox's writings nothing was to be found that contradicted the rulings of the Church or the teachings of the Church Fathers. The Pope had confirmed this statement,[7] on the strength of which Clement XIV., on September 17th, 1771, had forbidden anyone to raise any

[1] *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2545; *cf.* VI., 2, 1210. [2] *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2772.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, 2038. [5] *Ibid.*, 2959.
[6] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVII., 409 *seqq.*, XXXVIII., 196 *seq.*
[7] Decrees of December 9, 1760, August 27, 1766, and February 21, 1767; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXXII., Préface, p. xxviii.

further objections to Palafox's teaching.[1] On the death of Clement XIV. Moñino had in mind the presentation of a request that the new Pope should follow the example of his predecessor and either undertake the conduct of the cause himself or entrust it to Cardinal Negroni. Pius VI. agreed to the latter suggestion,[2] and on January 28th, 1777, the Congregation of Rites voted, in the presence of the Pope, on the question whether the Bishop of Ossuna had attained the degree of virtue necessary for canonization. The verdict being unfavourable, the cause of beatification was dropped for good and all. From some observations on this session of the Congregation published by Azara we learn that "incalculable sums" were spent on promoting the cause.[3] Azara regretted its failure because Palafox's beatification would have amounted to a justification of the suppression of the Jesuits.[4]

Naturally in the course of the proceedings dealing with the proposed beatification the subjects of discussion included Palafox's hostility towards the Jesuits and his letter of January 8th, 1649, "which bristles with lies and calumnies against the Society." [5] At first the Jesuits disputed the authenticity of the letter, but after 1699 they had admitted it. When Arnauld showed that the original had been handed over by Palafox himself to the Discalced Carmelites in Madrid, Bottari, the *Promotor Fidei*, sent for it and it was delivered to him. Any doubts about the authenticity of the letter were therewith dispelled [6] but it was also a convincing disproof of Palafox's holiness.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Moñino to Grimaldi, April 13, 1775, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 17 (54).

[3] LE BRET, *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Kirchen- u. Staatengeschichte*, VII. (1780), 379.

[4] *Ibid.* [5] SCHRÖDL, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX., 1294.

[6] "Hodie tamen cessat hoc dubium, cum repertum sit originale, manu ipsius Servi Dei subscriptum." The "Promotor Fidei de Sancto Petro" in the cause of beatification, in ARNAULD, *Œuvres, loc. cit.*

[7] Cardinal Calini said in his "votum" that the letter to

(3)

The duty of finding capable assistants in their fight against the spirit of the age which Pius impressed upon the Bishops,[1] devolved upon him too when it came to filling the vacancies in the College of Cardinals.

During his long reign Pius VI. created no less than seventy-five Cardinals,[2] two of whom were appointed *in petto* only and were never made public,[3] and three of the others failed to retain the purple. Vincenzo Maria Altieri and Tommaso Antici renounced their cardinalitial title in 1798 to avoid the molestations of the Roman Republic.[4] The last French Minister of Finance before the Revolution, the quite unworthy Loménie de Brienne, was made a Cardinal on December 15th, 1788, at the persistent demand of Louis XVI. Having taken the oath of loyalty to the civil constitution of the clergy, he accepted the newly created diocese of Yonne instead of his bishopric of Sens and tried to justify his conduct in two letters to the Pope. Pius VI. replied by means of a Brief of February 20th, 1789, to the Abbé Maury, in which he condemned Loménie's behaviour most severely. Loménie thereupon resigned his cardinalate in a letter to Rome of March 26th, and on September 26th, 1791, Pius VI. deprived him of all his dignities.[5] In spite of this the Archbishop was arrested by the revolutionary leaders and when a second order for his arrest was issued he was found dead in his bed.[6]

Of the seventy remaining wearers of the purple thirty-one predeceased the Pope and had thus been appointed in vain as electors in the coming conclave.

Innocent X. showed "Palafoxii in carpenda proximorum fama effrenis malitia, in mendaciis libertas, in conviciis facilitas et obstinatio in sua iniquitate . . ." (Boero, *Osservazioni*, 191.)

[1] See above, p. 332.

[2] Novaes, XVI., 1, 19 *seqq.*

[3] See below, p. 344.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2385–2494.

[5] Novaes, XVI., 1, 175; Weinand in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII².., 135 *seq.*

[6] Novaes, XVI., 2, 130; see our account, XXXVII., 386–7.

Pius had created this imposing number of Cardinals in twenty-three instalments. Four of them were in the first year of his pontificate, 1775. The Grand Penitentiary, Leonardo Antonelli, and Bernardino de' Vecchi received the red hat on April 24th, and on May 29th the same honour was paid to the Pope's uncle, Giancarlo Bandi. On July 17th Francesco Maria Banditi, a Theatine, and Ignazio Boncompagno Ludovisi were nominated *in petto* ; the promulgation followed on November 13th, when the Dominican General, Giovanni Tommaso de Boxadors, also received the purple.[1] Of these six Cardinals only the first-named lived to see the election of Pius VII., whereas De' Vecchi, who was honoured at the same time as he, died before the year was out. The Pope was more fortunate with his nominations in the following year. On April 15th the red hat was conferred on the nuncios to Madrid and Florence, Valenti Gonzaga and Archinto, and on May 20th on the nuncio to Poland, Durini, and Guido Calcagnini ; Valenti (d. 1808) and Calcagnini (d. 1807) were both living when the Pope returned to Rome.[2]

By 1777 fifteen Cardinals were dead. To fill the gaps the Pope decided to create ten more on one day, June 23rd.[3] The most important of them was the Barnabite from Savoy, Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, famous for his philosophical and theological writings. Even while still a student of theology at Bologna he attracted the attention of the Archbishop, Lambertini, who enlisted his aid in the compilation of his work on canonization, and at the age of nineteen he occupied a chair of philosophy at Macerata. Called to Turin in 1740, he became secretary to the Court Academy and tutor to the future King Charles Emmanuel IV., who, when he died in 1819, was a member of the restored Society of Jesus. Gerdil

[1] Novaes, XVI., 1, 19 ; *cf.* the allocution of November 13, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 164. For Boxadors, *cf.* Walz, 283 *seq.* ; *Cenotaphium Leonardi Antonelli card.*, Pisauri, 1825.

[2] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 30. A splendid recognition of Durini's activity in Poland in Janssen, *Zur Genesis*, 117 ; *cf.* our account, vol. XXXVI., 223 *seqq.* ; XXXVIII., 379 *seqq.*

[3] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 34.

was called to Rome by Pius VI., who appointed him consultor to the Holy Office and, after the red hat had been bestowed upon him, Prefect of the Propaganda and member of most of the Congregations. Forced to leave Rome when it was occupied by the French, Gerdil retired to his Abbazia della Chiusa, where he was often in serious want. At the conclave of 1799 there was a prospect of his becoming Pope but his candidature was opposed by Austria. He was, however, able to accompany Pius VII. to Rome, where his most active life came to an end on August 12th, 1802. His philosophical treatises dealt with the questions raised by Locke, Wolf, Malebranche, and Rousseau ; he wrote on moral philosophy, political science, apologetics, and theology, also on mathematics and history. The value of his mathematical writings was acknowledged even by D'Alembert. His observations on the retractation of Febronius were highly praised by Pius VI. in a special Brief of March 3rd, 1793. Gerdil also wrote a refutation of two works which had found fault with Pius VI.'s Brief against Eybel, and another subject of his was the Papal condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia.[1]

Gerdil was first created Cardinal *in petto* on June 23rd, 1777, along with the Camaldolese Andrea Giovannotti, Archbishop of Bologna, the promulgation in both cases taking place on December 15th. Others who were created *in petto* on June 23rd were Altieri and the former nuncio to Florence, Gianantonio Mancinforte Sperelli ; their names were promulgated on December 11th. Besides these four there were two others created *in petto* but their names were never published, so that their identities are still unknown. Four others received the red hat on June 23rd, 1777, only one of whom, Bernardino Honorati, lived to see the beginning of the next pontificate. Of the others, Sperelli died in 1781, Marcantonio Marcolini in

[1] "Life," by PIANTONI, Rome, 1831 ; *cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V², 360 *seqq.* Complete editions of his works : Bologna, 1784 (6 vols.), Rome, 1806 (20 vols.), Naples, 1853 (7 vols.). Further information in the *Anal. Iuris Pont.*, I., Roma, 1855, 480 *seqq.*, 627 *seq.* ; III. (1858), 1107 ; IV. (1860), 1428, 2340.

1782, the Cardinal Deacon Gregorio Salviati in 1794, and Guglielmo Pallotta in 1795.

Up to this point all the newly-created Cardinals, except the Spaniard Boxadors and the Savoyard Gerdil, had been Italians. It was now time for the other nations and Courts to be honoured by the creation of Crown Cardinals. In the honours list of June 1st, 1778,[1] there was not a single compatriot of the Pope's. On this occasion the red hat was bestowed on the Archbishop of Seville (Francis Xavier Delgado), the Patriarch of Lisbon (Ferdinand de Souza), the Archbishop of Rouen (Dominique de la Rochefoucauld de Saint Elpis), the Archbishop of Gran (Joseph von Batthyány, a native of Vienna),[2] also the Piedmontese Tommaso Maria Ghilini, formerly nuncio in Brussels, and Charles Joseph Philip de Martiniana, Bishop of St-Jean de Maurienne. Two more who were created at the same time made a name for themselves, though in very different ways. Louis René de Rohan Guemenée was involved in the notorious necklace affair but redeemed this blunder by his courageous stand against the civil constitution of the clergy. John Henry, Count of Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, acquired his fame in quite a different way. A Silesian from Grossglogau, he was trained at the German College in Rome, and thanks to the confidence placed in him by the Empress Maria Theresa he was made Archbishop of Malines, where he was famous for his victorious fight against Josephism and later for the resistance he offered to the French revolutionaries.[3] It was symptomatic of the disturbed times that many of the above-mentioned Cardinals could not peacefully await their

[1] NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 46. Souza's nomination as Patriarch of Lisbon, on March 1, 1778, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 481 *seqq.*

[2] Pius personally conferred the red hat on him and Cardinal Firmian on April 19, 1782, *Bull. Cont., loc. cit.*, 938. *Cf.* our account, XXXVIII., 447.

[3] Biography by VERHAEGEN, Tournai, 1890; A. THEINER, *Der Kardinal J. H. Graf von Frankenberg*, Freiburg, 1850; STREBER, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV².. 1699 *seqq.*; STEINHUBER, II².. 315 *seq.*

deaths in their episcopal cities. The Frenchman De la Rochefoucauld died in exile at Münster in 1800, his compatriot Rohan at Ettenheim in 1803, and Frankenberg at Breda in 1804.

Franz Herzan und Harras, who received his red hat on July 12th, 1779, was a pupil of the German College, like Frankenberg, but his activity was of a very different kind. Appointed *chargé d'affaires* in Rome in 1775 and ambassador in 1782, he collaborated wholeheartedly with Kaunitz.[1] Alessandro Mattei,[2] who was well known as an excellent prelate, was made a Cardinal at the same time as Herzan but his name was not promulgated till May 22nd, 1782, when the Pope was in Ferrara, where Mattei was Archbishop. He was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri when he died in 1820.[3]

There were no more cardinalitial nominations of major importance till 1785. Some isolated nominations were made on December 11th, 1780, when Paolo Francesco Antamori was thus honoured and Mancinforte and Altieri were promulgated; also on December 16th, 1782, when the honour was conferred on the Theatine Giuseppe Capece Zurlo, Archbishop of Naples, and Raniero Finocchietti of Pisa, whose name, however, was not made known till December 17th, 1787. One new Cardinal of distinct importance was Giovanni Andrea Archetti, nuncio to Poland and legate to Russia, whose services were thus rewarded on September 20th, 1784.[4]

Meanwhile, however, death had caused so many gaps in the Sacred College that fresh nominations on a large scale became inevitable. On February 4th, 1785, fourteen new wearers of the purple were chosen.[5] Five of them had been nuncios: Giuseppe Garampi in Vienna, Giuseppe Doria Pamfili and Niccolò Colonna di Stigliano in Madrid, Vincenzo Ranucci and

[1] S. Brunner, *Theologische Dienerschaft*, 1 *seqq.*; Steinhuber, II², 308; Wurzbach, IX., 364.

[2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 923.

[3] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, 51, 59, 100, 121. *Cf.* above, pp. 165 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 131. Garampi's simple but dignified monument is in S. Giovanni e Paolo.

Carlo Bellisomi in Lisbon. Among the fourteen was the Pope's successor, the Benedictine Barnaba Chiaramonti, but when he was elected Pope only two of the five nuncios just mentioned were still alive—Ranucci and Doria—and of the eight others who were made Cardinals at the same time only three lived to see Chiaramonti's election: Muzio Gallo (d. 1801) and the two Cardinal Deacons Carlo Livizzani and Giuseppe Doria's brother, Antonio Maria Doria Pamfili. All the other five had predeceased them: Paolo Massei, Giovanni di Gregorio, Giovanni Maria Riminaldi, Francesco Carvaria, and the Cardinal Deacon Ferdinando Maria Spinelli.

In the course of the next three years the cardinalate was conferred on the Pope's nephew, Romoaldo Braschi Onesti (December 18th, 1786), Filippo Garandini (January 29th, 1787), José Francisco de Mendoza (April 7th, 1788), who was entitled to the honour in virtue of his appointment to the Patriarchate of Lisbon,[1] and Loménie de Brienne (May 5th, 1788).[2]

At the nomination of March 10th, 1789, some more non-Italians were appointed.[3] Antonio de Sentmanat y Cartella was a Spaniard; Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico and then of Toledo, was born in Lyons but his parentage was Spanish. Germany received a Cardinal in the person of Joseph Franz von Paula von Auersperg, Bishop of Passau, France in that of Louis Joseph de Laval Montmorency, Bishop of Metz, who died in Altona, an exile from France, in 1808. To these four foreigners Pius VI. joined five more of his compatriots. One of them, Stefano Borgia, made a name for himself as an expert in historical research and archæology. Governor of Benevento and Secretary of the Propaganda from 1770 to 1789, he was "distinguished for his character as much as his knowledge".[4] Driven from Rome along with Pius VI.,

[1] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 160, 165, 175.

[2] See above, p. 342.

[3] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 188.

[4] Von Reumont, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, 11^2., 1122. The archaeologist Zoëga looked on him as "a second father". *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XLV., 390 *seqq.*, 392. *Cf.* above, p. 52.

he returned with Pius VII. He died at Lyons in 1804 when accompanying the latter to Paris. The Borgia Museum in the Propaganda still commemorates his name.[1] Important men in their day were the former nuncio to Brussels, Ignacio Busca, and the Archbishop of Turin, Vittore Maria Baldassare Gaetano Costa d'Arignano. Tommaso Antici, who resigned the purple in 1798, had been the Polish ambassador to Rome and was wanted as Cardinal by the Polish king. Filippo Campanelli long enjoyed the confidence of Pius VI., who raised him to the rank of Cardinal Deacon. To these names the Pope would gladly have added that of Lodovico Flangini, the Patriarch of Venice, but the Republic was unwilling to provide the means that the dignity of a Cardinal demanded. Nevertheless, Flangini did receive the red hat on August 3rd, 1789. He had been married and did not embark on an ecclesiastical career until after his wife had died. At first Cardinal Deacon, then Cardinal Priest, he rose to the highest rank in his native city.[2]

Only one Cardinal was created on September 26th, 1791, and again on June 11th, 1792,[3] but both bore illustrious names. Fabrizio Ruffo, nephew of the elder Cardinal Ruffo, was appointed by Pius VI. in 1791 in place of the deposed Loménie de Brienne [4] and as a mark of gratitude towards the uncle, whose benevolence Pius had enjoyed in his youth. The nomination, however, was not promulgated till February 21st, 1794. This most capable man became Treasurer-General of the Camera, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John, Prefect of the Congregation for Water Supply and the Pontine Marshes, and superintendent of Rome's food supply. After the establishment of the Parthenopean Republic by the French, Ruffo, now practically destitute, left Rome for Calabria, incited the

[1] Moroni, *Diz.*, VI., 52 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, *loc. cit.*; *Notizie biografiche* about him, Modena, 1830.

[2] Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 190.

[3] *Ibid.*, 217.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2394.

people to make war on the French, and overthrew the Republic.[1]

Important services were also rendered by Giovanni Caprara, nuncio in Cologne and Lucerne, and Papal legate to Vienna in 1785, where at least he managed to prevent an open breach between the emperor and the Pope. His appointment as Cardinal on June 18th, 1792, was a reward for his past services, which were even greater under Pius VII., in the negotiations with Napoleon on the Concordat. It was he, too, who enabled Pius VI.'s corpse to be brought back to Rome.[2]

The last occasion on which the Senate of the Church was reinforced to any great extent by Pius VI. was in 1794.[3] Of the eight who were chosen on February 21st seven were nobles from various towns in Italy. Antonio Dugnani, formerly nuncio in Paris, came from Milan ; Vincenti Mareri from Rea ; Giambattista Bussi from Urbino ; Francesco Maria Pignatelli from Naples ; Aurelio Roverella from Ferrara ; Giovanni Rinuccini from Florence ; and Filippo Lancellotti, a member of the princely di Lauro family, from Rome. The last-named died in the same year in which he was appointed. Along with these well-born gentlemen appears the son of a poor cobbler from the Venaissin who outshone them with his intellectual gifts : Jean Siffrein Maury. Maury first distinguished himself as a preacher, his most brilliant sermon being a panegyric of St. Vincent de Paul, which he had to repeat for the benefit of Louis XVI. He then became a historical figure through his activity in the National Assembly, where his influence rivalled that of Mirabeau. Pius VI. invited him to Rome, created him Cardinal *in petto* on September 26th, 1791, handed him in person the episcopal ring and pectoral cross at his consecration

[1] Von Helfert, *Fabrizio Russo, Revolution und Gegenrevolution in Neapel, November 1798 bis August 1799*, Vienna, 1882 ; Weiss, *Weltgesch.*, XX[4]., 151 *seqq.* ; A. D. Sacchinelli, *Memorie storiche* (about his life), Naples, 1876.

[2] F. Werner, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II[2]., 1924 *seq.* ; Novaes, *loc. cit.*, 232.

[3] Novaes, XVI., 2, 32.

as titular Archbishop of Nicaea, and sent him as nuncio extraordinary to the coronation of Emperor Francis II. at Frankfurt. On his return his cardinalate was promulgated and he was appointed Bishop of Montefiascone. Under Pius VII. Maury's behaviour was not so laudable. He supported Napoleon and accepted from him the Archbishopric of Paris. In the end he was pardoned by the Pope and died in Rome on May 11th, 1817.[1]

The long series of cardinalitial nominations under Pius VI. ended on June 1st, 1795, with that of Giulio Maria della Somaglia, who was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri when he died on April 2nd, 1830.[2]

(4)

Under Pius VI. a number of new bishoprics were erected, mostly in Austrian territory. Maria Theresa proposed to make certain alterations in the ecclesiastical administration of Moravia, and on June 16th, 1773, Clement XIV. forbade [3] the cathedral chapter of Olmütz to elect a successor to the reigning Bishop.[4] Nevertheless, when the Bishop died on October 31st, 1776, Pius VI. restored its electoral right to the chapter, and on November 3rd he promoted the Bishop-elect to Archbishop,[5] to whom the only suffragan see, that of Brünn, erected as a bishopric on December 5th, 1777,[6] was subordinated.[7] The

[1] *Œuvres choisies du card. Maury*, Paris, 1827; HERGENRÖTHER, *Maury*, Würzburg, 1878; RICARD, *L'abbé Maury 1746–1791*; *id.*, *Correspondance diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du card. Maury 1792–1817*, Paris and Lille, 1891.

[2] NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 42.

[3] For reasons unknown. WOLNÝ, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren*. I. Abt., Bd. I., Brünn, 1855, 111.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, V., 596.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 429.

[6] GAMS, *Series*, 266.

[7] The project of erecting a suffragan bishopric of Troppau was never realized. WOLNÝ, *loc. cit.*, 112.

archdiocese of Gran, in Hungary, was also too extensive, and in 1776, at Maria Theresa's desire, the bishoprics of Neusohl, Zips, and Rosenau were separated from it.[1] In the following year, also at the empress's instigation, there were set up in Hungary the dioceses of Steinamanger and Stuhlweissenburg and, for the Catholics of the Greek rite, the bishopric of Kreutz.[2] In 1780 conditions in the orphaned diocese of Grosswardein were restored to order.[3]

Under Joseph II. drastic changes were made in the diocesan partition of the empire. In 1784 the bishopric of Linz was brought into being by an arbitrary act of the emperor. The diocese of Passau, to which most of the Linz district belonged, was admittedly too extensive, stretching as it did from the Isar to the Hungarian frontier. On the death of the Bishop of Passau, Cardinal Firmian, on March 13th, 1783, Joseph II., without even consulting Rome, nominated the Jansenist-minded Count Ernst von Herberstein as Bishop of Linz, whose episcopal authority was to extend over the whole of Upper Austria. To keep the peace the Pope had no option but to sanction the imperial edict, which he did on January 28th, 1785.[4] This was followed almost immediately by the erection of the bishopric of Budweis. Originally all Bohemia was under the rule of a single Bishop, that of Prague. Consequently, Emperor Ferdinand II. had considered the erection of four suffragan bishoprics, Budweis, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, and Königgrätz. But only in the two latter places had bishoprics been founded, in 1655 and 1664. Now, at Joseph II.'s instigation, Pius VI. gave the archdiocese of Prague a third suffragan

[1] All erected by Bulls of March 13, 1776, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 205 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*

[2] By Bulls of July 16, 1777, *ibid.*, 348 *seqq.*, 351 *seqq.*, 355 *seqq.* *Cf.* Géfin Gyula, *A szombathelyi egyházmegye történek*, Szombathely (Steinamanger), 1929.

[3] Bull of August 8, 1780, *ibid.*, 705.

[4] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1328–1337. The Bull is dated "Annus Incarnationis 1784", i.e. "Annus Nativitatis 1785". *Cf.* Hiptmair, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII².., 2078.

diocese by establishing that of Budweis on September 27th, 1785.[1] The excessive size of the old bishopric of Passau was also the reason for the imperial decision to establish a new bishopric at St. Pölten, in addition to that of Linz. At the same time the bishopric of Wiener-Neustadt, that hardly extended beyond the boundaries of the place, was abolished. The first Bishop of St. Pölten was the former Jesuit, Kerens, who until then had been Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt; he was succeeded by another ex-Jesuit, Count von Hohenwart, who was afterwards Archbishop of Vienna. The imperial edict was approved by the Pope on January 28th, 1785.[2] In Galicia, at Joseph II.'s instigation, the bishopric of Tarnow was created, separate from Cracow.[3] Joseph II.'s arbitrary interference in ecclesiastical affairs, which was blatantly conspicuous in the history of the foundation of these bishoprics, also led him to contest the hitherto undisputed right of the Pope to nominate the holders of the Lombard sees.[4]

Benedict XIV. had tried to remove the difficulties caused by the former patriarchate of Aquileia by dividing it into the German archbishopric of Gorizia and the Italian one of Udine.[5] But now Joseph II. wanted Gorizia to be suppressed and Laibach elevated to a metropolitan see, while the bishopric of Gradisca was to take the place of the archbishopric of Gorizia. Pius VI. did what he wanted, but in 1791, at Leopold II.'s request, the episcopal see was moved back again to Gorizia.[6] The diocese of Trieste, which had also been suppressed in 1788,

[1] *Bull. Cont., loc. cit.*, 1517–1524.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1322–8. This Bull also is dated from the year of the Incarnation. *Cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X², 111, XII²., 1567; A. Kerschbaumer, *Gesch. von St. Pölten*, I. (1875), 642, II. (1876), 151.

[3] On March 11, 1785, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1465 *seqq.*

[4] Exhortation to the emperor, of December 15, 1781, *ibid.*, 888.

[5] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVI., 98.

[6] Erection of Laibach on March 8, 1788, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1891–1901; of Gradisca on August 20, 1788, *ibid.*, 1976; removal back to Gorizia on September 12, 1791, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2363.

was likewise revived at the imperial desire on September 16th, 1791.[1]

On German soil the bishopric of Corvey, which was to have but a brief existence, was founded by Pius VI. Disputes had been going on for a long time between the Bishop of Paderborn and the Abbot of the famous monastery on the question whether the abbey's exemption applied also to its vicinity. The Pope had given his approval to a settlement between the two parties on November 24th, 1779,[2] and on April 23rd, 1792, he raised Corvey to a bishopric.[3]

In Italy, too, some changes in the diocesan arrangement had become desirable [4]; also in Spain [5] and Poland.[6] Lorraine received the two new bishoprics of Nancy and Saint-Dié,[7] Savoy that of Chambéry.[8]

[1] *Ibid.*, 2366–2374. [2] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 626 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2511–2522. For the proposal made in 1783 to erect a bishopric in Munich, *v.* STEINBERGER in the "Festgabe H. Grauert", Freiburg, 1910, 343–353.

[4] Carpi became a bishopric on December 1, 1779 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 632), Pontremoli on July 4, 1797 (*ibid.*, VI., 3, 3011), Camerino an archbishopric on December 17, 1787 (*ibid.*, VI., 2, 1876); Fabriano, already separated from Camerino, was joined to Matelica on July 8, 1785 (*ibid.*, 1484; GAMS, *Series*, 680, 704); the separation of Cagliari from Galtellina was annulled on June 21, 1779 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 593); Malta became an archbishopric on March 3, 1797, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2993. The archbishoprics of Palermo and Monreale were joined together by a Bull of July 7, 1775 (*ibid.*, 123 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 275 *seqq.*; GAMS, *loc. cit.*, 951 *seqq.*).

[5] Erection of the bishopric of Tudela on March 27, 1783 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1188 to 1198), of Minorca on July 23, 1795 (*ibid.*, VI., 3, 2851–2860), of Ibiza on April 30, 1782 (*ibid.*, VI., 1, 963–970).

[6] Erection of the bishopric of Warsaw on December 15, 1789 (*v.* GAMS, *loc. cit.*, 360), of Suprazl on March 4, 1798 (*ibid.*, 354), of Minsk on August 9, 1798 (*ibid.*, 361). For Mohilev, see above, pp. 165 *seqq.*

[7] Bull for Nancy on December 13, 1777, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 443–464, for St-Dié on July 21, 1777, *ibid.*, 375–393.

[8] On August 18, 1779, *ibid.*, 606–612; GAMS, 828.

Still more pressing demands were met by the foundation of sees in America: Linares, in the Mexican province of Jalisco,[1] Sonora,[2] Habana,[3] Guayana,[4] Cuenca, in Ecuador,[5] Mérida de Maracaibo, in Venezuela,[6] and Pius VI.'s most important foundation in the New World, the bishopric of Baltimore.[7]

Apart from Baltimore, proposals for the erection of new sees all came from secular rulers, as also the suggestions for the diminution of feast-days. A beginning had already been made under Benedict XIV.[8] with the restriction of their excessive number, and this was continued under Pius VI. in the most varied localities. Briefs in this sense were sent to the Uniat Greek Bishops of Austria,[9] to many Latin Bishops of Poland,[10] to several Bishops of Spain,[11] Portugal,[12] and Italy[13]; also to Lausanne,[14] and to Goa,[15] in India, and Bahia,[16] in Brazil. Some German localities received similar concessions.[17]

(5)

The storm which beat against the religious Orders in France had arisen in the time of Clement XIII., and it was soon to

[1] On December 15, 1777, *Bull. Cont.*, *loc. cit.*, 464–473.
[2] On May 7, 1779, *ibid.*, 566.
[3] On September 10, 1787; GAMS, 152.
[4] 1790, *ibid.*, 151.
[5] On July 1, 1786, *ibid.*, 147.
[6] On February 17, 1777, *ibid.*, 156.
[7] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3131; *cf.* below, pp. 418 *seqq.*
[8] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 323.
[9] On April 8, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 43, *cf.* 42.
[10] *Ibid.*, 65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 87, 242.
[11] *Ibid.*, 41; VI., 2, 1317, 1475, 1760, 1888, 1905.
[12] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 949, 975, 981, 1076; VI., 2, 1201, 1456, 1666.
[13] *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1312, 1318, 1341, 1710; *cf.* VI., 1, 808; VI., 3, 2158.
[14] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 671.
[15] *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1742.
[16] *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2283.
[17] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 680, 901, 950.

destroy them completely. A presage of their final ruin was the Government's demand that the various associations should give themselves new constitutions.[1] Under Pius VI., too, several Orders received the Papal permission to proceed with the drafting of such constitutions; thus, the Discalced Carmelites,[2] the Capuchins,[3] who had already decided on the new drafting of their laws on May 1st, 1771,[4] and the Cluniacs.[5] The French Celestines had undoubtedly decayed and had been pronounced incapable of improvement even by the Papal authority; consequently a number of French Bishops received Briefs from Pius VI. permitting them to dissolve the various houses of the Order.[6] The venerable Benedictine Congregation of Cluny, which had been the stronghold of reform at the time of the investiture controversy, was also dissolved at the order of the Pope.[7] To populate its thirty-eight monasteries in France it had only about two hundred religious. The buildings had fallen into disrepair, and the revenues were scanty.[8] One flourishing branch, however, that of the Strict Observance, was allowed to continue.[9] The famous Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur had also been severely injured by Jansenism and internal dissension, wherefore the Pope ordered an extraordinary General Chapter to be held,[10] in the hope that this would restore religious discipline. The Knights Hospitallers of St. Antony, 222 of whom were distributed over

[1] *Cf.* our account, XXXVII., 386 *seqq.*

[2] On March 15, 1776, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 216.

[3] On August 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 288.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] On May 15, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2055–2085.

[6] Briefs for Orleans and Limoges, of May 22, 1776, for Clermont, of January 8, 1777, for Soissons, of February 1, 1780, for Paris, of November 10, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 239, 241, 306, 645; VI., 3, 2025.

[7] On July 4, 1788, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1921 *seqq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 2, 1922.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3, 1922.

[10] On March 27, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 1824.

thirty-one establishments, were joined to the Knights of Malta, which union was the cause of much subsequent dissension.[1]

The condition of the Orders in Austria, Tuscany, and Naples was no less lamentable than in France.[2] Charles Emmanuel IV. of Sardinia was prominent among the Italian rulers in making serious attempts, immediately after ascending the throne in 1796, to effect a real improvement in the life of the religious in his realm. On July 18 [3] the Pope empowered him to have the Bishops suppress convents with less than eight inmates. In the following year the king received permission to effect the suppression, through the Bishops, of thirteen monastic houses at once.[4] Charles Emmanuel's predecessor, Victor Amadeus, had also received Papal authority to reform houses which had decayed [5]; several of them had only five or six inmates, some as few as two. After their suppression their revenues were to be applied to seminaries and other good purposes. One of the Briefs dealing with this business throws an interesting light on conditions in the Mediterranean at this time. It was ruled that the revenues of two Hieronymite convents in Sardinia that had been suppressed were to be placed at the disposal of the king, who was to use them to protect the island against the pirates from the Barbary States. The island and the whole Mediterranean coast, it was said in the Papal authorization,[6] was

[1] Briefs of December 17, 1776, and May 9, 1777, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 299 *seqq.*, 326 *seqq.*; MASSON, 417 *seq.*

[2] See above, pp. 111 *seqq.*, 127 *seqq.*

[3] Mentioned in the Brief of February 9, 1797, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2986.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Briefs of September 14, 1787, September 12, 1788, and April 3, 1792, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1860, 2002; VI., 3, 2496.

[6] Of February 1, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 906 *seq.* Another Brief, of April 10, 1775, authorized the Bishop of Mazzara, in Sicily, to empower ordinary priests on the islands of Pantellaria and Favignana, which lay within his diocese, to administer confirmation, as the Bishop himself dared not visit the islands owing to the insecurity of the sea-passage. *Loc. cit.*, VI., 1, 51.

daily molested and marauded by the Berbers; trade and importation had been brought to a stop, the merchantmen, with their cargoes and crews, fell into the hands of the infidel, and on the approach of the pirates the inhabitants had to take to flight and abandon everything.

In Portugal, after Pombal's fall from power, the religious orders seemed to be taking on a new lease of life. In quite a number of cases the Pope confirmed the new constitutions they had given themselves. They included the Carmelites,[1] the Augustinian Canons of the Congregation of Coimbra,[2] the Portuguese Congregation of the Hermit Paul,[3] which received many privileges from Pius VI.,[4] and the Franciscan Congregation of the Third Order,[5] which, like the Portuguese branch of the Congregation of St. Camillus de Lellis,[6] was separated from the rest of the Order and became autonomous. This came about as the result of requests made by the queen or the Government, who had not yet freed themselves from Pombal's ideas.

The same fate was prepared for the Order of St. Camillus by Charles III. of Spain. At his instigation all the establishments on Spanish soil, whether at home or abroad, were freed from obedience to the General, because he was a foreigner.[7] In accordance with the royal desire, the two Carthusian monasteries in Spain were withdrawn from the control of the General, who resided in Grenoble.[8] Every six years, at the General Chapter, the Augustinian Hermits had to elect a Vicar-General, who was to maintain religious discipline on Spanish territory at home and beyond the seas.[9] The king also urged

[1] On March 7, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1083–1168.
[2] On June 18, 1783, *ibid.*, 1227–1297.
[3] On November 16, 1781, *ibid.*, 841–885.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 903, 984; VI., 2, 1337, 1349, 1435.
[5] On February 29, 1780, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 651; *cf.* 1717.
[6] On May 20, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1219.
[7] On January 29, 1793, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2577.
[8] Brief of March 10, 1774, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1346; *cf.* VI., 3, 2955.
[9] Brief of May 19, 1786, *ibid.*, 1711.

the reform of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites, who were given new constitutions.[1]

In Poland a new Province of the Trinitarians was created.[2]

Pius VI.'s ordinances, especially in the case of Sardinia, show that he was glad to co-operate with the secular power when it was able to participate in effecting genuine reform in the life of the religious. The newly founded Congregations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were in no need of reform, he encouraged by showing them marks of favour. The Passionists, founded by Paul of the Cross, had found it necessary to alter some of their constitutions, including those which were over-strict ; these alterations the Pope confirmed.[3] The Redemptorists, whose Institute had gone through hard times during his pontificate through the fault of the Neapolitan Government,[4] were confirmed in their privileges.[5] An ordinance issued for the Lazarists [6] is symptomatic of the times : authority to control the whole Congregation is transferred to the Superior of the Paris Province, since the proper General, John Felix Cayla, had to fly before the revolutionaries and it was not known if he was still alive. New constitutions were given by Pius to the Scalzetti,[7] who had been founded under Benedict XIV.[8], also to the Polish Congregation of the Immaculate Conception,[9] which had been founded by Stanislaus Papozynski in 1670 for the purpose of teaching and to help with the cure of souls. To the Congregation of " Pious

[1] On March 14, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1567–1666 ; *cf.* Brief of March 13, 1784, *ibid.*, 1348.

[2] Brief of May 26, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 970.

[3] On October 17, 1775, and March 11, 1785, *ibid.*, 101, VI., 2, 1464, *cf.* 1501 ; LEHNERD, *Paul vom Kreuz*, Innsbruck, 1926, 117.

[4] See below, pp. 371 *seqq.*

[5] On August 21, 1789, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2111.

[6] On June 25, 1793, *ibid.*, 2638. Privileges for the Lazarists, *ibid.*, 2551.

[7] On May 21, 1784, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1365–1380.

[8] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 311.

[9] On March 27, 1787, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1782–1795.

Women Teachers" (*Pie Maestre*) he transferred[1] the properties of two confraternities which had been suppressed. He prescribed[2] new constitutions for a society tending poor sick women and orphaned girls at Cività Vecchia, founded by the Dominican Giacinto Bambocci (d. 1768). A similar society at Ascoli, in Piceno, founded in 1744, received the Papal approval of its organization.[3] The Carthusians received Papal commendation on still retaining their original strictness.[4] The statutes of two Franciscan "Ritiri", where a particularly strict life was led, were ratified by Pius VI.[5]

(6)

In France, as the century advanced, there gradually approached its end the heretical movement that for a century and a half had been the most dangerous threat to the inner life of the Church and which had provoked more Papal edicts than any other doctrinal innovation. At its first appearance Jansenism had filled Vincent de Paul with the worst fears. Just as Protestantism, he said, had torn away one-half of Christendom from the Church, so this new heresy would destroy the other half within a hundred years.[6] These gloomy forebodings did not come true. Often as the alliance between the ecclesiastical and civil power against this faction was impaired by Gallicanism, their combined efforts finally succeeded to a great extent in mastering the movement. Since the middle of the century there had hardly been a single Bishop that adhered to it,[7] though several prelates, such as Montazet of Lyons and Fitzjames of Soissons, viewed it with favour.[8] And since Alexander VII.'s formulary had again been presented

[1] On August 13, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 983.
[2] On June 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 256–269.
[3] On December 6, 1777, *ibid.*, 440 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2886.
[5] On March 18, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1169.
[6] Letter of August 31, 1646, *Œuvres*, ed. Coste, III., 35.
[7] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV., 254 *seq.*
[8] PRÉCLIN, 304.

for signature to every candidate for the priesthood,[1] Jansenistic priests were scarcely possible. From now on the mainstays of the party had taken only minor vows—Mésenguy, the "second Quesnel", was only an acolyte—or they were plain laymen, such as parliamentary councillors or magistrates.[2] Supporters of the dying sect were still found in greatest numbers in Lyons, Soissons, and Paris.[3]

The Jansenist Church in Holland demanded the attention of Pius VI. when Bishop Van Stiphout of Haarlem died in 1777 and shortly afterwards Bishop Byeveld, of Deventer, followed him to the grave. Naturally, their sees were filled again, which compelled the Pope to utter the usual protests.[4]

Meanwhile, the number of the Dutch Jansenists had considerably dwindled. In 1763, when publishing various pieces of evidence in favour of the Jansenist Church, Archbishop Meindaerts had to complain in his introductory pastoral letter of July 25th of the falling away of many former supporters.[5] Bishop Byeveld, of Deventer, had neither clergy nor parishes and lived with a cleric in the Beguinage at Rotterdam.[6] The consecration of his successor was performed without ceremony.[7] In 1779 the bishoprics of Utrecht and Haarlem together contained thirty-six parishes, with about 6,000 parishioners, as

[1] *Ibid.*, 303. *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV, 53 *seq.*, 413. Again in 1765 the assembly of the clergy renewed its demand that the formulary be signed. LAVISSE, IX., 160.

[2] PRÉCLIN, 305.

[3] *Ibid.*, 304.

[4] Brief of July 22, 1778, against Broeckman's election to Haarlem, in MOZZI, III., 203 *seqq.*; against his consecration on August 5, 1778, *ibid.*, 208 *seqq.*; Brief of January 18, 1779, against the election and consecration of Nicholas Nelleman as the Bishop of Deventer, *ibid.*, 212 *seqq.*

[5] *Recueil des témoignages*, preface.

[6] MOZZI, II., 457.

[7] "Quam tamen (consecrationem) non illo quo Haarlemensem apparatu, sed privata clandestinaque caerimonia, tanquam ob suam ipse insolentiam erubesceret, est executus." Pius VI. on January 18, 1779, in MOZZI, III., 214.

compared to the 340 parishes and 800 clerics of the Catholics in communion with Rome. In the city of Utrecht alone there were more of the latter than the total number of Jansenists. And these figures refer only to the Seven Provinces; there were also the Dutch Catholics subject to the Bishops of Roermond, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, and the Vicar Apostolic of 's Hertogenbosch.[1]

In France the sect was still in control of very large funds. The famous Pierre Nicole, who had died in 1695, had bequeathed 40,000 *livres* for Jansenistic purposes. The party funds, known as the *Boîte à Perrette*, were administered by Des Filletières, acting as trustee. When he died on October 4th, 1778, and his relatives, headed by President Rolland, contested his will, it became public knowledge that the fund had been increased by bequests and donations to over a million *livres*. This explains how the party was able not only to maintain its periodical, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, and to distribute a mass of pamphlets free of charge, but also to publish copious records of its history. When the case was heard, Rolland admitted that he was a bitter enemy of the Jesuits and that they would never have been suppressed had he not sacrificed his time, his health, and his money to this object. The Jesuit business had cost him more than 60,000 *livres*.[2]

The activities of the Jansenist "convulsionaries" went on into the nineteenth century.[3]

Though the number of Jansenists in France had greatly diminished, the results of their activity had not yet disappeared. The destruction of the Society of Jesus had been due in large part to the literary campaign launched against it by the party. The practical elimination of Papal authority by the civil constitution of the clergy, the revolt of the priests against their Bishops, and of the laity against the clergy, all originated

[1] Mozzi, II., 460 *seq.* For the state of the "Oud Bisschoppelijk Klerezij" in modern times, *cf.* A. Malet in *Études*, CX. (1907), 241–272.

[2] Picot, V., 65–70.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV., 65 *seq.*

in the Jansenist theories of ecclesiastical authority.[1] With a few exceptions the Bishops opposed the party ; consequently, it tried to prove that it had no real need of them. In 1676 Jacques Boileau, the poet's brother, made the assertion that during his life on earth Christ had given the seventy-two disciples the same authority as he had given the twelve apostles, and that according to the Church Fathers the Church was to be governed jointly by Bishops and priests.[2] Quesnel accorded validity to excommunication only when it was pronounced with at least the presumed assent of the whole Church. This assent was also required for the election of the Bishops and the ratification of doctrinal decisions.[3]

[1] " L'activité des adversaires de la Bulle *Unigenitus*, manifestée par les développements successifs de la pensée richériste, a beaucoup contribué à la préparation, tant lointaine que prochaine, de la Constitution Civile. Les mémoires écrits lors de l'affaire des Bulles de 1718, le rétablissement en 1724 de l'archevêché d'Utrecht, les doctrines élaborées par les Jansénistes vers 1755, les canons des conciles d'Utrecht et de Pistoie, les conclusions du Code curial sont autant d'ébauches du rapport Martineau. Tous visent à affaiblir l'épiscopat, à régénérer le sacerdoce. A la première, à la troisième, à la cinquième de ces tentatives, la Constitution Civile a emprunté l'idée d'une dénonciation unilaterale du Concordat de 1516 et de l'édit de 1695. A l'école des canonistes audacieux de 1744, de 1755 et de 1780, elle a quelque peu confondu l'approbation et la jurisdiction. Elle n'en rejette pas moins l'idée cardinale, continuellement proclamée, du richérisme de tout le siècle : le droit pour le bas-clergé de participer au gouvernement de l'Église par le moyen des Synodes." PRÉCLIN, 489. *Cf.* LAVISSE, IX., 160 : " Ainsi le jansénisme inspirera aux Constituants de 1791 l'idée d'une organisation ecclésiastique conforme, pensaient-ils, à celle de l'Église primitive. La Constitution Civile du Clergé sera une sorte de revanche de la Constitution *Unigenitus*." *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXIV. (1889), 469 *seqq.*, 558 *seqq.*, 639 *seqq.*, 703 *seqq.*

[2] PRÉCLIN, 22 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 26 *seq.* PRÉCLIN (p. 27) : " Le livre de Quesnel a, dans le développement du richérisme, la même importance que pour celui de la doctrine janséniste de la grâce." *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII., 199.

As time went on the supposed rights of the lower ranks of the clergy were defended by more and more Jansenist writers. One of the grounds on which the Bull against Quesnel was contested was that the truth of a dogma could only be proved by the unanimous testimony of the faithful, that the Bishops could not judge of the truth of a dogma independently of the testimony of the faithful, and that even the decisions of the General Councils had no binding power without the subsequent assent of the faithful.[1] In 1716 Nicolas le Gros, professor of theology at Rheims, announced that the Constitution *Unigenitus* had no validity, as the Bishops could not reconcile it with the faith of their Church.[2] The famous preacher Massillon complained that the most difficult points of dogma were being discussed by women and illiterates. Irreligion was thus being furthered ; for simple folk it was only a short step from discussion to doubt, and from doubt to disbelief.[3] The next assertion to be made was that ordinary priests could hear confessions without obtaining faculties from the Bishop.[4] One fact cited in support of the new ideas was that from very early times the Bishops had been called the "witnesses" to the truth of the various dogmas. According to the Catholic view, this meant that ordinary layfolk had no need to convince themselves of these truths by personal investigation but that in this respect they must rely on the unanimous word of the Bishops. The Jansenists, however, interpreted the expression differently. When matters of faith were in question the Bishops were only "witnesses" in so far as they had to ascertain and express what was generally believed in their dioceses. Dogma consisted of everything that was professed by the faithful as a whole.[5] The Bishops had really nothing else to do but count the votes.[6] The appeal

[1] Vivien de la Borde, *Témoignage de la Vérité*, 1714. *Cf.* Préclin, 41.

[2] Préclin, 60.

[3] *Ibid.*, 105.

[4] *Ibid.*, 153, 223.

[5] *Ibid.*, 43.

[6] *Ibid.*, 68.

from the Pope to a General Council was an application of these principles, but at the same time it is clear that those that would appeal to a General Council would only have recognized as such a Council in which the ordinary priests were entitled to vote.[1] It was significant that the Jansenist Church organ, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, maintained that the parish priests were the successors of the seventy-two disciples and that their mission came direct from Christ.[2]

(7)

While Jansenism was nearing its end in France, in Italy it had been waxing in the pontificate of Benedict XIV.[3] Ricci's aims in Tuscany, the Council of Pistoia, and its condemnation by Pius VI., are palpable evidence of this.[4] Alphonsus de' Liguori wrote in 1772 [5] that youth was being taught that it must follow Jansen and Quesnel, that no one went to confession any more in Naples or was listening to sermons, but that everyone was discussing problems of dogma and morals. Related to the Jansenist movement was rigorism, the exaggeration of moral demands by certain moral theologians who represented as a universal duty what can only be a matter of higher perfection. Not all rigorists are Jansenists, but the growth of this excessive strictness had its roots in Jansenistic ways of thinking, and it was not till Jansenism grew strong that rigorism was of any consequence in Italy. Already in the time of Benedict XIV. moral theology was being taught in the Propaganda according to the textbooks of the Jesuit Antoine, who was designated a rigorist by Alphonsus de' Liguori.[6] The brothers Ballerini, the famous editors of the

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII., 236, 257, 263 *seq.*, 276, 287, *et al.*

[2] PRÉCLIN, 137.

[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 381 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf.* above, pp. 127 *seqq.*

[5] DILGSKRON, II., 249.

[6] "Recentior inter rigidos auctores." *Theol. mor.*, lib. V., n. 610 (2ª sententia).

works of St. Leo, were also representatives of the strict way of thinking.

A controversy between Dominicans and Jesuits on the question of probabilism, which lasted for several decades, arose in 1727 as the result of a difference of opinion about the lawfulness of mental reservation.[1] The foremost champion on the Dominican side was Daniel Concina.[2] An irreproachable religious, Concina had at first devoted himself to preaching; he then took to the pen and produced in rapid succession forty works, which, however, needed elaboration. Moreover, this "talented and industrious writer"[3] allowed himself to be spurred on by his admirers to launch one attack after another on the Jesuits.[4] A polemic treatise on a question concerned with the discipline of fasting provided him with the opportunity to concern himself with probabilism. In a reply the Jesuit Monti advised him to study the relevant works of Segneri and Elizalde. This he did, and in 1743, after overcoming serious obstacles within his own Order in the matter of censorship, he published his *Storia del Probabilismo e Rigorismo*, in which he sought to prove that probabilism was founded on false principles and was likely to corrupt Christian morals. Naturally the Jesuits did not accept this in silence nor did Concina fail to reply to them. In dedicating to Benedict XIV. a treatise on the prohibition of interest he asked the Pope to condemn 330 moral propositions compiled by Cardinal Belluga, and 200 others in addition. Then in the introduction to his great work on moral theology[5] he again proposed the rejection of 528 propositions, 248 of which were defended by Jesuits.[6] Another work of Concina's proscribed

[1] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 303 *seqq.*; Reusch, *Index*, II., 816 *seqq.*

[2] Coulon in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 676–707.

[3] Döllinger-Reusch, I., 305.

[4] Cordara in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, III., 9.

[5] *Theologia christiana dogmatico-moralis*, Rome and Venice, 1749.

[6] Jemolo, 209; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 314.

the frequenting of theatres,[1] and in his *Apology of the Society of Jesus* there were published for the first time the documents relating to the dispute about probabiliorism that had broken out during the generalship of Tirso Gonzalez.[2]

Concina could certainly be proud of the favourable reception his books had met with at the hands of scholars.[3] Benedict XIV., who was inclined towards the strict view of things, praised his *Storia del Probabilismo*, and his *Theologia Christiana* opens with a dedication to the Pope. Nevertheless Benedict did not definitely side with the Dominican theologian. When the Jesuit General Visconti lodged a complaint about Concina's *Christian Theology* and submitted a list of the most objectionable passages, with a request that they should be censured,[4] the Pope, it is true, did not accede to this request but he allowed that Concina had wrongly ascribed extreme views to

[1] *De spectaculis theatralibus christiano cuique tum laico tum clerico vetitis*, 1752. *Cf. Theol. christiana*, IX., 667: "Quod histriones et comoedi absolvi non debeant, nisi prius artem deserant, neque in controversiam vocari a theologo christiano debet. De christianis, qui hodierna theatra frequentant, disputari forte a quibusdam posset. Verum ego post diuturnum studium neminem theatra adire permitterem, neque absolverem, nisi ab hodiernis theatris abstinere vellet. Frequentantes enim theatra alunt et sustentant comoedos, quorum ars infamis est."

[2] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXII., 435 *seqq.* The following rules for penances to be imposed by confessors may serve as examples of Concina's severity. "Regula a me praescripta (for persons with no occupation) benignissima est. Canones poenitentiales modo quatuor, modo septem, modo quindecim annos in continuis vigiliis, ieiuniis, eleemosynis, cinere et ciliciis transigendos imponunt. Ego sic tempero hunc rigorem, ut imponam pro quolibet adulterio quatuor ieiunia in pane et aqua, aut ieiunia consueta . . . Si (labourers or artisans) in nefandum crimen labantur, poterit prudens confessarius iniungere, ut pane et aqua contenti sint: si id labores non permittant, poterit iubere abstinentiam a vino aut ab obsonio, aut humi cubationem." *Theol. christ.*, IX., 419 *seq.*, 425.

[3] Coulon, *loc. cit.*, 692.

[4] *Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 20 (58).

several Jesuits, as he had ascertained for himself by examining certain quotations.[1] Concina had to sign a public statement and have it printed in one of the subsequent volumes of his work.[2] Benedict also advised the Jesuits to compile an extract of Concina's offensive allegations, mutilations of texts, and the like.[3] In general, however, he disapproved of this relentless warfare between two famous Orders, which could do so much for the public good if only they acted in concert.[4] When Concina died in Venice on February 20th, 1756, Benedict wrote to Cardinal Tencin [5] that the famous Dominican could have been of great use with his vast knowledge if he had not allowed himself to be dragged too far by the enemies of the Jesuits. His writings were full of spiteful accusations, and some of his propositions were untenable. He had thus incurred the censure and disdain of respectable people. Naturally Concina's attacks on probabilism provoked a whole series of replies from the Jesuits, but there was little to be gained by mere polemics ; no decision could be reached until Concina's vast work was superseded by a more thorough exposition of the whole of moral theology. This was done by Alphonsus de' Liguori, and with such a mastery of the subject that it put an end for ever to the age-old dispute about morals, at least in its traditional form.[6]

[1] To Tencin, December 15, 1751, and January 5, 1752 ; De Heeckeren, II., 157, 162.

[2] Vol. XI. ; *cf.* Reusch, *Index*, II., 821 *seq.* ; relevant documents in the Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[3] C. Noceti, *Veritas vindicata*, II., Venetiis, 1757.

[4] To Tencin, June 9, 1756 ; De Heeckeren, II., 505. Ten years previously Benedict had written to Cardinal Quirini : " Circa il P. Concina si rivede la sua opera e si vorrebbe che uscendo uscisse senza metter fuoco." Fresco, XVIII., 297.

[5] On March 3, 1756, in De Heeckeren, II., 482 *seq.*

[6] *Opere*, Monza, 1819, Torino, 1824, and many subsequent editions. Critical edition of the *Opera moralia* by L. Gaudé, Rome, 1905–7 ; Latin translation of the dogmatic works by A. Walter, Rome, 1903 ; *Lettere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*, 3 vols., Rome, 1887 ; Candido Romano, *Delle opere di S.A.d.L.*, Rome, 1896. Biographies by K. Dilgskron, Regensburg, 1887 ;

By his whole nature and disposition Alphonsus seems to have been predestined to be the exact opposite of the Jansenistic spirit. While men of the type of Jansen, Saint-Cyran, Arnauld, Pascal, and Quesnel, when they emerged from their narrow and confined studies to influence their fellow-humans, aimed above the heads of common folk at the educated, refined, and well-to-do, Alphonsus, though a scholar too and one of outstanding worth, and of greater importance on his own account than all the Jansenists put together, was first and foremost a minister of souls. Far removed from the strait-laced spirit of the Jansenists, who were really worried lest the number of the elect be too great, he lived and moved entirely in the spirit of love, he was filled with pity for the poor people whose distress and suffering he realized. He wanted to show the way to salvation and to open the gates of heaven for as many as possible. The contrast showed itself in other ways. Jansenism sinned against the mercy of God, whom it represented as a tyrant, against the love of Christ who, according to its doctrine, died only for a chosen few; it looked askance at the veneration of God's mother, it withheld itself from the reception of the sacraments and from submission to the ecclesiastical authority; but Alphonsus was the very reverse of all this. For him the love of God was everything. "Come on!" he wrote,[1] "let us seek God alone, alone, alone, and

BERTHE, Paris, 1900; A. PICHLER, Regensburg, 1922; J. ANGOT DES ROTOURS, Paris, 1921; *cf. Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 920; F. MESSERT, *Der hl.A.v.L. als Kirchenlehrer und Apologet*, Mainz, 1901; K. KEUSCH, *Die Aszetik des hl. A.v.L.*, Friburg, Switzerland, 1924 (in the bibliography of this work, pp. xxix–xxxix, are further monographs on Liguori); PALMIERI, in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, II., 715–735 (on pp. 727 *seqq.*, is a list of the works, on pp. 732 *seqq.*, a bibliography); J. MAYER, in the *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirche*, I., 262 *seqq.*; G. BRANDHUBER, *Die Redemptoristen 1732–1932. Festgabe zur 200-Jahr-Feier*, Bamberg, 1932; CLEM. M. HENZE, C.SS.R., *Die Redemptoristinnen. Zur zweiten Jahrhundertfeier der Gründung des Ordens*, Bonn, 1931.

[1] To the nun Maria Giovanna della Croce, on September 26, 1736, *Lettere*, I., 58.

nothing else!" "For what else are we given life but to give it back to God?"[1] Jesus, Mary, and the Eucharist were the stars round which his soul revolved. His energy was devoted to the service of the sacrament of penance and of frequent Communion. His writings were of importance in other spheres than moral theology. The nineteenth century was a notable one in the evolution of dogma in a twofold respect: all doubt was removed from the questions of Papal infallibility and the Immaculate Conception. For both these dogmas very much of the necessary preliminary study was contained in Liguori's writings. And he has also marked out the lines on which the doctrine of the Mother of God has been developed in the most recent times.

Liguori's achievement was not due solely to his natural talents. Born in 1696 at Marianella, near Naples, of a pious and noble but not over-wealthy family, he was put to study under private tutors by his father, a captain in the royal galleys, and was kept at it with inexorable severity. Under this hard discipline, diligence, not one of the typical virtues of the Neapolitan, became a main feature of Alphonsus's character. Latin, Greek, and Spanish, mathematics, geography, and cosmography had to be learnt by this highly-gifted boy. In addition, the father insisted on his learning music, especially the piano; as it happened, Alphonsus had an aptitude for music, painting, and poetry; his spiritual verses show a genuine poetical talent.[2] This preliminary education over, he turned to jurisprudence, again under private tuition[3]; the pleasures of the school-bench, with its dangers for independent thinking, were never tasted by the future

[1] To a novice, August 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 306.

[2] PICHLER, 15 *seq.* For the publication of a musical composition by him, *cf. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIX. (1895), 441 *seq.* The poems, with a Latin translation by F. X. REUSS, Rome, 1896; German translation of a selection by A. PICHLER, Münster, 1899, 3rd ed., 1904.

[3] For the alarming conditions at the university, *v.* PICHLER, 19; for the theological lectures there, *ibid.*, 59; ORIGLIA, *Istoria dello studio di Napoli*, II. (Napoli, 1753), 243.

pioneer in moral theology. At sixteen he was a doctor of law. He then gained practical experience of legal procedure and was so successful as a barrister that in 1723 the Duke of Gravina engaged him in a suit against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in which two and a half million *lire* were involved. Liguori's brilliant reasoning seemed to be carrying all before it until the opposing advocate drily remarked that the case was being tried according to Lombard, not Neapolitan, law. This fiasco so upset Alphonsus that he never undertook another case. To be so humiliated in a *cause célèbre*, before a large public and to the knowledge of the whole city, wounded his lively susceptibility so severely that the whole forensic career, with all the laurels he had won hitherto, now disgusted him completely. After some months spent in quiet retirement he heard an inner voice calling him to the ecclesiastical state. With his father's consent, gained only after a wearisome struggle, he renounced his right of primogeniture and began the study of theology—but not at a university—and he dedicated himself, amid many external rigours, to the cure of souls. On December 21st, 1726, he was ordained priest.

There now began for him a period of intense and fruitful activity as a preacher, confessor, and missioner, and in particular this highly educated young patrician devoted himself to the poorest and most derelict classes of the population. These labours led almost automatically to the formation of a special society dedicated to the spiritual care of the lowest strata of society.

It was in the Chinese College of Matteo Ripa, where Alphonsus was lodging,[1] that he met the man who was to have the greatest influence on the next phase of his career. Tommaso Falcoja, a member of the Congregation of the Pious Workmen (*Pii Operarii*),[2] felt that he was called to found a Congregation whose special aim would be the imitation of Christ in both a hidden and an active life. This ideal he had

[1] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV., 467 ; *cf.* XXXIII., 366, n. 7, XXXIV., 169.

[2] *Cf.* our account, vols. XXVII., 125 ; XXXV., 304 ; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I².,1231.

realized in part, through the instrumentality of a female Congregation at Scala, near Amalfi. As it happened, Alphonsus went to Scala with some friends, for a rest, and it was there that he came to know the nuns in the little convent, in particular Maria Celeste Crostarosa.[1] It was there too that he became aware of the spiritual penury of the goatherds round about. Falcoja succeeded in securing him as the corner-stone, as it were, of the male Congregation he also had in mind. In this the visions beheld by Crostarosa also played their part, but not the decisive one.[2]

Naturally objections were raised on every side when it was known that the well-born Alphonsus, who was practically certain of a Bishop's mitre, intended to quit the capital to live among the rudest of peasants and shepherds. But Alphonsus stood fast, and on November 9th, 1732, there arose at Scala a humble little monastery, the germ of the Redemptorist Congregation, which was to grow and spread from there with ever increasing vigour. He himself bore witness to its vast effect.[3]

But its growth was impeded by great difficulties. All Liguori's first companions left him, except for one lay-brother. The king's good favour notwithstanding, to attempt to found a new Order under Tanucci's rule seemed a hopeless undertaking. In 1747, in the tremendous heat of a Neapolitan summer, Alphonsus hurried from palace to palace to obtain sanction for his community. In his ardour he forgot to eat or sleep, but he spent himself in vain. Bargaining with the Ministers, he wrote,[4] made him seethe with rage; life had become a burden to him, but he would have to stick it out in Naples. In 1748 he obtained the ecclesiastical sanction from Benedict XIV.[5] but he still had to get the royal *exequatur* for

[1] *Cf.* Buchberger's *Lexikon für Theol. u. Kirche*, III., 84.

[2] "I am not guided by visions; my standard is the Gospel," said Alphonsus (PICHLER, 129). "I have no confidence in your visions" (Falcoja to Crostarosa; *ibid.*, 139).

[3] *Lettere*, I., 189; II., 284 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 138; DILGSKRON, I., 299 *seqq.*

[5] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 311.

the Papal Brief. With difficulty he secured a royal decision on November 9th, 1752, which at least precluded the dissolution of the community, though it had to renounce all revenues.[1]

In 1762, while retaining his position as the chief Superior of his Congregation, Alphonsus was nominated Bishop of S. Agata dei Goti, but the difficulties with the Government still persisted. The times were so turbulent, he wrote, that there was no hope of any definite authorization by the king; he would have to trust in God and live from day to day. In Naples "fearful ordinances" were being issued against the poor churches every day.[2]

The worst trials, however, which Alphonsus had to undergo were after he had resigned his bishopric at the age of eighty-one. Tanucci fell in 1776, and his successor was more favourably inclined towards the Congregation; consequently, when on November 21st, 1778, Pius VI. extended to Naples the privileges of the Spanish Crusade Bull, the promulgation of the concession was conveyed to Alphonsus and his missioners.[3] Encouraged by this mark of favour, Liguori's consultors, Majone and Cimino, proposed to apply for the royal approval of the Rule for the Congregation. Alphonsus agreed to a draft Rule being presented which would meet with no objection from the Government, but he intended this concession to be limited to the omission, out of regard for the royal decrees of 1752 and 1779,[4] of any mention of revenues for the Congregation. On this supposition and being by now half deaf and half blind, he did not examine carefully the draft that was presented, and so was utterly cast down and almost crushed on learning of the Rule that had been ratified by the king. Majone and Cimino had far exceeded their mandate, and the new Rule practically transformed the whole Congregation into a civil association. Luckily for Alphonsus, the Congregation already had some establishments outside Neapolitan territory, in the Papal States, and for these the former Rule still held

[1] Dilgskron, I., 382 *seqq.*

[2] To Blasucci, September 8, 1771, *Lettere*, II., 186.

[3] Dilgskron, II., 347.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 386; II., 346.

good. On September 22nd, 1780, the cardinalitial Congregation for Bishops and Religious decreed the separation of the establishments in the Papal States from those in the kingdom of Naples. The founder was thus cut off from his own foundation. The Redemptorists in Naples lost the Papal privileges, but they were restored to them by the Pope in April, 1783, "as a special favour." The separation was still in force when Liguori died on August 1st, 1787, the *Regolamento* not being revoked till 1790.[1]

It was only in the latter part of his life, when he realized that he no longer had the strength to perform the arduous work of the missions, that Alphonsus began the literary labours with which he hoped to continue his cure of souls. His great work of learning, the *Moral Theology*, also owed its origin to a practical need. Just as Thomas Aquinas intended his *Summa* for beginners, Alphonsus wanted to put into the hands of future members of his Congregation a guide for the administration of the sacrament of penance. His aim, therefore, was not to evolve, with brilliant acumen, a system of moral science from the profoundest philosophic principles, but to train confessors capable of forming a correct judgment of the difficult cases that occur in actual life and of applying a suitable treatment to them. A large part of Liguori's moral works are consequently devoted to casuistry, that is the elucidation of individual cases. This inevitably involved the discussion of the seamy side of human life, including those features of it in which human weakness is known by experience to reveal itself most frequently. Not that Alphonsus took any pleasure in plumbing these depths, but because this unpleasant side of human life is a reality which, like any other, needs the hand of an expert healer.

What distinguishes Alphonsus in his treatment of cases of conscience is the clear judgment and the sure hand with which he picks out, from among the divergent views of his predecessors, what is licit and what is not, what is lax and what is over-strict. In this respect he is quite unique, and it is this

[1] *Cf. ibid.*, II., 352 *seqq.*

sureness of judgment on which his influence in the Church is based. Certainly the eminent position he has won for himself in the sphere of moral theology is not entirely due to his display of knowledge, effective though it is. His views were finally triumphant because of the way in which his life-work was recognized by the Holy See. On May 18th, 1803, when his beatification was being considered, Pius VII. confirmed the declaration of the Congregation of Rites that there was nothing deserving of censure in Liguori's writings. On July 5th, 1803, when Liguori's ethics were meeting with a certain resistance in France, as being too lenient, as endangering the salvation of souls, and as being inconsonant with sound doctrine, the Penitentiary declared that teachers of moral theology might adopt Liguori's views without misgiving, and that confessors who were guided by them had no need to be uneasy. Finally, on July 7th, 1871, Pius IX. proclaimed Alphonsus as a Doctor of the Church, not exclusively, but certainly principally, on account of his works on moral theology.

Under the ægis of the Roman See these writings have exercised an influence the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. As for the decision of particular cases, the confessor has been given a reliable guide in the most disputed and practically most important questions, and an end has been put to much wavering and doubt. As for the scientific treatment of moral theology, a new era began with Alphonsus. Former works were collected and sifted, and a firm foundation has been laid, and guiding principles have been provided, for further progress. In accepting the moral theologians of the two preceding centuries, Alphonsus corrected and rejected the conception held by Concina and his followers that the whole course taken by moral theology since the end of the sixteenth century was a deviation from the right path and that in these matters a return should be made to the doctrines of the first nine centuries.[1] Judgment was also passed on Concina's

[1] "Utinam non paucorum casuistarum, ut vocant, voluminibus de medio sublatis sola, quae novem circiter primis religionis

attack on probabilism in particular as the source of all sin and evil [1] when Rome gave its decision on Alphonsus's works, since the latter's failure to follow the rigorists was no obstacle to Rome's approval.

This approval, it is true, was not given directly to Liguori's moral system but to his particular decisions, and without reference to the various editions of his moral theology. But indirectly some light falls too on his choice of a moral system. At first, as he tells us himself, he was, like his teachers, an adherent and ardent defender of probabiliorism. But after he had discovered in the missions its impracticability in actual life and he had studied the probabilist theologians, especially the Jesuits, he veered over to probabilism.[2] It was not until he and his Congregation were suspected of being Jesuits in disguise

nostrae saeculis viguit, tradendae saluberrimae morum disciplinae ratio obtineret." *Theol. christ.*, I., Roma, 1749, Praefatio, p. ii. Alphonsus usually polemizes against the "severissimus Concina" (lib. 1, tr. 2, n. 174) indirectly.

[1] "Dicam itaque, elapsum iam saeculum cum dimidio et amplius esse, ex quo christiana morum doctrina pravarum opinionum impetu et atrocissimas persecutiones sustinet a novo illo opinandi modo, quem Alexander VII . . . cum evangelica simplicitate, sanctorumque Ecclesiae Patrum doctrina hostiliter pugnantem declaravit, quemque ingentem corruptelam ultimasque clades Reipublicae christianae pariturum praedixit, si fideles eumdem pro conscientiarum norma sequerentur. Sequuntur vero illum non minus constantissime quam libentissime. Fluit et refluit, et quidem cursu rapido per universum casuisticae theologiae corpus modus iste, nullumque pene est membrum cui mortalia vulnera non infligat: nullus vastissimae scientiae tractatus illaesus evasit. Non iura scripta modo pervertit, sed insculptam etiam in mentibus hominum a natura legem magna in parte obliteravit." *Loc. cit.* "Modus hic opinandi a simplicitate evangelica alienus probabilismus est, quem cum SS. Pontifice universa Gallicana ecclesia tanquam omnium vitiorum malorumque fontem execravit. Ab hac igitur syrte . . . declinandum omnino est. Modus hic opinandi adeo nihil curat veritatem, ut immo id, quod ad veritatem propius accedit, respuat." *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

[2] DILGSKRON, I., 473.

and his doctrine was dubbed Jesuit morality, that he tried to draw away as far as possible from the Jesuits. Whether, nevertheless, the moral system that he now developed differs from pure probabilism in any other respect than mere formulation, is difficult to say. In any case, the difference is of no great practical importance; Alphonsus continued to cite the same probabilist theologians as before, even in the later editions of his *Moral Theology*, and in 1765 he said explicitly that, after his rejection of probabiliorism, he had always kept to his system.[1]

This question of a moral system has also been dealt with by Alphonsus in special works which are of the greatest importance for the clarification of the matter. There is an enormous difference between former apologies for probabilism and Liguori's treatises. He has read the former dissertations with a critical eye, expurgated what was doubtful and misleading, and built up everything on firm foundations.[2]

Besides composing his great work on morals, Alphonsus also made abstracts from it to serve as manuals for confessors. There are also dozens of smaller works, varying in volume, of an apologetic or ascetic content. Having taken a vow never to

[1] On this point, *v.* J. DE BLIC, in the *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique*, IV., Paris, 1922, 321–7; V. CATHREIN, in the *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschr.*, 1905, 745 *seqq.*; GÖPFERT, *Moraltheologie*[8], Paderborn, 1920, 147 *seqq.* *Cf.* LEHMKUHL, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXIII. (1887), 358 n.: "One ought not to try and conceal under the shield of the authority of a Doctor of the Church the sense of certain theoretic propositions of the Saint, which is in contradiction to the practical application of these propositions by the Saint himself . . . Equiprobabilism, as St. Alphonsus understands it and *applies* it, certainly does not lead to erroneous and pernicious propositions. In practice there is no difference between it and probabilism pure and simple." H. NOLDIN says in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, XX. (1896), p. 92: "Actually, equiprobabilism is only another name for plain probabilism."

[2] LUDWIGS, in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, II. (1878), 538; III. (1879), 286.

waste a minute of his time, he employed the enforced leisure of his old age in working with his pen. Bent double in his chair or confined to his bed, he wrote for seven or eight hours a day, refuting Voltaire and Febronius or defending religion, the Church, and Papal infallibility. But his main output was a whole series of ascetic writings intended for every class of person : the ordinary Christian, the priest, and the religious. In this way he attended to practically every form of spiritual life.[1] In these works Alphonsus refrained from any kind of

[1] A survey of the apologetic and aesthetic works is given by J. KANNENGIESER in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 915–18 ; list of the aesthetic works in KEUSCH, *loc. cit.*, 66–72 (Keusch estimates the total number of the works, either entirely original or revised, at 260). *Cf.* P. POURRAT, *La spiritualité chrétienne*, IV³., Paris, 1928, 449–492. Alphonsus has often been blamed for being credulous as regards miracles and visions, but in his own life and in his cure of souls he was nothing of the kind. He wrote to a nun who was frightened of ghosts that the dead had other things to do than to appear to the living. She was to put all such fancies out of her head. " Vi assicuro io che nella vostra cella non avrete nè morti nè demoni." (*Lettere*, II., 47.) When urged to bless a girl who was thought to be possessed, he refused to do so, saying : " Evil spirits ! What next ? Tell her to make a good confession." (PICHLER, 372.) He related with approval a saying about visions attributed to St. Teresa : " Licet aliquae ex eis sint verae, plures nihilominus sunt falsae et mendaces." (*Homo apostolicus*, Regensburg, 1843, 20.) *Cf.* above, p. 371, n. 2. The stories of miracles he related in his *Glorie di Maria* he usually qualified with some such introductory phrase as " Si narra ", or " Narrasi ", thus leaving all the responsibility to the original informants. Undoubtedly, however, very many of these stories would not be appreciated by a modern audience. In quoting from authors in the following way he wanted to show that what mattered to him was that the quotations dated from early times and that they were substantially correct : " S. Girolamo, o come altri vogliono, altro autore antico " (*Glorie de Maria*, Pt. I., ch. 5, par. 1 [Roma, 1839], p. 127) ; " S. Agostino, o chi altro sia l'autore del commento nella Genesi " (*ibid.*, Pt. II., feste disc. 1, p. 266) ; " S. Cipriano, o chi altro ne sia l'autore " (*ibid.*, p. 283) ; " Hieron. aut Sofronius,

scholarly polish and tried to write as simply and intelligibly as possible. One could with full justice apply to them the comment made on his learned works by one who knew them well: "One might think that sometimes he deliberately tried to hide his talent and learning under the most unassuming style."[1] Despite their modest form these little works of his had an immeasurable effect. They were translated into many languages, and hundreds of thousands of copies were distributed.[2] They were read with pleasure, not only by the simple Christian but also by such men as Bishop Ketteler[3] and O'Connell.[4] The secret of their success is the profound conviction of the eternal truths with which they were written; one feels that their author was wholly permeated by them and that what he wrote came straight from his heart.

Alphonsus had laboured thus, first as a missioner, then as a writer, until he was over eighty years of age, and still he had another crown to win. Old as he was, he had yet to bear a load of suffering such as would have overwhelmed the majority of men. Still retaining all his mental alertness, he had to keep to his chair, bent double, a helpless cripple, half deaf and half blind. Until he died he had to watch the child of his cares and sorrows, his Congregation, to which he was attached with the tenderness of a mother, hovering on the brink of the abyss, never certain for a moment that it was not on the point of destruction. Added to this was the torture of anxiety about himself: the fear that God would punish his Congregation on account of his sins, anxiety about his own salvation, scruples that made him fear that he was continually sinning. He was not scrupulous in deciding for others but in

serm. de ass." (*ibid.*, virtù, par. 2, p. 472); "S. Bern. aut quisq. est auctor super Salve Regina" (*ibid.*, p. iii).

[1] A. Lehmkuhl in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXIII. (1888), 359.

[2] J. L. Jansen, C.SS.R., *Testimonia de sancti Alfonsi Mariae de Ligorio in Ecclesiae catholicae doctrinam atque vitam influxu*, Galopiae (Gülpen), 1928, 22.

[3] O. Pfülf, *Ketteler*, I., 212; III., 359.

[4] Jansen, *loc. cit.*, 41.

the judgment of his own case the light failed him. He was to experience himself what he had once written to a nun[1]: contradiction, sickness, scruples, aridity of soul, and every other inward and outward affliction are, as it were, the chisel with which God sculptures statues for paradise.

Liguori's strength of soul showed itself more clearly now, perhaps, at this time of utter helplessness, than ever before. Others would have collapsed under this enormous load of suffering or would have lost their reason. But not Alphonsus. In his case, everything that in the human being is frail and uncontrollable might be sunk in a sea of affliction, nevertheless, he still retained—a sight for the angels—the one thing that was still within his power: his free will. Soaring high above this sea, in full mental vigour and with clear circumspection, his will disposed of all this suffering, as a general disposes of his troops, for the advancement of his soul and the furtherance of the kingdom of God.

Alphonsus had been strong-willed all his life. While other men of his standing had been kept away from the common people by pride of birth, he despised these prejudices in his desire to serve the poorest and most abandoned. While the educated and learned, more than anyone else, bent like reeds before the wind that blew from the camp of Voltaire, Rousseau, Giannone, and Febronius, he held fast to the Church and the Pope. When probabilism had been so discredited that anyone who still adhered to it was looked on as a fool, he had the independence of mind to discern what was true in the dissertations of the moralists who had immediately preceded him and to defend this truth. No time seemed more unfavourable for the growth of holiness than the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Alphonsus did win this most glorious crown. Of this impious century he was the greatest and most imposing figure.

[1] Brianna Carafa, September 8, 1773, *Lettere*, II., 250. *Ibid.*, 554, 624, 634, 654, he speaks himself of his condition.

CHAPTER VII.

The Missions under Pius VI.

(1)

Like his predecessor, Pius VI. was often in receipt of good news from the Near East. In 1781, in Imeretia, a kingdom bordering on Georgia, King Solomon allowed the Catholic faith to be preached without hindrance.[1] In Georgia itself the Catholicos Antonius, the most distinguished Georgian of the eighteenth century, who had also helped to improve the civil government, returned to the Roman Church on his death-bed in 1788. In 1775, however, the Catholics had been persecuted for several months and laws had been made against conversion to Catholicism. After Georgia had become a vassal state of Russia in 1783 and the Russian Czar had assumed the title of King of Georgia in 1799, the mission had no hope of success.[2]

There were also signs of a movement towards union with Rome among the Jacobites of Syria. Dionysius Michael Giarve, Bishop of Aleppo, had returned to the Catholic Church. After the death of the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, Gregory III., a violent persecutor of the Catholics, Giarve repaired to Mardin and succeeded in winning over to union with the Roman Church four Jacobite Bishops, the whole of the Jacobite clergy in the town, and many of the laity. The four Bishops who had gone over to Rome then elected Giarve Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, and the electors and elected, together with the Chaldean Patriarch of Diarbekr, Joseph IV., the Armenian Archbishop Petrus Eleazar of Mardin, and the missionaries of Mesopotamia, Aleppo, and Constantinople, applied to the Pope for his confirmation of Giarve's election

[1] Novaes, XVI., 1, 61.

[2] K. Lübeck, *Georgien und die kath. Kirche*, Aachen, 1918, 84 *seqq.*; S. Weber in *Buchberger's Kirchl. Handlexikon*, I., 1651; Hergenröther, IV[6]., 152.

and his conferment of the *pallium* on him. This request was granted by Pius VI. on September 1st, 1783.[1] In an allocution to the Cardinals in consistory he took the opportunity of bringing Giarve's merits to their knowledge. He said that even before the death of Giarve's persecutor, the Patriarch Gregory III., he had had brought to him his nomination as Bishop of Aleppo, and during the persecution Giarve had proved his loyalty to the Apostolic See. The Latin Patriarch of Babylon, Miroadot du Bourg, had been appointed by Giarve as his representative in Rome when the former was undertaking a journey to the Holy City.

Naturally the schismatics did not quietly acquiesce in Giarve's elevation. They too chose their Patriarch, a certain Matthew, and began a persecution. The Catholics had to go into hiding, and Giarve narrowly escaped execution. He fled to the Lebanon and took up his residence in the convent of Sajjide el-Sciarfe, which Pius VI. took under his protection in 1787.[2]

Among the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia the patriarchate became extinct after the death of Elias VII. Denha in 1778. His nephew Hormuzd Mar Hanna was recognized by the Pope only as the Archbishop of Mosul.[3] Together with him, five Bishops and the majority of the Nestorians in Mosul declared themselves to be Catholics.[4] In 1638 a wealthy French lady had presented the Pope with 6,000 Spanish doubloons, and Urban VIII. had applied the interest to the Church in Bagdad. Pius VI. laid down fresh regulations for the employment of this sum.[5]

As a piece of good news from the East, which might serve as a consolation for the sad conditions prevailing in Europe,

[1] According to the consistorial records in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 270 n. On December 15, 1783, Brief to Giarve and conveyance of the *pallium* and the confession of faith to be made by him, *ibid.*, 271 n., VII., 214 *seq.*

[2] Neher in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI², 1130; *Échos d'Orient*, 1897, 201. *Cf.* Brief of May 22, 1787, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 317.

[3] S. Giamil, *Genuinae relationes*, Romae, 1902, 392.

[4] Piolet I., 258.

[5] On June 11, 1781, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 260. *Cf.* Piolet, I., 236.

Pius VI. announced in consistory in 1781 [1] that the Patriarchs of Lesser Armenia and Cilicia were keeping faith with Rome and that the newly elected Patriarch Basil, formerly Bishop of Amasia, had applied for confirmation of his election and the *pallium*. The Pope discountenanced the scanty respect paid by the Latin missionaries to the Armenian rite.[2]

On several occasions Pius VI. confirmed the election of new Patriarchs of the Greek Melchites, beginning with that of Athanasius Jauhar, which was now canonical.[3] On Jauhar's death he agreed, on June 28th, 1796, to the elevation of Cyril Siagi,[4] and shortly afterwards he recognized as Patriarch the former Archbishop of Sidon, Agapius Mattar.[5] Under his rule Jansenism and Gallicanism made their way into Syria. Germanos Adam (d. 1809), who had been Bishop of Aleppo since 1777, a pupil of Propaganda and a trusted agent of Rome until he turned against it after an unsuccessful lawsuit, allowed himself to be won over to Ricci of Pistoia's doctrines when passing through Tuscany on his way back to his own country. A synod held at Qarqafe in 1806 adopted his ideas entirely.[6]

The opposition which the Patriarch of the Maronites, Joseph Estephan, had aroused against himself in the pontificate of Clement XIII., through his zeal for reform, possibly intemperate, and his encouragement of the visionary Agemi,[7]

[1] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 263 *seq.*

[2] Hergenröther, IV[6]., 151. A treatise in Italian which appeared in Venice in 1783, tried to prove that the Holy See tolerated the participation of Uniat Armenians in the funerals, marriages, etc., of the non-Uniats. The work was censured by the theological faculty of Siena. It was ascribed to a Jesuit, Martinovich. Picot, V., 202 *seqq.* The Society's bibliographers have no knowledge of a Jesuit of this name. *Cf.* Novaes, XVI., 1, 122 *seq.*

[3] Allocution of March 30, 1789. Mansi, *Coll. Conc.*, XLVI., 615.

[4] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 422, n. 1.

[5] Allocution of July 24, 1797. Mansi, *loc. cit.*, 677; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 421 *seq.*

[6] Mourret, VI., 532.

[7] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVII., 432 *seq.*

continued in the pontificate of Pius VI. Several of the charges brought against him were unjust, such as that he had knelt before Agemi and asked her for her blessing and that he had put up a picture of her in his church.[1] But the Franciscan Pietro Craveri da Moretta, whom Propaganda had entrusted with the execution of its decree of July 8th, 1774, in connexion with the Maronite affair, reported such sayings to Rome as though they were facts. Even apart from this the Patriarch was in such disfavour in Rome that his envoy, Archbishop Arsenius of Damascus, had not been granted an audience after waiting three years,[2] and now, on June 25th, 1779, Estephan was suspended from the exercise of his episcopal office and was invited to Rome to give an account of his conduct. Michael el-Khazen was appointed Vicar General in his stead. These decrees were ratified by the Pope on July 17th, 1779.[3] Estephan, though far from well, obediently set out for Rome but was detained by illness at Bêirût. At length, after forty-five days, three French doctors certified that he was unfit to undertake the voyage. He had to be taken to Mt. Carmel to recuperate.[4]

Meanwhile, El-Khazen, the Vicar Patriarchal, had called a synod for July 21st, 1780, at Maiphuk, which was to give the Patriarch the *coup de grâce*. But Moretta had to call on the secular arm to bring the Bishops together in council, and letters of protest against the assembly were sent, and not only by Estephan, to Rome.[5] Before being reinstated in his dignity, the Patriarch was asked to sign a recantation. The news of this emboldened his adversaries to strive after the definite deposition of the unfortunate prelate. In particular, statements that damaged his reputation were extorted from Agemi. Infuriated by this, Estephan allowed himself to be seduced into writing violently-worded letters to Propaganda. Even worse, he took the liberty, though in good faith, of making some alterations in the form of recantation.[6] In consequence,

[1] Dib, in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 95.
[2] *Ibid.*, 94.
[3] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 242 *seqq.*
[4] Dib, *loc. cit.*, 96.
[5] *Ibid.*, 97.
[6] *Ibid.*, 98.

Propaganda ordered another inquiry to be made, unfortunately by Moretta again. He, on arriving at Alexandria on January 12th, 1784, sent on to Bêirût, in advance of himself, his companion, the young Maronite priest Tian. In Bêirût little trust was placed in Moretta's sense of justice, and Tian was persuaded to return to Rome with numerous letters written in Estephan's defence by Bishops, priests, and laymen of good standing. On September 21st, 1784, the special Congregation for Maronite affairs decided in favour of the Patriarch. His reinstatement was announced by Moretta himself on February 11th, 1785.[1] The minutes of a synod held at Ain-Chakik on September 6th to 11th, 1786, were, it is true, declared invalid by Pius VI. on December 15th, 1787,[2] though it must be said on Estephan's behalf that he had only appended his signature subject to Rome's confirmation.[3] On the other hand, part at least of the proceedings of another episcopal assembly, which took place on December 3rd to 18th, 1790, received the Papal confirmation.[4] Estephan died on April 22nd, 1793, and his two successors to the patriarchal throne soon followed him to the grave. On July 24th, 1797, the Pope confirmed the election of Joseph Tian as the new Patriarch, but he too was opposed by so many obstacles that he resigned in 1809.[5]

Agemi was no longer of any account. Her supposed revelations had been declared by Rome to be illusions, and the Congregation and the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart had been dissolved. She herself had been removed from Bekorki to another convent, and here she ended her days on February 13th, 1798.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 99 *seq.*

[2] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 327 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 242 *seqq.*

[4] Dib, 100.

[5] *Ibid.*, 100–1 ; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 420.

[6] Dib, 96. For Agemi, *cf.* Karalevskij, in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, I., 1276–9. There were still some adherents of hers in 1849 (*ibid.*).

During these Maronite troubles it must have been a consolation to the Pope to know that the nation remained loyal to him. To emphasize the necessity for concord and the union with Rome, Pius VI., on May 24th, 1787, sent to all the Patriarchs and to all the clergy of the Eastern Church the Arabic translation of the Roman Catechism which he had had printed by Propaganda.[1]

Not only in the East itself but in Europe too there were Catholics of the Eastern rite. For the Greek rite Pius VI. erected bishoprics in Hungary.[2] To the Italo-Greeks in southern Italy, who already had a Bishop of their own rite in Calabria, he granted another Bishop in Sicily,[3] and he gave his confirmation [4] to the seminary for Ruthenian Uniat students which the energetic Bishop Maximilian Ryło had set up in Kulm.

Apart from some sporadic successes, however, the position of the Latin missionaries in Eastern Europe was definitely discouraging. The general hostility towards the religious Orders which was manifested at this period and the event of the French Revolution had the most disastrous effects. Thus the Capuchin missions in Turkish territory, both in Europe and Asia, were brought to an end. At Galata, in 1783, their property was taken over by the Vicar Apostolic, and this was soon followed by the destructive activity of the Jacobins. At Canea the missionaries' hospice was suddenly attacked and seized, and the church was turned over to secular uses. In

[1] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 318.

[2] See above, pp. 350 *seq.*

[3] On February 6, 1784, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1339 *seq.* (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 283, with the date January 20, 1793, 328).

[4] On January 19, 1779 (*ibid.*, VI., 644). The difficulties raised by the Bishop of Stuhlweissenburg, Ignatius von Batthyány, about the mission conducted by the Franciscan Conventuals in Moldavia were shown to be unwarranted (Brief of January 2, 1788, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 328). The reissue of the Glagolitic Breviary received the Papal approbation on March 11, 1791 (*ibid.*, 364). *Cf.* Pelesz, II., 639, for the establishment by Joseph II. in 1783 of a general seminary at Lemberg for Greek Uniat priests.

Athens, in 1796, they were driven out of their property, and they were forced to abandon Galata, Andros, and Milo. On Candia there remained but one solitary missionary.[1] The Riformati too had to abandon their mission in Cephalonia owing to the lack of available priests.[2] The same thing happened in Smyrna, Cyprus, Chio, and Cairo.[3] Everywhere the numbers of the missionaries shrank alarmingly; the churches were closed and fell into decay.[4] The cessation of the payment of 6,000 francs a year, which Louis XIII. had assigned to the Capuchins, did grave harm to the Catholic Church.[5]

In 1793 the Bishop of Syra asked Propaganda to give permission to two Jesuits from White Russia to come as missionaries to the Greek islands, for he could say without exaggeration that without the ex-Jesuits the Catholic religion would perish on Syra as had already happened on the other islands of the Aegean. As could only have been anticipated, the Congregation had to refuse, and it instructed the Bishop to make use of the Capuchins.[6] From Constantinople too there came laments about the misery of the galley-slaves, now that

[1] Terzorio, II., 112, 115; Piolet, I., 64 *seqq.*

[2] Terzorio, II., 186.

[3] *Ibid.*, III., 151; Piolet, I., 134.

[4] Terzorio, III., 132.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] "*Episcopus Syrensis rogat, ut S. Congr. permittat che possano colà portarsi per missionarii due individui della vigente Compagnia nella Russia Bianca con quelle riserve e limitazioni, che a S. Santità piacerà prescr vergli; altrimenti mi avanzo ad asserire (come egli suggerisce) senza punto esagerare, che in difetto degli Exgesuiti la religione cattolica soccomberà anche in questa isola, conforme per lo stesso motivo si deplora in oggi, ma inutilmente, d'esser accaduto non solo in altre isole del Mar Egeo, ma perfino nel già cristianissimo regno di Francia." Reply from Propaganda: "Negative et utatur opera Capucinorum, et ad mentem, et mens est, ut instruatur de vera S. Sedis intentione quoad exstinctam Soc. Iesu etiam relate ad individuos in Alba Russia commorantes." Acta S. Congregationis, July 22, 1793. Archives of the Propaganda.

there were no longer any Jesuits to have a care for them.[1] In Constantinople, at the time of the Revolution, great services were rendered by the ex-Jesuit Hieronymus Delenda, "a man of acknowledged virtue and of great merit," who had been appointed administrator by Propaganda.[2]

In the Levant, in 1782, the Lazarists were making ready to take over from the Jesuits. As their Superior, Viguier, the former Vicar General of Tunis, wrote to the Minister,[3] speedy help was even more necessary there than in China, for there were no longer any Jesuits in Smyrna and Antura, and they would soon be leaving Aleppo, if they had not already done so. The right to a subsidy of 20,000 *livres* devolved, he continued, on their successors, his subjects. They would need this for travelling expenses, equipment, and maintenance in the first year for the stations on Santorin, at Aleppo, and at Antura. The country offered him no resources, they would find the churches burnt down in Smyrna and on Chio, and there were debts amounting to 60,000 *livres*. In another report of this period [4] we read that there were 700 Catholics on Santorin, 1,350 on Naxos, 1,500 on Chio, 3,000 in Smyrna,

[1] "*Vic. Patriarchae Constantinopoli de m'seria christianorum servorum in triremibus ex quo iam non sunt Jesuitae, qui eorum curam habebant." *Ibid.*, April 21, 1777; similarly on July 31, 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 254.

[2] **Ibid.*, May 19, 1806, fos. 97–146: "De ecclesia S. Benedicti Constantinopoli. Historia tempore revolutionis. Per s. Congregationem etc. administrator nominatus fuit Hieron. Delenda Exjesuita spectatae virtutis et magni meriti erga religionem catholicam, honoratus ab omnibus; quid fecerit tempore administrationis a 1. Julii 1793 usque ad 1. Dec. 1797 et iterum a 1. Dec. 1797 ad 30. Oct. 1802, ita ut creditor fieret Lazaristarum 11844 piastrorum. Pro eo scribit Msgr. Fonton 10. Mart. 1804," fo. 101. The jurisdiction over the Trinitarians in Constantinople is dealt with in a Brief of August 16, 1783, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 278.

[3] Viguier on November 15, 1782, in RABBATH, I., 625.

[4] *Ibid.*, 612. *Ius pontif.*, IV., 323 *seqq.*, 413 *seq.*: decrees for the Franciscans in the Holy Land, November 26, 1787, and September 23, 1794.

300 at Salonika, and at least 20,000 in Constantinople. Santorin, Naxos, Syra, Tino, and Chio had titular Bishops, four of whom, of the Armenian rite, and a Latin titular Archbishop, were in Constantinople. On Santorin, the report went on, there were about 30 clerics, and about 20 on Naxos, but hardly one of them was fit to preach, so that the necessity for a seminary was evident. The three other islands were in a somewhat better condition. There was a goodly number of priests and religious in Syria and Egypt too, but almost all of them were equally incompetent.

A few years later, according to the Propaganda records, all the Jesuit posts in the Levant had been taken over by the Lazarists.[1] Naturally the Congregation could not satisfy all demands, and in 1817 the attention of Propaganda was again drawn to the necessity of the restoration of the Jesuits to the islands of the Aegean.[2]

(2)

From the very days of their founder, St. Vincent de Paul, a field of activity for the Lazarists had been North Africa, the mission to Algiers and Tunis. After the Vicar Apostolic of Algiers, Viguier, had been called to Syria in 1778, his post was filled time and again, until the end of the century, by the Lazarists.[3] Besides a few free Europeans, the Congregation had only the Christian slaves there in their charge, but this

[1] *Acta S. Congregationis, August 22, 1785: "Lazaristae in Oriente substituti sunt Jesuitis in toto Oriente (Levante) pro omnibus stationibus, quibusdam exceptis, ubi sc. redditus erant insufficientes." *Ibid.*, January 24, 1803, fo. 64: "Lazaristae successerunt Jesuitis Constantinopolitanis Syriae (Aleppo, Damasci, Anturae, Monte Libano et Antilibano et Cairi, ubi domus et capella a Dño Viguier fuit vendita), in Archipelago (Salonichi, Naxiae, Chii, Syrae, Santorini, Tini) et Smyrnae."

[2] **Ibid.*, September 23, 1817: "necessitas reditus Jesuitarum in Archipelagum" (Naxos, Chio, Constantinople).

[3] Brief of nomination for Claude Cosson, of December 1, 1778, in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 241; the names of his successors in *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, III., 380 *seqq.*

involved them in the greatest sacrifices and difficulties. In 1775, 1783, and 1784 Algiers was attacked or bombarded by the Spanish,[1] and in 1778 the town was visited by a terrible famine and was ravaged by locusts and the plague.[2] A report of 1785 [3] on the missionaries and their work tells us that in Algiers, besides the three Lazarists and two lay-brothers, there were Spanish Trinitarians at work. These were under the direct protection of the Dey and conducted the slaves' hospital; in their pastoral work they were assisted by some secular or regular priests among the prisoners. There were usually about 1,800 Christian slaves in the town. The Lazarists had in their care the three bagnios where the slaves belonging to the State were confined; the privately owned slaves and the Europeans could attend the chapel in the Lazarists' residence. Christian doctrine was taught there every Friday. Mass on Sundays and holidays was said at night, as the slaves had to be at work early in the morning. The yearly income of the missionaries was 6,600 *livres*, 4,000 of which they spent on clothes and other alms for the slaves. The self-sacrifice of the Trinitarians and Lazarists in tending the plague-stricken was wonderful. The three Trinitarians all fell victims to their devotion to duty, and their place was soon taken by two other members of the Order. Of the eleven inmates of the Lazarist house only three had not to be taken to hospital. The Danish consul Rhebinder admitted quite frankly [4] that such self-sacrifice was not to be found among his clergy.

The endowments made for the relief of the Christian slaves in Algiers were also confiscated by the French revolutionaries. The victims appealed to the National Assembly on July 1st, 1790, but with no result,[5] and the representations made by

[1] *Ibid.*, 361, 393, 401.

[2] *Ibid.*, 371.

[3] *Ibid.*, 429 *seqq.*

[4] On April 13, 1787: "J'avoue franchement que nos prêtres protestants, presque tous en général, seraient incapables des sacrifices que vous faites." *Ibid.*, 457.

[5] *Ibid.*, 492; GOYAU in the *Rev. d'hist. des missions*, XII., 28, 38.

the consul-general Vallière to Neuville, the Minister of Marine,[1] were equally fruitless. And then the Lazarists, like all the other religious Orders, were suppressed.

In Tunis, to obviate disputes between the missionaries of Propaganda and the Spanish officials, Pius VI. placed all the Spaniards in the town under the spiritual authority of the senior chaplain to the Spanish forces.[2]

Also in the days of their founder the Lazarists had made many sacrifices for the christianization of Madagascar and since then they had tried again and again to effect an entry into the island.[3] Towards the end of the eighteenth century these efforts were renewed. On July 2nd, 1775, when the Pole Beniuski was contemplating the colonization of the island, the French Minister of Marine asked the Lazarist General for two missionaries to accompany him. Accordingly, in 1776, the Lazarist Gabriel Durocher, armed with a Brief appointing him Prefect Apostolic for seven years, departed for Mauritius. Repeated advances on his final goal, however, were rewarded with little tangible success. The Malagasy, wrote Durocher on April 17th, 1780,[4] were ripe for Christianity. "But what could I do, alone with a troop of forty soldiers who do more harm in a single day than I could repair in a month?" The only obstacle to evangelization, he said, was the bad behaviour of the Europeans. In 1785 Madagascar was joined to Mauritius to form a Vicariate Apostolic, and in March 1788, the Lazarist General Cayla sent four of his religious to help the senior missionary Durocher. But the revolution of 1789 put a stop to any further effort.

Under the influence of the Franciscans an attempt was made to resume the mission to Abyssinia. In 1782 the native priest Tobias Ghebragzer went with a companion to Rome, where he spent six years studying, and on June 6th, 1788, he was

[1] On June 25, 1792, and February 4, 1793, *Mém.*, loc. cit., 494, 497.

[2] On August 4, 1797; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3036.

[3] *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, IX., Paris, 1866, 594–622.

[4] *Ibid.*, 614.

nominated Bishop of Adula.[1] In 1790 he returned to his native country with two Franciscans. The Negus Ezechias was not unfriendly to them and in a letter to the Pope asked for his help against the Gallas. But he was overthrown and with his fall the mission came to an end.[2]

Benedict XIV. had put the Copts under the Bishop of Jerusalem,[3] but afterwards the Franciscans resumed control of them. In 1781 Pius VI. set up the Vicariate Apostolic of Cairo.[4]

In 1777 Raphael de Castello de Vide went to the Congo with Portuguese missionaries. They were followed in 1781 by the Benedictine Bishop Graja of Angola, who hoped to establish schools there.[5]

(3)

In the Old World the Lazarists had proved to be the best missionary society ; in Central and South America it was the Franciscans. The Order took a huge burden on itself when, in addition to its own missions in Mexico, it accepted the task of cultivating the mission-fields which had had to be abandoned by the Jesuits. Owing to the enormous area involved, the difficulties were inevitably numerous. As Charles III. reminded Rome through his ambassador, the missions to California, Monterey, Sonora, Upper and Lower Pimeria, Sinaloa, New Cantabria, Parral, Chihuahua, Tarahumara, and New Mexico, were all, with the sole exception of the Dominican mission in California, in the hands of the Franciscans. In this immense area there were only six headquarters, and the vast distances that separated the six Superiors from the various mission-stations made it impossible for them to supervise each station continuously or to give an assured decision when differences of opinion arose about the methods by which the missionary work was to be carried out. Also there were conflicts with the

[1] *Ius pontif.*, IV., 331.
[2] LEMMENS, 186.
[3] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 404.
[4] HERGENRÖTHER, IV[6]., 152.
[5] SCHMIDLIN, 374, 387.

secular priests when Indians settled in the villages controlled by the Franciscans. The Franciscans gave their services freely, while the seculars still demanded tribute from the Indians and exacted it with such harshness that the natives often fled for refuge to the mountains. It must be said too that the missionaries required the natives to work excessively hard in building and decorating the churches and in maintaining the villages. At the request of the King of Spain, Pius VI. tried to remove these abuses by reorganizing the missions; among other remedies, the number of the missionary headquarters was to be increased.[1]

Several other problems confronting the Franciscan missions had to be solved by the Pope. After performing ten years' service among the Indians the missionaries were entitled to return to the Provinces of the Order whence they had come. Pius VI. laid down how these years were to be calculated, what privileges would be granted to those who stayed longer in the missions, what were the rights of the Superiors over the colleges and the missions, and much else besides.[2]

Meanwhile the activity of the training colleges for missionaries had continued to be very fruitful in Mexico. It was reckoned that in Texas in 1770 there were 15,000 Christian Indians.[3] In Tarahumara in 1780 there were eighteen Franciscans looking after 31 Indian villages and several Spanish communities.[4] In 1784 the missions that provisionally embraced Upper and Lower Pimeria, viz: Sonara and Arizona, had nine hospices or convents, sixteen missions, and twenty-five stations.[5] Not content with the amount of work they already had to perform, many of the Franciscans went on

[1] Brief of November 17, 1779, in HERNÁNDEZ, *Colección*, I., 684 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 247 *seqq.* *Cf.* in *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 566, the negotiations on the erection of the see of Sonora.

[2] Brief of December 12, 1797 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 423–9). Similar privileges had already been conferred on the Dominican missionaries in Lower California on July 8, 1794 (*ibid.*, 388).

[3] LEMMENS, 248.

[4] *Ibid.*, 249.

[5] *Ibid.*

journeys of exploration to see what further prospects there were of evangelization. Thus Peter Font went to Monterey in California in 1773, Silvester Velez de Escalante to the Moquis in 1775, and Francis Garrés to the Rio Colorado district in 1776.[1] On the Rio Colorado, unfortunately, the missionaries' efforts were frustrated by the Government, which refused to listen to their advice and exasperated the Indians. In a revolt of the Yumas in 1781 four Franciscans and almost all the Spaniards were massacred.[2]

When Upper California, hitherto untouched, was occupied by the Spanish in 1769, several Franciscans accompanied the troops. As the first missionary establishments seemed to offer good prospects, the missionary college of St. Ferdinand in Mexico City decided to devote particular attention to this new province. Under the leadership of Juniper Serra, there now began in Upper California one of the most fruitful missions of modern times. When Serra died in 1784 there were 5,800 Indian Christians in this part of America, and by 1834 89,800 had been baptized. The very name of the capital of Upper California, San Francisco, perpetuates the memory of the Franciscans, who founded it on September 17th, 1776, the feast of the stigmata of their founder. The present towns of San Diego and Monterey also sprang from Franciscan settlements. The Christian Indians were gathered together by the missionaries into reductions, on the Paraguayan model. Under the gentle sway of the Franciscans the natives lived a happy life until, with the coming of the nineteenth century, everything was ruined.[3] Even the youngest of the Franciscan missionary colleges, that of Pachuca, had assembled in reductions 2,289 Indians, almost half the total number of the neophytes, in the mountains of Zimapan, in the north of the State of Hidalgo.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 250.

[2] *Ibid.*, 251.

[3] *Ibid.*, 252; ENGELHARDT, *The Franciscans in California*, San Francisco, 1908; *Die kath. Missionen*, I. (1873), 73 *seqq.*; HOLZAPFEL, 525 *seq.*

[4] LEMMENS, 254.

The Franciscan Provinces in Mexico also engaged in work among the Indians independently of the missionary colleges. In 1780, in the north-east of Mexico, in the district then known as Huaxteca, all the natives were Christian. Twenty-seven Indian villages were under the direction of the Franciscans, and they had handed over thirty-nine others to the seculars.[1] In 1787 the Franciscan Province of Zacatecas was maintaining thirty-four stations among the natives.[2]

The Archbishop of Mexico, Ildephonsus Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, had also established a missionary college and had been duly thanked by the Pope.[3] Among the missionary colleges in Europe managed by the Franciscans that of Vinhaes was declared to be a participant of the privileges enjoyed by similar institutions.[4]

The upheavals of the Revolution and the anti-clerical Governments of the nineteenth century undid all the work that had been done for the Indians. In Mexico the destruction had already begun in the pontificate of Pius VI. In Texas, a decree of January 2nd, 1793, deprived the Franciscans of the station of S. Antonio de Valero ; on April 10th, 1794, all the missionary headquarters in the north and east of Texas were secularized ; and in 1813 the Cortes decreed that all the landed properties of the mission were to be handed over to the civil authorities.[5]

In South America too the Franciscans replaced the Jesuits.[6] In Chile, in 1767, the Franciscan Bishop of Concepcion, Pedro

[1] *Ibid.*, 242.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] On August 14, 1779 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 246).

[4] On January 26, 1786 (June 27, 1788), *ibid.*, 300, 332. The Brief (*ibid.*, 434) deals with missionary work at home.

[5] O'Rourke, *The Franciscan Missions in Texas, 1690–1793*, Washington, 1927, 76.

[6] Statistics showing the dwindling of the population of the South American missions after 1773 in Maas, *Las Órdenes religiosas de España y la colonización de América*, I. (1918), Nos. 19–21 (report of 1799). In 1797 there were only 15,000 souls in the reductions of Paraná and Uruguay. *Ibid.*, 402, n. 2.

Ángel Espineira, who greatly respected the Jesuits and had held them up as models to other missionaries, transferred their missions in Arauco, Valdivia, and the island of Chiloé to the missionary college of Chillán; in 1771, however, Chiloé was transferred to the college of Ocopa. In 1791, according to a report of that year, the mission, composed of 147 Franciscan priests, distributed over eleven stations, had 16,100 souls in its charge. Since in 1790 the population of the entire archipelago was given as 26,685, the greater part of it therefore was Christian. On the mainland, blunders made by the civil administration in Valdivia led in 1792 to an insurrection of the Indians, for the settlement of which the Franciscan Alday was largely responsible. According to statistics issued in 1807 five new stations had been established in Valdivia since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and as many more in the south; there were 7,496 Christians (as opposed to 10,761 pagans), 31 missionaries, and 15 stations.

The suggestion having been made by the Viceroy Emanuel de Amat that a seminary for the sons of *caciques* be opened as one way of christianizing the natives, a college of this kind was started in 1777 under the direction of a secular priest. In 1786 it was handed over to the Franciscans of the college of Chillán, and in 1794 three sons of *caciques* were admitted to Holy Orders, one as a Franciscan. This institution also was destroyed by the Revolution.[1]

In Peru, from 1734 onwards, all the activity on behalf of the Indians was generated in the missionary college of Ocopa, to the east of the Andes. A fresh period of efflorescence began with the election as Guardian of Emanuel Sobraviela. He excelled as an organizer, saw to the exploration of the missionary area, drew maps of it, and constructed better roads and easier communications, thereby considerably shortening the necessary journeys. He gave the Indians tools and household furniture, and induced them to move their villages to

[1] LEMMENS, 312 *seq.* The separation of the Chiloé and Valdivia missions from Ocopa (Brief of May 24, 1784, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 286) seems not to have been carried out (LEMMENS, 312 n.).

the banks of the Huallaga, so that they could dispose of the products of their plantations more easily. All this, of course, helped on the work of the mission. Missions which had been destroyed were brought to life again and Christianity made slow but steady progress. In 1824, when the college was closed down by the newly founded Republic of Peru—it was reopened in 1836—it was possible to look back on its history. It was then recalled with pride that there had been eighteen martyrdoms, 46,000 conversions (including those placed to the credit of the college of Chiloé), about thirty journeys taken to explore the network of the Amazon, forty newly-established villages, six good bridle-paths, and nine accurate maps—so many leaves in its rich crown of laurels.[1]

In Venezuela, in 1787, after the Franciscans had taken over eighteen Jesuit stations, their field of activity finally embraced the whole of the present State of Bolivar, in which there were 29,432 souls distributed over 68 villages.[2] In Bolivia, as the result of extraordinary labour and self-sacrifice, they had twenty-two missions served by thirty-six missionaries, with 16,425 Christians as against only 7,511 unconverted. Here again, in 1813, the destructive influence of the Revolution took effect.[3]

In the Argentinian Province of the Order, in 1780, the Franciscans had thirty missions and sixty missionaries. Among the latter were several "Indian Religious of St. Francis", whose knowledge of the native languages enabled them to render good service.[4] For the southern portion of the Chaco the missionary college of S. Carlos was opened in 1786 at S. Lorenzo on the Paraná.[5]

Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal wanted to establish at Pará in Brazil a college for boys, a school for girls, and a hospital for the poor, using for the purpose the revenues from three decayed Mercedarian convents and some of the benefices attached to the principal church of Pará. To this project Pius VI. gave his consent.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 301–4. [2] *Ibid.*, 279.
[3] *Ibid.*, 320. [4] *Ibid.*, 332.
[5] *Ibid.* [6] On November 12, 1787 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 320 *seq.*).

(4)

In Southern India the Christian missionaries had terrible sufferings to undergo when the fanatical Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo Sahib (d. 1799), came to the throne and undertook the forcible conversion to Islam of all his subjects. In his capital of Seringapatam, at Palacaticherry, Calicut, and other places in the Malabar kingdoms of Konkan and Kanara he had "countless" Christians hanged, the women with their children clinging round their necks; others were trampled to death by elephants or were dragged along by them through thick and thin till not a bone was left unbroken; others again had their noses cut off or were circumcised in the Mohammedan fashion. Husbands and wives were torn asunder and Mohammedan women were given to Christian men, Christian women to Mohammedan men. Almost all the churches were destroyed by Tippoo, and the priests were driven out. More than 30,000 non-Mohammedans are said to have been slaughtered as victims to his fanatical zeal for Islam.[1] It was not till Tippoo Sahib had been conquered by the English in 1792 that the Christians had a moment's peace.[2] He is said to have driven 70,000 Christians from his country and to have turned 100,000 Hindus into Mohammedans by forcing them to eat meat or to be circumcised.[3]

On his flight from Tippoo, the ex-Jesuit Alexander Pavone, "a truly apostolic man, who worked for thirty years in the missions of Mysore, Konkan, and Madura, and traversed the interior of Southern India,"[4] fell in with the Carmelite Paulinus (Wesdin) of St. Bartholomew, whom he apprised of the state of Christianity in India. In the kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore there were still about 80,000 Christians, and

[1] PAULINUS A. S. BARTOLOMAEO, *India Orientalis christiana*, Romae, 1794, 199; *id.*, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1796, 89.

[2] PAULINUS, *India*, 159.

[3] HOEFER'S *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, XLV., 414; LEVEN B. BOWRING (*Haidar Alí and Tipú Sultán*, Oxford, 1893, 125 *seq.*) speaks only of deportation (of 30,000 Christians).

[4] PAULINUS, *India*, 154.

40,000 in Mysore and Konkan. In Karnatik the place of the French Jesuits had been taken by native priests and those from the Paris Seminary ; they were subject to the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry. In Bengal and Arakan there were Augustinians from the Province of Goa, for whom the Bishop of Mylapore was appointing a Vicar Apostolic. Under Portuguese rule there had been several churches here but now there were only 20,000 Christians in Calcutta. At Chandarnagar the French traders were trying to destroy Christianity in the same way as they had done in their own country ; a schismatic interloper was at work where the Jesuits used to be. Here too there was a hospice of Italian Capuchins, who were also working in Patna and Bettia, where they were held in high esteem by the king and his family. Capuchins were also at work in Nepal.[1]

According to Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, there were 60,000 adherents of the Latin rite, besides the St. Thomas Christians, in the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly. They enjoyed the protection of the Dutch Government provided that they renounced the Portuguese monarch and the Portuguese Bishop and swore to defend the town by force of arms.[2] The Bishop of Mylapore administered his diocese by means of Goanese priests ; it was only in Calcutta that the parishes were in the hands of Augustinians. In Pondicherry the cure of souls, both native and European, was in the hands of the Paris Seminarians, Jesuits, and Capuchins ; the last-named were entrusted with a Prefecture Apostolic for the cure of souls among the Europeans.[3] Itinerant missionaries were sent out from Pondicherry to Tanjore, Madura, and Karnadaja. There was a seminary at Ariancopan for the training of native priests from China and Further India. The Vicars Apostolic and the directors of the seminary were sent a Brief of commendation by Pius VI. on May 10th, 1775.[4] According to

[1] *Ibid.*, 159.
[2] *Ibid.*, 119.
[3] LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 108.
[4] Reprinted in PAULINUS, *Viaggio*, 4 ; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 208.

a report to Propaganda,[1] the Vicar Apostolic Carlo di S. Corrado had heard from an eye-witness that there were still two churches in Delhi, with 3,000 Catholics, and that there was one church each at Agra, Bhartpur, and Norrua, with 1,500, 2,000, and 4,000 worshippers respectively. The Malabar mission was entrusted to the former Vicar Apostolic of Siam, Brigot, who had just escaped from the prisons of Burma. Under his rule also the Karnatic mission came under the care of the priests of the Paris Seminary, with whom the ex-Jesuits had to co-operate.[2]

Apart from their exiguous numbers, the missionaries were impeded in their work by the bickering between the Portuguese who insisted on their old rights of patronage, and the Paris Mission Seminary. The Bishop of São Thomé forced the Vicar Apostolic Champenois and his missionaries to leave Pondicherry ; and some of the Portuguese prelates, accompanied by their priests, forced their way into the missionaries' residences in order to celebrate the services in their place.[3] In Madras, where there were 10,000 Christians, not counting the schismatics, the Bishop made himself a nuisance to the Capuchins, as he wanted to get rid of everything that was not Portuguese. "So we have peace from the heathen and peace from the heretic, but no peace from the sons of the Church." [4]

In other respects too, in the eyes of Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, the Church in India was in decay. Whereas formerly, he said, Christianity was spread through the earthly kingdoms by splendid men, fired with religious ardour, now the ardour, and with it the light of religion, had died out. There was no coming generation of missionaries and no alms were given to

[1] *Bombay, 1775, February 22, Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina 1774–1775, Scritt. rif. Congr. 34 n. 20.

[2] H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale occidental ou Archidiocèse de Calcutta*, Bruxelles, 1922, 137 ; Launay, *loc. cit.*, II., 115 *seq.* ; Piolet, II., 239.

[3] Launay, II., 31[illegible] *seq.*

[4] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant. serm.*, 33, n. 16. *Cf.* Paulinus, *India*, 146–9.

the missions. Since the suppression of the Society of Jesus almost all the churches had been left without pastors and the Christians were left with no instruction or light. Consequently there was everywhere a deadly torpor, deadly inactivity, contempt of religion, and negligence in spreading it.[1] The Archbishop of Cranganore, Salvatore dos Reys, an ex-Jesuit, had to send an urgent call for help to Propaganda, as the Indian missions, especially those in Madura and Mysore, were on the verge of ruin. "I have insistently begged the Holy See, and I beg it once again, not to let perish so many souls which have been ransomed with the precious Blood of Christ. Send us new missionaries and provide the old ones, who are still left from the suppressed Society of Jesus, with the means of subsistence. I have not the means to help them, as I myself have been subsisting on alms for many years, and they are no

[1] "Si qui excellentes et religionis zelo praediti viri in regno Tanjaur, in Madhura, in Maisur, in Concam, in Carnate, in Golconda, in Balagate, in Agra, in Delly aliisque Indiae mediterraneis locis religionem promulgarunt, eorum zelus et religionis lumen temporis et locorum asperitate evanuit, quia nemo est, qui laboris socios submittat, nemo qui facultatibus suis sancte incoeptum missionis opus fulciat et sustineat. Suppressa Societate Jesu omnes fere illae ecclesiae pastoribus viduae lugent et christiani sine lege et lumine vagantur." Everywhere now there was "mortalis torpor, letiferum otium, religionis contemptus eiusque propagandae summa negligentia." *Ibid.*, 199. Further information about the Indian communities in PAULINUS's *Viaggio*, p. 16: Pondicherry, p. 36: Tanjore (after the suppression of the Jesuits many churches were abandoned; some were still existing, and the Bishop of Mylapore was sending some native priests there. They had been trained in Goa but they had little learning and were not much thought of by the natives. "In my time there were 18,000 Christians in the kingdom of Madura, 20,000 in the Karnatic, 10,000 in Tanjore"); p. 49, Kovalam (Carmelites with small communities); p. 50, Mylapore (Bishop Emanuel of Jesus, from Goa, was expelling from his diocese all who were not Portuguese); p. 76, Kollam and Travancore (Goanese Franciscans and secular priests); p. 109, Malayala (90,000 St. Thomas Christians, including 50,000 Jacobites).

longer coming in. I am an old man of seventy-three, worn out with disease, and incapable of bearing so heavy a burden."[1] To replace the Jesuits, who were dying out, he called on the Discalced Carmelites.[2] At Pondicherry the Bishop of São Thomé tried to solve the difficulty by giving permission, through an Augustinian, to the ex-Jesuits to live together under their former Superiors. This, however, created a scandal, as it was regarded as disobedience towards the Brief of suppression.[3] Furthermore, obstacles were put in the way of missionaries leaving for India by Pombal, on the plea that Jesuits might sneak into India disguised as other religious.[4]

Immediately on receipt of the Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus the Archbishop of Cranganore had announced it to all

[1] " *In ultimis meis certiorem feci Sanctam illam Sedem et Eminentiam Vestram de periculo proximo totalis ruinae, quae Missionibus his praecipue Madurensi et Maysurensi imminet propter defectum missionariorum. Conscientiam meam exoneravi in S. illam Sedem, eamque enixe rogavi iterumque rogo, ne perire sinat tantas animas pretioso Christi sanguine redemptas, ut novos Missionarios mittat, eisque, qui hic ex suppressa Societate degunt, submittat quo vivant. Ego quo illis succurram non habeo, cum ipse ex eleemosynis, quae nunc cessant, multis annis vixi. 73 annorum senex sum, morbis confectus et tanto oneri impar . . ." He had therefore appointed a Vicar-General in the person of the former Jesuit Scherpenseel, a German, and sought confirmation and faculties for him. Dos Reys, at Pocotte, September 12, 1775, Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina, 1774–1775, Scritt. rif. Congr., 34, n. 35.

[2] *Luigi Maria di Gesù to the Propaganda, Verapoly, September 22, 1776, *ibid.*, n. 12 ; *cf.* n. 13.

[3] *The Capuchin Sebastian de Nevers to the Minister of Marine, January 30, 1776, *ibid.*, nn. 3 and 4.

[4] " *Marchio de Pombal . . . facultatem navim Indicam conscendendi Religiosis non solum exteris, sed et Lusitanis nullatenus concedere vult. Quas ille rationes habeat, Deus novit ; ea quam ego dici audivi haec est : quod timeat plurimum, ne sub mentito nomine et habitu alterius Religionis Jesuitae ad Indias perveniant." Paulinus of St. Bartholomew to the Propaganda, Vannes, October 7, 1775, *ibid.*, 1774–5, n. 32.

the Jesuits, who all submitted to the Papal decision.[1] At Chandarnagar the Brief was promulgated on August 17th, 1775; from there too a call for missionaries was sent to Propaganda.[2]

By the time that Clement XIV.'s Brief to the King of Travancore had been presented with all solemnity Clement had been succeeded by Pius VI. To the thunder of eleven cannons the king raised the letter to his forehead as a sign of respect and he answered it in writing. His reply was acknowledged by Pius VI. in a Brief of February 24th, 1790.[3]

In Further India the Barnabite missions in Ava and Pegu were brought almost completely to an end by the continuous wars. After the death of the Vicar Mantigazza in 1793 no other Superior was appointed.[4] Lebon, the Vicar Apostolic of Siam, died outside the country in banishment in 1780; two missionaries who had been banished with him in 1770 were able to return in 1782, after the death of the Emperor Phajatak.[5] In Tongking and Cochin China the Dominicans at first took a hand in the administration of the districts worked by the Jesuits, and then these areas were divided, on May 20th, 1786, between them and the Paris Seminary.[6] But the mission suffered from the turmoil of war and the lack of manpower. With the help of the French, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine succeeded in placing Gia-long on the throne. In 1798 another persecution broke out in Tongking, two Dominicans, a Spaniard and a Tongkinese, were executed,[7] and rewards were offered for the capture of the missionaries; by 1800 they had been replaced

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] *The ex-Jesuit Anton Maria Garret to the Propaganda, January 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 1776, Congr., 35, n. 1.

[3] PAULINUS A. S. BARTHOLOMAEO, *Viaggio*, 124. Pius VI.'s Brief in *id.*, *India*, 264 *seq.*

[4] SCHMIDLIN, 388; GAMS, *Series*, 122.

[5] LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 131.

[6] *Ibid.*, 102; PICOT, V., 39.

[7] Papal allocution on them on November 13, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 164.

almost everywhere by Tongkinese priests.[1] In Cochin China the Franciscans tried to use their knowledge of the sciences of Europe, especially that of medicine, to win influence at Court and to turn it to the profit of Christianity. One of them, Didacus of Jumilla (d. 1781), won high honours in 1774 and induced the king to publish an edict allowing the Gospel to be preached in public and setting free the Christian slaves.[2] As opposed to this, the conscientiousness of another Franciscan, James Ginestar, who had admonished an adulterous officer, brought him behind prison bars and led to the proclamation of an edict of persecution in 1785.[3]

The Vicar Apostolic of West Tongking and his coadjutor were given the following right: the one who outlived the other could appoint a coadjutor with the right of succession and consecrate him Bishop. The same privilege was granted to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochin China.[4]

In the Philippines, the Franciscans not only spread the Gospel but helped to civilize the country by building roads, bridges, canals, and aqueducts.[5] At Nueva Écija, in 1781, Dominicus a Soledad so diverted the course of the Pantubangan that it flowed through an extensive and hitherto infertile region. In the district of Morong the canals constructed by Massimo Ricco in 1780 still bring water from the mountains to the Balso plain, which was formerly a desert.[6]

According to a letter from Doria, the nuncio to France, to Pallavicini, the French king was willing, with the Pope's assent, to replace the Jesuits as they died out in China, India, and especially Malabar, with priests from the Paris

[1] LAUNAY, II., 324. For Béhaine, *cf. Rev. d'hist. des Missions*, 1926, 353 *seqq.*, 549 *seqq.*; PICOT, V., 296 *seqq.* (where his political activity is discussed).

[2] LEMMENS, 116.

[3] *Ibid.*, 117.

[4] Brief of July 22, 1798, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 430 *seqq.*

[5] LEMMENS, 123.

[6] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLII., 593.

Seminary for Foreign Missions.[1] Rome, apparently, agreed to this.[2]

(5)

In China the mission that had been conducted so brilliantly by the Jesuits was withering away. In 1775 the Bishop of Nanking, Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven, a native of Vienna, wrote from Nanking to the Propaganda, describing his situation.[3] He was sixty-nine years old, he had been thirty-eight years in the mission, he had been Bishop of Nanking for twenty-four years, and for the last nineteen years he had also been Administrator of the diocese of Peking. Formerly the King of Portugal had made a monthly grant of 1,000 taels (1,330 Spanish pesetas) for the upkeep of the mission, but for the last fourteen years the money had not been paid. In consequence the Bishop had been reduced to a state of utter poverty and was heavily in debt. The whole clergy of the diocese consisted of six missionaries; his chaplain was a secular priest, the others were ex-Jesuits, one of them a Portuguese, the remainder Chinese. As two of these six were invalids, there were only the Bishop himself, who also had to be a missionary, and an insufficient number of assistants to minister to the 20,000 Christians. The Portuguese Jesuits who had been moved to Rome by Pombal's measures had held themselves in readiness more than once to come to China as missionaries, but Clement XIII. had forbidden the Jesuit General to send them, lest the Portuguese Court be irritated still more. The persecution by the Chinese mandarins was still

[1] *Letter of March 4, 1776, Nunziat. di Francia, 536, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Doria to Pallavicini, April 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 550. *Cf.* **id.* to *id.*, May 6, 1776, enclosing a letter from the Minister of Marine, Sartine, expressing Louis XVI.'s gratitude to the Pope; the king hoped to remove all doubts about the missions in India and China. *Ibid.*, 563.

[3] *On August 12, 1775 (Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina, 1774–5, Scritt. rif. Congr., 31, nn. 28 and 29, *loc. cit.*).

going on. Since 1747, when two Jesuits were strangled in prison and five others had only escaped the rope on account of the amnesty granted after the overthrow of the Western Tartars, every mandarin was held responsible for seeing that not a single European was still living in the provinces or returned there.[1]

The story of the dying Jesuit mission in Peking was more lamentable still. "I would rather lose my right hand," wrote one of the Jesuits there in 1779,[2] "than have it known in Europe to what pass we have come in our affliction and agony." Peking was spared the anxiety of day-to-day existence, but it was racked by discord and division. To begin with, a quarrel arose between the Bishops of Nanking and Macao. Since the death in 1757 of Polycarp de Souza, Bishop of Peking, Portugal had not presented another Bishop to the see. As was stipulated by canon law, the administration of the diocese was taken over by the Bishop of the nearest diocese, that of Nanking. Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven continued this administration for many years, uncontested, until Alexander da Sylva Pedrosa Guamarães became Bishop of Macao in 1773 and claimed the rights that had hitherto been exercised by Laimbeckhoven in Peking.[3]

Another clash took place in connexion with the Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus. Da Sylva, who was of Pombal's way of thinking, published it in Macao on the day after its arrival, in the most solemn and offensive manner.[4] It now remained to promulgate the Brief in Peking. Propaganda had ordered Laimbeckhoven to appoint a Vicar General for the purpose.[5] But the performance of this apparently simple duty presented certain difficulties. According to the

[1] For the persecution and its victims, *v.* ROCHEMONTEIX, 22–31. In Kiang-nang and Ho-nan the Christians were too frightened to give hospitality to Laimbeckhoven. *Ibid.*, 167.

[2] Cibot to the ex-Jesuit Brotier (*ibid.*, 319).

[3] *Ibid.*, 165 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 173.

[5] *Ibid.*, 170.

Portuguese view, the appointment of a dignitary anywhere within the orbit of Portuguese patronage, that is to say in China as elsewhere, was subject to two conditions: the nominee must be Portuguese and the decree of nomination must go through the chancery in Lisbon.[1] The Vicar General appointed by Laimbeckhoven, the German Carmelite Joseph of St. Teresa, satisfied neither of these conditions. Wherefore the Portuguese Jesuit Espinha of Peking, who, like all his fellow-religious had had to swear, on leaving Portugal, not to acknowledge any dignitary without the authorization of his king, appealed to the new Bishop of Macao, who appointed him his Vicar General. Thus two Bishops, each with a Vicar General, faced each other in the diocese of Peking, and this naturally led to a cleavage among the missionaries. The French Jesuits sided with the Bishop of Nanking, the Portuguese, with a single exception, with that of Macao.[2]

As the latter's representative, Espinha came to the house of the French Jesuits in Peking on September 22nd, 1775, to announce officially the Brief of suppression, but he was sent away as having no authority.[3] The Brief did not reach the Bishop of Nanking's hands till June 17th, 1775; as was his duty, he had it promulgated by Joseph of St. Teresa on November 15th.[4] The Jesuits thereby ceased to be religious and were now seculars. They were allowed to go on living together but they were independent of each other. In the difficulties that were soon to arise no Provincial or General could any longer impose peace on the dissidents by the mere weight of their word.

Before the Brief had been officially promulgated, three French and two Portuguese Jesuits, merely on hearing of the suppression, considered themselves justified in regarding themselves as released from their vows and as having become independent secular priests.[5] This cleavage among the Jesuits was followed by one between themselves and the missionaries of Propaganda who, on hearing of what had taken place in

[1] *Ibid.*, 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, 178.
[3] *Ibid.*, 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, 188.
[5] *Ibid.*, 159.

Rome, treated the property of the Jesuits as their own, went in and out of their house as they liked, and sat down to table with them, uninvited.[1] Propaganda, however, ruled that everything in the mission was to be left as it was, until the Jesuits had been given successors.[2] The dispute between the two prelates was also settled by Propaganda, in favour of the Bishop of Nanking.[3] After the death of Joseph I. of Portugal, Queen Maria also declared against the Bishop of Macao, on May 21st, 1778.[4]

The three Frenchmen who had cut themselves adrift from the other Jesuits were the cause of further complications when the question, what was to become the property of the former Jesuits, became urgent. By the French laws of 1762 the missionaries had lost the benefices from which they had derived their maintenance. Louis XV., however, acceding to the representations made by the Jesuit missionary Joseph Amiot, had given them 12,000 francs a year from his private means and had thus enabled the French mission in Peking to survive.[5]

After the Papal suppression of the Society the question arose, who was the owner of the Jesuit property. Most of the French missionaries in Peking contended that the kings of France had founded and maintained the French mission, that the right to dispose of the mission's property lay with the successors of Louis XIV., and that the French Jesuits in Peking should always have been regarded as mere administrators.[6] The three dissidents, on the contrary, maintained that the possessions of the French missionaries to Peking were indeed the gifts of the French kings but that they had ceded their right of ownership to the mission. And as the individual missionaries had become independent secular priests after the

[1] *Ibid.*, 152, 180.

[2] *Ibid.*, 194.

[3] On January 29, 1778 (*ibid.*, 199).

[4] Letter to Pius VI. (*ibid.*, 202).

[5] *Ibid.*, 108.

[6] Amiot to Bertin, October 1, 1774 (*ibid.*, 153). Copy of the letter, *ibid.*, 437 *seqq.*

suppression of the Society the revenues must be distributed among them.[1]

The dispute became particularly acrid after Louis XVI. had issued his decree of November 30th, 1776.[2] Once the Society of Jesus had been destroyed, there was a curious lack of any further mention of the corruption and perniciousness that had led to its destruction, especially in the letters of the French Government to China. On the contrary, it tried to make its survival in China possible and even to encourage it. Louis XVI.'s decree provided that the French mission to Peking was to remain in the same condition as it had been before the suppression and that its former Superior, Bourgeois, was still to be its Superior and the administrator of the property. The three dissidents objected that either the decision had not really been issued by the king or that he had been tricked into it; besides, the king could not appoint a Superior to the mission, for that transgressed Clement XIV.'s Brief of suppression.[3] On this last point there was no doubt that they were in the right, but the former Superior Bourgeois might at least have been regarded as the administrator of the Jesuit property. The quarrel grew more bitter in the most regrettable manner, and harsh and ugly things were said about Bourgeois, who did not defend himself.[4] At one point it was even proposed that the Emperor of China should be asked to give a decision about the property that his ancestor had bestowed on the mission.[5] The destruction of the Society, wrote Bourgeois,[6] had shown more clearly in China than anywhere else the importance attached to the holy and wise government of the Society. Everything had been transformed into trials,

[1] *Ibid.*, 159 *seqq.* In the *Supplément à la Gazette de Cologne* of January 2, 1778, there are two letters from the lay-brother Panzi, describing the life of the Peking missionaries after the promulgation of the Brief of suppression.

[2] Copy in Rochemonteix, 219.

[3] *Ibid.*, 227.

[4] *Ibid.*, 238.

[5] *Ibid.*, 235.

[6] To Duprez, October 20, 1777 (*ibid.*, 238).

humiliations, and ruins. If God did not take the matter in His hands, all was lost. His friend's heart would bleed if he told him the story of all the misery and affliction.

Meanwhile the Government in Paris continued to show the mission further signs of its benevolence. It now thought of ensuring the survival of the French mission to Peking by securing for it the necessary recruits. Its instrument in this measure was to be a former Jesuit living in Paris, whose past experiences were typical of the fate of a missionary to China of this period. Dugad de Vitry, posted to China in 1737, had had to undergo the horrors of persecution from the very outset of his missionary career, in the province of Hu-kwang. His trials were harder still after 1752, when, as Superior of the whole mission, with no fixed abode, he had to wander from place to place, always in fear of discovery and often hard put to it to find a guide, even among the most faithful Christians. Finally, in 1762, in Canton, he fell into the hands of Pombal's myrmidons, who bore him back to Europe. His relatives, now ceasing to hear from him, rightly supposed that he was in the dungeons of St. Julian. Through the good offices of Queen Maria Leszczyńska he was restored to liberty in 1766 and immediately set off for his old field of activity. But at Canton he was forced by the Governor and mandarins to return to Europe. He was spending the last years of his life as chaplain to the Carmelite nuns in Paris when he received the invitation of the French Government to devote himself to the training of recruits for the Peking mission. A house was bought for the purpose, and in January, 1780, the Minister of Marine was able to apprise the French ambassador in Rome of the inception of this new enterprise.[1] The Government went further still in this direction : in order to make the French mission to Peking independent of the Bishops of Macao and Nanking, it proposed the erection of a new bishopric of Mukden. But Rome did not agree to this proposal, and Dugad failed to secure any candidates for his Chinese missionary institute. On his death in 1786 the project was abandoned.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 263. [2] *Ibid.*, 277.

Meanwhile Rome was hoping to close the gap between the missionaries by appointing a Bishop of Peking. Propaganda had already written in this sense to the Bishop of Nanking on January 29th, 1778, and on July 29th of the same year it informed the Italian Augustinian Giovanni Damasceno Salusti that he had been chosen for the see of Peking. On February 4th, 1779, the Prefect of Propaganda wrote to him that with that letter he would receive, by way of Lisbon, his Bulls and faculties. The Queen of Portugal had, reluctantly it is true, approved of the nomination of the foreigner Salusti.[1]

But the Holy Week of 1780 came and Salusti was still without his Bulls.[2] The question then arose whether the episcopal consecration could be carried out without them. Of the twenty-six priests in Peking twelve answered in the affirmative, fourteen in the negative.[3] In Easter Week Salusti had himself consecrated. This, to say the least, was a contravention of the literal interpretation of a decretal of Boniface VIII.'s, and still more was it a transgression of the provisions of canon law for Salusti to exercise his episcopal office, which he now began to do. Moreover, it was a law founded upon custom, to which no objection had been raised by Rome, that the publication of Papal documents was legally valid only when they were transmitted through the chancery in Lisbon.[4] The result was that another cleavage was added to the old one. A section of the missionaries refused to recognize the newly consecrated Bishop. In self-defence Salusti had recourse to excommunication and interdict; offensive and defamatory statements were made[5]; and

[1] *Ibid.*, 279–281. The name is written "Salusti" in the records of Propaganda and by Rochemonteix, "Salutti" by Gams and Thomas.

[2] It is typical of the times that the Jesuits were immediately suspected of having intercepted the Bull. Salusti wrote that he considered them "magis falsos homines ac impios orbis" (*ibid.*, 284).

[3] *Ibid.*, 292.

[4] *Ibid.*, 300 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 315.

beloved and respected missionaries died one after the other, from grief, it seemed, at being excommunicated.[1] Then Salusti, with the intention of taking possession of the mission's property, appointed as administrator one of the ex-Jesuits who supported him.[2] The latter sued the former administrator Bourgeois before the imperial court and won the case; henceforth each of the Jesuits was to administer the property for a year at a time and the property itself was divided among them individually.[3]

On top of all this, contradictory pronouncements were issued by the ecclesiastical authorities regarding Salusti's consecration and legal position. The Archbishop of Goa, speaking as the Metropolitan of the East, pronounced against him, and on Salusti's sudden death on September 24th, 1781, he nominated Espinha Vicar. But the Archbishop's rulings were not recognized by several clerics, and Rome too rejected them. The theologians in Lisbon contested Salusti's right to act as Bishop, while Rome ruled that he had had the right to have himself consecrated even before the arrival of the Bulls, as no reasonable doubt existed about his nomination to the see of Peking.[4]

Once Rome had given its decisions the indescribable confusion soon righted itself, largely owing also to the tactful demeanour of the new Bishop of Peking, the Franciscan Alexander de Govea. Bourgeois wrote to a friend in 1784 that Peking had been given a Bishop that the circumstances demanded; he had settled the dissension in a trice. "We now live in peace, in communion with each other, and in a harmony that buoys me up." [5] "Since we have had a Bishop we have been living as before, like brothers and friends." [6]

But the removal of dissension was not the only preoccupation

[1] *Ibid.*, 319.

[2] *Ibid.*, 323.

[3] *Ibid.*, 334.

[4] *Ibid.*, 345 *seqq.* *Cf.* the Propaganda decree of December 30, 1781 (*Collectanea*, 339, n. 551).

[5] ROCHEMONTEIX, 377.

[6] *Ibid.*, 413.

of the mission. Directly they had heard of the suppression of their Society the Peking Jesuits had been thinking of handing over the Chinese mission to another Congregation. At first they had in mind the priests of the mission seminary in Paris; then, when they declined, the Lazarists, who entered into the Jesuit inheritance elsewhere too.[1] By a decree of Propaganda dated December 7th, 1783, the mission and its property were transferred to this younger Congregation.[2] Three Lazarists arrived in Peking on April 29th, 1785. Their Superior was a fine mathematician, a pupil of Lalande's, by the name of Raux, and it was he who henceforward was in charge of the mission.[3]

Even after the arrival of the Lazarists the ritual question was still a live one. Bishop Govea found it necessary to republish the Papal decisions on it, and in one of the Peking churches there were disturbances when they were being read. One of the catechists stood up and called out, "Christians, don't believe a word of this! The kotow is not superstitious." Some of the Christians seemed to want to force the Bishop to revoke his order, but Govea stood his ground and won the day. Only a few mandarins and some neophytes from the imperial family wanted to keep to the ceremonies. Later the rumour was spread that the Bishop had given a dispensation for the observance of the rites. Consequently, on December 22nd, he ordered his priests to question their penitents in the confessional on their observance of the Papal decrees, and in his Christmas sermon he denied the rumour. His opponents were by now on the point of arraigning him before the mandarins, on the charge of wanting to stamp out filial love and the Chinese customs, but the storm gradually subsided.[4] There was trouble over the ritual question outside Peking too, at Su-chou, for instance. No wonder that the Congregation of the Holy Office showed surprise when the question came again from there, if

[1] *Ibid.*, 386.
[2] *Ibid.*, 391.
[3] *Ibid.*, 394.
[4] *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, VI., 696 *seq.*

the kotow before the coffin was permissible as a purely civil ceremony.[1] As it was difficult, said some missionaries, to dissuade the Christians from making obeisances to the coffin,[2] they were advising the faithful not to begin the ceremonies associated with burial until the coffin with the deceased had been committed to the earth. Even this the Holy Office would not allow unless it was the only way of forestalling the obeisances.

At the end of the eighteenth century Sze-ch'wan was proving to be the most fruitful field for the Chinese mission. Under Pius VI. its director was still Pottier, the heroic prelate who, when he died on September 28th, 1792, had been performing his arduous pastoral labours for thirty-five years. He had always been true to the Holy See and with the courage of a martyr he had not shrunk even to surrender himself to the mandarins rather than that his Christians should suffer molestation. Escaping from captivity, he went straight back to his mission.[3] In the reports on his labours and those of his companions there were continual complaints about persecutions,[4] nevertheless Christianity progressed. In one year alone 2,124 catechumens had been instructed and 1,508 adults had been baptized.[5] In 1794 there were 2,527 catechumens and 1,500 adult baptisms.[6] The three native priests—Pottier was writing as early as 1772[7]—had more than enough to do; when

[1] Decision of Propaganda, April 10, 1777 (*Collectanea*, I., 318, n. 521).

[2] "... cum difficile admodum sit, christianos avertere a prostrationum praxi ..."

[3] A biographical sketch in *Nouvelles lettres édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales*, III., Paris, 1818, 79 *seqq.* *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVII, 421.

[4] Numerous reports in *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, I.–III. *Cf.* LAUNAY, *La Mission de Se-tchoan*, II., Paris, 1920.

[5] *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 45.

[6] *Ibid.*, 225.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 164. In 1789 there were five European and twelve native priests in Sze-ch'wan (LAUNAY, *loc. cit.*, I., 641); Pottier ordained twelve native priests, his successor seven (up to 1799;

a new missionary appeared on the scene the different districts almost fought for his possession. This scarcity of priests was the great handicap. There was no hope of reinforcements from France ; the college for native priests that had been set up at Szu-ch'wan itself was the only hope for the mission, but with its ten students it was having a struggle for existence.[1]

Pottier also opened schools for girls, of which there were sixty in Sze-ch'wan in the year 1800. For his teachers he drew on Chinese women, who agreed to take a vow of virginity. In reply to a question put by Pottier in 1784 Propaganda ruled that such a vow was not to be taken in China before the twenty-fifth year, the teachers must not be less than thirty years old, and the classes were not to be held in any building that happened to be available.[2] Dufresse, afterwards to suffer martyrdom, wrote in 1796 that the schools were doing well and that in his mission he had six for boys and ten for girls.[3] In view of all these solid achievements Pius VI. had just cause to address a Brief of encouragement and praise to Pottier and his coadjutor Saint-Martin on March 24th, 1787.[4]

The Franciscan missions in Shan-si and Shen-si were disturbed by internal strife after 1799. The Vicar Apostolic, De Mandello, took action against native priests who practised the Chinese rites and for so doing he was suspended from his office by the Visitor Conforti from Peking, until he succeeded in justifying his action.[5] In the persecution of 1784–5 eleven

ibid., 8 *seq.*). Much of the instruction was done by the missionary Moye (*ibid.*, 496–513) ; for his writings (ascetics, dictionary, theological textbook), *v. ibid.*, 446 *seqq.*, 535.

[1] *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 226, 243.

[2] *Collectanea* of the Propaganda, n. 569 ; PIOLET, III., 249 *seq.*

[3] *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 246.

[4] Copy *ibid.*, II., 439. *Ius pontif.*, IV., 432 : authority, dated August 8, 1798, for Saint-Martin and his successors to appoint coadjutors with the right of succession.

[5] RICCI, *Vicariatus Taiyuanfu, s. brevis historia antiquae Franciscanae missionis Shansi et Shensi 1700-1928*, Peking, 1929, 38 *seqq.*, 51 *seqq.* ; CHARDIN, *Les Missions Franciscaines en Chine*, Paris, 1915, 50, 130.

Franciscans were imprisoned.[1] It is curious that the same questions that had been raised by Jansenism in the French missionaries' native land cropped up again in distant China. An edict of Propaganda dated April 29th, 1784, and destined for Szu-ch'wan,[2] reminded the missionaries that the sacramental penance was not to be performed before the granting of absolution and that public penances were not to be imposed for private sins. "If the missionaries were to reflect on the Church's prescriptions on the suspension of absolution they would easily see if those priests are worthy of praise who on account of the sublimity of the Eucharist demand a quite extraordinary and hardly possible preparation." In general, the excessive strictness that had manifested itself in connexion with Jansenism in Europe appeared in China too. Some of the missionaries constrained the Chinese Christians to perform external penances [3] and even advanced the principle that for the Chinese the yoke should be weighted rather than lightened.[4] This may explain why some missionaries complained of the poor results obtained from their work and why some even left their communities because their work had met with no success, although, they said, neither the faith nor the practice of prayer had died out there.[5]

The paying of homage to Confucius when taking a degree was still being practised by lettered Christians in 1798. Some even thought they had shown heroic courage in obtaining, by means of bribes, the acceptance of their excuse of sudden indisposition for not participating in the ceremonies.[6]

[1] LEMMENS, 147 *seq.*; PICOT, V., 207 *seqq.*

[2] *Collectanea*, 350, n. 569.

[3] "... de orationibus, ieiuniis, abstinentiis, vigiliis, corporis cruciatibus aliisque consuetudinibus, quas aliqui missionarii tui bono quidem zelo, sed nimia forsan austeritate, cui plurimum addicti sunt, permoti ad istos christianos invexerunt.' *Ibid.*, 355.

[4] "*Haud nobis probari potuit opinio illa, quae apud plures missionarios isthic recepta videtur, vid. iugum Sinensibus aggravandum potius esse quam minuendum." *Ibid.*, 356.

[5] *Ibid.*, 350, 355.

[6] *Ibid.*, 392, n. 643; Propaganda decree of January 7, 1948.

It was under Pius VI. that the Gospel was brought to Korea for the first time. A well-born literate, Ni-tek-tso, chanced upon some Christian books and was attracted by their contents. A friend of his who was going with an embassy to Peking came into touch with Bishop Govea, was baptized, and on his return baptized Ni-tek-tso. In 1794 a priest coming to Korea found that there were already 4,000 Christians there.[1] A persecution began immediately, though for a time the king calmed down on being told that the Christian religion was in high repute in Peking.[2] In other ways too, both outside as well as inside the capital, the reputation acquired by the Jesuits of Peking through their scientific activities stood the Chinese missions in good stead. The Portuguese Jesuit Da Rocha, who went to Little Tibet in 1777, on the emperor's behalf, to map out some districts that had lately been conquered, took this opportunity to effect the release of the Sulpician missionary Gleyo, who had long been imprisoned.[3]

(6)

By far the most important feature of the history of the missions in the pontificate of Pius VI. was the initial growth of the Catholic Church in the English possessions in North America.[4] In Canada, in 1764, the British Government had shown signs of intending to extend to this wholly Catholic colony the persecuting laws that were in force in England, but in 1774 it found it more expedient to grant the Catholics there freedom to practice their religion, by means of the so-called Quebec Act.[5] At the beginning of the American

[1] PIOLET, III., 385; *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, II., 42.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Report from Bishop Saint-Martin (*ibid.*, I., 248). For Korea, *v.* SCHMIDLIN, 393 *seqq.*; *Die kath. Missionen*, 1875, 160 *seq.*; 1896, 1 *seqq.*

[4] BAUMGARTNER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI. (1876), 18 *seqq.*, XV. (1878), 117 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.*; GILMORE SHEA, *Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore*, New York, 1888.

[5] *Ibid.*, 133.

War of Independence the Congress of Philadelphia violently reproached the mother country for this concession,[1] but soon the founders of the United States also found it politically inadvisable to give any encouragement in the constitution of the general union to Protestant ardour, which in any case was no longer so lively in that age of "enlightenment".[2] A mission formed in 1776 to obtain the participation of Canada in the war of independence did not disdain to include the former Jesuit John Carroll, on account of his knowledge of the French language, and one of the reasons, certainly not the least important one, why Canada declined to take up arms against England was the edict of toleration towards Catholics. Other factors, such as the bravery of the Irish brigade and the support of Catholic France, also played their part in inducing the leading circles to derive from the much vaunted principle of universal freedom the freedom to practise one's religion, including Catholicism. "I am presuming," Washington informed the Catholic delegation that congratulated him on his acceptance of the presidency, "that your fellow-citizens will never forget the patriotic part that you have played in carrying through the revolution and in building up the constitution, or the important help they have received from a nation which professes the Roman Catholic faith."

After the separation of the United States from England it was obvious that the Catholic Church in the colonies would similarly have to be freed from its dependence on the Vicar Apostolic in London. A petition to this effect was addressed to the Holy See on September 6th, 1783, and on July 28th of the same year Doria, the nuncio to France, had handed to the American ambassador, Franklin, a note to Congress on the matter.[3] He received the reply that the assent of Congress was unnecessary as the Constitution permitted the unrestricted organization of all religious associations. At the end of 1784 John Carroll was nominated Prefect Apostolic and this was

[1] BAUMGARTNER, *loc. cit.*, XI., 23.

[2] Things were different when it came to the attitude of the various States of the Union. SHEA, 47 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, ch. 5.

followed on April 6th, 1789, by the erection of the see of Baltimore and Carroll's nomination as its first Bishop.[1] There were at that time in the North American colonies 25,000 Catholics served by twenty-four priests. A synod met on November 7th, 1791, and an academy for the training of priests was opened in Georgetown, the staff being supplied, at Carroll's request, by Sulpicians. In 1790 convents for nuns were established.

Even in wholly Protestant Sweden better times seemed to be in store for the Catholics.[2] Religious freedom, at least for foreigners within the realm, was granted by the Estates on January 26th, 1779, and on January 24th, 1781, Gustavus III. decreed the free exercise of their religion, to some extent at least, for the Catholics. When replying to the Pope's letter of thanks, Gustavus III. asked him to provide the Catholics in Sweden with a Prefect Apostolic. Pius VI. appointed to the post a priest from the diocese of Metz, named Oster. He was recommended to the king in a Papal letter [3] and met with a gracious reception at his hands. The first Mass celebrated by Oster was attended by the king's brother, the Duke of Söderman Land, and the music was supplied by the royal orchestra. The free practice of religion was, however, still impeded by some irksome regulations and Swedes were not allowed to go over to the Catholic Church.

At about the same time religious rights were granted to both Catholics and Calvinists by the senate in Hamburg.[4]

(7)

In the first half of his pontificate glad news from the mission fields was received quite frequently by Pius VI., but in

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3131 ; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 344.

[2] Metzler, *Vikariat*, 198 *seqq.* ; Picot, V., 146–150. Gustavus III.'s edict in Theiner, *Sammlung einiger wichtigen Aktenstücke zur Gesch. der Emanzipation der Katholiken in England*, Mainz, 1835, 77 *seqq.*

[3] Of March 22, 1783, Theiner, *Epist. Clementis XIV.*, 382.

[4] Picot, V., 150.

his later years events took place in rapid succession that threatened the very life-nerve of missionary work. The destruction of the religious Orders, which supplied the missionaries, had already begun under Clement XIV. and it advanced still further under his successor. The first act of violence committed by the French revolutionaries in this respect was the sacking of the mother house of the Lazarist Congregation in Paris on the night of July 12th, 1789.[1] In the following year the National Assembly decreed the destruction of all the religious Orders.[2] The refusal to take the oath of loyalty to the civil constitution of the clergy led to the closing of the Seminary for Foreign Missions. The directors of the institute tried to carry on their work from Rome, Amiens, and England, but the war between England and France hindered the departure of the missionaries.[3] The Lazarists, who had replaced the Jesuits in the missions in so many places, were now able to supply but few missionaries [4]; financial support for the missions dwindled more and more [5]; and the attempt to recruit French *émigré* priests for the missions was not successful.[6]

When they seized possession of Rome the revolutionaries laid their hands on the very centre of the missionary world. After General Berthier had occupied the Eternal City in 1798 and had forced the Pope to leave, "Citizen" Haller, the son of the famous poet and naturalist, suppressed the Propaganda as "a completely useless institution" by a decree of March 15th, 1798. Its extensive library was sacked and its archives were about to be sold as wastepaper when they were saved by an intercession coming from high places. The college buildings, the church, from which Tournon's monument was removed, and the printing type, which could be used, said

[1] *Mémoires sur la dévastation de la maison de Saint-Lazare*, in JAUFFRET, I., 260 *seq.*; PRAT, 245 *seqq.*; PICOT, V., 363 *seqq.*

[2] See our account, vol. XL., ch. iv.

[3] LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 273, 277, 295.

[4] *Rev. d'hist. des Missions*, 1925, 323.

[5] LAUNAY, *La Mission de Se-tchoan*, II., 41.

[6] *Ibid.*, 301 *seqq.*

the revolutionaries, "for proclaiming liberty to the universe," were confiscated. The students were sent back to their homes in 1798; ten of them who stayed behind were taken by Paccanari—the same priest who was trying to restore the Society of Jesus under another name—to the hermitages near Spoleto, but he had to bring them back. Soon after becoming Pope, Pius VII. found some of these students imprisoned in the Castel S. Angelo and he sent them home.[1] When the States of the Church were annexed by France, the college was allowed to continue, and the expenses of the Propaganda were met by the Empire.[2]

When Propaganda had been dissolved, Pius VI. had given its secretary, Cesare Brancadoro, full powers to transact its business as before. Brancadoro proceeded to do so, at first in Rome for a time, then in Padua, until the beginning of October 1799, and thenceforward, unto the end of May 1800, in Venice. From the end of 1800 onwards Propaganda seems to have resumed its regular activity.[3]

[1] SCHMIDLIN, in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswiss.*, 1931, 360. On 17 Floréal, an 6, thirty-nine cases containing all manner of alphabets were taken from the Propaganda printing-press and sent to Paris. They were followed by the presses, other apparatus, and finally twenty more cases containing Greek and Latin characters. *Cf. Köln. Volkszeitung*, of July 24, 1904, No. 606.

[2] MORONI, *Diz.*, XIX., 224 *seq.*

[3] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 1922, 112.

CHAPTER VIII.

Joseph II.'s Ecclesiastical Legislation in Austria—Pius VI.'s Journey to Vienna and Joseph II.'s to Rome.

(1)

Braschi's elevation to the supreme control of the Church was not to the liking of the Austrian Cabinet, but on being informed of the election the empress expressed her sincere pleasure in unambiguous terms,[1] so that Kaunitz too had to abandon his objection to Braschi's candidature, and he now stated that he was satisfied with the new Pope.[2]

From the very start Pius VI. showed his willingness to agree to any reasonable desire on the part of the Austrian Cabinet. One of the first proposals put forward by the empress was the diminution of the festivals celebrated by the Catholics of the Greek rite. Herzan, who from now on, at Maria Theresa's desire, was Austria's representative in Rome in all ecclesiastical questions, obtained for the Court of Vienna, with Cardinal Conti's consent, two Briefs for the Uniat Bishops, which could be used at will. One called for the specification of the feast-days which Rome was asked to suppress, the other empowered the Bishops to announce themselves, as they thought fit, the feasts which were considered superfluous.[3]

But the Pope's accommodating attitude notwithstanding, it was soon to be seen that the new anti-clerical currents of thought, which had already been spreading under Clement XIII., were flowing more strongly than ever. The Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Migazzi, had been keeping a watchful eye on the dangerous trend of affairs and had not been afraid

[1] Arneth, IX., 571. Except for the second section (2), this chapter is largely the work of Professor Vierneisel of Heidelberg.

[2] *Ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*; Brunner, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 22 *seq.*

to express his misgivings to many persons, including the empress herself, though he knew it might bring him into disfavour. For a long time now he had been convinced that the decay of ecclesiastical life could only be checked if the holders of the important posts in the Government were replaced. In February, 1775, he made it clear [1] that no improvement could be hoped for so long as such men as the prelate of Braunau, Abbot Rautenstrauch, Court Councillor Heinke, and Professor Eybel retained their posts. Above all he urged that the teaching of canon law be considered as a theological, and not a secular, discipline and that the Church should not merely possess those rights which the sovereign had conceded from sheer good-will.

Among the chief representatives of the new system Migazzi had omitted to include one name which, so far as principles and theory are concerned, should have been mentioned in the very first place—that of the South Tirolese Martini.[2] In the spring of 1754, when he was only twenty-seven, Martini had been entrusted with the task of teaching the newly-introduced subject of "natural law" in the university of Vienna. In this capacity he took a decisive step in going beyond the point of view adopted by Riegger and was the first man in Austria to attempt to justify the State's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters in virtue of its "nature", that is to say the rationalistic idea of the State. Thus he deduced from the State's authority to legislate its complete and unrestricted right to dispose of ecclesiastical property and persons, to permit or reject the provisions of canon law, to tolerate or suppress other beliefs.[3] From the so-called supervisory authority he derived the unrestricted right of inspection of ecclesiastical affairs, the right of directing and convoking synods, of prohibiting ecclesiastical vows injurious to the State. Finally, from the executive power of the State he

[1] Wolfsgruber, *Migazzi*, 351.

[2] Stintzing-Landsberg, *Gesch. der Rechtswissenschaft*, III., 521; Arneth, IX., 191 *seqq.*; Kink, *Universität Wien*, I., 1, 469, n. 609; II., 2, 303 *seqq.*

[3] Stintzing-Landsberg, *loc. cit.*, 383 *seq.*

derived the right to remove from office and punish "rebellious" clerics and to protect the members of the Church from their superiors' abuse of their office.

Not only did Martini inculcate this cæsaropapalistic doctrine on future officials from his professorial chair, he also saw that it was put into practice, in his capacity as member of the Court Commissions of censorship and studies,[1] as Court Councillor to the supreme court of justice, as member of the commission for ecclesiastical affairs, as Court Councillor to the Court Chancery of Bohemian-Austria and in other capacities, though it must also be admitted that this same Martini frequently brought forward conciliatory proposals in the ensuing clashes between the Church and State.

For the practical realization of these new ideas, however, Abbot Rautenstrauch of Braunau [2] was of far greater importance. He had gained the attention and approval of the Austrian Government [3] through a treatise on canon law [4] which the Archbishop of Prague wanted to have condemned, and in 1774 he was commissioned to devise a scheme for the reform of theological studies. This too was received with approval. He was made director of the theological faculty in Prague, where he carried out his reform, and then, by a decree of November 11th, 1774, he became director of the faculty in Vienna. In this capacity and as assessor on the Court Commission for studies and in the college of censors he exercised a dominant influence until his death in 1785.

[1] It is significant that the suppression of the professorship of canon law in the faculty of theology was ascribed to him, while that in the juristic faculty was allowed to continue. *Cf.* ARNETH, IX., 192.

[2] To be distinguished from Johann Rautenstrauch, a contemporary of his (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXVII., 460 *seq.*). For the abbot, *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X², 818 *seq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXVII., 459 *seq.*; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 382 *seq.* Garampi reported on his dangerous influence on July 8, 1776; THÓT, in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXXIV. (1926), 353 *seq.*

[3] ARNETH, IX., 190.

[4] *Prolegomena in ius ecclesiasticum* (1769).

He made his mark most notably through his reorganization in 1774 of theological studies, necessitated in the Austrian universities by the suppression of the Jesuits. According to his principles, the theologian was to be trained only in subjects which would further " the cure of souls and consequently the State ". The paramount duty of the theologian was to transmit to the people the doctrines of faith and morals.

Rautenstrauch's scheme of reform, which was actuated exclusively by motives of expediency,[1] was approved not only by the commission for studies but even by most of the Bishops. Only the Bishop of Erlau definitely disapproved of it, though Migazzi distrusted the spirit and the object of the plan.[2] The scheme was sanctioned by the empress on August 1st, and October 3rd saw the publication, in its final shape, of the " Constitution of the Theological Faculty ", which Rautenstrauch had drawn up in agreement with the Provost of St. Dorothea, Ignaz Müller, and certain professors, some slight attention having been paid to the opinions of the Bishops.[3]

This new order of studies diverted the whole of religious training in Austria, and shortly afterwards that of the whole of Catholic Germany too, into new channels. It demanded from the young priest a knowledge and interpretation of the Scriptures according to the original text. Twice as much time as before was to be allotted to church history and this subject too was to be used for training the student in scientific and critical appreciation. The selection of material was not based on the inner pragmaticality of development but solely with a view to its practical applicability. These two subjects, supplemented by the study of the Church Fathers and the history of Christian literature, occupied the first two years of the course, the main subjects of the next two years being dogmatics, moral philosophy, and canon law. In dogmatics

[1] Kink, I, 1, 523, n. 703; Jager, in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, II. (1878), 460 *seqq.*

[2] Kink, 525 *seq.*

[3] The chief documents in Zschokke, 35 *seqq.*

a strict distinction was to be drawn between fundamental truths and derivative truths, between dogmas and the opinions of schools; the last were to be set forth and estimated only from the historical aspect. Moral philosophy was just as important as dogmatics and was to be developed more fully than before. Finally a fifth year was to be devoted to apologetics and, especially, pastoral theology, a "school" whose promotion to an independent place in theology was most in conformity with the practical spirit of the age. Significantly this was the first subject to be taught in the German language, on account of the popular use to which it was to be put, and thus the first breach was made in the closed ring of theological academic Latinity.

This syllabus gave rise to endless arguments between Rautenstrauch and Cardinal Migazzi until finally the empress limited its period of validity to five years. The Archbishop of Vienna's chief objection was to the total exclusion of the episcopal authority from the training of the priest.[1] Later, Rautenstrauch's syllabus was replaced by another which had far graver implications.

How well Rautenstrauch's ideas fitted in with those of the Austrian Government may be gauged from the fact that in the following year Maria Theresa gave him another important commission. To obviate the controversial cases which were continually recurring [2] he was to make a new compilation of articles of canon law which would then serve as a sort of official Austrian canon law applicable to all the schools. The draft of this "*Synopsis*" which the prelate submitted to the empress was also passed by her to Migazzi, for his opinion. This time Rautenstrauch's work was so high-handed that Migazzi condemned it outright.[3] It was, he wrote, neither clear nor pure, but suspicious, scandalous, and erroneous,

[1] WOLFSGRUBER, 319 *seqq.*

[2] According to the empress's letter to the director of the faculty of jurisprudence on October 14, 1775. KINK, I., 1, 535. *Cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, 356 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, for Migazzi's opinion, covering 194 folio pages.

and from many of the articles a Catholic sense could only be extracted by force. The work was permeated with Febronian ideas, the right of the State was stretched so far that it touched on the most sacred questions, such as the sacrifice of the Mass and the ordination of priests, and it demanded the open toleration of heretical cults.

This did not shake the empress's confidence in the man she had chosen to be the creator of the new canon law, though she ordered him to improve his draft and to elaborate it in consultation with Migazzi. Apparently an agreement was reached with difficulty, though the Cardinal did not withhold or suppress his reservations, since the "*Synopsis*", with its 253 articles, appeared in print in 1776.[1] By a decree signed by the empress on October 6th it was declared to be authoritative for the higher schools and those managed by the religious Orders. Migazzi protested against this and also the simultaneous introduction into all the schools of Riegger's canon law.[2] On this occasion he was supported by the Cardinal Bishop of Passau, Count Firmian. Both these protests were simply disallowed by the Viennese Court Commission for Studies, which offered some evasive statements by way of explanation.[3] Only the empress showed a certain sympathy by relieving Migazzi personally of the responsibility of publishing the decree and by instructing Martini to try and reach some understanding with Migazzi on the subject of Riegger's textbook.[4] Martini's attempts at mediation, however, made no impression on the obdurate insistence of the reforming party, particularly Prince Kaunitz.

But the spoken word of the teacher was more effective than the printed one of the text-book, so that it was much to be regretted that Riegger's empty chair should have been

[1] *Synopsis iuris ecclesiastici publici et privati, quod per terras haereditarias aug. Imperatricis Mar. Theresiae obtinet*, Vienna, 1776. Extracts in BEIDTEL, 274 *seqq*. *Cf.* JÄGER, *loc. cit.*, 463.

[2] WOLFSGRUBER, 366 *seqq*.

[3] KINK, I., 1, 536 *seq*.

[4] WOLFSGRUBER, 369 *seq*.

occupied in 1773 by his pupil and favourite, Valentin Eybel,[1] who followed faithfully in the footsteps of his master. In 1777 Eybel published a new, four-volumed text-book on canon law [2] that left Rautenstrauch's *Synopsis* far behind and was in open and unmistakable contradiction to the Church's teaching on fundamental questions. Now at last Maria Theresa allowed herself to be convinced and relieved Eybel of his Viennese professorship.[3] She took similar action against the church historian Ferdinand Stöger, of Vienna, whose object was to disparage the Roman Church to the advantage of all its enemies and who had written a most pernicious text-book on church history.[4]

The State's campaign to control, on its own authority, the whole system of ecclesiastical instruction, succeeded still further. There was already a law by which the higher schools of the religious Orders had to assimilate completely their teaching activity to the faculty in Vienna, and in 1775 a fresh instruction was sent to the Orders: to obtain complete uniformity in ecclesiastical training the houses of study in the various provinces were to be concentrated in Vienna, and only those lecturers were to be employed who could produce a certificate from a university or a higher "Gymnasium".[5] In the next few years supplementary regulations were issued,

[1] For his superficial knowledge, *cf.* SCHULTE, *Gesch. der Quellen*, III., 1, 255; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 384; KINK, I., 1, 507, n. 670; ARNETH, IX., 189.

[2] *Introductio in ius ecclesiasticum catholicorum.* The title speaks volumes. For its insertion in the Index on February 16, 1784, *v.* REUSCH, II., 940.

[3] WOLSGRUBER, 375 *seqq.* Eybel was in the service of the Austrian State until 1805, firstly at Linz, where he was prominent in the suppression of the monasteries, finally in Innsbruck.

[4] *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam Novi Testamenti*, 1776. *Cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, 325 *seqq.* According to REUSCH (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXVI., 319), Pius VI. wrote to the empress about the book. It is typical of the Josephian decade that Stöger was nevertheless appointed director of the general seminary in Louvain, in 1786. In the same year he translated his book into German.

[5] WOLFSGRUBER, 333 *seq.*

whereby theologians belonging to religious Orders were also to be examined in public and private canon law, the examiner, as in the case of secular priests, to be a State teacher.[1] A further restriction, this time even of episcopal rights regarding the employment in the cure of souls of those already ordained, Migazzi was able to obviate at the last moment.[2]

By and large, however, it was inevitable that the spirit that in the reign of Maria Theresa made its way into the highest positions in the State and into the teaching staff of the university, would soon dominate the civil service and the clergy. What was most fatal of all was that Maria Theresa's son and successor was guided by the same principles and struck out on the path that had been laid for him, with far less hesitation.

The spirit that moved Joseph II. had already been manifested when he was co-regent. He was to be the first independent emperor to come from the House of Lorraine, from those Franco-German border lands, therefore, where Febronianism had developed. Even in his early youth the prince had been instructed about the frontiers of the spiritual and temporal powers, and no time had been lost in instructing him about the "Roman art of dissimulation". To supplement these lessons he had had to read such authors as Bossuet, Pufendorf, and Muratori.[3] A contemporary of his, Duke Albrecht of Sachsen-Teschen, who was afterwards to be his brother-in-law, described him at the age of twenty as having many good qualities, and richly endowed with talent and ability, but as possessing only a superficial learning.[4] His manner was open and engaging and on his journey to Naples in 1769 it had charmed both the courtiers and the common people.[5]

True to the way in which he had been trained, Joseph, even when only twenty years of age, expressed his principles of State absolutism with singular clarity: "Everything belongs to the State. This word embraces everything, so that everyone

[1] *Ibid.*, 331, 334.

[2] *Ibid.*, 334 *seqq.*

[3] ARNETH, IV., 158 *seqq.*

[4] ADAM WOLF, *Fürstin Eleanore Liechtenstein*, 119 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 95 *seqq.*

must contribute to its good." In his memorial of 1761 [1] two basic thoughts are prominent: the unlimited authority of the State for the good of the commonweal, and the procurement of the means the State requires to maintain itself without assistance. All his subsequent activity was informed by these two ideas.

His activity was feverish. As soon as he became co-regent in 1765 he applied himself to the most varied tasks with a bustling energy that was to know no rest for a full quarter of a century. An extensive memorandum on the situation of the monarchy which he prepared at the end of this year [2] contains the nucleus of the government programme which was carried out fifteen years later. We find here the guiding principles for his decrees on the management of the censorship and education, on monasteries and monks, on pious foundations and parochial organization, even on his policy of toleration. Another memorandum, of March 1768,[3] addressed to his brother, Leopold of Tuscany, shows his attitude towards the Papacy, which must be described as completely Febronian. Nevertheless, in his dealings with Rome, his tone, though very firm, was courteous and not without respect. He only wished, he said, that Rome knew how to appreciate the rights of political sovereignty.[4]

What is quite certain is that personally Joseph was a God-fearing man. The religious upbringing he had received from his mother and the example she had set him seem to have had an effect on him that lasted the whole of his life.[5] One notes a slackening of religious ardour in his later years, but he never omitted to attend Mass on Sundays, even when he was travelling.[6] One example of his personal seriousness was the

[1] April 3. ARNETH, VI., 65.

[2] ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, III., 335 *seqq.*

[3] ARNETH, III., 27 *seq.*

[4] Letter to Pope Clement XIII. (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, I., 277, n. 1).

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, 128, 248; G. WOLF, in the supplement to the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1881, No. 268; MITROFANOV, II., 674.

[6] He attended Sunday Mass, for instance, in Munich on April 6,

farewell letter he wrote his sister Marie Antoinette in the summer of 1770, when she was leaving for her marriage in Versailles ; it was a letter of admonition that showed a real solicitude.[1]

But there were other features in the character of this absolutist monarch that were more prominent. The most deep-seated motive of his reformatory zeal seems to have been a strong urge to be different from other people. The memorandum he wrote at the beginning of his co-regency contains the following passage : " It would be more comfortable and easier for me to be guided by, and to act in accordance with, the clear ideas of someone else, rather than have to convert the whole world, like another Apostle, to my way of thinking. The former may be much easier, but the latter is not impossible for me, and it tickles my vanity. Apart from my duty, it is the only thing that determines my actions and could make me capable of racking my brains with pleasure." [2]

This was why he regarded everything that was still existing as insufficient and reprehensible, and why he was always devising alterations in every direction, and this in its turn explains his multiplicity of occupations and his mania for planning. During his co-regency, when his mother was on the spot, he was unable to put much into practice, but it was then that he formed innumerable plans that could be carried out at a more favourable opportunity. Maria Theresa allowed him to have some influence in the spheres of finance, war, and, here and there, in foreign policy, but she kept him away entirely from what attracted him most : educational and ecclesiastico-political affairs. As a result, Joseph, who already in the '60s was the head and the hope of the friends of " enlightenment ", finally held entirely opposite views to his

1777, in Freiburg i.B. on July 20, and in Munich again on August 12, 1781. *Cf.* Brunner, *Humor*, I., 180 *seq.* ; *id.*, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 445 ; Arneth, *Korrespondenz*, II., 150.

[1] Arneth, *Marie Antoinette, Joseph II. und Leopold — ihr Briefwechsel* (1866), 17.

[2] Arneth, *Korrespondenz*, II., 361. A good character study of Joseph II. in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XXVII., 635 *seqq.*

mother's on these questions, which led, from time to time, to open conflicts. But the extra weight of the maternal authority always restored the balance.

In the December of 1775, however, it came to an argument between mother and son on the question of principles, in the course of which Maria Theresa openly expressed her misgivings about her son's ideas of liberty.[1] Subsequently, in the summer of 1777, the main point on which they differed was the subject of that unique correspondence in which two generations faced each other in opposition.[2] To the measures taken by the empress against the Bohemian peasants who had fallen away from the Church Joseph opposed his unshakable principle: diversity of religion is only injurious to the State when combined with fanaticism and cleavage; wherefore both groups are to be treated exactly the same, and the rest will come right of itself.[3] A few days later Joseph formulated his idea of toleration in even clearer terms: "Have freedom of belief, and there will be only *one* religion: the guidance of all the inhabitants in equal measure for the good of the State." [4] The empress's reply shows the extreme alarm with which she viewed these principles. She could only console herself with the hope that Joseph could not really mean what he said, "otherwise, so far as religion is concerned, there would be nothing left to ruin." [5] In his reply Joseph did in fact correct himself and rejected all idea of religious indifference: "I would give all I have for all the Protestants in Your lands to become Catholics." But he still held to his fundamental demand for official toleration,[6] and when he learnt in Bohemia itself of the measures which had been taken there by the

[1] ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 94 *seq.*, 99. *Cf.* also a statement of the empress's in 1769, in KÜNTZEL, *Kaunitz*, 61.

[2] *Cf.* GOTHEIN, *Der Breisgau unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II.*, 10.

[3] Joseph II. to Maria Theresa on June 19, 1777 (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 140 *seq.*).

[4] *Ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 146.

[6] *Ibid.*, 151 *seq.*

empress the whole dissension broke out again within him, and he wrote,[1] "In so important a matter I shall stand firm, and if I must give way it will only happen by my letting the whole world know that things are being done in spite of my protest."

It is significant, however, that almost in the thick of this dispute, when his travels took him close to Voltaire's home at Ferney, Joseph ostentatiously refrained from giving the philosopher the satisfaction of a visit, in spite of the preparations that had been made for his reception.[2]

The great respect that Joseph had for his mother, in spite of everything, was shown most deeply at the time of her death. In 1780 Pope Pius VI. had shown her still another mark of his gratitude by nominating her youngest son, Archduke Maximilian, Coadjutor of Cologne and Münster.[3] A few weeks later Maria Theresa fell seriously ill, and public prayers were ordered to be said. On November 29th, 1780, she gave back her pious soul to God.[4] The loss hit Joseph very hard,[5] although it gave him the absolute power he had so long desired. Under date December 27th the Pope sent him a letter of condolence.[6] Meanwhile Joseph had taken hold of himself again in order, as he wrote to his brother Leopold,[7] to prepare minds for the changes which were so necessary and which he

[1] On October 5, 1777, *ibid.*, 166.

[2] Joseph II. to "the five ladies" on July 16, 1777 (A. Wolf, *Eleonore von Liechtenstein*, 145). *Cf.* Eduard Castle in the *Österr. Rundschau*, 1908–9, 147 *seqq.* As late as 1789 the emperor stopped the printing of an edition of Voltaire's works in Vienna.

[3] Gendry, I., 211.

[4] *Ibid.*, 212; Arneth, *Korrespondenz*, X., 731.

[5] *Cf.* his letters to Leopold on December 4 and 14, 1780 (Arneth, *Korrespondenz*, III., 325, 328).

[6] Gendry, I., 215. A little ill-feeling was caused on this occasion by the Pope's failure to make a consistorial allocution and hold a memorial service, as was customary on the death of a male sovereign. *Cf.* Herzan's reports of December 20, 1780, and January 27, 1781, in Brunner, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 56, 58 *seqq.*

[7] On December 11, 1780 (Arneth, *Korrespondenz*, III., 327).

had long been storing in his brain. The classic decade of Josephism, to which he gave its name, had now begun.

Joseph II.'s ecclesiastical policy, and this is what we think of first when Josephism in its narrower sense is under consideration, was first and foremost political and can only be understood aright when viewed from the standpoint of the emperor's political principles. He had before his eyes as a model of successful rulership Frederick II. of Prussia, with whom he knew he would have to reckon as an opponent sooner or later.[1] As a preliminary step towards such a reckoning, and an indispensable condition for it, it seemed urgently necessary to reshape the extremely multiform Austrian state in order to obtain the greatest possible uniformity.[2] "The coalescence of the countries in the idea of the State," "the United State of Austria"—these were some of the ways in which the provisional goal of the enterprising emperor has been described.[3] His governmental activity, therefore, did not merely mean a heightening of the zest for work and the rate of work; it bears the impress of a special kind; a new spirit enters into the political life of Austria. The change becomes more and more evident as it gathers speed and directness. Now even the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, only acquiesced in it with misgiving.

This violent change in the Austrian body politic inevitably induced a revolution from above on the largest possible scale.[4] The Catholic Church, even in most recent times the strongest

[1] L. Ranke, *Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund. Sämtl. Werke*, XXXI.–XXXII., 2. For "J sephism", *cf.* Rösch, in the *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 56 *seqq.*, also *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XXIII., 441 *seqq.*, 526 *seqq.*

[2] The natural wealth of the country was lauded, for instance, by the Venetian ambassador Venier in his "relazione" of 1769, *Fontes rerum austr.*, II., 22 *seq.*, 313.

[3] Ranke, *loc. cit.*, 39 *seq.*

[4] Joseph II.'s disregard of the traditional character of the Austrian political system sowed the first seeds of national discontent among the non-German sections of the population. *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLX., 648.

bond of union between the various nationalities of which this vast State was composed, was to be stripped of its traditional privileges. To whom were the ecclesiastical principalities of the Empire to turn for support now that their mighty saviour, Austria, was failing them? The Church was no longer to enjoy universal respect, as a value superior to all others; it was to be reduced to the rank of an assistant and handmaid of the almighty State and its welfare. In bringing this about, Joseph II. was always fully convinced of the justice of his demands and could very easily reconcile them with his religious sentiments. The idea that he was emperor by the grace of God was still alive. It would hardly be just to deny him and his leading supporters a real interest in religion, even if they did appreciate it mostly on account of its necessity for the existence of the State. From this too it is evident that all the ecclesiastical and administrational reforms were to help arouse and gather together all the economic and spiritual forces of the people, so as to enable the State to exert its strength and deploy its power to the utmost.[1] There is extant a most minute investigation made by one of the Councillors of State into the escape of money abroad caused by ecclesiastical exemptions.[2] By this petty standard were controlled all the measures against ecclesiastical dues, against religious houses and confraternities. The utter soullessness of this rationalistic system is brought out in the estimate formed of it by the Trinitarians: the liberation of the captives is of little profit to the State, as most of those who would be ransomed would be infirm; the same money would buy far more useful

[1] *Cf.*, for instance, WOLFSGRUBER, 731 *seq.*, for the concluding sentence in a State protocol on the diocesan arrangement, or ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold II.*, 55, for a letter of Joseph II.'s of December, 1786, on the stipends for the Bishops (HOLZKNECHT, 44, n. 1).

[2] HOLZKNECHT, 68. After making careful inquiries, Herzan was able to report from Rome that "the export of money to Rome for marriage dispensations amounted to very little". BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 46.

members of the State.[1] Even in the case of toleration, humanitarian motives were a secondary consideration ; the primary one was the profit that would accrue from the increase of population.

Another factor of importance was that Vienna was a fruitful ground for Jansenistic influences. Interest in Jansenistic questions had first arisen in Germany after the appearance of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and it had been stimulated by the Protestant attacks made at the time of the Reformation celebrations in 1717.[2] It first found expression in a body of anti-Jansenistic literature intended principally for young students.[3] The best known of these works was written by Eusebius Amort, an Augustinian Canon of Polling, whose arguments were so sound that they were used in official Roman documents.[4] At the same time a swing over to Jansenism in Germany was occasioned by the appointment of Gerhard van Swieten as physician-in-ordinary to the empress.[5] Another channel by which this French current of thought was conducted to Austria was by way of Rome. Here the chief connoisseur of Jansenistic literature was Ambros Simon von Stock, who was influenced by the Dominican Selleri. Returning to Vienna, Stock, in conjunction with Swieten, formed a pro-Jansenist coterie, the centre of which was the prelate of the college of Augustinian Canons of St. Dorothea, Ignaz Müller, the empress's confessor.

At the very beginning of Joseph II.'s reign the movement was given definite official encouragement by the Government's attempt to suppress the Bull *Unigenitus* in Austria.[6] This

[1] HOLZKNECHT, 75.

[2] WILHELM DEINHARDT, *Der Jansenismus in deutschen Landen* : *Münchener Studien zur hist. Theologie*, VIII. (1929), 13 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 47 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 57 *seqq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 60, n. 1, with Pius VI.'s Brief to Bishop von Spaur, of Brixen, of September 13, 1781, *ibid.*, 104 *seq.* For this somewhat Jansenistic Bishop, *cf. ibid.*, 87 *seqq.*, 92.

[5] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVI., 278 *seqq.*

[6] DEINHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 98 *seqq.*

was caused by Jansenistic intrigues in the training college for priests at Brünn. By an imperial decree of May 4th, 1781, the Bishops were forbidden to make any use of the Bull or to allow it to be discussed.[1] This decree was relaxed to some extent by another, of May 11th, 1782, which permitted a brief factual reference to be made to the Bull in theological high schools, but no attitude was to be taken towards it.

Subsequently the doors were kept wide open for the influx of Jansenistic literature in foreign languages.[2] Under the protection of the censorship numerous translations appeared, for which publishers were found in Southern Germany also. The 23-volumed translation of Pierre Nicole's ascetic works appeared under the very eyes of the Prince Bishop of Bamberg, Franz Ludwig von Erthal. The opposition also had its literary output, culminating in the thoughtful work produced in his old age by Martin Gerbert, in 1791,[3] though at the time of its publication its merits were not fully realized.

Similar tendencies were quite clearly apparent in the case of the priest Blarer,[4] who laid before his pupils in the seminary at Brünn, allegedly for practice in translation, not only the Protestant Bible but also the works of Quesnel, Pascal, and Arnauld. Blarer enjoyed the protection of Kaunitz and although he was obliged by a resolution of May 4th, 1781, to make a respectful apology to his Bishop, he received an invitation at the same time to undertake the direction of the newly founded *Alumnat* in Vienna, though it must be admitted that another object of this appointment was to annoy Cardinal Migazzi.

Under Joseph II., as under Maria Theresa, the new currents of thought found their most visible expression at first in the proceedings in the university of Vienna. When he first began

[1] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXXVI. (1880), 885.

[2] Bellegarde, for example, found seventeen customers in Vienna and at least twenty-five in Rome for his forty-two volume edition of Arnauld's works. DEINHARDT, 107.

[3] *Iansenisticarum controversiarum e doctrina s. Augustini retractatio. Cf. ibid.*, 132 *seqq.*

[4] WOLFSGRUBER, 524 *seqq.*

to reign alone, the emperor wanted to carry out thoroughgoing reforms here as elsewhere, for the purpose of saving as much money as possible. His confidant in this matter was the Court Librarian, Gottfried van Swieten, Gerhard's son, who worked on the most extraordinary principles in the performance of his office. The destruction of many a valuable monastery library has been ascribed to him, he being convinced, it was said, that old editions of the fifteenth century and other such items were of very doubtful value for a university library.[1] At the end of 1781 Gottfried was appointed president of the Court Commission on Studies.

Under Maria Theresa at least the Catholic character of the universities had been preserved, but Joseph now enforced the principle that the teachers were to be chosen solely on the strength of their professional ability, without any reference to their religious life and faith, it being the sole purpose of the universities to produce, not scholars, but civil servants. Wherefore no deviation might be made from the prescribed text-books. Little respect was paid to research, and there was to be no independent seeking for the truth ; all the " schools " derived their value and their *raison d'être* from the State and its well-being.[2] Similarly the religious character of various functions was expunged: after June 3rd, 1782, doctors ceased to take an oath in defence of the Immaculate Conception, and after February 3rd, 1785, all the other religious customs attaching to the conferment of degrees were omitted.[3]

In these circumstances a sad future awaited the theological faculty, especially as all right of surveillance had been taken away from the Bishops.[4] Several alterations were made in Rautenstrauch's syllabus: in 1785 the duration of the course was reduced from five to four years, and in 1788 to only

[1] KINK, I. 1, 542, n. 724. For Gottfried van Swieten, *cf.* RÖSCH, in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 68.

[2] KINK, I., 1, 545 n. 727, 548 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 556 *seq.* ; P. PH. WOLF, *Gesch. der Kirche unter Pius VI.*, vol. III., 170 *seqq.*

[4] ZSCHOKKE, 57.

three. This was occasioned by the palpable scarcity of priests, the cause of which was not difficult to guess, the general intellectual tendency being what it was. The shortening of the course enabled the authorities to do without a chair of exegesis and another of dogmatics, though there was still time in the "practical year" that followed on the normal course to make the future priests acquainted with "the agriculture connected with the general history of nature".[1]

As before, the real battlefields of the new spirit were church history and canon law. In the absence of a suitable Catholic text-book on the former subject, the compendium composed by the Protestant Professor Schröckh of Wittenberg[2] was introduced by decree of August 23rd, 1786. After carefully examining this bigoted book, Migazzi protested against it to the emperor.[3] Van Swieten saw to it that the book was defended before the emperor, not indeed as a makeshift, but as being perfectly unobtrusive and completely truthful in its historical judgment.[4] The un-Catholic sentences to which Cardinal Migazzi had objected could not mislead an intelligent youth, and they would help him to draw the right distinctions. Nevertheless a prize of 100 ducats was offered to the author of an up-to-date Catholic church-history.[5] Four works were submitted, the winning author was Professor Dannenmayer of Vienna, and in 1788 his work was also introduced into general use.[6]

Eybel was succeeded in the chair of canon law by Joseph

[1] *Ibid.*, 62 *seqq.*

[2] Herzog-Hauck, *Realenzyklopädie für Theologie und Kirche*, XVII³., 779 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII²., 569 *seq.*; Beidtel, 68.

[3] Wolfsgruber, 506 *seqq.*; Kink, I., 2, 294 *seqq.*; Zschokke, 57 *seqq.*

[4] Kink, *loc. cit.*, 295 *seq.*

[5] Zschokke, 59 *seq.*, 62.

[6] *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae N. T. Cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII²., 562; Werner, *Gesch. der Theologie*, 219, and in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, IV., 745. The Catholic text-book was introduced on August 24, 1788.

Johann Nepomuk Pehem,[1] but then the question was asked, whether the faculty had any reason for existence. In the summer of 1788 Swieten, speaking as president of the Court Commission for Studies, informed the director of the faculty of jurisprudence, Heinke, that it was incomprehensible to him what canon law was doing in a State; it would have to go. He did in fact obtain Heinke's signature to a request for its removal which, with the emperor's approval, was presented to the commission. The negotiations, however, were protracted until May, 1790, by which time Swieten's reputation had already become so insecure that the project was never realized.

The period of the Josephian reform of Church and State, properly so called, lay between the years 1780 and 1784. One of the first fundamental plans for reform was the creation of a centralized ecclesiastical organization for all the Danubian countries. In the directives given by the emperor himself to Court Councillor Heinke, for the preparation of a considered opinion, he expressed the wish, in conformity with the monarchical character of the Church as a whole, to present the Austrian Bishops and Archbishops with a supreme spiritual head. This might take the form of a church council or synod, composed of the Primates of Bohemia and Hungary, the Archbishop of Vienna (to be created Primate of Austria), and a layman. This central Court authority would administer all ecclesiastical property and would be the highest court of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons. In the country a more expedient distribution of the clergy and a new diocesan arrangement was to be undertaken. In addition, there were separate proposals concerning the inner life of the Church, church services and processions, stipends, and mendicant friars.[2]

[1] STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 384; SCHULTE, III., 1, 259; WERNER, *loc. cit.*, 216 *seq.*; BEIDTEL, 72 *seqq.* All the doctrines and principles of the Josephian canon law are systematically discussed by RÖSCH, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIV. (1904), 56 *seqq.*, 244 *seqq.*, 495 *seqq.*, LXXXV. (1905), 29 *seqq.*

[2] WOLFSGRUBER, 467 *seqq.*

The first part of Heinke's opinion consisted, apart from an enthusiastic eulogy of the principles enunciated by the emperor, of a disparagement of the moral and intellectual reputation of the Austrian clergy, ending with the discovery that all the evil in the Church originated in the Papal infallibility. For reasons of political economy he recommended the application of the Gallican articles to the hereditary lands as well and asked that the clergy be trained so as to think on entirely different lines from the present ones. Finally he deemed it his duty to warn the emperor against Migazzi, who both as a person and as a Cardinal had the disposition of a Roman vassal and acted as the leader of the opposition for the Austrian Bishops.

All this goes to show that Heinke had lost sight of the Church's duty to guide and train the faithful and that he conceived the whole business of education as a purely political affair. Similarly, to his mind, the administration of ecclesiastical property by independent ecclesiastical authorities was an incalculable danger to the existence and safety of the State. Accordingly he was not so much in favour of the wholesale secularization of Church property (which in any case belonged to the State, in his opinion), as of the civil administration of it by means of special monastic and parochial offices in every district.[1]

One may say that by the spring of 1781 the whole range of the Josephian measures had been determined, at least in their main features. A start was also made with the realization of them, one by one. Heinke considered that the most urgent task was the readjustment of the relations between the Pope and the Austrian Church. By letters patent of March 26th, 1781, the State *placet*, as already practised in the reign of Maria Theresa, was extended to all Bulls and Briefs and other ordinances of the Holy See, on the ground that any of them might touch on questions of public import. Under pain of severe penalties in cases of transgression, the clergy were to be deprived of the " delusion " that " servants

[1] *Ibid.*, 469–485 ; Rösch, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIV. (1904), 68 *seqq.*

of the altar were subject only to the Pope and the Roman Court, and not to the power of the sovereign." [1] By a decree of September 1st the *placet* was to be given to Papal letters addressed to newly nominated Bishops only when they took their episcopal oath in its original form and in consonance with their duties as subjects; further, the elected Bishop would have to take a separate oath of loyalty to the sovereign and take upon himself a special obligation towards all the sovereign's laws and commands "without any restriction or exception".[2]

Erastian tendencies were also manifested in the attempt that was made to cut the bonds that united the religious houses in Austria with their Generals,[3] though here too financial considerations played their part. Migazzi tried to thwart this scheme by means of detailed counter-representations, but with no success. An imperial patent of March 24th, 1781, decreed the abolition of all relations of dependence on foreign heads of Orders or Visitors and prohibited the export of money and the purchase of books abroad. All existing exemptions and immunities were annulled by a stroke of the pen.[4]

On April 18th Cardinal Herzan referred for the first time to the Pope's stupefaction on being informed by the nuncio of the March decree. In a conversation with Herzan Pius had told him that he could never agree to the severance of the bonds between Rome and the Orders. Herzan had had the effrontery to defend the emperor's action. It was still not clear, he said, what steps the Pope intended to take.[5] It is significant that

[1] WOLFSGRUBER, 491; MITROFANOV, II., 678.

[2] WOLFSGRUBER, 492 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 625 *seqq.*; MITROFANOV, II., 687.

[4] *Handbuch aller . . . Verordnungen und Gesetze*, II., 199 *seqq.*; BEIDTEL, 278 *seqq.* See WOLFSGRUBER, 634, for Migazz 's petition to the Pope of April 4, 1781, and faculties for cases of conscience.

[5] He intended first to writ to the emperor. *Cf.* Herzan's reports of April 21 and 25, 1781, in BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 63 *seq.* The "gran sensacion en Roma" caused by these decrees was reported also by *Grimaldi to Moñino on April 19 and May 24 and 31, 1781. In his report of May 24 he spoke also of the complaints

it was on this occasion that the first indication was given of Pius VI.'s idea of going to Vienna.

But very soon there was occasion for fresh negotiations. Joseph II. wanted to control the occupation of the bishoprics and abbeys in his Milanese territory as well as in his patrimonial dominions. Herzan transmitted this desire to the Pope in an audience granted to him on July 18th and afterwards had to be told by the Pope in a polite, round-about way, that one could be an ambassador of a sovereign without sharing in all his Government's plans for reform. But the Pope's written reply to the emperor paved the way for further discussion.[1]

The Pope soon had to sustain one shock after another. The ordinance regarding the episcopal oath was followed by the Court decree of September 4th, 1781, empowering the Bishops, on the authority of the sovereign, to dispense on their own account, without Papal co-operation, from all canonical impediments to marriage that were not of the divine or natural law[2]; for the State was much concerned that the Bishops should avail themselves of the official authority conferred upon them by God.

But what must have caused the Pope the gravest anxiety was the policy of toleration that the enlightened emperor was now beginning to put into execution. In this matter Joseph II. had no intention of starting off with a grand, sensational act of legislation. His first step was to change the mission stations in the dissident territories into proper centres of spiritual ministry.[3] An instruction was also issued that in no circumstance was any official difference to be made between Catholics and Protestants.[4] Thus, case by case, actual validity was acquired for the new principles of the toleration of the

the Pope had made to him in an audience about the decrees. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

[1] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 64 *seqq.*

[2] *Handbuch*, II., 294 *seq.*; a supplementary ordinance, *ibid.*, 295, of October 25.

[3] *Ibid.*, 191 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 421.

heterodox.[1] After further ordinances had been issued, these principles were enunciated in due form: the edict of toleration, which had already become known but had been wrongly interpreted, was now, after consultation with the Council of State, formally promulgated, for Austria on October 20th, 1781, for Hungary on October 26th, for the Netherlands on November 12th, and for Lombardy on May 30th, 1782.[2]

The restriction of the edict to the Lutheran, Reformed, and Greek (schismatic) Churches was by way of a concession. The Catholic Church retained its exclusive privilege of practising its religion officially, and a number of other privileges were reserved for its members. On the other hand, when it was a question of employment by the State, only integrity and ability were to be taken into account, not religion.[3]

Meanwhile another point in the programme of reform was under consideration: the suppression of the monasteries. Complaints made by two Carthusians of Mauerbach, near Vienna, resulted in the drafting of an imperial law [4] for the secularization of all contemplative Orders in the hereditary lands. Firm steps were taken by the nuncio Garampi to ward off this attack on the religious life of the country. On December 12th, 1781, he addressed a note to the Chancellor, condemning the emperor's intentions in the strongest manner. He also communicated his statement to all the Bishops in Austria. In the Chancellor's reply, of December 19th, Joseph's principles were set forth in unambiguous language: the

[1] MITROFANOV, 713.

[2] *Ibid.*, 715. On October 9, 1781, the emperor informed the Czarina of the step he had taken, apologizing for not having done everything but claiming to have done at least the essentials. ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, 106.

[3] The edict was dated October 13 (BEIDTEL, 283 *seqq.*, and *Handbuch*, II., 422 *seqq.*) It was brought to the notice of the Ordinaries by a decree (*ibid.*, 434) in which occurs the phrase "the one true religion in which alone is salvation". The emperor insisted on this in spite of Kaunitz's remonstrances. BRUNNER, *Humor*, II., 192 *seq.*

[4] WOLFSBRUGER, 636 *seq.*; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 394 *seqq.*

Christian religion was only to be measured by the needs of the sovereign power, so that the Pope was entitled only to the guardianship of the "principles of the faith", the State, however, to "everything about the Church that was not of divine but of human invention and institution". To the latter, among other things, belonged the external discipline of the clergy and the Orders.[1] With this the exchange of notes on this question ceased for the moment; the opposition between the two viewpoints had been expressed with the utmost clearness.

In the meantime the Pope's project of making a personal visit to Vienna took more definite shape. Kaunitz was firmly set against it, whereas the emperor, when the Papal intention was brought to his notice, was clearly embarrassed, as was to be seen from the artificial frigidity and the studied deference in externals which he now exhibited. So Kaunitz, reluctant though he was, had to draft a reply to the Papal notice, offering to accommodate the Pope in the Imperial Hofburg. The messages Joseph wrote to the Czarina [2] and to his brother Leopold, informing them of the projected visit, were very terse. From the latter he learnt how divergent were the views taken by the Romans on the proposed journey.[3] The emperor in any case had time enough to prepare for the extraordinary event [4] and was resolved to appear, in a respectful but restrained manner, as a reverential son of the Church, a courteous

[1] The document was immediately printed and published. Our quotation from it is taken from the *Reflexionen über die Note, welche von des . . . Fürsten von Kaunitz-Rietberg Durchlaucht dem päpstl. Herrn Nuntius Garampi auf dessen Billet vom* 12. *Dezember* 1781 . . . *den* 19. *des nämlichen Monats und Jahres zugestellt worden ist. Von dem Verfasser der Grundsätze zur Feststellung und Aufrechterhaltung der politischen und kirchlichen Macht in katholischen Staaten. Ein Handbuch für Priester und Staatsmänner.* 1787. For the exchange of notes, see also RANKE, *Die deutschen Mächte*, 52 *seqq.*

[2] ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Katharina*, 121, 123.

[3] ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold*, 70, 75, 79 *seqq.*

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 81, 82, 84.

host, and a good Catholic, but also as a monarch who was unshakable in his principles and wholly intent on furthering the interests of the State.

That Joseph II. was in no way willing to be distracted from his measures of reform by the forthcoming visit of the Pope is shown by the fact that he went on with his ecclesiastical legislation in the days that preceded the arrival of Pius VI. and in those that immediately followed it. The most important business of the winter of 1781 was the taking of the preliminary steps that led to the actual suppression of the monasteries.[1]

Just as almost all the other rights of the Church had to pass to the State, the censorship too, which had already undergone considerable changes under Maria Theresa,[2] was managed for the benefit of the State and was centralized in the capital.[3] Thus a Court decree declared that the index of forbidden books published by the Bohemian Bishops was effective only in so far as it contained items which had also been condemned by the State censorship.[4] Naturally special attention was paid to ecclesiastical publications, in particular the pastoral letters, which from time to time the emperor caused to be submitted for his personal examination.[5] In various petitions he presented to the emperor Cardinal Migazzi pointed out that it was the duty of the Bishops to inspect the religious writings in their dioceses, and he succeeded in obtaining a resolution whereby the two ecclesiastical members of the college of censors must be ready at any time to explain their actions to the Ordinaries.[6] The chief object of this was to keep off Jansenistic influences; but by a decree of May 4th, 1781, all

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 443.

[2] *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXVI., 284 *seqq.*

[3] This new regulation of the censorship of June 11, 1781, in *Handbuch*, I., 517 *seqq.* *Cf.* GNAU, *Die Zensur unter Joseph II.*, Strassburg, 1911.

[4] *Handbuch*, I., 545.

[5] One example in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 420. *Cf.* also *Handbuch*, II., 545 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*, 532.

[6] WOLFSGRUBER, 573–6.

Ordinaries were forbidden to try to force the Bull *Unigenitus* upon the clergy or people in any way, under pain of the imperial displeasure.[1] Both Archbishop Frankenberg of Malines and Migazzi made representations on the subject to the emperor, but they could do nothing with Kaunitz and the State Council against them. The emperor persisted in regarding the Bull as non-existent, though he allowed works written abroad for or against the Bull to be brought into the hereditary States.[2]

The Josephian measures could not have been carried out so quickly and to such an extent had it not been for the many members of the Austrian episcopacy who viewed "enlightenment" with favour.[3] The so-called "Toleration Pastorals", such as those of Colloredo, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and Johann Leopold von Hay, Bishop of Königgratz,[4] attracted particular attention. But when the Archbishop of Gorizia, Count Rudolf Joseph von Edling, failed to bring some imperial ordinances to the notice of the people and the clergy, an order went out to the district militia to bring the courageous prelate to book. Shortly before Pius VI. entered the diocese of Gorizia,

[1] *Ibid.*, 588.

[2] *Ibid.*, 584–591.

[3] *Cf.* Tóth, *Zwei Berichte des Wiener Nuntius Garampi über die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Österreich um 1776*, in the *Rom. Quartalschrift*, XXXIV. (1926), 330 *seqq.*

[4] A German translation, *Zirkularschreiben des Herrn v. Hay, Bischofs zu Königsgrätz, an die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözes über die Toleranz, vom 20. November 1781, aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, Vienna, 1782, is most easily accessible in Schlözer, *Staatsanzeigen*, 1782, 157–167. *Cf. Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXV. (1905), 47, and W. Müller, *Johann Leopold v. Hay. Ein biographischer Beitrag zür Gesch. der Josephinischen Kirchenpolitik*, Vienna, 1893. As a refutation of Hay's arguments, the *Katholischen Betrachtungen über das Cirkularschreiben des Herrn von Hay, Bischofes zu Königsgrätz an die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözes über die Toleranz*, Augsburg, 1782², could hardly be bettered. A character sketch of the Bishop by Princess Eleanore of Liechtenstein in A. Wolf, *Eleonore von Liechtenstein*, 217.

the Archbishop had to go to Vienna. There, just before the arrival of the Pope, he was called into the presence of the emperor and was requested to carry out the necessary publication, failing which he would have to leave immediately, but not for his diocese. The prelate signed and was dismissed to his diocese for the time being [1]; after the Pope's departure his case came up again.

(2)

Pius VI. had written to the emperor on December 15th, 1781,[2] expressing the desire to discuss with him by word of mouth the differences of opinion that existed between them. Besides Garampi's unsuccessful attempts at mediation with regard to the inroads of the imperial legislation on ecclesiastical territory,[3] it was principally Joseph II.'s claim to the right of presenting the Milanese benefices that drove the Pope to make a final attempt to reach a mutual understanding.[4] The negotiations on this latter question had been going on for six months and seemed to be on the point of breaking down entirely. Had this happened an open breach between the Pope and Emperor would have been inevitable. When Vienna had made out that it could justify its present demands by the transfer of the right of nomination in the Milanese to the House of Sforza by Nicholas IV., Pius VI. had replied in a letter of August 20th that that Pope had never made any such concession but had only granted a personal right of proposal to one of the princes of the House of Sforza during

[1] According to the imperial resolutions in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 415 *seqq.*

[2] *Lettres de notre St. Père le Pape et de Sa Majesté l'Empereur*, Rome, 1782, Pt. 1, 2 *seqq.* This and other letters are also to be found in *Lettere missive e responsive di S.S^tà Pio VI. f.r.e. di S.M^tà I. e R. A. Giuseppe II. Imp. dei Romani*, Venezia, 1782.

[3] *Memorandum to the nuncio in Spain, supplement to the "Breve al nunzio" of February 14, 1782, Nunziat. di Spagna, 437, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Bernis to Vergennes, January 30, 1782, *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIV., 176.

[4] *Memorandum, *loc. cit.*

his lifetime.[1] This explanation had no effect in Vienna, where the old aspirations were adhered to as obstinately as before[2] and were even expressed in the written reply of January 11th, 1782,[3] in which the emperor assured the Pope of his pleasure at the proposed visit. A few weeks later Joseph II. informed his exalted guest that all preparations would be made in the best possible manner and he offered him as a lodging the rooms in the Hofburg that had been occupied by his mother, Maria Theresa.[4]

In the Sacred College, opinions on the intentions of the Braschi Pope were divided. More than one member was against the pontiff embarking on what was, to say the least, a questionable enterprise; Bernis especially, not in his capacity of ambassador but in that of Cardinal, made the most earnest representations to the head of the Church.[5] Nevertheless, Pius VI. persisted in his project, which he had been contemplating for a long time past and which now, after the last measures taken by the Viennese Government, had

[1] Thus Garampi *reported to Rome on April 5, 1781, with reference to the decree on the religious houses: "La circostanza in cui mi trovo è bene afflitiva." Nunziat. di Germania, 398, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* *Pallavicini to the nuncio in Madrid, on December 27, 1781: "Erronei principi di Cesare sono esse sì gravi, e di sì estesa conseguenza, che alle moltiplici rispettose rimostranze praticatene in Vienna, giusta le Pontificie Istruzioni, da quel Mgr. Nunzio, non ha pio saputo Sua Beate non apportare il possibile rinforzo delle rimostranze proprie, et immediate, che vorebbe pur potergli spiegare distintamente con la viva sua voce. Benedica il Signore il paterno officio del suo vicario, dandogli quella fecondità, che può unicame derivare da' di Lui divini influssi, di quali, quando Egli non vuole, l'uomo non vale a resistere." Nunziat. di Spagna, 436, *ibid.*

[3] *Lettres, loc cit.*, 12 *seqq.*

[4] Letter of February 16, 1782, *ibid.*, 18 *seqq.* The message reached the Pope when he was already on the way (see below, p. 451). *Cf.* Garampi's *report to Rome of February 28, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 398, fo. 284, *loc. cit.*

[5] Bernis to Vergennes, February 6, 1782, *loc. cit.*, 179. *Cf.* Masson, 396 *seq.*

become a fixed resolve.[1] In Rome it was still hoped that he would refrain of his own accord, or be prevented, from making the journey.[2]

In the consistory of February 25th, 1782, the Holy Father officially informed the Cardinals of his imminent visit to Germany[3] and made the arrangements that his absence necessitated. He gave instructions, in the event of anything untoward happening to him, that the next conclave was nevertheless to be held in Rome.[4] For the expenses of the journey 80,000 thalers were taken from the Papal chest.[5] The departure was to take place only two days later, on February 27th.

After celebrating in his private chapel in the early morning of the 27th,[6] the Holy Father attended another Mass in St. Peter's. Here he greeted, among others, the Russian

[1] Bernis to Vergennes, February 13, 1782, *loc. cit.*, 184 : " Un certain enthousiasme, le goût des choses extraordinaires, un zèle mal entendu, un peu trop d'amour-propre et de présomption, de faux conseils donnés, pour la plupart, à mauvaise intention, et l'ignorance la plus crasse du monde et des cours, ont prévalu sur le bon sens, sur l'amitié et sur les vrais intérêts de la papauté, du St-Siège et de l'Église. Dieu n'est pas obligé de réparer par des miracles les imprudences de ses vicaires ! "

[2] *Ibid.*, 185.

[3] *Lettres, loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 2 *seqq.* ; *Acta a sanctissimo patre et domino nostro Pio divina providentia papa Sexto causa itineris sui Vindobonensis*, Romae, 1782, 3 *seqq.* (1 *seqq.* in the quarto ed.) ; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 919 *seq.*

[4] Report of the Lucchese agent Domenico Paolo of February 23, 1782, published by Sforza in the *Giornale Ligust.*, XV. (1888), 488 *seq.* ; GENDRY, I., 242 ; WOLFSGRUBER, 670.

[5] [BOURGOING], *Pius VI.*, 206.

[6] The complete itinerary was published by Giuseppe Dini, the Prefect of Ceremonies, who accompanied the Pope, under the title : *Diario pieno e distinto del viaggio fatto a Vienna dal sommo pontefice Pio Papa Sesto*, Roma, 1782, with engravings by Bombelli. *Cf.* *Vol. 50 (II°. App. al tomo X.) in the Papal Ceremonial Archives in Rome ; EHRLE in the *Archiv für Literaturgesch. des Mittelalters*, V. (1899), 595. *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 931 *seqq.*

Grand Duke, who gave him a magnificent fur coat to keep off the cold during his arduous journey.[1] The interest of the populace was shown by the dense throngs that lined the streets, some praying, others merely curious; some even accompanied him for miles outside the city. In many of the churches prayers were said before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, and priests had to insert in the Office of the day a special Collect for the successful issue of the enterprise.[2] The Pope travelled in the simplest possible style, not even taking a Cardinal to attend him, though he had once invited Bernis to accept that honour.[3] Otricoli, Foligno,[4] Tolentino, and Sinigaglia were the daily stages on the road to Cesena,[5] the

A. F. BAUER, *Ausführliche Geschichte der Reise des Papstes Pius VI. (Braschi) von Rom nach Wien und der Rückreise von Wien nach Rom*, 2 parts, Vienna, 1782; CORDARA, *De profectione Pii VI. ad Aulam Viennensem eiusque causis atque exitu commentarii*, Romae, 1855. An anonymous Venetian diary and other relevant accounts and records from the Venetian archives were used and published by L. COGGIOLA PITONI in his article "Il Viaggio di Pio VI. negli stati Veneti e nella Dominante", in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XXIX. (1915), 167 *seqq.*, with contemporary pictures (some by Francesco Guardi). Three sonnets from the parochial archives of Porto Maurizio were published by MANACORDA in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XXIV. (1899), 76 *seq.* For the whole journey see also *Katholische Bewegung*, I. (1868), 49 *seqq.*

[1] [BOURGOING], *loc. cit.*, 205.

[2] "Pro pontifice itinerante" (DINI, *Diario*, 1).

[3] Bernis to Vergennes, January 30, 1782, *loc. cit.*, XIV., 176.

[4] "Orationes recitandae pro felici itinere sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae Sexti," Foligno, 1782. Over the entrance to the present seminary (formerly the Convento di S. Agostino), where the Pope spent the night, is a memorial tablet, ending with the wish "Ne tanti beneficii memoria unquam deleretur | hoc monumento aeternam esse iussit (Augustinianus ordo)". Details of the Pope's visit in the *Gazetta universale di Foligno*, No. 24, of June 14, 1782, p. 196, and in the *Giornale di Foligno*, No. 10, of February 3, 1888 ("Dalle memorie di Giacomo Tani").

[5] For the stop at Rimini, *v.* CALLEGARI, *Storia d'Italia*, 626; *cf.* 646.

Pope's birthplace, where he was given a most enthusiastic welcome and allowed himself a few days' rest, most of which was spent in visiting his numerous relatives.

On March 7th the journey was continued as far as Imola; thence by way of Bologna, where the senate of the town and the Duke of Parma gave magnificent receptions for the Pope, to Ferrara. Here, on March 10th, the Pope received a message from the emperor [1] that all preparations had been made for his entry and stay in the capital of the empire. Beyond Bologna the route led through the territory of the Venetian Republic, which, as if to make up for former injustices, went out of its way to show the pontiff particular friendship and civility. Thus special bridges were built for the Papal party, not only over some smaller rivers but even over the Piave itself.[2]

Between Udine and Gorizia the party entered Austrian territory, where it was welcomed by the nuncio Garampi and the Vice-Chancellor, Count Kobenzl.[3] The way went on past Gorizia, Marburg, and Graz, where the Pope was received by the Bishop of Seckau in the Minorite church of Mariahilf, to Wiener-Neustadt. Emperor Joseph II., who was suffering from a serious inflammation of the eyes, had come as far as this point to meet the Pope, in spite of his physician's advice. While the military academy of Wiener-Neustadt was making ready to welcome the honoured guest, the two heads of Christendom met outside the town, at Neunkirchen.[4] The Pope took his seat in the imperial state carriage, on Joseph's right, and the capital was reached on the evening of this day,

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 448; GENDRY, I., 247 *seq.*; report of the Lucchese agent of March 16, 1782, SFORZA, *loc. cit.*, 440 *seq.*

[2] Antici's *report to Elector Karl Theodor of April 20, 1782, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 506/1; BAUER, *loc. cit.*, I., 23. *Cf.* in particular COGGIOLA PITONI, *loc. cit.*, 174 *seqq.* Further bibliographical references, *ibid.*, 168, n. 2. On Treviso: A. MARCHESAN, *Il celebre passaggio per Treviso del p. Pio VI. 12 Marzo 1782*, Treviso, 1914.

[3] DINI, *Diario*, 17; BAUER, I., 23 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.*, besides Dini and Bauer, GENDRY, I., 254 *seq.*

February 22nd. The streets through which the procession passed were lined uninterruptedly by the military and dense masses of the people. At the Residenz the whole Court was assembled in readiness to receive His Holiness. His long and fatiguing journey ended with a solemn *Te Deum* in the Court Chapel. The emperor himself superintended, with the greatest attention, the arrangements made for the comfort of the Pope and his attendants, who were lodged in a newly decorated suite of apartments in the Hofburg.[1]

What the person of the Holy Father meant to the faithful people of Italy and Austria, even in that mundane age, was shown by the endless acclamation which accompanied him, as if in a triumphal procession, as he passed through their countries.[2] Probably never before had so many people streamed into Vienna from every province as they did in these days and weeks, and several times a day the Holy Father had to show himself to the crowds which were begging for his blessing.[3] High dignitaries, both spiritual and lay, from the Danubian monarchy and the rest of the empire came to pay their respects to the leader of Christendom. But with all the extraordinary friendliness shown towards this rare guest, even by Government circles and the imperial family, there was much else besides, of a less delightful character, which inevitably cast a doubt on the absolute sincerity of these demonstrations of respect.

It was principally the appearance of some publicistic writings that raised suspicion, especially as even official circles had had a hand in them. Moreover, Joseph II. had at least tolerated them. Apart from the many aberrations in prose and verse perpetrated by the Viennese school of enlightening literature, such as the productions of the frivolous freemason

[1] Garampi's *report to Rome of March 25, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 398, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Il pellegrino apostolico. Poemetto di due canti composto dall' Abbate Vincenzo Monti Ferrarese," Siena, 1783.

[3] The Pope had to appear on the balcony seven or eight times, *reported Garampi to Rome on April 8, 1782, *loc. cit.* *Cf. ibid.*, *report of April 15, 1782.

Blumauer or the more careful Sonnenfels,[1] a brochure that was widely read is worthy of note on account of its author. Eybel, the occupier of the chair of canon law in the university of Vienna, took advantage of the Pope's presence to clear away, as he thought, a mass of pious prejudices with an opuscule entitled *Was ist der Papst* ? [2] According to him—and this, of course, was entirely a Febronian idea—the successor of St. Peter was no more than any other Bishop, and he simply refused to grant him any further rights, in either the ecclesiastical or the secular sphere. Spurious or mutilated passages from the Fathers were evidence enough for him to demonstrate the truth of this highly questionable proposition. The nuncio to Vienna's complaint about the pamphlet to the emperor, who had not read it, was dismissed with a reference to the Austrian laws of censorship.[3] Rome, however, afterwards singled out

[1] *Cf.* especially BRUNNER, *Mysterien*, 208–224, with detailed information about the relevant pamphlets. Reprints, especially of Blumauer's poems, in BAUER, I., 92 *seqq.* The name of the author cited by Brunner (*loc. cit.*, 221, n. 1) is " Wende ", not " Wrede ". Another work by Sonnenfels worth noticing, besides that mentioned *ibid.*, 217, n. 2, is *Die Reise des Papstes zum Kaiser. Nebst einer kurzen Erzählung von der Veranlassung dazu und unparteyischen Anmerkungen von derselben*, Vienna, 1782. At the end of the work Sonnenfels again calls himself only the editor (p. 157). Besides the work mentioned by BRUNNER (p. 212, n. 1) Rautenstrauch is also responsible for *Warum kommt Pius VI. nach Wien* ?, Vienna, 1782. Brunner's information may be supplemented as follows : A. F. BÜSCHING, *Wie verhielten sich von jeher die Päpste gegen die Kaiser und österreichischen Landesregenten* ? (with appendix on the Papal Mass celebrated in Vienna on Easter Sunday), 1782 ; NEUBERGER, *Ankunft und Aufenthalt Pius' des VI. in Wien. Ein Beitrag für künftige Geschichtschreiber*, Vienna, no date ; F. I. FUCKER, *Was Pius VI. in Wien gemacht hat* ? *Anfrage aus der Provinz*, Vienna, 1782 ; *Die Heimreise des Papstes Pius VI. von Wien nach Rom nach einigen Anmerkungen und Beobachtungen* (especially for the stay in Vienna ; on pp. 65 *seqq.* the author sneers at the Easter Mass).

[2] GENDRY, I., 252.

[3] SCHLITTER, *Reise Pius' VI.*, 20 *seq.* ; BRUNNER, *Humor*, II.,

this publication from among all the other lampoons and condemned it in a Brief of November 26th, 1786.[1] What should have shamed the Catholics of this time was that a Protestant historian from Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, should have written (anonymously) a work, *Reisen der Päpste* ("Journeys of the Popes"),[2] which gave the impetus for a new historical appreciation of the Papacy which gradually made headway.

Pius VI. had borne the fatigue of his long journey so well [3] that he was able to open his confidential discussions with the emperor on the very first day after his arrival in Vienna.[4] Day after day, for hours on end, the two rulers sat discussing their common difficulties. Despite their private character the conferences had been prepared for in detail by the Government and even the progress made with the various points for discussion was controlled by the indirect participation in the

205 *seqq.* Naturally there were a number of counterblasts, e.g. "Der Papst und seine Rechte", Vienna, 1782; "Das ist der Papst," Augsburg, 1782. One such pamphlet was subsidized by Garampi. *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 510. Further oppositional literature in REUSCH, 949 *seq.*

[1] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1746; REUSCH, 940, 949. *Cf.* also "Confutazione di due libelli diretti contro il breve 'Super soliditate'. L'uno intitolato: La voce della verità ecc. L'altro: Riflessioni sopra il Breve del Sommo Pontefice Pio Sesto, in cui si condanna il libro di Eybel: Che cosa è il Papa?" No place of publication, 1789.

[2] No place of publication, 1782. It was a partisan work written for the Elector of Mainz against Joseph II. (GUGLIA, *Ranke*, 223), and includes in the appendix an attack on Eybel: "Fragment eines Briefes über die Frage: Was ist der Papst?" It recalls the journeys taken by the Popes of the middle ages in defence of freedom against the despotism of the State. *Cf.* for similar opinions on Pius VI. and Joseph II. given by Johannes von Müller, the *Briefe an Bonstetten*, II. (1812), 240, 263, 271 *seq.* *Cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, 677.

[3] Garampi's *reports to Rome of March 25 and April 1, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 398, *loc. cit.*

[4] BAUER, I., 29.

talks of Prince Kaunitz and Count Kobenzl in particular. Kaunitz had provided the emperor with a memorandum of all the view-points with which to counter the anticipated complaints of the Pope.[1] The emperor in his turn kept the two chancellors continuously informed of the course of the negotiations and received further directions from them. Kobenzl especially exerted a powerful influence on the emperor.

The discussions covered the Josephian legislation on the episcopal oath and the dispensation from monastic vows and impediments to marriage. On Kobenzl's advice the emperor asked the Pope to put all his objections in writing. In drawing up this document [2] Pius took the opportunity of referring to all the relevant aspects of the emperor's ecclesiastical legislation, such as the laws regarding toleration and the censorship, the suppression of the Bull *Unigenitus*, the introduction of general seminaries managed by the state, and of the royal *placet* (even for dogmatic Bulls), the marriage laws, and the reform of the monasteries. In his note in reply, written under Kaunitz's influence, the emperor tried to justify all these measures, but subsequently they got no further than explaining to each other the points on which they differed.[3]

[1] GENDRY, I., 257 *seqq.* For the unseemly behaviour of the Chancellor when the Pope visited him in his residence, *cf.* KAPFER in the *Monatsschrift des Hist. Vereins von Oberbayern*, VI. (1897), 96 *seqq.*, and the bibliographical references given there. *Cf.* also [BOURGOING], 225 *seq.*

[2] Of April 10, 1782. *Cf. ibid.*, 265 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 267 *seq.* *Cf.* Joseph II. to Leopold on April 22, 1782 (ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold*, I., 194), and *Pallavicini to the nuncio to Spain on May 30, 1782, Nunziat. di Spagna, 437, *loc. cit.* : " Le apparenze che lo precedettero, lo facevano presso che generalmente riputar frustraneo affatto, attesa la omnimoda inflessibilità da Cesare dimostrata in più modi, e dichiarata al Papa stesso nella consaputa sua replica. Ci fa ad ogni modo sapere la Santità Sua di averne pur conseguito qualche cosa, la riforma, cioè, del Giuramento da Sua Maestà Cesare prescritto qualche mese addietro a quelli, che avessero dovuto successivamente occupare le chiese vescovili di nomina sua ; la menzione, e

In between these quiet and grave conversations the Pope had many other functions to perform. His first drive in public on March 25th, the feast of the Annunciation, was to the church of the Capuchins, where he celebrated Mass and prayed at Maria Theresa's sarcophagus in the imperial mausoleum.[1] In the days that followed Pius VI. visited the chief "lions" of Vienna and several institutions, such as the orphanage on

spiegazione della Bolla *Unigenitus* nelle Università de' Dominj Austriaci e ciò in oppugnazione della Dottrina proscritta nella Bolla medesima, benchè la Maestà Sua abbia seguitato a riguardarla come provvida. La preterizione che se ne faccia ne' Circoli di pubblica Disputa : e la esenzione delle Bolle Dommatiche dal pubblicato assoggettamento delle medesime al Regio Placet. Più esatta idea formeremo in appresso di qualche altra parziale, ma per questo apparisce assai scarsa deferenza di Cesare ad altri sostanzialissimi Pontifici riclami, ed ammonizioni, siccome più positiva la formeremo altresì della misura della Pontificia condiscendenza rispetto alle Dispense Matrimoniali. Rispetto a queste però sappiamo da ora, e ben nettamente, che in niun caso mai potranno esser date da' Vescovi, che in virtù di una Apostolica Delegazione da dichiararsi espressamente da Loro in ciaschedun caso. Intanto Sua B^ne^ si va avvicinando alla Capitale che sospira di ripossederlo per rendergli, come deve, omaggio del quale è debitrice al proprio amoroso Sovrano e Zelante Pontefice. Numerosi sono senza meno gli esempi, che se ne han forniti tutte le Classi degli Abitanti sia de' Dominj Austriaci sia di altri Principati ne' quali le singolari virtù Pontificie hanno fatto non senza molto profitto della religione l'impressione più vantaggiosa. Faccia il Signore che come si è in qualche momento cominciata a dissipare la nebbia, che di parecchi oggetti fece già formare a Cesare un erroneo giudizio, la dissipazione se ne estenda a tutti e nel grado bisognevole. Questa all' occhio mio non apparisce ancor tale, da farmene tuttavia sperare il frutto, che occorrebbe nell' animo della Regina di Napoli. Non è Ella il primo a supporlo imbevuto delle massime lontane ed a reputarla prevalente in quello del proprio consorte. Dio conservi Carlo III e infonda generalmente in tutti i Sovrani quello spirito di Religiosità, e di attaccamento alla S. Sede, onde per se stesso Egli è un splendido Modello."

[1] Dini, *Diario*, 20 *seq.* Inscription in Gendry, I., 510 *seq.*

the Rennweg, the Ritterakademie, and the Court Library. On April 4th he had to sit for his portrait by the Viennese painter Hickel, whom he richly rewarded for his successful work.[1]

All the ceremonies of Holy Week were attended without exception by the Pope.[2] On Maundy Thursday he was present at the pontifical High Mass celebrated by the nuncio in the Court Church and himself bore the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of repose. Returning to the Hofburg he took part with the emperor in the Viennese custom of washing the feet of twelve old men, whom he afterwards served at table with his own hands and dismissed with presents. On Good Friday he paid visits on foot to the Holy Sepulchres in several of the churches in the city, and on Holy Saturday he announced an eight-day jubilee indulgence for Vienna.

The culminating point of the ecclesiastical functions was reached on Easter Sunday, when the liturgical ceremonies were performed by the Pope in St. Stephen's amid the greatest pontifical splendour. The cathedral had been gorgeously decorated at the imperial command, and no ceremony had ever been more impressive.[3] Besides a large number of high-ranking clerics there were present three Cardinals and dignitaries of the Greek rite. In the presence of the most illustrious members of the Austrian Court and nobility the miracle of Easter was announced by the Vicar of Christ in a clear Latin address.[4] After the service the Pope, ascending to a huge balcony of the Court Church, gave the apostolic blessing to the

[1] Bauer, I., 53 *seq.*; Coggiola Pitoni, *loc. cit.*, 181. The ridiculous story of the Pope's shoe being taken round the salons to be kissed is, of course, retailed by [Bourgoing], 222 *seq.*

[2] For what follows, *v.* Dini, 21–5; Bauer, I., 31–52; Wolfsgruber, 671 *seqq.*; Gendry, I., 268 *seqq.*

[3] The event was afterwards commemorated by a black marble tablet and a bust. The inscription proposed by Migazzi was rejected and one by Kaunitz, far shorter and more soberly phrased, was adopted in its stead. Wolfsgruber, 678 *seq.*

[4] Text in *Lettres, loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 6 *seqq.*; *Acta, loc. cit.*, 5 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 920 *seq.*

tens of thousands assembled in the square below, while a roll of thunder came from the cannon on the ramparts encircling the city. A week later, on Low Sunday, such immense crowds flocked into the city again that very many were unable to find accommodation for the night.

During Easter Week the emperor had been sorely incommoded by his eye-trouble, so that the discussions, among other engagements, had to be abandoned.[1] Meanwhile the Pope had to think about his early departure. But before this took place he fulfilled a function which was very much desired by the emperor, who was by now recovered. The Pope himself was to confer the red hat, which they had not yet received, on two high ecclesiastical princes of the empire, Cardinal Firmian of Passau and the Hungarian Primate, Batthyány of Gran. Accordingly Pius called a public consistory for April 19th [2] in the gorgeous Hall of the Knights in the imperial Hofburg. Cardinals Herzan and Migazzi were present, and with due solemnity the Pope himself conferred on the two prelates the birettas he had brought with him from Rome and named their titular churches. He then made a speech in Latin, in which he praised the hospitality of the emperor and the piety of the Austrian people.[3]

The Pope's departure from Vienna took place at last on the morning of April 22nd. The emperor and his Court escorted him to Mariabrunn, where the two leaders of the Christian West joined again in silent prayer before the image of the Virgin. They then took cordial leave of each other. Count Kobenzl remained with the Pope until Austrian territory had been quitted.[4]

[1] GENDRY, I., 272.

[2] *Cf.* DINI, 26 *seq.*; BAUER, I., 64 *seqq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 673; GENDRY, I., 275.

[3] *Lettres, loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 20 *seqq.*; *Acta*, 12 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 922. At the emperor's orders this speech, which seemed to free him from all suspicion of irreligion, was printed at the public expense and distributed all over the country, free of charge. WOLFSGRUBER, 674.

[4] DINI, 27 *seqq.*; BAUER, I., 74 *seqq.*, also for what follows.

Although the Pope's itinerary had not originally included a visit to Munich, he allowed himself to be won over by the Elector Karl Theodor's pressing invitation. He travelled, therefore, past St. Pölten, where he honoured the collegiate church of the "Englische Fräulein" with a brief visit,[1] to the Benedictine abbey of Melk, on the Danube. The next day he proceeded to St. Florian, near Linz,[2] and on the next to Ried. Here he received from emissaries of Klemens Wenzeslaus, Elector of Trier and Bishop of Augsburg, a most earnest request to honour his lordship with his presence in the episcopal city of Augsburg. On the bridge over the Inn, near Braunau, where Austrian territory came to an end, the Pope parted with Count Kobenzl and gave him a letter of thanks to the emperor.[3] From here onwards he was escorted by a deputation from the Electorate of Bavaria.

The next stage of the journey was the time-honoured pilgrimage resort of Altötting, where the Pope was welcomed by Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg and Count Palatine Wilhelm von Birkenfeld. From here to Munich the Pope's progress, in spite of the streaming rain, was a unique and imposing procession of praying people. At Ramsau, near Haag, he was met by the Elector himself, and was welcomed in the church of Our Lady of Loreto by the Bishop of Freising.[4]

Inscription at Mariabrunn in GENDRY, I., 511; GUGLIA, *Wien*, 345. The nuncio Garampi accompanied the Pope from Vienna as far as Bologna. *Cf.* his *travel diary No. 126B, Fondo Garampi, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] In the choir here is the inscription: "Christi | in terris vicarius | Braschi Pius sextus | Deo | Hic genua flexit | oviculas benedixit | in larga pietate boni pastoris | laetantes | die 22 aprilis."

[2] The "Papstzimmer" here recalls his stay on April 23–24. In 1847 his portrait was hung opposite the entrance. *Cf. Linzer Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, 327 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1869, II., 228 *seqq.*

[3] GENDRY, I., 278 *seq.*. In this letter he asked for a relaxation of the measures taken against the Bull *Unigenitus*, and this wish was granted. *Cf.* p. 436.

[4] SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 8; *Papst Pius VI. in*

Karl Theodor was ambitious enough to receive the supreme Pastor of the Church in his capital on the Isar with the same marks of honour and demonstrations of friendship as the Emperor Joseph had done in Vienna. As, therefore, towards sunset, the Pope made his entrance into the gaily decorated city, bands played, peals of bells were rung, and guns were fired in salute.[1]

Pius VI.'s stay in Munich, where he was lodged in the palace of the Bavarian Elector, lasted five days.[2] The people had flocked into the capital from all the surrounding country, and twice a day, at fixed hours, the Pope had to give them his blessing from the balcony of the palace. The celebrations on the Sunday were particularly impressive. Owing to the very heavy rain the Papal Mass which had been arranged for the cathedral had to be said in the church of the Theatines, where the Pope visited the family vault of the Wittelsbachs. This was followed by a huge procession to the Marienplatz, where

München, Munich, 1782, 3 *seqq.*; KAPFER, *loc. cit.*, 107 *seqq.*; DINI, 29 *seqq.*; BAUER, II., 10 *seqq.*

[1] *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 13 *seqq.* The reports of the Austrian envoy Lehrbach, who had special instructions to keep the Pope under observation, are in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 450–461. *Cf.* the *reports of the Minister of State Von Vieregg to the Roman agent Antici, of April 20, 27, and 30, 1782, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 506/1.

[2] *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 21 *seqq.* In GENDRY, I., 512, the commemorative inscription in the cathedral in Munich. The speeches delivered in the presence of the city council were printed in Munich in 1782 under the title "Anrede an Pius VI., gehalten zu München am 30. April 1784 von Anton v. Barth und Sr. Päpstl. Heiligkeit Antwort". Among the pamphlets may be mentioned "Das hoffende München. Eine Ode" [Munich, 1782]. Westenrieder's sketches in diary form of the Pope's visit were published by Kluckhohn in the proceedings of the Munich Academy, "Hist. Klasse," XVI., 2 (1882), 16 *seq.* [Sunday the "29th" is a misprint for the "28th" in the manuscript]. *Cf.* also *Kath. Bewegung*, I. (1868), 60 *seq.*, and supplement to the *Bayr. Kurier* (Munich) for July 20, 1929.

a lofty platform had been set up in front of the Government building. Here too the Holy Father gave his blessing to the people. He subsequently attended a festival of the Electoral Order of the Knights of St. George [1] and on May 2nd he left Bavarian territory by way of Nymphenburg and Schwabhausen, being accompanied as far as the latter place by Karl Theodor himself.[2]

The Pope's reception in the imperial and episcopal city of Augsburg [3] was all the more remarkable inasmuch as only a portion of the citizens and council [4] were Catholic, and memories of the Confession of 1530 were encountered at every step. Nevertheless there was general rejoicing at his presence, and even a Protestant official, Mertens, who was Rector of the Protestant college and city librarian, welcomed him in an address in Latin that was full of submissiveness and praise, so much so in fact that it was strongly objected to by his co-religionists.[5] May 5th, the feast-day of his patron saint, was kept by the Pope in attending the High Mass celebrated by

[1] BAUER, II., 38 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V².,332.

[2] *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 49 *seqq.*

[3] I. G. FRELING, *Einzug Papsts Pius' VI. in Augsburg den 2. Mai 1782* (an interesting broadsheet); ZAPF, *Gesch. aller Feierlichkeiten und Handlungen, welche bey Höchster Gegenwart Sr. Päpstl. Heiligkeit Pius VI. in des H. römischen Reichstadt Augsburg vorgefallen*, Augsburg, 1782 (with information about further news-sheets and pamphlets); GÈNDRY, I., 279; DINI, 34 *seqq.*; BAUER, II., 56 *seqq.*

[4] The speech before the city council was delivered by Fleiner: "Rede, welche bei der unter dem 2. Mai 1782 von S. P. Heiligkeit Pius VI. dem gesamten katholischen Magistrat erteilten Audienz von dem Reichstadt-augsburgischen *Oratore* Fleiner gehalten worden." Printed in 1782. *Cf.* BAUER, II., 63; *Lettres, loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 24 *seqq.*; *Acta, loc. cit.*, 14 *seq.*

[5] "Sendschreiben an einen Freund über die Anrede des Herrn Rector Mertens in Augspurg an Pius VI., welche er kniend gehalten, 1782." This was countered by Hieronymus Mertens' "Über den papstl. Besuch der Augspurgischen Stadtbibliothek am 4. Mai 1782", 1783. *Cf.* BAUER, II., 75 *seqq.*

Klemens Wenzeslaus. The example set by the Bavarian Elector in making a farewell gift [1] to his revered guest was followed by the city council.[2]

The Papal party, which had already been away from Rome for two and a half months, now turned south again, across the Alps. The first places where the night was spent were Kempten and Innsbruck.[3] At Matrei, a market village on the Brenner, the parish priest, Peter Walder, presented a petition in Latin to the Pope,[4] asking him to bless some bread which had been given for the benefit of the local poor and for a happy ending to the journey. This wish the Pope was pleased to grant.[5] At Brixen he celebrated the feast of the Ascension and then went on past Bozen and Trent to Rovereto, receiving everywhere a hearty greeting from the people and assistance from the Austrian authorities. Entering Venetian territory again

[1] Of a chalice valued at 80,000 guilders, which the Pope used for the first time on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, in Rome. BAUER, II., 54; KAPFER, *loc. cit.*, 112; Antici's *report to Karl Theodor, June 29, 1782, *loc. cit.*

[2] In his *Brief of thanks, sent from Rome on July 27, 1782, "Dilectis filiis, praefecto, consulibus, senatoribus reipublicae Augustanae catholicae," Pius VI. lamented the religious cleavage in the imperial city and hoped "Utinam opinio illa, quam apud eos de Nobis invaluisse scribitis, initium quoddam sit divinae gratiae eorum corda veritatis lumine collustrantis, ac ad antiquam cum Ecclesiae capite communionem inclinantis". *Epist.*, 179, fo. 149, Papal Secret Archives. In 1790 the Pope's stay in Augsburg was recalled in the **Epist.*, 186, fo. 114, *ibid.* Pius VI. had become a popular figure in Germany. In the Bregenz Museum, for instance, there are two cast-iron firebacks of 1785, with the Pope's likeness. Legend of the Augsburg souvenir medal in ZAPF, *loc. cit.*, 79.

[3] On May 7. *Cf.* ZOLLER, *Gesch. von Innsbruck*, II., 262 *seq.*

[4] DINI, 39. Matrei No. 58 bears the inscription "Benedictio Pii VI. sit super te Matrey et super panes tuos in saecula, 1782".

[5] DINI, 39 *seqq.*; BAUER, II., 89 *seqq.*; SCHLITTER, 23 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 281. A marble tablet on the schoolhouse at Barwies, near Innsbruck, commemorates the Pope's passage through the village.

he passed through Verona [1] and Padua [2] and arrived at the City of the Lagoons itself, which sheltered him for several days.[3] He celebrated the feast of Pentecost in St. Mark's. Continuing his journey he held another public consistory at Imola in order to confer the red hat on Cardinal Mattei of Ferrara,[4] and he also consecrated the cathedral there.[5] On Corpus Christi he bore the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of his native city, Cesena, where also he imparted confirmation and consecrated a church.[6] Then, after inspecting the harbour-works at Ancona, he finally returned to the Eternal City.[7] Here, where he had forbidden any special

[1] From the top of the Arena here the Pope gave his blessing to a crowd of several thousands. *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter,* III., 518.

[2] "Allocuzioni della S. di N. S. Pio papa Sesto per occasione del suo viaggio a Vienna, con due brevi alla Chiesa di Padova e una pastorale del vescovo di essa città," Padua, 1782. On the Scuola del Santo is the inscription "Pius VI. prid. id. Mai. 1782". The Pope's progress through Vicenza is commemorated by a tablet and likeness in the Pinacoteca.

[3] "Arrivo, soggiorno e partenza da Venezia di Pio VI.," Venice, 1782; "Storia del viaggio del S. Pont. Pio VI, colla descrizione della accoglienze, cerimonie e funzioni nei luoghi dove si fermò, e specialmente nel Veneto," Venice, 1782; "Storia del viaggio di Pio VI. nello stato Veneto 1782," Venice, 1782. Three sonnets on his stay were published by PILOT in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto,* XXVI. (1913), 234 *seqq.* For the preparations for his reception and his stay, *cf.* especially COGGIOLA PITONI, *ibid.*, XXIX. (1915), 181 *seqq.*, 186 *seqq.*; in the appendix are some expense-sheets. Here also are three of the contemporary pictures by Guardi; the fourth of the series is described and reproduced by SIMONSON in the *Monatsheften für Kunstwiss.*, V. (1912), 15 *seq.* (*Te Deum* in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in Venice.) Commemorative inscription on the staircase of the Scuola di San Rocco.

[4] The Papal allocution of May 12 in *Lettres,* Pt. 3, pp. 30 *seqq.*; *Acta, loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*

[5] Allocution of May 28 (*Lettres,* 34 *seqq.*, and *Acta,* 18 *seqq.*).

[6] Allocution of June 2 (*Lettres,* 48 *seqq.*, and *Acta,* 25 *seqq.*).

[7] For the passage through Terni on June 11, *cf.* LANZI, *Terni,* 94, 96.

festivities to be held in his honour, he was welcomed at the Ponte Molle by two Cardinals and a huge crowd which accompanied him through the streets. To the ringing of the church bells and the firing of cannon he re-entered St. Peter's after an absence of nearly four months and proceeded to the Vatican, where he was received by the rest of the College of Cardinals.[1]

Unfortunately, so far as its real object was concerned, the journey had not been successful, and it was really little more than an episode.[2] When Pius VI. rendered a report on it to the Senate of the Church in a consistory held on September 23rd almost all he could do was to give an exhaustive account of the externalities of the tour.[3] In Vienna in the meantime anything but a change of mind had taken place.

(3)

Even when Pius VI. was in Vienna, in March and April 1782, there were issued a number of imperial decrees on ecclesiastical affairs which, showed no signs of having been prepared practically next door to where the Head of the Church

[1] GENDRY, I., 285 *seq.*; DINI, 70 *seq.*; BAUER, II., 107 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 432 *seq.*; [BOURGOING], 253 *seqq.* *Cf.* Antici's *report to Karl Theodor of June 15, 1782, *loc. cit.* The "Arcadia" greeted him with some poems ("Al fausto ritorno dalla Germania di Pio VI P. M. glorios. regn. applaude Lucilla Neomenica (*i.e.* the Marchesa Anna Antinore, *née* Raffaelli) e la Colonia Augusta degli Arcadi raggiunta nella estiva sua Sede del Frontone"), Perugia, 1782. For the *Te Deum* in St. Peter's, *cf.* NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 106.

[2] The Roman *Pasquino* maliciously observed that the Pope had journeyed to Vienna to sing a Mass which had no "Gloria" for himself and no "Credo" for the emperor. SFORZA, *loc. cit.*, 444.

[3] *Lettres*, 60 *seqq.*; *Acta*, 31 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 926 *seq.* He alluded very carefully and in only general terms to his conversations with the emperor in Vienna. He had reported from Vienna to Rome on April 27 on the isolated points in which he had been successful, while the emperor boasted of not having given way on any point of importance. GENDRY, I., 287 *seqq.*

was lodging. Two Bishops of foreign extraction had their temporalities suspended, and Migazzi was threatened with the same treatment.[1] Though there were other matters,[2] it was principally the affairs of Lombardy that were occupying the emperor's attention at this time. In Lombardy there had now been in existence since 1765 the so-called *Giunta Economale*, a kind of ecclesiastical Court Commission for the regulation of every ecclesiastical arrangement that had not been instituted by Christ Himself, also of the highest ecclesiastical judicature.[3] Additional measures of an Erastian nature had been introduced in recent years,[4] and now the emperor was planning to take the most difficult step of all, the appropriation of the authority to confer benefices, especially bishoprics and abbacies. While the Pope was in Vienna, negotiations went on between Vienna and Milan, resulting, one may justifiably presume, in the decree of July 29th, 1782, reforming the system of conferring benefices, whereby the emperor appropriated to himself the exclusive right of nominating Bishops and abbots. In only a few exceptional cases was the right of recommendation conceded to the Pope.[5] Also, the *Giunta Economale* of Milan was taken as the model for the Ecclesiastical Court Commission which was set up in Vienna in the summer of 1782. The emperor himself defined its terms of reference in twenty points, which contained the whole of the programme for ecclesiastical reform.[6] This meant that a State authority had been set up over the Bishops.

Cf. also the end of Dini's diary in SCHLITTER, 27, n. 1. The Pope's statement that the emperor had promised to pay him a return visit was reported by Bernis to Vergennes on October 29, 1782. (*Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 274 *seq.*)

[1] BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 423 *seq.*

[2] Relating to the censorship, for instance. *Cf. Handbuch*, I., 546, for the church calendar, the Bull *In coena Domini*, etc.

[3] SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 125.

[4] *Ibid.*, 28 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 34 *seqq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.*; MITROFANOV, II., 690; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 445 *seqq.* The president of the Ecclesiastical Court Commission

A few weeks before the appointment of this new commission, on July 2nd, 1782, Garampi reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State what he had been able to discover about the project up till then.[1] The Brief on the episcopal rights of property which Pius VI. sent to the emperor on August 3rd was probably the result of this report.[2] Written with all the finished courtesy and considerateness that were natural to the Pope, the Brief was a refutation, based on clear principles and supported by great scholarship, of the nationalization of ecclesiastical persons and possessions. It was founded, he said, on a sinful doctrine, which had been anathematized by the Fathers and others and was only to be found among heretics. He regretted that he had not explained the reasons for his objections to such plans at even greater length when he had had the opportunity of speaking to the emperor in person.

The imperial reply, which was drawn up on the very day on which the Brief arrived in Vienna, August 15th, stated that Garampi's information was erroneous, but its final sentence as good as confirmed it : the emperor heard a voice within him calling loudly that as legislator and protector of the Church he was to act in this way and in no other.[3] The Pope appeared to be quite satisfied by this,[4] and so there was not even a Papal protest in the way when, on October 5th, a patent decreed the subordination of the whole administration of ecclesiastical property to the superintendence and direction of the State. The promise was made, however, that the new administration would be entirely in the spirit, and in accordance with the object, of the respective foundations.

was Baron von Kresel ; of the four *rapporteurs* two were from Austria, two from Hungary. The president was empowered to appoint an ecclesiastic as a fifth *rapporteur*, otherwise the commission was a wholly lay body. SCHLITTER (49) over-estimates its importance when he attributes to its influence the complete change that came over Austrian ecclesiastical policy.

[1] *Ibid.*, 163 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 98 *seqq.*

[3] *Ib d.*, 52, clearly following WOLF, *loc. cit.*, III., 524.

[4] SCHLITTER, 100 *seq.*

Of the many ordinances issued in 1782 one at least was to the liking of the Pope: the Court decree of December 15th, restricting the edict of toleration.[1] On the whole, however, there was cause enough for the remark made by the Cardinal Secretary of State on October 26th, that the mountain of sorrow and dismay that weighed upon the Pope's mind had grown again.[2] He may have had in mind the "Preachers' Critics", young men who distributed themselves among the various churches and published weekly accounts of the sermons they had heard, subjecting them to severe criticism and usually to ridicule.[3] He may also have been thinking of Garampi's latest complaints about a fresh edict abolishing as "abuses" all exemptions from the episcopal authority.[4] It was in this year too that the granting of indulgences was restricted by the State.[5] It was only logical, therefore, that finally the Bishop should be deprived of his control of the ordering of divine services and that a Court decree of February 25th, 1783, should set up a scheme for the ordering of services that provided for the last detail.[6] The number of Masses to be said each day was fixed, and the parishes in the capital were subjected to a system of control. Several proposals put forward by the Ecclesiastical Court Commission, such as the abolition of Latin as used in the liturgy, went too far and were rejected by the emperor. Cardinal Migazzi found that he had no alternative but to seek an audience of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 166 *seq.*, Garampi's dispatch of September 9, 1782.

[2] *Ibid.*, 56, n. 3.

[3] *Cf.* Karoline Pichler's opinion (MITROFANOV, II., 789, n. 2).

[4] *Cf. Verordnungen*, etc., II., 193 *seq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 633 *seq.*; SCHLITTER, 167 *seqq.*

[5] WOLFSGRUBER, 686 *seqq.* For the regulation of May 7 requiring the *placet* for the granting of indulgences, *v. Verordnungen*, etc., II., 249.

[6] *Ibid.*, 393 *seqq.* The model for this was the instruction issued to his clergy in April, 1782, by the Bishop of Gurk, Count Auersperg: KUSEJ, *Joseph II. und die äussere Kirchenverwaltung Innerösterreichs* (STUTZ, *Kirchenrechtl. Abhandlungen*, XLIX.–L. [1908], 9 *seqq.*).

emperor and to tell him frankly what were the real origins of such proposals.[1]

Far more damage was done to the religious life of Austria by two other acts of legislation that were perpetrated at this time. These were the patent of January 16th, 1783,[2] by which marriage, regarded as a civil contract, was completely severed from its sacramental quality, and as such was subjected without restriction to the authority of the State; the State alone could define impediments to marriage and dispense from them. This was opposed by Cardinal Migazzi in a firmly worded exposition of the Church's doctrine on marriage, whereupon, in the summer, an official explanation of the patent, substantiating the viewpoint of the State, was published at the order of the emperor. This was done at Kaunitz's suggestion and with the co-operation of Sonnenfels. Nevertheless, Migazzi, in a pastoral letter which lacked the prescribed *placet*, was bold enough to charge the clergy with strict adherence to the Church's doctrine. Pius VI. also apprised Cardinal Herzan of his extreme indignation at this Josephian act of force.[3]

The second incisive enactment was the suppression of the religious confraternities,[4] 116 of which were known to exist in Vienna alone. Their place was to be taken by a single confraternity "for the practical love of one's neighbour in respect of the helpless poor". Its direction was entrusted to the Bishops on August 9th.[5]

The most extensive undertaking to which the emperor set

[1] Wolfsgruber, 711, and Migazzi's written declaration of January 21, 1783 (*ibid.*, 711 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 645 *seqq.*

[3] Garampi had reported on this on March 8, 1783 (Schlitter, 173), but the words spoken by the Pope on April 5 did not refer to the report. Brunner, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 89 *seq.*

[4] Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission to the emperor, of February 28, 1783 (*ibid.*, 406 *seq.*). For the preliminary measures, *cf. Verordnungen*, etc., I., 405 *seq.*; Mitrofanov, II., 698.

[5] *Verordnungen*, etc., I., 257 *seqq.* On November 27, 1783, the Marian Congregations were also declared suppressed (*ibid.*, II.,

his hand at this period was the reorganization of the cure of souls. The motives for this were set out in a letter to the president of the Ecclesiastical Court Commission of January 17th, 1783.[1] The distribution of the pastoral offices, both higher and lower, was to be more in conformity with existing needs. Also, the training of the clergy was to be carried out on a more uniform basis.

The first objective in this direction which Joseph II. had in view was a rearrangement of dioceses, with no foreign Ordinaries. It must be admitted that in this matter the situation was extremely confused.[2] The whole of Upper Austria and most of Lower Austria belonged to the diocese of Passau, whose Bishop, an independent prince of the empire, had a regular consistory of his own in Vienna, beside that of the Archbishop of that see. Moreover, considerable portions of Tirol, Carniola, Bohemia, Silesia, and Galicia were subject to foreign Bishops, while the few really Austrian dioceses were uncommonly small. As a result of a proposal made by the Bishop of Laibach in the autumn of 1781 the emperor had a diocesan map made of his dominions, and this showed that the whole situation cried out for reform. The first draft of the plan for reform was ready by the spring, at which juncture the Pope's co-operation was thought to be indispensable; afterwards there was no further mention of it,[3] though in the end the emperor did want to put the whole scheme before the Pope.[4] In certain particulars changes had already been made, such as the allotment of the district of Wiener-Neustadt to the bishopric of Neustadt.[5] The chief task, however, was the reorganization of the districts subject to Passau. The Pope expressed to Herzan his disapproval of this arbitrary procedure

604 *seqq.*). For the management of the confraternities' funds, *v.* BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 410 *seq.*; for Migazzi's efforts to stimulate the new, unified confraternity, *v.* WOLFSGRUBER, 718 *seq.*

[1] SCHLITTER, 58 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KUSEJ, *loc. cit.*; MITROFANOV, II., 680.

[3] *Cf.* the resolution of April 29, 1782 (*ibid.*, 59 *seq.*, 64 *seqq.*).

[4] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

on Vienna's part.[1] When Count von Auersperg, who up till then had been Bishop of Gurk and had been the emperor's consultant in the whole affair, was translated to the see of Passau, which had fallen vacant, he loyally offered to mediate, but was repulsed by Vienna. The emperor was hoping that the Pope would agree to his scheme when taken as a whole and finally he had it communicated to Rome by Garampi on September 12th, 1783.[2] A subsequent letter from the emperor listing the persons who were to be nominated to the new sees, compelled the Pope to take official cognizance of the situation. The emperor, without waiting for the Papal decision, proceeded with his usual arbitrariness and on November 18th carried out the diocesan rearrangement and nominated the new dignitaries.[3]

Meanwhile another incident had occurred which nearly brought about an open rupture between Rome and Vienna. On the death of Pozzobonelli, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Joseph II., on his own authority, nominated as his successor Canon Filippo Visconti. When in September Herzan handed the Pope the imperial letter of nomination, the Pope accepted it but said that he would not reply to it until he had had time to give it his careful attention.[4] In his reply of November 15th [5] Pius VI. again went to the root of Josephism and attacked his adversary with his own canonistic weapons. In so doing he came to the conclusion that the emperor was not entitled to take the step, either by the nature of the imperial authority or by the law of usage, and that the nominee could assume office only as a usurper, never as a pastor. He again made it clear that any lay patronage was out of the question and that according to Vienna's way of thinking the Apostles themselves would be usurpers. Finally he reminded the emperor of his

[1] At an audience on April 5, 1783. *Cf.* BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 87 *seqq.*

[2] SCHLITTER, 176 *seq.*

[3] KUSEJ, 77 *seq.*

[4] SCHLITTER, 67, 156.

[5] *Ibid.*, 101–121, a thorough discussion. *Cf. ibid.*, 155 *seqq.*, 69.

coronation oath of loyalty to the Church and warned him that he was in imminent danger of falling into heresy.

Joseph II. had not yet been sufficiently tried by fate to understand the Pope's language and the justice of the Papal principles. Accordingly he merely had a copy taken of the Brief and sent the original back again by return, accompanied by a short note in which he made things appear as if the Pope could not have meant his letter to be taken seriously. His own conscience was clear, he protested, and his measures were justified by their expediency.[1]

Much as Prince Kaunitz might have liked it, Joseph II. did not allow a breach with Rome to come about. He took a step which in the circumstances was completely unexpected. On the morning of December 6th, 1783, he set out, with as little ceremony as possible, for Italy, with the purpose, which he did not immediately divulge, of paying the Pope a surprise visit. In the autumn and winter of 1782–83 there had been talk of such a project,[2] and the Pope had invited his former host to pay him a return visit,[3] but that he would actually do so at this particular juncture was the last thing to be expected.

By December 20th Joseph II. was in Florence, as he had foreseen he would be, and he now communicated his intention to Herzan, with whom he proposed to lodge in order to preserve a strict incognito.[4] Meanwhile the Pope had written again

[1] Joseph II. to Pius VI., November 27, 1783 (SCHLITTER, 69 *seq.*).

[2] The emperor had written to Herzan about the project in November, but had said that the time was not yet favourable. *Ibid.*, 72, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 121 *seq.*

[4] "I propose to alight at your residence, change my clothes, go with you straight to the Pope without previous enquiry, and accost him in his room by way of a back staircase." Joseph II. to Herzan, from Florence, December 20, 1783 (*ibid.*, 74). *Cf.* Antici's *report to Elector Karl Theodor, of December 20, 1783; he had already informed the Elector in his *reports of November 29 and December 6, 1783, that there were rumours of the impending journey. State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 275/8.

to Vienna, showing that he was prepared to take the most accommodating attitude towards the diocesan alterations and the filling of the see of Milan if only the rights of the Church were not assailed in principle. And then, on December 23rd, the emperor suddenly appeared in Rome.[1] After a short rest in Herzan's apartments he went straight off to the Pope. It was perhaps the most extraordinary royal visit that the Vatican had ever witnessed. After a long and cordial talk the two heads of Christendom repaired to St. Peter's. The next day the emperor was with the Pope again, and he was present at the ceremonies of Christmas conducted by the Pope. At High Mass he stood at the foot of the Papal altar with the King of Sweden ; everyone was impressed with his reverent demeanour.[2] He had confidential talks with the Pope on two more days and then he took leave of him before going on to Naples.

The outcome of these lengthy negotiations is still a matter of conjecture. It is thought, for example, that on December 28th the Pope finally waived his right of presentation to the Milanese bishoprics in Joseph's favour—not as emperor but as Duke of Milan—probably after Joseph had threatened him

[1] The emperor was mistaken for the King of Sweden, who was expected in Rome at the same time (*ibid.*, 77 ; see above, p. 104). Joseph II. to Leopold, December 24, 1783 (ARNETH, *Correspondenz, I.*, 196 ; GENDRY, II., 5).

[2] Turati to Kaunitz, December 27, 1783 (SCHLITTER, 159). *Cf.* DINI's diary, *ibid.*, 197 *seq.* In his *report to Karl Theodor of December 27, 1783, Antici makes the following comments on this curious pair of princes : the German emperor and the protector of the Church has come to Rome to treat of the most delicate affairs, while the successor of Gustavus Adolphus is positively overflowing with expressions of friendship. " Il gruppo di questi sovrani in Roma meriterebbe certamente la penna di un Voltaire." Antici goes on to speak of the emperor's unassuming behaviour when in company or when on his way to the Pope, and of the King of Sweden's request to the Pope to allow him to hold a Lutheran service in his house in Rome, which request was granted after the Christmas service. State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 275/8.

with the worst possible eventualities and remembering that other Catholic princes had been granted similar indults.[1] And so, forced by circumstances, the Pope made the necessary sacrifice.

The formal settlement of the matter was to be a friendly convention, the text of which was left to Herzan to compose.[2] When Joseph returned from Naples on January 18th, 1784, the draft had been prepared. The next two days he had further talks with the Pope on the wording of the convention [3] and then, on the 21st, obviously satisfied with the result, he left the Eternal City.

The deed of agreement took the form of a declaration dated January 20th, 1784, and made and signed by Pius VI.[4] By it the Pope, in virtue of his plenary apostolic power, transferred to the emperor, as Duke of Milan, the right of nomination to the bishoprics, abbeys, and other institutions in the duchies of Milan and Mantua which he had hitherto exercised himself. It was not till the negotiations had been concluded that the emperor informed his chief Minister, Prince Kaunitz, of the agreement that had been reached.[5] The wording of the letter seems to betray a certain embarrassment at not having succeeded in inducing the Pope to acknowledge the State's authority to nominate as a matter of principle ; nevertheless, what had been attained was in actual fact a victory for the emperor. Unlike Pius VI. after his visit to Germany, Joseph was not going home empty-handed.

The emperor's journey to Rome had no effect on the internal ecclesiastical measures which were applied to the Austrian parishes, religious houses, and bishoprics in the years that followed. They had already been well under way years before.[6] Thus, to ensure a more even distribution of parishes, an

[1] SCHLITTER, 208 *seqq.*

[2] BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 95 *seq.* ; SCHLITTER, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 213 *seq.* For his other activities in Rome, his inspection of the monuments, etc., *cf.* DINI's diary, *ibid.*, 197–201.

[4] MERCATI, *Concordati*, 514 *seq.* ; SCHLITTER, 201 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 193 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 439.

ordinance of October 20th, 1782, listed the places where a new one was called for.[1] This made an increase of parishes possible, especially in the mountainous districts. On the other hand, the closing of the chapels and smaller churches which also took place at this time, owing to their being regarded as redundant by the utilitarian Government, was resented by the country folk.[2]

Still more incisive and alarming was the first large-scale suppression of the religious houses that is associated with the name of Joseph II. The motives that prompted it were not so much of an anti-clerical as of a political economic nature, for while many of the Bishops would have liked to make a clean sweep of all the religious houses,[3] the emperor suffered those to remain which could be fitted into the political scheme. Certainly the imperial Government considered itself entitled to eliminate with a stroke of the pen the other houses, which seemed to be contributing nothing to the common good,[4] but it cannot be denied that in many instances a dangerously worldly spirit had established itself in the religious Orders. Some houses were closed by the Government on account of their economic abuses.[5] The relevant laws were promulgated under date January 12th, 1782.[6] One of them ordered the hermits and *Waldbrüder* to lay aside their habit within a fortnight, and it regulated their terms of ownership. The principal law announced the closing of the houses of the Carthusians and

[1] Kusej, § 28.

[2] Gothein, 87; Kusej, *loc. cit.*; Franz, *Studien zur kirchlichen Reform Josephs II., mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des vorderösterreichischen Breisgaus* (1908), 245.

[3] *Ibid.*, 122. *Cf.* A. Wolf, *Eleonore v. Liechtenstein*, 166; Hittmair, *Der josephinische Klostersturm im Lande ob der Ems* (1907), 400.

[4] Franz, 48 *seq.*

[5] Seckau is said to have applied for its suppression of its own accord, although it was found afterwards that there were large assets. Kusej, § 26; A. Wolf, *Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Innerösterreich*, 69 *seq.*

[6] *Handbuch*, II., 263 *seq.*, 268.

Camaldolese, Carmelite nuns, Capuchinesses, Franciscan Sisters, and Poor Clares, and their manner of life in the future was laid down for them in detail. By a Court decree issued on the following day the Institute of the Third Order was condemned to a gradual death and its property was taken over by the State.[1] By a Court decree of February 28th the sequestrated properties of the religious houses, except for the pensions payable, were amalgamated in a religious and parochial fund, to be applied to ecclesiastical and charitable purposes.[2] A large proportion of the regular clergy was subordinated to the episcopacy and after having passed a test of fitness was allotted to ordinary pastoral work, while the religious foundations that had been spared were required to set up new parishes.[3]

The actual number of the religious houses that were suppressed by Joseph II. has often been overestimated.[4] According to a report of the first Court Chancellor, 413 houses situated in Austro-German districts had been secularized by 1791; this amounts to about two thirds of the women's houses and a third of the men's.[5] All the same, it was a measure that had a deep effect on the religious life of the country. Age-old institutions which had grown up in intimate association with the culture of the country [6]—many of them in fact had been its originators—were sacrificed to the utilitarian mania. An

[1] *Ibid.*, 272.

[2] *Ibid.*, 267, 272. *Cf.* GOTHEIN, 86; FRANZ, 241; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 415 *seqq.*

[3] *Handbuch*, II., 226; KUSEJ, 243.

[4] The most reliable figures for a particular district are to be found in HITTMAIR, *loc. cit.*, 516 *seqq.* For the whole of Austria proper, *cf.* A. WOLF, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seq.*; LINDNER, *Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Deutschtirol 1782–1787*, in the journal of the Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, 1886. Lists of houses suppressed by Joseph II. in the districts forming the western half of the Austrian monarchy are contained in the *Archival. Zeitschrift*, V. (1894), 234 *seqq.*, VI. (1896), 229 *seqq.*, VII. (1897), 46 *seqq.*

[5] FRANZ, 136.

[6] *Cf.*, e.g., A. WOLF, 47, 129, 162.

essential element in the life of the people was thus endangered. On the other hand, it does not speak well for the religious houses that most of their inmates, as is shown by the deeds of suppression, offered no resistance to their secularization [1] and that the Catholic population made little or no effort to support them in their time of need.[2]

It must be emphasized that even before their confiscation the riches of the monasteries were often used for purposes of public utility. These establishments not only provided mills and forges, they made loans and held public securities.[3] The amount of the taxes paid by the monasteries for special purposes in times of peace as well as war was astonishingly high.[4] In addition, they provided out of their own means for the maintenance of numerous parishes and schools, they looked after the poor, and they fostered art and learning. Through their suppression much that was of cultural value was wasted or destroyed.[5] Works of art that could be melted down at once were sent to the mint in Vienna; other kinds were collected in depots and soon there was such an abundance of them that their value fell, and finally the company controlled by the Jewess Dobruska and chartered by the emperor was authorized to sell them abroad.[6] What happened to the

[1] *Cf.* the information, *ibid.*, 58, also in each case of the suppressions listed on pp. 64 *seqq.*, especially pp. 113, 122; FRANZ, 123, 164 *seq.*

[2] The largest foundations received the least assistance. HITTMAIR, *loc. cit.*, 177.

[3] This last point refers even to contemplative nuns (A. WOLF 54, 164).

[4] *Ibid.*, 54; FRANZ, 284 *seq.*

[5] MITROFANOV, II., 693 *seq.* FRANZ (133 *seq.*) sizes up the situation pretty fairly. One church fell into Protestant hands (HITTMAIR, 186), another was turned into a theatre (*ibid.*, 235 *seq.*). For the lack of reverence shown by the emperor himself in the case of the Carthusian monastery of Gaming, *cf.* BRUNNER, *Mysterien*, 288 *seqq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 416.

[6] HITTMAIR, 352 *seq.* Even Mass vestments, church linen, and so forth, were included.

libraries was also significant: items that seemed to be of outstanding value were absorbed in the Court Library in Vienna, while countless theological works were simply used as wastepaper.[1]

Along with its suppression of many of the religious houses the State did not omit to interfere most grievously with the life of those allowed to survive.[2] The most important measure in this direction was the creation by Court decree of March 25th, 1786, of the Institute of the Commendatory Abbots.[3] When an abbacy fell vacant, no new abbot was to be elected, but a prior, who was to be elected for three years and was to settle questions of internal discipline, while economic, pastoral and public duties were to be performed by a non-mitred, commendatory abbot appointed by the State.[4]

It was also resolved about this time to interfere even more than before with the training of the clergy. A discussion arose in the Commission for Studies whether the independent training establishments of the Orders should be allowed to continue, a question which was answered in the negative by the majority of the members. Accordingly, on September 10th, 1782, the emperor decreed the abolition of conventual studies and, in their stead, the erection of State-controlled general seminaries in every province for the training of young members of the secular and regular clergy before their ordination.[5] The scheme for the organization of these new foundations was drafted by Abbot Rautenstrauch. Cardinal Migazzi, in a

[1] FRANZ, 52; *ibid.*, 135, an order to this effect. MITROFANOV, II., 695.

[2] For example, with the prayers said in choir. HITTMAIR, 290; FRANZ, 148.

[3] HITTMAIR, 279 *seq.*

[4] This arrangement did not last long, as it was abolished by Leopold II. on July 27, 1790.

[5] MITROFANOV, II., 705 *seq.*; BEIDTEL, 69; FRANZ, 50 *seqq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 542 *seqq.*; G. WOLF, *Kaiser Joseph II. und die österr. Generalseminarien*, in RAUMER'S *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 5th series, VII. (1877), 333 *seqq.*; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 495 *seqq.*; RÖSCH, in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 506 *seqq.*

detailed memorandum, raised numerous objections to it and advocated in particular the episcopal superintendence of the new institutions,[1] whereas the president of the Ecclesiastical Commission held exactly the opposite view. Consequently Migazzi lodged a formal protest on July 19th.[2] Finally the emperor came out in defence of the Tridentine decrees on the seminarian training of the clergy, which were contested on principle by the Court Commission.[3] This reform, like many others of Joseph II.'s, was not without the most undesired effects in the matter of vocations to the priesthood. The more the training of the clergy was taken out of the hands of the Bishops and their institutions, the less inclination there was to enter the clerical state.[4] Another factor in the situation was that for years past this profession, more than any other, had been the target for every kind of abuse and had been regarded with contempt by all and sundry; the censorship, otherwise so strict, allowed the most incredible things to go through when it was a question of baiting the clergy.

The last important group of Josephian reforms in ecclesiastical conditions embraced the alterations in the diocesan arrangement that were carried out midway between 1780 and 1790. The attempt with Passau failed so long as Pius VI. was able to hold the emperor to more legal methods of procedure, but now even the newly elected Bishop, on receiving an ultimatum, put his name to the declaration submitted to him by Vienna, that in return for a yearly donation he renounced his diocesan rights in all the Austrian portions of his diocese, also most of the episcopal possessions there. The regions above and below the Enns went to form the ecclesiastical province of Vienna, with the suffragan sees of St. Pölten (replacing Wiener-Neustadt) and Linz.[5]

[1] Wolfsgruber, 552.

[2] *Ibid.*, 554.

[3] *Ibid.*, 556.

[4] *Ibid.*, 568 *seqq.*

[5] The Bulls of erection for both dioceses, of January 28, 1785, were read out in the consistory of February 14. Kusej, § 8A; Wolfsgruber, 763 *seqq.* *Cf.* above, p. 352.

Similarly Bohemia, with the archbishopric of Prague and the bishoprics of Leitmeritz, Koniggrätz, and Budweis, was to constitute a compact ecclesiastical province,[1] but this was not entirely successful, as the Egerland was provided with its own episcopal commissaryship only within the borders of the diocese of Ratisbon. Other desiderata which were never fulfilled were the settlement with Breslau [2] and the clarification of the complicated situation in the Austrian Forelands.[3]

Of greater importance would have been an agreement with the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, whose suffragans at Gurk, Lavant, and Seckau, were scarcely more than Vicars General.[4] The Archbishop, Colloredo, offered to come to an agreement, but his terms were not good enough for the imperial Government. After dragging on for nearly two years, the business ended with Vienna receiving less concessions than had been offered at the start. In the treaty of April 19th, 1786, the Archbishop renounced his diocesan rights in favour of the Bishops of Gurk, Lavant, Seckau, and Leoben, but he retained his rights as Metropolitan and certain rights of nomination. The Papal approbation was given in a consistorial decree of March 26th, 1787.[5]

Another provision of the scheme for the rearrangement of the Austrian dioceses was the transference of the archbishopric of Gorizia to Laibach. But the prelate concerned, Count Edling, was not agreeable, and it was only after a Papal audience on July 20th, 1784, at which Cardinal Herzan, the imperial Minister, was allowed to have his say, that he could be brought to announce his resignation.[6] Fresh difficulties arose when the successor nominated by the emperor, Karl Joseph, Count of Herberstein, the then Bishop of Laibach,

[1] Kusej, § 8B.

[2] *Ibid.*, C.

[3] The emperor was thinking of erecting a see of St. Blasien. Gothein, *Der Breisgau*, 74 *seq.*; Geier, *Die Durchführung der kirchl. Reformen Josephs II. im vorderösterr. Breisgau*, 26 *seqq.*

[4] Kusej, § 9, II.

[5] *Ibid.*, 340 *seqq.*

[6] Brunner, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 100 *seq.*, 105 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*

failed to obtain the Papal approbation owing to his notoriously enlightened views.[1] Nor could a declaration by Herberstein, forwarded by Kaunitz, dispel Rome's doubts.[2] That his refusal to approve of Herberstein was due to personal antipathy was denied by the Pope; he was, he said, working on a Brief for the Bishop. This he passed to Gerdil for his perusal at the beginning of July, 1787. Finally, on July 21st, the Brief was on its way, with a covering letter for the emperor.[3] The Pope's lengthy explanations, however, had a poor reception in Vienna, where the letter was regarded as a refusal.[4] Further efforts on the part of the Government were rendered purposeless by Herberstein's death on October 6th.

The filling of other episcopal sees was the cause of further trouble with the Curia. Having filled the sees of Linz and St. Pölten without any reference to Rome, the emperor had to wait in vain for these appointments to be ratified in a Papal consistory.[5] More ill-feeling was caused in 1785, when the Netherlands Government forbade the Bishop of Ypres, who was yet to be ordained, to sign the special pledge of loyalty to the Bull *Unigenitus*, as was customary in Belgium.[6] After Vienna had rejected offers of mediation, the Pope explained to Cardinal Herzan at an audience given on June 20th, 1785, the purely objective reasons for his absolutely insisting on making the demand; then, informing the Cardinal that more detailed instructions had been sent to Garampi in Vienna, he cut short all further discussion.[7] In Vienna, at the same time, Cardinal Migazzi was being pressed to resign the bishopric of Waitzen,

[1] And especially owing to his pastoral letter on toleration issued in 1782; *v.* Kusej, 210 *seqq.*; Brunner, *loc. cit.*, 140 *seqq.*; Hock, *Staatsrat*, 478.

[2] Brunner, 136.

[3] *Ibid.*, 164.

[4] This, according to Herzan's dispatch of August 18, 1787, was the view expressed to him by the Cardinal Secretary of State (*ibid.*, 166).

[5] Herzan on October 10, 1784, *ibid.*, 110.

[6] *Ibid.*, 122 *seqq.*

[7] Herzan's dispatch of June 22, 1785 (*ibid.*, 124 *seqq.*).

which he was administering.[1] In spite of an imperial patent of February 10th, 1785, by which all holders of plural benefices had to opt for one or other of them within a month, Migazzi, in view of the scanty size of his two bishoprics, had failed to present any such petition. Consequently a decree of July 10th announced that the see of Waitzen was to be treated as vacant, against which decision Migazzi protested, calling attention to his consistently impeccable fulfilment of his official duties. By way of reply the Cardinal received a curtly worded instruction to appoint an agent to surrender the benefices of his Hungarian bishopric. The conscientious prelate refused to lend a hand himself to this breach of the law but decided to make a choice, forced though it was, between the two sees. He chose the more onerous and less lucrative one, that of the imperial capital. His resignation of Waitzen on December 22nd, 1785, was ratified by the Pope, and on February 4th he formally relinquished the jurisdiction. Pius VI. had demonstrated once again that provided only that the fundamental rights of the Apostolic See were recognized, he was ready to follow any course that avoided an open conflict with the holder of the highest temporal position, exacting though he was. On the other hand, the Pope's continual compliance may be held to be one of the reasons for the swift and extensive execution of the Josephian reforms.

[1] For what follows, *cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, 73 *seqq.*; MITROFANOV, II., 681.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XXXIX

Acton, Sir John, 117–18, 121, 124–5.
Adam, Germanos (Bishop of Aleppo), 382.
Adler, Jakob Georg Christian, 54, 57.
Agemi, Anna (Lebanese visionary), 383–4.
Aiguillon, Duc d' (French foreign minister), 311.
Alamanni, Federigo (Bishop of Pistoia), 131.
Albacini (art-dealer), 70.
Albani, Cardinal Alessandro, 6–8, 17, 21, 57.
Albani, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco, 5, 7–8, 13, 15–16, 17 n., 21, 325.
Albrecht, Duke of Sachsen-Teschen, 98, 428.
Alday (Franciscan in Chile), 395.
Alessandri, Gregorio (Bp. of Cortona), 140.
Alexander VII., Pope, 62.
Alfieri (poet), 50–1.
Almada (Portuguese envoy in Rome), 3, 9, 14, 19–20.
Alphonsus de Liguori [St.], 364, 367 ff.
Altieri, Cardinal Vincenzo Maria, 342, 344, 346.
Amalie, Dowager Duchess of Weimar, 109.
Amat, Emanuel de (Viceroy of Peru), 395.
Amiot, Joseph (Jesuit missionary), 407.
Amort, Eusebius, 435.
Andrew Hibernon [Bl.], 337.
Anfossi, Filippo (Dominican), 153.
Angelis, Domenico de, 77.
Ansbach-Bayreuth, Margrave of, 98.
Antamori, Cardinal Paolo Francesco, 346.
Antici, Marchese Tommaso (Polish envoy in Rome, later Cardinal), 104, 258, 262, 265, 274, 342, 348.
Antinore, Marchesa Anna, 464 n.
Antinori, Giovanni, 68.
Antoine (Jesuit), 364.
Antonelli, Cardinal Leonardo, 35, 107, 261, 274, 284, 286, 288, 343.
Antonio Fatati [Blessed], 339.
Antonius (Catholicos of Georgia), 381.
Archetti, Cardinal Giovanni Andrea (nuncio in Poland), 34, 156 n., 165–8, 196–9, 200–1, 235–6, 242–5, 248–250, 253–5, 258, 261–2, 266, 268–285, 291–2, 296–304, 346.
Archinto, Cardinal Giovanni (Maggiordomo), 33, 343.
d'Arignano, Cardinal Vittore Costa (Archbishop of Turin), 348.
Arnaud, Gen., 204.
Arnauld, Antoine, 341.
Arnofini, Attilio, 42.
Arsenius (Archbishop of Damascus), 383.
Asdrubali, Francesco, 50.
de Asnat, Emanuel (Viceroy in Chile), 395.
Assemani, Stefano Evodio, 57.
Assumptione, Franciscus ab (Abp. of Goa), 411.
Auersperg, Cardinal Joseph Franz von Paula von (Bishop of Passau), 347, 467 n., 470.
August of Saxe-Gotha, Prince, 99.

Azanza (Spanish *chargé d'affaires*), 299–301.
Azara, José Nicolas de (Spanish agent in Rome), 28, 34–5, 87, 90, 341.

Bach (painter), 89.
Bajer, Andreas (Bishop of Kulm), 197–8.
Baldovinetti (Vicar-General of Florence), 130.
Ballerini brothers, 364.
Bamboci, Giacinto, 359.
Bandi, Anna Teresa (mother of Pius VI.), 22.
Bandi, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo, 22, 343.
Banditi, Cardinal Francesco Maria, 343.
Barthélemy (archæologist), 55.
Basil (Armenian patriarch), 382.
Batoni, Pompeo, 25 n., 90–1, 103.
Batthyány, Ignatius von (Bp. of Stuhlweissenburg), 385 n.
Batthyány, Cardinal Joseph von (Primate of Hungary), 325, 345, 458.
Beatrice d'Este, Archduchess, 99.
Beccaria, Cesare de (jurist), 44.
Bellegarde (French Jansenist), 130, 133, 436 n.
Belli, Francesco (architect), 69.
Bellisomi, Cardinal Carlo (nuncio to Cologne and Lisbon), 158, 242, 252, 347.
Belluga, Cardinal, 365.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 22–3, 57, 81, 127, 332, 352, 354, 366–7, 371.
Benislawski, Bishop, 166–8, 272, 277, 286–290, 294–5, 298–9.
Beniuski (adventurer), 390.
Benoît (Prussian envoy), 180.
Benvenuti, 230.
Berger, Giacomo (painter), 101.
Bergler (painter), 89.
Bernard of Offida [Blessed], 337, 340.
Bernis, François Joachim de Pierre de, Cardinal (French envoy), 3, 7, 9–10, 12, 14–15, 17, 19, 21, 34–5, 84, 89, 97–101, 103–7, 182, 250, 263, 265, 268, 278, 284, 289, 293, 298, 303, 311, 448, 451.
Berthier, General, 419.
Bertolini, Stefano (Tuscan Minister), 127–8.
Beys, G., 25 n.
Bezborodko, Prince (Secretary to Catherine II.), 298.
Bielanski, P. (Uniat Bp. of Lemberg), 170.
Birkenfeld, Wilhelm von (Count Palatine), 459.
Blarer (priest), 436.
Blumauer (Freemason), 453.
Boileau, Jacques, 362.
Bonamici, Ludovico (Bp. of Volterra), 140, 146 n.
Bonaventura of Potenza [Blessed], 336.
Boncompagni, Cardinal Ignazio (Secretary of State), 34, 42, 109, 116, 118, 147, 343.
Bono, Gaspar de [Bl.], 338.
Bonomo, Giovanna Maria [Bl.], 338.
Borghesi, Tiberio (Archbishop of Siena), 139, 150.
Borgia, Cardinal Stefano (Secretary of Propaganda), 53–5, 84, 120, 122, 245, 249, 286, 347–8.
Borgo, Carlo (ex-Jesuit), 320, 334.
Boschi, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo (Grand Penitentiary), 6, 330.
Bottari, G. G. (archæologist), 129, 341.
Bourbon, Abbé de, 109.
Bourgeois (Jesuit Superior of Peking mission), 408, 411–412.

Boxadors, Cardinal Tommaso de, 343, 345.
Brancadoro, Cesare (Secretary of Propaganda), 420.
Braschi, Cardinal Gianangelo, 7, 13–14, 17–21; *see also* Pius VI.
Braschi, Giulia Francesca (sister of Pius VI.), 35.
Braschi, Luigi, 35–8, 51, 103, 106.
Braschi, Count Marcantonio (father of Pius VI.), 22.
Braschi, Cardinal Romoaldo (Maggiordomo), 33 n., 35, 37, 109, 347.
Brigot (Vicar-Apostolic of Siam), 399.
Bristol, Lord, 101.
Broeckman (Jansenist Bp. of Haarlem), 360 n.
de Broglie, Charles, 323.
Brosius (ex-Jesuit), 314.
Browne, General (Governor of Livonia), 211, 257.
Brunati (Imperial agent), 1, 12, 80.
Bruni, 48.
Bufalini, Cardinal Giovanni Ottavio, 7, 16, 17.
Buonamici (Secretary of Latin letters), 33.
Burali, *see* Giovanni Burali.
Bury (painter), 89.
Busca, Cardinal Ignacio, 348.
Bussi, Cardinal Giambattista, 349.
Buti, Camillo, 70.
Byeveld (Jansenist Bishop of Deventer), 360.

Calamanti, Antonio, 26 n.
Calcagnini, Cardinal Guido, 343.
Caleppi, Lorenzo, 116–18.
Calini, Cardinal Ludovico, 341 n.
Calligari, Francesco Maria, 26n.
Campanella, Angelo, 67 n.
Campanelli, Cardinal Filippo, 33 n., 125, 348.
Camporese, Pietro, 61.
Cancellieri, Francesco, 49, 52 n. 64, 68, 107.
Canova, Antonio, 26 n., 90–3.
Caprara, Cardinal Giovanni, 349.
Caracciolo, Domenico (Neapolitan minister), 115–121.
Caracciolo, Cardinal Giovanni Costanzio, 7, 15.
Carafa, Marino (maggiordomo), 33.
Cardenas, Giuseppa de, 116, 122.
Carlo di S. Corrado (Vicar-Apostolic), 399.
Carlone, Marco, 25 n., 80.
Carmer (Prussian minister of justice), 189, 191–2, 194.
Carolina (Queen of Naples), 106, 112, 115, 117, 121, 125.
Carrara, Francesco, 126.
Carroll, John (Bishop of Baltimore), 417–18.
Carvaria, Cardinal Francesco, 347.
Casali, Cardinal Antonio, 7, 16, 78.
Castelli, Cardinal Giuseppe Maria (Prefect of Propaganda), 16, 163.
Castello de Vide, Raphael de, 391.
Castiglione, Principe Luigi di, 52 n.
Catalina Tomas, Blessed [St.], 338, 340.
Catenacci, Vincenzo, 104.
Catherine II., Empress of Russia, 103, 162 ff., 171–3, 206 ff., 241, 246 ff., 316, 320.
Cavaceppi (sculptor), 70.
Cayla, John Felix (Lazarist general), 358, 390.
Ceresoli, 87 n.
Chabot, Duke and Duchess of, 99.
Champenois (Vicar-Apostolic of Pondicherry), 399.

Charles III. (King of Spain), 3–4, 319, 357.
Charles IV. (King of Spain), 321, 326.
Charles III. (King of Naples), 23.
Charles Albert, Prince of Hohenlohe, 46 n.
Charles Emmanuel IV. (King of Sardinia), 343, 356.
Chartres, Louis Philippe d'Orleans, Duc de, 103.
Chartres, Duchess of, 98.
Chiaramonti, Cardinal Barnaba (Pius VII.), 347.
Chigi, Cardinal Flavio, 29 n.
Chigi, Prince, 97.
Choiseul, Duc de, 109.
Christine, Archduchess, 98.
Cimino (Redemptorist), 372.
Ciofani (Prussian agent in Rome), 177, 181–2, 195.
Clément, Abbé, 152 n.
Clement XI., Pope, 44, 62, 75.
Clement XII., Pope, 62, 81.
Clement XIII., Pope, 23, 57, 81, 92, 127, 131, 209.
Clement XIV., Pope, 1–2, 8, 24, 81, 83, 91 n., 156, 160, 209, 246, 330, 340–1, 350.
Coccetti (painter), 61.
Colloredo, Hieronymus (Archbishop of Salzburg), 446, 459, 479.
Colloredo, Joseph Maria (Imperial Chancellor), 17, 18 n.
Colonna, Cardinal Carlo Antonio, 16.
Colonna, Cardinal Marcantonio, 7–9.
Colonna, Prince Lorenzo (Grand Constable), 112.
Colonna, Pamfili, *see* Pamfili.
Colonna di Stigliano, Cardinal Niccolò, 346.
Conca, Tommaso (painter), 76.
Concina, Daniel (Dominican), 365–7, 374.
Conforti, 414.
Conti, Cardinal Innocenzo (Secretary of Briefs), 7, 16, 20, 35, 421.
Corberon (French representative in St. Petersburg), 260, 268.
Cordara, Giulio (Jesuit), 310.
Cornaro (Governor of Rome), 112.
Corradini (Venetian Minister), 124.
Corsini, Cardinal Andrea, 7, 130–1, 225.
Corsini, Prince Bartolommeo (Imperial envoy), 4 n., 11, 13–14, 18, 20–1, 24.
Costantini (Rector of Roman University), 50.
Courland, Duke of, 108, 188, 235 n.
Cracas (printer), 11.
Craveri da Moretta, Pietro (Franciscan), 383–4.
Cremonese, Giuseppe, 79.
Crivelli, Carlo (nuncio to Florence), 128.
Crostarosa, Maria Celeste, 371.
Cumberland, Duke and Duchess of, 109.
Cunego, Domenico, 67.
Czartoryski, Prince Joseph, 230.
Czerniewicz, Stanislaus (Jesuit) 208 ff., 229 ff., 240–1, 282–3, 286, 294–5, 298, 306.
Czerniszew, Count Zacharias (Governor of White Russia), 206, 213–14, 218, 231, 233, 240–1, 245, 248, 271, 287, 308.

D'Alembert, 344.
Danckelmann (Prussian minister), 187–8.
Dannecker (sculptor), 89.
Dannenmayer, Professor, 438.
David, Jacques Louis, 89–90.
Dehn, Christian, 58.
Delenda, Hieronymus (ex-Jesuit), 387.
Delgado, Cardinal Francis Xavier (Archbishop of Seville), 345.

Demarco, Carlo (Neapolitan minister of justice), 112, 115, 123.
Desprez, Jean Louis (painter), 107.
Didacus of Jumilla (Franciscan), 403.
Diessbach, Albert von (ex-Jesuit), 317.
Dini, Giuseppe (Master of Ceremonies), 36, 449 n., 465 n.
Dobruska, 476.
Domhardt (Oberpräsident), 199–200.
Dominicus a Soledad (Franciscan), 403.
Doria, Cardinal, *see* Pamfili.
Doria, Prince, 82.
Dufresse (missionary in China), 414.
Dugnani, Cardinal Antonio, 349.
Duminique (Minister of Trier), 318, 325–6.
Dupaty, 101.
Durini, Cardinal Angelo Maria, 93, 343.
Durno, James, 101.
Durocher, Gabriel (Lazarist), 390.

Edling, Count Rudolf Joseph von (Archbishop of Gorizia), 446–7, 479.
Elias VII. Denha (Chaldean Patriarch), 381.
Emanuel de Jesu (Bp. of Mylapore), 398, 400 n.
Entzendorffer (Chancellor of the University of Breslau), 194.
Erskine, Cardinal, 43 n.
Erthal, Franz Ludwig von (Prince Bishop of Bamberg), 436.
Espineira, Pedro Angel (Bishop of Concepcion), 394–5.
Espinha (Jesuit in China), 406, 411.
Estephan, Joseph (Maronite patriarch), 382–4.
Esterházy de Galantha, Karl (Bp. of Erlau), 424.
Eybel, Valentin, 56, 133, 333, 422, 427, 438, 453.
Ezechias (Negus of Abyssinia), 391.

Falchi Piccinesi, Francesco (Bishop of Pistoia), 151–2.
Falcoja, Tommaso, 370–1.
Falconieri, Costanza, 35, 36, 51 n.
Falconieri, Princess, 88.
Fantuzzi, Cardinal Gaetano, 7, 16, 17.
Fatati, *see* Antonio.
Fattor, Nicholas [Bl.], 337.
Fazzi, Bruno (Bp. of San Miniato), 140.
Febronius, 56.
Felbiger, Abbot, 189.
Felici (Uditore to Cardinal Rezzonico), 230.
Feller, F. X. (ex-Jesuit), 314.
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 351.
Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, 4, 110, 112 ff.
Ferdinand III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, 149, 150.
Ferdinand, Archduke (Governor-General of Milan), 99–100.
Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, 156, 319–320, 322.
Fernow, 54.
Filingeri, Cardinal Serafino (Archbishop of Naples), 111, 116, 123.
des Filletières, 361.
Finocchietti, Cardinal Raniero (Archbishop of Pisa), 346.
Firmian, Cardinal Leopold Ernst von (Bishop of Passau), 345 n., 351, 426, 458.
Fitzjames (Bishop of Soissons), 359.
Flangini, Cardinal Lodovico (Patriarch of Venice), 348.

Flaxman, John (sculptor), 101.
Floridablanca, Count, *see* Moñino.
Foggini, Pier Francesco, 130.
Folkmann, Canon, 234 n.
Font, Peter (Mexican missionary), 393.
Francheschi, Angelo (Archbishop of Pisa), 139, 150.
Franci, Antonio Maria (Bp. of Grosseto), 140.
Francis II., Emperor, 318, 325.
Francone, Tommaso Maria (Abp. of Manfredonia), 124.
Frankenberg, Cardinal John Henry, Count of (Archbishop of Malines), 314, 345–6, 446.
Franklin, Benjamin, 417.
Franzoni (sculptor), 69, 77, 79, 82.
Fredenheim, C. F. von, 72
Frederick II., King of Prussia, 81, 177 ff., 191–2, 195 ff., 334, 433.
Frederick William II., King of Prussia, 187, 205.
Frederick William III., King of Prussia, 194.
Friedrich, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, 99.
Füger (painter), 88.

Gagnereaux (painter), 107.
Galitzin, Prince (Russian ambassador to Austria), 257, 278, 286, 292.
Galletti, Pier Luigi (Benedictine), 49.
Gallo, Cardinal Muzio, 347.
Garampi, Cardinal Giuseppe (nuncio to Poland), 34, 55–7, 156 n., 180, 212–13, 218–19, 222, 225–7, 233, 235, 253, 257, 270, 274, 278, 286, 292–3, 346, 443, 451, 466–7, 470, 480.
Garandini, Cardinal Filippo, 347.
Garrés, Francis (Mexican missionary), 393.
Genelli, Bonaventura (painter), 89.
Genga, Annibale della (nuncio), 319.
Gerbert, Martin (Abbot of St. Blasien), 47, 49, 436.
Gerdil, Cardinal Giacinto Sigismondo, 55–6, 152–3, 343–345, 480.
Gessner (painter), 89.
Ghebragzer, Tobias (Bp. of Adula), 390.
Ghilini, Cardinal Tommaso Maria, 345.
Ghiotti, Canon, 200, 278.
Ghislieri, Marchese, 29 n.
Gia-long (King in Cochin-China), 402.
Gianni (Tuscan senator), 144.
Giarve, Dionysius Michael (Bp. of Aleppo), 380–1.
Gibbon, Edward, 94.
Giedroyc, Stephen (Bishop in Livonia), 219.
Giles, Blessed (companion of St. Francis), 339.
Gilii, Filippo Luigi, 50 n.
Ginestar, James (Franciscan missionary), 403.
Giorgi, Mgr. Carlo, 91.
Giovanelli, Federigo Maria (Patriarch of Venice), 126, 325.
Giovanni Buralli, Blessed, 339.
Giovanni Giuseppe of the Cross, Blessed [St.], 336.
Giovannotti, Cardinal Andrea (Archbishop of Bologna), 344.
Giraud, Cardinal Bernardino, 13, 19.
Girolamo Ranuzzi, Blessed, 339.
Gleixner, Franz (ex-Jesuit Provincial), 184–5, 191.
Gleyo (Sulpician missionary), 416.
Gloucester, William Henry, Duke of, 98, 109, 331.

Gmelin (painter), 89.
Goethe, 26, 26–7 n., 53, 69, 77, 93–6, 101.
Gonzaga, *see* Valenti Gonzaga.
Gonzalez, Tirso (Jesuit General), 366.
Gourlin, 142.
Govea, Alexander de (Bishop in Peking), 411–12.
Graja (Bishop in Angola), 391.
Gravina, Duke of, 370.
Grégoire, Abbé, 154.
Gregorio, Cardinal Giovanni di, 347.
Gregory XIII., Pope, 59.
Gregory III. (Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch), 380–381.
Grimaldi, Marchese (Spanish minister), 15, 249, 264–6, 268–9, 278–9, 284–5, 289, 298, 300.
Grimm, Melchior, 280.
Gruber (Jesuit Vicar-General), 307, 310, 328–9.
Guamarães, *see* Sylva.
Gundisalvo of Lagos, Blessed, 339.
Gustavus III. (King of Sweden), 104–8, 418.

Hackert, Philipp, 88, 93.
Haller, Albrecht von, 419.
Haller, General, 419.
Hamilton, Gavin (painter), 70, 71 n., 79, 101.
Hamilton, Maximilian von (Bp. of Olmütz), 350.
Hay, Johann Leopold von (Bishop of Königgratz), 446.
Heeren, 54.
Heinke (Austrian Court Councillor), 422, 439–440.
Heinrich (Prince of Reuss), 27, 99.
Herberstein, Count Ernst von (Bishop of Linz), 351.
Herberstein, Count Karl Joseph of (Bishop of Laibach), 469, 479–480.
Herder, J. G. von, 84, 98, 110.
Hertle, 185, 191.
Herzan und Harras, Cardinal Count Franz, 97, 105, 288, 346, 421, 441–2, 458, 468–471, 473, 479–480.
Hetsch (painter), 89.
Hewetson (sculptor), 101.
Hibernon, *see* Andrew.
Hickel (Viennese painter), 457.
Hilzen (Bishop of Smolensk), 220.
Hirt, Alois, 54, 85.
Hohenlohe-Schillingsfurst, Karl Albert, Prince of, 46 n., 310.
Hohenwart, Count Sigmund Anton (Abp. of Vienna), 352.
Hohenzollern, Count (Coadjutor Bishop of Kulm), 198–204.
Honorati, Cardinal Bernardino, 344.
Hormuzd Mar Hanna (Archbishop of Mosul), 81.
Hoym (Prussian minister), 185, 187–8, 192, 205.

Incontri, Francesco Gaetano (Archbishop of Florence), 130.
Ippoliti, Giuseppe (Bishop of Pistoia), 131.
Isenbiehl, Professor, 194, 334.

Jauhar, Athanasius (Melchite Patriarch), 382.
Jeaurinvilliers (ex-Jesuit), 241 n.
Jenkins, Thomas (art dealer), 70, 71 n., 101.
João (Prince of Portugal), 159.
Joseph of St. Teresa (Carmelite), 406.
Joseph I. (King of Portugal), 157.
Joseph II. (Emperor), 7, 34, 104–5, 117, 127, 148, 270–1, 274, 278, 303, 314, 351–2, 428 ff.

Joseph IV. (Chaldean Patriarch of Diarbekr), 380.
Julius II., Pope, 83.

KACHOWSKI, General (Governor of Mohilev), 211.
Kalatay (ex-Jesuit), 270.
Kareu (Jesuit Vicar-General), 309–310.
Karl Theodor (Elector Palatine), 104, 319, 331, 459–461.
Katerbring (Jesuit), 208.
Kauffmann, Angelica, 77, 89, 93, 109.
Kaunitz, Prince Wenzel Anton von, 7, 346, 421, 426, 433, 444, 455, 468, 473.
Kerens, J. H. (Bishop of St. Pölten), 352.
el-Khazen, Michael (Maronite Vicar-General), 383.
Kingston, Duchess of, 99.
Kinsky, Count, 105.
Kleist, Major von, 204.
Klemens Wenzeslaus (Elector of Trier), 319, 325, 459, 461–2.
Klugman (Jesuit), 314.
Kobenzl, Count, 451, 455, 458–459.
Köck (painter), 89.
Korycki, Carlo (Jesuit), 270, 282, 294, 295.
Kosciuszko, Tadeusz, 172.
Kossakowski (Bishop of Vilna), 316.
Krassizki (Bishop of Ermeland), 197–8, 200.
Kresel, Baron von, 466 n., 478.
Kretchetnikow (Governor of Pskov), 211–12, 219, 231.

LACY (Spanish Ambassador), 245.
Laimbeckhoven, Gottfried von (Bishop in Nanking), 404–406.
Lampredi, Giovan Maria, 144.
Lancelotti, Cardinal Filippo (Maggiordomo), 33 n., 349.
Lancelotti, Prince, 76.
Landes, Aloys (Jesuit), 307.
Langer (Jesuit), 191.
Laszki, Peter (Jesuit), 201, 203–5.
Lazzarani, Pio, 71 n.
Lebon (Vicar-Apostolic in Siam), 402.
Le Gros, Nicolas (Professor at Rheims), 363.
Lehrbach, Count Damian, 318, 460 n.
Lemos Faria, Francisco de (Vicar Capitular of Lisbon) 159.
Lenkiewicz, Gabriel (Jesuit), 208, 306, 309, 320.
Leo X., Pope, 332.
Leonardo di Porto Maurizio, Blessed [St.], 336.
Leopold I., Emperor, 205, 317.
Leopold II. (Grand Duke of Tuscany, later Emperor), 127 ff., 155, 352, 429, 444.
Leopold of Brunswick, Prince, 27, 98.
Le Plat, 153.
Lepri, Amanzio, 36.
Lepri, Marianne, 36.
Lessing, 27, 98.
Liechtenstein, Princess Eleanore of, 446 n.
Liguori, *see* Alphonsus.
Lips (painter), 89.
Lipski (Castellan), 316.
Lisowski (Uniat Bishop of Polotsk), 168, 174–5.
Litta (nuncio to Warsaw), 174–175, 308, 326, 328.
Livizzani, Cardinal Carlo, 347.
Lombardi, Bartolommeo, 48 n.
Loménie de Brienne, Cardinal, 342, 347–8.
Longobardi, Niccolò di, 336.
Lorenzana, Cardinal Francisco Antonio (Archbishop of Toledo), 47, 49, 55, 347.
Lorenzo of Brindisi, Blessed [St.], 337.
Louis XIV., King of France, 89.

Louis XV., King of France, 312, 407.
Louis XVI., King of France, 342, 408.
Louise, Madame (Carmelite, daughter of Louis XV.), 310–11.
Lubomirski, Princess, 108.
Ludovisi, *see* Boncompagno, Cardinal.
Luti, Carlo (sub-datary), 33.
Luynes, Cardinal de, 9.

MacDavit, Daniel (Bp. of Derry), 101.
Macedonio, Mgr., 210 n., 221.
Maddoloni, Duke of, 116, 122.
Mafalda, Blessed, 338.
Majone, 372.
Malvezzi, Cardinal, 7, 16.
Mamachi, Tommaso Maria (Dominican), 47–8.
Mancinforte, *see* Sperelli.
Mancini (Bishop of Fiesole), 138–9.
Mandello, de (Vicar Apostolic of Shansi), 414.
Mantigazza (Vicar Apostolic in Ava), 402.
Marcacci, Niccolò (Bp. of Arezzo), 140.
Marchionne, Carlo, 62.
Marcolini, Cardinal Marcantonio, 344.
Marefoschi, Cardinal, 5, 7, 16.
Mareri, Cardinal Vincenti, 349.
Maria I., Queen of Portugal, 157–9, 161, 396, 407, 410.
Maria Amalia (Duchess of Parma), 106.
Maria Anna of Jesus, Blessed [St.], 338.
Maria Anna, Archduchess, 323.
Maria Leszczyńska (Queen of Poland), 409.
Maria Theresa, Empress, 7, 270, 345, 350, 421–2, 425–427, 430–2.
Marie Antoinette, Queen, 430.
Marini, Gaetano, 48, 52.
Marini, Natale, 42.
Maron, Anton, 88, 97.
Marotti, Mgr., 327–8.
Martini (Professor of Law), 422–3, 426.
Martini (Archbishop of Florence), 135, 138, 150, 154.
Martiniana, Cardinal Charles Joseph Philip de, 345.
Martinovich (Jesuit), 382.
Mary of the Incarnation, Blessed, 338.
Massalski (Bishop of Vilna), 212.
Massei, Cardinal Paolo, 347.
Massi, Pasquale, 83.
Massillon, 363.
Mattar, Agapius (Melchite patriarch), 382.
Mattei, Cardinal Alessandro, 346, 463.
Matthew (Jacobite patriarch), 381.
Maury, Jean Siffrein (Abbé, later Cardinal), 342, 349–350.
Maximilian, Archduke, 97, 104, 331, 432.
Maximilian of Königseck, Elector, 318.
Mechau (painter), 88.
Meindaerts (Jansenist Archbishop), 360.
Mello (Oratorian), 159, 160.
Ménageot (Director of Roman Academy), 90.
Mendoza, Cardinal José Francisco de (Patriarch of Lisbon), 158, 347.
Mengs, Raphael, 86–8, 102.
Mertens (Rector of college at Augsburg), 461.
Mésenguy, 360.
Metastasio, 10, 50 n.
Metternich, 318.
Meyer, Friedrich Johann Lorenz, 95–7.
Meyer, Johann Heinrich (painter), 89.
Michael de Sanctis, Blessed [St.], 337.

Migazzi, Cardinal Christoph Anton (Archbishop of Vienna), 7–9, 12, 15, 17–19, 318, 323, 421–2, 424–6, 428, 436, 438, 440–1, 445–446, 458, 465, 467–8, 477–478, 481.
Miguel de Annunciação (Bishop of Coimbra), 157, 159.
Milizia (art-critic), 91.
Miroadot du Bourg (Patriarch of Babylon), 381.
Mochetti, Alessandro, 25 n.
Moñino, José, Count Floridablanca, 3–5, 9, 12–15, 18, 20–1, 259–260, 264–5, 267, 284, 341.
Monsagrati, Michel Angelo, 237.
Montazet, Antoine de Malvinde (Abp. of Lyons), 142, 359.
Montes, Francisco (Jesuit), 282.
Monti, Vincenzo, 51.
Monti (Jesuit), 365.
Montmorency, Cardinal Louis Joseph de Laval (Bishop of Metz), 347.
Moore, John, 26–7.
Morelli, Cosimo, 38.
Morelli-Fernandez, Maria Maddelena, 51, 52 n.
Moretta, *see* Craveri.
Morghen, Raffaello, 67.
Moritz, Alois (Jesuit), 307 n.
Moye (missionary), 414 n.
Muccioli, 45 n.
Müller, Friedrich, 89.
Müller, Ignaz (Provost of St. Dorothea), 424, 435.
Müller, Johannes von (Swiss historian), 454.
Münter, Friedrich (Bp. of Zeeland), 54.
Murr, von, 54.
Muti, Bernardino (nuncio in Lisbon), 158.

Negroni, Cardinal Andrea, 7, 11, 16, 33, 52 n., 341.
Nelleman, Nicholas (Jansenist Bp. of Deventer), 360 n.
Nemi, Duke of, *see* Braschi, Luigi.
Neuberger (writer), 453 n.
Neuville (Minister of Marine), 390.
Niccolini, Antonio, 129.
Nicholas IV., Pope, 447.
Niccolini, Antonio, 129.
Nicole, Pierre, 361, 436.
Ni-tek-tso (Korean convert), 416.
Normandez (Spanish *chargé d'affaires*), 259–260, 300.
Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, Ildephonsus (Archbishop of Mexico), 394.

Obwexer (banker), 325 n.
Onesti, Girolamo, 35.
Onesti-Braschi, *see* Braschi.
Orsini, Cardinal Domenico (Neapolitan envoy), 3, 7, 9.
Ortiz Cortés, Stefano (Bishop of Mottola), 122–3.
Oster (Vicar-Apostolic of Sweden), 104, 418.
Ostermann (Russian Vice-Chancellor), 301.
Ost Gotland, Duke of, 99.
Ostrowski, Anton (Bp. of Gnesen), 200.

Pacca, Bartolommeo (nuncio in Portugal), 158–161.
Paccanari, Nicolò, 323–5, 420.
Pacetti (painter), 82.
Pacificus of S. Severino, Blessed [St.], 336.
Pacilli (art-dealer), 70.
Palafox y Mendoza, Juan, 340–1.
Pallavicini, Cardinal Opizio (Secretary of State), 7, 12–14, 17–18, 33, 52 n., 88, 219, 236–9, 242, 244, 250–2, 255, 261, 265, 268–269, 272, 275–6, 279–280, 285–6, 288, 290, 292, 297–298, 300.
Pallotta, Cardinal Guglielmo, 69, 345.

Pamfili, Cardinal Antonio Maria Doria, 347.
Pamfili, Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, 343, 346–7, 417.
Pamfili Colonna, Cardinal, 7, 9, 16.
Panin (Russian Foreign Minister), 163, 257–8, 267–8.
Pannilini, Giuseppe (Bp. of Chiusi-Pienza), 138, 144, 146 n., 149.
Panzi (lay brother), 408 n.
Paoli, Paolo Antonio, 50.
Papé, Hugo (Bp. of Mazzara), 356 n.
Papozynski, Stanislaus, 358.
Paul I., Emperor of Russia, 102–3, 174–6, 276, 308–10, 328–9.
Paulinus of St. Bartholomew (Carmelite), 397–9.
Pavone, Alexander (ex-Jesuit), 397.
Pecci, Joseph Bernardino (Bishop of Montalcino), 140–1.
Pedro III., King of Portugal, 157, 159.
Pehem, Joseph Johann Nepomuk, 439.
Penna, Agostino, 26 n., 64.
Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, 205.
Petrus Eleazar (Armenian Archbishop of Mardin), 380.
Phajatak (Emperor of Siam), 402.
Pichler, Count, 311 n.
Pichler, Karoline, 467 n.
Pierantoni, Giovanni (sculptor), 69, 82–3.
Pietro di Treja, Blessed, 339.
Pignatelli, Domenico (Bishop of Caserta), 115.
Pignatelli, Cardinal Francesco Maria, 349.
Pigneau de Béhaine (Bishop in Tongking), 402.
Piranesi, Francesco, 25 n., 67, 79, 108.
Piranesi, Giambattista, 67, 82, 87, 102, 103.
Pius V., St., 29, 65.
Pius VI., 22 ff.; *see also* Braschi.
Pius VII., 68, 176, 329, 349, 374, 420.
Pius IX., 374.
Pizzi, Gioacchino, 52 n.
Pocetti (art-dealer), 70.
Pombal, Paulo, 160.
Pombal, Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho y Melho, Marquis of, 3–4, 156–7, 159, 161, 401.
Porta, I. D. (painter), 25 n.
Potemkin, Prince (Russian minister for Church affairs) 246, 272, 283, 299, 301–2, 305, 308.
Pottier (missionary in China), 413–14.
Pozzobonelli, Cardinal Giuseppe (Archbishop of Milan), 470.
Prichowski, A. P. (Abp. of Prague), 423.
Przeclawski (Provost of Orsza), 212 n.

Quesnel, Pasquier, 133–4, 362.

Raffalski (ex-Jesuit), 203.
Ranucci, Cardinal Vincenzo, 346–7.
Ranuzzi, Cardinal Vincenzo (nuncio to Portugal), 158.
Ranuzzi, Girolamo [Bl.], 339.
Rappini, Gaetano (engineer), 38.
Rautenstrauch (Abbot of Braunau), 422–7, 437, 453 n., 477.
Rautenstrauch, Johann, 423 n.
Raux (Lazarist superior in Peking), 412.
Reggi, Giuseppe Antonio, 57.
Rehberg (painter), 89.
Reiffenstein, Johann Friedrich, 85, 98.

Reinach, Karl von, 181, 185 ff.
Reys, Salvatore dos (Archbishop of Cranganore), 400–1.
Rezzonico, Prince Abbondio, 92.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo (Camerlengo), 5, 12, 15, 16, 17 n., 23, 92, 178, 182, 229.
Rezzonico, Cardinal Giovanni Battista (Maggiordomo), 16, 17 n., 92.
Rhomberg, Ignaz (Jesuit), 282.
Ribera, Juan de [Bl.], 338–9.
Ricci, Lorenzo (Jesuit General), 24, 129.
Ricci, Scipione de' (Bishop of Pistoia), 129 ff., 364, 382.
Ricciardelli (Neapolitan agent in Rome), 121.
Ricco, Massimo, 403.
Riegger, Paul Joseph, 422, 426.
Riminaldi, Cardinal Giovanni Maria, 87, 347.
Rinuccini, Cardinal Giovanni, 349.
Rivera, Count di, 52 n.
Rocha, da (Portuguese Jesuit in Tibet), 416.
Rochefoucauld, Cardinal Dominique de la (Archbishop of Rouen), 345–6.
Rohan Guémenée, Cardinal Louis René de, 345–6.
Rolland, President, 361.
Rossi, Cardinal Ferdinando Maria de, 8.
Rossi, de (physician), 30.
Roverello, Cardinal Aurelio (pro-Datary), 33 n., 349.
Ruccellai, Giulio, 127.
Ruffo, Cardinal Antonio, 22, 23.
Ruffo, Cardinal Fabrizio (Treasurer), 35, 147, 348–9.
Rybinski, Joseph (Bishop of Kujavia), 197–9.
Rylo, Maximilian (Bishop of Kulm), 164, 272 n., 332 n., 385.
Sagramoso (Knight of Malta), 162–4, 218.
Saint-Martin (missionary bishop), 414 n.
Saliceti, Natale (Papal physician), 30.
Salusti, Giovanni Damasceno (Bishop in Peking), 410–411.
Saluzzo, Ferdinando Maria (nuncio), 307, 315.
Salviati, Cardinal Gregorio, 345.
Sambuca, Marchese della (Neapolitan minister), 112–15.
San Corrado, Carlo di (missionary), 399.
Santa Croce, Princess, 109.
Santi, Francesco Pio (Bp. of Soana), 140.
Santini (Russian consul in Rome), 286.
Sanz, Vincenz, 295.
Schadow (sculptor), 89.
Schäffer (sculptor), 89.
Scheffhauer (sculptor), 89.
Scherpenseel (ex-Jesuit), 401 n.
Schlabrendorf (Silesian Minister), 189.
Schröckh, Professor, 438.
Schütz, Johann Georg (painter), 89.
Sciarelli, Niccolò (Bp. of Colle), 138, 144, 149.
Sebastian of Apparitio, Blessed, 337.
Selleri (Dominican), 435.
Sentmanat y Cartella, Cardinal Antonio de, 347.
Serassi, Antonio, 48.
Serbelloni, Cardinal Fabrizio, 16.
Serra, Juniper (Franciscan missionary), 393.
Serrao (Bishop of Potenza), 134
Sertor, Gaetano, 11.
Servanzi, Severino (internuncio), 116, 122–3.
Shelbourne, William, Second Earl of, 71 n.

Siagi, Cyril (Melchite Patriarch), 382.
Sibilla, Gaspare (sculptor), 69, 77.
Siebenkees, 54.
Siestrzencewicz, Stanislaus Bohusz (Bishop of Mohilev), 162–3, 165, 168, 174–6, 214–15, 218, 222–3, 225–7, 231–6, 242–251, 254–7, 265, 269–279, 282–4, 287–9, 299, 301, 306–9.
Simone, Cardinal Gennaro Antonio de, 7, 16.
Simonetti, Michelangelo, 73–5, 78–9.
Sisco, Giuseppe, 50.
Sisto e Britto, Mario (Bishop of Sora), 124.
Sixtus V., Pope, 69.
Smogorzewski, Jason (Uniat Metropolitan of Polotsk), 164, 170, 208, 222–3, 269.
Sobolewski (Jesuit Provincial), 210.
Sobraviela, Emanuel (Franciscan in Chile), 395.
Södermanland, Duke of, 418.
Solaro (Bishop of Noli), 153.
Solis, Cardinal (Archbishop of Seville), 7, 9, 12, 14, 17–19, 228 n.
Solomon, King of Imeretia, 380.
Somaglia, Cardinal Giulio Maria della (Archbishop of Ostia), 350.
Sonnenfels, Joseph von, 453, 468.
Sophie Dorothea of Brunswick, 102–3.
Souza, Cardinal Ferdinand de (Patriarch of Lisbon), 345.
Souza, Polycarp de (Bishop of Peking), 405.
Spaur, Leopold von (Prince Bishop of Brixen), 435 n.
Sperelli, Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Mancinforte, 33 n., 344, 346.
Spinelli, Cardinal Ferdinando Maria, 124, 347.
Spinola, Cardinal Girolamo, 12–13.
Spiridowicz (Jesuit), 222 n.
Stackelberg, Count (Russian minister in Warsaw), 166–7, 212, 218–19, 241–2, 248, 250, 255, 258, 261–2, 267–271, 277, 280, 295.
Stanislaus Poniatowski (King of Poland), 169, 172, 265, 272 n., 316.
Stay, Mgr. (Secretary of Briefs to Princes), 8, 33 n.
Stiphout, Van (Jansenist Bishop), 360.
Stock, Ambros Simon von, 435.
Stöger, Ferdinand, 427.
Stolberg, Count Friedrich Leopold zu, 54, 55 n.
Stoppani, Cardinal Gianfrancesco, 8.
Strachwitz, Bishop, 182–3, 190, 192–3, 195.
Sussex, Duke of, 110.
Svarez (jurist), 192.
Swieten, Gerhard van, 155, 435.
Swieten, Gottfried van, 437–9.
Sylva Pedrosa Guamarães, Alexander da (Bishop of Macao), 405.
Szadurski (Jesuit), 220–1.
Szeptycki, Leo (Uniat Metropolitan of Polotsk), 164, 170.

Tamburini (Jansenist), 137, 142–3.
Tanucci, Marchese Bernardo, 110–11, 371–2.
Tanzini, R. (Jansenist), 145 n.
Teplow (Russian senator), 208, 214.
Thomas of Cora, Blessed, 336.
Tian, Joseph (Maronite Patriarch), 384.
Tillot, Guillaume du (Minister in Parma), 319.
Tinti, Camillo, 25 n.
Tippoo Sahib (Sultan of Mysore), 397.

Tischbein, 83, 89, 90, 93.
Torrigiani, Cardinal Luigi, 16.
Tournely, Abbé Leonor Franz de, 322–3.
Towianski (Suffragan Bishop of Vilna), 207.
Trautmannsdorf, General, 318.
Trippel, 26 n., 89, 93, 109.

UNTERBERGER, Christoph, 76, 78, 88, 102.
Urban VIII., Pope, 381.

VALADIER, Luigi, 62, 67, 83.
Valenti Gonzaga, Cardinal Aloisio, 343.
Vallière (French consul-general), 390.
Vannucci, Pietro (Bishop of Massa), 140.
Varin, Joseph (Jesuit), 323.
Vecchi, Cardinal Bernardino de', 343.
Velez de Escalante, Silvester (missionary), 393.
Vérac (French ambassador to Russia), 300.
Vergennes (French Foreign Minister), 304.
Victor Amadeus (King of Sardinia), 356.
Vien (painter), 89.
Viguier, Petrus Franciscus (Lazarist General), 387–8.
Villegas (Chancellor of Brabant), 314.
Vincent de Paul [St.], 359, 388.
Vincenti, Ippolit' Antonio (nuncio), 153.
Vincentini (nuncio to Naples), 111, 116.
Vinci, Giuseppe Simone F. (Maggiordomo), 33 n.
Visconti, Cardinal Antonio Eugenio, 7, 14–15, 18, 21.
Visconti (Jesuit General), 366.
Visconti, Ennio Quirini, 48 n., 52, 80, 83.
Visconti, Canon Filippo, 470.
Visconti, Giambattista (Commissioner of Antiquities), 79–80, 83, 90.
Vitry, Dugad de (ex-Jesuit), 409.
Volpato, Giovanni (engraver), 26 n., 67, 91, 102.
Voltaire, 206, 334, 432.
Voyna (parish priest of Vitebsk), 212 n.

WALDER, Peter, 462.
Washington, George, 417.
Wieland, 90.
Wierbicki (Jesuit), 220.
Winckelmann, 87.

YORK, Henry, Cardinal, Duke of, 16, 91 n.
Yussupof, Prince, 292 n.

ZACCHARIA, Francesco Antonio, 47.
Zamoisky, Andreas, 156 n.
Zampieri, Camillo, 46 n.
Zauner (sculptor), 89.
Zedlitz (Prussian Minister), 194, 202.
Zehmen, von (Official), 199.
Zelada, Cardinal Francesco Saverio, 7, 11, 15–17, 35, 56–7.
Zeplichal (Jesuit), 183–5, 189, 191–2.
Zinoviev (Russian ambassador to Madrid), 259, 267.
Zoëga, Georg, 48 n., 52, 55, 347 n.
Zoglio, Cesare (nuncio to Munich), 319.
Zulian (Venetian ambassador), 90.
Zurlo, Cardinal Giuseppe Capece (Archbishop of Naples), 346.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XL.

PIUS VI., 1775–1799

	PAGES
Hontheim's Recantation—The Erection of a Nunciature in Munich	1–42
The Congress of Ems and its Aftermath—Disturbances in the Austrian Netherlands—Death of Joseph II.—His Successors' Attitude towards the Church	43–86
The Church in France at the End of the *Ancien Régime*—The Outbreak of the Revolution—The Abolition of Ecclesiastical Privileges	87–114
The Ecclesiastical Legislation of the French National Assembly in 1789 and 1790—The Secularization of Church Property and the Suppression of the Religious Houses—The Civil Constitution of the Clergy—The Attitudes adopted by Louis XVI., Pius VI., and the French Hierarchy	115–162
The Fate of the non-juring Clergy in France—The Reign of Terror	163–212
The Penetration of Revolutionary Ideas and Movements into the States of the Church	213–260
The French Clergy in Exile—Disestablishment of the Church in France	261–288
Bonaparte and the French in the Papal States—The Establishment of the Roman Republic and the Expulsion of the Pope	289–347
The Renewal of the Persecution of the Clergy in France—Pius VI.'s Last Journey and his Death in Exile	348–397
Index of Names	399–406
Contents of Mann's Lives of the Popes and Pastor's History of the Popes	407–410

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XL.

Pius VI. 1775–1799.

CHAPTER I.

HONTHEIM'S RECANTATION—THE ERECTION OF A NUNCIATURE IN MUNICH.

A.D.		PAGE
1776	Bellisomi tries to turn the Elector of Trier against the *Febronius*, and, under the influence of the ex-Jesuit Beck, the Elector sends to Paris for opinions on the work	2
1777	Pius VI. insists on Hontheim's formal recantation, but	3
	Hontheim, undeterred, publishes his *Febronius abbreviatus*	4
	Bellisomi's failure to have the book banned by the Bishops	5
	Isenbiehl's objectionable writings and	6
1778	Hontheim's partially favourable opinion on them, which loses him the Elector's favour. Hontheim submits to the Elector on this point	8
	The Elector demands his submission in respect of the *Febronius* as well	9
	Hontheim agrees and drafts his recantation, which is	10
	Forwarded to Rome	11
	The recantation described	14
	The Pope's publication of it	16
1779	Hontheim's pastoral letter, informing his diocese of his change of mind	18
	The printing of the letter prohibited in various States	20
	The rumour that his recantation was insincere	21
	Denied by Hontheim, who twice issues a statement to this effect	22
1780	His commentary on his recantation	24
1792	Based on Gallican principles, criticized by Gerdil	26
1781	Hontheim retires from public life	27
1790	His death	28
	The ecclesiastical attitude of Karl Theodor of Bavaria	29
	His desire for a Bavarian bishopric having been frustrated	30
1784	He adopts the plan of setting up a nunciature in Munich. Antici's memorandum; the Pope's assent	31
	Opposition from Mainz, Salzburg	33

A.D. PAGE
1785 Freising, Trier, and Cologne. Rebuffed by Rome . 34
The prelates appeal to the Emperor, who . . . 36
In his rescript refuses to recognize the nunciature tribunals 38
Subsequent steps by Mainz and Salzburg; incomplete co-operation of the Suffragans. The Pope stands on his rights 39
Bavaria insists on having a nunciature . . . 40
1786 Zoglio arrives in Munich 41
Pacca in the archdiocese of Cologne 42

CHAPTER II.

THE CONGRESS OF EMS AND ITS AFTERMATH—DISTURBANCES IN THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS—DEATH OF JOSEPH II.—HIS SUCCESSORS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHURCH.

1786 Representatives of the Rhenish Electors and Salzburg consult together at Ems on 44
The restoration of the 'original rights' of the episcopate, the reduction of Papal claims, and . . . 45
The reform of ecclesiastical life 46
An unpleasant incident. Letters sent to the Emperor by the participatory Powers 47
The Ems Punctation 48
Joseph II. advises the petitioners to come to an agreement first with their Suffragans. The reasons for his guardedness 50
The complete agreement of the Suffragans found to be unattainable 52
The attempt to put the punctation into practice resisted by the Pope and the nuncios. Pacca and the matrimonial dispensation granted to Prince Hohenlohe-Bartenstein 53
The measure taken by the Munich nuncio . . . 54
The Ems Punctation a topic of public discussion . 56
In return for the recognition of Dalberg as coadjutor for Mainz, the Electorate, supported by Prussia, makes overtures to Rome. Lucchesini's mission . 57
1787 The punctators make another protest, against a taxation Bull for Bavaria, but 58
1788 Fail to win their case, even with the help of the Diet . 59
The outcome of the Congress of Ems and the nunciature dispute 60
1789 Pius VI.'s *Responsio* 61
1781 Joseph II's reforms in the Netherlands . . . 65

A.D. PAGE
1786 The general discontent comes to a head, and the seminarists revolt 66
1789 The nuncio Zondadari, charged with incitement, is expelled 67
The Pope's dismay 68
The Cardinal of Malines summoned to Vienna . . 69
General indignation among the people; outbreak of civil war 70
The Government's conciliatory measures come too late; Cardinal Frankenberg takes to flight . 71
The rebels victorious, Joseph II. appeals for help to the Pope, who addresses a 72
Brief to the Belgian Bishops 73
Belgium having already declared its independence, the Bishops have to decline the Pope's request . 74
1790 Death of Joseph II. The French invasion of the Netherlands brings the Austrian supremacy to an end. The election of Leopold II., after . . 75
Fruitless talks between the Rhenish Archbishops and the Papal delegate, Caprara 76
The electoral capitulation and ecclesiastical questions 77
Under Leopold II. Josephism is maintained in its essentials, though the general seminaries are closed 81
1792 The election of Francis II, Maury, the Papal delegate for Frankfurt 82
Parleys with the Rhenish Archbishops without effect. 83
The electoral capitulation remains unaltered, no regard being paid to Maury's protest . . . 84
The persistence of Josephism under Francis II. . . 85

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH IN FRANCE AT THE END OF THE *ANCIEN RÉGIME*—THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION—THE ABOLITION OF ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVILEGES.

The splendid exterior presented by the Church: its prestige, wealth, and prosperity 87
The dark side of the picture: bishoprics reserved for the nobility 91
Some Bishops, nevertheless, worthy of their office . 92
Others neglect the duty of residence and . . . 93
Become involved in worldly interests . . . 94
The religious Orders: wealth of the abbeys, the commendatory system 97
Lax discipline. The depopulation of the religious houses 98

A.D. PAGE

The good condition of the female Orders. The extreme poverty of the lower clergy, its . . . 99
Consequent envy of the upper clergy, and its readiness to embrace the new ideas of reform . . . 100
Clerical members of Freemasonry 102
No leading personalities among the clergy . . . 103
Even the clergy infected by anti-Christian literature 106
The body politic: the fundamental evil of State absolutism, misgovernment in the 18th century . 107
Louis XVI.'s inexperience and ignorance, the supremacy of the Parliament 108
1789 The rise of the Third Estate, the National Assembly of 1789, the cleavage between the upper and lower clergy 110
The passing of the absolute monarchy, the abolition of the feudal rights 111
With the help of the clergy 112
Abolition of the tithes and Papal dues . . . 113
Religious liberty 114

CHAPTER IV.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN 1789 AND 1790—THE SECULARIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY—THE ATTITUDES ADOPTED BY LOUIS XVI., PIUS VI., AND THE FRENCH HIERARCHY.

The preparatory work of secularization done by the absolutist State and by 115
1789 Proposals made in the National Assembly. Church property placed at the disposal of the nation . . 116
Expropriation of the clergy 120
The communes invited to participate in the partial sale of Church property 122
Rejection of Gerle's motion that the Catholic religion be that of the nation 123
Simultaneous suppression of the religious Orders . 126
On being given the option of leaving their houses, the male Orders hesitate, the females refuse. Little opposition shown by the people to the suppression of the religious houses and 127
The purchase of Church property 128
The Church's constitution completely altered by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy 130

A.D. PAGE
1790 Martineau's proposal and the debate in the National Assembly 131
The opposition of the Right neither wholehearted nor persistent 137
The Civil Constitution passed by the Assembly; its significance 139
The king's attitude towards the innovations . . 142
His deferment of the royal sanction 143
Pius VI.'s attitude 144
His long-enduring policy of restraint 145
His Brief to Louis XVI., denying the permissibility of the royal sanction, which 148
The king declares his readiness to give to the National Assembly 149
Cardinal Bernis instructed to ask the Pope for his provisional sanction of the Civil Constitution . . 151
Bernis proposes its revision 152
Yielding to the pressure exerted by the National Assembly, the king gives his sanction without waiting for the Papal reply 153
Even now Pius VI. tries to avoid a rupture . . 156
Not anticipating any serious resistance . . . 157
The National Assembly orders the law to be put into effect. The opposition, however, proves to be unexpectedly great 159
Statement by the Bishops in the National Assembly forwarded to the Pope 161

CHAPTER V.

THE FATE OF THE NON-JURING CLERGY IN FRANCE—THE REIGN OF TERROR.

1790 An Oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution demanded 165
Louis XVI. in a dilemma 167
Sanctions the oath 168
Most of the clergy refuse to take it 172
The French clergy divided into *assermentés* and *insermentés* 175
The reasons for Pius VI.'s policy of caution . . 176
1791 His Brief against the Civil Constitution . . . 178
Another Brief, against the civil oath . . . 183
The Bishops' attitude towards it 184
The recall of the nuncio Dugnani 186
The Abbé Salamon appointed the Pope's confidential agent in Paris 187
The Pope's moderation 188

A.D. PAGE
Anti-clerical outrages 189
The rape of Avignon 190
The Legislative Assembly's determination to suppress the non-jurors 191
Fresh laws of proscription 192
1792 The ruse by which further Papal Briefs were distributed 194
Deportation of the non-juring priests 195
The arrest of the king and the dissolution of the religious Congregations 196
The September massacres 197
The Abbé Salamon's experiences 199
1793 The execution of the king 201
Uprisings and massacres, 'hellish columns' and *noyades* 202
Marriages of clerics 203
A new calendar. Dechristianization 204
Christianity disowned by Gobel and others. Grégoire's courage 205
The cult of reason and of 206
The Supreme Being. The frenzy of the Tribunal of the Revolution 210
'An army of martyrs' 211

CHAPTER VI.

THE PENETRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS INTO THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

1789 Revolutionary stirrings in the States of the Church. The arrest of Cagliostro 213
Troubles with the French Academy. Precautionary measures taken by the Papal Government . . 214
Suspicious individuals expelled 215
1791 Rupture of diplomatic relations 217
Revolutionary and anti-revolutionary outbreaks . 218
The rape of Avignon 219
No support from the other Powers; the Pope's illness 220
The Venetian ambassador's view of the situation . 221
1792 Further precautions necessary 222
The Pope's attitude towards the political situation in Europe 224
Financial distress and defencelessness of the Papal States 226
The Pope yields to the French power 228
Arrival in Rome of the spy Bassville, who behaves in a provocative manner 229
Similar behaviour of the Republicans in Rome and . 230

A.D. PAGE
Paris 231
Madame Roland's letter to the 'Prince Bishop of Rome' 232
The Pope's restraint 233
Bassville and the Republican coat of arms in Rome . 234
The Republican enthusiasm of the French Academy of Art 237
1793 Bassville killed in a riot 239
Further outbreaks of popular rage against the French and the Jews 241
Bassville blamed at first in Paris and then hailed as a martyr 243
The Republic not yet in a position to revenge his death 244
The execution of Louis XVI. gives rise to further acts of violence against the French and Jews. . 245
The Pope's cautious attitude towards the victories of the allies 246
His allocution on the death of Louis XVI. and . 248
The memorial service in Rome 249
Pius VI. and the 'little oath' of liberty and equality 250
The allies' reverses and their effect in Rome . . 251
1794 Hopes set on England 252
Financial distress in the Papal States . . . 254
Their helplessness and empty hopes . . . 256
The discontent of the lower classes vents itself on . 258
Duke Braschi. The conspiracy in Bologna . . 259

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH CLERGY IN EXILE—DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN FRANCE.

1791 Two aunts of Louis XVI. in Rome, followed by. . 261
A stream of fugitive priests from France and Savoy . 262
The sufferings they endured *en route* . . . 264
Bernis' and Maury's hospitality 265
Organized charity 266
The support given by Urbino 268
The States of the Church unable to shelter all the *émigrés*. The self-sacrifice of the Italian Bishops. Lay refugees 270
The records of the relief work. *Émigrés* in other countries 271
England 272
The Netherlands, Germany 276
Switzerland 278
Spain 279

A.D. PAGE
Preparations in France for the separation of the Church and State 281
Reawakening of religious life, hindered by internal obstacles 283
1795 Terrorist attacks on the Church 285

CHAPTER VIII.

BONAPARTE AND THE FRENCH IN THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE EXPULSION OF THE POPE.

The States of the Church politically isolated and 289
Financially distressed 292
1796 Bonaparte marches against Rome 293
Azara's negotiations 295
Armistice of Bologna 297
Political and religious excitement in Rome resulting from the armistice 298
French commissaries arrive in Rome to execute the armistice 301
Papal agents in Paris 303
The negotiations broken off 305
The Pope's decisiveness. Busca the new Secretary of State 306
Further negotiations in Florence 307
The Pope suspends the execution of the broken armistice 309
The formation of a citizen army 311
Colli placed in command of the Papal forces . . 313
War fever in Rome 315
Military disaster 316
1797 The Peace of Tolentino 319
Doria Pamfili Secretary of State 324
Popular discontent in Rome 326
Talk of another conclave 327
Differences between the Papal Government and Bonaparte 328
Duphot killed in a riot 330
1798 Rome occupied by Berthier 332
Erection of the Roman Republic. The Pope's attitude 334
The Pope expelled from Rome 336
The treatment of the Cardinals 337
Resignation of Altieri and Antici 338
A reign of terror in Rome 340
Art treasures plundered 341
Popular disturbances in the States of the Church . 346
1799 The French driven out of Italy 347

CHAPTER IX.

THE RENEWAL OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE CLERGY IN FRANCE—PIUS VI.'S LAST JOURNEY AND HIS DEATH IN EXILE.

1797 The *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor 349
Reintroduction of the laws of banishment against the clergy, causing 350
Further emigration 351
Deportation to Cayenne 352
Ré, and Oléron. Extension of the laws to Belgium . 353
1798 The Pope's departure from Rome 354
Pius VI. in Siena 356
Memoranda to the Catholic princes, the Emperor in particular 359
The attention given to the next conclave . . 360
Letters to the Tsar Paul 361
Plans made for moving the Pope to Sardinia . . 363
The Pope in the Certosa of Florence . . . 366
Exchange of notes with Vienna 367
The Bull concerning the conclave 370
1799 Medical testimony regarding the Pope's health . 373
The Pope moved to Parma and 377
Turin 380
The crossing of the Alps to Briançon . . . 381
The stay at Grenoble 382
The Pope arrives at Valence 384
His removal to Dijon ordered 387
Pius VI. dies at Valence 388
His burial 390
The removal of his body to Rome; Canova's monument 393
Epilogue 395

CHAPTER I.

Hontheim's Recantation—The Erection of a Nunciature in Munich.

(1)

"You are accepting in the name of Christ the mission of guarding and taking under your protection, on the Rhine, the faith and the authority of the Apostolic *Cathedra* of St. Peter, whence derives the priestly dignity of all Bishops." These words were spoken by Pius VI. in St. Peter's on September 24th, 1775, when he had consecrated Carlo Bellisomi Bishop and had dispatched him as nuncio to Cologne.[1] Clearly a Pope who granted commissions in this decisive fashion intended to deal differently from his predecessor with the ecclesiastical movements in Western Germany.

Pius VI.'s principal aim was to win over Klemens Wenzeslaus, Elector of Trier, and through him to induce the author of the *Febronius*, whose identity had long since ceased to be unknown, to recant his dangerous doctrines. It was with this idea in mind that the Pope spoke in his allocution of the special ecclesiastical and political conditions that prevailed in the Rhenish dioceses, alluding thereby in an unmistakable way to the composition and distribution of anti-clerical books, even by high-ranking Catholic dignitaries. The sharpness of the words he used in referring to these facts indicate the personal feeling with which he observed the growth of the evil.

Bellisomi arrived in Cologne on January 4th, 1776. In early June of that year he paid his visit to the Archbishop of Trier

[1] The address was quickly published in printed form by the Apostolic Camera. Reproduced in Lebret, *Magazin*, V., 351 *seqq.*, and in *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 158 *seqq.* The passage quoted will be found there under § 2, p. 159.——This section on Febronius is based partly on preliminary work done by Professor Vierneisel of Heidelberg.

at Coblenz, where he stayed five days.[1] He took the opportunity of speaking with the Archbishop perfectly openly about the *Febronius*, whose author resided in his territory and who, with all his scholarship, was endangering the rights of the Roman See to such an extent that the Pope had given him, the nuncio, a definite commission in the matter.

These representations of the nuncio, which could have had no other object than to pave the way for negotiations, fell on ground that was not entirely unprepared. Since the Alsatian Franz Heinrich Beck had come within the inner circle of the Archbishop's acquaintances, in 1773, things had not been the same in Trier as in the days when the Elector had given his suffragan Bishop protection and security without hesitation. Beck,[2] who had had the advantage of being trained in Strasbourg, had worked as a member of the Society of Jesus in Alsace, and then in Württemberg. For some time now he had been exerting a considerable influence on the Electoral Court of Trier, and in an anti-Febronian direction.

It may have been at Beck's instigation that in 1775 Klemens Wenzeslaus asked the Archbishop of Paris to obtain the opinion of the French assembly of the clergy on the *Febronius*, the principles of the French Church being Hontheim's great authority. The opinion sent from Paris[3] turned out unfavourably for Hontheim; it rejected Febronius's attack on the Papacy, brought out sharply its divergences from the Gallican conception, and reprehended its inaccuracy in questions of the highest importance. The Elector now wanted the work to be censored by the Sorbonne, and the basis for this was to be a thorough examination of Febronius's volumes. The most suitable person for the task seemed to be the Roman

[1] MEJER, 276.

[2] *Ibid.*, 101 *seqq.*, 283 *seqq.* For Beck, see J. GASS, in the *Revue catholique d'Alsace*, XXXIX. (1924), 2 *seqq.*; *cf. id.*, *La disgrâce de l'abbé F. H. Beck*, *ibid.*, 615 *seqq.*

[3] *Coup d'œil sur le congrès d'Ems* (Düsseldorf, 1787), 101 *seqq.* Klemens Wenzeslaus attached the opinion to his *letter to Bellisomi of July 14, 1776 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, Papal Secret Archives).

Dominican Thomas Maria Mamachi,[1] a distinguished scholar and archæologist from Chios, who in the years that followed was to prove to be a notable literary opponent of Febronianism. In the form of letters, the first volumes of which appeared in 1776 and 1777,[2] he assembled very skilfully the logical and factual weaknesses of the Febronian system.

Bellisomi expressed his agreement with the Elector's intentions, especially as his zeal had been commended to him by the Cardinal Secretary of State; all that he wanted now was that the Pope should be informed.[3] Klemens Wenzeslaus agreed to this, provided that his intentions were kept secret. Meanwhile he was eagerly awaiting Mamachi's opinion.[4]

In Rome, however, this manner of procedure seemed to offer no definite solution.[5] Pius VI. was convinced that Febronius's system could only be rendered harmless by inducing its author

[1] *Cf.* **ibid.*; KÜNTZIGER, 100 *seqq.*

[2] "Fr. Thomae Mariae Mamachi Ord. Praed. Theologi Casanatensis Epistolarum ad Iustinum Febronium ICtum de ratione regendae Christianae Reipublicae deque legitima Romani Pontificis potestate liber primus," Romae, 1776 (liber secundus 1777). As a reward Mamachi was appointed Secretary to the Congregation of the Index. *Cf.* also *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi on August 23, 1776 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*). Mamachi's work was not permitted in Vienna (*Pallavicini to Garampi, September 22 and October 26, 1776; Nunziat. di Germania, 667, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 191.

[3] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, July 27, 1776 (Nunziat. di Germania, *loc. cit.*). In the **Cifra* to Bellisomi of February 22, 1776 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *ibid.*) the Elector is commended for his efforts to have the *Febronius* banned by the Sorbonne.

[4] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, November 20, 1776 (*ibid.*).

[5] **Cifra* to Bellisomi, November 2, 1776 (*ibid.*); *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, December 2, 1776 (*ibid.*, 772). In this letter the Archbishop asked for information about the decrees of the Index against Febronius and for a summary of all the episcopal prohibitions. Bellisomi sent him a list of the latter *on January 2, 1777, but the information about the Index was sent to the nuncio in confidence only, under date *March 1, 1777 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*; *cf. ibid.* 772).

to make a formal recantation. Besides, the Archbishop of Paris considered that a censure by the Sorbonne would be impracticable, as Hontheim's work had been banned by Bishops only, at the Papal desire, not expressly by the Pope himself.[1] Klemens Wenzeslaus regretted the failure of his plan and signified his readiness to pave the way for the course proposed by Rome.

Bishop Hontheim, however, thought that his position was as unassailable as ever. Certainly his superior had given him a clear sign of his displeasure by nominating as Coadjutor the Strasbourg Regens, Herbain,[2] with whose *processus informativus* Garampi, the nuncio to Vienna, had been charged,[3] but Hontheim was so little disturbed by this that in the summer of 1777 he was bold enough to publish a shortened edition of his work, which had finally become unwieldy. This *Febronianus abbreviatus*,[4] which was adapted even more than the previous editions to the widest possible circulation and already contained an answer to the first volume of Mamachi's letters,

[1] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, Munich, January 28, 1777 (*ibid.*, 189A); cf. **Cifra* to Doria, the nuncio to France, of April 3, 1776 (Nunziat. di Francia, 461A, fo. 109, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Hontheim had suggested other names, but they were not considered. The proposal to appoint Herbain was *reported by Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi on March 31, 1777 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *ibid.*). *Cf.* MARX, *Geschichte des Erzstiftes Trier*, V., 118.

[3] **Cifra* to Garampi of June 28, 1777 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667, *loc. cit.*). For the difficulties encountered in the *processus informativus*, *cf.* *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi on June 2, 1777 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*); *cf.* **Cifra* to Bellisomi of July 16, 1777 (*ibid.* 772). Herbain was consecrated Bishop on May 31, 1778.

[4] "Iustinus Febronius abbreviatus et emendatus, id est de statu Ecclesiae Tractatus, ex Sacra Scriptura, Traditione et melioris notae Catholicis Scriptoribus adornatus, ab Auctore ipso in hoc Compendium redactus," Coloniae et Francofurti, 1777. *Cf.* ZILLICH, 36. Klemens Wenzeslaus *wrote on August 14, 1777, that he was trying to procure a copy (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*).

announced itself on the very title-page as the production of the same author who had compiled the larger work.

As early as March of this year Rome apparently had thought that it would not be long before Hontheim would resign his office,[1] but the appearance of the shortened *Febronius* called for fresh measures.[2] The nuncio Bellisomi was asked to try and persuade all the Bishops to ban the book, though in so doing he was to take every precaution.[3] However, the steps taken by Bellisomi were not successful. Bishop von der Asseburg, of Paderborn, replied [4] that it was better to treat such books with contempt than to ban them, while the Bishop of Hildesheim, Friedrich Wilhelm von Westfalen, feared that a fresh censoring would do serious harm to his diocese.[5] Würzburg [6] and Fulda [7] were willing to ban the book, but only when the necessity to do so was evident, whereas Liége preferred to let it die a natural death by saying nothing whatever about it.[8] Even Von Limburg-Stirum, the Bishop of Speyer, said that he was more than willing to proceed against the book but that they must not forget that a poor impression would be made if only some of the German Bishops raised their voice against it.[9]

A second visit of Bellisomi's to Klemens Wenzeslaus, in August 1777, at his hunting lodge, Cärlich, did not advance

[1] The Pope's hope that the news of Hontheim's resignation would be verified was mentioned in the **Cifra* to Bellisomi of March 8, 1777 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772).

[2] The Cardinal Secretary of State had already received a copy in September (**Cifra* to Garampi, September 27, 1777; Nunziat. di Germania, 667, *loc. cit.*) and he sent it on to Mamachi to be refuted (**Cifra* to Garampi of December 6, 1777, *ibid.*).

[3] **Cifra* to Bellisomi, November 8, 1777 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Under date December 14, 1777 (*ibid.* 189A).

[5] *Under date December 15, 1777 (*ibid.*).

[6] *Under date January 5, 1778 (*ibid.*).

[7] *Under date January 7, 1778 (*ibid.*).

[8] *Under date December 24, 1777 (*ibid.*).

[9] *Letter from Bruchsal under date January 7, 1778 (*ibid.*).

the matter to any appreciable extent.[1] It was only through the movement originating soon afterwards in another literary event and through the chance implication in it of the suffragan Bishop of Trier, that the ball was set rolling again.

Johann Lorenz Isenbiehl,[2] one-time chaplain to the students at Göttingen, since 1773 professor of Oriental languages and exegesis in the university of Mainz, had contested in his lectures that the passage from the prophet Isaias (vii, 14) referred to the Messias and his virginal conception and birth. The Elector of Mainz, Emmerich Joseph, did no more than reprimand Isenbiehl, but when the new Archbishop, Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal, removed him from his post, Isenbiehl employed his enforced leisure in elaborating his opinion in a written work, which appeared in 1777 under the title *Ein neuer Versuch über die Weissagung vom Emanuel* ("A fresh attempt to explain the foretelling of Emmanuel"). The author's name was given, but not the place of publication, which was Coblenz. The ecclesiastical authorities at Mainz now dealt with him more severely,[3] and on the strength of an opinion given by the theological faculty they suspended him from the exercise of his priestly faculties and committed him to the vicariate prison. Although six of the Canons offered to go bail for him, the conditions of his confinement were only slightly alleviated and after an unsuccessful attempt at escape they were reimposed in their former strictness.

Meanwhile Mainz had obtained the opinions of various other

[1] According to Krufft (MEJER, 228) the Elector had by this time already decided against Hontheim. On August 24, 1777, Bellisomi *reported from Cärlich to the Pope (Nunziat. di Colonia, 187, *loc. cit.*) that he had found the Archbishop entirely submissive towards Rome.

[2] Fully dealt with in WALCH, *Religionsgeschichte*, VIII. (1781), 7 *seqq.* Cf. also ERSCH-GRUBER, *Allg. Enzykl.*, 2. Sektion, 23./24. Teil (1844), 339 *seqq.*; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XIV., 618 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI², 860 *seqq.*; KÜNTZIGER, 105 *seqq.*

[3] The severe treatment of Isenbiehl by the Mainz authorities was noted with approval in the **Cifra* to Bellisomi of May 23, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *loc. cit.*).

theological faculties.[1] The suggestion that Rome should ban the book seems first to have come from Bishop Von Limburg-Stirum,[2] who through his agent speeded up the leisurely process with which Rome was dealing with the matter.[3] Finally the Bishop wrote himself to the Pope, enclosing a number of judgments. Under Pius VI.'s personal presidency a formal prohibition of the book was issued, on account of its "assertions which either favoured heresy or were heretical in themselves".[4] Isenbiehl submitted without demur at the

[1] The first condemnation of the book, even before it had appeared in print, had already taken place in 1775, at the hands of the Viennese censorship, although Rautenstrauch, the director of the theological faculty in Vienna, had written to Isenbiehl on April 19, 1775, that he had found nothing unorthodox in the book (LEBRET, VIII., 22 *seq.*). The most severe judgment from the personal point of view was that of Heidelberg, of March 17, 1778; that of Strasbourg (April 5, 1778) was merciless, too, objectively; the most lenient judgment was that of Salzburg (April 21, 1778), though it was afterwards made more stringent (WALCH, *loc. cit.* 56 *seq.*). On August 1 the Sorbonne denounced the book as being rash, pernicious, scandalous, and erroneous.

[2] J. RÖSSLER, *Die kirchliche Aufklärung unter dem Speierer Fürstbischof August v. Limburg-Stirum*, Würzburg, 1914, 21 *seqq.*; *cf.* **Cifra* to Bellisomi of June 13, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772) and **Cifra* to Garampi (Stirum commended) of June 23, 1778 (Nunziat. di Germania 667, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] There the book had first to be translated into Latin (RÖSSLER, 27). For its investigation by the Inquisition *v.* **Cifra* to Bellisomi of October 17, 1778 (*loc. cit.*); *cf.* also **Cifra* to Garampi of August 29, 1778 (*ibid.*).

[4] "Continentem doctrinam et propositiones respective falsas, temerarias, scandalosas, perniciosas, erroneas, haeresi faventes et haereticas." The observation that the book had been printed without approbation was erroneous. Bull of September 20, 1779, and the Mainz formula of publication in SCHLÖZER, *Briefwechsel*, 6. Teil (1780), 364 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 621; *cf.* REUSCH, *Index*, 998 *seq.*; **Cifra* to Caleppi of September 22, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667, *loc. cit.*). The course of the investigation of Isenbiehl's book was described in detail by the Pope in his two

end of December, 1779.[1] Later the Archbishop conferred upon him a valuable canonry, while in all his subsequent publications Isenbiehl upheld the authority of the Church's doctrinal decisions without qualification.

The Isenbiehl case was connected with a turning-point in Hontheim's career. The Mainz scholar had sent the Suffragan the proofs of his *Fresh Attempt* in order to have his opinion on it and also probably to use it to his advantage. After some time Hontheim gave him a favourable opinion: he could not agree with the main thesis of the book, but he could see no real reason why the learned and industrious work should conflict with faith and why it should not be printed, if only to stimulate other scholars.[2]

Unfortunately for Hontheim, this rashly given verdict of his seems to have been made public immediately, and it lost him his Archbishop's good opinion of him. In a letter of April 4th, 1778, Klemens Wenzeslaus rebuked him in vigorous language, censuring not only his rashness and ignorance but also the implacable hostility towards the Church that was patent in his letter.[3] Hontheim, though he could have cited the opinions of reputable theologians who had gone even further than he had,[4] declared that he was ready to do anything his superior

*Briefs of September 25, 1779, to the Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishop of Speyer (*Epist.*, V., 87, 93; Papal Secret Archives).

[1] Isenbiehl signed his submission on Christmas Day, 1779. Reusch, *loc. cit.*

[2] Hontheim's letter to Isenbiehl written from Trier on November 6, 1777, in reply to one of September 4, 1777 (Lebret, VIII., 24 *seq.*). This view was taken by the two theologians who were officially asked for their opinions: the regular Trier censor, Philipp Cordier, on November 4, 1777, and subsequently the exegetist Johann Gertz on February 1, 1778 (*ibid.*, 24, 30 *seqq.*). *Cf.* **Cifra* to Bellisomi, July 18, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772; Papal Secret Archives).

[3] Klemens Wenzeslaus *wrote to Bellisomi on June 12, 1778, that as soon as he had heard of Hontheim's approval of Isenbiehl's book he had tried to make him withdraw it (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A; *loc. cit.*).

[4] *E.g.* the Suffragan Bishop of Speyer, Seelmann (under date

might ask of him. He could not bear, he said, such disfavour any longer and he assured the Archbishop of his readiness to give his life for the Catholic Church, great as was the distinction he had to draw between the Roman Church and the overweening demands of the Roman Court.[1]

This qualification touched on one of the main ideas contained in the *Febronius* and gave the Archbishop an excuse for making some representations to his Suffragan about the book.[2] As Hontheim, he wrote, had shown a conciliatory spirit towards his Archbishop in the Isenbiehl affair, he might do the same in the case of *Febronius*. He had no desire to start an academic dispute, but it was his duty to establish the harmfulness of those dangerous doctrines and to remove the scandal from his archdiocese. In earnestly advising him to retract the

January 16, 1778), and the opinion obtained by Dalberg, the representative of the Electorate of Mainz, from the Würzburg theologian Oberthür (of December 22, 1777). LEBRET, VIII., 25 *seqq.*; RÖSSLER, 23.

[1] Letter from Hontheim of April 9, in LEBRET, VII., 3 *seqq.*; STÜMPER, 159.

[2] To Hontheim, April 21, 1778, in *Briefwechsel zwischen Klemens Wenzeslaus und Niklas von Hontheim*, Frankfurt a.M., 1813, 5 *seqq.* The editor of this booklet, which consists only of the Archbishop's letters with enclosures, signs the preface with the letter "V". This stands for Niklas Vogt, as he tells us himself in his *Rheinische Geschichten und Sagen*, IV. (1836), 225. *Cf.* also the **Cifra* to Garampi of May 30, 1778: "Se nel giustificarsi l'Hontheim col signor elettore di Treviri sulla sconsigliata approvazione del libro del sacerdote Isenbiehl non ha saputo dissimulare il suo mal talento contro i sommi pontefici, come risulta da uno dei fogli annessi alla Cifra di V. S. Illma dei 7 spirante, parmi che molto meno sia sperabile la ritrattazione insinuatagli dal ridetto zelante arcivescovo, la di cui sensata del pari ed affettuosa lettera, quando anche non giungesse ad eccitare alcun rimorso nell' autore del Febronio, servirà nondimeno a reprimere la folle di lui presunzione, ed a fargli vieppiù comprendere in quale orribile combustione abbia egli tentato di porre il cattolicismo e la chiesa col da lui mal' inteso progetto della riunione degli eterodossi al grembo dell' antica lor madre . . ." Nunziat. di Germania, 667, fo.368, *loc. cit.*

Febronius he was prompted by his own conviction, not by the exhortations of others. If the Suffragan agreed to recant, he would gladly restore him to his full confidence and join him in clearing the ground of all the weeds.

The promptness and the wholeheartedness with which Hontheim agreed to fulfil the Archbishop's request must have surprised the latter. Hontheim expressed his willingness to write immediately to Rome a letter of apology and retractation. Klemens Wenzeslaus congratulated him most joyfully on this splendid victory over himself [1] and readily agreed to his taking a month or two to prepare his letter to Rome. A summary, compiled by a Frenchman, of the objectionable propositions in the *Febronius* contained sixteen of them, to the astonishment of the Elector, who admitted,[2] when forwarding the summary to Hontheim, that this was the first time he was aware that such propositions were to be found in the *Febronius*. On receiving Hontheim's draft of the proposed missive to Rome, in mid-June, 1778, the Elector was "profoundly comforted and was even moved to tears of joy".[3] Nevertheless, lest he might be too hasty, he deemed it necessary to have

[1] To Hontheim, May 8, 1778, *Briefwechsel*, 12 *seqq*. MARX (V., 119) ascribes the compilation of the objectionable propositions to the French theologian Bergier, whereas Krufft thought it was Canon Pey of Notre Dame, Paris (MEKER, 228 *seq*.).

[2] To Hontheim on May 29, 1778 (*Briefwechsel*, 15 *seqq*.), in reply to his letter of May 10. Hontheim now held back the manuscript, which he had just completed and was about to be sent to the printer, of his confutation of Mamachi's second book of letters. Krufft pressed very hard for the publication of this *Epistola ad Th. Mamachium*, but it did not take place; the manuscript, however, came into the Pope's hands in 1782 through the agency of Klemens Wenzeslaus. The text of this manuscript (Cod. Vat. 11824 of the Vatican Library) was published by LEO JUST in the *Quellen und Forschungen aus ital. Archiven*, XXII. (1930), 256–288.

[3] Hontheim's *missive of June 14, 1778, was *acknowledged by the Elector on the 23rd (both documents in Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, Papal Secret Archives). The latter is dated the 22nd in the *Briefwechsel* (19 *seq*.).

the draft examined carefully, again by a Frenchman. The fact was that in the meantime slight suspicions of Hontheim's sincerity had been aroused in the Elector's mind by a further letter of June 25th, in which the Suffragan had quoted fresh authorities and view-points in defence of the *Febronius* and in refutation of the opinion that had been sent to him. Klemens Wenzeslaus, understandably enough, wrote a sharp reply to this letter[1] and asked Hontheim "to consider everything without prejudice, together with God and his conscience". The result he would gladly forward to Rome.

From this point onward one event followed another in rapid succession. On August 2nd Klemens Wenzeslaus sent on Hontheim's draft, which was couched in the form of a dogmatic confession, to Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, expressing the hope that the Pope would be satisfied with it.[2] Bellisomi forwarded it a few days later to the Cardinal Secretary of State.[3] So soon after as August 22nd Pius VI. was writing a commendatory Brief to the Elector of Trier, signifying in the strongest way his joy and gratitude for what had been effected.[4] Something, he added, had been found in the document which was of no great importance in itself but which might provide the enemy with an opportunity for contradiction. Having promised his complete submission, Hontheim would doubtless make the necessary adjustments in these small matters. Instead of threats, the Pope made the most attractive promises : if Hontheim did what was asked, he would not only forgive him but he would bestow upon him, along with the reconciliation, his entire affection and paternal

[1] On July 16, 1778 (*Briefwechsel*, 21 *seqq.*). Hontheim's letter was accompanied by a detailed refutation in Latin of the sixteen points set out in the French opinion. (MEJER, 303 *seqq.*).

[2] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, August 2, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*, together with the original of Hontheim's retractation).

[3] Hontheim's letter, with the Elector's *covering letter of August 2, was *forwarded by Bellisomi to Rome under date August 5 (*ibid.*).

[4] *Briefwechsel*, 27 *seqq.*, also in Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*

love. Finally it was the Pope's desire that in the future the learned Suffragan should use his erudition to repair the scandal that had been spread throughout the whole Church.

On September 17th Klemens Wenzeslaus passed this Brief [1] on to his Suffragan, with the note that presumably there was nothing to hinder the fulfilment of the Papal wishes.[2] He also spoke for the first time—and this surprised Hontheim more than anything—of making the recantation public. On the same day as he received this letter the Suffragan wrote back[3] that he would readily fulfil the wishes of Rome but that he had the greatest misgivings about a public recantation. If he acknowledged his authorship, which hitherto he had never openly admitted but on the contrary had consistently denied, all that he had built up so laboriously during his thirty years' work in the archdiocese would be brought down in ruins. A more suitable procedure, in his opinion, would be for him to publish under his own name a work that would confute all the Febronian ideas and would contain the main points of the recantation. The Elector, however, would have none of these objections and in a letter of October 4th [4] insisted that it was precisely the acknowledged learning of the author that would make a recantation more effective than a confutation. On this point, as on others, it was best to submit entirely to the will of the Holy Father.

The Suffragan, who in the meantime had retired to his

[1] *Briefwechsel*, 25 *seq.* Krufft (MEJER, 231, 294 *seq.*) attaches particular importance to the Elector's stay of a few days in Trier at the beginning of September, but there is no evidence of this in the other documents nor any question of intimidation.

[2] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, September 9, 1778 (promising to carry out the Pope's commands and assuring him of Hontheim's willingness). (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

[3] On September 17, 1778 (CARDAUNS, *Ehrengabe für Joh. Georg von Sachsen*, 739 *seq.*). The nuncio informed Rome of these doubts and difficulties in his *report of October 15, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

[4] *Briefwechsel*, 31 *seq.*; *cf.* Bellisomi's *report to Rome of October 15, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

country residence, while yielding to the Pope's desire, made one last attempt to avoid the pain of self-exposure.[1] But Klemens Wenzeslaus would not relax his stringency and demanded the disregard of all human considerations.[2] At the same time he forwarded another Papal Brief, of September 12th, requiring Hontheim to declare in his recantation that he had written it because of his own sincere convictions and not at anyone's command. He would find enclosed the alterations and improvements desired by Rome.[3]

Making no further objection, the Suffragan submitted his recantation to his superior on November 1st, 1778, and it was forwarded by the latter to Bellisomi on the 15th.[4] Only one brief phrase had been omitted, that which acknowledged the monarchical constitution of the Church,[5] for which omission Klemens Wenzeslaus accepted personal responsibility.[6] In all other respects the Papal wishes had been met. The Elector, in a covering letter,[7] briefly surveyed the whole affair, including his own attitude towards it, and begged the Papal pardon for his Suffragan Bishop, who had now cast aside all false pride and was willing to acknowledge himself openly as the author,

[1] Hontheim to Klemens Wenzeslaus, from Montquintin, October 14, 1778 (CARDAUNS, *loc. cit.*, 740 *seq.*).

[2] To Hontheim, October 17, 1778 (*Briefwechsel*, 33 *seq.*). On October 6 Klemens Wenzeslaus had *thanked the nuncio Bellisomi for the Brief he had transmitted and expressed the fear that Hontheim was unlikely to make a public acknowledgment of his authorship of the *Febronius*. Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Brief to Klemens Wenzeslaus of September 12, 1778 (*ibid.*); *Briefwechsel*, 35 *seqq.*; REUSCH, 942 *seq.* Zaccaria was credited with the chief responsibility for the improvements desired by Rome (borne out by Krufft, in MEJER 296).

[4] The Elector's covering letter to the nuncio in *Briefwechsel*, 40 *seqq.*; *cf.* STÜMPER, 160.

[5] "ut proinde merito monarchicum Ecclesiae regimen a catholicis Doctoribus appelletur."

[6] To Hontheim, November 15, 1778 (*Briefwechsel*, 38).

[7] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Pius VI., from Ehrenbreitstein, November 15, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*; published with the consistorial acts mentioned below).

which was the best possible proof of the sincerity of his repentance.[1]

Hontheim's recantation [2] was an important document, for, with the improvements considered necessary by the Pope, it included all the essential features of the Church's doctrine on the primacy.

In the introduction Hontheim acknowledges himself to be the author of the *Febronius* and of the works written in its defence, and he regrets the insult thereby offered to the Holy See and the errors arising from an ill-considered zeal. "The authority of Your Holiness, which I recognize as that of Jesus Christ, has freed me from error, and I hereby lay my real views [3] on the constitution of the Church and the supreme rights of St. Peter as the Prince of the Apostles at the feet of his successor. It is in this belief that I wish to live and die." Citing the authoritative sources of the Church's teaching and confuting the erroneous opinions put forward in the *Febronius*, Hontheim proceeds to make his declarations about the Church and the primacy, the succession from St. Peter and the right of the Bishops, and finally about the relation between the Church and the State.

He perceives and confesses that the keys of the Church have been given to Peter alone, who as its supreme member next to Christ and as its director and leader under Christ is the representative of the whole body. At the same time, however, the keys have been given to the unity of the universal Church, to the other Apostles and the Bishops, in dependence on and in submission to Peter, who has received the keys for himself alone, to use them in common with the others. As is known by the teaching of the Fathers, by this appointment of one supreme head of the Church the possibility of disunion has been precluded. "*Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia.*"

The successor of St. Peter is by divine right the Bishop of

[1] Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, November 18, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Original *ibid.*

[3] "genuinos animi mei sensus."

Rome, who has complete power over the universal Church, with authority, jurisdiction, and the power to punish, in particular the right of excommunication. The Bishops who adhere to their supreme head cannot possibly stray from the path of truth, since the Church at one with its head, whether scattered over the surface of the globe or assembled in council,[1] cannot err in decisions affecting faith and morals nor separate itself from the cathedra of the Prince of the Apostles. The faithful have to abide by these decisions, not only in respectful silence but with inward assent. Similar obedience must be given to the Constitution *Unigenitus*, which is a dogmatic decree of the Holy See.

Doubts about the constitution of the Church are also to be brought before the Head of the Church. It is his right, too, to summon General Councils, to direct them, and confirm their findings ; it is only through his co-operation that they acquire validity and infallibility. Very rightly the Council of Trent has reserved to the Pope the right to take disciplinary action against the Bishops, also the decision in particularly difficult cases and exceptional dispensations from conciliar decisions. Likewise, the Pope's right to ordain, translate, or depose Bishops is incontestable.

Then come the recognition and declaration of the powers of the Holy See in regard to canonizations, appeals, and reservations, and the State is requested to observe concordats with the greatest care, for the Pope would not think of infringing them. The annates, too, were of great use, until the Holy See had devised some other means of meeting its needs, also the exemption of the Regulars, which could not be abolished by the secular power or by a particular synod. Abuses had been guarded against by the Council of Trent.

The Bishops are installed, not by the body of the faithful, but by the Holy Ghost, to direct the flocks entrusted to them, under the control of the Bishop of Rome, and only within

[1] "in quibus Episcopi iure proprio ac iudiciaria potestate sibi ex institutione Christi cohaerente una cum Summo Pontifice definiunt."

their dioceses, not outside them. Their rights, in so far as they have been circumscribed by canon law in the course of time, are not to be extended on the strength of private authority.

"In everything that concerns the faith, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline, the Church makes its decisions entirely by its own right ('*pleno iure*') without the co-operation of the civil authority." In the mutual protective relation between the Church and State the desire and the right of the Church are to be respected, and every effort should be made to avoid a conflict.

With these unequivocal statements the rights of the Papacy were recognized. In conclusion the writer expressed his sincere willingness to do anything further that the Pope might require of him in the matter. In begging pardon for his errors he professed his adherence to the Church of Rome as the Mother of all Christians in the clear language of St. Bernard and St. Jerome, without pretence or deception.

The great importance attached by Rome to the Febronius affair [1] was shown by the very solemn way in which the Pope himself undertook the publication of the retractation. After the Mass of Christmas Day he assembled the Senate of the Church in a secret consistory at the tomb of St. Leo, where he imparted to them the joyful news. The session [2] was opened

[1] The Pope also expressed his satisfaction in a **Cifra* to Bellisomi of December 5, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772; Papal Secret Archives).

[2] "Acta in consistorio secreto habito a SS. D. N. Pio div. prov. Papa sexto feria VI Dec. MDCCLXXVIII solemni dominicae nativitatis die statim post missam pontificalem in basilica Vaticana prope B.M.V. de Columna et S. Leonis Magni altaria, qui locus nunc pro sacrario est, nondum novo quod construitur absoluto." They were printed in the press of the Apostolic Camera and reprinted several times. *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 529–541 (the date given here, 529, is December 19, but in 541, § 9, it is quite clearly the 25th). The course of the consistorial proceedings was also *reported by Cardinal Albani to the imperial chancery in Vienna on December 26, 1778 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican; *cf.* WOKER, 27 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 192 *seqq.*).

by Pius VI. with an allocution in which he recalled the evil effects of the *Febronius*, formally named its real author for the first time, and gave prominence to the services of the Archbishop of Trier in settling the matter. Then the Secretary of the Briefs, Benedetto Stay, read the Elector's covering letter and Hontheim's complete retractation. In a further allocution the Pope laid stress on the obvious sincerity of the withdrawal, which had been made without any compulsion and was due solely to the recognition of the truth. He ended by granting Hontheim full pardon and by receiving him back with affection into the Apostolic peace.

Some days before, on December 19th, 1778, two Briefs had been made out,[1] informing the two prelates of Trier that the reconciliation had been completed and calling on Hontheim to compose an anti-Febronian work, which alone could add more weight to his recantation. Klemens Wenzeslaus knew nothing of the Christmas consistory when he forwarded the Brief to his Suffragan on January 11th and congratulated him on the successful struggle with himself.[2] Hontheim, he thought, having won the most splendid battle with himself, had more right than anyone to sing a song of victory, and for this reason too he himself could tell the world of the reconciliation that had been completed. He also encouraged him to undertake the new work.

A few days later the Elector received the news about the Christmas consistory, and in another letter to his Suffragan

[1] *Parchment originals in Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A (*loc. cit.*). There too are several *congratulatory letters to Pius VI. In a *Brief of July 24, 1779 (Epist. A° V, fo. 50, *ibid.*) the Pope thanked Duke Ludwig Eugen of Württemberg for his letter of congratulation of January 22, 1779. In another letter, of January 6, 1779, the Cardinal Secretary of State congratulated Klemens Wenzeslaus and praised his services (MEJER, 140 *seq.*).

[2] *Briefwechsel*, 43 *seqq.* Klemens Wenzeslaus *reported on this to Bellisomi under date January 12, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*). The Elector did not want to announce the recantation ("one might think that I wanted to trumpet the victory"). *Briefwechsel*, 45.

he pointed out that the Pope's gentle method of procedure was evidence of his great paternal joy at the settlement of the trouble. This should make it all the easier for the Suffragan to inform his diocese also of his change of opinion. The Elector offered to have the proceedings of the consistory printed at his own expense, while Hontheim should announce in a foreword to them, in a pastoral letter, the motives of his recantation, his sorrow for his lapse, a promise to produce shortly an anti-Febronian work, and the prohibition of the writings he had recanted.[1] Hontheim signified his assent, but in the draft of his pastoral letter he tried to obtain some alleviations for himself, so that it did not entirely satisfy the Elector, who had to make some alterations in it.[2] The Elector also did his best to remove Hontheim's dissatisfaction with the publication made by Rome.[3]

On January 24th, 1779, the Suffragan wrote to the Pope [4]

[1] *Briefwechsel*, 46 *seq.* Klemens Wenzeslaus *reported this to Bellisomi on January 15, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*) and *Bellisomi to Rome on January 21 (189A, *ibid.*).

[2] Klemens Wenzeslaus to Hontheim on February 1, 1779 (*Briefwechsel*, 52 *seq.*, with enclosure, *ibid.* 62 *seqq.*). Hontheim thought that he had written the letter in such a way as to satisfy his supporters in Vienna as well as Rome (*cf.* his letter to Krufft of February 4, 1779, in MEJER, 149, n. 1). Except for a few characteristic variations he finally adopted the desired phrasings almost word for word.

[3] Hontheim's letter of January 21 was answered by Klemens Wenzeslaus on the 24th (*Briefwechsel*, 49 *seqq.*). The Elector too was rather put out by the Roman style (*v.* his letter of February 15, 1779; *ibid.*, 56). Hontheim's dissatisfaction was evinced in a letter to Krufft of February 4, 1779 (MEJER, 149, n. 1, and "Treveris", 1835, No. 3). On January 21 the Elector had sent his Suffragan a copy of another Papal Brief, of January 2, in which the Pope had given a full account of the consistory and had again spoken very favourably about Hontheim (reprinted in Hontheim's *Commentarius*, 1294 *seqq.*; the Elector's covering letter in *Briefwechsel*, 48).

[4] *Hontheim to Pius VI. January 24, 1779: "Omnia haec (the Briefs, etc.) spirant tantum non incredibilem in Ste Va animi mag-

to thank him for the pardon that had been granted him, also to inform him that he was working at the pastoral letter. This communication and the Elector's accompanying note of February 1st was answered by the Pope in a further Brief of February 17th.[1] Meanwhile Klemens Wenzeslaus had reported to Rome—where the news naturally was received with much pleasure—the appearance of the pastoral letter along with the consistorial proceedings.[2] Half-way through the month a copy of the publication was sent by Beck to the nuncio in Cologne.[3]

More trouble arose when the printing of this pastoral letter

nitudinem, caritatem et benevolentiam in me, ea minime dignum, infinitum cuius meritum extollere non est meum. Offers mihi, Pater optime, tuam clementiam, praesidium atque tutelam adversus eos, qui mihi forte propter Febronii systematis obiectionem graves esse possent." This makes me doubly beholden to you. "Superest ut iuxta tuum, S. Pater, desiderium imposterum calamum stringam ad vindicanda summae sedis iura et praerogativas alias a Febronio temere impugnatas. Sed quid hac in parte expectabis a viro octogenario continuis laboribus fracto ? Conabor tamen . . ." Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, Papal Secret Archives. Klemens Wenzeslaus transmitted the *original letter to Bellisomi on February 1, 1779, along with Hontheim's *letter to the Elector of January 31 (*ibid.*).

[1] How pleased the Pope was to hear of Hontheim's good will was indicated in the **Cifra* to Garampi of February 13, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667, fo. 424, *loc. cit.*) : "Per commissione del signor elettore di Treveri fu già prevenuto il Santo Padre da monsignor Bellisomi dell' arrivo del pontificio Breve alle mani di monsignor d'Hontheim ; della divota rassegnazione con cui era stato accolto, e della rispettosa deferenza che mostrava alle insinuazioni di S. B^ne^ sulla suggerita confutazione dell' opera, benchè egli dubiti di poterla condurre a fine, attesa la di lui cadente età e il lungo tempo, che occorrerebbe almeno di due anni per compirla. Convengo però anch' io nel sentimento di V. S. Illma di non doversi da noi molto insistere su questo lavoro . . ."

[2] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Pius VI. on February 8, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*), similarly *to Bellisomi on February 9 (*ibid.*).

[3] *From Ehrenbreitstein, February 15, 1779 (*ibid.*).

of February 3rd and the Roman documents was prohibited in Austria,[1] and preference was still given to Febronian principles by the Austrian professors.[2] Even the Elector of Mainz refused to grant a printing licence.[3] Of the foreign Powers the

[1] The Abbot of Gleink, for instance, was fined for having the documents printed, and both his edition and that of a printer in Prague were confiscated. The *Acta* were not formally incorporated in the government list of forbidden books (MEJER, 156 *seqq.*; GOYAU, *L'Allemagne relig.*, I., 17 *seq.*). Another glimpse into Austrian conditions is afforded by a letter from the Bishop of Seckau (WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, *Gesta Trevirorum*, III., 57). The necessary imperial *placet* for the publication of Hontheim's work was also refused for those parts of the archdiocese that lay in Luxembourg (*cf. Briefwechsel*, 51, 53, 54 *seq.*). Even Maria Theresa commented unfavourably on the recantation (MEJER, 160). The Pope's complaints about this in the **Cifra* to Garampi of January 20, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* KÜNTZIGER, 121 *seqq.*; KIRSCH-VEIT, *Kirchengesch.*, IV., 1, 304.

[2] According to the **Cifra* to Garampi of February 27, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667, fo. 426, *loc. cit.*), the Viennese Febronians should be made to read Hontheim's pastoral letter, which had given so much pleasure to the Pope: "Per dissipare poi e confondere il fermento e i sofismi di cotesti letterati politici allarmati contro la ritrattazione, contribuirà senza meno il proemio dello stesso monsignor Hontheim premesso alla ristampa degli *Atti concistoriali* pubblicati d'ordine del signor elettore di Treveri, essendo per così dire una più succinta e sugosa ratificà della ritrattazione medesima. Il Santo Padre, a cui dal signor elettore ne è stato trasmesso un esemplare, l'ha molto commendato e gradito, ed è uniforme il giudizio di chiunque l'ha letto, che basti da sè a prevenire e confutare i cavilli e le sinistre interpretazioni de' maligni censori . . ." Mamachi's letters against Febronius also fell foul of the Viennese censor; *cf.* **Cifra* to Caleppi of September 4 and 29, 1779 (*ibid.*).

[3] He wanted in fact to come to an arrangement with Prince Kaunitz about a concerted action, but the proposal did not succeed; *v.* Kaunitz's letter of March 4, 1779, in WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, *loc. cit.*, 56 *seq.* According to the document belonging to the imperial legation in Coblenz, Cologne and Salzburg had also

Council of Castile eventually decreed the prohibition and the suppression of the recantation and the consistorial proceedings.[1] In Germany, on the other hand, the attitude of the Electoral Court of the Palatinate at Mannheim was particularly friendly towards Rome.[2]

At this point Hontheim himself provided grounds for doubting his sincerity. A letter of his to his relative Krufft,[3] who did not keep the matter to himself, gave rise to the rumour in Vienna that Hontheim's recantation had been extracted from him by force. Further, when replying to Cardinal

forbidden the pastoral letter to be printed (*Briefwechsel* 73 *seqq.*). In a **Cifra* of May 1, 1778 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *loc. cit.*) Bellisomi had been ordered to find out if the printing of the letter really had been forbidden in Mainz.

[1] Notification from Madrid, of February 24, 1779 (WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, III., 55 *seq.*).

[2] *Cf.* **Cifra* to Bellisomi of February 20, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Of January 17, 1779 (MEJER, 114, n. 2). Krufft's publication of the letter did not have the desired effect everywhere (*v.* the letter from Prince Kaunitz to Krufft of January 26, 1779, in BRUNNER, *Humor*, II., 170). An unofficial statement of Hontheim's, of the same purport, which appeared in the *Hamburger Zeitung* of August 18, 1781, in a report from Frankfurt, may have been made about the same time. MEJER (155, n. 2) quotes an equally remarkable statement made to one of his relatives in Cologne. So far as is known, not one of Hontheim's statements contains a criticism of his position from the religious and ecclesiastical standpoint, but very often the curious argument that even though they had been retracted, the propositions of Febronius would carry all before them in the world. In a confidential *letter to Bellisomi of May 14, 1779, Klemens Wenzeslaus made the following observations: "M. de Hontheim excédé par les reproches que ses amis de Vienne lui ont faits, d'être devenu tout-à-coup ultramontain, a eu la faiblesse de dire et d'écrire que, s'il n'eût pas été intimidé par le S. Père, il ne fût jamais allé si loin dans sa retractation. Les prétendues menaces doivent se trouver dans ces paroles du bref que le S. Père a adressé à S.A.E. le 12. Septembre 1778: Quod si nihil . . . praeclusum?" Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*

Migazzi of Vienna, who had congratulated him on his recantation,[1] the Suffragan spoke of the "excellent canonists" of Vienna, who in fact were all Febronianists at heart. And finally Krufft gave further publicity to this question of a forced recantation by means of the Press,[2] whereupon the foreign papers, the Protestant ones in particular,[3] seized upon the matter with evident satisfaction. Trier was at a loss how to counter these moves of the Febronianists, and the Elector thought of threatening to publish the whole story of the recantation based on the correspondence.[4] The Roman ciphers also spoke of the enormous damage done by these reports.[5]

The Elector, however, succeeded in obtaining from his Suffragan a promise not to speak to him again of attempts to intimidate him, and he offered to send the Empress Maria Theresa all the material relating to the events that had led up to the recantation, for publication if necessary.[6] Finally, however, Hontheim himself wrote him a letter on April 22nd,[7] stating most definitely that all the Press reports were false and

[1] WOLFSGRUBER, 391 *seq.* Hontheim had answered a congratulatory letter from Abbot Martin Gerbert of St. Blasien in a more fitting manner (MEJER, 151, n. 1).

[2] MEJER, 156; KÜNTZIGER, 136, 139 *seqq.*

[3] **Cifra* to Caleppi of June 9, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667; Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, May 14, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*).

[5] **Cifra* to Bellisomi, June 22, 1778 (*ibid.* 772); **Cifra* to Caleppi of August 11, 1779 (Nunziat. di Germania, 667; *loc. cit.*). In the **Cifra* to Caleppi of July 7, 1779 (*ibid.*) it was emphasized that Rome's victory consisted solely in the voluntary recantation.

[6] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi on May 14, 1779 (*loc. cit.*), warning him that Hontheim had an excitable disposition and that it might be dangerous to drive him to extremes.

[7] The letter to the Elector of April 22, 1779, in MEJER, 169 *seqq.* The Elector *sent on the letter to Bellisomi on May 14, 1779 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A; *loc. cit.*). The letter was never published, although the matter was resurrected in the Press (*Briefwechsel*, 59 *seqq.*).

denying that he was in any way responsible for their appearance. On receiving from the Papal Secretary of State a protest against the falsity of such representations, the Elector wrote in a similar vein to the Empress, describing the true sequence of events.[1]

At about this time the Elector, acceding to the wish of his aged Suffragan, agreed to his retiring from office. Hontheim was relieved of all business, without having to suffer any appreciable reduction of revenue.[2] As Dean of the Trier chapter of St. Simeon he was succeeded by a relative of the same name. By Rome too Hontheim was treated with the utmost consideration. The prohibition issued by the Secretary of State against the printing of Mamachi's third volume of letters to Febronius was too late to take effect,[3] but the appearance of the fourth volume, which had been projected, was prevented.[4] Nevertheless the rumour of the forced recantation still went on. Finally Klemens Wenzeslaus urged

[1] Klemens Wenzeslaus *wrote to Bellisomi on July 7, 1779, that he had done so a month previously (*loc. cit.*).

[2] MEJER, 172 *seqq.*

[3] It had already appeared in the summer of 1778. Klemens Wenzeslaus had himself suggested that it be prohibited (*v.* **Cifra* to Caleppi on June 2, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 667, *loc. cit.*).

[4] **Cifra* to Caleppi of June 2, 1779 (*ibid.*). The authorities were anxious not to make things more difficult for Hontheim, who was being pressed hard enough by his supporters. *Cf.* the **Cifra* to Garampi of April 3, 1779 (*ibid.*): "Sugli effetti perniciosi che possono produrre nell' animo di monsignor Hontheim tanto gli acerbi rimproveri dei di lui antichi partigiani, quanto gli encomi mal ponderati di alcuni troppo zelanti cattolici, mi uniformo anch' io al di lei sentimento, anzi a dir vero fu sempre tale a costante il mio giudizio sin dal primo momento che emanò la di lui ritrattazione. Ben però comprende V. S. Illma quanti sia difficile di trattenere in certi casi le lingue e le penne di chi le impiega senza consultarci. Da noi non si è risparmiato industria e diligenza per frenare questo inconsiderato prorito ; e per non esacerbare inopportunamente il suffraganeo di Treveri, si è fatto sospendere al padre Mamachi il lavoro della confutazione di Giustino Febronio."

Hontheim to deny it publicly,[1] which he did in a satisfactory manner.[2] The Grand Duke of Tuscany was sent a copy of the statement so that he could use it against the reports appearing in the Florentine journals,[3] and the Papal Secretary of State communicated the text to various European nunciatures. Krufft, of course, represented this statement too as having been made under pressure.[4]

Meanwhile Hontheim was working at the commentary on his recantation.[5] Krufft tried to dissuade him from publishing it,[6] but he was not successful, and after two years' work, which Hontheim had foreseen would be necessary, the commentary was published in 1781 by the same house that had published his *Febronius*.[7] The author's name did not appear, but the book contained the proceedings of the Christmas consistory

[1] Klemens Wenzeslaus to Hontheim, March 30 and 31, 1780 (WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, III., 57 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.* 59. In making the denial on April 2, Hontheim gave permission for it to be published in all the newspapers. *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi on April 4, 1780 (Nunziat. di Colonia 189A, *loc. cit.*). *Cf. Katholik*, 1891, II., 26 (dated April 7). For Rome's satisfaction with the denial, *cf.* the **Cifra* to Bellisomi of April 29, 1780 (Nunziat. di Colonia, *loc. cit.*).

[3] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, April 10, 1780 (*ibid.*). In Florence the notice had appeared in the *Gazzetta universale* at the beginning of 1780. *Cf.* Brunati's *reports to Vienna of February 26 and March 5, 1780 (State Archives, Vienna; *cf.* MEJER, 178, n. 2). Klemens Wenzeslaus wanted to write an article against the Press reports himself, but afterwards entrusted the task to Hontheim (*v.* his *letter to Bellisomi of March 29, 1780; Nunziat. di Colonia, 189A, *loc. cit.*). The **Cifra* to Bellisomi of April 6, 1780, expressed the same wish to Klemens Wenzeslaus (*ibid.*).

[4] MEJER, 181 *seq.*

[5] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, November 10, 1780 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] MEJER, 182, n. 2; KÜNTZIGER, 143 *seqq.*

[7] *Iustini Febronii IC^ti commentarius in suam retractationem Pio VI. Pont. Max. Kalend. Novembr. a.* 1778 *submissam.* Frankfurt, Esslinger, 1781.

and the pastoral letter that had been printed at the time, also an assurance that the recantation was voluntary and sincere. The Elector had watched the preparation of the book with an anxious eye and would have liked to prevent its publication.[1] He had very much wanted the text to be examined before publication [2] but the work appeared without the ecclesiastical permission. This was all the more surprising as Bellisomi had had definite instructions from Rome to urge the Elector to keep a careful watch on Hontheim and to see that the manuscript was checked in Trier and Rome.[3] But this latter request came too late, the manuscript having been sent to the printer three weeks before.[4] Beck tried to obtain for the nuncio a collection of the doubtful passages in the text,[5] while Klemens Wenzeslaus wanted to obtain the opinions of various theological faculties. Sometimes Hontheim seemed to agree, at other times he made as if he had no concern with the book.[6] The Archbishop advised him to state in a note that the book had not been submitted to ecclesiastical censorship and that the

[1] MEJER, 193 *seq.*; *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, November 10, 1780, *loc. cit.* In his *letter to Bellisomi of March 3, 1781, Klemens Wenzeslaus expressed his pleasure at the Pope's approval of his exertions, which approval was reiterated in the **Cifra* of April 4, 1781. Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, November 10, 1780 (*ibid.*).

[3] *The Pope asked the Elector "di non perder di vista l'autore e di sempre meglio assicurarsi, affiinchè non venga da lui communicato ad altro o publicato colle stampe verun scritto se non sia prima visto ed esaminato da N. S. e da S. A. Elettore a tenore della positiva sicurezza datane per lettera dallo stesso suffraganeo al prefato S.E." *Cifra* to Bellisomi of October 8, 1780, Nunziat. di Colonia 189A, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* **Cifra* of October 18, 1780 (*ibid.* 772).

[4] *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Bellisomi, December 14, 1780 (*ibid.* 189A).

[5] *Beck to Bellisomi, January 19, 1781 (*ibid.*).

[6] **Id.* to *id.*, February 11, 1781 (*ibid.*). On other occasions he was angry with his superior for submitting the commentary to the universities (**id.* to *id.*, January 27 and February 6, 1781, *ibid.*).

author was solely responsible for any errors it might contain and that he submitted himself fully and completely to the decision of the Pope.[1]

Hontheim sent his work to the Pope with a letter from himself.[2] Whether he really hoped that with this step he would completely recover his good name, we have no means of knowing, but the contents of the book could hardly have been conducive to such an end.[3] He certainly tried to justify the thirty-eight propositions of his recantation,[4] but his standpoint was that of the Gallican Church, even the Gallican propositions of 1682 and Bossuet's *Defensio*.[5] There was no longer any appearance of supporting the Protestant cause, but every argument ended in favour of the claims of the State.

At this time, however, public interest was centred on the Josephist reforms, the practical effects of which must have seemed to be far more disturbing than Hontheim's learned disquisitions. Nevertheless, as Hontheim had held out a prospect of amending his work in accordance with the Papal wishes Pius VI. asked the learned Gerdil to give his opinion on Hontheim's latest publication. After devoting several months to the subject, Gerdil produced a wholly admirable criticism of all the thirty-eight propositions.[6] Though it was not put to

[1] The Elector's *letter to Hontheim of March 19, 1781, containing this suggestion, was *sent by Beck to Bellisomi on March 20, expressing the fear that the letter would arrive too late, as the book might already be printed (*ibid.*).

[2] Undated (MEJER, 317 *seq.*). The apprehension with which the book was awaited in Rome is seen in the **Cifra* to Bellisomi of March 21, 1781 (Nunziat. di Colonia, 772, *loc. cit.*). The arrival of the book was reported in the **Cifra* of April 18, 1781 (*ibid.*).

[3] A letter from Rome dated December 26, 1781, informed Hontheim that the commentary was not satisfactory. The same information was conveyed in a letter of December 2, 1782 (*v.* MARX, III., 127; *Katholik*, 1891, II., 27).

[4] *Cf. Coup d'œil sur le congrès d'Ems*, 119.

[5] For other subjects too most of the authorities cited were Gallican and Josephist canonists.

[6] *Animadversiones in Commentarium a J. Febronio in suam*

any public use,[1] the Pope approved of it, and in a very detailed Brief to the Archbishop he condemned the mixture of falsity and truth in Hontheim's work. He cited numerous examples of this, and instructed the Archbishop to administer a reprimand to Hontheim.[2] In reply, however, the Archbishop advised that Hontheim be dealt with as gently as possible, as his Suffragan was incapable of undoing the scandal that had been given.[3]

Hontheim now ceased to play an active part in public life, but for a long time yet he held fast to his opinion on the inviolable rights of the State in its relations with the Church.[4] After Beck had left the Elector's service in 1782 the latter came under the influence of another cleric—of the same name, Ludwig Joseph Beck, but of the Febronian way of thinking—and reverted to his old courses, which were formulated at the Congress of Ems. In November, 1786, Hontheim was made privy to the records of the transactions by his Archbishop and he even contributed to them a historical article on the annates.

In the years that followed Hontheim seems to have turned his attention to graver matters. It was apparently a letter from Abbot Martin Gerbert of St. Blasien,[5] who had always

Retractationem editum, 1792. Also in GERDIL, *Opere*, XIII (1808).

[1] In the *Monitum* that preceded the edition of 1792, Gerdil informed his readers that an unforeseen circumstance had made it desirable to postpone the printing until a more favourable time (MEJER, 196, n. 1).

[2] *Brief to Klemens Wenzeslaus, of October 13, 1781 (*Epist.* A° VII., fo. 63*b*, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] He thought it dangerous to inform Hontheim of the reprimand. See his *letters to Pius VI. of November 11, 1781, and to Bellisomi of the same day (Nunziat. di Colonia 189A, Papal Secret Archives ; reprinted in *Coup d'œil*, 121 *seqq.*, 128 *seqq.*, and dated the 17th). In these letters too Klemens Wenzeslaus did his best to excuse Hontheim's ambiguous behaviour since his retraction.

[4] MEJER, 203.

[5] Of February 10, 1788 (WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, III., Appendix 60 ; *cf.* MEJER, 212 *seq.*).

had a high opinion of him as a man as well as a scholar, that moved him to make a frank confession of his faith. At any rate he made the solemn deposition that though in this world he had been noted for various writings that had given rise to many hard words, nevertheless, as a Bishop, it was incumbent on him to leave behind a testimony of his faith. Accordingly he desired that after his death the abbot's letter be published as this testimony.[1]

Resigned to his lot, the unhappy Suffragan departed this life on September 2nd, 1790.[2] He had composed his own epitaph: "*Tandem liber, tandem tutus, tandem æternus.*"[3] The opinion of one who lived during this period and beyond it was that "no one shook the ancient hierarchic structure erected on the Rhine by the Roman Curia so violently as Hontheim".[4] In the end this shaking helped to bury the old Rhenish hierarchy for good and all.

(2)

The close connexion between the Febronian-episcopalist movements in the Austrian hereditary lands and the reforming intentions of enlightened despotism was due above all to such men as Gerhard van Swieten. But that the two currents were not necessarily intermingled is shown by the course of events in the second largest Catholic State in the German Empire—Bavaria.

Since the death of Max III. Joseph in 1777 the Wittelsbach possessions had been in the hands of the Elector Karl Theodor, of the Pfalz-Sulzbach line. Already under the previous government[5] the ecclesiastico-political principles then current

[1] WYTTENBACH-MÜLLER, *loc. cit.*

[2] MEJER, 208 *seqq.*

[3] On paper at any rate, Krufft had composed for him a more magniloquent epitaph, which was censured by Gerdil in his *Animadversiones* (MEJER, 216).

[4] NIKLAS VOGT, *Rhein. Geschichten*, IV., 215. *Cf. Coup d'œil*, 115 *seq.*, 120 note a; MÖHLER, *Kirchengeschichte*, III., 295; GOYAU, *L'Allemagne religieuse*, I., 8.

[5] For the various measures and plans, see PFEILSCHIFTER-BAUMEISTER, *Salzburger Kongress, passim.*

had been applied to Bavarian conditions, notably by the director of the Spiritual Council, Peter von Osterwald. In a widely circulated pamphlet [1] Osterwald, writing under the pseudonym "Veremund von Lochstein", had tried to show that ecclesiastical immunity was an unjustified impertinence, while a series of so-called "reform decrees" issued in 1768–70 encroached on the inner life of the Church.[2] The protests raised against them by the Bishops of the country at the Congress of Salzburg [3] went practically unheard. The new Elector began his regime with several reactionary measures, but in the ecclesiastico-political sphere he kept to the course which was already set. An exception was made in the case of the "Illuminati", a secret society of the "enlightened" founded at Ingolstadt by Adam Weishaupt. As a result of the action he took against it, its collapse was as rapid as its growth.[4]

[1] *Veremunds von Lochstein Gründe sowohl für als wider die Geistliche Immunität in zeitlichen Dingen, herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von F. L. W.* The work was condemned in Rome on June 26, 1767 (Reusch, 946; *cf.* I. Gebele, *Peter von Osterwald*, Munich, 1891).

[2] Kirsch, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV., 1, 270 *seqq.*, according to Pfeilschifter-Baumeister; Doberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, II., 254 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVIII., 416.

[4] *Cf.* Männer, *Bayern vor und in der Französischen Revolution*, 69 *seqq.*, especially 119 *seqq.*; also Le Forestier, *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie allemande*, Paris, 1915; Döberl, *loc. cit.*, II., 320 *seq.* When the Archbishop of Trier, who was also Bishop of Augsburg, wanted to purge the Augsburg cathedral chapter of the Illuminati, the Pope readily gave his approval, in a *Brief of October 14, 1797, this sect, like the Freemasons, to whom it belonged, being already excommunicated. *Epist.* A° XXIII., fo. 170 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXVII. (1901), 94 *seqq.*, CLVIII. (1916), 711 *seqq.*, CLXVII. (1921), 677 *seqq.* That Karl Theodor, in spite of his ecclesiastical policy, wanted to maintain friendly relations with the Curia is shown by his behaviour on the occasion of Pius VI.'s visit to Munich (see our account, Vol. XXXIX., 460), and of the Elector's journey to Italy (*cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX.,

Like Joseph II. in Austria, the Bavarian rulers wanted the ecclesiastical areas of administration to coincide with the civil ones and thus to do away with the spiritual jurisdiction of foreign Bishops over Bavarian subjects.[1] In the Palatine and Bavarian territories, which had been united in 1777, and to which were added Jülich and Berg on the Lower Rhine, there were no less than eighteen Bishops and Archbishops taking part in the pastoral administration, and not one of them resided in the territories.[2] Frequent attempts had been made in previous centuries to disentangle these conditions, even so far back as the concordat of 1583, and later Ferdinand Maria and Max Emanuel wanted to erect a separate bishopric for the country.[3] At the end of the eighteenth century the situation was more irksome than ever for, whereas formerly many of these sees had been domestic bishoprics of the Wittelsbachs by long-established custom, which in some cases had been going on for centuries, since 1763 not a single member of the dynasty had been honoured with the episcopal dignity.[4]

Karl Theodor's first endeavour was to have the foreign Bishops set up vicariates general in the areas belonging to the Bavarian Electorate. Those concerned, however, managed to frustrate both this plan and the next one formed by the

104). *Cf.* Antici's reports to Seinsheim of May 21 (arrival in Rome, honourable reception), June 14 (reception by the King of Naples), and July 5, 1783 (the homeward journey), State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 498/16. In 1789 the Pope sent his bust (by Gerardi) to the Elector, and in return the Elector had his bust made by the same sculptor (*v.* BRUNNER, *Humor*, I., 311).

[1] FRITZ ENDRES, *Errichtung der Münchener Nuntiatur*, 4 *seqq.*

[2] *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLXIV., 533 *seq.*

[3] ENDRES, 5 *seq.*

[4] The following sees had been occupied by Wittelsbachs: Liége, 1581–1723; Cologne, 1583–1761; Freising, 1566–1763; Regensburg, 1579–1763. *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLXIV., 532; H. E. FEINE, *Die Besetzung der Reichsbistümer vom Westfälischen Frieden bis Säkularisation 1648–1803* (Stutz' Kirchenrechtl. Abhandl. 97/98), Stuttgart, 1921, 319–326.

Elector, namely to set up new bishoprics in the country.[1] Consequently other measures were tried. The versatile Vice-President of the Spiritual Council, Kasimir Häffelin, who for many years after was to play several important rôles in Bavarian ecclesiastical politics, wanted the post of Apostolic commissary to be created in Munich for himself,[2] but the Elector finally adopted another plan, which had already been discussed in the past and now became a reality : the erection of a Papal nunciature in Munich, which was to be of equal rank with Vienna and Cologne and whose authority was to extend over the whole Bavarian territory.

Negotiations on this project of a Bavarian nunciature were undertaken at the beginning of 1784 by the Bavarian agent to the Curia, the Marchese Tommaso Antici, who was also *chargé d'affaires* for the Archbishop of Cologne. His preliminary inquiries promising eventual success, on April 11th he wrote a long memorandum to his sovereign, setting out the advantages of the plan.[3] For the Holy See to have a special representative in Munich, he wrote, was fully in accord with the Elector's power and grandeur, whereas under actual conditions the transaction of affairs was considerably delayed. The cost of maintaining the nuncio would be borne by Bavaria, it was true, but the tithes could be used for the purpose, and part of them in any case had gone to the Bishops.

After this the matter was pursued with such vigour in Rome that Pius VI. had no choice but to give way, unless he was to offend the mighty Elector. On June 7th, 1784, after lengthy negotiations, the Pope assented to the establishment of a new nunciature at the Court of the Bavarian Elector.[4] A further interval elapsed before a decision was reached regarding the person of the new nuncio and an opportunity of making the official announcement was provided by the consistory for the

[1] *Documents and an opinion on the subject in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten blau 425/8, I., No. 2. *Cf.* MÄNNER, *loc. cit.*, 113 *seq.*

[2] ENDRES, 8.

[3] *Memorandum in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 275/9. *Cf.* ENDRES, 12 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 14.

next cardinalitial promotion. Finally this long-awaited consistory took place on February 14th, 1785, and Monsignore Cesare Zoglio, Archbishop of Athens, was nominated as the Papal representative in Munich. Some months were to pass, however, before he set out for Bavaria.

Though this solution could not satisfy all the wishes of the Wittelsbach Elector, he had at least gained one important point: the spiritual jurisdiction over all his subjects now had a centre, and a certain counterpoise against the influence of the foreign Bishops seemed to have been secured. The Curia too in the end was not wholly loath to agree to the compromise, especially as the friendship of so important a secular prince might be of use to it, the more the other sovereigns, such as those of Austria and the Latin countries, showed themselves to be favourable to the episcopal movement.[1] A serious breach had been made in the ranks of those members of the imperial college of the German princes who aimed at the establishment of national churches.

As was only to be expected, this innovation had the effect of a beacon-fire on the Febronian party in the German episcopate and roused them to retaliation. To the Rhenish archbishoprics the jurisdiction of the nunciature tribunals had long been a stumbling-block, and its removal had been one of the *Desiderata* put forward at the Congress of Coblenz in 1769.[2] At that time the Electors failed to receive the support from Joseph II. that they had expected, he having to consider the wishes of his mother, Maria Theresa. Consequently the plans of the German episcopalists had to remain in abeyance for a time,[3] but now this fresh "curialistic pretension" gave them the excuse for further action.

[1] *Cf.* SCHOTTE, *Zur Geschichte des Emser Kongresses*, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXV. (1914), 91.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVIII., 413, and JAKOB WILLE, *August Graf von Limburg-Stirum, Fürstbischof von Speyer* (Neujahrsblätter der bad. hist. Kommission), Heidelberg, 1913. For the exertions made by Mainz until 1772, *cf.* HÖHLER, 42 *seqq.*

[3] For their fruitless exertions, *v.* NOTTARP in *Theologie und Glaube*, VII. (1915), 271 *seq.*

The recalcitrants were headed by the Elector of Mainz, Archbishop Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal,[1] who had originally been elected by a conservative group, but with his worldly-wise character and " enlightened " principles he soon changed his course for one of increasing friendliness towards Prussia. He was loyally supported by his Suffragan Heimes,[2] who, on account of his ambitious designs, was as much disliked by his fellow-Bishops as by the Imperial Court. In the controversies that now ensued the staunchest ally of these two prelates was the Metropolitan whose power was most restricted by the newly-founded nunciature, Hieronymus, Count von Colloredo, Archbishop of Salzburg,[3] a friend of " enlightenment " who was most skilful in advancing his Josephist ideas.

On March 3rd, 1785, Colloredo suggested to his Mainz colleague a coalition of all the prelates affected by the newly erected nunciature.[4] The reply this evoked from Erthal, who was also in charge of the diocese of Worms, which extended into the Palatinate, was remarkable. If the nuncio expected in Munich was only a diplomatic representative of the Holy Father, there could be no objection to the appointment ; but if he came furnished with spiritual faculties it would conflict with the irreducible and inalienable rights of the episcopal authority instituted by Christ, and it would have to be resisted. While they were agreeing on the course to be pursued,[5] the two prelates sought for associates among their

[1] *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLXII. (1921), 677 *seqq.* ; ENDRES, 29 *seqq.* ; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VII., 552 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, XI., 330 *seq.*

[3] He was the son of the Imperial Vice-Chancellor (*ibid.*, IV., 416) ; J. MACK, *Die Reform- u. Aufklärungsbestrebungen im Erzstift Salzburg unter Erzbischof Hieronymus v. Colloredo*, Munich, 1912. Colloredo was described by the nuncio Della Genga as haughty and distant ; *cf.* his report of February 16, 1802, in the *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLIII. (1914), 194, 203.

[4] ENDRES, 32.

[5] Mainz's envoy to the Diet was instructed to get into touch with the Bishops whose dioceses lay in Bavaria, through their *chargés d'affaires* there, with the object of making a joint

Suffragans, but they were not immediately successful. Baron Ludwig Joseph von Welden, Bishop of Freising, whose competence extended to the Bavarian capital, was almost alone in wholeheartedly supporting the proposed plan of action. Eichstätt's reply might also be considered satisfactory, but the Bishops of Chiemsee, Regensburg, and Passau, and the Archbishops of Cologne and Trier were unwilling to commit themselves.[1] On the other hand, from now onwards all the measures taken by the episcopalists, together with their obstructive propaganda, were accompanied by a loud voice of uncompromising contradiction, that of the Bishop of Speyer, Count von Limburg-Stirum,[2] whose opposition to the Mainz Metropolitan was well known and who upheld the free, unrestricted exercise of the Papal jurisdiction in the cases reserved to it.

In the first days of May, 1785, the Courts of Mainz, Salzburg, and Freising sent an inquiry, through their agents, to the Curia, regarding the capacity in which the chosen representative of the Holy See was coming to Munich, and they drew attention in their memoranda to the serious misgivings that would be caused if the representation were armed with jurisdictional faculties. In a few days they received the terse reply that the nuncio to Munich would be invested with the same rights and powers as those exercised by the nuncio to Cologne.[3]

representation to the Elector. *Cf.* *Lerchenfeld to Karl Theodor, August 13, 1785 (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz. 393/1).

[1] ENDRES, 33 *seqq.* Klemens Wenzeslaus had written to Karl Theodor on June 27, 1785, asking how much truth there was in the rumours about the new nunciature. On July 12, the Elector had given him the required information in a polite but terse manner. Both *letters, *loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz 393/1.

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 7.

[3] ENDRES, 37 *seqq.* Texts of the inquiries from Salzburg and Freising and the Papal replies in *Pragmatische u. aktenmässige Geschichte der zu München neu errichteten Nuntiatur*, Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1787, Anhang 2–8. On August 13, 1785, the Bavarian

The brevity with which it dealt with this inquiry showed that Rome was not by any means inclined to take instructions from others on how to appoint its legates ; nevertheless, the three prelates were not deterred by this initial rebuff. The agents for Mainz and Salzburg were told to draw up and present further memoranda in far sterner language, while the Archbishop of Mainz again invited his Suffragans to co-operate. Of the other German prelates the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg and of Eichstätt agreed to make inquiries couched in similar language, as did also the Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus, the Ordinary of Augsburg and Trier, a man of notoriously weak and vacillating character.[1]

The memorials from Salzburg and Freising arrived in Rome at the beginning of August 1785 and were not deemed worthy of a reply by Pius VI. On July 11th, however, he had sent another brief and firm response to the Elector of Mainz, strongly denying the accusations that the spiritual jurisdiction of the nuncios was presumptuous, that it infringed the concordats and that it was prejudicial to the Bishops.[2] At the same time Garampi, the nuncio to Vienna, was asked to use his influence with the Suffragans of the refractory Metropolitans and make them more friendly towards Rome.[3]

Minister Vieregg *complained about this (*loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz 393/1) to Antici, who on May 11, 1785, had *sent Karl Theodor the three letters of complaint together with the Papal reply and a letter from the Pro-Secretary of State (*ibid.*, 393/9).

[1] ENDRES, 39 *seq.* Later the nuncio Della Genga also said that the Elector was easily influenced ; *v.* his report of February 16, 1802, in the *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLIII. (1914), 191 *seq.*, 200.

[2] ENDRES, 45 *seq.*

[3] Garampi's successes, *ibid.* 53 *seq.* As early as April 16, 1785, Garampi had *written to Bishop Zeil of Chiemsee, at Salzburg, that the new nunciature was really no innovation at all, but only a continuation of the one at Graz, so that, if anyone had cause for complaint, it was not the Bishops but the other nuncios, and they had not complained. In spite of several other *letters from Garampi on the subject (for the good relations that existed between the two, *v.* ENDRES, 53 *seq.*) Bishop Zeil afterwards informed his Metropolitan Colloredo of Salzburg of his entry into

The measures adopted by the German prelates having thus apparently been rendered abortive from the very start by the unshakable principles of Christ's vicar, they had to resort to another expedient: to enlist the aid of the German emperor as their mediator and spokesman in Rome. For this they relied chiefly on the co-operation of the Archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian Franz Joseph, Archduke of Austria.[1] He was the youngest brother of the emperor and fully agreed with his views on the Church.

Maximilian Franz, having had some friction with Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, was ill-disposed towards the Curia and now pressed for the abolition of all the nunciature tribunals in Germany. On March 11th, 1785, he had made a written complaint to the Pope about the improper delay of the nunciature in dealing with appeals and he had asked for Papally approved *Judices in partibus*, a request that had already been made by German Bishops on several previous occasions.[2] Bellisomi viewed the application as an attack on his office and entered into negotiations to settle the affair. The Roman Curia also showed an accommodating attitude by agreeing to certain cases of appeal being entrusted directly by Rome or through the nuncio to high-ranking clerics in the archdiocese. But it definitely refused to grant a general mandate for all cases, as was desired. Finally, when at an audience granted to the agent Antici, Pius VI. refused to make

the group of the four Archbishops (*letters to Colloredo of September 15, 1786, January 25 and March 9, 1787; State Archives, Munich, Salzburg Erzstift, 263). In his *letter of August 27, 1785, to Caprara, Garampi's successor as nuncio to Vienna, the Secretary of State Boncompagni spoke of the Pope's joy and his hope that he would continue to work for the same object, faithful to the "informazioni" of his predecessor. Nunziat. di Germania, 683, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXI., 56 *seqq.*; *cf.* also M. Braubach, *Das Domkapitel zu Münster und die Koadjutorwahl des Erzherzogs Maximilian 1780* in *Historische Aufsätze, Festschrift für Alois Schulte*, 1927, 239 *seqq.*

[2] Endres, 56.

any further concessions, Maximilian Franz, suppressing all his previous scruples, cast in his lot entirely with the party led by the Elector of Mainz, a step which induced his cousin, the Archbishop of Trier, to work for a still stronger coalition.[1]

Their group thus strengthened, the four Metropolitans could enter the next stage of the controversy about the German nunciature with greater assurance. This second stage was brought about by their appeal to the Imperial Court. Mainz and Salzburg wrote officially to Vienna on September 22nd and October 4th, 1785, while Maximilian Franz went there in person to present to his imperial brother his own petition and that of the Elector of Trier.[2] Erthal's memorial [3] began with a protest against the resolution of the Roman Curia to set up a new nunciature in Munich, without the previous knowledge of the emperor, the empire, or the episcopate. There had never been any suspicion of it and it was causing universal disquiet. He proceeded to relate the repeated but fruitless efforts he had made in Rome, marshalled all the reasons of a legal, theoretical, and practical nature against the "unconstitutional proceedings of the nunciature tribunals", and finally besought the emperor as the "supreme patron and protector of the German Church" to oppose in Rome the mission of the new legate or at least to demand the restriction of his powers to purely diplomatic duties.

Joseph II. did not agree to the request of the German Metropolitans with the readiness they probably expected, and which, indeed, considering the almost complete unanimity of their views would have been quite understandable. There were, however, a number of misgivings which may have caused him to hold his hand. Firstly, he could hardly support a movement whose leader, the Elector of Mainz, was about to join the anti-imperial Prussian league of princes. Secondly, the Metropolitans had on this occasion acted without their

[1] *Ibid.*, 57 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 63.

[3] Printed in HÖHLER, *Arnoldis Tagebuch*, 275 *seqq.*, and *Pragmatische Geschichte*, etc., *loc. cit.*, 8 *seqq.*

Suffragans in order to preserve the appearance of a general movement, but to co-operate with the Metropolitans alone might estrange the rest of the German Bishops and seriously endanger the success of the Josephist reforms. Lastly, Joseph II. may possibly have been unwilling to add to the material for conflict that already existed between himself and the Curia.

It is true, however, that the reply sent to Mainz on October 12th, 1785, in the form of an imperial rescript,[1] was in the principles it expressed, entirely in agreement with the petitioners. The emperor, it said, would work for the preservation and restoration of the original rights of the Bishops and would also present the case to Rome. "I therefore recognize the Papal nuncios only as Papal emissaries competent to deal with political matters and those with which the Pope is directly concerned as supreme head of the Church. I cannot, however, allow these nuncios to exercise jurisdiction in spiritual affairs nor allow them a judicature which is not within the competence of, and cannot be conceded to, the Papal nuncio in Cologne, nor the one here in Vienna, nor any other that may come in the future into the territory of the German empire." Up to this point, in the main, the petitioners had reason to be satisfied with the document,[2] but in the last part of it the emperor, probably not without intention, touched on a delicate spot. That the rights they claimed might be preserved, he urged the Metropolitans to come to an understanding with their Suffragans and the exempt Bishops and to collect their grievances against Rome. The first of these conditions may have served the Archbishops as a legitimation of the Congress of Ems, but the failure to obtain the agreement of all the Bishops brought the whole dispute about the nunciature to an inglorious end.

[1] HÖHLER, *loc. cit.*, 277 *seqq.*; STIGLOHER, 263 *seqq.*; *Pragmatische Geschichte, loc. cit.*, 13 *seqq.*

[2] Some additions made to the text resulted in internal contradictions, noted by ENDRES (66). It is difficult to reconcile the abolition of the nunciatures with the guaranteeing of the ecclesiastical organization that had been "observed for centuries".

The imperial rescript, which was to figure very prominently in the coming negotiations and in the copious publications of the time,[1] was hailed with the greatest joy by the Court of Mainz. The Suffragan Heimes urged that the favourable opportunity be seized to press on with further action. At this juncture the resistance of the other Suffragans was not foreseen. On October 30th the Elector Friedrich Karl von Erthal sent a circular letter to the Bishops of his province, asking them to inform him of any cases of interference or impropriety on the part of the Curia.[2] The Metropolitan authorities of Salzburg, who took a more sober view of the situation, also asked the subordinate dioceses for similar information and tried to justify the peculiar coalition of the four Archbishops. The same steps were then taken by Cologne and Trier. At the same time the four Metropolitans forbade any recourse to the existing German nunciatures or, following the example of Mainz, made it a condition that it should first be given the archiepiscopal assent.[3]

But, contrary to expectation, many of the Bishops declined to co-operate. As before, it was the Bishop of Freising who showed the greatest ardour in espousing the cause of the quadruple alliance, and again it was Speyer that headed the opposing party.

Pius VI. was deeply concerned when Cardinal Herzan, on November 7th, had to inform him of the imperial rescript and its decree abolishing the tribunals of the German nunciatures. The Pope [4] defended the erection of the nunciature at Munich as being solely an adjustment in respect of personnel and locality within the bounds of the existing law, though he made no effort to conceal the grief that the step would cost him. Knowing that no one's right had been infringed, he insisted as

[1] The Bavarian envoy to the Diet at Regensburg regularly sent the Elector all the pamphlets he could get hold of. They are now to hand as enclosures in his reports in the State Archives, Munich.

[2] Endres, 68 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 69 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 77.

firmly as before that he could not make any more concessions. He followed this up by again requesting the nuncios to do their best to see that the rights of the Holy See in Germany were understood and appreciated. The Pope could still rely on the German princes, especially Bavaria, and it was doubtful whether the imperial rescript, which had not been ratified by the diet, was merely an expression of opinion or was actually a law. In a letter to the Prince Bishop of Freising [1] Pius VI. referred to this uncertainty and pointed out that even if it was a law, every Catholic, and still more every Bishop, would have to oppose it and value more highly the ecclesiastical regulations on the subject, for here was a case of a secular power deciding illegally on an ecclesiastical question.

In the days that followed, Karl Theodor's composure must have increased the confidence of the Holy Father.[2] Disregarding the rescript, the Bavarian government insisted on Zoglio's coming to Munich as soon as possible. His departure, however, was still delayed, to his regret, by unfavourable weather, financial difficulties, and ill health.[3] The Munich Minister of State, von Vieregg, wrote that on the nuncio's

[1] On October 18, 1786, before the Punctation of Ems had been announced (text in STIGLOHER, 292 *seqq.*; *copy in the State Archives in Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/9; *Epist.*, A° XII., fos. 144, 152, Papal Secret Archives; translation in P. P. WOLF, *Geschichte der röm.-kath. Kirche*, IV., 208–223). The *Pragmatische und aktenmässige Geschichte* reproduces the Latin text of the Brief (appendix, pp. 19 *seqq.*) and examines it sentence by sentence in the endeavour to prove that it is spurious (pp. 26 *seqq.*). To show that there was no reason to doubt the legal force of the imperial rescript, the author argues that it was not a question of a new law, but an announcement of the imperial will for the stricter enforcement of old laws (pp. 74 *seq.*). The canonistic authority for this argument, as so often in the controversial literature of the time, was Febronius.

[2] *Cf.* the Pope's commendation of the Elector in WOLF, *loc. cit.*, 219.

[3] Boncompagni *reported to Caprara on October 12, 1785, that Zoglio had been asked to hasten his preparations for departure (Nunziat. di Germania, 684–685, Papal Secret Archives).

arrival everything else would fall into place and the nuncio would be able to exercise complete jurisdiction in the usual manner.[1] At the end of the year these representations had to be renewed, and then there was a further delay of some few months before they were finally put into effect.[2] Zoglio arrived in Munich on May 20th, 1786,[3] and after he had presented his Brief of recommendation [4] to the Elector, the Government, on May 26th, announced the erection of the nunciature to all Bavarian subjects and commended them to bring before it all matters which had hitherto been dealt with by the nuncios to Cologne, Vienna, or Lucerne.[5] By most of the Bishops in his new jurisdictional area Zoglio was acknowledged only with far-reaching reservations, reference being made even to the imperial rescript. This attitude of theirs was censured by Pius VI. in unmistakable language.[6]

In Cologne too, about this time, there was a change of nuncios that aroused unusual interest. Bellisomi having been called to Lisbon, a suitable successor had to be found for this unenviable post. After some difficulty Pius VI. finally appointed Bartolommeo Pacca nuncio to Cologne on May 27th,

[1] ENDRES, 78.

[2] *Antici wrote to Vieregg on January 14, 1786, that Zoglio was hurrying to Munich, and *on February 4, 1786, that he had been gone for over a month but had sent no word of himself. (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 105/17).

[3] *Vieregg to Antici on May 27, 1786 (*ibid.*), where also there is a reference to the audience of May 22. *Cf.* ENDRES, 80 *seq.*, 83. A **dispaccio* for Zoglio, dated from Rome, June 3, 1786, brought news of the Pope's joy and generous praise for the Elector (copy *loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz 507/2).

[4] *Of December 10, 1785. Original *ibid.* 393/1. Printed in *Pragmatische Geschichte, loc. cit.* 17; STIGLOHER, 265. Karl Theodor's *letter of thanks to the Pope, of May 23, 1786, in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/1. Further relevant documents, *ibid.*, 507/16.

[5] Copy of the decree issued by the Electoral Ecclesiastical Chancery *ibid.*, Staatsverwaltung, 3221, No. 74.

[6] *Cf.* the above-mentioned Brief to Freising of October 18, 1786, and ENDRES, 87 *seq.*

1785. Pacca was a young man, only twenty-eight years old, but he was competent and careful, and his way of life was irreproachable.[1] For various reasons his departure had to be postponed,[2] so that nearly a year passed before he finally set out, on May 6th, 1786. After a journey delayed by bouts of sickness, he reached Bonn on June 9th.[3] His reception here was far from cordial. The Archbishop refused to recognize him unless he renounced his jurisdiction. Pacca could not think of doing this and chose rather to ignore him, Archbishop and brother of the emperor though he was. Meanwhile the nuncio's relations with the other prelates in his area gradually became tolerable.[4]

[1] For Pacca and his family, *v.* A. PROFESSIONE, *Antonio Felice Zondadari e Bartolommeo Pacca*, Milano, 1899, 40.

[2] ENDRES, 81 *seq.* Pacca relates the story of his appointment as nuncio in his *Memorie storiche . . . sul di lui soggiorno in Germania . . .*, Roma, 1832, 9–10.

[3] For his indisposition, journey, and arrival in Germany, *v.* his *Memorie*, 13 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 41.

[4] ENDRES, 90 *seq.*; PACCA, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seqq.*; PROFESSIONE, *loc. cit.*, 42, and Pacca's *"Lettere al padre" of June 22 and 29 and October 19, 1786, in the Archiepiscopal Archives at Benevento.

CHAPTER II.

The Congress of Ems and its Aftermath—Disturbances in the Austrian Netherlands—Death of Joseph II.—His Successors' Attitude towards the Church.

(1)

In pursuance of the imperial rescript and in continuation of the Congress of Coblenz, of 1769, the Rhenish Electors had agreed among themselves to hold another meeting of their representatives, in which the Archbishop of Salzburg was also to take part.[1] Hieronymus von Colloredo had in any case intended to travel to the Netherlands and he would thus be able to hold his Court in the vicinity of the selected meeting-place in the Rhineland and by rapid communication with his representative there follow the course of the negotiations. Mainz and Salzburg on the one hand, and Cologne and Trier on the other, then got ready their proposals for the congress, which were to be only of a provisional nature until the four prelates had been joined by the rest of the German episcopate. There was some difficulty in choosing a suitable meeting-place, especially as this had to be done without prejudice to any of the participants and attention had to be paid to the best postal connexions with the archiepiscopal residences. Mainz proposed Frankfurt or Worms, while Cologne and Trier were more in favour of Coblenz. After some deliberation the list of possible places was reduced to Limburg and Ems. At Heimes' suggestion the latter, in view of its character of a health-resort, was finally selected as most likely to conceal the purpose of the meeting, which for the time being was to be kept secret.[2]

In Vienna these preparations were observed with mixed feelings. As the conference might prove to be of extreme importance for the future of the German Church, the imperial

[1] Höhler, 49 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 55; Endres, 91 *seqq.*

government found it necessary to obtain betimes, in spite of the inevitable wearisome negotiations it entailed, solemn promises from Cologne, Trier, and Salzburg that nothing detrimental to the imperial name and its rights would be discussed or determined. Vienna's distrust of the ambitious policy of Mainz proved to be not entirely unjustified.[1]

The four Metropolitans having spent rather more than the first half of the year 1786 in preparatory negotiations, their representatives met at last at the "Darmstädter Hof" at Ems on the evening of July 24th. Mainz was represented by the Suffragan Bishop Heimes in person,[2] an indication of the importance attributed to the conference by this dignitary, who had long since wrested from his Archbishop the administration of ecclesiastico-political affairs in the diocese. The oldest member of the group was Tautphoeus, the deputy for Cologne, former Vicar General of Münster. He was seventy years old and hard of hearing. The Salzburg representative, Consistorial Councillor Bönicke, was of more consequence, though his vacillating attitude soon lost him the confidence of Heimes. Trier was represented by Vicar General Ludwig Joseph Beck, to whom his superior had hitherto entrusted the conduct of all business connected with the nunciature dispute.

In certain respects the instructions given to these negotiators had been drawn up with considerable circumspection. Thus the representative of Trier had been strictly enjoined[3] not to agree to anything that might mean a privilege for Mainz or might impair the respect due to the Pope. He was to be scrupulously careful to uphold the hierarchic system and to avoid giving the other Bishops any reasonable cause for complaint. Above all, no alliance against other Powers was to be entered into nor were complaints to be voiced against the

[1] *Cf.* SCHOTTE in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXV. (1914), 102. Endres gives a full account of the assurances desired by Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* Arnoldi's character-sketch in his report of July 24, 1786 (HÖHLER, 63 *seqq.*); plans and views of the "Darmstädter Hof" *ibid.*

[3] Printed version of his instruction of July 21, 1786, *ibid.* 59 *seqq.*; his credentials, in Latin and German, *ibid.*, 61 *seq.*

emperor or other sovereigns. But with all this, the object of the congress as defined in Beck's authority, which was made out at the same time, was entirely episcopalist in its purport: "to restore the original rights of the Archbishops and Bishops, after previous consultation, and to have them put into practice." The other Courts also carried out the necessary preliminary work by means of long-winded discussions and memoranda, in which, along with the actual dispute about the nunciature, the Coblenz *Desiderata* of 1769 played the most prominent part.

As the proceedings at Ems were to be regarded as secret, no official protocol was to be taken and, in particular, any differences that might arise were not to be committed to writing; only the resolutions that were arrived at were put down in due form day by day. The Trier Secretary Arnoldi, however, was instructed to make a secret record of the proceedings in a room adjoining that of the conference.[1]

Having agreed on their programme on July 25th, the next day the delegates began discussions on complaints against the Papal Curia. In many cases the *gravamina* of 1769 served as a basis for these talks, which covered all the episcopal rights which Rome was alleged to have impaired. It was agreed to reject all cases of Papal reservation, all Papal dispensations, all nuncios and Papal notaries, all unilateral resolutions of Congregations, and all *processus informativi* carried out by nuncios. The annates and *pallium* moneys were to be reduced in accordance with long-standing promises, and every diocese was to have its own courts of appeal. Other points discussed were resignations and the accumulation of benefices resulting from Roman presentations. Working speedily, the delegates dealt with all the subject-matter of the *gravamina* by July 28th. The various demands they proposed were submitted for

[1] His account of the proceedings has been edited by HÖHLER (67 *seqq.*), who had before him the original from the episcopal archives at Limburg. The sources given by Höhler were used by A. COULIN in his article "Der Emser Kongress des Jahres 1786" in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, vol. 47 (vol. 25 in the 3rd series), 1917, 1 *seqq.*

approval to their Courts, which made several alterations in them.

In addition, the four Archbishops wanted to use this opportunity to pave the way for an internal reform of ecclesiastical life according to modern notions, to be carried out by a uniform procedure in all four archdioceses. For these questions of discipline, as for the first part of the talks, Beck, the delegate from Trier, had to provide the preliminary drafts as material for debate.[1] It is significant that the circular letter written to his Bishops by the Grand Duke of Tuscany was also taken into consideration.[2] Beck's proposals were accepted in the main and were collected together in a reforming decree.[3] These agreements were not to be brought to the knowledge of the public but were to serve the other Bishops as a model of pastoral organization in harmony with the times. According to the agreed decree, all exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction were abolished and new regulations were made for the training and employment of the parochial clergy. Other articles provided for the cleansing of divine service from all "superstitious objects and abuses", such as benedictions, confraternities, processions, and the decoration of churches and altars. A further set of articles regulated in detail the whole of religious life, including the daily regime of abbeys, nunneries, and convents.

From August 8th to 16th the congress was suspended while some of the representatives returned to their seats of government to deliberate on the punctations laid down during the first part of the negotiations. A difference of opinion between Mainz and Cologne on the questions of celibacy and abstinence had hindered the work [4] and almost threatened to wreck the

[1] Beck used for the purpose some notes in Latin that he had made before the congress opened (published by HÖHLER, 281 *seqq.*).

[2] Arnoldi's diary for July 31, *ibid.*, 109 *seq.*

[3] Text, *ibid.*, 92–106.

[4] *Cf.* especially Beck's letter to Klemens Wenzeslaus, of August 5, 1786 (*ibid.*, 134 *seq.*); SCHOTTE in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXV., 97 *seq.*

whole undertaking. Back in Trier Beck wrote to his secretary at Ems[1] "The end of the congress will be ignominy as a reward for us and a triumph for the Romans." In Trier too there was an unpleasant incident. When the proposal made at Ems that overworked priests should be dispensed from saying the breviary was submitted to Klemens Wenzeslaus he rejected it with scorn remarking that no doubt the object of it was "to enable the reverend gentlemen to have an extra hour a day for bibbing and gaming". Beck, deeming that his own honour and that of all the clergy of Trier had been impugned, felt it his duty to relinquish his appointment as representative at the Congress of Ems unless his Archbishop expressed to him a better opinion of the diocesan clergy. He accordingly tendered his resignation to the Elector on August 12th,[2] as the result of which Klemens Wenzeslaus wrote him a personal letter in which he withdrew the insulting references and did his best to mollify his indignant Vicar General.[3]

The last of the archiepiscopal governments to deliver its finding on the Ems proposals was that of Cologne, which had been awaited with anxiety. It accepted the punctation on the restoration of episcopal rights while rejecting the proposed reform of ecclesiastical discipline. The discussions at Ems could therefore be resumed and this was done on August 18th. The main task now was to pay regard to the alterations suggested by the different Courts and to the observations they had made and to reconcile them one with the other. This had to be done with all possible speed as the emperor wanted to be apprised of the Ems resolutions by the beginning of the following month at the latest.

After a series of discussions, many of which were very lively, an agreement was finally arrived at. Between September 3rd and 8th four letters, all of similar import, were addressed to Joseph II. by the Powers taking part in the

[1] On August 11, 1785 (Höhler, 140).
[2] Text of the letter, *ibid.*, 141 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 144.

congress.[1] They were accompanied by the punctation agreed upon at Ems in pursuance of the imperial commission, and the wish was expressed that the emperor, as the advocate of the German Church, should support the demands in Rome or, if no satisfaction was obtained there by amicable methods, that he should summon a German national council "to free the German nation at long last from all forms of oppression". If this course too proved ineffectual, the petitioners were prepared to bring the questions before the German Diet and to solve them satisfactorily in a lawful way.

Every word of the Ems Punctation[2] betrayed its close connexion with the principles of Febronianism[3] and Josephism. All the demands, whether based on traditional *gravamina* or on recent developments, were assembled in a clear and concise manner, the episcopal authority being referred to as the only one to have any lawful existence within the diocese.

In the introduction the punctators cited the imperial request contained in the rescript of October 12th, 1785, and their sense of responsibility to the German Church, but at the same time they declared their readiness to uphold the primacy of the Pope, even in the matter of jurisdiction, though they felt themselves obliged to draw a definite distinction between the essential rights of the Pope and those he had allegedly usurped. The latter, having originated in the spurious decretals of pseudo-Isidore, were henceforth to be abolished.

[1] Dated from Salzburg on September 3, 1786, Brühl on the 7th, Schönbornslust and Aschaffenburg on the 8th (*ibid.*, 168 *seq.* and STIGLOHER, 278 *seqq.*). According to ENDRES (III, n. 1) the 8th should be corrected to the 10th, but the first date is found in the imperial reply (Stigloher, 290; Höhler, 190).

[2] Text, *ibid.*, 171–183; STIGLOHER, 266–278; WOLF, *loc. cit.*, 178 *seqq.* COULIN (*loc. cit.*, 17 *seqq.*) examines the contents article by article, giving especial attention to the steps of the development of each and to the alterations made by the Courts of the ecclesiastical principalities.

[3] *Cf.* also *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIII., 647 *seq.*

There followed, in twenty-two articles, the various demands that were held to arise from the episcopal authority: the subordination of all residents in the diocese to the Bishop; the abolition of all direct appeals to Rome and of all exemptions; the severance of the bond with foreign Generals of religious Orders; the extension of the episcopal authority of dispensation to all injunctions of abstinence, matrimonial impediments, and religious vows; the right to alter pious foundations; removal of the quinquennial faculties; the invalidity of all Papal Briefs and unilateral resolutions of Congregations lacking episcopal ratification; the abolition of the nunciature tribunals and notariates apostolic. The serious accusation was made that in questions of dispensation connected with the accumulation of benefices Rome had "violated in various ways" the concordat of Bâle. Wherefore the right of presentation to benefices was vested in the Bishop alone, unrestricted by Papal reservations or coadjutorships or resignations in favour of others. In the conferment of benefices special consideration was to be given to the age and worthiness of the recipients. The same absence of restriction was to apply in cases of appointment to the higher offices in cathedral and collegiate churches.

Other articles of the Ems resolutions were directed against delay in ordination after the conferment of benefices, against the presentation of foreigners to German benefices, and against the so-called "Papal months". In future the *processus informativus* was to be carried out by the Ordinaries or neighbouring Bishops, with the relaxation for suffragan Bishops of the necessary conditions, the abolition of the customary Papal provisos, and the alteration of the old form of oath, which lowered the Bishops to the rank of vassals. Within two years the annates and pallium moneys were to be reduced by a national council or the imperial Diet. In future, as a court of third instance over the diocesan and metropolitan courts, there should be only national *judices in partibus*, or, better still, new courts attached to provincial synods.

In the final paragraph of the document it was stated that

the Bishops could only guarantee a reform of ecclesiastical life and discipline after the restoration of all these " rights which were due to them ". The emperor was asked to see to it that the council that had already been promised in the interim concordat of Aschaffenburg was brought into existence, on a national basis, within two years.

Naturally much depended on what the emperor thought of these demands. At first sight it looked as if they were in complete conformity with the principles of the Austrian variety of Josephism and would therefore be sure of having the imperial protection, but a closer inspection revealed an important difference. In the opinion of the Josephist experts on ecclesiastico-political jurisdiction, almost all the rights in the punctations claimed by the Bishops for themselves on divine authority belonged to the omnipotent State, as inalienable rights, as it was also the duty of the State to take in hand the pastoral care of its subjects. It was only in the negation and rejection of the alleged usurpations of power by the Papacy that the two movements were in accord. But the proposed extension of episcopal authority was not to be borne by so absolutist a monarch as Joseph II.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the emperor's reply, though containing an abundance of assurances couched in general terms, was, on the whole, guarded and evasive. Chancellor Kaunitz seems to have pointed out to him the serious issues of principle involved and to have convinced him of the plausibility of such misgivings. The emperor also agreed to another of Kaunitz's suggestions, that the petitioners be asked to come to a general agreement with the rest of the German hierarchy, a request which seemed impossible of fulfilment. Some time previously, as it happened, the Bishop of Speyer, having learnt of the Ems punctations through an indiscretion of the " Hamburger Journal ", had sent a sharply-worded protest to the imperial court against the presumably intentional exclusion of the German Bishops from deliberations of such vital importance, and in so doing he had given expression to the dissatisfaction felt by several Suffragans at the prospect of the metropolitan authority increasing its power

without reference to others.[1] Actually the imperial reply of November 16th, 1786,[2] expressed the extreme desirability of extending the Austrian measures of reform to the whole of Germany and promised the four Metropolitans every assistance as soon as "the necessary closer agreement had been taken in hand by means of confidential negotiations" with the Suffragans and exempt Bishops on the one hand and the competent secular rulers on the other.

This request was complied with by the Archbishops, who now acquainted their Suffragans with the Ems negotiations and invited their support. The most wholehearted approval of the episcopalist aims came from the prelates of the Salzburg province, though some of them expressed doubts about the practicability of the punctation.[3] The only answers that were entirely negative were those of Speyer and Liége,[4] while a number of other Bishops preferred to wait on events.

The indecision of some of the prelates is exemplified by the behaviour of the Bishop of Constance. Both Speyer and Mainz had written him long letters in November and December, 1785, urging him to join their respective parties,[5] as the result of which he wrote to his Vicar General, "We waver between two camps, neither of which we want to offend."[6] He then made inquiries of Würzburg and Hildesheim, as to

[1] Dated from Bruchsal, November 2, 1786; text in HÖHLER, 187 *seq.* *Copy of the imperial reply of November 16, 1786, in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/9.

[2] HÖHLER, 190 *seq.* Endres' date, the 26th, may be a misprint, as his source too has the 16th (STIGLOHER, 204 *cf.* 290 *seq.*).

[3] The attitude of each one is outlined by SCHOTTE in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXV., 105, n. 1. *Cf.* HÖHLER, 202 *seqq.*

[4] SCHOTTE, *ibid.*, 106 *seq.*

[5] Bishop Stirum to the Bishop of Constance on November 15, 1786 (records of the diocese of Constance, "Papal Nunciatures," in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Freiburg i. Br.). *Cf.* *"Conclusum des Geistl. Rats zu Konstanz," of November 9, 1786 (*ibid.*); *Erthal to the Bishop of Constance, December 11, 1786 (*ibid.*).

[6] *November 25, 1786 (*ibid.*).

their attitude,[1] and even sent a special representative to Würzburg to reconnoitre the situation.[2] In the course of the next few years the letters written to Constance by the two party-leaders, Erthal and Stirum, were more and more urgent, and they were now joined by Salzburg.[3] It was not till October, 1788, when Würzburg informed Constance [4] that it hoped to come to terms with Rome—Würzburg refraining from negotiations at the Diet and Rome refraining from exercising the jurisdiction of the nunciature—that the careful Swabian prelate decided to follow suit and wrote to Mainz on these lines.[5] His petition to Rome in the matter, asking for considerate treatment, evoked a friendly response from the Pope, though it contained a definite reference to the excessive demands of the four Metropolitans.[6]

With these differences of opinion, it soon became evident that there was no possibility of complete agreement; some were in favour of a national council, others would have none of it.[7] Finally the Ems punctators came to the conclusion that

[1] *Letters of December 23, 1786 (*ibid.*).

[2] *The Bishop of Constance to the Bishop of Würzburg, June 24, 1787 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Erthal to the Bishop of Constance, April 23, 1787 (*ibid.*); *Stirum to the same, May 19, 1787 (*ibid.*); *Salzburg Consistory to the same, August 29, 1788 (attacking the tithe Bull; *ibid.*); *Erthal to the same, September 25, 1788 (urging him to decide on co-operation), and October 8, 1788 (asking for his agreement at the Diet; *ibid.*).

[4] Letter of October 9, 1788 (*ibid.*); *letter of thanks from the Bishop of Constance to the Bishop of Würzburg, November 8, 1788 (*ibid.*).

[5] *To Erthal, November 8, 1788, also on October 31, 1789 (*ibid.*). In a *letter of February 1, 1790, Erthal asked him once again for his definite support at the Diet (*ibid.*).

[6] *Brief of January 3, 1789 (Papal Secret Archives, Epist. A° XIV., fo. 137).

[7] Salzburg, for instance, was in favour of it, Cologne against it. *Cf.* the letter from Minister Clauspruch to Heimes on January 4, 1787 (in Höhler, 197 *seqq.*), in which Cologne's misgivings were fully expressed.

the only course that offered any hope of success was to put their resolutions into practice within their own dioceses, thus giving them some sort of validity, and to invite those Suffragans who had shown a co-operative spirit to do likewise. The procedure for dealing with appeals and dispensations in their four archdioceses were accordingly altered so as to leave out the nunciatures; some synodal courts were set up; and advocates and procurators were forbidden to have any official intercourse with the nuncios.[1]

This illegal and arbitrary procedure naturally met with opposition on the part of the Roman Curia and its representatives in Germany.[2] The nuncios were immediately instructed to keep a most careful watch for any violation of Papal reservations and to issue appropriate warnings. But protests were of no avail.[3] Rome being less disposed than ever to retreat, the nunciature tribunals exercised their jurisdiction as before.[4] In Cologne, where Bellisomi's successor, Pacca, had granted a matrimonial dispensation to Prince Hohenlohe-Bartenstein, there were serious clashes. In response to a complaint about the matter lodged with the Papal Secretary of State, the Archbishop received a letter which, carefully worded though it was, was in essence an unmistakable rebuke.[5] The affair

[1] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 320 *seq.* *Cf.* the Cologne pastoral letter of February 4, 1787, with its dispensation from fasting issued on its own authority (in STIGLOHER, 307 *seqq.*).

[2] How badly Rome was informed about the happenings at Ems is shown by Boncompagni's *letters to Caprara of August 12 and 26 and September 7, 1786 (Nunziat. di Germania, 684–5, Papal Secret Archives). *On October 11, 1786, the nuncio was instructed to procure the letter written by the Ems punctators to the emperor, *on November 18, 1786, to find out the emperor's opinion (*ibid.*).

[3] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 321.

[4] This was done by Zoglio, for instance, in the matter of indulgences and dispensations; *cf.* for example, his letters of August 12 and October 4, 1786 (*Pragm. Geschichte* . . . appendix, 31–35).

[5] Cardinal Secretary of State Boncompagni to the Elector Max Franz on December 20, 1786 (*ibid.*, 807 *seq.*), and to Pacca on

became more complicated in November, 1786, when Pacca went so far as to send a circular letter to the Vicars General and all the clergy of the ecclesiastical provinces of the Rhine, declaring the dispensations granted directly by the archi-episcopal diocesan courts to be invalid, for this drew into the dispute not only the higher but also the lower ranks of the clergy.[1] The Archbishops were still further incensed, and it was not until the Elector of Cologne had received a temperately worded letter from the Pope, of January 20th, 1787, that the excitement was somewhat allayed.[2]

Meanwhile a measure taken by the Munich nunciature provided the Rhenish Archbishops with fresh grounds for complaint. With the agreement of the Government, Zoglio appointed special sub-delegates for the outlying districts of the Bavarian electorate, his purpose being the more expeditious handling and dispatch of official business. The person appointed for Düsseldorf was Baron Roberz, who was Provost there, for Heidelberg the administrational councillor Philipp von Hertling.[3] This step reawakened the suspicions of the Ordinaries

December 26, 1786 (*ibid.*, 322, n. 1). His letter of complaint to Pacca, of November 27, 1786, *ibid.*, appendix 35 *seq.* The *copy in the State Archives in Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/9, is dated November 29, 1786; *ibid.* also Pacca's answer, pointing out that he was granting the dispensation as nuncio, not as titular archbishop. Max Franz had complained "que ce serait donner lieu à des confusions perpétuelles, si des évêques étrangers vouloient exercer une juridiction dans le diocèse d'un autre et s'ingérer dans l'administration de ses fonctions episcopales" (*ibid.*). He had not even recognized Pacca as nuncio. *Cf.* PACCA, *Memorie storiche*, 57 *seqq.*

[1] Encyclical of November 30, 1786, printed in the appendix to the *Responsio* (Leodii, 1790), 430 *seqq.*, mentioned on p. 61, n. 1 (STIGLOHER, 281 *seqq.*); PACCA, *Memorie storiche*, 63 *seqq.*; *Pragmat. Geschichte*, appendix, 37 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 42–9, the letters of protest from Mainz, Trier, and Cologne.

[2] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 323 *seq.*

[3] The State Archives in Munich (Kasten schwarz 507/2; the "570" in ENDRES, 86, n. 4 is a misprint) have copies of the nuncio's request for the nomination of two candidates (undated) and the

affected, despite the reassuring declarations of the Bavarian Government. Numerous complaints made to the emperor by the three ecclesiastical Electors had little success. Finally, however, a rescript issued by the Imperial Court Council on February 27th, 1787, while recognizing all the other rights of the nunciature, ordered the Bavarian Elector to prevent the erection of a commissionership in Düsseldorf.[1] Karl Theodor very firmly refused to submit to any such attack on his sovereign rights and finally made use of the opportunity to make a full explanation of his attitude towards the whole of the nunciature dispute.[2] A rather tortuous counter-statement made by the imperial court read very like an apology.[3]

electoral nomination of Roberz (November 5, 1786), with Zoglio's letter of October 11, 1786. *Ibid.*, Kasten schwarz 507/16*b*, the *papers dealing with the difficulties connected with Zoglio's recognition on the Lower Rhine and Roberz's administration.

[1] *Original of the imperial rescript, *ibid.*, Kasten schwarz 507/16*b*. *Cf.* SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 325. The Bavarian envoy in Vienna, Karl Theodor von Hallberg, had only just received instructions from the Elector (dated February 16, 1787) to find out the substance and result of the discussions that were presumably going on in the Court Council, when, on March 3, he had to send off the rescript. On his making further inquiries he was told that the sharp wording of the rescript was in accordance with the imperial policy of totally abolishing the nunciatures and that later, step by step, stricter measures would be taken in the matter. See his *report of May 30, 1787 (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 623/66).

[2] *Karl Theodor to Joseph II., April 4, 1787 (*ibid.*, Kasten schwarz, 507/2). Simultaneous *instructions to Baron von Hallberg, *ibid.*, Kasten schwarz 507/16*b*. *Ibid.* another *instruction to Hallberg, of May 30, 1787, with a full memorandum setting out the reasons for the Elector's attitude, to be used in future negotiations.

[3] Hallberg's *report of August 22, 1787, on the deep impression made on the Court Council by the Elector's reply (the nuncio would probably be tolerated: *ibid.*, Kasten schwarz 623/66); *report of November 28, 1787: the Imperial Court Councillor was seeking a compromise, but he would rather recognize a native

In the course of time ever wider circles were caught up in the discussion about the Ems punctation, and finally the general public. One of the first to enter the fray was Bishop von Limburg-Stirum himself, who published a spirited pamphlet full of objections to the Ems demands. This led to a fruitless correspondence with Salzburg and a violent public controversy in print with Cologne, in which other circles were involved.[1] The number of polemical works and written opinions on the German nunciature dispute was so enormous that even now the collection of them is still far from complete.[2]

There then took place an incident of an ecclesiastico-political nature that proved to be the turning-point in the history of the Ems punctation. The Elector of Mainz fell so seriously ill as to necessitate the election of a coadjutor, and in this appointment Prussia, in pursuance of its policy of the League of Princes, was particularly deeply interested.[3] It was agreed that the most suitable person for the post was Canon

Bishop than a foreign nuncio (*ibid.*); *report of December 12, 1787: the Court Council's decision had been dispatched, but Hallberg was still ignorant of its content; in any case the Protestant members had adopted the attitude of the Curia and had outvoted the Catholic members (*ibid.*). On September 30, 1788, the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Colloredo *wrote that the emperor intended to treat the Elector with the greatest consideration and would gladly assist "in the establishment of a permanent ecclesiastical system" (*ibid.*).

[1] HÖHLER, 208 *seqq.*

[2] When competing for a prize offered by the theological faculty of the university of Munich, in 1930–31, Habenschaden had collected and edited about 140 publications from the Munich archives and libraries alone. I saw his work in manuscript form.

[3] *Cf.* HÖHLER, 225 *seqq.*, and SCHOTTE's complete presentation of the matter (*loc. cit.*, 330 *seqq.*) based on Vatican records. IMMICH, using the documents published by LEHMANN (*Preussen und die kath. Kirche*, VI. and VII. [1893–4]), has dealt with Prussia's participation in the affair in his article "Preussens Vermittlung im Nuntiaturstreit 1787–89" in the *Forschungen zur brandenburg. u. preuss. Gesch.*, VIII. (1895), 143 *seqq.* *Cf.* also the account in PACCA, *Memorie stor.*, 73 *seqq.*

Karl Theodor von Dalberg, Baron of the Empire. After some difficulties, by no means slight, had been overcome in the Chapter itself, the Roman Curia's assent to Dalberg's appointment had to be obtained, and further trouble was anticipated in this quarter, as Dalberg's views were notoriously similar to those of Archbishop Erthal. To remove these obstructions the parties interested were prepared to make concessions in the matter of the Ems punctation. To effect an arrangement on this basis, the Marchese Lucchesini, a diplomat of some experience, was sent to Rome by the Prussian Court.[1] Lucchesini's mission was successful, and on May 2nd, 1787, an agreement was reached between Rome and Mainz, by which the desired election was sanctioned on condition that the ecclesiastico-political *status quo* that existed before the Congress of Ems was retained. Mainz had been moved to make this concession by the far from friendly attitude shown towards the Ems demands by Austria, Bavaria, and Prussia, and the Ems coalition was thereby breached in a vital spot. This conclusion of at least an outward peace with Mainz had another effect which was not unwelcome to Rome: the increasing friendliness towards the Curia evinced by Prussia, which might be valuable in connexion with the nunciature dispute and the Josephist reforms.[2] Henceforth, out of gratitude for this benevolent neutrality, Pius VI., when addressing the Prussian sovereign, did not demur to use the royal title, which Rome had hitherto refused to recognize.[3]

[1] IMMICH, *loc. cit.*, 145. Dienseim, the president of the chamber, was first selected, then Dalberg, whose Brief of eligibility was made out on April 18 (*ibid.*, 147).

[2] Pacca, the nuncio, was instructed to seek an audience of the Prussian king and to convey to him the Pope's thanks. This he did at Wesel on June 15. His address was published by SCHOTTE (*loc. cit.*, 816 *seq.*). *Cf.* IMMICH, *loc. cit.*, 157, and Pacca's own account (*Memorie stor.*, 87 *seqq.*).

[3] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 328. That this courtesy could have been no juridical recognition in accordance with canon law has been shown in *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*, CIII. (1924), 136 *seq.* *Cf.* KURT RHEINDORF, *Die Anerkennung des preuss. Königstitels*

Even in these circumstances the questions raised by the Congress of Ems were not allowed to rest. In issuing a Bull of taxation to the Bavarian Elector,[1] a transaction of little importance in itself, which would not normally have attracted attention, Pius VI. was deemed by the Ems punctators to have exceeded his legitimate powers. On this occasion the objectors were headed by Salzburg and Trier, but they soon realized they would make no impression on the Bavarian Government, which stood its ground, and there being no prospect of either Rome or Munich agreeing to a compromise, the Metropolitans entertained the idea in the course of 1788 of initiating negotiations with Rome, but their efforts were not rewarded with any immediate tangible success.

These attempts having failed, there was still another course of action available to the exponents of the Ems resolutions: they could try to secure the co-operation of the German Diet. It had already been pointed out in a decree of the Imperial Court Council of November, 1787,[2] replying to a complaint by Salzburg about Zoglio's jurisdiction, that the final decision on the whole question of the German nunciatures rested with the Diet in full session. The project was eventually approved by the Courts concerned, and on August 9th, 1788, the matter was accordingly referred to the Diet by Joseph II.[3] The Elector of Mainz then sent the Imperial Estates a detailed memorandum of the Ems demands, culminating in a clamorous appeal for the preservation of freedom for the German Church.[4]

durch die Kurie, in the *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung*, XLII., Kan. Abt. XI. (1921), 442–6. The Papal Brief of April 5, 1788, and Friedrich Wilhelm II.'s letter of thanks of June 23, 1788, are to be found in PACCA, *Memorie stor.*, 88 *seqq.*, 96 *seqq.*

[1] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 338. *Cf.* the relative *acts in the State Archives, Munich, Acta comit., Kasten schwarz 214/7.

[2] This decree ran clean contrary to Joseph II.'s ecclesiastico-political ideas, and consequently was suppressed by him. *Cf.* SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 781 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 786. Printed copy in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten blau 416/9.

[4] For the twofold version, *cf.* SCHOTTE, 786, n. 2. Count

Being urged more and more insistently to deal with the matter quickly, most of the Protestant and some of the ecclesiastical Estates gave their support to the motion,[1] and it only remained to overcome the obstructions offered by several members of the Prussian League of Princes.[2]

As time went on, these discussions tended more and more to concentrate on the original point at issue: the Papal nunciatures and their faculties. Memoranda were sent in all directions, the matter was discussed by every publicist,[3] and it soon looked as if the leisurely tempo of the negotiations associated with the Diet would bring about its gradual demise before any result could be obtained. The Munich Government declared its readiness in principle to come to a friendly understanding, but insisted that the decision of the question rested with the sovereign of the country and not with the Diet, and it threatened to set up bishoprics of its own if the Diet passed a resolution in another sense.[4] Even the Archbishops now be-

Lerchenfeld sent along with his *report to the Elector of May 16, 1789, a copy of the Mainz letter to the Margrave of Ansbach and a copy of the printed circular letter to the Catholic Estates (*loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz 214/7, II.).

[1] Some of the Estates are listed by SCHOTTE (798, n. 1).

[2] Prussia had strong objections against the matter being dealt with by the Diet principally because it had no desire to fall out with Rome. Finally, however, Friedrich Wilhelm II. voted against the nunciatures, in accordance with the demands of the Empire, after further attempts had been made to effect a compromise. *Cf.* IMMICH, *loc. cit.*, 166.

[3] *Cf.* A. PROFESSIONE, *Antonio Felice Zondadari e Bartol. Pacca*, Milano, 1899, 49 *seq.*

[4] Instructions from the Elector to Count Lerchenfeld, of August 27 and October 8, 1788, and December 3, 1789 (*loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz 393/2, 214/7 II., 393/4). Lerchenfeld communicated the first of these instructions to the Courts friendly to Bavaria, tactfully omitting several passages (*cf.* his *report to Karl Theodor of September, 5, 1788, *ibid.*, 393/2) and added full memoranda in the same sense to his *reports to the Elector of September 12, 1788, and December 2, 1789 (*ibid.*, 393/2 and 4). On the other hand, Lerchenfeld was able to send his sovereign,

sought the Pope to settle the matter on a friendly basis rather than expose it to the publicity of the Diet.[1] Cardinal Herzan, on instructions from the emperor, tried to move the Pope in this direction, but Pius would not give way, while earnestly professing his readiness to remove any genuine abuses.[2]

With the passage of time even those most nearly concerned lost interest in the matter. Trier, after supporting the action in the Diet in a half-hearted fashion, soon followed the example of Mainz and made a separate peace with the Curia. Klemens Wenzeslaus came to Rome to obtain the quinquennial faculties and forbade any attitude towards the Ems Punctation to be taken in the schools of his diocese.[3] Likewise the peace party in the cathedral chapter of Cologne, which also sought for reconciliation with the Pope, was on the increase. With the lapse of time and the general exhaustion the storm had died down.[4]

The movement reached its logical conclusion in the long-awaited pronouncement of its attitude by the Papal Court, which in fullness and clarity of exposition left nothing to be

on April 19, 1789, a copy of the Brunswick instruction (*ibid.*, 393/3). According to the first instruction from the Bavarian Electorate the emperor was to be asked by the Diet to initiate mediatory negotiations with the Pope.

[1] *Cf.*, for example, the letters to Pius VI. from Klemens Wenzeslaus on November 18 and from Colloredo on November 24, 1788 (*copies in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/9); *Max Franz to Pius VI. on November 28, 1788 (*ibid.*, 507/4).

[2] Under date February 4, 1789, *Zoglio sent a copy of the report on this audience to the Bavarian Government (*ibid.* 507/5). Erthal had asked Joseph II. to mediate, and the emperor had agreed to do so. *Cf.* *Erthal to Joseph II. on November 17, 1788, and *Joseph II. to Erthal on December 6, 1788 (*ibid.*, 507/4). *Cf.* also the report on the audience in **Cifra* to Caprara on January 21, 1789 (Nunziat. di Germania, 684–5, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] SCHOTTE, *loc. cit.*, 803.

[4] *Ibid.*, 804.

desired. A special Congregation consisting of the Secretary of State Zelada, and Cardinals Albani, Antonelli, Gerdil, and Campanelli, had been appointed by Pius VI. in the autumn of 1789 to inquire into the Punctation of Ems and the other complaints that had been raised. The Congregation concerned with the Synod of Pistoia met at the same time. The fruit of the discussions appeared in a detailed memorandum covering several hundred pages and entitled *Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii papae Sexti Responsio ad Metropolitanos Moguntinum, Trevirensem, Coloniensem et Salisburgensem super Nunciaturis Apostolicis.* It had been composed, on the Pope's instruction, by Campanelli. On November 14th, 1789, the pronouncement was sent as an enclosure in a Papal Brief to the four punctators.[1]

Pius VI. began his Brief by referring to the Archbishops' letter of December, 1788, and expressing the hope that the accompanying "*Responsio*" would bring home to them the absurdity of their demands. The length of the memorandum was not due to the difficulty of the subject but to the vast

[1] A *MS. copy sent from Rome is in the State Archives, Munich (Kasten schwarz 393/7). An exact contemporaneous copy appeared "juxta exemplar Romae, Leodii 1790", with various documents in an appendix. This copy contains on pp. 465 *seqq.* corrigenda for an obviously tendentious edition purporting to be published in Florence; actually it was published in Mainz. On p. 467 is a note (*a*) referring to Klemens Wenzeslaus: "Hunc ex catalogo tuo expunge. Is enim saniorem mentem induit," and on p. 473 is another (*b*) referring to the other three: "Speramus meliora. Imitabuntur procul dubio Collegam Trevirensem, qui errorem deposuit." The dispatch of the *Responsio* to the addressees, after lengthy studies, was reported, for example, to Venice by *the agent Pietro Donado on November 21, 1789 (State Archives, Venice, Roma 302), and its appearance in print to Genoa by the *agent Serafino Figari on February 6, 1790 (State Archives, Genoa, 2405). *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 25 *seqq.* The Pope had the work sent to the emperor so that he might see how much he was relying on him in these matters (**Cifra* to Caprara, November 14, 1789, Nunziat. di Germania 684–5, Papal Secret Archives).

amount of literature that had to be considered; there was hardly a courier that came to Rome from Germany that failed to bring with him a mass of pamphlets on the nunciature dispute, so the Holy City now had a superabundance of German publications. The long delay in the preparation of the memorandum had been caused by the Church's occupation with other pressing cares. The Brief ended with an urgent appeal to each of the recipients to recognize the nunciature tribunals then existing in Germany and to defend them against all contestants. "Get rid of all innovations," it went on to say, "into which You have been seduced against Your will by the wickedness of others. Bring everything back to the state in which it was before and show by Your actions the love for Your Mother that You claim for Yourself. And lastly acknowledge the right that has been joined inseparably to the primacy as such by divine institution, a right which We can never renounce and which no decision of a Diet, which has no competence in the matter, can abolish." At the same time the Pope stated that he was more than ready to take action against any abuses that had crept in, if they were brought to his attention.

Thus the accompanying Brief. The extensive memorandum itself, which soon appeared in print,[1] began with an enumeration and criticism of all the personalities involved in the dispute. This was followed by six chapters in which the various grievances were treated: the erection of the Munich nunciature, the appointment by this nunciature of commissaries in Heidelberg and Düsseldorf, Pacca's letter to the Suffragans and the clergy of the archdioceses, the rejection of Cologne's request for the sanctioning of a general mandate for the new synodal courts and Cologne's assertion that the Papal sanction for the independent erection of this tribunal was unnecessary, and finally the tithe Bull granted to Bavaria. The seventh chapter took up almost all the second half of the memorandum and offered positive proofs of the unrestricted

[1] Summary of the contents in WOLF, *Geschichte der röm.-kath. Kirche*, IV., 301 *seqq.*

rights of the Papacy. Eight sections were devoted to demonstrating the uncontested right to appoint extraordinary legates in extraordinary conditions, which certainly existed in the German dioceses, and the right to appoint ordinary nuncios with permanent jurisdiction. In three more sections historical evidence of the existence of this right was adduced, first from the earliest times till the ninth century, then from the ninth to the fifteenth century, and lastly from the fifteenth century till the present day. This was followed by evidence from conciliar decisions, mostly those taken by the four German Metropolitans, and from resolutions of the Diet and imperial ordinances, in the issue of which even the Protestant Estates had participated. In a final brief chapter various specific objections were rebutted.

The Brief and memorandum were transmitted to the German Archbishops by the nuncio Pacca. Both documents made a deep impression. For Klemens Wenzeslaus in particular they provided the final impetus that decided him to make his peace with Rome.[1] In February, 1790, he informed his former comrades-in-arms that he was no longer of their company.[2]

On the same day, February 20th, 1790, there took place another event of great moment for the German Church: the death of Joseph II.[3] The nunciature dispute was now nearing its end. The nunciature at Munich remained in existence.[4]

[1] HÖHLER, 229 *seq.*, 237.

[2] Letters to the three Archbishops, to the Vicar General at Trier, and the Official at Coblenz, all of February 20, 1790 (*ibid.*, 238 *seqq.*).

[3] On February 16, 1790, Reinach, a member of the cathedral chapter, *wrote from Würzburg to the Bishop of Constance that the death of the emperor would bring about a change in the whole situation (Archives of the Archdiocese of Freiburg im Breisgau, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Subsequently Karl Theodor succeeded in setting up the office of a Grand Almoner and an exempt Court Bishopric. *Cf.* Vieregg's *report, of February 13, 1790, to Antici on the grand solemnization of the foundation on February 9 (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 508/1).

Zoglio was recalled in February, 1794, and died a year later.[1] On learning that the internuncio to Turin, Conte Ziucci, had been chosen to succeed him,[2] Karl Theodor brought it to the Pope's knowledge [3] how pleased he would be to have at his Court, if only for a time, Annibale della Genga (the future Pope Leo XII.), who had succeeded Pacca as nuncio to Cologne in 1794 and was residing in Augsburg.[4] Pius VI. acceded to his wish, and Della Genga was internuncio in Munich from May, 1795, till April, 1796.[5] His place was taken by Ziucci until 1800, and then ensued a long interval in which the nunciature was left unoccupied.[6]

A hard lot was in store for the German Metropolitans. Their territories were invaded by the victorious armies of the French

[1] *Communication to the Elector on April 21, 1795 (*ibid.*, 393/4).

[2] *Cardinal Antici to Karl Theodor, April 25, 1795 (*ibid.*).

[3] The Elector *wrote to Antici on May 9, 1795 (*ibid.*), that Antici was to tell the Pope " che io gradisco la destinazione della persona del conte Ziucci in nunzio alla mia corte, e che gli sono anzi gratissimo per avere a tal effetto scelta persona che mi lusingo sia per giustificare la sua elezione ed esser di mia piena soddisfazione ". At the same time, however, he repeated his request for Della Genga, at least in the interim. " *Dopo la morte di Mgr. Zollio l'elettore Carlo Teodoro aveva fatto premura presso la S. Sede per avere in qualità di nunzio Mgr. Annibale della Genga arcivescovo di Tiro (nel 1823 Leone XII.), il quale si trovava in Augusta nunzio accreditato presso gli elettori eccl^ci al Reno e che aveva seguito l'elettore di Treviri in Augusta. Pero la S. Sede aveva già destinato presso la corte elettorale di Baviera Mgr. Anidio dei conti Ziucci di Ascoli. " Serie dei nunzii accreditati presso la corte di Baviera " (Archives of the Apostolic Nunciature in Munich, now in Rome).

[4] For Pacca's recall and the transference of the nunciature to Augsburg, *v.* his *Memorie storiche*, 166 *seqq.*

[5] *Brief of Pius VI.'s to Karl Theodor, of May 3, 1795, and Zelada's *letter to the same, of May 16, 1795 (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/4 ; the Elector's *letters of thanks to the two writers, dated June 20, *ibid.*

[6] " *Serie dei nunzii accreditati " (*loc. cit.*).

Revolution, and in 1792 Archbishop Erthal had to take to flight; two years later the same expedient was forced upon the Electors of Trier and Cologne, and finally also upon the Metropolitan of Salzburg.[1] In 1803, at the behest of France, a harsh decree was passed by the Deputation of the Empire, depriving them of their landed property for ever.

(2)

Joseph II. also had to suffer opposition, which in this case was of the most bitter nature, to his well-intentioned but ill-considered reforms, even in his lifetime. In the Austrian Netherlands this resistance led to bloody clashes and finally to a complete break with the House of Habsburg-Lorraine.

Through the death of his mother, Joseph II. had become the sovereign ruler of the Netherlands, and in 1781 he pledged himself, through the oath taken in the presence of the Belgian Primate, Cardinal Frankenberg of Malines,[2] by his deputy and brother-in-law, the newly-appointed Stadholder Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, to uphold the traditional rights and privileges ("*Joyeuse Entrée*").[3] During his stay in the country, which he made at this time, Joseph observed with what old-fashioned cumbersomeness and meticulousness official business was transacted and justice administered, and this was enough inducement for him, with his reforming zeal and love of thrift, to intervene here too with the object, as he conceived it, of effecting an improvement. The very least he could do

[1] HÖHLER, 243 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 29.

[2] For Frankenberg, *v.* A. THEINER, *Der Kardinal Johann Heinrich Graf von Frankenberg, Erzbischof von Mecheln, Primas von Belgien, und sein Kampf für die Freiheit der Kirche und der bischöfl. Seminarien unter Kaiser Joseph II.*, Freiburg i. Br., 1850; ARTHUR VERHAEGEN, *Le cardinal de Franckenberg, archevêque de Malines* (1726–1804, Bruges-Lille [1890].)

[3] SCHLITTER, *Josephs II. Regierung in den Niederlanden*, I., 11; GENDRY, II., 30. *Cf.* also LAINEN, *Joseph II. en zijn regeering in de Nederlanden*, Anvers, 1908; L. DELAPLACE, S.J., *Joseph II. et la révolution brabançonne*, Bruges, 1890.

was to introduce into this country too the measures he had had carried out in the other hereditary lands.

While he was still in the Netherlands, therefore, he gave instructions that the ground should be prepared for a universal toleration, which, despite Cardinal Frankenberg's remonstrances, was introduced shortly afterwards by letters patent of October 13th, 1781.[1] Considerable indignation was aroused among the Bishops and Estates both by this and another measure, the abolition of all exemptions enjoyed by the regular clergy, which was carried out in defiance of a reasoned memorial presented by the Privy Council in Brussels. Bad blood was also inevitably created in the highest ecclesiastical circles by the ordinance authorizing the Bishops to use their right of dispensation without reference to the Pope and by the ever increasing suppression of religious houses that had been in progress since 1782.[2]

The general discontent was brought to a head in October, 1786, by the publication of another decree, providing for the suppression of the episcopal seminaries and their replacement by two others, controlled by the State, at Louvain and Luxemburg.[3] Again the earnest remonstrances of the Cardinal and the Bishops were ignored.

As, however, a certain measure of supervision was conceded to the Bishops, the theological students assembled in their new schools in accordance with instructions. At Louvain, on December 1st, when the lectures began, the students complained that they were being taught heretical doctrines, violent disturbances ensued, and in a few days, though the Rector did his best to allay them, they developed into open revolt. So much damage was done to the building that the Rector was forced to retreat to Brussels, where he sought the help of the Government.[4] Further attempts to quell the

[1] VERHAEGEN, 97 *seqq.*; SCHLITTER, 20 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, V., 391 *seqq.*

[2] SCHLITTER, 23–6.

[3] *Ibid.*, 30; GENDRY, II., 31 *seqq.*; VERHAEGEN, 154 *seqq.*, 157 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, V., 407 *seqq.*

[4] SCHLITTER, 55 *seqq.*

rebellion failed, the military were called in, and the Government appointed a commission to investigate the matter. But this did not break the spirit of the rebels. Finally, at the beginning of the new year the Government gave them the choice of submission or dismissal, whereupon most of the students chose to return to their dioceses.[1]

Meanwhile the Government, whose clumsy handling of the incident incurred the censure of the emperor, had tracked down the students whom they considered to be chiefly responsible for the disorders and locked them up.[2] What was more serious, Zondadari,[3] the Papal nuncio in Brussels, was accused of having incited them. Actually his only misdemeanour had been to have some copies printed, without the Stadholder's knowledge, of the Papal Brief against Eybel's pamphlet "What is the Pope ?". He averred [4] that they were intended primarily for the missions, but they had found their way into the seminary at Louvain, where, it was alleged, they had played an important part in the disorders. The theologians there had in fact found fault with their professors for teaching the same Febronian heresies as had been condemned in the Pope's Brief against Eybel.

The Stadholder's office was now thinking of forbidding the nuncio to appear again at Court, but Vienna thought that this was not sufficiently drastic. Prince Kaunitz suggested to the emperor that a nunciature at Brussels was unnecessary and asked for Zondadari's expulsion from Austrian territory. Joseph II. was remarkably quick in accepting this proposal, and the nuncio was given the definite order, dated February 14th, 1787, to depart from Brussels and the Netherlands

[1] *Ibid.*, 59.

[2] GENDRY, II., 32.

[3] For Zondadari, *cf.* MORONI, CIII., 480; A. PROFESSIONE, *Zondadari e Pacca*, 7 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 11–14 his journey and arrival in Brussels. His journal dealing with these events in HUBERT, *Les papiers du nonce Zondadari*, in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale (belgique) d'histoire*, LXXXIV. (1920), 178.

[4] *Ibid.*, 126, 192. Incidentally Rome, not Brussels, was given as the place of publication.

within a few days. In future, the representative of the Holy See in Vienna would be responsible for the Netherlands as well.[1]

Outwardly the Pope sustained this fresh attack with perfect calm and patience, but actually it had come as a great shock to the Curia.[2] On March 3rd Cardinal Herzan reported on an interview he had had with the Secretary of State, Boncompagni, who had admitted that the nuncio was somewhat to blame, inasmuch as he had not been authorized to have the Brief printed, but he defended him from the charge of having deliberately incited the students to rebellion. In any case, the Brief had already been made public long before, by a Luxemburg journal, so that the imperial decision could only be regarded as an unwarranted humiliation of the Pope. Pius VI.

[1] SCHLITTER, 60; PROFESSIONE, 24; HUBERT, 135 *seq.* With the approval of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Zondadari retired to the Abbey of Saint-Trond in Holland (HUBERT, 144, 193); *v. ibid.*, 201, the Secretary of State to Zondadari on March 7, 1787. *Cf.* "*Memorie relat. alla partenza del nunzio cacciato di Bruxelles, 1785," Cod. Vat. 8652 of the Vatican Library.

[2] The Secretary of State gave vent to his indignation in a *letter to the nuncio Caprara, of February 21, 1787: "Quanto al breve di Eybel, il buon Zondadari non ha preso pensiero di pubblicarlo; ma non so, come osservatore e filosofo, riconciliare con sè stessi i metodi di S.M., e se avessi l'onore d'accostarlo, conterei tanto sopra la sua equità e ragione, che non avrei difficoltà di dirlo a lui stesso. Deve esser permesso ad Eybel di denigrare, estenuare, ridurre al niente il papa, e non deve esser permesso al papa di riprovare e confutare Eybel? Dov' è la libertà che tanto si vanta, dove l'indifferenza cui tante cose si sacrificano? e la libertà della stampa sarà solo pe' libri contro la religione, che sarà sempre vietato di difendere sino al capo stesso della religione cattolica? Saremo ridotti a dimandare al primo sovrano della nostra communione almeno la neutralità, e neppur questa otterremo?" Nunziat. di Germania, 684–5, fo. 162, Papal Secret Archives. Boncompagni to Zondadari, undated, in HUBERT, 200. *Cf.* **Cifre* al Caprara, February 28, March 3 and 14, 1787 (Nunziat. di Germania, *loc. cit.*).

had, in fact, as Herzan learnt from another source, been extremely hurt by the step that had been taken.[1] It was also viewed with disapproval by many of the secular Courts of Europe.[2] A significant feature of the situation was the fear that the Prussian king, who at that time was anxious to secure the friendship of the Pope, would offer the rejected nuncio a refuge in his country, from where he could care for the interests of the other areas in his charge, namely Holland and England.[3]

At an audience he granted to the Austrian Cardinal Minister at the beginning of April, Pius VI. spoke with great self-restraint of the grave humiliation inflicted on him by Joseph II.'s action in the Netherlands.[4] Nevertheless, at the same interview, Herzan tried to persuade the Pope to close the nunciature in Brussels, on the plea that the nuncio in Vienna could easily deal with the affairs of Brussels as well as his own.[5] The Pope, of course, would listen to no such proposal.

The Cardinal of Malines [6] being thought to be the prime leader of the clergy's opposition to the imperial measures of reform, the emperor sought to render him harmless by summoning him immediately to Vienna, to give an account of the disturbances in the Netherlands. In Vienna the Cardinal made proposals in writing to the emperor with a view to mediation, but Joseph rejected them outright and gave him the choice of altering his views on the imperial aims or of resigning his office. Rome had hoped that the emperor would see things in a different light after listening to Frankenberg,[7] but not only was the emperor impervious to the Cardinal's

[1] BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 152 *seq.*; HUBERT, 149 *seq.*

[2] Herzan's report of March 24, 1787, in BRUNNER, 159 *seq.*

[3] HUBERT, 150.

[4] Herzan's report of April 4, 1787, in BRUNNER, 161 *seq.* *Cf.* HUBERT, 149, 155.

[5] SCHLITTER, 61 *seq.*

[6] Zondadari wrote about him in his report (ch. 4), in HUBERT, 183 *seq.*

[7] **Cifre al Caprara*, of March 17 and 24 and June 25, 1787 (*loc. cit.*).

exposition of the situation; the Cardinal himself was not uninfluenced by the arguments put forward by Government circles in Vienna.[1]

Meanwhile the students' revolt in Louvain was not by any means over and forgotten. From time to time the smouldering embers burst into flames. The indignation aroused among the theological members of the clergy was only the prelude to far more widespread disturbances which, by degrees, affected ever larger sections of the whole population and finally led to a general rebellion against the imperial system of reform, which was ruthlessly suppressing long-established privileges, not only in the ecclesiastical sphere but also in the civil administration and the judicature. Meanwhile, through making temporary concessions, the imperial Stadtholder, Prince Francis, found his position growing more difficult every day, and he was finally recalled by the emperor and replaced by General Murray, who was made responsible for the military government of the province.[2] Murray, too, in spite of the stringent instruction he had received, had hopes at first of averting the threatening catastrophe by an amicable agreement,[3] but he too only brought upon himself the distrust and displeasure of his master. Joseph II., hoping to stifle any question of rebellion by a rigid policy of the utmost severity, failed to perceive how thoroughly bad the situation was until the Netherlandish volunteers and the Government troops were engaged in an open civil war.

Murray was now replaced by General Trautmansdorff,[4] who, when all forcible measures had failed,[5] followed the example of his predecessors and tried to settle the dispute about the general seminaries by friendly means, thinking that this would be the quickest way of bringing the whole popular movement to an end. He accordingly proposed to the emperor that a compromise be sought by allowing the theologians to be

[1] SCHLITTER, 62 *seqq.* *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 33; PIRENNE, V., 435.
[2] O. LORENZ, *Joseph II. und die belg. Niederlande*, 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, 29.
[4] GENDRY, II., 35 *seqq.*
[5] LORENZ, 49–58; PIRENNE, V., 438.

trained in Vienna and then to occupy their posts in the Netherlands[1]; alternatively, some concessions might be made to the Bishops on matters of secondary importance.[2] Later he proposed that the students should undergo only two years' training in the State seminary, the first three years to be spent in the episcopal establishments.[3]

But none of these proposals led to a settlement of the dispute. When it also seemed useless to try to stave off the disaster by prolonging the negotiations,[4] Trautmansdorff published an edict, dated August 14th, 1789, whereby the episcopal seminaries were to have the same recognition and legal validity as the State ones,[5] since the people, in their unfounded suspicion of the Government, feared that the new system was intended to open the way for new and erroneous doctrines. But Joseph II. was very angry at this announcement being made at what was thought to be an inappropriate moment, also at the failure to carry out some important restrictions that he wished to be imposed upon the theologians belonging to the regular clergy.[6]

In any case the conciliatory attitude now shown by the imperial government had come too late to have the desired effect of pacifying the population. It was also unfortunate that just at this time Cardinal Frankenberg, whose translation to Prague or Vienna was being considered by the Court, took to flight to ensure his personal safety,[7] whereupon the Brussels

[1] Letter to Joseph II., of May 13, 1788, in SCHLITTER, *Geh. Korrespondenz Josephs II. mit Trautmansdorff*, 91 *seq.*

[2] Letter to Joseph II. of June 10, 1788 (*ibid.*, 101).

[3] Letter to Joseph II. of May 25, 1789 (*ibid.*, 260).

[4] Letters to Joseph II. of July 24 and August 6, 1789 (*ibid.*, 316 *seq.*, 336).

[5] VERHAEGEN, *Franckenberg*, 256 *seqq.* *Cf.* Trautmansdorff's letter to Joseph II. of August 14, 1789, in SCHLITTER, *Geh. Korrespondenz*, 351.

[6] Joseph II. to Trautmansdorff on August 22 and 25, 1789 (*ibid.*, 360, 363).

[7] Reports to Joseph II., of November 8 and 11, 1789 (*ibid.*, 470, 473). *Cf.* Joseph II. to Trautmansdorff on September 28,

government confiscated his property.[1] On it becoming known that he had been on the point of being arrested by Trautmansdorff, the Habsburg Government lost what little goodwill it had still enjoyed, and Rome too was deeply embittered.[2] Simultaneously the insurgents were capturing one town after another in their victorious advance. At the eleventh hour Trautmansdorff made them the most far-reaching concessions and gave them his word that they would be carried out,[3] but even this was no longer of any avail. Finally, after even the Government troops had deserted him and copious supplies had fallen into the hands of the rebels, he was forced to quit the capital almost as a fugitive. "The accursed revolution has actually come about," he reported to his emperor in Vienna on December 15th.[4] Joseph II. was so ashamed and enraged by this unexpected disaster that he would gladly have put himself at the head of his troops and quelled the insurrection at the point of the sword,[5] but he no longer had the physical strength for any such undertaking; his frame was weak and sickly and was already in the grip of a mortal disease.

Driven well-nigh desperate by this emergency, the emperor, who had been so self-willed in the past, now sent out a cry for help to the Power against which he had formerly waged so unremitting a warfare—the Holy See. He must have fought and won a bitter struggle with his pride before he could have asked the Pope—whose representative he had driven out of the country that had risen up against him—to come to his assistance in winning that country back again.

Grievously though it must have irked him, Chancellor Kaunitz had to ask the Pope, through Cardinal Herzan in

1789 (*ibid.*, 406 *seq.*); Trautmansdorff's report to Joseph II. of November 12, 1789, in SCHLITTER, *Geh. Korrespondenz*, 477.

[1] GENDRY, II., 38 *seq.*

[2] **Cifra al Caprara*, of November 26, 1789 (Nunziat. di Germania, 684–5, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Proclamation of November 26, 1789 (GENDRY, II., 41).

[4] SCHLITTER, *Geh. Korrespondenz*, 531 *seqq.*

[5] GENDRY, II., 42.

Rome,[1] so to prevail upon the Belgian Bishops that the Netherlands would remain an apanage of the imperial crown. In return for this assistance the emperor promised to revoke completely all the reforming laws, whether civil or ecclesiastical, he had introduced into the province, and to grant an unconditional amnesty to all the rebels. It was possible, too, that the emperor would be willing to take similar measures in the rest of his hereditary lands.[2]

Pius VI., only too willing to return good for evil, declared his readiness to take a hand in the affair as quickly as possible.[3] One thing only he asked, that the emperor should now make reparation for all the injuries he had done the Church and the disasters he had brought upon it.[4] Then, after some very careful preliminary work, a Brief was written to the Belgian Bishops,[5] dated January 23rd, 1790, to be conveyed to them by the nuncio Zondadari, who was then resident in Liége. Zondadari too had been approached, by an imperial general, for the purpose of obtaining his good offices in the regaining of the province,[6] so radically and rapidly had the situation altered.

The Brief to the hierarchy of the Austrian Netherlands was

[1] *Ibid.*, 43.

[2] *Cf.* Herzan's reports of January 13–30, 1790, in BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 191–9. *Cf.* the *report of the agent Pietro Donado to Venice on January 9, 1790 (State Archives, Venice, Esteri-Roma 302).

[3] For Herzan's audience, *v.* **Cifra al Caprara* of January 9, 1790 (Nunziat. di Germania, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* **Cifre* to the same, January 13, 16, 23, 1790 (*ibid.*).

[4] Pius VI.'s desire was that the emperor *" dia qualche riparo per i danni e disastri che o per sorpresa o per altrui seduzioni o anche per errore d'inteletto egli ha cagionati e inferiti alla religione, alla chiesa e ai di lei ministri ". There followed a list of his complaints. *Cifra al Caprara*, February 24, 1790 (*ibid.*).

[5] Translated in P. PH. WOLF, *Gesch. der Kirche unter Pius VI.*, III., 628 *seqq.* *Cf.* VERHAEGEN, 276.

[6] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 193. During his term of exile Zondadari travelled through the parts of the Rhineland and of Holland that were still under his jurisdiction (PROFESSIONE, 34 *seq.*).

the result of mature deliberation and was characteristic of the Pope's prudent manner of procedure. It began by giving generous praise to the Bishops and the Estates for their defence of the Church's rights and for their loyal attitude towards the civil authority at the time of the insurrection. They had very rightly raised a vigorous protest against the numerous innovations which had been prescribed in the emperor's name but apparently against his will, and which contravened their country's constitution. But the object of their desires had now been attained: they were to hear from the Pope's own lips the definite pronouncement of the emperor's that guaranteed the Bishops the full and unrestricted exercise of their pastoral office, and the Estates the restoration of their ancient constitutional rights. In conclusion the Pope asked the Bishops to hold out the hand of peace and to use their united strength to bring about a reconciliation between the people and the emperor.

These words of the Pope satisfied the imperial party but they came too late for the Bishops to act upon them. Only a short time before, the Estates of Belgium, assembled under the presidency of the Cardinal of Malines, had proclaimed their sovereignty and the freedom and independence of their country.[1] Consequently the Bishops were no longer able to satisfy the Pope's desire, as they considered it their duty to recognize the new political constitution that had just been inaugurated. In their reply to Pius VI. of March 8th, 1790, they defended their position [2] by referring to the numerous attempts at pacification that had been made to no purpose, and by describing the unjust oppression of the subjects which had found expression in the closing of churches and religious houses and in the ruthless violation of all the basic national agreements. No wonder that the people had lost all confidence in the emperor's word and that the Bishops no longer had the power to recall them to the desired obedience. "We cannot but be convinced that all that has happened had to be done

[1] GENDRY, II., 44; VERHAEGEN, 264 *seq.*

[2] WOLF, *loc. cit.*, 634 *seqq.*; VERHAEGEN, 276 *seq.*

by the nation, and rightfully so. Your Holiness would be as fully convinced as we are, were You to see the courage and military efficiency, the institutions and constitutional laws that the nation has already been able to give to the new State." It was therefore more than ever their duty to confine themselves to things spiritual and moral. "Allow us, Most Holy Father, to have no other concern than to drive off the wolf from the fold and to keep at bay a pestilence that already threatens to infect us."

Thus it was that in the last weeks of his life, after years of restless reforming activity, Joseph II. had to witness at least the partial collapse of the structure he had built so optimistically. Exactly a month after the Belgian proclamation of independence, and after he had had to withdraw a series of reforming laws he had devised for Hungary, on January 28th, 1790, the last hour also struck for his own life on earth.

There was one last brief sequel to the Austrian supremacy in Belgium. After the victorious advance of the Austrian General Bender [1] the Estates, in their fear of the French Revolution, created Emperor Leopold II. Duke of Brabant on May 30th, 1791.[2] After Leopold's early death, however, his successor, Francis II., was unable to prevent the country being occupied by the armies of the Revolution. After the battles of 1794 Belgium was annexed to the French Republic,[3] and the union was confirmed by the treaties of Campo Florio and Luneville.

(3)

The Diet of the German Electors which met in 1790 and which was to raise to the imperial throne Joseph II.'s brother, Leopold of Tuscany, had to direct its attention, above everything else, to the threat of a war that would involve the whole of Europe. The Papal Secretary of State, in his letter to the Catholic Electors, also stressed the importance of the forth-

[1] VERHAEGEN, 295 *seqq.*
[2] GENDRY, II., 50. *Cf.* PIRENNE, V., 488 *seqq.*
[3] VERHAEGEN, 334 *seqq.*

coming election, not only for the stability of the Church but also for the peace of Europe.[1]

On this occasion, as on previous ones, an ancient Papal right of sending a legate to the Diet was exercised. Caprara, the nuncio to Vienna, was instructed to go to Frankfurt in this capacity,[2] and the Bavarian Elector in particular was asked to lend him his support.[3] Pacca, the nuncio to Cologne, who was instructed by the Pope to act as a silent observer of the negotiations and proceedings in the imperial city, relates in his memoirs how unimportant the Holy Father's representative was made to appear, despite all the honours that were paid him in public and all the display he made on his own account.[4]

The impotence of the Papal legate was more than ever regrettable on this occasion, since it was feared that the aim of the Ems punctators to have the German nunciatures done away with altogether might be brought up for discussion by the electoral college. Karl Theodor of Bavaria in particular must have been perturbed lest the nunciature that had been set up in Munich after so much trouble should be argued about in the assembly. As soon, therefore, as he heard from Zoglio of Caprara's appointment as legate to Frankfurt, he instructed the Bavarian envoys to the Diet to keep in close touch with the Papal representative, " to second him and support him in whatever business he may have in hand by every possible and practical means ", and to see that he was received and treated in a worthy manner.[5] The most important of the Bavarian

[1] *The Papal Secretary of State to Karl Theodor, also to the three Rhenish Electors (Nunziat. di Germania, 686, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* JOSEPH MÜLLER, *Das Friedenswerk der Kirche in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten*, I., Berlin, 1927, 247 *seq.*

[2] **Cifra al Caprara*, June 1, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] *Brief to Karl Theodor, May 29, 1790 (original in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 393/4). *Ibid.* also Caprara's *letter to the Elector of August 29, and his *reply of September 17, 1790, also the Elector's *letter of thanks to Pius VI. and Zelada, of the same day.

[4] PACCA, *Memorie storiche*, 130–5.

[5] *Karl Theodor to the delegates to the Diet, Oberndorff and

instructions for the Diet was that in the conference on the imperial capitulation no addition detrimental to the organization of the Papal nunciatures was to be tolerated.[1]

The Diet, convened for July 1st, was finally opened at the beginning of August, after the lengthy preliminary ceremonies had been performed.[2] But even before this the talks on current ecclesiastico-political questions had reached a certain stage of development. In the course of the visits and return-visits of the various electoral envoys the representatives of the Rhenish Archbishops had hinted that on the question of the nunciature they were not intending to maintain their former obstructive attitude; on the contrary, if their ordinary, unrestricted jurisdiction and the proposed synodal courts were recognized, they were quite prepared to drop all their other *desiderata*.[3] The Bavarian representative was asked to bring this pacific attitude to the knowledge of the Papal legate. Karl Theodor's ambassadors lost no time [4] in coming to an understanding with Caprara, who had arrived on July 28th,[5] and the latter was soon in direct negotiation with the envoys from Cologne and Mainz.[6] Cologne, however, declined to acquaint the nuncio with its *desiderata*, which as yet were only provisional, and feared that a continuation of these confidential talks would arouse the suspicion of the other Courts.[7]

These first attempts to come to an arrangement having failed the Bavarian embassy was again asked at the beginning of August by the representatives of the three ecclesiastical Electors to smooth the way, in conjunction with the secular

Hertling, March 12, 1790 (State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 138/12).

[1] *Instruction to the delegates to the Diet, May 12, 1790 (*ibid.*).

[2] Information on this, among other matters, in the **Diarium* of the Bavarian envoys (*ibid.*, 138/6).

[3] **Diarium* for July 24 and 26, 1790.

[4] **Ibid.*, for July 31, 1790.

[5] **Ibid.*, for July 28, 1790.

[6] **Ibid.*, for August 1 and 2, 1790.

[7] **Ibid.*, for August 2, 1790.

Electors, for a mediation and settlement of "the differences that have existed for several years between the Roman Curia and the said three Archbishops". Further inquiries, however, showed that Prussia had objections to Bavaria, an interested party, being the arbitrator in the case. The apprehension felt by the envoys from Munich lest a Protestant Power should act as intermediary in a purely Catholic matter [1] was allayed by Karl Theodor, who proposed that the whole electoral college or at least the three Electorates concerned should vote for the mediator of their choice.[2]

Unfortunately the negotiations soon came to a standstill. Mainz even refused at first to accept from the hands of the Papal legate the Brief accrediting him to the Diet, and it only consented to do so at the earnest plea of Bavaria.[3] When the Brief was read out afterwards at one of the sessions the Mainz delegate did not omit to emphasize that this did not mean that the legate's competency was recognized in any way.[4] Nor did a visit paid by Caprara to the Court of the Mainz electorate at Aschaffenburg, where he was paid every kind of honour,[5] seem to ease the situation.

On August 11th the electoral delegations entered the Römer in solemn procession, and the conference was opened. After the usual formalities, such as the verification of powers, the compilation of standing orders, and the promulgation of the edict of emigration, the delegates proceeded to discuss the imperial capitulation, taking as a basis the form adopted in 1764.

The sessions of the electoral college, twenty-four in all, were

[1] *Both envoys to Karl Theodor, August 2, 1790 (*loc. cit.*, 138/12). Prussia suggested Brunswick instead.

[2] *Karl Theodor to the envoys on August 28, 1790 (*ibid.*). But in any case, he stipulated in this letter, the nuncio must approve of whatever arrangement was made, and the recipients of the letter must consult him in advance.

[3] **Diarium* for August 6 and 7, 1790.

[4] There was question of the meaning of the word *munus* in the Brief. *Cf.* *election protocol for August 18, 1790 (*ibid.*, 138/11).

[5] **Diarium* for August 11 and 12, 1790.

held thrice weekly and lasted from August 11th to October 4th, 1790.[1] More time was taken up with the amendments of the capitulation proposed by the Electoral States than with any other topic, article 14 on the ecclesiastical constitution and relations with the Curia being discussed at length. Similar motions were proposed by Cologne and Mainz for all five paragraphs.

In the first place the retention and execution of the concordat with Eugene IV. was demanded, whereby, at the request of the Bohemian crown, the ecclesiastical treaty with Nicholas V. was included. When various grievances were specified, especially those concerned with benefices, Bavaria voted for the retention of the existing text, whereupon Saxony referred to the forthcoming discussion of these points at the Diet of Ratisbon. Brunswick giving its assent at a later sitting, with the reservation of all its sovereign rights, the proposal was adopted, though only in the last place. The other questions were discussed more expeditiously. Thus an adjustment of the ecclesiastical *processus* was adopted, in so far as territorial rights were not affected, Bavaria laying stress on this. Further, the emperor was to see that the Diet's resolutions on the nunciature affair were carried out swiftly. It was unanimously agreed to prohibit appeals to an ecclesiastical tribunal in civil cases and to make a clear distinction between ecclesiastical and civil cases of a criminal nature; the former were to be judged only by the Bishop, Archbishop, or synodal court and were not to be taken further to a foreign court of appeal. The Bavarian representative, however, asked that these new courts should not be allowed to function without the co-operation of the sovereign.[2]

Thus the opportunity of settling the old conflict once for all was neglected[3]; worse still, some notably stringent injunc-

[1] *Cf.* the detailed *election protocols of the Bavarian delegates.

[2] For all this *v.* the *election protocol for September 3–7, 1790.

[3] The feeling prevalent in Rome is described in the *report made to Venice by the agent Pietro Donado on October 9, 1790: "Gli resultati della dieta di Franfort rispetto alle vertenti controversie sulle giurisdizioni dei Nunzi Apostolici sono stati assai

tions were inserted into the capitulation, against which Caprara could do no more than protest in the Pope's name, which he did, rather belatedly, on October 13th, 1790.[1] After his solemn election on September 30th, Leopold II. confirmed these agreements on oath.[2]

On October 10th the Pope received notice that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been elected emperor, and on November 7th Prince Schwarzenberg, the emperor's envoy extraordinary, arrived in Rome and was granted the customary audience.[3] That the assumption of power by this new protector of the Church was viewed by the Pope with mixed feelings at so critical a time is apparent from his allocution to the Cardinals in the consistory of November 29th. After announcing the election he expressed the wish that Leopold might follow the example of Charles VI., who as emperor had revoked all his previous anti-clerical edicts.[4] It was not yet known whether Joseph II.'s successor, whose unfriendly attitude towards Rome had long been notorious, would continue to encourage Josephist ideas.

At first it seemed that Leopold intended to take a different line. His attention being drawn by Cardinal Migazzi to the unsatisfactory state of ecclesiastical life [5] he invited the

meno sfortunati di quello che qui si temeva. Intanto furono registrati i brevi pontifici ed ammesso, benchè senza distinzioni, il Nunzio Mgr. Caprara a differenza della precedente occasione in cui non ebbero luogo nè gli uni nè l'altro, ed essendosi stabilito che le cause ecclesiastiche, le quali solevano essere appellate inanzi, alla Nunziatura, saranno in avvenire decise da un tribunale, ch' eletto verrà soggettato all'approvazione del S. Pontefice, sonosi remesse tutte l'altre vertenze alla dieta di Ratisbona." State Archives, Venice.

[1] The most important part of his protest in RICARD, *Correspondance du cardinal Maury*, I., 43, n. 1. The *text and the relative *material in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Germania 686, Affari dell' art. XIV. e delle appellazioni.

[2] *Diarium for October 4, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] GENDRY, II., 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

[5] WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 743 *seqq.*

Bishops so soon as April 9th, 1790, to set down their chief grievances within two months—an invitation eagerly accepted by Migazzi [1] and most of the episcopate. But of the many hopes that were raised very few were realized. On November 8th the memorials he had received were handed over by the emperor, with a request for its opinion, to the same Ecclesiastical Court Commission that during the previous decade had originated the measures that had been so hotly contested. There could be little doubt, therefore, about the final decision. In the judgment of the commission the episcopal proposers were guilty as a body of interference with, and encroachment on, the rights of the sovereign and of aiming to increase their revenues. This opinion was evidently approved by the emperor, for when his imperial resolution finally appeared on March 17th, 1791,[2] it was substantially a confirmation of Joseph II.'s ecclesiastical legislation. Migazzi's further protests were without effect.[3]

Leopold II. had therefore been determined from the start to follow his brother's policy. Of a quieter and more careful disposition than his predecessor, he was more inclined to make concessions in the political field,[4] but on Church matters he had no intention of giving way. The only concession he did make was forced upon him in consequence of material mishaps and dubious financial agreements. This was the closing of the State-controlled general seminaries, which he announced on May 20th, 1790, to take effect at the end of the current scholastic year.[5] Thenceforward the episcopal and monastic schools—the latter only with important restrictions—were

[1] He performed the task more thoroughly than any of the others (*ibid.*, 745 *seqq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 755.

[3] *Ibid.*, 756 *seqq.*

[4] Delineation of his character in RANKE, *Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund* (*Werke*, 31/32), 409 *seq.* A surprising confession of constitutionalism is to be found in so early a letter as that of January 25, 1792 (*Leopold II. und Marie Christine. Ihr Briefwechsel*, 83–86).

[5] WOLFSGRUBER, *loc. cit.*, 759 *seqq.*

allowed to function again, but Migazzi's vigorous remonstrances against the other regulations regarding the syllabus laid down by Joseph II. had not the slightest effect. The spirit that reigned in the University of Vienna may be gauged by some of the theses propounded there: on the primacy of the Pope, against the celibacy of the clergy, and in favour of the extension of the royal *placet* to dogmatic questions.[1]

However, Leopold II.'s reign was very short. On March 1st, 1792, Francis, his son and future successor, had to inform the electoral diet that his imperial father had passed away after only two days' illness.[2] A few days later invitations to another imperial election in Frankfurt were issued.[3] This was destined to be the last election, for the empire that had endured for over a thousand years was nearing its end.

The political situation having seriously deteriorated since 1790, the princely electors agreed to have the imperial throne reoccupied as quickly as possible. At their unanimous request, the electoral congress, which had been appointed for July 3rd, was put forward a whole month. It was also agreed to make no alteration in the previous capitulation, but to take it over as it stood.[4]

Pius VI. sent as his legate to the Diet the valiant opponent of the French Revolution, the Abbé Maury,[5] conferring on him as his envoy the dignity of Archbishop of Nicæ. The Catholic Electors, Karl Theodor in particular, were again asked for their support. The Bavarian ambassador to the Diet received instructions in conformity with this request.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 778 *seq.*

[2] The letter *to Karl Theodor, for example, is in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 127/9.

[3] *On March 12, 1792 (*ibid.*, 138/1).

[4] *Cf.* the *Elector of Mainz to Karl Theodor, April 24, 1792, and the *instruction to the Bavarian delegacy (*ibid.*).

[5] For Maury, see below, p. 118; GENDRY, II., 206; PACCA, *Memorie storiche*, 147.

[6] *Brief to Karl Theodor of May 17, 1792, *his letter of thanks to the Pope, of June 2, and *letter to the delegacy, of June 4, 1792 (*loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz. 138/1).

Maury, having been secretly instructed to work against the anti-ecclesiastical movements in the Rhenish archbishoprics when on his way to Frankfurt, utilized the opportunity to call on the three Metropolitans. It was also his intention to press for the cancellation of the additions to article 14 of the capitulation of 1790. He sent a long report to Rome [1] on the friendly reception accorded him by the Mainz Elector, who attached great importance to the discrediting of the Congress of Ems, but evaded discussion of any other of the outstanding questions. As for amending the capitulation, the critical situation, which threatened the Rhenish territories in particular, precluded any question of it. At the Court of Trier no conversation of any importance took place.[2] The Archbishop of Cologne, on the other hand, was against altering the capitulation for the reasons already stated and even entered into a defence of the Gallican principles; he was prudent enough, however, to appear to be willing to listen to reason when the nuncio, although himself a Frenchman, showed him the danger of nationalizing the ecclesiastical organization on the French model.[3] In any case, Maury was certain that he would not be able to carry through his commission in Frankfurt,[4] even if Cologne did try to come to an arrangement there with the nuncio on the other questions.[5]

The electoral conferences finally began in the imperial city on June 18th, and this time only ten sessions were necessary.[6] It was agreed at once that the election should take place on July 5th,[7] which left hardly any time to discuss the

[1] Report of June 22, 1792, from Frankfurt, in RICARD, *loc. cit.*, 29 *seqq.* *Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CVIII. (1891), 838 *seqq.*

[2] RICARD, *loc. cit.*, 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, 36 *seqq.*

[4] For his difficulties in the matter of etiquette, *v. ibid.*, 44 *seqq.*, 47 *seqq.*; for the edict of emigration, 51 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 58 *seqq.*

[6] For particulars, *v.* the **Diarium* and the *protocols of the Bavarian delegacy (*loc. cit.*).

[7] *Protocol for June 20, 1792 (*ibid.*).

capitulation. Some amendments (not to article 14) proposed by Brunswick were rejected and, at the request of the Bavarian Elector, the text of 1790 was retained unaltered.[1]

When the electoral ambassadors met for their final conference on July 16th after Francis II. had been duly elected and crowned,[2] they were informed by the president that Maury, the Papal legate, had handed to the principal Mainz delegate a formal protest against the additions made in 1790 to article 14 [3] and to article 1 regarding the maintenance of the principles of the Peace of Westphalia.[4] The archiepiscopal ambassador, however, had returned the document unopened to the legate.[5] Maury's protest was merely a repetition of a statement made by Caprara after the Diet of 1790,[6] and he hit on a very courteous way of making it known: at an evening reception given by the emperor he distributed to the ambassadors and guests what purported to be copies of his

[1] *Protocols for June 22 and 25, 1792 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Cf.* the *reports of the Bavarian delegates for July 6 and 16, 1790 (*ibid.*). The election was on July 5, the coronation on July 14. For the audience given to the nuncio, *v.* his report of July 16, 1792, in RICARD, I., 69 *seqq.*

[3] See above, p. 79.

[4] The reference is presumably to the Prussian motion in the session of August 16, 1780 (restriction of the episcopal and archiepiscopal jurisdiction) and that of Brunswick, of August 18 (territorial rights of the sovereign in religious affairs). *Cf.* the *protocols for these days in the State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 138/11 and 620/376.

[5] *Protocol for July 16, 1792 (*loc. cit.*, Kasten schwarz, 138/1).

[6] "Maury . . ., Protestatio et reservatio in comitiis electoralibus pro electione novi Romanorum regis et imperatoris congregatis exhibita," of July 9, 1790 (Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, Mon. stor. Z. 126–133; GENDRY, II., 206, n. 3); also as enclosure in the *report sent to Venice by Pietro Donado on August 4, 1792 (State Archives, Venice). Maury had the text ready for printing on July 9 (*cf.* RICARD, I., 67).

latest work.[1] Previously, when the nuncio had approached the Archbishop of Mainz on the possibility of altering the text he was told that it was too late then for anything to be done in that Diet.[2]

The Pope, after receiving notification of the election, announced it to a consistory on September 24th and expressed his confidence that in view of the gravity of the situation the new emperor would use his great authority for the honour of God and the protection of the Church.[3] The traditional celebrations in thanksgiving for the election took place in due form, this being the last time St. Peter's and the Papal palaces were illuminated in honour of a German emperor.[4]

Pius VI.'s confident statement was not at first belied, so far as Francis II.'s relations with Rome were concerned. Migazzi never tired of pointing out to the emperor the root of the evil that had been establishing itself for a decade, and he criticized severely the Josephist reforms. In the summer of 1794 he condemned them in the strongest possible terms in the endeavour to bring the young emperor to a decision.[5] But Francis, like his predecessors, left these matters largely in the hands of officials who favoured Josephist ideas,[6] and so, as before, the authority of the Austrian Bishops, when not actually slighted, was ignored. Migazzi's incessant protests had no real success. As before, the State ruled within the Church and conceded few alleviations. Among the latter may be reckoned the permission to celebrate a jubilee year in the archdiocese of Vienna in 1795, and the introduction of the Forty Hours' Prayer and other pious practices. Finally even retreats and missions, with certain restrictions, received the sanction of the State, which was still considered indispensable.[7]

[1] Maury's report of July 20, 1792 (RICARD, I., 75 *seq.*).

[2] Maury's report of July 6, 1792 (*ibid.*, 63 *seqq.*).

[3] Allocution in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 238 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 207.

[4] Particulars in BRUNNER, 236 *seq.*

[5] WOLFSGRUBER, 783.

[6] *Ibid.*, 786.

[7] *Ibid.*, 860 seq., 868 *seqq.*

Joseph II.'s ecclesiastico-political system was thus maintained under his two successors, though the first fury of the attack had somewhat abated. In the Austrian hereditary lands, even after the dissolution of the German Empire, the principles of Erastianism were carried over into the next century and even flourished anew.

CHAPTER III.

The Church in France at the End of the *Ancien Régime*—The Outbreak of the Revolution—The Abolition of Ecclesiastical Privileges.

Viewed externally, the French Church on the eve of the Revolution was perhaps the most brilliant and most powerful in the world. Italy excepted, probably no other country possessed so many glorious churches filled with works of art and treasures of every kind. In every province there were numerous abbeys and monasteries, and religious confraternities flourished in the cities. Religious ceremonies were performed with great pomp and splendour, especially processions, the most impressive being that of Corpus Christi.[1]

The Huguenots having been forbidden to celebrate their services in public since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., and as the edict of toleration issued at the end of 1787 had granted them only civic rights, withholding official recognition of their religion, the Catholic Church was still the only legitimate one, as it alone possessed the right to hold its services in public.[2]

[1] For what follows, *cf.* P. De la Gorce, *Hist. religieuse*, I., 2 *seqq.*, and the full account given by Sicard, *L'ancien clergé de France*, I.: *Les évêques avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1890, 4th ed., *ibid.*, 1905, 5th ed., *ibid.*, 1913. Our quotations are taken from the 4th edition.

[2] Louis XVI.'s edict of toleration granted legal validity to the birth, marriage, and death certificates furnished by the Huguenot clergy. Their form of worship was not expressly allowed, nor was it forbidden; what was forbidden was to molest them on the plea of religion. The edict, therefore, was "an immense advance and a great benefit to the Protestants" (*v.* Schott in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXI., 490). Although the only religion to be expressly recognized in the edict was the Catholic one, the edict also contained the first limitation of the Catholic Church's absolute

Its Bishops, many with highly aristocratic titles, were of great social and political importance. They were next in rank to the king. Special privileges were enjoyed by the clergy in respect of their legal competence, also considerable alleviations from taxation, though these had long ceased to be so great as to render them completely tax-free.[1] In the latter half of the eighteenth century some of their other privileges had also been diminished in various ways through the influence of the unbelieving philosophers and the pressure of public opinion, but the Church was still sufficiently rich and powerful to retain its brilliant position till the eve of the Revolution.

The Church's wealth, though nowhere near so vast as was estimated by many contemporary and later writers,[2] was certainly very considerable. Many of the historical sources being unreliable, an accurate valuation is far from easy. In 1791 the Marquis de Montesquiou, who is largely to be trusted,

authority (*cf.* E. Champion in the *Révolution Française*, 1903, Juillet). At first there was some opposition to the edict, and then it was accepted by the Parlements and the clergy, though the latter's spokesman did express to the king its dismay that such a law should have been made without reference to the clergy or the Pope (*cf.* Schott, *loc. cit.*, 421 *seq.*; Wahl, *Vorgeschichte der französ. Revolution*, II., 200). When the matter was mentioned by the Pope to Cardinal Bernis, the French ambassador, he was given the reassuring reply " que la chose est juste et nécessaire, qu'elle ne nuit en rien à la Religion dominante, et qu'on a écarté jusqu'aux apparences du culte public " (*v.* Masson, *Bernis*, 451). In France the edict was received with no hostility, but also with scant approval; *v.* L. Mazoyer, in *Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. du protestantisme français*, LXXX. (1930), 41–73.

[1] De la Gorce, I., 3 *seqq.*

[2] Barbier (*Journal*, III., 208) maintains that at the time of Louis XV. a third of the country was in the hands of the Church; Bourgeois (*Die französ. Revolution*, Stuttgart, 1922, 34) says only a fourth; but both exaggerate. Actually only one-tenth at the very most was owned by the Church (*v. Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXX., 137; Wahl, *loc. cit.*, I., 97; F. Wolters, *Studien über die Agrarzustände in Frankreich*, in *Schmollers Staatswiss. Forschungen*, XXII., 5, Leipzig, 1905).

assessed the Church's property in real estate, farms, forests, and buildings, at about three thousand million francs, the forests alone being valued at 392 millions. If the profits from the forests are calculated at 2½ per cent, the value of the non-productive buildings at 100 millions, and the profit from the rest of the property at 3 per cent, the total revenues amount to 85 millions. In addition, the tithes may be reckoned at 80 millions, and the revenues of certain bishoprics and abbeys at 15 millions. This gives a total annual income of 180 million francs.[1]

But attached to this wealth of the Church there were manifold commitments. Firstly at the great decennial assemblies of the clergy free-will offerings (*dons gratuits*) were voted to the State, amounting to about 10 million francs a year. Then there were other large sums that were frequently lent by the clergy to the State, on which the said 10 millions were often the "interest", so that it was said with just cause that the Church had often lent the monarchy money *à fonds perdu*.[2] There were still other ways in which the Church's property (to which every class of the population had contributed) was liberally expended to the best advantage of the community. There being as yet no budget for education, the cost of maintaining the primary and secondary schools was largely borne by the Church. The Bishops of the eighteenth century were no less zealous in this respect than their predecessors, especially when the expulsion of the Jesuits had put many of the schools out of action. In spite of every willingness to make sacrifices, however, they found it impossible to repair completely the grievous harm caused by the sudden closing of over a hundred colleges, for many of the other Orders were unable to supply the necessary staff. Nevertheless, in 1789, thanks to the Bishops, there were 562 grammar schools in France, with over 72,000 pupils, 40,000 of whom were receiving their education either wholly or partially free of charge. Of these schools 178 were conducted by the regular clergy, the remainder by seculars. Montesquiou, who had a first-rate knowledge of the

[1] De la Gorce, I., 10 *seqq.*, 12. [2] *Ibid.*, 6 *seq.*

situation, relates that the Revolution deprived the grammar schools of revenues amounting to 30 million francs, so great was the sum spent on education by the Church, with no assistance from the State. In addition the Bishops had to maintain their seminaries, of which in 1789 there were 165.[1]

Far greater still were the disbursements made by the Church for charitable objects. At the time in question it was the only charitable institution in the country, and it had been engaged in this work for centuries on the most generous scale and in every conceivable manner. In the eighteenth century the majority of the Bishops were still active in this direction. Abundant evidence of this is supplied by the various diocesan histories. The poor and needy were generously supported, not only by such wealthy Bishops as Christophe de Beaumont and De Juigné of Paris and De Durfort of Besançon, but also by those with more modest incomes, such as De Pressy of Boulogne. The death, in 1790, of Bishop de Fumel of Lodève was much lamented by the people, to whom he had been a true father for forty years.[2] The historian of the diocese of Béziers found it impossible to enumerate all the works of charity performed by Bishop Claudius de Nicolai during his twenty years of office. To relieve the distress of the population of Albi at the time of the floods and later, during the severe winter of 1766, Cardinal Bernis gave away everything he had and incurred in addition a debt of 150,000 francs. Similar self-sacrifice was displayed at Amiens by Bishops De la Motte and De Machault, at Verdun by Des Nos, at Tulle by De Saint-Sauveur, at Montauban by De Breteuil. The inhabitants of Orange still retain an affectionate remembrance of Bishop Du Tillet, who visited the hospital and the prison at the beginning of every month and performed many other works of

[1] SICARD, *Les évêques*, I., 427 *seqq.*, 441 *seq.*, where there is a long list of special works on the subject. See also SICARD, *L'éducation morale et civique avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1884; *id.*, *Les Études classiques avant la Révolution*, *ibid.*, 1887.

[2] SICARD, *Évêques*, I., 385 *seq.* For Beaumont, see the monograph by E. RÉGNAULT, Paris, 1882, and DUPLESSY, *Paris religieux*, 421.

mercy. Of a similar character were De Rosset de Rocozel de Fleury, Bishop of Chartres, his brother Henri-Bernardin, who graced successively the sees of Tours and Cambrai, Amédée de Broglie, Bishop of Angoulême, De Besons, Bishop of Carcassonne, De la Tour-du-Pin of Nancy, and Louis-Marie de Nicolai of Cahors. Many noble and moving deeds are related of Cardinal De la Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Rouen, and of De Becdelièvre, Bishop of Nîmes. Almost everywhere the Bishops took the lead when help was wanted. Often it was they who founded fire insurances, loan societies, and, above all, lying-in and other hospitals. In the terrible winter of 1788–89 they did their utmost to lessen the sufferings of the people, especially their hunger.[1]

Unhappily, however, this bright picture was marred by only too many blemishes, which were largely due to the social and political position of the Bishops. In consequence of the Government's abuse of the concordat of 1516, the higher positions in the Church had become more and more the exclusive property of the nobles. Under Louis XIV. bishoprics were still being given to clerics of the middle class, but under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. the nomination of aristocrats had become a regular system.[2] Massillon's dictum that the Church was not in need of great names but of great virtues had been quite forgotten. The Court thought only of providing for its favourites. The nobility, now in a critical situation, regarded the higher ecclesiastical posts as so much booty. Certain bishoprics, abbacies, and canonries became the heirlooms of great families. The appointment of a bourgeois to the little see of Senez in 1774 was so exceptional that it created quite a stir. At the outbreak of the Revolution there was not a bourgeois left among the 130 Bishops of France.[3] This was

[1] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 385 *seq.*, 395 *seqq.*, 409 *seq.*, 416 *seq.* *Cf.* GUGLIA, *Konservative Elemente*, 92 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 74. For the charitable activity of the Archbishop of Aix, Boisgelin de Cicé, see his biography by E. LAVAQUERY, 2 vols., Paris, 1921.

[2] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, I., 5 *seqq.*, 10 *seqq.*, 16 *seqq.*

[3] We have not included the four bishoprics of the Comtat Venaissin and the five bishoprics of Corsica.

particularly regrettable in view of the rise of the middle classes in the eighteenth century in all other spheres, only the way to ecclesiastical honours being barred to them. The *Almanach Royal* for 1788 shows that almost every great family was represented among the Bishops: a Montmorency was at Metz, a Rohan at Cambrai and at Strasbourg, a Clermont-Tonnerre at Châlons-sur-Marne, a De la Tour-du-Pin at Auch and Nancy, a La Rochefoucauld at Saintes, Rouen, and Beauvais. The see of Rheims had been held since 1777 by Alexandre Angélique de Talleyrand, and in 1788 one of the most gifted but most unworthy members of this old and noble family, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, was presented by Louis XVI. to the see of Autun.

For a long time now the French episcopate of the *Ancien Régime* had been judged by such unworthy dignitaries as Rohan, Loménie de Brienne, and Talleyrand, who were all nominees of Louis XVI. Recent research has exposed the injustice of this view. Of the 130 French Bishops only a dozen can be named whose unspiritual behaviour was a cause of scandal.[1] There were others who set a splendid example, not only in the matter of public charity but in other respects too; some in fact were really ideal characters.[2] The majority belonged to neither of these groups. Of mediocre character,

[1] SICARD, in *La France chrétienne*, Paris, 1895, 477 *seqq*. DE LA GORCE (I., 47) mentions a dozen prelates as unworthy of their position, SICARD ten. For Loménie, *cf*. PERRIN, *Le cardinal Loménie de Brienne*, Paris, 1896; C. CIPOLLA, *Il viaggio letterario del card. de Brienne in Italia, 1789–1790*, in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, LXXXVII. (1912), 129–163. For Rohan, see the Papal *letters in Epist. 181, pp. 229 *seq*.; 182, pp. 26, 102, 110; 185, pp. 70, 169 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] SICARD (*loc. cit.*) picks out the following as worthy of distinction, besides those we have already mentioned on p. 90: Durfort of Besançon, Reboul de Lambert of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Balore of Alais and Nîmes, Saint-Luc of Quimper, Hercé of Dol, Neufville of Dax, Bonal of Clermont-Ferrand, Royère of Castres, Charterac of Alet. *Cf*. also GUGLIA, *Konservative Elemente*, 90 *seqq*.

often of a worldly disposition, with no liking for things purely spiritual, they took their pastoral duties too lightly.[1] As things were, it could hardly have been otherwise, for these sons of noble parentage were destined by their parents for the Church while they were still mere boys, there being no question of their choosing their own careers. They were hardly sub-deacons before they were alloted the revenues of an abbey, and as soon as they were priests their relatives were seeing to their promotion to the rank of vicar-general. The holders of this office were so numerous that the individual had little to do.[2] Family connexions and the favour of the Court finally secured for them the desired bishopric, which they abandoned for a more profitable one as soon as the occasion offered.[3] Of such pastors the strict fulfilment of their task was not to be expected. The duty most frequently neglected was that of residence, despite the ordinances of the Council of Trent, compliance with which had been prevented by the Crown.[4] Nevertheless, even in the eighteenth century, there were still

[1] "On peut faire deux parts : les évêques exemplaires, assez clairsemés, mais trois ou quatre fois plus nombreux que les indignes ; puis les autres qui forment la masse et sont de moeurs correctes, de piété très-décente, de vertu moyenne, quoiqu'un peu court pour qui doit montrer au peuple les voies de Dieu" (P. De la Gorce, I., 47). Burke was of this opinion, according to Sicard (*L'ancien clergé*, II., 99) : "Lorsque j'étais en France, je suis certain que le nombre des prélats répréhensibles n'était pas considérable." *Cf.* also Taine's opinion, in the same place.

[2] Sicard (I., 314 *seqq.*) entitles his description of the situation : "Légions de grands vicaires."

[3] Rouen, Bayeux, Beauvais, Albi, Auch, and Toulouse were rich bishoprics, with annual revenues of 100,000 *livres*. The archbishopric of Narbonne brought in 160,000 *livres* a year, the bishopric of Cambrai 200,000, Strasbourg 400,000. A dozen other bishoprics had only 10–15,000 *livres* a year, the others a mere 7000 *livres*. See De la Gorce, I., 42. *Cf.* Sicard, I., 104, 275 *seq.*

[4] Martin (*Gallicanisme*, X.) considers the opposition of the Crown to the reforming decrees of Trent to be one of the chief causes of the Revolution.

many Bishops who stayed faithfully with their flocks.[1] It has been estimated that this was true of about half of the episcopate. The other half [2] fell victim to the spell that Paris and Versailles had cast upon the cultured Frenchman since the time of Louis XIV. There all the life and splendour of the kingdom was gathered round the throne [3]; there only was it possible to procure the rich benefices which, in accordance with the concordat, were at the disposal of the Government.[4] Even such prelates as had a genuine vocation to the ecclesiastical state considered themselves entitled to spend at least part of the year in the capital, if only to maintain connexion with their relatives and to transact diocesan affairs,[5] and once there, owing to the love of social life innate in every Frenchman, they were always tempted to prolong their visit indefinitely. To many of them, once they had tasted of this magic potion, their diocese appeared as a land of "exile", from which they strove to escape as soon as possible back to the interesting capital. Meanwhile they consoled themselves with keeping up a lively correspondence with their friends in Paris. Even the most trivial news was received with gratitude, for all their thoughts were in Paris, not in their diocese. Another reason why the residential obligation was neglected was that many Bishops were so involved in temporal affairs that a visit to the seat of government was indispensable. Thus it was that even such worthy prelates as Louis de la Tour-du-Pin, of Nancy, failed in this respect. What little regard was paid to this obligation is shown by the fact that several

[1] Examples are given by SICARD (I., 289 *seq.*).

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 43.

[3] Even Fénelon had said of Paris, "cette ville est devenue tout le royaume."

[4] One who knew the situation said of the Pompadour's influence in the distribution of benefices, "Il est vrai que c'est Mme de Pompadour qui donne tout aujourd'hui." *Correspondant*, XCIII. (1921), 1015.

[5] At times, such as in 1764, a fourth of the Bishops were living in Paris. In 1784, Louis XVI. forbade all the Bishops to leave their dioceses without the royal permission. SICARD, I., 305.

Bishops delayed taking possession of their sees for as long as two years; some, indeed, postponed it so long that before they could perform this function they were translated to another see.[1]

In 1789 there were no longer any Jansenist Bishops, and there were very few outward signs that Jansenism still existed. As a theological and heretical sect it had been extinguished, but its spirit still lived on, especially in the political world. Paying no regard to the laws of Church or State, the Parlements were doing their utmost to put into effect, in the ecclesiastico-political field, the logical conclusions to be drawn from Jansenism, which were making headway also in other Catholic countries. Mightily emboldened by their victory over the Jesuits, they now found powerful allies in their fight against Papal and royal authority in the unbelieving philosophers, whose influence had been facilitated by the rebellion of the Jansenists against the Holy See and their puritanical ideas about the reception of the sacraments.[2]

As has already been indicated, the overburdening of many Bishops with purely temporal affairs was closely connected with their social and political position, but instead of withdrawing themselves as far as possible from such ties they devoted themselves to them with such wholeheartedness that it was said of one of them that he would have made a better governor of a province than a spiritual leader. The advantage accruing to the provinces and towns from the active interest taken by the Bishops in the promotion of industry and the construction of roads and canals was dearly paid for by the neglect of spiritual duties, which received but little attention from a prelate playing the rôle of a Turgot or a Necker. The

[1] SICARD (I., 276, 295 *seqq.*), who reminds us that Cardinal Polignac died in 1741, without having ever visited his archdiocese, to which he had been nominated fifteen years previously.

[2] SCHILL, *Konstitution "Unigenitus"*, 299 *seq.* For the spread of Jansenism in Italy, Austria, and Portugal, see our account, Vol. XXXV., 375 *seqq.*, 381 *seqq.*, XXXVI., 278 *seqq.*, 289 *seqq.*, XXXVIII., 130 *seqq.*

Archbishop of Vienne, Georges le Franc de Pompignan, pointed this out very frankly in a letter to the Bishop of Nantes, Frétat de Sarra. He lamented with justification the worldliness of the episcopacy, described the new type of administrator-bishop, which was becoming more and more prevalent,[1] and rebutted all the excuses that were being made for not fulfilling the obligation of residence. Much harsher language was used in the "Private Correspondence on the Present State of Religion and the Clergy", which appeared in 1781 and 1783. The prelates' passionate desire to play the statesman was castigated with biting sarcasm. This kind of administrator-bishop, they said, was a sort of half-caste, half clerical, half lay. Dressed up as an ecclesiastic, he indulged in a philosophic apostolate that consisted in clearing France of all the Government's mistakes. This mania, which was taking possession of the best intellects and was steadily increasing, degraded the sanctuary to the level of an office where industrial, commercial, and financial business was transacted. The victims of this mania sat in their boudoirs in their country seats and gave no thought to anything else. They could manage everything successfully except their proper business. There were not many of the old-style Bishops left, who had more faith in the Gospels than in accounts and who had no desire to be anything but spiritual pastors. The new administrator-bishops, on the other hand, as it was said in a pamphlet of 1788, all wanted to be Sugers, Richelieus, and Mazarins.[2] Thus the French episcopate was divided by these two currents of thought into two separate parties, each of which was convinced that its policy was in the best interests of the Church and the country. The one, distrusting any kind of innovation, confined itself to spiritual matters, the other, which was in the majority, devoted all its energy to advancing the cause of economic and political progress.[3]

[1] *Œuvres de Lefranc de Pompignan*, II., 181 *seqq.*, 235 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*

[2] SICARD, I., 170 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 177.

Far more serious than these divergent aims of the Bishops was the deep cleavage between the higher and lower clergy, caused by the very unequal distribution of material and social benefits.

Like the Bishops, the canons, of whom there was an abundance in many of the cities, were very rich. The yearly revenues of the chapter of Arras amounted to 150,000 *livres*, of Laon to 163,000, of Soissons to 166,000, of Besançon to 130,000 ; those of Le Mans, Amiens, and Béziers to over 100,000 each.[1] Vast revenues, especially in the northern districts, were also enjoyed by the abbeys, of which there were more than a thousand in France.[2] The list was headed by Saint-Vaast at Arras, whose estimated yearly income was 500,000 *livres* ; next came Saint-Bertin, with 150,000 *livres*, Saint-Eloi with 130,000, and Saint-Médard at Soissons with over 60,000.[3] The revenues of many other abbeys were not public knowledge, but the magnificence of their buildings and the extent of their properties were evidence enough. Inevitably, therefore, it was more and more widely believed that the monks had entirely abandoned their ideal of poverty. Worse still, as a result of the commendatory system, the wealth of these numerous abbeys had been wholly diverted from its original purpose into the hands of men who did not belong to the Order concerned or, worse still, were not even clerics of any kind. There was no question of abolishing the system, although it had become a veritable curse, since even those who might have been inclined to do so were themselves too deeply involved in the practice, for it was with these benefices *in commendam* that the Crown rewarded its numerous favourites. Now and then the philosophers wrote about the situation in scathing terms,

[1] Evidence in DE LA GORCE, I., 38.

[2] 755 for men, 253 for women ; *v.* HESSELN, *Dict. de la France* (1771), I., 3. There were about 25,000 male religious, and 35,000 female ; *v.* MADELIN, *La Révolution*, 5, who estimates the seculars at 60–70,000. This gives a grand total of 120–130,000.

[3] DERAMECOURT, *Le clergé du diocèse d'Arras, Boulogne et Saint-Omer pendant la Révolution*, I., 327, 329, 332 ; MASSON, *Bernis*, 5.

but probably not with any serious intent, since many of the beneficiaries were their friends and protégés. The worst feature of the whole situation was the apparent inability of the Holy See to remedy the evil. It feared that any step it took would be answered by reprisals on the part of the secular power and that it would meet with the opposition of the higher clergy. Moreover, it was itself implicated in the system in so far as it tolerated the transference of rich benefices to Cardinals. Thus Cardinal Stuart held the abbeys of Anchin and Saint-Amand, Cardinal Zelada the abbey of Marsillac, and Cardinal Doria the wealthy abbey of Gorze, near Metz.[1]

In general there was no definite immorality in the French abbeys, but rather a dangerous falling away from strict discipline and a laxity in complying with the obligations of holding services and reciting prayers which had been accepted along with the various donations. The commendatory system was one of the worst, but by no means the only evil. What was possibly more pernicious was the infiltration of a worldly spirit into the men's religious houses, where a real joy in their vocation, especially among those who regarded it merely as a livelihood, was often wanting.[2] This was partly the reason why the houses were so thinly populated. In 1789, of the two hundred Cistercian monasteries only five had more than forty inmates, another five more than twenty, and six more than fifteen. In sixty-nine communities the membership had shrunk to only three or even only one. We also know from archival records that at the outbreak of the Revolution the average membership of an abbey was barely more than seven or eight.[3] The sinking of the monastic population was also due to the restrictions and obstructions attached to the reception of novices by the Government in 1767. Several houses were simply closed down, without reference to the Pope, by the royal commission, whose moving spirit was the utterly worldly

[1] De la Gorce, I., 19, 32.

[2] Sicard, *Le clergé de France pendant la Révolution*, I. *L'effondrement*, nouv. édit., Paris, 1912, 278.

[3] De la Gorce, 34.

Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne. The losses caused by the expulsion of the Jesuits had not been made good by the other Orders, and yet it was sought to reduce the numbers ![1] In all this gloom the only cheerful spectacle was provided by the congregations of religious women. Of their 35,000 members 3,000 belonged to abbeys or special foundations, of the others 32,000 devoted themselves with admirable zeal either to prayer and contemplation or—and among these the Ursulines were most conspicuous—teaching and other good works.[2]

The wealth enjoyed by the bishops, canons, and commendatory abbots must have made a very bad impression on the less exalted clerics, since they had only too often to struggle with grinding poverty. Whereas any number of prelates were drawing an income of 100,000–400,000 *livres* a year and could never spend enough on costly buildings and the like [3]—there were some indeed, like Rohan, the Bishop of Strasbourg, who simply threw the money away in a display of luxury—the average income of a parish priest was no more than 800–1,500 francs. Those who were dependent on tithes were far worse off, for when they were not paid, which was frequently the case, they were on the verge of starvation. Then again, these parish priests, who were mostly of peasant stock, had not only to bear the whole burden of the cure of souls, but also had various civil duties to perform, such as keeping the civil register, superintending the village schools, announcing public notices, and even serving summonses.[4]

Certain areas excepted, such as the dioceses of Le Mans and Viviers and, in particular, the Franche-Comté,[5] the conduct

[1] *Ibid.*, 75 *seqq.*

[2] De la Gorce, I., 74 *seqq.*

[3] Sicard, *Évêques*, I., 80 *seqq.*

[4] De la Gorce, I., 23 *seq.*, 28; *cf.* Sicard in the *Correspondant*, 1890, in the *Compte rendu du congrès scientif. international des catholiques*, section 5, Paris, 1891, 254 *seq.*, and *Clergé*, I., 209. For the living conditions of the lower clergy before the Revolution and the efforts to improve them, *cf.* Préclin, 379 *seqq.*

[5] De la Gorce, I., 23 *seq.*, and for the Franche-Comté,

of these lowly country-priests, whether as individuals or in the performance of their duties, was good; in some parts, Lorraine, for example, it was excellent.[1] In fact, the French clergy as a whole was far better than is generally supposed.[2] Much harm was done by the lack of uniformity in the appointment to parochial offices. The right of presentation was shared promiscuously by the king, the bishops, cathedral chapters, hospital boards, and the gentry. In only a few places was it vested in the diocesan bishop; in the large diocese of Besançon only a tenth of the 1,500 livings were at the Ordinary's disposal.[3]

As most of the diocesan funds were in the hands of those who took part in the appointment to offices, the village priests had no hope of having their meagre pittances increased. With what feelings they regarded their far better situated colleagues in the towns and cathedral chapters, the inmates of the rich abbeys near their own villages, and the luxury-loving Bishops, it is easy to imagine.

Since nobody in France could avoid the influence of the new ideas, it was not surprising that they spread apace among the poor country-priests.[4] For them the temptation to embrace

J. Faivre in the *Annales révolut. janv.-févr.*, 194. W. Michael, however, observes quite rightly in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXII., 676, that Faivre's reference in a general way to complaints and pleadings is not entirely convincing.

[1] F. D. Mathieu, *L'ancien régime dans la province de Lorraine et Barrois* [3], Paris, 1907.

[2] This was brought out by De Tocqueville (*L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, Paris, 1856, 169), who preceded, and by Taine, who followed, Sicard. See also Guglia, 95 *seqq.* The town clergy was also quite good in several places. H. Ludwig bears witness to this in the case of Strasbourg in his *Strassburg vor hundert Jahren* (Stuttgart, 1888). On pp. 93 *seq.* he says that the clergy "even in its lowest ranks possessed some gifted and scholarly men who, with their solid training, combined in the exercise of their vocation as much honesty and conscientiousness as a genuinely Christian benevolence".

[3] De la Gorce, I., 21 *seq.*, with much detailed evidence.

[4] Guglia, *Konserv. Elemente*, 260 *seq.*

them was particularly strong, for not only had they to suffer severely themselves under the unjust social conditions, they also heard the continual complaints that were made by the peasants about their situation.[1] The great wealth and the inordinate extravagance of the privileged classes must have provoked even the best-intentioned of these priests to rebel against a social order that sanctioned these extremes. Naturally they listened to proposals that promised an improvement.[2] Through the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* ideas detrimental to the Papal authority were disseminated among the clergy, and at the same time the parish priests were stirred up against the Bishops. In 1775 this journal was saying that since the Council of Trent the Bishops had conspired among themselves to suppress the rights of the ordinary priests, and the assertion that the office of the parish priests had been instituted by God Himself and that they were entitled to decide on matters of faith,[3] must have enhanced their opinion of their own worth as compared with that of the Bishops.

Among the clergy in the towns the new ideas had spread far more widely still. Like most of the Bishops, they devoted too much attention to terrestrial affairs. The scholars among

[1] Taine's description of the wretched conditions of the peasants (*L'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1876, 429 *seqq.*) has been corrected in several important respects by WAHL (*Vorgeschichte*, I., 85 *seqq.*), though even his more favourable opinion is open to strong misgivings, as is shown by H. LUDWIG in the *Hist. Zeitschrift* (XCVI., 85 *seq.*), where he aptly remarks that in a question of this kind the peasants' opinion of their condition was more important than the condition itself. For their feelings the recently published *Cahiers* are certainly valuable evidence, but they are not to be taken as a basis for a description of the economic and social conditions of the provinces without being very carefully scrutinized. See MÜSEBECK in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CIV., 171 *seq.* *Cf.* DENYS-BIURETTE, *La question religieuse dans les Cahiers de 1789*, Paris, 1919. The *Cahiers* have been published in the *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française*.

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 94 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 362.

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them studied for preference subjects that had no connexion with their calling, such as the diseases of the vine, potato-growing, and magnetism. Highly enlightened on such matters as these, they were wholly blind to the approaching catastrophe. Like everyone else, they read the works of the new philosophers with relish. The effect this had upon them showed itself most noticeably in their sermons. In many places, instead of preaching the solemn truths of the Gospel, they uttered moral platitudes culled from any and every religion, and expounded a vague moral philosophy embroidered with humanitarian maxims.[1] In the course of the eighteenth century, freemasonry, in spite of the prohibitions of Popes Clement XII. and Benedict XIV.,[2] had been on the increase in every large town in France,[3] not only among the upper classes and the philosophic circles but also among the bourgeois. In several dioceses, even the clergy, attracted by its mask of humanitarianism, had sought and obtained admission to its lodges. At Besançon not only several canons but even Benedictines, Bernardines, and a Carmelite had been initiated.[4] The following incident shows the disastrous lack of

[1] MAURY, *Essai sur l'eloquence de la Chaire*, 80 *seqq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 61 *seq.*, 64 *seq.* GUGLIA (*loc. cit.*, 94 *seq.*) reminds us that here too there were exceptions, among them the excellent Jacques Bridaine (d. 1767), whose sermons on eternity and on the unworthy reception of Communion moved his hearers very deeply. *Cf.* the examples given by MAURY, *loc. cit.*, 56 *seqq.*, 461. For Maury, *v. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II², 1384.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV., 411, XXXV., 371.

[3] *Cf.* FINDEL, *Gesch. der Freimaurerei* (⁷1900), 180 *seqq.*; *Staatslex.* II⁵, 226 *seqq.*; *Stimmen der Zeit*, XCIII. (1917), 251 *seq.*, XCIV. (1918), 29 *seq.*; G. BORD, *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*, I., 152 *seq.*; DESCHAMPS-JANNET, *Les sociétés secrètes et la société*⁵, 2 vols., Paris, 1883. In many cases, it must be said, the particulars given are not accurate enough. Bord (*loc. cit.*, I., 236) says of Louis XV.'s attitude towards freemasonry: "Il est très probable que Louis XV. ne fut jamais initié, mais on peut croire qu'il accepta le titre de protecteur insigne de l'Ordre."

[4] SAUZAY, *Hist. de la persécution relig. dans le département du Doubs de 1789 à 1801*, I., 12. In Arras too an Oratorian was

uniform moral standards prevailing among the upper clergy. When, in 1778, the Bishop of Quimper, Cotun de Saint-Luc, censured a Franciscan for belonging to a masonic lodge, De Conzié, Archbishop of Tours, a highly "enlightened" prelate, considered his attitude ridiculous.[1]

Not all the Bishops were so blind as this. Time and again a note of warning was struck at the general assemblies of the clergy by men of clearer vision. In 1762 the Archbishop of Narbonne, De la Roche-Aymon, deplored the decay of faith and the libertinage of writers. Similar alarms were sounded in 1775 and 1778; in the latter year the Bishops demanded that steps be taken to protect religion and morality against the excesses of the Press. At the same time they protested against the banning of provincial councils and the suppression of certain religious Orders. In 1782 the Archbishop of Arles, Dulau, drew the Government's attention to the unrestricted distribution of the works of Voltaire and Rousseau and to the fact that immoral booklets had even been thrown into nunneries during the night. He demanded the revision of the law of 1757 relating to the Press and remarked that a new dogma was now being propounded, that of independence of any authority.[2]

Unfortunately there was no Bishop of sufficiently outstanding character to take the lead. Consequently there was no joint action, only individual prohibitions of the works of the philosophers and inadequate attempts to stem the flood of irreligious and immoral writings by the circulation of good books.[3] Apparently the hopelessness of the struggle was realized by the upper clergy themselves, since in 1786 they decided to suspend the grants they had made to learned churchmen for

a member of a lodge (*v.* DERAMECOURT, *Le clergé du diocèse d'Arras*, I., 284), and there were priests who had joined lodges at Le Mans and Béthune (*v.* D. PIOLIN, *Hist. du diocèse du Mans pendant la Révolution*, I., 6, and BEGHIN, *Béthune pendant la Révolution*, 46).

[1] GÉRIN, *La Commission des Réguliers*, in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, 1875, juillet, 113. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVII., 386 *seq.*

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, 68.

the defence of religion.[1] The pastorals warning the faithful against agnostic literature could have no lasting effect, as they were mostly confined to remonstrances and admonitions of a general nature, and as the Revolution approached they showed no signs of increasing vigour or frequency. In 1775 an observer far from hostile to the Church said of one such pastoral that it was so colourless that it might just as well have been addressed to Turks as to Christians.[2] The Sorbonne also took up the fight against "philosophy", Voltaire and Helvetius in particular, but with no success; in any case its influence was waning.[3] In point of energy and vigour the defence was no match for the attack. On the one side an unlimited mass of destructive literature was unloaded on to the nation; on the other, especially after the expulsion of the Jesuits, was a paucity of talent capable of rebutting it.[4] The

[1] ROCQUAIN, *L'esprit révolut.*, 427.

[2] *Ibid.*, 338; GUGLIA, 86.

[3] FERET, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses doctrines*, vols. VI-VII., Paris, 1910.

[4] The most prominent of the writers who tried to refute the views of the "enlightened", Voltaire especially, in a popular fashion, are discussed by GUGLIA (234 *seq.*), whose opinion is that though they were not so insignificant and contemptible as opponents represented them to be, they were far from being highly talented and were certainly no match for a man like Voltaire. (256) GUGLIA (259 *seqq.*) also describes the campaign waged against the philosophy of enlightenment by the Jesuits in the famous *Journal de Trévoux*, especially under the editorship of Fr. Berthier (1745–62). For the *Courrier d'Avignon*, which was a serious rival of the *Gazette de France*, *v.* HATIN, *Hist. de la Presse*, III., 310. However much the Jansenistic *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* denounced sensualist and atheistic writings to the authorities (GUGLIA, 260), the mordant ridicule with which it censured the luxuriousness and aristocratic prejudices of the clergy most effectively prepared the lower clergy for the reception of the new subversive ideas (DE LA GORCE, I., 49). It was seen only too clearly at the outbreak of the Revolution that Jansenistic ideas were still alive in these circles as well as in the Parlements. See SICARD, *Évêques*, I., 481.

unbelieving writers, who made a point of calling themselves "philosophers", did not leave unused the huge breach that was being made in the conservative elements of the nation. Their undermining operations met with little resistance from the privileged classes, the frivolous aristocracy and the worldly prelates, and their work was made still easier by the Government's failure to take any serious counter-measures. The following incident was typical. One of the chief means of spreading unbelief was the encyclopædia that had been edited since 1750 by Diderot and D'Alembert. On the appearance of the last ten volumes of this massive work in 1765 the general assembly of the clergy renewed its condemnation of it. The Government, however, prohibited the publication of this judgment because it included a defence of the Jesuits. The publisher of the encyclopædia, Le Breton, was made to supply a list of subscribers and was confined in the Bastille for a week, but the order that was issued at the same time, that all the copies that had been delivered were to be called in, was rendered nugatory by the king, Louis XV., who ordered a copy because he wanted to know about the composition of gunpowder, while the Pompadour was interested in the preparation of cosmetics and the manufacture of silk stockings. The encyclopædia being the best source of information on these subjects, the confiscated copies were released and no further objections were made to the production of the work.[1]

In these circumstances what was the use of the Parlement continuing to hand over to the executioner the works of the unbelieving philosophers?[2] The influence wielded by these writers had to be acknowledged by the Advocate General Séguier in 1770, when proposing that action be taken against a number of their more dangerous publications. "The philosophers," he said, "have set themselves up as the teachers of the human race. 'Freedom of thought' is their watchword, and we hear it repeated all over the world. With

[1] BAUMGARTNER, V., 470 *seq.*; *cf.* our account, Vol. XXXV., 369 *seqq.*, XXXVII., 366.

[2] GUGLIA, 57.

one hand they have tried to shake the throne, with the other to overthrow the altars. Their object has been to bring about a radical change in the public conception of our civil and religious institutions. And this revolution has actually come about. Kingdoms feel their old foundations being shaken, and the peoples, seeing the destruction of all traditional principles, are asking themselves in bewilderment by what mysterious fate they have become so unlike their former selves.... But the most deadly blows of these innovators have been aimed against religion. Through innumerable writings they have spread the poison of unbelief. Oratory, poetry, history, romance, even dictionaries, are full of it. Hardly had their writings become known in the capital when the provinces were flooded with them. This contagious pestilence has even seeped into the workshops of the artisans and the hovels of the poor." [1]

Of the clergy the most seriously infected by the new subversive ideas were those who had only donned the soutane for the sake of the revenues and benefices that went along with it. The latter they consumed without fulfilling in any way the conditions attached thereto. This host of parasites, calling themselves *abbés* whether or not they were priests, swarmed in Paris particularly. Here they lived like men of fashion and were prominent habitués of the salons. Contemporary memoirs have much to say about their immorality and unbelief. It was these men more than any others who brought the clerical calling into disrepute and caused their fellow-countrymen to hate it. The Church, then, still retained its outward show of splendour, but its foundations were undermined.[2] The clergy, riddled with worldliness and consequently weak and disunited, was in no shape to withstand the coming crisis.

[1] Rocquain, 278.

[2] As the result of his studies, De la Gorce (I., 50) comes to this conclusion: "Une façade superbe, puis derrière cette façade des bâtisses minées de toutes parts, telle était au déclin de l'ancien régime l'image de l'Église de France." Sicard's judgment was similar (*Évêques*, I., 2). *Cf.* C. Dejob, *Les abbés et les abbesses de la comédie française et italienne du* 18e *siècle* (1898).

The body politic was in an even worse condition. The old institutions were still nominally in force, but the foundations had decayed, everything was breaking up, and the whole structure threatened to collapse.

The fundamental disease from which the monarchy was suffering was the absolutism of the State. Its foundations had been laid by Richelieu and Mazarin, and Louis XIV. had carried it to extremes. His will was the source of every right; taxes were levied, new laws made, and old ones altered, according to his personal pleasure. He had even called for an opinion as to whether, like the Mohammedan despots of the East, he was the owner of every piece of ground in the kingdom.[1] All that the "Roi Soleil" had done to advance the material prosperity of his country had been wrecked by his foreign policy and his endless wars of aggression. On his death in 1715 the national exchequer was hopelessly in debt in spite of the heaviest possible taxation, and the people were reduced to beggary; in some places the only food available was leaves and grass.[2] Even worse conditions were endured in the regency of the dissolute Duke Philippe of Orleans (1715–23), whose debauchery and irreligion did as much harm to the royal prestige as John Law's over-issuing of paper money did to the French finances. Louis XV.'s misgovernment, which was particularly harmful after the death of the prudent Cardinal Fleury in 1741, the baneful influence of the royal mistresses, and the king's extravagance deprived the throne of what little respect it still enjoyed, and France's military and political importance also continued to decline. The bad example set by the Court corrupted the whole of Society. When Louis XV.'s immoral life came to an end on May 10th, 1774, a year after the most influential of the religious Orders had fallen victim to the Bourbons, and a great impetus had been given to revolutionary ideas, Count Mercy-Argenteau, the Austrian ambassador, wrote an impressive account of the last four years of the reign, culminating in the following verdict: "Morality and decency are no more. There are no

[1] SYBEL, I[4]., 5.

[2] *Cf.* below, p. 115.

principles now; everything is left to chance. The burden of shame that has been weighing down the nation has brought about a universal despondency." [1]

Louis XVI., Louis XV.'s grandson, came to the throne at the age of twenty years, untouched by the corruption of the Court and full of good intentions, but completely uninstructed in political affairs. Unfortunately this young monarch, though exceptionally benevolent, did not possess what was supremely necessary at such a time of universal ferment: a firm and decisive character and a true understanding of the situation. The most urgent task, in his opinion, was the restoration of the crippled finances, but any permanent improvement in this direction was most unwelcome to the Parlements, which would thereby have lost their most convenient opportunities of sharing in the government and legislation.[2]

The long-standing feud between Louis XV. and the Paris Parlement had resulted at the close of 1770 in the self-suspension of this haughty corporation, which hoped that the Government would be forced to give way by the high court of justice ceasing to function, for this brought all legal business in France to a standstill. The attempt to repair the situation by constituting a new high court, the so-called Parlement Maupeou, came to naught, for after Beaumarchais had accused it of venality it failed to command respect. Thus it was that at the very beginning of his reign Louis XVI. was faced with the difficult problem of deciding in favour of one or other of these two Parlements. In 1774, in spite of every warning, he

[1] *Corresp. entre Marie-Thérèse et le Comte de Mercy-Argenteau*, p.p. ARNETH ET GEFFROY, II., 231.

[2] WAHL, *Vorgeschichte*, I., 185, 190, 233. There was also some questionable complaisance on the part of the Church. In this same year, 1784, there took place the death of Diderot, after Voltaire the most active and influential of the Encyclopedists. Although he had received his parish priest several times during his illness, his friends maintained that he had persisted in his unbelief to the last. He certainly never recanted. Neverthleess he was buried with the rites of the Church. See BAUMGARTNER, V., 474 *seq.*

ordained the restoration of the old order. This initial mistake was fraught with far-reaching consequences.[1] In 1776 the fall of Turgot, who had tried to set the administration of the revenue to rights by means of vast reforms, led to the complete supremacy of the Parlement, which was bound to result in revolution.[2] The attitude of the Parlement during the Jansenist controversies had already been an indication of the coming catastrophe. When Jansenism ceased to exist as a sect, it fell back on the Gallican theories: on March 31st, 1753, every professor of theology was obliged by the Paris Parlement to subscribe to the four articles of 1682.[3] An even greater impetus was given to the revolutionary movement by the destructive doctrines of the philosophers, especially their new theories about the function of the State. The attitude of the Government, at first inconsistent and finally constantly yielding, also contributed to the gradual lowering of the royal authority. While giving every encouragement to reform, it had not the strength to bring about the universal amelioration of conditions that was necessary to save the situation.[4] As opposed to the apophthegm attributed to Louis XIV. and generally accepted as the epitome of his regime—*L'État c'est moi !*—the cry that now arose with ever growing violence from the meetings of the Parlements and the writings of the *littérateurs* was "The people are the State", "The legislative authority by its very nature rests with the nation, or with the majority of it."[5] Now on the verge of open bankruptcy and crippled by the ever more reckless opposition of the privileged

[1] WAHL calls this measure "the most momentous event in the reign of Louis XVI." (*loc. cit.*, I., 195, 232, 253).

[2] *Ibid.*, 260, 323. The reports of the Spanish ambassador, cited by A. SCHEIBE in *Die französische Revolution* (Gotha, 1909), and other sources tend to show that Queen Marie Antoinette also had a hand in Turgot's dismissal. See SÉGUR, *Au couchant de la Monarchie*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 févr., 15 oct. 1909.

[3] SICARD, *Évêques*, I., 453.

[4] *Cf.* the numerous documents cited by WAHL and enumerated in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIX., 377 *seq.*

[5] WAHL, II., 298 seq., 178, 174, 176, 179, 303, 54.

classes, the Government also finally decided to appeal to "the good people", as being the majority of the nation, to help it fight against the two superior Estates. With the glaring contrast between the life of the poor and that of the rich, the doctrine that the Third Estate, which had hitherto been nothing, was to seize all power into its own hands—the most assiduous exponent of which was the Abbé Sieyès [1]—fell on very fruitful ground. This doctrine was one of the chief motive forces of the Revolution, which was essentially a struggle for political power, first the Parlement, then the privileged classes, and finally the Third Estate striving for supremacy in place of the absolute monarchy.[2] In ordering the Third Estate to send to the assembly of the *Etats Généraux* twice as many deputies as the other two Estates the Government in its blindness was actually encouraging its aims. But whether the States-General, which had not been convoked since 1614, were to assemble separately, in three chambers, as before, or all together in one, was left undecided. The crowning piece of folly committed by the Government was to order the States-General to assemble at Versailles, in the vicinity of the seething capital, though it must have known that with no money and no reliable troops it was in no position to defend its existence.[3]

When the deputies of the States-General met on May 4th, 1789, its proceedings were followed by the whole nation with intense excitement. Once more the ancient feudal State appeared in all its glory, but this time the leading rôle was played not by the clergy and nobility but by the Third Estate, the representatives of the bourgeois and the farmers.

Among the deputies of the clerical Estate a deep cleavage between the upper and the lower clergy was evident from the

[1] For Sieyès, *cf.* the monograph by NÉTON, Paris, 1900.

[2] Besides Wahl's arguments in Vols. I. and II., *cf.* MADELIN'S opinion in *La Révolution*, 19.

[3] For the demoralization of the army, *v.* SYBEL, I.[4], 44 *seqq.* "Le Roi n'a pas la force de tête et la force des bayonnettes lui manque," wrote one of the deputies on July 8, 1789; *v.* MADELIN, 22.

start. The majority of the 208 parish priests were anxious to improve their sorry lot and hoped to attain this object by means of political changes. After the Third Estate, which was numerically superior to the other two, had formed itself into a National Assembly on June 17th, appropriating the principle of *L'État c'est moi !* and claiming the sole right of representing the French nation, some of the nobility and clergy went over to it.[1] This victory was soon followed by another, when the three Estates, which had hitherto held their meetings apart, deliberated together. On June 23rd, 1789, Louis XVI. had prohibited the union, but four days later, on the 27th, he ordered it himself. With this the supreme authority passed to the National Assembly ; the ancient and sacred monarchy of St. Denis and Rheims, the monarchy of the oriflamme and the holy ampulla had passed away.[2] From this point onwards the course of events was quickened. Necker's dismissal led to riots in Paris, where a national guard was formed. The fall of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789, was the signal for a general rising throughout the country. The peasants set fire to the nobles' châteaux and even wrecked some abbeys ; in the towns the mob took to plundering.

It was under the pressure of these events that there took place the famous all-night sitting of August 4th. The young Vicomte de Noailles, who, like his brother-in-law Lafayette, had fought in America, moved that all feudal rights be redeemed by the communes, either in money or on a moderate valuation, and that the *corvées*, the rights of mortmain, and other personal obligations should cease in future without

[1] Of the 296 clerical deputies 47 were Bishops, 12 Canons, 6 Vicars General, 23 Abbés or other unattached priests, and 208 parish priests. The last had the great advantage of being supported by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Vienne (Cicé and Lefranc de Pompignan) and the Bishops of Chartres (Lubersac), Rodez (Seignelay-Colbert), Orange (Du Tillet), and Coutances (Talaru de Chalmazel). An interesting feature of the situation is that the wily Talleyrand was still keeping himself in the background. See SICARD, *Clergé*, I., 19, 46 *seq.*

[2] GUGLIA, *loc. cit.*, 45 ; GENDRY, II., 107.

indemnity. Another *grand seigneur*, the Duc d'Aiguillon, spoke in a similar sense, whereupon the assembly was seized with a veritable frenzy. Everyone wanted to outdo his neighbour in generosity; no one wanted "to perish alone". Even the clergy was infected by the general excitement. The Bishop of Nancy, with some of his colleagues, including the Archbishop of Aix, denounced the feudal system. So many motions were proposed with such rapidity that the secretaries were hard put to it to take them down in time. Some of the parish priests renounced their livings, and a delegate from the clergy of Lorraine demanded the abolition of the annates. The Duc de Liancourt proposed that a medal be struck to commemorate "the self-denial of all the individuals for the good of the community", the Archbishop of Paris, De Juigné, that a *Te Deum* be sung, the Marquis Lally-Tollendal that the title "restorer of French freedom" be conferred upon the king. Day was breaking when the president ordered the reading of the main titles of the various resolutions, the full drafting to be left for subsequent sessions.[1]

But afterwards the assembly refused to listen to any talk about redeeming the tithes, which were the chief source of income for the lower clergy. When the eloquent Mirabeau moved that they be abolished without compensation and contended that the clergy, being nothing more than "*officiers de police et d'instruction*", be paid by the State, there was a loud murmur of dissent from the clerical benches. Mirabeau defended his proposal by exclaiming, "I know of only three ways of existing in society: by begging, thieving, or receiving wages." At the evening session the Abbé Sieyès, who had been largely responsible for raising the storm with his attacks on the nobility and clergy and his glorification of the Third Estate, failed to move his hearers when he spoke in favour of redeeming the clerical tithes. When he complained about the turn the Revolution was taking, Mirabeau rejoined, "My dear Abbé, you have let the bull loose, and now you complain

[1] Bouchez et Roux, *Hist. parlementaire*, II., 224 *seq.*, 229 *seqq.*; De la Gorce, I., 127; Sicard, *Clergé*, I., 183 *seq.*

when it runs at you with its horns."[1] Finally the clergy preferred to give way completely. At the session of August 11th, after several parish priests had renounced their tithes, the Archbishop of Paris rose to make the statement, "In the name of all the clergy we surrender all the tithes hitherto possessed by the Church into the hands of a just and generous nation. But let the Gospel be preached among us as before, let public services be celebrated with dignity and propriety, let the churches be served by virtuous and zealous priests, and let the poor be assisted as before! This was the object of our tithes. But we trust ourselves to the National Assembly and do not doubt that it will make it possible for us to continue to fulfil such honourable and sacred duties."[2] Thereupon a decree was passed, abolishing the tithes unconditionally, and this was followed by the prohibition of the payment of annates and other Church dues to the Holy See, which was an open breach of the concordat.[3] All these measures were applauded, for as a result of its shameful abuse by the Crown the concordat was detested by many members of the lower clergy as much as were the money payments to Rome. This being the state of things, the Bishops held their peace.[4]

The last remnant of the clerical privileges was abolished on August 26th, when, after a long and heated debate, the

[1] É. DUMONT, *Souvenirs*, 147. "Le peuple a appris à connaître ses forces," we read in a letter from a parish priest in Normandy, who vigorously defended the tithes (*La Révolution française*, 1906, janvier, 48 *seqq.*).

[2] Cardinal Bernis disapproved of the Archbishop of Paris's conduct almost as strongly as he did that of Talleyrand later on. "On n'aurait jamais cru, que l'enthousiasme patriotique pût porter un grand prélat à offrir au nom du clergé la suppression de la dîme, et encore moins qu'un autre évêque proposât de dépouiller l'Église de tous ses biens; nous ne sommes que les usufruitiers des nos bénéfices." MASSON, *Bernis*, 466, n. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 461 *seqq.* SYBEL (I.[4], 70) points out that a previous violation of the concordat was no justification of the measure.

[4] CHAMPION, *La Séparation*, 58; CH.-L. CHASSIN, *Les Cahiers des curés*, Paris, 1882; MAQUIEZ, 26 *seq.*

assembly adopted the declaration of the rights of man and citizen, the tenth article of which declared that " No one is to be molested on account of his opinions, even when they affect religion, except when their manifestation disturbs the public, lawfully established, order ". On the following day, in the course of the discussions on the new constitution, the motion proposed by the Abbé Eymar, that the Catholic religion be that of the State, was rejected.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN 1789 and 1790—THE SECULARIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY—THE ATTITUDES ADOPTED BY LOUIS XVI., PIUS VI., AND THE FRENCH HIERARCHY.

THE abrogation of the feudal rights that had been held for centuries by numerous dioceses, abbeys, and cathedral chapters, the cancellation of the financial privileges of the clergy, and finally the abolition of the tithes, without any compensation, were only the prelude to still more drastic measures: the secularization of Church property and the suppression of the religious houses. Here too the preliminary work of upheaval had been done by the absolutist State. As far back as 1749 a decree had prohibited the increase of estates in mortmain,[1] and in May, 1766, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, a royal commission had been appointed whose ostensible purpose was the removal of existing abuses. It ordained the suppression of numerous religious houses, and this was followed by restrictions placed on the reception of novices.[2] It had been maintained by Louis XIV. that kings had the absolute right to dispose of ecclesiastical as well as lay property for the good of the state,[3] and the idea that Church goods were State property had been gaining ground since the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1770, acting on this principle, the errant Abbé Raynal, a friend of the Encyclopedists, worked out a thorough-going plan for

[1] ISAMBERT, *Anciennes lois françaises*, XXII., 226.

[2] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXVII., 386 *seq.*

[3] "Les rois," we read in the *Mémoires de Louis XIV.*, "sont seigneurs absolus de tous les biens tant des séculiers que des ecclésiastiques, pour en user comme sages économes, c'est à dire selon les besoins de l'État." *Cf.* MADELIN, *La Révolution*, 118.

secularization.[1] In the instructions of the electors, the so-called *Cahiers* of 1789, the idea that Church property belonged to the nation was obviously taken for granted as being a necessary condition for any demand for reform. The only point on which opinions differed was whether the administration of clerical property should be altered or whether the property should be confiscated altogether.[2]

These aims, which were furthered by the gross exaggerations of the value and extent of the Church's possessions,[3] were taken up by the National Assembly. Their exponents, being fully aware how deeply the Catholic Church was rooted in the people, in spite of all the subversive activity that had been going on, decided to approach their objective slowly and carefully, step by step.

The cant phrase, "The Church's property belongs to the nation," was first uttered in the National Assembly at the beginning of August, 1789. In view of the embarrassing financial situation as described by the Finance Minister Necker, the hierarchy expressed its readiness to mortgage its property in order to provide the nation with ready money. This offer, however, was declined by the Assembly, which decided instead to raise a loan, being firmly convinced that it would not have long to wait before the Church's property was confiscated altogether.[4] On September 26th, 1789, one of the noble deputies proposed that the increasing financial stress be relieved by the sale of church plate. Archbishop Juigné of Paris, speaking both for himself and for many of his colleagues, promptly offered to place at the State's disposal all the plate that was not needed for divine service. The nature of the applause that greeted this offer showed that much more was expected.[5] The favourable moment for

[1] According to LUDWIG in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XCVI. (1906), 96, and F. WOLTERS, *Agrarzustände*, 345.

[2] Besides WOLTERS (382 *seqq.*), *cf.* especially CH. GOMEL, *Hist. financière de l'Assemblée Constituante*, Paris, 1896, 138 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 88.

[4] DE LA GORCE, I., 135 *seqq.* *Cf.* SICARD, *Clergé*, I., 192 *seqq.*

[5] DE LA GORCE, I., 139.

obtaining it came when the Assembly moved to Paris and was exposed to the threats of the rough and ignorant mob that was being stirred up by professional agitators. The situation grew so oppressive that very soon, by the middle of October, nearly a hundred deputies had left the assembly.[1] This was a serious mistake, for it left the radical elements in the majority. Then, more than ever, when the storm was blowing up, it was their duty to remain at their posts.

The most grievous wounds the Church has had to suffer have always been inflicted on her by her own unnatural sons, not by her enemies outside the fold. At the meeting of the National Assembly on October 10th, when it was still at Versailles, it was not one of the many unbelieving and anti-clerical lawyers, but a cleric, and a Bishop at that, who took the initiative in robbing his own Estate. Talleyrand, who had entered the Church without having any genuine vocation [2] and who, in spite of his frivolous way of living, had been presented by the king to the see of Autun in 1788,[3] brought forward a motion whose careful wording most skilfully concealed its true purpose. After referring to the parlous state of the public finances he proceeded to represent the covering of the deficit by means of ecclesiastical property as something inevitable and too obvious for words. The whole of this property belonged to the nation, but it should see that the clerics received a stipend and that religious bequests were duly fulfilled. Prominent among the speakers who developed this attack was the eloquent Mirabeau. Ostensibly solicitous for the lower clergy, but really to estrange them from their superiors, he too, like the Bishop of Autun, pleaded that the *curé* should not receive less than 1,200 francs a year. Taking his cue from Talleyrand, he openly demanded that every

[1] *Ibid.*, 140.

[2] "Mes parents s'étaient déterminés, selon ce qu'ils regardaient comme un intérêt de famille, à me conduire a un état pour lequel je ne montrais aucune disposition." TALLEYRAND, *Mémoires p.p. le Duc de Broglie*, I., Paris, 1891, 16.

[3] BLENNERHASSET, *Talleyrand* (1904); DE LACOMBE, *Talleyrand évêque*, Paris, 1903.

possession of the Church be declared the property of the nation. Barnave, an ambitious and embittered Protestant, only 29 years old, even denied the existence of ecclesiastical property.[1]

The Church's rights were defended by Boisgelin, the much-respected Archbishop of Aix, Camus, the Jansenist advocate of Paris, and the Abbés Eymar and Maury. Maury maliciously reminded the assembly that as an *abbé* in Périgord the Bishop of Autun had once defended the sacredness of the Church's right to property against the government of Savoy. Sharp language was used again by Maury at the session of October 10th, when he denounced the contemplated robbery and Sieyès' statement that the clergy was not an owner as other owners were. "There is only one kind of ownership", he protested, "and it is as sacred to us as it is to you. Our ownership is a guarantee of yours. If we are robbed, your turn will come too." He stressed the difficulty of putting the proposed measures into practice and the disappointment that would be caused by the difference between the estimated and the actual profit. Great riches had been expected when the Jesuits were suppressed, but their property had barely sufficed to provide them with miserable pensions. In passing through the hands of the State officials the money had run away to nothing. "You want to be free!" he cried. "Good! But remember that where there is no property there is no freedom!"[2]

The rest of the clergy did not adopt so firm an attitude, and disclosed their intention of sacrificing some of their goods in order to save the remainder. The Archbishop of Aix, who had once been the leader of that section of the clergy that had wanted to unite with the Third Estate, made every effort to strike a bargain. With his offer of October 31st to come to the rescue of the community, as the clergy always had done in an emergency, in this case by lending the Government 400 million francs, he deprived the opposition of its chief argument, the

[1] De la Gorce, I., 140 *seqq.*

[2] Poujoulat, *Maury*, 90 *seq.*; Hergenröther, *Maury*, 23 *seqq.*

necessity of meeting the deficit with the Church estates.[1] It looked, indeed, as if the attack had been repelled, when the advocate Le Chapelier commented that if the clergy continued as proprietors they would also continue to be a separate Estate. This new line of thought was again adroitly supported by Mirabeau, who proposed that Thouret's formula, "The clergy's property belongs to the nation", be amended to "The clergy's property is at the nation's disposal". Many of the clergy thought that they might give their approval to this less peremptory wording, if only because of the simultaneous admission of the obligation to provide in a fitting manner for the cost of religious services, the maintenance of the Church's functionaries, and the relief of the poor, also to allot to every parish priest a salary of at least 1,200 francs a year, besides a house and garden. Accordingly, the motion was carried on November 2nd, 1789, by 568 votes to 346, and became law. Forty deputies had abstained from voting; 300, almost all belonging to the right, were absent.[2] Even then the real object of the revolutionaries was so cleverly concealed that there were many who still indulged in idle hopes. It did, indeed, seem very possible that the threat would not be carried out. A message to this effect was conveyed by the Government to its ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Bernis,[3] and even Boisgelin thought that the actual committing of the robbery would meet with serious difficulties, especially in Flanders, and that probably only monastic property would be taken.[4]

But the Revolution was not content with half-measures, nor did it stop to take breath. The nation having failed to strike it down when it first raised its head, it steadily pursued its course of destruction. The most complete embodiment of the

[1] "Il eût mieux valu accepter, la nation allait faire une mauvaise affaire." This was MADELIN's opinion (*France et Rome*, 310). *Cf.* below, p. 129, n. 4.

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 149 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 151 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* his letter to the Countess Gramont, of November 3, 1789, in MATHIEZ, *Rome et le clergé*, 85.

spirit of negation, it devoted all its energy to destroying the existing order. When it had finally enthroned itself upon the ruins it ruled the people with the bloody sceptre of brute force and terror.[1]

Having gained this first success the leaders of the movement still continued to conceal their general plan. While gradually increasing the intensity of the attack they slowly but steadily advanced. Once the principle had been admitted, the consequences followed automatically. On November 7th, 1789, the National Assembly placed all ecclesiastical property under the control of administrative officials and municipalities. Six days later benefice-holders and all superiors of religious houses and institutes were ordered to produce within two months a full account of all the movable and immovable property of their establishments. But it was not till December 19th, when it was clear to all that the patriotic free-will offerings had failed to meet the situation, and Necker had described the financial crisis in the blackest colours to the National Assembly, that it was resolved to meet the deficit by selling the royal domains and church goods to the value of 400 million francs. *Assignats* to this amount, bearing interest at 5 per cent, were to be issued by the Government.[2]

This attack on the property of the Church was accompanied by another one, which was far more serious. On August 20th, 1789, in the course of the debate on the so-called "Rights of Man", the National Assembly had appointed a *Comité Ecclésiastique*, consisting of five clerics and ten laymen, to deliberate on Church affairs. In this committee Bishops Bonal of Clermont and Mercy of Luçon could count on the votes of six or seven other members, and were thus able to hold in check the Jansenist Martineau and the Erastians and parliamentary Gallicans, La Perche Treilhard and Durand de Maillane.[3]

[1] MÜNZENBERGER, *Kirchengesetzgebung*, 5.

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 153 *seq.*

[3] KIEFER, 13. For Martineau's Jansenism, *v.* De Bonneval's letter to Zelada, in *Études*, 1907, Avril, 263, 267. As opposed to Mathiez, *cf.* MOURRET's remarks on pp. 87, 102.

The situation changed, however, when on February 7th, 1790, the Paris lawyer Treilhard succeeded in having the membership of the committee doubled. The Left, now in the majority,[1] advocated reforms of so subversive a nature that the Bishops of Clermont and Luçon, the Abbé Montesquiou, and six others of similar views refused to take any further part in the discussions [2] lest their remaining on the committee be represented by ill-wishers as co-operation in the revolutionaries' plans.[3] Their action is further explained by the fact that three of the newly-joined clerical members of the committee were among those who were on the point of openly leaving the Church, a step they eventually took. On February 11th, 1790, Treilhard brought forward a motion which had been under preparation for the previous two months: that a religious should be allowed to leave his house whenever he wished. The civil law, he argued, recognized only voluntary decisions. That he was not concerned with the protection of personal liberty, however, or the removal of abuses was revealed in the second part of his proposal. This, in glaring contrast to the first, prohibited the taking of vows, which was tantamount to condemning all religious houses to a slow death. The Bishops of Clermont and Nancy fought the motion with reasoned arguments, but two days later it was passed and became law. Only educational or charitable institutions were exempt. The measure had only temporary validity but the permanent destruction of the religious houses was only a question of time.[4] On February 19th the pension to be paid to ex-religious was settled. An unexpected result of the debate was the raising of the ex-Jesuits' pension from the miserable sum of 400 *livres* to 900.[5]

On March 17th, 1790, the National Assembly turned its attention again to the question of Church property. Treilhard,

[1] Pisani, I., 153.

[2] Durand de Maillane, *Hist. apol.*, 38.

[3] Kiefer, 14.

[4] De la Gorce, I., 155 *seqq.*; Sicard, *Clergé*, I., 284; Mourret, 99 *seq.*

[5] Sicard, I., 285.

who had been elected chairman of the *Comité Ecclésiastique*, moved that each commune be invited to acquire a portion of the ecclesiastical estates at a fixed price and afterwards to sell it to private persons. The communes were to be allowed to make a profit over the transaction, which was later fixed at a sixteenth of the purchase price.[1] This proposal had a double object: to make the purchase an attractive proposition for the communes and to salve the conscience of private purchasers who might fight shy of acquiring Church property at first hand. On March 17th Treilhard's motion was made law by decree. Three days later another decree ordered the religious houses to draw up inventories within a week and to supply personal particulars. Also, each inmate was to be asked whether he wished to remain in the establishment or not.[2] This action against the religious houses constituted "a serious invasion of the individual's liberty of conscience", which in every other sphere the Revolution wanted to protect. "From now on it was certain that reconciliation with the Catholic Church was out of the question and that hostilities were inevitable."[3]

In their boundless optimism many clerics still hoped that the Assembly would rest content with its resolution to sell the ecclesiastical property to the amount of 400 millions, and that later on the clergy would be able to buy it back. All such hopes were soon to be dispelled. On April 9th Chasset declared that the decree of November 2nd was useless, so long as the clergy were not expropriated.[4] On the same day he moved that the administration of nearly all the Church estates be transferred to the district authorities and that uniform payment of the clergy be regulated in detail by law. To avert this blow the Bishop of Nancy and the Archbishop of Aix spoke with all the eloquence at their command, but to no purpose. The latter's renewal of the clergy's offer to guarantee a loan of 400 millions

[1] Decree of May 14, 1790; *v.* De la Gorce, I., 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, 157.
[3] Berger, *Der religiöse Kult*, 25.
[4] Mathiez, 86.

made no impression. But some harsh words were used about the *Comité Ecclésiastique*, even by the Church's opponents. When the direct charge of hostility to religion was brought against it, it was defended by a deputy from the Auvergne, a Carthusian of the name of Dom Gerle, who, religionist though he was, had been led by his hazy notions and his enthusiasm to join the "Club of the Friends of the Constitution", which afterwards became the club of the Jacobins. He asserted that the *Comité Ecclésiastique* was not biased, and that to say that the National Assembly wanted no religion was a slander. To reassure those who had misgivings on this score, it should be decreed that the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic religion was now and always would be the religion of the nation, and that only its form of worship would be recognized.

No proposal could have been more welcome to the clergy. With a prudent moderation it declared its agreement also with the amendment, that its acceptance was not to prejudice the rights of the non-Catholics. At first the Left was seriously put out by this blow that had come from their own camp, but it quickly recovered and succeeded in having the vote on the motion postponed until the next session.[1]

During the night both parties were very active. The Left put it about that the fanatics wanted to restore the old intolerance. This induced the poor Dom Gerle to promise to withdraw his motion. The clergy and many of the nobles met in the Capuchin convent in the Rue St-Honoré, where they decided to insist on the acceptance of Gerle's motion and in the event of its rejection to lodge a protest. They also decided to approach the king in solemn procession and to submit a protest to him. They would then inform the people of the danger that threatened religion. A message, however, was sent to them by the Keeper of the Great Seal that the king was unable to receive them or accept their address.

On the morning of April 13th hundreds of colporteurs were

[1] De la Gorce, I., 157–160. For Dom Gerle, *v.* F. Mège in the *Mém. de l'Acad. de Clermont-Ferrand*, 1865, 444 *seqq.*, and Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, I., 59.

distributing leaflets purporting to tell the people about the plot that had been hatched at the Capuchins.[1] Agitators also appeared in the National Assembly; but not only were the deputies subjected to intimidation; attempts were also made to persuade the credulous and the shallow-minded, who were only too numerous. It was with this object that the Baron de Menou, who nine years later was to become a Mohammedan in Egypt, came forward as the spokesman of Catholicism. "I will begin," he said, "with my confession of faith. I respect the Catholic and Apostolic religion. I hold it to be the only true one and I submit to it with my head and my heart. But can my belief in this religion, my way of worshipping God, be brought about by the resolution of an assembly, or by a law? No, assuredly not. My conscience and my opinion belong to me alone. I have to answer for them only to the God I worship. And why should I make this religion, which I respect and for which I would give my life, the religion of the State? If all of us have equal rights, if convictions and all that goes with them are not subjected to any law, who am I to abrogate to myself the superior right of forcing my views, my form of worship, on others? Could not everyone make this reply to me: '*My* religion is a better one. *This* is the one that must be supreme'? Did not God Himself say that His religion would grow and grow, until it embraced the whole world, and that the powers of hell would not overcome it? And you with your resolution want to confirm this great pronouncement of the Lord's! If you are convinced of the truth of your religion what fear can you have that it will perish? Can you believe that the laws and the will of Providence need the help of your decree?"[2]

Beguiled by these fine words, Dom Gerle withdrew his motion, but the Right intended to insist on it, although their spokesman Cazalès was refused leave to speak. At this point the Duc de la Rochefoucauld rose to introduce the following

[1] "Assemblée des Aristocrates aux Capucins; nouveau complot découvert." See De la Gorce, I., 161.

[2] Weiss, *Weltgesch.*, XV., 78.

order of the day: "In view of the fact that the National Assembly has no power to exercise over consciences and religious opinions, and that the deep respect due to religion does not allow of its being a subject of discussion; further, seeing that there can be no doubt about the attachment of the National Assembly to the Roman, Catholic, Apostolic faith at a moment when it is about to place this form of worship alone in the first class of recipients of public funds, and when by an unanimous movement it has given expression to its respect in the only way conformable with the dignity of religion and the character of the Assembly, it has decided that it cannot and may not discuss the proposed motion and that it will resume discussion on the order of the day, namely the church tithes." [1] While the Left were applauding a cry rang out from the Right: "When the Jews crucified Jesus they called out, 'Hail, King of the Jews!'" At this, a general uproar ensued and several members of the Right, including Maury, left the chamber. Outside they were threatened by the mob. Those that stayed behind adopted Rochefoucauld's order of the day.[2]

On April 14th the National Assembly again discussed the fate of the Church's possessions, and elated by the recent victory it adopted Chasset's motion. That evening a cleric who was not far off apostasy wrote to his electors, "The last blow has been struck against the clergy." [3] And so it was. Gerle's motion having been rejected, the Right decided to appeal to the people in the provinces by means of a proclamation. But it was signed by only 297 deputies, whereas on November 2nd 346 had voted against the sale of the ecclesiastical estates. The strength of the Conservative party in the National Assembly had rapidly decreased, not one of the least causes being the attitude of the lower clergy.[4]

[1] SICARD, I., 486.

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 162 *seq.*

[3] "Messieurs, le dernier coup vient d'être porté au clergé." LINDET, *Correspondance*, 132, in DE LA GORCE, I., 163.

[4] SICARD (*Clergé*, I., 487) observes: "Ce qui était grave, c'est que la majorité des curés avait refusé de s'associer à la protestation. Sur environ trois cents ecclésiastiques députés, cent quarante

With the exception of Talleyrand and the titular Bishop Gobel all the Bishops in the National Assembly had signed the protest. But with this they rested content. A few of them, indeed, including Bishop Bausset of Alais, were weak enough to lull the righteous anger of the people.[1] A contemporary judged correctly that the chief charge to be brought against the minority was its failure to protest with sufficient vigour.[2] This lack of resistance encouraged the Assembly to go still further ahead. A decree of May 14th contained instructions regarding the sale of the ecclesiastical estates. In perpetrating this robbery the Assembly quite forgot that the "rights of man" that had been so solemnly proclaimed contained the principle that property was inviolable and sacred. The sale of the Church's property did not stop short at the 400 million mark; two further laws, of July and October, 1790, decreed the sale of all of it. Only a few estates were excepted, those of the charitable institutions and the forests, which the State reserved for itself.[3]

The suppression of the religious houses had begun in the spring with the taking of the inventories and personal particulars. This was followed by the questioning of the inmates, as to whether they wished to remain. It was seen then to what extent the monastic spirit had died away in the male orders. In some, it is true, especially the poorer and the stricter ones, such as the Capuchins, the Carthusians, and the Trappists, there was not a single case of desertion. The grand spirit of the past was also shown by the Benedictine abbeys of the North, where most religious houses had escaped the scourge of the commendatory system. In the country as a

seulement consentaient à l'appuyer. Ainsi les curés qui avaient provoqué la suppression des deux premiers ordres par leur réunion au tiers, qui avaient abandonné les dîmes, défendu très mollement les biens du clergé, fait échouer le véto royal, continuaient à aider la marche de la Révolution, en refusant leur vote à une proposition tendant à maintenir au catholicisme le privilège de religion d'État et de seul culte public."

[1] MATHIEZ, 182 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 185.

[3] DE LA GORCE, I., 164.

whole, however, most of the inmates showed no definite desire either to stay or to leave ; what troubled them all was the uncertainty of their future.[1]

The women's convents presented a very different picture. In this emergency the weaker sex proved to be the stronger. With very few exceptions these brave women displayed an admirable resolution. They took no thought for themselves but only for those entrusted to their care. Their whole desire was to keep faith with their vocation, come what might. One cannot but be moved by their declarations that they would rather suffer death than be unfaithful to their vows. They had taken their vows in absolute freedom, and they asked to be allowed to die in peace, keeping their rule. From the Carmelite nuns in Paris the National Assembly had to accept the reproof that the persons whom Catholic France was intending to exterminate were suffered to exist in Canada by Protestant England. When the corporation of Lyons tried to soften the decree of the National Assembly by a reference to the possibility of a pension, it received the reply from the Poor Clares that their vow of poverty forbade them to accept remuneration. The nuns drew attention to the valuable services they were rendering with their charitable and educational work, but their remonstrances had no effect on the civil authorities. Similarly useless were the efforts made by some of them to save themselves by declaring their readiness to work for the community. The National Assembly insisted on doing away with them all.[2]

In certain towns and villages the preservation of the religious houses was demanded by the inhabitants, but it was only in a few places that they were sufficiently determined to offer any resistance.[3] Except in Alsace,[4] the population showed

[1] See the details taken from the *Papiers du Comité ecclésiastique* (*Archives nationales* in Paris), *ibid.*, 170 *seq.*, and the full account given by SICARD (I., 287–377).

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 174 *seq.*, and especially SICARD, I., 412–496.

[3] DE LA GORCE, I., 179 *seq.*

[4] GRAF SOLMS-RÖDELHEIM, *Der Nationalgüterverkauf im Distrikt Strassburg 1791 bis 1811*, Strassburg, 1904 (no account of Marion has been taken in this work).

no particular aversion to the purchase of ecclesiastical property. Rather the contrary was the case. Owing to the practice of diverting ecclesiastical revenues from their proper purposes, the Church's property was no longer regarded as sacred, and the removal of the occasion for so many abuses was viewed with satisfaction.[1] Besides, the National Assembly had promised to defray the cost of public worship and to provide for the clergy and the poor. Any scruples about buying Church property were allayed by the law of March 17th, according to which it was not being bought from the Church direct but from the commune. Most of it was bought by the bourgeoisie. It is certain that the farmers also took a lively interest in the sales[2]; the nobility and even the clergy did not hold themselves aloof from the transactions, since everybody else was taking part and there was no actual prohibition against it. The *curés*, who stood to benefit from the new system of remuneration, had no cause to lament the passing of the old regime. The hardest hit were the wealthy members of the upper clergy; nevertheless, the episcopate acquiesced in the new situation with dignity and resignation. From no section of the clergy was there any resistance, and this passivity greatly facilitated the proceedings.[3] Encouraged by the

[1] Such views were expressed as soon as the decree of November 2, 1789, was made known (*v.* E. FLEURY, *Le clergé du département de l'Aisne pendant la Révolution*, I., 1853, 82 *seq.*).

[2] LEGEAY, *Documents hist. sur la vente des biens nationaux dans le département de la Sarthe* (1885–7), 3 vols.; F. ROUVIÈRE, *L'aliénation des biens nationaux dans le Gard* (1900); LECARPENTIER, *La vente des biens nationaux dans la Seine-Inférieure*, in the *Rev. hist.*, September–December, 1901; LEMONTIER, *La vente des biens nationaux dans la Charente-Inférieure*, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, January, 1906; SAGNAC, in the *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, July, 1906; M. MARION, *La vente des biens nationaux pendant la Révolution avec étude speciale des ventes dans les départements de la Gironde et du Cher*, Paris, 1908; A. VIALLAY, *La vente des biens nationaux pendant la Révolution*, Paris, 1908. Additional monographs in SICARD, *Clergé*, I., 246 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 249 *seq.*, 253.

triumphant reports on the successful progress of the operation the National Assembly decided to proceed still further with the robbery, which attached all who participated in it to the Revolution.[1] All the exceptions that had been made in 1790 were cancelled in rapid succession. In 1792 the religious orders of knighthood, the Bishops' residences, the property belonging to the church factories, and the houses of the female orders were also declared to be national property. In 1793 the same fate befell the schools, the hospitals, and other charitable institutions.[2] But as the market value of the *assignats* rapidly and irresistibly depreciated, the Church properties, which had been bought at a good price, were sold at such a bad one that this huge sale proved to be an utter financial failure.[3] Nor did the division of the estates improve the condition of the poor to the extent that has often been asserted. It has been established beyond all doubt that in the Paris district, for example, the only persons to derive any profit from the sale of the national property were those who were already property owners.[4]

Even before the financial operations had proved unsuccessful the Church, which had already been despoiled, firstly of all its privileges then of all its property and its Orders, had

[1] *Ibid.*, 205 *seq.*

[2] MARION, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seqq.*; SICARD, I., 247 *seq.*

[3] MARION (*loc. cit.*), supported by DARMSTAEDTER in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CIV., 173. Marion estimates the total value of the goods taken from the Church at 3,000 millions. For the deleterious effects and the injustice of the measure, *cf.* TAINE, I., 211 *seqq.*, 222 *seq.*, and MOURRET, 95; PISANI, I., 138. SYBEL (I.[4], 113, 127 *seqq.*) condemns the seizure and sale of the Church goods as outrageous. In another passage (I., 191) he refers to the measure not only as a great injustice but also as a financial speculation. *Cf.* 222 *seqq.*

[4] This is demonstrated with ample evidence extracted from various archives by B. MINZES in his article *Die Nationalgüter-Veräusserung während der französischen Revolution, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Departements Seine und Oise* (*Staatswissensch. Studien*, ed. L. Elster, IV., 2, Jena, 1892).

sustained another and still more deadly attack at the hands of the National Assembly. The project of it originated in the *Comité Ecclésiastique*, in which as far back as November 23rd, 1789, the Gallican Durand de Maillane, the author of a work on the liberties of the French Church, had recommended, along with some good, some very dangerous proposals for reform, such as the eligibility of laymen for the episcopal office,[1] and their nomination without reference to the Pope. After the radical elements in the committee had gained the upper hand in February, 1790, a plan to introduce devastating "reforms" had secured a firm footing there. It aimed at nothing less than the transformation of the whole ecclesiastical constitution, and was largely interspersed with Jansenistic ideas.[2]

One of the watchwords of this sect was that the only possibility of reform was to return to the simplicity of the early Church. It was a favourite doctrine of the Jansenists that even simple priests were entitled to participate in the government of the Church and in the settlement of questions of faith. In future, as if in revenge for the restriction of the episcopal authority, which the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, the organ of the Jansenists, stigmatized as "despotism", the Bishops of France were to take possession of their sees without first obtaining Papal confirmation, as was already the custom in the schismatic Church of Utrecht.[3]

[1] Since "the Spirit breatheth where he will". St. Ambrose was only a layman, but became Bishop of Milan. *Cf.* MATHIEZ (93), who nevertheless did not find Durand de Maillane's proposals (95) "très-hardies".

[2] For what follows, *cf.* the article on the Jansenists during the French Revolution in the *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXIV., 124 *seqq.*, KIEFER, 15 *seq.*, and our account, Vol. XXXIX., 361. For Martineau's Jansenism, see above, p. 120, n. 3. For lack of evidence it is not possible to ascertain what part was played by the Freemasons in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or in the French Revolution as a whole. On this point DUDON (*Études*, April 20, 1907, 263) and MATHIEZ (81) are in agreement.

[3] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 361 *seq.*

Among the members of the *Comité Ecclésiastique* the Paris advocate Martineau was swayed by Jansenist and Gallican ideas. His colleagues, too, imbued with the principles of the old Parlements, were amenable to Jansenistic views, for they fitted in not only with their whole course of education but also with the old traditions of their families, in which the memory of their fathers' battles against the Papal condemnation of Jansenism was still alive.[1]

Now that the Church had been stripped of all its financial resources provision had to be made for the maintenance of the clergy. This was an opportunity to reshape the constitution of the Church under the guise of removing abuses. By means of the so-called "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" it, too, was to be made to conform to the completely new conditions.[2]

[1] KIEFER (15) points out that it was the Jansenists who were principally responsible for the elaboration of the Civil Constitution, and that it was they, and Camus in particular, who were its most ardent supporters. Kiefer also very aptly refers to the marked approval with which the work of the *Comité Ecclésiastique* was received in Jansenistic circles, even abroad, citing in evidence (16 *seqq.*) the correspondence of Bishop Ricci of Pistoia and Prato, whose Jansenistic and Gallican leanings were notorious. The following passage from a letter written to Ricci by Gianni on January 8, 1791, shows how these circles recognized their own system in the decrees of the Civil Constitution: "With these new reforms I should not be surprised if the whole of the Gallican Church went the way of the Jansenist Church of Utrecht. What a blow this would be for Babylon!" ("Babylon", of course, was Rome). KIEFER, 17; NICCOLÒ RODOLICO, *Gli amici e i tempi di Scipione dei Ricci*, 140.

[2] KIEFER (12 *seq.*), who rightly rejects the view taken by SCIOUT (*Histoire de la Constitution civile*, I., 31), that the authors of the Civil Constitution intended with their new law to create a deistic Church or a purely rationalistic religion. MATHIEZ goes to the other extreme in taking at their face value the pious phrases uttered by the speakers in the National Assembly and in believing that these "chrétiens sincères" were really concerned with the welfare of the Catholic Church. Even he, however, admits (78) that the authors of the Constitution had the intention "de libérer

This invasion of the purely ecclesiastical domain was to be undertaken in a completely arbitrary fashion and, above all, without reference to the Pope, who was to be excluded from any influence in France. The most that he would be allowed to do was to sanction the projected upheaval. After their liberation from the "yoke of Rome" the clergy were to be so completely subjugated to the civil power as to make Voltaire's ideal a reality: that France should be blessed with a clergy as submissive as that in Russia.[1] The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the joint work of the Voltairians, the Jansenists, and the Gallican lawyers in the Parlement, was one gigantic swindle. Its very name was misleading; it was not a civil but an ecclesiastical code, that overturned the Church's constitution and invaded the domain of dogma.[2]

Rumours of what was afoot had already reached the public in March, 1790,[3] but the situation was not entirely clear until April 21st, 1790, when Martineau, representing the *Comité Ecclésiastique*, laid before the National Assembly a scheme for the reordering of ecclesiastical conditions. The greater the necessity for the Catholic religion, it was stated in the preamble, the greater the need to ensure its purity. Experience had shown, it proceeded, that in general, and especially in regard to the Church, abuses began with divergence from the original foundation. To remove them, all that was necessary was to return to the state of things that preceded the divergence. "Must not the primitive discipline—the work of the Apostles,

l'Église de France de la sujétion romaine d'une part, nationaliser cette Église de l'autre". Similarly, FERN. MOURRET, *Histoire générale de l'Église*, Paris, 1913, 100.

[1] "Il n'y a que votre illustre souveraine qui ait raison; elle paie les prêtres; elle leur ouvre la bouche et la ferme: ils sont à ses ordres, et tout est tranquille" (Voltaire to Schuwalof, December 3, 1768; *Œuvres*, LX., 580). The whole passage is given an entirely different meaning in Beuchot's edition (*Œuvres*, 1833; LXV., 250).

[2] PISANI, I., 160 *seq.*, and especially 165.

[3] For the counteraction taken by certain Bishops and its ill-success, *cf.* DE LA GORCE, I., 207 *seq.*, and MATHIEZ, 186 *seq.*

the fruit of the instructions they had received from the lips of their divine master—be most in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel, the one most favourable for the preservation and propagation of religion ? " The *Comité Ecclésiastique* had accordingly taken as the basis of its proposals " the maxims of the old discipline ". To recover the simplicity of the early Church, the State, on its own authority, without consulting any other body, was to abolish the cathedral chapters, all other canonries, all abbeys, priories, and benefices. The 130 bishoprics were to be reduced to eighty-three, to correspond with the number of the newly-created *Départements*. Of the archbishops, who in future were to be called metropolitan bishops, only ten were to survive, and towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants were to have only one *curé*. It was also proposed to change all the parishes and fix new boundaries for them. An immeasurably more radical proposal was the appointment of the parish priest by the electors of each district, and of the Bishop by the electors of the *Département*. The only electoral qualification was attendance at a Mass ; whoever agreed to this could cast his vote, even though he be a Jew or a declared unbeliever. The *curé* was to obtain his canonical institution from his Bishop, the Bishop from his Metropolitan. The Bishops were expressly forbidden to seek the confirmation of their appointment from the " Bishop of Rome ", as the Pope was called for preference ; they might bring their election to his notice as the visible head of the universal Church " solely in testimony of the unity of faith ".[1] Another general regulation aimed at the Pope was that no French cleric might appeal to a foreign Metropolitan or his representative. Every act of episcopal jurisdiction was to have the assent of a council consisting of twelve or sixteen vicars. All clerics were classed as public officials and servants of the State, which fixed their

[1] In the text of the law the title " Pope " was substituted for that of " Bishop of Rome " (" une appellation dégagée jusqu'à l'impertinence " ; De la Gorce, I., 235), and at the request of the Abbé Grégoire the " unité de foi et communion qui sera entretenue avec le chef de l'Église universelle " was repeated not in one but in two articles.

salaries. The Bishop of Paris was granted an income of 50,000 *livres*, the other "Metropolitan Bishops" 20,000 *livres*; the rest of the hierarchy had to be satisfied with 12,000. Eight classes of salaries were fixed for the *curés* and other clerics; the *curés* of Paris were in the highest class, with 6,000 *livres*, the parishes with less than 1,000 souls in the lowest, with 1,200 *livres*. To gain the support of the country clergy, special advantages were promised them. The final item of the proposal was that the king be asked to take all the measures necessary to give force to the law.[1]

The general debate on this motion in the National Assembly began on May 29th and was continued by a special debate on June 1st.

At first most of the French Bishops[2] had eagerly participated in the work of reordering the conditions of the country, and they had subsequently borne with dignity the loss of their exalted status and their goods. Now they had no choice but to resist the outrageous arrogance and arbitrariness of the

[1] De la Gorce, I., 209–211. With reference to the interpretation of the final item, Madelin (*Révolution*, 181) remarks: "Voilà, dit M. Mathiez, la pensée du Comité ecclésiastique et cela, paraît-il, autorisait une négociation du roi avec Rome. Mais d'une part l'Assemblée repoussa l'article et d'autre part, la formule était pour le moins obscure." In his work *France et Rome* (324 *seq.*) Madelin aptly comments on Mathiez's opinion as follows: "Camus fit repousser l'article et il est vraiment paradoxal d'admettre, comme la preuve d'un réel esprit de conciliation, la motion Gobel du 21 Juin qui, pour assurer la paix aux consciences timorées, indiquait très vaguement la possibilité de confier au Roi le soin de faire accepter la loi à Rome . . . Si l'Assemblée voulait entrer en pourparlers avec Rome, elle n'avait qu'à le dire. Il y a quelque ironie à dire que la Constituante se montrait conciliante parce que quelques-uns de ses membres n'eussent peut-être pas trouvé mauvais que 'l'évêque de Rome' saisi par le Roi, en vertu de sa 'primauté', accordât son consentement que d'ailleurs on tenait pour parfaitement inutile, sans délai d'ailleurs et sans réserve, à la loi qui bouleversait sans lui et contre lui toute une partie de l'Église romaine."

[2] Mathiez (114 *seqq.*) has listed the exceptions.

National Assembly, which laughed to scorn all their conceptions of right and law.[1] Their spokesman was Archbishop Boisgelin of Aix, the chairman of the episcopal committee in the National Assembly.[2] He opened the debates with a great speech delivered with his usual restraint and dignity.[3]

While agreeing that ecclesiastical conditions were in need of reform, he would not acknowledge the right of the Assembly to issue regulations in this connexion on its own account. The divine founder of the Church had committed the promulgation of His teaching to the Apostles alone, and they, to their successors, the Bishops. He had not entrusted it to officials or to kings, all of whom were subject to the Church. Bishops could be deposed only by those who had installed them ; no one had the right to restrict the jurisdictional area of the Bishops, and in removing the present abuses they must adhere to the canonical prescriptions. For the Church's collaboration in the general reform of the constitution the Archbishop suggested certain ways and means : provincial synods could decide on separate decrees ; more important matters must be referred without question to a national council or to the Pope. The penultimate course was most strongly recommended by the speaker as he appealed to the king and the nation to agree to his proposal.[4]

As expected, the reply to Boisgelin was made by the lawyer Treilhard. With his description of the abuses in the Church he sought to prove the necessity of the projected innovations, which, according to him, the assembly had the right to introduce. He represented the episcopal authority as universal, and not restricted to particular dioceses ; the delimitation of the dioceses was the State's affair and always had been. Although this argument was not borne out by history, it was warmly applauded by the majority of the Assembly, as was also Treilhard's subsequent assertion : " If the demarcation

[1] KIEFER's opinion (p. 20).

[2] *Cf. ibid.*, 23.

[3] For the Archbishop's character, *cf.* LAVAGNERY, *Le cardinal de Boisgelin 1732–1804*, Paris, 1921, 2 vols.

[4] KIEFER, 24 *seq.*

of the dioceses has nothing to do with faith and morals and is the business of the State, similarly the election of the Church's ministers has nothing to do with dogma and is the affair of the people." Treilhard then reminded the assembly that in 1764 the king had suppressed the Jesuits without the authorization of the Church. "Is not the nation to have the same right?" he demanded.

Camus, the spokesman for the Jansenists, made so bold as to say: "We are the national assembly and we possess the full power to change even religion. But we do not wish to do so. We want to keep the Catholic religion. We want Bishops and *curés*. But we want eighty-three *Départements* and only one Bishop for each. This is a matter for us laymen to decide." The efforts made by Camus and his friends by means of proposed amendments to obtain for the clergy the power to influence the election of the Bishops and *curés* were soon to be frustrated by Robespierre and Barnave. Nevertheless, there were some ambitious clerics who, while protesting their love of the Church, spoke in favour of the project, hoping that it would help them to rise to episcopal rank.[1] No fresh arguments were produced by these misguided men, but merely because they were clerics they exerted a considerable influence on the Assembly's decisions. The speech made by Robespierre, who at the time was busily active in the clubs, should have opened their eyes. This ardent admirer of Rousseau held that the proposals of the *Comité Ecclésiastique* were not sufficiently far-reaching—"philosophic" was the term he used—and he demanded in addition the abolition of the Archbishops and Cardinals. But when he began to recommend the abolition of celibacy the dissent was so vociferous that he was unable to proceed. At the opening of the special debate on June 1st Bishop Bonal of Clermont pointed out again the incompetence of the Assembly to decide on purely ecclesiastical questions, and he renewed the demand for the summoning of

[1] Among them, besides Gobel, who afterwards became Constitutional Bishop of Paris, were Gouttes, Massieu, Dumouchel, and Jallet; of these, only the last-named refused to become a schismatic Bishop. De la Gorce, I, 225 *seq.*

a national council. But the majority, misled by Camus's sophistries, rejected any agreement.[1]

Acting in accordance with the declaration of the Bishop of Clermont, the Bishops refused to take any further part in the deliberations on a law which was so serious an incursion into the life of the Church. The defence was now left to a few *curés*, who tried in vain to blunt the sharpest edges of the new law.

On June 17th and 18th there were lively debates on the payment of the clergy.[2] The evening session on the 19th was remarkable for the appearance of Baron Anacharsis Clootz, an ardent advocate of the abolition of the monarchy and Christianity. He came attended by one or two Orientals and several Frenchmen; the latter, having procured the appropriate costumes from theatrical wardrobes, had attired themselves as Swedes, Spaniards, Moroccans, Greeks, Mongols, and Chinamen. This "Embassy of the Human Race", as it called itself, presented to the authors of the rights of man an address of homage. Its bombastic declamations against the "tyrants" were received with thunderous applause.[3] The sequel to this prank was the abolition of the hereditary nobility, as being contrary to reason and true liberty. When this resolution was announced, amid the frantic plaudits of the democrats, there were only a few nobles present. The absence of the Bishops and other clerics from the sessions in which the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was discussed also had to be paid for dearly. There was no Catholic party among the lay members of the National Assembly; those who supported the Church were distributed among the various groups of the Right and Centre. The clergy was split into an upper and a lower class. There was no great personage capable of organizing and leading the divided forces in defence of the Church. The Bishops had formed themselves into a committee, but here, too, there was a palpable lack of any

[1] Mourret, 106 *seq.*

[2] De la Gorce, I., 230 *seq.*

[3] Le Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution française*, IV., Paris, 1881, ch. 15; Sybel, I.[4], 204.

dominant leader, and the want of courage and determination was disastrous. Neither the Archbishops of Aix and Arles, Boisgelin and Du Lau, nor Bishop Bonal of Clermont were capable of dealing with the difficult situation. The Gallican spirit, with which nearly all the French Bishops were imbued at this critical juncture, had a crippling effect and, what was of supreme importance, it precluded a resolute defence of the rights of the Holy See. Of the 208 *curés* in the National Assembly a number were loyal and were excellent speakers, but their relations with the episcopate were too distant. Even worse, a considerable proportion of the *curés* who were discontented with their lot showed that they were not averse to innovations. In consequence, there was no solid and tenacious resistance; the sallies made by individuals were ineffectual.[1] A comparison of the June debates with those of April shows a marked decrease in vigour. None of the many speeches were worthy of the momentous subject under discussion; most of them failed to rise above the level of mediocrity.[2] The discussions were repeatedly interrupted by the broaching of other matters, and the longer they were protracted the less interest was taken in them. The tedious disquisitions of the Jansenist Camus, who was consistently at pains to show that the proposed new law was in harmony with the New Testament and the earliest Church Councils, thoroughly bored the Left, but they relieved it of the necessity of launching more vigorous attacks. Nothing more was required of it than to await developments.[3] The news of the religious conflicts that had

[1] De la Gorce (I., 216 *seqq.*, 218 *seq.*), who observes on p. 249: "On put détruire la primauté romaine en affectant de la respecter, sans qu'aucune voix maîtresse répétât le mot de Bossuet au siècle précédent: 'O Église romaine, que ma langue s'attache a mon palais, si jamais je t'oublie.'" *Cf.* Mathiez, *Révolution*, 150; Zelada's laments, *ibid.*, 199.

[2] Joly, *Le schisme de l'Église de France pendant la Révolution*, in the *Revue d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, III. (1898), 165 *seqq.*

[3] Sybel, I.[4], 194; *Rev. d'hist. de l'Église de France*, IV. (1913), 346. The importance of Camus's activity has already been brought out by Thiers in his *Histoire de la Révolution*, I., 229.

already broken out in the south, notably in Nîmes, were not taken as a warning, as they were thought to be connected with disturbances which had been engineered.[1] On July 12th, 1790, after the desires of certain cities which refused to surrender their claims to episcopal sees had been met, the proposed law was passed in its entirety.[2] On the 9th, to no purpose, Bishop Bonal of Clermont had made an exceptional appearance in the Assembly to warn it with all possible earnestness against the imprudent step it was about to take. He solemnly renewed the civic oath he had taken on February 4th, "to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to uphold the constitution," but he made it clear that this oath applied only to civil, political, and secular affairs, not to purely ecclesiastical ones. He omitted these expressly, "since, Gentlemen, while I remember what I owe to Cæsar, I have not forgotten what I owe to God."[3]

The object of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was to tear the Church in France away from the great unity of Catholicism, and by overthrowing its constitution so to reduce it to the status of a Government police institution as to cripple its entire effectiveness. The State erected and suppressed the dioceses; it decided who might be elected Bishop or parish priest, and authorized the communes to elect these functionaries as though the Church's right to do so had never existed. It regarded the Church's goods as its own, administered them as it liked, fixed the clergy's salaries as though they were its officials, and withheld payment if they did not submit to the new regulations regarding residence, which made it impossible for the Bishops to travel to Rome.[4] The State had the right to reform religion, according to the

[1] SYBEL, *loc. cit.*, 192 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 232 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, who gives a full description of the fighting in Nîmes.

[2] Some supplementary decrees were adopted on July 24 (DE LA GORCE, I., 253).

[3] SICARD, *Évêques*, II., 308.

[4] MÜNZENBERGER, 27. *Cf.* the arguments put forward by SCIOUT, *Constitution civile* (1887), 63 *seqq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 255 *seqq.*; MADELIN, *Révolution*, 150.

Jansenist Camus ; the State, shouted the Voltairian Treilhard, had the right to allow or prohibit a religion.[1] The State was everything, the Church nothing. For the Jansenists, the parliamentary lawyers, the Gallicans, and the Calvinists the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was an act of revenge on the Holy See ; for the Voltairians the decatholicization of France, which was Mirabeau's final objective, was only a stage on the way to complete dechristianization.[2]

[1] MADELIN (*Révolution*, 150) reminds us that even Napoleon did not make such claims as these.

[2] KIEFER, 21 ; MADELIN, *loc. cit.*, 146. MATHIEZ objects (on p. 7) to Sorel's description of the *Constitution civile* as " une Église d'État instituée *par des incredules* ". Sorel certainly goes too far, but CHAMPION (*La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en 1794*, Paris, 1903) is equally at fault in endeavouring to persuade his readers that the great majority of the constituent national assembly, which passed the law, consisted of " catholiques sincères ", who, far from wanting to attack religion, wanted to strengthen it by means of the new organization. Mathiez, who simply accepted at its face value the fine-sounding assurance of the authors and promoters of the Civil Constitution, was opposed by Wahl as soon as the Frenchman published his work in the *Révolution française*. WAHL rightly takes Mathiez to task for not having really studied the policy of the French Bishops or the German literature on the subject (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, IXC., 216) and, in spite of his prolixity, for not having digested or exhausted his material (*ibid.*, C, 450). Nevertheless, in the new edition of his essays which came out in 1911 Mathiez completely ignored the valuable work done by Kiefer (1903). He accepted Champion's view and defended it very vigorously. But as opposed to this it should be noted that although there were vague and short-sighted Catholics of the type of Dom Gerle (*cf.* above, p. 123), who allowed themselves to be deluded by the debate on the law, and although discontented members of the lower clergy voted for it (*cf.* KIEFER, 21 *seqq.*, and SICARD, I., 421), they were not the authors of the law nor its real promoters. These consisted of the Jansenists (whose share in the work is simply denied by Mathiez), the Parliamentary advocates, the Calvinists, and the philosophers. The " orthodoxy " of the philosophers had already been championed by Mathiez in his *Contributions à l'histoire de la*

Since hitherto the National Assembly had had everything its own way, no punitive measures against offenders had been included in the new law. The last paragraph in the original draft—that the king be asked to take such measures as were necessary for the execution of the law—had been struck out as being superflous. Clearly the Assembly thought that the king and the nation would acquiesce in this new decree as they had done in previous resolutions; it was quite unconscious of committing one of its greatest blunders—if not the greatest and most disastrous—in making a law which was bound to be regarded by " millions of believing Catholics as an infamous attack on the sanctuary of their conscience ". It had been able to destroy the clergy as the First Estate of the feudal constitution without the opposition's showing anything but the powerlessness of the conquered. But no sooner did it set its hand on the clergy as the repository of a faith rooted in

Révolution (Paris, 1910). Though they may not all have been " adversaires de l'idée religieuse ", their declaration of orthodoxy cannot be taken seriously. Mathiez himself feels this to be the case and consequently qualifies his judgment : " Si tous ne sont pas des croyants praticants, la plupart au moins sont des fidèles respectueux"—as "respectful ", no doubt, as the Baron de Menou, who afterwards went over to Islam. The rest of them have been accurately portrayed by De la Gorce : " Quelques-uns déploraient en secret les usurpations sur le domaine ecclésiastique, mais par mollesse de croyance ou crainte du ridicule, se garderaient bien de se compromettre pour des prêtres. Plusieurs étaient tellement pénétrés des scandales de l'ancien régime que, de confiance et sans examen, ils suivraient quiconque se proclamerait réformateur. D'autres enfin affichaient un grand respect pour Dieu, pour l'Évangile ; quand ils avaient parlé de la sorte avec une piété voisine de l'édification, ils se ravisaient et prenaient grand soin qu'on séparât leur cause de celle des ' fanatiques '. Qu'on les pressât un peu, et on reculait effrayé ; car ces mêmes hommes englobaient sous le nom de ' fanatisme ' presque tout ce que la tradition des peuples avait jusque-là proclamé sacré " (I., 216). Pisani's arguments (I., 138 *seqq.*) also run counter to Mathiez's. There is a very good article on the Constitution in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 1537 *seqq.*

the people than a fratricidal war broke out all over the kingdom. It was then discovered that as opposed to the enlightened orators of the clubs and the godless mob in the capital, half the country was occupied by a farming population that held fast to the church of its fathers with unshakable tenacity and a readiness to fight for it.[1]

This attempt to found a schismatic national church not only drove believers into civil war but also inevitably changed the attitude of the king, who in spite of all the signs of danger, hoped, so limited was his intelligence, to be able to rule in partnership with an assembly [2] which was determined to rule alone. Two days after the passing of the resolution on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, at the great festival of the federation held in the Champ-de-Mars to commemorate the

[1] SYBEL's opinion (*loc. cit.*, 191 *seq.*, 194 ; *cf.* also 128, 203, 205), which is corroborated by respected historians of the most diverse persuasions : SOREL (*L'Europe et la Révolution*, II.[7], 115) ; HASE (*Rosenvorlesungen* [1880], 158 *seqq.*) ; RANKE (III., 145) ; BROSCH (II., 176) ; DEBIDOUR (*L'Église et l'état de 1789 à 1870*, 68) ; ROBIDOU (*Hist. du clergé*, I. [1889], 415) ; EICHHORN (*Gesch.*, III., 821) ; MOURRET (121) ; KIEFER (20) ; MADELIN (*Révolution*, 147) ; *id.* (*France et Rome*, 315) ; BLIARD (in *Études*, CLXX. [1922], 21 *seq.*). In more recent times the Civil Constitution has found very few defenders. The only German one is MAX LENZ, whose article in the periodical *Kosmopolis* (1896, 561 *seqq.*) has been so thoroughly refuted by KIEFER (17 *seqq.*) that nothing more need be said. Independently of Lenz, three Frenchmen have defended the Constitution. It is not surprising that GAZIER, the last of the Jansenists, should have upheld the work of his sect in his *Études sur l'hist. religieuse de la Révolution* (1887, 23 *seqq.*). CHAMPION (*cf.* above, p. 140) and MATHIEZ do so as supporters of the anti-clerical campaign in France opened in 1903 by the Left Republican party. Though they do not go so far as Lenz, their ignorance of the nature and constitution of the Catholic Church is equally complete.

[2] In SYBEL's opinion (I.[4], 240, 245) the changed attitude of the king, who was finally driven by the persecution of the Church to enter into a foreign alliance, was the worst injury suffered by the Revolution as the result of the Civil Constitution.

storming of the Bastille, Louis XVI., his hand stretched out towards the altar in the antique style on which Talleyrand had offered Mass, took a solemn oath to uphold the new constitution. The cheers with which he was greeted on this occasion made the weak-willed monarch more than ever disposed to maintain good relations with the National Assembly.[1] Was he to endanger them by opposing the new law? On the other hand, the voice of conscience told him that in sanctioning such a violation of the most sacred rights as was contained in the Civil Constitution he was breaking his royal word, by which he had pledged himself to protect the Catholic religion. Thus troubled in his conscience, the unhappy Louis turned to the two esteemed prelates who were members of his council. One of them, the Keeper of the Great Seal, Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux,[2] who had always occupied himself more with secular than with spiritual matters, thought it better to come to terms with the National Assembly than to provoke it with a veto. This opinion was supported by the other prelate, the worthy Archbishop of Vienne, Le Franc de Pompignan, who had once been a doughty opponent of Rousseauism [3] but was now weakened by old age and disease and was appalled by the prospect of schism.[4] Thus the plan was formed to promise to sanction the law but not to publish the fact until negotiations with the Holy See had been completed. This escape from the dilemma, which shifted the whole responsibility on to the Pope, was typical of the pusillanimous king and of his counsellors. They would gladly have resisted, but dared not. Instead, they deceived themselves with the hope of extricating themselves from an awkward situation by inducing the Holy See to give way.[5] To

[1] De la Gorce (I., 284) has rightly drawn attention to this.

[2] *Cf.* Zelada's praise in his letter to the *chargé d'affaires* Pieracchi on March 10, 1790 (Nunziat. di Francia, 463, Papal Secret Archives).

[3] Cl. Bouvier, *Lefranc de Pompignan*, Paris, 1903.

[4] *Cf.* Pompignan's letter to Pius VI., of July 29, 1790, in Theiner, *Documents*, I., 283.

[5] De la Gorce (I., 286) has written an excellent study of the course of action chosen by Louis XVI.

a superficial observer such a hope may not have seemed unjustified.

The events in France had not caused Pius VI. to abandon his customary benevolence. Like many of his contemporaries he failed at first to appreciate the full significance of the trend of affairs, which developed with extraordinary rapidity. As in his dealings with Catherine II., Joseph II., and Leopold of Tuscany, he decided at first to wait on events, in which attitude the great confidence he placed in Louis XVI.'s Catholicism played an important part. Although the prohibition issued by the National Assembly against the payment of dues to the Holy See [1] threatened the existence of the concordat, he did all in his power to avoid a rupture. He ordered prayers to be said for the intentions of the Church, and on September 13th, 1789, he sent a confidential letter to the king in which, with fatherly solicitude but in general terms, he exhorted him to protect the Church.[2] The king's reply, written in a very mournful tone, contained assurances of his steadfast devotion to the Church,[3] but it could not satisfy the Pope, in view of the bad news that was coming from France. The revolutionary movement had penetrated even Avignon,[4] and the National Assembly was preparing to seize the Church goods there.

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 133.

[2] MATHIEZ, *Rome et le clergé*, 38 *seq.*; here also are particulars about the settlement of the question of the annates.

[3] Text of the letter in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, I., 234, where it is dated October 8. GENDRY (III., 111 *seq.*) reproduces it from the "Carte sciolte" of the Papal Secret Archives, with the date October 1. MASSON (*Bernis*, 465) saw a copy in the *Archives des affaires étrangères* which was dated October 20.

[4] *Cf.* PASSERI'S *Mémoires sur la Révolution d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin*, Rome, 1793, which is valuable for the documents reproduced from the Papal Secret Archives, and MATHIEZ (53 *seqq.*), who uses the documents in the *Archives des affaires étrangères* in Paris but ignores the information obtained from the Papal Secret Archives and published by GENDRY (II., 166 *seqq.*) in 1907. *Cf.* also J. F. ANDRÉ, *Histoire de la Révolution avignon.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1844, and CLÉMENT SAINT-JUST, *Esquisse hist. de la*

Nevertheless, isolated as he was and unable to rely on any European power, the Pope found it imperative to hold his hand yet longer. This decision was supported by the French ambassador, Cardinal Bernis, who had received an official intimation from his crafty minister in Paris, De Montmorin, that the last word in the matter of the Church goods had not yet been spoken.[1] Moreover, the Pope was in no doubt about the piety of Louis XVI. and the ecclesiastical zeal of his Minister, the Archbishop Pompignan.

In these circumstances the greatest possible restraint was recommended also by the aged Cardinal Zelada, who had been Secretary of State since October, 1789, and who was genuinely well-disposed towards France. But at the beginning of March, 1790, news arrived in Rome of the action taken against the Orders. Surely a protest must be made now? Many of the Cardinals were in favour of it, also the first of the *émigrés*, many of whom had arrived in Rome during the winter.[2] Pius VI. had apparently made up his mind to appeal to France and the rest of Catholic Europe by means of a circular letter, when Cardinal Bernis intervened. In an audience lasting two hours he threw his rank, his age, and his experience into the balance. He described at length the excitement that prevailed in France and argued from this the necessity of avoiding precipitate measures. "I feel the weight of your arguments," replied the Pope in deep distress, "but I must uphold my honour and obey the voice of my conscience by protesting against the violation of the Church's laws and the rights of the Holy See." "In that case," pleaded Bernis, "I beg Your Holiness to speak only in general terms and to make no special reference to France. Our enemies want a rupture; therefore we must avoid it." The Pope, who had listened to Bernis with great attention and his customary benevolence, still took no

Révolution d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin et de leur réunion à la France, Paris, 1890.

[1] *Cf.* p. 146.

[2] MASSON, *Bernis*, 469 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 273 *seq.*; MATHIEZ, 142 *seq.*

decision. On dismissing Bernis, however, he assured him that his attitude would be based on his love for the king and his solicitude for France.[1]

As the result of Bernis' urgent remonstrances it was decided not to issue a circular letter. Instead, at a secret consistory on March 29th, 1790, the Pope delivered an allocution to the Cardinals, denouncing in strong language all the transgressions hitherto committed by the National Assembly. This speech, however, was kept from the public.[2] Similarly, to Bernis' satisfaction, the permission to dispense from monastic vows, granted to the French Bishops on March 31st, 1790, at the request of Cardinal Rochefoucauld, contained only a message of consolation framed in general terms.[3] Nevertheless, in spite of these successes, the Cardinal thought that the Pope's patience ought not to be tried by any more attacks on the Church. "I too," he wrote, "ought not to be expected to be more than human in matters affecting one's honour, conscience, and duty."[4] His assertion that a public statement, even if carefully worded and of a general nature, would only make the situation worse, again succeeded in restraining the Pope from taking definite action.

Meanwhile the Foreign Minister, the Comte de Montmorin, a mystic filled with hatred of the Holy See, and probably a freemason,[5] who had compared the Pope to the Sultan, wrapped himself in studied silence so far as Bernis and the nuncio Dugnani were concerned.[6] Nevertheless, news of a highly disquieting nature made its way to Rome. In April the nuncio reported that a poisonous pamphlet against the Pope

[1] Cardinal Bernis' report to M. de Montmorin, dated Rome, March 16, 1790, in the *Archives des affaires étrangères* in Paris, used by MASSON (*loc. cit.*, 477) and DE LA GORCE (I., 275).

[2] Text of the allocution in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, I., 1–4. *Cf.* GUILLEAUME, I., 1 *seqq.*; MASSON, 478.

[3] Text in THEINER, I., 4 *seq.*, and GUILLEAUME, I., 7 *seqq.*

[4] DE LA GORCE, I., 277.

[5] MATHIEZ, 14 *seq.*, 19, 133.

[6] DE LA GORCE, I., 277 *seqq.*

had been allowed to circulate.[1] Far more disturbing were the messages he sent about the regulations contained in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which, in the opinion of one who saw things as they were, evinced an unbelievable hostility towards the Holy See.[2]

Moved by ever greater anxiety, Pius VI. ordered public prayers to be said in Rome at Whitsun for the protection of the Church. When the French Government expressed its misgivings about the extension of these prayers to France the Pope could not refrain from remarking to Bernis: "God grant that His Most Christian Majesty is threatened by no worse danger than our prayers!" To avoid giving the enemies of the Holy See in the National Assembly any cause for complaint no reference to France was made in the announcement of the prayers, and they were confined to the city of Rome.[3] But the restraint shown by the Holy See only seemed to make its enemies bolder. With extreme ruthlessness they continued in their discussions on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to treat the Church as a civil institution which was simply subject to the ordering of the State and had only as much right as was vouchsafed to it by the National Assembly. By June there could be hardly any doubt that the new law would go through.

Cardinal Bernis learnt of all this only through the newspapers. Although these reports, he wrote to Paris in slight reproval of the Government, offered no guarantee of their authenticity, he would be guilty of a serious neglect of duty if he failed to point out the evil consequences of deciding such controversial and momentous matters in a precipitate and arbitrary fashion. An attempt was being made to bring about a complete revolution in the discipline and constitution of the Catholic Church, which had been laid down by the canons and

[1] Report of April 19, 1790 (*v.* GENDRY, II., 117). For the pamphlet, entitled "La Journée du Vatican ou le Mariage du Pape", *v.* MASSON, 479, n. 1. This trashy composition was performed at the Théâtre Louvois in September, 1793.

[2] Report of May 10, 1790 (GENDRY, II., 121).

[3] DE LA GORCE, I., 279; MATHIEZ, 238.

the councils. The suppression of the present bishoprics and the erection of new ones, the election and canonical institution of the Bishops, were essentially ecclesiastical matters. In issuing regulations concerning them the National Assembly was exceeding its competence. But as it was not a sovereign body, its law was a dead letter so long as it was not sanctioned by the king. So all was not yet lost. Perhaps in the course of time an agreement could be reached, though it was certainly difficult to negotiate between two parties of which one refused to give way in any direction and the other was unable to waive rules and regulations that had been laid down dogmatically. However, as it was still in the king's power to prevent the threatened schism he must make use of his right. To sanction ordinances which were inherently schismatic would be a burden on His Most Christian Majesty's conscience.[1]

Shortly after this warning of the French ambassador and Cardinal had been received in Paris three Briefs arrived there: one for the king, the other two for his counsellors, the Archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux. All three missives were dated July 10th, 1790. In the Brief to the king the Pope openly expressed his solicitude about the course of events in France and touched finally on the insurrection of Avignon and the offer made by the revolutionaries there to attach themselves to France. But the main purport of the letter was ecclesiastical. Pius VI. made it clear that he was in no doubt about the king's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, but as the Vicar of Christ and the guardian of the treasure of the faith he was obliged not so much to enlighten him on his duties to God and his peoples—for he held him incapable of acting against his conscience and of surrendering himself to the delusions of a false policy—as to declare to him with firmness and fatherly love that he would lead his whole nation into error and plunge his kingdom into schism, and possibly into a terrible war of religion, were he to confirm the National Assembly's decisions about the clergy. Hitherto he, the Pope, had scrupulously

[1] This important letter from Bernis to Montmorin, of June 30, 1790, was first published by Masson (*loc. cit.*, 479).

avoided every kind of conflict by using only the innocent weapons of prayer, but if the danger to religion continued he would have to raise his voice as head of the Church without, however, ignoring the precepts of charity. His Majesty was not to believe that a political body could alter the teaching and general organization of the Church and order the election of Bishops and the suppression of episcopal sees—in other words, shatter and mutilate the whole structure of the Catholic Church, precisely as it pleased. The king could renounce the rights of his crown, but he certainly could not dispose of what belonged to the Church, of which he was the eldest son. In any case, before deciding on so weighty a matter Louis should consult the two Archbishops on his council and the rest of the episcopate.[1] It was, of course, at their suggestion that the plan had been formed to sanction the Civil Constitution but not to publish the fact until the negotiations with Rome had been completed. But this Papal Brief put an end to any hope of success by this method. Moreover, the two Archbishops were sternly admonished in the Briefs of July 10th to restrain the king from sanctioning the Civil Constitution, since this would mean his participation in a schism.[2]

By the time these Briefs arrived in Paris the decision had been taken. On July 22nd Louis XVI., accepting the opinion of all his counsellors tendered to him on the 20th, informed the National Assembly that he would sanction the Civil Constitution, but that he was withholding the publication of this decision in order to take the necessary measures for the execution of the new law.[3] What he had in mind was the negotiations with Rome. But after the arrival of the Briefs of July 10th this way of escape seemed to be blocked. Nevertheless, the king, Cicé, and Pompignan went on hoping that they would be rescued from their predicament, or at least that

[1] THEINER, I., 5–7; GUILLEAUME, I., 10 *seqq.*

[2] THEINER, I., 7–10; GUILLEAUME, I., 14 *seqq.*, 18 *seqq.*

[3] MATHIEZ (265 *seq.*), to whom is due the credit of having been the first to give a clear account of these events.

they would gain time by the Pope's provisional acceptance of the Civil Constitution or a large part of it, for after all, as the result of the revolution of Avignon, the Pope was dependent on the good graces of the French Government. In this opinion they were supported by Boisgelin and Bonal, who were also in favour of this expedient.[1] Bonal assured the nuncio Dugnani that this was the view not only of the Bishops in the National Assembly but also of their other colleagues. The nuncio thought this not improbable; he knew how widely Gallican ideas were spread among the French Bishops and he feared that if an understanding with Rome was not reached quickly a third of the French episcopate would conform to the regulations of the Civil Constitution.[2]

If Paris really did desire an understanding with the Holy See the worst possible method was chosen to arrive at this result. The fundamental error in the Civil Constitution was the completely arbitrary procedure of the National Assembly in interfering with what were pre-eminently ecclesiastical affairs. Adherence to this principle inevitably rendered negotiations for an agreement extremely difficult. The ill-advised king, writing from Saint-Cloud on July 28th, in reply to the Brief of the 10th, announced quite bluntly that in accordance with the public statement he had made to the National Assembly on the 22nd he would take steps to carry out the Civil Constitution. He was ready to receive the Pope's comments on this law with due respect, but he asked him to consider the condition of the French Church, since the chief object of religion now was the avoidance of a schism.[3]

The king thus placed the head of the Church in the dilemma of either bending beneath the Caudine Forks of the National

[1] *Ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

[2] Dugnani's report of July 14, 1790 (French translation in MATHIEZ, 261).

[3] THEINER, I., 264 *seq.* No mention was made by Louis XVI. of the revolution in Avignon, to which reference had been made in the Brief of July 10. Moreover, a special memorandum on the subject, with a direct appeal to the king, had been handed in on July 20 (in PASSERI, II., App.).

Assembly or of provoking a schism.[1] To make this unreasonable request acceptable to the Pope, Cardinal Bernis was instructed on August 1st to point out that the danger of the situation demanded a rapid decision. Unlike the National Assembly, the king had not wanted to ignore the Pope or even to call a national council. In his piety and filial devotion he was appealing directly to the Holy Father. He did not conceal from himself the difficulties that stood in the way of the fulfilment of his wishes, consequently he did not request a final but only a provisional sanction of the most important regulations contained in the Civil Constitution, namely the new diocesan divisions, the suppression of the chapters, and the election of the Bishops by the people.

The instruction not only prescribed the substance of the reply that was to be made by the Pope but also demanded that it be made immediately, not to the Bishops but direct to the king. Finally the Cardinal was reminded of the necessity of a quick decision, which was all the more remarkable as the king had not hurried himself with his reply.[2]

The courier who left on August 1st with the instruction and the king's letter had been told to travel with all haste and to return without delay.[3] This haste, which left the Pope hardly any time in which to consider so important a matter, was as unreasonable as the demands that were put to him. Cardinal Bernis, as ambassador, was saddled with the unpleasant task of representing a policy which demanded the impossible.[4] He accordingly drafted another memorandum, which put the requests of his Government in a different light and made it possible, as he hoped, for the Pope to agree to them. The Cardinal knew only too well that if he presented himself to the Pope with the direct request for the recognition of the Civil

[1] Masson, *Bernis*, 482.

[2] Bernis' instruction was first published by Masson (264 *seq.*).

[3] De la Gorce, I., 291 *seq.*

[4] The policy of the French Government, says De la Gorce (I., 288), "prétendait bouleverser l'Église avec le consentement de l'Église elle-même."

Constitution he would only receive a complete refusal. Instead, therefore, of making so hopeless an attempt, which could only embitter the Pope, he shifted the basis of the negotiations by proposing a revision of the law, so as to make it acceptable.[1] His Holiness might agree to this, but whether the National Assembly would be willing to revise its law was quite another question. On August 13th the Cardinal had a long audience with Pius VI. Taking care not to present his Government's demands in the crude form in which they had been transmitted to him he spoke about a provisional arrangement and described the risks involved in delaying a decision. The Pope, who had known two days earlier that the king had decided to give his sanction, did not conceal his surprise and pain at this behaviour. "The sanction," he said, "deprives me of many expedients I might have used," but he refrained from using any harsh words about the unhappy monarch. At the same time he firmly refused to take any precipitate decision. Though he had little hope of coming to any agreement he expressed his willingness to call a Congregation of Cardinals without delay to consider the French demands.[2]

With this reply the courier set out on his return journey on August 18th. He took with him also a letter from the Pope to the king, informing him that a Congregation of Cardinals was being set up to consider Bernis' proposals and emphasizing once again quite definitely that a purely political assembly had no right to make laws on ecclesiastical matters.[3]

The authors of the Civil Constitution were burning with

[1] Bernis' memorandum in THEINER, I., 265–281, excellently summarized in KIEFER, 34 *seq.* *Cf.* also MATHIEZ, 283 *seqq.* Mathiez unjustly condemns Bernis' action and, in opposition to Masson, does his best to depreciate the Cardinal's worth on many other scores, though he admits that a final verdict is impossible so long as the Cardinal's private correspondence is withheld from the public.

[2] Bernis' report to Montmorin, of August 18, 1790 (*loc. cit.*), used by DE LA GORCE, I., 293 *seq.*

[3] Text of the letter, written in French and dated August 17, 1790, in THEINER, I., 15 *seq.*

impatience to bring their work to completion, and regarded with annoyance the king's appeal to Rome. The real object of their law was to exclude the Supreme Pontiff from any influence in France. In the course of the discussions the Jansenist Camus had directly denied the Papal supremacy. "What is the Pope?" he had asked. "A Bishop, a servant of Christ like the others, whose powers are confined to the diocese of Rome. The time has come for the French Church, which has always jealously guarded its freedom, to be freed from this slavery." Lanjuinais and others also spoke of Pius VI. merely as Bishop of Rome.[1] With what anxiety then the authors of the Civil Constitution must have listened for news about the king's negotiations with the Pope! All who had hoped that the Pope would be induced to give his provisional approval of the law now at last began to grow impatient. On August 16th the deputy Bouche demanded the publication of the sanction, and on the following day the same demand was made by the *Comité Ecclésiastique*. The feeble Cicé asked for another week's grace. On the 20th Bouche declared in the National Assembly that this was too long. The nuncio, reporting on August 23rd on the agitation that was being worked up against the Holy See, wrote that a rumour was being spread that the Pope was urging the cabinets of Europe to send troops against France.[2] On the 24th, the feast of St. Louis, the period of grace expired. In offering his congratulations to the king on his name-day, Dupont, the president of the National Assembly, recalled the sainted king Louis, representing him as a Gallican and a steadfast opponent of the Roman Curia. Louis XVI. saw the point of the allusion and abandoned all resistance. Pompignan lay on a sick-bed from which he was not to rise again and took no part in the last act. Cicé, however, as Keeper of the Great Seal, had no scruples in setting his hand and his seal to the decree by which Louis XVI. gave his definite approval to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The king had not waited for the Pope's reply,

[1] MADELIN, *Révolution*, 147, 151.

[2] Dugnani's report of August 23, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

which could not have arrived in Paris before August 26th.[1] One can understand how it took Louis twelve days to reply to the Pope's letter when it did come, and his embarrassment can be seen in his reply. He made no attempt to justify himself. Pleading the force of circumstances, he confined himself to notifying the Pope that he had published the Civil Constitution but that he had not yet brought it to the knowledge of the interested parties in due form.[2]

It is characteristic of Pius VI.'s gentleness and forbearance that in his reply of September 22nd, while deeply regretting the step taken by the king, he administered only the lightest of reproofs. He seems almost to be excusing himself in saying that evidently it was still not clear to His Majesty that the reformers were using his royal name to shield themselves while attaining their rash projects of revolution. The Pope would withhold the explicit and definitive condemnation of the Civil Constitution until the Congregation of Cardinals had met on September 24th and had once more given the matter their careful attention. The Pope then made the highly important announcement that he would exhort the French Bishops to turn in confidence to Rome for help. The king was asked to support this appeal, for this was the only way of finding ways and means of restoring ecclesiastical order ; the imparting of provisional powers would cause the most grievous harm.[3]

These last words were a reference to the expedient suggested on behalf of the suffragan Bishops of his province by the Archbishop of Auch, De la Tour-du-Pin, on August 7th, that the Pope should provisionally agree to the Civil Constitution by dint of Papal dispensations and concessions or with certain alterations.[4]

[1] MASSON, *Bernis*, 486 ; SICARD, *Clergé*, II., 399 *seqq.* ; MATHIEZ, 302, 306 *seq.* The journey from Rome to Paris still took 12–14 days.

[2] Louis XVI.'s letter of September 6, 1790 (*Arch. des affaires étrang.*), used by MASSON (485) and DE LA GORCE (I., 297), and reproduced by MATHIEZ (314 *seq.*).

[3] THEINER, I., 18 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 284–296. *Cf.* SCIOUT, I., 280 ; KIEFER, 43 *seq.*

The Cardinals appointed to the Congregation took the same viewpoint as the Pope.[1] They assembled on September 24th and one can easily understand how their deliberations lasted till October 27th. Their decision was bound to be fraught with the gravest consequences. Now that the king had definitely sanctioned the Civil Constitution, only two courses seemed to be open to them: either to accept the law in its entirety or wholly to reject it. The former course, quite apart from the danger of other States introducing similar laws,[2] was impossible to reconcile with the Catholic religion. On the other hand, the total condemnation of the law was equally repugnant to them, in view of the incalculable consequences that would ensue.

The Pope, too, was still reluctant to use extreme measures. Though provoked by abusive writings that were being disseminated in Paris,[3] he maintained complete composure and a conciliatory spirit. He was ready for any sacrifice that did not conflict with the unity and constitution of the Church. When he received Cardinal Bernis in audience on October 22nd he had on his desk in front of him the opinions of the Cardinals and several letters from the French Bishops, including one from Boisgelin, whose talent and prudence he highly esteemed. The Cardinals of the Congregation, said the Holy Father several times, were of the unanimous opinion that the Civil Constitution, in its present form, could not be approved without dealing the Church a mortal blow.[4] Emphasis was

[1] MATHIEZ (324, n. 1) gives the names of the members of the Congregation as reported by Bernis on September 22, 1790.

[2] SOREL, *L'Europe et la Révol. franç.*, II. (1899), 124 *seq.*

[3] MASSON, 479.

[4] "Ceux-ci sont unanimes à juger qu'on ne peut, sans porter un coup mortel au catholicisme, approuver tels qu'ils sont les décrets sur le clergé." In his book *Rome et le clergé français*, which abounds in insinuations and suppositions, MATHIEZ (Professeur au lycée Voltaire, Président de la société des études robespierristes) is at pains to show that it was not the National Assembly, with the Civil Constitution, that made the fatal mistake that brought so much suffering on France, but Pius VI., through not accepting this law, and that the chief motive for his attitude was his anxiety

laid on the words, "in its present form," which were further explained by the statement: "It is easier to destroy than to restore, but for the latter We must be given time." Pius VI. couched his decision, which accorded with the Cardinals' opinion, in the following form: "It must be explained to the king in writing that many of the regulations of the Civil Constitution are of such a nature that We cannot approve of them without contravening Our most sacred duties. At the same time, however, We shall instruct the French Bishops to make Us proposals as to how the most objectionable directions of the new law may be brought into harmony with the principles of the Catholic and Gallican Church." [1]

Pius VI., who had not been sufficiently informed either by Bernis or the nuncio Dugnani of the importance of the events in France,[2] wanted even at this stage to avoid a rupture and

about the revolution in Avignon (Mathiez, 62, 300). MOURRET (112) has very rightly protested against this imputation of a "calcul d'une égoïste et basse politique". In the *Annales révolutionnaires* of July–August, 1921, Mathiez proceeded to advance the view that with a little good-will Pius VI. could have accepted the Civil Constitution. But, as BLIARD has shown in *Études* (1922; CLXX, 13–28), this theory rests on a complete ignorance of the principles of the Catholic Church. Mathiez again betrays an entirely wrong conception of the facts and of Pius VI.'s standpoint when he asserts, with an allusion to Joseph II, "Ce qui était permis ou tolérable chez un souverain légitime, devenait un attentat sans excuse chez des sujets révoltés" (*Rome*, 79). In the same breath he observes quite rightly that the basic object of the Civil Constitution was "libérer l'Église de France de la sujétion romaine d'une part, nationaliser cette Église de l'autre" (p. 78; *cf.* above, p. 131, n. 2). It is almost ludicrous when, in the further course of his arguments, the apologist of Robespierre delivers to the Pope a solemn lecture on his pastoral duty (245, 298), which consisted simply in sanctioning such a law.

[1] Cardinal Bernis' report to Montmorin, of October 27, 1790 (*loc. cit.*), used by MASSON (486) and evidently also by DE LA GORCE (I., 300).

[2] As for Bernis, who was purposely kept in ignorance by his Government of what was happening (see above, p. 146), MOURRET

to come to an understanding, but the National Assembly, which considered itself to be the competent authority in all matters, ecclesiastical included, made this impossible by undertaking the execution of the law without reference to the Pope or the French episcopate.

The possibility of its meeting with energetic resistance seems at first hardly to have entered into the Assembly's calculations. It thought that there was nothing to fear from the peasants and the inhabitants of the smaller towns and not much from the *bourgeois*. Many of the educated had been infected with the spirit of the age and despised or hated the clergy. The full significance of the reforms, which left the religious services untouched, was realized at first by very few.[1]

Of those who were favourably inclined towards the Church, including even the clergy, the majority had participated in the work of reform with such enthusiasm as to leave no room for restrictions or precautions. The lower clergy had given the

(115) says quite rightly that his diplomatic position did not allow him to tell the Pope everything. As for the supply of information by the nunciature, PISANI says (I., 167 *seq.*) that in the dispatches to the Secretary of State the facts were accurately reported, but that there was no appreciation of the forces at work. Dugnani's competence is also unfavourably judged by GENDRY (II., 119, 122), who says in the latter passage : " Les évêques, alarmés, à juste titre, de la situation présente se retournent vers le nonce, mais Dugnani n'ose assumer les graves responsabilités qu'on réclame de lui. Ce prélat est-il bien à la hauteur de sa lourde charge ? . . . Toute sa politique semble consister à donner des informations à la secrétairerie d'État et à en attendre les ordres. Dans aucune circonstance urgente, il n'osera ni prendre une decision, ni même l'insinuer à sa cour." MATHIEZ thinks this judgment too severe (123), but he admits that the nuncio took too optimistic a view of the situation (197). MASSON says (432) that in the matter of the Civil Constitution the nuncio went as far as he possibly could to keep the peace. A conclusive judgment on Dugnani's performance of his duty can only be formed after the publication of the work which has been prepared by the Abbé Sevestre for the *Société d'histoire contemporaine.*

[1] SICARD, *Évêques*, II., 349 *seq.*

reform so warm a welcome that any opposition on their part was most improbable. Many of them had been actuated by material distress, and now at last they were assured of a decent existence. Any lasting resistance in this quarter, therefore, was almost out of the question, though there were individuals who were already beginning to see the truth.[1]

Thus, all the hopes of the Church were centred on the Bishops. In Paris it was thought that since they had acquiesced in the loss of their privileges and their goods and had not put up an effective opposition when the matter was deliberated in the National Assembly, they would adapt themselves to the new order once it had become law. Expectations of this kind were not unjustified, since the Bishops' attitude towards the Civil Constitution had been neither uniform nor forceful. They had objected at the very beginning, but when their protest died away they had withdrawn themselves from the debates and had failed to make a determined stand. After the law had been accepted by the National Assembly and had been sanctioned by the king, many of them, including those who were most respected, indulged too long in vain hopes of its provisional approval by the Pope. Only a few of them made an immediate protest [2] or issued sharply-worded pastorals against the Civil Constitution; among the latter were the Archbishops of Vienne and Amiens.[3]

The Pope's long delay in reaching a decision was due not only to the fact that it was still possible to revise the law. If

[1] "Ils commencent à s'appercevoir qu'ils ont été dupes," wrote the Archbishop of Embrun to Bernis on October 30, 1790 (THEINER, I., 297 *seq.*).

[2] The Bishop of Laon, however, had protested against the Civil Constitution in a letter to the Pope of June 18, 1790; and the Bishop of Quimper did likewise on July 18 (TRESVAUX DU FRAVAL, *Histoire de la persécution révol. en Bretagne*, Saint-Brieuc, 1892, I., 97 *seqq.*). *Cf.* Dugnani's report of August 23, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] For these pastoral letters, which were issued at the end of August, *v.* MATHIEZ, 318.

this hope failed and a condemnation became imperative, there was still another factor to be weighed: he was not by any means certain that the majority of the French Bishops would support him. The steady demand for a national council filled him with misgivings about the Gallican tendencies of the episcopate.

By rejecting this demand for a national council the National Assembly had played into the Pope's hands to some extent, for now there was no other authority to give a decision.[1] Basing its calculations on the accommodating attitude of so many of the Bishops, the Assembly was counting on the Pope's provisional approval of the law, and hoped that its attitude towards the revolution in Avignon would exert a decisive pressure on Rome.[2] But by the middle of September, when the Pope was still withholding his decision, the Government grew tired of waiting and ordered the law to be put into effect. Now, however, it encountered an opposition that was far more extensive than it had expected. In any case, the method of procedure it adopted was enough to provoke the most peaceable persons to resistance. The *Département* authorities were baldly instructed to call on the Bishops to accept a law that did away with all their rights. The chapters received notice that they had ceased to exist. By the end of September this had been done in Nantes and Nîmes, and by the beginning of October in Lyons, Bourges, and Digne.[3] The chapters now followed the example of the Bishops in offering resistance; in many cases they yielded only to force. In many places, such as Mirepoix, Verdun, Soissons, and La Rochelle, their protests were quickly supported by the Bishops.[4]

The arrogance of the Assembly in proposing on its own authority to deprive time-honoured sees of their importance or to suppress them altogether, aroused bitter opposition on several occasions. The Bishop of Senez had already declared

[1] Even Mathiez (240) admits this.

[2] *Ibid.*, 226 *seq.*, 231 *seq.*, 234, 299 *seq.*, 317.

[3] De la Gorce, I., 301.

[4] See the instances quoted by Mathiez (327 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*).

on August 13th, 1790, that he did not propose to resign his lawful see.[1] On September 2nd, 1790, Archbishop Dillon of Narbonne wrote a firm letter to the king, complaining that an attempt was being made to reduce him to the rank of a suffragan. It was intended, he observed, to introduce into France Presbyterianism, the sect most hostile to the monarchy.[2] Under the terms of the Civil Constitution the diocese of St-Pol de Léon was suppressed; on receiving notice of this, addressed to himself as the "former" Bishop, the incumbent sent it back as "undeliverable".[3] Although he was himself a member of the National Assembly, the Bishop of Beauvais, exercising his old right, filled a parochial vacancy in spite of the fact that the order had gone forth to give effect to the Civil Constitution.[4] Had not death prevented him the universally respected Bishop of Quimper would have put his name to a solemn protest.[5] In a pastoral letter to the diocese of Grasse the severance of communication with the Pope was condemned as schismatic.[6] The Bishops of Strasbourg and Verdun claimed their privileges as Princes of the German Empire.[7] The occupants of the sees of Lisieux and Nantes declared that they could take no part in the execution of the new law until the Pope had spoken.[8] The clergy of Soissons were forbidden by their aged leader to participate, whether directly or indirectly, in the execution of the Civil Constitution. The Bishop also appealed to his colleagues, forty-five of whom expressed their agreement.[9] But there were also those who in their weak-willed complaisance assisted in the execution of the measures stipulated by the Civil Constitution. Among

[1] Barruel, *Collection ecclésiast.*, I., 396 *seq.*

[2] Theiner, I., 296 *seq.*

[3] Barruel, *loc. cit.*, I., 412 *seq.*

[4] Kiefer, 53 *seqq.*

[5] De la Gorce, I., 304 *seq.*

[6] Mathiez, 335.

[7] *Ibid.*, 334.

[8] *Ibid.*, 330, 337 *seq.*; Kiefer, 54.

[9] Fleury, *Le clergé de l'Aisne pendant la Révolution*, Paris, 1853, 145 *seq.*

them were the Bishops of Tarbes, Vannes, and Perpignan.[1] Uniformity in the attitude of the hierarchy was first brought about by the statement issued on October 30th by the Bishops in the National Assembly, who, as the highest ecclesiastical representatives of the nation, were best qualified to take this step. This document, entitled *Exposition des Principes sur la Constitution Civile du Clergé*,[2] was drawn up by Boisgelin and was signed by all the Bishops in the National Assembly except Talleyrand and Gobel. It began with the statement that the National Assembly had issued the decrees on the Civil Constitution in the form of absolute laws of a sovereign power which considered itself to be completely independent of the authority of the Church, and consequently found it unnecessary to observe the canonical forms. In the face of this it was their duty to declare that any such procedure was contrary to all the principles of the Catholic Church. The regulations laid down in the new law were then subjected in turn to a searching but entirely unemotional examination, not by any means all of them being rejected. On the contrary, so conciliatory were the Bishops that they suggested certain alterations and concessions that really would bring the law into harmony with the precepts of the early Church—the object desired by the National Assembly. But for this, they held, co-operation between the spiritual and the lay authority was indispensable. This was why they had suggested the convocation of a national council and the suspension of the execution of the decrees in the various *Départements* until the Church had spoken through the voice of its visible head, or other means had been found of making good the disuse of the canonical forms. In conclusion they announced that they were still resolved to await the decision of the successor of St. Peter, the sole interpreter and mouthpiece of the whole Church.

Accordingly on November 9th this statement of the Bishops was sent through Boisgelin to Cardinal Bernis for trans-

[1] MATHIEZ, 335 *seqq.*

[2] BARRUEL, I., 151–283. For a summary of the contents and an appreciation of the manifesto, *v.* KIEFER, 44 *seq.*

mission to the Pope. Pius VI., it was said in the accompanying letter, had in his Brief to the king of September 22nd expressed the desire that the Bishops should state their attitude. This desire they were now fulfilling.[1] Boisgelin explained that he had drawn up the declaration on behalf of his colleagues in the National Assembly and that it was a literal exposition of their views. It was true, continued Boisgelin, that their proposals for a settlement were on many points largely in accord with the provisions of the Civil Constitution, but they were not entirely in agreement with them. As they were not in conflict with the principles of the Church, he hoped that they would meet with the Pope's approval. There were, he said, some grounds for this hope, as the Bishops were not simply repeating their request for the provisional acceptance of the decrees without any important alterations and restrictions, as in the proposals made in August; they were proposing really important alterations in the articles that were to be permanently accepted, especially those concerned with episcopal elections; moreover, even in these cases they left it to the Pope's judgment to grant only a provisional approval.[2]

This was the Bishops' last attempt at mediation between the Holy See and the National Assembly. It was to be frustrated, as Boisgelin had feared, through the definite refusal of the majority of the deputies to make any alteration in the Civil Constitution.

[1] THEINER, I., 298 *seqq.* [2] KIEFER, 49 *seqq.*

CHAPTER V.

The Fate of the Non-Juring Clergy in France—The Reign of Terror.

The declaration made by the Bishops in the National Assembly on October 30th, 1790, was agreed to by all the other members of the hierarchy except three.[1] In order to ensure a united course of action the Bishop-deputies lost no time in sending to their colleagues twenty-eight articles, in which they recommended that for the time being they should confine themselves to passive resistance.[2] Many thought that the attitude of the hierarchy erred on the side of moderation.[3] The majority in the National Assembly was proportionately inflexible; what it wanted was not a compromise but the complete submission of the Bishops and the Pope. In the hope of obtaining this it had delayed for a time the execution of the law and had thus afforded the episcopacy time to collect its forces.[4] When it saw that its expectation was not to be fulfilled and that the passive resistance of the Bishops was everywhere in evidence [5] the majority in the Assembly shut its eyes more tightly than

[1] The first, Loménie de Brienne, Cardinal Archbishop of Sens, whose mode of life was scandalous, put his dissentient opinion before the Pope on November 25, 1790 (Theiner, *Hist.*, I., 300–4). His intention was to confront the Holy See with an accomplished fact, as is admitted by his admirer Mathiez (355). The second was the thoroughly immoral Bishop Jarente of Orleans. The third, Savine of Viviers, is noted on p. 172, n. 2. The declaration was signed by ninety-eight clerical deputies.

[2] De la Gorce, I., 306 *seq.*; Mathiez, 345 *seq.*

[3] Mathiez, 347.

[4] *Ibid.*, 317. The first Constitutional Bishop to be elected was the Abbé Expilly of Quimper, on October 31, 1790.

[5] *Ibid.*, 357 *seq.* How high hopes ran in Paris is seen from a letter from Montmorin to Bernis, of October 26, 1790, in which he says: "Le plus grand nombre des ecclésiastiques cédera sans murmurer," *ibid.*, 368.

ever to the mistake it had made in invading a domain in which the decision rested with a higher power. As before, it refused to treat with Rome, being loath, as Pétion put it, to expose itself to an ultramontane veto.[1] It was thus that it resolved to beat down the dutiful resistance of the clergy by brute force, to muzzle it, in Mirabeau's words.[2] On November 5th, 1790, his friend Duquesnoy angrily complained in the National Assembly that certain "functionaries" were still using the title of Archbishop, and he demanded that the *Comité Ecclésiastique* should report within a fortnight on the execution of the Civil Constitution. Lanjuinais replied that the committee was attending to the matter and that in Quimper on October 31st an episcopal election had already taken place in conformity with the regulations of the new law.[3] This announcement, however, failed to satisfy the Left. On November 6th Merlin and Lavie demanded that forcible measures be taken against the "rebellious functionaries"; as disturbers of the peace they must forfeit their salaries. Demands of this kind were supported by the Jacobin newspapers; in one article it was suggested that if two or three of these gentlemen were summarily punished the others would submit. On November 22nd the *Département* authorities of Var ordained that within the next two weeks all priests must promise on oath to observe the Civil Constitution.[4]

[1] MADELIN, *France et Rome*, 327.

[2] "museler le clergé."

[3] The Bishop of Quimper, Cotun de Saint-Luc, having died on September 30, the Abbé Expilly, deputy in the National Assembly and president of the *Comité ecclésiastique*, was elected Bishop by 400 electors, despite the protest of the cathedral chapter. Expilly accepted the election on November 5 "avec le respect qu'on doit à la voix du peuple" (TRESVAUX DU FRAVEL, *loc. cit.*, I., 140 *seq.*), but he tried, through the Government, to have it confirmed by Rome (*v.* MATHIEZ, 373 *seq.*). There being no hope of Expilly being consecrated by the Bishop of Rennes, the Government tried to solve the problem by issuing a special decree on November 15 (*ibid.*, 379 *seq.*).

[4] DE LA GORCE, I., 320.

This was the course pursued by the majority in the National Assembly. On June 20th the patriots in Avignon declared for union with France, and on November 20th the Assembly decided to send troops there, ostensibly for the maintenance of order, in reality to exert pressure on the Pope.[1] At the evening session on November 26th the Jacobin Voidel made a speech in which sentiment alternated with sarcasm. He began by praising the primitive Church, then stigmatized the ecclesiastical abuses which had taken place in the old regal period and glorified the Civil Constitution, to the observance of which all clerics in the public service were to bind themselves by oath within a week. Whoever failed to take the oath was to be removed from his post, and if he persisted in performing clerical functions he was to be prosecuted as a disturber of the peace.

Speaking on behalf of the Right, Cazalès asked for the deferment of the motion, but the Calvinist Barnave insisted on an immediate discussion. So great was the excitement in the Assembly that Archbishop Bonal of Clermont, who again proposed the summoning of a national council, had difficulty in making himself heard. On the other hand the majority listened all the more readily to Mirabeau's violent attacks on the Bishops and the harsh language in which he condemned their appeal to the Pope. The fact was that the Left had no desire for any understanding with the Holy See, nor with the Bishops, but simply for submission to its decrees. Mirabeau, however, being at the time in the pay of the Court, was inveighing against the clergy in order to mislead the Left about the real purpose of his counter-proposal. In this, on some points, he was even more ruthless than Voidel, demanding

[1] The deputies of the Left and their newspapers not only described this resolution as the "prelude de la réunion", i.e. the annexation of Avignon, but imagined that it would force the Pope to submit to the Civil Constitution or, as Legendre, the deputy for Brest, put it, "que le Pape expédie une bulle propre à désarmer le fanatisme du ci-devant clergé" (i.e. the clergy that were true to Rome). See the periodical *La Révolution française*, XI., 48; MATHIEZ, 415 *seq.*

that "all Bishops who appealed to the Pope should incur suspension"; but as he omitted to mention any time-limit for the oath, his motion amounted to a postponement of the final decision. Voidel's and Mirabeau's vilifications were replied to on the same evening by the Abbé Montesquiou and on the following day by the Abbé Maury, who, amid the plaudits of the Right and the ridicule and laughter of the Left, laid great stress on the fact that in defending the rights of the Church the clergy was advancing the cause of freedom for all, whereas the majority was drifting towards Byzantinism: in Constantinople the Sultan was master of both bodies and souls, and just as in the past the Cæsars had made dogmas and laws, the National Assembly now wanted to be both king and Pope. Montesquiou and Maury both proposed that Voidel's motion be held over until the arrival of the Pope's decision, but the majority sided with the Jansenist Camus, who denied the Bishop of Rome any jurisdictional authority over the French Church. Camus succeeded in having Voidel's motion given priority over Mirabeau's. Before the votes were cast the Bishops and the deputies of the Right withdrew. Maury's warning against "making martyrs" was completely disregarded; Voidel's motion was passed unaltered.[1]

The Voltairians were jubilant, for if the clergy took the oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution, they could only be doing so to save their incomes, and that would be the end of their prestige. If, on the other hand, they refused to swear, they would lose their power to function, and once again their influence would be gone.

Blinded with hatred and drunk with power the majority refused to realize that ultimately the new law was the denial of a principle that had been decreed by the National Assembly only a short while since, and had been ardently advocated by

[1] De la Gorce, I., 320 *seq.*; Mathiez, 386 *seq.*; Kiefer, 55 *seq.*; Madelin, 329 *seq.*, where Mirabeau's procedure is well explained. Michelet's assertion (*Hist. de la Révolution française*, II., 107) that the new oath did not apply to the Civil Constitution has been refuted by Sybel (I.[4], 245, n. 1).

the philosophers: the principle of religious toleration.[1] It also failed to foresee that the attempt to suppress by force the Catholic religion in France was bound to kindle the flames of civil war and drive the king into a foreign alliance.[2] Louis XVI. was again on the horns of a fearful dilemma: if he sanctioned the civil oath he was burdening his conscience with the persecution of the non-juring priests and was breaking with the Church; if he made use of his right of veto, which was still left to him, he would have to face open rebellion and his deposition. In this terrible predicament he turned to Boisgelin, the author of the proposal for mediation published on October 30th. But after the resolution of the National Assembly, the Archbishop had lost all courage. In two memoranda of December 1st he represented to the king that Rome was harbouring a delusion if it thought that the clergy would offer a unanimous resistance; the great majority of the 44,000 *curés* would give way to fear. Nor had Boisgelin any hope now of the people rising in defence of their religion; in fact, he seemed to fear any such disturbance. The prelate being in this state of utter pessimism it is not surprising that the advice he offered to the king was that he should propose to the Pope that he should give his definite and no longer provisional approval to the majority of the articles in the Constitution.[3]

In a letter of December 3rd, composed for him by Boisgelin, the king implored the Pope, in the interests of religion and to avoid a schism, to give the speediest and the most favourable reply possible to these proposals.[4]

On December 3rd a special courier was dispatched with

[1] SOREL, II., 216.

[2] SYBEL's opinion (*loc. cit.*, 245 *seq.*) was that: "The persecution of the Church by the National Assembly—and no historical event is more certain—drove Louis XVI. into a foreign alliance, as it drove the Vendée into civil war."

[3] See Boisgelin's first memorandum in SICARD, *Évêques*, II., 298, n. 3, and the second, already utilized by DE LA GORCE (I., 321 *seq.*), in MATHIEZ, 425 *seq.*

[4] MASSON, 489; MATHIEZ, 424 *seqq.*

these documents to Rome. A reply could not be expected back in Paris before the end of the month at the very earliest.

The National Assembly was greatly concerned to force the king to sanction the civil oath before the arrival of the Pope's reply [1] and thus to bring its work, as it thought, to a successful conclusion.

On December 14th Louis XVI. made a vain attempt to pacify the Assembly, which was still simmering with excitement, by assuring it of his adherence to the Constitution. The Jacobin Press replied with attacks on the king's entourage and even on the Assembly itself.[2] The latter, adopting the proposal of the Jansenist Camus on December 23rd, resolved to send the king a categoric demand for the immediate publication of the sanction. Louis asked for a little more time, as the Pope's reply had not yet arrived. When the king's answer was announced by the President at the evening session, Camus immediately rose to deny that the Pope had any right to influence the French Church. His proposal, that a second and final peremptory demand for the sanction be sent to the king, was adopted.[3]

Thus Louis XVI. was faced with only two alternatives: open resistance or complete submission. In his vain hope for peace and his fear for the safety of the queen, around whose apartments in the Tuileries a hostile mob was raging, the weak-willed monarch found in the counsels of Boisgelin and those of Saint-Priest and Duport-Dutertre an excuse for giving way again. On December 26th he capitulated to the pressure put upon him by the National Assembly.[4] "I would rather be King of Metz than King of France in these conditions," he is said to have exclaimed, "but this, too, will soon come to

[1] KIEFER, 62; MATHIEZ, 451 *seq.*

[2] MATHIEZ, 454 *seq.* For an appraisal of Louis XVI.'s attitude, see MADELIN, *La Révolution*, 156.

[3] DE LA GORCE, I., 341 *seq.*; MATHIEZ, 456 *seq.*

[4] DE LA GORCE, I., 343 *seq.*; MATHIEZ, 459 *seq.* Boisgelin's advice amounted to this, that the king could sanction the law "à condition que cette acceptation parût être forcée".

an end." [1] On the 26th he wrote to the King of Spain that he was only yielding to force and that he was asking for armed assistance to be sent to him with all haste.[2] The royal message announcing the sanctioning of the Civil Constitution was received by the Left wing of the National Assembly with a storm of applause that lasted ten minutes. Like everyone else who could not see very far ahead, it was now hoping for a final victory. To preclude the possibility of organized resistance, the oath was to be taken almost immediately. As a further precaution a beginning was to be made with the taking of the oath by the Bishops and clerics ; they were to do this publicly, in the presence of the Assembly, which represented the whole nation. The first to perform this act, on December 27th, 1790, was Grégoire, the parish priest of Emberménil, who tried to fortify those who were still hesitant and timorous by assuring them that with this new law the National Assembly had no intention of prejudicing the Church's dogma or hierarchy or the Papal jurisdiction. After Grégoire had taken the oath sixty-two clerics, including fifty-one *curés*, followed suit. The majority was more elated still on January 2nd, 1791, when the oath was taken by two Bishops, Talleyrand and Gobel.[3] Bishop Bonal of Clermont, on the other hand, declared that his conscience forbade him to do so. He wanted to propose a formula which excluded ecclesiastical affairs and could consequently be pronounced by all ecclesiastics. But this last attempt to go to the uttermost limit of conciliation was indignantly rejected by the majority. "We demand a straightforward, unconditional oath," shouted Treilhard. Cazalès, in a very restrained speech

[1] *Souvenirs du Marquis de Bouillé*, I., 185.

[2] *La révolution française*, III., 567. SYBEL (*loc. cit.*, 249, n. 1) considers that the much-quoted letter from Louis XVI. to the King of Prussia, of December 3, 1790, asking him to summon a congress of all the Powers, for the purpose of intervening in France, was actually written in 1791.

[3] Gobel, Bishop *in partibus* of Lydda, was the coadjutor of the Bishop of Bâle for the French part of the diocese.

made on January 3rd, warned the Assembly against precipitancy and asked that the matter be deferred until the Pope's reply had arrived,[1] but the Left, who rejected any compromise and were fearful lest the Civil Constitution be revised, insisted on hurrying. On the motion of the Calvinist Barnave, it was resolved that the oath must be taken before one o'clock on the following day. Barnave was a member of the *Club des Jacobins*, and this was now the master of France.[2]

Every means of intimidating the clergy was used in order to produce a favourable result on January 4th. Public opinion was worked upon by the written and spoken word. In pamphlets, news-sheets, and posters the non-jurors were represented as disturbers of the peace, and even as traitors. The men from the Clubs and other ruffians were sent on to the public platforms to intimidate the unwilling and to applaud the weak.

At the opening of the session Grégoire made another attempt to seduce his "reverend brethren the *curés* and his respected superiors the Bishops" by means of a sophistical explanation of the oath. Barnave insisted on action. "We have had enough of words," he shouted. "What we want is deeds!" Thereupon the president decided to make a beginning by calling on each individual by name, while the mob outside bawled out: "To the lamp-posts with the rebels! . . . With all who refuse to swear!" The Bishop of Agen, the first to be called, declared that he regretted that he could not take the oath. He was joined by a *curé* from his diocese, then by another, who said: "You say you want to restore the primitive Church. Good, I shall follow my Bishop, as Lawrence did!" When another *curé* began his reply with the words: "I am a child of the Catholic Church," the Assembly's patience was at an end. Alarmed by the entirely unexpected resistance and by the paucity of those who indicated their compliance, it decided to drop the procedure of naming members and to

[1] De la Gorce, I., 351 *seqq.*

[2] Salamon's report to Zelada, of January 3, 1791, in the *Mélanges d'archéol.*, XVIII. (1898), 423.

attain its object by other means. The president now addressed a general summons to the clergy. At first only one *curé* responded, to be joined later by a few others; the majority stood firm; they had been shown the way of fidelity by the Bishop of Poitiers, who made a simple confession of faith: "I am seventy years old," he said, "and for thirty-five of them I have been a Bishop, doing as much good as was in my power. Bowed by the weight of years and toil, I shall not defame my old age by taking an oath against my conscience. I prefer to live in poverty and I shall bear my lot in the spirit of penance."

In the course of the session Cazalès had repeatedly demanded that the assurances that had been given again and again that there was no intention to invade the spiritual sphere should be definitely decreed and that the formula proposed by the Bishop of Clermont be adopted. But Cazalès' motion was not put to the vote. Maury was unable to get a hearing. By this time it was five o'clock. "For the last time," announced the president, "I call on those who wish to take the oath." No one came forward, notwithstanding the fact that Barnave's motion, which had been adopted as a resolution, meant that all recusants would be removed from office in accordance with the decree of November 27th.[1]

Thus it was that January 4th, 1791, turned out to be a day of glory for the French clergy, the Bishops in particular.[2] Of the forty-four Bishops in the National Assembly, all but

[1] De la Gorce, I., 357 *seqq.*

[2] Masson, 491: "Nul jour n'est plus mémorable pour le clergé de France, qui, individuellement, puis en masse, refusa d'apostasier. Nul jour n'est plus honorable pour la conscience humaine, car l'ignominie du parjure est partout semblable. L'un après l'autre, les grands et les petits, les évêques et les curés, les riches et les pauvres, les nobles et les manants vinrent confesser leur foi et réclamer leur Dieu. Point de transaction honteuse, point de basse compromission! A ceux qui refusent, la misère, la persécution, l'exil, la guillotine; ils le savent et ils refusent, et ils proclament leur refus en face de l'Assemblée irritée et des tribunes hurlantes. Cela fut grand!"

two had stood fast. Of the other clerics, many of whom failed to perceive the underlying reason and the real nature of the Civil Constitution, 107 had taken the oath, but within the next few days twenty of these realized their rashness and retracted, so that finally barely a third of the clerics in the National Assembly submitted to the schismatic law.[1] In the *Départements*, too, the number of those who gave way was far less than had been prophesied by Boisgelin and other pessimists. Of the whole hierarchy the only members who joined the deputies Talleyrand and Gobel were the three who had refused to subscribe to the declaration of October 30th, 1790, namely Loménie de Brienne, Jarente, and Savine, and their personalities were such that the French Church was strengthened rather than weakened by their desertion.[2]

The town clergy, on the whole, acquitted itself nobly. Even in Paris, where it was subjected to the threats of the mob and an unbridled Press, the result was so unsatisfactory from the Government's point of view that it had to present a false account of it. All the same, of fifty *curés* twenty-three took the oath.[3] In the other large towns, Orleans, Nantes, and Lyons excepted, the result was far more favourable to the Church.

In Strasbourg and in Bordeaux only three *curés* took the oath, in Rennes only two, in Nîmes and Arras only one; in Aix it was taken by only one vicar, in Montpellier by not a single *curé* or vicar.[4] To the lower clergy in the rural districts the Revolution had brought high hopes; materially the new law could only be of benefit to them. But with all their

[1] De la Gorce, I., 362.

[2] *Ibid.*, 387. To these three must be added two Bishops *in partibus*, Dubourg-Miroadot, Bishop of Babylon, and Martial de Brienne, coadjutor of his uncle in Sens. For Martial de Brienne and Jarente, see Sciout, 115 *seqq.*, for the extravagant Savine, see the account in Gendry, II., 133 *seq.*; also, S. Brugal, *Le schisme constitutionnel dans l'Ardèche, La Font de Savine*, Toulouse, 1889.

[3] Pisani, *L'Église de Paris*, I., 190 *seqq.*; De la Gorce, I., 363 *seqq.*

[4] De la Gorce, I., 387 *seq.*

hostility to the old monarchic rule, most of them wanted to remain good Catholic priests. They tried to escape from the dilemma by making reservations in the taking of the oath. Many took it, but refused to enter into relations with the new Constitutional Bishops. Exact figures cannot be given because the statistics are untrustworthy and incomplete. It is certain, however, that those who took the oath within the first six months after the promulgation of the law were in the minority, which was further reduced very appreciably after Pius VI.'s final condemnation of the Civil Constitution.[1]

The National Assembly's hope of subjugating the whole of the clergy by using every possible means of intimidation was frustrated by the majority's loyalty to the Church. In spite of this failure, which was felt very sorely, the Assembly set about founding, with a minority of the clerics, a new State Church, for which room was to be made by dismissing and persecuting the majority. The difficulties that hindered this undertaking from its inception were so great that the imposition of the oath was regretted.[2] But there was to be no retreat; the Assembly was too dazzled with success even to contemplate it. Mirabeau, however, saw the situation in its true light. "If the National Assembly," he declared, "imagines that the dismissal of 20,000 priests is an easy matter, it is taking a curious view of the situation."[3] Not only the dismissal but

[1] PISANI, I., 184 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, I., 372–399; MATHIEZ, 165 *seqq.* The information given by SAGNAC in the *Rev. d'hist. moderne* (VIII., 97 *seq.*), where a map is attached, is not entirely accurate. Among the parish priests who took the oath was the future Bishop of Aix-la-Chapelle, Berdolet, who was to suffer under Robespierre; see A. KROENER, *M. A. Berdolet, évêque constitutionnel du Haut-Rhin*, Rixheim, 1898.

[2] "L'embarras que donne à l'Assemblée le décret sur le serment des ecclésiastiques fonctionnaires publics est cependant très evident," wrote La Mank to Mercy-Argenteau as early as January 26, 1791. "On voudrait bien n'avoir pas ordonné ce serment, que ceux-là qui le prêtent, regardent comme inutile." *Correspondance de Mirabeau avec La Mank*, III., 25.

[3] DE LA GORCE, I., 409.

also the replacement of the priests proved difficult, since in many *Départements* no priest could be found to serve the new Church [1]; in many cases it was necessary to appoint fugitive and suspended priests from Germany and Holland. Further, the National Assembly found itself compelled to make alterations in the Civil Constitution in order to render it practicable. As in this respect it passed decrees in the manner of a Church Council, the chairman of the *Comité Ecclésiastique*, Treilhard, decreed a detailed instruction on the consecration and canonical institution of the new Constitutional Bishops, as though he were a Cardinal of a Roman Congregation.[2] Further difficulties were raised by those of the Constitutional Bishops who were conservative. Loménie de Brienne, Jarente, and Savine refused to perform the rite of consecration. The first to consent to do so was Talleyrand,[3] and this was nothing but a mockery of the Assembly's professed aim of restoring the conditions of apostolic times. The ambitious Gobel, on taking possession of Notre-Dame on March 17th, 1791, four days after he had been elected by twenty-one priests and 664 laymen as successor to the *émigré* Archbishop of Paris, De Juigné, held a showy procession through the capital, accompanied by the band of

[1] MATHIEZ, 468.

[2] *Ibid.*, 470 *seq.*

[3] The first episcopal consecration was imparted on February 24, 1791, by Talleyrand, under the protection of the National Guard and assisted by the Bishops *in partibus* Gobel and Miroadot. The recipients were the parish priests Expilly and Marolles, who were to be installed in the sees of Quimper and Soissons. The rite was performed in accordance with the *Pontificale Romanum*, except for the oath of loyalty to the Pope and the reading of the Papal Bulls (there being none to read). See [GOSSELIN], *Vie de M. Emery*, I., Paris, 1861, 255 *seq.* *Cf.* J. M. PILVEN, *Le premier évêque constitutionnel, Expilly, évêque de Finistère, 1790–1794*, Quimper, 1912. After committing this sacrilege, of which the nuncio Dugnani was supplied with a reliable account from an eye-witness, Talleyrand laid aside his ecclesiastical dress for good. In 1791 he resigned his see and lived henceforth as a layman. When the concordat was concluded he obtained a Brief of secularization from Pius VII.

the National Guard.[1] The assumption of office by the Constitutional Bishops was carried out in a similarly worldly manner in the provinces.[2] The moving spirit of the Constitutional Church was Grégoire, who was elected Bishop of Loir-et-Cher. Filled with Gallican prejudices against the Holy See, he was very active, but later even he was forced to protest against the anti-Christian tendencies of the Revolution.[3] It was not long, too, before Gobel had to expiate his apostasy by a tragic death. These examples alone show that the Constitutional Bishops are not to be condemned wholesale as men devoid of faith and morals. There were some whose conduct was a public scandal, but they were in the minority; the others were either simply misguided or were enthusiastic adherents of the schismatic cause.[4] The lawful Bishops denounced their constitutional successors as intruders, schismatics, and usurpers of episcopal jurisdiction, and declared all their official acts to be null and void, but in every case they were ejected from their sees, often by force.[5] Though there were many places where the people submitted to the new regime, there were thousands of others where it offered resistance. This was particularly true of the strictly religious population in the whole of north-western France, in Flanders, and Alsace. Following the example of the king, the loyalists here refused to accept the sacraments from the priests who had taken the oath. And so the whole country was soon split into two hostile religious camps, consisting of the adherents of the "State" priests who had been sworn in (*assermentés*) and of the supporters of the non-jurors (*insermentés*), namely the loyal Catholics who clung fast to the lawful clergy.[6]

[1] PISANI, *Repert. biogr. de l'épiscopat constitutionnel*, Paris, 1906, 53 *seq.* *Cf.* PISANI, *loc. cit.*, I., 205 *seq.*; G. GAUTHEROT, *Gobel*, Paris, 1911.

[2] DE LA GORCE, I., 460 *seq.*

[3] MOURRET, 141.

[4] PISANI, I., 25, 70 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*; MOURRET, 142 *seq.*

[5] KIEFER, 74.

[6] DE LA GORCE, I., 415 *seq.*; MOURRET, 144 *seq.* For Normandy

In view of the ecclesiastical confusion into which the National Assembly had thrown the whole of France, the Pope, too, broke his long silence at last. As in his dealings with Joseph II., Leopold of Tuscany, and Catherine II., the Pope, in this crisis, too, had shown his desire to avoid a rupture. Unfortunately, however, he had set his hopes too long on Louis XVI.'s resistance. He also feared that little attention would be paid to him by the many Bishops who were anxious for a settlement and by the clerics who were ignorant of the real situation.[1] The position he finally took up was based on very sound reasons: firstly, those of principle, then regard for the other Catholic States, which were to be given no opportunity of following the French example. A further consideration was the persistent adherence of the French Bishops to the Gallican liberties, which made it very dangerous to relax the connexion with Rome and to concede the French Church a special and unparalleled position.[2] It was these reasons, not the events in Avignon,[3] which underlay the cautious and hesitant policy of Pius VI. Immediately after the arrival of the last far-reaching proposals sent to Rome on December 3rd, the Pope, citing the verdict of the Inquisition, had informed the ambassador, Bernis, that a definite approval of the most important clauses of the Civil Constitution could not be given.[4] Equally clear language was used in the Papal communications made to a number of French Bishops.[5] An additional reason

there is a full description (1,148 quarto pages) in E. SEVESTRE, *Les problèmes religieux de la Révolution et de l'Empire en Normandie*. II. *La constitution civile du clergé 1791–1795*. Paris, 1924.

[1] MOURRET, 124.

[2] This is very well brought out by KIEFER (77 *seq.*). *Cf.* BERGER, 30.

[3] As MATHIEZ exerts himself to prove (478 *seq.*).

[4] MASSON, *Bernis*, 490; MATHIEZ, 476.

[5] Brief to the Bishop of Bâle concerning the erection of a new see for the *Département* of the Upper Rhine, of December 11, 1790, in THEINER, *Hist.*, I., 23 *seq.*; Zelada's letter to the Bishop of Rennes, of December 15, 1790, in BOURGIN, *France et Rome*, 5; Brief to the Archbishop of Avignon, of December 22, 1790, *ibid.*

for postponing the reply to the declaration of October 30th made by the whole French episcopate was the presumption, based on its previous behaviour, that it would not come to any definite decision without the Papal assent [1]; with all their Gallicanism, the Bishops were on the whole loyal to the Church. This favourable opinion of the Pope's was not belied: on January 4th not only the Bishops but also a large number of other clerics showed that they did not dare, without the Pope's assent, to swear allegiance to the Civil Constitution, with its deep encroachment on the discipline and constitution of the Church.

On the same day as this decisive event took place in France Pius VI., who hitherto had been alone in opposing the dangerous aspirations of the French Government, was assured by the Spanish ambassador, Azara, that he could rely on Spain's support.[2] This decided him to publish his condemnation of the Civil Constitution,[3] but with his customary circumspection he took his time about it. While he was revising his reply to the French hierarchy [4] he sent out some more letters to individual Bishops, exhorting them to stand firm against the new law.[5] On February 23rd Loménie was threatened with the loss of his cardinalitial rank, failing the immediate retractation of his oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution.[6] After these incidents, no one of any foresight could have been surprised by the answer made, after careful

[1] KIEFER, 78.

[2] THEINER, I., 313 *seqq.*

[3] Bernis' report of January 5, 1791, in MATHIEZ, 489.

[4] Bernis' report of February 8, 1791, *ibid.*

[5] Brief to the Vicar-General of Dol, of February 2, 1791, and another to the Bishop of Toulon, of February 9, 1791, in THEINER, I., 25 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 28 *seq.* Loménie informed the Pope of his resignation of the cardinalate in a letter of March 26, 1791, trying at the same time to conceal his real attitude in a cloak of sophistries (GUILLEAUME, I., 73 *seq.*). Pius VI. made his reply in a lengthy speech addressed to the Consistory of September 26. See THEINER, I., 105 *seq.*

consultation with the deputizing Cardinals, on March 10th, 1791, to Cardinal Rochefoucauld, Bishop Boisgelin, and the other signatories of the declaration of October 30th.

The Brief in question, betraying traces of repeated emendation, was unusually long.[1] It was, in fact, a treatise in which not merely the Civil Constitution but all the errors and encroachments of the National Assembly—" by which expression We mean in every case the dominant party only ", care was taken to add—were subjected to severe criticism and a detailed rebuttal. It condemned the breach of the concordat, the seizure of the church goods and the suppression of the religious orders, also the definitions issued in connexion with the rights of man regarding the unlimited liberty of belief and the Press and human equality, for they contradicted the principles of the Church.[2] The liberty and equality so highly vaunted by the Assembly, said the Brief, were used as means of destroying the Catholic Church.

Before proceeding to elucidate in greater detail the Civil Constitution the Pope declared that a secular assembly had no right to make laws affecting spiritual matters. He went on to show that these laws dealt not merely with disciplinary regulations but with regulations that touched too nearly on unalterable dogma.[3] In any case, ecclesiastical discipline was not to be altered arbitrarily by the secular power, since discipline and dogma were intimately related.

As for the various regulations laid down in the Civil Constitution, the Pope protested against them in the first place

[1] THEINER, I., 32–71.

[2] " Eo quippe concilio decernitur, in iure positum esse, ut homo in societate constitutus omnimoda gaudeat libertate, ut turbari scilicet circa religionem non debeat, in eiusque arbitrio sit de ipsius religionis argumento, quidquid velit, opinari, loqui, scribere, ac typis etiam evulgare. Quae sane monstra ab illa hominum inter se aequalitate, naturaeque libertate derivari ac emanare declaravit."

[3] " Verum inter decreta ipsa non solum disciplinaria, sed et alia non pauca in eversionem puri immutabilisque dogmatis congeruntur, ut hactenus demonstravimus."

on the ground that they were aimed at the abolition of the primacy and jurisdiction of the Pope. As for the diocesan rearrangement, it was not just a question of a few sees being affected; it meant the overthrow of almost every see in the realm. Such a rearrangement could not be approved by the Pope without previous inquiry of the various Bishops and the parishes. The regulations regarding the election of Bishops not only amounted to a breach of the concordat but were a revival of the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. The episcopal council destroyed the Ordinary's power; the payment of the Bishops by the State was likely to undermine their authority. As for the reduction of the number of parishes, the Bishops had already said what was necessary in their declaration.

There followed an exposure of the hostile spirit shown by the National Assembly towards the Catholic Church. The latter had been despoiled of all its goods while the Protestants had been left with theirs, although their title was based on forcible appropriation, not on legitimate bequests. "With the National Assembly," the Brief continued, "the treaties made with the Protestants held good, but not the canonical regulations and the concordat made between Francis I. and the Holy See." Another manifestation of hostility towards the Catholic Church was the suppression of the chapters and, worst of all, the Orders. The decree of February 13th, 1790, prohibiting the taking of vows, not only condemned the religious houses to death but was also an attack on Papal rights. The savage persecution of the nuns recalled the exploits of Luther. The Pope marvelled at the steadfastness of these women and urged the Bishops to give them every support.

"To return to the subject of the Civil Constitution," the Brief continued, "much more might be said about this law, for from beginning to end it contains nothing that ought not to be censured, and all its regulations are so intertwined that hardly one could be approved of."[1] To a law of this kind,

[1] "Siquidem a principio usque ad illius exitum nihil fere in eo est, quod non sit cavendum, ac reprehendendum, omnesque eius sensus inter se adeo nexi, consentientesque sunt, ut vix ulla pars sit ab erroris suspicione libera."

which was based on the principles of notorious errors, the Bishop of Autun, according to the newspapers, had bound himself by oath, which action was condemned in the severest terms. The illicit oath demanded by the National Assembly was compared with those that had been demanded by Henry VI. and Henry VIII. of England. "Just as Henry VIII. pretended that the form of oath that he proposed for the Bishops amounted to nothing but civil and secular loyalty, whereas it really contained the destruction of Papal authority, similarly the assembly that dominates France has actually denied the supreme head of the Church all power through the Civil Constitution, seeing that it ordered the Bishops to have no communication with Us except to let Us know what had already been done and completed without Us."

The behaviour of the Bishop of Autun was then very effectively contrasted with that of the other Bishops. The latter received the praise they deserved; keeping the law of the Lord with unspotted souls, they were showing loyalty as strong as iron, retaining the dogmas and doctrine of their predecessors, adhering to the see of Peter, exercising and defending their rights, resisting the innovations while waiting for the Papal answer, which they would accept as the basis of their conduct. They all spoke with one voice, they all had one confession; there was only one faith, one tradition, and one discipline.[1] Bossuet, who enjoyed so great a reputation in France and was anything but suspect, had drawn a similar comparison between Thomas of Canterbury and Thomas Cranmer.

As the Bishop of Autun had not relented, despite his chapter's protest, the Pope threatened to excommunicate him and all who followed him in the way of perjury. Finally, he

[1] "Ibi quidem immaculate ambulantes in lege Domini, magnam praetulerunt animi constantiam in servando dogmate doctrinaque suorum praedecessorum, in inhaerendo primae Petri cathedrae, in suis exercendis tuendisque iuribus, in adversando novitatibus, in nostrum exspectando responsum, unde quid agendum sibi esset agnoscerent. Una eorum omnium vox fuit, una confessio, sicut una fides est unaque traditio et disciplina."

appealed to the loyal Bishops as his beloved and respected brethren. Although their previous conduct had shown that he had no need to urge them on, nevertheless, in view of the disastrous confusion of the times, he desired to warn them to preserve their unity so as to be able to defend as one body the Catholic religion against the snares and foolish enterprises of the new law-givers. "Be, therefore, of strong and unshakable courage, do not allow yourselves to be frightened by dangers or threats from the path on which you have set your feet, and be mindful of the fearless reply made by David to the giant, by the Maccabees to Antiochus, by Basil to Valens, by Hilary to Constantius, by Ivo of Chartres to King Philip." The Pope then recounted once again what he had done to avert the present disaster from the French Church, but his complaisance had been rewarded with ingratitude, one instance of which had been the support given to the revolution in Avignon. Hitherto he had refrained from excommunicating the authors of the Civil Constitution, making every effort by means of gentleness and patience to avoid a schism and to restore peace to France. For this reason he asked them to let him know what more they thought he ought to do to bring about unity of thought. They were in a better position to advise him on this point, as he was so far from the scene of action. But such proposals as they might make him were not to offend in the slightest degree against Catholic dogmas and the universal discipline. This last proviso shows that there was no question, as has often been supposed, of the Pope's inviting further proposals similar to those already made by the Bishops.[1] In any case, such a request was ruled out by the

[1] KIEFER (79 *seq.*) views the request as a clear indication that the Bishops' Gallican principles were being considered. But the whole passage is merely an expression of courtesy: if there was still any way of restoring unity without offending in the slightest degree against Catholic doctrine and discipline, they might bring it to his attention. Similarly, in the Brief of April 13, 1791: "Hortati sumus episcopos ut ii, quorum oculis res ipsae observantur, Nobis desuper agendi rationem quandam exhiberent, si inveniri

utter condemnation, both in the Brief and in the simultaneous letter to the king,[1] of the Civil Constitution, as being in conflict with the dogma and the constitution of the Church and as conducive to schism and the destruction of the Catholic religion.

In any case, suggestions for coming to terms were irreconcilable with the oath demanded by the National Assembly, which scouted any kind of agreement. Nevertheless, the Bishop-deputies still hoped against hope that a settlement would be reached; consequently the Papal Brief was most unwelcome to them, in spite of its high praises of the French clergy,[2] as its whole tenor ruled out any sort of compromise. Regarding themselves as representative of the whole of the French hierarchy, these Bishops, much to the dissatisfaction of that section of the clergy that held closely to its faith,[3] refrained from publishing the Brief, whereby they were guided also by the Gallican principle that they were entitled

fortasse poterit, a catholico dogmate disciplinaque universali minime dissentaneam, in nostram deliberationem atque examen adducendam." THEINER, I., 80. It is clear that Pius VI. thought that no such solution was possible.

[1] In the Brief of March 10, 1791 (not cited by THEINER) it was stated that the Civil Constitution contained many false doctrines and introduced a new doctrine, a new hierarchy, and a new ecclesiastical discipline. Wherefore the king's over-hasty sanctioning of this law without waiting for the Pope's reply was sharply condemned. The only way the king could repair this serious blunder was to protect the loyal Bishops. A private letter, in French, dated March 11, 1791, from Pius VI. to Louis XVI., was attached to the Latin Brief, but it has not yet been located. MASSON, 494.

[2] That Pius VI. intended from the outset to treat the Bishop-deputies with kindness is shown by the highly complimentary expressions he used with regard to Boisgelin, the most influential of them, when writing to him through Zelada on December 21, 1790. See MATHIEZ, 477, n. 2, who notes correctly that GENDRY (II., 137) is wrong in attributing this letter to the year 1791.

[3] RICHEMONT, *Correspondance*, 483.

to examine Papal documents before making them public.[1] This attitude of the Bishops suited the policy of the Government, which also kept the Brief a secret and was determined to make another attempt in Rome to induce the Pope to approve of the Civil Constitution. This task was entrusted to Count Philippe de Ségur, Cardinal Bernis having been recalled in March, 1791. On February 22nd the Cardinal had written a dignified and decisive letter, refusing to pledge himself unconditionally to the Constitution, it being his wish to live and die in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.[2] It appears from Ségur's instruction that the French Government hoped that Pius VI. would be impelled to give way by the threat to Avignon.[3] But this hope proved to be valueless. On April 13th, without waiting for a reply from the French hierarchy, the Pope addressed a Brief to the whole of the French clergy and laity, repeating his absolute condemnation of the Constitution, as being built on a heretical foundation, and threatening with the direst penalties all clerics who complied with it. Whoever took the civil oath and did not retract it within forty days would be suspended. The elections of the Constitutional Bishops were declared to be null and void, their consecration and official acts illicit and sacrilegious ; all who took part in them, and the parish priests installed by the Constitutional Bishops, likewise incurred suspension ; if they remained obdurate, they would be excommunicated. The Pope concluded by urging the clergy most earnestly to resist schism with firmness and he exhorted all the Catholics of France to remain true to the religion of their forefathers, to pay no heed to the deadly doctrines of contemporary philosophers, to have no dealings with the intruders, no matter whether they called themselves archbishops, bishops, or parish

[1] KIEFER, 80. The Venetian ambassador in Paris also reported on the Bishops' Gallican convictions on March 28, 1790. See KOVALEWSKY, *I dispacci degli ambasciatori Veneti alla corte di Francia durante la Rivoluzione*, I., Torino, 1895, 238.

[2] MASSON, 494 ; MATHIEZ, 494.

[3] MATHIEZ, 495 *seq.*

priests, to follow only their lawful pastors, and to remain in communion with the visible head of the Church.[1] Further Briefs condemning in similar terms the oath of loyalty to the Constitution were sent in the next few days to Cardinal Rohan of Strasbourg and the Archbishop of Avignon.[2]

After this decisive step the situation developed with great rapidity. On May 2nd, 1791, the nuncio transmitted the Brief of April 13th to the Foreign Minister Montmorin and informed him at the same time that the Pope could not recognize Ségur as the representative of France, since he had taken the civil oath unreservedly. Montmorin, on some pretext or other, refused to accept the Brief and retorted that if the Pope persisted in withholding his recognition of Ségur the King of France would be forced, in defence of the nation's honour and his own, to break off diplomatic relations with the Holy See and to withdraw his toleration of the latter's representative in Paris.[3]

After the arrival of the second Brief the Bishop-deputies could no longer keep the first a secret and had to frame a reply to it. In a document dated May 3rd they tried in every possible way to defend their political as well as their ecclesiastical conduct in the National Assembly and their proposals for a settlement. In so doing they again revealed quite unmistakably their haziness on fundamental questions raised by the principles of unlimited liberty and equality that had been proclaimed in France, also their Gallican convictions. Their

[1] THEINER, I., 75–88. *Ibid.*, 90, the accompanying Brief to Louis XVI. and (91) the Brief to Cardinal Rochefoucauld and the rest of the hierarchy. *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2325 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, I., 94 *seq.*

[3] MASSON, 508 ; MATHIEZ, 511. In the Brief sent by Pius VI. to Louis XVI. on April 13, 1791, on the subject of Bernis' recall, he made it clear that he would have to reject anyone who had sworn loyalty to the Civil Constitution (THEINER, I., 89) ; *ibid.*, 345 *seq.*, the official memorandum on the reasons for Ségur's rejection. On May 14, 1791, the Governor of Civitavecchia received orders to restrain Ségur from travelling to Rome. See BOURGIN, *La France et Rome*, IV., 75. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 155 *seq.*

response to the Pope's request for a last attempt to pacify men's minds was an offer to resign *en bloc* if this step would avert a schism and restore peace.[1]

The Gallican spirit of the Bishop-deputies was also shown in the objections they raised (much to the regret of Zelada, the Cardinal Secretary of State, and of the Pope himself) [2] to that passage in the Brief of April 13th, 1791, which dealt with the penalties to be imposed on apostate Bishops. As opposed to this they put forward the Gallican standpoint that no Frenchman might be judged in Rome without a previous trial, which was to be held in France by French commissaries delegated by the Pope. Consequently, they would only accept the Brief if a proviso was added.[3] A large part of the rest of the episcopate, however, which did not belong to the National Assembly, was for accepting the Brief as it stood.[4] This proposal was so objectionable to the Jacobins that they put into circulation a spurious document purporting to ratify the Civil Constitution.[5] The trick failed, however, for those who were true to the Church distributed the genuine Brief, and this made such an impression that everywhere recantations were made by clerics who had taken the oath from fear or through ignorance.[6] This development was so unwelcome to the National Assembly that on June 17th, 1791, it prohibited, on pain of the heaviest penalties, the publication of any Papal edict that had not been previously examined and confirmed by the Assembly and published by the king.[7] Previous to this

[1] *Macédoine littéraire*, III., 95–158. *Cf.* KIEFER, 81 *seq.*

[2] Zelada's letter to Salamon, of November 2, 1791, in RICHEMONT, *Correspondance secrète de l'abbé Salamon avec le card. Zelada*, Paris, 1898, 91.

[3] *Ibid.*, 81 *seq.*; KIEFER, 84 *seq.*

[4] KIEFER, 86, where it is noted that Salamon and Bonnand overestimated the number of these Bishops.

[5] GENDRY, II., 159.

[6] Mgr. de Cressac's report to Zelada, dated Paris, June 7, 1791, in THEINER, I., 327; *ibid.*, the letter from Bishop Grimaldi of Noyon, May 30, 1791.

[7] PRESSENSÉ, *L'Église et la Révolut. franç.*, Paris, 1889, 201.

the Paris patriots had utilized a fine May day to ridicule the Pope outrageously, the police making no attempt to intervene. An effigy was made of Pius VI., holding in one hand the Brief against the Civil Constitution, in the other a dagger. A band round the forehead bore the label "Fanaticism", and on another round the breast was written "Civil War". This caricature was burned, amid the plaudits of the mob, in the Passage Radziwill.[1] The nuncio Dugnani, who for a long time past had had to look on helplessly while the rights of the Holy See and the Church were constantly attacked, made repeated requests that this insult to his sovereign should be redressed. His efforts, however, were of no avail, and when the head of a policeman, which had been hacked off his body, was thrown into his carriage as he was driving through the streets of Paris, he left the capital on May 31st, after making another vain attempt to obtain satisfaction by appealing to international law.[2] The auditor Giulio Quarantotti remained behind in the nunciature and endeavoured to maintain diplomatic relations more by following his own ideas than the instructions of the Secretary of State, Zelada, who had to give him the order twice before he finally asked for his passports on August 2nd. The Foreign Minister, Montmorin, protested against this step,[3] but without any justification, since he himself had stated that the Pope would not be allowed to retain a representative in Paris if Ségur was not recognized in Rome.[4]

Pius VI. could hardly be blamed for refusing to retain in Paris an official representative who had to witness the daily

[1] Masson, 509. *Cf.* the contemporary engraving entitled "Manichino di Pio VI. bruciato al palazzo reale di Parigi 4 Maggio 1791".

[2] The last *dispatch was dated May 30, 1791 (Nunziat. di Francia, 575, Papal Secret Archives), not May 16, as given by Gendry (II., 160) and De la Gorce (I., 437). *Cf.* Bridier, *Salamon*, 3 (English translation, London, 1911), where the departure is made to occur quite wrongly at the end of 1790, and *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXIII. (1899), 788 *seqq.*, 853 *seqq.*

[3] Richemont, *loc. cit.*, 181.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 184.

insults offered to the Holy See and the Church. Nevertheless, it was highly important and necessary for the Curia to have in Paris a confidential agent who could be relied upon to render an account of what was happening and to transmit Papal instructions to the French episcopate and clergy. Fortunately, Pius VI. had such a person at his disposal: the Abbé Salamon. Salamon was a native of Carpentras, in the Comtat Venaissin, and was thus a Papal subject by birth. Since 1784 he had been a councillor in the Paris Parlement, and after the suspension of the parlements he became a member of the Chambre des Vacances. He had been in correspondence with Cardinal Zelada since 1786.[1] On May 25th, 1791, the Cardinal had written to him: "You see that very soon we shall have no accredited agent there,[2] in which case you will be more and more useful and necessary to us. The Pope is convinced that in such an eventuality you will not fail to redouble your zeal and your activity, so as to keep us exactly informed of what is happening from day to day and to give us accurate and precise information on everything which might be of value to us and which we ought to know, so that we may see clearly what steps to take in these unhappy times. It is at the express command of His Holiness that I am communicating his desires to you. I am thoroughly convinced that this will suffice for you to justify his confidence in full."[3] Salamon's memoirs show that Pius VI. wrote him a letter in his own hand, six pages long, in which he praised him in glowing terms for the services he had rendered hitherto, and imparted to him instructions for the immediate future.[4] Quarantotti received with his letter of recall the order to hand over to Salamon the documents belonging to the nunciature which he was not taking away with him. Salamon was asked to send to Rome all the newspapers,

[1] BRIDIER, *loc. cit.*, xiv, 325 *seq.*; RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, xv; GENDRY, II., 102 *seq.*

[2] "Aucune personne avouée."

[3] RICHEMONT, xvi.

[4] BRIDIER, 4. Richemont (xvi, n. 2) was unable to find the letter.

brochures, and periodicals which had hitherto been sent by the nunciature.[1]

After these preparations had been made Salamon was able to take over his post as private agent of the Holy See on Quarantotti's departure.[2] His desire was that at least the French Bishops should be informed of his confidential position *vis à vis* the Holy See, as then they would give more consideration to his representations. Zelada, however, would not fall in with this view. He thought it better that Salamon's real position should not be known, or at any rate that those concerned should appear not to know it. Salamon could then act quite freely and could communicate his views to the Pope without being influenced in any direction.

From now on Salamon sent a full report every week to the Papal Secretary of State, always enclosing everything in the way of periodicals, brochures, and even caricatures, which might be of special interest to the Curia.

It can easily be understood how useful it was for the Holy See to have a reliable and devoted reporter in France, where the Church's situation grew more critical every day. Salamon's zeal was so great that from time to time he had to be restrained by the more level-headed Secretary of State and the Pope. This was shown in the question of taking steps against the Constitutional intruders. The Brief of April 13th, 1791, had threatened them with excommunication, and this extreme measure was demanded in various quarters.[3] Salamon was all

[1] RICHEMONT, xvii.

[2] Richemont (*ibid.*) thinks that the nearest description of Salamon's peculiar position is " chargé des affaires " (as Salamon describes himself in one of his letters), presumably as distinct from " chargé d'affaires ", an official position which was not held by Salamon. BELLESHEIM (*Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXI. [1817], 801) describes him more accurately as " private *chargé d'affaires* of the Holy See ", but this, too, would indicate an official position. For this reason I suggest " private agent ". Bridier is certainly wrong in using the title " Internonce " in his edition of Salamon's *Mémoires*.

[3] The " *Lettere dell' ab. Salamon " to Zelada, from August 29,

in favour of it, whereas Boisgelin deemed it premature and dangerous. Most of the Bishops sided with the Archbishop of Aix. On November 2nd, 1791, Zelada wrote to Salamon that the Pope was also of their opinion, as otherwise the king would have to be included in the ban, since he had sanctioned the fatal Constitution. On November 16th he repeated this statement of opinion, stressing once again that in such cases the Holy Father weighed the pros and cons with the greatest care before fulfilling his duty.[1]

The little freedom still left to the loyal Catholics was almost everywhere disputed by the clubs and the Constitutional clergy.[2] Although the National Assembly had decided that the non-juring clergy could not be forbidden to celebrate Mass in the parish churches[3] the mob in Paris tried to stop this happening on Ascension Day, 1791. Similar incidents occurred in nearly all the provinces. The Constitutional clergy, whose services were shunned by the people, who flocked to those held by the loyal priests, were successful in obtaining the

1791, to May 21, 1792, and *Zelada's instructions from January 5, 1791, to June 5, 1793, have been preserved in the Papal Secret Archives. See RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, supplemented in the *Mélanges d'archéol.*, XVIII. (1898), 420 *seqq.*

[1] RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, 91, 129; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXIII. (1899), 859; the faculties granted to the French Bishops on May 4, 1791, in THEINER, I., 97 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 2341.

[2] RICHEMONT, 81, 96, 128 *seq.* In the summer of 1791 the Bishop of Langres, De la Luzerne, made a proposal regarding the measures to be taken by non-juring clerics when conducting baptisms, weddings, and funerals, but it failed to meet with universal acceptance and was allowed to drop. See RICHEMONT, 81 *seq.*, 91, 483; KIEFER, 86 *seq.* Finally Pius VI. issued an instruction on the matter to the French Bishops on September 28, 1791, but as it was opposed at first by the Bishop-deputies it was not published till the beginning of December. See KIEFER, 91; GENDRY, II., 162 *seq.*

[3] Law of May 7, 1791, which also allowed loyal Catholics to hire churches, with the threat, however, that if attacks were made on the Civil Constitution they would be closed immediately. DE LA GORCE, I., 432 *seq.*; SCIOUT, 167 *seq.*

support of the clubs. Together with them they made common cause against the non-juring priests, whose position grew more and more untenable.[1]

The direction in which the situation was developing was shown by the transference on July 11th, 1791, with much pomp, of Voltaire's body to the church of Ste-Geneviève, which had been converted into a heathen Pantheon. The majority in the National Assembly had given its permission with enthusiasm for the apotheosis of a man who had staked his talent and his honour on the destruction of Christianity.[2] One of the last resolutions taken by the Assembly, on September 14th, 1791, had been to approve of the union of Avignon and the Venaissin with the French realm.[3] As soon as Pius VI. received news of the rape of this possession, which had lawfully belonged to the Holy See for five centuries, he raised a solemn protest and communicated it to the ambassadors of all the Powers.[4] The bandits who, dubbing themselves patriots, had taken possession of the Papal palace at Avignon, murdered sixty-one persons there on October 16th and stowed their corpses away in one of the palace dungeons, known as the ice-cellar. It is significant that these murderers were supported on every side by the French democrats: the bandits of Avignon were as useful to them in the revolution as the Parisian pikes and National Guards.[5]

[1] De la Gorce, I., 438, 457 *seq.*, 467 *seq.*, 483 *seq.*; Sciout 183 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* W. Kreiten, *Voltaire*, Freiburg, 1878, 378.

[3] The Abbé Salamon had made heroic efforts to nullify the resolution, even calling on Barnave (Richemont, 39). He received instructions to present to the king and queen of France the protest which had been addressed to all the European powers on October 26, 1791. Richemont, 78; *ibid.*, 151 and 160, the carrying out of this instruction.

[4] Gendry, II., 177 *seq.*

[5] Sybel's opinion (I.[4], 353). In March, 1792, the National Assembly decided to grant an amnesty for all crimes committed in Avignon and the Venaissin before November 8, 1791. For the vandalism at Avignon see A. Hallays, *Avignon*, Paris, 1909, 99

The situation of the Catholics took another turn for the worse on October 1st, 1791, when the Constituent Assembly was followed by the Legislative Assembly. Most of the 750 members were not more than thirty years of age and were so impecunious as to give rise to the joke among the Parisians that their total baggage consisted of no more than an umbrella and a pair of galoshes. But the gentlemen made up for this by their loquacity. The fate of France was to be decided by 450 advocates and twenty-six State clerics, ten of whom had been rewarded with bishoprics. This majority, in which bloodthirsty Jacobins such as Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were prominent, were for a republic and the growth of free thought. The last rights that still remained to the Catholics were now taken away from them. Already on October 7th, 1791, a deputy was complaining about the non-juring priests, who were drawing large congregations, while the Constitutional ones were avoided or even assaulted. Two days later the Assembly was presented with a report by Gensonné on the opposition that was being offered to the Constitutional priests by the loyally Catholic population in the Vendée. So bitter was it, it was stated, that it was to be feared that if the two Churches were allowed to exist together it would come to a civil war.[1]

The National Assembly began its deliberations on the matter on October 21st, 1791. So great was its perplexity and confusion that no fewer than twenty-one different motions were put forward. Only a few drew attention to the mistake made by the Assembly in imposing the oath on the priests. Erastian ideas had taken so firm a hold of the Assembly that it occurred to only a few isolated members that the confusion and the threat of civil war might be dispelled by putting into practice the principle of the Constitution which promised freedom of religious worship. The deputy Lejosne roundly

seq.; STEINMANN, *Die Zerstörung der Grabdenkmäler der Päpste in Avignon*, in the *Monatsheften für Kunstwiss.*, XI. (1918). *Cf.* DUHAMEL, *Documents sur la réunion d'Avignon et du Vénaissin à la France*, Paris, 1891–3.

[1] DE LA GORCE, II., 9 *seqq.*

accused the loyal priests of being either charlatans or fanatics and disturbers of the peace. The most extravagant language was used by Fauchet, the Constitutional Bishop of Calvados, who went so far as to say that, compared with the non-juring priests, atheists were angels. Fauchet, who two years later was guillotined by these ungrateful "angels", finally moved that all disobedient clerics be deprived of their stipends and that those who provoked disturbances be sent to the galleys for five years. The warning uttered by another Constitutional Bishop, Torné, against the punishment of opinions and the crippling of toleration, went unheeded. Fauchet insisted that to tolerate poison was to be guilty of the greatest sin of intolerance against society. Even Gensonné reminded the Assembly that after the Constitution had granted men the right to elect their own parish priests, it was hardly fitting to force them to accept clerics they detested. But his words had no effect. The Girondin Isnard, who had made a fortune by the sale of perfumes, declared that everything must be subjected to the will of the nation: tiaras, diadems, and censers must bow before the sceptre of the law. The safest weapon to use against the priests who disturbed the peace under the cloak of religion was banishment.[1]

The result of this debate was a fresh law of proscription, passed on November 29th, 1791, by which priests who had refused the oath and had already been deposed were to be deprived of their pensions if they did not take the oath within a week. Further, they were to be placed under special supervision as being suspected of rebellion and, if disturbances broke out on account of the religious question, they would be expelled from their place of residence. If they refused to obey they would be liable to a year's imprisonment. Clerics convicted of inciting others to rebel against the law or constitutional authority would be punished by two years'

[1] Sciout, 231 *seqq.*; De la Gorce, II., 17 *seqq.*, 24 *seqq.* Fauchet's speech is in Buchez et Roux, *Hist. parlem.*, XII., 97 *seqq.*; Gensonné's, *ibid.*, 104 *seq.*, Torné's, 123 *seq.*, Isnard's, 133 *seq.*

imprisonment. This was followed by two regulations which in effect were tantamount to the proscription of the Church, the priests, and all believers. One forbade non-juring priests to conduct services in parish churches, the other deprived Catholics of the right to hire or buy churches unless they took the civil oath.[1] The term "civil oath" was purposely chosen to give the impression that it was an oath of allegiance to the order of things that had been fixed by law for the public safety, whereas, in fact, it included the Civil Constitution.[2] The Abbé Salamon perceived at once the perfidious nature of the regulation and the danger that many would be deceived and be induced both by the deceptive wording and the harsh penalties for refusal to come to the decision that if needs must they could take the oath. Accordingly, he did all he could to have the matter clarified and to prevent the clergy acquiescing. He discussed the question with the Bishops and with theologians and got the Sorbonne to consider it. Both the Sorbonne and the committee of Bishop-deputies declared quite definitely that in this form, too, the oath could not be taken. It was then, also at Salamon's instigation, that several vicars-general sent circular letters to the clergy, warning them against the taking of the oath.[3] Further, he had great hopes of the king's refusing to sanction this new law, which made Catholic worship quite impossible. This time Louis XVI. did not belie the hopes that had been placed in him; he declined to give his sanction to the fatal resolution. But although the suspensive veto was still allowed him by the new constitution of September, 1791, it was now most violently contested by the Jacobins, likewise the declaration of the members of the administration of the Paris *Département*, who still had enough good sense to address a memorial to the king, protesting in the name of freedom against the new law.[4] The Jacobins

[1] Buchez et Roux, XII., 150 *seqq.*; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXXIII., 858 *seq.*

[2] Sciout, 241.

[3] Richemont, 163 *seq.*, 171 *seqq.*

[4] Buchez et Roux, XII., 233 *seqq.*

declared this to be high treason.[1] Their battle-cry was the suppression of all who thought differently from themselves, the overthrow of the throne, the subjugation of the Catholics within the realm, and war outside it. The National Assembly acted entirely on these lines. On April 6th, 1792, a Good Friday, on which there were performances at the Paris theatres—a thing unheard of—the National Assembly, on the motion of the Constitutional Bishop Torné, forbade the wearing of religious dress or emblems. The Constitutional Bishop Fauchet of Calvados, with instant obedience, put his *calotte* in his pocket, and his colleague, Gay-Vernon, Bishop of Haute-Vienne, laid his gold cross on the table of the house.[2]

On the same day Salamon, as private agent of the Holy See, received two Briefs, dated March 19th, 1792, which had been composed by the Pope himself. The first, after commending the loyal Bishops, gave a final warning to the Constitutional clergy and threatened them with excommunication if they did not repent within 120 days.[3] The second Brief imparted extraordinary powers to the lawful Bishops for the spiritual affairs of their dioceses.[4] As the Government kept a sharp watch on all dispatches from Rome, Zelada, the Secretary of State, had taken special precautions, which had been agreed on with Salamon. Only a few copies of the Briefs were sent to Salamon direct; a larger number, including the decrees destined for the Bishops, which were in a separate parcel with an address supplied by Salamon, were sent to Girard, the Papal agent in Lyons, who was to forward them to a certain

[1] Sciout, 244.

[2] De la Gorce, II., 141.

[3] Theiner, I., 125 *seqq.* The Brief was decided on in a Congregation of Cardinal deputies on January 19, 1792. Masson, 524.

[4] Richemont, 331; Theiner, I., 139. *Ibid.*, 142 *seqq.*, the accompanying Brief; 149 *seq.*, the extension of the faculties on June 13, 1792; 168, the prolongation of the faculties on December 10, 1792; 213, their further prolongation on December 15, 1794. *Cf. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2476, 2479, 2529, 2568, 2740, 2897 (prolongation of the faculties on December 10, 1795).

De Blignières in Paris, a loyal deputy from the Ardennes. A parcel addressed to a deputy was delivered without question, and Salamon thus received everything safely. He took immediate steps to have the first Brief printed and distributed. No little risk was attached to this, for by a decree of the National Assembly every printer, colporteur, or distributor of Papal Briefs was threatened with severe penalties. Within twenty-four hours a large number of copies were printed and by Easter Monday Salamon could report with great satisfaction to Cardinal Zelada that already more than 20,000 copies had been distributed in the capital and that everyone wanted to have one.[1] The Brief was distributed in the provinces too, though not by the timid Bishop-deputies, as Salamon reported with regret. Their committee was still in Paris, and was again making difficulties, in anticipation of which the consignment of Briefs had been sent to Salamon.[2]

On May 5th, 1792, the Calvinist François Nantes reported to the National Assembly that the number of non-juring priests was between 15,000 and 20,000 and that the clergy still existed as a separate Estate, with one foot in the Vatican and the other on a great throne. The coercive measures employed hitherto were inadequate; to restore domestic peace to the people the refractory clerics must be interned. This proposal seemed too lenient to the "Mountain" and the Girondists; they demanded deportation. Accordingly on May 27th a law was passed by which all non-juring priests were to be expelled if denounced by twenty citizens and the expulsion was requested by the district authorities concerned; any priest returning to the country after expulsion would be punished by ten years' imprisonment. This then was the penalty incurred by any priest who still dared to conduct a Catholic service.[3] The king made use of his right of veto for the second time.

[1] Reports of April 9 and 16, 1792, in RICHEMONT, 382 *seqq.*, 393 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 422 *seq.*, 456; KIEFER, 92 *seq.*

[3] SCIOUT, 268 *seqq.*; DE LA GORCE, II., 146 *seq.*; the decree in BUCHEZ ET ROUX, XIV., 248.

Although his life had been threatened by the mob that had forced its way into the Tuileries on June 20th, 1792, he displayed a courageous firmness on this occasion.[1] But no more regard was paid to his right of veto than in the previous year. In the all-prevailing anarchy the persecution of the loyal clergy could pursue its course unhindered.[2]

Not only the altar but the throne, too, was subjected to attack. Its enemies tried every means of completely demolishing the monarchy, which had already been gravely humiliated. On July 3rd Vergniaud made a great speech in the National Assembly; with masterly ingenuity he represented the king as an enemy of the country and spoke for the first time of his deposition. Two days later Torné, the Constitutional Bishop of Cher, made a formal request to this effect. After that not a day passed without an attack being made on the crown.[3] In the latter half of July non-juring priests in several places, such as Limoges, Clairac, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, were murdered.[4] The insurrection of August 10th, 1792, resulted in the arrest of Louis XVI. and his family. Having obtained this success the Jacobins and Girondins renewed their attack on the Church more furiously than ever. The revolutionary communal authorities in Paris led the way,[5] and the National Assembly obediently followed. The female orders, which had hitherto been spared, were condemned to a speedy end by the decree of August 17th, which ordered them to vacate their institutions before October 1st. In the name of the free State, which could not tolerate any corporation within its boundaries, a decree of August 18th ordered the dissolution of all teaching and nursing Congregations. The work of persecution was crowned by the law of August 26th, by which time there was no need to fear a veto, as the king was a prisoner in the Temple. This new law

[1] De la Gorce, II., 191 *seq.*, 196 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 202 *seqq.*; Sciout, 277 *seq.*

[3] Sciout, 276 *seq.*; Weiss, *Weltgesch.*, XV.[4-5], Graz, 1900, 589 *seq.*

[4] Sciout, 279 *seq.*; De la Gorce, II., 221 *seq.*

[5] F. Braesch, *La Commune du dix août 1792*, Paris, 1911.

decreed that all priests who had not yet taken the oath in accordance with the laws of November 27th, 1790, and April 15th, 1791, or who, after having sworn, had recanted and persisted in their refractoriness, were to leave their *Départements* within a week and French soil within a fortnight. Those who would not obey would be taken to the penal colony of Guiana in South America and if they returned to France they would be imprisoned for ten years. This law could also be applied to any other priest in the country who stirred up trouble or if a request for its application was made by the citizens of a *Département*. Those who were too old or sick to be deported were to be interned together in one house.[1]

The implementation of this new proscriptive law, the object of which was to preclude any kind of Catholic service, was forestalled by one of the most horrible events in French history—the September massacres.

The main object for which they were carried out was to influence the elections for the National Convention; the allegation that the country was threatened with a foreign war was a mere blind. It is equally certain that plans for the slaughter, including even the preparation of the victims' graves, had been laid by scoundrels in the pay of the communal council and by the minister of justice, Danton. The butchery began at three o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, September 2nd, and lasted till the 7th.[2] The accounts of the atrocities left us by contemporaries make horrible reading; the Englishman Moore, who was living in Paris at the time, wrote that these fearful deeds were worse than anything that

[1] De la Gorce, II., 236 *seq.*, 239 *seq.*, 241 *seq.*; Mathiez, *Les conséquences religieuses de la journée de 10 août 1792 : La déportation des prêtres et la sécularization de l'état civil*, Paris, 1911. Sciout (288) calls attention to the inclusion of the clerics who had taken the "serment de liberté et égalité" which had been decreed on August 14, 1792. *Cf.* below, p. 203.

[2] Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Girondins et des massacres de Septembre*, vol. II.; Mortimer-Ternaux, *Hist. de la Terreur*, III.; Sybel, I.[4], 515 *seq.*; Weiss, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 126 *seq.*, 138 *seq.*; Sciout, 290 *seq.*; De la Gorce, II., 275 *seqq.*

had been recorded in the history of crime.[1] The number of the victims was at least 1,400, of whom 225 were priests, apart from those who were executed in the former Benedictine abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés; their number can no longer be established.[2] Not one of the priests would save his life by taking the oath; as one of the executioners exclaimed in amazement, they went to their death as happily and joyfully as though it were a wedding. At the Carmelite convent, where the clerics destined for deportation had been interned, there were put to death Louis XVI.'s confessor, Hébert, the learned Jesuit Gagnières, the Superior of the Eudists, Lefranc, the Bishops of Saintes and Beauvais, François-Joseph de la Rochefoucauld and his brother Pierre-Louis, and the eighty-seven-year-old Archbishop of Arles, Jean-Marie Dulau.[3]

Among the few who escaped the butchery were the director of the deaf and dumb institute, the Abbé Sicard, who had to

[1] *A Journal during a Residence in France* (1793).

[2] De la Gorce, II., 285, 296. Lenôtre (*Massacres de Septembre*, Paris, 1907) estimates the number of the victims at 1,600; Webster (*The French Revolution*, London, 1919, 330) gives a total of 1368 (43 nobles and officers, 245 priests, 1,080 ordinary people).

[3] They were beatified on October 17, 1926. A. Cortaggini, *I beati Martiri del Settembre* 1792 *a Parigi*, Isola del Liri, 1926; J. Dehaut, *Prêtres victimes de la Révol. dans le dioc. de Cambrai 1792*, Cambrai, 1909; Welschinger, *Les Martyrs de Septembre*, Paris, 1919; Sorel, *Le couvent des Carmes pendant la Terreur*, 125–145, 371 *seqq.*; Mourret, VII., 160; Leclercq, *Les Martyrs*, XI., 40 *seqq.*; Sabatié, *Les massacres de Septembre, les martyrs du clergé*, Paris, 1912; J. B. Rovolt, *Les martyrs eudistes massacrés au Carmes et à St-Firmin* 2 *et* 3 *Septembre 1792*, Paris, 1927; Fouqueray, *Un groupe de martyrs de Septembre 1792*, 23 *anciens jésuites*, Paris, 1927. On the question of the oath that was demanded of the victims—a matter of importance so far as their beatification was concerned—see (as opposed to Misermont, *Le serment à la Constitution civile du clergé*, Paris, 1917) Pisani's observations in *Polybiblion*, LXXXIX. (1917), 264 *seq.*, and L. Audiat, *Deux victimes des septembriseurs* (the two Rochefoucaulds), Paris, 1927.

watch the murders in the abbey for two whole days,[1] and the Pope's confidential agent, the Abbé Salamon, who has described his ordeal in his memoirs. At two o'clock in the morning of August 27th there was knocking at the door of his house and five commissaries of his Section entered, followed by twenty armed men. As they approached the Abbé's bed, where he lay ill with a fever, he told them that he was sick and asked them their business. "We don't want to disturb you," they replied, "but we know that you are the Pope's Minister. Hand us over your correspondence." "Since you know I am the Pope's Minister, you should also be aware that my person is inviolate. You will have to look for my correspondence yourselves." They then tried to force him to sign a statement that they had been unable to find the correspondence. When he refused to do this he was taken to the Hôtel de Ville and brought before the Watch Committee. "You're just a criminal ripe for the guillotine," one of the councillors shouted at him. "Is that the language of a people that's supposed to be free?" retorted Salamon, and he refused to answer the questions put to him. He was then taken to the Mairie to be kept in provisional custody, and on September 1st, at eleven o'clock at night, he was transferred with some other prisoners to the abbey. On September 2nd the warder rushed in shouting: "Look lively, the people are breaking into the prisons and have already begun to slaughter the prisoners!" Distant sounds of the raging mob could be heard in the prison, and the captives prepared for death by making their confessions. At about half-past eleven at night there was a violent hammering on the door. Something had to be done quickly. The prisoners, Salamon among them, jumped out of the window into the yard fourteen feet below. But the mob was already there, and an interrogation of the prisoners began at once. The aged parish priest of Saint-Jean-en-Grève was the first to be examined. "Have you taken the oath of obedience to the Civil Constitution?" "No, I have not." Hardly had he answered when the stroke of a sword brought him to the

[1] Buchez et Roux, XVIII., 72 *seqq.*

ground. With a few further strokes the gruesome deed was done. Salamon had to stand by while his fellow-priests were pitilessly slaughtered one after another. In silent prayer he prepared himself for death. When his turn came dawn was breaking. Summoning up his courage, he stood in front of the deputy President, whom he knew already, and said to him: "Before I am handed over to these misguided people allow me to speak." "Well, who are you?" "I was spiritual counsellor to the Paris Parlement and I am a lawyer." "How did you get here?" Salamon gave him an explanation that was partly true, partly invented. He had been arrested in the street, he said, and taken from one prison to the other, but this was the first time he had been questioned. Taking pity on him, the President said: "You see, gentlemen, how carelessly citizens are arrested in the other Sections. If we had taken this man prisoner he would have been examined and released long ago." On hearing this, Salamon was bold enough to exclaim: "I appeal to the National Assembly!" Whereupon the murderers exclaimed: "Oh, the deputies of the National Assembly! We've got a list of their names and we'll strangle them along with the others!" Salamon was quick-witted enough to reply: "Yes, but I mean the patriots—Hérault, Torné, Rovère." "Bravo, bravo!" they all applauded. At the President's suggestion Salamon was taken back to the prisoners' cell. In the evening he was brought before a tribunal of five members, to which he related the true story of his arrest. The President said he was willing to release him, but that the killing was still going on, so that it would be safer for him to spend the night in the prison. The next day, therefore, he was able to leave, but before doing so he saw from the window a member of the communal council, wearing a tricoloured sash, dealing out money to the murderers. In the hope of getting better paid, they were disputing among themselves as to who had waded deepest in the blood.[1]

Outside France the view that was taken of the September murders may be judged from the reception that was given to

[1] Bridier, *Salamon*, 9–122.

the clerics who escaped the massacre. As the deportation of the priests began at the same time, all who crossed the frontier were looked on as saved.

The chief object of the September murders, the securing of votes for the National Convention, was attained. Over the corpses of the victims this most dreadful of all the National Assemblies proclaimed the Republic on September 21st, 1792. Even in the Convention, of the 749 deputies forty-eight were State priests, seventeen of them calling themselves Bishops. It was their votes that turned the scale [1] in favour of the death sentence pronounced on January 20th, 1793, on Hugues Capet, as Louis XVI. was now called. The sentence was carried out the next day, amid the joyful shouts of "Long live the Republic!" The noblest of the Bourbons mounted the scaffold with a firm step and openly proclaimed that he was innocent and that he forgave his enemies. Louis XVI. died as a Catholic Christian, proving what he had asserted in his last testament, that he wished to leave this world in communion with the one true Church. He had never striven after unrestricted power, but revenge for the absolutism founded by Richelieu was taken on him. The unhappy French people now fell victim to the most terrible of all tyrannies, that of the Revolution; and to all the other calamities there was added that of war, and not only the war with the Emperor and the King of Prussia that had been going on since April, 1792, but also war with England, Holland, and Spain. But this did not hinder the continuation of the persecution of the Catholics.

In spite of the deportation law a number of clerics had stayed on in France; in addition, there were those who, as non-functionaries, were excepted from the oath. Further, in some of the *Départements* remote from Paris, especially in Alsace, there were many parishes that refused to part with their lawful pastors. Thus it was that the Catholic form of worship still persisted, though under the constant threat of extermination.[2] With its decrees of March 18th and April 23rd,

[1] Sciout, *Hist. de la Constit. civile*, 310 *seq.*

[2] De la Gorce, II., 321 *seqq.*

1793, the Convention determined to put an end to this state of things. Every priest condemned to deportation who still showed himself in the country was to be put to death within twenty-four hours of his conviction. Almost the same penalty was to be paid by clerics who were non-functionaries.[1] These laws were carried out with inexorable strictness and, indeed, with cruelty.[2] Not content with raging against human beings, the Jacobins also attacked ecclesiastical buildings with incredible vandalism ; numerous works of art thus perished at their hands.[3]

Christianity had not been subjected to such merciless persecution since the time of Diocletian. When finally there was armed and organized resistance against this intolerable tyranny it was supported by only isolated districts, the Vendée and parts of Brittany, where in the spring of 1793 the people rose in defence of God and the monarchy. But as this rising, like the resistance shown against the Revolution in other parts of France, was only of a local nature, it was found possible to quell it by the end of 1793, in spite of the heroic efforts of the Vendeans.[4] The insurgents, in their desperation, may have tarnished their good cause by many an atrocity, but the vengeance of the victors was quite inhuman. The sheer delight in murdering defenceless persons taken by the " hellish columns " of General Turreau and the Convention's commissary, Carrier, recalls the deeds of the Huns and the Mongols. The massacres perpetrated by Carrier at Nantes are an ineffaceable stain on the history of the Revolution ; in four months he had 16,000 prisoners put on board ship, bound together, and by the opening of a trap-door he let them drown in the Loire. The first of these *noyades*, on November 7th,

[1] *Ibid.*, 324 *seq.* *Cf.* Sciout, III., 378.

[2] Mourret, VII., 194.

[3] *Ibid.* ; G. Gautherot, *Le vandalisme jacobin*, Paris, 1914.

[4] General descriptions by De la Gorce, II., 328–527, III., 114–264. *Cf.* also Weiss, *loc. cit.*, XVII., 96–118, 534–583 ; Deniau, *Hist. de la guerre de Vendée*, 3 vols., Angers, 1906–8 ; E. Gabory, *La Révolution et la Vendée*, I. (1789–1793), Paris, 1925.

1793, caused the deaths of ninety priests, who had been imprisoned since 1792 and preferred to endure anything rather than take the oath. At the second *noyade*, on December 10th, the same fate befell fifty-eight priests who had been condemned to deportation to Cayenne. These atrocities having been committed against the priests without reproof, they were soon afterwards committed against a countless number of laymen. At the same time shooting and guillotining went on steadily.[1] In Paris, too, the *rasoir national* (the "national razor") was in constant use. On October 16th, 1793, it cut short the life of Marie Antoinette, the widow of Louis XVI., aunt of the last Emperor of the Germans and sister of two other emperors. On October 31st thirty-two Girondins had to mount the scaffold. Conforming priests were also among the victims. "The Moor had done his duty and could go."

The illusions of the Constitutional clergy had already begun to fade away in 1792. Some of the Bishops showed signs of an uneasy conscience, but only one, Charrier de la Roche, the Metropolitan of Rouen, had the courage to resign the see he had usurped. There were others, however, who realized with horror that they had walked into a trap.[2] A year later it was already possible to discern an intellectual cleavage: some threw in their lot completely with the Revolution, others were still trying to maintain Catholic regulations. The conflict of the latter with the Convention began when it came forward as the promoter of the marriage of the clergy. After several Constitutional clerics had married at the end of 1791 and the beginning of the following year,[3] this step was taken by a Bishop, Thomas Lindet, in November, 1792.[4] In 1793 the number of Constitutional clerics who married steadily increased. In Lyons, in March of that year, one of these clerics married his sister, to the disgust of the whole town. For this crime, it is true, he

[1] SCIOUT, 441 *seq.*; A. LALLIÉ, *Les Noyades de Nantes*,[2] Nantes, 1879; SYBEL, II.[4], 429 *seq.*; WEISS, XVII., 589; CARLYLE, *French Revolution*, II., 292, 298.

[2] DE LA GORCE, III., 14 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.*; BERGER, *Religiöse Kulte*, 40.

[4] DE LA GORCE, III., 47.

was arrested.[1] In general, however, the marriage of priests was encouraged. The easiest way to win the favour of the Jacobins was to get married. On July 19th, 1793, the Convention ruled that any Bishop who opposed the marriage of the clergy was to be deported or deposed. On September 22nd Pontard, the Bishop of the Department of the Dordogne, presented his future wife to the Convention, which extended its energetic protection to the now numerous clerics who were entering into marriage.[2]

As many Catholic customs, especially the celebration of Sundays and saints' days, were still being practised, the Convention passed resolutions on October 6th and November 24th to introduce a republican calendar in place of the Christian one. Not only the whole constellation of the saints but even the Lord's Day appointed by the Apostles were swept away.[3] The official abolition of Christianity—dechristianization as it was called—had already taken place in certain parishes in the autumn of 1793. It began in such small places as Ris-Orangis, in the Ile de France, where a school-teacher had induced the peasants to replace the statue of St. Blaise in the church by one of Brutus, and to change the name of the place to Bourg-Brutus. Similarly, the inhabitants of Mennecy added "Marat" to the name of their village, after they had dismissed their priest and had discarded the statues of Saints Peter and Dionysius in their church in favour of those of Marat and Lepeletier.[4] After that, to demonstrate their abhorrence of superstition, they sent a deputation dressed, as a joke, in choir dress, to the Convention, which on November 6th declared that all citizens were entitled to adopt whatever religious cult they pleased and to do away with the ceremonies of which they disapproved.[5] On the same day a

[1] Berger, 46.

[2] De la Gorce, III., 49 *seq.*; Aulard, *Le culte de la Raison et de l'Être Suprême*, Paris, 1892, 21 *seq.*; Berger, 46 *seq.*

[3] De la Gorce, III., 59 *seq.*; Weiss, XVIII., 705 *seq.*; Berger, 49 *seq.*; Wallon, *La Terreur*, II.², Paris, 1881, 183.

[4] Aulard, *loc. cit.*, 36; Berger, 51 *seq.*

[5] De la Gorce, III., 84 *seq.*; Berger, 52.

number of deputies prevailed upon the weakly Constitutional Bishop of Paris, Gobel, whose debts had put him entirely in the hands of the Jacobins, to resign his office. On November 7th Gobel, with seven of his vicars, made a statement to this effect in the presence of the Convention. The radical deputy Chaumette promptly took advantage of the occasion to propose that the day on which the declaration had been made should be called the Day of Reason. This was joyfully adopted by the Convention. Gobel, laying aside his cross and ring and putting on the red bonnet of the Revolution, was congratulated by the President on having climbed to the heights of philosophy, and amid the cheers of the assembly received from him the kiss of brotherhood.[1] The deputies were now seized by as great a frenzy of enthusiasm as on the night in August, 1789.

Gobel's example was followed by all the deputies who had taken Orders, including, of course, Thomas Lindet. The Constitutional Bishop of Limoges, who had been one of the men chiefly instrumental in bringing about the execution of the king, said that he was glad to be a simple citizen and that he had done with every kind of divine service. Another of these mock Bishops declared that he would hold only the dogmas that were in the great book of Nature and reason. The Calvinist preacher Julien of Toulouse, not wanting to be outdone, praised philosophy and reminded his hearers that he had always preached that the consistently virtuous man was equally blessed, no matter whether he prayed to the God of Geneva or the God of Rome, to the God of Mahomet or that of Confucius. Grégoire, the learned and strictly moral Bishop of Blois, was alone unmoved. The final words of his speech were: "I shall remain a Bishop and appeal to the freedom of worship."[2] But no one imitated his courageous stand.

As the Constitutional Church now began to break up, a

[1] De la Gorce, III., 86 *seqq.*; 88 *seqq.*; Berger, 53 *seq.* For J.-B. Gobel, who was guillotined on April 13, 1794, see Weiss, XVIII., 93, and Steinhuber, II., 230 *seqq.*

[2] Weiss, XVIII., 93 *seqq.*; Pisani, II., 65 *seq.*

republican, revolutionary religion—the cult of reason—was set up as a substitute for Christianity. In this movement, naturally, a leading part was taken by the radical communal council of Paris. In the nave of the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame a little "Temple of Philosophy" was erected, with a decorated bust of Voltaire. Here, on the morning of November 10th, 1793, a beautiful actress took up her position and was revered by Republicans of both sexes. She represented Liberty, as was expressly indicated in the hymn composed for the occasion: "Sacred Liberty, dwell in this temple and be the goddess of the French." In the afternoon those who had taken part in this pageant appeared in the National Assembly, which immediately adopted the proposal of the ex-Capuchin Chabot that the metropolitan church be henceforward regarded as the Temple of Reason. Half of the Assembly then repaired to this new temple, where the blasphemous ceremony of the morning was repeated.[1]

In the days that followed Paris was like a madhouse in which all the demons of hell had been let loose. One after another Constitutional priests made their way into the Assembly to lay down their office, and men dressed up in ecclesiastical vestments made blasphemous declarations. Deputies of the Paris sections offered up church utensils on the altar of the fatherland. The Jews and Protestants also delivered up their sacred vessels.[2]

Really horrible scenes were enacted in the churches in which the cult of Reason was practised. In this the three main currents of French 'enlightened' thought, especially the pantheistic one, were prominent, particular attention

[1] AULARD, *loc. cit.*, 50 *seq.*; BUCHEZ ET ROUX, XXX., 196 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, III., 95 *seqq.* PISANI (II., 70) shows that the usually accepted story of the actress being placed half-naked on the altar is an exaggeration. *Cf.* also BRUNOT, *Culte cath. en français*, in the *Annales de la Révolut. franç.*, II. (1925), 209 *seq.*; HASHAGEN, *Kultus der Vernunft*, in the *Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift* (1905), 383 *seqq.*, 428 *seqq.*

[2] DE LA GORCE, III., 103 *seqq.*; BERGER, 58 *seq.*

being paid to the ridicule of the Catholic religion.[1] In the words of a member of the Convention: "In most cases the tabernacle of the high altar was used as a footstool for the throne of Reason. It was ministered to by artillerymen with pipes in their mouths. The confused shouts of thousands of people, the beating of drums, the shrill blasts of trumpets, the thundering of organs, gave the onlookers the impression of being among the bacchanals on the mountains of Thrace. The people, suddenly torn away from the bonds of the State and religion, had become a raving mob. Screaming the 'Carmagnole', they danced before the altars practically breechless, their necks and breasts bare, their stockings fallen down. With their rapid twisting and turning they were like whirlwinds, the harbingers of the storm that was to bring destruction and terror everywhere. The wife of the bookseller Momoro, a ranting Cordelier, the *chanteuse* Maillard, the actress Candeille, these were the deities of Reason; they were borne round in triumph and were given almost divine honours, to which they offered no objection. Great hangings had been fixed in front of the side-chapels in the nave, not without an ulterior motive, for sounds issued from these murky chambers which attracted the inquisitive, and when they raised the side of the curtain most indecent scenes were revealed to the passers-by."[2] The church of St. Eustache was converted into a common tavern, where shameless people caroused. St. Gervais was taken over by the women of the Halles; at nightfall public prostitutes held a ball in the Lady Chapel.[3]

In the streets of Paris bands of Jacobins, "drunk with wine and blood, on their way back from viewing the executions," formed processions, shouting "guillotine" and "*rasoir national*". In the Place du Carrousel a kind of pyramid was erected in honour of Marat, with busts equalling in number the heads he intended to strike off.[4]

[1] BERGER, 61 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, III., 110 *seq.*

[2] L. S. MERCIER, *Le nouveau Paris*, IV., Paris, 1798, 139 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 145 *seqq.*

The example set by the capital was followed by many other towns, where the new cult was welcomed by both the educated and the ignorant.[1] An English Protestant lady who was living in France at the time gives us the following account: "When the festival of Reason is to be celebrated in a *Département* a delegate arrives some days in advance, accompanied by a goddess (if the town itself cannot supply a suitable one). She is attired in a Roman tunic of white satin, usually taken from a theatrical wardrobe, and wears a red cap trimmed with oak leaves. Her left arm rests on a plough, in her right hand she holds a lance. Her foot is on a globe and around her are mutilated symbols of feudalism. In this pose the goddess, with all her paraphernalia, is borne along by four sansculottes in red caps, and is escorted by the National Guard, the mayor, the judges, and other officials, who, whether enraptured or enraged, have to present an appearance of respect. The whole retinue having arrived, the goddess is installed on an altar especially erected for the purpose. From this position she addresses the people, who in return pay her homage and sing the 'Carmagnole' and other songs of the kind. The procession then enters the principal church, where the same ceremonies are re-enacted in the choir. Wherever possible a priest is procured to abjure his faith in public and to declare that Christianity is nothing but a fraud. The festival ends with a bonfire in which prayer-books, saints' images, confessionals, and other pieces of church furniture are burnt. Most of those present stand looking on in silence, struck dumb with horror and amazement; others, either drunk or paid for playing these infamous antics, dance round the flames as though they were half-crazy or with a savage delight."[2] It was in this fashion that the glorious cathedrals of Chartres, Rheims, Metz, and Strasbourg were desecrated. At Laon and Abbeville the goddess of Reason was a harlot.[3]

On the whole, the witches' sabbath in the provinces was

[1] BERGER, 64 *seqq.*

[2] *Un séjour en France de 1793 à 1795*, Paris, 1872, 161.

[3] DE LA GORCE, III., 321 *seq.*

even worse than in Paris. Though the greater part of the population, especially in the Vendée, Lorraine, and Alsace, was still true to the religion of its forefathers, it had to stand by and watch how everything reminiscent of the religion of Christ, even names, was stamped out. Naturally, the first things to go were the crucifixes and statues of Our Lady. The churches and chapels were cleared out to the very last corner, and in spite of repeated prohibitions all the works of art produced by a great past were destroyed. The empty churches were then befouled outrageously [1] or were converted into temples of Reason. In some places, such as Rochefort, Grenoble, and Tours, the new cult took on an atheistic character.[2] One example will suffice to show the manner in which the representatives of the people reported on their activities. Le Carpentier wrote from St-Malo : " An obstinate priest has just left here—head foremost—to join the others who were dispatched (*expédiés*) before him. The guillotine has been set up permanently for the conspirators, the prisons are full of people under suspicion, and Liberty smiles on the patriots." [3] Voltaire's ideal, the throttling of the *Infâme*, seems to have been fulfilled as well as the dream of the Jansenists : the return to the age of the primitive church, the time of the catacombs. But the church created by the Civil Constitution was also at an end when the pseudo-bishops who did not belong to the Convention followed the example of their colleagues and resigned their office. A number of them, including Torné and Jarente, married, and most of the Constitutional parish priests did likewise. Whoever failed to do so were kept under strict watch[4]. One of the chief originators of the Civil Constitution, the Calvinist Barnave, was sentenced to death on November 28th, 1793.

The enemies of the Church and Christianity were by no means united. A formidable opponent of the new religion of Reason arose in the person of Robespierre, who realizing the

[1] *Ibid.*, 324 *seqq.* ; BERGER, 64 *seq.*
[2] BERGER, 69.
[3] *Ibid.*, 78.
[4] SCIOUT, 373 *seq.* ; BERGER, 69.

dangers, both internal and external, to which the Republic was exposed by the disgraceful outrages that were being committed, now suddenly objected to the destruction of Christianity. An ardent follower of Rousseau, Robespierre was enthusiastically in favour of a "natural religion", and his dislike of the cult of reason and the atheism advocated by Hébert, Chaumette, and Anacharsis Clootz was increased by the fact that these individuals were his personal enemies. On November 21st, 1793, in the club of the Jacobins, he condemned atheism as being aristocratic and repeated Voltaire's dictum: "If God did not exist, he would have to be invented." On May 7th, 1794, after he had succeeded in expelling Clootz from the Jacobin club and in bringing Hébert and his adherents to the scaffold, he introduced his new State religion. He expounded it in an endless speech in which he effectively defended the belief in God and the immortality of the soul, but denied that he had any dealings with fanatical priests. At the same session the Convention passed the law proposed by Robespierre, which acknowledged the immortality of the soul and the existence of a Supreme Being, who was to be honoured with thirty-six festivals in the year, beginning with the 20th Prairial. A ceremony of this nature was held accordingly on June 8th, 1794, in the Champ de Mars and, in spite of its flimsy theatricality and hollowness, it delighted the Parisians.[1]

Four days later the cowardly Convention passed the horrible law which had been carefully worked out by Robespierre and formed the climax of the Reign of Terror. The frenzy of the Tribunal of the Revolution which began now and lasted till the fall of Robespierre was indescribable. When the head of this strange founder of a new religion fell under the guillotine on July 28th, 1794, the cult of the Supreme Being, which many had been unable to distinguish from the cult of Reason, also disappeared.[2] Robespierre had been the

[1] Berger, 80 *seqq.*; De la Gorce, III., 333 *seq.* Robespierre's motives are well described also by Sybel (II.[4], 440).

[2] Berger, 89.

moving spirit of the Reign of Terror, but the reaction was slow to develop.[1] The number of loyal Catholics who had to mount the scaffold under his fearful regime was so great that they were called " an army of martyrs ". Almost every town supplied its contingent, those from Arras, Orange, and Bordeaux being particularly numerous.[2] In many cases it is difficult to determine the part played by political hatred, but there is no doubt that many of the victims, especially priests and nuns, shed their blood for the Faith.

The historian of the Popes has also to commemorate these heroes, since they died for the Holy See. To name but a few, the parish priest Noël Pinot, after secretly bringing spiritual comfort to the faithful for a year, was seized on February 21st, 1794, just as he was about to say Mass and, still wearing his vestments, was beheaded in the public square at Angers.[3] Two months later the Vincentine nun Marguerite Rutan had to mount the scaffold at Dax for refusing to take the oath of loyalty to the Constitution.[4] The four nursing sisters of Arras, who were guillotined at Cambrai, were also martyrs.[5] The female orders, which had been dissolved and broken up, were especially prominent in the number of their members who gave their lives for the Faith. Eleven Ursulines were executed at Valenciennes,[6] and thirty-two nuns at Orange in

[1] WEISS, *loc. cit.*, 568.

[2] DE LA GORCE, III., 514; L. DE CHÉRANCÉ, *Nos martyrs 1789–1799*, Paris, 1908; AUDARD, *Actes des martyrs et des confesseurs de la foi pendant la Révolution*, 2 vols., Tours, 1921.

[3] DE SÉGUR ET C. SAUVÉ, *Un admirable martyr sous la Terreur*, Paris, 1904; LECLERCQ, *Les Martyrs*, XII., 1 *seqq.*; UZUREAU, *Noël Pinot*, Angers, 1912; CORTAGGINI, *Vita del b. Natale Pinot*, Milano, 1926.

[4] P. COSTE, *Une victime de la Révolution, Sœur M. Rutan*, Paris, 1904; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, I., 702.

[5] MISERMONT, *Les vén. Filles de la Charité d'Arras, dernières victimes de J. Lebon à Cambrai*, Paris, 1914; LECLERCQ, *loc. cit.*, XI., 491 *seqq.*; A. LOVAT, *The Sisters of Charity martyred at Arras in 1794*, London, 1921.

[6] *Le beate quindici Vergini-martiri Figlie della carità ed Orsoline*

July, 1794 (most of the latter were either Ursulines or members of the Congregation of the Perpetual Adoration). The manner of their deaths was so heroic that the onlookers declared that only religion could be the source of such fortitude and confidence.[1] In the same month sixteen Carmelite nuns from the convent at Compiègne went to the scaffold in Paris, singing hymns. The Superior begged, as a favour, to be the last to die.[2]

messe a morte nella dioc. di Cambrai, Giugno-Ottobre 1794, Roma, 1920.

[1] REDON, *Les 32 religieuses guillotinées à Orange en 1794*, Avignon, 1904, 105; LORIDAN, *Les bienheureuses Ursulines de Valenciennes*, Paris, 1920.

[2] A. SOREL, *Les Carmélites de Compiègne*, Avignon, 1878; V. PIERRE, *Les bienheureuses Carmélites de Compiègne*, Paris, 1906; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, III., 23; P. MARIE-AMAND DE ST. JOSEPH, *Carmes et Carmélites martyrs de la Révolution*, Paris, 1925; LECLERCQ, *loc. cit.*, XII., 129 *seq.* Of those cited the martyrs of Compiègne were beatified on May 27, 1906; those of Valenciennes and Arras on June 13, 1920; those of Orange on May 10, 1925; and Pinot on October 31, 1926.

CHAPTER VI.

The Penetration of Revolutionary Ideas and Movements into the States of the Church.

In the war waged by the French revolutionaries against the Catholic religion the Pope had very soon become an object of attack, not only as the supreme head of the Church but also as a temporal ruler. In the latter capacity Pius VI. was in a far more dangerous situation than in the former, for notwithstanding his Government's well-intentioned efforts at reform the financial and military weakness of the Papal States was by now deplorable.[1] There was no question, therefore, of the Pope's direct participation in the military undertakings of other Powers against the Revolution ; the most that he could hope for was to prevent the infiltration of subversive ideas into his own dominions. For this purpose, precautionary measures had been taken at the beginning of 1790, when French newspapers were already prophesying that a revolution like that of Paris would soon break out in Rome.[2] The downfall of Pius VI. had also been foretold by the freemason and reformer Cagliostro [3] after his arrival in Rome at the end of May, 1789. This adventurer, who tried in Rome as in other capitals to exploit the credulity and the love of the mysterious that were rife at this period, was arrested during the night of December 27th–28th, 1789, and was prosecuted by the

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 42 *seqq.*, and below, pp. 225, n. 5, 227, 246, n. 4.

[2] Serafino Figari's *report from Rome, of January 23, 1790 (State Archives, Genoa).

[3] Pietro Donado's *report of June 6, 1789. He adds that those who have seen Cagliostro are surprised that so much fuss is made about him in Paris (State Archives, Venice). Bernis had the same impression (see *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 375).

Inquisition.[1] Simultaneously with his arrest the police discovered that the students of the French Academy at Trinità de' Monti had set up a masonic lodge in the house of the painter Belle. Freemasonry having been forbidden in Rome under pain of the heaviest penalties by Bulls of Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., severe measures were taken. Belle, the most deeply involved of the offenders, deemed it prudent to disappear.[2] Among Cagliostro's papers, it was said, was found a prophecy that Pius VI. would lose his throne and be the last of the Popes. The perturbation caused by these incidents may be gathered from Cardinal Bernis' letters. He relates that the students at the French academy of art having been infected by masonic ideas, Ménageot, their director, had the greatest difficulty in keeping them to their studies and in restraining them from reading free-thinking and irreligious works. The people of Rome, added Bernis, had not yet been affected by the false ideas, but they had spread among the artists and the middle class, and were beginning to penetrate into higher circles.[3] How anxious were the authorities to forestall any occasion for disturbances may be seen from some of the measures taken in February, 1790. On the 5th of this month the Moccoli festival, which was usually held on the last day of the Carnival, and of which Goethe gives so attractive a description, was banned.[4] Of recent years it had deteriorated into an orgy. On the feast of St. Peter's Chair, February 22nd, Frenchmen were not allowed to attend the Papal Mass in St. Peter's in the space reserved for distinguished strangers, owing to the most disrespectful conduct there of several of

[1] Reports in *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 275, 277 *seq.* *Cf.* Donado's *report of January 2 and 30 and February 6, 1790 ("La prigionia del Cagliostro può dirsi l'epoca di una insolita vigilanza"), *loc. cit.*, and *Figari's of March 13, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 374.

[3] *Ibid.*, 377 *seq.*

[4] Figari's *reports of January 23, February 6 and 20, 1790 (*loc. cit.*); also *Donado's of February 6, to which is attached the edict of February 5, 1790 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the police report in *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 396 *seq.*

their countrymen during the Christmas celebrations. Before the month was out an ordinance was issued against the sale of tricolour cockades.[1] Further incidents gave cause for exercising even greater watchfulness. In March the legate of Bologna had to take steps against the diffusion of revolutionary announcements.[2] In May a man was carried along the Rione Regola in Rome, dressed up as the Pope and accepting appeals and lampoons; this resulted in some arrests.[3] In June the mob at Rignano, near Rome, opened the prisons; at Viterbo a tax edict was torn down[4]; and in July there were disturbances at Ferrara on account of the taxes.[5]

On June 18th, 1790, the subversive tragedies of Alfieri, who was living in Paris, were banned in Rome.[6] Toward the end of the month Bernis was reporting that the people of Rome were beginning to eye the French residents with suspicion, as being potential disturbers of the peace.[7] In July considerable alarm was caused by the news from Paris that Mirabeau had made a speech, which was being publicized by means of provocative manifestoes, to the effect that the French revolution would spread to every country in Europe. As this coincided with the discovery of French emissaries in the States of the Church, certain suspicious individuals were expelled.[8] At the end of

[1] Figari's *reports of January 23 and February 13, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Figari's *report of March 20, 1790 (*ibid.*).

[3] Figari's *report of May 29, 1790 (*ibid.*).

[4] Figari's *report of June 26, 1790 (*ibid.*). On October 17 and 24, 1789, *Donado reported an attempt made by the criminals to seize the fortress of Sinigaglia (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Figari's *report of July 10, 1790 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Donado on June 19, 1790 (State Archives, Venice): "*Ieri si sono proibite come sediziose le tragedie del conte Alfieri accresciute di numero dopo la prima edizione e ristampate a Parigi con alcune dediche assai sfrenate." *Cf.* BAUMGARTNER, *Ital. Literatur*, 592 *seqq.*

[7] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 429.

[8] Donado's *report of July 31, 1790, with the observation (*loc. cit.*): "Una società che s'unisce espressamente per rovesciar tutta Europa, una nazione che la genera, l'alimenta e l'incoraggisce

September Bernis reported that the police were keeping a strict watch on foreigners. The young artists especially were under suspicion as they were nearly all freemasons. Three Frenchmen regarded as suspicious characters had been expelled. "Every sovereign," he observed, "is master in his own house, and it is only natural that he should refuse to tolerate those who stir up others against the government or who despise religion."[1] In January, 1791, the authorities in Rome were on the track of fresh emissaries of the National Assembly.[2] Another effect of the French Revolution was that the Dataria and Penitentiary ceased to derive any money from France; this, in view of the precarious financial situation, was a serious loss.[3]

The Inquisition's prosecution of Cagliostro ended in April, 1791, with his being condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted by Pius VI. into lifelong imprisonment in the fortress of S. Leone. The penalties imposed on the others implicated in the case, of whom one was a Capuchin, were also mitigated. The charlatan's masonic writings were burnt in the Campo di Fiori.[4]

nel proprio seno come necessario ai suoi interessi sono oggetti che da sè solo possono occupare i pensieri d'ogni governo nello studio d'allontanare le insidie esterne e togliere nell'interno l'occasioni favorevoli allo sviluppo dei sensi venefici gettati dall'esempio e ricaldati da discorsi detti scritti. Qui si continua un costante esercizio di vigilanza." For the fortifications at the end of July, 1790, *cf. Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 438. On September 25, 1790, Donado *reported on the prohibition of the importation of "figure equivoche" from France (*loc. cit.*).

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 457.

[2] "*Non mancano anche in Roma d'emissari della sudetta assemblea," Brunati reported to Colloredo on January 22, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] Brunati's *report to Colloredo on February 12, 1791, *ibid.* On January 31, 1791, Brunati *reported that the Christmas gifts to the court prelates were getting smaller and smaller, owing to the shortage of money (*ibid.*).

[4] Brunati's *reports of April 9, 1791 (*ibid.*), and of April 9 and 13, 1792 (where he dismisses Cagliostro as a mere charlatan),

After dismissing Cardinal Bernis, its representative in Rome, in March 1791, for having refused to take an unconditional oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution, the French Government tried to force the Pope to accept as his successor Count Ségur, who had taken the oath. The Pope, however, firmly refused to agree to this proposal, whereupon the nuncio Dugnani had to leave Paris on May 31st, leaving behind him only his secretary Quarantotti. Similarly in Rome, Bernard, Cardinal Bernis' former secretary, continued to function as an unofficial *chargé d'affaires*.[1]

When a coalition of the Great Powers was formed against France in support of Louis XVI., Pius VI. showed no inclination to join it.[2] He was evidently waiting to see how it succeeded.[3] The Republic of Venice also remained neutral, and possibly the Pope was of the same opinion as its representative in Rome, that the new order of things in France, being founded on false principles, would be overthrown by a counter-revolution within the country itself.[4] These hopes were heightened by the news that Louis had succeeded in escaping from Paris, and great was the dismay when the rumour proved to be ill-founded.[5] It was, however, a con-

and *Donado's of April 9 and 16, 1791 (*loc. cit.*); *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 18 *seq.*, 23.

[1] Brunati's *report to Colloredo of June 4, 1791 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* above, p. 186.

[2] " *Gli affari di Roma con Francia sempre più peggiorano tanto nelle cose ecclesiastiche sicchè nelle politiche," wrote Capello on May 21, 1791, in reporting the burning of the Pope's effigy (see above, p. 186). State Archives, Venice.

[3] Capello's *report of June 4, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[4] Capello's *report of June 25, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[5] Capello's *report of July 9, 1791 (*ibid.*). The news of Louis XVI.'s successful escape, which spread from Turin through the whole of Italy, misled Pius VI. into sending the king a message of congratulation, dated July 6, 1791. It was described by Capello in his *report of July 16 as a " capolavoro della latinità Romana " (*ibid.*; it is reproduced in VICCHI, Appx., 5 *seqq.*). Pacca, the nuncio to Cologne, was to present it, as a " Nunzio estraordinario ", to the king at Metz.

solation to the Pope to know that the majority of the French clergy were proving loyal to the Church [1] and that national feeling in England was turning in favour of the Catholics.[2] In Rome, where in May 1791 there were further expulsions of suspicious Frenchmen,[3] the anti-French feeling of the people against supporters of the revolution was reaching a pitch unparalled since the Sicilian Vespers.[4] When Frenchmen were stoned in the streets [5] the governor of the city, Rinuccini, immediately expressed his regret to Bernard that the rabble should have committed these excesses, and he promised to take steps to prevent their recurrence.[6] Other ugly incidents occurred in other places in the Papal States. At Macerata, at the end of June, thirty-one criminals broke out of prison and after joining forces with Neapolitan fugitives they took to highway-robbery.[7] Far more serious was the mutiny that broke out at Civitavecchia on August 1st. Prisoners rowing the Papal galleys rose in revolt, shouting "Long live liberty! Long live the French National Assembly!" It was not till the commandant of the fortress threatened to shoot them down that order was restored.[8] In the same month there was

[1] Figari's *report of July 16, 1791 (State Archives, Genoa); Brunati's *reports of July 7 and 13, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna); Capello's *report of July 16, 1791 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] Capello's *report of July 2, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[3] Capello's *report of May 7, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[4] "*Per quanto i Francesi sino dalla famosa epoca del vespro Siciliano, siano invisi alla nazione italiana, non mai più che attualmente in specie ai Romani." (Brunati to Colloredo, May 23, 1791, *loc. cit.*)

[5] *Cf.* *Capello on July 16, 1791 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 35.

[7] Capello's *report of July 2, 1791 (*loc. cit.*). On June 16, 1792 (*ibid.*), Capello *reported another plot to plunder Macerata, which was frustrated at the last minute; the report was used by Brosch (II., 157).

[8] This incident, which was not mentioned by Guglielmotti in his *Gli ultimi fatti della squadra Romana* (Roma, 1884), was reported by Capello in his *dispatch of August 6, 1791 (*loc. cit.*),

another mutiny in the Castel S. Angelo,[1] and disturbances occurred at Velletri and Fano, at the latter place on account of the bad bread.[2]

At the beginning of August, 1791, after the attacks on the Church and the person of the Pope had increased in Paris, Quarantotti, the auditor to the nunciature, also had to leave his post. On September 14th the National Assembly decided to unite Avignon with France.[3] Further, Bernard, France's unofficial representative, who was still in Rome, was ordered to refrain from any dealings with the Papal government.[4] Some of the Cardinals proposed that an immediate and solemn protest be made against the seizure of Avignòn,[5] but it was not till October 26th that the Pope addressed a sharply-worded communication to all the Powers.[6]

On November 19th, 1791, Antonio Capello, the Venetian ambassador, wrote that in all the preceding centuries the Holy See had never been in so critical a situation as it was then. France had attacked it in both the ecclesiastical and political spheres, and there was a danger of other sovereigns following suit. Consequently, the formation of the coalition was viewed

and by *Cardinal Herzan in his letter to Colloredo on August 3, 1791. According to the latter's *report of August 14, 1791, another mutiny had to be put down in Civitavecchia. State Archives, Vienna.

[1] Brunati's *reports of August 17 and 20, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[2] Brunati's *report of August 14, 1791 (*ibid.*), and *Capello's of September 17, 1791 (*loc. cit.*). The latter describes how the disturbances at Fano were composed by the moderation shown by the Bishop there, which had the approval of the Pope.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 190.

[4] *Cf.* *Capello on October 8, 1791 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Capello's *report of October 15, 1791 (*ibid.*).

[6] The Secretary of State's *letter and Azara's *letter of October 26, 1791 (Archives of Simancas), are attached to Capello's *report of October 29, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna). A "chirografo" of Pius VI.'s of November 5, 1791, "ammette e approva la protesta del commissario della Camera contro l'usurpazione d'Avignone" (contemporary print).

with satisfaction in Rome, but it seemed that this hope, too, was to be frustrated.[1] The replies from most of the Powers to the protest against the seizure of Avignon were depressing, for they were really nothing more than pious hopes.[2] As the result of the strain he had undergone the Pope had already fallen ill with a fever at the end of August, 1791,[3] and in December he was ill again. His distorted mouth gave rise to talk about an apoplectic stroke, especially as this was hereditary in his family.[4] He refused to spare himself, however ; his father, he said, had had the same trouble, and he had lived for another eighteen years. He applied himself to all his duties as before. On December 16th, 1791, he granted the Abbé Maury, who had arrived in Rome a short time before, an audience of three

[1] Capello's *report of November 19, 1791 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] The Emperor regretted that he had not 100,000 men at his disposal ; the King of Naples referred to his allies ; the King of Sardinia's reply was " *polita quanto ai modi, consona quanto alla sostanza. Tutto viene non essendo che parole senza nemmeno promessa di una interposizione . . . di buoni offizi " (Capello on December 3, 1791, *ibid.*). The Spanish reply was contained in Floridablanca's *instruction to Azara, dated November 15, 1791 : " que en quanto esté de parte de S.M. y le permitan las circunstancias se interesará mui de rexar las satisfacciones de S.S." (Archives of Simancas). No help could be expected from Aranda, who succeeded Floridablanca on February 28, 1792, since he was a Voltairian who had always been a firm supporter of a Franco-Spanish alliance (BAUMGARTNER, *Gesch. Spaniens*, 365 *seq.*).

[3] Brunati's *reports of August 31, 1791 (*loc. cit.*), and *Capello's of September 3, 1791(*loc. cit.*). The latter *reported on September 10 (*ibid.*) that the Pope had regained his health, but on September 28 Brunati *reported (*loc. cit.*) that he looked very ill, that he was dragging one of his feet, that his thigh was swollen, and that he could hardly stand.

[4] Capello's *report of December 10, 1791, where he gives his opinion that " è una paralisia che una volta o l'altra può farsi apoplessia " (State Archives, Venice) ; Brunati's *reports of December 10 and 12, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna).

and a half hours. This was reported by the Venetian ambassador Capello, who again expressed the view that a counter-revolution would come about in France of its own accord.[1]

The Pope, who went through all the exhausting ecclesiastical ceremonies of Christmas,[2] must have been still more hopeful of an anti-French coalition when he heard of the good progress that was being made in the negotiations for an Austro-Prussian defensive alliance, which was concluded on February 7th, 1792.[3] The sudden death of the Emperor Leopold II. on March 1st caused as much dismay in Rome as in Vienna, though it was soon learnt that Francis II. would adhere to his father's policy. It was also good to hear that Francis insisted on the return of Avignon to the Pope.[4]

The news of the assassination of King Gustavus III. of Sweden, which arrived in Rome at the end of April, 1792,

[1] Capello's *reports of December 4 and 17, 1791 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Capello's *report of December 31, 1791 (*ibid.*; the Pope was restored to health, "diminuto anco di molto il difetto della bocca").

[3] Capello's *reports of January 7 and 21, 1792 (*ibid.*). On January 28 (*ibid.*) he *reported Catherine II.'s reply on the subject of Avignon: "supera in pienezze quelle di tutte le altre corti." The letter of thanks to Catherine II. (PIERLING, V., 170 *seq.*) was criticized by many of the Cardinals, among other reasons for its tone (the Czarina was described as "eroina del secolo"). See Capello's *report of March 3, 1792 (*ibid.*). In her reply the Queen of Portugal promised to make representations through her envoy in Paris (Capello's *report of February 4, 1792, *ibid.*). On March 17, 1792, Capello *reported that the queen had lost her reason (*ibid.*): "E veramente par che la colera di Dio siasi lanciata contro i sovrani."

[4] Capello's *reports of March 10, April 21, and May 12, 1792 (*ibid.*). Maury had come to Rome on December 6, 1791, and had been nominated by the Pope Pronotary Apostolic and Archbishop of Nicæa on April 17, 1792 (see RICHEMONT, *Corresp. de Salamon*, 159, 381). For his mission to Frankfurt, *cf.* above, p. 182. POULOULAT, *Le card. Maury* (Paris, 1855), 230; RANCE-BOURRAY, *Maury et Zelada en 1791* (Paris, 1898), 17, 42 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, *Maury*, 54 *seqq.*

greatly distressed the Pope,[1] as Gustavus had been friendly to the Catholics and an avowed enemy of the French Revolution, for the overthrow of which he had been forming great plans. As for the successful issue of the first war of the Coalition, the Venetian ambassador had only very modest hopes from the outset. He did not close his eyes to the probability that a struggle with so mighty a nation would be long and hard, nor to the dangers inherent in every coalition of different nations. He was also aware that England was pursuing a selfish policy and that there was no immediate prospect of Spain, Portugal, or Sweden joining the Coalition. Finally, he pointed out that the Polish crisis to which Russia was devoting its attention threatened to separate Austria from Prussia.[2]

The Pope at this time was fully occupied with ensuring the safety of the Papal States. He had discovered that the disturbances that had taken place in Fano in August, 1791, had been instigated by emissaries from the French National Assembly,[3] and a club on the French model had been brought to light at Ferrara.[4] In consequence he ordered the expulsion of further suspicious characters and had the control of passports made stricter still.[5] Reports of the warlike preparations of the French in Toulon gave rise to the fear that Civitavecchia would be attacked. The further counter-measures ordered to be taken for the protection of the coast, under the direction of the Tesoriere Ruffo, revealed straightaway the incapacity of

[1] Capello's *report of April 28, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Capello's *report of May 12 and 26, 1792 (*ibid.*). The ambassador had already passed the following judgment on England on September 17, 1791: "*L'Inghilterra, la sola potenza cui giovi la rovina della Francia assai più che la cosa comune, mira il proprio interesse." The downfall of France, he alleged, would greatly further England's trade. For Spain's attitude see BAUMGARTEN, 391.

[3] *Cf.* *Capello on February 4, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's report of February 18, 1792, in BROSCH, II., 193.

[5] Capello's *report of April 14, 1792 (State Archives, Venice; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 76, 88).

the Papal States to adopt any sort of military precautions.[1] In July, 1792, the entry of Frenchmen into Papal territory was made more difficult still, and a strict edict was issued about the policing of foreigners, on the supposed discovery of a French plot to assassinate the Pope (who had now fully recovered his health).[2] Pius VI., who hitherto had refused to have any precautions taken for his personal safety, now gave instructions for them to be put into effect.[3] In August prayers were offered and processions held for the security of the throne and altar in France.[4]

In Rome as elsewhere the news of the fall of the French monarchy and the September massacre caused widespread indignation and dismay. It coincided with the arrival at Civitavecchia of the first of the nuns expelled from France.[5] In view of the persistent and extreme hostility of the people

[1] Capello's *reports of June 2 and 9 and July 28, 1792. He states in his report of June 9: "Questa corte continua in alcune disposizioni di difesa più d'apparenza che di realità e senza altro effetto che di una spesa inutile." He wrote on June 23: "tutte queste precauzioni o sono insufficienti dato che vengano i Francesi o se non vengonò sono gettate" (*loc. cit.*). See also *Figari on June 9, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa) and *Brunati on June 23 and July 7, 1792 (State Archives, Vienna). Full accounts of Ruffo's military measures are contained in Azara's *letters of June 13 and July 4, 1792. He says here that "Rufo goza del mas decidido ascendiente sobre su [the Pope's] anima" (Archives of Simancas).

[2] See Capello's *report of July 9, 1792 (*loc. cit.*) and Azara's *letter of June 13, 1792 (Archives of Simancas), where he writes that the Pope went through the Corpus Christi procession "no obstante el valor y fatiga que debió sufrir en una funcion tan larga no ha tenido ninguna mala resulta".

[3] Capello's reports of July 14 and 21, 1792, and that of July 28, referring to the policing of foreigners, in Brosch, II., 184.

[4] Capello's *reports of August 11 and 18, 1792 (State Archives, Venice), and *Figari's of August 11 and 25, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa).

[5] Capello's *reports of August 25 and September 22, 1792 (*loc. cit.*), and Figari's *letters of September 1 and 22 (*loc. cit.*).

towards the French [1] the Papal Government was at pains to prevent any possible outrage. When the Swiss Guard, in revenge for the murder of three of their countrymen, were about to attack the French academy of art in the Palazzo Mancini, on the Corso, they were restrained by the Cardinal Secretary of State.[2] Rome's anxiety not to compromise itself was shown by its attitude towards Piedmont's appeal for help against the threatened attack of the French. Pius VI. was well aware of the Piedmontese Government's unreliability [3]; nevertheless, the question of affording it support was seriously considered. In response to an appeal from King Vittorio Amadeo, brought by special courier, the Pope summoned an extraordinary Congregation of Cardinals at the beginning of October. It was resolved to invite all the Italian powers to support Savoy, but it was declared impossible to render any financial assistance.[4]

So soon as October 8th news arrived that without declaring war the French had marched into Savoy and had taken Nice. The Savoyard envoy now demanded that Papal vessels be sent immediately to protect the island of Sardinia [5]—in other words, that the Pope should openly join in the war against the French Republic. This was a strange request in any case, and was stranger still considering that the reverses, especially the

[1] The Romans' hatred of the French was indescribable, according to *Brunati, who made this comment as early as May 5, 1792 (State Archives, Vienna).

[2] Figari's *report of September 15, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Capello had *written on May 19, 1792: "La corte di Torino teme la guerra più che la desideri." Savoy, he said, had no money (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Pius VI.'s *letter to the King of Sardinia, of October 2, 1792 (Cod. Vat. 9718, Vatican Library), and Azara's *report of October 3, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). The Cardinals refused to touch the Sixtine treasure (see Capello's report of October 6, 1792, in Brosch, II., 181).

[5] Figari's *report of October 6, 1792 (*loc. cit.*) and *Azara's of October 10, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). The latter observes that the Congregation consisted of Cardinals "di ordine e palatinos".

loss of Nice, were principally due to the cowardice of the Savoyard troops. This aspect of the matter was given prominence also at the Congregation of Cardinals, together with the view that the Papal States had nothing to fear from the French either by land or sea. The only danger that threatened, it was held, came from within, not without; the infiltration of new ideas demanded most imperiously that Rome should see to the safety of its own house.[1] The representatives of this view could point to the French newspapers and pamphlets that were eagerly read in Rome,[2] to the spreading of revolutionary ideas by the students at the French academy of art,[3] and to the disturbing incidents that had occurred at Bologna and other places in the Papal States.[4]

Besides this widespread disaffection and the utter inadequacy of Ruffo's defence measures [5] the critical state of

[1] Full *report by Azara on October 17, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] This had already been reported by *Brunati on July 7, 1792 (State Archives, Vienna).

[3] The Belle case (see above, p. 214) seems to have been followed by an interval of calm, but on August 25, 1790, the Director, Ménageot, was complaining of the "esprit de liberté et égalité" of his students (see *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 441). On March 21, 1792, Bernard reported that the behaviour of some of the students was so unrestrained that they were likely to be expelled (*ibid.*, XVI., 73 *seq.*). This penalty was subsequently suffered by the prophetess Labrousse (*Mél. d'arch.*, XVII., 311 *seq.*). On March 28 a similar report was made by Ménageot, who added that the students had been warned to be more careful (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 75 *seq.*). This brought him into conflict with the students, who were filled with the new ideas, and at the end of October, 1792, the director, who was old and in bad health, asked to be pensioned off (*ibid.*, 119 *seq.*).

[4] Brunati's *report of September 5, 1792 (*loc. cit.*) and *Capello's of September 8, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). According to the latter, the reports of the disturbances in Bologna had been exaggerated.

[5] According to Brunati, *reporting on September 15, 1792, the garrison of the Castel S. Angelo, 400 strong, consisted for the most part of deserters and bad characters, and that in addition

the finances caused the gravest anxiety. The increase of paper money, to which the Papal Government had already had recourse before 1789,[1] could only worsen the situation. By 1790 the notes, which had never before been issued for sums less than 10 *scudi*, were representing half that amount. There was no question of exchanging this paper money for hard cash, as the Papal coins soon went out of circulation, having been transferred to Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Naples. The evils arising from this continual issuing of paper money were vividly described by the Venetian ambassador Capello, who found this method of raising money convenient but very dangerous.[2]

The less the Papal States were able to rely on their own strength, in spite of their costly mobilization,[3] the more anxiously the eyes of Rome were turned towards the war of the Coalition. From the very beginning the stout resistance of the French and the unreliable attitude of the allies had aroused serious misgivings.[4] For two months hopes of the Coalition's success alternated with fear of the French; their fleet, under Admiral La Touche-Tréville, had been sent against Naples, and it was feared that it would capture Civitavecchia.[5] At the

there were 200 sentenced to hard labour (*loc. cit.*). This sounds incredible, but it has been confirmed by others. A similar situation prevailed elsewhere. *Cf.* Brunati's *report of Dec. 15.

[1] *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIV, 481.

[2] Capello's *reports of September 11 and October 30, 1792 (State Archives, Venice).

[3] Figari's *report of November 3, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa). On December 15 he reported that it was proposed to increase the strength of the troops to 60,000, which would cost 5,760,000 *scudi* a year (*ibid.*).

[4] Capello's *report of September 8, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). In a *Brief of September 12, 1792, Pius VI. asked for assistance from the Emperor Francis (*Epist.*, 189, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *Letter to the nuncio in Madrid, October 10, 1792 (Nunziat. di Spagna, 439, fo. 111 *seq.*; *ibid.*): "Animati da questi progressi [i Francesi] minacciano ancora, secondo le notizie che abbiamo, la Sardegna e tutta l'Italia, e il carattere ardito della nazione, i principj che l'hanno pervertita, la forza della squadra navale di facinorosi di essa nazione, tutto ispira il più fondato timore. Ma se

beginning of November came the shattering news that the supreme commander of the Coalition forces, Karl Ferdinand of Brnnswick, had abandoned French soil.[1] In spite of the daily deliberations of the Congregation of Cardinals[2] it was terrifyingly clear that the States of the Church were defenceless.[3] "We have neither troops nor ships," wrote Pius VI. to the Czarina on November 3rd, 1792, in the endeavour to persuade her to send her vessels to the Mediterranean.[4] Making war was not the business of priests, was the judgment of the Venetian ambassador; much money was being spent on a defence that was more show than reality. In Civitavecchia, he continued, confusion reigned; the best protection for the Papal States was the south-west wind (*libeccio*), which made a landing impossible at that time of year.[5]

tutti i principi d'Italia debbono temere la loro audacia, la Santa Sede si vede ancor più esposta al pericolo di esserne assalita, correndo voce che nutrano il disegno di tentate qualche sbarco nel littorale pontificio nel Mediterraneo, e specialmente di portarsi a Civitavecchia con isperanza di rendersene facilmente padroni."

[1] Capello's *report of November 3, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Capello's *report of October 23, 1792 (*ibid.*).

[3] On November 24, 1792, Brunati sent Colloredo a list showing the distribution of all the Papal troops. Their total strength, excluding recruits, was 8,860. As Brunati pointed out on December 5, 1792, they were badly trained and undisciplined. *Report of November 28, 1792 (State Archives, Vienna).

[4] *Brief to "Catharina imperatrix Russiæ" (*Epist.*, 189, fo. 187, Papal Secret Archives).

[5] *The defence measures were being taken "in fretta e senza chi sappia dirigerli, la tattica militare non essendo la scienza de' preti, onde spendesi molto denaro in una difesa più apparente che reale. Tutto essendo confusione a Civitavecchia, la maggior difesa dello stato pontificio è il libeccio" (Capello, on November 3, 1792, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Brunati's opinion in his *letter of November 14, 1792 (*loc. cit.*); also Azara's *report of October 24, 1792 Archives of Simancas): "En esta semana ha prevalecido [?] el parecer de los que quieren establecer un armamento y poner el estado en un pie militar para lo que se dan todas aquellas disposiciones que puede producir un pais que no sabe lo que es guerra, a quien falta

Prayers were ordered to be said in Rome,[1] but the panic was so great that many were preparing for flight.[2] Cardinal Herzan and Brunati were among those who were thinking of departure.[3] Amid the cares with which he was encompassed the Pope retained unshaken his pious confidence in Providence.[4] When asked what he would do if the French came to Rome he gave the reply: "My post is at the door of St. Peter's."[5] It was not so much the depressing news of the victories of the Republican armies on the Rhine and in Belgium, which reached him in November, as the recognition by Naples of the French Republic, that forced even him to change his attitude.[6] It was firmly impressed upon him by his entourage, whose influence grew as his age advanced,[7] that the purely temporizing attitude he had hitherto maintained towards the French Government could not be persisted in without running the gravest danger.[8] Accordingly, he gave way. When Mackau, the French envoy in Naples, protested to Cardinal Zelada

todo absolutamente y que ha puesto la direccion de esta empresa en manos de uno que por su estado y por otras mil circunstancias ignora hasta los primeros elementos de lo que hace."

[1] Figari's *reports of November 3 and 10, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa).

[2] Azara's *report of November 7, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Brunati's *report of November 10, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] An *instruction of October 31, 1792, to the nuncio to Spain contains the following passage: "In somma siamo circondati da ogni parte di afflizioni; ma dobbiamo adorare le disposizioni divine e confidare nella sua bontà e misericordia" (Nunziat. di Spagna, 439, fo. 115, *loc. cit.*).

[5] Capello *wrote on November 10, 1792: "Il S. Padre più d'ogni altro si diporta con tranquillità e saviezza." On the 17th he *wrote: "Interrogato il S. Padre cosa farà se i Francesi vengono a Roma, rispose con animo robusto e sereno che il suo posto sarà sulla porta della chiesa di S. Pietro" (State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* *Brunati on November 17, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] *Cf.* *Brunati on November 24, 1792 (*ibid.*).

[7] This had already been stated by Brunati in his *report of February 8, 1792 (*ibid.*).

[8] Brunati's *report of December 4, 1792 (*ibid.*).

against the arrest on September 22nd of two French artists, the sculptor Chinard and the painter Ratter, both being charged with wearing the tricolour cockade and making a statue of Liberty overpowering Fanaticism,[1] the two men were released.[2] Another step of an accommodating nature was the issue of an instruction to the commanders of the ports in the Papal States to supply the French vessels with victuals on payment.[3]

Meanwhile, Mackau's secretary, Hugon de Bassville, had come to Rome, ostensibly to view the sights of the Eternal City and to render thanks for the release of the two artists, actually, as was soon suspected, on a very different errand.[4] Some thought that through him the Republic intended to open diplomatic relations with the Pope [5]; others correctly regarded him as a spy who had come to reconnoitre the situation in the States of the Church.[6] Bassville lodged in the Via dell'Impresa, with the French banker Morette. The Pope gave orders that he was to be treated courteously but that his movements were to be watched.[7] Although he had no right to do so, Bassville immediately behaved as an accredited representative and he entered into close relations with the Spanish ambassador, Azara, whom he complimented on being the only diplomat in Rome who "had risen almost to the

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 105, 106 *seq.*, 120, 122 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* That the Republicans' accounts of the treatment of the two artists were exaggerated was confirmed by Bernard in his report of November 8, 1792. His words were: "L'affaire de ces artistes se trouve en justice réglée" (*ibid.*, 132).

[2] *Ibid.*, 128 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

[3] Figari's *report of November 24, 1794 (State Archives, Genoa).

[4] Capello's *report of December 1, 1792. Bassville, he said, was "certamente non innocente". He gave "elemosine quasi sempre in oro", which was suspicious. State Archives, Venice.

[5] Brunati's *report of November 14, 1792 (State Archives, Vienna).

[6] SFORZA, *L'assassinio di Bassville*, in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series (1889), 264 n.

[7] Brunati's *report of November 17, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

heights of our revolution". "He is," he added, "a philosopher and a friend of the arts, with none of the prejudices that might reasonably be excused in a Spanish diplomat of twenty-six years' standing."[1] The friendliness with which he was received[2] emboldened Bassville to ask for the release of suspicious Frenchmen, which request, owing to the fear of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, was accorded him without demur.[3] Nervousness in Rome increased on the discovery of signs of a revolutionary conspiracy. Suspicion fell on the Jews, weapons having been found in their ghetto. In early December arrests were made almost daily.[4] Meanwhile, General Caprara, summoned for the purpose by the Pope, began his inspection of the defence establishments in the Papal States.[5] At the end of November, to relieve the financial strain, the Pope had decided to draw on the treasure in the Castel S. Angelo, which had hitherto been anxiously guarded, though it had already been seriously depleted.[6] To calm the Romans an announcement was made by Cardinal Zelada on December 4th, 1792, to the following effect. The Pope's intention was to remain at peace with foreign powers and to preserve tranquillity within his own realm. For this purpose he had taken precautionary

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 153.

[2] Bassville's report (*ibid.*, 144 *seq.*; *cf.* 152 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 148 *seq.*, 169 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*, 184.

[4] Capello's *report of December 1, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* VICCHI, lxxxvii.

[5] Azara's *report of November 22, 1792 (Archives of Simancas), and *Capello's of November 24, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] The Pope's decision was reported by Azara to Aranda in his *letter of November 28, 1792 (*loc. cit.*). The withdrawal of 500,000 *scudi* was made with the prescribed formalities at the beginning of December (see THEINER, *Docum.*, I., 165 *seq.*; Azara's *report of December 4, 1792, *loc. cit.*). According to Brunati's *letter of October 10, 1792, a well-informed Cardinal had stated that there were not more than 800,000 *scudi* left in the reserve fund established by Sixtus V. *Cf.* *Brunati on December 12, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

measures for the protection of the coast and harbours and had levied troops for the maintenance of public order. He was making this announcement so that it might be generally known that his intentions were directed solely towards the preservation of the peace and security of the Papal States. The idea of his attacking anyone was quite absurd.[1]

In Paris other views prevailed. On October 24th, 1792, Arena had written to his friend Brissot, the head of the diplomatic committee in the Convention, that Rome was a far more dangerous enemy to the Republic than Prussia or Austria, and that the opportunity must be taken of installing another bishop in Rome and of starting a general revolt, for "we are the masters of the Mediterranean".[2] It was soon made clear that such views would continue to be held, notwithstanding the Pope's accommodating attitude towards Bassville. On December 7th the French fleet, under Admiral de la Touche-Tréville, entered the harbour of Naples, with the object of enforcing the demands of the Executive Committee in Paris; if they were not complied with the town would be reduced to a heap of ruins.[3] On December 12th Bernard, who had tendered his resignation as unofficial *chargé d'affaires* as far back as the autumn of 1791, received a letter from the Executive Committee of the French Republic, addressed to "The Foreign Minister in Rome". Bernard transmitted it immediately through his son to the Cardinal Secretary of State. It struck a threatening note: if the two artists (who, it was supposed, were still under arrest) were not immediately given their liberty, the Republic would take the law into its own hands and proceed against the States of the Church with fire and sword.[4]

[1] Azara's *letter to Aranda of December 5, 1792, to which was attached a printed copy of the "Notificazione" (*loc. cit.*).

[2] MORTIMER-TERNAUX, *Hist. de la Terreur*, V., 80 *seq.*

[3] A. SIMIONI in the *Arch. stor. Napol.*, XXXVII., 90 *seqq.*, 125 *seqq.*

[4] Azara's *report of December 12, 1792 (*loc. cit.*), and *Capello's of December 15, 1792 (Archives of Simancas); *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 174 *seq.*; VICCHI, 11 *seqq.*

Enclosed in the letter to Zelada was another one, dated November 23rd and directed to the Pope. It had been composed by the Minister Roland's emotional wife, who was particularly proud of this piece of work.[1] The very address, "To the Prince Bishop of Rome," which had been chosen by the Executive Committee, was insulting. The contents were far more outrageous. Firstly, in a torrent of phrases, a protest was raised against the arrest of the two artists, whose only crime had been their respect for the rights of man and their patriotism. "The tottering power of the Inquisition," it continued, "will come to an end as soon as it dares to give vent to its rage, and the successor of St. Peter will lose his power directly he allows this. Everywhere reason has lifted its mighty voice, it has broken the sceptre of tyranny and the talisman of monarchy. Now that 'Liberty!' has become the general battle-cry, the thrones of princes are tottering; they, too, must salute Liberty if they want to avoid a violent fall. The Republic, not content with the destruction of tyranny in Europe, has the duty of preventing its activity everywhere and of raising its protests in the name of justice, the arts, reason, and the nation, which is breathing revenge." Further on the Pope was thus apostrophized: "Pontiff of the Roman Church, still ruler of a State that threatens to slip from your hands, you can only preserve the State and the Church by a disinterested profession of the evangelical principles, which breathe the purest democracy, the tenderest humanity, the most complete equality—principles of which the successors of Christ availed themselves to increase their power, which to-day is collapsing through senile decay. The centuries of ignorance are over, men can now be ruled only by conviction, led by truth and bound together by their own good." After some bombastic declamations about "the principles of the Republic" the letter ended with the threat of reprisals if the peaceful remonstrations were unsuccessful.[2]

[1] MADAME DE ROLAND, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1820); *idem*, éd. H. A. Perroud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905).

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 160–2; VICCHI, 11 *seqq.*

Even Azara admitted that such a message had never been sent to a sovereign before.[1] Nevertheless, the Cardinal Secretary of State, Zelada, replied politely but firmly that such a letter could not be delivered to the Pope.[2] The general opinion was that with this outrageous insult the French Government intended to bring about an open breach with the Pope, as the two artists had already been set at liberty and had taken their departure and the threatening letter had been published in the French Press before it had been dispatched.[3] To relieve the situation Zelada agreed to send Bernard a note, dated December 19th, justifying in a calm and factual manner the Pope's treatment of the two artists.[4] Bassville, too, in spite of his suspicious behaviour,[5] was treated, as before, with the utmost consideration and his demands were met as far as possible.[6] But the tension lasted till December 20th, 1792, when news came that the French fleet lying off Naples had been scattered by a storm.[7] Bassville, however, and his intriguing and ambitious taskmaster, Mackau, paid no attention to the altered situation; they came forward with further demands.

Bassville, who had been joined in Rome in December, 1792,

[1] "*Dos cartas las mas extraordinarias que jamas se han escrito a ningun soberano" (Azara's letter of December 12, 1792; *loc. cit.*).

[2] Bernard's report of December 12, 1792 (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 184 *seq.*).

[3] Capello's *report of December 15, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] French translation in *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 189 *seq.*

[5] This had already attracted notice in late November, 1792 (Brunati's *report of the 28th). On December 29, Brunati gave it as his *opinion that Bassville was trying to pick a quarrel, which the Papal Government was anxious to avoid. State Archives, Vienna.

[6] Vicchi, Appx., 13 *seq.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 194; Brunati's *report of December 19, 1792 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] Figari's *report of December 15, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa). As *reported by Brunati on December 29, 1792 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope, with evident pleasure, imparted the news to his entourage in the chapel, on the Thursday.

by his wife and little son, was on such intimate terms with the revolutionary-minded students of the art academy, whose patriotism, he reported to Roland, was as great as their talent, that he was taken to task for neglecting the other Frenchmen. He attempted to excuse himself by pointing out that he had habitually invited all the French without distinction to his republican *Déjeuners*, namely, to " a cup of tea ".[1]

Azara, who was on intimate terms with Bassville, had already reported to Madrid on December 12th, 1792, that it was intended to replace the royal lilies on the art academy and the French post office by the cognizance of the new republic, the figure of Liberty with the Phrygian cap—a gesture that would cause more annoyance to the Papal Government than it had done to the Neapolitan one.[2] The idea arose with Mackau, who was accredited only to the Neapolitan Court and had no more of a mission in Rome than Bassville. The Minister of Marine had ordered him to have the royal arms replaced by the Republican ones at the consulates in Rome, Civitavecchia, and Ancona, if no opposition was offered there.[3] Mackau and Bassville paid no heed to this proviso, but simply ordered the French postmaster in Rome, Digne by name, to change the arms. During the night of January 1st–2nd, 1793, Digne removed the royal arms and those of the Pope, but the erection of the Republican emblem was prevented by Papal soldiers both at the post office and the art academy.[4] Zelada had brought this surprising demand to the consideration of the Congregation of Cardinals; of its seven members two had replied in the affirmative, five in the negative.[5] The Pope and public opinion in Rome were also for refusing. The reply of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Zelada, was sent to Digne and

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 172, 203.

[2] *Azara to Aranda, December 12, 1792 (Archives of Simancas).

[3] GENDRY, II., 224 *seq.*

[4] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 205; Capello's *report of January 3, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* BROSCH, II., 188.

[5] Capello's *report of January 5, 1793 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's in SFORZA, *L'assassinio di Bassville*, 265 n.

Bassville on January 8th, and was communicated to all the envoys. It referred to the excited state of popular feeling in Rome and set forth the reasons why the Pope did not allow the arms of the French Republic to be displayed. As the head of the Catholic Church he could not, without violating his most sacred obligations, recognize a Government that was exerting all its power to detach France from the Holy See. As the ruler of the States of the Church he must first demand reparation for the wrong that had been done him, for the burning of his portrait, the rape of Avignon and Venaissin, the destruction of the Papal arms on the residence of the Papal consul in Marseilles. Respect for armorial bearings was a universally recognized obligation of honour, which the French Government had been the first to violate. After the destruction of the Papal arms in Marseilles it was impossible for him to allow the Republican ones to be set up in Rome. Moreover, in December the residence of the Papal consul in Marseilles had been searched, and although the release of the two French artists had already taken place it had been demanded in an improper, threatening letter, which had been brought to public knowledge in the newspapers. In everyone's opinion, all these affronts justified the Pope in his refusal to allow the display under his very eyes in his own capital of the arms of a Republic which refused to allow the Papal arms to be shown in France.[1]

Bassville, who now realized that the Papal Government had hitherto restrained itself only from fear of the French fleet in the Mediterranean,[2] was apparently not unaffected by the weight of these arguments, as he sent a courier to Paris to ask

[1] Vicchi, Appx., 18 *seq.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 208 *seq.* Capello enclosed the note when *reporting to his Government on January 12, 1793. He was not wholly in agreement with it and presumed that its decisiveness was due to the courage which the Pope had derived from the declarations made by the English. If England, he concluded, dispatched its fleet in the spring, the Pope had nothing to fear, but if it did not, "potrebbe forse pagar caro un passo troppo affrettato ch'era meglio temporeggiare." State Archives, Venice.

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 207.

for fresh instructions. Meanwhile, however, he did all he could to increase the excitement that was taking hold of the Romans. At a banquet he gave for some influential Romans he toasted the French Republic, and at the same moment a cake shaped like a Phrygian cap was brought in; this contained tricolour cockades, which Bassville distributed among the guests.[1] This incident naturally incensed the people, who were loyal to the Pope, and mordant satires were written by way of retort.[2] Thereupon Bassville's friends had a sonnet posted up in various places in the city, calling on the Romans to follow the example of Brutus.[3] A contemporary tells us that Bassville was behaving as though Rome had already become another Paris.[4] Though he had no official status he corresponded with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the manner of an ambassador and proposed to it on January 9th, 1793, that the "beatified martyr", as he called Pius VI., be brought to submission by a severe castigation.[5]

Bassville, who was disappointed to find that Rome was not a suitable place for his designs,[6] was outdone in audacity by Mackau. On January 10th, 1793, he sent to Rome a naval officer, of the name of La Flotte, with letters for the Secretary of State and the consul Digne.[7] Digne was instructed to display the Republican coat of arms without delay. He, however, objected quite rightly that Mackau had no authority to issue orders outside his own sphere of action, which was

[1] SFORZA, *L'assassinio di Bassville*, 264; SILVAGNI, I., 431.

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 212; VICCHI, 17 *seq.*

[3] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 214.

[4] SFORZA, *loc. cit.*, 264.

[5] He suggested that: "On pourrait même le mener à Paris pour le jour des Rameaux, ce qui sans doute ferait rire l'ami Prudhomme." The letter, cited by DE LA GORCE (IV., 354), is in the *Archives des affaires étrangères* in Paris.

[6] "*Bassville si mostra malcontento di non vedere secondati in Roma i suoi disegni." Figari's report of January 12, 1793; State Archives, Genoa.

[7] Text in MASSON, *Les diplomates de la Révolution* (Paris, 1882), 70 *seqq.* *Cf.* VICCHI, Appx., 19 *seq.*

Naples, and that in any case the order was in contradiction to that of the Minister of Marine, which said that only a protest was to be made if the display of the Republican arms was disallowed. Mackau, he added, was unaware of the danger to which he was exposing all his countrymen by provoking still further popular feeling in a city in which the people clung to their religious traditions, and in any case hated the French. In these circumstances Digne thought it safer to wait until the special courier brought back a reply from the Executive Committee in Paris. But the hot-headed La Flotte refused to hear of this. Disregarding all the warnings that had been given him, he insisted that the national honour must be respected, the Secretary of State intimidated by drastic action, and the Pope compelled to withdraw his statement of March 8th.[1] Bassville having been won over to this way of thinking, they both repaired to the Secretary of State, to whom they gained admittance all the more easily as they assured him that they wanted to express their gratitude for the release of the two artists.[2] The gratitude consisted in their giving the Papal Government twenty-four hours in which to allow the display of the Republican arms. If the Pope withheld his assent the Republic would obtain satisfaction by sheer force. Zelada replied by referring them to the unfavourable statement of January 8th, but he undertook to draw the Pope's attention to the matter for the second time and to give them a reply on January 14th.[3]

The French threats became known immediately in Rome, and it was also learnt that La Flotte, as well as Bassville, was on the most friendly terms with the students of the French academy. The latter, in their revolutionary ardour, burned the statue of Louis XIV., the founder of the academy, in the basement, and put up a statue of Brutus in the dining hall. They also applied themselves with enthusiasm to the making of a Republican coat of arms which was to be displayed

[1] Mérimée's report in *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 237 ; *cf.* 219.
[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 221.
[3] *Ibid.*, 221.

in defiance of the Papal prohibition.[1] All these things must have increased the fury of the Romans to such a point that it was almost beyond control. In view of the excited state of popular feeling, the Pope had already given orders at Christmas to the military to take certain precautions, which had proved to be effective.[2] In consequence of the provocative behaviour of the French academy and the threats of La Flotte and Bassville he ordered special measures for the maintenance of order to be taken on Sunday, January 13th[3]; they failed, however, to prevent the disaster resulting from Bassville's allowing himself to be persuaded by La Flotte to participate in another blatant act of provocation.[4]

[1] LAPAUZE, *Hist. de l'Académie de France*, I., 447. Lapauze points out quite rightly (p. 446) that the conflict was provoked by Bassville and La Flotte.

[2] Figari *reported on December 29, 1792 (*loc. cit.*), that there was no disturbance on Christmas night, that " la città era ben guardata da soldatesche ripartite in più luoghi per impedir ogni disordine ", and that theatrical performances, even in private houses, and masks were forbidden during the carnival.

[3] Reports in SFORZA (*loc. cit.*, 266). *Cf.* Figari's *letters of January 5 and 12, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). In the latter he wrote : " Le pattuglie non cessano di girare giorno e notte per tutta la città " to prevent any disorder " che l'astuzia francese potrebbe suscitare ".

[4] For many years French historians have been led astray by the legendary account of Bassville's murder published by the *Moniteur*, which bristles with lies. Perfectly clear accounts are given by MASSON (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also SFORZA (*loc. cit.*) and VICCHI, lxxxvii *seqq.* The latter, in his Appx. (pp. 25 *seq.*), gives two contemporary accounts and (pp. 27–9) Zelada's account, dated January 16, 1793, which is also in *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 220–6 ; the last-mentioned volume contains also Digne's report (218 *seq.*). The account given by P. Vincenzo Fortini di Serravezza, who was well informed, is in SFORZA (263–9). See also Capello's *report of January 14, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), and *Figari's of January 19 (*loc. cit.*). For Vincenzo Monti's poem on the death of Bassville, see VICCHI, *V. Monti, Le lettere e la politica in Italia dal 1791 al 1793*, Paris, 1893 ; *id.*, *Les Français*, 88 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*, 106 *seq.* ; AL. SCHREIBER, *Friedrich Weinbrenner, Denkwürdigkeiten aus seinem Leben* (Heidelberg, 1929), 97 *seqq.*

On this Sunday afternoon, accompanied by his wife, his little son, La Flotte, a French friend called Amaury Duval, and two servants, Bassville drove in an open carriage along the Corso, which was crowded at this time of day, as though he were heading a triumphal procession.[1] All the occupants of the carriage wore large tricolour cockades in their hats, and one of them waved a tricolour silk flag. The crowd took offence, an urchin threw a stone into the carriage,[2] it was soon followed by others, and on all sides there were shouts of "Take off those cockades!" An altercation then ensued, La Flotte and Bassville refusing to remove their Republican badges and returning the Romans' insults with interest. The excitement was increased by the firing of a shot, though no one was hit. Threatened with the sticks and stones of the mob, the party, on reaching the Piazza Colonna, finally realized its peril. At the Palazzo Chigi the driver was told to drive through the Vicolo dello Sdrucciolo to the neighbouring Palazzo Palombara, the residence of the French banker Morette. The carriage, however, was followed by the yelling mob, a part of which forced its way into the palace. Here a scuffle took place and Bassville was seriously wounded by a knife-thrust in the belly.[3] Had it not been for the police, who hurried to the scene and

[1] "*Come in aria di trionfo passeggiarono in carrozza per il Corso" (Capello, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Cf.* the "Relazione" of January 19, 1793, published by R. PASTE in the *Arch. d. Soc. Vercellese di storia e d'arte*, I. (1909), 133.

[3] Capello *reported on January 14, 1793, that after leaving his carriage "Bassville venne alle mani e ferì uno del popolo" (State Archives, Venice). Zelada's official account also says "il voulut se défendre avec un fer à la main et dans la mêlée il blessa quoique légèrement quelqu'un" (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 223 *seq.*), which was denied by the other side. Bassville himself told Dr. Flajani that he tried to take La Flotte's pistol away from him (VICCHI, Appx., 61). The report of January 16, 1793 (in VICCHI, 29), also says that La Flotte wanted to defend himself and that Bassville hindered him, which the assailants took to be a defence. The attempts made to find the man who struck the blow met with no success. *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 225 *seq.*

took him to their guard-room in the Via Frattina, he would have been done to death on the spot. As it was, he received further injuries from stones that were thrown at him as he was being carried away. In the guard-room he was attended to by Dr. Bussan and later by the Pope's physician, Flajani, who had been sent at once by the Pope himself. But two days later, in spite of every medical attention, Bassville succumbed to his injuries.[1] He had asked for the Last Sacraments, which were administered to him by the parish priest of San Lorenzo in Lucina, after his recantation of the oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution. He told Flajani that he owed his death to La Flotte, since had he not appeared on the scene nothing would have happened.[2] A fitting burial for Bassville was provided by the Pope at San Lorenzo in Lucina.[3] La Flotte had left his friend in the lurch and seen to the safety of his own person by escaping through a window into a neighbouring house. He, with Bassville's wife and son, owed his life to the Pope, who had a carriage and an escort of sixty men waiting outside the gate. It was by this means that they got safely away to Naples.[4]

The infuriated populace had attacked not only the Palazzo

[1] Dr. Bussan's report of January 25, 1793, in VICCHI, Appx., 46 *seq.*, which also contains the "Relazione" of Dr. Giuseppe Flajani (pp. 61 *seq.*) and Bussan's reply, dated Florence, April 1, 1793 (pp. 75 *seq.*). The two doctors disputed with each other as to whose unskilful treatment was the cause of the death. In any case the Pope was not responsible, as he did all he could to save Bassville's life. The doctor said in his report: The Pope "mi ordinò di prestargli tutta la assistenza, di visitarlo spesso e di ordinare a suo nome tutto ciò che credevo necessario e che potea contribuire alla sua guarigione". In confining himself to Bussan's report and saying nothing about the dispatch of the Papal physician, BROSCH (II., 189) was giving a purely partisan account.

[2] VICCHI, Appx., 61 *seq.* Bassville had to recant because he was a secularized deacon (*ibid.*, 26 *seq.*); GENDRY, II., 184, n. 2.

[3] GENDRY (II., 232), who reproduces the entry in the registry of deaths kept at S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

[4] Figari's *report of January 19, 1793 (State Archives, Genoa); *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 225. In his *report of the same date

Palombara but also the French post office, the academy of art, where they set fire to the front door, and the houses occupied by such Francophils as the banker Torlonia. In every case the windows were smashed and attempts were made to set fire to the houses, but these acts of vengeance were averted by the personal intervention of Senator Rezzonico and General Caprara. During the night the whole city was astir; in every street there were cries of "Long live the Catholic religion! Long live the Pope!" All carriages were stopped and their occupants were made to join in the cheering.[1] "The revolution that was to be started in Rome has misfired," wrote the Venetian ambassador Capello at the end of his report of January 14th, 1793. "There were no supporters of it anywhere."[2]

The next day the anger of the people, the Trasteverini in particular, turned against the Jews. For months past there had been talk in Rome about these detested aliens supplying the French with money, making tricolour cockades for them, and being in league with them for the purpose of bringing about a revolution. What was far more serious and, for the Jews, more dangerous, was the resentment of the traders, who saw that their interests were being gravely injured by the Jews' disregard for the commercial laws.[3] Accordingly, a plot was hatched to take a fearful vengeance on them. Fortunately, however, the ghetto, which the mob, including some elements intent on booty, proposed to set on fire, was protected by Papal troops.[4]

Herzan stresses that La Flotte owed his escape to the Popes' magnanimity (State Archives, Vienna).

[1] Capello's *report of January 14, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), and *Figari's of January 19, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] "*La rivoluzione che vedevasi di operar in Roma è affatto mancata senza che siasi manifestato alcun partito per essa" (Figari's report, *ibid.*). Herzan also emphasized in his *report of January 19, 1793, that the riot was due not to insubordination but to loyalty to the ruler and respect for religion (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Letter in SFORZA (*loc. cit.*, 268).

[4] Figari's *report of January 19, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

In other directions, too, the authorities succeeded in preventing further disorders. Most of the French had already fled from Rome, and those that remained were afforded protection at the Pope's command. The parish priests were asked to pacify the people, the excesses already committed were condemned in an edict of January 16th, and by another edict of the 17th the Jews were placed under the same restrictions as those ordained by the Bull of Paul IV.[1]

By January 15th order had been restored in Rome,[2] and the city gradually resumed its former tenor. Vigilance, however, had still to be exercised, as the people's anger had not yet entirely subsided.[3] Further precautionary measures were taken by the Pope, including some for the protection of his own person.[4] By a full and calmly-worded report issued on January 16th and communicated to all the envoys,[5] he hoped to forestall a distorted account of the regrettable events. Mackau's forceful method of procedure had been disapproved of not only by Digne but also by Bernard and even by some of the students at the art academy.[6] Nor did it conform with the plans of the Executive Committee in Paris, where Madame Roland no longer set the tone. Not yet informed of the riot of

[1] **Ibid.* and Capello's *report of the same day (*loc. cit.*). There is nothing here about the ghetto being "stormed and partially plundered", as stated by Brosch (II., 189), who was evidently repeating the words used by the contemporary writer A. Verri in his *Vicende memorabili del 1789–1802* (Milano, 1858), I., 133 *seqq.*: "Diedero un fiero assalto al Ghetto." Digne took care to say in his report that the ghetto was protected by the troops (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 219). *Cf.* the account in Vicchi, Appx., 42 *seq.*

[2] Digne's report (*loc. cit.*, 220).

[3] "*In somma vi è quel mare grosso che resta dopo la burrasca," wrote Capello in January 26, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Figari's report of the same day (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's *report of January 26, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Capello's *report of January 19, 1793 (*ibid.*), and Herzan's *letter of the same day (*loc. cit.*).

[6] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 227, 228, 238.

January 13th, Lebrun, on the 23rd, had written to Bassville, strongly disapproving of his action in the matter of the coat of arms. Custom and prudence demanded, he wrote, that Bassville should first have come to an understanding with the College of Cardinals, so as not to jeopardize the dignity of the nation and the safety of the French in Rome. To the Pope, who had not formally recognized the Republic, it must have seemed an extraordinary procedure to replace the royal arms by the Republican ones in that abrupt manner. Bassville was ordered to return to Naples, and someone else would be appointed to conduct diplomatic relations.[1]

This task had already been entrusted by the Executive Committee on January 19th to Cacault, secretary to Baron Talleyrand in Naples, and on the 30th he received the definite instruction to inform the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Executive Committee disapproved of all the steps taken on their own authority by Bassville and Digne as being unseemly and improper, and it asked that these steps and all their consequences should be forgotten.[2]

But before Cacault could undertake his new appointment in Rome [3] a sudden *volte-face* took place in Paris. The living Bassville had been completely disavowed ; but now that he was dead he was declared to be without question a martyr of the Republic. The conspiracy of the king's priests must be avenged by the destruction of Rome ; the time had come for this city to disappear from the face of the world, which it had oppressed so long.[4] On February 2nd, 1793, on the strength of wholly partisan reports, the National Convention passed the following resolution. Whereas the fearful crimes committed against the person of Bassville and the destruction and burning

[1] *Ibid.*, 236. *Cf.* VICCHI, cxxci *seq.*, who states : " Le Ministère jugea que le pape avait raison en droit aussi bien qu'en fait."

[2] VICCHI, Appx., 49 *seqq.* *Cf. Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 248 ; GENDRY, II., 233 ; VICCHI, *loc. cit.*

[3] He did not leave Paris till February 7, 1793. Had he taken up his post immediately, says VICCHI (*loc. cit.*), it would have meant a victory for the Pope.

[4] VICCHI, Appx., 28 *seq.*

of the art academy and French consulate constituted an affront to the national sovereignty and a flagrant violation of international law, the Executive Committee was to decide on the measures necessary for the taking of a resounding vengeance. Bassville's son was to be brought up at the Republic's expense and his widow was to be granted a pension.[1] Four days later Cacault, who shortly before had been commissioned to disapprove of Bassville's behaviour, was given instructions by the Committee of Public Safety to present the following demands to the Cardinal Secretary of State: (1) The dispatch of a nuncio to Paris to apologize for the murderous attack. (2) The withdrawal of the prohibition against the erection of the Republican arms on the French consulate. (3) The banishment of all *émigrés* from the States of the Church, in particular the Abbé Maury. (4) The punishment of the instigators of the riots of January 12th and 13th. (5) The indemnification of the Frenchmen and Romans affected by these disturbances. (6) The restoration of the art academy to its former condition.[2]

Naturally, Pius VI. refused to buy peace with the Republic on such humiliating terms. Cacault was not allowed to appear in Rome and had to stay in Florence, where he tried to be of use by caring for the Frenchmen who had fled from Rome or who were still remaining there. But the Republic was not in a position to take steps against the States of the Church. It had enough to do to protect itself against its enemies, both within and without its frontiers. Consequently the Bassville affair had to be allowed to lapse.[3]

The calm that had settled over Rome since the middle of January, 1793, was not to last long. The news of the execution of Louis XVI. on January 21st shocked the whole civilized world, England as much as the Continental states; in Italy, especially Rome, where the people were definitely hostile to

[1] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 253 *seq.* The consulate was only slightly damaged (GENDRY, II., 233).

[2] *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 258 *seq.*

[3] VICCHI, cxxvi *seq.*

the French Revolution, a particularly deep impression was made. During the king's trial the world had become inured to the thought of a sanguinary issue; nevertheless, when the horrid deed had actually been done it had the effect of an utterly unexpected and unbelievable crime. The whole population of Rome was seized with sorrow and disgust. The Pope wept for grief and passed a sleepless night.[1]

The indignation of the Romans was now turned with renewed fury against the Frenchmen who were still in the city and their friends, especially the Jews. On February 11th and 12th acts of violence were again committed in Rome and the people demanded the expulsion of every Frenchman. The Government did all it could to protect those who were threatened, if they had not already taken to flight, or to remove them from the city. At the Government's request pacificatory sermons were preached and agitators were arrested. This last measure had a salutary effect, and an edict of February 17th, condemning the excesses, also helped in the same direction.[2]

When England joined in the war against France and it seemed likely that the Coalition would be further enlarged by the inclusion of Spain and Portugal, the Pope could face the threats of the French Republic with comparative composure.[3] The Venetian ambassador, writing on February 23rd, said that they no longer had any effect and that France would be defeated by the British sea-power.[4] This atmosphere of

[1] Figari's *report of February 9, 1793 (State Archives, Genoa), and *Capello's of the same day (State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* the poems in VICCHI, Appx., 63.

[2] See the reports in VICCHI, Appx., 58 *seq.*, 60 *seq.*, *Cardinal Herzan's to Colloredo, of February 13, 1793 (State Archives, Vienna), *Figari's of February 9, 16, and 28, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), and *Capello's of February 16 and 23, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). The edict of February 17, 1793, is in VICCHI, Appx., 59 *seq.* According to Figari's report of February 16 there were attacks on the French and Jews in Albano also.

[3] Capello's *reports of February 2 and 9, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's *report of February 23, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

confidence increased in March, when it was heard that the French expedition against Sardinia had failed miserably.[1] Shortly afterwards, it was learnt that war had broken out between Spain and France.[2] Tuscany, the only state in Italy that still maintained relations with the French Republic, offered to mediate for Pius VI., but this proposal he rejected.[3] On the other hand, having no illusions about the military strength of the Papal States,[4] the Pope was by no means inclined to give his unconditional support to the Royalists and thus give the appearance of interfering in France's domestic affairs—a standpoint which was also adopted by Austria, England, and Prussia. In spite of Azara's efforts to persuade him the Pope declared that he could not recognize Louis XVIII., Count of Provence, as a sovereign until the other Great Powers had done so. The most that he did in this direction was to send a confidential Brief, in French, in reply to the letters he had received from the Count, one of which purported to accredit Cardinal Bernis as ambassador. In this Brief he expressed the lively hope that after the impediments had been removed he would be able to recognize the Count as a sovereign.[5]

Rome received with joy the news that the Republican

[1] Capello's *report of March 9, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Capello's *report of March 16, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[3] Capello's *reports of March 2 and 23, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[4] In spite of all the defensive measures that had been taken, Figari considered them inadequate (*report of March 23, 1793, *loc. cit.*), and Capello wrote in his report of March 9 (*loc. cit.*): "* È piu da sperare in quello che non possono fare i Francesi che in quello che possono fare i Romani." In his *report of June 8, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), Figari complained of the lack of discipline among the troops, and in his *report of the 27th (*ibid.*) he referred to clashes between the soldiers and "sbirri". How little the Papal troops were to be trusted is shown by the discovery of a plot that had been hatched on a Papal galley in Civitavecchia, where 155 galley-slaves revolted. Troops had to be called in to quell them and fifty prisoners were taken to Rome. "Viaggiatori e corrieri in paura"; *reported Capello on August 10, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] MASSON, *Bernis*, 535 *seq.*

troops had been defeated in Belgium by the Imperial army and that Royalist revolts had blazed up in the Vendée and Brittany.[1] "Pius VI.," wrote the Venetian ambassador Capello on April 20th, 1793, "is now free of all danger and apprehension. He is on friendly terms with all the monarchs, even the non-Catholic ones. Sweden wants to accredit an ambassador to Rome; negotiations are pending with England concerning closer relations; the Emperor promises the recovery of Avignon; and Spain and Portugal offer to protect the Papal States with their fleets."[2] The same assurance soon came from England, too.[3] Thus, the Revolution, as Capello observed in another report, was forcing the non-Catholic States to adopt a more friendly attitude towards the Holy See.[4] So great was the Romans' admiration of the Pope that they wanted to erect a bronze statue of him on the Capitol, but to this he would not assent.[5] He had had processions held to implore from God a happier state of world affairs,[6] but he had so little confidence in the improvement that had taken place in April that he had prohibited the Girandola that was customary at Easter and the illumination of the dome of St. Peter's, lest they might be regarded as a manifestation of joy at the French defeat.[7] But when the risings in Northern France persisted[8] and the Republican

[1] Capello's *reports of March 23 and 30, and April 6 and 20, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), and *Figari's of April 6, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] "*Questa corte era affatto esente da pericoli e da timori, ha motivo di gloriarsi della sua condotta politica, amiga di tutti i potentati anche non cattolici" (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Capello's *report of April 14, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[4] Capello's *report of May 25, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[5] Capello's *report of April 16, 1793 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's of April 20, 1793 (State Archives, Genoa; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 294; TAVANTI, II., 206).

[6] Figari's *reports of March 2, 9, 23, and 30, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[7] Figari's *report of April 3, 1793 (*ibid.*).

[1] After fuller reports had reached Rome, Capello *wrote on June 1, 1793, that he had prophesied in 1789 that there would be civil war in France; the country would go bankrupt (*loc. cit.*).

armies suffered further reverses at the hands of the Allies,[1] he was sure at last that there was nothing more to fear, and on June 17th, at a secret Consistory, he spoke his mind about the murder of the French king. He deplored the mighty fall of France, that once had been the model for the whole of Christendom and a rampart for the Catholic faith, and he did not hesitate to describe Louis XVI. as a martyr, observing also that even Queen Elizabeth had granted Mary Stuart, who also had died for the Catholic faith, a decent burial.[2] On July 12th, 1793, England, which had already concluded an alliance with Savoy on April 25th, won over Naples, too, for the war against France.[3]

The spreading of the revolt in Brittany, in connexion with which similar movements afterwards started in the south, the anarchical conditions in the new Republic, the successful prosecution of the war by the Allies, and the taking of Mainz by the Prussians, all made a very deep impression in Rome.[4] It was hoped that the Revolution would be completely overthrown, and in September it was decided to have the allocution of June 17th printed and published and to send copies of it to all the envoys.[5] On September 23rd a requiem for Louis XVI. was celebrated by Cardinal Bernis in the Cappella Paolina, in the Quirinal, where the Pope resided in the summer. The

[1] " *Continuano le vittorie degli alleati," are the opening words of Capello's report of June 15, 1793 (*ibid.*), in which he gives further news of the rebellion in France.

[2] Capello's *report of June 22, 1793 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's of the same date (*loc. cit.*). The speech is in THEINER, *Docum.*, I., 177 *seqq.*, and VICCHI, 91 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2627–2637.

[3] COPPI, 275 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*; LEO, V., 823 *seq.*

[4] Capello's *reports of July 6, 13, and 20, August 10, 17, and 24, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). In the last-mentioned report he says, " ma l'anarchia non è governo durevole."

[5] Figari's *reports of September 18 and 21, 1793 (*loc. cit.*), and Capello's of September 21, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). Attached to the last one was a printed copy of the allocution. Capello noted that the epithet " martyr " and the reference to Mary Stuart had been criticized.

funeral oration delivered by Paolo Leardi moved many of his listeners to tears.[1] On November 12th a memorial service arranged by Cardinal Bernis in honour of his murdered king was held in the national church of S. Luigi, again with all the pomp of the old France.[2] Shortly before, the news had arrived in Rome of the execution of Queen Marie Antoinette. The Pope's grief was shared by the whole city. As this fresh outrage was likely to occasion further assaults on the French and their friends, the Government took extensive precautions, which this time were entirely adequate.[3]

The Pope had been taken ill in September and he had been unwell the whole of October.[4] On resuming residence in the Vatican in November he decided to stay there permanently, as year after year he had been ill in the Quirinal.[5] He was now seventy-five years old, and it was not surprising that his health had been affected, for the year 1793 had brought him many anxieties. He had witnessed the collapse of a great Catholic empire, not only in the west [6] but also in the east of Europe,

[1] Figari's *report of September 28, 1793 (*loc. cit.*); GENDRY (II., 239), who wrongly gives September 28 as the date of the ceremony. Leardi's "Oratio in funere Ludovici XVI." is attached, in its original printed version, to Capello's *report of November 16, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). It is reprinted in VECCHI, Appx., 109 *seq.*; an Italian translation by G. B. Carlieri appeared at Foligno in 1794.

[2] VICCHI, Appx., 116 *seq.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 347; MASSON, *Bernis*, 358 *seq.* Bernis, whose influence in Rome had almost gone, died on November 3, 1794. His body was taken to Nîmes and was buried in the church of St. Castor; his heart was kept in Rome and placed in the first chapel on the left in the church of S. Luigi, where a monument was erected to his memory in 1805, at his family's expense. *Ibid.*, 547 *seq.*

[3] Capello's *report of November 9, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's *reports of September 7 and October 19 and 26, 1793 (*ibid.*). The Pope's restoration to health was *reported by Capello on November 2, 1793 (*ibid.*). See also Figari's *letter of October 19, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] Capello's *report of November 23, 1793 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Capello's *report of December 7, 1793 (*ibid.*): "Il S. Padre è percosso di dolore mentre ora si comincia a realizzare in Francia

namely Poland.[1] In addition to all his other troubles he had to deal with another matter that threatened to disrupt the French Catholics, already so sorely persecuted. On September 3rd, 1792, the Legislative Assembly had imposed a fresh oath on every citizen, by which they were to swear to uphold the liberty, equality, and security of persons and property, and if necessary to die for the observance of the law. A heavy penalty was to be exacted in cases of refusal, and the question arose whether the clergy could take this oath. Some of them took it at once, others held it to be illicit.[2]

In Rome this new, so-called "little" oath (*serment de la liberté et de l'égalité*) was attacked by Maury with all the passion and decisiveness of a Provençal. The Secretary of State, Zelada, before whom the matter had been placed for his consideration, replied in March, 1793, that if it was merely a question of a civil oath, it could be taken. On May 18th he disavowed Maury, who had asserted that the Pope disapproved of the new oath.[3]

With his usual caution Pius VI. had referred the matter to a special Congregation of Cardinals. Inquiries were made and the French Bishops were consulted. On May 28th, 1793, the Pope reminded those concerned that he had not yet come to

il processo di abolire il cristianesimo persino alle sue traccie e di sostituire un culto secondo le idee del gentilesimo."

[1] "*La S. Sede col perdere i due regni di Francia e Polonia perde più della metà del cattolicismo" (Capello, on April 19, 1794, *ibid.*). *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 162 *seqq.*

[2] For what follows, see the excellent articles by E. MANGENOT (*L'intervention de Pie VI. au sujet du serment de la liberté et de l'égalité*) in the *Rev. pratique d'Apologétique*, XXIV. (1917), 257 *seqq.*, 342 *seqq.*, 414 *seqq.*, 539 *seqq.*, 726 *seqq.*, XXV. (1917), 355 *seqq.* He corrects the particulars about the works of the Abbé Misermont in the *Rev. d'étud. hist.*, 1910, and in *Le serment de Liberté-Égalité et quelques documents inédits des Arch. Vat.*, Paris, 1914, also the assertions made by MATHIEZ in *Les divisions du clergé réfractaire* in the *Révol. franç.*, XXXIX. (1900), 44 *seq.*, 97 *seqq.*

[3] MANGENOT (*loc. cit.*, 351).

a definite decision and that meanwhile no canonical penalties should be imposed on clerics who had taken the new oath; on the other hand, in doubtful cases neither clerics nor laymen were allowed to take it.[1]

A final judgment on the new oath was never passed by Pius VI. His personal opinion was that it should not be taken, but he did not confirm the condemnatory verdict passed by Maury, the French Bishops, and the Congregation of Cardinals. In this question of the "little oath" the Pope, who had absolutely forbidden the taking of the oath of loyalty to the schismatic and heretical Civil Constitution, showed a moderation that equalled his prudence and foresight.[2]

The hopes that had been entertained of the French Republic's downfall were destined to remain unrealized. By the end of 1793 the rising of the Royalists in the Vendée had been crushed and the Coalition was in a most unfavourable situation: defeats, instead of the hoped-for victories, were being sustained on all sides, Prussia's further participation in the war was doubtful, and Austria and Spain were weary and exhausted.[3] Cardinal Bernis' opinion was that if the next campaign went the same way, it would end in complete exhaustion and the Republicans would emerge the victors.[4] Such being the situation it was obviously inadvisable to offer any provocation to the French Republic, and Pius VI. was seriously perturbed by the Romans' desire to celebrate the anniversary of Bassville's death with a general illumination. It was prevented by an edict of January 11th, 1794, and at the same time

[1] THEINER, *Docum*; I., 173. MANGENOT (XXIV., 259) points out quite rightly that the oath demanded in 1793 during the establishment of the Département of Mont-Blanc, was an entirely different one, which was rightly forbidden by the Pope (*ibid.*, XXV., 356) because it expressly comprised allegiance to the Civil Constitution. For the oath demanded at Nice in 1795, which was also forbidden by Pius VI., see *ibid.*, 365 *seq.*

[2] MANGENOT, XXV., 367 *seq.*

[3] BAUMGARTEN, *Gesch. Spaniens*, 501 *seq.*

[4] MASSON, *Bernis*, 543.

the clergy were instructed to preach sermons that would help to calm the people's feelings.[1]

The real cause of the allies' ill-success, as the Venetian ambassador Capello rightly emphasized at the beginning of 1794, was that each of them was striving to attain its own particular aims at the expense of the interests common to them all.[2] They were waging not so much a war against the Revolution as a war of conquest for themselves. Each of the belligerent powers wanted to be compensated for its military expenses by the acquisition of a French frontier-fortress or some other territory. Unity was completely lacking.[3] In Belgium and on the Rhine disagreement among the allies hindered the winning of victories which would have been fatal to the Revolution.

Pius VI.'s chief hope in 1794 was set on England,[4] which as announced in the speech from the throne on January 21st, was firmly determined to continue the struggle on which depended the preservation of the constitution and the safety of the whole of civil society. By sending Erskine to London in August, 1793, the Pope had entered into direct negotiations with the British Government,[5] and among the beneficial effects of this step was the alleviation of the deplorable situation of the Catholics in England.[6]

[1] Capello's *report of January 18, 1794 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] Capello argued to this effect in his *reports of March 29 and April 5, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[3] Capello's *report of February 15, 1794 (*ibid.*); Azara's *report to the Duke of Alcadia, of April 2, 1794 (Archives of Simancas).

[4] Azara's *report to the Duke of Alcadia, of January 15, 1794, enclosing the edict of the 11th (*ibid.*). The edict is reprinted in Vicchi, Appx., 130 *seq.* *Cf. Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 362.

[5] Erskine's mission, which was primarily of a commercial nature, was *reported by Capello and Figari on August 31, 1793, as about to take place in the near future (*loc. cit.*). In his *report of March 15, 1794 (*loc. cit.*), Capello observed that to have relations with Protestant England was against the "Roman maxims" that had been followed hitherto.

[6] It had an effect, among other directions, in Santo Domingo

After England, Pius VI.'s next great hope was in the Imperial army,[1] but after the battle of Fleurus (June 26th, 1794) the Austrian, English, and Dutch troops had to abandon Belgium, which was consequently plundered by the French, the churches suffering especially severely.[2] On the Austrian General Clairfait's retirement before Jourdan's advance after the battle of Jülich (October 2nd), the same fate was undergone by the towns on the Lower Rhine. It was especially those that were the residences of ecclesiastical princes that provided excellent material for the predatory and destructive activity of the Revolution, which was in glaring contrast to the trees of liberty it had planted and which soon disillusioned the dissatisfied elements that had placed their trust in the initial promises. It is significant that "holy Cologne", that up to the time of the Revolution had 118 churches, was now left with only twenty-two.[3]

and all the British colonies. See *Azara to Alcadia on September 24, 1794 (*loc. cit.*). On September 13, 1794, Capello *reported that England was now showing a more favourable attitude towards the Catholics and that Erskine, in spite of his being an Auditor, was staying in London "con occulto carattere" (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* his *report of November 1, 1794 (*ibid.*). For Erskine's efforts to effect a commercial treaty, see Azara's *letter of June 11th, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[1] Capello's *report of March 15, 1794 (*loc. cit.*), with the observation: "Questo ministro di Spagna [Azara] che non ha più l'influsso di primo, non rappresenterà ciò alla sua corte con parola indifferente."

[2] Weiss (*loc. cit.*), XVIII., 391; Pirenne, VI., 55 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf.* H. Cardauns, *Köln in der Franzosenzeit 1789–1802* (Bonn, 1923); J. Bayer, *Die Franzosen in Köln, 1794–1814* (Köln, 1925). For the robbery of the cathedral treasures, see *Domblatt*, 1852, No. 93; Ennen, *Die Stadt Köln und die französ. Republik*, in the *Belletrist. Beilage zur Köln. Volkszeitung* (May 16 and June 6, 1869). For the French occupation of other places, *cf.* Armel d'Étel, *Les Capucins d'Alsace pendant la Révolution* (Strasbourg, 1923); M. Springer, *Die Franzosenherrschaft in der Pfalz 1792–1814* (Stuttgart, 1927); M. Salm, *Die lothring. Ahnengruft des österr. Kaiserhauses*, in the *Hist.-pol. Blätter*,

In Rome, where the course of the war of the Coalition had been followed with intense interest, the news of all these events was all the more shattering because of the high hopes that had been entertained. In April 1794, the Venetian ambassador Capello observed that the sky was growing ever darker. He noted in alarm that revolutionary ideas were creeping into Italy too: in Genoa even the nobility had been infected.[1] Things were much the same in Naples, where since Tanucci's time the Government had been systematically wearing away respect for the Church, writers such as Genovesi and Filangieri had been spreading revolutionary ideas, and the freemasons' lodges had undermined the ground. When in March 1794, the Government finally took action against the masonic intriguers, it was too late.[2]

To Pius VI., a prey to feverish attacks in April,[3] the battles in Belgium were a cause of great anxiety. In May and June he ordered public prayers to be said and joined in them fervently himself.[4] Meanwhile the financial distress in the Papal States, which the Tesoriere Generale, Ruffo, tried in vain to control,[5]

CLXIX. (1922; especially p. 653, where its destruction in 1793 is described).

[1] *Letter of April 19, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Leo, V., 381; Capello's *report of April 5, 1794 (*loc. cit.*). In his *report of April 26, 1794, he stated that the conspiracies in Naples and Genoa had been the work of the French (*ibid.*). For F. S. Salvi, a priest who had become a freemason and who fled to Genoa, see his biography by C. Nardi (Genoa, 1925).

[3] Capello's *reports of March 29 and April 19, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's *report of May 24, 1794 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's of June 7 and 14, 1794 (State Archives, Genoa). See also Azara's *letter of June 11, 1794 (Archives of Simancas).

[5] As Capello reported on February 1, 1794 (*loc. cit.*), the measures introduced by the Tesoriere Generale, Ruffo, had made him disliked "*senza rendersi utile alla camera". He had, in fact, become so unpopular that Pius VI. decided to relieve him of his post. Accordingly, on February 21, 1794, a nomination of Cardinals suddenly took place and Ruffo was raised to the purple along with A. Dugnani, Ippol. Ant. Vinc. Mareri, Maury, G. Batt. Bussi, Fr. M. Pignatelli, F. Lancellotti, Aurelio Roverello, and

reached such a pitch that desperate measures were adopted, one example being the sale of the timber in the arsenal of Civitavecchia.[1] The Government was at its wits' end to know what to do. The measures taken by Ruffo had been deeply resented and had proved useless. The expenditure, which in view of the political situation could not be reduced, was still exceeding the receipts. No loan could be effected, nor was it possible to impose fresh taxes, increase the paper money, or debase the coinage, for these measures would have raised the price of the barest necessities and have caused more riots.[2]

Giov. Rinuccini. *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 348. The most divergent opinions were passed on Ruffo's promotion, but—as observed by *Capello on February 22, 1794 (*loc. cit.*)—the Pope "poco cura le censure e le satire. Però dei nuovi ingiuriosi cartelli sono stati jeri affissi contro il card. Ruffo, il quale nell'uscire dalla casa Braschi fu anche urlato dal popolo mentre il card. Maury fu guardato con qualche stupore, ma però in silenzio". The promotions of Roverella and Dugnani met with approval. *Cf.* Azara's *report of February 5, 1794, which also announced forthcoming alterations in the nunciatures (*loc. cit.*).

[1] Capello's *report of July 14, 1793 (*loc. cit.*). On March 22, 1793, he had *reported that as the charge for purchasing gold and silver with notes already amounted to 5 per cent, the "Congregazione di stato" was against the increase of paper money (*ibid.*).

[2] *Capello on March 29, 1794 (*ibid.*): "Le finanze pontificie sono in maggior disordine di primo malgrado l'apparente severa amministrazione dell'ultimo tesoriere generale che ha fatto gridare tutti senza alcun frutto per la camera. In conseguenza le spese superano di molto le rendite et le prime non possono diminuirsene sino a che durano questi tempi calamitosi e difficili. Non si può fare un imprestito perchè ora non si sa da chi, non imposizioni maggiori perchè troppo pesanti ed impercettibili, non una aumentazione della carta perchè caderebbe sempre più in discredito e nemmeno con alterazione della moneta sia col diminuirne il valore intrinseco sia coll'alzarne il valore estrinseco poichè questa operazione oltre molti altri disordini trascinando naturalmente con se l'accrescimento del prezzo di tutti i generi e massime di quelli di prima necessità, farebbe gridare il popolo e

In May certain persons with leanings towards Jacobinism were arrested in Rome,[1] but the State was defenceless; in July an expert observed that the costly fortifications in Civitavecchia were useless.[2] The only hope now was that the French Republic would continue to be preoccupied with its enemies within and without its frontiers. Of the latter, the English fleet seemed to be the most formidable, for which reason its officers were received and assisted in the most friendly manner possible.[3]

For a time there was hope of stemming the advances of the French in Piedmont,[4] but it proved to be illusory. The abandonment by the Piedmontese of their position at Loano on July 3rd left the French a clear road to Lombardy. In addition, the news from Belgium was more and more disheartening. In July the report was current in Rome that the loss of Ypres and Charleroi [5] had been followed by that of Brussels. This, of course, caused great alarm.[6] For a time the rumour was not substantiated, but there could be no doubt that the situation in Belgium was becoming more critical every day.[7] On August 9th Capello wrote that there was no

sarebbe imprudente e pericolosa nei momenti presenti. Questo stato non ha alcuna risorsa nemmeno nel patriotismo Romano, siccome l'esperienza dell'anno passato lo ha fatto conoscere."

[1] On May 17, 1794, Capello *reported the arrests in Rome of two "impudenti Giacobini", namely Angelucci ("il più bravo chirurgo di Roma") "ed un certo Corona parente del medico di tal cognome". Suspicious papers and money had been found on them. Arrests had also been made in other places besides Rome, such as Terracina. State Archives, Venice.

[2] Capello's *report of July 14, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[3] Capello's *reports of May 31 and July 7, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[4] Capello's *report of June 28, 1794 (*ibid.*): "Tutti i tentativi francesi con l'Italia fortunatamente abortirono. Respinti anche dalle parti dell'Alpi cessa ogni motivo di timore. Roma è tranquilla."

[5] Capello's *reports of July 12 and 18, 1794 (*ibid.*), and Azara's *letter of July 16, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] Capello's *report of July 26, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] Capello's *report of August 2, 1794 (*ibid.*).

prospect of the French Republic being defeated by its foreign enemies.[1]

In the middle of August the Pope, who was maintaining his physical and moral energy wonderfully well,[2] ordered more prayers to be said in public,[3] and it seemed that they had been heard, for though there was no longer any hope of success in Belgium the news that a counter-revolution had broken out in Paris made it possible to view the future more cheerfully.[4] But so soon afterwards as August 23rd Capello had to report that there had been no counter-revolution but only internal dissensions. He had to console himself with the teaching of history that a democratic republic could never take root in so great an empire as France.[5] On September 20th, shortly before he was recalled, and with Robespierre's downfall still fresh in his mind, he wrote as follows: "As I approach the end of my diplomatic career I must repeat for the last time that it is only the French themselves that can overcome the Revolution in their own country; the Allies will collapse of their own accord."[6]

[1] Capello's *report of August 9, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[2] Azara's *letter of July 16, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Figari's *report of August 16, 1794 (State Archives, Genoa; VICCHI, 138).

[4] Capello's *report of August 16, 1794 (*loc. cit.*): "Tanto ne fu più grande l'allegrezza in Roma quanto fu inaspettata e la speranza di sentirsi in breve. . . . Re Luigi XVII. tiene in agitazione gli spiriti." The news of Robespierre's execution had reached Rome on August 13, 1794; see Azara's *letter of this date, with the remark: "Parece que Barrère es ahora el que reina." Archives of Simancas.

[5] Capello's *report of August 23, 1794 (*loc. cit.*): "La storia del mondo insegna che una Republica democratica non può consolidarsi in un imperio così grande come la Francia."

[6] Capello's *report of September 20, 1794 (*ibid.*): "Vicino al termine della mia carriera dipl. ripeterò per l'ultima volta che se la controrivoluzione in Francia non nasce da sè al di dentro, siccome un giorno e l'altro dovrebbe succedere, le potenze coalizzate non finiranno che col rovinare se stesse, e ch'è cosa

Conditions in the Papal States caused the Pope continual anxiety. In autumn there was serious discontent among the lower classes in Rome and in the garrison of the Castel S. Angelo.[1] The financial situation continued to deteriorate [2] and as a result of the bad harvest the bread in Rome was of a poor quality and it became impossible to supply the English with grain.[3] In spite of all this, however, the Pope preserved his outward calm, though in view of the internal condition of the Papal States and the depressing news from Belgium it was doubted that he was inwardly so calm as he appeared to be.[4]

At the beginning of November it was learnt in Rome that the French had entered Cologne and that the nuncio there, Pacca, had had to leave the city. On November 22nd there was further news of the rapid progress made by the French. It could be seen already that the Allies would have to make peace.[5]

At this juncture there were signs that popular feeling in

superba per essa, ma vera, che non vi sono che i Francesi che possano in casa loro soggiogare i Francesi."

[1] Capello's *report of September 27, 1794 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's of September 26, 1794 (*loc. cit.*). According to a *letter of Azara's of October 2, 1794 (*loc. cit.*), the lack of discipline among the Papal troops had grown worse since Caprara's death, wherefore the Pope had asked the Emperor for another general.

[2] Capello's *report of September 27, 1794 (*loc. cit.*): "Qui l'affare della moneta . . . sempre più serio, parte la speculazione, parte la paura facendo esportar fuori il poco nummario." On October 4, 1794, he *wrote: "La perdita della cedole nel cambiarle in denaro cresce sempre più" (*ibid.*). And on November 8 he *reported that "monete plateole" were being minted on account of the "discredito delle cedole". *Cf.* Figari's *report of November 29, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Figari's *reports of October 11 and November 22 and 29, 1794 (*ibid.*), and *Capello's of November 15, 1794 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Capello's *reports of October 4, 11, and 28, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[5] Capello's *reports of November 1 and 22, 1794 (*ibid.*), and *Figari's of December 27, 1794 (*loc. cit.*). Pacca's arrival in Rome was *reported by Figari on January 10, 1795 (*ibid.*).

Rome, affected by all these misfortunes, was beginning to change. Hitherto it had been distinctly Francophobe, but now the cost of living and the numerous arrests were causing discontent. It was chiefly directed against the Papal nephew, Duke Braschi, who was accused of dishonest speculations in grain, and who was undoubtedly so anxious to enrich himself that he allowed no scruples to stand in his way. Whenever he showed himself there were demonstrations against him. On one occasion the glass windows of his carriage were smashed and his footmen were roughly handled. At the end of November it was discovered that a plot had been formed to blow up his palace. The conspiracy was detected in time to prevent the perpetration of the crime,[1] but in spite of all the investigations and arrests the guilty persons remained undiscovered, and the rumour spread that it had been intended to set the whole of Rome ablaze.[2]

In the autumn of 1794 a plot to overthrow the Papal Government was brought to light in Bologna. It was to be carried out by thirty youths, mostly students at the university, led by a Bolognese of the name of Lodovico Zamboni, who was in touch with French emissaries. The attempt was frustrated by the desertion of all Zamboni's companions except one. Zamboni tried to escape into Tuscany but was arrested and he and his confederates were brought to trial. He hanged himself in prison. Of his confederates, the one found most guilty was hanged, the others were condemned to the galleys or to confinement in a fortress. It was on the occasion of this conspiracy that the Italian tricolour made its first appearance. Zamboni and his friends had added the colour green, signifying hope, to the white and red of Bologna

[1] Capello's report of November 22, 1794 (*ibid.*), most of it reproduced by Brosch (II., 191).

[2] " *Senza alcuna speranza di invenire i rei, quest'avvenimento non fa che tenere sempre più viva l'inquietudine." (Capello's report of November 22, 1794, *loc. cit.*) On the 29th he *reported that a notice had been found calling on the people to burn down the whole of Rome.

and had had cockades made up of the three colours.[1] Some writers explain the choice of these colours as being connected with freemasonry.[2]

[1] Citations in BROSCH (II., 194).

[2] CUSANI, *Storia di Milano*, V. (Milano, 1861), 70 *seq.* The tricolour was adopted as the symbol of the new State on the proposal of Giuseppe Compagnoni di Lugo at the session of the "Congresso Cispadano di Reggio Emilia" on January 7, 1797 (see L. RAVA, *G. Compagnoni di Lugo, inventore del tricolore*, Roma, 1926).

CHAPTER VII.

The French Clergy in Exile—Disestablishment of the Church in France.

(1)

The critical situation of the States of the Church resulting from the French Revolution—a situation which grew worse as time went on—did not preclude Pius VI. from following the example of his predecessors in extending generous hospitality to all who sought his help. The number of the victims who were driven from their country by a political convulsion of unprecedented dimensions and who were entirely at the mercy of fate, amounted to several thousands. Among the numerous Frenchmen who made their way into Italy, mostly into the States of the Church, after 1790, principally in the years that immediately followed, were not only suspicious emissaries of subversive mentality, against whose undermining activities the Papal Government could not take too many precautions, but also many who were deserving of every sympathy, having been forced to seek shelter and safety abroad by reason of their loyalty to the royal family and the Church.

How nearly ecclesiastical circles in Rome, pre-eminently the Pope himself, were concerned in the welfare of these exiles was shown in the spring of 1791, when members of the French royal family sought refuge in the south. They were the two daughters of Louis XV., Marie Adelaide and Victoire Marie, who, to avoid acknowledging the constitutional schism, left the capital at the beginning of February and crossed the Savoyard frontier incognito.[1] Almost immediately it was known in Rome that they intended to come to the Holy City Cardinal Bernis sent them a cordial letter of welcome and offered them his palace as a permanent residence. The Pope

[1] Gendry, II., 150 *seqq.*

sent a special courier, Bartolommeo Radavero, to meet the royal fugitives, and gave orders through the Secretary of State's office that all the officials on the route should show the greatest possible attention to the two princesses. After a short stay in Loreto, they arrived in Rome on April 16th.[1] Here they were met by Bernis and Azara [2] and by so large a crowd that their carriage could only proceed at a walking pace. The Pope sent his Maestro di Camera, Pignatelli, to welcome them, and the Cardinal Secretary of State, Zelada, and other members of the highest ranks of society waited on them in person. On the following evening they were received by the Holy Father in an audience lasting half an hour. The next afternoon their visit was returned by Pius VI. in person, a most unusual gesture, contrary to all previous etiquette.[3] At the Mass he celebrated in their presence at the tomb of the Apostles he gave them Communion with his own hands. The general rejoicing in the city and the air of festivity among the upper classes was increased by the presence of the King and Queen of Naples, who had just returned from attending the marriage in Vienna of their daughter Maria Theresa to Emperor Francis II.

The cordial welcome given to the two royal fugitives was to set the tone for the reception of all the other *émigrés* who now flocked into Italy in very large numbers.

The many clerics among them, of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, were of particular importance, for it was on

[1] An account of the reception is in the letter of April 20, 1791, *Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 19 *seqq.*

[2] Donado's *report of April 16, 1791 (State Archives, Venice).

[3] " *Oggi doppo pranzo S.S^tà è stato a restituire loro [the King and Queen of Naples] la visita, ceremonia non praticata d'alcun altro pontefice e che s'è introdotta per la prima volta lunedì verso le principesse di Francia " (report made by the agent Donado on April 23, 1791, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 153, and Brunati's *report to Colloredo on April 19, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna). A picture of the reception in VICCHI, clv. In his *Journal d'émigration* (ed. C. d'Hautecoeur, 76) D'Espinchal speaks of *emigrées* of the highest degree having arrived in Rome as early as January, 1790.

them that the decree of banishment in its severer form had been pronounced by the new popular Government. "Good God! What tolerance is that which subjects, first to forgetfulness, then to contempt, and finally to the most cruel destruction a religion that once changed the face of the earth so advantageously and placed human society on the foundation of sacred laws!" These words were spoken by Edmund Burke, though he was not a Catholic, in the English Parliament, against one who had spoken in praise of the revolution and its freedom of conscience.[1]

After the introduction of the Civil Constitution the fate of all who refused to take the oath of loyalty to it was definitely sealed by the deportation decree of August 26th, 1792, unless they very quickly left the country.[2] In consequence, the roads leading to the frontiers of France were filled with exiled clerics, and as they crossed them many were stripped of their last possessions and left in the direst poverty. Later, the priests who failed to take the "oath of liberty and equality" were also banished,[3] and even those who did take it were not sure of their safety, for if six citizens denounced them as suspect they incurred the severest penalties.[4] Thus, what was left of the French Church was very soon to lose all its pastors, the last and strongest support left to the faithful after the confiscation of the Church's goods, the enforcement of the Civil Constitution, and the prohibition of public worship.

Conditions were so uncertain and the spirit of the times so hostile to the Church that the Papal States were practically the only political organism in Europe in whose Government the *émigrés* could place their trust. And so it was here especially

[1] J. Blötzer, *Die katholische Emanzipation in Grossbritannien und England* (Freiburg, 1905, 53).

[2] Gendry, II., 195 (*cf.* above, p. 196). *Cf.* in particular H. Forneron, *Hist. générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française* (2 vols., Paris, 1884).

[3] Sciout, III., 376.

[4] *Ibid.*, 377; Fr. Olmo, *La rivoluzione francese nelle relazioni diplomatiche d'un ministro piemontese a Roma* (Milano, 1915, 120).

that large bodies of fugitives sought safety. Their numbers were considerably increased in the autumn of 1792, when the French revolutionary army occupied Savoy and with the support of a Jacobin party which was established there demanded its union with the Republic.[1] In October the dethronement of the king was proclaimed at Chambéry by a National Convention of Savoyards, which sent a delegation to Paris to affirm its loyalty. An immediate result of this upheaval was the introduction of the Civil Constitution and the deportation laws into the new Department of Montblanc, whereupon the exiled clerics staying there resumed their flight, this time into the States of the Church.

Most of the other States of Italy refusing to receive the *émigrés*,[2] the number of those within the area governed by the Pope gradually increased to such an extent that their accommodation had to be systematically controlled. At the first count, in 1792, there were 200 French clerics in the Papal States, but by the summer of the following year there were ten times as many, and by the autumn of 1794 they totalled no less than 5,000.[3] It is hardly possible to describe in detail the privations and sufferings to which this army of refugees was exposed on its journey to safety. Stories were exchanged of the strangest circumstances in which high dignitaries re-encountered each other on the high-roads.[4] All the splendour of an absolutist Court, including its ecclesiastical elements, was here reduced to utter beggary. The last treasures that had been saved had to be parted with to purchase the

[1] SCIOUT, III., 394 *seq.* *Cf.* in general, MOURRET, VII., 183 *seq.*

[2] SICARD, *Clergé*, III., 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, 106. Lists of names of the *émigrés* in the States of the Church and particulars of their treatment in SURREL DE ST-JULIEN, *Le clergé français émigré dans les États de l'Église pendant la Révolution*, in *La Semaine de Rome*, II. (1909), Nos. 1, 4, 8, 12, etc.

[4] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 108 *seq.* Several individual instances are given on pp. 108–111. Other anecdotes in COLOMB, *Quelques épisodes de l'émigration française à Rome pendant la grande révolution*, in *La Semaine de Rome*, I. (1908), 4 *seqq.*

barest necessities of life. Church dignitaries cast off all their insignia, even their pectoral crosses,[1] and clean contrary to their former practice sent humble petitions to Rome.[2] The rich collection of memoirs written at the time provide an interesting and often touching insight into their beggarly conditions.[3] Thus, we are told by a contemporary: "An extraordinary sight was presented by these droves of priests, of all ages and ranks, trudging through the mountains and almost inaccessible districts, where it was difficult to find even the crudest nourishment and where they were often compelled to sleep on straw or in stables. I can, however, assert that during the whole journey I never heard the slightest complaint." [4]

In Rome Cardinal Bernis continued to show the same generosity towards other fugitives as he had towards the French princesses. Every day he had thirty of them as his guests. Even at his death, in November, 1794, this work of charity did not cease, for it was continued by Cardinal Maury.[5]

It was not long before the Pope, too, realized that the unceasing influx of persons seeking assistance would have to be controlled by systematic and legalized arrangements. The first step taken was to accommodate the ecclesiastical *émigrés* in various ecclesiastical establishments in Rome, the Pope himself seeing to their clothing out of his own resources.[6] The Bishops were allotted to the more wealthy convents, so that

[1] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 112.

[2] Individual instances, *ibid.*, 114–19.

[3] *Cf.* the evidence, *ibid.*, 9, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*; SCIOUT, III., 279. *Cf.* MASSON, *Bernis*, 537 *seq.* For the colony of *émigrés* supported by Maury at Montefiascone, see RICARD, *Corresp. du card. Maury*, I., 163–170, including two poems written by *émigrés* in praise of his generosity (168 *seq.*, 170).

[6] *Brunati to Colloredo, December 31, 1791 (State Archives, Vienna); report of April 11, 1792 (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 77).

their maintenance was not a charge on the public exchequer.[1] As time went on, however, the available accommodation proved to be insufficient, especially as it was feared that fresh batches would arrive when, as was generally expected, all non-juring priests were deported by the French Government into the States of the Church, as had happened in the case of the Jesuits.[2]

Accordingly a special institution for the care of the *émigrés*, called the *Opera pia della ospitalita francese*, was set up by Pius VI. Its chief administrator, working under the superintendence of the Pope and the Secretary of State, was Monsignor Caleppi. By September, 1792, the organization was complete, and in the next few weeks it was possible to begin the work of assistance on a large scale.[3] The Bishops in most cases were first invited to Rome by the Pope,[4] and there many of them were given fresh appointments in the States of the Church; the rest of the clergy were forbidden to enter Rome without the express permission of the Secretary of State.[5] They were instructed to have their papers made out by the nuncios in Turin or Florence, whence they were allotted evenly to the various districts.[6] So as to know where suitable

[1] "*Questi vescovi sono qui considerati sul piede degli antichi confessori della Chiesa." (Brunati to Colloredo, December 21, 1791, *loc. cit.*)

[2] *Brunati to Colloredo, June 9, 1792 (*ibid.*). For the great apprehension that prevailed in Rome, *cf.* Capello's *reports of October 23, November 3, 10, and 17, 1792 (State Archives, Venice), and above, p. 233.

[3] GENDRY, II., 198 *seq.*; THEINER, *Docum.*, II., x (this second volume is devoted entirely to the documents referring to the relief work). The Pope's circular letters and instructions regarding the *émigrés* in the Papal States were edited by BOURGIN (*La France et Rome*, 201–22); the number of collections of extracts from the Secretary of State's dispatches contained in this work (nearly 2,000) gives us an idea of the vast volume of correspondence dealing with the *émigrés*, apart from the relief work.

[4] SCIOUT, III., 279.

[5] SICARD, *Clergé*, III., 106.

[6] THEINER, *loc. cit.*

accommodation was available several circular letters were sent by the Pope in October to the various dioceses, convents, and ecclesiastical establishments in the States of the Church, inviting them to express their willingness to receive the exiled clerics and to indicate the extent to which they were able to support them.[1] Four agencies were established outside Rome and its immediate environs, at Bologna, Ferrara, Perugia, and Viterbo ; the areas with which they had to deal were carefully defined and were placed under the superintendence of the various Bishops.[2] Both here and in the headquarters in Rome lists of the *émigrés* in the States of the Church were to be kept up to date. Soon there was not a place that was not taking its share in this great work of charity. To finance it, it was found necessary to draw again on Sixtus V.'s treasure, this time to the amount of 500,000 Roman thalers.[3]

The legal and economic position of the ecclesiastical *émigrés* was broadly defined in a circular letter of December 1st, 1792,[4] and with full details in a further decree of January 26th, 1793.[5] In twenty-four points it regulated the duty of residence in the allotted place, the fulfilment of sacerdotal obligations, and—where necessary—the participation in the canonical life in community ; also mutual relations and the receipt of mass stipends. Every cleric in receipt of assistance was required to take an anti-Jansenistic oath, and if he had sworn allegiance to the Civil Constitution in France, to make a formal recantation and to publish it in his home parish. It was also necessary to see that an equable distinction was drawn between the really needy and those whose circumstances had already improved. Though inevitably several oversights occurred it was usually possible to satisfy every legitimate demand. To obviate excessive hardship the Pope granted exemption from

[1] E.g. on October 10, 20, and 31, 1792, in GENDRY, II., 199 ; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, xi *seq.* ; BOURGIN, 201 *seqq.*

[2] THEINER, *loc. cit.*, xiv *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, xvi.

[4] BOURGIN, 205 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 207–212 ; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, xvi *seq.*, in a French translation. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 200 *seqq.*

certain regulations now and then. The revenues from properties situated in the Papal States but belonging to the French Church were also utilized; in this connexion Cardinal Bernis was authorized to carry out a special visitation in December, 1792.[1]

In the summer of 1793, when rendering a full report on the Papal work of assistance,[2] Caleppi, basing his calculations on a complete list of names, reckoned that of the round 2,000 clerics whose particulars had been taken only about 100 were able to maintain themselves from their own resources; for the remainder an annual outlay of roughly 100,000 thalers was necessary. The opening, therefore, of a public fund for the assistance of the *émigrés* was most opportune; the task of collection was undertaken by Prince Filippo Colonna, and some handsome contributions were made by the Pope from his privy purse.[3] At the same time, organized by Cardinal Gerdil, a number of the exiles, possessing suitable qualifications, began the task of compiling voluminous works on the contemporary history of the revolution.

To obtain an idea of the average support rendered to the refugees by the cities of Italy we may take the example of Urbino.[4] In response to an inquiry made by the Archbishop of Ferrara, Cardinal Mattei, the competent authority, the convents at Urbino offered to lodge and maintain indefinitely twelve *émigrés*. As a result, in November, 1792, they were allotted fifteen; economic conditions being what they were the available resources would have to be reapportioned. Shortly afterwards Mattei summoned the superiors of the

[1] GENDRY, II., 203 *seq.*

[2] A translation of the text in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, xxi *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *report by the agent Figari on December 15, 1792 (State Archives, Genoa). A list of the 101 most famous emigrant clerics in Rome is in VICCHI, 149.

[4] What follows is taken from the essay "Sacerdoti francesi ospitati in Urbino all'epoca della rivoluzione 1792–1797" (*Bollettino diocesano di Urbino*, VII., Urbino, 1920, 29 *seqq.*, 64 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*), based on documents in the archiepiscopal archives at Urbino.

convents and the priest-refugees to a conference, at which he praised the generosity of the former in suitable terms and exhorted the latter to show their gratitude by their subordination. When, in the spring of 1794, after the occupation of Savoy and Nice, further embarrassment was caused by the necessity of sheltering another large number of refugees, Urbino, at Mattei's request, undertook the reception of two more clerics. Furthermore, there is evidence that in the years that followed more than one French cleric was given hospitality at Urbino. During their long sojourn the exiles and the native clergy were always on the best of terms, except for one brief estrangement caused by the failure of the *émigrés* to participate in the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday. The "good French priests" ("*buoni preti francesi*") became proverbial. At times, it is true, these good relations were interrupted, such as after the outbreak of the war between France and the States of the Church, when the anti-French feelings of the people sometimes showed signs of venting themselves even on the innocent victims of the Revolution. The matter was put right, however, by the timely steps taken by the Cardinal Secretary of State.

For most of the fugitives the period of exile lasted till the Napoleonic concordat of 1801.[1] The complete lack of unobjectionable pastors in France weighed heavily on the minds of these exiles, and by 1795 there were one or two who attempted a premature return to their fatherland. They were forced, however, to retreat again before a fresh outbreak of the terror that took place shortly afterwards. In consequence, in 1796, an ordinance was issued by the Cardinal Secretary of State,[2] whereby anyone who decided to return home then definitely waived his claim to be received back at a later date. Some

[1] The subject as a whole is dealt with by SURREL (see p. 264, n. 3) and in two works by a contemporary: HESMIVY D'AURIBEAU, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la persécution française, recueillis par les ordres de Pie VI.*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1794–5); *Bienfaits de Pie VI. et de ses États envers les Français émigrés* (Rome, 1796).

[2] On January 13 (*Bollett. dioces. di Urbino*, VII., 94).

such ruling was necessary because at this time many other *émigrés*, mostly those who had been driven from their former place of exile into other countries, were applying for admission into the States of the Church, although several applications by high-ranking ecclesiastics who preferred the Papal States as a place of refuge to anywhere else, had to be refused. Thus, the Bishop of Lyons, who applied for the admission of his diocesan clergy who had been driven from their refuge in Belgium by the Revolutionary armies, received the reply that this was impossible as the States of the Church were already providing for 185 clerics from the same diocese.[1]

The good example set by the Italian Bishops in making personal sacrifices deserves honourable mention. Cardinal Mattei, at Ferrara, continuously supported no less than 300 priests at his own expense and kept in his palace a large store of clothing and other articles that were urgently needed.[2] And his was no isolated case.

The Pope's solicitude for the French refugees was naturally not confined to the clerics but embraced also the laity, though the latter's need of assistance was not so great, either in point of numbers or in extent. Nevertheless, several thousand of them had been counted by 1794, so that regulations had to be made for their accommodation, too.[3] After reporting to the Governatore and taking an anti-revolutionary oath, they were divided into those who could provide for themselves, workers, and the completely destitute; they were then distributed in the proportion of about two *émigrés* to every hundred inhabitants, due regard being paid to the degree of their necessity and the nature of their occupation. They, too, were confined to their place of residence and were obliged to report to an official every two months. Whenever possible, their spiritual needs were to be administered to by the clergy of their own nation.

Even in these days we are impressed by the magnitude of

[1] *Brief of January 18, 1794 (*Epist.*, A° XIX., fo. 131, Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 214.

[2] SCIOUT, III., 279.

[3] Under date May 4, 1794, in THEINER, *Docum.*, II., xxv *seqq.*

the work done under the direction of the Pope in support of the victims of the French Revolution when we see the collected records of the organization. They are comprised in no less than sixty large folio volumes, which were incorporated in the Papal Secret Archives in 1805.[1] They bear the unassuming inscription, *De caritate sanctæ sedis erga Gallos 1792–1803.* This great work of Christian charity is also commemorated by the Papal medal struck in 1795.[2] But the people and the clergy of the States of the Church also deserve the gratitude of posterity for the unflagging generosity they displayed for nearly a decade. Their solicitude for the exiles is an indication of the scanty desire they had for the blessings of the French Revolution ; its dubious value was revealed to them day after day by the inhumanly cruel lot suffered by so many outcasts.

The loyalty to the Church and the Papacy that was manifested everywhere by the people on the occasion of Pius VI.'s journey to Vienna in 1782, bore rich fruit ten years later, when innumerable acts of self-sacrifice, both large and small, were performed in the name of human charity. These, too, must be taken into consideration in forming a judgment of the period.[3]

Of the 30,000–40,000 clerics who emigrated from France [4] only a portion, 5,000–6,000, made their way into the Papal States, for these States, too, being small and helpless in the military sense, might sooner or later fall a prey to the Revolutionary armies.

[1] In his *Docum.*, vols. I. and II., THEINER made use of about 500 documents from this source. *Cf. ibid.*, II., xxxii *seqq.* A special catalogue was begun in 1911.

[2] The inscription runs : "Clero Gallia pulso hospit. et alim. praestita." *Ibid.*, II., xxix, and GENDRY, II., 219. The medal is illustrated in VICCHI, pl. viii, p. 80.

[3] An interesting diary kept by an *émigré* who described each of the colonies of his countrymen in Rome, Northern Italy, Switzerland, and Western Germany, was edited by C. D'HAUTECŒUR, *Journal d'émigration du comte d'Espinchal* (Paris, 1912).

[4] SICARD (*Clergé*, III., 130 *seq.*) arrives at the total number in this way : England 10,000, Spain 6,000–8,000, Italy 6,000, Switzerland 5,000, and several thousand in Germany and Holland.

The reception accorded to the *émigrés* by the Papal States was rivalled by that of England. Fortunately, it was in 1791 that the law was passed there which abolished the heavy penalties formerly inflicted on the "Papists".[1] In Parliament, where shortly before speeches full of hatred of the Catholic Church had been delivered, Burke was able to include in the speech already mentioned a cordial welcome to all the French outcasts. "Come over to us!" he said. "There is not a moment to lose if you want to avoid the martyrdom that awaits you in your own country." To the female orders also he held out the prospect of complete toleration on English soil.[2]

At the time of the September massacre the clergy of Northern France fled almost in a body to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, where Catholic life was organized by the Bishop of Tréguier.[3] When the war spread to the islands, which happened soon afterwards, the priests continued their flight to England, where, contrary to their expectation, they received so friendly a welcome that their numbers were rapidly swollen. In a few weeks as many as 6,000 were counted there; this number quickly rose to 8,000, and by the end of 1793 to 10,000. In the capital alone shelter was found for 4,000–5,000, coming from a hundred French dioceses. Most of them arrived, after severe sufferings and privations, without any belongings whatever; of the thirty Bishops stopping in London twenty-five were entirely dependent on charity.[4]

In this secluded island kingdom the fugitives felt far more secure than anywhere on the Continent,[5] and they were treated

[1] BLÖTZER, *loc. cit.*, 37 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54. *Cf.* A. LEMASSON, *Les paroisses et le clergé du diocèse actuel de Saint-Brieuc. Manuel pour l'étude de la persécution religieuse dans les Côtes-du-Nord durant la Révolution française* (vol. I., 1789–1795, Rennes, 1926).

[4] BLÖTZER, 55. *Cf.* the account given on September 26, 1793, by the Abbé Barruel, an *émigré* himself (THEINER, *Docum.*, I., 366 *seqq.*).

[5] SICARD, *Clergé*, III., 10 *seq.*

by the English people of all classes with a truly noble charity. In view of this, the numerically insignificant party that supported the Revolution soon ceased to taunt the *émigrés*.[1]

Bishop De la Marche, of St-Pol-de-Léon, quickly came to the fore as the most trusted of the upper French clergy, and with the support of leading British circles he set about the task of organizing help for his fellow refugees.[2] As the result of private donations £40,000 were soon at his disposal, King George III. leading the way with a gift of £1,000.[3] It was thus possible to pay each of the exiled priests 50 francs a month, and the Bishops 250 francs, while many of the clergy earned their living by giving lessons, working in commercial concerns, and even performing the simplest manual labour.[4] Winchester Castle, which remained at the disposal of the refugees until 1793, accommodated 700 of them; here they came under the devoted care of the family of Lord Buckingham and lived as a religious community with a former superior of a French seminary at their head. Much intellectual work of no little value was accomplished, and eventually the castle became the centre of a regular home industry.[5] The University of Oxford contributed to the good work by printing a number of Biblical texts based on the Vulgate and distributing them to the French clergy.[6]

Although it had been administered with as little expense as possible the fund established for the assistance of the *émigrés* was exhausted by the spring of 1793. The king accordingly

[1] *Ibid.*, 13.

[2] BLÖTZER, 55; SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 14; GENDRY, II., 197; L. KERBIRIOU, *Jean-François de la Marche évêque-comte de Léon. Étude sur son diocèse breton et sur l'émigration* (Quimper, 1924). He was known as the "Vincent de Paul de l'émigration". *Cf. Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, XXII., 151. The great confidence he inspired can be seen from Burke's letter to the Archbishop of Aix, written in July, 1791 (THEINER, *loc. cit.*, I., 332).

[3] SCIOUT, III., 282.

[4] BLÖTZER, 56; SICARD, 16, 19 *seq.*

[5] BLÖTZER, 60; SICARD, 20 *seq.*; SCIOUT, III., 283.

[6] *Ibid.*, 282.

ordered that August 18th be observed as a day of general prayer and sacrifice, and on this day the Anglican clergy made door-to-door collections in person. The generous response enabled the fund to function again for a time,[1] and even the outbreak of war between England and France had no adverse effect on these benevolent arrangements, but as time passed the fund sank to a low ebb again, whereupon the Government agreed to grant the French clergy a subsidy for as long as their exile lasted. This subsidy continued until 1801.[2]

For a long time past Catholic life had been almost unknown in England, so far as the public was concerned, and now a sudden transformation occurred. More daily Masses were celebrated in London than in most of the other European capitals, with the possible exception of Rome.[3] To facilitate ecclesiastical life the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, John Douglass, permitted the *émigré* Bishops to exercise their powers without restriction when dealing with their own clergy, so long as they were in England.[4]

The strict sense of duty shown by the *émigré* clergy and their blameless conduct won for them at once the esteem of the English people. The age-old prejudices held by the Anglicans were thereby removed and the banishment of so many priests brought a moral advantage to the Catholic Church in England. It is said, possibly with justice, that a movement in England friendly to the Catholics and still appreciable in our own days, may be traced back to those times.[5] English Catholicism itself, numerically weak, was directly affected to an extraordinary degree. Catholic institutes of studies and seminaries, which formerly had been forbidden and had therefore been transferred to France, were opened again in England and rendered great services for the education of Catholic youth and the coming generation of native clergy. A Catholic library was founded, also a home for aged priests and a hospital, and even

[1] Blötzer, 56.
[2] *Ibid.*, 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, 59.
[4] *Ibid.*, 58 *seq.*
[5] Sicard, *Clergé*, III., 31; Blötzer, 61.

the spiritual welfare of prisoners was not neglected.[1] Most significant of all perhaps was the establishment at Stonyhurst, after a few setbacks, of a branch of the Society of Jesus.[2] The most conspicuous manifestation of the renewal of the Church's life was the consecration in 1797 by Archbishop Boisgelin of the first large Catholic church in London to be opened since the Reformation. The ceremony was attended by sixteen Bishops and many members of the French nobility.[3]

The many acts of kindness done by the English people to the outcasts of "*la grande nation*" were warmly applauded by the Catholic world at large. Pius VI. was not niggardly in giving praise and thanks to the benefactors of his loyal adherents. In September 1793, he took the opportunity offered by Erskine's journey to England to send the king, the heir apparent, and Burke long letters of thanks for the great charity they had shown the *émigrés* and the English Catholics.[4] A few weeks later, on November 2nd, he wrote to Bishop De la Marche of the great consolation he had derived from the hospitality shown by the English people and leading personalities—a hospitality in which the king himself had taken a most remarkable part.[5]

[1] SCIOUT, III., 283 *seq.* For Erskine's mission (*cf.* p. 252, n. 5) and other relations between Rome and England, *cf.* GASQUET, *Great Britain and the Holy See* **1792–1806** (Rome, 1919); *Memoirs of Cardinal Erskine, Papal Envoy to George III.* (London, 1890); and, in general, A. LEBON, *L'Angleterre et l'émigration française de* **1794 à 1801** (Paris, 1882); MOURRET, VII., 175 *seqq.*

[2] BLÖTZER, 62–5.

[3] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 26.

[4] Brief to King George of September 7, 1793. The "1792" in *Epist.*, A° XIX., p. 70^{b}, Papal Secret Archives, is undoubtedly an error, as the Brief definitely refers to a letter of Zelada's of November 10, 1792. THEINER has wrongly attributed the Brief to the year 1792 and has pre-dated Zelada's letter by a year (*Docum.*, I., 159 *seq.*). See also the Briefs to Prince Augustus of September 2 and 7, 1793 (*ibid.*, 197, 198), and to Burke of September 7, 1793 (*ibid.*, 199).

[5] *Ibid.*, 194 *seqq.*

The astonishment of the Catholic world at England's magnanimity was certainly well-founded, for no one had imagined that a nation which had recently been persecuting the Catholic Church and which represented a schism that had been made the State religion would come so nobly to the support of the outcast clergy of the country that had been so proud of its Catholic traditions and had been so recently under the sceptre of the "Most Christian King". Complete toleration was also assured the fugitives in the Constitution of the United States of America, which had lately won their independence. This enabled the Catholic Church in North America, still in its youth, to be reorganized, largely through the activity of the Sulpicians.[1]

The Pope's solicitude was also engaged by the *émigrés* who had sought refuge in the countries adjoining France on the north-east. In many cases their stay there could only be a brief one, as the Belgian Netherlands and parts of the Rhineland were soon overrun by the French armies. Whoever decided to stay on in spite of them was quickly taken off and deported.[2]

Both Flemings and Walloons showed their readiness to help the fugitives and distributed them among different families. A large number of *émigré* priests settled down in Maastricht.[3] After the battle of Fleurus a huge stream of fugitives poured into the German Rhineland and the rest of Germany, where they met with widely varying receptions.[4] Towns such as Cologne and Düsseldorf distinguished themselves by their magnanimity.[5] One of the chief collecting-

[1] MOURRET, VII., 185 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Brief to Cardinal Frankenberg of November 8, 1794 (*Epist.*, A° XX., fo. 148[b], Papal Secret Archives).

[3] SICARD, *Clergé*, III., 51 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXXVIII. (1905), 553 *seqq.*; F. MAGNETTE, *Les émigrés français aus Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1907).

[4] D'Espinchal writes of a constant coming and going of *émigrés* in Coblenz (HAUTECŒUR, *Journal d'émigration*, 276 *seqq.*).

[5] *Correspondence between the Rhenish Electors and some *émigrés* and the nuncio Della Genga in Papal Secret Archives

points of the refugees was Münster, where the prince-bishop was a brother of Marie Antoinette. It was not long before two Cardinals, two Archbishops, and twelve Bishops had taken up their quarters there.[1] Cardinal La Rochefoucauld resided here until his death in 1794. Many others were given generous support at Ettenheim, the residence of the Bishop of Strasbourg, who had retired to the German portion of his diocese on the outbreak of the Revolution.[2]

Those who sought help from the Emperor Francis II. were directed to the city of Constance, on the lake of that name, which soon became a centre of relief work for the *émigrés*.[3] Particularly good service was rendered here by Juigné, the Archbishop of Paris, who displayed great energy in collecting money, even from very distant places. Thus, £200,000 came from the Empress of Russia. A common table was provided for sixty priests, and a hundred needy priests received sums of money every month. Acting on the suggestion made by Juigné and some other Bishops, Pius VI. sent a circular letter in November 1792, to the German Bishops, Abbots, and chapters, invoking their charity. At the same time he praised the Bishop of Constance for his benefactions and encouraged the exiles.[4]

(Principi, 267). *Cf. La révolution franç. et les électorales du Rhin*, in the *Annales de St-Louis des Franç.* (III., 25 *seqq.*).

[1] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 55 *seq.*, 62. For the *émigrés* in Germany, see especially the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXIII. (1898), 148 *seqq.* There are, for instance, *documents on the support of *émigré* priests in the "Landesarchiv" at Salzburg (Wiener Akten Litt. C. 89).

[2] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 61 *seq.*; HAUTECŒUR, *Journal d'émigration*, 225 *seqq.* A typical example of the hard lot undergone by the *émigrés* is described by a parish priest of Harskirchen, near Saarunion (see GASS, *Studien zur elsäss. Kirchengeschichte*, II., Strassburg, 1926, 151–236).

[3] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 57 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 199 *seq.*

[4] The circular letter of November 21 is in THEINER, *Docum.*, I., 162 *seqq.*, and *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2560; and a printed copy was enclosed in Herzan's *letter to Colloredo of November 29, 1792,

In other German States many French priests were accommodated individually. The Catholic line of the royal house of Saxony was particularly hospitable, as were also certain towns in Bavaria and especially the Franciscan and Capuchin convents.[1] Unfortunately, under the influence of the Illuminati, the largest states, such as Prussia and Austria, and even Bavaria at first, closed their doors to the *émigrés*. But some of the country priests and the ordinary folk paid little attention to such prohibitions.[2] The Elector Karl Theodor did at least instruct the monasteries and convents in his territory to extend their hospitality to the outcasts, for which he was duly thanked by the Pope.[3]

The hardest lot experienced by the *émigrés* was undoubtedly in Switzerland. The economic poverty of the country must have made it seem impossible to receive a body of 6,000 fugitive priests; nevertheless, it was the neediest folk, the peasants, who showed the greatest willingness to make sacrifices. They vied among themselves to befriend the foreign priests. Even Calvinist Geneva, defying the French threats of military reprisals, issued an official proclamation, assuring the fugitives of shelter and security. It did, in fact, receive 700 of them, and a public collection made on their behalf brought in a goodly sum.[4] Naturally, the Catholic cantons were the most sought after. Six *émigré* Bishops lived in Fribourg itself, and at one time there were as many as eighty priests accommodated in the surrounding villages. It was only right, therefore, that this district should receive a special message from the Pope, dated April 20th, 1793, in which he expressed his complete

in which the matter was discussed (State Archives, Vienna). *Cf.* Capello's *report of December 1, 1792 (State Archives, Venice), and the letter to Juigné of November 21, 1792 (*Epist.*, A° XVIII., fo. 199b *seqq.* (Papal Secret Archives; in THEINER, *Docum.*, I., 160 *seq.*).

[1] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 67, 69 *seqq.* *Cf.* MOURRET, VII., 181.

[2] SICARD, 68 *seq.*

[3] *Brief to Karl Theodor of April 12, 1794 (*Epist.*, A° XX., fo. 38b, Papal Secret Archives).

[4] SICARD, 34. *Cf.* MOURRET, VII., 173 *seq.*

satisfaction with its behaviour.[1] A few months later he sent a similar message to the Canton of Valais, which had rendered equally good service.[2] It must be said the accommodation offered to the priests was often of a very humble description. Their food for the most part consisted only of bread, milk, cheese, and vegetables, and in return they had to do hard work as field-labourers, carters, and the like. Others took to bootmaking, set up laundries, traded in tobacco, or obtained employment in printing-offices and workshops. Some even occupied themselves in such feminine occupations as knitting and embroidery. Many of them were authorized by their Bishops to go on begging-missions on behalf of those who stayed behind. Their wanderings, in which they suffered many privations, took them to the Tyrol and Austria, and even as far as Russia and Scandinavia.[3]

More *émigrés* went to Spain than to Switzerland; their number is estimated at 6,000–8,000. They came from all parts of France, particularly the south, so that at the time of the main emigration the roads across the Pyrenees experienced a veritable wandering of the nations. There were many others who went by sea.[4] Manifold privations and sufferings, together with the necessity of supporting themselves by manual labour, embittered the lot of these exiled priests. On the other hand, the cordiality with which they were welcomed by the Spanish people and clergy left nothing to be desired. A good example was set by the upper clergy. Thus, at times, as many as 200 priests were lodged and boarded in his palace by the Bishop of Valencia, and over 100 received similar hospitality from the

[1] Brief of April 20, 1793, in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 169 *seq.*

[2] Brief of August 31, 1793, *ibid.*, 193 *seq.*

[3] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 35–40. Note 1 on p. 42 refers to their descriptions of their travels. Letters from the Bishops staying in Switzerland are in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, II., 8 *seqq.*, 11 *seq.*, 219 *seqq.*, 221 *seq.*, 223, 243 *seqq.*, 246 *seqq.*, 249 *seq.*, 277–285, 371–7.

[4] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 89 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 195. *Ibid.*, 196, the hospitality of the Spanish noble, L. d'Entraigues. *Cf.* also J. CONTRASTY, *Le clergé français exilé en Espagne* (Toulouse, 1910); *Études*, LIV., 5 *seqq.*

Bishop of Siguenza. The Bishop of León provided food and clothing for 100 priests, while 500 more were supported by the Cardinal of Toledo, one of the wealthiest of the Spanish prelates.[1] Bishop Quevedo of Orense, in Galicia, placed the whole of his palace at the disposal of the refugees and announced that every door in his diocese stood open to them. He welcomed them not as strangers but as brothers in Christ. "You French priests who have kept faith with God and have deserved so well of the whole Church, are now the pride of Spain. Its clergy regard you as a reinforcement and an embellishment; its Bishops receive you and treat you not as guests or strangers but as fellow-citizens of the saints, as servants and children in the house of God, as loyal auxiliaries, as brothers and dearly beloved sons."[2] Many of the Bishops asked for the *émigrés* to be sent to them. A number of the exiles made their way into Portugal, where they were taken care of by the Bishops of Coimbra and Braga.[3]

Charles IV. agreed to the exiles being in his country and gave them generous support, but he imposed several legal restrictions on them. They were forbidden to stay in the principal cities or near the frontier, to preach, hear confessions, or to teach, either publicly or privately, and those in convents were compelled to live the life of the community. Later, owing to Spain's political relations with France there were some isolated cases of expulsion and deportation.[4]

But these were exceptions. While in France the Church was hated and persecuted, the rest of Western Europe, irrespective of denomination, took part in one vast work of Christian charity, in which the greatest vigour and self-sacrifice were shown by the see and patrimony of St. Peter, and this at a time of dire distress.

[1] BARRUEL, *Le clergé français*, II., 101; SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 99 *seq.*

[2] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 102. *Cf.* his spirited circular letter on their welcome in THEINER, *Docum.*, II., 1 *seqq.*

[3] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 104.

[4] *Ibid.*, 92, 95. *Cf.* the story of a parish priest from Brittany: G. DE GRANDMAISON, *Un curé d'autrefois, L'Abbé de Talhouet* (Paris, 1894).

(2)

The Christianity of France, so firmly rooted in the faith of the people and the loyalty of its priests, survived even the worst persecutions. After the events of the 9th Thermidor and the execution of Robespierre the principle of toleration slowly gained ground, even in the National Convention, while ecclesiastical life, in spite of every kind of threat and prophecy, emerged with retempered strength from the catacomb-like existence it had been forced to lead during the Reign of Terror, although the iniquitous treatment of the priests still persisted for a time.

It was the Republic's financial difficulties that first gave rise to the whole discussion about the Church's recovery of its freedom. According to the assurances of the Civil Constitution the State had undertaken the payment of the Constitutional clergy's stipends and pensions. These sums had been repeatedly reduced, and had finally been cancelled altogether. After the downfall of Robespierre the claims of the pensioners had been satisfied by the payment of the arrears, but the Treasury was incapable of any further disbursements.[1]

On September 18th, 1794, Cambon proposed a radical alteration in the law, the basis of which was that the priests should be maintained by their congregations. His opinion was that the French Republic ought not to pay either the expenses or the salaries of any religious denomination. This proposal, which was accepted with enthusiasm, was tantamount to the abandonment by the Republic of all its former projects of establishing a national church and was the first step towards the separation of the Church and State, which at first was wholly to the advantage of the latter.[2]

This measure, originally intended as one of economy only, inevitably led in time to consequences involving matters of principle. If the State abandoned all obligations towards religious bodies, how could it have the right to pronounce

[1] AULARD, *Polit. Gesch. der französ. Revolution*, I., 437 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 438; DE LA GORCE, IV., 13 *seq.*; BERGER, *Kulte*, 92 *seq.*; DELARC, *L'Église de Paris*, III., 307.

judgment on and control the exercise of ecclesiastical functions or, in fact, as it had done hitherto, to forbid it ?

The Constitutional Bishop Grégoire, who had prudently retired into the background during the Reign of Terror, was the first to come out into the open and put forward the corresponding demands. Mounting the tribune of the Convention on December 21st, he delivered a speech which was to become famous ; after a carefully worded preamble, full of the best Republican sentiments, he demanded unrestricted freedom for religious denominations. But he met with nothing but opposition and his motion was rejected.[1]

Nevertheless, the fight went on, chiefly in the Press. The demand for the liberation and separation of the Church from the State was made with ever greater insistence, and in certain dioceses it was put into effect without further ado.[2] Here and there old or infirm priests who had stayed behind in spite of the deportation laws were practically forced to hold religious services in public. When in February, 1795, the Vendean rebels agreed to make peace they only did so on condition that they were allowed to practise their religion without hindrance.[3] It was clearly only a question of time before the concessions were granted to the whole of France.

Only a few days after this peace of La Jaunaie the Convention was to hear from Boissy d'Anglas a friendly word of warning [4] : it would be foolish, he said, to go on making martyrs ; the scaffold only increased religious fervour. In consequence a resolution was passed protecting religious services from disturbance ; but the services were not to be held in public or in the churches that had been sequestrated, and it was still forbidden to invite people to attend them by the ringing of bells or by symbolic signs affixed to the meeting-

[1] De la Gorce, IV., 21 *seqq.* ; Delarc, *loc. cit.*, 311 *seqq.*

[2] Aulard, *loc. cit.*, I., 440.

[3] De la Gorce, IV., 45 *seqq.* ; Pisani, *L'Église de Paris*, II., 162 *seqq.*

[4] Berger, *Kulte*, 91 *seq.* ; Delarc, *loc. cit.*, 315.

places. And the State also refused to render any financial assistance to any form of worship.[1]

But the popular movement, once started, was not to be diverted by the granting of freedom in so questionable a form and proceeded firmly on its former course.[2] Almost overnight the religious life was resumed in every quarter of the capital, and on the Sundays in Lent and, still more, during the Easter festivities, the joy of the faithful was evident to an unexpected degree. The legislators, taken by surprise, made vain attempts to discourage it and check it in their public speeches and writings. For a long time, however, the complete satisfaction of religious needs was seriously hampered by the continuing lack of priests.

This rebirth of Christianity in France, gratifying though it was, was overclouded by the deep cleavage in the clergy, which now became even wider than before, principally because the adherents of the constitutional schism imagined that as their existence was guaranteed by the Government the religious future of the country lay in their hands. This national church, now on the verge of collapse owing to its lack of popular support, was rescued by its champion Grégoire, who gathered round him all the Bishops of his party and in their name issued a programme in the form of a pastoral letter. After May, 1795, the movement had its own organ, *Les Annales de la Religion*, while Grégoire went on with the organization of his Gallican Church, as he called it.[3]

The scarcity of priests and other restrictions on their freedom told more heavily on those members of the French

[1] Law of 3rd Ventôse, III. (February 21, 1795); BERGER, 92 *seq.*; AULARD, I., 440 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, IV., 49; SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 407; PISANI, II., 173 *seqq.*

[2] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 407, 416; PISANI, II., 181 *seqq.*; DELARC, III., 316.

[3] DE LA GORCE, IV., 52 *seq.*; DELARC, III., 329 *seqq.*, 337 *seq.*; AULARD, I., 442; MOURRET, VII., 230 *seqq.*; PISANI, I., 192 *seqq.* For the life of the Constitutional Church *cf.* PISANI, III., 39 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 143 *seq.*, and MOURRET, VII., 237 *seqq.*, for its National Council.

Church who had kept faith with Rome. Several *émigrés*, it is true, considered it their duty to return to their orphaned parishes, in view of the toleration that was promised and although the severe laws of banishment had not yet been repealed, but the increase in the number of non-juring priests was very slow.

The greatest obstacle that impeded both the loyal Catholics and the Constitutional clergy was the lack of suitable churches; the chapels and oratories available scarcely sufficed for the needs of the former, and the schismatics were also in need of churches. Consequently, both parties strove, above all, to recover the confiscated buildings. A proposal to this effect was put to the Convention by Lanjuinais, who pointed out that it would be far easier to keep a watch on the services performed in public places of worship than in private and concealed ones and it would also be easier to put a stop to any developments dangerous to the State. It was further proposed by the Constitutionals that an oath of loyalty to the new State be imposed on all who wished to hold religious services in the churches that were to be handed back.[1] When this proposed law was approved the latter clause aroused many misgivings among the clergy loyal to Rome, while the opposing party imagined that in this respect they had gained an advantage. It was a grievous disappointment, therefore, when in its interpretation of these new demands, the legislative committee declared that the promise asked for had no connexion with the former oaths, and that on the contrary the Civil Constitution, which indeed was the basis of the Constitutional schism, was no longer to be regarded as a law of the Republic.[2]

With this last fundamental concession the new State had to acknowledge the victory and the survival of the old Church in France. It also meant the abandonment of the politico-religious aims of the former leaders of the Revolution. The recovery of the long suppressed Church could now make further

[1] Lanjuinais made his speech on May 30, 1795. *Cf.* De la Gorce, IV., 63 *seq.*; Aulard, I., 443; Sicard, *loc. cit.*, 416 *seqq.*; Sciout, IV., 387 *seqq.*

[2] De la Gorce, IV., 64 *seq.*

progress. Evidence of this was the considerably increased numbers of returning *émigrés*.[1] Once again the frontier roads and districts were traversed by priests, who this time were moving in a homeward direction, under various disguises and at the cost of manifold privations.[2] But a long time was yet to pass before the Church regained the measure of liberty it needed. When in September, 1795, a new law was promulgated regulating the whole conduct of religion, it proclaimed the principle of the separation of the Church and State and the freedom of the former, but attached to it was an ordinance which was unacceptable to the Catholics, namely the prohibition of the publication of writings composed by foreign adherents of a religious faith.[3] This measure went well beyond the demands made in the former royal *placet*.

The reawakening of religious life that had been welcomed so joyfully by both people and clergy was further impeded by the opposition offered by a minority of Jacobin persuasion that deemed it its duty to suppress the alleged Royalism of a section of the clergy. Goaded on by this minority, the Convention remembered that the old deportation laws were still formally valid and resolved on a decree by which their regulations were to be put into effect again within twenty-four hours.[4] Other regulations governing the practice of religion were made more stringent, and in other directions, too, in this last stage of its existence, the Convention relapsed into outbursts of terrorism. Thus, another oath of loyalty to the State was imposed on the clergy, who had to testify to the sovereignty of the people and to pledge their resistance to any attempt to restore the monarchy.[5] It is true that at the time there was much talk in Rome, too, of an imminent counter-revolution in France for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 72.

[2] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 422 *seqq.*, 427 *seq.*

[3] AULARD, I., 444; BERGER, *Kulte*, 94 *seq.*

[4] Law of September 6, 1795 (DE LA GORCE, IV., 75; AULARD, I., 445).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Capello's *report from Rome of August 16, 1794 (State

At the same time the principle of the separation of the Church and State and the latter's indifference to all forms of worship was consistently upheld and played its part in the constitutional work of the Convention, namely the so-called Constitution of the year III. This was the foundation of the liberalistic attitude of the bourgeois Republic, in ecclesiastical as well as other spheres.[1]

When the National Convention dissolved itself and its place was taken by the new constitutional bodies, namely the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents*, the *Conseil des Anciens*, and the Directory, of five members, the opposition between the popular movement for religious freedom and the reaction of a Jacobin minority became more and more acute, especially as the latter's firmest supporters were among the directors of the State. Many of them impelled by hatred not only of the Church but of everything Christian,[2] the Directors wanted to restore the Reign of Terror and paved the way for it by a series of measures the true purpose of which was purposely concealed. Popular resistance, however, increased in proportion, and finally the provincial and district authorities were courageous enough to refrain from giving effect to the Government's anti-clerical regulations. Nevertheless, many of the *émigrés* who had returned to France fell victims to the Directory's fresh campaign of persecution.[3]

During the two succeeding years also, 1796 and 1797, in spite of every obstacle, the reawakened life of the Church continued to gather strength. Here and there, in spite of the

Archives, Venice). He was persuaded that democracy could not last in France (see above, p. 257, n. 5). For the sad fate of the Dauphin, who died in 1795 as the result of ill-treatment, see A. DE BEAUMONT, *Louis XVII., sa vie, son agonie, sa mort* ([13] Paris, 1884).

[1] SICARD, *Clergé*, III., 410; AULARD, II., 534; DELARC, III., 333 *seqq.*; BERGER, *Kulte*, 93 *seq.*

[2] A. GIOBBIO, *La Chiesa e lo Stato in Francia durante la Rivoluzione 1789 sino 1799* (Roma, 1905, 256). *Cf.* SCIOUT, IV., 438 *seqq.*

[3] DE LA GORCE, IV., 91–100.

prohibition, the church bells called the faithful to divine service; religious houses, confessional schools, and even nunneries opened their doors in increasing numbers[1]; and many priests who had sworn allegiance to the Civil Constitution recanted and sought readmission to the old communion.[2] The number of returning *émigrés* also increased, though only one Bishop dared to join them.[3] Once again Paris was at the head of the movement.[4]

It was only the Directory that maintained the Jacobin opinion and thought of anti-clerical measures. It persisted on this course even when the elections to the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents* in 1797 resulted in the overwhelming success of the anti-Jacobins and there were numerous requests from all parts of the country for the complete freedom of the Church.[5] The words of exhortation uttered in Parliament in June of this year by a young deputy from Lyons, Camille Jordan, gave expression to the nation's satiety with revolution and its religious fervour: "Make civil peace by means of religious peace and liberty of conscience for everyone!"[6] In other ways, too, the demand for the "Faith of Our Fathers" grew ever more insistent.

Several fresh alleviations were in fact obtained, and finally after a few weeks the new Chamber decided to repeal the laws of banishment and the recent oath of loyalty to the State.[7] This blow against the revolutionary policy towards the Church, which was carried out only as the result of a narrow majority,

[1] *Ibid.*, 128 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*, 204 *seqq.*

[2] BLIARD, *La première rétractation solennelle d'un évêque intrus, févr. 1796* [F. Panisset], in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LI. (1923), 115 *seq.* Other cases in DELARC, III., 327 *seq.*, 372 *seqq.*

[3] The Bishop of Vienne, who had already shown outstanding courage. DE LA GORCE, IV., 207 *seq.*

[4] SICARD, *loc. cit.*, 432 *seqq.*

[5] DE LA GORCE, IV., 166–172; AULARD, II., 546; SCIOUT, IV., 547 *seqq.*

[6] DE LA GORCE, IV., 174–8; SCIOUT, IV., 557 *seqq.*

[7] The repeal of the deportation laws was proposed by Dubruel on June 26, 1797. DE LA GORCE, IV., 183–8.

provoked the Jacobin opposition to resort to extreme measures. Now or never was the time for them to rescue the heritage of the atheists. From now on the leading members of the party and the Directory, which for the most part was favourably inclined towards it, never ceased to hatch those perilous plots [1] that finally led to the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor and caused a serious setback to religious life in the Republic.

[1] *Ibid.*, 197 *seqq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Bonaparte and the French in the Papal States—The Establishment of the Roman Republic and the Expulsion of the Pope.

The period that began with the fall of Robespierre and ended with the second victory of the Republicans through the *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor VI. (September 4th, 1797) [1] was for France a renewal of its religious life, but for the head of the Church and the Papal States it was the beginning of a deep humiliation.

Though the Pope, as head of the Church, had been compelled to adopt a disapproving attitude towards the French Republic on account of the persecution of the Catholics, as ruler of the Papal States he took care not to take any active part in the war of the Coalition. In this war against the anti-religious Republic he had, it is true, his hopes and desires, but he preserved the neutrality of the Papal States and gave no armed or financial assistance to the Allies. At the end of 1794 all the Cardinals were in favour of maintaining this neutrality.[2]

The ruler of the Papal States had, however, to suffer for the Republicans' hatred of the head of the Church, as was seen at the end of 1792 and the beginning of 1793, when there was a dispute about the national emblem; and it was shown by

[1] Even as early as August 12, 1797, a *Brief to Cardinal Rochefoucauld referred to the Pope's joy at the change of tone in France: "Haec unica multoque laetissima Nobis erit summi diuturnique quo hactenus obruebamur, doloris compensatio." *Epist.*, A° XXII./XXIII., fo. 166[b], Papal Secret Archives.

[2] A. Capello *reported on November 13, 1794, that when the Emperor asked Albani, who was going to Vienna, for troops and money, almost all the Cardinals were against it not only because, as they said, there was no money available but also because they objected to "uscire dalla neutralità" (State Archives, Venice).

Bassville's behaviour. Further, though the religious change that began in Paris in 1794 seemed to promise a certain improvement in relations,[1] it had little effect so far as Rome was concerned, principally because the majority of the Directory was openly hostile to the Church.

The Pope's hopes for the Coalition's success in the war were sadly diminished in 1795, owing to the falling away, one by one, of France's enemies. Prussia made separate peace with the Republic at Bâle by ceding the left bank of the Rhine. In September, when Azara privately informed the Secretary of State—emphasizing the unofficial nature of his communication—that peace had also been made between France and Spain several weeks before,[2] the Pope made known his regret, not merely on account of the politico-ecclesiastical situation but because of the whole political system which he perceived to be at work here. He was only partly consoled by the assurance that Spain was undertaking the rôle of intermediary between the Holy See and the Republic.[3]

In other directions, too, the political friends of the Papal States were none too many. During these critical years the Pope was distressed and pained by the attitude of the

[1] Capello *reported on September 8, 1794, that in Paris the system of "moderazione" had superseded tyranny, and on November 29, 1794, that the moderates had overcome the Jacobins (*ibid.*).

[2] *Pesaro to the Doge, August 8, 1795 (State Archives, Venice). On August 12, 1795, *Azara asked his Government for precise instructions as to his attitude in the French affair (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[3] "*El Papa personalmente desaprueva nuestra paz no tanto por motivo de religion quanto por su falso sistema politico . . . Lo demas de Roma se ha alegrado ne nuestra paz. Los emigrados franceses que hai aqui la abominan como es natural. Venecia la celebra. Toscana la aplaude pero Napoles la detesta hasta con indecencia contra España, al mismo tiempo que por ahi la desea y solicita, pero su tratado impendente con Ingleterra sera siempre un poderoso estorbo para conseguirla." (Azara to De la Paz, September 30, 1795; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.) *Cf.* *Azara to the same, October 7, 1795 (*ibid.*).

Neapolitan Government.[1] All the attempts made in 1794 to settle the politico-ecclesiastical differences came to naught. In the summer the former Spanish envoy to Paris, Fernán Nuñez, accompanied by Evangelisti, was sent by the Pope to Naples to effect a settlement,[2] but after a few weeks the private conversations [3] were broken off and Nuñez came back without accomplishing anything.[4] The Pope found himself compelled to take an uncompromising attitude in the matter of episcopal nominations.[5] Towards the end of the year further friction resulted from the enfeoffment of Cardinal Ruffo by the King of Naples, with the abbey of S. Sofia, at Benevento.[6]

Finally, Pius VI. was left with Austria as his strongest ally, but the Austrian armies in Northern Italy were soon confronted with a general of extraordinary ability, the Corsican Bonaparte, who had won his spurs at Toulon, had been put in command of the army in France in October, 1795, and in March, 1796, had been entrusted with the direction of the campaign in Northern Italy.[7]

The Papal States were incapable of repelling an invasion by the Revolutionary troops, and their internal conditions were far from sound. In the winter and spring of 1795 there were

[1] *Capello to the Doge, June 21, 1794 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] *Capello on August 16, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[3] **Id.*, August 23, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[4] **Id.*, September 16, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[5] Capello *reported on this on August 30, 1794 (*ibid.*).

[6] **Id.*, December 6, 1794 (*ibid.*). Ruffo made it out to be a good sign, but Pius VI. refused to be misled and answered him very sharply in a *Brief of November 28, 1794, remarking that the Cardinal knew very well where it was his duty to reside as long as the Pope had no need of him elsewhere ; the Abbey of S. Sofia had always been presented by the Holy See ; it was not an "inaspettabile felicità" but a "sacrilega percezione de' redditi ecclesiastici" ; he ought to emulate his great-uncle Cardinal Tommaso Ruffo in his contempt for material gain. (*Epist.*, A° XXI., fo. 48 ; Papal Secret Archives).

[7] Kuhl, *Bonapartes erster Feldzug 1796*, Berlin, 1902, 77 *seqq.*, 135. He assumed the chief command at Nice on March 27. Félix Bouvier, *Bonaparte en Italie 1796*, Paris, 1899, 1.

riots about the bad bread both in Rome itself and in places outside,[1] so that the Pope had to make provision for the time that was still to pass before the harvest.[2] Then the coinage had been debased more than once,[3] and to improve it silver was taken from the churches.[4] Nevertheless, there were more bread riots in the following winter and paper money was issued for one *scudo* and for a half *scudo*.[5] In the autumn of 1795 Azara foretold that the effects of the financial crisis would be most damaging to the State.[6] And, indeed, it was not long before the fate that had long been hanging over the Papal States actually came to pass.

When, in February, 1793, the National Convention communicated the terms on which it would accept satisfaction for

[1] *Figari's reports of January 17, February 7 and 14 (Rome), February 28 (Albano), April 25 (at Termo), 1795 (State Archives, Genoa).

[2] *Figari, June 13, 1795 (*ibid.*).

[3] As the Pope was proceeding to the Quirinal in July the people called out to him : " Pane buono e moneta ! " (*Figari, July 18, 1795 ; *ibid.*). *Cf.* **id.*, August 22, September 5 and 12, 1795 (*ibid.*).

[4] **Id.*, September 19, 1795 (" Nondimeno il sistema monetario è sempre incerto e fluttuante "), and November 28, 1795 (*ibid.*). For the financial edict of August 29 and its consequences, *cf.* *Pesaro to the Doge, August 22, September 5, 12, 19, 26, October 3 and 10, 1795 (State Archives, Venice).

[5] *Figari, October 31, November 7 and 14, 1795, January 2, April 2 and 23, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). The economy reforms in the army were *reported by him on March 12, 1796 (*ibid.*).

[6] Azara to De la Paz, September 30, 1794 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome) : " *La falta de moneda efectiva, en que se halla Roma, ha llegado a tal exceso que va a producir las consequencias mas funestas para el estado y por lo punto ya produce un movimiento tal en el pueblo que yo no sé que nombre darle." There follow copious and interesting details. *Cf.* also Pesaro's *reports to the Doge, from January 10, 1795, onwards (*loc. cit.*), the subject-matter of which was continually used by Anna Rubino without giving exact references in *La Vita Italiana*, XIV. (1926), 131 *seqq.*, 158 *seqq.*, XV. (1927), 37 *seqq.*, 109 *seqq.* *Cf.* especially XIV., 132 *seqq.*, 147 *seqq.*

the murder of Bassville, they were considered by Rome to be too unjust and humiliating to be fulfilled, even at the cost of the war that the Republic was already threatening to let loose.[1] At the time, however, France was too heavily committed in other theatres of war to carry out the threat. When the Directory came to power the situation had changed. One of its principal aims was the destruction of the Papal authority, both spiritual and temporal. Harking back to the threat of war, it decided that Bonaparte, who during the past few weeks had won its complete confidence was, with his energy and ambition, the man best suited to carry out the project. In a communication dated February 3rd, 1796, he was invited to consider the idea of destroying Rome as a scourge in the hands of fanaticism ; it was not a definite instruction and was only to be acted on if opportunity offered.[2] As expected, the young general, thirsting for glory, eagerly embraced the project, the execution of which would establish him as a world-famous figure for ever. Accordingly, during the next few weeks, while the Austrians were retiring from the Adda to the Mincio, he decided to act boldly.

At the beginning of May the Secretary of State received word from the Cardinal Legates at Ferrara and Bologna that the plain of Piacenza had been invaded by a French army 10,000 strong.[3] A few days later Milan was taken, and on May 21st Bonaparte issued from there a proclamation regarding his intended march on Rome. "We are the friends of every nation," he declared, "especially the descendants of Brutus and the Scipios. Our intention is to restore the Capitol, to set up there in their honour the statues of the men who won renown, and to free the Roman people from their long slavery. This will be the fruit of your victories."[4]

Thus, war was declared on the States of the Church without

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 244.

[2] MOURRET, VII., 251.

[3] *Ibid.*, 252. GENDRY, II., 244. The Pope, who was in the Pontine Marshes at the time, hurried back to Rome. (*Figari's report of May 14, 1796 ; State Archives, Genoa.)

[4] BOUVIER, *Bonaparte en Italie 1796*, 634 *seq.*

regard for international law, and the French troops, eager for plunder, overran the legations of Ravenna, Ferrara, and Bologna.[1] The economic and military situation of the Patrimony of St. Peter was so bad [2] that there was no question of any serious resistance. The only course left to Rome was to negotiate for a speedy truce and by making concessions to save the Eternal City and the Holy See from complete disaster. Neapolitan support could only plunge it into fresh perils. The requests made by the King of Naples to be allowed to conduct his troops through the Papal States to Lombardy and there to resist the French were, it is true, acceded to on principle by the Pope, but at the same time he tried to dissuade him from the project, which would have imperilled the Papal States as well as the kingdom of Naples.[3]

As Rome was not disposed to acknowledge, even tacitly, the revolutionary Government of France by entering into direct negotiations with it,[4] it sought in its distress the mediation of Spain, in accordance with their agreement. It

[1] For the French advance, see *Figari's reports of June 11 and 25, 1795 (*loc. cit.*) ; Du Teil, *Rome, Naples et le Directoire*, 132 *seqq*. For the entry into Bologna : A. Aglebert, *I primi martiri della libertà italiana : congiura e morte di Luigi Zamboni e G.B. de Rolandis in Bologna*, no place of publication, 1862, 157 *seq*. On June 30, 1799, when Bologna was retaken by the Austrians, the ashes of these revolutionary conspirators were scattered to the winds (*ibid.*, 171).

[2] On September 30, 1795, Azara, *reporting to De la Paz, gave a very full and interesting account of the financial plight of Rome (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). For the relative ordinances, *cf.* *Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 1, 1796 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Azara to De la Paz, May 18, 1796 : The King of Naples is exhorting the Pope to follow his example and decide on war against the French. **Id.*, May 26, 1796 : a chilly reception was given in Naples to the news that the Pope was not going to make war but would rely on Spain's mediation (*ibid.*).

[4] The Pope would rather suffer the consequences than complain to the French representative (*Pesaro to the Doge, April 2, 1796 ; State Archives, Venice).

was also moved to take this step by the consideration that Azara, the Spanish envoy to the Vatican, had acquired an adequate knowledge of the Papal States in the thirty years he had held the post. The envoy was accordingly recalled to Rome from his rural retreat in the Campagna by an urgent note from the Secretary of State.[1] The Pope in his turn hurried back from Terracina, where he had arrived the day before and where he had intended to spend the rest of the month.[2] In Rome Zelada informed the envoy of the Pope's desire to send him to Bonaparte as the representative of the Holy See. The Pope, never very forceful and suffering from poor health at the time, had previously given way to his nephew Braschi's request that the Roman banker Botoni be sent as a negotiator, and the latter was already on his way. It was only when he was assured that Botoni would be recalled and when other misgivings had been dispelled that Azara agreed to undertake the mission, in which he was to be accompanied by the Marchese Gundi. In his absence the affairs of the embassy were to be conducted by his secretary Mendizabal.

Wide circles of those most competent to judge and the general public were vastly pleased to hear of Botoni's recall, though it was feared that in his discomfiture he would set going spiteful intrigues. Azara's journey was not accomplished without a hitch. The rumour spread in Rome that he had been murdered in the neighbourhood of Lodi. This proved to be false, but he had fallen into the hands of robbers and had to pay them money to spare his life and release him.[3]

When Azara's mission and, shortly afterwards, the desire of the Neapolitan Government to conclude a treaty of neutrality

[1] Azara *reported fully on subsequent events to De la Paz on May 18, 1796, attention being given to all points of view (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] *Pesaro to the Doge, May 14, 1796. He also reported on Azara's long audience on the previous evening (State Archives, Venice).

[3] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 1, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), and June 8, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, *Les origines du concordat*, I., 178).

with France became known to the Roman people, they received the news with relief.[1] Similarly the Pope's letter of June 12th, in which he informed the Spanish Court of Azara's mission and promised a present for the king, was one of confident hope.[2]

Meanwhile Bonaparte went on with his military operations.[3] At Ferrara there was a cannonade lasting half a day and then the troops moved against Bologna, where a delegation of several officers and forty cavalrymen gave the Legate the choice of undergoing a siege by 8,000 French or capitulating with full honours. Actually the revolutionary troops entered with little delay, and the Bolognese Senate recalled its *chargé d'affaires* from Rome, to the sorrow of the Pope and his Secretary of State. Nevertheless, the Cardinal Legate of Bologna was instructed to exhort the inhabitants to be perfectly calm and orderly, so that the French should meet with no resistance.[4]

Meanwhile, after some initial difficulties, Azara's efforts were rewarded.[5] Bonaparte refused at first to regard him as anything more than the representative of Spain,[6] and he then demanded as a basic condition the conveyance to himself of all the rights that would fall to him as master of the Capitol. This led to heated altercations between the two politicians, who were usually so unemotional, but they did not deter the experienced Spaniard from waiting for a more favourable moment.[7] For a time his hopes were lowered by the defection of some Papal territories in the Romagna and by the traitorous intrigues of revolutionary circles in Rome ; finally, however,

[1] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 15, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome) ; *Pesaro to the Doge, May 21 and June 18, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] SÉCHÉ, *loc. cit.*, I., 181 *seq.*

[3] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 22, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Details in RICHEMONT, *La première rencontre du Pape et de la République Française*, in *Le Correspondant*, CLXXXVIII. (1897), 803 *seqq.*

[6] DU TEIL, *loc. cit.*, 147.

[7] *Ibid.*, 148.

on June 23rd, 1796, an armistice was signed in Bologna which did not include all the overweening demands of the Corsican.

The signing of this agreement was attributed by many to Azara's skilful inflexibility, by others to Bonaparte's consideration for the Spanish Court in its rôle of mediator. Both views were only partly correct, for Bonaparte had no intention of signing an honourable truce as a step towards the conclusion of peace on the terms he had exacted; his sole object was to gain time for the execution of his tasks in northern Italy before advancing into the heart of the peninsula.[1] In writing, therefore, to Madrid [2] that in spite of the hard terms of the agreement the Spanish representative had saved the Pope, religion, and Rome from ineluctable disaster, Mendizabal, in the first flush of joy at Azara's success, was overstating the case. Azara, however, does deserve the credit of having calmed the Roman population for the moment and of having given it some grounds for hope.[3] Unfortunately, the authoritative members of the Curia were not active enough to turn the moment to account; the Pope, as nearly always, was seriously unwell, and Zelada was too old. Consequently the predominating influence was wielded by the fiscal Barberi.[4]

The terms of the armistice of Bologna [5] were so harsh that at best they produced only a short-lived feeling of relief that by then Rome had been preserved from an even worse fate. They had been agreed to only from fear of losing everything. The Pope undertook to send a plenipotentiary to Paris without delay, to conclude a formal peace, and he also promised to apologize for the murder of Bassville and to free all political

[1] GENDRY, II., 245 *seq.*

[2] On June 28, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 183).

[3] The Pope ordered a Triduum in thanksgiving (*Figari, July 2, 1796; State Archives, Genoa).

[4] "*Mgr. Barberi fiscal que es el omnipotente." (Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 29, 1796; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[5] GENDRY, II., 246. *Pesaro to the Doge, June 26 and July 2, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

prisoners. His sovereignty over the States of the Church were severely curtailed; all the harbours were to remain open at all times for French vessels but were to be closed to those of France's enemies. The French were to evacuate the legation of Ravenna but were to remain in possession of Bologna and Ferrara and could occupy Ancona also within a week; merely on giving notice they could cross Papal territory at any time they chose. The hardest provisions of all were those that laid down the tribute to be paid: 21,000,000 *scudi* were to be paid in three instalments within three months, and 100 objects of art and 500 manuscripts had to be surrendered, the details to be fixed by a commission of French experts.

"In fine, we are still alive," was the comment on the armistice made by Pius VI. when asking Mendizabal to convey his thanks to the Spanish Government for their ambassador's mediation.[1] Honest attempts were made by Rome to satisfy the French demands. To pay the first instalment of the tribute 700,000 *scudi* were drawn from the Sixtine treasure,[2] and on July 6th a Papal circular letter was addressed to the Bishops of the Papal States informing them of the decree of the "Congregazione di Stato", whereby all church valuables except those that were absolutely indispensable were to be collected and surrendered for the preservation of the Papal States.[3] Even ordinary citizens were urged to send in lists of their valuables and hold themselves in readiness to part with them.[4] These measures, in Rome especially, occasioned further indignation, which was a fertile soil for every kind of revolutionary movement. It was known that various conspiracies had been hatched during the preceding months, and now the

[1] Mendizabal to De la Paz, July 6, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 186).

[2] The Pope's *consistorial address on the subject, delivered on June 27, 1796, in *Epist.*, A° XXII./XXIII., fo. 43; Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* TAVANTI, III., 181, and *Pesaro to the Doge, July 2, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] GENDRY, II., 247. *Figari's report of July 9, 1796 (*loc. cit.*); *Pesaro to the Doge, July 23, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] MOURRET, VII., 254.

authorities were apprehensive of many more; some were actually exposed and the culprits were severely punished.[1] There were outbursts of discontent among the people, generally under cover of darkness; in the morning posters and writings were found on the walls. From time to time the manifestations had to be quelled by force of arms. The molestation of the French and their households increased to an alarming degree.[2] It was then that Bonaparte sent a blunt message to Rome that if the Government did not see to the maintenance of law and order he would come and take it in hand himself.[3]

In curious contrast to these revolutionary symptoms was the storm of applause with which Azara was welcomed back as the saviour of the city. In his report on the occasion he remarked with pride: "I believe there was more noise than if a storm had swept over the city."[4] For his successful efforts he received the due meed of praise and thanks from his Government.[5]

How little this unimaginative "enlightener" had at heart the salvation and honour of the Holy See and the Patrimony of St. Peter may be seen from the unconcealed contempt with which he wrote of the pious belief and religious reverence of the people,[6] the manifestations of which were an essential feature of the Roman scene at this critical juncture. In Azara's judgment these pious fanatics were far more dangerous than the open adherents of the Revolution who were plotting to overthrow and plunder the city on their own account.[7]

[1] GENDRY, II., 248 *seq.*, 252.

[2] Azara to De la Paz, August 10, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 195 *seqq.*; MOURRET, VII., 254).

[3] *Id.* to *id.*, August 24, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 198 *seq.*).

[4] *Id.* to *id.*, July 21, 1796, from Rome (not on the 20th, as given by SÉCHÉ, I., 189), *ibid.*

[5] Thus, De la Paz in his letter to Azara of June 14, 1796. *Cf.* his report of July 3, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 187).

[6] *To De la Paz, August 17, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Cf.* later reports, e.g. of February 3, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 266).

[7] *To De la Paz, July 21, 1796 (see above, n. 4).

Actually at this time a large part of the population of the Eternal City were borne along by a great wave of religious fervour that expressed itself in numerous processions and other ecclesiastical ceremonies. The whole of Italy was full of the reports of the extraordinary happenings in the churches of Rome, most notably with regard to the images of the Madonna, whose eyes were said to have moved.[1] An amazing number of people streamed into the churches. In July the Pope ordered mission sermons to be preached and expiatory prayers to be recited, accompanied by Benediction, in the six largest squares in the city, with important indulgences for those who attended.[2] The streets were full of pious pilgrims, many barefoot and saying the rosary. As the days passed the supernatural incidents increased in every part of the city. Mendizabal, who was no free-thinker like his superior Azara, reported to Madrid that now there were not many who denied what they saw with their own eyes.[3] He also reported that the preachers had a calming effect on the excited populace and were trying to remove the hatred felt for the French.[4]

It was soon evident that Bonaparte had no intention of supplementing and completing the terms of the armistice by concluding a speedy peace. At the beginning of July Azara reported to his Government from Florence that the General was interpreting the agreement in his own way, namely with his customary brutality. He was occupying the whole of the

[1] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, July 13, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome); *Figari, July 23, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa). *Cf.* RICHEMONT in *Le Correspondant*, CLXXXVIII. (1897), 815 *seqq.*

[2] " *Invito sagro per le sante missioni " issued by the Vicar-General, Cardinal G. M. della Somaglia, of July 9, 1796, with an account of the miracles and an announcement of the indulgences, the six piazze, and the preachers (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[3] " *Pocos son los que niegan lo que han visto con sus propios oxos " (Mendizabal, July 13, 1796; *ibid.*).

[4] *Ibid.*, a full description. Nevertheless, Azara afterwards made them out to be popular agitators.

Romagna and was levying contributions from it; and any outbursts on the part of the oppressed inhabitants would be welcomed by him as occasions for further reprisals.[1] The Romagna was, in fact, laid waste with fire and sword, so that Azara thought that all his previous efforts would be wasted unless Napoleon was brought to heel by the French Directory. "Whether this happens or not," he wrote, "I foresee that all the States of the Church and Rome itself will be destroyed."[2] At the beginning of August, 1796, he referred to Bonaparte as a man who breathed only blood and fire.[3]

On July 21st, after the excitement in Rome had subsided to some extent,[4] the French commissary Miot arrived in the city to execute the provisions of the armistice.[5] Remembering Bassville's fate, he made no appearance in public except when accompanied by Azara.[6] A revealing light is thrown on the Spanish ambassador who, still representing the Papal interests, sat on the opposite side of the table to the Frenchman during the negotiations, by the admission he made to his Government on August 3rd that at the moment he was the only person in Rome to support the French.[7] Miot was soon replaced by Cacault, who had been commissioned to represent the Republic

[1] Azara to De la Paz, July 3, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 188 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 187.

[3] "*El general Bonaparte que no respira sino sangre y fuego" (Azara to De la Paz, August 3, 1796, from Rome (*loc. cit.*).

[4] The Pope himself assured Azara that there was no danger in the popular agitation, which Azara had described to him in the most lurid colours (Azara to De la Paz, July 21, 1796; SÉCHÉ, I., 191). Afterwards there was a moment when the commissaries were thinking of leaving, for fear of an attack on their lives. (Mendizabal to De la Paz, September 21, 1796; *ibid.*, 214.)

[5] Azara to De la Paz, July 27, 1796 (*ibid.*, 193 *seq.*); DU TEIL, 320.

[6] He also dined with Azara daily (see *Figari, July 30, 1796; State Archives, Genoa).

[7] "*... contra estos Franceses y aun contra mi, que soi ahora el unico que los apoia aqui." (To De la Paz, August 3, 1796; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.)

in Rome in 1793 but had not been recognized by the Vatican.[1] Azara, who already knew of him through his diplomatic activities in Naples, distrusted his vivacious temperament, but after Cacault had moved from Florence to Rome he hoped to exert a calming influence on him.[2] By the middle of August the work of the art experts had advanced so far that Cacault was able to send to Paris a list of the hundred most valuable sculptures and paintings that were to be delivered.[3]

That the representatives of the French Republic were able to show themselves in public at this time of extraordinary popular excitement, without incurring any serious danger, was due principally to the measures taken by the Papal Government. On July 13th strict regulations were issued by Zelada for the protection of the commissaries.[4] After being reminded that they should be thankful that the occupation of their city had been averted by the armistice and that there were hopes of a speedy and final peace, the inhabitants of Rome were commanded to show towards the stranger such principles of their religion as hospitality, the law of nations, trust in the public authority, respect for the arrangements agreed upon in treaties, regard for the mediation of Spain, and the attention of the individual citizen to the maintenance of public order. Wherefore the commissaries were to be respected and treated with courtesy by everyone. The slightest molestation of their persons or those of other members of their nation

[1] *Pesaro to the Doge, July 30, 1796 (State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* A. Rubino, *loc. cit.*, XIV., 177. Figari's *reports of August 6 (State Archives, Genoa): Gendry, II, 250.

[2] *To De la Paz, August 3, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] On August 5, 1796, he sent Azara a provisional list with fifty items (*Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 447 *seqq.*); on August 3 he had reported on the work done by the experts (*ibid.*, 447). The final list (*ibid.*, 461–7) was received by Delacroix on August 15. For the packing and the transport arrangements, *ibid.*, 467, 469, 471, 478.

[4] Not, as Tavanti (298) says, on July 18. The text was attached to Mendizabal's *report of July 13, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Cf.* *Figari's report of July 16, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa), and *Pesaro's to the Doge, of July 16, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

would be regarded as hostility towards the fatherland and as rebellion and would be punished by death, the confiscation of the culprit's property, and the permanent loss of his good name. It was the duty of the authorities to exercise the most scrupulous control and of every individual to report without reserve any infringement of these regulations. Failure to obey this last regulation would be punished by ten years in the galleys, whereas for every information laid the informer would be rewarded by 500 *scudi* from the Apostolic Camera.

No time was lost in carrying out the first of the provisions laid down in the agreement: the appointment of an agent to go to Paris. The person selected for the duty was Pieracchi, the former auditor to the nunciature to France, whose ability was universally esteemed.[1] He travelled by the quickest route, calling at Florence to receive detailed directions from Azara.[2] With Evangelisti as his secretary he reached the capital on July 22nd. The time of his arrival was not inopportune, as religious life in Paris was reviving.

Printed copies, to the number of 2,000, of a Papal Brief of July 5th, the contents of which had been temporarily withheld in Rome, were sent after the Papal representative, who was to distribute them in Paris if circumstances permitted.[3] This Brief had been suggested by Bonaparte in Bologna. It was an appeal by the Pope to the French Catholics to submit to the political authority, for it had the divine sanction. It spoke of the heavy but just punishments, both temporal and eternal, incurred by those who failed to observe the law, and it therefore urgently exhorted the Catholics to obey the Government with all possible zeal and willingness. They were thus to show

[1] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, June 29, 1796 (*loc. cit.*); Du Teil, 195.

[2] Du Teil, 206. On pp. 237 *seqq.* is an account of how the Brief originated.

[3] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, July 13, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). For the Brief, *cf.* Du Teil, 236 *seqq.*; Pisani, III., 95 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 109 *seq.*, the text. Du Teil (240) is doubtful if Pieracchi ever received the missive.

that the true faith had no intention of destroying civil laws—a fact of which the French Government had to be convinced.

No mention of this Brief was made by Pieracchi when presented to the French Foreign Minister Delacroix on July 25th,[1] possibly because he had not yet been informed of it, but by indirect means it soon came to the knowledge of the Minister and the general public.[2] Government circles were so surprised to find it contained a Papal recognition of the Republic that at first there was doubt about the authenticity of the document and Cacault was asked to confirm it.[3] Some Catholics, too, were greatly taken aback and lively arguments ensued about the difference between the usurped and legitimate authority of the State and the duty of obeying it.[4] Doubtless by making this concession the Pope had hoped to anticipate the demand of the French Government, which would surely have required its recognition as the very first condition of peace.

The talks between Pieracchi and Delacroix were not begun till August 13th, and after only a few days they came to a dead end. One of the first basic demands set out by Delacroix was the formal recantation of all Papal statements and documents relating to the French State since 1789.[5] This would not only have compromised the Holy See's ecclesiastico-political position but would also have been an admission that it had followed the wrong course in the confusion of the Revolution. Had such concessions been made by the Pope they would have set at nought all the martyrdoms under the Reign of Terror and all the injustices taken on themselves by the exiles and prisoners. The solitary rock that had stood firm in a raging sea, when men were casting off the bonds of God and justice, would have been set tottering, and the principles of the Revolution

[1] Gendry, II., 250 *seq.*

[2] In *Le Rédacteur* of September 4; Du Teil, 240 *seq.*

[3] Séché, I., 23; Pisani, III., 100.

[4] Séché, I., 25 *seqq.*; Pisani, III., 99, 101 *seqq.* For the jubilation of the Constitutionals, *ibid.*, 106 *seqq.*

[5] Séché, I., 31; De la Gorce, V., 27 *seqq.*; Surrel, *Le card. Laurent Galeppi*, in *La Semaine de Rome*, II. (1909), 320 *seqq.*; Du Teil, 219 *seqq.*

would have won the most resounding victory imaginable. No such retreat was possible for the Church. Pieracchi tried to discover some way of adjusting the dispute that might have been acceptable to Rome, but soon had to give up all hope of this, as he was not given the slightest encouragement by the other side. Finally, he asked if he might send a courier to the Pope with a message on the subject. This request afforded the Directory the welcome opportunity of breaking off the negotiations altogether.[1] The Foreign Minister expressed to the Papal representative his displeasure at Rome sending a plenipotentiary who had no real powers ; one was not disposed to treat with persons whose powers failed at the first point of discussion. Shortly afterwards the Directory issued an order of expulsion, dated August 14th, against Pieracchi, which was delivered to him on the 17th and with which he complied on the 20th. He withdrew at first to Switzerland.[2]

Pieracchi's mission and the attempt to initiate peace negotiations between Paris and Rome, as had been demanded at Bologna, were thus frustrated by the anti-clerical attitude of the Directory and its Foreign Minister. When a report on the break-down of the negotiations was rendered by Pius VI. to the College of Cardinals, every member, on being questioned, replied that so outrageous a demand could only be refused.[3]

Azara, seeing that the result of his diplomatic skill was threatened with ruin, tried to induce the Pope to view the matter in a less rigorous light. At first he tried his hand with philological subtleties about the meaning of the word "religion" in French ; he then suggested that there was no need for the Pope to withdraw the purport and the principles of his utterances regarding France, but only their proclamation, which could not injure either dogma or his personal

[1] GENDRY, II., 250 *seq.*

[2] Azara to De la Paz, August 31, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 201 *seq.*) ; *Pesaro to the Doge, September 3, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. RUBINO (*loc. cit.*), XIV., 180 *seq.* ; DE LA GORCE, V., 32.

[3] SÉCHÉ, *loc. cit.*

reputation.[1] The Dominican General Quiñones agreeing that this solution was theologically unobjectionable, Azara propounded it to the Pope in a memorandum just before the decisive meeting of the Congregation of Cardinals. But Pius remained unmoved [2]; now that there was no longer any hope of avoiding the worst extremity, his courage and decisiveness increased. He was quite certain now that the rapacious Bonaparte would occupy Rome and the whole of the Papal States. When this took place, he averred, he would preferably face his destiny in Rome, but in response to all the entreaties that were made of him and for the sake of the Church, which would probably be threatened with a schism were he to die, he would allow himself to be persuaded, if the worst came to the worst, to take refuge in Spanish territory, along with his most faithful Cardinals. To this implied appeal for help, Azara gave an evasive answer. In effect it was a refusal, as the Pope knew very well. He now said that as Germany and Naples might also be invaded by the French he was thinking of Malta as a refuge.[3]

In August, 1796, when the attempts to effect a settlement with France had failed, the Cardinal Secretary of State Zelada took the opportunity of asking the Pope to relieve him of his duties. He was moved to take this step, he said, on account of his age—he was now eighty years old—and his physical enfeeblement. The Pope gave his consent and appointed in his place Cardinal Busca, formerly nuncio to Belgium and a friend of Azara's.[4]

[1] His letter to the Pope of August 27, 1796, in SÉCHÉ, I., 206 *seqq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 60 *seqq.*

[2] Azara reported the whole affair to De la Paz on August 31, 1796 (*ibid.*, 202 *seq.*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 203 *seq.*

[4] GENDRY, II., 251 *seq.* Busca assumed his duties with such independence that the members of the Congregazione di Stato considered themselves slighted (" L'attività, colla quale il nuovo Segretario di Stato si presta alle ispezioni del suo ufficio concentrando unicamente in sè solo e nella volontà del Papa la conoscenza e spedizione degli affari li più importanti, non riesce

Further negotiations took place in Florence, the French Government being represented by Garrau and Salicetti.[1] Any opportunity that offered a prospect of solving the crisis was gladly accepted by the Curia. Monsignore Caleppi, an experienced nuncio, was appointed by the Pope to represent him, and the Dominican Soldati was to accompany him as secretary.[2] Owing to their knowledge of the previous negotiations, Evangelisti and Azara were also of the party. The latter only consented after a show of reluctance due, as he said, to Rome's ingratitude towards him after the work he had done at Bologna. Actually he had long been waiting in silence for this invitation, and when it came he proudly informed his Government that the Pope had begged him with tears in his eyes to come to his assistance.[3] On August 31st Pius VI. informed the Spanish king of Azara's new mission and asked him to continue his protection of the Church.[4]

On September 9th, the day following its arrival in the Tuscan capital, the Papal commission was handed a complete draft of the peace treaty by the French representatives, with the intimation that there were only two alternatives: complete acceptance or complete refusal.[5] Thus, once again all hopes

di soddisfazione ai cardinali della Congregazione di Stato." They wanted to resign, but it was not long before the Congregation was dissolved. (Pesaro to the Doge, August 20, 1796; State Archives, Venice.)

[1] For these two, see SÉCHÉ, I., 50, n. 1.

[2] The *Briefs to the Grand Duke Ferdinand and the Grand Duchess, of September 3, 1796, announced Caleppi's delegation and asked for their support in so momentous an affair (*Epist.*, A° XXII./XXIII.; Papal Secret Archives). An account of the negotiations based on Caleppi's report was given by RICHEMONT in *Le Correspondant*, CLXXXVIII. (1897), 821 *seqq.*; cf. SURREL, *Galeppi*, *loc. cit.*, 323 *seqq.* *Cf.* *Lavaggi's report of September 3, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa). Figari's death was *reported by Lavaggi on November 5, 1797 (*ibid.*).

[3] SÉCHÉ, I., 63, 201, 205; GENDRY, II., 259 *seq.*

[4] SÉCHÉ, I., 208 *seqq.*

[5] DU TEIL, 350; *Pesaro to the Doge, September 17, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, 182.

of discussion were excluded, and naturally Caleppi insisted on first consulting the Pope before replying. The short time he was given to consider his reply he utilized in journeying back to Rome. Rumours about the harsh and unacceptable conditions were already abroad there, but it was not until Caleppi's arrival on September 12th that the Pope could summon a General Congregation, in which about twenty Cardinals took part.[1]

The Sacred College was unanimous in rejecting the French demands, for not only did they include for the second time the withdrawal of all the Papal edicts against the Revolution, but on several other counts the honour and the rights of the Church were impugned.[2] There were two other preposterous conditions: that the temporal power of the Pope should be restricted by the appointment of French officials and that the payment of tribute should continue as long as the French were at war, in other words there was to be no limit to it.[3] Even Azara found these conditions unjust and acknowledged that they would mean the break-up of the Papal States.[4]

The Pope's written reply, which Caleppi subsequently presented in Florence [5] and was countersigned by Azara after some misgiving,[6] was couched throughout in a firm tone and showed

[1] *Pesaro (*loc. cit.*); GENDRY, II., 261; RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, 830 *seqq.*

[2] Mendizabal to De la Paz, September 23, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 220), and *Lavaggi on September 17, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). According to *Mendizabal's report of September 14 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome) eighteen or nineteen Cardinals took part in the Congregation, the result of which was kept secret at first in Rome, "aunque la creo negativa." For the attitudes adopted by the individual members, see RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, 831.

[3] Extract from the terms in SÉCHÉ, I., 70, n. 1. The terms were enclosed in *Pesaro's report to the Doge, of September 17, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

[4] To De la Paz, September 23, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 217 *seq.*).

[5] The text of his letter of September 14, 1796, *ibid.*, 71 *seqq.*

[6] Azara to De la Paz, September 23, 1796, from Florence, *ibid.*, 216 *seq.* His signature was not at first recognized by the French. RICHEMONT, *loc. cit.*, 832.

how the Pope's courage and decisiveness increased the more closely he was pressed by the enemies of the Church. The document ended with a gloomy prophecy of what was to come: His Holiness would never be a party to such a defamation of the Church, even if his own life were in peril.[1]

In the weeks that followed the utmost political excitement and tension prevailed in Rome. The arrogant demands of the French were published by the Pope and communicated to many of the European courts.[2] Indignation at Bonaparte's insatiability increased all over Italy, so that the prospect was very grave.[3] The natural result of the French action was that the Pope declared the armistice to be broken and he suspended the stipulated payments. The statues that had been packed up were to be returned to their former situations.[4] Among the many diplomatic negotiations that went on at this time, the most developed were those between Rome and Naples; in the course of time they showed signs of resulting in a defensive alliance, and this after an interval of eighteen years during which they had had no relations with each other.[5] The question of military co-operation was discussed in Rome by the Marchese Vasto, representing Naples, while the other points of difference between the two states were put aside to be settled amicably within a given period.[6] A discordant note, however, was suddenly introduced into the talks by the news that a treaty had been concluded between the Neapolitans and the French; this, to everyone's surprise, was hurriedly

[1] GENDRY, II., 262.

[2] *Ibid.*, 264. TAVANTI, 300 *seq.*, for Pius VI.'s appeals for help to the Princes and his ill-success.

[3] The war fever in Rome was described by Mendizabal on September 28, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, 222). In his *report of September 14 he enclosed a satire on the subject which had been posted up in the Piazza Colonna (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] SÉCHÉ, I., 222 *seq.* Pesaro to the Doge, Sept. 24, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

[5] GENDRY, II., 266.

[6] SÉCHÉ, I., 223, and Azara on October 7, 1796 (*ibid.*, 228); *Pesaro to the Doge, October 8, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

ratified in Naples.[1] Vasto complained that his position had been compromised by the game that had been played behind his back.[2] The negotiations were continued in spite of this sensational change in the situation, but they led to no tangible result.[3] While they were going on the Auditor-General of the Camera, Monsignor Giuseppe Albani, sought to effect a close alliance with the Emperor by means of conversations in Vienna and to induce him to support the Pope with all the forces at his command.[4] Much, too, was expected of England, which had sent Graves [5] as a plenipotentiary.

The agitation within the State was even greater, culminating in the Government's feverish activity and the general mobilization of the country.[6] The comprehensive defence of the State

[1] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, October 26, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome); *Lavaggi on October 29, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa); GENDRY, II., 269 *seq.* The origin of the treaty in DU TEIL, 258 *seqq.*, the signature of October 10, *ibid.*, 287; *ibid.*, 537, the text. The "internuncio" Salamon in Paris was apprised of it on the day of the signature (BRIDIER, *Mémoires*, 237 *seq.*). *Cf.* *Pesaro to the Doge, October 15, 22, 29, 1796 (*loc. cit.*); A. RUBINO, 41 *seqq.*

[2] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, December 14, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] *Id.* to *id.*, November 2, 1796, and January 11 and 18, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 231 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*, 253); *Pesaro to the Doge, October 29, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] "*Ahora aqui todos se muestran alegres y animosos porque cuentan que el Emperador entre en aleanza con el papa." This opinion was based on Albani's reports of Imperial reinforcements. Mendizabal to De la Paz, January 4, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). Albani's mission to Vienna was announced in *Briefs of October 8, 1796, to the Emperor and to Thugut (*Epist.*, A° XXII., fos. 74, 78; Papal Secret Archives). *Cf.* Lavaggi's *report of October 22, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa), and *Pesaro to the Doge, October 8, 1796 (State Archives, Venice).

[5] For his audience and for Albani's mission and departure, see *Mendizabal to De la Paz on October 5 and 12, 1796 (*loc. cit.*); *Pesaro to the Doge, December 31, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 52.

[6] For the popular rejoicing at the prospect of war, see *Pesaro to the Doge on October 1, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

was organized and all able to bear arms were called to the colours. The municipal officials were given military powers and the payment of the troops was put in order. The most radical step was the setting up of a citizen army (*milizia civile*). This new organization was confirmed by a proclamation of September 28th,[1] its purpose being the maintenance of order and the strengthening of the regular troops. The "Senatore di Roma" was placed at its head, and volunteers were invited to report to the chiefs of the "*rioni*". The Pope, it was said in this proclamation, relied on the loyalty and the ardour of his subjects and on the world-famous patriotism of the Romans.[2] These auxiliary troops were to be respected and recognized as fully as the regular army. In a short time the enrolment of volunteers and the supply of equipment reached a gratifying level, the Roman nobility playing a prominent part.[3] Almost inevitably these untrained and in many cases

[1] **Notificazione* of September 28, 1796, the third enclosure in Mendizabal's *report of the same day (*loc. cit.*). The report is in SÉCHÉ (I., 221 *seq.*), who was unable to discover the enclosures (*cf. ibid.*, 332). This order, which was signed by Busca, contains the organization of every two to three Rioni into five battalions of five to seven companies each, also the names of the officers. Further preparations and decrees were reported by *Pesaro to the Doge on October 8, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 40 *seq.*

[2] "*Conta principalmente il Santo Padre nella fedeltà e nello zelo de'suoi amatissimi sudditi e più particolarmente nel patriotismo, di cui tanto lodevolmente si pregia il popolo di Roma" (*loc. cit.*).

[3] *Cf.* "*Nota delle offerte presentate al comando generale a tutto il dì 6 ottobre corrente," enclosed in Mendizabal's report of October 12, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). It contains, for example, the following items: "Contestabile Colonna: un regimento di fanteria di 12 compagnie di fucilieri e 2 di granatieri, vestito ed armato. — Marchese Luigi Ercolani: scudi 450 al mese durante l'armamento per soldo di uno compagnia di 100 teste. — Banchieri Torlonia: una compagnia di cavalleria di 80 teste, vestita, armata e fornita di cavalli: ed offre la sua persona e il ministero del suo banco gratis." There were twenty-four offers in all.—A few days later

undisciplined militiamen caused a great deal of trouble and disappointed many hopes, so that it was found necessary to introduce reforms.[1] At the end of November the new militia, under the command of their general, paraded in the atrium of St. Peter's before the Holy Father, who expressed his great satisfaction with it.[2] Similarly, the blessing of the colours of the various formations of both regular and auxiliary forces were made occasions of solemn ceremonial and the whole city was pervaded by a military atmosphere.[3]

Naturally, in these circumstances the position of the foreigners in Rome became increasingly uneasy. Before long, the Spaniards felt themselves as insecure as the French in the general confusion of the situation, and were at a loss as to what attitude to adopt.[4] The popular excitement was further heightened by the rumour, which in spite of the desires of many persons in Vienna and Naples did not come true, that the Pope was about to declare a Holy War on Bonaparte and was already having Bulls and Briefs of excommunication printed.[5] It was at this juncture that the French applied for

there appeared a "Nota seconda delle offerte" (see *Pesaro to the Doge on October 15, 1796; State Archives, Venice).

[1] Mendizabal to De la Paz, November 2, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 234), and *November 16, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1796 (*ibid.*).

[3] "In hoc signo vinces" was the device on their standards (Mendizabal, January 21, 1797; SÉCHÉ, I., 246; similarly Azara on January 13, 1797, *ibid.*, 250); *Lavaggi on January 7, 1797 (State Archives, Genoa). For the swearing-in of the Colonna Regiment, *cf.* *Pesaro to the Doge on January 14, 1797 (State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 110.

[4] The predicament in which his compatriots were also placed was *reported by Mendizabal on September 14, 1796: "Los Españoles en Roma hoi dia estamos quasi en la misma categoria que los Franceses y nos llaman por no saber que decir Jacobins y fautores suyos" (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* Azara on October 7, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 229).

[5] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, October 5, 1796, and January 4, 1797 (*loc. cit.*). "*Molto sensato e giusto è stato il discorso

their passports to be got ready for departure, and soon afterwards they left Rome,[1] with the exception of Cacault, who stayed on for some time longer.[2]

The Papal army in the meantime had been considerably increased, and by January was 12,000 strong. Detachments were already being dispatched to defend the frontiers of the Papal States. From November onwards particular attention was paid to the defence of the Romagna.[3] As the result of requests made by Albani, the services of General Colli, an officer in the Austrian army, were secured for the supreme command of the Papal forces. Landing at Ancona with several other officers,[4] he went first to the headquarters at Imola,[5] then to Rome, where he was given a jubilant reception and was paid the highest honours. He was fêted, reported

fattole dall' Imperatore relativamente alla guerra di religione, ma non è totalmente vero che non possa esservi più luogo a dichiararla, poiche se i Francesi venissero ad attaccare la Sede ed il centro della religione, non sarebbe mal fondata la determinazione di dichiarare ad essi per questo oggetto la guerra. Non siamo ancora a questo caso, ma non lascia di farmi sorpresa che ora si parli costà con tanta freddezza di una guerra che prima con tanto ardore si richiedeva." (Busca to the nuncio Albani, February 4, 1797; Nunziat. di Germania, 696, Papal Secret Archives.) Pesaro also *reported to the Doge on the Pope's misgivings about a war of religion on October 1, 1796, and on Vienna's insistence *on January 7, 1797 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. Rubino, *loc. cit.*, XV., 39, 111.

[1] Mendizabal to De la Paz, September 28, 1796 (Séché, I., 224).

[2] " *La repugnancia de Cacault a partir de aqui sin que se le mande de una o de otra parte." (Mendizabal to De la Paz, October 5, 1796; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.)

[3] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, November 16, 1796 (*ibid.*). On November 23 he *reported that there were 10,000 men there ready to retake Bologna and Ferrara (*ibid.*). *Lavaggi on November 26 and December 17, 1796 (*loc. cit.*); *Pesaro to the Doge, December 31, 1796, and January 7, 1797 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Mendizabal to De la Paz, December 28, 1796 (Séché, I., 245 *seq.*).

[5] Azara to De la Paz, January 20, 1797 (*ibid.*, 255).

Mendizabal, as though he had already conquered the French.[1]

While the Neapolitans and the English were doing their best to influence public opinion in Italy by the dissemination of war news of all kinds unfavourable to the French [2] Bonaparte made another attempt to achieve his purpose without the shedding of blood. This time he made use of Cardinal Mattei, who on Papal instructions had taken up his quarters at Ferrara as Vice-Legate and Governor, since according to the treaty the Romagna was to be handed back to the Papal States.[3] Bonaparte held him hostage in Brescia, and now Mattei had to go to Rome on the French behalf to urge once more the acceptance of Bonaparte's conditions for peace.[4] Probably Bonaparte hoped in this way to avoid being attacked simultaneously by the Papal States, Naples, and Austria, and possibly also England. Mattei's efforts failed, however, as the majority of the Sacred College had formed itself into a war party under the leadership of Cardinal Albani, and reckoned on strong support from the Emperor.[5] Bonaparte also used Cacault as an intermediary. He gave him full powers to treat with the Papal Government on the basis, it need hardly be

[1] The Cardinal Secretary of State went to meet him and conducted him to the Pope in the Vatican. (Mendizabal to De la Paz, January 25, 1797 ; *ibid.*, 256 *seq.*). In a *Brief of February 4, 1797, he was officially appointed supreme commander of all the Papal troops, subordinate only to the Pope and the Secretary of State. (*Epist.*, A° XXII., fo. 110 *seqq.* ; Papal Secret Archives.) *Cf.* *Pesaro to the Doge, January 21, 1797 (State Archives, Venice).

[2] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, October 12, 19, 26, 1796 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Azara to De la Paz, August 24, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 199). *Cf. ibid.*, 58, and GENDRY, II., 256 *seq.*

[4] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, November 9, 1796 (*loc. cit.*) ; *Lavaggi on October 29, 1796 (*loc. cit.*) ; *Pesaro to the Doge on October 29, 1796 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 46 , GENDRY, II., 267 *seqq.*

[5] Mendizabal to De la Paz, November 2 and 30, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I.; 232 *seq.*, 239) ; *Pesaro to the Doge, November 5, 1796 (State Archives, Venice) ; *cf.* RUBINO, XV., 47.

said, of the aforesaid peace conditions. Cacault accordingly put himself in touch with the Secretary of State, Busca,[1] and the Pope convened a Congregation which, before entering into any further negotiations, demanded fresh proposals from the French Directory. On this occasion, too, a stubborn opposition was offered by Albani's party, so that Cacault was made to wait several weeks for an answer.[2] Finally, on January 22nd, Bonaparte ordered him to leave Rome within six hours. Cacault, whose removal from Rome had long been urged by the Emperor, retired to Florence.[3] Finally, even Azara, usually so self-confident, was at a loss as to which side to take.[4]

The war fever in Rome and the Papal States was increased by the continual news of victories won by the Imperial troops over Bonaparte, though most of these reports proved to be false. But the Roman people believed what they wanted to be true; even educated Romans were misled by reports that had been purposely falsified, whereas practically no attention was paid to the correct ones that told of Bonaparte's victorious advance.[5] After various bodies of troops had set out with the

[1] *Mendizabal to the De la Paz, November 9, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, November 16 and 23 and December 21 (there had been no reply for forty days !), 1796 (*ibid.*), also on December 28, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 245); *Lavaggi on December 31, 1796 (State Archives, Genoa).

[3] Mendizabal to De la Paz on January 11 and February 1, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 247, 262); Azara on January 20 and 27 and February 3, 1797 (*ibid.*, 255 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*, 267 *seq.*); *Pesaro to the Doge, January 7 and 28, 1797 (*loc. cit.*; *cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 111, 113). In the latter dispatch was enclosed a *note from Cacault to Pesaro about his departure. Bonaparte's letter was published by RICHEMONT (*loc. cit.*, 839 *seq.*).

[4] Azara to De la Paz, October 7, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 227).

[5] For the remarkable difficulty experienced by the Romans in believing any report favourable to the French, see Mendizabal's *report of November 16, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome); similarly, his *report of November 23, 1796 (*ibid.*), for the treaty between Naples and Paris and Bonaparte's victories.

Pope's blessing, the first military encounters with the French took place at the beginning of 1797. On January 31st Bonaparte declared war on the Papal States by means of a proclamation.[1] After several victories had been gained over the Austrians [2] the fortunes of war continued to favour the Revolutionary army in the Papal States. After the first battle, on the Senio, it occupied Faenza [3] and then Ancona, where Colli just managed to save himself by taking to flight. Here the

Cf. *Pesaro to the Doge on January 21, 1797 (*loc. cit.*), and Azara to De la Paz on November 2, 1796 ("les Romains ne voulaient nullement y croire"; SÉCHÉ, I., 230). *Cf. ibid.*, 233 (Mendizabal on November 2, 1796), 238 (on November 30, 1796), 261 (Azara on January 27, 1797), and 265 (Mendizabal on February 1, 1797).

[1] GENDRY, II., 271; A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 113. "*Questa invasione dello stato pontificio è stata eseguita dai Francesi senza darne antecedentemente alcun avviso; soltanto dopo aver già effettuata l'invasione della Romagna publicò il generale Bonaparte colle stampe una raccolta di scritture colle quali rende ragione delle sue mosse." This from a report, partly in cipher, from the Cardinal Secretary of State to the nuncio Litta on February 25, 1797. (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A, Papal Secret Archives.)

[2] "*I Francesi hanno riportato una regolata vittoria dall'Armata Austriaca in Italia . . . Bonaparte ha già diviso la sua armata, come vedrà dall'annesso foglio scrittomi da Msgr. Nuncio in Venezia, ed una porzione è destinata per noi, nè credo che questa volta la cosa si riduca a sola minaccia, perche l'improvvisa partenza di M. Cadault da questa capitale è il lampo foriero del tuono." (Busca to Albani in Vienna, January 28, 1797; Nunziat. di Germania, 696, *ibid.*) For the further advance, see Busca's third *dispatch of February 4, 1797, to Albani (*ibid.*).

[3] "*Al loro [the French] ingresso nello stato pontif. la nostra troppa trovavasi accostante (?) in Faenza, si battè bravamente con loro; ma soverchiata dal maggior numero e non assistita dalle masse de' paesani, dalle quali si aspettava soccorso, parte restò sbandata e parte prigioniera, o morta sul campo." (Busca to Litta, February 11, 1797; Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A; *loc. cit.*) *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 272.

Republic of Ancona was set up.[1] Then, at Loreto, what was left of the great pilgrimage treasure was plundered.[2] In most cases the inhabitants of the towns, mindful of the Corsican's threat to punish any armed resistance with fire and plunder, surrendered the keys of the town gates without striking a blow.[3]

In the first weeks of February the ill-tidings had to be taken seriously, even in Rome, where it was realized that the hopes that had been set on Vienna and Naples were not to be fulfilled [4] and that the military situation was rapidly becoming hopeless. Even Colli despaired of saving the Romagna or of regaining it.[5] Congregations of Cardinals followed one after the other, their deliberations for the most part being withheld from the public.[6] Heated disputes took place between the war party, under Albani, and the peace party, under Antici, the former being in a slight majority.[7] The news of the fall of Mantua

[1] Azara to De la Paz, February 18, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 275; *cf. ibid.*, 90).

[2] *Ibid.*, 276; GENDRY, II., 274; MOURRET, VII., 255.

[3] G. GARAVANI, *Urbino e il suo territorio nel periodo françese 1794–1814*, Urbino, 1906, in particular I., 44 *seqq.*, though the author failed to make use here of important *documents in the Archiepiscopal Archives at Urbino. *Cf. Bollettino diocesano di Urbino*, IX. (1922), 34 *seqq.*, 55 *seqq.*, 75 *seqq.*

[4] *Busca to the nuncio Albani in Vienna, third dispatch of February 4, 1797 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696, *loc. cit.*).

[5] " *Il bravo generale Colli mettendo a profitto quel poco che è preparato dall'inattività ed ignoranza del passato comando militare, ha già date e darà dell disposizioni per salvarci. Ma ci salveremo? Il lo spero, ma ne temo." (Busca to Albani, January 28, 1797; Nunziat. di Germania, 696, *loc. cit.*)

[6] The question of the Pope's saving himself by taking to flight was also discussed, the King of Naples having offered his capital as a place of refuge. (*Busca to Litta, February 11, 1797; Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A, *loc. cit.*)

[7] Mendizabal to De la Paz, February 8, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 272). The report was accompanied by a " *Nota de los cardenales que asistieron a la congregacion general delante del papa y votaron por la paz y por la guerra " (Archives of the Spanish Embassy

caused great dismay, high hopes having been held of its resistance,[1] but the acme of consternation was reached when Colli reported that he could no longer rely on the loyalty of his troops, who would refuse to follow him any further.[2] At a decisive meeting of the Sacred College, held on the night of February 11th, it was resolved to empower General Colli to ask for an armistice and to convey the Pope to a place of safety, the place selected being Terracina, on the Neapolitan frontier.[3] All preparations were made, and even the people were expecting the Pope's departure. Other highly placed persons, both clerical and lay, also made ready for flight. But Pius VI. stood firm and refused to listen to any such suggestion, just as he had done in September, 1796, when the Spaniards had placed a frigate at his disposal.[4] In his acute distress his strong faith in God came to his support.[5]

On the following day the members of the Sacred College agreed among themselves to send a delegation to Bonaparte, consisting of Cardinal Mattei, Duke Braschi, Caleppi, and

in Rome): "Por esta fueron los siguientes: Albani, Duque de York, Carafa, Antonelli, Doria, Zelada, Somaglia, Altieri; Pignatelli, Roverella, Rinuccini: se duda del voto de estos: Gerdil: este dixo al dar su voto, que se creería hereje votando por la paz. Por la paz: Antici, Busca, Borgia, Caprara, Carandini, Livizzani, Mattei; Braschi: dudoso."

[1] SÉCHÉ, I., 273.

[2] Azara to De la Paz, February 18, 1797 (*ibid.*, 276).

[3] *Ibid.*, 276 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 92; GENDRY, II., 274 *seq.*

[4] Mendizabal to De la Paz, September 7, 1796 (SÉCHÉ, I., 211), and on *September 14, 1796 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome), with the following note from Busca: "D. Quirinal 9 Settembre 1796. Sua Santità ha comandato al card. Busca di significare al suo rev^mo sig. D. Stefano che resta in di Lei piena libertà il disporre del noto legno come li ordini del suo sovrano gli hanno prescritto non essendosi servizio di Sua Santità che lo possa impedire." Mendizabal remarked on this: "We have done all we could, therefore."

[5] "*In mezzo a tante angustie l'animo del s. Padre si regge ed una ferma e santa fiducia lo sostiene." (Pesaro to the Doge, February 17, 1797; State Archives, Venice.)

Massimi.[1] Their departure was followed by the arrival of the preliminary conditions laid down by Bonaparte as the basis of any kind of negotiation. All the newly enlisted troops were to be disarmed, General Colli and all other Austrian officers were to be dismissed, and these steps were to be publicly announced. Five days were allowed in which to consider these conditions; on their acceptance Bonaparte would be willing to receive the Papal representatives at Foligno.[2]

The situation was so desperate that there was no question of refusing to comply.[3] In consequence Bonaparte invited the Papal representatives to take part in talks at Tolentino, where after a few days, on February 19th, terms of peace were signed.

The atmosphere of political tension in which the negotiations at Tolentino were carried on is described most vividly in Caleppi's reports.[4] General Colli, on his return journey, met Caleppi, and in his despair urged to him to bring about a peace at any price. The Papal agents reached the Corsican's headquarters on February 16th. He received them the same evening with exquisite courtesy and immediately paid them a return visit in person. The Papal party consequently looked forward to the negotiations with every hope.

[1] Azara on February 18, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 278). The negotiations were initiated by a letter from Mattei to General Bonaparte.

[2] SÉCHÉ, *loc. cit.*; *Busca to the nuncio Albani, February 13, 1797 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696; *loc. cit.*). He wrote that Vienna should not take it ill of the Pope to agree, as he was in the direst extremity. He would do all he could to retain Colli in spite of everything.

[3] A *Brief of April 29, 1797, expressed the Pope's sincere regret at having to release the "locum tenente mareschallo Colli" (on February 4 he had been addressed as "pontif. copiarum supremo duci") and assured him of his lasting gratitude (*Epist.*, A° XXII., fo. 128; Papal Secret Archives). Colli's departure "*a Napoli per poi portarsi, come egli ha detto, ai bagni d'Ischia" was reported by Doria to the nuncio Albani on June 24, 1797 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696; *ibid.*).

[4] They were used by RICHEMONT in *Le Correspondant*, CLXXXVIII. (1897), 842 *seqq.*

But in a few days these expectations were grievously disappointed. First, the general complained about the breach of the armistice that had been signed at Bologna, for which he held the Pope responsible. He refused to allow the objections that were made on this score, and as a basic condition for any further negotiation he demanded the complete fulfilment of the Bolognese agreements. The agents were given two hours in which to decide whether they would give in or break with France; any discussion was ruled out. The first alternative was chosen, as may well be imagined, whereupon Caleppi was given the task of drawing up a draft treaty for the following day, Bonaparte insisting on bringing the matter to a speedy conclusion.

Cacault was included in the conversations that took place on February 18th, having been summoned from Florence for the purpose. Caleppi's proposals were rejected in their entirety as being too moderate and his draft was burnt. Bonaparte then drew up far more extensive demands, which included the banishment of Roman nobles and the confiscation of their property; Rome was to be a free harbour for the French alone and, above all, the French were to have the right of the "*esclusiva*" in the conclave, even after the Papal election had been concluded.[1]

As long as the French demands were of an economic or political nature the Papal representatives showed every desire to come to an agreement, but they could not suffer the slightest incursion into the ecclesiastical or religious sphere, and therefore opposed such demands with surprising energy. Though the General steadily increased his threats, they refused to surrender an inch of ground, with the result that unpleasant scenes occurred and the conversation was broken off. In the evening, however, it was resumed on separate points of the treaty and continued till midnight. Ecclesiastical questions were not touched on again.

When the negotiations were coming to a close Caleppi suddenly had misgivings about the advisability of making

[1] *Ibid.*, 844 *seq.*

peace with Bonaparte at such a time.[1] His colleagues, however, overruled his objections and so the treaty was signed on the morning of February 19th. The obligations thus incurred by the Papal States were hard to bear, but Rome and the Holy See had been saved once more and Bonaparte's attempted encroachment on the ecclesiastical domain had been frustrated by Caleppi's firmness.

The treaty, of twenty-six articles,[2] first required the complete fulfilment of the conditions laid down in the armistice of Bologna, in particular the delivery of the objects of art and manuscripts[3]; it then proceeded to demand very much more. Thus, in the treaty the Papal Government definitely revoked every agreement made in alliance against France, it undertook to discharge the military reinforcements it had recently enlisted, and granted the French Republic all the privileges formerly enjoyed in Rome by the Most Christian King. In the matter of territory the Pope formally renounced his claim to Avignon and the Venaissin, and to the three Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; pending the conclusion of a Continental peace, Ancona and its environs were to remain in French hands. The financial obligations, including the sums already due, amounted to 46,000,000 *scudi*; in addition, there were considerable deliveries in kind to be made. France, for her part, undertook to evacuate all other territories she had occupied and to repatriate the prisoners of war.

A courier bringing news of the peace that had been made

[1] *Ibid.*, 846.

[2] Text in SÉCHÉ, I., 104, n. 1; DU TEIL, 545 *seqq.*; VICCHI, 164 *seq.*, with Busca's "Notificazione" of February 24, 1797, in *Bull. Cont.*, V., 3, 2988 *seq.* French caricatures in FUCHS, *Karikatur der europ. Völker* [4], München, 1923, 151, 152. The *original minute, on separate sheets, with Bonaparte's signature, also a fine copy of the treaty with its ratification in brochure form are in the safe in the Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *Cf. Corresp. des Direct.*, XVI., 498; list of art-treasures loaded on vehicles, of April 10, 1797, *ibid.*, 511 *seqq.* and 525 *seqq.*; G. A. SALA, *Diario di Roma*, III., 213 *seqq.*

arrived in Rome on the evening of February 20th.[1] The Roman delegates' state of mind may be judged from the letter from Duke Braschi to the Pope, which the courier also brought with him. "With God's help peace has been concluded. I cannot describe to Your Holiness what we had to contend with and endure in order to obtain it. Suffice it to know that more than once poor Cardinal Mattei threw himself at Bonaparte's feet, fighting for a long time against such terrible conditions for Rome."[2]

The next day the delegation itself arrived in the Holy City and the day after the Pope called a Congregation of Cardinals to ratify the agreement.[3] There was satisfaction at the freedom of Rome and the Church being preserved once more, though at the cost of heavy sacrifices.[4] Whether the Papal States in their exhausted condition were capable of fulfilling their obligations was open to doubt,[5] but certainly France had profited very considerably with comparatively trifling sacrifices and very little effort. Once more, as at Bologna, Bonaparte

[1] Mendizabal to De la Paz, February 23, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 281 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 282.

[3] *Ibid.*, 282 *seqq.*; TAVANTI, III., 307; *Busca to Litta, February 25, 1797 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A; Papal Secret Archives); *Pesaro to the Doge, February 22 and 25, 1797 (State Archives, Venice).

[4] "*La religione è stata quella che principalmente si è avuta in vista, poichè sarebbe stato incalcolabile il danno che ne avrebbe sofferto dalla invasione dell'intero stato pontificio e specialmente della capitale da cui sarebbe stato costretto il papa ad allontanarsi per metter in salvo la dua sacra persona" (*ibid.*).—On March 15, 1797, Duminique wrote from Dresden to the nuncio Della Genga: "Comme la nation française déclare dans toutes les occasions qu'elle est grande et généreuse, elle a donné par cette paix des preuves de ses sentiments sublimes et de sa modération en laissant au moins au St. Père le titre, les sept montagnes, les marais pontins, le Capitole et l'église de St Pierre." *Annal. de St.-Louis des Franç.*, III., 36 *seq.*

[5] Even Azara expressed his doubts about it in his report of February 24, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 288).

had shown that he was more successful as a diplomat than the Directory, which had failed to come to terms with the Papal agents either in Paris or Florence.[1]

At this juncture, too, Azara would have been welcome in Rome as an intermediary in the negotiations with the French,[2] but he stayed on in Florence, declaring that he could not return before Busca had been dismissed from the Secretaryship of State, as he and the Queen of Spain had deeply compromised him in letters that had become well known. It was true that Busca had questioned Azara's integrity in the armistice negotiations and had suggested to the Pope that he was only posing as a mediator and that his sole purpose was to provide the Duke of Parma, the Queen of Spain's brother, with portions of the Papal States. Such a suspicion, in Azara's judgment, could have been whispered into Roman ears by Naples alone.[3] It was communicated by Busca in a letter to the nuncio Albani, in Vienna; the letter was intercepted by the French, who for their own purposes published it.[4] Another and far more weighty accusation was brought against Busca, namely that he had worked for Rome's coalition with Naples and Vienna, which neither Spain nor France could view with indifference.

At first Pius VI. was incensed by Azara's presumption and refused to give way.[5] This attitude he maintained when Busca, on March 9th, referring to Azara's request, asked to be relieved of his office, though definitely stating that he had

[1] "Bonaparte avait si habilement joué tour à tour le rôle du 'tragediante' qui fulmine et du 'comediante' qui caresse, que les hommes du pape étaient partis de Tolentino dépouillés et reconnaissants" (L. MADELIN, *La Révolution*, 462).

[2] Mendizabal reported on March 8, 1797, that the Pope had written to him to invite him back to Rome (SÉCHÉ, I., 297).

[3] *Azara to De la Paz, April 27, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome); *Lavaggi on March 18, 1797 (State Archives, Genoa).

[4] Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 23, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 112 *seqq.*).

[5] The same report (*ibid.*, 301). *Cf.* Azara on March 25, 1797 (*ibid.*, 306).

never entertained thoughts of a foreign alliance without the Pope's knowledge.[1] Pius VI.'s reply on the following day was full of praise of Busca's fulfilment of his duties and his resignation was not accepted.[2] When Busca renewed his request in urgent terms on March 15th,[3] the Pope gave way, giving expression equally to his regret and his esteem and intimating that Busca would be richly rewarded.[4] His successor in office was Cardinal Doria Pamfili, Prince Doria's brother, who at this time especially was rendering important financial assistance to the Holy See.[5]

A month later Azara returned to Rome, where he was given a most cordial reception by the people and the Cardinal Secretary of State, to the disgust of an Anglo-Neapolitan party, which feared a revival of Spanish influence.[6] The former understanding between the Holy See and the Spanish ambassador was restored at a Papal audience at the beginning of May, when all questions were discussed.[7]

In accordance with the peace treaty another Papal representative had to go to Paris to make satisfaction for Bassville's

[1] *Busca to the Pope on March 9, 1797, enclosed in Mendizabal's report of April 10, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] The *Pope to Busca on March 10, 1797 (*ibid.*), with an allusion to the Bourbons' demand for Torrigiani's dismissal in Clement XIII.'s pontificate. *Cf.* *Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 11, 1797 (*ibid.*).

[3] *Busca to the Pope, March 15, 1797 (*ibid.*).

[4] The *Pope to Busca, March 16, 1797 (*ibid.*).

[5] He put, for instance, 6,000,000 of his own funds in Genoa at the Pope's disposal (Mendizabal, on March 2, 1797, in SÉCHÉ, I., 291; and *on April 4, 1797, *loc. cit.*; *Pesaro to the Doge, March 11, 1797, State Archives, Venice). *Cf.* A. RUBINO, *loc. cit.*, XV., 121. For his relations with Spain, *cf.* Azara, on April 25, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 307).

[6] *Azara to De la Paz, April 27, 1797 ("Hace tres dias que estoi en Roma"), Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; *Pesaro to the Doge, April 22, 1797 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] The Pope was moved to tears, reported Azara on May 10, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 311).

murder. The Marchese Massimi was chosen for the purpose, and he stayed on in the French capital as *chargé d'affaires*.[1] To superintend the execution of the treaty, Cacault returned to Rome,[2] where he was given a very friendly welcome by the Pope and subsequently showed himself to be a lenient interpreter of the various agreements, in full accord with Bonaparte, who in contradistinction to the anti-clerical Directory, would gladly have come to terms with Rome on ecclesiastical matters. In August Cacault was replaced as ambassador extraordinary of the Republic to the Holy See by Joseph Bonaparte, the General's brother, formerly *chargé d'affaires* at Parma. At the end of the month he took up his residence in the Palazzo Corsini, in the Lungara, which subsequently became the centre of movements that were anything but pleasing to Rome.[3]

The Papal Court found it far from easy to raise the money demanded.[4] The Pope sold the objects of value that were his personal property, and many of the Papal robes were stripped of their pearls and other ornaments.[5] His example was followed

[1] The two *Briefs of authority for Massimi and his secretary, J. Gorirossi, of June 1, 1797, in *Epist.*, A° XXII/XXIII., fo. 132 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives). The first begins: "Carissimis in Christo filiis nostris civibus Directorii executivi reipublicae Francorum"; the second ends: "... precamur et apost. benedictionem amantiss. impertimur." There was also the observation: "Tanto di questo che dell'antecedente breve ne furono fatti due altri senza l'Apost. Benedizione da presentarsi o gli uni o l'altri secondo venisse concertato a Parigi." *Cf.* *Doria to Gius. Albani in Vienna, June 3, 1797 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696; *loc. cit.*), and *Azara to De la Paz, May 1, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, April 10, 1797 (*ibid.*); *Pesaro to the Doge, February 25, 1797 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* A. Rubino, *loc. cit.*, XV., 120.

[3] *Doria to the nuncio Litta, September 9, 1797 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A, *loc. cit.*); Gendry, II., 281.

[4] Plans for raising money from church property, etc., were reported by *Pesaro to the Doge on February 25, 1797 (State Archives, Venice).

[5] Gendry, II., 280.

in a similar spirit of self-sacrifice by many Cardinals and Roman nobles, with the result that it was found possible to pay the required sums within the prescribed periods.[1] The Papal subjects had to play their part by surrendering their gold and silver in return for paper money.[2] Of the many legislative measures taken for the procurement of money those that exacted heavy taxes from the secular and regular clergy aroused particular attention.[3] In spite of all this, the French were a long time in withdrawing from the provinces they had occupied, and their continued presence there only increased the general impoverishment and distress.[4]

In other ways, too, the occasions for popular discontent grew more numerous every day.[5] Very soon after the conclusion of the treaty, when Cacault, on his departure from Rome, gave a dinner to the French officers and the diplomatic corps, serious disturbances took place and the French were

[1] *Azara to De la Paz, April 1, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome ; A. Rubino, *loc. cit.*, XV., 120 *seq.*).

[2] Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 2, 1797 (Séché, I., 291).

[3] Azara to De la Paz, August 25, 1797 (*ibid.*, 323). On September 10, 1797, Azara *reported on the gloomy economic conditions in Rome and the efforts made to improve them (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] *Pesaro to the Doge, March 18 and 25, 1797 (*loc. cit.*) ; **id.* on April 1, 1797 (they are leaving Umbria at last and are now only in Ancona and the Romagna), and *April 8 (great rejoicing in Umbria at the return of the Papal authorities), *ibid.* *Cf.* A. Rubino, *loc. cit.*, XV., 122.

[5] " *La revolucion quasi completa de Italia se va . . . con una rapidez incredible " (Azara to De la Paz, May 25, 1797 ; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). The Papal States, he continued, are surrounded by democratic republics ; no one can see how they can continue. " Los que conocen el caracter italiano, la rivalidad de unos pueblos con otros, autorizada con la diversidad de goviernos establecida desde tantos siglos, los intereses tan diversos de todas las ciudades, no conciben que este nuevo sistema pueda subsistir mas tiempo que el que lo sostenga la fuerza preponderante que acava de formarlo y preveen una semilla de guerras civiles interminables."

insulted in the streets.[1] Even the Papal civil guard was attacked and disarmed by gangs of ruffians, and plots against the State were discovered.[2] The most serious outbreak took place on the evening of August 1st, in the vicinity of the Quirinal, the Pope's residence.[3] In April, owing to the insecurity of public order, he had abandoned the journey he usually made to Terracina to inspect the drainage works in the Pontine Marshes.[4]

It was at this time, too, that Pius VI.'s physical condition often gave cause for serious apprehension. In May, 1797, it was so disquieting[5] that the possibility of a conclave in the immediate future began to be discussed in diplomatic circles and corresponding preparations were made.[6] Soon, however, Azara was able to report that His Holiness's health had

[1] Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 2, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 292).

[2] *Id.* to *id.*, March 23, 1797 (*ibid.*, 302). On March 18, 1797, Pesaro *reported to the Doge the arrest of thirty revolutionaries (State Archives, Venice ; GENDRY, II., 282).

[3] Azara to De la Paz, August 10, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 320) ; *Doria to the nuncio Litta, August 5, 1797 (Nunziat. di. Polonia 343 A ; Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, April 10, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[5] " La salute del Papa comincia a dar soggetto d'inquietudine ; attaccato da stranguria dovette in questi giorni più volte assoggettarsi alla operazione della siringa : gli fu due volte ripetuta l'emissione di sangue, e qualunque cosa ne dicano i suoi famigliari, la sua avanzata età e questo nuovo incomodo non lascia di cagionar qualche timore delle sue conseguenze." (*Pesaro to the Doge, May 6, 1797 ; State Archives, Venice.) " La salute del Papa ogni giorno va declinando e facendosi sempre maggiore l'infermità da cui è attaccato, non si abaglia a prevedere che vanno a gran passi avvicinandosi gli ultimi giorni della sua vita " (**id.* to *id.*, May 13, 1797 ; *ibid.*).

[6] Azara asked for instructions and discussed them in his report of May 10, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 313). *Cf.* *Lavaggi on May 6, 10, 20, and 27, 1797 (*loc. cit.*), and *Doria, the Secretary of State, to Litta on May 6, 13, and 27 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A ; *loc. cit.*).

improved,[1] though at the end of July an accident in the night brought on another temporary set-back.[2] A ruling of the Spanish Government issued at this time stated [3] that in the event of a Papal election no German or Italian candidate was to be permitted and that a French one was quite out of the question. Azara was to press for the election of a Spaniard, namely the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Lorenzana. On September 25th Azara signified his general compliance with this instruction and reported at the same time that the Pope's health had taken another turn for the worse ; he had already received the Viaticum, had summoned the Sacred College to his side, and had given the necessary orders for the preservation of peace and order.[4] Almost immediately, however, his health began to mend, and by October he was convalescing.[5] Azara took this opportunity of explaining to his Government in a calm and objective manner that its attitude towards the question of a conclave was untenable, for according to a long-standing tradition, which in the present circumstances had more force than ever, it was only an Italian who was likely to be considered.[6]

Soon there were further differences between the Papal Government and Bonaparte. On an application being made in Vienna by Giuseppe Albani, General Provera was sent to the Pope to succeed Colli as the generalissimo of the Papal troops.[7] Through his brother in Rome Bonaparte raised objections to such an appointment, but at first they failed to have the

[1] *Azara to De la Paz, July 1 and 10, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). A slight improvement had been *reported by Pesaro to the Doge on May 20 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Azara's second report of July 25, 1797 (Séché, I., 317). On August 10 he reported him to be better again (*ibid.*, 320).

[3] *De la Paz to Azara, from S. Ildefonso, August 28, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] *To De la Paz, September 25, 1797 (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Doria to Litta, September 30, 1797 (Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*).

[5] Azara to De la Paz, October 10, 1797 (Séché, I., 326).

[6] Azara's second report of October 10, 1797 (*ibid.*, 328).

[7] Azara's first report of the same day (*ibid.*, 327).

desired effect.[1] Other awkward features of the situation were the difficulties raised by Rome about the recognition of the Cisalpine Republic[2] and the military preparations that Naples persisted in making on the frontier of the Papal States,[3] which, in view of the unsettled conditions in northern Italy, were causing apprehension. The latter situation was eased at last by the peace that was signed at Udine on October 17th by Bonaparte and the Austrians, after lengthy negotiations.[4] With the approach of winter the economic situation in Rome grew worse; the value of the paper money was barely sufficient to meet daily needs, commerce was on the point of collapse,[5] and the legal measures that were found necessary were highly unpopular.[6] Another misfortune was the loss of Ancona. By the treaty made with Austria it should have been returned to the Papal States; instead, it declared itself an independent republic.[7]

The numerous elements of discontent in Rome, which were not averse to a revolution, were centred in the Palazzo Corsini, the residence of the French ambassador, who was receiving instructions from the Directory to encourage republican aspirations in the States of the Church.[8] Among the French

[1] *Azara to De la Paz, October 1, 1797 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). Bonaparte threatened to declare war unless Provera and the Austrian officers left the Papal States within twenty-four hours (* Azara to De la Paz, November 25, *ibid.*; GENDRY, II., 283).

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, November 25, 1797 (*ibid.*), and December 25, 1797 (SÉCHÉ, I., 329).

[3] **Id.* to *id.*, September 10 and October 25, 1797 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] **Id.* to *id.*, November 25, 1797 (*ibid.*). For the sale of church property to relieve the distress, *v.* TAVANTI, III., 318. *Cf.* " *Pensieri sulle circonstanze economiche di stato pontif. dell'anno 1797 " (Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome; Fondo Gesuitico, 195, pp. 78 *seqq.*). *Cf.* DUFOURCQ, 13.

[6] *Azara to De la Paz, December 10, 1797 (*loc. cit.*).

[7] **Id.* to *id.*, June 10, November 10 and 25, 1797 (*ibid.*).

[8] How carefully he carried out these instructions and systematically encouraged the revolution is shown in the

emissaries was a General Duphot, who was said to have supplied his followers with money and republican cockades.[1] On learning that revolutionary movements were under way the Papal Government strengthened its patrols in the city and on December 27th there were clashes between the Papal soldiers and the riotous mob, serious injuries being inflicted. Joseph Bonaparte, when offered the leadership of the popular insurrection, maintained a disapproving attitude towards it [2]; nevertheless, on the following day there were further mass meetings, at which there were shouts of: "Long live the Republic! Long live Liberty!" Two men were killed by the Papal patrol and the mob fled for help to the Palazzo Corsini. What precisely happened here has not been definitely established. The reports rendered by Joseph Bonaparte, Azara, and others are not entirely clear and do not agree.[3] What is certain is that General Duphot, who, as the ambassador's future brother-in-law, was staying with him as his guest, appeared among the rioters with a drawn sword, more as an aggressor, therefore, than a mediator. The Papal party tried to disarm him but he made a serious show of resistance, and while making his way through the crowd fell down dead.[4]

**Relazione del card. Antonelli sull'avvenuto in Roma dal 1797 al 1799*, which, though it produces evidence, is strongly prejudiced against the French (Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome; Filza Cappa, XII., 7, 25, pp. 7 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 284).

[1] *Cf.* G. BOULOT, *Le général Duphot 1769–1797* (Paris, 1908); **Relazione del card. Antonelli* (*loc. cit.*); GENDRY, II., 285; SÉCHÉ, I., 166.

[2] BOULOT, *loc. cit.*, 153 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

[3] Bonaparte's report (*ibid.*, 157 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 184 *seqq.*) and Azara's (SÉCHÉ, I., 169 *seqq.*). Full accounts in the letter written by *Doria, the Secretary of State, to the nuncio Litta on December 30, 1797 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A, Papal Secret Archives), and in the **Relazione del card. Antonelli* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 9 *seqq.*). *Cf.* DUFOURCQ, 73–7; G. A. SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 5 *seq.*; SCIOUT, *Le Directoire*, II., 3, 259 *seqq.*; VERRI, *Vicende memorabili*, 339 *seqq.*

[4] The incidents are described in the detailed and well-informed *Memorie storiche sulle principali cagioni e circostanze della*

In the words of a French historian he was " the victim of his own imprudence and impetuosity ".[1]

This unfortunate incident was the start of all the ensuing calamity.[2] Its effect on the Directory in particular was like a spark in a barrel of gunpowder. Massimi, the Papal ambassador in Paris, was put in prison and his papers were seized.[3] Joseph Bonaparte's behaviour was similarly directed towards an open breach with Rome, and in this he was assisted by the injudicious step taken by Doria, the Cardinal Secretary of State who, as soon as the accident occurred, hastened to

rivoluzione di Roma e di Napoli (1800 ; no place of publication), which were probably compiled by Valentinelli (*v.* DUFOURCQ, 570) : " Duphaut più temerario sprezza l'avviso, comanda alle truppe che depongano le armi, e non vendendosi obbedito, vuole aprire la strada ai ribelli fra l'armi. Si avanza. Viene di nuovo a chiare note avvertito. Progredisce ; e i soldati per necessaria difesa, e per non perdere la posizione fanno fuoco su i congiurati. Fu allora, che cadde a terra mortalmente colpito Duphaut, e che sull'ardita e minacciosa sua sciabola in vano tentò sostenersi. Accorre un prete per confessarlo ; ma bruscamente è scacciato dall'agonizzante, che seguitando a pronunciare : fuoco, fuoco, senz'altro indugio rimane morto " (p. 177).

[1] DE LA GORCE, IV., 359. He was honourably buried in Rome on February 8 (*cf.* BOULOT, 258 *seqq.* ; *ibid.*, 220 *seqq.*, the solemn conveyance of the corpse to the capitol).

[2] A Congregation that met on December 29 (DUFOURCQ, p. 80, gives the date erroneously as the 26th) decided on an inquiry, which proceeded slowly. The unskilful letter sent to the Courts is mentioned in the **Relazione del card. Antonelli* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 13 *seq.*) : " Il processo si fece, ma così lentamente che non fu compito se non verso la fin di gennaro. So formò del processo una relazione, ma così sfigurata e tronca, che non meritava che venisse da Roma pubblicata. Si scrisse pure a Parigi e altre Corti, ma si scrisse contanta circospezione e lenocinio, che noi sembravamo i rei bisognosi di giustificazione e di compatimento. Si cercò la protezione di Napoli, ma si passò oltre, e invece de'soliti uffici, vi furono spediti due Legati, il Card. Braschi e Mons^re^ Caleppi, con espressa commissione d'implorare le armi del Re e una dichiarazione di guerra contro i Francesi."

[3] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 185 ; GENDRY, II., 289.

apologize, thereby acknowledging the guilt of the Papal party.[1] The ambassador thereupon asked for post-horses with which to make an immediate departure. All Doria's efforts to appease him failed, and even Azara's personal intercession had no effect. On the following morning the representative of the French Republic quitted the city. Azara was urged by Doria to go after him and persuade him to return, but this he omitted to do.[2]

From this point onwards one event followed another in rapid succession. On January 11th, 1798, a definite order was issued by the French Government to its troops to march on Rome and occupy it.[3] The army accordingly moved southwards, under General Berthier, with orders from Bonaparte to expel the Pope and set up a republic in Rome. The Cardinals besought the Pope to take refuge in Naples, but this he refused to do and remained steadfastly at this post, prepared to endure whatever the future might have in store for him.[4] On February 9th the French occupied Monte Mario and the Ponte Molle,[5] and Berthier received visits from Azara, Duke Braschi, Doria, the Secretary of State, and other high-ranking diplomats.[6] The next day Berthier made known his terms of

[1] GENDRY, II., 287. Nevertheless, Doria relied, too optimistically, on the French Directory's interpreting the situation in an understanding manner and on the intervention of the Catholic monarchs, which he invited. (* Doria to the nuncio Litta, January 6, 1798; Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A, Papal Secret Archives.)

[2] His excuse was "che egli era vietato di mischiarsi ulteriormente negli affari di Roma" (*Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 183). *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 288.

[3] BOULOT, 203 *seqq.* Although the French were only 10,000–20,000 strong, the Papal States were no longer able to withstand them (**Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, pp. 14 *seq.*).

[4] *Doria to Cardinal Antonelli, February 7, 1798: The Pope is determined to remain and desires the Cardinals to do likewise. *Relazione del Card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, p. 46.

[5] SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 12.

[6] GENDRY, II., 282; TAVANTI, III., 344.

capitulation.[1] The demands made for the atonement of the "attack" of December 28th far exceeded all previous ones, so far as payments of money and cession of territory were concerned, and they included the production of four Cardinals and four nobles as hostages and the imprisonment of high prelates and dignitaries.

Naturally the special confidence of the French general was enjoyed by Azara, with whom he discussed all the details of the action he intended to take in the next few days; his desire, he told him, was to occupy Rome without resistance and without bloodshed.[2] In a report rendered at this time Azara proudly relates how he prevailed on Berthier to allow the religious life of the city to continue without the slightest interruption, religious services to be held as before, as though there were no Frenchmen there at all, and the Pope to exercise his priestly functions with complete freedom and to retain his guards and palaces, his soldiers, and his police.[3] He had been able to obtain these favours from Berthier without any great difficulty, as no one could be more humane than he.

The College of Cardinals decided to comply with Berthier's conditions. On February 10th the surrender of Rome to the French revolutionary army was signed and executed. An edict issued by the Secretary of State had already threatened with the death penalty anyone who molested the French.[4] Everything possible was done to maintain public order. Azara, who now acknowledged that he was a friend of the French, exhorted the Spaniards in Rome to behave sensibly. In his reports to Madrid he was full of praise for Berthier's behaviour and referred sarcastically to the lethargy and pious helplessness of the Romans.[5]

[1] For what follows, see *Azara to De la Paz, February 10–12, 1798 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). The twenty-one articles of the capitulation are in GENDRY, II., 293 *seq.*

[2] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 190.

[3] *Cf.* also *Azara to De la Paz, February 21, 1797 (*loc. cit.*).

[4] Doria's edict of February 9, 1797, in *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 196–8. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 296.

[5] On February 10–12 Azara *reported to De la Paz on the large-

Presumably Berthier purposely chose February 15th, the anniversary of the Pope's election, as the day on which to carry out the revolution, in accordance with his orders. Hitherto he had not said a single word about it.[1] After the ecclesiastical celebration of the anniversary the seven Cardinals who had taken part in it were kept under surveillance by a French officer in the Secretary of State's apartments, while the French troops entered the city, joined up with the revolutionary conspirators, and in the presence of a vast crowd erected a tree of liberty on the Capitol.[2] Here a document was read, announcing the deposition of the Pope as a temporal sovereign and the erection of a Roman republic. In the afternoon Berthier, with a military escort, made his entry into the city, where he was received by the people in silence.[3] On the Capitol he made a speech in which he recognized, in the name of the French Republic, the new political order.[4]

Pius VI., who was again suffering from his physical ailments, received the first report of these events with calmness and composure. In the evening he was officially informed by the commandant of the city, General Cervoni, that the Roman people, disgusted with the abuse of political power, had decided to regain possession of its sovereignty and its freedom

scale demonstrations of the Romans' piety, which he interpreted as lethargy. This, for instance, was how he judged a procession of over 150,000 participants (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). For the processions, etc., that took place between January 16 and the beginning of February, see **Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, pp. 15 *seq.* *Cf.* DUFOURCQ, 81 *seq.*

[1] Some hesitant attempts at a revolution had been made on February 11. See **Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, p. 21.

[2] In the ensuing narrative use has been made of *Azara's letter to De la Paz, of February 16, 1798 (*loc. cit.*), and especially the **Relazione* (pp. 22 *seqq.*) cited on p. 329, n. 8; also SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 28–32; BALDASSARI, *Gesch. der Wegführung und Gefangenschaft Pius' VI.*, ed. F. N. Steck, 166 *seqq.* *Cf.* DUFOURCQ, 99 *seqq.*

[3] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 208.

[4] BOULOT, 214 *seq.*

and had set up a government of its own. As the protectress of the freedom of all peoples, the French nation had not been able to oppose this urgent desire. The Pope's person was inviolable and he could continue to exercise his spiritual functions as the first Bishop of the Church. To these fine words Pius VI. replied that he respected the inscrutable designs of divine Providence.[1] Thereupon the Quirinal and Vatican were occupied, the archives and offices were taken over, and the Pope was declared to be in protective custody.[2]

Azara's report of February 16th speaks in solemn words of the "epoch in world history" initiated by the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope and the resurrection of the Roman republic.[3] Azara had not been entirely free of responsibility for these events, but even he began to feel a little uneasy when the revolutionaries planted a tree of liberty outside his windows and proclaimed that they were fighting not only against the Pope but against all sovereigns.[4] He had the guards outside his residence doubled and kept away from the anniversary celebrations in St. Peter's; he even tried to dissuade Cardinal Lorenzana from attending them, though it was his duty to do so. He comes to the conclusion in his report that the whole affair was nothing but a comedy played by the French Republicans, in which the harmless Roman

[1] GENDRY, II., 299; VERRI, *Vicende memorabili*, 351; *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 207; SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 32.

[2] "*Memorie di A. Galimberti dell'occupazione francese in Roma, 16 febbr. 1798," fo. 12, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, cod. 44–5.

[3] "*Me determino a avisar a V.E. con extraordinario la gran crisis por la qual hubimos de pasar y el nuevo orden de cosas en que nos hallamos, que hará época en la historia del mundo, pues ayer fue destruido el imperio temporal de los Papas y resucitada la republica Romana aunque mui diferente de la antigua" (Azara to De la Paz, February 16, 1798; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[4] "*Algunos facciosos habian tenido la insolencia de plantar el arbol de la libertad delante di mi casa y predican horrores no solo contra el papa sino contra todos los soberanos" (*ibid.*).

people took very little interest. He could not help paying tribute to the Pope's courage and resolution.[1]

But the Pope had yet to undergo the heaviest blow: expulsion from the Vatican and the Eternal City. On February 17th he was informed that he would have to leave Rome within three days. Azara relates[2] how the commissary Haller put troops into the Papal palace and then presented himself to the Pope, whom he informed that he could go to Tuscany. Provision would be made for the journey and his maintenance. The Pope replied with astonishing composure that they could do what they liked with him, but he would neither leave Rome nor desert his Church.[3] It was not till Haller and Cervoni threatened to use force that he gave way. His wish to be allowed to choose Naples as his place of exile had been refused.[4] Although he was seriously ill he discussed his departure with Cardinals Doria, Gerdil, and Antonelli. He imparted all necessary powers to the members of the Sacred College who were staying behind, and at Antonelli's suggestion he nominated a special Congregation under the latter's presidency, consisting of two members of each of the three cardinalitial ranks.[5]

[1] " *Todo esto en el fondo no ha sido mas que una comedia, pues yo puedo asegurar a V.E. que este pueblo no ha hecho mas ni meno de lo que los Franceses le hán dictado, baxo mano, los quales tenian por instruccion de democratizar a Roma sin comparecer que la democratizaban . . . El Papa ha tomado la cosa de una manera que se podria llamar valor en otra persona y circunstancias " (*ibid.*). The point was made in the *Memorie storiche* (*loc. cit.*, 204) that of the 190,000 inhabitants of Rome only 500 had taken part in the revolution.

[2] *To De la Paz, February 16 and 21, 1797 (*loc. cit.*). *Cf.* BALDASSARI, 184 *seqq.*

[3] " *El Papa ha respondido con una gran presencia de animo que hagan d'el lo que quieran, que no se moverá de Roma ni abandonará su Iglesia " (Azara on February 16, 1797, *loc. cit.*).

[4] **Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, pp. 23 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 303 *seq.*

[5] *Azara to De la Paz, February 21, 1797 (*loc. cit.*); GENDRY, II., 304.

It was February 20th, 1798. Long before daybreak Pius VI. heard Mass and afterwards enclosed the Blessed Sacrament in a small case which he hung round his neck. Eighty years old, frail, and mortally sick, he entered the travelling carriage that awaited him in the Cortile di San Damaso. He was accompanied by two clerics, the Maestro di Camera Caracciolo and the ex-Jesuit Marotti, and his physician Tassi. An hour before sunrise the party left Rome unnoticed, attended only by some French officers in another carriage.[1] Tears came to his eyes as he saluted for the last time the church of St. Peter and the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles.[2] It was exactly a year and a day since the conclusion of the peace of Tolentino, which he had hoped in vain would spare his beloved Rome the worst indignity. Now he was to leave St. Peter's city as an exile, under cover of darkness, and leave it for ever.[3] Siena was reached in five daily stages, and here he was at first accommodated in the convent of the Hermits of St. Augustine.[4]

Of the Cardinals, thirteen stayed on in Rome for a time, while as many others had either left already or did so now.[5] Of the first-mentioned six were placed under arrest, together with other high dignitaries, in a former convent on March 8th,[6]

[1] See the **Relazione* cited on p. 329, n. 8, and **Memorie di A. Galimberti* for February 20, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 19); BALDASSARI, 197 *seqq.*; SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 46 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 305 *seq.*; DE LA GORCE, IV., 359 *seq.*; MOURRET, VII., 258.

[2] RINIERI, *Il Caporale Trasteverino*, Roma, 1904, 406.

[3] The last volume of the index to Pius VI.'s *Epist.*, A° XXII./XXIII., fo. 210 *seqq.*, closes with the numerous *Briefs of February 3, 1798, addressed to German princes, to whom he commended the cause of the Church at the Congress of Rastatt. The last *Brief to the nuncio Della Genga "facultatem tribuit ad publicas faciendas protestationes si necesse fuerint in congressu Radstadiensi" (*ibid.*, fo. 218; Papal Secret Archives).

[4] *Cf.* below, p. 356.

[5] GENDRY, II., 309.

[6] Their subsequent vicissitudes were related by one of their number, Cardinal Antonelli, in his **Relazione* (pp. 27 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*). *Cf. Memorie storiche* (*loc. cit.*, 250 *seq.*) and SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 90.

three more were expelled, and two lay sick. To the great distress of the Pope, Cardinals Altieri and Antici asked to be relieved of their high ecclesiastical offices. In a letter of March 7th, 1798, Antici gave as the grounds of his application his advanced age and utter physical debility and the desire to spend the evening of his life in peace and spiritual recollection.[1] Altieri, on March 12th, wrote to the Pope of the impossibility of fulfilling his cardinalitial duties any longer. Shortly afterwards, on the insistence of the Roman consuls, he followed this up with a second letter in which his appeal for leave to resign was stated in more definite terms.[2] As the Pope was not at first inclined to accede to these requests he supported his appeal with two theological opinions, the soundness of which, however, was contested by Monsignore Spina.[3] Antici, however, behaved as though he had already been relieved of his rank.[4] Cardinal Antonelli, who interceded on behalf of his two colleagues, tried to allay the Pope's misgivings, which apart from the lack of canonical grounds were due to the fear that other members of the Sacred College would adopt this means of escaping persecution.[5] Of the two appellants, he would have parted more readily with Antici, but both cases had to be treated alike. After months of resistance the Pope agreed to give way.[6] In two Briefs of

[1] BALDASSARI, 246 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 248 *seq.*

[3] Pius VI. to Antonelli, April 14, 1798, in E. CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 484.

[4] "*Antici que vive ahora aqui como un simple privado." (Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 25, 1798; Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome; MOURRET, VII., 274).

[5] "*Sua Santità mi argomenta sempre contro con la mancanza della causa canonica a rinunciare e col cattivo esempio che si darebbe" (Spina to Antonelli, June 22, 1798, *Relazione del card. Antonelli*, *loc. cit.*, fo. 113). *Cf. ibid.*, fo. 66: *Archbishop Zondadari to Antonelli, April 15, 1798.

[6] Spina *wrote to Antonelli on September 1, 1798, that Antici's Brief was ready and approved and that only the signature was needed. A similar Brief was being prepared for Altieri, and the

September 7th, 1798,[1] he acknowledged the validity of the grounds adduced and declared that the two Cardinals were no longer wearers of the red hat. At the same time he definitely denied them the right to attend the next conclave. Altieri died soon afterwards, but Antici, as soon as the political situation in Italy had been changed by the victory of the Austrians, entertained the notion of regaining his cardinalitial rank and insignia and even of demanding admission to the conclave at Venice.[2]

The six Cardinals lying under arrest in Rome, after being urged without success to resign their rank of their own accord, were taken on the night of March 10th, under military escort, like malefactors, to the Dominican convent at Civitavecchia. Here they were allowed to move about in two corridors and the refectory, but not in the church or staircase. Later, the Prior obtained for them permission to say Mass. The colony was soon increased by the arrival of another party, which included Cardinals Consalvi and Barberi, who had been confined in the Castel S. Angelo. On March 23rd, however, they were all set at liberty, each having to choose a place of residence (to be reached by sea) outside the Roman Republic.[3]

In consonance with the talk in Paris of freeing the descendants of Brutus from the tyranny of fanaticism, Berthier's speech on the Capitol was full of turgid reminiscences of ancient times: "Manes of Cato, Brutus, and Cicero, accept the homage of free Frenchmen on the Capitol, where you so

affair would presumably be concluded in a few days (*ibid.*, fo. 125).

[1] *Both Briefs, addressed to all the Cardinals, are in the *Epist. ad princ.*, 194, fo. 64 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. German translation in BALDASSARI, 484 *seqq.*

[2] BALDASSARI, 252.

[3] *Cf.* for the whole affair, GENDRY, II., 312 *seq.*; SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 123 *seq.* In July, 1798, according to a statement in the Papal Secret Archives (Epoca Napoleonica, Italia, 1, 1) ten Cardinals were resident in Naples, twenty-nine in other parts of Italy, and nine in other countries, including four French *émigrés* (*v. Archivio Romano*, XXXVI. [1913], 495).

often defended the rights of the people and celebrated the Roman Republic! These sons of the Gauls, with the olive branch of peace in their hands, will re-erect on this hallowed spot the altars of freedom that were set up of old by the first Brutus. And you, citizens of Rome, who are recovering your lawful rights, remember the blood that flows in your veins! Turn your eyes to the monuments of glory that surround you! Regain your ancient greatness and the virtues of your fathers!" [1]

As in every revolution, these phrases were followed by a reality that in many respects was well up to the standard of the Reign of Terror.[2] The new government was based on military force. All suspicious persons were condemned to death and any French *émigrés* who had not already escaped were expelled.[3] Day after day a fresh crop of ordinances and announcements was issued by the new Government.[4] For the maintenance of public order a National Guard was formed. The mob flocked to the great popular festivals in the Piazza di S. Pietro, where it listened with enthusiasm to high-flown speeches about the golden age that had just begun.[5] A month later there was a huge festival of brotherhood in the piazza, attended by representatives of every district of the new republic.[6]

But quite a time was to pass before the people was allowed to govern itself. The new constitution had little of the antique about it; it was modelled rather on the French pattern of the year III.[7] The only indication of the promised revival of

[1] DUFOURCQ, 106 *seq.*

[2] MADELIN (*La révolution*, 507) calls the Roman Republic "Une exploitation désordonnée".

[3] GENDRY, II., 301.

[4] **Relazione del card. Antonelli* (*loc. cit.*, p. 23).

[5] GENDRY, II., 302; **Memorie di A. Galimberti*, for February 23, 1798 (*loc. cit.*).

[6] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 25, 1798 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). Illustration in MALAMANI, *Canova*, 63.

[7] The comparison is developed by SCIOUT (*Le Directoire*, II., 3,

ancient Rome was some unimportant modifications, the most notable of which were some badly chosen official titles. Thus, at the head of the new State were five consuls, and the legislative power was vested in two chambers, the Tribunal, with seventy-two members over twenty-five years of age, and the Senate, with thirty-two members over thirty-five years.[1] Paying no attention to democracy, General Masséna, the successor of Berthier, who was recalled to Paris, appointed the consuls and most of the representatives of the people according to his own judgment.[2] Further, for the time being at least, the French generalissimo, who received direct instructions from Paris, was to control the consuls.[3] The division into Departments [4] and the revolutionary calendar were also introduced from France.

The French troops, not having received any pay for a long time, failed to live up to their rôle of popular benefactors and soon deteriorated into plunderers. The French showed themselves to be adept at systematically robbing Rome of its unique wealth of art treasures accumulated in the course of 2,000 years.[5] Paris, the capital of the great Republic, was to be the artistic as well as the political centre of the West; Rome, therefore, had to surrender the treasures assembled there by emperors, Popes, and aristocrats.

The delivery of works of art and manuscripts had been demanded by Bonaparte at Bologna and Tolentino. The cities of northern Italy had already been despoiled. Correggio's works were moved to France from Parma; Modena, Ferrara, and Verona had to make their contributions; the works in silver from the churches in Milan were partly melted down, partly transferred to Paris; Bologna lost over 500 valuable

299 *seqq.*). *Cf.* G. Garavani, *La costituzione della repubblica romana* (Fermo, 1910, 39–59).

[1] Dufourcq, 171.

[2] *Ibid.*, 109; Sciout, 304.

[3] Sciout, *ibid.*

[4] They are listed in Sala, *Diario di Roma*, I., 87.

[5] For the systematic plundering of Rome by its "liberators" see Dufourcq, 114–18, *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 211 *seqq.*

manuscripts, and in Venice hands were laid on the treasury of St. Mark's.

And now it was the turn of Rome. In March–July 1798, the plundering was carried on with feverish activity. On one day alone a long procession of 500 horse-drawn vehicles, under a strong military guard, was seen leaving the city.[1] It contained an immense number of antique sculptures and Renaissance paintings that France was appropriating in accordance with the peace of Tolentino. They included the Laocoon group, the Belvedere Apollo, the Dying Gaul, Cupid and Psyche, Ariadne on Naxos, the Medici Venus, and the colossal figures of the Tiber and the Nile; tapestries and paintings by Raphael, including the Transfiguration, the Madonna di Foligno, and the Madonna della Sedia; Titian's Santa Conversazione; and many other works. It was not till several years after that these stolen treasures were exhibited in the Musée Napoléonien in the Louvre, which was opened in 1807. After Napoleon's downfall most of these works, together with other trophies of his, were returned to their former places.[2]

The losses in precious metals and stones were equally extensive; everything that could be carried was taken by the French to their own country. All the churches [3] and palaces

[1] RINIERI, *Il Caporale Trasteverino*, 76 *seq.* Satirical *sonnet "Per il trasporto delle statue di Roma in Francia" in the Bibl. Comunale at Forli (*cf.* MAZZATINTI, *Inventari*, I., 51).

[2] *Cf.* HAUTECOEUR, *Rome et la Renaissance*, 259–270.

[3] They included the national churches of other countries, such as the Spaniards. Azara complained about it in his *reports to De la Paz on February 21, 1798. On March 10 he *reported that the French agreed to return him so little that he preferred to let them have it as a gift and as a mark of Spanish friendship. The efforts made to have the national churches excepted from the general taxation of churches was *reported by Mendizabal on April 10, 1798 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). *Cf.* SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 76, 83 *seq.*, 92, 103, 242 *seq.* (St. Peter's, *cf.* 250), 257 *seq.*, 135 (also in the provinces), 161 *seqq.* (the general result), II., 86 *seq.*, 122, 125; for the sale of churches,

were stripped. On one day, under the direction of the Papal Captain Crispoldi, gold and silver bars to the value of 15,000,000 *scudi* were taken away in coffers. They had been abstracted from the Castel S. Angelo, the Monte, and the properties of the Cardinals and patricians. At the beginning of April pearls and precious stones valued at 4,000,000 *scudi* were taken off to France; they included 386 diamonds, 333 emeralds, 692 rubies, 208 sapphires, and many other stones. Most of them came from the famous tiaras of Popes Julius II., Paul III., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII. On July 8th 500 of the most valuable manuscripts were surrendered, at the loss of which Cardinal Borgia and Monsignori Marini and Caracciolo were said to have wept like children.[1] A week later a vast herd of 1,600 horses trotted out of Rome, destined for the French army in Italy.[2]

The Romans watched with silent grief the removal of the treasures that had been so proudly preserved,[3] the wanton damage done in the gardens and collections of the Vatican and the great private libraries,[4] the sale by auction at pitifully low prices of the treasures belonging to the Pope, the Cardinals, the Villa Albani,[5] the Farnesina, and other houses; some of

ibid., II., 40, 45; for the German national church, the Anima, II., 92 *seq.* For the plundering of the Roman churches, *v.* the **Memorie di Ant. Galimberti* for March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and October 29, 1798 (Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, Cod. 44–5).

[1] RINIERI, 407. Coins were removed by the hundred (see F. GNECCHI, *Appunti di numismatica romana*, LXIV.: *I medagli exvaticani*, in *Riv. stor. di numismat.*, XVIII., 1905, 11 *seqq.*). For Canova's grief at the robbing of the Vatican Library and numismatic collection, *v.* O. MALAMANI, *Canova*, 63.

[2] RINIERI, 78 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 80 *seq.*

[4] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 268 *seq.*; SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 156, 180; *ibid.*, 174, the Pope's private library.

[5] *Memorie storiche*, 292; SALA, *loc. cit.*, 126 *seq.*; CABANIS in *Chronique médiévale*, I. (1907), 287 (Winckelmann's journey to Paris, and Christine of Sweden's to Montpellier). *Mendizabal to De la Paz, April 10, 1798 (*loc. cit.*).

them passed into Jewish hands in the ghetto.[1] It was even proposed to blow up the Castel S. Angelo, carry off the obelisks, and remove Raphael's frescoes from the Stanze.[2]

This vandalism on the part of a civilized nation is unique in history and is one of the blackest crimes committed by the French Republic.[3] This colossal robbery, combined with the economic and financial oppression of the Roman people, which became more and more intolerable, aroused the greatest popular indignation, resulting in several outbreaks that had to be quelled by force of arms.[4] To support and superintend the steps taken by General Masséna, the Directory set up a military commission of four members in Rome, and Masséna become nothing more than an executive instrument.[5] The exploitation of the people, however, went on worse than ever.[6] After a time Masséna was disliked by his own troops, and the commissioners had to devise means of checking a threatened

[1] The properties of the Santo Uffizio, for instance, were sold for 2,000,000 *scudi*, those of the Collegium Germanicum-Hungaricum for 260,000 (*Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 270), the rest of the collection of cameos belonging to Trinità de' Monti for 100 *scudi* (*ibid.*, 286). For the Jewish retail trade, see SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 155.

[2] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 269 ; RINIERI, 142.

[3] SALA, *Diario di Roma*, I., 127 (March 27, 1797) : " Un'invasione di Goti o di Unni e anco un saccheggio de' più solenni ci avrebbe recato minor danno, di quello che risentiamo dalla pacifica dimora di questi Eroi liberatori del genere umano."

[4] *Cf. Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.* (Trastevere), 296, 298, 299 (at various other places), 300 (defeat at Terracina) ; SALA, *loc. cit.*, 187 *seq.*, 192. The **Memorie di A. Galimberti* for February 27, 1798 (*loc. cit.*), tell of the shooting of twenty rebels in the Piazza del Popolo ; *cf.* **ibid.*, for March 1, 1798 (return of the victorious troops from Albano and Velletri). *Cf.* **Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, p. 26 ; GENDRY, II., 298 ; MOURRET, VII., 276.

[5] RINIERI, 469.

[6] *Ibid.*, 480 ; *ibid.*, 488, various savage crimes committed by the French soldiers.

mutiny.[1] When both officers and soldiers refused to obey him Masséna fled from Rome, and the commissioners, having declared that they would have nothing more to do with him received fresh and more extensive powers from Paris.[2]

It soon became apparent that with the surrender of Rome insupportable obligations had been laid on a State which had already been severely weakened by the treaties of Bologna and Tolentino.[3] Both private and public resources were exhausted and plundered to such an extent that even the commissioners reported on the financial incapacity of the Roman State. The paper money, which had long been the sole form of currency, was apparently about to share the fate of the French *assignats*.[4] Domestic life was ruined, financially and otherwise, by the incessant quartering. Religious houses were converted into barracks and subjected to exorbitant taxes, and 200 of them were dissolved.[5]

For strangers, too, residence in Rome was anything but pleasant. Everyone, including the Auditors of the Rota and the Generals of religious orders, had to furnish the Government with personal particulars. The diplomatic representatives began to feel unsafe. Fuming with indignation at the continual infractions of international law, Azara, in March 1798, decided to leave Rome and retire to Florence.[6] Almost as

[1] There were several mutinies against him. Details in DUFOURCQ, 123 *seqq.*

[2] *Azara to De la Paz, March 10, 1798 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome). The commissaries' announcement was reproduced by SCIOUT in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXXIX. (1886), 159 *seq.*

[3] In addition there was the secret agreement on Rome's financial obligations made on 8th Germinal, VI. (SCIOUT, *Directoire*, II., 3, 307 *seqq.*).

[4] DUFOURCQ, 193 *seqq.*

[5] *Memorie storiche, loc. cit.*, 285. *Cf.* SALA, *loc. cit.*, 200, 208.

[6] *Azara to De la Paz, March 10, 1798 (*loc. cit.*). He went off without instructions on March 13. *Cf.* *Mendizabal to De la Paz, March 25, 1798 (the MS. has, erroneously, 1797), *ibid.*

soon as he arrived there he was offered the post of Spanish ambassador in Paris, which he accepted.[1] While occupying this position, too, he remained a lifelong supporter of "Enlightenment".

In their bitter disillusionment the Romans turned for help to Naples.[2] In October 1798, King Ferdinand IV. did request the French to leave Rome but, of course, without result. In consequence, on November 14th, the Neapolitan Government issued a proclamation to the Roman people, but it failed to have the desired effect on the French. Thereupon General Mack, with Neapolitan troops, opened hostilities and advanced rapidly to the gates of Rome, where there were further popular disturbances.[3] The French now retired from the city and the Neapolitans entered it on November 29th, to the great joy of the people.[4] In a declaration of December 3rd the city was asked to put its complete confidence in the King of the Two Sicilies. But all this was only a brief interlude. After seventeen days the French, having obtained reinforcements, stormed Rome and pursued the South Italians to Naples, which fell to them on January 23rd, 1799.[5] Hardly had they established a new republic there when a general insurrection blazed up in Italy, Rome taking its share.[6] As in the Tyrol and Spain, the popular movement against the predatory French and their impious republic was of a strongly religious character. The Austrian declaration of war in March, 1799, impaired the situation of the French troops, who could no longer hold their

[1] *Mendizabal to De la Paz, April 10, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[2] For the origin of the Franco-Neapolitan war, *v.* DUFOURCQ, 338 *seqq.*

[3] MOURRET, VII., 276.

[4] De la Paz's *report of December 10, 1798 (*loc. cit.*); Lavaggi's *report of December 7, 1798 (State Archives, Genoa). SALA (II., 232) relates how, as soon as the French had withdrawn, the people shattered the monument to Duphot which had been erected on the Capitol.

[5] MOURRET, VII., 277.

[6] *Cf.* DUFOURCQ, 490 *seqq.*

ground. The rising was led by Naples, and the French soon had to quit Rome for the second time. But it was not till July, 1800, that the successor of St. Peter, now bearing the title Pius VII., could re-enter the Eternal City. In the meantime his predecessor had had to drink the chalice of exile to the last bitter drop.

CHAPTER IX.

The Renewal of the Persecution of the Clergy in France—Pius VI.'s Last Journey and His Death in Exile.

(1)

The further sufferings and humiliations undergone by the head of the Church, already sorely tried, after his banishment from Rome, were connected with the change brought about in French politics by the *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor. The years in which the ecclesiastical recovery was, if not actually encouraged, at least not impeded, were followed by another period of persecution, called by many French historians the "Second Terror".

The personal and political differences of opinion among the five members of the Directory had long been threatening to break out into an open rupture. The more lenient and conciliatory attitude, which extended to religious questions, held by Carnot and Barthélemy, was opposed by that of the three other directors, Barras, Larevellière, and Rewbell, who still adhered to the radical traditions of the Convention and the Terror.[1] A resolution passed by the Five Hundred on August 24th, 1797, revoking all the laws against non-jurors, decided them to take definite action.[2] Carnot, with his superior intelligence and the support he received from the broad masses of the people (for which he was envied by his colleagues in office), could perhaps have averted the change that threatened, but he hesitated too long and thus condemned the more moderate party in the Parliament to a waiting policy of inactivity.[3]

The radical party, on the other hand, provoked by Carnot's

[1] Sciout, *Constit. civ.*, IV., 576.
[2] Aulard, II., 546 *seq.*
[3] Sciout, *Constit. civ.*, IV., 580 *seq.*

intransigence,[1] worked itself up into a feverish activity which caused public apprehension of imminent disturbances. The views of the three revolutionary Directors developed into a definite plan of campaign, which was finally decided on at a secret meeting with their supporters in the Ministries on September 3rd, 1797.[2] It was to be put into effect with the help of the military on the following day, the famous 18th Fructidor of the year V.

Bodies of troops marshalled together in the capital and placed at first under the command of General Augereau, occupied the headquarters of the most important civil authorities and corporations and the strategic points in the city.[3] In the morning the astonished Parisians were informed of the alleged discovery of a royalist plot, in which even the highest Government circles were involved. This justified the military measures and the guarding of all the streets, and the opposition, which sensed immediately that these measures were aimed at them, found it impossible to organize themselves in any way or to offer any resistance.[4] At the same time steps were taken to arrest the moderates. Carnot escaped his fate by taking to flight in good time, whereas Barthélemy fell into the hands of spies. Their party adherents in both Chambers were also arrested and interned in the Temple. To maintain public order threats of severe punishment were issued.[5]

The moderate party having been rendered harmless, the other representatives of the people, at the command of the three remaining members of the Directory, met in session, the Council of the Five Hundred in the Odéon, the Council of the Ancients in the School of Medicine. Under pressure of the Government, they approved of the action it had taken and

[1] De la Gorce, IV., 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, 217.

[3] Documents on the part played by Augereau in Pierre, *18 Fructidor*, 72–9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 217 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 219 *seq.* For the subsequent fate of the arrested men, see Sciout, *Le Directoire*, II., 3, 1 *seqq.*

appointed a commission of councillors to prepare the necessary legislative proposals.[1]

At midnight on this eventful day the deputies assembled in a new plenary session and deliberated the whole night long on the proposed legislation. The ruthless measures they evolved [2] annulled the parliamentary elections of no less than forty-nine Departments, condemned to deportation the two Directors together with forty-two members of the Council of the Five Hundred and eleven of the Council of the Ancients, reintroduced all the laws of banishment affecting the clergy,[3] and further enacted that every priest suspected of intrigues against the State was, after individual condemnation, to suffer the same penalty.

When these resolutions were laid before the Council of the Ancients in the early hours of the morning it tried to defer their ratification as long as possible, but in the afternoon a definite order came from the Directory to vote on them immediately. Fifteen members voted in favour of them, seven against. The way was now clear for the radical Directory to give vent to its arbitrary anti-clericalism.[4]

Another important measure was the imposition on the clergy of a fresh oath " against the monarchy and anarchy ".[5] Although the Pope expressed his disapproval of this renewal of political oppression of the French priests,[6] many of them took the required oath, if not in such large numbers as in the autumn of 1795.[7] But as in many cases the authorities presumed that the priests still in France had already taken the

[1] Sciout, *Constit. civ.*, II., 582 *seq.* ; this session of the Council is described in Pierre, *loc. cit.*, 47–58.

[2] Aulard, II., 550 ; Sciout, *Constit. civ.*, IV., 584 *seqq.*

[3] Only one deputy, Laujeaq, representing Lot-et-Garonne, refused to be intimidated and spoke on behalf of the priests. De la Gorce, IV., 224.

[4] *Ibid.*, 226.

[5] *Ibid.*, 233 ; Pisani, *L'église de Paris*, III., 259.

[6] *Cf.* Baldassari, 290 *seq.*, and 290, n. 2 ; Pisani, *loc. cit.*, 264.

[7] Aulard, II., 551 ; Pierre, *Déportation*, xxvi *seqq.* ; Pisani, *loc. cit.*, 260 *seqq.*

former oaths of the Revolution, the new one was of practical importance only for the adherents of the constitutional schism.[1]

More important in actual effect was the reintroduction of the deportation laws, which meant the arrest of all the priests who had been left at liberty on account of old age, illness, or other reasons, and the re-expulsion of all who had returned from exile. Once again, therefore, there was a stream of fugitive priests making their way into neighbouring states.[2]

In addition, penalties were enforced against priests alleged to be dangerous to the State, to an extent that was hardly realized at first. The arbitrary nature of the action taken against them [3] was justified in individual cases on the grounds that they had refused to take the oath, that they had slighted Republican laws and institutions, and that they were "fire-brands of fanaticism". Any exercise of ecclesiastical functions or duties rendered them guilty of this last condemnation.[4] Nor were the Constitutional clergy spared [5]; the only cults that had nothing to fear were atheistic or pantheistic ones, of a Rousseauesque tinge,[6] especially philanthropy and the cult of the "*Décade*", which was now put into practice by the State.[7] The inmost character of the French Revolution, with its ideological content, was thus unmasked.[8] The practice of Christian beliefs was obstructed by the greatest difficulties and numerous harsh restrictions.[9]

Soon the Directory exceeded its own ordinances by taking collective measures as well as condemning individuals.[10] Thus,

[1] Sciout, *Directoire*, II., 3, 155.
[2] De la Gorce, IV., 233, 235 *seqq.*
[3] Sciout, *Directoire*, II., 3, 148.
[4] Pierre, *Déportation*, xxi *seqq.*
[5] Pierre, *Terreur*, 208 *seqq.*
[6] De la Gorce, IV., 270 *seqq.*; Mourret, VII., 272 *seq.*
[7] Sciout, *Le Directoire*, II., 3, 179 *seqq.*; Aulard, II., 555 *seqq.*
[8] Sciout, *Le Directoire*, II., 3, 149, 151.
[9] Thus, several churches were closed again (*ibid.*, 176 *seqq.*).
[10] In practice most of the individual sentences were made out according to a general formula, so far as the justification and

ninety-nine priests from Maine-et-Loire were sentenced to deportation on one order for arrest.[1] In many Departments action was taken only on direct instructions from the Directory, but in others, side by side with this activity, an equally radical persecution of the priests was carried on by the Departmental authorities, which, as was often the case in other parts of France also, formed the sole executive power.[2] One must study, therefore, the measures taken by both central and provincial authorities to obtain a complete picture of this arbitrary rule.[3] It was only the southern regions of the realm that suffered little from this co-operation in comparison with the remainder of the country. Temporal and local variations in the execution of the deportation laws naturally followed from the uneven distribution of authority.[4]

On September 6th Larevellière, as President of the Directory, signed an order by which all persons condemned to deportation were to be conveyed to the penal colony of Cayenne, in South America.[5] In consequence, four large ships brought a doleful burden of more than 250 priests to Cayenne, where most of them, owing to the inclement climate and the lack of the barest necessities, fell ill and succumbed to a miserable fate.[6] The

actual sentence were concerned. PIERRE, *Déportation*, xi *seq.*; *cf. id.*, *Terreur*, 178 *seqq.*

[1] All the deportation sentences and similar ordinances of the Directory have been published by PIERRE (*Déportation*, 1–436); only eight of the persons sentenced were layfolk (six men and two women; *ibid.*, ix n.). Documents referring to the measures taken by the *Départements*, including Paris, in PIERRE, *18 Fructidor*, 258–449. *Cf.* E. SOL, *Le clergé du Lot sous la Terreur fructidorienne*, Paris, 1922, based on documents.

[2] PIERRE, *Déportation*, 159 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, xi, a collection of instances of a similar nature.

[3] *Ibid.*, xvii *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, xiii *seqq.*, xix *seq.* *Cf.* also SCIOUT, *Directoire*, II., 3, 169 *seqq.*

[5] MOURRET, VII., 260.

[6] DE LA GORCE, IV., 248 *seqq.*; MOURRET, VII., 260 *seqq.*; SCIOUT, *Directoire*, II., 3, 194 *seqq.*; PIERRE, *Terreur*, 65 *seqq.*,

majority of those condemned, however, owing to the fear of the English ships, were not taken to Cayenne; they were confined, first, for the most part, in the fortress on the isle of Ré, later also, in part, on the island of Oléron. On Ré there were nearly 1,000 priests, including a Bishop, and over 100 laymen; on Oléron, towards the end of 1799, there were 250 prisoners. Of the 1,388 persons held in captivity outside the Continent only 476 had been directly condemned by the Directory.[1] We must remember, too, the uncounted host of victims who during these years repopulated the prisons in France itself, and those who managed to escape a fearful fate by taking to flight in good time or by going into hiding. There was also a considerable number of heroes who as innocent victims in these months, too, testified to their faith and their loyalty to the Church in the face of the musket-barrels of the military commissions. Records show that in the course of a year at Besançon alone no less than twenty-five persons were executed for their faith. In all, about 250 such cases were recorded, but the actual total is certainly far greater.[2]

The religious persecution of the Second Terror soon spread to Belgium, which by this time had been entirely conquered. All non-juring priests were condemned *en masse*.[3] By a general decree of the Directory issued on November 4th, 1798, about 8,000 of them were sentenced to deportation.[4] The only Bishop still resident in Belgium, Cardinal Frankenberg, was

267–330, where their fate is related in detail; *ibid.*, 424–436, their names.

[1] De la Gorce, IV., 265 *seqq.*; Mourret, VII., 263 *seqq.*; Pierre, *Déportation*, xxxi *seq.*, and still more Pierre, *Terreur*, 335–363 (*ibid.*, 437–458, the names).

[2] De la Gorce, II., 235 *seqq.*, where numerous individual instances are described. Similarly, Sciout, *Directoire*, II., 3, 161 *seqq.*; Mourret, VII., 259. *Cf.* Leclerq, *Les Martyrs*, XIII., 14 *seqq.*, 20 *seqq.*, especially 24 *seqq.*, 34 *seqq.*

[3] In Belgium the sentences were mostly collective (Pierre, *Déportation*, xiii).

[4] Mourret, VII., 271; Sciout, *Directoire*, II., 3, 185 *seqq.*; Pierre, *Terreur*, 247 *seqq.*

to be sent to one of the islands, but on medical grounds he was finally allowed to retire to a retreat on the Rhine.[1] The suppression of the University of Louvain was due to the same inexorable hatred of the Church. In the autumn of 1798 a popular rising in Belgium in support of the Church was put down by armed force.[2] It was not till the dawn of the new century, when Bonaparte, as First Consul, was at the head of the Government, that a change took place in the politico-ecclesiastical conditions in France.

(2)

The Pope's expulsion from the city of St. Peter was intended by the enemies of the Church to represent the final triumph of the French Revolution over the Christianity of the West. It was significant that before informing Pius VI. of his imminent expulsion from Rome General Haller demanded from him, under threat of force, the two rings he was wearing. "I can give you one of them," the Pope replied, "because it is my own property. But the other will have to pass to my successor." This was the Fisherman's Ring.[3] With this unswerving faith in the ultimate victory of the enslaved Church and with willing resignation to the will of God, Pius VI., enfeebled by age and barely recovered from a serious illness—in fact, he never really recovered—accepted the hardships of an exile that was to last a year and a half.

On his departure from Rome in February, under cover of darkness, he was escorted by a detachment of dragoons as far as the Ponte Molle,[4] the bridge that through the victory of the Emperor Constantine had become so important in the history of the Papacy. In spite of the most unfavourable weather countless numbers of the faithful were kneeling at the sides of the road, in the rain, the cold, and the snow, waiting for the blessing of Christ's representative on earth.

[1] SCIOUT, *Directoire*, II., 3, 183 *seq.*; VERHAEGEN, *Card. de Franckenberg*, 358 *seq.*, 361 *seqq.*

[2] MOURRET, VII., 269 *seqq.*

[3] TAVANTI, III., 352 *seq.*

[4] BALDASSARI, *Gesch.*, 212 *seq.*

Even at the end of the first day's journey Pius VI. was so exhausted that he had to be lifted from his carriage by four sturdy servants and borne to the bed prepared for him in the abbey of Monterosi. The house was unable to provide him with even the most modest repast.[1] The next day the journey was continued through thickly falling snow to Viterbo, where again he was greeted by large crowds. They filled the streets and the squares of the town and even the steps and passages of the convent which had been allotted as his quarters. Those in power considered it necessary to call on the military to keep the people under control.[2] The latter gave vent to their anger and grief on the following morning, when the Pope, disregarding the fatigue it caused him, went to the church of the Franciscan nunnery and prayed in silence for a long while before the relics of the holy virgin Rosa, who was highly venerated in the locality.[3] At Viterbo the party was joined by Duke Braschi. At Montefiascone the venerable exile was received with the pealing of bells and the cheers of people spread over the whole hillside. In response to solicitous questions about his health the Pope, nobly mastering his own emotions, said: "We are well, very well, but I must say to you, 'Be strong in faith'!"[4] When the inhabitants of Bolsena saw the helpless, suffering old man, they were dangerously near venting their wrath on the Pope's escorts, the two French commissaries. After spending the night at the house of a landed proprietor at San Lorenzo Nuovo, the Pope crossed the frontier of his former States on February 23rd. At the frontier town the departure of the former sovereign was

[1] *Ibid.*, 214 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 216 *seq.*; SALA, *Diario di Roma*, III., 227 *seq.*; [P. LA FONTAINE], *Pio VI. e Viterbo durante il periodo della Rivoluzione*, Viterbo, 1899, 10 *seqq.*; report of an eye-witness in Viterbo in LUMBROSO, *Roma e lo Stato Romano dopo il 1789*, in the *Atti della r. società dei Lincei*, 5th series: *Rendiconti sc. mor.*, I. (1892), 212 *seq.* Two years later the same witness saw the Pope's corpse brought back to Rome.

[3] BALDASSARI, 218.

[4] *Ibid.*, 219.

announced by the ringing of bells, the windows and streets were decorated with carpets and flowers, and the Bishop accompanied the Pope to the frontier, where the departure was made unnecessarily humiliating by a vexatious customs' examination.[1]

On Tuscan territory the Pope was given shelter for one night in the estate of Santa Quirizia, which belonged to the family of the Sienese Archbishop, afterwards Cardinal, Zondadari. The provisional end of the journey, the Augustinian convent at Siena, was reached on February 25th.[2] Certain members of the Florentine Government, fearful of damaging their good relations with France, had objected to the Pope's permanent residence in the capital, as had been planned at first. For the same reason all subjects were forbidden to pay the venerable exile public compliments.[3] Nevertheless, the Sienese were hard put to it to restrain their joy and grief at the arrival of the distinguished party.[4] The Apostolic nuncio to Florence, Archbishop Odescalchi, with Monsignore Spina, Duke Braschi, and the other members of the retinue who had hurried on in advance were at the convent entrance to welcome the Pope. Courtesy visits were paid by the Governatore of the town and the Maggiordomo Manfredini, representing the Grand Duke,[5] who wrote a letter of welcome in his own hand.[6] In spite of this, the Government expressed its disapproval of Archbishop Zondadari's having gone to meet the Pope.[7]

In a few days Siena seemed to become the capital of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 221 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 223 *seq.*

[3] Cabinet secretary Rainaldi to the Luogotenente di Siena, February 21, 1798, in E. A. Brigidi, *Giacobini e Realisti o il Viva Maria, storia del 1799 in Toscana*, Siena, 1882, 102. *Cf.* Poncet, *Pie VI. à Valence*, 41.

[4] Brigidi, 121 *seq.*

[5] Baldassari, 226.

[6] Brigidi, 126 *seq.*

[7] Minister Seratti to the Governatore of Siena, February 24, 1798 (*ibid.*, 117).

grand duchy,[1] so numerous were the visits of foreign emissaries and *chargés d'affaires* and of lay and clerical dignitaries, though even the visits of Bishops to the Pope had to be sanctioned by the Government, while other strangers were given permits for a short stay only in most exceptional cases and on previous application.[2] From time to time Cardinals, Bishops, and *émigrés* assembled together for a few days. On Sundays regular processions of pilgrims from outside the town, especially the rural districts, came to visit the "Prisoner of Antichrist", as he was called, and to ask his blessing. Every day numerous priests and noblemen were received in audience in the convent library, although the two chamberlains posted in the anteroom rendered daily reports on the Pope's visitors to the Government in Florence.[3] These visitors included many foreigners, especially Englishmen and Swiss. To compensate for this undesired ecclesiastical activity in the town a masonic lodge was founded at this time at the instigation of the French. In May 1798, however, the Government had to take decisive steps against it.[4]

During the Pope's three months' stay in Siena he divided his day between prayer, work, and recreation.[5] As long as his health permitted him he celebrated Mass himself, especially on holidays; otherwise he always attended it. On his midday drives he was accompanied by Archbishop Zondadari and Monsignor Caracciolo, who paid him every attention in many other ways. Particular interest in the Pope's welfare was taken by Cardinal Lorenzana, who was accredited to the grand-ducal Court as the representative of Spain and paid frequent visits to Siena.[6] Odescalchi, the nuncio to the same

[1] "Siena, patria di S. Caterina, prende l'aspetto di capitale" (*ibid.*, 133 *seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 134–7, 145 *seq.*; "Roma è spapata, Siena è impapata" (*ibid.*, 147).

[4] *Ibid.*, 165 *seq.*, 186 *seq.*

[5] Martini, Luogotenente of Siena, reported fully on the subject to the Minister (*ibid.*, 144); *cf.* BALDASSARI, 227 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 229.

court, moved altogether to Siena during the Pope's stay there and acted as his Secretary of State, inasmuch as he maintained the correspondence with the foreign nunciatures and with the aid of the Sienese Archbishop and his vicar and chancellor prepared the Papal rescripts.[1] A number of foreign envoys to the Court of Florence, together with trustworthy merchants, saw to the conveyance of the letters and documents to foreign countries.[2]

The small sum of money the Pope had received from the revolutionary government in Rome at the time of his expulsion was soon spent, whereupon his household expenses were defrayed by means of alms, such as those from the cathedral chapter at Prague and in particular those from Archbishop Despuig, at Seville.[3] It was at this time that the Pope confirmed the veneration of Blessed Andrea of Gallerani (d. 1251), which had long been practised at Siena. The necessary preliminary investigations had been conducted by an extraordinary Congregation presided over by Zondadari.[4]

Apart from the affair of Cardinals Antici and Altieri[5] the Pope was chiefly concerned, as was only natural, with the continuance of the most important Curial offices, especially the Dataria and the Penitentiary. He discussed them with Cardinals Doria and Roverella when they visited him in Siena on April 12th and he had a great deal of correspondence on the subject with Cardinal Antonelli.[6] Two other matters,

[1] " *Mgr. Nunzio è quello che porta i memoriali e le suppliche, e dipoi, unitamente a me, al mio vicario e cancelliere, facciamo i rescritti, per le formole dei quali ci serviamo di quelle che rinveniamo nell'archivio arcivescovile." (Archbishop Zondadari of Siena to Antonelli, April 15, 1798, *Relazione del card. Antonelli.*, Filza Cappa, XII., 7, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, fo. 66^{v}.)

[2] BALDASSARI, 231.

[3] *Ibid.*, 232.

[4] *Ibid.*, 232 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 319.

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 338.

[6] Pius VI. to Antonelli, April 14 and May 11, 1798, printed in E. CELANI, *I preliminari del conclave di Venezia*, in the *Archivio della R. Società Romana*, XXXVI. (1913), 483 *seq.*, 488.

however, gave still greater cause for concern: the further vicissitudes that awaited the Pope and the preparation for another conclave, which obviously could not be far off.

As was only to be expected, the Pope in his distress turned for help to the Catholic Courts,[1] in the hope of obtaining through their mediation some alleviation of his deplorable situation, which was also so prejudicial to the welfare of the Church, especially as his stay in Siena was known to be only temporary. Together with the necessity of arranging for the next Papal election, the future of the Papal States and the fate of the Cardinals must have caused him great anxiety. Consequently, when writing to those Catholic princes from whom he expected assistance he went to great lengths in describing the urgency of his situation.[2] The replies he received consisted only of fine phrases ending in excuses: for political reasons nothing could be done at the moment, the French intentions being so unpredictable. The Portuguese Government went a little further, ordering prayers to be said for the Pope.[3]

Of particular importance, of course, was the lively correspondence, always in cipher, carried on with the Court of Vienna,[4] through Monsignore Albani.[5] In these letters the

[1] GENDRY, II., 316. Consalvi reported in his *letter to Mgr. Albani of August 20, 1798 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696 A, Papal Secret Archives), that Carafa and Doria were appealing through the nuncios to the Emperor and the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs on behalf of the Pope, and that Litta and Erskine had been given similar commissions.

[2] MOURRET, VII., 275.

[3] GENDRY, II., 316; CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 486.

[4] Austria and Spain seemed to offer the best prospects of assistance: "*Le corti di Vienna e di Madrid, che sole potrebbero dare qualche peso ai nostri affari, operano oppure mostrano di operare con un'ammirabil timidezza." (The Archbishop of Siena to Antonelli, April 15, 1798; *Relazione del card. Antonelli. loc. cit.*, fo. 65.) Zondadari *wrote again to Antonelli on April 24: "Vienna e Madrid rispondono con i soliti 'Mi dispiace', attaccamento alla S. Sede, timori di scisma etc., ma dicono che le attuali circostanze non permettano il fare di più." (*ibid.*, fo. 81^{v}.)

[5] *Letters in cipher to Albani, till August 1798, Nunziat. di

Pope was assiduous in reminding the Emperor of his special duty as the principal protector of the Church. In a letter of March 17th Odescalchi expressed the definite expectation [1] that the Emperor would not fail to put forth his strong arm in support of the supreme head of the Church, who was in such a situation that he could not even speak with the strength and firmness that the critical times demanded. Albani's task was to arrange for the Pope, as soon as he was forbidden to stay any longer in Tuscany, to find a refuge in the Imperial dominions, in accordance with a friendly agreement between Vienna and Paris—a delicate task for Albani, in the performance of which Odescalchi advised him to be particularly cautious. But the reply sent from Vienna on March 31st dispelled all hopes: the Imperial Court considered it far from opportune to initiate negotiations with France on the subject and could not accede to the Pope's desire at the moment. The Pope, deeming it even more impossible to make representations in Paris himself, again requested Albani to urge the Emperor, if only to avoid a schism, to promise to secure some place in his states where the future conclave could assemble.[2] Odescalchi backed up this request by referring to the report that the German Bishops had asked the Emperor for permission to receive the Pope in their midst.[3] In the ensuing correspondence the more Albani's zeal was praised by

Germania, 696 (*loc. cit.*); *also till December, 1798 (*ibid.*, 696 A); *drafts, mostly for ciphers 696, *ibid.*, 697; *reports from Vienna, 1799, *ibid.*, 698.

[1] *Odescalchi to Mgr. Albani, March 17, 1798 (*ibid.*, 696).

[2] **Id.* to *id.* from Siena, April 19, 1798 (*ibid.*): "... il s. padre con quanto gradimento e paterno affetto ha sentito le ottime disposizioni di S.M. Imp. verso la S. Sede e la sua s. persona, altrettanto dispiacere ha provato nel sentire che la M.S. Imp. non sia in grado di aderire alle sue istanze non credendo opportuno da mettere in trattativa coi Francesi l'affare di porre ne' suoi stati la s. persona di S. S^tà ... S.M. Imp. deve proteggere la chiesa, procurare di evitare lo scisma."

[3] "*Si ha notizia che i vescovi della Germania abbiano fatto istanze a S.M. Ces. per avere fra di loro il S. Padre" (*ibid.*).

Odescalchi the less prospect there was of any practical solution. Finally, we read that Albani was not to regard instructions of this nature as obligatory commissions but was merely to sound the ground for any possibility of success.[1] Albani then made two suggestions for attaining their object. One was to influence the French Directory through the Tuscan Government, but this the Pope considered to be quite unacceptable, as it would compromise the Grand Duke still further, to a dangerous degree, and might have the worst possible consequences both for himself and his country. The second proposal seemed to have a better prospect of success, namely to spur on the German Bishops to take further steps in petitioning the Emperor.[2]

There were also difficulties in choosing a suitable place for the conclave. It was doubtful if the Cardinals living in Neapolitan territory would be able to make their way into Northern Italy. There was some thought of entering into closer relations with the Catholic Courts in the hope of inducing them to allow the Cardinals to enter Imperial territory in the event of a Papal election. If the French were to hear of these negotiations they would be sure to do their utmost to prevent the Cardinals' departure. Nevertheless, it was considered important to obtain the Emperor's consent as soon as possible, since the vague words of consolation and encouragement that came from Madrid and Vienna were anything but satisfactory to the Papal entourage.[3]

On March 31st the Pope sent a letter signed with his own hand to the nuncio Litta in St. Petersburg,[4] with the object of obtaining the Tsar Paul's mediation.[5] After a detailed description of the French rule of force in Rome and the Papal States and of his own deplorable situation he informed Litta

[1] *Odescalchi to Albani, April 21, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, May 4, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[3] **Id.* to *id.*, May 25, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[4] *Original in Nunziat. di Polonia, 343 A (*ibid.*).

[5] *Brief to Tsar Paul, March 29, 1798 (*Epist. ad princ.*, 194, fo. 7 *seqq.*, *ibid.*).

that he had asked the Tsar, on the strength of their former personal acquaintance, to speak to the French *chargé d'affaires* at his Court and to write to the French Directory, pressing for the return of the possessions belonging to the Papal States, Avignon and Venaissin in particular. An agreement on this matter between Russia and the other northern powers was all the more important, inasmuch as the French actions were a danger to all sovereigns. The most recent oath with its hatred of the monarchy was evidence of this.[1] With this outspoken language, however, the Pope nearly brought fresh troubles on himself, for at the beginning of September a report was spreading in Florence that a French translation of the Brief was in public circulation.[2]

Litta's reply did, in fact, speak of the lively interest taken by the Tsar in the Pope's destiny,[3] whereupon the latter wrote to the nuncio on September 2nd, thanking him and again condemning the behaviour of the French in detail and in unambiguous terms.[4] The Tsar was to be asked to demand, through his representatives at the Congress of Rastatt, the restoration of the Papal States and all the stolen property. In an autograph letter of December 14th [5] Tsar Paul I. expressed his sympathy with the Pope and promised him his support, in which he would endeavour to secure the co-operation of the powers allied with him. These friendly relations with the schismatic ruler came to an end, however, not long afterwards,

[1] This connexion between the protection of the Church and that of the State was also brought out by the Pope in his *Brief of April 24, 1798, "Ioanni principi Brasiliae": "Quoad Ecclesiae perniciem [*sic*] constituto quid a Regibus universis sit timendum aperte vides. Quare qua ratione potes in causam incumbe; non enim Ecclesiam solum tuebere, sed regnum etiam tuum tuebere, quod maximum in periculum vocari est necesse, si in eo statu, in quo nunc est, diutius maneat Ecclesia Summusque Regum ac Pastorum Pastor versetur." *Epist. ad princ.*, 194, fo. 43 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Cifra al Litta, September 8, 1798 (Nunziat. di Polonia, *ibid.*).

[3] *Litta to Odescalchi, July 13 (24), 1798 (*ibid.*).

[4] *Original, *ibid.*, 343 A.

[5] *Tsar Paul to Pius VI., *ibid.*, 344.

when the Tsar accepted the direction of the Maltese Order, and in consequence the nuncio Litta was compelled to leave his court.[1]

In the meantime the Pope had been forced to change his place of residence. The French authorities in Rome had long been seeking an opportunity of moving him still farther from the frontiers of the Roman Republic and they now found a welcome pretext in the disturbances that had broken out in Perugia and Città di Castello. First the clergy, then Duke Braschi, and finally the Pope himself were held responsible for them. The tyrants in Rome were not satisfied with the serious reduction in the number of the priests in the Papal States that had been brought about by arrests and expulsions, nor with the holding in confinement of the Duchess Braschi.[2] In a very firmly worded letter to Ferdinand III. of Tuscany General St-Cyr and the four French commissaries in Rome demanded the immediate extradition of the Pope, who was to be taken to Cagliari, in Sardinia.[3] The Grand Duke, in a courteous reply, refused the request on the ground that negotiations were in

[1] For the departure on April 28 (May 9), 1799, and the causes of it, see Litta's *letters of May 31, 1799, from Bialystok, and September 7, 1799, from Vienna (*ibid.*). *Cf.* our account, Vol. XXXIX., 174–6.

[2] BALDASSARI, 233 *seqq.*

[3] *Zondadari to Antonelli, May 22, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 97 *seq.*): "Intanto le imprudenti insurrezioni dei contadini di Città di Castello (or terminate all' arrivo dei Francesi con tanto danno e strage di quelli infelici) hanno dato moto a cento nuovi editti contro li Ecclesiastici ed all' arresto della Duchessa Braschi, al di cui marito si da la colpa dell' accaduto. Si passa pur troppo ancor più avanti e si desidera che ci slontaniamo, parlandosi dell' isola de Sardegna. Per altro si tien forte per la negativa ed il Marchese Mandredini, dopo aver spediti due canonici a Vienna e Parigi e di aver ricevuta una forte memoria su tale oggetto del sigr Cardinale di Lorenzana, come ministro di Spagna, è partito per Roma. Ne attendiamo in conseguenza con estrema ansietà il ritorno e l'esito del suo operato." *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 317; CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 489; SCIOUT, *Directoire*, II., 3, 320 *seqq.*

progress between Paris and Madrid on the eventual transference of the Pope to Spain.[1] He also immediately dispatched couriers to Vienna and Paris. Manfredini, whom he sent to Rome,[2] was the bearer of several medical certificates showing the grave state of the Pope's health. It was clear from these that if the Pope, who had again been prostrated with weakness in the middle of April, were to undertake the projected sea voyage his life would be endangered. Another very energetic protest was sent to Rome by Cardinal Lorenzana, who also asked his Government and Azara, in Paris, to press strongly [3] for at least a refuge to be provided for the Pope in Spain, which plan also seemed the best to Antonelli.[4] The result of all these efforts was that the authorities in Rome announced their agreement to the temporary removal of the Papal Court to the Certosa, near Florence, pending the arrival of news from Paris about the final result of the negotiations with Spain.[5]

The Pope's departure from Siena was facilitated by a natural phenomenon. At about noon on May 26th, 1798, the Saturday

[1] *Odescalchi to Mgr. Albani, May 18, 1798 (Nunziat. di Germania, 696, *loc. cit.*).

[2] *Zondadari to Antonelli, June 2, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 99): 'Questo preteso torto [responsibility for the insurrection in Città di Castello] produsse poi una istanza dei quattro Commissari di Roma francesi e di quel Generale Saint-Cyr al Gran Duca, onde fosse loro consegnata la persona di S. Santità, per transportarla sopra una galera nella città di Cagliari in Sardegna. La Corte ricusò di farlo, e fu avvalorata la di lei ripulsa da una forte rimostranza del sig^r Card. di Lorenzana, come ministro di Spagna. Furono spediti dei corrieri a Parigi, Madrid e Vienna ed il sig^r Marchese Manfredini a Roma."

[3] BALDASSARI, 237 *seq.*

[4] *Antonelli to Emm. di Gregorio, July 5, 1798 (*Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, fo. 119 *seqq.*).

[5] " *Non potè egli ottenere altro se non che, sino ai nuovi ordini di Parigi, il Papa si trasferisse alla Certosa, due miglia discosta da Firenze, ed il Duca Braschi escisse dallo Stato" (*ibid.*). *Cf.* *Cifra al Litta, June 16, 1798 (Nunziat. di Polonia, Papal Secret Archives).

before Whitsun, the town was shaken by very violent earth-tremors which damaged almost all the buildings and churches.[1] Three persons were killed and many were injured. Pius VI. was at prayer in his room, the only one in the convent to escape damage, apart from some cracks in the walls. Caracciolo and other clerics hurried to his assistance and found him completely calm and unperturbed.[2] For safety's sake he was taken to the Villa Poggiarello, belonging to Venturi Gallerani, and on the next day, as the forces of nature showed no sign of abating, to the Torre Fiorentina, a country house outside the town belonging to Filippo Sergardi. A minute after the Pope had left the convent the vault of the sacristy of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament fell in; the Archbishop of Siena was covered with fragments of the wall of his room and admitted that he had had a miraculous escape.[3]

As soon as the Grand Duke had heard what had happened in Siena he had Lorenzana tell the Pope that everything would be made ready for his reception in the Carthusian monastery near Florence. On the morning of July 1st, after five days in which there had been no less than fifteen violent

[1] BRIGIDI, 199 *seq.*; BALDASSARI, 240 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 241.

[3] *Zondadari to Antonelli, June 2, 1798 (*loc. cit.*): "Il Papa non parti da Siena, ma bensì da una villa di Casa Sergardi poco discosta dalla città, ove egli era sino dalla scorsa domenica. A tanti mali politici e religiosi, si è qui adesso accresciuto il flagello dei terremoti. Fu il primo alle ore 1 ed un quarto dopo il mezzo giorno della vigilia di Pentecoste. Fu esso così violento che non vi è nella città chiesa o casa servibile. Tre persone son morte, vari sono i feriti, e tutto è lutto e spavento. Io son vivo per prodigio del cielo, giacchè ricevei addosso alcuni sassi della stanza nella quale stavo. Avevo di poco lasciato N^ro^ Signore, che unitamente a Mons^re^ Nunzio corsi subito a cercare. La camera, nella quale Egli diceva allora l'Ufficio, era l'unica intatta del suo appartamento. Lo trasportammo nel quartiere terreno del Cav^re^ Venturi Gallerani ed il giorno dipoi nella predetta Villa Sergardi, daddove è partito per Firenze." GENDRY, II., 318; BRIGIDI, 204 *seq.*, 212.

earth-tremors, causing half the population to flee from the town,[1] the Pope set out on his journey as bravely as ever and reached his destination in the afternoon.[2]

From the beginning his stay in the Certosa [3] was only to be a temporary one, so from the first day here Pius VI. was oppressed with anxiety about his future and, above all, the fear that the projected removal to Sardinia might be realized after all.[4] There were rumours, too, of other places to which the Directory were thinking of deporting him.[5] Actually his stay here eventually lasted nearly nine months, although Azara's reports from Paris continually spoke of the Government's serious intention of sending him to Cagliari. The nuncio Casoni, in Madrid, on the other hand, was able to report [6] that Azara was being instructed by the Spanish Government to press that the Pope be allowed to stay where he was, or failing that to continue his journey into Spanish territory, where the king was ready to receive him with full honours. While for week after week a final decision was awaited from France, the Pope's health grew worse, so that there was no longer any question of his attempting a sea voyage. At the end of June, when there were hopes of definite permission being given for the journey to Spain, fresh news came from Azara that the Directory was inexorably set on Sardinia.[7] The effect of this was to throw the Papal entourage into another fit of despair and perplexity.

[1] Brigidi, 203, 207.

[2] *Ibid.*, 213 *seq.*; Gendry, II., 319. The date given by Celani (489), "June 3," is wrong.

[3] The Pope is commemorated by several inscriptions here; the most notable one is reproduced by Baldassari (270, n. 1).

[4] *Odescalchi to Albani, June 1, 1798 (*loc. cit.*).

[5] To Portugal, Malta, and Brazil, among other places (De la Gorce, IV., 360).

[6] Casoni's *report of June 4, 1798, enclosed in Odescalchi's *letter to Litta on June 23, 1798 (Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*).

[7] *Spina to Antonelli, June 22, 1798 (*loc. cit.*): "Nuovi rumori si fanno sentire ogni giorno di un trasporto a Cagliari. Scrive il Cav^re^ Azzarra da Parigi che il Direttore Baras è fermo nel proposito

Only a few days after his arrival at the Certosa the Pope received a visit, bare of any ceremony, from the Grand Duke, accompanied by Manfredini.[1] On the other hand, the Pope was deprived of the further presence of Duke Braschi, who had to quit Tuscan territory at the command of the Roman Government.[2] He was succeeded as intendant of the Papal household by Monsignore Spina, who had been made Bishop *in partibus* by the Pope shortly before his expulsion from Rome and who subsequently showed himself to be one of the Pope's most trustworthy servants.[3] This fidelity he maintained until his master's death.

In his dealings with the outside world the Pope was now even more restricted than in Siena. The Florentines and all other strangers were forbidden to enter his apartments; instead, he had often to show himself at his window to the people waiting below and give them his blessing.[4] He was also forced to give up his daily walk, the loss of which was probably the cause of a rapid decline in his physical strength. After a few months he was unable to hold himself erect. Odescalchi, who continued to perform the office of a Secretary of State and kept up the correspondence with the foreign nunciatures, came from Florence to the Certosa three times a week and had lengthy discussions with the Pope,[5] the chief subjects being, as before, the future destiny of the Holy Father and the Sacred College and the preparations for the next conclave.

The brisk exchange of notes with Monsignore Albani in Vienna was thus maintained, the Papal Court having as its object the opening of negotiations with the French at the Congress of Rastatt on two points: an improvement in the Pope's position and the fixing of a suitable place for the

di non voler più permettere al Sto Padre il soggiorno in Italia."
*Odescalchi to Mgr. Albani, June 26, 1798 (*loc. cit.*).

[1] TAVANTI, III., 357; BALDASSARI, 267 *seq.*

[2] GENDRY, II., 321.

[3] BALDASSARI, 268.

[4] TAVANTI, III., 355.

[5] BALDASSARI, 271.

conclave.[1] Albani had had a personal audience with the Emperor at the end of May, when the latter had informed him that he had the greatest possible sympathy with the Pope in his present plight and held out hopes of providing the desired assistance.[2] The intervention at the Congress of Rastatt, which was in the hands of Count Kobenzl, together with the attempts at mediation made by Spain in Paris, had at least this success, that the Directory also declared itself in favour of allowing the existing conditions to continue for the nonce.[3]

Kobenzl's instructions proposed that the Pope and all the Cardinals, including those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of Naples,[4] be allowed to travel to Venice. Finally, at the request of Austria, Pius VI. invited all the members of the Sacred College to repair to the territory that had just become an Imperial possession by the peace of Campo Formio.[5] This invitation, however, met with little response, least of all from the Cardinals in Southern Italy, who included the Cardinal Dean, Giovanni Francesco Albani.[6] That their object was the holding of the conclave in Naples was denied by the Dean; if possible, he said, the election should take place in the city of St. Peter, seeing that it was the Bishop of Rome who was in question.[7] Albani hoped that Rome would shortly be liberated, and clearly felt more secure in Naples than anywhere else. How wrong he was in his reckoning was soon shown by the course of events: Naples was taken by the

[1] *Odescalchi to Mgr. Albani, June 8, 1798 (*loc. cit.*).

[2] **Id.* to *id.*, June 16, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[3] **Id.* to *id.*, August 11, 1798 (*ibid.*).

[4] Correspondence between the clerics in Siena and those in Naples was not too frequent; *v.* *Spina to Antonelli, June 22, 1798: "Io non sono in corrispondenza con alcuno di essi" (*loc. cit.*).

[5] BALDASSARI, 274.

[6] Maury's letter to Albani, of June 16, 1798, inviting him to come to Venice, in CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 493 *seq.*

[7] BALDASSARI, 276 *seq.*

French and the Cardinals scattered in all directions; most of them, however, soon reassembled in Venetia.[1]

At the beginning of June Antonelli sent the Curia a lengthy memorandum containing various proposals.[2] The Archbishop of Siena replied on the 20th that they had been recommended by him to the Pope,[3] and on the 22nd Spina wrote [4] that he had laid them before the Pope and had also recommended them, but only for the greatest part. This restriction referred to the project of re-erecting all the curial offices in the place of banishment. This, in Spina's view, was impossible; for one thing there was no hope of maintaining them there, and secondly no prelate was allowed to stay more than two days at the Pope's place of residence. Antonelli's other proposals also did not meet with complete approval. Thus, the idea of issuing another Bull with further facilities for holding the next Papal election was objected to by the Pope on the score that the Bull of January 3rd, 1797,[5] was quite sufficient, especially as it had been signed by most of the Cardinals. Antonelli also urged that the Sacred College, which now numbered only forty-eight members, be brought up to strength by new nominations. But in this, too, he was unsuccessful, the Pope objecting that in the circumstances it would be more difficult to convoke seventy electors than forty-eight. Besides, he did not know how he could endow the new members. Antonelli had more success in his efforts to obtain the acceptance of Antici's and Altieri's resignations.[6]

A discussion on the need for new regulations concerning the Papal election could not be rejected out of hand, however, as

[1] *Ibid.*, 277.

[2] *Antonelli to Spina, June 2, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, 101 *seqq.*). *Cf.* CELANI, 490 *seqq.*

[3] *Zondadari to Antonelli, June 20, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, 109).

[4] *Spina to Antonelli, June 22, 1798 (*Relazione del card. Antonelli, loc. cit.*, fo. 111 *seqq.*).

[5] Text in SALA, *Diario di Roma*, III., 297 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2976 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 325. *Cf.* also the Brief of February 11, 1798, in GENDRY, 484.

[6] See above, p. 338.

fresh and unexpected difficulties had arisen since the signing of the last Bull. At that time the choice of a suitable place of assembly had been left to the majority of the Cardinals, a regulation which now had little point. But the draft of the new text submitted by Antonelli met with no approval and was passed to Marotti and Spina to be worked over,[1] the Pope stating that the former Bull was fundamentally satisfactory and that all that was needed was a fuller explanatory text. Antonelli's opinion was that nothing more should be demanded than the canonical election and that the fixing of the place and time should be entrusted to the Dean and a few others. Another draft was composed by Monsignore di Pietro; this met with more approval and its advantages were recognized by Antonelli among others.[2]

Finally a new Bull was signed by Pius VI. on November 13th, 1798,[3] and at the beginning of March it was sent to the senior Cardinal residing in Venetia. The facilities, it was stated therein, which had been granted in the Bull of the previous year concerning the Papal election were no longer adequate, in view of the fresh outrages that had been committed against the Church and its head. He was consequently granting new facilities so that in the event of his death his successor might be elected as speedily and conveniently as possible. The Dean and three or four of the most respected dignitaries were to settle the place and time of the election, which was to be held without any of the usual ceremonies and would result from a two-thirds majority. The Cardinals were permitted to discuss the circumstances, but not the personal aspect, of the future election. To avoid a schism, the right to vote was to belong to those Cardinals who were assembled in the greatest number in the territory of a Catholic ruler. Of their number the Dean or the next senior Cardinal was to fix the details. The Bull ended

[1] *Spina to Antonelli, September 1, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, 125 *seqq.*). Antonelli replied by means of a long *memorandum addressed to the Pope, dated September 17 (*ibid.*, 132–9).

[2] Baldassari, 278 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3097 *seq.*

[3] *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3097. *Cf.* Gendry, II., 327 *seq.*; Mourret, VII., 275; Baldassari, 280 *seq.*

with an impressive appeal to the electors to remember their responsibility and duty, more than ever at a time when the Church was so hard pressed.

Pius VI. and his trusty companions bore their distress and suffering with an admirable courage and confidence in the future welfare of the Church. In everything that happened they saw the will of God, who in His great mercy would direct all things for the good of the Faith.[1] The Pope also derived comfort and joy from the numerous letters that reached him from every part of the Church [2]; most of them contained not

[1] *[Spina] to Antonelli, October 12, 1798 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 156): "Vedo dunque nel tutto delle linee particolari di providenza, onde mi pare di dover sperare che il misericordiosissimo Iddio le dirigerà tutte alla conservazione della Chiesa e della nostra Santa Religione. Questo solo mi conforta; e piaccia a Iddio che le mie lusinghe non siano vane." Perhaps the best expression of these sentiments is to be found in the *Brief of July 24, 1798, to the Countess de Fernan-Nuñez, thanking her for her sympathy: "Verum cum promissum habeamus a Christo se usque ad consummationem saeculi nobiscum futurum; cumque sciamus Ecclesiam Dei semper in tribulationibus auctam esse et Martyrum sanguinem semen fuisse Christianorum, excitemus fidem nostram et in oratione et patientia promissam Nobis a Deo opem et optatam tranquillitatem praestolemur. Non enim semper dormiet Deus, sed expergefactus a somno imperabit ventis et mari ostendetque tantam hanc tempestatem, non ad Petri naviculam demergendam, sed ad eam altius extollendam ad Deique gloriam manifestandam esse excitatam" (Papal Secret Archives, *Epist. ad princ.*, 194, fo. 67). A similar Brief was sent *to the Archbishop of Compostela on November 1, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 110 *seq.*).

[2] "*Consolemur nos invicem," wrote the Pope, "Archiepiscopo Rhemensi aliisque Galliae ep.," in a Brief dated "Florentiae Non. Iuni 1798" (*loc. cit.*, fo. 37). Similar *letters of thanks were sent to the same dignitaries on July 30, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 48); "Archiepiscopo Auscitano" on September 20, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 72); "Archiepiscopo Compostellano Cal. Nov. 1798" (*ibid.*, fo. 92); "Episcopo Forlivino" on April 28, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 22); "Episcopo Alexandrino" on July 18, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 47); to the Archbishop-Elector of Trier on October 9, 1798 (*ibid.*, fo. 88;

only expressions of grief and sympathy but also promises of prayers and material support. The one that impressed him most deeply, perhaps, was from comrades in distress, namely the fourteen French Bishops in English exile.[1] He sent a touching letter in reply,[2] praising their self-sacrifice for the Church of God. The chief value of all their present distress, he wrote, was the separation of the true children of the Church from mere hypocrites. Of peculiar interest was his meeting with the King and Queen of Savoy, who had also been driven from their throne and country by the French in December, 1798, and were to be banished to Sardinia. Little is known of what was said by the three dethroned rulers in their half hour's conversation of January 19th, 1799, but the hard fate in store for all of them must have lent their words sincerity.[3] But in view of his serious ill-health, he must have heard with pain the question put to him by a French officer of the name of Chipault: would he not care to accompany the royal couple to Cagliari, for the Directory's decision as to his destination was irrevocable?[4]

During the winter the Pope's health became so bad that his life was in danger. As Chipault was constantly pressing for his

thanking him for 15,000 *scudi*); to the Archbishop of Salzburg on January 10, 1799 (*ibid.*, fo. 118). On November 20, 1798, the cathedral chapter of Augsburg *wrote to the chapter of Salzburg suggesting that its own example be followed in collecting money for the Pope. On December 12, 1798, the chapter *asked the Archbishop what was to be done. The latter *replied on December 22, 1798, advising against the suggestion, on the ground that the times were too bad (Landesarchiv, Salzburg, Wiener Akten, Litt. C 89).

[1] Baldassari, 295 *seq.*; Tavanti, III., 370.

[2] *Brief "Archiepiscopis et episcopis Galliae pro Christo in Anglia exulantibus", of November 10, 1798 (*Epist. ad princ.*, *loc. cit.*, fo. 97–111).

[3] Gendry, II., 375. *Cf.* *Odescalchi to Litta on January 19, 1799 (Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*); Tavanti, III., 356 ("January 28" is wrong); De la Gorce, IV., 363; Baldassari, 304 *seqq.*

[4] *Cifra al Litta, March 16, 1799 (Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*).

transference to Sardinia, the best physicians in the capital were called in to report on the Pope's condition. Their testimony made it clear that the conveyance of the patient to Leghorn, not to speak of a sea voyage, was out of the question, as it would use up what little strength was left to him.[1] At

[1] *Copy of the medical attestation made on February 7, 1799, and forming the second enclosure in the "Cifra al Litta" of February 9, 1799 (*ibid.*): "Noi infrascritti Medici Fisici facciamo per la verità piena, ed indubitata fede, come essendosi trovati nella mattina di questo sudetto giorno adunati nel Monastero della Certosa presso Firenze per l'oggetto di essere informati dello stato fisico di S. Stà Papa Pio VI., e quello personalmente riconoscere, siamo in primo luogo accertati la predetta S.S. essere stata per lungo tempo affetta di iscuria, ed aver più volte sofferte minacce indicatissime di malattie soporose, per le quali si è trovata in una permanente sospensione delle funzioni animali, e ci siamo di poi assicurati, ch'Egli è affetto di ernia, o sia entero-epiplocele sciolto, ed ha una grande, e permanente debolezza dell' estremità inferiori, avendo ancora la cute delle sue gambe da lunga mano molto alterata, nella tessitura della quale per ogni leggiera causa si rompe la continuità e si dispone a piegarsi e quindi ripetendo il principio de suoi attuali incommodi, ci siamo assicurati, come dal dì ventiquattro del pº pº Gennaro fù sorpreso da nuova affezione comatosa con febbre, per sollevarlo dalla quale le furono per sentimento dell'Illmo ed Eccmo Sig. Giuseppe Petri archiatro delle LL. AA. RR. applicati due vesicatori alle cosce, dai quali avendo ricevuto un sollievo in riguardo della detta affezione comatosa, ne vi portò all' incontro il disastro d'essersi il sinistro de medesimi vesicatori, cioè la piaga da questo prodotta, infiammata con principi di cangrena, ed in seguito d'essersi manifestata in capo a cinque giorni una vasta resipola estesa dal metatarso fino al capo della fibula della sinistra gamba. Abbiamo di più osservato, che dopo d'essersi limitata la suddetta resipola, si è alla S.S. aggravato il petto con respirazione laboriosa, tosse frequente, e principio di stertore, accompagnato da sputi vischiosi mischiati di sangue, aridità di lingua, e di labbra, e di orine cariche, in tempo che la coscia corrispondente alla stessa gamba resipolata si trova edematosa, e le piaghe dei vessicanti sono tuttora aperte et avendo avuto luogho di trattenersi nella camera ove Egli giace per esaminare tutto con diligenza, abbiamo

the end of January he had further attacks of cramp, was very feverish, and had difficulty in breathing, so that there were already thoughts of giving him Extreme Unction.[1] Two weeks later two French commissaries convinced themselves by a personal visit of his desperate condition ; he was more like a

riscontrato, che le necessarie benchè minime funzioni del suo corpo, come per esempio il bevere, non si possono da Lui eseguire senza molto affannarsi e senza l'aiuto di più e varie persone che lo sollievino dalla grave prostrazione, in cui si trova, tanta è la depressione di forze, nella quale Egli è costituito.

Per lo che ben ponderati i motivi fin qui esposti abbiamo d'unanimo consentimento asserito, che prescindendo affatto dall' attuale malattia, che offende il petto della S.S., e che minaccia molto appresso la di Lui esistenza, e supponendo per la più vantaggiosa ipotesi, ch'Egli possa emergere dalla medesima, lo spossamento della sua machina esser tale, che attese tutte le circostanze, non può far altro, che aumentarsi oltre lo stato attuale, e che un uomo costituito in circostanze tali, se per qualsivoglia causa si determinasse a muoversi in qualunque si voglia immaginare anche commodissima forma, non potrebbe in niun viaggio considerabile, non esporsi all' evidente pericolo d'accelerare quel fine, che secondo l'ordine naturale non può credersi assai remoto per un'Individuo, che in mezzo a tante vicende, e carico di tanti fisici pregiudizi hà superato di molto i sedici Lustri, ed in fede

Io Dott. Spirito Costanzo Marmajoni, uno dei dodici esaminatori del Collegio Medico Fiorentino, ed il primo dei medici addetti al servizio dei monaci della Certosa presso Firenze affermo quanto in questo si dice, e contiene, ed in fede mo. ppa.

Io Dott. Attilio Zuccagni Medico ordinario del regio arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova, censore regio per la stampa, e prefetto dell'orto botanico del Museo Reale affermo quanto in questo si dice e contiene, ed in fede mo. ppa.

Io Dott. Pio Batista Betti Medico Fiorentino affermo quanto in questo si dice, e contiene, ed in fede mo. ppa.

Io Dott. Pio Batista Canovai Medico Fiorentino affermo quanto in questo si dice, e contiene, ed in fede mano ppa."

[1] GENDRY, II., 376 ; BALDASSARI, 308 *seq.* ; " *Cifra al Litta ", January 26, 1799 (*loc. cit.*).

corpse, they said, than a living person.[1] Shortly afterwards there was a slight improvement; with extreme difficulty he was able to drag himself from bed and sit on a chair close by.[2] It was in this enfeebled condition, though so contented and lively in his mind, that he had little thought of imminent death, that he celebrated the opening of the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate,[3] the end of which, however, he was not destined to see. On this day Spina had a portable altar brought near the sick-bed, so that the Holy Father could again after a long interval attend Mass and communicate. For this attention he was deeply grateful to the Monsignore, who had also obtained from Rome the liturgical instructions for such an occasion.[4] The rareness of the Pope's communions at this

[1] CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 506; "*Cifra al Litta," February 9, 1799 (*loc. cit.*). A second *letter to Litta, of the same date, was written entirely "in clear"—a remarkable fact which was certainly not an oversight. In it the Pope thanked the Tsar for offering to come to his aid with an armed force, but firmly declined the offer. The letter was probably meant to be read! *Ibid.*

[2] *Spina to Antonelli, February 8, 1799 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 237).

[3] *Spina to Antonelli, February 15, 1799 (*ibid.*, fo. 239): "La più importante certamente è la salute preziosissima di S. S^tà^, il quale felicemente ha principiato in quest' hoggi l'anno XXV. del suo Pontificato. Pare che il Sig^r^ Iddio per sua infinita misericordia abbia esaudite le preghiere di tutti i buoni, già che, se bene S. S^tà^ continui in uno stato di debolezza veramente grande e dal quale non sò se potrà risorgere, nel rimanente poi da due giorni particolarmente a questa parte si trova in uno stato da esserne ben contenti."

[4] "*Questa mattina istessa hò colto un momento opportuno per pregarlo a permettermi di far erigere nella camera vicina al letto un altare portatile, acciò possa la mattina ascoltare la S. Messa con tutto il comodo, aggiungendogli che, se desiderava, non potendo celebrar la S. Messa, di far la communione, mi ero già provveduto da Roma delle istruzioni necessarie per far tutto con decenza. Egli hà mostrato di gradire il mio pensiere; onde spero che si principierà domenica a metterlo in esecuzione" (*ibid.*) *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 379; CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 508; "*Cifra al Litta," February 16, 1799 (*loc. cit.*).

period was causing his companions some concern. On hearing of it Cardinal Antonelli made so bold, being the first of his creatures, as to write him a letter, dated March 3rd, 1799,[1] and beautifully composed, on the blessings of the holy sacrifice and communion. He was particularly desirous that he should celebrate Mass sitting, as had been done by Benedict XIV. The letter was read to the Pope by Spina,[2] but in his reply of March 9th,[3] Pius declined to act on the suggestion, being unwilling to do what had once been refused to a highly respected Archbishop and would surely result in a series of similar petitions on the part of the episcopate in cases which were not as bad. Spina, however, was able to assure the anxious Cardinal that His Holiness would receive Communion again without fail on Holy Thursday.[4]

Even in these circumstances the French Directory showed itself to be incorrigible and continued to insist that the Pope's transference to Sardinia be carried out as soon as possible. On March 10th Chipault presented another of his Government's orders for departure, which was shown to be impracticable by further medical certificates and a declaration by the Pope himself.[5] But this made no impression on the Directory; a week passed and then another courier arrived—the fourth within a short time—from Florence, with the information that the Directory was now making the Grand Duke personally responsible for the prompt execution of the order.[6] Ferdinand III. assured the nuncio Odescalchi that he had no intention of pressing the Pope. Nevertheless, on March 18th, when the nuncio broached the matter to the Pope, Pius replied with unexpected composure and decisiveness that if the French were hoping to make it an excuse for occupying Tuscany they

[1] *Antonelli to the Pope, March 3, 1799 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 260 *seqq.*).

[2] *Spina to Antonelli, March 8, 1799 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 264).

[3] Pius VI. to Antonelli, March 9, 1799, reproduced in CELANI, *loc. cit.*, 511 *seq.*

[4] *Spina to Antonelli, March 16, 1799 (*loc. cit.*, fo. 268).

[5] TAVANTI, III., 376 *seq.*; BALDASSARI, 310.

[6] *Ibid.*, 315 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 378.

were not to have it; he was absolutely ready to depart.[1] Odescalchi was about to journey in advance to Leghorn to make the necessary arrangements when at the last minute another message came that Reinhard, the French ambassador in Florence, insisted on the Pope remaining where he was and would take the responsibility for the consequences on himself.[2]

But the Directory had other intentions. It had already laid before the Council of the Five Hundred the proposal that war be declared against Austria and Tuscany, and the proposal was now accepted.[3] The news of this reached Florence on March 21st. Three days later, on Easter Sunday, the Revolutionary troops entered the Grand Duchy, and on the 25th they were outside the gates of the capital. On the following morning a detachment of soldiers with two officers arrived at the Certosa and declared it to be under occupation though without questioning the security of the Pope.[4] A day or two afterwards, while Ferdinand III. was being driven from his throne and country, Pius VI. received the order to leave for Parma immediately.[5] There was no mention of any further destination, though in all probability it had already been decided to take him across the Alps.

"God's will be done!" With these words the Pope accepted the command and with resolution and willingness prepared himself for departure on the morning of March 28th, 1799.[6] Both his legs and part of his body being paralysed, he was quite unable to move, and his rigid body, convulsed with pain, had to be lifted into the carriage by four of the strongest servants.[7] The first day's journey was extremely tiring and

[1] Baldassari, 317.

[2] *Ibid.*, 318; *Odescalchi to Litta, March 18, 1799 (*loc. cit.*).

[3] De la Gorce, IV., 364; Baldassari, 321.

[4] Baldassari, 324 *seq.*; Tavanti, III., 379; Sala, *Diario di Roma*, III., 229 *seq.*

[5] Gaultier's order of March 29, 1799 (in the archives in Parma), in A. G. Tononi, *Il prigioniero apostolico Pio VI. nei ducati Parmensi* (April 1–18, 1799), Parma, 1896, 29 *seqq.* *Cf.* Poncet, 45.

[6] Baldassari, 327.

[7] *Ibid.*, 328.

when Maschera was reached in the evening the Pope's condition was so alarming that no one thought that the journey could be successfully completed.[1] Nevertheless, the snow-covered Apennines were crossed on the next day, during which Pius VI. lay in a delirium. At Bologna, the citadel of revolutionary life, the distinguished party was received with all the honours and attentions that befitted it. The military provided a guard for the Pope's quarters and even played him a serenade.[2]

From Bologna the journey was continued by way of Modena, where Cardinal Livizzani and the Bishop provided the best possible accommodation,[3] and Reggio to Parma, where at the instigation of the duke the party was given shelter in the great monastery of St. John the Evangelist. In spite of the copious rain, the inhabitants along the route between Bologna and Parma turned out in large numbers to show their sympathy. At Parma, too, where the weather was still most unfavourable, immense crowds were in the streets to greet the Pope, who by now had not even the strength to raise his hand in blessing.[4] On the day after his arrival personal visits were paid him by the duke, also by the duchess and her children and many of the most important inhabitants.[5] For the next few days the invalid was allowed to rest.

On April 10th, however, a fresh order came from the French generalissimo that the Pope was to start out for Turin within two hours.[6] When this news was imparted to the Pope his whole body was seized by a kind of paralysis, and his departure had to be postponed. The inhabitants' indignation at the French commander's heartlessness soon took threatening forms.[7] Skilful physicians and diplomatic representatives

[1] *Ibid.*, 329.

[2] *Ibid.*, 330 *seq.*

[3] At Modena the Pope was publicly insulted (BALDASSARI, 334; TONONI, 7).

[4] TONONI, 8 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 9 *seq.*; TAVANTI, III., 379; BALDASSARI, 340 *seq.*

[6] BALDASSARI, 342 *seq.*; TONONI, 11 *seq.*

[7] BALDASSARI, 344 *seqq.*

prepared fresh memoranda on the dangerous state of the Pope's health,[1] but to no purpose. The French, fearing the victorious advance of the Austrians, insisted on the journey being continued without delay, unless the duke was willing to expose his country to immediate military occupation and a political revolution at the hands of the Republican army.[2] On hearing of this threat the Pope made up his mind, as he had done in Florence, to leave the town as soon as possible. On the morning of April 14th he was accompanied to the frontier by mounted Parmesans.[3] Though hope was steadily receding, he made not the slightest complaint or gave any sign of indignation, but abandoned himself to what might yet befall him.

The next stopping-places after Parma were Borgo San Donnino, where Cardinal Gonzaga, who had taken refuge there, and the Bishop received the Pope in a befitting manner, and the missionary college of San Lazzaro, outside Piacenza, a foundation of Cardinal Alberoni's.[4] When the journey was resumed a detour was made to avoid the town, whose gates had been closed to prevent the inhabitants streaming out to greet the Pope. Suddenly, however, the order came to turn back at once owing to the anticipated advance of the enemy's armies. This time the people of Piacenza were successful in having the Pope pass through their town, to the immense joy of the countless throngs of the faithful. The missionary college was only too glad to have the Holy Father back within its walls.[5] On the same day, however, the order was given for the journey to be continued by another route. This, owing to the hardships that had just been endured and the extreme exhaustion of the Pope, was impracticable. The prelate's

[1] TONONI, 15 *seq.*; BALDASSARI, 346 *seq.* The continuation of the journey was also impeded by natural forces, such as the "grosso torrente Taro" which was found impossible to cross.

[2] BALDASSARI, 349; PONCET, 49.

[3] TONONI, 16.

[4] TAVANTI, III., 380 *seq.*; TONONI, 16 *seqq.*; BALDASSARI, 353.

[5] BALDASSARI, 355 *seqq.*; TONONI, 19 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 408.

refusal to move gave rise to altercations with the French officers,[1] who were anxious about the security of the hostages entrusted to their care ; the bridge across the Po had already been occupied by the military and it was said that the thunder of the enemy's guns had been heard in the town.[2]

The Papal party set out very early the next day and two laborious hours were spent in crossing the swollen Trebbia by means of a flying bridge, from which a coach and a horse fell into the floods, the latter having to be left to drown.[3] At Castel San Giovanni the local officials, disregarding the annoyance of the French, paid the Pope all the honours due to his position and showed their grief at his pitiable plight. In the evening the people assembled in the church with their parish priest, to pray for the Holy Father, whom they had seen being carried like a lifeless corpse by two of his domestics into the quarters prepared for him. The party was joined here by the former Spanish ambassador, Pedro Labrador, who henceforward was to represent Cardinal Lorenzana in his dealings with the Pope but for a long time was unable to enter his presence.[4] Here, as at Parma and Borgo San Donnino, the Pope's stay is recorded in inscriptions.[5] The next day the frontier of the Duchy of Parma was left behind and the sick and aged man, utterly exhausted, was carried on to Voghera, Tortona, and Alessandria, where there was a day's rest, rendered still more welcome by the kindly hospitality offered by the Bishop. The party then proceeded via Casale di Monserrato and Crescentino to Turin. In all the smaller towns full honours were paid to their exalted guest, not only by the civil and military officials and the people, but also by the French commandant.[6] To avoid demonstrations in the formerly royal city of Turin arrangements were made for the Pope's carriage to arrive there at night by unfrequented

[1] Baldassari, 358.
[2] Tononi, 21 *seq.*
[3] Baldassari, 361 ; Tononi, 23.
[4] Baldassari, 362 ; Gendry, II., 408 *seq.* ; Tononi, 24 *seq.*
[5] Tononi, 27.
[6] Baldassari, 363 *seqq.*

routes.[1] Although the Pope was so worn out as hardly to be conscious, he was apprised of the order to set out again at dawn on the following day. But the preparations for the drive over the mountains were so meticulous and troublesome that no move could be made until it was nearly midnight.[2] At Susa the Pope and his companions learnt to the dismay of the latter than instead of Grenoble, as had been formerly intended, the far more cheerless Briançon had been fixed as their place of residence.[3] From Susa onwards the Pope, having been made to abandon his carriage, was conveyed in a litter borne by four relays of four servants each, while the rest of the party had to be content with mules. The way led through steep walls of snow and precipitous rocky gorges, over brushwood and narrow, swaying bridges. At times the route had been rendered undistinguishable by masses of freshly fallen snow. In spite of the bitter cold not a word of complaint came from the sick old man ; on the contrary, he encouraged his companions.[4] When the frontier between Italy and France was crossed on April 30th the name of the village on the Italian side, Cesana, may well have awakened in his mind mournful memories of his distant birthplace, with its similarly sounding name, Cesena.

The track led through deep snow and slush and over slippery ice to the top of Mont-Genèvre,[5] then down to Briançon, a lonely mountain hamlet with seven decayed forts. Here the party was accommodated in the commandant's house in extremely confined and uncomfortable quarters. Apart from a few hostile demonstrations the poor Alpine population showed a touching sympathy with the Pope in his misfortune.[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, 369 *seqq.* ; TAVANTI, III., 381.

[2] BALDASSARI, 372 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 375.

[4] *Ibid.*, 377 *seqq.* ; PONCET, 51 ; GENDRY, II., 410 ; TAVANTI, III., 382 ; the crossing is illustrated in REYNAUD, *Pie à Valence*, 10–11 ; *cf. ibid.*, 11.

[5] BALDASSARI, 380.

[6] *Ibid.*, 381, 383 *seqq.* ; PONCET, 52 *seq.* ; FRANCLIEU, *Pie VI.*

Life in Briançon was, indeed, monotonous and trying, especially as the Pope, henceforward referred to merely as "*citoyen pape*", was treated as the hostage of a State which had carried out the most terrible persecution of the clergy of modern times and whose final aim was the destruction of the Papacy. Only once did the noise of the outside world penetrate to this remote and lonely spot. After two weeks had been spent here the rumour arose that General Suvarov, with German and Russian troops, was on his way to Susa and the mountains for the purpose of freeing the Pope.[1] The local French commissary, Bérard, insisted on the party moving further into France, accusing the Pope and his companions of treacherous intrigues with the enemy. The Pope's condition showing no improvement, it was found impossible to move him, but his chief companions were taken away from him.[2] On June 8th, after bidding him an affecting farewell and receiving his blessing, they left for Grenoble, where they were treated as prisoners of State.[3] The confessor Fantini and two valets stayed behind with the Pope at Briançon.

In less than three weeks the Pope, now almost a complete cripple, hardly able to stand,[4] had to follow his companions to Grenoble, in spite of the physicians' energetic protests and a heavy fall of snow which persisted despite the advanced season of the year.[5] The journey was made by carriage in the shortest possible stages, and everywhere the Pope was greeted and escorted not only by the curious but also—and these were far more numerous—by faithful adherents of the

dans les prisons du Dauphiné, Montreuil, [2]1892, 15 *seq.*, 251 *seq.* *Cf.* the letter from an inhabitant of Briançon in LECLERCQ, *Martyrs*, XIII., 70 *seq.*

[1] BALDASSARI, 387, 391; GENDRY, II., 411; TAVANTI, III., 391 *seq.*

[2] LECLERCQ, *Martyrs*, XIII., 72.

[3] BALDASSARI, 397–402 *seqq.*

[4] PONCET, 55.

[5] BALDASSARI, 408 *seq.* The cost of the stay in Briançon is set out in LECLERCQ, XIII., 76 *seq.*

Church.[1] He was pleasantly surprised on reaching Grenoble on July 6th to be offered accommodation in her château by a lady of distinction, the Marquise de Vaux.[2] A huge crowd outside the house kept on calling for the Pope's blessing until he was carried on to the balcony. When he appeared the square rang to the shouts of jubilation, among which were heard unmistakable imprecations against the French commissary.[3] It was only after great difficulties that the Pope's companions who had preceded him were allowed to rejoin him. But as the time originally allotted for the Pope's stay in Grenoble had to be extended on medical instructions—the final destination had still not yet been reached—some of the prelates had again to go on in advance on July 9th. Among them were Spina, Caracciolo, Marotti, and Baldassari.[4] The last-named entered in his notebooks all the details of the Pope's long journey into exile.[5] Meanwhile the government of the Department of Drôme was also making all the necessary arrangements for the accommodation in Valence of the "former so-called Pope".

On July 10th Grenoble was left behind and the journey was again continued in short daily stages.[6] According to report

[1] GENDRY, II., 412; LECLERCQ, 79 *seqq.*; TAVANTI, III., 393 *seq.*

[2] BALDASSARI, 413; PONCET, 57; FRANCLIEU, 97 *seqq.*

[3] GENDRY, II., 416; TAVANTI, III., 395. Labrador wrote from here that this continual worrying of the aged Pope was more inhuman than killing him straight off (to the commissary Réal, July 5, 1799; in FRANCLIEU, 288 *seq.*).

[4] GENDRY, II., 420 *seq.* Illustration of the entry into Grenoble in REYNAUD, 12–13. *Cf.* also FRANCLIEU for a complete account.

[5] *Relazione delle avversità e patimenti del glorioso Papa Pio VI. negli ultimi tre anni del suo pontificato*, Roma, 1840,[2] Modena, 1840–3. The German translation, by Fr. X. Steck (Tübingen, 1844), which we have used, was based on the French edition by De Lacouture (Paris, 1839), which in its turn was based on the first publication of the work in the Modenese periodical *Memorie di religione, di morale e di letteratura.*

[6] GENDRY, II., 416 *seq.*; BALDASSARI, 423. General Merck, whose book, *La captivité et la mort de Pie VI.* (Londres, 1814),

the people assembled to greet the Pope were most numerous at Romans. Girls dressed in white walked before him strewing flowers. When the shutters of his carriage were let down the people broke out into threats until they were again allowed to view his sacred person.[1] Arrived at his quarters he had again to be carried on to the balcony, where he blessed the crowd shouting out to see him.[2]

The long awaited travelling carriage finally reached Valence on the morning of July 14th and the dying Pope's last journey was at an end. He was declared to be an ordinary prisoner of the French Republic[3] and was allotted as a dwelling the so-called *Hôtel du Gouvernement*, a three-storied building in the middle of the citadel, lying between the courtyard and the garden. According to the accounts of the Department commissary Curnier, the old building had been left unused and neglected for a long time before the arrival of the Pope.[4] The furniture and even some of the doors had gone, the wallpaper was worn away, and the beds in the few rooms that could be locked were rotting with age. Through the kindness of the inhabitants, especially the local gentry, the house had quickly been rendered habitable, and now offered quite good quarters.[5]

was published by his widow, puts a good complexion on his actions both on this as on other occasions. His book makes no attempt at historical accuracy. Baldassari (viii) calls it pure fiction. For Spina's protest against Merck, *v.* GENDRY, II., 414, n. 3. REYNAUD (11 *seq.*), however, accepts these fairy-stories in his jubilee publication.

[1] BALDASSARI, 425 *seq.*; TAVANTI, III., 396; FRANCLIEU, 145 *seq.*; PONCET, 84 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 86 *seqq.*, an officer's report.

[2] BALDASSARI, 428 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 433 *seq.*

[4] PONCET, 63. In 1874 the building was replaced by cavalry barracks (FRANCLIEU, 253).

[5] BALDASSARI, 421 *seqq.* The Marquise de Veynes and Madame Championnet were especially prominent in this charitable work. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 414; LECLERCQ, XIII., 97 *seqq.*; REYNAUD, 13; PONCET, 66; TAVANTI, III., 397. On July 15, 1799, the Pope sent a *Brief of thanks "Francisco archiep. Valentino" for his gifts, lamenting that "in dies gravius urgimur incommodo

From his bedroom the Pope could enjoy a view of the majestic course of the Rhône and the chains of hills that rose beyond it.[1]

Ample precautions had been taken for the guarding of the Pope: the posts outside the Papal apartments were permanently manned by two officers and more than ten men, and the vicinity of the house was patrolled to prevent a crowd assembling.[2] Strangers were admitted only with the permission of the Government, and the domestic staff were provided with passes.[3] The regulations for the accommodation of the exalted prisoner were drawn up with such meticulousness and thoroughness by the various officials [4] that they contradicted themselves in many cases, and the officials themselves were at variance as to the limits of their powers. Boveron, a member of the Departmental administration, had the courage to protest on behalf of the Pope against the inhumanity of the rulings laid down by his colleagues, and he refused to put his hand to them.[5]

Although the prisoner of Valence was guarded with ever-increasing strictness and the sentries were inspected daily by the commandant [6] many persons made their way into the

itineris longissimi in quo congesti fuimus" (Papal Secret Archives, *Epist. ad princ.*, 194, fo. 162). This volume containing the Briefs written in captivity is marked "Exulante pontifice litterae quae hoc in volumine continentur non in forma brevis, ut moris est, sed privatim tantum scriptae atque expeditae fuerunt Josepho Marotti secretario".

[1] "Oh! Che bella vista!" exclaimed the Pope (GENDRY, II., 417).

[2] BALDASSARI, 435; REYNAUD, 14.

[3] BALDASSARI, 436; PONCET, 73.

[4] The Département officials, for example, produced an order with twenty articles (LECLERCQ, XIII., 100 *seqq.*); these and other regulations in PONCET, 59 *seqq.*, 67 *seqq.*

[5] Similar protests were made by Curnier, who had been instructed by the Directory to keep a special watch on the Pope. GENDRY, II., 415 *seq.*; LECLERCQ, XIII., 104; PONCET, 74–82 (Boveron's protest is dealt with on pp. 89–94).

[6] PONCET, 107.

Pope's apartments and reached his presence without permission. It was evident that the appearance of every visitor gave him pleasure and he indicated by a slight movement of the hand that he was giving him his blessing.[1] Boveron came almost daily and whenever the Pope was strong enough conversed with him in Italian. Finally, however, even this Government representative was refused entry.[2]

For the first few days after the Pope's arrival in Valence his health had improved a little, probably as the result of the rest after the long journey.[3] But soon his physical powers began to fail again. The physician paid him short visits twice daily. At Valence the Pope was no longer able to give his attention to the direction of the Church. The only exception he made was to deal with the far-reaching desires of the Spanish Government which the ambassador at last had the opportunity of putting before him. To some he gave his approval, others he rejected. He could not be persuaded, however, to be so complaisant towards Spain as to allow the Court of Madrid to shoulder almost alone the expense of maintaining the Papal household at Valence. He said with heroic firmness: "I cannot sell my soul in order to live a few days longer." But Labrador, too, was magnanimous enough to stay with the dying Pope and to see to his physical welfare and that of his entourage.[4] Pius spent each day in prayer and a little reading; every morning he heard two Masses and during the day, if the weather was good, he was taken for a walk in the garden; in the evening he gathered all his companions around him for the saying of the Rosary.[5]

Soon, however, his condition became critical. He could hardly take any nourishment and he could no longer be taken into the open air.[6] Nevertheless, on July 22nd, in the hottest part of the summer, the Directory in Paris was inhuman

[1] Leclercq, XIII., 106.
[2] Baldassari, 437; Poncet, 108 *seq.*
[3] Gendry, II., 418.
[4] *Ibid.*, 439 *seqq.*
[5] Gendry, II., 418; Poncet, 111.
[6] Poncet, 113.

enough to order his removal to Dijon,[1] either because the enemy's forces were steadily approaching or because it was feared that riots in favour of the former sovereign might break out in the neighbouring Avignon. On the strength of a firm protest made by the physician, however,[2] counter-representations were made by the Departmental authorities and the departure was put off provisionally till August 12th. Preparations for the departure were begun but the Pope's condition was so serious that it was found impossible to carry out the order. The administrator and the commissaries satisfied themselves of the truth of this by viewing the patient themselves.[3]

Meanwhile, on the feast of the Assumption, a slight improvement took place. The Pope again assisted at two Masses and took Communion. As he was in surprisingly good spirits afterwards, mention was made of the projected move. He answered dolefully that he would have liked to spend his last few hours in Valence but that he resigned himself to the will of God.[4] As it happened, on the next day he was worse again, a comatose stupor denoting that whatever little strength he had had was now completely exhausted.[5]

On August 18th, feeling a little better, he left his bed and tried to pray on an easy chair, but he could no longer collect his thoughts. In spite of this his improved condition continued for a while, but on the next night but one he was seized with fearful convulsions alternating with lethargy.[6] Further medical attention was of no avail; blood was vomited painlessly, pointing to paralysis of the internal organs. And then, suddenly, the more his physical strength failed the more his mental faculties regained their former vigour.[7] On August 27th

[1] GENDRY, II., 419; BALDASSARI, 441; LECLERCQ, XIII., 108; TAVANTI, III., 398 *seq.*; FRANCLIEU, 171.

[2] His attestation in LECLERCQ, XIII., 111. *Cf.* PONCET, 120.

[3] BALDASSARI, 449; PONCET, 124.

[4] GENDRY, II., 420.

[5] BALDASSARI, 442 *seq.*

[6] GENDRY, II., 422; PONCET, 124.

[7] BALDASSARI, 443 *seq.*

he expressed the firm desire of being clothed in his priestly vestments and of receiving the Body of the Lord. When Spina brought the Sacrament into the sick-room the Pope laid his hand on the Bible and in a clear voice made his solemn confession of faith. Then, together with Caracciolo, he recited the Confiteor and the responses.[1] On the same day he instructed Spina to draw up a new will, which he signed. In it he remembered all his loyal companions who had shared in his misfortune and rewarded them as well as his slender resources would permit. Spina was appointed executor.[2]

It was now only a question of hours. On the following day he left his bed again and later on Spina administered the holy oils to the dying Pope, who was completely clear in his mind and conscious of what was taking place.[3] About midday a slight alleviation was observed—the last before the final dissolution. In the evening he again found it difficult to breathe. Summoning all his strength he pressed the hands of all the clerics present as if to thank them and to bid them farewell, and said in a loud voice, "Father, forgive them," whereupon Fantini imparted the plenary indulgence to the dying. All then said the prayers for the dying. At twenty minutes past one Fantini suddenly stopped, for the Pope, making a final effort, was raising his right hand. With the crucifix he gave the triple blessing to those present and with them, too, the whole ungrateful world from which he was now departing. His arm dropped listlessly on to the bed and the crucifix slipped from his grasp. After a few minutes of grievous agony the face quivered slightly and the physician assured himself that death had taken place.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 445; GENDRY, II., 422; PONCET, 125 *seqq.*

[2] Text in BALDASSARI, 447, and PONCET, 157 (with its shaky signature). *Cf.* LECLERCQ, XIII., 115 *seq.*, and FRANCLIEU, 213.

[3] GENDRY, II., 423.

[4] BALDASSARI, 450 *seqq.*; FRANCLIEU, 189; GENDRY, II., 424; LECLERCQ, XIII., 117; PONCET, 130 *seq.*; TAVANTI, III., 401 *seq.* Illustration in REYNAUD, 16–17. *Cf.* *Pedro Labrador to Azara on August 29, 1799, from Valence: "S.S. conservó el uso de su razón hasta el ultimo punto de su vida y si durante ella

It was daybreak on August 29th, 1799. A pontificate of twenty-four years, six months, and two weeks—the longest since that of St. Peter [1]—had come to an end. In the sufferings of his last years Pius VI. had become an heroic follower of Christ with whom he kept faith unflinchingly and in whose footsteps he trod as few others had done. And the greatest and last action performed by this silent sufferer from whom, as he neared his end, all human frailties fell away like veiling draperies, was to forgive his enemies and bless the world which to a large extent had turned against him in revolt and hatred.

On hearing of the Pope's decease the civil officials of Valence appeared in their robes of office. In the afternoon the death certificate was made out,[2] and this was followed by an autopsy lasting four hours and the embalming of the corpse by Morelli [3] in the presence of the higher officials and the Papal retinue. The latter operation was performed at Spina's request, that the mortal remains might be more conveniently conveyed to the Eternal City.[4] This was the late Pope's last request, and Spina immediately applied to the Departmental authorities for permission to carry it out. The application was forwarded to Paris. Labrador also wrote to Paris for the same object.[5] The Pope's belongings were laid under seal and listed.[6] Caracciolo, as Pronotary, drew up an authenticated record of the Pope's death and its immediate circumstances,[7] while Spina wrote a circular letter to the Cardinals, informing them

fue por su constancia sobrehumana un continuo motivo de admiracion, no se ha mostrado menos portentoso por la inalterable serenidad con que se ha acercado al sepulcro " (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[1] PONCET, 133.

[2] BALDASSARI, 454 *seq.*; GENDRY, II., 425.

[3] The result of the autopsy in PONCET, 139 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 144; BALDASSARI, 455.

[5] GENDRY, II., 425 *seq.*, 492; BALDASSARI, 465. The text of Spina's petition in PONCET, 151 *seq.* (Labrador's letter on p. 153).

[6] The list in LECLERCQ, XIII., 119 *seqq.*; PONCET, 175 *seqq.* The total value was about 13,000 francs.

[7] Text in BALDASSARI, 519 *seqq.*, and PONCET, 147 *seqq.*

of the sad event.[1] Meanwhile the corpse had been clothed in ecclesiastical vestments and enclosed in a leaden coffin, which in its turn was placed in one of black walnut. The heart and entrails were put into a leaden urn.[2]

These mortal remains were taken to the simple chapel of the citadel, where the customary nine-days' exequies were begun on August 30th. The furniture consisted only of four candlesticks of poor quality and a few leaves of hyssop to serve as an aspergillum.[3] All the more sincere, however, was the sympathy shown by the local inhabitants, who in spite of the prohibition and the obstacles placed in their way by the civil officials, managed to enter the chapel with no assistance from the clerics.[4] After the days of mourning were over the coffin remained in a vaulted chamber immediately beneath the chapel. Shortly afterwards the lay servants were given their passports and were discharged, while the clerics stayed behind to see to the transference of the corpse to Rome.[5]

A long time passed before there was any prospect of fulfilling this desire. At the beginning of October General Bonaparte, when on his way back from the Egyptian expedition, touched at Valence and in the course of a drive inquired in the most friendly manner of Spina and his companions what were their intentions regarding themselves and the late Pope. On hearing their reply he promised to use his personal influence for them in Paris.[6] In a few weeks permits to leave the country arrived for the clerics also, whereupon five of them left Valence on November 9th, Spina and Monsignore Malo remaining behind.[7] Throughout the Catholic world solemn services were held in honour of the dead Pope.[8]

It was not until the Directory had been deprived of power

[1] Gendry, II., 441 *seq.*; Baldassari, 465; Poncet, 147.

[2] Gendry, II., 426. The inscription on the coffin in Poncet, 151.

[3] Baldassari, 456.

[4] *Ibid.*, 457; Gendry, II., 428.

[5] Baldassari, 458. In Poncet, 163, is the list of all the thirty-two members of the Papal household.

[6] Baldassari, 466 *seqq.*; Poncet, 206 *seq.*

[7] Gendry, II., 430. [8] *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*; Baldassari, 464.

by Bonaparte's *coup d'état* of that same November 9th, the 18th Brumaire, and he himself had been promoted to the leadership of the country as First Consul, that precise instructions were issued regarding the disposal of the Pope's body.[1] Spina's request, however, was not yet granted; instead, in December, an order came from the new Government that the coffin that had been laid aside in the citadel chapel was to be buried in Valence as soon as possible, with full military and public honours, and that a simple but befitting monument was to be erected to the Pope.[2] All the necessary measures were taken with great promptitude by the competent authorities. Spina was able to prevent a Constitutional Bishop conducting the funeral,[3] but he had to refrain from taking a personal part in the ceremony so as not to give his silent consent to a deed that was directly contrary to his master's last wish.[4]

On the morning of the appointed day, January 30th, 1800, the town was aroused by the firing of cannon, and at nine o'clock the National Guard, in full equipment, paraded in the square outside the citadel. At ten o'clock the leading municipal, State, and military officials appeared in full dress with signs of mourning. After the seals had been inspected and the registration completed, the imposing procession, accompanying the coffin on a plain carriage, set out for the graveyard of St. Catherine, a little over a mile away.[5] After military

[1] The French Ministry of the Interior feared that if the Pope's body was taken back to Italy Francophobe disturbances would break out there. *Cf.* *Labrador to Urquizo, Paris, October 27, 1799: (the Minister said) "que no hay otro reparo para permitir la translacion que el temor de que en los pueblos de Italia por donde pase, se aumente con este motivo la persecucion contra los que se mostraron afectos a la República francesa. Queda pues depositado en la capilla de la Ciudadela hasta que varíen las circunstancias" (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome).

[2] GENDRY, II., 431; PONCET, 208 *seq.*; FRANCLIEU, 221.

[3] GENDRY, II., 433; BALDASSARI, 470 *seq.*

[4] PONCET, 220 *seq.*

[5] An illustration of the procession in REYNAUD, 18–19; an account, *ibid.*, 19 *seq.* The whole ceremony in PONCET, 214–18;

honours had been paid there the coffin and urn were placed in a vault while the military band played mournful airs. After further salutes from the guns the procession returned to the town.[1] There were no clergy present, no prayers were said, and no blessing was given.

Spina left the town the next day, but he knew no rest until the Pope's last wish had been fulfilled.[2] It was not till after Bonaparte had made peace with the Church by the concordat of 1801 that the requests put to him by Pius VII. were granted: the mighty Consul gave permission for the remains of Pius VI. to be transferred to the Eternal City.[3] On the night of Christmas Eve, 1801, in accordance with Government instructions, the coffin and urn were removed from the vault in the presence of the local authorities of Valence and a guard of forty grenadiers. The task occupied nearly all the night; the record of the proceedings was signed in the early morning by Boveron, the acting mayor; the wording was objected to by the central authority as not conforming with the prescribed simplicity.[4]

When Spina arrived in Valence to fulfil his last duty towards his old master, the coffin and urn, which had been kept in a locked room in the prefecture, were delivered to him after the seals and record had been examined.[5] Every formality having been settled, Spina left again on February 1st, 1802. The Pope's body had already left Valence on January 11th. It was taken by carriage to Marseilles, thence by ship to Genoa, and from there to Lerici.[6] From Lerici it went by land

the record of the proceedings, *ibid.*, 231–5; *ibid.*, 235 *seq.*, the funeral expenses.

[1] BALDASSARI, 472 *seq.*

[2] GENDRY, II., 447.

[3] PONCET, 241 *seqq.*

[4] GENDRY, II., 448 *seq.* The text of the record in PONCET, 245–251; *ibid.*, 252–277, the discussions with the Prefecture, which eventually quashed the report.

[5] PONCET, 270–3.

[6] GENDRY, II., 450. Spina's letters to Consalvi about the conveyance of the corpse to Italy in FRANCLIEU, 360 *seq.*

via Pisa, Florence, and Siena, to Rome, the greatest respect being paid to it all along the route.[1] Rome was reached on February 17th, and here a solemn procession, including 400 torch-bearers, accompanied the hearse to St. Peter's, where Pope Pius VII. and his Cardinals were waiting to receive it.[2] On the following night the coffin and urn were opened, the body was clothed in new vestments, and a new inscription was affixed to the coffin.[3] The next day the solemn exequies were performed in St. Peter's; the Requiem was celebrated by Cardinal Antonelli in the presence of the Pope, the panegyric was delivered by Gioacchino Tosi, and Pius VII. himself pronounced the absolution over the catafalque, around which 600 candles were burning. The coffin was then exposed in the customary fashion for the veneration of the faithful.[4]

The coffin was finally deposited in the Grotte Vaticane, but it was not till twenty years later, on November 26th, 1822, that an impressive statue of the sorrowful Pope, a masterpiece of Canova's, was erected opposite the Confessio of St. Peter.[5] Pius VI. is portrayed kneeling with folded hands and bared head; his gaze, directed upwards, is full of devotion and sublimated suffering, of patience, and a trust in God so firmly rooted that the bitterest misfortune could not rob him of it.[6]

The leaden urn containing the Pope's internal organs was taken back to Southern France in fulfilment of the desire

[1] GENDRY, II., 451.

[2] *Ibid.*, 454 *seqq.*

[3] BALDASSARI, 474, where also the inscription is reproduced. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 457.

[4] *Ibid.*, 458. For particulars about the funeral ceremonies see the Vatican Archives, "Prelati in carica," Sm., 7th document.

[5] *Ibid.*, 459, and n. 1. Canova died a week before the dedication.

[6] Illustrations in F. J. BAYER, *Papstbuch* (München, 1925), and MALAMANI, *Canova*, 278. *Cf.* ALBERIGO AGNOLETTO, *Canova e l'arte sacra*, Rome (n.d.), 10 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, *Papstgräber*, 94; GENDRY, I. (frontispiece). *Cf.* also our account, Vol. XXXIX., 26 n.

expressed by the Bishop of Valence and backed by Spina.[1] Cacault, who was once again the French *chargé d'affaires* in Rome, acquired for the Bishop a bust of the Pope made in the studio of one of Canova's pupils, Laboureur. [2] It was Cacault, too, who arranged for the transference of the precious relics in the urn, after Pius VII. had acceded to Spina's request in November 1802.[3] On December 29th they were taken with great solemnity from Rome to Civitavecchia [4] and thence by sea to Toulon, which was reached in early January, 1803. Here they were fetched from the ship by the Archbishop of Aix in person, attended by the clergy, and were escorted by a vast procession through the town to the principal church, where for several days on end pontifical Masses and, in the evening, the office for the dead were celebrated.[5] On March 21st, after the arrival of detailed instructions from the Government, the relics left Toulon for Marseilles, where, although the holding of religious services in public was still prohibited, the memory of the Pope was celebrated with full ceremony in the cathedral, under the leadership of the same Archbishop.[6] On March 26th the urn was exposed all day in the cathedral at Avignon and on the 29th it reached Valence. Accompanied by a grand procession headed by the civil authorities it was conveyed to the cathedral, where it was taken over by the Bishop.[7] In thanking those who had brought the relics from Rome he spoke some words that fittingly described the change that had taken place during the

[1] GENDRY, II., 459. *Cf.* Spina to Consalvi, November 6, 1802, in THEINER, *Docum.*, II., xxxviii *seq.*

[2] GENDRY, II., 461 *seq.*; PONCET, 285 *seqq.*; illustration of the bust in REYNAUD, 22.

[3] PONCET, 293 *seq.*

[4] GENDRY, II., 460 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 463. *Cf.* Archbishop Cicé's own account in THEINER, *Docum.*, II., xl *seq.*

[6] Cicé's panegyric, delivered at Marseilles, *ibid.*, xli *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, xliv *seqq.*, the Archbishop's full account of the journey, and xlix *seqq.*, the official report of the ceremonies at Valence. *Cf.* GENDRY, II., 465 *seqq.*

last few years in the ecclesiastical situation—words which would have given the greatest joy to Pius VI. "On your return to Rome, let it be known that in France the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith is flourishing again, with the most promising signs for the future." [1]

On the following morning, after a solemn service, the urn was placed provisionally in a side-chapel. Finally, on October 19th, 1811, the execution of the monument to Pius VI. had proceeded sufficiently far [2] for the cathedral chapter to reopen and re-examine the urn, two days after which it was finally deposited in the monument.[3] On October 25th the consecration of the monument was performed, amid a vast assembly of the faithful, by Spina, who meanwhile had become Archbishop of Genoa and a Cardinal of the Roman Church.[4] This was the last mark of affection he could show the man with whom he had shared all the sufferings of exile with loyal devotion. They must have arisen in his memory with redoubled vividness on that day, twelve years after the great sufferer had passed away. For it had taken all that time for his mortal remains to find their final resting-place.

"The death of Pius VI. has, as it were, placed a seal on the glory of philosophy in modern times." These words were used in a malignant obituary article on the great sufferer of Valence that appeared in a Paris newspaper.[5] The times were such that it was thought possible to deliver funeral orations on the Papacy and to welcome with joy its permanent dissolution. The Church's enemies were jubilant that the cockade was attached to the Papal tiara, that the banners of popular

[1] Detailed account in PONCET, 298–305.

[2] For the continual delays, *v.* GENDRY, II., 469 *seqq.*

[3] PONCET, 306 *seqq.*

[4] GENDRY, II., 471 (*ibid.*, 472, Gaetano Marini's inscription on the monument); PONCET, 311. The cathedral was raised to the status of a basilica by Pius IX., who also conferred the pectoral cross on the chapter (*ibid.*, 313 *seq.*).

[5] *Courrier universel*, of September 8, 1799. *Cf.* BALDASSARI, 459, 476.

government were waving over the Papal tombs, that the body of the exiled Pope had been buried in unconsecrated ground. The capital of Christendom had become the booty of the Revolution, the highest dignitaries of the Church had been scattered to the winds.

This then was the doleful end of the intellectual progress of the century of " enlightenment ". Gallicanism and Jansenism, Febronianism and Josephism, still concealing their hostility to the Papacy with fine-sounding words, had gnawed at the Church's vitals from within, while the spirit of the Encyclopedists and " philosophers " threatened it from without. The extreme shortsightedness of many princes and diplomats facilitated rather than hindered the advent of the evil ; they had no conception that the storm of hatred, once unleashed among the people, would engulf their thrones along with the altars, human authority along with the divine. After everything traditional had been destroyed in the flames of the Revolution it looked as if the last hour had struck for the Roman Papacy as well.

But the miraculous happened once again. The rock of Peter rides the storm of every century. The greatest and most mysterious feature of the history of the Church of Christ is that the periods of its deepest humiliation are also those of its greatest power and unconquerable strength. For the Church, death and the grave are symbols not of extinction but of resurrection. The catacombs of early times and the persecutions of the present day are but titles to fame. At the beginning of the modern era of Papal history the disturbances of the great schism and the secularization of thought brought forth the brilliant victory of the Catholic reformation and restoration. Between the exile of Avignon and that of Valence there was the rise and fall of 500 years. But this was not the end : even the humiliation of 1799 bore within itself the germ of another display of strength.

All great things are born in quietness and obscurity. As one stands on the Piazzetta in Venice and looks across the open lagoons the eye is held by the gloriously situated church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, the wonderful, fortress-like building of

Palladio. This island monastery was chosen by Providence to be the starting-point of a new era in the history of the Papacy. Here, welcomed with simple hospitality by the sons of St. Benedict, on December 1st of that year of misfortune, 1799, thirty-five Cardinals met for the election of a new representative of Christ. Their unobtrusive action was an important event in the history of the world.

On March 14th, 1800, Barnaba Chiaramonti, once a Benedictine of Monte Cassino, left the lonely island of S. Giorgio as the newly elected Pope Pius VII. He shared with his unfortunate predecessor not only the same Papal name and the same native town—for he, too, was born in Cesena—but also for long periods his bitter fate. Nevertheless, he succeeded in re-erecting the Holy See in Rome and in restoring and securing the ecclesiastical organization in France and Germany. The defenceless successor of the Galilean fisherman had won a lasting victory over the Terror of the Revolution and the tyranny of a world-conqueror. For Christ still walks with Peter on the waves, and for his successors the words still hold good: "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam.*"

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XL.

AIGUILLON, Duc d' (French foreign minister), 112.
Albani, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco, 71, 314, 317, 323, 368, 370.
Albani, Giuseppe (Auditor-General of Camera), 310, 313, 328, 359–361, 367–8.
Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Stadholder of Netherlands), 65.
Alfieri (poet), 215.
Altieri, Cardinal Vincenzo Maria, 338–9, 358, 369.
Andrea of Gallerani, Blessed, 358.
Antici, Marchese Tommaso (Bavarian agent at Rome, later Cardinal), 31, 36, 317, 338–9, 358, 369.
Antonelli, Cardinal Leonardo, 71, 336, 338, 358, 364, 369–370, 376, 393.
Aranda, Count (President of the Council of Castile), 220 n.
Arena, 231.
Arnoldi (secretary at the Congress of Ems), 45.
Asseburg, von der (Bishop of Paderborn), 5.
Augereau, General, 349.
Azara, José Nicolas de (Spanish ambassador in Rome and Paris), 177, 229, 233–4, 246, 290, 292, 295–7, 299–303, 305–8, 315, 323–4, 327–8, 332–3, 335–6, 345–6, 364, 366.

BALDASSARI, 383.
Balore (Bishop of Alais), 92.
Barberi, Cardinal (fiscal), 297, 339.
Barnave, 118, 136, 165, 170, 171, 209.
Barras, 348.
Barthélemy, 348–9.
Bassville, Hugon de, 229–230, 233–240, 243, 293.
Bausset (Bishop of Alais), 126.
Beaumarchais, 108.
Beaumont, Christophe de (Archbishop of Paris), 4, 90.
Becdelièvre, C. P. de la (Bishop of Nîmes), 91.
Bécherel, François (Bishop of Valence), 394.
Beck, Franz Heinrich (ex-Jesuit), 2, 19, 25, 27.
Beck, Ludwig Joseph (Vicar-General of Trier), 27, 44, 46–7.
Belle (painter), 214.
Bellisomi, Cardinal Carlo (nuncio to Cologne and Lisbon), 1–5, 11, 25, 36, 41.
Bender, General, 75.
Bérard (commandant of Briançon), 382.
Berdolet (Constitutional Bishop of Aix-la-Chapelle), 173.
Bergier (theologian), 10 n.
Bernard (French agent in Rome), 217, 219, 231, 233, 242.
Bernis, Cardinal François Joachim de Pierre de (French envoy in Rome), 88, 90, 119, 145–7, 151–2, 155–6, 161, 176, 183, 214–17, 246, 248–9, 251, 261, 265, 268.
Berthier, General, 332–4, 339.
Berthier (Jesuit), 104 n.

Besons, A. B. de (Bishop of Carcassonne), 91.
Blignières, de (French deputy), 195.
Boisgelin de Cicé, J. R. (Archbishop of Aix), 91 n., 118–19, 122, 135, 138, 150, 165, 169, 275.
Boissy d'Anglas, 282.
Bonal (Archbishop of Clermont-Ferrand), 92, 120–1, 136–9, 150, 165, 169.
Bonaparte, Joseph, 325, 329–331.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 291, 293, 295–7, 299–301, 306, 314–16, 318–322, 325, 328–9, 332, 341, 354, 390–2.
Boncompagni, Cardinal Ignazio (Secretary of State), 68.
Bönicke (consistorial councillor), 44.
Borgia, Cardinal Stefano, 343.
Botoni (banker), 295.
Bouche (French deputy), 153.
Boveron (deputy Mayor of Valence), 385–6, 392.
Braschi, Duchess, 363.
Braschi, Duke (Intendant of Papal household), 259, 295, 318, 322, 332, 355–6, 363, 367.
Breteuil, de (Bishop of Montauban), 90.
Bridaine, Jacques (preacher), 102 n.
Brienne, Martial de (coadjutor of Sens), 172 n.
Brissot, 231.
Broglie, Amédée de (Bishop of Angoulême), 91.
Brunati (Imperial agent in Rome), 228.
Buckingham, Lord, 273.
Burke, Edmund, 263, 272, 275.
Busca, Cardinal Ignacio (Secretary of State), 306, 315, 323–4.
Bussan (physician), 240.
Bussi, Cardinal Giambattista, 254.
Cacault (French *chargé d'affaires* in Rome), 243–4, 301–2, 304, 313–15, 320, 325–6, 394.
Cagliostro, 213–14, 216.
Caleppi, Mgr. Lorenzo, 266, 268, 307–8, 318–321.
Cambon, 281.
Campanelli, Cardinal Filippo, 71.
Camus, 118, 136–7, 138, 153, 166, 168.
Canova, Antonio, 343 n., 393.
Capello, Antonio (Venetian envoy in Rome), 219, 221–2, 226–7, 241, 247, 252, 254, 256–7.
Caprara, Cardinal Giovanni (nuncio to Venice), 76–8, 80, 84.
Caprara, General, 230, 241.
Caracciolo (Maestro di Camera), 337, 343, 357, 365, 383, 388–9.
Carnot, 348–9.
Carrier, 202.
Casoni (nuncio in Madrid), 366.
Cazalès, 124, 165, 169, 171.
Cervoni, General, 334, 336.
Chabot (ex-Capuchin), 206.
Championnet, Madame, 384 n.
Charles IV (King of Spain), 169, 280, 307, 359 n.
Charterac (Bishop of Alet), 92.
Chasset, 122.
Chaumette, 205, 210.
Chiaramonti, Cardinal Barnaba, *see* Pius VII.
Chinard (French sculptor), 229, 231–3.
Chipault, 372, 376.
Cicé, Champion de (Archbishop of Bordeaux), 143, 149, 153.
Clairfait, General, 253.
Clermont-Tonnerre, A. J. (Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne), 92.
Clootz, Baron Anacharsis, 137, 210.

Colli, General, 313, 316–19, 328.
Colloredo, Hieronymus, Count of (Archbishop of Salzburg), 33, 43, 65.
Colonna, Prince Filippo, 268.
Compagnoni di Lugo, G., 260 n.
Consalvi, Cardinal, 339.
Conzié, de (Archbishop of Tours), 103.
Cordier, P., 8 n.
Crispoldi (Papal captain), 343.
Curnier, 384.

Dalberg, Baron Karl Theodor von, 57.
D'Alembert, 105.
Danton, 191, 197.
Delacroix (French foreign minister), 304–5.
Despuig (Archbishop of Seville), 358.
Diderot, 105.
Dienseim, 57 n.
Digne (French consul in Rome), 234, 236–7, 242.
Dillon (Archbishop of Narbonne), 160.
Doria, Cardinal, *see* Pamfili.
Douglass, John (Vicar-Apostolic of London District), 274.
Dubourg-Miroadot (Patriarch of Babylon), 172, 174.
Dubruel (French deputy), 287 n.
Dugnani, Cardinal Antonio (nuncio in France), 146, 150, 156, 186, 217, 254.
Dulau, Jean Marie (Archbishop of Arles), Blessed, 103, 138, 198.
Dumouchel, 136 n.
Duphot, General, 330, 346 n.
Dupont (President of French National Assembly), 153.
Duport-Dutertre, 168.
Duquesnoy, 164.
Durfort, de (Bishop of Besançon), 90, 92.
Duval, Amaury, 239.

Emmerich, Joseph (Elector of Mainz), 6.
Erskine, Cardinal (Papal representative in London), 252, 275, 359 n.
Erthal, Friedrich Karl Joseph von (Archbishop of Mainz), 6, 33, 37, 39, 56, 58, 65.
Evangelisti, 291, 303, 307.
Expilly (Constitutional Bishop of Quimper), 163–4, 174.
Eymar, Abbé, 114, 118.

Fantini (Pius VI.'s confessor), 382, 388.
Fauchet (Constitutional Bishop of Calvados), 192, 194.
Ferdinand IV. (King of Naples) 346.
Ferdinand III. (Grand Duke of Tuscany), 356, 361, 363–5, 367, 376–7.
Ferdinand Maria (Elector of Bavaria), 30.
Fernan-Nuñez, Countess de, 371 n.
Filangieri, 254.
Flajani (physician), 340.
Fleury, Cardinal, 107.
Fleury, de Rosset de Rocozel de (Bishop of Chartres), 91.
Fleury, Henri-Bernardin de (Bishop of Tours and Cambrai), 91.
Francis II., Emperor, 70, 75, 82, 84, 221, 262, 277, 360, 368.
Frankenberg, Johann Heinrich, Count of (Cardinal Archbishop of Malines), 65–6, 69, 71–2, 353.
Fumel, de (Bishop of Lodève), 90.

Gagnières (Jesuit), 198.
Gallerani, Andrea of, Blessed, 358.
Garampi, Cardinal Giuseppe (nuncio to Vienna), 4, 35.

Garrau, 307.
Gay-Vernon (Constitutional Bishop of Vienne), 194.
Genga, Annibale della (nuncio at Cologne and Munich, afterwards Pope Leo XII.), 64.
Genovesi, Antonio, 254.
Gensonné, 191–2.
George III., King of Great Britain, 273, 275.
Gerardi (sculptor), 30 n.
Gerbert, Martin (Abbot of St. Blasien), 22n., 27.
Gerdil, Cardinal Giacinto Sigismondo, 26, 71, 268, 336.
Gerle, Dom (Carthusian), 123–4.
Gertz, Johann, 8 n.
Gianni, 131 n.
Girard (Papal agent in Lyons), 194.
Gobel (Constitutional Archbishop of Paris), 126, 136 n., 161, 169, 174–5, 205.
Gonzaga, Cardinal Aloisio Valenti, 379.
Gouttes, 136 n.
Graves (English envoy in Rome), 310.
Grégoire, Abbé (Constitutional Bishop of Loir et Cher), 169–170, 175, 205, 282–3.
Gundi, Marchese, 295.
Gustavus III. (King of Sweden), 221–2.

Häffelin, Kasimir (Vice-President of Spiritual Council, Bavaria), 31.
Hallberg, Karl Theodor von, 55 n.
Haller, General, 336, 354.
Hébert, François Louis, Blessed (Eudist martyr), 198.
Hébert (French revolutionary), 210.
Heimes (Suffragan Bishop of Mainz), 33, 39, 43–4.
Herbain, 4.
Hercé (Bishop of Dol), 92.
Hertling, Philipp von, 54.
Herzan und Harras, Cardinal Count Franz, 39, 60, 68–9, 73, 228.
Höhenlohe-Bartenstein, Prince, 53.
Hontheim, Johann Nikolaus von (Suffragan Bishop of Trier), 2–5, 8–14, 17–28.

Isenbiehl, Johann Lorenz, 6–8.
Isnard, 192.

Jallet, 136 n.
Jarente de la Bruyère, L. S. (Bishop of Orleans), 163, 172, 174, 209.
Jordan, Camille, 287.
Joseph II., Emperor, 32, 37–8, 47–8, 50, 58, 63, 65–7, 69–73, 75.
Jourdan, General, 253.
Juigné, de (Archbishop of Paris), 90, 112, 113, 116, 174, 277.
Julien (French deputy), 205.

Karl Ferdinand (Duke of Brunswick), 227.
Karl Theodor (Elector of Bavaria), 28–32, 40, 64, 76, 78, 82, 278.
Kaunitz, Prince Wenzel Anton von (Imperial Chancellor), 50, 67, 72.
Klemens Wenzeslaus (Elector of Trier), 1–5, 8–13, 17–19, 22–3, 25, 27, 35, 37, 47, 55, 60, 63, 65.
Kobenzl, Count, 368.
Krufft, Andreas Adolf von, 10 n., 21–2, 24.

Laboureur (sculptor), 394.
Labrador, Pedro, 380, 386, 389.
Labrousse (prophetess), 225 n.

La Fare, Anne Louis de (Bishop of Nancy), 112, 121, 122.
La Flotte, 236–240.
Lally-Tollendal, Marquis, 112.
La Marche, Jean-François de (Bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon), 273, 275.
La Motte, de (Bishop of Amiens), 90.
Lancellotti, Cardinal Filippo, 254 n.
Lanjuinais (French deputy), 153, 164, 284.
Larevellière, 348, 352.
La Roche-Aymon, C. A. de (Archbishop of Narbonne), 103.
La Touche-Tréville, Admiral, 226, 231.
La Tour-du-Pin, A. Louis de (Bishop of Nancy, Archbishop of Auch), 91, 92, 94, 154.
Laujeaq (French deputy), 350.
Lavie (French deputy), 164.
Law, John, 107.
Leardi, Paolo, 249.
Le Breton (publisher), 105.
Lebrun, 243.
Le Chapelier, 119.
Lefranc (Eudist), 198.
Lejosne (French deputy), 191.
Leopold II., Emperor, 75, 80–2, 221.
Liancourt, Duc de, 112.
Limburg-Stirum, August, Graf von (Bishop of Speyer), 5, 7, 34, 39, 50, 56.
Lindet, Thomas (Constitutional Bishop), 203, 205.
Litta (nuncio to Poland), 361–3.
Livizzani, Cardinal Carlo, 378.
Loménie de Brienne, Cardinal (Archbishop of Toulouse and Sens), 99, 163, 172, 174, 177.
Lorenzana, Cardinal Francisco Antonio (Archbishop of Toledo), 328, 335, 357, 364–5, 380.
Louis XIV., 107.
Louis XV., 107.
Louis XVI., 108 ff., 143–5, 148 ff., 167–9, 193, 195–6, 201, 217, 244–5, 248.
Louis XVII., the Dauphin, 286 n.
Louis XVIII. (Count of Provence), 246.
Lucchesini, Marchese, 57.
Ludwig, Eugen, Duke of Württemberg, 17 n.
Luzerne, de la (Bishop of Langres), 189.

MACHAULT, Louis Charles de (Bishop of Amiens), 90, 158.
Mack, General, 346.
Mackau (French envoy in Naples), 228, 233–4, 236–7, 242.
Maillane, Durand de, 120, 130.
Malo, Mgr., 390.
Mamachi, Cardinal Tommaso Maria (Dominican), 3, 23.
Manfredini (Maggiordomo), 356, 364, 367.
Marat, 191.
Mareri, Cardinal Vincenti, 254 n.
Maria I., Queen of Portugal, 221 n.
Maria Theresa, Empress, 20 n., 22, 32.
Maria Theresa (wife of Francis II.), 262.
Marie Adelaide (French princess), 261.
Marie Antoinette, Queen, 109 n., 203, 249.
Marini, Mgr., 343.
Marolles (Constitutional Bishop of Soissons), 174.
Marotti, Mgr. (ex-Jesuit), 337, 370, 383.
Martineau, 120, 131–2.
Masséna, General, 341, 344–5.
Massieu, 136 n.
Massillon, 91.

Massimi, Marchese, 319, 325, 331.
Mattei, Cardinal Alessandro (Archbishop of Ferrara), 268–270, 314, 318, 322.
Maury, Abbé Jean Siffrein (Archbishop of Nicaea, later Cardinal), 82–4, 118, 125, 166, 171, 220, 244, 250, 254, 265.
Max Emanuel (Elector of Bavaria), 30.
Max III. Joseph (Elector of Bavaria), 28.
Maximilian Franz Joseph, Archduke (Elector of Cologne), 36–7, 65, 83.
Ménageot (director of French Academy in Rome), 214, 225 n.
Mendizabal (secretary to Azara) 295, 297–8, 300.
Menou, Baron de, 124.
Merck, General, 383 n.
Mercy (Bishop of Luçon), 120–1
Mercy-Argenteau, Count (Austrian ambassador in France), 107.
Merlin (French deputy), 164.
Migazzi, Cardinal Christoph Anton (Archbishop of Vienna), 22, 80–1, 84.
Miot (French commissary in Rome), 301.
Mirabeau, 112, 117, 119, 140, 164–6, 173, 215.
Montesquiou, Abbé, 121, 166.
Montesquiou, Marquis de, 88, 89.
Montmorency, Louis Joseph de Laval (Bishop of Metz), 92.
Montmorin, Comte (French foreign minister), 145–6, 184, 186.
Moore, John, 197.
Morelli, 389.
Morette (French banker), 229.
Murray, General, 70.

Nantes, François, 195.
Napoleon, *see* Bonaparte.
Necker (French finance minister), 111, 116, 120.
Neufville (Bishop of Dax), 92.
Nicolai, Claudius de (Bishop of Béziers), 90.
Nicolai, Louis-Marie de (Bishop of Cahors), 91.
Noailles, Vicomte de, 111.
Nos, des (Bishop of Verdun), 90.
Nuñez, Fernán (Spanish envoy in Paris), 291.

Oberthür (theologian), 9 n.
Odescalchi, Antonio Maria (Archbishop, nuncio to Florence), 356–8, 360–1, 367, 376–7.
Osterwald, Peter von, 29.

Pacca, Bartolommeo (nuncio to Cologne), 41–2, 53–4, 63, 76, 258.
Pamfili, Cardinal Giuseppe Doria (Secretary of State), 98, 324, 331–2, 333, 336, 358.
Paul I., Tsar, 361–3, 375 n.
Pétion (French deputy), 164.
Pey, Canon, 10 n.
Philippe, Duke of Orleans, 107.
Pieracchi (Auditor in Paris), 303–5.
Pietro, Mgr. di, 370.
Pignatelli, Cardinal Francesco Maria, 254, 262.
Pinot, Noël, [Blessed] 211.
Pius VII., 348, 392–4, 397.
Polignac, Cardinal Melchior, 95 n.
Pompadour, Mme. de, 94 n., 105.
Pompignan, Georges le Franc de (Archbishop of Vienne), 96, 143, 145, 149, 153, 158.
Pontard (Constitutional Bishop of Dordogne), 204.
Pressy, de (Bishop of Boulogne), 90.
Provera, General, 328.

QUARANTOTTI, Giulio (Auditor), 186–7, 217, 219.
Quevedo (Bishop of Orense), 280.
Quiñones (Dominican General), 306.

RADAVERO, Bartolommeo, 262.
Ratter (French painter), 229, 231–3.
Rautenstrauch (Abbot of Braunau), 7 n.
Raynal, Abbé, 115.
Reboul de Lambert (Bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux), 92.
Reinhard (French ambassador in Florence), 377.
Rewbell (member of the Directory), 348.
Rezzonico, Prince Abbondio (Senator), 241.
Rinuccini, Cardinal Giovanni (Governor of Rome), 218, 254.
Roberz, Baron, 54.
Robespierre, 136, 191, 210–11, 257.
Roche, Charrier de la (Constitutional Metropolitan of Rouen), 203.
Rochefoucauld, Cardinal Dominique de la (Archbishop of Rouen), 91–2, 146, 178, 277.
Rochefoucauld, Duc de la, 124.
Rochefoucauld, Blessed François Joseph de la (Bishop of Saintes), 92, 198.
Rochefoucauld, Blessed Pierre-Louis de la (Bishop of Beauvais), 92, 160, 198.
Rohan Guémenée, Ferdinand Marie (Archbishop of Cambrai), 92.
Rohan Guémenée, Cardinal Louis René de (Bishop of Strasbourg), 92, 99, 160, 277.
Roland, Madame, 232, 242.
Roverello, Cardinal Aurelio, 254, 358.
Royère (Bishop of Castres), 92.
Ruffo, Cardinal Fabrizio (Tesoriere), 222, 254–5, 291.
Ruffo, Cardinal Tommaso, 291 n.
Rutan, Marguerite, 211.

SAINT-CYR, General, 363.
Saint-Luc, Cotun de (Bishop of Quimper), 92 n., 103, 158 n., 160, 164.
Saint-Priest (French envoy in Syria), 168.
Saint-Sauveur, de (Bishop of Tulle), 90.
Salamon, Abbé (Papal agent in France), 187–8, 193–5, 199–200.
Salicetti (French commissary), 307.
Salvi, F. S. (Freemason), 254 n.
Savine (Bishop of Viviers), 163, 172, 174.
Schwarzenberg, Prince (Imperial envoy), 80.
Séguier (Advocate-General), 105.
Ségur, Comte Philippe de, 183–4, 186–7.
Sergardi, Filippo, 365.
Sicard, Abbé, 198.
Sieyès, Abbé, 110, 112, 118.
Soldati (Dominican), 307.
Spina, Mgr. (later Archbishop of Genoa and Cardinal), 338, 356, 367, 369–370, 375–6, 383, 388–395.
Stay, Benedetto (Secretary of Briefs), 17.
Stuart, Cardinal, 98.
Suvorov, General, 382.
Swieten, Gerhard van, 28.

TALLEYRAND, Alexandre Angélique de (Archbishop of Rheims), 92.
Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de (Bishop of Autun), 92, 117, 126, 143, 161, 169, 174, 180.

Tassi (Papal physician), 337.
Tautphoeus (Vicar-General of Münster), 44.
Thouret (French deputy), 119.
Tillet, du (Bishop of Orange), 90, 111 n.
Torlonia (banker), 241.
Torné (Constitutional Bishop of Cher), 194, 196, 209.
Tosi, Mgr., Gioacchino, 393.
Trautmannsdorff, General, 70–72.
Treilhard, La Perche, 120–2, 135–6, 140, 169, 174.
Turgot, 109.
Turreau, General, 202.

VALENTINELLI, 331 n.
Vasto, Marchese, 309–310.
Vaux, Marquise de, 383.
Venturi Gallerani, 365.
Vergniaud (French Minister), 196.
Verri, A., 242 n.
Veynes, Marquise de, 384 n.
Victoire Marie (French princess), 261.
Vieregg, von (Minister of State, Munich), 35 n., 40.
Vittorio Amadeo (King of Savoy), 224.
Vogt, Niklas, 9 n.
Voidel (French deputy), 165–6.
Voltaire, 190.

WEISHAUPT, Adam, 29.
Welden, Baron Ludwig Joseph von (Bishop of Freising), 34, 39.
Westfalen, Friedrich Wilhelm von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 5.

ZAMBONI, Lodovico, 259, 294 n.
Zeil und Trauchberg, Ferdinand Christoph (Bishop of Chiemsee), 35.
Zelada, Cardinal Francesco Saverio (Secretary of State), 61, 98, 145, 185–9, 194, 230, 233–4, 237, 250, 262, 293, 295, 297, 302, 306.
Ziucci, Conte (internuncio at Turin), 64.
Zoglio, Cesare (nuncio in Munich), 32, 40, 41, 54, 64.
Zondadari, Cardinal Antonio Felice (nuncio in Brussels, Archbishop of Siena), 67, 73, 356–8, 365, 369.

CONTENTS OF MANN'S LIVES OF THE POPES

Vol. I., Part 1

St. Gregory I., The Great, 590–604.
St. Sabinian, 604–6.
Boniface III., 607.
St. Boniface IV., 608–615.
St. Deusdedit, 615–18.
Boniface V., 619–625.
Honorius I., 625–638.
Severinus, 640.
John IV., 640–2.
Theodore I., 642–9.
St. Martin I., M. 649–654.
St. Eugenius I., 654–7.

Vol. I., Part 2

St. Vitalian, 657–672.
Adeodatus, 672–6.
Donus, 676–8.
St. Agatho, 678–681.
St. Leo II., 682–3.
St. Benedict II., 684–5.
John V., 685–6.
Conon, 686–7.
St. Sergius I., 687–701.
John VI., 701–5.
John VII., 705–7.
Sisinnius, 708.
Constantine, 708–715.
St. Gregory II., 715–731.
St. Gregory III., 731–741.
St. Zachary, 741–752.
Stephen II., 752.
Stephen III., 752–7.
St. Paul I., 757–767.
Stephen III. (IV.), 768–772.
Hadrian I., 772–795.

Vol. II.

St. Leo III., 795–816.
Stephen IV. (V.), 816–17.
St. Paschal I., 817–824.
Eugenius II., 824–7.
Valentine, 827.
Gregory IV., 827–844.
Sergius II., 844–7.
St. Leo IV., 847–855.
Benedict III., 855–8.

Vol. III.

St. Nicholas I., The Great, 858–867.
Hadrian II., 867–872.
John VIII., 872–882.
Marinus I., 882–4.
St. Hadrian III., 884–5.
Stephen V. (VI.), 885–891.

Vol. IV.

Formosus, 891–6.
Boniface VI., 896.
Stephen VI. (VII.), 896–7.
Romanus, 897.
Theodore II., 897.
John IX., 898–900.
Benedict IV., 900–3.
Leo V., 903.
Christopher, 903–4.
Sergius III., 904–911.
Anastasius III., 911–13.
Landus, 913–14.
John X., 914–18.
Leo VI., 928–9.
Stephen VII. (VIII.), 929–931.
John XI., 931–6.
Leo VII., 936–9.
Stephen VIII. (IX.), 939–942.
Marinus II., 942–6.
Agapitus II., 946–955.
John XII., 955–964.
Benedict V., 964.
John XIII., 965–972.
Benedict VI., 973–4.
Benedict VII., 974–983.
John XIV., 983–4.
Boniface VII., 974; 984–6, (Anti-Pope).
John XV., 985–996.
Gregory V., 996–9.

Vol. V.

Sylvester II., 999–1003.
John XVII., 1003.
John XVIII., 1003–9.
Sergius IV., 1009–1012.
Benedict VIII., 1012–1024.
John XIX., 1024–1032.
Benedict IX., 1032–1045.
Gregory VI., 1045–6.
Clement II., 1046–7.
Damasus II., 1048.

Vol. VI.

St. Leo IX., 1049–1054.
Victor II., 1055–7.
Stephen IX. (X.), 1057–8.
Nicholas II., 1059–1061.
Alexander II., 1061–1073.

Vol. VII.

St. Gregory VII., 1073–1085.
Blessed Victor III., 1086–7.
Blessed Urban II., 1088–1099.

Vol. VIII.

Paschal II., 1099–1118.
Gelasius II., 1118–19.
Calixtus II., 1119–1124.
Honorius II., 1124–1130.

Vol. IX.

Innocent II., 1130–1143.
Celestine II., 1143–4.
Lucius II., 1144–5.
Blessed Eugenius III., 1145–1153.
Anastasius IV., 1153–4.
Hadrian IV., 1154–9.

Vol. X.

Alexander III., 1159–1181.
Lucius III., 1181–5.
Urban III., 1185–7.
Gregory VIII., 1187.
Clement III., 1187–1191.
Celestine III., 1191–8.

Vol. XI.

Innocent III., 1198–1216.

Vol. XII.

Innocent III. (*continued*).

Vol. XIII.

Honorius III., 1216–1227.
Gregory IX., 1227–1241.
Celestine IV., 1241.

Vol. XIV.

Innocent IV., 1243–1254.

Vol. XV.

Alexander IV., 1254–1261.
Urban IV., 1261–4.
Clement IV., 1265–8.
Blessed Gregory X., 1271–6.

Vol. XVI.

Blessed Innocent V., 1276.
Hadrian V., 1276.
John XXI, 1276–7.
Nicholas III., 1277–1280.
Martin IV., 1281–5.
Honorius IV., 1285–7.

Vol. XVII.

Nicholas IV., 1288–1292.
St. Celestine V., 1294.

Vol. XVIII.

Boniface VIII., 1294–1303.
Blessed Benedict XI., 1303–4.

CONTENTS OF PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

Vol. I.

Clement V., 1305–1314.
John XXII., 1316–1334.
Benedict XII., 1334–1342.
Clement VI., 1342–1352.
Innocent VI., 1352–1362.
Blessed Urban V., 1362–1370.
Gregory XI., 1370–8.
Urban VI., 1378–1389.
Boniface IX., 1389–1404.
Innocent VII., 1404–6.
Gregory XII., 1406–1415.
Martin V., 1417–1431.
Eugenius IV., 1431–1447.

Vol. II.

Nicholas V., 1447–1455.
Calixtus III., 1455–8.

Vol. III.

Pius II., 1458–1464.

Vol. IV.

Paul II., 1464–1471.
Sixtus IV., 1471–1484.

Vol. V.

Innocent VIII., 1484–1492.
Alexander VII., 1492–1503.

Vol. VI.

Alexander VI. (*continued*).
Pius III., 1503.
Julius II., 1503–1513.

Vol. VII.

Leo X., 1513–1521.

Vol. VIII.

Leo X. (*continued*).

Vol. IX.

Adrian VI., 1522–3.
Clement VII., 1523–1534.

Vol. X.

Clement VII (*continued*).

Vol. XI.

Paul III., 1534–1549.

Vol. XII.

Paul III. (*continued*).

Vol. XIII.

Julius III., 1550–5.

Vol. XIV.

Marcellus II., 1555.
Paul IV., 1555–9.

Vol. XV.

Pius IV., 1559–1565.

Vol. XVI.

Pius IV. (*continued*).

Vol. XVII.

St. Pius V., 1566–1572.

Vol. XVIII.

St. Pius V. (*continued*).

Vol. XIX.

Gregory XIII, 1572–1585.

Vol. XX.

Gregory XIII (*continued*).

Vol. XXI.

Sixtus V., 1585–1590.

Vol. XXII.

Sixtus V. (*continued*).
Urban VII., 1590.
Gregory XIV., 1590–1.
Innocent IX., 1591.

Vol. XXIII.

Clement VIII., 1592–1605.

Vol. XXIV.

Clement VIII. (*continued*).

Vol. XXV.

Leo XI, 1605.
Paul V., 1605–1621.

Vol. XXVI.

Paul V. (*continued*).

Vol. XXVII.

Gregory XV., 1621–3.
Urban VIII., 1623–1644.

Vol. XXVIII.

Urban VIII. (*continued*).

Vol. XXIX.

Urban VIII. (*continued*).

Vol. XXX.

Innocent X., 1644–1655.

Vol. XXXI.

Alexander VII., 1655–1667.
Clement IX., 1667–9.
Clement X., 1670–6.

Vol. XXXII.

Ven. Innocent XI., 1676–1689.
Alexander VIII., 1689–1691.
Innocent XII., 1691–1700.

Vol. XXXIII.

Clement XI., 1700–1721.

Vol. XXXIV.

Innocent XIII., 1721–4.
Benedict XIII., 1724–1730.
Clement XII., 1730–1740.

Vol. XXXV.

Benedict XIV., 1740–1758.

Vol. XXXVI.

Benedict XIV. (*continued*).
Clement XIII., 1758–1769.

Vol. XXXVII.

Clement XIII. (*continued*).

Vol. XXXVIII.

Clement XIV., 1769–1774.

Vol. XXXIX.

Pius VI., 1775–1799.

Vol. XL.

Pius VI. (*continued*).

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